PHILO

VI

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PREFACE TO VOLUME VI

Mr. Whitaker left no work of any kind bearing on the contents of this volume, and it therefore appears in my name only.

The great difference of subject matter from the five previous volumes has made the long detailed analytical introductions less necessary and where the narrative runs on continuously for a considerable length almost useless. I have accordingly retained them only in a very modified form. I have continued to divide the annotation into footnotes which seemed needed for the comprehension of the passages and appendix notes mainly for illustration, but both footnotes and appendix are considerably diminished.

One point perhaps requires apology or at least justification. What appears here as the Second Book of the Life of Moses was before the publication of Cohn's edition divided into two, a Second Book of twelve Chapters, and a Third Book of thirty-nine. Cohn who has demonstrated the erroneousness of this division,\textsuperscript{a} takes the middle course of numbering the Chapters as of two books, but the sections as of one. Since Cohn originated the arrangement by sections this was probably the wiser course. But now that citation by sections is superseding the old citation by

See note on p. 274.
chapters this difference of arrangement between sections and chapters seemed to me confusing and I have accordingly numbered the chapters continuously from 1 to 50; and therefore in tracing a reference to a particular chapter of De Vita Mosis, iii. my readers will have to subtract twelve. I hope any inconvenience caused by this will be diminished by the fact that most, if not all, references to Philo in earlier writers cite not only the chapters of a treatise but the Mangey pages, which of course remain unchanged.

I may add that Dr. Rouse’s help, which has been generously given throughout, has been particularly useful in this volume.

F. H. C.

April 1935.
GENERAL INTRODUCTION

In this volume we enter upon the second main division of Philo’s works. The preceding five volumes have been occupied with what is usually called the commentary or allegorical commentary. We now pass on to his Exposition of the Laws to which the biographical treatises in this volume serve as an introduction. Philo starts with the assumption that the Pentateuch as a whole is a law-book written by the lawgiver himself. But this law-book obviously opens and continues with a large amount of material which is not, strictly speaking, legislative but narrative. Hence the theory is developed that Moses began with describing the foundation of the world-commonwealth or cosmopolis which was to be governed by the laws, and followed it by describing the lives of those who had observed those laws while still unwritten and were therefore themselves “living laws,” as well as

α Or perhaps I shall rather say “re-enter,” as De Abr. assumes that the De Opificio is the opening book of the “Exposition.” And so the German translators begin with the De Op. and proceed at once to De Abr. In this translation we have followed the traditional arrangement, which is also that adopted by Cohn and Wendland, not perhaps without justification. It must be noted that if De Op. begins the Exposition, it serves the same purpose for the Commentary which begins with Gen. ii. 1, and seems to assume that the story of Creation has been adequately dealt with.
the rewards which obedience, and the punishments which disobedience, in the past had incurred. He has already in the *De Opificio* expounded Moses’ story of the cosmogony. In the four treatises contained in this volume and two others which have not been preserved he deals with the rest of what he calls the historical part of the legislation.

The general plan of the first three of these six treatises, namely the extant *Abraham* and the lost *Isaac* and *Jacob*, was to shew that Moses set before us the history of the soul in two triads. The first triad, Enos, Enoch and Noah, represent respectively Hope, Repentance or Improvement, and Justice. These three are the imperfectly wise, for though Justice is the Queen of virtues and indeed Noah is called perfect, he is only perfect in his generation—that is, relatively only—and therefore falls below the second triad of the truly wise. This triad, Abraham, Isaac and Jacob, represent respectively Wisdom or Virtue as acquired by teaching, nature and practice. The first triad is disposed of in §§ 7-47 of *De Abrahamo*; the second forms the subject of the rest of that treatise, and no doubt of the two that have been lost.

The formula Nature (natural ability), Teaching, Practice as covering the necessary requirements for education is a commonplace in ancient scholastic literature. Philo is the first, so far as I know, to apply it to spiritual life, and we have met with this application frequently in the Allegorical Commentary.* But though it is one of his leading ideas, he takes little pains to show how it fits the three great Patriarchs. The chequered career of Jacob, "long

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GENERAL INTRODUCTION

trained in the athletics of adversity,”"a qualifies him no doubt for the name of the Practiser so regularly applied to him, but it is difficult to see how Abraham pre-eminently represents wisdom acquired by teaching. True, he receives and obeys the Divine instructions, but so do Isaac and Jacob, though perhaps in a lesser degree, and Isaac’s name of the Self-Taught does not exclude discipleship to God. What, if anything, Philo found in the life of Isaac to justify this epithet applied to him almost as often as Practiser is to Jacob he never tells us.\textsuperscript{b} I imagine that the idea rests chiefly on the meaning of the name. Isaac is “laughter” and therefore “joy,” and joy is the result, or as he calls it, the reward when the mind finds what it seeks instinctively and without labour.\textsuperscript{c}

The \textit{De Abrahamo} after the first 47 sections gives the main incidents of Abraham’s life, not in chronological order, but to illustrate his piety, hospitality, tact and kindness, courage and self-control. In every case except the last, which describes Abraham’s resignation at the death of Sarah, the narrative is followed by an allegorical interpretation. The general principles of these allegories is much the same as in the Commentary, but the method is in one respect very different. No knowledge of the Pentateuch beyond the passage under discussion is supposed to be possessed by the reader, and consequently there is

\textsuperscript{a} \textit{De Ios.} 26.
\textsuperscript{b} Though Stanley discovered in Isaac a gentleness and meditativeness which distinguishes him from the other two. See, for “the gentle Isaac,” \textit{Jewish Church}, i. p. 32.
\textsuperscript{c} See, particularly \textit{De Praemiis} 50, where also faith is said to be the “reward” of the soul which learns by teaching, since instruction requires the readiness of the instructed to believe. This passage perhaps gives us the best clue to the meaning which Philo attaches to the formula.
none of the rambling from text to text or of the insetting in the main allegory of minor allegories suggested by casual phrases, which constitutes the most striking characteristic and the chief difficulty of the other set of treatises.

The De Iosepho is something of an excrescence in the scheme. The qualities of the ideal “politician” or “statesman” might serve as an effective supplement to those of the contemplative and philosophical life, but they do not bear much relation to the three types of Nature, Teaching and Practice, and when Philo in the De Praemiis a gives a sort of recapitulatory survey of the historical part of the law-book, while Abraham, Isaac, Jacob and Moses are all discussed again, there is no word of Joseph. I should imagine that he felt, what of course is true, that in the Joseph chapters of Genesis he had a fine dramatic story which could not be without undue compression worked into the life of Jacob, a story rich in incidents which offer themselves for epic narrative, and in situations which gave full scope for the rhetorical exhibitions in which his age delighted. If in view of contemporary misgovernment he felt a pleasure in showing how justly Egypt had once been governed by a Jew, the feeling was only natural.

The treatment of the life of Joseph in the De Iosepho makes a startling contrast to the persistent depreciation to which his character has been subjected throughout the Allegorical Commentary. There he is the man wise in his own conceit, b the philosopher of statecraft rather than truth, c the honourer of spurious goods, d whose study is of the body and vain imaginations, e

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a §§ 22-56. b Leg. All. iii. 179. c Quod Det. 7 d De Sob. 14. e De Agr. 56.
GENERAL INTRODUCTION

the many-sided vanity of life.\(^a\) One explanation given is that the two opposing views belong to different periods and stages in Philo's life. Professor Goodenough\(^b\) ascribes it to the difference of audiences addressed in the Exposition and the Commentary, or to a chronic vacillation in Philo's own temperament, or to both together. I am inclined to think that the "chronic vacillation of character" is enough in itself, though I should prefer to call it a chronic tendency to see both sides of a question alternately or even simultaneously. Philo undoubtedly looks upon the philosophical life as the highest, and the practical life which includes the political as a necessary evil. But he is as firm upon the necessity of the latter as on the superiority of the former, and further the lower may be conceived of as a discipline or stepping-stone to the higher. If this is realized, the twofold representation of Joseph will not present insuperable difficulties. The main fact in the life of Joseph was that he lived in Egypt and was Pharaoh's viceroy. Since Egypt spiritually is the body and the King of Egypt the body-loving mind, Joseph may represent the agent which that king employs for his baser purposes. He is not from this point of view a historical person, but a τρόπος or temperament\(^c\) and Philo has no difficulty in finding isolated facts and passages which can be made to

\(^a\) De Conf. 71. Besides these and many others note especially the sustained depreciation in De Som. ii. 10-16 and often later in the same treatise.

\(^b\) "Philo's Exposition of the Law and his De Vita Mosis," Harvard Theological Review, April 1933.

\(^c\) Or "one of the traits or feelings existing in every man's soul," as he is definitely stated to be in De Som. ii. 98. From this point of view we are told to forget the actual cruelty of the brothers.
bear this out. His coat of many colours, his name of "addition" signifying adventitious goods, his mounting the second chariot, his swearing by the health of Pharaoh, the arrogant claims of his dreams, can all be pressed into service, while anything that does not fit can, if needed, be ignored. On the other hand, political life is also capable of bringing out higher qualities, and of those the historical Joseph is the obvious exemplar. In fact, Philo's treatment of Joseph gives us the clearest example of his belief that the spiritual truths which may "break out of the Word" are manifold, not only different, but even at first sight contradictory.

On the whole, these two treatises proceed on the same general method, though in De Iosepho the rhetorical element is far more and the allegorical less conspicuous. But the two books on the life of Moses stand to some extent by themselves. The opening of the first book does not suggest that it is a sequel to the four that have preceded, but assigns a different reason for its composition, viz. that its object is to make the story and character of the great legislator

\[a\] Not but that opposing facts are sometimes too strong and numerous to be ignored. Thus in De Mig. 16-24, when the allegory is based on the carrying of Joseph's bones to Canaan, these "bones" or memorable actions are catalogued, and even in De Som. ii., where the representation of him as the impersonation of vanity is most developed, the hope is held out that ultimately he will be reconciled with his brethren (§ 108). Again, when the allegory demands a more favourable view, as when the point is that he finds his brethren, he becomes the man who mixes in public life, but has no thirst for fame (πολιτικός μὲν ἥκιστα δὲ δοξομανής, De Fuga 126).

\[b\] For instance, the coat of many colours, which has served in De Som. i. 219 to represent the falseness of the mere politician, stands in De Ios. 32 for the resourcefulness in peace and war of the true statesman.
known to the outer world. The constitution of the book is also very different. Allegory is almost entirely banished from the narrative and confined to explanation of the priest’s vestments and the form and apparatus of the Tabernacle. Regarded as biography, they are not so satisfactory as the *De Abrahamo* and the *De Iosepho*. Philo’s arrangement of the life of Moses under the four heads of king, lawgiver, priest and prophet does, no doubt, serve for a logical basis to the work, but it leads him into many oddities. While the story of Moses as king or leader is carried on consistently to the end of Exodus xviii., what next to the deliverance itself is the central point of the story, the theophany on Sinai, is entirely omitted; the account of Balaam and Balak, which has little to do with Moses himself, is given at disproportionate length, while the stories of the Red Sea and the Manna and the Golden Calf are given twice over.

These and other considerations have led what is probably the great majority of scholars to think that the two books are not an integral part of the Exposition, but a work composed on a separate occasion, and (at least in the eyes of those who consider the Exposition to be intended primarily for Jewish readers)\(^a\)

\(^{a}\) Any discussion of this disputed question may be left till we come to the Laws themselves in the next volume. Meanwhile I find it difficult to resist the general impression that Philo in writing the *De Abrahamo* and *De Iosepho* as well as the *De Vita Mosis*, in which the fact is admitted, had Gentiles rather than Jews in view. Observe, for instance (unless it is to be put down as a mere mannerism), the strict economy of names in all four books. Just as neither Balaam nor even Aaron in the third and fourth is ever mentioned by name, so too Lot in the first and the brothers in the second (even when they act or speak individually) are only indicated by their relationship to Abraham or Jacob.
GENERAL INTRODUCTION

for a different audience. While not venturing to hold the contrary I do not feel enough confidence in Philo’s consistency of method to regard this as certain. Anyhow, the fact is clear that, however and for whomsoever composed, the two books effect what indeed is implied in the recapitulatory survey in the De Praemiis, where Moses is joined with Abraham, Isaac and Jacob as the recipient of the rewards of obedience which the Pentateuch in Philo’s view is intended to preach. Without them his survey of the lessons of the history which is begun in the De Abrahamo and his portrait of the “Living Laws”\(^a\) would be hopelessly incomplete, and their right place in the series is that which has been given them in all editions and is retained in this translation.

Taking the four books as a whole I would make two comments. One is that the separate stories are admirably told with much fire, vigour and lucidity. The “stilted and frigid”\(^b\) speeches repel us, but to Greek readers living in the age of Epideictic oratory they would be congenial enough. As for the narratives themselves, none of us would wish to exchange them for the sacred simplicity of our own version. But the Gentile readers who had no such associations must have found them a pleasant contrast to the harsh Greek of the Septuagint.

\(^a\) Moses is of course primarily the lawgiver, rather than himself the law, and Philo may possibly have shrunk from saying that Moses the biographer \textit{intended} his own biography to serve the same purpose as the biographies of the patriarchs. Still the title of “Living Law” is applied to him in \textit{De Mos.} i. 162.

\(^b\) The epithets are quoted from my own judgement of them as given in the General Introduction to Vol. I. p xxii. I am inclined now to modify them with regard to some of the speeches.
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The second point is the essential fidelity with which Philo adheres to the narrative of Scripture. Though he professes to draw also from the Tradition of the Elders, there is little or none of the legendary accretions with which the Book of Jubilees, the so-called "Antiquities of Philo" and even Josephus, to say nothing of later Rabbinical tradition, endeavour to embellish the history of the Patriarchs and of Moses. There is of course any amount of amplification: that is according to the practice of many if not most ancient historians, who consider it their business not merely to state but to interpret facts—to infer what the actors probably would have felt, said, or done in the given circumstances. A good example is the description of the battle of Abraham and 318 men against the four kings, where the LXX "he came upon them by night and smote them" is expanded into "he attacked the enemy by night when they had supped and were preparing to go to sleep. Some fell helpless victims to him in their beds, others who took arms against him were completely annihilated," with a few more words about the extinction of the whole army. As Josephus, Ant. i. 177, gives similar details,

The closest approach to this is the account of Moses' education in Mos. i. 21 ff., but even this is merely a statement of what an Egyptian prince would, in Philo's view, have naturally been taught.

As the relation of Josephus's narrative to Philo's may be of interest to some readers, I may remark here that Cohn in the introduction to his fourth volume, p. xxv, considers that Josephus did make use of Philo, particularly of Mos. i. and ii. He quotes ten examples of similar thought and phrases, mainly the former. Thackeray, in his notes to the Loeb translation of Ant. i. and ii., cites some five instances of the kind from the De Abr. and De Ios. The resemblance of thought in Ant. i. 18 f. to the opening of De Op. is far more striking, but clearly Josephus may have read that work or...
this is quoted as a "striking parallel," but surely it merely describes what is naturally to be expected in a successful night attack by a small force against a larger.

As for the text, we find nothing corresponding to the difficulties and corruptions which we found in the first five volumes. In the first place the mss., at least those which are used by Cohn, are far more numerous. They vary from thirteen in number to eleven, whereas in the other set of treatises the maximum was seven, and in three cases the editor was forced to rely on one or two codices, none of them remarkable for accuracy. Secondly, the straightforward narrative as opposed to the tortuous argument of the Allegorical Commentary was apparently handled by the scribes with greater ease and accuracy. Consequently, though there are plenty of the minor differences certain to be found in this larger number of mss. so that the Apparatus Criticus is no shorter, the emendations adopted by Cohn are few and in only one case has the present translator ventured to add any to the list.

its opening, without reading or at least making systematic use of the other treatises. I think this last should be regarded as somewhat uncertain, but see note on pp. 608 f.
LIST OF PHILO'S WORKS

SHOWING THEIR DIVISION INTO VOLUMES
IN THIS EDITION

VOLUME

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

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

III. On the Unchangeableness of God (Quod Deus 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 SUPPLEMENTS I-II

¹ Only two fragments extant.
² Extant only in an Armenian version.
ON ABRAHAM
(DE ABRAHAMO)
INTRODUCTION TO DE ABRAHAMO

After stating his intention to follow Moses in describing the "living" before proceeding to the written Laws (1-6), Philo deals with the first and less perfect triad. First Enos the hoper, whose name equivalent to "Man" shows that hope is the first mark of a true man (7-10). Secondly repentance represented by Enoch, who was "transferred" i.e. to a better life and was "not found," for the good are rare and solitary (17-26). Thirdly, Noah, who was "just" in comparison with the wicked generation destroyed by the Flood (27-46).

The higher triad of the three great Patriarchs are not only typical of the trinity, Teaching, Nature and Practice, but are also the parents of Israel, the soul which attains to the sight of God (48-59). To come to Abraham himself, the literal story of his migrations shows his self-sacrifice (60-67); allegorically it denotes the soul's journey from godless astronomy first to self-knowledge (Haran), then to the knowledge of God (68-88). His adventures in Egypt (89-98) suggest that the tortures which plagued Pharaoh represent what the sensual mind suffers from the virtues which, while it professes to love them, are incompatible with it (99-106). Next comes the story of the three Angelic Visitors (107-118). Allegorically they represent the Self-existent and the beneficent and sovereign potencies apprehended according as the soul can rise to the full conception or is moved by hope of benefits or fear, and Philo points out that while men distrust these last motives, God does not hold them worthless (119-132). In fact the tale of the destruction of the Cities of the Plain represents the Self-existent as leaving these tasks to His subordinates
ON ABRAHAM

(133-146). This leads him to an allegory in which the five cities are the five senses, the noblest of which, sight, is figured by Zoar (147-166).

Next comes the sacrifice of Isaac (167-177). The greatness of Abraham is vindicated against hostile criticisms based on the frequency of similar stories of child immolation (178-199). Allegorically the story means that a devout soul often feels a duty of surrendering its "Isaac," Joy, which nevertheless through God's mercy it is allowed to retain (200-207).

These narratives have illustrated Abraham's piety. Next comes his kindness to men as shewn in his settlement of the dispute with Lot (208-216). This dispute may be taken to represent allegorically the incompatibility of love for the goods of the soul with love for bodily or external things (217-224). Then his courage appears in his victory over the four kings who had routed the armies of the five cities (225-235), and this conflict is allegorized as one between the four passions and the five senses, in which the intervention of reason turns the scale against the former (236-244). Philo now goes on to say something of the virtues of Sarah, particularly as shewn by her advocacy of the mating with Hagar (245-254) and this leads on to an account of the grief coupled with resignation shown by Abraham at her death (255-261). The treatise concludes with an eloquent praise of Abraham's faith and of his right to the title of "Elder" and the crowning tribute that he both did the law and was himself the Law (262-end).
ΒΙΟΣ ΣΟΦΟΥ ΤΟΥ ΚΑΤΑ ΔΙΔΑΣΚΑΛΙΑΝ 
ΤΕΛΕΙΩΘΕΝΤΟΣ Η ΝΟΜΩΝ ΑΓΡΑΦΩΝ
〈ΤΟ ΠΡΩΤΟΝ〉 Ο ΕΣΤΙ ΠΕΡΙ ΑΒΡΑΑΜ

[1] 1. Τῶν ἑρῶν νόμων ἐν πέντε βιβλίοις ἀναγραφέντων ἡ πρώτη καλεῖται καὶ ἐπιγράφεται Γένεσις ἀπὸ τῆς τοῦ κόσμου γενέσεως, ἡν ἐν ἀρχῇ περιέχει, λαβοῦσα τὴν πρόσρησιν, καίτοι μυρίων ἄλλων ἐμφερομένων πραγμάτων, ὥσα κατ’ εἰρήνην ἡ πόλημον ἡ φοράς καὶ ἀφορίας ἡ λιμῶν καὶ εὐθηνίαν ἡ τὰς μεγίστας τῶν ἐπὶ γῆς φθορᾶς διὰ πυρὸς καὶ ὑδατος ἡ τούναντον γενέσεις καὶ εὐτροφίας ζώων καὶ φυτῶν κατὰ τὴν ἀέρος καὶ τῶν ἐπισιῶν ὠρῶν εὐκρασίαν καὶ ἀνδρῶν τῶν μὲν ἀρετὴ τῶν δὲ κακίας

2 συμβιωσάντων· ἄλλ’ ἐπεὶ τούτων τὰ μὲν ἐστὶ τοῦ κόσμου μέρη, τὰ δὲ παθήματα, τελειώτατον δὲ καὶ πληρέστατον ὁ κόσμος, αὐτῷ τὴν ὅλην βίβλον ἀνέθηκεν. δον μὲν οὖν τρόπον ἡ κοσμοποιία διατέτακται, διὰ τῆς προτέρας συντάξεως, ωσ ὄλον τε ἡν, ἡκριβώσαμεν. ἐπεὶ δὲ τοὺς νόμους κατὰ τὸ ἐξῆς (καὶ) ἀκόλουθων ἀναγκαῖον διερευνάσθαι, τῶν ἐπὶ μέρους καὶ ὥς ἃν εἰκόνων ὑπέρθεσιν ποιησάμενοι τοὺς καθολικωτέρους καὶ ὥς ἃν

[2] a. i.e. the Deluge and the destruction of Sodom and Gomorrah. Philo classes these two together, ignoring the purely local character of the latter. Compare his treatment of the two in Mos. ii. 52-65, and cf. ib. 263.
I. The first of the five books in which the holy laws are written bears the name and inscription of Genesis, from the genesis or creation of the world, an account of which it contains at its beginning. It has received this title in spite of its embracing numberless other matters; for it tells of peace and war, of fruitfulness and barrenness, of dearth and plenty; how fire and water wrought great destruction of what is on earth; how on the other hand plants and animals were born and thrived through the kindly tempering of the air and the yearly seasons, and so too men, some of whom lived a life of virtue, others of vice. But since some of these things are parts of the world, and others events which befall it, and the world is the complete consummation which contains them all, he dedicated the whole book to it.

The story of the order in which the world was made has been set forth in detail by us as well as was possible in the preceding treatise; but, since it is necessary to carry out our examination of the law in regular sequence, let us postpone consideration of particular laws, which are, so to speak, copies, and examine first those which are more general and

b i.e. the *De Opificio*. See General Introduction to this volume, p. ix, note a.
PHILO

4 ἀρχετύπους προτέρους διερευνήσωμεν. οὗτοι δὲ εἶσιν ἀνδρῶν οἱ ἀνεπιλήπτως καὶ καλῶς βιώσαντες, ὅν τὰς ἄρετὰς ἐν ταῖς ἱερωτάταις ἑστηλευθήσαι γραφαῖς συμβεβηκέν, οὐ πρὸς τὸν ἑκείνων ἐπαίνων αὐτὸ μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὑπὲρ τοῦ τούτου ἐντυγχάνοντας προτρέψασθαι καὶ ἐπὶ τὸν ὅμοιον ξῆλον ἀγαγεῖν.

5 οἱ γὰρ ἐμπυχοὶ καὶ λογικοὶ νόμοι ἄνδρες ἐκεῖνοι γεγόνασιν, οὓς δυοῖν χάριν ἐσέμυνεν ἐνὸς μὲν βουλόμενος ἐπιδείξαι, ὅτι τὰ τεθεμένα διατάγματα τῆς φύσεως οὐκ ἀπάδευ, δευτέρου δὲ ὦτι οὐ πολὺς πόνος τοῖς έθέλουσι κατὰ τοὺς κεκόμενους νόμους ζῆν, ὅποτε καὶ ἁγράφω τῇ νομοθεσίᾳ, πρὶν τὴν ἄρχῃν ἀναγραφῆναι τῶν ἐν μέρει, βαδίως καὶ εὑ-πετῶς ἐχρήσαντο οἱ πρῶτοι ὡς δεόντως ἢν τινα φάναι, τοὺς τεθέντας νόμους μηδὲν ἀλλ’ ἡ ὑπο-μνήματα εἶναι βίου τῶν παλαιῶν, ἀρχαιολογοῦντας

6 ἔργα καὶ λόγους, οὓς ἐχρήσαντο. ἐκεῖνοι γὰρ οὔτε γνώριμοι καὶ φοιτηταὶ γενόμενοι τῶν οὕτω παρὰ διδασκάλους ἃ χρὴ πράττειν καὶ λέγειν ἀναδιαχ-θέντες, αὐτῆκοι δὲ καὶ αὐτομαθεῖς, ἀκολουθιάν φύσεως ἀσπασάμενοι, τὴν φύσιν αὐτῆς, ὅπερ ἐστὶ πρὸς ἀλήθειαν, πρεσβύτατον θεσμὸν εἶναι ὑπο-λαβόντες ἀπαντά τὸν βίον ἡνυμομήθησαν, ὑπαίτων μὲν οὐδὲν γνώμαις ἐκουσίος ἐργασάμενοι, περὶ δὲ τῶν εἰκ τῆς ὑπομνήματος τὸν θεὸν καὶ λυταῖς καὶ ἐκείσαις ἐξευμενιζόμενοι πρὸς ὀλοκλήρου μετουσίαν ζωῆς δι’ ἀμφοτέρων κατορθομενής τῶν τε ἐκ προνοίας καὶ τῶν ἀνευ ἐκουσίου γνώμης.

7 ΙΙ. Ἐπειδὴ τοῖς ἄρχῃ μετούσιας ἀγαθῶν ἐστίν ἐλπὶς καὶ ταύτην οἷα λεωφόρον όδὸν ἡ φιλάρετος

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*a See App. p. 597.
may be called the originals of those copies. These are such men as lived good and blameless lives, whose virtues stand permanently recorded in the most holy scriptures, not merely to sound their praises but for the instruction of the reader and as an inducement to him to aspire to the same; for in these men we have laws endowed with life and reason, and Moses extolled them for two reasons. First he wished to shew that the enacted ordinances are not inconsistent with nature; and secondly that those who wish to live in accordance with the laws as they stand have no difficult task, seeing that the first generations before any at all of the particular statutes was set in writing followed the unwritten law with perfect ease, so that one might properly say that the enacted laws are nothing else than memorials of the life of the ancients, preserving to a later generation their actual words and deeds. For they were not scholars or pupils of others, nor did they learn under teachers what was right to say or do: they listened to no voice or instruction but their own: they gladly accepted conformity with nature, holding that nature itself was, as indeed it is, the most venerable of statutes, and thus their whole life was one of happy obedience to law. They committed no guilty action of their own free will or purpose, and where chance led them wrong they besought God's mercy and propitiated Him with prayers and supplications, and thus secured a perfect life guided aright in both fields, both in their premeditated actions and in such as were not of freely-willed purpose.

II. Since, then, the first step towards the possession of blessings is hope, and hope like a high road is
Philosophical arguments and interpretations of biblical texts by Philo.

8. Philo refers to "Chaldaean" as a synonym for Hebrew in these works, although not in the treatises contained in Vols. I.-V.

9. This argument, based on Gen. iv. 26, LXX "He called his name Enos; he hoped to call on the name of the Lord God" (E.V. "then began men to call upon the name of the Lord") and on the fact that Enos is a poetical Hebrew term for "man," has already been given in substantially the same form in Quod Det. 138.
constructed and opened up by the virtue-loving soul in its eagerness to gain true excellence, Moses called the first lover of hope "Man," thus bestowing on him as a special favour the name which is common to the race (for the Chaldean name for Man is Enos), on the grounds that he alone is a true man who expects good things and rests firmly on comfortable hopes. This plainly shows that he regards a despondent person as no man but a beast in human shape, since he has been robbed of the nearest and dearest possession of the human soul, namely hope. And, therefore, in his wish to give the highest praise to the hoper, after first stating that he set his hope on the Father and Maker of all, he adds, "this is the book of the coming into being of men," though fathers and grandfathers had already come into being. But he held that they were the founders of the mixed race, but Enos of that from which all impurity had been strained, in fact of the race which is truly reasonable. For just as we give the title of "the poet" to Homer in virtue of his pre-eminence, though there are multitudes of poets besides him, and "the black" to the material with which we write, though everything is black which is not white, and "the Archon" at Athens to the chief of the nine archons, the Archon Eponymos, from whose year of office dates are calculated, so too Moses gave the name of man in pre-eminence to him who cherished hope and left unnoticed the many others as un-

\[
\text{μέλαν being the regular word for "ink."}
\]

\[
\text{The 1st Archon was called simply ό ἀρχων, the 2nd ἀρχων βασιλεύς, the 3rd ἀρχων πολέμαρχος, the other nine θεσμοθέται. The addition of ἐπώνυμος ("who gives his name to dates," etc.) seems to be a later use.}
\]
ως οὐκ ἄξιων τῆς αὐτῆς προσφήσεως ἐπιλαχεῖν.

εὖ μέντοι καὶ τὴν βίβλον γενέσεως τοῦ πρῶτος ἀλήθειαν ἀνθρώπου προσεῖπεν, οὐκ ἀπὸ σκο- ποῦ, διότι γραφῆς καὶ μνήμης ἄξιος ἐν εὐελπίς, οὐ τῆς ἐν χρυσίδοις ὑπὸ σχῆμαν διαφθειρομένους, ἀλλὰ τῆς ἐν ἀνθρώπω τῇ φύσει, παρ’ ἦ τὰς σπον- δαίας πράξεις ἀναγράπτους εἶναι συμβέβηκεν.

εἰ μέντοι καταριθμησεῖν τὰς ἀπὸ τοῦ πρῶτον καὶ γηγενοῦς, τὸν ὑπὸ μὲν Χαλδαίων Ἑνὼς Ἐλλάδι δὲ διαλέκτῳ προσαγορευόμενον “ἀνθρω- πον” εὐρήσει τέταρτον. ἐν ἀριθμοῖς δὲ ἡ τετράς τετίμηται παρὰ τοῖς ἄλλοις φιλοσόφοις, ὅσοι τὰς ἀσωμάτους οὐσίας καὶ νοητὰς ἡσύχαστο, καὶ μάλιστα παρὰ Μωυσεῖ τῷ πανόρῳ, ὃς σεμνύνων τὸν τέταρτον ἀριθμὸν φησιν ὅτι “ἄγιος ἐστὶ καὶ αἰνετός”. δι’ ας δ’ αἰτίας ἐλέχθη, διὰ τῆς προτέρας

συντάξεως εὑρήται. ἄγιος δὲ καὶ ἐπαινετὸς ὁ εὐελπίς, ὡς τούναντίον ἀναγνωστικός καὶ ψικτός ὁ δύσελπις, φόβω πρὸς ἀπαντα συμβούλως κακῶς χρώμενος· οὐδὲν γὰρ οὕτως ἐχθροῦν ἀλλο ἄλλως φασίν, ὡς ἐλπίδα φόβω καὶ φόβου ἐλπίδι καὶ μήποτε εἰκότως· προσοδοκία μὲν γὰρ ἐκάτερον, ἀλλ’ ἡ μὲν ἀγαθών, ἡ δ’ ἐμπαλιν κακῶν, ἀκατάλλακτοι δ’ αἱ φύσεις τούτων καὶ ἀσύμβατοι.

III. τοσάτα μὲν ἀπόχρη περὶ ἐλπίδος εἴπειν, ἦν

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a So in Quod Det. 139 that “the hoper is written in the book of God” is deduced from “this is the book of the generation of men” following on Gen. iv. 26. Of course the phrase introduces what is coming and begins a fresh paragraph. For a similar misunderstanding cf. the treatment of Gen. ii. 4, in Leg. All. i. 19, and of Gen. vi. 9 in § 31 below.

b Enos as Adam’s grandson would naturally be third, or, if Abel and Cain are reckoned, fifth. Philo may obtain the
worthy to receive the same title. He did well, too, in speaking of the book of the coming into being of the true man. The word was appropriate because the hoper deserves a memorial written not on pieces of paper which moths shall destroy but in the undying book of nature where good actions are registered. Further, if we reckon the generations from the first, the earth-born man, we shall find that he, who is called by the Chaldeans Enos and in our tongue Man, is fourth. Now the number four has been held in high honour by the other philosophers who devoted themselves to the study of immaterial and conceptual realities, and especially by the all-wise Moses who when glorifying that number speaks of it as "holy and for praise," and why he so called it has been shewn in the former treatise. Holy, too, and praiseworthy is the hopeful man, just as on the contrary the despondent is unholy and blameworthy, since in all things he takes fear for his evil counsellor; for no two things are more at enmity with each other, men say, than fear and hope, and surely that is natural, for each is an expectation, hope of good, fear on the other hand of evil, and their natures are irreconcilable and incapable of agreement.

III. No more need be said about number he requires by omitting either Abel, because in Gen. iv. 25 Seth is spoken of as a substitute for him, or Cain as accursed. See App. p. 597.

*c Or "praiseworthy." See Lev. xix. 24 "In the fourth year the fruit shall be holy and alveros to the Lord." In De Plant. 119, Philo takes alveros (probably rightly) as meaning something for which we may praise the Lord. So, too, in De Som. i. 33, though there it is the fourth year which is alveros. Here the adjective is applied to the number itself and, as the sequel shews, means worthy of praise.

d De Op. 47 ff.
PHILO

ἐπὶ θύραις οία πυλωρὸν ἡ φύσις ἱδρύσατο βασιλίδων
tῶν ἐνδον ἀρετῶν, αἷς οὐκ ἔστιν ἐντυχείν μὴ ταύτην
16 προθεραπεύσαντος. πολλὰ μὲν οὖν οἱ νομοθέται,
pολλὰ δὲ οἱ πανταχοῦ νόμοι πραγματεύονται περὶ
tοῦ τὰς ψυχὰς τῶν ἔλευθέρων ἑλπίδων χρηστῶν
ἀναπλῆσαι: ὃ δ’ ἄνευ παραινέσεως δίχα τοῦ κελευ-
σθήναι γενόμενος εὐελπίς ἀγράφῳ μὲν νόμω δὲ
πάλιν αὐτομαθεὶ τὴν ἀρετὴν ταύτην πεπαιδευται,
ὅν ἡ φύσις ἔθηκε.
17 Δευτέραν δ’ ἔλαχε τάξιν μετὰ τὴν ἐλπίδα ἡ ἐπὶ
tοὺς ἀμαρτανομένους μετάνοια καὶ βελτίωσις· οθεν
ἐξῆς ἀναγράφει τὸν ἀπὸ χείρονος βίου πρὸς
tὸν ἀμείων μεταβαλόντα, δό καλεῖται παρὰ μὲν
Ἐβραῖοις Ἑνώχ, ὡς δ’ ἄν Ἑλληνες εἴποιεν "κε-
χαρισμένοι," ἐφ’ οὐ καὶ ταυτὶ λέλεκται, ὡς ἄρα
[4] | "ἐνπρότετον Ἑνώχ πέῑ θεῷ καὶ οὐχ ἡγήρηκεν,
18 ὅτι μετέθηκεν αὐτόν ὁ θεός." ἡ γάρ μετάθεσις
tοπῆν ἔμφασιν καὶ μεταβολὴν πρὸς δὲ τὸ βέλτιον
ἡ μεταβολή, διότι προμηθεία γίνεται θεοῦ· πάν γὰρ
tὸ σὺν θεῷ καλὸν καὶ συμφέρον πάντως, ἐπεὶ καὶ
tὸ ἄνευ θείας ἐπιφροσύνης ἀλυσιτελές.
19 εὖ δ’ εὑρήση τὸ "οὐχ ἡγήρηκεν" ἐπὶ τοῦ μετα-
τεθειμένου, τῷ τῶν ἀρχαίου καὶ ἐπὶληπτον ἀπαλη-
λίθαι βίον καὶ ἡφανίσθαι καὶ μηκέθ’ εὐφρίσκεσθαι,
καθάπερ εἰ μὴ σὲ τὴν ἄρχην ἐγένετο, ἡ τῷ τὸν
μετατιθέμενον καὶ ἐν τῇ βελτίων ταχθέντα τάξιν
dυσεύρετον εἴναι φύσει· πολύχους καὶ γὰρ ἡ κακία,
did καὶ πολλὸς γνώριμον, στάντιον δ’ ἡ ἀρετή, ὡς
20 μηδ’ ὑπ’ ὀλίγων καταλαμβάνεσθαι. καὶ ἄλλως ὅ

*a Gen. v. 24. The lxx version “Enoch was well-pleasing to God, and he was not found because God translated him”
ON ABRAHAM, 15–20

the subject of hope, set by nature as a door-keeper at the portals of the royal virtues within, to which access cannot be gained unless we have first paid our respects to her. Great indeed are the efforts expended both by lawgivers and by laws in every nation in filling the souls of free men with comfortable hopes; but he who gains this virtue of hopefulness without being led to it by exhortation or command has been educated into it by a law which nature has laid down, a law unwritten yet intuitively learnt.

The second place after hope is given to repentance for sins and to improvement, and, therefore, Moses mentions next in order him who changed from the worse life to the better, called by the Hebrews Enoch but in our language "recipient of grace." We are told of him that he proved "to be pleasing to God and was not found because God transferred him," for transference implies turning and changing, and the change is to the better because it is brought about by the forethought of God. For all that is done with God's help is excellent and truly profitable, as also all that has not His directing care is unprofitable.

And the expression used of the transferred person, that he was not found, is well said, either because the old reprehensible life is blotted out and disappears and is no more found, as though it had never been at all, or because he who is thus transferred and takes his place in the better class is naturally hard to find. For evil is widely spread and therefore known to many, while virtue is rare, so that even the few cannot comprehend it. Besides, (E.V. "Enoch walked with God: and he was not; for God took him") is familiar from Hebrews xi. 5. See App. p. 597).
PHILO

μὲν φαύλος ἀγορὰν καὶ θέατρα καὶ δικαστηρία
βουλευτηρία τε καὶ έκκλησίας καὶ πάντα σύλλογον
καὶ θίασον ἀνθρώπων ἀτε φιλοπραγμοσύνη συζών
μετατρέχει, τὴν μὲν γλώτταν άνιεις πρὸς ἀμετρον
καὶ ἀπέραντος καὶ άκριτον διήγησιν, συγχέων
ἀπαντα καὶ φύρων, ἀληθεύει ζευδή καὶ ρητοῖς
ἀρρητάς καὶ μυστικῶς γελοίαι ἀναμμυνός, διὰ τὸ μὴ πεπαι-
δεύσαι τὸ ἐν καιρῷ κάλλιστον, ἤσυχίαν, τὰ δὲ ὡτα
21 ἐπουρίσας ἕνεκα πολυπράγμονος περιεργίας· τὰ γὰρ
ἐτέρων εἶτε ἀγαθὰ εἴτε αὖ κακὰ γλίξει μανθάνειν,
ὡς αὐτίκα τοῖς μὲν φθονεῖν, ἐφ' οἷς δὲ ἔδεισθαι—
βάσκανον γὰρ καὶ μισόκαλον καὶ φιλοπόνηρον ὁ
22 φαύλος φύσει. IV. ὁ δ’ ἀστείος ἐμπαλιν ἀπράγ-
μονος ζηλωτής βίου γεγονὼς ὑποχωρεῖ καὶ μόνωσιν
ἀγαθὰ, λανθάνειν τοὺς πολλοὺς άξιῶν, οὐ διὰ
μισανθρωπία—φιλάνθρωπος γὰρ, εἰ καὶ τῖς ἄλλοις,
—ἀλλὰ διὰ τὸ προβεβλῆσθαι κακίαν, ἢν ὁ πολὺς
όχλος ἀστάζεται, χαίρων μὲν ἐφ' οἷς στένειν άξιῶν,
23 λυπούμενος δὲ ἐφ' οἷς γεγηθέναι καλὸν. ὅν ἕνεκα
συγκλεισάμενος οἶκοι τὰ πολλὰ καταμένει μόλις τὰς
κλισίας ὑποχωρεῖ καὶ μόνωσιν ἀγαθὰ, λανθάνειν τοὺς πολλοὺς άξιῶν, οὐ διὰ
μισανθρωπία—φιλάνθρωπος γὰρ, εἰ καὶ τῖς ἄλλοις,
—ἀλλὰ διὰ τὸ προβεβλῆσθαι κακίαν, ἢν ὁ πολὺς
όχλος ἀστάζεται, χαίρων μὲν ἐφ' οἷς στένειν άξιῶν,
λυπούμενος δὲ ἐφ' οἷς γεγηθέναι καλὸν. ὅν ἕνεκα
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κλισίας ὑποχωρεῖ καὶ μόνωσιν ἀγαθὰ, λανθάνειν τοὺς πολλοὺς άξιῶν, οὐ διὰ
μισανθρωπία—φιλάνθρωπος γὰρ, εἰ καὶ τῖς ἄλλοις,
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όχλος ἀστάζεται, χαίρων μὲν ἐφ' οἷς στένειν άξιῶν,
λυπούμενος δὲ ἐφ' οἷς γεγηθέναι καλὸν. ὅν ἕνεκα
συγκλεισάμενος οἶκοι τὰ πολλὰ καταμένει μόλις τὰς
κλισίας ὑποχωρεῖ καὶ μόνωσιν ἀγαθὰ, λανθάνειν τοὺς πολλοὺς άξιῶν, οὐ διὰ
μισανθρωπία—φιλάνθρωπος γὰρ, εἰ καὶ τῖς ἄλλοις,
—ἀλλὰ διὰ τὸ προβεβλῆσθαι κακίαν, ἢν ὁ πολὺς
όχλος ἀστάζεται, χαίρων μὲν ἐφ' οἷς στένειν άξιῶν,
λυπούμενος δὲ ἐφ' οἷς γεγηθέναι καλὸν. ὅν ἕνεκα
συγκλεισάμενος οἶκοι τὰ πολλὰ καταμένει μόλις τὰς
κλισίας ὑποχωρεῖ καὶ μόνωσιν ἀγαθὰ, λανθάνειν τοὺς πολλοὺς άξιῶν, οὐ διὰ
μισανθρωπία—φιλάνθρωπος γὰρ, εἰ καὶ τῖς ἄλλοις,
—ἀλλὰ διὰ τὸ προβεβλῆσθαι κακίαν, ἢν ὁ πολὺς
όχλος ἀστάζεται, χαίρων μὲν ἐφ' οἷς στένειν άξιῶν,
λυπούμενος δὲ ἐφ' οἷς γεγηθέναι καλὸν. ὅν ἕνεκα

1 ἐπουρίσας] so Cohn, but the text is very doubtful. Some
mss. have ἐπορθιάσας εὐπορίας (with variations of order and
spelling), others ἐπουρίας or ἐπουρίás. The natural sense of
ἐπουρίζω (lit. “direct with a favouring wind”) seems by itself
the worthless man whose life is one long restlessness haunts market-places, theatres, law-courts, council-halls, assemblies, and every group and gathering of men; his tongue he lets loose for unmeasured, endless, indiscriminate talk, bringing chaos and confusion into everything, mixing true with false, fit with unfit, public with private, holy with profane, sensible with absurd, because he has not been trained to that silence which in season is most excellent. His ears he keeps alert in meddlesome curiosity, ever eager to learn his neighbour’s affairs, whether good or bad, and ready with envy for the former and joy at the latter; for the worthless man is a creature naturally malicious, a hater of good and lover of evil. IV. The man of worth on the other hand, having acquired a desire for a quiet life, withdraws from the public and loves solitude, and his choice is to be unnoticed by the many, not because he is misanthropical, for he is eminently a philanthropist, but because he has rejected vice which is welcomed by the multitude who rejoice at what calls for mourning and grieve where it is well to be glad. And therefore he mostly secludes himself at home and scarcely ever crosses his threshold, or else because of the frequency of visitors he leaves the town and spends his days in some lonely farm, finding pleasanter society in those noblest of the whole human race whose bodies time has turned into dust but the flame of their virtues is kept alive by the written records which have survived them in poetry or in prose and serve

strange in this context. I should prefer to read ἐπορθίασας ἐπ’ οὐρίας (“pricked up and ready to catch any chance”). It is true that ἐπορθίασα is not used elsewhere with ὠτα, but ἄνορθίασα is several times so used by Philo. See further on Mos. i. 283.
24 πέφυκε βελτιούσθαι. διὰ τοῦτο εἶπεν ὅτι ὁ μετα-
τεθεὶς "οὖν εὐρίσκετο" δυσεύρετος καὶ δυσθήρατος ὁ ἦν. 
μεθορμίζεται οὖν εἰς παιδείαν εἰς ἀμαθίας καὶ 
εἰς ἀφροσύνης εἰς φρόνησιν ἐκ τε δειλίας εἰς | 
[5] ἀνδρείαν καὶ εἰς ἀσθενείας εἰς εὐσεβείαν, καὶ πάλιν 
ἐκ μὲν φιλοδοξίας εἰς ἐγκράτειαν, ἐκ δὲ φιλοδοξίας 
εἰς ἀτυφίαν· ἢν τίς ἡ πλούτος ἐπάξιος ἡ βασιλεία 
25 καὶ δυναστείας κτῆσις ὠφελομένη ἐκ εἰς παιδείαν 
καὶ εἰς αφροσύνης εἰς φρόνησιν· εἰ γὰρ χρῆ 
τάλιθθες εἶπεν, ὁ μὴ τυφλὸς ἀλλ’ ὃς βλέπων 
πλούτος ἢ τῶν ἀρετῶν ἐστὶν περιουσία, ἢν εὐθὺς 
γνήσιον καὶ εὐνομίαν παρὰ τὰς νόδους καὶ φευξώνυ-
μους ἁρχὰς ὑπολήπτεον ἡγεμονίαν ἐνδίκως ἀπαντά 
26 πρυτανεύουσαν. οὐ δὲι δὲ ἀγνοεῖν, ὅτι 
tὰ δευτερεῖα φέρεται μετάνοια τελειότητος, ὡστερ 
καὶ ἀνόσου σώματος ἢ πρὸς ὑγείαν εἰς ἀσθενείας 
μεταβολή. τὸ μὲν οὖν διηνεκὲς καὶ τέλειον ἐν ἄρεταῖς 
ἐγγυτάτω θείας ἱσταται δυνάμεως, ἢ δ’ ἀπὸ 
tυνος χρόνου βελτίωσις ὃιοι ἀγαθὸν εὐφυοῦς ψυχῆς 
ἐστιν μὴ τοῖς παιδικοῖς ἐπιμελεῖσθαι ἐπικρατέος 
καὶ ἀνδρὸς ὄντως προνήμουσι ἐπιζητοῦσιν εὐδικὸν 
κατάστασιν [ψυχής] καὶ τῇ φαντασίᾳ τῶν καλῶν 
ἐπιτρεχοῦσας.
27 V. "Ὅθεν εἰκότως τῷ μετανενοηκότι τάττει κατὰ 
τὸ εἴσι παν συμματος ἡ πρὸς ὑγείαν εἰς ἀσθενείας 
μεταβολή. τὸ μὲν οὖν διηνεκὲς καὶ τέλειον ἐν ἄρεταῖς 
ἐγγυτάτω θείας ἱσταται δυνάμεως, ἢ δ’ ἀπὸ 
tυνος χρόνου βελτίωσις ὃιοι ἀγαθὸν εὐφυοῦς ψυχῆς 
ἐστι μὴ τοῖς παιδικοῖς ἐπιμελεῖσθαι ἐπικρατέος 
καὶ ἀνδρὸς ὄντως προνήμουσι ἐπιζητοῦσιν εὐδικὸν 
κατάστασιν [ψυχής] καὶ τῇ φαντασίᾳ τῶν καλῶν 
ἐπιτρεχοῦσας.

a "Unnatural movement of the soul" is a phrase used by the Stoics to define πάθος S. V. F. iii. 462 and 476.
ON ABRAHAM, 24–27

to promote the growth of goodness in the soul. That 24 was why he said that the "transferred" was not found, being hard to find and hard to seek. So he passes across from ignorance to instruction, from folly to sound sense, from cowardice to courage, from impiety to piety, and again from voluptuousness to self-control, from vaingloriousness to simplicity. And what wealth is equal in worth to these, or what possession of royalty or dominion more profitable? For in very truth the wealth which is not blind 25 but keen of sight is abundance of virtues, which consequently we must needs hold to be, in contrast to the bastard governments falsely so-called, genuine and equitable sovereignty ruling in justice over all.

But we must not forget that repentance 26 holds the second place to perfection, just as a change from sickness to health is second to a body free from disease; so, then, unbroken perfection of virtues stands nearest to divine power, but improvement in the course of time is the peculiar treasure of a soul gifted by nature, which does not stay in childish thoughts but by such as are more robust and truly manly seeks to gain a condition of serenity and pursues the vision of the excellent.

V. Naturally, therefore, next to the repentant he 27 sets the lover of virtue and beloved by God, who in the Hebrew language is called Noah but in ours "rest" or "just," both very suitable titles for the Sage. "Just" is obviously so, for nothing is better than justice, the chief among the virtues, who like the fairest maiden of the dance holds the highest place. But "rest" is appropriate also, since its opposite, unnatural movement, proves to be the cause
καὶ θορύβων στάσεων τε καὶ πολέμων αἵτιαν εἶναι συμβέβηκεν, ἢν μετίασιν οἱ φαῦλοι, ἥρεμαίοι δὲ καὶ ἰσχυράζοντα καὶ σταθερὸν ἔτι δὲ καὶ εἰρηνικὸν βίον 28 οἱ καλοκαγαθίαν τετμηκότες.

ἐπόμενον δὲ αὐτὸς αὐτῷ καὶ τὴν ἐβδόμην, ἣν Ἐβραίοι σάββατα καλοῦσιν, ἀνάπαυσιν ὀνομάζει, οὐχ ὡς οὖν τινες, ὅτι δὲ ἢμερῶν τῶν συνήθων ἔργων ἀπείχετο τὸ πλῆθος, ἀλλ' ὅτι τῷ ὄντι ὁ ἐβδομος ἄριθμος ἐν τῇ κόσμῳ καὶ ἐν ἡμῖν αὐτοῖς ἄει ἀστασίας καὶ ἀπόλεμος καὶ ἀφιλόνεικος καὶ 29 εἰρηνικώτατος ἀπάντων ἄριθμῶν ἔστι. μάρτυρες δὲ τοῦ λεχθέντος αἱ ἡμόν δυνάμεις· αἱ μὲν γὰρ ἢ εἴ τὸν ἀπαυστὸν καὶ συνεχὴ πόλεμον ἐν γῇ καὶ θαλάττῃ συγκροτοῦσιν, αἱ τῇ πέντε αἰσθησίαις καὶ ὁ προφορικὸς λόγος, αἱ μὲν πόθω τῶν αἰσθητῶν, ὃν ἐὰν μὴ τυχόνσωσιν, ἀνιώνται, δ' δ' ἀχαλών.

30 στόματι μυρία τῶν ἑσυχαστέων ἐκλαλῶν· ἢ δ' ἐβδόμην δύναμις ἥ περὶ τοῦ ἡγεμόνα νοῦν, ὅταν ἐπικυδέστερος γένηται τῶν ἢ καὶ δυνατωτέρα ῥώμη κατακρατήσας ἀναχωρήσῃ, μόνως ἀστασάμενος καὶ ταῖς εαυτοῦ πρὸς ἐαυτοῦ ἄαυτον (χαίρων) ὀμιλίαις ὡς ἀπροσδεή ὦν ἐτέρου καὶ αὐτάρκεστος ἐαυτῷ, τηνικαύτα φροντίδων καὶ πραγμα-


31 VI. Οὕτως δ' ἀποσεμνύνει τὸν φιλάρετον, ὡστε καὶ γενεαλόγων αὐτὸν οὕ, καθ' ἄπειρος ἐπὶ τῶν ἄλλων, πάππων ἢ προπάππων ἢ προγόνων ποιεῖται κατάλογον, ὅσοι πρὸς ἄνδρῶν ἢ πρὸς γυναικῶν εἰσιν, ἀλλὰ τινῶν ἄρετῶν, μόνον οὐχὶ βοῶν ἀντι-

1 Or read τὰς . . . ομιλίας omitting χαίρων.
of turmoil and confusion and factions and wars. Such movement is sought by the worthless, while a life which is calm, serene, tranquil and peaceful to boot is the object of those who have valued nobility of conduct. He shews consistency, too, when he gives to the seventh day, which the Hebrews call sabbath, the name of rest; not, as some think, because the multitude abstained after six days from their usual tasks, but because in truth the number seven, both in the world and in ourselves, is always free from factions and war and quarrelling and is of all numbers the most peaceful. This statement is attested by the faculties within us, for six of them wage ceaseless and continuous war on land and sea, namely the five senses and speech, the former in their craving for the objects of sense, deprivation of which is painful to them, speech because with unbridled mouth it perpetually gives utterance where silence is due. But the seventh faculty is that of the dominant mind, which, after triumphing over the six and returning victorious through its superior strength, welcomes solitude and rejoices in its own society, feeling that it needs no other and is completely sufficient for itself, and then released from the cares and concerns of mortal kind gladly accepts a life of calmness and serenity.

VI. So highly does Moses extol the lover of virtue that when he gives his genealogy he does not, as he usually does in other cases, make a list of his grandfathers, great-grandfathers and ancestors in the male and female line, but of certain virtues, and this is

Elsewhere, when Philo’s argument requires it, the faculties, excluding mind, are seven by the addition of reproduction (τὸ γόνυμον), De Op. 117, De Mut. 111.
κρυς, ὧτι οἰκία καὶ συγγένεια καὶ πατρὶς οὐδεμία ἐστὶν ἕτερα σοφῷ ὧτι μὴ ἀρεταί καὶ αἱ κατ' ἀρετὰς πράξεις· "αὕτω" γὰρ φησιν "αἱ γενέσεις Νώ· Νώς ἄνθρωπος δίκαιος, τέλειος ἐν τῇ γενεᾷ αὐτοῦ,
32 τῷ θεῷ εὐπρεπῆσθαι." οὐ δεῖ δὲ ἀγνοεῖν, ὃτι νῦν "ἄνθρωπον" οὐ κοινῷ τύπῳ τὸ λογικὸν θυντὸν ζῷον καλεῖ, τὸν μέντοι κατ' ἐξοχήν, ὃς ἐπαληθεύει τοῦνομα τὰ ἀτίθασα καὶ λελυττηκότα πάθη καὶ τὰς θηρωδεστάτας κακίας τῆς ψυχῆς ἀπεληλακώς.
33 σημεῖον δὲ μετὰ τὸν "ἄνθρωπον" ἐπιλέγει τὸν "δίκαιον" εἰπὼν "ἄνθρωπος δίκαιος," ὡς ἄδικον μὲν οὐδενὸς οὕτος ἄνθρώπου (κυριώτερον δ' εἰπεῖν ἄνθρωπομόρφου θηρίου), μόνου δὲ ὃς ἂν ζηλωτῆς ἢ
34 δυσκαισίνης. φησι δ' αὐτὸν καὶ "τέ- λειον" γεγονέναι διὰ τούτου παριστᾶσ, ὃς ὦ μίαν ἀρετὴν ἄλλα πάσας έκτήσατο καὶ κτήσαμεν ἐκάστῃ κατὰ τὸ ἐπιβάλλον χρώμενος διετέλεσεν.
35 ἐπιστεφανῶν δ' αὐτὸν ὡς ἀγωνιστὴν ἔκνευκηκότα κηρύγματι λαμπρότατον τῶν δυσαρεστήσαντες τῆς κακίας τῆς φυχῆς ἀπεληλακώς, οἷς εὐδαίμονες, οἴς εὐδαίμονες συνέβη πάντως εὐδαίμονες.
36 VII. οὐκ ἀπὸ σκοποῦ μὲν- τοι τάς τοσαύτας ἀρεταῖς ὑμνῆσας τὸν ἄνθρωπον ἐπείπεν, ὃς ὀτὶ "τέλειος ἦν ἐν τῇ γενεᾷ αὐτοῦ," δηλῶν ὃτι οὐ καθάπαξ ἄλλα κατὰ σύγκρισιν τῶν κατ' ἐκεῖνον τὸν χρόνον γεγονότων ἁγαθὸς ἦν. ἦδη γὰρ

1 MSS. τῆς κ. ἐναργέστατο.

a Gen. vi. 9, cf. Quod Deus 117.

b i.e. "a man, a just one." As the Greek adjective needs no substantive expressed, ἄνθρωπος, which would be otherwise
little less than a direct assertion that a sage has no
house or kinsfolk or country save virtues and virtuous
actions; "for these," he says, "are the generations of
Noah. Noah, a man just and perfect in his genera-
tion, was well-pleasing to God." a But we must not 32
fail to note that in this passage he gives the name of
man not according to the common form of speech, to
the mortal animal endowed with reason, but to the
man who is man pre-eminently, who verifies the name
by having expelled from the soul the untamed and
frantic passions and the truly beast-like vices. Here 33
is a proof. After "man" he adds "just," implying by
the combination b that the unjust is no man, or more
properly speaking a beast in human form, and that
the follower after righteousness alone is man.
He says, too, that Noah became "perfect," thereby 34
shewing that he acquired not one virtue but all, and
having acquired them continued to exercise each as op-
portunities allowed. And as he crowns him 35
as victor in the contest, he gives him further distinc-
tion by a proclamation couched in words of splendid
praise, "he was well-pleasing to God." What better
thing than this has nature to give? What clearer
proof can there be of nobility of life? For, if those
who have been ill-pleasing to God are ill-fated,
happy most surely are those whose lot it is to be well-
pleasing to God. VII. But Moses makes 36
a good point when, after praising him as possessed of
all these virtues, he adds that he was perfect in his
generation, thus shewing he was not good absolutely
but in comparison with the men of that time. For 37
superfluous, must have a special emphasis. Assuming, as
Philo does, that the LXX follows the usage of classical Greek,
the argument has some weight.
οὔκ εἰς μακρὰν ἐπιμνησθῆσεται σοφῶν ἐτέρων, οἱ τὴν ἄρετὴν ἀνανταγώνιστον ἐσχον, οὐ πονηροὶ ἀντεξετασθέντες οὐδ' ὅτι βελτίωσ ἐγένοτο τῶν κατ' αὐτοὺς ἀποδοχῆς καὶ προνομίας ἀξιωθέντες, ἀλλ' ὅτι φύσιν εὖμοιρον κτησάμενοι διετήρησαν αὐτὴν ἀδιαστρόφον, οὐ φυγόντες μοχθηρὰ ἐπιτηθέμ scenery, ἀλλ' οὐδὲ τὴν ἁρχὴν αὐτοῖς περιπεσόντες, προηγουμένως δὲ καλῶν ἔργων καὶ λόγων ἀσκηταὶ

38 γενόμενοι τὸν βίον ἐπεκόσμουν. θαυμασιώτατοι μὲν οὖν ἄνδρες ἐκεῖνοι γεγόνασιν, οἱ ταῖς ὅρμαις ἐλευθέραις καὶ εὔγενοις ἔχων, μὴ κατὰ μίμησιν ή ἐναντίωσιν ἐτέρων, ἀλλ' αὐτὸ τὸ καλὸν καὶ τὸ δίκαιον ἀποδεξάμενοι, θαυμάσιος δὲ καὶ ὁ τῆς καὶ αὐτοῦ γενεᾶς διενηνοχώς καὶ μηδὲν συνενεχθείς ὃν ἐξήλωσαν οἱ πολλοὶ· δευτερείων μὲν οὕτος ἐφίξεται, τὰ δὲ πρῶτα τῶν ἄθλων ἑκεῖνοι

39 ἀναδώσαι ἡ φύσις. τὰ μέντοι δευτερεῖα καὶ αὐτὰ [7] μεγάλα· τί | δ' οὖν μέγα καὶ περιπάχητον ὃν ὄρεγε καὶ δωρεῖται θέος; σαφεστάτη δὲ πίστις αἱ τῶν χαρίτων ὑπερβολαί, ὃν οὕτος ἑτυχὲν.

40 ἐπεὶ γὰρ ἀδικημάτων φορὰν ἦνεγκεν ὁ χρόνος ἐκεῖνος καὶ πᾶσα χώρα καὶ ἑθνὸς καὶ πόλις καὶ ὃικια καὶ ἐκαστὸς ἵδια ποιητικῶν ἐπιτηθευμάτων ἀνεπέπληστο, πάντων ἐκουσίως καὶ ἐκ προνοίας ὃς ἐν ἀγώνι περὶ τῶν ἐν τῷ διαμαρτάνεσι πρωτείων ἀμιλλωμένων—μετὰ στοιχῆς γὰρ ἄπασης ἐφιλονείκον, ἐκαστὸν τὸν πλησίον μεγέθει κακίας ὑπερβαλεῖ ἐπευγομένου καὶ μηδὲν παραλείποντος τῶν

41 πρὸς ἐπιλήπτον καὶ ἐπάρατον βίον. VIII. ἐφ' οἷς ὁ θεὸς εἰκότως δυσχεράνας, εἰ τὸ ζῷον τὸ ἀριστον
we shall shortly find him mentioning other sages whose virtue was unchallenged, who are not contrasted with the bad, who are adjudged worthy of approval and precedence, not because they were better than their contemporaries but because they possessed a happily-gifted nature and kept it unperverted, who did not have to shun evil courses or indeed come into contact with them at all, but attained pre-eminence in practising that excellence of words and deeds with which they adorned their lives. The highest admiration, then, is due to those in whom the ruling impulses were of free and noble birth, who accepted the excellent and just for their own selves and not in imitation of or in opposition to others. But admiration is also due to him who stood apart from his own generation and conformed himself to none of the aims and aspirations of the many. He will win the second prize, though the first will be awarded by nature to those others. Yet great also is the second prize in itself, for how could anything fail to be great and worthy of our efforts which God offers and gives? And the clearest proof of this is the exceeding magnitude of the bounties which Noah obtained. That time bore its harvest of iniquities, and every country and nation and city and household and every private individual was filled with evil practices; one and all, as though in a race, engaged in rivalry pre-willed and premeditated for the first places in sinfulness, and put all possible zeal into the contention, each one pressing on to exceed his neighbour in magnitude of vice and leaving nothing undone which could lead to a guilty and accursed life. VIII. Naturally this roused the wrath of God, to think that man, who seemed the best of all living creatures,
εἴναι δοκοῦν καὶ συγγενεῖας ἀξιωθὲν τῆς πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐνεκα τῆς ἐν τῷ λόγῳ κοινωνίας, δέον ἀρετὴν ἐπιτηδεύειν, ἐξήλωσε κακίαν καὶ τὰ εἰδὴ πάντα κακίας, δίκην δρέξει τὴν προσήκουσαν, αφανίσαι τοὺς τότε ὄντας κατακλυσμῆ ἐδιανοθεῖς, οὐ μόνον τοὺς ἐν τῇ πεδιάδι καὶ τοῖς χθαμαλωτέροις ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς ἐν τοῖς ψηφιλοτάτοις ὑρεσὶ κατοικοῦντας.

42 ἡ μὲν γὰρ μεγάλῃ θάλασσῃ μετέωρος ὡς οὐδέπω πρότερον ἀρθείσα διὰ τῶν στομάτων αἱθρῶν ρύμη τοῖς καθήμασι εἰσερρυέσθαι, τὰ δὲ πλημμύραντα νῆσους καὶ ἄνειροι ἐκχύσαι, πηγῶν δὲ ἀνεῶν καὶ ποταμῶν αὐθιγενῶν τε καὶ χειμάρρων ἐπάλληλοι φοραὶ συνήπτωσαν ἄλληλαις ἀναχεόμεναι καὶ πρὸς ψύφος ἐπαράμεναι ἐπεβαίνον. οὐ μὴν οὔτε ὁ ἀἳρ ἠρέμει πάντα γὰρ τὸν ὅπραν βαθὺ καὶ συνεχῶς νέφος ἐπείρεσι καὶ πνεῦμα ἕν ἑξαίσια πάταγοι τε βροντῶν καὶ ἐπιλάμψεις ἀστραπῶν καὶ κεραυνῶν φοραὶ, καταρρηγνυμένων ὀμβρῶν ἀπαύγων, ὡς νομίσας τὰ μέρη τοῦ παντὸς εἰς μίαν φύσιν τὴν ὀδόταν ἀναστειλόμεναι σπεύδεων, ἐως τοῖς μὲν ἀνωθεν καταρράττοντος τοῦ δὲ κάτωθεν ἐπανότος μετάρρωσι ἥρθαν τὰ ἄνθρωποι, οἷς οὐ μόνον ἡ πεδιάς καὶ ὁσς χθαμαλὴ κατακλυσθεῖσα ἡφανρήθη, ἀλλὰ καὶ 44 τῶν ψηφιλοτάτων ὄρων αἱ κορυφαὶ. πάντα γὰρ τὰ μέρη τῆς γῆς ἐδὺ καθ' ὀδόταν, ὡς πᾶσσαν καθηρπᾶσθαι καὶ τὸν κόσμον ἀκρωτηριασθέντα μεγάλῳ τμῆματι τὸν παντελῆ καὶ ὀλόκληρον, δὲ μήτε εἰπεῖν

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* LXX Gen. vii. 11 “the fountains of the abyss were broken up.” By the Hebrew word translated in the LXX by ἅβυσσος is understood the “ocean which both encircled the world, and occupied the vast hollows beneath the earth” (Driver). Philo seems to represent the first part of this conception by
who had been judged worthy of kinship with Him because he shared the gift of reason, had, instead of practising virtue as he should, shewn zeal for vice and for every particular form of it. Accordingly He appointed the penalty which fitted their wickedness. He determined to destroy all those who were then alive by a deluge, not only those who dwelt in the plains and lower lands, but also the inhabitants of the highest mountains. For the great deep\(^a\) rose on high as it had never risen before, and gathering its force rushed through its outlets into the seas of our parts, and the rising tides of these flooded the islands and continents, while in quick succession the streams from the perennial fountains and from the rivers spring-fed or winter-torrents pressed on to join each other and mounted upwards to a vast height. Nor was the air still, for a deep unbroken cloud covered the heaven, and there were monstrous blasts of wind and crashings of thunder and flashings of lightning and downfall of thunderbolts, while the rainstorms dashed down ceaselessly, so that one might think that the different parts of the universe were hurrying to be resolved into the single element of water, until, as in one form it rushed down from above and in another rose up from below, the streams were lifted on high, and thus not only the plains and lowlands were submerged and lost to sight, but even the peaks of the highest mountains. For all parts of the earth sank below the water, so that it was entirely carried away as though by violence, and the world seemed mutilated by the loss of a great section, its completeness and perfection destroyed and defaced,

"the great sea or deep," and the second by the "perennial fountains."
μήτε νοήσαι θέμις, λελωβήσθαι δοκεῖν. ἀλλὰ γὰρ καὶ ὁ ἄστρος μέρους βραχέος τοῦ κατὰ σειλήνην, ἄπας ἀνήλωτο νυκτερίς ὑπὸ τῆς τοῦ ὕφαστος φορᾶς καὶ βίας, ὅπερ ἀνὰ κράτος τὴν ἑκείνου χώραν 

45 ἐπέσηχε. τὸτε δὴ τὸτε εὐθὺς ἐφθείρετο ὡσα σπαρτὰ καὶ δένδρα—φθείρει γὰρ ὡς ἐνδειχεί καὶ πλῆθος ἅμετρον,—ἐθνησκον δ’ αἱ μυρίαι τῶν ξύων ἀγέλαι κηρύρων ὁμοὶ καὶ ἀγρίων. ἦν γὰρ εἰκὸς, τοῦ κρατίστου γένους ἀνθρώπων ἀφανιζομένου, μηδὲν ὑπολειφθῆ, τῶν χειρόνων, ἐπεὶ καὶ πρὸς τὰς ἑκείνου χρείας ἐγένετο δοῦλα τρόπον τινὰ δεσποτικῶς 

46 προστάζεσιν ὑπηρετήσοντα.

tosou'twv | [8] δὴ καὶ τηλικοῦτων ἐπιρραξάντων κακῶν, ἀπερ ἑκείνος ὁ καρδὸς ὠμβρησε—πάντα γὰρ τὰ τοῦ κόσμου μέρη, δίχα τῶν κατὰ τὸν οὐρανόν, ἐκνεπήθη παρὰ φύσιν, ὡς ἀν βαρείαν καὶ θανατώδη νόσον νοσήσαντα,—μόνοις δὲ εἰς οἶκος ὁ τοῦ λεχθέντος ἄνδρος δικαίων καὶ θεοφιλοῦς διασώζεται δόλων τὰς ἀνωτάτως δωρεὰς, μίαν μέν, ἣν εἰπον, τὸ μὴ πάσι τούτοις συναπολέσθαι, ἔτεραν δὲ τὸ πάλιν ἁρχήγετην αὐτὸν ὑπάρξαι νέας ἀνθρώπων σφορᾶς. ἢξιόωσε γὰρ αὐτὸν ὁ θεὸς καὶ τέλος τοῦ γένους ἡμῶν καὶ ἁρχὴ γενέσθαι, τέλος μὲν τῶν πρὸ τοῦ κατακλυσμοῦ, τῶν δὲ μετὰ τὸν κατακλυσμὸν ἁρχήν.

47 IX. Τουοῦτος μὲν ὁ τῶν καθ’ αὐτὸν ἄριστος, τοιαύτα δὲ καὶ τὰ τεθείμενα ἢθλα αὐτῷ, ὅποια δεδῆλωκεν ὁ ἱερὸς λόγος. τῶν δὲ εἰρημένων τριῶν εἴτε ἄνδρῶν εἴτε ψυχῆς τρόπων ἐναρμόνως ἡ τάξις. ὁ μὲν γὰρ τέλειος ὀλόκληρος εξ ἁρχῆς, ὁ δὲ μετα-τεθειμένος ἡμέργος, τοῦ βίου τὸν μὲν πρότερον χρόνον ἀναθεῖς κακία, τὸν δ’ ὕστερον ἀρετῆ, πρὸς
a thing too terrible for words or even for thoughts. Indeed even the air, except a small portion belonging to the moon, had been completely made away with, vanquished by the rush and violence of the water which perforce occupied its place. Then indeed at once all crops and trees perished, for excessive quantity of water is as destructive as the lack of it, and the numberless herds of animals died, tame and wild alike; for it was to be expected that if the highest kind, the human, was annihilated none of the inferior kinds would be left, since they were made for man’s needs, as slaves in a sense meant to obey their masters’ orders. When all these evils, so many and so vast, had burst upon the world in the downpour which that occasion brought, and the unnatural convulsion had shaken all its parts save the heavenly as with a grievous and deadly plague, one house alone, that of the man called just and dear to God, was preserved. Thus he received two gifts of the highest kind—one that, as I have said, he did not perish with the rest, the other that he should be in his turn the founder of a new race of men. For God deemed him worthy to be both the last and the first of our kind—last of those who lived before the flood and first of those who lived after it.

IX. Such was he who was best of his contemporaries, and such were the prizes awarded to him, the nature of which is made clear in holy writ. Now the three mentioned above, whether we think of them as men or types of soul, form a series of regular gradation: the perfect man is complete from the first; the transferred stands half-way, since he devoted the earlier part of his life to vice but the latter to
ἡν μετανέστη καὶ μετωκίσατο, δὲ ἐλπίζων, ὡς αὐτὸ δῆλοι τοῦνομα, ἐλλιπής, ἐφιέμενος μὲν ἀεὶ τοῦ καλοῦ, μήπω δ' ἐφικέσθαι τοῦτον δεδυνημένον, ἀλλ' ἐοικὼς τοῖς πλέουσιν, οἳ σπεύδοντες εἰς λιμένας καταφροῦντες τὴν ἐν τῇ ψυχῇ κατασκευάζουσιν εὐεξίαν ἐφιέμενοι τῆς κατὰ τῶν ἀντιπάλων παθῶν

48 Χ. Ἡ μὲν οὖν προτέρα τριὰς τῶν ἁρετῶν ἐπιποθησάντων δεδήλωται. μεῖζων δὲ ἔστιν η ἐτέρα, περὶ ἦς νυνὶ λεκτέον. ἐκείνη μὲν γὰρ τοῖς ἠλικία παιδικῆς μαθήμασιν ἐοικεν, αὐτὴ δὲ τοῖς ἀνδρῶν ἀθλητικῶν γυμνάσμασιν ἐπὶ τοὺς ἱεροὺς ὄντως ἀλειφομένων ἀγώνας, οἳ σωμασκίας καταφροῦντες τὴν ἐν τῇ ψυχῇ κατασκευάζοντον εὐεξίαν ἐφιέμενοι τῆς κατὰ τῶν ἀντιπάλων παθῶν

49 νίκης. οὐς μὲν οὖν διενήροχεν ἐκαστός εἱ' ἐν καὶ τὸ αὐτὸ τέλος ἐπειγόμενος, αὕτης ἀκριβέστερον ἐρούμεν. ὁ δὲ χρῆ περὶ τῶν τριῶν συλλήβδην

50 προειπείν, ἀναγκαῖον μὴ παρασιωπῆσαι. τούτους τούνων συμβεβήκε μᾶς οἰκίας καὶ ἐνὸς γένους εἶναι—ὅ γὰρ τελευταῖος υἱὸς μὲν ἔστι τοῦ μέσου, υἱῶν δὲ τοῦ πρώτου—καὶ πάντας φιλοθείους ὄμοι καὶ θεοφιλεῖς, ἀγαπητάντας τὸν ἀληθῆ θεὸν καὶ ἀνταγαπηθέντας πρὸς αὐτοῦ, ὃς ἦξίωσε, καθάπερ δηλοῦσιν οἱ χρησμοί, διὰ τὰς ύπερβολὰς τῶν ἀρετῶν ἀδιὰ συνεβίους κοινωνῆσαι τῆς προσφήσεως

51 αὐτοῖς. τὸ γὰρ ἴδιον ὄνομα τοῖς ἐκείνων ἐναμισάμενος ἦνωσε, τῆν ἐκ τῶν τριῶν σύνθετον κλῆσιν ἐπιφήμισας ἑαυτῷ: “τούτο γὰρ μου” φησίν “ὄνομά ἐστιν αἰώνιον, θεὸς Ἀβραὰμ καὶ θεὸς Ἰσαὰκ καὶ θεὸς Ἰακὼβ”—ἀντὶ τοῦ | καθάπαξ τὸ

1 So most mss.: Cohn prints αὐτοῦ, but suggests the insertion of αὐτοῖς.
vain to which he passed over and migrated; the hoper, as his very name shews, is defective inasmuch as though he always desired the excellent he has not yet been able to attain to it, but resembles sailors eager to put into port, who yet remain at sea unable to reach their haven.

X. So now we have explained the first trinity of those who yearn for virtue; but greater is the second trinity of which we have now to speak. The first we may compare to the studies of children, but the latter to the exercises of athletes who are preparing for games which are really sacred, men who despise bodily training but foster robustness of soul in their desire for victory over their antagonists, the passions. How each of these differed from the others while pressing on to one and the same goal will be described in detail later; but there is something to be said about them taken as a whole which must not be omitted. We find that these three are all of one house and one family. The last is the son of the second and grandson to the first. All alike are God-lovers and God-beloved, and their affection for the true God was returned by Him, Who deigned, as His utterances shew, in recognition of their high and life-long virtues to make them partners in the title which He took, for He united them by joining His special name to theirs and calling Himself by one combined of the three. "For this," He said, "is my eternal name—the God of Abraham, the God of Isaac and the God of Jacob," relative instead of absolute, and surely that

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* In contrast to the falsely called "holy" games of the Greeks; cf. De Agr. 116 f.

* Ex iii. 15, cf. De Mut. 12 f.

* See App. p. 597.
πρὸς τι καὶ μήποτ’ εἰκότως· ὄνοματος γὰρ ὁ θεὸς ὦν δεῖται, μὴ δεόμενος δ’ ὁμοιότερο τῷ γένει τῶν ἀνθρώπων κλησιν οἰκεῖαν, ἵν’ ἔχοντες καταφυγὴν πρὸς ἱκεσίας καὶ λυτὰς μὴ ἀμοιρῶσιν

52 ἐλπίδος χρηστῆς. XI. ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ἐπ’ ἀνδρῶν ὀσίων εἰρήσθαι δοκεῖ, μηνύματα δ’ ἐστὶ φύσεως ἀδηλοτέρας καὶ πολὺ βελτίων τῆς ἐν αἰσθητοῖς. τρόπους γὰρ ψυχῆς εἰοικεν ὁ ἱερὸς διερευνᾶσθαι λόγος, ἀστείους ἀπαντᾶς, τὸν μὲν ἐκ διδασκαλίας, τὸν δ’ ἐκ φύσεως, τὸν δ’ ἐξ ἀσκήσεως ἐφιέμενον τοῦ καλοῦ. ὁ μὲν γὰρ πρῶτος, ἐπίκλησιν Ἀβραὰμ, σύμβολον διδασκαλικῆς ἁρετῆς ἐστιν, ὁ δὲ μέσος, Ἰσαὰκ, φυσικῆς, ὁ δὲ τρίτος, Ἰακώβ, 53 ἀσκητικῆς. ἀλλὰ γὰρ οὖκ ἀγνοητέον, ὅτι μετ’ εποιεῖτο τῶν τριῶν ἐκαστῶς δυνάμεως, ὄνοματος δὲ ἀπὸ τῆς πλεονάζουσης κατ’ ἐπικράτειαν· οὔτε γὰρ διδασκαλίαν ἄνευ φύσεως ἢ ἀσκήσεως τελεωθῆναι δυνατὸν οὔτε φύσις ἐπὶ πέρας ἐστὶν ἐλθέν ἑκατονθανη ὑπὸ τοῦ μαθειν καὶ ἀσκῆσιν οὔτε ἀσκησιν, ἐι μὴ προθεμελιώθη ὕψος τε καὶ διδασκαλία.

54 προσηκόντως οὖν καὶ τὴν τῶν τριῶν λόγω μὲν ἀνδρῶν ἐργὶ δ’ ὡς εἴπον ἀρετῶν οἰκεῖότητα συνῆθη, φύσεως, μαθήσεως, ἀσκήσεως, 1 ἀς ἐτέρῳ ὄνοματι Χάριτος ἱσαρίθμους ἀνθρωποὶ καλοῦσιν, ἡ τῶν κεχαρίσθαι τὸν θεὸν τῷ ἡμετέρῳ γένει τὰς τρεῖς δυνάμεις πρὸς τελειότητα τοῦ βίου ἡ παρόσον αὐτὰ δεδώρηται ψυχῆς λογικῆς ἐαυτὰς, δώρημα τέλειον καὶ κάλλιστον, ὡς καὶ τὸ αἰώνιον ὄνομα τὸ δηλοῦμεν ἐν τοῖς χρησμοῖς ἐπὶ τριῶν μὴ ἐπ’ ἀνθρώπων

55 μᾶλλον η τῶν εἰρημένων δυνάμεων λέγηται. ἀνθρώπων μὲν γὰρ φθαρτῆ φύσις, ἀφθαρτοῦ δ’ ἡ τῶν

1 mss. φύσις μάθησις ἀσκησις.
ON ABRAHAM, 51–55

is natural. God indeed needs no name; yet, though He needed it not, He nevertheless vouchsafed to give to humankind a name of Himself suited to them, that so men might be able to take refuge in prayers and supplications and not be deprived of comforting hopes.

XI. These words do indeed appear to apply to men of holy life, but they are also statements about an order of things which is not so apparent but is far superior to the order which is perceived by the senses. For the holy word seems to be searching into types of soul, all of them of high worth, one which pursues the good through teaching, one through nature and one through practice. The first called Abraham, the second Isaac and the third Jacob, are symbols of virtue acquired respectively by teaching, nature and practice. But indeed we must not fail to note that each possesses the three qualities, but gets his name from that which chiefly predominates in him; for teaching cannot be consummated without nature or practice, nor is nature capable of reaching its zenith without learning and practising, nor practice either unless the foundation of nature and teaching has first been laid. Very properly, then, Moses thus associated these three together, nominally men, but really, as I have said, virtues—teaching, nature, practice. Another name is given to them by men, who call them the Graces, also three in number; either because these values are a gift of God’s grace to our kind for perfecting its life, or because they have given themselves to the reasonable soul as a perfect and most excellent gift. Thus the eternal name revealed in his words is meant to indicate the three said values rather than actual men. For the nature of man is perishable, but that of 55
PHILO

ἀρετῶν εὐλογώτερον δὲ ἐπιφημίζεσθαι τὸν ἀίδιον ἀφθάρτως πρὸ θνητῶν, ἐπεὶ συγγενὲς μὲν ἀδιότητος ἀφθαρσία, ἐξήρον δὲ θάνατος.

56 XII. Χρὴ μέντοι μηδ' ἐκείνῳ ἀγνοεῖν, ὅτι τὸν μὲν πρῶτον ἀνθρωπον τὸν γηγενὴ πατέρα τῶν ἄχρι τοῦ κατακλυσμοῦ φύτων εἰσήγαγε, τὸν δὲ μόνον ἐκ τῆς τοσαύτης φθορᾶς ὑπολειφθέντα πανοίκιον ἕνεκα δικαιοσύνης καὶ τῆς ἄλλης καλοκαγαθίας τοῦ νεάσοντος αὐθις καὶ γένους ἀνθώπων, τὴν δὲ περίσσειν τριάδα καὶ περιμάχητον ἐνὸς εἴδους ἐπιλεγομένου "βασίλειον καὶ ἱεράτευμα καὶ ἔθνος άγιον" οἱ χρησμοὶ καλοῦσι. μηνύει δὲ τούνομα τὴν δύναμιν αὐτοῦ προσονομάζεται γὰρ Ἑβραίων γλώττῃ τὸ έθνος 'Ισραήλ, ὅπερ ἐρμηνευθὲν ἐστίν "ὁρῶν θεόν." ὀρασίς δ' ἡ μὲν δ' ὀφθαλμῶν ἐν ἀπάσαις καλλιστεῦει τὰς αἰσθήσεσιν, ἐπεὶ καὶ διὰ μόνης καταλαμβάνεται τὰ κάλλιστα τῶν ὄντων, ἢλιος καὶ σελήνη καὶ ὁ σύμπας οὐρανός τε καὶ κόσμος, ἡ δὲ διὰ τοῦ τῆς ψυχῆς ἡγεμονικοῦ προ- [10] φέρει τὰς ἄλλας ὅσα περὶ αὐτὸ δυνάμεις. αὕτη | δὲ 58 ἐστὶ φρονήσεις ὅμις οὐδα διανοιας. οὕτω δὲ μὴ μόνον ἐξεγένετο τάλλα ὅσα ἐν τῇ φύσει δι' ἐπιστήμης καταλαμβάνειν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸν πατέρα καὶ ποιηθὴν τῶν συμπάντων ὅραν, ἐπ' ἄκρον εὐδαιμονίας ἵστω προεληθυσῶς οὐδέν γὰρ ἀντιέρωθε θεοῦ, πρὸς ὄν εἰ τις τὸ τῆς ψυχῆς ὄμμα τεῖνας 59 ἐφθακε, μονὴν εὐχέσθῳ καὶ στάσων. αἰ μὲν γὰρ ἀνάντες ὅδι καματηραι καὶ βραδεῖαι, ἡ δὲ κατὰ πρανοὺς φορά, συρμοῦν ἐχοῦσα τὸ πλέον ἡ κάθοδον,

1 mss. τὸν ἀίδιον.
virtue is imperishable. And it is more reasonable that what is eternal should be predicated of the imperishable than of the mortal, since imperishableness is akin to eternality, while death is at enmity with it.

XII. There is another thing which we must not fail to know: while Moses represented the first man, the earth-born, as father of all that were born up to the deluge, and Noah who with all his house alone survived that great destruction because of his justice and excellent character in other ways as the father of the new race which would spring up afresh, the oracles speak of this august and precious trinity as parent of one species of that race, which species is called "royal" and "priesthood" and "holy nation." Its high position is shewn by the name; for the nation is called in the Hebrew tongue Israel, which, being interpreted, is "He who sees God." Now the sight of the eyes is the most excellent of all the senses, since by it alone we apprehend the most excellent of existing things, the sun and the moon and the whole heaven and world; but the sight of the mind, the dominant element in the soul, surpasses all the other faculties of the mind, and this is wisdom which is the sight of the understanding. But he to whom it is given not only to apprehend by means of knowledge all else that nature has to shew, but also to see the Father and Maker of all, may rest assured that he is advanced to the crowning point of happiness; for nothing is higher than God, and whoso has stretched the eyesight of the soul to reach Him should pray that he may there abide and stand firm; for journeys uphill are toilsome and slow, but the downhill course where one is swept along rather than
ταχεία καὶ ῥάστη. πολλὰ δὲ τὰ κάτω βιαζόμενα, ὅν οὐδὲν ὄφελος, ὅταν ἐκ τῶν αὐτῶν δυνάμεων ἀνακρεμάσας τὴν ψυχὴν ὁ θεὸς ολίγη δυνατωτέρα πρὸς ἑαυτὸν ἐπισπάσθηται.

60 XIII. Ταῦτα μὲν οὖν κοινὴ περὶ τῶν τριῶν ἀναγκαῖως προειρήσθω. λεκτέον δ' ἐξῆς, ἐν οἷς ἐκαστὸς ἵδια προήνεγκεν, ἀπὸ τοῦ πρώτου τὴν ἀρχήν λαβόντας. ἐκεῖνος τοῖνυν εὐσεβείας, ἀρετῆς τῆς ἀνωτάτω καὶ μεγίστης, ξηλωτῆς γενόμενος ἐσπούδασεν ἐπεσθαι θεῷ καὶ καταπειθής εἶναι τοῖς προστατομένοις ὑπ' αὐτοῦ, προστάξεις ὑπολαμβάνων οὐ τὰς διὰ φωνῆς καὶ γραμμάτων μηνυόμενα αὐτὸ μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰς διὰ τῆς φύσεως τρανοτέροις σημείοις δηλουμένας, ὃς ἡ ἀληθεύστητα τῶν αἰσθήσεων πρὸ ἀκοῆς τῆς ἀπιστοῦ καὶ ἀβεβαιοῦ καταλαμβάνει. θεώμενος γὰρ τις τὴν ἐν τῇ φύσει τάξιν καὶ τὴν παντὸς λόγου κρείττονα πολιτείαν, ἥ χρήται ὁ κόσμος, ἀναδιδάσκεται, φθειρομένου μηδενός, εὐνομον καὶ εἰρηνικὸν βίον ἐπιτηδεύειν εἰς τὴν τῶν καλῶν εξομοίωσιν ἀποβλέποντα. ἐναργεσταί τῇ τῆς εὐσεβείας ἀποδείξεις εἰσὶ, ὃς περιέχουσιν αἱ ίεραι γραφαί· πρώτην δὲ λεκτέον, ἡ 61 καὶ πρώτῃ τέτακται. XIV. λογίῳ πληχθεῖς περὶ τοῦ πατρίδα καὶ συγγένειαν καὶ πατρώον οίκον καταλιπεῖν καὶ μεταναστῆναι, καθάπερ ἀπὸ τῆς ξένης εἰς τὴν οἰκείαν ἔπαινον ἀλλ' οὐκ ἀπὸ τῆς οἰκείας εἰς τὴν ξένην μέλλων ἀπαίρειν, ἐπέσπευδε συντείνων νομίζων ισότιμον εἶναι τῷ τελεύσαι τὸ 62 ταχέως τὸ προστασθὲν ἀνύσαι. καίτοι τίνα ἐτερον

a Philo seems to assume that the command to leave country and kindred, cf. Gen. xii. 1, was given to Abraham in Chaldaea and not in Haran. So perhaps the A.V. "the
ON ABRAHAM, 59–63

descends is swift and most easy. And many are the forces which would bear us down, yet none of them avail when God sets the soul suspended to His potencies and with a mightier attraction draws it to Himself.

XIII. So much for what was needed by way of preliminary discussion on the three in common. We must now speak of the superior merits shewn by each separately, beginning with the first. Abraham, then, filled with zeal for piety, the highest and greatest of virtues, was eager to follow God and to be obedient to His commands; understanding by commands not only those conveyed in speech and writing but also those made manifest by nature with clearer signs, and apprehended by the sense which is the most truthful of all and superior to hearing, on which no certain reliance can be placed. For anyone who contemplates the order in nature and the constitution enjoyed by the world-city whose excellence no words can describe, needs no speaker to teach him to practise a law-abiding and peaceful life and to aim at assimilating himself to its beauties. But the clearest proofs of his piety are those which the holy scriptures contain, and the first which should be mentioned is that which comes first in order. XIV. Under the force of an oracle which bade him leave his country and kinsfolk and seek a new home, thinking that quickness in executing the command was as good as full accomplishment, he hastened eagerly to obey, not as though he were leaving home for a strange land but rather as returning from amid strangers to his home. Yet who else would be likely Lord had said,” as against the R.V. “the Lord said.” Philo may have implied the same from Gen. xv. 7. Cf. Acts vii. 2.
εἰκὸς οὕτως ἀκλινῆ καὶ ἀτρεπτον γενέσθαι, ὡς μὴ
φίλτροι ὑπαχθήναι καὶ ὑπενδούναι συγγενῶν καὶ
πατρίδος, ὥν ὁ πόθος ἐκάστω τρόπων τυλίκα
συγγενήται καὶ συνηύξηται καὶ μᾶλλον ἡ ὦν ἦττον
64 τῶν ἤνωμένων μερῶν συμπέφυκε; μάρτυρις δὲ
οἱ νομοθετέατι τὴν δευτερεύουσαν θανάτου τιμωρίαν
κατὰ τῶν ἐπὶ τοῖς μεγίστοις ἐαλωκότων ὅρισαντες
φυγὴν, οὐ δευτερεύουσαν, ὡς γ᾿ ἐμοὶ δοκεῖ, παρ᾿
ἀληθεία δικαζοῦση, πολὺ δὲ ἀργαλεωτέραν, εἰ γε
πέρας μὲν κακοπραγιῶν ὁ θάνατος, ἀρχὴ δ᾿, οὐ
πέρας, ἡ φυγὴ καινοτέρων συμφορῶν, ἀνθρώπον ἐνὸς τοῦ
χωρίς ἀληθιδόνων μυρίους ἐπάγουσα θανάτου τοὺς
σὺν αἰσθήσει. | κατ᾿ ἐμπορίαν ἐνιοῦ πόθω χρηματισμοῦ πλέοντες ἡ κατὰ προσβείαν ἡ κατὰ θέαν τῶν
ἐπὶ τῆς ἀλλοδαπῆς δι᾿ ἔρωτα παιδείας, ὅλκοισ
ἐχοντες δυνάμεις τῆς ἔξω μονῆς οὶ μὲν τὰς ἐπικερδεῖς, οἱ δὲ τὸ τὴν πόλιν ἐπὶ καρών ἐν τοῖς
ἀναγκαιοτάτοις καὶ μεγίστοις ὤνησαί, οἱ δὲ ἱστορίαν
ὅπως πρότερον ἢγνόουν τέρψιν ἀμα καὶ ἡρείειαν τῇ
ψυχῇ παρασκευάζουσαν—τυφλοὶ γὰρ παρ᾿ ὄξυ
βλέποντας ἀναποδήμητοι παρ᾿ ἐκδεδημηκότας—,
ὅμως ἐπείγονται τὸ πατρῴον ἔδαφος ἰδεῖν καὶ
προσκυνῆσαί καὶ συνήσεις ἀσπάσασθαι συγγενῶν ἐκ
καὶ φίλων ἰδίοις καὶ ποθεωτάτης ὀψεως ἀπολαῦσαί καὶ πολλάκις τὰς πράξεις, ἢν ἢν ἢ ἢ ἢ ἢ ἢ ἢ
66 προσηκόντων ἐλχθέντες βιωτάτῳ.
to be so firm and unmoved of purpose as not to yield and succumb to the charms of kinsfolk and country? The desire of these may be said to be born and grow with each of us and is a part of our nature as much as or even more than the parts which unite to make the whole. And this is attested by the legislators who have appointed banishment as the penalty second only to death for those who have been convicted of the greatest crimes, though indeed, in my opinion, it is not second to death, if truth gives its verdict, but rather a far heavier punishment, since death ends our troubles but banishment is not the end but the beginning of other new misfortunes and entails in place of the one death which puts an end to pains a thousand deaths in which we do not lose sensation. Some men go on voyages for trading purposes in their desire for making money or on embassies or in their love of culture to see the sights of a foreign land. These are subject to influences driving them to stay abroad, in some cases financial gains, in others the chance of benefiting their country, when occasion offers, in its most vital and important interests, in others acquiring knowledge of things which they did not know before and thus providing at once pleasure and profit to the soul, for the stay-at-home is to the travelled as the blind are to the keen-sighted. Yet all these are eager to see and salute their native soil, and to greet their familiars and to have the sweet and most desired enjoyment of beholding their kinsfolk and friends. And often when they find the business for which they left home protracting itself they abandon it, drawn by the constraining desire for their own belongings. But Abraham, the moment he was
ολίγων δὲ οὕτως ἦ καὶ μόνος ἃμα τῷ κελευσθήναι μετανιστατο καὶ τῇ ψυχῇ πρὸ τοῦ σώματος τὴν ἀποικίαν ἐστέλλετο, τὸν ἐπὶ τοὺς θνητοῖς ἵμερον

67 παρευμεροῦντος ἔρωτος οὐρανίου. οὐδὲνος οὖν φροντίσας, οὐ φυλετῶν, οὐ δημοτῶν, οὐ συμφοιτητῶν, οὐχ ἐταίρων, οὐ τῶν ἀφ' αἵματος ὧν ἔκαστον ἄγωγόν τε καὶ δυσαπόσπαστον ὅλκόν ἔχον δύναμιν, ἔλευθερας καὶ ἀφέτοις όρμαῖς ἂν τάχιστα μετανισταταί, τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἀπὸ τῆς Χαλδαίης γῆς, εὐδαίμονος χώρας καὶ κατ' ἐκείνον ἀκμαίους τόν χρόνον, εἰς τὴν Χαρραϊκὴν γῆν, ἔπειτα οὐ μακρὰν ύστερον καὶ ἀπὸ ταύτης εἰς ἔτερον τόπον, περὶ οὗ λέξομεν ἐκείνῳ πρότερον εἰπόντες.

68 XV. Αἱ δηλωθέναι ἀποικίαι τῷ μὲν ῥήτῳ τῆς γραφῆς ὑπ' ἀνδρὸς σοφοῦ γεγόνασι, κατά δὲ τοὺς ἐν ἄλληγορία νόμοις ὕπο φιλαρέτου ψυχῆς τὸν ἀληθῆ ζητούσης θεόν. Χαλδαῖοι γὰρ ἐν τοῖς μάλιστα διαπονήσαντες ἀστρονομίαν καὶ πάντα ταῖς κινήσεις τῶν ἀστέρων ἀναθέντες ὑπέλαβον οἰκονομεὶσθαι τὰ ἐν κόσμῳ δυνάμεις, ἃς περιέχουσιν ἀριθμοὶ καὶ ἀριθμῶν ἀναλογίας, (καὶ) τὴν ὅρατὴν οὐσίαν ἐσέμνυνον τῆς ἀροταίου καὶ νοσής οὐ λαβόντες ἐννοιαν, ἀλλὰ τὴν ἐν ἐκείνοις τάξιν διερευνώμενοι κατὰ τε τὰς ἡλίου καὶ σελήνης καὶ τῶν ἀλλων πλανήτων καὶ ἀπλανῶν περιόδους καὶ κατὰ τὰς τῶν ἐτησίων ὑρῶν μεταβολὰς καὶ κατὰ τὴν τῶν οὐρανίων πρὸς τὰ ἐπίγεια συμπάθειαν τὸν κόσμον αὐτὸν ὑπέλαβον εὑναί θεόν, οὐκ ευαγῶς τὸ
bidden, departed with a few or even alone, and his emigration was one of soul rather than body, for the heavenly love overpowered his desire for mortal things. And so taking no thought for anything, either for his fellow-clansmen, or wardsmen, or schoolmates, or comrades, or blood relations on father's or mother's side, or country, or ancestral customs, or community of nurture or home life, all of them ties possessing a power to allure and attract which it is hard to throw off, he followed a free and unfettered impulse and departed with all speed first from Chaldea, a land at that time blessed by fortune and at the height of its prosperity, and migrated to Haran; then not long afterwards he left this too for another place, about which we shall speak after dealing with something else to which I now proceed.°

XV. The migrations as set forth by the literal text of the scriptures are made by a man of wisdom, but according to the laws of allegory by a virtue-loving soul in its search for the true God. For the Chaldeans were especially active in the elaboration of astrology and ascribed everything to the movements of the stars. They supposed that the course of the phenomena of the world is guided by influences contained in numbers and numerical proportions. Thus they glorified visible existence, leaving out of consideration the intelligible and invisible. But while exploring numerical order as applied to the revolution of the sun, moon and other planets and fixed stars, and the changes of the yearly seasons and the interdependence of phenomena in heaven and on earth, they concluded that the world itself

° Gen. xi. 31 and xii. 5. For the meaning of “another place” see on § 85.
70 γενόμενον ἐξομοιώσαντες τῷ πεποιηκότι. ταύτη
tοι τῇ δόξῃ συντραφεῖς καὶ χαλδαΐσας μακρὸν τινα
[12] χρόνου, ὡσπερ ἐκ βαθέος ὑπνοῦ | διοίξας τὸ τῆς
ψυχῆς ὑμμα καὶ καθαρὰν αὐγὴν ἀντὶ σκότους
βαθέος βλέπειν ἀρξάμενος ἱκολούθησε τῷ φέγγει
καὶ κατεἰδεν, δ' μὴ πρότερον ἐθέασατο, τοῦ κόσμου
tινὰ ἴδιον καὶ κυβερνήτην ἐφεστώτα καὶ σωτη-
ρίως εὐθύνοντα τὸ οἴκειον ἔργον, ἐπιμέλειάν τε καὶ
προστασίαν καὶ τῶν ἐν αὐτῷ μερῶν ὡσα θείας
71 ἑπάξια φροντίδος ποιούμενον. ὅπως ὁι βεβαιώ-
σηται τὴν φανείσαν ὅπως ἐν τῇ διανοίᾳ παγιώτερον,
αὖθις φησιν ὁ ἱερός λόγος αὐτῶ. "τὰ μεγάλα, ὥ
ουτος, ὑποτυπώσει βραχυτέρων πολλάκις γνωρί-
ζηται, πρὸς ἀ τῆς ἀπιδών ἡξῆσε τὴν φαντασίαν
ἀπεριγράφοις μεγέθεσι. παραπεμφάμενος ὁι τοὺς
tε κατ' οὐράνιον περιπολοῦντας καὶ τὴν Χαλδαϊκὴν
ἐπίστημην μετανάστησε πρὸς ὅλιγον χρόνον ἀπὸ
τῆς μεγίστης πόλεως, τοῦτο τοῦ κόσμου, πρὸς
βραχυτέραν, δι' ᾗ δυνῆση μᾶλλον καταλαβεῖν τὸν
72 ἔφορον τοῦ παντός." διὰ τοῦτο τῇ
πρώτῃ ἀποκίαν ἀπὸ τῆς Χαλδαϊών γῆς εἰς τὴν
Χαρραίων λέγεται ποιήσαθαι. XVI. Χαρρὰν δὲ
'Ἐλληνιστὶ "τρώγλαι" λέγονται, κατὰ σύμβολον
αἰ τῶν ἡμετέρων αἰσθήσεων χῶραι, δι' ὅν ὡσπερ
ὄπω ἐκάστη διακύπτεων πέφυκε πρὸς τῆς τῶν
73 οἰκείων ἀντίληψιν. ἀλλὰ τί τούτων, εἴποι τις ἄν,
ὀφελος ἢ, εἰ μή νοῦς ἀόρατος καθάπερ θαυματο-
ποιός ἔνδοθεν ὑπήκει ταῖς ἑαυτοῦ δυνάμεσιν, ἃς

* The allegorical meaning of Haran is given more fully and clearly in *De Mig.* 176 ff. and *De Som.* i. 41 ff. Haran
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was God, thus profanely likening the created to the Creator. In this creed Abraham had been reared, and for a long time remained a Chaldean. Then opening the soul’s eye as though after profound sleep, and beginning to see the pure beam instead of the deep darkness, he followed the ray and discerned what he had not beheld before, a charioteer and pilot presiding over the world and directing in safety his own work, assuming the charge and superintendence of that work and of all such parts of it as are worthy of the divine care. And so to establish more firmly in his understanding the sight which had been revealed to him the Holy Word follows it up by saying to him, “Friend, the great is often known by its outlines as shown in the smaller, and by looking at them the observer finds the scope of his vision infinitely enlarged. Dismiss, then, the rangers of the heavens and the science of Chaldea, and depart for a short time from the greatest of cities, this world, to the lesser, and thus you will be better able to apprehend the overseer of the All.”

This is why he is said to emigrate first from the land of Chaldea to that of Haran. Now Haran in our language means “holes,” a symbol for the seats of our senses through which each of them naturally peers as through orifices to apprehend what belongs to it. Yet what use, we might ask, would they be if the invisible mind were not there like a juggler to prompt its faculties, sometimes relaxing and giving

being the place of sense-perception is the bodily tenement of the mind (De Mig. 187), and therefore stands for Socratic self-knowledge as a whole in contrast to astrological speculation. It thus gives the conviction that there is a higher power than mind and thus leads to the second migration from self-knowledge to knowledge of God.
τότε μὲν ἀνείς καὶ ἐπιχαλῶν τότε δὲ ἀντισπών καὶ ἀνθέλκων βία κίνησιν ἐμμελῇ καὶ πάλιν ἄρχιαν ἐμπαρεῖχε τοὺς θαυμασίους; τοῦτο ἔχων παρὰ σεαυτῷ τὸ παράδειγμα ραδίως οὐ σφόδρα ποθείς λαβεῖν τὴν ἐπιστήμην κατανοήσεις. οὐ γὰρ ἐν σοὶ μὲν νοῦς ἐστὶν ἡγεμόνι ἐπιστημονικὸς, ὃ καὶ τοῦ σώματος ἀπάσα κοινωνία πειθαρχεῖ καὶ ἐκάστη τῶν αἰσθήσεων ἐπεται, ὃ δὲ κόσμος, τὸ κάλλιστον καὶ μέγιστον καὶ τελεότατον ἔργον, οὗ πάντα τὰ ἄλλα συμβέβηκεν εἶναι μέρη, βασιλέως ἁμοιρεῖ τοῦ συνεχοῦς καὶ ἐνδίκως ἐπιτροπεύοντος. εἰ δ’ ἀδρατὸς ὁ βασιλεύς, μὴ θαυμάσῃς οὐδὲ γὰρ ὁ ἐν σοὶ νοῦς ὅρατός. ταῦτα τις ἐπιλογιζόμενος καὶ οὐ πόρρωθεν ἀλλ’ ἐγγύθεν ἀναδιδοκόμενος ἐκ τὸ ἐαυτοῦ καὶ τῶν περὶ αὐτὸν εἴσησαι σαφῶς, ὅτι ὁ κόσμος οὐκ ἔστων ὁ πρώτος θεός, ἀλλ’ ἔργον τοῦ πρώτου θεοῦ καὶ τοῦ συμπάντων πατρός, ὃς ἀειδής οὖν πάντα φαίνει μικρῶν τε αὐτῷ καὶ μεγάλων δια-

75 σοὶ νοῦς ὅρατός. ταῦτα τις ἐπιλογιζόμενος καὶ οὐ πόρρωθεν ἀλλ’ ἐγγύθεν ἀναδιδοκόμενος ἐκ τὸ ἐαυτοῦ καὶ τῶν περὶ αὐτὸν εἴσησαι σαφῶς, ὅτι ὁ κόσμος οὐκ ἔστων ὁ πρώτος θεός, ἀλλ’ ἔργον τοῦ πρώτου θεοῦ καὶ τοῦ συμπάντων πατρός, ὃς ἀειδής οὖν πάντα φαίνει μικρῶν τε αὐτῷ καὶ μεγάλων δια-

76 δεικνύτως τὰς φύσειςι. σώματος γὰρ ὁφθαλμοῖς οὐκ ἠξίωσε καταλαμβάνεσθαι, τάχα μὲν ἐπειδὴ θυντῶν ἀδίον ψαυνειν οὐκ ὅσιον ἦν, τάχα δὲ καὶ δι’ ἀσθενείαν τῆς ἁμετέρας ὁμοεσι. οὐ γὰρ ἂν ἔκτρωθέν τάς ἄπο τοῦ ὄντος ἐκχεομένας αὐγάς, ὅποτε οὐδὲ ταῖς ἀφ’ ἄλλου προσβλέπειν ἀκτίσιον οἷα τέ ἐστι.

[13] XVII. τεκμηρίων δὲ ἐναργεύσατον τῆς ἀποικίας, ἢν ἂν ἀστρονομίας καὶ τῆς χαλδαῖξούσης δόξης ἡ διάνοια ἑστείλατο. λέγει δὲ ἐνυθὺς ἀμα ἡ μεταναστάσει τοῦ σοφοῦ, ἐξ ὑφθη δὲ ὁ θεὸς τῶν Ἀβραὰμ” ὃ δὴλον ὅτι πρότερον οὐκ ἦν ἐμφανὴς,

1 MSS. συνεχοῦς.

a Gen. xii. 7. But this “appearance” comes when Abraham is in Canaan. If Philo is following Genesis carefully the
them a free rein, sometimes forcibly pulling and jerking them back, and thus causing its puppets at one time to move in harmony, at another to rest? With this example in yourself you will easily apprehend that which you so earnestly desire to know. For it cannot be that while in yourself there is a mind appointed as your ruler which all the community of the body obeys and each of the senses follows, the world, the fairest, and greatest and most perfect work of all, of which everything else is a part, is without a king who holds it together and directs it with justice. That the king is invisible need not cause you to wonder, for neither is the mind in yourself visible. Anyone who reflects on these things and learns from no distant source, but from one near at hand, namely himself and what makes him what he is, will know for certain that the world is not the primal God but a work of the primal God and Father of all Who, though invisible, yet brings all things to light, revealing the natures of great and small. For He did not deem it right to be apprehended by the eyes of the body, perhaps because it was contrary to holiness that the mortal should touch the eternal, perhaps too because of the weakness of our sight. For our sight could not have borne the rays that pour from Him that is, since it is not even able to look upon the beams of the sun. XVII. We have a very clear proof of the mind’s migration from astrology and the Chaldean creed in the words which follow at once the story of the departure of the Sage. “God,” it says, “was seen by Abraham.” This shews that God was not manifested to him before, when in his

\[\mu\varepsilon\tau\alpha\nu\varepsilon\sigma\tau\alpha\varsigma\] must embrace both migrations. But the sequel suggests that he mistakenly assigns it to the Haran period.

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δε λεγεται, ουχ οτι ο σοφος ειδε θεον, αλλε οτι "ο θεος καταληκης" τω σοφω και γαρ ην αδυνατο των Χαλδαιων καταληκης προτερων χαλιζον την των αστερων χορεια προσειχεν εξω των κοσμου και της αισθητης ουσιας ευ-γροστον και νοητην φυσιν ουδεμιαν απλως κατα-λαμβανων. επει δε μετεχωρησε και μεθωρμισατο, κατα ταναγκαιον εγω των κοσμων ηπικουν αλλ' ουκ αυτοκρατορα, ου πρυτανευοντα αλλα πρυτα-νευομενον υπ' αιτιου του πεποιηκοτος, οπερ η 79 διανοια τοτε πρωτον αναβλεψασα ειδε. πολλη γαρ αυτης προτερων αχλως υπο των αισθητων κατ-εκετω, ην ευθεμοιοι και διαπουρες δογμασων ανασκεδασασα μολις ισχυσεν ως εν ανερια καθαραι του παλαι κρυπτομενον και οειδους φαντασιαν λαβειν· δε ένεκα φιλανθροπίας αφικνουμενην την ψυχην ως εαυτον ουκ άπεστραφη, προνατηςας δε την έαυτον φυσιν έδειξε, καθ' οσον οιδον τε ην 80 ιδειν τον βλεποντα. διο λεγεται, ουχ ότι ο σοφος ειδε θεον, αλλα ότι "ο θεος ωφθη" τω σοφω και γαρ ην αδυνατον καταλαβειν των δε αυτου το προς άληθειαν ου, μη παραφηναντος εκεινου εαυτον και επιδειξατος.

81 XVIII. Μαρτυρει δε τοις ειρημενοις και η του ονοματος υπαλλαγη και μεταθεσις. εκαλετο γαρ "Αβραμ το αρχαιον ονομα, προσερρηθη δυστετουν Αβρααμ, φωνη μεν ενδω στοιχειον του άλφα διπλασιασθετους, δυναμει δε μεγαλου πραγματος και δογματος ενδειξημενου την μεταβολην. "Αβραμ μεν γαρ ερμηνευθη έστι "πατηρ μετεώρος," Αβρααμ δε "πατηρ εκλεκτος ηχος," το μεν προτερων εμφαινων των άστρολογικων και μετεωρο-λογικων επικαλουμενον, ουτως των Χαλδαικων
Chaldean way he was fixing his thoughts on the choric movement of the stars with no apprehension at all of an harmonious and intelligible order of things outside the world and the sphere of sense. But when he had departed and changed his habitation he could not help but know that the world is not sovereign but dependent, not governing but governed by its Maker and First Cause. And this his mind then saw for the first time with its recovered sight. For before a great mist had been shed upon it by the things of sense, and only with difficulty could it dispel this mist under the warmth and fervour of higher verities and so be able as in clear open sky to receive the vision of Him Who so long lay hidden and invisible. He in His love for mankind, when the soul came into His presence, did not turn away His face, but came forward to meet him and revealed His nature, so far as the beholder’s power of sight allowed. That is why we are told not that the Sage saw God, but that God was seen by him. For it were impossible that anyone should by himself apprehend the truly Existent, did not He reveal and manifest Himself.

XVIII. What has been said is attested by the alteration and change in his name, for his original name was Abram, but afterwards he was addressed as Abraham. To the ear there was but a duplication of one letter, alpha, but in fact and in the truth conveyed this duplication shewed a change of great importance. Abram is by interpretation “uplifted father”; Abraham, “elect father of sound.” The former signifies one called astrologer and meteor-
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dογμάτων ἐπιμελούμενοι, ὡς ἅν τις πατὴρ ἐγγόνων
83 ἐπιμεληθείη, τὸ δ᾽ ύστερον τὸν σοφόν. διὰ μὲν γὰρ
τῆς ἥχους τὸν προφορικὸν λόγον αἰνίττεται, διὰ τοῦ
πατρὸς δὲ τὸν ἡγεμόνα νοῦν—πατὴρ γὰρ ἐνδιά-
θετος φύσει τοῦ γεγονοῦ πρεσβύτερος γε ὡς καὶ
tὰ λεκτέα ὑποσπείρων—, διὰ δὲ τοῦ ἐπιλέκτου τὸν
ἀστείου, εἰκαῖσι μὲν γὰρ καὶ πεφυμένου ὁ φαύ-
λος τρόπος, ἐκλεκτὸς δὲ ὁ ἄγαθος, ἐπικριθεὶς εἰς
84 ἀπάντων ἀριστίνηθην. τῷ μὲν οὖν μετεωρολογικῷ
μεῖζον οὐδὲν τοῦ κόσμου τὸ παράπαν εἶναι δοκεῖ, ὃ
καὶ τὰς τῶν γινομένων αἰτίας ἀνατίθησιν. ὡ δὲ
σοφὸς ἀκριβεστέροις ὁμίμασιν Ἰδών τι τελεύτερον
νοητὸν ἀρχὸν τε καὶ ἡγεμονεύον, ὡς'o ὅ τάλλα |

[14] δεσπόζεται καὶ κυβερνᾶται, πολλὰ κατεμέμβατο
τῆς προτέρας ζωῆς ἕαυτὸν ὡς τυφλὸν βίον δι-
εξεληλυθότα, σκηνισκόμενον ἐπὶ τοὺς ισθητοὺς,
αβεβαίῳ καὶ ἀναδύτῳ φύσει πράγματι.

dευτέραν δ' ἀποκιάν στέλλεται λογίω πάλιν πεισ-
85 θείαν ὁ ἀστείος οὐκέτ' ἐκ πόλεως εἰς πόλιν, ἀλλ' εἰς
χώραν ἐρήμην, ἐν ᾗ πλαζόμενοι διετέλει μὴ δυσ-
αρεστῶν τῇ πλάνη καὶ τῷ δ' αὐτὴν ἀναδύτῳ.

86 καλτοὶ τίς ἐτερος οὐκ ἢν ἡχόθηθη μὴ μόνον τῆς
οἰκείας ἀπανιστάμενος, ἀλλὰ καὶ εἰς ἀπάσης πόλεως
ἐλαυνόμενος εἰς δυσβάστους καὶ δυσπορεύτους ἀνο-
δίας; τίς δ' οὐκ ἃν μετατραπόμενος ἐπαλινδρόμη-
σεν οἰκάδε, βραχέα μὲν φροντίσας τῶν μελλοντῶν
ἐλπίδων, τὴν δὲ παρούσαν ἀπορίαν σπεύδων ἐκ-
φυγείν, εὐθυθείαν ὑπολαβῶν ἀδήλων χάριν ἄγαθῶν

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* Gen. xii. 9. lxx “And Abram departed and having journeyed encamped in the wilderness.” E.V. “And Abram journeyed going on still towards the south.” Philo conveniently ignores the earlier movements of Abraham in
ON ABRAHAM, 82–86

logist, one who takes care of the Chaldean tenets as a father would of his children. The latter signifies the Sage, for he uses “sound” as a figure for spoken thought and “father” for the ruling mind, since the inward thought is by its nature father of the uttered, being senior to it, the secret begetter of what it has to say. “Elect” signifies the man of worth, for the worthless character is random and confused, while the good is elect, chosen out of all for his merits. Now to the meteorologist nothing at all seems greater than the universe, and he credits it with the causation of what comes into being. But the wise man with more discerning eyes sees something more perfect perceived by mind, something which rules and governs, the master and pilot of all else. And therefore he blames himself severely for his former life, feeling that all his years have been passed in blindness with no staff to support him but the world of sense, which is by its nature an insecure and unstable thing.

The second migration which the man of worth undertakes, again in obedience to an oracle, is not as before from state to state but into a desert country in which he continued to wander, never complaining of the wandering or the insecurity which it caused. Yet who else would not have felt it a burden not only to be severed from his own country, but also to be driven out of all city life into pathless tracts where the traveller could hardly find a way? Who would not have turned his course and hurried back homeward, paying little regard to future hopes, but eager to escape his present hardships, and thinking it folly to choose admitted evil Canaan and fastens on the ultimate goal—the wilderness, as a symbol of the solitude of the mystic.
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87 ὁμολογούμενα ἀφεῖσθαι κακά; μόνος δ' οὖσοι τοῦνατιῶν πεπουθέναι φαίνεται, βίων ἡδιστον νομίζων τὸν ἀνευ συνδιαιτήσεως τῆς τῶν πολλῶν. καὶ πέφυκεν οὖτως ἔχειν: οἱ γὰρ ζητοῦντες καὶ ἐπιποθοῦντες θεον ἀνευρεῖν τὴν φίλην αὐτῷ μόνωσιν ἀγαπᾶσι, κατ' αὐτὸ τούτο σπεύδοντες πρῶτον ἐξομοιοῦσθαι τῇ μακαρίᾳ καὶ εὐδαίμονι φύσει.

88 ἐκατέραν οὖν ἀπόδοσιν πεποιημένου, τὴν τε ρητὴν ὡς ἐπὶ ἄνδρος καὶ τὴν δι' ὑπονοιῶν ὡς ἐπὶ ψυχῆς, ἀξιέραστον καὶ τὸν ἄνδρα καὶ τὸν νοῦν ἀπεφήναμεν, τὸν μὲν πεισθέντα λογίου ἐκ δυσαποσπάστων ἀφελκυσθέντα, τὸν δὲ νοῦν, ὃτι οὐ μέχρι παντὸς ἀπατηθεῖσι ἐπὶ τῆς αἰσθητῆς οὐσίας ἔστη τὸν ὅρατὸν κόσμον ὑπολαβῶν μέγιστον καὶ πρῶτον ἐνιαθεόν, ἀλλὰ ἀναδρομῶν τῷ λογισμῷ φύσιν ἐτέραν ἀμείνω τῆς ὅρατῆς νοητῆς ἐθεάσατο καὶ τὸν ἀμφοῖν ποιητὴν ὅμοι καὶ ἣγεμόνα.

89 XIX. Ταῦτα τοῦ θεοφιλοῦς τὰ προτέλεια, οἵς ἔποιοι πράξεις οὐκ εὐκαταφρόνητοι. τὸ δὲ μέγεθος αὐτῶν οὐ παντὶ τῷ δῆλον, ἀλλὰ μόνον τοῖς γευσαμένοις ἀρετής, οἱ τὰ θαυμαζόμενα παρὰ τοῖς πολλοῖς εἰώθασι χλευάζειν ἐνεκά μεγέθους τῶν περιψυχῆς ἀγαθῶν. ἀποδεξάμενος οὖν ὁ θεὸς τήν εἰρημένην πράξιν αὐτίκα τὸν ἀστείον ἀμείβεται μεγάλη δωρεά, τὸν γάμον αὐτῷ κυνδυνεύσαντα πρὸς δυνατοῦ καὶ ἀκρατοῦς ἄνδρος ἐπιβουλευθήναι διατηρήσας ἄφαυστον τε καὶ σώον. ἦ δ' αὐτία τῆς ἐπιθέσεως ἠρχὴν ἔλαβε τοιάνδε. καρπῶν ἀφορίας

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*a* For §§ 91-98 see Gen. xii. 10-20.
for the sake of uncertain good? Yet he alone appears to have had feelings the opposite of these, and to have thought that no life was so pleasant as one lived without association with the multitude. And that is natural, for those who seek God and yearn to find Him love the solitude which is dear to Him, and in this way first of all hasten to make themselves like His blessed and happy nature. So in both our expositions, the literal as applied to the man and the allegorical as applied to the soul, we have shewn both man and soul to be worthy of our affection. We have shewn how the man in obedience to divine commands was drawn away from the stubborn hold of his associations and how the mind did not remain for ever deceived nor stand rooted in the realm of sense, nor suppose that the visible world was the Almighty and Primal God, but using its reason sped upwards and turned its gaze upon the intelligible order which is superior to the visible and upon Him who is maker and ruler of both alike.

XIX. This is the opening of the story of the friend of God, and it is followed by actions which call for anything but contempt. But their greatness is not clear to everyone, but only to those who have tasted virtue and who recognize the greatness of the good things which belong to the soul and therefore are wont to deride those which win the admiration of the multitude. God, then, approving of the action just related, at once rewards the man of worth with a great gift; for when his marriage was threatened through the designs of a licentious potentate, God kept it safe and unharmed. The occasion which led up to the attempted outrage originated in the following way. There had been a failure of the crops for a
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ἐπὶ συχνὸν χρόνον γενομένης, τοτε μὲν διὰ πολλὴν καὶ ἀμετρὸν ἐπομβρίαν τοτε δὲ δι’ αὐχμὸν καὶ ζάλην, αἱ κατὰ Συρίαν πόλεις συνεχεὶ λιμῷ πιεσθεὶσαι κεναὶ τῶν οἰκητόρων ἄσω, ἄλλων ἀλλαχόσε σκιδναμένων κατὰ ξήτησιν τροφής καὶ πορισμὸν τῶν ἀναγκαίων. πυθόμενος οὖν Ἀβραάμ ἀφθονον εὐθυνίαν καὶ εὐσεβείαν ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ, τοῦ μὲν πολλοῦ ταῖς πλημμύραις λιμνασαντος ἐν καιρῷ τὰ πεδία, τῶν δὲ τῶν σπόρων εὐσταχίων ἐνεγκόντων καὶ [15] ἀναθρεψαμενόν | εὐκρασίαις πνευμάτων, ἀπαίρει πάσαν τὴν οἰκίαν ἐπαγόμενος. ἢ δ’ αὐτῷ γυνὴ τὴν τε ψυχὴν ἀρίστη καὶ τοῦ σῶμα τῶν καθ αὐτὴν περικαλλεστάτης, αὐτὴν ἰδόντας τῶν Αἰγυπτίων οἱ ἐν τέλει καὶ τῆς ἐνυμορσίας ἀγάμεθα—λανθανεί γὰρ τοὺς ἐν 92 ἐξοχαῖς οὐδὲν—μηνύουσι τῷ βασιλεί. μεταπεμφάμενος δὲ τὴν ἀνθρωπίνην καὶ θεασάμενος εκπρεστάτης τὴν ὀψιν, βραχὺ φροντίσας αἰδοῦς καὶ νόμων τῶν ἐπὶ τιμῇ ξένων ὀρισθέντων, ἐνδοὺς ἀκρασία διενοεῖτο λόγῳ μὲν αὐτὴν ἀγαγέσθαι πρὸς γάμον, τὸ ἐξοχαῖς οὐδέν—μηνύουσι τῷ βασιλεί. μεταπεμψάμενος δὲ τὴν ἀνθρωπίνην καὶ θεασάμενος ἐκπρεστάτης τὴν ὀψιν, βραχὺ φροντίσας αἰδοῦς καὶ νόμων τῶν ἐπὶ τιμῇ ξένων ὀρισθέντων, ἐνδοὺς ἀκρασία διενοεῖτο λόγῳ μὲν αὐτὴν ἀγαγέσθαι πρὸς γάμον, τὸ ἐξοχαῖς οὐδέν—μηνύουσι τῷ βασιλεί. μεταπεμψάμενος δὲ τὴν ἀνθρωπίνην καὶ θεασάμενος ἐκπρεστάτης τὴν ὀψιν, βραχὺ φροντίσας αἰδοῦς καὶ νόμων τῶν ἐπὶ τιμῇ ξένων ὀρισθέντων, ἐνδο网首页ς ἀκρασία διενοεῖτο λόγῳ μὲν αὐτὴν ἀγαγέσθαι πρὸς γάμον, τὸ 93 πάσαν τὴν οἰκίαν ἐπαγόμενος. ἢ δ’ αὐτῷ γυνὴ τὴν τε ψυχὴν ἀρίστη καὶ τοῦ σῶμα τῶν καθ αὐτὴν περικαλλεστάτης, αὐτὴν ἰδόντας τῶν Αἰγυπτίων οἱ ἐν τέλει καὶ τῆς ἐνυμορσίας ἀγάμεθα—λανθανεί γὰρ τοὺς ἐν 94 ἐξοχαῖς οὐδέν—μηνύουσι τῷ βασιλεί. μεταπεμψάμενος δὲ τὴν ἀνθρωπίνην καὶ θεασάμενος ἐκπρεστάτης τὴν ὀψιν, βραχὺ φροντίσας αἰδοῦς καὶ νόμων τῶν ἐπὶ τιμῇ ξένων ὀρισθέντων, ἐνδο网首页ς ἀκρασία διενοεῖτο λόγῳ μὲν αὐτὴν ἀγαγέσθαι πρὸς γάμον, τὸ 95 δ’ ἀληθεῖς αἰσχύνεων. ἢ δ’ ἀτε ἐν ἄλλοτρὶ γῆ παρ’ ἀκρατεὶ τε καὶ ὠμοθύμῳ δυνάστῃ τοῦ βοηθήσοντος ἀπορούσα—οὐδὲ γὰρ ὁ ἄνηρ ἐσθενεὶν ἀρήγειν τὸν ἐπικρεμάμενον ἐκ τῶν δυνατωτέρων φόβον δεδιώς—ἐπὶ τὴν τελευταίαν αὖ ἐκείνῳ καταφεύγει 96 συμμαχίαν τὴν ἐκ θεοῦ. λαβὼν δὲ τῶν ξένων οἰκτήν ὁ εὐμενής καὶ ἱλεως καὶ ὑπέρμαχος τῶν ἀδικουμένων ἀληθέως δυσκαρτήτους καὶ χαλεπά τιμωρίας ἐπάγει τῷ βασιλεί, παντοῖων κακῶν ἀναπλήσας αὐτοῦ σώμα καὶ ψυχὴν δυσιάτων, ὡς τὰς μὲν ἐφ’ ήδονὴν ἀγούσας ὀρέξεις ἀπάσας ἐκκεκόφθαι, τὰς δ’ ἐναντίας παρεισεληλυθέναι φροντίδας
considerable period, at one time through a great and excessive rainfall, at another through drought and stormy weather; and the cities of Syria, hard pressed through continual famine, were stripped of their inhabitants who scattered in different directions to seek for food and to procure necessities. Abraham, then, learning that there was a rich and abundant supply of corn in Egypt, where the river by its seasonal flooding had turned the plains into pools, and well-tempered winds had produced and fostered a fine growth of corn, set off thither with his whole household. He had a wife distinguished greatly for her goodness of soul and beauty of body, in which she surpassed all the women of her time. When the chief people of Egypt saw her and admired her beauty, since the highly placed leave nothing unobserved, they told the king. He sent for the woman, and, marking her surpassing comeliness, paid little regard to decency or the laws enacted to shew respect to strangers, but gave rein to his licence and determined nominally to take her in marriage, but in reality to bring her to shame. She who in a foreign country was at the mercy of a licentious and cruel-hearted despot and had no one to protect her, for her husband was helpless, menaced as he was by the terror of stronger powers, joined him in fleeing for refuge to the last remaining championship, that of God. And God, Who is kindly and merciful and shields the wronged, had pity for the strangers and plied the king with almost intolerable pains and grievous penalties. He filled him body and soul with all manner of scarce curable plagues. All appetite for pleasure was eradicated and replaced by visitations of the opposite kind, by cravings for release
περὶ ἀπαλλαγῆς ἀνηνύτων βασάνων, ύφ᾽ ὧν γυμνά-
ζόμενος μεθ᾽ ἡμέραν καὶ νύκτωρ ἐξετραχηλίζετο.
97 παραπέλαυσε δὲ τὴς τιμωρίας καὶ σύμπας ὁ οἶκος
αὐτῶ, μηδὲνδος ἐπὶ τῇ ταρανομίᾳ δυσχεράναντος,
ἀλλὰ πάντων ἔνεκα τοῦ συναινεῖν μόνον οὐ συγ-
98 χειρουργησάντων τὸ ἅδικημα. τοῦτον τὸν τρόπον ἡ
μὲν ἀγνεία τῆς γυναικὸς διασφάζεται, τοῦ δὲ ἀνδρὸς
τὴν καλοκαγαθίαν καὶ εὐσέβειαν ο θεὸς ἡξίωσεν
ἐπιδεξάσθαι γέρας αὐτῷ μέγιστον παρασχὼν,
ἀσινὴ καὶ ἀνύβριστον ὀσον ὀὕτω κυνυνεύσαντα
dιαφθαρῆται τὸν γάμον, ὅς οὐκ ἔμελλεν ὀλίγων
ἀριθμῶν νιῶν ἢ θυγατέρων γεννῶν, ἀλλ᾽ οἷον ἔθνους
καὶ ἐθνῶν τὸ θεοφιλέστατον, ὃ μοι δοκεῖ τὴν ὑπὲρ
παντὸς ἀνθρώπων γένους ἱερωσύνην καὶ προφητείαν
λαχεῖν.
99 XX. Ἡκουσα μέντοι καὶ φυσικῶν ἀνδρῶν οὐκ
ἀπὸ σκοποῦ τὰ περὶ τὸν τόπον ἄλληγοροῦντων, οἱ
τὸν μὲν ἀνδρὰ συμβολικῶς ἐφασκόν συνειδαίον
einai νοῦν ἐκ τῆς περὶ τὸνομα ἐρμηνευθείσης
dυνάμεως τεκμαιρόμενοι τρόπον ἀστείον ἐν 
ψυχῇ,
tὴν δὲ τοῦτον γυναῖκα ἀρετὴν, ὅς τοῦνομα ἐστὶ
Χαλδαίστη μὲν Σάρρα, Ἐλληνιστὶ δὲ "ἀρχουσα,"
διὰ τὸ μηδὲν ἀρετῆς ἀρχικῶτερον εἶναι καὶ ἴγεμο-
100 νικώτερον. γάμος δὲ, ὅποι μὲν ἀρμόζεται ἡδονή,
σωμάτων κοινωνίαν ἐλαχεῖν, ὅποι δὲ σοφία, λογισμῶν
καθάρσεως ἐφιεμένων καὶ τελείων ἀρετῶν. ἐναν-
tωτατοὶ δὲ ἄλληλοι εἰσὶν οἱ λεχθέντες γάμοι.
101 κατὰ μὲν γὰρ τὸν τῶν σωμάτων σπείρει μὲν τὸ

a Or “students of the (higher) truths of Nature,” almost in some contexts (e.g. Mos. ii. 216) = “theologians.” Nature is so closely akin to the divine (see note on De Sac. 98) that allegorical truths such as these especially belong to its study, 52
from the endless tortures which night and day haunted and racked him almost to death. The whole household, too, shared the punishment with him, since none had shewn indignation at the outrage, but all by consenting were almost accomplices in the misdeed. Thus the chastity of the woman was preserved, while the nobility and piety of the man was evidenced by God, Who deigned to grant him this signal boon, that his marriage, which would have been in almost immediate danger of violation, should remain free from harm and outrage, that marriage from which was to issue not a family of a few sons and daughters, but a whole nation, and that the nation dearest of all to God, which, as I hold, has received the gift of priesthood and prophecy on behalf of all mankind.

XX. I have also heard some natural philosophers who took the passage allegorically, not without good reason. They said that the husband was a figure for the good mind, judging by the meaning given for interpretation of this name that it stood for a good disposition of soul. The wife, they said, was virtue, her name being in Chaldean Sarah but in our language a sovereign lady, because nothing is more sovereign or dominant than virtue. Now in a marriage where the union is brought about by pleasure, the partnership is between body and body, but in the marriage made by wisdom it is between thoughts which seek purification and perfect virtues. Now the two kinds of marriage are directly opposed to each other. For in the bodily marriage the male sows the seed and the

*cf. De Post. 7 τῆν δὲ ἀλληγορίαν ὅδεν φυσικὸς φίλην ἀνδράς, and De Mut. 62 φυσιολογοῦντες. See further App. p. 597.*

* Cf. De Cher. 8, De Mut. 77.*
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[16] ἐν ψυχαῖς σύνοδον ἐμπαλὼν ἢ μὲν ἀρετὴ τάξιν γυναικός ἔχειν δοκοῦσα σπείρεσθε πέφυκε βουλας ἀγαθὰς καὶ λόγους σπουδαίους καὶ βιωφελεστάτων εἰςηγήσεις δοματῶν, ὅ δὲ λογισμὸς ἐὶς τὴν ἀνδρὸς χώραν τάττεσθαι νομισθεῖς τὸς ἱερωπρετεῖς καὶ θεῖας ὑποδέχεται σποράς· ἢ μήποτε τὸ λεχθὲν ἔφευσται δι' ἀπάτην ὀνομάς· ή μήποτε τὸ λεχθὲν ἔφευσται δι' ἀπάτην ὀνομάς, ἐπειδὲ ὃ μὲν νοῦς ἄρρενος ἢ δ' ἀρετὴ θήλεος μετέχει χαρακτηρὸς

102 ἐν φωναῖς. εἰ δὲ τις τὰς ἐπισκιαζότας κλήσεις ἀπαμφίσας γυμνὰ τὰ πράγματα βουληθείς καθαρῶς ἰδεῖν εἰςεῖται διότι ἄρρεν μὲν ἐστιν ἡ ἀρετὴ φύσει, παρόσον καὶ διατίθεται καὶ καλὰς ἐνοίες καλῶν πράξεων καὶ λόγων ὑπηκεῖ, θῆλυ δὲ ὁ λογισμὸς κυνούμενος καὶ παιδευόμενος καὶ ωφελούμενος καὶ συνόλως ἐν τῷ πάσχειν ἔξεταζόμενος, καὶ τὸ πάθος αὐτῶ τοῦτο μόνον ἐστὶ σωτηρικον. XXI. ἀπαντεῖς μὲν οὖν καὶ οἱ φαυλότατοι τῷ λόγῳ τυμῶσι καὶ θαυμάζουσιν ἀρετὴν ὡς τῷ δοκεῖν, χρώνται δ' αὐτῆς τοῖς παραγγέλμασιν οἱ αστεῖοι μόνοι. διδ καὶ ὃ τῆς Ἀἰγύπτου βασιλείας, ὅπερ ἐστὶ συμβολικῶς νοῦς φιλοσοφόματος, καθυποκρινόμενος ὡς ἐν θεάτρῳ προσποίητον ἐπιμορφάζει κοινωνίαν, πρὸς ἐγκράτειαν ὁ ἄκρατης καὶ πρὸς σωφροσύνην ὁ ἄδικος, καὶ καλεῖ τὴν ἀρετὴν ὡς ἐαυτὸν τῆς παρὰ τοῖς πολλοῖς εὐφημίας γλιχόμενος. ὅπερ κατιδὼν ὁ ἔφορος—μόνῳ γὰρ ἔξεστι θεῷ ψυχῇ ἰδεῖν—ἐμίσησε καὶ προβάλετο καὶ βασάνοις ἥλεγξεν ἄργαλεωτάταις ἢθος κατεφευσμένοιν. αἰ δὲ βάσανοι διὰ τῶν ὀργάνων; ἢ πάντως διὰ τῶν τῆς ἀρετῆς μερῶν, ἀπε πεισοίντα χαλεπῶς αἰκίζεται καὶ

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female receives it; on the other hand in the matings within the soul, though virtue seemingly ranks as wife, her natural function is to sow good counsels and excellent words and to inculcate tenets truly profitable to life, while thought, though held to take the place of the husband, receives the holy and divine sowings. Perhaps however the statement above is a mistake due to the deceptiveness of the nouns, since in the actual words employed voûs has the masculine, and òperī the feminine form. And if anyone is willing to divest facts of the terms which obscure them and observe them in their nakedness in a clear light he will understand that virtue is male, since it causes movement and affects conditions and suggests noble conceptions of noble deeds and words, while thought is female, being moved and trained and helped, and in general belonging to the passive category, which passivity is its sole means of preservation. XXI. All men, then, even the most worthless, professedly honour and admire virtue so far as outward appearance goes, but only the worthy practise its injunctions. And so the king of Egypt, under which figure is symbolized the mind which loves the body, acts a part as in a theatre and assumes a counterfeited fellowship, he, the licentious with chastity, the profligate with self-control, the unjust with justice, and in his desire to earn a good repute with the multitude invites virtue to join him. Seeing this, God the surveyor, since He alone can scan the soul, hates and rejects the sham character and submits it to the test of most painful tortures. What are the instruments of these tortures? Surely the different parts of virtue which enter in and plague

\[a\] i.e. that virtue is wife, and mind husband; but see App. pp. 597-598.
τιτρώσκει; βάσανος μὲν γὰρ ἔστιν ἀπληστιάς ὀλυγοδέξια, βάσανος δὲ λαγνείας ἐγκράτειας. στρεβλοῦται δὲ καὶ οἱ φιλόδοξοι ἀτυφίας εὐημερούσης καὶ ὁ ἄδικος δικαιοσύνης ἐπαινουμένης. μίαν γὰρ ἀμὴχανον ψυχὴν κατοικεῖν δύο τὰς ἔχθρας φύσεις, κακίαν καὶ ἀρετῆν· οὐ χάριν, ἐπειδὰν συνενεχθῶσιν, ἀσύμβατοι καὶ ἀκατάλλακτοι στάσεις καὶ πόλεμοι συγκροτοῦνται, καίτοι τῆς ἀρετῆς εἰρηνικώτατην φύσιν ἔχουσης, ἡ ψυχὰς ἐπιμελεῖ εἶναι, ὅταν εἰς χειρῶν ἀμὴλλαν ἰέναι μέλλῃ, τῆς ἰδίας δυνάμεως ἀποπειρᾶσθαι πρότερον, ἵνα μὲν ἰσχύοι καταγωνίσασθαι, συνιστήται, οὕτως ἀσθενέστερα χρῶτο τῇ δυνάμει, μηδὲ συγκαταβήναι τὴν ἀρχήν εἰς τὸν ἀγώνα θαρρήσι· κακίαν μὲν γὰρ ἕττάσθαι οὐκ αἰσχρόν, ἢ συγγενές ἀδοξία, ἀρετὴν δὲ ὅνειδος, ἢ πάντων οἰκειότατον εὔκλεια, δι’ ἣν πέφυκε νικῶν ἡ διατηρεῖν αὐτὴν ἀήττητον.

107 XXII. Τὸ μὲν οὖν Ἀιγυπτίων ἄξενον καὶ ἀκόλαστον εἴρηται. τοῦ δὲ τοιαύτα πεπονθότος ἄξιον θαυμάσει τὴν πιθανωτὰται, ὅσα μεσημβρίας [17] θεασάμενοι τρεῖς ὡς ἄνδρας ὀδοιποροῦντας—οἱ δὲ θειότερας ὄντες φύσεως ἔλεηθεσαν—προσδράμωσιν ἰκέτευε λιπαρώς μὴ παρελθεῖν αὐτοῦ τὴν σκηνήν, ἀλλ’ ὡς πρέπον εἰσελθόντας εἰς τὴν σκηνήν, ἀλλ’ ὡς πρέπον εἰςελθόντας ἐξεισέχεσθαι τὴν σκηνήν, ἀλλ’ ὡς πρέπον εἰςελθόντας τὴν σκηνήν, ἀλλ’ ὡς πρέπον εἰςελθόντας τὴν σκηνήν. ἐκ τῶν λεγομένων μάλλον ἡ τῆς διανοίας εἰδότες ἀληθεῦοντα μηδὲν ἐνδοιάσαντες ἐπιφύεσαι.

108 πληρωθείς δὲ τὴν ψυχὴν χαρᾶς πάντ’ ἐσπούδαζεν εἰς τὸ ἀνυπέρθετον τῆς ὑποδοχῆς καὶ τῇ μὲν γυναίκι φησὶ “σπεύσων καὶ τρία μέτρα ποίησον ἐγκρυφιῶν,” αὐτὸς δὲ εἰς τὰ θαυματομορφά, διὰ καὶ τὰ βουκόλια συντεινα, ἀπαλὼν καὶ εὐσαρκοῦς ἀγαγὸν μόσχον, οἰκεῖτη παραδίδωσιν. ὁ

*a For §§ 107-118 see Gen. xviii.*
and wound him grievously? For greediness is tortured by frugal contentment and lewdness by continence. And so the vainglorious is racked when simplicity prevails, and the unjust when justice is praised. For it is impossible for the single soul to have for its tenant two hostile natures, vice and virtue, and therefore when they meet factions and wars are set on foot incapable of truce or reconciliation. And yet virtue's nature is most peaceable, and she is careful, so they say, to test her own strength before the conflict, so that if she is able to contend to the end she may take the field, but if she finds her strength too weak she may shrink from entering the contest at all. For vice feels no disgrace in defeat, since ill-repute is congenital to her, but to virtue it is a reproach, for nearest and dearest to her is good fame which makes it natural for her to be victorious or at least to keep herself undefeated.

XXII. a I have described the inhospitality and licentiousness of the Egyptians. Turning to the victim of this outrage, we may well admire his kindness of heart. When at noon he saw three travellers in the form of men, for their diviner nature was not apparent to him, he ran to them and earnestly begged of them not to pass his tent but to enter as was fitting and partake of hospitality. But they, knowing, not so much by his words as by the feeling he showed, that he spoke the truth, assented without hesitation. And he, his soul full of joy, was eager to carry out the reception without delay, and said to his wife: "Hasten and bake three measures of cakes in the ashes." Meanwhile he himself hurried to the stalls and brought a tender and well-fed calf which he gave to the servant who killed it and dressed it with all
δὲ καταθύσας σκευάζει τάχιστα. βραδὺς γὰρ οὐδὲις πρὸς φιλανθρωπίαν ἐν οἴκῳ σοφοῦ, ἀλλὰ καὶ γυναῖκες καὶ ἀνδρεῖς καὶ δούλοι καὶ ἐλεύθεροι προθυμότατοι πρὸς τὰς τῶν ἑυνομένων ὑπηρεσίας. 110 ἐστιαθέντες δὴ οὖ τοῖς εὐπρεπισθεῖσι μᾶλλον ἦ τῇ τοῦ ἕξενόδοχου γυνώμη καὶ πολλῇ τινὶ καὶ ἀπεράντῳ φιλοτιμίᾳ παρέχουσιν ἄθλον ἐλπίδος μείζον αὐτῷ, νῦν γνησίου γένεσιν εἰς νέωτα βεβαιωθησομένην ὑποσχόμενοι δὴ ἐνός τοῦ τῶν τριῶν ἀρίστου—λέγειν γὰρ ἐν ταύτῳ πάντας ἀθρόους ἢν ἀφιλόσοφον, ἐνί δὲ λέγοντι τοὺς ἄλλους συνεπιπενεύειν 111 ἐμπρεπεῖ—. ἀλλὰ γὰρ οὖν ὑπαιχνομένους ἔνεκα τοῦ περὶ τὸ πράγμα ἀπίστου βεβαιῶσα προσεῖχον· ἡδὴ γὰρ ὑπερήλικες γεγονότες διὰ μακρὸν γῆρας ἀπεγνώκεσαν παιδός σποράν. ἀκούσασαν οὖν τὴν γυναίκα ἐν ἄρχῃ φησι γελάσαι καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα, εἰπόντων "μὴ ἄδυνατει παρά τῷ θεῷ πάν ρήμα," καταιδεθεὶσαν ἤρνήσθαι τὸν γέλωτα· πάντα γὰρ ἦδει θεῷ δυνατὰ σχεδὸν εξ ἐτὶ σπαργάνοις τούτῳ τὸ δόγμα προμαθοῦσα. τότε μοι δοκεῖ πρῶτον οὐκέθ' ὄμοιαν τῶν ὀρωμένων λαβεῖν φαντασίαν, ἀλλὰ σεμνοτέραν ἢ προφητῶν ἢ ἀγγέλων ἀπὸ πνευματικῆς καὶ ψυχοειδοῦς οὐσίας εἰς ἀνθρωπόμορφον ἰδέαν. 113 XXIII. Τὸ μὲν οὖν φιλόξενον τοῦ ἅρνος εἰρηται, πάρεργον δὲν ἀρέτης μείζονος· ἦ δ' ἀρετὴ θεοσέβεια, περὶ ἢς καὶ πρότερον εἴπομεν, ἢς δείγμα σαφεστατοῦ τὰ νῦν λεχθέντα ἐστὶν ὡς ἐπὶ ξένων ἀνδρῶν.

a i.e. Sarah’s denial of her laughter is ascribed to a recognition that the Visitor was divine, rather than as in 58
ON ABRAHAM, 109–115

speed. For in a wise man’s house no one is slow in showing kindness; but women and men, slaves and free, are full of zeal to do service to their guests. After feasting not so much on the viands prepared for them as on the goodwill of their host, and on this example of a great and unbounded generosity, they presented him with a reward surpassing his hopes, by promising him the birth of a son born in wedlock. And this promise, which was to be made good in the next year, was given through one, and that the highest, of the three. For wise refinement demanded that all should not speak together at once but rather that one should speak and the others shew assent. But to Abraham and Sarah the thing seemed incredible, and therefore they did not pay serious regard even to the promises of the three. For as they had passed the years of parenthood their great age had made them despair of the birth of a son. So the scripture says that the wife first laughed at the words and afterwards when they said, “Is anything impossible with God?” was ashamed and denied her laughter, for she knew that all things were possible with God, a truth which she had learnt long ago, and even from the cradle. It was then, I think, that she first saw in the strangers before her a different and grander aspect, that of prophets or angels, transformed from their spiritual and soul-like nature into human shape.

XXIII. We have described Abraham’s hospitality which was but a by-product of a greater virtue. That virtue is piety, of which we have spoken before, and it is quite clearly seen in this story, even if we think of the strangers as men. Some may feel that the Genesis to fear. Otherwise Philo here gives the natural interpretation of the incident. See note on § 206.
ει δ' ευδαίμονα καὶ μακάριον οἶκον ὑπέλαβον εἶναι
tines, ἐν δ' συνέβη καταχθῆναι καὶ ἐνδιατρῆσαι
σοφόσ, οὐκ ἂν ἄξιωσαντας ἄλλ' οὖδ' ὅσον διακύβαι
μόνον, εἰ τι πάθος ἐνεώρων ταῖς ψυχαῖς τῶν ἐνδον
ὄντων ἀνίατον, ἐγὼ δὲ οὔκ οἶδα, τίνα ὑπερβολὴν
eυδαίμονίας καὶ μακαρίοτητος εἶναι φῶ περὶ τὴν
οἰκίαν, ἐν ἣ καταχθῆναι καὶ ἕξιν ἔμεινεν ἦγγελοι
πρὸς ἀνθρώπων, ἵεραι καὶ θείαι
φύσει, ὑποδιάκονοι καὶ ὑπάρχοι τοῦ πρώτου θεοῦ,
[18] δ' ἄν ὅλα προσβεντών ὅσα ἂν θελήσῃ τῷ γένει
ἡμῶν προθεσπίσαι διαγγέλλει. πῶς γὰρ ἂν τὴν
ἀρχήν εἰσελθὲν ὑπέμειναν, εἰ μὴ καθάπερ νεῶς εὐ
συντεταγμένον πλήρωμα τοὺς ἐνδον ἀπαντᾶς ἦδεσαν
ἐν πειθαρχοῦντας κελεύσματι τῷ τοῦ προεστηκότος
ὡσανεί κυβερνήτου; πῶς δ' ἂν ἔστιμων καὶ
ξενιζομένων παρέσχον ὑπόληψιν, εἰ μὴ τὸν ἐστιά-
tορα συγγενή καὶ ὁμόδουλον ἦγοῦντο τῷ αὐτῶν
προσπεφευγόντα δεσπότη; νομιστέον μέντοι καὶ
κατὰ τὴν εἴσοδον αὐτῶν ἐτὶ μᾶλλον ἐπιδοῦναι
πάντα τὰ μέρη τῆς οἰκίας πρὸς τὸ βέλτιον αὕρα
τω τελειώτατης ἀρετῆς ἐπιπνευσθέντα. τὸ δὲ συμ-
posoνον οἶον εἰκὸς γενέσθαι, τὴν ἐν εὐωχίαις
ἀφέλειαν ἐπιδεικνυμένον πρὸς τὸν ἐστιάτορα τῶν
ἔστιμων καὶ γυμνοῖς ἥθει προσαγορευόντων
καὶ ὁμιλίας τὰς ἀρμοττοῦσας τῷ καιρῷ ποιου-
μένων. τεράστιον δὲ καὶ τὸ μὴ πίνοντας πινόντων
καὶ τὸ μὴ ἔσθιοντας ἔσθιοντων παρέχεις φαντασίαν.
ἀλλὰ ταύτι γε ὡς ἀκόλουθα. τὸ δὲ πρῶτον ἐκείνο
τερατωδέστατον, ἀσωμάτους ὄντας [τοῦθε σώματος]

1 So one ms. The others ἀνθρώπως, which Cohn prints in
the text, but later declared for ὁν. The accusative, however
= "in relation with men" is not impossible.
60
house must have been happy and blessed in which such an event as this took place, that wise men halted there and made a stay who would not have deigned even to look inside if they saw anything hopelessly wrong in the souls of the inmates. And, if this is so, I do not know how to express the vast happiness and blessedness of that house where angels did not shrink from halting and receiving hospitality from men—angels, those holy and divine beings, the servitors and lieutenants of the primal God whom He employs as ambassadors to announce the predictions which He wills to make to our race. For how could they have brought themselves to enter at all if they had not known that all the household, like a well ordered crew, was obedient to a single call from him who steered them like a pilot? And how should they have given ground for the idea that they feasted and received hospitality unless they thought that the giver of the feast was their kinsman and fellow-servant who had sought refuge with their master? Indeed we must suppose that at their entrance all parts of the house advanced still further in goodness and felt some breath of the inspiration of perfect virtue. The conduct of the meal was such as it should be. The guests showed to their entertainer the frank simplicity of a festive gathering. Their manner in addressing him was unreserved, and their converse suited to the occasion. It is a marvel indeed that though they neither ate nor drank they gave the appearance of both eating and drinking. But that is a secondary matter; the first and greatest wonder is that, though incorporeal, they assumed human

a See App. p. 598.
εἰς ἰδέαν ἀνθρώπων μεμορφώσθαι χάριτι τῇ πρὸς τὸν ἀστείον· τίνος γὰρ ἔνεκα ταῦτα ἐθαυματουργεῖτο ἡ τοῦ παρασχεῖν αἰσθησιν τῷ σοφῷ διὰ τρανοτέρας ὀψεως, ὥστε οὐ λέληθε τὸν πατέρα τοιοῦτος ὄν;

119 XXIV. Τὰ μὲν οὖν τῆς βρήτης ἀποδόσεως ὁδὶ λελέχθω· τῆς δὲ δὲ ὑπονοιῶν ἀρκτέων. σύμβολα τὰ ἐν φωναῖς τῶν διανοια ἰδικὴ καταλαμβανομένων ἐστίν· ἐπειδὰν οὖν ἡ ψυχὴ καθάπερ ἐν μεσημβρίᾳ θεῷ περιλαμφθῇ καὶ οὖν δὲ ὀλων νοητοῦ φωτὸς ἀναπλησθεῖσα ταῖς ἐν κύκλῳ κεχυμέναις αὖγαίς ἁσκίων γένηται, τριττὴν φαντασίαν ἐνὸς ὑποκειμένου καταλαμβάνει, τοῦ μὲν ὡς οὖν, τῶν δὲ ἄλλων δυοὶ ὡς ἂν ἀπαγαζομένων ἀπὸ τοῦτο σκιῶν ὑποί τι συμβαίνει καὶ τοῖς ἐν ἀισθητῷ φωτὶ διατρίβουσιν· ἡ γὰρ ἐστώτως ἡ κινουμένων δικται σκιαί πολλάκις συνεμπίπτουσι. μὴ μέντοι νομισάτω τις ἐπὶ θεοῦ τὰς σκιὰς κυριολογεῖσθαι· κατάχρησις ὄνόματος εστι μόνον πρὸς ἐναργεστέρας ἐπει τὸ γε 

120 ἀληθὲς οὖν ὡς ἄρ ἐκεῖν· ἀλλ' ἐστιν, ὡς ἂν τις ἐγγύτατα τῆς ἀλθείας ἱστάμενος εἴποι, πατὴρ μὲν τῶν ὅλων [19] ὁ μέσος, δς ὡς ταῖς ἑραίς γραφαῖς κυρίω ὀνόματι καλεῖται οὖν, αἱ δὲ παρ' ἐκάτερα αἱ προσβύταιται καὶ ἐγγυτάτω τοῦ οὖν δυνάμεις, ἢ μὲν ποιητική, ἢ δ' αὖ βασιλική· προσαγορεύεται δὲ ἢ μὲν ποιητικὴ θεὸς, ταύτη γὰρ ἑθηκέ τε καὶ διεκόσμησε τὸ πᾶν, ἢ δὲ βασιλικὴ κύριος, θέμις γὰρ ἄρχει καὶ κρατεῖν τὸ πεποιηκὸς τοῦ γενομένου. δορυφοροῦμενος οὖν

1 mss. (with the exception of H²) τὰς ... κεχυμένας αὖγας, which perhaps might be kept, as Cohn suggests, by correcting ἁσκίων γένηται to ἁσκίους δέχηται or ἁσπάζηται.

62
ON ABRAHAM, 118–122

form to do kindness to the man of worth. For why was this miracle worked save to cause the Sage to perceive with clearer vision that the Father did not fail to recognize his wisdom?

XXIV. Here we may leave the literal exposition and begin the allegorical. Spoken words contain symbols of things apprehended by the understanding only. When, then, as at noon-tide God shines around the soul, and the light of the mind fills it through and through and the shadows are driven from it by the rays which pour all around it, the single object presents to it a triple vision, one representing the reality, the other two the shadows reflected from it. Our life in the light which our senses perceive gives us a somewhat similar experience, for objects standing or moving often cast two shadows at once. No one, however, should think that the shadows can be properly spoken of as God. To call them so is loose speaking, serving merely to give a clearer view of the fact which we are explaining, since the real truth is otherwise. Rather, as anyone who has approached nearest to the truth would say, the central place is held by the Father of the Universe, Who in the sacred scriptures is called He that is as His proper name, while on either side of Him are the senior potencies, the nearest to Him, the creative and the kingly. The title of the former is God, since it made and ordered the All; the title of the latter is Lord, since it is the fundamental right of the maker to rule and control what he has brought into being. So the central Being with each of His pot-

a Evidently an allusion to the accepted derivation of θεός from τίθημι. Cf. De Conf. 137 δύναμις καθ’ ἐν θεηκε καὶ διετάξατο τὰ πάντα κέκληται ἐτύμως θεός, where ἐτύμως shews that an etymology is intended (see note). Cf. also De Mut. 29.
PHILO

ο μέσος υφ' ἐκατέρας τῶν δυνάμεων παρέχει τῇ ὀρατικῇ διανοίᾳ τοτε μὲν ἐνὸς τοτὲ δὲ τριῶν φαντασίαιν, ἐνὸς μὲν ὅταν ἀκρως τύχη καθαρθείσα καὶ μὴ μόνον τὰ πλήθη τῶν ἀριθμῶν ἄλλα καὶ τὴν γείτονα μονάδος δυάδα ὑπερβάσα πρὸς τὴν ἁμηγή καὶ ἀσύμπλοκον καὶ καθ' αὐτὴν οὐδενὸς ἐπίδεικτο τὸ παράπαν ἴδεαν ἐπείγεται, τριῶν δὲ ὅταν μῆπω τὰς μεγάλας τελεσθεῖσα τελετάς ἐτὸι ἐν ταῖς βραχυτέραις ὀργάζεται καὶ μὴ δύνηται τὸ ὅν ἄνευ ἐτέρου τυνὸς ἐξ αὐτοῦ μόνου καταλαβεῖν, ἄλλα διὰ τῶν 123 δρωμένων, ἢ κτίζον ἢ ἀρχον. δεύτερος μὲν οὖν, ὡς φασί, πλοῦς οὔτος, μετέχει δ' οὐδὲν ἦττον δόξης θεοφιλοῦς· ὃ δὲ πρότερος τρόπος οὐ μετέχει, ἀλλ' αὐτὸς ἐστὶ θεοφιλὴς δόξα, μᾶλλον δὲ καὶ δόξης πρεσβυτέρα καὶ παντὸς τιμιώτερα τοῦ δοκεῖν ἀλήθεια. γνωριμώτερον δὲ τὸ δηλούμενον 124 παραστατέον. XXV. τρεῖς εἰσιν ἡθῶν ἀνθρωπίνων τάξεις, δ' ἐκάστη διακεκλήρωται μίαν τῶν εἴρημένων φαντασιῶν ἢ μὲν ἀρίστη τῆς μέσης του ὅντως οὖν, ἢ δὲ μετ' ἐκείνην τὴν ἐπὶ δεξιά, τὴν εὐεργέτιν, ἢ θεὸς ὄνομα, ἢ δὲ τρίτη τῆς ἐπὶ θάτερα, 125 τὴν ἀρχικήν, ἢ καλεῖται κύριος. τὰ μὲν οὖν ἀριστατῶν ἡθῶν τὸν ἄριστον ἀνευ τινὸς οὖν θέλεται πρὸς μηδενὸς ἐτέρου μεθελκόμενα, τῷ τετάσθαι μονάδικοις πρὸς τὴν ἐνὸς τιμῆν· τῶν δὲ ἄλλων τὰ μὲν διὰ τῆς εὐεργέτιδος συνήσταται καὶ γνωρίζεται

a For this proverbial phrase see note on De Som. i. 44.

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encies as His squire presents to the mind which has vision the appearance sometimes of one, sometimes of three: of one, when that mind is highly purified and, passing beyond not merely the multiplicity of other numbers, but even the dyad which is next to the unit, presses on to the ideal form which is free from mixture and complexity, and being self-contained needs nothing more; of three, when, as yet uninitiated into the highest mysteries, it is still a votary only of the minor rites and unable to apprehend the Existent alone by Itself and apart from all else, but only through Its actions, as either creative or ruling. This is, as they say, a "second best voyage"; yet all the same there is in it an element of a way of thinking such as God approves. But the former state of mind has not merely an element. It is in itself the divinely-approved way, or rather it is the truth, higher than a way of thinking, more precious than anything which is merely thought. But it would be well to state the point in a more familiar guise. XXV. There are three classes of human temperaments, each of them so constituted that the vision presents itself in one of the three ways above-mentioned. To the best class it presents itself in the middle form, that of the essentially existent; to the next best, in that which stands on the right, the beneficent, which bears the name of God; to the third, in that on the left, the governing, which is called Lord. Temperaments of the last kind worship the solely Self-existent and nothing can make them swerve from this, because they are subject to the single attraction which leads them to honour the one. Of the other two types, one is introduced and made known to the Father by
δυνάμεως τῷ πατρὶ, τά δὲ διὰ τῆς βασιλικῆς.  

126 οἱ δὲ λέγων, τοιούτον ἐστιν. ἀνθρωποι μὲν ἐπειδὰν αὐσθωνται κατὰ πρόφασιν ἑταρείας προσιότας αὐτοῖς τινας ἐπὶ θήρα πλεονεξίων, ὑποβλέπονται τε καὶ ἀποστρέφονται τὴν προσποίητον κολακείαν καὶ τιθασθέαν αὐτῶν δεδίστε ως

127 σφόδρα ἐπιζήμιον· οἱ δὲ θεὸς ἀτε βλάβην οὐκ ἐπιδεχόμενον ἀπαντας τοὺς καθ' ἦμυνοιν ἱδέαν προαρομένους τιμῶν αὐτὸν ἄσμενος προσκαλείται, μηδένα σκορπάζειν ἄζων τὸ παράπαν, ἀλλὰ μόνον οὐκ ἀντικρύς τοῖς ἀκοαῖς ἔχουσιν ἐν τῇ ψυχῇ θεσπίζει, τάδε "τὰ μὲν πρῶτα τῶν ἁθλῶν κείσεται τοῖς ἐμὲ θεραπεύουσι δι' ἐμὲ αὐτοῖς, τά δὲ δεύτερα τοῖς δι' ἐαυτοὺς, ἡ τυχεῖν ἀγαθῶν ἐλπίζουσιν ἡ τιμωρίων ἀπαλλαγὴν εὐρήσεσθαι προσδοκός. καὶ γὰρ εἰ ἐμιμοθὸς ἡ τῶν ἐκάστους, καὶ μὴ ἀδεκαστος, ἀλλ' οὐδὲν ἔττον ἐντὸς εἰλεῖται θείων περιβόλων καὶ οὐκ ἔξω πλάζεται. τά δὲ ἀθλα τοῖς

128 πίζει τάδε· "τὰ μὲν πρῶτα τῶν ἁθλῶν κείσεται τοῖς ἐμὲ θεραπεύουσι δι' ἐμὲ αὐτοῖς, τά δὲ δεύτερα τοῖς δι' ἐαυτοὺς, ἡ τυχεῖν ἀγαθῶν ἐλπίζουσιν ἡ τιμωρίων ἀπαλλαγὴν εὐρήσεσθαι προσδοκός. καὶ γὰρ εἰ ἐμιμοθὸς ἡ τῶν ἐκάστους, καὶ μὴ ἀδεκαστος, ἀλλ' οὐδὲν ἔττον ἐντὸς εἰλεῖται θείων περιβόλων καὶ οὐκ ἔξω πλάζεται. τά δὲ ἀθλα τοῖς

129 μὲν ἐμὲ τιμῶσι δι' ἐμὲ κείσεται φίλια, τοῖς δὲ διὰ τὰς χρείας φίλια μὲν οὐ, τὸ δὲ μὴ ἀλλοτρίως νομίζεσθαι· δέχομαι γὰρ καὶ τὸν τῆς εὐεργετοῦσας μον δυνάμεως βοηλόμενον μεταλαχεῖν εἰς μετουσίαν ἀγαθῶν καὶ τὸν φόβω τὴν ἤγερμονικὴν καὶ δεσποτικὴν ἱλασκόμενον ἐξουσίαν εἰς ἀποτροπῆν κολάσεως· ὁ γὰρ ἀγνώριος, διότι πρὸς τῷ χείρος μὴ γίγνεσθαι καὶ βελτίως ἐσονται τῷ συνεχεῖ τῆς θεραπείας εἰλικρινῆ καὶ καθαρὰν εὐσέβειαν αἰσχραὶ·

130 σαντε. εἰ γὰρ καὶ μάλιστα οἱ τρόποι διαφέρουσι, ἀφ' ὣν ποιοῦνται τὰς πρὸς τὴν ἀρέσκειαν ὅρμας, οὐκ αἰτιατέον, ὅτι σκοπὸς εἰς καὶ τέλος ἐν ἐστιν αὐτοῖς, τὸ θεραπεύειν ἐμὲ. "
ON ABRAHAM, 125–130

the beneficial, the other by the kingly potency.

My meaning is something as follows: men, when they see others approaching them under profession of friendship, in quest of advantages to be gained from them, look askance and turn away; they fear that counterfeited adulation and suavity which they regard as exceedingly pernicious. But God cannot suffer injury, and therefore He gladly invites all who set themselves to honour Him under any form whatsoever, and in His eyes none such deserves rejection. Indeed one might almost say that to those whose souls have ears God speaks plainly as follows: "My first prizes will be set apart for those who honour Me for Myself alone, the second to those who honour Me for their own sakes, either hoping to win blessings or expecting to obtain remission of punishments, since, though their worship is for reward and not disinterested, yet all the same its range lies within the divine precincts and does not stray outside. But the prizes set aside for those who honour Me for Myself will be gifts of friendship; to those whose motive is self-interest they do not show friendship but that I do not count them as aliens. For I accept both him who wishes to enjoy My beneficial power and thus partake of blessings and him who propitiates the dominance and authority of the master to avoid chastisement. For I know well that they will not only not be worsened, but actually bettered, through the persistence of their worship and through practising piety pure and undefiled. For, however different are the characters which produce in them the impulses to do My pleasure, no charge shall be brought against them, since they have one aim and object, to serve Me."

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τριττή φαντασία δυνάμει ἕνός ἐστιν ὑποκειμένου, φανερὸν οὐ μόνον ἐκ τῆς ἐν ἄλλη γορίᾳ θεωρίας, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῆς ῥήτης γραφῆς τάδε περιεχούσης. 1 132 ἴνικα μὲν γὰρ ὁ σοφὸς ἱκετεύει τοὺς ἐοικότας ὀδουπόροις τρεῖς ἥξυσθηναι παρὰ αὐτῶ, διάλεγεται τούτων οὐχ ὡς τρισὶν, ἀλλ’ ὡς ἐν’, καὶ φησι· “κύριε, εἰ ἀρα εὐρόν χάριν παρὰ σοι, μὴ παρέλθης τὸν παιδά σου” τὸ γὰρ “κύριε” καὶ τὸ “παρὰ σοι” καὶ τὸ “μὴ παρέλθης” καὶ ὁσα τοιαῦτα πρὸς ἕνα πέφυκεν ἀλλ’ οὐ πρὸς πλείους λέγεσθαι. ἴνικα δὲ ἥξυσθηναι φιλοφρονοῦνται τὸν ἥξυσθόχον, πάλιν εἰς ὑπισχνεῖται ὡς μόνος αὐτὸς παρὼν γνησίου παιδὸς σποράν διὰ τῶν. “ἐπανών ἢξω πρὸς σὲ κατὰ τὸν καιρὸν τούτον εἰς νέωτα, καὶ ἔξει νιόν Σάρρα ἡ γυνή σου.”

133 XXVI. Φανερῶτατα μέντοι καὶ διαπονητότατα μηνύει διὰ τῶν ἔξης τὸ δηλοῦμενον. ἡ Σοδομιτῶν χῶρα, μούρα τῆς Χανανείδος γῆς, ἦν ὕστερον ὄνομασαν Συρίαν Παλαιστίνην, ἀδικημάτων μυρίων ὄσων γεμισθεισα καὶ μάλιστα τῶν ἐκ γαστριμαργίας καὶ λαγνείας ὅσα τε μεγέθη καὶ πλήθη τῶν ἄλλων ἥδουν ἐπίτειχίσασα ἢδι παρὰ τῷ δικαστῇ τῶν ὀλών κατέγνωστο. αἰτιον δὲ τῆς περὶ τῶ ἁκολασταίνειν ἀμετρίας ἐγένετο τοῖς οἰκήτοροις ἑ τῶν χορηγῶν ἐπάλληλος ἄφθονια· βαθύνεις γὰρ καὶ εὐνῶδος οὗσα ἡ χώρα παντοῖων ἀνὰ πάν ἑκέρκη τοιοῦτον ἐκρήτω· “μεγίστη δ’ ἀρχῆ κακῶν’’

1 Cohn suspects δυνάμει, needlessly, I think. No doubt δυνάμει is properly opposed to οὐσία or ἐντελεχεία. Cf. De Op. 47, Leg. All. i. 61. But the statement here is that the vision of one is the reality which lies behind the vision of three. Actually a φαντασία can only be of that which appears.
That the triple vision is in reality a vision of a single object is clear not merely from the principles of allegory but from the literal text which contains the following account. When the Sage supplicates the three seeming travellers to accept his hospitality, he discourses with them as though they were one and not three. He says, "Sir, if indeed I have found favour with thee, do not thou pass thy servant by." Here "Sir" and "with thee" and "do not thou pass" and the other like phrases must be addressed to one and not to more than one; and during their entertainment, when they show courtesy to their host, we find one only, as though no other was present, promising the birth of a son born in wedlock in the following words: "I will return and come to thee at this season next year, and Sarah, thy wife, shall have a son.”

He brings out the point most clearly and elaborately in what follows. The land of the Sodomites, a part of the land of Canaan afterwards called Palestinian Syria, was brimful of innumerable iniquities, particularly such as arise from gluttony and lewdness, and multiplied and enlarged every other possible pleasure with so formidable a menace that it had at last been condemned by the Judge of All. The inhabitants owed this extreme licence to the never-failing lavishness of their sources of wealth, for, deep-soiled and well-watered as it was, the land had every year a prolific harvest of all manner of fruits,

a Or "virtually." See critical note.
b See Gen. xviii. 3 and 10.
c For §§ 133-141 see Gen. xix.

a Some mss. ἀδιαπορητότατα or ἀδιαπόνητα: Cohn suggests ἀδιαπορητότατα.
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ὡς εἶπε τις οὖκ ἀπὸ σκοποῦ "τὰ λίαν ἀγαθά." 135 ὁν ἀδυνατοῦντες φέρειν τὸν κόρον ὥσπερ τὰ θρέμματα σκιρτῶντες ἀπαυχεύεισθαι τὸν τῆς φύσεως νόμον, ἀκρατοὺς πολὺν καὶ ψυχοφαγίας καὶ ὀχεῖας ἐκθέσμους μεταδιώκοντες, οὐ γὰρ μόνον θηλυκοῦντες ἀλλὰ καὶ ἄνδρες ὄντες ἀρρενοῦσιν ἐπιθυμοῦσας, τὴν κοινὴν πρὸς τοὺς πάσχοντας οἱ δρῶντες φύσιν οὐκ αἰδοῦμενοι, παιδιστηρῶντες ἔλεγχοντες ἐπὶ ἀνελθή γονὴν σπείροντες, οὗ δὲ ἔλεγχος πρὸς οὐδέν ἢν ὅφελος, ὑπὸ 136 βιαστερᾶς νικωμένων ἐπιθυμίας. εἶτ' ἐκ τοῦ κατι [21] ὀλίγων ἐθύζοντες τὰ γυναικῶν ὑπομένειν τοὺς ἄνδρας γεννῆθέν τε καὶ θήλειαν κατεσχεύασαν αὐτοῖς νόσον, κακῶν δύσμαχον, οὐ μόνον τὰ σώματα μαλακότητι καὶ θρύψει γυναικῶντες, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰς ψυχὰς ἀγεννησιάς ἀπεργαζόμενοι, καὶ τὸ γε ἐπὶ αὐτοὺς ἦκον μέρος τὸ σύμπαν ἄνθρωπων γένους διέφθειρον. εἴ γοῦν "Ἐλλήνες ὁμοὶ καὶ βάρβαροι συμφωνήσαντες εξήλωσαν τὰ τοιαύτα ὀμιλίας, ἠρήμωντο ἃν ἐξῆς αἰ πόλεις ὥσπερ ὅσπερ λοιμώδει νόσῳ 137 κενωθεῖσαν. XXVII. λαβὼν δὲ ὁ θεὸς οἶκτον ἀτε σωτήρ καὶ φιλανθρωπος τὰς μὲν κατὰ φύσιν ἄνδρῶν καὶ γυναικῶν συνόδους γευσάσθαι καὶ ἄνθρωπων σπορᾶς ηὐζησεν ὡς ἐν μάλιστα, τὰς δὲ ἐκφύλους καὶ ἐκθέσμους διαμισθές ἐσάσθησε καὶ τοὺς ὀργοῦντας ἐπὶ ταύτας προβαλόμενος οὐχὶ τὰς ἐν ἐθεὶ κανονοργήσας δὲ ἐκτόπους καὶ παρηλλαγμένας 138 τιμωρίας ἑτμωρήσατο. κελεύει γὰρ ἐξαιρυφής τὸν ἁέρα νεφωθέντα πολὺν ὄμβρον οὐχ ὑδατος ἀλλὰ 1 mss. ἐφ' αὐτοῖς or ἐπ' αὐτοῖς.

1 ΑΡΧΗ ΜΕΓΙΣΤΗ ΤΩΝ ἘΝ ΑΝΘΡΩΠΟΙΚΑΚΩΝ, ὩΓΑΘΟΣ, ΤΑ ΛΙΑΝ ἈΓΑΘΑ. Menander.
and the chief beginning of evils, as one has aptly said, is goods in excess. Incapable of bearing such satiety, plunging like cattle, they threw off from their necks the law of nature and applied themselves to deep drinking of strong liquor and dainty feeding and forbidden forms of intercourse. Not only in their mad lust for women did they violate the marriages of their neighbours, but also men mounted males without respect for the sex nature which the active partner shares with the passive; and so when they tried to beget children they were discovered to be incapable of any but a sterile seed. Yet the discovery availed them not, so much stronger was the force of the lust which mastered them. Then, as little by little they accustomed those who were by nature men to submit to play the part of women, they saddled them with the formidable curse of a female disease. For not only did they emasculate their bodies by luxury and voluptuousness but they worked a further degeneration in their souls and, as far as in them lay, were corrupting the whole of mankind. Certainly, had Greeks and barbarians joined together in affecting such unions, city after city would have become a desert, as though depopulated by a pestilential sickness. XXVII. But God, moved by pity for mankind whose Saviour and Lover He was, gave increase in the greatest possible degree to the unions which men and women naturally make for begetting children, but abominated and extinguished this unnatural and forbidden intercourse, and those who lusted for such He cast forth and chastised with punishments not of the usual kind but startling and extraordinary, newly-created for this purpose. He bade the air grow sud-

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πυρὸς ύειν· ἀθρόας δὲ νυφούσης ἀδιαστάτω καὶ ἀπαύστω φύκης, ἑκαίοντο μὲν ἀγροὶ καὶ λεμμὼς καὶ λάσια ἁλή καὶ ἕλη δασύτατα καὶ ὀρμοὶ βαθεῖς, ἑκαίετο δ’ ἡ πεδίας καὶ ὁ τοῦ σίτου καὶ τῶν ἄλλων σπαρτῶν ἄπας καρπός, ἑκαίετο δὲ καὶ τῆς ὀρεινῆς ἡ δενδροφόρος, στελεχῶν βίας
139 αὐταῖς ἐμπιπτομένων· ἐπαύλειας δὲ καὶ οἰκίαι καὶ τείχη καὶ ὅσα ἐν οἰκοδομαι ἰδιωτικὰ καὶ ἀμβόσια πάντα συγκατεπιμπραντό καὶ ἡμέρα μιᾷ αἱ μὲν εὐανθροῦσα πόλεις τάφος τῶν οἰκητῶν ἐγεγενημένα, αἱ δ’ ἐκ λίθων καὶ ξύλων κατασκευαὶ τέφρα
140 καὶ λεπτῆ κόνις. ἔτει δὲ τὰ ἐν φανερῷ καὶ ὑπὲρ γῆς ἀπαντα κατανόωσιν η φλὸξ, ἡδὴ καὶ τὴν γῆν αὐτὴν ἐκεῖναι κατωτάτῳ διαδύνασα καὶ τὴν ἐν υπάρχουσαν ἡμερήμιν εἴθειρεν εἰς ἀγονίαν παντελῆ, ὑπὲρ τοῦ μηδὲν αὖθις ποτὲ καρπὸν ἐνεγκείται· καὶ μέχρι νῦν καίεται, τὸ γὰρ κεραυνοῦν πῦρ ἐκιστεῖται τά έν φανερώ καὶ ὑπέρ γῆς κατανάλωσεν ή φλόξ, ἠδὴ καὶ τὴν γῆν ἐφθειρεν εἰς ἀγονίαν παντελῶς, ὑπὲρ τοῦ μηδὲν εἰς ἄγονίαν παντελῆ, ὑπὲρ τοῦ μηδὲν εἰς ἄγονίαν παντελῶς.
141 Ἐτέρωσι καὶ ἐντύφευσι. Πίστις δὲ σαφέστατη τὰ ὅρμωνα· τοῦ γὰρ συμβεβηκότος πάθους μνημείων ἐστιν ὁ τε ἀναδιδόμενος ἀεὶ κατόπις καὶ ὁ μεταλλεύσθηθαι μενείν τῆς ἐν περὶ τὴν χώραν παλαιᾶς εὐδαιμονίας ἐναργεῖςτατον ὑπολειπτεται δεῖγμα πόλις καὶ τῶν ὄμορων καὶ ἡ ἐν κύκλῳ γῆ, πολυνάθρωπος μὲν ἡ πόλις, εὔχορτος δὲ καὶ εὔσταχος καὶ συνόλως καρποφόρος ἡ γῆ, πρὸς ἐλεγχον δίκης γνώμη θεία δικαιοθείης.
142 Κενά γὰρ οὖχ ἐνεκα τοῦ δηλώσαι με τὰς μεγαλουργηθείσας ἑμφορὰς καίνὰς ταῦτα διεξῆλθον, ἀλλ’ ἐκεῖνο βουλόμενος παραστήσαι, ὅτι τῶν τριῶν ὡς ἀνδρῶν ἐπιφανεῖτων τῷ σοφῷ δύο
ON ABRAHAM, 138–142

water but fire. And when the flames streamed down massed in one constant and perpetual rush, they burnt up the fields and meadows, the leafy groves, the overgrowths of the marshland and the dense thickets. They burnt the plainland and all the fruit of the corn and other crops. They burnt the forest-land on the mountains, where trunks and roots alike were consumed. The conflagration reached to byres and houses and walls and all public and private property contained in buildings; and in one day populous cities had become the grave of the inhabitants and fabrics of stone and timber had turned into ashes and fine dust. And when the flame had utterly consumed all that was visible and above ground it penetrated right down into the earth itself, destroyed its inherent life-power and reduced it to complete sterility to prevent it from ever bearing fruit and herbage at all. And to this day it goes on burning, for the fire of the thunderbolt is never quenched, but either continues its ravages or else smoulders. And the clearest proof is what is still visible, for a monument of the disastrous event remains in the smoke which rises ceaselessly and the brimstone which the miners obtain; while the ancient prosperity of the country is most plainly attested by the survival of one of the cities of the neighbourhood and the land round it; for the city is thickly populated and the land rich in corn and pasture and fertile in general, thus providing a standing evidence to the sentence decreed by the divine judgement.

XXVIII. However, I have given these details not in order to describe the unprecedented calamity of God’s mighty working, but in my wish to shew something else. Scripture tells us that of the three who appeared
μόνους εἰς τὴν ἄφανισθείσαν χώραν τὰ λόγια φησιν ἐλθεῖν ἐπ’ ὀλέθρῳ τῶν οἰκητῶν, τοῦ τρίτου μὴ δικαιώσαντος ἥκειν· ὅς κατά γε τὴν ἐμὴν ἐννοιαν ἦν ὁ πρὸς ἀλήθειαν ὁ, ἀρμόττων ὑπολαβὼν εἶναι τὰ μὲν ἀγαθὰ παρῶν δι’ αὐτοῦ χαρίζεσθαι, μόναις δ’ ἐπιτρέπειν ταῖς δυνάμεσι καθ’ ὑπηρεσίαν τὰ ἐναντία χεφουργεῖν, ἵνα μόνων ἀγαθῶν αἰτίας, κακοῦ δὲ μηδενὸς προηγομένως νομίζηται. τοῦτο μοι δοκοῦσι καὶ τῶν βασιλέων οἱ μυούμενοι τὴν θείαν φύσιν πράττειν, τὰς μὲν χάριτας δι’ ἐαυτῶν προτείνοντες, τὰς δὲ τιμωρίας δι’ ἔτερων βεβαιούντες. ἀλλ’ ἐπειδὴ τῶν δυνών δυνάμεως ἢ μὲν εὐεργετέως ἢ μὲν κολαστήριος, ἕκατέρα κατὰ τὸ εἴκος ἐπιφαίνεται τῇ Σοδομιτῶν γῆ, διότι τῶν ἀρίστων ἐν αὐτῇ πέντε πόλεως τέτταρες μὲν ἐμελλον ἐμπίπρασθαι, μία δὲ ἀπαθής παντός κακοῦ ὑπολείπεσθαι. ἔχρην γὰρ διὰ μὲν τῆς κολαστηρίου γίνεσθαι τὴν φθοράν, σώζεσθαι δὲ διὰ τῆς εὐεργετίδος. ἀλλ’ ἐπειδὴ καὶ τὸ σωζόμενον μέρος οὐχ ὀλοκλήρους καὶ παντελεῖς εἶχεν ἄρετάς, δυνάμει μὲν τοῦ ὄντος εὐεργετεῖτο, προηγομένως δὲ τῆς ἐκείνου φαντασίας ἄναξιοι εὐομίσθη τυχεῖν. XXIX. Ἡ μὲν οὕν ἐν φανερῷ καὶ πρὸς τοὺς πολλοὺς ἀπόδοσις ἥδ’ ἐστίν· ἡ δὲ ἐν ἀποκρύφῳ καὶ πρὸς ὀλίγους, ὅσιο τρόπους ψυχῆς ἐρευνῶσιν ἀλλ’ οὐ σωμάτων μορφάς, αὐτίκα λεχθῆται. συμβολικῶς ἡ πεντάπολις αἱ ἐν ἡμῖν πέντε αἰσθήσεως εἰσὶ, τὰ τῶν ἡδονῶν ὀργάνα, δι’ ὄν ἀπασαί μικράι

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a Or “primarily.”
b The idea that God’s direct agency appears only in doing good and that He leaves punishment to His subordinates has been already worked out in De Conf. 168 ff. on the text “let
ON ABRAHAM, 142–147

to the Sage in the guise of men two only went on to the land whose existence was blotted out to destroy the inhabitants, but the third thought good not to accompany them. In my opinion that one was the truly Existent, who held it fitting that He should be present to give good gifts by His own agency, but should leave the execution of the opposite of good entirely in the hands of His potencies acting as His ministers, that so He might appear to be the cause of good only, but not directly the cause of anything evil. This is the practice, I think, of kings also, who imitate the divine nature. They are their own agents in granting boons, but employ others to enforce punishment. But since of the two potencies one is beneficial and the other punitive it was natural that each should make his appearance in the land of the Sodomites, since of the five most flourishing cities in it four were to be burnt but one was to be left, preserved from all evil that could harm it. It was right that the punitive should be employed for destruction, but the beneficial for preservation. Yet since the virtues of the part preserved were not complete and perfect, while it received benefits through a potency of the Existent, it was not thought worthy to be granted the vision of Him directly.

XXIX. Such is the natural and obvious rendering of the story as suited for the multitude. We will proceed at once to the hidden and inward meaning which appeals to the few who study soul characteristics rather than bodily forms. Symbolically the group of five cities is the five senses in us, the instruments of the pleasures which, whether great or small, are

us go down and confuse their tongue,” and so, too, in De Fuga 68 ff. Cf. also De Op. 72 ff.
τε αὖ καὶ μεγάλαι τελεσιουργοῦνται. ἡ γὰρ ὁρῶντες χρωμάτων καὶ σχημάτων ποικιλίας ἐν τε ἁψύχοις καὶ ψυχῆν ἔχουσιν ἡδόμεθα ἡ φωνῶν ἐμμελεστάτων ἀκούοντες ἡ κατὰ γεῦσιν ἐν τοῖς περὶ ἐδωδὴν καὶ πόσιν ἡ κατ’ ὀσφρήσιν ἐν εὐωδίας ἀτμῶν ἡ ἐν μαλακοῖς καὶ θερμοῖς ἐτὶ δὲ λείους κατὰ τὴν ἀφήν. ζωωδέσται μὲν οὖν καὶ ἀνδραποδώδεσται τῶν πέντε τρεῖς εἴσον αἰσθήσεις, γεῦσις, ὀσφρήσις, ἁφή, περὶ ἀς τῶν θρεμμάτων καὶ τῶν θηρίων τὰ γαστριμαργότα καὶ συνουσιαστικῶτατα μάλιστα ἐπτόνται. δι’ ὅλης γὰρ ἡμέρας καὶ νυκτὸς ἡ τροφῶν ἀπλήστως ἐμφορεῖται ἡ πρὸς τὰς ὁχείας ὀρμᾶ. δύο δ’ εἰσὶν ἐμφιλόσοφοι καὶ ἄγεμονides, ἀκοὴ καὶ ὀρασίς, βραδύτερα δὲ πῶς καὶ θηλύτερα ὅτα ὀφθαλμῶν ἐπὶ τὰ ὀφθαλμῶν ὑπὸ εὐτολμίας καὶ οὐκ ἀναμενόντων, ἀχρὶ ἄν ἐκεῖνα κινήσει, προὐπαντιαζόντων δὲ καὶ ἀντικινήσαι γλυχομένων. ἀκοὴ μὲν οὖν, διότι βραδεία καὶ [23] θηλύτερα, δευτερεύουσαν τὰξιν τετάχθω, προνομία δ’ ἐστώ τις ἐξαίρετα ὀράσεις. ταῦτην γὰρ ἡ θεὸς βασιλίδα τῶν ἀλλών ἀπεφήνεν ἐπάνω, θείας ἀπασῶν καὶ ὅπως ἐπ’ ἀκροπόλεως ἰδρυμένος οἰκειοτάτην ἀπειράσατο ψυχῆ. τεκμηριώσατο δ’ ἂν τις ἐξ τοῦ συμμεταβάλλων ταῖς ἑκτείνησι τροπαῖς· λύπης μὲν γὰρ ἐγγυνομένης, ὀφθαλμοί συννοιασταί γέμουσι καὶ κατηφείς, χαρᾶς δ’ ἐμπαλιν, ὑπομειδώσας καὶ γεγήθασε, φῶς καὶ ἐκνένευκε, μόνον οὐ συνεκτείνουσα τῇ διανοίᾳ.
brought to their accomplishment by the senses. For we get pleasure either by seeing varieties of colours and shapes in objects, whether possessed of physical life or not, or by hearing very melodious sounds or through taste in matters of food and drink, or through smell in fragrant perfumes or through touch in soft and warm and also in smooth substances. Now of the five, the three most animal and servile are taste, smell, and touch, which cause particular excitation in the cattle and wild beasts most given to gluttony and sexual passion. For all day and night they fill themselves with food insatiably or are at rut. The other two have a link with philosophy and hold the leading place—hearing and sight. But the ears are in a way more sluggish and womanish than eyes. The eyes have the courage to reach out to the visible objects and do not wait to be acted on by them, but anticipate the meeting, and seek to act upon them instead. Hearing, then, sluggish and more womanish as it is, must be put in the second place and a special precedence must be given to sight, for God has made it the queen of the other senses and set it above them all, and, establishing it as it were on a citadel, has associated it most closely with the soul. We may find a proof of this in the way in which it changes with the soul's phases. When the soul feels grief, the eyes are full of anxiety and depression. When on the other hand it feels joy, they smile and rejoice. When fear is supreme, they are full of turbulent confusion, and move and quiver and roll confusedly. If anger prevails, the organ of sight is harsher and bloodshot, and during reflection and careful consideration of any question it has a quiet and distant appearance, almost as though it was accommo-
PHILO

εαυτήν, ἐν δὲ ταῖς ἀναψύχεσι καὶ ἀνέσεσι συνανίεται καὶ χαλάται: καὶ προσιόντι μὲν φίλῳ προευαγγελίζεται τῷ τῆς εὐνοίας πάθος εὐδίω καὶ γαληνῷ βλέπωμα, εἰ δ′ ἐχθρὸς τύχη, τὸ δυσάρεστον τῆς ψυχῆς πάθος προμηνύει· καὶ θρασύτητι μὲν προπηδώσι καὶ προεκτρέχουσιν ὀφθαλμοῖ, αἰδοὶ δὲ πράξις ἡρεμοῦσί· καὶ χαλατίς συνελόντι φράσαι ψυχῆς εἰκόνα δεδημιουργήσθαι τὴν ὄρασιν ἀκρότητι τέχνης εἰς μεμιμημένης ἐναργόν εἰναίδωλον οἷα διὰ κατόπτρου τὴν φύσιν ὄρατην ἐξ αὐτῆς οὐκ ἔχουσας. άλλα γὰρ οὐ ταύτῃ μονὸν τὰς ἄλλας αἰσθήσεις ὑπερβάλλει τὸ κάλλος ὀφθαλμῶν, ἄλλα καὶ διότι τῶν ἄλλων ἐν ταῖς ἐγρηγορσί—τὴν γὰρ καθ’ ὑπνόν ἀπαρξίαν οὐ παραληπτοῦ—ἐπιλείπουσιν αἱ χρήσεις· ὅποτε γὰρ μὴ κινήσει τι τῶν ἐκτός, ἀναψύχουσι, αἱ δὲ τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν ἀναπεπταμένων ἐνέργειαι συνεχεῖς καὶ ἀδιάστατοι μηδεποτὲ πληρομένων εἰσὶ καὶ ταύτῃ παριστάντων, ἣν ἔχουσι πρὸς ψυχὴν συγγενείαν. άλλ’ ἐκείνη μὲν ἀεικίνητος ὅσιος μὲθ’ ἡμέραν καὶ νύκτωρ διανισταται, τοῖς δ’ ἀτε σαρκός πλεῖστον μετέχουσιν αὐτάρκης ἐδόθη δωρεά, μέρος ἡμισὺ τοῦ παντὸς χρόνου καὶ βίου διατελεῖν ἐνεργοῦτας τὰς ἀρμοττούσας ἐνεργείας. άλλα γὰρ ἄναγκαιότατον τῆς ἀπὸ τῶν ὀμμάτων ὑφελείας, ἡδὴ λεκτέων. μόνη γὰρ ὅρασι τῶν αἰσθήσεων ὁ θεὸς ἀνέτειλε φῶς, δ’ καὶ τῶν ὄντων ἄστι κάλλιστον καὶ πρῶτον ἐν ἱεραῖς βίβλοις ἀνομάσθη καλόν. διττὴ δὲ φωτὸς φύσις· τὸ μὲν γὰρ ἀπὸ τοῦ χρειῶδους πυρὸς, φθαρτοῦ φθαρτοῦ, ἐκλάμπει σβέσιν ἐνδεχόμενον, τὸ δὲ α For the distinction between the “useful” and the “heavenly” fire cf. Quis Rerum 136 and note.
dancing itself to the outlook of the mind. In times of mental refreshment and relaxation it relaxes also and is at its ease. When a friend approaches, its peaceful and sunny look is the happy herald of the kindly feeling within, while in the case of an enemy it gives a warning of the soul's displeasure. Courage makes the eyes dart swiftly forward. Modesty makes them gentle and reposeful. In short, one may say that sight has been created as an image of the soul, and through the perfection of the art which has produced so faithful a copy presents a clear and mirror-like reflection of the original whose nature is in itself invisible. But indeed it is not only in this way that the excellence of the eyes exceeds the other senses, but also because in waking moments, since we need not consider their inaction in sleep, they cease to function. For when no outward object moves them they are still, whilst the eyes when open are constant and unceasing in their activities; they have always room for more, and in this way they shew their kinship with the soul. But, while the soul is always in motion and wakeful day and night, the eyes in which the fleshly is the principal ingredient must rest satisfied with the gift of continuing to exercise the activities which befit them for half the whole span of time and human life.

XXX. But the most vital part of the benefit we gain from sight remains now to be told. God made the light to shine upon sight alone of the senses, and light is the best of existing things and was the first to be called good in the sacred books. Now light has a double nature: one is the effulgence of the fire of common use, a perishable as that which produces it and liable to extinction, the other, the
ασβεστον και ἀδιάφθορον ἦστιν, ἀνωθεν ἀπὸ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ πρὸς ἡμᾶς φερόμενον, ὡσπερ ἀπ' ἀενῶν πηγῶν ἐκάστου τῶν ἀστέρων αὐγὰς ἐκχέοντος· ἐκατέρω δὲ ἡ ὦψις ἐνομιλεῖ καὶ δι' ἀμφοτέρων προσβάλλει τοῖς ὁρατοῖς εἰς ἀκριβεστάτην ἀντίληψιν. ἔτι τούνν ἐπιχειρῶμεν ὀφθαλμοὺς λόγους ἐγκωμίζεω, τοῦ θεοῦ τοὺς ἀληθεῖς ἑπαίνους αὐτῶν [24] στηλιτεύσαντος ἐν οὐρανῷ, τοὺς ἀστέρας· ἥλιον γὰρ αὐγὰι καὶ σελήνης καὶ τῶν ἄλλων πλανήτων καὶ ἀπλανῶν τοῦ χάρων γεγόνασιν ὅτι μὴ τῆς ὀφθαλμῶν ἐνεργείας εἰς τὴν τοῦ ὄραν ύπηρεσίαν; διὸ καὶ προσχρώμενοι τῆς πασῶν ἀρίστη δωρεά φωτὶ καταδεῦνται τὰ ἐν κόσμῳ, γῆν, φυτά, ζώα, καρπούς, πελαγῶν ἀναχύεις ποταμοὺς αὐθηγενεῖς ὑπὸ καὶ χειμάρρους πηγῶν τε διαφόρας, καὶ μὲν ψυχρὸν αἰ δὲ θερμὸν νάμα προχέουσιν, πάντων τῶν κατὰ τὸν ἀέρα συνισταμένων τὰς φύσεις —ἀμύθητοι δὲ εἰσὶν ἰδέαι καὶ ἀπερίληπτοι λόγω,— καὶ ἐπὶ πᾶσι τοῦ οὐρανοῦ, ὅς ἀληθεία κόσμος ἐν κόσμῳ δεδημούργηται, καὶ τὰ κατ' οὐρανὸν κάλλη καὶ θεία ἀγάλματα. ταῖς οὖν τῶν ἄλλων αἰσθήσεων ἑπανχήσει διαβήναι ποτε τοσοῦτον; 159 160 άλλ' ἐντομέντας τὰς ἐπὶ ταῖς φάτναις τὸ σύμφυτον ἥμιν θρέμμα πιανούσας, τὴν ἐπιθυμίαν, ἐξετάσσομεν τὴν λόγου μεταποιουμένην ἀκοήν· ὅς ὁ σύντονος καὶ τελειώτατος δρόμος ἱσταται κατὰ ἀέρα τὸν περίγειον, ὅταν βία πνευμάτων καὶ κτύπων βροντῶν συρμόν πολὺν καὶ χαλεπὸν πάταγον

161 ἐξηχῶσιν. ὀφθαλμοὶ δὲ ἀπὸ γῆς ἐν ἀκαρεὶ φθάνουσιν εἰς οὐρανὸν καὶ τὰ πέρατα τοῦ παντός, ἐπ' ἀνατολὰς ὀμοῦ καὶ δύσεις ἀρκτον τε καὶ μεσημβρίαν,
unquenchable and imperishable, brought to us from heaven above, where each of the stars pours forth its rays as though from perennial fountains. With each of these the sight is conversant, and through both it strikes upon visible objects so as to apprehend them with all exactness. Need we still try to expend words in extolling the eyes, when God has set graven in the heaven their true praises, the stars? For with what purpose have the rays of the sun and moon and the other stars, planets or fixed, been made save to serve the action of the eyes and to minister to sight? And so it is, by using light, the best of gifts, that men contemplate the world's contents, earth, plants, living creatures, fruits, seas with their tides, rivers spring-fed or winter torrents, various kinds of fountains, some sending up a cold, others a warm, stream, and all the phenomena of the air with their several natures, the different forms of which are so countless that speech can never include them all; above all, heaven, which in truth has been framed as a world within a world, and the divine and hallowed forms which beautify it. Which of the other senses, then, can boast that it ever traverses so great a span?

XXXI. Let us leave out of consideration those senses which do but fatten in its manger the beast which shares our nature, lust, and examine the one which does lay claim to reason, hearing. When its travelling is tense and at its fullest, that is when the violent winds with their long, sweeping sound or the loud thunders with their terrific claps make themselves heard, it halts within the air that surrounds the earth. But the eyes leave earth and in an instant reach heaven, and the boundaries of the universe, east, west, north and south alike, and when they
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καὶ ἀφικνούμενοι πρὸς τὸ θεωρεῖν ἐλκουσιν ἐπὶ τὰ φανέντα τὴν διάνοιαν. ἢ δὲ τὸ παραπλήσιον ἐνδεξαμένη πάθος οὐκ ἦρμει, ἀλλ’ ἀτε ἀκόιμητος καὶ ἀεικύνητος οὖσα, παρὰ τὴς ὁψεως τοῦ δύνασθαι τὰ νοητὰ θεωρεῖν τὰς ἀφορμὰς λα-βούσα, εἰς σκέψιν ἔλθε, πότερον τὰ φανέρα ταῦτ’ ἐστὶν ἀγένητα ή γενέσεως ἑλαβεν ἀρχὴν καὶ πότερον ἀπειρα. ή πεπερασμένα καὶ πότερον εἰς ἡ πλειονές εἰς κόσμοι καὶ πότερον τὰ τέτταρα στοιχεῖα τῶν ἀπάντων ἐστὶν ἡ φύσιν ἑξαίρετον οὐρανὸς καὶ τὰ ἐν αὐτῷ κεκληρωται θειότερα καὶ οὐχὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις τῆς αὐτῆς οὐσίας ἐπιλαχόντας. εἰ δὲ δὴ καὶ γέγονεν ὁ κόσμος, ὅπο τίνος γέγονε καὶ τίς ὁ δημιουργός κατ’ οὐσίαν ἡ ποιότητα καὶ τί διανοηθεὶς ἐποίει καὶ τί νῦν πράττει καὶ τίς αὐτω διαγωγή καὶ βίος καὶ ὅσα ἄλλα περιττός νοῦς φρονήσει συμβιών εἴσθε διερευνάσθαι. ταῦτα δὲ καὶ τὰ τοιαύτα ἀνάκειται τῷ φιλοσοφεῖν. εἰς οὖ δὴλόν ἐστιν, ὅτι σοφία καὶ φιλοσοφία τὴν ἀρχὴν ἀπ’ οὐδένος εἰληφὲν ἑτέρου τῶν ἐν ἡμῖν ἡ τῆς ἡγεμονίας τῶν αἰσθήσεως όρά¬σεως, ἢν καὶ μόνην ἐκ τῆς σωματικῆς χώρας διέσωσεν ὁ θεὸς τὰς τέσσαρας φθείρας, ὥς καὶ μὲν σαρκὶ καὶ τοῖς σαρκός πάθεσιν ἐδουλεύσαν, ἢ δὲ ἱσχυσεν ἀνατείναι τὸν αὐχένα καὶ βλέψαν καὶ [25] τέρψεις ἑτέρας ἀνευρέων πολὺ βελτίους τῶν σωματικῶν ἡδονῶν ἐκ τῆς περὶ τὸν κόσμον θεωρίας καὶ τῶν ἐν αὐτῷ. μίαν οὖν ὡσπερ ἐκ πενταπόλεως τῶν πέντε αἰσθήσεων τῆς ὀρασίων ἑξαίρετον γέρως τυχεῖν ἀρμόττον ἢν καὶ φθειρομένων τῶν ἄλλων διαμένειν,

a For the thought cf. Timaeus 47a “whence,” i.e. from the knowledge which sight gives us, “we have derived
arrive draw the understanding to the observation of what they have seen. And the understanding affected in like manner is not quiescent, but, unsleeping and constantly in motion as it is, takes the sight as the starting-point for its power of observing the things of the mind, and proceeds to investigate whether these phenomena are uncreated or had some beginning of creation, whether they are infinite or finite, whether there is one world or more than one, whether the four elements make up all things, or on the other hand heaven and its contents enjoy a special nature of their own and have been given a substance which differs from the others and is more divine. Further, if the world has been created, who is the Creator? What is His essence and quality? What was His purpose in making it? What does He do now and what is His occupation and way of life? And all the other questions which the curious mind with good sense ever at its side is wont to explore. But these and the like belong to philosophy, whence it is clear that wisdom and philosophy owe their origin to no other of our faculties but to the princess of the senses, sight. And this alone of all the bodily region did God preserve when He destroyed the four, because they were in slavery to flesh and the passions of flesh, while the sight had the strength to stretch its neck upwards, and to look, and to find in the contemplation of the world and its contents pleasures far better than those of the body. It was fitting, then, that the one of the five senses which form, so to speak, a group of five cities, should receive a special privilege and continue to exist when the others were philosophy."

A similar adaptation of the same passage was made in De Op. 54, where see note.
φησίν οὐ περὶ τὰ θνητὰ εἰλεῖται μόνον ὡς ἐκεῖναι, μετανιστασθεὶς δὲ πρὸς τὰς ἀφθάρτους φύσεις ἄξιοι

χαίρονσα τῇ θέᾳ τούτῳν. διὸ καὶ παγκάλως "μικράν" τε καὶ "οὐ μικράν" τὴν πόλιν ταυτὴν οἱ χρησµοὶ διασυνιστᾶσαι αἰνιττόµενοι τὴν ὅρασιν μικρά μὲν γὰρ λέγεται εἶναι, διότι βραχὺ µέρος τῶν ἐν ἡµῖν ἔστι, µεγαλῆ δὲ, διότι µεγάλων ἐφίεται τὸν σύµπαντα οὐρανὸν καὶ κόσµον γλυκοµένη καταθέασασθαι.

167 XXXII. Περὶ µὲν οὖν τῆς ἐπιφανείσης ὀψεως καὶ τῶν ἀοιδίμων καὶ παγκάλων ξενίων, ἐν οἷς δοκῶν ἐστὶν ὁ ἐξυνοδόχος εἰστιάτο, καθ’ ὅσον ἑθικὸν ἂν, ἀκριβοῦσιν ἡµῖν τὰ περὶ τὸν τόπον δεδήλωται. μεγίστην δὲ πράξιν ἀξιός ἄκοης οὐχ ἂν χρησµοῦν· ὅτι γὰρ δέω φάναι πάσαι ὅσαι θεοφιλεῖς ὑπερβάλλει. λεκτέον δὲ τὰ καίρια περὶ

168 αὐτῆς. υἱὸς ἐκ τῆς γαµετῆς γίνεται τῷ σοφῷ γνήσιον, ἀγαπητός καὶ µόνος, τὸ τε σώµα καλλιστὸς καὶ τὴν ψυχὴν ἀριστὸς. ἦδη γὰρ τελευτέρας τῆς ἡλικίας ἐξεφαυνεν ἀρετάς, ὡς τὸν πατέρα µὴ πάθει µόνον εὐνοίας φυσικῆς ἀλλὰ καὶ γνώµη καθάπερ ἡθῶν διακατὴρ ἰσχυρᾶ των κεχρήσθαι

169 φιλοστοργία. διακεκριµένω δ’ οὕτως ἐξαιτιαίως θεσπίζεται λόγον οὕτος ἐλπισθέν, σφαγίασαι τὸν υἱὸν ἐπὶ τῶν υψηλοτάτου κολωνού πορρωτάτων

170 πόλεως ἀποστάντα τριῶν ὡδὸν ἠµερῶν. ὁ δὲ καίτοι

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*a* Gen. xix. 20 πόλις αὐτὴ ἐγγὺς . . . ἢ ἐστὶ µικρά. . . οὐ µικρά ἐστι; R.V. "This city is near . . . and it is a little one. . . Is it not a little one?" Philo either fails to see that the last three words are a question, or more probably thinks that the grammatical possibility of treating them as a statement is a sufficient ground for extracting an allegorical lesson.
destroyed, because its range is not confined to mortal things, as theirs is, but it aspires to find a new home amid imperishable beings and rejoice in their contemplation. And therefore it is excellently said, when the oracles represent this city first as small and then as not small, figuring thereby sight. For sight is said to be small in that it is a little part of all we contain, but great in that great are its desires, since it is the whole world and heaven which it yearns to survey.

XXXII. I have now told with all the care that lay within my powers the story of the vision which was manifested to Abraham and of that splendid and magnificent exchange of hospitality, where the host who seemed to give the feast was himself the feasted. But his greatest action which deserves reporting must not be passed over in silence. For I might almost say that all the other actions which won the favour of God are surpassed by this; and on this subject I must say what is needed. The wife of the Sage bore to him in full wedlock his only and dearly-cherished son, a child of great bodily beauty and excellence of soul. For already he was showing a perfection of virtues beyond his years, so that his father, moved not merely by a feeling of natural affection but also by such deliberate judgement as a censor of character might make, cherished for him a great tenderness. Such were his feelings when suddenly to his surprise there came a divine message that he should sacrifice his son on a certain lofty hill at a very considerable distance, as much as three days' journey, from the city. He, though devoted to

\[\text{\textsuperscript{b}}\text{ For §§ 167-177 see Gen. xxii. 1-19.}\]

\[\text{\textsuperscript{c}}\text{ Strictly speaking \textit{ἀποστάντα} agrees with \textit{ῦδω}. Perhaps we should read \textit{ἀποστάντος}.}\]
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άλέκτω πόθω τοῦ παιδὸς ἐκκρεμάμενος οὔτε τὴν χρόαν μετέβαλεν οὔτε τὴν ψυχὴν ἐγνάμφθη, γνώμη δ' ἀνενδότω καὶ ἄρρεπεὶ διέμεινεν ἀκλινῆς, οἶος καὶ πρόσθεν ἢν· ἔρωτι δὲ θείῳ δεδαμασμένος ἀνὰ κράτος ἑνίκα πάντα ὡσα συγγενεῖας ὀνόματα καὶ φιλτρα καὶ μηδενὶ τῶν ἐνδοὺ ἔξειπῶν τὸ λόγιον, ἐκ πολυανθρώπων θεραπείας οὐκετῶν δύο μόνους τοὺς πρεσβυτάτους καὶ μάλιστα φιλοδεσπότους παραλαβῶν, ὡς ἕνεκὰ τύνος ἱερουργίας τῶν ἐν ἐθεὶ τέταρτος

171 ἐξῆι σὺν τῷ παιδί· τὸν δὲ προσταχθέντα χώρον ῥώστερ ἀπὸ σκοπιῶν ιδὼν ἐκ μακροῦ τοῖς μὲν θεράπουν κελεύει καταμένειν, τῷ δὲ παιδὶ πῦρ καὶ ξύλα δίδωσι κομίζειν, αὐτῷ δικαιώσας τὸ ἱερεῖον τὰ πρὸς τὴν θυσίαν ἐπηχθίσθαι, κομπότατον βάρος·

172 οὐδὲν γὰρ εὐσεβείας ἀπονώτερον. βαδίζοντες δ' ἱσοτάχως οὐ τοῖς σώμασι μᾶλλον ἢ ταῖς διανοίασι καὶ μὴν τῆς ἐπίτομον, ἢς ὧσιτῆς τὸ τέλος, ἐπὶ τὸν προσταχθέντα τὸπον ἀφικνοῦνται. καὶ θεῖῳ τὸ μὲν πατὴρ συνεκόμιζε λίθους, ἢν δείμαιτο βωμόν, ἀ δὲ νῦν δακρύω καὶ τὰ μὲν ἄλλα ὀρῶν ὑπὸ τὸν λεχθέντος καὶ συνεχύθη καὶ ἔνδεξαι ἐνδεκέραιο ἐν τῷ πάτερα ἤμοσαν εἰς τὸν πατέρα·

173 ἐπὶ τοῦ πυρ” ἐφ’ ἐκκρεμάμενος οὔτε κατὰ τὴν διάνοιαν σταθερῶ μέν τῷ λογίσμῳ φησὶ πρὸς τὴν πεύσιν ἀποκρινόμενον·” ὡ τέκνον, ὁ θεὸς ὑμεται ἱερεῖον

a Literally “the names and love-charms of kinship.”

b In Genesis Isaac does not carry the fire.
his son with a fondness which no words can express, shewed no change of colour nor weakening of soul, but remained steadfast as ever with a judgement that never bent nor wavered. Mastered by his love for God, he mightily overcame all the fascination expressed in the fond terms of family affection, and told the divine call to none of his household, but taking out of his numerous following two only, the oldest and most loyal, he went forth with his son, four in all, as though to perform one of the ordinary rites. But, when, like a scout on some commanding point, he saw the appointed place afar off, he bade his servants stay there, but gave his son the fire and wood to carry; for he thought it good that the victim himself should bear the load of the instruments of sacrifice, a light burden indeed, for nothing is less toilsome than piety. They walked with equal speed of mind rather than body along the short straight road at the end of which is holiness and came to the appointed place. And then, while the father was collecting stones to build the altar, the son, seeing everything else ready for sacrifice but no animal, looked at his father and said: “My father, behold the fire and the wood, but where is the victim?” To anyone else who knew what he was about to do, and was hiding it in his heart, these words would have brought confusion and tearfulness and he would have remained silent through extreme emotion, and thus given an indication of what was going to happen. But Abraham admitted no swerving of body or mind, and with visage and thought alike unmoved he said in answer to the question, “Child, God will provide Himself a

*LXX Gen. xxii. 8 καὶ ἐπορεύθησαν οἱ δύο ἄμα. Philo has gained from this phrase a fuller spiritual lesson in De Mīg. 166 f.*
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ἐαυτῷ καὶ ἐν ἑρμηνείᾳ πολλῇ, δι’ ἑνὸς ἀπογνώσκεις εὐρεθησεθαὶ· πάντα δὲ ἴσθι θεῷ δυνατὰ καὶ ὁσα ἐν ἁμηνήν καὶ ἀπόρῳ κεῖται παρ’ ἄνθρω-ποις.” καὶ ταθῇ ἀμα λέγων ἢ τάχιστα τῶν ὑδόν ἐξαρπάσασι ἐπιτίθησι τῷ βωμῷ καὶ σπασάμενος τῇ δεξίᾳ τὸ ἔφος ἐπέφερεν ὡς ἀναιρήσων· φθάνει δ᾽ ὁ σωτῆρ θεὸς ἀπ’ ἀέρος φωνῆ μεσολαβήσας τὸ ἔργον, ἢ προσέταττεν ἄνεχειν καὶ μὴ ψαύσαι τοῦ παιδὸς, ὀνομασί ταλέσας δἰς τὸν πατέρα, ἢν ἐπιστρέψας καὶ ἀντιστάσας διακωλύσῃ τὴν σφαγήν ἐργάσασθαι. XXXIII. καὶ ὁ μὲν διασώζεται, τὸ δῶρον ἀντιχαρισμένῳ τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ τὸν φέροντα ἐν οἷς εὐσεβεῖται ἀντιμήσαντος· τῷ δ᾽ ᾑδη καὶ ἡ πράξει, εἰ καὶ μὴ τὸ τέλος ἐπηκολούθησεν, ὅλοκληρος καὶ παντελὴς οὐ μόνον ἐν ταῖς ιεραῖς βίβλοις ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐν ταῖς τῶν ἀναγινωσκόντων διανοίαις ἀνάγραπτος ἐστηλίτευται.

176 Άλλα τοῖς φιλαπεθήσομεν καὶ πάντα διαβάλ-λουσιν, οἱ ψόγοι πρὸ ἐπαίνου τιμῶν ἐθύζονται, τὸ πραγχέν ἔργον οὐ δοκεῖ μέγα καὶ θαυμαστόν, ὡσ ἡμεῖς ὑπολαμβάνομεν εἰναι. πολλοὺς γὰρ καὶ ἄλλους φασὶ τῶν πάνω φιλοικείων καὶ φιλοτέκνων ἐπιδούναι τοὺς ἐαυτῶν παῖδας, τοὺς μὲν ὑπὲρ πατρίδων σφαγιασθεὶσάν οὖν, ἀλήθεια ἡ πολέμων ἡ αὐχμῶν ἡ ἐπομβρίας ἡ νοσημάτων λοιμικῶν γενη-σωμένους, τοὺς δ᾽ ὑπὲρ νεομισμενής εὐσεβείας, εἰ καὶ μὴ πρὸς ἀλλήλων οὐσίν. Ἐλλήνων μὲν γε τοὺς δοκιμωτάτους, οὐκ ἰδιωτὰς μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ βασι-λεῖς, ὁλίγα φροντίσαντας ὅν ἐγέννησαν διὰ τῆς τούτων ἀναιρέσεως δυνάμεις στρατευμάτων μεγά-λας καὶ πολυπερισσῶν ἐν μὲν τῇ συμμαχίᾳ τεταγ-
ON ABRAHAM, 175–180

victim, even in this wide desert, which perhaps makes you give up hope of finding it; but know that to God all things are possible, including those that are impossible or insuperable to men.” And, as he said this, he hastily seized his son, laid him on the altar and with his drawn knife in his right hand was preparing with it to deal the death blow. But ere he did so, God the Saviour stopped the deed half-way with a voice from the air, in which He ordered him to stay and not touch the lad. And twice He called the father by name to turn him and draw him back from his purpose and thus prevent his carrying out the slaughter. XXXIII. So Isaac was saved, since God returned the gift of him and used the offering which piety rendered to Him to repay the offerer, while for Abraham the action, though not followed by the intended ending, was complete and perfect, and the record of it as such stands graven not only in the sacred books but in the minds of the readers.

But quarrelsome critics who misconstrue every-thing and have a way of valuing censure above praise do not think Abraham’s action great or wonderful, as we suppose it to be. They say that many other persons, full of love for their kinsfolk and offspring, have given their children, some to be sacrificed for their country to serve as a price to redeem it from wars or drought or excessive rainfall or pestilence, others for the sake of what was held to be piety though it is not really so. Indeed they say that among the Greeks men of the highest reputation, not only private individuals but kings, have with little thought of their offspring put them to death, and thereby saved armed forces of great strength and magnitude when enlisted as their allies, and
μένας διασώσαι, ἐν δὲ τῇ μερίδι τῶν ἐχθρῶν αὐτο-
βοεὶ διαφθείραι· βαρβαρικά δὲ ἐθηνή μέχρι πολλοῦ
παιδοκτονίαν ὡς ὁσιον ἔργον καὶ θεοφιλές προσέσ-
θαι, ὃν μεμνήσθαι τοῦ ἄγους καὶ τὸν ἱερότατον
Μωυσῆν· αἰτιώμενος γὰρ αὐτοὺς τοῦ μιᾶσματος
φάσκει, ὅτι "τοὺς υἱοὺς αὐτῶν καὶ τὰς θυγατέρας
κατακαίουσι τοῖς θεοῖς αὐτῶν"· Ἰνδῶν δὲ | τοὺς
gυμνοσοφίστας ἄχρι νῦν, ἐπειδὰν ἀρχήται καταλαμ-
βάνειν ἡ μακρὰ καὶ ἀνίατος νόσος, τὸ γῆρας, πρὶν
βεβαίως κρατηθῆναι, πυρὰν νήσαντας ἕαυτοὺς ἐμ-
pιπράναι, δυναμένους ἐτὶ πρὸς πολυετὶαν ἱσως
ἀντισχεῖν· ἡδὴ δὲ καὶ γύναια προαποθανόντων
ἀνδρῶν ὀρμήσαι γεγηθότα πρὸς τὴν αὐτὴν πυρὰν
καὶ ξώντα τοῖς ἑκείνων σώμασι ὑπομείναι ὑμν-
καταφλεχῆναι· ταῦτα μὲν εἰκότως ἀν τὰς τῆς
ἐντολμίας θαυμάσειεν ἐκ πολλοῦ τοῦ περιόντος
καταφρονητικῶς ἔχοντα θανάτου καὶ ὃς ἐπ'
ἀθανασίαν αὐτὸν ἔμενε ναι καὶ ἀπνευστι θέοντα·
XXXIV. τὸν δὲ τὶ προσήκειν ἐπανεῖν ὡς ἐγχειρη-
tὴν κεκανουργημένης πράξεως, ἦν καὶ ἱδώται καὶ
βασιλεῖς καὶ ὅλα ἔθνη δρῶσιν ἐν καροῖς;
184 ἔγω δὲ πρὸς τὴν τούτων βασκανίαν καὶ πικρίαν
ἐκεῖνα λέξω τῶν καταθυόντων παίδας οἱ μὲν ἔθει
τοῦτο δρῶσιν, ὡσπερ ἐνίους ἐφασκον τῶν βαρ-
βάρων, οἱ δὲ δι' ἀβουλήτους καὶ μεγάλας ὑποθέσεις
πόλεων τε καὶ χωρῶν ἐτέρως κατορθοῦσαν μὴ
dυναμένων, ὃν οἱ μὲν ἀνάγκη τοὺς αὐτῶν ἔπι-

* Philo may be thinking of Iphigeneia and Macaria in
Euripides’ Heracleidae, though neither exactly fits the circum-
stances.

b Deut. xii. 31.
ON ABRAHAM, 180–184

destroyed them without striking a blow when arrayed as enemies. a Barbarian nations, they add, have for 181 long admitted child sacrifice as a holy deed and acceptable to God, and this practice of theirs is mentioned by the holy Moses as an abomination, for, charging them with this pollution, he says that "they burn their sons and daughters to their gods." b Again they point out that in India the gymno- 182 sophists even now when the long incurable disease of old age begins to take hold of them, even before they are completely in its clutches, make up a funeral pile and burn themselves on it, though they might possibly last out many years more. And the womenfolk when the husbands die before them have been known to hasten rejoicing to share their pyre, and allow themselves to be burned alive with the corpses of the men. c These women might reasonably, 183 no doubt, be praised for their courage, so great and more than great is their contempt for death, and the breathless eagerness with which they rush to it as though it were immortality. XXXIV. Why, then, they ask, should we praise Abraham, as though the deed which he undertook was unprecedented, when private individuals and kings and whole nations do it when occasion calls? To their 184 malignity and bitterness I reply as follows. Some of those who sacrifice their children follow custom in so doing, as was the case according to the critics with some of the barbarians. Others have important and painful reasons for their action because their cities and countries cannot but fail otherwise. These give their children partly under compulsion and the

a For Philo's knowledge of the Indian custom see App. p. 598.
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διδόασιν ὑπὸ δυνατωτέρων βιασθέντες, οἱ δὲ δόξης καὶ τιμῆς ἐφείμενοι καὶ εὐκλείας μὲν τῆς ἐν τῷ
185 παρόντι, εὐφημίας δὲ τῆς εἰς ὕστερον. οἱ μὲν οὖν ἔθει σφαγιάζοντες οὐδὲν ὡς ἔοικε μέγα δρῶσιν·
ἔγχρονίζον γὰρ ἔθος ἔξισοῦται φύσει πολλάκις, ὡς καὶ τὰ δυσυπομόνητα καὶ δυσκαρτέρητα ῥάδιως ἐπελαφρίζειν, τὰς ὑπερβολὰς τῶν φοβερῶν ἔξευ-
186 μαρίζον. τῶν δὲ ἑνεκα δέους ἐπιδιδόντων ἐπαίνους οὐδείς· ο γὰρ ἐπαίνους ἐν ἐκουσίοις κατορθώμασι
 γράφεται, τὰ δὲ ἁβούλητα ἑτέροις ἀνάκειται πράγμασιν, ἡ καρποὶ ἡ τύχαι ἡ ταῖς ἀπ' ἀνθρώπων
187 ἀνάγκαις. εἰ δὲ τις δόξης ὄρεγόμενος νῦν ἡ
 θυγατέρα προτείται, ἴσχον ἃν ἐνδίκως μᾶλλον ἡ
 ἐπανοἰκτο, θανάτῳ τῶν φιλτάτων ὦνομενος τιμή, ἡ
 καὶ κεκτημένος ὦφειλεν ὑπὲρ σωτηρίας τῶν
188 τέκνων ἀπορρίπτειν. ἐρευνητεόν οὖν, εἰ
 ὑπὸ τινος τῶν λεγθέντων ἡττηθείς ἐκείνος ἐμελλε
 σφαγιάζειν τὸν νῦν, ἔθους ἡ τιμῆς ἡ δέους. ἔθος
 μὲν οὖν τὸ ἐπὶ παιδοκτονία Βαβυλῶν καὶ Μεσο-
ποταμία καὶ τὸ Χαλδαῖων ἔθνος οὐ παραδέχεται, ἐν
 οἷς ἐτράφη καὶ ἑπεβίωσε τὸν πλείονα χρόνον, ὡς τῇ
 συνεχείᾳ τῶν δρωμένων ἀμβλυτέραις τάς τῶν δει-
189 νῶν φαντασίαις κεκρατήσθαι¹ δοκεῖν. καὶ μὴν οὐδὲ
 φόβος τις ἦν ἀπ' ἀνθρώπων—οὐδὲ γὰρ τὸ χρησθὲν
 αὐτῷ μόνῳ λόγῳ ἦδει τις—, οὐδὲ τις συμφορὰ
 κοινὴ κατείληφεν, ἦς ἔδει τὴν θεραπείαν ἀναιρέσει
190 γενέσθαι τοῦ δοκιμωτάτου παιδός. ἀλλὰ θηρώ-
[28] μενος ἐπαινον τῶν πολλῶν ἐπὶ τήν πράξεν ὦρμησε;

¹ Perhaps, as Mangey suggests, κεχρήσθαι.
pressure of higher powers, partly through desire for glory and honour, to win fame at the time and a good name in the future. Now those who are led by custom to make the sacrifice would not seem to be doing anything great, for long-standing custom often becomes equal to nature, so that in matters where patience and resolution are difficult to attain it gives ease and relief by reducing their terrors to moderate dimensions. Where the gift is made through fear no praise is due, for praise is recorded for voluntary good deeds, while for those which are involuntary other things are responsible, favourable occasions, chances or force brought to bear by men. And if anyone throws away a son or a daughter through desire for glory he will be justly blamed rather than praised, for with the life of his dearest he is purchasing an honour which he ought to cast aside, if he possessed it, to ensure the safety of his children. We must therefore examine whether Abraham, when he intended to sacrifice his son, was mastered by any of these motives, custom or love of honour or fear. Now in Babylonia and Mesopotamia and with the nation of the Chaldeans with whom he was brought up and lived the greater part of his life the custom of child slaughter does not obtain, so as to suggest that his realization of its horrors was rendered less powerful by the regularity of such a practice. Surely, too, he had nothing to fear from man, since no one knew of the oracular message which he alone had received; nor was he under the pressure of any public misfortune which could be remedied only by the immolation of a child of special worth. Or was the quest of praise from the multitude the motive which urged him to the deed?
καὶ τὸς ἔπαινον ἐν ἐρημίᾳ, μηδὲνὸς τοῦ μέλλοντος ἐπευφημήσειν παρόντος, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν δυνῶν οἰκετῶν μακρὰν ἐπίτηδες ἀπολευθέντων, Ἰνα μὴ ἐγκαλ- λωπίζοι καὶ ἐνεπιδεικνύοις δοκῆς μάρτυρας.

191 ἐπαγόμενον ὃν εὐσέβει; XXXV. στόμασιν οὗν ἀχαλίνοις καὶ κακηγόροις θύρας ἐπιθέντες μετρια- ξέτωσαν τὸν ἐν αὐτοῖς μυστικὸν φθόνον καὶ ἀρετὰς ἄνδρῶν εὐ βεβιωκότων μὴ συνέσθωσαν, ἂς ἀρµόττων ἣν εὐφημία συνεπικοσμεῖν.

ὁτὶ δὲ τῷ ὄντι ἐπαινετῇ καὶ ἀξιέραστος ἢ πράξις, ἐκ 192 πολλῶν εὐμαρέσ ὑδείν. πρῶτον μὲν τοῖνυν τὸ πείθεσθαι θεῷ παρὰ πάσι τοῖς εὐ φρονοῦσι σεμνὸν καὶ περιμάχητον εἶναι νομίζομεν ἐν τοῖς μάλιστα ἐπετήδευεν, ἀς μηδενὸς πῶς τῶν προσταγ- μένων ἀλογῆσαι, ἂνευ δυσκολίας καὶ ἀνδίας, κἀν πόνων τε καὶ ἀληθῶν μεστῶν ἢ παρὰ καὶ τὸ χρησθέν ἐπὶ τῷ υἱῷ γενναίοτата καὶ στερρότατα 193 ἦνεγκεν. ἔπειτ' οὐκ ὄντος ἔθουσαν ἐν τῇ χώρᾳ, καθάπερ ἰσως παρ' ἔνιοις ἔστιν, ἀνθρωποδυτεῖν, δ' τῇ συνεχείᾳ τὼν δεινῶν φαντασίας εὐθέων ἐκλύειν, αὐτὸς ἐμελλε πρῶτος ἀρχεσθαι καινοτότου καὶ παρηλλαγμένου πράγματος, δ' μοι δοκεῖ μηδεῖς ἄν ὑπομεῖναι, καὶ εἴ σιν ὑπὸ τὴν ψυχὴν ἢ ἀδάμαντος κατεσκεύαστο. " φύσει" γὰρ ὡς εἰπέ τις " ἔργον 194 μάχεσθαι." γνήσιον τε ὑδίν πεποιημένος μόνον τοῦτον ἐκχει καὶ τὸ πάθος ἐπ' αὐτῷ τῆς εὐ- νοίας γνήσιον, ὑπερβάλλον τοὺς σύφρονας ἔρωτας καὶ τὰς φιλίας, ὅσια δι' ὁνόματος γεγόνασι. προσήν 195 φύσει.
ON ABRAHAM, 190-195

What praise could there be in a solitude where no one was present to report his fame afterwards, but even the two servants had been purposely left afar off lest he should appear to be making a boastful parade by bringing witnesses to his pious conduct? XXXV. Let them, therefore, set bolt and bar to their unbridled evil-speaking mouths, control their envy and hatred of excellence and not mar the virtues of men who have lived a good life, virtues which they should rather help to glorify by their good report. That the deed really deserves our praise and love can easily be seen in many ways. First, he made a special practice of obedience to God, a duty which every right-minded person holds to be worthy of all respect and effort. Hitherto he had not neglected any of God’s commands, nor ever met them with repining or discontent, however charged with toils and pains they might be, and therefore he bore the sentence pronounced on his son with all nobleness and firmness. Secondly, since human sacrifice was not in that country, as it was perhaps in some, sanctioned by custom which is so apt through constant repetition to weaken the realization of the terrible, he would have been the first himself to initiate a totally new and extraordinary procedure, and this, to my mind, is a thing which no one could have brought himself to do even if his soul had been made of iron or adamant, for, as it has been said, it is hard work to fight against nature. And, as he had begotten no son in the truest sense but Isaac, his feeling of affection for him was necessarily on the same high level of truth, higher even than the chaste forms of love and also the much talked-of ties of friendship. Further, he had a most potent
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dé ti kai biaostikwstaton filtron, to μή kath' ἡλικίαν ἀλλ' ἐν γῆρᾳ γεγεννηκέναι τὸν παῖδα· τοῖς γαρ ὄψιγόνοις ἐπιμεμήνασι πως οἱ τοκεῖς, ἥ τῷ μακρὸν ἐπιποθήσαι χρόνον τὴν γένεσιν αὐτῶν ἢ τῷ μηκέθ' ἐτέρους ἐλπίζειν ἔσεσθαι, τῆς φύσεως ἐνταῦθα ἱσταμένης ὡς ἐπὶ τελευταῖον καὶ ιστατον 196 ὅρον. ἐκ πολυπαιδίας μὲν οὖν ἐνα προέσθαι θεῷ καθάπερ ἀπαρχήν τινα τέκνων παράδοξον ούδὲν, ἔχοντα τάς ἐπὶ τοῖς ζώσιν ήδονάς οὐ μικρὰ παραμύθια καὶ μειλίγματα τῆς ἐπὶ τῷ σφαγιασθέντι λύπης· ὅτι δὲ μοῦν τὸς ἔσχεν ἀγαπητὸν διδοῦσί λόγου παντὸς μεῖζον ἔργον διαπράττεται, μηδὲν οἰκεῖότητι χαριζόμενος, ἄλλ' ὅλη τῇ ῥοπῇ πρὸς τὸ θεοφιλές 197 ταλαντεύων. ἐκεῖνο μὲν δὴ ἐξαίρετον καὶ μόνῳ σχέδον τι τούτῳ πεπραγμένον· οἱ μὲν γαρ ἄλλοι, κἂν ύπέρ σωτηρίας πατρίδων ἡ στρατευμάτων ἐπιδιδόσι σφαγιασθησόμενος τοὺς ἑαυτῶν, ἡ οἰκοὶ καταμένουσιν ἡ μακρὰν ἀφίστανται τῶν βωμῶν ἡ, κἂν παρατυγχάνωσι, τὰς οὔπειραν ἀποστρέφονται θεά- 198 σασθαι μὴ ὑπομένοντες, ἄλλων ἀναιροῦντων· ὁ δ' [29] ἦσοψεν ἱερεὺς | αὐτὸς κατήρχετο τῆς ἱερουργίας, ἐφ' υἱῷ τὰ πάντα ἀρίστα τὸ δικτύον πατήρ· ἐμέλισε δ' ἂν ἱὼς καὶ νόμω τῶν ὅλοκαυτώματων κατὰ μέλη τὸν υἱὸν ἱερουργῶν. οὕτως οὐ τὸ μέν τῷ μέρος ἀπέκλινε πρὸς τὸν παῖδα, τὸ δ' τι πρὸς εὐσέβειαν, ἄλλ' ὅλην τὴν ψυχὴν δι' ὅλων ὀσιότητι προσεκλήρωσεν οὐκ ξυνάφεσις πατήρ· τι δ' οὖκ ἐξαίρετον καὶ παντὸς λόγου κρείττον; 199 ματος. τί δ' τῶν εἰρημένων πρὸς ἐτέρους κοινόν;
incentive to love in that he had begotten the boy in his old age and not in his years of vigour. For parents somehow dote on their late-born children, either because they have longed for their birth for so many years or because they do not hope to have any more, since nature comes to a halt at this point as its final and furthermost boundary. For a father to surrender one of a numerous family as a tithe to God is nothing extraordinary, since each of the survivors continues to give him pleasure, and this is no small solace and mitigation of his grief for the one who has been sacrificed. But one who gives his only darling son performs an action for which no language is adequate, since he concedes nothing to the tie of relationship, but his whole weight is thrown into the scale on the side of acceptability with God. The following point is exceptional, and his conduct in it is practically unique. Other fathers, even if they give their children to be sacrificed for the safety of their country or armies, either stay at home or stand far away from the altars, or, if they are present, turn away their eyes, since they cannot bear the sight, and leave others to kill the victim. But here we have the most affectionate of fathers himself beginning the sacrificial rite as priest with the very best of sons for victim. Perhaps too, following the law of burnt offering, he would have dismembered his son and offered him limb by limb. Thus we see that he did not incline partly to the boy and partly to piety, but devoted his whole soul through and through to holiness and disregarded the claims of their common blood. Which of all the points mentioned is shared by others? Which does not stand by itself and defy description? Thus everyone who
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ως τὸν γε μὴ φύσει βάσκανον καὶ φιλοπόνηρον καταπλαγήναι καὶ θαυμάσαι τῆς περιττῆς ἀγαν εὔσεβείας, οὐχ ἀπαντὰ ὅσα εἶπον ἄθρόα εἰς νοῦν βαλλόμενον, ἀλλὰ κἂν ἐν τῷ τῶν πάντων ἤκανή γὰρ καὶ ἡ ἐνὸς φαντασία τύπῳ τινὶ βραχεὶ—βραχύ δ' οὐδὲν ἔργον σοφοῦ—μέγεθος ψυχῆς καὶ ύψος ἔμφηναι.

200 XXXVI. Ἀλλὰ γὰρ οὐκ ἐπὶ τῆς ῥητῆς καὶ φανερᾶς ἀποδόσεως ἵσταται τὰ λεχθέντα, φύσιν δὲ τοῖς πολλοῖς ἀδηλοτέραν ἐοικε παρεμφαίνειν, ἣν οἱ τὰ νοητὰ πρὸ τῶν αἰσθητῶν ἀποδεχόμενοι καὶ ὅραν δυνάμενοι γνωρίζουσιν. ἔστι δὲ τοιάδε: ὁ μελλόντας σφαγίζεσθαι καλεῖται Χαλδαίστι μὲν Ἰσαὰκ, Ἐλληνοτί δὲ μεταληφθέντος τοῦ ὅνόματος "γέλως". γέλως δ' οὐχ ὃ κατὰ παιδιὰν ἐγγινόμενος σώματι παραλαμβάνειται τὰ νῦν, ἀλλ' ἢ κατὰ διάνοιαν εὐπάθεια καὶ χαρά. ταύτην ὁ σοφὸς ἱερουργεῖν λέγεται δεόντως θεῶ διὰ συμβόλου παριστάτη. ὅτι τὸ χαῖρεν μόνῳ θεῶ οἰκειότατον ἐστίν· ἔπιλυσαν μὲν γὰρ τὸ ἀνθρώπων γένος καὶ περιδέες, ἡ παρὸντων κακῶν ἡ προσδοκιμάνων, ὡς ἡ ἐπὶ τοῖς ἐν χερσὶν ἄβουλήτως ἀνιάσθαι ἡ ἐπὶ τοῖς μέλλουσι ταραχῆ καὶ φόβῳ κραδαίνεσθαι. ἀλλοτρός δὲ καὶ ἄφοβος καὶ παντὸς πάθους ἀμέτοχος ἡ τοῦ θεοῦ φύσις εὐδαιμονίας καὶ μακαριότητος παντελοῦς μόνη μετέχουσα. τῷ δὴ τῆν ἀληθῆ ταύτην ὁμολογίαν ὀμολογηκότι τρόπῳ χρηστὸς ὦν καὶ φιλάνθρωπος ὁ θεός, φθόνον ἐληλακός ἀφ' ἐαυτοῦ, προσηκόντως ἀντιχαρίζεται τὸ δῶρον, καὶ ὃσον ἔχει δυνάμεως ὁ ληψόμενος, καὶ μόνον οὐ ταῦτα θεσπίζει

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a In the strict Stoic sense of the word, for reasonable forms of πάθος. See note on De Mut. 1 and references there given.

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is not malignant or a lover of evil must be over­whelmed with admiration for his extraordinary piety; and he need not take into consideration at once all the points which I have mentioned, for any single one of them would be enough. For to picture in the mind one of these, however small the form which the picture takes, though no action of the Sage is small, is enough to show the greatness and loftiness of his soul.

XXXVI. But the story here told is not confined to the literal and obvious explanation, but seems to have in it the elements of a further suggestion, obscure to the many but recognized by those who prefer the mental to the sensible and have the power to see it. It is as follows. The proposed victim is called in Chaldaean Isaac, but, if the word is translated into our language, Laughter. But the laughter here understood is not the laughter which amusement arouses in the body, but the good emotion of the understanding, that is joy. This the Sage is said to sacrifice as his duty to God, thus showing in a figure that rejoicing is most closely associated with God alone. For mankind is subject to grief and very fearful of evils either present or expected, so that men are either distressed by disagreeables close at hand or are agitated by troublous fear of those which are still to come. But the nature of God is without grief or fear and wholly exempt from passion of any kind, and alone partakes of perfect happiness and bliss. The frame of mind which has made this true acknowledgement God, Who has banished jealousy from His presence in His kindness and love for mankind, fitly rewards by returning the gift in so far as the recipient's capacity allows. And indeed we may
204 λέγων· "τὸ μὲν τῆς χαρᾶς γένος καὶ τὸ χαίρειν ὑπὸ οὐκ ἔστιν ἐτέρου πλὴν ἐμοὶ τοῦ πατρός τῶν ὅλων κτήμα, σαφῶς οἶδα, κεκτημένος δ’ ὅμως οὐ φθονῶ τοῖς ἄξιοις χρῆσθαι· ἄξιοι δὲ τίς ἢν εἶη, πλὴν εἴ τις ἐμοὶ καὶ τοῖς ἐμοῖς βουλήμασιν ἐποιοῦτο; τούτῳ γὰρ ἠκίστα μὲν ἀνιάσθαι ἠκίστα δὲ φοβεῖσθαι συμβῆσαι πορευομένω ταύτην τὴν ὁδὸν, ἣν πάθεσι μὲν καὶ κακίαις ἔστιν ἄβατος, εὐπαθείας δὲ καὶ ἀρεταῖς ἐμπεριπατεῖται." μηδεὶς δ’ ὑπολαβέτω τὴν ἀκρατοῦ καὶ ἀμιγῆ λύπης χαρὰν ἀπ’ οὕρανοῦ καταβαίνειν ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν, ἄλλα· κέκραται1 ἐξ ἀμφοῖν, περιτεύοντος τοῦ κρείστουνος· ὄνπερ τρόπον καὶ τὸ φῶς ἐν οὕρανῳ μὲν ἀκρατοῦ καὶ ἀμιγῆς σκότους ἐστὶν, ἐν δὲ τοῖς ὑπὸ σελήνην ἀερίζοφεροῖς κεκραμένον φαίνεται. ταύτης ἐνεκα τῆς αἰτίας δοκεῖ μοι καὶ πρότερον γελάσασα ἡ ἀρετής ἐπώνυμος Σάρρα πρὸς τὸν πυνθανόμενον ἀρνόσασθαι τὸν γέλωτα, καταδείσασα μὴ ποτὲ ἄρα τὸ χαίρειν οὐδενὸς ὅν γενητοῦ, μόνου δὲ τοῦ θεοῦ, σφετερίζῃται· διόπερ θαρσύνων αὐτὴν ὁ ἱερὸς λόγος φησί· μηδὲν εὐλαβήθης, διότι ἑγελασασα καὶ μέτεστι σοι χαρᾶς. οὐ γὰρ εἰασφεῖν ὁ πατὴρ τῶν ἀνθρώπων τὸ γένος λύπας καὶ ὀδύνας καὶ ἀχθεσιν ἀνιατοὺς ἐμφέρεσθαι, παρέμειξε δὲ καὶ τῆς ἀμείνονος φύσεως, εὐδιάσας καὶ γαληνάσαι ποτὲ τὴν ψυχὴν δικαιώσας· τὴν δὲ τῶν

1 mss. ἀλλ’ ἐγκέκραται or ἀλλὰ κρέμαται et alia. Perhaps ἀλλὰ κράμα τι.

Gen. xviii. 12 and 15. Sarah’s laughter has been explained in the obvious way in § 112. Here we have a more
ON ABRAHAM, 204–207

almost hear His voice saying: "All joy and rejoicing I know well is the possession of none other save Me alone, the Father of All. Yet I do not grudge that this My possession should be used by such as are worthy, and who should be worthy save one who should follow Me and My will, for he will prove to be most exempt from distress and fear if he travels by this road which passion and vice cannot tread, but good feelings and virtue can walk therein."

But let no one suppose that joy descends from heaven to earth pure and free from any mixture of grief. No, it is a mixture of both, though the better element is the stronger, just as light too in heaven is pure from any mixture of darkness but in regions below the moon is clearly mixed with dusky air. This was the reason, I think, why Sarah who bears the name of virtue first laughs, and then, in reply to her questioner, denies the laughter. She feared lest she should be grasping for herself the joy which belongs not to created being but to God alone. Therefore, the holy word bids her be of good cheer and says: "Be not afraid: thou didst indeed laugh and dost participate in joy." For the Father did not suffer the whole course of the human race to move amid griefs and pains and burdens which admit no remedy, but mixed with them something of the better nature and judged it well that the soul should at times dwell in sunshine and calm; and as

spiritual interpretation. That the laughter signified joy, not incredulity, has already been suggested in Leg. All. iii. 217 f. and De Mut. 166. In neither of these places, however, has the subsequent denial been dealt with. The interpretation here suggested that the soul begins to doubt whether joy is not more than humanity can expect appears again in Spec. Leg. ii. 54.
σοφῶν καὶ τὸν πλεῖον χρόνον τοῦ βίου γήθειν καὶ
eυφραίνεσθαι τοῖς τοῦ κόσμου θεωρῆμασιν ἐβουλήθη.

208 XXXVII. Τοσαῦτα μὲν περὶ τῆς τοῦ ἀνδρὸς
eυσεβείας, εἰ καὶ πολλῶν ἄλλων ἐστὶν ἀφθονία,
λελέχθω. διερευνητέον δὲ καὶ τὴν πρὸς ἀνθρώπους
αὐτοῦ δεξιότητα· τῆς γὰρ αὐτῆς φύσεως ἐστὶν
εὐσεβῆ τε εἶναι καὶ φιλάνθρωπον, καὶ περὶ τὸν
αὐτὸν ἐκάτερον, ὀσιότης μὲν πρὸς θεόν, δικαιοσύνη
dὲ πρὸς ἀνθρώπους, θεωρεῖται. πάντα μὲν οὖν τὰ
πεπραγμένα μακρὸν ἂν εἶη διεξιέναι, δυεῖν δὲ ἦ

209 τριῶν οὐκ ἄτοπον ἐπιμνησθῆναι. πολυάργυρος καὶ
πολύχρυσος ἐν τοῖς μάλιστα ὦν καὶ θρεμμάτων
πολυζωουσι πόρων ἄγελας καὶ τῶν ἐν τῷ περι-
ουσίαξειν ἀμιλλώμενος καὶ πλουσιώτερος γεγονός
ἡ κατὰ μέτοικον ὑπὲρ οὐδενός ἐμέμφη τῶν ὑπο-
δεξαμενῶν, ἄλλ' ὑπὸ πάντων τῶν εἰς πείραν ἐλθόντων

210 ἐπαινούμενος διετέλεσεν. εἰ δὲ καὶ τις, οἷα φιλεῖ
πολλάκις, ἐκ θεραπότων καὶ τῶν συνδιατριβόνων
ἀμιλλα καὶ διαφορὰ πρὸς έτέρους ἐγένετο, ταύτην
ἐπειράτο διαλύειν ἡσυχὴ βαρυτέρω ήθει τά φιλο-
νεικα καὶ ταραχώδη καὶ στασιαστικά πάντα προβε-

211 βλημένος καὶ τῆς ψυχῆς ἀπεληλακῶς. καὶ θαυ-
μαστὸν οὐδέν, εἰ πρὸς τοὺς ἀλλοτρίους τουοῦτος ἢν,
οὶ βαρυτέρα καὶ δυνατωτέρα χειρὶ συμφωνησάντες
ἡμύναντο ἃν ἄρχοντα χειρῶν ἀδίκων, ὅποτε καὶ
πρὸς τοὺς γένει μὲν οἰκείους, γνώμη δ' ἠλλοτριω-

a Or “kindness and courtesy.” See note on De Fuga 31.
b For Abraham’s wealth cf. Gen. xiii. 2 and xxiv. 35.
c Or “seriousness.” But the word seems strange.
for the soul of the wise He willed that it should pass the chief part of its life in glad-hearted contemplation of what the world has to show.

XXXVII. These examples must suffice for our treatment of Abraham's piety, though others might be found in great plenty. But we must also examine the good and wise behaviour shown in his dealings with men. For the nature which is pious is also kindly, and the same person will exhibit both qualities, holiness to God and justice to men. It would be too long, indeed, to describe all his actions, but it would not be out of place to mention two or three.

Though he was exceedingly rich in silver and gold and possessed many herds of numerous live-stock and in abundance of wealth rivalled those of the natives and original inhabitants who possessed good means, and became more opulent than would be expected of an immigrant, he incurred no censure from those who received him into their midst but continued to be praised by all who had experience of him. But, if, as often happens, any of his servants or regular associates had a quarrel or difference with his neighbours, he would try to put an end to it quietly, banishing and expelling from the soul by means of his greater dignity of character all that tended to strife and confusion and faction. And we need not wonder that he so bore himself to strangers who could have united to repel him with their superior weight of strength if he was the aggressor in injustice, when we see what moderation he showed to those who, connected with him by birth but estranged from him in moral principles, stood

Mangey wished to read πρωτέρῳ. Cohn notes that the Armenian seems to have read πρωτέρῳ τὰ βαρύτερα.
μένους, ἔρημοις καὶ μόνοις καὶ πολλῷ καταδεέ-
στερα κεκτημένους ἐμετρίαζεν, ἐλαττούμενος ἡκὼν
212 ἐν οἷς πλεονεκτεῖν ἐδύνατο. ἦν γὰρ ἀδελφιδοὺς
ἀυτῷ, τῆς πατρίδος ὅπε μετανίστατο, συνεξεληλυ-
θῶς, ἄβεβαιος, ὑπαρμφίβολος, ἀντιρρέτων ὡδὲ
[31] κάκεισε, τοτὲ μὲν προσαίνων | φιλικὸς ἀσπά-
σμασι, τοτὲ δὲ ἄφθων καὶ ἀπαυχεῖς διὰ τὴν
213 τῶν τρόπων ἀνωμαλίαν. ὅθεν καὶ τὸ οἰκετικὸν
ἀυτῷ δύσερε καὶ ταραχῶδες ἦν σωφρονιστὴν οὐκ
ἐξον καὶ μάλιστα τὸ πομμενικὸν μακρὰν τοῦ δεσπό-
tου διεζευγμένον: ἀπελευθεριάζοντες γοῦν ὑπ’
αὐθαδείας ἀεὶ διεφέροντο τοῖς προεστηκόσι τῶν
θρεμμάτων τοῦ σοφοῦ τὰ πολλὰ εἶκον διὰ τὴν τοῦ
dεσπτοῦ πραΰπτειν. ὥσ’ οὐ πρὸς ἀπόνοιαν
ἐπιδόντες καὶ θράσος ἀναίσχυντον ὄργων, μηνι-
ώντες ἥδη καὶ τὸ ἀκατάλλακτον τὸν αὐτοῖς ζωπυ-
ροῦντες, ἐως ἀπηνάγκασαν τοὺς ἀδικομένους ἐἰς
214 ἀμυναν ὁμοῖσαν. μάχης δὲ ἐμβριθεστάτης γενο-
μένης, ἀκούσας ὁ αὐτεῖς τὴν ἀντεφόρμησιν, εἰδὼς
ἐπικυδεστέραν οὐσαν τὴν αὐτοῦ μερίδα πληθεῖ τε
καὶ δυνάμει, τὴν διαφορὰν οὐκ ἔισεν ἄχρι νίκης
ἐλθεῖν, ὑπὸ τοῦ μὴ ἀνιῶσι τὸν ἀδελφιδοῦν ἐφ’
ηττη τῶν ἱδίων, ἀλλ’ ἐν μεθορίῳ στὰς συμβατη-
ρίως λόγους τοὺς διαφερομένους κατάλλαξεν, οὐ
πρὸς τὸ παρὸν μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸν μέλλοντα χρόνον.
215 εἰδὼς γὰρ ὅτι συνοικοῦντες μὲν καὶ ἐν τοῦτῷ
dιαιτῶμεν γνωσιμαχοῦντες φιλονεικήσουσι στά-
σεις ἀεὶ καὶ πολέμους κατ’ ἀλλήλων ἐγείροντες, ἢν

a For §§ 212-216 see Gen. xiii. 5-11.
ON ABRAHAM, 211–215

alone and unsupported and with possessions far inferior to his, and how he willingly accepted to be at a disadvantage when he might have taken advantage of them. For he had a nephew who had accompanied him when he migrated from his native land, an unreliable and hesitating person, ever inclining this way and that, sometimes fawning on him with loving greetings, sometimes rebellious and refractory through the inconsistency of his different moods. Therefore his servants too were quarrelsome and turbulent, as they had no one to control them, and this was particularly the case with the shepherds who were stationed at a distance from their master; thus breaking out of control in their wilfulness they were ever quarrelling with the Sage’s herdsmen who many times gave way to them because of their master’s gentleness. Then, advancing to a senseless audacity which knew no shame, they grew rampant and fostered in their hearts the flame of a passion beyond hope of conciliation until they compelled their opponents to begin defending themselves against the injustice. When the fight had become very serious, the man of worth, hearing how the aggressors had been countered, and knowing that his own party was more distinguished in strength and number, did not allow the quarrel to be terminated by a victory, as he did not wish to distress his nephew through seeing his own party defeated. So he took up his stand between them and reconciled the disputants by proposals of agreement, good not only for the present but for the future. For he knew that if they lived together and shared the same dwelling-place they would engage in obstinate contention, for ever stirring up wars and factions against
μὴ τοῦτο γένοιτο, συμφέρον ὑπέλαβεν εἶναι παρατήσασθαι τὸ ὁμοδίαιτον καὶ τὴν ὁίκησιν διαζεῦξαι καὶ μεταπεμψάμενος τὸν ἀδελφίδον αἵρεσιν αὐτῷ δίδωσι τῆς ἀμείνονος χώρας, ἀσμενος ὁμολογῶν ἂν ἰν ἐπιλέξῃ ται μερίδα λήψεται· κερδανέι γὰρ κέρδος μέγιστον, τὴν εἰρήνην. καίτοι τίς ἂν ἑτερον ἀσθενεστέρω παραχωρήσειν ὀντυνοσοῦν ἰσχυρότερον ὁμολογῶν· τίς δὲ νικὰν δυνάμενος βούλοιτ' ἂν ήττάσθαι, μὴ συγχρώμενος τῷ δύνασθαι; μόνος δὲ οὕτος τὸ ἄριστον, οὐκ ἐν ῥώμη καὶ πλεονεξίᾳ τιθέμενος ἄλλ' ἐν ἀστασιάστῳ βίῳ καὶ τὸ γε ἐπ' αὐτὸν ἢκον μέρος ἰσοχάζοντι πάντων ἐδοξεὶ εἶναι δαυμασιώτατος.

217 XXXVIII. Ἐπειδὴ τοῖνυν ὡς ἐπ' ἀνθρώπου ἡ λέξις ἐγκωμιαστικὴ λέλεκται, μηνύονται δὲ καὶ τρόποι ψυχῆς κατὰ τοὺς ἀπὸ τῶν ῥητῶν ἐπὶ τὰ νοητὰ μετίοντας, ἀρμόττον ἂν εἴη καὶ τούτους ἀνερευνῆσαι. μυρίοι μὲν οὖν εἶσιν ἀπὸ μυρίων ἀφορμῶν κατὰ παντοδαπάς ἰδέας πραγμάτων συνιστάμενοι, δύο δ' οἱ νυνί μέλλοντες ἐπικρίνεσθαι τρόποι, ὃν ὁ μὲν πρεσβύτερος, ὁ δὲ νεώτερος, πρεσβύτερος μὲν ὁ τὰ πρώτα καὶ ἰγεμονικὰ τῇ φύσει τιμῶν, νεώτερος δὲ ὁ τὰ ὑπόκοια καὶ ἐν ἐσχατιᾷ ἐξεταζόμενα. πρεσβύτερα μὲν οὖν καὶ ἰγεμονικὰ φρόνησις καὶ σωφροσύνη καὶ δικαιοσύνη καὶ ἀνδρεία καὶ πάν τι περὶ ἀρετῆν | καὶ αἱ κατ' ἀρετὴν πράξεις· νεώτερα δὲ πλοῦτος καὶ δόξα καὶ ἀρχὴ καὶ εὐγένεια, οὖχ ἡ ἀληθῆς, ἄλλ' ἣν οἱ πολλοὶ νομίζουσιν, καὶ ὡσα ἄλλα τὴν τρίτῃ μετὰ τὰ ψυχικὰ [32] καὶ ἀνδρεία καὶ πᾶν ὁ τί περὶ ἀρετῆν | καὶ αἱ κατ' ἀρετὴν πράξεις· νεώτερα δὲ πλοῦτος καὶ δόξα καὶ ἀρχὴ καὶ εὐγένεια, οὖχ ἡ ἀληθῆς, ἄλλ' ἣν οἱ πολλοὶ νομίζουσιν, καὶ ὡσα ἄλλα τὴν τρίτῃ μετὰ τὰ ψυχικὰ 106
each other. To prevent this, he thought it expedient to refuse to continue their living together and to arrange for their dwelling at a distance from each other. So, sending for his nephew, he gave him a choice of the better district, gladly agreeing that he should take whatever part he chose; for he considered that he would thereby get peace, the greatest of gains. And yet who else would give way in any single point to the weaker if he were the stronger? Who, when he could conquer, would be willing to be defeated and not avail himself of his power? He alone took for his ideal not the exercise of strength and self-aggrandizement but a life free from strife and so far as lay with him of tranquillity, and thereby he showed himself the most admirable of men.

XXXVIII. The actual words of the story are an encomium on Abraham as a man; but, according to those who proceed from the literal to the spiritual, characters of soul are indicated also, and therefore it will be well to investigate them too. Such characters are numberless, proceeding from numberless starting-points and arising from every kind and variety of circumstance; but those now to be examined are two only, one higher and senior and one lower and junior. The senior is that character which honours things primal and dominant in their nature, the junior that which honours things subject and lowest in the list. Now the senior and dominant are wisdom and temperance and justice and courage and virtue regarded as a whole and actions inspired by virtue, but the junior are wealth and reputation and office and good birth, good not in the true sense but in the sense which the multitude give to it, and everything else which coming after the things of
καὶ σωματικὰ τάξιν εἴληχεν, ἦτις εὐθὺς ἐστὶ καὶ
220 τελευταῖα. τούτων οὖν τῶν τρόπων ἐκάτερος ἔχει
καθάπερ τυλικά ποίμνας καὶ ἀγέλας, ὁ μὲν τῶν ἐκτὸς
ὁρεγόμενος ἄργυρον, χρυσόν, ἐσθήτας, πάντα ὅσα
tοῦ πλούτου ὅλαι καὶ παρασκευαί, καὶ πάλιν ὅπλα,
μηχανήματα, τριήρεις, ἵππες, καὶ πεζικὰ καὶ
ναυτικὰ δύναμιν, τὰς πρὸς ἁγγείαν ἀφορμὰς,
ἐξ ὧν ἰσορροπεῖ τὸ βεβαίως κρατεῖν, ὁ δὲ καλο-
κάγαθος ἔραστῃς τὰ καθ ἐκάστην ἀρετὴν δόγματα
221 καὶ τὰ σοφίας αὐτῆς θεωρήματα.

προ-
στάται δὲ καὶ ἐπιμελητηὶς τούτων ἐκατέρων εὐσφι
τινὲς οἷα θρεμμάτων ποιμένες, τῶν μὲν ἐκτὸς οἱ φιλο-
χρήματος καὶ φιλόμορφοι καὶ στρατηγικῶν καὶ ὃσοι
tὴν ἐπὶ τοὺς πλέον δυναστείαν ἀναπώσις, τῶν δὲ
περὶ ἴππῃς ὁσοὶ φιλόκοι καὶ φιλόφρονες, μὴ τὰ
νόθα πρὸ τῶν γνήσιων ἄλλα τὰ νόθα πρὸ τῶν
222 νόθων ἀγαθὰ αἱρούμενοι. γίνεται οὖν φυσικὴ τις
αὐτοῖς ἡ διαμάχη μηδὲν ἐγνωστὸν τῶν αὐτῶν, ἄλλ' ἀπάδουσι καὶ διαφερομένοις ἀεὶ περὶ πράγματος
συνεκτικῶτατοι τῶν ἐν βίῳ, τοῦτο δ' ἐστὶ ἡ κρίσις
223 τῶν πρὸς ἀληθεῖαν ἀγαθῶν. ἀχρὶ μὲν οὖν τῶν ἐπολεμεῖτο ἡ ἴππῃ καὶ τὴν στάσιν ταῦτα ἐχώρει μήπως κεκαθαρμένη παντελῶς, ἄλλ' ἐτὶ τῶν παθῶν καὶ νοσημάτων παρευμεροῦντων τοὺς ὑγιαντότας λόγους. ἀφ' οὖ περὶ τῆς ἡρξάτο δυνατωτέρα γίνεσθαι καὶ ρώμη κραταιοτέρα τῶν ἐπιτειχισμῶν τῶν ἐναντίων

* Or "was the subject of attack, and allowed the revolt to
soul and body takes the third place which is necessarily also the last. Each of the two characters possesses what we may call flocks and herds. The devotee of things external has silver, gold, raiment, all the materials of wealth and the means for procuring them, and again arms, engines, triremes, cavalry, infantry and naval forces, the foundations of sovereignty which produce security of power. The lover of moral excellence has the principles of each separate virtue and the truths discovered by wisdom itself. Now those who preside and have charge over each of these two are, as it were, herdsmen of cattle. The externals are cared for by lovers of wealth or glory, the would-be generals and all who hanker for power over multitudes, the things of the soul by lovers of moral excellence and virtue, who prefer the genuine goods to the spurious and not the spurious to the genuine. So there is a natural conflict between them since they have no common principle but are for ever jangling and quarrelling about the most important thing in life, and that is the decision what are the true goods. For a time the soul was in a state of war, and was the scene of this conflict, for as yet it was not perfectly purified, but its passions and distempers still prevailed over its healthy principles. But from the time when it began to grow more powerful and demolish by superior strength the works with which the opposing doctrines threatened it, it spreads its wings, and, its spirit grown to fulness, sets a wall and barrier between it and that side of its character which has given its admiration to the gear of external things. And it talks with it as with proceed,” i.e. the soul is here identified, as it certainly is below, with its own better side.
άνθρώπω διαλεγομένη φησίν· ἀμήχανον ὁμοδίαιτον εἰναὶ σὲ καὶ ὀμόσπονδον ἑραστὴ σοφίας καὶ ἄρετῆς, ἵνα δὴ καὶ μετοικισάμενος μακρὰν ἀποζεύχθητι, μηδεμίων ἔχων κοινωνίαν, ἀλλὰ μηδὲ σχείν δυνάμενος· ὅσα γὰρ ὑπολαμβάνεις εἰναὶ δεξιά, ταὐτ' οἴεται ἐκεῖνος εὐώνυμα, καὶ ὅσα τοὐναντίον σκαῖα, ταῦτα παρ' ἐκεῖνῳ νενόμισται δεξιά.

Οὔ τοίνυν εἰρηνικὸς καὶ φιλοδίκαιος αὐτὸ μόνον ἢν ὁ ἀστείος, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀνδρείος καὶ πολεμικός· ὅσα ἔνεκα τοῦ πολεμεῖν—οὐ γὰρ δύσερις ἢν καὶ φιλόνεικος,—ἀλλ’ ὑπέρ βεβαίου τῆς πρὸς τὸ μέλλον εἰρήνης, ἢν οἱ ἀντίπαλοι καθήρουν. | σαφεστάτη δὲ πίστις τὰ πραχθέντα. τὴν πρὸς ἀνατολὰς μοῦραν τῆς οἰκουμένης τέτταρες μεγάλοι βασιλεῖς εἰλήχεσαν, οἷς ὑπήκουεν ἐθνη τὰ ἔξω, τὰ τε ἐκτὸς καὶ ἐντὸς Εὐφράτου. τὰ μὲν οὖν ἀλλὰ διέμενεν ἀστασίαστα πειθαρχοῦντα τοῖς τῶν βασιλέων ἐπίτάγμασι καὶ τοὺς ἔτησίους δασμοὺς ἀποφασίστως εἰσφέροντα· μόνη δὲ ἡ Σοδομιτῶν χώρα, πρὶν καταφλεχθῆναι, παραλύειν ἥρξατο τὴν εἰρήνην ἀπὸ 

στασιν ἐκ πολλοῦ διανοομένη. πάνυ γὰρ οὖσας εὐδαιμόνοις πέντε βασιλεῖς ἐπεκράτουν τὰς τὰς πόλεις καὶ τὴν γῆν δασάμενοι πολλὴν μὲν οὐκ οὖσαν, εὐσταχύν δὲ καὶ εὐδενδρον καὶ καρπῶν περίπλεων· ὁ γὰρ ταῖς ἀλλαῖς τὸ μέγεθος, τοῦθ’ ἡ ἀρετὴ Σοδόμοις παρέσχειν, οἶχεν καὶ πλείους ἐραστὰς ἔσχεν ἡγεμόνας τὸ κάλλος αὐτῆς καταπλαγέντας. οὕτωι τὸν ἄλλον χρόνον τοὺς ἐπιταχθέντας φόρους ἀπε-

1 mss. ὡν or omit.

This evidently gives an allegorical interpretation to Gen. 110
a man and says: “It is impossible that thou and the lover of wisdom and virtue should have a common home and common ties. Away, change thy dwelling and betake thyself afar off, for thou hast not, or rather canst not have, fellowship with him. For all that thou holdest to be on the right he thinks to be on the left, and conversely what to thee is on the wrong side in his judgement stands on the right.”

XXIX. So, then, the man of worth was not merely peaceable and a lover of justice but courageous and warlike, not for the sake of warring, for he was not quarrelsome or cantankerous, but to secure peace for the future, the peace which the opponents were destroying. The clearest proof of this is his actions.

That part of the inhabited world which lies towards the east was in the hands of four great kings who held in subjection the nations of the Orient on both sides of the Euphrates. Now the other nations continued to be free from sedition, obeying the orders of the king, and paying their taxes without demur. Only the country of the Sodomites, before it was consumed by fire, began to undermine this peaceful condition by a long-standing plan of revolt. For, as it was exceedingly prosperous, it was ruled by five kings who taxed the cities and the land, which though not large was rich in corn and well wooded and teeming with fruits, for the position which size gave to other countries, was given to Sodom by its goodliness, and hence it had a plurality of rulers who loved it and were fascinated by its charm. These hitherto rendered the appointed tributes to the collectors of revenue

xiii. 9 “if thou wilt take the left hand, then I will go to the right; or if thou wilt take the right hand, then I will go to the left.”

b For §§ 225-235 see Gen. xiv.
δίδοσαν τοὺς ἐκλογεῦσι τῶν χρημάτων, τοὺς δυνατωτέρους ὤν ἦσαν ὑπαρχοὶ τιμῶντες ἁμα καὶ δεδιότες· ἐπει δὲ ἐκορέσθησαν ἀγαθῶν καὶ, ὅπερ φιλεῖ, κόρος ὑβριν ἐγέννησε, πλέον τῆς δυνάμεως φρονήσαντες ἀπαυχεῖν οὐ τὸ πρῶτον, εἰθ' οί κακοὶ δούλοι δεσπόταις τοῖς ἑαυτῶν ἐπιτίθενται στάσει πιστεύσαντες ἡ ῥώμη. οἱ δὲ τῆς ἑαυτῶν εὐγενείας ύπομνησθέντες καὶ φραξάμενοι δυνατωτέρα χειρὶ μάλα καταφρονητικῶς ἔσαν ὡς αὐτοβοεί περιεσόμενοι καὶ συμπλακέντες τοὺς μὲν εὕρης εἰς φυγὴν ἀνεσκέδασαν, τοὺς δὲ ἐπιστροφάδην κτείνοντες ήβηδόν διαφθείρουσιν, αἰχμαλώτων δὲ πολὺν ὀχλον ἀγάγόντες μετὰ τῆς ἄλλης λείας διενεμὸντο· προσαπάγουσι μέντοι καὶ τοῦ σοφοῦ τὸν ἀδελφόν εἰς μίαν τῆς πενταπόλεως οὐκ ἐκ πολλοῦ μετωκηκότα.

XL. τούτο μηνυθέν ύπὸ τῶν εἰς τῆς τροπῆς διασωθέντων χαλεπῶς αὐτὸν ἠνίασε καὶ οὐκέτ' ἢρέμει διὰ τούτο συγκεχιμένος καὶ ζῶντα πενθῶν τὸ ἀργαλεώτερον ἡ εἰ τεθνεώτα ἐστὶν· τέλος μὲν γάρ, ὡς αὐτὸ ποιήσαντο καὶ μάλιστα κακῶν ἦδει τὴν τελευτήν, μυρία δὲ τῶν ἀβουλήτων ἐφεδρεύοντα τοῖς ζώσι. διώκειν δ' εὔτρεπιζόμενος ἐπὶ τῷ ρύσασθαι τὸν ἀδελφόν ἢτόρει συμμάχων, ἀτε ξένους ὕπ' εἰς τόν τούτοις μέτοικοι καὶ μηδενὸς τολμώντος ἀμάχους δυνάμεις τοσοῦτων βασιλέων καὶ ἀρτι 232 νενικηκότων ἐναντιοῦσθαι. καινοτάτην δ' ἐξεύρεστε συμμαχίαν—πόρος γὰρ ἐν ἀπόροις, ὅταν δικαίων καὶ φιλανθρώπων ἐργῶν ἐφιηταὶ τις, εὐρίσκεται—.

* Or “to the strength” (which they wrongly supposed themselves to have). But this is awkward. I should like to read <μάλλον> ἡ.
out of both respect for and fear of the higher potentates whose satraps they were. But, when they had been surfeited with good things, and as so often happens satiety had begotten insolence, they grew ambitious beyond their powers and first shook off the yoke and then, like bad slaves, attacked their masters, trusting to sedition or violence. But these masters, mindful of their higher birth and armed with more powerful force, advanced in great disdain to the attack, expecting to conquer them with the utmost ease. And, when they engaged, some they sent flying helter-skelter at once, others they mowed down in wholesale massacre, while a great number were taken prisoners and distributed with the rest of the booty. Among these they took the nephew of the Sage, who had migrated not long before into one of the five cities.

XL. When this was reported to Abraham by one of those who escaped from the rout, it distressed him exceedingly. He could no longer rest, so severe was the shock, and mourned for the living with greater sorrow than if he had heard of his death. For he knew that death or decease, as the name itself shows, is the end of everything in life, and particularly of its ills, while the troubles which lie in wait for the living are numberless. But, when he made ready to pursue the enemy to rescue his nephew, he was at a loss for allies, since he was a stranger and an immigrant, and no one dared to oppose the invincible forces of the kings, considering their number and their recent victory. But he obtained allies in quite a new quarter, for resource is found where resource is none, when one is set on deeds of justice and kindness. He
συναγαγὼν γὰρ τοὺς οἰκέτας καὶ τοὺς ἀργυρώντες προστάξας οίκοι καταμένειν—ἔδεισε γὰρ ἐξ αὐτῶν ἀυτομολίαν—τοὺς οἰκότριβας καταλέγει καὶ διανείμας εἰς ἐκατονταρχίας τρισὶν ἐπήει τάξιν, οὐ ταύτας πεποιθῶς—πολλοστὶ γὰρ ἤν μοῖρα τῶν παρὰ τοῖς βασιλεύσιν—, ἀλλὰ τῷ ύπερμάχῳ καὶ προσαγωνισθῇ τοῦ | δικαίου θεῷ. συντείνων οὖν ἑσπευσθεὶ τάχους ἄνεις, ἐως καταβαλλέττω τῶν πολεμίων δημοτικός πολεμεῖται τοῖς πολεμικοῖς διδεύτων πολεμοῦντες πολεμούντες ἢδη καὶ πρὸς ὑπὸν μέλλουσι τρέποντας· καὶ τοὺς μὲν ἐν εὐναίς ἱέρειε, τοὺς δὲ ἀντιπολεμοῦντας ἅρδην ἀνήρει, πάντων δὲ ἐρωμένων ἑπεκράτει τῷ θαρ- 

233 ραλέω τῆς ψυχῆς μᾶλλον ἡ ταῖς παρασκευαῖς. καὶ οὐ πρότερον ἀνήκεν, ἐως τὴν μὲν ἀντίπαλον στρατιών βασιλεύσιν αὐτοῖς ἡβηδόν ἰέρειο οὐκ ἀνήκεν, ἐως τὴν μὲν δεδείπνοι πρὸ τοῦ στρατοπέδου κατεστόρεσε, τὸν δὲ ᾠδελφιδοῦν ἀνήγαγε μετὰ λαμπρᾶς καὶ ἐπιφανεστάτης νίκης ἀπασαν τὴν ἵππον καὶ τὴν τῶν ἀλλῶν πληθὺν ὑπο-

234 ξυντάκτης καὶ λείαν ἀφθονωτάτην προσπαραλαβών. ὃν θεοσάμενος ὁ μέγας ἱέρειος τοῦ μεγίστου θεοῦ ἐπανότα τις καὶ τροποποιοῦντα σῷον μετὰ σῷον τῆς ἱδίας δυνάμεως—οὐδένα γὰρ τῶν συνόντων ἀπέβαλε—, καταπλαγεῖς τὸ μέγεθος τῆς πράξεως καὶ ὅπερ εἰκός ἐννοηθεὶς, ὡς οὐκ ᾠδεις ἐπιφροσύνης καὶ συμμαχίας, καταπλαγεῖς τὸ μέγεθος τῆς πράξεως καὶ ὅπερ εἰκός ἐννοηθεὶς, ὡς οὐκ ᾠδεις ἐπιφροσύνης καὶ συμμαχίας, τὰς κεῖρας ἀνατείνας εἰς τὸν οὐρανὸν εὐχαῖς αὐτῶν γεραίρει καὶ ἐπινίκη ἔθυε καὶ πάντας τοὺς συναραμένους τῷ ἀγῶνι λαμπρῶς εἴστιν, γεγηθῶς καὶ συνηδόμενος ὡς ἐπὶ οἰκεῖον καταθώματι· καὶ ᾧ τῷ ὀντὶ οἰκεῖον

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\[a\] So lxx (ἕβαλε). E.V. "led forth."
collected his servants and, after bidding those who had been acquired by purchase to remain at home, since he feared that they might desert, he made a roll-call of those who were home-bred, distributed them into centuries and advanced with three battalions. Yet he did not trust in these, for they were but a small fraction of the kings' forces, but in God, the champion and defender of the just. So he pressed forward eagerly and never abated his speed until, watching for his chance, he attacked the enemy by night when they had supped and were preparing to go to sleep. Some fell helpless victims to him in their beds, others who took arms against him were completely annihilated, and all were mightily overcome more by his courage of soul than by the resources at his command. Nor did he stay his hand until he had completely slaughtered the opposing army with their kings as well and left them lying in front of the camp. His nephew he brought back in the triumph of his brilliant and magnificent victory, taking too with him all the horses of the cavalry and the whole multitude of the other beasts and spoil in vast plenty. When the high priest of the most high God saw him approaching with his trophies, leader and army alike unhurt, for he had lost none of his own company, he was astonished by the feat, and, thinking, as indeed was natural, that such success was not won without God's directing care and help to their arms, he stretched his hands to heaven and honoured him with prayers on his behalf and offered sacrifices of thanksgiving for the victory and feasted handsomely those who had taken part in the contest, rejoicing and sharing their gladness as though the success were his own; and so indeed it was, for "the
αὐτῷ· "κοινὰ" γὰρ κατὰ τὴν παροιμίαν "τὰ φίλων," πολὺ δὲ πλέον τὰ τῶν ἀγαθῶν, οἷς ἐν τέλος εὐαρεστεῖν θεῷ.

236 XLI. Ταῦτα μὲν οὖν αἱ ῥηταὶ γραφαί περιέχουσιν. ἀσώματα δὲ ὠσοὶ καὶ γυμνὰ θεωρεῖν τὰ πράγματα δύνανται, οἱ ψυχῆς μᾶλλον ἡ σώματι ζώντες, φήσουσι τῶν ἐννέα βασιλέων τοὺς μὲν τέτταρας εἶναι τὰς ἐν ἡμῖν τῶν τεττάρων παθῶν δυνάμεις, ἡδονῆς, ἐπιθυμίας, φόβου, λύπης, τοὺς δὲ πέντε τὰς ἰσαρίθμους αἰσθήσεις, ἀκοῆς, ἀπόφης, 237 γεῦσις, ὀφθαλμοῦ, ἀφής. τρόπον γὰρ των βασιλεύσων καὶ ἄρχουσιν ἡμῶν ἀνημένου τὸ κράτος, ἀλλ’ οὐχ ὀμοίως· ὑπήκοοι γὰρ αἱ πεντε τῶν τεττάρων εἰκὼν καὶ φόρους αὐταῖς καὶ δασμοὺς ἀναγκαίους φέρουσιν ἐπί τῶν παθῶν καθ’ αυτὸ οἶκον τῶν, εἰ μὴ ἔχοντες ταῖς διὰ τῶν 238 αἰσθήσεων παρασκευαῖς. αὐταί γὰρ ἐκεῖνων δυνάμεις εἰσίν, ἢ διὰ χρωμάτων καὶ σχημάτων ἢ διὰ φωνῆς τῆς ἐν τῷ λέγειν ἢ ἀκούειν ἢ διὰ χυλῶν ἢ δι’ ἀτμῶν ἢ τῶν ἐν ἀποίσις, ἀ μαλακὰ καὶ σκληρὰ 239 αἰσθήσεως παρασκευαῖς. αὐταί γὰρ ἐκεῖνων δυνάμεις εἰσίν, ἢ διὰ χρωμάτων καὶ σχημάτων ἢ διὰ φωνῆς τῆς ἐν τῷ λέγειν ἢ ἀκούειν ἢ διὰ χυλῶν ἢ δι’ ἀτμῶν ἢ τῶν ἐν ἀποίσις, ἀ μαλακὰ καὶ σκληρὰ [35] ἡ τραχέα | καὶ λεία ἡ θερμὰ καὶ ψυχρά· ταῦτα γὰρ πάντα διὰ τῶν αἰσθήσεων ἐκάστως τῶν παθῶν 240 χορηγεῖται. καὶ μέχρι μὲν οἱ λεχθέντες ἀποδίδονται φόροι, μὲνει τοῖς βασιλεύσων ἡ ὀμαιχμα, ὅταν δὲ μηχέω ὀμοίως συντελώνται, στάσεις εὐθὺς καὶ πόλεμοι συνίστανται· τούτο δὲ συμβαίνειν ἐχοῖκεν, ὅταν ἄφικνηται τὸ ἐπώδυνον γῆρας, ἐν ὅ τῶν μὲν παθῶν ἁσθενέστερον οὐδὲν γίνεται, τάχα δὲ καὶ τῆς παλαιᾶς δυνάμεως κραταιότερον, ἀμυδραί δὲ ὁψεις

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belongings of friends are held in common," as the proverb says, and this is far more true of the belongings of the good whose one end is to be well-pleasing to God.

XLI. This is what we find in the scriptures read literally; but those who can contemplate facts stripped of the body and in naked reality, those who live with the soul rather than with the body, will say that of these nine kings, four are the power exercised within us by the four passions, pleasure, desire, fear and grief, and that the five are the five senses, sight, hearing, taste, smell and touch. For these nine are in a sense invested with sovereignty and are our kings and rulers but not all in the same way. For the five are subject to the four, and are forced to pay them the tolls and tributes determined by nature. Griefs and pleasures and fears and desires arise out of what we see or hear or smell or taste or touch, and none of the passions would have any strength of itself if it were not furnished with what the senses supply; for these supplies constitute the forces of the passions, taking the form of colours and shapes, or sounds spoken or heard, or flavours, or scents, or the qualities attached to things tangible, soft and hard or rough and smooth or warm and cold, all of which are supplied through the senses to each of the passions. And while the said tributes are rendered the alliance between the kings holds good, but when they are no longer paid discord and wars at once arise, and this obviously happens when old age with its pains arrives. For then, while none of the passions is weaker, and perhaps is even stronger than of old, yet the eyes are dim and the ears dull of
καὶ ὡτα δυσήκοα καὶ ἐκάστη τῶν ἄλλων ἀισθήσεων ἀμβλυτέρα, μηκεθ' ὁμοίως ἐκάστα ἀκριβοῦν καὶ δικάζειν δυναμένη μηδ' ἵσα τῷ πλήθει ὑποτελεῖν· εἰκότως οὖν ἔξασθενήσασαι πάντα τρόπον καὶ κλι-
θέισαι δ' αὐτῶν ὑπὸ τῶν ἀντιπάλων παθῶν ῥαδίως ἀνατρέπονται. φυσικῶτα δὲ ἐκεῖνο εἰρηται, ὅτι τῶν πέντε βασιλέων δύο μὲν εἰς φρέατα ἐμπέπτουσι, τρεῖς δὲ πρὸς φυγὴν ὄρμησαν· ἀφὴ μὲν γὰρ καὶ γεύσις ἄχρι τῶν τοῦ σώματος βαθύτατων ἀφικνοῦνται σπλάγχνοι παραπέμπουσι τὰ οἰκεῖα πρὸς διοίκησιν, ὁφθαλμοὶ δὲ καὶ ὦτα καὶ ὀσφρησις ἐξω τὰ πολλὰ βαίνουσαι ἀποδιδράσκουσι τὴν δου-
λείαν τοῦ σώματος. οἷς ἀπασιν ἐφ-εδρεύων ὁ ἀστείος, ἐπειδὴ κατεἰδε τὰ σύμμαχα καὶ φίλα πρὸ μικροῦ νοσοῦντα καὶ πόλεμον ἀντ' εἰρήνης ταῖς ἐννέα βασιλείαις γενόμενον, πρὸς τὰς πέντε τῶν τεττάρων περὶ κράτους ἀρχής ἀμμιλλωμένων, ἐξαπιναίως καιροφυλακήσας ἐπιτίθεται, φιλοτιμού-
μενος δημοκρατίαν, τὴν ἀρίστην τῶν πολιτειῶν, ἀντὶ τυραννίδων καὶ δυναστειῶν ἐν τῇ ψυχῇ κατα-
στήσασθαι καὶ τὸ ἐννομὸν καὶ τὸ δίκαιον ἀντὶ παρανομίας καὶ ἀδικίας, αἰ τέως ἐπεκράτουν.

243 ἔστι δ' οὖ πλάσμα μούθον τὸ λεχθὲν, ἀλλὰ πράγμα τῶν ἀφευδεστάτων ἐν ἡμῖν αὐτοῖς θεωροῦμεν· πολλάκις μὲν γὰρ ὁμόνοιαν τὴν πρὸς τὰ πάθη διατηροῦσαν αἰ αἰσθήσεις χορηγοῦσαι τὰ

1 I suggest πλήθει ("equal to the full quota"): Mangey πάθει or πάθει.
hearing and each of the other senses blunted, so that it cannot in the same way judge each thing with accuracy or make the same contribution in amount as before. And so, weakened all round as they are and already giving way of themselves, it is natural that they should be easily routed by the opposing passions. There is much philo-

241 sophical truth in the saying that of the five kings two fell into the wells and three took to flight. For touch and taste descend to the lowest recesses of the body and transmit to its inward parts what may properly be dealt with by them; but eyes and ears and smell for the most part pass outside and escape enslavement by the body. All this the man of worth was watching from his lair, and when he saw trouble festering, where but now was alliance and friendship, and war instead of peace arising between the nine kingdoms, with the four competing against the five for the sovereign power, he seized his opportunity and suddenly made the attack, ambitious to establish in the soul democracy, the best of constitutions, instead of the rule of tyrants and overlords, and legality and justice instead of lawlessness and injustice which hitherto prevailed. All this is no fable of my invention, but a fact, and that one of the surest which we may observe in ourselves. For the senses, though often they may maintain concord with the passions and provide them with the objects which they per-

the accepted four passions and five senses naturally attracts Philo to this ingenious allegory. The weak point seems to be that in the story the rebellion of the five against the four is not due to the influence of Abraham, as in the allegory the refusal of the senses to minister to the passions is due to reason.
αισθητά αυτοῖς, πολλάκις δὲ καὶ στασιάζουσι μηκέτ' αξιοῦσαι τὰ ἵσα τελείν ἢ μὴ δυνάμεναι διὰ τὸ παρ- 
εῖναι τὸν σωφρονιστὴν λόγον. ὅς ἐπειδὰν ἀναλάβῃ 
τὴν αὐτοῦ παντευχήν, τὰς ἀρετὰς καὶ τὰ τούτων 
δόγματα καὶ θεωρήματα, δύναμιν ἀνανταγώνιστον, 
ἐρρωμενέστατα κρατεὶ· θαρτὰ γὰρ ἀφθάρτῳ συν-

οικεῖν ὑπὸ θέμις. αἱ μὲν οὖν ἐννέα δυναστεῖαι 
τεττάρων παθῶν καὶ πέντε αἰσθήσεων φθαρταί τε 
καὶ φθορᾶς αἴται, ὡς ὄρμητηριώ χρώμενος ταῖς 
ἀρεταῖς λόγος ἱερὸς καὶ θειὸς ὄντως, ἐν ἀριθμῷ 
παρέαν καὶ παράτομενος δεκάδι τῇ παντελείᾳ, πρὸς ἀμίλλαν 
ἔλθων, ἐρρωμενεστέρα δυνάμει τῇ κατὰ θεὸν χρώ-

μενος ἀνὰ κράτος νικά τὰς εἰρημένας δυναστείας.

Τὰς ἐν πολέμως συστρατείας. ἀεὶ γὰρ καὶ παν-

tαρχῶν παρῆν οὐδένα τόπον ἢ καιρὸν ἀπολείπουσα, 
κοινωνῶς ὄντως βίου καὶ τῶν κατὰ τὸν βίον πραγ-

μάτων, ἐξ ἵσου δικαιούσα μετέχειν ἀγαθῶν ὁμοῦ 
καὶ κακῶν· οὐ γὰρ ὄσπερ ἐναι τὰς μὲν κακο-

πραγματείας ἀπεδίδρασκε, ταῖς δὲ εὐτυχίαις ἐφήδρευεν, 
ἀλλὰ τὸν ἐν ἀμφοτέραις κλήρον ὡς ἐπιβάλλοντα 
καὶ ἀρμόττοντα γαμετῇ μετὰ προθυμίας πάσης ἀν-

εδέχετο. XLIII. πολλὰ δὲ ἔχων ἐγκώ-

a For the perfection of ten as used in Scripture, cf. De 
Cong. 89 ff. (where Gen. xiv. is quoted among other ex-

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ceive, often too revolt and are unwilling any longer to pay the same dues or unable to do so because of the presence of reason, the chastener. For when reason puts on its panoply of the virtues and the doctrines and the lore which embody them, armed with this irresistible power it mightily overcomes. For corruptible and incorruptible may not live together. Now the nine overlords, the four passions and the five senses, are corruptible and the sources of corruption, but the truly divine and holy Word, whose stronghold is in the virtues, whose place in the order of number is tenth, the supremely perfect number,\(^a\) comes to the contest and with the help of the mightier power of God wins an easy victory over the said overlords.

XLII. After this in the course of time he lost the wife who was the darling of his heart and gifted with every excellence. She showed her wifely love by numberless proofs, by sharing with him the severance from his kinsfolk, by bearing without hesitation the departure from her homeland, the continual and unceasing wanderings on a foreign soil and privation in famine, and by the campaigns in which she accompanied him. Everywhere and always she was at his side, no place or occasion omitted, his true partner in life and life’s events, resolved to share alike the good and ill. She did not, like some other women, run away from mishaps and lie ready to pounce on pieces of good luck, but accepted her portion of both with all alacrity as the fit and proper test of a wedded wife.

XLIII. \(^b\) Many a story I could relate in

\(^a\) For §§ 247-254 see Gen. xvi. 1-6.
μια τῆς ἀνθρώπου διεξιέναι, ἐνὸς ὑπομνησθήσομαι, ὃ γενήσεται καὶ τῶν ἄλλων σαφεστάτη πίστις. ἄγονος γάρ οὐσα καὶ στείρα, δείσασα μὴ κατὰ τὸ παντελὲς έρημος γενεᾶς ὁ θεοφιλής οἶκος ἀπολεφθῆ, προσελθοῦσα τῷ ἀνδρὶ φησί τάδε. "πολὺν μὲν ἥδη χρόνον συμβιοῦμεν ἀλλήλους εὐαρεστοῦντες, οὐ δὲ χάριν καὶ αὐτοὶ συνεληλύθαμεν καὶ ἡ φύσις τὴν ἀνδρὸς καὶ γυναικὸς ἡμώσατο κοινωνίαν, τέκνων γένεσις οὐκ ἔστι, ἀλλ’ οὐδ’ εἰσαύθις εἶ

248 ἐμοῦ γε ὑπέρηλικος ἥδη γεγονυῖας ἐλπίζεται. μὴ δὴ παραπόλαυσα ὑπερήλικος ἥδη γεγονυῖας ἐλπίζεται. μὴ δὴ παραπόλαυσα ὑπερήλικος ἥδη γεγονυῖας ἐλπίζεται. μὴ δὴ παραπόλαυσα ὑπερήλικος ἥδη γεγονυῖας ἐλπίζεται. μὴ δὴ παραπόλαυσα ὑπερήλικος ἥδη γεγονυῖας ἐλπίζεται. μὴ δὴ παραπόλαυσα

249 ἐμοῦ γε ὑπέρηλικος ἥδη γεγονυῖας ἐλπίζεται. μὴ δὴ παραπόλαυσα ὑπερήλικος ἥδη γεγονυῖας ἐλπίζεται. μὴ δὴ παραπόλαυσα ὑπερήλικος ἥδη γεγονυῖας ἐλπίζεται. μὴ δὴ παραπόλαυσα ὑπερήλικος ἥδη γεγονυῖας ἐλπίζεται. μὴ δὴ παραπόλαυσα ὑπερήλικος ἥδη γεγονυῖας ἐλπίζεται. μὴ δὴ παραπόλαυσα

250 ὕσιως ἐκτιμπλᾶς ἀναγκαῖον. οὐ δὲ χάριν οὐχ ὑπερθήσομαι νυμφοστολεῖν ὡς τὸ ἐνδέον ἐμοὶ μέλλουσιν ἐκπληροῦν· καὶ εἰ γε ἀπαντήσει τοποράσ τέκνων εὐχαί, σά μὲν ἔσται τὰ γεννώμενα γνήσια, θέσει δὲ πάντως ἐμᾶ. πρὸς δὲ τὸ ἀνύποπτον τῆς ζηλοτυπίας εἶμὴν, εἰ βούλει, θεράπαναν ἀγαγοῦ, τὸ μὲν σῶμα δούλην, ἐλευθέραν δὲ καὶ εὐγενῆ τὴν διάνοιαν, ὡς ἐκ πολλῶν χρόνων πείραν ἔλαβον καὶ βάσανον, ἢ δὲ ημέρας τὸ πρῶτον εἰς τὴν ἐμὴν οἰκίαν ἤχθη, γένος μὲν Ἀἰγυπτίαν, τὴν δὲ προ-

251 θέσει δὲ πάντως ἐμᾶ. πρὸς δὲ τὸ ἀνύποπτον τῆς ζηλοτυπίας εἶμὴν, εἰ βούλει, θεράπαναν ἀγαγοῦ, τὸ μὲν σῶμα δούλην, ἐλευθέραν δὲ καὶ εὐγενῆ τὴν διάνοιαν, ὡς ἐκ πολλῶν χρόνων πείραν ἔλαβον καὶ βάσανον, ἢ δὲ ημέρας τὸ πρῶτον εἰς τὴν ἐμὴν οἰκίαν ἤχθη, γένος μὲν Ἀἰγυπτίαν, τὴν δὲ προ-

252 αἰρεσιν Ἑβραίαν. ἔστι μὲν ἡμῖν οὐσία πολλῆ καὶ ἀφθονος πλοῦτος, οὐχ ὡς μετοίκοις—ἡδὴ γὰρ τῶν αὐτοχθόνων τοὺς ἐν εὔτυχίαις λαμπραῖς ὑπερβάλλομεν—, κληρονόμοσί δ’ οὐδεὶς ἀποδέδεικται καὶ διάδοχος, καίτοι γε εἶναι δυνάμενοι, ἂν ταῖς ἐμαῖς παραϊνέσει πεισθῆς." ὁ δὲ θαυμᾶσας τῆς γυναικὸς ἔτι μάλλον τὴν ἀεὶ κανομενήν φιλανδρίαν καὶ νεάζουσαν καὶ τὸ περὶ τοῦ μέλλοντας ἐξεταστικὸν
praise of this woman, but one I will mention which will be the clearest proof that the others are true. Being childless and barren and fearing lest the house beloved of God should be left entirely desolate, she came to her husband and said: "Long have we lived together in mutual goodwill. But the purpose for which we ourselves came together and for which nature formed the union of man and wife, the birth of children, has not been fulfilled, nor is there any future hope of it, through me at least who am now past the age. But do not let the trouble of my barrenness extend to you, or kind feeling to me keep you from becoming what you can become, a father, for I shall have no jealousy of another woman, whom you will take not for unreasoning lust but in fulfilment of nature's inevitable law. And therefore I shall not be backward to lead to you a bride who will supply what is lacking in myself. And if our prayers for the birth of children are answered the offspring will be yours in full parenthood, but surely mine also by adoption. But to avoid any suspicion of jealousy on my part take if you will my handmaiden, outwardly a slave, inwardly of free and noble race, proved and tested by me for many years from the day when she was first brought to my house, an Egyptian by birth, but a Hebrew by her rule of life. We have much substance and abundance of wealth, not on the usual scale of immigrants, for in this we now outshine those of the native inhabitants who are noted for their prosperity, but no heir or successor has appeared, though there may be if you follow my advice." Abraham with increased admiration for the wifely love, which never grew old and was ever showing itself anew, and her careful forethought
καὶ προμηθὲς ἂγεται τῇν ὑπ’ αὐτῆς δοκιμασθέσαν
[37] ἄχρι τοῦ παιδοποιῆσασθαι, | ὡς δ’ οἱ σαφέστατα
dιηγούμενοι φασίν, ἄχρι τοῦ μόνον ἐγκύμονα γενεῖ-
σθαι· γενομένης δ’ οὐκ εἰς μακράν, ἀποσχέσθαι διά
tε φυσικήν ἐγκράτειαν καὶ τὴν τιμὴν, ἢν ἀπένεμε
tῇ γαμετῇ. γίνεται μὲν ὡς ἐκ τῆς θεραπαι-
νίδος εὐθὺς τότε, γίνεται δὲ καὶ μακρὸς χρόνος
ὕστερον γνήσιος ἀπεγνωκόσι τῇν ἐξ ἀλληλῶν γένε-
σιν, ἄθλον καλοκαγαθίας ἐλπίδος πάσης τελειότερον
tὸν φιλοδώρῳ θεοῦ παρασχόντος.

254 XLIV. Τοσαῦτα μὲν ἀπόχρη δείγματα περὶ τῆς
γυναικὸς ἐφήσθαι, πλείω δ’ ἐστὶν ἐγκώμια τοῦ
σοφοῦ, ὃν δὴ γίνεται ὡς πρὸτερον ἐνυπνήθησαν. λέξω δὲ
καὶ τὸ περὶ τὴν τελευτὴν τῆς γυναικὸς οὐκ ἄξιον
255 ἔργον ὑποκαθῆναι. τοιαύτην γὰρ ἀποβαλὼν κοι-
νωνὸν τοῦ σύμπαντος βίου, οἱ αὐτὸς ὥσπερ
λόγος καὶ μηνύουσιν οἱ χρησμοὶ,
tῆς λύπης ἐπαποδυόμενης
ἡδη καὶ κατὰ τῆς ψυχῆς κοινομένης ὠσπρὸν ἀθλητῆς
ἐπεκράτησε ἡξίωσε ρώσας καὶ θαρσύνας εὗ μᾶλα τὸν
ἄντιπαλον φύει τῶν παθῶν λογισμόν, ὃς συμβούλω
παρὰ πάντα τὸν βίον χρωμένον τότε διαφερόντως
ἡξίωσε πείθεσθαι τὰ βέλτιστα παραινοῦντι καὶ
256 συμφέροντα. ἢν δὲ ταυτί· μὴτε πλέον τοῦ μετρίου
σφαδάξειν ὡς ἐπὶ κανονήζῃ καὶ ἀγενήτω συμφορῆς
μὴτε ἀπαθεία καθάπερ μηδενὸς δυνηροῦ συμβηθῆ-
κότος χρῆσθαι, τὸ δὲ μέσον πρὸ τῶν ἄκρων ἐλο-
μενον μετριοπαθεῖν πειρᾶσθαι, τῇ μὲν φύει τὸ
οίκειον χρέος ἀπολαβοῦσῃ μὴ δυσχεραίνοντα, τὸ

a Presumably as related in the traditions of which Philo
speaks in Mos. i. 4. Naturally they credited Abraham with
all the continence possible, and, indeed, it might fairly be
inferred from Gen. xvi. 6.

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for the future, took the mate whom she had approved and kept her till she had borne a child, or, as the surest version of the story runs, only till she became pregnant, and when this occurred not long after he abstained from her through his natural continence and the honour which he paid to his lawful spouse. So a son was born just at that time to the handmaiden, but long afterwards the wedded pair, who had despaired of the procreation of children, had a son of their own, a reward for their high excellence, a gift from God the bountiful, surpassing all their hopes.

XLIV. We need give no further proofs of the merits of this wife. More numerous are those of the Sage, some of which I have praised in detail a little earlier. But I will speak of one which concerns the death of his wife, in which his conduct should not be passed over in silence. When he had lost his life-long partner, whose qualities have been described in our discourse and are related in the oracles, when sorrow was making itself ready to wrestle with his soul, he grappled with it, as in the arena, and prevailed. He gave strength and high courage to the natural antagonist of passion, reason, which he had taken as his counsellor throughout his life and now particularly was determined to obey, so excellent and profitable were its exhortations. The advice was that he should not grieve over-bitterly as at an utterly new and unheard-of misfortune, nor yet assume an indifference as though nothing painful had occurred, but choose the mean rather than the extremes and aim at moderation of feeling, not resent that nature should be paid the debt which is its due,
δὲ συμβεβηκὸς ἢσυχῇ καὶ πράως ἐπελαφρίζοντα.

μαρτυρίαι δὲ τούτων ἐν ταῖς ἑραῖς βιβλίοις κατάκεινται, ἂς οὐ θέμισ ψευδομαρτυρίῶν ἀλῶνα, μηνύουσαι ὅτι βραχέα τῷ σώματι ἐπι-δακρύσως θάττον ἀπανέστη τοῦ νεκροῦ, τὸ πενθεῖν ἐπὶ πλέον, ὃς ἐοικεν, ἀλλότριον ἡγησάμενος σοφίας, υφ' Ἦς ἀνεδιάχθη τὸν θάνατον νομίζειν μὴ σβέσων ψυχῆς, ἀλλὰ χωρισμὸν καὶ διαζευξίν ἀπὸ σώματος, θευν ἤλθεν ἀπιουσίας· ἤλθε δὲ, ὡς ἐν τῇ κοσμοποιίᾳ
dedełomwtei, parà theou. katháper de oudeis an áxhoito tōn metríwn xhreós ἡ parakatatahēkēn ἀποτίνων τῷ προεμένῳ, τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον οὐδὲ τῆς φύσεως ἀπολαμβανούσης τά οἰκεία χαλεπαίνειν
dēketo dein, allá tois ἀναγκαῖοις ἀσμενίζειν. ὡς δ' ἦκον οἱ ἐν τέλει τῶν κατὰ τὴν χώραν συναλγήσοντες, ἰδόντες οὐδὲν τῶν ἐν ἑθείς παρ' αὐτοῖς γυνομένων ἐπὶ τοὺς πενθοῦσιν, οὐκ ἀλόφυροιν, οὕ τρήνον, οὐκ κοπετόν, οὐκ ἄνδρῶν, οὔ γυναικῶν, ἀλλὰ τῆς συμπάσχεις οἰκίας εὐσταθή καὶ νηφάλιον κατ-ήθειαν, ἔθαυμαζον οὐ μετρίως καὶ τῶν ἄλλων βίων

προκαταπεπληγμένοι τοῦ ἄνδρός. εἶτ' οὐ στέγοντες ἐν έαυτοῖς τὰ τῆς ἄρετῆς αὐτοῦ μεγέθη καὶ κάλλη—πάντα γὰρ ἢν ἔξαιρετα—προσελθόντες εὔεφώνησαν

φοιτεῖστατα λέγοντες· αἱ μὲν γὰρ ἀλλ᾽ ἐν ἡμῖν ἐν τῇ ἀρετῇ, βασιλεύει σαραντάτα λέγοντες· αἱ μὲν γὰρ ἀλλὰ βασιλεύειν πρὸς ἀνθρώπων καθίσταται, πολέμοις καὶ στρατεύει καὶ κακοῖς ἀμυθτοῖς, ἀπερντεπιφέρουσιν ἀλληλοκτονοῦντες ὅ διναστειῶν ἐφιέμενοι, πεζὰς καὶ ἵππικὰς καὶ ναυτικὰς δυνάμεις ἐπιτειχίζοντες· τὴν δὲ τοῦ σοφοῦ βασιλείαν ὁρέγει θεός, ἢν παραλαβὼν ὁ σπουδαῖος οὐδεὶς μὲν αἴτιος γίνεται κακοῦ, πάσι

1 Perhaps read πένθεσιν as Cohn suggests.
ON ABRAHAM, 257–261

but quietly and gently lighten the blow.\(^a\)
The testimonies for this are to be found in the holy 258 books which may never be convicted of false witness. They show that after weeping for a little over the corpse he quickly rose up from it, holding further mourning, it appears, to be out of keeping with wisdom, which taught him that death is not the extinction of the soul but its separation and detachment from the body and its return to the place whence it came; and it came, as was shown in the story of creation, from God.\(^b\) And, as no reasonable 259 person would chafe at repaying a debt or deposit to him who had proffered it, so too he must not fret when nature took back her own, but accept the inevitable with equanimity. Now, when the chief 260 men of the country came to sympathize and saw nothing of the sort of mourning which was customary with themselves, no wailing, no chanting of dirges, no beating of breasts either of men or of women, but a quiet sober air of sorrow pervading the whole house, they were profoundly amazed, though indeed the rest of his life had struck them with admiration. Then, as the greatness and glory of his virtue in all 261 its pre-eminence were more than they could keep to themselves, they approached him and exclaimed: "Thou art a king from God among us." The words were indeed true, for other kingdoms are established among men with wars and campaigns and numberless ills which the ambitious for power inflict on each other in mutual slaughter, with forces of foot and horse and ships which they raise for the strife. But the kingdom of the Sage comes by the gift of God, and the virtuous man who receives it brings no harm

\(^a\) See App. pp. 598-599.  
\(^b\) *i.e.* in *De Op.* 135.
δὲ τοῖς ὑπηκόοις ἀγαθῶν κτῆσεως ὁμοὶ καὶ χρήσεως, εἰρήνην καὶ εὐνομίαν καταγγέλλων. 262 XLV. "Εστὶ δὲ καὶ ἀνάγραπτος ἔπαινος αὐτῷ χρησιμοῖς μαρτυρήθεις, οὓς Μωυσῆς ἐθεσπίσθη, δὴ οὐ μηνύεται ὅτι "ἐπίστευσε τῷ θεῷ," ὅπερ λεχθήναι μὲν βραχύτατον ἔστιν, ἔργῳ δὲ βεβαιωθήναι 263 μέγιστον. τίνι γὰρ ἄλλῳ πιστεύει; ἢ γε ἡγεμονίας ἢ δόξαι καὶ τιμαῖς ἢ περιουσίᾳ πλοῦτον καὶ εὐγενεία ἢ ύπηκοόν καὶ εὐαισθησία ἢ ρώμη καὶ κάλλει σώματος; ἀλλὰ ἄρχη μὲν πᾶσα σφαλερὰν μυρίων ἔχουσα τοὺς λοχώντας ἐφέδρους: εἰ δὲ ποὺ καὶ βεβαιωθῇ, μετὰ μυρίων ὅσων κακῶν, ἢ δρώσει καὶ πάσχουσιν οἱ ἐν ταῖς ἡγεμονίαις, βεβαιοῦται. 264 δόξαι δὲ καὶ τιμαῖς κτήμα σφαλερώτατον, ἐν ἀκρίτοις ἢθεσὶ καὶ πτηνοῖς λόγοις ἀνεξετάστων ἀνθρώπων σαλεύον· κἂν εἰ παραμένου, γνήσιον ἀγαθόν 265 ἔχειν οὐ πέφυκε. πλοῦτοι δὲ καὶ εὐγενείαι προσορίζεται μὲν καὶ τοῖς φαυλοτάτοις· εἰ δὲ καὶ μόνοις σπουδαῖοις, ἐγκόμια προγόνων καὶ τύχης 266 ἀλλ' οὐ πάντων ἐστίν. ἀλλ' οὐδ' ἐπὶ τοῖς περὶ τὸ σῶμα μέγα φρονεῖν ἄξιον, ἐν οἷς τὰ ἀλόγα ζώα πλεονεκτεῖ· τὶς γὰρ ἀνθρώπων ισχυρότερος ή ῥωμαλεωτέρος ταύρου μὲν ἐν ἡμέροις, ἐν δ' ἀγρίοις λέοντος; τὶς δ' ἔξωφστερος ἱέρακος ἢ ἀετοῦ; τὶς δ' περὶ ἀκοήν εὐτυχῆς οὖτως, ως τῶν ζώων τὸ νωθέστατον, ἀνός; τὶς δὲ περὶ τὰς ὀσφρήσεις κυνὸς ἀκριβέστερος, ὅν φασιν οἱ κυνηγητικοὶ 1 Τhis use of ἐθεσπίζω in the passive with the person prophesying as subject is very unusual. This passage is the only example given in L. & S. revised. I should prefer to read ἐθέσπισε. 2 mss. προσορμὶζονται.
ON ABRAHAM, 261–266

to anyone, but the acquisition and enjoyment of good things to all his subjects, to whom he is the herald of peace and order.¹

XLV. There is another record of praise attested 262 by words from Moses' prophetic lips. In these it is stated that he "trusted in God." Now that is a little thing if measured in words, but a very great thing if made good by action. For in what else should one 263 trust? In high offices or fame and honours or abundance of wealth and noble birth or health and efficacy of the senses or strength and beauty of body? But office is wholly precarious, beset by countless foes who lie in wait for it, and if by chance it is secured the security is accompanied by countless ills in which those in high positions are either the agents or the victims. Fame and honour are a most precarious 264 possession, tossed about on the reckless tempers and flighty words of careless men: and, when it abides, it cannot of its own nature contain genuine good. As for wealth and high birth, they attach themselves 265 even to the most worthless of men, and even if they were confined to the virtuous they would be a compliment not to the actual possessors but to their ancestors and to fortune. Again, neither 266 should we pride ourselves greatly on bodily endowments in which the unreasoning animals have the advantage over us; for what man is stronger or more muscular than the bull among domestic and the lion among wild beasts? Who has a keener sight than the hawk or the eagle? or who is so favoured in powers of hearing as that stupidest of animals, the ass? And as for smell, who has more accurate discernment than the hound, which, as the huntsmen

¹ See App. p. 599.
Philon wrote that τοῖς μακρὰν πτώμασιν εὐσκόπως ἐπιτρέχειν οὐ προϊδόμενον; ὅπερ γὰρ ὦμος ἑτέροις, τοῦτο μυκτῆρες κυσὶ θηρευτικοὶ καὶ ἱχνευτικοὶ. 267 ὑγειότατά γε μὴν καὶ ὡς ἐνὶ μάλιστα ἄνοσα πλείστα τῶν ἁλόγων ζῶων ἔστιν. ἐν δὲ τῷ περὶ κάλλους ἁγώνι καὶ τῶν ἁψύχων ἐνιάκας μοὶ δοκεῖ νικᾶν δύνασθαι τὰς ἀνδρῶν ὀμοὺ καὶ γυναικῶν εὐμορφίας καὶ ὑπερβάλλειν, ἁγάλματα καὶ ξόανα καὶ ψωγαφήματα καὶ συνόλως ὁσα γραφικῆς ἔργα καὶ πλαστικῆς ἐν ἑκατέρα τέχνη κατορθούμενα, περὶ ἀνατανάξουσιν Ἑλληνες ὀμοὶ καὶ βάρβαροι πρὸς κόσμον τῶν πόλεων ἐν τοῖς ἔπιφανεστάτοις χωρίοις 268 ἀνατιθέντες.

XLVI. μόνον οὖν ἄσενδες [39] καὶ βέβαιον ἁγαθὸν ἤ πρὸς θεὸν πίστις, πορηγόρημα βίου, πλὴρωμα χρηστῶν ελπίδων, ἀφορία μὲν κακῶν, ἁγαθῶν δὲ φορά, κακοδαιμονίας ἀπόγνωσις, γνώσις εὐσεβείας, κλήρους εὐδαιμονίας, ψυχῆς ἐν ἀπασι βελτίωσις ἐπερημευμένης καὶ ἐφιδρυμένης τῷ πάντων αἰτίῳ καὶ δυναμένῳ μὲν 269 πάντα, βουλομένῳ δὲ τὰ ἄριστα. καθάπερ γὰρ οἱ μὲν διὰ ὀλισθηρὰς ὀδοὺς βαδίζοντες ὑποσκελίζονται καὶ πίπτουσιν, οἱ δὲ διὰ ἕηρᾶς καὶ λεωφόρου ἀπταίστων χρώματι πορείᾳ, οὕτως ὁ διὰ τῶν σωματικῶν μὲν καὶ τῶν ἐκτὸς τῆς ψυχῆς ἁγοντες οὐδὲν ἄλλα ἡ πίπτειν αὐτὴν ἔθιζον—ὀλισθηρά γὰρ ταῦτα γε καὶ πάντων ἀβεβαιότατα,—οἱ δὲ διὰ τῶν κατὰ τὰς ἀρετὰς θεωρημάτων ἐπὶ θεὸν σπεύδοντες ἀσφαλῆ καὶ ἀκράδαντον ὀδὸν εὐθύνουσιν, ὡς ἄσενδες καὶ ἐκεῖνος τὸν ἀπίστως ἐκείνος πεπίστευκε θεὸν, ὁ δὲ ἀπιστῶς ἐκείνος πεπίστευκε θεῷ.

a Or “plenitude.”
b A somewhat inadequate rendering for ἀπόγνωσις, which 130
tell us, led unerringly by the scent, races to the distant quarry which it has not seen; for what sight is to other animals the nostrils are to the hounds used for hunting or tracking. Health? Why, most of the unreasoning animals are exceedingly healthy and as far as possible free from disease. Beauty? In the competition for this, I should say that some lifeless objects can beat and surpass the comeliness both of men and women. Such are the images and statues and pictures and in general all the creations of the painters and the sculptors which achieve success in either art and rouse the enthusiasm of Greeks and barbarians alike, who set them up in the most conspicuous places to adorn their cities.

XLVI. Faith in God, then, is the one sure and infallible good, consolation of life, fulfilment of bright hopes, dearth of ills, harvest of goods, inacquaintance with misery, acquaintance with piety, heritage of happiness, all-round betterment of the soul which is firmly stayed on Him Who is the cause of all things and can do all things yet only wills the best. For, just as those who walk on a slippery road are tripped up and fall, while others on a dry highway tread without stumbling, so those who set the soul travelling along the path of the bodily and the external are but learning it to fall, so slippery and utterly insecure are all such things; while those who press onward to God along the doctrines of virtue walk straight upon a path which is safe and unshaken, so that we may say with all truth that belief in the former things is disbelief in God, and disbelief in them belief in God.

generally means "despair," and, in connexion with κακοδαιμονία, "confidence of the absence." Philo, however, evidently intends an antithesis of form as well as of sense.
270 ἀλλ’ οὐ μόνον τὴν πρὸς τὸ ὅν πίστιν αὐτῷ μαρτυροῦσιν οἱ χρησμοί, τὴν βασιλίδα τῶν ἀρετῶν, ἀλλὰ καὶ πρῶτον αὐτὸν ἀπεφήναντο “πρεσβύτερον,” τῶν πρὸ αὐτοῦ τριπλάσια καὶ πολλαπλάσια ἔτη βιωσάντων, ἂν οὐδένα παρειλήφαμεν ἀξιωθέντα ταύτης τῆς προσρήσεως. καὶ μῆπος’ εἰκότως: ὁ γὰρ ἀληθείᾳ πρεσβύτερος οὐκ ἐν μήκει χρόνων ἀλλ’ ἐν ἔπαινετῷ καὶ τελείῳ βίῳ θεωρεῖται. τοὺς μὲν οὖν αἰῶνα πολὺν τρίψαντας ἐν τῇ μετὰ σώματος ζωῇ δίχα καλοκάγαθος πολυχρονίους παιδας λεκτέων, μαθήματα πολιὰς ἁξία μηδέποτε παιδευθέντας, τὸν δὲ φρονήσεως καὶ σοφίας καὶ τῆς πρὸς θεοῦ πίστεως ἕρασθέντα λέγοι τις ἂν ἐνδίκως εἶναι πρεσβύτερον.

271 παρωνυμοῦντα τῷ πρώτῳ. τῷ γὰρ οὐνὶ πρῶτος ὁ σοφὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπων γένους, ὡς κυβερνήτης μὲν ἐν νηί, ἄρχων δὲ ἐν πόλει, στρατηγός δ’ ἐν πολέμῳ, καὶ ψυχῇ μὲν ἐν σώματι, νοῦς δ’ ἐν ψυχῇ, καὶ πάλιν οὐρανὸς μὲν ἐν κόσμῳ, θεὸς δ’ ἐν οὐρανῷ.

272 διὸ τῆς πρὸς αὐτὸν πίστεως ἀγάμενος τὸν ἀνδρά πίστιν ἀντιδίδωσιν αὐτῷ, τὴν δ’ ὥρκου βεβαιώσων ὃν ὑπέσχετο δωρεῶν, οὐκέτι μόνον ὃς ἀνθρώπω θεὸς, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὃς φίλος γνωρίμω διαλεγόμενος· φησὶ γὰρ “κατ’ ἐμαυτὸν ἁμομασσα,” παρ’ ὦ δ’ ὁ λόγος ὥρκος ἔστιν, ἐνεκα τοῦ τὴν διάνοιαν ἀκλινῶς καὶ

273 διὸ τῆς πρὸς αὐτὸν πίστεως ἀγάμενος τὸν ἀνδρά πίστιν ἀντιδίδωσιν αὐτῷ, τὴν δ’ ὥρκου βεβαιώσων ὃν ὑπέσχετο δωρεῶν, οὐκέτι μόνον ὃς ἀνθρώπω θεός, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὃς φίλος γνωρίμω διαλεγόμενος· φησὶ γὰρ “κατ’ ἐμαυτὸν ἁμομασσα,” παρ’ ὦ δ’ ὁ λόγος ὥρκος ἔστιν, ἐνεκα τοῦ τὴν διάνοιαν ἀκλινῶς καὶ

274 παγίως ἐτι μᾶλλον ἡ πρότερον ἐρημείσθαι. πρεσβύτερος μὲν οὖν καὶ πρῶτος ἐστὶ τε καὶ λεγέσθω ὁ ἀστείος, νεώτερος δὲ καὶ ἐσχάτος πᾶς ἀφρων, τὰ νεωτεροποιά καὶ ἐν ἐσχάταις ταττόμενα

275 μετιών. [40] Ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον εἰρήσθω. τῷ δὲ πλήθει καὶ μεγέθει τῶν ἑπαίνων ἐπιτυθεῖς ὃσπερ τινὰ κεφαλὴν τοῦ σοφοῦ φησιν, ὅτι τὸν θείον νόμον

132
But not only do the oracles attest his possession of the queen of virtues, faith in the existent, but he is also the first whom they speak of as elder, though those who lived before him tripled or many times multiplied his years. Yet of none of them do we hear that he was held worthy of the title and rightly, for the true elder is shown as such not by his length of days but by a laudable and perfect life. Those who have passed a long span of years in the existence of the body without goodness or beauty of life must be called long-lived children who have never been schooled in the learning worthy of grey hairs; but he who is enamoured of sound sense and wisdom and faith in God may be justly called elder, a name of like significance to "first." For indeed the wise man is the first of the human race, as a pilot in a ship or a ruler in a city or a general in war, or again as a soul in a body and a mind in a soul, or once more heaven in the world or God in heaven. That God marvelling at Abraham’s faith in Him repaid him with faithfulness by confirming with an oath the gifts which He had promised, and here He no longer talked with him as God with man but as a friend with a familiar. For He, with Whom a word is an oath, yet says "By Myself have I sworn," so that his mind might be established more securely and firmly even than it was before. So, then, the man of worth is elder and first, and so must he be called; but younger and last is every fool who pursues the ways which belong to rebellious youth and stand lowest in the list.

So much for all this, but to these praises of the Sage, so many and so great, Moses adds this crowning saying "that this man did the divine law and the divine

\[\text{Gen. xxiv. 1; LXX. πρεσβύτερος, E.V. "old."}\]  
\[\text{Gen. xxii. 16.}\]
καὶ τὰ θεία προστάγματα πάντα ἐποίησεν ὁ ἄνὴρ οὗτος, οὐ γράμμασιν ἀναδιδαχθεῖς, ἀλλ’ ἀγράφῳ τῇ φύσει σπουδάσας υγιανούσαις καὶ ἀνόσοις ὀρμαίς ἑπακολουθήσαι· περὶ δὲ ὅν ὁ θεὸς ὁμολογεῖ, τὶ προσήκεν ἀνθρώπους ἢ βεβαιότατα πιστεύειν; 276 τοιοῦτος ὁ βίος τοῦ πρώτου καὶ ἀρχηγέτου τοῦ ἐθνὸς ἐστίν, ὡς μὲν ἐνὶ φήσουσιν νόμιμος, ὡς δὲ ὁ παρ’ ἐμοῦ λόγος ἐδειξεν νόμος αὐτὸς ὑπὶ καὶ θέσμὸς ἀγράφος.
ON ABRAHAM, 275–276

commands.”\textsuperscript{a} He did them, not taught by written words, but unwritten nature gave him the zeal to follow where wholesome and untainted impulse led him. And when they have God’s promises before them what should men do but trust in them most firmly? Such was the life of the first, the founder 276 of the nation, one who obeyed the law, some will say, but rather, as our discourse has shown, himself a law and an unwritten statute.

\textsuperscript{a} Gen. xxvi. 5.
ON JOSEPH
(DE IOSEPHO)
INTRODUCTION TO *DE IOSEPHO*

The place of this treatise in the series, as well as the remarkable contrast between the character of Joseph as here represented and the Joseph of the allegorical commentary, have been discussed in the General Introduction to this volume. The treatise after a few words about the preparation given by the shepherd's craft for government tells the story of Joseph's dream, his brothers' jealousy, their sale of him to the merchants who in turn sold him to Potiphar and the false report which they made to Jacob (1-27). It contains the first two of the set speeches which are a distinguishing feature of the treatise, viz. Reuben's remonstrance (17-21) and Jacob's lamentation (23-27). The allegorization which follows treats a few scattered points and not the story as a whole. That politicians have to deal with institutions which are conventional rather than natural is indicated by Joseph's name of "Addition" (to Nature), that they must be resourceful by his coat of many colours, that they are often a prey to vanity by the false story that wild beasts had devoured him, that they are often bought and sold by the two sales (28-36); and it is to be noted that though the main purpose of the treatise is to show the ideal statesman, these mostly deal with the baser side of political life. When the story is resumed it relates his history in Potiphar's house till his imprisonment, in the course of which we have the eloquent but rather absurd remonstrance of Joseph to Potiphar's wife (37-53). The subjoined allegories are much more relevant than the earlier ones to the substance of the story and to the higher side of the politician. We may see the spiritual barrenness of the multitude and its tendency to
ON JOSEPH

cater for pleasure in Potiphar, the eunuch and cook, its demands on the statesman in Potiphar’s wife and the refusal of the true statesman to cringe in Joseph’s rejections of her overtures (54-79). In 80-124 the story is carried on through Joseph’s life in prison, his interpretation of the dreams and his release and exaltation. Then from 125-147 follows what is not so much an allegory in the proper sense as a meditation on the thought that all life is a dream and the task of a true statesman is to discover and set forth the truths which lie behind this dream. After this we have a few more definitely allegorical interpretations of some of the incidents of Joseph’s exaltation as illustrating the attitude of the democracy to the politician, and an attempt to show that the different treatment by Pharaoh of the cook (Potiphar), the butler and the baker represent the different ways in which the body-loving mind regards luxuries and necessities (148-156). From this point onwards to the end the story runs on continuously through the adventures of Joseph and his brethren as it appears in Genesis with, of course, much amplification both of incidents and speeches.
ΒΙΟΣ ΠΟΛΙΤΙΚΟΥ ΟΠΕΡ ΕΣΤΙ ΠΕΡΙ
ΙΩΣΗΦ

[1] Τρεῖς μὲν εἶσιν ἱδέαι, διὸ δὲν τὸ ἀριστὸν τέλος, μάθησις, φύσις, ἀσκησις, τρεῖς δὲ καὶ σοφῶν οἱ πρεσβύτατοι κατὰ Μωυσῆν ἐπώνυμοι τούτων· διὸ τῶν βίων ἀναγεγραφῶς, τὸν τε ἐκ διδασκαλίας καὶ τὸν αὐτομαθὴ καὶ τὸν ἀσκητικὸν, τέταρτον κατὰ τὸ ἐξῆς ἀναγράφῳ τὸν πολιτικόν, ὥσπερ πάλιν ἐπώνυμον ἑνα τῶν φυλάρχων διασυνιστησθαι ἐκ πρώτης ἡλικίας

2 συγκροτηθέντα. ἦρξατο μέντοι συγκροτεῖσθαι περὶ ἐτῆς γεγονός ἐπτακαίδεκα τοῖς κατὰ ποιμενικὴν θεωρήμασιν, ὥσπερ συνάδει τοῖς περὶ πόλιν· ὥσπερ οἷμαι καὶ τὸ ποιητικὸν γένος "ποιόμενας λαῶν" τοὺς βασιλεῖς ἐξωθεὶ τῶν ὀνομάζων· ὥσπερ τῇ ποιμενικῇ κατωρθωκῷς ἀριστῶς ἵνα εἴη καὶ βασιλεύς, τῆς καλλίστης θαυμάτων ἀγέλης, ἀνθρώπων, τῆς ἐπιμέλειαν

123 ἐν ταῖς ἐλάττονοις σπουδῆς ἀξίας ἀναδιδαχθεῖς· καὶ καθάπερ τῶ μέλλοντι πολεμαρχεῖν καὶ στρατηγεῖν ἀναγκαίωταν αἱ περὶ τὰ κυνηγέσια μελέται, τὸν |

[42] αὐτὸν τρόπον καὶ οἷς ἐλπίς ἐπιτροπεύσαι πόλεως ὑπερτεταγότατον ποιμενικῆς προάγων τις οὗσα ἐπιστα-
ON JOSEPH

THAT IS, THE LIFE OF THE STATESMAN

I. The factors which produce consummate excellence are three in number: learning, nature, practice. And these names are represented in three of the wise men to whom Moses gives the senior place. Since I have described the lives of these three, the life which results from teaching, the life of the self-taught and the life of practice, I will carry on the series by describing a fourth life, that of the statesman. This name again has its representation in one of the patriarchs who, as Moses shews, was trained to his calling from his earliest youth. This training was first given to him at about the age of seventeen by the lore of the shepherd’s craft,\(^a\) which corresponds closely to the lore of statesmanship. And therefore I think the order of poets often speaks of kings as shepherds of peoples,\(^b\) for success in shepherding will produce the best king, since through the charge of flocks which deserve less thought and care he has been taught the charge of the noblest flock of living creatures—mankind. And, just as to the future leaders in wars, or in commanding armies, practice in the hunting-field is most necessary, so to those who hope to superintend a state nothing is so suitable as shepherding, which gives practice in the exercise of authority and
4 σίας καὶ στρατηγίας. ἐνορῶν οὖν ὁ πατὴρ αὐτῶ
φρόνημα εὐγενὲς καὶ μείζων ἡ κατ’ ἱδιώτην ἐθαύμαζε καὶ περιείπτε καὶ τῶν ἄλλων υἱῶν μᾶλλον ἐστεργεν, ἐπειδὴ ὁψίγονος ἦν, ὡσπερ οὐδενὸς ἦττον ἄγωγόν ἐστὶν εἰς εὐνοιαν καὶ ἄτε φιλόκαλος ὃν ἐξωπύρη τὴν τοῦ παιδὸς φύσιν ἐξαιρέτοις καὶ περιτταῖς ἐπιμελείαις, ῥνα μὴ ἐντύφηται μόνον, ἄλλα καὶ θάττον ἐκλάμψῃ. II. φθόνος δὲ ὁ ἀεὶ ταῖς μεγάλαις εὐπραγίαις ἀντίπαλος καὶ τότε πάσι τοῖς μέρεσιν οἰκίας κατορθοῦσαν ἐπιθέμενος διέστησε καθ’ ἐνὸς πολλοὺς ἀδελφοὺς ἀλεύψας, οἱ τῇ πρὸς ἐκεῖνον εὐνοια τοῦ πατρὸς ἀμφοτεροὺς δύνονται ἐπεδείκνυντο μισοῦντες ὅσον ἐστέργετο· τὸ δὲ μίσος οὐκ ἐξελάλουν, ἄλλ’ ἐν ἑαυτοῖς ἐστάλετο, οἴκτοις ἀργαλεώτερον ἐφύετο· τὰ γὰρ στεγόμενα πάθη μὴ διαπνέοντα τοῖς ἐπισχούσι λόγοις βαρύτερα. χρώμενος οὖν ἀκάκος τοῖς ἤθεσι καὶ τῆν ὑποκουροῦσαν ἐχθραν ἐκ τῶν ἀδελφῶν οὐ συνιείς, ὃναρ ἑφὼν αὐσιῶν, ὡς δὴ εὐνοις διηγεῖται· "ἐδοξά" γὰρ φησιν "ἀμήτου καιρὸν ἐφεστάναι καὶ πάντας ἡμᾶς ἀφικομένους εἰς τὸ πεδίον ἐπὶ τὴν τοῦ καρποῦ συλλογὴν δρέπανα λάβοντας θερίζειν, αἰσθηδίαν δὲ τὸ μὲν ἐρίγα ὑπανίστασθαι καὶ μετεωρισθῆν ὀρθούσθαι, τά δὲ ὑμέτερα ὁποῖπο εἴσπορον ἐπιδραμόντα τεθηπέναι καὶ μετὰ τιμῆς τῆς πάσης προσκυνεῖν."

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a This can hardly be right: though στρατηγία is sometimes used in the civic sense of the praetorship, Philo is not likely to have used so predominantly military a word where the civic is in antithesis to the military. Two mss. have δημαγωγία, but neither is this a very suitable word. What is wanted is ἡγεμονία, or its equivalent. See also App. p. 600.
ON JOSEPH, 4–6

generalship. So his father, observing in him a noble spirit which rose above ordinary conditions, rendered to him high admiration and respect, while his love for this child of his later years—and nothing conduces to affection more than this—exceeded his love for his other sons. And being himself a lover of excellence, by special and exceptional attentions he fostered the fire of the boy’s nature, in the hope that it would not merely smoulder but burst rapidly into flame.

II. But envy, which is ever the enemy of high success, in this case too set to work and created division in a household where every part had been happily flourishing, and stirred up the many brethren against the one. They displayed ill-will to Joseph as a counterpoise to his father’s goodwill, and equalled his love with their hatred. They did not, however, proclaim that hatred aloud, but kept it a secret among themselves, and thus it naturally grew to greater bitterness. For emotions which are cooped up and find no vent become more violent because expression is stifled. Joseph in the simple innocence of his nature had no notion of the enmity which was lurking in his brothers’ hearts, and, believing them to be friendly, told them a significant dream which he had seen. “I thought,” he said, “that harvest-time was with us, and that we had all come to the plain to gather in the crops. We had taken our sickles and were reaping, when suddenly my sheaf rose and stood bolt upright, while yours, as though at a signal, rushed up in astonishment and did homage to mine with every mark of honour.”

§§ 5–27 follow fairly closely the narrative of Gen. xxxvii.

Literally “hating him as much as he was loved” (by his father).
PHILO

7 οί δὲ εἰς σύνεσιν ἄκριβεῖς καὶ δεινοὶ διὰ συμβόλων ἵχνηλατήσαι πράγμ' ἀδηλοῦμενον ἐικόσι στοχασμοῖς "μὴ νομίζεις" ἔφασαν "ἔσεσθαι βασιλεὺς ἦμῶν καὶ κύριος; ταύτα γὰρ διὰ τῆς κατεξευθεμένης φαντασίας ὑπαινίττῃ." τὸ δὲ μύσος ἐτὶ μᾶλλον ἐξωπυρεῖτο προσλαμβάνον ἀεὶ τινα καὶνὴν πρόφασιν εἰς συναύξησιν. ὅ δὲ οὐδὲν ὑπιδόμενος ὀλίγας ύστερον ἠμέρας ὀναρ ἔτερον καταπληκτικώτερον τοῦ προτέρου τοῖς ἀδελφοῖς ἀνέφερεν ὦτο γὰρ ἠλίων καὶ σεληνίων καὶ ἐνδεκα ἀστέρας ἠκοντας προσκυνεῖν αὐτὸν, ώς τὸν πατέρα θαυμάσαντα τὸ γεγονός ἐναποθέσθαι τῇ διανοίᾳ ταμεύοντα καὶ σκοπούμενον τὸ ἐσόμενον ἐμβριθώς δ' ἐνουθέτει τὸν παίδα κατὰ δέος τοῦ μὴ τι διαμαρτεῖν καὶ φῆσιν ἀρα δυνησόμεθα ἐγώ καὶ η μήτηρ καὶ οἱ ἀδελφοὶ προσκυνῆσαι σε,—ἀμα μὲν γὰρ ἠλίων τὸν πατέρα, διὰ δὲ σελήνης τὴν μητέρα, διὰ δὲ τῶν ἐνεκα ἀστέρων τοὺς ἐνεκα αδελφοὺς ὑποσημαίνειν ἐοικας—ο μηδὲ εἰς νοῦν ποτέ ἔλθοι τὸν σὸν, ὦ παῖ, λαθοῦσα δὲ καὶ η μνήμη τῶν φανέντων ὑπεξέλθοι. τὸ γὰρ τὴν ἐπὶ τοῖς οἰκείοις ἐλπίζειν καὶ καραδοκεῖν ἠγεμονίαν ἀπευκτόν ἄγαν παρ' ἐμοὶ κριτής νομίζω δὲ καὶ παρὰ πᾶσιν. όσοι ἱσότητος μέλει καὶ συγγενικῶν δικαίων εὐλοβηθεῖς δ' ὁ πατήρ, μὴ τις ἐκ τῆς συνδιαιτήσεως ἐπιγένηται ταραχὴ καὶ στάσις τοῖς ἀδελφοῖς μνησικούσων ὑπὲρ τῶν ὑνεράτων ὑπ' θεασάμενως, τοὺς μὲν ἐκπέμπει πομανοῦντας, τὸν δὲ οἶκοι παρεφύλαττεν ἄχρι καιροῦ τοῦ προσήκοντος, εἰδὼς ὅτι τῶν τῆς

1 Most mss. πράγμα δηλοῦμεν which Cohn in his translation adopted (taking it with διὰ συμβόλων). The order of words seems to me to favour his earlier view.
His brothers, being men of keen intelligence, skilful at interpreting symbols and thus by probable conjectures discovering the obscure, replied: “Do you think that you will be our lord and king? For that is what you hint at in this lying vision.” And their hatred, ever finding some new ground to augment it, was still more kindled against him. He, suspecting nothing, a few days after saw and told his brothers another dream even more astounding than the former. In this he dreamt that the sun and moon and eleven stars came and did him homage. This caused surprise to his father, who laid up the matter in his mind and carefully watched to see what the outcome would be. But, fearing that the boy had made a serious mistake, he chid him severely, saying, “You seem to mean by the sun your father and by the moon your mother and by the eleven stars your eleven brothers. Can it be that I and your mother and your brothers shall do you homage? Let no such thought ever enter your mind, my son, and let the memory of what you saw insensibly fade away. For the idea of hoping and eagerly expecting to gain dominion over your family is very odious in my judgement, and I think that all who care for equality and justice between kinsfolk must agree.”

Then, dreading lest continued association should breed disturbance and broils among the brothers through the grudge which they bore against the dreamer for his visions, Jacob sent them away to tend the sheep, but kept him at home for such season as should prove needed. He knew that time

*a Or “fearing that he himself had made a mistake” (in setting store upon the dream).
PHILO

ψυχής παθῶν καὶ νοσημάτων λέγεται εἶναι χρόνος ἱατρός, ἰκανός καὶ πένθος ἀνελεῖν καὶ θυμὸν σβέσαι καὶ φόβον θεραπεύσαι· πάντα γὰρ ἐξευμαρίζει καὶ ὁσα κατὰ τὴν φύσιν δυσίατα. ὡς δ' ἔτόπασε μηδὲν ἐτι ταῖς διανοίαις αὐτῶν ἔχθος ὑποκουροῦν, ἐκπέμπει τὸν ύπὸν ἀμα μὲν τούς ἀδελφοὺς ἁσπασόμενον, ἀμα δὲ καὶ δηλώσοντα, πῶς ἔχουσιν αὐτοὶ τε καὶ αἱ τῶν θρεμμάτων ἁγέλαι.

11 III. Ταῦτην τὴν ὅδον ἀρχὴν συνέβη γενέσθαι μεγάλων κακῶν τε αὐτῶν καὶ ἀγαθῶν παρελπίδας ἐκατέρων. ὁ μὲν γὰρ ταῖς ἐπισκήψεις πειθαρχῶν τοῦ πατρὸς ᾔι πρὸς τοὺς ἀδελφοὺς, οἱ δὲ μακρόθεν ἀφικνούμενοι ἡμῶν εἶλαντες ἀλλοι διελάλουν οὐδὲν εὐφήμον, ὡστε οὐδ' ὠνομαστὶ προσαγορεῦειν ἥξιον αὐτὸν, ἀλλ' ὀνειροπλῆγα καὶ ἔνυπνιαστὴν καὶ τοιαῦτα ἐπεφήμιζον καὶ ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον προῆγον ὀργῆς, ὡστε καὶ τὸν ἐπ' αὐτῷ φόνον οὐ πάντες ἀλλ' οἱ πλείους ἐβούλευσιν καὶ ύπερ τούτων μὴ καταφωρα-θήναι ριπτεῖν ἄνελόντας εὐγνώκεσαν εἰς ὀργυμα γῆς βαθύτατον. πολλά δὲ εἰσὶ περὶ τὸν τόπον ὦδατος

12 ὁμβρίου δεξαμεναὶ. καὶ μικροῦ τὸ μέγιστον ἁγός, ἀδελφοκτονίαν, εἰργάσαντο, εἰ μὴ παρηγορίας τοῦ πρεσβυτάτου μόλις ἐπείσθησαν, δὲς παρήνει μὴ ἐφαύσασθαι τοῦ μάσματος, ἀλλ' αὐτὸ μόνον εἰς ἐν τῶν ὀργυμάτων ὑμῖν, διανοούμενος τι σωτήριον, ἵνα λαβῶν μετὰ τὴν ἀναχώρησιν ἀπαθὴ πάντως

13 κακοῦ παραπέμψῃ τῷ πατρὶ. συναινεσάντων δὲ, ὁ μὲν προσιών ἕσπαξετο, οἱ δὲ ως πολέμιον συλ-
ON JOSEPH, 10-14

is said to be the physician of the distempers and ailments of the soul and is able to remove grief, to quench anger and to heal fear, for time relieves everything, even what is naturally hard to cure. But when he guessed that they would have ceased to harbour enmity in their hearts, he sent him partly to salute his brothers and partly to bring him word how it fared with themselves and the flocks under their charge.

III. This journey proved to be the source of great evil and great good, both exceeding anything that could have been expected. For Joseph, in obedience to his father's commands, went to his brethren, but they, when they saw him coming afar off, talked to each other, and their language was very sinister. They did not even deign to speak of him by his name, but called him the dream-driveller and the vision-monger and similar terms. Their anger reached such a pitch that they plotted by a majority, though not unanimously, to murder him, and in order to avoid detection they determined to throw his dead body into a very deep pit in the ground. In that region there are many such, made to hold the rain-water. And they were only deterred from committing that most accursed of deeds, fratricide, by the exhortation of the eldest among them, to which they reluctantly yielded. He urged them to keep their souls clear from the abominable act, and merely to throw him into one of the deep pits, thinking to contrive some means for saving him and hoping when they had gone away to take him up and send him to their father quite unharmed. When they had agreed to this, Joseph approached and saluted them, but they caught hold of him as though
λαβόντες ἀπαμπίσχουσι τὴν ἔσθήτα καὶ τὸν μὲν καθυμῶσιν εἰς βαθεῖς βόθρους, τὴν δὲ ἐρίφου αἵματι φουνίζαντες διαπέμπονται τῷ πατρὶ πρὸφασιν ὡς ὑπὸ θηρίων δαπανηθέντος.

15 IV. Ἐκείνη δὲ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ κατὰ τινα συντυχιαν ἐμποροῖ των ὑδοιπόρων τῶν ἔθος ἔχοντων ἀπ' Ἀραβίας εἰς Αἴγυπτον κομίζειν φόρτων· οἱ ἀνελκύσαντες τὸν ἁδελφὸν πυπράσκουσιν, ἄγγισμένου τὴν γνώμην τοῦ καθ' ἥλικίας τετάρτου· καὶ γὰρ ὁ ὅτες μὴ δοκᾶς δεῖσας, μὴ ποθ' ὑπὸ τῶν ὀργῆς ἀμείλκυκτον ἐπ' αὐτῷ ἔτυπνοντον δολοφονηθῆ, συνεβούλευσαν ἀποδόσθαι δουλείαν ὕπαλλαττόμενοι ὑπὸ τῶν θηρίων δαπανηθέντων. 

16 κονδυτερον κακὸν μείζονοι. ὁ δὲ πρεσβύτατος—οὐ γὰρ παρῆν πυπρασκομένοι—Διακύψας καὶ μὴ κατιδών, ὅν ἀπολελοίπει πρὸ μικροῦ, ἐβόι καὶ ἐκεκράγει καὶ τὰς ἐσθήτας περιρρηξάμενος ἀνω καὶ κάτω καθάπερ ἐμμανής ἐφέρετο τὰς χείρας κροτών καὶ τὰς τρίχας κείλων, "τῇ πέπονθε" λέγων. 

17 "εἰπάτε, ζῇ ἡ τέθνηκεν; εἰ μὲν οὐκ ἔστι, δεῖξατε μοι τὸν νεκρὸν, ἵνα ἐπιδακρύσῃ τῷ πτώματι λωφήσω τῆς συμφορᾶς· ἰδών κείμενον παρηγορηθῆσομαι. τί καὶ νεκρῷ μνήμακακοῦμεν; πρὸς τοὺς ἐκποδῶν φόδον οὐδεὶς φύεται. εἰ δὲ ζῇ, ποῖς ἀπελήλυθε; φυλάττεται παρὰ τίσιν; οὐ γὰρ δὴ κἀγὼ καθάπερ έκεινος ἐν ὑποψίαις εἰμί, ὡς ἀπιστεύσαί τι ἐπίθεν. εἰπόντων δ' ὅτι πέπραται καὶ τὴν τιμὴν ἐπιδεικνυμένων, "καλὴν ἐμπορίαν" εἴπεν "ἐστείλασθε· τὰ κέρδη διανειμυμέθα· τοῖς ἀνδραποδισταῖς περὶ κακίας ἁθλῶν ἀμιλλησάμενοι στεφανηφορῶμεν,

* Or “a fine business you have embarked on.”
he were an enemy in battle and stripped him of his coat. They then let him down by ropes into the open depths. His coat they dyed red in the blood of a kid, and sent it to his father with the story that wild beasts had made away with him.

IV. Now it chanced that day that some merchants belonging to a caravan which was wont to carry wares from Arabia to Egypt were travelling that way. To these they sold their brother, after hauling him up, the leader in this plan being the fourth eldest brother. He, I imagine, feared that Joseph might be treacherously murdered by the others who were inflamed with such merciless wrath against him, and therefore advised them to sell him and thus substitute the lesser evil of slavery for the greater evil of death. The eldest brother had not been present at the sale. When he looked down into the pit and did not see the boy whom he had left there a short time before, he cried aloud and shouted, rent his garments and rushed up and down like a madman, beating his hands together and tearing his hair. "Tell me," he cried, "what has become of him. Is he alive or dead? If he is no more, shew me his dead body, that I may weep over the corpse and thus make the calamity seem lighter. If I see him lying here I shall be comforted. Why do we still bear a grudge to the dead? Envy cannot fasten on the departed. But if he is alive where on earth has he gone? In whose charge is he kept? Tell me, for you cannot suspect me as well as him that you should refuse me your confidence." When they said that he had been sold, and shewed the price that had been paid, "A fine bargain you have made," a he said. "Let us divide the profits. We have competed with slave-dealers for the prize of wickedness;
προσυπερβάλλοντες αυτούς ωμότητι σεμνυνώμεθα. κατὰ ἄλλοτρῶν ἐκεῖνοι συντίθενται, κατὰ δ’ οἰκειοτάτων καὶ φιλτάτων ήμεῖς. κεκανούργηται μέγα ὀνείδος, περιβόητος αἰσχύνη. μνημεία καλοκάγαθια οἱ πατέρες ἡμῶν πανταχοῦ τῆς οἰκουμένης ἀπέλιπνον, ἀπολείψαμεν καὶ ἡμεῖς ἀπιστίας καὶ μισανθρωπίας ἀθεραπευτοὺς διαβολὰς· φθάνουσι γὰρ αἱ τῶν μεγαλουργηθέντων φήμαι πανταχὸς, τῶν μὲν ἐπαινετῶν θαυμαζόμεναι, τῶν δ’ ὑπαιτῶν ψόγον καὶ κατηγορίας τυγχάνουσι. τίνα άρα τρόπον ὁ πατήρ ἡμῶν τὴν περὶ τῶν συμβεβηκότων ἀκοήν δέξεται; τρισμακαρίω καὶ τρισευοαίμων τὸν καθ’ ἡμᾶς βίον ἄβιστων παρέσχετο. τὸν πραθέντα τῆς δουλείας ἢ τοὺς πεπρακότας τῆς ωμότητος οἰκτιεῖται; πολὺ μᾶλλον εὗ οἶδα ἡμᾶς, ἐπεὶ καὶ τοῦ ἀδικεῖσθαι τὸ ἀδικεῖν χαλεπώτερον· τὸ μὲν γὰρ δυσἱ βοηθεῖται τοῖς μεγίστοις, ἐλέω καὶ ἔλπίδι, τὸ δ’ οὐδετέρου μετέχον ἠττάται τοῖς κριταῖς. ἀλλὰ τί ταύτα θρηνῶν ἀπηχώ; βέλτιτων ἴσσαξεων, μὴ καὶ αὐτὸς παραπολαύσω τινὸς ἀπεκτοῦ· τραχύτατοι γὰρ ἐστὶ ὁργὴν καὶ ἀπαράίτητοι καὶ πνεῖ λαμπρὸς έτι ὁ ἐν ἑκάστῳ θυμός."

22 Ὅψε ὁ πατήρ οὐ τάλιθες, ὅτι πέπραται ὁ υἱὸς αὐτοῦ, τὸ δὲ ψεύδος, ὅτι τέθνηκε καὶ ὄς ὑπὸ θηρίων ἐξανάλωται, πληξθείς τὰ μὲν ὡτα διὰ τῶν λεγομένων, τοὺς δ’ ὀφθαλμοῖς διὰ τοῦ φανέντος—ὁ γὰρ χιτῶν αὐτοῦ κατεσχισμένος | και κατηκισμένος καὶ πολλῶν αἵματι πεφοινικειμένον ἐκεκόμη—, συγχυθεῖς ὑπὸ τῆς περιπαθήσεως

*a Or "his life under the conditions which we have created."*
ON JOSEPH, 18–22

let us wear the crown, and glory that we surpass them in cruelty, for their designs are aimed against aliens, ours against our nearest and dearest. A great and novel reproach has been brought about, a far-famed disgrace. Our fathers left behind in every part of the world records of their noble conduct; we shall leave behind us beyond all retrieving the scandal of our faithlessness and inhumanity. For, when deeds of grave import are done, the rumours of them reach everywhere, causing admiration where they are praiseworthy, censure and contumely when they are guilty. How will our father receive the report of the event? Thrice blessed he was and thrice happy, and ye have made his life with us intolerable. Which will he pity most, the sold for his enslavement or the sellers for their cruelty? Surely us far more than him, since it is less grievous to suffer wrong than to do it. The former is assisted by two mighty forces, pity and hope; the latter has no part in either, and in the judgement of all comes off the worst. But why do I lament thus wildly? It were better to hold my peace, lest I too come in for a share in some horrible fate. For ye are exceedingly savage of temper and merciless, and the fierceness in each heart is still in full blast."

V. When his father heard, not the truth that his son had been sold, but the lie that he was dead and had seemingly been devoured by wild beasts, the words that he heard and the sight that he saw fell like a blow on his ears and eyes. For Joseph’s tunic had been brought to him rent and marred and stained scarlet with much blood. Collapsing under his great

But I should prefer to read as Mangey suggests τὸ καθ’ ἡμᾶς = “as far as we can do it.”

See App. p. 600.


PHILO

αξανής ἐπὶ πλείστον χρόνον ἐκεῖτο, μηδὲ ὁσον τὴν κεφαλὴν ἐπάραε δυνάμενος, θλιβούσης καὶ ἐκτραχυ-

23 λιζούσης τῆς συμφορᾶς. εἰθ’ ὥστερ τινὰ πηγὴν δακρύων ἐξαίφνης ἀνεῖς μετ’ οἴμωγῆς πικρᾶς παρειάς καὶ γένεια καὶ στέρνα κατένυπτε καὶ τὰς περὶ αὐτὸν ἐσθήτας ἀμα τοιαῦτ’ ἐπιλέγων· “οὐχ οἱ

θάνατος μὲ λυπεῖ, τέκνον, ἀλλ’ οἱ τοῦτον τρόπος1. εἰ επὶ γῆς ἐπάφης τῆς σῆς, παρηγοροῦμην, ἔθερα-

πευσα, ἐνοσήλευσα πρότερον, ἀποθησωκοτε τε-

λευταίων ἀσπασμῶν ἐκουνώνσαι, τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς συνέκλεισα, ἔπεδακρυσα κεμέως τῷ νεκρῷ, πολυ-

τελῶς ἐκηδεύσα, τῶν νομιζομένων οὐδὲν παρ-

24 ἐλπισαν. ἀλλ’ εἰ καὶ ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς, εἰπον ἃν· τὸ

οἴκειον ὀφλήμα τῆς φύσεως ἀπολαβούσης, οὐ oδος,

μὴ κατήφει· πρὸς ξώντας αἱ πατρίδες, ἀποθανόντων

dὲ πᾶσα γῆ τάφος· ὅκυμορος οὐδεὶς ἡ πάντες

ἀνθρωποί, καὶ γάρ ὁ μακροβιώτατος ὅλιγοχρόνος

25 ἀντεξεταξόμενος αἰώνι. εἰ δὲ δὴ καὶ βιαῖος καὶ

ἐξ ἐπιβουλῆς ἐδει θνῆσκειν, ἥν ἂν μοι κουφότερον

κακόν, ὃς ἀνθρώπων ἀναιρεθέντος, οἱ κτείνατες

νεκρών ἃν ἡλέμαν, ὡς ἐπαμήσασθαι κῶν καὶ τὸ

σῶμα συγκρύψα, εἰ δὲ καὶ πάντως ἐεγένητο

ωμότατοι, τὶ πλέον εἴχον ἡ ῥύπαντες ἀταφον ἀπ-

αλλάττεσθαι; τῶν δὲ ἐν ὀδῷ παριόντων ἰσώς τις ἐπιστᾶς καὶ θεασάμενος, ὃκτον τῆς κοινῆς λαβῶν

φύσεως, ἐπιμελείας καὶ ταφῆς ἡξίωσε. νυνὶ δ’, ὡς λόγος, ἀτυθάεις καὶ σαρκοβόρος θηρῶν εὐωχία

καὶ θούντη γέγονος γευσαμένους καὶ ἑστιαθεῖσα τῶν

1 mss. τάφος.

a Cf. De Abr. 257.

b Perhaps a somewhat distorted reminiscence of ἄνδρων γὰρ ἐπιφανῶν πᾶσα γῆ τάφος Thuc. ii. 43.
emotion, he lay for a great while with closed lips, not even able to lift his head, so utterly did the calamity afflict and break him down. Then, suddenly pouring forth tears like a fountain, he watered his cheeks and chin and breast and his own raiment, while bitterly wailing, and uttered such words as these: "Child, it is not your death which grieves me, but the manner of it. If you had been buried in your own land, I should have comforted and watched and nursed your sick-bed, exchanged the last farewells as you died, closed your eyes, wept over the body as it lay there, given it a costly funeral and left none of the customary rites undone. Nay, even if it had been on foreign soil, I should have said to myself: 'Man, be not downcast that nature has recovered the forfeit that was her due.'a Separate countries concern the living: every land is the tomb of the dead.b Death comes early to none, or rather it comes early to all, for few are the years of the longest-lived compared with eternity. And, indeed, if you needs must have died by violence or through premeditation, it would have been a lighter ill to me, slain as you would have been by human beings, who would have pitied their dead victim, gathered some dust and covered the corpse. And then if they had been the cruellest of men, what more could they have done but cast it out unburied and go their way, and then perhaps some passer-by would have stayed his steps, and, as he looked, felt pity for our common nature and deemed the tendance of burial to be its due. But, as it is, you have become, in common phrase, a rich banquet for savage carnivorous beasts who have found my own flesh and blood to their taste, and feasted thereon. I am long
ءمیو نیلیویس ایمی تون ابوعلتیو،
یکی گهیمیمسا می پوللای کاکوپاپیئیا، الیمینیو،
یئنیتیویو، یتیپیویو، اباغیاکییمینیو، یکی
کی پیچی ابیاویینیویو یف دی یکییت یکری وی کج
بولیا مین ییدیو، پوللای دی یکیویس، میشیا دی آییی
یپاثودو تون ینیکیستن، یف، اوی سپادیپینی متروپاپیئی
یکی یگنامیفیتین ایلی یوندین توو سموفیکیتوس اب-
فیورتیویرو، دی یوو تییین میری، میری دی آییی
یپاثودو تون ابیاویینیویو یف، اوی سپادیپینی متروپاپیئی
یکی یگنامیفیتین ایلی یوندین توو سموفیکیتوس اب-
فیورتیویرو، دی یوو تییین میری، میری دی آییی

27 تروف کی کابییریکی. دی یار میوزیو یی ایکتروپیروپ
پنیزوس ظی مین ینیثیس توی پایدو دیاکیکومیستی می
تو تی پاتری، توی دی اوی میریو، اوی ملون، اوی برآخ
یلفیانوی. ایلی دی مین ایلی دی یلون دیدیاپاپینی
tیے تافیس دینیتی میتالاچیئین، دی دی یوند
یینیپ مین توو پاراپاپن، یمی می پرو
یناهی یلنیمنیویویو وی یی پیپیمین پایینویویو، یی اب-
لیسٹوکی وی سینپینی یمیی سیمیفوریاس." کی دی مین

28 VI. "دیزیو مینتو میتآ تیین ینیثی دییگیسنوی و
یی درونیییز پروسیپودوینی سچیدون یار تا
پانتا وی تا پلیستا تیی نوموپیییییا ابیجنیرویتین.
دی تونیو ابیکرینیمینیویو ترپوپوی پارا مین "یبرااوی
یوسیف کاپیئیتی، پارا دی "یلیپی "کیروی پروس-
پیسی،" ابییینیلیتیویو (یییوما) دی توی دیلیمیئین
پرآیپتی اویکیپیتیویو پروصیکی یار یسی تییی
یکیی اپانییوییییییییییییییییییییییییییییییییییییییییییییییییییییییییییییییییییییییییییییییییییییییییییییییییییییییییییییییییییییییییییییییییییییییییییییییییییییییییییییییییییییییییییییییییییییییییییییییییییییییییییییییییییییییییییییییییییییییییییییییییییییییییییییییییییییییییییییییییییییییییییییییییییییییییییییییییییییییییییییییییییییییییییییییییییییییییییییییییییییییییییییییییییییییییییییییییییییییییییییییییییییییییییییییییییییییییییییییییییییییییییییییییییییییییییییییییییییییییییییییییییییییییییییییییییییییییییییییییییییییییییییییییییییییییییییییییییییییییییییییییییییییییییییییییییییییییییییییییییییییییییییییییییییییییییییییییییییییییییییییییییییییییییییییییییییییییییییییییییییییییییییییییییییییییییییییییییییییییییییییییییییییییییییییییییییییییییییییییییییییییییییییییییییییییییییییییییییییییییییییییییییییییییییییییییییییییییییییییییییییییییییییییییییییییییییییییییییییییییییییییییییییییییییییییییییییییییییییییییییییییییییییییییییییییییییییییییییییییییییییییییییییییییییییییییییییییییییییییییییییییییییییییییییییییییییییییییییییییییییییییییییییییییییییییییییییییییییییییییییییییییییییییییییییییییییییییییییییییییییییییییییییییییییییییییییییییییییییییییییییییییییییییییییییییییییییییییییییییییییییییییییییییییییییییییییییییییییییییییییییییییییییییییییییییییییییییییییییییییییییییییییییییییییییییییییییییییییییییییі

*a So lxx. E.V. "An officer of Pharaoh's, the captain of
the guard."
ON JOSEPH, 26–28

trained in the athletics of adversity, drilled by many a random stroke of misfortune, a wanderer, a stranger, a serf, a thrall, my very life and soul a mark for the malice of those by whom I should least have been so treated. Many desperate calamities I have seen and heard: thousands of them have I experienced myself, but trained to moderate my feelings at such I remained unmoved. But none was more unbearable than this event which has overturned and destroyed the strength of my soul. For what sorrow could be greater or more pitiful? My son’s raiment has been conveyed to me, his father, but not a part of him, not a limb, not a tiny fragment. But, while he has been utterly made away with beyond even any possibility of burial, his raiment too would not have been sent to me at all save to remind me of my sorrow, and to make his sufferings live again as calamities constant and indelible to myself.” Thus did he bewail. But the merchants sold the boy in Egypt to one of the king’s eunuchs who was his chief cook. 

VI. After this literal account of the story, it will be well to explain the underlying meaning, for, broadly speaking, all or most of the law-book is an allegory. The kind of character then here under discussion is called in the Hebrew “Joseph,” but in our language is “addition of a lord,” a most significant title well suited to the thing which it indicates, since polity as seen in the various peoples is an addition to nature who is invested with a universal lordship.

The interpretation of Joseph as = “Addition” has appeared in De Mut. 89 and De Som. ii. 47 without any appendage. There, however, it is applied to adventitious wealth, luxuries and the like. Here the appendage “of a lord” helps Philo in the political interpretation which he gives. See further App. p. 600.
πολιτεία, ή μέν γὰρ μεγαλόπολις ὡδε ὁ κόσμος ἐστὶ καὶ μᾶς χρήται πολιτεία καὶ νόμως εἰνὶ λόγος δὲ ἐστὶ φύσεως προστακτικὸς μὲν ὃν πρακτέων, ἀπαγορευτικὸς δὲ ὃν οὐ ποιήτεον αἱ δὲ κατὰ τόπους αὐταὶ πόλεις ἀπερίγραφοι τέ εἰσιν ἀριθμῷ καὶ πολιτείαις χρώνται διαφερούσαις καὶ νόμοις οὐχὶ τοῖς αὐτοῖς, ἀλλὰ γὰρ παρ’ ἄλλοις ἔθη καὶ νόμμα παρεξευρημένα καὶ προστεθεμένα. αὐτοῖς δὲ τὸ ἀμικτὸν καὶ ἀκοινώνητον οὐ μόνον Ἐλλήνων πρὸς βαρβάρους ἢ βαρβάρων πρὸς Ἐλλήνας, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸ ἐκατέρους γένους ἱδία πρὸς τὸ ὀμόφυλον· εἰθ’ ὡς έοικε τὰ ἁνάιτια αὐτώμενα, καιροὺς ἀβουλήτους, ἄγονινια καρπῶν, τὴν θέσιν ὅτι παράλιος ἢ μεσόγειος ἢ κατὰ νῆσον ἢ κατὰ θάλασσαν ἢ ὅσα τούτων ὀμοιότροπα, τάληθες ἱσυχάζουσιν· ἔστι δ’ ἡ πλεονεξία καὶ ἡ πρὸς ἄλληλους ἀπιστία, δι’ ἂς οὐκ ἀρκεσθέντες τοῖς τῆς φύσεως θεσμοῖς τὰ δόξαντα συμφέρειν κοινὴ τοῖς ὀμογνώμοσιν ὀμίλους ταῦτα νόμους ἐπεφήμισαν. ὥστε εἰκότως προσθήκαι μᾶλλον αἱ κατὰ μέρος πολιτείαι μιᾶς τῆς κατὰ τὴν φύσιν· προσθήκαι μὲν γὰρ οἱ κατὰ πόλεις νόμοι τοῦ τῆς φύσεως ὀρθοῦ λόγου, προσθήκη δὲ ἐστὶ πολιτικὸς ἀνὴρ τοῦ βίοῦτος κατὰ φύσιν.

VII. οὐκ ἀπὸ σκοποῦ μέντοι καὶ χυτῶνα ποικίλον ἀναλαμβάνειν λέγεται· ποικίλον γὰρ πολιτεία καὶ πολύτροπον, μυρίας ὅσας ἐνδεχομένη μεταβολάς, προσώπων, πράγμασιν, αἰτίας,

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* This term for the Stoic ideal of the world conceived of as a state and expressed in the name κοσμοπολίτης has been used in De Op. 19 and appears again in Mos. ii. 51. It is not quoted from any other writer than Philo in this sense. Cf. also μεγαλοπολίτης De Op. 143.
For this world is the Megalopolis or "great city," and it has a single polity and a single law, and this is the word or reason of nature, commanding what should be done and forbidding what should not be done. But the local cities which we see are unlimited in number and subject to diverse polities and laws by no means identical, for different peoples have different customs and regulations which are extra inventions and additions. The cause of this is the reluctance to combine or have fellowship with each other, shewn not only by Greeks to barbarians and barbarians to Greeks, but also within each of them separately in dealing with their own kin. And then we find them alleging causes for this which are no real causes, such as unfavourable seasons, want of fertility, poverty of soil or how the state is situated, whether it is maritime or inland or whether it is on an island or on the mainland and the like. The true cause they never mention, and that is their covetousness and mutual mistrusts, which keep them from being satisfied with the ordinances of nature, and lead them to give the name of laws to whatever approves itself as advantageous to the communities which hold the same views. Thus naturally particular polities are rather an addition to the single polity of nature, for the laws of the different states are additions to the right reason of nature, and the politician is an addition to the man whose life accords with nature.

VII. Further, he is quite properly said to assume a coat of varied colours, for political life is a thing varied and multiple, liable to innumerable changes brought about by personalities, circumstances,

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\(^b\) Gen. xxxvii. 3. Observe that the point has not been mentioned in the narrative.
πράξεων ίδιότητι, καιρών καὶ τόπων διαφοραῖς.

33 ὡσπερ γὰρ κυβερνήτης ταῖς τῶν πνευμάτων μεταβολαῖς συμμεταβάλλει τὰς πρὸς εὐπλοιαν βοηθείας, εὑθύνων τὸ σκάφος οὐχ ἐνι τρόπῳ, καὶ ἰατρὸς οὗ μᾶ ἁρταῖο τεραπεία πρὸς ἀπαντας τοὺς κάμνοντας, ἀλλ' οὐδὲ πρὸς ἐνα, τοῦ πάθους μὴ ἐπιμένοντος, ἀλλ' ἐπιτηρῶν ἀνέσεις, ἐπιτάσεις, πληρώσεις, κενώσεις, αἰτίων μεταβολάς ποικίλλει ταῦτα1 πρὸς [47] σωτηρίαν ποτὲ μὲν ταυτὶ ποτὲ δὲ ταυτὶ | προσ-

34 φέρων, οὗτως, οἷμαι, καὶ τὸν πολιτικὸν ἀναγκαῖον εἶναι τινα πολυειδή καὶ πολύμορφον, ἔτερον μὲν κατ' εἰρήνην, ἔτερον δ' ἐν πολέμῳ, ἀλλον δὲ ἐπισυνισταμένων ὀλίγων ἢ πολλῶν, τῶν μὲν ὀλίγων εὐτόνως κατεξανιστάμενον, μετὰ δὲ πειθοὺς τοῖς πολλοῖς ὀμιλοῦντα, καὶ ὅπου μὲν μετὰ κινδύνου τὸ εἶναι,2 διὰ τὸ κοινωφελές φθάνοντα τοὺς ἀλλοὺς αὐτουργία, ὅπου δὲ πόνων ἢ σκέψεως, ἔτεροις ὑπ-

35 ἡρετεὶν ἔξιστάμενον. εἴ μὲν τοῦτο τὸ φάναι πιπρά-

σκεσθαι τὸν ἄνθρωπον· ὁ μὲν γὰρ δημοκότος καὶ δημηγόρος ἀναβὰς ἐπὶ τὸ βῆμα, καθάπερ τὰ πι-

πρασκόμενα τῶν ἄνδραπόδων, δοῦλος ἀντ' ἐλευθέρου γίνεται διὰ τῶν τιμῶν, ἀς δοκεῖ λαμβάνειν, ἀπ-

36 αὐξεῖς ὑπὸ μυρίων δεσποτῶν. ὁ δὲ αὐτὸς καὶ 

θηριάλωτος εἰσάγεται· θηρίον δὲ ἀτίθασον ἣ 

λοχώσα κενοδοξία συναρπάζουσα καὶ διαφθείρουσα

1 Unless ἀνέσεις etc. can represent processes rather than symptoms, in which case we should have to change, as Mangey suggested, αἰτίων into συτίων, ταῦτα is quite illogical. Cohn suggests πάντα or τὰ. The latter is adopted in the translation.

2 This τὸ εἴναι seems quite impossible and the reading of some mss. τοῦ εἴναι ("danger to existence"), though thought possible by Cohn, does not commend itself. I suggest for
motives, individualities of conduct, differences in occasions and places. The pilot is helped to a successful voyage by means which change with the changes of the wind, and does not confine his guidance of the ship to one method. The physician does not use a single form of treatment for all his patients, nor even for an individual if the physical condition does not remain unaltered, but he watches the lowering and the heightening of the strain, its alternations of fullness and emptiness and all the changes of symptoms, and varies his salutary processes, sometimes using one kind and sometimes another. And so too the politician must needs be a man of many sides and many forms. He must be a different man in peace from what he is in war, another man as those who venture to oppose him are few or many, resisting the few with vigorous action but using persuasion in his dealings with the many, and when danger is involved he will, to effect the common good, outstrip all others in his personal activity, but when the prospect is one of labour merely he will stand aside and leave others to serve him. Again it is rightly said that this person is sold, for when the would-be popular orator mounts the platform, like a slave in the market, he becomes a bond-servant instead of a free man, and, through the seeming honours which he receives, the captive of a thousand masters. Again, he is also represented as the prey of wild beasts, and indeed the vainglory which lies in ambush and then seizes and destroys those who

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*a* Lit. “causes.”

consideration τὸ ἴναι διὰ τοῦ κοινωφελοῦς (according to the common idiom of ἴναι διά). “When the path of serving the commonweal involves danger,” etc.
τοὺς χρωμένους. οἱ δ' ὄνησάμενοι καὶ πιπράσκουσιν· οὐ γὰρ εἰς δεσπότης τῶν πολιτευομένων, ἀλλ' ὀχλὸς, ἐξ ἐτέρων ἐτεροὶ κατὰ τινὰς ἐφεδρείας καὶ διαδοχάς· οἱ δὲ τρίπρατοι κακῶν θεραπόντων τρόπον ἀλλάττουσι τοὺς κυρίους οὐχ ὑπομένοντες τοὺς προτέρους διὰ τὴν ἄβικορον καὶ φιλόκαινον τῶν ἠθῶν ἀνωμαλίαν.

37 VIII. Τοσαῦτα καὶ περὶ τούτων. ο μέντοι νεανίας εἰς Αἴγυπτον ἀχθεὶς καὶ γενόμενος, ὡς ἐλέχθη, παρ' εὐνούχων δεσπότῃ, τῆς καλοκάγαθίας καὶ εὐγενείας πείραν ὀλίγαις δοὺς τὴν ἐπὶ τοῦ ὀμοδούλου ἄρχην παραλαμβάνει καὶ συμπάσης τῆς οἰκίας τὴν ἐπιμέλειαν· ἵδη γὰρ ο κτησάμενος ἔτεκμηριοῦτο διὰ πολλῶν, ὡς οὐκ ἄνευ θείας ἐπιφροσύνης ἐκεῖνος ἐκαστὰ λέγει τε καὶ πράττει. 38 τῷ μὲν οὖν δοκεῖν υπὸ τοῦ πριαμένου καθίστατο τῆς οἰκίας ἐπίτροπος, ἐργὼ δὲ καὶ ταῖς ἀληθείαις υπὸ φύσεως μνωμένης αὐτῶ πόλεων καὶ ἔθνους καὶ χώρας μεγάλης ἁγεμονίαν· ἐδει γὰρ τὸν μέλλοντα ἐσεσθαι πολιτικὸν ἐγγυμνάσασθαι καὶ ἐνασκηθῆναι πρότερον τοῖς κατ' οἰκονομίαν· οἰκία τε γὰρ πόλις ἐστὶν ἐσταλμένη καὶ βραχεία καὶ οἰκονομία συνήμενη τις πολιτεία, ὡς καὶ πόλις μὲν οἶκος μέγας, 39 πολιτεία δὲ κοινὴ τις οἰκονομία. δι' ὅν μᾶλιστα παρίσταται τὸν αὐτὸν οἰκονομικὸν τε ἐίναι καὶ πολιτικόν, καὶ τὰ πλῆθος καὶ μεγέθη τῶν ὑποκειμένων διαλλάττη. καθάπερ ἐπὶ ζωγραφίας ἔχει

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\[a\] The false statement, as in De Som. ii. 65, is treated as true for the purposes of allegory. Cf. De Mig. 21.

\[b\] §§ 37-53 follow the narrative of Gen. xxxix.

\[c\] See note on De Abr. 99.
ON JOSEPH, 36–39

indulge it is a savage beast.\textsuperscript{a} Once more his purchasers sell him again, for politicians have not one but a multitude of masters who buy them one from another, each waiting to take his turn in the succession, and those who are thus sold again and again like bad servants change their masters, because, capricious and fitful in character as they are and ever hankering after novelty, they cannot endure their old lords.

VIII. \textsuperscript{b} Enough on this subject also. To resume the story, when the youth had been brought to Egypt and as I have said placed with the eunuch as his master, he gave proof in a few days of his nobility of character and nature, and therefore he received authority over his fellow-servants and the charge of the whole household; for his owner had already observed many signs that everything which he said or did was under God’s directing care. So, while in outward appearance it was his purchaser who appointed him steward of his household, in fact and reality it was nature’s \textsuperscript{c} doing, who was taking steps to procure for him the command of whole cities and a nation and a great country. For the future statesman needed first to be trained and practised in house management; for a house is a city compressed into small dimensions, and household management may be called a kind of state management, just as a city too is a great house and statesmanship the household management of the general public.\textsuperscript{d} All this shews clearly that the household manager is identical with the statesman, however much what is under the purview of the two may differ in number and size. The same holds with sculpture and painting, for the

\textsuperscript{\dag} See App. p. 600.
καὶ πλαστικῆς· ὃ γὰρ ἀγαθὸς ἀνδριαντοποιῶς ἡ ἑω-
γράφος, ἕαν τε πολλὰ καὶ κολοσσιαία μεγέθη κατασκευάζῃ, ἕαν τε ὅλιγα καὶ βραχύτερα, τὴν αὐτὴν ἐπιδεικνύμενος τέχνην ὃ ἀυτὸς ἔστι.

40 IX. Σφόδρα δὲ εὐδοκιμῶν ἐν τοῖς κατὰ τὴν οἰκουρίαν ἑπιβουλεῦεται πρὸς τῆς τοῦ δεσπότου 
[48] γυναικὸς ἐπιβουλήν τὴν ἔξ ἔρωτος ἀκολάστου.

41 σωφροσύνην. ἔπει δὲ ξωπυροῦσα καὶ ἀναφλέγουσα τὴν ἐκνομον ἐπιθυμίαν ἀεὶ μὲν ἀπεπειράτο, ἀεὶ δ’ ἀπετύχατο, λυττώσα τοὺς περὶ μίξεως λόγους προσέφερεν ἐρρωμένοις ἐναντιομένους καὶ μηδ’ ὀλος προσέσεθαι ὑπομένοντι διὰ τῆν ἐκ φύσεως καὶ μελέτης ἐνυπάρξασαν κοσμιότητα καὶ 

42 ὅ δὲ τῇς παρούσῃ ἀκαιρίᾳ γενόμενος δυ-
νατῶτερος τὰς ἑλευθερίας καὶ ἀξίας τὸν γένους ἐρρηξε φωνᾶς, “τι βιάζη;” λέγων “ἐξαιρέτος ἐθεσε καὶ νομίμως χρώμεθα ἤμεις οἱ Ἑβραῖων 

43 ἀπόγονοι. τοὺς ἄλλους ἐφείται μετὰ τὴν τεσσαρε-
καίδεκάτην ἥλικιαν πόρναις καὶ χαμαίτυπαις καὶ 

ταῖς ὅσαι μισθαρνοῦσιν ἐπὶ τοῖς σώμασι μετὰ πολ-
λὴς ἄδειας χρήσθαι, παρ’ ἡμῖν δὲ οὐδ’ ἐταίρα ζῆν ἐξεστὶν, ἀλλὰ κατὰ τῆς ἐταιρούσης ἁρίστω δίκη 

θάνατος. πρὸ δὴ συνόδων νομίμων ὁμίλιαν ἐτέρας 

γυναικός οὐκ ἴσμεν, ἀλλ’ ἀγνοὶ γάμων ἀγναῖς

*Cf. Deut. xxiii. 17. The passage hardly suggests this

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good statuary or painter, whether the works which he produces are many and of colossal size or few and smaller, is the same man exhibiting the same skill.

IX. But while he was winning a high reputation in household affairs, his master's wife made him the object of her designs, which were prompted by licentious love; for wrought up to madness by the beauty of the youth, and putting no restraint upon the frenzy of her passion, she made proposals of intercourse to him which he stoutly resisted and utterly refused to accept, so strong was the sense of decency and temperance which nature and the exercise of control had implanted in him. And, since, as she fed the fire of lawless lust till it burst into a blaze, her constant efforts to gain him as constantly failed, at last in an accession of passion she was fain to employ violence. She caught hold of his outer garment and powerfully drew him to her bed by superior force, since passion which often braces even the weakest gave her new vigour. But he shewed power which was more than a match for the untoward situation and burst into speech with a frankness worthy of his race. "What," he said, "are you forcing me to? We children of the Hebrews follow laws and customs which are especially our own. Other nations are permitted after the fourteenth year to deal without interference with harlots and strumpets and all those who make a traffic of their bodies, but with us a courtesan is not even permitted to live, and death is the penalty appointed for women who ply this trade." Before the lawful union we know no mating with other women, but come as virgin men.

extreme interpretation, but Philo repeats it in *De Spec. Leg.* iii. 51.
καθαρεύσας τήν ήμεραν ούκ άρξομαι παρανομεῖν άπό μοιχείας, τοῦ μεγίστου τῶν ἀδικημάτων, ὀφείλων, εἰ καὶ τὸν ἄλλον χρόνον ὑπήρχον ἐκδεδητημένος καὶ νεότητος ὅρμας όρμεν καὶ τὴν ἐγχώριαν ἐξηλωκὼς τρυφῆν, ὅμως ἀλλότριον μὴ θηράν γάμον· ἥφα τίς ἀνθρώπων οὐ φονᾶ; περὶ γὰρ τῶν ἄλλων εἰσώθοτες διαφέρεσθαι μόνον τοῦτο ὁμογνώμονοις πανταχοῦ πάντες ἄξιοι θανάτου μυρίων ἐνόμισαν ἀκρίτους ἐκδιδόντες τοὺς ἀλόντας τοῖς πεφωρακόσι. σὺ δ’ ἐπιδαψυλευμένη καὶ τρίτον προστίθης μοι μίασμα κελεύουσα μὴ μοιχεύειν μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ δεσποιναν καὶ δεσπότου γυναῖκα διαφθείρειν· εἰ μὴ ἁρὰ τοῦτον χάριν παρῆλθον εἰς τὴν ὥμετέραν οἰκίαν, ἵν’ ἀποστασὶς τῶν ὑπηρεσιῶν, ἂς δεὶ θεράποντα παρέχειν, μεθύω καὶ ἐμπαρουιῶ ταῖς ἐλπίσιν τοῦ πριαμένου νοθεύων αὐτοῦ γάμου, οἰκίαν, συγγένευαν. ἀλλὰ γὰρ οὐχ ὃς δεσπότην μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ ὃς εὐεργήτην ἢδη τιμὰν προάγομαι· πάντ’ ἐπιτέτροφε μοι τὰ οἰκεῖα, οὐδὲν οὖ μικρὸν οὐ μέγα ὑπεξήρηται τὸ παράπαν δίχα σοῦ τῆς γυναικὸς· ἀνθ’ ὃν ἄξιοι αὐτὸν ἐν οἷς παρανεῖς ἀμείψασθαι; καλὰς ἤ ἐνοίκεν ἀντιπαρ-έξω δωρεάς ταῖς προúπηγμεῖας χάρισιν οἰκείας. οὐκ ἔρας ἀδεσπότης αἰχμάλωτον ὁντα με καὶ ἐξένοι ταῖς εὐεργεσίαις ἐλεύθερον καὶ ἀστόν τὸ γοῦν ἐπ’ αὐτὸν

1 So MSS.: Cohn τρίτον. If τρίτον is kept the three μιάσματα will be (1) harlotry, (2) adultery, (3) adultery with a master’s wife. With τρίτον they will presumably be (1) adultery, (2) adultery with a mistress, (3) adultery with a master’s
ON JOSEPH, 43–47

to virgin maidens. The end we seek in wedlock is not pleasure but the begetting of lawful children. To this day I have remained pure, and I will not take the first step in transgression by committing adultery, the greatest of crimes. For even if I had always hitherto lived an irregular life, drawn by the appetites of youth and following after the luxury of this land, I ought not to make the wedded wife of another my prey. Who does not thirst for the blood of the adulterer? For while men are accustomed to differ on other matters they are all and everywhere of one mind on this; they count the culprits worthy of a multitude of deaths, and deliver them unjudged into the hands of those who have discovered their guilt. But you in your extravagance would impose upon me a third pollution when you bid me not only commit adultery but also defile my mistress and my master's wife. You cannot think that for this purpose I came into your house, to decline the duties which a servant should render and play like a drunkard and a sot with the hopes of the master who bought me by debasing his bed, his household and his kin. Indeed I am called on to honour him not only as a master but further as a benefactor. He has entrusted to me all his belongings and nothing at all great or small has been withdrawn from me save you, his wife. Is it well that I should requite him for this by doing what you urge me to do? A fine gift this would seem to be, a suitable return for preceding favours! The master found me a captive and an alien, and has made me by his kindesses a free man and a citizen as far as he can do it. Shall

wife. But no stress is laid on any distinction between these two in the sequel.
PHILO

ήκον μέρος ἀπειργάσατο, ἐγὼ δ’ ὃ δούλος ὦς ξένως καὶ αἰχμαλώτως προσενεχθῆσομαι τῷ δεσπότῃ; τίνι ψυχῇ παραδεξάμενος τό ἀνοσιούργημα τούτο; προσβλέψω δὲ τίσιν ὀφθαλμοῖς ὡς σιδῆρος ἐγὼ; τοῦ συνειδὸς ἐλλαμβανόμενον ὅρθος ὁμμασιν οὐκ ἔσει προσβλέπειν, κἂν δυνηθῶ τανθάνειν· λήσομαι δ’ οὐδαμῶς· εἰσὶ γὰρ ἐξετασταῖ μυρίοι τῶν λάθρα

48

δρωμένων, οἷς οὐθεὶς ἰσυχάζειν. ἐδ’ λέγειν ὅτι, κἂν μηδεὶς ἐτερος αἴσθηται ἡ συναισθόμενος μὴ κατείπη, μηνυτὴς οὐδὲν ἦττον αὐτὸς γενήσομαι κατ’ ἐμαυτός τῷ χρώματι, τῷ βλέμματι, τῇ φωνῇ, καθάπερ μικρῷ πρότερον ἐξειποῦν, ὑπὸ τοῦ συνειδῶν ἐλεγχόμενον· εἰ δὲ καὶ μηδεὶς κατερεί, τὴν πάρεδρον τοῦ θεοῦ δίκην καὶ τῶν πραγμάτων ἐφοροῦν οὔτε δέδιμεν οὔτ’ αἰδούμεθα;

49

Χ. Πολλὰ τοιαύτα συνείροντος καὶ φιλοσοφοῦντος, ἐκεκώφητο πρὸς άπαντα· δειναὶ γὰρ αἱ ἐπιθυμίαι καὶ τὰς αἰσθήσεις τῶν αἰσθητῶν ἐπισκίάσαι· ὅπερ συνιδὼν ἀποδιδράσκει τὰ ἱμάτια καταλιπὼν ἐν ταῖς χερσὶν αὐτῆς, ὡν ἐπείληπτο.

50

toῦτο παρέσχεν αὐτῇ τὸ έργον εὐρεσιλογεῖν προφάσεις σκεπτομένη κατὰ τοῦ νεανίσκου, αἷς αὐτὸν ἀμυνεῖται· παραγενομένως γὰρ ἐξ αὐτῆς ἀνδρὶ καθυποκρινομένη τὴν σώφρονα καὶ κοσμίαν καὶ τοῖς ἀκολάστοις ἐπιτηδεύμασι πάνω δυσχεραίνουσαν “ήγαγες” ἐφη “θεράποντα ήμῖν παῖδα Εβραῖον, ὃς οὐ μόνον ἦδη τὴν σὴν ψυχὴν διέφθαρκεν εὐχερώς καὶ ἀνεξετάστως ἐπιτρέπαντος αὐτῷ τὴν οἰκίαν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐμοῦ ἀπετόλμησεν αἰσχύναι τῷ σῶμα. ταῖς γὰρ ὅμοιοῖς οὐκ ἐξήρκεσεν αὐτῷ χρῆσαι μόναις ἁσιλεγεστάτῳ καὶ λαγνιστάτῳ γενομένω, πειράν δὲ καὶ τὴν δέσποιναν ἐπεχείρησεν 166
ON JOSEPH, 47–51

I, the slave, deal with the master as though he were an alien and a captive? What would be my inward feelings if I agreed to this unholy act? What my looks when I face him, iron-hearted though I be? No, conscience will take hold of me and not suffer me to look him straight in the face even if I can escape detection. And that cannot be, for there are thousands to sit in judgement on my secret doings who must not remain silent; not to mention that, even if no other knows of it or reports the knowledge which he shares with me, all the same I shall turn informer against myself through my colour, my look, my voice, convicted as I said just now by my conscience. And even if no one denounce me, have we no fear or respect for justice, the assessor of God, justice who surveys all our doings?"

X. Thus he spoke long and wisely, but she remained deaf to it all. For lust is powerful to becloud even the keenest of the senses. And seeing this he fled leaving in her hands the garments which she had grasped. This action of his gave her the opportunity to invent a story and devise charges against the youth to punish him. When her husband came in from the market she put on the air of a chaste and modest woman who regards licentious practices with the utmost indignation. "You brought to us," she said, "a Hebrew lad as servant, who has not only corrupted your soul when you lightly and thoughtlessly entrusted your household to him, but has had the audacity to dishonour my body. For not content with taking merely the women who were his fellow-servants, so utterly lewd and lascivious has he shown himself, he has attempted to violate me by force,

Or "with unchanged eyes." See App. pp. 600-601.
έμε καὶ βιάζεσθαι. καὶ τὰ δείγματα τῆς φρενοβλαβείας ἐναργῆ καὶ δῆλα ἐστὶ: περιπαθήσασα γὰρ ὡς ἐξεφώνησα τοὺς ἐνδόν βοηθοὺς ἐπικαλοῦσα, πτοηθεὶς διὰ τὸ ἀπερίσκεπτον τὴν ἐσθήτα καταλιπών ἀποδιδράσκει φόβῳ συλλήψεως. ἦν καὶ ἐπιδεικνυμένη πίστιν ἐδόκει προσφέρειν τῶν λεγομένων. 

52 ἀπερ ἀληθῆ νομίσας ὁ δεσπότης εἶναι κελεύει τὸν ἀνθρωπὸν εἰς εἰρκτὴν ἄπαγαγεῖν δυσι τοῖς μεγίστοις ἀμαρτών, ἐνὶ μὲν ὅτι μὴ μεταδοὺς ἀπολογίας ἀκρίτως κατέγνω τὸν μηδὲν ἡδικότος ὡς τὰ μέγιστα παρανομήσαντος, ἐτέρῳ δὲ ὅτι ἡ ἐσθής, ἢν προὐφέρειν ἡ γυνὴ ὡς ἀπολειφθέεισαν ὑπὸ τοῦ νεανίσκου, πίστις ἢν βίας, οἷς ἡ ἐκείνος εἰργάζετο, ἀλλὰ τὴν ὑπομονήν ἢν υπέμεινεν ἐκ τῆς γυναικὸς· 

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53 ἂν ηὐσως τῆς ἀγαν ἀπαίδευσίας, ὅτε τὴν διαίτην ἐν μαγειρείῳ πουόμενος αἰματὸς καὶ καπνὸ καὶ τέφρας ἀνάπλεω, τοῦ λογισμοῦ καιρὸν οὐκ ἔχοντος ἐνχορεύειν καὶ σχολάζειν ἑαυτῷ διὰ τὸ πεφύρθαι μᾶλλον ἡ οὐχ ἢττον τοῦ σώματος. 

54 XI. Τρεῖς ἦδη χαρακτήρας τοῦ πολιτικοῦ διετύπωσε, τὸν τε ποιμενικὸν καὶ τὸν οἰκονομικὸν καὶ τὸν καρτερικὸν. περὶ μὲν οὖν τῶν προτέρων εἰρηται δυεῖν, ὅ δ' ἐγκρατῆσθαι οὐχ ἢττον ἐκείνων πρὸς πολιτείαν συντείνει. πρὸς μὲν οὖν ἀπαντά τὰ τοῦ βίου πράγματα λυσιτελές ἐγκράτεια καὶ σωτήριον,

1 Not only awkward, but ungrammatical. It would be simpler with Mangey to expunge τὴν ύπ. than, as Wendland suggests, to substitute τῆς ἐπίβουλης.

2 MSS. ἀνάπλεως or -ων.
me his mistress. The proofs of his insane depravity are clear and evident, for when in my great agitation I cried aloud and called those who were indoors to my aid, he was so scared at my unexpected action that he left his garment behind and fled in fear of arrest.” This garment she showed and made as though she were proffering a proof of her tale. Joseph’s master, believing this to be true, ordered him to be carried away to prison, and in this he committed two great errors. First he gave him no opportunity of defence, and convicted unheard this entirely innocent person as guilty of the greatest misconduct. Secondly, the raiment which his wife produced as left by the youth was a proof of violence not employed by him but suffered at her hands. For if force were used by him he would retain his mistress’s robe, if against him he would lose his own. But his master may perhaps be pardoned for his gross ignorance, since his days were spent in a kitchen full of blood and smoke and cinders, where the reason even more, or at least no less, than the body lives amid confusion and has no chance of quietly retiring into itself.

XI. Moses has now set before us three characteristics of the statesman, his shepherd-craft, his household-management, his self-control. We have dealt with the two first, but the last-named has quite as much bearing on statesmanship. While in all the affairs of life self-mastery is a source of profit and

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"This is an unusual sense for ἀπερίσκεπτος which regularly means with Philo “reckless” or “inconsiderate.” It is possible, though less likely, that it may mean here “in his thoughtlessness,” i.e. he did not consider what evidence he would leave behind him."
πρὸς δὲ τὰ πόλεως καὶ διαφερόντως, ὥς ἀφθόνως τοῖς βουλομένοις μανθάνειν πάρεστι καὶ προχειρó-
56 τατα. τίς γὰρ ἄγνοει τὰς ἐκ ἀκρασίας ἑδνεῖς καὶ χώραις καὶ ὅλοις ἑλμασι τῆς οἰκουμένης ἐν γῇ καὶ
θαλάττῃ γυνομένας συμφοράς; τῶν γὰρ πολέμων οἱ πλείους καὶ μέγιστοι δὶ ἐρωτας καὶ μοιχείας καὶ
γυναικῶν ἀπάτας συνέστησαν, ὡφ' ὅν τὸ πλεῖστον καὶ ἀριστὸν ἔξαναλώθη τοῦ τε Ἑλληνικοῦ καὶ
παραβαρικοῦ γένους καὶ τῶν πόλεων ἡ νεότης
57 ἐφθάρη. εἰ δὲ τὰ ἐκ ἀκρασίας στάσεις ἐμφύλιοι καὶ πόλεμοι καὶ κακὰ ἐπὶ κακοῖς ἀμύθητα, δήλον
ὅτι τὰ ἐκ συφροσύνης ευστάθεια καὶ εἰρήνη καὶ
tελείων κτήσις ἀγαθῶν καὶ ἀπόλαυσις.
58 XII. Ἀξιόν μέντοι καὶ τὰ σιά τούτων ἐμφανό-
μενα κατὰ τὸ ἀκόλουθον παραστῆσαι. ὁ πριάμενος
τὸν ἐπικρινόμενον εὐνοῦχος εἶναι λέγεται· δεόντως·
ὁ γὰρ ὑμνομένος τὸν πολιτικὸν όχλος ἐστὶ πρὸς
ἀλήθειαν εὐνοῦχος, ὥσα μὲν τῷ δοκεῖν ἔχων τὰ
gεννητικα, τὰς δ' εἰς τὸ γεννᾶν δυνάμεις ἀφηρη-
μένος, καθάπερ καὶ οἱ τὰς ὅψεις ὅπως ἐπικρινόμενος ὁφθαλ-
μοὺς ἐχοντες τῆς δ' ὀφθαλμῶν ἐνεργείας στέρονται
59 βλέπειν οὐ δυνάμενοι. τὸς οὖν ἡ πρὸς όχλον εὐ-
νοῦχον ὁμοίτης; ὃτι ἄγνοος ἐστὶ σοφίας δοκῶν
ἐπιτηδεύειν ἀρετὴν· ὅταν γὰρ μιγάδων καὶ συν-
κλύσων πλήθος ἀνθρώπων εἰς ταῦτα συνέλθη, λέγει
μὲν τὰ δέοντα, φρονεῖ δὲ καὶ πράττει τάναντι, τὰ
νόθα πρὸ τῶν γνησίων ἀποδεχόμενος, ὅπως τοῦ
τόξης μὲν ἦττασθαι, τὸ δ' ἀληθεία καλὸν μή ἐπι-
60 τηδεύειν. ὅθεν καὶ—τὸ παραλογώτατον—γνυή τῷ

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* Philo is no doubt thinking primarily of the Trojan War, and it is not unlike him to magnify this into a plural. Still
safety, it is particularly so in affairs of state, as those who will may learn from plentiful and obvious examples. Who does not know the misfortunes which licentiousness brings to nations and countries and whole latitudes of the civilized world on land and sea? For the majority of wars, and those the greatest, have arisen through amours and adulteries and the deceits of women, which have consumed the greatest and choicest part of the Greek race and the barbarian also, and destroyed the youth of their cities. And, if the results of licentiousness are civil strife and war, and ill upon ill without number, clearly the results of continence are stability and peace and the acquisition and enjoyment of perfect blessings.

XII. We should now, however, in due course show the lessons revealed to us by this story. The purchaser of the subject of our examination is said to be a eunuch; rightly so, for the multitude which purchases the statesman is in very truth a eunuch, possessing to all appearance the organs of generation but deprived of the power of using them, just as those who suffer from cataract have eyes but lack the active use of them and cannot see. How then does the multitude resemble eunuchs? It is because the multitude is unproductive of wisdom, though it seems to practise virtue. For when a mixed crowd of heterogeneous persons comes together, it says what is right, but it thinks and does the opposite. It prefers the spurious to the genuine, because it is under the dominion of appearances and does not practise what is truly excellent. And, therefore, also, paradoxical though it be, this he can hardly have failed to have Antony and Cleopatra also in mind.
εὐνούχω τούτω συνοικεῖ· μνάται γὰρ ὁχλος ἐπιθυμίαν, ὥσπερ ἁνήρ γυναῖκα, δι’ ἣς ἐκαστα καὶ λέγει καὶ πράττει σύμβουλον αὐτὴν ποιούμενος ἀπάντων ῥήτων καὶ ἀπορρήτων μικρῶν τε αὐτῷ καὶ μεγάλους, ἥκιστα προσέχειν εἰσώθως τοῖς ἐκ λογισμοῦ.  

προσφυέστατα μέντοι καὶ ἀρχιμάγειρον αὐτὸν καλεῖ· καθάπερ γὰρ οὐδὲν ἐτερον ἐσπερὶδεύει μάγειρος ἡ τὰς ἀνηγύτους καὶ περιττὰς γαστρὸς ἠδονάς, τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον καὶ ὁ πολιτικὸς ὁχλὸς τὰς δι’ ἀκοῆς τέρψεις τε καὶ θρύψεις, ύφ’ ὅν οἱ τόν οἵ διὰ διανοίας χαλῶνται καὶ τρόπον τινά |  

τὰ νεῦρα τῆς ψυχῆς ἐκλύεται. τὴν ἐπὶ πρὸς ἱατροὺς μαγείρους διαφοράν τίς οὔκ οἴδεν; οἱ μὲν τὰ υγιεινά, κἂν μὴ προσηνητὴν τυγχάνη, μόνα διὰ σπουδῆς τῆς πάσης εὔτρεπίζονται, οἱ δ’ ἐμπαλίν  

μόνα τὰ ἥδεα τοῦ συμφέροντος ἀλογοῦντες. ἱατροῖς μὲν οὖν ἐοίκασιν ἐν ὅμῳ νόμοι καὶ οἱ κατὰ νόμους ἄρχοντες βουλευταὶ τε καὶ δικασταὶ φροντὶζοντες τῆς τῶν κοινῶν σωτηρίας καὶ ἀσφαλείας ἀκολάκευτοι, ὀφαρτὐταις δὲ οἱ πολυάνθρωποι τῶν νεωτέρων ὀμιλοὶ· μέλει γὰρ αὐτοῖς οὐ τὰ συνοίσοντα, ἀλλὰ πῶς τὴν ἐν τῷ παρόντι καρπώσονται  

μόνον ἥδους. XIII. ἔρα δ’ ὡς ἀκόλαστος γυνῆ καὶ ἡ τῶν ὀχλών ἐπιθυμία τοῦ πολιτικοῦ καὶ φησὶν αὐτῷ· "παρελθὼν, ὦ οὖτος, εἰς ὀχλον, ὦ συνοικῶ, πάντων ἐκλαθοῦ τῶν ἴδιων ἡθῶν, ἐπιτηδευμάτων, λόγων, ἔργων, ἐν οίς ἐτράφης· ἐμοὶ δὲ πειθάρχει καὶ ἐμὲ θεράπευε καὶ ὅσα δι’ ἡδονῆς ἐστὶ μοι  

πράττε. αὐστηρὸν γὰρ καὶ αὐθεκαστον καὶ ἀληθείας ἔταιρον καὶ ἀκριβοδίκαιον, ὄγκω καὶ σεμ-  

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a See App. p. 601.
eunuch is mated with a wife. For the multitude woos desire as a man woos a woman, and makes her his medium in all that he says and does, and takes her as his counsellor in all things great and small, whether decency sanctions them or not, and is wont to pay little heed to the promptings of reason. Very aptly too does Moses call him a chief cook; for, just as the cook is solely occupied in endlessly providing superfluous pleasures for the belly, so is the multitude, considered as politicians, in choosing what charms and pleases the ears, and thus the tension of the understanding is relaxed and the sinews of the soul, so to speak, unstrung. As for the difference between cooks and physicians, it is a matter of common knowledge. The physician devotes all his energies solely to preparing what is wholesome, even if it is unpalatable, while the cook deals with the pleasant only and has no thought of what is beneficial. Now in a democracy, physicians are represented by laws, and those who rule in accordance with the law, members of councils and juries who consider the safety and security of the common weal and are proof against flattery; cooks by the swarming crowd of younger spirits, for they do not care what will be beneficial but only how they may reap pleasure for the moment. And like a licentious woman the desire of the multitudes makes love to the statesman. "Forward, lad," she says, "forward, to my mate, the multitude. Forget your own old ways, the habits, the words, the actions in which you were bred. Obey me, wait on me and do all that gives me pleasure. The stern, strict, uncompromising friend of truth, stiff and solemn

* Or "when you address . . . forget."
nótητι πρὸς ἀπαντά χρώμενον καὶ πρὸς μηδὲν
εἴκονα, μόνον περιεχόμενον ἀεὶ τοῦ συμφέροντος
ἀνεῦ θεραπείας τῶν ἀκρωμένων, οὐκ ἀνέχομαι.
66 διαβολάς ἃ ἔρανιω κατὰ σοῦ μυρίας καὶ
πρὸς τὸν ἐμὸν ἄνδρα τὸν ὄχλον, τὸν σὸν δεσπότην· ἄχρι
γὰρ νῦν ἀπελευθεριάζειν δοκεῖσ μοι καὶ ὅτι δοῦλος
tυραννικοῦ γέγονας δεσπότου λίαν ἄγνοείς. εἰ δὲ
ηὔδεισ, ὅτι αὐτοπραγία μὲν οἰκείοτατον ἐλευθέρω,
oἰκέτη δ' ἄλλοτριον, ἐπεπαίδευσο ἀν αὐθάδειαν μεθ-
ἐμενος εἰς ἐμὲ βλέπειν τὴν ἤκεινο γυναίκα, ἐπι-
θυμίαν, καὶ ὅραν τὰ πρὸς ἀρέσκειαν τὴν ἐμήν,
67 δι' ὃν μάλιστα εὐαρεστῆσεις. XIV. ὃ
dὲ πολιτικὸς οὖντως οὐκ ἄγνοεῖ μέν, ὅτι δεσποτικὴν
ἐξουσιὰν ἔχει ὁ δῆμος, αὐτὸν δ' οὐχ ὁμολογήσει
dοῦλον ἀλλ' ἐλευθέρον καὶ . . . τὴν τῆς ψυχῆς
ἀρέσκειαν. ἀλλ' ἄντικρυς ἔρει· "δημοκοπεῖν οὔτ'
ἐμαθον οὔτ' ἐπιτηδεύσω ποτέ, πόλεως δὲ προ-
stasίαν καὶ ἐπιμέλειαν ἔχειν ἐγχειρισθεὶς, ὡς
ἀγαθὸς ἐπίτροπος ἡ πατὴр εὖνοις ἀδόλως καὶ
68 καθαρῶς ἄνευ τῆς ἐχθρᾶς υποκρίσεως. τοῦτα
φρονὸν εξετασθήσομαι μηδὲν ὑποστῆλλων μηδὲ
συγκρύπτων φωρὸς τρόπον, ἀλλὰ τὸ συνειδὸς
ἀναγάζων ὡς ἐν ἥλιῳ καὶ φωτί· φῶς γὰρ ἦ ἀλήθεια.
φοβηθήσομαι δ' οὔδεν ὅνν ἐν ἐπανατείνηται, κἂν
θάνατον ἀπειλῇ· θανάτου γὰρ ἐμοὶ κακὸς ἀργαλεώ-

1 Cohn, who prints καὶ, notes "excludendum videtur." It
certainly seems pointless. If retained, it must mean that
the charges are disseminated in general as well as made
to the master in particular.
2 Something is clearly lost; Mangey's πάντα δρῶντα κατὰ
will make good sense.
3 Here, too, Cohn indicates a lacuna and suggests δράσω

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and inflexible in all his dealings, who clings to the beneficial only and pays no court to his audience, is to me intolerable. And I will collect any number of charges against you to produce before my husband, the multitude, your master. For hitherto you have seemed to me to act as if at liberty and you are quite unaware that you have become the slave of a despotic master. But if you had known that independence may be quite properly possessed by the free man, but is denied to the slave, you would have schooled yourself to abandon your self-will and to look to me, Desire, his wife, and do what may please me as the best way to secure his favour."

XIV. Now the true statesman knows quite well that the people has the power of a master, yet he will not admit that he is a slave, but regards himself as a free man and shapes his activities to please his own soul. He will frankly say, "I have never learned to cringe to the people, and I will never practise it. But since the leadership and charge of the state is put into my hands I will know how to hold it as a good guardian or an affectionate father, guilelessly and sincerely without the dissimulation which I hate. Being thus minded, I will not be found cloaking and hiding anything as a thief might do, but I will keep my conscience clear as in the light of the sun, for truth is light. I will fear none of the tyrant's menaces, even though he threaten me with death, for death is a less evil than

or χρηματιω. It does not seem to me necessary. It is not difficult to understand ἐμαθὼν καὶ ἐπιτηδεύος. To understand an affirmative out of a negative is a looseness which may be found in good writers. A good example occurs in the opening lines of Horace's Satires.
τερον ὑπόκρισις. ἦν ὑπομενώ τοῦ χάριν; καὶ γὰρ 
εἰ δεσπότης ὁ δῆμος, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἔγω δούλος, εὐ- 
πατρίδης ὁ εἰ καὶ τίς ἄλλος ἐφιέμενος ἐγγραφῆς 
tῆς ἐν τῷ μεγίστῳ καὶ ἀρίστῳ πολυτεύματι τοῦδε 
tοῦ κόσμου. ὅταν γὰρ μὴ δώρα, μὴ παρα- 
κλήσεις, μὴ τιμῶν ἔρως, μὴ ἀρχής ἐπιθυμία, μὴ 
ἀλαζονεία, μὴ ὁ τοῦ δοκεῖν ἱμερος, μὴ ἀκολασία, 
μὴ ἀνανδρία, μὴ ἀδικία, μηδὲν ἄλλο τῶν ὅσα ἐκ 
πάθους ἢ κακίας ὑπάγηται, τίνος ἐτι φωβηθήσομαι 
δεσποτεῖαν; ἢ δήλον ὅτι τὴν ἀπ’ ἀνθρώπων; ἀλλ’ 
οὔτοι γε τὴν σώματος ἐπιγράφονται κυρείαν, οὐ 
tὴν κατ’ ἐμε’ ἔγω γὰρ ἀπὸ τοῦ κρείττονος, τῆς ἐν 
ἐμαυτῶ διανοίας, χρηματίζω, καθ’ ἡ παρεσκευάζων 
συνάρθηκεν ὁλίγα φροντίδων τοῦθεν σώματος, 
δ καν ὀστρέου δίκην περιπεφυκός ἐπηρεάζηται πρὸς 
tινῶν, ἀφειμένον1 τῶν ἐνδον δεσποτῶν τε χαλέ- 
pων καὶ δεσποινῶν, οὐκ ἀνιόσαμαι τὴν βαρυτάτην 
ἀνάγκην ἐκπεφευγώσ. ἐὰν οὖν δικάζειν δέη, δι-
κάσω μήτε πλουσίω προσθέμενος διὰ τὴν περιου-
sίαν μήτε πένητι διὰ τὸν ἐπί ταῖς ἄτυχίαις ἠέλον, 
ἄλλα τὰ τῶν κρινομένων ἄξιώματα καὶ σχήματα 
παρακαλυφάμενος ἄδολως βραβεύσω τὸ φανήσω-
μενον δίκαιον. ἐὰν τε βουλεύοι, γνώμας ἐισηγή-
sομαι τὰς κοινωφελεῖς, καὶ μὴ πρὸς ἵδουν ὅσιν· 
ἐὰν τε ἐκκλησιάζω, τοὺς θώπας λόγους ἐτέρως 
kαταλυών τῶν σωτηρίων χρήσομαι καὶ συμ-
φέρουσιν, ἔπιτιμῶν, νουθετῶν, σωφρονίζων, οὐκ 
Αὐθάδειαν μανιώδη καὶ παράφορον ἄλλα νήφουσαν 
παρρησίαν ἐπιτητηδεικὼς. εἰ δὲ μὴ χαίρει τις ταῖς 
βελτιώσεσιν, ἐπιτιμάτω καὶ γονεύσι καὶ ἐπιτρόποις

1 So Mangey: most mss. αφειμένον, which Cohn retains, others -ων. The masculine seems to me necessary for the sense.
ON JOSEPH, 69-74

dissimulation. And why should I submit to it? 69
For, though the people be a master, I am not a
slave, but as highly-born as any, one who claims
enrolment among the citizens of that best and
greatest state, this world. For when neither presents 70
nor appeals nor craving for honours nor desire for
office nor spirit of pretentiousness nor longing for
reputation, nor incontinence, nor unmanliness, nor
injustice, nor any other creation of passion and vice
can subdue me, what domination is still left for me
to fear? Clearly, it can only be that of men, but 71
men, while they assume the sovereignty of my body,
are not sovereigns of the real I. For I take my
title from the better part, the understanding within
me, and by that I am prepared to live with little
thought of the mortal body, the shell-like growth
which encases me. And, though some may mal­
treat it, yet, if I be free from the hard masters and
mistresses within, I shall suffer no affliction, since I
have escaped the cruelest tyranny of all. If then 72
I have to serve on a jury, I will give my verdict
without favouring the rich because of his abundant
wealth, or the poor through pity of his misfortunes,
but drawing a veil over the dignity or the out­
ward appearance of the litigants I will in all honesty
award what shall appear just. If I act as a councillor 73
I will introduce such proposals as are for the common
good, even if they be not agreeable. If I speak in
the general assembly I will leave all talk of flattery
to others and resort only to such as is salutary and
beneficial, reproving, warning, correcting in words
studied to shew a sober frankness without foolish and
frantic arrogance. He who does not gladly receive 74
improving advice must to be consistent censure
καὶ διδασκάλοις καὶ πᾶσι τοῖς κηδεμόσιοι, ὡς τέκνα
gνήσια καὶ ὥρφανοις παῖδας καὶ φοιτητὰς κακη-
gγοροῦσιν, ἡστὶ δ’ ὅτε καὶ τῦπτουσιν, ὅσοι οὐτε
βλασφημίαν οὐθ’ ὑβρίν ὅσιον ἐπιφημίζειν, ἀλλὰ
75 τοῦναντίον τὰ φιλίας καὶ εὐνοίας ὅνοματα. πάνυ
γὰρ ἀνάξιον τὸν πολιτικὸν ἐμὲ καὶ τὰ τῶν δήμου
πάντα ἐπιτεταρμένον ἐν τοῖς περὶ τοῦ συμφέρον-
tος λογισμοῖς χείρονα γενέσθαι τινὸς τὴν ἱατρικὴν
76 τέχνην ἐπιτηδεύοντος. ἐκεῖνος γὰρ οὐδὲν τῆς περὶ
tὸν θεραπευόμενον λαμπρότητος ἐν ταῖς νομίζο-
μέναις εὐτυχίαις φροντίσας, οὕθ’ ὅτι εὐγενῆς ἢν ἢ
πολυχρήματος οὔθ’ ὅτι τῶν κατ’ αὐτὸν ἐνδοξότατος
βασιλεὺς ἢ τύραννος, ἐνὸς περίεχεται μόνον τοῦ
77 δεσπότην ὁ υπήκοος καὶ λεγόμενος δούλος. ἐγὼ δ’
οὐχ ἡν αὐτοῦ πόλισιν ἢ τῆλη κάμνουσαν παραλαβῶν
ὑπ’ ἀργαλεωτέρων νόσων, ὡς κατεσκεύασον αἱ
συγγενεῖς ἐπιθυμεί, τί πράσσειν ὅφειλθ; προέμενος
tὰ συνοίσοντα πάσι κοινῇ τὰ τοῦ δείνος ἢ τοῦ δείνος
78 ὥσ τε καὶ τέμνει τὸν ἄρχοντα καὶ
dεσπότην ὁ υπήκοος καὶ λεγόμενος δούλος. ἐγὼ δ’
οὐχ ἡν αὐτοῦ πόλισιν ἢ τῆλη κάμνουσαν παραλαβῶν
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79 ὥσ τε καὶ τέμνει τὸν ἄρχοντα καὶ
dεσπότην ὁ υπήκοος καὶ λεγόμενος δούλος. ἐγὼ δ’
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ὑπ’ ἀργαλεωτέρων νόσων, ὡς κατεσκεύασον αἱ
συγγενεῖς ἐπιθυμεί, τί πράσσειν ὅφειλθ; προέμενος
tὰ συνοίσοντα πάσι κοινῇ τὰ τοῦ δείνος ἢ τοῦ δείνος
78 "πρὸς ταῦθ’"
ως ὁ τραγικὸς φησιν
"ἲτω μὲν πῦρ, ἱτω δὲ φάσγανον."—
"πῦμπρα, κάταπληκτὰς σάρκας, ἐμπλήσθητί μοι
πῦμων κελαμῶν ἀῖμα: πρόσθε γὰρ κἀτῳ
79 γῆς έλοιν ἅστρα, γῆ δ’ ἀνεισ’ εἰς αἰθέρα,
πρὶν ἐξ ἐμοῦ σοι θῶπ’ ἀπαντήσαι λόγον."
parents and guardians and teachers and all persons in charge, because they reprimand and sometimes even beat their own children or orphan-wards or pupils, though really it is against all morality to call such treatment evil-speaking or outrage instead of friendliness and benevolence. For it were a quite unworthy thing that I, the statesman, to whom are committed all the interests of the people, should, in planning for their benefit, shew myself inferior to anyone who practises the physician's art. He cares not how brilliant is the good fortune, as men hold it, which attends his patient or that he is high-born or wealthy or the most glorious king or despot of his time, but devotes himself to one object only, to save him to the best of his ability, even if he must use cautery or surgery, and he applies the fire or the knife, he the subject to his ruler, he the so-called slave to his master. And I, who am called to attend not on a single person but on the whole state afflicted by the more powerful distempers which its inbred lusts have produced, what ought I to do? Shall I sacrifice the future welfare of all and minister to the cares of this man and that man with flattery utterly slave-like and unworthy of the free? I would rather lie dead than with some pleasant words conceal the truth and disregard real welfare. As the tragedian says:

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

a The first line is from Eur. Phoenissae 521. The others also from Eur. Quoted Leg. All. iii. 202 and Quod Probus 99, where the speaker is given as Heracles.
ούτως οὖν ἠφρενωμένον τὸ φρόνημα καὶ ἐκτὸς πάντων παθῶν ἱστάμενον, ἰδονής, φόβου, λύπης, ἐπιθυμίας, ἄνθροπον πολιτικὸν ὁ δεσπότης δῆμος οὐκ ἀνέχεται, συλλαβῶν δὲ ὡς ἔχθρον κολάζει τὸν εὔνου καὶ φίλον, πρὸ ἀκείνου τιμωρούμενος ἑαυτὸν τῇ μεγίστῃ τῶν τιμωριῶν, ἀπαίδευσία, δι' ἣν οὐκ ἔμαθεν ἀρχεῖσθαι, τὸ κάλλιστον καὶ βιωφελέστατον, ἐξ οὗ περιγίνεται καὶ τὸ ἀρχεῖν.

Ἀποκρῶντως δὴ καὶ περὶ τούτων διεἰλεμένου τὰ ἐξής ἰδωμεν. ὁ διαβληθεὶς νεανίας ὑπὸ τῆς ἐρωμένης γυναίκος τῷ δεσπότῃ πλασαμένης ἀντιστρόφους αἰτίας, ἀι τὴν ἐνοχοὺς αὐτή, μηδ' ἀπολογίας τυχών εἰς εἰρκήν ἀπάγεται καὶ γενόμενος εἰς τῷ δεσμωτηρίῳ τοσοῦτον ἁρετῆς μέγεθος ἐπεδείξατο, ὡς καὶ τοὺς πονηροτάτους τῶν ἐκεί τεθηπέναι καὶ καταπλήττεσθαι καὶ παρηγόρημα τῶν συμφορῶν ὑπολαμβάνειν ἄλεξίκακον εὑρηκέναι τὸν ἀνθρώπον. ὃς ὁ δ' ἀπανθρωπίας οἱ εἰρκτο-φύλακες γέμουσι καὶ ἁμότητος, οὐδεὶς ἄγνοει. φύσει τε γὰρ ἀνηλεεῖς εἰσὶ καὶ μελέτῃ συγκροτοῦνται θηριοῦμενοι καθ' ἐκάστην ἡμέραν ὑπὸ ἀγριότητα, χρηστὸν μὲν οὐδὲν ἀλλ' οὐδ' ἐκ τύχης ὑπὸ τῆς ἁμότητος ἃ δὲ βιαίωτα καὶ χαλεπῶτα. καθάπερ γὰρ οἱ τὰ σώματα εὐπαγεῖσι, ὅταν τὴν ἐξ ἀθλητικῆς ἁσκησιν προσλάβωσι, νευροῦνται δύναμιν ἀναταγώνιστον καὶ εὔεξίαν ὑπερβάλλουσαν κτώμενοι, τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον, ὅταν ἀτίθασος καὶ ἀμείλικτος φύσις ἁσκησιν εἰς τὸ ἀνήμερον προσλάβη, διχόθεν ἄβατος καὶ ἀπρόσιτος οἰκτω
ON JOSEPH, 79-82

When the statesman stands thus aloof from all passions, from pleasure, from fear, from pain, from desire, with the spirit of a true man, the despot-people cannot away with him, but takes him and chastises as an enemy its friend and well-wisher. And thus it lays upon itself rather than on its victim the greatest of punishments, indiscipline, whereby it fails to learn the lesson of submission to government, that lesson most excellent and of lifelong profit, which he who learns learns also how to govern.

XV. Having sufficiently discussed these matters, let us proceed to the next. The youth who had been brought into disgrace with his master by the false charges of a lovesick woman, charges which were the counterpart of those to which she was liable herself, was carried away to gaol without even any opportunity of making his defence. In the prison he displayed such a wealth of virtue that even the vilest of the inmates were astounded and overawed, and considered that they had found in him a consolation for misfortunes and a defence against future ills. Everyone knows how full of inhumanity and cruelty gaolers are; pitiless by nature and case-hardened by practice, they are brutalized day by day towards savagery, because they never even by chance see or say or do any kindness, but only the extremes of violence and cruelty. Just as men of well-built physique, if they add to this athletic training, grow sinewy and gain irresistible strength and unequalled robustness, so, whenever any uncivilized and unsoftened nature adds practice to its harshness, it becomes doubly impervious and in-

* For §§ 80-124 see Gen. xxxix. 20-xli. 45.
83 γίνεται, χρηστῷ πάθει καὶ φιλανθρώπῳ. ὥσπερ γὰρ οἱ τῶν ἄγαθῶν ὀμιληταὶ βελτιοῦνται τοὺς τρόπους χαίροντες τοῖς συνοδῶσι, οὔτω καὶ οἱ τοῖς πονηροῖς συζώντες ἀπομάττονται τι τῆς ἐκείνων κακίας. δεινὸν γὰρ τὸ έθος ἐξομοιώσαι καὶ βιάσα-84 σθαι πρὸς φύσιν. συνδιατρίβουσιν οὖν οἱ εἰρκτο-φύλακες λωποδύταις, κλέπταις, τοιχωρύχοις, ὄβρι-σταις, βιαιοῖς, φθορεῦσιν, ἀνδροφόνοις, μοιχοῖς, ιερο-σύλοις, ὡς ἄφ’ ἐκάστου σπῶνται τι μοχθερίας καὶ συνερανίζουσι καὶ ἐκ τῆς πολυμιγούς κράσεως ἐν ἀποτελοῦσι πάμφυρτον καὶ παμμίαρον κακόν.

85 XVI. ἀλλ’ ὁμοῦς ὁ τοιοῦτος ἡμερωθεὶς ὑπὸ τῆς τοῦ νεανίσκου καλοκαγαθίας οὐ μόνον ἀδειας καὶ ἐκεχειρίας μετεδωκεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ αρχής τῆς ἐφ’ ἀπασι τοῖς δεσμώταις, ὡς ὅλος μὲν ἕνεκα προσχή-ματος ἐμμένειν εἰρκτοφύλαξ, τὴν δ’ ἐν ἔργοις τάξιν παρακεχωρηκέναι τῷ νεανίᾳ, δι’ ἣς οὐκ ὁλίγα 86 συνέβαινε τοὺς ἀπαχθέντας ὑφελεῖσθαι. τὸ γοῦν χωρίον οὐδ’ ὄνομάζειν ἕτ’ ἔξιον εἰρκτήν, ἀλλὰ σωφρονιστήριον· ἀντὶ γὰρ βασάνων καὶ τιμωριῶν, ἃς νύκτωρ καὶ μεθ’ ἰμέραν ὑπέμενεν, τυπτόμενοι καὶ καταδούμενοι καὶ τὶ κακὸν οὐ πάσχοντες, λόγοι καὶ δόγματι τοῖς φιλοσοφίας ἐνουθετοῦντο καὶ ταῖς ἀνυσιμωτέραις παντὸς λόγου πράξεις τοῦ 87 διδάσκοντος. τὸν γὰρ αὐτοῦ βίον σωφροσύνης καὶ πάσης ἀρετῆς οἰς γραφὴν ἀρχέτυπον εἰ δεδημουρ-γημένην ἐν μέσῳ θείς ἐπέστρεψε καὶ τοὺς πάνω δοκοῦντας ἀνιάτως ἔχειν, οἷς μακρὰ νόσοι τῆς ψυχῆς ἐλώφησαν ἢδη κακίζουσιν ἐπὶ τοῖς πεπραγ-
accessible to the kindly and humane emotion of pity. For, even as those who consort with the good are improved in character by the pleasure they take in their associates, so those who live with the bad take on some impression of their vice. Custom has a wonderful power of forcing everything into the likeness of nature. Gaolers then spend their days with footpads, thieves, burglars, men of violence and outrage, who commit rape, murder, adultery and sacrilege, and from each of these they imbibe and accumulate something of their villainy, out of which miscellaneous amalgam they produce a single body of evil, a fusion of every sort of pollution. XVI. But nevertheless one of this kind, tamed by the nobility of the youth, not only allowed him some security from violence and hardship, but gave him the command of all the prisoners; and thus while he remained nominally and for the sake of appearance the keeper of the gaol, he resigned to Joseph the actual office, which thus became the source of no small benefit to those who were in confinement. Thus even the place, as they felt, could not rightly be called a prison, but a house of correction. For instead of the tortures and punishments which they used to endure night and day under the lash or in manacles or in every possible affliction, they were rebuked by his wise words and doctrines of philosophy, while the conduct of their teacher effected more than any words. For by setting before them his life of temperance and every virtue, like an original picture of skilled workmanship, he converted even those who seemed to be quite incurable, who as the long-standing distempers of their soul abated reproached themselves for their past
μένοις αυτοὺς καὶ μετανοοῦσι καὶ τοιαῦτ’ ἐπιφθεγ- γομένους· "ποῦ ποτ’ ἀρ’ ἦν πάλαι τοσοῦτον ἀγαθόν, οὐ τὴν ἂρχὴν ἐσφάλμην; ἵδοι γὰρ ἐπιλάμψαντος αὐτοῦ, ὡς πρὸς κάτοπτρον τὴν ἀκοσμίαν ὅρωντες αὐτῶν αἰσχυνόμεθα.”

88 XVII. Τούτων τὸν τρόπον βελτιωμένων εἰσ- ἀγονται δύο εὐνοοῦχοι τοῦ βασιλέως, ὁ μὲν ἂρχι- ουνοχόος, ὁ δὲ ἂρχισιτοποιός, ἐν οἷς ἐπετράπησαν κατηγορηθέντες καὶ καταγνωσθέντες. ὁ δὲ καὶ τούτων τὴν ἐπιμέλειαν ἦν καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἐποιεῖτο, εὐχόμενος ὅπως οἶδος τε ὅ μηδὲν χείρος τῶν ἀν- 89 επιλήπτων ἀπεργάσασθαι τοὺς ὑφ’ εαυτῶ. χρόνου ὅ’ οὐ μακροῦ διελθόντος, ἐπιων τοὺς δεσμώτας ὀρᾷ συννοίας καὶ κατηφείας γέμοντας μᾶλλον ἢ πρό- τερον τοὺς εὐνοούχους καὶ στοχασάμενος ἐκ τῆς σφοδρᾶς λύπης προσπεπτωκέναι τι νεώτερον ἐπιν- 90 θάνετο τὴν αἰτίαν. ἀποκριναμένων δὲ, ὡς ὀνείρους ἰδόντες ἄσης καὶ ἀδημονίας πεπλήρωνται, μηδενὸς ὄντος τοῦ διακρινοῦντος, “θαρσεῖτε” ἐφη “καὶ δι- ἤγεῖσθε, γνώριμοι γὰρ ἐσονται βουλομένου θεοῦ· βούλεται δὲ τὰ συνεσκιασμένα τῶν πραγμάτων ἀνακαλύπτειν τοῖς ἀλήθειαιν ποθοῦν.”

91 εἰτα πρότερος ὁ ἂρχιουνοχόος φησίν. “ἐδοξά μεγάλην ἀμπελον ἐκπεφυκέναι τριῶν πυθμένων ἐν εὐερνέστατοι στέλεχοις, τεθηλύιαι καὶ βοτρυ- φοροῦσαι ὡς ἐν ἀκμῇ τῆς ὀπώρας, ὑποπερκαζούσης δὲ τῆς σταφυλῆς δρέψασθαι τῶν βοτρύων καὶ εἰς ἔκπωμα βασιλικὸν ἀποθλίβειν, ὅπερ ἰκανῶς ἦχον 92 ἀκράτου προσενεγκεῖν τῷ βασιλεῖ.” ὁ δὲ μικρὸν ἐπισχὼν “ἐνυπεχθαί” ἐπειν “ἡ φαντασία σοι κατ- αγγέλλει καὶ τῆς προτέρας ἀνάληψιν ἂρχῆς· αἱ γὰρ τρεῖς ρίζαι τῆς ἀμπέλου τρεῖς ἡμέρας ὑπο- 184
and repented with such utterances as these: "Ah, where in old days was this great blessing which at first we failed to find? See, when it shines on us we behold as in a mirror our misbehaviour and are ashamed."

XVII. While they were thus growing in goodness, two eunuchs of the king were brought in, the chief butler and the chief baker, both of them accused and condemned for dereliction of duties. Joseph paid the same attention to them as to the others, in his earnest wish to raise if possible those under him to the level of those who were innocent of offence. And after no long time on visiting the prisoners he saw that they were full of depression and dejection, even more than before, and, guessing from their extreme sadness that something unusual had befallen them, he asked the reason. When they answered that they had had dreams which filled them with sore trouble and distress because there was no one to interpret them, he said to them: "Cheer up, and tell me these dreams, for their meaning will be known, if God wills, and He does will to unveil what is hidden to those who desire the truth."

Then the chief butler spoke first and said: "I dreamt that I saw a great vine, an exceedingly fine stalk growing from three roots. It was thriving and covered with grapes as in the height of the vintage season, and from a cluster which was turning ripe black I plucked some grapes and squeezed them into the royal cup, and when it had plenty of liquor I brought it to the king." Joseph paused for a little, and then said: "Your vision is an announcement to you of good fortune and the recovery of your former office. The three roots of
γράφοντι, μεθ' ὁς ὑπομνησθήσεται σου ὁ βασιλεὺς καὶ μεταπεμψάμενος ἐνθένδε παρέξει μὲν ἀμνηστίαν, ἐπιτρέψει δὲ τῆς αὐτῆς μεταποιεῖσθαι τάξεως, καὶ ὑπὲρ βεβαιώσεως τῆς ἀρχῆς ὅνωκοψεις ἀναδοῦν ἐκπωμα τῷ δεσπότῃ." καὶ ὁ μὲν ἐγεγήθει ταῦτ' ἀκούσας. 

XVIII. ὁ δ' ἀρχιστοπόιος | [55] ἀποδεξάμενος τὴν διάκρισιν, ὡς καὶ αὐτὸς εὐτυχὲς ὅναρ ἰδών—ὡς δ' οὐ μετρίως παλίμφημον—, ἀπατηθεὶς ταῖς ἐτέρου χρησταῖς ἐλπίσῃ φησίν. "ἀλλὰ κἀγὼ κανηφορεῖν ἐδοξάται καὶ τρία πλήρη κανὰ πεμμάτων κομίζειν ἐπὶ τῆς κεφαλῆς, τὸ δ' ἀνωτάτω πλήρες εἶναι παντοῖον γενὸν, οἷς ἔδως ἔστι χρῆσθαι τὸν βασιλέα—ποικίλας δ' εἴναι τὰς πρὸς δίαταν βασιλικὴν συτοπόνων περιεργίας—, ὃνεις δὲ καθυπαταμένους ἀρπάζειν ἀπὸ τῆς κεφαλῆς καὶ ἀπλήστως ἐμφορεῖσθαι, μέχρις οὐ πάντες ἀναλώσαι καὶ μηδὲν τῶν εὐτρέπισθέντων ὑπολιπέσθαι." ὁ δὲ "ἔβουλόμην μὲν" εἶπε "μὴ παραστήναι σοι τὴν φαντασίαν ἡ φανεῖσαν ἡ συνχασθήναι ἦ, εἰ καὶ διηγεῖτό τις, μακρὰν γοῦν, οἷς μὴ κατακούσαιμι, τῶν ἐμῶν ἀντὶς γενόθαι τὴν διήγησιν ὁκνῶ τις, εἰ καὶ τις ἀλλος, εἴναι κακῶν ἄγγελος συναλγῶ τις ἐν συμφοραῖς, ἐνεκα φιλανθρωπίας οὐχ ἦκιστα τῶν υπομενόντων ὅσυμωμενος. ἀλλ' ἐπειδὴ τοῖς ὅνεῖρων κριταῖς ἀληθεύειν ἀναγκαῖον θεῖα λόγια διερμηνεύουσι καὶ προφητεύουσι, λέξω μηδὲν ὑποστελάμενος· ἀφευθεῖν γὰρ ἐπὶ μὲν πάντων ἀριστον, ἐπὶ δὲ τῶν θείων ἀποφθεγμάτων καὶ ὁσιώτατον. τὰ τοῖα κανὰ σύμβολον τριῶν ἡμερῶν ἐστιν· ἐπισχὼν
the vine denote three days, after which the king will remember you and send for you from this place. He will then grant you free pardon, and allow you to take your old post, and to confirm you in the office you will act as butler and offer the cup to your master." The chief butler rejoiced on hearing this.

XVIII. The chief baker, for his part, approved the interpretation, and, thinking that he himself had had a lucky dream, though in reality it was very much the reverse, and misled by the comforting hopes of the other, proceeded as follows: "I too had a dream. I thought I was carrying three baskets—full of bakes— on my head, the uppermost full of all the different kinds which are regularly provided for the use of the king, for the delicacies produced by the caterers for the king's table are varied and elaborate. Then birds flew down and snatched them from my head, and gobbled them insatiably until all was consumed and nothing of the provisions was left." Joseph replied: "I could have wished that this vision had never been seen by you, or, if seen, had remained unmentioned, or, if its story were told, that at least it should have been told far away from my ears to prevent my hearing it. For no one shrinks more than I from being a messenger of ill-tidings. I sympathize with those in misfortune, and kindly affection makes me feel as much pain as the actual sufferers. But the interpreters of dreams must needs tell the truth, since they are prophets expounding divine oracles, and I will therefore speak without reserve; for, while veracity is best in all matters, in dealing with God's messages, anything else is profanity." The three baskets are symbols of three days.
ταύτας ὁ βασιλεὺς ἀνασκολοπισθήναι σε καὶ τὴν κεφαλὴν ἀποτμηθῆναι κελεύσει καὶ καταπτάμενα ὅρνεα τῶν σῶν εὐωχηθήσεται σαρκῶν, ἅχρις ἂν ὅλος ἔξαναλωθῆς:” καὶ ὁ μὲν ὦσπερ εἰκὸς συνχυθεὶς ἀνατέτραπτο, καραδοκῶν τὴν ὄρισθεὶς προσδεχόμενος καὶ τῇ διανοίᾳ τὰς ἀνίας προσδεχόμενος. ὥσ ὅ αἱ τρεῖς ἡμέραι διήλθον, γενέθλιος ἐπέστη τοῦ βασιλέως, ἐν ἦ πάντες οἱ κατὰ τὴν χώραν ἐπανηγύριζον, διαφερόντως ὅ οἱ περὶ τὰ 98 βασίλεια. ἐστιμώμενων ὅρνι τῶν ἐν τέλει καὶ τῆς θεραπείας εὐωχουμένης ὦσπερ ἐν δημοθοινία, τῶν κατὰ τὸ ἰδεμπτηρίου εὐνούχων ὑπομνησθεὶς ἀχθῆναι κελεύει καὶ ἐπισφραγίζεται, προστάζας τὸν μὲν ἀνασκολοπισθῆναι τὴν κεφαλὴν ἀποτμηθέντα, τῷ δὲ τὴν ἀρχὴν ἐν διείπτε πρότερον ἀπονείμει. 99 Χ. Καταλλαγεῖς δὲ ὁ ἀρχιουοχόος ἐκλάνθανται τοῦ τὰς καταλλαγὰς προειπόντος καὶ ἐκαστά τῶν συμπεσόντων ατυχημάτων ἐπικοψιοςαντος, ἴσως μὲν ἐπειδὴ πᾶς ἀχάριστος ἀμνήμων ἔστιν ἐνεργετῶν, ἴσως δὲ καὶ κατὰ πρόνοιαν θεοῦ βουληθέντος τὰς εὐπραγίας τῷ νεανίᾳ μὴ δι’ ἀν- 100 θρώπου γενέσθαι μᾶλλον ἡ δι’ ἐαυτοῦ. μετὰ γὰρ ἱετὴ χρόνον τῷ βασιλεί τὰ μέλλοντα τῇ χώρᾳ συμβαίνεις ἀγαθὰ καὶ κακὰ διττάς φαντασίας δι’ ἀνείρου θεσπίζεται ταὐτῶν ὑποσημανούσας ἐνεκα. 101 Βεβαιωτέρας πίστεως. ἐδοξε γὰρ ἐπτὰ βόας ἀνέρπεων ἐκ τοῦ ποταμοῦ, πίονος καὶ σφόδρα εὐσάρκους καὶ καλὰς ὄφθηναι, καὶ παρὰ ταῖς ὄχθαις νέμεσθαι. [56] μεθ’ ὅς ἐτέρας ἀριθμὸν ὅσα, ἅ ἀσάρκους τρόπον τινὰ καὶ κατεσκελετευμένας καὶ εἰδεχθεστάτος, ἀνελθεῖν καὶ συννέμεσθαι ταῖς προτέραις. εἰτ’
ON JOSEPH, 96-101

When these have passed, the king will order you to be impaled and beheaded, and the birds will feast upon your flesh until you are entirely devoured.” The baker, as might be expected, was confounded and upset, having the appointed day before his eyes and mentally anticipating its pangs. But, when the three days had passed, came the king’s birthday, when all the inhabitants of the country held festive gatherings, and particularly those of the palace. So, while the dignitaries were banqueting, and the servants were regaling themselves as at a public feast, the king remembered the eunuchs in the prison and bade them be brought to him. And, when he saw them, he ratified what had been forecast in the interpretation of the dreams, by ordering one to be beheaded and impaled and the other to be restored to his former office.

XIX. But, when he was reconciled to his master, the chief butler forgot him who had predicted the reconciliation and alleviated all the misfortunes which befell him; perhaps because the ungrateful are always forgetful of their benefactors, perhaps also in the providence of God Who willed that the happy events which befell the youth should be due to God rather than to man. For after two years the future of his country for both good and ill was revealed to the king when dreaming, in two visions with the same significance, repeated in order to carry stronger conviction. He dreamt that seven oxen came up from the river, fat and well covered with flesh and fair to look upon, and browsed beside the banks. After them seven others, mere skeletons, and fleshless, so to speak, and loathsome in appearance, came up and browsed with the former seven. Then suddenly
εξαπιναίως ὑπὸ τῶν χειρόνων καταβρωθήναι τὰς ἀμείνους καὶ μηδὲν ἄλλα μηδὲ τὸ βραχύτατον ταῖς ἐμφορηθέσαις πρὸς ὄγκον ἐπιδοῦναι τὰς γαστέρας, 102 ἀλλ᾽ ἢ μάλλον ἢ ὦ χττον ἔστάλθαι. περιαναστὰς δὲ καὶ κομψείς πάλιν ἐτέρα πληχθήναι φαντασίᾳ νομίσαι γάρ ἐπτὰ πυροῦ στάχυς ἐκπεφυκότας ενὸς πυθμένου, ἰσαίτους τοῖς μεγέθεσιν, αὐξομένους καὶ τεθηλότας αὑρεθάι πρὸς ύψος μάλε εὐρώστους· εἰδ᾽ ἐτέρους ἐπτὰ λεπτοὺς καὶ ἀσθενεῖς ἀναπεφυ-κέναι πλησίον, ύφ᾽ ὦν ἐπιδραμόντων καταποθήναι 103 τὸν εὐσταγυν πυθμένα. ταῦτην ἓπι θὴν ὄψιν, τὸ λευπόμενον τῆς νυκτὸς ἀυτόν διατέλεσά—ἡγειρον γὰρ αἱ φροντίδες κεντοῦσαι καὶ τιτρώσκουσαι—, μετατέμπεται τοὺς σοφιστὰς ἀμα τῇ ἑω καὶ τὴν 104 φαντασίαν διηγεῖται. μηδενὸς δὲ στοχασμοῖς εἰκόσι τάληθες ἰχνηλάτησαι δυναμένου, παρελθὼν ὁ ἄρχι-οινοχόος φησίν: “ὦ δέσποτα, τὸν ἄνδρα ὅν ζητεῖς ἐλπὶς ἐστὶν εὐφρήσειν· ἀμαρτόντας ἐμὲ καὶ τὸν ἄρχι-σιτοποιὸν ἐκέλευσας εἰς τὸ δεσμωτήριον ἀπαχθῆναι, ἐνὲ ὁ τὸν ἄρχιμαγείρου θεράπων ἦν Ἐβραῖος, ἀμφὶ διηγησάμεθα ἐγώ τε κάκεινος οὐκαίντα ἦμιν ὁ δ᾽ οὕτως εὐθυβόλως καὶ εὐσκόπως διέκρινεν, ὡς ὁσα προεῖπεν ἐκατέρω συμβῆναι, τῷ μὲν ἦν ὑπέμεενε τιμωρίαν, ἐμοὶ δὲ τὸ σοῦ τυχεῖν 105 ἰλεω καὶ εὔμενοις.” XX. ὁ μὲν οὖν βασιλεὺς ἀκούσας προστάττει συντείναντας ἀνα-καλεῖν τὸν νεανίαν. οἱ δ᾽ ἄποκειράντες—βαθεῖας γὰρ ὄσων αὐτῷ χαίται καθεργμένως κεφαλῆς καὶ γενείου—καὶ ἀντὶ ῥυπώσης λαμπρὰν ἐσθήτα ἀντι- δόντες καὶ τάλλα φαιδρύναντες εἰςάγουσιν αὐτὸν 106 πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα· ὁς ἐκ τῆς ὄψεως τεκμηράμενος
the better seven were devoured by the worse, and yet these after swallowing the others shewed not the smallest increase in bulk of belly but were even more, or at least not less, shrunken. The king awoke and then slept again, and was beset by another vision. He thought that seven ears of wheat had sprung out of a single stalk. They were very equal in size and grew and throve and rose to a considerable height, fine and strong. Then seven others sprang up near them, thin and feeble, which overran and swallowed up the stalk which bore the good ears. After seeing this the king remained sleepless for the rest of the night, kept awake by the thoughts which pricked and stung him. At dawn he sent for his wise men and told them the vision, and when no one could make any likely conjecture which could give a clue to the truth, the chief butler came forward and said: "Master, we may hope to find the man whom you seek. When I and the chief baker had offended, we were by your orders cast into prison where there was a Hebrew servant of the chief cook, to whom we two told the dreams which we had seen, and he interpreted them so exactly and skilfully that all that he had predicted happened to each of us, to him the penalty which he suffered, to me my admission to your clemency and favour." XX. The king on hearing this bade them hasten and summon the youth. They obeyed, but first they had him shaven and shorn, for in his confinement the hair had grown long and thick on his head and chin. Then they put on him a bright and clean raiment instead of his filthy prison clothes, and smartened him in other ways and thus brought him to the king. The king, judging him by his appearance to be a man of free and noble birth, for the
Άνδρα ἔλευθερον καὶ εὐγενῆ—χαρακτήρεσ γὰρ ἐπι-
φαίνονταί τινες τῷ σώματι τῶν ὀρωμένων οὐχ
ὄρατοι πᾶσιν, ἀλλ’ οὐς τὸ τῆς διανοίας ὦμμα
ὀξυδορκεῖ—“μαντεύεται” εἶπεν ἡ ψυχή μου περὶ
tοῦ μή εἰς ἄπαν ἀσαφείᾳ τοὺς ὅνειρους ἐπισκια-
ςῆσθαι· δείγμα γὰρ σοφίας ὁ νεανίας ὦτος
ὑποφαίνει, διακαλύπτει τὴν ἀλήθειαν, οἶα φωτι
σκότος ἐπιστήμη τὴν ἁμαθίαν τῶν παρ’ ἡμῖν
σοφιστῶν ἀποσκεύασε.” καὶ τοὺς ὅνειρους δι-

107 ἤγειτο. ὁ δὲ τάξισμα τοῦ λέγοντος οὐδὲν
catatplageiés ὠσπερ ὑπηκώω βασιλεύς, ἀλλ’ οὐχ
ὑπήκοος βασιλεῖ, παραφηγία σὺν αἰδοὶ χρώμενος
dielégeto καὶ φησιν· “ὅσα μέλλει ποιεῖν ὁ θεὸς
ἐν τῷ κόσμῳ, προμεμήνυκεν εἰς τὸν νεοτῆς ὅνειρο
ζήτησθαι, διὰ τὴν ἀναδίπλωσιν ἔχων οὐ περιπτῆν, ἀλλὰ πρὸς
108 ἐλεγχον βεβαιοτέρας πίστεως. αὐτὸς γὰρ πίνουε
ἔπτα βόες καὶ οἱ εὐβλαστοὶ καὶ εὐθαλεῖς ἔπτα [57]
stάχυν, ἐναυτοὺς ἔπτα δηλοῦσιν εὐθηνίας καὶ
eὐετηρίας καὶ ἔπτα ἐκεῖνοι ὕμιοι αἰ ἐπανοῦσαι
ἔπτα βόες λεπταὶ καὶ εἰδοχεῖς καὶ οἱ παρεβαθα-
109 μένοι καὶ μεμυκότες ἔπτα στάχυν. ἦξει μέν οὖν
ἐπταετία προτέρα πολλὴν καὶ ἀπθονὸ τέθουσα
eὐκαρπία, πλημμύρας μὲν ἐπὶ πᾶν ἔτος τοῦ ποτα-
μοῦ λιμνώδες τῶν ἀροῦρας, τῶν δὲ πεδίων ὡς
ἀόπω πρότερον εὔφορον χρωμένον· ἦξει δὲ ἡμὸν
ταῦτα ἐπταετία πάλιν ἐναυτία καὶ ἐνεπείρα
σπάνω τῶν ἀναγκαίων ἐπιφέρουσα, μὴ ἀναχεω-
μένου τοῦ ποταμοῦ μήτε τῆς γῆς λιπαιμένης, ὡς
tῆς προτέρας εὐθηνίας ἐκλαδέσθαι καὶ εἰ τι λει-
110 ψανον παλαιάς εὐετηρίας ἡν ἀναλωθῇναι. τὰ μὲν
οὖν ἐκ τῆς διακρίσεως τοιαῦτ' ἔστιν. ὑπεχεῖ δὲ
192
persons of those whom we see exhibit characteristics which are not visible to all, but only to those in whom the eye of the understanding is quick to discern, said:

"My soul has a prophetic inkling that my dreams will not for ever remain veiled in obscurity, for in this youth there are signs and indications of wisdom. He will reveal the truth, and as light disperses darkness his knowledge will disperse the ignorance of our wizards." So he told him the dreams.

Joseph, nothing awed by the high dignity of the speaker, spoke to him with frankness combined with modesty, rather as a king to a subject than as a subject to the king. "God has given you," he said, "warning of all that He is about to do in the land. But do not suppose that the two visions are two dreams. There is one dream repeated, though the repeating is not superfluous, but given to convince you more firmly of its trustworthiness. For both the seven fat oxen and the seven well-grown and flourishing ears indicate seven years of abundance and prosperity, while the seven oxen that came up after, thin and loathly, and the seven blasted and shrunken ears mean seven other years of famine. The first period of seven years, then, will come bringing a large and plentiful wealth of crops, while the river each year, with its rising waters, turns the fields into pools and the plains have a fertility never known before. But after this will come in its turn another period of seven years of the opposite kind, bringing severe dearth and lack of the means of living, with the river ceasing to overflow and the fields to get their fatness, so that men will forget the former prosperity and every trace of the old abundance will be blotted out. Such are the facts which appear from the interpretation, but
μοι καὶ ἐκλαλεῖ τὸ θείον ὑποβάλλον τὰ ὡς ἐν νόσῳ σωτῆρια: νόσος δὲ πόλεων καὶ χωρίων ἢ βαρυτάτη λιμός, ἢ κατασκευαστέον ἀσθένειαν, ἵνα μὴ τε-
111 λείως ῥωσθείσα τοὺς οἰκήτορας ἐκφάγῃ. πῶς οὖν ἀσθενήσει; τοῦ καρποῦ τῶν ἐπτὰ ἑτὰ, ἐν οἷς ἢ εὐφορία, τὸ πλεονάζον μετὰ τᾶς αὐτάρκειας τοῖς πλήθεις προσθειν τροφᾶς—ἔσται δ’ ἵσως μέρος πέμπτου—θησαυριστέον ἐν πόλει καὶ κώμαις, μὴ μετακομι-
ζοντας τὰ θέρη μακρόθεν, ἀλλ’ ἐξ ὅν ἄν ἢ χωρίων, ἐν ἐκείνοις φυλάττοντας πρὸς τὴν τῶν οἰκοῦ-
112 τῶν παρηγοριῶν· συγκομίζειν δὲ τὸν καρπὸν αὐτοῖς δράγμασι μήτε ἀλοώντας μήτε συνόλως καθαροῦν, τεταρτῶν ἑνεκα: ἐνὸς μὲν τοῦ σκέπη χρώμενον πρὸς πλεῖω χρόνον διαμένειν ἀδιάφθοραν· ἐτέρου δὲ τοῦ καθ’ ἐκαστὸν ἐνιαυτοῦ γίνεσθαι τῆς εὐθείας ὑπόμνησιν, ἀλοώντων καὶ λικμῶντων· ἢ γὰρ μίμη-
σις τῶν πρὸς ἀλήθειαν ἀγαθῶν διατετάραν ἐμελ-
113 λεν ἡδονὴν ἀπεργάζεσθαι· τρίτου δὲ τοῦ μηδ’ εἰς ἀριθμὸν ἐλθεῖν, ἐν στάχυσι καὶ δράγμασιν ἀδήλου καὶ ἀπεργάφαρον τοῦ καρποῦ ὑπάρχοντος, ἵνα μὴ προαναπέσωσιν αἱ διάνοιαι τῶν ἐγχωρίων ἐν ταῖς ἀναλώσεσι τοῦ συλλογισθέντος, ἀλλ’ εὐθυμία χρώ-
μενοι τῇ ἀριθμοῦ ἀμείνον τροφῆ—τρέφον γὰρ ἐν τοῖς μάλιστα ἐλπίς—ἐπικουφιζώσων τὴν ἐκ τῆς ἐνδείας βαρεῖαν νόσουν· τετάρτῳ δὲ τοῦ καὶ τοῖς θρέμ-

a For this regular use of ὑπηχέν in Philo for a voice heard inwardly see note on De Som. i. 164.
b Or “country districts”; cf. the common use of the word for farms or estates.
c There is no authority for this statement in Genesis, or the arguments adduced for it. But Philo may well have heard or read of precedents.
d i.e. when we thresh the annual allowance from the store
I also hear the promptings of the divine voice, devising safeguards for the disease, as we may call it; and famine in cities and localities is the severest of diseases, and we must provide means of weakening it lest it grow to full strength and devour the inhabitants. How, then, shall it be weakened? What is left over from the harvest of the seven years of abundance after the necessary allowance for feeding the multitudes, which perhaps will be a fifth, should be stored in the city and villages, without transporting the crops to a distance, but keeping them in the places where they have been produced, to encourage the inhabitants. And the crops should be brought in just as they are in the sheaves, without threshing them or purging them in any way, for four reasons. First, that being thus under shelter they will last longer without spoiling; secondly, that every year when they are threshed and winnowed they will serve as a reminder of the prosperous time, for we always find that imitation of our real blessings has brought a repetition of the pleasure; thirdly, the grain cannot even be reckoned when it is contained in ears and sheaves, and therefore is an uncertain and incalculable quantity. This will prevent the minds of the inhabitants from being prematurely depressed, when they see that the grain, which is a known quantity, is being gradually consumed. On the contrary, they will have courage, nourished on a food which is better than corn, since hope is the best of nourishments, and take more lightly the heavy scourge of want. Fourthly, to provide a store of fodder for the cattle we copy what we do in the ordinary harvest and therefore are reminded of it. But Cohn in his translation adopts Mangey's υπόμνησις.

* Lit. "which has been calculated."
PHILO

μασί χιλὸν τεταμιεύθησαι, τῶν ἀχύρων καὶ ἀθέρων
114 ἐκ τῆς τοῦ καρποῦ καθάρσεως διακρινομένων. ἐπι-
μελήτην δὲ τούτων χειροτονήτεον ἄνδρα φρονιμώ-
tatov καὶ συνετῶτατον καὶ ἐν πάσι δόκιμον, ὅς
γένοιτ' ἂν ἰκανὸς ἀμισώς καὶ ἀνετάφως εὐτρεπῇ
tά λεχθέντα ποιεῖν μηδεμίαν αἴσθησιν τοῖς πλῆ-
θεσιν ἐνδιδούς περὶ τοῦ γενησομένου λυμοῦ· χαλέπον
gὰρ τὸ προκάμνοντας τοῖς ψυχαῖς ἀναπεσέων δυσ-
115 ελπιστὶα. ἐὰν δὲ τις ἐπίζητη τὴν αἰτίαν, φήσει
dὲν, καθάπερ ἐν εἰρήνῃ προνοεῖν τῶν ἐν τῷ
[58] πολέμῳ παρασκευῶν, καὶ ἐν | εὐπορίαις τῶν κατ'
ἔνδειαν· ἄδηλους δὲ εἶναι πολέμους καὶ λυμοῦς
καὶ συνόλως τοὺς καρφοὺς τῶν ἀβουλήτων, εἰς
οὓς ἀναγκαῖον εἶναι παρεσκευάσθαι, ἀλλὰ μὴ
γενομένων τότε τὴν θεραπείαν ξητεῖν, ὅτ' οὐδὲν
ὀφελος.

116 XXI. Ἀκούσα δὲ ὁ βασιλεὺς καὶ τὴν τῶν
ονείρων διάκρισιν εὐθυβόλως καὶ εὐσκόπως στοχα-
ζομένην τῆς ἀληθείας καὶ τὴν συμβουλίαν
τῶν δοκεότατῶν καὶ τῇ τῆς μέλλουσας ἀδήλου
πρόνοιας, τοὺς συνόντας καταλῦειν, ἵνα μὴ κατακόψῃ,
καὶ παραλάμβανε τῆς οἰκίας καὶ τῆς Ἀιγύπτου

117 πνεῦμα θείον ἐν ἐαυτῷ; " συνεπαράγοντας δὲ καὶ
συνεφημοῦντων, ἀπιδῶν εἰς τὸν παρεσκευῶν ταῦτα " ἐγ-

γὺς " εἶπεν " ἐστώ νῦν παρανεῖς ἀναζητεῖς, οὐ
μακρὰν ἀφέστηκεν ὁ φρόνιμος καὶ συνετός; ὅταν
κατά τὰς σὰς ὑφήγησες σκοπεῖς, αὐτὸς ὃν τυγ-
χάνεις· ὅτι γὰρ ἄνευ θεοῦ ταῦτ' ἀποφθέγγεσθαι μοι
δοκεῖς. ἦθι δὴ καὶ παραλάμβανε τὴν τ' ἐπιμέλειαν
τῆς ἐμῆς οἰκίας καὶ τὴν Ἀιγυπτίου πάσης ἐπι-
118 τροπῆς. εὐχέρειαν δ' οὐδείς μοι καταγνώστεια
196
when the bran and chaff are separated through the purging of the grain. And to take charge of all this you must appoint a man of the utmost prudence and good sense and well-approved all round, one who will be competent, without exciting hatred or open resistance, to make the preparations here described without giving the multitude any idea of the coming famine. For it would be a grievous thing if they should faint in anticipation and lose heart through lack of hope. And, if anyone asks the reason for these measures, he should be told that, just as in peace we must exercise forethought in preparing for war, so, too, in years of plenty must we provide against dearth. Wars and famines and times of adversity in general are uncertain, and we must stand ready to meet them, not wait till they have come and look for the remedy when nothing is available.”

XXI. The king having heard both his interpretation of the dreams, so exactly and skilfully divining the truth, and his advice to all appearance most profitable in its foresight for the uncertainties of the future, bade his companions come closer to him so that Joseph might not hear, and said: “Sirs, shall we find another man such as this, who has in him the spirit of God?” When they with one accord praised and applauded his words, he looked at Joseph who was standing by, and said: “He whom you bid us seek is near at hand, the man of prudence and sense is not far distant. He for whom according to your advice we should look is yourself, for I think that God is with you in the words you speak. Come, then, and take the charge of my house, and the superintendence of all Egypt. And no one will condemn me for hastiness, for I am not actuated by
μὴ φιλαυτία χρωμένου, πάθει δυσιάτω· αἱ τε γὰρ μεγάλαι τῶν φύσεων χρόνοις οὐ δοκιμάζονται μακροῖς, ὅγκω δυνάμεως βιαζόμεναι φθάνειν εἰς ἀποδοχὴν αὐτῶν ἀνυπέρθετον, τὰ τε πράγματα μέλλησι καὶ διατριβὴν οὐκ ἀνέχεται, τῶν καιρῶν ἐπειγόντων εἰς τὰς ἀναγκαίας παρασκευὰς." εἰτ' αὐτὸν καθίστησι τῆς βασιλείας διάδοχον, μᾶλλον δ', εἰ χρὴ τάληθες εἰπεῖν, βασιλέα, τὸ μὲν ὄνομα τῆς ἀρχῆς. ὑπολειπόμενος αὐτῷ, τῆς δ' ἐν ἔργοις ἡγεμονίας ἔσται ἐκεῖνῳ καὶ τάλλα πράττων ὅσα ἐπὶ τιμὴ τοῦ νεανίου. διδωσιν οὐν αὐτῷ σφραγίδα βασιλικὴν καὶ ἑρεῖν ἐσθῆτα καὶ κύκλον χρυσοῦν περιδέραιον καὶ ἑπὶ δευτερείον τῶν ἀρμάτων ἀναβιβάσας κελεύει περιελθεῖν τὴν πόλιν, προσερχομένου κήρυκος καὶ δηλοῦντος τοῖς ἀγνοοῦσι τὴν χειροτονίαν. μετονομάζει δ' αὐτὸν ἀπὸ τῆς ὀνειροκριτικῆς ἐγχωρίω γλώττῃ προσαγορεύσας καὶ ἐγγυάτον. τοῖς ἀντὶ τῆς χειροτονίας τῇ ἀρχής, ἀντὶ δὲ τῆς δυσκόλης παραβάσεως εἰπεῖν καὶ ταύτης εἰς τὸν θεόν προσεδόκησε μια ημέρα τὸν αὐτὸν ἀντὶ μὲν δούλου δεσπότην, ἀντὶ δὲ δεσμώτου καὶ τὸν ύποδιάκονον ἐρκτοφύλακον μὸνον ἑτερολόγος τῷ θεῷ μόνον ἐντυφέσθω τι
self-confidence, that passion so hard to cure. Great natures take no long time to prove themselves, but by the massiveness of their power force others to give them a rapid and immediate acceptance; and the facts of the case do not admit of delay and procrastination, since the needs of the time urge us on to make the necessary preparations." He then appointed him viceroy of the kingdom, or rather, if the truth be said, king, reserving indeed to himself the name of the office, but resigning to him the actual sovereignty and doing everything else that might give the young man honour. So, then, he bestowed on him the royal seal and put upon him a sacred robe and a golden necklace, and setting him on his second chariot bade him go the round of the city with a crier walking in front who proclaimed the appointment to those who did not know of it. He also gave him another name in the language of the country, based on his art of dream interpretation, and betrothed him to the most distinguished of the ladies of Egypt, the daughter of the priest of the Sun. These events happened when he was about thirty years old. Such is the latter end of the pious; though they be bent they do not altogether fall, but arise and stand upright firm and strong, never to be brought low any more. For who would have expected that in a single day the same man would turn from slave to master, from a prisoner to the highest of dignitaries, that the gaoler's underling would be the king's vice-regent and lodge in the palace instead of the gaol, thus winning the foremost place of honour instead of the lowest of dishonour? But nevertheless these things have happened and will often happen when God so wills.
καλοκάγαθίας ἐμπύρευμα ταῖς ψυχαῖς ὀπερ ἀναγκαῖον ποτε ρυπίζόμενον ἐκλάμψαι.

125 XXII. Ἐπεὶ δὲ πρόκειται μετὰ τὴν ῥήτην ἀπόδοσιν καὶ τὴν τροπικωτέραν ἐξετάζειν, λεκτέον ἥ χρή καὶ περὶ αὐτῆς. ὅσως μὲν οὖν γελάσονται τινες τῶν εἰκαστέρων ἀκούσαντες· ἐγὼ δ' ἐρώ μηδὲν ὑποστειλάμενος, ὅτι ὁ πολιτικὸς πάντως ὄνειροκριτικὸς ἐστίν, οὐχὶ τῶν βωμολόχων οὔτε τῶν ἐναδολεσχοῦντων καὶ ἐνσοφιστευόντων ἐπὶ μισθῷ καὶ τὴν τῶν καθ' ὑπνον φαντασιών διάκρισιν ἀργυρισμὸν πρόβλημα πεποιημένων, ἀλλὰ τὸν κοινόν καὶ πάνδημον καὶ μέγαν ὄνειρον οὐ κοιμώμενον μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐγγερηγορῶν εἰσωθὶς ἄκριβοιν. ὁ δὲ ὄνειρος οὕτως, ὡς ἀψευθύνωσα φάναι, ὁ τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἐστὶ βίος· ὡς γὰρ ἐν ταῖς καθ' ὑπνον φαντασίας βλέποντες οὐ βλέπομεν καὶ ἀκούοντες οὐκ ἀκούομεν καὶ γευόμενοι ή ἀπτόμενοι οὔτε γευόμεθα οὔτε ἀπτόμεθα λέγοντες τε οὐ λέγομεν καὶ περιπατοῦντες οὐ περιπατοῦμεν καὶ ταῖς ἄλλαις κινήσεσι καὶ σχέσεσι χρήσθαι δοκοῦντες οὐδεμιά τὸ παράπαν χρώμεθα· καθαρὰ δ' εἰσὶ τῆς διανοίας πρὸς οὐδὲν ὑποκείμενον ἀληθείᾳ μόνον ἀναξωγραφούσης καὶ ἄνειδωλοποιούσης τὰ μὴ ὄντα ως ὄντα,—οὔτω καὶ τῶν παρ' ἡμῖν ἐγγερηγορῶν αἱ φαντασίαι τοῖς ἐνυπνίοις ἐοίκαιν· ἡλθον, ἀπῆλθον, ἔφανσαν, ἀπεπήδησαν, πρὶν καταληφθῆναι βεβαίως ἀπέπετησαν. ἔρευνησάτω δ' ἐκαστός αὐτὸν καὶ τὸν ἔλεγχον οἴκοθεν ἀνευ τῶν παρ' ἐμοὶ πίστεων εἰσεται, καὶ μάλιστ' εἰ τις πρεσβύτερος ἡδη γεγονὼς τυχάνου οὕτως ἤν ὁ ποτὲ βρέφος καὶ μετὰ ταύτα παις, εἰτ' ἐφηβος, εἰτα μειράκιον, καὶ νεανίας ἄθης, εἰτ' ἀνήρ, καὶ γέρων ὑστατον. ἀλλὰ
ON JOSEPH, 124-128

Only there must be some live coal of nobility smouldering in the soul, which is sure; if it be fanned into flame, to blaze into light.

XXII. But since it is our purpose to examine the more allegorical meaning after the literal, I must say what is needful on that also. Perhaps some of the more thoughtless will laugh at my words; but I will say quite plainly that the statesman is most certainly an interpreter of dreams, not one of the parasites, nor one of the praters who shew off their cleverness for hire and use their art of interpreting the visions given in sleep as a pretext for making money; but one who is accustomed to judge with exactness that great general universal dream which is dreamt not only by the sleeping but also by the waking. This dream in veriest truth is human life: for, just as in the visions of sleep, seeing we see not, hearing we hear not, tasting and touching we neither taste nor touch, speaking we speak not, walking we walk not, and the other motions which we make or postures we adopt we do not make or adopt at all, but they are empty creations of the mind which without any basis of reality produces pictures and images of things which are not, as though they were, so, too, the visions and imaginations of our waking hours resemble dreams. They come; they go; they appear; they speed away; they fly off before we can securely grasp them; let every man search into his own heart and he will test the truth of this at first hand, with no need of proof from me, especially if he is now advanced in years. This is he who was once a babe, after this a boy, then a lad, then a stripling, then a young man, then a grown man and last an old man. But where

a For some discussion of §§ 125-147 see App. pp. 601-602.
PHILO

ποῦ πάντ' ἐκεῖνα; οὐκ ἐν μὲν παιδὶ τὸ βρέφος ὑπεξῆλθεν, ὃ δὲ παιὰς ἐν παρῆβῳ, ὃ δ' ἐφηβὸς ἐν μειρακίῳ, τὸ δὲ μειράκιον ἐν νεανίᾳ, ἐν ἀνδρὶ δ' ὁ νεανίας, ἀνήρ δ' ἐν γέροντι, γῆρα δ' ἔπεται τε- 129 λευτῆ; τάχα μέντοι τάχα καὶ τῶν ἥλικιών ἐκάστη παραχωροῦσα τοῦ κράτους τῇ μεθ' ἐαυτῆν προαποθνήσκει, τῆς φύσεως ἡμᾶς ἀναδιδασκούσης ἰσούχη μή δεδιέναι τὸν ἐπὶ πᾶσι θάνατον, ἔπειδή τοὺς προτέρους εὔμαρας ἱνέγκαμεν, τὸν βρέφους, τὸν παιδὸς, τὸν ἐφηβοῦ, τὸν μειρακίου, τὸν νεανίου, τὸν ἀνδρός, ὃν οὐδεὶς ἐτ' ἐστὶ γήρως ἐπιστάντος. 130

XXIII. τὰ δ' ἄλλα ὅσα περὶ τὸ σῶμα οὐκ ἐνύπνια; οὐ κάλλος μὲν ἐφήμερον, πρὶν ἀν-

[60] θήσαι μαρανόμενον; ὑγεία δὲ ὅ ἀβέβαιον διὰ τὰς ἐφέδρους ἀσθενείας; ἦσχυς δ' εὐάλωτον νόσους ἐκ μυρίων προφάσεων; ἡ τ' ἀκρίβεια τῶν αἰσθήσεων οὐ παγία θεύματος ἐνοτάσει βραχέος ἀνατρέπεται; 131 τὴν δὲ τῶν ἐκτὸς ἀσάφειων τὶς οὐκ οἶδε; μιὰ ἡμέρα πλούτων μεγάλων πολλάκις ἀπερ-ρύσας τὰ πρωτεία τῶν ἐν ταῖς ἀνωτάτω τιμαῖς ἐνεγκάμενοι μυρίοι πρὸς ἰμέλημένων καὶ ἀφανῶν ἀδοξίαν μετεβάλον· ἀρχαὶ βασιλέων αἱ μέγισται 132 καθηρέθησαν βραχεῖα καρφῷ ῥότῃ. ἐγγυνάται μοι τὸν λόγον Διονύσιος ὃ ἐν Κορίνθῳ, ὃς Σικελίας μὲν τύραννος ἦν, ἐκπεσὼν δὲ τῆς ἱγμονίας εἰς Κόρινθον καταφεύγει καὶ γραμματιστῆς ὅ τοσοῦτος ἱγμενῶν γίνεται. συνεγγυνάται καὶ Κροίους ὃ Λυδίας βασιλεὺς, πλουσιότατος βασιλέων, ὃς ἐλπίζει τὴν Περσῶν καθελεῖν ἀρχὴν οὐ μόνον τὴν

a Cf. De Cher. 114.
b The γραμματιστῆς is lower than the γραμματικός, cf. the 202
are all these gone? Has not the baby vanished in the boy, the boy in the lad, the lad in the stripling, the stripling in the youth, the youth in the man, the man in the old man, while on old age follows death? a Perhaps, indeed, each of the stages, as it resigns its rule to its successor, dies an anticipatory death, nature thus silently teaching us not to fear the death which ends all, since we have borne so easily the earlier deaths:—that of the babe, of the boy, of the lad, of the stripling, of the man, who are all no more when old age has come. XXIII. And the other things of the body are they not dreams? Is not beauty but for a day, withering before it flowers; health insecure because of the infirmities that lie ready to attack it; strength an easy victim of the diseases which arise from numberless causes; accuracy of senses unstable and easily upset by the onset of some little humour? As for the external goods, who does not know their uncertainty? Magnificent fortunes have often been dissolved in a single day. Multitudes who have won the first place with the highest honour have passed over to the unglorious lot of the unmeritable and obscure. The greatest kings have seen their empires overthrown when occasion gives a slight turn to the scale. What I say is vouched for by Dionysius of Corinth, who was the tyrant of Sicily, but when he fell from power fled to Corinth and there this great sovereign became a teacher of the rudiments. b Another witness is Croesus, the king of Lydia, wealthiest of monarchs, who hoped to overthrow the empire of the Persians,

definition of γραμματιστική as γραμματική ἀτελεστέρα, De Cong. 148. Cicero, Tusc. iii. 27, merely says of Dionysius "docebat pueros."
οίκειαν προσαπέβαλεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ζωγρηθεῖς ἐμέλῃ.

134 λησε καταπίμπρασθαι. μάρτυρες τῶν ἐνυπνίων οὖκ ἄνδρες μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ πόλεις, ἔθνη, χώραι, ἡ Ἑλλάς, ἡ βαρβαρος, ἤπειρος, νησίωται, ἡ Ἑβρώπη, ἡ Ἀσία, δύσις, ἀνατολή. μεμένηκε γὰρ οὖν ὁ οὐδαμοῦ τὸ παράπαν ἐν ὁμοίω, τροπαῖς δὲ καὶ μεταβολαίς ἐχρήσατο πάντα διὰ πάντων.

135 Αἰγυπτός ποτε πολλῶν ἔθνων ἡγεμονίαν εἶχεν, ἀλλὰ νῦν ἔστι δούλη. Μακεδόνες οὕτως ἐπὶ καιρῶν ἠκμασαν, ἡ Ἐλλάς, ή βάρβαρος, ή πόλεις, έθνη, χώραι, ή Παρθναίοι, ή Εὐρώπη, ή Ασία, δύσις, ἀνατολή. μεμένηκε γὰρ οὖν ὁ οὐδαμοῦ τὸ παράπαν ἐν ὁμοίω, τροπαῖς δὲ καὶ μεταβολαίς ἐχρήσατο πάντα διὰ πάντων.

136 σίον εἰσφέρουσι. ποῦ δὲ ἦ τῶν Πτολεμαίων οἰκία καὶ ἡ καθ' ἐκαστὸν τῶν διαδόχων ἐπιφάνεια μέχρι γῆς καὶ θαλάττης περάτων ἐκλάμψασα; ποῦ δ' οί τῶν αὐτονόμων ἔθνων καὶ πόλεων ἠλευθερία; ποῦ δ' ἐμπαλίς εἶναι τῶν ὑπηκόων; οὐ Πέρσαι μὲν Παρθναίοι ἐπεκράτουν, νῦν δὲ Περσῶν Παρ-θναίοι διὰ τὰς τῶν ἀνθρωπείων πραγμάτων στροφὰς καὶ τὰς ἀνώ τοῖς πεπτείᾳ καὶ μεταθέσεις.

137 αὐτῶν; ἀναπλάττουσιν ἐνιοί μακρὰς τινας καὶ ἀπεράτους εὐτυχίας ἐαυτοῖς, οἱ δ' ἄρχαι μεγάλων κακῶν εἰσὶ καὶ σπεύδοντες ωσ' ἐπ' ἀγαθῶν κληρονομίαις εὐρίσκουσι δεινὰς κακοπράγιας, καὶ τούναντίοις κακῶν προσδοκῆσαντες ἀγαθοῖς ἐνέτυχον. αὐτῶν; ἀναπλάττουσιν ἐνιοί μακρὰς τινας καὶ ἀπεράτους εὐτυχίας ἐαυτοῖς, καὶ διὰ τοῦ ἀρχαὶ μεγάλων κακῶν εἰσὶ καὶ σπεύδοντες ωσ' ἐπ' ἀγαθῶν κληρονομίαις εὐρίσκουσι δεινὰς κακοπράγιας, καὶ τούναντίοις κακῶν προσδοκῆσαντες ἀγαθοῖς ἐνέτυχον.

138 ἀθληταὶ δυνάμεις καὶ ῥώμαις καὶ εὐεξίαις σωμάτων μέγα φρονοῦντες, ἀνενδοίαστον νίκην ἐλπίσαντες, εξαγωγοὶ πολλάκις ἐγένοντο μὴ δοκιμασθέντες ἢ καταστάντες εἰς τὸν ἀγώνα ἤττηθησαν, οἱ δ' ἀπογνώμενοι καὶ δευτερείων ἐφίξεσθαι τὰ πρώτα.

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*a Cf. Quod Deus 173 f.  
*b i.e. of Alexander.
and not only lost his own as well but was taken prisoner and on the point of being burnt alive. That these are dreams is attested not only by single men, but by cities, nations, countries, by Greeks, by the world of the barbarians, by dwellers on the mainland, by dwellers on islands, by Europe, by Asia, by West, by East. For nothing at all anywhere has remained in the same condition; everywhere all has been subject to changes and vicissitudes. Egypt once held the sovereignty over many nations, but now is in slavery. The Macedonians in their day of success flourished so greatly that they held dominion over all the habitable world, but now they pay to the tax-collectors the yearly tributes imposed by their masters. Where is the house of the Ptolemies, and the fame of the several Successors whose light once shone to the utmost boundaries of land and sea? Where are the liberties of the independent nations and cities, where again the servitude of the vassals? Did not the Persians once rule the Parthians, and now the Parthians rule the Persians? So much do human affairs twist and change, go backward and forward as on the draught-board. Some picture for their future a long and unlimited run of luck, and the outcome is great calamity, and when they press eagerly to secure what they think to be their heritage of good they find terrible misfortunes, while on the contrary when they expect evil what they meet with is good. Athletes mightily proud of the strength and muscle and robustness of their bodies, hoping for undoubted victory, have often failed to pass the test and been excluded from the arena, or if admitted, have been vanquished, while others who despaired of taking even the second place have won
τῶν ἄθλων στεφανηφοροῦντες ἦραντο. θέρους ἀναχθέντες τινὲς—ὁ γὰρ καύρος εὐπλοίας—ἐνανάγησαν, ἐτεροὶ δὲ χειμώνως ἀνατραπήσεσθαι προσδοκῶντες ἀκινδύνως ἂχρι λιμένων παρεπέμφθησαν. ὡς ἐφ’ ὀμολογούμενα κέρδη συντείνουσιν ἕνιοι τῶν ἐμπόρων ἀγνοοῦντες τὰς ἐφεδρους ζημίας, ἐμπαίνον λογιζόμενοι βλαβήσεσθαι μεγάλων ἀπέλαυσαν | ωφελεῖν. οὔτως ἄδηλοι μὲν αἱ τυχαι πρὸς ἐκάτερα, τὰ δ’ ἀνθρώπεια ὡς ἐπὶ ζυγοῦ ταλαντεύεται βάρεσιν ἀνίσοις ἐπικουφιζόμενα καὶ καθέλκοντα· δεινὴ δ’ ἀσάφεια καὶ πολὺ σκότος κατακέχυται τῶν πραγμάτων· ὡς δ’ ἐν βαθεί ζυγοῦ πλαξίμεθα μηδὲν ἐμπεριελθεῖν ἄκριτες λογισμοῦ δυνάμενοι μηδ’ εὐτόνως καὶ παγίως ἐπιδράξασθαι τίνος, σκιαῖς γὰρ ἔοικε καὶ φάσμασι. καὶ ὡσπερ ἐν ταῖς πομπαῖς τὰ πρῶτα παρέρχεται φεύγοντα τὰς ύψεις καὶ τοῖς χειμάρροις τὸ φερόμενον ρεύμα φθάνει παραδραμὸν ὀζύτητι τὴν κατάληψιν, οὔτω καὶ τὰ ἐν τῷ βίῳ πράγματα φερόμενα καὶ παρεξίοντα φαντάζεται μὲν ὡς υπομένουντα, μένει δ’ οὐδ’ ἐπ’ ἀκαρές,  ἀλλ’ ἂεὶ υποσύρεται. καὶ οἱ ἐγρηγορότες, ὅσα γε πρὸς τὸ ἐν ταῖς καταλήψεσιν ἄβεβαιον οὐδὲν τῶν κοιμωμένων διαφέροντες, ἀπατῶντες ἐαυτοὺς ἴκανοι νομίζουσιν εἶναι τὰς φύσεις τῶν πραγμάτων ἀπελάυσον λογισμοὺς δρῶν· οἰς ἐκάστῃ τῶν αἰσθήσεων εἰς ἐπιστήμην ἐμπόδιος, δεκαξιομένη θεάμασι, ἀκούσμασι, χυλῶν ποιότησι, ἀτμῶν ἰδιότησι, πρὸς ἀπερ ἀποκλίνουσα συνεφέλκεται καὶ τὴν ὄλην ψυχήν οὐκ ἑώσα ὀρθοῦσθαι καὶ ἀπταῖστως οἵα διὰ λεωφόρων ὅδὼν προέρχεσθαι· τὸ δ’ ψηλο-
the first prize and worn the crown. Some who embarked in summer, the safe sailing season, have been shipwrecked; others who sailed in winter, expecting to be capsized, have reached the harbour in security. Of merchants, some hurry to what seems certain gain, and little know the disasters that await them. Again, when they reckon that they will suffer loss, they win great profits. Thus fortunes are uncertain either way, and human affairs swing as on a scale with unequal weights, carried lightly up or pressing the balance down, and terrible is the uncertainty and vast the darkness which envelops the events of life. We flounder as though in deep sleep, unable to compass anything by accurate reasoning or to grasp it vigorously and firmly, for all are like shadows and phantoms. And as in processions the front part passes on and is lost to sight, and in the winter torrents the stream in its course speeds past us and by its violence and rapidity outstrips our observation, so too the events of life rush along past us, and though they make a show of remaining do not stay even for a moment, but are ever swept away. And those who are awake, who in the uncertainty of apprehension differ nothing from the sleeping, deceive themselves and think that they are capable of discerning differences in the nature of things by incontrovertible processes of reason. Each sense impedes their attainment of knowledge, seduced whether by the sights it sees or by the sounds it hears, or by varieties of flavours, or by scents of different quality, to which it turns aside and is dragged along with them, and prevents the soul as a whole from standing erect and advancing without stumbling as along a high
τάπεινον καὶ μεγαλόμικρον καὶ πᾶν ὁσον ἀνισότητι καὶ ἀνωμαλία συγγενεῖς ἀπεργάζεται καὶ σκοτών ἰναγκάζει καὶ πολὺν ἐμποιεῖ ἤλυγγον.

143 XXIV. τοσοῦτος οὖν ταραχῆς καὶ ἀταξίας έτι δὲ ἁσαφείας γέμοντος τοῦ βίου, παρελθοῦτα δεὶ τὸν πολιτικὸν ὥσπερ τινὰ σοφὸν τὴν ὀνειροκριτικὴν τὰ μεθημερινὰ ἐνύπνια καὶ φάσματα τῶν ἐγγυγγαρέων δοκοῦντων διακρίνειν εἰκόσι στοιχασμῶν καὶ εὐλόγους πιθανότητα περὶ ἔκαστου ἀναδιάσκοντο, ὡτι τοῦτο καλὸν, ἐκεῖνο αἰσχρόν, τοῦτο ἀγαθόν, κακὸν ἐκεῖνο, τοῦτι δίκαιον, ἀδικον τοῦναντίον, καὶ τάλλα ταύτη, τὸ φρόνιμον, τὸ ἀνδρείου, τὸ εὐσεβές, τὸ ὀσιον, τὸ συμφέρον, τὸ ὀφέλιμον, καὶ πάλιν τὸ ἀνωφελές, τὸ ἀλόγιστον, τὸ ἀγεννές, τὸ ἀσεβές, τὸ ἀνόσιον, τὸ ἀσύμφορον, τὸ βλαβερόν, τὸ φιλαυτον. καὶ ἔτι πρὸς τούτοις ἀλλότριον τοῦτο, μὴ ἐπιθυμεὶ· ὶδιον τοῦτο, χρώ μὴ παραχρώμενος· περιουσιάζεις, μεταδίδου· πλούτου γὰρ τὸ κάλλος ὀνκ ἐν βαλαντίοις, ἀλλ’ ἐν τῇ τῶν χρηζόντων ἐπικουρία· ὅλῳ κέκτησαι, μὴ φθόνει τοῖς ἔχουσί· πένητα γὰρ βάσκαρον οὐδεὶς ἄν ἔλησαι· εὐδοξεῖς καὶ τετίμησαι, μὴ καταλαξοεύνου· ταπεινῶς εἰ ταῖς τύχαις, ἀλλὰ τὸ φύσιμα μὴ καταπιπτέτω· πάντα σοὶ κατὰ νοῦν χωρεί, μεταβολήν εὐλαβοῦ· πολλάκις, χρηστά ἐλπίζε· πρὸς

1 The two lists balance so closely that one may be tempted to make the balance complete, and Cohn suggests the omission of τὸ ἀνωφελές at the beginning of the second and the insertion of τὸ φιλάνθρωπον. The argument does not seem to me convincing. Perhaps, too, φιλόθεον rather than φιλάνθρωπον is the reverse of Philo’s φιλαυτον. Cf. Quod Det. 32.

2 The transition to a totally different kind of question
road. And thus the senses produce the confusion of high with low and great with small, and all that is akin to inequality and irregularity, and the soul's sight swims perforce in the great dizziness which they create.

XXIV. Since, then, human life is full of this vast confusion and disorder and uncertainty also, the statesman must come forward, and, like some wise expounder of dreams, interpret the day-time visions and phantoms of those who think themselves awake, and with suggestions commended by reason and probability shew them the truth about each of these visions: that this is beautiful, that ugly, this just, that unjust, and so with all the rest; what is prudent, courageous, pious, religious, beneficial, profitable, and conversely what is unprofitable, unreasonable, ignoble, impious, irreligious, deleterious, harmful, selfish. And he will give other lessons, such as, This is another's, do not covet it; This is your own, use it but do not misuse it; You have abundance of wealth, give a share to others, for the excellence of wealth consists not in a full purse but in succouring the needy; Your possessions are small, be not jealous of the rich, for envious poverty gets pity from none; You have high reputation and have received honour, be not arrogant; Your fortunes are lowly, let not your spirits sink also; All goes with you as you would have it, be prepared for change; You have made many a trip, hope for a better time, for with men

a Or perhaps better “self-assertive.”

seems a little abrupt. It may be observed that what we might expect, viz. ἄλλα ὅλον, would very easily be lost before ἄλλοτροιν.
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145 γάρ τάναντία τῶν ἀνθρώπων αἰ τροπαῖ. σελήνη μὲν γὰρ καὶ ἠλίῳς καὶ ὁ σύμπας οὐρανὸς σαφεῖς καὶ ἀριδήλους ἔχει τὰς τραγώτητας, ὁτε πάντων τῶν |
[62] κατ' αὐτῶν ὁμοίων μενόντων καὶ τοῖς τῆς ἁληθείας
ἀυτῆς μετρουμένων κανόσων ἐν τάξεως ἐναρμονίας καὶ συμφωνών ταῖς ἀρίσταις, τὰ δ' ἐπίγεια πολ·
λῆς ἀταξίας γέμοντα καὶ ταραχῆς ἁπάντων καὶ ἀνάρμοστα, ὡς κυριώτατα φάναι, ὦτι ταῦτα μὲν
βαθὺ σκότους κατείληφεν, ἐκείνα δ' ἐμφέρεται τῆλι
αὐγεστάτω φωτός, μᾶλλον δ' αὐτὸ φῶς ἐστιν εἰλι-
146 κρινεστατὸν καὶ καθαρώτατον. εἴ γοῦν βουληθεὶ
dιακύπτειν εὐσῶ τὶς τῶν πραγμάτων, εἴρησε τὸν
οὐρανὸν ἡμέραν αἰώνιον, νυκτὸς καὶ πάσης σκιᾶς
147 ἀκρατῶς ἀδιαστάτως φέγγεσιν. ὅσω τε διαι-
φέροσθιν οἱ παρ' ἧμῖν ἐγγεγορότες τῶν κοιμω-
mένων, τοσοῦτω καὶ ἐν ἀπαντὶ τῷ κόσμῳ τὰ οὐρά

148 καταλαμβάνειν ἐστί. XXV. συμ-
βολικῶς μέντοι καὶ ἐπὶ τὸ δευτερεῖον τῶν βασιλικῶν
ἀρμάτων ἀναβαίνειν λέγεται δι' αἰτίαν τοιάνδε· ὁ
πολιτικὸς τὰ δευτερεῖα φέρεται βασιλέως· οὗτε γὰρ
ἰδιότης ἐστὶν οὕτω βασιλεὺς, ἀλλ' ἀμφοῖν μεθόριος,
ἰδιώτου μὲν ὁν κρείττων, ἐλάττων δ' εἰς ἀρχήν
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things turn to their opposite; The sun and moon and the whole heaven stand out in such clear and plain distinctness because everything there remains the same and regulated by the standards of truth itself moves in harmonious order and with the grandest of symphonies; while earthly things are brimful of disorder and confusion and in the fullest sense of the words discordant and inharmonious, because in them deep darkness reigns while in heaven all moves in most radiant light, or rather heaven is light itself most pure and unalloyed. And indeed if one be willing to look into the inner realities he will find that heaven is an eternal day, wherein there is no night or any shadow, because around it shine without ceasing unquenchable and undefiled beams of light. And the same difference that there is here in people when asleep and when awake exists in the universe as a whole between the heavenly and the earthly, for the former is kept in unsleeping wakefulness by active forces which do not err or stumble and go always aright, but the earthly life is sunk in sleep, and even if it wake up for a little is dragged down again and falls asleep, because it can see nothing steadily with its soul but wanders and stumbles about darkened as it is by false opinions which compel it to dream, and thus never catching up with realities it is incapable of apprehending anything firmly and securely.

XXV. Again there is a sym- bolic meaning in saying that Joseph mounts on the king’s second chariot, and the reason is this. The statesman takes a second place to the king, for he is neither a private person nor a king, but something between the two. He is greater than a private person but less than a king in absolute power, since
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αὐτεξούσιν βασιλεῶς, τῷ δῆμῳ βασιλεῖ χρώμενος, ὑπὲρ οὗ πάντα πράττειν προήρηται καθαρὰ καὶ

149 ἀδολωτάτης πίστει. φέρεται δὲ ως ἐφ’ ἀρματείου δίφρου μετέχουσιν ὑπὸ τε τῶν πραγμάτων καὶ τῶν ὀχλῶν εἰς ψυχὸς αἰρόμενος, καὶ μᾶλιθ’ ὅταν κατὰ νοῦν ἐκαστὰ μικρὰ καὶ μεγάλα χωρὶς, μηδενὸς ἀντιπέπεροντος μηδ’ ἀντιστατοῦντος, ἀλλ’ ως ἐν εὐπλοῖᾳ πάντων σωτηρίῳ ὑπὸ θεοῦ κυβερνωμένων. οὐν τε δίδωσιν ὁ βασιλεὺς δακτυλίων, ἐναργεῖστατον δείγμα πίστεως ἐστι, ἥν πεπίστευκεν ὁ τε βασιλεὺς δήμος τῷ πολιτικῷ καὶ ὁ πολιτικὸς τῷ βασιλεύοντι δήμῳ.

150 ὁ δὲ περὶ τὸν τράχηλον χρυσοῦς κύκλος εὐδοξίαν ὅμοιον καὶ κόλασιν ἐοικεν ὑποσημαίνειν ἐως μὲν γὰρ τὰ κατὰ τήν πολιτείαν εὐοδεῖ πράγματα αὐτῷ, γαρὸς ἐστι καὶ σεμνὸς ὑπὸ τῶν ὀχλῶν τιμῶμενος· ἐπειδὰν δὲ πταῖσμα συμβῇ, μὴ κατὰ προαίρεσιν —τοῦτο γὰρ ὑπαίτιον—, ἀλλ’ συγγνωστὸν, ὥστε ἐστὶ οὖσα ἐν εὐπλοίᾳ πάντων σωτηρίῳ ὑπὸ θεοῦ κυβερνωμένων. οὐδὲν ήττον ἐλκεῖται κατ’ ὁμοίως τοῦ περιαύχειν κόσμον καὶ ταπευοῦτα, μόνον οὐκ ἐπιλέγοντος τοῦ δεσπότου· "τὸν περιαυχένιον τοῦτον κύκλον ἐδωρήσαμην σοι καὶ κόσμον κατορθομένων τῶν ἐμῶν καὶ ἀγχόνην ἀποτυγχανομένων."

151 [63] XXVI. Π ΠΗκοῦσα μὲν τοι καθ’ ἐτέραν ἰδέαν τροπικότερον τὰ περὶ τὸν τόπον ἀκρίβωτον. ἤν δὲ τοιάδε· τὸν βασιλέα τῆς Αἰγύπτου τὸν ἴμετερον νοῦν ἔλεγον ἐναὶ, τὸν τῆς καθ’ ἐκαστὸν σωματικῆς χώρας ἡγεμόνα, ὅσα βασιλεὺς ἀνήπται τὸ κράτος. ὁ γενομένως ψιλοσωμάτω τρία τὰ πλεῖστα ἀξιουμενα σπουδῆς διαπονεῖται, σιτία καὶ ὁμα καὶ ποτά,
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he has the people for his king, and to serve that king with pure and guileless good faith is the task he has set before him. He rides, too, aloft seated on a chariot, raised on high both by the affairs he handles and the multitude around him, especially when everything great and small goes as he would have it, when from none comes any counterblast or opposition, and under the safe pilotage of God all is well with the voyage. And the ring which the king gives is the clearest sign of the good faith which the king-people places in the statesman and the statesman in the king-people.

The golden chain around his neck seems to indicate both high fame and punishment, for while affairs of state fare well in his hands he is proud and dignified and honoured by the multitude, but when disaster befalls him, not indeed of his set purpose which would imply guilt, but by chance which is a venial matter, he is all the same dragged down to the dust by the decoration round his neck, and as he falls you may almost hear his master say: "I gave you this neck circlet both as a decoration when my business prospers and as a halter when it goes amiss."

XXVI. I have heard, however, some scholars give an allegorical exposition of this part of the story in a different form. It was as follows. The king of Egypt, they said, was our mind, the ruler of the land of the body in each of us over which he is invested with kingly power. When this mind becomes enamoured of the body, its efforts are expended on three things which it deems most worthy of its care and trouble, bread, meat and drink; and,

a The incidents of Joseph's exaltation discussed in these sections are treated somewhat differently in De Som. ii. 43-47.
παρὸ καὶ τρισὶ χρήται τοῖς τῶν λεγομένων ἐπιμεληταῖς, ἀρχισιτοποιῷ καὶ ἀρχιοινοχῷ καὶ ἀρχιμαγείρῳ. πρυτανεύει γὰρ ὃ μὲν τὰ περὶ ἔδωδὴν, ὃ δὲ τὰ περὶ πόσῳ, ὃ δ' ἐπιτετάκται τοῖς περὶ αὐτὰ
tὰ ὄψα ἱδύσμασιν. πάντες δὲ εἰσὶν εὐνοοῦχοι, ἐπειδὴ ὁ φιλήδονος ἄγονός ἐστὶ τῶν ἀναγκαιοτάτων, σωφροσύνης, αἰδοὺς, ἐγκρατείας, δικαιοσύνης, ἀπά-σης ἀρετῆς· οὐδὲν γὰρ ὦτως ἔχθρον ἄλλο ἄλλῳ, ώς ἀρετῆ ἱδονῆ, δ' ἂν ἁλογοῦσιν οἱ πολλοὶ ὃν μόνον ἄξιον πεφροντικέναι, ταῖς ἀκαθέκτοις ἐπιθυμίαις
χαριζόμενοι καὶ οἰς ἂν προστάττωσιν ἐκοντεῖς. ὃ μὲν οὖν ἀρχιμαγέερος οὐτ' εἰς δεσμωτηρίων ἀπ-
ἀγεται οὔτε τινὶ περιπίπτει λύμη διὰ τὸ μὴ σφόδρα τῶν ἀναγκαῖων εἶναι τὰς παραρτύσεις οὐχ ἱδονᾶς οὔσας ἀλλ' εὐσβεστα ἱδονῶν ὑπεκκαύματα, δύο
dἐ τῶν περὶ τὴν ἀθλίον γαστέρα πραγματευομένων, ἀρχισιτοποιὶς καὶ ἀρχιοινοχῶς, ἐπειδὴ τὰ συνεκ-
tικώτατα τῶν εἰς τὸ ζῆν χρήσιμων ἐστὶ βρώσις καὶ πόσις, ὃν ἐπιμελείας μὲν ἄξιουμένων οἱ προεστῶτες εἰκότως ἐπαίνων τυχάνουσιν, ὀλιγορουμένων δὲ
ὀργῆς καὶ κολάσεως ἄξιονται. διαφορὰ δὲ καὶ ταῖς κολάσεσιν, ὃτι διάφορος ἡ χρεία, σιτίων μὲν ἀναγκαιοτάτη, οἶνου δὲ οὐ πάντως χρήσιμή· καὶ γὰρ ἀκράτου δῖχα ζῶσιν ἀνθρωπος ναματιαίω ύδατι
ποτῶ χρώμενοι. δι' ἂν αἰτίαν πρὸς μὲν τὸν ἀρχι-
οινοχὸν γίνονται καταλλαγαὶ καὶ συμβάσεις ώς ὁ ἀμαρτόντα περὶ τὸ ἔλαττον μέρος, ἀσύμβατα
dὲ καὶ ἀκατάλλακτα τὰ πρὸς τὸν ἀρχισιτοποιὸν ἐστὶν ἀχρὶ θανάτου λαμβάνοντα τὴν ώργην ὡς ὁ ἀν
περὶ τὸ μέγιστον ἀδικήσαντα· τελευτή γὰρ ἐπεται

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therefore, it provides three offices to provide for these, a chief baker, a chief butler and a chief cook, for the first presides over the food, the second over the drink, the third over the seasoning which adds relish to the actual meat. All are eunuchs, since the lover of pleasure is barren of all the chief necessities, temperance, modesty, self-restraint, justice and every virtue; for no two things can be more hostile to each other than virtue is to pleasure, which makes the many disregard what alone deserves their care, satisfy their unbridled lusts and submit to whatever those lusts command. So, then, the chief cook is not haled to prison and meets with no maltreatment, because the extra seasonings he prepares are not of the most indispensable kind and are not pleasure, but incitements to pleasure, which kindle only to be quenched. Not so with the other two whose business lies with the miserable belly, namely the chief baker and the chief butler. For the most essential of the needs of life are food and drink, and those who take charge of them are naturally held to deserve praise if they treat the charge as worthy of their care, but anger and punishment if they neglect it. The punishment also differs in the two cases because the usefulness of the two differs, being absolutely vital in regard to bread-food, less so in regard to wine, for men can live without strong liquor by drinking fresh water, and therefore it is possible to make terms of reconciliation with the chief butler as an offender in a less important matter. Not so with the chief baker who, being guilty in what is all-important, is the object of an anger which demands his life. For death is the consequence of lack of bread-food, and therefore the offender in this is properly put to death by hanging,
ον διέθηκε παθών καὶ γὰρ αὐτὸς ἀνεκρέμασε καὶ παρέτεινε τὸν πεινώντα λιμῷ.

157 Τοσαῦτα καὶ περὶ τούτου. ὁ μὲν τοι βασιλέως ὑπαρχός κατασταθεὶς καὶ τῆς Αἰγύπτου τὴν ἐπιμέλειαν καὶ προστασίαν λαβὼν ἐξῆγε γνωρισθήρουσος ἀπασὶ τοῖς ἐγχωρίοις καὶ τοὺς λεγομένους νομοὺς ἐπιῶν κατὰ πόλεις πολὺν αὐτοῦ πόθον ἐνεργάζετο τοῖς ὄρῳσιν, οὐ μόνον ταῖς ωφελείας, ἀς ἐκάστοις παρεῖχεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ταῖς περὶ τὴν ὄψιν τε καὶ τὴν ἄλλην ὀμιλίαν ἀλέκτοις καὶ ἐξαιρέτους χάρισιν. ἔπει δὲ κατὰ τὴν τῶν ὀνειράτων σύγκρισιν ἑνέστη πρότερα τῆς εὐθυνίας ή ἐπταετία, τὸ πέμπτον τῶν καρπῶν ἀνὰ πᾶν ἔτος συνάγων διὰ τε τῶν ὑπάρχων καὶ τῶν ἄλλων, οἱ πρὸς τὰς δημοσίας χρείας ὑπηρέτουν αὐτῷ, τοσαῦτην ἥθορος πληθὺν δραγμάτων, ὧσαν οὐδεὶς πῶς πρότερον γενομένην ἐμέμνητο, πίστις δὲ σαφεστάτη τὸ μηδ' ἁριμηθήναι δύνασθαι, καὶ τοῖς μυρία τινών πονηθέντων, ὃς ἐπιμελεῖς, περιεργία διαριθμῆσαι καὶ διεξελθόντων τῶν ἐπτά ετῶν, ἐν οἷς εὐφόρησεν ή πεδίας, αρχὴν ἐλάμβανεν ὁ λιμός, διό ἐπιβαίνοντα καὶ συναυξόμενον οὐκ ἐξώρησεν Αἰγύπτος· ἀναχεόμενος γὰρ καὶ τὰς ἐξής ἀεὶ πόλεις καὶ χώρας ἐπικαταλαμβάνων ἄχρι περάτων καὶ τῶν πρὸς ἑω καὶ τῶν πρὸς δυσμᾶς ἔφθασε τὴν οἰ-κουμένην ἐν κύκλῳ πᾶσαν κατασχών. λέγεται γοῦν

1 Cohn would read διάκρισιν, but cf. De Mīg. 19 τὰς ἀληθεῖς καὶ σαφεῖς τῶν πραγμάτων συγκρίσεις (referring also to Joseph's dreams) εἶναι κατὰ θεόν.
2 Perhaps read τοπάρχων, the word used (in the form τοπάρχης) in Gen. xli. 34.
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suffering what he has made others to suffer, for indeed he has hanged and racked the starving man with hunger.

XXVII. So much for this.\(^a\) To continue the story, 157 Joseph, thus appointed viceroy to the king and promoted to the superintendence of Egypt, took a journey to make himself known to all the people of the country. He visited the nomes,\(^b\) as they are called, city by city, and made his presence very welcome to those who saw him, not only through the benefits which they received from him, but through the remarkable and exceptional charm of his appearance and his general deportment. When the 158 first seven years of plenty came, as his reading of the dreams had predicted, he employed the (local) prefects and others who served him in providing for the public needs to collect a fifth part of the fruits every year, and the quantity of sheaves which he amassed surpassed anything within the memory of men. The clearest proof of this is that it was impossible even to count them, though some persons who were interested in it spent a vast amount of labour in making elaborate calculations. But when 159 the seven years during which the plains bore plentifully were ended, the famine began and spread and grew till Egypt could not hold it. It overran successively the cities and countries which lay in its path to the utmost limits of east and west, and rapidly made itself master of the whole civilized world round Egypt. In fact, it is said that never did so great a 160

\(^a\) From this point on to § 257 Philo’s narrative follows Gen. xli. 46-xlvii. 12 without serious interruption.

\(^b\) The name regularly given to the districts of Egypt. See L. & S.
μηδέποτε κοινή νόσος κατασκήψαι τοσαύτη, καθά- 
περ ἢν ίατρῶν παίδες ὅνομάζουσιν ἐρπήνα· καὶ γὰρ 
αὐτὴ πᾶσι τοῖς μέρεσιν ἑπιφοιτῶσα τὴν κοινωνίαν 
τῶν ἥλκωμένων σωμάτων ὅλην δὲ ὅλων στοιχηδὸν 
161 πυρὸς τρόπον ἐπινέμεται. τοὺς οὖν ἁφ’ ἐκάστης 
δοκιμώτατοι αἴρομενοι σιτώνας ἐξέπεμπον εἰς 
Αἴγυπτον· ἥδη γὰρ ἡ πρόνοια τοῦ νεανίσκου παντα-
χόσε διηγγέλλετο ταμιευμένου τροφὰς ἀφθόνους 
162 εἰς καιρὸν ἐνδείας. ὁ δὲ τὸ μὲν πρῶτον κελεῦε 
ἀνοιχθῆναι τοὺς σωροὺς ἀπαντάς, ὑπολαμβάνων ἐν-
θυμοτέρους παρασκευάσειν τοὺς ἰδόντας καὶ τρόπον 
tων τὸς ψυχῆς ἀναθέσει πρὸ τῶν σωμάτων 
ἐλπίς χρήσταῖς, ἔπειτα διὰ τῶν ἐπιτραπέντων τὰς 
συμβόλιας ἐπώλει τοῖς ἐχουσιν ὑπηκούσως, στοχαζό-
μενος τοῦ μέλλοντος ἀεὶ καὶ τὸ ἐπιὸν ὀρῶν τοῦ 
παρόντος ἀκριβέστερον.

163 XXVIII. Ἐν δὲ τούτῳ καὶ ὁ πατήρ, ὑποσπαν-
ζόντων ἥδη τῶν ἀναγκαίων, ἀγνοών τὴν τοῦ παιδὸς 
ἐντυχίαν ἐκκέμπει δέκα τῶν υἱῶν ἐπὶ σιτωνίαν τῶν 
νεώτατον ὦν ὑποκατασκήνων, οὐ δὲ ὁμομύρτηρος ἀδελ-
164 φός τῷ βασιλέως ὑπάρχω. καὶ οἱ μὲν εἰς Αἴγυπτον 
ἐλθόντες ἐντυγχάνουσιν ὡς ἀλλοτρίῳ τάδελφῷ καὶ 
τῇ περὶ αὐτοῦ ἄξιῶσιν καταπλαγέντες ἐθεὶ παλαιῷ 
προσκυνοῦσιν, ἥδη καὶ τῶν ὀνειράτων αὐτοῦ λαμβα-
165 νόντων βεβαιῶσιν. ὁ δὲ τοὺς πεπρακότας θεοσά-
μενος εὐθὺς ἐγνώρισεν ἀπαντᾶς ὡς ἐπὶ μηδὲνος αὐτὸς 
γνώρισθεὶς τὸ παράπαν, μὴ βουληθέντος πὼ τοῦ 
θεοῦ τάλητίς ἀναφῆναι διὰ τινας ἀναγκαίας αἰτίας, 
ἀς τότε βέλτιον ἢν ἡσυχάζον, ἀλλ’ ἢ τῇ ὀψὶν 
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scourge fall upon the whole community. In this it resembled what the medical schools call herpes, which attacks every part and spreads in successive stages like a fire over the whole framework of the festering body. Accordingly from each city the most approved persons were chosen and sent to Egypt, for already the story of Joseph’s foresight in storing up abundance of food against a time of dearth had penetrated to every quarter. He first ordered all the stores to be thrown open, thinking that he would thus increase the courage of those who saw them, and, so to speak, feed their souls with comforting hopes before he fed their bodies. Afterwards, through the commissioners of victualling he sold to those who wished to buy, still always forecasting the after-time and keeping a keener eye on the future than on the present.

XXVIII. In these circumstances, his father, too, as the necessities of life were now growing scarce, little knowing his boy’s good fortune, sent ten of his sons to buy corn, but kept at home the youngest, the uterine brother of the king’s viceroy. The ten came to Egypt and had an interview with their brother, thinking him to be a stranger, and awestruck at his dignified position bowed to him in the old-fashioned way, and thus at the very outset brought his dreams to fulfilment. He, seeing those who had sold him, immediately recognized them all, though none of them recognized him. It was not God’s will to reveal the truth as yet, for cogent reasons which were best at the time kept secret, and therefore He

a Philo is probably thinking of Gen. xlii. 9 “Joseph remembered the dreams which he dreamed of them, and said unto them, Ye are spies.”
adecimal εἰς σεμνότερον εἶδος τοῦ τῆς χώραν ἐπιτραπέντος ἡ παρατρέψαντος τὰς ἀκριβεῖς κατα-
λήψεις τῆς διανοίας τῶν ὄρων τῶν μετὰ βασιλέα πρώτην ἀναψάμενος, εἰς ὁν ἀνατολαὶ καὶ δύσεις ἀπέβλεπον, ὡς ἡλικίας ἀκμῆ καὶ μεγέθεις ἐξουσίας ἐπαρθεῖς, καυρὸν ἐχὼν ἀμύνης ἐμνημονεύκακησεν, ἀλλ' ἐγκρατῶς τὸ πάθος ἐνεγκων καὶ ταμιευθεὶς αὐτοῦ τῇ φυχῇ μετὰ πολλοῦ τοῦ προμηθοῦς ἐπεμόρφαξεν ἀλλοτρίως καὶ βλέμμασι καὶ φωνῇ καὶ τοῖς ἀλλοις καθυποκρινόμενος τὸν δυσχεραίνοντα ὁ δ' οὐδὲν εἶπεν, ὡς οὕτω, φρονεῖτε εἰρηνικοῖς, ἀλλ' τις τῶν βασιλέως ἐχθρῶν κατά-
σκόπους ὡμᾶς ἐξεπεμήπες, ὃ κακὰς ὑπηρεσίας ὑπηρετήσαντες ὑπηρετήσειν λήσεσθαι μὲν ὑήθητε, λανθάνει δ' οὐδὲν τῶν δρωμένων ἐπ' ἐνέδρᾳ, καὶ 167 βαθεὶ σκότω συσκιάζηται." πειρωμένων δ' ἀπολογεῖσθαι καὶ διεξιόντων, ὡς ἐπ' ἀγενήτους κατηγοροῦνται, μήτε γάρ παρὰ δυσμενῶν ἕκειν μήτ' αὐτοὶ τοῖς ἐγχωρίοις ἀπέχθεσθαι μηδ' ἂν ὑπομεῖναι ποτε τοιαύτην διακονίαν, εἰναι γάρ τὰς φύσεις εἰρηνικοὶ καὶ μεμαθηκέναι σχεδὸν ἐξ ἔτι νηπίων παίδων τοῖς εὐστάθειαν παρ' ὀσωτάτῳ καὶ θεοφιλεστάτῳ πάτρι, ὃ δὲδεκα γενομένων νῦν ἐνα μὲν τῶν νεώτατον οὐκ ἔχοντα ποι ἡλικίαν ἀποθημίας οἶκοι καταμείναι, δέκα δὲ τοὺς δρωμένους ἡμᾶς ἐνταῦθα ὑπάρχειν, τὸν δὲ λοιπὸν ἐκποδῶν γεγενησθαι—, XXIX. ταῦτα 220
either changed and added grandeur to the appearance of the regent or else perverted the understanding of the brothers from properly apprehending what they saw. Then, though, young as he was, promoted to so high a command, invested with the first office after the king, looked up to by east and west, flushed with the vigour of his prime and the greatness of his power, with the opportunity of revenge in his hands, he might well have shewn vindictiveness, he did not do so. He bore up firmly against his feelings, and, keeping them under the management of his soul, with a carefully considered purpose, he feigned disfavour and with looks and voice and the rest of his demeanour counterfeited indignation. "Sirs," he said, "your intentions are not peaceful. You have been sent as spies by one of the king's enemies, to whom you have agreed to render this base service thinking that you would escape detection. But no treacherous action passes undetected, however profound the obscurity in which it is shrouded."

The brothers attempted to defend themselves, and maintained that the charges had no foundation of fact. They had not been sent, they said, by ill-disposed persons, and they themselves had no hostility to the people of the country and could never have brought themselves to undertake such employment, being men of peaceful nature who had learned almost from infancy to value a steady and quiet life under a father of scrupulous conduct and highly favoured by God. "This father has had twelve sons, the youngest of whom has stayed at home, being not of an age to travel. Ten are we whom you see before you here, and the twelfth has passed away."
άκούσας ὡς ἐπὶ τεθνεώτι ἑαυτῷ παρὰ τῶν ἀπο-
168 δομένων τί τὴν ψυχήν ἠρα ἐπεπόνθει; καὶ γὰρ
εἰ μὴ ἐξελάλησε τότε τὸ παραστὰν πάθος, ἀλλὰ
τούτοις ὑποτυφομένῳ καὶ ἱωτυρομένῳ πάντως τὰ
ἐντὸς ἐκαίετο, βαθεὶ δὴ ὁμοι ἦθει φησίν αὐτοῖς.
“εἰ τῷ ὤντι μὴ κατασκευόμενοι τὴν γῆν ἀφίχθη,
πρὸς πίστιν τὴν ἐμὴν ὑμεῖς μὲν ἐνταυθοῖ διατρίματε
βραχὺν των χρόνων, δὲ νεώτατος ἀδελφὸς ὑμῶν
ἀφικέσθω μετακληθεῖς ἐπιστολολμαῖοι γράμμασιν.
169 ἐὰν δ’ ἑνεκα τοῦ πατρὸς ἐπείγησθε ἀπίεναι φοβη-
σομένου τάχα τὴν μακρὰν ὑμῶν διάζευξιν, οὐ 
μὲν ἄλλοι πάντες ἀπάρατε, καταμεινάτω δ’
ἐις ὀμηρεύσων, ἀχρὸς ἃν ἐπανέλθητε σὺν τῷ
νεωτάτῳ τιμωρίᾳ δὲ κατὰ τῶν μὴ πειθαρχοῦντων ἡ
ἀνωτάτω προ-
170 κεῖσται βάνατος.” καὶ ὁ μὲν τοιαύτ’ ἀπειλήσας
ὑποβλεπόμενος καὶ βαρείας ὄργης δείγματα παρα-
σχὼν ὡς τῷ δοκείν ἀπηλλάττετο· οὐ δὲ συννολας
καὶ κατηφείας γεμισθέντες ἐκάκιζον ἑαυτοὺς ἑνεκα
τῆς πρὸς τὸν ἀδελφὸν ἐπιβουλῆς “ἐκεῖνο” λέγοντες
“ταδίκημα τῶν παρόντων ἐστὶ κακὸν αὔτιον, τῆς
ἐφόρου δίκης τῶν ἀνθρωπῶν πραγμάτων ἡ ἡ
μηχανωμένη καθ’ ἡμῶν. βραχὺν γὰρ ἱσυχάσασα
χρόνον διανίσταται τὴν ἀμείλικτον καὶ ἀπαραιτητοῦν
αὐτῆς ἐπιδεικνυμένη φύσι τοῖς ἄξιοις κολάσεως.
171 πώς γὰρ οὐκ ἄξιοι; οἱ δ’ ἀδομενοὶ καὶ ποτνιώμενον
τὸν ἀδελφὸν οἱ ἄνθρωποι ὑπερείδομεν οὐδὲν μὲν
ἐξαμαρτόταν, φαντασίας δὲ τᾶς καθ’ ὑπνὸν διὰ τὸ
φιλοίκειον ως συνήθεσιν ἀνενεγκόντα, ὑπὲρ ὅπως οἱ
θηριωδεῖται καὶ πάντων ἀγριώτατοι δυσχεραί-
[66] νοντες ἠμεῖς οὗχ ὤσια—δεῖ γὰρ | ἀψευδεῖ—ἐίργα-
172 σάμεθα. τοιγαροῦν καὶ ταῦτα καὶ ἔτι χείρω τού-

a Or “with consummate acting.” See App. p. 602.
XXIX. When he heard this and found himself spoken of as dead by those who had sold him, what do we suppose were the sensations of his soul? Though he gave no utterance to the emotion which he felt, yet inwardly he was consumed by the secret fire which their words had kindled. In spite of this, he said, assuming a very impressive air, "If it is true that you have not come to spy out the land, do you as a proof of good faith to me abide here for a short time and let your youngest brother be summoned hither by letter. But, if you are anxious to depart for the sake of your father who will perhaps be alarmed at his long separation from you, let all the rest set off but one remain to serve as a hostage until you return with the youngest. And any disobedience in this will entail the extreme penalty of death." Thus he threatened with grim looks, and giving to all appearance signs of great anger took his departure. But they, filled with gloom and depression, began to reproach themselves for their plot against their brother. "That wrong we did," they said, "is the cause of our present evil plight. Justice, the surveyor of human affairs, is now devising our downfall. For a little while she kept quiet, but now is awake and shews her implacable and inexorable nature to those who deserve punishment. And who deserves it more than we, who mercilessly disregarded the prayers and supplications of our brother, though he had committed no offence, but merely in family affection recounted to us as his intimates the visions of his sleep, in resentment for which, with unparalleled brutality and savagery, we wrought what truth forces us to admit were unholy deeds? And, therefore, let us
των πείσεσθαι προσδοκῶμεν, οὕτως μόνοι σχεδὸν ἔξ ἀπάντων ἀνθρώπων εὐπατρίδαι λεγόμενοι διὰ τας πατέρων καὶ πάππων καὶ προγόνων ὑπερβαλ-λούσας ἁρετὰς ἤσχυναμεν τὴν συγγένειαν ἐπιφανείς

173 οὔνειδος κτῆσασθαι σπουδάσαντες." ὁ δὲ πρεσβύτατος τῶν ἀδελφῶν, ὃς καὶ ἐν ἀρχῇ, συντιθέμενων τὴν ἐπιβουλήν, ἡναντιοῦτο, ἡπὶ δὴ πεπραγμένοις εἰπεν ἂ νωφελεῖς αἱ μεταμέλειαι παρεκάλουν, ἵκετευν, ἤξετάξων ὅσον ἔστι τὸ ἀνοσιοῦργημα, μὴ θυμῷ χαρίζεσθαι τῇς αὐτῶν ἦναν τῆς ἀρετῆς οὐκ ἔστων ἀνθρωπος, ἀλλ' ἡ θεὸς ἡ λόγος ἡ νόμος θεὸς.

174 οὗτῶν εἶξατε. τοιαρον καρπούμεθα τῆς αὐθαδείας καὶ ἀσεβείας τὰ πάθη, ἔπετε ἔκεινω τυρευθείσα ἐπιβουλή, ὁ δὲ ἡγούμεν ὄν ἔστων ἀνθρωπος, ἀλλ' ἡ θεὸς ἡ λόγος ἡ νόμος θεὸς.

175 Ταῦτα δ' ἦκουεν ὁ πραθεὶς ἀδελφὸς ἡ συνήθεις διαλαλούντων, ἐρμηνεύως μεταξῦ ὅντος καὶ νικηθεὶς ὑπὸ τοῦ πάθους, μέλλων δακρύειν, ὅσο μὴ γένοιτο καταφανῆς, ἀποστρέφεται καὶ προχείρισθαι καὶ τὸν θερμὸν καὶ ἐπάλληλα δάκρυα καὶ πρὸς ἐστὶν ἐπικουφισθεῖς, τὴν ὄψιν ἀπομαξάμενος, ἐπιστρέφει καὶ κελεύει τὸν ἡλικίας δεύτερον τῶν ἀδελφῶν ἐν ὁμίλῳ ταῖς ἀπάντων δεθήναι, τὸν ἐκεῖνον ἄλλους ἀλείφομεν ἐπὶ δυσμενεῖαν, εἰ γὰρ συνετάξθη τῷ πρεσβύτατῳ χρηστὰ καὶ

* Gen. xlii. 23 “they knew not that Joseph understood, for there was an interpreter between them.” By missing out the first half of this Philo obscures the point. Presumably he means the same as Genesis, viz. that they ventured on
expect to suffer this, and even more than this, we who though almost alone among men we owe our title of nobly-born to the surpassing virtues of father, grandfather and ancestors, have shamed our kin and hastened to load ourselves with infamy and disgrace." The eldest of the brothers, who originally opposed them when they were forming their plot, said: "Remorse for what is done is useless. I proved to you the enormity of the crime and begged and exhorted you not to give way to your wrath, but when you should have accepted my advice you let your evil counsels have their way. And so we are reaping the rewards of our self-will and impiety. The plot we hatched for him is under inquisition, but the inquisitor is no man but God or the word or law of God." XXX. As they talked thus quietly, since an interpreter was acting for them, the brother whom they had sold heard what they said, and, overcome by his emotion and on the point to weep, turned aside to avoid discovery and let the tears stream warm and fast. Then, somewhat relieved, he wiped them from his face, turned round and bade the second eldest of the brothers to be bound in the sight of them all. This brother corresponded to himself, for the second of a large number corresponds to the last but one as the eldest does to the last. But perhaps too he thought that that brother had the greatest responsibility for the wickedness, since he might be almost called the officer of the company and the ringleader of their spite. For if he had ranged himself with the eldest when this quiet conversation, because they supposed that he would not understand them in the absence of the interpreter, who had acted before.
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φιλάνθρωπα βουλευομένω, νεώτερος μὲν ἐκείνου, τῶν δ' ἄλλων πρεσβύτερος ὁν, ἵσως ἢ ν ἵσως ἐπ-εσχέθη τάδικημα, τῶν τήν ἀνωτάτω τάξιν καὶ τιμῆν ἑχόντων συμπνεόντων καὶ ὁμογνωμονούντων περὶ πράγματος, δ' καὶ καθ' αὐτὸ πολλὴν ῥοπὴν συνεφε-177 εἶλκετο· νυνὶ δ' ἀποστάς τῆς ἦμερον καὶ ἀμείνονος τάξεως πρὸς τὴν ἀνήμερον καὶ χαλεπὴν ηὐτομόλησε καὶ ταύτης ἀποδειχθεὶς ἡγεμὼν οὗτως ἔθαρσεν τοὺς συνεφαπτομένους τοῦ παρανομήματος, ὡς ἀνενδότως τὸν ἐπίληπτον ἄθλον διαθῆκας. διὰ ταῦτ' εὖ ἀπαντῶν μόνος οὗτος δεῖ την δοκεῖ.

178 οἱ δ' ἄλλοι τῆς οἰκαδε ἐπάνων ἠδη παρευτρεπί-ζονται, κελεύσαντος τοῦ τῆς χώρας ἐπιτρόπου τοῖς πυροπωλοῦσι τὰ ἄγγελα τῶν ἄδελφῶν ὡς ἔξεσθαι ἀπαντά πληρώσαι καὶ ἢν ἔλαβον τιμῆν ἐπὶ τῶν στομίων λάθρα καταθεῖναι, μη προειπόντας οἷς ἀπετίθεται καὶ τρίτων τι προσεπιδαφιλεύσθαι τροφάς, αἰ γένουτ' ἂν ἱκαναὶ κατὰ τὴν ὅδον, ἐξαιρέτους ὑπὲρ τοῦ παραπεμφθῆναι τὴν σιτωνίαν 179 ἀμείωτον. ὁδιοποροῦντος δὲ καὶ τὸν ἐν δεσμὸις ἀδελφὸν ὡς εἰκὸς οἰκτιζομένων, οὐχ ἢ ὅτι δ' ἔπὶ τῶν πατρὶ κατηφούντων, εἰ πάλιν ἀκούσεται συμφορᾶς, καθ' ἐκάστην ὅδον | ἐλαττουμένης καὶ ἀποκειρομένης αὐτοῦ τῆς εὐπαιδίας, καὶ λεγόντων "ἀλλ' οὔδε πιστεύσει δεδέσθαι, πρόφασθαι δ' εἶναι τὰ δεσμὰ τελευτῆς ὑπολήψεται διὰ τὸ τοὺς ἀπαξ πληγέντας εἰς τὰ αὐτὰ προσπταίειν," ἐσπέρα κατα-λαμβάνει καὶ τῶν ὑποξυγίων καθελόντες τὰ ἀχθη τὰ μὲν ἐπεκούφιζον, αὐτοὶ δὲ βαρυτέρας ταῖς ψυχαῖς

1 My correction: mss. and Cohn καὶ. Mangey ἂν ἐφειλκέτο for συνεφειλκέτο. 226
he counselled kindness and humanity, being, though younger than he, older than the others, the wrongdoing might well have been stopped. For the two highest in position and honour would have been united in sentiment and purpose on the question, and this of itself would have had great weight to turn the scale. As it was, he left the mild, the better, side, and deserted to the cruel and savage side, and being appointed their leader so encouraged his fellow-malefactors that they played out without flinching the criminal contest. It was for this reason, I think, that he alone of them all was put in bonds.

As the others were now preparing for their journey homewards, the regent ordered the corn-factors to fill all their sacks, thus treating them as guests, and secondly to place secretly in the mouth of each sack the price which had been paid, without giving information of this repayment to the recipients, and thirdly to bestow an additional bounty, namely a special stock of provisions sufficient for the journey, so that the corn purchased might be brought to its destination undiminished. The brothers journeyed on, pitying as was natural the one whom they left in bonds, and no less depressed at the thought of their father, how he would again hear of misfortune and feel that every journey diminished and curtailed his wealth of children. "Indeed," they said, "he will not even believe that he has been put in bonds, but think that bonds are a pretext to cloak death, since those who have once received a blow often find themselves brought up against the same calamity." As they thus talked, evening overtook them, and when they had unloaded their beasts, though these were relieved, they themselves felt the burden of their
φροντίδας ἐδέχοντο· φιλεῖ γὰρ ἐν ταῖς ἀναπαύλαις τῶν σωμάτων ἐναργεστέρας τῶν ἀβουλίτων ἡ διάνοια λαμβάνουσα φαντασίας χαλεπῶς ἀγαν

180 θλίβεσθαι καὶ πιέζεσθαι. XXXI. λύσας δὲ τις ἐν ἀγγείοιν ὀρᾶ παρὰ τῷ στομίῳ βαλάντιον ὑπόμεστον ἀργυρίῳ καὶ διαριθμησάμενος εὐρισκεν ὅσην τοῦ σίτου καθήκε τιμήν ἀποδεδομένην αὐτῷ καὶ κατα-

181 πλαγεῖς τοῖς ἀδελφοῖς ἀνέφερεν. οἱ δ' οὐ χάριν ἀλλ' ἐνέδραν ὑποτοπήσαντες θυμόνων καὶ βουλό-

μενοι πάντα τὰ ἀγγεῖα διερεύνασθαι φόβῳ διώξεως ἀραντες ἢ τάχιστα συνέτεινο καὶ μόνον οὐκ ἀπνευστὶ θέοντες πολυήμερον ὅδον ἐπιτεμόντες

182 ἀνύουσιν. εἰτ' ἀλλαχόθεν ἀλλοι τὸν πατέρα οὐκ ἀδακρυτὶ περιλαβόντες ἠφίλιου ἐκάστῳ περιπλεκό-

μενον καὶ περιχεόμενον ἐκθύμως, καὶ τῇ ψυχῇ ἂν ἔχων εἰς καθήκων ἀβουλίτων· καὶ γὰρ προσιόντας καὶ δεξιουμένους κατενόει καὶ τὸν ὑπολειφθέντα

183 ύιόν ὁς ὑστερηκότα τῆς βραδυτῆτος ἐτιάτο καὶ πρὸς τὰς εἰσόδους ἀπέβλεπε σπεύδως τὸν ἀριθμὸν τῶν τέκνων πλήρη θεάσασθαι. μηδενὸς δ' ἐξωθεὶ

έτι προσεπιφοιτώτων, διεπτοημένον ἐδόντες "τῶν ἀβουλίτων" ἐμπαι, "ἀ πάτερ, ἀναρότερος τῆς μαθήσεως ὄ ἐνδοιασμὸς ἐστὶ· μαθὼν μὲν γὰρ τις ὅδον εὑρεῖν εἰς σωτηρίαν, η' δ' ἀμφίβολος ἄγνοια δυσοδίας καὶ ἀπορίας αὐτοῦ· ἀκουε δὴ σφόδρα μὲν

184 ἀνιαροῦ διηγήματος, ἀναγκαῖον δὲ λεχθῆναι. ὁ συμπεμφθεὶς ἡμῖν ἀδελφός ἐπὶ σιτωνίαν καὶ μὴ ἐπανεληλυθὼς ζῇ μὲν—δεῖ γὰρ τὸν ὅσοι τοῦ τίπ τεθεντί ἀπαλλάξαι σου μείζονα φόβον—, ζῶν δ' ἐν Αἴγυπτῳ

a More literally “from different sides,” or perhaps “taking hold of different parts.”
cares weigh heavier on their souls. For when the body takes rest the mind receives clearer visions of adversities and is grievously afflicted and oppressed thereby. XXXI. One of them, loosing a particular sack, saw at its mouth a purse nearly full of silver, and, counting it, found that the exact price which he had paid for the corn had been restored to him. Filled with astonishment, he told his brothers, who, suspecting that it was not a gift but a trap, were dismayed. And though they fain would have examined all the sacks, so great was their fear of pursuit that they started off and hurried on with all speed, and racing along with hardly a pause for breath made a short matter of accomplishing a journey of many days. Then grouped around their father they embraced him, weeping the while, and kissed him as he clung to each and folded them passionately in his arms, though his soul already had a boding of some calamity. For he took note of them as they approached and greeted him, and, thinking that the son who was actually left behind was playing the laggard, he blamed him for his slowness and kept looking to the different approaches in his eagerness to see the number of his children complete. And, seeing his agitation when no one else appeared from outside, they said: "In calamity, to learn the truth is less painful than to doubt. He who has learned the truth may find the way to safety; the ignorance of doubt produces the perplexity which finds no path. Listen, then, to a story, which, painful though it be, must needs be told. The brother who was sent with us to buy corn and has not returned is alive—you must cast from your mind the worse fear of his death—but, though alive, he remains in Egypt with the regent
καταμένει παρὰ τῷ τῆς χώρας ἑπιτρόπῳ, ὃς εἶτ' ἐκ διαβολῆς εἶτε καὶ ὑποτοπήσας αὐτὸς αἰτίαν ἢμῖν ὃς κατασκόποις ἐπέφερεν. ἀπολογουμένων1 δὲ ὅσα ὁ καιρὸς καὶ περὶ τε σοῦ τοῦ πατρὸς διεξόντων2 καὶ τῶν ἀπολειπομένων ἀδελφῶν, εἶναι μὲν τοῦ τεθνεῶτος, ἐτέρου δὲ τοῦ παρὰ σοὶ διατρίβοντος, ὃν ἐφαμεν ἐτὶ νέον ὄντα διὰ τὴν ἡλικίαν οὐκοὶ καταμεῖναι, πάντα ἀπαμπίσχοντες καὶ ἀπογυμνοῦντες τὰ τῆς συγγενείας εἰς τὸ ἄνυπόττον οὐδὲν ἴναισθεῖμεν, ἀλλ' ἐφη μόνην ἂν αὐτῷ πίστιν ἀφευδοὺς ὄμωλον γενέσθαι τὴν ὃς αὐτὸν ἄφιερον τὸν νεώτατον παιδός, οὐχ ἱκρίμων καὶ τὸν δεύτερον κατεσχηκέναι ῥύσιον τε καὶ ἑνέχυρον ἔκεινον. τὸ μὲν ἄνεπίταγμα πάντων ἀναρότατον, ὁ δὲ καιρὸς αὕτῳ προστάττει μᾶλλον [68] τοῦ κελεύντος, ὃς ἐπιστέον ἐκ τῆς ἀνάγκης διὰ τάπιτήδεια, μόνης Ἀιγύπτου χορηγοῦσης αὐτὰ τοῖς λιμώ πιεσθείσιν."

XXXII. ο δὲ βαρύτατον ἀναστενάξας "τίνα πρώτον" εἶπεν "ολοφύρωμαι; τὸν παρέσχατον, ὃς οὐ τελευταίος ἀλλὰ πρῶτος ἐλαχεὶ τὴν τῶν συμφορῶν πάσην; ἡ τὸν δεύτερον, ὃς τὰ δευτερεῖα τῶν κακῶν ἠρατο, πρὸ θανάτου δεσμά; ἡ τῶν νεώτατον, ὃς ἀπευκταύτητάν ὅδον ἄφιεται, εὰν ἅρι ἀπή, ταῖς τῶν ἀδελφῶν κακοπραγίαις οὐ σωφρονισθεῖς; ἐγὼ δὲ κατὰ μέλη καὶ μέρη διαρτώμενοι—μέρη γὰρ τέκνα γονέων—εἰς ἀπαιδίαν κινδυνεύω περιελθεῖν ὁ πολύ-παις καὶ εὔπαις ἄχρι πρὸ μικροῦ νουμισθεῖς." ὃ δὲ πρεσβύτατος "εἰς ὁμηρεῖν" ἐφη "σοὶ δύο νόον διδώμι, οὐς καὶ μόνους ἐγέννησα· τούτους ἀπόκτεινον, εὰν μὴ σφόν ἀποδῶ τὸν ἐγχειρισθησόμενον

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1 The ungrammatical genitives should perhaps be corrected to nominatives.
2 mss. olkade.

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ON JOSEPH, 184–188

of the land, who, either on some accusations laid by others, or on his own suspicions, charged us with being spies. We made all the defence which the occasion called for. We told him of you, our father, and the brothers who were absent from our company, how one of them was dead and the other was abiding with you, who, as we said, was still quite young and therefore on account of his age kept at home. But when we thus laid bare without concealment all the facts about our family we made no headway in removing his suspicion. He told us that the only proof which he would accept of the truth of our assertions was that the youngest son should be sent to him, and that to ensure this he detained the second son as pledge and security for the other. This command is painful beyond everything, but is laid upon us less by him who issued it than by the needs of the time, which we must perforce obey to get those provisions which Egypt alone supplies to people who are hard pressed by famine.”

XXXII. Their father gave a deep groan, and said: “Whom should I lament for first? My youngest but one, who was not the last but the first to be placed on the list of unfortunates, or the second eldest who won the second prize of evils, bonds in place of death, or the youngest who, if he does go, will go on a journey of truly evil omen, unlessoned by the misfortunes of his brothers? While I, divided limb by limb and part by part, since the child is part of its parent, am like to survive childless, I who but lately was held to be the father of a fine and numerous family.” His eldest son then said: “I give you my two sons, my only children, as hostages. Slay them if I do not restore to you in safety the brother whom you will entrust to my hand,
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"Δεδομένον, ὃς ἀφικόμενος εἰς Ἀἰγυπτὸν δύο περιτοιχισμένος τὰ μέγιστα ἤμιν, ἐν μὲν πίστιν σαφῆ τοῦ μὴ κατασκόπου μηδὲ πολέμους εἶναι, ἔτερον δὲ τὸ τὸν Δεδομένον τὸν ἐν δεσμοῖς ἀπολαβεῖν δυνηθήναι."

189 σφόδρα δ' ἀχθομένου τοῦ πατρὸς καὶ λέγοντος ἄγνοεῖν,1 ὅτι δυεῖν ὄντων ὁμομετρίων ὃ μὲν ἢδη τέθηκεν, δ' ἔρημος καὶ μόνος ἀπολειφθεῖς εὐλαβησθαι τὴν ὁδὸν καὶ ζῶν προαποθανεῖται τῷ δέει κατὰ τὴν φοβεράν ἐκείνων ὑπόμνησιν, ἀ συνεβή τὸν πρότερον παθεῖν, ταῦτα λέγοντος, τὸν εὐτολµότατον καὶ ἀρχικὸν φύσει καὶ δυνατὸν ἐπεῖν—Ἱν δὲ καθ' ἡλικίαν ἀπὸ τοῦ πρώτου τέταρτος—προςτησάμενοι διερμηνευεῖν ἐπείσαν τὰ δο-

190 κοῦντα πᾶσιν. ἔδοκεί δὲ τῶν μὲν ἀναγκαῖων ὑστεριζόντων—ὁ γάρ κομισθεὶς πρότερος σῖτος ἐπιλελοίπει, κρατοῦντος δὲ τοῦ λιμοῦ καὶ πιέζοντος, ὃν ἀπαίτεσθαι δὲ τοῦ νεωτάτου καταμένοντος· τὸν γὰρ τῆς χώρας ἐπίτροπον ἀπηγορευκέναι δίχα τούτου παραγενέσθαι.

191 λογισάμενος δὲ ἀτε σοφός ἄνηρ, ὡσ ἔστιν ἀμεινὸν ἐνα προέσθαι τῷ τοῦ μέλλοντος ἀδῆλῳ καὶ ἀμφιβάλῳ πρὸ τῆς ὁμολογουμένης τῶν τοσούτων ἀπωλειας, ἦν ὑπομενεῖ πᾶς ὁ διὰ ἑνδεια

192 πιεσθεὶς, ἀνάτω νόσῳ, φησιν αὐτοῖς· 'ἀλλ’ εἰ τῆς ἐμῆς βουλήσεως ἐπικρατέστερα τὰ τῆς ἀνάγκης ἐστίν, εἰκτέου ἵσως γὰρ ἵσως ἡ φύσις ὁικονομεῖ τι βέλτιον, δ’ ἐν τοῖς διανοοῖς ἡμῶν παραφαίνειν

193 ἄξιοι. λαβόντες οὖν καὶ τὸν νεκτατον, ὡς προήρησθε, άπιτε, μὴ μέντοι τὸν αὐτόν ἐν καὶ πρόσθεν τρόπον· πάλαι μὲν γὰρ ἀργυρίῳ μόνον ἐδει πρὸς

1 ἄγνοεῖν in this sense is strange: Cohn suggests ἀποκνεῖν, Mangey (better) ἄμφιγνοεῖν: I would also suggest as nearer.
ON JOSEPH, 188–193

whose coming to Egypt will procure us two very great gains, first the clear proof that we are not spies or enemies, secondly the power to recover our brother from bondage.” The father was much distressed, and said that he knew not what to do, since of the two full brothers one was already dead and the other left desolate and alone would dread the journey and suffer a living death through fright recalling the horrors which had befallen his precursor. When he thus spoke, they put forward the fourth in age, the most courageous of them all, a man princely in nature and powerful of speech, and persuaded him to act as spokesman of what they all thought. This was, that, since the necessaries of life were running short, as the first stock of corn which they had brought was exhausted and the stress of the famine pressed hard upon them, they should set out to buy more corn but would not do so if their youngest brother stayed behind, since the ruler of the land had forbidden them to appear without him. Their father, reckoning in his wisdom that it was better to surrender one to the mercy of an obscure and dubious future than that many should suffer the undoubted destruction which the stress of famine, that fatal scourge, would inflict upon the whole household, said: “Nay, if the call of necessity is stronger than my wishes, I must yield, for haply it may be that nature has some better gift in store, which as yet she refuses to reveal to our mind. Take, then, the youngest as you propose, and depart, but not in the same fashion as before, for on the former occasion when you were unknown and had not met

to the mss. ἀ ἐνδε, “what was in his mind.” The ταύτα λέγοντος is anacoluthic in any case.
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σιτωνίαν ἀγνοομένοις ἀνθρώποις καὶ μηδέν τω
πεπονθόσων ἄνήκεστον, νυνὶ δὲ καὶ δώρων, τριῶν
[69] ἐνεκα, τῆς τε | πρὸς τὸν ἡγεμόνα καὶ σιτάρχην
ἀρεσκείας, ύφ᾽ οὖ ἁγνοίζεσθαι φατε, καὶ τοῦ τὸν
ἐν δεσμοῖς ἀπολαβεῖν θάττον πολλὰ καταθέντας
αὐτοῦ λύτρα καὶ τοῦ τῆς ὑπόνοιαν τῆς κατασκοπῆς
194 ὡς ἐνι μάλιστα ἱάσασθαι. πάντων οὖν ὁσων ἡ
ἡμετέρα γῇ φέρει λαβόντες ὥσπερ τινὰς ἀπαρχὰς
κομίζετε τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ καὶ δισσόν ἀργύριον, τὸ τε
ἀποδοθὲν πρότερον, ὃ ἒσως ἁγνοίᾳ τινὸς ἀπεδόθη,
195 καὶ ἑτερον αὐταρκες εἰς σιτωνίαν. ἐπιφέρεσθε μέν-
tοι καὶ τὰς ἡμετέρας εὐχὰς, ὃς πρὸς τὸν σωτῆρα
ποιούμεθα θεόν, ᾿Ινα καὶ εὐάρεστοι τοῖς ἐγχωρίοις
ζευγνεύοντες ἢτε καὶ ἐπανέρχησθε σῶοι τὸς ἀναγ-
καίας παρακαταθῆκας, νιών, ἀποδίδοντες πατρί,
tὸν τε καταλειφθέντα πρότερον ἐν δεσμοῖς καὶ
ὁν συνεπάγεσθε νυνὶ νεώτατον καὶ πραγμάτων
ἀπειρον." ἀραντες δὲ συνέτεινον εἰς Αἰγύπτον.
196 XXXIII. Εἰτ᾽ ὀλίγως ὑστερον ἡμέραις ἀφικ-
μένους ἰδὼν ὁ τῆς χώρας ἐπίτροπος ὧσθη πάνυ καὶ
κελεύει τῷ τῆς οἰκίας ἐπιμελεῖν ἐριστὸν εὐτρεπίζειν καὶ τοὺς ἀνδρας εἰς ἀγένεις ἀλῶν
197 καὶ τραπέζης μεθέξοντας. εἰσαχθέντες δὲ καὶ ἐφ᾽
ὁτῳ μὴ συναισθόμενοι διεπτόηντο καὶ συγχυθέντες
ἐτόπαζον ἐπὶ κλοπὴ μέλλειν συκοφαντεῖσθαι ὡς
ὑφελόμενοι τὴν τοῦ σίτου τιμήν, ἡν πρότερον ἐν
τοῖς ἀγγείοις ἀνέβουν. εἰτα τῷ τῆς οἰκίας ἐπι-
μελητῇ προσελθότες ἀπελογοῦντο περὶ οὗ μηδεῖς
ἐτόλμα κατηγορεῖν τὸ συνειδὸς ἰώμενοι καὶ ἀμα
προφέροντες ἐπεδείκνυον τὸ ἀργύριον εἰς ἀπόδοσιν.
with any fatal disaster you only needed money to pay for the corn, but now you must take presents also for three reasons, to propitiate the governor and chief victualler to whom you say you are known, to hasten the delivery of the prisoner with a considerable ransom, and to remedy the suspicion that you are spies as much as you can. Take, then, samples of all the products of our land, firstfruits, as it were, and a double sum of money, to make good what was restored to you on your former visit, perhaps through someone's oversight, and also enough for purchasing the corn. Carry with you, further, my own prayers which I offer to the God of our salvation that you, as strangers in the land, may be well-pleasing to the inhabitants, and also may return in safety and restore to your father the sureties which he has been forced to pledge, even his sons, both him who before was left behind in bondage and the one whom you now take with you, the youngest so inexperienced in life."

XXXIII. They set off, and hastened to Egypt. On their arrival a few days afterwards the governor saw them and was greatly pleased. He bade the steward of his household prepare a sumptuous meal and bring them in to partake of his salt and board. Conducted thus, with no knowledge of what was intended, they were scared and perturbed, guessing that they were to be libelled as thieves for having filched the price of the corn which they had found in the sacks on the first occasion. Then they approached the steward and made their defence, clearing their consciences of a matter on which no one was venturing to charge them, and at the same time they produced and shewed him the money which they had
δέ χρηστοίς καὶ φιλανθρώποις λόγοι ευθυμοτέρους αὐτοὺς ἐποίει φάσκων. "οὐδεὶς ἁσέβης ἐστιν οὕτως, ὥς τὰς τοῦ θεοῦ χάριτας συκοφάντειν, ὃς ἔλεως εἶῃ. θησαυροὺς γὰρ ἐν τοῖς ὑμετέρους ὑμβρησεν ἄγγελοι οὐ μόνον τροφὰς ἀλλὰ καὶ πλοῦτον ἐξ ἐτοίμου διδοῦσ᾽. οἱ δὲ παρηγορηθέντες ἐν τάξει διετίθεσαν ἃ οἴκοθεν ἐπηνέγκαντο δὼρα καὶ παραγενομένῳ τῷ δεσπότῃ τῆς οἰκίας προσήφερον πυνθανόμενῳ δὲ, πῶς ἔχουν καὶ εἰ ὁ πατὴρ ζῇ, περὶ οὗ πρόσθεν ἐλεγον, ἀποκρίνονται περὶ μὲν αὐτῶν οὐδὲν, περὶ δὲ τοῦ πατρὸς ὅτι ζῇ καὶ ὑμαῖναι. κατευξάμενοι δὲ ἐκείνῳ καὶ θεοφιλέστατον προσεπων, τὸν ὁμομήτριον περιβλεψάμενον ἀδελφὸν ὃς εἶδεν, οὐ κατασχὼν ἀλλ᾽ ἡδή νικώμενος ὑπὸ τοῦ πάθους, πρὶν γενέσθαι καταφανῆς, ἐπιστρέφεται καὶ δραμὼν πρόφασιν ἐπὶ τὶ τῶν κατεπειγόντων—ἐκλαλήσαι γὰρ τάληθες καιρὸς ὅτι ἐν μυχῷ τινὶ τῆς οἰκίας ἀνακλαύσαμεν ἀποχεῖ τὴν τῶν δακρύων φοράν.

XXXIV. εἴτε ἀπονυψάμενος λογισμῶ τῆς ἀνίας ἐπεκράτησε καὶ προσελθὼν εἰσία τοὺς ξένους ἀποδοὺς πρὸτερον καὶ τὸν ἀντὶ τοῦ νεωτᾶτου κατασχεθέντα εἰς ὅμηρείαν συνειστιῶντο ὅτι καὶ ἅπαλλοι τῶν παρ᾽ Αἰγυπτίοις δοκιμῶν. αἱ δὲ ὑποδοχαὶ κατὰ τὰ πάτρια ἔκαστος ἐγίνοντο, χαλεπὸν ἡγουμένου παλαιοῦ νόμου παρίδειν, καὶ ταῦτα ἐν εὐωχίᾳ τινὶ, ἐνθα τῶν ἀσυνεξίων αἱ ἡδοναὶ πλείους. ἐξῆς δὲ προστάξαντος κατὰ τᾶς ηλικίας καθέζεσθαι, μήτω τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἐν taϊς συμποτικαῖς συνουσίαις κατακλίσει χρωμένων, ἦθαυ-

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\[ Perhaps based on Gen. xliii. 32 “they set on for him by himself, and them by themselves, and for the Egyptians by themselves.” \]
brought for repayment. But he raised their courage with kind and friendly words. "No one," he said, "is so impious as to libel the bounties of God Whose mercy I invoke. For He has poured treasure into your sacks, thereby providing not only sustenance but wealth to spend as you need it." Thus encouraged, they proceeded to set out in order the gifts they had brought from home, and when the master of the house arrived they offered them to him. He asked them how they were, and whether the father of whom they spoke before still lived, in answer to which they said nothing about themselves but told him that their father was alive and well. Joseph invoked a blessing on him and pronounced him most favoured by God, and then, when, looking round, he saw Benjamin, his own mother's son, he could not contain himself, but, overcome by emotion, turned aside before he could be observed, and hastened, nominally on some pressing business, as the time for disclosure had not come, into a corner of the house and there burst into weeping and let the tears stream forth. XXXIV. Then he washed his face, and, reason prevailing over his troubled feelings, approached his guests and led them to the feast, having first restored the prisoner who had been detained as hostage for the youngest. Other Egyptian dignitaries feasted with them. The method of entertainment followed in each case ancestral practice, since he strongly disapproved of neglecting old customs, particularly at a festivity where the pleasures outnumber the disagreeables. When the guests were seated, arranged by his commands in order of age, as at that date it was not the custom to recline at con-
μαξον, ει Αιγύπτιοι ζηλωται των αυτων 'Εβραίους εισι τάξεως τε πεφρονικότες κα τας πρεσβυτερων και νεωτέρων τιμας διακρίνεις ἐπιστάμενοι. τάχα μέντοι κα των ἄλλων χρόνων, ἡφασκον, της χώρας ἀμαθέστερον τα περι διαιταν ἀγούσης, δ' ἀνήρ οὕτος τοις κοινοις ἐπιστάς ου μονον τοις μεγάλοις πράγμασιν ἡρμοσεν ευταξιαν, δι' ὃν τα εἰρήνης καὶ πολέμου κατορθοῦσα χαλκομάζεσι, ἀλλα καὶ τοις εὑτελεστέροις εἴναι δοκούσιν, ὃν τα πλεῖστα ἐν παιδιαῖς. ἠλαρότητα γὰρ ἐπιζητοῦσιν εὐωχίαι σεμνὸν ἄγαν καὶ αὐστηρὸν συμπότην ἥκιστα παρα-δεχόμεναι. τοιοῦτος ἔστιν ήρέμα συνειρόντων, τράπεζα μὲν οὐ σφόδρα πολυτελεῖς εἰσκομιζονται, διὰ τὸν λιμὸν οὐκ ἀξιώσαντος τοῦ ἐνοδὸχου ταῦτ ἐτέρων ἀτυχίας ἐντρυφάν. αὐτοὶ δ' ἀτε σύνεσιν ἀκριβεῖς καὶ τοὺτ' εἰς τὰ ἐγκώμια παρελάμβανον, ὡς ἀπειροκαλίαν, πράγμα ἐπίθεονον, ἀπέστραπται, λέγοντες· ὡς καὶ τὸ τοῦ συναλγοῦντος τοῖς δεομένοις καὶ τὸ τοῦ ἐστιάτορος σχῆμα διασώζει μεθόριον ἁμφοῖς τιθεῖς αὐτὸν καὶ τὴν ἐν ἑκατέρῳ μέχριν εἴκενύων. αὶ μὲν οὖν παρασκευαὶ τὸ ἁμοῖν ἐξον πρόσφοροι τῷ καιρῷ γεγονὼν· τὸ δ' ἐλλιπεῖς ἀνεπλήρουν αἱ συνεχεῖς φιλοφροσύναι προ-πόσειν, εὐχαῖς, παρανέσσας τοῖς εἰς ἀνάληψιν, ὃ τοῖς ἐλευθέροις καὶ μη ἁμοῦσοι τὸ ἔθος ἡδίω τῶν ὀσα περὶ ἐδωδῆν καὶ πόσιν εὐτρεπίζουσιν οἱ φιλ-

a See Gen. xliii. 33, where the statement that they were placed in order of seniority is followed by “the men marvelled one with another.”

b Philo may have found a ground for this in the phrase
vivial gatherings, they were surprised to find that the Egyptians affected the same fashions as the Hebrews, and were careful of order of precedence, and knew how to discriminate between younger and older in the honours which they paid them. "It may be," they said, "that in other times the style of life in this country was less civilized, until this man, when put over the state, introduced good order not only in the important matters which give rise to success in peace and war, but in those regarded as less important which mainly belong to the lighter side of life. For festivities demand cheerfulness and have no room for the over-grave and austere guest." While they thus quietly descanted in his praise the tables were brought in, not over-sumptuously laden, because their host, on account of the famine, disliked the thought of luxury while others were suffering want; and they themselves had the sound sense to include in their eulogies this also, that he had shunned the odious fault of tasteless display. He had preserved, they said, the attitude both of a sympathizer with the needy and of the host at a feast, had set himself in the mean between the two and escaped censure on either count. The arrangements, then, did not offend good taste, but were suitable to the occasion, and any deficiency was made good by the constant signs of kind feeling shewn in toasts and good wishes and invitations to take refreshment, things which to liberal and cultured temperaments give more pleasure than all the preparations of food and drink provided by the lovers of high feasting for "set on bread" in contrast to the more elaborate preparations of Gen. xviii. He apparently forgets that the steward had been ordered to provide a sumptuous meal (§ 196).
εστιάτορες καὶ φιλόδειπνοι τὰ μηδεμίας ἀξία σπουδῆς εἰς ὀλυγοφρόνων ἐπίδειξιν πομποστολοῦντες.

207 XXXV. Τῇ δ' υστεραίᾳ ἁμα τῇ ἐω μεταπεμψάμενος τὸν ἐπίτροπον τῆς οἰκίας κελεύει τὰ ἀγγεία τῶν ἀνδρῶν ὅσα ἐπηνέγκαντο γεμίσαι σῖτον καὶ πάλιν ἐπὶ τῶν στομίων τὴν τιμήν ἐν βαλαντίοις καταθεῖναι, εἰς δὲ τὸ τοῦ νεωτάτου καὶ τὸ κάλιστον τῶν ἀργυρῶν ἐκπωμα, ὡς πίνειν ἔθος εἶχεν 208 αὐτὸς. καὶ ὁ μὲν τὰ προσταχθέντα προθύμως ἐπετέλει μηδένα μάρτυρα παραλαμβάνων, οἱ δ' οὐδὲν τῶν κρύφα γεγονότων εἴδότες ἀνεξεύγυνουσαν ἐπὶ τοῖς 209 παρ' ἑλπίδας ἀγαθοῖς ἀπασὶ χαίροντες. ὁ μὲν γὰρ προσεδόκησαν, ταῦτα ἤν· ἐπὶ κλοπῆς τοῦ ἀποδοθέντος ἀργυρίου συκοφαντίαν ἔξειν, ἀδελφὸν τὸν ὅμηρεύοντα μὴ ἀπολήψει, προσαποβαλεῖ· καὶ τὸν νεώτατον ἰσως ὑπὸ τοῦ σπουδάσαντος αὐτὸν 210 ἀχθήναι βίᾳ κατασχεθέντα. τὰ δ' ἀποβάντα αἰσίων [71] τελειότερα εὐχῶν· τὸ πρὸς | τῷ μὴ συκοφαντηθῆναι τραπέζης καὶ ἀλῶν, ὁ σύμβολα γνησίου φιλίας ἀνθρώπων ἀνεύρηται, μεταλαχεῖν· τὸ κομίσασθαι τὸν ἀδελφὸν ἀνύβριστον, μηδενὸς ἐντυχόντος καὶ δεηθέντος, τὸ καὶ τὸν νεώτατον ἀγαγεῖν πρὸς τὸν πατέρα σῶον, ἐκπεφυγότας μὲν τὰς ἑπὶ κατασκόπων ὑπονοιας, ἄφθονον δὲ τροφῶν πλῆθος ἐπιφερομένους, χρηστή δὲ καὶ περὶ τοῦ μέλλοντος λογιζόμενος· εἰ γὰρ ἐπιλύσαι τάπιτήδεια πολλάκις, ἐφασκον, οὐκέθ' ὡς πρότερον περιδεεις ἀλλὰ γεγηθότες ὡς πρὸς ἴδιον ἀλλ' οὐ ξένον τὸν τῆς χώρας 240
themselves and others, who make a parade of what is unworthy of care and attention with the ostentation natural to men of little mind.

XXXV. On the next day at dawn he sent for the steward of the house and bade him fill with corn all the sacks which the men had brought, and again put the purchase-money in purses at the mouths of the sacks, and also to place in that of the youngest his finest piece of silver, the cup out of which he was accustomed to drink himself. The steward readily carried out his orders without anyone else being present, and they, knowing nothing of these secret doings, set off in high spirits at all their good fortune so far beyond their hopes. What they had expected was to find themselves the victims of a false charge of stealing the money which had been restored to them, to fail to recover their brother who was left as hostage and perhaps also in addition to lose the youngest who might be forcibly detained by the governor who had urged his coming. What had happened surpassed their most sanguine wishes. Instead of being subjected to accusation, they had been made partners in the board and salt which men have devised as the symbols of true friendship. They had recovered their brother inviolate without any intervention or entreaty. They were bringing, too, the youngest safe and sound to his father, and while they had escaped the suspicion of being spies they were taking with them a rich abundance of food and moreover had comfortable prospects for the future. “For if provisions should chance to fail,” they reasoned, “we shall leave home not in extreme fear as before but with joyful hearts, knowing that we shall find in the governor of the country not a stranger but a per-
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211 ἐπίτροπον ἀποδημήσομεν. ΧΧΧΧ. ἀλλὰ γὰρ οὗτοι διακειμένων καὶ τοιαῦτα ταῖς ψυχαῖς ἀναπολούντων, αἰφνίδιος καὶ ἀπροσδόκητος ταραχὴ καταλαμβάνει. προσταχθεῖσα γὰρ ὁ τῆς οἰκίας ἐπιμελητῆς, ἐπαγόμενος θεραπόντων πλῆθος οὐκ ὀλίγον, κατασείών τὰς χεῖρας καὶ μένειν ὑποσημαινόντων ἑβοηδρόμει. καὶ συντείνας ἁσθματος πλήρης "ἐπεφράγμεθ᾽" εἶπε "καὶ τὰς προτέρας καὶ αὐτῶν αἰτίας· ἀγαθὰ κακοὶς ἀμειβόμενοι πάλιν τὴν αὐτὴν ὀδὸν τῶν ἀδικημάτων ἐτράπεσθε· τὴν τοῦ σίτου τιμὴν ὑπεξέλομενοι καὶ μείζον ἐτὶ προσεξ-ευργάσασθε· πονηρία γὰρ τυχοῦσα ἄμηστος ἔπι-

212 δίδωσι. τὸ κάλλιστον καὶ τιμιώτατον ἐκπωμα τοῦ δεσπότου, ἐν ὧ προπόσεις προύπτεν ὡμῖν, κεκλό-φατε οἱ λίαν εὐχάριστοι, οἱ λίαν εἰρηνικοί, οἱ μηδὲ ὠνομα κατασκοπῆς εἰδότες, οἱ διττὸν ἄργυριον εἰς ἀπόδοσιν τοῦ προτέρου κεκομικότες, ἐνέδραν ὡς ἐοικε καὶ δέλεαρ ἐτὶ θήραν καὶ ἀρπαγῆν πλειό-

213 νων. ἀλλ' οὐκ εἰς ἀπαν εὐοδεῖ κακία, λανθάνειν δὲ ἀεὶ τεχνάζουσα καταφωράται." ταῦτα συνείροντος, ἀχανεῖς ἔπαγγησαν, λύπης καὶ φόβου, τῶν ἄργω-

214 λεωτάτων κακῶν, ἔξαιφνης ἐπιπεσοντων, ὡς μηδὲ διάραι τὸ στόμα δύνασθαι· τῶν γὰρ ἀπροσδόκητῶν κακῶν αἱ προσβολαὶ καὶ τοῖς δεινοῖς περὶ λόγους ἀφωνάν ἐμποιοῦσι. παρεμένου τοῦ μή δοκεῖν ἀλοσκόμενοι τῷ συνειδότει καθησυχάζειν "πῶς" ἐφασαν "ἀπολογησόμεθα καὶ πρὸς τίνα; σὺ γὰρ μέλλεις ἐσεθαί καὶ δικαστῆς ὁ κατήγορος, ὅς ὥφειλες καὶ ἐτέρων αἰτιωμένων ἥμως συν-

215 αγορεύειν ἐξ ὧν ἐπειράθης· ὣς τὸ μὲν ἄργυριον τὸ
While they were in this mood, and their souls occupied with these reflections, a sudden and unexpected discomfiture overtook them. For the steward, by order of his master, with a considerable body of servants, appeared in pursuit waving his hands and beckoning to them to halt. And when he arrived, all eagerness and panting hard, “You have set the seal,” he said, “to the earlier charges made against you. You have returned evil for good and once more set your feet in the same path of iniquity. You have filched the price of the corn and committed in addition a still worse crime, for villainy grows if it receives condonation. You have stolen the finest and most valuable of my master’s cups in which he pledged you, you, who were so exceedingly grateful, so exceedingly peace-loving, you who did not so much as know the meaning of ‘spy,’ you who brought double money to pay what was due before, apparently as a trap and snare to serve you in your quest for still more plunder. But wickedness does not prosper in the long run; it is ever scheming to remain hid but is detected in the end.” While he continued in this strain, they stood paralysed and speechless, suddenly seized by those most painful inflictions, grief and fear, so that they could not even open their mouths. For the onset of unexpected ills can render even eloquent speakers mute. Yet, unnerved as they were, they did not wish their silence to be construed as a sign that their conscience convicted them, and therefore they replied: “How shall we defend ourselves, and to whom? You will be our judge, you who are also our accuser, who from your experience of us should rather be the advocate did others arraign us. Could
εὑρεθέν εν τοῖς ἀγγείοις πρῶτον οὐδενὸς ἐλέγχοντος ἐκομίσαμεν ἀποδώσοντες, τοσσαύτη δ’ ἐχρησάμεθα τῶν τρόπων μεταβολῆς, ὡς τὸν ἔξοδόχον ἀμείψασθαι ζημίας καὶ κλοπᾶς; ἄλλ’ οὔτε γέγονεν τοῦτο μήτ’ εἰς νοῦν ἐλθοι ποτὲ τὸν ἠμέτερον. δ’ ἂν ἔχων ἄλῳ τὸ ἐκπωμα τῶν ἀδελφῶν, θυσικέτω θανάτον γὰρ τάδικημα, εἰ γέγονεν ὄντως, τιμώμεθα διὰ πολλά πρῶτον μὲν ὦτι πλεονεξία καὶ τὸ τῶν ἀλλοτρίων ἐπιθυμεῖν παρανομώτατον, δεύτερον ὦτι τοὺς ὕσεληκότας βλάπτειν ἐπιχειρεῖν ἀνοσιώτατον, τρίτον δὲ ὦτι τοὺς μέγα φρονοῦντας [72] ἐπ’ εὐγενείᾳ τὸ τῶν προγόνων ἄξιωμα καὶ καθαρεῖν ἔργοις ὑπαιτίοις τολμᾶν ὑνειδός αἰσχυστον. οἷς ἀπασιν ἐνοχος ὦν, εἰ τὸς ἡμῶν υφήρηται, θανάτων 217 μυρίων ἄξια πεπραχὸς τελευτάτω." XXXVII. καὶ ἀμα λέγοντες τὰ ἀθῆ τῶν ὑποζυγίων καθαιροῦσι καὶ προτρέπονται μετὰ πάσης ἐπιμελείας ἐρευνᾶν. δ’ ὄτι οὐκ ἄγιοι εν τῷ τοῦ νεωτάτου κατακείμενον ἀτε αὐτὸς λάθρα θεὶς ἐσοφίζετο καὶ τὴν ἀρχήν ἀπὸ τοῦ πρεσβυτάτου ποιησάμενος ἐξῆς κατὰ στοιχὸν ἐπικολουθῶν ταῖς ἡλικίαις ἐσκόπει, προφέροντος ἐκάστου καὶ ἐπιδεικνυόμενον ἐξῆς κατὰ στοίχον ἐπακολουθῶν ταῖς ἡλικίαις ἐσκόπει, προφέροντος ἐκάστου καὶ ἐπιδεικνυόμενον τὰ ἁγγεία, μέχρι τοῦ τελευταίου, παρ’ ὧ καὶ τὸ ἰητούμενον ἀνυρέθη, ὡς ἱδόντας ἀθρόους ἀνοιμώξαι καὶ τὰς ἐσθήτας διαρρήκτας ἐκδικήσω ἐπιστένοντας καὶ ζῶντα τὸν ἀδελφὸν οὔτε προβηρηνοῦντας καὶ οὐχ ἤττον αὐτοὺς καὶ τὸν πατέρα, δ’ προῳλιγε τὰς συμβησομένας τῷ νῦ ἑκακοπραγίας, δ’ ὅς βουλομένοις 218 συναποδημεῖν τὸν ἀδελφὸν οὐκ ἔπέτρεπε. κατ-
ON JOSEPH, 215-217

it be that after bringing in repayment the money we found in our sacks though no one challenged us, we completely changed our characters, so as to requite our entertainer by mulcting and robbing him? No, we have not done so, and may no such thought ever enter our mind. Let whoever of the brothers is proved to have the cup be put to death, for death is the penalty at which we assess the crime if it really has been committed, for several reasons. First, because covetousness and the desire for what is another's is against all law; secondly, because to attempt to injure benefactors is a most unholy deed; thirdly, because to those who pride themselves on their high lineage it is a most shameful reproach if they do not shrink from ruining the prestige of their ancestors by deeds of guilt. And since, if any one of us has committed this theft, he is liable on all these counts, let him die since his deed deserves a thousand deaths."

XXXVII. With these words they pulled the packs from off their beasts, and bade him search with all diligence. He, who knew well that the cup was lying in the sack of the youngest son, since he had secretly put it there himself, tricked them by beginning his examination with the eldest, and continued in regular order according to their age, as each produced and shewed his sack, until he reached the last. When the object of the search was actually found in his possession, a wail arose from the whole body at the sight. They rent their clothes and wept and groaned, mourning for the death which awaited the brother who was still alive, and no less for themselves and their father who foretold the misfortunes which would befall his son and had therefore for a time refused to consent to their wish that their brother should travel
PHILO

ηφούντες δὲ καὶ συγκεχυμένοι τὴν αὐτὴν ὑπεστρέφουν ὁδὸν εἰς τὴν πόλιν ἐκπεπληγμένοι τῷ συμβεβηκότι καὶ τὸ πράγμα ἐπιβουλὴν ἄλλ' οὐ φιλαργυρίαν ἀδελφοῦ νομίζοντες· εἰσα τῷ τῆς χώρας ἐπιτρόπῳ προσαχθέντες φιλάδελφον εὐνοον ἀπὸ γνησίου πάνθους ἐπιδείκνυνται. προσπεσόντες γὰρ ἄθροοι τοῖς ἐκεῖνοι γόνασιν ὡσ κλοπῇ πάντες ἐνοχοι, δ' ἐπεὶ ἐν τῇ καθαρᾷ ἡμέρᾳ, ἐδακρυρρόουν, ἐκεῖνοι εὔνοιαν ἐξεδίδοσαν, ἐκούσιον δουλείαν ὑπισχόμενοι, δεσπότην προσήγορευον ἐκεῖνον, προβλήτους, οἰκότριβας, ἀργυρωνήτους, οὐδὲν παραλείποντες τῶν οἰκετικῶν νομόματών, ἀνεκάλουν εαυτούς.

219 δ' ἐτί μᾶλλον ἀποπειρώμενον ἦθει βαρυτάτω φησίν αὐτοῖς· "μηδέποτε τούτο ἐργασάμην, ὡς τοσοῦτος ἀπάγεις ἐνὸς ἀμαρτόντος· τί γὰρ εἰς μετουσίαν ἄξιον καλεῖν τιμωρίαν τοὺς μὴ τῶν ἀδικημάτων κοινοπραγήσαντας; ἐκεῖνοι μόνος, μέν ὅτι πρὸ τῆς πόλεως καὶ θάνατον ὡρίζετε κατὰ τοῦ ἀλόντος· ἐγὼ δ' ἔκαστα πρὸς τὸ ἐπεικὲς ἄγων καὶ ήμερώτερον ἐπικουφίζω τὴν τιμωρίαν δουλείαν ὁρίσας ἀντὶ θανάτου." XXXVIII. χαλέπῳ δὲ τὴν ἀπειλήν φερόντων καὶ ἕφ' οἷς ἐσυκοφαντοῦντο καταδυμένων δ' τέταρτος καθ' ἥλικιαν—ἡν

1 MSS. ἐπ' αὐτῷ.
2 So Cohn and Mangey with some ms. authority. Most MSS. have προσήλυτους or προσβλήτους. See note a.

a Assuming that προβλήτους is to be read, its place in the series as a "servile name," followed by οἰκότριβας and ἀργυρωνήτους, suggests that it also describes a special type of slave. If so, it may perhaps refer to children who had been exposed in infancy and then annexed by persons who brought them up as their own slaves. Thus they would
with them. Downcast and confounded they returned by the same road to the city, appalled at the event and attributing it to a malicious plot and not to the covetousness of their brother. Then, when brought before the governor, they shewed their brotherly good feeling by their genuine emotion. For, falling in a body at his knees, as though they were all guilty of the theft, a charge the mere mention of which was an outrage, they wept, they besought him, they put themselves at his disposal, they volunteered to submit to enslavement, they called him their master and themselves his slaves of any and every kind, outcasts, household bred or purchased in the market; no servile name did they leave unsaid. But he, to try them still further, assumed a very severe air and said: "I trust that I may never act thus, and send so many to captivity for the sin of one. For what good reason is there for including in the penalties those who had no share in the offence? He yonder, who alone did the deed, let him suffer for it. Now, I am told that before you entered the city the sentence you too approved for the guilty person, but as I am ever inclined for the moderate and humaner course I reduce the punishment and sentence him to slavery instead of death." XXXVIII. This stern decision had greatly distressed them, utterly dejected as they were by the false accusations made against them, when the fourth in age, who combined naturally form a third class to oikótpias (taken as = oikoyéneis) and áργυρωνήτουs. I have not been able to find in Greek or Roman legislation any allusion to such a status, but see App. p. 602.


c Lit. "in front of the city."
PHILO

dε τολμητής μετ' αίδοὺς καὶ θαρραλέος, παρρησίαν 
tὴν ἄνευ ἀναπαυμένης ἐπιτατηδευκώς—προσελθὼν 
φησιν· "δέομαι, δέσποτα, μὴ θυμῷ χαρίσασθαι μηδ' 
ὅτι τέταξαι τὴν μετὰ βασιλέα τάξιν προκαταγώναι 
223 πρὸ τῆς ἀπολογίας ἥμων. πυθαγόμενῳ σοι κατὰ 
tὴν πρωτέραν ἐπιθημίαν περὶ τε ἄδελφον καὶ πα-
[73] τρός ἀπεκρινώμεθα· πατὴρ μὲν | ἐστὶ προσβύτης,
οὐ χρόνῳ μᾶλλον γεγηρακὼς ἡ ταῖς ἐπικάλησις 
δυστυχις, ὅφεὶ ἐν γυμναζόμενον ἀθλητοῦ τρόπον 
ἐν πόνοις καὶ δυσκαρτερήτως κακοπαθείς δι-
ετέλεσεν· ἄδελφος δὲ κομιδὴ νέος ἐστίν, ἐκτόπως 
στεργόμενος ύπὸ τοῦ πατρός, ἐπειδὴ καὶ ὑψίγονος 
ἐστί καὶ δυνεῖς γενομένων ὁμομυρτῶν ἀπελεύθη 
μόνος, τοῦ πρεσβυτέρου βιαίως ἀποθανόντος.
224 κελεύοντος δὲ σοῦ ἐνθάδε τὸν ἄδελφον ἄγαγείν καὶ 
ἀπειλοῦντος, εἰ μὴ παραγένοιτο, μηδ' ἡμῖν εἰς ὅμων ἐλθεῖν ἐτι 
tὴν σὴν ἐπιτραπῆσθαι, κατηφόρας 
ἀπηλλαττόμεθα καὶ μόλις οἴκαδε ἐπανελθόντες 
225 ἐδηλοῦμεν τὰ ἀπὸ σοῦ τῷ πατρί. ὁ δὲ κατ' ἀρχὰς 
μὲν ἀντέλεγε δεδώς σφόδρα περὶ τῇ παιδί, τῶν 
δ' ἀναγκαίων ὑποσπανιζόντων καὶ μηδενῶς ἡμῶν 
tολμῶντος ἐπὶ σιτωνίαν ἢκεὶν δίχα τοῦ νεωτάτου 
dιὰ τὰς σάς ἐπανατάσεις, μόλις πείθεται τοῦτον 
συνεκτέμψαι μυρίᾳ μὲν αἰτώμενος, ὅτι ἄδελφον 
ἀλλον ἔχειν ὀμολογήσαμεν, μυρίᾳ δ' οἰκτιζόμενος, 
εἰ μελλῆσει διαζεύγνυσθαι: νήπιος γάρ ἐστι καὶ 
πραγμάτων ἀρείρως, οὐ μόνον τῶν κατὰ τὴν ἀλ-
226 λοδαπῆν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν κατὰ τὴν πόλιν.1 πρὸς οὖν

1 The singular seems strange. Mangey wished to correct 
either to τῆν <idleav> πόλιν or τὰς πόλεις. The latter is accepted

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ON JOSEPH, 222–225

boldness and courage with modesty and practised frankness of speech without effrontery, approached him and said: "My lord, I pray you not to give way to wrath, nor, because you have been appointed to the second post after the king, to condemn before you have heard our defence. When you asked us at our first visit of our brother and father, we answered, 'Our father is an old man, aged not so much by years as by repeated misfortunes, whereby as in a training-school he has been continually exercised amid labours and sufferings which have tried him sore. But our brother is quite young, the idol and darling of his father, because he is the child of his later years, the only one left of the two that their mother bore, since the elder has died a violent death. Now when you bade us bring that brother here, and threatened that if he did not arrive we should not even be admitted again to your presence, we departed in dejection, and, when we got home, only with reluctance told your orders to our father. He at first opposed them in his great fear for the boy, but, when necessaries grew scarce and yet none of us dared to come and buy corn without the youngest because of the stern warning you had given, he was with difficulty persuaded to send the boy with us. Many a time did he blame us for admitting that we had another brother. Many a time did he pity himself for the coming separation from the boy, for he is but a child and without experience, not only of life in a foreign land, but of city life.

Cohn translates "einheimischen," which would seem to represent Mangey's τῆν ἰδίαν πόλιν (see critical note).

by Cohn in a similar passage in De Decal. 13, where the mss. have κατὰ πόλιν. (The absence of the article perhaps makes a difference, and κατὰ πόλιν might be read in both passages.) 249
οὐτω διακείμενοι τον πατέρα πῶς ἀν ἀφικοίμεθα; τίσι δ’ ὀφθαλμοῖς αὐτοῦ θεάσασθαι δίχα τοῦτον δυνησόμεθα; τελευτὴν οἰκτίστην ὑπομενεῖ μόνον ἀκούσας, ὡς οὐκ ἔπανελήλυθεν· εἶθ’ ἡμᾶς ἀνδροφόνους καὶ πατροκτόνους ἐκαστος ἐρεὶ τῶν φιλεπεχθημόνων καὶ ἐπὶ ταῖς τοιαύταις συμφοραῖς 227 ἔθελοκακούντων. τὸ δὲ πλεῖστον τῆς κατηγορίας ῥυήσεται κατ’ ἐμοῦ· πολλὰ γὰρ ὑπεσχόμην τῷ πατρὶ προέσθαι παρακαταθήκην λαμβάνειν ὁμολογῶν, ἡν ἀποδώσειν, ὅταν ἀπαιτηθῶ· τῶς δ’ ἂν, εἰ μὴ ἐξευμενισθηνίς αὐτός, ἀποδοῦναι δυναίμην; οἰκτὸν δεόμαι τοῦ πρεσβύτου λαβεῖν καὶ εἰς ἐννοιαν ἐλθεῖν τῶν κακῶν οἰσπερ ἀναδημήσεται μὴ κομισάμενος δὲν 228 ἀβουλῶν ἐνεχείρησεν. ἀλλὰ σὺ μὲν ὑπὲρ ὅν ἐδοξάσας ἡδικήσῃς δίκαια λάμβανε. δώσω δ’ ἐθελοντῆς ἐγὼ· δούλον ἀπὸ ταύτης ἀνάγραφε τῆς ἡμέρας, ἀσμενὸς ὑπομενώ τα τῶν νεωνήτων, ἐαν τὸ παιδίον ἔθελεν 229 ἐάσαι. λήψεται δ’ οὐκ αὐτὸς τὴν χάριν, ἐὰν ἀρμενὸς ἀπνοικυσθῇς τῶν φροντίδων, ὃ τῶν τοσοῦτων πατὴρ ἰκετῶν ἀπαντῶν ἰκέται γὰρ ἐσμὲν καταπεφευγότες ἐπὶ τὴν σὴν 230 ἵερωτάτην δεξιάν, ἢς μηδεπότε διαμάρτοιμεν. ἔλεος οῦν εἰσελθέτω σε γῆρως ἀνδρός τοὺς ἁθλοὺς κατὰ πᾶσαν ἥλικιαν διαπονήσαντος· τὰς κατὰ Συρίαν πόλεις εἰς ἀποδοχὴν αὐτοῦ καὶ τιμὴν ἐπέστρεψε, καὶ τοις ξενικωτέροις ἔθεσε καὶ νομίμοις καὶ πολὺ διεστῶσι χρώμενος, οὐ βραχεῖ τινι τῶν ἐγχωρίων ἡλλοτριωμένοις· ἀλλ’ ἡ τοῦ βίου καλοκαγαθία καὶ τὸ σύμφωνον καὶ ὁμολογούμενον πρὸς ἔργα λόγων καὶ πρὸς λόγους ἐργῶν ἐξενίκησεν, ὡς καὶ [74] τοὺς ἐνεκα | τῶν πατρίων μὴ εἰγνώμονας μεθ- 

1 mss. λήψη.
in general. Then, since such are our father's feelings, how can we return to him? How can we look him in the face without the boy? He will suffer the saddest of deaths on merely hearing that he has not returned, and we shall be called murderers and parri- cides by all the spiteful people who gloat over such misfortunes. And the chief stream of obloquy will be directed against me, for I pledged myself with many forfeits to my father, and declared that I received the boy as a deposit which I would restore when it was demanded from me. But how can I restore it, unless you yourself are propitiated? I pray you to take pity on the old man, and realize the miseries which he will suffer if he does not recover him whom he unwillingly entrusted to my hand. But do you exact the penalty for the wrongs which you believe yourself to have received. I will willingly pay it. Write me down your slave from this day onwards. I will gladly endure what the newly-bought endure if you will spare the child. This boon, if indeed you grant it, will be a boon not to the boy himself but to one who is not here present, whom you will relieve of his cares, the father of all these many suppliants. For suppliants we are who have fled for refuge to your most august right hand, which we pray may never fail us. Take pity, then, on the old age of one who has spent all his years labouring in the arena of virtue. The cities of Syria he won over to receive and honour him, though his customs and usages were strange to them and very different, and those of the country alien to him in no small degree. But the nobility of his life, and his acknowledged harmony of words with deeds and deeds with words, prevailed so that even those whom national feelings prejudiced
231 ἀρμόσασθαι. τοιαύτην μέλλεις κατατίθεσθαι χάριν, 
ἡς οὐκ ἂν δύνατό τις μείζονα λαβεῖν· τὸς γὰρ ἂν 
γένοιτο πατρὶ δωρεὰ μείζων ἡ υἱὸν ἀπογνωσθέντα 
κομίσασθαι;

232 XXXIX. Πάντα δ' ἦσαν άπόπειρα καὶ ταῦτα 
καὶ τὰ πρότερα, πῶς ἔχουσι τοῦ τῆς χώρας ἐπι-
τρόπου σκοποῦντος εὐνοίας πρὸς τὸν ὁμομήτριον 
ἀδελφόν· ἔδει εὑρεῖ γάρ, μὴ φυσικῇ τινὶ ἀλλοτριῶσει 
κέχρηται, καθάπερ οἱ ἐκ μητριῶν γεγονότες πρὸς 
233 τὸν ἐξ ἐτερᾶς ἱσοτίμου γυναικὸς οἶκον. διὰ τοῦτο 
καὶ ὡς κατασκόπους ἐτιάτο καὶ περὶ τοῦ γένους 
ἐπιθυμόντων πρόφαγος τοῦ γινώσκει, εἰ περίεστιν ὁ 
ἀδελφὸς, ἀλλὰ μή ἐξ ἐπιθυμηθῆς ἀνήρηται, καὶ ἔνα 
κατέσχε τούς ἄλλους ἐάσας ἀπαίρειν ὁμολογη-
σαντας ἀγαγεῖν τὸν νεώτατον, ὅταν ἰδεῖν μάλιστ' 
ἐπόθει καὶ τῆς ἐπ' αὐτοῦ χαλεπῆς καὶ βαρυτάτης 
234 ἀνίας ἀπαλλαγῆναι, καὶ ἐπείδη παρεγένετο καὶ τὸν 
ἀδελφὸν ἐθεάσατο, μικρὸν ὅσον ἀνεθεὶς τῆς φρον-
τίδος, καλέσας ἐπ' ἐνιάν καὶ ἑστὶν πολυτελεσ-
τέραις εὐώχῃ τὸν ὁμομήτριον παρασκευαῖς, ἀπο-
βλέπων εἰς ἐκαστὸν καὶ τεκμαιρόμενος ἐκ τῆς 
235 ὅψεως, εἰ τις αὐτοῖς ὑποικουρεῖ φθόνος, καὶ ὡς 
ἀσμενιζόντας ἐώρα καὶ ἀναχεομένος ἐπ' ἐπὶ τοῦ 
νεώτατος τιμῆ, δυσὶν ἢδη μαρτυρίαι σημειω-
σάμενος τὸ μηδὲν ἔχθος υποτύφεσθαι καὶ τρίτην 
ἐπενόησε, τὴν τοῦ κεκλέφθαι δοκοῦντος ἐκπώματος

1 Cohn and Mangey's punctuation seems to me faulty in 
this sentence. They place full stops after ἀπαλλαγῆναι and 
φθόνος (Mangey also after ἀνήρηται). But surely it is all one 
sentence introduced by διὰ τοῦτο and stating that all these 
steps were taken as a test.

a Benjamin's "mess" was five times as much as any of 
252
against him were brought over to his ways. Such is the gratitude which you will earn, and what greater could be earned? For what greater boon could a father have than the recovery of a son of whose safety he has despaired?

XXXIX. All this and what had gone before was intended to test what feeling they shewed under the eyes of the governor to his own mother’s son. For he feared that they might have had that natural estrangement which the children of a stepmother often shew to the family of another wife who was no less esteemed than their own mother. This was the reason why he accused them of spying, and questioned them on their kin in order to know whether that brother was alive and had not been the victim of a plot, and also why he detained one when he let the others depart after agreeing to bring the youngest, whom he greatly yearned to see and thus shake off the trouble which weighed on him so heavily. This again was why, though when he came to join them and seeing his brother felt just a little relieved, he after inviting them to the hospitality of his board entertained his mother’s son on a richer scale than the rest, but meanwhile observed each of them to judge from their looks whether they still cherished some secret envy. Finally it was for the same reason that when he saw how pleased and overjoyed they were at the honour paid to that brother and thus had established by two testimonies that there was no smouldering enmity, he devised this third testimony, namely to pretend that the

their, Gen. xliii. 34. Philo has rather strangely omitted to mention this in his account of the feast. Josephus, Ant. ii. 125, gives the same reason for the action.
αἰτίαν ἀναθέες τῷ νεωτάτῳ· σαφέστατος γὰρ ἔμελλεν ἐλεγχὸς οὕτοσι γενέσθαι τῆς ἐκάστου διανοίας καὶ οἰκειότητος τῆς πρὸς τὸν συκοφάν-236 τούμενον ἀδελφὸν. εξ ὑπὸ ἄπαντων ἡδὴ συνεπεί-θετο περὶ τοῦ μὴ καταστασιάζεσθαι μηδὲ ἐπι-βουλεύεσθαι τὸν μητρὸν οἶκον λογισμὸν τε εἰκότα καὶ περὶ τῶν αὐτῶν συμβεβηκότων ἐλάμβανεν, ὡς οὐκ ἐπιβουλαῖς ἀδελφῶν αὐτὰ μᾶλλον εἰπὶ πεπονθῶς ἢ κατὰ πρόνοιαν θεοῦ τὰ μακρὰ ἐμβλέποντος καὶ τὰ μέλλοντα οὐχ ἦττον τῶν παρόντων ὀρῶντος.

237 XL. Εἰτ’ ἐπὶ συμβάσεις καὶ καταλλαγάς ἴετο νικάμενος ὑπὸ φιλοκείου πάθους καὶ ὑπὲρ τοῦ μηδὲν οἶνων προσβαλεῖν τοῖς ἀδελφοῖς ἕνεκα τῆς πράξεως οὐδένα τῶν Αἰγυπτίων ἐδικαίωσε παρεῖναι 238 κατὰ τὴν πρώτην ἀναγνώρισιν· ἀλλὰ κελεύσας ἀπασαν τὴν θεραπείαν μεταστήναι, πηγήν τινα δακρύων ἐξαιρετικός ἀνείς καὶ τῇ δεξιά προσελθεὶν ἐγγυτέρω σημήνας, ὥστε μηδὶ ἐκ τῆς ἐπακούσαι τοῖς ἀλλοις δυνηθῆ, φησίν αὐτοῖς· "ἐπεσκιασμένον τράγμα καὶ χρόνῳ μακρῷ συγκεκρύφθαι δοκοῦν μέλλων ἀνακάλυπτεν μόνος μόνος ἀπαμ-πίσχω· ἀδελφὸν δὲν ἀπέδοσθε εἰς Ἀἰγυπτῷ, ἐκεῖνος 239 δὲν ὅρατε νῦν παρεστῶτα αὐτὸς εἰμὶ ἐγώ."

κατα- πλαγέντων δ’ αὐτῶν παρ’ ἐλπίδα καὶ διεπτομένων καὶ ὡσπέρ ὅλικῇ τινὶ βιαίῳ τὰς ὑπεις ἐπὶ γῆν κατα- βεβηκότων καὶ πεπηγοῦσιν ἀφώνων καὶ ἁχανῶν, [75] "μὴ κατηφείτε " ἐπεν, "ἀμνηστίαν ἀπάντων παρέχω τῶν εἰς ἐμὲ πεπραγμένων, μηδὲν ἐτέρου 240 δείσθε παρακλήτου· αὐτοκελεύστω καὶ ἐκουσίω γνώμη πρὸς συμβάσεις ἐθελοντῆς ἀφίγμαι συμβού- λοις1 χρησάμενος δυσί, τῇ τε πρὸς τὸν πατέρα

1 mss. συμβόλοις.
cup had been stolen, and charge the theft to the youngest. For this would be the clearest way of testing the real feeling of each, and their attachment to the brother thus falsely accused. On all these grounds he was now convinced that there was no factious conspiracy to undo his mother's family, and also considering what had happened to himself he came to the conclusion that his experiences were probably due not so much to their conspiring as to the providence of God Who beholds distant events and sees the future no less than the present.

XL. So then, overcome by family affection, he hastened to conclude his reconciliation. And that no reproach might attach to the brothers for their action he judged it best that no Egyptian should be present at the first recognition. Instead he bade all the staff to withdraw, and then suddenly shedding a flood of tears and beckoning to them with his right hand to approach nearer so that no one else could by chance hear him, he said: "I am going to reveal to you a matter which has been shrouded in darkness and long time hidden, and I do so while you and I are all alone. The brother whom you sold into Egypt is I myself, whom you see standing beside you." When, astonished and staggered at the unexpected news, they stood rooted to the spot mute and speechless with eyes cast to the ground as though drawn by some compelling force, "Be not downcast," he continued, "I forgive and forget all what you did to me. Do not ask for any other advocate. Of my own free, unbidden judgement I have voluntarily come to make my peace with you. In this I have two fellow-counsellors, my reverence
εὐσεβεία, ὃ τὸ πλείστον τῆς χάριτος ἀνατίθημι, καὶ τῇ φυσικῇ φιλανθρωπίᾳ, ἢ πρὸς ἀπαντᾶς δια-
φερόντως δὲ πρὸς τοὺς ἀφ’ αἰματος χρώμαι. Καὶ
νομίζω τῶν συμβεβηκότων οὐχ ὑμᾶς ἀλλὰ θεον
αἰτιον γεγενώμενα βουλθήντα με τῶν αὐτῶν χαρί-
των καὶ δωρεῶν, ὅσ ἣν τοῖς ἀναγκαστάτοις καιροῖς
ηξίωσε τῷ γένει τῶν ἀνθρωπῶν παρασχεῖν, ὑπη-
242 ῥέτην γενέσθαι καὶ διάκονου. ἐναργῇ δὲ πιστῶ
δύνασθε λαβεῖν εἰς ὅν ὀρᾶτε· πᾶσαν μὲν Αἴγυπτο-
ν ἐπιτρέψα τιμήν δὲ ἐκ τῆς πρώτην παρὰ τῶ
βασιλεὶ καὶ μὲ νέον ὄντα πρεσβύτερον ὅσ ὁ πατέρα
τιμᾶ· θεραπεύοι μη τού ὑπὸ τῶν ἐγχωρίων μάνον
ἀλλὰ καὶ ὑπὸ πλείστων ἄλλων ἔθνων, ὅσα καὶ
ὑπήκοα καὶ αὐτόνομα· χρεία γὰρ πάντα διὰ τὴν
243 ἐνδεικτὸς ὑποστῶτος. ἀργυρὸς τε καὶ χρυσὸς καὶ,
tὸ τοῦτων ἀναγκαίοτερον, αἱ τροφαί παρ’ ἐμοὶ μόνῳ
tαινεῖται διανέμουται καὶ κατακερματίζοντι πρὸς
τὰς ἀναγκαίας χρείας ἐκάστοις τῶν δεομένων, ὡς
μήτε τὶ τῶν εἰς τρυφὴν περίτευσαι μήτε τὶ τῶν
244 εἰς ἐκπλήρωσιν ἐνδειας ἐπιλιπεῖν. ἄλλ’ οὖν ἐναβρυ-
νόμενος καὶ σεμνώμενος ταῦτα διεξῆλθον, ἄλλ’
ἰη αἰσθησθε, ὅτι τῶν τηλειούντων οὕδεις ἐμέλλεν
ἀνθρώπων αἰτίος ἐσεθαί δούλῳ καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα
dεσμώτη γενομένω—καὶ γὰρ ἐδέθην ποτε συκο-
φάντησιν—, ἄλλ’ ὁ τὰς ἐσχάτας συμφοράς τε καὶ
dυσπραγίας μεθαρμοσάμενος εἰς τὰς ἀνωτάτω καὶ
245 πρώτας εὐτυχίας θεὸς ἢν, ὃ πάντα δυνατά. ταῦτα
ἐρμοῦ διανοούμενον, μηκέτι εὐλαβῶς ἔχετε τὰς δυσ-
φροσύνας ἐκποδῶν ποιήσαμεν καὶ πρὸς ἑλαφῶν
μεταβαλόντες εὐθυμίαν. εὖ δ’ ἂν ἔχοι καὶ πρὸς τὸν
πατέρα· συντείναι καὶ πρῶτων αὐτῷ τὰ περὶ τῆς
for our father, which is chiefly responsible for the favour I shew you, and the natural humanity which I feel to all men, and particularly to those of my blood. (And I consider that the cause of what has happened is not you but God, Who willed to use me as His servant, to administer the boons and gifts which He deigns to grant to the human race in the time of their greatest need. You can have a clear proof of this in what you see. All Egypt is committed to my hands, and I hold the first place of honour with the king, and though I am young, and he my elder, he honours me as a father. I have waiting on my will not only the inhabitants of the land, but most of the other nations, whether subject or independent, for because of the dearth they all need me at the head. Silver and gold are stored in my keeping alone, and, what is more necessary than these, the means of sustenance, which I distribute and parcel out to those who ask, according to their necessary requirements, so that they have no superfluities which might serve for luxury nor lack of what may satisfy actual want. But I have told you all this, not because I plume and pride myself thereon, but that you may perceive that no man could have caused such greatness to come to one who was a slave and afterwards a prisoner—for I was once in bonds under a false charge—but He Who turned my condition of extreme calamity into one of unequalled and exalted good fortune was God to Whom all things are possible. Since I am so disposed, fear no more, but cast aside your heaviness of heart and take a cheerful courage in its stead. It would be well that you should hasten to our father, and first of all give him the good tidings that you
έμής εὐφέρεσενευαγγελίσασθαιφθανοι γὰρ αἱ

246φημαί πανταχόσε." XLI. οἱ δὲ κατὰ
dιαδοχὴν τοὺς ἐπαύνουσ αὐτοῦ συνείροντες ἀπαύ-

στως ἀχαλίνοις στόμασιν ἐξύμνουν ἀλλὸς ἀλλὸ τί
dιεξόμενος, ο μὲν τὸ ἀμυνησίκακο, ο δὲ τὸ φιλοίκειον,
ο δὲ τὴν σύνεσιν, ἀπαντες ὁ ἀθρόο τὴν εὐσέβειαν

ἐπὶ τὸν θεὸν ἀναφέροντος τὰ τέλη τῶν κατορθο-
mένων καὶ μηκέτι ταῖς ἀβουλῆτοις ἀρχαῖς καὶ

πρώταις ἐνστάσει τῶν μη κατὰ γνώμην δυσχερά-
nυμνοσ καὶ τὴν ὑπερβάλλουσαν μετ' αἴδοις καρ-

247τερίαιν ὃς ἐν τοσαύταις γεγονόις ἀνωμαλίαις οὐτὲ
dουλέυων βλάσφημοιν οὐδὲν ἔπε κατὰ τῶν ἀδελφῶν

ὡς πεπρωκότων οὐτ' εἰς εἰρκτὴν ἀπαγόμενον ὑπʼ ἀθυμίας ἐξελάλησε τι τῶν ἀπορρήτων οὐτὲ πολύν

[76]χρόνον ἐκεῖ καταμένων, οία φίλει, τοῖς δεσμώταις

ἐθούς οίντους τὰς ἱδίας ἀτυχίας ἀναμετρεῖσθαι, ἀπ-

248 εὐμυμωσεν ἀλλ' ὃς μηδὲν εἰδὼς τῶν αὐτῶν συμβε-

βηκότων, ἀλλ' οὔδ' ὅτε τὰ ὀνείρατα διέκρινεν ἢ τοῖς

eυνούχοις ἢ τῷ βασιλεί, καὶ τὸν ἔχων εἰς μήνων

ἐπιτήδειον, ἐφθέγξατο τι περὶ τῆς ἱδίας εὐγενείας,

οὐδ' ὅτε βασιλέως ὑπάρχος ἐχειροτονεῖτο καὶ τής

Αἰγύπτου πάσης τῆς ἐπιμέλειαν καὶ προστασίαν

παρελάμβανεν, ἵνα μὴ δοξή τις εἶναι τῶν ἡμελη-
mένων καὶ ἀφανῶν, ἀλλὰ τῷ ὄντι εὐπατρίδης, οὐ

φύσει δοῦλος, ἀλλ' ἐπιβουλάς ὑφ' ὃν ἥκιστ' ἔχρην

249ἀνηκέστους ὑπομεμενήκας καὶ συμφορᾶς. ἐτὶ δὲ

πρὸς τοῦτοις ἐρρύη πολὺς ἐπαύνοσ ἰσότητος αὐτοῦ

καὶ δεξιότητος τὰς γὰρ τῶν ἀλλων ἀλαζονείας καὶ

a §§ 246–249 have no basis in Genesis. The nearest corres-

ponding text is xlv. 15 "and after that his brethren talked

258
have found me, for rumours travel fast in all direc-
tions." XLI. "The brothers, letting their tongues run freely, ceased not to sound his praises point by point. Each one had a different theme, one his readiness to forgive, one his family affection, one his prudence, while all united in praising his piety in attributing to God the success which crowned his career and abandoning all resentment at the unwelcome experiences which had attended its distressing opening and earliest stages. They praised also the pre-eminent self-restraint of his modest reticence. He had passed through all these vicissi-
tudes, yet neither while in slavery did he denounce his brothers for selling him nor when he was haled to prison did he in his despondency disclose any secret, nor during his long stay there make any revelations of the usual kind, since prisoners are apt to descant upon their personal misfortunes. He behaved as though he knew nothing of his past experiences, and not even when he was interpreting their dreams to the eunuchs or the king, though he had a suitable opportunity for disclosing the facts, did he say a word about his own high lineage. Nor yet, when he was appointed to be the king's viceroy and was charged with the superintendence and head-
ship over all Egypt, did he say anything to prevent the belief that he was of obscure and ignoble station, whereas he was really a noble, no slave by birth, but the unfortunate victim of the ruthless conspiracy of those who should have been the last to treat him so. In addition there was a great outflow of praise of his fairness and kind behaviour, for they knew the with him." Did Philo read or think he read περὶ for πρὸς αὐτὸν?
άπαγευσίας ἡγεμόνων εἰδότες ἐθαύμαζον τὸ ἀνεπί-
φαντον καὶ ἀτραγώδειον καὶ ως εὐθὺς ἰδὼν κατὰ 
τὴν προτέραν ὀδὸν ἀποκτεῖναι δυνάμενος ἢ τὸ γοῦν 
tελευταίοι λιμώττουσι τροφᾶς μὴ παρασχεῖν πρὸς 
tῷ μὴ τιμωρήσασθαι καὶ ως χάριτος ἀξίοις δωρεάν 
ἐδωκε τάπιτήδεια τὴν τιμήν αὐτῶν ἀποδοθῆναι 

250 κελεύσας. οὕτω μέντοι τὰ τῆς ἐπιβουλῆς καὶ 
πράσεως εἰς ἀπαν ἡγνοήθη καὶ διέλαθεν, ὥσθ᾿ οἱ ἐν 
tέλει τῶν Αἰγυπτίων συνήδοντο, ως πρῶτον ἄρτι 
tῶν ἀδελφῶν τοῦ προεστῶτος ἥκοντων, καὶ ἐπὶ 
ξενίαν ἐκάλουν καὶ φθάνοντες εὐηγγελίζοντο τῷ 
βασιλεῖ, καὶ πάντα διὰ πάντων ἔγεμε χαρᾶς οὐκ 
ἐλαττὸν ἢ εὐφόρησεν ἢ πεδιάς καὶ ὁ λιμὸς εἰς 

251 εὐθηνίαν μετέβαλε. XLII. γνοὺς δ᾿ ὁ βασιλεὺς, 
ὅτι καὶ πατήρ ἠστιν αὐτῷ καὶ ἡ γενεὰ πολυ-
ἄνθρωπος, προτρέπει μεταναστῆναι πανοικὶ τὴν 
βαθυγειοτάτην Ἀιγύπτου μοίραν ὁμολογήσας δε-
δωρήσας τοῖς ἀθικομένοις. ἀπήνας οὖν καὶ ἀρμα-
μάξας καὶ πλῆθος ὑποζυγίων τάπιτήδεια δίδωσι 
tοῖς ἀδελφοῖς καὶ θεραπείαν ἰκανὴν, 

252 Παραγενομένων δὲ καὶ τὰ περὶ τὸν ἀδελφὸν 
ἀπιστα καὶ μείζωνα ἐλπίδων δηγουμένων, οὐ πάνω 
προσείχε· κἂν γὰρ οἱ λέγοντες ἀξιοπιστότατοι, ἀλλ᾿ 
ἡ γε τοῦ πράγματος ὑπερβολὴ ραδίως συναινεῖν οὐκ 

253 ἐπέτρεπεν. ἰδὼν δὲ ὁ πρεσβύτης τὰς ἐν τοιούτω 

a Lit. “the last thing at any rate,” i.e. the extreme of 
clemency which could be expected. Cohn takes it with 
λιμώττουσι—“in the extremity of famine.” The position of 
γοῦν seems to me to be against this. Mangey postea certe, 
presumably meaning “at the conclusion of the interview.”
arrogance and gross rudeness of other governors, and admired the absence of obtrusiveness and blustering. They remembered how directly he saw them on their former expedition, though he might have put them to death or at the very least refused to provide them with food against the famine, so far from taking vengeance he treated them as worthy of his favour and gave them the victuals for nothing by bidding the price to be restored to them. In fact the story of their conspiracy and selling of him to slavery was so completely unknown and remained so secret that the chiefs of the Egyptians rejoiced to hear that the brothers of the governor had now for the first time come to visit him. They invited them to share their hospitality and hastened to bring the good news to the king, and universal joy reigned everywhere, no less than if the fields had borne fruit and the famine had been changed into abundance. XLII. When the king learned that his viceroy had a father and that his family was very numerous, he urged that the whole household should leave its present home, and promised to give the most fertile part of Egypt to the expected settlers. He therefore gave the brothers carts and wagons and a great number of beasts laden with provisions, and an adequate body of servants, that they might bring their father safely.

When they arrived home and told the story of their brother, so incredible and beyond anything he could have hoped for, he gave no heed to them at all, for, however worthy of credit the speakers might be, the extravagance of the tale did not allow him to assent to it readily. But, when the old man saw the equipments suited for an occasion of the kind,
καὶ χαρά παρασκευάς καὶ χορηγίας τῶν ἀναγκαίων ἀφθόνους τοῖς περὶ τούτου λεγομένους εὐτυχήμασι συναδούσας ὑμεῖς τὸν θεόν, ὅτι τὸ δοκοῦ ἐκλειοῦν. ἢ δὲ χαρά καὶ φόβον εὐθὺς ἔγεννησε τῇ ψυχῇ περὶ τῆς τῶν πατρών ἐκδιαιτήσεως. ἤδει γὰρ καὶ νεότητα εὐόλυσθον φύσει καὶ ἐξενείλας τὴν εἰς τὸ ἀμαρτάνειν ἐκεχειρίαν καὶ μάλιστα τῆς ἐν Αἴγυπτῳ χώρας [77] τυφλωττούσης περὶ τὸν ἀληθὴθθεόν ἔνεκα τοῦ γεννητα καὶ ὑπηρτάθεσιν καὶ προσετή πλουτοῦ καὶ δόξης ἐπιθέσεις (ἀς) οὐ λυγόφροσι διανοίας ἐπιτίθενται καὶ διότι ἀπολειφθεῖσα, μηδενὸς τῶν ἐκ τῆς πατρώας οἰκίας συνεξεληλυθότος σωφρονιστοῦ, μόνος ὁ οὐ καὶ ἔρημος θεοδοσία καὶ πόλεμον ἔτοιμον ἔσται πρὸς τῆς πατρῴας μεταβολῆν. οὐτως ὁ δὲ διακείμενον ὡδῶν ὃ μόνῳ δυνατὸν ἄρατον ψυχὴν ὡδὸν λαμβάνει καὶ κομμωμένῳ νῦκτωρ ἐπιφανεῖς φησι. " μηδὲν εὐλαβοῦ περὶ τῆς εἰς Αἴγυπτον ἄφέξεως αὐτὸς ἡγεμονεύσω τῆς ὁδοῦ παρέχων τῆς ἀποδημίαν ἀσφαλῆ καὶ εὐάρεστον· ἀποδώσω μὲν τοῦ καὶ τὸν τριπόθητον ὡδὸν, οὐ ποτε τεθνάναι νομοθείς ἐκ πολυετίας οὐ ζῶν μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ χώρας τοσαύτης ἡγεμών ἀναφαίνεται." πληρωθεὶς δὲ εὐπληστιάς άμα τῇ ἐω γεγηθῶς ἐπέσπευδεν. 256 ὁ δὲ νῦν ἐκούσας—σκοποὶ γὰρ καὶ φραστήρες τῆς ὁδοῦ πάντ᾽ ἔδηλουν—οὐ μακρὰν τῶν ὁρίων ἀπέχοντα διὰ ταχέων ἀπήντα τῷ πατρὶ· καὶ κατὰ τὴν καλουμένην Ἡρώων πόλιν ἐντυχόντες ἐπιπίπτουσιν

1 My insertion. The sentence evidently needs correction, which Cohn would make by expunging ἐπιτίθενται.

2 Most MSS. συνεξεληλυθότων or ἐξ., one ἐξεληλυθότος.

3 So MSS., Cohn, and Mangey; but? ἀπέχοντι.
and that the lavish supplies of all that was needed agreed with the story they told him of his son, he praised God that He had filled the seeming gap in his house. But joy also straightway begat fear in his soul at the thought of leaving his ancestral way of life. For he knew how natural it is for youth to lose its footing and what licence to sin belongs to the stranger’s life, particularly in Egypt where things created and mortal are deified, and in consequence the land is blind to the true God. He knew what assaults wealth and renown make on minds of little sense, and that left to himself, since his father’s house supplied no monitor to share his journey, alone and cut off from good teaching, he would be readily influenced to change to alien ways. Such were his feelings when He Whose eye alone can see the invisible soul took pity, and in his sleep at night appeared to him and said, “Fear not to go to Egypt. I Myself will guide thee on the road and make the journey safe and to thy pleasure. Further, I will restore to thee the son for whom thou hast so greatly yearned, who once was thought dead, but now, after many years, is found not only alive but a ruler of that great country.” Then, filled with high hopes, he hastened at dawn to set forth rejoicing. But his son when he heard it, informed of all by the scouts who watched the road, proceeded with all speed to meet his father when he was not far from the boundary. And when the two met at the place called the Heroes’

a Gen. xlvi. 4 “and Joseph shall put his hands upon thine eyes.” Did Philo fail to understand this phrase, which does not occur again in the LXX? The idea of closing the eyes of the dead, otherwise expressed, was of course familiar to him in the classics, cf. § 23 above.
PHILO

άλληλοις τάς κεφαλάς ἐπὶ τῶν αὐχένων ἐρείσαντες καὶ τάς ἐσθήτας δάκρυσι φύροντες πολυχρωνίων ἀσπασμάτων ἀπλήστως ἐνεφοροῦντο καὶ μόλις 257 παυσάμενοι συνέτεινον ἄχρι τῶν βασιλείων. θεασάμενος δὲ ὁ βασιλεὺς καὶ τὴν ὅψιν καταπλαγεῖς τῆς σεμνότητος ώς οὐχ ὑπάρχου πατέρα ἀλλ' ἕαυτοῦ μετὰ πάσης αἰδοῦς καὶ τιμῆς ἐδεξιοῦτο· καὶ μετὰ τὰς ἐν ἐθεὶ καὶ ἐξαιρέτους φιλοφροσύνας δίδωσιν αὐτῷ γῆς ἀποτομήν ἀρετῶσαν καὶ μόλις σφόδρα εὐκαρπον, τοὺς τε υἱοὺς αὐτοῦ πυνθανόμενοι εἰναι κτηνοτρόφους τὴν πολλὴν οὐσίαν ἔχοντας ἐν θρέμμασι καθίστησιν ἐπιμελητάς τῶν ἰδίων αἰτόλια καὶ βουκόλια καὶ ποίμνας καὶ μυρίας ὅσα ἀγέλας ἐγχειρίσασαν αὐτοῖς.

258 XLIII. Ὁ δὲ νεανίας τοσάυτη πίστεws ἐχρήσατο ύπερβολὴ, ὡστε τῶν καιρῶν καὶ τῶν πραγμάτων εἰς ἀργυρισμὸν παρεχόντων πλείστας ὅσα ἀφορμάς, δυνηθεὶς δ' ὀλίγου πλουσίωτατος τῶν κατ' αὐτὸν γενέσθαι, τὸν γνήσιον ὡς ἀληθῶς πρὸ τοῦ νόθου πλούτου καὶ τὸν βλέποντα πρὸ τοῦ τυφλοῦ θαυμάσας ἀπαντά τὸν ἄργυρον καὶ χρυσόν, ὦσον ἐκ τῆς τιμῆς ἥθροισε τοῦ σίτου, ἐν τοῖς βασιλέως ἠθησαυρίζετο ταμιείοις οὐδὲμίαν δραχμήν νοσφισάμενος, ἀλλὰ μόναις ἀρκεσθεὶς ταῖς δωρεάις, αἰς ἀμειβόμενος 259 ἐκεῖνος ἀντεχαρίζετο. καθάπερ τε οἰκίαις μίαν

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a So lxx. E.V. Goshen.
b §§ 258-260 are a very free version of Gen. xlvii. 13-26. Joseph’s honesty is deduced from verse 14 ‘‘Joseph brought
City a they laid their heads upon each other's neck and while the tears smeared their raiment lingered long in embraces of which they could not take their fill, and, when at last they brought themselves to cease therefrom, pressed onwards to the king's court. When the king beheld him, overcome by his venerable appearance, he welcomed him with all modesty and respect, as though he were the father not of his viceroy but of himself. And, after the usual, and more than the usual, courtesies had passed, he gave him a portion of land, rich of soil and very fruitful. And, learning that the sons were graziers who had much substance of cattle, he appointed them keepers of his own, and put into their charge flocks and herds innumerable of goats and oxen and sheep.

XLIII. b Now the young man's honesty was exceedingly great, so much so that, though the times and state of affairs gave him very numerous opportunities for gaining wealth, and he might have soon become the richest of his contemporaries, his reverence for the truly genuine riches rather than the spurious, the seeing rather than the blind, led him to store up in the king's treasuries all the silver and gold which he collected from the sale of corn and refuse to appropriate to himself a single drachma, contented with nothing more than the gifts with which the king repaid his services. The excellence all the money into Pharaoh's house.” Philo omits the stages by which the property and land of the Egyptians passed into the king's hand, and the tax of one-fifth of the produce imposed upon them. That the gift of seed was only made in the seventh year of the famine might be fairly inferred from the LXX in verse 24 “and the land shall have its produce” (ἔσται δὲ γεννήματα αὐτῆς). The appointment of overseers has no parallel in Genesis.
Αὐγυπτὸν καὶ σὺν αὐτῇ χώρας ἑτέρας καὶ ἔθνῃ πιεσθέντα τῷ λυμῷ παντὸς λόγου κρείττον ἐπετρόπευσεν ὁ ἀνήρ οὕτος κατὰ τὸ πρέπον διανέμων τὰς τροφὰς καὶ ἄφορών οὐκ εἰς τὸ παρὸν μόνον λυσιτελεῖς ἄλλα καὶ τὴν πρὸς τὸ μέλλον ὄφελεῖαν.

ήνικα γοῦν ὁ ἔβδομος ἐνιαυτὸς τῆς ἐνδείας ἐνέστη, [78] μεταπεμψάμενοι τοὺς γεωργοὺς—ἡδὴ γὰρ τῆς εὐφορίας καὶ εὐθυνίας ἐλπὶς ἢν—ἔδιδον κριθὰς τε καὶ πυρὸς εἰς σπέρματα φροντίσασθαι καταθείναι δὲ εἰς τὰς ἀρούρας ἤλαβεν, ὀπτῆρας καὶ ἔφορους ἐπιλέξας ἀριστίνην, ὦ τῆν ὁποῖαν παραφυλάξουσι.

261 Μετὰ δὲ τὸν λιμὸν χρόνου μακρῶς ὦστερον τελευτήσατο τοῦ πατρός, ὑπονοίᾳ πληθέντες οἱ ἄδελφοι καὶ δείσαντες, μὴ τι χαλεπὸν πάθωσι μνησικάκια, τραβήγματε ἐδέοντο Χιπαρώς ἐπιαγόμενοι γυναῖκας καὶ γενεάν. ὃ δ' ἐπιδακρύσας φησίν: "ὁ μὲν καιρὸς ἰκανὸς ὑπόνοιαν κατασκευάσαι τοὺς ἀφόρητα ἐργασαμένους καὶ μὴ δι' ἐτέρου μᾶλλον ἡ τοῦ συνειδότος ἐλεγχομένους. ἡ γὰρ τελευτή τοῦ πατρός τὸν ἀρχαῖον φόβον, ὃν πρὸ τῶν καταλαγών εἴχετε, κεκαίνωκεν, ὥς τοῦ μὴ λυπήσασθαι τὸν πατέρα χάριν τὴν ἀμνηστίαν ἐμοῦ παρασχόντος.

262 ἕγω δὲ τὸν τρόπον οὐ χρόνοις μεταβάλλομαι οὐδ' ὁμολογήσας ἐνζευγνός εἶναι δράσῳ ποτὲ τὰ ἀσπονδὰ. οὐ γὰρ ὑπερθέσεις ἀμύνης ἐκαιροφυλάκουν, ἀλλὰ τὴν εἰς ἀπὸ τοῦ καταλαγῆν τῆς κολάσεως ἐχαριζόμην ἐπινέμων τὸ μέν τι τιμῆ τοῦ πατρός—δει γὰρ ἁψευδεῖν—, τὸ δὲ τι εὐνοία τῇ πρὸς ὅμας ἀναγκαίᾳ.

1 So Mangey: Cohn and mss. καταθεῖναι τε.
2 mss. μνησικακίας.
with which he managed Egypt, as though it were a single household, and also the other famine-stricken lands and nations was beyond all words, and he dispensed the lands and food as was suitable, looking not only to present profit but also to future advantage. Accordingly, when the seventh year of dearth came, having now reason to hope for plentiful harvests, he sent for the farmers and gave them barley and wheat as seed, and at the same time, to ensure that no one should embezzle it instead of putting it in the fields, he appointed men of high merit as inspectors and supervisors to watch the sowing.

Many years after the famine his father died, and his brothers, attacked by misgivings and fears that he might still harbour malice and wreak his vengeance on them, approached him with their wives and families and made earnest supplication. But he, moved to tears, said: “The occasion might well raise misgivings in those whom conscience rather than others convicts of intolerable misdoing. My father’s death has awakened the old fear which you felt before our reconciliation, with the idea that I gave you my pardon only to save my father from sorrow. But time does not change my character, nor, after promising to keep the peace with you, will I ever violate it by my actions. I was not watching for the hour of vengeance repeatedly delayed, but I freely granted you immunity from punishment once for all, partly no doubt influenced, for I must tell the truth, by respect for my father, but partly by the goodwill which I cannot but feel towards you. And, even if it were

a For §§ 261-268 see Gen. 1. 15-end.
PHILO

264 εἴ δὲ καὶ πατρὸς ἕνεκα πάντ᾽ ἐποίουν τὰ χρηστὰ καὶ 
φιλάνθρωπα, φυλάξω ταῦτα καὶ πατρὸς τετελευ-
τηκότος. τέθνηκε δ᾽ οúdeis παρ᾽ ἐμοὶ κριτῇ τῶν 
ἀγαθῶν ἀνδρῶν, ἄλλα καὶ ζήσεται τὸν ἄει χρόνον 
ἀγήρως, ἀθανάτω φύσει ψυχῇ μὴκέτι ταῖς σώματος 
265 ἀνάγκαις ἐνδεδεμένη. τί δὲ δεὶ μόνον μεμηθαί 
tοῦ γενητοῦ πατρὸς; ἔχομεν τὸν ἀγένητον, τὸν 
ἀφθαρτον, τὸν αἴδιον, “δς ἐφορᾶ πάντα καὶ πάντων 
ἐπακούει” καὶ τῶν ἰσυχαζόντων, τὸν ἀεὶ βλέποντα 
καὶ τὰ ἐν μυχοῖς τῆς διανοίας, ὃν μάρτυρα καλῷ 
266 τοῦ συνειδότος ἔπι ἀψευδέσι καταλλαγαῖς. ἐγὼ 
γάρ, καὶ μὴ θαυμάσητε μου τὸν λόγον, τοῦ θεοῦ 
eἰμὶ τοῦ τὰ πονηρά βουλεύματα ύμῶν εἰς ἀγαθῶν 
περιούσιαν μεθαρμοσάμενον. γίνεσθε οὖν ἄφοβοι 
καὶ πρὸς τὸ μέλλον χρησιμωτέρων μεθέξοντες ἡ 
267 ζώντος ἐτί τοῦ πατρὸς ἐκαρποῦσθε.” XLIV. τοι-
ούτοις θαρσύνας τοὺς ἀδελφοὺς λόγοις, ἔργοις τὰς 
υποσχέσεις ἐβεβαίου μᾶλλον οὐδὲν παραλίπου τῶν 
eἰς ἐπιμέλειαν. μετὰ δὲ τὸν λιμὸν, ἐπ᾽ ἐυθηνίᾳ 
καὶ ἐυετηρίᾳ τῆς χώρας ἡδὴ γεγνήσων τῶν 
οἰκητῶν, ἐτιμάτο πρὸς ἀπάντων ἀμοιβὰς 
ἀντεκτοντων ὑπὲρ ὡν εὗ πεπόνθησαν ἐν καιροῖς 
268 ἀβουλίτους. ἡ δὲ φήμη ρυεΐσα τὰς ἐξῆς πόλεις 
κατέπλησε τῆς ἐπὶ τῶ ἄνδρι εὐκλείας. ἔτη 
δὲ βιώσας δέκα πρὸς τοὺς ἐκατόν ἐτελεύτησεν 
eὐγῆρως ἐπ᾽ ἀκρον ἐλθὼν εὔμορφας καὶ φρονή-
269 σεως καὶ λόγων δυνάμεως. μαρτυρεῖ δὲ τὸ μὲν 

1 mss. πρὸς (or omit): some have τετελευτηκότα for -ότος.

a Cohn places the comma after φύσει, “will live proof against old age in an immortal existence with a soul,” etc.

268
for my father’s sake that I acted with this kindness and humanity, I will continue in the same now that he is gone. In my judgement, no good man is dead, but will live for ever, proof against old age, with a soul immortal in its nature no longer fettered by the restraints of the body. But why should I mention that father who is but a creature? We have the uncreated Father, the Imperishable, the Eternal, “Who surveys all things and hears all things,” even when no word is spoken, He Who ever sees into the recesses of the mind, Whom I call as witness to my conscience, which affirms that that was no false reconciliation. For I,—do not marvel at my words, —belong to God Who converted your evil schemes into a superabundance of blessings. Rid yourselves, then, of fear, since in the future greater advantage will fall to your share than you enjoyed while our father was still alive.” XLIV. With such words he encouraged his brothers, and by his actions he confirmed his promises, leaving nothing undone which could shew his care for their interests.

But, after the famine, when the inhabitants were now rejoicing in the prosperity and fertility of the land, he was honoured by them all, who thus requited the benefits which they had received from him in the times of adversity. And rumour, floating into the neighbouring states, filled them with his renown. He died in a goodly old age, having lived 110 years, unsurpassed in comeliness, wisdom and power of language. His personal beauty is

\[\text{269}\]

\[\text{b} \quad \text{Il. iii. 277, Od. xi. 109, xii. 323 ός πάντ' ἑφορᾶ καὶ πάντ' ἐπακούει (of the sun).}\]

\[\text{c} \quad \text{So rxx. (Gen. l. 19). E.V. “Am I in the place of God (to punish you)?” Philo has made use of the text in the same sense De Mig. 22 and 160, De Som. ii. 107.}\]
[79] κάλλος τοῦ σώματος ἐρως δὲ ἐξέμηνεν ἔπ᾽ αὐτῷ γυναίκα, τῇ δὲ σύνεσιν ἡ ἐν ταῖς ἀμυθήτοις τῶν κατὰ τὸν βίον ἀνωμαλίας ὁμολόγης εὐαρμοστίαν τοῖς ἀναρμόστοις καὶ συμφωνίαν τοῖς ἐξ αὐτῶν ἀσυμφώνοις ἐργασμένη, τῇ δὲ τῶν λόγων δύναμιν ἡ τε τῶν ὑνεράτων διάκρισις καὶ ἡ ἐν ταῖς ὀμιλίαις εὐπεια καὶ ἡ παρακολουθήσασα πειθῶ, δι᾽ ἡν οὐδεὶς τῶν ἁρχομένων ἀνάγκη μᾶλλον ἡ ἐκὼν ὑπήκουε. τούτων δὲ τῶν ἐνιαυτῶν ἐπτακαίδεκα μὲν ἀχρι μειρακίου διέτριβεν ἐν τῇ πατρῷα οἰκίᾳ, τρισκαίδεκα δ᾽ ἐν ταῖς ἀβουλήτοις συντυχίαις, ἐπιβουλευόμενος, πιπρασκόμενος, δουλεύων, συκοφαντούμενος, ἐν δεσμωτηρίῳ καταδούμανός, τοὺς δὲ ἄλλους ὑγνῄκοντα ἐν ἡγεμονίᾳ καὶ εὐπραγίᾳ τῇ πάσῃ, λιμοῦ καὶ εὐθηνίᾳ ἐφορος καὶ βραβευτῆς ἄριστος, τὰ πρὸς ἐκάτερον καιρὸν πρυτανεύων ἰκανώτατος.
attested by the furious passion which a woman conceived for him; his good sense by the equable temper he shewed amid the numberless inequalities of his life, a temper which created order in disorder and concord where all was naturally discordant; his power of language by his interpretations of the dreams and the fluency of his addresses and the persuasiveness which accompanied them, which secured him the obedience, not forced but voluntary, of every one of his subjects. Of these years he spent 270 seventeen up to adolescence in his father's house, thirteen in painful misfortunes, the victim of conspiracy, sold into slavery, falsely accused, chained in a prison, and the other eighty as a ruler and in complete prosperity, a most admirable supervisor and arbiter in times both of famine and plenty, and most capable of presiding over the requirements of both.
MOSES I
(DE VITA MOSIS)
INTRODUCTION TO DE VITA MOSIS I AND II

The first of these two treatises covers, as is stated at the beginning of the second, the early life and education of Moses and the main facts of his work as King; that is, as the leader of the Israelites in their escape from Egypt and adventures in the wilderness. It runs on very straightforwardly and does not call for any detailed analysis. There is only one attempt at allegory, viz. the reflections on the meaning of the vision of the Burning Bush. 

The second treatise is far more complicated. It treats the character of Moses under three heads, the legislative, the high-priestly and the prophetic, a method which necessarily precludes any chronological arrangement. The first division as it stands begins with some general remarks on the need of these three qualifications as adjuncts to the ideal king (1-11), and proceeds to base the glory of Moses as a legislator first on the permanence of his laws (12-16), secondly on the respect paid to them by other nations (17-24) in support of which he adds an account of the making of the Septuagint (25-44). To these is to be added the greatness of the law-book itself, but this passes away into a justification of the scheme by which the

* Treated by all mss. and all editions before Cohn as three; the second ending at § 65. This is almost certainly erroneous. Philo in De Virt. 52 speaks of two books, and the concluding words of ii. 1 ἦν δὲ νῦν συντάττομεν περὶ τῶν ἔπομένων καὶ ἀκολούθων, if considered in connexion with the sequel, clearly imply the same.

† This is hardly an allegory in the usual sense. The vision is interpreted not in any spiritual or theological way, but as a figure of the nation's condition at the time. Contrast with De Fuga, 161 ff.

* On the question whether something has been lost see App. p. 606.
ON MOSES I AND II

legislative element is preceded by the historical, and this is followed by a dissertation on how the historical part records the punishment of the wicked and the salvation of the good, this last including a detailed account of Noah and the Ark (45-65).

In the second division the discussion of Moses as priest leads to a detailed description of the tabernacle and its appurtenances (66-108 and 136-140), the priest’s vesture with its symbolism (109-135), the appointment of the priests and Levites (141-158) and this last to an account of the part played by the Levites in punishing the idolatry of the Golden Calf (159-173), and finally of the vindication of the superiority of the priests by the blossoming of Aaron’s rod (174-186).

The third division treating of Moses as prophet is subdivided according as his pronouncements are made from an oracle given in answer to his question or from his own prophetic inspiration (181-191). Four examples are given of each: of the former, (a) the sentence on the blasphemer (192-208), (b) on the Sabbath-breaker (209-220), (c) special regulations as to the Passover (221-232), (d) the law of inheritance (233-245). As examples of the latter he gives Moses’ prophecies (a) of the destruction of the Egyptians (246-257), (b) of the manna (258-269), (c) of the slaughter of the idolaters (270-274) and (d) the destruction of Korah and his companions (275-287). The treatise ends with a few sections about the end of Moses. Altogether the two books, between them, cover most of the story of Moses as given in the Pentateuch, the only really serious omission being that of the theophany on Sinai.6

6 Noted however by Philo himself as an exhortation rather than a prophecy.

b This would be more intelligible if one might suppose that the Life of Moses was, from the first, intended to be an integral part of the Exposition (see Gen. Introd. pp. xv f.), since the story of Sinai is treated at considerable length in De Decal. 32 ff.

Other omissions are Jethro’s visit to Moses, the death of Aaron, and the appointment of Joshua as successor. Philo himself remarks on his omission of the last in De Virt. 52 ff.
ΠΕΡΙ ΤΟΥ ΒΙΟΥ ΜΩΥΣΕΩΣ
ΛΟΓΟΣ ΠΡΩΤΟΣ

[80] 1. Μωυσέως τοῦ κατὰ μὲν τινὰς νοημοθέτου τῶν Ἰουδαίων, κατὰ δὲ τινὰς ἐρμηνεύως νόμων ἱερῶν, τὸν βίον ἀναγράψαι διενοθήθην, ἀνδρὸς τὰ πάντα μεγίστου καὶ τελειοτάτου, καὶ γνώριμον τοῖς ἀξίωσις μὴ ἄγνοεῖν αὐτὸν ἀποφήναι. τῶν μὲν γὰρ νόμων τὸ κλέος, οὕς ἀπολέοιτε, διὰ πάσης τῆς οἰκουμένης πεφοιτηκός ἁχρὶ καὶ τῶν τῆς γῆς τερμάτων ἐφθακεν, αὐτὸν δὲ ὅστις ἦν ἐπ’ ἀληθείας ἰσαίσιν οὐ πολλοί, διὰ φθόνον ἰσώς καὶ ἐν οὐκ ὀλίγοις τῶν διατεταγμένων ὑπὸ τῶν κατὰ πόλεις νομοθετῶν ἐναντίωσιν οὐκ ἔθελεν τῶν μνήμης ἀξιόωσαι τῶν παρ’ Ἑλλησὶ λογίων. ὅν οἱ πλείους τὰς δυνάμεις ἄς ἔσχον διὰ παιδείας ὑβρισαν ἐν τε ποιήμασι καὶ [81] τοῖς καταλογάδην συγγράμμαι κωμωδίας καὶ συμβαριτικὰς ἀσελγείας συνθέντες, περιβόητον αἰσχύνην, οὕς ἔδει ταῖς φύσεσι καταχρήσασθαι πρὸς τὴν τῶν ἁγαθῶν ἀνδρῶν τε καὶ βίων ψφήγησιν, ἤν μήτε τι καλὸν ἔσχον ἀρχαῖον ἤ νέον ἀφανισθῇ λάμψας ἅγια ἄμεινον μήτ αὖ τὰς ἀμείνους ὑποθέσεις παρελθόντες τὰς ἀναξίους ἀκοῆς προ- κρινάι δοκῶς σπουδάζοντες τὰ κακὰ καλῶς ἀπ- 4 αγγέλλειν εἰς ὁνειδῶν ἐπιφάνειαν. ἀλλ’ ἐγὼ γὰρ τὴν 276
I. I purpose to write the life of Moses, whom some describe as the legislator of the Jews, others as the interpreter of the Holy Laws. I hope to bring the story of this greatest and most perfect of men to the knowledge of such as deserve not to remain in ignorance of it; for, while the fame of the laws which he left behind him has travelled throughout the civilized world and reached the ends of the earth, the man himself as he really was is known to few. Greek men of letters have refused to treat him as worthy of memory, possibly through envy, and also because in many cases the ordinances of the legislators of the different states are opposed to his. Most of these authors have abused the powers which education gave them, by composing in verse or prose comedies and pieces of voluptuous licence, to their widespread disgrace, when they should have used their natural gifts to the full on the lessons taught by good men and their lives. In this way they might have ensured that nothing of excellence, old or new, should be consigned to oblivion and to the extinction of the light which it could give, and also save themselves from seeming to neglect the better themes and prefer others unworthy of attention, in which all their efforts to express bad matter in good language served to confer distinction on shameful
τούτων βασκανίαν υπερβάς τὰ περὶ τὸν ἄνδρα μηνύσω μαθῶν αὐτὰ κακό βιβλίων τῶν ἱερῶν, ἃς θαυμάσια μνημεῖα τῆς αὐτοῦ σοφίας ἀπολέλοιπε, καὶ παρὰ τινῶν ἀπὸ τοῦ ἐθνοῦς πρεσβυτέρων τὰ γὰρ λεγόμενα τοῖς ἀναγνώσκομένοις ἀεὶ συν- ύφασιν καὶ διὰ τούτῳ ἐδοξά μᾶλλον ἔτερων τὰ περὶ τὸν βίον ἀκριβῶσαι.

5 II. "Αρξόμεθα δ’ ἀφ’ ὁπερ ἀναγκαῖον ἀρξάσθαι. Μωυσῆς γένος μὲν ἐστὶ Χαλδαῖος, ἐγεννήθη δ’ ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ καὶ ἔτραφη, τῶν προγόνων αὐτοῦ διὰ πολυχρόνιον λιμῶν, ὡς Βαβυλῶνα καὶ τοὺς πλησιω- χώρους ἔπειξε, κατὰ ζήτησιν τροφῆς εἰς Αἰγύπτου πανοικὶ μεταναστάτων, γῇ πεδίάδα καὶ βαθείαν καὶ πρὸς πάντα γονιμωτάτην, ὡν ἡ ἀνθρωπίνη φύσις δεῖται, καὶ μάλιστα τὸν τοῦ σιτοῦ καρπὸν. 6 ο γὰρ ταύτης ποταμὸς θέρων ἀκμάζοντος, ἓνικα τοὺς ἄλλους φασὶ μειούσθαι χειμάρρους τε καὶ αὐθιγειρέται, ἐπιβαίνων τε καὶ ἀναχεόμενος πλημ- μυρεῖ καὶ λιμνάζει τὰς ἀροῦρας, αἱ υστεροῦ ὑδάτων ὕπος ἀφθονίαν παντοίων ἀνὰ πᾶν ἔτος χορηγοῦσι, εὐ ποὺ μεσολαβήσει οὐτή τιθεό τῷ ἐπιπολάζοντων ἀσέβειαν τῶν οἰκητῶν. 7 πατρὸς δὲ καὶ μητρὸς ἐλαχε τῶν καθ’ ἐαυτοῦ ἀρίστων, οὓς φυλέτας ὄντας ἡ ἁμφροσύνη μᾶλλον ὥσκεισθαι ὡ τὸ γένος. ἐβδόμῃ γενεὰ ἐνδό ἐκ’ οὗτός ἐστιν ἀπὸ τοῦ πρώτου, ὅσ ἐπηλήμυν ὁν τοῦ σύμ- παντος Ἰουδαίων ἐθνοὺς ἀρχηγέτης ἐγένετο. III. 8 τροφῆς δ’ ἡς ψώθη βασιλικῆς ἕν αὐτίας τοιάσθε.
subjects. But I will disregard their malice, and tell the story of Moses as I have learned it, both from the sacred books, the wonderful monuments of his wisdom which he has left behind him, and from some of the elders of the nation; for I always interwove what I was told with what I read, and thus believed myself to have a closer knowledge than others of his life's history.

II. I will begin with what is necessarily the right place to begin. Moses was by race a Chaldean, but was born and reared in Egypt, as his ancestors had migrated thither to seek food with their whole households, in consequence of the long famine under which Babylon and the neighbouring populations were suffering. Egypt is a land rich in plains, with deep soil, and very productive of all that human nature needs, and particularly of corn. For the river of this country, in the height of summer, when other streams, whether winter torrents or spring-fed, are said to dwindle, rises and overflows, and its flood makes a lake of the fields which need no rain but every year bear a plentiful crop of good produce of every kind, if not prevented by some visitation of the wrath of God to punish the prevailing impiety of the inhabitants. He had for his father and mother the best of their contemporaries, members of the same tribe, though with them mutual affection was a stronger tie than family connexions. He was seventh in descent from the first settler, who became the founder of the whole Jewish nation. He was brought up as a prince, a promotion due to the following cause. As the nation of the

\[b\] See Ex. vi. 16 ff., where Moses is given as fifth from Jacob and therefore seventh from Abraham.
τῆς χώρας ὁ βασιλεύς, εἰς πολυανθρωπίαν ἐπι-
διδόντος ἀεὶ τοῦ ἑθνοῦς, δείσας μὴ οἱ ἐποικοί
πλείους γενόμενοι δυνατωτέρα χειρὶ τοῖς αὐτόχθοσι
περὶ κράτους ἀρχῆς ἀμιλλώνται, τὴν ἴσχυν αὐτῶν

[82] ἀφαιρεῖν ἐπινοιάς ἀνοσιουργοῖς ἐμηχανάτο | καὶ
κελεύει τῶν γεννωμένων τὰ μὲν θῆλεα τρέφειν—
ἐπεὶ γυνὴ διὰ φύσεως ἀσθενείαν ὄκνηρὸν εἰς πόλε-
μον—, τὰ δ' ἄρρενα διαφθείρειν, ἵνα μὴ αὐξηθῇ κατὰ
πόλεις: εὐανθρωπία γὰρ δύναμις δυσάλωτον καὶ
9 δυσκαθαίρετον ἐπιτείχισμα. γεννηθεὶς οὖν ὁ παῖς
ἐνθὺς ὡς ἐνέφανεν ἀστειοτέρα ἡ κατ’ ἰδιωτὴν,
ὡς καὶ τῶν τοῦ τυράννου κηρυγμάτων, ἐφ’ ὅσον
οἶν τε ἢν, τοὺς γονεῖς ἀλογήσατε τρεῖς γοῦν φασι
μὴν ἐφεξῆς οὐκ οἱ γαλακτοτροφηθῆναι λανθάνοντα
10 τοὺς πολλοὺς. ἐπεὶ δ’, οἶα ἐν μοναρχίας φιλεῖ, καὶ
τὰ ἐν μυχοῖς ἐνιοί δημητρίων σπεύδοντες αἰὲ τι
καὶ τῶν τοῦ τυράννου κηρυγμάτων, ἐφ’ ὅσον
οἶν τε ἢν, τοὺς γονεῖς ἀλογήσατε τρεῖς γοῦν φασὶ
μὴν ἐφεξῆς οὐκ οἱ γαλακτοτροφηθῆναι λανθάνοντα
11 λογωτάτης ἀπωλείας. ἐθ’, ὡς εἶκος ἐν ἀλλοκότῳ
πράγματι, κατηγόρουν αὐτῶν ὡς μείζονοι αὐτῶν
συμφορᾶς: "τί γὰρ," ἐφασκόν "ἐνθὺς γεννώμενον
οὐκ ἐξεθήκαμεν; τὸν μὴ φθάσαντα τροφῆς ἡμέρου
μεταλαχεῖν οὐδ’ ἀνθρωπον οἰ πολλοὶ νομίζουσιν:

α Ex. ii. 2. The LXX word ἀστείος is quoted in Hebrews xi.
23 and Acts vii. 20.
newcomers was constantly growing more numerous, the king of the country, fearing that the settlers, thus increasing, might shew their superiority by contesting the chief power with the original inhabitants, contrived a most iniquitous scheme to deprive them of their strength. He gave orders to rear the female infants, since her natural weakness makes a woman inactive in war, but to put the males to death, to prevent their number increasing throughout the cities; for a flourishing male population is a coign of vantage to an aggressor which cannot easily be taken or destroyed. Now, the child from his birth had an appearance of more than ordinary goodliness, so that his parents as long as they could actually set at nought the proclamations of the despot. In fact we are told that, unknown to all but few, he was kept at home and fed from his mother's breast for three successive months. But, since, as is often the case under a monarch, there were persons prying into holes and corners, ever eager to carry some new report to the king, his parents in their fear that their efforts to save one would but cause a larger number, namely themselves, to perish with him, exposed him with tears on the banks of the river, and departed groaning. They pitied themselves being forced, as they said in their self-reproach, to be the murderers of their own child, and they pitied him too, left to perish in this unnatural way. Then, as was natural in so strangely cruel a situation, they began to accuse themselves of having made bad worse. "Why did we not cast him away," they said, "directly he was born? The child who has not survived to enjoy a kind nurture is not usually reckoned as a human being. But we meddlers
Ημεῖς δὲ οἱ περίττοι καὶ τρεῖς μήνας ολους ἀνεθρέψαμεν, δαμαστέρας μὲν ἑαυτοῖς ἀνίας, τῷ δὲ τμημάτι ἐκπορίζοντες, ἵνα ἡδονὴ καὶ ἀλγήδονα ἐπὶ πλεῖστον ἀντιλαμβάνεσθαι δύναμον ἐν αἰσθήσει κακῶν ἀργαλεστέρων διαφθείρηται.

12 IV. Καὶ οἱ μὲν ἀγνοία τοῦ μέλλοντος ἀπήεσαν οίκτρῳ κατεσχημένοι πένθει, ἀδελφῇ δὲ τοῦ ἐκτεθέντος βρέφους ἐτὶ παρθένος ὑπὸ θυγατρικῆς πάθους μικρὸν ἀποθεοῦ εἰκονικάκει τὸ ἀποβῆσομενον· ἢ μοι δοκεῖ πάντα συμβηθήναι κατὰ θεόν προμηθουμένον τοῦ παιδός. θυγάτηρ ἦν τῷ βασιλεί τῆς χώρας ἀγαπητή καὶ μόνη· ταύτῃ φασὶ γημαμένην ἐκ πολλοῦ χρόνου μὴ κυσκευαί τέκνων ὡς εἰκός ἐπιθυμοῦσαν καὶ μάλιστα γενεάς ἁρρενος, ἢ τὸν εὐδαίμονα κλήρον τῆς πατρίδος ἡγεμονίας διαδέξεται κιννυεύοντα ἐρημίας θυγατριδῶν ἀλλοτρωθήναι.

13 κατηφούσαν δὲ ἀεὶ καὶ στένουσαν ἡμᾶς μάλιστα ἢκείνη τῇ ἡμέρᾳ τῷ βάρει τῶν φροντίδων ἀπαγορεύσαι καὶ δι’ ἐθνοῦ ἔχουσαν οἰκίας καταμένειν καὶ μηδὲ τὰς κλισιάδας ὑπερβάνειν ἐξορμῆσαι μετὰ θεραπαινίδων ἐπὶ τὸν ποταμόν, ἐνθα δὴ παῖς ἐξἀκινδυνεύοντα λουτροῦς καὶ περιρραντηρίους χρήσθαι καὶ στένουσαν ἐν τῷ δασυτάτῳ τῶν ἐλών] αὐτὸν[83] σθαμέλλουσαν εἰς τῷ δασυτάτῳ τῶν ἐλών [αὐτὸν
15 θεάσασθαι καὶ κελέσθαι προσφέρειν. εἶτα ἀπὸ κεφαλῆς ἄχρι ποδῶν καταθεσμοῦ τὴν τε εὐμορφίαν καὶ εὐεξίαν ἀποδέχεσθαι καὶ δεδακρυμένον ὀρῶν ἔλεειν, ἥδη τῆς ψυχῆς τετραμμένης αὐτῆς πρὸς μητρῶν πάθος ὡς ἐπὶ γνησίω παιδί· γνοῦσαν

α See App. p. 603.

b The statements (1) that Pharaoh's daughter was the only child of her father, (2) that she had no child of her own, so
actually nurtured him for three whole months, thus procuring more abundant affliction for ourselves and torture for him, only that when he was fully capable of feeling pleasure and pain he should perish conscious of the increased misery of his sufferings."\(^a\)

IV. While they departed ignorant of the future, over­come by grief and sorrow, the sister of the infant castaway, a girl still unmarried, moved by family affection, remained at a little distance, waiting to see what would happen, all this being brought about, in my opinion, by the providence of God watching over the child. The king of the country had but one cherished daughter, who, we are told, had been married for a considerable time but had never conceived a child, though she naturally desired one, particularly of the male sex, to succeed to the magnificent inheritance of her father's kingdom, which threatened to go to strangers if his daughter gave him no grandson.\(^b\) Depressed and loud in lamentation she always was, but on this particular day she broke down under the weight of cares; and, though her custom was to remain at home and never even cross the threshold, she set off with her maids to the river, where the child was exposed. Then, as she was preparing to make her ablutions in the purifying water, she saw him lying where the marshland growth was thickest, and bade him be brought to her. Thereupon, surveying him from head to foot, she approved of his beauty and fine condition, and seeing him weeping took pity on him, for her heart was now moved to feel for him as a mother for her own child.

that Moses was heir presumptive to the throne, are additions to Exodus also either given or implied by Josephus, who adds much other legendary matter, _Ant._ ii. 232 ff.
δ' ὡς τῶν Ἑβραίων ἔστιν καταδεικτών τοῦ βασιλέως τὸ πρόσταγμα βουλεύεσθαι περὶ τῆς τροφῆς αὐτοῦ· μὴ γὰρ ἄσφαλες εὑθὺς εἶναι νομίζειν εἰς τὰ 16 βασίλεια ἄγειν. διαπορούσης δ' ἐτί, τὴν ἀδελφὴν τοῦ παιδὸς καθάπερ ἀπὸ σκοπῆς τῶν ἐνδοιᾳσμῶν στοχασμένην πυνθάνεσθαι προσδραμούσαν, εἰ βουληστεῖ γαλακτοτροφηθῆναι τοῦτον1 παρὰ γυναῖκι 17 τῶν Ἑβραϊκῶν οὐ πρὸ πολλοῦ κυήσαντι· τῆς δὲ βουλεσθαί φαμένης, τὴν αὐτῆς καὶ τοῦ βρέφους μητέρα παραγαγεῖν ὡς ἀλλοτριάν, ἢν ἐτοιμότερον ἀσμένην ὑπισχνεῖσθαι πρόφασιν ὡς ἐπὶ μισθῷ τροφεύσειν, ἐπινοια θεοῦ τοῦ τὰς πρώτας τροφὰς τῷ παιδὶ γνησίας εὐτρέπίζοντος· εἶτα δίδωσιν ὅνομα θεμένη Μωυσῆν ἐτύμως διὰ τὸ ἐκ τοῦ ὑδάτος αὐτὸν ἀνελέσθαι· τὸ γὰρ ὑδωρ μὲν ὀνομάζουσιν Αἰγύπτιοι. 18 Β. Ἐπεὶ δ' ἄθροάς ἐπιδόσεις καὶ παραυξήσεις λαμβάνων οὐ σὺν λόγῳ τῷ κατὰ χρόνον θάττον δ' ἀπότιτθος γίνεται, παρὴγή ἡ μήτηρ ἀμα καὶ τροφὸς κομίζουσα τῇ δούσῃ μηκέτι γαλακτοτροφίας δεόμενον, εὐγενὴ καὶ ἀστεῖον ὄφθηναι. τελείότερον δὲ τῆς ἡλικίας ἱδοῦσα κάκ τῆς ὀψεως ἐτί μᾶλλον ἡ πρότερον σπάσασα εὐσείας νῦν ποιεῖται τὰ περὶ τὸν ὄγκον τῆς γαστρὸς τεχνάσασα πρότερον, ἵνα γνήσιος ἄλλα μὴ υποβολμαίος νομισθῇ· πάντα δ' ἐξευμαρίζει θεὸς ἀν ἐθελήσῃ καὶ τὰ δυσκατ- 20 ὀρθώτα. τροφῆς οὖν ἣδη βασιλικῆς καὶ θεραπείας ἄξιομενος οὐχ οὐκ αὐτῆς νήπιος ἢδετο τωθαμοῖς 1 MSS. τοῦτο (sc. βρέφος?).
And, recognizing that he belonged to the Hebrews, who were intimidated by the king’s orders, she considered how to have him nursed, for at present it was not safe to take him to the palace. While she was still thus debating, the child’s sister, who guessed her difficulty, ran up from where she stood like a scout, and asked whether she would like to take for his foster-mother a Hebrew woman who had lately been with child. When the princess agreed, she brought her own and the babe’s mother in the guise of a stranger, who readily and gladly promised to nurse him, ostensibly for wages. Thus, by God’s disposing, it was provided that the child’s first nursing should come from the natural source. Since he had been taken up from the water, the princess gave him a name derived from this, and called him Moses, for Mu is the Egyptian word for water.

V. As he grew and thrived without a break, and was weaned at an earlier date than they had reckoned, his mother and nurse in one brought him to her from whom she had received him, since he had ceased to need an infant’s milk. He was noble and goodly to look upon; and the princess, seeing him so advanced beyond his age, conceived for him an even greater fondness than before, and took him for her son, having at an earlier time artificially enlarged the figure of her womb to make him pass as her real and not a supposititious child. God makes all that He wills easy, however difficult be the accomplishment. So now he received as his right the nurture and service due to a prince. Yet he did not bear himself

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\(a \text{ ετύμως} \) as regularly in Philo used with reference to the “etymology” of the word, see note on De Conf. 137. So again § 130 below.
καὶ γέλωσι καὶ παιδιαῖς, καίτοι τῶν τὴν ἐπιμέλειαν
αὐτοῦ παρειληφότων ἀνέσεις ἔχειν ἐπιτρεπόντων
καὶ μηδὲν ἐπιδεικνυμένων σκυβρωπόν, ἀλλ' αἴδῳ
καὶ σεμνότητα παραφαινούν ἀκούσμασι καὶ θεά-
μασιν, ἀ τὴν ψυχὴν ἔμελλεν ὀφελήσει, προσείχε.
21 διδάσκαλοι δ' εὐθὺς ἀλλαχόθεν ἄλλοι παρῆσαν, οἱ
μὲν ἀπὸ τῶν πλησιοχώρων καὶ τῶν κατ' Ἁγινπτὸν
νομῶν αὐτοκέλευστοι, οἱ δ' ἀπὸ τῆς Ἐλλάδος ἐπὶ
[84] μεγάλαις δωρεαῖς μεταπεμφθέντες· ὅν | ἐν οὐ
μακρῷ χρόνῳ τὰς δυνάμεις ὑπερέβαλεν εὐμοιρίᾳ
φύσεως φθάνων τὰς ψυχηγήσεις, ὡς ἀνάμνησιν εἶναι
dοκεῖν, οὐ μάθησιν, ἔτι καὶ προσεπινόον αὐτὸς τὰ
22 δυσθεώρητα. τολλὰ γὰρ αἱ μεγάλαι φύσεις κανο-
tομοῦσι τῶν εἰς ἐπιστήμην· καὶ καθάπερ τὰ εὐκε-
tικὰ τῶν σωμάτων καὶ πάσι τοῖς μέρεσι εὐκίνητα
φροντίδων ἀπαλλάττει τοὺς ἀλείπτας οὐδὲν ἡ
βραχέα παρέχοντας τῶν εἰς ἐπιμέλειαν, ὡστερ καὶ
gεωργοὺς τὰ εὐβλαστά καὶ εὐγενή δένδρα βελτιού-
μενα δι' ἑαυτῶν, τῶν αὐτὸν τρόπον εὐφυῆς ψυχή
προαπαντῶσα τοῖς λεγομένοις υφ' αὐτῆς μᾶλλον ἡ
τῶν διδασκόντων ὑφελεῖται καὶ λαβομένη τινὸς
ἐπιστημονικῆς ἀρχῆς κατὰ τὴν παροιμίαν "τὸ πεδίον
23 εἰς πεδίον" ὀρμᾶ. ἀριθμοὺς μὲν οὖν καὶ γεω-
μετρίαν τὴν τε ὑθυμικὴν καὶ ἀρμονικὴν καὶ με-
tρικὴν θεωρίαν καὶ μουσικὴν τὴν σύμπασαν διὰ τε
χρήσεως ὀργάνων καὶ λόγων τῶν ἐν ταῖς τέχναις
καὶ διεξόδοις τοπικωτέραις Ἁγινπτίων οἱ λόγοι

a Josephus on the other hand makes him shew his superi-
ority in his games, Ant. ii. 230.

b See App. p. 603.

c Philo may have derived this from his own knowledge of
the scope of education in Egypt in the present and past, but
perhaps also from Plato, Laws 656 D, 799 λ, 819 λ, where
like the mere infant that he was, nor delight in fun and laughter and sport, though those who had the charge of him did not grudge him relaxation or shew him any strictness; but with a modest and serious bearing he applied himself to hearing and seeing what was sure to profit the soul. Teachers at once arrived from different parts, some unbidden from the neighbouring countries and the provinces of Egypt, others summoned from Greece under promise of high reward. But in a short time he advanced beyond their capacities; his gifted nature forestalled their instruction, so that his seemed a case rather of recollection than of learning, and indeed he himself devised and propounded problems which they could not easily solve. For great natures carve out much that is new in the way of knowledge; and, just as bodies, robust and agile in every part, free their trainers from care, and receive little or none of their usual attention, and in the same way well-grown and naturally healthy trees, which improve of themselves, give the husbandmen no trouble, so the gifted soul takes the lead in meeting the lessons given by itself rather than the teacher and is profited thereby, and as soon as it has a grasp of some of the first principles of knowledge presses forward like the horse to the meadow, as the proverb goes. Arith- metic, geometry, the lore of metre, rhythm and harmony, and the whole subject of music as shown by the use of instruments or in textbooks and treatises of a more special character, were imparted to him by learned Egyptians. These further in-

mathematics, music, and dancing are said to be the subjects most stressed by Egyptians. Cf., as a summary of all that is said here, Acts vii. 22 "he was instructed in all the wisdom of the Egyptians."
parēdίdosan kαi prosētτi tīn diὰ svμβολων φιλο-
soφίαν, ὡν ev toίν λεγομένων ιεροίς γράμμασιν
eπιδείκνυνται kαi diὰ tῆς tῶν ζῶων āpοδοχῆς, ἃ
kαi theōn tμαίς γεραιροῦσιν tῆν δ' āllhēn ēγκύκλιον
pαιδείαν Ἐλλήνες ἐδίδασκον, οί δ' ēk tῶν plησιο-
χώρων tά tĕ Ασσύρια γράμματα kαi tῆν tῶν
24 οὐρανίων Χαλδαϊκῆς ἐπιστήμην. ταῦτην kαi pαρ'
Αιγυπτίων ἀνελάμβανε μαθηματικὴν ἐν τοίς μά-
λιστα ἐπιτηδεύοντων kαi tά pαρ' ἀμφοτέροις
ἀκριβῶς ἐν οἷς τε συμφωνοῦσι kαi διαφέρονται
kαταμαθῶν, ἀφιλονείκως tάς ēριδας ὑπερβάς, τήν
ἀλήθειαν ἐξῆτει, μηδὲν ψεύδος τῆς διανοίας αὐτοῦ
παραδέχεσθαι δυνάμενης, ὡς ἔθος τοίς αἱρετι-
μάχοις, οί τοίς προτεθεὶσι δόγμασιν ὅποια τοῖς
βοηθοῦσιν οὐκ ἐξετάζοντες, εἰ δόκιμα, τὸ δ' αὐτὸ
δρῶντες τοῖς ἐπὶ μισθῷ συναγορεύουσι καὶ μηδὲν
25 τοῦ δικαίου πεφροντικῶς.

VI. ἦδη δὲ
tοὺς ὄρους τῆς παιδικῆς ἡλικίας ὑπερβαίνων ἐπ-
έτευε τὴν φρόνησιν, οὐχ ὡς ἔνοι τὰς μειρακιῶδεις
ἐπιθυμίας ἀχαλνώτους ἑών καίτοι μυρία ἐχούσας
ὑπεκκαύματα διὰ παρασκευᾶς ἀφθόνους, ἃς αἱ
βασιλεῖαι χορηγοῦσιν, ἀλλὰ σωφροσύνη καὶ καρ-
τερία ὑσπερ τοῖς ἡνίαις ἐνδησάμενοι αὐτὰs τὴν εἰς
26 τὸ πρόσω φοραν ἀνεχαίτιζε βία. καὶ τῶν ἅλλων
μέντοι παθῶν ἐκαστὸν ἔς ἑαυτοῦ μεμηνός καὶ
λελυττηκός φύσει τιθασών καξημερῶν ἐπράνυνεν·
ei δὲ που διακινηθεὶ τὸν ἧσυχα καὶ πτερύξατο,
kολάσεις ἐμβριθεστέρας παρείχετο ἡ διὰ λόγων |

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\( a \) This would normally be grammar or literature, rhetoric, logic and perhaps astronomy as distinguished from astrology. See De Cong. 11 and note; also De Som. i. 205 and note, with other references. Clement, Strom. i. 23, adds iατρική.
structured him in the philosophy conveyed in symbols, as displayed in the so-called holy inscriptions and in the regard paid to animals, to which they even pay divine honours. He had Greeks to teach him the rest of the regular school course, and the inhabitants of the neighbouring countries for Assyrian letters and the Chaldean science of the heavenly bodies. This he also acquired from Egyptians, who give special attention to astrology. And, when he had mastered the lore of both nations, both where they agree and where they differ, he eschewed all strife and contention and sought only for truth. His mind was incapable of accepting any falsehood, as is the way with the sectarians, who defend the doctrines they have propounded, whatever they may be, without examining whether they can stand scrutiny, and thus put themselves on a par with hired advocates who have no thought nor care for justice.

VI. When he was now passing beyond the term of boyhood, his good sense became more active. He did not, as some, allow the lusts of adolescence to go unbridled, though the abundant resources which palaces provide supply numberless incentives to foster their flame. But he kept a tight hold on them with the reins, as it were, of temperance and self-control, and forcibly pulled them back from their forward course. And each of the other passions, which rage so furiously if left to themselves, he tamed and assuaged and reduced to mildness; and if they did but gently stir or flutter he provided for them heavier chastisement than any rebuke of words

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*b See App. p. 603.

*a This seems to suggest that in Philo’s time astrology, as taught on Chaldaean (i.e. the generally accepted) principles, differed somewhat from the form current in Egypt.
[85] ἐπιπλῆξεις· καὶ συνόλως τὰς πρώτας τῆς ψυχῆς ἐπιβολάς τε καὶ ὁρμᾶς ὡς ἀφημιαστὴν ἱππον ἐπετήρει δεδω, μὴ προεκδραμούσαι τοῦ ἰμιχείν ὀφείλοντος λογισμοῦ πάντα δία πάντων συγχέωσιν· αὕται γάρ εἶσιν αἱ ἀγαθῶν αἵτια καὶ κακῶν, ἀγαθῶν μὲν, ὅταν ἤγεμόνι λόγῳ πειθαρχῶσι, τῶν δὲ ἐναντίων, ὅταν εἰς ἀναρχίαν ἐκδιαυτώνται. κατὰ τὸ εἰκός οὖν τῇ τε συνδιατρίβοντες καὶ οῇ άλλοι πάντες ἐτεθήσεσαν, ὡς ἐπὶ κανών θεάματι κατα- πληττόμενοι καὶ τῆς ἀρά ὁ ἐνοικόν αὐτοῦ τῷ σώματι καὶ ἀγαλματοφοροῦμενος νοῦς ἐστὶ, πότερον ἀνθρώπευος ἡ θείας ἡ μικτὸς εἴς ἀμφότερος, διερευνῶ- μενοι, τῷ μηδὲν ἔχειν τοῖς πολλοῖς ὁμοίων, ἀλλ' ὑπερκύπτει καὶ πρὸς τὸ μεγαλειότερον ἐξήρθαι.

27 γαστρὶ τε γὰρ ἐξω τῶν ἀναγκαίων δασμῶν, οὔς ἡ φύσις ἔταξεν, οὐδὲν πλέον ἐχορήγει, τῶν τε ὑπο- γαστρίων ἂδονῶν εἰ μὴ μέχρι σποράς παῖδων

28 γαστρν ἡ τε ἐξω τῶν ἀναγκαιῶν δασμῶν, οὔς ἡ φύσις ἔταξεν, οὐδὲν πλέον ἐχορήγει, τῶν τε ὑπο- γαστρίων ἂδονῶν εἰ μὴ μέχρι σποράς παῖδων

29 γνησίων οὐδὲ ἐμέμνητο. γενόμενος τε διαφερόντως ἄσκητὴς ὀλγοδεείς καὶ τὸν ἀβροδίαιτον βίον ὡς οὔδείς ἐτέρος κλευνάς—ψυχῆ γὰρ ἐπόθει μόνῃ ζῇν, οὐ σώματι—τὰ φιλοσοφίας ὁδόματα διὰ τῶν καθ' ἐκάστην ἡμέραν ἐργῶν ἐπεδείκνυτο, λέγων μὲν οἷα ἐφρόνει, πράττων δὲ ἀκόλουθα τοῖς λεγομένοις εἰς ἀρμονίαν λόγου καὶ βίου, ἵνα οἶος ὁ λόγος τοιοῦ- τος ὁ βίος καὶ οἷος ὁ βίος τοιούτος ὁ λόγος ἐξετά- ξωνται καθάπερ ἐν ὀργάνῳ μουσικῷ συνηχοῦντες.

30 οἱ μὲν οὖν πολλοί, κἂν αὐτὸ μόνον αὗρα βραχεία τινος εὐνυχίας προσπέσῃ, φυσώσῃ καὶ πνέουσι μεγάλα καὶ καταλαζομενοῦμεν τῶν ἀφανε- τέρων καθάρματα καὶ παρενοχλήματα καὶ γῆς ἁχθη καὶ ὑπάτα ἀποκαλοῦσιν, ὑστερ πὸ ἄκλινες
could give; and in general he watched the first
directions and impulses of the soul as one would a
restive horse, in fear lest they should run away with
the reason which ought to rein them in, and thus
cause universal chaos. For it is these impulses which
cause both good and bad—good when they obey
the guidance of reason, bad when they turn from
their regular course into anarchy. Naturally, there-
fore, his associates and everyone else, struck with
amazement at what they felt was a novel spectacle,
considered earnestly what the mind which dwelt
in his body like an image in its shrine could be,
whether it was human or divine or a mixture of both,
so utterly unlike was it to the majority, soaring above
them and exalted to a grander height. For on his
belly he bestowed no more than the necessary
tributes which nature has appointed, and as for the
pleasures that have their seat below, save for the
lawful begetting of children, they passed altogether
even out of his memory. And, in his desire to live
to the soul alone and not to the body, he made a
special practice of frugal contentment, and had an
unparalleled scorn for a life of luxury. He ex-
emplified his philosophical creed by his daily actions.
His words expressed his feelings, and his actions ac-
corded with his words, so that speech and life were
in harmony, and thus through their mutual agree-
ment were found to make melody together as on
a musical instrument.

Now, most men, if they feel a breath of prosperity ever so small upon
them, make much ado of puffing and blowing, and
boast themselves as bigger than meaner men, and
miscal all them offscourings and nuisances and cum-
berers of the earth and other suchlike names, as if
τῆς εὐπραγίας ἐν βεβαίω παρ’ έαυτοῖς εὐ μάλα σφαγισάμενου μηδὲ μέχρι τῆς ύστεραίας ἵσως δια-

31 μενούντες ἐν ὤμοιν. τύχης γὰρ ἀσταθμητότερον οὐδέν ἂν καὶ κάτω τὰ ἀνθρώπεια πεττευόσθησι, ἢ μιᾷ πολλάκις ἥμερα τὸν μὲν υψηλὸν καθαρεῖ, τὸν δὲ ταπεινὸν μετέωρον έξαίρει καὶ ταῦτα ὀρῶντες ἄει γινόμενα καὶ σαφῶς εἰδότες ὤμοι υπερόπται μὲν οἰκεῖων καὶ φίλων εἰσὶ, νόμοις δὲ παραβαίνουσι, καθ’ οὓς ἔγενηθησαν καὶ ἐτράψασαν, έθη δὲ πάτρια, οἷς μέμψις οὐδεμία πρόσεστι δικαία, κυνοῦσιν ἐκδεδιητημένοι καὶ διὰ τὴν τῶν παρόντων ἁποδοχὴν οὐδενὸς ἔτι τῶν ἁρχαίων μνήμην λαμβάνουσιν. 32 VII. ο δὲ ἔπ’ αὐτὸν φθάσας τὸν ὄρον τῆς ἀνθρω-

πίνης εὐτυχίας καὶ θυγατριδοῦς μὲν τοῦ τοσοῦτον βασιλέως νομισθεὶς, τῆς δὲ παππώας αρχής ὅσον [86] οὐδέπω γεγονως έλπίσι ταΐς απάντων διάδοχος καὶ τὶ γὰρ ἄλλ’ ἢ ο νέος βασιλεὺς προσαγορευό-

μενος, τὴν συγγενικὴν καὶ προγονικὴν ἐξήλωσε παιδέαν, τὰ μὲν τῶν εἰσποιησαμένων ἁγαθά, καὶ εὶ λαμπρότερα καίροις, νόθα εῖναι ὑπολαβών, τὰ δὲ τῶν φύσει γονέων, εἰ καὶ πρὸς ὀλίγον ἀφανέστερα, 33 οἰκεῖα γοὺς καὶ γνήσια: καθάπερ τε κριτῆς ἀδέ-

καστος τῶν γεννησάντων καὶ τῶν εἰσποιησαμένων τοὺς μὲν εὐνοία καὶ τῷ φιλεῖν ἑκθύμως τοὺς δ’ εὐχαριστίαις ἀνθ’ δῶν εὑ ἐπαθεν ἡμείβετο καὶ μέχρι παντὸς ἡμείψατ’ ἄν, εἰ μὴ κατείδειν ἐν τῇ χώρᾳ μέγα καινουργηθέν ύπὸ τοῦ βασιλέως ἀσέβημα.

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* A paraphrase of the fragment of Euripides quoted De Som. i. 154:

η μία γὰρ ημέρα
τὸν μὲν καθεὶλεν ψόθεν, τὸν δ’ ἦρ ἣνω.
they themselves had the permanence of their prosperity securely sealed in their possession, though even the morrow may find them no longer where they are. For nothing is more unstable than Fortune, who moves human affairs up and down on the draughtboard of life, and in a single day pulls down the lofty and exalts the lowly on high; and though they see and know full well that this is always happening, they nevertheless look down on their relations and friends and set at naught the laws under which they were born and bred, and subvert the ancestral customs to which no blame can justly attach, by adopting different modes of life, and, in their contentment with the present, lose all memory of the past.

VII. But Moses, having reached the very pinnacle of human prosperity, regarded as the son of the king's daughter, and in general expectation almost the successor to his grandfather's sovereignty, and indeed regularly called the young king, was zealous for the discipline and culture of his kinsmen and ancestors. The good fortune of his adopters, he held, was a spurious one, even though the circumstances gave it greater lustre; that of his natural parents, though less distinguished for the nonce, was at any rate his own and genuine; and so, estimating the claims of his real and his adopted parents like an impartial judge, he requited the former with good feeling and profound affection, the latter with gratitude for their kind treatment of him. And he would have continued to do so throughout had he not found the king adopting in the country a new and highly impious course of action.

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34 ξένοι γὰρ ἦσαν, ὡς ἔφην πρότερον, οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι, τῶν τοῦ ἔθνους ἀρχηγετῶν διὰ λιμὸν ἀπορία τροφῆς ἐκ Βαβυλῶνος καὶ τῶν ἀνω σατραπεῖων εἰς Αἴγυπτον μεταναστάντων, καὶ τρόπον τινὰ ἵκεται καταπεφευγότες ὡς ἐπ᾽ ἄσυλον ἱερὸν τὴν τε βασιλέως πίστιν καὶ τὸν ἀπὸ τῶν οἰκητῶν ἐλεον. οἱ γὰρ ξένοι παρ᾽ ἐμοὶ κριτή τῶν ὑποδεξαμένων ἵκεται γραφέσθωσαν, μέτοικοι δὲ πρὸς ἰκέταις καὶ φίλοι, σπεύδοντες εἰς ἀστών ισότιμον καὶ γειτνιώντες ἢδη πολίταις, ὦλγῳ τῶν αυτοχθόνων διαφέροντες. τούτων ὁμι, οἱ τὴν μὲν οἰκείαν ἀπέλιπον, εἰς δὲ Αἴγυπτον ἦκον ὡς ἐν δευτέρᾳ πατρίδι μετ᾽ ἀσφαλείας οἰκήσοντες, ὁ τῆς χώρας ἡγεμόνος ἐνδραποδίζετο καὶ ὡς πολέμου νόμω λαβῶν αἰχμαλώτος ἢ πριάμενος παρὰ δεσποτῶν, ὦς ἦσαν οἰκότριβες, ὑπήγετο καὶ δούλους ἀπέφαινε τοὺς οὐκ ἐλευθέρους μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ ξένους καὶ ἰκέτας καὶ μετοίκους οὔτε αἰδεσθεὶς οὔτε δείσας τὸν ἐλευθέριον καὶ ξένων καὶ ἰκέσιον καὶ ἐφέστιον θεόν, ὃς τῶν τοιούτων ἐστὶν ἐφορός. εἶτε ἐπιτάγματα ἐπιτέταται βαρύτερα τῆς δυνάμεως ἄλλους ἐπ᾽ ἄλλους πόνους προστιθέντας, καὶ τοὺς ἀπαγορεύουσιν ὑπὸ ἀσθενείας ὁ σίδηρος ἐπιτετοὐσ τοῖς ζητοῦσι τῶν ἔργων ἀνηλεστάτους καὶ ὠδὲνι συγγνώμης μεταδίδοντας ἦρεῖτο, οὕς ἠργοδιώκτας ἀπὸ τοῦ συμβεβηκότος ὡνόμαζον. εἰργάζοντο δὲ οἱ μὲν πηλόν εἰς πλίθουν σχηματίζοντες, οἱ δὲ πανταχόθεν ἄχυρα συγκομίζοντες—πλίθου γὰρ

* §§ 19-33 cannot be said to have any basis at all in the biblical narrative, though they give a reasonable sketch of what Moses might be expected to have felt and done in such
MOSES I. 34–38

a The Jews, as I have said before, were 34 strangers, since famine had driven the founders of
the nation, through lack of food, to migrate to Egypt
from Babylon and the inland satrapies. They were,
in a sense, suppliants, who had found a sanctuary
in the pledged faith of the king and the pity felt
for them by the inhabitants. For strangers, in my 35
judgement, must be regarded as suppliants of those
who receive them, and not only suppliants but
settlers and friends who are anxious to obtain equal
rights with the burgesses and are near to being
citizens because they differ little from the original
inhabitants. So, then, these strangers, who had left 36
their own country and come to Egypt hoping to live
there in safety as in a second fatherland, were made
slaves by the ruler of the country and reduced to the
condition of captives taken by the custom of war,
or persons purchased from the masters in whose
household they had been bred. And in thus making
serfs of men who were not only free but guests,
suppliants and settlers, he showed no shame or fear
of the God of liberty and hospitality and of justice
to guests and suppliants, Who watches over such as
these. Then he laid commands upon them, severe 37
beyond their capacity, and added labour to labour;
and, when they failed through weakness, the iron
hand was upon them; for he chose as superintendents
of the works men of the most cruel and savage
temper who showed no mercy to anyone, men whose
name of "task-pursuer" well described the facts.
Some of the workers wrought clay into brick, while 38
others fetched from every quarter straw which served

a situation. From §§ 34–59 we have an amplification of Ex.
ii. 14 end.
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άχυρα δεσμός—, οί δ’ ἦσαν ἀποτεταγμένοι πρὸς οἰκίων καὶ τειχῶν καὶ πόλεων κατασκευὰς καὶ διω-
ρύχων ἀνατομάς, ὑλοφοροῦντες αὐτοὶ μεθ’ ἡμέραν καὶ νύκτωρ ἄνευ διαδοχῆς, οὐδεμίαν ἔχοντες ἀνά-
pαυλαν, ἀλλ’ οὐδ’ ὅσον καταδαρθεῖν αὐτὸ μόνον

[87] ἐώμενοι, | πάντα καὶ τὰ τῶν δημουργῶν καὶ τὰ τῶν ὑπουργῶν δράν ἀναγκαζόμενοι, ὡς ἐν βραχεῖ
tὰ σώματα αὐτοῖς ἀπαγορεῦειν, ἀτέ καὶ τῆς ψυχῆς

39 προαναπιτουσίης. ἄλλοι γοῦν ἔπ’ ἄλλοις ἐξ-
ἐθνησκόν ὡς ὑπὸ λοιμώδους φθορᾶς, οὐς ἀτάφους
ἐξω ποὺν ὑψώσαντοι οὐδὲ κόνιν ἐπαμήσα-
σθαι τοῖς σώμασιν ἐώμεντες ἀλλ’ οὐδὲ δακρύσαι

40 VIII. Ἔπει δὴ τούτοις ἀθυμῶν καὶ δυσχεραίνων
dιετέλει μήτ’ ἀμύνασθαι τοὺς ἀδικοῦντας μήτε
βοηθεῖν τοὺς ἀδικουμένους ἰκανὸς ὃν’ ἄ δ’ οἶος τε

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to bind the brick. Others were appointed to build houses and walls and cities or to cut canals. They carried the materials themselves day and night, with no shifts to relieve them, no period of rest, not even suffered just to sleep for a bit and then resume their work. In fact, they were compelled to do all the work, both of the artisan and his assistants, so that in a short time loss of heart was followed necessarily by bodily exhaustion. This was shown by the way in which they died one after the other, as though they were the victims of a pestilence, to be flung unburied outside the borders by their masters, who did not allow the survivors even to collect dust to throw upon the corpses or even to shed tears for their kinsfolk or friends thus pitifully done to death. And, though nature has given to the untrammelled feelings of the soul a liberty which she has denied to almost everything else, they impiously threatened to exert their despotism over these also and suppressed them with the intolerable weight of a constraint more powerful than nature.

VIII. All this continued to depress and anger Moses, who had no power either to punish those who did the wrong or help those who suffered it. What he could he did. He assisted with his words, exhorting the overseers to show clemency and relax and alleviate the stringency of their orders, and the workers to bear their present condition bravely, to display a manly spirit and not let their souls share the weariness of their bodies, but look for good to take the place of evil. All things in the world, he told them, change to their opposites: clouds to open sky, violent winds to tranquil weather, stormy seas to calm and peaceful, and human affairs still more so,
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ἀνθρώπεια καὶ μάλλον, ὡσwald καὶ ἀσταθμητότερα. 42 τοιούτως κατεπάδων ὡσπερ ἀγαθὸς ἰατρὸς ἑτερὸς τὰς νόσους καὶ τοὺς θαυμάτας οὕσοις ἐπικουφιεῖν· αἱ δ’ ὅποτε λωφήσειαν, ἀλλὰς ἐκ περιτροπῆς ἐπετὶθεντο φέρουσαί τι πάντως ἐκ τοῦ διαπνεύσαι καὶ τῶν ἀργαλεῶτερον τῶν προτέρων. ἦσαν γὰρ τῶν ἐφεστηκότων ἀτίθασοι σφόδρα καὶ λελυτηκότες, μηδὲν εἰς ἀγριότητα τῶν ἵβολῶν καὶ σαρκοβόρων διαφέροντες, ἀνθρωποειδῆ θηρία, τὴν τοῦ σώματος μορφὴν εἰς δόκησιν ἰμερότητος ἐπὶ θῆρα καὶ ἀπάτη προβεβλημένοι, σιδήρου καὶ ἀδάμαντος ἀπειθέστεροι. τούτων ἕνα τὸν βιαίοτατον, ἐπειδὴ πρὸς τῷ μηδὲν ἐνδιδόναι καὶ ταῖς παρακλησις ἐτὶ μᾶλλον ἐξετραχύνετο, τοὺς τὸ προσταχθὲν μὴ ἀπένευστὶ καὶ ἱεροποιεῖ δρόμης τύπτων, προπηλακιζών ἄχρι θανάτου, πάσας αἰκίζομενος αἰκίας, ἀναιρεῖ δικαιώσας εὐαγές εἶναι τὸ ἔργον· καὶ ἂν εὐαγές τὸν ἐπὶ ὀλέθρῳ ζῶντα ἀνθρώπων ἀπόλυσθαι.

45 Ταῦτ’ ἄκουσας ὁ βασιλεὺς ἥγανάκτει δεινῶν ἡγούμενος, οὐκ εἰς την τεθνηκεν ἡ ἀνήρρηκεν ὅδικως ἡ δικαιώς, ἀλλ’ εἰ ὁ θυγατρίδοις αὐτῷ μὴ συμφρονεῖ μηδὲ τοὺς αὐτοὺς ἐχθροὺς καὶ φίλους ὑπείληφεν, ἀλλὰ μισεῖ μὲν οὐς αὐτοὺς στέργει, φιλεῖ οὐς προβεβληται καὶ ἔλεει πρὸς οὐς ἀτρέπτως καὶ ἀπαραιτήτως ἔχει. IX. | λαβόμενοι δ’ ἀπαξ ἀφορμῆς οἱ ἐν τέλει καὶ τὸν νεανίαν υφορώμενοι— ἦδεσαν γὰρ μνησικακήσουντα τῶν ἀνοσιουργημάτων 298
even as they are more unstable. With such soothing words, like a good physician, he thought to relieve the sickness of their plight, terrible as it was. But, when it abated, it did but turn and make a fresh attack and gather from the breathing-space some new misery more powerful than its predecessors. For some of the overseers were exceedingly harsh and ferocious, in savageness differing nothing from venomous and carnivorous animals, wild beasts in human shape who assumed in outward form the semblance of civilized beings only to beguile and catch their prey, in reality more unyielding than iron or adamant. One of these, the cruellest of all, was killed by Moses, because he not only made no concession but was rendered harsher than ever by his exhortations, beating those who did not execute his orders with breathless promptness, persecuting them to the point of death and subjecting them to every outrage. Moses considered that his action in killing him was a righteous action. And righteous it was that one who only lived to destroy men should himself be destroyed.

When the king heard this, he was very indignant. What he felt so strongly was not that one man had been killed by another whether justly or unjustly, but that his own daughter's son did not think with him, and had not considered the king's friends and enemies to be his own friends and enemies, but hated those of whom he was fond, and loved those whom he rejected, and pitied those to whom he was relentless and inexorable. IX. When those in authority who suspected the youth's intentions, knowing that he would remember their wicked actions against them and take vengeance
αυτοῖς καὶ ἐπὶ καυρῶν ἀμυνούμενοι—ἀναπέπτταμένοι ὦσι τοῦ πάππου μυρίας διαβολὰς ἐπῆντλουν, οἱ μὲν ἔνθεν, οἱ δ' ἐνθεν, ὡς καὶ περὶ ἀφαίρέσεως τῆς ἀρχῆς ἐμπούησαι δέος, "ἐπιθήσεται" λέγοντες, "οὐδὲν φρονεῖ μικρὸν, ἀεὶ τὸ προσπεριεργάζεται, πρὸ καυροῦ βασιλείας ἔρα, θωπεύει τινάς, ἐτέρους ἀπειλεῖ, κτείνει χωρὶς δίκης, τοὺς μὰλιστ' εὖνοσ σοι προβέβληται. τί δὴ μέλλεις, ἀλλ' οὐχ ἀ διανοεῖται δράν ύποτέμενες; μέγα τοῖς ἐπιθεμένοις αἱ τῶν ἐπιβουλευομένων ἀναβολαί."  

47 Τοιαῦτα διεξόντων, ὑπανεχώρησεν εἰς τὴν ὀμορροῦν Ἀραβίαν, ἐνθα διατρίβειν ἡν ἀσφαλές, ἀμα καὶ τὸν θεὸν ποτινῶμενος, ἵνα τοὺς μὲν εὖ ἀμηχάνων ρύσηται συμφορῶν, τοὺς δὲ μηδὲν παραλιπόντας τῶν εἰς ἐπήρειαν ἀξίως τίσηται, παράσχη δ' αὐτῷ ταῦτ' ἐπιδεῖν ἀμφότερα διπλασιάσας τὴν χάριν. ὁ δὲ ἐπακούει τῶν εὐχῶν ἀγάμενος αὐτοῦ τὸ φιλόκαλον ἥθος καὶ μισοπόνηρον, οὐκ εἰς μακρὰν τὰ κατὰ τὴν χώραν, ὡς θεῷ πρέπον, δικάσας. ἐν δὲ ἐμελλε δικάζειν, τοὺς ἀρετῆς ἀθλοὺς Μωυσῆς διήθλει τὸν ἀλείπτην ἐχων ἐν έαυτῷ λογίσμων ἀστείον, υφ' οὗ γυμναζόμενος πρὸς τοὺς ἀρίστους βίους, τὸν τε θεωρητικὸν καὶ πρακτικὸν, ἐπονεῖτο φιλοσοφίας ἀνελίττων αἰεὶ δόγματα καὶ τῇ ψυχῇ διαγνώσκων εὐτρόχως καὶ μνήμη παρακατατθέμενος εἰς τὸ ἀληστον αὐτὰ καὶ τὰς οἰκείας αὐτικα 300
when the opportunity came, had thus once got a handle, they poured malicious suggestions by the thousand from every side into the open ears of his grandfather, so as to instil the fear that his sovereignty might be taken from him. "He will attack you," they said, "he is highly ambitious. He is always busy with some further project. He is eager to get the kingship before the time comes. He flatters some, threatens others, slays without trial and treats as outcasts those who are most loyal to you. Why do you hesitate, instead of cutting short his projected undertakings? The aggressor is greatly served by delay on the part of his proposed victim."

While such talk was in circulation, Moses retired into the neighbouring country of Arabia, where it was safe for him to stay, at the same time beseeching God to save the oppressed from their helpless, miserable plight, and to punish as they deserved the oppressors who had left no form of maltreatment untried, and to double the gift by granting to himself that he should see both these accomplished. God, in high approval of his spirit, which loved the good and hated evil, listened to his prayers, and very shortly judged the land and its doings as became His nature. But, while the divine judgement was still waiting, Moses was carrying out the exercises of virtue with an admirable trainer, the reason within him, under whose discipline he laboured to fit himself for life in its highest forms, the theoretical and the practical. He was ever opening the scroll of philosophical doctrines, digested them inwardly with quick understanding, committed them to memory never to be forgotten, and straightway brought his personal conduct,
πράξεις ἐφαρμόττων ἐπαινεῖτας πάσας, ἐφιέμενος
οὐ τοῦ δοκεῖν ἄλλα τῆς ἀληθείας, διὰ τὸ προκεῖσθαι
σκότους ἕνα τὸν ὁρθὸν τῆς φύσεως λόγον, ὃς μόνος
ἐστὶν ἀρετῶν ἀρχή τε καὶ πηγή. ἔτερος
μὲν οὖν ὅργην ἀμείλικτον βασιλέως ἀποδιδράσκων
καὶ ἄρτι πρῶτον εἰς ἀλλοδαπὴν ἀφιγμένος, μῆπω
τοῖς τῶν ἐπιχωρίων έθεσιν ἐνωμένοις, μηδὲ
ἀκριβῶς ἐπιστάμενος οἷς ἱφίσκον ἡ ἀλλοτριοῦνται,
καὶ ἐσπούδασεν ἕσυχοις πάθην, ἀφανείτερον ζήν
τοὺς πολλοὺς λανθάνουν ἡ βουλήθεις εἰς μέσον
παρέρχεσθαι τοὺς γοῦν, δυνατοὺς καὶ τοὺς πλεῖστον
ἰσχύοντας λυπάσθηκεν, ξύρους θεραπείαις ἐξευμενίζεσθαι,
παρ’ ὅν τις ὡφέλεια προσεδοκᾶτο καὶ βοήθεια, εἰ τινες
ἐπελθόντες ἀπάγειν πρὸς βίων ἐπειρώντο. ὅ δὲ τὴν
ἐναντίαν τοῦ εἰκότος ἀτραπόν ἡλαυνε ταῖς τῆς
ψυχῆς ὑμιανούσαις ὀρμαῖς ἐπόμενος καὶ μηδὲν
ἐώς ὑποσκελίζεσθαι διὸ καὶ τῆς ὑπούσης δυνάμεως
ἐστιν ότε πλέον ἐνεανιεύσητο | δύναμιν ἀκαθαίρετον
τὸ δίκαιον ἰησοῦς, ὡφ’ οὗ προτραπεῖς αὐτο-
κέλευστος ἐπὶ τὴν τῶν ἀσθενεστέρων συμμαχίαν
ἐπὶ.

Χ. Δέξω δὲ καὶ τὸ κατ’ ἑκεῖνον αὐτῷ τῶν χρόνων
πραχθέν, εἰ καὶ μικρὸν ὅσα γε τῷ δοκεῖν, ἀλλ’ οὐκ
ἀπὸ φρονήματος μικρῶν. κτηνοτροφοῦσιν Ἄραβες
καὶ νέμουσι τὰ θρέμματα οὐκ ἄνδρες μόνον ἄλλα
καὶ γυναῖκες νέοι τε καὶ παρθένοι παρ’ αὐτοῖς, οὐχι
τῶν ἡμελημένων καὶ ἀδόξων μόνον ἄλλα καὶ τῶν
ἀγαν ἐπιφανῶν. ἐπτὰ δὴ κόραι πατρὸς ἱερέως
πούμνην ἀγούσαι παρῆσαν ἐπὶ τινα πηγὴν καὶ τῶν
μονών ἐκδησάμενοι τοὺς κατάσκονς ἀλλή διαδεχο-
μένη παρ’ ἀλλης ὑπὲρ τῆς ἐν τῷ πονεῖν ἵσομοιριάς

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praiseworthy in all respects, into conformity with them; for he desired truth rather than seeming, because the one mark he set before him was nature's right reason, the sole source and fountain of virtues.

Now, any other who was fleeing from the king's relentless wrath, and had just arrived for the first time in a foreign land, who had not yet become familiar with the customs of the natives nor gained exact knowledge of what pleases or offends them, might well have been eager to keep quiet and live in obscurity unnoticed by the multitude; or else he might have wished to come forward in public, and by obsequious persistence court the favour of men of highest authority and power, if none others, men who might be expected to give help and succour should some come and attempt to carry him off by force. But the path which he took was the opposite of what we should expect. He followed the wholesome impulses of his soul, and suffered none of them to be brought to the ground. And, therefore, at times he showed a gallant temper beyond his fund of strength, for he regarded justice as strength invincible, which urged him on his self-appointed task to champion the weaker.

X. I will describe an action of his at this time, which, though it may seem a petty matter, argues a spirit of no petty kind. The Arabs are breeders of cattle, and they employ for tending them not only men but women, youths and maidens alike, and not only those of insignificant and humble families but those of the highest position. Seven maidens, daughters of the priest, had come to a well, and, after attaching the buckets to the ropes, drew water, taking turns with each to share the labour equally. They
μάλα προθύμως τὰς δεξαμενᾶς, αἱ πλησίον ἔκειντο, 53 πληροῦσιν. ἐπιφοιτήσαντες δὲ ἐτεροὶ ποιμένες καὶ τῆς τῶν παρθένων ἁσθενείας ὑπεριδόντες τὰς μὲν ἐπεχείρουν μετὰ τῆς ποίμνης ἑλαύνειν, τὰ δὲ οἰκεία θρέμματα προσήγον ἐπὶ τὸ εὐτρεπισθὲν ποτὸν 54 ἄλλοτριον καρπωσόμενοι πόνον. ἦδον δὲ Μωυσῆς τὸ γενόμενον—οὐ γὰρ ἢν πόρρῳ—συντείνας ἔθει καὶ πλησίον στὰς “οὐ παύσεσθε” εἶπεν “ἀδικοῦντες, τὴν ἔρημιαν νομίζοντες εἰναι πλεονεξίαν; βραχίονοι καὶ πήχεις ἀργοῦς τρέφοντες οὐκ ἐρυθριᾶτε; χάντα προτείοι καὶ σάρκες ὑμεῖς ἐστε, οὐκ ἄνδρες· αἱ μὲν κόραι νεανιεύονται μηδὲν ὁκνοῦσι τῶν 55 πρακτέων, οἱ δὲ νεανίαι κορικῶς ἂντροφάτε. οὐ βαδιείσθε; οὐχ ὑπεκάτησεσθε ταῖς πρότερον ἁκούσαις, ὅν καὶ τὸ ποτὸν ἔστι; δυκαίως ἂν αὐταῖς ἐπαντλήσαντες, ἢν ἀφθονότερον σπεύδετε; ἄλλα μὰ τὸν οὐρανόν τῆς δίκης ὀφθαλμὸν οὐκ ἀφελεῖσθε βλέποντα καὶ τὰ ἐν τοῖς ἔρημοις έκείθεν. ἐμὲ γοῦν εἰχειροτόνησε βοηθὸν οὐ προσδοκηθέντα· καὶ γὰρ εἰμὶ σύμμαχος ταῖς ἁδικοῦμέναις μετὰ μεγάλης χειρός, ἢν οὐ θέμις πλεονέκτας ὅραν· αἰσθήσεσθε δε αὐτῆς ἐκ τοῦ ἁφανος τυρωσκούσης, εἰ μὴ 56 μεταβάλοντε.” ταῦτα διεξιόντος, φοβηθέντες, ἐπεὶ καὶ λέγων ἅμα ἐνεθοιαδότας μεταμορφούμενοι εἰς προφήτην, μὴ χρησμοὺς καὶ λόγια θεσπίζει, κατα- πειθεῖς τε γίνονται καὶ τὴν ποίμνην τῶν παρθένων ἐπὶ τὰς δεξαμενᾶς ἄγονται πρότερον ἐπαναθησά- 57 ἐρᾶς μενοί τὰς ἐαυτῶν. XI. αἱ δὲ ἐπανήσασαν 58 οὐκάδε σφόδρα γεγηθυναὶ καὶ τὰ συμβάντα παρ' ἐλπίδας ἐκδιηγοῦντο, ὡς πολὺν ἴμερον ἐνεργάσα-
MOSES I. 52–58

had with great industry filled the troughs which lay near, when some other shepherds appeared on the spot who, disdaining the weakness of the girls, tried to drive them and their flock away, and proceeded to bring their own animals to the place where the water lay ready, and thus appropriate the labours of others. But Moses, who was not far off, seeing what had happened, quickly ran up and, standing near by, said: “Stop this injustice. You think you can take advantage of the loneliness of the place. Are you not ashamed to let your arms and elbows live an idle life? You are masses of long hair and lumps of flesh, not men. The girls are working like youths, and shirk none of their duties, while you young men go daintily like girls. Away with you: give place to those who were here before you, to whom the water belongs. Properly, you should have drawn for them, to make the supply more abundant; instead, you are all agog to take from them what they have provided. Nay, by the heavenly eye of justice, you shall not take it; for that eye sees even what is done in the greatest solitude. In me at least it has appointed a champion whom you did not expect, for I fight to succour these injured maidens, allied to a mighty arm which the rapacious may not see, but you shall feel its invisible power to wound if you do not change your ways.” As he proceeded thus, they were seized with fear that they were listening to some oracular utterance, for as he spoke he grew inspired and was transfigured into a prophet. They became submissive, and led the maidens’ flock to the troughs, after removing their own. XI. The girls went home in high glee, and told the story of the unexpected event to their father, who thence conceived a strong desire to
σθαί τοῦ ξένου τῷ πατρί. κατεμέμφετο γοῦν αὐτὰς ἐπ’ ἀχαριστία τοιαῦτα λέγων· "τί παθοῦσαι μεθ’ ἐμεῖς, δέον ἀγεῖν εὐθὺς καὶ ἐπερ ἀνεδύετο λυπαρεῖν; ἦ τινα μισανθρωπίαν μου κατέγνωτε; ἦ δεύτερον περιπεσεῖν ἀδίκοις οὐ | προσδοκάτε; βοηθῶν ἀπο- ρεῖν ἀνάγκη τοὺς ἐπιλήψιμονας χαρίτων. ἀλλ’ ὁμως ἀναδραμοῦσαι (τὸ γὰρ ἀμάρτημα μέχρι νῦν ἐστὶν ἱάσιμον) ἵτε μετὰ σπουδῆς καὶ καλεῖτε ἁγίαν μὲν πρότερον ἁδίκας δὲ καὶ ἁμοιβής (ὀφείλεται γὰρ αὐτῶ χάρις) μεθέξοντα.” συντείνασαι δὲ καταλαμβά- νουσιν αὐτὸν οὐ πόρρω τῆς πηγῆς καὶ δηλώσασαι τὰ ἀπὸ τοῦ πατρὸς οἶκαδε συμπείθοσιν ἥκειν. ὁ δὲ πατὴρ τὴν μὲν ὠσὶν εὐθὺς τὸ δὲ βουλήμα σωφρόνου ὠστερον καταπλαγείσ—ἀρίδηλοι γὰρ οἱ μεγάλαι φύσεις καὶ οὐ μήκει χρόνου γνωριζόμεναι—δίδωσι τὴν καλλιστεύουσαν αὐτῷ τῶν θυγατέρων γυναικά, δι’ ἔνως ἐργον πάνθ’ ὅσα τῶν ἐώς καλοκάγαθαν μαρτυρήσας καὶ ὡς ἀξιεραστῶν μόνον τὸ καλὸν ἐστι τῆς ἀφ’ ἐτέρου συντάσσεως οὐ δεόμενον, ἀλλ’ ἐν εαυτῷ περιφέρον τὰ γνωρίσματα.

60 μετὰ δὲ τὸν γάμον παραλαβῶν τὰς ἀγέλας ἐποί- μαινε προδιδασκόμενοι εἰς ἡγεμονία· θηραῖς γάρ μελέτη καὶ προγυμνασία βασιλείας τῷ μέλλοντι τῆς ἡμεροτάτης τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἐπιστατέων ἀγέλης, καθάπερ καὶ τοῖς πολεμικοῖς τὰς φύσεις τὰ κυνη- γέσια—θῆραις γὰρ ἐμπρομελετῶσιν οἱ πρὸς τὰς στραταρχίας ἀλειφόμενοι—1 τῶν ἀλόγων ο DriverManager. is common to both shepherding and hunting.

1 Cohn’s punctuation (colon after καθ’ ἐκά-

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*a Cf. De Ios. 2 f.*
MOSES I. 58–60

see the stranger, which he showed by censuring them for their ingratitude. "What possessed you," he said, "to let him depart? You should have brought him straight along, and pressed him if he showed reluctance. Did you ever have to charge me with unsociable ways? Do you not expect that you may again fall in with those who would wrong you? Those who forget kindness are sure to lack defenders. Still, your error is not yet past cure. Run back with all speed, and invite him to receive from me first the entertainment due to him as a stranger, secondly some requital of the favour which we owe to him." They hurried back and found him not far from the well, and, after explaining their father's message, persuaded him to come home with them. Their father was at once struck with admiration of his face, and soon afterwards of his disposition, for great natures are transparent and need no length of time to be recognized. Accordingly, he gave him the fairest of his daughters in marriage, and, by that one action, attested all his noble qualities, and showed that excellence standing alone deserves our love, and needs no commendation from aught else, but carries within itself the tokens by which it is known.

After the marriage, Moses took charge of the sheep and tended them, thus receiving his first lesson in command of others; for the shepherd's business is a training-ground and a preliminary exercise in kingship for one who is destined to command the herd of mankind, the most civilized of herds, just as also hunting is for warlike natures, since those who are trained to generalship practise themselves first in the chase. And thus unreasoning animals are made to subserve as material wherewith to gain practice in
PHILO

61 ἡ μὲν γὰρ τῶν ἁγρίων θήρα στρατηγικὸν κατ’ ἐχθρῶν ἐστι γύμνασμα, ὡς τῶν ἠμέρων ἐπιμέλεια καὶ προστασία βασιλικὸν πρὸς ὑπηκόους ἀγώνισμα· διὸ καὶ "ποιμένες λαῶν" οἱ βασιλεῖς, οὐχ ὡς ὅνειδος ἀλλ’ ὡς ὑπερβάλλουσα τιμή, προσαγορεύονται. καὶ μοι δοκεῖ μή πρὸς δόξας τῶν πολλῶν ἄλλα πρὸς ἀλήθειαν ἐρευνώμενω τὸ πράγμα—γελάτω δ’ ὁ βουλόμενος—μόνος ἀν γενέσθαι βασιλεὺς τέλειος ὁ τὴν ποιμενικὴν ἐπιστήμην ἀγαθός, ἐν ἐλάττοσι ζῴωις παιδευθεῖς τὰ τῶν κρειττόνων ἀμήχανον γὰρ τὰ μεγάλα πρὸ τῶν μικρῶν τελεσθῆναι.

62 XII. Γενόμενος οὖν τῶν καθ’ αὐτὸν ἀγελαρχῶν ἀριστός καὶ ποριστὴς (τῶν ὅσα πρὸς τὴν τῶν θρεμμάτων συνέτεινεν ὑφέλειαν ἰκανός ἐκ τοῦ μὴ δὲν ἀποκνείν ἀλλ’ ἐθελουργῷ καὶ αὐτοκελεύστω προθυμία ἐὰν δέον τῇ προστασίᾳ χρῆσθαι μετὰ | [91] καθαρᾶς καὶ ἄδολου πίστεως ἦξησε τὰς ἀγέλας. 63 ὥς ὑπὸ τῶν ἀλλων νομέων ἡ ὅδη καὶ φθονοῦσθαι μὴ δὲν ὄμοιοτροποῦν ἐν ταῖς ἰδίαις ποίμναις ὀρώντων, αἰς εὐτυχεῖς εἶναι ἐδόκει ἤ ἐν ὑμοίῳ μονῇ, ταῖς δὲ τὸ μὴ βελτιώσθαι καθ’ ἐκάστην ἠμέραν ἐλάττωσις διὰ τὸ μεγάλα εἰσωθέναι λομβάνειν ἐπιδόσεις ἐκ μὲν

1 mss. προστασία. 2 mss. χαρᾶς.

a Possibly, as the German translation takes it, τελεσθῆναι may mean simply "accomplished," "consummated." But De Sac. 62 οἱ πρὸ τῶν μεγάλων τούτων τὰ μικρὰ μυστήρια μυηθέντες, cf. De Cher. 49, and other allusions to the "great" mysteries seem to make it much more probable that the more picturesque meaning is intended. So Mangey, who on the strength of these two passages, and the adaptation 308
government in the emergencies of both peace and war; for the chase of wild animals is a drilling-ground for the general in fighting the enemy, and the care and supervision of tame animals is a schooling for the king in dealing with his subjects, and therefore kings are called "shepherds of their people," not as a term of reproach but as the highest honour. And my opinion, based not on the opinions of the multitude but on my own inquiry into the truth of the matter, is that the only perfect king (let him laugh who will) is one who is skilled in the knowledge of shepherding, one who has been trained by management of the inferior creatures to manage the superior. For initiation in the lesser mysteries must precede initiation in the greater.  

XII. To return to Moses, he became more skilled than any of his time in managing flocks and providing what tended to the benefit of his charges. His capacity was due to his never shirking any duty, but showing an eager and unprompted zeal wherever it was needed, and maintaining a pure and guileless honesty in the conduct of his office. Consequently the flocks increased under him, and this roused the envy of the other graziers, who did not see anything of the sort happening in their own flocks. In their case it was felt to be a piece of luck if they remained as they had been, but with the flocks of Moses any failure to make daily improvement was a set-back, so great was the progress regularly made, both in fine quality, through increased fatness and firm-

given of them by Clement, would correct τελείωθαι to μνείσθαι. But this sense of τελείωθαι is quite common in Philo, cf. De Abr. 122.  

b For §§ 63-84 see Ex. iii. 1–iv. 17.
εὐσαρκίας καὶ πιότητος εἰς κάλλος, εἰς δὲ πλῆθος εἷς εὐτοκίας καὶ τῶν περὶ δίαιταν ὠγειών.  

65 ἀγων δὲ τὴν ποίμνην εἰς τόπον εὐνυδρόν τε καὶ εὐχορτόν, ἐνθα δυνέβαινε καὶ πολλὴν πόναν προβατεύσιμον ἀναδίδοσθαι, γενόμενος πρὸς τινι νάπει θέαμα ἐκπληκτικότατον ὁρᾶ. βάτος ἦν, ἀκανθωδὲς τι φυτὸν καὶ ἄσθενεστατον. οὐδότος, οὐδενὸς πῦρ προσενεγκόντος, ἐξαίφνης ἀνακαίεται καὶ περισχεθεὶς ὅλος ἐκ ρίζης εἰς ἀκρέμονα πολλῆν φλογὸ καθάπερ ἀπὸ τῶν πηγῶν ἀνομβρούσης διέμενε σῶς, οὐ κατακαιόμενος, οία τις ἀποθήσεως οὐσία καὶ οὐχ ὑλὴ πυρὸς αὐτῶς ὄν, ἀλλὰ τροφὴ χρώμενος  

66 τῷ πυρί. κατὰ δὲ μέσην τὴν φλόγα μορφή τις ἦν περικαλλεστάτη, τῶν ὀρατῶν ἐμφερῆς οὐδένι, θεοειδέστατην ἁγαλμα, φῶς αὐγοειδέστερον τοῦ πυρὸς ἀπαστράπτοντα, ἦν ἀν τις ὑπετότησεν εἰκόνα τοῦ ὄντος εἶναι. καλείσθω δὲ ἄγγελος, ὁ τις ἐκ ὁποῖαν. τὰ μέλλοντα γενήσεσθαι διήγερε τραντερὰ φωνῆς ἀναβολὴ διὰ τῆς μεγαλουργηθείσης ὤψεως.  

67 οὕσως. σύμβολον γὰρ ὁ μὲν καίομενος βάτος τῶν ἀδικομένων, τὸ δὲ φλέγον πῦρ τῶν ἀδικοῦντων, τὸ δὲ θεοειδέστατον τὸ καίομενον τοῦ μῆ πρὸς τῶν ἐπιθεμένων φθαρῆσθαι τοὺς ἀδικομένους, ἀλλὰ τοὺς μὲν ἀπρακτον καὶ ἀνωφελῆ γενέσθαι τῇ ἐπίθεσιν, τοῖς δὲ τῇ ἐπιβουλῇ ἁξῆμον, ὁ δὲ ἄγγελος προνοίας τῆς ἐκ σοῦ. τὰ λιαν φοβερὰ παρὰ τὰς ἀπάντων ἔλπιδας κατὰ  

68 πολλῆν ἠσυχίαν ἐξευμαρίζοντος. XIII. τὴν δὲ εἰκασίαν ἀκρίβως ἐπισκεπτέον. ὁ βάτος, ὥς ἔλε-
ness of flesh, and in number through their fecundity and the wholesomeness of their food.

Now, as he was leading the flock to a place where the water and the grass were abundant, and where there happened to be plentiful growth of herbage for the sheep, he found himself at a glen where he saw a most astonishing sight. There was a bramble-bush, a thorny sort of plant, and of the most weakly kind, which, without anyone’s setting it alight, suddenly took fire; and, though enveloped from root to twigs in a mass of fire, which looked as though it were spouted up from a fountain, yet remained whole, and, instead of being consumed, seemed to be a substance impervious to attack, and, instead of serving as fuel to the fire, actually fed on it. In the midst of the flame was a form of the fairest beauty, unlike any visible object, an image supremely divine in appearance, resplendent with a light brighter than the light of fire. It might be supposed that this was the image of Him that is; but let us rather call it an angel or herald, since, with a silence that spoke more clearly than speech, it employed as it were the miracle of sight to herald future events. For the burning bramble was a symbol of those who suffered wrong, as the flaming fire of those who did it. Yet that which burned was not burnt up, and this was a sign that the sufferers would not be destroyed by their aggressors, who would find that the aggression was vain and profitless while the victims of malice escaped unharmed. The angel was a symbol of God’s providence, which all silently brings relief to the greatest dangers, exceeding every hope. XIII. But the details of the comparison must be considered. The bramble, as I have said, is a very
καὶ τὸν ἁμαρτωλὸν, ὡς ἐκκατάληθη πρὸς αὐτὸν καὶ διαμένων ὁποῖος ἦν πρὶν ἀνακαίεσθαι μηδὲν ἀποβαλὼν τὸ παράπαν αὐγήν προσέλαβε. ἦν κατ’ ἐκεῖνον τὸν χρόνον ἐπείχε, μόνον οὐ βοῶσα τοῖς εἰν συμφοράις. "μη ἀναπίπτετε, τὸ ἀθενές υμῶν δύναμις ἐστών, ἢ καὶ κεντεῖ καὶ κατατρώσει μυρίους. ὑπὸ τῶν ἐξαναλώσαι γλυχομένων τὸ γένος ἀκόντων διασωθῆσθε μᾶλλον ἢ ἀπολεῖσθε, τοῖς κακοῖς οὐ κακωθῆσθε, ἀλλ’ ὅταν μάλιστα πορθεῖν νομίσῃ τις υμᾶς, τότε μάλιστα πρὸς εὐκλειαν ἐκλάμψετε." 70 πάλιν τὸ πῦρ φθοροποιὸς οὐσία διελέγχουσα τοὺς ἀμοθύμους: "μη ταῖς ἰδίαις ἀλκαῖς ἐπαίρεσθε, ταῖς ἀμάχους ρώμασ ἱδόντες καθαιρομένας σωφρονισθῆτε. ή μὲν κανοτικὴ δύναμις τῆς φλογὸς ὡς ξύλον καίεται, τὸ δὲ φύσει καυστὸν ξύλον οἷα πῦρ ἐμφανῶς καίει."

XIV. Τὸ τεράστιον τοῦτο καὶ τεθαυματουργικὸν δεῖξας ὁ θεός τῷ Μωυσεὶ, παραίνεσιν ἐν αργετάτην τῶν μελλόντων ἀποτελεῖσθαι, καὶ διὰ χρησιμῶν ἄρχεται προτρέπειν αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τὴν τοῦ ἔθνους σπείδειν ἐπιμέλειαι, ὡς οὐ μόνον ἐλευθερίας παραίνει ἀλλὰ καὶ ἡγεμόνα τῆς ἐνθένες ἀποκλίας ὧν εἰς μακρὰν γενησόμενον, ὀμολογών ἐν ἀπασι 72 συμπεπέσθαι. "κακουμένων γὰρ ἐκ πολλοῦ καὶ

1 A strange use of the word. Cohn suggests διαθέσεως.
2 I suggest φθοροποιοῖς <φθοροποίεται>. See note a.

a The absence of a finite verb, for οὐσία can hardly be predicate, is curious. Also the sense is not brought out, for the sequel shows that the point is that the fire ultimately
weakly plant, yet it is prickly and will wound if one do but touch it. Again, though fire is naturally destructive, the bramble was not devoured thereby, but on the contrary was guarded by it, and remained just as it was before it took fire, lost nothing at all but gained an additional brightness. All this is a description of the nation's condition as it then stood, and we may think of it as a voice proclaiming to the sufferers: "Do not lose heart; your weakness is your strength, which can prick, and thousands will suffer from its wounds. Those who desire to consume you will be your unwilling saviours instead of your destroyers. Your ills will work you no ill. Nay, just when the enemy is surest of ravaging you, your fame will shine forth most gloriously." Again fire, the element which works destruction, convicts the cruel-hearted. "Exult not in your own strength" it says. "Behold your invincible might brought low, and learn wisdom. The property of flame is to consume, yet it is consumed, like wood. The nature of wood is to be consumed yet it is manifested as the consumer, as though it were the fire."

XIV. After showing to Moses this miraculous portent, so clearly warning him of the events that were to be, God begins in oracular speech to urge him to take charge of the nation with all speed, in the capacity not merely of an assistant to their liberation, but of the leader who would shortly take them from Egypt to another home. He promised to help him in everything: "For," he said, "suffering, goes out and leaves the bramble victorious. I strongly suspect that "is destroyed" has been lost and if so φθορο-ποιεῖται in juxtaposition to φθοροποιός would be preferable to φθείρεται. No such word is quoted in the lexica, but Philo is quite capable of coining it.
δυσανασχέτους υβρεις υπομενόντων, ούδενος ἀνθρώπων οὔτ' ἐπικουφίζοντος οὔτ' ἐλεούντος τὰς συμφοράς, οἴκτων’ φησίν “αὐτὸς ἔλαβον. καὶ γὰρ (οἷον) ἴδια ἔκαστον καὶ πάντας ὀμοθυμαδὸν ἐφ' ἰκετείας καὶ λιτάς τραπεζέοντες ἐλπίζειν τὴν εἰς ἐμοῦ βοήθειαν. εἰμὶ δὲ τῆν φύσιν ἔτης καὶ 73 γνησίους ἰκέτας ἠλεως. ίδί δ' ἐκ τῶν βασιλέα τῆς χώρας μηδὲν εὑλαβηθεὶς τὸ παράπαν—οῦ μὲν γὰρ πρότερος τέθηκεν, ὃν ἀπεδίδρασκες διὰ φόβον ἐπιβουλῆς, ἐτέρος δὲ τὴν χώραν ἐπιτέτραπτα μηδὲν τῶν πραγμάτων σοι μνησίκακων—καὶ τὴν τοῦ ἐθνος γερουσίαν προσπαραλαβὼν εἰπὲ χρησιμο προσκεκλήθησαι ὅπ' ἐμοῦ τὸ ἐθνος, ἵνα κατὰ τὰ πάτρια θύση τριῶν ἡμερῶν ὅδον ἔξω τῶν ὀρῶν τῆς 74 χώρας προελθὼν.” ὁ δὲ οὐκ ἄγνοων ἐπὶ τοῖς λεγομένοις ἀπιστήσοντας τοὺς τε ὀμοφύλους καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ἀπαντας “ἐὰν οὖν” φησίν “πυνθάνωνται, τί τὸ ὄνομα τῷ πέμφαντι, μηδ' αὐτὸς εἰπέν ἔξων ἄρ', 75 οὐ δόξω διαπατάν;” ὁ δὲ “τὸ μὲν πρώτον λέγε” φησίν “αὐτοῖς, ὅτι ἔγω εἰμι ὁ ὄν, ἵνα μαθόντες διαφορὰν ὄντος τε καὶ μὴ ὄντος προσαναδιδακτᾶσιν, ὡς οὐδὲν ὄντα αὐτὸς τὸ παράπαν ἐπ’ ἐμοὶ κυριολογεῖται, 76 ὃ μόνῳ πρόσεστι τὸ εἶναι. ἐὰν δ' ἀσθενεστέροι τὰς φύσεις ὄντες ἐπιζητῶσι πρόσρησιν, ἀρωσον [93] αὐτοῖς μη μόνον τοῦθ’ ὅτι | θεός εἰμι, ἀλλ’ ὅτι καὶ τριῶν τῶν ἐπωνύμων ἀνδρῶν ἀρετῆς, θεὸς Ἀβραὰμ καὶ θεὸς Ἰσαὰκ καὶ θεὸς Ἰακὼβ, ὡν τῆς διδακτῆς, ὁ δὲ τῆς φυσικῆς, ὁ δὲ τῆς ἀσκητικῆς σοφίας κανῶν ἔστων. ἐὰν δὲ ἔτι ἀπιστῶσι, τρισι ημείσις ἀναδιδακτῆντες μεταβαλοῦσιν, ὁ πρότερον 77 οὔτε τις εἰδεν οὔτε ἦκουσεν ἀνθρώπων.” ἦν δὲ τὰ
as they do, prolonged ill-treatment, and subjected to intolerable outrages, with no relief or pity for their miseries from men, I have taken compassion on them Myself. For I know that each severally, and all unitedly, have betaken themselves to prayers and supplications in hope to gain help from Me, and I am of a kindly nature and gracious to true suppliants. Now go to the king of the land, and fear not at all, for the former king from whom you fled in fear that he meant mischief is dead, and the land is in the hands of another who does not remember any of your actions against you. Take with you also the elders of the nation, and tell him that the people has received a command from Me to make a three-days' journey beyond the bounds of the country, and there sacrifice according to the rites of their fathers." Moses knew well that his own nation and all the others would disbelieve his words, and said: "If they ask the name of him who sent me, and I cannot myself tell them, will they not think me a deceiver?" God replied: "First tell them that I am He Who is, that they may learn the difference between what is and what is not, and also the further lesson that no name at all can properly be used of Me, to Whom alone existence belongs. And, if, in their natural weakness, they seek some title to use, tell them not only that I am God, but also the God of the three men whose names express their virtue, each of them the exemplar of the wisdom they have gained—Abraham by teaching, Isaac by nature, Jacob by practice." And, if they still disbelieve, three signs which no man has ever before seen or heard of will be sufficient lesson to convert

\[a\] For §§ 75-76 cf. De Mut. 11 ff.
PHILO

σημεία τοιάδε· ράβδου, ἢν εἶχεν, εἰς τοῦδαφος ῥὺμαι κελεύει· ἢ δ’ αὐτίκα ψυχωθείσα εἰρπε καὶ τῶν ἀπόδων τὸ ὣγεμονικώτατον ὑπερμεγέθης δράκων γίνεται τελειότατος· ταχέως δ’ ἀποχωρήσας ἀπὸ τοῦ ξώου καὶ διὰ δέος ἢδη πρὸς φυγὴν ὅρμῳν μετακαλεῖται καὶ θεοῦ προστάξαντος ἀμα τε θάρσος

78 ἐμπονήσαντος ἐπιδράττεται τῆς οὐρᾶς. ὃ δὲ ἴλυ- σπώμενος ἔτι κατὰ τὴν ἐπαφήν ἴσταται καὶ πρὸς μήκος εὖ μάλα ταθεῖς εὐθὺς εἰς βακτηρίαν μετεστοιχειοῦτο τὴν αὐτήν, ὡς θαυμάζων μὲν τὰς μεταβολὰς ἀμφοτέρας, ποτέρα δὲ καταπληκτικωτέρα, μή δύνασθαι διακρίνειν, τῆς ψυχῆς ἰσορρόπως

79 πληθείσης φαντασία. τούτῳ μὲν δὴ πρῶτον, ἐτέρον δ’ οὐκ εἰς μακρὰν ἐθαυματουργεῖτο· τῶν χειρῶν τὴν ἐτέραν προστάττει τῶν κόλπων ἐπικρύψαντα μικρὸν ὑπερον προενεγκεῖ. δράσαντος δὲ τὸ κελευθέν, ἢ χείρ λευκότερα χιόνος ἐξαπναίως ἀναφαίνεται· τάλιν δὲ καθέντος εἰς τοὺς κόλπους καὶ ἄνενεγκόντος, εἰς τὴν αὐτήν χρόαν

80 τρέπεται τὸ οὐκεῖον ἀπολαβοῦσα εἴδος. ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ὑπὸ μόνου μόνος ἐπαιδεύετο, ως παρὰ διδασκαλῶν γνώριμος, ἐχὼν παρ’ ἐαυτῷ τὰ τῶν τεράτων ὀργανὰ, τὴν τε χείρα καὶ τὴν βακτηρίαν, οἷς

81 προεφωδιάσθη. τρίτον δ’ ἐπιφέρεσθαι μὲν οὖκ ἦν οὐδὲ προδιάσκεσθαι, ἔμελλε δ’ ἐκπλήττειν οὖκ ἐλαττὸν τὴν ἀρχὴν τοῦ γίνεσθαι λαβὸν ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ. ἦν δὲ τοιοῦτο· “τοῦ ποταμίου” φησίν ἃ “ὐδατος ὁς” ἂν ἀρυσάμενος ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν ἐκχεῖτι, αἰμα ἐκαθότατον ἠσται πρὸς τῇ χρόα καὶ τὴν δύναμιν

82 ἐτεροιωθέν εἰς ἀλλαγὴν παντελῆ.” πιστὸν δ’ ὃς
them.” The signs were such as these. He bade 77 him cast on the ground the rod which he carried, and this at once took life and began to creep, and became that high chief of the reptile kingdom, a huge serpent grown to full strength. Moses quickly leaped away from the creature, and, in his fright, was starting to fly, when he was recalled by God, and, at His bidding and inspired by Him with courage, grasped its tail. It was still wriggling, but stopped 78 at his touch, and, stretching itself to its full length, was metamorphosed at once into the rod which it had been before, so that Moses marvelled at the double change, unable to decide which was the more astonishing, so evenly balanced was the profound impression which each made upon his soul. This 79 was the first miracle, and a second followed soon. God bade him conceal one of his hands in his bosom, and, after a little while, draw it out. And when he did as he was bid, the hand suddenly appeared whiter than snow. He did the same again, put it in his bosom and then brought it out, when it turned to its original colour and recovered its proper appearance. These lessons he received when he and God 80 were alone together, like pupil and master, and while the instruments of the miracles, the hand and the staff, with which he was equipped for his mission were both in his own possession. But the third had its birth- 81 place in Egypt. It was one which he could not carry with him or rehearse beforehand, yet the amazement which it was sure to cause was quite as great. It was this: “The water,” God said, “which thou dost draw from the river and pour on the land will be blood quite ruddy, and not only its colour but its properties will be completely changed.” Moses evi- 82
έοικε καὶ τοῦτ’ ἀνεφαίνετο, οὐ μόνον διὰ τὸ τοῦ λέγοντος ἀφευντὶς, ἀλλὰ καὶ διὰ τὰ ἦδη προεπιδεχθέντα ἐπὶ τε τῆς χειρὸς καὶ τῆς βακτηρίας θαυ-
ματωργήματα. πιστεύσων δ’ οἷς παρηγεῖτο τὴν χειροτονίαν ἰσχυρόνων καὶ βραδύ-
λωσον, οὐκ εὐλογον, αὐτὸν εἶναι φάσκων καὶ μάλιστ’ ἀφ’ οὗ λέγοντος ἥκουε θεοῦ· νομίσας γὰρ τὴν ἀνθρωπίνην λογισμότητα κατὰ σύγκρισιν τῆς θείας ἀφωνίαν εἶναι καὶ ἄμα τῆν φύσιν εὐλαβῆς ὥν

83 υπεστέλλετο | τοὺς ὑπερόγκους, τὰ λίαν μεγάλα κρίνουν οὐ καθ’ αὐτὸν, καὶ παρεκάλει ἑτερον ἑλέσθαι τὸν εὐμαρῆς ἔκαστα τῶν ἐπισταλέντων διαπράξα-
84 σθαι δυνησόμενον. δ’ δ’ ἀποδεξάμενος αὐτὸν τῆς αἰδοῦς “δρά γε ἁγνοεῖς” εἶπε “τὸν δόντα ἀνθρώπων στόμα καὶ κατασκευάσαντα γλώτταν καὶ ἀρτηρίαν καὶ τὴν ἄπασα λογικῆς φωνῆς ὀργανο-
ποιίαν; αὐτὸς εἰμι ἑγώ. μηδὲν οὖν δείσης· ἐμοὶ γὰρ ἐπιεύσασθαι ἁρθρωθῆσαι τάντα καὶ μετα-
βαλεῖ πρὸς τὸ μέτριον, ὡς μηδὲν ἐτι ἐμποδίζοντος ῥεῖν εὐτροχον καὶ λείον ἀπὸ καθαρᾶς πηγῆς τὸ τῶν λόγων νὰμα. χρείᾳ δ’ εἰ γένοιτο ἐρμηνέως, ὑπο-
διακονικὸν στόμα τοῦ ἄδελφον ἐξεις, ἢ’ δ’ ἐν τῷ πλήθει ἀπαγγέλλη τὰ ἀπὸ σοῦ, οὐ δ’ ἐκεῖνῳ τὰ θεία.”

85 XV. Ταῦτ’ ἄκουσας—οὐ γὰρ ἦν εἰς ἀπαν ἀντι-
λέγειν ἀσφαλές οὐδ’ ἀκίνδυνον—ἄρας ἐβάδιζε μετὰ γυναικὸς καὶ τέκνων ὅδον τὴν ἐπ’ Ἀὐγυπτον, καθ’ ἦν ὑπαντήσαντα τὸν ἀδελφὸν πείθει συνακολοθεῖν ὑπειπῶν τὰ θεία λόγια· τῷ δ’ ἀρα προὐπείραγοστὸ ἡ
MOSES I. 82-85

dently felt that this too was credible, not only because of the infallibility of the Speaker, but through the proofs he had already been shewn in the miracles of the hand and the staff. But, though he believed, he tried to refuse the mission, declaring that he was not eloquent, but feeble of voice and slow of tongue, especially ever since he heard God speaking to him; for he considered that human eloquence compared with God’s was dumbness, and also, cautious as he was by nature, he shrank from things sublime and judged that matters of such magnitude were not for him. And therefore he begged Him to choose another, who would prove able to execute with ease all that was committed to him. But God, though approving his modesty, answered: “Dost thou not know who it is that gave man a mouth, and formed his tongue and throat and all the organism of reasonable speech? It is I Myself: therefore, fear not, for at a sign from Me all will become articulate and be brought over to method and order, so that none can hinder the stream of words from flowing easily and smoothly from a fountain undefiled. And, if thou shouldst have need of an interpreter, thou wilt have in thy brother a mouth to assist thy service, to report to the people thy words, as thou reportest those of God to him.”

XV. a Moses, hearing this, and knowing how unsafe and hazardous it was to persist in gainsaying, took his departure, and travelled with his wife and children on the road to Egypt. During the journey he met his brother, to whom he declared the divine message, and persuaded him to accompany him. His brother’s soul, in fact, had already, through the

a For §§ 85-95 see Ex. iv. 27, v. 22, vii. 8-13.
ψυχή κατ' ἐπιφροσύνην θεοῦ πρὸς πειθαρχίαν, ὡς ἀνενδοιάστως συνανείν καὶ ἐτοίμως ἔσεσθαι.

86 παραγενόμενοι δ' εἰς Αἴγυπτον γνώμη καὶ ψυχή μιᾶ τὸ μὲν πρῶτον τοὺς δημογέροντας τοὺς ἔθνους συναγαγόντες ἐν ἐπορρήτω μηνύοντι τοὺς χρησμοὺς καὶ ὡς ἔλεον καὶ οἴκτον λαβῶν αὐτῶν ὁ θεὸς ἐλευθερίαν καὶ τὴν ἐνθένδε μετανάστασιν εἰς ἀμείνων χώραν ὀμολογῶν αὐτὸς ἔσεσθαι τῆς οὐδοῦ ἥγεμών

87 ὑπισχνείται. μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα καὶ τῷ βασιλεί θαρροῦσιν ἣδη διαλέγεσθαι περὶ τοῦ τὸν λεων ἀρουργήσοντα ἐκπέμψαι τῶν ὅρων. δεῖν γὰρ ἐφασκον ἐν ἐρήμῳ τὰς πατρίους θυσίας ἐπιτελεσθῆναι, μὴ κατὰ τὰ αὐτὰ τῶν ἄλλων ἀνθρώπων γνωμένως, ἀλλὰ τρόπω καὶ νόμῳ διαφεύγοντι τὴν κοινότητα

88 διὰ τὰς τῶν ἔθων ἐξαιρέτους ἰδιότητας. ὁ δ' εἶκ' ἐπὶ σπαργάνων προγραμμάτων τύφῳ τὴν ψυχήν πεπιεσμένος καὶ μηδένα τὸ παρὰπαν νοητὸν θεὸν ἐξω τῶν θρατών νομίζων ἀποκρίνεται πρὸς ύβριν εἰπών: "τίς ἐστιν οὐχ ἡρμηνεύον νηπίων; οὐκ οἶδα τὸν λεγόμενον τούτων καὶνόμον. οὐκ ἐξαποστέλλω τὸ διότι ἐπὶ προφάσει ἐστὶν θυσίας καὶ θυσίων ἀφηνιάσον." εἰθ' ἀτε χαλέποι καὶ βαρύμηνς καὶ ἀπαραίτητος τὴν ὀργήν κελεύει τοὺς τῶν ἔργων ἐφεστώτας προπλακίζεσθαι ὡς ἀνέσεις καὶ σχολὴν ἐνδιδόντας, ἀνέσεις καὶ σχολῆς εἶναι λέγων τὸ βουλεύεσθαι περὶ θυσίων καὶ ἐορτῶν. τοὺς γὰρ ἐν ἀνάγκας τούτων οὐδὲ μεμνήσθαι, ἀλλ' οἷς ὁ βίος

89 νιάσον." εἰθ' ἀτε χαλέποι καὶ βαρύμηνς καὶ ἀπαραίτητος τὴν ὀργήν κελεύει τοὺς τῶν ἔργων ἐφεστώτας προπλακίζεσθαι ὡς ἀνέσεις καὶ σχολὴν ἐνδιδόντας, ἀνέσεις καὶ σχολῆς εἶναι λέγων τὸ βουλεύεσθαι περὶ θυσίων καὶ ἐορτῶν. τοὺς γὰρ ἐν ἀνάγκας τούτων οὐδὲ μεμνήσθαι, ἀλλ' οἷς ὁ βίος

90 ἐν εὐπαθείᾳ πολλῇ καὶ τρυφῇ. βαρυτέρας οὖν ἡ πρότερον συμφορὰς ὑπομενόντων καὶ ἐπὶ τοῖς ἀμφί

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a Or perhaps "shrank from publicity." Like mysteries in general, they had to be performed in secrecy.

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MOSES I. 85–90

watchful working of God, been predisposed to obedience, so that without hesitation he assented and readily followed. When they had arrived in Egypt, they first summoned the senators of the nation secretly, and informed them of the oracles, and how God had, in pity and compassion for them, assured them liberty and departure from their present to a better country, and promised to be Himself their leader. After this they were now emboldened to talk to the king, and lay before him their request that he should send the people out of his boundaries to sacrifice. They told him that their ancestral sacrifices must be performed in the desert, as they did not conform with those of the rest of mankind, but so exceptional were the customs peculiar to the Hebrews that their rule and method of sacrifices ran counter to the common course. The king, whose soul from his earliest years was weighed down with the pride of many generations, did not accept a God discernible only by the mind, or any at all beyond those whom his eyes beheld; and therefore he answered insolently: “Who is he whom I must obey? I know not this new Lord of whom you speak. I refuse to send the nation forth to run loose under pretext of festival and sacrifices.” Then, in the harshness and ferocity and obstinacy of his temper, he bade the overseers of the tasks treat the people with contumely, for showing slackness and laziness. “For just this,” he said, “was what was meant by the proposal to hold festival and sacrifice—things the very memory of which was lost by the hard pressed, and retained only by those whose life was spent in much comfort and luxury.” Thus they endured woes more grievous than ever.
[95] Μωυσῆν δυσχεραινόντων ὡς | ἀπατεώσι καὶ τὰ μὲν λάθρα τὰ δὲ φανερῶς κακηγοροῦντων καὶ ἁσβείας1 αἰτιωμένων ἐπὶ τῷ δοκεῖν θεοῦ κατεψεῦσαι, δεικνύειν ἀρχετὰς Μωυσῆς ἃ προδιδάχθη τήρατα, νομίσας τοὺς θεασομένους ἐκ τῆς ἐπεχούσης ἀπηστίας εἰς πίστιν τῶν λεγομένων μεταβαλεῖν.

91 ἡ δὲ τῶν τεράτων ἐπίδειξις ἐγένετο καὶ τῷ βασιλεὶ διὰ σπουδῆς καὶ τοῖς ἐν τέλει τῶν Αἰγυπτίων. XVI. πάντων οὖν τῶν δυνατῶν συρρυεῖν εἰς τὰ βασίλεια, λαβὼν τὴν βακτηρίαν ὁ Μωυσέως ἀδελφὸς καὶ κατασείσας μᾶλα ἐπιδεικτικῶς εἰς τοῦδοφος βίττει καὶ ἡ μὲν δράκων αὐτίκα γίνεται, οἱ δὲ ἐν κύκλῳ κατεθεώντο καὶ ἁμα θαυμαστικῶς ἔχοντες

92 υπὸ δέους ἔξαναχωροῦντες ἀπέφευγον. σοφισταὶ δ’ ὀσοὶ καὶ μάγοι παρετύχανον “τί καταπλήττεσθε;” εἶπον: “οὐδ’ ἡμεῖς τῶν τοιούτων ἀμελετήτως ἔχομεν, ἀλλὰ χρώμεθα τεχνὴ δημιουργῶ τῶν ὅμων.” εἰθ’ ἐκάστου βακτηρίαν ἦν εἰχε ῥήμαντας, δρακόντων πλῆθος ἦν καὶ περὶ ἑν τὸν

93 πρώτον εἰλοῦντο. οἱ δ’ ἐκ πολλοῦ τοῦ περίοντος διαναστάς πρὸς ύψος τὰ μὲν στέρνα εὐρύνει, τὸ δὲ στόμα διοίξας ὅλκοι πνεύματος ρύμη βιαιοτάτῃ καθάπερ βόλου ἰχθύων πάντας ἐν κύκλῳ σαγηνεύσας ἐπισπάται καὶ καταπιόν εἰς τὴν ἀρχαίαν φύσιν τῆς

94 βακτηρίας μετέβαλεν. ἦδη μὲν οὖν ἐν ἐκάστου τῇ ψυχῇ τῶν ἐθελοκακοῦντων τὸ ὑποπτὸν διήλεγξεν ἡ μεγαλουργηθεῖσα ὦμις, ὡς μηκέτι νομίζειν ἀνθρώπων σοφίσματα καὶ τέχνας εἶναι τὰ γνώμενα πεπλασμένα πρὸς ἀπάτην, ἀλλὰ δύναμιν θειότεραν

95 τὴν τούτων αἰτίαν, ἦ πάντα δρᾶν εὐμαρέσ. ἐπεὶ δὲ

1 mss. ἁσβείαν.
and were enraged against Moses and his companion as deceivers, abusing them, sometimes secretly, sometimes openly, and accusing them of impiety in that they appeared to have spoken falsely of God. Whereupon Moses began to show the wonders which he had been previously taught to perform, thinking that the sight would convert them from the prevailing unbelief to belief in his words. The exhibition of these wonders to the king and the Egyptian nobles followed very quickly; (XVI.) so, when all the magnates had collected at the palace, the brother of Moses took his staff, and, after waving it in a very conspicuous manner, flung it on the ground, where it immediately turned into a serpent, while the onlookers standing round were filled with wonder, fell back in fear, and were on the point of running away. But all the wizards and magicians who were present said: "Why are you terrified? We, too, are practised in such matters, and we use our skill to produce similar results." Then, as each of them threw down the staff which he held, there appeared a multitude of serpents writhing round a single one; that one, the first, showed its great superiority by rising high, widening its chest and opening its mouth, when with the suction of its breath it swept the others in with irresistible force, like a whole draught of fishes encircled by the net, and, after swallowing them up, changed to its original nature, and became a staff. By this time, the marvelous spectacle had refuted the scepticism in every ill-disposed person's soul, and they now regarded these events not as the works of human cunning or artifices fabricated to deceive, but as brought about by some diviner power to which every feat is easy.
καὶ ὁμολογεῖν ἀναγκασθέντες ὑπὸ τῆς τῶν γινομένων ἐμφανοῦς ἐναργείας οὐδὲν ἦττον ἐθρασύνοντο, τῆς αὐτῆς ἀπανθρωπίας καὶ ἁσεβείας ὀσπερ ἀγαθοῦ τινος ἐπειλημμένοι βεβαιοτάτου, μήτε τους καταδουλωθέντας ἀδίκως ἔλεοῦντες μήτε τὰ διὰ τῶν λόγων¹ προστατόμενα δρῶντες, ἀτε δὴ τοῦ θεοῦ τρανοτέρας χρησμῶν ἀποδείξει ταῖς διὰ σημείων καὶ τεράτων τὸ βουλήμα δεδηλωκότος, ἐμβρίθεστερας ἐπανατάσεως² ἐδέησε καὶ πληγῶν ἔσμον, αἷς οἱ ἀφρονεῖς νουθετοῦνται, οὐς λόγος οὐκ ἐπαίδευσε.

96 Δέκα δὲ ἐπάγονται τῇ χώρᾳ τιμωρίαι, κατὰ τῶν τέλειως ἦμαρτηκότων τελεώς ἁριθμῶς κολάσεως· ἣν δὲ κόλασις παρηλλαχυῖα τὰς ἐν ἐθεί. XVII. τὰ γὰρ στοιχεῖα τοῦ παντός, γῆ καὶ ὕδωρ καὶ ἀέρ καὶ πῦρ, ἐπιτίθενται, | δικαιώσαντος θεοῦ, οῖς ἀπετελέσθη ὁ κόσμος, τὴν ἁσεβῶν χώραν φθαρῆναι, πρὸς ἐνδεικτικῶς χρῆσθαι τὰς ἐν ἐθεί. ἦν δὲ κόλασις παρηλλαχυῖα τὰς ἐν ἐθεί.

97 ἂσεβῶν ἀπώλειαν. διανέμει δὲ τὰς κολάσεις, τρεῖς μὲν τὰς ἐκ τῶν παχυμερεστέρων στοιχείων γῆς καὶ ὕδατος, ἐξ ὧν ἀπετελέσθησαν αἱ σωματικοὶ ποιότητες, ἐφείς τῷ Μωυσείῳ ἀδελφῶ, τὰς δ' ἱσας ἐξ ἀέρος καὶ πυρὸς τῶν ψυχογονιμωτάτων μόνω

1 Perhaps read λογίων, as Mangey according to Cohn suggested, though I cannot find it in his foot-notes or addenda. On λόγου (?) see note a.
2 MSS. ἐπαναστάσεως.
3 MSS. ἦ.

This seems to be the sense required, and so Mangey “divinitus imperata.” But it is difficult to extract this from λόγων. λόγου “reason” will make good sense, correspond-
But, though they were compelled by the clear evident of the facts to admit the truth, they did not abate their audacity, but clung to their old inhumanity and impiety as though it were the surest of blessings. They did not show mercy to those who were unjustly enslaved, nor carry out the orders which had divine authority, since God had shown His will by the proofs of signs and wonders, which are clearer than oracles. And therefore a severer visitation was needed, and volley of those blows whereby fools whom reason has not disciplined are brought to their senses.

The punishments inflicted on the land were ten—a perfect number for the chastisement of those who brought sin to perfection. The chastisement was different from the usual kind, for the elements of the universe—earth, fire, air, water—carried out the assault. God's judgement was that the materials which had served to produce the world should serve also to destroy the land of the impious; and to show the mightiness of the sovereignty which He holds, what He shaped in His saving goodness to create the universe He turned into instruments for the perdition of the impious whenever He would. He distributed the punishments in this wise: three belonging to the denser elements, earth and water, which have gone to make our bodily qualities what they are, He committed to the brother of Moses; another set of three, belonging to air and fire, the two most productive

ing to οἱ λόγοι below, but in this sense the word does not seem to be used in the plural. If οἱ λόγοι is read, we must suppose that it is contrasted with χρησμῶν as covering all divine intimations, whereas χρησμῶν is confined to the spoken oracle. But this also lacks authority.
Μωυσεί, μίαν δὲ κοινὴν ἀμφότερος ἑβδόμην ἐπιτρέπει, τρεῖς δὲ τὰς ἄλλας εἰς συμπλήρωσις δεκάδος 98 ἀνατίθησιν αὐτῷ. καὶ πρῶτας ἐπιφέρειν ἀρχεῖται τὰς ἀφ’ ύδατος· ἔπειδὴ γάρ τὸ ὕδωρ Ἀιγυπτιών διαφερόντως ἐκτετμήκασιν ἀρχὴν τῆς τῶν ὅλων γενέσεως τούτ’ εἶναι νομίζοντες, αὐτῷ πρῶτον ἥξισθαι καλέσαι πρὸς τὴν τῶν ἀποδεχομένων ἐπίπληξιν τε καὶ νουθεσίαν. τί οὖν οὐκ εἰς μακρὰ νοσεῖμη; τοῦ Μωυσέως ἀδελφοῦ προστάξει θεία κατενεγκόντο τὴν βακτηρίαν ἐπὶ τὸν ποταμὸν, ὁ μὲν εὐθὺς ἀπ’ Αἰθιοπίας ἀχρ’ θαλάσσης εἰς αἶμα τρέπεται, συνεξαίματοινταί δ’ αὐτῷ λίμναι, διώρυχες, κρήναι, φρέατα, πηγαί, σύμπασα ἢ κατ’ Αἰγυπτον οὐσία ύδατος, ὡς ἀπορία ποτοῦ τὰ παρὰ ταῖς οὐχθαῖς ἀναστέλλειν, τὰς δ’ ἀνατεμνομένας φλέβας καθάπερ ἐν ταῖς αἰμορραγίαις κρουνηδὸν αὐλός αἰκονίζειν αἷματος, μηδεμίας ἐνορμῆς διαγόσις λιβάδος. ἐναπέθυμησε δὲ καὶ τὰ γένη τῶν ἰχθυῶν ἀπαντα, ἀτε τῆς ζωτικῆς δυνάμεως εἰς ψαροποιοῦν μεταβαλούσης, ὡς δυσωδίας πάντα διὰ πάντων ἀναπεπλήσθαι, τοσούτων σημειών ἀθρόον σωμάτων· πολὺς δὲ καὶ ἀνθρώπων ἐκλείπου ὑπὸ δύσωπον διαφθαρεῖς ἐκεῖτο σωρηδὸν ἐπὶ τῶν τριόδων, οὗ σθενόντων ἐπὶ τὰ μνήματα τῶν 101 οἰκείων τοὺς τετελευτηκότας ἐκκομίζειν. ἐπὶ γὰρ ἡμέρας ἐπτὰ τὸ δεινὸν ἐκράτησεν, ἐως οἱ μὲν Ἀιγυπτιῶν τοὺς ἀμφὶ Μωυσῆν, οὐτοὶ δὲ τὸν θεὸν ἐκέτευσαν, οἰκτον λαβεῖν τῶν ἀπολλυμένων· δια τὴν φύσιν ἔλεως μεταβάλλει τὸ αἷμα εἰς ύδωρ πότιμον ἀποδοὺς τῷ ποταμῷ καθαρὰ τὰ ἀρχαῖα

*The above grouping of the ten plagues compels Philo to depart from the order of Exodus, as will appear in the 326*
of life, He gave to Moses alone; one, the seventh, He committed to both in common; and the other three which go to complete the ten He reserved to Himself. He began by bringing into play first the plagues of water; for, since the Egyptians had paid a specially high homage to water, which they believed to be the original source of the creation of the All, He thought well to summon water first to reprove and admonish its votaries. What, then, was the event which so soon came to pass? The brother of Moses, at the command of God, smote the river with his staff, and at once, from Ethiopia to the sea, it turned into blood, and so did also the lakes, canals, springs, wells and fountains and all the existing water-supply of Egypt. Consequently, having nothing to drink, they dug up the ground along the banks; but the veins thus opened spouted up squirts of blood, which shot up as in haemorrhages, and not a drop of clear liquid was anywhere to be seen. Every kind of fish died therein, since its life-giving properties had become a means of destruction, so that a general stench pervaded everything from all these bodies rotting together. Also a great multitude of men, killed by thirst, lay in heaps at the cross-roads, since their relatives had not the strength to carry the dead to the tombs. For seven days the terror reigned, until the Egyptians besought Moses and his brother, and they besought God, to take pity on the perishing. And He Whose nature is to show mercy changed the blood into water fit for drinking, and restored to the river its old health-giving flood free from im-

sequel. The first three, however, are in the same order. See Ex. vii. 14–viii. 19.
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102 ρείθρα καὶ σωτήρια. XVIII. μικρὸν δὲ ὅσον ἀνεθέντες ἐπὶ τὴν αὐτὴν ὁμότητα καὶ παρανομίαν ἵντο, | ὡς ἦ τοῦ δικαίου παντάπασιν ἐξ ἀνθρώπων ἀφανισθέντος ἢ τῶν ὑπομεινάντων μιὰν τιμωρίαν δεύτερον οὐκ εἰσθότων ἐπιπλήττεσθαι. παθόντες δὲ ἀνεθδάσκοντο νηπίων παίδων τρόπον μὴ καταφρονεῖν. ἡ γὰρ κόλασις ἐπομένη κατ᾽ ἱχνὸς μελλόντων μὲν ἐβράδυνε, πρὸς δὲ τὰ ἀδικήματα θέοντας ἐπιδραμοῦσα κατελάμβανε.

[97] Πάλιν γὰρ ὁ Μωυσέως ἅδελφος κελευσθεὶς διώρυξι καὶ λίμναις καὶ ἔλεσι τὴν ράβδον ἐκτείνας ἐπιφέρει πρὸς ἥτὶ τὴν ἐκτασιν βατράχων πλῆθος ἀνέρπει τοσάτα, ὡς μὴ μόνον ἁγορᾶς καὶ πᾶσαν τὴν ὑπαιθρὸν, ἀλλὰ πρὸς τοῦτοις ἐπαύλεις, οἰκίας, ἵερα, πάντα ἱδιωτικὸν καὶ δημόσιον τὸπον πεπληρώσθαι, καθάπερ εἰς ἀποκιάν ἐν γένος τῶν ἐνύδρων τῆς φύσεως ἐκπέμψει διανοηθεῖσα πρὸς τὴν ἐναντίον χώραν. ἐναντία γὰρ χέρσος ὑδατι. μήτ τοῦ ἐξω προελθείν ἐνεκα τοῦ προκατέχεσθαι τοὺς στενωτοὺς μήτ ἐνδον δυνάμενοι μένει—καὶ γὰρ τὰ ἐν μυχοῖς ἴδη προκατελήφεσαν ἄχρι καὶ τῶν ψυχλοτάτων ἀνέρποντες—ἐν εἰς ἔσχατον ἦσαν συμφορᾶς καὶ σωτηρίας ἀπογνώσει. πάλιν ὅπως καταφεύγουσιν ἐπὶ τοὺς αὐτοὺς, ὑποσχομένου τοῦ βασιλέως εἰπτρέψατη τὴν ἔξοδον 'Εβραίοις. οἱ δὲ λιταῖς τὸν θεὸν ἐξευμενίζονται καὶ ἐπυνεύσαντος, τῶν φρύων οἱ μὲν εἰς τὸν ποταμὸν ἀναχωροῦσι, τῶν δὲ εὕθως διαφθαρέντων κατὰ τὰς τριόδους θημώνες ἤσαν, σωρηδόν ἐπιφερόντων καὶ τοὺς οἰκοθεν διὰ 328
purity. XVIII. For a very short time they relaxed, but soon betook themselves to the same cruelty and lawlessness as before, and seemed to think that either justice had disappeared utterly from amongst men, or that those who had suffered one punishment could not be expected to receive a second blow. But, like foolish children, they were taught once more by experience not to despise the warning. For chastisement, dogging their steps, slowed down when they tarried, but when they hastened to deeds of wickedness quickened its pace and overtook them.

For once more the brother of Moses, at God’s command, stretched forth and brought his rod upon the canals and lakes and fens; and, as he stretched it, a multitude of frogs crept up, so numerous that not only the market-places and all the open spaces, but all the farm-buildings as well, and houses and temples and every place, public or private, was filled with them, as though it were nature’s purpose to send one kind of the aquatic animals to colonize the opposite region, since land is the opposite of water. The people, who could neither go out into the streets, because the passages were occupied by the frogs, nor yet stay indoors, because they had already crept up even to the tops of the houses and taken up the inmost recesses, were in the most unhappy and desperate straits. So, after the king had promised them to permit the Hebrews to leave the land, they fled for refuge to those who had helped them before; and they made intercession with God, and when their prayer was granted some of the frogs went back into the river, and others died at once and lay in heaps at the cross-roads, to which the Egyptians added the piles of those which they brought out of their houses,
τὰς ἀνυποίστους ὀσμὰς, αἱ ἐκ νεκρῶν σωμάτων καὶ
tοιούτων ἀνεφέροντο, ὁ καὶ ἐμψυχά ὑντα πολλὴν
ἀηδίαν παρέχεται ταῖς αἰσθήσεσιν.

106 XIX. Διαπνεύσαντες δὲ τῆς τιμωρίας ἐπ’ ὀλίγον
ώσπερ ἐν τοῖς ἀγώσιν ἀθληταὶ συλλεξάμενοι δύνα-
μιν, ὡς ἄπ’ ἐρρωμενεστέρας ἰσχύος ἀδικῶσι, πάλιν
eἰς τὴν συνήθη κακίαν ἀνέδραμον ἐκλαθόμενοι ὃν

107 τέως ὑπέμεπαν κακῶν. ἐπισχών δὲ τὰς ἐκ τοῦ
ὑδατos τιμωρίας ὁ θεὸς τὰς ἐκ γῆς ἐπέφερε τὸν
ἀυτὸν ἐπιστήσας κολαστήν, οὐ πάλιν κατὰ τὸ
προσταχθὲν τῇ βακτηρίᾳ τούδαφος παῖσαντος φορὰ
σκυτῶν ἐχύθη καὶ ταθείσα καθάπερ νέφος ἀπασαν
ἐπέσαχεν Ἀἰγύπτων. τὸ δὲ ἔπω, εἰ καὶ βραχύτατον,
ομως ἀργαλεώτατον· οὐ γὰρ μόνον λυμαίνεται τὴν
ἐπιφάνειαν κνησμοὺς ἐμποιοῦν ἀηδέις καὶ βλαβερω-
tάτους, ἀλλὰ καὶ εἰς τὰν τοια βιὰζεται διὰ μυκτήρων
καὶ ὡτων· σίνεται δὲ καὶ κόρας ὑβαλμών εἰσπετό-
μενον, εἰ μὴ φυλάξαι τις· φυλακὴ δὲ τὴς ἐμελλε
πρὸς τοσάυτην ἔσεσθαι φορὰν, καὶ μάλιστα θεοῖ
κολάζοντος; ἰσως ἂν τις ἐπιζητήσει, διὰ τὶ τοῖς
οὔτως ἀφανέσι καὶ ἱμελημένοις ζῷοις ἐτιμωρεῖτo
tὴν χώραν παρεἰς ἄρκτους καὶ λέοντας καὶ παρδά-
λεις καὶ τὰ ἀλλὰ γένη τῶν ἄνθρωπων θηρίων, ὃ
σαρκῶν ἀνθρωπείων ἀπτεται, καὶ εἰ μὴ ταῦτα, τὰς
γοὺς Ἀἰγύπτιας ἀσπίδας, ὃν τὰ δήγματα πέφυκεν

108 ἀνυπερθέτως ἀναιρεῖν. εἰ δ’ ὄντως ἄγνοει, μαθέτω·
πρῶτον μὲν ὅτι τοὺς οἰκήτορας τῆς χώρας ὁ θεὸς
νουθετήσαι μᾶλλον ἐβούλετο ἡ διαφθείραμ· Βουλη-

α Or “hitherto.”

β E.V. “lice”; R.V. in margin “or sand-flies or fleas.”
Josephus (Ant. 300) has φθεῖρες, “lice.” “Most moderns
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because of the intolerable stench arising from the dead bodies, and bodies of a kind which, even when alive, is highly displeasing to the senses.

XIX. But, having thus obtained a short breathing-space from punishment, and, like athletes in the arena, rallied their forces, only to gain fresh strength for evil-doing, they quickly returned to their familiar wickedness, forgetful of the evils which they had suffered so long. Then God stayed from using water to afflict them, and used the earth instead; but appointed the same minister of chastisement, who once more, when bidden, struck the ground with his staff, when a stream of gnats poured forth, and spread like a cloud over the whole extent of Egypt. Now the gnat is a very small creature, but exceedingly troublesome, for it not only causes mischief to the surface of the body, and produces an unpleasant and very noxious itching, but it forces its way inside through the nostrils and ears, and also flies into and damages the pupils of the eyes, if one does not take precautions. And what precautions would be possible against such a stream, especially when it is a chastisement sent by God? Someone perhaps may ask why He punished the land through such petty and insignificant creatures, and refrained from using bears and lions and panthers and the other kinds of savage beasts which feed on human flesh; and, if not these, at any rate the asps of Egypt, whose bites are such as to cause immediate death. If such a person really does not know the answer, let him learn it: first, God wished to admonish the inhabitants of the land rather than to destroy them, for had He wished to annihilate

agree that gnats is the most probable rendering'' (of the Hebrew word).—Driver.

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[98] θείς γὰρ ἀφανίζειν εἰς ἕτερον πρὸς τὰς ἐπιθέσεις ὠσπερ συνεργοῖς, ἀλλὰ τοῖς θεηλάτοις κακοῖς, λιμῷ τε καὶ λοιμῷ. μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα κάκεινο προσδιδασκέσθω μάθημα πρὸς ἀπαντὰ τὸν βίον ἀναγκαίον· τί δὲ τούτ' ἔστιν; ἀνθρωποί μὲν γὰρ ὅταν πολεμῶσι, τὸ δυνατώτατον εἰς συμμαχίαν ἐπικουρικῶν ἔξετάζουσιν, δ' τὴν αὐτῶν ἀσθένειαν ἐκπλήσσει· θεὸς δ' ἡ ἀνωτάτω καὶ μεγίστη δύναμις ὃν οὐδενός ἐστὶ χρεῖος· εάν δὲ τοὺς βουληθῇ καθάπερ ὀργάνοις τοῖς χρῆσαι πρὸς τὰς τιμωρίας, οὐ τὰ ἐρρωμενέστατα καὶ μέγιστα αἱρεῖται, τῆς τούτων ἀλκῆς ἥκιστα φροντίζων, ἀλλὰ τοῖς εὐτελείς καὶ μικροῖς ἀμάχους καὶ ἀπαθήτους δυνάμεις ἐγκατασκευάσας ἀμύνεται δ' αὐτῶν τοὺς ἁδικοῦντας, καθὰ καὶ νῦν. τί γὰρ εὐτελεστερον σκνιπός; ἀλλ' ὅμως τοσοῦτον ἴσχυσεν, ὡς ἀπαγορεύσαι πᾶσαν Ἀἰγυπτίων καὶ ἐκβοάν αἰνεταῖς ἀναγκασθῆναι, ὃτι "δάκτυλος θεοῦ τοῦτ' ἔστι"· χείρα γὰρ θεοῦ μηδὲ τὴν σύμπαναν οἰκουμένην ὑποστήναι δὲ νῦν περάτων ἐπὶ πέρατα, μᾶλλον δ' οὐδὲ τὸν σύμπαντα κόσμον.

111 Τοιαῦτα μὲν αἱ δία τοῦ Μωυσέως ἀδελφοὶ τιμωρίαι· ἀς δὲ αὐτὸς Μωυσὴς ὑπηρέτησε καὶ εἰς οἶκον τῆς φύσεως συνέστησαν μερῶν, κατὰ τὸ ἀκόλουθον ἐπισκεπτέον. ἀћρ' μὲν οὖν καὶ οὐρανός, αἱ καθαρώτεραι μοῦραι τῆς τῶν οὐσιῶν, παρ' ὦδατοι καὶ γῆς διαδέχονται τὴν ἐπ' Ἀἰγυπτίων νουθεσίαν, ἢς ἐπιτροπος ἐχειροτονήθη Μωυσῆς. ἣρξατο δὲ πρότερον τὸν ἀέρα διακινεῖν· Ἀἰγυπτίως γὰρ μόνη σχεδον τι παρὰ τὰς ἐν τῷ νοτίῳ

a i.e. the phrase “finger of God” is interpreted as an intervention in which only a small part of God’s power is
them altogether He would not have taken animals to co-operate in His visitation, but calamities sent direct from heaven—pestilence and famine. And after this the inquirer should be taught a further lesson, and one that is needed throughout life. What is this? When men make war, they look round to find the most powerful auxiliaries to fight beside them, and so compensate for their own weakness; but God, the highest and greatest power, needs no one. But if, at any time, He wills to use any as instruments for His vengeance, He does not choose the strongest and the greatest, of whose might He takes no account, but provides the slightest and the smallest with irresistible and invincible powers, and through them wreaks vengeance on the evil-doers. So it was in this case. For what is slighter than a gnat? Yet so great was its power that all Egypt lost heart, and was forced to cry aloud: “This is the finger of God”; for as for His hand not all the habitable world from end to end could stand against it, or rather not even the whole universe.

XX. Such, then, were the punishments in which the brother of Moses was the agent. We have now, in due course, to examine those which were administered by Moses himself, and to shew what were the parts of nature which went to their making. We find that air and heaven, the purest portions of the universe, took on the succession to earth and water in that admonition of Egypt which Moses was appointed to superintend. First, he began to cause disturbance in the air. We must remember that Egypt is almost the only country, apart from

used. For a somewhat different interpretation of the phrase see De Mig. 85.
κλίματι χώρας τῶν ἐτησίων ὥρῶν μίαν τὴν χειμερινήν οὐ παραδέχεται, τάχα μὲν, ὡς λόγος, διὰ τὸ μὴ πώρῳ χώνης διακεκαμένης εἶναι, βέοντος τοῦ πυρῶδους ἐκεῖθεν ἀφανῶς καὶ τὸν κύκλῳ πάντα ἀλεάινοντος, τάχα δὲ ἐπεὶ καὶ ταῖς θεριναῖς τροπαῖς πλημμυρῶν ὁ ποταμὸς προαναλίσκει τὰς νεφώσεις 115 — ἀρχεται μὲν γὰρ ἐπιβαίνειν θέρους ἐνυσταμένου, λήγει δὲ λήγοντος, ἐν δὲ χρόνῳ καὶ οἱ ἐτησίαι καταράτουσι εἰς ἔναντιας τῶν τοῦ Νείλου στομάτων, ὃ τὴν ἐπὶ κωλυόμενος ἐκχείσθαι, τῆς θαλάσσης ὑπὸ βίας τῶν ἀνέμων πρὸς ὕψος αἱρομένης καὶ τὰς τρικυμίας ὡσπερ μακρὸν τεῖχος ἀποτελούσης, ἐντὸς εἰλείται, κάλπεται τῶν βείθρων ὑπαντιάζοντων τοῖς τε κατιόντος ἄνωθεν Ἀίγυπτω χειμώνα γενέσθαι· πρὸς δὲ γάρ αἰ τῶν διμβρῶν φοραί χρήσιμοι, καὶ ὁ ποταμὸς λιμνάζων 116 ὡς εἰκός ἐπιβαίνει—, τάχα δὲ ἐπεὶ καὶ περιττὸν ἦν ἐν Ἀιγύπτῳ χειμώνα γενέσθαι· πρὸς δὲ γάρ αἱ τῶν ὀμβρών φοραί χρήσιμοι, καὶ ὁ ποταμὸς λιμνάζων 117 τὰς ἀρούρας εἰς καρπῶν ἐτησίων γένεσιν. ἢ δὲ φύσις οὐ ματαιουργός, ὃς ἐκτὸς χορηγεῖν μή [99] δεομένη γῆ, καὶ ἢ, αἵ, καὶ τὸν πολυτρόπω καὶ πολυσχίδει τῶν ἐπιστημονικῶν ἔργων τὴν συμφωνίαν τοῦ παντὸς ἐς ἐναντιοτήτων ἐναρμοσμένην καὶ διὰ τοῦτο τοῖς μὲν ἄνωθεν ἐς ὑφομονοῦν τοῖς δὲ κάτωθεν ἐκ πηγῶν τε καὶ ποταμῶν παρέχει τὴν ἐξ 118 υδατος ὑφέλειαν. οὕτως οὖν τῆς χώρας διακειμένης καὶ ταῖς χειμεριναῖς ἑαρίζουσιν τροπαῖς καὶ τῶν μὲν πρὸς θαλάττη μόναις ψεκάσιν

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* At this point Philo's order begins to depart from that of
those in southern latitudes, which is unvisited by one of the year's seasons—winter. The reason may be, some say, that it is not far from the torrid zone, and that the fiery heat which insensibly emanates thence warms all its surroundings. It may be, again, that the clouds are used up beforehand by the flooding of the river at the summer solstice. The river begins to rise as the summer opens, and ceases when it ceases, and during that time the Etesian winds sweep down opposite to the mouths of the Nile and put a stop to its outflow through them. For, as the sea rises to a great height through the violence of the winds, extending its huge billows like a long wall, it coops the river up within; and then as the stream which flows from the upland springs, and the other which should find its way out but is driven inland by the obstacles which face it, meet each other, prevented as they are from expanding by the banks which compress them on either side, the river naturally rises aloft. Another possible reason is that winter is unneeded in Egypt. For the river, by making a lake of the fields, and thus producing the yearly crops, serves the purpose of rainfall. And, indeed, nature is no wastrel in her work, to provide rain for a land which does not want it. At the same time she rejoices to employ her science in works of manifold variety, and thus out of contrarieties form the harmony of the universe. And therefore she supplies the benefit of water to some from heaven above, to others from the springs and rivers below. Such was the condition of the land, enjoying springtime at mid-winter, the seaboard enriched by only slight

Exodus. His fourth plague, that of hail, is seventh in Exodus (ix. 22-35).
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άραιαίς λυπαινομένων, τῶν δ’ ὑπὲρ Μέμφιν, τὸ
βασιλείον Αἰγύπτου, μηδὲ νυφομένων τὸ παράπαν,
ἐξαίφνης οὕτως ἐνεωτέρισεν ὁ ἄηρ, ὡσθ’ ὡσα ἐν
tοῖς δυσχειμέροις ἀθρόα κατασκήψαν, φορὰς ὑετῶν,
χάλαζαν πολλὴν καὶ βαρεῖαν, ἀνέμων συμπιπτόντων
καὶ ἀντιπαταγούντων βίας, νεφῶν ῥήξεις, ἐπαλλή-
λους ἀστραπὰς καὶ βροντὰς, κεραυνοὺς συνεχεῖς,
οἱ τερατωοεστάτην ὤψιν παρείχοντο· θέοντες γὰρ
dιὰ τῆς χαλάζης, μαχομένης οὐσίας, οὔτε ἔτηκον
αὐτὴν οὔτε ἐσβέννυντο, μένοντες δ’ ἐν ὁμοίω καὶ
δολιχεύοντες ἀνώ καὶ κάτω διετήρουν τὴν χάλαζαν.

119 ἀλλ’ οὐ μόνον ἡ ἐξαίσιος φορὰ πάντων τοὺς οἰκή-
tορας εἰς ὑπερβαλλοῦσας δυσθυμίας ἤγαγεν, ἄλλα
καὶ τὸ τοῦ πράγματος ἁθέτες· ὑπέλαβον γὰρ, ὅπερ
καὶ ἦν, ἐκ μηνιμάτων θείων κεκαινουργήσθαι τὰ
συμβάντα, νεωτέρισαντος ὡς οὕτω πρότερον τοῦ
ἀέρος ἐπὶ λύμη καὶ φθορὰ δένδρων τε καὶ καρπῶν,
οῖς συνεφθάρη ζώα οὐκ ολίγα, τὰ μὲν περιψύξεσι,
tὰ δὲ βάρει τῆς ἐπιπιπτούσης χαλάζης ἀσπέρ
καταλευσθέντα, τὰ δ’ ὑπὸ τοῦ πυρὸς ἐξαναλω-
θέντα· ἐνια δ’ ἡμίφλεκτα διέμενε τοὺς τύπους τῶν
κεραυνίων τραυμάτων εἰς νουθεσίαν τῶν ὀρώτων
ἐπιφερόμενα.

120 XXI. Λωφήσαντος δὲ τοῦ κακοῦ καὶ πάλιν τοῦ
βασιλέως καὶ τῶν περὶ αὐτὸν θρασυνομένων, εἰς
tὸν ἀέρα Μωυσῆς τὴν ράβδον ἔκτεινε, κελεύσαντος
tοῦ θεοῦ. κάπετ’ ἀνεμος καταράττει, νότος βιαιό-
tatos, ὅλην τὴν ἡμέραν καὶ νύκτα προσεπ-
tεινόμενος καὶ σφοδρυνόμενος, αὐτὸς καθ’ αὐτὸν ὃν

* Philo’s fifth plague, the locusts, is eighth in Exodus (x. 12-10).
showers, while the parts above Memphis, where the royal palace of Egypt was, experienced no rainfall at all, when suddenly a complete change came over the air, and all the visitations which belong to severe winter fell upon it in a body: rainstorms, a great quantity of heavy hail, violent winds, clashing and roaring against each other, cloudbursts, continuous claps of thunder and flashes of lightning and constant thunderbolts. These last provided a most marvellous spectacle, for they ran through the hail, their natural antagonist, and yet did not melt it nor were quenched by it, but unchanged coursed up and down and kept guard over the hail. Intense was the despondency to which the inhabitants were reduced, not only by the disastrous onset of all these things, but by the strangeness of the event. For they thought, as indeed was the case, that divine wrath had brought about these novel happenings; that the air in a way unknown before had conspired to ruin and destroy the trees and fruits, while at the same time many animals perished, some through excessive cold, others stoned to death, as it were, through the weight of the falling hail, others consumed by the fire, while some survived half-burnt and bore the marks of the wounds inflicted by the thunderbolts as a warning to the beholders.

XXI. When the plague abated, and the king and his surroundings recovered their courage, Moses, at God's command, stretched his rod into the air, and then a violent south wind swooped down, gaining force and intensity throughout the day and night. This in itself was a source of much mischief, for the

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\(^{b}\) E.V. east wind (including winds at least from the south-east.—Driver).
μεγάλη ζημία. Ξηρός τε γάρ ἐστὶ καὶ κεφαλαλγής καὶ βαρυκοος, ἄσας τε καὶ ἀδημονίας ἐμποιεῖν ἵκανός, καὶ μάλιστ' ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ κειμένη κατὰ τὰ νότια, δι' ὅτι αἱ περιπολήσεις τῶν φωσφόρων ἀστέρων, ὡς ἀμα τῷ διακινηθῆναι τὸν ἄφ' ἥλιου 121 φλογμὸν συνεπωθεῖσθαι καὶ πάντα καίειν. ἄλλα γάρ ἀμ' αὐτῷ καὶ πλῆθος ἁμήχανον ξών ἐπε- εφέρετο φθοροποιῶν φυτῶν, ἀκρίδες, αἱ ἰεύματος τρόπον ἀπαύστως ἐκχεόμεναι καὶ πάντα πληρώ- σασαι τὸν ἁέρα διέφαγον ὡσα οἱ κεραυνοὶ ὑπ-[100] εἰσποντο καὶ ἡ χάλαξα, ὡς | μηδὲν ἐν τῇ τοσαύ- 122 τῇ χώρᾳ βλαστάνων ἐτι θεωρεῖσθαι. τότε μόλις εἰς ἀκριβεστάτην ἐννοιαν τῶν οὐκείων ἐλθόντες οἱ ἐν τέλει κακῶν προσελθόντες ἐλεγον τῷ βασιλεῖ: " μέχρι τίνος οὐκ ἐπιτρέπεις τὴν ἔξοδον τοῖς ἄν- δράσισι; ἣ οὐπω μανθάνεις ἐκ τῶν γυνομένων, ὧν ἀπόλωλεν Αἰγύπτος;" ὡς δ' ὡσα τῷ δοκεῖν ἐφεῖς ὡμολόγει, χαλάσαντος τοῦ δευνοῦ. πάλιν δ' εὐξαμένου Μωυσέως, ὕπολαβὼν ἐκ τής θαλάττης ἀνέμου ἀποσκίδνησα τὰς ἀκρίδας. 123 Ἄνασκεδασθεισῶν δὲ καὶ τοῦ βασιλέως περὶ τὴν τοῦ ἔθνους ἀφεῖς δυσθανατοῦντος, ἐπιγίνεται τῶν πρότερον κακῶν μείζον· λαμπράς γάρ ἡμέρας οὔσης, ἐξαιπιναίως ἀναχεῖται σκότος, ἵσως μὲν καὶ ἥλιον γενομένης ἐκλείψεως τῶν ἐν ἔθει τελειότερας, ἵσως δὲ καὶ συνεχείαις νεφῶν καὶ πυκνότησιν ἀδια- στάτους καὶ πληήσει βιαστάτη τῆς τῶν ἀκτίων φορᾶς ἀνακοπείσησι, ὡς ἀδιαφορεῖν ἡμέραν νυκτὸς καὶ τί γάρ ἄλλ' ἡ μίαν νύκτα νομίζεσθαι μακρο-
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south wind is dry and produces headache and makes hearing difficult, and thus is fitted to cause distress and suffering, particularly in Egypt which lies well to the south, where the sun and the planets have their orbits, so that when the wind sets it in motion the scorching of the sun is pushed forward with it, and burns up everything. But it also brought with it a huge multitude of creatures which destroyed the plants, locusts that is, who poured forth ceaselessly like a stream, and filling the whole air devoured whatever the lightnings and hail had left, so that nothing any longer could be seen growing in all that great country. Then those in authority, reluctantly brought to a full realization of their own evil plight, approached the king and said: "How long will you refuse to grant these men leave to depart? Do you not yet understand that Egypt is destroyed?"

The king yielded, or appeared to do so, and promised to comply if he were relieved from the dire scourge. And when Moses prayed again, a wind from the sea caught and scattered the locusts.

But, when they were scattered, and the king was sick to death at the thought of releasing the people, a plague arose greater than all that had gone before; for, in bright daylight, darkness was suddenly overspread, possibly because there was an eclipse of the sun more complete than the ordinary, or perhaps because the stream of rays was cut off by continuous clouds, compressed with great force into masses of unbroken density. The result was that night and day were the same, and indeed what else could it seem but a single night of great length, equivalent to three

\[ \text{α} \] Philo's sixth plague, the darkness, is ninth in Exodus (x. 21-29).
τάτην τρισὶν ἡ μέρας ήσην καὶ ταῖς ἵσαρίθμοις νυξὶ.
124 τότε δὴ φασὶ τους μὲν ἐρρυμένους ἐν ταῖς εὕναις μὴ τολμᾶν έξανίστασθαι, τοὺς δ’ ὅποτε κατεπείγοι τι τῶν τῆς φύσεως ἀναγκαίων ἑπαφωμένους τοίχων ἢ τινος ἔτερου καθάπερ τυφλοὺς μόλις προέρχεσθαι καὶ γὰρ τοῦ χρειώδους πυρὸς τὸ φέγγος τὸ μὲν ὑπὸ τῆς κατεχούσης ξάλης ἐσβέννυτο, τὸ δὲ τῶ βάθει τοῦ σκότους ἀμαυροῦμενον ἐνηφανίζετο, ὡς τὴν ἀναγκαιότατὴν ὃψιν τῶν αἰσθήσεων ὑγιαίνουσαν πηρὸν εἶναι μηδὲν ὅραν δυναμένην, τετράφθαι δὲ καὶ τὰς ἄλλας οἳ ὑπηκόους πεσούσης τῆς ἤγεμονίδος.
125 οὔτε γὰρ λέγειν τις οὔτ’ ἀκούειν ὠὔτε προσενέγκαθαι τροφὰς ὑπέμενεν, ἀλλ’ ἰσχυρία καὶ λυμῷ παρετεινοῦν αὐτοὺς οὐδεμία ὅτι αἰσθήσεων σχολάζοντες, ἀλλ’ ὑπὸ τοῦ πάθους ὅλοι συνηρτασμένοι, μέχρι πάλιν Μωυσῆς λαβὼν οἶκτον ἰκετεύει τὸν θεὸν. ὃ δὲ φῶς ἀντὶ σκότους καὶ ἡμέραν ἀντὶ νυκτὸς ἐργάζεται σὺν αἰθρίᾳ πολλῇ.
126 XXII. Τοιαύτας φασὶ γενέσθαι καὶ τὰς διὰ μόνου Μωυσεῶς ἐπιπλήξεις, τὴν δὲ χαλάζης καὶ κεραυνῶν, τὴν δὲ τῆς ἀκρίδος, τὴν δὲ σκότους, σάσαν ἰδέαν φωτὸς οὐ παρεδεχετο’ κοινή δ’ αὐτὸς τε καὶ ὁ ἄδελφος μίαν ἐπετράπησαν, ἦν αὐτίκα σημανῶ. κελεύσαντος τοῦ θεοῦ, τέφθαν ἀπὸ καμίνου λαμβάνουσι ταῖς χερσίν, ἥν Μωυσῆς κατὰ μέρος εἰς τὸν άέρα διεπαττεν. ἐπειτα κοινορτὸς αἰθρίῳ ἐπενεχθεῖς ἀνθρώποις τε καὶ ἄλογοις ζῶοις ἀγρίαν καὶ δυσαλγή κατὰ τῆς δορᾶς ἀπάσης [101] ἐλκωσιν εἰργάζετο καὶ τὰ σώματα εὐθὺς ςυνώδει

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[a Or “fire of common use,” cf. De Abr. 157, Quis Rerum 136.]

340
days and the same number of nights? Then, in-124
deed, as we are told, some who had thrown them-
selves on their beds did not dare to rise from them,
while others, when any of the needs of nature pressed,
felt their way along the walls or any other object,
proceeding with difficulty as though they were blind.
For the light of artificial fire was partly quenched
by the prevailing storm wind, partly dimmed to the
point of disappearance by the depth of the darkness,
so that sight, the most indispensable of the senses,
though sound in itself, was helpless and unable to see
anything; and the other senses were discomfited,
like subjects when their queen has fallen. For men 125
could not bring themselves to speak or hear or take
food, but lay tortured in silence and famine with no
heart to use any of the senses, so entirely over-
whelmed were they by the disaster, until Moses
again took pity and besought God, Who made light
to take the place of darkness, and day of night, with
bright open sky all around.

XXII. Such, we are told, were the plagues in-126
flicted through the agency of Moses alone, namely
the plague of hail and lightning, the plague of the
locusts, and that of the darkness which was proof
against every form of light. One was committed
to him and his brother together, which I will at once
proceed to describe. They took in their hands, at 127
God's bidding, ashes from a furnace, which Moses
scattered in the air, and then dust suddenly fell
upon men and the lower animals alike. It produced
an angry, painful ulceration over the whole skin,
and, simultaneously with this eruption, their bodies

\footnote{Philo's seventh plague, boils, is sixth in Exodus (ix. 8-12).}
Philo’s eighth plague, dog-flies (E.V. flies), is fourth in Exodus (viii. 20-30).
swelled with suppurated blisters, which might be supposed to be extravasations from inflammation lurking beneath. Oppressed as they naturally were by the extreme painfulness and soreness of the ulceration and inflammation, they suffered in spirit more or no less than in body from the exhaustion which their miseries produced. For one continuous ulcer was to be seen stretching from head to foot, the sores scattered over every particular limb and part of the body being concentrated into a single form of the same appearance throughout. So it was until, again by the intercessions which the lawgiver made on behalf of the sufferers, the distemper was lightened. Rightly indeed was this chastisement committed to the two in common: to the brother because the dust which came down upon the people was from the earth, and what was of earth was under his charge; to Moses because the air was changed to afflict them, and plagues of heaven and air belonged to his ministration.

XXIII. The three remaining chastisements were self-wrought, without any human agent, each of which I will proceed to describe as well as possible. In the first, a creature is employed whose ferocity is unequalled in all nature—the dog-fly. This name, which the coiners of words in their wisdom have given it, well expresses its character, for it is a compound formed from the two most shameless animals of the land and the air—the dog and the fly. Both these are persistent and fearless in their assaults, and if one attempts to ward them off meet him with a perseverance which refuses to be beaten, until they have got their fill of flesh and blood. The dog-fly has acquired the audacity of both, and is a creature
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προσειληφυόνα δηκτικὸν καὶ ἐπίβουλον ζῷον ἐστὶ· καὶ γὰρ πόρρωθεν μετὰ ῥοῖζου καθάπερ βέλος εἰσακοντίζεται καὶ ἑπεμπίπτουσα βιαίως εὐ μάλα ἐγχρίμπτεται. τότε δὲ καὶ θεήλατος ἢ ἡ προσβολή, ὡς δεδιπλασιάσθαι τὴν ἐξ αὐτῆς ἐπίβουλὴν οὐκέτι μόνον τοῖς φυσικοῖς κεχρημένης πλεονεκτήμασιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῖς ἐκ θείας ἐπιφροσύνης, ἢ τὸ ζῷον ὑπλίζε καὶ πρὸς ἀλκήν ἀνήγειρε κατὰ τῶν ἐγχωρίων.

μετὰ τὴν κυνόμυιαν εἴπετο τιμωρία πάλιν ἀνεύ συμπράξεως ἀνθρωπίνης, βοσκημάτων θάνατος· βουκόλεα γὰρ καὶ αἰπόλια καὶ ποῦμνια μεγάλα καὶ ὡς ὑποξυγίων καὶ ἄλλων θρεμμάτων ἰδέαν πᾶσαι μᾶ καὶ ἡμέρα, ὡς ἀφ' ἐνὸς συνθήματος, ἀγελιδὸν διεφθείροντο, τὴν ἀνθρώπων.

[102] ἀπώλειαν, ἢ μικρὸν ὡστερον ἐμελλε γίνεσθαι, προμηνύοντο καθάπερ ἐν ταῖς λοιμώδεσι νόσοις· λέγεται γὰρ προάγων τις εἶναι λοιμικῶν ἀρρωστημάτων ἡ ζῷων ἀλόγων αἰφνίδιος φθορά.

XXIV. Μεθ' ἦν ἡ δεκάτη καὶ τελευταία δίκη πάσας ὑπερβάλλουσα τὰς προτέρας ἐπεγένετο, θάνατος Ἀἰγυπτίων οὔτε πάντων—οὔ γὰρ ἐρημώσαι τὴν χώραν προρρησίτο ὁ θεός ἀλλὰ νουθετήσαι μόνον—οὔτε τῶν πλείστων ἀνδρῶν ὁμοὶ καὶ γυναικῶν ἐξ ἀπάσης ἡλικίας, ἀλλὰ τοῖς ἄλλοις ζην ἐφιεις μόνων τῶν πρωτοτόκων καταψηφίζεται θάνατον ἀρξάμενος ἀπὸ τοῦ πρεσβυτάτου τῶν βασιλέως παιδιῶν καὶ λήξας εἰς τὸν τῆς ἀφανειστάτης ἀλετρίδος.

περὶ γὰρ μέσας νύκτας οἱ πρῶτοι πατέρας καὶ μητέρας προσειλήφωσαν γὰρ, ἂν ὑπ' ἐκείνων νεὼν πάλιν
venomous and vicious, which comes with a whirr from a distance, hurls itself like a javelin, and, with a violent onrush, fastens itself firmly on its victim. On this occasion the assault was also divinely impelled, so that its viciousness was doubled, prompted by avidity due not only to nature but to divine providence, which armed the creature and roused it to use its force against the population. After the dog-fly there followed again a chastisement brought about without human co-operation, the death of the live-stock; for great herds of oxen and sheep and goats, and every kind of beast of burden and other cattle, perished as by a single agreed signal in a single day, whole droves at a time, thus presaging the destruction of men which was about to follow, just as we find in epidemics. For pestilential disorders are said to be preluded by a sudden murrain among the lower animals.

XXIV. After this came the tenth and final judgement, transcending all its predecessors. This was the death of the Egyptians, not of the whole population, since God's purpose was not to make a complete desert of the country, but only to teach them a lesson, nor yet of the great majority of the men and women of every age. Instead, He permitted the rest to live, but sentenced the first-born only to death, beginning with the king and ending with the meanest woman who grinds at the mill, in each case their eldest male child. For, about midnight, those who had been the first to call their parents father and mother, first to

\[a\] Philo's ninth plague, the murrain, is fifth in Exodus (ix. 1-7).
\[b\] For the tenth plague, and its sequel §§ 134-142, see Ex. xii. 29-36.
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πρώτον ὄνομασθέντες ὑγιαίνοντες καὶ τὰ σώματα ἔρρωμένοι πάντες ἀπ’ οᵘδεμᾶς προφάσεως ἥβηδον ἔξαππναίως ἀνήρηντο καὶ οὐδεμίαν οίκιαν ἀμοιρήσαι

136 φασὶ τότε τῆς συμφορᾶς. ἀμα δὲ τῇ ἑω κατὰ τὸ εἴκος ἐκαστοι θεασάμενοι τοὺς φιλτάτους ἀπροσδοκήτως τετελευτηκότας, οἷς ὀμοθυμαίοι καὶ ὀμοτράπεζοι μέχρι τῆς ἐσπέρας ἐγεγένητο, βαρυτάτω πένθει κατασχεθέντες οἰμωγῆσ πάντα ἐνέπλησαν, ἠστε συνέβη καὶ διὰ τὴν κοινοπραγίαν τοῦ πάθους ἀπάντων ἀθρόως ὀμοθυμαδὸν ἐκβοηθάσαν ἕνα θρήνον ἀπὸ περάτων ἔτπει πέρατα κατὰ πάσης τῆς

137 χώρας συνηχῆσαι. καὶ μέχρι μὲν ἐν ταῖς οἰκίαις διέτριβον, ἀγνοῶν ἐκαστος τὸ τοῦ πλησίον κακόν ἐπὶ τῷ ἑαυτοῦ μόνον ἐστενε, προελθὼν δὲ καὶ γνοὺς τὰ τῶν ἄλλων διπλῶν πένθος πρὸς τῷ ἱδέω καὶ τὸ κοινὸν εὐθὺς ἐλάμβανεν, ἐπ’ ἐλάττων καὶ κουφοτέρω μειξόν καὶ βαρύτερον, ἀτε καὶ τὴν ἐλπίδα τῆς παραμυθίας ἁφηρημένος. τίς γὰρ ἐμέλλε παρηγορεῖν

138 ἔτερον αὐτὸς ὁ τοῦ τούδε χρείος; ὁπερ δ’ ἐν τοῖς τοιούτοις φιλεῖ, τὰ παρόντα νομίσαντες ἀρχὴν εἶναι μειξόνων καὶ περὶ τῆς τῶν ἐπὶ ζῶντων ἀπωλείας καταδείκτας συνέδραμον εἰς τὰ βασίλεια δεδακρυμένου καὶ τὰς ἐσθήτας περιερρηγμένου κατεβόων τε τοῦ βασιλέως ὡς πάντων αἰτίου τῶν συμβεβηκότων

139 δεινῶν. εἰ γάρ, ἔλεγον, εὐθὺς ἐν ἀρχῇ Μωυσέως ἐντυχόντος εἶσεν ἐξελθεῖν τὸ ἔθνος, οὖδενός ἂν τῶν γεγονότων πειραθῆναι τὸ παράπαν εἴξαντος δ’ αὐθαδεία τῇ συνήθει, τὰ ἐπίκειμα τῆς ἀκαίρου φιλονεικίας εἰς ἐτοίμον λαβέων. εἰτ’ ἄλλος ἄλλον παρεκάλει τοῦ λεών μετὰ πάσης σπουδῆς εἰς ἀπάσης

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be called sons by them, all in full health and robust of body, were suddenly cut off wholesale without apparent cause, and no household, as we are told, was spared this calamity. When dawn came, every family, seeing their dearest thus unexpectedly dead, who, up till the evening, had shared their home and board, were naturally struck with profound grief and filled the whole place with their lamentations. And so, since in this general disaster the same emotion drew from all a united outcry, one single dirge of wailing resounded from end to end of the whole land. And, as long as they stayed in their houses, everyone, ignorant of his neighbour's evil plight, bewailed his own only; but, when they came forth and learned what had befallen the rest, their grief was straightway doubled. To the personal sorrow, the lighter and lesser, was added the public, greater and heavier, since they lost even the hope of consolation. For who could be expected to comfort another if he needs consolation himself? And, as so often happens in such circumstances, they thought that their present condition was but the beginning of greater evils, and were filled with fear of the destruction of those who still lived. Consequently, bathed in tears and with garments rent, they rushed together to the palace and cried out against the king as the cause of all the dire events that had befallen them. If, they said, at the very beginning, when Moses first entreated him, he had suffered the people to go forth, they would have experienced none at all of these happenings; but, as he indulged his usual self-will, the rewards of his contentiousness had been promptly reaped by themselves. Then they exhorted each other to use all speed in driving the people from the
τῆς χώρας ἐξελαύνειν, καὶ τὸ μίαν ἡμέραν μᾶλλον δὲ ὤραν αὐτὸ μόνον κατασχεῖν πρὸς ἀνήκεστον τιμωρίαν τιθέμενοι. XXV. | οἱ δ’ ἐλαυνόμενοι καὶ διωκόμενοι τῆς αὐτῶν εὐγενείας εἰς ἑννοιαν ἐλθόντες τόλμησαν τόλμησαν, ὅποιον εἰκὸς ἦν τοὺς ἐλευθέρους καὶ μὴ ἀμνήμονας ὁν ἐπεβούλευσαν ἀδίκως. πολλὴν γὰρ λείαν ἐκφορήσαντες τὴν μὲν αὐτοὶ διεκόμιζον ἐπηχθησέναι, τὴν δὲ τοῖς ὑποζυγίοις ἐπέθεσαν, οὐ διὰ φιλοχρηματίαν ἦ, ὡς ἂν τὸς κατηγορῶν ἐκτος, τὴν τῶν ἀλλοτρίων ἐπιθυμίαν—πόθεν;—ἀλλὰ πρῶτον μὲν ὁν παρὰ πάντα τὸν χρόνον ὑπηρέτήσαν ἀναγκαῖον μισθὸν κομιζόμενοι, εἴτε δὲ ὑπὲρ ὧν κατεδουλώθησαν ἐν ἑλάττωσι καὶ οὐχὶ τοῖς ἴσοις ἀντιλυπόντες ὁποῖον ἐσθ’ ὁμοιοὶ ξημία χρημάτων καὶ στέρησις ἐλευθερίας, ὑπὲρ ἢς οὐ μόνον προίεσθαι τὰς οὐφίας οἱ νοῦν ἐξοντες ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀποθνήσκειν ἑθέλουσι; ἐν ἑκατέρω δὴ κατώρθουν, εἰθ’ ὡς ἐν εἰρήνῃ μισθὸν λαμβάνοντες, ὁν παρ’ ἀκόντων1 πολῦν χρόνον οὐκ ἀποδιδόντων ἀπεστεροῦντο, εἰθ’ ὡς ἐν πολέμῳ τὰ τῶν ἑχθρῶν φέρειν ἀξιούντες νόμω τῶν κεκρατηκότων· οἱ μὲν γὰρ χειρῶν ἤρξαν ἀδίκων, ξένους καὶ ἱκέτας, ὡς ἐφ’ ἐν πρότερον, καταδουλωσάμενοι τρόπον αἰχμαλώτων, οὶ δὲ καιροῦ παραπεσόντος ἠμύναντο δίχα τῆς ἐν ὅπλως παρασκευής, προασπίζοντος καὶ τὴν χεῖρα ὑπερέχουσας τοῦ δικαίου.

XXVI. Τοσαύταις μὲν δὴ πληγαῖς καὶ τιμωρίαις Αἰγύπτως ἐνουθετεῖτο, ὡν οὐδεμία τῶν Ἔβραιων

1 The mss. vary here considerably and the construction in the text as here printed is difficult. A simple emendation would be λαμβάνοντες παρ’ ἀκόντων δν, and so, except that ἐ appears instead of δν, it is in the paraphrase of Procopius quoted in Cohn, p. 153.
whole country, and declared that to detain them even for a single day, or rather only for an hour, would bring upon them a deadly vengeance.

XXV. The Hebrews, thus hunted as outcasts from the land, and conscious of their own high lineage, were emboldened to act as was natural to them, as freemen and men who were not oblivious of the injustices which malice had inflicted on them; for they took out with them much spoil, which they carried partly on their backs, partly laid on their beasts of burden. And they did this not in avarice, or, as their accusers might say, in covetousness of what belonged to others. No, indeed. In the first place, they were but receiving a bare wage for all their time of service; secondly, they were retaliating, not on an equal but on a lesser scale, for their enslavement. For what resemblance is there between forfeiture of money and deprivation of liberty, for which men of sense are willing to sacrifice not only their substance but their life? In either case, their action was right, whether one regard it as an act of peace, the acceptance of payment long kept back through reluctance to pay what was due, or as an act of war, the claim under the law of the victors to take their enemies’ goods. For the Egyptians began the wrongdoing by reducing guests and suppliants to slavery like captives, as I said before. The Hebrews, when the opportunity came, avenged themselves without warlike preparations, shielded by justice whose arm was extended to defend them.

XXVI. With all these plagues and punishments was Egypt admonished, none of which touched the
καίτοι γε ἐν ταῖς αὐταῖς πόλεσι καὶ κώμαις καὶ
οἰκίαις συνδιατριβόντων ἦψατο, γῆς ὑδατος ἀέρος
πυρός, ἃ μέρη τῆς φύσεως ἐστὶν, ἦν ἀμήχανον
ἐκφυγεῖν, ἐπιθεμένων· ὁ δὴ καὶ παραδοξότατον ἦν,
ὑπὸ τῶν αὐτῶν κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν τόπον καὶ χρόνον
144 τοὺς μὲν διαφθείρεσθαι, τοὺς δὲ σώξεσθαι. ὁ
ποταμὸς εἰς αἷμα μετέβαλεν, ἀλλ' οὐχ Ἐβραῖος·
ηγίκα γὰρ βουληθεὶεν ἀρύσασθαι, τροπὴν ἐλάμβανεν
εἰς πότιμον. βάτραχος ἐκ τῶν ὕδατων ἐπὶ τὴν
χέρσον ἀνερπύσας ἀγορᾶς καὶ ἑπαύλεις καὶ οἰκίας
ἐπιλήρωσεν, ἀλλ' ἀπὸ τῶν Ἐβραίων ἔξανεχώρει
μόνων καθάπερ διακρίνει ἐπιστάμενος, οὐ̣ς τε χρῆ
145 κολάζεσθαι καὶ τοῦναντίον. οὐ̣ς σκύτησε, οὐ̣ς κυνό-
μυια, οὐ̣ς ἀκρίς, ἢ καὶ φυτὰ καὶ καρποὺς καὶ
ξῶα καὶ ἀνθρώπους μεγάλα ἔβλαφε, τούτοις προσ-
ἐπτησαν· οὐ̣ς υὲτών, οὐ̣ς χαλάζης, οὐ̣ς κεραυνῶν αἰ
[104] γενόμεναί | συνεχεῖς φοραὶ μέχρι τούτων ἔφθασαν·
ἐλκώσεως τῆς ἀργαλεωτάτης εἰς τὸ παθεῖν οὐ̣δ᾽
ὁναρ ἐπήσθοντο· βαθυτατοῦ σκότης τοὺς ἀλλοὺς
ἀναχυθέντος, ἐν αὐγὴ καθαρὰ διήγαγε, τοῦ ἡμε-
ρήσιον φωτὸς ἐπιλάμποντος· ἀναιρομένων τῶν
παρ᾽ Ἀγυπτίων πρωτοτόκων, ἑπελεύσθησαν Ἐβραῖος
οὐ̣δείς· οὐ̣δὲ γὰρ εἰκὸς ἦν, ὅποτε καὶ ἡ τῶν ἄμυ-
θητων φθορὰ θρεμμάτων ὑπεμεῖαν τῶν παρὰ τούτων
146 ἀγέλην συνεπεσπάσατο πρὸς ἀπώλειαν. καὶ μοὶ 
τοὺς δοκεῖ παρατυχών τοὺς γενομένους κατ᾽ ἐκείνον 
τὸν καιρὸν μηδὲν ἂν ἄλλο νομίσαι τοὺς Ἐβραίους ἢ
θεατὰς ὃν ἐτεροι κακῶν ὑπέμενον καὶ οὐ μόνον

1 Cohn, following Clem. Al. Strom. i. 23 θεαταὶ δὲ Ἐβραῖοι
ἐγένοντο ὃν ἐτεροι κακῶν ὑπέμενον ἀκινδύνως ἐκμαόντοντες τὴν
δύναμιν τοῦ θεοῦ, proposed to fill the lacuna with the last five
MOSES I. 143–146

Hebrews, though they dwelt in the same cities and villages and houses, and though earth, water, air, fire, the constituent parts of that nature which it is impossible to escape, joined in the attack. And the strangest thing of all was that the same elements in the same place and at the same time brought destruction to one people and safety to the other. The river changed to blood, but not for the Hebrews; for, when they wished to draw from it, it turned into good drinking-water. The frog tribe crept from the water on to the land, and filled the market-places, the farm buildings and houses, but held aloof from the Hebrews alone, as though it knew how to distinguish who should be punished and who should not. Neither the gnats, nor the dog-flies nor the locusts, which did so great damage to plants and fruits and animals and men, winged their way to them; neither the rainstorm nor the hail nor the thunderbolts which fell continuously reached as far as them. That most painful ulceration was not felt, or even imagined, by them. When the others were wrapped in profound darkness, they lived in clear radiance with the light of day shining upon them. When the first-born of the Egyptians was slain, no Hebrew died, nor was it likely that they should, when even the murrain, by which numberless cattle perished, did not involve a single herd of theirs in the destruction. Indeed, I think that everyone who witnessed the events of that time could not but have thought of the Hebrews as spectators of the sufferings of others, and not merely spectators

words of the quotation. Mangey was content with τούτο only. Perhaps ἀκίνδυνου alone would be enough, Clement’s remaining five words representing εὐσέβειαν.
PHILO

... ἀλλὰ καὶ μαθημάτων τὸ κάλλιστον καὶ ὠφελιμώτατον ἀνοδοδιασκομένους, εὐθέμειαν· οὐ γὰρ ποθ' οὔτως ἢ τῶν ἁγαθῶν καὶ κακῶν κρίσις ἐμ-φανῶς ἦλθε τοῖς μὲν φθορὰν τοῖς δὲ σωτηρίαν παρα-σχόδα.

147 XXVII. Τῶν δὲ ἐξιόντων καὶ μετανισταμένων οἱ μὲν ἄνδρος ἐχοντες ἠλικίαν ὑπὲρ ἐξήκοντα μο-ριάδας ἦσαν, δὲ ἄλλος ὁμιλὸς πρεσβύτων, παῖδων, γυναικῶν οὐ ράδιος ἀριθμηθὴν· μυγάδων δὲ καὶ συγκλύδων καὶ θεραπείας ὄχλος συνεξήλθεν ὡσανεί νόθον μετὰ γνησίου πλήθους· οὕτω δὲ ἦσαν οἱ ἐκ γυναικῶν γεννηθέντες Αἰγυπτίων τοῖς Ἑβραίοις καὶ τῷ πατρῷ γένος προσνεμηθέντες καὶ ὅσοι τὸ θεοφιλὲς ἀγάμενοι τῶν ἄνδρῶν ἐπηλύται ἐγένοντο καὶ εἰ δὴ τινὲς τῷ μεγέθεω καὶ πλήθει τῶν ἐπ-αλλήλων κολάσεων μετεβάλοντο σωφρονισθέντες.

148 τούτων ἀπάντων ἡγεμῶν ἐχειροτονεῖτο Μωυσῆς τῆς ἀρχῆς καὶ βασιλείαν λαβὼν οὐχ ὀσπερ ἐνοι τῶν ἐπὶ τάσ δυναστείας ὅθουμένων ὄπλοις καὶ μηχανήμασιν ἡπικοῖς τε καὶ πεζίκαίς καὶ ναυτικαίς δυνάμεως, ἀλλ' ἀρετής ἔνεκα καὶ καλοκαγαθίας καὶ τῆς πρὸς ἀπάντας εὐνοιας, ἢ χρώμενος ἀεὶ διετέλει, καὶ προσέτι καὶ τοῦ φιλαρέτου καὶ φιλοκάλου θεοῦ

149 γέρας ἄξιον αὐτῷ παρασχόντος. ἐπειδὴ γὰρ τὴν Αἰγύπτου κατέλητεν ἡγεμονίαν, θυγατριδοῦς τοῦ τότε βασιλεύσεως ὅν, ἕνεκα τῶν κατὰ τὴν χώραν γυναικῶν ἀδικημάτων πολλὰ χαίρεν φράσας ταῖς ἀπὸ τῶν θεμένων ἐλπίσι διὰ ψυχῆς εὐγένειαν καὶ φρονήματος μέγεθος καὶ τὸ μισοπόνηρον φύσει, τῷ

* See Ex. xii. 27, 37 f.
in safety, but learners thereby of the finest and most profitable of lessons—piety. For never was judgement so clearly passed on good and bad, a judgement which brought perdition to the latter and salvation to the former.

XXVII. The departing emigrants had among them over six hundred thousand men of military age, while the rest of the multitude, consisting of old men, women-folk and children, could not easily be counted. They were accompanied by a promiscuous, nondescript and menial crowd, a bastard host, so to speak, associated with the true-born. These were the children of Egyptian women by Hebrew fathers into whose families they had been adopted, also those who, reverencing the divine favour shewn to the people, had come over to them, and such as were converted and brought to a wiser mind by the magnitude and the number of the successive punishments.

The appointed leader of all these was Moses, invested with this office and kingship, not like some of those who thrust themselves into positions of power by means of arms and engines of war and strength of infantry, cavalry and navy, but on account of his goodness and his nobility of conduct and the universal benevolence which he never failed to shew. Further, his office was bestowed upon him by God, the lover of virtue and nobility, as the reward due to him. For, when he gave up the lordship of Egypt, which he held as son to the daughter of the then reigning king, because the sight of the iniquities committed in the land and his own nobility of soul and magnanimity of spirit and inborn hatred of evil led him to renounce completely his expected inheritance from the kinsfolk of his adoption, He Who presides
πρυτανεύοντι καὶ ἐπιμελουμένῳ τῶν ὅλων ἔδοξεν
αὐτὸν ἀμείβασθαι βασιλεία πολυναθρωπότερον καὶ
κρείττονος ἐθνοῦς, ὅπερ ἐμελλέν ἐξ ἀπάντων τῶν
アルバム ἱερᾶσθαι τὰς ὑπέρ τοῦ γένους τῶν ἄνθρωπων
αἰεὶ ποιησόμενον εὐχάς ὑπέρ τε κακῶν ἀποτροπῆς
150 καὶ μετουσίας ἁγαθῶν. παραλαβὼν δὲ τὴν ἀρχήν
οὐχ ὡσπερ ἔνοι τὸν ἵδιον αὐξεῖν οἰκον καὶ τοὺς
νόσους—δύο γὰρ ἦσαν αὐτῷ—προάγειν ἐπὶ μέγα
δυνάμεως ἑσπούδασεν, ὡς ἐν μὲν τῷ παρόντι
κοινωνοῦν αὕθης δὲ καὶ διαδόχους ἀποφήναι· |
105 γνώμη γὰρ ἀδόλω καὶ καθαρὰ πρὸς πάντα μικρά
tε αὐ καὶ μεγάλα χρώμενος τὴν φυσικὴν πρὸς
τα τέκνα φιλοστοργίαν οία κριτὴς ἁγαθὸς ἐνίκα τῷ
151 περὶ τὸν λογισμὸν ἀδεκάστῳ. προύκειτο γὰρ ἐν
αὐτῷ τέλος ἀναγκαίωτατον, ὅνησαι τοὺς ἀρχομένους
καὶ πάνθ' ὑπὲρ τῆς τούτων ὑφελείας ἐργῷ καὶ λόγῳ
πραγματεύεσθαι, μηδένα παραλιπόντι καὶ τῶν
152 συντεινόντων εἰς κοινὴν κατόρθωσιν. μόνος οὐδός
τῶν πάντων ἡγεμονευσάντων οὐχ ἔργων οὐκ ἄργω-
ρον ἑθησαυρίσατο, οὐ δασμοὺς ἐξέλεξεν, οὐκ οἰκίαις,
οὐ κτήματα, οὐ θέμματα, οὐ θεραπείας οἰκετικῆς,
οὐ προσόδους, οὐκ ἄλλο τῶν εἰς πολυτέλειαν καὶ
περιουσίαν οὐδὲν ἐκτήσατο, καὶ τοῖς πάντων ἔχειν
153 ἀφθονίαν δυνάμενος· ἀλλ' ὑπολαβὼν πενίας ψυχικῆς
ἐργὸν εἶναι τὸν ἐν ταῖς ύλαις ἀποδέχεσθαι πλοῦτον
tοῦ μὲν ὡς τυφλοῦ κατεφρόνησε, τὸν δὲ ἐμπορῶν
tῆς φύσεως ἐξετίμησε καὶ ξηλωτῆς ὡς οὐκ οἶδ' εἰ
tis ἑτερος αὐτοῦ γενόμενος ἐν μὲν ἔσθησι καὶ
tροφαίς καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις τοῖς περὶ δίαιταν οὐδὲν
evπετραγῳδῶν πρὸς σεμνότερον ὅγκον εὐτελείαν καὶ
eυκολίαν ἑπετήδευεν ἰδιώτου, πολυτέλειαν δὲ τῷ
ὄντι βασιλικῆν ἐν οἷς καλὸν ἢ πλεονεκτεῖν τὸν
854
over and takes charge of all things thought good to requite him with the kingship of a nation more populous and mightier, a nation destined to be consecrated above all others to offer prayers for ever on behalf of the human race that it may be delivered from evil and participate in what is good. Having received this office, he did not, like some, take pains to exalt his own house, and promote his sons, of whom he had two, to great power and make them his consorts for the present and his successors for the hereafter. For in all things great and small he followed a pure and guileless policy, and, like a good judge, allowed the incorruptibility of reason to subdue his natural affection for his children. For he had set before him one essential aim, to benefit his subjects; and, in all that he said or did, to further their interests and neglect no opportunity which would forward the common well-being. In solitary contrast to those who had hitherto held the same authority, he did not treasure up gold and silver, did not levy tributes, did not possess houses or chattels or livestock or a staff of slaves or revenues or any other accompaniment of costly and opulent living, though he might have had all in abundance. He held that to prize material wealth shews poverty of soul, and despised such wealth as blind; but the wealth of nature which has eyes to see he highly honoured and zealously pursued, more perhaps than any other man. In dress and food and the other sides of life, he made no arrogant parade to increase his pomp and grandeur. But, while in these he practised the economy and unassuming ways of a private citizen, he was liberal in the truly royal expenditure of those treasures which the ruler may well desire to have in abundance.
154 ἀρχοντα· ταῦτα δ' ἦσαν ἐγκράτειαί, καρτερία, σωφροσύναι, ἀγχίνοια, συνέσεις, ἐπιστήμαι, πόνοι, κακοπάθεια, ὑδατῶν ὑπεροψίαι, δικαιοσύναι, προτροπαὶ πρὸς τὰ βέλτιστα, ψόγοι καὶ κολάσεις ἀμαρτανόντων νόμιμοι, ἔπαινοι καὶ τιμαὶ κατορθοῦντων

155 πάλιν σὺν νόμῳ. XXVIII. τουγαροῦν πολλὰ χαιρεὶς φράσαντα πολυχρήματι καὶ τῷ παρ' ἀνθρώποις μέγα πνέοντι πλοῦτω γεραίρει θεός τὸν μέγιστον καὶ τελεώτατον ἀντίδοους πλοῦτον αὐτῷ· οὔτος δ' ἐστὶν ὁ τῆς συμπάσης γῆς καὶ θαλάττης καὶ ποταμῶν καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ὅσα στοιχεῖα καὶ συγκρήματα· κοινωνοῦν γὰρ αξιώσας ἀναφανὴν τῆς ἐαυτοῦ λήξεως ἀνήκε πάντα τὸν κόσμον ὡς κληρονομοῦν κτῆσιν ἀρμόζουσαν. τουγαροῦν ὑπήκουεν ὡς δεσπότης τῶν στοιχείων ἐκαστὸν ἅλλον ἢν ἐξε ὑπάρχων καὶ ταῖς προστάξεσιν ὑπεἶκον καὶ θαυμαστάσων ὅσας οὐδένει· εἰ γὰρ κατὰ τὴν παροιμίαν "κοινά τὰ φίλων," φίλος δὲ ὁ προφήτης ἀνείρηται καθ' άκροφθέντος τοῦ θεοῦ, κατὰ τὸ ἀκόλουθον μετέχοι ἀν αὐτοῦ καὶ τῆς κτήσεως, καθαρὰ και πνευματικὰ προπολίτες, δὲ

156 νόμω κτήσεως ἀρμόζουσαν. τουγαροῦν ὑπήκουεν ὡς δεσπότης τῶν στοιχείων ἐκαστὸν ἅλλον ἢν ἐξε ὑπάρχων καὶ ταῖς προστάξεσιν ὑπεἶκον καὶ θαυμαστάσων ὅσας οὐδένει· εἰ γὰρ κατὰ τὴν παροιμίαν "κοινὰ τὰ φίλων," φίλος δὲ ὁ προφήτης ἀνείρηται καθ' άκροφθέντος τοῦ θεοῦ, κατὰ τὸ ἀκόλουθον μετέχοι ἀν αὐτοῦ καὶ τῆς κτήσεως, καθ' άκροφθέντος τοῦ θεοῦ, καθ' άκροφθέντος τοῦ θεοῦ, καθ' άκροφθέντος τοῦ θεοῦ, καθ' άκροφθέντος τοῦ θεοῦ, καθ' άκροφθέντος τοῦ θεοῦ, καθ' άκροφθέντος τοῦ θεοῦ, καθ' άκροφθέντος τοῦ θεοῦ, καθ' άκροφθέντος τοῦ θεοῦ, καθ' άκροφθέντος τοῦ θεοῦ, καθ' άκροφθέντος τοῦ θεοῦ, καθ' άκροφθέντος τοῦ θεοῦ, καθ' άκροφθέ

157 κτήσεως, καθ' οἱ χρειῶδες. ὁ μὲν γὰρ θεὸς πάντα κεκτημένος οὐδεὶς δεῖται, ο ὁ δὲ σπουδαῖοι ἀνθρωποὶ κέκτησαι μὲν οὐδὲν κυρίος ἀλλ' οὖν ἐαυτόν, τῶν δὲ τοῦ θεοῦ κειμηλίων, καθ' οὐσον ἀν οἴος τε ἦ, μετα-[106] λαγχάνει. | καὶ μήποτ' εἰκότως· κοσμοπολίτης γάρ ἐστιν, ἢς χάριν αὐτίας οὐδεμιᾶ τῶν κατὰ τὴν οἰκουμένην πόλεων ἐνεγράφη, δεόντως, οὐ μέρος

158 χώρας ἀλλ' ὁλον τὸν κόσμον κλήρου ἅλπων. τὴ δ', οὐχι καὶ μείζονος τῆς πρὸς τὸν πατέρα τῶν ὅλων καὶ ποιητὴν κοινωνίας ἀπελαύσε προσφήσεως τῆς αὐτῆς ἀξιωθείς; ἀνομάσθη γὰρ ὅλον τοῦ ἔθνους

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a Cf. De Abr. 235.  

b Ex. xxxiii. 11.
These treasures were the repeated exhibition of self-restraint, continence, temperance, shrewdness, good sense, knowledge, endurance of toil and hardships, contempt of pleasures, justice, advocacy of excellence, censure and chastisement according to law for wrong-doers, praise and honour for well-doers, again as the law directs. XXVIII. And so, as he abjured the accumulation of lucre, and the wealth whose influence is mighty among men, God rewarded him by giving him instead the greatest and most perfect wealth. That is the wealth of the whole earth and sea and rivers, and of all the other elements and the combinations which they form. For, since God judged him worthy to appear as a partner of His own possessions, He gave into his hands the whole world as a portion well fitted for His heir. Therefore, each element obeyed him as its master, changed its natural properties and submitted to his command, and this perhaps is no wonder. For if, as the proverb says, what belongs to friends is common, and the prophet is called the friend of God, it would follow that he shares also God’s possessions, so far as it is serviceable. For God possesses all things, but needs nothing; while the good man, though he possesses nothing in the proper sense, not even himself, partakes of the precious things of God so far as he is capable. And that is but natural, for he is a world citizen, and therefore not on the roll of any city of men’s habitation, rightly so because he has received no mere piece of land but the whole world as his portion. Again, was not the joy of his partnership with the Father and Maker of all magnified also by the honour of being deemed worthy to bear the same title? For he was named god and
θεός καὶ βασιλεὺς· εἰς τὸν γυνόν, ἐνθα ἢ ὁ θεός, εἰσελθεὶν λέγεται, τοιτέστων εἰς τὴν ἀειδὴ καὶ ἀόρατον καὶ ἀσώματον τῶν ὀντων παραδειγματικὴν οὐσίαν, τὰ ἄθεατα φύσει θνητὴ κατανοῶν· καθάπερ τε γραφῆν εὐ ἐδημουργημένην ἐαυτὸν καὶ τὸν ἐαυτὸν βίον εἰς μέσον προαγαγὼν πάγκολον καὶ θεοειδὲς ἔργον ἐστησε παράδειγμα τοῖς ἔθελονσι

159 μμεῖσθαι. εὐδαίμονες δ' ὅσοι τὸν τύπον ταῖς ἐαυτῶν φύσεις ἐναπεμάξαντο ή έσποῦδασαν ἐναπομάξασθαι· φερέτω γάρ ή διάνοια μάλιστα μὲν τὸ εἴδος τέλειον ἀρετῆς, εἰ δὲ μή, τὸν γοῦν ὑπὲρ τοῦ κτήσασθαι τὸ εἴδος ἀνενδοίαστον πόθον.

160 καὶ μὴν οὐδ' ἐκεῖνο τις ἄγνοεί, ὅτι ξηλωταί τῶν ἐνδόξων οἱ αφανεῖς εἰσὶ καὶ, ὅπως ἢ ἐκεῖνοι μάλιστ' ὀρέγεσθαι δοκῶσι, πρὸς ταῦτα τὰς αὐτῶν ἀποτελοῦσιν ορμᾶς· ἐπειδὴ γοῦν ἡγεμόνες ἀρέτας καθεδυπαθεῖν καὶ πρὸς τὸν ἀβροδίαιτον ἀποκλίνειν βίον, σύμπαν ὀλίγου δὲν τὸ υπήκοον τὰς γαστέρας καὶ τῶν μετὰ γαστέρας προσαναρρήγνυσιν ἐξω τῶν ἀναγκαίων ἐπιθυμίας, εἰ μὴ τυχεῖν ἐμφανίσθην ψυχή σκότως τῶν ἀκρατών καὶ Οὐκ ἐπίβουλον ἀλλ' εὐμενὴ

161 καὶ ὡς κτήσασθαι· εὰν δ' αὐστηροτέραν καὶ σεμνοτέραν ἔλθῃ προαίρεσιν, καὶ οἱ λίαν αὐτῶν ἀκράτωρες μεταβάλλουσι, πρὸς ἐγκράτειαν ἡ φόβῳ ἢ αἰδοὶ σπουδαζόντες ἐπόληψιν ἐμποιεῖν, ὅτι ἄρα ξηλωταί τῶν ὀμοίων εἰσὶ· καὶ οὐκ ἂν ποθ' οἱ χεῖρος τὰ τῶν κρειττόνων ἀλλ' οὐδὲ μανέντες ἀποδοκιμάζουσιν. τάχα δ', ἐπεὶ καὶ νομοθέτης ἐξελέν ἐσεθαί, πολὺ πρότερον αὐτὸς ἐγώντελο νόμος ἐμφαχός τε καὶ λογικός θεῖα προνοία, ἦτις ἄγνοοντα αὐτὸν εἰς νομοθέτην ἐχειροτόνησεν αὐθίς.
king of the whole nation, and entered, we are told, into the darkness where God was, that is into the unseen, invisible, incorporeal and archetypal essence of existing things. Thus he beheld what is hidden from the sight of mortal nature, and, in himself and his life displayed for all to see, he has set before us, like some well-wrought picture, a piece of work beautiful and godlike, a model for those who are willing to copy it. Happy are they who imprint, or strive to imprint, that image in their souls. For it were best that the mind should carry the form of virtue in perfection, but, failing this, let it at least have the unflinching desire to possess that form.

And, indeed, we all know this, that meaner men emulate men of distinction, and set their inclinations in the direction of what they seem to desire. Thus, when a ruler begins to shew profligacy and turn to a life of luxury, the whole body almost of his subjects gives full vent to the appetites of belly and sex beyond their actual needs, save in the case of some who, blessed by the gifts of nature, possess a soul kindly and propitious and free from viciousness; whereas, if that ruler adopt a more severe and more serious rule of life, even the very licentious are converted to continence and are eager, either through fear or shame, to create the impression that, after all, their aims are like to his. In fact the worse, even in madness, will never be found to condemn the ways of the better. Perhaps, too, since he was destined to be a legislator, the providence of God which afterwards appointed him without his knowledge to that work, caused him long before that day to be the reasonable and living impersonation of law.

* Ex. xx. 21, cf. De Mut. 7.
"Επειδή τοίνυν παρ' έκόντων έλαβε τὴν ἀρχὴν, βραβεύοντος καὶ ἐπινεύοντος θεοῦ, τὴν ἀποικίαν ἐστελλεν εἰς Φοινίκην καὶ Συρίαν τὴν κοίλην καὶ Παλαιστίνην, ὡς οἱ ὅροι τριῶν ἠμερῶν ὀδὸν διειστῆκαν ἀπ' Αἰγύπτου. ἐὰν ἤγεν αὐτοὺς οὐ | τὴν ἐπίτομον, ἢμι μὲν εὐλαβηθεῖσα, μή ποθ', ὑπαιτισάντων τῶν οἰκητῶν διὰ φόβου ἁπαστάσεως καὶ ἀνδραποδισμοῦ καὶ γενομένου πολέμου, πάλιν τὴν αὐτὴν ὀδὸν ὑποστρέψωσιν εἰς Αἰγύπτου, ἀπ' ἐχθρῶν ἐπ' ἑχθροὺς, νέων ἐπ' ἀρχαίους, γέλως καὶ χλεύως γενομένοι καὶ χείρας καὶ ἀργαλεώτερα τῶν προτέρων ὑπομενόντες, ἢμι δὲ καὶ βουλόμενος αὐτοὺς δὲ ἑρήμους ἄγων καὶ μακρὰς δοκιμάσαι, πῶς ἔχουσι πειθάρχια ἐν οὐκ ἀφθόνοις χορηγίαις ἀλλ' ἐκ τοῦ κατ' ὅλιγον ὑποσπανζοῦσας. ἐκτραπομενος σὺν τῇ ἐπ' εὐθείας, ἐγκάρσιον ἀπαντῶν ἐνρῶν καὶ νομίσας κατατείνειν ἄχρι τῆς ἐρυθρᾶς θαλάττης οὐκ ὑποπορεῖν ἔρχετο. τεράστιον δὲ φασὶ συμβήναι κατ' ἑκείνον τὸν χρόνον μεγαλουργημα τῆς φύσεως, ἡ μηδεὶς πιν πάλαι γεγονός.

νεφέλη γὰρ εἰς εὐμεγέθη κίονα σχηματισθεῖσα προήει τῆς πληθύος, ἡμέρας μὲν ἡλιόειδες ἐκλάμπουσα φέγγος, νύκτωρ δὲ φλογοειδές, ὑπὲρ τοῦ μὴ πλάζεσθαι κατὰ τὴν πορείαν, ἀλλ' ἀπλανεστάτω ἐπεσθαὶ ἡγεμόνι ὀδοῦ. τάχα μέντοι καὶ τῶν ὑπάρχων τις ἤν τοῦ μεγάλου βασιλέως, ἀφανῆς ἄγγελος, ἐγκατειλθημένος τῇ νεφέλῃ προηγητήρ, δόν οὐ θέμις σώματι ὀφθαλμοῖς ὀρασθαὶ.

XXX. Θεασάμενος δ' ὁ τῆς Αἰγύπτου βασιλεὺς ἀνοδία χρωμένοις, ὡς ὁποτε, καὶ διὰ τραχείας καὶ

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*For §§ 163-180 see Ex. xiii. 17-xv. 21.*
XXIX. So, having received the authority which they willingly gave him, with the sanction and assent of God, he proposed to lead them to settle in Phoenicia and Coelesyria and Palestine, then called the land of the Canaanites, the boundaries of which were three days' journey from Egypt. The course by which he then led them was not the straight road. He avoided this, partly because he was apprehensive that if the inhabitants, fearing to lose their homes and personal liberty, offered them opposition, and war ensued, they might return by the same road to Egypt, and thus, exchanging one enemy for another, the new for the old, might be mocked, derided and subjected to hardships worse and more painful than what they underwent before. Partly, too, he wished by leading them through a long stretch of desert country to test the extent of their loyalty when supplies were not abundant but gradually grew scarcer and scarcer. Therefore, leaving the straight road, he found one at an angle to it, and, thinking that it extended to the Red Sea, began the journey. It was then, we are told, that there occurred a prodigy, a mighty work of nature, the like of which none can remember to have been seen in the past. A cloud shaped like a tall pillar, the light of which in the daytime was as the sun and in night as flame, went before the host, so that they should not stray in their journey, but follow in the steps of a guide who could never err. Perhaps indeed there was enclosed within the cloud one of the lieutenants of the great King, an unseen angel, a forerunner on whom the eyes of the body were not permitted to look.

XXX. But the king of Egypt, seeing, as he thought, that they had lost their way and were traversing a
άτριβοὺς ἐρήμης βαδίζοντας ἡσθη μὲν ἐπὶ τῷ κατὰ τὴν πορείαν σφάλματα, νομίσας συγκεκλείσθαι δι-έξοδον οὐκ ἔχοντας, ἐπὶ δὲ τῷ μεθέσθαι μετανοῶν ἐπεχείρει διώκειν, ὡς ἡ φόβῳ τὴν πληθὺν ὑπο-στρέψων καὶ δουλωσόμενοι αὖθις ἢ ἀποκτενῶν ἡβηδόν ἀφηνάξουσαν. εἰθ' ἀπασάν τὴν ἱππικὴν δύναμιν παραλαβῶν ἀκοντιστάς τε καὶ σφενδονήτας καὶ ἵπποτοξότας καὶ τοὺς ἅλλους ὀσοὶ τῆς κούφης ὁπλίσεως καὶ τὰ κάλλιστα τῶν δρεπανηφόρων ἀρ-μάτων ἐξακόσια τοῖς ἐν τέλει δοὺς, ὅνα μετὰ τοῦ πρέποντος ἀξιώματος ἐπακολουθήσονται καὶ τῆς στρατείας μετάσχωσιν, οὐδὲν τάχους ἀνείς ἐπεξέθει καὶ συντείνων ἐπευγενεῖ βουλόμενος ἐξαπνεύωμεν ὃ προϊδομένους ἐπιστῆναι· τὸ γὰρ ἀνέλπιστον κακὸν ἁργαλεώτερον αἰεί τοὐ προσδοκηθέντος, ὡς καὶ τὸ ὀλγωρηθὲν εὐπεπεχερητότερον τού σφυροντη. καὶ ὃ μὲν ταῦτα διανοηθεὶς ἐπηκολούθει νομίζων αὐτὸβεί περιέσεσθαι, οἷς ἐν τοῖς ἱππίκων ἀποκτενῶν ἔτυχον ήδη παρά ταῖς ἱδίαι τῆς θαλάττης στρατοπεδεύοντες· μελλόντων δ' ἀριστοποιεῖσθαι, τὸ μὲν πρῶτον πάταγος ἐξεχειτὸ πολύς, ἀτε τοσοῦτων ἄθρωπων ὤμοι καὶ υποζυγίων μετὰ σπουδῆς ἐλαυνόντων, ὡς ἐκχυθέντας1 τῶν σκηνῶν περιμετρεθένται καὶ ὡτ- [108] ακουστεῖν | ἀκροβατοῦντας· εἰτ' ὀλίγῳ ύστερον ἐπι λόφου μετέωρος ἡ ἀντίπαλος καταφαίνεται δύναμις ἐν τοῖς ὁπλοῖς ἐκτεταγμένη πρὸς μάχην. XXXI. ἐπὶ δὲ τῷ παραλόγῳ καὶ ἀπροσδοκητῷ καταπλαγέντες καὶ μὴτε πρὸς ἄμυναν εὐτρεπεῖς ὄντες διὰ σπάνιν ἀμυντηρίων—οὐ γὰρ ἐπὶ πόλεμον ἅλλ' εἰς ἀποικίαν ἐξῆσαν—μὴτε φυγεῖν δυνάμενοι—κατόπιν μὲν γὰρ πέλαγος, ἐχθροὶ δ' ἀντικρύ, τὰ δὲ παρ' ἐκάτερα

1 mss. ἐκλυθέντας et alia.
rough and pathless desert, was pleased to find that disaster had befallen their journey, since he judged them to be shut in without an outlet. And, repenting that he had let them go, he essayed to pursue, expecting that he would make the multitude return in fear to renewed slavery, or massacre them wholesale if they proved refractory. Then he took with him all his cavalry, javelineers, slingers, mounted archers, and all his other light-armed troops, and gave the six hundred finest of his scythed chariots to the men of rank that they might follow in suitable state and take part in the campaign. With unabated rapidity he rushed to the attack, and pushed on eagerly, wishing to come upon them suddenly and unforeseen. For the unexpected ill is ever more troublesome than the expected, since a negligently, compared with a carefully, guarded force is more liable to be successfully attacked. While he pursued them with these intentions, hoping to win an uncontested victory, they, as it happened, were already encamped on the shores of the sea. And, just as they were preparing to take their early meal, first a mighty din was heard, caused by the host of men and beasts coming on at full speed; and, at the sound, they poured out of their tents, standing on tiptoe to look around and listen with both ears. Then, shortly afterwards, high on the hill, appeared the enemy's forces, armed and drawn up for battle. XXXI. At this strange, unexpected sight, they were panic-stricken. They were not ready to defend themselves, for lack of the necessary weapons, for their expedition was not for war but for colonization. They could not fly, for the sea was behind them, the enemy in front, and on either side the depths of the trackless
βαθεία καὶ ἀτριβὴς ἐρήμη—σφαδάζοντες καὶ τῶν μεγέθει τῶν κακῶν ἀπειρηκότες, οῖα παρὰ τὰς τουαύτας φιλεῖ συμφοράς, τὸν ἄρχοντα ἦτιώντο

171 φάσκοντες· "διὰ τὸ μὴ εἶναι μνήματα ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ, οῖς ἀποθανόντες ἐνταφησομένης, εξήγαγες ἡμᾶς· ηο Improved MSS. 

ἀπλότητα, which all editors hitherto appear to have accepted. But what sense has "simplicity," or any other shade of meaning which the word can bear, in this context? The correction here printed, suggested to me by Dr. Rouse, appears certain. It is true that ἀπλότητα is not found in the lexicon, nor is "unarmedness," by which I have translated.
desert. So, in the bitterness of their hearts, broken down by the greatness of their misfortune, they acted as men often act in such troubles, and began to accuse their ruler. "Was it because there were no tombs in Egypt where our dead bodies could be laid that you brought us out to kill and bury us here? Is not any slavery a lighter ill than death? You enticed this multitude with the hope of liberty, and then have saddled it with the greater danger which threatens its life. Did you not know our unarmedness, and the bitterness and savage temper of the Egyptians? Do you not see how great are our troubles, how impossible to escape? What must we do? Can we fight unarmed against the armed? Can we fly, surrounded as in a net by merciless enemies, pathless deserts, seas impassable to ships, or, if indeed they are passable, what supply of boats have we to enable us to cross?" Moses, when he heard these words, pardoned them, but remembered the divine messages, and, using his mind and speech simultaneously for different purposes, with the former silently interceded with God to save them from their desperate afflictions, with the latter encouraged and comforted the loud-voiced malcontents. "Do not lose heart," he said, "God's way of defence is not as that of men. Why are you quick to trust in the specious and plausible and that only? When God gives help He needs no armament. It is His special property to find a way where no way is. What is impossible to all created being is possible to Him only, ready to His hand." Thus he discoursed, still calm and composed;
μικρὸν δ' ἐπισχὼν ἔνθους γίνεται καταπνευσθέντες ὑπὸ τοῦ εἰωθότος ἐπιφοιτῶν αὐτῶν πνεῦματος καὶ θεσπίζει προφητεύων τάδε: "ἡν ὀρᾶτε στρατιῶν εὐσπλοῦσαν, οὐκέτ' ἀντιτεταγμένην ὀφεσθεῖ πεσεῖται γὰρ προτροπάδην πᾶσα καὶ βύθιος ἀφανισθήσεται, ὥς μηδὲ λείψομαι αὐτῆς ὑπὲρ γῆς ἐτὶ φανῆναι, καὶ οὐ μὴκει χρόνον, ἀλλὰ τῇ ἐπιούσῃ νυκτί."

176 XXXII. Καὶ ὁ μὲν ταῦτ' ἀπεφθέγγετο. καταδύντος δ' ἡλίου, νότος εὐθὺς ἦρξατο κατασκήνων βιαιότατος, ὡφ' οὗ τὸ πέλαγος ἐξανεχώρησει, εἰωθὸς μὲν ἀμφωτίζειν, τότε δὲ καὶ μᾶλλον ὠδοῦ μενον τὸ πρὸς ἀγιαλοῖς ὑπεσύρη καθάπερ εἰς χαράδραν ἢ χάρυβδῳν ἀστήρ τε προούφαινεν οὐδείς, ἀλλὰ πυκνὸν καὶ μέλαν νέφος ἀπατάται τοῦ ὑπόπου ἐπείχε, γνοφώδους τῆς νυκτὸς οὐσίας εἰς κατάπληξιν τῶν διωκόντων. προστασίας δὲ Μωυσῆς τῇ βακτηρίᾳ παίει τὴν θάλασσαν· ἢ δὲ βαγείσα διϊσταται καὶ τῶν θρημάτων τὰ μὲν πρὸς τῷ ῥαγέντι μέρει μετέωρα πρὸς ὑψὸς ἐξαιρεῖται καὶ παγέντα τρόπον τεῖχους κρατῶσιν ἣρεμοῖ καὶ ἱσύχαζε, τὰ δ' ὀπίσω σταλέντα καὶ χαλινωθέντα τὴν εἰς τὸ πρόσω φορὰν καθάπερ ἡμίας ἀφανείας ἀνεχαίτες, τὸ δ' μεσαίτατον, καθ' ὁ ἐγένετο ἡ ῥῆξις, ἀναζηρανθέν ὄθος εὐρεία καὶ λεωφόρος γίνεται. τοῦτο ἵδων Μωυσῆς καὶ θαυμάσας ἐγενήθη καὶ πληρωθεὶς χαρᾶς έθάρσυνε τοὺς ἰδίους καὶ ἦ τάχιστα προούρισεν ἀναζηρανθένεις. περαιοῦσθαι δὲ μελλόντων, σημεῖον ἐπιγίνεται τερατωδέστατον· ἡ γὰρ ὅδηγος νεφέλη πρωτοστατοῦσα τὸν ἀλλὸν χρόνον ἀνακάμπτει πρὸς τὰ οὐραία τοῦ πλήθους, ὅπως ὀπισθοφυλακῆς, καὶ ταχθεῖσα μεθόριος τῶν διω-
but, after a little, he became possessed, and, filled with the spirit which was wont to visit him, uttered these oracular words of prophecy: "The host which you see armed to the teeth you shall see no more arrayed against you. It shall all fall in utter ruin and disappear in the depths, so that no remnant may be seen above the earth. And this shall be at no distant time, but in the coming night."

XXXII. Such was his prediction. But at sunset a south wind of tremendous violence arose, and, as it rushed down, the sea under it was driven back, and, though regularly tidal, was on this occasion more so than usually, and swept as into a chasm or whirlpool, when driven against the shore. No star appeared, but a thick black cloud covered the whole heaven, and the murkiness of the night struck terror into the pursuers. Moses now, at God's command, smote the sea with his staff, and as he did so it broke and parted into two. Of the waters thus divided, one part rose up to a vast height, where the break was made, and stood quite firmly, motionless and still like a wall; those behind were held back and bridled in their forward course, and reared as though pulled back by invisible reins; while the intervening part, which was the scene of the breaking, dried up and became a broad highway. Moses, seeing this, marvelled and was glad, and in the fullness of his joy encouraged his men and bade them move on with all speed. And, when they were about to begin the passage, a most extraordinary sign occurred. The guiding cloud, which at other times stood in front, turned round to the back of the multitude to form its rearguard, and thus posted between the pur-

1 Perhaps τὰ μὲν <πρὸς> πρὸς.
κόντων καὶ τῶν διωκομένων τοὺς μὲν ἡμιοχόουσα
σωτηρίως καὶ ἀσφαλώς ἐπίλαυνε, τοὺς δὲ ἀνεῖργε
καὶ ἀνέκρουν ἐφορμᾶν ἐπειγομένους· ἀπερ ὄρωντες
ὁι Αἰγύπτιοι θορύβου καὶ ταραχῆς πάντες ἐπήλαυν
τάς τε τάξεις ὑπὸ δέους συνέχεον ὑπεμπίπτοντες
ἀλλήλους καὶ ξηποῦντες ἢδη φυγεῖν, οτ' οὐδὲν ἦν
179 ὀφέλος. οἱ μὲν γὰρ Ἑβραῖοι διὰ ξηρᾶς ἀτραποῦ
περὶ βαθὺν ὀρθρὸν μετὰ γυναικῶν καὶ παιδῶν ἐτὶ
κομιδῆ χειρῶν περαιοῦντα· τοὺς δὲ τὰ τμήματα
τοῦ πελάγους ἐκατέρωθεν ἐπικυλισθέντα καὶ ἐνω-
θέντα αὐτοῖς ἄρμασι καὶ ἵπποις καταπονοῦν, ἑο-
ρείοις πνεύμασι τῆς παλίρροιας ἀναχυθείσης καὶ
μετεώροις τρικυμίαις ἐπιδραμοῦσης, ὡς μηδὲ
πυρφόρον υπολειφθῆναι τὸν ἀπαγγελοῦντα τοῖς ἓν
180 Αἰγύπτιω τὰς αἰφνιδίους συμφορὰς. τὸ μέγα τοῦτο
καὶ θαυμαστὸν ἔργον Ἑβραῖοι καταπλαγέντες
ἀναμωτὶ νίκην οὐκ ἐλπίσθεισαν ἦραντο καὶ κατ-
ιδόντες ἐν ἀκαρεὶ φθορᾶν ἀμφότεροι πολεμίων δύο
χροῶν, τὸν μὲν ἀνδρῶν, τὸν δὲ γυναικῶν, ἕπὶ τῆς
ἡώνος στήσαντες εὐχαριστοῦσιν ὑμένοις εἰς τὸν θεὸν
ἤδον, ἔξαρχοντος Μωυσέως μὲν τοῖς ἀνδράσιν,
ἀδελφῆς δὲ τούτου ταῖς γυναιξίν· ἡγεμόνες γὰρ οὕτω
τῶν χρῶν ἐγεγενηντο.

181 ΧΧΧΧΙΙ. Ἄραντες δ' ἀπὸ θαλάττης μέχρι μὲν
τῶν ὀδοιπόρων μηκέτι τὸν ἀπὸ τῶν ἑχθρῶν
ὁρωδοῦντες φόβον. ἐπιλιπόντος δὲ τοῦ ποτοῦ
τρισίν ἡμέρας, αὕτις ἐν ἀνθρώποις ἥσαν ὑπὸ δύσως

a Or simply a “survivor,” the phrase having passed into
a proverb without consideration of its origin, of which
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suers and pursued regulated the course of the latter and drove them before it under safe protection, but checked and repelled the former when they strove to advance. When the Egyptians saw this, tumult and confusion prevailed everywhere among them. In their terror their ranks fell into disorder. They tumbled over each other, and sought to escape, but it was of no avail; for, while the Hebrews with their women and children, still mere infants, crossed on a dry road in the early dawn, it was otherwise with the Egyptians. Under the north wind the returning tide was swept back, and hurled its lofty billows upon them. The two sections of the sea rolled upon them from either side, united and submerged them, horses, chariots and all, with not even a torchbearer left to announce to the people of Egypt the sudden disaster. This great and marvellous work struck the Hebrews with amazement, and, finding themselves unexpectedly victorious in a bloodless conflict, and seeing their enemies, one and all, destroyed in a moment, they set up two choirs, one of men and one of women, on the beach, and sang hymns of thanksgiving to God. Over these choirs Moses and his sister presided, and led the hymns, the former for the men and the latter for the women.

XXXIII. They set out from the sea coast, and travelled for some time, no longer in any fear of danger from the enemy. But after three days the water failed, and thirst once more reduced them

indeed there are other accounts besides that given in L. & S., viz. that it properly applied to the priest in the Spartan army who carried the sacred fire, which was not allowed to go out. So apparently even in the LXX Obadiah 18 οὐκ ἔσται πυρφόρος τῷ οἴκῳ Ἡσαύ.

καὶ πάλιν ἦρξαντο μεμφιμοιρεῖν ὡς μηδὲν εὗρο
προπεπονθότες· ἀεί γὰρ ἦν τοῦ παρόντος προσβολή
dεινὸς τὰς ὑπὸ τοῖς προτέροις ἁγαθοῖς ήδονὰς ἄφη
182 αἰρεῖται. θεασάμενοι δὲ πηγᾶς ἐπιτρέχονσιν | [110] ὡς ἀρυσόμενοι χαρὰς ὑπόπλεως, δι’ ἄγνοιαν τάληθοὺς
ἀπατηθέντες· πικραὶ γὰρ ἦσαν· εἶτα γευσάμενοι
γυμνοτέρων συμμορφῶν, ἀμείωτος ὡς ἐπὶ τοῖς νηπίοις παιδὶ
στένουτες, οὕς ἀδακρυτὶ ποτὸν αἴτοντας ὄραν οὐχ ὑπέμενον.
183 ἕνοι δὲ τῶν ὀλιγωροτέρων καὶ πρὸς εὐσέβειαν
ἀβεβαιών καὶ τὰ προγεγονότα ἠτίων ἡ διὰ μετουσίων ἀργα-
λεωτέρων συμφορῶν, ἀμείωτος ἐνήλιος τρίς,
οὗ πρὸ ἐμβατάνα τοῖς καὶ τὰ προγεγονότα ἠτίων ἡ διὰ μετουσίων ἀργα-
λεωτέρων συμφορῶν, ἀμείωτος ἐνήλιος τρίς,
οὗ πρὸ ἐμβατάνα τοῖς καὶ τὰ προγεγονότα ἠτίων ἡ διὰ μετουσίων ἀργα-
λεωτέρων συμφορῶν, ἀμείωτος ἐνήλιος τρίς,
οὗ πρὸ ἐμβατάνα τοῖς καὶ τὰ προγεγονότα ἠτίων ἡ διὰ μετουσίων ἀργα-
lεωτέρων συμφορῶν, ἀμείωτος ἐνήλιος τρίς,
οὗ πρὸ ἐμβατάνα τοῖς καὶ τὰ προγεγονότα ἠτίων ἡ διὰ μετουσίων ἀργα-
λεωτέρων συμφορῶν, ἀμείωτος ἐνήλιος τρίς,
οὗ πρὸ ἐμβατάνα τοῖς καὶ τὰ προγεγονότα ἠτίων ἡ διὰ μετουσίων ἀργα-
lεωτέρων συμφορῶν, ἀμείωτος ἐνήλιος τρίς,
οὗ πρὸ ἐμβατάνα τοῖς καὶ τὰ προγεγονότα ἠτίων ἡ διὰ μετουσίων ἀργα-
lεωτέρων συμφορῶν, ἀμείωτος ἐνήλιος τρίς,
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lεωτέρων συμφορῶν, ἀμείωτος ἐνήλιος τρίς,
οὗ πρὸ ἐμβατάνα τοῖς καὶ τὰ προγεγονότα ἠτίων ἡ διὰ μετουσίων ἀργα-
lεωτέρων συμφορῶν, ἀμείωτος ἐνήλιος τρίς,
οὗ πρὸ ἐμβατάνα τοῖς καὶ τὰ προγεγονότα ἠτίων ἡ διὰ μετουσίων ἀργα-
lεωτέρων συμφορῶν, ἀμείωτος ἐνήλιος τρίς,
οὗ πρὸ ἐμβατάνα τοῖς καὶ τὰ προγεγονότα ἠτίων ἡ διὰ μετουσίων ἀργα-
lεωτέρων συμφορῶν, ἀμείωτος ἐνήλιος τρίς,
οὗ πρὸ ἐμβατάνα τοῖς καὶ τὰ προγεγονότα ἠτίων ἡ διὰ μετουσίων ἀργα-
lεωτέρων συμφορῶν, ἀμείωτος ἐνήλιος τρίς,
οὗ πρὸ ἐμβατάνα τοῖς καὶ τὰ προγεγονότα ἠτίων ἡ διὰ μετουσίων ἀργα-
lεωτέρων συμφορῶν, ἀμείωτος ἐνήλιος τρίς,
οὗ πρὸ ἐμβατάνα τοῖς καὶ τὰ προγεγονότα ἠτίων ἡ διὰ μετουσίων ἀργα-
lεωτέρων συμφορῶν, ἀμείωτος ἐνήλιος τρίς,
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lεωτέρων συμφορῶν, ἀμείωτος ἐνήλιος τρίς,
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lεωτέρων συμφορῶν, ἀμείωτος ἐνήλιος τρίς,
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lεωτέρων συμφορῶν, ἀμείωτος ἐνήλιος τρίς,
οὗ πρὸ ἐμβατάνα τοῖς καὶ τὰ προγεγονότα ἠτίων ἡ διὰ μετουσίων ἀργα-

to despondency. Again they began to grumble at their lot, as though nothing good had befallen them hitherto. For, under the onset of the present terror, we always lose sense of the pleasantness of past blessings. Then they saw some springs and ran to draw from them, full of joy, but in their ignorance of the truth were deceived. For the water was bitter, and, when they had tasted it, the disappointment broke them down. Their bodies were exhausted and their souls dejected, not so much for themselves as for their infant children, the sight of whom, as they cried for something to drink, was more than they could face without tears. Some of the more thoughtless, men of feeble piety, even denounced the past events as not having been intended for their benefit, but rather to bring them into worse misfortunes. It were better, they said, to die thrice, not merely once, at the hands of enemies, than to perish, or worse than perish, by thirst. To depart from life swiftly and easily is, in the eyes of the wise, the same thing as never dying, and death in the true sense is that which comes slowly and painfully, whose terrors appear not in the state of death, but only in the process of dying.

While they were engaged in such lamentations, Moses again addressed his supplications to God, that, knowing the weakness of His creatures, and particularly of mankind, and the necessities of the body, which depends on food, and is tied to those stern mistresses, meat and drink, He should pardon the despondent and also satisfy the needs of all, not at some distant time but with a boon bestowed promptly and swiftly, considering the in-born short-sightedness of mortality, which desires that assistance should be rendered quickly and at the
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185 ο δε την ἑλεων αυτοῦ δύναμιν φθάνει προεκπέμψας καὶ διώξας το τοῦ ἱκέτου τῆς ψυχῆς ἄκοιμητον ὡμμα ξύλων δείκνυσιν, ο προσέταξεν ἀράμενον εἰς τὰς πηγὰς καθείναι, τάχα μὲν κατεσκευασμένον ἐκ φύσεως ποιοῦν δύναμιν, ἡ τάχα ἡγνόητο, τάχα δε καὶ τότε πρῶτον ποιήθεν εἰς ἴν ἐμελλεν ὑπηρετεῖν.

186 Χρείαν. γενομένου δε τοῦ κελευθέντος, αἱ μὲν πηγαὶ γλυκαίνονται μεταβαλούσαι πρὸς τὸ πότιμον, ὡς μηδ’ εἰ τὴν ἀρχὴν ἐγένοντό ποτε πικραί δύνασθαι διαγνώσαι, διὰ τὸ μηδὲ ἵνος ἡ ζώπυρον τῆς ἀρχαίας κακίας εἰς μνήμην ὑπολελεύθη.

187 XXXIV. τὸ δὲ δύος ἀκεσάμενοι μεθ’ ἱδονῆς διπλασίας, ἐπειδὴ τῆς ἀπολαύσεως τὸ παρ’ ἐλπίδα συμβεβηκός ἄγαθὸν εὐφραίνει μάλλον, ἕτι καὶ τὰς υδρίας πληρώσαντες ἀνεξεύγνυσαν, ὡσπέρ ἀπὸ θούνη καὶ ἰλάρας εὐωχίας ἔστιαθεντες καὶ μεθύοντες οὐ τὴν ἐν οἴνῳ μέθην ἀλλὰ τὴν νηφάλιον, ἴν ἦκρατίσαντο τὰς προπόσεις λαβόντες παρὰ τῆς εὐσεβείας τοῦ προεστῶτος ἁρχοντος.

188 Ἀφικνοῦνται δε εἰς σταθμὸν δεύτερον, εὔυδρόν τε καὶ εὔδενδρον—Αἴλειμ ώνομάζετο—, πηγαῖς καταρρεμένον δώδεκα, μεθ’ οίδι στελέχη νέα φοινίκων εὐερνέστατα ἤν τὸν ἀριθμὸν ἐβδομηκόντα, τοῖς ὁξύς τῆς διάνοια βλέπειν δυναμένοις ἀγαθῶν τῶν ἑθνικῶν ἐναργή σημεία καὶ δείγματα φυλαὶ γαρ τοῦ έθνους δώδεκα, ἡν εκάστη πηγῆς ἐξει λόγον εὐσεβοῦσα, χορηγοῦσης εὐσεβείας ἀνεάνους καὶ ἀνελλιπείς καλὰς πράξεις, γενάρχαι δε τοῦ σύμπαντος έθνους ἐβδομηκόντα γεγόνασι φοίνικι.

1 Clearly a mistake: ? τέως.
moment. Hardly had he so prayed, when God sent in advance the power of His grace, and, opening the vigilant eye of the suppliant's soul, bade him lift and throw into the spring a tree which he shewed him, possibly formed by nature to exercise a virtue which had hitherto remained unknown, or possibly created on this occasion for the service which it was destined to perform. Moses did as he was bid, whereupon the springs became sweet, and were converted into drinkable water, so that no one could even guess that they had originally been bitter, since no trace or tang remained to remind one of its former badness. XXXIV. When they had relieved their thirst with double pleasure, since the unexpectedness of the event gave a delight beyond the actual enjoyment, they filled their water-vessels and then resumed their journey, feeling as though they had risen from a banquet and merry-making, and elated, with the intoxication not of wine, but of the sober carousal which the piety of the ruler who led them had invited them to enjoy.  

They then arrived at a second halting-place, one well wooded and well watered, called Elim, irrigated by twelve springs beside which rose young palm-trees, fine and luxuriant, to the number of seventy. Anyone who has the gift of keen mental sight may see in this clear signs and tokens of the national blessings. For the nation has twelve tribes, each of which, in virtue of its piety, will be represented by the well which supplies piety in perennial streams and noble actions unceasingly, while the heads of the whole nation are seventy, who may properly be com-

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a Or more literally "the sober intoxication in which they indulged having first been pledged" etc.
b For §§ 188-190 see Ex. xv. 27 and cf. De Fuga 183 ff.
τῶν δένδρων ἀρίστων προσηκόντως παρεικασθέντες, ὃ καὶ ὁφθήναι καὶ καρπὸν ἐνεγκέν ἐστὶ κάλλιστον, ὅπερ καὶ τὴν ἐνωτικὴν ἔχει δύναμιν οὐκ ἐν ῥίζαις ὦσπερ τὰ ἄλλα κατορωγμένην ἀλλ’ ἀνώφοιτον, καρδίας τρόπον ἐν τῶ μεσαιτάτω τῶν ἀκρομόνων ἰδρυμένην, ὑφ’ ὅν οἶα ἡγεμονία ὄντως ἐν κύκλῳ δορυφορεῖται. τοιαύτην δ’ ἔχει φύσιν καὶ ἡ διάνοια τῶν γευσαμένων ὀσιότητος· ἂνω γὰρ μεμάθηκε βλέπειν τε καὶ φοιτᾶν καὶ μετεωροπολοῦσα ἀεὶ καὶ τὰ θεία διερευνωμένη κάλλη χλεὺν τίθεται τὰ ἐπίγεια, ταῦτα μὲν παιδιάν, ἐκεῖνα δὲ σπουδὴν ὃς ἀληθῶς νομίζουσα.

191 XXXV. Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτ’ οὐ πολὺς διήλθε χρόνος καὶ ἀπορία συτίων ἐλίμωττον, ὦσπερ ἐκ διαδοχῆς ἀντεπιθεμένων τῶν ἀναγκαίων πέπονε ἔστιν μέρᾳ μεταφέραν καὶ ἔντεινε καὶ τῆς ἐπίγειας χλεύην τίθεται τὰ ἐπίγεια, ταῦτα μὲν παιδιάν, ἐκεῖνα δὲ σπουδὴν ὃς ἀληθῶς νομίζουσα.

192 ἐφεδρεύον κακὸν πεῖναν εὐρυσκόν. ἦν δ’ οὐ μόνον ἡ παρούσα σπάνις χαλεπότατα, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἡ πρὸς τὸν μέλλοντα χρόνον τῶν ἐπιτηδείων ἀπόγνωσις· ὄρωντες γὰρ βαθεῖαν καὶ πολλὴν ἐρήμην καὶ κορπτῶν ἀγονωτάτην σφόδρα θύμου· πάντα γὰρ ἦσαν ἡ τραχεῖα καὶ ἀπορρώγες πεδιάς· ὅρη λιθώδεστα· ἡ θύμος ἐπηρεασθεῖσα καὶ προσέτι ποταμὸς πεῖναν ἀθωνίαν· οὐκ ἠθιγγηθῇ, οὐ χείμαρρος, οὐδὲ πηγή, σπαρτόν οὐδέ δένδρον, οὐχ ἡμέραν, οὐ τῆς ἀγρίας χλεύη, οὐ τῆς ζωῆς πιπατήσατε γαμήλιαν ἀθωνίαν, ὃ ζώον πτηνὸν ἢ χερσαίον, ὃτι

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pared to the palm, the noblest of trees, excellent both in its appearance and in the fruit which it bears. Also it has its life-giving principle, not, like the others, buried in its roots, but mounted aloft, seated like a heart in the very centre of the branches which stand around to guard it as their very queen. Such, too, is the nature of the mind of those who have tasted of holiness. Such a mind has learned to gaze and soar upwards, and, as it ever ranges the heights and searches into divine beauties, it makes a mock of earthly things, counting them to be but child’s-play, and those to be truly matters for earnest care.

XXXV. After this no long time had elapsed when they were famished for want of food. It seemed as though the forces of necessity were taking turns to attack them. For those stern mistresses, hunger and thirst, had parcellled out their inflictions and plied them with these successively, with the result that when one was relaxed the other was upon them. This was most intolerable to the victims, since, often when they thought they had got free of thirst, they soon found the scourge of hunger waiting to take its place. And the presence of the dearth was not their only hardship; there was also the despair of obtaining provisions in the future. The sight of the deep, wide desert, utterly barren of fruits, filled them with despondency. All around there was nothing but rough, broken rocks, or plains where the soil was full of salt, or very stony mountains, or depths of sand stretching upwards steep and high, and again no rivers, spring-fed or winter torrent, no well, no tilth, no woodland of trees, either cultivated or wild, no living creature either of the air or of the land, save reptiles

\[a\] For §§ 191-208 see Ex. xvi.
μή τών ἐρπετῶν τὰ ἱοβόλα πρὸς ὀλεθρὸν ἀνθρώ-
193 πων, ὁφείς καὶ σκορπίοι. εἰθ᾽ ὑπομνημοσύνου τῆς
κατ᾽ Ἀγγυττίνων εὐθυμίας καὶ εὐεργείας καὶ τήν
τῶν ἐκεῖ πάντων ἄφθονοι καὶ ἀντιτιθέντες τῇ πάντων
ἐνταῦθα ἐνδείες έφερον καὶ πρὸς ἐτέρους ἔτεροι ποιαντήτρις ἔλογοποιών· "ἐπ᾽ ἐλευθερίας ἐλπίδι
μεταναστάντες οὐδὲ τοῦ ξῆν ἀδειαν ἐξομεν οἱ ταῖς
μὲν ὑποσχέσει τοῦ ἱγμενόνς εὐδαίμονες, ἐν δὲ τοῖς
194 ἔργοις ἀνθρώπων ἀπάντων κακοδιμονεστατοῖ. τί
[112] τέλος ἔσται τῆς ἀνηύτου καὶ μακρᾶς οὔτως ὅδον;
πᾶσι καὶ τοῖς πλέουσι καὶ τοῖς πεζεύουσιν ὁρὸς
εἰς ὃν ἄφησον τοίς προκειμενί, τοῖς μὲν ἐμπόρισιν καὶ
λιμένες, τοῖς δὲ πόλεις τῆς χώρας, μόνοις δ′ ἢμί
ἄβατος εὔρυμα καὶ δυσοδίαι καὶ δυσελπιστικότατοι
προϊόντων γάρ, ὡστε ἀχανεῖς καὶ βαθὺ πέλαγος ἀπόρευτον ἀναφαίνεται καθ᾽ ἐκάστην ἡμεραν
195 εὐρυώμενον. μετεωρίσας καὶ φυσήσας ἡμᾶς
tῶ λόγω καὶ κενῶν ἐπιτίμων ἡ ὅτα πληρώσας
παρατείνει λιμῷ τὰς γαστέρας οὐδὲ τὰς ἀναγκαίας
ekπορίζων τροφάς· ἀποκλίκεις ἀνόματος τοσαύτην
πληθυν ἡπάτησεν ἐξ οἰκουμένης τὸ πρῶτον εἰς
αὐτοῖς ἀναγγαγον ἐκται καὶ εἰς ἢδου προσπέμπων,
tὴν τοῦ βίου τελευταίαν ὅδον."
that vent poison for the destruction of mankind, such as snakes and scorpions. Then, remembering 193 the teeming fertility of Egypt, and contrasting the abundance of everything there with the lack of everything here, they were roused to anger, and expressed their feelings to each other in such words as these: "We left the country in the hope of freedom, and yet we have no security even of life. Our leader promised us happiness; in actual fact, we are the most miserable of men. What will be the end of this 194 long, interminable journey? Every traveller by sea or land has set before him some goal to come to, market or harbour for the one, city or country for the other; we alone have before us a pathless wilderness, painful journeying, desperate straits. For, as we proceed, there opens out before us, as it were, an ocean, vast, deep, impassable, ever wider day by day. He exhorted and puffed us up with his words, and 195 filled our ears with empty hopes, and then tortures our bellies with hunger, not providing even the barest nourishment. With the name of colonization he has deceived this great multitude, and first carried us from an inhabited to an uninhabited world, then led us on to the grave along the road which brings life to its end."

XXXVI. Moses, when reviled in this way, was 196 indignant not so much at their denunciations of himself as at their instability of judgement. For, after experiencing strange events outside the customary without number, they should have ceased to be guided by anything that is specious and plausible, but should have put their trust in him of whose unfailing truthfulness they had received the clearest proofs. But, 197 on the other hand, when he considered the want of
κακὸν ἀνθρώποι ἐστὶ, συνεγώνωσκεν ὁχλὸν εἰδὼς ἀβέβαιοι φύσει πράγμα καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν ἐν χερσὶ διακινούμενον, ἡ λήθην μὲν τῶν προγεγονότων ἐργάζεται, δυσελπιστίαν δ᾿ εἰς τὰ μέλλοντα. πάντων οὖν ἐν ἀσχέτοις ὄντων ἀνίαις καὶ τὰς ἀνωτάτους προσδοκώντων συμφοράς, ἃς ἐνόμιζεν ἑφεδρεύειν καὶ ἐγγυτάτω παρέίναι, τούτῳ μὲν διὰ τὴν σύμφυτην ἐπιέκειαι καὶ φιλανθρωπίαν, τούτῳ δὲ βουλόμενος ὃν ἐχειροτόνησεν ἡγεμόνα τιμῆσαι καὶ ἔτι μᾶλλον ὄς εὐσεβείας ἔχει καὶ ὅσιότητος ἔν τε τοῖς φανεροῖς καὶ τοῖς ἀδήλοις ἀπασι διασυστῆσαι ὁ θεὸς ἐλεήσας τὸ πάθος ἱάται. ξένας οὖν εὐεργεσίας ἐκαινοτόμει, τραντέραις ὅπως ἐμφάσεσιν παιδευθῶσιν ἡδὴ μὴ δυσανασχετεῖν, εἰ τι μὴ κατὰ γνώμην εὐθὺς ἀποβαίνει, ἐπικινδύνως δ᾿ ὑπομένειν χρῆσαι περὶ τῶν μελλόντων προσδοκώντων. τί οὖν συνέβη; τῇ ύστερᾳ περὶ τὴν ἐω δρόσους βαθεία καὶ πολλῆς περὶ σύμπαν ἢν ἐν κύκλῳ τὸ στρατόπεδον, ἢν ἐπένιφεν ἑιδή, ἀκρόπολις υετῶν καὶ παρηλλαγμένοις, οὐχ ὑψωρ, οὐ χαλαζαν, οὐ χιόνα, οὐ κρύσταλλον— ταῦτα γὰρ οἱ τῶν νεφών αὐτοῖς ἔμφασεν αἰδευθῶσιν.

1 MSS. ἐμφάσεσιν αἰδευθῶσιν.
food, as great a misfortune as any that can befall mankind, he forgave them, knowing that the multitude by its very nature is an unstable thing, shaken by the circumstances of the moment, which produce oblivion of the past and despondency of the future. So, while they were all thus overwhelmed by affliction, and expecting the extreme misfortunes which they believed to be close at hand, ready to attack them, God, moved partly by the clemency and benevolence to man which belongs to His nature, partly too by His wish to honour the ruler whom He had appointed, and still more to bring home to them the greatness of that ruler's piety and holiness as shewn in matters both clear and obscure, took pity on them and healed their sufferings. He, therefore, devised new and strange forms of benefaction, that by clearer manifestations they might now be schooled not to shew bitter resentment if something did not at once turn out as they would have it, but bear it patiently in expectation of good to come. What, then, did happen? On the morrow about daybreak, a great quantity of dew lay deep around the whole camp, showered noiselessly by God; a strange, extraordinary rain, not water, nor hail, nor snow, nor ice, such as are produced by the changes in the clouds at the winter solstice, but of grains exceedingly small and white, which, poured down in a continuous flow, lay in heaps in front of the tents. It was an incredible sight; and, in astonishment thereat, they asked their leader, "What is this rain, which no man ever saw before, and for what purpose has it come?" Moses, in answer, possessed by divine inspiration, spoke these oracular words: "Mortals have the deep-soiled plainland given over to them, which they cut into furrows with the plough,
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eis aulakas arousi kai speirousi kai ta alla ta
cata yewrgian drwsi karpoous etagious ektori-
zonites eis afbounian ton anagkaion. theo d' ou mia
moira tois pantois alla' o sympos kosmos upo-
beblhtai kai ta touton meri pros apasan xreian
202 own an theli wos destopth doula uphretisonta. wun
ow edozen auth, toin aer trophi enegkein anv'
udatos, epie kai gia pollakies uetou hnekeven. o gar
en Aiguptw potamos kath ekaston einantwn tais
epibaseai plhmmurwv othan arthi tas arouras, ti
eteron h uetos esti kathdein epinwv;

203 paraadoxon men de to ergon, eis kai entaidha esth.
wni de kai paradoxoterous allous ethymaturogeito.
epenegkameno gar allhos allachthon anghia syn-
ekomzou, oi men epi toin upozuigno, oi de kata toin
wmwn epikhismeno, pronois tois prois pleiws xronon
tammeusethai ta epitideia. enhi de ara atamiwta
kai athiasiourta, dwareas aei neas enwkokotos tou
theou chariezethai. ta men gar pros tihn toton xrhson
autarkhe skenasantes meb' hdonh prosiagnegkansto,
twn de apoleiophentwn eis tihn usteraiou oinoven
eti swon euriskon, alla metaebxhikota kai dys-
wde kai mestata toiooutropwv zwn, o kata sthn
eiwebe xenasthai. tauta men oin aneripton kata
to eikos, eteras de eutrepseis trofhas aneuriskon,
as ama tihn drsow kath ekasthn hmeran sunebaive
205 vifesthai.

geras de' ezaireton h iera
erbdomas eixen. etpeidh gar oinoven efeita dran en
auth, panton de mikroyn kai megalwn ergon an-
exew dieirotais, synkomizein oin dynamenois toto ta
epitideia pro miais o theos vei dipla kai kellei

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and there sow their seed, and perform the other tasks of the husbandman, thus providing the yearly fruits, and through them abundance of the necessaries of life. But God has subject to Him not one portion of the universe, but the whole world and its parts, to minister as slaves to their master for every service that He wills. So now it has seemed good to Him that the air should bring food instead of water, for the earth too often brings rain. What is the river of Egypt, when every year it overflows and waters the fields with its inroads, but a rainpour from beneath?"

This work of God was strange enough even if it had stopped at this point, but actually there were other facts still stronger enhancing its marvels. For the men brought vessels from every quarter, and collected the grains, some on their beasts, others in burdens on their shoulders, thinking thus to store up provisions to last for later use. But, as it turned out, it was impossible to store or hoard them, since it was God’s purpose to bestow gifts ever new. For when they took a sufficient stock for their needs at the time, they consumed it with pleasure, but anything they left for the morrow they found did not keep, but changed and stank and was full of such life as is regularly bred in putrescence. This they naturally threw away, but found other food prepared for them, rained upon them with the dew every day.

A special distinction was given to the sacred seventh day, for, since it was not permitted to do anything on that day, abstinence from works great or small being expressly enjoined, and therefore they could not then gather what was necessary, God rained a double supply the day before, and bade them bring

\[ \epsilon \beta \delta \mu \alpha \sigma \] here is used for \[ \epsilon \beta \delta \delta \mu \eta \]; cf. Quis Rerum 170 and note.
φέρειν εἰς δύο ἡμέρας αὐτάρκη τροφὴν ἐσομένην·
tὰ δὲ συγκομισθέντα σῶα διέμενεν, οὔδενὸς ἢ
πρώτερον φθαρέντος τὸ παράπαν.

206 XXXVII. λέξω δὲ καὶ τὸ ἐτι τούτον θαυμασιώ-
tερον· ἐπὶ γὰρ ἐτή τεσσαράκοντα, τοσοῦτον μήκος
αἰώνος, ὅδιοι ποροῦσιν αὐτοῖς αἱ χορηγίαι τῶν ἁγι-
καίων ἐν τάξει ταῖς εἰρημέναις ἑγώνυμοι καθάπερ
ἐν συμμετέχοις μεμετρημέναις πρὸς τὰς ἐπιμαθοῦσας

207 ἐκάστοις διανομάσ. ἃμα μέντοι καὶ τὴν τριπόθητον
ἡμέραν ἀνεδιάσκοντο—ζητοῦντες γὰρ ἐκ πολλοῦ,
τὶς ἄρ' ἐστὶν ἡ τοῦ κόσμου γενεθλίως, ἐν ὡ τόδε τὸ
πᾶν ἀπετέλεσθαι, καὶ παρὰ πατέρων καὶ προγόνων
τὴν ζήτησιν ἀλυτων διαδεξάμενοι μόλις ἐδυνήθησαν

[114] εὐρείω—οὐ μόνον | χρησιμοῖς ἀναδιαχθέντες, ἀλλὰ
καὶ τεκμηρίῳ πάνυ σαφεῖ· τοῦ γὰρ πλεονάζοντος ἐν
ταῖς ἄλλαις ἡμέραις, ὡς ἐλέξη, φθειρομένου, τὸ
πρὸ τῆς ἐβδομῆς ύμονον οὐ μόνον οὐ μετέβαλεν,

208 ἀλλὰ καὶ μέτρων εἰχὲ διπλάσιον.

η δὲ
χρήσις ἴν τοιάδε· συλλέγοντες ἀμα τῇ ἑω τὸ νυφό-
μενον ἦλον ἡ ἐτριβὼν, εἴθ' ἐμοίτες ἡδείαν πάνυ
τροφὴν οἰα μελύτηκτον προσεφέροντο μῆ δεόμενοι

209 σιτοπόνων περιεχόμει.

ἀλλὰ γὰρ καὶ
τῶν εἰς ἄβροδίαιτον βίον οὐκ εἰς μακρὰν εὑπόρουν,
ὅσαπερ ἐν οἰκομενή χώρα καὶ εὐδαίμονι βουλη-
θέντος τοῦ θεοῦ κατὰ πολλῆν περιουσίαν ἀφόνα
χορηγεῖν ἐν ἐρημίᾳ· ταῖς γὰρ ἑσπέραις ὀρτυγο-
μητρῶν νέφοι συνεχές ἐκ θαλάττης ἐπιφερόμει-

* The meaning is that the seventh day was known to be
the birthday of the world (cf. De Op. 89), but the people had
lost count (see Mos. ii. 263). Philo probably noticed that
while it was hallowed in Gen. ii., no sign of observation of
it occurred in the narrative till this point. That the seventh
is the “birthday” rather than the sixth, because, though all
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in what would be sufficient for two days. And what was thus collected kept sound, nor did any of it decay at all as in the previous case.

XXXVII. There is something still more wonderful to be told. During all that long period of forty years in which they journeyed, the food required was supplied according to the rules just mentioned, like rations measured out to provide the allotment needed for each. At the same time, they learned to date aright the day of which they had dearly longed to have knowledge. For, long before, they had asked what was the birthday of the world on which this universe was completed, and to this question, which had been passed down unsolved from generation to generation, they now at long last found the answer, learnt not only through divine pronouncements but by a perfectly certain proof. For, as we have said, while the surplus of the downpour decayed on the other days, on the day before the seventh it not only did not change, but was actually supplied in double measure.

The method they employed with the food was as follows: At dawn they collected what fell, ground or crunched it and then boiled it, when they found it a very pleasant form of food, like a honey-cake, and felt no need of elaborate cookery.

But in fact, not long after, they were well supplied with the means of luxurious living, since God was pleased to provide to them abundantly, and more than abundantly, in the wilderness all the viands which are found in a rich and well-inhabited country. For in the evenings a continuous cloud of quails appeared from the sea and overshadowed the whole was completed on the sixth, it was seen in its perfection on the seventh, is stated in De Spec. Leg. ii. 59.


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νον ἀπαν τὸ στρατόπεδον ἐπεσκίαζε τὰς πτήσεις προσγειοτάτας ποιουμένων εἰς τὸ εὔθηρον. συλλαμβάνοντες οὖν καὶ σκευάζοντες ὡς φίλον ἐκάστοις κρεῶν ἀπέλαυον ἡδίστων ἀμα καὶ τὴν τροφὴν παρηγοροῦντες ἀναγκαῖῳ προσοψηματι.

210 XXXVIII. Τούτων μὲν οὖν πολλήν ἦγον ἄφθονίαν οὐκ ἐπιλειπόντων, ὦδατος δὲ καὶ πάλιν πιέσασα δεινή στάσις ἐπιγίνεται καὶ πρὸς ἀπογνωμωσιν ἤδη τραπεῖσας σωτηρίας, λαβὼν Μωυσῆς τὴν ἑραν βακτηρίαν ἐκείνην, δι’ ἃς τὰ κατ’ Αἰγυπτον ἀπετέλεσε σημεία, θεοφορήθεις τὴν ἀκρότομον πέτραν παίει, ἡ δ’, εἴτε προϋποκειμένης πηγῆς φλέβα καίρων διακοπεῖσα εἴτε καὶ τότε πρῶτον ὦδατος ἀφανέσιν ὑπονόμους εἰς αὐτὴν ἀθρόου συρρύντος καὶ σφόδρα ἐκθλιβόμενος, ἀναστωμηθείσα τῇ βιᾷ τῆς φοράς κρουνηδὸν ἐκχεῖται, ὡς μη τότε μόνον παρασχεῖν ἀκος δίφους ἀλλὰ καὶ πρὸς πλείω χρόνον τοσαύταις μυριάσιν ἀφθονίαν ποτοῦ· τὰ γὰρ ύδρία πάντες ἐπιγίνεσαν, ὡς καὶ πρότερον ἐκ τῶν πηγῶν, αἱ πικραὶ μὲν ἦσαν φύσει, μετέβαλον δ’ ἐπιφροσύνη θεία πρὸς τὸ γλύκιον.

212 εἰ δὲ τις τούτων ἀπιστεῖ, θεὸν οὔτ οἴδειν οὔτ’ ἐξήτησεν ποτε· ἐγνω γὰρ ἄν εὐθείως, ἐγνω παγίως καταλαβὼν, ὡς τὰ παράδοξα δὴ ταῦτα καὶ παράλογα θεοῦ παίγνια ἐστιν, ἀπιδων εἰς τὰ τῷ

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a In § 209 Philo combines the account of the sending of quails in Ex. xvi. 13 with that in Num. xi. 31-33. There, as in Philo, the quails come later than the manna, not, as in Exodus, before. On the other hand he ignores the statement in Numbers, that the demand for flesh was punished with a plague.

b For §§ 210-211 see Ex. xvii. 1-7 and Num. xx. 1-13.

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camp, flying close to the land, so as to be an easy prey.\(^a\) So they caught and dressed them, each according to his tastes, and feasted on flesh of the most delicious kind, thus obtaining the relish required to make their food more palatable.

XXXVIII. \(^b\) Though this supply of food never failed and continued to be enjoyed in abundance, a serious scarcity of water again occurred. Sore pressed by this, their mood turned to desperation, whereupon Moses, taking that sacred staff with which he accomplished the signs in Egypt, under inspiration smote the steep \(^c\) rock with it. It may be that the rock contained originally a spring and now had its artery clean severed, or perhaps that then for the first time a body of water collected in it through hidden channels was forced out by the impact. Whichever is the case, it opened under the violence of the stream and spouted out its contents, so that not only then did it provide a remedy for their thirst but also abundance of drink for a longer time for all these thousands. For they filled all their water vessels, as they had done on the former occasion, from the springs that were naturally bitter but were changed and sweetened by God's directing care.

If anyone disbelieves these things, he neither knows God nor has ever sought to know Him; for if he did he would at once have perceived—aye, perceived with a firm apprehension—that these extraordinary and seemingly incredible events are but child's-play to God. He has but to turn his eyes to things which are really great and

\(^a\) The epithet is taken from the allusion to the story in Deut. viii. 15. Philo has made use of it in *Leg. All.* ii. 84, and *De Som.* ii. 222. It might be translated "flinty" or "hard," as in E.V., but in both these cases Philo stresses its connexion with *ἀκρός.*
όντι μεγάλα καὶ σπουδής άξια, γένεσιν οὐρανοῦ καὶ πλανήτων καὶ ἀπλανῶν ἀστέρων χορείας καὶ φωτὸς ἀνάλαμμιν, ἰμέρας μὲν ἦλιακοῦ, νύκτωρ δὲ τοῦ διὰ σελήνης, καὶ γῆς ἱδρυσιν ἐν τῷ μεσαίτατῳ τοῦ παντὸς, ἦπείρων τε καὶ νῆσων ὑπερβάλλοντα μεγέθη καὶ ξών καὶ φυτῶν ἀμυθήτων ἵδεας, ἐτὶ δὲ πελαγῶν ἀναχύσεις, ποταμῶν αὐθινεῶν καὶ χειμάρρων φοράς, ἀναίων βείδρα πηγῶν, ὁνὶ αἱ μὲν πυρρών αἱ δὲ θερμῶν ὑδώρ άνομβροῦσιν, αέρος παντός τροπῆς, ἐπιλίποι αὐτὸς τοῦ βουλομένου διηγεῖσθαι τὰ καθ’ ἐκάστα, μάλλον δὲ ἐν τοῖς ὀλοχερεστέρων τοὺς κόσμοιν χερῶν, καὶ εἰ μέλλων πάντων ἀνθρώπων ἑσεῖσθαι μακροβιώτατος. ἀλλὰ ταῦτα μὲν πρὸς ἀλήθειαν οὔτα θαυμάσια καταπεφρόνηται τῷ συνήθει’ τὰ δὲ μὴ ἐν ἐ̣θεῖ, κἂν μικρὰ ἡ, δεξιαῖς φαντασίαις ἐνδιδόμεθα καταπλητήτομεθα τῷ φιλοκαίνῳ.

213 XXXIX. Ἡδὴ δὲ πολλὴν καὶ ἀπόρευτον διεξεληλυθότων, ὀροὶ τινὲς ἀνεφαίνοντο γῆς οἰκουμένης καὶ προάστεια χώρας, εἰς ἦν μεθωρμίζοντο, νέμοντο δ’ αὐτὴν Φοίνικες. ἐλπίσαντε δὲ βίον εὕδιον καὶ γαληνὸν αὐτοῖς ἀπαντήσεσθαι γνώμης ἐσφάλησαν. ὁ γάρ προκαθήμενος βασιλεὺς πόρθησιν εὐλαβηθεῖς, ἀναστήσας τὴν ἐκ τῶν πόλεων νεότητα, μάλιστα μὲν ἀνείρξες ὑπηντίαξαν, εἰ δὲ βιάζοντο, διὰ χειρῶν ἄμυνοομενος ἁκμῆσι καὶ

a For §§ 214-219 see Ex. xvii. 8-16 (cf. Deut. xxv. 17-19). Philo ignores the part taken by Aaron and Hur in holding up Moses' hands.

b Presumably this refers to the inhabitants of Canaan in general, not specially to Amalek, whose defeat is described in the sequel.

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worthy of his earnest contemplation, the creation of heaven and the rhythmic movements of the planets and fixed stars, the light that shines upon us from the sun by day and from the moon by night, the establishment of the earth in the very centre of the universe, the vast expanses of continents and islands and the numberless species of animals and plants, and again the widespreading seas, the rushing rivers, spring-fed and winter torrents, the fountains with their perennial streams, some sending forth cold, other warm, water, the air with its changes of every sort, the yearly seasons with their well-marked diversities and other beauties innumerable. He who should wish to describe the several parts, or rather any one of the cardinal parts of the universe, would find life too short, even if his years were prolonged beyond those of all other men. But these things, though truly marvellous, are held in little account because they are familiar. Not so with the unfamiliar; though they be but small matters, we give way before what appears so strange, and, drawn by their novelty, regard them with amazement.

XXXIX. a After traversing a long and pathless expanse, they came within sight of the confines of habitable land, and the outlying districts of the country in which they proposed to settle. This country was occupied by Phoenicians. b Here they had thought to find a life of peace and quiet, but their hopes were disappointed. For the king who ruled there, fearing pillage and rapine, called up the youth of his cities and came to meet them, hoping to bar their way, or, if that were not feasible and they attempted violence, to discomfit them by force
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άρτι πρώτον καθισταμένους εἰς ἅγωνα κεκμηκότας ὀδοιπορίας καὶ ἐνδείαις συτίων καὶ ποτῶν, ἂ κατὰ 216 μέρος ἀντεπετίθετο. Μωυσῆς δὲ παρὰ τῶν σκοπῶν γνων ὅμως μακρὰν διεστηκότα τῶν ἐχθρῶν στρατῶν, καταλέξας τοὺς ἠβώντας καὶ στρατηγὸν ἐλόμενον ἐνα τῶν ὑπάρχων Ἰησοῦν, πρὸς τὴν μείζων συμμαχίαν αὐτὸς ἠπείγετο· περιρρανάμενος γὰρ τῶν εἰωθόσι καθαρμοῖς ἐπὶ κολωνὸν τὸν πλησίον μετὰ σπουδῆς ἀναδραμὼν ἴκετευε τὸν θεὸν ὑπερασπίσαι καὶ νίκην καὶ κράτος περιποιῆσαι τοῖς Ἑβραίοις, οὕς ἐκ χαλεπωτέρων πολέμων καὶ κακῶν ἄλλων ἐρρύσατο μὴ μόνον τὰς ἄνθρώπων ἐπικρεμασθείσας συμφορὰς ἀποσκεδάσας, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὅσα ὁ τε τῶν στοιχείων νεωτερισμὸς ἐκανούργησε κατ᾽ Αὐγούστον καὶ ὅ ἐν ταῖς ὀδοιπορίαις ἀνήνυτος λυμός. 217 ἡδὲ δὲ μελλόντων εἰς μάχην καθίστασθαι, τερατωδέστατόν τι συμβαίνει πάθος περὶ τὰς χείρας αὐτοῦ· κοινοφόραν γὰρ ἐγένοντο ἐν μέρει καὶ βαρύτατα ἐπὶ τοῖς συμμαχικοῖς ἐρρώννυτο καὶ ἀνδραγαθιζόμενον ἐφικτάτερον ἐγένετο, ὅποτε δὲ κάτω βρίσειαν, ἵσχυον οἱ ἀντίπαλοι, μηνύοντος διὰ συμβολῶν τοῦ θεοῦ, ὅτι τῶν μὲν ἐστὶ γῆ καὶ αἱ τοῦ παντὸς ἐσχατίας κλήροις οἰκεῖος, τῶν δ’ αἰθήρ οἱ ἑρώτατος, καὶ ὦσπερ ἐν τῷ παντὶ βασιλεύει καὶ κρατεῖ γῆς οὐρανός, οὕτω καὶ τὸ ἔθνος περιέσται τῶν ἀντιπολεμίων. ἅχρι μὲν οὖν τῶν άχρι μὲν οὖν τῶν 218 πολεμοῦντων. ἅχρι μὲν οὖν τῶν άχρι μὲν οὖν τῶν 1 αἱ χεῖρες σὺν οἶνος τῶν ἀχριστῶν τῶν ἀριστῶν τῶν ἀριστῶν (W.H.D.R.). Stephanus cites ἅχρις στου from Hippocrates.

1 This, though accepted without objection by editors, can hardly be right. A conjunction is clearly required, and ἅχρι τῶν should be the adverb, “for a time.” Perhaps ἅχρι μὲν οὖν τῶν (W.H.D.R.). Stephanus cites ἅχρις στου from Hippocrates.
of arms, seeing that his men were unwearied and fresh for the contest, while the others were exhausted with much journeying and by the famine and drought which had alternately attacked them. Moses, learning from his scouts that the enemy was not far distant, mustered his men of military age, and, choosing as their general one of his lieutenants named Joshua, hastened himself to take a more important part in the fight.\footnote{Or perhaps "to gain the mightier alliance," \textit{i.e.} of God.} Having purified himself according to the customary ritual, he ran without delay to the neighbouring hill and besought God to shield the Hebrews and give a triumphant victory to the people whom He had saved from wars and other troubles still more grievous than this, dispersing not only the misfortunes with which men had menaced them but also those so miraculously brought about in Egypt by the upheaval of the elements and by the continual dearth which beset them in their journeying. But, when they were about to engage in the fight, his hands were affected in the most marvellous way. They became very light and very heavy in turns, and, whenever they were in the former condition and rose aloft, his side of the combatants was strong and distinguished itself the more by its valour, but whenever his hands were weighed down the enemy prevailed. Thus, by symbols, God shewed that earth and the lowest regions of the universe were the portion assigned as their own to the one party, and the ethereal, the holiest region, to the other; and that, just as heaven holds kingship in the universe and is superior to earth, so this nation should be victorious over its opponents in war. While, then, his hands became
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[116] πλάστιγγες ἐν μέρει μὲν | ἐπεκουφίζοντο, ἐν μέρει δὲ ἐπέρρεπον, τηνικαῦτα καὶ δ' ἀγών ἀμφίριστος ἦν. ἐξαπιναίως δ' ἄβαρείς γενόμεναι, δακτύλοις ἀντὶ παρὼν χρώμεναι, μετέωροι πρὸς ύψος ἡρθο- ζαν, καθάπερ αἱ πτηναὶ φύσεις ἀεροποροῦσαι, καὶ διέμενον ἀνώφορα ἀνέχερται ἀπερ ότι διαβἱεῖν παρὰ τὸ προσήκον 219 ἐσπούδαξαν παθόντων μετὰ δίκης. τότε καὶ Μωυσῆς ἱδρύεται βωμὸν, ὅν ἀπὸ τοῦ συμβεβηκότος ἀνόμασε "θεοῦ καταφυγῆν," ἐφ' οὐ τὰ ἐπινίκια ἐθνε χαριστηρίους εὐχὰς ἀποδίδειν.

220 XL. Μετὰ τὴν μάχην ταῦτην ἔγνω δεῖν τὴν χώραν, εἰς ἄνθρωπον τὸ ἔθνος, κατασκέψασθαι—δεύτερον δ' ὀδοιποροῦσιν ἐτος ἐνειστήκει—βουλό- μενος μή, σὰ φιλεῖ, γνωσιμαχεῖν οὐκ εἴδότας, ἀλλ' ἀκοή προμαθόντας αὐτὴν, ἐπιστήμη τῶν ἐκεῖ βεβαιὸς χρώμενος, τὸ πρακτέων ἐκλογίζεσθαι. 221 δώδεκα δ' ἰσαρίθμους ταῖς φυλαῖς ἀνδρας, ἐξ ἐκάστης ἡν φύλαρχον, αἱρεῖται τοὺς δοκιμωτάτους ἀριστίνδην προκρίνας, ἵνα μηδεμία μοίρα πλέον ἤ ἐλαττον ἐνεγκαμένη διαφέρηται, πάσαι δ' ἐξ ἴσου διὰ τῶν ἐν τέλε τὰ παρὰ τοῖς κατοίκοις, εἰ βουλη- 222 θεὶεν οἱ πεμφθέντες ἀψευδεῖν, ἐπιγνώσοι. ἐλόμενοι δ' αὐτούς φησι τάδε· "τῶν ἀγώνων καὶ κινδύνων, οὓς ὑπέστημεν καὶ μέχρι νῦν ὑπομένομεν, ἀθλῶν εἰσον αἱ κληρουχίαι, δὲν τῆς ἐλπίδος μὴ διαμάρτου-

a Or “taking refuge in God.” LXX. “the Lord is my refuge.” E.V. Jehovah-Nissi, “the Lord is my banner.”

b For §§ 220-236 see Num. xiii., xiv.

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successively lighter and weightier, like scales in the balance, the fight, too, continued to be doubtful; but, when they suddenly lost all weight, the fingers serving them as pinions, they were lifted on high like the tribe that wings its way through the air, and remained thus soaring until the Hebrews won an undisputed victory and their enemies were slaughtered wholesale, thus justly suffering the punishment which they wrongly strove to deal to others. Then, Moses set up an altar, and called it from the event "Refuge of God," and on this, with prayers of thanksgiving, he offered sacrifices in celebration of the victory.

XL. After this battle he came to the conclusion that, since it was now the second year of their travels, he ought to inspect the land in which the nation proposed to settle. He wished them, instead of arguing ignorantly in the usual way, to obtain a good idea of the country by first-hand report, and with this solid knowledge of the conditions to calculate the proper course of action. He chose twelve men corresponding to the number of the tribes, one headman from each, selecting the most approved for their high merit, in order that no part of the nation might be set at variance with the others through receiving either more or less than they, but all might get to know through their chieftains the conditions in which the inhabitants lived, as they would do if the emissaries were willing to report the full truth. When he had chosen them, he spoke as follows: "The conflicts and dangers which we have undergone and still endure, have for their prize the lands which we hope to apportion, a hope which we trust may not be disappointed, since the nation
μεν έθνος πολυνθρωπότατον εἰς ἀποκίνων παραπέμποντες. ἦστι δ’ ὦφελιμώτατον ἡ τόπων καὶ ἀνθρώπων καὶ πραγμάτων ἐπιστήμη, ὦσπερ ἡ 223 ἄγνοια βλαβερόν. ὡμᾶς οὖν ἐχειροτονήσαμεν, ἵνα ταῖς ὑμετέραις ὀφεσι τε καὶ διανοίας τάκει θεασώμεθα· γίνεσθε δὴ τῶν τοσούτων μυριάδων ὡτα καὶ ὀφθαλμοὶ πρὸς τὴν ὄν ἀναγκαῖον εἰδέναι σαφῆ κατά- 224 λῆψιν. ἃ δὲ γνώναι ποθοῦμεν, τρία ταῦτ’ ἐστίν· οἰκητόρων πλῆθος τε καὶ δύναμιν, πόλεων τὴν ἐν εὐκαρίᾳ θέσιν καὶ ἐν οἰκοδομίαις ἐχυρότητα ἡ τοῦπαντιών, χώραν εἰ βαθύγειοι ἐστὶ καὶ πίων, ἀγαθὴ παντοῖος καρποὺς ἐνεγκείν σπαρτῶν τε καὶ δένδρων, ἡ λεπτόγεως ἐμπαλιν, ἵνα πρὸς μὲν ἵσχυν καὶ πλῆθος οἰκητόρων ἱσορρόποι δύναμεθα, πρὸς δὲ τὴν ἐν τοῖς τόποις ἐρυμότητα μη- χάνημασι καὶ ταῖς ἐλεπόλεσι τῶν ἀναγκαίων δὲ καὶ τὴν χώραν εἰδέναι, εἰ ἀρετῶσα ἡ μη’ περὶ γὰρ λυπρᾶ 225 ἐκουσίους κινδύνους ὑπομένειν ἡλιθότητος. τὰ δ’ ὀπλα καὶ μηχανήματα ἡμῶν καὶ πάσα ἡ δύναμις ἐν μόνῳ τῷ πιστεύειν θεῷ κεῖται· ταύτης ἐχοντες τὴν παρασκευήν οὐδενὶ τῶν φοβερῶν εἴομεν· ἰκανὴ γὰρ ὁμάχους ῥώμας ενεξίαις, τόλμαις, ἐμπειρίαις, πλήθεσιν ἐκ πολλοῦ τοῦ | περιόντος κατακρατεῖν, δι’ ἦν καὶ ἐν ἐρήμη μηθείᾳ ἐργήσατε πάντως εἰς 226 ὅσα ἐν ἐνετηρίᾳ πόλεων. ὁ δὲ καιρὸς, ἐν ὦ μάλιστα χώρας ἀρετὴν δοκιμάζεσθαι συμβεβήκεν, ἔαρ ἐστίν, ὦ νῦν ἐφέστηκεν· ὡρὰ γὰρ ἔαρος τὰ μὲν σπαρέντα τελεσφορεῖται γένη, αἱ δὲ τῶν δένδρων φύσεως ἀρ- χὴν λαμβάνουσιν. άμεινον δ’ ἐὰν ἐίναι καὶ ἐπιμεῖναι μέχρι θέρους ἀκμάζοντος καὶ διακομίσαι καρποὺς οἴονε δείγματα χώρας εὐδαίμονος.”
which we are bringing to settle there is so populous. To know the places, the men and their circumstances, is as useful as the ignorance of them is mischievous. So we have appointed you that with the aid of your sight and intelligence we may be able to survey the state of the country. Become, then, the ears and eyes of all this great multitude, to give them a clear apprehension of what they require to know. There are three things which we desire to learn: the size and strength of the population, whether the cities are favourably situated and strongly built, or the contrary, and whether the land has a deep, rich soil, well-adapted to produce every kind of fruits from cornfields and orchards, or on the other hand is thin and poor. Thus shall we counter the number and power of the inhabitants with equal forces, and the strength of their position with machines and siege engines. Knowledge of the fertility or unfertility of the land is also indispensable, for if it is poor it would be folly to court danger to win it. Our arms and engines and all our power consist solely in faith in God. Equipped with this, we shall defy every terror. Faith is able to overpower, and more than overpower, forces the most invincible, in physique, courage, experience and number, and by it we are supplied in the depths of the desert with all that the rich resources of cities can give. Now the season which has been found to be best for testing the goodness of a land is spring, which is now present; for in springtime the different crops come to their fullness and the fruit-trees begin to shew their natural growth. Yet it might be better to wait till summer is at its height, and bring back fruits as samples of the wealth of the land."
XLI. Ταῦτ᾽ ἀκούσαντες ἐπὶ τὴν κατασκοπὴν ἐξήσαν ὑπὸ πάντος τοῦ πλῆθους προπεμπόμενοι δεδιότος, μὴ συλληφθέντες ἀπόλωνται καὶ συμβῇ δύν τὰ χαλεπώτατα, ἀνδρῶν τε, ὃι φυλῆς ἐκάστης ὡς ἦσαν, σφαγαὶ καὶ ἄγνοια τῶν παρὰ τοὺς ἐφεδρεύουσιν ἐχθροῖς ὁ ὥφελιμος ἢ ἐπιστήμη.

228 παραλαβόντες δὲ ὅπτηρας καὶ ἡγεμόνας τῆς ὁδοῦ προερχομένους ἐφείποντο· καὶ γενόμενοι πλησίον, ἐφ’ ύψηλότατον ὄρος τῶν περὶ τόν τόπον ἀνα-δραμόντες, κατεθεώντο τὴν χώραν, ἦς πεδιὰς μὲν ἢν πολλὴ κριθοφόρος, πυροφόρος, εὐχορτός, ὀρεινὴ δὲ οὐκ ἔλαττον ἄμπελων καὶ στελεχῶν ἄλλων κατά-πλεως, εὐδενδροσ ἀπασα, λάσιος, ποταμοῖς καὶ πηγαῖς διεξερμομένη πρὸς ἀφθονον ὑδρεῖαν, ὡς ἐκ τῶν προπόδων ἄχρι τῶν κορυφῶν ὅλα τῶν ὀρῶν τὰ κλίματα δένδρων κατασκίοις συνυφάνθαι, διαφε-ρόντως δὲ τοὺς αὐχένας καὶ ὑσαι βαθεῖα διαφύσεις.

229 κατεθεώντο δὲ καὶ τὰς πόλεις ἐρυμνοτάτας διχόθεν, ἐκ τε τοπικῆς περὶ τὴν θέσιν εὐκαρίας καὶ περιβόλων ἐχυρότητος. ἔστειλαν δὲ καὶ τους οἰκήτορας ἐώρων ἄρπερους το τηθοῦσας, περιμηκεστάτους γίγαντας ἦ γίγαντώδεις τὰς τῶν σωμάτων υπερ-βολὰς ἐν τε μεγέθεσι καὶ ὅμαις. ταῦτα κατιδόντες εἰς ἀκριβεστέραν κατάληψιν ἐπέμενον—ὅλως ὅραν αἱ πρῶται φαντασίᾳ χρόνως μόλις ἐνσφραγιζόμεναι—καὶ ἃ μα σπουδὴν ἐπιοὐντο δρεψάμενοι τῶν ἁκροδρύων, μὴ ἄρτι πρῶτον στερφουμένων ἀλλ’ ἡ ὑποπερκαζόντων, ἐπιδείξασθαι.
XLI. When the spies heard this, they set out on their errand, escorted by the whole multitude, who feared that they might be taken and slain, thus entailing two heavy misfortunes, the death of the men who were as eyesight to their particular tribe, and concerning the foe that lay ready to attack them ignorance of the facts which it would be useful to know. The men took with them scouts and guides to the road, and followed behind them. And, when they came near to their destination, they quickly ascended the highest of the mountains in the neighbourhood and surveyed the country. Much of it was plainland bearing barley, wheat and grass, while the uplands were equally full of vines and other trees, all of it well timbered and thickly overgrown and intersected with springs and rivers which gave it abundance of water, so that from the lowest part to the summits the whole of the hill country, particularly the ridges and the deep clefts, formed a close texture of umbrageous trees. They observed also that the cities were strongly fortified, in two ways, through the favourable nature of their situation and the solidity of their walls. And, on scrutinizing the inhabitants, they saw that they were countless in number and giants of huge stature, or at least giant-like in their physical superiority both in size and strength. Having marked these things, they stayed on to get a more accurate apprehension, for first impressions are treacherous and only slowly in time get the seal of reality. And, at the same time, they were at pains to pluck some of the fruits of the trees, not those in the first stage of hardening, but fruits darkening to ripeness, and thus have
παντὶ τῷ πλῆθει τὰ μὴ βαδίως φθαρησόμενα. 231 μάλιστα δ' αὐτοὺς κατέπληττεν ὁ τῆς ἀμπέλου καρπὸς· οἱ γάρ βότρυνες ὑπερμεγέθεις ἦσαν, ἀντι-παρεκτενώμενοι ταῖς κληματίσι καὶ μοσχεύμασιν, ἀπιστος θέα· ἕνα γοῦν ἐκτεμόντες καὶ δοκίδος ἐκ μέσων ἀπαωρήσαντες, ἢς τὰς ἀρχὰς δυσὶ νέοις, τῷ μὲν ἐνθεν τῷ δ' ἐνθεν, ἐπετίθεσαν, ἐκ διαδοχῆς, πιεζομένων αἰεὶ τῶν προτέρων—βαρύτατον γὰρ ἢν ἄχθος—, ἐκόμιζον, περὶ τῶν ἀναγκαιῶν οὐχ ὁμο-232 φρονοῦντες. XLII. ἐγένοντο μὲν οὖν αὐ-τοῖς ἀμιλλαὶ μυρίαι καὶ πρὶν ἐπανήκειν κατὰ τὴν ὀδὸν, ἀλλὰ κουφότεραι, ὑπὲρ τοῦ μὴ γνωσιμα-[118] χούντων μηδ' ὁ άλλα ἄλλων ἀπαγγελλόντων στά-σιν ἐν τῷ πλῆθει γενέσθαι, χαλεπῶτεραι δὲ μετὰ 233 τῆς ἐπάνοδου. οἱ μὲν γὰρ περὶ τῆς τῶν πόλεων ἐχυρότητος καὶ ὡς ἐκάστη πολυάνθρωπος ἔστι διεξόντες καὶ πάντα αἱροῦντες τῷ λόγῳ πρὸς τὸ μεγαλεῖον φόβον ἐνειργάζοντο τοῖς ἀκούοντις, οἱ δὲ τῶν ἀπάντων δὲ εἶδον υφαίνοντες ὄγκον παρ-εκάλουν μὴ ἀναπίπτειν, ἀλλ' ἔχεσθαι τῆς ἀποψίλως ὡς αὐτοβοεί περισσομένους· οὐδεμίαν γὰρ ἀνθέξειν πόλιν πρὸς τοσάτος δυνάμεως ἐφοδον ἀθρόως ἐπιστάσης, ἀλλὰ τῷ βάρει πιεζοῦσαν πίπτειν· προσ-επίθεσαν δὲ καὶ τὰ ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων παθῶν ἐκάτεροι ταῖς ψυχαῖς τῶν ἀκούοντων, οἱ μὲν ἀνανδροὶ δειλίαν, οἱ δ' ἀκατάπληκτοι θάρσος μετ' εὐελ-234 πιστίας. ἀλλ' οὕτω μὲν πέμπτη μοῖρα τῶν ἀπο-δεδειλικότων ἦσαν, οἱ δ' ἐμπαλὶν τῶν γενναίων

1 mss. ἐπιθέντες. The anacoluthon might perhaps be cured more simply by the omission of ἦσ.
something which would naturally keep in good condition to exhibit to the whole multitude. They were especially amazed by the fruit of the vine, for the bunches were of huge size, stretching right along the branches and shoots and presenting an incredible spectacle. One, indeed, they cut off, and carried it suspended from the middle part of a beam, the ends of which were laid on two youths, one in front and another behind, a fresh pair at intervals relieving its predecessors, as they continually were wearied by the great weight of the burden.

On vital matters, the envoys were not of one mind. Indeed, there were numberless contentions among them, even during the journey before they arrived back, though of a lighter kind, as they did not wish that their disputes or conflicting reports should produce faction in the mass of the people. But, when they had returned, these contentions became more severe. For, while one party, by dilating upon the fortifications of the cities and the great population of each and by magnifying everything in their description, created fear in their hearers, the others belittled the gravity of all that they had seen, and bade them not be faint-hearted but persist in founding their settlement in the certainty that they would succeed without striking a blow. No city, they said, could resist the combined onset of so great a power, but would fall overwhelmed by its weight. Both parties transmitted the results of their own feelings to the souls of their hearers, the unmanly their cowardice, the undismayed their courage and hopefulness. But these last numbered but a fifth part of the craven-hearted, who were five times as many as the better spirited.
πενταπλάσιοι· τὸ δ' ὀλίγον θάρσος ἀτολμίας ἐν-
αφανίζεται περιουσία, δ' ἤ καὶ τότε φασὶ συμ-
βήναι· τῶν γὰρ τὰ βέλτιστα διεξόντων δυοῖν οἱ
tάναντία φάσκοντες δέκα περιήσαν οὔτως, ἃςτε
cαι σύμπασαν ὑπηγάγοντο τὴν πληθὺν ἐκείνων μὲν
ἀλλοτριώσαντες, ἕαυτοῖς δ' οἰκειωσάμενοι.

235 περὶ δὲ τῆς χώρας ταῦτα πάντες ἀπεφαίνοντο
γνώμη μιᾷ τὸ κάλλος καὶ τῆς πεδιάδος καὶ τῆς
δρεινῆς ἐκδημογομένου· "τί δ' ὀφελος" εὐθὺς
ἀνεβόησαν "ἡμῖν ἀλλοτρίων ἀγαθῶν καὶ ταῦτα
πεφρουρημένων κρατάντις χειρὶ πρὸς τὸ ἀναφ-
ἀίρετον;" καὶ τοῖς δυσί ἐπιδραμόντες μικρῷ
καταλεύοντες αὐτοὺς ἤδονήν ἁκοῆς τοῦ συμφέρον-
tος καὶ ἀπάτην ἀληθείας προκρίναντες. ἐφ' οίς
ὁ ἡγεμών ἠγανάκτη καὶ ἁμα ἠλαβεῖτο, μὴ τι
θεύλατον κατασκήψῃ κακὸν οὔτως ἐκθύμως ἀ-
πιστούσι τοῖς χρησμοῖς· ὅπερ καὶ ἐγένετο· τῶν γὰρ
κατασκόπων οἱ μὲν δειλοὶ δέκα λοιμώδει νόσῳ
dιαφθείρονται μετὰ τῶν ἐκ τοῦ πλῆθους συναπ-
νοηθέντων, μόνοι δ' οἱ συμβουλεύσαντες δύο μὴ
ὀρρώθειν ἄλλῳ ἐφίεσθαι τῆς ἀπουκίας ἐσώθησαν, ὅτι
cαταπειθεῖς ἐγένοντο τοῖς λογίοις, γέρας ἐξαίρετον
λαβόντες τὸ μὴ παραπόλεσθαι.

236 XLIII. Τοῦτ' αἴτιον ἐγένετο τοῦ μὴ θαττον
ηκειν εἰς ἧν ἀπωκίζοντο γῆν. δυνάμενοι γὰρ ἔτει
δευτέρῳ μετὰ τὴν ἀπ' Αἰγύπτου μετανάστασιν τὰς
ἐν Συρία πόλεις καὶ τὰς κληρονομίας ἐννέμεσθαι, τὴν
ἀγούσαν καὶ ἐπίτομον ἐκτραπόμενοι ὅδον ἐπλά-
ζοντο, δυσαναπορεύτους καὶ μακρὰς ἀνοδίας ἄλλας

1 mss. ἐκνέμεσθαί.
Courage confined to few is lost to sight, when timidity has the superiority of numbers: and that, we are told, happened on this occasion; for the two who gave a highly favourable account were so outweighed by the ten who said the opposite that the latter brought over the whole multitude into dissent from the others and agreement with themselves.

With regard to the country, they all stated the same, unanimously extolling the beauty of both the plain and hill country. "But of what use to us," at once cried out the people, "are good things which belong to others, and moreover are strongly guarded so that none can take them away?" And they set upon the two, and nearly stoned them in their preference of the pleasant-sounding to the profitable, and of deceit to truth. This roused their ruler's indignation, who, at the same time, feared lest some scourge should descend upon them from God for their senseless disbelief in His utterances. This actually happened. For the ten cowardly spies perished in a pestilence with those of the people who had shared their foolish despondency, while the two who alone had advised them not to be terrified, but hold to their plan of settlement, were saved, because they had been obedient to the oracles, and received the special privilege that they did not perish with the others.

XLIII. This event was the reason why they did not come sooner to the land where they proposed to settle. For, though they could have occupied the cities of Syria and their portions of land in the second year after leaving Egypt, they turned away from the road which led directly thither and wandered about, travelling with difficulty, through long, pathless
ἐπ᾽ ἄλλας ἀνευρίσκοντες εἰς ἀνήνυτον ψυχῆς τε καὶ σώματος κάματον, δίκας ἀναγκαίας τῆς ἀγάνων
238 ἀσβείας ὑπομένουντες. ὅκτω γοῦν ἐνιαυτοὺς πρὸς
[119] τοῖς τριάκοντα διόχα τοῦ | παρεληλυθότος χρόνου,
γενεὰς βίον ἀνθρωπίνης, ἀνω κάτω τριβόμενοι καὶ
tὰς ἀβάτους ἔρημίας ἀναμετροῦντες ἔτει τεσσαρα-
κοστῶ μόλις ἐπὶ τοὺς τῆς χώρας ὅρους παρ-
egένουτο, ἐφ’ οὖς καὶ πρότερον ἠλθον.
239 πρὸς δὲ ταῖς εἰσβολαίς ὕκουν ἐτεροὶ τε καὶ δὴ
cαὶ συγγενείς αὐτῶν, οὐς ᾨντο μάλιστα μὲν συν-
ekπολεμήσεις τὸν πρὸς τοὺς ἀστυνείτον σύλλε-
μον καὶ πρὸς τὴν ἀποκείμεν ἀπάντα συμπράξειν,
eἰ δ' ἀποκυνεῖν, μετὰ μηδετέρων γοῦν τετάξεσθαι
240 χείρας ἀνέχοντας. οἱ γὰρ ἀμφοτέρων τῶν ἐθνῶν
πρόγονοι, τοὺς Ἐβραίκου καὶ τούς τὰ προάστεια
cατοικοῦντος, ἀδελφοὶ δύο ἤσαν ὡμοπάτριοι καὶ
ἑμομήτριοι, πρὸς δὲ καὶ δίδυμοι, ἄφ’ ὃν εἰς πολυ-
παιδίαν ἐπιδιδόντων καὶ τῶν ἀπογόνων εὐφορία τινὶ
χρωμένων εἰς μέγα καὶ πολυάνθρωπον ἔθνος ἕκα-
tέρα τῶν οἰκίων ἀνεχόθη. ἀλλ’ ἡ μὲν ἐφιλοχώρησεν,
ἡ δ’, ὡς ἐλέχθη πρότερον, εἰς Ἀἰγυπτον καὶ πεν-}
241 στᾶσα διὰ λιμῶν χρόνον ὑστερον ἐπανήγει. τὴν
d’ οἰκεύστη ἢ μὲν διεφύλαττε, καίτοι πολὺν χρόνον
diazeuxheísa, πρὸς τοὺς μηδὲν ἐτι τῶν πατρίων
φυλάττοντας, ἀλλὰ πάντα τὰ τῆς ἀρχαίας πολιτείας
έκδεικνυμένους, ὑπολαβοῦσα τῶς ἡμέρους τὰς
φύσεις ἀρμότον εἶναι διδόναι τι καὶ χαρίζεσθαι
242 συγγενείας ὑνόματι. ἡ δ’ ἐμπαλιν τὰς φιλικὰ σάν
τα ἐτρεψεν ἔθεσε καὶ λόγους βουλαίς τε καὶ πράξεων
ἀσπόνδους καὶ ἀσυμβάτους χρωμένην, πατρικὴν
ἐξήθραν ὑπερυποίσα—ὁ γὰρ τοῦ ἐθνος ἀρχηγότης

a For §§ 239-249 see Num. xx. 14-21.
tracts, which appeared one after the other, bringing endless weariness of soul and body, the punishment they needs must endure for their great impiety. For thirty-eight years in addition to the time already spent, the span of a generation of human life, they went wayworn up and down, tracing and retracing the trackless wilds till at last in the fortieth year they succeeded in reaching those boundaries of the country to which they had come before. Near the entrances there dwelt, among others, some kinsfolk of their own, who, they quite thought, would join in the war against their neighbours and assist the new settlement in every way, or, if they shrank from this, would at the worst abstain from force and remain neutral. For the ancestors of both nations, the Hebrews and the inhabitants of the outlying districts, were two brothers with the same father and mother, and twins to boot. Both had become the parents of an increasing family, and, as their descendants were by no means unfruitful, both households had spread into great and populous nations. One of these had clung to the homeland, the other, as has been said, migrated to Egypt on account of the famine, and was returning after many years. The latter in spite of its long separation maintained the tie of relationship, and though it had to deal with men who retained none of their ancestral customs, but had abandoned all the old ways of communal life, considered that it was proper for humane natures to pay some tribute of goodwill to the name of kinship. The other, on the contrary, had upset all that made for friendship. In its customs and language, its policy and actions, it shewed implacable enmity and kept alive the fire of an ancestral feud. For the founder of the nation,
αὐτὸς ἀποδόμενος τῷ ἀδελφῷ τὰ πρεσβεῖα μικρῶν ὑστερον ὅν εἴσετη μετεποιεῖτο παραβαίνων τὰς ὁμολογίας καὶ ἐφόνα θάνατον ἀπειλῶν, εἰ μὴ ἀποδοῇ—· ταύτην τὴν παλαιὰν ἄνδρὸς ἐνὸς πρὸς ἐνα ἔχθραν ἐθνὸς τοσαῦτας ὑστερον γενεὰς ἐκαὶ-

243 νωσεν. ὅ μὲν οὖν ἡγεμῶν τῶν Ἑβραίων Μωσῆς, καίτοι γ' αὐτοβοεῖ δυνάμενος ἔλειν ἐξ ἐπιδρομῆς, οὐκ ἐδικαίωσε διὰ τὴν εἰρημένην συνγένειαν, ἀλλ' ὅδω χρῆσασθαι μόνον ἥξιον τῇ διὰ τῆς χώρας πάνθ' ὑποχνούμενος πράξεων τὰ ἐνσποῦτα, μὴ τεμεῖν χωρίον, μὴ ἁθόμη, μὴ λείαν ἀπάξεων, ὑδατος, εἰ ποτοῦ γένουτο σπάνις, τιµήν παρέξεων καὶ τῶν ἄλλων τοίς ἀχορηγήτοις ὁμίων· οἱ δ' εἰρηνικάς οὔτω προκλήσεων ἀνὰ κράτος ἡματιοῦν τὸ πόλεμον ἀπειλοῦντες, εἰ τῶν ὄρων ἐπιβάντας ἡ ὕπαυσαντας αὐτὸ μόνον αἰσθοῦντο.

244 XLIV. χαλεπῶς δὲ τὰς ἀποκρίσεις ἐνηνοχότων καὶ ἡδὴ πρὸς ἀμυναν ὀρμώντων, ἐν ἔπηκοω στὰς "Ἀνδρές" ἔπεν, "ἡ μὲν ἀγανάκτησις ὑμῶν εὐλογος καὶ δικαία· χρηστὰ γὰρ ἀφ' ἡμέρου γνώμης προτειναμένων, πονηρὰ ἀπὸ διανοίας ἀπεκρίναντο κακοὴθους. ἀλλ' οὖχ ὅτι ἡ κατ' ὑμώτητος ἐκεῖνοι δίκας ἐπάξιοι τίνειν εἰσίν, ἀλλ' ταῦτὰ ἦμιν ἐπὶ τὰς κατ' αὐτῶν τιμωρίας ἀρμόττον ἱσθαι, ἵνα καὶ ταύτῃ ῥοχθηρῶν ἀγαθοὶ διαφέρωμεν, ἐξετάζοντες οὐ μόνον, εἰ κολαστέοι τινὲς εἰσιν, ἀλλ' εἰ καὶ υφ' ἡμῶν

1 MSS. μήτε μὴν.
after having of his own accord sold his birthright as the elder to his brother, had later reclaimed what he had surrendered, in violation of their agreement, and had sought his blood, threatening him with death if he did not make restitution; and this old feud between two individual men was renewed by the nation so many generations after. Now the leader of the Hebrews, Moses, though an attack might have won him an uncontested victory, did not feel justified in taking this course because of the above-mentioned kinship. Instead, he merely asked for the right of passage through the country, and promised to carry out all that he agreed to do, not to ravage any estate, not to carry off cattle or spoil of any kind, to pay a price for water if drink were scarce and for anything else which their wants caused them to purchase. But they refused these very peaceful overtures with all their might, and threatened war if they found them overstepping their frontiers, or even merely on the threshold. XLIV. The Hebrews were incensed at the answer, and were now starting to take up arms when Moses, standing where he could be heard, said: "My men, your indignation is just and reasonable. We made friendly proposals in the kindest spirit. In the malice of their hearts, they have answered us with evil. But the fact that they deserve to be punished for their brutality does not make it right for us to proceed to take vengeance on them. The honour of our nation forbids it, and demands that here too we should mark the contrast between our goodness and their unworthiness by inquiring not only whether some particular persons deserve to be punished, but
246 ἐπιτήδειοι τούτο πάσχειν. εἰτ ἐκτραπόμενος ἤγε δὲ ἐτέρας τὴν πληθὺν, ἐπειδὴ τὰς κατὰ τὴν χώραν ὁδοὺς ἀπάσας φρουραῖς διεξωσμένας εἶδεν ὑπὸ τῶν βλάβην μὲν οὐδεμίαν ἐνδεξομένων, φθόνῳ δὲ καὶ βασκανία τὴν ἐπίτομον οὐκ ἐῶντων προέρχεσθαι.
247 ταύτα δὲ σαφεστάτη πίστις ἦν ἁνίας, ἦν ἐπὶ τῷ τὸ ἔθνος ἐλευθερίας τυχεῖν ἠνίωντο, δηλονότι χαίροντες, ἦνίκα τὴν ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ πικρὰν δουλείαν ὑπέμενον· ἀνάγκη γὰρ οἷς φέρει λύπην τάγαθα τῶν πλησίον ἐπὶ τοῖς τούτων εὐφραίνεσθαι κακοῖς, κἂν μὴ ὁμολογῶσιν. ἔτυχον γὰρ ὡς πρὸς ὀμογυμνὸνοι καὶ τὰ αὐτὰ βουλομένους ἀνενεκόντες τὰ συμβάντα λυπηρὰ τὰ ταύτα αὐτοὶ καὶ ὁσα καθ' ἥδων, οὐκ εἰδότες ὅτι πόρρω προεληλύθασι μοχθηρίας καὶ θελεχθρῶς καὶ φιλαπεχθημόνως ἔχοντες στεναῖς μὲν ἐπὶ τοῖς ἀγαθοῖς, ἦδεσθαι δὲ ἐπὶ τοῖς ἐναντίοις ἐμελλον.
248 τῆς δὲ κακονοίας ἀνακαλυφθείσης ἐκείνω, ἐκώλυθησαν εἰς χείρας ἐλθεῖν ὑπὸ τοῦ προεστῶτος ἐπι-δειξαμένου δύο τὰ κάλλιστα, φρονήσων ἐν ταύτῳ καὶ χρηστότητα· τὸ μὲν γὰρ μηδὲν παθεῖν φιλα-ξασθαι συνεσθεῖς, τὸ δὲ μηδ' ἀμύνασθαι συγγενεῖς ὄντας ἐθελήσῃς φιλανθρωπίας ἐργον.
249 τῆς δὲ κακονοίας ἀνακαλυφθείσης ἐκείνων, ἐκωλύθησαν εἰς χείρας ἐλθεῖν ὑπὸ τοῦ προεστῶτος ἐπι-δειξαμένου δύο τὰ κάλλιστα, φρονήσων ἐν ταύτῳ καὶ χρηστότητα· τὸ μὲν γὰρ μηδὲν παθεῖν φιλα-ξασθαί συνεσθεῖς, τὸ δὲ μηδ' ἀμύνασθαι συγγενεῖς ὄντας ἐθελήσῃς φιλανθρωπίας ἐργον.
250 XLV. Τὰς μὲν οὖν τούτων πόλεις παρημείφατο. βασιλεὺς δὲ τις τῆς ομόρου Χανάνης ὄνομα, τῶν σκοπῶν ἀπαγγειλάντων τὸν ὁδοιποροῦντα στρατὸν οὐ πάνυ μακρὰν ἀφεσθηκότα, νομίσας ἀσύντακτον τε εἶναι καὶ ῥαδίως εἰ προεπίθοιτο νικήσειν, ἄρας

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*a For §§ 250-254 see Num. xxi. 1-3.*
also whether the punishment can properly be carried out by us.” He then turned aside and led the multitude by another way, since he saw that all the roads of that country were barricaded by watches set by those who had no cause to expect injury but through envy and malice refused to grant a passage along the direct road. This was the clearest proof of the vexation which these persons felt at the nation’s liberation, just as doubtless they rejoiced at the bitter slavery which it endured in Egypt. For those who are grieved at the welfare of their neighbours are sure to enjoy their misfortunes, though they may not confess it. As it happened, the Hebrews, believing that their feelings and wishes were the same as their own, had communicated to them all their experiences, painful and pleasant, and did not know that they were far advanced in depravity and with their spiteful and quarrelsome disposition were sure to mourn their good fortune and take pleasure in the opposite. But, when their malevolence was exposed, the Hebrews were prevented from using force against them by their commander, who displayed two of the finest qualities—good sense, and at the same time good feeling. His sense was shown in guarding against the possibility of disaster, his humanity in that on kinsmen he had not even the will to take his revenge.

XLV. a So, then, he passed by the cities of this nation; but the king of the adjoining country Chananes b by name, having received a report from his scouts that the host of wayfarers was at no great distance, supposed that they were disorganized and would be an easy conquest if he attacked them first.

b LXX The Canaanite king Arad (or of Arad), E.V. the Canaanite, the king of Arad.
μετά τῆς οίκείας νεότητος ευόπλούσης ἐπεξέθει καὶ
tοὺς πρῶτους ὑπαντῶντας ἀτε μὴ παρεσκευα-
σμένους εἰς μάχην τρέπεται· καὶ λαβὼν αἰχμαλώτους
ἐπὶ τῷ παρ’ ἐλπίδα εὐημερήματι φυσηθεὶς προῆι,
καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ἀπαντᾷς χειρώσεσθαι νομίζων. οἱ
dὲ—οὐ γὰρ ἐγνάφθησαν ἢττη τῆς προερχομένης
tάξεως—ἀλλ’ ἐτι μᾶλλον Ἦ πρῶτον σπάσαντες
εὐτομίας καὶ τὴν ἐνδειαν τῶν ἐαλωκότων ἐκπλήσσει
tὰς προσθημίας ἐπειγόμενοι συνεκρότουν ἄλλος
ἄλλων μὴ ἀποκάμψεις „ἀνεγειρόμεθα” λέγοντες,
„ἀρτι τῆς χώρας ἐπιβαίνομεν· ἀκατάπληκτοι μετὰ
tῆς ἐν τῷ θαρρείν ἐχύρωσιν γινώμεθα· τὰ τέλη
τὰς ἀρχαίς πολλάκις κρίνεται· ἐπὶ τῶν εἰσβολῶν
オンτες καταπληξώμεθα τοὺς οἰκήτορας, ὡς ἔχουν
[121] μὲν τὴν ἐκ τῶν πόλεων εὐνοτρίαν, | ἀντιδιδωκότες

καὶ ἄμα διὰ τούτων προτρέποντες αὐτοὺς

ηὔξαντο τῆς χώρας ἀπαρχαὶ ἀναθῆσιν τῷ θεῷ τὰς

πόλεις τοῦ βασιλέως καὶ τοὺς ἐκ ἐκάστῃ πολίτας·

δ’ ἐπινεῦει ταῖς εὐχαῖς καὶ θάρσος ἐμπνεύσας
tοῖς Ἐβραίοις τὴν ἀντίπαλον στρατιάν ἀλώνῃ παρ-

253 εσκεύασεν. οἱ δ’ ἀνὰ κράτος ἔλοντες τᾶς χαρι-

στηρίου όμολογίας ἐπετέλουν, οὐδὲν ἐκ τῆς λείας

νοσφισάμενοι, τᾶς δὲ πόλεις αὐτοῦ ἀνδράς καὶ

κεμηλίος ἀνερώσαντες, καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ συμβεβηκότος

254 ὅλην τὴν βασιλείαν ἁνόμασαν „ἀνάθεμα.” καθ-

ἀπερ γὰρ εἰς ἐκαστος τῶν εὐσεβοῦντων ἀπὸ τῶν

ἐτησίων ἀπάρχεται καρπῶν, οὐδὲν ἐκ τῶν ἴδιων

συγκομίζῃ κτημάτων, τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον καὶ ὅλον

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He, therefore, started with a strongly armed force of such younger men as he had around him, and by a rapid attack routed those who first met him, unprepared as they were for battle; and, having taken them captive, elated at the unexpected success he advanced further, expecting to overpower all the rest. But they, not a whit daunted by the defeat of the vanguard, but infused with courage greater even than before, and eager to supply by their zealousness the deficiency caused by the capture of their comrades, worked upon each other not to be faint-hearted. "Let us be up and doing," they cried. "We are now setting foot in the country. Let us shew ourselves undismayed and possessed of the security which courage gives. The end is often determined by the beginning. Here, at the entrance of the land, let us strike terror into the inhabitants, and feel that ours is the wealth of their cities, theirs the lack of necessities which we bring with us from the desert and have given them in exchange." While they thus exhorted each other, they vowed to devote to God the cities of the king and the citizens in each as firstfruits of the land, and God, assenting to their prayers, and inspiring courage into the Hebrews, caused the army of the enemy to fall into their hands. Having thus captured them by the might of their assault, in fulfilment of their vows of thank-offering, they took none of the spoil for themselves, but dedicated the cities, men and treasures alike, and marked the fact by naming the whole kingdom "Devoted." For, just as every pious person gives firstfruits of the year's produce, whatever he reaps from his own possessions, so too the whole nation set
τὸ ἐθνὸς μεγάλης χώρας, εἰς ἣν μετανιστατο, μέγα τιμῆμα, τὴν εὐθὺς αἱρεθέσαν βασιλείαν, ἀνέθηκεν ἀπαρχὴν των τῆς ἀποικίας, οὐ γὰρ ἐνόμιζεν ὅσιον ἐναι διανεῖμασθαι γῇ ἢ πόλεις κατοικῆσαι, πρῶκαὶ τῆς χώρας καὶ τῶν πόλεων ἀπάρξασθαι.

255 XLVI. Μικρόν δ᾽ ὠστερον καὶ πηγὴν εὐυδρον ἀνευρόντες, ἡ παντὶ τῷ πλήθει ποτὸν ἐχορήγησεν—ἐν φρέατι δ᾽ ἡ πηγὴ καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν τῆς χώρας ὅρων—, ὥσπερ οὐχ ὤδατος ἀλλ᾽ ἀκράτου σπάσαντες τὰς ψυχὰς ἀνεχύθησαν. ὅπο τε εὐφροσύνη καὶ χαρὰς ἡσσα καὶ καὶ οἱ θεοφιλεῖς χοροῦς περὶ τὸ φρέαρ ἐν κύκλῳ στήσαντες ἢδον εἰς τὸν κληροῦχον θεὸν καὶ τὸν ἄλληθος ἤγεμόνα τῆς ἀποικίας, ὅτι πρῶτον ἐπιβάντες ἐξ ἐρημίας μακρὰς τῆς οἰκουμένης καὶ ἢν ἐμελλον καθέξειν ποτὸν ἀφθονον ἀνεύρον, ἀρμόττων ἡγησάμενοι μὴ ἀσημειώτων τὴν πηγὴν παρελθεῖν. καὶ γὰρ ἐτυχεν οὐ χερων ἰδιωτῶν ἀλλὰ βασιλέων ἀνατετμῆσαι φιλοτημηθέντων, ὡς λόγοι, οὐ μόνον περὶ τὴν εὐρεσιν τοῦ ὤδατος ἀλλὰ καὶ περὶ τὴν τοῦ φρέατος κατασκευὴν, ὅν ἑκ τῆς πολυτελείας βασιλικὸν φαινηται τὸ ἔργον καὶ ἡ τῶν κατασκευασάντων ἄρχη καὶ μεγαλόνοια.

256 πηγὴν παρελθεῖν. καὶ γὰρ ἐτυχεν οὐ χερων ἰδιωτῶν ἀλλὰ βασιλέων ἀνατετμῆσαι φιλοτημηθέντων, ὡς λόγοι, οὐ μόνον περὶ τὴν εὐρεσιν τοῦ ὤδατος ἀλλὰ καὶ περὶ τὴν τοῦ φρέατος κατασκευὴν, ὅν ἑκ τῆς πολυτελείας βασιλικὸν φαινηται τὸ ἔργον καὶ ἡ τῶν κατασκευασάντων ἄρχη καὶ μεγαλόνοια.

257 γεγοθῶς δ᾽ ἐπὶ τοῖς αἰεὶ συμβαίνουσιν ἀπροσδοκητοῖς ἀγαθοῖς ὁ Μωυσῆς ἐχώρει προσωτέρω, τὴν μὲν νεότητα διανεῖμας εἰς τε πρωτοστάτας καὶ ὀπισθοφύλακας, γηραιοὺς δὲ καὶ γύναις καὶ παιδᾶς ἐν μέσοις τάξας, ἢν διὰ τῶν παρ᾽ ἐκάτερα φρουράν

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a For §§ 255-256 see Num. xxi. 16-18.
b Or "as we are told" (in the song).
c Philo interprets the words "the rulers dug it" of the
apart the kingdom which they took at the outset, and thus gave a great slice of the great country into which they were migrating as the firstfruits of their settle­ment. For they judged it irreligious to distribute the land until they had made a firstfruit offering of the land and the cities.

XLVI. aShortly afterwards they also found a spring of good water in a well situated on the borders of the land. This supplied the whole multitude with drink, and their spirits were enlivened thereby, as though the draught were strong wine rather than water. In their joy and gladness, the people of God’s choice set up choirs around the well, and sang a new song to the Deity, Who gave them the land as their portion and had, in truth, led them in their migration. They did so at this point because here, for the first time, when they passed from the long expanse of desert to set foot in a habitable land, and one which they were to possess, they had found water in abundance, and therefore they judged it fitting not to leave the well uncelebrated. For, as they were told, b it had been dug by the hands of no common men, but of kings, whose ambition was not only to find the water but so to build the well that the wealth lavished upon it should shew the royal character of the work and the sovereignty and lofty spirit of the builders. c Moses, rejoicing at the succession of unexpected hoppinesses, proceeded further, after distributing his younger men into vanguard and rearguard and placing the old men, womenfolk and children in the centre, so as to be protected by those on either side

act of finding the water, and “ kings hewed it” (έλατόμηςαν) of building up the sides of the well. Cf. De Ebr. 113, where the spiritual meaning of the song is given.
έχωσιν, εάν τε ἀντικρυ εάν τε κατόπιν ἐχθρὸς ὅμιλος ἐπή.

258 XLVII. Ὀλίγαις δ' ὅστερον ἡμέραις εἰς τὴν τῶν Ἀμορραίων χώραν ἐμβαλῶν πρέσβεις ἐξέπεμπε πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα—Σηών δ' ὑνομάζετο—προτρέπων ἑφ' ἀ καὶ τὸν συγγενῆ πρότερον ὃ δ' οὔ μόνον πρὸς ὑβρὶ ἀπεκρίνατο τοῖς ἥκουσι μικρῷ καὶ ἀνελῶν αὐτούς, εἰ μὴ νόμος ὃ πρεσβευτικὸς ἐμποδῶν ἐγένετο, ἀλλὰ καὶ πάντα τὸν στρατὸν συναγαγῶν [122] ἐφώρμια | νομίζων αὐτίκα τῷ πολέμῳ περίεσθαι.

259 συμπλακείς δὲ οὐ πρὸς ἀμελετήτους καὶ ἀνασκήτους ἐγνω τὴν μάχην οὕσαν ἀλλ' ἀθλητὰς τῷ ὑπὶ πολέμων ἀντιτίτους, οἱ πρὸ μικρῷ πολλὰ καὶ μεγάλα ἱνδραγαθίσαντο σωμάτων ἀλκῆν καὶ φρόνημα διανοιάς καὶ ἀρετῆς ὕψος ἐπιδειξάμενοι, δι' οὗ τοὺς μὲν ἐναντιωθέντας ἐκ πολλοῦ τοῦ περιόντος εἶλον, ἐξαισάνον δὲ τῶν ἀπὸ τῆς λείας οὐδενὸς τὰ πρῶτα τῶν ἄθλων ἀναθεῖναι τῷ θεῷ σπουδάσαντες.

260 οἱ καὶ τὸτε φραξάμενοι καρτερῶς ἀπὸ τῶν αὐτῶν βουλευμάτων καὶ παρασκευῶν ἀντεφώρμησαν ἀμα καὶ τῇ ἀκαθαιρέτῳ τοῦ δικαίου χρωμένοι συμμαχίᾳ, δι' ἔνεν κυριουμέροι τε ἔσταν καὶ ἀγωνιστὴν πρόθυμοι. σαφῆς δέ πιστίς: δευτέρας οὐκ ἐδέχεσθε μάχης, ἀλλ' ἐν πρώτῃ καὶ μόνῃ ἐγένετο, καθ' ἐν πάσῃ ἡ ἀντίπαλος ἐκλίθη δύναμις καὶ ἀνατραπεῖσα ἡ βηδόν

262 αὐτίκα ἡφανίσθη. αἱ δὲ πόλεις ὑπὸ τὸν αὐτὸν χρόνον κεναὶ τε καὶ πλήρεις ἐγεγένητο, κεναὶ μὲν τῶν ἀρχαίων οἰκητῶν, πλήρεις δὲ τῶν κεκρατηκότων. τὸν αὐτὸν μέντοι τρόπον καὶ ἀφοῦ ἐπαύλεις ἐρημωθεῖσαι τῶν ἐν αὐταῖς ἀντέλαβον ἄνδρας βελτίως τὰ πάντα.

α For §§ 258-262 see Num. xxi. 20-25.
if any enemy host should attack either in front or behind.

XLVII. "A few days after, he entered the land of the Amorites, and sent ambassadors to the king, Sihon by name, with the same demands as he had made to his kinsman before. But Sihon not merely answered the envoys insolently, and came nigh to putting them to death, had he not been prevented by the law of embassies, but also mustered his whole army, and went to the attack thinking to win an immediate victory. But, when he engaged, he perceived that he had no untrained or unpractised fighters to deal with, but men who were truly masters in warfare and invincible, men who had shortly before performed many great feats of bravery and shown themselves strong in body, mettlesome in spirit, and lofty in virtue, and through these qualities had captured their enemies with abundant ease, while they left the spoil untouched in their eagerness to dedicate the first prizes to God. So, too, on this occasion, mightily fortified by the same resolutions and armoury, they went out to meet the foe, taking with them that irresistible ally, justice, whereby also they became bolder in courage and champions full of zeal. The proof of this was clearly shewn. No second battle was needed, but this first fight was the only one, and in it the whole opposing force was turned to flight, then overthrown and straightway annihilated in wholesale slaughter. Their cities were at once both emptied and filled—emptied of their old inhabitants, filled with the victors. And, in the same way, the farm-houses in the country were deserted by the occupants, but received others superior in every way."
Οὗτος δ' πόλεμος ἀπασὶ μὲν τοῖς Ἀσιανοῖς ἐθνεῖς φοβερὸν δέος ἐνειργάσατο, διαφερόντως δὲ τοῖς ὄμοροις, ὅσῳ καὶ τὰ δεινὰ ἐγγυτέρω προσεδοκάτο. εἰς δὲ δὴ ἐκ τῶν ἀστυγειτόνων βασιλέων ὅνωμα Βαλάκης, μεγάλην καὶ πολυάνθρωπον τῆς ἐφας μοίραν ὑπηγμένος, πρὶν εἰς χεῖρας ἔλθειν ἀπειπών, ἀντικρὺς μὲν ὑπαντῶν οὐκ ἐδοκίμαζε τὸν ἐκπορθήσεως δι' ὀπλῶν ἐλεύθερον πόλεμον διαδιδράσκων, ἐπ' οἰὼνος δὲ καὶ μαντείας ἐτράπετο νομίζειν ἀραίς τις δυνήσεσθαι τὴν ἄμαχον ρώμην τῶν Ἐβραίων καθελεῖν. ἀνὴρ δ' ἦν κατ' ἐκείνον τὸν χρόνον ἐπὶ μαντεία περιβόητος Μεσοποταμίαν οἶκῶν, δ'S ἀπαντὰ μὲν ἐμεμύητο τὰ μαντικῆς εἴδη, οἰὼνοσκοπίαν δ' ἐν τοῖς μάλιστα συγκεκροτηκῶς ἐθαυμάζετο, πολλοῖς καὶ πολλάκις ἐπιδειξάμενος ἀπιστὰ καὶ μεγάλα. προεῖπτε γὰρ τοῖς μὲν ἐπομβρίας θέρους ἄκμαζοντος, τοῖς δ' αὐχμῶν τε καὶ φλογῶν ἐν μέσῳ χειμῶν, τοῖς δ' ἐξ εὐημερίας ἀφορίαν καὶ ἐμπάλιν ἐκ λιμῶν φοράν, ἐνίοις δὲ πλημμύρας ποταμῶν καὶ κενώσεως καὶ θεραπείας λοιμικῶν νοσημάτων καὶ ἄλλων μυρίων, ὥν ἔκαστον ὁ προθεσπίζειν δοκῶν ὀνομαστότατος ἢν ἐπὶ μέγα εὐκλείας προερχόμενος διὰ τὴν ἐπιβαίνουσαν ἀεὶ καὶ φθάνονσαν πανταχόσε φήμην. ἐπὶ τούτων ἐξέπεμπε τῶν ἐταίρων τινὰς παρακαλῶν ἢκεῖν καὶ δῷρας τὰς μὲν ἢδὲ παρεῖχε, τὰς δὲ δώσειν ὁμολόγει τὴν χρείαν ἢς ἐνεκα μεταπέμποιτο

a For §§ 263-293, the story of Balaam, see Num. xxii.-xxiv. Philo treats it in a curiously rationalistic way. The divinely sent dreams of Balaam in ch. xxii. are said to be fictions of
XLVIII. *This war caused terrible alarm among all the nations of Asia, particularly among those of the adjoining territories, since the expectation of danger was nearer. But one of the neighbouring kings, named Balak, who had brought under his sway a great and populous portion of the East, lost heart before the contest began. As he had no mind to meet the enemy face to face, and shrank from a war of destruction waged freely and openly with arms, he had recourse to augury and soothsaying, and thought that, if the power of the Hebrews was invincible in battle, he might be able to overthrow it by imprecations of some kind. Now, there was at that time a man living in Mesopotamia far-famed as a soothsayer, who had learned the secrets of that art in its every form, but was particularly admired for his high proficiency in augury, so great and incredible were the things which he had revealed to many persons and on many occasions. To some he had foretold rainstorms in summer, to others drought and great heat in mid-winter, to some barrenness to follow fertility, or again plenty to follow dearth, to some rivers full or empty, ways of dealing with pestilences, and other things without number. In every one of these his reputation for prediction made his name well known and was advancing him to great fame, since the report of him was continually spreading and reaching to every part. To him Balak sent some of his courtiers, and invited him to come, offering him gifts at once and promising others to follow, at the same time explaining the purpose for which his presence was his, and, though the appearance of the Angel to the ass is admitted, nothing is said of the animal speaking. See App. p. 603.
δηλών· δ' δ' οὐκ ἀπὸ φρονήματος εὐγενοῦς καὶ [123] βεβαίου, ἀλλὰ τὸ πλέον ἀστείον ἡμέρας ὡς δὴ τῶν ἐλλογίμων προφητῶν γεγονὼς καὶ μιθάν ἀνευ χρησμών εἰσθώς πράττεν τὸ παράπαν, ὑπανεδύετο 267 λέγων οὐκ ἐπιτρέπεται αὐτῶ βαδίζειν τὸ θείον. καὶ οἱ μὲν ἥκοντες ἐπανήθεσαν ἀπράκτοι πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα, ἔτεροι δ' εὐθὺς ἐπὶ τὴν αὐτὴν χρέιαν ἐχειροτονοῦντο τῶν δοκιμωτέρων, πλεῖω μὲν ἐπι- 

φερόμενοι χρήματα, περιττοτέρας δὲ δωρεὰς ὑπ- 

268 ὑστούντες. δειλασθεὶς δὲ καὶ τοῖς ἡδη προτει-

νομένοις καὶ ταῖς μελλούσαις ἐλπίδι καὶ τὸ ἄξιώμα 

τῶν παρακαλοῦντων καταιδεσθεὶς ἐνδίδου, πάλιν 

προφασιζόμενοι τὸ θείον οὐκ ἐφ' ὑμεῖς· τῇ γοῦν 

ὑστεραῖα παρεσκευάζετο τὴν ἐξοδον ὄνειρα τὴν δη

νούμενος, ὥφ' ὅν ἐλεγε πληχθεῖς ἐναργείοι 

ἀναγκάζεσθαι μηκέτι μένειν, ὅπλα τοῖς 

269 προσβεθεῖς ἀκολουθεῖν.  

XLIX. ἡδη δὲ 

αὐτῶ προερχομένῳ γίνεται κατὰ τὴν ὄδον σημειῶν 

ἀρίδηλον περὶ τοῦ τὴν χρέιαν ἐφ' ὃν συνέτεινεν 

ἐίναι παλιμφήμον· τὸ γὰρ ὑποζύγιον, ὃ συνέβαινεν 

αὐτὸν ἐποχεῖσθαι, προφασιζόμενον ἐπ' εὐθείας ἐξ-

270 απιναῖς ἱσταται τὸ πρῶτον· εἴθ', ἀσπέρ ἐξ ἐναντίας 

βία τινὸς ἀνωθοῦντος ἡ ἀναχαιτίζοντος, ὑπὸ πόδας 

ἐχύρει καὶ πάλιν ἐπὶ δεξιὰ καὶ εὐώνυμα ἐπιφερό-

μενον καὶ ὁδὸ κάκεισε πλαζόμενον οὐκ ἑρέμει, 

καθάπερ ἐν οίνῳ καὶ μέθη καρπηβαροῦν, καὶ πολ-

λάκις τυπτόμενον ἠλογεὶ τῶν πληγῶν, ὡστε καὶ

1 Cohn suggests ἀκκίζομενος and points out that in § 297, where ἀκκιζομένος is clearly right, the majority of mss. have ἀστείον ἡμέρας. 

a Or “cleverly posing.” If ἀστείον ἡμέρας is kept we must suppose that the word, which regularly applies to witty or ironical talk, is extended to any kind of dissimulation. But ἀκκίζομενος, “feigning reluctance,” is easier.

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required. But the seer, actuated not by any honourable or sincere feelings, but rather by a wish to pose as a distinguished prophet whose custom was to do nothing without the sanction of an oracle, declined, saying that the Deity did not permit him to go. The envoys then returned to the king without success, but others, selected from the more highly reputed courtiers, were at once appointed for the same purpose who brought more money and promised more abundant gifts. Enticed by those offers present and prospective, and in deference to the dignity of the ambassadors, he gave way, again dishonestly alleging a divine command. And so on the morrow he made his preparations for the journey, and talked of dreams in which he said he had been beset by visions so clear that they compelled him to stay no longer but follow the envoys.

XLIX. But, as he proceeded there was given to him on the road an unmistakable sign that the purpose which he was so eager to serve was one of evil omen. For the beast on which he happened to be riding, while proceeding along the straight road, first came to a sudden stop, then, as though someone opposite was thrusting it by force or causing it to rear, it fell back and then again swerved to right and left and floundered hither and thither unable to keep still, as though heady with wine or drink; and, while repeatedly beaten, it paid no regard to the blows, so that it almost

b The Greek is odd. L. & S. give οἱ ύπό πόδα πόδα as “those in the rear” and ύπό πόδα πόδα χωρεῖν = “recede,” “decline” (of strength), but these are hardly parallels. On the other hand ἐπὶ πόδα (or πόδας) χωρεῖν is a recognized phrase for “retreat” and should perhaps be read here.
PHILO

tόν ἐποχούμενον μικροῦ καταβαλεῖν καὶ καθεξό-
271 μενον ὄμως ἀντιλυπῆσαι. τῶν (γὰρ) παρ' ἐκά-
tερα χωρίων ἦσαν αἰμασιαὶ καὶ φραγμοὶ πλησίον· ὅπωτ' ὅν τούτων προσηράξῃ φερόμενον, γόνυ καὶ κυνῆμα καὶ πόδας ὁ δεσπότης θλιβομένοις καὶ 272 πιεζόμενος ἀπεδρύπτετο. ἦν δ', ὡς ἔοικε, θεία τις ὄψις, ἦν τὸ μὲν ξώον ἐπιφοιτώσαν ἐκ πολλοῦ
θεασάμενον ὑπέπτηξεν, ὃ δ' ἀνθρωπὸς οὐκ εἶδεν, εἰς ἔλεγχον ἀναισθησίας· ὑπὸ γὰρ ἀλόγου ξώου παρευθημερεῖτο τὰς ὄψεις ὁ μὴ μόνον τὸν κόσμον 273 ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸν κοσμοποιοῦν αὐχών ὄραν. μόλις γοῦν τὸν ἀνθεστηκότα ἱδὰν ἄγγελον, οὐκ ἐπειθῇ τοιαύτης
θέας ἦν ᾄξιος, ἀλλ' ἵνα τὴν ἀτιμίαν καὶ οὐδένειαν ἐαυτοῦ καταλάβῃ, πρὸς ἱκεσίας καὶ λυτᾶς ἐτράπετο συγγνώμαι δεόμενος ὑπ' ἀγνοίας ἀλλ' οὐ καθ' 274 ἑκουσιον γνώμην ἀμαρτόντι. τότε μὲν οὖν ὑπο-
στρέφειν δέον, ἐπινθάνετο τῆς φανείσης ὄψεως, εἰ ἀνακάμπτοι πάλιν τὴν ἐπ' οἶκου· ἡ δὲ συνιδούσα τὴν εἰρωνείαν καὶ σχετλιάσασα—τί γὰρ ἔδει πυν-
thάνεθαι περὶ πράγματος οὕτως ἐμφανοῦς, ὃ τὰς
ἀποδείξεις εἰχέν εἴξεν εἴξεν ἐαυτοῦ μὴ δεόμενον τῆς ἐκ
[124] λόγων πίστεως, εἰ μὴ | ἀρα ὅφθαλμιν ὅτα ἀλη-
θέστερα καὶ πραγμάτων ῥήματα;—“βάδιζε” εἶπεν
“ἔφι ἦν σπεῦδεις οὖν· ὃν ἔσω τοι ὄργανόν τε ἐμοῦ τὰ
λεκτέα ὑπηχοῦντο ἀνευ τῆς σις διανοίας καὶ τὰ
φωνής ὄργανα τρέποντος, ἦ ἐκαίκων καὶ συμφέρον·
ήμισὺς γὰρ ἐγὼ τὸν λόγον θεσπίζων ἐκαστὰ διὰ
τῆς σις γλώττης οὐ συνεντός.”
275 Λ. Ἀκούσας δ' ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐγγύς ἦδη γεγονότα
μετὰ τῶν δορυφόρων ὑπαντησόμενος ἔξησεν, καὶ
threw its rider, and, even though he kept his seat, caused him as much pain as he gave. For the estates on either side had walls and hedges close by, so that when the beast in its movements dashed against these, the feet, knees and shins of its master were crushed and lacerated by the pressure. It was evidently a divine vision, whose haunting presence had for a considerable time been seen by the terrified animal, though invisible to the man, thus proving his insensibility. For the unreasoning animal showed a superior power of sight to him who claimed to see not only the world but the world's Maker. When, at last, he did discern the angel standing in his way, not because he was worthy of such a sight, but that he might perceive his own baseness and nothingness, he betook himself to prayers and supplications, begging pardon for an error committed in ignorance and not through voluntary intention. Yet even then, when he should have returned, he asked of the apparition whether he should retrace his steps home- wards. But the angel perceived his dissimulation, for why should he ask about a matter so evident, which in itself provided its own demonstration and needed no confirmation by word, as though ears could be more truthful than eyes or speech than facts? And so in displeasure he answered: "Pursue your journey. Your hurrying will avail you nought. I shall prompt the needful words without your mind's consent, and direct your organs of speech as justice and convenience require. I shall guide the reins of speech, and, though you understand it not, employ your tongue for each prophetic utterance."

L. When the king heard that he was now near at hand, he came forth with his guards to meet him.
PHILO

ἐντυχόντων, οία εἰκός, τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἦσαν φιλοφροσύναι καὶ δεξιώσεις, ἐέτα βραχεῖα κατάμεμφις περὶ τῆς βραδυτῆτος καὶ τοῦ μῆ ἐτοιμότερον ἦκεν. μετὰ δὲ ταῦτ’ εὐωχίαι ἦσαν καὶ πολυτελεῖς ἐστιάσεις καὶ ὅσα ἄλλα πρὸς ὑποδοχὴν ξένων έθος εὐτρεπίζεσθαι, φιλοτιμίαις βασιλικαίς πάντα πρὸς τὸ μεγαλειότερον ἐπιδιδόντα καὶ σεμνότερον οὐκον.

276 τῇ δ’ υστεραίᾳ ἀμα τῇ ἐω τὸν μάντιν ὁ Βαλάκης παραλαβὼν ἐπὶ γεώλοφον ἄνήγαγεν, ἐνθα καὶ στήλην συνέβαινεν έδρυσθαι δαμονίου τινός, ἦν οἱ ἐγχύριοι προσεκύνουν· μέρος δ’ ἐνθένδε καθεωράτο τῆς τῶν Ἑβραίων στρατοπεδείας, ὁ καθάπερ ἀπὸ σκοπιάς ἐπεδείκνυτο τῷ μάγῳ. ὁ δὲ θεασάμενός φησι· "οὐ μὲν, ὁ βασιλεὺς, βωμὸς ἐπτὰ δεμάμενος μόσχον ἐφ’ ἐκάστου καὶ κριόν ἱερεύσον· ἐγὼ δ’ ἐκτραπόμενος πεύσομαι τοῦ θεοῦ, τί λεκτέον."

277 ἐξω δὲ προελθὼν ἐνθοῦς αὐτίκα γίνεται, προφητικῷ πνεύματος ἐπιφοιτήσαντο, δ’ πάσαν αὐτοῦ τὴν ἐντεχνὴς ὑπέρόριον τῆς φνχής ήλάσε θείως γὰρ οὐκ ἦν ἱερωτάτη κατοκώχη συνδιαιτάσαι μαγικὴν σοφιστείαν. εἰθ’ ὑποστρέφας καὶ τὰς τε θυσίας ἱδὼν καὶ τοὺς βωμοὺς φλέγοντας ὑσσέρ ἐξερμνεύεις ὑποβάλλοντος ἐτέρους θεσπίζει τάδε· "ἐκ Μεσοποταμίας μετεπέμφατο με Βαλάκης μακρὰν τὴν ἀπ’ άνατολῶν στειλάμενον ἀποδημιὰν, ἵνα τίσῃ ποὺς Ἑβραίους ἀραῖς. ἐγὼ δὲ τίνα τρόπων άράσομαι τοῖς μή καταράτοις ὑπὸ θεοῦ; θεάσομαι μὲν αὐτοὺς ὀφθαλμῶι ἀφ’ υψηλότατῶν ὄρων καὶ τῇ διανοίᾳ καταλήψομαι, βλάψαν δ’ οὐκ ἄν δυνάμην λαόν, ὅς μόνος κατοικίσει, μὴ συναριθμούμενος
The interview naturally began with friendly greetings, which were followed by a few words of censure for his slowness and failing to come more readily. Then came high feasting and sumptuous banquets, and the other usual forms of provision for the reception of guests, each through the king’s ambition of more magnificence and more imposing pomp than the last. The next day at dawn Balak took the prophet to a hill, where it chanced that in honour of some deity a pillar had been set up which the natives worshipped. From thence a part of the Hebrew encampment was visible, which he shewed as a watchman from his tower to the wizard. He looked and said: “King, do you build seven altars, and sacrifice a calf and a ram on each, and I will go aside and inquire of God what I should say.” He advanced outside, and straightway became possessed, and there fell upon him the truly prophetic spirit which banished utterly from his soul his art of wizardry. For the craft of the sorcerer and the inspiration of the Holiest might not live together. Then he returned, and, seeing the sacrifices and the altars flaming, he spake these oracles as one repeating the words which another had put into his mouth. “From Mesopotamia hath Balak called me, a far journey from the East, that he may avenge him on the Hebrews through my cursing. But I, how shall I curse them whom God hath not cursed? I shall behold them with my eyes from the highest mountains, and perceive them with my mind. But I shall not be able to harm the people, which shall dwell alone, not reckoned among other nations; and

a So LXX “Pillar of Baal.” E.V. “high places of Baal,” xxii. 41.
έτέρωις ἐθνεσι, οὐ κατὰ τόπων ἀποκλήρωσιν καὶ χώρας ἀποτομήν, ἀλλὰ κατὰ τὴν τῶν ἐξαιρέτων ἐθῶν ἰδιότητα, μὴ συναναμιγνυμένος ἂλλοις εἰς 279 τὴν τῶν πατρίων ἐκδιαίτησιν. τίς ἐπ᾽ ἀκριβείας εὑρε τὴν πρώτην καταβολὴν τῆς τούτων γενέσεως; τὰ μὲν σώματ᾽ αὐτοῖς ἐξ ἀνθρωπίνων διεπλάσθη σπερμάτων, ἐκ δὲ θείων ἐφυσαν αἱ ψυχαὶ· διὸ καὶ γεγόνασιν ἀγχίσποροι θεοὶ. ἀποθάνοι μου ἡ ψυχή τὸν | σωματικὸν βίον, ἵν᾽ ἐν ψυχαῖς δικαίων καταρθμηθῇ, οἷς ἐναι συμβέβηκε τὰς τούτων.”

280 Λ. Ταῦτ᾽ ἀκοῦσαν ὁ Βαλάκης ὠδίνεν ἐν ἑαυτῷ. πανσαμένου δὲ, τὸ πάθος οὐ χωρήσας “ἐπὶ κατάρας” εἶπεν “ἐχθρῶν μετακληθεῖς εὐχᾶς τυβέμενος ἐκείνοις οὐκ ἐρυθρίας; ἐλελήθεν ὅρ’ ἐμαυτὸν ἀπατῶν ὡς ἐπὶ φίλω σοι τὴν υπὲρ τῶν πολεμίων ἀφανὸς τεταγμένω τάξιν, η νῦν γέγονε δήλη. μῆποτε καὶ τὰς υπερθέσεις τῆς ἐνθάδε αἵματες ἐποιοῦ διὰ τὴν ὑπουργοῦσαν ἐν τῇ ψυχῇ πρὸς μὲν ἐκείνους οἰκειότητα πρὸς δ’ ἐμὲ καὶ τοὺς ἐμοὺς ἀλλοτρίωσιν· πίστις γὰρ, ὡς ὁ παλαιὸς λόγος, τῶν 281 ἀδηλῶν τὰ ἐμφανὶ.” ὁ δὲ τῆς κατοκωχῆς ἀνεθεὶς “ἀδικωτάτην” εἶπεν “αἰτίαν ὑπομένω συκοφαντοῦμενοι· λέγω γὰρ ἰδιον οὐδὲν, ἀλλ’ ἀττ’ ἂν

1 mss. συναναμιγνυμένως.

a Or “foundation” (?). But both καταβάλλω and καταβολή are frequently used of sowing and this meaning fits better the corresponding verse of LXX (xxiii. 10) τὸς ἐξηκριβάσατο τὸ σπέρμα Ἰακώβ;

b Cf. the fragment of Aeschylus’s Niobe quoted by Plato, Rep. iii. 391ε:

οὶ θεῶν ἀγχίσποροι
οὶ Ζηνὸς ἐγγύς,
καὶ οὐ πώ σφιν ἐξίτηλον αἴμα δαιμόνων.

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that, not because their dwelling-place is set apart and their land severed from others, but because in virtue of the distinction of their peculiar customs they do not mix with others to depart from the ways of their fathers. Who has made accurate discovery of how the sowing of their generation was first made? Their bodies have been moulded from human seeds, but their souls are sprung from divine seeds, and therefore their stock is akin to God. May my soul die to the life of the body that it may be reckoned among the souls of the just, even such as are the souls of these men.”

LI. Balak suffered tortures inwardly as he listened to these words, and, when the speaker ceased, he could not contain his passion. "Are you not ashamed," he cried, "that, summoned to curse the enemy, you have prayed for them? It seems that all unconsciously I was deceiving myself in treating you as a friend, who were secretly ranged on the side of the enemy, as has now become plain. Doubtless also your delay in coming here was due to your secretly harbouring a feeling of attachment to them and aversion for me and mine. For, as the old saying goes, the certain proves the uncertain.” The other, now liberated from the possession, replied: "I suffer under a most unjust charge and calumny, for I say nothing that is As there is nothing corresponding to this sentence in the LXX, it may be assumed that this is a conscious quotation.

The LXX (v. 10) is ἀποθάνοι ή ψυχή μου ἐν ψυχαῖς δικαίων καὶ γένουτο τὸ σπέρμα μοῦ ὡς τὸ σπέρμα τούτων. E.V. "Let me die the death of the righteous, and let my last end be like his.” Philo's idea presumably is that the souls of the righteous cannot die in the ordinary sense. For the construction cf. De Gig. 14 ψυχαὶ . . . μελετῶσαι τὸν μετὰ σωμάτων ἀποθνῄσκειν βίον.
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ὑπηχήσῃ τὸ θείον, ὅπερ οὐχὶ νῦν πρῶτον ἐγὼ μὲν εἶπον, σὺ δ᾽ ἦκουσας, ἀλλὰ καὶ πρόσθεν, ἦνίκα τοῦς 282 πρέσβεις ἐπεμψας, οἷς ἀπεκρινάμην ταυτά.’’ νομίσας δὲ ὁ βασιλεύς ἢ τὸν μάντιν ἀπατᾷν ἢ τὸ θείον τρέπεσθαι καὶ ταῖς τῶν τόπων μεταβολάς τὸ τῆς γνώμης ἐχυρὸν ἄλλαττεν, εἰς ἑτερον ἀπαγαγων χωρίον ἐκ λόφου πάνυ περιμήκους ἐπεδείκνυτο μέρος τι τῆς ἀντιπάλου στρατιᾶς. ἔτα πάλιν ἐπτὰ βωμοὺς ἱδρυσάμενος καὶ τὰ ἱερὰ τοῖς πρόσθεν ἱερεία καταθύσας ἐξέστησεν τῶν μάντων ἐπὶ οἶωνοι καὶ 283 φήμας αἰσίους. οὐ δὲ μονοθεῖς ἐξαίφνης θεοφορεῖται καὶ μηδὲν συνιεῖς, ὡσπερ μετανισταμένου τοῦ λογισμοῦ, τὰ ὑποβαλλόμενα ἐξελάλει προφητεύων τάδε: “ἀναστὰς ἄκουε, βασιλεύ, τὰ ὠτὰ ἐποιρίσας. οὐχ ὡς ἄνθρωπος ὁ θεὸς διαφευσθήναι δύναται οὐδ᾽ ὡς νῦσ ἄνθρωπον μετανοεῖ καὶ ἄπαξ εἰπὼν οὐκ ἐμμένει. φθέγξεται τὸ παράπαν οὐδέν, δὲ μὴ τελεωθήσηται βεβαιώς, ἐπεὶ ὁ λόγος ἐργὸν ἐστίν αὐτῷ. παρελήφθη δ᾽ ἐπ᾽ εὐλογίαις, οὐ 284 κατάρας, ἔγω, οὐκ ἐστι πόνος ἢ μόχθος ἐν Ἐβραίοις. ὁ θεὸς αὐτῶν προασπίζει περιφανῶς, ὡς καὶ τὴν τῶν Ἀιγυπτιακῶν ρύμην κακῶν ἀπεπεκδασεν ἡ αὐτῷ μᾶντας τοσαύτας μυριάδας ἀν- αγαγῶν. τοιαύτων οἰωνῶν ἀλογοῦσι καὶ πάντων τῶν κατὰ μαντικὴν ἐνί τῷ τοῦ κόσμου ἀγαμῶν

1 See on De Abr. 20. Here as in De Decal. 148, the word is fairly well suited to the context. The best mss. have ἐπαιωρήο—as, which does not seem altogether impossible, for though no similar use of the compound verb is quoted, the simple verb is found in this sense, e.g. αἰωρεῖν τὰς ὀφρύς.

* Or “sounds and voices” =κλῆδόνας § 287. In Numbers Balaam goes to “meet the Lord,” but the account of his 422
my own, but only what is prompted by God, and this I do not say or you hear now for the first time, but I said it before when you sent the ambassadors to whom I gave the same answer.” But the king, thinking either to deceive the seer or to move the Deity and draw Him from His firm purpose by a change of place, led the way to another spot, and from an exceedingly high hill shewed the seer a part of the enemy’s host. Then again he set up seven altars, and, after sacrificing the same number of victims as before, sent him away to seek good omens through birds or voices.\textsuperscript{a} In this solitude, he was suddenly possessed, \textsuperscript{283} and, understanding nothing, his reason as it were roaming, uttered these prophetic words which were put into his mouth.\textsuperscript{b} “Arise, O King, and listen. Lend me a ready ear. God cannot be deceived\textsuperscript{c} as a man, nor as the son of man does He repent\textsuperscript{d} or fail to abide by what He has once said. He will utter nothing at all which shall not certainly be performed, for His word is His deed. As for me, I was summoned to bless, not to curse. There shall be no\textsuperscript{284} trouble or labour among the Hebrews. Their God is their shield for all to see, He Who also scattered the fierce onset of the ills of Egypt, and brought up all these myriads as a single man. Therefore, they care nothing for omens and all the lore of the soothsayer, because they trust in One Who is the ruler of purpose given here might be justified from xxiv. 1 “he went not, as at the other times, to meet with enchantments.”

\textsuperscript{b} This is curiously expressed. We expect “returned and uttered” as in Num. xxiii. 17.

\textsuperscript{c} So \textit{LXX} (\textit{διαρτηθήναι}). \textit{E.V. “lie” (xxiii. 19)}.

\textsuperscript{d} Here Philo whether accidentally or not agrees with the Hebrew against the \textit{LXX}, which has \textit{άπειληθήναι} (“be threatened”).
πιστεύοντες. ὁρῶ λαὸν ὡς σκύμνον ἀνιστάμενον καὶ ὡς λέοντα γαυροῦμεν. εὐωχηθήσεται θήρας καὶ ποτῷ χρῆσεται τραυματιῶν αἴματι καὶ κορεσθείς 285 οὐ τρέψεται πρὸς ὑπὸν, ἄλλ᾿ ἐγγηγορῶς τὸν ἐπινίκιον ἄσεται ὑμῖν."  

[126] ἄπαντασθαι is apparently used in the middle here. The usage is found occasionally, but censured by Lucian, Lexiphanes 25 as non-Attic.

286 στρατιᾶς καταράσθαι παρεκάλει. ὁ δ᾿ ἀτε χείρων ἐκεῖνον, καίτοι πρὸς τὰς ἐπιφερομένας κατηγορίας ἀπολογία μᾶς χρώμενος ἀληθεί, ὡς οὐδὲν ἵδιον λέγω, κατεχόμενος δε καὶ ἐνθουσιῶν διερμηνεύοι τὰ ἐτέρου, δέον μηκέτ’ ἐπακολουθεῖν ἄλλ᾿ οὐκαδε ἀπαίρεσα, ἐτοιμότερον τοῦ παραπέμποντος προεξέτρεχεν, ἀμὴν μὲν οἴήσει, κακῶ μεγάλω, πεπεισμένος, ἀμὴ δὲ καὶ τῇ διανοίᾳ καταράσθαι γλυχῶμενος, εἰ καὶ τῇ φωνῇ διεκολύετο. παραγενόμενος δ᾿ εἰς ὁρὸς μεῖζον τῶν προτέρων ἄχρι πολλοῦ κατατείνου κελεύει μὲν τὴν αὐτῆς ἐπιτελεῖν θυσίαν βωμοὺς πάλιν ἐπτὰ κατασκευάζοντας καὶ ἑρεία τεσσαρεσκαίδεκα προσαγαγόντας ἐκάστῳ βωμῷ δύο, μόσχον τε καὶ κριῶν. αὐτὸς δὲ οὐκέτι κατὰ τὸ εἰκὸς ἐπὶ κληδόνας καὶ οἰωνοῦς ἕτεο πολλὰ τὴν

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a ἄπαντασθαι is apparently used in the middle here. The usage is found occasionally, but censured by Lucian, Lexiphanes 25 as non-Attic.
the world. I see the people rising up as a lion's cub, and exulting as a lion. He shall feast upon the prey, and take for his drink the blood of the wounded, and, when he has had his fill, he shall not betake himself to slumber, but unsleeping sing the song of the victorious."

LII. Highly indignant at finding the soothsayer's powers thus unexpectedly hostile, Balak said: "Sirrah, do not either curse or bless, for the silence which avoids danger is better than words which displease." And, having said this, as though in the inconstancy of his judgement he had forgotten what he said, he led the seer away to another place from which he shewed him a part of the Hebrew host and begged him to curse them. Here the seer proved himself to be even worse than the king; for, though he had met the charges brought against him solely by the true plea that nothing which he said was his own but the divinely inspired version of the promptings of another, and therefore ought to have ceased to follow, and departed home, instead, he pressed forward even more readily than his conductor, partly because he was dominated by the worst of vices, conceit, partly because in his heart he longed to curse, even if he were prevented from doing so with his voice. And, having arrived at a mountain higher than those where he had stood before, and of great extent, he bade them perform the same sacrifice after again erecting seven altars, and bringing fourteen victims, two for each altar, a ram and a calf. But he himself did not go again, as was to be expected, to seek for omens from birds or voices, for he had conceived a great contempt for his
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αὐτοῦ τέχνην κακίσας ὡς χρόνῳ καθάπερ γραφήν ἐξήτηλον γενομένην καὶ τοὺς εὐθυβόλους στοχασμοὺς ἐξαμαυρωθεῖσαν ἀλλὰς δὲ καὶ μόλις ἐνενόησεν, ὅτι οὐ συνάδει τῷ τοῦ θεοῦ βουλήματι ἢ τοῦ μισθωσαμένου προαιρέσις αὐτὸν βασιλέως.

288 τραπόμενος οὖν κατὰ τὴν ἐρήμην ὅρᾳ κατὰ φυλᾶς ἑστρατοπεδευκότας 'Εβραίους καὶ τὸ τε πλῆθος καὶ τὴν τάξιν ὡς πόλεως ἀλλ’ οὐ στρατοπέδου καταπλαγεῖς ἐνθους γενόμενος ἀναφθέγγεται τάδε.

289 "φησιν ὁ ἀνθρωπος ὁ ἀληθινῶς ὃρων, ὅστις καθ’ ὑπὸν ἐναργῆ φαντασίαν εἴδε θεοῦ τοῖς τῆς ψυχῆς ἀκομήτως ὁμμασιν. ὡς καλοὶ σου οἱ οἶκοι, στρατιὰ 'Εβραίων, αἱ σκηναί σου ὡς νάπαι σκιάζουσα, ὡς παράδεισος ἐπὶ ποταμοῦ, ὡς κέδρος παρ’ ὅδατα. ἔξελεύσεται ποτε ἀνθρωπος ἐξ ὑμῶν καὶ ἐπικρατήσει πολλῶν ἔθνων καὶ ἐπιβαινουσα ἡ τοῦδε βασιλεία καθ’ ἐκάστην ἥμεραν πρὸς ψυχὸν ἀρθήσεται. ὁ λαὸς οὗτος ἤγεμον τῆς ἀπ’, Ἀγγύπτων πάσης ὁδοῦ κέχρηται θεῶ καθ’ ἐν κέρας ἁγιάσαι τὴν πληθὺν. τοιγαροῖν ἐδεται ἔθνη πολλὰ ἐχθρῶν καὶ ὅσον ἐν αὐτοῖς πίων ἄχρι μυελοῦ λήψεται καὶ ταῖς ἐκκοιβολίαις ἀπολεῖ τοὺς ἰσχύμενες. ἀναπαύσεται κατακλινείς ὡς λέων ἡ σκῦμνος λέοντος, μάλα καταφρονητικῶς δεδιῶς οὐδένα, φόβον τοῖς ἄλλοις ἐνειργασμένοις ἀθλίος ὁὶ ἐν αὐτοῦ παρακινήσας ἐγείρῃ. οἱ μὲν εὐλογοῦντες σε εὐφημίας αξίου, κατάρας δ’ οἱ καταρώμενοι."

290 LIII. Σφόδρα δ’ ἐπὶ τούτους ἀγανακτήσας ὁ βασιλεὺς "ἐπ’ ἀραῖς" ἐἶπεν "ἐχθρῶν μετακληθεῖς

"LXX "The kingdom of Gog shall be exalted (E.V. his king shall be higher than Agag) and his kingdom shall be increased."
own art, feeling that, as a picture fades in the course of years, its gift of happy conjecture had lost all its brilliance. Besides, he at last realized that the purpose of the king who had hired him was not in harmony with the will of God. So, setting his face to the wilderness, he looked upon the Hebrews encamped in their tribes, and, astounded at their number and order, which resembled a city rather than a camp, he was filled with the spirit, and spoke as follows: "Thus saith the man who truly sees, who in slumber saw the clear vision of God with the un­sleeping eyes of the soul. How goodly are thy dwellings, thou host of the Hebrews! Thy tents are as shady dells, as a garden by the riverside, as a cedar beside the waters. There shall come forth from you one day a man and he shall rule over many nations, and his kingdom spreading every day shall be exalted on high. This people, throughout its journey from Egypt, has had God as its guide, Who leads the multitude in a single column. Therefore, it shall eat up many nations of its enemies, and take all the fatness of them right up to the marrow, and destroy its foes with its far-reaching bolts. It shall lie down and rest as a lion, or a lion's cub, full of scorn, fearing none but putting fear in all others. Woe to him who stirs up and rouses it. Worthy of benediction are those who bless thee, worthy of cursing those who curse thee."

LIII. Greatly incensed by this, the king said: "Thou wast summoned to curse the enemy, and hast

Philo is evidently interpreting Num. xxiv. 8 ὃς δὲξα μονοκέρωτος αὐτῷ, "he has as it were the glory of the unicorn" (R.V. "wild ox"). The mistake is strange, since the word occurs frequently in the LXX, and even in the Pentateuch (Deut. xxxiii. 17).
eúchas ἤδη τρεῖς τὰς ὑπὲρ ἑκείνων πεποίησαι· φεύγε δὴ θάττον—ἀξὺ πάθος ἐστὶ θυμός—, μή τι καὶ 293 νεώτερον ἐργάσασθαι βιασθῶ. πόσον πλῆθος χρημάτων, ἀνοητότατε, καὶ δωρεῶν, πόσην δ’ εὐφημίαν καὶ δόξαν ἀφήρησαι σεαυτὸν φρενοβλαβῆς ὅν· ἐπανελεύση φέρων ἀπὸ τῆς ξένης εἰς τὴν οἰκείαν ἀγαθὸν μὲν οὐδέν, ὅνειδη δὲ καὶ πολλὴν ὡς ἐοικεν ἀἰσχύνην, οὕτως σοι τῶν κατὰ τὴν ἐπιστήμην, ἐφ’ 294 οἷς πρότερον ἐσεμνύουν, γελασθέντων.’’ ὁ δὲ ‘‘τὰ μὲν πρότερα’’ ἐπεί ‘‘πάντ’ ἐστὶ λόγια καὶ χρησμοί, τὰ δὲ μελλοντα λέγεσθαι γνώμης τῆς ἐμῆς εἰκασίαν.’’ καὶ τῆς δεξιᾶς λαβόμενος μόνος μόνω συνεβούλευε, δι’ ὅν, ὥς ἂν οἴν τε ἢ, φυλάξεται τὸν ἀντίπαλον στρατόν, ἀσέβημα κατηγορῶν αὐτοῦ μέγιστον τί γάρ, ἐπεὶ τις ἂν, ἰδιάζεις καὶ συμβουλεύεις τὰ ἐναντία τοῖς χρησμοῖς ὑποτιθέμενος, εἰ μὴ ἄρα τῶν λογίων αἱ σαὶ βουλαὶ δυνατῶτεραι; 295 LIV. φέρε δ’ οὖν καὶ τὰς καλὰς αὐτοῦ παρανέσεις ἔξετάσωμεν, ἡς τετεχνιτευμέναι πρὸς ὀμολογουμένην ἤτταν τῶν ἄνευ κινάν δυναμένων. εἰδὼς γὰρ ἔβραίοις μίαν ὀδὸν ἀλώσεως παρανομίαν, διὰ λαγνείας καὶ ἀκολασίας, μεγάλου κακοῦ, πρὸς μεῖζον κακόν, ἀσέβειαν, ἀγείν αὐτοῦ ἑσπούδασαν ἡδονῆν δέλεαρ προθείς. ‘‘εἰσι’’ γὰρ εἶπεν ‘‘αἱ ἐγχώριοι γυναῖκες, ὃ βασιλεῦ, διαφέρουσι τὴν ὀψιν ἐτέρων· ἀνὴρ δ’ οὐδὲν μᾶλλον εὐάλωτος ἢ γυναικὸς εὐμορφία. ταῖς οὖν περικαλλεστάταις ἐὰν

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a §§ 294-299 are based on Num. xxxi. 16, where the sin of Israel is ascribed to the counsels of Balaam.

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now thrice invoked blessings on them. Flee quickly, for fierce is the passion of wrath, lest I be forced to do thee some mischief. Most foolish of men, of what a store of wealth and presents, of what fame and glory, hast thou robbed thyself by thy madness. Thou wilt return from the stranger's land to thy own with nothing good in thy hand, but with reproaches and deep disgrace, as all may see, having merely brought such ridicule on the lore of the knowledge on which thou didst pride thyself before.” The other replied: “All that has been said hitherto was oracles from above. What I have now to say is suggestions of my own designing.” And, taking him by the right hand, he counselled him in strict privacy as to the means by which, as far as might be, he should defend himself against the army of the enemy. Hereby he convicted himself of the utmost impiety; for, “Why,” we might ask him, “do you put forth your own personal counsels in opposition to the oracles of God? That were to hold that your projects are more powerful than the divine utterances.” LIV. Well, then, let us examine these fine injunctions of his, and see how they were contrived to gain an unquestioned victory over the truths which have ever the power to prevail. His advice was this. Knowing that the one way by which the Hebrews could be overthrown was disobedience, he set himself to lead them, through wantonness and licentiousness, to impiety, through a great sin to a still greater, and put before them the bait of pleasure. “You have in your countrywomen, king,” he said, “persons of pre-eminent beauty. And there is nothing to which a man more easily falls a captive than women’s comeliness. If, then, you permit the fairest among
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...
them to prostitute themselves for hire, they will ensnare the younger of their enemies. But you must instruct them not to allow their wooers to enjoy their charms at once. For coyness titillates, and thereby makes the appetites more active, and inflames the passions. And, when their lust has them in its grip, there is nothing which they will shrink from doing or suffering. Then, when the lover is in this condition, one of those who are arming to take their prey should say, with a saucy air: 'You must not be permitted to enjoy my favours until you have left the ways of your fathers and become a convert to honouring what I honour. That your conversion is sincere will be clearly proved to me if you are willing to take part in the libations and sacrifices which we offer to idols of stone and wood and the other images.' Then the lover, caught in the meshes of her multiform lures, her beauty and the enticements of her wheedling talk, will not gainsay her, but, with his reason trussed and pinioned, will subserve her orders to his sorrow, and be enrolled as a slave of passion.'

LV. \(^a\) Such was his advice. And the king, thinking that the proposal was good, ignoring the law against adultery, and annulling those which prohibited seduction and fornication as though they had never been enacted at all, permitted the women, without restriction, to have intercourse with whom they would. Having thus received immunity, so greatly did they mislead the minds of most of the young men, and pervert them by their arts to impiety, that they soon \(^b\) made a conquest of them. And this continued until Phinehas, the son of the high priest, greatly angered

\(^b\) Lit. "First greatly deceiving ... they made a conquest."
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κατεφαινότατο, εἰ ύφ' ἕνα καίρον ἀμφώ τά τε σώματα καὶ τάς ψυχὰς ἐπιδεδώκασι, τά μὲν ἢδοναῖς, τάς δὲ τῷ παρανομεῖν καὶ ἀνοσιουργεῖν—ἐνεανεῦσατο νεανεῖαν ἀνδρὶ καὶ ἀγαθῷ προσήκουσαν.

302 ἵδων γάρ τινα τῶν ἀπὸ τοῦ γένους θύοντα καὶ εἰσιόντα πρὸς πόρνην, μήτε κεκυφότα εἰς τούδαφος μήτε λανθάνειν τοὺς πολλοὺς πειρώμενον μηθ' οᾶ φιλεῖ κλέπτοντα τὴν εἰσοδόν, ἀλλὰ μετ' ἀναισχύντου θράσους τὴν ἀκοσμίαν ἐπιδεικνύμενον καὶ φροναττόμενον ὡς ἐπὶ σεμνῷ πράγματι τῷ καταγελάστῳ, πάνω πικρανθεὶς καὶ πληρωθεὶς ὀργῆς δικαίας ἐπεισδράματο ἔτι κατ' εὐνήν κειμένους ἀμφότερους τὸν τ' ἑραστὴν καὶ τὴν ἑταῖραν ἀναιρεῖ προσανατεμῶν καὶ τὰ γεννητικὰ, διότι σπορᾶι ὑπηρέτησαν 303 ἐκθέσμους. τοῦτο θεασάμενοι τινες τὸ παράδειγμα τῶν τὴν ἐγκράτειαν καὶ θεοσέβειαν ἐξηλωκότων προστάξαντος Μινωεῶς ἐμμηνήσαντο καὶ πάντας τοὺς τελεσθέντας τοῖς χειροποιήτοις συγγενεῖς καὶ φίλους ἢβηδόν ἀνελόντες τὸ μὲν μίασμα τοῦ ἔθνους ἐκκαθαίρουσι διὰ τῆς τῶν προηδικήτων ἀπαραιτήτου τιμωρίας, τοὺς δ' ἄλλους παρασχόντας ἀπολογίαν ἐναργεστάτην ὑπὲρ τῆς αὐτῶν εὐσεβείας περιεποιήσαντο, μηδένα τῶν ἂφ' αἵματος κατακρίτων οἰκτισάμενοι μηδ' ἐλέω ταδικήματα αὐτῶν παρελθόντες, ἀλλὰ καθαρούς νομίσαντες τοὺς αὐτό-χειρας· οἴθεν οὐδενὶ παρεχώρησαν τὴν ἐπέξοδον φέρουσαν τοῖς δρῶσιν ἰψευδόστατον ἐπαινον. 304 τετρακισχιλίους δὲ φασί πρὸς τοῖς δυσμυρίωσι [129] ἀναιρεθήναι μιᾶ ἡμέρα, συναναιρεθέντος εὐθὺς τοῦ κοινοῦ μιᾶςματος, ὃ πᾶσαν τὴν στρατιὰν ἐκηλίδου.
at what he saw, and horrified at the thought that his people had at the same moment surrendered their bodies to pleasure and their souls to lawlessness and unholiness, shewed the young, gallant spirit which befitted a man of true excellence. For, seeing one of his race offering sacrifice and visiting a harlot, not with his head bowed down towards the ground, nor trying in the usual way to make a stealthy entrance unobserved by the public, but flaunting his licentiousness boldly and shamelessly, and pluming himself as though his conduct called for honour instead of scorn, he was filled with bitterness and righteous anger, and attacking the pair whilst they still lay together he slew both the lover and his concubine, ripping up also her parts of generation because they had served to receive the illicit seed. This example being observed by some of those who were zealous for continence and godliness they copied it at the command of Moses, and massacred all their friends and kinsfolk who had taken part in the rites of these idols made by men's hands. And thus they purged the defilement of the nation, by relentlessly punishing the actual sinners, while they spared the rest who gave clear proof of their piety. To none of their convicted blood-relations did they shew pity, or mercifully condone their crimes, but held that their slayers were free from guilt. And, therefore, they kept in their own hand the act of vengeance, which in the truest sense was laudable to its executors. Twenty-four thousand, we are told, perished in one day. And with them perished, at the same moment, the common pollution which was defiling the whole

* Cf. xxv. 6, "in the sight of Moses, and all the congregation."
τῶν δὲ καθαρσίων ἐπιτελεσθέντων, ὡς ἀριστεὶ γέρας ἐπάξιον τῷ νῦῳ τοῦ ἄρχιερέως, δός πρῶτος ἐπὶ τὴν ἁμμαχὴν ὥρμησεν, ἔζητε παρασχεῖν Μωυσῆς. φθάνει δὲ χρησμοῖς δωρησάμενος ὁ θεὸς Φινεῆς τὸ μέγιστον ἁγαθὸν, εἰρήνην, δοκεῖ δὲ τῇ εἰρήνῃ καὶ παγκρατησίᾳ ἱερωσύνης, αὐτῷ καὶ γένει κλήρον ἀναφαίρετον.

305 ΛVI. Ἡπεὶ δὲ τῶν ἐμφυλίων οὐδὲν ἐτ ἣν ὑπόλοιπον κακῶν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὅσοι πρὸς αὐτομολίαν ἢ προδοσίαν ὑποτευόντο πάντες ἀπωλώλεσαν, ἐδοξεῖν εἶναι καιρὸς ἑπτηδειώτατος τῆς ἐπὶ τὸν Βαλάκην στρατείας, ἀνδρα μυρία καὶ βεβουλευμένον ἐργάσασθαι κακὰ καὶ δεδρακότα, βεβουλευμένον μὲν διὰ τοῦ μάντως, ὅτι ἢλπισεν αὐτοῖς τοῖς δυνήσεσθαι καθελεῖν τὴν δύναμιν τῶν Ἐβραίων, δεδρακότα δὲ διὰ τῆς τῶν γυναικῶν ἁσέλγειας καὶ ἀκολασίας, αἱ τὰ μὲν σώματα λαγνείαις τὰς δὲ ψυχὰς ἁσεβεία τῶν χρωμένων διέφθειραν. παντὶ μὲν οὖν τῷ στρατῷ πολεμεῖν οὐκ ἐποίησαν, εἰδὼς τὰ ὑπέροχα πλήθη πταίοντα περὶ αὐτοῖς καὶ ἀμα λυπετέλες ἡγούμενοι ἐφεδρεῖας εἶναι συμμάχων τοῖς προκαμούσι βοηθοῦσι, ἀριστίδης δὲ τοὺς ἢβωντας ἐπιλέξας, χιλίους ἐκ φυλῆς ἐκάστης, δώδεκα χιλιάδας—τοσαύτα γὰρ ἤσαν αἱ φυλαὶ—καὶ στρατηγόν ἐλόμενος τοῦ πολέμου Φινεῆς πείραν ἢδη δεδω-

a Philo understands the "plague" of xxv. 8, 9, lxx πληγή, to refer not to a pestilence sent by God, but to the slaughter of the guilty. The mistake, if it is a mistake, is not unnatural. Not only has the mention of the "plague" been introduced so abruptly that probably something has been lost, but the coupling of πεπληγνια, referring to the slain woman,
host. When the purging was completed, Moses sought how to give to the high priest’s son, who had been the first to rush to the defence, such reward as he deserved for his heroism. But he was forestalled by God, Whose voice granted to Phinehas the highest of blessings, peace—a gift which no human being can bestow—and, besides peace, full possession of the priesthood, a heritage to himself and his family which none should take from them.

LVI. Since, now, their internal troubles were entirely at an end, and, further, all those who were suspected of desertion or treachery had perished, it seemed to be a very suitable opportunity for waging war against Balak who had both plotted and executed mischief on so vast a scale. In the plotting he had been served by the soothsayer, who, he hoped, would be able by his curses to destroy the power of the Hebrews; in the execution by the licentiousness and wantonness of the women, who had caused the ruin of their paramours, of their bodies through lust, of their souls through impiety. However, Moses did not think well to employ his whole army, knowing that over-large multitudes fall through their own unwieldiness, and, at the same time, he thought it was an advantage to have reserves to reinforce those who bore the first brunt. He accordingly selected the flower of his men of military age, one thousand from each tribe, twelve thousand, that is, corresponding to the number of the tribes, and chose as commander-in-chief Phinehas, who had already given with πληγή in verse 18 (cf. also vv. 14, 15), would lend itself to his interpretation. See further App. pp. 603-604.

The rewards of Phinehas have been treated in their allegorical sense, De Ebr. 75 f., De Post. 183 f., De Conf. 57.

For §§ 305-318 see Num. xxxi.
κότα στρατηγικής ευτολμίας ἐπὶ καλοῖς ἱερείοις ἐξέστησε τοὺς ὅπλας καὶ θαρσύνων τοιάδε διεξ- 307 ἤ: "οὐχ ὑπὲρ κράτους ἀρχῆς ο παρὼν ἀγὼν ἐστιν οὐδ' ὑπὲρ τοῦ κτῆσασθαι τὰ ἔτεραν, περί διν ἢ μόνων ἡ μάλιστα οἱ πόλεμοι, ἀλλ' ὑπὲρ εὐσεβείας καὶ ὀσίότητος, ὡν τοὺς ἡμετέρους συγγενεῖς καὶ φίλους ἡλιοτρίωσαν οἱ ἑχθροὶ παραίτιοι γενόμενοι 308 τοὺς ὑπαχθεῖσαι χαλεπῆς ἀπωλείας. ἐστιν οὖν ἀτοπον οἰκείων μὲν αὐτόχειρας γεγενήθαι παρα- νομησάντων, ἑχθρῶν δὲ χαλεπώτερα ἡδικηκότων ἀποσχέθαι, καὶ τοὺς μὲν μαθόντας ἀδικεῖν ἀν- γαρηκεῖα, τοὺς δὲ βιασμένους καὶ διδάξαντας αὐτομηρήτους καταλυεῖν, οὕς ἀπάντων αἰτίως εἶναι συμβεβηκέν, ὡς ἡ διδράκασιν ἡ πεποίθησαν ἐκεῖ-
309 νοι." LVII. νευρωθέντες οὖν ταῖς παραινέσεων ἐκεῖνοι καὶ ὅσον ἐν ταῖς ψυχαῖς προὔπτηρχε γεν- ναιότητος ἔως ἐπιφυγάδες ἔτοιμη πρὸς τὸν ἀγώνα ἔνεπτο φρονήμασιν ἀντιτίθεται καὶ συμπλακέντες τοσαύτη περιουσία πάμης καὶ τὸλμης ἐχρήσαντο, ὡς ἵερεύσαι μὲν τους ἀντιπάλους, αὐτὸι ὑπὲρ πάντως εἰς ἐπανελθεῖν, οὐδένου ἀποθανόντως ἀλλ' οὐδὲ τρωθέντος. | ὑπέλαβεν ἄν τις τῶν ἀγνοούντων τὸ συμβεβηκός ἰδιῶν αὐτοὺς ἐπανιόντας οὐκ ἀπὸ πολέμου καὶ παρατάξεως ἀφικνεῖσθαι μᾶλλον ἡ τῶν ἐν ταῖς ὀπλοσκοπίαις ἐπιδείξεων, ὡς ἐθος ἐν εἰρήνῃ ποιεῖσθαι, γυμνάσματα δ' εἰσὶ καὶ μελέται συγκροτούμενων τὰ κατ' ἑχθρῶν ἐν φίλους. 311 τὰς μὲν οὖν πόλεις ἡ κατασκάπτοντες ἡ ἐμπιπράν- τες, ἡϕάνισαν, ὡς μηδ' εἰ τὴν ἀρχὴν ὑκίσθησαν

1 Mangey wished to read συγκροτούμενων, a very common usage no doubt with πόλεμον and the like, cf. e.g. De Abr. 29, but in a somewhat different sense. Here the passive =
MOSES I. 306-311

proof of his courage in that capacity; and after favourable sacrifices he dispatched his armed men, with words of encouragement to the following effect: "The contest before you is not to win dominion, nor to appropriate the possessions of others, which is the sole or principal object of other wars, but to defend piety and holiness, from which our kinsfolk and friends have been perverted by the enemies who have indirectly caused their victims to perish miserably. It would be absurd, then, if, after having slain with our own hands those who transgressed the law, we should spare the enemies who committed the graver wrong; if, after putting to death those who learned the lesson of wrongdoing, we should leave unpunished the teachers who forced them to it, and are responsible for all they did or suffered." LVII. So, braced by these exhortations, with the native gallantry of their souls kindled to a flame, they went forth to the contest as to certain victory with indomitable resolution, and in the engagement shewed such a wealth of strength and boldness, that they made a slaughter of their opponents, and returned themselves all safe and sound without a single one killed or even wounded. Indeed, any spectator who did not know the facts would have supposed that they were returning not from a war or pitched battle but from those military reviews and displays of arms so frequently made in peace-time, which serve as drilling and practising grounds, where training for hostilities is carried on among friends. They proceeded to destroy the cities utterly by demolition or fire, so that no one could have told that

"trained in" followed by the acc. of respect is more appropriate.

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εἰπεῖν ἔχειν· αἰχμαλώτων δὲ σωμάτων ἀπερίληπτον ἀριθμὸν ἀπαγαγόντες ἄνδρας μὲν καὶ γυναῖκας κτείνειν ἕδικα ἀπαγόντες ἄνδρας μὲν καὶ γυναῖκας κτείνειν ἕδικαί ἀριθμόν ἀπαγόντες ἄνδρας μὲν καὶ γυναῖκας κτείνειν ἕδικαί ἀριθμόν ἀπαγόντες ἄνδρας μὲν καὶ γυναῖκας κτείνειν ἕδικαί ἀριθμόν ἀπαγόντες ἄνδρας μὲν καὶ γυναῖκας κτείνειν ἕδικαί ἀριθμόν ἀπαγόντες ἄνδρας μὲν καὶ γυναῖκας κτείνειν ἕδικαί ἀριθμόν ἀπαγόντες ἄνδρας μὲν καὶ γυναῖκας κτείνειν ἕδικαί ἀριθμόν ἀπαγόντες ἄνδρας μὲν καὶ γυναῖκας κτείνειν ἕδικαί ἀριθμόν ἀπαγόντες ἄνδρας μὲν καὶ γυναῖκας κτείνειν ἕδικαί ἀριθμόν ἀπαγόντες ἄνδρας μὲν καὶ γυναῖκας κτείνειν ἕδικαί

312 Λείας δὲ πολλῆς ἁγαν εὐπορήσαντες ἐκ τε τῶν βασιλείων κάκ τῶν ἰδιωτικῶν οἰκιῶν, ἔτι δὲ τῶν κατ' ἀγροὺς ἐσπαύλεων— ἂν γὰρ ἐν τοῖς χωρίοις οὐκ ἐλάττων τῆς ἐν τοῖς ἄστεσθον—, ἦκον εἰς τὸ στρατὸπεδον ἐπηχυσισμένοι τὸν παρὰ τῶν ἐχθρῶν πάντα πλοῦτον. ἔπαινεσας δὲ Μωυσῆς τὸν τε στρατηγὸν Φινεές καὶ τοὺς παραταξάμενος ἐπὶ τοῖς κατορθώμασι καὶ ὅτι ταῖς ὠφελεῖας οὐκ ἐπέδραμον τὴν λείαν μόνοι σφετερίσασθαι διανοηθέντες, ἀλλ' εἰς μέσον προοδεύειν, ἵνα καὶ οἱ καταμείναντες ἐν ταῖς σκηναῖς μετάσχωσι, προστάτησι τοὺς μὲν ἐξω τοῦ στρατοπέδου καταμένειν τινὰς ἦμέρας, τῷ δὲ μεγάλῳ ἱερεί καθάραι τοῦ φόνου τοὺς ἀπὸ τῆς παρατάξεως ἥκοντας τῶν συμμάχων. καὶ γὰρ εἰ νῷμοι αἱ κατ' ἐχθρῶν σφαγαί, ἀλλ' ὅ γε κτείνων ἀνθρωπον, εἰ καὶ δικαίως καὶ ἀμυνόμενος καὶ βιασθείς, ὑπάτιος εἶναι δοκεῖ διὰ τὴν ἀνωτάτω καὶ κοινῆς συγγένειας· ὦ γὰρ καθαρσίων ἐδέησε τοῖς κτείναισι πρὸς ἀπάλλαγην τοῦ νομισθέντος ἁγοὺς γεγενηθαι. LVIII. μετε οὔ πολὺν μὲν τοῦ χρόνου καὶ τῆς λείας διένεμε, τοῖς μὲν στρατευiyor
they had ever been inhabited. And, having carried off prisoners more than they could count, they felt justified in putting the men and women to death, the former because these iniquitous designs and actions had been begun by them, the women because they had bewitched the younger Hebrews and thus led them into licentiousness and impiety and finally to death; but to the boys who were quite young and the maidens they shewed the mercy which their tender age secured for them.

Having greatly enriched themselves with much booty from the palaces and private houses, and also from the country homesteads, since there was as much to be got from the estates as from the cities, they returned to the camp laden with all the wealth obtained from their enemies. Moses praised the general, Phinehas, and the combatants for their exploits, and also because they had not rushed to gain the prizes, nor thought of taking the spoil for themselves alone, but put it into a common stock, that those who had stayed behind in the tents might have their share. But he gave orders that they should stay outside the camp for some days, and that the high priest should purge from bloodshed those members of the united army who returned after being actually engaged. For, though the slaughter of enemies is lawful, yet one who kills a man, even if he does so justly and in self-defence and under compulsion, has something to answer for, in view of the primal common kinship of mankind. And therefore purification was needed for the slayers, to absolve them from what was held to have been a pollution.

LVIII. However, after a short time, he went on to distribute the spoil,
σαμένοις—όλιγος δ' ἀριθμὸς ἦσαν παρὰ τοὺς ἤσυχάσαντας—διδοὺς ἦμου μέρος, θάτερον δὲ τοῖς καταμείνασιν ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ δίκαιον γὰρ ύπέλαβεν εἶναι καὶ τούτοις μεταδόθην τῆς ὦφελείας, εἰ καὶ μὴ τοῖς σώμασι, ταῖς γοῦν ψυχαῖς δι- αγωνισαμένοις· οἱ γὰρ ἔφεδροι τῶν ἀγωνιστῶν οὐκ ἐλαττούμενοι ταῖς προθυμίαις χρόνῳ καὶ τῷ φθαρ- 

316 σθήναι μόνον ὑστερίζουσι. λαβόντων δὲ τῶν μὲν ὀλίγων πλείω διὰ τὸ προκινδυνεύσαι, τῶν δὲ πλειόνων ἐλάττω διὰ | τὴν ἔνδον μονήν, ἔδοξεν ἀναγκαῖον εἶναι πάσης τῆς λείας τὰς ἀπαρχὰς καθιερώσαι· τὸ μὲν οὖν πεντηκοστὸν οἱ ἔφεδροις, πεντακοσιοστὴν δὲ μοῖραν οἱ προπολεμή- 

317 χιλίαρχοι δὲ καὶ ἐκατόνταρχοι καὶ ὁ ἄλλος ὄμιλος λοχαγῶν καὶ ταξιαρχῶν ὑπὲρ τε τῆς αὐτῶν σωτηρίας καὶ τῶν συστρατευσαμένων καὶ τῆς παντὸς λόγου κρείττονος νίκης ἐθελοῦμεν κοιμίζουσιν ἐξ- αιρέτους ἀπαρχὰς, κόσμον τε χρυσοῦν ὅσον ἐκαστὸς ἐκ τῆς λείας ἀνέφεσε καὶ σκεύη πολυτελέστατα, ὅπως πάλιν ὡς χρυσὸς ἦν· ὁ Μωυσῆς λαβὼν καὶ τὴν εὐσέβειαν τῶν φερόντων ἀγάμενος ἀνατίθησιν ἐν τῇ καθιερωμένῃ σκηνῇ τῆς εὐχαριστίας τῶν ἀνδρῶν ὑπόμνημα. παγκάλη δὲ ἡ διανομή τῶν ἀπαρχῶν· 

318 τὰς μὲν τῶν μὴ πεπολεμηκότων, ἦμισειαν ἄρετῆς 440
giving half to the campaigners, who were a small number compared with those who had remained inactive, while the other half he gave to those who had stayed in the camp. For he considered that it was just to give them a part of the prizes, seeing that their souls at least, if not their bodies, had taken part in the conflict. For reserve troops are not inferior in spirit to the actual fighters, but take a second place only in time and because the first place is preoccupied by others. And, now that the few had taken more, because they were in the forefront of danger, and the many less, because they had remained in the camp, he thought it necessary to dedicate the firstfruits of all the spoil. So the reserves contributed a fiftieth, and those who had led the advance a five-hundredth. The offerings of the latter class he ordered to be given to the high priest, and those of the former class to the temple servants, who were called Levites. But the commanders of hundreds and thousands, and the rest of the company of officers who led the various divisions,\(^{a}\) voluntarily made a special offering of firstfruits in acknowledgement of the preservation of themselves and their fellow-combatants, and of the victory whose glory no words could describe. These offerings were all the golden ornaments which each of them obtained from the spoil, and very costly vessels also made of gold; all of which Moses took, and, honouring the piety of the donors, laid them up in the consecrated tabernacle as a memorial of their thankfulness. Admira-}

\(^{a}\) More literally "captain of regiments and brigades." The "taxiarch" is the higher of the two.
τὴν χωρὶς ἔργου προσβείλαν αὐτὸ μόνον ἐπιδειξα- 
μένων, τοῖς νεωκόροις ἀπένειμε, τὰς δὲ τῶν ἀγωνι-
σαμένων, οἱ σώμασι καὶ ψυχαῖς ἐκωδύνευσαν ὅλο-
κληρον ἀνδραγαθίαν παρασχόμενοι, τῷ προεστηκότι 
tῶν νεωκόρων ἱερεῖ τῷ μεγάλῳ, τὰς δὲ τῶν ταξι- 
αρχῶν ἀτε ἡγεμονικὰς τῷ συμπάντων ἡγεμόνι θεῷ. 

319 ΛΙΧ. Πάντες οὗτοι διεπολεμήθησαν οἱ πόλεμοι, 
μήπω διαβεβηκότων Ἰορδάνην τὸν ἐγχώριον ποτα-
mόν, πρὸς τοὺς τῆς ἀντιπέρας γῆς οἰκήτορας εὐ-
daίμονος καὶ βαθείας, ἐν ἣ πολλῇ πεδίας σιτο-
320 φόρῳ καὶ χιλὸν κτήσεσιν ἐνεγκείν ἄγαθη. ταῦτην 
ὡς ἔθεσαν τὴν χώραν αἰ κτηνοτρόφοι δύο φυλαί, 
μοῦρα τοῦ συμπαντός ἐκτῇ στρατοῦ, Μωυσῆν ἵκε-
tενον ἐπιτρέψαι τὰς κληρονομίας ἐνταῦθας ἐλαβεῖν 
αὐτὰς ἢδη ποτὲ ἱδρυθέσας,1 ἐπιτηδεύσας τὸν γὰρ 
ἔφασκον εἰναι τὸν τόπον ἐννέμεισθαι τε καὶ ἐμ-
βόσκεσθαι θρέμμασιν εὐβολίων οίκησει καὶ εὐχορτον καὶ 
321 προβατευσίμην ἀφθονον πόλεων ἀπαυγώμενον. .defaultValue=""""  
δὲ νομίζας αὐτοὺς ἢ προεδρία τὴν διανομὴν τὰ τε 
γέρα πρὸ καιροῦ λαμβάνειν ἁξιοῦν ἡ πρὸς τοὺς 
μελλόντας πολέμους ἀποκείναι, ἐφεδρεύοντων ἐτι 
πλειόνων βασιλέων, οἱ τὴν ἐσώ τοῦ ποταμοῦ χώραν 
dιεκεκλήρωσε, πάνω δυσχεράνας πρὸς οργὴν 
322 ἀποκρίνεται καὶ φησιν "ὑμεῖς μὲν οὖν ἐνταῦθοι 
καθεδείησθε σχολὴν ἐν ὑμῖν δὲντι καὶ ἄργιαν ἔξοντες, 
τοὺς δὲ ὑμετέρους συγγενεῖς καὶ φίλους οἱ λειπό-
μενοι τραχηλιοὺς πόλεμοι, καὶ τὰ μὲν ἄθλα μόνοις 
ὑμῖν ὡς ἐπὶ κατωρθώμενοι πᾶσι δοθήσεται, μάχαι 
[132] δὲ καὶ πόλει καὶ ταλαιπωρίας καὶ οἱ ἀνωτάτω 
  
1 The text has not been questioned, but seems to me 
difficult. Presumably αὐτὰς . . . ἱδρυθέσας refers to φυλαί, not 
to κληρονομίας, but no example is given of this construction 
with ἐπιτρέπω. I should like to read αὐτὰς . . . ἱδρυθέσας.
MOSES I. 318–322

had shewn a half-excellence by a zeal unaccompanied by action, he assigned to the temple servants; that of the fighters, who had hasarded bodies and souls, and thus displayed a complete measure of manly worth, he gave to the high priest, the president of the temple servants, that of the commanders of divisions, being the gift of captains, to the captain all, even God.

LIX. a All these wars were fought and won without crossing the river of the land, the Jordan, against the inhabitants of the rich and deep-soiled country on the outer side, where there was much expanse of plain fit for growing corn and providing excellent fodder for cattle. When the two cattle-breeding tribes, who were a sixth part of the whole host, surveyed this country, they besought Moses to let them take their allotments there and settle down at once; for the region, they said, was very well suited to give pasturage and grazing to cattle, being well supplied with water and grassland and producing of itself abundance of herbage for maintaining sheep. Moses, however, considered that they were either claiming to have precedence in the distribution and to take their prizes before they were due, or else were shirking the wars which awaited them, where more kings, whose possessions were situated on the inner side of the river, were still lying ready to resist them. Consequently, he was greatly incensed, and answered them angrily in these words: "Are you, then, to settle down here to enjoy an undeserved leisure and idleness, leaving your kinsfolk and friends to the agony of the wars which still remain? And are the prizes to be given to you alone, as though success was complete, while battles and labours and tribula-

\[\text{For §§ 319-333 see Num. xxxii.}\]
κίνδυνοι έτερους άναμενούσιν; άλλ' ού δίκαιον ὑμᾶς μὲν εἰρήνην καὶ τὰ ἐκ τῆς εἰρήνης ἀγαθὰ καρποῦσθι, τοὺς δ' ἄλλους πολέμους καὶ κακοῖς ἀμυθήτους ἐναθλεῖν, οὔτε προσθήκην τὸ ὅλον μέρους εἶναι: τούναντίον γὰρ ἑνεκα τῶν ὅλων τὰ μέρη κληρονομίας ἀξιοῦται. πάντες ἐστε ἴσοτιμοι, γένος ἐν, οἱ αὐτοὶ πατέρες, οἰκία μία, ἔθη τὰ αὐτά, κοινωνία νόμων, ἄλλα μυρία, ὃν ἐκαστὸν τὴν οἰκειότητα συνδεῖ καὶ πρὸς εὖνοιαν ἀρμόζεται. διὰ τί δὴ τῶν ἰσων ἐν τοῖς μεγίστοις καὶ ἀναγκαιοτάτοις ἀξιωθέντες ἐν ταῖς διανομαίς πλεονεκτήσετε, ἡ ἀρχοντες ὑπηκόων ἢ δεσπόται δούλων κατα-

324 φρονήσαντες; ἐδει μὲν ὑμᾶς ταῖς ἐτέρων πληγαίς πεπαιδεύσθαι: φρονίμων γὰρ ἀνδρῶν μη ἀναμένειν, ἄχρις ἐν ἐπ' αὐτούς ἔλθη τὰ δεινά· νυνὶ δὲ παραδείγματ' ἔχοντες οἰκεία τοὺς πατέρας, οἱ κατεσκέφασα τὴν ἡμέραν, καὶ τὰς ἐκεῖνων συμφορὰς καὶ τῶν συνεπιγράφηντων—ἀπαντες γὰρ ἐξω δυοὶ ἀπώλοντο—, δέον μηδενὶ τῶν ὁμοίων συνεπιγράφησθαι, δειλίαν, ὦ κενοί φρενώτε ζηλοῦτε οὐκ εὔαλωτέροι γενησόμενοι καὶ τὰς προθυμίας υποσκελίζετε τῶν ἀνδραγαθίζεσθαι προαιρομένων ἐκλύοντες καὶ παριέντες αὐτῶν τὰ φρονήματα. τοιγάρτοι σπεύδοντες ἀμαρτάνειν σπεύσετε καὶ πρὸς τιμωρίας· ἢ γάρ δίκη μόλις μὲν εἰσθε κινεῖσθαι, κινηθείσα δ' ἀπαξ φθάνει πρὸ-

325 ολαμβάνουσα τοὺς ἀποδιδράσκοντας. ὅταν οὐν

—

a Lit. "and is fitted to goodwill," i.e. fitted to take part in producing goodwill.

b The thought is taken from v. 23 (in Moses' second
tion and supreme dangers await the others? Nay, 323 it is not just that you should reap peace and its blessings, while the others are struggling with wars and countless ills, or that the whole should be a mere appendage to the parts, whereas, on the contrary, it is only on the merits of the whole that the parts are held deserving of their portion. You have all equal 324 rights with us; one race, the same fathers, one house, the same customs, community of laws, and other things innumerable, each of which strengthens the tie of kinship and the harmony of goodwill. Why, then, when you have been adjudged an equal share in the greatest and most vital matters, should you seek an unfair preference in the distribution, with the arrogance which a ruler might shew to his subjects or a master to his slaves? You ought, indeed, 325 to have learnt a lesson from the blows which others have suffered; for wise men do not wait till the calamity is upon them. As it is, though your own kin supplies you with examples of warning in your fathers who inspected this land, and in the misfortune of them and those who shared their craven-heartedness, all of whom perished save two, though you should not let your name be associated with any such as these, so senseless are you that you follow after cowardice and forget that it will make you an easier prey. And you upset the ardent resolution of those who are fully disposed to manliness, whose spirits you paralyse and unnerve. Therefore, in hastening to sin, you will be 326 hastening to punishment also; for it is the way of justice to be slow to move, but, when it is once moved, it overtakes and seizes the fugitives. When all the 327 speech). lxx “you shall know your sin, when evils overtake you.” E.V. “and be sure your sin will find you out.”
άπαντες μὲν οί ἑχθροὶ καθαυτισθῶσιν, ἐφεδρος δὲ μηδεῖς ἐτὶ προσδοκᾶται πόλεμος, ἐν δὲ ταῖς εὐθύναις ἀνεπίληπτοι δοκιμασθῶσιν οἱ σύμμαχοι, μὴ λιποτάξιον, μὴ λιποκυκλώσιον, μηδὲν ἄλλο τῶν ἐφ ήττη διαπεπραγμένου, παραμεμενεκτοῖς δὲ ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἄχρι τέλους φαίνονται καὶ τοῖς σώμασι καὶ ταῖς προθυμίαις, ἔρημωθη δὲ πᾶσα ἡ χώρα τῶν προενωκηκότων, τηνικαύτα δοθήσεται τὰ γέρα καὶ τὰ ἀριστεῖα ταῖς φυλαῖς ἐξ ἱσού.

328 LX. Τὴν δὲ νουθεσίαν πρᾶξις ἐνεγκόμενος ὡς γενόμενοι σφόδρα εὖνοι πατρὸς—ἡδεσαν γὰρ αὐτὸν οὐ καταλαβόμενον ἀρχῆς ἐξουσία, προκεκόμενον δὲ πάντων καὶ δικαιούμενον καὶ ὑστερίης τιμῶντα καὶ τὸ μισοπόνηρον οὐκ ἐπὶ οὔνειδει σωφρονισμῷ δὲ τῶν βελτιώθαι δυναμένων αἰεὶ συνιστομενον—“εἰκότως μὲν” ἐφασαν ἀγανακτεῖς, εἰ τοῦθ’ ὑπελήφας, ὅτι τὴν συμμαχίαν ἀπολιπόμενες 329 πρὸ καιροῦ τὰς λήξεις λαβεῖν ἐπειγόμεθα. χρῆ δὲ σαφῶς εἰδέναι, ὅτι οὐδὲν ἡμᾶς φοβεῖ τῶν σὺν ἀρετῆ, κἂν ἐπιπονώτατον τυγχάνη. κρίνομεν δὲ [133] ἀρετῆς ἐργα, πειθαρχεῖν τε | σοι τοιῷδε ἡγεμόνι καὶ τῶν δεινῶν μὴ υστερίζειν καὶ ἐν ἀπάσαις ἐξετάζεσθαι ταῖς μελλούσαις στρατείαις, ἀχρίς ἃν 330 τὰ πράγματα λάβη τέλος αὐτίσιον. ἠμεῖς μὲν οὖν καθὰ καὶ πρότερον συνταξάμενοι διαβηθημέθα τόν Ἰορδάνην ἐν ταῖς παντευκίαις, οὐδὲν τῶν δυνάτων πρόφασιν παρασχόντες μονής· νοιὸ δὲ κομιδῆ νήπιοι καὶ θυγατέρες καὶ γυναῖκες καὶ τὸ πλῆθος τῶν

1 Cohn and Mangey both question this use of ποιούμενον, but do not propose any satisfactory emendation. Perhaps
enemies are destroyed, and there is no prospect of war still awaiting us; when all the confederates have on scrutiny been found guiltless of desertion from the ranks or from the army, or of any other action which is the sequel of defeat, but have proved their constancy both of body and spirit from first to last; when finally the whole country has been cleared of its former inhabitants, then will the prizes and rewards for valour be given to the tribes on equal terms."

LX. The two tribes listened to this admonition meekly, as true-born sons to a very kindly father. For they knew that he did not speak with an arrogance founded on official authority, but out of solicitude for them all and respect for justice and equality, and that his detestation of evil was never meant to cast reproach but always to bring those capable of improvement to a better mind. "You are naturally indignant," they replied, "if you have got the idea that we are eager to leave the confederacy and take our portions before they are due. But you must clearly understand that no form of virtuous conduct, however toilsome it may be, alarms us. And by virtuous conduct we understand that we should obey you, great leader as you are, and be backward in no danger, and take our place in all the coming campaigns until the happy consummation is reached. We will, therefore, as before, take our place in the ranks, and cross Jordan with our full equipment, and give none of our armed men any excuse to stay behind; but our sons who are mere children and our daughters and our wives and our great stock of cattle would accord with the ordinary usage of the middle.
βοσκημάτων, ἐὰν ἐπιτρέπῃς, ύπολειψονται, πασι μὲν καὶ γυναιξὶν οἰκίας ἐπαύλεις δὲ θρέμμασι κατασκευασάντων ἥμων, ἵνα μηδὲν ἔξεπιδρομῆς δευτὸν πάθωσιν ἐν ἀτείχιστοι καὶ ἀφροῦρητοι προκαταληφθέντες."

331. Ο δ’ ὤλεω τῷ βλέμματι καὶ πρωτέρα τῇ φωνῇ ἀφευδοῦσιν ὑμῖν ἐφη “βέβαιοι μενούσι ας ἔτησασθε λήξεις. ύπολείπεσθε μὲν ὡς ἀξιόυτε γυναῖκας καὶ παίδας καὶ βοσκήματα, κατὰ λόχους δ’ αὐτοὶ διαβαίνετε μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων ὑπαλισμένοι καὶ ἐκτεταγμένοι πρὸς μάχην ὡς αὐτίκα, ἦν δέ, πολεμῶντες. αὕτης δ’ ὅταν ἀπαντεὶ οἱ ἔχθροι καθαιρεθῶσι καὶ γενομένης εἰρήνης τῇι χώραν οἱ κεκρατηκότες διανείμωνται, καὶ ἴμεις ἐπανελεύσεσθε πρὸς τοὺς οἰκείους τῶν ἐπιβαλλόντων ἀπολαύσοντες ἀγαθῶν καὶ καρπωσόμενοι ἦν εἴλεσθε μοίραν.” ταῦτα ἐπονόμασε καὶ ὑποσχόμενον, πληρωθέντες εὐθυμίας καὶ χαρᾶς τοὺς μὲν οἰκείους μετὰ τῶν θρεμμάτων ἁσφαλῶς ἐν ἔρυμασι δυσαλώτοις, ὡς τὰ πλείστα χειροποίητα ἦν, ἔδρυνται, τὰ δ’ ὅπλα ἀναλαβόντες ἔξεθεν τῶν ἄλλων συμμάχων προθυμότερον ὣς ἦ μόνοι πολεμήσοντες ἡ προαγωνιοῦμενοί πάντων. ὁ γὰρ προλαβὼν τινα δωρεάν προθυμότερος εἰς συμμαχίαν, ἀποτίνεω ἀναγκαίον ὰνήμα νομίζων, αὐτός ἕλεσθαι.

333. Τὰ μὲν δὴ κατὰ τὴν βασιλείαν πεπραγμένα αὐτῷ μεμήνυται. λεκτέον δ’ ἐξῆς καὶ ὡς διὰ τῆς ἀρχιερωσύνης καὶ νομοθετικῆς κατώρθωσε. καὶ γὰρ ταῦτα περιποίησατο τὸς δυνάμεις ὡς ἀρμοττουσας μάλιστα βασιλεία.

1 mss. πάντως.
will be left behind, if you permit, after we have built houses for the women and children and sheds for the animals, since otherwise, caught before we return, in a position unfortified and unprotected, they might meet with disaster at the hands of raiders."

Moses' face was kindly and his tones milder, as he replied as follows: "If you are true to your words, the apportionments which you have asked shall remain secure to you. Leave your women and children and cattle, as you demand, and cross the river yourselves in your battalions with the rest, fully armed and arrayed for the fight, ready to engage at once if necessary. Later, when all the enemy are destroyed, and, peace having been made, the victors divide the land, you too will return to your people to enjoy the good things that fall to your share and reap the fruits of the lot that you have chosen." When they heard these promises from his lips, filled with joy and courage, they settled their people and cattle safely in positions strongly protected against assault, in most cases by artificial fortifications. Then, taking up their arms, they rushed to the field more eagerly than the other confederates, as though they would wage the war alone or at any rate be the first of all to enter the conflict. For the acceptance of a gift beforehand increases a man's readiness to support his comrades. He feels that he is not a free giver, but is repaying a debt which he cannot escape.

We have now told the story of Moses' actions in his capacity of king. We must next deal with all that he achieved by his powers as high priest and legislator, powers which he possessed as the most fitting accompaniments of kingship.
ΠΕΡΙ ΤΟΥ ΒΙΟΥ ΜΩΥΣΕΩΣ ΛΟΓΟΣ
ΔΕΥΤΕΡΟΣ

[134]
1 Ι. 'Η μεν προτέρα σύνταξις ἐστὶ περὶ γενέσεως τῆς Μωσεῶς καὶ τροφῆς, ἐτὶ δὲ παιδείας καὶ ἀρχῆς, ἢν οὐ μόνον ἀνεπιλήπτως ἄλλα καὶ σφόδρα ἐπανετῶς ἵρευ, καὶ τῶν ἐν τε Αἰγύπτῳ καὶ ταῖς ὁδοιπορίαις ἐπὶ τῇ ἑρυθρᾷ θαλάσσῃ καὶ κατὰ τὴν ἐρήμην πεπραγμένων, ἀ δύναμιν πᾶσαν λόγων ὑπερβάλλει, καὶ προσέτι πόνων οὐς κατώρθωσε καὶ κληρονομην ἃς ἐκ μέρους ἀπένεμε τοῖς στρατευσαμένοις. ἦν δὲ νῦν συντάττομεν, περὶ τῶν ἐπομένων καὶ ἀκολούθων. φασί γάρ τινες οὐκ ἀπὸ σκοποῦ, μόνως ἂν οὕτω τὰς πόλεις ἐπιδοῦναι πρὸς τὸ βέλτιον, ἐὰν ἦν ὁ βασιλεύς φιλοσοφὸς, ἢ οἱ βασιλεῖς φιλοσοφήσωσιν ή οἱ βασιλεύσωσιν. δ' ἐκ περιττοῦ φανεῖται μὴ μόνον τὰς ἐπιδειγμένας τὰς δύναμεις ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ βασιλικῇ καὶ φιλόσοφον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τρεῖς ἠτέρας, ὃν ἦν μὲν πραγματεύεται περὶ νομοθεσίας, ἢ δὲ περὶ ἀρχιερωσύνης, ἢ δὲ τελευταῖα περὶ προφητείας. περὶ δὲ νῦν λέγειν εἰλήμην ἀναγκαίως ὑπολαβὼν τῷ αὐτῷ πάντ' ἐφαρμότιν ἐγένετο γὰρ προνοίᾳ θεοῦ βασιλεύς τε καὶ νομοθέτης καὶ ἀρχιερεὺς καὶ προφήτης καὶ ἐν ἑκάστῳ

a Plato, Rep. v. 473 d.
ON THE LIFE OF MOSES, BOOK II

I. The former treatise dealt with the birth and nurture of Moses; also with his education and career as a ruler, in which capacity his conduct was not merely blameless but highly praiseworthy; also with the works which he performed in Egypt and during the journeys both at the Red Sea and in the wilderness—works which no words can adequately describe; further, with the troubles which he successfully surmounted, and with his partial distribution of territories to the combatants. The present treatise is concerned with matters allied and consequent to these. For it has been said, not without good reason, that states can only make progress in well-being if either kings are philosophers or philosophers are kings. But Moses will be found to have displayed, and more than displayed, combined in his single person, not only these two faculties—the kingly and the philosophical—but also three others, one of which is concerned with law-giving, the second with the high priest's office, and the last with prophecy. On these three I have now elected to write, being forced to the conviction that it is fitting that they should be combined in the same person. For Moses, through God's providence, became king and lawgiver and high priest and prophet; and in each function he won the highest
τὰ πρωτεία ἤνέγκατο· διὰ τί δὲ τῶ αὐτῷ πάντ᾽ ἐφ-τά πρωτεία· διὰ τί δὲ τῶ αὐτῷ πάντ᾽ ἐφ-4 αρμόττει, δηλωτέον. βασιλεῖ προσήκει προστάττειν ἀ ἀρχή καὶ ἀπαγορεύειν ἀ μὴν ἄρχη πρόστασις δὲ τῶν πρακτέων καὶ ἀπαγόρευσι τῶν οὐ πρακτέων ἠδιών νόμον, ὅς εὐθὺς εἶναι τὸν μὲν βασιλέα νόμον 5 ἐμψυχον, τὸν δὲ νόμον βασιλέα δίκαιον. βασιλεὺς δὲ καὶ νομοθέτης ὀφείλει μὴ τὰνθρώπεια μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰ θεῖα συνεπισκοπεῖν· οὐ γὰρ ἄνευ θείας ἐπιφροσύνης κατορθοῦται τὰ βασιλείων καὶ ὑπηκόων πράγματα· δι᾽ ἣν αἰτίαν ἐδέησε τῷ τοιούτῳ τῆς πρώτης ἐρωσύνης, ἦν ἐπὶ τελείων ἱεροῖς καὶ ἐπιστήμη ἐπικονία τῆς τοῦθεοῦ θεραπείας ἀπορροφήν μὲν κακῶν μετουσίαν δὴ ἁγαθῶν αὐτῷ τε καὶ τοὺς ἀρχιμένους ἀιτίαν παρὰ τοῦ ἱλιου καὶ ταῖς εὐχαῖς συνεπικυρίωντος· πῶς γὰρ οὐ τελεσφορήσει τὰς εὐ- χάς ὁ καὶ ἐκ φύσεως εὐμενῆς καὶ τοὺς γνησίως θεραπεύοντας αὐτῶν προνομίας ἄξιῶν; 6 ἄλλῳ ἐπειδὴ μυρία καὶ βασιλεῖ καὶ νομοθέτη καὶ ἀρχιερεῖ τῶν ἄνθρωπεων καὶ θείων ἄγαθα—γε- νητός γὰρ οὐδὲν ὦττον καὶ θνητός ἐστιν, εἰ καὶ τοσούτον καὶ οὕτως ἁθονον περιβεβληται κλήρον εὐπραγιών,— ἀναγκαίως καὶ προφητείας ἐτυχεῖν, ἦν ὅσα μὴ λογισμῶ δύναται καταλαμβάνειν, ταῦτα προνοία θεοῦ εὔροι· ὅν γὰρ ὁ νοῦς ἀπολείπεται, 7 πρὸς ταῦτ᾽ ἡ προφητεία φθάνει. καλὴ γε ἡ συζυγία καὶ παναρμόνιος τῶν τεττάρων δυνάμεων· ἐμ- πλεκόμεναι γὰρ καὶ ἀλλήλων ἐχόμεναι συγχορεύουσι 8 τὰς ὀφελείας ἀντιλαμβάνουσα τε καὶ ἀντεκ- τίνουσαι, μμούμεναι τὰς παρθένους Χάριτας, ἀλς μὴ διαζεύγνυσθαι νόμος φύσεως ἀκίνητος· ἐφ᾽ ὅν

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Cf. De Abr. 5 and note, and see App. p. 605.
place. But why it is fitting that they should all be combined in the same person needs explanation. It is a king's duty to command what is right and forbid what is wrong. But to command what should be done and to forbid what should not be done is the peculiar function of law; so that it follows at once that the king is a living law, and the law a just king. But a king and lawgiver ought to have under his purview not only human but divine things; for, without God's directing care, the affairs of kings and subjects cannot go aright. And therefore such as he needs the chief priest-hood, so that, fortified with perfect rites and the perfect knowledge of the service of God, he may ask that he and those whom he rules may receive prevention of evil and participation in good from the gracious Being Who assents to prayers. For surely that Being will grant fulfilment to prayers, seeing that He is kindly by nature and deems worthy of His special favour those who give Him genuine service. But, since to this king, lawgiver and high priest who, though possessed of so generous a heritage of fortune's gifts, is after all but a mortal creature, countless things both human and divine are wrapped in obscurity, Moses necessarily obtained prophecy also, in order that through the providence of God he might discover what by reasoning he could not grasp. For prophecy finds its way to what the mind fails to reach. Beautiful and all-harmonious is the union of these four faculties; for, intertwined and clinging to each other, they move in rhythmic concord, mutually receiving and repaying benefits, and thus imitate the virgin Graces whom an immutable law of nature forbids to be separated. And of them it may be justly
δεόντως εἴποι τις ἂν, ὅ καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν ἄρετῶν εἰώθε λέγεσθαι, ὅτι ὁ μίαν ἔχων καὶ πᾶσας ἔχει.

8 Π. Ρητέον δὲ πρῶτον περὶ τῶν κατὰ τὴν νομοθετικὴν ἔξων. οὐκ ἄγνωμον μὲν οὖν, ὅτι τῷ μέλλοντι ἄριστῳ γενήσεσθαι νομοθήτῃ προσήκει παντελέσι καὶ ὅλοκλήρως κεχρῆσθαι ταῖς ἄρεταῖς πάσαις· ἐπεὶ δὲ κἂν ταῖς οἰκίαις οἱ μὲν ἐγγυτὰτοι πάντες αἰσίων, οἱ δὲ πόρρω, συγγενεῖς δὲ πάντες ἀλλήλων, καὶ τῶν ἄρετῶν τὰς μὲν πρὸς προσπεφυκέναι νομιστέον μᾶλλον εἰνόις πράγμασι, τὰς δὲ ἡττον ὑκεύσεσι.

9 νομοθετικὴ δ’ ἀδελφὰ καὶ συγγενῆ τέτταρα ταυτὶ διαφέροντως ἐστὶ· τὸ φιλάνθρωπον, τὸ φιλοδίκαιον, τὸ φιλάγαθον, τὸ μισοπόνηρον· ὑπὸ γάρ τοὺς ἐκάστου παρακαλεῖται πᾶσι, ὅτως ξῆλος εἰσέρχεται τοῦ νομοθετεῖν, φιλανθρωπίας μὲν εἰς μέσον προτιθέναι τὰς κοινωφελεῖς γνώμας ἀναδιδασκούσης, δικαιοσύνης δὲ ὡς ἴσοτητα τιμητέον καὶ ὡς τὸ κατ’ ἄξιον ἀπονεμητέον ἐκάστοις, φιλαγαθίας δ’ ἀποδέχεσθαι τὰ φύσει καλὰ καὶ παρέχειν ἀπασι τῶν ἄξιοις ἀταμενεῖ πρὸς ἀφθονωτὰτην χρῆσιν, μισοπονηρίας δὲ προβεβλῆσθαι τοὺς ἀτιμάζοντος ἄρετὴν καὶ ὡς κοινοῖς δυσμενεῖς τοῦ τῶν ἄνθρωπων γένους ὑποβλέπεσθαι. μέγα μὲν οὖν, εἰ τῷ καὶ ἐν τῷ τῶν λεχθέντων λαβεῖν ἐγένετο, θαυμαστὸν δ’ ὡς ἐοικε τούτων ἄθρόων περιδράξασθαι δυνηθήναι, οὗ μόνος Μωυσῆς ἐφικέσθαι δοκεῖ τρανόωσας εὑ μάλα τὰς εἰρημένας ἄρετὰς ἐν οἷς διετάξατο. συνίσασι δ’ οἱ ταῖς ιεραῖς βιβλίοις ἐντυγχάνοντες, ὡς οὐκ ἂν, εἰ μὴ τοιοῦτος ἐπεφύκει, συνέγραψεν ὕφηγησαμένου θεοῦ καὶ παρέδωκε τοῖς ἄξιοις χρῆσθαι, κτημάτων

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said, what is often said of the virtues, that to have one is to have all.\textsuperscript{a} 

II. First, we must speak of the legislative condition of mind. I know, indeed, that he who is to obtain excellence as a legislator should possess all the virtues fully and completely. But, since also in households there are some very nearly and others only distantly connected with the family, though all are akin to each other, so too we must suppose that some virtues are more closely associated with some situations, while others have less affinity. The legislative faculty has for its brothers and close kinsfolk these four in particular: love of humanity, of justice, of goodness, and hatred of evil. Each of these has its message of encouragement for everyone who is inspired with a zeal for law-making. By love of humanity he is bidden to produce for public use his thoughts for the common weal; by justice to honour equality and to render to every man his due; by love of goodness to approve of things naturally excellent, and to supply them without reserve to all who are worthy of them for their unstinted use; by hatred of evil to spurn the dishonourers of virtue, and frown upon them as the common enemies of the human race. It is no small thing if it is given to anyone to acquire even one of these—a marvel surely that he should be able to grasp them all together. And to this Moses alone appears to have attained, who shews distinctly these aforesaid virtues in his ordinances. They know this well who read the sacred books, which, unless he was such as we have said, he would never have composed under God's guidance and handed on for the use of those who are worthy to use them, to be their fairest pos-
τὸ κάλλιστον, τῶν ἁγαλματοφορομένων ἐν τῇ ψυχῇ παραδειγμάτων ἀπεικονίσματα καὶ μμῆματα, ἃ καὶ οἱ δηλωθέντες νόμοι γεγόνασι σαφέστατα τὰς λεχθείσας ἐμφαίνοντες ἀρετὰς.

12 III. "Ὅτι δὴ αὐτὸς τε νομοθετῶν ἄριστος τῶν πανταχόον πάντων, ὅσοι παρ᾽ Ἑλληνών ἡ βαρβάροις ἐγένοντο, καὶ οἱ νόμοι κάλλιστοι καὶ ὃς ἄλθως θείοι μηδὲν ἂν χρῆ παραλιπόντες, ἐναργεστάτη πίστις ἐδ᾽ τὰ μὲν τῶν ἄλλων νόμμων εἰ τις ἐπίοι τῷ λογισμῷ, διὰ μυρίας προφάσεις εὐρήσει κεκυκνιμένα, πολέμιοι ἡ τυραννίδος ἡ τισιν ἄλλοις ἀβουλήτους, ἡ νεωτερισμῷ τύχης κατασκήπτει πολλάκις δὲ καὶ τρυφῆ πλεονάσσασα χορηγίαις καὶ περιουσίαις ἀφθόνοις καθεῖλε νόμους, "τὰ λίαν ἀγαθὰ" τῶν πολλῶν φέρειν οὐ δυναμένων, ἄλλα διὰ κόρον ἐξυβριζόντων ὑβρις δ᾽ ἀντίπαλον νόμῳ. τὰ δὲ τούτου μόνου βέβαια, ἀσάλευτα, ἀκράδαντα, καθάπερ σφραγίσει φύσεως αὐτῆς σεσημασμένα, μένει παγίως ἂφ᾽ ἡμέρας ἐγκαθίσταται ἐναργέστατη πίστις ἐπί τῶν ἔπειτα πάντα διαμενεῖν ἐλπίς αὐτὰ ἁίδων ὥσπερ ἁθάνατα, ἐως ἢ ἡλιος καὶ σελήνη καὶ ὁ σύμπας οὐδρανός τε καὶ κόσμος ἦ. τοσαῦταις γούν χρησαμένου τοῦ ἐθνοῦς μεταβολάς κατὰ τὰ εὐπραγίας καὶ τούναντιον, οὐδὲν άλλ᾽ οὐδὲ τὸ μικρότατον αὐτῶν ἐκινήθη, πάντων ὡς έοικε τοῦ σεμνοῦ καὶ θεοπρεπῆς αὐτῶν ἑκτετμηκότων. ἃ δὲ μὴ λιμός ἡ λοιμός ἡ πόλεμος ἡ βασιλεύς ἡ τύραννος ἡ ψυχῆς ἡ σώματος ἡ παθῶν ἡ κακιῶν ἑπανάστασις ἡ τὶ ἄλλο θεῆλατον ἡ ἀνθρώπειον κακὸν ἔλυσε, πῶς οὗ περιμάχητα καὶ παντὸς λόγου κρείττονα καθ-

	* See De Abr. 134 and note.
session, likenesses and copies of the patterns enshrined in the soul, as also are the laws set before us in these books, which shew so clearly the said virtues.

III. That Moses himself was the best of all law-givers in all countries, better in fact than any that have ever arisen among either the Greeks or the barbarians, and that his laws are most excellent and truly come from God, since they omit nothing that is needful, is shewn most clearly by the following proof. Anyone who takes a considered view of the institutions of other peoples will find that they have been unsettled by numberless causes—wars, tyrannies or other mishaps—which the revolutions of fortune have launched upon them. Often, too, luxury, growing to excess by lavish supplies of superfluities, has upset the laws; because the mass of people, being unable to bear “good things in excess,” a becomes surfeited and consequently violent: and violence is the enemy of law. But Moses is alone in this, that his laws, firm, unshaken, immovable, stamped, as it were, with the seals of nature herself, remain secure from the day when they were first enacted to now, and we may hope that they will remain for all future ages as though immortal, so long as the sun and moon and the whole heaven and universe exist. Thus, though the nation has undergone so many changes, both to increased prosperity and the reverse, nothing—not even the smallest part of the ordinances—has been disturbed; because all have clearly paid high honour to their venerable and godlike character. But that which no famine nor pestilence nor war nor king nor tyrant, no rebel assault of soul or body or passion or vice, nor any other evil whether of God’s sending or man’s making, could undo, must surely be precious
17 ἐστηκεν; 

18 πρόσεστιν ἐτέρω. σηµειόν δὲ τῶν κατὰ τὴν Ἕλλαδα καὶ βάρβαρον, ὡς ἔτοσ εἰς τοῖς πάλιν ἔστιν, ἤ τὰ ἐτέρας νόµιµα τιµᾶ, µόλις δὲ καὶ τῶν αὐτῆς εἰς ἀνεί περιέχεται, πρὸς τὰς τῶν καὶ καὶ τῶν πραγµάτων µεθαρµοζόµενη τροπάς.

19 Ἀθηναῖοι τὰ Λακεδαιµονίων ἔθη καὶ νόµιµα προβέβληνται καὶ Λακεδαιµόνιοι τὰ Ἀθηναίων· ἀλλ᾿ οὕθε κατὰ τὴν βάρβαρον Αἰγύπτιοι τοὺς Σκυθῶν νόµους φυλάττουσιν ἡ Σκύθαι τοὺς Αἰγυπτίων ἡ συνελόντι φράσαι τοὺς τῶν καὶ Εὐρύπην οἱ τὴν Ἀσίαν οἰκοίντες ἢ τοὺς τῶν Ἀσιανῶν ἐθνῶν οἱ ἐν Εὐρώπῃ· ἀλλὰ σχεδὸν οἱ ἀφ᾽ ἧλιον ἄνωτος ἅχρι δυοµένου, πᾶσα χώρα καὶ ἔθνος καὶ πόλις, τῶν ξενικῶν νοµίµων ἀλλοτριοῦνται καὶ οἴονται τὴν τῶν οἰκείων ἀποδοχὴν, εἰ τὰ παρὰ τῶν µονοὶ ἀτῖµαζοιεν, συναυξήσεις. ἀλλ᾿ οὐχ ὡδ᾽ ἔχει τὰ ἡµέτερα· πάντας γὰρ ἐπαγέται καὶ συνεπιστρέφει, βαρβάρους, Ἔλληνας, ἦπειρώτας, νησιώτας, ἐθνη τὰ ἑώρα, τὰ ἐπίστερα, Εὐρώπην, Ἀσίαν, ἀπασαν τὴν οικουµένην ἀπὸ περάτων ἐπὶ πέρατα.

20 τὸς γὰρ τὴν ἱερὰν ἐκεῖνην ἐβδόµην οὐκ ἐκτετίµηκεν, ἄνεσιν πῶλων καὶ ῥαστώνην αὐτῶ τε
beyond what words can describe. 

IV. Yet, though it may be rightly thought a great matter in itself that the laws should have been guarded securely through all time, we have not reached the true marvel. There is something surely still more wonderful—even this: not only Jews but almost every other people, particularly those which take more account of virtue, have so far grown in holiness as to value and honour our laws. In this they have received a special distinction which belongs to no other code. Here is the proof. Throughout the world of Greeks and barbarians, there is practically no state which honours the institutions of any other. Indeed, they can scarcely be said to retain their own perpetually, as they adapt them to meet the vicissitudes of times and circumstances. The Athenians reject the customs and institutions of the Lacedaemonians, and the Lacedaemonians those of the Athenians; nor, in the world of the barbarians, do the Egyptians maintain the laws of the Scythians nor the Scythians those of the Egyptians—nor, to put it generally, Europeans those of Asiatics nor Asiatics those of Europeans. We may fairly say that mankind from east to west, every country and nation and state, shew aversion to foreign institutions, and think that they will enhance the respect for their own by shewing disrespect for those of other countries. It is not so with ours. They attract and win the attention of all, of barbarians, of Greeks, of dwellers on the mainland and islands, of nations of the east and the west, of Europe and Asia, of the whole inhabited world from end to end. For, who has not shewn his high respect for that sacred seventh day, by giving rest and relaxation from labour to himself
καὶ τοῖς πλησιάζουσιν, οὐκ ἐλευθέρους μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ δούλους, μᾶλλον δὲ καὶ ὑποξύνιοις διδοὺς; 22 φθάνει γὰρ ἡ ἐκεχειρία καὶ πρὸς πᾶσαν ἀγέλην καὶ ὅσα πρὸς ὑπηρεσίαν γέγονεν ἀνθρώπων καθάπερ δοῦλα θεραπεύοντα τὸν φύσει δεσπότην, φθάνει καὶ πρὸς δένδρων καὶ φυτῶν ἀπασαν ἰδέαν· οὐ γὰρ ἔρνος, οὐ κλάδον, ἀλλ’ οὐδὲ πέταλον ἐφεῖται τεμεῖν ἢ καρπὸν ὄντινοιν δρέψασθαι, πάντων διαφειμένων [138] κατ’ ἐκείνην | τὴν ἡμέραν καὶ ὠσπέρ ἐλευθερίαν ἀγόντων, κοινῷ κηρύγματι μηδενὸς ἐπιψαύντως.

23 τίς δὲ τὴν λεγομένην νηστίεν ὑπεςτεῖ οὐ τέθηπτε καὶ προσκυνεῖ δι’ ἐτους ἁγομένην τῆς ἱερομηνίας αὐστηρότερον καὶ σεμνότερον τρόπου; ἐν ἦ μὲν γὰρ πόλις ἀκρατος καὶ τράπεζαι πολυτελεῖς καὶ ὅσα περὶ ἐδωδήν καὶ πόσιν ἀφθονα πάντα, δι’ ἵνα ἂν αὐτὸς τοιαύτης ἠθοναί συναύζονται προσαναρρηγνύσαι καὶ τὰς ὑπογαστρίας ἐπιθυμίας· ἐν δ’ οὐ σιτίον, οὐ ποτόν εξεστι προσενέγκασθαι, καθαράς ὅπως διανοίας, μηδενὸς ἐν-οχλοῦντος μὴν ἐμποδίζοντος σωματικοῦ πάθους, ὡς φιλεῖ συμβαίνειν ἐκ πλησιμονῆς, ἑορτάζωσιν ἑαυσκόμενοι τῶν πατέρα τοῦ παντὸς αἰώνοις εὐχαί, δι’ ἵνα ἀμηστίαν μὲν παλαιῶν ἀμαρτημάτων, κτήσων δὲ καὶ ἀπόλαυσιν νέων ἁγαθῶν εἰώθασιν αὐτείσθαι.

24 τοῦ δὲ τῆς νομοθεσίας ἱεροπρεπές ώς οὐ παρ’ Ἰουδαῖοις μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ παρὰ πᾶσι τοῖς ἅλλοις τεθαύμασται, δήλων ἐκ τε τῶν εἰρημένων ἧδη κάκτων μελλόντων λέγεσθαι. τὸ παλαιὸν ἐγράφησαν

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a i.e. the Day of Atonement. For the term “the fast” cf. Acts xxvii. 9.
b Or “holy season.” A vague term (not indicating necessarily a whole month) for the periods varying with
and his neighbours, freemen and slaves alike, and beyond these to his beasts? For the holiday extends also to every herd, and to all creatures made to minister to man, who serve like slaves their natural master. It extends also to every kind of trees and plants; for it is not permitted to cut any shoot or branch, or even a leaf, or to pluck any fruit whatsoever. All such are set at liberty on that day, and live as it were in freedom, under the general edict that proclaims that none should touch them. Again, who does not every year shew awe and reverence for the fast, as it is called, which is kept more strictly and solemnly than the "holy month" of the Greeks? For in this last the untempered wine flows freely, and the board is spread sumptuously, and all manner of food and drink are lavishly provided, whereby the insatiable pleasures of the belly are enhanced, and further cause the outburst of the lusts that lie below it. But in our fast men may not put food and drink to their lips, in order that with pure hearts, untroubled and untrammelled by any bodily passion, such as is the common outcome of repletion, they may keep the holy-day, propitiating the Father of All with fitting prayers, in which they are wont to ask that their old sins may be forgiven and new blessings gained and enjoyed.

V. That the sanctity of our legislation has been a source of wonder not only to the Jews but also to all other nations, is clear both from the facts already mentioned and those which I proceed to state. In different Greek states, in which hostilities or legal processes were forbidden.

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For the relation of this remarkable account (§§ 26-44) of the making of the Septuagint to other traditions see App. pp. 605-606.
οἱ νόμοι γλώσση Χαλδαϊκή καὶ μέχρι πολλοῦ διέμειναν ἐν ὁμοίῳ τὴν διάλεκτον οὐ μεταβάλλοντες, ἐως μήπω τὸ κάλλος εἰς τοὺς ἄλλους 27 ἀνθρώπους ἀνέφηναν αὐτῶν. ἔτει δὲ ἐκ τῆς καθ' ἐκάστην ἡμέραν συνεχοῦς μελέτης καὶ ἀσκήσεως τῶν χρωμένων αἰσθήσεως ἐγένετο καὶ ἐτέρως καὶ τὸ κλέος ἐφοίτα πανταχόσε—τὰ γὰρ καλὰ κἂν φθόνῳ πρὸς ὅλιγον ἐπισκιασθῇ χρόνον, ἐπὶ καὶρῶν αὕτης ἀναλάμπει φύσεως εὐμενεία—, δεινῶν ἡγεσιμονεὶν τινες, εἰ οἱ νόμοι παρὰ τῷ ἡμίσει τμῆμα τοῦ γένους ἀνθρώπων ἐξετασθήσονται μόνω τῷ βαρβαρικῷ, τὸ δ' Ἑλληνικὸν εἰς ἀπαν ἀμοιρή- 28 σει, πρὸς ἐρμηνείαν τὴν τοῦτων ἔτραποντο. τὸ δ' ἔργον ἔτει καὶ μέγα ἢν καὶ κοινωφελὲς, οὐκ ἰδιώ- ταις οὐδ' ἄρχουσιν, ὃν πολὺς ἀριθμός, ἀλλὰ βασιλεύσει καὶ βασιλεώς ἀνετέθη τῷ δοκιμωτάτῳ. 29 Πτολεμαῖος ὁ Φιλάδελφος ἐπικληθεὶς τρίτος μὲν ἢν ἀπ' Ἀλεξάνδρου τοῦ τὴν Αἰγύπτου παραλαβόν- τος, ἀρεταῖς δὲ ταῖς ἐν ἡγεμονίᾳ πάντων, οὐχὶ [139] τῶν καθ' αὐτῶν μόνων, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν πάλαι πῶς ἔγενησαιν, ὃ καὶ μέχρι νῦν τοσαῦτας ὑστερον γενεάις θεδεῖ τὸ κλέος πολλὰ δείγματα καὶ μνημεία τῆς μεγαλοφροσύνης κατὰ πόλεις καὶ χώρας ἀπολιπόντος, ὡς καὶ εἰς παροιμίας εἴδει τὰς ὑπερόγκους φιλοτιμίας καὶ μεγάλας κατα- σκευὰς Φιλαδελφεῖους ἀπ' ἐκείνου καλεῖσθαι. 30 συνόλως μὲν οὖν ἢ τῶν Πτολεμαίων οἰκίᾳ δια- φερόντως παρὰ τάς ἄλλας βασιλείας ἡκμασε, ἐν δὲ τοὺς Πτολεμαίοις ὁ Φιλάδελφος—ὁ σα γὰρ εἰς ἔδρασεν οὗτος ἐπαινετά, μόλις ἐκεῖνοι πάντες
ancient times the laws were written in the Chaldean tongue, and remained in that form for many years, without any change of language, so long as they had not yet revealed their beauty to the rest of mankind. But, in course of time, the daily, unbroken regularity of practice exercised by those who observed them brought them to the knowledge of others, and their fame began to spread on every side. For things excellent, even if they are beclouded for a short time through envy, shine out again under the benign operation of nature when their time comes. Then it was that some people, thinking it a shame that the laws should be found in one half only of the human race, the barbarians, and denied altogether to the Greeks, took steps to have them translated. In view of the importance and public utility of the task, it was referred not to private persons or magistrates, who were very numerous, but to kings, and amongst them to the king of highest repute. Ptolemy, surnamed Philadelphus, was the third in succession to Alexander, the conqueror of Egypt. In all the qualities which make a good ruler, he excelled not only his contemporaries, but all who have arisen in the past; and even till to-day, after so many generations, his praises are sung for the many evidences and monuments of his greatness of mind which he left behind him in different cities and countries, so that, even now, acts of more than ordinary munificence or buildings on a specially great scale are proverbially called Philadelphian after him. To put it shortly, as the house of the Ptolemies was highly distinguished, compared with other dynasties, so was Philadelphus among the Ptolemies. The creditable achievements of this one man almost outnumbered
διεπράζαντο—γενόμενος καθάπερ ἐν ζῴῳ
tὸ ἡγεμονεύον κεφαλὴ τρόπον τινὰ τῶν βασιλέων.

VI. οὗ δὴ τοιούτος ζήλον καὶ πόθον
λαβὼν τῆς νομοθεσίας ἦμῶν εἰς Ἑλλάδα γλώτταν
tὴν Χαλδαϊκὴν μεθαρμόζεσθαι διενοείτο καὶ πρέ-
σβεις εὐθὺς ἐξέπεμπε πρὸς τὸν τῆς Ἰουδαίας ἀρχ-
ιερέα καὶ βασιλέα—ὁ γὰρ αὐτὸς ἦν—τὸ τε βούλημα
dηλὼν καὶ προτρέπων ἀριστώδην ἔλεσθαι τοὺς
tῶν νόμων διερμηνεύσοντας. οὗ δ’ οἷα εἰκός ἰσθεὶς
cαὶ νομίσας οὐκ ἀνευ θείας ἐπιφροσύνης περὶ τὸ
tοιούτον ἔργον ἑσποδιεκέναι τὸν βασιλέα, σκεψά-
μενος τοὺς παρ’ αὐτῷ δοκιμωτάτους Ἐβραίων, οἱ
πρὸς τῇ πατρίῳ καὶ τὴν Ἑλληνικὴν ἐπεπαίδευντο
tαιδείαν, ἀσμενος ἀποστέλλει. ὡς δ’ ἦκον, ἐπὶ
ξενίαν κληθέντες λόγους ἀστείους καὶ σπουδαίους
τὸν ἑστιάτορα εὐόχουν ἀντεφεστιῶντες. ὁ μὲν γὰρ
ἂπεπειράτο τῆς ἐκάστου σοφίας καὶ πάντως ἀλλ’ οὗ
tὰς ἐν ἔθει ζητήσεις προτείνων, οἱ δ’ εὐστόχως
καὶ εὐθυβόλως, οὐκ ἑπιτρέποντος μακρηγορεῖν τοῦ
καυροῦ καθάπερ ἀποφθεγγόμενοι τὰ προταθέντα δι-
ελύοντο. δοκιμασθέντες δ’ εὐθὺς ἤρ-
ξαντο τὰ τῆς καλῆς πρεσβείας ἀποστέλλει καὶ
λογοσάμενοι παρ’ αὐτοὺς, ὡσον εἰδ’ τὸ πράγμα
θεσπισθέντας νόμους χρησμοῖς διερμηνεύειν, μὴ
ἂφελεῖν τι μήτε προθείναι μὴ μεταθεῖναι δυνα-
μένους, ἀλλὰ τὴν ἕξ ἀρχῆς ἱδέαν καὶ τὸν τύπον
αὐτῶν διαφυλάττοντας, ἔσκόπουν τὸ καθαρώτατον
τῶν περὶ τὸν τόπον χωρίων ἔξω πόλεως τὰ γὰρ
ἔντος τείχους ἀτε ποντοδαπῶν πεπληθότα ζῴων

Cohn punctuates with a colon before ὅσα, and comma
before γενόμενος.
those of all the others put together, and, as the head takes the highest place in the living body, so he may be said to head the kings.

VI. This great man, having conceived an ardent affection for our laws, determined to have the Chaldean translated into Greek, and at once dispatched envoys to the high priest and king of Judaea, both offices being held by the same person, explaining his wishes and urging him to choose by merit persons to make a full rendering of the Law into Greek. The high priest was naturally pleased, and, thinking that God’s guiding care must have led the king to busy himself in such an undertaking, sought out such Hebrews as he had of the highest reputation, who had received an education in Greek as well as in their native lore, and joyfully sent them to Ptolemy. When they arrived, they were offered hospitality, and, having been sumptuously entertained, requited their entertainer with a feast of words full of wit and weight. For he tested the wisdom of each by propounding for discussion new instead of the ordinary questions, which problems they solved with happy and well-pointed answers in the form of apophthegms, as the occasion did not allow of lengthy speaking. After standing this test, they at once began to fulfil the duties of their high errand. Reflecting how great an undertaking it was to make a full version of the laws given by the Voice of God, where they could not add or take away or transfer anything, but must keep the original form and shape, they proceeded to look for the most open and unoccupied spot in the neighbourhood outside the city. For, within the walls, it was full of every kind of living creatures, and

α Or “the most cleanly,” but see on § 72.

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διὰ νόσους καὶ τελευτάς καὶ τὰς ύμαινόντων οὐκ ευαγείς πράξεις ἢν ὑποπτα. νήσος ἡ Φάρος πρόκειται τῆς Ἀλεξανδρείας, ἡς αὐχὴν ὑποταίνως [140] τέταται πρὸς τὴν πόλιν περικλείουμενος | οὐκ ἄγχυ-βαθεί τὰ δὲ πολλὰ τεναγώδει θαλάττη, ὡς καὶ τῆς τῶν κυμάτων φορᾶς τὸν πολὺν ἤχον καὶ πάταγον 36 ἐκ πάνυ μακροῦ διαστήματος προεκλύεσθαι. τού-τον ἐξ ἀπάντων τῶν ἐν κύκλῳ κρίναντες ἐπιτηδειό-τατον εἶναι τὸν τόπον ἐνηχεῖν καὶ ἐνηρμῆσαι καὶ μόνη τῇ ψυχῇ πρὸς μόνους ὀμιλῆσαι τοὺς νό-μους, ἐνταυθοὶ κατέμειναν καὶ τὰς ἱερὰς βίβλους λαβόντες ἀνατείνουσιν ἀμ' αὐταῖς καὶ τὰς χεῖρας εἰς οὐρανόν, αἰτούμενοι τὸν θεόν μή διαμαρτεῖν τῆς προθέσεως. ὁ δ' επινεῦει ταῖς εὐχαῖς, ἵνα τὸ πλεί-στον ἢ καὶ τὸ σύμπαν γένος ἁνθρώπων ὑφεληθῇ χρησόμενον εἰς ἐπανόρθωσιν βίου φιλοσόφοις καὶ 37 παγκάλοις διατάγμασι. VII. καθίσαντες δ' ἐν ἀποκρύφω καὶ μηδενὸς παρόντος ὅτι μὴ τῶν τῆς φύσεως μερῶν, γῆς ύδατος αέρος οὐρανοῦ, περὶ ὅν πρῶτον τῆς γενέσεως ἐμελλὼν ἱεροφαντῆσει—κοσμοποιία γὰρ ἡ τῶν νόμων ἑστὶν ἀρχή—, καθάπερ ἐνθουσιώντες προεφήτευον οὐκ ἄλλα ἄλλοι, τὰ δ' αὐτὰ πάντες ὀνόματα καὶ ρήματα, ὥσπερ ὑπο-38 βολέως ἐκάστος ἀφράτως ἑνηχοῦντος. καὶ τού τις οὐκ οἴδεν, ὅτι πᾶσα μὲν διάλεκτος, ἢ δ' Ἐλληνικὴ διαφερόντως, ὀνοματῶν πλοῦτε, καὶ ταῦτόν ἐνθύμημα οἶν τε μεταφράζοντα καὶ παραφράζοντα σχηματίσαι πολλαχῶς, ἄλλοτε ἄλλας ἐφαρμόζοντα

*For Philo's use of ἐνηχεῖν see note on De Mut. 57.*

*Or “by paraphrasing more or less freely.” The general distinction between μετάφρασις and παράφρασις is that the former sticks more closely than the latter to the material on which it is exercised. See Ernesti, *Lex. tech.* s.v. μετάφρασις.
consequently the prevalence of diseases and deaths, and the impure conduct of the healthy inhabitants, made them suspicious of it. In front of Alexandria lies the island of Pharos, stretching with its narrow strip of land towards the city, and enclosed by a sea not deep but mostly consisting of shoals, so that the loud din and booming of the surging waves grows faint through the long distance before it reaches the land. Judging this to be the most suitable place in the district, where they might find peace and tranquillity and the soul could commune with the laws with none to disturb its privacy, they fixed their abode there; and, taking the sacred books, stretched them out towards heaven with the hands that held them, asking of God that they might not fail in their purpose. And He assented to their prayers, to the end that the greater part, or even the whole, of the human race might be profited and led to a better life by continuing to observe such wise and truly admirable ordinances.

VII. Sitting here in seclusion with none present save the elements of nature, earth, water, air, heaven, the genesis of which was to be the first theme of their sacred revelation, for the laws begin with the story of the world's creation, they became as it were possessed, and, under inspiration, wrote, not each several scribe something different, but the same word for word, as though dictated to each by an invisible prompter. Yet who does not know that every language, and Greek especially, abounds in terms, and that the same thought can be put in many shapes by changing single words and whole phrases and suit ing the expression to the occasion?
Χέζεις; οπερ ἐπὶ ταύτης τῆς νομοθεσίας οὐ φασὶν συμβῆναι, συνενεχθῆναι δὲ εἰς ταύτων κύρια κυρίως ὅνόμασι, τὰ Ἑλληνικὰ τοῖς Χαλδαῖκοῖς, ἑναρμονῶν θέντα εὔ μάλα τοῖς δηλουμένοις πράγμασιν. οὖν γὰρ τρόπον, οἷμαι, ἐν γεωμετρίᾳ καὶ διαλεκτικῇ τὰ σημασεόμενα ποικιλίαν ἐρμηνεύων οὐκ ἀνέχεται, μένει δὲ ἀμετάβλητος ἡ ἐξ ἄρχης τεθείσα, τὸν αὐτὸν ὡς έοικέ τρόπον καὶ οὕτω συντρέχοντα τοῖς πράγμασιν ὅνόματα ἐξεύρον, ἀπερ δὴ μόνα ἡ μάλιστα τρανάσσει ἐμμελλεν ἐμφαντικῶς τὰ δηλουμένα. 40 σαφεστάτη δὲ τούδε πίστις· εἰς τὸ Χαλδαῖο τὴν Ἑλληνικὴν γλώτταν εἰς τὸ Ἑλληνὶς τὴν Χαλδαίων ἀναδιδαχθῶσι καὶ ἀμφιτέρως ταῖς γραφαῖς ἐντύχωσι, τῇ τε Χαλδαίκη καὶ τῇ ἐρμηνευθείσῃ, καθάπερ ἄδελφας μᾶλλον δὲ ὡς μίαν καὶ τὴν αὐτὴν ἐν τῇ πράγμασι καὶ τοῖς ὅνόμασι τεθήπασι καὶ ἐν τοῖς πράγμασι καὶ τοῖς ὅνόμασι τεθήπασι καὶ προσκυνοῦσιν, οὐχ ἐπὶ τοῖς πράγμασι καὶ προσκυνοῦσιν, ἐκεῖνος ἄλλος ἱεροφάντας καὶ προφήτας προσαγορεύοντες, οἷς ἐξεγένετο συνδραμεῖν λογισμοῖς εἰλικρινεῖς τῷ Μωυσέως καθαρωτάτῳ πνεύματι.

41 διὸ καὶ μέχρι νῦν ἀνὰ πᾶν ἔτος ἑορτὴ καὶ πανήγυρις ἀγεται κατὰ τὴν Φάρον νήσον, εἰς ἃν οὐκ Ἰουδαίοι μόνον ἀλλὰ Παμπληθεῖσι ἐτεροί διαπλέουσι τὸ τέτορον ιεροπλεῖον ἔστιν οἰκείων καὶ φίλων ἐστίν, ἐν ύπαίθρῳ μετ οἰκείων καὶ φίλων ἐστίν, ἐν τοῖς αἰθαλών ὀINESS. οὐτῷ μὲν οἱ νόμοι ζηλωτοί καὶ περιμάχητοι πᾶσιν ἰδιώταις τε
This was not the case, we are told, with this law of ours, but the Greek words used corresponded literally\textsuperscript{a} with the Chaldean, exactly suited to the things they indicated. For, just as in geometry and logic, so it seems to me, the sense indicated does not admit of variety in the expression which remains unchanged in its original form, so these writers, as it clearly appears, arrived at a wording which corresponded with the matter, and alone, or better than any other, would bring out clearly what was meant. The clearest proof of this is that, if Chaldeans have learned Greek, or Greeks Chaldean, and read both versions, the Chaldean and the translation, they regard them with awe and reverence as sisters, or rather one and the same, both in matter and words, and speak of the authors not as translators but as prophets and priests of the mysteries, whose sincerity and singleness of thought has enabled them to go hand in hand with the purest of spirits, the spirit of Moses. Therefore, even to the present day, there is held every year a feast and general assembly in the island of Pharos, whither not only Jews but multitudes of others cross the water, both to do honour to the place in which the light of that version first shone out, and also to thank God for the good gift so old yet ever young. But, after the prayers and thanksgivings, some fixing tents on the seaside and others reclining on the sandy beach in the open air feast with their relations and friends, counting that shore for the time a more magnificent lodging than the fine mansions in the royal precincts. Thus the laws are shewn to be desirable and precious in the eyes of all,

\textsuperscript{a} See App. p. 606.
καὶ ἡγεμόσων ἐπιδείκνυνται, καὶ ταῦτ' ἐκ πολλῶν χρόνων τοῦ ἑθνούς οὐκ εὐτυχοῦντος—τὰ δὲ τῶν μῆ ἐν ἀκμαῖς πέφυκέ πως ἐπισκιάζεσθαι—· εἰ δὲ γένοιτο τις ἀφορμὴ πρὸς τὸ λαμπρότερον, πόσην εἰκὸς ἐπίδοσιν γενῆσθαι; καταλιπόντας οἱ οἷμαι τὰ ἱδία καὶ πολλὰ χαίρειν φράσαντας τοῖς πατρίοις ἐκάστους μεταβαλεῖν ἐπὶ τὴν τούτων μόνων τιμὴν· εὐτυχία γὰρ τοῦ ἑθνούς οἱ νόμοι συναναλάμψαντες ἀμαυρώσουσι τοὺς ἄλλους καθάπερ ἀνατείλας ἦλιος τοὺς ἀστέρας.

45 VIII. Ἀπόχρη μὲν οὖν καὶ τὰ λεχθέντα πολὺς ἐπανω εἶναι τοῦ νομοθέτου. πλεῖῶν δ' ἐστὶν ἔτερος, δὲν αὐταὶ περιέχουσιν αἰ ιερότατος βίβλοι, πρὸς ὡς ἦδη τρεπτέον, εἰς ἐνδειξιν τῆς τοῦ συγ-
46 γράφαντος ἁρετῆς. τούτων τοῖνυν τὸ μὲν ἐστὶν ἱστορικὸν μέρος, τὸ δὲ περὶ τὰς προστάξεις καὶ ἀπαγορεύσεις, ὑπὲρ οὗ δεύτερον λέξομεν τὸ πρότερον τῇ τάξει πρότερον ἀκριβώσαντες. ἐστὶν οὖν τοῦ ἱστορικοῦ τὸ μὲν περὶ τῆς τοῦ κόσμου γενέσεως, τὸ δὲ γενεαλογικὸν, τοῦ δὲ γενεαλογικόν τὸ μὲν περὶ κολάσεως ἀσεβῶν, τὸ δ' αὐτὸ τιτῆς δικαιῶν. οὗ δὲ χάριν ἐνθένδε τῆς νομοθεσίας ἡρξατο τὰ περὶ τὰς προστάξεις καὶ ἀπαγορεύσεις ἐν δευτέρῳ
47 θείς, λεκτέον. οὗ γὰρ οἶδα τις συγγραφεὺς ἐπετη-
48 δευσε παλαιῶν πράξεων καταλιπεῖν ὑπομνήματα τοῖς ἑπείτα τοῦ ψυχαγωγῆσαι χάριν ἀνωφελῶς, ἀλλ' ἦρχαιολόγησεν ἄνωθεν ἀρξάμενος ἀπὸ τῆς τοῦ

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470 Though of course genealogies play a great part in the Pentateuch, γενεαλογικός if used in the strict sense is a very inadequate term to describe the historical part of the books, as distinct from the creation story. The wider sense, as given in the translation, appears to have been in use in the 470
ordinary citizens and rulers alike, and that too though our nation has not prospered for many a year. It is but natural that when people are not flourishing their belongings to some degree are under a cloud. But, if a fresh start should be made to brighter prospects, how great a change for the better might we expect to see! I believe that each nation would abandon its peculiar ways, and, throwing overboard their ancestral customs, turn to honouring our laws alone. For, when the brightness of their shining is accompanied by national prosperity, it will darken the light of the others as the risen sun darkens the stars.

VIII. The above is sufficient in itself as a high commendation to the lawgiver; but there is another still greater contained in the sacred books themselves, and to these we must now turn to shew the great qualities of the writer. They consist of two parts: one the historical, the other concerned with commands and prohibitions, and of this we will speak later, after first treating fully what comes first in order. One division of the historical side deals with the creation of the world, the other with particular persons, and this last partly with the punishment of the impious, partly with the honouring of the just. We must now give the reason why he began his law-book with the history, and put the commands and prohibitions in the second place. He did not, like any historian, make it his business to leave behind for posterity records of ancient deeds for the pleasant but unimproving entertainment which they give; but, in relating the history of early times, and going for its beginning right to the creation of the universe, grammatical schools, whose language Philo often adopts. For the evidence for this see App. p. 606.
παντός γενέσεως, ἵνα ἐπιδείξῃ δύο τὰ ἀναγκαῖότατα: ἐν μὲν τὸν αὐτὸν πατέρα καὶ ποιητὴν τοῦ κόσμου καὶ ἄλληθεία νομοθέτην, ἐτερον δὲ τὸν χρησόμενον τοὺς νόμους ἀκολουθίαιν φύσεως ἀσπασόμενον καὶ βιωσόμενον κατὰ τὴν τοῦ ὅλου διάταξιν ἄρμονία καὶ συμφωνία πρὸς ἔργα λόγων καὶ πρὸς λόγους ἔργων. IX. τῶν μὲν οὖν ἄλλων νομοθετῶν οἱ μὲν εὐθὺς ἃ τε χρὴ πράττειν καὶ ἃ μὴ διαταξάμενοι τιμωρίας κατὰ τῶν παραβαίνοντων ὄρισαν, οἱ δ’ ἀμείνους δόξαντες εἶναι τὴν ἀρχὴν οὔκ ἐνθέντες ἐποιήσαντο, πόλιν δὲ τῶ λόγως κτίσαντες καὶ ἰδρυσάμενοι πρότερον ἢν ἐνόμιζον οἰκειοτάτην καὶ πρεπωδεστήτην εἶναι τῇ κτισθείσῃ πολιτείᾳ διὰ τῆς τῶν νόμων θέσεως ἐφήμροζον. ὁ δὲ τὸ μὲν πρότερον ὑπολαβὼν (ὅπερ ἦν) τυραννικόν τε καὶ δεσποτικόν, ἀνευ παραμυθίας προστάτητον ὅς οὐκ ἔλευθερος ἀλλὰ δούλοις, τὸ δ’ υστερον ἐμμελές μὲν, οὐ μὴν τελείως ἐπαινεῖτο ἀπασὶ τοῖς κριταῖς, ὡς ἔουσεν, ἐν ἐκατέρω τῶν λεχθέντων διήνεγκεν. 51 ἐν τε γὰρ ταῖς προστάξεσι καὶ ἀπαγορεύσεσιν ὑποτίθεται καὶ παρηγορεῖ τὸ πλέον ἢ κελεύει, μετὰ προοιμίων καὶ ἐπιλόγων τὰ πλεῖστα καὶ ἀναγκαῖότατα πειρώμενος ὑφηγεῖσαι, τοῦ προτρέψασθαι χάριν μᾶλλον ἢ βιάσασθαι: πόλεως τε χειροποιήτου κτίσιν ἀρχὴν ποιήσασθαι τῆς γραφῆς ταπεινότερον ἢ κατὰ τὴν ἀξίαν τῶν νόμων ὑπολαβῶν εἶναι, πρὸς τὸ μέγεθος καὶ κάλλος τῆς ὅλης νομο-

a Compare the beginning of De Op., especially § 3.
b The allusion is, of course, primarily to Plato’s Laws and Republic. Perhaps also to Zeno, whose Ποιτεία is said to have been written in opposition to Plato’s (S.V.F. i. 260, 472
he wished to shew two most essential things: first that the Father and Maker of the world was in the truest sense also its Lawgiver, secondly that he who would observe the laws will accept gladly the duty of following nature and live in accordance with the ordering of the universe, so that his deeds are attuned to harmony with his words and his words with his deeds.\textsuperscript{a} IX. Now, other legislators are divided into those who set out by ordering what should or should not be done, and laying down penalties for disobedience, and those who, thinking themselves superior, did not begin with this, but first founded and established their state as they conceived it, and then, by framing laws, attached to it the constitution which they thought most agreeable and suitable to the form in which they had founded it.\textsuperscript{b} But Moses, thinking that the former course, namely issuing orders without words of exhortation, as though to slaves instead of free men, savoured of tyranny and despotism, as indeed it did, and that the second, though aptly conceived, was evidently not entirely satisfactory in the judgement of all, took a different line in both departments. In his commands and prohibitions he suggests and admonishes rather than commands, and the very numerous and necessary instructions which he essays to give are accompanied by forewords and after-words, in order to exhort rather than to enforce. Again, he considered that to begin his writings with the foundation of a man-made city was below the dignity of the laws, and, surveying the greatness and beauty of the whole

\textsuperscript{a} cf. 262). Aristotle's \textit{Politics} hardly fits the case. Josephus, \textit{Apion} ii. 222, makes the same point, but adds that passing over the other philosophers he will only name Plato.
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θεσίας ἀκριβεστάτη ὀψεῖ τῇ κατὰ διάνοιαν ἀπιδῶν καὶ νομίσας αὐτὴν κρείττονα καὶ θειοτέρας ἢ ὠστε κύκλῳ των ἐπὶ γῆς ὀρισθῆναι, τῆς μεγαλοπόλεως τῆν γένεσιν εἰσηγήσατο, τοὺς νόμους ἐμφερεστάτην εἰκόνα τῆς τοῦ κόσμου πολιτείας 52 ἡγησάμενος εἶναι. Χ. τῶν γοῦν ἐν μέρει διατεταγμένων τὰς δυνάμεις εἰς τις ἀκριβῶς ἐξετάζειν ἐθελήσειν, εὐρήσει τῆς τοῦ παντὸς ἀρμονίας ἐφιεμένας καὶ τῷ λόγῳ τῆς αἰδίου φύσεως 53 συναδούσας. διὸ καὶ τοὺς ἀφθόνων μὲν ἀγαθῶν ἀξιωθέντας ὅσα καὶ τῇ εὐεξίᾳ, τούς περὶ πλοῦτον καὶ δόξαν καὶ τὰ ἀλλὰ ἔκτος εὐτυχίας, ἀρετῆς δὲ ἀφηνιάσαντας καὶ οὐκ ἀνάγκη γνώμην δὲ ἐκουσίω πανουργία καὶ ἀδικίαν καὶ τὰς ἀλλὰς κακίας, ὡς μέγα ὕφελος τῆν μεγίστην ξημίαν, ἐπιτηδεύσατας καθάπερ οὐκ ἀνθρώπων ἐχθροὺς ἄλλα τοῦ σύμπαντος οὐρανοῦ τε καὶ κόσμου τὰς ἐν ἐθειν τιμωρίας οὐ φησιν ὑπομεῖναι, ἄλλα κανοτάτας καὶ παρηλλαγμένας, ὡς ἐμεγαλούργησεν ἡ πάρεδρος τῷ θεῷ μισοπόνηρος δίκη, τῶν τοῦ παντὸς δραστικώτάτων στοιχείων ἐπιθεμένων ὑδάτος καὶ πυρός, ὡς καιρῶν περιόδοι τοὺς μὲν κατακλυσμοίς φθαρῆναι, τοὺς δὲ καταφλέχθεντας ἀπολέσθαι. 54 πελάγη μὲν ἀρθέντα καὶ ποταμοὶ μετεωρισθέντες αὐθιγενεῖς τε καὶ χεῖμαρροι τὰς ἐν τῇ πεδιάδι πόλεις ἀπάσας ἐπέκλυσαν καὶ κατέσυραν, τὰς δὲ κατὰ τὴν ὀρεινήν αἱ μεθ' ήμέραν καὶ νύκτωρ 55 συνεχεῖς καὶ ἄδιαστατοί ὁμβρών φοραί. ὥστε τῷ εἰς τὸν ὑπολειφθέντων πάλιν τοῦ γένους συναξηθέντος καὶ εἰς πολυανθρωπίαν ἐπιδόντος, [143] ἐπειδὴ τὸ περὶ τοὺς προγόνους πάθος οἱ ἀπόγονοι μάθημα σωφροσύνης οὐκ ἐποίησαντο, πρὸς δ'
code with the accurate discernment of his mind's eye, and thinking it too good and godlike to be confined within any earthly walls, he inserted the story of the genesis of the "Great City," holding that the laws were the most faithful picture of the world-polity. X. Thus whoever will carefully examine the nature of the particular enactments will find that they seek to attain to the harmony of the universe and are in agreement with the principles of eternal nature. Therefore all those to whom God thought fit to grant abundance of the good gifts of bodily well-being and of good fortune in the shape of wealth and other externals—who then rebelled against virtue, and, freely and intentionally under no compulsion, practised knavery, injustice and the other vices, thinking to gain much by losing all, were counted, Moses tells us, as enemies not of men but of the whole heaven and universe, and suffered not the ordinary, but strange and unexampled punishments wrought by the might of justice, the hater of evil and assessor of God. For the most forceful elements of the universe, fire and water, fell upon them, so that, as the times revolved, some perished by deluge, others were consumed by conflagration.a The seas lifted up their waters, and the rivers, spring-fed and winter torrents, rose on high and flooded and swept away all the cities of the plain, while the continuous and ceaseless streams of rain by night and day did the same for the cities of the uplands. At a later time, when the race sprung from the remnant had again increased and become very populous, since the descendants did not take the fate of their forefathers as a lesson in wisdom, but turned to deeds

a See note on De Abr. 1.
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άκολασίας ἔτράποντο ζηλωταί χαλεπωτέρων ἐπι­
tηδευμάτων γενόμενοι, πυρὶ τούτους ἀναλώσαι δι­

56 ενοήθη. τὸ τ' οὖν, ὡς μηνύει τὰ λόγια, κεραυνοὶ
ῥύντες ἐξ οὐρανοῦ τοὺς τὲ ἀσεβεῖς κατέπρησαν
καὶ τὰς πόλεις αὐτῶν καὶ μέχρι τοῦ νῦν μνημεία
τὸ συμβεβηκότος ἀλέκτου πάθους δείκνυται κατὰ
Συρίαν, ἑρείπια καὶ τέφρα καὶ θείον καὶ καπνὸς καὶ
η ἓ τι ἀναδιδομένη φλὸξ ἀμαυρὰ καθάπερ δια­

σμυχομένου πυρὸς.

57 Ἐν δὲ τούτω συνεβαίνει τοὺς τὲ ἀσεβεῖς ταῖς
eἰρημέναις τιμωρίαις κολάζεσθαι καὶ τοὺς καλο­
kάγαθα διεννυχότας εἰ πάσχειν ἀρετῆς ἔπαξιῶν

58 ἄθλων τυγχάνοντας. ἐν μὲν γε τὴ φορὰ τοῦ
κεραυνίου πυρὸς οἰκήτοροι αὐτῶς ὅλης χώρας
ἐμπυραμένης, εἰς μόνοις ἄνήρ μέτοικοι ἐπιφροσύνη
θεία σώζεται, διὸ τῶν ἐγχωρίων παρανομημάτων
οὐδὲν ἥσπαστο, τῶν μετοίκων εἰμιθῶν ἀσφαλείας
ἐνεκα τὰ ξενικὰ τιμᾶν, ἐπεὶ τοῖς ἀτιμᾶσαν κίν­
dυνος ἐκ τῶν αὐτοχθόνων ἔπεται· καίτοι γ' οὐκ ἐπ'
ἀκρον ἡλθείς σοφίας, ὡς διὰ τελειότητα τῆς ἐν αὐτῷ
φύσεως τοσοῦτον γέρως ἢξιοθῆναι, ἄλλ' ὅτι μόνος
τοῖς πολλοῖς οὐ συννέχει τὸ ἀβροδίαιτον
ἀποκλίνασι καὶ πάσας μὲν ἡδονὰς πάσας δ' ἐπι­

θυμίας χορηγίας ἀβάνοις ἀνάβασιν ὅπερ φλόγα

λασίω ὑλῆς κεχυμένης. XI. κατὰ δὲ τὸν

59 μέγαν κατακλυσμὸν ὅλῳν δὲ φάναι τοῦ σύμπαν­
tος ἀνθρώπων γένους φθειρομένου, ἕνα οἶκον ἀπαθὴ
γενέσθαι παντὸς κακοῦ λόγος ἔχει, τὸν πρεσβύτατον
καὶ ἧγεμόνα τῆς οἰκίας ἑπειδὴ συνεβαίνει μηδενὸς
ἀδικήματος ἑκουσίων προσάψασθαι. τὸν δὲ τρόπον

τῆς σωτηρίας, ὡς αἱ ἱεραὶ βιβλίοι περιέχουσιν, ἂξιον

1 MSS. μόνον.
of licence and followed eagerly still more grievous practices, He determined to destroy them with fire. Then, as the oracles declare, the lightnings poured from heaven and consumed the impious and their cities, and to the present day the memorials to the awful disaster are shewn in Syria, ruins and cinders and brimstone and smoke, and the dusky flame still arises as though fire were smouldering within.

But while in these disasters the impious were chastised with the said punishments, it was also the case that those who stood out in excellence of conduct fared well and received the rewards which their virtue deserved. While the rush of the flaming thunderbolts consumed the whole land, and the inhabitants to boot, one man alone, an immigrant, was saved by God’s protecting care, because he had shewn no liking for any of the misdeeds of the country, though immigrants, to secure themselves, usually shew respect for the customs of their hosts, knowing that disrespect for these entails danger at the hands of the original inhabitants. Yet he did not reach the summit of wisdom, nor was it because of the perfection of his nature that he was deemed worthy of this great privilege, but because he alone did not fall in with the multitude, when they turned aside to licentious living and fed every pleasure and every lust with lavish supplies of fuel like a flame when the brushwood is piled upon it.

XI. So, too, in the great deluge when all but the whole human race perished, one house, we are told, suffered no harm because the most venerable member and head of the household had committed no deliberate wrong. The manner of his preservation is a story worth recording, both as a
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ιστορηθήναι διὰ τε μεγαλουργίαν καὶ ἂμα βελτίωσων ἢθῶν. νομισθεὶς γὰρ ἐπιτήδειος εἶναι μὴ μόνον ἀμοιρήσαι τῆς κοινῆς συμφορᾶς, ἀλλὰ καὶ δευτέρας γενέσεως ἄνθρωπων αὐτὸς ἄρχῃ γενέσθαι, θείας προστάξεων, ὁς ύφηγοῦντο οἱ χρησμοὶ, ἔχων δημουργήσας ἔργον μέγιστον εἰς πῆχεις τριακοσίους μῆκος καὶ πεντήκοντα εὖρος καὶ τριάκοντα ύψος καὶ συνεχῆ κατασκευασάμενος ἕνδον οἰκήματα ἐπίπεδα καὶ ὑπέρῳδα, τριώροφα καὶ τετρώροφα, καὶ τροφᾶς ἐτομασάμενος, ἀφ’ ἐκάστου γένους ζῷων ὡσα χερσαία καὶ πτηνὰ εἰσήγαγεν ἄρρεν τε καὶ θήλην σπέρματα ὑπολειπόμενοι πρὸς καταλλαγήν

καὶ τῶν αὐθίσ ἐποκόλοθει. μετὰ δὲ τὴν ἔσοδον ἀπάντων εἰ τις ἐθεάσατο τὸ πλήρωμα, οὐκ ἂν διήμαρτεν εἰπὼν, ἀντίμιμον εἶναι γῆς ἀπάσης ἐν ἑαυτῷ φέρον τὰ ζῷων γένη, ὅν καὶ ἡ σύμπασα γῆ τὰ ἀμύθητα εἰδή καὶ πρότερον ἤνεγκε καὶ ὅσοι αὐθίσ οἴσει. ταῦτα ἐικασθέντα χρόνοις ὡστερὸν οὐ μακροῖς ἀπέβανε· τὸ μὲν γὰρ πάθος ἐλώφα καὶ ἡ τοῦ κατακλυσμοῦ φορὰ καθ’ ἐκάστην ἡμέραν ἐμειώτο, τῶν τε ὀμμίμων ἐπισχεθέντων καὶ τοῦ κατὰ πᾶσαν γῆν ἀναχυθέντος

1 Cohn somewhat arbitrarily declares καταλλαγήν καὶρῶν corrupt and suggests καταγωγὴν γενῶν. The translation does perhaps require an unusual sense for καταλλαγή. If this is
marvel and as a means of edification. Being judged a fit person not only to be exempted from the common fate, but also to be himself the beginner of a second generation of mankind, by God's commands enjoined by the oracular voice, he built a huge structure of wood, three hundred cubits in length, fifty in breadth and thirty in height. Inside this, he framed a series of rooms, on the ground floor and second, third and fourth stories. Then, having laid up provisions, he introduced a male and female specimen of every kind of living creature both of the land and the air, thus reserving seeds in expectation of the better times that were once more to come. For he knew that the nature of God was gracious, and that, though the individuals perished, the race would be preserved indestructible because of its likeness to Himself, and that nothing whose being He had willed would ever be brought to nought.

XII. In consequence, all the creatures obeyed him, and the erstwhile savage grew gentle, and in their new tameness followed him as a flock follows its leader. When they had all entered, anyone who surveyed the crew might fairly have said that it was a miniature of earth in its entirety, comprising the races of living creatures, of which the world had carried before innumerable specimens, and perhaps would carry them again. What he had surmised came to pass not long afterwards, for the trouble abated, and the force of the deluge diminished every day, as the rain ceased and the water that had

 Fatal, I should suggest πρὸς καταβολήν καὶ ἀλλαγῆν καιρῶν, i.e. "to be sown when the times change."
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υδατός τῇ μὲν ἀναλισκομένου τῷ ἀφ' ἦλίου φλογμῷ τῇ δὲ ὑπονοστοῦντος εἰς χαράδρας καὶ φάραγγας καὶ τὰς ἄλλας τῆς γῆς κοιλότητας· ὡσπερ γὰρ θεοῦ προστάζαντος, ἐκαστῇ φύσις ὀπερ ἔχρησεν οἷα δάνειον ἀναγκαῖον ἀπελάμβανε, θάλαττα καὶ πηγαῖ καὶ ποταμοὶ· πρὸς γὰρ τοὺς οἰκείους τόπους ἐκα-

64 στὸν ὁρίζοντα ὑπενόστει. μετὰ δὲ τὴν κάθαρσιν τῶν ὑπὸ σελήνην, ἀπολουσαμένης τῆς γῆς καὶ νέας ἀνα-

97 φανείσης καὶ τοιώντος, οἷα εἰκὸς εἶναι ὅτε τὴν ἀρχὴν μετὰ τοῦ κόσμου παντὸς ἔκτιζετο, πρόεισον ἐκ τοῦ ἐξολον κατασκευάσματος αὐτοῦ καὶ γυνῆ καὶ υἱῶν καὶ τοιῶν γυναικῶν καὶ μετὰ τῆς οἰκίας ἀγεληδόν τὰ συνεληλυθότα τῶν ζώων γένη πρὸς τὴν τῶν ὁμοίων σποράν τε καὶ γένεσιν.

65 ταῦτα τῶν ἀγαθῶν ἀνδρῶν ἔστων ἀριστεῖα καὶ ἀθλα, δι’ ὅν οὐ μόνον αὐτοὶ καὶ γένη σωτηρίας ἔτυχον τοὺς μεγίστους κινδύνους ἐκφυγόντες, οἷς κατὰ τῶν τῶν στοιχείων νεωτερισμὸν τοῖς πανταχοῖς πάσων ἐπετειχίσθησαν, ἀλλὰ καὶ παλιγγενεσίας ἐγένοντο ἡγεμόνες καὶ δευτέρας ἀρχηγεῖται περιόδου, καθάπερ ἐμπυρεύματα τοῦ ζωῶν ἀριστοῦ γένους ἀνθρώπων ὑπολειφθέντες, ὁ τὴν ἡγεμονίαν τῶν περιγείων ἀπάντων ἐλαχίστων γεγονός θεοῦ δυνάμεως, εἰκῶν τῆς ἀδιάφορος φύσεως ἐμφανῆς, ἀιδίου γεννήτη.

66 XIII. | Δύο μὲν ἦδη μέρη τοῦ βίου Μωυσεῶς διεξεληλύθαμεν, τὸ τε περὶ βασιλείας καὶ νομο-

[145] θετικῆς· τρίτον δὲ προσαποδοτέον τὸ περὶ ἱερω-

σύνης. ὃ τούτων μεγίστον καὶ ἀναγκαιότατον ἀρχιερεῖ προσεῖναι δεῖ, τὴν εὐσέβειαν, ἐν τοῖς

On the question of a considerable lacuna at this point see App. pp. 606-607.
covered every land partly disappeared under the heat of the sun, partly subsided into the beds of water torrents and into chasms and the other hollows in the earth. For, as though by God's command, every form of nature, sea, springs and rivers, received back what it had lent as a debt which must be repaid; for each stream subsided into its proper place. But when the sublunary world had been purged, when earth rising from its ablutions shewed itself renewed with the likeness which we may suppose it to have worn when originally it was created with the universe, there issued from the wooden structure himself and his wife and his sons and his sons' wives, and with the household, moving like a herd, the various animals which had been assembled there came forth to beget and reproduce their kind. These are the guerdons and the prizes of the good, by which not only they themselves and their families won safety and escaped the greatest dangers, which, with the wild uprising of the elements as their weapon, stood menacingly over all and everywhere, but also became leaders of the regeneration, inaugurators of a second cycle, spared as embers to rekindle mankind, that highest form of life, which has received dominion over everything whatsoever upon earth, born to be the likeness of God's power and image of His nature, the visible of the Invisible, the created of the Eternal.

XIII. We have now fully treated of two sides of the life of Moses, the royal and the legislative. We must proceed to give account of the third, which concerns his priesthood. The chief and most essential quality required by a priest is piety, and
μάλιστα οὗτος ἦσκησεν ἃμα καὶ φύσεως εὐμορίᾳ χρησάμενος, ἣν ὠσπερ ἀγαθὴν ἄρουραν φιλοσοφία
παραλαβοῦσα δογμάτων θεωρία, παγκάλων ἐβελτίωσε καὶ οὐ πρότερον ἀνήκεν ἢ τελειογονηθῆναι
tοὺς ἄρετῆς καρποὺς διά τε λόγων καὶ πράξεων.
67 τοῦγαροῦν μετ᾽ ὄλιγων ἄλλων φιλόθεος τε καὶ
θεοφιλής ἐγένετο, καταπνευσθεὶς ὑπ᾽ ἐρωτῶν οὐ-
ρανίου καὶ διαφερόντως τυμήσας τὸν ἡγεμόνα τοῦ
παντὸς καὶ ἀντιτιμηθεὶς ὑπ᾽ αὐτοῦ· τιμὴ δ᾽ ἀρ-
μόττουσα σοφῇ θεραπεύειν τὸ πρὸς ἀλήθειαν ὄν·
ἰερωσύνη δὲ θεραπεῖαν ἐπιτετήδευκε θεοῦ. τοῦτον
tοῦ γέρως, οὐ μεῖξαν ἁγαθὸν ἐν τοῖς οὐσίοις οὐκ
ἐστίν, ἥξιοῦτο χρησμοῖς ἐκαστα τῶν εἰς τὰς λει-
tουργίας καὶ ἱερᾶς ὑπηρεσίας ἀναδιδασκόμενος.
68 XIV. ἔδει δὲ πρότερον ὡσπερ τὴν ψυχὴν καὶ τὸ
σῶμα καθαρεύσαι, μηδενός πάθους προσαφάμενον,
ἄλλ᾽ ἀγνεύσαντα ἀπὸ πάντων ὡς τῆς θυγτῆς ἐστι
φύσεως, συμίων καὶ ποτῶν καὶ τῆς πρὸς γυναῖκας
69 ὀμιλίας. ἄλλα ταύτης μὲν ἐκ πολλῶν χρόνων κατ-
eφρόνησε καὶ σχεδὸν ἄφ᾽ οὗ τὸ πρῶτον ἦρξατο
[146] | προφητεύειν καὶ θεοφορεῖσθαι, προσήκον ἡγού-
μενος ἐτοιμον ἐμπαρέχειν αἰὲ τοῖς χρησμοῖς έαυτόν·
sυμίων δὲ καὶ ποτῶν ἐπὶ ἡμέρας τεσσαράκοντα ἐξῆς
ἡλόγησε, δηλονότι τροφὰς ἔχων ἀμείνους τὰς διὰ
θεωρίας, αἰὲ ἀνωθεν ἀπ᾽ οὐρανοῦ καταπνεύσαμεν
τὴν μὲν διὰνοιαν τὸ πρῶτον, ἐπείτα δὲ καὶ τὸ σῶμα
diὰ τῆς ψυχῆς ἐβελτιωθοῦτο, καθ᾽ ἐκάτερον πρὸς
tε ἴσχυν καὶ ευθείαις ἐπιδιδοὺς, ὡς τοὺς ἱδόντας
70 ὑστερον ἀπιστεῖν. εἰς γὰρ ὅρος ὑψηλότατον καὶ
ιερώτατον τῶν περὶ τὸν τόπον ἀνελθὼν προστάξεσι
this he practised in a very high degree, and at the same time made use of his great natural gifts. In these, philosophy found a good soil, which she improved still further by the admirable truths which she brought before his eyes, nor did she cease until the fruits of virtue shewn in word and deed were brought to perfection. Thus he came to love God and be loved by Him as have been few others. A heaven-sent rapture inspired him, so markedly did he honour the Ruler of the All and was honoured in return by Him. An honour well-becoming the wise is to serve the Being Who truly is, and the service of God is ever the business of the priesthood. This privilege, a blessing which nothing in the world can surpass, was given to him as his due, and oracles instructed him in all that pertains to rites of worship and the sacred tasks of his ministry. XIV. But first he had to be clean, as in soul so also in body, to have no dealings with any passion, purifying himself from all the calls of mortal nature, food and drink and intercourse with women. This last he had disdained for many a day, almost from the time when, possessed by the spirit, he entered on his work as prophet, since he held it fitting to hold himself always in readiness to receive the oracular messages. As for eating and drinking, he had no thought of them for forty successive days, doubtless because he had the better food of contemplation, through whose inspiration, sent from heaven above, he grew in grace, first of mind, then of body also through the soul, and in both so advanced in strength and well-being that those who saw him afterwards could not believe their eyes. For we read that by God's command he ascended an inaccessible and pathless mountain,
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θείαις, ὅπερ ἀπρόσιτον καὶ ἀβατον ἦν, εἰς ἐκεῖνον λέγεται διαμεῖναι τὸν χρόνον οὐδὲν ἐπιφερόμενος τῶν εἰς ἀναγκαίας ἀπόλαυσιν τροφῆς (καὶ) ἡμέρας ὑστερον, ὡς ἐλέξθη, τεσσαράκοντα κατέβαινε πολὺ καλλίων τὴν ὄψιν ἡ ὄτε ἀνήνει, ὡς τοὺς ὅρωντας τεθητέναι καὶ καταπεπλήχθαι καὶ μηδ' ἐπὶ πλέον ἀντέχειν τοὺς ὀφθαλμοῖς δύνασθαι κατ' τὴν προσβολὴν ἠλιοειδοῖς φέγγους ἀπαστράπτοντος.

71 XV. Ἔτι δ' ἄνω διατριβῶν ἐμυσταγωγεῖτο παιδευόμενος τὰ κατὰ τὴν ἱερωσύνην πάντα καὶ πρῶτα, ἃ δὴ καὶ πρῶτα τῇ τάξει, τὰ περὶ τὴν τοῦ ἱεροῦ καὶ τῶν ἐν αὐτῷ κατασκευήν. εἰ μὲν οὖν τὴν χώραν, εἰς ἣν μετανιώταντο, ἡδη παρελήφθησαν, ἀναγκαίον ἦν ἰδρύσασθαι περιουσίτων νεῶν ἐν τῷ καθαρωτάτῳ λίθῳ πολυτελῶν ὑλῆς καὶ περὶ αὐτῶν ἐν πλήρῳ μεγάλα δείμασθαι καὶ νεωκόρως παμπληθεῖσι οἰκίας, ὑμνομάσαντος ἱερόπολιν τὸν τόπον. ἐπεί δ' ἐπὶ κατὰ τὴν ἐρήμην ἐπλάζοντο, τοῖς μῆπω παγίως ἰδρυθεῖσιν Ἰmdbote φορτῶν ἐχεῖν ἱερόν, ὡς ἐν ταῖς ὀδοίπορίαις καὶ στρατοπεδεῖαις ἀνάγωσι θυσίας καὶ τὰ ἄλλα ὅσα κατὰ τὰς ἱερουργίας δρῶσι μηδενὸς ἀμοιροῦντες ὡν χρῆ τοὺς ἐν πόλεσιν οἰκοῦντας. σκηνὴν οὖν, ἐργον ἱεροτατον, δημιουργεῖν ἐδοξεῖν, ὡς τὴν κατασκευήν θεσφάτους λογίοις ἐπὶ τοῦ ὀροὺς Μωυσῆς ἀνεδίασκετο, τῶν μελλόντων ἀποτελεῖσθαι σωμάτων ἀσωμάτους ἰδέας τῇ ψυχῇ θεωρῆσαι, πρὸς ὅσ ἐδει

1 <καὶ>: so Cohn emends this defective sentence. I suggest as an alternative to insert ἡ (= “where”) before εἰς ἐκεῖνον.

a See Ex. xxiv. 18, xxxiv. 28 ff.
the highest and most sacred in the region, and remained for the period named, taking nothing that is needed to satisfy the requirements of bare sustenance. Then, after the said forty days had passed, he descended with a countenance far more beautiful than when he ascended, so that those who saw him were filled with awe and amazement; nor even could their eyes continue to stand the dazzling brightness that flashed from him like the rays of the sun.a

XV. While he was still staying on the mount, he was being instructed in all the mysteries of his priestly duties: and first in those which stood first in order, namely the building and furnishing of the sanctuary. Now, if they had already occupied the land into which they were removing, they would necessarily have had to erect a magnificent temple on the most open and conspicuous site, with costly stones for its material, and build great walls around it, with plenty of houses for the attendants, and call the place the holy city. But, as they were still wandering in the desert and had as yet no settled habitation, it suited them to have a portable sanctuary, so that during their journeys and encampment they might bring their sacrifices to it and perform all their other religious duties, not lacking anything which dwellers in cities should have. It was determined, therefore, to fashion a tabernacle, a work of the highest sanctity, the construction of which was set forth to Moses on the mount by divine pronouncements. He saw with the soul's eye the immaterial forms of the material objects about to be

a Mangey "augustissima sede," the German translation "geweihter Stätte," but the sense given above seems more probable. Cf. §§ 34 and 214, also In Flaccum 122 ἐπὶ τοὺς πλησίον αἰγιαλοὺς ἀφικνοῦνται καὶ τῷ καθαρωτάτῳ στάντες ἀνεβόησαν.
καθάπερ ἀπ’ ἀρχετύπου γραφῆς καὶ νοητῶν παραδειγμάτων αἰσθητὰ μιμήματα ἀπεικονισθῆναι.
75 προσήκον γὰρ ἂν τῷ ὡς ἀληθῶς ἀρχιερεῖ καὶ τὴν τοῦ ἱεροῦ κατασκευὴν ἐπιτραπῆναι, ἵν’ ἐκ πολλοῦ τοῦ περιόντος ἡμιομομένοι καὶ συμφώνους τοῖς δημιουργηθεῖσι ποιήται τὰς ἐν τῷ ἱερᾷ λειτουργίας.
ΧΧ. ο μὲν οὖν τύπος τοῦ παραδείγματος ἐνεσφραγίζετο τῇ διανοίᾳ τοῦ προφήτου διαζωγραφούμενος καὶ προδιαπλατόμενος ἀφανῶς ἀνεν ὑλὴς ἀθροίσας εἴδεσε τὸ δ’ ἀποτέλεσμα πρὸς τὸν τύπον ἡμιομουργεῖτο, ἐναποματομένου τὰς σφραγίδας τοῦ τεχνιτοῦ κατ’ ἑκάστῳν.
77 ὑλικαῖς οὐσίαις. ἤν δ’ η κατασκευὴ τουάδε· ὡς τοῦ καὶ τεσσαράκοντα κώνος κέδρου | τῆς ἀσηπτοτάτης ἀπὸ στελεχῶν κοπάντες ἐνεργοῦσα περιβάλλοντο χρυσῷ βαθεί’ κάπειθ’ ἐκάστῳ δύο ἀργυραὶ βάσεις ὑπηρείδοντο καὶ κατὰ τὸ ἀκροκιόνον ἐφ’ ἡμιομόζετο χρυσῆ κεφαλῆς. εἰς μὲν οὖν τὸ μῆκος τεσσαράκοντα κώνος διέτατεν τὸν τεχνιτήν, ἐκατέρωθεν τοὺς ἡμίσεις εἴκοσι, μηδέν ἐν μέσῳ διάστημα ποιοῦμενος, ἀλλ’ ἐξῆς ἐφαρμόζοντο καὶ συνάπτοντο, ἵν’ οὐ τείχος ὑμῖς μία προφαίνηται. εἰς δὲ τὸ πλάτος ἐσώτετον τῶν λοιπῶν ὡς τὸ κατὰ τὴν μέσην χώραν, δύο δ’ ἐν ταῖς παρ’ ἐκάτερα τῆς μέσης γωνίαις, τὸν μὲν ἐπὶ δεξιὰ, τὸν δ’ ἐπὶ εὐώνυμα· κατὰ δὲ τὴν εἰσοδὸν ἄλλους τέσσαρας, τὰ μὲν ἄλλα ὁμοίως, μίαν δ’ ἀντὶ δυοῖν ἤχοντας βάσιν τῶν ἐξ ἀντικρυ, μεθ’ οὕς ἐξωτάτω πέντε μόναις 79 ταῖς βάσεσι διαφέροντας, χαλκαί γὰρ ἦσαν ὁστε τῆς σκηνῆς τοὺς σύμπαντας εἶναι, δίχα τῶν ἐν ταῖς

a For §§ 77–83 see Ex. xxvi. 18 ff.
b lxx στύλοι ("posts"?). E.V. "boards."
made, and these forms had to be reproduced in copies perceived by the senses, taken from the original draught, so to speak, and from patterns conceived in the mind. For it was fitting that the construction of the sanctuary should be committed to him who was truly high priest, in order that his performance of the rites belonging to his sacred office might be in more than full accordance and harmony with the fabric. XVI. So the shape of the model was stamped upon the mind of the prophet, a secretly painted or moulded prototype, produced by immaterial and invisible forms; and then the resulting work was built in accordance with that shape by the artist impressing the stampings upon the material substances required in each case. The actual construction was as follows. Forty-eight pillars of the most durable cedar wood, hewn out of the finest trunks, were encased in a deep layer of gold, and each of these had two silver bases set to support it and a golden capital fixed on the top. For the length of the building, the craftsman put forty pillars, half of them—that is a row of twenty—on each side, with no interval left between them, but each joined and fitted on to the next, so as to present the appearance of a single wall. For the breadth he set right inside the remaining eight, six in the central space and two in the corners on either side of the centre, one on the right and one on the left; also four others at the entrance, like the rest in everything else, except that they had one base instead of the two of the pillars opposite, and after these, at the very outside, five, differing only in their bases, which were of brass. Thus the whole number of pillars visible in the tabernacle, leaving out the two in the corners,
γωνίαις δυοίν ἀφανῶν, πέντε καὶ πεντήκοντα ἐμφανεῖς, τὸν ἀπὸ μονάδος ἀχρὶ δεκάδος τῆς παντελείας συμπληροῦμενον ἀριθμόν. εἴ δὲ βουληθεὶς τις τοὺς ἐν τῷ προπυλαίῳ πέντε τῷ ὑπαίθρῳ συνάπτοντας, δὲ κέκληκεν αὐλήν, τιθέναι χωρίς, ἀπολειφθέντας ἀγιώτατος πεντηκοντάδος ἀριθμός, δύναμις ὃν τοῦ ὀρθωγώνιου τριγώνου, ὃπερ ἐστὶ τῆς τῶν ὅλων γενέσεως ἁρχῆ, συμπληρώθεις ἐκ τῶν ἐντὸς κιόνων, τεσσαράκοντα μὲν τῶν καθέκατάματα πλευρῶν, εἴ δὲ τῶν ἐν μέσῳ δίχα τῶν παρὰ ταῖς γωνίαις ἀποκεκρυμμένων, τεσσάρων ἔκ τῶν ἐντὸς κιόνων, τεσσάρων δέ τῶν αὐτῶν, ἐφ’ ὅν τὸ καταπέτασμα. τὴν δ’ αἰτίαν, ἣς ἔνεκα τοῖς πέντε τοῖς πεντήκοντα συγκατατάττω καὶ χωρίς αὐτῶν τίθημι, δηλώσω. ἡ πεντάς αἰσθήσεων ἀριθμός ἐστιν, αἱσθησίας δ’ ἐν ἀνθρώπω τῇ μὲν νεύει πρὸς τὰ ἐκτὸς, τῇ δὲ ἀνακάμπτει πρὸς νῦν ὑπηρέτις ὡς οὐσιαί φύσεως νόμοις αὐτοῦ. διὸ καὶ τὴν μεθόριον χώραν ἀπένειμε τοῖς πέντε· τὰ μὲν γὰρ ἐντὸς αὐτῶν ἐκνένευκε πρὸς τὰ ἀδύτα τῆς σκηνῆς, ἀπερ ἐστὶ συμβολικῶς νοητά, τὰ δ’ ἐκτὸς πρὸς τὸ ὑπαίθρον καὶ τὴν αὐλήν, ἀπερ ἐστὶν αἰσθητά· παρὸ καὶ ταῖς βάσεις διήνεγκαν, χαλκαὶ γὰρ εἰσιν· ἐπεὶ δὲ τῆς ἐν ἡμῖν αἰσθήσεως κεφαλῆς μὲν καὶ ἡγεμονικῶν ὁ νους, ἐσχάτα δὲ καὶ ὡσανεὶ βάσις τοῦ αἰσθητῶν, εἰκάσε δὴ τὸν μὲν νοῦν χρυσῶ, χαλκῷ δὲ τὸ αἰσθητὸν. μέτρα δὲ τῶν κιόνων ταῦτα· δέκα μὲν πῆχεις τὸ μῆκος, εἰς δὲ

1 Perhaps καὶ has fallen out after ἐνεκα.

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a See App. pp. 607-608, and for παντελεία note on De Abr. 244.

b i.e. $50 = 3^2 + 4^2 + 5^2$, and 3, 4, 5 are the sides of the primary form of the right-angled triangle, which in De Op. 97 488
hidden from view, amounted to fifty-five, that is to the sum of successive numbers from one to the supremely perfect ten. But if you choose to exclude the five in the propylaeum adjoining the open-air space which he has called the court, there will be left the most sacred number, fifty, the square of the sides of the right-angled triangle, the original source from which the universe springs. This fifty is obtained by adding together the inside pillars, namely the forty made up by the twenties on each side, then the six in the middle, leaving out the two hidden away in the corners, and then the four opposite which support the veil. I will now give my reason for first counting the five with the fifty and then separately. Five is the number of the senses, and sense in mankind inclines on one side to things external, while on the other its trend is towards mind, whose handmaiden it is by the laws of nature. And therefore he assigned the position on the border to the five pillars, for what lies inside them verges on the inmost sanctuary of the tabernacle, which symbolically represents the realm of mind, while what lies outside them verges on the open-air space and court which represent the realm of sense. And therefore the five differ from the rest also in their bases which are of brass. Since the mind is head and ruler of the sense-faculty in us, and the world which sense apprehends is the extremity and, as it were, the base of mind, he symbolized the mind by the gold and the sense-objects by the brass. The dimensions of the pillars were as follows: the height,
καὶ ἡμισὺ τὸ εῦρος, ἵν' ἡ σκηνὴ πᾶσι τοῖς μέρεσιν ἵση προφαίνηται.

ΧVII. Παγκάλοις δὲ καὶ ποικίλοις υφάσμασιν αὐτὴν περίβαλεν, οὐκίνθω καὶ τορφύρα καὶ κοκκίνῳ καὶ βύσσῳ καταχρώμενος εἰς τὴν ύφην. δέκα γάρ ἂς διὰ τῆς ιερᾶς γραφῆς υόνόμασεν αὐλαίας ἐκ τῶν ἀρτίων λεχθέντων γενῶν ἐδημούργηε, μήκει μὲν οκτὼ καὶ εἴκοσι πηχῶν ἐκάστην, εἰς δὲ τέσσαρας πήχεις πρὸς εὐρος ἀποτείνων, ἵνα καὶ δεκάδα ἐξείσα τὴν παντελείαν καὶ τετράδα τὴν δεκάδος ὑπόειν καὶ τὸν οκτὼ καὶ εἴκοσιν ἀριθμὸν τέλειον ἵσσον τοῖς ἑαυτοῖς μέρεσιν καὶ τεσσαράκοντα τῆς ἱερᾶς γραφῆς ἑκάστην ἐκ τῶν ἀρτίως λεχθέντων γενῶν, εἰς δὲ τοσοῦτον μήκος οκτώ καὶ εἴκοσι τῶν αύλαιων τοιαύτην ἐχούσι τὴν ἑκάστην, ἵνα καὶ τὸν οκτὼ καὶ εἴκοσιν ἀριθμὸν τέλειον ἵσσον τοῖς ἑαυτοῖς μέρεσι καὶ τεσσαράκοντα τὴν ἱερᾶς γραφῆς ὑπόειν, εἰς δὲ τοσοῦτον μήκος οκτώ καὶ εἴκοσιν τῆς παντελείας καὶ τετράδας τῆς δεκάδος ὑπόειν, ἵνα καὶ τὸν οκτὼ καὶ εἴκοσιν ἀριθμὸν τέλειον ἵσσον τοῖς ἑαυτοῖς μέρεσι καὶ τεσσαράκοντα τῆς ἱερᾶς γραφῆς ὑπόειν, εἰς δὲ τοσοῦτον μήκος.

Θρωπὸν ἐν τῷ τῆς φύσεως ἐργαστηρίῳ. οἱ μὲν οὖν ὅκτω καὶ εἴκοσι πήχεις τῶν αὐλαίων τοιαύτην ἐχούσι τὴν διανομήν, δέκα μὲν κατὰ τὸν ὀροφὸν—τοσοῦτον γάρ ἐστι τῆς σκηνῆς τὸ ἐνεργεῖ, οἱ δὲ λοιποὶ κατὰ τὰς πλευρὰς, ἐκατέρωθεν ἐννέα, πρὸς σκέπην ἀποτείνονται τῶν κιόνων, ὑπολειπομένου πήχεως ἀπὸ τοῦ ἐνεργεῖ, ἵνα μὴ ἐπισύρηται τὸ πάγκαλον καὶ ἱεροπρεπὲς υφάσμα, τῶν δὲ τεσσαράκοντα, οἱ συναριθμοῦνται ἐκ τῶν δέκα αὐλαίων πλάτους, τριάκοντα μὲν ἀπολαμβάνει τὸ μήκος—τοσοῦτον γάρ ἐστι καὶ τῆς σκηνῆς, ἐννέα δὲ ὁ ὀπισθόθοδος, τῶν δὲ λοιπῶν τὸ κατὰ τὸ προπύλαιον, ἵνα δεσμός ἦ τοῦ ὁλου περιβλήματος.

ἔπι δὲ τοῦ προπυλαίου τὸ καταπέτασμα. σχεδὸν δὲ καὶ αἱ αὐλαίαι καταπετάσματ' εἰσίν, οὐ μόνον τῷ τῶν ὀροφῶν καὶ τοὺς τοίχους καλύπτειν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῷ συνυφάνθαι γένεσι τοῖς αὐτοῖς, οὐκίνθω καὶ

1 Or perhaps read τὸ μήκος—τοσοῦτον γάρ ἐστι—τῆς σκηνῆς, ἵνα instead of adding τὸ as Cohn and Mangey, omit καὶ.
ten cubits, the breadth, one-and-a-half, so that the
tabernacle might appear equal in all its parts.

XVII. a He also surrounded it with the most beauti- 84
ful pieces of woven work of various colours, using
without stint materials of dark red and purple and
scarlet and bright white, for the weaving. For he
made ten curtains, as he calls them in the sacred
writings, of the four kinds of material just mentioned,
twenty-eight cubits in length and extended to four
cubits in breadth. Thus we find in them ten, the
supremely perfect number, four which contains the
essence of ten, twenty-eight, a perfect number, equal
to the sum of its factors, b and forty, the most prolific
of life, which gives the time in which, as we are told,
the man is fully formed in the laboratory of nature. c
The twenty-eight cubits of the curtains were dis- 85
tributed as follows: ten along the roof, that being
the breadth of the tabernacle, the rest extended along
the sides, nine on each to cover the pillars, but leaving
one cubit free from the floor, that this work so magni-
cificent and worthily held sacred should not trail in the
dust. Of the forty cubits which sum up the breadth 86
of the ten curtains, thirty are taken up by the length
of the tabernacle itself, that being its extent, nine by
the backyard, and the remaining one by the space
at the propylaeum, thus forming a bond to make the
enclosing complete. d On the propylaeum was set the
veil. But in a sense the curtains also are veils, not 87
only because they cover the roof and the walls, but
also because they are woven with the same kinds of

a For §§ 84-88 see Ex. xxvi. 1-14.
b i.e. $1 + 2 + 4 + 7 + 14 = 28$. See note on De Op. 101.
c i.e. forty weeks, or about ten months is supposed to be
the period of gestation. Cf. e.g. Virg. Ecl. 4. 61.
d Lit. "to be a bond of all that was put round."
Philosophus, Theokritos, Κοκκίνω καὶ βύσσω, ἐκ δὲ τῶν αὐτῶν τὸ τε καταπέτασμα καὶ τὸ λεγόμενον κάλυμμα κατεσκευάζετο, τὸ μὲν εἰςω κατὰ τοὺς τέσσαρας κίονας, ἵνα ἐπικρύπτηται τὸ ἀδυτον, τὸ δὲ ἐξω κατὰ τοὺς πέντε, ὡς μηδεῖς εἰς ἀπόττου δύναιτο τῶν μὴ οἰερωμένων καταθησάσθαι τὰ ἁγιά. XVIII. τὰς τῶν υφασμάτων υλὰς ἀριστίνδην ἐπεκρίνεν ἐκ μυρίων ὀσῶν ἐλόμενος τοῖς στοιχείοις ἰσαρίθμους, εἰς ἃν ἀπετελέσθη ὁ κόσμος, καὶ πρὸς αὐτὰ λόγον ἐχούσας, γῆν καὶ ὕδωρ καὶ ἀέρα καὶ πῦρ· ὅ μὲν γὰρ βύσσος ἐκ γῆς, ἐξ ὕδατος δὲ ὁ πορφύρα, ὁ δὲ ὀάκυνθος ἀερί ὄμοιοται—φύσει γὰρ μέλας ὀστός—, τὸ δὲ κόκκινον πυρὶ, διότι φοινικοῦ ἐκάτερον· ἦν γὰρ ἀναγκαῖον ἵερον χειροποίητον κατασκευάζοντας τῷ πατρὶ καὶ ἡγεμόνι τοῦ παντὸς τὰς ὁμοίας λαβεῖν οὐσίας, αἷς τὸ ὁλον ἐδημιούργει. 

88 Η μὲν οὖν σκηνή, καθάπερ νεώς ἁγίου, τὸν εἰρημένον τρόπον κατατεθήκει. τέμενος δὲ αὐτῆς ἐν κύκλῳ περιεβάλετο πηχών μήκος ἐκατόν καὶ πλάτος πεντήκοντα, κύονας ἔχον ἀφεστῶτας ἵνα ἀλλήλων διάστημα πέντε πηχῶν, ὡς τοὺς μὲν σύμπαντας ἐξήκοντα εἴναι, διανέμησθαι δὲ εἰς μὲν τὸ μήκος τεσσαράκοντα, πρὸς δὲ τὸ εὔρος εἴκοσι, 90 καθ' ἐκάτερα μέρη τοὺς ἡμέρας. ἤλθε δὲ τῶν στύλων τὰ μὲν ἐντὸς κέδρος, τὰ δὲ τῆς ἐπίφανειας ἀργυρος, ἀπάντων δὲ αἱ βάσεις χαλκαί, καὶ τὸ ύψος ἵνα πέντε πηχῶν· ἐδοξε γὰρ ἀρμόττον εἶναι τῷ τεχνίτῃ συνελεῖν ὅλω ἡμέρας τὸ ύψος τῆς

a Philo seems to have made a slip here. The screen for the door of the tent (Ex. xxvi. 36) is in the LXX ἐπίσπαστρον, while κάλυμμα is the name given (Ex. xxvii. 16) to the
material, dark red and purple and scarlet and bright white. And what he calls the “covering” was also made with the same materials as the veil, that being placed inside along the four pillars to hide the inmost sanctuary, the “covering” outside along the five pillars, so that no unconsecrated person should get even a distant view of the holy precincts. XVIII. But, in choosing the materials for the woven work, he selected as the best out of a vast number possible four, as equal in number to the elements—earth, water, air, fire—out of which the world was made, and with a definite relation to those elements; the byssus, or bright white, coming from the earth, purple from the water, while dark red is like the air, which is naturally black, and scarlet like fire, since both are bright red. For it was necessary that in framing a temple of man’s making, dedicated to the Father and Ruler of All, he should take substances like those with which that Ruler made the All.

The tabernacle, then, was constructed to resemble a sacred temple in the way described. Its precincts contained an area of a hundred cubits long by fifty broad, with pillars at equal intervals of five cubits from each other, so that the total number was sixty, with forty arranged on the long sides and twenty on the broad sides, in both cases half to each side. The material of the columns was of cedar wood overlaid by silver. The bases in all cases were of brass, and the height was five cubits. For the master craftsman thought it proper to cut down the height of what he calls the court by a complete half, in order that the screen at the gate of the court represented in Philo by the ὕφασμα of § 93.

* For §§ 89-93 see Ex. xxvii. 9-18.
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λεγομένης αὐλῆς, ἵν' ἡ σκηνὴ πρὸς τὸ διπλάσιον μετέωρος ἀρθείσα προφαίνῃται. λεπταὶ δ' ὀδόναι κατὰ τοῦ μήκους καὶ πλάτους ἡςαν ἐφαρμοζόμεναι τοῖς κιόσων ἱστίοις ἐμφερεῖς, ὑπὲρ τοῦ μηδένα τῶν μῆ καθαρῶν εἰσίεναι. XIX. ἡ δὲ θέσις τοιάδε ἦν
μέση μὲν ἵδρυτο ἡ σκηνὴ μῆκος ἐχοῦσα τριάκοντα πήχεις καὶ εὐρος δέκα σὺν τῷ βάθει τῶν κιόνων, ἀφειστήκει δὲ τῆς αὐλῆς ἐκ τριῶν μερῶν ἵσω διαστήματι, δυοὶ μὲν κατὰ τὰς πλευρὰς, ἐνὸς δὲ κατὰ τὸν ὀπισθόδομον, τὸ δὲ διάστημα ἐξ εἰκοσι πηχῶν ἀνεμετρεῖτο. κατὰ δὲ τὸ προπύλαιον, ὡς εἰκός, ἕνεκα τοῦ πλήθους τῶν εἰσιόντων μεῖξον ἐγίνετο διάστημα πεντήκοντα πηχῶν: οὔτως γὰρ ὁ ἐκατὸν τῆς αὐλῆς ἐμελλεῖ ἐκπληροῦσθαι, τῶν κατὰ τὸν ὀπισθόδομον εἰκοσὶ καὶ οὐσ ἀπέλαμβανεν ἡ σκηνὴ τριάκοντα συντεθέντων τοῖς κατὰ τὰς εἰσόδους πεντήκοντα. τὰ γὰρ προπύλαια τῆς σκηνῆς ὀσαν μέσος ὄρος ἵδρυτο διετής πεντηκοντάδος, τῆς μὲν κατ' ἀνατολάς, ἐνθὰ αἱ εἰσόδων, τῆς δὲ πρὸς δυσμᾶς, ἐνθὰ τὸ τε μήκος τῆς σκηνῆς καὶ ὁ κατὸπτων περίβολος. κάλλιστον δὲ καὶ μέγιστον ἄλλο προπύλαιον ἐν ἀρχῇ τῆς εἰς τὴν αὐλήν εἰσόδου κατεσκευάζετο διὰ τεττάρων κιόνων, καθ' ὅντον ἐτείνετο πουκίλον ύφασμα τὸν τε μήκος τῆς σκηνῆς καὶ τῆς ὀμοίας ὑλῆς ἀπειρασμένον.

92 εἰσόδους πεντήκοντα. τὰ γὰρ προπύλαια τῆς σκηνῆς ὀσαν μέσος ὄρος ἵδρυτο διετής πεντηκοντάδος, τῆς μὲν κατ' ἀνατολάς, ἐνθὰ αἱ εἰσόδων, τῆς δὲ πρὸς δυσμᾶς, ἐνθὰ τὸ τε μήκος τῆς σκηνῆς καὶ ὁ κατὸπτων περίβολος. κάλλιστον δὲ καὶ μέγιστον ἄλλο προπύλαιον ἐν ἀρχῇ τῆς εἰς τὴν αὐλήν εἰσόδου κατεσκευάζετο διὰ τεττάρων κιόνων, καθ' ὅντον ἐτείνετο πουκίλον ύφασμα τὸν τε μήκος τῆς σκηνῆς καὶ τῆς ὀμοίας ὑλῆς ἀπειρασμένον.

93 Ἁμα δὲ τούτως ἐδημιουργεῖτο καὶ σκεύη ιερά, κιβωτός, λυχνία, τράπεζα, θυμιατήριον, βωμός. ὁ μὲν οὖν βωμός ἱδρύετο ἐν ὑπαίθρῳ, τῶν εἰσόδων τῆς σκηνῆς ἀντικρύ, ἀφειστὸς τοσοῦτον ὅσον ἰκανὸν

94 a Or “the frontage,” the plural, which here as in § 136 is
tabernacle should be conspicuous by rising up to
double the height. Five linen sheets like sails were
attached to the pillars, both on the length and the
breadth, so that no impure person could enter the
place. XIX. The plan was as follows. The taber-
nacle itself was set in the midst, thirty cubits long and
ten broad, including the thickness of the pillars.
From three aspects, namely the two long sides and
the space at the back, it was the same distance from
the boundary of the court, reckoned at twenty cubits.
But at the propylaeum there was naturally a greater
interval of fifty cubits, on account of the number of
people entering. This increase was required to make
up the hundred cubits of the court; the twenty of
the back-space and the thirty taken up by the taber-
nacle being added to the fifty at the entrances. For
the propylaeum of the tabernacle was set as the
border-line between the two fifties, namely the fifty
on the eastern half, where the entrance is, and the
fifty on the western half, consisting of the tabernacle
and the area behind it. At the beginning of the
entrance to the court was built another very fine and
large propylaeum with four pillars, on which was
stretched a piece of woven work of various colours,
made in the same way as those within the tabernacle
and of like materials.

With these were also made the sacred vessels and
furniture, the ark, candlestick, table and altars for
incense and burnt offerings. The altar for burnt
offerings was placed in the open air, opposite the
entrance of the tabernacle, at a distance sufficient to

applied to what is clearly a single "propylaeum," indicating
that the line in which the portico stands is included.

b See Ex. xl. 6, 29.
λειτουργοίς εἶναι διάστημα πρὸς τὰς καθ' ἑκάστην
95 ἡμέραν ἐπιτελουμένας θυσίας. XX. ἦ δὲ κιβωτὸς
ἐν ἀδύτῳ καὶ ἄβατω τῶν καταπετασμάτων εἰς,
[150] κεχρυσωμένη πολυτελῶς ἐνδοθέν | τε καὶ ἐξωθέν,
ἡς ἐπίθεμα ὁσανεὶ πῶμα τὸ λεγόμενον ἐν ἰερῶν
96 βιβλίων ἱλαστήριον. τούτου μὴν καὶ πλάτος
μεμήνυται, βάθος δ' οὐδέν, ἐπιφανεία γεωμετρικὴ
μάλιστ' ὁμοιωμένου, ὅπερ ἐσχῆ καὶ σύμβολον
φυσικότερον μὲν τῆς ἑλεοῦ τοῦ θεοῦ δυνάμεως,
ἡθικóτερον δὲ διανοίας πάλιν, ἑλεω δ' ἕαυτῇ, τὴν
πρὸς ψυχό ἄλογον αἱροῦσαν καὶ φυσώσαν οἴησιν
αὐτοφὰς ἔρωτι σὺν ἐπιστῆμῃ στέλλει καὶ καθαρεῖν
97 ἀξιοῦσης. ἀλλ' ἦ μὲν κιβωτὸς ἀγγείον νόμων
ἐστὶν: εἰς γὰρ ταύτην κατατίθεται τὰ χρησθέντα
λόγια: τὸ δ' ἐπίθεμα τὸ προσαγορεύμενον ἱλαστή-
ριον βάσις ἐστὶ πτηνῶν δυοῖν, ὁ πατρίω μὲν γλώττη
προσαγορεύεται Χερουβίμ, ὡς δ' ἐν Ἑλληνες
98 εἴποιεν, ἐπίγνωσις καὶ ἐπιστήμη πολλή. ταῦτα δὲ
τῶν μὲν φασιν εἶναι σύμβολα τῶν ἡμισφαιρίων
ἀμφῶν κατὰ τὴν ἀντιπρόσωπον θέσιν, τοῦ τε ὑπὸ
γῆν καὶ ὑπὲρ γῆν πτηνῶν γὰρ ὁ σύμπασις υἱονανὸς.
99 ἔγω δ' ἀν εἴποιμι δηλοῦσθαι δ' ὑπονοιῶν τὰς
πρεσβυτάτας καὶ ἀνωτάτω δύο τοῦ ἄντων δυνάμεις,
τῆν τε ποιητικὴν καὶ βασιλικὴν: οὐκέμαζεται δ' ἦ
μὲν ποιητικὴ δύναμις αὐτοῦ θεός, καθ' ἢν ἐθηκε

a For §§ 95-97 see Ex. xxv. 10-22.
b Or place of grace.
c See note on De Abr. 99.
d Or "full knowledge and much science." These words are not interpretations of the symbolical meaning of the two cherubim, but the supposed meaning of the Hebrew word, of which Philo gives two almost synonymous (and presumably alternative) renderings. The statement is reproduced by
gave the ministers room for the daily performance of the sacrifices. XX. \(^a\) The ark was placed on the forbidden ground of the inner sanctuary, within the veils. It was coated with costly gilding within and without, and was covered by a sort of lid, which is called in the sacred books the mercy-seat.\(^b\) The length and breadth of this are stated, but no depth, and thus it closely resembles the plane surface of geometry. It appears to be a symbol in a theological sense \(^c\) of the gracious power of God; in the human sense, of a mind which is gracious to itself and feels the duty of repressing and destroying with the aid of knowledge the conceit which in its love of vanity uplifts it in unreasoning exaltation and puffs it with pride. The ark itself is the coffer of the laws, for in it are deposited the oracles which have been delivered. But the cover, which is called the mercy-seat, serves to support the two winged creatures which in the Hebrew are called cherubim, but, as we should term them, recognition and full knowledge.\(^d\) Some hold that, since they are set facing each other, they are symbols of the two hemispheres, one above the earth and one under it, for the whole heaven has wings. I should myself say that they are allegorical representations of the two most august and highest potencies of Him that is, the creative and the kingly. His creative potency is called God, because through it He placed

Clem. as ἐπίγνωσις πολλή, by Jerome as "multitudo scientiae," to which add Augustine's "plentudo scientiae." All these are presumably dependent on Philo and no explanation of how he got this belief seems to be forthcoming.

The symbolical interpretations mentioned below have been given in De Cher. 21 ff, together with a third, that they represent the spheres of the planets and fixed stars. See notes ad loc.

\(^e\) θεός again associated with τιθημι, cf. De Abr. 122.
καὶ ἐποίησε καὶ διεκόσμησε τόδε τὸ πᾶν, ἢ δὲ βασιλικὴ κύριος, ἢ τῶν γενομένων ἁρχεῖ καὶ σὺν δίκη βεβαίως ἐπικρατεῖ. μόνος γὰρ πρὸς ἀλήθειαν ὃν καὶ ποιητής ἐστιν ἀφευδῶς, ἐπειδή τὰ μὴ ὄντα ἦγαγεν εἰς τὸ εἶναι, καὶ βασιλεὺς φύσει, διότι τῶν γεγονότων οὐδεὶς ἂν ἁρχοι δικαιότερον τοῦ πεποιη-κότος.

XXI. Ἔν δὲ τῷ μεθορίῳ τῶν τεσσάρων καὶ πέντε κιόνων, ὅπερ ἐστὶ κυρίως εἴπειν πρόναον εἰργόμενον δυσιν υφάσμασι, τῷ μὲν ἐνδόν ο καταπέτασμα, τῷ δ' ἐκτὸς ὁ προσαγορεύεται κάλυμμα, τὰ λοιπὰ τρία σκεῦτα τῶν προειρημένων ἱδρύτων· μέσον μὲν τὸ θυμιατήριον, γῆς καὶ ὦδατος σύμβολον εὐχαριστίας, ἢν ἐνεκα τῶν γινομένων ἄρ’ ἑκατέρου προσῆκε ποιεῖσθαι· τὸν γὰρ μέσον ταῦτα τοῦ κόσμου τόπον κεκληρωταί· τὴν δὲ λυχνίαν ἐν τοῖς νοτίοις, δι’ ἂν αὐλίττεται τὰς τῶν φωσφόρων κινήσεις ἀστέρων· ἡλίος γὰρ καὶ σελήνη καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι πολὺ τῶν βορείων ἀφεστῶτες νοτίωσις ποιοῦνται τὰς περιπολήσεις· ὅθεν ἔξ μὲν κλάδοι, τρεῖς δὲ ἑκατέρωθεν, τῆς μέσης λυχνίας ἑκπεφύκασιν εἰς ἀριθμὸν ἐβδομον· ἐπὶ δὲ πάντων λαμπάδια τε καὶ λύχνου ἔπτα, σύμβολα τῶν λεγομένων παρὰ τοῖς φυσικοῖς ἀνδράσι πλανήτων· ὁ γὰρ ἡλίος, ἡ λυχνία, μέσος τῶν ἐξ τεταγμένως ἐν τετάρτη χώρᾳ φωσφορεῖ τοῖς ὑπεράνω τρισὶ καὶ τοῖς ὑπ’ αὐτὸν ἰσούς, ἀρμοζόμενος τὸ μουσικὸν καὶ θείον ὡς ἀληθῶς ὀργανον. XXII. ἦ δὲ τράπεζα τίθεται πρὸς τοῖς βορείοις, ἐφ’ ἂν ἁρτοὶ καὶ ἄλες, ἐπειδὴ 498
and made and ordered this universe, and the kingly is called Lord, being that with which He governs what has come into being and rules it steadfastly with justice. For, as He alone really is, He is undoubtedly also the Maker, since He brought into being what was not, and He is in the nature of things King, since none could more justly govern what has been made than the Maker.

XXI. In the space between the four and the five pillars, which may properly be called the vestibule of the temple, and is shut off by two woven screens, the inner and the outer, called respectively the veil and the covering, he set the remaining three of the equipments mentioned above. The altar of incense he placed in the middle, a symbol of the thankfulness for earth and water which should be rendered for the benefits derived from both these, since the mid-position in the universe has been assigned to them.

The candlestick he placed at the south, figuring thereby the movements of the luminaries above; for the sun and the moon and the others run their courses in the south far away from the north. And therefore six branches, three on each side, issue from the central candlestick, bringing up the number to seven, and on all these are set seven lamps and candle-bearers, symbols of what the men of science call planets. For the sun, like the candlestick, has the fourth place in the middle of the six and gives light to the three above and the three below it, so tuning to harmony an instrument of music truly divine.

XXII. The table is set at the north and has bread

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*a* See Ex. xxx. 1 f.

*b* See Ex. xxv. 31 ff. *Cf. Quis Rerum, 221-225.*

*c* See Ex. xxv. 23 ff.
τῶν πνευμάτων τὰ βόρεια τροφιμώτατα καὶ διότι ἐξ οὐρανοῦ καὶ γῆς αἱ τροφαὶ, τοῦ μὲν ὑόντος, τῆς δὲ τὰ σπέρματα ταῖς τῶν ὕδατων ἐπιρρολαίς τελειογονούσης. οὐρανοῦ δὲ καὶ γῆς παρίδρυται τὰ σύμβολα, καθάπερ ἔδειξεν ὁ λόγος, τοῦ μὲν οὐρανοῦ ἡ λυχνία, τῶν δὲ περιγείων, ἐξ ὃν αἱ ἀναθυμιάσεις, τὸ ἐτύμως προσαγορευόμενον θυμιατήριον. τὸν δὲ ὑπαίθρω βωμόν εἶωθε καλεῖν θυσιαστήριον, ὥσπερ τηρητικὸν καὶ φυλακτικὸν ὄντα θυσιῶν τὸν ἀναλωτικὸν τούτων, αἰνιττόμενος οὐ τὰ μέλη καὶ τὰ μέρη τῶν ἱερορυγγομένων, ἀπερ αἰτίασθαι πυρὶ πέφυκεν, ἀλλὰ τὴν προάρεσιν τοῦ προσφέροντος ὑπόμνησιν εργάζονται. εἰ μὲν γὰρ ἄγνωμων καὶ ἄδικως, ἄθυτοι θυσίαι καὶ ἀνίεροι θυσίαι καὶ εὐχαι παλίμφημοι παντελῆ φθοράν ἐνδεχόμεναι· καὶ γὰρ ὅποτε γίνεσθαι δοκοῦσιν, οὐ λύσιν ἀμαρτημάτων, ἀλλ' ὕπομνησιν εργάζονται εἰ δ' ὅσιος καὶ δίκαιος, μένει βέβαιος ἡ θυσία, καὶ τὰ κρέα δαπανηθή, μᾶλλον δὲ καὶ εἰ τὸ παράπαν μηδὲν προσάγουσι ἱερεῖον: ἡ γὰρ ἀληθῆς ἱερουργία τὸς ἐν εἰλ πλὴν ψυχῆς θεοφιλούς εὔσεβεία; ἢς τὸ εὐχάριστον ἀθανάτιζεται καὶ ἀνάγγειλεν στηλευεῖται παρὰ θεῷ συνδιαιωνίζον ἤλιῳ καὶ σελήνῃ καὶ τῷ παντὶ κόσμῳ.

Perhaps, as the German translator, omit δὲ, put a full stop after τροφιμώτατα, and a comma after τελειογονούσης. See note b.

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a So lxx Lev. xxiv. 7—not in Hebrew.

b The punctuation and reading suggested in note 1 certainly make the connexion of thought clearer. If the text is kept, I take the meaning to be that the table with the food upon it represents heaven and earth which send the food, and therefore it is fitting that the other two symbols of heaven and earth should be set beside it.

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and salt on it, as the north winds are those which most provide us with food, and food comes from heaven and earth, the one sending rain, the other bringing the seeds to their fullness when watered by the showers. In a line with the table are set the symbols of heaven and earth, as our account has shewn, heaven being signified by the candlestick, earth and its parts, from which rise the vapours, by what is appropriately called the vapour-keeper or altar of incense. The great altar in the open court he usually calls by a name which means sacrifice-keeper, and when he thus speaks of the altar which destroys sacrifices as their keeper and guardian he alludes not to the parts and limbs of the victims, whose nature is to be consumed by fire, but to the intention of the offerer. For, if the worshipper is without kindly feeling or justice, the sacrifices are no sacrifices, the consecrated oblation is desecrated, the prayers are words of ill omen with utter destruction waiting upon them. For, when to outward appearance they are offered, it is not a remission but a reminder of past sins which they effect. But, if he is pure of heart and just, the sacrifice stands firm, though the flesh is consumed, or rather, even if no victim at all is brought to the altar. For the true oblation, what else can it be but the devotion of a soul which is dear to God? The thank-offering of such a soul receives immortality, and is inscribed in the records of God, sharing the eternal life of the sun and moon and the whole universe.

* Philo does not expressly derive the -τηρων of θυμιατήριον from τηρείν. But as ἔτυμως implies etymological derivation, and in the next words he gives this derivation for θυσιαστήριον, it seems probable that he means it to apply to both words.
Τούτοις εξής ίεράν έσθήτα κατεσκεύαζεν τεχνίτης τω μέλλοντι άρχιερεΐ καθίστασθαι παγκάλην και θαυμασιωτάτην εχουσαν εν τοις υφάσμασι πλοκήν. τά δ' υφή διττά ἴν, το μὲν υποδύτης, το δὲ προσαγορευόμενον ἐπωμίς. ο μὲν οὖν υποδύτης ἀμυγεστέρας ἱδέας· ὅλος γ' ἄκινθινος, ἔξω τῶν κατωτάτω καὶ πρὸς ἐσχατιὰς μερῶν, ταῦτα γὰρ ἐποικίλλετο χρυσοῖς ρούσκοις καὶ κώδωσι καὶ ἄνθινοις πλέγμασιν. ἡ δ' ἐπωμίς, ἐκπρεπέστατον ἐργον καὶ τεχνικῶτατον, ἐπιστήμη τελειώτατη κατεσκευάζετο τοῖς προειρημένοις γένεσιν, ἄκινθῳ καὶ πορφύρᾳ καὶ βύσσῳ καὶ κοκκίνῳ, συγκαταπλεκομένου χρυσοῦ· πέταλα γ' ἐς λεπτὰς τρίχας κατατμηθέντα πάσι τοῖς νήμασι συν-

112 νυφαίνετο, λίθοι δ' ἐπὶ τῶν ἀκρωμίων ἐνημρόζοντο [152] σμαράγδου πολυτελοῦς δύο τιμαλφέστατοι, ο ὅς τὰ ὀνόματα τῶν φυλάρχων ἔξα καθ' ἐκάτερον ἐν-εχαράττετο, δῶδεκα τὰ σύμπαντα· καὶ κατὰ τὸ στῆθος ἄλλοι λίθοι πολυτελεῖς δῶδεκα διαφέροντες ταῖς χρώαις, σφραγίσω ἑυκότες, ἐκ τρώων τετρα-στοιχεῖ· οὗτοι δ' ἐνημρόζοντο τῷ προσαγορευομένῳ λογείῳ. τὸ δ' λογείον τετράγωνον διπλοῦν κατ-εσκευάζετο ὡσανεὶ βάσις, ὡν δύο ἄρετῶς ἀγαλ-ματοφορῆ, δήλωσιν τε καὶ ἄλθειαν· ὅλον δ' ἀλυσείδιοις χρυσοῖς ἀνηρτητο πρὸς τὴν ἐπωμίδα, σφιγγόμενον ἔξα αὐτῆς, ὑπὲρ τοῦ μὴ χαλάσθαι. χρυσοῦν δὲ πέταλον ὡσανεὶ στέφανος ἐδημιουργεῖτο

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For §§ 109-116 see Ex. xxviii.

Lit. “shoulder-covering.” I have retained the familiar and neutral word “ephod,” by some supposed to be a kind of waistcoat, by others an apron. See note in Driver’s Exodus, p. 312, or article in Biblical Encyclopaedia.
XXIII. a Next after these, the master prepared for the future high priest a vesture, the fabric of which had a texture of great and marvellous beauty. It consisted of two garments, one of which he calls the robe and the other the ephod. b The robe was of a comparatively uniform make, for it was all of the dark red colour, except at the lowest extremities, where it was variegated with golden pomegranates and bells and intertwined flowers. The ephod, a work of special magnificence and artistry, was wrought with perfect knowledge in the kinds of materials mentioned above, namely dark red and purple and bright white and scarlet, with gold thread intertwined. For gold leaf cut into fine threads was woven with all the yarn. On the shoulder-tops were fitted two highly precious stones of the costly emerald kind, and on them were graven the names of the patriarchs, six for each shoulder, twelve in all. On the breast were twelve other costly stones of different colours, like seals, in four rows of three each. These were fitted into what he calls the "place of reason." c This was made four-square and doubled, forming a ground to enshrine the two virtues, clear showing and truth. d The whole was attached by golden chainlets to the ephod, fastened strongly to it so as not to come loose. A piece of gold plate, too, was wrought into the form of a crown with four

"oracle" (LXX λόγειον τῶν κρίσεων, Ex. xxviii. 15). But Philo clearly uses the word in the sense given in the translation (see §§ 125 and 128), and the same meaning is given to it De Spec. Leg. i. 87. The E.V. has "breastplate of judgement" though the word translated "breastplate" is said to be rather = "pouch."

The LXX translation of the mysterious words rendered in E.V. as Urim and Thummim. Cf. Leg. All. iii. 142.
τέτταρας ἔχον γλυφάς ὄνόματος, ὃ μόνοι τοῖς ὡτα καὶ γλώτταν σοφίᾳ κεκαθαρμένοις θέμις ἀκούειν καὶ λέγειν ἐν ἀγίοις, ἀλλὰ δ’ οὐδεὶς τὸ παράπαν
115 οὐδαμοῦ. τετραγράμματον δὲ τοῦνομά φησιν ὁ θεολόγος εἶναι, τάχα που σύμβολα τιθείς αὐτὰ τῶν πρώτων ἀριθμῶν, μονάδος καὶ δυάδος καὶ τριάδος καὶ τετράδος, ἐπειδὴ πάντα ἐν τετράδι, σημείων καὶ γραμμῆς καὶ ἐπιφάνειας καὶ στερεών, τὰ μέτρα τῶν συμπάντων, καὶ αἱ κατὰ μοσκίκην ἀρίστας συμφωνιά, ἢ τε διὰ τεσσάρων ἐν ἐπιτρίτω λόγῳ καὶ ἢ διὰ πέντε ἐν ἡμιολίῳ καὶ ἢ διὰ πασῶν ἐν διπλασίῳ καὶ ἢ διὰ δια τῶν πασῶν ἐν τετραπλασίῳ· ἔχει δὲ καὶ τὰς ἀλλὰς ἀμυθήτους ἀρετὰς ἢ τετράς, ὅν τὰς πλείονες ἀκριβῶς ἔκαθεν ἐν τῇ περὶ ἀριθμῶν πραγματείᾳ. μέτρα δ’ ἦν ὑπ’ αὐτῶ, τοῦ μή φαύειν τῆς κεφαλῆς τὸ πέταλον. πρὸς δὲ καὶ κίδαρις κατεσκευάζετο· κιδάρει γάρ οἱ τῶν ἔως καθελείς ἀντὶ διαδήματος εἰδόθησαν.
116 ΤΟΙΑΥΤΗ ΜΕΝ Ἡ ΤΟῦ ΑΡΧΙΕΡΕΩΣ ΗΝ ἘΣΘΗΣ. ὅν δ’ ἔχει λόγον οὐ παρασιωπητέων αὐτῇ τε καὶ τὰ μέρη. ὀλη μὲν δὴ γέγονεν ἀπεικόνισμα καὶ μίμημα τοῦ κόσμου, τὰ δὲ μέρη τῶν καθ’ ἐκαστον μερῶν. ἀρκέτεον δ’ ἀπὸ τοῦ ποδήρους. οὕτος δ’ ὁ | [153] χιτῶν σύμπας ἐστὶν ύακίνθινος, ἀέρος ἐκμαγείων· φύσει γὰρ ὁ ἀὴρ μέλας καὶ τρόπον τιγὰ ποδήρης, ἀνωθεὶ ἀπὸ τῶν μετὰ σελήνην ἀχρὶ τῶν γῆς τάθεις περάτων, πάντη κεχυμένος· οἶδεν καὶ ὁ χιτῶν ἀπὸ

a The apparently traditional idea, which appears again in § 132, that the inscription on the πέταλον was the “tetragrammaton” YHVH is not borne out by the LXX ἀγίασμα κυρίου, or the Hebrew and E.V. “Holy (holiness) to the Lord” (Ex. xxviii. 32 (E.V. 36)). Philo has quoted it correctly De Mig. 103.
incisions, showing a name which only those whose ears and tongues are purified may hear or speak in the holy place, and no other person, nor in any other place at all. That name has four letters, so says 115 that master learned in divine verities, who, it may be, gives them as symbols of the first numbers, one, two, three and four; since the geometrical categories under which all things fall, point, line, superficies, solid, are all embraced in four. So, too, with the best harmonies in music, the fourth, fifth, octave and double octave intervals, where the ratios are respectively four to three, three to two, two to one and four to one. Four, too, has countless other virtues, most of which I have set forth in detail in my treatise on numbers. Under the crown, to prevent 116 the plate touching the head, was a headband. A turban also was provided, for the turban is regularly worn by eastern monarchs instead of a diadem.

XXIV. Such was the vesture of the high priest. 117 But I must not leave untold its meaning and that of its parts. We have in it as a whole and in its parts a typical representation of the world and its particular parts. Let us begin with the full-length robe. This 118 gown is all of violet, and is thus an image of the air; for the air is naturally black, and so to speak a robe reaching to the feet, since it stretches down from the region below the moon to the ends of the earth, and spreads out everywhere. And, therefore, the


b Presumably the same as the “special treatise” mentioned in De Op. 52, after enumerating many of the properties of the number. He has also dealt with them in De Plant. 117 ff.

c For some notes on and illustration of the symbolism of §§ 117-135 see App. p. 609.
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στέρνων ἄχρι ποδῶν περὶ ὅλον τὸ σῶμα κέχυται.

119 ἐξ αὐτοῦ δὲ κατὰ τὰ σφυρὰ ῥοῖσκοι καὶ ἄνθινα καὶ κώδωνες εἰσὶν. τὰ μὲν ἄνθινα σύμβολον γῆς, ἀνθεὶ γὰρ καὶ βλαστάνει πάντα ἐκ ταύτης· οἱ δὲ ῥοῖσκοι ὤδατος, παρὰ τὴν ῥύσιν λεχθέντες εὐθυβόλως· οἱ δὲ κώδωνες τῆς ἀρμονίας καὶ συμφωνίας τούτων, οὔτε γὰρ γῆ χωρὶς ὤδατος οὗθ᾽ ὕδωρ ἀνευ τῆς γεώδους οὐσίας αὐτάρκες εἰς γένεσιν, ἀλλ᾽ ἐν

120 σύνοδος καὶ κράσις ἀμφοῖν. μάρτυς δὲ τοῦ δηλουμένου καὶ τὸ τόπος έναργέστατος· ὡς γὰρ ἐν ἐσχάτοις τοῦ ποδήρου οἱ ῥοῖσκοι καὶ τὰ ἄνθινα καὶ οἱ κώδωνες εἰσὶν, οὕτως καὶ τὰ ὡς ἐστὶ σύμβολα τῆς κατωτάτης χώρας ἐλαχεν ἐν κόσμῳ, γῆ καὶ ὕδωρ, καὶ τῇ τοῦ παντός ἀρμονίας συνηχούντα τὰς οἰκείας ἐπιδείκνυται δυνάμεις ἐν ὁρισμέναις χρόνων περὶ-

121 όδοις καὶ τοῖς προσήκουσι καυροῖς. τριῶν μὲν δὴ στοιχείων, ἐξ ὧν τε καὶ ἐν οἷς τὰ θνητὰ καὶ φθαρτὰ γένη πάντα, ἀέρος, ὤδατος, γῆς, οὶ ποδήρης οὐν ἐπὶ τοὺς ἀπηρημένους κατὰ τὰ σφυρὰ σύμβολον ἐδείχθη προσήκοντως· ὧς γὰρ οἱ χιτῶν εἰς, καὶ τὰ λεχθέντα τρία στοιχεία μιᾶς ἰδέας ἐστίν, ἐπειδὴ τὰ κατωτέρω σελήνης ἀπαντὰ τροπάς ἐχει καὶ μεταβολάς· καὶ καθάπερ ἔκ τοῦ χιτώνος ἠρτηνται οἱ τε ῥοῖσκοι καὶ τὰ ἄνθινα, καὶ ἀπ᾽ αέρος τρόπον τινὰ γῆ καὶ ὕδωρ ἐκκρέμανται, τὸ γὰρ ὄχημα τούτων ἐστὶν ἄηρ.

122 Τὴν δ᾽ ἐπωμίδα οὐρανοῦ σύμβολον ὁ λόγος εἰκόσι στοιχασμοὺς χρώμενος παραστήσει· πρῶτον μὲν γὰρ οἱ ἐπὶ τῶν ἀκρωμίων σμαράγδου δύο λίθου περι-

\[a \text{The stress lies on προσήκοντως; we may see that the}\]
gown, too, spreads out from the breast to the feet round the whole body. At the ankles there stand out from it pomegranates and flower trimming and bells. The earth is represented by the flowers, for all that flowers and grows comes from the earth; the water by the pomegranates or flowing fruit, so aptly called from their flowing juice; while the bells represent the harmonious alliance of these two, since life cannot be produced by earth without water or by water without the substance of earth, but only by the union and combination of both. Their position testifies most clearly to this explanation. For, just as the pomegranates, the flower trimming and the bells are at the extremities of the long robe, so too what these symbolize, namely earth and water, occupy the lowest place in the universe, and in unison with the harmony of the All display their several powers at fixed revolutions of time and at their proper seasons. This proof that the three elements, earth, water and air, from which come and in which live all mortal and perishable forms of life, are symbolized by the long robe with the appendages at the ankles, is supported by observing that as the gown is one, the three said elements are of a single kind, since all below the moon is alike in its liability to change and alteration, and that, as the pomegranates and flower patterns are fastened to the gown, so too in a sense earth and water are suspended on the air, which acts as their support.

As for the ephod, consideration following what probability suggests will represent it as a symbol of heaven. For first the two circular emerald stones symbolism described above is suitable by the other resemblances pointed out in the last part of the sentence.
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φερεῖς μηνύουσιν, ὡς μὲν οἴονταί τινες, ἀστέρων τούς ἡμέρας καὶ νυκτὸς Ἑγεμόνας, ἦλιον καὶ σελήνην, ὡς δ' ἂν ἐγγυτέρω τις τῆς ἀληθείας προσερχόμενος εἶποι, τῶν ἡμισφαιρίων ἐκάτερον ἕσα τε γὰρ ὡς οἱ λίθοι τῷ τε ύπέρ γῆν καὶ ύπὸ γῆν καὶ οὐδέτερον πέφυκε μειοῦσθαι καὶ συναύξεσθαι 123 καθάπερ σελήνη. συνεπιμαρτυρεῖ δὲ καὶ ἡ χρός. σμαράγδω γὰρ ἐσχήθη ἥ τοῦ ποιμῶν ὅπερ οὐκ ὅτι ημέρας προσβολήν. ἀναγκαῖοι δὲ καὶ καθ' ἐκάτερον τῶν λίθων ἔς ὄνοματα ἐγγλυ- φεται, διότι καὶ τῶν ἡμισφαιρίων ἐκάτερον διὰ τέμνον τὸν ζωοφόρον ἐξ ἐναπολαμβάνει ζώδια. 124 ἐπειδ' οἱ κατά τὰ στέρνα δώδεκα λίθοι ταῖς χρόαις οὐχ ὁμοιοί διανεμηθέντες εἰς τέσσαρας στοιχεῖοι ἐκ τριῶν τῶν ἐκάτερον δείγματ' εἰσὶν ἢ τοῦ θυμικοῦ [154] κύκλου; καὶ γὰρ ὅστοι τετραχῆ διανεμηθεῖσι ἐκ τριῶν ζωοφόρων τὰς ἑπτάτους ὃρας ἀποτελεῖ, ἔαρ, θέρος, μετόπωρον, θειαμάν, τροπὰς τέσσαρας, ἄν ἡ ἑκάστης ὅρος τρία ζώδια, γνωρίζομεν ταῖς τοῦ θυμικοῦ περιφορᾶς κατὰ τὸν ἐν ἀρίθμοις ἀσάλευτον 125 καὶ βεβαιότατον καὶ θείον ὄντως λόγον. οὖν ἐνηρμόζοντο καὶ τῇ προσαγορευθέντι δεόντως λόγεῖος. λόγῳ γὰρ αἱ τροπαὶ καὶ ἑπτήσιοι ὃραι τεταγμένω καὶ παγίῳ συνίστανται, τὸ παραδοξό- τατον, διὰ τῆς καιρίου μεταβολῆς ἐπιδεικνύμεναι 126 τὴν διαωνίζοντα αὐτῶν μονήν. εὖ δὲ ἐξει καὶ πάνυ καλῶς τὸ τοῖς χρώμασι τους δώδεκα λίθους διαλλάττει καὶ μηδένα ὁμοιοὶ εἶναι μηδενί. καὶ γὰρ τῶν ἐν τῷ ζωοφόρῳ ἐκατόν ἀποτελεῖ τῷ χρῶμα οἰκεῖον κατὰ τε ἀέρα καὶ γῆν καὶ ὑδώρ καὶ 508
on the shoulder-pieces indicate, as some think, those heavenly bodies which rule the day and night, namely the sun and moon, or, as may be said with a nearer approach to truth, the two hemispheres of the sky. For, just as the stones are equal to each other, so is the hemisphere above to that below the earth, and neither is so constituted as to increase and diminish as does the moon. A similar testimony is given by their colour, for the appearance of the whole heaven as presented to our sight is like the emerald. Six names, too, had to be engraved on each of the stones, since each of the hemispheres also divides the zodiac into two, and appropriates six of the signs. Secondly, the stones at the breast, which are dissimilar in colour, and are distributed into four rows of threes, what else should they signify but the zodiac circle? For that circle, when divided into four parts, constitutes by three signs in each case the seasons of the year—spring, summer, autumn, winter—those four, the transition in each of which is determined by three signs and made known to us by the revolutions of the sun, according to a mathematical law, unshaken, immutable and truly divine. Therefore also they were fitted into what is rightly called the place of reason, for a rational principle, ordered and firmly established, creates the transitions and seasons of the year. And the strangest thing is that it is this seasonal change which demonstrates their age-long permanence. It is an excellent and indeed a splendid point that the twelve stones are of different colours and none of them like to any other. For each of the signs of the zodiac also produces its own particular colouring in the air and
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τα τούτων παθήματα καὶ ἐτι κατὰ τὰ τῶν ζῷων 127 καὶ φυτῶν γένη πάντα. XXV. διπλοῦν
de τὸ λογεῖον οὐκ ἀπὸ σκοποῦ· διττὸς γὰρ ὁ λόγος ἐν τῇ παντὶ καὶ ἐν ἀνθρώπου φύσει· κατὰ μὲν
tὸ πάν ὃ τε περὶ τῶν ἀσωμάτων καὶ παραδειγματικῶν ἰδεῶν, ἦν ὁ νοητὸς ἐπάγγη κόσμος, καὶ ὁ περὶ τῶν ὅψατὰν, ἀ δὴ μιμήματα καὶ ἀπεικονίσματα τῶν ἰδεῶν ἐκείνων ἐστίν, ἦν ὁ αἰσθητὸς ὁὐτὸς ἀπετελέντο· ἐν ἀνθρώπῳ δὲ ὁ μὲν ἐστὶν ἐνδιάθετος, ὁ δὲ προφορικὸς, ὁ δὲ γεγονός ἀπ’ ἐκείνου βέων· καὶ τοῦ μὲν ἐστὶ χώρα τὸ ἡγεμονικόν, τοῦ δὲ κατὰ προφορὰν
gλώττα καὶ στόμα καὶ ἡ ἄλλη πᾶσα φωνῆς ὁρ- 128 γανοποιία. σχήμα δὲ ἀπένειμεν ὁ τεχνίτης τετρά-
γωνον τῷ λογεῖῳ πάνυ καλῶς αἰνητόμενος, ὃς χρή καὶ τὸν τῆς φύσεως λόγον καὶ τὸν τοῦ ἀν-
θρώπου βεβηκέναι πάντη καὶ κατὰ μηδ’ ὅτιον κραδαίνει. παρὸ καὶ τὰς εἰρημένας δύο ἀρετάς προσεκλήρωσεν αὐτῷ, δήλωσιν τε καὶ ἀλήθειαν ὃ τε γὰρ τῆς φύσεως λόγος ἀληθής καὶ δηλωτικὸς πάντων ὃ τε τοῦ σοφοῦ μμούμενος ἐκεῖνον ὅφειλε προσηκόντως ἀμευδέστατος τε εἶναι τιμῶν ἀλήθειαν καὶ μηδὲν φθόνῳ συσκιάζειν, ἃν ἡ μῆνυσις 129 ὥφελήσει τοὺς ἀναδιδάχθεντας. οὐ μὴν ἄλλα καὶ
dυοὶ λόγοι τοῖς καθ’ ἔκαστον ἡμῶν, τῷ τε προφο-
ρικῷ καὶ ἐνδιαθέτῳ, δύο ἀρετάς ἀπένειμεν οἰκείας, 
tῷ μὲν προφορικῷ δήλωσιν, τῷ δὲ κατὰ διάνοιαν ἀλήθειαν· ἀρμόζει γὰρ διανοια μὲν μηδὲν παρα- 510
earth and water and their phases, and also in the different kinds of animals and plants. XXV.

There is a point, too, in the reason-seat being doubled, for the rational principle is twofold as well in the universe as in human nature. In the universe we find it in one form dealing with the incorporeal and archetypal ideas from which the intelligible world was framed, and in another with the visible objects which are the copies and likenesses of those ideas and out of which this sensible world was produced. With man, in one form it resides within, in the other it passes out from him in utterance. The former is like a spring, and is the source from which the latter, the spoken, flows. The inward is located in the dominant mind, the outward in the tongue and mouth and the rest of the vocal organism. The master did well also in assigning a four-square shape to the reason-seat, thereby shewing in a figure that the rational principle, both in nature and in man, must everywhere stand firm and never be shaken in any respect at all; and, therefore, he allotted to it the two above-named virtues, clear shewing and truth. For the rational principle in nature is true, and sets forth all things clearly, and, in the wise man, being a copy of the other, has as its bounden duty to honour truth with absolute freedom from falsehood, and not keep dark through jealousy anything the disclosure of which will benefit those who hear its lesson. At the same time, as in each of us, reason has two forms, the outward of utterance and the inward of thought, he gave them each one of the two virtues as its special property; to utterance clear shewing, to the thinking mind truth. For it is the duty of the thinking faculty to admit no false-
δέχεσθαι ψεύδος, ἐρμηνεία δὲ μηδὲν ἐμποδίζειν τῶν εἰς τὴν ἀκριβεστάτην δήλωσιν. λόγον δὲ οὐδὲν οἵοντος τὰ καλὰ καὶ σπουδαίᾳ σεμνηγοροῦντος, ὡς μὴ πρόσεστιν οἰκεῖων ἀκολουθία πράξεων· οἶκον τὸ λόγειον ἠρτησέν ἐκ τῆς ἐπωμίδος, ἵνα μὴ χαλάται, [155] τὸν λόγον οὗ δικαιώσασ | ἐργον ἀπεξεύθηκαί τὸν γὰρ ὡμον ἐνεργείας καὶ πράξεως ποιεῖται σύμβολον.

131 XXVI. "Α μὲν οὖν αἰνίττεται διὰ τῆς ἱερᾶς ἐσθήτος, ἐστὶ τοιαύτα, κίδαριν δὲ ἀντὶ διαδήματος ἐπιτίθησι τὴ κεφαλὴ δικαίων τὸν ἱερωμένον τῷ θεῷ, καθ’ ὃν χρόνον ἱεράται, προφέρειν ἀπάντων καὶ μὴ μόνον ἱδιωτῶν ἀλλὰ καὶ βασιλέων. ὑπεράνω δὲ τὸ χρυσοῦν ἐστὶν πέταλον, ὡς τῶν τεττάρων αἰ γλυφαὶ γραμμάτων ἐνεσφράγισθησαν, ἐξ δὲ όνομα τοῦ ἄντων φασὶ μηνύεσθαι, ὥς οὐχ ὁ οἶκον τῇ κατακλήσεως θεοῦ συντήναι τὶ τῶν ὄντων· ἁρμονία γὰρ πάντων ἑστί τῇ ἀγαθότης καὶ ἱλεως δύναμις αὐτοῦ. τοῦτον τὸν τρόπον δὲ ἀρχιερεύς διακοσμηθεὶς στέλλεται πρὸς τὰς ἱερουργίας, ὅν’ ὅταν εἰσῆ ὑπὸ πατρίους εὐχάς τε καὶ θυσίαι ποιήσομεν, συνεισέρχεται πᾶς ὁ κόσμος αὐτῷ δι’ ὃν ἐπιφέρεται μιμημάτων ἁ ἐπιφέρεται τὸν σωματικὸν, ὡς τῷ κόσμῳ πάντας ἄλλας δικαίως καὶ καθ’ εἶδος τῶν υἱοῦν ἡμισφαίριον τοῖς ἐπὶ τῶν ἀκρωμιών σμαράγδους περιβεβλῆται, ἐφ’ ὃ οἶκον τὸν ζωοφόρου τοὺς ἐπὶ τῶν στέρνων δώδεκα λίθους ἐκ

1 So MSS. or μιμημα. Cohn corrects to μιμήματα, wrongly, I think. The grammatical usage of relative attraction for διὰ μιμημάτων ἐπιφέρεται justifies, if it does not require, the attraction of the noun to the case of the relative.
hood, and of the language faculty to give free play to all that helps to shew facts clearly with the utmost exactness. Yet reason, as seen in either of these faculties, is of no value, however admirable and excellent are its lofty pronouncements, unless followed by deeds in accordance with it. And, therefore, since in his judgement speech and thought should never be separated from actions, he fastened the reason-seat to the ephod or shoulder-piece so that it should not come loose. For he regards the shoulder as the symbol of deeds and activity.

XXVI. Such are the ideas which he suggests under the figure of the sacred vesture; but, in setting a turban on the priest's head, instead of a diadem, he expresses his judgement that he who is consecrated to God is superior when he acts as a priest to all others, not only the ordinary laymen, but even kings. Above the turban is the golden plate on which the graven shapes of four letters, indicating, as we are told, the name of the Self-Existents, are impressed, meaning that it is impossible for anything that is to subsist without invocation of Him; for it is His goodness and gracious power which join and compact all things. Thus is the high priest arrayed when he sets forth to his holy duties, in order that when he enters to offer the ancestral prayers and sacrifices there may enter with him the whole universe, as signified in the types of it which he brings upon his person, the long robe a copy of the air, the pomegranate of water, the flower trimming of earth, the scarlet of fire, the ephod of heaven, the circular emeralds on the shoulder-tops with the six engravings in each of the two hemispheres which they resemble in form, the twelve stones on the
τριών κατά τέτταρας στοίχους, τοῦ συνέχοντος καὶ
dιοικούντος τὰ σύμπαντα τὸ λογεῖον. ἀναγκαίον
gὰρ ἂν τὸν ἱερωμένον τῷ τοῦ κόσμου πατρὶ παρακλήτῳ χρῆσθαι τελειοτάτῳ τὴν ἀρετὴν νεώς πρὸς τε ἀμνηστίαν ἀμαρτημάτων καὶ χορηγίαν ἀφθονω—
tάτων ἀγαθῶν. ἦσως μέντοι καὶ προδιάδοχει τὸν
tοῦ θεοῦ θεραπευτὴν, εἰ καὶ μὴ τοῦ κοσμοποιοῦ
dυνατόν, ἄλλα τοῦ γε κόσμου δηνεκὼς ἄξιον εἶναι
pειρᾶσθαι, οὐ τὸ μίμημα ἐνδυόμενος οφείλει τῇ
dιανοίᾳ τὸ παράδειγμα εὐθὺς ἀγαλματοφορῶν αὐτῶς
tρόπον τινὰ πρὸς τὴν τοῦ κόσμου φύσιν ἐξ ἀν-
θρώπου μεθηρμόσθαι καὶ, εἰ θέμις εἰπεῖν—θέμις δὲ
ἀφευδέιν περὶ ἀληθείας λέγοντα—, βραχὺς κόσμος
eῖναι.

XXVII. Τῶν δὲ προπυλαίων ἐξω παρὰ ταῖς
eἰσόδοις λουτῆρ ἐστὶ χαλκοῦς, οὐκ ἄργόν ὀλη
lαβόντος τοῦ τεχνίτου πρὸς τὴν κατασκευὴν, ὅπερ
φιλεῖ γίνεσθαι, σκεῦες δ' ἐπιμελῶς δημοφυγηθέντα
πρὸς ἐτέραν χρείαν, ἀ μετὰ σπουδῆς καὶ φιλοτιμίας
πάσης αἰ γυναίκες εἰσηγηθηκαν ἀμιλλώμεναι τοῖς
ἀνδρῶι πρὸς εὐσέβειαν, ἀγάμως καὶ ἀρασθῇ
dιανοηθεῖσαι καὶ καθ' ὅσον δυνάμεως εἰχον σπου-
dάσασαι μὴ ἀπολειφθῆναι τῆς ἔκεινος ὀσιότητος·
cάτοπτρὰ γάρ, οἷς εὐμορφίαν | εἰώθασι δια-
κοσμεῖσθαι, μηδενὸς προστάξαντος, αὐτοκελεύστω
προθυμία, σωφροσύνης καὶ τῆς περὶ γάμον ἀγνείας
καὶ τὶ γὰρ ἄλλ' ἥ ψυχικὸν κάλλους ἀπαρχὴν πρε-
pωδεστάτην ἀπήρξαντο. ταῦτ' ἐδοξε τῷ τεχνίτῃ

a λόγου must be understood with τοῦ συνέχοντος, if indeed
it has not fallen out of the text.

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breast in four rows of threes of the zodiac, the reason-seat of that Reason which holds together and administers all things. For he who has been consecrated to the Father of the world must needs have that Father's Son with all His fullness of excellence to plead his cause, that sins may be remembered no more and good gifts showered in rich abundance. Perhaps, too, he is preparing the servant of God to learn the lesson, that, if it be beyond him to be worthy of the world's Maker, he should try to be throughout worthy of the world. For, as he wears a vesture which represents the world, his first duty is to carry the pattern enshrined in his heart, and so be in a sense transformed from a man into the nature of the world; and, if one may dare to say so—and in speaking of truth one may well dare to state the truth—be himself a little world, a microcosm.

XXVII. Outside the propylaeum, at the entrance, there was a brazen laver, for the making of which the master did not take unworked material, as is usually done, but chattels already elaborately wrought for another purpose. These the women brought, filled with fervent zeal, rivalling the men in piety, resolved to win the prize of high excellence, and eager to use every power that they had that they might not be outstripped by them in holiness. For, with spontaneous ardour at no other bidding than their own, they gave the mirrors which they used in adorning their comely persons, a truly fitting firstfruit offering of their modesty and chastity in marriage, and in fact of their beauty of soul. These the master thought

\begin{itemize}
  \item The Son here is of course the World.
  \item For §§ 136-140 see Ex. xxxviii. 26, 27 (E.V. 8). The incident has been treated briefly in the same way De Mig. 98.
\end{itemize}
λαβόντι χωνεύσαι καὶ μηδὲν ἀπ’ αυτῶν ἐτερον ἢ τὸν λουτῆρα κατασκευάσασθαι, περιρραντηρίως ὅπως σὲ μέλλοντες εἰς τὸν νεῶν εἰσέναι ἵπτε τῷ τὰς διατεταγμένας ὑπουργεῖν λειτουργίας χρώναι πόδας μάλιστα καὶ χείρας ἀπονυπτόμενοι —σύμβολον ἀνυπαιτίου ζωῆς καὶ βίου καθαρεύ- 
οντος ἐν πρᾶξει ἐπανεταῖς, οὐ τὴν τραχεῖαν κακίας ὅσον ἦ κυριώτερον εἰπέοι ἀνοδίαν ἀλλ’ 
139 τὴν δʼ ἀρετῆς λεωφόρον ἀπευθύνοντος—. "ὑπο-
μμηνησκέσθω μέντοι" φησι ἦ καὶ ὁ μέλλων περιρ-
ραίνεσθαι, ὅτι τοῦδε τοῦ σκεύους ἡ Ὑλή κάτοπτρα ἦν, ἵνα καὶ αὐτὸς ὁ πρὸς κάτοπτρον ἀυγάζῃ τὸν ἰδίον νοῦ καὶ, εἴ τι ὑποφαίνοντο αἰσχοὺς ἢ ἀλόγου πάθους ἢ παρὰ φύσιν ἐπαιρούσης καὶ μετεωρίζουσης ἡδονῆς ἢ στελλούσης ἐμπαλων λύπης καὶ καθ-
αιρούσης ἢ ἀποστρέφοντος καὶ ἀποκλίνοντος τὴν ἐπ’ εὐθείας ὀρμὴν φόβου ἢ τῆς ἐπιθυμίας πρὸς τὰ 
μὴ παρόντα ἐλκούσης καὶ ἀποτεινούσης βία, τοῦτο 
θεραπεύῃ τε καὶ ἰάται τοῦ γνησίου καὶ ἀνόθου 
140 μεταποιοούμενος κάλλους· τὸ μὲν γὰρ τοῦ σώματος ἐν συμμετρίᾳ μερῶν εὐχροίᾳ τε καὶ εὐσαρκίᾳ κεῖται, 
βραχὺν τῆς ἀκμῆς ἔχον καιρόν, τὸ δὲ τῆς διανοίας ἐν ἀρμοδιών δογμάτων καὶ ἀρετῶν συμφωνίᾳ, μη 
χρόνου μὴκε μαρανόμενον, ἀλλ’ ἐφ’ ὅσον ἐγχρο-
νίζει κανονώμενον καὶ νεάξου, χρώματι διαπρεπεὶ 
κεκοσμημένον ἀληθείας καὶ ὀμολογίας ἔργων πρὸς λόγους καὶ πρὸς ἔργα λόγων καὶ ἔτι βουλευμάτων 
πρὸς ἐκάτερα." 
141 XXVIII. Διδαχθέντι δ’ αὐτῷ τὰ παραδείγματα 
τῆς ἱερᾶς σκηνῆς καὶ ἀναδιδάξαντι τοὺς διανοιά 
δρείς καὶ εὐφυῶς ἔχοντας πρὸς ἀνάληψιν καὶ 
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good to take, and, after melting them down, construct therewith the laver and nothing else, to serve for lustration to priests who should enter the temple to perform the appointed rites, particularly for washing the hands and feet; a symbol, this, of a blameless life, of years of cleanliness employed in laudable actions, and in straight travelling, not on the rough road or more properly pathless waste of vice, but on the smooth high road through virtue's land. Let him, he means, who shall be purified with water, bethink him that the mirrors were the material of this vessel, to the end that he himself may behold his own mind as in a mirror; and, if some ugly spot appear of unreasoning passion, either of pleasure, uplifting and raising him to heights which nature forbids, or of its converse pain, making him shrink and pulling him down, or of fear, diverting and distorting the straight course to which his face was set, or of desire, pulling and dragging him perforce to what he has not got, then he may salve and heal the sore and hope to gain the beauty which is genuine and unalloyed. For beauty of body lies in well-proportioned parts, in a fine complexion and good condition of flesh, and short is the season of its bloom. But beauty of mind lies in harmony of creed, in concert of virtues. The passing of time cannot wither it, and, as its years lengthen, it ever renews its youth, adorned with the lustrous hue of truth and of consistency of deeds with words and words with deeds, and further of thoughts and intentions with both.

XXVIII. When he had been taught the patterns of the holy tabernacle, and had passed on the lesson to those who were of quick understanding and happily gifted to undertake and complete the works in which
τελείωσιν ἔργων, ἀπερ ἀναγκαῖος εἶχε δημιουρ-
γηθῆναι, κατὰ τὸ εἶκος ἱεροῦ κατασκευασθέντος ἐδει καὶ ἵερεῖς τοὺς ἐπιτηδειοτάτους αἱρεθῆναι τε καὶ προμαθεῖν, ὃν τρόπον τὰς θυσίας ἀνάγεω τε
καὶ ἱερουργεῖν προσήκε. τὸν μὲν οὖν ἄδελφον ἐξ ἀπάντων ἐπικρίνας ἀριστίνδην ἀρχιερέα, τοὺς δὲ ἐκείνου παιδάς ἵερεῖς ἐχειροτόνει, προνομίαν οὐ τῷ οἰκείῳ γένει διδοὺς, ἀλλ' εὐσεβείᾳ καὶ ὀσιότητι, ὡς ἐνεώρα τοῖς ἁνδράσιν ὑπούσας. σαφῆς δὲ πίστις· 
142 οὐδέτερον υἱόν—δύο γάρ ἦσαν αὐτῷ—τούτου τοῦ γέρως ἦξισαν, ἀναγκαῖος ᾧ ἀμφιτέρους ἐλό-

143 μενος, εἶ τινα τιμῆν ἐνεμε τῷ φιλοικείῳ. καθίστη 

dὲ μετὰ τῆς ἀπαντος τοῦ ἔθνους γνώμης, ὃς τὰ 

[157] λόγια υφηγεῖτο, καινότατον τρόπον καὶ | ἕξιον 

ιστορηθήναι· λούει τὸ πρῶτον αὐτοῦς ὑδατί πηγῆς 

τῷ καθαρωτάτῳ καὶ ξυντικωτάτῳ καπείτα τὰς ἱερὰς ἀναδίδωσιν ἔσθητας, τῷ μὲν ἄδελφῳ τὸν 

ποδήρη καὶ τὴν ἐπωμίδα οἰονεί θώρακα, τὸ παμ-

ποίκιλον ύφασμα καὶ μίμημα τοῦ παντός, τοῖς δ' 

ἀδελφιδοῖς χιτώνας λινοὺς, ζώνας τε καὶ περισκελή 

144 πάσι· τὰς μὲν, ὡς ἀνεμπόδιστοι καὶ ἑτομότεροι 

πρὸς τὰς ἱερὰς ὑποργίας ἂσι, σφιγγομένων τοὺς 

ἀνείμενος κόλπους τῶν χιτώνων, τὰ δ', ὡς 

μηδὲν ὁν κρύπτεσθαι θέμις προφαίνηται, καὶ 

μάλιστ' ἀνερχομένων ἐπὶ τῶν βωμῶν ἡ κατίόντων 

ἀνωθεν καὶ πάντα δρῶντων μετὰ σπουδῆς καὶ 

145 τάχους· εἰ γὰρ μὴ οὕτως ἀκριβῆς γεγένητο ἢ 

στόλισις διὰ τὴν τοῦ μέλλοντος ἀθήλου προφυλακήν,
their handicraft was necessary, the construction of the sacred fabric followed in natural course. The next step needed was that the most suitable persons should be chosen as priests, and learn in good time how they should proceed to bring the offerings to the altar and perform the holy rites. Accordingly, he selected out of the whole number his brother as high priest on his merits, and appointed that brother’s sons as priests, and in this he was not giving precedence to his own family but to the piety and holiness which he observed in their characters. This is clearly shewn by the following fact. Neither of his sons, of whom he had two, did he judge worthy of this distinction, though he would surely have chosen both if he had attributed any value to family affection. The installation was made with the consent of the whole nation, and, followed the directions laid down by the oracles, in a wholly new manner which deserves to be recorded. First he washed them with the purest and freshest spring water, then he put on them the sacred garments; on his brother the vesture, woven with its manifold workmanship to represent the universe, that is the long robe and the ephod in the shape of a breastplate; on his nephews linen tunics, and on all three girdles and breeches. The object of the girdles was to keep them unhampered and readier for the holy ministry, by tightening the loose folds of the tunics; of the breeches to prevent anything being visible which decency requires to be concealed, particularly when they were going up to the altar or coming down from above and moving quickly and rapidly in all their operations. For, if their dress had not been arranged so carefully, as a precaution against unforseen events, they would
καὶ ἕνεκα τῆς συντόνου περὶ τὰς λειτουργίας ὁξύτητος ἁπεγυμνούτο τὸν προσήκοντα ἱεροῖς καὶ ἱερωμένοις κόσμουν φυλάττειν ἀδυνατούντες.

146 XXIX. ὡς δὲ ταῖς ἐσθήσεσιν ᾔσκησεν αὐτοὺς, χρίσματος εὐωδέστατον λαβών, ἡ μυρεψική τέχνη κατειργάσθη, τὰ ἐν ὑπαίθρῳ πρῶτα, τὸν τε βωμὸν καὶ τὸν λουτῆρα, κατέχριεν ἐπιρραίνων ἑπτάκις, ἐπειτα τὴν σκηνὴν καὶ τῶν ἱερῶν σκευῶν ἐκαστον, τὴν κλησίαν, τὴν λυχνίαν, τὸ θυμιατήριον, τὴν τράπεζαν, τὰ σπονδεῖα, τὰς φιάλας, τὰ ἄλλα ὅσα πρὸς θυσίας ἀναγκαῖοι καὶ χρήσιμα, καὶ τελευταῖον προσαγαγών τὸν ἱρμιερέα πολλῷ λίπει τῇ κεφαλῇ.

147 ἀλείφει. ταῦτ' ἐπιτελέσασι εὐαγώς ἀχθήναι κελεύει μόσχον καὶ κριόν δύο· τὸν μὲν, ἵνα θύσῃ περὶ ἀφέσεως ἁμαρτημάτων, ἀνυπόστομος ὡς παντὶ γενητῷ, κἂν σπουδαῖον ἂν, παρόσον ἠλθεν εἰς γένεσιν, συμφυεῖ τὸ ἁμαρτάνειν ἐστὶν, ὡς ὅτι τὸ θείον εὐχαῖς καὶ θυσίας ἀναγκαῖον ἐζευγνώσθαι,

148 μὴ διακινθθέν ἐπιθείτο· τῶν δὲ κριῶν τὸν μὲν ἔτερον εἰς ὀλοκαύτωμα εὐχαριστήριον τῆς τῶν ὅλων διοικήσεως, ἃς κατὰ τὸ ἐπιβάλλον ἑκάστῳ μέρος μέτεστι καρπούμενος τὴν ἀπὸ τῶν στοιχείων ὁμοίωμα, γῆς πρὸς οἰκίσκειν καὶ τὰς ἅμα αὑτῆς τροφὰς, ύδατος πρὸς ποτὸν καὶ λουτρὰ καὶ πλοῦν, ἀέρος πρὸς αὔξησιν καὶ τὰς διὰ τῶν αἰσθήσεων ἀντιλήψεις—ἐπειδῆ πασῶν ἂρ ὀργανόν—καὶ ἐτι τὰς ἐτησίους ὄρασι, πυρὸς τοῦ μὲν χρωμώδους πρὸς τὰ ἔφομενα καὶ θερμανόμενα, τοῦ δὲ οὐρανοῦ πρὸς αὐγῆν καὶ τὰ ὀρατὰ πάντα· τὸν δ' ἔτερον εἰς τὴν
in their eagerness to carry out their duties with expedition reveal their nakedness and be unable to preserve the decency befitting consecrated places and persons. XXIX. When he had attired them in these vestments, he took some very fragrant ointment which was compounded by the perfumer's art, and applied it first to what stood in the open court, namely the great altar and the laver, sprinkling it on them seven times, then to the tabernacle and each of the sacred chattels, the ark, the candlestick, the altar of incense, the table, the libation cups or bowls, the vials, and everything else which was necessary or useful in sacrifices; and finally, coming to the high priest, he anointed him on his head plentifully with the unguent. Having performed all this religiously, he ordered a calf and two rams to be brought. The calf he purposed to offer to gain remission of sins, showing by this figure that sin is congenital to every created being, even the best, just because they are created, and this sin requires prayers and sacrifices to propitiate the Deity, lest His wrath be roused and visited upon them. Of the rams, one he offered as a whole burnt offering in thanksgiving for His ordering of the whole, that gift which each of us shares according to the part allotted through the benefits which he receives from the elements: from earth, for habitation and the food which it affords; from water, for drinking and cleansing and voyaging; from air, for breathing and perception through the senses, all of which operate by means of air, which also gives us the seasons of the year; from the fire of common use, for cooking and heating, and from the heavenly variety for light-giving and all visibility. The other ram he
τῶν ἱερωμένων διὰ καθάρσεως ἀγνευτικῆς παν-
tέλειαν, δν ἐτύμως "τελειώσεως" ἐκάλεσεν, ἐπειδή
tὰς ἀρμοττούσας θεραπευταίς καὶ λειτουργοῖς θεοῦ
150 τελετὰς ἔμελλον ἱεροφαντεῖσθαι. τοῦ δ’ αἰματος
αὐτοῦ τὸ μὲν ἐν κύκλῳ τοῦ βωμοῦ σπένδει λαβών,
tὸ δὲ φιάλην ὑποσχὼν δέχεται καὶ ἀπὸ τούτου τρία
μέρη τοῦ σώματος χρίει τῶν τελουμένων ἱερέων,
[158] οὖς ἄκρον, ἄκραν χεῖρα, ποδὸς ἄκρον, | δεξία τὰ
σύμπαντα, αἰνιττόμενος ὅτι δεὶ τὸν τέλειον καὶ
λόγῳ καὶ ἔργῳ καὶ βίῳ παντὶ καθαρεύειν· λόγου μὲν
γὰρ ἀκοὴ δικάζει, χεῖρ δ’ ἔργον σύμβολον, διεξόδου
151 δὲ τῆς περὶ τὸν βίον ποὺς. ἐπεὶ δ’ ἐκαστὸν αὐτῶν
ἄκρον τε καὶ δεξίον, ὑπονοητέον δηλοῦσθαι τὴν ἐν
ἐκάστοις ἐπίδοσιν μετὰ δεξιότητος, ἐφειμένην τῆς
ἀκρας εὐδαιμονίας καὶ τοῦ τέλους, ἐφ’ ὅ στεπεὶ
ἀναγκαῖον καὶ τὰς πράξεις ἀπάσας ἀναφέρειν
στοχαζομένους ὡσπερ ἐν ταῖς τοξείαις σκοποῦ, τοῦ
152 περὶ τὸν βίον. XXX. πάλαι μὲν οὖν ἱερεῖον ἐνός,
ὁ προσηγορεύετο "τελειώσεως," ἀκράτῳ αἰματι τὰ
λεχθέντα τρία μέρη κατέχριε τῶν ἱερέων. αὕτως
δ’ ἐκ τοῦ παρὰ τῷ βωμῷ λαβών, ὅπερ εξ ἀπάν-
tων ἢν τῶν τεθυμένων, καὶ τοῦ λεχθέντος χρίσματος,
ὃ μυρεψό κατεσκευάσαν, ἀναμίξας ὁ ἐλαιῶν τῷ
αἰματὶ τοῦ κράματος τοῖς ἱερεῖσι καὶ ταῖς ἐσθή-
σεσιν αὐτῶν ἑπέρρανε, βουλόμενος αὐτοὺς μὴ
μόνον τῆς ἔξω καὶ ἐν ὑπαίθρῳ μεταλαχεῖν ἁγνείας,
ἀλλὰ καὶ τῆς ἐν ἀδύτοις, ἐπειδὴ καὶ ἐνδον
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offered on behalf of those who were consecrated by the sanctifying purification for their full perfection, and accordingly called it the ram of "fulfilment," from the full rites befitting the servants and ministers of God into which they were to be initiated. He then took its blood and poured part of it round the altar. The rest he received in a vial which he held underneath, and smeared it on three parts of the bodies of those who were being admitted to the priesthood, on the extremity of the ear, the extremity of the hand, the extremity of the foot, in all these on the right side. In this figure, he indicated that the fully-consecrated must be pure in words and actions and in his whole life; for words are judged by the hearing, the hand is a symbol of action, and the foot of the pilgrimage of life. And, as in each case the part smeared is the extreme end and on the right-hand side, we must suppose the truth indicated to be that improvement in all things needs a dexterous spirit, and seeks to reach the extreme of happiness, and the end to which we must press and refer all our actions, aiming our shafts, like archers, at the target of life.

His first step, then, is to smear the unmixed blood of the single victim called the ram of fulfilment on the three parts of the priests' bodies named above. After this, he took some of the blood at the altar, got from all the victims, and also some of the unguent already mentioned as compounded by the perfumers, and mixed the oil with the blood. He then used the mixture to sprinkle the priests and their garments, wishing to make them partakers not only of the sanctity of the outer and open court but that of the shrine within, since they were going to minister in the

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λειτουργεῖν ἐμελλὼν· τὰ δ’ εἰσώ πάντα ἐλαῖῳ κατεκέχριστο.

153 Θυσίας δ’ ἐπὶ ταῖς προτέραις ἄλλας ἀναγαγόντων, τοῦτο μὲν τῶν ἱερέων ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν, τοῦτο δὲ τῆς γερουσίας ὑπὲρ ἄπαντος τοῦ ἐθνος, Μωϋσῆς μὲν εἰς τὴν σκηνὴν εἰσέρχεται τὸν ἄδελφόν ἐπαγόμενον—οἷδή δ’ ἢν τῆς τελετῆς ἡμέρα καὶ τελευταία, ταῖς γὰρ πρῶτον ἐπτὰ ἱεροφαντῶν αὐτὸν τε καὶ τοὺς ἄδελφους ὑφηγιάζει—, εἰσελθὼν δ’ ἀνεδίδασκεν οἷα ὕφηγητής ἀγαθὸς εὐμαθὴ γνώριμον, ὅν χρῆ τρόπον τὸν ἀρχιερέα τὸς εἰσώ ποιεῖσθαι

154 λειτουργίας. εἰτ’ ἐξελθόντες ἀμφότεροι καὶ τὰς χεῖρας ἀνατείναντες πρὸ τῆς κεφαλῆς εὐχὰς τίθενται τῷ ἔθνει τᾶς προσηκούσας ἀπὸ καθαρᾶς καὶ οἰωνικῆς. ἔτι δ’ εὐχομένων, τεταυδοστατόν τι συμβαίνει· ἐκ γὰρ τῶν ἁλῶν, εἰτε αἰθέρος ἀπόσπασμα τοῦ καθαρωτάτου, εἰτε ἀέρος κατὰ τὴν τῶν στοιχείων φύσιν μεταβολὴν ἀναλυθέντος εἰς τὸν αἰθέρα, αἰφνίδιον ἄθροι φλόγα διεκπελάται καὶ συντόνω ρύμη φέρεται μὲν ἐπὶ τὸν βωμὸν, τὰ δ’ ἔπε αὐτοῦ πάντα ἐξαναλίσκει, πρὸς οἷον σαφεστάτην δήλωσιν, οὐ ὅτι αὖν θείας ἐπιφροσύνης ἐπετελεῖτο.

155 δωρεὰν γὰρ ἐξαίρετον εἰκὸς ἢν τοῖς ἁγίοις προσευμηθῆναι, μὴ μόνον ἐν οἷς ἀνθρωποὶ δημιουργοί, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῷ καθαρωτάτῳ τῆς θυσίας πυρί, τῷ κρειττῶδες καὶ παρ’ ἑμῖν ὅπως μὴ προσάφει τοῦ βωμοῦ, διὰ τὸ μυρίας ἕως ἀναμεμζθαι κῆρας· ἀπτεται γὰρ οὐ μόνον ἡμῶν ἀλόγων ὀπτωμένων ἡ ἐφομένων [159] εἰς πλησμονὴν | ἄδικον γαστρὸς τῆς ταλαίνης, ἀλλὰ

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*a For §§ 153-158 see Lev. ix. (particularly verse 24).*

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inner part also, all of which had been anointed with oil.

After other additional sacrifices had been brought, some by the priests on behalf of themselves, and others by the body of elders on behalf of the whole nation, Moses entered the tabernacle, taking his brother with him. This was on the eighth and last day of the celebration, the seven preceding days having been spent by him in initiating his nephews and their father and in acting as their guide to the sacred mysteries. After entering, he gave such instruction as the good teacher gives to an apt pupil on the way in which the high priest should perform the rites of the inner shrine. Then they both came out, and, stretching forth their hands in front of their faces, offered prayers which befitted the needs of the nation in all sincerity and purity of heart. And, while they were still praying, a great marvel happened. There issued suddenly from the shrine a mass of flame. Whether it was a fragment of ether, the purest of substances, or of air resolved into fire by a natural conversion of the elements, it suddenly burst right through, and, with a mighty rush, fell upon the altar and consumed all that was on it, thus giving, I hold, the clearest proof that none of these rites was without divine care and supervision. For it was natural that the holy place should have a special gift attached to it, over and above what human handiwork had given, through the purest of elements, fire, and thus the altar be saved from contact with the familiar fire of common use, perhaps because such a multitude of evils are associated with it. For its activity is applied not only to the lower animals when they are roasted or boiled, to satisfy the cruel cravings of the miserable
καὶ ἀνθρώπων εἷς ἐπιβουλῆς ἀναιρουμένων, οὐ
τριῶν ἢ τεττάρων, ἄλλα καὶ πολυανθρώπων ὀμίλων.

157 ἢδη γοῦν καὶ στόλους μεγάλους ἐπιβατικοῦ πλή-
ρεις ὃστοι πυρφόροι κατέφλεξαν βληθέντες καὶ ὅλας
πόλεις ἐξανάλωσαν, αἱ συμχόμεναι μέχρι θεμελίων
eἰς τέφραν ἐδαπανήθησαν, ὡς μηδ' ἵχνος ὑπολε-

158 λείφθαι τοῦ πάλαι συνοικισμοῦ. ταῦτης ἕνεκά μοι
dοκῶ τῆς αἰτίας ὡς μεμιασμένον ἔλασε τοῦ ἵερω-
tάτου καὶ καθαρωτάτου βωμοῦ πῦρ τὸ χρείωδες,
ἀνθ' οὐ φλόγα αἰθέριον ὠμβρήσεν ἀπὸ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ
πρὸς διαστολὴν ἀγίων τε καὶ βέβηλων, ἀνθρωπεῖων
tε καὶ θείων· ἠμοτε γὰρ ταῖς θυσίαις ἀφθαρτο-
tέραν οὐσίαν ἀπονεμήθαι πυρὸς τῆς πρὸς τὰς
βιωτικὰς χρείας ὑπηρεσίας.

159 XXXI. Πολλῶν δὲ κατὰ τὸ ἀναγκαῖον ἀν-
αγομένων θυσιῶν καθ' ἐκάστην ἦμεραν καὶ δια-
φερόντως ἐν πανηγύρεσι καὶ έορταΐς υπέρ τε Ιδία
ἐκάστου καὶ κοινῆ υπέρ άπάντων, διὰ μυρίας καὶ
οὕχι τὰς αὐτὰς αἰτίας, ἀτε πολυανθρωποτάτου ἔθ-

160 νους εὑσεβοῦντος, ἐδέησε καὶ νεωκόρων πλήθους εἰς
tὰς ἱερὰς ὑπηρεσίας. ἡ δ' αἴρεσις ἐγινετο πάλιν
κανότατον ἄλλ' οὖ τὸν εἰωθότα τρόπον· μίαν τῶν
δώδεκα φυλῶν ἐπικρίνας ἀριστίνην ἐχειροτόνει

161 θεοφίλους ἔργου προθεῖς ἀθλα καὶ ἀριστεία. τὸ
δ' ἔργον τοιόνδε ἦν. Μωυσέως ἀναβάντος εἰς τὸ
πλησίον ὄρος καὶ πλείους ἠμέρας ἱδιάζοντος τῷ
θεῷ, τὴν ἀπουσίαν αὐτοῦ καιρὸν ἐπιτήδειον εἶναι
νομίσαντες οἱ μὴ βέβαιοι τὰς φύσεις, ὕστερ ἀναρ-
χίας γενομένης, ἄφετοι πρὸς ἀσέβειαν ὁρμήσαν καὶ
ἐκλαθόμενοι τῆς πρὸς τὸ ὄν όσιότητος ἔηλωται τῶν

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belly, but to the human beings slaughtered by the design of others, and that not in threes or fours but in assembled multitudes. Ere now we have known the impact of fire-carrying arrows burn up great fully-manned fleets, and consume whole cities which have smouldered down to their very foundations and wasted away into ashes, leaving no trace to shew that they were populated in the past. This is the reason, I imagine, why God expelled from His most pure and sacred altar the fire of common use and rained instead an ethereal flame from heaven, to distinguish between the holy and the profane, the human and the divine. For it was fitting that fire of a more incorruptible nature than that which subserves the needs of human life should be assigned to the sacrificial offerings.

XXXI. Many sacrifices were necessarily brought every day, and particularly at general assemblies and feasts, on behalf both of individuals and all in common, and for a multitude of different reasons. This piety shewn by so populous a nation made it needful to have also a number of temple attendants to help in the sacred services. These, again, were chosen in a very novel and unusual manner. He selected and appointed one of the twelve tribes as the most meritorious, giving them the office as the prize and reward of a deed well pleasing to God. The story of that deed is as follows: When Moses had gone up into the mountain, and was there several days communing privately with God, the men of unstable nature, thinking his absence a suitable opportunity, rushed into impious practices unrestrainedly, as though authority had ceased to be, and, forgetting the reverence they owed to the Self-Existent,

a For §§ 161-173 see Ex. xxxii.
Aιγυπτιακών γίνονται πλασμάτων, είτα χρυσού ταύρον κατασκευάζοντες παντοτινοι, καὶ χορούς καὶ κυμάζοντες τε καὶ παννυχίζοντες ἀπροόρατοι τοῦ μέλλοντος ἡδέσι κακοῖς συνεβίουν, ἐφεδρονοῦσας δίκης, ἡ μὴ βλέποντας έβλεπε καὶ ὅν ἄξιοι τιμωριῶν εἰσὶν. ἔπει δὲ αὐτοῖς πολυάνθρωποι ομίλου κατά πολλοὺς διαστήματος ἐχώρουν, ὡς καὶ μέχρι τῆς ἀκρωρείας τῆς περιήχησιν ἐλθεῖν, πληχθεῖς τὰ ὥτα Μωυσῆς ἐν άμηχάνοις ήν άτε θεοφιλής ομοῦ καὶ φιλανθρώποις, μήτ' ἐκλιπέντως υπομένων τὰς πρὸς θεόν ὁμιλίας, ὡς ιδιάζων μόνος μόνω διελέγετο, μήθ' ὑπεριδείν τοῦ πλήθους ἐμπιπλαμένου τῶν ἐξ ἀναρχίας κακοπραγίων. έγνω γὰρ τὸν θρόνον δεινὸς ἰδείν ἐκ φωνῆς ἀράμηρος πολυάνθρωποι συνεχείς καὶ αθρόιμοι κατασκευάζοντες ἄδηλων καὶ αφανῶν παθῶν ιδιότητας, ότι παροινίας έστιν ή κατέχουσα ταραχή, γεννώσης ἀκρασίας μὲν κόρον, κόρον δὲ ὑβριν. 

ἄνθελκόμενος δὲ καὶ ἀντισπώμενος πρὸς έκατέρου μέρους ὥδε κάκεισε τί χρή δραίν ἦπορει. σκοπούμενος δ' αὐτῷ θεσπίζεται τάδε: “βάδιζε ταχέως ἐνθένι, κατάθησε πρὸς ἀνομίαν ἐσπευσθείς ὁ λεώς χειροποίητον κατασκεύαστης ταυρὸμορφον θεὸν.

* Here as elsewhere Philo assumes that the making of the golden calf was an imitation of the worship of Apis (though, as Driver points out, the Egyptian bull worship was given to a living animal). See note on *De Ebr.* 95 528
became zealous devotees of Egyptian fables. Then, having fashioned a golden bull, in imitation of the animal held most sacred in that country, they offered sacrifices which were no sacrifices, set up choirs which were no choirs, sang hymns which were very funeral chants, and, filled with strong drink, were overcome by the twofold intoxication of wine and folly. And so, revelling and carousing the livelong night, and unwary of the future, they lived wedded to their pleasant vices, while justice, the unseen watcher of them and the punishments they deserved, stood ready to strike. But, since the continuous shouting in the camp which arose from the great masses of men gathered together carried for a long distance, so that the echoes reached even to the mountain-top, Moses, as they smote upon his ear, was in a dilemma between God's love for him and his love for man. He could not bear to leave his converse with God, in which he talked with Him as in private with none other present, nor yet to disregard the multitude, brimful of the miseries which anarchy creates. For, skilled as he was to divine in an inarticulate and meaningless noise the distinguishing marks of inward passions which to others were obscure and invisible, he recognized the tumult for what it was, saw that drunkenness caused the prevailing confusion, since intemperance begets satiety, and satiety riot. So, drawn backwards and forwards, hither and thither, by the two sides of his being, he was at a loss what he should do. And, as he considered, this divine message came. "Go quickly hence. Descend. The people have run after lawlessness. They have fashioned a god, the work of their hands, in the form of a bull, and to this
οὐ θεὸν προσκυνοῦσι καὶ θύουσιν, ὄν εἴδων καὶ ὄν ἠκούσαν ἀπάντων ὅσα συντείνει πρὸς εὐσέβειαν 166 ἐκλαθόμενοι." καταπλαγεῖς δὲ καὶ ἀναγκασθεὶς πιστεῦειν ἀπίστως πράξειν ὡς μεσίτης καὶ δι- αλλακτῆς οὐκ εὐθὺς ἀπεπῆδησεν, ἀλλὰ πρότερον τὰς ὑπὲρ τοῦ έθνους ἰκεσίας καὶ λιτὰς ἐποιεῖτο συγγνώμαι τῶν ἠμαρτημένων δεόμενος· εἰτ’ ἐξ- εὐμενισάμενος ο θηδεμῶν καὶ παρατητής τὸν ἡγε- μόνα ἐπανήζει χαίρων ἃμα καὶ κατηφών· ἐγενήθη μὲν γὰρ τὴν ἰκεσίαν τοῦ θεοῦ προσεμένου, συννοίας δὲ καὶ κατηφείας μεστὸς ἃν οἴδὼν ἐπὶ τῇ τοῦ 167 πλῆθους παρανομία.

XXXII. γενόμενος δ’ ἐν μέσῳ τοῦ στρατοπέδου καὶ τὴν ἐξαπέδην ἐκδιαίτησιν τοῦ πλῆθους θαυμάσας καὶ ὅσον πεῦδος ἀνθ’ ὡς ἀληθείας ὑπηλλαξαντο, κατιδών οὐκ εἰς ἀπαντάς τὴν νόσον ἀφιγμένην, ἀλλὰ τινας υγε- αίνοντας· βουλόμενος διαγνώμαι τις τε ἀνιάτως ἔχοντας καὶ τοὺς ἐπὶ τοὺς πεπραγμένους δυσχεράνοντας καὶ εἰ δή τινες ἀμαρτόντες μετανοοῦσι, κήρυγμα κηρύττει—τὸ δ’ ἤν ἄρα βάσανος ἀκριβῆς τῆς ἐκάστου διανοίας, ὡς ἔχοι πρὸς τε ὀσιότητα καὶ 168 τοῦναντίον—. "ἐἰ τις" γὰρ φησι "πρὸς κύριον, ἤτω πρὸς μέ." βραχὺ μὲν τὸ λεχθέν, μεγάλη δ’ ἡ ἐμφασις, ἐστὶ γὰρ τοιόνδε τὸ δηλούμενον· εἰ τις μηδὲν τῶν χειροποιήτων μηδ’ ὕσα γενητὰ νομίζει θεοῦς, ἀλλ’ ἐνα τὸν ἠγεμόνα τῶν ὅλων, ἐμοὶ προσ-

169 ὅτως. τῶν μὲν οὖν ἄλλων οὶ μὲν ἕνεκα τοῦ τῶν Ἀιγυπτιακῶν ἐξηλωκέναι τῦφον ἀφηνάζοντες οὐ προσεῖχον τοῖς λεγομένοις, οἱ δὲ φόβῳ κολάσεως 530
god, who is no god, they offer worship and sacrifice, and have forgotten all the influences to piety which they have seen and heard." Struck with dismay, and compelled to believe the incredible tale, he yet took the part of mediator and reconciler and did not hurry away at once, but first made prayers and supplications, begging that their sins might be forgiven. Then, when this protector and intercessor had softened the wrath of the Ruler, he wended his way back in mingled joy and dejection. He rejoiced that God accepted his prayers, yet was ready to burst with the dejection and heaviness that filled him at the transgression of the multitude.

XXXII. When he arrived at the middle of the camp, and marvelled at the sudden apostasy of the multitude and their delusion, so strongly contrasting with the truth which they had bartered for it, he observed that the contagion had not extended to all and that there were still some sound at heart and cherishing a feeling of hatred of evil. Wishing, therefore, to distinguish the incurable from those who were displeased to see such actions and from any who had sinned but repented, he made a proclamation, a touchstone calculated to test exactly the bias of each to godliness or its opposite. "If any is on the Lord's side," he said, "let him come to me." Few words, indeed, but fraught with much meaning, for the purport was as follows: "Whoso holds that none of the works of men's hands, nor any created things, are gods, but that there is one God only, the Ruler of the universe, let him join me." Of the rest, some, whom devotion to the vanity of Egypt had made rebellious, paid no heed to his words, while others, possibly in fear of chastisement,
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had not the courage to take their place beside him, either because they feared the vengeance they might suffer at the hand of Moses or the onslaught of an insurgent mob. For the multitude always set upon those who refuse to share their madness. Among them all one tribe alone, known as Levites, when they heard the proclamation, came running with all speed, like troops for whom one signal is enough, shewing by their swiftness their zeal and the keenness of the inward feelings which urged them to piety. Moses saw them coming like racers from the starting-point, and cried: “Whether the speed which has brought you here exists not only in your bodies but in your minds shall at once be put to the proof. Take each of you his sword, and slay those whose deeds deserve a thousand deaths, who have left the true God, and wrought gods, falsely so called, from corruptible and created matter, and given them a title which belongs to the Incorruptible and Uncreated. Yea, slay them, though they be kinsmen and friends, believing that between the good there is no kinship and friendship but godliness.” Their readiness anticipated his exhortations, for their sentiments had been hostile to the offenders almost from the first moment that they saw their misconduct, and they made a wholesale slaughter to the number of three thousand of those who but now had been their dearest. As their corpses lay in the middle of the market-place, the multitude as they gazed felt pity for them, but, terror-struck at the still heated and wrathful resolution of the slayers, learned wisdom from fear. But Moses, in approval of this heroism, devised and confirmed a reward for the victors well suited to the
τὸ οἰκεῖον· ἐδει γὰρ τοὺς ὑπὲρ θεοῦ τιμῆς ἐκούσιον πόλεμον ἀραμένους καὶ βραχείς κατωρθωκότας ἀξιωθῆναι τῆς θεραπείας αὐτοῦ λαχόντας ἰερωσύνην.

XXXIII. Ἐπεὶ δ’ οὖ μία τάξις τῶν ἱερωμένων, ἀλλ’ οῖς μὲν ἐπιτέτραπται τὰ περὶ τᾶς εὐχὰς καὶ θυσίας καὶ τὰς ἄλλας ἱερουργίας ἄχρι τῶν ἁδύτων ἱούσιν, οἷς δὲ τούτων μὲν οὐδὲν, ἐπιμέλειαι δὲ καὶ φυλακαὶ μεθ’ ἡμέραν καὶ νύκτωρ τοῦ τε ἱεροῦ καὶ τῶν ἐν αὐτῷ, οὕς νεωκόρους ἔνιοι καλοῦσιν, ἡ πολλοὶ πολλαχοὶ μυρίων αἰτία κακῶν γενομένη περὶ πρωτείων στάσις ἑπετόλασε κάνταθα, τῶν νεωκόρων ἐπιθεμένων τοῖς ἱερείσι καὶ τῆς ἐκείνων τιμῆς παρασπάσασθαι διανοηθέντων· καὶ τοῦτ’ εὐμαρὸς ἦλπισαν ἔσεσθαι πολλαπλασίους τὸν ἄριθμόν ὅντες. υπὲρ δὲ τοῦ μὴ δοκεῖν ἴδια γνώμῃ νεωτερίζειν καὶ τῆν προσβυτάτην τῶν δώδεκα φυλῶν συμφρονεῖν ἀναπείθουσιν, ἡ πολλοὶ τῶν εἰκαστέρων ἐπηκολούθησαν ὡς ἔχειν δυναμένην

176 προσβείον ἰγμονίας. μέγαν τούτων ἐπιτείχισμον ἔγνω Μωυσῆς φυόμενον καθ’ αὐτοῦ· τὸν γὰρ ἀδελφὸν ἀρχιερέα κατὰ τὰ χρησθέντα λόγια ἤρητο, διαβολαὶ δ’ ἦσαν ὡς τοὺς μὲν χρησμοὺς ἐπιψυχασμένοι, ποιησαμένοι δὲ τῆν αἴρεσιν διὰ τῆν οἰκειότητα καὶ τὴν πρὸς τὸν ἀδελφὸν εὐνοιαν. ἐφ’ οἷς εἰκότως ἀνιαθείς, εἰ μὴ μονὸν ἀπιστεῖται διὰ τοσοῦτον ἑλέγχων τὴν ἔαυτον πίστιν ἐπιδειξάμε-νος, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἔπ’ ἐργοσ ἀπερ ἀναφέρεται πρὸς

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a For §§ 174-179 see Num. xvi. 1-3 and xvii.
deed. For it was right that those who had voluntarily taken up arms for the honour of God, and so quickly achieved success, should receive the priesthood, and thus be worthily promoted to be His ministers.

XXXIII. a Now the consecrated persons consisted of more than one order. They included both those who were commissioned to penetrate to the inner shrine and offer the prayers and sacrifices and the other holy rites, and those sometimes called temple attendants who had none of these duties but had the care and guarding of the sacred building and its contents by day and night. Consequently, the strife for precedence, the cause of innumerable troubles to many persons and in many places, gained ground here also. The temple attendants made headway against the priests, and purposed to wrest their privileges from them, and they hoped to accomplish this easily, since they were many times the number of the others. To prevent this sedition appearing to be their own particular project, they persuaded the senior tribe of the twelve to make common cause with them, and this tribe had many adherents among the more thoughtless, who supposed it capable of taking the supremacy as its birthright. Moses recognized in this the rise of a grave attack upon himself, for he had chosen his brother as high priest in accordance with the oracles vouchsafed to him. But there were spiteful rumours that he had falsely invented the oracles, and had made his choice through family feeling and affection for his brother. He was naturally pained at this, not merely that he was distrusted when he had shewn his good faith by so many proofs, but that this distrust extended to actions which concerned the honouring
PHILO

θεοῦ τιμήν, δι' α' μόνα καὶ τὸν ἐν τοῖς ἄλλοις
tὸ ἢθος κατεφευσμένον ἀναγκαῖον ἢν ἀληθεύειν—
ἀλήθεια γὰρ ὁπαῖδος θεοῦ—, λόγοις μὲν ἀναδιά-
sκεν περὶ τῆς ἔαυτοῦ προαιρέσεως οὐκ ἐδοκίμαζε,
tὸ μεταπείθειν ἐπιχειρεῖν τοὺς προκαταληφθέντας
ἐναυτίας δόξας ἀργαλέον εἰδώς, ἴκετεύει δὲ τὸν
θεὸν ἐμφανεῖς ἀποδείξεις αὐτοῖς παρασχεῖν περὶ
τοῦ μηδὲν ἐφεύσθαι κατὰ τὴν τῆς ἱερωσύνης αἴρεσιν.
178 ο' δὲ κελεύει δώδεκα ράβδους λαβεῖν ταῖς φυλαῖς
ἰσαρίθμους καὶ τὰ μὲν τῶν ἄλλων ὀνόματα φυ-
lάρχων ἐπιγράψαι ταῖς ἑνδεκα, τῇ δὲ λοιπῇ τὸ τοῦ
ἀδελφοῦ καὶ ἀρχιερέως, εἰτ' εἰς τὸν νεῶν ἄχρι τῶν
ἀδύτων εἰσενεχθέντων ὁ δὲ τὰ προσταχθέντα ποιήσας
179 ἐκαραδόκει τὸ ἀποβησόμενον. τῇ δ' ὑστεραίᾳ
λογίω πληχθείς, ἀπαντός τοῦ ἐθνοῦς παρεστώτως,
eἰσέρχεται καὶ τὰς ράβδους ἐκκομίζει, τὰς μὲν
ἄλλας οὐδὲν διάφορα ἐχοῦσας, μιὰν δ' ἐφ' ἡ
tοῦνομα ἐπεγέγραπτο τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ τεθαυματουργη-
μένην. οί γὰρ ψυχῆς πεπροσβασμένοι 
180 XXXIV. οί δὲ καρποί κάρυα ἢσαν, ἃ φύσιν
ἐναντίαν ἔχει τοῖς ἄλλοις· ἐπὶ γὰρ τῶν πλείστων,
σταφυλῆς, ἐλαίας, μῆλων, διαφέρει τὸ σπέρμα καὶ
tὸ ἐδώδιμον, ἀ διαφέροντα τόποις χωρίζεται· τὸ
μὲν γὰρ ἐδώδιμον ἐξώ, τὸ δὲ σπέρμα εἰσὶ 
κατα-
kέκλευσαν· τοῦ δὲ καρύου ταῦτον ἔστι τὸ τε σπέρμα
cαὶ τὸ ἐδώδιμον, ἀμφιτέρων εἰς, μιὰν ἰδέαν ἀπο-
kριθέντων, καὶ τόπος εἰς ὁ ἔντος ψυχρωμένος καὶ
περιπεφρουρημένος ἔρκει διπλῶ, τῷ μὲν ἐκ φλοιοῦ
πάνυ βαθέος, τῷ δ' οὐδὲν ἀποδέοντι ξυλίνου κατα-
of God, actions which by themselves would necessarily ensure truthfulness even in one whose character was false in everything else, for truth is God’s attendant. But he did not think good to use words to explain to them his motives, knowing that it is vain labour to try to change the convictions of those of whom the opposite opinions have already taken hold, but besought God to shew them by clear demonstration that there had been no dishonesty in his choice of persons for the priesthood. God commanded him to take twelve rods, corresponding to the number of the tribes, and on eleven of them to inscribe the names of the other patriarchs, but on the twelfth that of his brother who was also high priest, and then to take them into the temple, right into the inner sanctuary. Moses did as he was bidden, and eagerly awaited the result. On the next day, under the impulse of a divine intimation, with all the people standing near, he went in and brought out the rods. The others shewed no difference, but the one on which was inscribed the name of his brother had undergone a wonderful change. Like a goodly plant, it had young sprouts growing all over it, and was laden with abundance of fruits. XXXIV. Now, the fruits were nuts, which in nature are the opposite of other fruits, for in most cases, the grape, the olive, the apple, there is a difference between the seed and the eatable part, and this difference extends to their situation, which is separate, for the edible part is outside, and the seed enclosed within. But, in the nut, seed and edible part are identical, merged in a single form, and their situation is the same inside, shielded and guarded on all sides by a double fence, composed partly of very thick shell and partly of a substance equivalent to a
σκευάσματος· ἀφ᾿ οὗ τελείαν ἀρετήν αἰνίττεται. ὡσπερ γὰρ ἐν καρύῳ ταυτὸν ἐστὶν ἀρχή καὶ τέλος, ἀρχή μὲν ἡ σπέρμα, τέλος δὲ ἡ καρπός, οὐτωσ ἔχει καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν ἀρετῶν· ἐκάστη γὰρ συμβέβηκεν εἶναι καὶ ἀρχήν καὶ τέλος, ἀρχὴν μὲν, ὅτι οὐκ ἔξ ἐτέρας δυνάμεως ἀλλ᾿ ἐξ ἑαυτῆς φύεται, τέλος δὲ, ὅτι πρὸς αὐτὴν ὦ κατὰ φύσιν βίος σπεύδει.

182 μία μὲν αἰτία ἦδε, λέγεται δὲ καὶ ἑτέρα τῆς προτέρας ἐμφαντικῶτερα· καρύῳ τὸ μὲν φλοίωδες ἐστὶ πικρὸν, τὸ δὲ εἰσῳ περικείμενον ἡσανεί ξύλινον ἔρκος στιφρὸν εὐ μᾶλα καὶ κραταιόν, οἷς ἀμφοτέρους ὁ καρπὸς ἐκτακτεικλεισμένος οὐκ ἔστιν έυληπτος.

183 τοῦτο ποιεῖται σύμβολον ἀσκητικῆς ψυχῆς, ἀφ᾿ οὗ προτρέπειν αὐτὴν οἴεται δείν ἐπ᾿ ἀρετὴν ἀναδίδοσκων, ὅτι πόνῳ προεντυχεῖν ἀναγκαῖον πικρὸν δὲ καὶ ἀντιτυπεῖ καὶ σκληρὸν ὁ πόνος, εξ οὗ φύεται τάγαθον, οὐ χάριν οὐ μαλακιστέουν. ὁ μὲν γὰρ τὸν πόνον φεύγων φεύγει καὶ τὰ ἀγαθά, ὁ δὲ τλητικῶς καὶ ἀνδρείως υπομένων τὰ δυσκαρτέρητα σπεύδει πρὸς μακαρίωτητα· οὐ γὰρ ἄβροδιαίτως καὶ τὴν ψυχὴν ἐκεῖνην ἑκτεθηλυμμένον καὶ τὸ σῶμα διαρέουσιν ὑπὸ τῆς καθ’ ἐκάστην ἡμέραν ἀδιαστάτου θρύψεως ἀρετὴν πέφυγεν ἐνδιαιτᾶσθαι, κακουμένη δὲ μετανιώσαιται πρὸτερον ἀπόλευψιν χρηματίσασα πρὸς τὸν ἀρχόντα τὸν ὀρθὸν λόγον. ἀλλ᾿ εἰ δεὶ τάληθες εἰπεῖν, ὁ φρονήσεως καὶ σωφροσύνης ἀνδρείας τε καὶ δικαίωσιν ἐρώτατος θίασος ἀσκητῶς μετατρέχει καὶ ὁσοὶ τὸν αὐτηρόν καὶ σκληροδίαιτων βίον, ἐγκράτειαν καὶ καρτερίαν,
wooden framework. In this way, it signifies perfect virtue; for, just as in a nut, beginning and end are identical, beginning represented by seed and end by fruit, so it is with the virtues. There, too, it is the case that each is both a beginning and an end; a beginning in that it springs from no other power but itself, an end in that it is the aspiration of the life which follows nature. This is one reason why the nut is a type of virtue, but there is another given which is even clearer than that. The shell-formed part of the nut is bitter, and the inner layer which surrounds the fruit like a wooden fence is exceedingly solid and hard; and, as the fruit is enclosed in both these, it is not easy to get at. In this Moses finds the parable of the practising soul, which he thinks he can rightly use to encourage that soul to virtue and teach it that it must first encounter toil. Toil is bitter and stiff and hard, yet from it springs goodness, and therefore there must be no softening. For he who flees from toil flees from the good also, but he who patiently and manfully endures what is hard to bear is pressing on to blessedness. For in the voluptuous livers, whose souls are emasculated and whose bodies run to waste with ceaseless luxury prolonged from day to day, virtue cannot make its lodging; but it will first procure its divorce for misusage in the court of right reason, and then seek another home. But in very truth that most holy company, justice, temperance, courage, wisdom, follow in the train of the practisers and all who devote themselves to a life of austerity and hardship, that is to continence and self-restraint, together with

regular phrase in Attic law, used of a wife who appeals to the Archon for divorce or separation from her husband.
ζηλούσι σὺν εὐτελείᾳ καὶ ὀλυγοδείᾳ, δι᾽ ὧν τὸ
κυρώτατον τῶν ἐν ἡμῖν, ὁ λογισμός, εἰς ὑγείαν
ἀνοσον καὶ εὔεξιάν ἐπιδίδωσι καθὲλὼν τὸν βαρὺν
tὸ σῶματος ἐπιτειχισμόν, δὲν οἰνοφλυγίαι καὶ
ὀφοφαγίαι καὶ λαγνείαι καὶ αἱ ἄλλαι ἀπλῆρωτοι
ἐπιθυμίαι συνεκρότησαν γεννήσασαι τὴν ἀντίπαλον
ἄγχινοις πολυσαρκίαις. λέγεται μέντοι καὶ τῶν
ἐν ἔαρι βλαστάνειν εἰωθότων δένδρων ἡ ἀμυγδαλὴ
cαὶ πρῶτον ἀνθεῖν εὐαγγελιζομένη φορὰν ἀκρο-
δρύων καὶ ὅστοιν φυλλορροεῖν τὴν ἐπέτειον πρὸς
μήκιστον ἀποτείνουσα τῆς χλόης εὐγηρίαν· ὃν
ἐκάτερον ποιεῖται σύμβολον τῆς ἱερατικῆς φυλῆς,
aινιττόμενος ὅτι καὶ πρῶτη καὶ ὅστατη τού
σύμπαντος ἀνθρώπων γένους ἀνθήσει, καθ’ ὃν ἔν
χρόνον δόξη τῷ θεῷ ταῖς ἐαριναῖς τροπαῖς ἐξ-
ομοίωσαι τὸν ἡμέτερον βίον ἀνελόντι τὴν ἐπίβουλον
καὶ τοῦ κακοδαιμονεῖν πηγὴν πλεονεξίαν.

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XXXV. Ἐπειδὴ τοίνυν τῷ τελευτάτῳ ἡγεμόνι
τέτταρα δεῖν ἐφαμεν προσεῖναι, βασιλείαν καὶ
νομοθετικήν καὶ ἱερωσύνην καὶ προφητείαν,
ἵνα διὰ μὲν τῆς νομοθετικῆς προστάτη καὶ δεῖ καὶ
ἀπαγορεύῃ δὲ μη δεῖ πράττειν, διὰ δὲ τῆς ἱερωσύνης
μὴ μόνον τὰνθρώπεια ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰ θεῖα διέσχει, διὰ
δὲ τῆς προφητείας ὁσα μὴ λογισμῷ καταλαμ-
βάνεται θεσπίζῃ, διειλεγμένος περὶ τῶν πρῶτων
τριῶν καὶ ἐπιδεδειχθῆ Μωυσῆν ἀριστον βασιλέα

* The thought of this sentence seems confused. The permanent triumph of Aaron's family over the lower Levites assisted by Reuben was symbolized by the blossoming of the most permanent of blossoms and so when the πλεονεξία ("self-assertion") of mankind as a whole is destroyed, there will be a permanent blossoming. But of whom? We expect of all mankind. Instead we have "the priestly
simplicity and frugal contentment. For by these the highest authority within us, reason, advances to sound health and well-being, and brings to nought the formidable menace to the body, engineered in many a scene of drunkenness and gluttony and lewdness and the other insatiable lusts, the parents of that grossness of flesh which is the enemy of quickness of mind. Further, they say, that of all the trees which regularly bud in the spring the almond-tree is the first to blossom with a welcome promise of a plentiful crop of fruit, and the last to shed its leaves, year by year protracting the hale old age of its verdure to the longest span. Each of these facts he takes as a parable of the priestly tribe, intimating that it will be the first and last of all the human race to blossom, in that day, whenever it shall be, when it shall please God to make our life as a springtime by ridding it of covetousness, that insidious foe which is the source of our misery.\footnote{\textit{XXXV.}}

XXXV. We said above that there are four adjuncts to the truly perfect ruler. He must have kingship, the faculty of legislation, priesthood and prophecy, so that in his capacity of legislator he may command what should be done and forbid what should not be done, as priest dispose not only things human but things divine, as prophet declare by inspiration what cannot be apprehended by reason. I have discussed the first three, and shewn that Moses was the best of kings, of lawgivers and of tribe.” Is this to be taken literally, or does it stand for Israel, the nation of priests or even for the truly priestly soul? If we could insert η εὐχή ήπειρ after ἄστάτη the thought would become clear. Philo often insists (\textit{e.g. De Spec. Leg.} i. 97), that the prayers of the priests are for the whole human race.
καὶ νομοθέτην καὶ ἀρχιερέα τὸ τελευταῖον ἔρχομαι δηλώσων, ὅτι καὶ προφήτης γέγονε δοκιμώτατος. 188 οὐκ ἄγνω ὡς πάντ', ὃς, δι' ἁπάντων, ὅσα ἐν ταῖς ἱεραῖς βίβλοις ἀναγέγραπται, χρησθέντες δι' οὗτο. λέξω δὲ τὰ ἱδιαίτερα, πρότερον εἰπών ἐκείνο. τῶν λογίων τὰ μὲν ἐκ προσώπου τοῦ θεοῦ λέγεται δι' ἐρμηνεύσας τοῦ θείου προφήτου, τὰ δὲ ἐκ πεύκων καὶ ἀποκρίσεως ἐπεστίλθη, τὰ δὲ ἐκ προσώπου Μωυσέως ἐπιθείασαντος καὶ ἐξ οὗτο κατασχε-. 189 τὰ μὲν οὖν πρῶτα ὅλα δι' ὅλων ἀρετῶν [164] θείων δείγματά ἐστιν, τῆς τε ἱλεω καὶ εὐεργέτιδος, δι' ὅν ἀπαντασ μὲν ἀνθρώπους πρὸς καλοκἀγαθίαν ἀλείφει, μάλιστα δε τὸ θεραπευτικὸν αὐτοῦ γένος, ὃ τὴν πρὸς εὐθαμονίαν ἄγουσαν ἀνατέμνει ὅδόν. 190 τὰ δὲ δεύτερα μὲν εἰς καὶ κοινωνίαν, πυνθανο-μένου μὲν τοῦ προφήτου περὶ ὃν ἐπεζήτητε, ἀποκρινομένου δὲ τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ διδάσκοντος τὰ δὲ τρίτα ἀνατίθεται τῷ νομοθέτῃ, μεταδόντος αὐτῷ τοῦ θεοῦ τῆς προγνωστικῆς δυνάμεως, ἢ θεσπιεῖ τὰ μέλλοντα. τὰ μὲν οὖν πρῶτα ὑπερθετέον, μείζω γάρ ἐστιν ἢ ὃς ὑπ' ἀνθρώπου τινὸς ἐπανεθήναι, μόλις ἢ ὑπ' ὄμοιον τοῦ κόσμου καὶ τῆς τῶν ὅλων φύσεως ἐξίσως ἐγκωμιασθέντα, καὶ ἄλλως λέγεται ὅπανει δι' ἐρμηνεύσας. ἐρμηνεία δὲ καὶ προφητεία διαφέρουσι. περὶ δὲ τῶν δευτέρων αὐ- τικὰ πειράσομαι δηλοῦν συνυφήνας αὐτοῖς καὶ τὸ τρίτον εἶδος, ἐν ὃ τοῦ λέγοντος ἐνθουσιώδες ἐμφαίνεται, καθ' ὃ μάλιστα καὶ κυρίως νενόμισται προφήτης. 191 542
high priests, and will now go on to shew in conclusion that he was a prophet of the highest quality. Now I am fully aware that all things written in the sacred books are oracles delivered through Moses; but I will confine myself to those which are more especially his, with the following preliminary remarks. Of the divine utterances, some are spoken by God in His own Person with His prophet for interpreter, in some the revelation comes through question and answer, and others are spoken by Moses in his own person, when possessed by God and carried away out of himself. The first kind are absolutely and entirely signs of the divine excellences, graciousness and beneficence, by which He incites all men to noble conduct, and particularly the nation of His worshippers, for whom He opens up the road which leads to happiness. In the second kind we find combination and partnership: the prophet asks questions of God about matters on which he has been seeking knowledge, and God replies and instructs him. The third kind are assigned to the lawgiver himself: God has given to him of His own power of foreknowledge and by this he will reveal future events. Now, the first kind must be left out of the discussion. They are too great to be lauded by human lips; scarcely indeed could heaven and the world and the whole existing universe worthily sing their praises. Besides, they are delivered through an interpreter, and interpretation and prophecy are not the same thing. The second kind I will at once proceed to describe, interweaving with it the third kind, in which the speaker appears under that divine possession in virtue of which he is chiefly and in the strict sense considered a prophet.
192 PHILEL. Τής δ’ ὑποσχέσεως ἀρκτέον ὅδε. τέτταρες εἰσὶ τόποι διὰ πεύσεως καὶ ἀποκρίσεως χρησμοῖς νομοθετηθέντες, μικτὴν ἔχοντες δύναμιν τῇ μὲν γὰρ ὁ προφήτης ἐνθουσιὰ πυνθανόμενος, τῇ δὲ ὁ πατὴρ θεσπίζει λόγον καὶ ἀποκρίσεως μεταδίδουσι. ἔστι δὲ πρῶτος, ὅσιο καὶ Μωυσῆς ὁσιώτατον τῶν πώποτε γενομένων ἄλλα καὶ τὸν ἐπὶ βραχὺ γενομένων ἐνσεβεῖας ὁργίσεν. 

193 εἴς ἀνομοῖων τις γενόμενως ἀνθρωπος νόθος, Αἰγύπτιον μὲν πατρός, μητρός δὲ Ἰουδαίας, τῶν μὲν ταύτης πατρίως ἑθῶν ἡλόγησε, πρὸς δὲ τὴν Αἰγυπτιακὴν, ὃς λόγος, ἀπέκλινεν ἀσέβειαν τῆς τῶν αἰδρῶν ἔξανόμοις αἰθέοτητα. μόνοι γὰρ σχεδὸν ἀπάντων ἔθνων Αἰγύπτιοι γῆν ἐπετείχισαν οὐρανῷ, τὴν μὲν ἱσοθέων τιμῶν ἀξιώσαντες, τῷ δ’ οὐδὲν γέρας ἔξαιρεν ἀπονείμαντες, ὃς δέον πρὸ τῶν βασιλείων τὸς ἐσχατιὰς περιέπει—ἐν γὰρ κόσμῳ βασιλείων μὲν ἱερώτατον ἔπετειχισαν οὐρανός, ἐσχατιὰ δὲ γῆ, καθ’ ἐαυτὴν μὲν ἄξιοσπούδαστος, ἐς δὲ σύγκρισιν οὐσία αἰθέρος ἀπολειπόμενη τοσοῦτον ὅσον σκότος μὲν φωτός, νῦς δὲ ἡμέρας, φθορὰ δ’ ἀφθαρσίας καὶ θυτῆς ἡμέρᾳ—. τῆς γὰρ χώρας οὐχ ὅτε καθάπερ αἰ ἀλλα ὑφομένης, ἀλλὰ ταῖς τοῦ ποταμοῦ πλημμύραις εἰσθηνίας ἀνὰ πάν ἐτὸς λυμνάξεσθαι, θεσπλαστοῦσι τῷ λόγῳ τὸν Νεῖλον Αἰγύπτιοι ὃς ἀντίμιμον οὑ-

1 ? ὁργίσθ’ ἄν.

* Literally “giving him a share of speech and answer.”
* For §§ 193-208 see Lev. xxiv. 10-16.
* Cf. De Fuga 180.

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XXXVI. In fulfilment of my promise, I must begin with the following examples. There are four cases upon which the divine voice laid down the law in the form of question and answer and which therefore have a mixed character; for, on the one hand, the prophet asks a question under divine possession, and on the other hand the Father, in giving the word of revelation, answers him and talks with him as with a partner. The first case is one which would have enraged not only Moses, the holiest of men ever yet born, but even one who knew but a little of the flavour of godliness. A certain base-born man, the child of an unequal marriage, his father an Egyptian, his mother a Jewess, had set at naught the ancestral customs of his mother and turned aside, as we are told, to the impiety of Egypt and embraced the atheism of that people. For the Egyptians almost alone among the nations have set up earth as a power to challenge heaven. Earth they held to be worthy of the honours due to a god, and refused to render to heaven any special tribute of reverence, acting as though it were right to shew respect to the outermost regions rather than to the royal palace. For in the universe heaven is a palace of the highest sanctity, and earth is the outer region, estimable indeed in itself, but when it comes into comparison with ether, as far inferior to it as darkness is to light and night to day and corruption to incorruption and mortal man to God. The Egyptians thought otherwise; for, since the land is not watered like other countries by the downpour of rain but regularly every year becomes a standing water through the flooding of the river, they speak of the Nile as though it were the counterpart of heaven and therefore to be deified,
ρανοῦ γεγονότα καὶ περὶ τῆς χώρας σεμνηγο- 196 ροῦσιν. XXXVII. ὁ δὴ μικτὸς οὗτος ἐκεῖνος διενεχθεὶς των τῶν ἀπὸ τοῦ ὀρατικοῦ καὶ ἐπιστημονικοῦ γένους, ἀκράτωρ ὑπ’ ὀργῆς αὐτὸς αὐτοῦ γενόμενος καὶ ἀμα τῆς Αἰγυπτιακῆς ἁθεότητος ξηλωτῆς ὦν, ἀπὸ γῆς εἰς οὐρανὸν ἔτεινε τὴν ἀ-

[165] σέβειαν ἐπαράτω καὶ ἐναγεῖ καὶ μεμιασμένη ψυχῇ τε καὶ γλώττῃ καὶ πάση τῇ φωνῆς ὀργανοποίημα καταρασάμενος δι’ ὑπερβολῆν κακιῶν ὁδὸν ὑπὸ πάντων ἀλλὰ μόνων τῶν ἀρίστων εὐλογεῖσθαι

197 θέμις, ὁσοὶ τὰς τελείας καθάρσεις ἐδέξαντο. διὸ καὶ θαυμάσασα τὴν φρενοβλάβειαν καὶ τὴν τοῦ θράσους ὑπερβολῆν, καίτοι γ’ ὑπόπλεως ὅλην παραστήματος εὐγενοῦς καὶ ἰέμενος αὐτοχειρία διαρτήσαι τὸν ἄνθρωπον, ἔδεισε μὴ κοιφότεραν ἄνατραξῃ τιμωρίαν ἵσορροπον γὰρ ἐπινοῆσαι πρὸς τοσαύτην

198 ἀσέβειαν κόλασιν ἄνθρωπος οὐκ ἂν ἱσχυσεν. ἔπει δὲ καὶ τῷ μὴ σέβειν 2 θεόν ἐπεται τὸ μήτε γονεῖς μήτε πατρίδα μήτ’ εὐεργέτας τιμᾶν, ὁ δὲ δὴ πρὸς τῷ μὴ σέβειν καὶ κακηγορεῖν τολμῶν τίνα μοχθηρίας ὑπερβολῆν ἀπολέλοιπε; καίτοι καὶ τὸ κακηγορεῖν ἠττον ἐν συγκρίσει κατάρας ἀλλὰ γλωσσαλγία καὶ ἀχάλινον στόμα όταν ἐκνόμοις ἀφροσύναις υπηρετῶσι, πάντως τι κανουργεῖται

199 τῶν ἀθέσμων. ὁ ἄνθρωπε, καταραταὶ τις θεόν; τίνα καλῶν ἔτερον θεὸν εἰς τὴν τῆς ἀρᾶς βεβαίωσιν; ἡ δὴ λογία αὐτὸν καὶ αὐτοῦ ἄπαγε βεβήλων καὶ ἀνοσίων ἐνθυμήματων. καλὼν ἐκνύψασθαι τήν ἀθλίαν ψυχήν ἐπιπρεπεθείσην μὲν ὑπὸ φωνῆς, διικόνοις δὲ τοῖς ὁσὶ χρησαμένην, αἰσθῆσει τυφλῆ.
and talk about the land in terms of high reverence. XXXVII. And, lo, this half-bred person, having a quarrel with someone of the nation that has vision and knowledge, losing in his anger all control over himself, and also urged by fondness for Egyptian atheism, extended his impiety from earth to heaven, and with his soul and tongue and all the organism of speech alike accursed, foul, abominable, in the superabundance of his manifold wickedness cursed Him, Whom even to bless is a privilege not permitted to all but only to the best, even those who have received full and complete purification. Whereupon Moses, astonished at his madness and the superabundance of his audacity, though the spirit of noble indignation was strong within him and he would fain have cut him off with his own hand, feared lest he might exact too light a penalty; for to devise an adequate punishment for such impiety was beyond human powers. Refusal to reverence God implies refusal to honour parents and country and benefactors. And, if so, what depths of depravity remain for him to reach who besides refusing reverence dares also to revile Him? And yet even reviling is a lesser sin compared with cursing. But, when an idle tongue and an unbridled mouth put themselves at the service of lawless follies, some monstrous violation of the moral law is sure to be committed. Answer me, thou man, Does anyone curse God? Then what other god does he call on to make good the curse, or is it clear that he invokes the help of God against Himself? Avaunt such profane and unholy thoughts! Well may the unhappy soul purge itself, which through the ministry of that purblind sense, the ears, has been outraged.
καὶ οὔτε ἡ γλώττα τοῦ τοσοῦτον ἁσέβημα φθεγξά-
μένου παρείθη οὔτε τὰ τοῦ μέλλοντος ἀκούειν ὅτα ἐπεφράξθη; εἰ μή ὁ ἀρα κατὰ πρόνοιαν τῆς δίκης, ἢτις οὔτ' ἁγαθὸν ὑπερβάλλον οὔτε μέγιστον κακὸν οίεται δεῖν ἐπισκιάζεσθαι, πρὸς ἐλεγχὸν ἐναργε-
στατον ἁρετῆς ἢ κακίας, ἵνα τῇ μὲν ἀποδοχῆς τῇν 201
de τιμωρίας ἀξιωσῃ. διὰ τοῦτο τὸν μὲν εἰς εἰρκτὴν ἀπαχθέντα κελεύει δεθῆναι, ποτινάται δὲ τὸν θεὸν ἰλασάμενος ταῖς ἀνάγκαις τῶν ἀισθήσεων, δι' ἂν καὶ βλέπομεν ὁ μὴ τέμις ὄραν καὶ ἀκούομεν ἄν ὁ μὴ τέμις ἀκούειν, ὃ τι χρὴ παθεῖν τὸν εὔρετὴν ἁσεβήματος καὶ ἀνοσιουργήματος ἐκτόπου καὶ 202ξένου δηλώσαι. ὃ δὲ προστάτευε καταλευσθήναι, προσήκουσαν οἴμαι δίκην ὑπολαβῶν τῇν διὰ λίθων κατ' ἀνδρὸς λιθίνην καὶ ἀπόκροτον φυχῆν ἔχοντο καὶ ἀμα βουλόμενος πάντας τοὺς ἀπὸ τοῦ ἐθνὸς συνεφάσασθαι τῆς κολάσεως, οὐς ἦδει σφόδρα τρα-
κέως ἐνεγκόντας καὶ φονώντας. μόνης δ' ὡς ἐοικε τῆς διὰ βλημάτων ἐμελλὸν αἱ τοσαύται μυριάδες ἐφάππησθαι.

203Μετὰ δὲ τὴν τοῦ ἀνοσίου καὶ παλαμναίου τῖσων ἐγράφῃ διάταγμα καὶ κανῶν, οὐκ ἂν ποτὲ προ-
ηγομένης ἀξιωθέν γραφῆς, ἀλλ' αἱ ἀπροσδόκητοι [166] νεωτεροποιοῖ τοὺς νόμους εἰς ἀνακοπὴν ἀμαρ-
tημάτων ἐπιζητοῦσιν. αὐτίκα γοῦν νομοθετεῖται τάδε. ὅσ ἂν καταράσηται θεὸν, ἀμαρτίας ἐνοχὸς

a Or "immediately," as Mangey and others take it. But the use of αὐτίκα—"for example" is common enough and 548
by listening to such words. And was not the tongue of him who uttered such a blasphemy paralysed? and the ears of him who was to hear it blocked? Surely they would have been, were it not otherwise provided by justice, who holds that over nothing which is extremely good or exceedingly bad should a veil be thrown, but would have them submitted to the clearest test of their goodness or badness, that it may award approval to the one and punishment to the other. Moses, therefore, ordered the man to be haled to prison and put in chains, and implored God, to Whose mercy he appealed, pleading the enforcement of the senses by which we see what by rights we should not see and hear what we should not hear, to shew what should be done to the author of this impious and unholy crime, so monstrous and unheard-of. God commanded that he should be stoned, holding, I suppose, that stoning was the fitting punishment for a man of a hard and stony soul, and also desiring that the work of vengeance should be shared by all the people, who, as He knew, were deeply indignant and desired the death of the offender. And execution by missiles appeared to be the only mode in which so many thousands could take part.

When this impious malefactor had paid the penalty, a new ordinance was drawn up. Previous to this, no such enactment would have seemed to be required. But unexpected disorders demand new laws as a check to offences. And so on this occasion the following law was promulgated: Whoever curses god, let him bear the guilt of his sin, but he that fits in well with the general statement in the preceding sentence.

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φιλό

έστω, δς δ' αν όνομάση το ὄνομα κυρίου, θυσικέτων.

204 εδ γ', δ' πάνσοφε, μόνος ἁμιγοῦς ἢκρατίσω σοφίας·
tοῦ καταράσθαι χείρον τὸ ὄνομάζειν ὑπεϊληφας. 
οὐ γὰρ ἃν τὸν μὲν βαρύτατον ἀσέβημα εἰργασμένον 
ἐπεκούφισες διημαρτηκόσις ἐπιεικέστερον συν-
τάττων, κατὰ δὲ τοῦ βραχύτερον ἡδικηκέναι 
dόξαντος τὴν ἀνωτάτω τιμωρίαν, θάνατον, ὅριζες.

205 XXXVIII. ἀλλ' ὡς έοικε "θεόν" τὰ νῦν οὐχὶ 
tοῦ πρώτου καὶ γεννητοῦ τῶν ὀλων ἄλλα τῶν ἐν 
tαῖς πόλεσι μέμνηται· ψευδώνυμοι δ' εἶδι γραφέων 
καὶ πλαστῶν τέχναις δημιουργούμενοι· ἑσόνων γὰρ 
καὶ ἀγαλμάτων καὶ τουσεκτρόπων αφιδρυμάτων ἢ ῥεομένῃ μεστή γέγονεν, δώ τῆς βλασφημίας 
ἀνέχειν ἀναγκαῖον, ἵνα μηδεὶς ἐθίζηται τῶν Μω-

206 θέου γνωρίμων συνόλους τοιούτους "θεοῦ προσρήσεως ἀλογεῖν. 
ξινικοτάτη γὰρ καὶ ξιεραστός ἡ κλήσις. εἰ δὲ 
tις οὐ λέγω βλασφημήσειεν εἰς τὸν ἄνθρωπον καὶ 
θεὸν κύριον, ἄλλα καὶ τολμήσειεν ἀκαίρως αὐτοῦ 
φθέγζασθαι τοῦνομα, θάνατον ὑπομεινάτω τὴν δί-

207 κην. οὐδὲ γὰρ τῶν φυτευσάντων καίτοι θητῶν 
ὑπαρχόντων οῖς μέλει γονεῶν τιμῆς τὰ ὄνομα

προφέρουσιν, ἄλλα τὰ κύρια διὰ τὸν ἐπ' αὐτοῦ 
σεβασμόν ἠσυχάζοντες τοῖς τῆς φύσεως ανακαλοῦσι 
πατέρα καὶ μητέρα προσαγορεύοντες, δι' ὧν εὐθὺς 
αἰνύττονται τὰς εξ ἐκείνων ἀνυπερβλήτους εὐερ-

1 Cohn puts a note of interrogation here, which I do not understand. Better perhaps, as two mss., ὑπεϊληφός.

a So lxx Lev. xxiv. 15, 16. E.V. "Whosoever curseth his
nameth the name of the Lord let him die. Well hast thou said, thou wisest of men, who alone hast drunk deep of the untempered wine of wisdom. Thou hast held the naming to be worse than the cursing, for thou couldst not be treating lightly one guilty of the gravest impiety and ranking him with the milder offenders while thou didst decree the extreme penalty of death to one who was judged to have committed the lesser iniquity. XXXVIII. No, clearly by "god," he is not here alluding to the Primal God, the Begetter of the Universe, but to the gods of the different cities who are falsely so called, being fashioned by the skill of painters and sculptors. For the world as we know it is full of idols of wood and stone, and suchlike images. We must refrain from speaking insultingly of these, lest any of Moses' disciples get into the habit of treating light the name "god" in general, for it is a title worthy of the highest respect and love. But if anyone, I will not say blasphemes the Lord of gods and men, but even ventures to utter His Name unseasonably, let him suffer the penalty of death. For, even in the case of our own parents, though they are but mortals, all who have regard for the honour due to parentage abstain from using their personal names, and, leaving these unsaid, call them instead by the terms of natural relationship—father and mother—and their so addressing them is seen at once to be an indirect acknowledgement of unsurpassed benefits conferred by them and an expression of God shall bear his sin. And he that blasphemeth the name of the Lord shall surely be put to death." Philo's explanation is repeated by Josephus, Ant. iv. 207, Ap. ii. 237, with reference to Ex. xxii. 28, "Thou shalt not revile God," where the LXX has θεούς.
208 γεσίας καὶ τὴν αὐτῶν εὐχάριστον διάθεσιν. ἔτι νῦν ἑὐγνωμῶς ἀξιούσθωσαν οἱ κατ᾽ ἐπισυμφών γλώττης ἀκαίρευμενοι καὶ λόγων ἀναπλήρωμα ποιούμενοι τὸ ἀγιώτατον καὶ θείον ὅνομα.

209 XXXIX. Μετά δὲ τὴν γεννητοῦ τῶν ὀλων τιμήν τὴν ἱερᾶν ἐβδόμην ἐσέμνυνεν ὁ προφήτης ἱδῶν αὐτῆς ὁξωπεστέρως ὀμασὶ κάλλος ἐξαίσιον ἐνεσφραγισμένον οὐρανῷ τε καὶ τῷ σύμπαντι κόσμῳ καὶ ὑπὸ τῆς φύσεως αὐτῆς ἀγαλματοφορούμενον. εὕρισκε γὰρ αὐτὴν τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἀμήτωρ, γενεᾶς τῆς θήλεος ἀμέτοχον, ἐκ μόνου πατρὸς σπαρεΐσαν ἀνευ σπορᾶς καὶ γεννηθείσαν ἀνευ κυήσεως· ἔπειτα δ’ οὐ ταῦτα μόνον κατείδεν, οτι παγκάλη καὶ ἀμήτωρ, ἀλλ’ ὃτι καὶ ἀειπάρθενος, [167] οὔτ’ ἐκ μητρὸς οὔτε μήτηρ οὔτ’ ἐκ θορᾶς οὔτε φθορᾶς οὔτε μητρὸς οὔτε φθαρῆσομένη· εἰτ’ ἐκ τρίτου κατενόησεν αὐτὴν ἐξ−ετάξων καὶ κόσμου γενέθλιων, ἡν ἐορτάζει μὲν οὐρανός, ἐορτάζει δὲ γῆ καὶ τὰ ἐν γῇ γανύμενα καὶ ἐνευφραϊνόμενα τῇ παναρμονίῳ ἐβδομάδι. ταύτης ἔνεκα τῆς αἰτίας ὁ πάντα μέγας Μωυσῆς ἐδικαίωσε τοὺς ἐγγραφέντας αὐτοῦ τῇ ἱερῇ πολυτείᾳ θεσμῶς φύσεως ἐπομένους πανηγυρίζει, ἐν ἐλαραῖς δι-ἀγοντας εὐθυμίας, ἀνέχοντας μὲν ἔργων καὶ τεχνῶν τῶν εἰς πορισμὸν καὶ πραγματείων ὀσια κατὰ βίου ζῆτησιν, ἀγοντας δ’ ἐκεχειριάν καὶ διαφειμένοις πάσης ἐπιπόνον καὶ καματηρᾶς φροντίδος, σχολα−

1 Cohn would read ἔτι τοῖνυν comparing De Abr. 158. But ἐπιχειρῶμεν there is the interrogative subjunctive, ἀξιούσθωσαν here imperative, i.e. “let them still be thought worthy, if it is possible” (which of course it is not). In this case it seems to be better to retain νῦν, and to expunge the mark of interrogation which Cohn places after ὅνομα.
their own standing gratitude. After this, can we still think worthy of pardon those, who, with a reckless tongue, make unseemly use of the most holy name of the Deity and treat it as a mere expletive?

XXXIX. After this honour paid to the Parent of All, the prophet magnified the holy seventh day, seeing with his keener vision its marvellous beauty stamped upon heaven and the whole world and enshrined in nature itself. For he found that she was in the first place motherless, exempt from female parentage, begotten by the Father alone, without begetting, brought to the birth, yet not carried in the womb. Secondly, he saw not only these, that she was all lovely and motherless, but that she was also ever virgin, neither born of a mother nor a mother herself, neither bred from corruption nor doomed to suffer corruption. Thirdly, as he scanned her, he recognized in her the birth-day of the world, a feast celebrated by heaven, celebrated by earth and things on earth as they rejoice and exult in the full harmony of the sacred number. For this cause, Moses, great in everything, determined that all whose names were written on his holy burgess-roll and who followed the laws of nature should hold high festival through hours of cheerful gaiety, abstaining from work and profit-making crafts and professions and business pursued to get a livelihood, and enjoy a respite from labour released from weary and painful care. But this leisure should

\[a\] Cf. De Op. 100 and Leg. All. i. 15, and further App. p. 609.

\[b\] Cf. Mos. i. 207 and note.

\[c\] Both the mental and the manual arts are included under τέχναι, cf. §219.
ζοντας ουχ ως ένιοι γέλωσιν ή παιδιας ή μίμων
ή όρχηστων έπιδειξειν, περι δα κηραινουι και
δυσθανατωσιν οι θεατρομανοντες και δια των
ηγεμονικωτατων αισθησεων, δρασεως και άκοης,
δουλην απεραξομενοι την φύσει βασιλίας ψυχήν,
212 αλλα μόνω τω φιλοσοφειν. ουχ οπερ μεθοδευομεν
οι λογοθηραι και σοφισται πιπρασκοντες ως άλλο
τι των ωνιων επ άγορας δόγματα και λόγους, οι
φιλοσοφια κατα φιλοσοφιας (ω γη και ήλιε!)
χρώ-
μενοι δι' αιώνοι ουκ έρυθρωσιν, αλλα τω τω 3ντι
φιλοσοφειν, οπερ έκ τριων συνύφανται, βουλευ-
μάτων και λόγων και πράξεων, εις εν ειδος ήμο-
σμένων προς κτήσιν και απόλαυσιν ευδαιμονίας.

213 τούτου δη τις αλογήσας του διατάγ-
ματος, έτι τους χρησιμους εναύλους 3χων τους περι
της ιερας εσβδομης, ους εθεσπισεν ανευ προφητου
ο θεος δια φωνης—το παραδοξοτατον—δρατης, η
των παρατυγχανοντων φθαλμους άτων επηγειρε
μαλλον, επι φρυγανισμον έξαε δια μέσου του
στρατοπεδου πάντας ειδως εν ταϊς σκηναις ήρε-
μουντας, και δρων έτι ταδίκημα καταφανής υπέρ
214 του μη λαθειν γίνεται. τυλων γαρ έξω προελ-
θοντες τως εις ερημιαν, έν εν τω καθαρωτατω και
ησυχαζοντει εξουνται, θεαν έκνομοι ιδοντες, έξων
υλην συγκομίζοντα, και δυσανασητήσατες έμελ-
λησαν μεν αυτων άνελεων, λογισμον δε το παρα-
κεκινομενον της όργης επισχόντες, ίνα μητε ιδιωται

a For §§ 213-220 see Num. xv. 32-36.
b Referring to lxx Ex. xx. 18 “all the people saw the
voice,” cf. De Mig. 47.
c i.e. providence to ensure his conviction caused this certain
evidence to be forthcoming.
be occupied, not as by some in bursts of laughter or sports or shows of mimes and dancers on which stage-struck fools waste away their strength almost to the point of death, and through the dominant senses of sight and hearing reduce to slavery their natural queen, the soul, but by the pursuit of wisdom only. And the wisdom must not be that of the systems hatched by the word-catchers and sophists who sell their tenets and arguments like any bit of merchandise in the market, men who for ever pit philosophy against philosophy without a blush, O earth and sun, but the true philosophy which is woven from three strands—thoughts, words and deeds—united into a single piece for the attainment and enjoyment of happiness.

Now, a certain man, setting at nought this ordinance, though the echoes of the divine commands about the sacredness of the seventh day were ringing in his ears, commands promulgated by God not through His prophet but by a voice which, strange paradox, was visible and aroused the eyes rather than the ears of the bystanders, went forth through the midst of the camp to gather firewood, knowing that all were resting in their tents. But that his crime might not remain hidden, he was observed while still engaged in the wicked deed. For some persons who had gone out of the gates into the wilderness to pray in the quiet open solitude saw this lawless sight, a man gathering sticks for fuel, and, hardly able to control themselves, they were minded to slay him. Reflection, however, caused them to restrain the fierceness of their anger. They

\[ \text{\textsuperscript{d} LXX (xv. 32). "And the children of Israel were in the wilderness and they found," etc., E.V. "while they were \ldots they found."} \]
πρὸ ἀρχόντων κολάζειν των δοκῶσι καὶ ταῦτ’ ἀκριτον, κἂν ἄλλως τὸ παρανόμημα ἦ ἐμφανές, μὴ τοῦ περὶ τὴν ἡμέραν εὐαγγοὺς μίασμα φόνου, κἂν δικαιότατος ἦ, προσάψηται, συλλαβόντες ἀγουσιν αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τὸν ἀρχοντα, ὁ συνήδρευον μὲν οἱ ἕρεις, παρειστήκει δὲ σύμπασσα ἡ πλῆθυς πρὸς ἀκρόασιν. ἔθος γὰρ ἦν, ἄει μὲν κἀκεῖνον, προηγουμένως δὲ ταῖς ἐμβολοῖς, ὡς ἐδήλωσα καὶ πρόσθεν, φιλοσοφεῖν, τοῦ μὲν ἡγεμόνος ὕψηλον-μένου καὶ διδάσκοντος ἀ τε | χρή πράττειν καὶ λέγειν, τῶν δ’ εἰς καλοκαγαθίαν ἐπιδιδόντων καὶ [168] βελτιομένων τὰ τε ἡθοῦ καὶ τῶν βιῶν. ἄφ’ οὗ καὶ εἰσέτι νῦν φιλοσοφοῦσιν ταῖς ἐμβολοῖς Ἰουδαίοι τὴν πάτριον φιλοσοφίαν τῶν χρόνον ἔκεινον ἀναθέτες ἐπιστήμης καὶ θεωρία τῶν περὶ φύσιν τῷ γὰρ κἀκεῖνον προσευκτήρια τι ἐστὶν ἡ διδασκαλεῖαι φρονίσεως καὶ ἀνδρείας καὶ σωφροσύνης καὶ δικαιοσύνης εἰσεβείας τε καὶ συμπάσης ἀρετῆς, ἂν κατανοεῖται καὶ κατορθοῦται τα τε ἀνθρώπου καὶ θεία; 216

217 XL. Τότε μὲν οὖν εἰς εἰρετήν ὁ τηλικοῦτον ἀσέβημα δράσας ἀπάγεται. Μωυσῆς δὲ ἀποροῦν ὁ τε χρῆ παθεῖν τῶν ἀνθρωπο— ἢδει γὰρ ἄξια ἑαυτὸν διαπαραγμένοι, ἀλλὰ τὶς ἀν γένοιτο τρόπος ἀρμόζων τῆς τιμωρίας;—ἀφικνεῖται πρὸς τὸ ἀνθρώποις ἔτος ἀνθρώπους ἐπιστημον καὶ ἐπιθυμίας ἐπιστημον καὶ ἀνθρώπους τοῦ καὶ πρὶν ἀκοῦσαι πάντ’ ἐπιστημονεῖ καὶ ἀνθρώπους τοῦ, τοῦ κεκρικεῖν. ὃ δ’ ἀποφαίνεται τὴν γνώσιν,
did not wish to make it appear that they who were but private citizens took upon themselves the ruler's duty of punishment, and that too without a trial, however clear was the offence in other ways, or that the pollution of bloodshed, however justly deserved, should profane the sacredness of the day. Accordingly they arrested him, and took him before the ruler beside whom the priests were seated, while the whole multitude stood around to listen; for it was customary on every day when opportunity offered, and pre-eminently on the seventh day, as I have explained above, to pursue the study of wisdom with the ruler expounding and instructing the people what they should say and do, while they received edification and betterment in moral principles and conduct. Even now this practice is retained, and the Jews every seventh day occupy themselves with the philosophy of their fathers, dedicating that time to the acquiring of knowledge and the study of the truths of nature. For what are our places of prayer throughout the cities but schools of prudence and courage and temperance and justice and also of piety, holiness and every virtue by which duties to God and men are discerned and rightly performed?

XL. So, then, the perpetrator of this great sin against God was for the time being taken into custody. But Moses was in doubt as to what should be done to him. He knew that the action deserved death, but what would be the proper method of punishment? So, then, in spirit, he approached the judgement-seat, invisible even as the spirit which sought it, and asked of the Judge Who knows all before He hears it what His sentence was. That Judge declared His decision

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PHILO

ότι καὶ θυσίας οφείλει καὶ οὐχ ἐτέρως ἡ καταλευσθείσα, ἐπειδὴ καὶ τούτω καθάπερ καὶ τῷ προτέρῳ μετέβαλεν ὁ νοῦς εἰς κωφὴν λίθου εἰργασμένῳ τελεωτατον παρανόμημα, ὃ σχεδὸν πάντα τάλλα ἐμφέρεται, ὅσα περὶ τοῦ σεβασμοῦ τῆς ἐβδόμης νενομοθέτηται. διὰ τί; ὃτι οὐχ αἱ βάναυσοι μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ αἱ ἄλλαι τέχναι καὶ πραγματεύει καὶ μάλιστα αἱ πορισμοὶ καὶ βίου ζήτησιν ἕναν τῶν διὰ πυρὸς· οὖν ἀπαγορεύει πολλάκις ἐν ταῖς ἐβδόμαις πύρ έναύειν ὡς ἀρχηγικώτατον αὐτίον καὶ πρεσβύτατον ἔργον, οὐ ἰσχύσαντος ἑνενοήθη καὶ τὰ κατὰ μέρος ὡς εἰκός συνησυχάσεων. ὕλη δέ ξύλα πυρὸς, ὡς τὸν ἐξυλιζόμενον ἀδελφὸν καὶ συγγενές ἀμάρτημα τῷ καλοττι δρᾶν, τὸ παρανόμημα διπλασιάζουτα, τῇ μὲν ὅτι προσταχθὲν ἤρεμειν συνεκόμηζε, τῇ δ’ ὅτι καὶ τουαῦτα συνεκόμηζεν, ὁ πυρὸς ἔστιν ὕλη, τῆς τῶν τεχνῶν ἄρχης.

221 XLI. Ἀμφοὶ μὲν οὖν τὰ εἰρημένα τιμωρίας ἀσεβῶν περιέχει διὰ πεύσεως καὶ ἀποκρίσεως βεβαιωμένας. ἔτερα δὲ δύο ἐστὶν οὐχὶ τῆς αὐτῆς ἀλλὰ διαφερούσης ἱδέας, ὧν τὸ μὲν περὶ κλῆρον [169] διαδόχης, τὸ δ’ ὃσα τῷ δοκεῖν παρὰ καίρων ἐπιτελομένης ἱερουργίας, περὶ ἃς λεκτέον πρότερον.

222 τῆς ἀρχῆς τῆς ἀρχῆς ἱσημερίας πρῶτου ἀναγράϕει μῆνα Μωυσῆς ἐν ταῖς τῶν ἐνιαυτῶν περιόδοις ἀναθεῖς οὐχ ὦσπερ ἐνιοῦ χρόνῳ τὰ προσβείς μᾶλλον ἣ ταῖς τῆς φύσεως χάρισιν, ὃς ἀνέτειλεν ἀνθρώποις.

a Only found in Ex. xxxv. 3, though the command to bake or boil the manna before the Sabbath, Ex. xvi. 23, may be taken to imply it. (Driver.)

b For §§ 222-232 see Num. ix. 1-14.

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that the man should die, and by no other death but stoning; since in him, as in the earlier culprit, the mind had been changed into a senseless stone by a deed which was the perfection of wickedness, and covered practically all the prohibitions enacted for the honouring of the seventh day. How is this? 219 Because not merely the mechanical but also the other arts and occupations, particularly those which are undertaken for profit and to get a livelihood, are carried on directly or indirectly by the instrumentality of fire. And, therefore, he often forbids the lighting of a fire on the seventh day, regarding it as the cause which lay at the root of all and as the primary activity; and, if this ceased, he considered that other particular activities would naturally cease also. But sticks are the material for fire, so that by picking them up he committed a sin which was brother to and of the same family as the sin of burning them. And his was a double crime; it lay first in the mere act of collecting, in defiance of the commandment to rest from work, secondly in the nature of what he collected, being materials for fire which is the basis of the arts.

XLI. Both the incidents mentioned above are concerned with the punishment of impious persons, ratified by means of question and answer. There are two others of a different kind: one connected with the succession to an inheritance, the other with a rite performed at apparently a wrong season. It will be better to take the latter example before the other. b Moses dates the first month of the year’s revolution at the beginning of the spring equinox. And, in doing so, he is not like some giving the place of honour to the actual time but rather to the gifts of nature which she raises up for men. For at the equinox
κατὰ γὰρ ταύτην τὰ μὲν σπαρτά, ἡ ἀναγκαία τροφῆ, τελειογονεῖται, ὁ δὲ τῶν δένδρων καρπὸς ἢβωντων ἀρτι γεννᾶται δευτέραν ἔχων τάξιν, οἶδον καὶ οἰκογόνος ἔστιν· ἀεὶ γὰρ ἐν τῇ φύσει τὰ μὴ λίαν ἀναγκαία τῶν σφόδρα ἀναγκαίων δεύτερα. σφόδρα μὲν οὐν ἀναγκαία πυροὶ τε καὶ κριθαὶ καὶ ὀσὰ ἄλλα εἶδη τροφῆς, ὅν ἄνευ ἐκ ὑδάτων οὐκ ἔστιν· ἔλαιον δὲ καὶ οἶνος καὶ ἄκροδρυα οὐχὶ τῶν ἀναγκαίων, ἐπεὶ καὶ δίχα τούτων ἄχρι μακρότατον γῆρως παρα- τείνοντες εἰς πολυετίαν βιοῦσιν ἄνθρωποι. τῷ δὴ μην ὅσον περὶ τεσσαρεσκεδακάτην ἡμέραν, μέλλοντος τοῦ σέληνιακοῦ κύκλου γίνεσθαι πλησι- φαοῦς, ἄγεται τὰ διαβατήρια, δημοφανῆς ἑορτῆς, τὸ Χαλδαῖστι λεγόμενον Πάσχα, ἐν ἂν οὐκ εἰ μὲν ἰδιῶται προσάγουσι τῷ βωμῷ τὰ ἱερεῖα, θύουσι δ᾽ οἱ ἱερεῖς, ἄλλα νόμον προστάξει σύμπαν τὸ ἔθνος ἱερᾶται, τῶν κατὰ μέρος ἐκάστου τὰς ύπερ αὐτῶν 225 θυσίας ἀνάγοντός τε καὶ χειρουργοῦντος. ὁ μὲν οὐν ἄλλος ἄπας λεῖς ἐγεγήθη καὶ φανδρὸς ἑκάστου νομίζοντος ἱερσώνη τετμημέναι· δεδάκρυμαι δὲ ἐτεροὶ καὶ στείνοντες διήγουν, οἰκείων αὐτοῖς ἐναγχος τετελευτηκότων, οὓς πενθοῦντες διηγήμενοι κατείχοντο λύπη, προσεληφότος τῇ διά τούς ἀποθανόντας συγγενεῖς καὶ τὴν ἐκ τοῦ στερηθῆναι τῆς περὶ τὴν ἱερουργίαν ἡδονῆς τε καὶ τιμῆς, οὕς οὔδε καθάρωσι καὶ περιρράνασθαι κατ ’ ἐκείνην τὴν ἡμέραν ἐξεγένετο, μήπω τοῦ πένθους ὑπέρ- 226 ημέρου καὶ ἐκπροθέσμου γεγονότος. οὕτωι μετὰ τὴν πανήγυριν προσελθόντες τῷ ἄρχοντι συννοίας μεστοὶ καὶ κατηφείας τὰ συμβεβηκότα διηγήσαντο, τὴν ὑπόγυον τῶν συγγενῶν τελευτῆν, τὸ πένθος δ' κατ’ ἀναγκαίον ἐχρήσαντο, τὸ μὴ δυνηθῆναι διὰ 560
the corn crops, our necessary food, become ripe, while on the trees, which are in full bloom, the fruit is just beginning to appear. This ranks second to the corn, and therefore is a later growth. For in nature what is a less pressing always comes after a really pressing necessity. Now, wheat and barley and the other kinds of food without which life is impossible are pressing necessities, but wine and olive oil and tree fruits do not come under this head, as men continue their life for many years and reach extreme old age without them. In this month, about the fourteenth day, when the disc of the moon is becoming full, is held the commemoration of the crossing, a public festival called in Hebrew Pasch, on which the victims are not brought to the altar by the laity and sacrificed by the priests, but, as commanded by the law, the whole nation acts as priest, each individual bringing what he offers on his own behalf and dealing with it with his own hands. Now, while all the rest of the people were joyful and cheerful, each feeling that he had the honour of priesthood, there were others passing the time in tears and sorrow. They had lost relations lately by death, and in mourning them they suffered a double sorrow. Added to their grief for their dead kinsfolk was that which they felt at the loss of the pleasure and honour of the sacred rite. For they were not even allowed to purify or besprinkle themselves with holy water on that day, since their mourning had still some days to run and had not passed the appointed term. These persons, after the festival, came to the ruler full of gloom and depression and put the case before him—the still recent death of their kinsfolk, the necessity of performing their duty as mourners and their con-
227 τούτο μετασχεῖν τῆς τῶν διαβατηρίων θυσίας. εἰς ἐδέοντο μὴ ἐλαττον τῶν ἄλλων ἐνέγκασθαι μηδὲ τὸ ἐπὶ τοῖς ἀποθανόντων οἰκεῖοις ἀτύχημα ἐν ἀδικήματος μέρει καταριθμηθῆναι τιμωρίαν ἐργασάμενον

[170] πρὸ | ἐλέουν νομίσαι γὰρ ἃν χείρονα παθεῖν τῶν ἀποθανόντων, εἰ γε τοῖς μὲν οὐδενὸς ἐστὶν ἀντίληψις ἐτὶ τῶν ἄβουλήτων, οἱ δὲ ἔσχατες δόξουσι τεθνάναι

228 τὸν μετ’ αἰσθήσεως θάνατον. XLII. ταῦτ’ ἀκούσας ἐώρα μὲν καὶ τὴν δικαιολογίαν οὐκ ἀπωδόν καὶ τὴν τοῦ μὴ ἱεροῦργησαι πάλιν πρόφασιν ἀναγκαίαν καὶ τὸ συμπαθῆς ἀνακεκραμένον τούτος, ἐπαμφοτερίζων δὲ τὴν γνώμην καὶ ὡσπερ ἐπὶ πλάστιγγος ἀντιρρέσων—τῇ μὲν γὰρ ἐταλάντευεν ὁ ἔλεος καὶ τὰ δίκαια, τῇ δ’ ἀντέβριθεν ὁ νόμος τῆς τῶν διαβατηρίων θυσίας, ἐν δ’ καὶ πρῶτος μὴν καὶ ἡμέρα τεσσαρεσκαιδεκάτη δεδήλωται τῆς ἱεροῦργίας—, ἀρνήσεως καὶ συγκαταθέσεως μεταξὺ φορούμενος ἐκεῖνει τὸν θεὸν δικαστὴν γενέσθαι καὶ χρησμῷ

229 τὴν κρίσιν ἀναφήναι. ὁ δ’ ἐπακούσας θεσπίζει λόγιον οὐ περὶ ὧν ἐνετεύχθη μόνον ἄλλα καὶ περὶ τῶν αὐθικὸ ποτὲ γεννησομένων, εἰ ταῖς αὐταῖς χρήσαντο συντυχίαι· ἐπιδιαμελεύσεως δὲ καὶ περὶ τῶν κατ’ ἄλλας αἰτίας οὐ δυνηθέντων ἱεροῦργησαι

230 μετὰ παντὸς τοῦ ἔθνους προσεπιθεσπίζει. τίνα οὖν ἐστὶ τὰ περὶ τούτων χρησθέντα λόγια, μηνυτέον. “συγγενικὸν” φησί “πένθος ἀναγκαία μὲν τοῖς ἀφ’ αἵματος ἀνία, γράφεται δ’ οὐκ ἐν πλημμελείαις.

231 ἐφ’ ὅλων ἐμπρόθεσομέν ἐστιν, ἔδω περιβόλων

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sequent inability to take part in the sacrifice of the crossing-feast. Then they prayed that they might not fare worse than the others, and that the misfortune which they had sustained in the death of their relations might not be counted as misconduct entailing punishment rather than pity. In that case they considered that their fate would be worse than that of the dead, for they have no longer any perception of their troubles, while they themselves would be suffering a living death, in which they still retained consciousness. XLII. Moses, hearing this, recognized the reasonableness of their claim, and also the cogency of their excuse for absenting themselves from the sacrifice; and with these was mingled a feeling of sympathy. Yet he wavered in his judgment, and oscillated as on a balance: one scale was weighed down by pity and justice, while in the other lay as a counterpoise the law of the Paschal sacrifices in which both the first month and the fourteenth day were clearly appointed for the rite. So, vacillating between refusal and assent, he besought God to act as judge and to give an oracle declaring his decision. And God hearkened to him and vouchsafed an answer revealing His will, touching not only those for whom the prophet interceded but those of future generations who might find themselves in the same case. And, His grace abounding further, He included in the divine edict those who for other reasons might be unable to join the whole nation in a sacred service. It is right to state what the pronouncements thus given were. "Mourning for kinsfolk," He said, "is an affliction which the family cannot avoid, but it does not count as an offence. While it is still running its appointed course, it should be banished from the
Ιερῶν ἔλαυνέσθω, οὕς ἀπὸ παντὸς ἀγνεύειν ὦν ἐκουσίου μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῦ μὴ κατὰ γνώμην μιᾶς μαζικοῦς δεῖ· γενομένου δ' ἐκπροθέσμου, μὴ στερέσθωσαν ἰσομοιρίας τῆς ἐν ταῖς ἱερουργίαις, ἵνα μὴ προσθήκη τετελευτηκότων οἱ ξώντες ὠσεν ὕπτωσαν δὲ ἄτε δεύτεροι δεύτερω μηνι, πάλιν τεσσαρεσκαίδεκάτη ἡμέρα, καὶ θυετόσαν κατὰ τὰ αὐτὰ τοῖς προτέροις καὶ τῷ θύματι χρήσθωσαν ὡς 232 ἐκείνοι νόμῳ καὶ τρόπῳ τῷ παραπλησίῳ. τὰ δ' αὐτὰ ἐπιτετράφθησι καὶ τοῖς μὴ διὰ πένθος ἀλλὰ μακρᾶς χάριν ἀποδημίας κωλυομένοις ἁμα τῷ παντὶ ἔθνει συνιερουργεῖν· οὐ γὰρ οἱ ξενιτεύοντες ἢ ἐτέρωθι οἰκοῦντες ἄδικοίν, ὡς στερεσθαι τῆς ἤσης τιμῆς, καὶ ταῦτα μὴ χωροῦσης διὰ πολυανθρωπίαν τὸ ἔθνος μιᾶς χώρας, ἀλλ' ἀποκλίας πανταχόσε διαπεμψαμένης."  

233 XLIII. Τοσαῦτα διειλεγμένοι περὶ τῶν ύστεροπάνω μὲν ἀμα τῷ πλήθει θυσαι τὰ δύο κατὰ συντυχίας ἀβουλήτους, ἐκπλήσαι δὲ οἵ καὶ ὡς ἀλλ' οὖν ἀναγκαίως τὸ ἠλλειφθὲν σπουδασάντων, ἐπὶ τελευταῖον μέτεμι διάταγμα τὸ περὶ τῆς τῶν κληρῶν διαδοχῆς. ὥσπερ ὀμοίως μικτὸν ἢκεπευ- 234 σεως καὶ ἀποκρίσεως λαβοῦν τὴν σύστασιν. ἦν τις ὄνομα Σαλπαάδ, ἀνὴρ δόκιμος καὶ φυλῆς οὐκ ἀσήμου· τούτῳ πέντε μὲν γίνονται θυγατέρες, ὦδ' [171]  

* For this idiomatic use of ἀναγκαίως see note on Quod Det. 160.  

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sacred precincts which must be kept pure from all pollution, not only that which is voluntary but also that which is unintentionally incurred. But when its term is finished let not the mourners be denied an equal share in the sacred services, and thus the living be made an appendage to the dead. Let them form a second set to come on the second month and also on the fourteenth day, and sacrifice just as the first set, and observe a similar rule and method in dealing with the victims. The same permission also must be given to those who are prevented from joining the whole nation in worship not by mourning but by absence in a distant country. For settlers abroad and inhabitants of other regions are not wrongdoers who deserve to be deprived of equal privileges, particularly if the nation has grown so populous that a single country cannot contain it and has sent out colonies in all directions."

XLIII. Having thus discussed the case of those who, through adverse circumstances, failed to make the Paschal sacrifice with the mass of the nation, but were set upon repairing the omission if late yet as best they could, I will pass on to the final ordinance, which concerns the succession to an inheritance. This, like the others, originated in a question and answer and was thus of a mixed character. There was a man called Zelophehad, highly reputed and of no mean tribe, who had five daughters and no son. After the death of their father, the daughters, suspecting that they would be deprived of the property he had left, since inheritances went in the male line, approached the ruler in all maidenly modesty, not in pursuit of wealth but from a desire to preserve the

b For §§ 234-245 see Num. xxvii. 1-11.
235 γλιχόμεναι διασώσαι τοῦ πατρὸς καὶ φασιν. "δέ μὲν πατήρ ἡμῶν ἐτελεύτησεν, ἐτελεύτησε δ' ἐν οὐδεμιᾷ στάσει γενόμενος, ἐφ' ὅσον συνέβη διαφθαρῆναι μυρίους, ἀλλ' ἐξήλωσε βίον ἀπράγμονα καὶ ίδιώτην, εἰ μὴ ἄρα ἐν ἁμαρτίᾳ θετέον τὸ γενεὰς ἄρρενος ἀμοιρήσατι. πάρεσμεν δ' ἡμεῖς ὅσα μὲν τῷ δοκεῖν ὀρφαναί, τὸ δ' ἀληθὲς σοι χρησόμεναι πατρὶ τοῦ γὰρ γεννήσαντος δ' νόμμος ἄρχων οἰκειότερος 236 ὑπηκοοῦσιν." δ' ἐνθυμόμενος τὴν φρόνησιν τῶν παρθένων καὶ τὴν πρὸς τὸν γενόμενον εἴνοιαν ἐπέσχεν υφ' ἐτέρας ἐλκόμενος φαντασίας, καθ' ἧν τὰς κληρουχίας ἄνδρες ὥφειλον διανέμεσθαι γέρας λησόμενοι στρατείας καὶ πολέμων οὐς διήθλησαν, γυναῖκι δ' ἡ φύσις ἀσυλίαν τῶν τοιούτων ἀγωνισμάτων παρέχουσα δηλονότι καὶ τῶν ἐπ' αὐτοῖς 237 τιθεμένων ἄθλων οὐ μεταδίδωσιν. ὅτεν εἰκότως τῆς διανοίας ἀμφικλινῶς ἐχούσης καὶ ἀντισπομένης, ἀναφέρει τῷ θεῷ τὴν διαπόρησιν, ὅπερ δὲ ἦδει μόνον ἀφευδέσι καὶ ἀπλανεστάτοις κριτηρίοις τὰς κατὰ μικρὸν διαφορὰς διαστέλλοντα πρὸς ἑπίδειξιν 238 ἀληθεῖας καὶ δικαιοσύνης. δ' ἐνθυμήσατο τῶν ὅλων, δ' τοῦ κόσμου πατήρ, γην καὶ οὐρανον ὑδωρ τε καὶ ἀέρα καὶ ὅσα ἐκ τοῦτων ἐκάστου συνέχων καὶ διακρατῶν, δ' θεῶν καὶ ἀνθρώπων ἠγείρων, οὐκ ἀπεξίωσε χρηματίσαι κόραις ὀρφαναῖς· χρηματίσας δὲ καὶ πλέον τι παρέσχεν ἡ κατὰ δικαστὴν ὁ εὐμενής καὶ ἤλεος, δ' πάντα διά πάντων πεπληρωκῶς τῆς εὐεργετίδος ἑαυτοῦ δυνάμεως· ἔπαινον γὰρ δι- 239 εξήλθε τῶν παρθένων. ὥ δέσποτα, πῶς ἂν σὲ τις

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a Philo is trying to interpret verse 3, E.V. "but he died in his own sin" (i.e. in the ordinary sinfulness of a man). “and
name and reputation of their father. "Our father 235 died," they said, "but not in any of the risings in which, as it fell out, multitudes perished, but followed contentedly the quiet life of an ordinary citizen, and surely it is not to be accounted as a sin that he had no male issue. 236 We are here outwardly as orphans, but in reality hoping to find a father in you; for a lawful ruler is closer akin to his subjects than he who begat them." Moses admired the good sense of the maidens and their loyalty to their parent, but suspended his judgement, being influenced by another view, which holds that men should divide inheritances among themselves, to be taken as the reward for military service and the wars of which they have borne the brunt; while nature, who grants to women exemption from such conflicts, clearly also refuses them a share in the prizes assigned thereto. Naturally, therefore, in this wavering and undecided state of mind, he referred the difficulty to God, Who alone, as he knew, can distinguish by infallible and absolutely unerring tests the finest differences and thereby shew His truth and justice. And He, the Maker of All, the Father of the World, Who holds firmly knit together heaven and earth and water and air and all that each of them produces, the Ruler of men and gods, did not disdain to give response to the petition of some orphan girls. And, with that response, He gave something more than a judge would give, so kind and gracious was He, Who has filled the universe through and through with His beneficent power; for He stated His full approval of the maidens. O Lord and Master, how can one hymn Thee? What he had no sons." The LXX is hardly intelligible "because he died on account of his sin, and had no sons."
PHILO

"ομνήσειε, ποίω στόματι, τίνι γλώττη, ποία φωνῆς ὀργανοποιία, ποίω ψυχῆς ἡγεμονικῶ; οἱ γὰρ ἀστέρες εἰς γενόμενοι χορὸς ἄσωνται τι μέλος ἐπάξιον; ὃ δ' οὐρανὸς ὄλος εἰς φωνῆν ἀναλυθεῖς δυνήσεται τι τῶν σῶν ἄρετῶν διηγήσασθαι μέρος; "ὀρθῶς" φησὶν "ἐλάλησαν αἱ θυγατέρες 240 Σαλπαίδ." τοῦθ' ἡλίκων ἐστίν ἐγκώμιοι θεοῦ μαρτυροῦντος, τίς οὐκ οἶδε; πάριτε νῦν, οἱ ἀλαζόνες, οἱ μέγα πνέοντες ἐπὶ ταῖς εὐπραγίαις, οἱ τοὺς αὐχένας πλέων τῆς φύσεως ἐπαίροντες καὶ τὰς ὀφρῖς ἀνεσπακότες, παρ' οἷς χηρεία μὲν γυναικῶν γέλως, [καὶ] οἰκτρὸν κακὸν, ἐρημία δὲ παῖδων [172] ὀρφανῶν, | οἰκτρότερον τοῦ προτέρου, χλευάζεται. 241 καὶ κατιδόντες ὁτι οὔτω ταπεινοὶ καὶ ἀτυχεῖς εἶναι δοκοῦντες οὐκ εἰν ἐξουθενημένους καὶ ἀφανείς τάττονται παρὰ τῷ θεῷ, οὗ τῆς ἄρχης τὸ ἀτιμότατον μέρος εἰσὶν αἱ πανταχοῦ τῆς οἰκουμένης βασιλείαι, διότι καὶ ὁ τῆς γῆς ἀπας ἐν κύκλῳ περίβολος ἐσχατιὰ τῶν ἔργων ἐστὶν αὐτοῦ, δέξασθε 242 νοσθεσίαν ἀναγκαίαν. ἐπαινέσασ' δ' ὀμως τῆν ἔντεξεν τῶν παρθένων οὔτε ταῦτα ἀγεράστους κατέλιπεν οὔτ' εἰς τὴν ἰσιη τιμὴν τοὺς ἀγωνιστὰς ἀνδρᾶς περιήγαγεν, ἀλλὰ τοὺς μὲν ὡς ἀθλα οἰκεία ἀπένειμε τὰς κληρονομίας ἀνθ' ὃν ἄναρχα, οὐ γέρως, ἣξιώσεν' ὁ ἐναργεστάτα παρίστησι διὰ τῶν ὄνομάτων "δόμα" λέγων καὶ "δώσεις," ἀλλ' οὔκ "ἀπόδομα" οὔδ' "ἀποδώσεις"· ταῦτα μὲν γὰρ ἰδιὰ τῶν 568
mouth, what tongue, what else of the instruments of speech, what mind, soul’s dominant part, is equal to the task? If the stars become a single choir, will their song be worthy of Thee? If all heaven be resolved into sound, will it be able to recount any part of Thy excellences? “The daughters of Zelophehad have spoken rightly,” He said. Who can fail to know how great a commendation is this testimony from God? Come now, you boasters, with your windy pride in your prosperity, and your pose of perked up necks and lifted eyebrows, who treat widowhood, that piteous calamity, as a joke, and the still more piteous desolation of orphanhood as a matter for mockery. Mark how the persons who seem thus lonely and unfortunate are not treated as nothing worth and negligible in the judgement of God, of Whose empire the least honoured parts are the kingdoms found everywhere in the civilized world; for even the whole compass of the round earth is but the outermost fringe of His works—mark this, I say, and learn its much-needed lesson. Still, though he praised the petition of the maidens and refrained from leaving them empty-handed, he did not promote them to equal honour with the men who bore the brunt of conflict. To these he assigned the inheritances as prizes suitable to their feats of valour; the women he judged worthy of charity and kindness, not of reward for services. He shows this clearly by the words He uses. He says: “Gift” and “thou shall give,” not “payment” and “thou shalt pay,” for the latter pair are used when we receive what is

a Or “restore,” “return.” Cf. De Som. i. 100.
This seems the only way of taking the passage as it stands, but it is most unsatisfactory. For (1) we should expect \( \text{τά \text{iδια,}} \) and \( \text{iδια} \) in this position strongly suggests that it agrees with \( \text{τάυτα,} \) and as often = “specially used of”:\n
(2) The substitution of the payee for the payer is extraordinarily awkward. The first difficulty might be surmounted
our own, the former when we make a free gift.

XLIV. After signifying His will as to the petition of the orphan maids, He lays down also a more general law about succession to inheritances. He names sons first for participation in their father’s property, and daughters second, if there are no sons. In the case of the daughters His phrase is that the inheritance should be “put round” them, as though it were an external ornament, not a possession by right of kinship inalienable. For what is put round does not have an intimate connexion with what it adorns, and the ideas of close fitting and union are quite foreign to it. After the daughters, He names the brothers as standing third, and the fourth place He assigns to uncles on the father’s side, thereby indirectly suggesting that fathers may become the heirs of sons. For it would be foolish to suppose that, while He assigns the inheritance of a nephew to his paternal uncle, because of that uncle’s relation to the father, He withdraws from the father himself the right of succession. But since, in the natural order of things, sons are the heirs of their fathers and not fathers of their sons, He left unmentioned this deplorable and sinister possibility, to avoid the idea of a father and mother making profit out of their inconstant sorrow at the untimely death of their children. But He does indirectly mention this by admitting the right of the uncles; and thus He attains both ends, the preservation of decency and the rule that the

by reading ἵδια τῶν ἵδια λαμβανόντων (W.H.D.R.), but the second would remain. I believe that λαμβανόντων is corrupt, though neither Cohn nor Mangey, who translates “propria recuperantium,” seem to have felt difficulty.

So ἡξ; E.V. “cause to pass.”
άλλοτριωθήναι. μετά δὲ θείους πέμπτη τάξις
εστὶν οἱ ἐγγύστα γένους, ὅν ἂεὶ τοῖς πρώτοις
dίδωσι τοὺς κλήρους.

246 XLV. Ταῦτ’ ἀναγκαῖος διεξεληλυθὼς περὶ τῶν
μικτὴν ἐχόντων κληρουχίαν 1 χρησμῶν, ἐξῆς δηλώσω
[173] τὰ κατ’ ἐνθουσιασμὸν τοῦ προφήτου θεσπισθέντα
λόγια, τούτῳ γὰρ ὑπεσχόμην δείξειν. ἀρχὴ τοῖνυν
εστὶν αὐτῷ τῆς θεοφορίας κατοκωχῆς, ητίς καὶ
tῶ ἔθνει γέγονεν εὐπραγίας ἀρχὴ στειλαμένω
τῇ ἀπ’ Αἰγύπτου πρὸς τὰς κατὰ Συρίαν πόλεις
247 ἀποικίας μυριάσι πολλαῖς. ἄνδρες γὰρ ὅμοι καὶ
γυναῖκες ἀτριβή καὶ μακρὰν ἐξέστην ἀνάφορες
σαντες ἐπὶ θάλατταν ἀφικνοῦνται τῇ ἑκατοντα
προσαγορευομένην ἐς έν Αἰγύπτου πρὸς τὰς κατὰ Συρίαν πόλεις
248 ἠγούμενοι. διακειμένους δ’ οὔτως μείζον ἐπι-
ράττει κακόν ὅ γάρ τῶν Αἰγυπτίων βασιλεῶν
dύναμιν παραλαβῶν οὐκ εὐκαταφρόνητον, ἢπόκτην
καὶ πεξὸν στρατόν, ἐπεξέθει διώκοντα καὶ σκαφών
καταλαβέων, ἵνα τίσῃ τῇ εξώδου τῆς θεοφάτων
ἀριστον ἐπέτρεψε ποιήσασθαι. ἀλλ’ ὡς έξικεν
ἀβέβαιος ὡς ἐπιπλάστιγγος μικρὰς ἐνεκα προφάσεως
249 τάναντία. μέσοι δ’ ἦλθεντες ἐχθρῶν καὶ θα-
λάττης ἀπέγνωσαν τῇ ἴδιαν σωτηρίαν, οἱ μὲν
eὐκτόν ἠγαθῶν ἠγούμενοι τῶν οὐκτιστον ὀλέθρων, οἱ
d’ ἠμεινoν εἶναι νομίζουσε ὑπὸ τῶν τῆς φύσεως
ἀπολέσθαι μερῶν ἡ γέλως ἐχθροίς γενέσθαι ῥίπτευν

1 Clearly a mistake, induced by the subject of the
preceding sections. δύναμιν from § 192 is suggested. Perhaps
τὴν οὕσιαν.

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property should not go out of the family. After the uncles comes the fifth class, the nearest relations. And in all such cases it is the first in succession to whom He gives the inheritances.

XLV. Having completed this necessary account of the oracles of mixed character, I will proceed next to describe those delivered by the prophet himself under divine inspiration, for this was included in my promise. The examples of his possession by God’s spirit begin with one which was also the beginning of the prosperity of the nation, when its many myriads set out as colonists from Egypt to the cities of Syria. Men and women alike, they had traversed a long and pathless wilderness, and arrived at the Red Sea, as it is called. They were then naturally in great difficulties, as they could not cross the sea for want of boats, and did not think it safe to retrace their steps. When they were in this state of mind, a greater misfortune burst upon them. The king of Egypt, accompanied by a very formidable body of infantry and cavalry, came in hot pursuit, eager to overtake them and so chastise them for leaving the country. He had, indeed, permitted them to do so, induced by unmistakable warnings from God. But the disposition of the wicked is, as may be well seen, unstable, suspended as it were on a balance and swayed up and down by the slightest cause in opposite directions. Thus, caught between the enemy and the sea, they despaired each of his own safety. Some thought that the most miserable death would be a welcome blessing, while others, believing it to be better to perish by the elements of nature than to become a laughing-stock to their enemies, purposed

* For §§ 247-257 see Ex. xiv.
ΦΙΛΟ

εαυτούς εἰς θάλασσαν διενοοῦντο καὶ τίνα τῶν βάρος ἐχόντων ἐπαχθισάμενοι παρὰ ταῖς ἥιόσιν ἐφήδρευν, ἵν' ὅποταν θεάσωνται τοὺς πολεμίους ἐγνὺς οὐντας, καθαλλόμενοι ράον εἰς βυθὸν ἐνεχθώσιν. ἀλλὰ γὰρ οἱ μὲν πρὸς τὸ ἀπορον τῆς ἀνάγκης διεπτόηντο δυσθανατοῦντες. XLVI. ὁ δὲ προφήτης, ὑπ' ἐκπλήξεως ὅρῳν σεσαγηνευμένον ὦσπερ βόλον ἵνα τὸ σύμπαν ἕθνος, οὐκέτ’ ὄν 250 ἐν εαυτῷ θεοφορεῖται καὶ θεσπίζει τάδε. "τὸ μὲν δέος ἀναγκαῖον, φόβος ἐγνὺς καὶ μέγας ὁ κίνδυνος· ἐξ ἐναντίας αχανές ἔστι πέλαγος, ύπόδρομος εἰς καταφυγήν οὐδείς, ἀπορία πλοίων, κατόπιν ἐφεδροι φάλαγγες ἐξθρῶν, αἱ στείχουσιν ἀπενευτὶ διώκουσαι. ποῖς τράπηται, ποῖς ἐκνεύσῃ; πάντα πανταχόθεν ἐξαπιναίως ἐπέθετο, γῆ, θάλαττα, 251 ἀνθρώπων, στοιχεῖα φύσεως. ἀλλὰ θαρρεῖτε, μὴ ἀποκάμμετε, στήτε ταῖς διανοίασι μὴ κραδανώμενοι, προσδοκάτε τὴν ἀγήττητον ἐκ θεοῦ βοήθειαν· αὐτεπάγγελτος ἦδη παρέσται, μὴ ὀρμημένη προαγωνιεῖται· πεπείρασθε αὐτής ἦδη πολλάκις ἀμυνομένης ἀφανῶς· βλέπω μέλλουσαν κοίνησθαι, βρόχους τοῖς αὐχέσι περιβάλλουσαν τῶν ἀντιπάλων· ἔλκει κατὰ τῆς θαλάττης· μολύβδου τρόπον εἰς βυθὸν χωροῦσιν. ὑμεῖς μὲν ἤτι ζώντων αἰσθάνεσθε, τεθυεότων δ' ἐγὼ φαντασιάν λαμβάνω· τήμερον δὲ καὶ ὑμεῖς νεκροὺς αὐτῶν θεάσεσθε."

[174] 253 | Καὶ ὁ μὲν ταύτ' ἀπεφθέγγετο μείζων ὄντα πάσης ἐλπίδος, οἱ δ' ἐπειρώντο ἐργοὺς τῆς περὶ τὸ λόγιον ἀληθείας. ἀπέβαινε γὰρ τὰ χρησθέντα 574
to throw themselves into the sea, and, loaded with some heavy substances, sat waiting by the shore, so that when they saw the foe near at hand they might leap down and easily sink into the depths. But, while in these helpless straits, they were at death’s door with consternation (XLVI.) the prophet, seeing the whole nation entangled in the meshes of panic, like a draught of fishes, was taken out of himself by divine possession and uttered these inspired words:

"Alarm you needs must feel. Terror is near at hand: the danger is great. In front is a vast expanse of sea; no haven for a refuge, no boats at hand: behind, the menace of the enemy’s troops, which march along in unresting pursuit. Whither can one turn or swim for safety? Everything has attacked us suddenly from every side—earth, sea, man, the elements of nature. Yet be of good courage, faint not. Stand with unshaken minds, look for the invincible help which God will send. Self-sent it will be with you anon, invisible it will fight before you. Ere now you have often experienced its unseen defence. I see it preparing for the contest and casting a noose round the necks of the enemy. It drags them down through the sea. They sink like lead into the depths. You see them still alive: I have a vision of them dead, and to-day you too shall see their corpses."

So he spake with words of promise exceeding anything they could hope for. But they began to find by the experience of facts the truth of the heavenly message. For what he prophesied came to pass

\[a\] Taken from the song, Ex. xv. 10 "they sank like lead in the mighty water" and 5, "they sank in the depth like a stone."
θείαις δυνάμεις μήθων ἀπιστοτέρας ἤγείς θαλάττης, ἀναχώρησις ἐκατέρω τμῆματος, πῆξις τῶν κατὰ τὸ ῥαγέν μέρος διὰ παντὸς τοῦ βάθους κυμά ων, ὡς ἀντὶ τειχῶν ἢ κραταιοτάτων, εὐθυτενής ἀνατομή τῆς μεγαλουργηθείσης ὁδοῦ, ἢ τῶν κρυσταλλοθέντων μεθόριως ἦν, ὀδοιπορία τοῦ ἐθνοῦς ἀκαίνδυνως πεζεύοντος διὰ θαλάττης ὡς ἐπὶ ἕηρᾶς ἀτραποῦ καὶ λιθῶδους ἔδάφους—ἐκραυρώθη γὰρ ἡ ψάμματος καὶ ἡ σπορᾶς αὐτῆς οὐσία συμφύσα ἦνωθη—, ἔχθρων ἀπενεπτῇ διωκόντων ἕφορος, ἐφόρος τῆς παλίρροιας, τοῦ διακοπέντος καὶ ἀναξηράσθενος μέρους αἰφνίδιος θαλάττωσις, πολεμίων φθορά, ούς τα τε κρυσταλλοθέντα τείχη καὶ ἀνατραπέντα κατεύνασε1 καὶ αἱ πλήμμυραι τοῦ πελάγους ὡσπερ εἰς φάραγγα τὴν ὄδον ἐπενεχθέεσθαι κατεκλυσαν, ἐπίδειξις τῆς φθορᾶς διὰ τῶν ἐπαναπλευσάντων σωμάτων, ἀ τὴν ἐπιφάνειαν τοῦ πελάγους κατεστόρες, καὶ σφοδρά κυμάτωσις, υφὶς ἦς ἀπαντεῖ οἱ νεκροὶ σωρηδόν ἀπεβράσθησαν εἰς τοὺς ἀντιπέραν αἰγιαλοὺς, ἀναγκαία θέα γενησόμενοι τοῖς διασωθεῖσι, οἰς ἐξεγένετο μὴ μόνον τοὺς κυνόντας διαφυγεῖν ἅμα καὶ ἐπιδεῖκνυ ἐκεῖ οὐκ ἀνθρωπίναις ἅμα θείαις δύναμις παντὸς λόγου μείζουν κολασθέντας. διόπερ εἰκότως εὐχαρίστως ἢμων γεραίρει τὸν ἐυεργόντας εἰς γὰρ δύο χοροὺς διανείμασ τὸ ἐθνος, τὸν μὲν ἄνδρων, τὸν δὲ γυναικών, ἐξάρχει μὲν αὐτὸς τοῖς ἄνδράσιν, ἐξαρχον

1 mss. κατένευσε(αν) or κατέκλυσε. Κατενάξω is a poetical word used in this sense by Soph. Αnt. 833.
through the might of God, though harder to credit than any fable. Let us picture the scene. The sea breaks in two, and each section retires. The parts around the break, through the whole depth of their waters, congeal to serve as walls of vast strength: a path is drawn straight, a road of miracle between the frozen walls on either side: the nation makes its passage, marching safely through the sea, as on a dry path or a stone-paved causeway; for the sand is crisped, and its scattered particles grow together into a unity: the enemy advance in unresting pursuit, hastening to their own destruction: the cloud goes behind the travellers' rear to guide them on their way, and within is the vision of the Godhead, flashing rays of fire. Then the waters which had been stayed from their course and parted for a while return to their place: the dried-up cleft between the walls suddenly becomes a sea again: the enemy meet their doom, sent to their last sleep by the fall of the frozen walls, and overwhelmed by the tides, as they rush down upon their path as into a ravine! that doom is evidenced by the corpses which are floated to the top and strew the surface of the sea: last comes a mighty rushing wave, which flings the corpses in heaps upon the opposite shore, a sight inevitably to be seen by the saved, thus permitted not only to escape their dangers, but also to behold their enemies fallen under a chastisement which no words can express, through the power of God and not of man. After this, what should Moses do but honour the Benefactor with hymns of thanksgiving? He divides the nation into two choirs, one of men, the other of women, and himself leads the men while
δὲ καὶ τῶν γυναικῶν καθίσι ησι τήν ἁδελφήν, ὥς ἄδωσιν ύμνοις εἰς τὸν πατέρα καὶ ποιητὴν ἀντι-φθόγγοις ἁρμονίας συνηχοῦντεσ, διά τε κράσεως ἡθῶν καὶ μέλους, τῶν μὲν ἐπὶ τὴν αὐτήν σπευδόντων ἁμοιβὴν, τοῦ δὲ συνισταμένου κατὰ τὴν βαρύτητος πρὸς ἡξύτητα συμφωνίαν φθόγγοι γὰρ οἱ μὲν ἀνδρῶν βαρεῖς, ἦξεις δ' οἱ γυναικῶν, εξ ὡς, ὅταν ἡ κράσις γένηται σύμμετρος, ἡδιστὸν καὶ παν-

257 ἁρμόνιον ἀποτελεῖται μέλος. τὰς δὲ τοσαύτας μυριάδας ἐπεισεν ὁμογνωμονῆσαι καὶ τὸν αὐτὸν ύμνον ἐν ταύτῳ συνάδεσ τὰ τεράστια ἐκεῖνα μεγα-

λουργήματα, περὶ ὡς ὁλίγων πρότερον διεξῄθησιν. ἐφ' οίς ὁ προφήτης γεγηθῶς, ἄρων καὶ τὴν τοῦ ἐθνὸς περιχάρειαν, οὐδ' αὐτὸς ἔτι χωρῶν τὴν ἡδονὴν, κατήρχε τῆς ὑδης· οἱ δ' ἀκοῦοντες εἰς δύο χοροὺς ἅλισθέντες τὰ λεχθέντα συνήδον.

XLVII. | Τούτ' ἐστὶ τῆς κατ' ἐνθουσιασμὸν προφητείας Μωυσέως ἀρχὴ καὶ προοίμιον. εξῆς δὲ θεσπίζει περὶ τοῦ πρώτου καὶ ἀναγκαιοτάτου, τροφῆς, ἣν γῆ μὲν οὐκ ἦγεγκε· καὶ γὰρ ἦν στείρα καὶ ἄγονος· ὥμβρησε δ' οὐρανὸς οὐχ ἄπαξ ἀλλ' ἐπὶ τεσσαρακοντ' ἡμέρας πρὸ τῆς ἐως καρπῶν αἰθέρίων ἐν δρόσῳ κέγχρῳ παραπλῆσιον.

258 ἰδὼν Μωυσῆς συγκομίζειν κελεύει καὶ ἐπι-

θειάσας φησί· "πιστεύειν δὲ τῷ θεῷ πεπειρα-

μένους αὐτοῦ τῶν εὐεργεσιῶν ἐν μείζονι ἐλπίδος πράγμασιν· ἀθησαύριστα, ἀταμιέυτα τὰ τῆς τροφῆς ἔστω· μηδεὶς ἀχρί πρωίας ύπολειπέσθω μηδὲν

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a Or "feelings." The thought is that while men and women have their different characteristics, here for the
he appoints his sister to lead the women, that the two in concert might sing hymns to the Father and Creator in tuneful response, with a blending both of temperaments and melody—temperaments eager to render to each other like for like; melody produced by the concord of treble and bass; for the voices of men are bass and the women's treble, and when they are blended in due proportion the resulting melody is of the fullest and sweetest harmony. All these myriads were persuaded by Moses to sing with hearts in accord the same song, telling of those mighty and marvellous works which I have recorded just above. And the prophet, rejoicing at this, seeing the people also overjoyed, and himself no longer able to contain his delight, led off the song, and his hearers massed in two choirs sang with him the story of these same deeds.

XLVII. It was thus that Moses began and opened his work as a prophet possessed by God's spirit. His next utterance of this sort was concerned with that primary and most necessary matter, food; and this food was not produced by the earth, which was barren and unfruitful, but heaven rained down before day-break, not once only but every day for forty years, a celestial fruit in the form of dew, like millet grain. When Moses saw it, he bade them gather it, and said under inspiration: "We must trust God as we have experienced His kindnesses in deeds greater than we could have hoped for. Do not treasure up or store the food He sends. Let none leave any moment they are entirely united. The phrase is often used by Philo as a synonym for ομόνοια and the like.

b i.e. "the above-mentioned." Others take it to mean the words which Moses said to them.

c For §§ 258-269 see Ex. xvi. 4-30.
αὐτῆς μέρος." τοῦτ᾽ ἀκούσαντες ἔνιοι τῶν πρὸς εὐσέβειαν ἀνερματιστῶν, ὑπολαβόντες ἵσως οὐ χρησιμοῦν ἀλλὰ παραϊνεῖν ἀρχοντος εἰναι τὰ λεγόμενα, λείπουσιν εἰς τὴν ὑστεραῖαν, τὸ δὲ σημόμενον τὸν κύκλων τοῦ στρατοπέδου δυσοδίας πληροῖ τὸ πρῶτον, εἶτε εἰς σκώληκας, ὲν ἡ γένεσις ἐκ φθορᾶς ἔστι, μετέβαλεν. ἀπερ ἱδὼν Μωυσῆς εἰκότως ἔπι τοὺς ἀπειθέσι πικραίνεται πῶς γὰρ οὐκ ἔμελλεν, εἰ τοσαῦτα καὶ τηλικαίτα θεασάμενοι, πρὸς μὲν τὰς πιθανὰς καὶ εὐλόγοςς φαντασίας ἀδύνατα πραχθήναι, τελειωθέντα δὲ εὐμαρῶς ἐπι- φροσύναις θείαις, οὐκ ἐνδοίαζον μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀπιστοῦσιν οἱ δυσμαθεστατοί πάντων; ἀλλ᾽ ὁ γε πατὴρ δυσὶν ἐναργεστάταις ἀποδείξει τὸ λόγιον τοῦ προφήτου διασυνέστησεν, ὡν τὴν μὲν ἔτεραν εὐθὺς ἀποδείξατο φθορά τοῦ ὑπολειφθέντος καὶ δυσωδία καὶ τῇ πρὸς σκώληκας, τὸ φαυλότατον ζώον, μεταβολῇ, τὴν δ᾽ ἔτεραν ὑστερον· ἀεὶ γὰρ τὸ πλεοναζόν τοῦ συγκομισθέντος υπὸ τῆς πληθύνος ταῖς ἡλικίαις ἀκτίσι διελύετο καὶ τηκόμενον ἐξανηλουτό.

Δεύτερον οὐκ εἰς μακρὰν ἐπιθειάσας ἀποφθέγγεται λόγιον τὸ περὶ τῆς ιερᾶς ἐβδομής. ἔχουσαν γὰρ αὐτὴν ἐν τῇ φύσει προνομίαν, οὐκ ἄφ' οὐ μόνον ἐδημιουργήθη ὁ κόσμος, ἀλλὰ καὶ πρὸ τῆς οὐρανοῦ καὶ παντὸς ἀισθητοῦ γενέσεως, ἡγνόησαν ἄνθρωποι, τάχα που διὰ τὰς ἐν ὑδασι καὶ πυρί γενομένας συνεχεῖς καὶ ἐπαλλήλους φθοράς οὐ δυνηθέντων παρὰ τῶν πρῶτον διαδέχασθαι μνήμην τῶν ἐπειτα τῆς κατὰ τὸν ἐν χρόνοις εἰρμὸν ἀκολουθίας καὶ τάξεως· ὀπερ ἀδηλούμενον ἐπιθειάσας

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椹 Cf. notes on Mos. i. 207, and De Abr. 1.
part of it over till the morrow." On hearing this, some whose piety had little ballast, thinking perhaps that the statement was no divine oracle but just the exhortation of the ruler, left it to the next day; but it first rotted and filled the whole extent of the camp with its stench, and then turned into worms which are bred from corruption. Moses, seeing this, was naturally and indeed inevitably indignant at their disobedience—to think that after witnessing wonders so many and so great, impossibilities no doubt as judged by what to outward appearance is credible and reasonable but easily accomplished by the dispensations of God’s providence, they not only doubted, but in their utter incapacity for learning actually disbelieved. But the Father confirmed the utterance of the prophet with two most convincing proofs. One proof He had given at the time, when what was left over corrupted and stank and then was changed into worms, the vilest of living creatures. The other He gave later, for the unneeded surplus over what was gathered by the multitude was dissolved by the sun’s rays, melted away and disappeared.

XLVIII. Not long after, Moses delivered a second inspired pronouncement concerning the sacred seventh day. That day has held the place of honour in nature, not merely from the time when the world was framed, but even before the heaven and all that sense perceives came into being. Yet men knew it not, perhaps because by reason of the constant and repeated destructions by water and fire the later generations did not receive from the former the memory of the order and sequence of events in the series of years. This hidden truth Moses, under
PHILO

ἀνέφηνε λογίως μαρτυρηθέντι διὰ σημείου τινὸς 264 ἐναργοῦς. τὸ δὲ σημεῖον τοιούτον ἦν· ἐλάττων μὲν ἀπ' ἀέρος ἐγίνετο ἡ φορὰ ταῖς προτέραις ἡμέραις τῆς τροφῆς, τότε δ' αὖ διπλασίων· καὶ ταῖς μὲν προτέραις εἰ τι κατελείφθη, λειβόμενον ἐτήκετο μέχρι τοῦ παντελῶς εἰς νοτίδα μεταβαλὼν ἀναλωθηναι, τότε δ' οὐδεμίαν ἐνδεχόμενον τροπήν ἐν ὅμοιῳ διέμενεν. ἐφ' οἷς ἀγγελλομένοις ἀμα καὶ ὀρωμένοις καταπλαγεῖς Μωυσῆς οὐκ ἐστοχάσατο 265 μᾶλλον ἡ θεοφορηθεὶς ἐθέσπισε τὴν ἐβδόμην. | ἐὼ λέγειν, ὅτι καὶ οἱ προφητείας ἐισόν· ὁ γὰρ νοῦς οὐκ ἂν οὕτως εὐ-σκόπως εὐθυβόλησεν, εἰ μὴ καὶ θείον ἦν πυνίμα τὸ 266 ποδηγετοῦν πρὸς αὐτὴν τὴν ἀλήθειαν. τὸ δὲ τεράστιον οὐ μόνον ἐκ τοῦ διπλασιασθῆναι τὴν τροφὴν ἐδηλοῦτο οὕτ' ἐκ τοῦ διαμεῖνα σῶν παρὰ τὸ καθεστῶς ἔθος, ἀλλὰ κἀκ τὸν ἀμφότερα ταῦτα συμβῆναι κατὰ τὴν ἐκτὴν ἡμέραν, ἀφ' ὥστε λογιζόμενος ἂν τις εὐροὶ κατὰ τὴν ἀκολουθίαν τῆς τοῦ κόσμου γενέσεως τὴν οὐράνιον δοθεῖσαν τροφήν· ἦρξατο γὰρ καὶ τὸν κόσμον ἔξαδος τῇ πρώτῃ τῇ πρώτῃ δημιουργεῖν καὶ τὴν λεχθεῖσαν ἕως τὴν τροφήν. 267 ἡ δ' εἰκὼν ὅμοιοτάτη· καθάπερ γὰρ ἐκ τοῦ μὴ οὕτος εἰς τὸ εἶναι τὸ τελείότατον ἔργον, τὸν κόσμον, ἀνέφηνε, τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον καὶ εὐθυνίαιν ἐν ἐρήμῳ μεταβαλὼν τὰ στοιχεῖα πρὸς τὸ κατεπείγον τῆς χρείας, ἐν' ἀντὶ γῆς ἦν ἀνίρ συτία τροφῆν ἀπονον 582
inspiration, revealed in an announcement to which a manifest sign gave testimony. This sign was as follows: the shower of food from the air was less on the first days, but on a later day was doubled; and on those first days anything left melted and was dissolved till, after turning completely into moisture, it disappeared; but on that later day it admitted no change and remained just as it had been. Moses, when he heard of this and also actually saw it, was awestruck and, guided by what was not so much surmise as God-sent inspiration, made announcement of the sabbath. I need hardly say that conjectures of this kind are closely akin to prophecies. For the mind could not have made so straight an aim if there was not also the divine spirit guiding it to the truth itself. Now the greatness of the wonder was shown not only by the double supply of food and its remaining sound contrary to the usual happening, but by the combination of both these occurring on the sixth day, counting from the day on which the food began to be supplied from the air; and that sixth day was to be followed by the dawning of the seventh which is the most sacred of numbers. And therefore consideration will show the inquirer that the food given from heaven followed the analogy of the birth of the world; for both the creating of the world and also the raining of the said food were begun by God on the first day out of six. The copy reproduces the original very exactly: for, as God called up His most perfect work, the world, out of not being into being, so He called up plenty in the desert, changing round the elements to meet the pressing need of the occasion, so that instead of the earth the air bore food for their nourishment, and
φέρη καὶ ἀταλαίπωρον ὦς ἀναχώρησις οὐκ ἴνευτρεπίζεσθαι κατὰ σχολὴν τάπιτήδεια.

268 μετὰ ταῦτα τρίτον ἀναφθείγεται χρησμὸν τερατωδέστατον, δηλαδὴ ὅτι τῇ ἐβδόμῃ τῆν εἰωθυίαν ὁ ἄγρος ὑπὸ παρέξει τροφήν καὶ οὐδὲν ἐπὶ γῆν ἄλλο οὐδὲ τὸ βραχύτατον ὡς ἔθος ἐνεχθήσεται. τοῦτ' ἀπέβαινεν ἐργοῖς. τῇ μὲν γὰρ πρωτεραία ταῦτα θεσπίζει, τινὲς δὲ τῶν ἀβεβαιῶν τὸ ἱθος ὠρμησαν ἐπὶ τὴν συγκομιδὴν καὶ σφαλέντες τῆς ἐλπίδος ἐπιανήσαν ἀπρακτοί, κακίζοντες μὲν ἐαυτοὺς τῆς ἀπιστίας, ἀληθομαντίν δὲ καὶ θεοφράδμον καὶ μόνον προορατικὸν τῶν ἀδήλων ἀνακαλοῦντες τὸν προφήτην.

269 Τοιαῦτα μὲν ἐστίν, ἀ περὶ τῆς οὐρανίου τροφῆς κατεχόμενος ἐθέσπισεν. ἔτερα δ' ἐξῆς ἀναγκαία, καὶ τῶν ἀβεβαιῶν ἐν παρανέσεσιν ἐνικεῖαι μᾶλλον ἡ χρησμοῖς, δῶν ἐστι καὶ τὸ ἱθος κατὰ τὴν μεγίστην τῶν πατρίων ἐκδιαίτησιν, περὶ ὅς καὶ πρόσθεν εἶπον, ἂν γὰρ τὸν ἐπιτυχείσθην ταῦτα θυσίας, Αἰγυπτιακοῦ μύθου τύφου, χοροὺς ἱστασαν καὶ βωμοὺς κατεσκεύαζον καὶ θυσίας ἀνήγον ἐκλαθοῦνες τοῦ πρὸς ἀλήθειαν θεοῦ καὶ τὴν προγονικὴν εὐγένειαν, ἢ δ' εὑσεβείας καὶ ὁσιότητος ἡυξῆθη, καθαυρώντες. ἐφ' οἷς Μωυσῆς περιπαθήσας, ἐπὶ πρώτον μὲν τὸ λαὸς πᾶς ἐξαιρήθης γεγένηται τυφλὸς ὁ ἄχρι πρὸς μικρὸν πάντων ἔθνῶν [177] ἀξιωτέρατος, ἐπειτὰ δὲ εἰ πλάσμα περὶ μυθομενον ἴσχυσε τοσαύτην αὐξηθήν ὁμόθεσι τῆς

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α For §§ 270-274 see Ex. xxxii.

b See note on § 162 above.
that without labour or travail for those who had no chance of resorting to any deliberate process of providing sustenance. After this, he uttered a third prophetic saying of truly marvellous import. He declared that on the sabbath the air would not yield the accustomed food, and that nothing would come down to earth as it had done before, not even the smallest morsel. And this proved true in the result, for it was on the day before the sabbath that he prophesied this, but on the morrow some of the weaker-minded set out to gather the food but were disappointed and returned baffled, reproaching themselves for their disbelief and hailing the prophet as a true seer, an interpreter of God, and alone gifted with foreknowledge of the hidden future.

XLIX. Such was his pronouncement under divine inspiration on the matter of the food which came from heaven, but there are examples to follow which must be noted, though perhaps they may be thought to resemble exhortations rather than oracular sayings. Among these is the command given at their great backsliding from the ways of their fathers, about which I have spoken above. This was when, after fashioning a golden bull in imitation of the vanity of Egypt, they set up choirs and built altars and brought victims for sacrifice in forgetfulness of the true God and to the ruin of the high-born qualities inherited from their forefathers and fostered by piety and holiness. At this, Moses was cut to the heart to think that in the first place the whole people had suddenly been blinded who a few hours ago had excelled every nation in clearness of vision, and secondly, that a fable falsely invented could quench the bright radiance of truth—truth on which no
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ἀληθείας, ἣν οὔθ ἠλίσθο ἔκλιπὼν οὔθ ὅ σύμπασ
χορὸς τῶν ἀστέρων ἐπισκιάσει—περιλάμπεται γάρ
ἰδίω φέγγει νοητῷ καὶ ἀσωμάτῳ, πρὸς ὁ παρα-
βαλλόμενον τὸ αἰσθητὸν νῦς ἢ πρὸς ἦμεραν εἶναι
272 νομισθεῖ—, δι’ ἣν αἰτίαν οὐκέτι μένων ὁ αὐτὸς
ἐξαλλάττεται τὸ τε εἴδος καὶ τὴν διάνοιαν καὶ
ἐπιθειάσας φησί· "τίς ἔστιν ὁ μὴ τῷ πλάνῳ συν-
ενεχθεὶς μηδὲ τὸ κύρος ἐπιφημίσας τοῖς ἀκύροις;
273 πάς ὁ τοιοῦτος ἐμοὶ προσίτω." μᾶς δὲ φυλής
προσελθούσης οὐχ ἤττον ταῖς διανοίαις ἢ τοῖς
σώμασιν, οἱ πάλαι μὲν ἔφονων κατὰ τῶν ἀθέων καὶ
ἀνοσιουργῶν, ἡγεμόνα δ’ ἐξήτουν καὶ στρατάρχην
ἀνευρέων, ὅς ἐνδίκως υφηγήσεται καιρὸν καὶ τρόπον
τῆς ἁμύνης,—οὐς ὅργωντας εὐρῶν καὶ γέμοντας
εὐτολμίας καὶ παραστήματος, ἐτὶ μᾶλλον ἡ πρότερον
θεοφορηθεῖς, "ξίφος ἐκαστὸς ὧμῶν ἀναλαβὼν"
φησίν "ἀπτέτω διὰ παντὸς τοῦ στρατοπέδου καὶ
κτεινέτω μὴ μόνον ἀλλοτρίους ἀλλὰ καὶ φίλων καὶ
συγγενῶν τοὺς οἰκειοτάτους ἐπιστροφᾶν, εὐ-
αγέστατον κρίνον τὸ ἔργον ὑπὲρ ἀληθείας καὶ θεοῦ
tιμῆς, ὃν ὑπερμαχεῖ καὶ προαγωνιζέσθαι κούφο-
274 τατοὺς πόνος." οἱ δ’ αὐτοβοεῖ τρισχίλιοις κτε-
ναντες τοὺς ἀρχηγεῖτας μάλιστα τῆς ἁσθείας
γενομένους οὐκ ἀπελογήσαντο μόνον περὶ τοῦ μὴ
συνεφάσασθαι τοῦ τολμήματος, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐν ἀρι-
στέων τοῖς γεναιοτάτοις ἐνεγράφησαν καὶ γέρως
ηξιώθησαν οἰκειοτάτου ταῖς πράξεσιν, ἱερωσύνης.
ἐδει γὰρ θεραπευτὰς δοιτήτος γενέσθαι τοὺς ὑπὲρ
αὐτῆς ἀνδραγαθισμένους καὶ προπολεμήσαντας.
eclipse of the sun or of all the starry choir can cast a shadow, since it is illumined by its own light, the intelligible, the incorporeal, compared with which the light of the senses would seem to be as night compared with day. He therefore became another man, changed both in outward appearance and mind; and, filled with the spirit, he cried: "Who is there who has no part with this delusion nor has given to no-lords the name of lordship? Let all such come to me." One tribe came at the call, bringing with them their minds no less than their bodies, men who for some time had been breathing slaughter against the godless workers of unholiness, but sought to find a leader and captain who would have the right to tell them when and how to make this attack. When Moses found them hot with rage and brimful of courage and resolution, he was more than ever possessed by the spirit and said: "Let each of you take his sword and rush through the whole camp, and slay not only those who are strangers to you but also the very nearest of your friends and kinsfolk. Mow them down, holding that to be a truly righteous deed which is done for truth and God’s honour, a cause which to champion and defend is the lightest of labours." So they slaughtered three thousand of the principal leaders in godlessness, without meeting any resistance, and thereby not only made good their defence against the charge of having been party to the shameless crime, but were accounted as the noblest of heroes and awarded the prize most suitable to their action, that is the priesthood. For it was meet that the duty of ministering to holiness should be given to those who had battled and acquitted themselves bravely in its defence.
"Εχω δὲ τι μηνύσαι σημειωδέστερον λόγιον, περὶ οὗ καὶ πάλαι διεξήλθον, ὅτε τὰ τῆς ἄρχωσιν ἐπὶ εἰς τοῦ προφήτου, ὅπερ αὐτὸς πάλιν κατασχεθεὶς ἀνεφθέγξατο, τελεωθεῖν οὐ μακρὸς χρόνοις ὑποτεραν, ἀλλ᾿ εὖθὺς ὡτ᾿ ἐχρησμωδεῖτο. τῶν περὶ τὸν νεὼν λειτουργῶν δύο τάξεις εἰσίν, ἡ μὲν κρείσσων ἱερέων, ἡ δ᾿ ἐλάττων νεωκόρων· ἔσον ὃς ἐκεῖνον τὸν χρόνον τρεῖς Μὲν ἵερεῖς, νεωκόρων ἐπὶ τοῦ ὀικεῖου πλῆθος περιουσία τῆς τῶν ἱερέων κατεφρόνου ὅλιγοτήτος καὶ δύο ἐν ταὐτῷ παρανομήματα συνύφαινον, ὃν τὸ μὲν Ἰνα καθαίρεσις τῶν ὑπερεχόντων, τὸ δ᾿ αὐξησία τῶν ἐλαττῶν, οἷα ἄγεμοσιν ὑπηκόων ἐπιτιθεμένων ἐπὶ συγχύσει τοῦ κρατίστου καὶ δημωφελεστάτου, τῆς τάξεως. εἰς ἐπισυνιστάμενοι καὶ ἀθροιζόμενοι κατεβόων τοῦ προφήτου, ὡς δ᾿ οἰκειότητα τῷ τῇ άδελφῳ καὶ τοίς ἀδελφοῖς χαρισαμένου τῇ ἱερωσύνῃ καὶ ἐπιφευσαμένου τὰ περὶ τήν αἱρέσιν αὐτῶν, ὡς ἐπιφροσύνῃ θεία, καθάπερ διεξήειμεν, μὴ γενόμενα. ἐφ᾿ οίς ἀνιαθέοις καὶ περιαλγήσας, καίτοι πραότατος ὃν καὶ ἡμερώτατος, οὕτως πρὸς δικαίαν ὅργῃ ὑπὸ μισοπονῆρου πάθους ἱκονήθῃ, ὡς ἐκεῖσαι τὸν θεὸν ἀποστραφῆναι τῇ τούς αὐτῶν, οὐκ ἔπειθέσω διεξῆκαν ὃ δικαιότατος κριτὴς ἱερουργίας ἀσεβῶν παραδέχεσθαι, ἀλλ᾿ ὅτι καὶ ἡ ψυχὴ τοῦ θεοφιλοῦς τὸ κατ᾿ αὐτὴν μέρος οὗ ὑποσωτά, σπεύδουσα μὴ εὐδεῖν ἀνοσίους, ἀλλ᾿ ἀεὶ τῆς Βιβλίου.

* For §§ 275-287 see Num. xvi.
* i.e. Aaron, Eleazar, and Ithamar. The death, or according to Philo the translation, of Nadab and Abihu is dated before this.

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There is another still more remarkable utterance of this kind which I may mention. It is one which I described some way back when I was speaking of the prophet in his capacity of high priest. This again came from his own mouth when again under possession, and it was fulfilled not long afterwards but at the very time when the prediction was given. The ministers of the temple are of two ranks, the higher consisting of priests, the lower of temple attendants; and at that time there were three priests but many thousand attendants. These last, puffed with pride at their own numerical superiority over the priests, despised their fewness, and combined in the same deed two trespasses, by attempting on the one hand to bring low the superior, on the other to exalt the inferior. This is what happens when subjects attack their rulers to confound that most excellent promoter of the common weal, order. Then, conspiring with each other, and collecting in great numbers, they raised an outcry against the prophet, declaring that he had bestowed the priesthood on his brother and nephews because of their relation to him, and had given a false account of their election, which had not really been made under divine direction, as we stated it above to be. Moses, greatly hurt and grieved at this, though the mildest and meekest of men, was so spurred to righteous anger by his passionate hatred of evil that he besought God to turn His face from their sacrifice; not that the All-righteous Judge would ever accept the ministries of the impious, but because the soul of one whom God loves must also do its part and not keep silence, so eagerly does it desire that the unholy may not prosper but ever fail to
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280 προθέσεως διαμαρτάνειν. έτι δέ ζέων καὶ πεπυρω-
μένου ὑπὸ τῆς νομίμου διαγανακτήσεως ἐνθονυσιὰ
μεταβαλὼν εἰς προφήτην καὶ θεσπίζει τάδε: “χαλε-
pόν ἀπιστία πράγμα τοῖς ἀπίστοις μόνοις· τούτοις
οὐ λόγος ἀλλ’ ἔργα παιδεύει· παθόντες εἰσονται τὸ
281 ἐμὸν ἄφευδες, ἔπει μαθόντες οὐκ ἔγνωσαν. ἐπι-
κριθήσεται δὲ τούτο τῇ τοῦ βίου τελευτῇ· εἰ μὲν
γὰρ θάνατον ἐνδέξονται τῶν κατὰ φύσιν, πέπλασμαι
τὰ λόγια, εἰ δὲ κανὼν τινα καὶ παρηλλαγμένον, τὸ
φιλάληθες μοι μαρτυρηθήσεται. χάσματα γῆς ὅρῳ
dηνουγμένης ἐπὶ μήκιστον εὑρωμένα, πολυανθρώ-
pους ἀπολλυμένας συγγενεῖας, αὐτάνδρους ὑπο-
συρόμενας καὶ καταπινομένας οἰκίας, ξόντας ἄν-
282 θρώτους εἰς ὅδον κατερχομένους.” ἔπει δ’ ἡσυ-
χασε, ἤγγινται μὲν ἢ γῆ σεισμῷ τωμαχθείσα,
ῆγγινται δὲ καθ’ δ’ μάλιστα μέρος αἰ σκηναὶ τῶν
ἀσεβῶν ἤσαν, ὡς ὑπενεχθεῖσας ἄθροας ἐπικρυ-
φθηναι· τὰ γὰρ διαστάντα μέρη πάλιν συνῆλθε, τῆς
283 καθαρότητος ἀποτελεσθείσης, ἢς ἑνεκα διεξεύχθη. μικρὸν
δ’ ὠστερον τοὺς τῆς στάσεως ἡγεμόνας πεντήκοντα
πρὸς τοὺς διακοσίους ἀνδρας κατασκόποις ἄνθρωποι,
κατακεφαλήσαντες αἰθετικὸν ἂθρόου εξανάλωσαν ἅμα μέρος
ὑπολειπόμενοι τῶν σωμάτων, δ’ αὐθετῆ ἐπιμοιρά-
284 σεται· τὸ δὲ τῶν τιμωρών ἑπάλληλον καὶ τὸ
ἐκατέρας μέγεθος διάστημα καὶ περιβόητον ἀπέφηνε
τὴν εὐσέβειαν τοῦ προφήτου χρησιμοῖο θεῷ
285 μάρτυρι τῆς περὶ τοὺς χρησμοὺς ἀληθείας. ἀξίων
δὲ κάκεινο μὴ παριδεῖν, ὅτι τὰς κατὰ τῶν ἀσεβῶν
κολάσεις διεκλήρωσαν γῆ καὶ οὐρανὸς, αἱ τού
παντὸς ἀρχαί· τὴν γὰρ μοχθηρίαν ἔρρίξωσαν μὲν

1 Mangey with some MSS. reads χαλεπῶν ἀπιστία πράγμα·
toūs ἀπίστους μόνους τούτους κτλ.
attain their purpose. While his heart was still hot within him, burning with lawful indignation, inspiration came upon him, and, transformed into a prophet, he pronounced these words: “Disbelief falls hardly on the disbelievers only. Such are schooled by facts alone, and not by words. Experience will show them what teaching has failed to show that I do not lie. This matter will be judged by the manner of their latter end. If the death they meet is in the ordinary course of nature, my oracles are a false invention; but, if it be of a new and different kind, my truthfulness will be attested. I see the earth opened and vast chasms yawning wide. I see great bands of kinsfolk perishing, houses dragged down and swallowed up with their inmates, and living men descending into Hades.” As he ceased speaking, the earth burst open under the shock of a convulsion, and the bursting was just in that part where the tents of the impious stood, so that they were borne below in a mass and hidden from sight; for the gaping sides closed again when the object was accomplished for which they had been split asunder. And, shortly after, thunderbolts fell suddenly on two hundred and fifty men who had led the sedition and destroyed them in a mass, leaving no part of their bodies to receive the tribute of burial. The quick succession of these punishments and their magnitude in both cases clearly and widely established the fame of the prophet’s godliness, to the truth of whose pronouncements God Himself had testified. This too we should not fail to note, that the work of chastising the impious was shared by earth and heaven, the fundamental parts of the universe. For they had set the roots of their wickedness on earth, but let it
έπε γῆς, ἐξετευναν δ᾽ εἰς αἰθέρα, τοσοῦτον ύψος,
286 αὐτὴν διάραντες. οὖθεν καὶ τῶν στοιχείων ἐκάτερον ἐχορῆγησε τὰς τιμωρίας, ἥ μὲν ἦν ὑποσύρρη καὶ καταπίθ τοὺς τότε βαρύνοντας αὐτὴν βαγείσα καὶ διαστάσα, δ᾽ ὡς καταφλέξῃ καὶ διαφθείρῃ πυρὸς
287 πολλοῦ φοράν, καυνότατον ἕτον, ὀμβρίσας. τὸ δὲ τέλος καὶ τοῖς καταποθεῖσι καὶ τοῖς ὑπὸ τῶν κεραυνῶν | διεφθαρμενὸς ταῦτὸν ἀπέβαινεν· οὐδέτεροι γὰρ ἐφάνησαν, οἱ μὲν ἐπικρυφθέντες γῆ τῇ τῶν χάσματος συνόδων πρὸς τὸ ἵσοπεδον ἐνωθείση, οἱ δ᾽ ὅλοι δι᾽ ὅλων ἀναλωθέντες ὑπὸ τοῦ κεραυνοῦ πυρὸς.

288 ΛΙ. Χρόνοις δ᾽ ὡστερον, ἔπειδὴ τῇν ἐνθένδε ἀποκίαν ἐμελλεν εἰς οὐρανὸν στέλλεσθαι καὶ τὸν θνητὸν ἀπολίπων βίον ἀπαθανατίζεσθαι μετακληθεῖσι ὑπὸ τοῦ πατρός, ὃς αὐτὸν δυνάδα ὄντα, σώμα καὶ ψυχὴν, εἰς μονάδος ἄνεστοιχείου φύσιν ὄλον δι᾽ ὅλων μεθαρμοζόμενος εἰς νῷν ἄποικον, τότε δὴ κατασχεθεὶς ὑπὸ τὰ μέλλοντα γενέσθαι καὶ αὐθίς ἀποβησόμενα·

289 τοῖς ἄμυθήτοις διαφοραῖς καὶ τῷ κλήρου διανομήν λογίων καὶ χρησμῶν αρμόζουσαν εὐρέσθαι. θαυμάσια μέν οὖν ταῦτα· θαυμασίωτα δὲ καὶ τὸ τέλος τῶν ἱερῶν γραμμάτων, ὁ καθάπερ ἐν τῷ ζῷῳ κεφαλὴ τῆς ὅλης νομοθεσίας

α For §§ 288-291 see Deut. xxxiii. and xxxiv.
grow so high that it mounted right up to ether above. Therefore each of the two elements supplied its punish-ment: earth burst and parted asunder to drag down and swallow up those who had then become a burden to it; heaven poured down the strangest of rainstorms, a great stream of fire to blast them in its flames. Whether they were swallowed up or destroyed by the thunderbolts, the result was the same: neither party was ever seen again, the former hidden in the earth by the closing of the chasm which united to form level ground again, the latter consumed absolutely and entirely by the flame of the thunderbolt.

LI. a Afterwards the time came when he had to make his pilgrimage from earth to heaven, and leave this mortal life for immortality, summoned thither by the Father Who resolved his twofold nature of soul and body into a single unity, transforming his whole being into mind, pure as the sunlight. Then, indeed, we find him possessed by the spirit, no longer uttering general truths to the whole nation but prophesying to each tribe in particular the things which were to be and hereafter must come to pass. Some of these have already taken place, others are still looked for, since confidence in the future is assured by fulfilment in the past. It was very fitting that persons so different in the history of their birth, particularly in their descent on the mother’s side and in the manifold varieties of their thoughts and aims and the endless diversities of their practices and habits of life, should receive as a sort of legacy a suitable apportionment of oracles and inspired sayings. This was indeed wonderful: but most wonderful of all is the conclusion of the Holy Scriptures, which stands to the whole law-book as the head to the living
εστίν, ήδη γάρ αναλαμβανόμενος καὶ ἐπ’ αὐτῆς βαλβίδος ἑστὼς, ἵνα τὸν εἰς οὐρανὸν δρόμον διπτά-μενος εὐθύνη, καταπνευσθεὶς καὶ ἐπιθειάσας ζῆν ἐτι τὰ ὡς ἐπὶ θανόντι έαυτῷ προφητεύει δεξιῶς, ὡς ἐτελεύτησε μῆπω τελευτήσας, ὡς ἐτάφη μηδενὸς παρόντος, δηλονότι χερσὶν οὐ θνηταῖς ἀλλ’ άθανάτους δυνάμεσιν, ὡς οὐδ’ ἐν τάφῳ τῶν προπάτωρων ἐκηδεύθη τυχῶν ἡμῖν ἐξαιρέτου μνήματος, ὡς οὐδεὶς εἶδεν ἁνθρώπων, ὡς σύμπαν τὸ ἐθνὸς αὐτὸν ὅλον ἁμα δακρυρροοῦν ἐπένθησεν ἵδιον καὶ κοινὸν πένθος ἐπιδειξάμενον ἑνεκα τῆς ἀλέκτου καὶ πρὸς ἕνα ἐκαστὸν καὶ πρὸς ἀπανταὶ εὐνοίας καὶ κηδεμονίας.

Τοιοῦτος μὲν ὁ βίος, τοιαύτη δὲ καὶ ἡ τελευτὴ τοῦ βασιλέως καὶ νομοθέτου καὶ ἀρχιερέως καὶ προφήτου Μωυσέως διὰ τῶν ἱερῶν γραμμάτων μνημονεύεται.

1 A rather strange use: Mangey dieξιῶν.
creature; for when he was already being exalted and stood at the very barrier, ready at the signal to direct his upward flight to heaven, the divine spirit fell upon him and he prophesied with discernment while still alive the story of his own death; told ere the end how the end came; told how he was buried with none present, surely by no mortal hands but by immortal powers; how also he was not laid to rest in the tomb of his forefathers but was given a monument of special dignity which no man has ever seen; how all the nation wept and mourned for him a whole month and made open display, private and public, of their sorrow, in memory of his vast benevolence and watchful care for each one of them and for all.

Such, as recorded in the Holy Scriptures, was the life and such the end of Moses, king, lawgiver, high priest, prophet.
§ 5. Laws endowed with life and reason. Here we have the common idea that the king is a "living law" (given in that form in Mos. ii. 4, where see note) extended to the good and wise in general, cf. De Virt. 194 νόμοι δέ τινες ἀγραφοί καὶ οἱ βλοὶ τῶν ζηλωσάντων τὴν ἄρετήν.

§ 12. Enos . . . is fourth. That the number is obtained by the omission of Cain rather than Abel is suggested by Quaest. in Gen. i. 81 "quare neque terrigena patris succ.<sup>es</sup>orem eum (i.e. Cain) indicat neque caput posteriorum generationum."

§ 17. Transferred him. In this passage Philo, to support his idea of Enoch as signifying repentance, takes μετετέθη as referring to a moral change in this life. The common view (cf. Hebrews xi. 5 "translated that he should not see death") is adopted in Quaest. in Gen. i. 86, and perhaps also in De Mut. 38.

§ 51. Relative instead of absolute. Philo, as often, shews his familiarity with grammatical terms. The distinction between relative nouns (πρός τι, Lat. ad aliquid) and absolute (usually ἀπολελυμένα, whence Lat. absoluta) is regularly given by Greek and Latin grammarians. θέος is usually an "absolute," but the addition "of Abraham," etc., makes it a "relative," as "father" or "king" always is. Cf. De Mut. 27 and note.

§ 99. Natural philosophers. The Stoic view of the higher study of nature is well illustrated by S.V.F. ii. 42 (from Chrysippus) τῶν δὲ φυσικῶν ἐσχατος εἶναι ὁ περὶ τῶν θεῶν λόγος, and ibid. 44 the study of φυσική comes later than λογική and ἥθικη—θειοτέρα γάρ ἑστι καὶ βαθύτερα δεῖται τῆς ἐπιστάσεως.

§§ 100-102. The thought of these sections is not quite clear and the translation might perhaps be improved. Philo seems to be criticizing an allegorization, which is not his own, on the ground that it reverses the spiritual connexion.
between the mind and virtue, though as a matter of fact he adopts the same interpretation of Abraham's relation to Sarah in De Cher. and elsewhere. The criticism begins with ἐναντίωτατοι δὲ (§ 100), where δὲ = "but" rather than "now," and ends with σωτήριον (§ 102), so that ἀπαντὲς μὲν οὖν might be translated "however that may be, all men . . ." In § 101 ἢ μὴποτε, "or perhaps," is not very clear, nor is the "perhaps however" of the translation. One would like to read και μὴποτε or μὴποτε δὲ.

§ 118. Gave the appearance of both eating and drinking. So Josephus, Ant. i. 197 οἱ δὲ δόξαν αὐτὸν πάρεσχον ἐσθιόντων, and so later Rabbinical writers (references in Cohn's translation of this book, p. 121). This is a point sometimes supposed to shew Josephus's dependence on Philo. But the doubt whether angels would really eat and drink would naturally be felt and noted in any discussion of the story. The same may be said of § 170, where the statement that Abraham told no one in his household of the divine command to sacrifice, is compared by commentators to a similar statement in Joseph. Ant. i. 225.

§ 182. The practice of "Suttee" seems to have been well-known from the time of Alexander. Strabo xv. 30 and 62 quotes Onesicritus and Aristóbulus, both companions of Alexander, as having reported the existence of the custom in different tribes. Diodorus Siculus xix. 33 gives a long account of the competition between the two wives of the Indian prince Keteus, who was killed in the wars of Antigonus 316 B.C., for the honour of dying on their husband's pyre, and of the joy with which the one chosen went to her death.

§ 244. The supremely perfect number. The term Panteleia seems to have been rather a divine name for ten in Pythagorean use than a mere epithet. Stobaeus, Ecl. i. 1. 10 (p. 22 H.) says that Pythagoras gave the name of Apollo to one, Artemis to two, Aphrodite to six, Athena to seven, Poseidon to eight, and Panteleia to ten. The word is once applied by Philo to seven, but to ten in the other five cases, in which he uses it of a number.

§ 257. This passage is quoted by Wyttenbach in his note on Plutarch, Consolatio ad Apollonium 102 D. Plutarch there advocates μετριοπάθεια in bereavements in similar terms and proceeds to quote Crantor the Academician Περὶ πένθους to the same effect. The same passage from Crantor is quoted 598.
APPENDICES

by Cic. *Tusc. Disp.* iii. 12, and his book may very possibly have been in Philo's mind.

§ 261. Here once more we have the Stoic paradox of the sage as king (see *S. V. F.* iii. 617). See note on *De Mut.* 152 (where the saying is founded on the same text as here) for other references in Philo.
APPENDIX TO DE IOSEPHO

§ 3. στρατηγίας. It should perhaps be noted that the papyri (see L. & S. 1935) shew that στρατηγός was in common use as the title of a civil as well as military governor of a nome in Ptolemaic and Roman Egypt. But this hardly justifies its use as an antithesis to στρατηγός in the military sense.

§ 20. Less grievous to suffer wrong than to do it. This thought, which is, of course, one of the leading ideas of the Republic, is expressed in almost the same words as here Gorgias 469 c ἐλοίμην ἄν μάλλον ἄδικεῖσθαι ἢ ἄδικεῖν, ibid. 508 β ἀληθῆ ἄρα ἢν τὸ εἶναι τὸ ἄδικεῖν τοῦ ἄδικεύσατι, διψεῖν αἰσχίνων, τοσούτω κάκιον, and so again 509 c.

§ 28. Addition to nature. This idea of the superfluousness of the laws of the different states, which follows naturally on the Stoic doctrine of the law of nature, is expressed in the view attributed to Zeno by Plutarch, ὃς μὴ κατὰ πόλεις μηδὲ κατὰ δήμους οἰκῶμεν, ἵδιος ἐκατόν διωρισμένοι δικαῖοι, ἀλλὰ πάντας ἀνθρώπους ἡγώμεθα δημότα καὶ πολίτας (S. V. F. i. 262). Compare also Chrysippus’s exposure of the ridiculous varieties in laws and customs, ibid. iii. 322.

§ 38. Statesmanship the household management of the general public. Compare the opening of Plato’s Politicus, particularly 259 c ἐπιστήμη μία περὶ πάντων’ ἐστίν ταῦτα· ταύτην δὲ εἶτε βασιλικὴν εἶτε πολιτικὴν εἶτε οἰκονομικὴν τις ὀνομάζοι μηδὲν αὐτῷ διαφέρωμεθα. The idea is combated by Aristotle at the beginning of the Politics, but admitted by him of monarchy iii. 10.2 ὡσπερ γὰρ ἡ οἰκονομικὴ βασιλεία τις ὀικίας ἐστίν, οὕτως ἡ βασιλεία πόλεως . . . οἰκονομία.

§ 48. Seneca in his Phaedra has some fairly close parallels to these sections, put into the mouth of Hippolytus. Thus
in 145 ff., supposing the crime remains undetected, "Quid ille qui mundum gerit?" Then 159 ff.:

sed ut secundus numinum abscondat favor
coitus nefandos utque contingat stupro
negata magnis sceleribus semper fides,
quid poena praesens, conscius mentis pavor
animusque culpa plenus et semet timens?

Considering the likeness of the themes, Philo may very possibly have had in mind some similar passage in the earlier and lost Hippolytus of Euripides, or the lost play of Sophocles on the same subject, on which Seneca's play is based. It may be observed that the phrase ὀρθοὶς ὀμμασιν in 47 occurs in Sophocles, Oed. Tyr. 1385 in the same sort of context:

τοιανδ' ἐγὼ κηλίδα μηνύσας ἐμὴν
ὀρθοὶς ἐμέλλον δῆμασιν τούτους ὀράν;

See on this subject Dr. Martin Braun, Griechischer Roman und hellenische Geschichtsschreibung.

§ 62. Cooks and physicians. Another reminiscence of the Gorgias, where medicine is shewn as standing in the same relation to cookery as justice and legislation bear to the "flattery" of rhetoric, 464 d ff., also 500 b and 501 a.

§§ 125-147. Arnim in his Quellenstudien zu Philo von Alexandria discusses these sections in a chapter headed "Philo und Aenesidem." In the first part of this chapter he deals with the reproduction of the "Tropes of Aenesidemus" in De Ebr. 171-205, and also with the close connexion of the philosophy of that sceptic with that of Heracleitus. His best, though not his only point, is the resemblance of the treatise of Plutarch De Ἐ apud Delphos, chap. xviii., a chapter in which Heracleitus is twice cited, and which is supposed to be Heracleitean throughout, to §§ 127-129 of De Iosepho. In both the same point is made that each successive stage of life from childhood to old age brings the death of the previous stage, and the same inference is drawn that we need not fear the final death.

However this may be, it should be noted that in the De Iosepho we do not find the same type of scepticism as in De Ebr., if indeed it can be called scepticism at all. Human life is a "dream," it is "full of confusion, disorder, and uncertainty," and men, as a whole, are incapable of knowledge,
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but the dream is interpreted by the true statesman. The same interpreter can give adequate guidance on moral questions, and though this is not perhaps opposed to the principles of the sceptics, who admitted probability as supplying a rule of conduct, it is very different from the view expressed in De Ebr. 197, that only the foolish will assert positively that any particular thing is just or prudent or honourable.

§ 168. βαθεὶ ἰθεὶ. The exact meaning of this phrase is obscure. Cohn translates in tiefer Bewegung, Mangey profunda solertia. But neither of these fits in well with any sense of ἰθος known to me. The combination occurs again in Quod Omn. Prob. 144, where to illustrate the advisability of answering threats mildly the story is told of the slave-musician Antigenidas that when one of his rivals in a rage threatened to buy him, he replied, βαθεὶ ἰθεὶ, “then I shall be able to teach you to play the flute.” There perhaps the phrase = “very wittily,” a sense which ἰθεὶ or ἐν ἰθεὶ certainly sometimes bears; or it may mean “very mildly,” cf. τοῖς ἐν ἰθεὶ καὶ μετὰ παιδίας λεγομένους, Plutarch, De Poet. Aud. 20 e, and ἐν ἰθεὶ καὶ μετ’ εὐνοίας προσφέρεσθαι τοῖς ἀμαρτάνονσι, ibid. De Adul. 73 e. But this last does not suit our passage, for though Joseph’s words are milder than in his first speech, they are described as angry threats in § 170. For the rendering suggested in the footnote, it may be argued that ἰθος in dramatic criticism often denotes the mood or air which the speaker or writer assumes. The fullest treatment known to me of the numerous shades of meaning which the word has is to be found in Rutherford’s Chapter in the History of Annotation, see index, s.v. ἰθος.

§ 219. προβλήτους. The absence of any legal reference is not fatal to the suggestion made in the footnote, as if the owner’s title was not disputed, there would be no need in law for differentiation according to the method in which it had been acquired.

I would suggest also for consideration προκλήτους, i.e. “who had been offered for examination by torture.” No example of the word is cited, but it would be naturally formed from πρόκλησις, the regular term for an offer or challenge of the kind. It would not, however, so well account for the variants προσβλήτους and προσηλύτους.
§ 11. Conscious of the increased misery, etc. This idea, which does not seem very applicable to a three-months-old infant, is mentioned as a common, though mistaken, feeling about the death of older children in Tusc. Disp. i. 93 "idem, si puer parvus occidit, aequo animo ferendum putant; si vero in cunis ne querendum quidem... ‘Nondum gustavit,’ inquiunt, ‘vitae suavitatem; hic autem iam sperabat magna, quibus frui coeperat.’"

§ 22. Like the horse to the meadow. The proverb appears with ἵππευς instead of ἵππος in Plato, Theaetetus 183 δ ἵππεας εἰς πεδίον προκαλεῖ Σωκράτη εἰς λόγον προκαλούμενον, and so in Lucian, Pseudosophistes 8. On the other hand ἵππος as here in Lucian, Piscator 9.

§ 23. Assyrian letters. Whatever Philo understood by this, he may have got the idea from Herodotus iv. 87, where Herodotus records the erection by Darius on the Bosporus of two stelae, one inscribed with Ἀσσύρια γράμματα, the other with Ἑλληνικά.

§ 263. Balaam's ass (see footnote). Philo's omission of any mention of the ass speaking may no doubt be due to the feeling that the story might seem ridiculous to the Gentile readers, whom he certainly has in view. But he quite possibly may have felt that it was one of the many passages which could only be accepted in a spiritual sense, like the mythical (μυθώδες) account of the creation of Eve from the rib of Adam. In the one place where he mentions this part of the story, De Cher. 32-35, he gives the interpretation that the ass stands for the "unreasoning rule of life," i.e. ordinary life pursuits, which the fool unjustly blames when things go wrong.

§ 304. πληγή (in Num. xxv. 8, 9). Not only is Philo's mistake in taking this as "slaughter" very natural, but are we sure that the LXX did not intend it? The word does
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not seem to be used in the LXX, in the historical books at least, of a pestilence as excluding other forms of divine visitation, except perhaps in 1 Chron. xxi. 22, and on the other hand is constantly used of a slaughter, e.g. 1 Sam. iv. 10. Psalm cxi. (cv.) 30 speaking of the incident takes it as a plague, but uses the θραύσις of Num. xvi. 48, 49. Whether Paul understood it as a plague or a slaughter is not clear (1 Cor. x. 8).
APPENDIX TO DE VITA MOSIS II.

§ 4. The king is a living law. This application of the term νόμος ἐμψυχος to the ruler (rather than as in De Abr. 4 to an exemplary person) is often met with. Cf. especially Musonius, δει αὐτὸν ὡσπερ ἐδόκει τοῖς παλαιοῖς νόμον ἐμψυχον εἶναι (Stobaeus, Flor. xlvii. 67, Meineke’s edition, vol. ii. p. 274). Other examples are Archytas, νόμων δὲ ὁ μὲν ἐμψυχος, βασιλεύς, ὁ δὲ ἄψυχος, γράμμα (ibid. xliii. 132, Mein. ibid. p. 136), and Diotogenes, ὁ δὲ βασιλεύς ἦτοι νόμος ἐμψυχος ἢ νόμως ἄρχων (ibid. xlvii. 61, Mein. ibid. p. 260). I owe these examples to an article by Professor Goodenough in Yale Classical Studies, vol. i. pp. 56-101, on "The Political Philosophy of Hellenistic Kingship." For the other part of the dictum, that the law is a just king, cf. Quod Det. 141 and note, where Plato, Symposium 196 c οἱ πόλεως βασιλῆς νόμοι, is quoted.

§ 26-44. Philo’s story of the origin of the Septuagint is probably founded on and in the main agrees with the long and elaborate account in the so-called letter of Aristeas. This document is admittedly pseudonymous and not written as it claims to be by a contemporary Greek at the court of Ptolemy Philadelphus. Its probable date is a matter of dispute, opinions ranging from 200 to 80 B.C. The chief difference is that Aristeas represents the seventy-two translators as comparing their work as they write it and producing an agreed though not an inspired version. The feasting also is more elaborate than Philo suggests, and occupies seven days, during which some question bearing on morals, particularly on the duties of kingship, is propounded to each of the translators in turn, and each of the answers is recorded. The account of the annual festival at Pharos could not of course appear in Aristeas.

Aristeas like Philo, as also Josephus, who gives a free paraphrase of a large part of the letter (Ant. xii. 2. 1),
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confines the translation to the Pentateuch. Modern criticism tends to accept the view that the version was made in the time of Philadelphus and may well have had his approval, but doubts the official co-operation of the king with the high priest and the employment of Palestinian Jews.

(See Swete, Introduction to the Old Testament in Greek, or Thackeray's translation of the letter with appendices.)

§ 38. κύρια κύριοι ὀνόμασι. Thackeray in his version of these sections in an appendix to his translation of the letter of Aristeas, p. 92, renders "the appropriate technical words in the translation corresponded with the technical words in the original." I do not think that κύριον ὄνομα, here at any rate, means a technical term. Α κύριον ὄνομα is a word used in its literal and exact sense (without μετάφρασις or παράφρασις), and all that the phrase suggests is that each word is an exact rendering of the corresponding word in the original. The duplication serves to bring out more strongly the mutuality of the correspondence like μόνη ... μόνον in § 36. See note on De Mut. 12.

§ 47. τὸ γενεαλογικὸν. In the grammatical schools the ἔξηγησις ἱστοριῶν, i.e. the elucidation of allusions in literature, was classified according as they dealt with places (τοπικαί), dates (χρονικαί), events (πραγματικαί), and persons (γενεαλογικαί); see Usener, Kleine Schriften ii. p. 286. So in Polybius ix. 1 the γενεαλογικὸς τρόπος of historiography is opposed to ὁ περὶ τὰς ἀνθρώπινας καὶ κτισματικὰς καὶ συνεργεῖας, i.e. the ethnological, and ὁ περὶ τὰς πράξεις τῶν ἐθνῶν καὶ πόλεων καὶ δυναστῶν, called afterwards ὁ πραγματικός, which Polybius himself adopts. No doubt the Pentateuch contains much of the "pragmatical," but Philo's preoccupation with character would lead him to regard it as "genealogical." (This use of the word is ignored in L. & S.)

§ 65. While I have followed Cohn's text in indicating a lacuna at this point, which is also the termination of the second book in those editions which divide the De Vita Mosis into three, the correctness of this should not, I think, be regarded as certain. The decision really depends on the interpretation put on § 46 ὑπὲρ οὗ (i.e. the legislative part of the Pentateuch) δεύτερον λέξομεν τὸ πρῶτον τῇ τάξει (i.e. the historical part) πρῶτον ἀκριβῶςαντες. If these words, as has generally been thought and at first sight seems natural, refer to the plan of this treatise we should conclude that the following sections give the "full treatment" of the historical
APPENDICES

part and that some similar discussion on the legislative part has been lost. [It does not, however, seem to me that this need have been of any great length, or much more than a general praise of the laws to the same effect as what we find in § 52.] But I am inclined to agree with the suggestion of Professor Goodenough that the reference is to the scheme of the whole Exposition. On this view the full treatment of the historical part is being carried out in the four treatises, and the discussion of the legislation relegated to books De Specialibus Legibus, and the sections 47-65 are merely a justification of Moses' plan of setting the historical before the legislative.

This will not, of course, seem convincing to those who regard the De Vita Mosis as a separate work entirely independent of the scheme of the Exposition (see General Introduction pp. xv f.). Also it may be argued that if there is no lacuna, or only a very small one, the length of the treatment of Moses as lawgiver is disproportionately short compared with what is given to him as high priest and prophet. Also it must be remembered that in the copies made by the scribes whose mss. we possess, the book did end at § 65, and that a loss at the end of a book is more likely to occur than a lacuna in the middle.

§ 79. The sum of successive numbers, etc. Fifty-five is what in ancient arithmetic is called a "triangular" number being the sum of $1 + 2 + 3 \ldots 10$, and therefore $\frac{10 \cdot 11}{2}$

\[ (1 + 2 \ldots n. = \frac{n \cdot (n+1)}{2}). \]

This name is given to these numbers because the units can be arranged in the form of an equilateral triangle. Thus e.g. 10 units can be arranged so as to form an equilateral triangle with each side consisting of 4 units. This side, sometimes called the gnomon, is regarded as the base of the whole triangle, and thought to possess any allegorical virtues which belong to it. Cf. § 84, where four is said to be the essence of ten. Twenty-eight is also a triangular number, being the sum of $1 + 2 \ldots 7$, but any virtues which it possesses as such appear to be superseded by its being also the sum of its factors.
The number of the Beast (666 = 1 + 2 ... 36) and the Fishes in John xxi. (153 = 1 + 2 ... 17) are also triangular, and attempts have been made to interpret them from this point of view.

§ 114. (The inscription on the πέταλον.) The footnote requires supplementing and perhaps correcting. Thackeray in his note to Joseph. Bell. Iud. v. 235 states positively that the inscription has been shewn to be the “tetragrammaton” rather than “Holiness to the Lord.” He refers to a note in the Journal of Theological Studies, vol. xxvi. p. 72 by Mr. J. E. Hogg. I do not think this note does more than argue (with what success I cannot tell) that the Hebrew in Ex. xxviii. 36 (lxx 32) and in Ex. xxxix. 30 (lxx, xxxvi. 38)—though the prima facie meaning is “Holy to Jahve”—may mean “the sacred name Jahve,” and also that the lxx in Ex. xxviii. does not assert more than that the thing engraved was a “holy thing belonging to the Lord.” This last is true, but in the other passage, Ex. xxxix. (lxx, xxxvi.), the translators make it perfectly clear that the inscription was ἁγιασμα κυριω.

As for Philo, in De Mig. 103, where he quotes Ex. xxviii. in the form πέταλον χρυσον καθαρον, ἔχον ἐκτύπωμα σφαραγίδος, ἁγιασμα κυριω, it is quite possible that he takes ἁγιασμα in apposition to πέταλον or ἐκτύπωμα, and does not mention any inscription at all. The words then mean “a plate of pure gold, having the engraving (embossment?) of a signet, a sacred thing to the Lord”; not “as of a signet,” for he goes on to explain that the signet represents the ἵδεα ἰδεών, a phrase which, I think, refers to the Logos rather than to the Self-existent. If so, in Mos. ii. 114 and 132 he is following quite another tradition. What authorities are there for this besides himself and Josephus? Prof. Burkitt in a supplementary note in J.T.S. xxvi. p. 180 remarks that the same is stated by Bar Hebraeus, “who must ultimately have derived it from Origen,” and by Origen, who may “possibly” have derived it from Philo. Considering Origen’s well-known acquaintance with Philo, “possibly” seems a weak word. Mangey also quotes Jerome to the same effect, but Jerome also makes frequent use of Philo. Is it a Rabbinic tradition? The German translators, generally well versed in such parallels, quote nothing from this source.

The question then suggests itself, “Did Josephus also merely follow Philo?” If so, though it is not given among 608
Cohn’s examples of coincidence between the two, it is the strongest evidence I have yet seen of Josephus’s use of his predecessor.

A further question, to which I can give no answer, is what does Philo mean by saying that the “theologian,” presumably Moses, declares that the name of the Self-existent has four letters. I do not think he anywhere shews any knowledge of the YHVH, or that it is represented by κύριος in the LXX.

§ 117-135. (Symbolism of the High Priest’s vesture.) A much shorter account in De Spec. Leg. i. 85-95 agrees very closely with this in substance. The chief differences are that the bells there signify the harmony, not between merely earth and water, but between all the parts of the universe, and that “Clear-shewing” and “Truth” are given a somewhat different interpretation. There “Clear-shewing” is entirely confined to the “natures in heaven” (corresponding more or less to the “rational principle in nature” of this treatise), and “Truth” only concerns men as a qualification for the “heaven” which the breastplate in both passages represents, while in this treatise both are common to both forms of λόγος. In De Mig. 102 f. the only parts noticed are the gold-plate on the head, and the flowers and the bells at the feet (the pomegranates being left unnoticed). The treatment of these two (the flowers and bells) is altogether different. The two together represent the αἰσθητά, as opposed to the νοητά (the head-gear), the flowers being the things seen, and the bells the things heard, and, while in De Vita Mosis the harmony produced by the latter is that between earth and water, in De Mig. we have the profounder idea that it is the essential harmony between the world of sense and the world of thought.

In Josephus’s short notice (Ant. ii. 184), besides other differences, the pomegranates signify the lightning, and the bells the thunder.

§ 210. Ever virgin, etc. In De Op. 100 Philo has ascribed these epithets to philosophers other than Pythagorean; in Leg. All. i. 15 to the Pythagoreans themselves. The second view is supported by the statement of Stobaeus, Ecl. i. 1. 10, that Pythagoras, likening the numbers to the Gods, called Seven Athena.
SUPPLEMENTARY LIST OF CASES WHERE THE TEXT PRINTED IS NOT Vouched FOR BY ANY MANUSCRIPT

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¹ A doubtful correction. The senses in which ὑπόθεσις is used are very wide. Cf. Mos. i. 69.
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