PHILO

IX

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The six treatises or parts of treatises comprised in this volume are of a very different nature from the eight preceding volumes. In those the all-engrossing subject has been the interpretation of the Pentateuch, illustrated to a small extent from the rest of the Old Testament and largely, throughout the first five which we have called the Commentary, from Greek philosophy. In this volume only one part, the fragment of the Hypothetica preserved by Eusebius, takes any serious account of the Pentateuch, and it treats it with a method and in a spirit which has nothing in common with the philosophical allegorizing of the Commentary and bears only a superficial resemblance to the full and orderly classification and the abundance of striking thoughts which distinguish the Exposition. Of the other five treatises three are purely philosophical and differ entirely from the other two. One of these is to some extent autobiographical and deals with contemporary history. It is closely related to the longer Legatio which is reserved for the final volume, but stands quite apart from the remaining one, the De Vit. Cont., which describes the life of a particular community, whether we take this, as is generally assumed, to be a typical example of a widespread movement, or, as I should prefer, an isolated and perhaps ephemeral institution.
which happened to be well known to Philo and secured his friendship and admiration. Even the three philosophical treatises are very heterogeneous. The first deals with that kernel of Stoic ethics, the self-sufficiency of the virtuous man, the second with the mystery of the universe, the third with its divine government. The volume as a whole is an ample proof of the versatility of Philo's mind, but yet to me at least it is far less interesting than the other eight. I expect that this is true also of the great majority of those who throughout the centuries have made a careful study of Philo, and that what I have suggested with regard to the Quod Omn. Prob., that it owes its preservation not so much to its intrinsic merits as to the interest and respect created by Philo's main work, is true more or less of the other five treatises.

In view of this it is odd to find that there has been more translation into English of the contents of this volume than of all the rest of Philo. In the first five volumes of Cohn-Wendland the German translation by different hands has appeared at intervals, but there has been no rendering into English except of isolated passages between Yonge and this translation. For this volume the German version is no doubt either in preparation or has been completed and possibly published, but I have heard nothing of it. In English on the other hand we have Conybeare's version of the De Vit. Cont., which supplements his great and important commentary, Gifford's versions of the Hypothetica, and of the De Prov. as well as of 16 sections of the Quod Omn. Prob. contained in the transla-

*a We have, however, Bernays' earlier version of the De Aeternitate.
tion which forms part of his monumental edition of the *Praeparatio*, and Box's translation of the *Flaccus* in his recent edition of that treatise. While I have been careful not to look at any of the translations before making my own I have found comparison with them very useful, leading sometimes to correction or at least reconsideration, though I have abstained from borrowing their phraseology even when I prefer it to my own. But I must say something more about Mr. Box's work. I cannot of course judge the comparative merits of the two translations, but his historical introduction and commentary on historical points is on a scale which I could not attempt to rival, and my much shorter notes even when they embody different conclusions from his are largely founded on them. What a pity that the same pains and research have never been used to produce so complete a commentary on the real, the theological and philosophical side of Philo's work!

It was clearly right to include either in this or the next volume the extracts made by Eusebius from the otherwise unknown *Hypothetica*. The extracts are so substantial that it is much to be regretted that they were omitted in the Editio Maior of Cohn-Wendland, and their inclusion in the Editio Minor makes only partial amends, as that has no Apparatus Criticus. The other great set of extracts from the *De Prov.* are in a different position, as the whole treatise survives in the Armenian, and it was a doubtful question whether it should not be relegated to a separate volume containing that and also the other treatise only known in the Armenian, the *De Animalibus*. But at any rate by the course which we have adopted the reader will have ultimately in
his hands all that substantially survives of Philo in the original Greek.

The text of the first three treatises was edited by Cohn himself. Here his work both in the text itself and in the subsequent discussion of points in *Hermes*, 1916, ended, and the rest of his volume six, *i.e.* the *Flaccus* and *Legatio*, was edited by Reiter. I have as in previous volumes taken their text for my base, but, largely because I felt that I was moving in a less familiar region, I have adhered to it more closely and confined my suggested corrections almost entirely to the footnotes instead of substituting them in the text, even in cases such as that of p. 52 where I feel fairly confident of the correction proposed. In the two Eusebian items I have taken for my base what seemed to be the most authoritative, *i.e.* the text of the Editio Minor for the *Hypothetica* and the latest edition (Gifford’s) for the *De Prov.*, but compared them with other editions and noted the alternatives. These alternatives I have occasionally adopted, and as the notes both at the foot and in the Appendix will show, there are other cases where further reflection makes me think that the alternatives are superior. But at any rate so long as the alternatives are clearly indicated it matters little whether they appear in the notes or in the body of the text.

F. H. C.

*Cambridge*

*March* 1941
LIST OF PHILO'S WORKS

SHOWING THEIR DIVISION INTO VOLUMES
IN THIS EDITION

VOLUME

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

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

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

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

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

VI. On Abraham (De Abrahamo)
   On Joseph (De Iosepho)
   Moses (De Vita Mosis)
LIST OF PHILO'S WORKS

VOLUME

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

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

IX. Every Good Man is Free (Quod Omnibus 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.
EVERY GOOD MAN IS FREE
(QUOD OMNIS PROBUS LIBER SIT)
INTRODUCTION TO QUOD OMNIS PROBUS
LIBER SIT

This treatise is usually believed to be a youthful essay of Philo's and we may well suppose that it belongs to a period of his life when he still had the dialectic of the philosophical schools fresh in mind and before he had settled down to his life's work of interpreting the Pentateuch. Its genuineness has been impugned but on no good grounds. It has the testimony of Eusebius, who names it in his list of Philo's works, and also makes a long extract from it, and it is also used on a considerable scale by St. Ambrose though he does not name the author. But apart from these the close resemblance in style and language, remarkably close, considering the difference of subject to the main body of treatises, leaves little doubt as to the authorship.

The tract is an argument to show the truth of the Stoic "paradox" that the wise man alone is free. The paradoxes are one of the best known features of the Stoic system. The doctrine that all the gifts and qualities generally held desirable belong in the true sense to the virtuous or wise man is a natural deduction from the primary maxim that the morally excellent, τὸ καλὸν, is the only good. Though they sometimes assume a fantastic form, as when the Stoics claimed, or were supposed to claim, that only the wise

\[ Eccl. Hist. ii. 18. \]
man could be a general or a pilot or a poet or a cobbler, the more obvious ones that he alone is free or rich or noble or beautiful, are really almost truisms which have been echoed by preachers and moralists in every age. But they put the doctrine in arresting forms which impressed the serious and also gave occasion for banter to those who observed that the life of the philosophers was not always consistent with their principles. Allusions to them and short explanations of their meaning abound in Stoic writings. The list compiled by Arnim (S.V.F.) contains some 120 items. But the peculiarity of this treatise is that it argues out the matter with a fullness and lengthiness unparalleled elsewhere, though since the writings of the founders of Stoicism have not survived we cannot say how they may have treated it. At any rate the treatise, whatever its intrinsic merits, has this interest that we have in it a specimen of Stoic dialectic preserved to us almost by accident because it was part of the works of an author whose treatment of the Pentateuch appealed so strongly to the Christian mind.

The length and fullness become still more remark-

\[ a \] Cf. Hor. Sat. i. 3. 128.
\[ b \] "The wise man only is free, because he alone uses his own will and controls himself; alone beautiful, because only virtue is beautiful and attractive; alone rich and happy, because goods of the soul are the most valuable, and true riches consist in being independent of wants." Zeller, Stoics (Eng. trans.), p. 253.
\[ c \] The most substantial discussions of this particular paradox known to me are Cicero’s Paradoxa, ch. v., and Epictetus’s Diss. iv. 1. Epictetus’s meditation is much the longer of the two, but is too discursive to summarize. It lays more stress than Philo does on obedience to the will of God as the true freedom.
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able when we find that we have here only the second part of a disquisition, for Philo tells us in his opening sentence that it was preceded by "that every fool or bad man is a slave," which is also mentioned by Eusebius in the catalogue named above. Since mankind are divided into free and slaves and also, according to orthodox Stoicism, into wise and fools, then if the wise alone is free it must follow that a fool is a slave, and one cannot but think that the two should be taken together as they are by Cicero. However, it is a fact that the slavery of the bad though frequently just mentioned is never discussed at length in our treatise except in §§ 51 ff., where the argument that the wise enjoy the right of free discussion (ἰσηγορία), which is the mark of the free, is followed by the converse so completely worked out that it can hardly have been given in the earlier half. The slavery of lovesickness is also described at some length in § 38, but it is introduced there so incidentally that one would not be surprised to find it earlier. The main topic presumably was the slavery to the passions which is noted in § 45 and more fully in §§ 156 and 158 f. and is a subject capable of development to any extent. Slightly different to this is the slavery of the multitude to opinion, cf. § 21, and he may well have noticed also what Cicero gives as an example, the devotion to artistic objects. The description of a statesman who never cringes to the mob in De Ios. 67 suggests that something about the statesman who is in servitude to the people would be appropriate, and this again appears in Cicero. The thought that slavery in the sense of subjection to the wise is the best hope for the wicked, a moral which he draws from the story of Esau (§ 57) and from Noah's curse of Canaan in De
EVERY GOOD MAN IS FREE

Sob. 69, may well have played a part. One thing we may be sure of is that examples were drawn from secular history such as the slavish fear of Dionysius or the impious infatuation of Xerxes to correspond to the examples of philosophical heroism in which this tract abounds.

The great preponderance of secular illustration may be fairly regarded as another sign that this and the twin treatise belong to the youth of Philo. There are altogether only five allusions to or quotations from the Pentateuch. In this the treatise stands in marked contrast to the De Nob, which as I have pointed out elsewhere is really a dissertation on the twin paradox that the wise man is noble but is illustrated entirely from the Pentateuch.

It is a consequence of this predominantly secular character that to judge from Cohn's footnotes little use of the treatise was made by Christian writers with two marked exceptions. The first is the account of the Essenes in §§ 75-91, which is quoted in full by Eusebius, Praep. Ev. viii. 12. Eusebius has special reasons for making this extract. The other is the 37th letter of Ambrose, a large part of which is a kind of paraphrase of the Quod Omnis Probus. I have mentioned in my notes three passages from this which have some bearing on the text or its interpretation, but there are many others cited by Cohn.

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a Both these examples from Genesis are quoted by Ambrose xxxvii. 67, with the same moral.
b Cf. De Som. ii. 117 ff.
c One that is not noticed by Cohn is to be found in xxxvii. 33, where the "heavy hands" of Moses in Ex. xvii. 12 are cited as showing that the heart and deeds of the wise man should be steadfast and immovable. Cf. § 29.

In general it is interesting to observe how Ambrose
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The following is an analysis of the treatise.

After stating the subject of this and the preceding treatise Philo points out that such high doctrines are beyond the comprehension of the uneducated multitude (1-3) to whom they seem wild illusion (4-5). He gives a highly coloured picture of the way in which the ignorant react to the paradoxes that the wise and the foolish are respectively (a) citizens and exiles (6-7), (b) rich and poor (8-9) and says that they raise the same objection to the paradox of freedom and slavery which is here discussed (10). Such persons should like sick people put themselves under the guidance of the physician, that is the philosopher, and if they do so they will feel that they have wasted their past, whence we see the need of philosophical education for the young (11-15).

Coming to the main question, after pointing out that he is not dealing with freedom or slavery of the body (16-18) and declaring that the true freedom, like true sovereignty (though this does not concern us at present), lies in following God (19-20), he passes at once to the main point that the wise man is free from the domination of the passions (21-22). What the poet rightly says of the contempt of death is true of the contempt of other ills, and the wise man will assert manages to give a Christian and Biblical touch to the secular matter which he draws from Philo. Thus while noting the quotation from Sophocles, in § 19, he adds that David and Job said the same thing before Sophocles. The thought in §§ 38 ff. that masters, like the purchasers of lions, become slaves of their slaves is supported by Ambrose from Prov. xvii. 2 (lxx): “a wise servant rules a foolish master,” and after giving the story of Calanus and his letter (§§ 93 ff.) almost verbatim, he points out that Calanus’s heroism is surpassed by Laurence and the Three Children and the Maccabean martyrs.

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his freedom by facing these bravely (22-25). This is supported by citing the resolution shown by pan-cratists (26-27); also the wise man is unmoved and thus has the leadership of the common herd (28-31). At this point he seems to digress in order to show that some common conceptions of slavery are inconsistent. Such are (a) the fact of service, but soldiers serve without being slaves and the same is true of the impoverished free man, whilst slaves often have control of others (32-35), (b) the fact of having to obey, but children obey their parents yet are reckoned free (36), (c) of being purchased, but free men are ransomed and purchased slaves often rule their masters just as purchased lions intimidate their owners (37-40). The argument is resumed by showing that the wise man is (a) happy (41), (b) like Moses a friend of God and therefore free (42-44), also as law-abiding cities are considered free, so he also obeys the law of reason (45-47). Next comes an intricate argument on the ἴσηγορία or right of discussion on an equal footing enjoyed by the wise (48-50) and not enjoyed by the fool (51-52), and this is supported by a saying of Zeno (53-56) which Philo supposes him to have derived from Moses's account of Isaac condemning Esau to be the slave of Jacob (57). A final argument is: "the wise man is free because he does right voluntarily, cannot be compelled to do wrong and treats things indifferent with indifference" (58-61).

Here till towards the end of the treatise the argument proper is dropped and we have several stories of persons who exemplify the picture of the wise man given above. These are introduced by a discussion whether such persons are to be found. Some doubt

\[a\] See note on § 32.
it (62), yet they do exist and have existed though they are scarce and also hard to find because they seek retirement from the wickedness of the world (62-63). We ought to seek them out instead of ransacking land and sea for jewels and the like (64-66) and we should remember the text, "the word is very near thee in thy mouth and thy heart and thy hand." The thoughts, words and deeds here symbolized will if properly cultivated produce good fruit (67-70), but we neglect this and consequently the rarity of the virtuous (71-72). Still they exist both in Greece itself and outside Greece, among the Persians and Indians (73-74), while in Palestine we have the Essenes (75). The long account of the Essenes which follows describes the innocence of their occupations (76-78), rejection of slave labour (79), devout study of the law, particularly on the Sabbath (80-82), threefold devotion to God, virtue and man (83-84), the last particularly shown by sharing house and property and providing for the sick and aged (84-87). Their excellence is attested by the respect shown them even by tyrants and oppressors (88-91). Passing on to individuals, we have the story of the Indian Calanus and his firm resistance to Alexander (92-97), and returning to the Greeks some examples from poetry and history, the picture of Heracles in Euripides (98-104) and, leaving demigods out as not fair specimens, Zeno the Eleate and Anaxarchus (105-109). Further, the dauntlessness shown by those who are not philosophers assures us that the true philosopher is still more dauntless. Among these are the athletes (110-113) and even boys and women (114-117), and whole people like the Xanthians (118-120). In these we see a fortitude which ends in their death, but there is
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also a fortitude in continuing to live, and so we here have a number of anecdotes of Diogenes, somewhat irrelevantly, since Diogenes was a philosopher (120-124). This leads to other stories of bold answering by Chaereas and Theodorus (125-130); after this digression we return to the fortitude which defies death, the example being fighting cocks who fight on till they are killed (131-135). Then there is another digression. That freedom in the ordinary sense is noble and slavery disgraceful is universally recognized (136-137) and examples of this feeling are given—the desire for political freedom shown by senates and generals (138-139), the abhorrence of slavery shown by exclusions of slaves from festivals and from the Argo (140-143). The remainder of the treatise is connected though loosely with the main theme. The wise man will scorn and have a ready answer for all attempts which threaten his independence (144-146) for, since actual slaves when in asylum often exhibit great boldness, the wise man will find a stronger asylum in his virtue (148-153) and will discard all crooked and crafty ways (154-155). It is absurd to suppose that manumission gives true liberty (156-157). The concluding sections (158-161) repeat the main doctrine that freedom lies in eliminating the passions and emphasize the need of education of the young to attain this end.
ΠΕΡΙ ΤΟΥ ΠΑΝΤΑ ΣΠΟΥΔΑΙΟΝ ΕΛΕΥΘΕΡΟΝ ΕΙΝΑΙ

[445] 1. Ὅ μὲν πρώτερος λόγος ἦν ἡμῖν, ὁ Θεόδοτε, περὶ τοῦ δούλου εἶναι πάντα φαῦλον, ὡς καὶ διὰ πολλῶν καὶ εἰκότων καὶ ἄληθῶν ἐπιστωσάμεθα· οὕτωσι δὲ ἐκείνου συγγενῆς, ὀμοπάτριος καὶ ὀμομήτριος ἀδελφὸς καὶ τρόπον τινὰ δίδυμος, καθ" ὅν 2 ἐπιδείξομεν, ὦτι πᾶς ὁ ἀστεῖος ἐλεύθερος. τὸν μὲν οὖν τῶν Πυθαγορείων ἱερώτατον θίασον λόγος ἔχει μετὰ πολλῶν καὶ ἄλλων καλῶν καὶ τοῦτ' ἀναδίδασκεν, "ταῖς λεωφόροις μὴ βαδίζεων ὅδοῖς," οὐχ ἵνα κρημνοβατώμεν—οὐ γὰρ ποσι κάματον ἐνεργεῖν—, ἀλλ' ἀνυπτόμενος διὰ συμβόλου τὸ μήτε λόγοι μῆτ' ἔργοις δημῶδει καὶ πεπατημένοις 3 χρήσθαι. ὁσοὶ δὲ ψυχοειδεῖς γνησίως Ἰστάσαντο, καταπείδεισ γενόμενοι τῷ προστάγματι νόμον αὐτὸ μᾶλλον δὲ θεσμὸν ἱσούμενον χρησμῷ ὑπετόπησαν, δόξας δὲ ἀγελαίους ὑπερκύψαντες ἀτραπὸν ἄλλην ἐκαινοτόμησαν ἀβατον1 ἰδιώταις λόγων

1 mss. ἄλλην.

a See Introd. p. 4.
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I. Our former treatise, Theodotus, had for its theme 1 "every bad man is a slave" and established it by many reasonable and indisputable arguments. The present treatise is closely akin to that, its full brother, indeed, we may say its twin, and in it we shall show that every man of worth is free. Now we are told 2 that the saintly company of the Pythagoreans teaches among other excellent doctrines this also, "walk not on the highways." This does not mean that we should climb steep hills—the school was not prescribing foot-weariness—but it indicates by this figure that in our words and deeds we should not follow popular and beaten tracks. All genuine votaries of 3 philosophy have obeyed the injunction, divining in it a law, or rather super-law, equivalent to an oracle. Rising above the opinions of the common herd they have opened up a new pathway, in which the outside world can never tread, for studying and discerning

\[b\] On this and the Stoic "paradoxes" in general see Introd. pp. 2 ff.
\[c\] See Diog. Laert. viii. 17, where this occurs in a list of allegorical watchwords or precepts (σύμβολα) put forth by Pythagoras, others being "Don't stir a fire with a knife," "Don't eat your heart," and "Don't keep birds with crooked claws." Diogenes Laertius explains a few of them. On the exact form of the one quoted here see App. p. 509.
\[d\] See App. p. 509.
καὶ δογμάτων, ἰδέας ἀνατείλαντες ὡς οὐδεὶς μὴ
4 καθαρῷ θέμις φαύειν. λέγω δὲ μὴ
[446] καθαροὺς, ὥσπερ ἡ παιδείας εἰς ἀπαν ἄγευστοι | διε
ετέλεσαν ἡ πλαγίως ἀλλὰ μὴ ἐπ’ εὐθείας αὐτὴν
ἐδέξαντο κάλλος τὸ σοφίας εἰς τὸ σοφιστεῖας
5 ἀίσχος μεταχαράξαντες. οὕτω τὸ νοητὸν φῶς
ἰδεῖν οὐ δυνάμενοι δι’ ἀσθένειαν τοῦ κατὰ ψυχὴν
ὁμματὸς, δ’ ταῖς μαρμαρυγαῖς πέφυκεν ἐπικατάξε-
σθαι, καθάπερ ἐν νυκτί διάγοντες ἀπιστοῦσιν τοῖς
ἐν ἧμερα ζώσι καὶ ὅσ’ ἀλλ’ ἀν αὐγαίς ἄκρατοι τῶν
ηλιακῶν ἀκτίνων τ’ εἰλικρινέστατα περιαθρησαν
dιηγώνται τεράστια νομίζουσι φάσμασιν ἐοικότα,
tῶν ἐν τοῖς θαύμασι ὡς δυνατάν περιαθρησαν ὡς

6 πῶς γὰρ οὐκ ἐκτόπια καὶ θαύματ’ ὄντως, φυγάδας
μὲν καλεῖν τοὺς μὴ μόνον ἐν μέσῃ τῇ πόλει διατρί-
βοντας, ἀλλὰ καὶ βουλεύοντας καὶ δικάζοντας καὶ
ἐκκινησάξοντας, ἔστι δ’ ὅτε καὶ ἀγορανομίας καὶ
gυμνασιαρχίας καὶ τὰς ἄλλας λειτουργίας ὑπο-

1 The text here is uncertain. All mss. except M have
κρατούντων or ἐπικρατοῦντων after ἀκτίνων. But ἀκτίς
is always feminine. Cohn follows M in the main, but does not
give any satisfactory account of the presence of κρατοῦντων
in the others.

α ἰδέα here in the Platonic sense equivalent to νοητὸν φῶς
below.

b This section is clearly a reminiscence of the opening of
Plato, Rep. vii. 514 ff. where mankind are compared to
prisoners chained in a cave with their backs to a fire and
unable to see more than the shadows cast by the passers-by,
who even if released will be so dazzled by the daylight that
they will still believe that the shadows are the reality.

c So Plato 515 c διὰ τὰς μαρμαρυγαῖς ἀδύνατον καθορὰν
ἐξείνα ὃν ὅτε τὰς σκιὰς ἐώρα.

*d Philo is perhaps thinking of ibid. 514 b ἀσπερ τοῖς
EVERY GOOD MAN IS FREE, 3–6

truths, and have brought to light the ideal forms\(^a\) which none of the unclean may touch. By unclean I mean all those who without ever tasting 4 education at all, or else having received it in a crooked and distorted form, have changed the stamp of wisdom’s beauty into the ugliness of sophistry. These,\(^b\) unable to discern the conceptual light through 5 the weakness of the soul’s eye, which cannot but be beclouded by the flashing rays,\(^c\) as dwellers in perpetual night disbelieve those who live in the daylight, and think that all their tales of what they have seen around them, shown clearly by the unalloyed radiance of the sunbeams, are wild phantom-like inventions no better than the illusions of the puppet show.\(^d\)

“Surely it is an absurdity,” they think,\(^e\)

\(^a\) While the sense requires beyond all question that the next four sections represent the views of the unphilosophical common man and in particular explain the word \(\thetaαυματοποιοίς\) as applied just above to the paradoxes of the philosophers, it seems strange to find no word to indicate this. And anyone who reads the translations of Yonge or Mangey, where no such word is inserted, naturally starts off by taking these sections to be Philo’s opinion, until he realizes that they will make hopeless nonsense. It is possible that \(φασί\) or some such word has fallen out, but not necessary. A somewhat similar air of approbation in stating opinions which are finally condemned may be found in \(\text{Spec. Leg. i. 335-338.}\)
PHILO

7 μένοντας, πολίτας δὲ τοὺς ἥ μὴ ἐγγραφέντας τὸ παράπαν ἡ δὲν ἀτιμία καὶ φυγὴ κατέγνωσται, πέραν ἄρων ἀνθρώπους ἐληλαμένους, οὐ μόνον οὐκ ἐπιβήναι τῆς χώρας ἀλλ' οὐδ' ἐξ ἀπόστου τὸ πατριῶν ἔδαφος θεάσασθαι δυναμένους, εἰ μὴ τις Ποίναῖς ἐλαύνοντο θανατῶντες; ἐφεδροι γὰρ καταστειχόντων κολασταί μυρίοι, καὶ δι' ἑαυτῶν ἡκονημένοι καὶ νόμων προστάξεσιν ὑπηρετοῦντες.

8 Π. πώς δὲ ὁ παράλογα καὶ γέμοντα πολλῆς ἀναισχυντίας ἡ μανίας ἡ οὐκ ἔχω τί λέγω—διὰ γὰρ ὑπερβολὴν οὐδ' οἰκείων ὀνομάτων εὐπορήσαι βάδιον—πλουσίους μὲν ὀνομάζειν τοὺς ἀπορωτάτους καὶ τῶν ἀναγκαίων ἐνδεῖς, λυπρῶς καὶ ἄθλιως ἀποξώντας, μόλις τὸ ἐφήμερον ἐκπορίζοντας, ἐν εὐθυμίᾳ κομή λιμὸν ἐξαίρετον ἔχοντας, ἀρετῆς αὖρα, καθάπερ α' ἐξ αὐτῶν τέττιγας, τρεφομένους,

9 πένητας δὲ τοὺς ἀργύρω καὶ χρυσῶ καὶ πλήθει κτημάτων καὶ προσόδων καὶ ἄλλων ἀμφότερων ἀγαθῶν ἀφθονία περιρρεομένους, ὦν ὁ πλοῦτος οὐ συγγενεῖς καὶ φίλους αὐτῷ μόνον ἄνησεν, ἄλλα καὶ τῆς οἰκίας ἐξω προελθῶν μεγάλους ὀμίλους δημοτῶν καὶ φυλετῶν, διαβᾶς δ' ἔτι μείζον καὶ πόλει χορηγεῖ τὰ πάντα, ὄν εἰρήνη χρείος ἡ πόλεμος;

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a The paradox of good man citizen v. bad man exile does not seem to be quoted so often as some of the others, and the only examples cited by Arnim are from Philo himself, e.g. Leg. All. iii. 1. But cf. Cicero, Acad. Pri. ii. 136 Sapientem . . . solum civem . . . insipientes omnes peregrinos, exsules.

b Lit. “I know not.” This use of the 1st person sing, in a statement of other people’s opinions seems strange, but is paralleled in De Aet. 119, and Flacc. 50.
EVERY GOOD MAN IS FREE, 7–10

other public services: to call those citizens\(^a\) who have 7 either never been placed on the burgess rolls or have been condemned to disfranchisement or banishment, men chased beyond the frontiers, unable not only to set foot in the country but even to get a distant view of their ancestral soil, unless hounded thither by some kind of avenging furies they come courting death. For when they return there are numberless ministers of punishment waiting for them, spurred to vengeance by their personal feelings and also ready to do service to the commands of the law.” II. “Surely 8 your other statements too,” they continue, “are contrary to reason, brimful of shameless effrontery and madness or one knows not\(^b\) what to call them, for even names are difficult to find appropriate to such extravagance. You call those rich\(^c\) who are utterly destitute, lacking the very necessaries, who drag on their sorry, miserable life, scarcely providing their daily subsistence, starving exceptions to the general prosperity, feeding on the empty breath of virtue as grasshoppers are said to feed on air.\(^d\) You call those 9 poor who are lapped round by silver and gold and a multitude of landed possessions and revenues and numberless other good things in unstinted abundance, whose wealth not only benefits their kinsfolk and friends but steps outside the household to do the same to multitudes of fellow tribesmen and wardsmen, and taking a still wider sweep endows the state with all that either peace or war demands. It is part of the 10

\(^a\) The paradox good man rich v. bad man poor is very common, see examples in S.V.F. iii. 589-603. Philo’s constant insistence on the contrast between blind wealth and seeing wealth is substantially the same.

\(^b\) See on De Vit. Cont. 35.
PHILO

10 ἀπὸ δὲ τῆς αὐτῆς ὑνειρώξεως τοὺς μὲν ἀμφιθαλέσι καὶ τῷ ὄντι εὐπατρίδαις, ὅν εὖ γονεῖς μόνον ἄλλα καὶ πάπποι καὶ πρόγονοι μέχρι τῶν ἁρχηγῶν καὶ πρὸς ἀνδρῶν καὶ πρὸς γυναικῶν ἐπιφανέστατοι γεγόνασι, δουλείαν ἐτόλμησαν ἐπιφημίσαι, τοῖς δὲ ἐκ τριγυνίας στιγματίας, πεδότρυπι καὶ παλαιοδούλους, ἐλευθερίαν.

11 ἂν τῷ τοιαύτῃ, ὡς ἐφήν, πρόφασις ἀνθρώπων, οἱ οιανοὶ μὲν ἡμαυρωνται, οούλοι ο εἰσι δόξης επανέχοντες αἰσθήσειν, ὅν το συνεδρίων ὑπὸ τῶν κρινόμενων έν τῷ φρονεῖν ἐλαττοῦσθαι· ἑκείνοι μὲν γὰρ ἑαυτοὺς ἐπιτρέπουσιν ἰασθεῖαν, μὴ τῶν τὰ σώματα καμνότων ἐν τῷ φρονεῖν ἐλαττοῦσθαι· ἑκείνοι μὲν γὰρ ἑαυτοὺς ἐπιτρέπουσιν ἰασθεῖαν, κατοκνουσι δ' οὖτοι νόσον ψυχῆς, ἀπαιδευσίαν, ἀπώσασθαι, γενόμενοι σοφῶν ἀνδρῶν διηληταί, παρ' ὡν οὐ μόνον ἔστιν ἀπομαθεῖν ἀμαθίαν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸ ἴδιον ἀνθρώπου κτήμα προσλαβεῖν, ἐπιστήμην. ἐπειδὴ δὲ κατὰ τὸν ιερότατον Πλάτωνα "φθόνος ἐξώ θείου χοροῦ ἠσταται," θειότατον δὲ καὶ κοινωνικῶτατον σοφία, συγκλείει μὲν οὐδέποτε τὸ ἐαυτῆς φοινικήσῃ, ἀναπεπταμένη δὲ αἰὲ δέχεται τοὺς ποτίμοις διψώντας λόγων, οἷς ἀκράτους διδασκαλίας ἀφθονον ἐπαντλοῦσα νάμα μεθύειν τὴν

1 mss. δικαζόμενον.

2 So Μ. The others λιγυρῶτατον ("most musical" or "clear-voiced"). I feel considerable doubt as to whether Μ is right. The quotation which follows as well as the phrase ποτίμοις λόγων comes from the myth in the Phaedrus which Socrates introduces with an appeal to the Muses as λίγοι (237 λ), and λιγυρὸς has been used earlier, 230 c, in describing the scene of the dialogue.
EVERY GOOD MAN IS FREE, 10-13

same fantastic dream when you dare to ascribe slavery to the highly connected,\textsuperscript{a} the indisputably nobly born, who have not only parents but grandparents and ancestors right down to the founders of the family greatly distinguished both in the male and the female line: freedom to those who are heirs in the third generation to the branding iron, the fetter, and immemorial thraldom."

So they think, but all this is as I have said, the shallow talk of men with minds bedimmed, slaves to opinion, basing themselves on the senses, whose unstable council is always open to bribes from its suitors. If they whole-heartedly sought for truth, they ought not to let themselves be outdone in prudence by the sick in body. They in their desire for health commit themselves to physicians, but these people show no willingness to cast off the soul-sickness of their untrained grossness by resorting to wise men from whom they can not only unlearn their ignorance but gain that knowledge which is mankind's peculiar property. But since we have it on the sacred authority of Plato that envy has no place in the divine choir,\textsuperscript{b} and wisdom is most divine and most free-handed, she never closes her school of thought but always opens her doors to those who thirst for the sweet water of discourse,\textsuperscript{c} and pouring on them an unstinted stream of undiluted doctrine, persuades them to be drunken with the drunkenness which is

\textsuperscript{a} See App. p. 510.
\textsuperscript{b} Phaedrus 247 A. Quoted also with βαίνει for ἱστασαι Spec. Leg. ii. 249, and with many echoes elsewhere. See note on De Fuga 62 (vol. v. pp. 583 f.).
\textsuperscript{c} Cf. Phaedrus 243 π έπιθυμώ ποτίμω λόγω οίον ἀλμυράν ἀκοήν ἀποκλύσαθαι. The phrase has been used several times by Philo.
νηφάλιον ἀναπείθει μέθην. οἱ δὲ ὅσπερ ἐν ταῖς
teleatais ἐφερμαντηθέντες, ὅταν ὀργίων γεμισθῶσι,
pollà τῆς πρόσθεν ὀλγωρίας έαυτοὺς κακίζουσιν,
ὡς οὐ φεισάμενοι χρόνου, βιῶν δὲ τρίμαντες ἀβίω-
tον, ἐν ὃ φρονήσεως ἐχήρευσαν. ἄξιον οὖν νεό-
tητα τὴν πανταχοῦ πάσαν τὰς ἀπαρχὰς τῆς πρώτης
ἀκμῆς μηδενὶ μάλλον ἡ παιδεία ἄναθεῖναι," ἡ καὶ
ἐνηβήσαι καὶ εγγηράσαι καλὸν ὁσπὲρ γάρ, φασί,
tὰ καὶ δὲ τῶν ἀγγείων ἀναφέρει τὰς τῶν πρώτων
ἐΙς αὐτὰ ἐγχυθέντων ὀσμάς, οὕτως καὶ αἱ τῶν νέων
ψυχαὶ τοὺς πρώτους τῶν φαντασίων τύπους ἀν-
exaleiptous ἐναποματτόμεναι, τῇ φορᾷ τῶν αὕθις
ἐπεισροτόντων ήκιστα κατακλυζόμεναι, τὸ ἀρχαῖον
diaphainousin eidos.

III. "Αλις μὲν δὴ τούτων. ἀκριβωτέον δὲ τὸ
ξητουμενον, ὅν μὴ τὴν ὄνοματων ἀσαφεία
παραγόμενοι πλαζώμεθα, καταλαβόντες δὲ περὶ οὖ
ὁ λόγος τὰς ἀποδείξεις εὐσκόπως ἐφαρμόττωμεν.
δουλεία τοίνυν ἡ μὲν ψυχῶν, ἡ δὲ σωμάτων λέγεται.
δεσπόται δὲ τῶν μὲν σωμάτων ἄνθρωποι, ψυχῶν
δὲ κακίαι καὶ πάθη. κατὰ ταύτα δὲ καὶ ἐλευθερία.
ἡ μὲν γὰρ ἄδειαν σωμάτων αἵ ἄνθρωπων δυνατω-
tέρων, ἡ δὲ διανοίας ἐκεχειρίαν ἀπὸ τῆς τῶν παθῶν
Δυναστείας | ἐργάζεται. τὸ μὲν οὖν πρότερον οὐδὲ
ἐΙς ζητεί. μυρίαι γὰρ αἱ ἄνθρωπων τύχαι, καὶ
πολλοὶ πολλάκις κακοὶς ἄβουλῆτοι τῶν σφόδρα

1 On the hiatus παιδεία ἄναθεῖναι see App. p. 510.

a See App. p. 511.
b The meaning presumably is that ἐλευθερία in the literal
sense cannot be the subject of a philosophical ζήτημα because
soberness itself. Then when like initiates in the mysteries they have taken their fill of the revelations, they reproach themselves greatly for their former neglect and feel that they have wasted their time and that their life while they lacked wisdom was not worth the living. It is well then that the young, all of them and everywhere, should dedicate the first fruits of the flower of their prime above all else to culture, wherein it is good for both youth and old age to dwell. For just as new vessels are said to retain the scents of the substances first poured into them, so, too, the souls of the young take indelible impressions of the ideas first presented to them and do not have them washed away by the stream of the later influx, and so they preserve the original form for all to see.

III. So much for these matters. Let us proceed to the subject of our discourse and give it careful consideration, that we may not go astray, misled by the vagueness in the terms employed, but apprehend what we are talking about, adjust our arguments to it, and so prove our point. Slavery then is applied in one sense to bodies, in another to souls; bodies have men for their masters, souls their vices and passions. The same is true of freedom; one freedom produces security of the body from men of superior strength, the other sets the mind at liberty from the domination of the passions. No one makes the first kind the subject of investigation. For the vicissitudes of men are numberless and in many instances and at many times persons of the highest virtue have through adverse blows of fortune lost the no moral issues are involved. It is an accident which does not tell us anything about character or conduct.
PHILO

άστείων τήν εκ γένους ἀπέβαλον ἐλευθερίαν. ἀλλ’ ἐστιν ἡ σκέψις περὶ τρόπων, οὗς οὐτ’ ἐπιθυμίαι οὔτε φόβοι οὖθ’ ἤδοναί οὔτε λύπαι κατέζευξαν, ὡσπερ εὖ εἰρκτής προεληφθότων καὶ δεσμῶν οἷς ἐπεσφίγγυτο διαφειμένων. ἀνελόντες οὖν ἐκπο­δών τὰς προφασιστικὰς εὑρεσιλογίας καὶ τὰ φύ­ςεως μὲν ἀλλότρια δόξης δ’ ἠρτημένα ὀνόματα οἰκοτριβῶν ἢ ἄργυρων ἢ οἰκοτριβῶν τὸν ἀψευδῶς ἐλευθερον ἀναζητῶμεν, ὃ μόνῳ τὸ αὐτο­κρατές πρόσετι, κἂν μυρίοι γράφωσι δεσπότας ἐαυτούς. ἀναφθέγξεται γὰρ ἐκεῖνο τὸ Σοφόκλειον οὕδεν τῶν πυθοχρηστῶν διαφέρον.

"θεὸς1 ἐμὸς ἄρχων, θυντὸς δ’ οὐδεῖς."

20 τῷ γὰρ ὅτι μόνῳ ἐλεύθερος ὃ μόνῳ θεῷ χρώμενος ἠγεμόνι, κατ’ ἐμὴν δὲ διάνοιαν καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἡγεμών, ἐπιτετραμμένος τὰ περὶγεια, οἷα μεγάλου βασιλέως, θυντὸς ἀθανάτου, διάδοχος. ἀλλ’ ὃ μὲν περὶ ἄρχης τοῦ σοφοῦ λόγος εἰς καιρὸν ἐπιτηδειό­τερον ὑπερκείσθω, τὸν δὲ περὶ ἐλευθερίας τὰ νῦν ἀκριβώτερον. εἰ δὴ τις εἰσώ προελθὼν τῶν πραγ­μάτων ἐθελήσειε διακύβησαι, γνώσεται σαφῶς, ὅτι οὕδεν ἀλλο συγκεντρωσαμενοι οὕτως, ὡς αὐτοπραγία ἐλευθερία, διότι πολλὰ μὲν τῷ φαύλῳ τὰ ἐμποδῶν, φιλαργυρία, φιλοδοξία, φιληδονία, τῷ δ’ ἀστείῳ τὸ παράπαν οὕδεν, ἔπανισταμένως καὶ ἐπιβεβηκότι

1 Perhaps read Zeús, see note a.

a This line is quoted in Arist. Eth. Eud. 1242 a 37 with Zeús for θεός, as the anapaestic metre requires, and is para­phrased by Ambrose "Jupiter mihi praeest, nullus autem hominum." As Ambrose is not likely to have known the
EVERY GOOD MAN IS FREE, 18–21

freedom to which they were born. Our inquiry is concerned with characters which have never fallen under the yoke of desire, or fear, or pleasure, or grief; characters which have as it were escaped from prison and thrown off the chains which bound them so tightly. Casting aside, therefore, specious quibblings and the terms which have no basis in nature but depend upon convention, such as "home-bred," "purchased" or "captured in war," let us examine the veritable free man, who alone possesses independence, even though a host of people claim to be his masters. Let us hear the voice of Sophocles in words which are as true as any Delphic oracle

God and no mortal is my Sovereign."

For in very truth he who has God alone for his leader, he alone is free, though to my thinking he is also the leader of all others, having received the charge of earthly things from the great, the immortal King, whom he, the mortal, serves as viceroy. But the subject of the wise man's sovereignty must be postponed to a more suitable occasion and we have now to examine his freedom carefully. If one looks with a penetrating eye into the facts, he will clearly perceive that no two things are so closely akin as independence of action and freedom, because the bad man has a multitude of incumbrances, such as love of money or reputation and pleasure, while the good man has none at all. He stands defiant and trium-

line from any other source, there is certainly some reason to suppose that he found Ζεύς in his text of Philo.

" Cf. Diog. Laert. vii. 122 οὐ μόνον δὲ ἐλευθέρους εἶναι τοὺς σοφοὺς ἀλλὰ καὶ βασιλέας. This is probably the most common of the paradoxes, and is given by Philo several times, e.g. De Mut. 152 (vol. v. p. 591), where see note.
καθάπερ ἐν ἀθλων ἁγώνι τοῖς καταπαλαισθείσιν, ἔρωτι, φόβῳ, δειλία, λύπη, τοῖς ὀμοιοτρόποις. 22 ἔμαθε γὰρ ἁλογεῖν ἔπιταγμάτων, ὅσα οἱ ψυχῆς παρανομῶτατοι ἀρχοντες ἐπιτάττουσι, διὰ ζῆλον καὶ πόθον ἐλευθερίας, ὡς τὸ αὐτοκέλευστον καὶ ἐθελουργὸν κλῆρος ὰδιος. ἐπαινεῖται παρὰ τισιν ὁ τὸ τρίμετρον ἐκεῖνο ποιήσας

“τὸ δ’ ἐστὶ δούλος τοῦ θανεῖν ἄφροντις ὡν;”

ὡς μάλα συνιδῶν τὸ ἀκόλουθον· ὑπέλαβε γὰρ, ὡς ὅτι οὐδὲν οὕτως δουλοῦσθαι πέφυκε διάνοιαν, ὡς ὁ ἐπὶ θανάτῳ δέος, ἐνεκα τοῦ πρὸς τὸ ζῆν ἰμέρον.

IV. χρήν δὲ λογίσασθαι, ὅτι οὐχ ὁ τοῦ θανεῖν μόνον ἄφροντις ὡν ἄδουλωτος, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὁ τοῦ πένεσθαι καὶ ἄδοξείν καὶ ἁλγεῖν καὶ τῶν ἄλλων [449] ὃσα οἱ πολλοὶ κακὰ νομίζουσι, κακοὶ τῶν | πραγμάτων ὄντες αὐτοὶ κρίται, οἴτινες ἐκ τῶν χρειῶν δοκιμάζουσι τὸν δούλον εἰς τὰς ὑπηρεσίας ἄφ-

24 ορῶνες, δέον εἰς τὸ ἄδουλωτον ἰθὸς. ὁ μὲν γὰρ ἀπὸ ταπεινοῦ καὶ δουλοπρεποῦς φρονήματος ταπεινοῖς καὶ δουλοπρεπέσι παρὰ γνώμην ἐγχειρῶν τὴν ἕαυτοῦ δούλος ὄντως· ὁ δὲ πρὸς τὸν παρόντα και-ρόν ἀρμοζόμενος τὰ οἶκεια καὶ ἐκουσία ἀμα καὶ 

τλητικῶς ἐγκαρτερὼν τοῖς ἀπὸ τύχης καὶ μηδὲν καὶ-νον τῶν ἄνθρωπινων εἶναι νομίζων, ἀλλ’ ἐξητακὼς ἐπιμελῶς, ὅτι τὰ μὲν θεία αἰωνίῳ τάξει καὶ εὐδαι-

μονία τετίμηται, τὰ δὲ θνητὰ πάντα σάλῳ καὶ κλύδων πραγμάτων διαφερόμενα πρὸς ἀνίσους ῥοπὸς ταλαντεύει, καὶ γενναίως ὑπομένων τὰ συμ-

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a Quoted also by Plut. De Poet. Aud. 13 as from Euripides. Plutarch makes the same point as Philo, that it applies to other seeming evils besides death.
EVERY GOOD MAN IS FREE, 21–24

phant over love, fear, cowardice, grief and all that sort, as the victor over the fallen in the wrestling bout. For he has learnt to set at nought the injunctions laid upon him by those most lawless rulers of the soul, inspired as he is by his ardent yearning for the freedom whose peculiar heritage it is that it obeys no orders and works no will but its own. Some people praise the author of the line

What slave is there who takes no thought of death? *a*

and think that he well understood the thought that it involves. For he meant that nothing is so calculated to enslave the mind as fearing death through desire to live. IV. But we must reflect that exemption from slavery belongs to him who takes no thought not only of death but also of poverty, disrepute and pain and all the other things which the mass of men count as evil, though the evil lies in themselves and in their judgement, which makes them test the slave by the tasks he performs and fix their eyes on the services he renders instead of on his unenslaved character. For he who with a mean and slavish spirit puts his hand to mean and slavish actions contrary to his own proper judgement is a slave indeed. But he who adjusts himself and his to fit the present occasion and willingly and also patiently endures the blows of fortune, who holds that there is nothing new in human circumstances, who has by diligent thought convinced himself that, while what is God’s has the honour of possessing eternal order and happiness, all mortal things are carried about in the tossing surge of circumstance and sway unevenly on the balance, who nobly endures whatever befalls him—he indeed needs no more to
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25 πίπτοντα φιλόσοφος ευθύς ἐστὶ καὶ ἐλεύθερος. οὐθὲν οὐδὲ παντὶ τῷ προστάττοντι ὑπακούσεται, κἂν αἰ-κλας καὶ βασάνους καὶ τινας φοβερωτάτας ἀπειλὰς ἐπανατείνηται, νεανιευσάμενος δὲ ἀντικηρύζει:

"ὀπτα, κάταιθε σάρκας, ἐμπλησθητί μου πίνων κελαινόν αἷμα· πρόσθε γὰρ κἀτω γῆς εἰσών ἀστρα, γῇ δ' ἀνειο' ἐσ οὐρανόν, πρὶν ἐξ ἐμοῦ σοι θῶ' ἀπαντήσαι λόγον."

26 Υ. ἡδὴ ποτ' εἶδον ἐν ἀγώνι παγκρατιστῶν τὸν μὲν ἐπιφέροντα τὰς πληγὰς καὶ χερσὶ καὶ ποσὶ καὶ πάσας εὐσκόπως καὶ μηδὲν παρα-λεοπότα τῶν εἰς τὸ νικᾶν ἀπειρηκότα καὶ παρ-ειμένον καὶ πέρας ἀστεφάνωτον ἐξελθόντα τοῦ σταδίου, τὸν δὲ τυπτόμενον, ὑπὸ πυκνότητας σαρκῶν πεπιλημένον, στρυφνόν, ναστόν, ὄντως γέμοντα πνεύματος ἀθλητικοῦ, δι' ὅλων νευρω-μένον, οἷα πέτραν ή σίδηρον, οὐδὲν μὲν πρὸς τὰς πληγὰς ἐνδόντα, τὴν δὲ τοῦ ἀντιπάλου δύναμιν τῷ καρτερικῷ καὶ παγίῳ τῆς υπομονῆς καθηρηκότα

27 μέχρι παντελοῦς νίκης. οἷοι δὲ τί τούτω πε-πονῦθεναι μοι δοκεῖ ὁ ἀστείος· τὴν γὰρ ψυχὴν εὑ ἐμαλα κραταϊστείς ἑσχυρογνώμονι λογισμῷ θᾶττον ἀναγκάζει τὸν βιαζόμενον ἀπειπεῖ ἡ υπομένει τι

1 Perhaps read παντὶ τῷ, a common phrase in Philo, or παντὰ τῷ. The stress seems to be on resistance to improper orders, rather than to the person who makes them.

a See on § 99.
b Or "elasticity"—or perhaps "with the well-knit frame of the true athlete." That is to say I conceive the word to be used in the semi-physical Stoic sense of the force or current
EVERY GOOD MAN IS FREE, 25–27

make him a philosopher and a free man. And, there-fore, he will not obey just anyone who gives him orders, even though he menaces him with outrage and tortures and threats however dreadful, but will openly and boldly defy him thus:

Roast and consume my flesh, and drink thy fill
Of my dark blood; for sooner shall the stars
Go 'neath the earth and earth go up to heaven
Than thou shalt from my lips meet fawning word.a

V. I have observed in a contest of pancratiasts how one of the combatants will strike blow after blow both with hands and feet, every one of them well aimed, and leave nothing undone that might secure his victory, and yet he will finally quit the arena without a crown in a state of exhaustion and collapse, while the object of his attack, a mass of closely packed flesh, rigid and solid, full of the wiriness of the true athlete, his sinews taut from end to end, firm as a piece of rock or iron, will yield not a whit to the blows, but by his stark and stubborn endurance will break down utterly the strength of his adversary and end by winning a complete victory. Much the same as it seems to me is the case of the virtuous man; his soul strongly fortified with a resolution firmly founded on reason, he compels the employer of violence to give up in exhaustion, sooner than himself which holds bodies together and is otherwise known as εξίς. Thus “walking” is said by Seneca to be a “spiritus a principali usque ad pedes permissus” (Arnold, Roman Stoicism, pp. 89, 250). See on εξεως πνευματικῆς (De Aet. 86). It can hardly here mean “athletic spirit” in the sense that we use the phrase, nor yet the “good wind” of the athlete, though Leisegang perhaps took it so, when he couples this passage with Leg. All. iii. 14 ἄθλητοῦ τρόπον διαπνέοντος καὶ συλλεγομένου τὸ πνεῦμα.
δράσαι τῶν παρὰ γνώμην. ἀλλ' ἀπιστον ἰσως τοῖς μη πεπονθόσων ἀρετήν\(^1\) τὸ λεγόμενον—καὶ γὰρ ἐκεῖνο τοῖς τοὺς παγκρατιαστὰς οὐκ εἴδοσι—, γέγονεν δ' οὐδὲν ἦττον ἐπί ἀληθείας. εἰς ταῦτα δ' ἀπίδων Ἀντισθένης δυσβάστακτον εἶπεν εἶναι τὸν ἀστείον· ὃς γὰρ ἡ ἄφροσύνη κοῦφον καὶ φερόμενον, <οὔτως>\(^3\) ἡ φρόνησις ἐπηρεισμένον καὶ ἀκλίνες καὶ βάρος ἔχον ἀσάλευτον. ὅ δ' ἐκ τῶν Ἰουδαίων νομοθέτης [450] τὰς τοῦ σοφοῦ χεῖρας | βαρείας εἰσάγει, διὰ συμβόλων τὰς πράξεις αἰνητόμενοι οὐκ ἐπιπολαίως ἀλλὰ παγίως ἐρημεύσεις ἀπὸ διανοίας ἀρρεποῦς.

30 πρὸς οὖν ἄδεν ὃν ἀναγκάζεται, ἀτε καταπεφρονηκώς μὲν ἀληθῶν, καταπεφρονηκώς δὲ θανάτου, νόμῳ δὲ φύσεως ὕπηκόους ἐξων ἄπαντας ἄφρονας· ὅπερ γὰρ ὑπὸ τὸν τρόπον αἰγῶν μὲν καὶ βοῶν καὶ προβάτων αἰτόλοι καὶ βουκόλοι καὶ νομεῖς ἄφρονοι λύσιν ἔχον τῶν ἂν ἄγελας ἀμήχανον ἐπιτάξαι ποιμένι, τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον οἱ μὲν πολλοὶ θρέμμασιν ἐοικότες ἐπιστάτου καὶ ἄρχοντος δέονται, ἡγεμόνες δ' εἰσίν οἱ ἄστειοι τὴν τῶν ἄγελαρχῶν τεταγμένοι τάξιν.

31 "Ομηρος μὲν ὃν " ποιμένας λαῶν" εἰώθε καλεῖν τοὺς βασιλέας, ἥ δ' ἐς τοὺς ἄγαθοῖς κυριώτερον

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\(^1\) See note a. The correction προσπεπονθόσων ἀρετή is possible, particularly as Μ has ἀρετή (= -η) = "devoted to virtue." I suggest for consideration πεπονθόσων ἀρετή or πεποθηκόσων ἀρετή.

\(^2\) Cohn punctuates with a colon after λεγόμενον, and comma after εἴδοσι, thus making the case of the pancratiat to be the subject of γέγονε instead of the moral victory of the ἀστείος.

\(^3\) On the insertion of οὔτως see App. p. 511.
EVERY GOOD MAN IS FREE, 27–31

submit to do anything contrary to his judgement. This statement may perhaps seem incredible to those who have had no experience of virtue—a (so would the other just mentioned to those who do not know the pancratist), but none the less it is an actual fact. It is this which Antisthenes had in view when he said that a virtuous man is heavy to carry, for as want of sense is a light thing, never stationary, so good sense is firmly based, never swerves and has a weight that cannot be shaken. The law-giver of the Jews describes the wise man’s hands as heavy, indicating by this figure that his actions are not superficial but firmly based, the outcome of a mind that never wavers. No one then can compel him, since he has come to despise both pain and death, and by the law of nature has all fools in subjection. For just as goats and oxen and sheep are led by goatherds and ox-herds and shepherds, and flocks and herds cannot possibly give orders to herdsmen, so too the multitude, who are like cattle, require a master and a ruler and have for their leaders men of virtue, appointed to the office of governing the herd. Homer often calls kings “shepherds of the people,” but nature more accurately applies the title to the good, even in the sense of having experience of virtue in others is more than doubtful Greek. No satisfactory emendation however has been proposed. See note 1.

b Zeller, *Socrates* (Eng. trans.), p. 334 takes the saying to mean that the virtuous man is hard to bear or makes himself a nuisance by telling unpleasant truths and quotes in support other similar sayings of the Cynics. Philo takes it in a quite different sense, though the last words of § 31 suggest something of the thought which Zeller assigns to it.

c Ex. xvii. 12. The same interpretation is given with some additions in *Leg. All.* iii. 45.

d *e.g.* II. ii. 243.
τουτὶ τοῦνομα ἐπεφήμισεν, εἰ γε ἐκεῖνοι ποιμανοῦνται τὸ πλέον ἢ ποιμαῖνουσιν—άκρατος γὰρ αὐτοῖς ἅγει καὶ εὐμορφία πέμματα τε καὶ ὅψα καὶ τὰ μαγείρων καὶ σιτοποιῶν ἡδύσματα, ἵνα τὰς ἀργύρου καὶ χρυσοῦ καὶ τῶν σεμνότερων ἐπιθυμίας παραλείπω—, τοῖς δὲ ὑπὸ οὐδενὸς συμβέβηκε δελεάζεσθαι, νουθετεῖν δὲ καὶ ὅσους ἂν αἰσθωνται πάγαις ἤδονῆς ἄλισκομένους.

32 VI. Ὅτι δ’ οὐκ ἡ ὑπηρεσία μηνύματ’ εἰσὶ δουλείας, ἐναργεστάτη πίστις οἱ πόλεμοι. τοὺς γὰρ στρατευόμενους ἠδοίᾳ ἔστων αὐτουργοὺς ἀπαντασ, οὐ μόνον τὰς πανοπλίας κομίζοντας, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὅσα πρὸς τὴν ἀναγκαίαν χρήσιν ὑποζυγίων τρόπων ἐπηχθειμένους, εἰτ’ ἐφ’ ὑδρείαν ἔξωιτα τοῖς φρυγανισμῷ καὶ χιλὸν κτήνεσι. τὰ γὰρ πρὸς τὰς ἐχθροὺς ἐν ταῖς στρατεύουσι τί δεὶ μακρηγορεῖν, τάφρους ἀποκαταλύειν ἢ τείχη κατασκευαζόντων, ή τριήρεις ναυπηγούσι ή τέχνης πάντα χερσὶ καὶ τῷ ἄλλῳ σώματι ὑπηρεσίας ἔστι δὲ τὰς κατ’ εἰρήνην πόλεμος τῆς τοιοῦτος ὑποδέων, ὅν ἄδοξία καὶ πενία καὶ δεινὴ σπάνις τῶν ἀναγκαίων συγκροτοῦσι, ὅφ’ οὐ βιασθέντες ἐγχειρεῖν καὶ τοῖς δουλοπρεπεστάτοις ἀναγκάζοντα, σκάπτοτε, γεωπονοῦντε, βαναύσουσι ἐπιτηδεύοντες τέχνας,

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* §§ 32-40. These sections, except in § 40, where the casual illustration from the lions leads Philo to revert to his main theme, do not seem to bear upon the argument that the good man alone is free. They may perhaps be regarded as arguing that, independently of the main philosophical contention, the common tests of slavery and freedom are not consistently held. So with ὑπηρεσία, which as Cohn points out has been stated in § 23 to be the ordinary test, no one
EVERY GOOD MAN IS FREE, 31–34

since kings are more often in the position of the sheep than of the shepherd. They are led by strong drink and good looks and by baked meats and savoury dishes and the dainties produced by cooks and confectioners, to say nothing of their craving for silver and gold and grander ambitions. But the good nothing can ensnare, and it is theirs also to admonish those whom they see caught in the toils of pleasure.

VI. "That services rendered are no proof of enslavement is very clearly shown in war-time. We see soldiers in the field all working on their own account, not only carrying all their weapons, but also laden like beasts with every necessary requirement, and then making expeditions to get water or firewood or fodder for the animals. As for labours required in defence against the enemy, such as cutting trenches or building walls or constructing triremes, and all other skilled or subsidiary operations in which the hands and the rest of the body are employed, there is no need to recount them at length. On the other hand, there is a peace-time war, no less grave than those fought with arms, a war set on foot by disrepute and poverty and dire lack of the necessaries of life, a war by which men are forced under duress to undertake the most servile tasks, digging and toiling on the land and practising menial crafts, labouring un-
calls the soldier a slave, nor yet that other soldier, the freeman driven by poverty to do menial tasks. On the other hand (§ 34) persons who are admittedly slaves in the ordinary sense have functions which are not ὑπηρεσίαι. A second test (obedience) begins in § 36. This breaks down because children and pupils obey but are not slaves; a third test, purchase (§ 37), because ransomed captives are not slaves, and purchase also does not prevent the complete subjection of the purchaser to the purchased (§§ 38-39).
ὑπηρετοῦντες ἀόκνως ἑνεκα τοῦ παρατρέφεσθαι, πολλάκις δὲ καὶ κατὰ μέσην ἁγορὰν ἀχοφοροῦντες ἐν ἡλικιωτῶν καὶ συμφοιτητῶν καὶ συνεφῆβων 35 ὀψεων. έτεροι δ᾽ εἰσιν ἐκ γένους δούλοι τὰ τῶν ἑλευθέρων εὐμορία τύχης μετιόντες· ἐπίτροποι γὰρ οίκιων καὶ κτημάτων καὶ μεγάλων οὐσιῶν, ἐστὶ δ᾽ οτε καὶ τῶν ὁμοδούλων ἀρχοντες καθίστανται, πολλοὶ δὲ καὶ γυναῖκας καὶ παῖδας ὀρφανοὺς δεσποτῶν ἐπετράπησαν, φίλων καὶ συγγενῶν προκριθέντες εἰς πίστιν ἀλλ᾽ ὄμως εἰσὶ δούλοι, δανείζοντες, ὦνομενοι, προσόδους ἐκλεγόμενοι, θεραπευόμενοι. τί οὖν βανμαστόν, εἰ καὶ [451] κατὰ τοῦνατίν οἷόθεν τις εὐστυχίας | δουλικάς 36 χρείας ἐπιτελεῖ; τὸ δ᾽ ὑπακούειν ἐτέρω τήν ἑλευθερίαν ἀφαιρεῖται. καὶ πῶς πατρὸς μὲν ἡ μητρὸς ἐπιταγμάτων παῖδες ἀνέχονται, γνώριμοι δὲ ὡς ὑφηγηταί διακελεύονται; δούλος γὰρ ἐκὼν οὐδεὶς. οἳ γε μὴν τοκεῖς οὐ τοσαύτην ὑπερβολὴν ἐπιδείξονται ποτε μισοτεκνίας, ὥστε ἡ μόνα σύμβολα δουλείας ἐστί, τὰς ὑπηρεσίας, ἀναγκάσαι ἂν παῖδας 37 τοὺς ἑαυτῶν ὑπομένειν. εἰ δὲ τινὰς ὑπ᾽ ἀνδραποδοκαπῆλων ἐπευωνιζομένους ἱδών τις οἰεται δούλους εὐθὺς εἶναι, πολὺ διαμαρτάνει τῆς ἀληθείας• οὐ γὰρ ἡ πράσι ἥ κύριον ἀποφαίνει τὸν πριάμενον

1 mss. ὑφηγοῦνται οὐ ἀφηγοῦνται.

a Stephanus says of παρατρέφεσθαι "Plutarchus dicitur usurpasse de pauperibus qui misere aluntur," but no examples are quoted, and the words may simply mean "get their rations," the point of the prefix being that like slaves they are dependent on others.

b This may be taken in two ways, (1) as in the translation with what follows: the parents’ interests are identical with those of the children, and they cannot wish them to be slaves;
EVERY GOOD MAN IS FREE, 34–37

ceasingly to earn a meagre subsistence; often too carrying burdens in the midst of the market place before the eyes of their fellows in age who were their associates in boyhood and in youth. There are others born in slavery, who by a happy dispensation of fortune pursue the occupations of the free. They receive the stewardship of houses and landed estates and great properties; sometimes too they become the rulers of their fellow slaves. Many too have the wives and orphan children of their masters committed to their charge, being preferred for trustworthiness to friends and members of the family. Still all the same they are slaves though they lend, purchase, collect revenues and are much courted. Why then should we wonder when the opposite occurs and a man whose good luck has taken a bad turn performs the offices of a slave? But you say, “by obedience to another he loses his liberty.” How then is it that children suffer the orders of their father or mother, and pupils the injunctions of their instructors? For no one is willing to be a slave; and surely parents will not show such an extreme hatred of their offspring as to compel their own children to submit to render services which according to you are the sole distinctive marks of slavery. Again, anyone who thinks that people put up for sale by kidnappers thereby become slaves goes utterly astray from the truth. Selling does not make the purchaser a master,

(2) taking it with the previous sentence, no one who acts voluntarily is a slave, and the children do act voluntarily.

Perhaps “sold cheap” as apparently in § 121. On the other hand neither here nor in Flaccus 132 is there much point in cheapness. See my note on De Cher. 123, vol. ii. p. 486, where it is suggested that the word merely conveys some measure of contempt like our “peddling.”
Η τόν πραθέντα δούλον, ἐπεὶ καὶ πατέρες υἱῶν τιμαὶς κατέθεσαν καὶ υἱοὶ πολλάκις πατέρων ἢ κατὰ ληστείας ἀπαχθέντων ἢ κατὰ πόλεμον αἰχμαλωτῶν γενομένων, οὐς οἱ τῆς φύσεως νόμοι τῶν κάτωθεν ὅντες βεβαιότεροι γράφουσιν ἐλευθέρους.

38 ἡ δέ τινες καὶ προσυπερβάλλοντες εἰς τοναντίον περιήγαγον τὸ πράγμα, δεσπόται γενόμενοι τῶν πριαμένων ἀντὶ δούλων· ἐγών' οὖν ἔθεασάμην πολλάκις εὐμορφα παιδικάκαμα καὶ φύσει στωμύλα δυσιν δρμητήριοι, ὠψεως κάλλει καὶ τῇ περὶ λόγου χάριτι, πορθοῦντα τοὺς κεκτημένους· ἔλεπόλεις γὰρ ταῦτα ψυχῶν ἀνιδρύτων καὶ ἀνερμάτων, ἰκετεύουσιν, εὔμενειν ὡς παρὰ τύχης καὶ ἀγαθοῦ δαίμονος αἰτεῖσθαι γλίχονται, καὶ παρορώμενοι μὲν σφαδάζουσιν, εἰ δ' αὐτὸ μόνον τὸ βλέμμα ἔλεων θεάσαντο, γεγήθοτες ἀναγιγμέναι· εἰ μὴ καὶ τὸν λέοντα ὑψηλόμενον δεσπότην φατέον εἶναι λέοντων, ὃς, εἰ μόνον ἐπανατεινὰντο τὰς ὀψεῖς, οίους ἔπριατο κυρίος ὁ δύστηνος, ὥς χαλεποὺς καὶ ἐμοθύμους, αὐτίκα παθῶν εἶσεται. τί οὖν; οὐκ οἰόμεθα τὸν σοφὸν ἰδοπλώτοτερον εἶναι λέοντων, ἐλευθέρα καὶ ἀτρώτω ψυχῇ τὴν ἀλκήν ἔχοντα μᾶλλον ἢ εἰ

39 σημείον δὲ· ἐραπεύουσι, ἵκετεύουσι, εὔμενειν ὡς παρὰ τύχης καὶ ἀγαθοῦ δαίμονος αἰτεῖσθαι γλίχονται, καὶ παρορώμενοι μὲν σφαδάζουσιν, εἰ δ' αὐτὸ μόνον τὸ βλέμμα ἔλεων θεάσαντο, γεγήθοτες ἀναγιγμέναι· εἰ μὴ καὶ τὸν λέοντα ὑψηλόμενον δεσπότην φατέον εἶναι λέοντων, ὃς, εἰ μόνον ἐπανατεινὰντο τὰς ὀψεῖς, οίους ἔπριατο κυρίος ὁ δύστηνος, ὥς χαλεποὺς καὶ ἐμοθύμους, αὐτίκα παθῶν εἶσεται. τί οὖν; οὐκ οἰόμεθα τὸν σοφὸν ἰδοπλώτοτερον εἶναι λέοντων, ἐλευθέρα καὶ ἀτρώτω ψυχῇ τὴν ἀλκήν ἔχοντα μᾶλλον ἢ εἰ

32 a ei μὴ refers back to § 37. Philo is no doubt thinking
nor the purchased a slave. Fathers pay a price for their sons and sons often for their fathers if they have been carried off in raids or taken prisoners in war, and that such persons are free men is asserted by the laws of nature which have a more solid foundation than those of our lower world. Indeed, some of those thus bought and sold reverse the situation to such an extreme extent that they become the masters of their purchasers instead of their slaves. I have often myself seen pretty little slave girls with a natural gift for wheedling words, who with these two sources of strength, beauty of face and charm of speech, stormed the hearts of their owners. For these two are engines of attack against souls with no ballast or stability, engines mightier than all the machines constructed to demolish walls. This is shown by the way in which their owners court them, supplicate them, eagerly beg their favours, as though they were praying to fortune or some good genius. If they are scouted they go into fits of despair and if they just see a kindly glance they dance for joy. If selling constitutes slavery we should have to assert that a person who had bought some lions is master of the lions, whereas if the beasts do but turn menacing eyes upon him, the poor man will learn at once by experience the cruel and ferocious lordship of those whom he has purchased. Well then must we not suppose that if lions cannot, still less can the wise man be enslaved, who has in his free and unscathed soul a greater power of resistance of the story told of Diogenes (Diog. Laert. vi. 75): when his friends offered to ransom him from the pirates, he refused, "for lions are not slaves of those who keep them, but they are the slaves of the lions. For fear is the mark of the slave, but wild beasts make men fear them."
PHILO

σώματι φύσει δούλω καὶ εὐτονία κραταιοτάτη ἴσχύος ἀφηνιάξοι;

41 VII. Μάθοι δ’ ἂν τις τὴν ἐλευθερίαν, ἣ περὶ τὸν σπουδαῖον ἐστι, καὶ ἐξ ἐτέρων δοῦλος εὐδαίμων πρὸς ἀλήθειαν οὐδεὶς· τί γὰρ ἀθλιῶτερον ἡ πάντων ἂκυρον εἶναι τινα καὶ ἕαυτοῦ; ὁ δὲ γε σοφὸς εὐδαίμων, ἐρμα καὶ πλήρωμα καλοκαγαθίας ἑπι-φερόμενος, ἐν ᾧ τὸ κύρος ἐστιν ἀπάντων· ἐκκῖνωσ καὶ ἐξ ἀνάγκης ὁ σπουδαῖος ἐλευ-

42 θερός ἐστι. πρὸς τούτοις τῖς οὐκ ἂν εἶποι τοὺς φίλους τοῦ θεοῦ ἐλευθέρους εἶναι; εἰ μὴ τοῖς μὲν [452] τῶν βασιλέων ἐταῖροις | ἄξιον οὐ μόνον ἐλευθερίαν ἀλλὰ καὶ ἄρχην ὁμολογεῖν συνεπιτροπεύουσι καὶ συνδιέπουσι τὴν ἧγεμονίαν, τοὺς δὲ θεῶν τῶν ὀλυμπιῶν δουλείαν ἐπιφημιστέον, οἱ διὰ τὸ φιλό-
θεον εὐθὺς γενόμενοι θεοφιλεῖς, ἵππον ἀντιτιμήθησεν, ὁς ἀληθεύοντες εὐνοία παρ’ ἀληθεία δικαζούση, καθάπερ οἱ ποιηταὶ φασι, πανάρχοντες τε καὶ βασιλεῖς βασιλέων εἰσὶ.

43 νεανικότερον δ’ ὁ τῶν Ἰουδαίων νομοθέτης προσ-
υπερβάλλων, ἀτε γυμνῆς ὡς λόγος ἀσκητής φιλοσοφίας, τὸν ἐρωτὶ θείω κατεσχημένον καὶ τὸ ὁν μόνον θεραπεύοντα οὐκέτ’ ἀνθρωπον ἀλλὰ θεὸν

1 “Suspectum propter hiatum,” says Cohn. See App. p. 510 on § 15.

2 mss. ἀλήθειαν.

3 So mss. Cohn τῶν θεῶν calling attention to the plural just below. But easy alternation between God and Gods is, I think, a common phenomenon in Stoicism. There is also the hiatus; see again App. p. 510.

4 mss. συνομολογεῖν.

— See on § 128.
EVERY GOOD MAN IS FREE, 40–43

to the yoke than any he could make with the naturally slavish body and all the vigour of its physical strength?

VII. The freedom of the good man may be learned in other ways. No slave is really happy. For what greater misery is there than to live with no power over anything, including oneself? But the wise man is happy, ballasted and freighted by his high morality, which confers power over everything, and so beyond all doubt and of sheer necessity, the good man is free. Furthermore no one would deny that the friends of God are free. Surely when we agree that the familiars of kings enjoy not only freedom but authority, because they take part in their management and administration as leaders, we must not give the name of slaves to those who stand in the same relation to the celestial gods, who are god-lovers and thereby necessarily god-beloved, rewarded with the same affection as they have shown, and in the judgement of truth are as the poets say, rulers of all and kings of kings. The legislator of the Jews in a bolder spirit went to a further extreme and in the practice of his "naked" philosophy, as they call it, ventured to speak of him who was possessed by love of the divine and worshipped the Self-existent only, as having

b No poetical reference is quoted either for the thought or the language, and I understand the reference to be to the word πανάρχων, which is not cited from elsewhere.

c By "naked philosophy" he perhaps means "frank" or "outspoken." Cf. γυμνοὶ ἠθεῖ προσαγορεύοντες "their manner of address was unreserved" De ABR. 117, and γυμνοὺς ὁνόμασι Spec. Leg. ii. 131. But this does not quite account for ὡς λόγος, and still less does the γνήσιας which Mangey proposed. Possibly there may be some allusion to the gymnosophists (see § 93), but more probably to something which we cannot now recover.

35
απετόλμησεν εἶπεῖν· ἀνθρώπων μέντοι θεόν, οὐ τῶν τῆς φύσεως μερῶν, ἵνα τῷ πάντων καταλίπῃ πατρὶ τὸ θεῶν εἶναι βασιλεῖ καὶ θεῷ. ἀρᾷξιον τὸν προνομίας τοσαύτης τετυχηκότα δοῦλον ἢ μόνον ἐλεύθερον εἶναι νομίζειν; ὃς εἰ καὶ θείας οὐκ ἦξιωται μοίρας καθ’ αὐτὸν, ἀλλὰ τοι διὰ τὸ φίλω θεῶ χρῆσθαι πάντως ὀφειλεῖν εὐδαιμονεῖν· οὐτε γὰρ ἀσθενὴς ὁ ὑπέρμαχος οὐτε φιλικῶν ἀμελημένοις δικαίως θεὸς ἐταφρεῖται ὃν καὶ τὰ κατὰ τους ἐταίρους ἐφορῶν. ἔτι τούς, ὅσπερ τῶν πόλεων αἰ μὲν ὀλιγαρχοῦμεναι καὶ τυράννουμεναι δουλεῖαν ὑπομένουσι χαλεποὺς καὶ βαρεῖς ἔχουσαι δεσπότας τοὺς ὑπαγόμενους καὶ κρατοῦντας, αἱ δὲ νόμοις ἐπιμεληταῖς χρώμεναι καὶ προστάταις εἰσιν ἐλεύθεραι, οὕτως καὶ τῶν ἀνθρώπων, παρ’ οὓς μὲν ὅργῃ ἡ ἐπιθυμία ἢ τι ἄλλο πάθος ἢ καὶ ἐπίβουλος κακία δυναστεύει, πάντως εἰσὶν δοῦλοι, ὅσοι δὲ μετὰ νόμου ἔφωσιν, ἐλεύθεροι. νομὸς δὲ ἀψευδὴς ὁ ὅρθος λόγος, οὐχ ὑπὸ τοῦ δείνου ἢ τοῦ δείνου, θητοῦ φθαρτός, ἐν χαρτίδοις ἢ στήλαις, ἀψυχοις ἀψυχοῖς, ἀλλ’ ὑπὸ ἀθανάτου φύσεως ἀφθαρτός ἐν ἀθανάτῳ διανοίᾳ τυπωθείς. διὸ καὶ θαυμάσαι ἄν τις τῆς ἀμβλυωπίας τῶν τρανὰς οὕτω πραγμάτων ἱδιότητας μὴ συνορῶνται, οἱ μεγίστοι μὲν δὴμοι Ἀθηναῖοι καὶ Δακεδαῖμοι πρὸς ἐλευθερίαν αὐταρκεστάτους εἶναι φασὶ τοὺς Σόλωνος καὶ Δυκόουργον νόμους κρατοῦντας καὶ ἄρχοντας πειθαρχοῦντας αὐτοῖς τῶν πολιτευομένων, σοφοῖς δὲ ἀνδραῖοι τῶν ὀρθῶν λόγων, ὅσι καὶ τοῖς ἀλλοῖς ἐστὶν πηγή νόμοις, οὐχ
EVERY GOOD MAN IS FREE, 43–47

passed from a man into a god, though, indeed, a god to men, not to the different parts of nature, thus leaving to the Father of all the place of King and God of gods. Does one who has obtained so great a preferment deserve to be considered a slave and not rather the solely free? Though he was not deemed worthy of divine rank in his own right, yet because he had God for a friend, he was bound to have absolute felicity, for he had no feeble champion, nor one neglectful of the rights of friendship in Him who is the comrade’s god and keeps watch over the claims of comradeship. Further again, just as with cities, those which lie under an oligarchy or tyranny suffer enslavement, because they have cruel and severe masters, who keep them in subjection under their sway, while those which have laws to care for and protect them are free, so, too, with men. Those in whom anger or desire or any other passion, or again any insidious vice holds sway, are entirely enslaved, while all whose life is regulated by law are free. And right reason is an infallible law engraved not by this mortal or that and, therefore, perishable as he, nor on parchment or slabs, and, therefore, soulless as they, but by immortal nature on the immortal mind, never to perish. So, one may well wonder at the short-sightedness of those who ignore the characteristics which so clearly distinguish different things and declare that the laws of Solon and Lycurgus are all-sufficient to secure the freedom of the greatest of republics, Athens and Sparta, because their sovereign authority is loyally accepted by those who enjoy that citizenship, yet deny that right reason, which is the a text cited elsewhere several times. Cf. in particular Quod Det. 161 ff.
PHILO

*The source of these two quotations is unknown. The second is quoted by Marcus Aurelius xi. 80.*

The point of the words “some . . . free” is obscure both here and below and their expunction has been suggested. I think they are defensible here, but not below, where I suggest that they may have been inserted in mistaken analogy. The argument, as I understand it, is, ἴσηγορία between persons implies that they are of the same status, both free.
EVERY GOOD MAN IS FREE, 47–51

fountain head of all other law, can impart freedom to the wise, who obey all that it prescribes or forbids.

Further, besides these just mentioned, 48 we have a very clear evidence of freedom in the equality recognized by all the good in addressing each other. Thus it is argued that the following iambic verses contain sound philosophy:

No part or lot in law has any slave
and again

A slave thou art, no right of speech hast thou. a

Just as the laws of music put all adepts in music on an equal footing in discussing that art and the laws of grammar and geometry do the same for their respective professionals, so, too, the laws of human life and conduct create a similar equality between those who are proficient in life-matters. But the good are all proficient in such matters, because their proficiency embraces the whole of nature. Some of the good are admittedly free, b and, therefore, all who enjoy the right to address them on an equal footing are free also. Consequently none of the good is a slave but all are free. VIII. By the same line of argument it will appear that the fool is a slave. The laws of music, of grammar, of art in general, do not put the un musical, the illiterate, the inartistic in or both slaves. All good men, being proficient in the laws or art of conduct, have ἰσηγ. with each other, therefore they are all either free or slaves. And as no one denies that some good men are free, they must all be free.

The negative argument is, the bad man, being unprofitable in the said laws or art, has no ἰσηγ. with the proficient, and as all free men have ἰσηγ. with each other the bad cannot be free. I do not see how one can fit “some of the good are free” into this.
PHILO

πρὸς μεμουσωμένους οὔδ' ὁ κατὰ γραμματικὴν ἀγραμμάτοις πρὸς γραμματικοὺς οὔδὲ συνόλως ὁ τεχνικὸς πρὸς τεχνίτας ἀτέχνους, οὕτως οὔδ' ὁ βιωτικὸς νόμος ἰσηγορίας μεταδίδωσι τοῖς κατὰ 52 τὸν βίον ἀπεῖροι πρὸς ἐμπείρους. τοῖς δ' ἐλευθέροις ἢ ἐκ νόμου πᾶσιν ἰσηγορία διδόται· [καὶ εἰς τινες τῶν σπουδαίων ἐλεύθεροι·] καὶ τῶν βιωτικῶν ἀπειρομένων μὲν οἱ φαύλοι, ἐμπειρότατοι δ' οἱ σοφοὶ· οὔκ ἀρ' εἰς τινες τῶν φαύλων ἐλεύθεροι, δοῦλοι 53 δὲ πάντες. ὁ δὲ Ζήνων, εἰ καὶ τὸς ἄλλος ὑπὸ ἀρετῆς ἀχθείς, νεανικώτερον ἀποδείκνυσι περὶ τοῦ μὴ εἶναι τοὺς φαύλους ἰσηγορίαν πρὸς ἀστείους· γὰρ· "οὐκ οἰμώξεται μὲν ὁ φαύλος, ἐὰν ἀντιλέγη τῷ σπουδαίῳ·" οὔκ ἀρ' ἐστίν ἰσηγορία 54 τῷ φαύλῳ πρὸς σπουδαίου. οἶδ' ὅτι πολλοὶ τοῦ λόγου κατακεραυνήσουσιν ὡς αὐθαίρετο τὸ πλέον ἐρωτηθέντος ἢ συνέσει. μετὰ δὲ τὴν χλεύην παύσασιν τοῦ γέλωτος ἥν ἐθελήσωσι διακύβευσι καὶ τὸ λεγόμενον σαφῶς ἐρευνῆσαι, καταπλαγέντες αὐτοῦ τὸ ἀφευδέ εἶσονται, ὅτι ἐπ' οὐδενὶ μάλλον 55 οἰμώξεται τις ἢ τῷ μὴ πειθαρχεῖν τῷ σοφῷ. ξημία γὰρ χρημάτων ἢ ἀτυχία ἢ φυγαὶ ἢ αἱ διὰ πληγῶν ύβρεις ἢ ὁσα ὀμοιότροπα βραχέα καὶ τὸ μηδὲν ἀντιτιθέμενα κακίαι καὶ δὲν αἱ κακίαι δημιουργοί. τοὺς δὲ πολλοὺς, οὐ συνορώντας τὰς ψυχῆς βλάβας

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*Cohn and Arnim in S. V. F. i. 228 take this sentence as part of the quotation from Zeno. It seems to me better to take it as Philo's inference from Zeno's dictum. To include it in Zeno's words would imply that he made a point of 40*
EVERY GOOD MAN IS FREE, 51–55

general on an equal footing in discussion with the musical, the literary and the artistic. In the same way the laws of life and conduct do not put the unproficient in life matters on an equal footing in discussion with the proficient. But this right of equal discussion, which these laws give, is given to all the free [and some of the good are free]. And in life-matters the bad are unproficient, while the wise are most proficient and consequently none of the bad is free but all are slaves. Zeno, who lived under the direction of virtue to an unsurpassed degree, proves still more forcibly that the bad are not on equal terms in addressing the virtuous. "Shall not the bad rue it if he gainsay the good?" he says. The bad man, therefore, has no right to speak to a good man as his equal.

I am aware that many people will pour abuse on such words and hold that Zeno's question shows presumption rather than good sense. But when they have had their jeering and stopped laughing, if they are willing to look closely and seek for a clear understanding of the saying, they will to their utter confusion recognize its absolute truth and that nothing will a man rue more than refusal to listen to the wise. For confiscation of money or disfranchisement or banishment or the cruel disgrace of the lash, or anything else of the same kind, are small things and of no account when set against vices and the results which vices produce. But the majority, who through the blindness of their reason do not discern the damages which the soul has sustained, ἱσηγορία, and one might expect to hear more of it, but the term does not appear elsewhere in S.V.F. Also § 54 deals entirely with Zeno's question and not with the inference drawn from it.

Or perhaps "the argument," see note on De Aet. 143.

41
PHILO

dia logismou pírwar, epit mónais taís éktos sμμ-
βέβηκεν ἀχθεσθαι, to kritíρion ἀφηρημένous, ὥ
56 μόνω καταλαβείν ἐστι διανοιας ζημίαν. εἰ δὲ
δυνηθείεν ἀναβλέψαι, θεασάμενοi τάς δι' ἀφροσύνης
[454] ἀπάτας καὶ τάς ἐκ | δειλίας ἐπηρείας καὶ ὁσα
ἀκολασία παρόνησεν ἡ ἀδικία παρηνόμησεν, ἐπί
taís toí ἀρίστου συμφοραῖς λύπης ἀπαύστων γε-
mισθέντες οὐδὲ παρηγορίας δι' ὑπερβολάς κακῶν
57 ἀνέξονται. ἔοικε δὲ ὁ Ζήνων ἀρύσασθαι
tὸν λόγον ὀσπερ ἀπὸ πηγῆς τῆς Ἰουδαίων νομο-
θεσίας, ἐν ἔ δυοῦν ὄντων ἄδελφοι, τοῦ μὲν σώ-
φρονος, τοῦ ὥ ἀκολάστου, λαβὼν οἰκτὸν ὁ κοινὸς
ἀμφοῖν πατή τοῦ μὴ ἐπ' ἀρετὴν ἤκοντος εὐχεταί,
ίνα δουλεύῃ τῷ ἄδελφῳ, τὸ δοκοῦν μέγιστον
εὑραί κακόν, δουλείαν, ἀγαθὸν τελεώτατον ὑπο-
lαμβάνων ἄφρονι, τὸ μὲν αὐτεξουσιον ἀφηρη-
mένω πρὸς τῷ μὴ σὺν ἀδεία πλημμελεῖν, ἐκ δὲ τῆς
tοῦ προεστῶτος προστασίας βελτιωθησομένῳ τὸ
ἥθος.

58 IX. Τὰ μὲν οὖν λεχθέντα πρὸς τὴν τοῦ ζητου-
μένου διασύστασιν ἐμοιγε ἀποχρῶντα ἤν. ἐπει δὲ
tὰ ποικίλα τῶν νοσημάτων ἰατροὺς ἔθος ποικιλω-
tέραις ἰάσθαι θεραπείαις, ἀνάγκη καὶ τοῖς παρα-
δόξοις νομιζομένοι τῶν προβλημάτων διὰ τὸ ἀηθε-
σεῖν πίστεις ἐπαλλήλους προσεγχρίοντας τόμοις
γὰρ ἐνιοὶ συνεχεῖα πληττόμενοι τῶν ἀποδείγεων
59 αἰσθάνονται. λέγεται τοῖνυν οὐκ ἀπὸ σκοποῦ, ὦτι

a Gen. xxvii. 40 “Thou shalt serve (δουλεύῃς) thy brother.” Cf. De Cong. 176. For the idea that Zeno drew
from Moses cf. the ascription of Heracleitus’s doctrine of the opposites to him, Quis Rerum 214.
b The word perhaps carries on the idea of medical treat-
EVERY GOOD MAN IS FREE, 55–59

Only feel the pain of external injuries, because the faculty of judgement, which alone can enable them to apprehend the damage to the mind, is taken from them. But if they could recover their sight, observing the delusions which folly brings and the outrages wrought by cowardice and all that the sottishness of incontinence and the lawlessness of injustice has done, they will be filled with ceaseless sorrow at the calamitous plight of the best thing they possess, and even refuse to listen to consolation, so vast are the evils which have befallen them. We may well suppose that the fountain from which Zeno drew this thought was the law-book of the Jews, which tells of two brothers, one wise and temperate, the other incontinent, how the father of them both prayed in pity for him who had not attained to virtue that he should be his brother's slave. He held that slavery, which men think the worst of evils, was the best possible boon to the fool, because the loss of independence would prevent him from transgressing without fear of punishment, and his character would be improved under the control of the authority set above him.

IX. I have now said all that appeared to me necessary to prove the proposition, but just as physicians regularly use a greater multiformity of treatment to cure multiform diseases, so when statements regarded as paradoxical are put forward, their unfamiliarity renders it necessary to apply a succession of proofs to bear upon the subject. For some can only be brought to understand under the impact of a continued series of demonstrations. Thus the following

Ment, i.e. ointment or liniment, but more probably, as suggested by πληττόμενοι, friction, "rubbing it in."
ο φρονίμως πάντα ποιών εὖ ποιεῖ πάντα, ὃ δ' εὖ ποιών πάντα άρθρως ποιεῖ πάντα, ὃ δ' άρθρως πάντα ποιών καὶ ἀναμαρτήτως καὶ ἀμέμπτως καὶ ἀνεπιλήπτως καὶ ἀνυπευθύνως καὶ αξημίως, ὥστ' ἐξουσίαν σχήσει πάντα δράν καὶ ζήν ως βούλεται· ὃ δὲ ταῦτ' ἔξεστιν, ἔλευθερος ἄν εἰη. ἂλλὰ μὴν πάντα φρονίμως ποιεῖ ὁ ἀστεῖος· μόνος ἃρα ἐστὶν ἔλευθερος. καὶ μὴν ὁ ἢν ἐνδεχεται μήτ' ἀναγκάζαι μήπες καλύπται, ἐκεῖνος οὐκ ᾗν εἰὴ δοῦλος· τὸν δὲ σπουδαίον οὐκ ἐστὶν οὔτ' ἀναγκάζαται οὔτε καλύπτατι· οὐκ ἃρα δοῦλος ὁ σπουδαῖος. ὃτι δ' οὔτ' ἀναγκάζεται οὔτε καλύπτει, δῆλον· καλύπτει μὲν γὰρ ὁ μὴ τυγχάνων ἃν ὅμεται, ὅμεται δ' ὁ σοφὸς τῶν ἀπ' ἀρετῆς, ὃν ἀποτυγχάνειν οὐ πέφυκε. καὶ μὴν εἰ ἀναγκάζεται, δῆλον ὃτι ἄκων τι ποιεῖ· ἐν οἷς δὲ αἱ πράξεις, ἡ ἀπ' ἀρετῆς εἰσί κατορθώματα ἡ ἀπὸ κακίας ἀμαρτήματα ἡ μέσα καὶ ἀδιάφορα.

1 τὰ μὲν οὖν ἀπ' ἀρετῆς οὐ βιασθεὶς ἀλλ' ἐκών— αἱρετὰ γάρ ἐστὶν αὐτῷ πάνθ' ἀ δρά,—, τὰ δ' ἀπὸ κακίας ἀτε φευκτὰ οὐδ' ὅναρ πράττει· οὐδὲ μὴν τὰ ἀδιάφορα εἰκός, πρὸς ἀ καθάπερ ἐπὶ πλάστιγγος ἡ διάνοια ἰσορροπεῖ, δεδιδαγμένη μὴτε ως ὁλκὸν ἔχουσι δύναμιν ἐνδιόναι μὴθ' ὑς ἀποστροφῆς αξίως δυσχεραίνειν. ἐξ ὃν ἐστὶ δῆλον, ὃτι οὖθεν

1 Perhaps ἀνθρώποις (written ἀνοις) δὲ, see note a.

a Literally “things in which there are actions are righteous actions,” etc., which is hardly sense. Arnim's correction to ἀνθρώποις δὲ (see note 1) is very probable.
EVERY GOOD MAN IS FREE, 59–61

argument is well to the point. He who always acts sensibly, always acts well: he who always acts well, always acts rightly: he who always acts rightly, also acts impeccably, blamelessly, faultlessly, irrepairably, harmlessly, and, therefore, will have the power to do anything, and to live as he wishes, and he who has this power must be free. But the good man always acts sensibly, and, therefore, he alone is free. Again, one who cannot be compelled to do anything or prevented from doing anything, cannot be a slave. But the good man cannot be compelled or prevented: the good man, therefore, cannot be a slave. That he is not compelled nor prevented is evident. One is prevented when he does not get what he desires, but the wise man desires things which have their origin in virtue, and these, being what he is, he cannot fail to obtain. Further, if one is compelled he clearly acts against his will. But where there are actions, they are either righteous actions born of virtue or wrong actions born of vice or neutral and indifferent. The virtuous actions he performs not under constraint but willingly, since all that he does are what he holds to be desirable. The vicious are to be eschewed and therefore he never dreams of doing them. Naturally too in matters indifferent he does not act under compulsion. To these, as on a balance his mind preserves its equipoise, trained neither to surrender to them in acknowledgement of their superior weight, nor yet to regard them with hostility, as deserving aversion. Whence it is clear that he does nothing

\footnote{b} Philo cannot of course mean "that he does not do indifferent actions," and we must understand \(\text{κακότητα πράτ-πτεω}\). Ambrose's paraphrase "indifferentibus ita non movetur ut nullis momentis... inclinetur" looks as if he read something else (? \(\text{eikē}\)).
οίκων ποιεί ούδ' ἀναγκάζεται· δούλος δ' εἴπερ ἴν, ἡναγκάζετ' ἀν' ὦστ' ἐλεύθερος ἄν εἰη ὁ ἀστείος.

Χ. Ἐπεὶ δὲ τινες τῶν ἦκιστα κεχορευκότων Μούσαις λόγων ἀποδεικτικῶν οὐ συνιέντες, οἱ τὰς καθόλου τῶν πραγμάτων ἐμφάσεις παριστάσαν, εἰώθασιν ἐρωτᾶν· τίνες οὖν ἡ πρότερον γεγόναν ἄνδρες ἡ νῦν εἰσιν, ὅποιοις ἀναπλάττετε; καλὸν γε ἄποκρώνασθαι, ὅτι καὶ πάλαι τινες ἦσαν οἱ τῶν καθ' ἐαυτοὺς ἁρετῇ διεφερον, ἡγεμόνι μόνῳ θεῶ χρώμενοι καὶ κατὰ νόμον, τὸν ὅρθον φύσεως λόγον, ξώντες, οὐκ ἐλεύθεροι μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς πλησίαζοντας ἐλευθέρου φρονήματος ἀναπιμπλάντες, καὶ ἐφ' ἡμῶν αὐτῶν ἐτ' εἰσιν ἄσπετο εἰκόνες ἀπὸ ἀρχέτυπον γραφῆς, σοφῶν ἄνδρῶν καλοκαγαθίας, τυπωθέντες. οὐ γάρ, εἰ αἱ τῶν ἀντιλεγόντων ψυχαὶ κεχηρεύκασιν ἐλευθερίας, ὅπ' ἀφροσύνης καὶ τῶν ἄλλων κακῶν δουλαγωγηθείσαι, διὰ τοῦτο καὶ τὸ τῶν ἀνθρώπων γένος. εἰ δὲ μὴ κατὰ στίφῃ μεγάλα προίσασιν ἁγεληδόν, θαμμαστὸν οὐδὲν πρῶτον μέν, ὅτι τὰ λίαν καλὰ σπάνια, εἰτ' ἐπειδὴ τὸν τῶν εἰκαιστέρων ἐκτρεπόμενοι πολὺν ὢμιλον θεωρία τῶν τῆς φύσεως σχολάζουσιν, εὐχόμενοι μέν, εἰ πως ἠνὶν, ἐπανορθώσασθαι τὸν βίον—κοινωφελὲς γάρ ἡ ἁρετή,—τὸ δὲ ἄδυνασθε τοι, πλησιάζοντων κατὰ πόλεις ἀλλοκότων πραγμάτων, ἡ ψυχῆς πάθη (καὶ) κακίαι συνηύζησαν, ἀποδιδράσκουσιν, ὡς μὴ

a Lit. “set forth the general appearances of things,” meaning I suppose the impressions they produce as a whole when we do not examine them in detail.

b ἀναπιμπλάντες perhaps has the common meaning of “infect,” though here used in a good sense. Cf. De Prov. 71.

c For this thought of the rarity and retiring nature of the
unwillingly and is never compelled, whereas if he were a slave he would be compelled, and therefore the good man will be a free man.

X. But among those who have kept little company with the Muses, there are some who have no understanding of the methods of logical deduction, but make general statements based on appearances. These people often ask “who have there been in the past, and who are there living now of the kind that you imagine?” An excellent answer is that in the past there have been those who surpassed their contemporaries in virtue, who took God for their sole guide and lived according to a law of nature’s right reason, not only free themselves, but communicating to their neighbours the spirit of freedom: also in our own time there are still men formed as it were in the likeness of the original picture supplied by the high excellence of sages. For it does not follow that if the souls of the gainsayers have been bereft of freedom, held in bondage to folly and the other vices, the same is true of the human race. Nor is it a matter for wonder that the good do not appear herded in great throngs. First because specimens of great goodness are rare, secondly, because they avoid the great crowd of the more thoughtless and keep themselves at leisure for the contemplation of what nature has to show. Their prayer is that if possible they may work a reformation in the lives of the others, for virtue serves the common weal. But as this is made impossible through the atrocious doings which flood the cities, gathering strength from the passions and vices of the soul, they flee right away

good cf. De Mut. 34-38, where it is associated with the text “Enoch was not found.”
τῇ ρύμῃ τῆς φορᾶς καθάπερ ἀπὸ χειμάρρου βίας κατασυρεΐεν. ἡμᾶς δὲ, εἰ βελτιώσεως ζῆλος τις ἦν, ἰχνηλατῶν ἐδει τὰς τούτων καταδύσεις καὶ ἰκέτας καθεξομένους παρακαλεῖν, ἵνα τεθηριωμένον τὸν βίον προσελθόντες ἥξημερώσωσιν, ἀντὶ πολέμου καὶ δούλειας καὶ κακῶν ἀμυθήτων εἰρήνην καὶ ἐλευθερίαν καὶ τὴν τῶν ἄλλων ἀγαθῶν ἀφθονίαν περιπρεμένην καταγγείλαντες. νυνὶ δὲ χρημάτων μὲν ἑνεκά πάντας μυχοὺς ἐρευνώμεν καὶ γῆς στρυφνᾶς καὶ ἀποκρότους φλέβας ἀναστέλλομεν, καὶ μεταλλεύεται μὲν πολλῇ τῆς πεδιάδος, μεταλλεύεται δὲ οὐκ ὀλγή τῆς ὀρεινής, χρυσὸν καὶ ἀργυρόν, χαλκὸν τε καὶ σίδηρον, καὶ τὰς ἄλλας ὕλας ἀναζητοῦντων. θεοπλαστοῦσα δὲ ἡ κενὴ δόξα τὸν τύφον ἀχρι καὶ βυθοῦ κατέβη θαλάττης διερευνωμένη, μὴ τι τῶν πρὸς αἰσθήσειν ἀφανὲς ἐναπόκειται ποιναλὸν καὶ λίθων ποικίλων καὶ πολυτελῶν ἀνευροῦσα ἱδέας, τὰς μὲν πέτραις προσεπυκυίας, τὰς δ' ἀστρέωσι, αἱ καὶ τιμαλφέστεραι γεγονασίν, ὃφεως ἀπάτην ἔζετίμησε. φρονήσεως δὲ ἡ σωφροσύνης ἡ ἄνδρειας ἡ δικαιοσύνης ἑνεκα γῆ μὲν ἀπόρευτος ἐστὶ καὶ ἡ βάσιμος, πελάγη δὲ ἁπλωτὰ τὰ καθ' ἐκάστην ὄραν τὸτε ζυγώμενος ἐμπλεόμενα. 68 καίτοι τίς ἡ μακρᾶς ὄδουπορίας ἡ τοῦ θαλαττευέν. χρεία πρὸς ἑρευνᾶν καὶ ζήτησιν ἀρετῆς, ἡς τὰς ἐράς ὁ ποιῶν οὐ μακρὰν ἀλλ' οὕτως πλησίον ἐβάλετο; καθάπερ καὶ ὁ σοφὸς τῶν Ἰουδαίων νομοθέτης φησίν. "ἐν τῷ ἀθώτῳ σου καὶ ἐν τῇ καρδίᾳ σου καὶ ἐν ταῖς χερσὶ σου." αἰνιττόμενος

1 So one ms. (S). The others either omit or have περιφ...
lest they should be swept down by the force of their onrush, as by the violence of a torrent. But we, if we had any zeal for betterment should track them to their hiding places, and sitting as suppliants before them, exhort them to join us and humanize our bestial life, in place of war and slavery and a host of ills proclaiming peace, liberty and the overflowing abundance of all other blessings. As it is, for the sake of money we ransack every corner and open up rough and rocky veins of earth, and much of the low land and no small part of the high land is mined in the quest of gold and silver, copper and iron, and the other like substances. The empty-headed way of thinking, deifying vanity, dives to the depths of the sea, searching whether some fair treasure to delight the senses lies hidden there.\(^a\) And when it has found different kinds of many-coloured precious stones, some adhering to rocks, others, the more highly prized, to shells, it gives every honour to the beguiling spectacle. But for wisdom or temperance or courage or justice, no journey is taken by land, even though it gives easy travelling, no seas are navigated, though the skippers sail them every summer season. Yet what need is there of long journeying on the land or voyaging on the seas to seek and search for virtue, whose roots have been set by their Maker ever so near us, as the wise legislator of the Jews also says, “in thy mouth, in thy heart and in thy hand,” thereby indicating in

\(^a\) Mangey translates “numquid pretiosum adhuc fugiens sensum ibi reponatur.” But this, which is certainly simpler, would require the omission of τῶν.
PHILO

διὰ συμβόλων λόγους, βουλάς, πράξεις, ἀ δὴ πάντα
69 γεωργικὴς τέχνης δεῖται. οἱ μὲν οὖν ἀργίαν πόνον
προτιμήσαντες οὐ μόνον τὰς βλάστας ἐκώλυσαν,
ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰς ρίζας ἀφανάντας ἐφθειραν· οἱ δὲ
σχολὴν μὲν βλαβερὸν ἤγομενοι, πονεῖν δὲ ἐθέ-
lontes, ὡσπερ εὐγενὴ μοσχεύματα γεωργοῦντες,
tῷ συνεχεὶ τῆς ἐπιμελείας οὐρανομῆκες ἐστελέχω-
san ἅρετας, ἀειθαλῆ καὶ ἀθάνατα ερνη καρπόν
φέροντες εὐδαιμονίαν οὐδέποτε λήγοντα ἢ, ὡς τινες,
οὐ φέροντες, ἀλλ' αὐτὰ ὅντα εὐδαιμονίαν, ὁ Μωυσῆς
ἀνόματι συνθέτω καλεῖν εἴωθεν ὀλοκαρπόματα.
70 ἐπὶ μὲν γὰρ τῶν ἐκ γῆς βλαστανόντων οὔθ' ὁ
carpós ἐστὶ δένδρα οὔτε τὰ δένδρα καρπὸς, ἐπὶ δὲ
tῶν ἐν ψυχῇ φυομένων ὀλὰ δι’ ὅλων εἰς καρποῦ
φύσιν μεταβέβληκε τὰ ἐρνη, τὸ φρονίσεως, τὸ
71 δικαιοσύνης, τὸ ἀνδρείας, τὸ σωφροσύνης. XI.
ἐχοντες οὖν τοιαύτας παρ’ ἑαυτοῖς ἀφορμὰς οὐκ
ἐρυθρωμέν ἐνδεικτας σοφίας ἀνθρώπων γένει καταγ-
gέλλοντες, ἦν δυνατὸν ἢν ἐκφυσήσαντας καθάπερ
ἐν ύλῇ σπινθήρᾳ τυφόμενον ζωπυρῆσαι; ἀλλὰ γὰρ
πρὸς τοῦ μὲν σπεύδειν ἔχρην ὡς συγγενέστατα καὶ
οἰκεῖότατα, πολὺς ὄκνος καὶ ῥαθυμία συνεχὴς, ὡς
ὁ νὰ καλοκαγαθίας σπέρματα διαφθείρεται, ἐν
72 διὰ τοῦτο πλοῦσιν μὲν καὶ ἐνδόξων καὶ ταῖς ἡδο-
naiς χρωμένων μεστῆ γῆ καὶ θάλαττα, φρονίμων
dὲ καὶ δικαίων καὶ ἀστείων ὀλίγος ἀριθμὸς· τὸ δὲ

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a The whole section is founded on Deut. xxx. 11-14, part
EVERY GOOD MAN IS FREE, 68–72

a figure, words, thoughts and actions? All these, indeed, need the cultivator's skill. Those who prefer idleness to labour, not only prevent the growths but also wither and destroy the roots. But those who consider inaction mischievous and are willing to labour, do as the husbandman does with fine young shoots. By constant care they rear the virtues into stems rising up to heaven, saplings everblooming and immortal, bearing and never ceasing to bear the fruits of happiness, or as some hold, not so much bearing as being in themselves that happiness. These Moses often calls by the compound name of wholefruits. In the case of growths which spring from the earth, neither are the trees the fruit nor the fruit the trees, but in the soul's plantation the saplings of wisdom, of justice, of temperance, have their whole being transformed completely into fruits. XI. Having then in us such potentialities, should we not blush to denounce the human race as lacking in wisdom, wisdom which the bellows could kindle into a blaze like the spark which smoulders in the firewood? And yet these things for which we should strive eagerly, things so closely akin to ourselves, so truly our own, we treat with great slackness and constant indifference and thus destroy the germs of excellence, while those things in which deficiency were a merit we desire with an insatiable yearning. Consequently land and sea are full of the rich, the distinguished and the men of pleasure, but of the wise and just and virtuous, the number is small. But this small body though scanty

of which is actually quoted, a passage often used by Philo, e.g. De Virt. 183, and with the same interpretation of v. 14.

b See App. p. 511.
PHILO

73 ολίγον, εἰ καὶ σπάνιον, οὐκ ἀνύπαρκτον. μάρτυς δὲ ἡ Ἐλλάς καὶ ἡ βάρβαρος· ἐν τῇ μὲν γὰρ οἱ ἑτύμως ἐπτὰ σοφοὶ προσονομασθέντες ἤνθησαν, καὶ ἄλλων πρότερον καὶ ἀδῆς ὡς εἰκὸς ἀκμασάντων, δὲν ἡ μνήμη παλαιοτέρων μὲν ὄντων μὴκει χρόνων ἡφανίσθη, νεαζόντων δὲ ἐτι δὶὰ τὴν ἐπιπολάζουσαν τῶν συνόντων ολιγωρίαν ἐξαμαυροῦται.

74 Κατὰ δὲ τὴν βάρβαρον, ἐν ἡ πρεσβευταὶ λόγων καὶ ἔργων,¹ πολυανθρωπότατα στίφη καλῶν καὶ ἀγαθῶν ἐστιν ἀνδρῶν καὶ ἀγαθῶν ἐστιν ἄνδρῶν· ἐν Πέρσαις μὲν τὸ μάγων, οἱ τὰ φύσεως ἔργα διερευνώμενοι πρὸς ἐπίγνωσιν τῆς ἀληθείας καθ’ ἡσυχίαν τὰς θείας ἀρετὰς προσεταξε λόγων εργα. Αἱ Μαγγαὶ δὲ τὸ γυμνοσοφιστῶν, οἱ πρὸς τῇ [457] φυσικῇ καὶ τῇ ἡθικῇ φιλοσοφίᾳ διαπονοῦντες ὅλον ἐπίδειξιν ἄρετῆς πεποίηται τῶν βίων.

75 XII. ἐστὶ δὲ καὶ ἡ Παλαιστίνη Συρία καλοκά-

¹ So one ms. (F). Of the others three have πρεσβευταὶ λόγων ἔργων, three πρεσβευταὶ λόγων ἔργων, and one (M) προσεταξε λόγων ἔργα. The characteristic common to these seven is the omission of καὶ after λόγων. I suggest with considerable confidence ἐν ἡ πρεσβευταὶ λόγων ἔργα “in which deeds are held in higher esteem than words.” The use of πρεσβεύομαι with the genitive is quoted from Plato, Legg. 879 b and need cause no difficulty, though πρεσβεύω is perhaps more common. I submit that it is quite supported by what Philo goes on to say of the “barbarians.” The Magi search into the words of nature καθ’ ἡσυχίαν. The Essenes (cf. De Vit. Cont. 1) representing the practical life, avoid the περιεργία Ἐλληνικῶν ὄνομάτων, § 88, and the gymnosophists, as exemplified by Calanus, do not practise λόγους εἰς πανηγυρὶ, § 96. See also App. p. 513.

52
is not absolutely non-existent.\textsuperscript{a} For this we have 73 the testimony, both of Greece and the world outside Greece. In Greece there flourished the sages known also by the appropriate \textsuperscript{b} name of the Seven, and we might expect that both before them and after them, others had their day, though the memory of the more ancient has vanished in the lapse of many years, and is dimmed in the case of those whose lives are still recent through the widespread neglect of their contemporaries.

In the outside world where are those who spread 74 the message by words and deeds,\textsuperscript{c} we find large associations of men of the highest excellence. Among the Persians there is the order of the Magi, who silently make research into the facts of nature to gain knowledge of the truth and through visions clearer than speech, give and receive the revelations of divine excellency.\textsuperscript{d} In India, too, there is the order of the Gymnosophists, who study ethical as well as physical philosophy and make the whole of their lives an exhibition of virtue.\textsuperscript{e}

XII. Palestinian Syria, too, has not 75

\textsuperscript{a} So too in \textit{De Mut.} 35-37, though some say that \textit{σοφία} and \textit{ὁ σοφός} are \textit{ἄνυπαρκτος}, the conclusion is that each of them is \textit{ὑπάρκτον πράγμα}.

\textsuperscript{b} "Appropriate," because \textit{ἐπτά} is supposed to be derived from \textit{σεμνός} and \textit{σεβασμός}, \textit{cf. De Op.} 127. But see App. p. 512.

\textsuperscript{c} This translation of the only translatable reading found in any one \textit{ms.} is given in despair, for I do not believe that "ambassadors of words and deeds" is a possible expression. Cohn, \textit{Hermes}, 1916, p. 174, thinks that \textit{πρεσβευταί} here = "cultores." But no example for such a sense of the noun is cited. For what I believe to be the true reading see note 1.

\textsuperscript{d} \textit{Cf.} the very similar remarks in \textit{Spec. Leg.} iii. 100 and note vol. vii. pp. 635 f.

\textsuperscript{e} On the Gymnosophists see App. p. 513.
γαθίας ούκ ἁγονος, ἦν πολυανθρωποτάτου ἑθνους τῶν Ἰουδαίων ούκ ὀλίγη μοῖρα νέμεται. λέγονταὶ τινες παρ’ αὐτῶς ὄνομα Ἰσσαῖοι, πλῆθος ὑπερτερακισχίλιοι, κατ’ ἐμὴν δόξαν—οὐκ ἀκριβεὶ τύ-πω διαλέκτου Ἐλληνικῆς—παρώνυμοι ὀσίοτητος, ἐπειδὴ κἂν τοῖς μάλιστα θεραπευταί θεοῦ γεγό-νοσων, οὐ ξάα καταθύνοντες, ἀλλ’ ἱεροπρεπεῖς τὰς 76 έαυτῶν διανοίας κατασκευάζειν ἄξιον ἦν. οὕτω τὸ μὲν πρῶτον κωμηδὸν οἰκοῦσι τὰς πόλεις ἐκ-τρεπόμενοι διὰ τὰς τῶν πολιτευόμενων χειροῆθες ἀνωμίας, εἶδότες ἐκ τῶν συνόντων ὡς ἀπ’ ἀέρος φθοροποιοῦ νόσον ἐγγινομένην προσβολὴν ψυχαίς ἀνίσιμον: ὅτι οὐ μὲν γεωπονοῦντες, οὐ δὲ τέχνας μετιόντες ὧσαι συνεργάτιδες εἰρήνης, ἐαυτοὺς τε καὶ τοὺς πλησιάζοντας ὠφελοῦσιν, οὐκ ἀργυρον καὶ χρυσὸν θησαυροφύλακοι τοῖς, ἀπότομας γῆς μεγάλας κτώμενοι δι’ ἐπιθυμίαν προσόδων, ἀλλ’ ὥσα πρὸς τὰς ἀνάγκαις τοῦ βίου χρείας ἐκπορί-77 ξοντες. μόνοι γὰρ ἔξ ἀπάντων σχεδὸν ἀνθρώπων ἀχρήματοι καὶ ἀκτήμονες γεγονότες ἐπιτηδεύει τὸ πλέον ἢ ἐνδείᾳ εὐτυχίας πλουσιώτατοι νομίζωντα, τὴν ὀλυγοδέαν καὶ εὐκολίαν, ὄπερ ἔστι, 78 κρίνοντες περιουσίαν. βελών ἢ ἀκόντων ἢ ξυφι-δίων ἢ κράνους ἢ θώρακος ἢ ἀσπίδων οὔδενα παρ’ αὐτῶς ἃν εὐροὶς δημιουργοῦν οὐδ’ συνόλως ὀπλο-ποιοῦν ἢ μηχανοποιοῦν ἢ τι τῶν κατὰ πόλεμον ἐπιτηδεύοντα· ἀλλ’ οὐδ’ ὦσα τῶν κατ’ εἰρήνῃν εὐόλισθα εἰς κακίαν ἐμπορίας γὰρ ἢ κατηλείας ἢ

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a For observations on the relation of this description of the Essenes (§§ 75-91) to those in the Hypothetica (pp. 437 ff. of this volume) and in Josephus see App. p. 514.

54
failed to produce high moral excellence. In this country live a considerable part of the very populous nation of the Jews, including as it is said, certain persons, more than four thousand in number, called Essenes. Their name which is, I think, a variation, though the form of the Greek is inexact, of οσιότης (holiness), is given them, because they have shown themselves especially devout in the service of God, not by offering sacrifices of animals, but by resolving to sanctify their minds. The first thing about these people is that they live in villages and avoid the cities because of the iniquities which have become inveterate among city dwellers, for they know that their company would have a deadly effect upon their own souls, like a disease brought by a pestilential atmosphere. Some of them labour on the land and others pursue such crafts as co-operate with peace and so benefit themselves and their neighbours. They do not hoard gold and silver or acquire great slices of land because they desire the revenues therefrom, but provide what is needed for the necessary requirements of life. For while they stand almost alone in the whole of mankind in that they have become moneyless and landless by deliberate action rather than by lack of good fortune, they are esteemed exceedingly rich, because they judge frugality with contentment to be, as indeed it is, an abundance of wealth. As for darts, javelins, daggers, or the helmet, breastplate or shield, you could not find a single manufacturer of them, nor, in general, any person making weapons or engines or plying any industry concerned with war, nor, indeed, any of the peaceful kind, which easily lapse into vice, for they have not the vaguest idea of commerce either wholesale or
ναυκληρίας οὐδ’ ὄναρ ἰσασὶ, τὰς εἰς πλεονεξίαν 
79 ἀφορμὰς ἀποδιστομπούμενοι. δούλος τε παρ’ ἀυτοῖς οὐδὲ εἰς ἐστιν, ἀλλ’ ἐλεύθεροι πάντες ἀνθ
υπουργοῦντες ἀλλήλοις: καταγινώσκουσὶ τε τῶν 
δεσποτῶν, οὐ μόνον ὡς ἄδικων, ἰσότητα λυμανο
μένων, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὡς ἁσεβῶν, θεσμὸν φύσεως ἀναποφέυ
των, ἡ πάντας ὁμοίως γεννήσασα καὶ 
θρεψάμενη μητρὸς δίκην ἄδελφοὺς γνησίους, οὐ 
[158] λεγομένους ἀλλ’ ὄντας ὄντως, ἁπειρόγαστο· ὃν 
τὴν συγγένειαν ἢ ἐπίβουλος πλεονεξία παρευν
μερήσασα διεσεισεν, ἀντ’ οἰκειότητος ἀλλοτριότητα 
80 καὶ ἀντὶ φιλίας ἔχθραν ἐργασαμένη. 
φιλοσοφίας 
τε τὸ μὲν λογικὸν ὡς οὐκ ἀναγκαίον εἰς κτήσιν ἀρετὴς λογοθερας, τὸ δὲ φυσικὸν ὡς μείζον ἡ 
κατὰ ἀνθρωπίνην φύσιν μετεωρολέσχαι ἀπολύν
τες, πλὴν ὅσον αὐτοῦ περὶ ὑπάρξεως θεοῦ καὶ τῆς 
τοῦ παντός γενέσεως φιλοσοφεῖται, τὸ ἡθικὸν εὐ 
μάλα διαπονοοῦσιν ἀλετταῖς χρῶμενοι τοῖς πατρίοις 
νόμοις, οὐς ἀμήχανον ἀνθρωπίνην ἐπινοῆσαι ψυχὴν 
81 ἄνευ κατοκωχῆς ἐνθέου. 

tούτους ἀνα
διδάσκονται μὲν καὶ παρὰ τὸν ἄλλον χρόνον, ἐν δὲ 
tὰς βίβλους ἀναγινώσκει λαβών, ἔτερος δὲ τῶν εἰμεπιροτάτων 

9a The triple division of philosophy has been frequently 
mentioned by Philo. For the fullest account of it see De 
56
EVERY GOOD MAN IS FREE, 78–82

retail or marine, but pack the inducements to covetousness off in disgrace. Not a single slave is to be found among them, but all are free, exchanging services with each other, and they denounce the owners of slaves, not merely for their injustice in outraging the law of equality, but also for their impiety in annulling the statute of Nature, who mother-like has born and reared all men alike, and created them genuine brothers, not in mere name, but in very reality, though this kinship has been put to confusion by the triumph of malignant covetousness, which has wrought estrangement instead of affinity and enmity instead of friendship. As for philosophy they abandon the logical part to quibbling verbalists as unnecessary for the acquisition of virtue, and the physical to visionary praters as beyond the grasp of human nature, only retaining that part which treats philosophically of the existence of God and the creation of the universe. But the ethical part they study very industriously, taking for their trainers the laws of their fathers, which could not possibly have been conceived by the human soul without divine inspiration. In these they are instructed at all other times, but particularly on the seventh days. For that day has been set apart to be kept holy and on it they abstain from all other work and proceed to sacred spots which they call synagogues. There, arranged in rows according to their ages, the younger below the elder, they sit decorously as befits the occasion with attentive ears. Then one takes the books and reads aloud and another of especial pro-

Agr. 14 ff. For the Stoic view by which natural theology is included in physic see notes on De Abr. 99 (vol. vi. pp. 52 and 597).
PHILO

όσα μὴ γνώριμα παρελθὼν ἀναδιδάσκει· τὰ γὰρ πλείστα διὰ συμβόλων ἀρχαιοτρόπω ἥξισωσει παρ’ αὐτοῖς φιλοσοφεῖται. παωδεύονται δὲ εὐσέβειαν, ὀσιότητα, δικαιοσύνην, οἰκονομίαν, πολιτείαν, ἐπιστὴμην τῶν πρὸς ἀλήθειαν ἁγάθων καὶ κακῶν καὶ ἀδιαφόρων, αἱρέσεις ἃν χρῆ καὶ φυγὰς τῶν ἐναντίων, ὅροις καὶ κανόσι τριττοῖς χρώμενοι, τῷ τε φιλοθέω καὶ φιλαρέτῳ καὶ φιλανθρώπῳ. τοῦ μὲν οὖν φιλοθέου δείγματα παρέχονται μυρία. τὴν παρ’, ὅλον τὸν βίον συνεχῆ καὶ ἐπάλληλον ἁγνείαν, τὸ ἀνώμοτον, τὸ ἄφελον, τὸ πάντων μὲν ἁγάθων αἴτιον, κακὸν δὲ μηδενὸς νομίζει εἶναι τὸ θεῖον· τοῦ δὲ φιλαρέτου τὸ ἀφιλοχρήματον, τὸ ἀφιλόδοξον, τὸ ἀφιλόδοξον, τὸ ἄγκρατες, τὸ καρτερικὸν, ἐτι δὲ ὀλυγοδείαν, ἀφελείαν, εὐκολίαν, τὸ ἀτυφοῦν, τὸ νομίμον, τὸ εὐσταθές, καὶ οὐς τούτοις ὁμοίτροπα· τοῦ δὲ φιλανθρώπου εὐνοιαν, ἀσφαλίαν, τὴν παντὸς λόγου κρείττονα κοινωνίαν, περὶ ἦς οὐκ ἀκαίρου
85 βραχέα εἰπέω. πρῶτον μὲν τοῖνυν οὐδενὸς οἰκία τῆς ἐστὶν ἱδία, ἢν οὐχὶ πάντων εἶναι κοινῆ συμβέβηκε· πρὸς γὰρ τῷ κατὰ θιάσους συνοικεῖν ἀναπεπτᾶται καὶ τοῖς ἐτέρωθεν ἀφικυκνομένοις τῶν ὁμοζήλων. εἰτ’ ἐστὶ ταμεῖον ἐν πάντων καὶ δαπάναι (κοιναί), καὶ κοιναὶ μὲν ἐσθήτες, κοιναὶ δὲ τροφαὶ συνοικία πεποιημένων· τὸ γὰρ ὀμωρόφιον ἡ ὁμοδιαιτίαν ἡ ὁμοτράπεζον οὐκ ἂν τις

83 Or “with ardour worthy of the men of old.” The same phrase occurs in De Plant. 158 and De Mig. 201, where also the exact meaning is somewhat uncertain.
84 i.e. ceremonial purity and avoidance of defilement. So rather than general purity of life, which would come under τὸ φιλάρετον. For this use of ἁγνεία cf. Plato, Legg. 58
ficiency comes forward and expounds what is not understood. For most of their philosophical study takes the form of allegory, and in this they emulate the tradition of the past. They are trained in piety, holiness, justice, domestic and civic conduct, knowledge of what is truly good, or evil, or indifferent, and how to choose what they should and avoid the opposite, taking for their defining standards these three, love of God, love of virtue, love of men. Their love of God they show by a multitude of proofs, by religious purity constant and unbroken throughout their lives, by abstinence from oaths, by veracity, by their belief that the Godhead is the cause of all good things and nothing bad; their love of virtue, by their freedom from the love of either money or reputation or pleasure, by self-mastery and endurance, again by frugality, simple living, contentment, humility, respect for law, steadiness and all similar qualities; their love of men by benevolence and sense of equality, and their spirit of fellowship, which defies description, though a few words on it will not be out of place. First of all then no one’s house is his own in the sense that it is not shared by all, for besides the fact that they dwell together in communities, the door is open to visitors from elsewhere who share their convictions. Again they all have a single treasury and common disbursements; their clothes are held in common and also their food through their institution of public meals. In no other community can we find the custom of sharing

917 ἐν καθαρότητι τὲ καὶ ἁγνείᾳ τὰ περὶ τῶν θεῶν. Though this kind of purity is not mentioned elsewhere in this narrative, it is in other accounts, see App. p. 514.
εύροι παρ* έτέροις μάλλον ἐργῶ βεβαιούμενον· και μήποτ' εἰκότως· ὥσα γὰρ ἂν μεθ' ἦμεραν ἐργασά-
μενοι λάβωσιν ἐπὶ μισθῷ, ταῦτ' οὐκ ἦδια φυλά-
tουσιν, ἀλλ' εἰς μέσον προτιθέντες κοινὴν τοὺς ἑθελουσι χρῆσθαι τὴν ἀπ' αὐτῶν παρασκευάζουσιν
87 ὡφέλειαν. οἱ τε νοσούντες οὐχ ὅτι πορίζειν ᾠ-
nατοῦσιν ἀμελοῦνται, τὰ πρὸς τὰς νοσηλείας ἐκ τῶν
cοινῶν ἔχοντες ἐν ἔτοιμω, ὥς μετὰ πάσης ἀδείας
ἐξ ἀφθονωτέρων ἀναλίσκειν. αἰδὼς δ' ἔστι πρε-
σβυτέρων καὶ φροντίς, οἶα γονέων ὑπὸ γνησίων
παῖδων χερσὶ καὶ διανοίαις μυρίαις ἐν ἀφθονίᾳ τῇ
88 πάσῃ γηροτροφομένων. XIII. τοιού-
tους ἡ δίχα περιεργίας Ἐλληνικῶν ὀνομάτων ἀθ-
λητάς ἀρετῆς ἀπεργάζεται φιλοσοφία, γυμνάσματα
προτιθεῖσα τὰς ἐπαινετὰς πράξεις, ἐξ ὅν ἡ ἀδούλω-
89 τος ἐλευθερία βεβαιοῦται. σημείων δὲ· πολλῶν
κατὰ καιροὺς ἐπαναστάντων τῇ χώρᾳ δυναστῶν καὶ
φύσει καὶ προαιρέσεις χρησαμένων διαφερούσαις
—οἱ μὲν γὰρ πρὸς τὸ ἀτίθασον ἁγιώτητα θηρίων
ἐκνικήσαι σπουδάσαντες, οὐδὲν παραλιπόντες τῶν
eἰς ὠμότητα, τοὺς ὑπηκόους ἀγελήνων ὶερεύνοντες
ἡ καὶ ζῶντας ἐτί μαγείρων τρόπων κατὰ μέρη καὶ
μέλη κρευρυγοῦντες ἀχρὶ τοῦ τὰς αὐτὰς ὑπομεῖναι
συμφορὰς ὑπὸ τῆς τὰ ἀνθρώπων ἐφορώσης δίκης
90 οὐκ ἐπαύσαντο· οἱ δὲ τὸ παρακεκινημένον καὶ
λελυττηκὸς εἰς ἑτέρας εἴδος κακίας μεθαρμοσά-

\[a\] γνήσιος is here used of children, not as usual in antithesis to νόθος, but in the literal as opposed to the figurative sense. So too in Legatio 62, 71, the behaviour of a father-in-law to his son-in-law is as good as if he were the γνήσιος πατήρ. So 60
roof, life and board more firmly established in actual practice. And that is no more than one would expect. For all the wages which they earn in the day's work they do not keep as their private property, but throw them into the common stock and allow the benefit thus accruing to be shared by those who wish to use it. The sick are not neglected because they cannot provide anything, but have the cost of their treatment lying ready in the common stock, so that they can meet expenses out of the greater wealth in full security. To the elder men too is given the respect and care which real children give to their parents, and they receive from countless hands and minds a full and generous maintenance for their latter years. XIII. Such are the athletes of virtue produced by a philosophy free from the pedantry of Greek wordiness, a philosophy which sets its pupils to practise themselves in laudable actions, by which the liberty which can never be enslaved is firmly established. Here we have a proof. Many are the potentates who at various occasions have raised themselves to power over the country. They differed both in nature and the line of conduct which they followed. Some of them carried their zest for outdoing wild beasts in ferocity to the point of savagery. They left no form of cruelty untried. They slaughtered their subjects wholesale, or like cooks carved them piecemeal and limb by limb whilst still alive, and did not stay their hands till justice who surveys human affairs visited them with the same calamities. Others transformed this wild frenzy into another kind of viciousness. Their conduct showed too in 'Spec. Leg. iv. 184 of the behaviour of a ruler to his subjects.
μενοι, πικρίαν ἀλεκτον ἐπιτηδεύσαντες, ἢσυχῷ διαλαλοῦντες, ἡρμαιοτέρας φωνῆς ὑποκρίσει βαρύμην ἥθος ἐπιδεικνύμενοι, κυνῶν ἱοβόλων τρόπον προσσαίνοντες, ἀνιάτων γενόμενοι κακῶν αἵτινοι, κατὰ πόλεις μιμεία τῆς ἐαυτῶν ἀσεβείας καὶ μυσανθρωπίας ἀπέλυσον τὰς τῶν πεπονθῶν ἀλήστους.

91 συμφοράς—, ἀλλὰ γὰρ οὔδεὶς οὔτε τῶν σφόδρα ὁμοθύμων οὔτε τῶν πάνω δολερῶν καὶ ὑπούλων ἴσχυσε τὸν λεχθέντα τῶν 'Εσσαίων ἢ ὁσίων ὅμιλον αἰτιάσασθαι, πάντες δὲ ἀσθενέστεροι τῆς τῶν ἄνδρων καλοκαγαθίας γενόμενοι καθάπερ αὐτονόμους καὶ ἐλευθέρως οὔσιν ἐκ φύσεως προσηνέχθησαν, ἐθάντες αὐτῶν τὰ συσσίτια καὶ τὴν παντὸς λόγον κρείττονα κοινωνίαν, ἢ βίον τελείου καὶ σφόδρα εὐδαιμονός ἐστι σαφέστατον δείγμα.

92 XIV. Χρῆ δ’, ἐπειδὴ τάς ἐν τοῖς πλήθεσιν ἀρετὰς οὐκ οἴονται τίνες εἰναι τελείας, ἀλλ’ ἄχρι συναυζήσεως καὶ επιδόσεως αὐτὸ μόνον ἰστασθαι, μάρτυρας βίους τῶν κατὰ μέρος ἄνδρῶν ἄγαθῶν παραγαγείν, οὗ σαφέσταται πίστεως ἐλευθερίας εἰσ’. Κάλανος ἦν Ἰνδὸς γένος τῶν γυμνοσοφιστῶν οὕτως καρτερωτάτος τῶν κατ’ αὐτὸν ἀπάντων | νομισθεὶς οὐ μόνον ὑπὸ τῶν ἐγχωρίων ἀλλὰ καὶ πρὸς ἀλλοφύλων, ὁ δὴ σπανιῶτατόν ἐστιν, ἐχθρῶν βασιλέων ἑθαν- 

93 ἦν Ἰνδὸς γένος τῶν γυμνοσοφιστῶν οὕτως καρτε-

[460] μικρότατος τῶν κατ’ αὐτὸν ἀπάντων | νομισθεὶς οὐ μόνον ὑπὸ τῶν ἐγχωρίων ἀλλὰ καὶ πρὸς ἀλλοφύλων, ὁ δὴ σπανιῶτατόν ἐστιν, ἐχθρῶν βασιλέων ἑθαν-μάσθη, λόγοις ἑπανετοίς σπουδαίᾳ ἔργα συνυφήνας.

94 Ἀλέξανδρος γοῦν ὁ Μακεδών βουλόμενος ἐπιδείξα-

σθαί τῇ 'Ελλάδι τὴν ἐν τῇ βαρβάρῳ σοφίαν, καθάπερ ἄρ’ ἀρχετύπου γραφῆς ἀπεκόνισμα καὶ μίμημα, τὸ μὲν πρῶτον παρεκάλει Κάλανον συνιδομηῆσαι, μέγιστον περιποιήσοντα κλέος <ἐν> ὅλη Ἀσία καὶ ὅλη Εὐρώπη. ὥσ δὲ οὐκ ἐπειθεν,
intense bitterness, but they talked with calmness, though the mask of their milder language failed to conceal their rancorous disposition. They fawned like venomous hounds yet wrought evils irremediable and left behind them throughout the cities the unforgettable sufferings of their victims as monuments of their impiety and inhumanity. Yet none of these, neither the extremely ferocious nor the deep-dyed treacherous dissemblers, were able to lay a charge against this congregation of Essenes or holy ones here described. Unable to resist the high excellence of these people, they all treated them as self-governing and freemen by nature and extolled their communal meals and that ineffable sense of fellowship, which is the clearest evidence of a perfect and supremely happy life.

XIV. But since some consider that the virtues of large bodies are never perfect, but merely grow and improve and then come to a halt, we must cite as evidence the lives of good individual men, which are the clearest proof of the existence of liberty. Calanus was an Indian by birth of the school of the gymnosophists. Regarded as possessed of endurance more than any of his contemporaries, by combining virtuous actions with laudable words he gained the admiration, not only of his fellow countrymen, but of men of other races, and, what is most singular of all, of enemy sovereigns. Thus Alexander of Macedon, wishing to exhibit to the Grecian world a specimen of the barbarians’ wisdom, like a copy reproducing the original picture, began by urging Calanus to travel with him from India with the prospect of winning high fame in the whole of Asia and the whole of Europe; and

\[^a\] On §§ 89-91 see App. p. 515.
ΦΙΛΟ

άναγκάσειν ἐφη συνακολουθεῖν: ο δὲ εὐθυβόλως πάνυ καὶ εὐγενῶς "τίνος οὖν" ἐπεν "ἀξίον με τοῖς Ελλησι ἐπιδείξεις, Ἀλέξανδρε, εἰ γε ἀναγκασθήσομαι ποιεῖν ἃ μὴ βούλομαι;" ἃρ' οὐ γέμων μὲν παρρησίας ὁ λόγος, πολὺ δὲ μᾶλλον ἐλευθερίας ὁ νοῦς; ἀλλὰ γὰρ καὶ ἐν τοῖς βεβαιοτέροις φωνῶν γράμμασιν ἦθος ἀδουλώτου τύπους ἐστηλίτευσεν ἀρηδήλους. μηνύει δὲ ἡ πεμφθείσα ἐπιστολὴ τῷ βασιλείτ.

"Κάλανος Ἀλεξάνδρῳ

Φίλοι πείθουσί σε χείρας καὶ ἀνάγκην προσφέρειν Ἰνδῶν φιλοσόφοις οὐδ’ ἐν ὑπνοῖς ἑωρακότες ἡμέτερα ἑργά. σώματα μὲν γὰρ μετοίσεις ἐκ τόπου εἰς τόπον, ψυχὰς δὲ οὐκ ἀναγκάσεις ποιεῖν ἃ μὴ βουλονται μᾶλλον ἡ πλίνθους καὶ ξύλα φωνῆν ἀφεῖναι. πῦρ μεγίστους τοῖς ζώσι σώμασι πόνους καὶ φθοράν ἐργάζεσαι. τούτου ὑπέραν ἡμεῖς γνώμεθα, ξώντες καὶ ὀμήθα. οὐκ ἔστι βασιλεύς οὐδὲ ἄρχων, ἃς ἀναγκάσει ἡμᾶς ποιεῖν ἃ μὴ προαιροῦμεθα. Ἐλλήνων δὲ φιλοσόφοις οὐκ ἐξομοιούμεθα, ὥσιν αὐτῶν εἰς πανήγυριν λόγους ἐμελέτησαν, ἀλλὰ λόγοις ἑργα παρ’ ἦμιν ἀκόλουθα καὶ ἑργος λόγοι βραχεῖας ἐχουσι δύναμιν καὶ μακαριότητα

1 mss. παρρησίας.

2 M has βραχεῖς ἄλλην. The evidently defective text of this sentence must be judged in the light of Ambrose's paraphrase. Ambrose, whose version of the letter in Ep. 37 is very close till the end, closes with "nobis res sociae verbis et verba rebus: res celeres et sermones breves: in virtute nobis libertas beata est." From this Cohn suggests after ἐργον λόγον, ἐργα μὲν ταχεὰ καὶ λόγοι βραχεῖς, ἀλλ’ ἐχουσι δύναμιν, κτλ. The difficulty I find in this is that it ignores 64
when he failed to persuade him declared that he would compel him to follow him. Calanus’s reply was as noble as it was apposite. “What shall I be worth to you, Alexander, for exhibiting to the Greeks if I am compelled to do what I do not wish to do?” What a wealth of frankness there is in the words and far more of freedom in the thought. But more durable than his spoken are his written words and in these he set on record clear signs of a spirit which could not be enslaved. The letter he sent to Alexander runs thus:—

“Calanus to Alexander

Your friends urge you to apply violence and compulsion to the philosophers of India. These friends, however, have never even in their dreams seen what we do. Bodies you will transport from place to place, but souls you will not compel to do what they will not do, any more than force bricks or sticks to talk. Fire causes the greatest trouble and ruin to living bodies: we are superior to this: we burn ourselves alive. There is no king, no ruler, who will compel us to do what we do not freely wish to do. We are not like those philosophers of the Greeks, who practise words for a festal assembly. With us deeds accord with words and words with deeds. Deeds pass swiftly and words have short-lived power:

\[ a \text{ Cf. } De Abr. 182, \text{ where it is stated that the gymnosophists burn themselves at the outset of old age. Calanus is said to have ended his life in this way. See App. p. 516.} \]
PHILO

97 καὶ ἐλευθερίαν περιποιοῦντες." ἐπὶ δὴ τοιαύταις ἀποφάσει καὶ γνώμαις ἅρ' οὐκ ἄξιον τὸ Ζηνώνειον ἐπιφωνήσαι, ὅτι "θάττον ἄν ἀσκόν βαπτίσαι τις πλήρη πνεύματος ἢ βιάσαι τῶν σπουδαίων οὐτων ἀκοντα δρᾶσαι τι τῶν ἀβουλήτων"; ἀνένδοτος γὰρ ψυχὴ καὶ ἀήττητος, ἣν οὔρθος λόγος δόγμασι παγίοις ἐνεύρωσε.

98 XV. Τῆς δὲ σπουδαίων ἐλευθερίας μάρτυρες εἰσὶ ποιηταὶ καὶ συγγραφεῖς, ὅπερ ταῖς γνώμαις Ἀκαίνειος ὁμοῦ καὶ χάραβαροι σχεδὸν εἴς αὐτῶν σπαργάνων ἐντρεφόμενοι βελτιώνται τὰ ἢθη, πάν ὅσον ἐς υπαιτίου τροφῆς καὶ διαίτης εἰς ταῖς ψυχαῖς κεκιβδήλευται μεταχαραττόμενοι πρὸς τὸ δόκιμον.

99 ἰδε γοῦν οἷα παρ᾽ Εὐρυπίδη φησίν ὁ Ἡρακλής:

ἐν τῷ γὰρ οἴνθωθαι μὲν καὶ κολακεῖα καὶ ὑπόκρισις, ἐν οἷς λόγοις γνώμαις διαμάχονται, δούλοπρεπέστατα, τὸ δὲ ἄνοθως καὶ γνησίως ἐκ καθαροῦ τοῦ συνειδότος ἐλευθεροστομείν εὐγενέσιν ἀρμόττον.

100 πάλιν τὸν αὐτὸν σπουδαίον οὐχ ὀρᾶς, ὅτι οὔδὲ πωλούμενος θεράπων εἶναι δοκεῖ, καταπλήττων τοὺς ὧν, ὥς οὐ μόνον ἐλεύθερος ἢν last is read by two mss. for περιποιοῦντες). The similar ending of δύναμιν and ἦμῖν would facilitate the loss of ἀρεταὶ ἦμῖν. At the same time it is true that the βραχεῖς of M fits better with Ambrose’s “breves.” See also App. p. 516.

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a Or if Cohn’s reconstruction (see note 2, pp. 64–66) is pre-
EVERY GOOD MAN IS FREE, 96–100

virtues secure to us blessedness and freedom.”

Protestations and judgements like these may well bring to our lips the saying of Zeno: “Sooner will you sink an inflated bladder than compel any virtuous man to do against his will anything that he does not wish.” For never will that soul surrender or suffer defeat which right reason has braced with principles firmly held.

XV. The freedom of the virtuous is also vouched for by the poets and prose writers, in whose thoughts Greeks and barbarians alike are reared almost from the cradle, and so gain improvement of character and restamp into sterling coin every bit of metal in their souls which has been debased by a faulty upbringing and mode of life. See, for instance, what Heracles says in Euripides:

Birth me, consume my flesh, and drink thy fill
Of my dark blood; for sooner shall the stars
Go 'neath the earth and earth go up to sky
Ere thou shalt from my lips meet fawning word.

For in very truth, fawning and flattery and dissembling, in which the words are at war with the thought, are utterly slavish. But freedom of speech, genuine without taint of bastardy, and proceeding from a pure conscience, befits the nobly born.

Again, observe how this same man of worth, even when put up for sale, seems to be no menial, but strikes awe into the beholders, who feel referred, “Our deeds are swift and our words short; but they have power, securing for us blessedness and freedom.” For the suggested reconstruction translated above see same note.

This is the fourth time that this passage is quoted by Philo, the other three being Leg. All. iii. 202, De Ios. 78, and § 25 above. On the source of the quotation see App. p. 516.
PHILO

101 ἀλλὰ καὶ δεσπότης ἐσόμενος τοῦ πριαμένου; ὁ γαὖν Ἕρμης πυνθανομένῳ μὲν, εἰ φαύλος ἐστιν, ἀποκρίνεται: "Ἦκιστα φαύλος, ἀλλὰ πᾶν τοῦναντίον πρὸς σχῆμα σεμνὸς κοῦ ταπεινὸς οὐδ' ἀγαν εὔογκος ὡς ἀν δοῦλος, ἀλλὰ καὶ στολὴν ἰδόντι λαμπρὸς καὶ ἕλω δραστήριος. οὐδεὶς δ' ἐς οἴκους δεσπότας ἀμείνονας αὐτοῦ πρόσωθαι βούλεται: σὲ δ' εἰσορῶν πᾶς τις δέδουκεν. ὁμμα γὰρ πυρὸς γέμεις, ταῦρος λέοντος ὡς βλέπων πρὸς ἐμβολὴν." εἶτ' ἐπιλέγει: "τὸ γ' εἴδος αὐτὸ σου1 κατηγορεῖ σιγῶντος, ὡς εἶης ἀν οὐχ ὕπήκοος, τάσσειν δὲ μᾶλλον ἡ 'πιτάσσεσθαι θέλοις."  

102 ἐπεὶ δὲ καὶ πριαμένου Συλέως εἰς ἀγρὸν ἐπέμφθη, διεδείξεν ἔργοις τὸ τῆς φύσεως ἀδούλωτον τὸν μὲν γὰρ ἀριστον τῶν ἐκεῖ ταύρων καταθύσας Δί πρόφασιν εὐωχεῖτο, πολὺν δ' οἴνον ἐκφορῆσας 103 ἄθρόον εὖ μάλα κατακλιθεῖς ἡκρατίζετο. Συλεῖ δὲ ἀφικομένῳ καὶ δυσανασχετοῦντι ἐπὶ τὲ τῇ βλάβη καὶ τῇ τοῦ θεράποντος ῥαθυμίᾳ καὶ τῇ

1 mss. τὸ εἴδος αὐτοῦ οὐ (or οὐ). Cohn prints the last two words as above, but leaves the equally unmetrical τὸ εἴδος though he expresses high approval of the correction (Elmsley's) to τὸ γ'.
EVERY GOOD MAN IS FREE, 100–103

that he is not only free, but will become the master of his purchaser. \(^a\) Hermes, for example, in answer 101 to the question whether Heracles is worthless says:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Worthless? far from it, quite the contrary:} \\
\text{His bearing’s dignified, no meanness here,} \\
\text{Not slave-like overstocked with fat, and look} \\
\text{How smart his dress—and he can wield a club.}
\end{align*}
\]

To which the other replies:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Who wants to buy a stronger than himself,} \\
\text{And bring him home as master of the house?} \\
\text{It fairly frightens one to look at you,} \\
\text{Eyes full of fire—you look just like a bull} \\
\text{Watching a lion’s onset.}
\end{align*}
\]

Then he continues:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Your looks alone are evidence enough,} \\
\text{Though you say nothing, that you won’t obey—} \\
\text{Giving, not taking, orders is your line.}
\end{align*}
\]

And when Syleus after buying him, sent him into his 102 estate, he showed by his actions that there was nothing of the slave in his nature. For he killed the finest bull in the stud, nominally as a sacrifice to Zeus, and feasted on it, and then brought out a great quantity of wine and lying there very comfortably drank it in huge draughts. When Syleus arrived, 103 very indignant both at the loss of his property, and at his servant’s easy-going and excessively disdainful

\(^a\) This passage from a Satyric drama of Euripides evidently gives a different version from that in Apollodorus ii. 6. 2, in which Heracles having murdered Iphitus has to expiate his crime by three years servitude and accordingly is sold by Hermes to Omphale. During this servitude he kills Syleus, who used to compel strangers to dig in his vineyard. See further App. p. 516.
περιττή καταφρονήσει μηδὲν μῆτε τῆς χρόας μῆτε ὄν ἐπραττε μεταβαλὼν εὐτολμότατα φησι'.

"κλίθητι καὶ πίωμεν, ἐν τούτῳ δὲ μου τὴν πείραν εὐθὺς λάμβαν', εἰ κρείσσων ἐσῃ.'

104 τούτον οὖν πότερον δοῦλον ἢ κύριον ἀποφαντέον τοῦ δεσπότου, μὴ μόνον ἀπελευθεριάζειν ἄλλα καὶ ἐπιτάγματα ἐπιτάττειν τῷ κτησαμένῳ καὶ εἰ ἀφηναῖοι τύπτειν καὶ προπηλακίζειν, εἰ δὲ καὶ βοηθοῦς ἑπάγοιτο, πάντας ἁρδῆν ἀπολλύναι τολμῶντα; γέλως οὖν ἂν εἰ τῇ καὶ φλυαρίᾳ πολλῇ τὰ κατὰ τὰς λεγομένας ὕψας γράμματα, ἐπειδὰν τῇ καθ' ὃν γράφεται παρευθερήθη σθεναμερῶς δυνάμει, χαρτιδίων ἁγράφων ἀκυρότερα, ὑπὸ σέων ἡ χρόνον ἡ εὐρώτος εἰς ἅπαν διαφθαρησόμενα.

[462]

XVI. | ' Ἀλλ' οὐ χρή, φήσει τις, τὰς τῶν ἡρώων παράγειν εἰς πίστιν ἀρετάς· μείζους γὰρ ἡ κατὰ ἀνθρωπίνην φύσιν γενομένους 'Ολυμπίους ἀμιλλασθαί, μικτῆς γενέσεως, ἀθανάτων καὶ βουτῶν ἀνακραθέντων σπερμάτων, ἐπιλαχόντας, ἡμιθέους εἰκότως προσαγορεύθησαν, τοῦ βουτοῦ μίγματος ὑπὸ τῆς ἁφθάρτου μερίδος κατακρατηθέντος, ὡς μηδὲν εἶναι παράδοξον, εἰ τῶν ἐπ' αὐτοῖς δουλεύαν 106 τεχναζόντων ὀλυγώρουν. ἔστω ταῦτα. μὴ καὶ Ἀνάξαρχος ἢ Ζήνων ὁ 'Ελεάτης ἢρωες ἢ ἐκ θεών; ἀλλ' ὅμως ὑπὸ τυράννων ὁμοθύμων καὶ τὴν φύσιν πικρῶν ἔτι μᾶλλον ἐπ' αὐτοῖς ἐκθηριωθέντων στρεβλουμένωι κεκαυνουργημέναις αἰκίαις, ὡσπερ ἀλλότρια ἢ ἐχθρῶν ἐπιφερόμενοι σώματα, μάλα 107 καταφρονητικῶς ἥλογουν τῶν φοβερῶν. τὴν γάρ
EVERY GOOD MAN IS FREE, 103-106

behaviour, Heracles did not change colour a whit, nor make any difference in what he was doing, but said with the utmost boldness:

   Lie down and let us drink and have a try
   At once, who'll do it better, you or I.

How then must we describe his standing with his master? Is he slave or lord, he who dares not only to take these liberties, but even to issue orders to his owner, ready to beat him and knock him about if he shows resistance, or if he calls others to his aid to annihilate them altogether! Surely then these title-deeds, which record the so-called purchases, are just a laughing-stock and a mass of nonsense, when they are put out of court by the superior force of those against whom they are drawn up, less valid even than blank sheets of paper and destined to perish utterly, through moths, or time, or mildew.

XVI. But it is not fair, an objector will say, to cite the achievements of the heroes as evidence. They have a greatness above human nature; they vie with the Olympians and as inheritors of a mixed parentage, a blend of mortal and immortal seed, are rightly called demigods, because the mortal ingredient is overpowered by the immortal part, so that there is nothing extraordinary in their contempt for those who plan to enslave them. Be it so! But what of Anaxarchus or Zeno the Eleatic? Are they heroes or the offspring of gods? Nevertheless in the hands of cruel-hearted tyrants, naturally bitter and stirred to still greater ferocity by anger with them, though racked with strange and ingeniously invented tortures, they behaved as though the bodies in which they lay belonged to strangers or enemies, and with high disdain set the terrors of the tormentors at
The same story is told of Zeno in Diogenes Laertius ix. 27, and also of Anaxarchus, ibid. 59.

For this story see Diogenes Laertius ix. 59, where the word for the thing pounded is θύλακος ("bag" or "pouch"). By this is meant the body as being the bag containing the.
nought. For having inured the soul from the first to hold aloof through love of knowledge from association with the passions, and to cleave to culture and wisdom, they set it wandering away from the body and brought it to make its home with wisdom and courage and the other virtues. So it was that Zeno when suspended and stretched on the wheel, to make him tell something which should not be disclosed, showed himself mightier than the strongest things in nature, fire and iron. He gnawed off his tongue and shot it at the torturer, lest under violence he should involuntarily utter what honour would leave unspoken. Anaxarchus’s speech showed the staunchest endurance. “Pound Anaxarchus’s skin,” he said, “Anaxarchus you cannot pound.” These examples of true courage, full of the spirit of defiance, have a value far exceeding the inherited nobleness of the heroes. Their glory belongs to their parentage and is not of their own volition. The glory of the philosophers rests upon achievements of virtue, freely willed by themselves, and these being what they are, immortalize those who practise them in sincerity.

XVII. I know many cases of wrestlers and pan- cratiasts so full of ambition and eagerness for victory that though their bodies have lost their strength, they renew their vigour and continue their athletic efforts with nothing to help them but the soul, which they have inured to despise terrors, and in this they persevere to their last gasp. Then, if those who exercise their bodily vigour have surmounted the fear of death whether in the hope of victory or to avoid seeing themselves defeated, can we suppose that those soul and ἀσκός here may mean the same rather than the skin in the literal sense.
τὴν ἰδίαν ἦτταν ἐπιδεῖν, τοὺς δὲ τὸν ἄορατον νοῦν γυμνάζοντας ἐν ἑαυτοῖς, ὃς ἀψευδῶς ἀνθρωπός ἔστιν οἶκον ἐπιφερόμενος τὸ αἰσθητὸν εἴδος, καὶ [463] λόγους μὲν τοῖς ἐκ φιλοσοφίας ἔργοις δὲ τῆς ἀρετῆς ἀλείφοντας οὐχ ὑπὲρ ἑλευθερίας ἐθελήσειν ἀποθησίσεως, ἵν’ ἐν ἄδουλωτοι φρονήματι τὴν εἰμαρ-112 μένην ἀνύσωσι πορείαν; ἐν ἀγώνι φασιν ἱεροῦ δύο ἀθλητὰς ἵσορρόπως κεχρημένους ἀλκῆ, τὰ αὐτὰ ἀντιδρῶντας τε καὶ ἀντιπάσχοντας, μὴ πρῶτον ἀπειπεῖν ἢ ἐκάτερον τελευτήσαι.

"δαμόνιε, φθίσει σε τό σον μένος,"

113 εἴποι τις ἃν ἐπὶ τῶν τοιούτων. ἀλλὰ γὰρ οὖν κοτίνων μὲν χάριν καὶ σελίνων εὐκλεῆς ἀγωνισταῖς ἡ τελευτή, σοφοῖς δὲ οὐ πολὺ μᾶλλον ἑλευθερίας, ὡς ὁ πόθος ταῖς ψυχαῖς μόνον, εἰ δὲ τάληθες εἰπεῖν, ἐνίδρυται καθάπερ τι μέρος ἦνωμένον οὐ τῶν ἐπιτυχόντων, οὐ διακοπέντος ἀπασάν τὴν κοινωνίαν 114 φθείρεσθαι συμβέβηκε; Λακωνικὸς παιδὸς ἄδεται παρ’ οἷς ἐθος ἰχνηλατεῖν ἀρετὰς τὸ ἐκ γένους ἢ φύσεως ἄδουλωτον ἐπειδὴ γὰρ αἰχμάλωτος ἀπαχ-θεῖς ὑπὸ τινος τῶν Ἀντιγόνου τὰς μὲν ἑλευθερὰς χρείας ὑπέμενε, ταῖς δὲ δουλικαῖς ἥναντιοῦτο φά-σκων οὐχὶ δουλεύσειν, καίτοι μήπω τοῖς Λυκούργου νόμοις παγίως ἐντραφήναι διὰ τὴν ἡλικίαν δυνη-θεῖς, ὅτι μόνον αὐτῶν ἐγεύσατο, τοῦ παρόντος ἀβιώτου βίου θάνατον εὐτυχόστερον κρίνας, ἀπο-γνοὺς ἀπολύτρωσιν, ἀσμενὸς ἐαυτὸν διεχρήσατο.

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\[a\] II. vi. 407.
\[b\] i.e. Antigonus Doson, who conquered Sparta 221 B.C. 74
EVERY GOOD MAN IS FREE, 111–115

who drill the invisible mind within them, the veritable man, housed within the form which the senses perceive,—those who train it with words of philosophy and deeds of virtue will not be willing to die for their freedom and so complete their appointed pilgrimage with a spirit that defies enslavement! It is told of two athletes in a sacred contest how possessed of equal strength, each offensive taken by the one returned in equal measure by the other, they never flagged until both fell dead. “Ah! then thy own prowess will destroy thee,” are words which will apply to such as these. Surely then if to die for a garland of wild olive or parsley is a glory to the rivals in the arena, a far greater glory is it to the wise to die for freedom, the love of which stands in very truth implanted in the soul like nothing else, not as a casual adjunct but an essential part of its unity, and cannot be amputated without the whole system being destroyed as the result. Students who investigate examples of high excellence sing the praises of the Laconian boy, to whom race or his own nature gave a spirit which would not brook enslavement. Carried into captivity by one of Antigonus’s people, he submitted to such tasks as became a freeman, but stood out against those of a slavish kind, declaring that he would not be a slave. And although by reason of his tender years he had not received the solid nutrition of the laws of Lycurgus, yet from his mere taste of them, he judged that death was a happier lot than his present valueless life, and despairing of ransom gladly put an end to himself. The same story is told by Sen. Ep. 77 with the same moral. According to Seneca he killed himself by knocking his head against the wall.
PHILO

115 λέγεται δὲ καὶ πρὸς Μακεδόνων ἀλούσας Δαρδανίδας γυναῖκας αἴσχιστον κακόν δουλεῖαν ὑπολαβούσας οὐς ἐκουροτρόφουν παῖδας εἰς τὸ βαθύτατον τοῦ ποταμοῦ ρίπτειν ἐπιφωνούσας: "ἀλλ’ ὑμεῖς γε οὐ δουλεύσετε, πρὶν δ’ ἀρξασθαι βίον βαρυδαίμονος, τὸ χρεών ἐπιτεμόντες ἐλευθεροίν τὴν ἀναγκαίαν καὶ πανυστάτην ὅδὸν περαμώς σεσθε." Πολυζένην δὲ ὁ τραγικὸς Εὐρυπίδης ἀλογοῦσαν μὲν θανάτον φροντίζουσαν δὲ ἐλευθερίας εἰσἀγεὶ δι’ ὁν φησιν:

"ἐκοῦσα θυμόκως, μὴ τις ἄψηται χροὸς τοῦμον παρέξω γὰρ δέρην εὐκάρδιως, ἐλευθεραν δὲ μ’, ὡς ἐλευθέρα θάνω, πρὸς θεῶν μεθέντες κτείνατε."

116 XVIII. εἰτ’ οἴομεθα γυναῖκοι μὲν καὶ μειράκιοις, ὅν τὰ μὲν φύσει ὀλιγόφρονα τὰ δὲ ἴλικα εὐολίσθω χρώμενα, τοσοῦτον ἐλευθερίας ἔρωτα ἐντήκεσθαι, ὡς ὑπὲρ τοῦ μὴ ταῦτην ἀφαιρεθῆναι πρὸς θάνατον ὡς ἐπ’ ἀθανασίαν ὅρμαν, τοὺς δὲ σοφίας ἀκράτου σπάσαντας οὐκ εὐθὺς ἐλευθέρους ηγημακίους· ὅταν τις ἀφῆλε τις ἀφηνόεσθαι, τὸν ἰόμεθα μὲν καὶ μειράκιοις, ὃς ἐν τῆς ἐνδομονίας τῆς ἀρετῆς ἐνεργετὰ πανωλήθηκεν ὅπως εὐθὺς ἐλευθέρους ἐγένετο δύναμις κατέξευξε τὸν ἀρχῆς καὶ βασιλείας ἐξουσιαν αἰώνιον κλῆρον; ἀλλὰ γὰρ καὶ δήμους ὅλους ἀκούομεν ὑπὲρ ἐλευθερίας ἀμα καὶ πίστεως τῆς πρὸς ἀποθανόντας ἐνεργεῖτας αὐθαίρετον πανωλεθρίου ὑποστάτας, ὥσπερ φασίν οὐ πρὸς πολλοῦ Εαυθίους. ἐπειδὴ γὰρ εἰς τῶν ἐπιθεμένων Ἰουλίῳ Καίσαρι, Βροῦτος, ἐπιῶν ἐπ’

[464] εἶναι, | πηγὴν τινα εὐδαιμονίας την ἀρετὴν ἐναυτοῖς περιφέρεστα, ἢ ἐπίβουλος οὐδεμία πώς ποτὲ δύναμις κατέξευξε τὸν ἀρχῆς καὶ βασιλείας

118 ἐξουσιαν αἰώνιον κλῆρον; ἀλλὰ γὰρ καὶ δήμους ὅλους ἀκούομεν ὑπὲρ ἐλευθερίας ἀμα καὶ πίστεως τῆς πρὸς ἀποθανόντας ἐνεργεῖτας αὐθαίρετον πανωλεθρίου ὑποστάτας, ὥσπερ φασίν οὐ πρὸς πολλοῦ Εαυθίους. ἐπειδὴ γὰρ εἰς τῶν ἐπιθεμένων Ἰουλίῳ Καίσαρι, Βροῦτος, ἐπιῶν ἐπ’

*a No reference is given for this story. Dardania is
of the Dardanian women taken prisoners by the Macedonians, how holding slavery to be the worst disgrace they threw the children which they were nurturing into the deepest part of the river, exclaiming, “You at least shall not be slaves but ere you have begun your life of misery shall cut short your destined span and pass still free along the final road which all must tread.”

Polyxena, too, is described by the tragedian Euripides as thinking little of death but much of her freedom when she says:

Willing I die, that none may touch my flesh—
For I will give my throat with all my heart.
In heaven’s name let me go free, then slay me
That I may die still free.

XVIII. Then can we suppose that while women and lads, the former endowed by nature with little sense, the latter at so insecure an age, are imbued with so profound a love of liberty, that to save themselves from losing it they seek death as eagerly as if it were immortality—can we suppose, I say, that those who have drunk deep of wisdom undiluted can be anything but free—those who bear within them a well-spring of happiness in the high courage which no malignant force has ever yet subdued because sovereignty and kingship is its everlasting heritage?

Indeed we hear of whole populations voluntarily suffering annihilation to safeguard their liberty and at the same time their good faith to dead benefactors. Such is the story told of the Xanthians in recent years. When one of the assassins of Julius Caesar, namely Brutus, marched with an army apparently a vague term for part of Mysia (Dictionary of Geography).

\[^b\] Hecuba 548 ff.
αὐτοὺς ἐστράτευσε, δεδιότες οὐ πόρθησιν ἄλλα ἀνθρώποιν κτείναντες ἤγεμόνα καὶ ἐνεργήτην—ἀμφότερα γὰρ ἦν ἀυτὰ Kaῖσαρ—ἀπεμάχοντο μὲν ἐφ’ ὅσον οἶοι τε ἦσαν δυνατῶς τὸ πρῶτον, ὑπαναλούμενοι δὲ ἐκ τοῦ κατ’ ὅλιγον ἐτ’ ἀντείχον. ὃς δὲ ἀπασαν τὴν ίσχυν ἐδαπάνησαν, γύναια καὶ γονεῖς καὶ τέκνα συνελάσαντες εἰς τὰς σφών οἰκίας ἐκαστοι καθιέρευον· καὶ σωρηδὸν τὰ σφάγια νῆσαντες, πῦρ ἐνέντες καὶ εαυτοὺς ἐπικατασφάξαντες, ἐλεύθεροι τὸ πεπρωμένον ἀπ’ ἐλευθέρου καὶ εὐγενοῦς φρονήματος ἐξεπλήσαν. ἀλλ’ οὗτοι μὲν πικρίαν ἀμείλικτον τυραννικῶν ἀποδιδράσκοντες πρὸ ἀδοξοῦ βίου τὸν μετ’ εὐκλείας θάνατον ἰροῦντο. οἳς δὲ ἐπέτρεπε ζῆν τὰ πράγματα τὰ τυχηρά, τλητικῶς ὑπέμενον τὴν Ἡράκλειον εὐτολμίαν ἀπομιμούμενο ἓκατον. καὶ γὰρ ἐκείνος τῶν Εὐρυσθεῶν ἐπιταγμάτων διεφάνη κρείττων.

ο γοῦν κυνικὸς φιλόσοφος Νικηφόρος τὴν υπερβολὴν φρονήματος ἐχρήσατο, ὡσθ’ ἀλοῦς ὑπὸ ληστῶν, ἐπεὶ γλύσχως καὶ μόνις τὰς ἀναγκαίας αὐτῶ παρεῖχον τροφάς, οὐθ’ ὑπὸ τῆς παρουσίας τύχης γναμφθεῖσιν ὑπέτει νῷ τὴν ὑμότητα τῶν ὑπηγμένων δείσας “ἀτομώτατον οὖν” ἐφ’ “γίνεται, δελφάκια μὲν ἡ προβάτια, ὅποτε μέλλοι πιπράσκεσθαι, τροφάις ἐπιμελεστέραις πιαίνειν εἰς εὐσαρκίαν, ἴὼν δὲ τὸ ἀριστον, ἀνθρώπων, ἀσιτίας

a The story is told at length by Appian, Bell. Civ. iv. 76-80.
b The first of these stories about Diogenes, §§ 121 and 122, does not appear to be referred to elsewhere. Of the re-
EVERY GOOD MAN IS FREE, 118–121

against them, what they feared was not the sack of their city, but enslavement to a murderer, who had killed his own leader and benefactor, for Caesar had been both to him. As long as they could they fought on and at first made a powerful defence, and while their numbers were gradually wasting away they still held out. But when their whole strength was spent, they drove their women and parents and children each to their several homes and there slaughtered them, and after piling the bodies in a heap fired it and slew themselves upon it, thus completing their allotted term as free men inspired by a free and noble resolution.\(^a\) Now these to escape the merciless cruelty of tyrannical enemies chose death with honour in preference to an inglorious life, but others whom the circumstances of their lot permitted to live, endured in patience, imitating the courage of Heracles, who proved himself superior to the tasks imposed by Eurystheus.\(^b\)

Thus it was with the cynic philosopher Diogenes. So great and lofty was his spirit, that when captured by robbers, who grudgingly provided him with the barest minimum of food, still remained unmoved by his present position and had no fear of the cruelty of those who held him in their power. “It is surely very preposterous,” he said, “that while sucking pigs and sheep when they are going to be sold are fed up with greater care to make them fat and well favoured, man the best of animals should be reduced to a skeleton by want of food and

partees in § 123 the first is given in Diogenes Laertius vi. 29 and in another setting \textit{ibid.} 74. The second repartee seems to be another form of that recorded in Diogenes Laertius vi. 74, where speaking of a certain Xeniades (elsewhere described as a profligate), he said to the auctioneer “sell me to him, for he needs a master.”

79
κατασκελετευθέντα καὶ συνεχέσων ἐνδείαις ἐπευνώνυ-
122 ξεσθαι.” λαβῶν δὲ τροφὰς διαρκεῖς, ἐπειδὴ μεθ᾽ ἐτέρων αἰχμαλώτων ἐμελλεν ἀπεμπολεῖσθαι, καθ᾽ ἵσας πρότερον ἡρίστα μαλ’ εὐθαρσῶς, ἐπιδίδονς καὶ τοῖς πλησίον. ἐνὸς δὲ οὔχ ὑπομένοντοσ, ἀλλὰ καὶ σφόδρα κατηφούντος, “οὐ παύσῃ τῆς συννοίας; χρῶ τοῖς παροῦσιν” ἔφη.

“καὶ γάρ τ’ ἡμικομοὶ Νιόβη ἐμνήσατο σίτου, τῇ περ δόδεκα παιδεῖ ἐνὶ μεγάροισιν ὅλοντο, ἐξ μὲν υγιατέρεσ, ἐξ δὲ υἱὲς ἤβωντες.”

123 | εἴτε ἐπινεανενόμενος πρὸς τὸν πυθόμενον τῶν ὲ
[465] ωνητικῶς ἔχοντων “τί οἶδας;” “ἀρχεῖν” εἶπεν “ἀνθρώπων,” ἐνδοθε, ὅς ἔοικε, τῆς ψυχῆς τὸ ἐλεύθερον καὶ εὐγενὲς καὶ φύσει βασιλικὸν ὑπε-
χοῦσης. ἦδη δὲ καὶ πρὸς χαριεντισμὸν ὑπὸ τῆς συνήθους ἐκεχειρίας, ἐφ᾽ ὦις οἴς οἳ ἄλλοι συννοίας γέ-
124 μοντες κατήφουν, ἐτράπετο. λέγεται γοῦν, ὅτι θεασάμενος τινα τῶν ὲ

1 So Cohn with M. The other mss. vary between οὐ λυπου-
μένον ὄντο, οὐ μόνον λυπουμένον ὄντος and οὐ μόνον λυπουμένου. Cohn’s theory that the first form of these arose by mistaking the χ of οὐχ for λ, and that the others were later developed out of it, is probably right.

2 Cohn, who prints ἐφ᾽ ἃ for ἐφ᾽ ὦς, regards the passage or at least ἐκεχειρίας to be corrupt. I do not feel sure of this. The word is used coupled with ἀδαν and ἄνεσις in De Cher. 92 and De Sac. 23 and below, § 148. In De Conf. 165, where see note, we have ἡ τοῦ διαμαρτάνειν ἐκεχειρία. The extension of the word from a situation where restraint is removed to unrestrainedness as a quality in a man is not great. It would be difficult however to fit it in with ἐφ᾽ ἃ, unless it meant that the others were frightened at his cheeki-
EVERY GOOD MAN IS FREE, 122-124

constant privations and so fetch a lower price.”

He then received adequate allowances of food and when he was about to be brought to market with the other captives, he first sat down and took his dinner in the highest spirits, and gave some of it to those near him. To one of them who could not resign himself, and, indeed, was exceedingly dejected, he said, “Stop this repining and make the best of things, for

E’en fair-haired Niobe took thought for food
Though she had lost twelve children in the halls—
Six daughters and six sons in prime of youth.”

Then when one of the prospective purchasers asked him what he was skilled at, he said with all boldness “at ruling men,” a reply which, showing freedom, nobility, and natural kingliness, was clearly dictated by the soul within him. Again we find him with his wonted licence making witticisms out of a situation which filled the others with melancholy and dejection. It is said, for instance, that looking at one of the purchasers, an addict to effeminacy, whose face showed that he had nothing of the male about him, he went up to him and said, “You should buy me, for

See on § 37.

Or perhaps “could not bring himself to accept the food,” which fits in better with the Homeric quotation. Cf. ούχ ὑπέμειναν τὰς δωρεάς “they scorned to accept the gifts” (quoted by L. & S. rev. from Isoc. iv. 94).

Il. xxiv. 602 ff.

ness, and I have adopted ἐφ’ ὅς (M) which has at least as good authority. We might expect τὰ ἐφ’ ὅς, but compare τῇ καθ’ ἄν γράφεται δυνάμει, § 104. The most questionable thing about the interpretation which I have given is that it assumes that the middle ἐτράπετο can be used transitively, and though τρέπειν and τρέπεσθαι are in some ways interchangeable, I have not found any exact parallel.
PHILO

"σού με πρίως σού γὰρ ἀνδρὸς χρείαν ἔχειν μοι δοκεῖς," ὡς τὸν μὲν δυσωπηθέντα ἐφ’ ὦς ἐαυτῷ συνήδει καταδύναι, τοὺς δὲ ἄλλους τὸ σὺν εὐτολμίᾳ εὐθυβόλον ἐκπλήττεσθαι. ἀρά γε τῷ τοιούτῳ δουλείαν, ἀλλ’ οὐ μόνον ἐλευθερίαν δίχα ἀνυπενθόντος ἡγεμονίας ἐπιφημιστέουν; ζηλωτῆς δὲ τῆς τούτου παρρησίας ἐγένετό τις Χαιρέας τῶν ἀπὸ παιδείας. Ἀλεξάνδρειαν γὰρ οἰκῶν τὴν πρὸς Αἰγύπτιος, δυσχεράναντός ποτε Πτολεμαίου καὶ ἀπειλήσαντος οὐ μετρίως, τῆς ἐκείνου βασιλείας οὐδὲν ἐλάττωνα τὴν ἐν τῇ ἐαυτοῦ φύσει νομίσας ἐλευθερίαν, ἀντέλεξεν.

"Αἰγυπτίοισιν ἀνασσε, σέθεν δ’ ἐγώ οὐκ ἀλεγίζω οὐδ’ οἶκοι κοτέοντος."

126 ἔχουσι γὰρ τι βασιλικὸν αἰ εὐγενεῖς ψυχαῖ, τὸ λαμπρὸν πλεονέξια τύχης οὐκ ἁμαρτοῦμεναι, δ’ προτρέπει καὶ τοῖς τάξιμα υπερόγκως ἐξ ίσου διαφέρεσθαι, ἀλαζονεῖα παρρησίαν ἀντιτάττον.

127 Θεόδωρον λόγος ἔχει τὸν ἐπικληθέντα ἄθεεν ἐκπεσόντα τῶν Ἀθηνῶν καὶ πρὸς Δυσίμαχον ἐλθόντα, ἐπειδὴ τις τῶν ἐν τέλει τὸν δρασμὸν ἤνειδίσει, ἀμα καὶ τὰς αἰτίας ἐπιλέγων, ὅτι ἐπὶ ἄθεότητι καὶ διαφθορᾷ τῶν νέων καταγγωσθεῖς

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a This phrase is difficult. The sense given to δίχα in the translation, by which "without" is extended to mean "not
you seem to me to need a husband," whereat the
person concerned conscience-stricken into shame sub-
sided, and the others were amazed at the courage and
the aptness of the sally. Must we apply the term
slavery to such as him, or any other word but liberty,
over which irresponsible domination has no power? a

His freedom of speech was emulated by 125
Chaereas, a man of culture. When he was living in
Alexandria by Egypt, he once incurred the anger of
Ptolemy, who threatened him in no mild terms.
Chaereas considering that his own natural freedom
was not a whit inferior to the other's kingship replied:

Be King of Egypt; I care not for you—
A fig for all your anger. b

For noble souls, whose brightness the greed of fortune 126
cannot dim, have a kingly something, which urges
them to contend on an equal footing with persons of
the most massive dignity and pits freedom of speech
against arrogance. A story is told of 127
Theodorus c surnamed the atheist, that when he had
been banished from Athens and had joined Lysi-
machus, his flight was brought up against him by a
person of authority, who recited the circumstances
which caused it and declared that he had been ejected
after being condemned as an atheist and corrupter of

subject to," is not natural. δίχα is often used by Philo to
introduce some additional statement and possibly that may
be the meaning here, i.e. "not to say absolute sovereignty,"
referring of course to the sovereignty of the sage described
by Diogenes Laertius vii. 122 as αρχή άνυπεύθυνος. The
natural translation "freedom but not irresponsible sove-
reignty" (so Mangey " nudam libertatem imperio pleno
destitutam" ) seems impossibly pointless.

b II. i. 180 f. (Μνρμιδόνεασιν for Αίγυπτίοισιν in the original).

c For Theodorus see App. p. 517.
PHILO

εξέπεσεν, "[οὐκ] εξέπεσον" φάναι, "τὸ δ' αὐτὸ 128 ἐπαθὼν τῷ Δίως Ἡρακλεὶ. καὶ γὰρ ἐκεῖνος ἐξετέθη πρὸς τῶν Ἀργοναυτῶν, οὐκ ἄδικῶν, ἀλλ' ὁτι μόνον πλήρωμα καὶ ἔρμα καθ' αὐτὸν ὡν ἐναιβάρει, δέος παρασχῶν τοῖς συμπλέουσι, μὴ τὸ σκάφος ὑπέραντλον γένηται. κάγω διὰ τοῦτο μετανέστην, ὑψεί καὶ μεγέθει τῆς ἐμῆς διανοίας τῶν πολιτευόμενων Ἀθήνησιν οὐ δυνηθέντων συνδραμεῖν, ἀμα 129 καὶ φθονηθεῖς." προσανερομένου δὲ Λυσιμάχου. "μὴ καὶ ἓκ τῆς πατρίδος ἐξέπεσες φθόνω;" πάλιν ἀποκρίνασθαι. "φθόνω μὲν οὐ, φύσεως δὲ ὑπερ- 130 βολαῖς, ἃς ἡ πατρίς οὐκ ἔχωρει. καθάπερ γὰρ Σμέλης, ἧνικα Δίονυσον ἐκύιει, τὸν ὁρισμένον ἄχρι [466] τῆς | ἀποτέξεως χρόνον ἐνεγκείν οὐ δυνηθεῖσις, καταπλαγεῖς Ζεὺς τὴν τοῦ κατὰ γαστρός φύσιν ἡλιτόμην ἐξελκύσας ἱκάνον οὐρανιοῖς ἀπέφηνε θεοῖς, οὐτω κάμε, τῆς πατρίδος βραχυτέρας οὔσῃ ἡ ἱστοσοφόμον φρονήματος ὁγκον τοσοῦτον, δαίμων τις ἡ θεοὶ ἀναστήσας εἰς εὔχεστερον τόποιν Ἀθηνῶν ἀποικίσαι διενοήθη." 131 XIX. Τῆς δὲ ἐν σοφοῖς ἠλευθερίας, ὡσπερ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἀνθρωπίνων ἀγαθῶν, κάν τοῖς ἀλόγοις

1 Cohn and Mangey are no doubt right in expunging the negative. For though it would make sense as "I was not banished, but removed by divine agency" (see end of § 130), the comparison with Heracles who was ejected and the versions of the story given by Diogenes Laertius ii. 102 and Plutarch (De Exil. 16), both of whom make him answer the question "Were you banished?" in the affirmative, show that οὐκ should be omitted.

2 So three mss. The others Ἀθήνας, which Cohn prints. Whether he intended to insert ἡ and omitted it by inadvertence I do not know. As it stands, it seems to me quite impossible.
EVERY GOOD MAN IS FREE, 127–131

“ ... I was ejected,” he answered, “but I shared that fortune with the son of Zeus Heracles, for he was thrown overboard by the Argonauts, not for any wrongdoing, but because he himself alone was freight \( ^a \) and ballast enough to overload the vessel, and made his fellow sailors afraid that it would be water-logged. And I, too, changed my residence \( ^b \) for this reason, because the politicians at Athens were unable to keep pace with the loftiness and magnitude of my intellect; also I was the object of envy.” When Lysimachus put the further question, “Was it then for envy that you were ejected?” he answered, “No, not through envy but because of the transcendence of my natural gifts which the country could not hold. For just as when Semele, while carrying Dionysus, was unable to bear the weight till the time appointed for her delivery, and Zeus in consternation pulled out the fruit of her womb in a premature stage of being and made it rank equal to the celestial gods, so it was with me: my country was too small to hold such a mass of philosophical thinking, and some lower or higher deity dislodged me and resolved to transplant me to a place more favoured by fortune than Athens.”

XIX. The freedom of the wise like all other human good gifts may be seen exemplified also in the irra-

\( ^a \) Cf. § 41. The general meaning of πλήρωμα as a nautical term is “the crew,” \( i.e. \) not a dead-weight, but the human “complement” as in § 142, but this does not suit the context here, and not very well in § 41, and as the two passages cannot be dissociated, it seems better to assume that in both cases the meaning is “freight” or “cargo.”

\( ^b \) Or perhaps “was made to leave my home,” μετανέστην having the passive sense which the uncompounded verb often has.


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ζώοις παραδείγματα σκοπῶν ἂν τις εὑροί. οἱ γοῦν ἀλεκτρυόνες οὕτως εἰώθασι φιλοκινδύνως ἁγωνίζεσθαι, ὡστε ὑπὲρ τοῦ μὴ εἰξαι καὶ παραχωρῆσαι, κἂν ἡττώνται ταῖς δυνάμεσιν, οὐχ ἡττώμενοι ταῖς εὐτολμίαις ἁχρὶ θανάτου παραμένουσι. 132 εὐτολμήματι ἄχρι θανάτου παραμένουσιν. ὁ συνιδών Μιλτιάδης ὁ τῶν Ἀθηναίων στρατηγός, ἤνικα βασιλεὺς ὁ Περσῶν ἀπασαν τὴν ἀκμὴν τῆς Ἀσίας ἀναστῆσας μυριάσι πολλαῖς διέβανεν ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑυρώπην, ὡς ἀναρπάσων αὐτοβοεῖ τὴν Ἑλλάδα, συναγαγὼν ἐν τῷ παναθηναϊκῷ τοὺς συμμάχους ὁρνίθων ἁγώνας ἐπέδειξε, λόγου παντὸς δυνατωτέραν ὑπολαμβάνων ἔσεσθαι τὴν διὰ τῆς τοιαύτης ὑμεώς παρακέλευσι καὶ γνώμης οὐχ ἡμαρτε. 133 θεασάμενοι γὰρ τὸ τλητικὸν καὶ φιλότιμον ἄχρι τελευτῆς ἐν ἀλόγοις ἁγώνας, ἀρράσαντες τὰ ὀπλα πρὸς τὸν πόλεμον ἁρμήσαν, ὡς ἐχθρῶν ἁγωνιούμενοι σώμασι, τραυμάτων καὶ σφαγῶν ἁλογοῦντες, ὑπὲρ τοῦ καὶ ἄπολατοίς ἐν ἐλευθέρῳ γούν τῷ τῆς πατρίδος ἐδάφει ταφῆναι. προτροπῆς γὰρ εἰς βελτίωσιν οὔδὲν οὕτως αἰτίον, ὡς ἠ τῶν ἀφανε- 134 στέρων ἐλπίδος μεῖζων κατάρθωσις. τοῦ δὲ περὶ τοὺς ὀρνίθας ἐναγωνίου μέμνηται καὶ ὁ τραγικὸς "Ἰων διὰ τοῦτων.

"οὔδ' ὃ γε σῶμα τυπεῖς διφυεῖς τε κόρας ἐπιλάθεται ἀλκᾶς,
ἀλλ' ὀλγοδρανέων φθογγάζεται.
θάνατον δ' ὃ γε δουλοσύνας προβέβουλε."

135 τοὺς οὖν σοφοὺς τί οἰόμεθα οὐκ ἀσμε νέστά τα δουλείας ἀντικαταλάξεσθαι τελευτήν; τὰς δὲ τῶν νέων καὶ εὐφυῶν ψυχὰς ἃρ' οὐκ ἄτοπον λέγειν

86
EVERY GOOD MAN IS FREE, 131–135

tional animals. Thus cocks are wont to fight with such intrepidity that rather than yield and withdraw, though outdone in strength yet not outdone in courage they continue fighting until they die. This Miltiades, the general of the Athenians, had observed, and when the Persian king having pressed into the ranks all the flower of Asia crossed into Europe with many myriads, thinking to seize Greece without a struggle, Miltiades collected his fellow soldiers at the Panathenaea and showed them some cocks fighting, holding that the spectacle would speak with a persuasion which no words could have. His judgement did not err, for when they saw this invincible gallantry and endurance asserting itself even to death in irrational creatures, they seized their arms and rushed to war, where the rivals against whom they were matched would be the bodies of the foes, and recked not of the wounds nor of the slaughter in their hope to secure that if they fell at least their native soil in which they lay would still be free. For nothing so creates an impulse to do better, as that those of less repute than ourselves should rise to heights of achievement beyond our expectation. Cock-fighting is also mentioned by the Tragedian Ion in these words:

Battered his body and blind each eye
He rallies his courage, and faint, still crows,
For death he prefers to slavery.

Why then should we suppose that the wise would not most gladly choose death rather than slavery? Is it not against all reason that the souls of the young and highly gifted should be worsted in the contests of

a See App. p. 517.
PHILO

...αθλοις ἀρετής ὀρνίθων ἐλαττώσθαι καὶ μόλις φέρεσθαι τὰ δευτερεῖα;

136 Καὶ μὴν οὖν ἐκεῖνο τις τῶν ἐπὶ βραχὺ παιδείας ἁψαμένων ἄγνοεῖ, ὅτι καλὸν μὲν πράγμα ἐλευθερία, ἀισχρὸν δὲ δουλεία, καὶ ὅτι τὰ μὲν καλὰ πρόσεστι τοῖς ἁγαθοῖς, τὰ δ᾽ αἰσχρὰ τοῖς φαύλοις. ἐξ ὧν ἐναργέστατα παρίσταται τὸ μήτε τινὰ τῶν σπουδαίων δουλῶν εἶναι, κἂν μυρίοι τὰ δεσποτῶν σύμβολα προφέροντες ἐπανατείνωσθαι, μήτε τῶν ἀφρόνων ἐλεύθερον, κἂν Κροῖσος ἢ Μίδας ἢ ὁ μέγας βασιλεὺς ὄν τυγχάνῃ. XX. | τὸ δὲ ἐλευθερίας μὲν ἀοίδιμον κάλλος δουλείας δὲ ἐπάρατον αἰσχὸς ὕπο τῶν παλαιότερων καὶ πολυχρονιώτερων καὶ ὡς ἐν θνητοῖς ἀθανάτων, οἷς θέμις ἀψευδῶν, πόλεων τε καὶ ἠθνῶν μαρτυρεῖται. βουλαί τε γὰρ καὶ ἐκκλησίαι καθ᾽ ἐκάστην σχεδὸν ὑμέραν ἀθροίζονται περὶ τίνις μᾶλλον ἡ ἐλευθερίας παρακέλευσι τὸ βαρύτατον, ἀνδρεῖς σύμμαχοι, δουλείαν ἀπωσώμεθα τοῦ καλλίστου τῶν ἐν ἀθλοις ἀρετής ὀρνίθων ἐλαττώσθαι καὶ μόλις φέρεσθαι τὰ δευτερεῖα;

137 ἀφρόνων ἐλεύθερον, κἂν Κροῖσος ἢ Μίδας ἢ ὁ μέγας βασιλεὺς ὄν τυγχάνῃ. XX. | τὸ δὲ ἐλευθερίας μὲν ἀοίδιμον κάλλος δουλείας δὲ ἐπάρατον αἰσχὸς ὕπο τῶν παλαιότερων καὶ πολυχρονιώτερων καὶ ὡς ἐν θνητοῖς ἀθανάτων, οἷς θέμις ἀψευδῶν, πόλεων τε καὶ ἠθνῶν μαρτυρεῖται. βουλαί τε γὰρ καὶ ἐκκλησίαι καθ᾽ ἐκάστην σχεδὸν ὑμέραν ἀθροίζονται περὶ τίνις μᾶλλον ἡ ἐλευθερίας παρακέλευσι τὸ βαρύτατον, ἀνδρεῖς σύμμαχοι, δουλείαν ἀπωσώμεθα τοῦ καλλίστου τῶν ἐν ἀθλοις ἀρετής ὀρνίθων ἐλαττώσθαι καὶ μόλις φέρεσθαι τὰ δευτερεῖα;

138 ἀψευδῶν, πόλεων τε καὶ ἠθνῶν μαρτυρεῖται. βουλαί τε γὰρ καὶ ἐκκλησίαι καθ᾽ ἐκάστην σχεδὸν ὑμέραν ἀθροίζονται περὶ τίνις μᾶλλον ἡ ἐλευθερίας παρακέλευσι τὸ βαρύτατον, ἀνδρεῖς σύμμαχοι, δουλείαν ἀπωσώμεθα τοῦ καλλίστου τῶν ἐν ἀθλοις ἀρετής ὀρνίθων ἐλαττώσθαι καὶ μόλις φέρεσθαι τὰ δευτερεῖα;

139 ἀποδιδράσκειν, ἐλευθερίαν δὲ περιποιεῖσθαι; διὸ κἂν ταῖς μάχαις ἢ λοχαγῶν καὶ ταξιαρχῶν καὶ στρατηγῶν μεγίστη παρακέλευσι ἢ δ᾽ ἐστι "κακῶν τὸ βαρύτατον, ἀνδρεῖς σύμμαχοι, δουλείαν ἐπιφερομένην ἀπωσώμεθα. τοῦ καλλίστου τῶν ἐν ἀθλοις ἀρετής ὀρνίθων ἐλαττώσθαι καὶ μόλις φέρεσθαι τὰ δευτερεῖα;

—–

a §§ 137-143. In these sections Philo seems to abandon his theory and to accept the common conception of freedom and slavery. The slavery which the generals declare to be the worst of evils, which incapacitated for admission to the religious functions at Athens, and for service on the Argo, is according to the doctrine which the treatise preaches not slavery to the wise. It may perhaps be said that if freedom is admitted to be excellent, freedom in the philosophical sense...
EVERY GOOD MAN IS FREE, 135–139

virtue by birds and take only the second place and that barely?

This too is a truth well known to everyone who has taken even a slight hold of culture, that freedom is an honourable thing, and slavery a disgraceful thing, and that honourable things are associated with good men and disgraceful things with bad men. Hence, it clearly follows that no person of true worth is a slave, though threatened by a host of claimants who produce contracts to prove their ownership, nor is any fool a free man, even though he be a Croesus or a Midas or the Great King himself.

XX. And this doctrine that freedom is glorious and honourable, slavery execrable and disgraceful, is attested by cities and nations, which are more ancient, more permanent, and, as far as mortals may be, immortal, and for immortals it is a law of their being that their every word is true. The senates and national assemblies meet almost every day to discuss more than anything else how to confirm their freedom if they have it, or to acquire it if they have it not. The Greek and the outside world are perpetually engaged in feuds and wars, nation against nation, and with what object save to escape from slavery and to win freedom? And so on the battle-field, the commanders of armies and regiments and companies couch their exhortations to their men mainly in this form. "Fellow soldiers, slavery is the most grievous of evils. Let us repel its assault. is still more excellent—that the exclusion of slaves in the ordinary sense from the Athenian celebrations and from the Argo did incidentally teach the lesson that the "free" might carry out menial duties without loss of true freedom. But those ideas are only just hinted at. The real argument is resumed in § 144.
ΠΗΛΟ

άνθρώποις ἀγαθῶν, ἔλευθερίας, μὴ περιδώμεν. ἢ δ' ἐστὶν ἀρχὴ καὶ πηγή τής ευδαιμονίας, ἀφ' ἢς 140 αἱ κατὰ μέρος βέοντοι ὦφελειαί." διὸ μοι δοκοῦσιν οἱ τῶν Ἑλλήνων ὄξυδερκεστατοι διά-

νοιαν Ἄθηναιοι—οπερ γὰρ ἐν ὠφθαλμῷ κόρη ἢ ἐν ἑσυχῇ λογισμῷ, τοῦτ ἐν Ἑλλάδι Ἀθῆναι—τὴν ἐπὶ ταῖς Σεμναῖς Θεαίς πομπῆν ὅταν στέλλωσι, δοῦλον μηδένα προσπαραλαμβάνειν τὸ παράπαν, ἀλλὰ δι' ἐλευθέρων ἔκαστα τῶν νενομισμένων ἀνδρῶν τε καὶ γυναικῶν ἐπιτελεῖν, καὶ οὐχ οἷον ἂν τύχῃ, ἀλλὰ βίον ἔξηλωκότων ἀνεπίληπτον ἐπεὶ καὶ τὰ πρὸς τὴν ἐορτὴν πέμματα τῶν ἐφήβων οἱ δοκιμώτατοι σιτοπονοῦσι, πρὸς εὐδοξίας καὶ τιμῆς, ὅπερ ἐστὶ, 141 τὴν ὑπηρεσίαν τιθέμενοι. πρὸς ὑποκριτῶν τρα-

γωδίαν ἐπιδεικνυμένων καὶ τὰ παρ' Εὐριπίδη τρίμετρα διεξιόντων ἐκεῖνα

"τούλευθερόν γὰρ ὄνομα παντὸς ἄξιον,
κἂν σμίκρ' ἔχῃ τις, μεγάλ' ἔχειν νομιζέτων,"

τοὺς θεατὰς ἀπαντᾷς εἴδον ἐπ' ἀκρων ποδῶν ὑπ' ἐκπλήξεως ἀναστάντας καὶ φωναίς μείζοσι καὶ ἐκβοήσεως ἐπάλληλοις ἐπανοῦν μὲν τῆς γνώμης, ἐπαινοῦν δὲ καὶ τοῦ ποιητοῦ συνείροντας, ὅσ' οὐ μόνον τὴν ἐλευθερίαν ἔργοις ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῦνομα 142 αὐτῆς ἐσέμνυνεν. ἄγαμαι καὶ τῶν Ἀργοναυτῶν, οἱ σύμπαν ἀπεφήναν ἐλευθερον τὸ πλήρωμα μηδένα μηδὲ τῶν εἰς ἀναγκαίας υπηρεσίας προσέμενοι δού-

λον, ἄδελφην ἐλευθερίας αὐτουργόν ἐν τῷ τότε

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According to Cohn, Demeter and Persephone, but see App. p. 517.
Freedom is the noblest of human blessings; let us not suffer it to be lost. Freedom is the source and fountain of happiness and from it flow all particular benefits." This I think is the reason why the Athenians, the keenest in intelligence among the Greeks—for Athens is in Greece what the pupil is in the eye and the reason in the soul—when they celebrate the procession in honour of the Venerable Goddesses, admit no slave to the company, but employ free men and women to carry out all the solemnities, and these not chosen at haphazard, but such as have earnestly pursued a blameless life. On the same principle, the cakes for the feast are made by the youths who have best passed their test, and they consider this service to be an honour and glory as indeed it is. A short time ago, when some players were acting a tragedy, and reciting those lines of Euripides,

\[
\text{The name of freedom is worth all the world;} \\
\text{If one has little, let him think that much,}^b
\]

I saw the whole audience so carried away by enthusiasm that they stood upright to their full height, and raising their voices above the actors, burst into shout after shout of applause, combining praise of the maxim with praise of the poet, who glorified not only freedom for what it does, but even its name. I also admire the Argonauts, who made their crew consist entirely of the free and admitted no slave, not even those who would do the necessary menial labours, welcoming personal service in these circumstances as the sister of

\[ \text{\textit{Auge}} \]

\[ ^b \text{Part of four lines quoted by Stobaeus from the \textit{Auge} of Euripides.} \]
άσπασμένων. εἰ δὲ καὶ ποιηταῖς προσέχειν ἄξιον —διὰ τί δὲ οὐ μέλλομεν; παίδευται γὰρ οὗτοι γε τοῦ σύμπαντος βίου, καθάπερ ἰδίᾳ γονεΐς παῖδας καὶ οὗτοι δημοσίᾳ τὰς πόλεις σωφρονίζοντες—, οὐδ’ ἦ 'Αργώ ναυαρχοῦντος 'Ιάσωνος ἐπέτρεπεν ἐπι-
[468] βαίνεν οἰκέταις, μεμοιραμένη | ψυχῆς καὶ λογισμοῦ, φύσις οὐσα φιλελεύθερος. ὅθεν καὶ ὁ Ἀἰσχύλος ἐπ’ ἀυτῆς ἐίπε:

"ποῦ δ’ ἐστὶν 'Αργοὺς ἱερόν, αὐδασαν, ἐξίλον;

’Επανατάσεων δὲ καὶ ἄπειλων, ὅς σοφοῖς ἀν-
δράσιν ἐπανατεύνονται καὶ ἄπειλοῦσί τινες, ἦκιστα
φροντιστέον καὶ τὰ ὄμοια λεκτέον Ἀντιγενίδα τῷ
ἀυλητῇ. καὶ γὰρ ἐκείνων φασιν, ἐπειδῆ τις τῶν
ἀντιτέχνων ὀργισθεῖς εἶπεν "ἐνήσομαι σε," βαθεὶ
ήθει φαναί. "καγώ τοιγαρούν διδάξω σε αὐλεῖν."

ἀξίον οὖν καὶ τῷ σπουδαίῳ πρὸς μὲν τὸν ἔχοντα
ἀντιτεχνὸς λέγειν. "σωφροσύνην ἁρα ἀναδιαχ-
θήσῃ," πρὸς δὲ τὸν ἄπειλοῦντα φυγὴν. "πᾶσα γῆ
μοι πατρίς," πρὸς δὲ τὸν χρημάτων ζημίαν. "ἀρκεῖ
μετρία βιοτὰ μοι," πρὸς δὲ τὸν πληγᾶς η θάνατον

1 mss. αὐδασαι or αὐδασε or (M) δαπέν (sic). For the sug-
gestion αὐδηέν see note a.

a This refers to the legend that Athena fitted into the prow of the Argo a speaking (φωνήεν) timber from the oak at Dodona. See Apollodorus 1. 9. 19 who mentions two of its utterances, one being the complaint that Heracles overloaded it referred to in § 128. The quotation from Aeschylus, at any rate as punctuated by Cohn and translated above, does not seem very apposite. As αὐδασον has no ms. authority (see note 1), the correction αὐδηέν or αὐδάεν seems probable
EVERY GOOD MAN IS FREE, 143–146

freedom. And if we are justified in listening to the poets,—and why should we not, since they are our educators through all our days, and as parents in private life teach wisdom to their children, so do they in public life to their cities—if I say we believe them, even the Argo, which captained by Jason was endowed with soul and reason, a sentient being filled with love of freedom, would not let bond servants board her. So Aeschylus says of her:

Where is the sacred bark of Argo? Speak.\(^a\)

The menacing gestures and speeches with which some people threaten the wise should be treated with little respect and meet with a reply like that of Antigenidas, the flute-player. When a rival professional said to him in anger, "I'll buy you," he answered him with great irony,\(^b\) "Then I'll teach you to play." So then, too, the man of worth may say to his prospective purchaser, "Then you will have lessons in self-control." If one threatens him with banishment, he can say, "Every land is my native country"\(^c\); if with loss of money, "A moderate livelihood suffices me"\(^d\); if the threat takes the

unless Nauck's objection that the word would not be used in iambics precludes it. If αὐδασον is retained I should prefer to translate "Where is it (or he)? Speak, holy bark of Argo."

\(^b\) Or "very wittily" or "very good-naturedly." I have discussed the meaning of this phrase in a note on De Ios. 168, vol. vi. p. 602. Antigenidas was a famous Theban musician, about the beginning of the fourth century B.C.

\(^c\) Perhaps a reminiscence of the line by an unknown author τῷ γὰρ καλῶς πράσσοντι πᾶσα γῆ πατρίς, though the meaning of this is not what is intended here.

\(^d\) A fragment of Euripides (lyrical, whence the form βιοτά for -ή), and continuing σώφρονος τραπέζης.
PHILO

επανατεινόμενον. "ου μορμολύττεται με ταύτα, οὐδ' εἰμὶ πυκτῶν ἢ παγκρατιαστῶν ἐλάττων, οἵ-τινες ἀμανρὰ εἰδωλα ἀρετῆς ὁρώντες, ἂτε σωμάτων αὐτὸ μόνον εὐεξίαν διαπονῆσαντες, ἐκάτερα τλητικῶς ὑπομένουσιν. ὁ γὰρ ἡγεμόνις σώματος ἐν ἐμοὶ νοῦς ἀνδρείᾳ τονωθεὶς οὔτω σφόδρα νενεύρωται, ὡς ἐπάνω πάσης ἀληθοῦς ἱστασθαι δύνασθαι." 147

XXI. [Φυλακτεὸν οὖν τὸν τοιοῦτον θηρὰ συλλαμβάνειν, ὡς οὐκ ἀλκὴν μόνον ἄλλα καὶ ὀφθαλμὸς φοβερὸς ὅτι τὸ δυσαλωτὸν καὶ μὴ εὐκαταφρόνητον δείκνυται.]

'Ασυλία τῶν πολλάκης οἰκετῶν τοῖς καταφεύγουσιν ἀδειαν καὶ ἦλεγχοι ὡς ἰσοτίμους καὶ ἰσοτελέση παρέσχετο καὶ τοὺς ἐκ προπάππων καὶ τῶν ἄνω προγόνων κατά τινα συγγενικῆν διαδοχὴν παλαιοδούλους ἑστὶν ἰδεῖν, ὅταν ἐν ἱερῶ ἰκέται καθέξωσυνται, μετὰ πάσης ἀδείας ἑλευθεροστομοῦντας. εἰδοτ' οἱ καὶ τοῖς κτησαμένοις οὐκ ἑξ ἑσεμοῦ μόνον ἄλλα καὶ ἐκ πολλοῦ τοῦ περιόντος εὐτόνως ἀμα καὶ καταφρονητικῶς διαφέρονται περὶ τῶν δικαίων οὐς μὲν γὰρ ὁ τοῦ συνειδότος ἑλεγχος, κἂν ὡσθεν εὐπατρίδαι, πέφυκε δουλοῦσθαι, οἱ δὲ τὴν τοῦ σώματος ἀδειαν ἐκ τῆς περὶ τῶν τόπων ἀσυλίας πεπορισμένοι ψυχῆς, ἡν ο θεὸς ἐκ πάντων ἀχείρωτον ἐλευθερίαν, ἑλευθερία καὶ εὐγενὴ σφόδρα

148

That this section makes impossible nonsense here is obvious. Massebieau propounded the theory that §§ 32-40 should be transferred to after § 146 and followed by § 147. While the relevance of §§ 32-40 as it stands is not very clear, it seems to me they would be still more intrusive here. And what connexion has § 147 with § 40? In § 40 lions are said to be really the masters of their owners and the moral deduced is that still more is the wise man master in the true
form of blows or death, he can say, "These bugbears do not scare me; I am not inferior to boxers or pancratists, who though they see but dim shadows of true excellence, since they only cultivate robustness of body, yet endure both bravely. For the mind within me which rules the body is by courage so well-braced and nerved, that it can stand superior to any kind of pain."

XXI. [We must be careful, therefore, not to take a wild beast of this kind, which displays not only strength, but by the terrors of its appearance, its invincible and formidable nature.]

Places which serve as sanctuaries often provide the bond servants who take refuge in them with the same security and licence of speech as if they enjoyed equal rights and privileges with the rest. And one may see those whose servitude is immemorial handed down from their great-grandfathers and earlier ancestors by a kind of family succession, talking freely with complete fearlessness, when sitting in temples as suppliants. Some even show not mere equality but great superiority in the energy and disdain with which they dispute questions of justice with their owners. For while the owners however highly born may well become as slaves through the conscience which convicts them, the suppliants, who are provided with bodily security by the inviolability of the place, exhibit in the soul, which God created proof against all that could subdue it, characteristics of freedom sense. To follow by a warning against buying lions would be utterly inept. By what accident it got inserted here, it is useless guessing. But probably it belongs to some disquisition in which harbouring passions is compared to keeping wild beasts (cf. De Praem. 88). Such a disquisition might well have found a place in the twin treatise "that every fool is a slave."
άναφαίνουσιν ήθη- εί μή λίαν άλόγιστος, ώσ χωρία μέν θάρσους αύτια καί παρρησίας ὑπολαμβάνει εἶναι, τὸ δὲ τῶν άντων θεοειδέστατον,

[469] ἀρετὴν, μηκέτι, δι’ ἥν καὶ τοῖς | χωρίοις καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ὅσα φρονῆσεως μετέχει τὸ ἵεροπρεπὲς ἐγ-

γίνεται. καὶ μὴν τοῖς μὲν εἰς ἀσύλους τῶν καταφεύγουσιν, ἐκ μόνων τῶν τόπων περιπεποιημένων ἁσφάλειαν, ἐκ μυρίων ἄλλων ἁγωγίως συμβέβηκε γίνεσθαι, διόρων γυναικὸς, ἁδοξίας τέκνων, ἔρωτος ἀπάτης, τοῖς δὲ ἐς ἁρετὴν ὥσπερ εἰς ἀκαθαρτόν καὶ ἐρυμνότατον τεῖχος ἁλογείν βλημάτων, ὅν αἱ ἐφεδρείαι τῶν παθῶν βάλλουσι καὶ

151 τοξεύουσι. ταύτη τις πεφραγμένος τῇ δυνάμει μετὰ παρρησίας άν εἴποι, ὅτι οἱ μὲν ἄλλοι πρὸς τῶν τυχόντων ἀλίσκονται,

“ἐγὼ δ’ ἐμαυτοῦ” κατὰ τὸν τραγικὸν “καὶ κλύειν ἐπίσταμαι, ἀρχεῖν θ’ ήμοίως, τάρετὴ σταθμώμενος τὰ πάντα.”

152 λέγεται γοῦν ὁ Πριηνεὺς Βίας ἀπειλοῦντι Κροίσῳ μάλα καταφρονητικῶς ἀνταπειλήσαι ἐπεσθείν τῶν κρομμύων, αἰνιττόμενος τὸ κλαίειν, ἐπεὶ δάκρυα κινεῖ· πόσω μᾶλλον ἁμηνόστομος Οἱ σοφοὶ βασιλικώτερον οὐδὲν ἁρετῆς νομίζοντες, ή τοῦ βίου

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a The argument seems to be “bodily immunity may put the philosophical slave on an equal footing, but only spiritual freedom would give the superiority in discussion.” It would be clearer if πόσω μᾶλλον ἐλευθεροστομήσει ὁ σοφὸς (a suggestion mentioned by Cohn) was inserted before εἰ μη, but it is not necessary.

b φρονῆσεως has not been questioned, but seems to me
EVERY GOOD MAN IS FREE, 150–154

and high nobility. It must be so, for who could be so exceedingly unreasonable as to think that while places produce courage and free speaking, this does not extend to the most God-like thing existing, virtue, through which both places and everything else which participates in wisdom acquires sanctity? And indeed those who take refuge in sacrosanct localities and owe their security to the localities only, turn out to be in bondage to numberless other considerations, such as a wife seduced by gifts, children fallen into disgrace, betrayal in love matters. But those who take refuge in virtue, as in an indestructible and impregnable fortress, disregard the darts and arrows aimed at them by the passions which stalk them. Fortified by this power, a man may say freely and boldly, “While all others are the victims of chance circumstances, I can say with the tragic poet:

Myself I can obey and can command.
I measure all things by the rule of virtue.”

Thus Bias of Priene is said to have retorted very disdainfully to the threats of Croesus, by bidding him eat onions, a phrase which means “go weep,” because eating onions sets the tears running. In this spirit the wise who hold that nothing is more royal than virtue, the captain whom they serve as soldiers hardly possible, at any rate if τοῖς ἄλλοις is retained. What is wanted is something to indicate the sacrosanctity which altars, vessels and the like share with sanctuaries (? ἄφερεσεως). If this is the meaning. So Mangey “uxore corrupta,” but the phrase seems strange.

Source unknown, thought by Nauck to be Euripides.

According to Diog. Laert. i. 83 it was said to Halyattes the father of Croesus.
παντός αὐτοῖς ταξιαρχεῖ, τόσον ἕγεμον ἡμεμονίας ὡς ὑπηκόων οὐ δεδίασι. παρ' ὅ τοις διχόνους καὶ δολεροὺς ἀπασιν ὄνομάζειν ἔθος ἀνελευθέρους τε καὶ δουλοπρεπεῖς. ὅθεν κάκεινα εὐθεὶς τε 

"οὕτω δουλεῖ κεφαλῇ εὐθείᾳ πέφυκεν, 
ἀλλ’ οἶεί σκολιῇ, καὶ ἠνάχειν λοξὸν ἔχει."

tὸ γὰρ πλάγιον καὶ ποικίλον καὶ ἀπατηλὸν ἴθος ἀγενέστατον, ὡσπερ (ἐὐγενές) τὸ εὐθὺ καὶ ἀπλαστὸν καὶ ἀνύπουλον, λόγων βουλεύμασι καὶ βουλευ-

155 μάτων λόγων συναθροῦν. ἀξιὸν δὲ καταγελάν τῶν ἐπειδὰν ἀπαλλαγῶσι δεσποτικῆς κτήσεως ἐλευθερωθῆναι νομίζων οὐκέται μὲν γὰρ οὐκεθ’ ὅμοιος ἔσχεν οἴεν οἱ γε ἀφειμένοι, δούλοι δὲ καὶ μαστυγίαι πάντες, ὑπακούοντες οὐκ ἀνθρώπων—ὑπερὶν γὰρ ἦν τὸ δεινὸν—, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν ἐν ἰσύχους ἀτυχῶτων, ἄκρατος, λαχάνων, πεμμάτων, ὅσα οὕτως σιτοπόνων τε καὶ σπερμάτων περιεργίαι κατὰ γαστρὸν τῆς ταλαίνης δημιουρ-

156 γοῦσιν. ὁ γὰρ Διογένης ἵδον τινα τῶν λεγομένων ἀπελευθέρων ἀρυνώμενον καὶ πολλοὺς αὐτῶν συνηδομένονς, θαυμάσας τὸ ἀλογον καὶ ἀκριτον, "ὁμοιον" εἶπεν "ὡς εἰ τοις ἀνακηρύξεις τινα τῶν οἰκετῶν ἀπὸ ταύτης τῆς ἡμέρας εἶναι γραμματικὸν [470] ἡ γεωμέτρητη ἡ μουσικὸν, οὐδ’ | ὅναρ τῶν τεχνῶν

1 Though Cohn does not notice it, something may be said for Mangey’s suggestion of λαγάνων. λάχανα elsewhere, e.g. Spec. Leg. ii. 20, De Prov. 70, are associated with the frugal life.

2 MSS. σπερμάτων. The manuscripts here appear to be confused. In the same line where σιτοπόνων is printed, M has πεμμάτων, the others πομάτων or σπερμάτων repeated.
EVERY GOOD MAN IS FREE, 154–157

throughout their lives, do not fear the orders of others whom they regard as subordinates. And so double-faced and shifty people are universally called servile and slavish. This same thought is well expressed in another couplet:

A slave's head ne'er sits straight upon his shoulder
But always crooked on a twisted neck.

For the crooked, artificial, deceitful character is utterly ignoble, while the straight, simple and ingenuous, in which thoughts agree with words and words with thoughts, is noble. We may well deride the folly of those who think that when they are released from the ownership of their masters they become free. Servants, indeed, they are no longer now that they have been dismissed, but slaves they are and of the vilest kind, not to men, which would not be so grievous, but to the least reputable of inanimate things, to strong drink, to pot-herbs, to baked meats and all the other preparations made by the elaborate skill of cooks and confectioners, to afflict the miserable belly. Thus Diogenes the cynic, seeing one of the so-called freedmen pluming himself, while many heartily congratulated him, marvelled at the absence of reason and discernment. "A man might as well," he said, "proclaim that one of his servants became from this day a grammarian, a geometrician, or musician, when he has no idea whatever of the art." For as the proclamation cannot

\[ a \] The logical connexion demanded by παρ’ δι is not clear and Mangey may be right in supposing that something has been lost before this sentence.  

The correction σιτοπόνων is based on its frequent conjunction with ὀφαρτωτῆς, *e.g.* De Vit. Cont. 53.
δύνημένον.” ὥσ γὰρ ἐπιστήμονας οὐ ποιεῖ τὸ κήρυγμα, οὐτος οὐδὲ ἐλευθέρους—ἐπεὶ μακάριον ἦν τι—, ἄλλα μόνον οὐκ οἰκέτας.

158 XXII. Ἀνελόντες οὖν τὴν κενὴν δόξαν, ὡς ὁ πολὺς ὁμοιὸς ἀνδρώπων ἀπηγόρηταί, καὶ ἀληθείας ἱερωτάτου κτήματος ἐρασθέντες μήτε τοῖς λεγόμενοι ἀστοῖς πολιτείαι ἢ ἐλευθερίαι μήτε τοῖς οἰκότρυψιν ἢ ἀργυρωνήτως δουλείαι ἐπιφημίσωμεν, ἀλλὰ γένη καὶ δεσποτικὰ γράμματα καὶ συνόλως σῶματα παρελθόντες ψυχῆς φύσιν ἐρευνώμεν. εἰ μὲν γὰρ πρὸς ἐπιθυμίας ἐλαύνεται ἡ ὕψη ἡδονῆς δελεάζεται ἡ φόβως ἐκκλίνει ἡ λύπη στέλλεται ἡ ὑπὸ ὀργῆς τραχηλίζεται, δουλοὶ μὲν αὐτὴν, δούλου δὲ καὶ τὸν ἐκχάνειν μυρίων δεσποτῶν ἀπεργάζεται. εἰ δὲ φρονήσει μὲν ἁμαθίαν, σωφροσύνη δὲ ἀκολούθοι, δειλίαν δὲ ἀνδρεία καὶ πλεονεξίαν δικαιοσύνη κατηγωνίσατο, τῷ ἀδουλώτῳ καὶ τῷ ἀρχικῷ προσείλη—

160 φεν. ὅσαι δὲ μηδετέρας ιδέας πιὸ μετασχήκασι, μήτε τῆς καταδουλουμένης μήτε δ' ἢς ἐλευθερία βεβαιοῦται, γυμναὶ δὲ εἰςων ἐτί, καθάπερ αἱ τῶν κομιδῆς νηπίων, ταύτας τιθηνοκομητέον, ἐνστάζοντας τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἀντὶ γάλακτος ἀπολαμβάνει τροφάς, τὰς δὲ τῶν ἐγκυκλίων ψυχῆς, τὰς διὰ τῶν ἐγκυκλίων ψυχῆς, εἰτ' αὖθις κραταιοτέρας ὡς φιλοσοφία δημιουργός, ἐξ ὡν ἄνδρωθείσαι καὶ εὐεκτήσασαι πρὸς τέλος αὐτοῦ, οὐ Ζηνώνοις ἄκλα τη διὰ τὴν πυθόρχησιν, ἀφίζονται, τὸ ἀκολούθως τῇ φύσις ζῆν.

1 Perhaps with some mss. συστέλλεται. For the regular Stoic definition of λύπη as ἀλογός συστολὴ see S. V. F. iii. 391, 394. The same applies to Mos. ii. 139, where again the mss. are divided between στελλούσης and συστελλούσης.

2 mss. ἐντάπτοντας (Μ προτάττων τὰς).
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make them men of knowledge, so neither can it make them free, for that is a state of blessedness. It can only make them no longer servants.

XXII. Let us then do away with the idle fancy, to which the great mass of men feebly cling, and fixing our affections on that holiest of possessions, truth, refuse to ascribe citizenship or freedom to possessors of so-called civic rights, or slavery to servants, whether homebred or purchased, but dismissing questions of race and certificates of ownership and bodily matters in general, study the nature of the soul. For if the soul is driven by desire, or enticed by pleasure, or diverted from its course by fear, or shrunken by grief, or helpless in the grip of anger, it enslaves itself and makes him whose soul it is a slave to a host of masters. But if it vanquishes ignorance with good sense, incontinence with self-control, cowardice with courage and covetousness with justice, it gains not only freedom from slavery but the gift of ruling as well. But souls which have as yet got nothing of either kind, neither that which enslaves, nor that which establishes freedom, souls still naked like those of mere infants, must be tended and nursed by instilling first, in place of milk, the soft food of instruction given in the school subjects, later, the harder, stronger meat, which philosophy produces. Reared by these to manhood and robustness, they will reach the happy consummation which Zeno, or rather an oracle higher than Zeno, bids us seek, a life led agreeably to nature.

a This again like στέλλεται (see note 1) is a Stoic definition, φόβος ἄλογος ἐκκλίσης S. V. F. iii. 391, 393.

b For this view of the part played by the Encycelia and Philosophy in education see De Congressu, passim and Gen. Introd. to vol. i. pp. xvi f.
ON THE CONTEMPLATIVE LIFE OR SUPPLIANTS
(DE VITA CONTEMPLATIVA)
INTRODUCTION TO DE VITA CONTEMPLATIVA

This treatise is except for a few digressions a highly eulogistic account of an ascetic community known to Philo and settled near Alexandria. It is introduced as a counterpart to his description of the Essenes, whether that in Quod Omnis Probus 75-91 or perhaps more probably that in the Hypothetica, 11. 1-18, or possibly some third which has not survived. The Therapeutae are differentiated from the others in that while the Essenes exemplify the practical they represent the contemplative life. They do not have any active occupation or any custom of sharing houses or garments, nor do they even mess together except on special occasions. Another difference is that while the Essenes are exclusively male the Therapeutae admit women freely to such communal life as they have. On the other hand while the Essenes of course observe frugality there is no suggestion that they practised abstinence like the Therapeutae, who carried it to an extreme.

The treatise does not seem to me to rank high among the works of Philo; the subject is slight and gives little scope to the richness of thought which marks so much of the commentary and in a less degree the exposition of the Law. Historically it is perhaps of some importance as giving an account of
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an institution with some of the marks of later
monasticism for which we have no parallel either
without or within the Judaism of the times. And the
importance would be much greater if we could sup­
pose that this Alexandrian community was of a type
widespread through the world outside. The opening
words of section 21 may at first suggest that this was
so and the argument of Lucius who maintained that
the treatise was spurious was primarily based on this
assumption. The Therapeutae, he argued, are said
by the author to have been found in many places; if
it were so we must have heard of them from other
sources, and as we do not hear of them the whole
thing must be a fiction. But I do not think that
section 21 bears this meaning. This kind he says is
found in many parts of the world, particularly in
Egypt, and the best of them find a home in a certain
spot which he proceeds to describe. But when we
look back to find who this kind are it appears that
they are religious enthusiasts who give up their
property and family ties and go and live in solitude.
That this type of character existed in Philo's time we
might take for granted even if we did not have,
abundant evidence in his own writings, and it would
not be surprising to find them occasionally organi­
zng themselves into communities which would not
necessarily attract much attention. Philo however
does not assert that they ever did so except in
the body which he glorifies in this treatise. Nor

a The natural tendency of the religious philosopher to
cultivate solitude and avoid cities is several times referred to.
See above in Quod Omn. Prob. 63, also De Abr. 22 f., Spec.
Leg. ii. 44. So too the translators of the Lxx "avoided the
city," Mos. ii. 34. For the renunciation of property cf.
De Mut. 32.
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does he tell us how numerous they were or how long they maintained themselves. If any inference is to be drawn from the absence of mention elsewhere it would be that this settlement was small and ephemeral.

In fact it is neither the literary nor the philosophical value nor its historical importance which has made this treatise better known and more discussed than any other work of Philo. It owes its fame to the controversies which have raged round it since the fourth century. The thing began when Eusebius, Hist. Eccl. ii. 17 discovered in the Therapeutae a picture of the first Christian converts. After noting the traditional evangelization of Alexandria by St. Mark, he declares that no one could possibly doubt that Philo was referring to the first generation of his converts.

a I venture to put forth a conjectural picture of what the situation may have been. The point which the critics ignore is that this account unlike anything else in Philo’s works outside the historical treatises is an account of people who were or may well have been known to him personally. I suggest that this is the second half of a tract on a favourite antithesis of the practical and the contemplative life. The first half is neither the account of the Essenes given in the Quod Omn. Prob. nor that in the Hypothetica, but a third account which insisted on the practical aspect of the Essene community more strongly than either of the extant narratives. He wanted a counterpart showing the contemplative life and he had one ready to hand in a little settlement near his own home. This community was well known to him and he had for it a sincere admiration which made him shut his eyes to the considerations in De Fuga 36, that the contemplative life should begin when the aspirant has been thoroughly schooled in the practical. It was a pleasure to him to glorify in this way the friends whom Alexandrian society ignored. Naturally he did not foresee the use to which his narrative would be put by a Eusebius and a Lucius.
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In the renunciation of their property, their severe fasting, in the virginity of the women members, in their study of the scriptures including the writings of men of old which are clearly the gospels and apostolic writings and commentaries on the Old Testament such as Paul used—in their festal meetings which are a description of Easter celebrations, and the officials who manage these meetings in whom we may see bishops, priests and deacons, no one can possibly fail to see the first Christians. Nowadays it seems needless to argue that the theory has no foundation whatever. But it is easy to understand that the idea of finding in this Jewish philosopher an account of the life and worship of the early church, particularly in the great city whose evangelization is unnoticed in the New Testament, was very fascinating, and it is not surprising that it was strongly maintained by orthodox churchmen down to the 18th century. Hardly had it died out in the form sketched by Eusebius when it was revived in another form by two German scholars, Grätz and (more elaborately) Lucius in 1880. Eusebius had believed that Philo himself was in good faith describing the actual Christians of his time. Lucius supposed that some unknown writer at the end of the third century A.D. drew up an imaginary account of the monasticism of his own time which he put forth in Philo's name in order to commend it to readers, who impressed by the authority thus given to it would believe that it was a genuine picture of the primitive church. Somehow Lucius secured the approval not only of such distinguished historians as Schürer and Zeller but a formidable number of other distinguished scholars. But I find it difficult to understand how anyone who reads
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Coneybeare's and Wendland's refutations side by side with Lucius's dissertation can believe it. I will not attempt to give more than a few main points. Lucius's strongest argument was the absolute silence elsewhere about the Therapeutae, and this might have weight if we understood the author to assert that communities like that of the Mareotic Lake were to be found everywhere through the Roman world. But as I have said above I see no need to make such a deduction. Lucius also declared that various practices mentioned had Christian parallels, a claim in some cases obviously absurd, in others I daresay justified. But it was necessary to his argument to show that these customs or practices were not only Christian but also non-Jewish and this, if the two writers I have mentioned are to be believed, is rarely if ever the case. But the one great source of evidence on which a student of Philo not expert in Christian antiquities is entitled to give his opinion is the style and language. Here the evidence as shown not merely in thought but in vocabulary and phrasing seems to me quite beyond dispute. The Testimonia printed by Coneybeare at the foot of each page are overwhelming and with the additions made by Wendland demand at any rate a forger of extraordinary skill. They prove also that Lucius's study of Philo, as shown in what he considers to be an approximately correct list of the parallels in the treatise with the rest of Philo, was exceedingly inadequate. Whatever was the case when Lucius's argument was put forward sixty years ago, the tide of opinion has turned against it and rightly so far as I can judge.

The following is an analysis of the treatise:

He opens with saying that as a counterpart to the
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practical type represented by the Essenes he will describe the contemplative type which he calls Therapeutic. The name may originally mean healing but also worshipping, and this is the sense in which he further develops it (1-2). He compares this worship to the honour paid to other objects; the elements, the heavenly bodies and images are each reviewed and their inadequacy exposed (3-7), and this discussion ends with a scathing denunciation of the worst of all these false religions the Egyptian animal worship (8-9).

We now return to the Therapeutic type; their most essential characteristic is their mystical aspiration to reach the vision of the one God and this leads them to renounce all thoughts of private property (10-13). Philo praises them because in contrast to Anaxagoras and Democritus they do not let their property run to waste but give it over to friends and kinsmen while at the same time they gain leisure to devote themselves to the higher life (14-17). Free from these cares they leave behind them all family ties and seek solitude away from the corrupting influence of cities (18-20).

While the Therapeutic type in this wider sense is to be found in many parts of the Greek and Barbarian world, and particularly in Egypt, Philo declares that the best of them (in Egypt?) resort from every quarter to a particular spot near the Mareotic Lake, the climate and position of which he describes (21-23). The simple houses of these settlers each of them contain a room set apart for their meditations in which they study the Scriptures and devotional works from sunrise to sunset (24-26). At both times they pray and also compose hymns (27-29). This solitary life is
relaxed somewhat on the Sabbath, when they meet in the synagogue where men and women sit in separate partitions and listen to a sermon (30-33). As to their diet, during the six days they eat nothing till sunset and even in some cases fast for three whole days or more, but on the Sabbath it is more generous, though then the food and drink are little more than bread and water (34-37) and this asceticism extends to their dress (38-39).

The ordinary Sabbath meeting does not seem to include a Symposium, but they have such a thing on occasions. But before giving an account of it Philo makes a digression which takes up about a quarter of the whole treatise, describing the pagan feasts with which he will contrast it. First he notes the savage violence and drunkenness which disfigure such feasts (40-47), secondly the extravagant luxury shown in the appurtenances, couches and drinking vessels and still more in the number, finery and beauty of the attendants (48-52), and the number and variety of the dishes with which the guests gorge themselves (53-56). Greek literature does include two Symposia of a more refined kind, those described by Xenophon and Plato. Yet even these are full of folly, and Philo can see little more in Plato’s than the exaltation of pederasty which he takes the occasion to denounce (57-63). The rest of the treatise (64-90) describes in contrast to the above the festal meeting of the Therapeutae. First the date and occasion (65); then the preliminaries and prayers, the seating in order of seniority in the community, with the sexes separate (66-69); then the nature of the couches used and the qualifications of the attendants who are

\[a\] See notes on § 65, p. 152.
not slaves but young freemen\textsuperscript{a} (69-72); the simplicity of the meal provided (73-74). After they have taken their places on the couches there follows a discourse by the President on some scriptural point bringing out the spiritual lessons that the literal text provides, which is received with all attention followed by applause at the end (75-79). The discourse is followed by hymns, the first sung by the President, the others by the congregation each in turn, while all join in the refrain at the end (80-81). Then at last the meal itself is served (82). After this the vigil begins, the men and women each form a choir, the two choirs sing and dance in turn and then join together (83-85), thus resembling the songs of Moses and Miriam after the destruction of Pharaoh in the Red Sea, which is once more told in some detail (85-87). This is continued till dawn when they stand up and face the east and at sunrise after prayer return each to their own prayer room (88-89). The concluding section sums up the virtues and blessedness of the Therapeutae (90).

\textsuperscript{a} Or perhaps novices in the community.
ΠΕΡΙ ΒΙΟΥ ΘΕΩΡΗΤΙΚΟΥ
Η ΙΚΕΤΩΝ
(ΠΕΡΙ ΑΡΕΤΩΝ ΤΟ ΤΕΤΑΡΤΟΝ)

[471] I. Ἔσσαίων πέρι διαλεχθεῖσιν, οἱ τῶν πρακτικῶν ἐξήλωσαν καὶ διεπόνησαν βίον ἐν ἀπασίν ἡ—τὸ γοῦν φορητότερον εἰπεῖν—τοῖς πλείστοις μέρεσι διενεγκόντες, αὐτίκα καὶ περὶ τῶν θεωρίαν ἀσπασμένων ἀκολουθία τῆς πραγματείας ἐπόμενος τὰ προσήκοντα λέξω, μηδὲν οὐκοθέν ἐνεκα τοῦ βελτιώσαμεν διενεγκόντες, δ' ὅραν ἔθος ἐν σπάνει καλῶν ἑπιτηδευμάτων ἀπασί τοῖς ποιηταῖς καὶ λογογράφοις, ἀλλ' ἀτεχνῶς αὐτῆς περιεχόμενος τῆς ἀληθείας, πρὸς ἦν οἷον ὅτι καὶ ὁ δεινότατος εἰπεῖν ἀπαγορεύει. διαθλητέον δὲ ὁμοιος καὶ διαγωνιστέον: οὐ γὰρ δεῖ τὸ μέγεθος τῆς τῶν ἀνδρῶν ἀρετῆς αὐτῶν ἀφωνίας γενέσθαι τοῖς μηδὲν καλῶν ἡ ἰσχύς αὐτῶν δικαίως. ἦ δὲ προαίρεσις τῶν φιλοσοφῶν εὐθὺς ἐμφαίνεται διὰ τῆς προσρή-

1 So Cohn with some mss. Conybeare with others ἀφορητότερον, which he says is certainly the true reading. The weight of authority is perhaps in its favour, but the explanation which he gives, viz. that the Essenes were so highly esteemed that the suggestion that they were not necessarily superior in every way would be unpalatable, does not seem natural.
I. I have discussed the Essenes, who persistently 1 pursued the active life and excelled in all or, to put it more moderately, in most of its departments. I will now proceed at once in accordance with the sequence required by the subject to say what is needed about those who embraced the life of contemplation. In doing so I will not add anything of my own procuring to improve upon the facts as is constantly done by poets and historians through lack of excellence in the lives and practices which they record, but shall adhere absolutely to the actual truth. Though I know that in this case it is such as to unnerve the greatest master of oratory, still we must persevere and not decline the conflict, for the magnitude of virtue shown by these men must not be allowed to tie the tongues of those who hold that nothing excellent should be passed over in silence. The vocation² of these philo-² sophers is at once made clear from their title of

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² On the title and subtitle see App. p. 518.
² On προαίρεσις see App. p. 518.
σεως. θεραπευταὶ γὰρ καὶ θεραπευτρίδες ἐτύμως καλοῦνται, ἦτοι παρόσον ἰατρικὴν ἐπαγγέλλονται κρείσσονα τῆς κατὰ πόλεις—ἥ μὲν γὰρ σώματα θεραπεύει μόνον, ἐκεῖνη δὲ καὶ ψυχὰς νόσοις κεκρατήμενας χαλεπαῖς τε καὶ δυσιάτοις, ἂς ἑγκατέσκηψαν ὑδῶναι καὶ ἐπιθυμίαι καὶ λύπαι καὶ φόβοι πλεονεξίας τε καὶ ἀφροσύναι καὶ ἀδικίαι καὶ τὸ τῶν ἄλλων παθῶν καὶ κακῶν ἀνήνυτον πλῆθος—ἡ

[472] παρόσον ἐκ φύσεως καὶ τῶν ἱερῶν νόμων ἐπαἰ- δεύθησαν θεραπεύειν τὸ ὄν, δ καὶ ἄγαθοῦ κρεῖττον ἐστὶ καὶ ἐνὸς εἰλικρινέστερον καὶ μονάδος ἀρχε- 3 γονότερον. οίς τίνας συγκρίνειν ἄξιον τῶν ἐπαγ- γελλομένων εὐσέβειαν; ἂρα γε τοὺς τὰ στοιχεῖα τιμῶντας, γῆν, ύδωρ, αέρα, πῦρ; οίς καὶ ἐπωνυμίας ἐθεντο ετέρας ετέροι, τὸ μὲν πῦρ Ἡφαιστον παρὰ τὴν ἔξαφν, οἶμαι, καλοῦντες, Ἡραν δὲ τὸν ἀέρα παρὰ τὸ αἴρεσθαι καὶ μετεωρί- ζεσθαι πρὸς ύφος, τὸ δὲ υδώρ Ποσειδώνα τάχα που διὰ τὸ ποτόν, τὴν δὲ γῆν Δήμητραν, παρόσον μήτηρ εἶναι δοκεῖ πάντων φυτῶν τε καὶ ξώνων. 4 ἀλλὰ τὰ μὲν όνόματα σοφιστῶν ἐστὶν εὐρήματα, τὰ δὲ στοιχεῖα ἄψυχος ὢν καὶ ξέ αὐτῆς ἀκίνητος, ὑποβεβλημένη τῷ τεχνίτῃ πρὸς ἀπάσας σχημάτων καὶ ποιητικῆς ἰδέας. ἀλλὰ τοὺς τὰ

1 mss. κατέσκηψαν, which Conybeare retains, and attempts to justify. But the other examples of the simple verb in the index and almost all cited in Stephanus are intransitive.

a ἐτύμως = "in accordance with the meaning of the word from which the name is derived," in this case θεραπεύω. See on Quod Omn. Prob. 73 (App. p. 512).

b For the distinction between the Monad and the One in Pythagoreanism see Zeller, Presocratics (Eng. trans.), vol. i. 114
Therapeutae and Therapeutrides, a name derived\textsuperscript{a} from \( \theta\epsilon\rho\alpha\pi\epsilon\upsilon\omega \), either in the sense of "cure" because they profess an art of healing better than that current in the cities which cures only the bodies, while theirs treats also souls oppressed with grievous and well-nigh incurable diseases, inflicted by pleasures and desires and griefs and fears, by acts of covetousness, folly and injustice and the countless host of the other passions and vices: or else in the sense of "worship," because nature and the sacred laws have schooled them to worship the Self-existent who is better than the good, purer than the One and more primordial than the Monad.\textsuperscript{b} Who among those who \textsuperscript{3} profess piety deserve to be compared with these?

Can we compare those who revere the elements, earth, water, air, fire, which have received different names from different peoples who call fire Hephaestus because it is kindled (\( \varepsilon\zeta\alpha\pi\tau\omega \)), air Hera because it is lifted up (\( \alpha\iota\rho\omega \)) and exalted on high, water Poseidon perhaps because it is drunk (\( \pi\omicron\tau\omicron\omicron \)), and earth Demeter because it appears to be the mother of all plants and animals?\textsuperscript{c} Sophists have invented\textsuperscript{4} these names for the elements but the elements themselves are lifeless matter incapable of movement of itself and laid by the Artificer as a substratum for every kind of shape and quality.

What of the worshippers of the bodies\textsuperscript{5} pp. 309 f. The upshot seems to be that generally speaking, while the Monad is opposed to the Dyad, being the "father" of numbers as the Dyad is the "mother," the One stands above all as representing Deity. Others however rank the Monad above the One, as perhaps Philo does here and in \textit{De Praem.} 40, where he uses identical language.

\textsuperscript{c} See note on \textit{De Dec.} 54, vol. vii. p. 610, and further App. p. 519.
ἀποτελέσματα, ἥλιον, σελήνην ἢ τοὺς ἄλλους ἀστέρας πλάνης ἢ ἀπλανεῖς ἢ τὸν σύμπαντα οὐρανὸν τε καὶ κόσμον; ἀλλὰ καὶ ταῦτα οὐκ ἐξ ἑαυτῶν γέγονεν, ἀλλὰ ὑπὸ τῶν δημιουργοῦ τελειοτάτου τῆς ἐπιστήμην. ἀλλὰ τοὺς ἡμιθέους; ἢ τοῦτο γε καὶ χλεύης ἀξίων πῶς γὰρ ἂν ὁ αὐτὸς ἀθάνατος τε καὶ θνητὸς εἶη; δίχα τοῦ καὶ τῆς ἀρχῆς ἡς τούτων γενέσεως ἐπιλήπτον εἶναι, μειρακιώδους ἀκρασίας ἀνάπλεων, ἢν τολμῶσιν οὐκ εὐαγῶς προσάπτειν ταῖς μακαρίαις καὶ θείαις δυνάμεσιν, εἰ γυναιξί θνηταῖς ἐπιμανέντες ὡμίλησαν οἱ παντὸς πάθους ἀμέτοχοι καὶ τρισευδαίμονες. ἀλλὰ τοὺς τὰ ξόανα καὶ ἀγάλματα; ὃν αἱ οὐσίαι λίθοι καὶ ξύλα, τὰ μεχρί πρὸ μικρῶν τελείως ἁμορφά, λιθοτόμων καὶ δρυοτόμων τῆς συμφυγίας αὐτὰ διακοπάντων, ὃν τὰ ἀδελφὰ μέρη καὶ συγγενὴς λοιποῦ συνεργοῖς γεγόναν καὶ ποδόπτρα καὶ ἄλλα τῶν ἀτιμότερων, ἡ πρὸς τὰς ἐν σκότῳ χρείας ὑπηρετεῖ μᾶλλον ἡ τὰς ἐν φωτὶ. τῶν μὲν γὰρ παρ’ Αἰγυπτίων οὐδὲ μεμνήσθαι καλὸν, οἱ ζώα ἄλογα καὶ οὐχ ἡμερὰ μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ θηρίων τὰ ἀγριώτατα παραγηόχασι οἰς θεῶν τιμάς ἐξ ἑκάστου τῶν κάτω σελήνης, χερσαίων μὲν λέοντα, ἐνύδρων δὲ τῶν ἐγχύρων κροκόδειλον, ἀεροπόρων δὲ ἴκτινων καὶ

1 As the construction with τιμώντας understood is continued in the next sentence, and in all the other examples the object of worship has the article prefixed, I should be inclined to read τοὺς (τοὺς) ἡμιθέους, unless we are to suppose that Philo would refuse such a collocation.

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framed from the elements,⁶ sun, moon or the other stars fixed or wandering, or the whole heaven and universe? But these too were not brought into being self-made, but through an architect of most perfect knowledge. What of the worship of the demi-gods? Surely this is quite ridiculous. How could one and the same person be both mortal and immortal, to say nothing of the reproach attaching to the original source of their birth, tainted as it is with the licentiousness of wanton youth which they impiously dare to ascribe to the blissful and divine powers by supposing that the thrice blessed and exempt from every passion in their infatuation had intercourse with mortal women. What of the worshippers of the different kinds of images? Their substance is wood and stone, till a short time ago completely shapeless, hewn away from their congenital structure by quarrymen and woodcutters while their brethren, pieces from the same original source, have become urns and foot-basins or some others of the less honourable vessels which serve the purposes of darkness rather than of light.

For as for the gods of the Egyptians it is hardly decent even to mention them. The Egyptians have promoted to divine honours irrational animals, not only of the tame sort but also beasts of the utmost savagery, drawn from each of the kinds found below the moon, from the creatures of the land the lion, from those of the water their indigenous crocodile, from the rangers of the air

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⁶ For the antithesis between the στοιχεία and ἀποτελέσματα cf. Quis Rerum 209 (among a series of opposite pairs στοιχεία ἀποτελέσματα), so also ibid. 226 and Mos. i. 96 τὰ στοιχεῖα . . . οἷς ἀπετελέσθη ὁ κόσμος.
9 τὴν Αἰγυπτίαν ὰφιν. καὶ ταῦτα ὁρῶντες γεννώμενα καὶ τροφῆς χρείαν ἔχοντα καὶ περὶ ἐδωδὴν ἀπληστα καὶ μεστὰ περιπτωμάτων ἱοβόλα τε καὶ ἀνθρωποβόρα καὶ νόσους ἀλωτὰ παντοῖας καὶ οὐ μόνον θανάτω τῷ κατὰ φύσιν ἀλλὰ καὶ βιαῖς πολλάκις διαφθειρόμενα προσκυνοῦσιν, οἱ ἤμεροι τὰ ἀνήμερα καὶ ἀτίθασα καὶ οἱ λογικοὶ τὰ ἄλογα καὶ οἱ συγγένειας ἔχοντες πρὸς τὸ θεῖον τὰ μηδ' [473] ἄν Θερσίτης 1 | συγκριθέντα, οἱ ἄρχοντες καὶ δεσπόται τὰ ὑπήκοα φύσει καὶ δούλα.

10 Π. Ἀλλ' οὖτοι μὲν, ἐπειδ' ὄμοιν οὐ περὶ οὐκόμοις μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς πλησίαζοντας ἀναπτυξάσι φλυαρίας, ἀπεκτώντοι διατελεῖσθωσαν ὀψιν, τὴν ἀναγκαιοτάτην τῶν αἰσθήσεων, πεπηρωμένοι λέγω δὲ οὐ τὴν σώματος, ἀλλὰ τὴν ψυχῆς, ὥ τὸ ἄληθὲς καὶ τὸ ψεῦδος μόνη γνωρίζεται. τὸ δὲ θεραπευτικὸν γένος βλέπειν ἀεὶ προσδιασκόμενον τῆς τοῦ ὄντος θέας ἐφιέσθω καὶ τὸν αἰσθητὸν ἥλιον ὑπερβαίνετο καὶ μηδέποτε τὴν τάξιν ταύτην λειτέτω

11 πρὸς τελείαν ἄγουσαν εὐδαιμονίαν. οἱ δὲ ἐπὶ θεραπεῖαν ἱόντες οὔτε ἐξ ἔθους οὔτε ἐκ παραινέσεως ἢ παρακλησιώς τινῶν, ἀλλ' ὑπ' ἐρωτὸς ἀρπασθέντες υἱονίον, καθάπερ οἱ βακχευόμενοι καὶ κορυβαντιώτες, ἐνθουσιάζοντο μέχρις ἃν τὸ ποθοῦμενον ἱδώσων.

12 εἰτα διὰ τὸν τῆς ἀθανάτου καὶ μακαρίας ἥμης ἤμερον τετελευτηκέναι

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1 So one mss. and the Armenian. The others θηρσί τις. The use of the Ionic form of the dat. plur. is strange.
2 mss. προσδιασκόμενον.

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a See note on “Egyptian animal worship” to De Dec. 77 (vol. vii. p. 610).
b II. ii. 216 ff. Other examples of Thersites as a type of
the hawk and the Egyptian ibis. And though they see these creatures brought to their birth, requiring food, eating voraciously, full of ordure, venomous too and man-eating, the prey of every sort of disease, and perishing not only by a natural but often by a violent death, they render worship to them, they the civilized to the uncivilized and untamed, the reasonable to the irrational, the kinsfolk of the Godhead to ugliness unmatched even by a Thersites, the rulers and masters to the naturally subservient and slavish.

II. These indeed, since they infect not only their own compatriots but the peoples in their neighbourhood with their folly, must remain incurable, for they have lost the use of the most vital of the senses, sight. And by this I do not mean the sight of the body but of the soul, the sight which alone gives a knowledge of truth and falsehood. But it is well that the Therapeutae, a people always taught from the first to use their sight, should desire the vision of the Existent and soar above the sun of our senses and never leave their place in this company which carries them on to perfect happiness. And those who set themselves to this service, not just following custom nor on the advice and admonition of others but carried away by a heaven-sent passion of love, remain rapt and possessed like bacchanals or corybants until they see the object of their yearning.

Then such is their longing for the death-ugliness are cited by Conybeare and Cohn from Plutarch, Clement and Hippocrates.

tάξις here seems to combine the common meaning of the post which the soldier holds with the idea of the company which he makes. Cf. Quis Rerum 46 υπὸ τῆς ἀμείνονος ἀγόμενοι τάξεως.
νομίζοντες ἣδη τὸν θνητὸν βίον ἀπολεῖπουσι τὰς οὐσίας υἱὸίς ἢ θυγατράσιν εἶτε καὶ ἄλλοις συγγενεῖσιν, ἐκουσίω γνώμη προκληρονομοῦμενοι, οἴς δὲ μὴ συγγενεῖσι εἰσιν, ἑταῖροι καὶ φίλοι· ἔδει γὰρ τοὺς τὸν βλέποντα πλοῦτον ἐξ ἐτοίμου λαβόντας τὸν τυφλὸν παραχωρῆσαι τοῖς ἐτὶ τὰς διανοίας τυφλῶττουσιν. Ἀναξαγόραν καὶ Δημόκριτον Ἐλλήνες ξύδουσιν, ὅτι φιλοσοφίας ἵμέρῳ πληθέότες μηλόβοτοι εὐσαν γενέσθαι τὰς οὐσίας· ἀγαμαί τούς ἄνδρας καὶ αὐτοὺς γενομένους χρημάτων κρείττονας. ἀλλὰ πόσῳ βελτίωνες οἱ μὴ θρέμμασιν ἐμβάσκεσθαι τὰς κτῆσις ἀνέντες, ἀλλὰ τὰς ἄνθρωπων ἐνδείας, συγγενῶν ἢ φίλων, ἐπανορθωσάμενοι καὶ ἐξ ἀπόρων εὐτάρευς ἀποφήναντες; ἐκείνῳ μὲν γὰρ ἀπερίσκεπτον—ίνα μὴ μανιώδες ἔπανθρώπων, ὅσῃ Ἕλλας ἔθαύμασεν, εἴπω τὸ ἔργον—, τούτῳ δὲ νηφάλιον καὶ μετὰ φρονήσεως ἠκριβώμενον περιττῆς. οἱ πολέμιοι τὶ πλέον δρόσῳς ἡ κείρουσι καὶ δενδροτομοῦσι τὴν τῶν ἀντιπάλων χώραν, ἵνα σπάνει τῶν ἀναγκαίων πιεσθέντες ἐνδώσῃ; τούτῳ οἱ περὶ Δημόκριτον τοῖς ἀφ' αἰματος εἰργάσαντο χειροποιητον εἰνδείαν καὶ πενίαν αὐτοὺς κατασκεύασαντες, οὐκ ἐξ ἐπιβουλῆς ὡσις, ἀλλὰ τῷ μὴ προϊδέσθαι καὶ περιαθρήσαι τὸ τοῖς ἄλλοις συμφέρον. πόσῳ δὴ κρείττος οὕτω καὶ

1 mss. προσκληρονομοῦμενοι.

α The same story is told of Anaxagoras by Philo, De Prov., Aucher, p. 52, and so Plut. Pericles 16 (τὴν χώραν ἅφηκεν ἄργον καὶ μηλόβοτον). Plato more vaguely says (Hipp. Mai. 283 α) that he wasted all his property. Diogenes Laertius on the other hand (ii. 6) that he gave it all over to his relations. Democritus is coupled with Anaxagoras in Cic. 120
less and blessed life that thinking their mortal life already ended they abandon their property to their sons or daughters or to other kinsfolk, thus voluntarily advancing the time of their inheritance, while those who have no kinsfolk give them to comrades and friends. For it was right that those who have received ready to their hand the wealth that has eyes to see should surrender the blind wealth to those who are still blind in mind. The Greeks extol Anaxagoras and Democritus because smitten with the desire for philosophy they left their fields to be devoured by sheep. I too myself admire them for showing themselves superior to wealth, but how much better are these who did not let their estates serve as feeding-ground for cattle but made good the needs of men, their kinsfolk and friends, and so turned their indigence into affluence. Of the two actions the first was thoughtless, I might say mad, but that the persons concerned have the admiration of Greece, the second showed sobriety and careful consideration and remarkable good sense. What more does a hostile army do than cut the crops and hew the trees of their opponents' country to force them to surrender through lack of necessaries? This is what a Democritus did to his own blood-relations, inflicting on them poverty and indigence artificially created, not perhaps with mischievous intent but through lack of foresight and consideration for the interest of the others. How much better and Tusc. Disp. v. 114 as abandoning his lands and patrimony, and so Hor. Ep. i. 12. 12 (pecus edit agellos). μηλόβοτος does not mean that they turned their cornland into pasturage, but that they allowed it to be overrun. In fact μηλ. is almost a synonym for ἄργος, with which it is coupled in the passage of Plutarch quoted here.
θαυμασιώτεροι, χρησάμενοι μὲν οὐκ ἐλάττοσι ταῖς πρὸς φιλοσοφίαν ὀρμαῖς, μεγαλόνοιαν δὲ ὀλιγωρίας προτιμήσαντες καὶ χαρισάμενοι τὰς ὀυσίας, ἀλλὰ μὴ διαφθείραντες, ἵνα καὶ ἑτέρους καὶ ἑαυτοὺς ὡφελήσωσιν. τούς μὲν ἐν ἀφθόνοις περιουσίαις, ἑαυτοὺς δὲ ἐν τῷ φιλοσοφεῖν; αἱ γὰρ χρημάτων καὶ κτημάτων ἐπιμέλειαι τοὺς χρόνους ἀναλίσκουσιν. χρόνου δὲ φείδεσθαι καλόν, ἐπειδὴ κατὰ τὸν ἱατρὸν Ἰπποκράτην "δὲ μὲν βίος βραχύς, ἢ δὲ τέχνη μακρή." τοῦτὸ μοι δοκεῖ καὶ Ὄμηρος αἰνίζασθαι ἐν Ἰλιάδι κατὰ τὴν ἀρχήν τῆς τρισκαιδεκάτης ῥαψῳδίας διὰ τοῦτων τῶν ἐπῶν.

"Μυσών τ' ἀγχεμάχων καὶ ἀγαυῶν 'Ἰππημολγῶν, γλακτοφάγων ἀβίων τε, δικαιοτάτων ἀνθρώπων,"

ὡς τῆς μὲν περὶ βίου σπουδῆς καὶ χρηματισμὸν ἀδικίαν γεννώσῃς διὰ τὸ ἀνίσου, δικαιοσύνην δὲ τῆς ἐναντίας προαιρέσεως ἐνεκα ἴσοτητος, καθ' ἦν ὁ τῆς φύσεως πλοῦτος ὦρισται καὶ παρευμερεῖ 18 τὸν ἐν ταῖς κεναῖς δόξαις. ὅταν οὖν

1 Some mss. χρωμένους, which Conybeare adopts.  

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a ἵνα here is perhaps as often in Philo consecutive rather than final.  
b The well-known opening aphorism of Hippocrates, though there ἡ τέχνη is the art, i.e. of medicine.  
c It is certainly strange to find this exact reference. In the great majority of his references to Homer (of which the index, probably not exhaustively, gives over fifty) he does not indicate the source at all. Sometimes the quotation is definitely ascribed to ὁ δοκιμώτατος τῶν ποιητῶν, and thrice at least elsewhere (De Conf. 4, Quod Omn. Prob. 31, Legatio 80) he mentions him by name. Perhaps this departure from the usual course is due to the nature of the quotation. It is not like most of them a notable or familiar phrase, but comes

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more admirable are these who with no less ardour for the study of wisdom preferred magnanimity to negligence and gave away their possessions instead of wasting them, in this way benefiting both others and themselves, others through supplying them with abundant resources, themselves through furthering the study of philosophy? For taking care of wealth and possessions consumes time and to economize time is an excellent thing since according to the physician Hippocrates "life is short but art is long." The same idea is suggested I think by Homer in the Iliad at the beginning of the thirteenth book in the lines

The Mysians fighting hand to hand, and noble Mare's-milk-drinkers—
Nought else but milk sustains their life, these men of perfect justice.

The idea conveyed is that injustice is bred by anxious thought for the means of life and for money-making, justice by holding and following the opposite creed. The first entails inequality, the second equality, the principle by which nature's wealth is regulated and so stands superior to the wealth of vain opinion.

from a passage which would not in itself attract attention, and only serves to bring out a connexion (άβιος with δίκαιος) which would not occur to most people. On the use of ραψωδία see App. p. 519.

* Il. xiii. 5, 6. *Άβιος is by some taken to be a proper name, by others as = "having no fixed means of subsistence," *i.e.* nomads. Philo evidently takes it as an adjective meaning without βίος in the sense of means of life.

See note on De Virt. 6, where "the wealth of nature," *i.e.* the simple means of living, bread and water, which are equally available to all, is distinguished from the "seeing wealth," *i.e.* the spiritual wealth of virtue and wisdom, though it is superior to the "blind wealth," here called the "wealth of vain opinion."
PHILO

ἐκστῶσι τῶν ούσιῶν, ὑπ’ οὔδενὸς ἐτὶ δελεαζόμενοι

φεύγουσιν ἀμεταστρέπτῃ καταλιπόντες ἀδελφοὺς,

τέκνα, γυναῖκας, γονεῖς, πολυανθρώπους συγ-

γενείας, φιλικὰς ἐταιρείας, τὰς πατρίδας, ἐν αἷς

ἐγεννήθησαν καὶ ἐτράφησαν, ἐπειδὴ τὸ σύνηθες

19 ὁλκὼν καὶ δελεάσαι δυνατῶτατον. μετοικίζονται

dὲ ὦν εἰς ἐτέραν πόλιν, ὡσπερ οἱ πράσιν αὐτοῦ-

μενοι παρὰ τῶν κεκτημένων ἀτυχεῖς ἢ κακόδουλο

dεποτῶν ὑπαλλαγὴν, οὐκ ἐλευθερίαν, αὐτοὶς

eκπορίζοντες—πᾶσα γὰρ πόλις, καὶ ἡ εὐνομωτάτη,

γέμει θορύβων καὶ ταραχῶν ἀμύθητων, ἂς ὦν

20 ἂν ὑπομείναι τὸς ἄπαξ ὑπὸ σοφίας ἁχθεῖς—, ἄλλα

tειχῶν ξῶ ποιοῦνται τὰς διατριβὰς ἐν κήποις ἢ

μοναγρίαις ἐρημίαν μεταδιώκοντες, οὐ διὰ τινα

ωμὴν ἐπιτετηδεμένην μισανθρωπίαν,

άλλα τὰς

εκ τῶν ἀνομῶν τὸ ἢθος ἐπιμιξίας ἀλυσιτελεῖς

καὶ βλαβερὰς εἰδότες.

21 III. Πολλαχοὶ μὲν οὖν τῆς οἰκουμένης ἐστὶ τὸ

γένος—ἐδεῖ γὰρ ἀγαθοῦ τελείου μετασχεῖν καὶ τὴν

Ἐλλάδα καὶ τὴν βάρβαρον—, πλεονάζει δὲ ἐν

Ἀγύπτῳ καθ’ ἐκαστὸν τῶν ἐπικαλομένων νόμων

καὶ μάλιστα περὶ τὴν Ἀλεξάνδρειαν. οἱ δὲ παντα-

χόθεν ἀριστοὶ καθάπερ εἰς πατρίδα [θεραπευτῶν]

ἀποκινῶν στέλλονται πρὸς τῖς χωρίων ἐπιτηδειό-

τατον, ὅπερ ἐστὶν ὑπὲρ λίμνης Μαρείας κείμενον

ἐπὶ γεωλόφου χαμαλωτέρου, σφῶδρα εὐκαίρως,

23 ἁσφαλείας τε ἕνεκα καὶ ἀέρος εὐκρασίας. τὴν μὲν

— Or as Conybeare translates it “the intercourse with and influence from persons,” etc., to express the curious preposition instead of the usual πρὸς with accusative as e.g. De 124.
THE CONTEMPLATIVE LIFE, 18–23

So when they have divested themselves of their possessions and have no longer aught to ensnare them they flee without a backward glance and leave their brothers, their children, their wives, their parents, the wide circle of their kinsfolk, the groups of friends around them, the fatherlands in which they were born and reared, since strong is the attraction of familiarity and very great its power to ensnare. And they do not migrate into another city like the unfortunate or worthless slaves who demand to be sold by their owners and so procure a change of masters but not freedom. For every city, even the best governed, is full of turmoils and disturbances innumerable which no one could endure who has ever been even once under the guidance of wisdom. Instead of this they pass their days outside the walls pursuing solitude in gardens or lonely bits of country, not from any acquired habit of misanthropical bitterness but because they know how unprofitable and mischievous are associations with persons of dissimilar character.®

III. This kind exists in many places in the inhabited world, for perfect goodness must needs be shared both by Greeks and the world outside Greece, but it abounds in Egypt in each of the nomes as they are called and especially round Alexandria. But the best of these votaries journey from every side to settle in a certain very suitable place which they regard as their fatherland. This place is situated above the Mareotic Lake on a somewhat low-lying hill very happily placed both because of its security and the pleasantly tempered air. The safety is

Dec. 127. He suggests that ἐπιμιξία may carry with it the idea of contagion.
οὖν ἀσφάλειαν αἱ ἐν κύκλῳ παρέχουσιν ἑπαύλεις

[475] τε καὶ κώμαι, ἵνα δὲ περὶ τὸν ἀέρα εὐκρασίαι
αἱ ἐκ τῆς λίμνης ἀνεστομωμένης εἰς τὴν θάλατ-
tan καὶ τοῦ πελάγους ἐγγὺς οὖν ἀναδιόμεναι
συνεχεῖς αὖραι, λεπταὶ μὲν αἱ ἐκ τοῦ πελάγους,
pαχεῖαι δὲ αἱ ἀπὸ τῆς λίμνης, ὅπως μὲν ὑγιειν-
24 τάτην κατάστασιν ἀπεργάζεται. αἱ δὲ
οἰκίαι τῶν συνεληλυθότων σφόδρα μὲν εὐτελεῖς
εἰσὶ, πρὸς δύο τὰ ἀναγκαιότατα σκέπην παρ-
έχουσι, πρὸς τὸν ἄφι ἡλίου φλογμὸν καὶ τὸν
ἀπὸ ἀέρος κρυμὸν· οὔτε δὲ ἐγγὺς, ὦσπερ αἱ ἐν τοῖς
ἂστεσι,—ὁχληρὸν γὰρ καὶ δυσάρεστον τοῖς ἐρημίαις
ἐξηλυκῶσι καὶ μεταδιώκουσιν αἱ γειτνιάσεις—οὔτε
πόρρω, δι’ ἣν ἀσπάζονται κοινωνίαν καὶ ὑπά,
εἰ ληστῶν γένοιτο ἐφόδος, ἀλλὰ διὸ ἑπιβοηθῶσιν.
25 ἐν ἑκάστῃ δὲ ἐστὶν οὐκήμα ιερὸν, ὁ καλεῖται
σεμνεῖον καὶ μοναστήριον, ἐν οῚ μονοῦντες τὸ τοῦ
σεμνοῦ βίου μυστήρια τελοῦνται, μηδὲν εἰσκομι-
ζοντες, μὴ ποτὸν, μὴ σιτίον, μηδὲ τῶν ἄλλων
ὅσα πρὸς τὰς σώματος χρείας ἀναγκαία, ἀλλὰ
νόμος καὶ λόγια θεσπισθέντα διὰ προφητῶν καὶ
ὕμνους καὶ τὸ ἄλλα οἶς ἑπιστήμη καὶ ἐνσέβεια
26 συναύξονται καὶ τελειοῦνται. ἄεὶ μὲν ὦν ἀληθὸν
ἐχουσι τὴν τοῦ θεοῦ μνήμην, ὡς καὶ δι’ ὄνειράτων
μηδὲν ἔτερον ἡ τὰ κάλλη τῶν θείων ἀρετῶν καὶ
dυνάμεων φαντασιοῦσαν. πολλοὶ γοῦν καὶ ἐκ-
λαλοῦσιν ἐν ὑπνοις ὑπνοικοῦσι τὰ τῆς ὕπνου
27 φιλοσοφίας ἀοίδιμα δόγματα. δίς δὲ καθ’ ἑκάστην
ὁμέραν εἰώθασιν εὐχεσθαι, περὶ τὴν ἔως καὶ περὶ
tῆν ἐσπέραν, ἡλίου μὲν ἀνίσχοντος εὐημερίαν
αἰτοῦμεν τὴν ὄντως εὐημερίαν, φωτὸς οὐρανίου

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secured by the farm buildings and villages round about and the pleasantness of the air by the continuous breezes which arise both from the lake which debouches into the sea and from the open sea hard by. For the sea breezes are light, the lake breezes close and the two combining together produce a most healthy condition of climate. The 24 houses of the society thus collected are exceedingly simple, providing protection against two of the most pressing dangers, the fiery heat of the sun and the icy cold of the air. They are neither near together as in towns, since living at close quarters is troublesome and displeasing to people who are seeking to satisfy their desire for solitude, nor yet at a great distance because of the sense of fellowship which they cherish, and to render help to each other if robbers attack them. In each house there is a consecrated room 25 which is called a sanctuary or closet \(^a\) and closeted in this they are initiated into the mysteries of the sanctified life. They take nothing into it, either drink or food or any other of the things necessary for the needs of the body, but laws and oracles delivered through the mouth of prophets, and psalms and anything \(^b\) else which fosters and perfects knowledge and piety. They keep the memory of God alive and 26 never forget it, so that even in their dreams the picture is nothing else but the loveliness of divine excellences and powers. Indeed many when asleep and dreaming give utterance to the glorious verities of their holy philosophy. Twice every day they 27 pray, at dawn and at eventide; at sunrise they pray for a fine bright day, fine and bright in the true sense

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\(^a\) For the word μοναστήριον see App. p. 519.

\(^b\) Or “the other books” (of the O.T.). See App. p. 520.
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tên diânoian autôn anaplesthênaî, duoménon de úper toû tîn psykhîn toû tôn aîphîsewn kai aîșhêton óxhôn pantelôn èpikouphiôseîsan, en toû èautêis sundêríw kai bouleutêríw genomênh, 28 álîsthîan i̱kynlateîn. to de eîc ëwthnou mékhir èspêras diástêma sîmpan autôiÎ ëstîn àskhêsis: ènûnegkanontes gàr toûs ieroîs gràmmassî filo-
sôfoûsi tîn pàtrîon filosôfîan1 âllhgrorônîtes, èpeidhî sîmbola ta tîs bêtîhî ërmnheîas nômîzounôv àpôkekrvmmmênh fûsews en ëpînoîais dhloymênh.

29 ëstî de autôiÎ kai sughrmâmata palaiôn ândrôv, oî tîs aîrêsews ârkhînteî yegômenoi pollà mhnmeîa tîs en toûs àllhgrorou-
mênois idêas àpêlîpov, ois kathâper toûn àrche-
[476] tîpouîs | xrômennoi mìmôîntai tîs prouirêsews tôv trôpoon. òoste ou thêrôûsi mûnon, âllâ kai poinûson ãsmata kai ùmnous eîs tôv òtheí diâ

1 Conybeare nômôseîan mainly on the authority of the Armenian.

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a The translation takes filosôfîan as cognate accusative after filosôfoûsi as in Mos. ii. 216. Cf. De Som. i. 55 filosôfhsan ànagkaiostátyn . . . filosôfîan. But it may be governed by àllhgrorônîtes, cf. Spéc. Iêg. ii. 29.

b I understand ërmnheî to be here used as elsewhere, e.g. Quis Rerum 108, in the technical rhetorical sense of the language in which the thought is expressed as opposed to the thought itself, and so with the synonymous lêxîs or frrâsis.
of the heavenly daylight which they pray may fill their minds. At sunset they ask that the soul may be wholly relieved from the press of the senses and the objects of sense and sitting where she is consistory and council chamber to herself pursue the quest of truth. The interval between early morning and evening is spent entirely in spiritual exercise. They read the Holy Scriptures and seek wisdom from their ancestral philosophy by taking it as an allegory, since they think that the words of the literal text are symbols of something whose hidden nature is revealed by studying the underlying meaning.

They have also writings of men of old, the founders of their way of thinking, who left many memorials of the form used in allegorical interpretation and these they take as a kind of archetype and imitate the method in which this principle is carried out. And so they do not confine themselves to contemplation but also compose hymns and psalms corresponding to the Latin elocutio. Conybeare gives "literal meaning." Lake (translating Euseb. Hist. Eccl. where this passage is quoted) "literal interpretation." ἀποκεκρυμμένης φύσεως may perhaps mean "a hidden natural (i.e. theological) truth," cf. again Mos. ii. 216 and note there and De Abr. 99.

Conybeare "of the idea involved in allegory." But I do not think that Philo except when he is speaking Platonically used ἰδέα thus. Lake's "of the meaning allegorically expressed" is still farther away. ἰδέα is, I think, simply the form or kind of treatment which we find in allegory.

The phrase τῆς προαιρέσεως τὸν τρόπον is obscure. Lake has "treatment" for προαιρ. But the word must suggest a motive or purpose. Conybeare "emulating the ideal of character traced out in them." I understand προαιρ. to mean the belief which inspired the allegorists that the scriptures were to be interpreted allegorically. Their successors emulated the method in which this principle was carried out.
παντοῖων μέτρων καὶ μελῶν, ἀ ῥυθμοῖς σεμνο-
tέροις ἀναγκαῖοις χαράττουσι.

30 Τὰς μὲν οὖν ἕξ ἡμέρας χωρὶς ἐκαστοῦ μονούμενοι
παρ᾿ ἑαυτοῖς ἐν τοῖς λεχθείσι μοναστηρίοις φιλο-
σοφοῦσι, τὴν αὐλείαν οὐχ ὑπερβαίνουσι, ἀλλ᾿ οὐδὲ
ἔξ ἀπόπτου θεωροῦντες· ταῖς δὲ ἐβδόμαις συν-
έρχονται καθάπερ εἰς κοινὸν σύλλογον καὶ καθ᾿
ηλικίαν ἐξῆς καθέξονται μετὰ τοῦ πρέποντος
σχήματος, εἰσὶ τὰς χείρας ἔχοντες, τὴν μὲν δεξιὰν
μεταξὺ στέρνου καὶ γενείου, τὴν δὲ εὐώνυμον

31 ὑπεσταλμένην παρὰ τῇ λαγὸν. παρελθῶν δὲ ὁ
πρεσβύτατος καὶ τῶν δογμάτων ἐμπειρότατος
διαλέγεται, καθεστώτι μὲν τῷ βλέμματι, καθ-
εστώσῃ δὲ τῇ φωνῇ, μετὰ λογισμοῦ καὶ φρονήσεως,
οὐ δεινότητα λόγων ὡσπερ οἱ ρήτορες ἢ οἱ νῦν
σοφισταὶ παρεπὶδεικνύμενος, ἀλλὰ τὴν ἐν τοῖς
νοήμασι διηρευνηκώς καὶ διερμηνεύων ἀκρίβειαν,
ἡτὶς οὐκ ἀκροῖς ὡσὶν ἐφιξάνει, ἀλλὰ δ᾿ ἀκοῆς
ἐπὶ ψυχῆν ἔρχεται καὶ βεβαίως ἐπιμένει. καθ᾿
ησυχίᾳ δὲ οἱ ἄλλοι πάντες ἀκροώνται, τὸν ἑπανὸν
νεύμασιν ὁπεσὶν ἡ κεφαλῆς παραδηλοῦντες αὐτὸ

32 μόνον.

τὸ δὲ κοινὸν τούτο σεμνεῖον,
εἰς δὲ ταῖς ἐβδόμαις συνέρχονται, διπλοὺς ἐστὶ
περίβολος, ὁ μὲν εἰς ἀνδρῶνα, ὁ δὲ εἰς γυναῖκων ἀποκριθεὶς· καὶ γὰρ καὶ γυναῖκες εἷς ἐθοὺς συν-
ακροώνται τὸν αὐτὸν ζῆλον καὶ τὴν αὐτὴν προαιρέσιν

*a Here again we have a doubtful phrase. Conybeare
translates “which they write down in solemn rhythms as best
they can,” a meaning which ἀναγκαῖοι certainly bears in
Philo and elsewhere. His explanation is that they could not
engrave them on stone (hymns for worship seem to have
been thus cut in stone) and so were fain to use papyrus.
THE CONTEMPLATIVE LIFE, 29–32

to God in all sorts of metres and melodies which they write down with the rhythms necessarily made more solemn.⁴

For six days they seek wisdom by themselves in solitude in the closets mentioned above, never passing the outside door of the house or even getting a distant view of it. But every seventh day they meet together as for a general assembly and sit in order according to their age in the proper attitude, with their hands inside the robe, the right hand between the breast and the chin and the left withdrawn along the flank. Then the senior among them who also has the fullest knowledge of the doctrines which they profess comes forward and with visage and voice alike quiet and composed gives a well-reasoned and wise discourse. He does not make an exhibition of clever rhetoric like the orators or sophists of to-day but follows careful examination by careful expression of the exact meaning of the thoughts, and this does not lodge just outside the ears of the audience but passes through the hearing into the soul and there stays securely. All the others sit still and listen showing their approval merely by their looks or nods.

This common sanctuary in which they meet every seventh day is a double enclosure, one portion set apart for the use of the men, the other for the women. For women too regularly make part of the audience with the same ardour and the

Lake quite impossibly gives "arrange" for χαράττουσι. Philo is clearly referring to the accepted division of music into metre, melody and rhythm, see note on De Som. i. 205 (vol. v. pp. 603 f.), and the suggestion made very tentatively in the translation is that it is the rhythm which gives the solemnity necessary for sacred music and that this was indicated by some notation.
33 ἔχουσαι. ὃ δὲ μεταξὺ τῶν οίκων τοῖχος τὸ μὲν ἐξ ἐδάφους ἔπὶ τρεῖς ἢ τέσσαρας πῆχεις εἰς τὸ ἀνώ συνωκοδόμηται θωρακίου τρόπον, τὸ δὲ ἄχρι τέγους ἀνάγειον ἄχανες ἀνέιται, δυοῖν ἐνεκα, τοῦ τε τὴν πρέπουσαν αἰδήν τῇ γυναικείᾳ φύσει διατηρεῖσθαι καὶ τοῦ τὴν ἀντίληψιν ἔχειν εὐμαρῆ καθεξομένας ἐν ἐπηκόω, μηδενὸς τὴν τοῦ διαλεγομένου φωνήν ἐμποδίζοντος.

34 IV. Ἐγκράτειαν δὲ ἅπαστι θεμέλιον προκαταβαλλόμενοι τῆς ψυχῆς τὰς ἄλλας ἐποικοδομουσιν ἀρετὰς. σιτίον ἢ ποτόν οὐδεὶς αὐτῶν προσενέγκεται πρὸ ήλίου δύσεως, ἐπεὶ τὸ μὲν φιλοσοφεῖν ἀξίον φωτὸς κρίνουσιν εἶναι, σκότους δὲ τὰς σώματος ἀνάγκας, οἷς τῷ μὲν ἡμέρας, 35 ταῖς δὲ νυκτὸς βραχὺ τι μέρος ἐνεμιν. ἐνοὶ δὲ καὶ διὰ τριῶν ἡμέρων ὑπομνήσκονται τροφῆς, οἷς πλεῖστοι τῷ πόθῳ ἐπιστήμης ἐνδορεῖν· τινὲς δὲ οὕτως ἐνευφραίνονται καὶ τρυφῶσιν ὑπὸ σοφίας ἐστιώμενοι πλουσίως καὶ ἀφθόνως τὰ δόγματα χορηγοῦσιν, ὡς καὶ πρὸς διπλασίονα χρόνον ἀντέχει καὶ μόλις δι’ ἐξ ἡμέρων ἀπογεύσθω τροφῆς ἀναγκαίας, ἑυσθέντες ὅπερ φασὶ τὸ τῶν τεττίγων γένος αέρι τρέφεσθαι, τῆς ωδῆς, ὡς γε οἴμαι, τὴν 36 ἐνδεικνύσεως. τῆν δὲ ἐβδομὴν πανιέρον τινὰ καὶ πανέορτον εἴναι νομίζοντες ἐξαιρετὸν γέρως ἡξιώκασιν, ἐν ἢ μετὰ τὴν τῆς ψυχῆς ἐπι-

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a Cf. Quod Omn. Prob. 8. Here Philo follows Plato more definitely. See Phaedrus 259 c τὸ τεττίγων γένος . . . γέρας 132
same sense of their calling. The wall between the two chambers rises up from the ground to three or four cubits built in the form of a breast work, while the space above up to the roof is left open. This arrangement serves two purposes; the modesty becoming to the female sex is preserved, while the women sitting within ear-shot can easily follow what is said since there is nothing to obstruct the voice of the speaker.

IV. They lay self-control to be as it were the foundation of their soul and on it build the other virtues. None of them would put food or drink to his lips before sunset since they hold that philosophy finds its right place in the light, the needs of the body in the darkness, and therefore they assign the day to the one and some small part of the night to the other. Some in whom the desire for studying wisdom is more deeply implanted even only after three days remember to take food. Others so luxuriate and delight in the banquet of truths which wisdom richly and lavishly supplies that they hold out for twice that time and only after six days do they bring themselves to taste such sustenance as is absolutely necessary. They have become habituated to abstinence like the grasshoppers who are said to live on air because, I suppose, their singing makes their lack of food a light matter. But to the seventh day as they consider it to be sacred and festal in the highest degree they have awarded special privileges as its due, and on it after providing for the soul refresh

τούτο παρὰ Μοναδόν λαβόν, μηδὲν τροφῆς δείσθαι, ἀλλ' ἂντον τε καὶ ἀπότον εἴδθος γενόμενον ἄδειν, ἐκὼν ἄν τελευτήσῃ. The idea that the grasshopper needs no food except air (or more frequently dew) goes back to Hesiod, Shield 395 ff. τέτιξ . . . ὅτε πόσις καὶ βρῶσις θηλὸς ἔρεσθ.
μέλειαν καὶ τὸ σῶμα λυπαίνουσιν, ὦσπερ ἀμέλει καὶ τὰ θρέμματα τῶν συνεχῶν πόνων ἀνιέντες. 37 σιτοῦνται δὲ πολυτελές οὐδέν, ἀλλὰ ἁρτον εὐτελῆ, καὶ ὡς φοινικὸς αἴλες, οὐδὲ ἁπροδίαιτοι παρατύουσιν ὑσσώπῳ, ποτὸν δὲ ὕδωρ ναματιαῖος αὐτοῖς ἑστιν· ὥστε ἢ φύσις ἐπέστησε τῷ θνητῷ γένει δεσποίνας, πεῖνάν τε καὶ δίψαν, ἀπομειλίσσονται, τῶν ἔς κολακείαν ἐπιφέροντες οὐδέν, ἀλλ' αὐτὰ τὰ φρέματα, ὥστε ἢ ξήν οὐκ ἐστί. διὰ τούτῳ ἐσθίουσι μὲν, ὥστε μὴ πεινήν, πίνουσι δὲ, ὥστε μὴ δυσῆν, πλησμονῆν ὡς ἐχθρόν τε καὶ ἐπίβουλον ψυχῆσ τε 38 καὶ σώματος ἐκτρεπόμενοι. ἐπεὶ δὲ καὶ σκέπης διὸ τὸν ιδίον, τὸ μὲν ἐσθης, τὸ δὲ οἰκία, περὶ μὲν οἰκίας εἰρηται πρότερον, ὅτι ἐστὶν ἀκαλλωπιστός καὶ αὐτοσχέδιος, πρὸς τὸ χρειῶδεσ αὐτὸ μόνον εἰργασμένη καὶ ἐσθης δὲ ὅμοιως εὐτελεστάτη, πρὸς ἐλέξημα κρυμοῦ τε καὶ θάλπους, χλαίνα μὲν ἀπὸ λασίου δοράς παχεΐα χειμώνος, 39 ἐξωμίς δὲ θέρους ἢ θόνη. 1 συνόλως γὰρ ἀσκοῦσιν

1 ἀντὶ Conybeare with the majority of mss. See note b.
2 ἢ θόνη Conybeare. See note c.

Conybeare translates "they anoint the body, releasing it just as you might the lower animals from the long spell of toil." But neither anointing in the literal sense nor rest from labour for the Therapeutae themselves suits the context, which is concerned with the general abstemiousness in food and mild relaxation on the sabbath. The sense I have given to λυπαίνω is much the same as in Spec. Leg. iv. 74, where it is applied to relieving the hard condition of the needy by charity. The point of ἀμέλει, as I have taken it, is that the release of the cattle from labour on the sabbath is a duty recognized by everybody. But see App. p. 520.

Conybeare’s reading, ἀντὶ for ἀπὸ which certainly seems...
the body also, which they do as a matter of course with the cattle too by releasing them from their continuous labour. Still they eat nothing costly, only common bread with salt for a relish flavoured further by the daintier with hyssop, and their drink is spring water. For as nature has set hunger and thirst as mistresses over mortal kind they propitiate them without using anything to curry favour but only such things as are actually needed and without which life cannot be maintained. Therefore they eat enough to keep from hunger and drink enough to keep from thirst but abhor surfeiting as a malignant enemy both to soul and body. As for the two forms of shelter, clothes and housing, we have already said that the house is unembellished and a makeshift constructed for utility only. Their clothing likewise is the most inexpensive, enough to protect them against extreme cold and heat, a thick coat of shaggy skin in winter and in summer a vest or linen shirt. For they practise an all-round to have the better ms. authority, is based by him, as stated in a long and interesting note, on the general belief that linen was more sacred than any substance which was the produce of animals—an idea stated by Philo himself in several places, e.g. Spec. Leg. i. 84. The chief objection seems to be that χλαίνα would have to be understood as = “linen garment,” whereas such evidence as I have seen goes to show that it was frequently, if not usually, made of wool, and wool was as unclean as skin.

Conybeare, reading η for ς, translates “a smock without sleeves, the linen coat namely.” He says that η does not make sense, meaning apparently that as any garment made of linen would be an οθόνη, it could not be an alternative to the ξωμίς. In Spec. Leg. ii. 20, the χλαίνα is coupled with the οθόνη, and in Hyp. 11. 12 with the ξωμίς as simple garments for winter and summer respectively. This perhaps supports his view.
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άτυφίαν, εἰδότες τύφον¹ μὲν τοῦ ψεύδους ἀρχὴν, ἀτυφίαν δὲ ἀληθείας, ἐκάτερον δὲ πηγὴς λόγων ἔχον. Ρέουσι γὰρ ἀπὸ μὲν τοῦ ψεύδους αἱ πολύτροποι τῶν κακῶν ἱδέαι, ἀπὸ δὲ τῆς ἀληθείας αἱ περιουσίαι τῶν ἀγαθῶν ἀνθρωπίνων τε καὶ θείων.

40 V. Βούλομαι δὲ καὶ τὰς κοινὰς συνόδους αὐτῶν καὶ ἱλαρωτέρας ἐν συμποσίοις διαγωγάς εἰπεῖν, ἀντιτάξας τὰ τῶν ἄλλων συμπόσια. οἱ μὲν γὰρ ὅταν ἀκρατον ἐμφορήσωσιν, καθάπερ οὐκ οἷον πιόντες ἀλλὰ παρακινηματικὸν τι καὶ μανιῶδες καὶ εἰ τι χαλεπώτερον ἐπ' ἐκστάσει λογισμοῦ φυσικὸν,² κράζουσιν καὶ λυττώσι τρόπον κυνῶν ἀτυθάσων καὶ ἐπανιστάμενοι δάκνουσιν ἀλλήλους καὶ ἀποτρώγουσι βίνας, δότα, δακτύλους, ἔτερα ἄττα μέρη τοῦ σώματος, ὡς τὸν ἔπι Κύκλωπος καὶ τῶν Ὁδυσσέως ἑταίρων μῦθον ἀποδεδείχεται τούτους ἀληθῆ, "ψωμοῦ," ὡς τὸν Ποιητή, ἐπεσθέντας ἀνθρώπών, καὶ ἔκεινος.

41 ο μὲν γὰρ ἔχθρον ὑποτοπήσας ἡμύνετο, οἱ δὲ συνήθεις καὶ φίλους, ἔστι δὲ ὅτε καὶ συγγενεῖς, ἐφ' ἀλών καὶ τραπέζης, ἁσπώνται ἐν σπονδάις ἐργασά-

¹ The mss. reverse the case of the nouns τύφον... ψεύδος... ἀτυφίας... ἀληθείαν. The correction, which is supported by the Latin version and is accepted by both Cohn and Conybeare, makes better sense. Both (i.e. τύφος and ἀτυφία) lead respectively to the falsehood and truth, from which flow evil and good, and may therefore be regarded (λόγων ἔχει) as a πηγή.

² Perhaps read φυσικὸν (φάρμακον). See note b.

³ So Conybeare with some authorities. Cohn with mss. ἀράσσουσι.

ᵃ In the sense of the disposition to follow vain things,
simplicity knowing that its opposite, vanity,\(^a\) is the source of falsehood as simplicity is of truth, and that both play the part of a fountain head of other things, since from falsehood flow the manifold forms of evil and from truth abundant streams of goodness both human and divine.

V. I wish also to speak of their common assemblages \(40\) and the cheerfulness of their convivial meals as contrasted with those of other people. Some people when they have filled themselves with strong drink behave as though they had drunk not wine but some witch's potion\(^b\) charged with frenzy and madness and anything more fatal that can be imagined to overthrow their reason. They bellow and rave like wild dogs, attack and bite each other and gnaw off noses, ears, fingers and some other parts of the body,\(^c\) so that they make good the story of the comrades of Odysseus and the Cyclops by eating "gobbets"\(^d\) of men, as the poet says, and with greater cruelty than the Cyclops. For he avenged himself on men whom \(41\) he suspected to be enemies, they on their familiars and friends and sometimes even on their kin over the salt and across the board, and as they pour the

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\(^a\) See note on *De Virt.* 17 (vol. viii. pp. 440 f.).

\(^b\) This must be the meaning if the word is right. But there is no really parallel use of the word at any rate without some explanatory noun. τὰ φυσικὰ found in the *Geoponica* (? date) is stated by Stephanus not to bear this meaning. φυσικὸν φάρμακον, to which the Armenian is said to point, is quoted from Alexander Trallianus (? sixth century A.D.).

\(^c\) For this and other points in this description cf. *De Plant.* 160.

\(^d\) *Od.* ix. 373—

φάρυγος δ' ἐξέσυντο οἶνος

ψωμοὶ τ' ἀνδρόμεοι.
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μενοι τῶν ἐν τοῖς γυμνικοῖς ἀγώνων ὰμοία καὶ
παρακόπτοντες ὀσπερ νόμισμα δόκμῳν ἁσκησιν,
οἰ ἀντὶ ἀθλητῶν ἀθλοῦν· τοῦτο γὰρ αὐτοῖς ἐπι-
42 φημιστέων. ὃ γὰρ νῆφοντες ἐν σταδίοις ἐκεῖνοι
θεαταῖς χρώμενοι τοῖς Πανέλλησι μεθ’ ἡμέραν |
[478] ἐνεκα νίκης καὶ στεφάνων [Ὁλυμπιονίκαι] 1 σὺν
tέχνῃ δρᾶσιν, οὗτοι κιβδηλεύοντες ἐπὶ συμποσίων
νῦκτωρ ἐν σκότῳ (καὶ) μεθύοντες, ἐμπαροῦντες,
ἀνεπιστημόνως καὶ κακοτέχνως ἐπ’ ἀτιμίὰ καὶ
ὑβρὶ καὶ αἰκία χαλεπτή τῶν ὑπομενόντων ἐνερ-
43 γοῦσιν. εἰ δὲ μηδεὶς οἷα βραβευτῆς παρελθὼν
μέσος διαλύειε, μετὰ πλείων ἔξοψιας κατα-
παλαίουσι, φονῶντες ἐν ταῦτῳ καὶ θανατώντες:
pάσχουσι γὰρ οὐκ ἐλάττονα ὃν διατίθεσιν, ὀπέρ 2
οὐκ ἰσαὶ, παραπαίασιν οἱ τὸν οἶνον οὐχ, ὡς ὁ
κωμικὸς φησιν, ἐπὶ κακῷ τῶν πλησίων αὐτῷ μόνον
44 ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐπὶ τῷ ἰδίῳ πίνειν ὑπομένοντες.
τοι-
γαροῦν οἱ πρὸ μικροῦ παρελθόντες εἰς τὰ συμπόσια
σώοι καὶ φίλοι μικρὸν ύστερον ἔξισσών ἐχθροῖ καὶ
tὰ σώματα ἡκρωτημασμένοι· καὶ οἱ μὲν συννηγόρων
καὶ δικαστῶν, οἱ δὲ καταπλαστῶν καὶ ἱατρῶν καὶ
45 τῆς ὑπὸ τούτων δέονται βοήθειας. ἔτεροι δὲ τῶν
μετριώτερων δοκοῦντων εἶναι συμποτῶν ὀσπερ
μανδραγόραν τὸν ἄκρατον πίνοτες ὑπερβεβλύκασι 3
καὶ τὸν εὐώνυμον ἀγκῶνα προβαλόντες καὶ τὸν

1 Bracketed by Cohn on the grounds that it is omitted by
the Latin. The word is not very appropriate here as we are
talking of competitors rather than victors, and it may well
be a gloss, but these are doubtful reasons. If, as Cohn
thinks, the Armenian points to Ὠλυμπιῶν or Ὠλυμπιακῶν, I
should prefer to read one of them.
2 mss. ἄπερ. Here again Cohn’s correction seems doubtful.
3 mss. ὑποβεβλύκασι

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libation of peace they commit deeds of war like those of the gymnastic contests, counterfeiting the genuine coin of manly exercise, no wrestlers but wretches, for that is the right name to give them. For what the athletes do in the arena while sober, in the daylight, with the eyes of all Greece upon them, in the hope of victory and the crown and in the exercise of their skill, are debased by the revellers who ply their activities in convivial gatherings by night and in darkness, drink-besotted, ignorant and skilful only for mischief to inflict dishonour, insult and grievous outrage on the objects of their assault. And if no one plays the umpire and comes forward to intervene and separate them they carry on the bout with increased licence to the finish, ready both to kill and to be killed. For they suffer no less than what they mete to others though they know it not, so infatuated are these who shrink not from drinking wine, as the comic poet says, to mar not only their neighbours but themselves.

And so those who but now came to the party sound in body and friendly at heart leave soon afterwards in enmity and with bodily mutilation,—enmity in some cases calling for advocates and judges, mutilation in others requiring the apothecary and physician and the help that they can bring. Others belonging to what we may suppose is the more moderate part of the company are in a state of overflow. Draughts of strong wine act upon them like mandragora, they throw the left

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*a Or as Conybeare "whom in the midst of peace they treat implacably." But σπονδαί carries with it the sense of "libation" as well as "truce." Cf. the same phrase though in a different connexion in Spec. Leg. iii. 96, where see note.

*b Source unknown."
αὐχένα ἐγκάρσιον ἐπιστρέψαντες, ἐνερευγόμενοι
taῖς κύλιξιν, ὑπνώ βαθεῖ πιέζονται, μηδὲν μῆτε
ιδόντες μῆτε ἀκοῦσαντες, ὡς μᾶν μόνην ἔχοντες
αἰσθήσιν, τὴν ἀνδραποδωδεστάτην γεύσιν. οἶδα
dὲ τινας, [οι] ἐπειδὰν ἀκροθώρακες γένωται, πρὶν
tελέως βαπτισθῆναι, τὸν εὶς τὴν ύστεραίαν πότον
ἐξ ἐπιδόσεως καὶ συμβολῶν προευτρεπιζομένους,
μέρος ὑπολαμβάνοντας τῆς ἐν χερσὶν εὐφροσύνης
eἶναι τὴν περὶ τῆς εἰς τὸ μέλλον μέθης ἑλπίδα.
47 τοῦτον τὸν τρόπον διαζώντες ἄοικοι καὶ ἄνέστιοι
dιατελοῦσιν, ἐχθροὶ γονέων καὶ γυναικῶν καὶ
tέκνων, ἐχθροὶ δὲ καὶ τῆς πατρίδος, πολέμοι δὲ
cαὶ ἐαυτῶν· ύγρὸς γὰρ καὶ ἀσωτὸς βίος ἄπασιν
ἐπίβουλοι.
48 VI. Ἡσώς δʼ ἂν τις ἀποδέξαιτο τὴν ἐπιπολα-
ζούσαν νυνὶ τῶν συμποσίων πανταχοῦ διάθεσιν
cατὰ πόθον τῆς Ἰταλικῆς πολυτελείας καὶ τρυφῆς,
ἡν ἐξήλωσαν "Ελληνες τε καὶ βάρβαροι πρὸς
ἐπίδειξιν μᾶλλον ἢ πρὸς εὐωχίαν ποιούμενοι τὰς
49 παρασκευὰς. τρίκλινα τε καὶ πολύκλινα1 χελώνης
ἡ ἐλέφαντος κατεσκευασμένα καὶ τιμαλφεστέρας
ύλης, ὃν τὰ πλείστα λιθοκόλλητα· στρωμναὶ
ἀλουργεῖς ἐνυφασμένου χρυσοῦ καὶ ἀνθοβαφεῖς
ἔτερα παντοῖοι χρωμάτων πρὸς τὸ τῆς ὀφεως
παρασκευάς. ἐκπωμάτων πλήθος ἐκτεταγμένων καθ
ἑκαστὸν ἔδος, ὅντα γὰρ καὶ φιάλαι καὶ κύλικες
καὶ ἐτέρα πολυειδή τεχνικώτατα θηρίκλεια καὶ
50 τορείας ἐπιστημονικῶν ἄνδρῶν ἡκριβωμένα. δια-
[479] κοινὰ ἄνδράποδα εὐμορφότατα | καὶ περικαλ-
λέστατα, ὃς ἀφυγμένα σὺχ ὑπηρεσίας ἐνεκα μᾶλλον
ἡ τοῦ φανέντα τὴν τῶν θεωμένων ὤμη ἡδύναι·
elbow forward, turn the neck at a right angle, belch into the cups and sink into a profound sleep, seeing nothing and hearing nothing, having apparently only one sense and that the most slavish, taste. I know of some who when they are half-seas-over and before they have completely gone under arrange donations and subscriptions in preparation for to-morrow's bout, considering that one factor in their present exhilaration is the hope of future intoxication. In this way they spend their whole life ever heartless and homeless, enemies to their parents, their wives and their children, enemies too to their country and at war with themselves. For a loose and a dissolute life is a menace to all.

VI. Some perhaps may approve the method of banqueting now prevalent everywhere through hankering for the Italian expensiveness and luxury emulated both by Greek and non-Greeks who make their arrangements for ostentation rather than festivity. Sets of three or many couches made of tortoise shell or ivory or even more valuable material, most of them inlaid with precious stones; coverlets purple-dyed with gold interwoven, others brocaded with flower patterns of all sorts of colours to allure the eye; a host of drinking cups set out in their several kinds, beakers, stoops, tankards, other goblets of many shapes, very artistically and elaborately chased by scientific craftsmen. For waiting there are slaves of the utmost comeliness and beauty, giving the idea that they have come not so much to render service as to give pleasure to the eyes of the beholders by

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a For τρίκλινα see App. p. 521. The mss. περίκλινα would mean "couches round the table."

1 So the Armenian. mss. περίκλινα. See note a.
τούτων οἱ μὲν παιδεῖς ἐτὶ ὄντες οἶνοχοιοῦσιν, ὕδροφοροι δὲ βούπαιδες λειλουμένοι καὶ λελειασμένοι, ὃι τὰ πρὸσωπα ἐντρίβονται καὶ ὑπογράφονται καὶ τὰς τῆς κεφαλῆς τρίχας εὖ πως διαπλέκονται σφηκούμενοι· βαθυχαῖται γὰρ εἰς ὅμη ἱερομένου τὸ παραπάν ἡ τὰς προμετωπιδίους αὐτὸ μόνον ἐξ ἀκρων εἰς ἐπανύσωσιν καὶ γραμμῆς κυκλοτεροῦς ἁκρωμένου σχῆμα· χιτώνας τὲ ἀραχνούφεις καὶ ἐκλεύκους ἐπαναζωσάμενοι, τὰ μὲν ἐμπρόσθια κατωτέρω τῶν ὕπο γόνυ ἡ τὰ δὲ κατόπιν μικρῶν ὕπο τοῖς γονατίοις, ἐκάτερον δὲ μέρος οὐλοτέραις ταῖς σειραίς ἐπιδιπλώσεσι κατὰ τὴν τῶν χιτωνίκων συμβολὴν συστέλλοντες ἐκ πλαγίων κόλπους ἀπαυροῦσιν, εὐφυόντες τὰ κοίλα τῶν πλευρῶν. 51 ἐφεδρεύουσι δ’ ἄλλοι, μειράκια πρωτογένεια, τοὺς ιούλους ἀρτί ἀνθοῦντας, ἀθύρματα πρὸ μικροῦ παιδεραστῶν γεγονότες, ἡς ἁκρώμενοι σφόδρα περιέργως πρὸς τὰς βαρυτέρας ὑπηρεσίας, ἐπίδειξις ἐστιατόρων εὐπορίας, ὡς ἵσασιν οἱ χρώμενοι, ὡς 52 ἐξετάζει τὸ ἀληθὲς, ἀπειροκαλία. 4 πρὸς 1 Cohn in both editions prints γόνου, which I think must be a mere misprint. Not only is such a form unknown, but Conybeare who prints γόν (as Mangey) gives no sign that there is any variation in the mss.

2 Cohn inserts ἡ after μειράκια, citing De Cher. 114, and Hypothetica 11. 3, in both of which we have μειράκια distinguished from the πρωτογένεια. He does not seem to observe that this would involve changing πρωτογένεια to πρωτογένειοι. At least I do not see how the neuter could be defended.

3 Perhaps correct to φασιν, but see note 6.

4 mss. ἀπειροκαλία.

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a Conybeare translates “trimmed off equally all round, in a neatly bevelled curved line.”

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appearing on the scene. Some of them who are still boys pour the wine, while the water is carried by full-grown lads fresh from the bath and smooth shaven, with their faces smeared with cosmetics and paint under the eyelids and the hair of the head prettily plaited and tightly bound. For they have long thick hair which is not cut at all or else the forelocks only are cut at the tips to make them level and take exactly the figure of a circular line. They wear tunics fine as cobwebs and of dazzling white girt high up; the front part hangs below the under knee, the back part a little below the back of the knee and they draw together each part with curly bows of ribbon along the line of join of the tunics and then let the folds dangle down obliquely, broadening out the hollows along the sides. In the background are others, grown lads newly bearded with the down just blooming on their cheeks, recently pets of the pederasts, elaborately dressed up for the heavier services, a proof of the opulence of the hosts as those who employ them know, but in reality of their bad taste.

Besides there are the varieties

\[\text{This sentence has been transcribed bodily from Conybeare's "provisional rendering" in his commentary. I do not profess to understand clearly either the Greek or the English. The revision given in his translation somewhat later does not differ materially except that} \text{οὐλοτέρας ταῖς σειράίαις ἐπιδιπλώσει} \text{is rendered "with bows of twisted ribbons doubled over."}
\]

\[\text{Or "waiting in relays."}
\]

\[\text{Or perhaps "over elaborately" (considering the kind of work they have to do).}
\]

\[\text{φασὶν or νομίζονσι (as Mangey) would certainly be more natural, but perhaps no alteration is required, or if any, \text{ἀληθέστερον} \text{for \text{ἀληθές}. It is not denied that opulence is displayed. What the guests do not know is that it is bad taste.}}\]
δὲ τούτοις αἱ πεμμάτων καὶ ὤψων καὶ ἲδυσμάτων ποικιλίαι, περὶ ᾧ σιτοτόνοι καὶ ὀμφατυταὶ πο

νοῦνται, προντίζοντες οὐ γεῦσιν, ὅπερ ἀναγκαῖον ἢν, ἢδονα μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὤψιν τῇ καθαριότητι. * * * τοὺς αὐχένας ἐν κύκλῳ περιάγοντες τοῖς ὀφθαλμοῖς καὶ τοῖς μυκτῆροι περιλυχνεύουσι, τοῖς μὲν τὰς εὐσαρκίας καὶ τὸ πλῆθος, τοῖς δὲ τὴν ἀναδιδόμενην κνίσαν. εἰτὰ ὅταν ἀμφοτέρων, ὦψεων τε καὶ ὦψων, γένωνται διακορεῖς, ἔσθιεν κε

λέυσιν, ἐπανέσαντες οὐκ ἀλίγα τὴν παρασκευὴν 54 καὶ τὸν ἐστιάτορα τῆς πολυτελείας. ἔπτὰ γοῦν καὶ πλείους εἰσκομίζονται τράπεζας, πλῆρεις ἀπάντων ὡς γῇ τε καὶ θάλαττα καὶ ποταμοί καὶ ἀὴρ φέρουσιν ἐκλείγα τάντα καὶ εὐσαρκικὰ, χερσαίων, ἐνυδρων, ἄεροπόρων, ὅν ἐκάστη διαλλάσσει καὶ ταῖς παρασκευαῖς καὶ ταῖς παραρτύσεσι. ὑπὲρ δὲ τοῦ ἑδῶν ἑδῶν ἀπολειφθῆναι τῶν ἐν τῇ φύσει, τελευταῖα τῶν ἀκροδρύων ἐστιν γέμουσι, δίχα τῶν εἷς τῶν κώμους καὶ τὰς λεγομένας 55 ἐπιδειπνίδας. εἰτὰ αἱ μὲν ἐκκομίζονται κεναι διὰ τὴν τῶν παρόντων ἀπληστίαν, οἱ τρόπον αἰθυνοὶ ἐμφοροῦμενοι κατομοφαγοῦσιν οὕτως, ὡς καὶ τῶν ὡστέων ἐπεντραγεῖν, τὰς δὲ λωβήσαντες καὶ σπαράξαντες ἰμβρώτους ἐδουσιν. ὅταν δὲ τελέως ἀπαγορεύσωσι, τὰς μὲν γαστέρας ἄχρη φαρύγγων πεπληρωμένου, κενοὶ δὲ πρὸς τὰς ἐπίθυμιας, 58 ἀπειρηκότες πρὸς τὰς ἐδωδᾶς, * * * 1 ἀλλὰ τι

1 I have printed §§ 53-55 according to Cohn's text, though I do not feel certain that the transposition which he makes is correct. His theory is that originally after καθαριότητι in § 53 stood something like οἱ γούν παρελθόντες ἐς τὰ συμπόσια and that § 55 ended with something like πρὸς τὸν πότον τρέπουσιν. Somehow in the mss. §§ 53 f. got transferred to
of baked meats, savoury dishes and seasonings produced by the labour of cooks and confectioners who are careful to please not merely the taste as they are bound to do but also the sight by the elegance of the viands. (The assembled guests) turn their necks round and round, greedily eyeing the richness and abundance of the meat and nosing the steamy odour which arises from it. When they have had their fill of both seeing and smelling they give the word to fall to with many a compliment to the entertainment and the munificence of the entertainer. Seven tables at the least and even more are brought in covered with the flesh of every creature that land, sea and rivers or air produce, beast, fish or bird, all choice and in fine condition, each table differing in the dishes served and the method of seasoning. And, that nothing to be found in nature should be unrepresented, the last tables brought in are loaded with fruits, not including those reserved for the drinking bouts and the after-dinners as they call them. Then while some tables are taken out emptied by the gluttony of the company who gorge themselves like cormorants, so voraciously that they nibble even at the bones, other tables have their dishes mangled and torn and left half eaten. And when they are quite exhausted, their bellies crammed up to the gullets, but their lust still ravenous, impotent for eating (they turn to the drink). But

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*a* See note on *Spec. Leg.* iv. 113 (vol. viii. p. 434).

after § 55, and then the words πρὸς τὸν πότον τρέπονται. οἱ γυνὲι παρελθόντες ἐσ τὰ συμπόσια fell out. This is what we find in the MSS. According to this the guests having gorged themselves with food turn their necks round, gaze and sniff at the food, and then urge others to eat. Who are these
ταύτα προσήκε μηκύνειν, δ' παρὰ πολλοῖς ήδη τῶν μετριωτέρων καταγινώσκεται προσαναρρηγνύντα τὰς ἐπιθυμίας, ὥν ἡ μείωσις ὡφέλιμον; εὖξαιτο γὰρ ἂν τὰ ἀπευκταῖότατα, | πείναν τε καὶ δύμαν, <μᾶλλον> ἢ τὴν ἐν ταῖς τουιάταις εὐωχίαις ἀφθονον συτίων καὶ ποτῶν περιουσίων.

57 VII. Τῶν ἐν τῇ Ἑλλάδι συμποσίων τὰ περιβόητα καὶ σημειωδεστάτα δύο ταύτα ἐστίν, οἷς καὶ Σωκράτης παρετύχατ' τὸ μὲν ἐν Καλλίου, ἡμῖνα στεφανωθέντος Αὐτολύκου τὰ ἐπινίκια εἰστία,¹ τὸ δὲ ἐν Ἀγάθωνος, ἃ καὶ μνήμης ἦξισαν ἄνδρες τὰ τῇ ἡδη καὶ τοὺς λόγους φιλόσοφοι, Ξενοφῶν τε καὶ Πλάτων ἀνεγράφαντο γὰρ ὡς ἀξιομνημόνευτα, οἷς ὑπετόπασαν χρήσεθαι παραδείγμασι τοὺς ἐπειτα τῆς ἐν συμποσίωσις ἐμμελοῦς διαγωγῆς.

58 ἄλλ' ὡμως καὶ ταύτα συγκρινόμενα τοῖς τῶν ἧμετέρων, οἱ τὸν θεωρητικὸν ἰσπάσαντο βίον, γέλως ἀναφανεῖται. ἡδονὰς μὲν ὡν ἔχει ἕκατέρων, ἀνθρωπικώτερον δὲ ἐστὶ τὸ Ξενοφῶντος· αὐλητρίδες τε καὶ ὅρχησται καὶ θαυματοποιοὶ καὶ ποιηται γελοίων ἐπὶ τῷ σκῶψαι καὶ χαριεντίσασθαι μέγα φρονοῦντες εἰσὶ τινὲς καὶ ἄλλα² τῶν ἐν ταῖς ἱλαρώτεραι ἀνέσεσι. τὸ δὲ Πλατωνικὸν ὅλον

others? The picture is barely intelligible, and undoubtedly Cohn's order gives a better sense. On the other hand to postulate first the transposition and then the omission of some ten words seems drastic, particularly as, so far as I can see, their retention would not have made worse nonsense. Conybeare translates the manuscript version without apparently finding anything very incongruous.

¹ mss. εἰστιάτο, which Conybeare retains and perhaps is
why dilate on these doings which are now condemned by many of the more sober minded as giving further vent to the lusts which might profitably be curtailed? For one may well pray for what men most pray to escape, hunger and thirst, rather than for the lavish profusion of food and drink found in festivities of this kind.

VII. Among the banquets held in Greece there are two celebrated and highly notable examples, namely those in which Socrates took part, one held in the house of Callias and given by him in honour of the victory in which Autolycus won the crown, the other in the house of Agathon. That these deserve to be remembered was the judgement of men whose character and discourses showed them to be philosophers, Xenophon and Plato, who described them as worthy to be recorded, surmising that they would serve to posterity as models of the happily conducted banquet. Yet even these if compared with those of our people who embrace the contemplative life will appear as matters for derision. Pleasure is an element in both, but Xenophon's banquet is more concerned with ordinary humanity. There are flute girls, dancers, jugglers, fun-makers, proud of their gift of jesting and facetiousness, and other accompaniments of more unrestrained merrymaking.\(^a\)

In Plato's banquet the talk is not impossible, but the active with the host as subject and the occasion as a cognate accusative agrees with the ordinary usage.

PHILO

σχεδόν έστι περί ἐρωτος, οὐκ ἀνδρῶν γυναιξίν ἔπιμανέντων ἢ γυναικῶν ἀνδράσιν αὐτῷ μόνον—

υποτελοῦσι γὰρ αἱ ἐπιθυμίαι αὐταί νόμοις φύσεως—,

ἀλλὰ ἄνδρῶν ἄρρενων ἡλικία μόνον διαφέρουσι·

καὶ γὰρ εἰ τι περὶ ἐρωτος καὶ Ἄφροδίτης οὐρανίου

κεκομψευθὰί δοκεῖ, χάριν ἀστείοσθι παρεὶληπται.

60 τὸ γὰρ πλείστον αὐτοῦ μέρος ὁ κοινὸς καὶ πάνδημος ἐρως διείληφεν, ἄνδρείαν μὲν, τὴν βιωφελεστάτην ἀρετὴν κατὰ πόλεμον καὶ κατ᾽ εἰρήνην, ἀφαιρούμενος, θήλειαν δὲ νόσου ταῖς ψυχαῖς ἔναπεργαζόμενοι καὶ ἀνδρογύνους κατασκευάζων, οὐς ἔχρην πάσι τοῖς πρὸς ἀλκήν ἐπιτηδεύμασι συγκροτεῖσθαι.

61 λυμηράμενοι δὲ τὴν παιδικὴν ἡλικίαν καὶ εἰς ἐρωμένης τάξιν καὶ διάθεσιν ἄγαγων ζημίωσε καὶ τοὺς ἐραστὰς περὶ τὰ ἀναγκαιότατα, σώμα καὶ ψυχὴν καὶ οὕσιαν· ἀνάγκη γὰρ τοῦ παιδεραστοῦ τὸν μὲν νοῦν τετάσθαι πρὸς τὰ παιδικά, πρὸς ταῦτα μόνον ἡξυδορκοῦντα, πρὸς δὲ τὰ ἄλλα πάντα ἵδια τε καὶ κοινὰ τυφλούμενον, (τὸ δὲ σῶμα) ύπὸ τῆς ἐπιθυμίας, καὶ μάλιστα εἰ ἀποτυγχάνοιτο, συντήκεσθαι, τὴν δὲ οὕσιαν ἐλαττώσθαι διχόθεν, ἐκ τε ἀμελείας καὶ τῶν εἰς τὸν ἐρωμένον ἀναλώματον.

62 παραφύεται δὲ καὶ μείζων ἄλλῳ πάνδημῳ κακῶν· ἐρημίας γὰρ πόλεων καὶ σπανίως τοῦ ἀριστοῦ γένους ἀνθρώπων καὶ στείρωσιν καὶ ἀγονίαν τεχνάζονται, οἱ μονοῦν τοὺς ἀνεπιστήμονας τῆς γεωργίας,

[481] σπείροντες ἀντὶ τῆς | βαθυγείου πεδιάδος υφάλμους ἀρούρας ή λιθώδη καὶ ἀπόκροτα χωρία, δὲ πρὸς τῷ

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a Lit. “paying tribute to,” and therefore under their protection.

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almost entirely concerned with love, not merely with the love-sickness of men for women, or women for men, passions recognized\(^a\) by the laws of nature, but of men for other males differing from them only in age. For, if we find some clever subtlety dealing apparently with the heavenly Love and Aphrodite, it is brought in to give a touch of humour. The chief part is taken up by the common vulgar love\(^b\) which robs men of the courage which is the virtue most valuable for the life both of peace and war, sets up the disease of effeminacy in their souls and turns into a hybrid of man and woman those who should have been disciplined in all the practices which make for valour. And having wrought havoc with the years of boyhood and reduced the boy to the grade and condition of a girl besieged by a lover it inflicts damage on the lovers also in three most essential respects, their bodies, their souls and their property. For the mind of the lover is necessarily set towards his darling and its sight is keen for him only, blind to all other interests, private and public; his body wastes away through desire, particularly if his suit is unsuccessful, while his property is diminished by two causes, neglect and expenditure on his beloved. As a side growth we have another greater evil of national importance. Cities are desolated, the best kind of men become scarce, sterility and childlessness ensue through the devices of these who imitate men who have no knowledge of husbandry by sowing not in the deep soil of the lowland but in briny fields and stony and stubborn places, which

\(^a\) Philo here identifies Plato’s πάνδημος ἐρως with pederasty. On that and other points in his estimate of the Symposium see App. p. 521. For similar denunciations of the evil cf. Spec. Leg. iii. 37 ff. and De Abr. 135 ff.

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PHILO

μηδέν πεφυκέναι βλαστάνειν καὶ τὰ καταβληθέντα
63 φθείρει σπέρματα. σιωπῶ τὰ τῶν μύθων
πλάσματα καὶ τοὺς δισωμάτους, οἱ καὶ ἃρχας
προσφύντες ἀλλήλοις ἐνωτικαῖς δυνάμεων αὖθις
οία μέρη συνεληλυθότα διεξεύχθησαν, τῆς ἀρμονίας
ὑφ᾽ ὧς συνείχοντο λυθείσης. εὐπαράγωγα γὰρ ταῦτα
πάντα, δυνάμενα τῇ καινότητι τῆς ἐπινοεῖας τὰ
İMα δειλαίειν ὃς ἐκ πολλοῦ τοῦ περιόντος οἱ
Μωυσέως γνώριμοι, μεμαθηκότες ἐκ πρώτης
ηλικίας ἐράν ἀληθείας, καταφρονοῦσιν ἀνεξαπάτηται
διατελοῦντες.

64 VIII. Ἀλλ᾽ ἐπειδὴ τὰ διωνομασμένα συμπόσια
τοιαύτης μεστά φλυαρίας ἐστίν, ἐν ἑαυτοῖς ἔχοντα
τὸν ἔλεγχον, εἰ τὶς μὴ πρὸς δόξας καὶ τὴν δια-
δοθέεισαν περὶ αὐτῶν ὡς δὴ πάνυ κατωρθωμένων
φήμην ἔθελήσειν ἀφορὰν, ἀντιτάξω (τὰ) τῶν
ἀναπεθεικότων τὸν ἱδιὸν βίον καὶ ἑαυτοὺς ἑπιστήμην
καὶ θεωρία τῶν τῆς φύσεως πραγμάτων κατὰ τὰς
τοῦ προφήτου Μωυσέως ἱερωτάτας ὕψησεις.

1 Most mss. ἐρωτικαῖς, which might at first sight be defended by the statement of the teller of the fable, that it is told to show the δύναμις ἐρωτος. But the words do not apply to this earlier but to the later part of the fable and the phrase δυνάμεις ἐνωτικαῖ occurs in De Plant. 89.

a Philo is perhaps thinking of Plato, Laws 838 ε, where the same practice is described as sowing in rocks and stones.
not only give no possibility for anything to grow but even destroy the seed deposited within them.\(^a\)

I pass over the mythical stories of the double-bodied men who were originally brought by unifying forces into cohesion with each other and afterwards came asunder, as an assemblage of separate parts might do when the bond of union which brought them together was loosened.\(^b\) All these are seductive enough, calculated by the novelty of the notion to beguile the ear, but the disciples of Moses trained from their earliest years to love the truth regard them with supreme\(^c\) contempt and continue undeceived.

VIII. But since the story of these well-known banquets is full of such follies and they stand self-convicted in the eyes of any who do not regard conventional opinions and the widely circulated report which declares them to have been all that they should be, I will describe in contrast the festal meetings of those who have dedicated their own life\(^d\) and themselves to knowledge and the contemplation of the verities of nature, following the truly sacred instructions of the prophet Moses. First of all these He has used much the same language of mating with barren women in *Spec. Leg.* iii. 34.

\(^b\) The allusion is to the combination of men and women, the original third sex, set forth by Aristophanes in *Symp.* 189 p–190.

\(^c\) Conybeare "from a lofty vantage ground." The phrase is a favourite of Philo's for equalling "with plenty to spare." Sometimes it is contrasted with ίσος as in *Quod Omn. Prob.* 149 and *Flacc.* 126, or is coupled with κρατεῖν or νικάν as in *De Agr.* 112 and *De Post.* 161 (so in *De Aet.* 80 πολλὴ τινι περιουσία). In other cases it seems to intensify an action or create a superlative. So *Mos.* i. 93 and ii. 75 and so, I think, here.

\(^d\) So, I think, rather than "means of livelihood." (Conybeare).
65 οὔτοι τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἀθροίζονται δι’ ἐπτὰ ἐβδομάδων, οὐ μόνον τὴν ἄπλην ἐβδομάδα ἄλλα καὶ τὴν δύναμιν τεθηπότες ἄγνην γὰρ καὶ αἰειπάρθενον αὐτὴν ἰσασιν. ἐστὶ δὲ προέρθοτος μεγίστης ἔορτῆς, ἣν πεντηκοντάς ἐλαχεῖν, ἀγιώτατος καὶ φυσικῶτατος ἀριθμῶν, ἐκ τῆς τοῦ ὀρθογωνίου τριγώνου δυνάμεως, ὅπερ ἐστὶν ἀρχὴ τῆς τῶν ὀλίων γενέσεως, ἐπειδὰν οὖν συνέλθωσι λευχειμονοῦντες φαιδροὶ μετὰ τῆς ἀνωτάτω σεμνότητος, ὑποσημαίνοντός τινος τῶν ἐφημερευτῶν—οὔτω γάρ ὁνομάζειν ἔθος τοῦ ἐν ταῖς τοιαύταις ὑπηρεσίαις—, πρὸ τῆς κατακλίσεως στάντες ἐξής κατὰ στοίχον ἐν κόσμῳ καὶ τὰς ὄψεις καὶ τὰς χεῖρας εἰς οὐρανόν ἀνατείναντες, τὰς μὲν ἐπειδὴ τὰ θέας ἄξια καθορὰν ἐπαιδεύθησαν, τὰς δὲ ὡς καθαρὰ λημμάτων εἰς ὑπ’ ὀνδεμίᾶς προφάσεως τῶν εἰς πορισμὸν μιανόμεναι, προσεύχονται τῷ θεῷ θυμήρη γενέσθαι καὶ κατὰ νοῦν ἀπαντῆσαι

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66 συσταθέως.

a I believe with Conybeare that this refers to the feast of Pentecost. But Philo writes carelessly when he omits to tell us from what time the seven weeks are calculated. In Spec. Leg. ii. 176 he has stated that they are calculated from the "Sheaf," the festival on the second (?) day after the passover, and presumably he means the same here. But Conybeare is too severe when he scolds Lucius for supposing δ᾽ ἐπτὰ ἐβδ. to mean "every seven weeks." Since at present we have only heard of minor meetings every week, that would be the natural meaning. Wendland indeed takes it so. See App. p. 522 on this and the meaning of πρῶτον μὲν, which Conybeare translates "for the first time."

b We are naturally surprised to see Pentecost rather than the Passover called the chief feast, but see App. p. 523.

c i.e. 3, 4, 5 are the sides of the primal right-angled triangle and $3^2 + 4^2 + 5^2 = 50$. See the full explanation in Spec. Leg. ii. 176 and Mos. ii. 80, and the notes thereon.
people assemble after seven sets of seven days have passed, for they revere not only the simple seven but its square also, since they know its chastity and perpetual virginity. This is the eve of the chief feast which Fifty takes for its own, Fifty the most sacred of numbers and the most deeply rooted in nature, being formed from the square of the right-angled triangle which is the source from which the universe springs. So then they assemble, white-robed and with faces in which cheerfulness is combined with the utmost seriousness, but before they recline, at a signal from a member of the Rota, which is the name commonly given to those who perform these services, they take their stand in a regular line in an orderly way, their eyes and hands lifted up to Heaven, eyes because they have been trained to fix their gaze on things worthy of contemplation, hands in token that they are clean from gain-taking and not defiled through any cause of the profit-making kind. So standing they pray to God that their feasting may be acceptable and pro-


d Conybeare considers that these εφημερευταί are the same as the πρόεδροι mentioned later and quotes an inscription of A.D. 174 ἐφημερευόντος Παισανίου προεδροὺ in minutes of a βουλή in Tyre. But the word in itself merely suggests duties performed in rotation, and ὑπηρεσίαις points to what we should describe as a sidesman rather than an officiating minister.

e Conybeare “pretence.” But Philo often uses the word in a way hardly distinguishable from “cause.” So e.g. the eyesight is damaged μικρὰς ἐνεκα προφάσεως Spec. Leg. iv. 200 and the firstborn in Egypt suddenly perish ἀπ’ οὐδεμᾶς προφάσεως Mos. i. 135. If the word differs at all from αἴτια, it is that it indicates not the absolute cause, but what people may consider to be the cause. So perhaps here “anything that might be regarded as a money-making business.”
τήν εὔωχίαν. μετὰ δὲ τὰς εὐχὰς οἱ πρεσβύτεροι κατακλύνονται ταῖς εἰσκρίσεσιν ἀκο-
λουθοῦντες: πρεσβυτέρους δὲ οὐ τοὺς πολυετεῖς καὶ
πολιοῦνοι νομίζουσιν ἀλλ' ἐτι κομιδὴ νέους παῖδας;  
ἔαν ὁψὲ τῆς προαιρέσεως ἐρασθῶσιν, ἀλλὰ τοὺς
τῷ θεωρητικῷ μέρει φιλοσοφίας, ὁ δὴ κάλλιστον
καὶ θειότατον ἐστι. συνεστιῶνται δὲ καὶ γυναῖκες,
ὅτι πλείστα γηραιαὶ παρθένοι, τὴν ἁγνείαν οὐκ ἀνάγκη,
καθάπερ ἐνὶ τῶν παρ" Ἐλλησιον ἱερείων,
διαφυλάξασα πᾶλλον ἡ καθ' ἐκούσιον γνώμην, διὰ
ζηλοῦν καὶ πόθον σοφίας, ἢ συμβιοῦν σπουδάσαισαι
tῶν περί σῶμα ἡδονῶν ἡλόγησαν, οὐ θηντών
ἐκγόνων ἀλλ' ἠθανάτων ὀρεχθέται, ἡ μόνη τίκτευν
ἀφ' ἀυτῆς οὖα τέ ἔστιν ἡ θεοφιλὴς ψυχή, σπει-
ραντος εἰς αὐτὴν ἀκτίνας νοημάς τοῦ πατρός, αἰς
dυνήσεται θεωρεῖν τὰ σοφίας δόγματα.

IX. διανενέμηται δὲ ἡ κατάκλισις χωρίς μὲν
ἀνδρᾶσιν ἐπὶ δεξιά, χωρίς δὲ γυναιξιν ἐπὶ εὐώνυμα.
μή ποὺ τις υπολαμβάνει στρωμνᾶς, εἰ καὶ οὐ πολυ-
tελείς, ἀλλ' οὖν μαλακωτέρας ἀνθρώπος εὐγενεῖ
καὶ ἀστείοις καὶ φιλοσοφίας ἀσκηταὶ εὔτρεπόσθαι; 
στιβάδες γὰρ εἰς ἐκατοτέρας ύλης, ἕφ' ὅν ἀν
πάν χαμαίστρωτα παπύρου τῆς ἐγχωρίου, μικρὸν
ὑπέρέχοντα κατὰ τοὺς ἀγκώνας, ἕνα ἐπισκεύοντον
τὴν μὲν γὰρ Λακωνικήν σκληραγωγίαν ὑπανίσαν,
ἄει δὲ καὶ πάνταχον τῇν ἐλευθέριον εὐκολίαν ἐπι-

1 mss. παλαιοῦς.
2 ἀλλ' . . . παῖδας are bracketed by Cohn. The only
reason given in the footnote, that they are omitted in the
Armenian, seems hardly sufficient. But see App. p. 523.
3 mss. ἢ ποὺ τις or εἰ ποὺ τις.
4 mss. ἀφ' ὅν.
ceed as He would have it. After the prayers the séniors recline according to the order of their admission, since by senior they do not understand the aged and grey headed who are regarded as still mere children if they have only in late years come to love this rule of life, but those who from their earliest years have grown to manhood and spent their prime in pursuing the contemplative branch of philosophy, which indeed is the noblest and most god-like part. The feast is shared by women also, most of them aged virgins, who have kept their chastity not under compulsion, like some of the Greek priestesses, but of their own free will in their ardent yearning for wisdom. Eager to have her for their life mate they have spurned the pleasures of the body and desire no mortal offspring but those immortal children which only the soul that is dear to God can bring to the birth unaided because the Father has sown in her spiritual rays enabling her to behold the verities of wisdom. IX. The order of reclining is so apportioned that the men sit by themselves on the right and the women by themselves on the left. Perhaps it may be thought that couches though not costly still of a softer kind would have been provided for people of good birth and high character and trained practice in philosophy. Actually they are plank beds of the common kinds of wood, covered with quite cheap strewings of native papyrus, raised slightly at the arms to give something to lean on. For while they mitigate somewhat the harsh austerity of Sparta, they always and every-

\[a\] The thought may be “without needing the midwife’s skill” (τέχνη μαευτική). So at least in a very similar passage, *De Mig.* 142.
τηδεύουσιν, ἀνὰ κράτος τοῖς ἡδονῆς φίλτροις ἀπεχθόμενοι. διακονοῦνται δὲ οὐχ ὡπ' ἀνδραπόδων, ἤγομενοι συνόλως τὴν θεραπόντων κτῆσιν εἶναι παρὰ φύσιν· ὡς μὲν γὰρ ἐλευθέρους ἀπαντας γεγένηκεν, αἱ δὲ τινῶν ἀδικίαι καὶ πλεονεξίαι ζηλωσάντων τὴν ἀρχέκακον ἀνισότητα καταξεύζασαι τὸ ἐπὶ τοῖς ἀσθενεστέροις κράτοις τοῖς δυνατωτέροις ἀνήψαν. ἐν δὴ τῷ ἱερῷ τούτῳ συμποσίῳ δοῦλος μὲν ὡς ἐφὴν οὔδείς, ἐλεύθεροι δὲ ὑπηρετοῦσι, τὰς διακονικὰς χρείας ἐπιτελοῦντες οὐ πρὸς βίαν οὐδὲ προστάξεις ἀναμένοντες, ἀλλ' ἐθελουσίω, γνώμῃ φθάνοντες μετὰ σπουδῆς καὶ προθυμίας τὰς ἐπικε- λεύσεις. οὔδὲ γὰρ οἱ τυχόντες ἐλεύθεροι τάσσονται πρὸς ταῖς ὑπουργίαις ταύταις, ἀλλ' οἱ νέοι τῶν ἐν τῷ συστήματι μετὰ πάσης ἐπιμελείας ἀριστώδην ἐπικριθέντες, ἰδίᾳ τρόπῳ ἀστείος καὶ εὐγενεῖς πρὸς ἀκραν ἄρετὴν ἐπειγομένους· οἱ καθάπερ νῦι γνήσιοι φιλοτίμως ἀσμένοι πατράς καὶ μητράς ὑπουργοῦσι, κοινώς αὐτῶν γονεῖς νομίζοντες οἰκειότεροι τῶν ἀφ' αἵματος, εἰς τοῖς καὶ καθεμένοι τοὺς ζιωνικοὺς εἰσίσασθαι υπηρετεῖν, οἵ τινες άκούσαντες, γελάσονται δὲ οἱ κλαυθμῶν καὶ θρήνων ἅξια δρῶντες—οἶνος ἐκεῖναι ταῖς ἡμέραις οὐκ εἰσκομίζεται, ἀλλὰ διανυγόστατων ὑδρῷ, ψυχρὸν μὲν τοῖς

a On this use of γνήσιος see Quod Omn. Prob. 87.

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where practise a frugal contentment worthy of the free, and oppose with might and main the love-lures of pleasure. They do not have slaves to wait upon them as they consider that the ownership of servants is entirely against nature. For nature has borne all men to be free, but the wrongful and covetous acts of some who pursued that source of evil, inequality, have imposed their yoke and invested the stronger with power over the weaker. In this sacred banquet there is as I have said no slave, but the services are rendered by free men who perform their tasks as attendants not under compulsion nor yet waiting for orders, but with deliberate goodwill anticipating eagerly and zealously the demands that may be made. For it is not just any free men who are appointed for these offices but young members of the association chosen with all care for their special merit who as becomes their good character and nobility are pressing on to reach the summit of virtue. They give their services gladly and proudly like sons to their real fathers and mothers, judging them to be the parents of them all in common, in a closer affinity than that of blood, since to the right minded there is no closer tie than noble living. And they come in to do their office ungirt and with tunics hanging down, that in their appearance there may be no shadow of anything to suggest the slave. In this banquet—I know that some will laugh at this, but only those whose actions call for tears and lamentation—no wine is brought during those days but only water of the brightest and clearest, cold for most

\[\text{\textsuperscript{b}}\] Not to be taken as implying that the wine would be used on other occasions, which is negatived by \(\nu\eta\phi\alpha\lambda\alpha\ \beta\mu\omicron\nu\), but in contrast to the feasts of other people.
πολλοῖς, θερμόν δὲ τῶν πρεσβυτάτων τοῖς ἀβρο- 
διαίτοις· καὶ τράπεζα καθαρὰ τῶν ἑναίμων, ἐφ' 
ἥς ἄρτοι μὲν τροφῆ, προσόψημα δὲ ἀλες, οῖς ἐστὶν 
οὖτε καὶ ὑσσωπος ἦδυσμα παραρτύεται διὰ τοὺς 
74 τρυφώντας. νηφάλια γὰρ ὡς τοῖς ἱερεῦσι θύειν 
καὶ τούτοις βιοῦν ὁ ὅρθος λόγος ὑφηγεῖται· οἶνος 
μὲν γὰρ ἀφροσύνης φάρμακον, ὅφα δὲ πολυτελὴ 
τὸ θρεμμάτων ἀπληστότατον διερεθίζει, τὴν ἐπιθυ-
75 μίαν. Ἡ. καὶ τὰ μὲν πρῶτα τουαῦτα. 
μετὰ δὲ τὸ κατακλιθῆναι μὲν τοὺς συμπότας ἐν 
αῖς ἐδήλωσα τάξεις, στήνα δὲ τοὺς διακόνους ἐν 
κόσμῳ πρὸς ὑπηρεσίαν ἐτοίμους, (ὁ πρόεδρος 
αὐτῶν, πολλῆς ἀπάντων ἡσυχίας γενομένης) 
—πότε 
δὲ οὐκ ἐστὶν; εἴποι τις ἀν· ἀλλ' ἐτι μᾶλλον ἡ 
πρότερον, ὡς μηδὲ γρύξαι τινὰ τολμᾶν ἡ ἀνα-
pνεύσαι βιαστερον—, ζητεῖ 
τι τῶν ἐν τοῖς ἱεροῖς 
γράμμασιν ἢ καὶ ύπ* ἄλλου προταθέν επιλύεται, 
φροντίζων μὲν οὐδὲν ἐπιδείξεως—οὐ γὰρ τῆς ἐπὶ 
δεινότητι λόγων ἐυκλείας ὑσσωποῖ· θεάσασθαι 
δὲ τινὰ ποθῶν ἀκριβέστερον καὶ θεασάμενος μὴ 
φθονήσαι τοῖς εἰ καὶ μὴ ὀμοίως ἀνενδοκούσι, τὸν 
76 γούν τοῦ μαθείν ἱμερον παραπλήσιον ἔχουσι. καὶ 
ὡς μὲν σχολαιοτέρα χρήσεται τῇ διδασκαλία, δια-
μέλλων καὶ βραδύνων ταῖς ἐπαναλήψεισιν, ἐγχαράτ-

1 The sentence, which is evidently imperfect as it stands in the mss., is here filled up from the Armenian. Conybeare has for the last four words ὀτε κοινὴ ἡσυχία γέγονεν.

2 mss. ζητεῖται—which would leave ὁ πρόεδρος without a verb, unless the middle can be used in this sense.
of the guests but warm for such of the older men as live delicately. The table too is kept pure from the flesh of animals; the food laid on it is loaves of bread with salt as a seasoning, sometimes also flavoured with hyssop as a relish for the daintier appetites. Abstinence from wine is enjoined by right reason as for the priest when sacrificing, so to these for their lifetime. For wine acts like a drug producing folly, and costly dishes stir up that most insatiable of animals, desire.

X. Such are the preliminaries. But when the guests have laid themselves down arranged in rows, as I have described, and the attendants have taken their stand with everything in order ready for their ministry, the President of the company, when a general silence is established—here it may be asked when is there no silence—well at this point there is silence even more than before so that no one ventures to make a sound or breathe with more force than usual—amid this silence, I say, he discusses some question arising in the Holy Scriptures or solves one that has been propounded by someone else. In doing this he has no thought of making a display, for he has no ambition to get a reputation for clever oratory but desires to gain a closer insight into some particular matters and having gained it not to withhold it selfishly from those who if not so clear-sighted as he have at least a similar desire to learn. His instruction proceeds in a leisurely manner; he lingers over it and spins it out with repetitions, thus permanently imprinting

\[a\] For the use of the neuter  \( \nu\eta\phi\alpha\lambda\alpha \) see note on Spec. Leg. iv. 191 (vol. viii. p. 436).

\[b\] The phrase goes back to Plato, Timaeus 70 e. See Spec. Leg. i. 148, iv. 94 and notes.

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των ταῖς ψυχαῖς τὰ νοήματα—τῇ γὰρ ἐρμηνείᾳ τοῦ εὐτρόχως καὶ ἀπνευστὶ συνείροντος οἱ τῶν ἀκρωμένων νοῦς συνομαρτέν ἀδυνατῶν ὑστερίζει καὶ ἀπολείπεται τῆς καταλήψεως τῶν λεγομένων—. 77 οἱ δὲ ἀνωρθιακότες (τὰ ὅτα καὶ τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς ἀνατετακότες) εἰς αὐτὸν ἐπὶ μιᾶς καὶ τῆς αὐτῆς σχέσεως ἐπιμένοντες ἀκρωθαίνει, τὸ μὲν συνιέναι καὶ κατειληφέναι νεύματι καὶ βλέμματι διασημαινοντες, τὸν δὲ ἔπαινον τοῦ λέγοντος ἥλαρτητι καὶ τῇ σχέδην περιαγωγή τοῦ προσώπου, τὴν δὲ διαπόρησιν ἠρεμοστέρα κινῆσει τῆς κεφαλῆς καὶ ἀκρω δακτύλω τῆς δεξιάς χειρός· οὐχ ἦττον δὲ τῶν κατακεκλιμένων οἱ παρεστάτες νέοι προσ- 78 ἔχουσιν. αἱ δὲ ἐξηγήσεις τῶν ἱερῶν γραμμάτων γίνονται δι’ ὑπονοιῶν ἐν ἀλληγορίαις· ἀπασα γὰρ ἡ νομοθεσία δοκεῖ τοῖς άνδρασι τούτοις ἐοίκεναι ξώς καὶ σώμα μὲν ἐχεῖν τὰς ρητὰς διατάξεις, ψυχὴν δὲ τὸν ἐναποκείμενον ταῖς λέξεως ἀόρατον νοῦν, ἐν ὃ ἦξετο ἡ λογικὴ ψυχὴ διαφερόντως τὰ οἰκεῖα θεωρεῖν, ὥσπερ διὰ κατόπτρου τῶν ὂνομάτων [484] ἐξαισία κάλλη νοημάτων | ἐμφανόμενα κατιδούσα καὶ τὰ μὲν σύμβολα διαπτύξασα καὶ διακαλύψασα, γυμνά δὲ εἰς φώς προαγαγοῦσα τὰ ἐνθύμια τοῖς δυναμένοις ἐκ μικρᾶς ὑπομνήσεως τὰ ἀφανῆ 79 διὰ τῶν φανερῶν θεωρεῖν. ἐπειδὰν οὖν ἵκανος ὁ πρόεδρος διειλέχθαι δοκῇ καὶ κατὰ προ-

1 The insertion is based on the Armenian. There is no authority for the absolute use of ἀνωρθιακότες. On the other hand it is used with τὰ ὅτα several times in Philo, e.g. De Dec. 45.

a σχέδην = “gradually” or “quietly.” Conybeare trans-160
the thoughts in the souls of the hearers, since if the speaker goes on descanting with breathless rapidity the mind of the hearers is unable to follow his language, loses ground and fails to arrive at apprehension of what is said. His audience listen with ears pricked up and eyes fixed on him always in exactly the same posture, signifying comprehension and understanding by nods and glances, praise of the speaker by the cheerful change of expression which steals over the face, a difficulty by a gentler movement of the head and by pointing with a finger-tip of the right hand. The young men standing by show no less attentiveness than the occupants of the couches. The exposition of the sacred scriptures treats the inner meaning conveyed in allegory. For to these people the whole law book seems to resemble a living creature with the literal ordinances for its body and for its soul the invisible mind laid up in its wording. It is in this mind especially that the rational soul begins to contemplate the things akin to itself and looking through the words as through a mirror beholds the marvellous beauties of the concepts, unfolds and removes the symbolic coverings and brings forth the thoughts and sets them bare to the light of day for those who need but a little reminding to enable them to discern the inward and hidden through the outward and visible.

When then the President thinks he has discoursed enough and both sides

\[ \text{It is difficult to say whether νους here = "mind" or (as often) "meaning." I suspect that Philo hardly distinguishes the two and that while "meaning" is predominant in νους, "mind" is predominant in the relative ευ φ.} \]

\[ \text{See App. p. 523.} \]
PHILO

aíresin ἀπηντηκέναι τῷ μὲν ἡ διάλεξις εὐσκόπως ταῖς ἐπιβολαῖς, τοῖς δὲ ἡ ἀκρόασις, κρότος εὖ ἀπάντων ὡς ἀν συνηδομένων εἰς τὸ ἐτι εἴσόμενον
80 γίνεται. καὶ ἐπειτὰ ὁ μὲν ἀναστὰς ὕμνον ἄδει πεποιημένον εἰς τὸν θεὸν, ἡ καὶνὸν αὐτὸς πε-ποιηκῶς ἡ ἀρχαῖον τυν τῶν πάλαι ποιητῶν—μέτρα γὰρ καὶ μέλη καταλελοίπασι πολλὰ ἐπῶν, τριμέτρων, προσοδίων ὑμνῶν, παραστάσεων, παραβωμίων, στασιμῶν χορικῶν στροφάων πολυ-στρόφους εὐ διαμετρημένων—, μῆθ' ὅν καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι κατὰ τάξεις ἐν κόσμῳ προσήκοντι, πάντων κατὰ πολλὴν ἰσχυρίαν ἀκρωμένων, πλὴν ὅποτε τὰ ἀκροτελεύτα καὶ ἐφύμνωτα καὶ ἐφύμνωτα ἄδειν δέοι. τότε γὰρ ἐξηχοῦσι πάντες τε καὶ πάσαι. ὅταν δὲ ἐκαστὸς διαπεράνηται τὸν ὕμνον, οἱ νέοι τὴν πρὸ μικροῦ λεχθεῖσαν τράπεζαν εἴσκομίζουσιν, ἐφ' ἂς τὸ παν-αγέστατον σιτίον, ἄρτος εἰσομένως μετὰ προσ-

1 MSS. το ἐποφόμενον (one ἐφόμενον). Conybeare from the Armenian εἰς τὸ τρίτον μόνον, i.e. the applause on such an occasion had to be limited. The Greek of the MSS. certainly seems weak, and Mangey suggested εἰς τὸ ἐνδόσιμον "to give the keynote for the hymn which followed."

2 For the comma which I have inserted after ἐπῶν see note b.

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"As I understand the sentence, it is more literally "when the discussion seems to him in accordance with his purpose to have met successfully the objects aimed at, and to them the listening seems to have turned out according to their purpose," etc. That is to say δοκῇ κατὰ προαίρεσιν ἀπηντηκέναι is understood with τοῖς δὲ, but while with τῷ μὲν it is further explained by εὐσκόπως ταῖς ἐπιβολαῖς, with τοῖς δὲ this is not added, so that in the first case ἀπηντηκέναι = "to have met," in the second = "to have turned out"; cf. κατὰ νοὸν ἀπαντήσαι § 66. Conybeare takes ἐπιβολαῖς = "the points raised." But the regular use of the word in Philo seems to be "aim" or mental 162"
feel sure that they have attained their object, the speaker in the effectiveness with which his discourse has carried out his aims, the audience in the substance of what they have heard, universal applause arises showing a general pleasure in the prospect of what is still to follow. Then the President rises and 80 sings a hymn composed as an address to God, either a new one of his own composition or an old one by poets of an earlier day who have left behind them hymns in many measures and melodies, hexameters and iambics, lyrics suitable for processions or in libations and at the altars, or for the chorus whilst standing or dancing, with careful metrical arrangements to fit the various evolutions. After him all the others take their turn as they are arranged and in the proper order while all the rest listen in complete silence except when they have to chant the closing lines or refrains, for then they all lift up their voices, men and women alike. When everyone 81 has finished his hymn the young men bring in the tables mentioned a little above on which is set the truly purified meal of leavened bread seasoned with

effort of some kind. Cf. e.g. τὰς . . . τῆς ψυχῆς ἐπιβολάς τε καὶ ὁμίας Mos. i. 26, κατὰ τὴν ἱδιὰν ἐπιβολὴν ("of his own motion") De Som. i. 1.

b For the use of ἔπη for hexameter verse in particular see examples in Stephanus, but it is no doubt permissible to take it = "verses," simply in agreement with τριμέτρων.

c Conybeare translates the last four words "deftly proportioned for turning and returning." On these hymns in general see App. p. 524.

d Conybeare "all-purest." The epithet seems strange, since it is followed at once by the statement that the shewbread in purity ranked above it. No one has suggested, and I only do it with hesitation, that the negative before παναγέστατον, as often, has fallen out.
οψήματος ἀλῶν, οἷς ὑσσωτός ἀναμέμικται, δι’ αἰτῶ τῆς ἀνακεμένης ἐν τῷ ἁγίῳ προναῷ ἱερᾶς τραπέζης. ἐπὶ γὰρ ταύτης εἰσὶν ἄρτοι καὶ ἄλες ἄνευ ἡδυσμάτων, ἂξιμοι μὲν οἱ ἄρτοι, ἄμιγεὶς δὲ ἄλες. προσήκον γὰρ ἂν τὰ μὲν ἀπλοῦστατα καὶ εἰλικρινέστατα τῇ κρατικῇ τῶν ἱερῶν ἀπονεμηθῶ καὶ μερὶ λειτουργίας ἄθλον, τοὺς δὲ ἄλλους τὰ μὲν ὀμοί ζηλοῦν, ἀπέχουσι δὲ τῶν αὐτῶν, ἵνα ἔχωσι προνομίαν οἱ κρείττονες.

83 XI. Μετὰ δὲ τὸ ἑορτινὸν τὴν ἱερὰν ἁγουσι παννυχίδα. ἀγεταὶ δὲ ἡ παννυχίς τῶν τρόπων τοῦτον ἀνίστανται πάντες ἄθρόοι, καὶ κατὰ μέσον τὸ συμπόσιον δύο γίνονται τὸ πρῶτον χορό, ὁ μὲν ἄνδρῶν, ὁ δὲ γυναικῶν· ἡγεμών δὲ καὶ ἐξαρχὸς μελέστατος. εἰτὰ ἄδουσι πεποιημένους ὄμοιος εἰς τῶν θεῶν πολλοῖς μέτροι καὶ μέλεσι, τῇ μὲν συνηχοῦντες, τῇ δὲ καὶ ἀντιφώνοις ἁρμονίαις ἐπιχειρομομοῦντες καὶ ἐπορχοῦμενοι, καὶ ἐπιθειάζοντες τοτέ μὲν τὰ προσόδια, τοτὲ δὲ τὰ στάσιμα, στροφάς τε τὰς ἐν χορείᾳ καὶ τὰς στροφάς ποιοῦμενοι.

84 εἰτὰ ὅταν ἐκάτερος τῶν χορῶν ἁδικα καὶ καθ’ ἑαυτὸν ἀνετοῦν ἑστιαθῆ, καθάπερ ἐν ταῖς βακχείαις ἀκράτων ἐπορχοῦμενοι, ἀναμίγνυνται καὶ γίνονται χορὸς εἰς ἔξω ἁμφότερον, μίμημα τοῦ πάλαι συστάντος κατὰ τὴν ἔρυθράν ἑνεκα τῶν ἱεροτυπηγθέντων ἑκεῖ. τὸ...
salt mixed with hyssop, out of reverence for the holy
table enshrined in the sacred vestibule of the temple
on which lie loaves and salt without condiments, the
loaves unleavened and the salt unmixed. For it was meet that the simplest and purest food should be
assigned to the highest caste, namely the priests,
as a reward for their ministry, and that the others
while aspiring to similar privileges should abstain
from seeking the same as they and allow their
superiors to retain their precedence.

XI. After the supper they hold the sacred vigil which is conducted in the following way. They rise
up all together and standing in the middle of the
refectory form themselves first into two choirs, one
of men and one of women, the leader and precentor
chosen for each being the most honoured amongst
them and also the most musical. Then they sing hymns to God composed of many measures and set
to many melodies, sometimes chanting together,
sometimes taking up the harmony antiphonally,
hands and feet keeping time in accompaniment,
and rapt with enthusiasm reproduce sometimes the
lyrics of the procession, sometimes of the halt and
of the wheeling and counter-wheeling of a choric
dance. Then when each choir has separately done its own part in the feast, having drunk
as in the Bacchic rites of the strong wine of God's
love they mix and both together become a single
choir, a copy of the choir set up of old beside the
Red Sea in honour of the wonders there wrought.

The LXX though not the Hebrew prescribes salt with the
shewbread. See Mos. ii. 104.

γυναικῶν ἰδία, which Mangey has. χορῶν adopted by both
Cohn and Conybeare is from the Armenian.

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γάρ πέλαγος προστάξει θεοῦ τοῖς μὲν σωτηρίας αὐτίων τοῖς δὲ πανωλεθρίας γίνεται: ῥαγέντως μὲν γάρ καὶ βιαίως ἀνακοπαῖς ὑποσυρέντως καὶ ἔκατέρωθεν ἔξ ἐναντίας οία τειχῶν παγέντων, τὸ μεθόριον διάστημα εἰς λεωφόρον ὄδον καὶ ἔχραν πᾶσαν ἀνατμήθεν εὐρύνετο, δι’ Ἡς ὁ λεώς ἐπέζευσεν ἄχρι τῆς ἀντιπέραν ἥπειρον πρὸς τὰ μετέωρα παραπεμφθεῖς: ἐπιδραμόντος δὲ τοῖς παλιρροίαις καὶ τοῦ μὲν ἐνθεν τοῦ δὲ ἐνθεν εἰς τὸ χερσωθὲν ἔδαφος ἀναυθεντός, οἱ ἐπακολουθήσαντες τῶν πολεμίων κατακλυσθέντες διαφθείρονται. τούτο δὲ ἱδόντες καὶ παθόντες, ὁ λόγον καὶ ἐννοίας καὶ ἐλπίδος μειζὸν ἔργον ἦν, ἐνθουσιώτες τε ἀνδρείας ὑποσυρέντος τε ἀνδρείας ὑμνοὺς εἰς τὸν σωτήρα θεόν ἤδον, ἐξάρχοντος τοῖς μὲν ἀνδράσι Μωυσέως τοῦ προφήτου, ταῖς δὲ γυναιξὶ Μαριὰμ τῆς προφήτιδος.  

Τούτῳ μάλιστα ἀπεικονισθεὶς τῶν θεραπευτῶν καὶ θεραπευτρίδων, μέλεσιν ἅπαξ πρὸς βαρύν ἤχον τῶν ἀνδρῶν οἱ γυναῖκες, εἰς γενόμενοι χορός, τοὺς εὐχαριστηρίους ὑμνοὺς εἰς τὸν σωτήρα θεον ἤδον, ἐξάρχοντος τοῖς μὲν ἀνδράσι Μωυσέως τοῦ προφήτου, ταῖς δὲ γυναιξὶ Μαριὰμ τῆς προφήτιδος. 

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1 The construction is very strange. Cohn suggests καθιστάντες. Perhaps σταθέντες.
For at the command of God the sea became a source of salvation to one party and of perdition to the other. As it broke in twain and withdrew under the violence of the forces which swept it back there rose on either side, opposite to each other, the semblance of solid walls, while the space thus opened between them broadened into a highway smooth and dry throughout on which the people marched under guidance right on until they reached the higher ground on the opposite mainland. But when the sea came rushing in with the returning tide, and from either side passed over the ground where dry land had appeared the pursuing enemy were submerged and perished. This wonderful sight and experience, an act transcending word and thought and hope, so filled with ecstasy both men and women that forming a single choir they sang hymns of thanksgiving to God their Saviour, the men led by the prophet Moses and the women by the prophetess Miriam.

It is on this model above all that the choir of the Therapeutae of either sex, note in response to note and voice to voice, the treble of the women blending with the bass of the men, create an harmonious concen, music in the truest sense. Lovely are the thoughts, lovely the words and worthy of reverence the choristers, and the end and aim of thoughts, words and choristers alike is piety. Thus they continue till dawn, drunk with this drunkenness in which there is no shame, then not with heavy heads or drowsy eyes but more alert and wakeful than when they came to the banquet, they stand with their faces and whole body turned to the east and when they see the sun rising they stretch their hands

* Or "congealed."
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[486] οὐρανὸν εὐημερίαν καὶ ἀλήθειαν ἐπεύχονται καὶ ὀξυωπίαν λογισμοῦ καὶ μετὰ τὰς εὐχὰς εἰς τὰ ἑαυτῶν ἐκαστὸς σεμνεῖα ἀναχωροῦσι, πάλιν τὴν συνήθη φιλοσοφίαν ἐμπορευσόμενοι καὶ γεωργῆ- σοντες.

90 Θεραπευτῶν μὲν δὴ πέρι τοσαῦτα θεωρίαν ἀσπασμένων φύσεως καὶ τῶν ἐν αὐτῇ καὶ ψυχῇ μόνῃ βιωσάντων, οὐρανὸν μὲν καὶ κόσμον πολιτῶν, τῶ δὲ πατρὶ καὶ ποιητῇ τῶν ὀλων γνησίως συν- σταθέντων ὑπ' ἀρετῆς, ἡτὶς ἡθεοῦ φιλίαν αὐτοῖς προσέγνησεν οἰκειότατον γέρας καλοκαγαθίας προσθείσα, πάσης ἄμεινον εὐτυχίας, ἐπ' αὐτὴν ἀκρότητα φθάνον εὐδαιμονίας.

1 An explanatory genitive is perhaps required. But I do not understand why Cohn (Hermes, 1916, p. 91) summarily rejects the more natural αὐτοῦ.

α As the Therapeutae would naturally, like the Essenes (cf. Quod Omn. Prob. 80), deal only with the theological side of
up to heaven and pray for bright days and knowledge of the truth and the power of keen sighted thinking. And after the prayers they depart each to his private sanctuary once more to ply the trade and till the field of their wonted philosophy.

So much then for the Therapeutae, who have taken to their hearts the contemplation of nature and what it has to teach, and have lived in the soul alone, citizens of Heaven and the world, presented to the Father and Maker of all by their faithful sponsor Virtue, who has procured for them God’s friendship and added a gift going hand in hand with it, true excellence of life, a boon better than all good fortune and rising to the very summit of felicity.

physic, I think this must be what is referred to by τῶν ἐν αὐτῇ. Elsewhere the phrase seems to mean the contents of the natural world. I should like to omit τῶν and translate “lived in it and the soul alone.”

b The conjunction with προεξένησεν shows clearly that συσταθέντες is here used in the quite common sense of “commended” rather than as Conybeare “established.”
ON THE ETERNITY OF THE WORLD

(DE AETERNITATE MUNDI)
Among the works of Philo this is certainly the one whose genuineness can be most reasonably doubted. It is not mentioned in Eusebius’s list, and the only external evidence for it so far as I know is that it has always been included in the Philonian corpus. The internal evidence, the resemblance to Philo’s style and language, has been dealt with by Cumont, and though certainly strong, particularly when we remember how different the subject-matter is from that of the rest, it is not I think as overwhelming as in the case of the De Vita Contemplativa. In fact while if that work came before us as of unknown authorship I should without hesitation set it down as Philo’s, I should not feel the same certainty about the De Aeternitate.

The belief that the work is non-Philonic rests chiefly I think on the authority of Bernays. My confidence in his judgement is not increased by observing that he says the same of the Quod Omnis Probus and the De Providentia. He does not anywhere formulate his reasons for rejection and one or two of those casually mentioned are trivial. But on p. 45 he notes the phrase ὄρατὸς θεός as one which no orthodox Jew could have used of the Cosmos. Cumont perhaps makes somewhat too light of this objection. For Philo in the body of his work no-
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where, I think, speaks of the Cosmos as a God. It is true indeed that he twice at least calls the stars gods and quite often divine beings. Also his chief care seems to be not so much that they should not be called gods as that they should not be recognized as primal or sovereign gods, and perhaps we cannot fairly reason from the numberless heavenly bodies to the Cosmos itself. If regarded as a god at all its godship would be unique and certainly tend to endanger monotheism. It must be admitted that taken by itself this is some argument against the genuineness.

But the most important objection at first sight to the Philonic authorship, though I am not sure that Bernays ever definitely mentions it, lies not in any particular phrase but in the views displayed passim on the question under discussion. Philo in his other works has denounced the doctrine that the world is uncreated and indestructible, in this book he appears to maintain that theory.

My own view is that a distinction should be made between the earlier part up to the first sentence of § 20 and the rest. Up to § 20 the author is no doubt speaking himself. In § 20 he states that out of respect for the divine Cosmos the opinions which maintain that it is uncreated and eternal should take prece-

\[ a \text{ De Op. 27, Spec. Leg. i. 19.} \]

\[ b \text{ De Op. 7, De Som. ii. 283, cf. De Conf. 114. But the form in which he understood its destructibility is given in De Dec. 58. "For the world has become what it is, and its becoming is the beginning of its destruction, even though by the providence of God it be made immortal," i.e. he held to the doctrine of the Timaeus 41 A with regard to the lesser gods, and belongs to those who in Quis Rerum 246 are spoken of as declaring "that though by nature destructible it will never be destroyed, being held together by a bond of superior strength, namely the will of its Maker."} \]
dence. And from that point we have an account of the various arguments used by the advocates of that opinion, ending with the statement that in the sequel he will give an account of the arguments on the other side. In describing the arguments for the eternity of the Cosmos he puts them forth with such gusto and denounces the opponents so vigorously that at first sight anyone would suppose that he is giving us his own conviction. But it is Philo's way to reproduce with all his vigour opinions and doctrines which he is really going to controvert later. Observe the misleading way in which the views of the un-philosophical are described in Quod Omn. Prob. 6-10 and the vigorous advocacy of the champions of the senses in Spec. Leg. i. 337-343. So when I read in De Aet. 35 and 49 that some argument must be "clear to everyone" or in § 69 "that the foolish imaginations of the opponents have been refuted" I do not feel sure that Philo might not talk very differently when he gives to each point the opposition which he promises in his final words.

When we turn to the first twenty sections we have the following expressions of the author's opinions. (1) Nothing is generated from the non-existent and nothing can be destroyed into non-existence. (2) Plato's statement that the world was created and indestructible is not to be explained away. (3) When Aristotle said that it was uncreated and indestructible he spoke "piously and religiously." (4) The Cosmos is a God.\(^a\) With the fourth I have

\(^a\) Though it should be noted that in the only place in §§ 1-20 where this is stated apart from the citation from Aristotle theòn is an insertion. The mss. have only τὸν or τὸ ὃρατον. Still I think the insertion is practically certain.
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dealt already. As to the third, the words that follow show that "piously and religiously" apply to indestructible rather than to uncreated. Philo in his later days would certainly denounce those who put the divine beings in heaven on a level with idols.\(^a\) The second is quite in the spirit of the other writings in which the *Timaeus* is a sort of Gospel whose meaning is not to be tampered with, and it is quite opposed to the Peripatetic view put forward in § 27, which while citing the *Timaeus* to show the indestructibility declares that the uncreatedness must be postulated on the general grounds that \(\gamma\varepsilon\nu\varepsilon\iota\varsigma\) and \(\phi\theta\omicron\rho\acute{\iota}\) are inseparable. As to the first, there are several places where Philo speaks of God and indeed parenthood as creating the existing from the non-existent, e.g. *Spec. Leg.* ii. 225,\(^b\) but these are merely concessions to popular ideas and could not Philo have pleaded that the \(\alpha\iota\sigma\theta\eta\tau\omicron\delta\varsigma\ \kappa\omicron\omicron\mu\omicron\omicron\varsigma\) was created out of the eternal \(\nu\epsilon\tau\omicron\tau\omicron\varsigma\)? In fact it seems to me that judging from the sections in which the author gives us hints of his own view the differences from the opinions expressed in the bulk of Philo's work are not on the whole vital, and even if this statement is an exaggeration, why should Philo be refused the right of developing his creed as Plato and Aristotle did? On the whole I feel that this objection to the genuineness breaks down and if it does the balance of argument as a whole seems to be in favour of the authenticity.

\(^a\) So I have translated \(\chi\epsilon\iota\rho\omicron\kappa\omicron\mu\acute{\iota}\tau\omicron\nu\). It is the usual sense in Philo, and in *De Dec.* 66 he emphasizes the minor guilt of worshipping the heavenly bodies, compared with worshipping idols. But perhaps better "human works" as compared with those of God.

\(^b\) Cf. also *Mos.* ii. 267, *De Som.* i. 76, *Spec. Leg.* iv. 187.
PHILO

As to the sections after 20 to the end, if I am right in thinking that the expressions of confidence in the arguments adduced and the denunciation of opponents are rather echoes of the opinions reproduced than the convinced opinions of the author, it might be thought that this shows that all this part is little more than a matter of scissors and paste as Bernay’s commentary sometimes seems to hold. But I do not think this would be a just conclusion. Philo can throw himself with great gusto into retailing arguments with which he does not necessarily agree, but he can at the same time introduce phraseology and illustrations of his own. There is one treatise extant which he tells us he has read and which no doubt he used, that of Ocellus Lucanus. There are passages in the *De Aeternitate* which can be paralleled with this in substance but with no very close resemblance in language. In the account of Critolaus’s argument in §§ 55-69, while we may suppose that Critolaus spoke with scorn of the Stoic appeal to myths, the length at which this attack is developed and many of the expressions in it savour of Philo himself, and in particular the complaint in § 56 that the myth-makers have used the seduction of metre and rhythm has a close resemblance to a similar complaint in *Spec. Leg.* i. 28. Also the panegyric on the eternal youthfulness of the earth in §§ 63 f. is very much in the vein of the description of the world’s wonders elsewhere, if we make allowance for the fact that here it is the earth only and not the Cosmos which is extolled. In the concluding thirty-three sections in which he reproduces Theophrastus’s

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*a* See App. p. 525.

*b* *Mos.* i. 212, *Spec. Leg.* i. 34, *De Praem.* 41.

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account of the four arguments adduced by the Stoics against the creation of the world and then Theophrastus's refutation of the same the substance no doubt is what it claims to be, but I cannot help suspecting that the irrelevant story of the elephants in §§ 128, 129, the quotation from Pindar in § 121, the account from the *Timaeus* of Atlantis in § 141, and perhaps the allusions to the same book at the end belong to Philo and not to Theophrastus.

As I have said in the Preface, the value of the *De Aeternitate* is to a Philonist very little. It contributes hardly anything to the body of thought which has kept his name famous, but its value for the history of Greek philosophy is surely very considerable. We know apart from him the opinions held by the long series of Greek philosophers on this primal question of how the universe came to be, but very little of the grounds on which their opinions were formed, and hardly anything outside this treatise.

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"... I should not omit to mention the theory propounded by Cumont, pp. xi-xv. Cumont, who considers that the author throughout maintains that the Cosmos is *άγένητος* as well as *άφθαρτος*, understands him to mean that it is *άγένητος κατὰ χρόνον*, *i.e.* that it was created from everlasting. I do not feel competent to judge whether the evidence he cites is convincing, but anyhow I cannot see that anywhere in the first twenty sections does the author assert that it is *άγένητος*. Naturally we should conclude from these sections that his sympathies are with Plato, who, he says, meant what he says, *viz.* that it is *γενητός* and *άφθαρτος*, in the sense of *φθαρτός, ἀλλ' οὐ φθαρησόμενος*. Whether in the sequel promised in the last section he brought out either this solution or that which Cumont indicates seems to me doubtful. The word *προτέρους* instead of *πρώτους* in § 20 suggests that the only subject treated in either half of the essay was the controversy between the Stoics and Peripatetics, any third hypothesis being ignored for the occasion."
of the detailed arguments used by disputants on either side. From this point of view it seems strange to me that the work had been so little noticed and that no really complete commentary exists to elucidate it.

The following is an analysis of the treatise.

After stating the duty of invoking God's blessing on so important a discussion and an acknowledgement that unpurified humanity cannot hope for certainty (1-2) we have to define the terms κόσμος and φθορά. The former is used in three different senses, but that accepted in this book is the Cosmos consisting of heaven and earth and living creatures in or on it; by φθορά we do not understand annihilation in the strict sense, which is impossible, but resolution into a single conformation or "confusion as when things are broken and shattered" (3-6). Three views are held, (a) that of Democritus, Epicurus and most Stoics, that it is created and destructible; (b) Aristotle's and perhaps before him the Pythagoreans', that it is uncreated and indestructible (7-12); and (c) Plato's, though the meaning of his words have been disputed, that it is created and indestructible (13-16), a view attributed by some to Hesiod and also to be found in Genesis (17-19).

Philo considers that the second hypothesis as worthier of the divine Cosmos should take precedence of the first, and the rest of the treatise is occupied in stating the case for this. The first argument is that as destruction is always due to some cause within or without the body destroyed neither of these is possible for the Cosmos (20-27). The second argument is that compound bodies are compounded in an unnatural order and their destruction
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means that their elements return to their natural order, but the Cosmos is in its natural order (28-34). The third is that everything seeks to preserve its own nature, but the parts of the universe such as vegetable or animal life have not the power to do so; the Universe seeks the same and has the power, for each part when destroyed goes to feed some other part (35-38). The fourth introduces a theological thought; assuming that the destruction of the Cosmos if it is destroyed must be the work of God, it is asked what motive God can have for doing so (39-44). The fifth begins a polemic against the Stoic theory of a periodical conflagration followed by a periodical reconstruction and argues that this involves destruction of the divine heavenly bodies and even of the world’s soul, providence (45-51). The sixth is based on the assumption that time has no beginning or end, and since time is the measurement of the world’s movement that also must have no beginning or end (52-54).

Up to this point the arguments have been ascribed to (presumably) the Peripatetic school in general. We now come to those attributed to particular persons, beginning with Critolaus. His first point is that if the world was created the human race was also, i.e. the original man must have been produced in some other way than by human parentage. This argument, at any rate as represented here, turns mainly into a denunciation of the story of the Spartoi who sprang from the soil fully armed (55-60). It is pointed out that if men were once produced from the earth they would be still, for earth is clearly as prolific as ever (61-64). Other absurdities in the story are noted, with the conclusion that the repro-
duction of men has gone on from everlasting, that the human race is everlasting and therefore the world of which it is a part (65-69). The second argument attributed to him is put very shortly, namely that the existence of all that exists is caused by the Cosmos and therefore it must be the cause of its own existence (70); also that a created world, according to the analogy of other created things, would be originally imperfect, then grow to perfection and ultimately decline, a view which is denounced as a blasphemy against the perfection of the Cosmos (71-73). Again the three things which cause death to living creatures, disease, age and privation cannot affect the Cosmos (74). The Stoics themselves admit that fate or the chain of causation has neither beginning nor end and why should not the Cosmos considering its nature be put in the same category (75)?

We pass on to the opinions of Stoics, notably Boethus, who did not accept the common Stoic doctrine of conflagration and reconstruction. The argument of §§ 20-27 is restated with the addition that if there is nothing internal or external to destroy the Cosmos, the destruction must be caused by something non-existing and this is unthinkable (76-78). Three possible methods of destruction, dismemberment, destruction of the prevailing quality and amalgamation or "confusion" are declared to be inapplicable to the Cosmos (79-82). Further the doctrine of ἐκπνρωσίς implies the inactivity during that period of God, whose perpetual activity as soul of the world is laid down by the Stoics themselves (83-84). This leads to a close examination of the conflagration theory. The elements of fire as we know it are live coal, the flame and the light, and the destruction of the sub-
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stance of the universe will be the destruction of the last two also, and nothing will remain to make the reconstruction possible (85-88). The Stoics meet this by supposing that some fire will remain at the end of the period, but that is inconsistent with what has just been shown (89-93). Chrysippus has said that the fire is the seed of the new world, but it is living things which produce seed, not those which are destroyed as the world on this theory is supposed to be (94-96). Also seed does not generate by itself, and the sustenance which seed receives from the earth will be absent when the world is resolved into fire (97-99). Things too generated by seed grow larger while the reconstructed Cosmos will occupy less space than the fire which will expand into the void (100-103). To return to more general arguments, everything has its opposite, but when everything is fire the qualities opposite to those of fire will be non-existent (104-105). As other causes of destruction are ruled out the destruction would be caused by God, and this is blasphemy (106). The selection of fire as the sole element into which the Cosmos is resolved contradicts the equality of reciprocation which exists between the elements as they pass from one into each other (107-112). Another conception is then given of the methods through which destruction takes place, namely addition, subtraction, transposition and transmutation, and each of these is declared to be impossible (113-116).

The rest of the treatise is taken up with matter drawn from Theophrastus. Theophrastus had stated at length four points which weighed especially with the Stoics and had also given at length his own answer to each (117). The first of these four points is that
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if the world had existed from everlasting it would by now have been reduced to a level surface through the action of rain (118-119). The second is that it will not exist for everlasting since the diminution of the sea as shown by the emergence of islands like Delos formerly submerged indicates that the other elements will be gradually destroyed (120-123). The third is directed to proving that it is destructible because all four elements can be shown to be destructible and if so the whole is destructible (124-126). Appended to this is a short disquisition on the "lame-ness" of fire, which cannot exist without the support of fuel, illustrated with a somewhat irrelevant anecdote about elephants crushing the snakes which suck their blood (127-129). The fourth like the first seeks to prove that the world has not been from everlasting, because if so mankind was from everlasting, whereas the arts which are necessary to human life are known to be comparatively recently invented (130-131). Theophrastus's answers to these are as follows. The first is met by suggesting that though the mountains suffer loss through the action of rain, this is replaced by new accretions, but still more by a theory that they are originally heaved up by the action of fire and that this same power keeps their main body permanent (132-137). The answer to the second is that the sea is not diminished because the emergence of some islands is compensated by the submersion of others, notably Atlantis (138-142). The third is disposed of as a fallacy since it is only if all the parts of a thing are destroyed at once that we can argue from the destructibility of the parts to that of the whole (143-144). As to the fourth, while it is admitted that the inventors of the arts as we have
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them are comparatively recent, there have been partial destructions by fire and flood in which the arts perished with the majority of mankind but were subsequently reinvented (145-149). The treatise ends with a promise to give the answers made by the opponents to the several arguments (150).
ΠΕΡΙ ΑΦΘΑΡΣΙΑΣ ΚΟΣΜΟΥ

1. Ἐπὶ μὲν παντὸς ἀδήλου καὶ σπουδαῖον πράγματος θεῶν καλεῖν ἄξιον, διότι ἁγαθὸς ἔστι γεννητὴς καὶ οὐδὲν ἀδήλου παρ' αὐτῶ τὴν τῶν ὀλίγων ἀκροβεστάτην ἐπιστήμην εἰληχότι, πρὸς δὲ τὸν ὑπὲρ ἀφθαρσίας τοῦ κόσμου λόγον ἀναγκαίοτατον οὔτε γὰρ ἐν αἰσθητοῖς παντελέστβρόν τι τοῦ κόσμου οὔτε ἐν νοητοῖς θεοῦ τελεώτερον, αἰεὶ δ' αἰσθήσεως ἡγεμόνος νοῦς καὶ νοητον αἰσθητοῦ, τὰ δὲ τῶν ὑπηκόων παρ' ἡγεμόνος τε καὶ ἐπιστάτατον νόμος φιλοπευστεῖν, οἷς ἐμπέφυκε πόθος ἀληθείας πλείων. 2 εἰ μὲν οὖν ἐνασκηθεῖς τοῖς φρονήσεως καὶ σωφροσύνης καὶ πάσης ἀρετῆς δόγμασιν ἀπερρυφάμεθα τὰς ἐκ παθῶν καὶ νοσημάτων κηλίδας, οὐκ ἂν ὅσως ἀπηξίσωσον ὁ θεὸς ἀκρως κεκαθαρμέναις καὶ φαιδραμέναις αὐγοειδῶς ψυχαῖς ἐπιστήμην τῶν οὐρανίων ἢ δι' ὀνειράτων ἢ διὰ χρησμῶν ἢ διὰ σημείων ἢ τεράτων ύφηγεῖσθαι ἐπεὶ δὲ τοὺς ἀφροσύνης καὶ ἀδικίας καὶ τῶν ἄλλων κακῶν

1 mss. πόνος. 2 mss. αὐτοειδῶς. 3 mss. χρήσεων.

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

I. In dealing with every obscure and weighty question it is well to call upon God, because He is good, because He is the Creator, and possessed as He is of absolutely exact knowledge of all things nothing is obscure to Him. But it is particularly necessary when the subject in question is the indestructibility of the world. For nothing in the realm of the sensible is more complete in every way than the world, nothing in the intelligible realm more perfect than God, and intelligence always takes command of sense and the intelligible of the sensible. And those in whom the love of truth is implanted in greater measure observe the law that knowledge about the subjects must be sought from the Commander and Ruler. Now, if schooled in the doctrines of wisdom and temperance and every virtue we had scoured away the stains of the passions and soul-distempers, perhaps God would not have refused to impart the knowledge of things heavenly through dreams or oracles or signs or wonders to souls thoroughly purged and bright and radiant. But since we bear upon us deep ingrained the imprints every sensible person does so when speaking on any matter great or small, and he will certainly do so when speaking about the universe, whether it is created or uncreated (ἡ γέγονεν ἡ καὶ ἄγενες ἐστὶν).
ἀναμαξάμενοι [στοχασμοῦς\(^1\) καὶ] τύπους δυσεκ-\(^{488}\) πλύτους | ἔχομεν, ἀγαπᾶν χρή, κἂν εἰκόσι <στο-
χασμοὶς> δι' αὐτῶν μίμημά τι τῆς ἀληθείας ἀνευρίσκομεν.

3 "Αξιον οὖν τοὺς ζητοῦντας εἰ ἀφθαρτὸς ὁ κόσμος, ἐπειδὴ καὶ "φθορὰ" καὶ "κόσμος" τῶν πολ-
λαχῶς λεγομένων ἐστὶν ἐκάτερον, πρῶτον ἐρευνήσαι
περὶ τῶν ὅνομάτων, ἵνα καθ' ὁ σημαινόμενον\(^2\) νυνί
[καὶ] τέτακται διαγνώμεν. ἀλλ' οὐχ ὁσα δηλοῦται\(^3\)
<πάντα> καταρθητέων, ἀλλ' ὁσα πρὸς τὴν παροῦ-
σαν διδασκαλίαν χρῆσιμα. Π. λέγεται
tοῖςν ὁ κόσμος καθ' ἐν μὲν [πρῶτον] σύστημα ἐξ
οὐρανοῦ καὶ ἀστρῶν κατὰ περιοχὴν <καὶ> γῆς καὶ
tῶν ἐπ' αὐτῆς ἄσων καὶ φυτῶν, καθ' ἐτερον δὲ
μόνος οὐρανός, εἰς ὅν ἀπιδῶν Ἀναξαγόρας πρὸς
tὸν πυθόμενον, ὃς ἐνεκα αἰτίας ταλαιπωρεῖται
dιαπαιρσαν ὁμαχωμένου\(^4\) ὑπαιθρος, ἀπεκρίνατο "τοὺ τὸν
cόσμον θεάσασθαι," τὰς χορείας καὶ περιφορὰς 
tῶν ἀστέρων αἰνιττόμενος, κατὰ δὲ τρίτον, ὡς ὁκεὶ
tοῖς Στωικοῖς, διήκον\(^5\) ἀχρὶ τῆς ἐκπυρώσεως, οὐσία

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

\(^2\) mss. σημαίνεται.

\(^3\) mss. δηλοῦται.

\(^4\) mss. τὰ πολλὰ πειράται διαπαιρευμένων. The correction made by Bernays and accepted by Cohn and Cumont is based on Thuc. i. 134. 1 ἵνα μὴ υπαίθροις ταλαιπωρηθῇ.

\(^5\) mss. διήκων. Bernays and others διήκουσα. The correc-

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

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

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

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

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τις ἡ διακεκοσμημένη ἡ ἀδιακόσμητος, οὐ τῆς κινήσεως φασιν εἶναι τὸν χρόνον διάστημα. 

νῦν δ' ἐστὶν ἡ σκέψις περὶ κόσμου τοῦ κατὰ τὸ πρῶτον σημαινόμενον, ὅσ' ἐξ οὐρανοῦ καὶ 5 γῆς καὶ τῶν ἐν αὐτοῖς ζωῶνι1 συνέστηκε. λέγεται μέντοι καὶ φθορά ἡ τε πρὸς τὸ χείρον μεταβολή [λέγεται δὲ] καὶ ἡ ἐκ τοῦ ὄντος ἀναίρεσις παντελῆς, ἢν καὶ ἀνύπαρκτον ἀναγκαῖον λέγεται. ὡσπερ γάρ ἐκ τοῦ μὴ ὄντος οὐδέν γίνεται, οὐδ' εἰς τὸ μὴ ὅν φθειρέται.

"ἐκ τε γὰρ οὐδάμ' ἐόντος ἀμήχανόν ἐστι γενέσθαι [τι] καὶ τ' ἕνον έξαπολέσθαι ἀνήνυστον καὶ ἀπυστον." 2

καὶ ὁ τραγικός:

"θνήσκει δ' οὐδὲν τῶν γιγνομένων, διακρινόμενον δ' ἄλλο πρὸς ἄλλο3 μορφὴν ἐτέραν ἀπέδειξεν."

ἀνδέ4 γε οὕτως ἐστὶν εὐθήνες ὡς τὸ ἀπορεῖν, εἰ ὁ κόσμος εἰς τὸ μὴ ὅν φθειρέται, ἀλλ' εἰ δέχεται τὴν ἐκ τῆς διακοσμήσεως μεταβολὴν, τὰς ποικίλας μορφὰς στοιχείων τε καὶ συγκριμάτων εἰς μίαν καὶ τὴν αὐτὴν ἰδέαν ἀναλυθεὶς ἡ ὡσπερ ἐν τοῖς θλάσμαι καὶ τοῖς κατάγμαις δεξάμενος παντελῆ σύγχυσιν.

1 mss. ἐξ ἰν.
2 mss. ἀπαύστον.
3 As a long syllable is required in the anapaestic, Cumont has ἄλλον, Bernays ἄλλω and so in the other places (§§ 30 and 144) where the lines are quoted.
4 mss. οὐδὲ: Bernays and Cumont οὐδές . . . εὐθῆς, followed by ὥστε with most mss., though one has τὸ but without ὥς.

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THE ETERNITY OF THE WORLD, 4–6

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

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

So too the tragic poet

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

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

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

The stars are regarded as ζώα.

Stated to be a fragment from Empedocles.

See on § 30.
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[489] III. | Τριτταί δὲ περὶ τοῦ ζητούμενον γεγόνασι 7 δόξαι, τῶν μὲν ἀίδιον τὸν κόσμον φαμένων, ἀγένητον τε καὶ ἀνώλεθρον, τῶν δὲ ἐξ ἑναντίας γενητὸν τε καὶ φθαρτὸν· εἰσὶ δ' οἳ παρ' ἐκατέρων ἐκλαβόντες, τὸ μὲν γενητὸν παρὰ τῶν υστέρων παρὰ δὲ τῶν προτέρων τὸ ἀφθαρτὸν, μικτὴν δόξαν ἀπέλιπον, γενητὸν καὶ ἀφθαρτὸν οἶηθέντες αὐτὸν 8 εἶναι. Δημόκριτος μὲν οὖν καὶ Ἑπίκουρος καὶ ὁ πολὺς ὄμιλος τῶν ἀπὸ τῆς Στοάς 

φιλοσόφων γένεσιν καὶ φθοράν ἀπολέιπουσι τοῦ κόσμου, πλὴν οὐχ ὄμοιως· οἱ μὲν γὰρ πολλοὺς κόσμους ὑπογράφουσιν, δὲν τὴν μὲν γένεσιν ἀλληλοτυπίαις καὶ ἐπιπλοκαῖς ἀτόμων ἀνατιθέασι, τὴν δὲ φθορὰν ἀντικοπαῖς καὶ προσφέρει τῶν γεγονότων· οἱ δὲ Στωικοὶ κόσμου μὲν ἑνα, γενέσεως δ' αὐτοῦ θεόν αὑτῶν, φθορᾶς δὲ μηκέτι θεόν, ἀλλὰ τὴν ὑπάρχουσαν ἐν τοῖς οὐσί πυρὸς ἀκαμάτου δύναμιν χρόνων μακραῖς περιόδοις ἀναλύουσαν τὰ πάντα εἰς ἑαυτὴν, εἷς ἂς πάλιν ἀναγέννησιν κόσμου 9 συνιστασθαι προμηθεία τοῦ τεχνίτου. δύναται δὲ κατὰ τοῦτον δ' ἐν τῷ κόσμῳ ἀἴδιον, δ' ἐν τῷ φθαρτῷ λέγεσθαι, φθαρτὸς μὲν δ' κατὰ τὴν διακόσμησιν, ἀἴδιος δὲ δ' κατὰ τὴν ἐκπύρωσιν παλιγγενεσίας καὶ περιόδοις ἀθανατιζόμενος οὐδέποτε 10 ληγούσαι. Ἀριστοτέλης δὲ μήποτε εὐσεβῶς καὶ ὀσίως ἐνιστάμενος ἀγένητον καὶ ἀφθαρτὸν ἐφ' ὑπὸ τοῦ κόσμου εἶναι, δεινὴν δὲ ἀθεότητα κατεγίνωσκε τῶν τάναντία διεξιότων, οἱ τῶν

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1 MSS. ἐπιστάμενος.

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a The meaning would be clearer if ἐκπύρ. and διακ. changed places. When we consider the former we see that a world

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THE ETERNITY OF THE WORLD, 7–10

III. Three views have been put forward on the question before us. Some assert that the world is eternal, uncreated and imperishable. Some on the contrary say that it is created and destructible. Others draw from both these. From the latter they take the idea of the created, from the former that of the indestructible and so have laid down a composite doctrine to the effect that the world is created and indestructible. Democritus with Epicurus and the great mass of Stoic philosophers maintain the creation and destruction of the world but in different ways. The two first named postulate many worlds, the origin of which they ascribe to the mutual impacts and interlacings of atoms and its destruction to the counterblows and collisions sustained by the bodies so formed. The Stoics admit one world only; God is the cause of its creation but not of its destruction. This is due to the force of the ever-active fire which exists in things and in the course of long cycles of time resolves everything into itself and out of it is constructed a reborn world according to the design of its architect. According to these the world may be called from one point of view an eternal, from another a perishable world; thought of as a world reconstructed it is perishable, thought of as subject to the conflagration it is everlasting through the ceaseless rebirths and cycles which render it immortal. But Aristotle surely showed a pious and religious spirit when in opposition to this view he said that the world was uncreated and indestructible and denounced the shocking atheism of those who stated the contrary has perished. When we see it followed by the latter we recognize that it did not really perish.
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χειροκμήτων οὐδὲν ἠθησαν διαφέρειν τοσούτον ὅρατον θεόν, ἕλιον καὶ σελήνην καὶ τὸ ἄλλο τῶν πλανήτων καὶ ἀπλανῶν ὡς ἀληθῶς περιέχοντα

11 πάνθειν· ἐλεγε τε, ὡς ἔστιν ἄκοιν, κατακερ−

μῶν, ὅτι πάλαι μὲν ἐδείδει περὶ τῆς οἰκίας, μὴ

βιαίοις πνεύμασιν ἢ χειμώσιν ἢ χρόνῳ ἢ ῥαθυμίᾳ τῆς ἄρμοττούσης ἐπιμελείας ἀνατραπῆ,

νυνὶ δὲ φόβων ἐπικρέμασθαι μείζονα πρὸς τῶν τὸν ἀπαντὰ κόσμου τῷ λόγῳ καθαιροῦντων.

12 ἐνοι δ' οὐκ Ἀριστοτέλην τῆς δόξης εὐρετὴν

λέγουσιν ἄλλα τῶν Πυθαγορείων τυώς· ἐγὼ δὲ καὶ ὅκελλον συγγράμματι, Δευκανοῦ γένος, ἔπι−

γραφομένων “Περὶ τοῦ παντὸς φύσεως” ἐνέτυχον, ἐν ὧν ἀγένητόν τε καὶ ἀφθαρτόν οὐκ

[490] ἀπεφαίνετο μόνον ἄλλα καὶ δ' ἀποδείξεων κατ−

εσκεύαζε τὸν κόσμον εἶναι.

13 IV. Γενητὸν δὲ καὶ ἀφθαρτὸν φασιν ὑπὸ Πλά−

τωνος ἐν Τημαίῳ δηλούσθαι διὰ τῆς θεοπρεποῦς

ἐκκλησίας, ἐν ὧν λέγεται πρὸς τοὺς νεωτέρους θεοὺς

ὑπὸ τοῦ πρεσβυτάτου καὶ θημούν· "θεοὶ θεῶν,

(ὅν) ἐγὼ δημουργὸς πατήρ τε ἔγγον, ἀλητὰ

ἐμὸς γε μὴ θέλοντος. τὸ μὲν οὐν δὴ δεθὲν πᾶν

λυτόν, τὸ γε μὴν καλὸς ἀρμοθὲν καὶ ἔχων εὖ

λύειν ἐθέλειν κακοῦ. δ' ἀ καὶ ἐπείπερ γεγένησθε,

αθάνατοι μὲν οὐκ ἐστε οὐδ' ἀλυτοὶ τὸ πάμπαν,

οὕτι γε μὴν λυθήσεσθε γε, οὐδὲ τεὔξῃσθε ταβάτων

μοίρας, τῆς ἐμῆς βουλήσεως μείζονος ἐτι δεσμοῦ

καὶ κυριωτέρου λαχόντες ἐκείνων, οἷς ὅτε ἐγίγνεσθε

1 mss. μὲν οὖν.

2 mss. μὴ.

α See Introd. p. 175 note a.
and held that there was no difference between hand-made idols and that great visible God who embraces the sun and moon and the pantheon as it may be truly called of the fixed and wandering stars. He is reported to have said in bitter mockery that in the past he had feared for his house lest it should be overthrown by violent winds or terrific storms or lapse of time or neglect of proper care. But now he lived under the fear of a greater menace from the theorists who would destroy the whole world.

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

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

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

c *Tim.* 41 a. For other ways of taking the opening words see App. p. 525.
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14 συνεδείσθε.” τινές δὲ οἶονται σοφιζόμενοι κατὰ Πλάτωνα γενητὸν λέγεσθαι τὸν κόσμον οὐ τῷ λαβεῖν γενέσεως ἀρχὴν, ἀλλὰ τῷ, εἴπερ ἐγίγνετο, μή ἃν ἐτέρως ἢ τὸν εἰρημένον συστήναι τρόπον, ἢ διὰ τὸ ἐν γενέσει καὶ μεταβολῆ τὰ μέρη θεω-15 ρεῖσθαι. βέλτιον δὲ καὶ ἀληθέστερον ὑπονοεῖν τὸ πρότερον, οὐ μόνον ὅτι διὰ πάντος τοῦ συγγράμματος πατέρα μὲν καὶ ποιητὴν καὶ δημιουργὸν τὸν θεοπλάστην ἐκείνον καλεῖ, ἐργον 1 δὲ καὶ ἐγγονον τουτοῦ τὸν κόσμον, ἀπ’ ἀρχετύπου (καὶ) νοητοῦ παραδείγματος μίμημα αἰσθητὸν, πάνθ’ ὅσα ἐν ἑκείνῳ νοητὰ π.μέχριν αἰσθητὰ ἐν αὐτῷ, τελειοτάτου πρὸς νοῦν 2 τελειοτάτου ἐκμα-16 γείον πρὸς αἰσθήσιν, ἀλλ’ ὁτι καὶ Ἀριστοτέλης ταύτα μαρτυρεῖ περὶ Πλάτωνος, διὰ τὴν τῆς φιλοσοφίας αἰδῶ μηδὲν ἃν ψευσάμενος, καὶ διότι πιστότερον οὐδεὶς ψηφηγητὴ 3 γνωρίμου μαρτυρεῖν καὶ μάλιστα τοιοῦτον, δὲ οὐ πάρεργον ἔθετο παιδείαν ἀνάμικρυρ ραθυμία, προσυπερβαλεῖν δὲ σπουδάσας τὰς τῶν παλαιῶν εὑρέσεις ἐνια τῶν

1 mss. καλλίεργον.
2 Bernays τουτοῦ, i.e. τοῦ θεοπλάστου.
3 Bernays νοῦ, see note c.
4 mss. ψηφηγητῆς.

a For the first of these explanations Bernays refers to Ar. De Caelo i. 10, 279 b 34: “They (i.e. those who hold that it is indestructible but generated) claim that what they say is analogous to the diagrams drawn by mathematicians; their exposition does not mean that the world ever was generated, but is used for instructional purposes, since it makes things easier to understand, just as the diagram does for those who see it in process of construction” (Guthrie’s translation, who adds that the defence according to Simplicius is “that of Xenocrates and other Platonists”).
bound when you were created." Some hold the notion that when Plato speaks of the world as created he does not mean that it began by being created but that if it had been created it would not have been formed in any other way than that which he describes, or else that he uses the word because the parts of the world are observed to come into being and to be changed.\(^a\)

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

\(^a\) Though the reference is to the *Timaeus, passim*, Bernays notes \(\varepsilon\varepsilon\rho\gamma\nu\varepsilon=\kappa\omicron\sigma\omicron\omicron\sigma\) 30 \(\beta\), \(\pi\epsilon\rho\iota\epsilon\chi\omicron\) 31 \(\alpha\) and \(\varepsilon\kappa\gamma\omicron\omicron\alpha\) 50 \(\delta\). We have also \(\mu\iota\mu\iota\mu\alpha\pi\alpha\rho\alpha\delta\epsilon\iota\gamma\mu\alpha\tau\omicron\sigma\) 49 \(\alpha\) and \(\varepsilon\kmu\alpha\gamma\epsilon\iota\omicron\) 50 \(\c\).  

\(^b\) Or perhaps rather "plastic substance" (for receiving imprints), which seems to be the meaning in 50 \(\c\), in which case \(\tau\epsilon\lambda\epsilon\iota\sigma\tau\alpha\tau\omicron\) will agree with \(\varepsilon\kmu\alpha\gamma\epsilon\iota\omicron\) understood rather than as Leisegang (in index) with \(\pi\alpha\rho\alpha\delta\epsilon\iota\gamma\mu\alpha\tau\omicron\sigma\). The other is the regular meaning in Philo, but does not suit \(\pi\rho\sigma\) so well. Bernays indeed translates "Abdruck," but he reads \(\nu\omicron\delta\) for \(\nu\omicron\delta\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omic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\(\textit{i.e.}\) "issuing from a most perfect mind."
PHILO

αναγκαιοτάτων εἰς ἑκαστὸν φιλοσοφίας μέρος καὶ
17 νοτομήσας προσεξεύρετο. V. πατέρα δὲ
tοῦ Πλατωνείου δόγματος ἕνιοι νομίζουσι τὸν
ποιητὴν Ἡσίοδον, γενητὸν καὶ ἄφθαρτον οἴομενο
τὸν κόσμον ὑπ’ ἐκεῖνον λέγεσθαι, γενητὸν μὲν, ὡτὶ
φησίν

“ἲτοι μὲν πρώτιστα χάος γένετ’, αὐτὰρ ἔπειτα
γαῖ εὐρύστερνος, πάντων ἑδος ἀσφαλὲς αἰεὶ,”

ἄφθαρτον δὲ, ὅτι διάλυσιν καὶ φθορὰν οὐ μεμή-
18 νυκεν αὐτὸν. χάος δὲ ὁ μὲν Ἄριστοτέλης τόπον
οἴεται εἶναι, ὅτι τὸ δεξόμενον ἀνάγκη προὔπο-
κείσθαι σῶματι, τῶν δὲ Στωικῶν ἕνιοι τὸ ὕδωρ
παρὰ τὴν χύσιν τοῦνομα πεποιήσθαι νομίζοντες.
ὁποτέρως δ’ ἂν ἔχοι, τὸ γενητὸν εἶναι
tὸν κόσμον ἐναργέστατα παρ’ Ἡσιόδω μεμήνυται.
19 μακροῖς δὲ χρόνοις πρότερον ὃ τῶν Ἰουδαϊῶν
[491] νομοθέτης Μωυσῆς γενητὸν καὶ ἄφθαρτον ἔφη
tὸν κόσμον ἐν ἱεραὶς βίβλοις: εἰσὶ δὲ πέντε, ὡν
tὴν πρώτην ἐπέγραψε Γένεσιν, ἐν ἢ ἄρχεται τὸν
tρόπον τοῦτον: “Ἐν ἀρχῇ ἐποίησεν ὁ θεὸς τὸν
οὐρανὸν καὶ τὴν γῆν· ἡ δὲ γῆ ἢν ἄόρατος καὶ
ἀκατασκεύαστος,” εἶτα προελθῶν ἐν τοῖς ἑπειτὰ
μηνύει πάλιν, ὅτι ἠμέραι καὶ νύκτες καὶ ὄραι
καὶ ἐναυτοὶ σελήνη τε καὶ ἤλιος, οἱ χρόνον με-

\(\text{Theogony 116 f.}\)
\(\text{Ar. Phys. iv. 1, 208 b 29. “Hesiod seems to have been}\)
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path by discovering some very vital additions to every part of philosophy. V. Some think that the poet Hesiod is the father of this Platonic doctrine and suppose that he calls the world uncreated and indestructible, uncreated because he says

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

indestructible because he never declared that it will be dissolved or destroyed. Chaos in Aristotle’s opinion is a space because a body must have something there already to hold it, but some of the Stoics suppose that it is water and that the name is derived from its diffusion (χύσι$). But whichever of these is right Hesiod very clearly states the view that the world is created and long before Hesiod Moses the lawgiver of the Jews said in the Holy Books that it was created and imperishable. These books are five in number, to the first of which he gave the name of Genesis. In this he begins by saying “In the beginning God made the Heavens and the Earth and the Earth was invisible and without form.” d Then again he goes on to say in the sequel that “days and nights and seasons and years and the sun and moon whose natural function is to right in putting Chaos first, where he says Chaos was first, then earth ώς δέον πρῶτον ὑπάρξαι χώραν τοῖς οὖσι διὰ τὸ νομίζειν, ὡσπερ οἱ πολλοὶ, πάντα εἶναι που καὶ ἐν τόπῳ.”

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

d This remarkable difference in the LXX of Gen. i. 2 from the Hebrew translated in the A. V. “without form and void” (R. V. “waste and void”) is compared with Timaeus 51 εἶδός τι καὶ ἀμορφον by Bernays, who thinks that the translators had it in mind. He notes also Wisdom xi. 17 κτίσασα τὸν κόσμον ἐξ ἀμόρφου ὤλης.
τρήσεως φύσιν ἔδεξαντο, 1 μετὰ τοῦ παντὸς οὐρανοῦ μοίρας ἀθανάτου λαχόντες διατελοῦσιν ἀφθαρτοῖ.

20 Τοὺς δὲ ἀγένητον καὶ ἀφθαρτον κατασκευάζοντας λόγους ἔνεκα τῆς πρὸς τὸν ὄρατον ἄθροιν αἰδοὺς προτέρους τακτέον οἰκείαν ἄρχην λαβόντας. ἀπασὶ τοὺς θυρανὰν ἐνδεχομένους αὐτίας διηταὶ τῆς ἀπωλείας, ἢ μὲν ἔντος, ἢ δὲ ἐκτὸς, προοίμοις ἔκδηρον γοῦν καὶ χαλκὸν καὶ τὰς τοιουτοτρόπους οὐσίας εὐροῖς ἂν ἀφανιζόμενας ἐξ ἔαυτῶν μὲν, ὅταν ἐρπηνώδους νοσήματος τρόπον ἱδο ἐπικαρπάμεννος διαφάγη, πρὸς δὲ τῶν ἐκτῶν, ὅταν ἐμπιπτημένης οἰκίας ἢ πόλεως συναφλεξθείσαι τῇ πυρὸς βιαίῳ ῥητῇ διαλυθῶσιν: ὁμοιοτρόπως δὲ καὶ ζῶους ἐμπιπτήμεθα τελευτῇ νοσήμασι μὲν ἐξ ἔαυτῶν, ὅπο δὲ τῶν ἐκτῶν σφακτομένους ἢ καταλευμένους ἢ ἐμπυραμένους ἢ θάνατον οὐ καθαρῶν τὸν δι'

21 ἀγχόνης ὑπομένουσιν. εἰ δὴ φθείρεται καὶ κόσμος, ἐξ ἀνάγκης ἦτοι ὑπὸ τῶν τῶν ἐκτῶν ἢ πρὸς τῶν τῶν ἐν αὐτῶ διαφαρήσεται δυνάμεως: ἀμήχανον δ' ἐκάτερον ἐκτὸς μὲν γὰρ οὐδὲν ἐστὶ τοῦ κόσμου, πάντων εἰς τὴν συμπλήρωσιν αὐτῶν συνεραν

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

a The allusion is no doubt to Gen. viii. 22 E.V. "While the earth remaineth, seedtime and harvest, and cold and heat, and summer and winter, and day and night shall not cease."
measure time are together with the whole heaven destined to immortality and continue indestructible."

Respect for that visible God requires that we should begin the discussion in the proper way by setting forth first the arguments which contend that it is uncreated and indestructible. All things which are liable to perish are subject to two fundamental sources of destruction, the external and the internal. Thus iron, brass and similar substances will be found to vanish of themselves when devoured by the rust which courses over them like a creeping sickness; and also through external agencies, when a house or city is burnt and they too are caught in the flames and dissolved through the violence of the rushing fire. Similarly, too, living creatures die of themselves through disease or through external causes, being slain with the sword or stoned or burnt or suffering the unclean death of hanging.

Now if the world is destroyed it will necessarily be through either some force from without or some of those which it contains within itself, and both of these are impossible. For there is nothing outside the world since all things have been brought into contribution to fill it up, and

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

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

Cf. De Mut. 62 ἔπὶ ἀγχόνην ἤξεν, ἢνα . . . μὴδὲ καθαρῷ θανάτῳ τελευτήσῃ.
σθέντων· οὖτως γὰρ εἰς τε ἔσται καὶ ὅλος καὶ ἀγήρως, εἰς μὲν διὰ τὸ ἀπολειφθέντων τινῶν ἔτερον ἀν τῷ νῦν ὄντι γενέσθαι ὅμως, ὅλος δὲ ἐνεκα τοῦ σύμπασαν τὴν οὐσίαν εἰς αὐτὸν ἐξανηλώσθαι, ἀγήρως δὲ καὶ ἁνοσός, ἐπειδή τὰ νόσως καὶ γῆρα σώματα ἄλοιτα θερμότητι καὶ φύξει καὶ ταῖς ἄλλαις ἐναντιότητι προσεμπιπτοῦσας εξωθέν ἰσχυρός ἀνατρέπεται, ὅν οὐδεμία δύναμις ἀποδράσα κυκλοῦται καὶ ἐπιτίθεται, πασῶν, μηδενὸς ἀποστατοῦντος μέρους, ὀλοκλήρων ἕγκετελημένων εἰσώ. εἰ δ' ἄρα τὶ ἔστιν ἐκτός, πάντως ἀν εἰ ἐκεῖνον, ἡ ἀπαθὴς φύσις, ἢν ἀδύνατον 22 παθεῖν τι ἡ δρᾶσαι. καὶ μήν οὐδὲ ὑπὸ τινος αἰτίας διαλυθήσεται τῶν ἐντὸς αὐτοῦ· πρῶτον μὲν, ἐπειδὴ τοῦ ὅλου τὸ μέρος καὶ μείζων ἔσται καὶ κραταιότερον, ὅπερ ἔστιν ἀτοπώτατον· ὁ γὰρ κόσμος [492] ἀνυπερβλήτω κράτει | χρώμενος ἀγεῖ τὰ πάντα μέρη, πρὸς μηδενὸς αὐτῶν ἄγομενος· ἐπειτὰ διότι διττῶν οὐσῶν φθορᾶς αἰτίας, τῆς μὲν ἐντὸς τῆς ἐκτός δὲ ἐκτός, τῇ τὴν ἔτεραν οἰα τε ὑπομένειν, 23 δεκτικά καὶ τῆς ἔτέρας ἐστὶ πάντως. σημεῖον δὲ βοῆς καὶ ἔπτως καὶ ἀνθρωπος καὶ τὰ παραπλῆσια ξώα, διότι πεφυκεν ἀναιρεῖσθαι ἕπειτὰ σιδήρου, καὶ νόσῳ τελευτήσει· χαλεπὸν γὰρ μᾶλλον δὲ ἀδύνατον εὑρεῖν, ὁ τι τὴν ἔξωθεν αἰτίαν πεφυκός ὑπομένειν [497] τῆς φθορᾶς ἀδεκτον ἔσται⁴ | κατὰ τὸ παντελὲς τῆς 24 ἐνδοθεν. ἐπειδὴ τοῖνυν ὑπ' οὐδενὸς τῶν ἐκτός

1 mss. παθῶν.
2 So mss. and the other editors. Cohn corrects it to ἐπειτὰ δὲ, διτ, which is not needed. πρῶτον μὲν is, I believe, more often followed by ἐπειτὰ than by ἐπειτὰ δὲ or at least as often.
3 mss. οἰεταί.

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THE ETERNITY OF THE WORLD, 21–24

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

\(^a\) See App. p. 526.

\(^4\) On the displacement of the text in the mss. at this point see App. p. 527.
καταλελείφθαι πάντως, ούδ' υπό τινος τῶν ἐν αὐτῷ, διὰ τὴν προεπιλογισθείσαν ἀπόδειξιν, καθ' ἢν τὸ ἀλωτὸν τῇ ἑτέρᾳ τῶν αἰτίων καὶ τὴν ἑτέραν ἐπεφύκει δέχεσθαι.

VI. μαρτύρια δὲ καὶ τὰ ἐν Τιμαίῳ περὶ τοῦ τὸν κόσμον ἄνοσον εἶναι καὶ μὴ φθαρησόμενον τάδε "τῶν δὲ δὴ τεττάρων ἐν ὅλον ἐκαστὸν εἴληφεν ἢ τοῦ κόσμου σύστασις· ἐκ γὰρ πυρὸς παντὸς ὕδατος τε καὶ ἀέρος καὶ γῆς συνεστησθεν αὐτὸν ὁ συνιστάς, μέρος οὐδὲν οὐδενὸς οὐδὲ δύναμιν ἔξωθεν ὑπολιπών, τάδε διανοηθεῖσι· 26 πρῶτον μὲν, ἵνα ὅλον ὑτί μάλιστα ζῷον, τέλειον ἐκ τελείων μερῶν, ἐὕρη πρὸς δὲ τούτοις ἐν, ἀτε οὐχ ὑπολελειμμένων ἐξ ὃν ἅλλο τοιούτων γένοιτ' ἄν· ἐτὶ δὲ, ὡς ἄγήρων καὶ ἄνοσον ἢ, κατανωθῶν ὡς συστάτω 1 σώματι θερμά καὶ ψυχρά καὶ πάνθ' ὡσ δυνάμεις ἵσχυρας ἔχει περισσότερα ἐξωθείκι καὶ προσπίπτοντα ἀκαίρως λυπεῖ 2 καὶ νόσους καὶ γῆρας ἐπάγοντα φθίνειν ποιεῖ. διὰ τὴν αἰτίαν καὶ τὸν λογισμὸν τόνδε θεὸς 3 ὅλον ἐξ ὅλων ἀπάντων τέλειον 27 καὶ ἄγηρων καὶ ἄνοσον αὐτοῦ ἑτεκτήματο." τοῦτο μὲν δὴ παρὰ Πλάτωνος πρὸς τὴν ἀφθαρσίαν τοῦ κόσμου μαρτύριον εἰλήφθω, τὸ δὲ ἀγένητον παρὰ τῆς φυσικῆς ἀκολουθίας 4 ἐπεται μὲν γὰρ τῷ γενομένῳ διάλυσις, ἀφθαρσία δὲ τῷ ἀγένητῳ ἐπεί καὶ ὁ τὸ τρίμετρον ἐκείνῳ ποιῆσαι

"τὸ τοι γενόμενον καθανεὶν ὀφείλεται"

1 MSS. ὡς τὰ τῶ.
2 Plato λύει. On this and other variations in the quotations from Plato's text see App. p. 527.
3 Plato ἐν.
4 MSS. ἀληθείας.

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

VI. In the 25 Timaeus, too, we have the following testimony to show that the world is proof against disease and destruction in the future. "Now the framing of the world took up the whole of each of these four elements, for out of all fire, of all water and air and earth did the framer fashion it, leaving no part nor power of any without. Therein he had this intent, first that it might be a creature, perfect to the utmost with all its parts perfect, next that it might be one, seeing that nothing was left over by which another of the kind should be formed: furthermore, that it might be free from age and sickness, for he reflected that when hot things and cold and all such as have strong powers gather round a composite body from without and fall unseasonably upon it they annoy it and bringing upon it sickness and age cause it to decay. With this motive and on such reasons God fashioned it as a whole, with each of its parts whole in itself so as to be perfect, and free from age and sickness." We may take this as Plato’s testimony to the indestructibility of the world; that it is uncreated follows the natural law of consequences. Dissolution is consequential to the created, indestructibility to the uncreated. The author of the verse "All that is born is due to death" seems to

\[a\] Timaeus 32 c. The translation here and in § 38 mostly follows that of Archer-Hind.

\[b\] The source is unknown.
δοκεῖ μὴ ἀπὸ σκοποῦ, συνεῖς ἀκολουθίαν τῶν αὐτῶν τῆς γενέσεως καὶ τῆς φθορᾶς, * * * ὡδ' ἔχει.

28 'Ετέρως δὲ ἐστι τοιόνδε: ἥ πάνθ' ὧν τῶν συνθέτων φθείρεται, διάλυσιν εἰς τὰ ἔξ ὃν συντεθή λαμβάνει. διάλυσις δ' οὐδὲν ἢ ἄρα ἢ πρὸς τὸ κατὰ φύσιν έκαστων ἔπανοδος, ὡστε κατὰ τοῦνατι ἢ σύνθεσις εἰς τὸ παρά φύσιν τὰ συνελθόντα βεβίασται. καὶ δὴ τάδ' οὕτως ἔοικεν 29 ἀφευδέστατα ἔχειν. ἀνθρωποὶ γὰρ ἄπὸ τῶν τετάρων στοιχείων, δ' δὴ ὧλα τοῦ παντὸς ἐστὶν οὐρανός, γῆς, ὄδατος, αέρος τε καὶ πυρός, βραχέα τὰ μέρη δανεισάμενοι συνεκράθημεν· τὰ δ' ἀνακραθέντα τῆς κατὰ φύσιν θέσεως ἔστερηται, θερμότητος μὲν τῆς ἀνωφότου κατω(σθείσης), τῆς δὲ γεώδους καὶ βάρος ἐχουσίας ὀσύιας ἐπελα-φρισθείσης καὶ τῶν ἂνω τόπων ἀντιλαβούσης, δν τὸ γεωδέστατον τῶν ἐν Ἦμει ἐπέσεσκε κεφαλῆ. 30 δεσμῶν δὲ φαυλότατος δὲν ἔσφιγζε βία, βαιός καὶ ὄλιγοχρόνιος· ῥήγνυται γὰρ θάττων ὑπὸ τῶν δεθέντων, ἀτε ἀπαυχεινζόντων διὰ πόθον [ὑπὸ] τῆς κατὰ φύσιν κινήσεως, πρὸς ἢν σπεύδοντα μετ-

1 mss. συνεῖς.

2 Suggestions for completing or correcting this sentence are: (1) Cumont εἴπειν for ἔχει, (2) Bernays ὧδε λέγειν καὶ αὐτὴ μὲν ἢ ἀπόδειξις ὧδ' ἔχει, (3) Cohn and Bücheler μαρτυρεῖν or ὀμολογεῖν οτι ὧδ' ἔχει.

3 mss. καὶ δήτα.

4 Cohn, presumably like Bernays, takes οὐρανός as agreeing with παντός. But though οὐρανός can = κόσμος (see § 4), can it be said to have four elements? Cumont expunges οὐρανοῦ. He quotes De Som. i. 15, where the constituents, of which we as well as the Cosmos are composed, are said to be earth, water, air, heaven, and to the same effect Mos. i. 113, 204
THE ETERNITY OF THE WORLD, 27–30

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

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

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

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

5 One mss. κεφαλῆ. Cumont ὅστε ... ἐν κεφαλῆ. In this case ἐπέσχηκε = "has stopped"; or "takes up its place," see note a.

6 mss. βίαιος.
ανίσταται· κατὰ γὰρ τὸν τραγικὸν

"χωρεῖ δ' ὁπίσω
tὰ μὲν ἐκ γαίας φῦντ' εἰς γαῖαν,
tὰ δὲ ἀπὶ αἰθερίου βλαστόντα γονῆς\(^1\)
eἰς οὐράνιον πόλον ἦλθε πάλιν.
θυμήσκει δ' οὐδὲν τῶν γιγνομένων,
διακρινόμενον δ' ἄλλο πρὸς ἄλλο
μορφὴν ἵδιαν\(^2\) ἀπέδειξεν."

31 τοῖς μὲν δὴ φθειρομένους ἀπασι νόμος ἀναγέγραπται καὶ θεσμὸς οὗτος, ὅποτε μὲν ύφέστηκε τὰ συνεληλυθότα ἐν τῇ κράσει, πρὸ τῆς κατὰ φύσιν τάξεως ἀταξίας ἀντιμετειλήφεναι καὶ πρὸς τοὺς ἐναντίους τόπους μετανύσταται, ὡς τρόπον τινὰ ξενιτεύειν δοκεῖν, ὅποτε δὲ διαλύοιτο, πρὸς τὴν οἰκείαν τῆς φύσεως λήξιν ἀνακάμπτειν.

32 VII. ὁ δὲ κόσμος ἀμέτοχος τῆς ἐν τοῖς λεχθεῖσιν ἀταξίας ἔστιν. ἐπεὶ, φέρε, θεασώμεθα φθειρομένου τά μέρη νυνὶ μὲν ἀνάγκη τετάχθαι τὴν παρὰ φύσιν ἔκαστα κάτω-προς τοῦτο δὲ ὑποσχεῖται οὐκ εὐαγές· ἀρίστη γὰρ θέσιν καὶ τάξιν ἐναρμόνιον τὰ τοῦ κόσμου μέρη πάντα εἶλθεν, ὡς ἔκαστον καθάπερ πατρίδι φιλοχωροῦν.

33 μὴ ζητεῖν ἀμείνω μεταβολὴν. διὰ τούτο γῇ μὲν ὁ μεσαίτατος ἀπενεμήθη τόπος, ἐφ' ἢν πάντα τὰ γεώδη, κἂν ἀναρρήψης, καταφέρεται — τὸ δ' ἐστὶ

\(^1\) MSS. γῆς.

\(^2\) So MSS. here, elsewhere ἐτέραν. See note a.

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

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

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

VII. But the world has nothing of the disorder which exists in the compounds of which we have been speaking. Observation will show that if it undergoes destruction its several parts must at present have been arranged in an unnatural position and such a supposition is irreverent. For all the parts of the world have been given the best possible situation and harmony of order, so that each is as it were in its beloved fatherland and does not seek any change for the better. And so the earth has been assigned the mid-most position to which all things of earth descend even if they are thrown up, a sign that this is their natural position of Euripides. Besides these seven there are seven others, given by Sextus Empiricus, which, we learn from the paraphrase given by Vitruvius of the whole fourteen, must have preceded our seven. In these Aether and Earth are addressed as the father and mother of all things living. Vitruvius’s paraphrase ends with “in eandem recidere, in qua fuerant, proprietatem,” which shows that he read \(\text{iδίαν}\) and not \(\text{ἐτέραν}\). See Nauck on Fr. 839 of Euripides.
σημείον χώρας τῆς κατὰ φύσιν· ἐνθα γὰρ μὴ ὑπὸ βίας ὀτιοῦν ἐνεχθὲν ἱσταται καὶ ἥρμει, τὸν οἰκεῖον εἶληξε χώρον — ὦδωρ δὲ ἐπὶ γῆν ἀνακέχυται [δεύτερον], ἀρ ἤ δὲ καὶ πῦρ ἀπὸ τοῦ μέσου πρὸς τὸν ἀνω κεχώρηκεν, ἀρ μὲν τὸν μεθόριον ὑδατὸς καὶ πυρὸς κληρωσάμενος τόπον, πῦρ δὲ τὸν ἀνωτάτω· διὸ κἂν ἀναβάμενος δąda πρὸς γῆν καταφέρης, ἡ φλὸξ οὐδὲν ἤττον ἀντιβιάσεται καὶ πρὸς τὴν φυσικὴν τοῦ πυρὸς κίνησιν ἐπικουφίσασα 34 αὐτὴν ἀνάδραμεῖται. εἰ δὴ φθορᾶς μὲν αἷτιον ἡ παρὰ φύσιν τάξις τῶν ἄλλων [ἐξει] ζῷων, ἐν δὲ τῷ κόσμῳ κατὰ φύσιν ἐκαστα τῶν μερῶν διατέτακται τὰς οἰκείας διακληρωσάμενα χώρας, ἐνδίκως ἃν λέγοιτο ὁ κόσμος ἀφθαρτός.

35 Ἑτὶ τοίνυν ἐκεῖνο παντὶ τῷ δήλον, ὅτι φύσις ἐκάστῃ διατηρεῖν καὶ διασώζειν, εἰ δ᾽ οἶον τε εὐπη, καὶ ἄθανατίζειν ἐκαστα ὡν φύσις ἔστιν ἐσπούδακεν, ἡ μὲν ἐν τοῖς δένδροι τὰ δένδρα, ἡ δ᾽ ἐν τοῖς 36 ζώοις τῶν ζώων ἐκαστον. ἔξασθενε· δὲ ἐπὶ μέρους ἀνάγκαιος ἄγειν πρῶς ἀδιότητα· ἡ γὰρ ἐνδεία ἢ φλογμὸς ἢ κρυμὸς ἢ μυρία ἀλλά τῶν εἰωθότων ἐπισυνίστασθαι κατασκήναντα διέσεισε καὶ διέλυσε τὸν συνέχοντα δεσμὸν καὶ τέλος κατέρρηξε· τοιοῦτον δ᾽ εἰ μηδὲν ἐφήδρευεν ἔξω, κἂν ὅσον ἐφ᾽ ἐαυτῇ πάντα μικρὰ τε αὐτὶ καὶ μεγάλα 37 ἀγήρῳ διεφύλαττεν. ἀναγκάιον οὖν καὶ τὴν τοῦ κόσμου φύσιν γλύκεσθαι τῆς τοῦ ἄλου διαμονῆς· οὗ γὰρ ἐπὶ τῶν ἐπὶ μέρους ἐστὶ χείρων, ὡς ἀπο-

1 Cohn suspects ἔξασθενε on account of the infinitive following it. It may perhaps be justified on the analogy of the construction not uncommon with adjectives, e.g., νῆς ὀλγαί ἀμύνειν, or ὡς may have fallen out after ἀναγκαῖος on the
position, for if anything stands at rest anywhere without being forced thither it is there that it has found its proper place. Water is spread over the surface of earth, and air and fire have made their way from the middle to the upper position, air having allotted to it the space between water and fire and fire the uppermost. And so even if you light a torch and make it descend to earth the flame will all the same force its way against you and speed upwards lightening itself to gain the motion natural to fire. In fact if we grant that in other creatures destruction is caused by their unnatural arrangement of their parts, while in the world each of the parts is arranged naturally and has its proper position apportioned to it, we are justified in saying that the world is indestructible.

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

analogy of ὑφυρὸν ἐστὶ τὸ ὕδωρ ὡσεὶ καύσωσθαι (Madvig 149, 150).

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διδράσκουσα καὶ λιποτακτοῦσα νόσουν ἀνθ’ ὑγείας καὶ φθοράν ἀντὶ σωτηρίας παντελοὺς ἐπιχειρεῖν τεχνάζειν, ἐπειδή

"πασάων ὑπὲρ ᾗ γε κάρη ἔχει ἵδε μέτωπα, ἰειά τ’ ἀριγνώτη πέλεται, καλαὶ δὲ τε πᾶσαι."

ἀλλ’ εἰ τούτ’ ἀληθές ἐστι, φθοράν ὁ κόσμος οὐ δέξεται. διὰ τί; ὅτι ἡ συνέχουσα φύσις αὐτὸν ἀγίττητός ἐστι κατὰ πολλὴν ἱσχὺν ῥώμην, τῶν ἀλλων ὡσα βλάπτειν ἐμελλεν ἀπαξαπάντων ἐπικρατοῦσα. διὸ καὶ Πλάτων εἰ "ἀπήθει τε γὰρ φησίν " οὐδὲν οὐδὲ προσήθη αὐτὸ ποθεν· οὐδὲν γὰρ ἦν. αὐτὸ1 γὰρ ἑαυτῷ τροφὴν τὴν ἑαυτοῦ φθίσων παρέξου1 καὶ πάντ’ ἐν ἑαυτῷ καὶ υφ’ ἑαυτοῦ πάσχου1 καὶ δρῶν ἐκ τέχνης γέγονεν· ἡγήσατο γὰρ αὐτὸ ὁ συνθεὶς αὐτάρκης ὃν ἁμεινὸν ἐσεσθαι μᾶλλον ἡ προσδεές <αλλω>.

38 VIII. Αποδεικτικώτατός γε μὴν κάκεινος ὁ λόγος ἐστίν, ἐφ’ ὂ μυρίουσ οἴδα σεμνοσείους ὃς ἠκριβωμένως καὶ πάνυ ἀνεξελέγκτω. πυνθάνονται γὰρ τίνος ἐνεκά τὸν κόσμον φθερεί ὁ θεὸς; [500] ἦτοι γὰρ ὑπὲρ τοῦ μηκέτι κοσμοποιῆσαι ἡ ὑπὲρ τοῦ ἐτερον κατασκευᾶσαι. τὸ μὲν δὴ πρότερον ἄλλοτριον θεοῦ· πρὸς τάξιν γὰρ ἀταξίαν μεταβάλλειν δέον, οὐ πρὸς ἀταξίαν τάξιν· εἰτα δ’ ὅτι καὶ μετάνοιαν πάθος καὶ νόσημα δέξεται. τὸ μὲν δὴ τοῦ ἐτερον κοσμοποιῆσαι τὸ παράπαν ἡ κρίνοντα πρέπον αὐτῷ τὸ ἔργον χαίρειν τῷ γε γενομένῳ. τὸ δὲ δεύτερον ἄξιον οὐ

1 mss. αὐτὸς . . . παρέξου . . . πάσχου.

a Od. vi. 107 f., said of Artemis and her nymphs.
the nature of particular parts that it should take to its heels and leave its post and try to manufacture sickness rather than health, destruction rather than complete preservation, since

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

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

VIII. There is another highly logical line of proof\(^39\) which thousands, I know, hail with pride as very exact and absolutely irrefutable. They ask what motive will God have for destroying the world. It must be either to cease from world-making or to construct another. Now the first of these is inconsistent with God's nature, which demands that He should change disorder to order, not order to disorder. Secondly He will be allowing Himself to change His mind, and such change is an affection and distemper of the soul. For rightly He should either have made no world at all or judge His work to be befitting to Himself and rejoice in what has been made.

The second motive suggested\(^41\)

\(^a\) Timaeus 33 c.
\(^b\) i.e. each part or element feeds upon another. Archer-Hind compares the saying of Heracleitus quoted in § 111.
βραχείας ἐρεύνης. εἰ γὰρ έτερον ἀντὶ τοῦ νῦν ὄντος κατασκευάσει, πάντως ὁ γενόμενος ἢ χείρων ἢ ὁμοίος ἢ κρεῖττων ἀποτελεσθήσεται· ὡν ἐκαστον ἐπιληπτον. εἰ μὲν γὰρ χείρων ὁ κόσμος, χείρων καὶ ὁ δημιουργός. ἀμώμητα δὲ καὶ ἀνεξέλεγκτα καὶ ἀνεπανόρθωτα τὰ τοῦ θεοῦ τελειοτάτη τέχνη καὶ ἐπιστήμη δημιουργηθέντα·

"οὐδὲ" γὰρ "γυνὴ" φασὶ "τοσοῦτον νόον ἐπι-

dεύεται ἐσθλοῦ,

ὡστε χερείον' ἐλέσθαι ἀμεινοτέρων (παρεόν-

tων).

ἐμπρεπὲς δὲ θεῷ τὰ ἁμορφὰ μορφοῦν καὶ τοῖς 

αἰσχίστοις περιτιθέναι θαυμαστὰ κάλλη.

42 εἰ δ’ ὁμοίος, ματαιοπόνος ὁ τεχνίτης, οὐδὲν κομιδὴ

νηπίων παιδῶν διαφέρων, οἱ πολλάκις παρ’ αἰγια-

λοῖς ἁθύροντες ψάμμου γεωλόφους ἀνιστάσι κάπειθ’

ὑφαρωύντες ταῖς χερσὶ πάλιν ἐρείπουσι· πολὺ γὰρ

ἀμεινον τοῦ κατασκευάζειν ὁμοίον μηδὲν μήτε

ἀφαιροῦντα μήτε προστιθέντα μηδ’ αὐτὸς τὸ

ἀμεινον ὁ χείρον μεταβάλλοντα τὸν ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἀπαξ

43 γενόμενον κατὰ χώραν ἐὰν.

εἰ δὲ κρεῖτ-

tονα δημιουργῆσει, γενήσεται τότε κρεῖττων καὶ ὁ

δημιουργός, ὡσθ’ ἣνικα τὸν πρότερον κατεσκευάζε

καὶ τὴν τέχνην καὶ τὴν διάνοιαν ἢν ἀτελέστερος,

ὀπερ οὐδὲ θέμις ὑπονοεῖν ἐστιν· ᾤς γὰρ αὐτὸς

ἐαυτῷ καὶ ὁμοίος ὁ θεός, μήτε ἄνεσιν πρὸς τὸ

χείρον μήτ’ ἐπίτασιν πρὸς τὸ βέλτιον δεχόμενος.

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

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

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

If it is a similar world, the craftsman has wasted his toil and differs not a whit from quite senseless children who often when playing on the beach erect great mounds of sand and then undermine them with their hands and send them tumbling back to the ground.\(^b\) Far better than constructing a similar world would it be neither to take away nor to add, neither to change for the better or for the worse but to leave where it is what was once originally created. If the work is to be better, the workman also will then be better, consequently less perfect in skill and intelligence when he constructed the first world. And even to harbour such a thought is profane, for God is equal to Himself and like Himself; His power admits neither relaxation to make it worse, nor tension to make it better. Such

\(^{b}\) Cf. \textit{Il.} xv. 362 ff. :

\begin{verbatim}
ώς ὁτε τις ψάμαθον παῖς ἄγχι θαλάσσης,
ὅς τ᾽ ἐπεὶ οὖν ποιήσῃ ἀθύρματα νηπίερον,
ἄφ αὐτὸς συνέχειε ποιίν καὶ χερόν ἀθύρων.
\end{verbatim}
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ἐπὶ δὲ τὰς τουαύτας ἀνωμαλίας ἄνθρωποι κεχωρήκασι, πρὸς ἐκάτερον τὸ τε εὕ καὶ τὸ χείρον πεφυκότες μεταβάλλειν, αὐξήσει καὶ προκοπαίς καὶ μετήσει καὶ πάσι τοῖς ἐναντίοις εἰσθότες χρῆσθαι. πρὸς δὲ τούτοις τὰ μὲν τῶν θυητῶν ἔργα ἡμῶν φθαρτὰ δεόντως ἄν γένοιτο, τὰ δὲ τοῦ ἀθανάτου κατὰ τὸν εἰκότα λόγον ἄφθαρτα δήποτε τῇ γὰρ φύσει τῶν τεχνιτῶν εὐλογον τὰ δημιουργηθέντα ἔξομοιούσθαι.

44 IX. Καὶ μὴν ἀπαντήσαντι ποὺ κάκειν δήλον, ὅτι φθειρομένης μὲν τῆς γῆς ἀνάγκη καὶ τὰ χερσαία τῶν ζώων καθ' οἶνον τὸ γένος ἀπόλλυσθαι, φθειρομένου δὲ ὤδατος τὰ ἐνυδρα, καὶ ἀέρος μέντοι καὶ πυρός τὰ ἄερπόρα καὶ πυρίγανα. κατ' ἀνάλογον οὖν εἰ φθείρεται ὁ οὐρανός, φθαρήσεται μὲν ἠλιος καὶ σελήνη, φθαρήσονται δ' οἱ λοιποὶ πλάνηται, φθαρήσονται δ' οἱ ἀπλανεῖσι ἀστέρες, ὁ τοσοῦτος [501] αἰσθητῶν θεῶν εὐδαιμών τὸ πάλαι νομισθεὶς στρατός. ὁ δ' ἡ [ἐ] γένοιτ' ἀν οὐδέν ἔτερον ἥθεον φθειρομένους ὑπονοεῖν· ἵσον γὰρ ἐστὶ τῷ καὶ ἀνθρώποις ἀθανάτους ὑπονοεῖν. καίτοι τις ἐν ἀτίμων συγκρίσει τοῦτ' ἀν εὑροὶ σκοπῶν εὐλογώτερον ἐκεῖνον· χάριτι μὲν γὰρ θεοῦ θυητῶν ἀθανασίας μεταλαχεῖν εἰκός ἐστιν, ἀφθαρσίαν δὲ θεοῦ ἀπο-

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

2 mss. καὶ τοῖς οὐ καίτοι.

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

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

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

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

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βαλείν ἀδύνατον, κἂν αἱ ἀνθρώπων σοφίαι κακο-
47 μανῶσι. καὶ μὴν οὐ γε τὰς ἐκπυρώσεις καὶ τὰς
παλιγγενεσίας εἰσηγούμενοι τοῦ κόσμου νομίζουσι
καὶ ὁμολογοῦσι τοὺς ἀστέρας θεοὺς εἶναι, οὐς τῷ
λόγῳ διαφθείρεων οὐκ ἔρυθροσιν. ἔδει γὰρ ἡ
μύδρους διαπύρους ἀποφήνασθαι, καθάπερ ἕνοι
τῶν οία περὶ δεσμωτηρίου φλυαροῦντων τοῦ σύμ-
pαντὸς οὐρανοῦ, ἡ θείας ἡ δαίμονιας φύσεις νομί-
ζοντας τὴν ἀρμόττουσαν θεοῖς ἀφθαρσίαν προσ-
ομολογῆσαι, νυνὶ δὲ τοσοῦτον δόξης ἀληθεύς
dlήμαρτον, ὥστε λελήθασιν αὐτοὺς καὶ τῇ προνοίᾳ
— ψυχῇ δ' ἐστὶ τοῦ κόσμου — φθορὰν ἐπιφέροντες
48 ἕξ ὧν ἀνακόλουθα φιλοσοφοῦσι. Χρύσιππος γοῦν
ὁ δοκιμώτατος τῶν παρ' αὐτοῖς ἐκ τοῖς Περὶ
αὐξανομένου τερατεύεται τι τοιοῦτον· προκατα-
sκευάσας ὅτι "δύο ἱδίως ποιά̆ ἐπὶ τῆς αὐτῆς
ουσίας ἀμήχανον συστῆναι," φησίν: "ἐστω θεωρίας
ένεκα τόν μέν τινα ὅλοκληρον, τὸν δὲ χωρίς ἐπι-
νοεῖσθαι τοῦ ἐτέρου ποδός, καλεῖσθαι δὲ τὸν μὲν
ὁλόκληρον Δίωνα, τὸν δὲ ἀτελῆ Θέωνα, κάπειτα
ἀποτέμνεσθαι Δίωνος τῶν ἐτέρων τοῖν ποδοῖν."
ζητομένου δὴ, πότερος ἐφθαρται, τὸν Θέωνα
φάσκειν οἰκεῖότερον εἶναι. τοῦτο δὲ παραδοξο-

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

a The meaning is to be judged from De Som. i. 22 "Some
people have declared them (the stars) to be . . . masses of fiery
metal, for which they themselves deserve a prison and mill-
house (i.e. a place for hard labour like Lat. "pistrinum"), in
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THE ETERNITY OF THE WORLD, 46–48

lose their indestructibility is impossible whatever the mischievous ravings of men’s philosophies may say. And indeed those who propound the doctrines of conflagration and rebirth hold and openly declare the god-head of the stars which they destroy in their theorizing without a blush. For they must either declare them to be lumps of red hot metal as do some of those who nonsensically talk of the whole heaven as if it were a prison, or regarding them as divine or superhuman beings also acknowledge that they have the indestructibility which befits gods. In fact they err so far from the true doctrine that they fail to observe that in their inconsistent philosophizing they are imposing destruction on providence also which is the soul of the world. So at least says the most esteemed among them, Chrysippus, who in his treatise on “ increase ” makes the following marvellous statement. Starting from the premise that there cannot be two individuals qualifying the same substance he continues “ as an illustration, suppose that one person has all his members and that another has only one foot and let us call the first Dion and the defective one Theon and then suppose that Dion has one of his feet cut off.” Now if we ask which of the two has suffered destruction, he thinks that Theon is the more correct answer. This savours which such instruments are kept to punish impiety.” And both passages seem to be connected with the story that Anaxagoras was prosecuted for impiety because he said that the sun was a μύδρος διάπυρος. They seem to be the only passages which suggest that such a form of punishment was used in prisons. Was there perhaps a story that Anaxagoras when imprisoned, as according to one version he was, was subjected to this as an appropriate punishment?

On the meaning of the term ἰδίως ποιόν or ποιός and the argument of §§ 48–51 see App. p. 528.
PHILO

49 λογοῦντος μᾶλλον ἐστιν ἠ ἀληθεύοντος. πῶς γάρ ὁ μὲν οὐδὲν ἀκρωτηριασθεῖς μέρος, ὁ Θέων, ἀνήρπασται, ὁ δ' ἀποκοπεῖς τὸν πόδα Δίων οὐχὶ διέφθαρται; "δεόντως" φησίν: "ἀναδεδράμηκε γὰρ ὁ ἐκτμηθεῖς τὸν πόδα Δίων ἐπὶ τὴν ἀτελῆ τοῦ Θέωνος οὐσίαν, καὶ δύο ἰδίως οὐδὲν οὐδὲν ἔτι μὲν Δίωνο πάντων ἀναγκαῖον, τὸν δὲ Θέωνα διεφθάρθαι.”

"τὰ δ' οὖχ ἢπ' ἄλλων ἄλλα τοῖς αὐτῶν πτεροῖς ἀλισκόμενα"

φησίν ὁ τραγικός· ἀπομαξάμενος γὰρ τις τὸν [502] τύπον τοῦ λόγου καὶ ἐφαρμόσας τῷ παντὶ κόσμῳ δείξει σαφέστατα καὶ αὐτὴν φθειρομένην τὴν πρὸ-50 νοιαν. σκόπει δ' ὀδε· ὑποκείσθω τὸ μὲν ὁςαν Ἰὼν ὁ κόσμος — τέλειος γὰρ —, τὸ δὲ ὁςαν Ἰὼν ἡ τοῦ κόσμου ψυχή, διότι τοῦ ὅλου τὸ μέρος ἔλαττον, καὶ ἀφαιρεῖσθω, ὠσπερ ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἰὼνος ὁ ποὺς, οὐτως καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ κόσμου ὁςαν 51 αὐτοῦ σωματοειδεῖς. οὐκοῦν ἀνάγκη λέγειν ὅτι ὁ μὲν κόσμος οὐκ ἔφθαρται ὁ τὸ σῶμα ἀφαιρεῖσθαι, ὠσπερ οὐδὲ ὁ ἀποκοπεῖς τὸν πόδα Δίων, ἀλλ' ἡ τοῦ κόσμου ψυχή, ὠσπερ Θέων ὁ μηδὲν παθών. ὁ μὲν γὰρ κόσμος ἐπὶ ἐλάττωνι οὐσίαν ἀνέδραμεν, ἀφαιρεθέντος αὐτῶ τοῦ σωματοειδοῦς, ἐφθάρῃ δ' ἡ ψυχή διὰ τὸ μή δύνασθαι δύο ἰδίως ποιὰ1 εἶναι περὶ τὸ αὐτὸ ὑποκείμενον. ἐκθεσμὸν δὲ τὸ λέγειν

1 See note 1, p. 216. 2 mss. ὁ μὲν . . . ὁ δὲ.
more of paradox than of truth. For how can one say that Theon the unmutilated has been made away with while Dion whose foot is amputated has suffered no destruction? "Quite rightly," he replies, "for Dion who has had his foot amputated has passed over to the defective substance of Theon. Two individuals cannot qualify the same substratum and so Dion must remain and Theon has been destroyed."

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

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

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ώδ' εστὶ μῦθων τῶν Λιβυστικῶν κλέος,
πληγέντ' ἀτράκτῳ τοξικῷ τὸν αἰετὸν
εἰπεῖν ἰδόντα μυχανῆν πτερώματος,
tάδ' οὐχ ὑπ' ἄλλων ἄλλα τοῖς αὐτῶν πτεροῖς
ἀλισκόμεσθα.
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φθείρεσθαι τήν πρόνοιαν· ἀφθάρτου δὲ ὑπαρχοῦσῃ, ἀνάγκη καὶ τὸν κόσμον ἀφθάρτον εἶναι.

52 Χ. Μεγίστην μέντοι παρέχεται πίστιν εἰς αἰδιότητα καὶ ὁ χρόνος. εἰ γὰρ ἀγένητος ὁ χρόνος, ἐξ ἀνάγκης καὶ ὁ κόσμος ἀγένητος. διὰ τί; ὅτι, ἢ φησιν ὁ μέγας Πλάτων, ἥμεραι καὶ νύκτες μηνεῖς τε καὶ ἐνιαυτῶν περίοδοι χρόνον ἐδείξαν. ἀμήχανον δὲ τι τούτων συστήναι δίχα ἥλιου κινήσεως καὶ τῆς τοῦ παντὸς ὄρανον περιφορᾶς· ὅστε εὐθυβόλως ἀποδεδόσθαι πρὸς τῶν εἰσθότων τὰ πράγματα ὅρίζεσθαι χρόνον διάστημα τῆς τοῦ κόσμου κινήσεως. ἑπεὶ δὲ τοὐθ' ύμιές ἑστι, γίνεται ὁ 53 κόσμος ἴσηλξ τοῦ χρόνου καὶ αἰτίος. πάντων δ' ἀτοπώτατον ὑπονοεῖν, ὅτι ἢν ποτὲ κόσμος, ἢνίκα οὐκ ἢν χρόνος· ἀναρχος γαρ καὶ ἀτελεύτητος ἢ τούτου φύσις, ἑπεὶ καὶ αὐτὰ ταῦτα, τὸ ἢν, τὸ ποτὲ, τὸ ἦνίκα, χρόνον συνεμφαίνει. τούτω δ' ἀκόλουθον τὸ μηδὲ χρόνον | ύποστήναι καθ' ἑαυτόν, ἢνίκα κόσμος οὐκ ἢν· τὸ γὰρ μὴ ὑπάρχον οὐδὲ κινεῖται· διάστημα δὲ κοσμικῆς κινήσεως ἐδείχθη ὁ χρόνος ὤν. ἀνάγκη τοίνυν ἐκάτερον εξ ἀιδίου ύφεστάναι γενέσεως ἀρχὴν μὴ λαβόντα· τὰ δ' αἴδια 54 φθοράς ἀνεπίδεκτα. τάχα τις εὐρεσιλογῶν Στωικὸς ἔρει, τὸν χρόνον ἀποδεδόσθαι διάστημα τῆς τοῦ κόσμου κινήσεως οὐχὶ τοῦ νυνί διακεκουμημένου μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῦ κατὰ τὴν ἑκτύρωσιν ὑπονοούμενον. πρὸς δὲν λεκτέον· τὴν ἀκοσμίαν, ἡ γενναίε, μετατιθεῖς τὰ ὄνόματα κόσμον καλείς· εἰ

1 mss. χρόνος ... κόσμος.
2 On the transposition of the text at this point see App. p. 527.

a Timaeus 37 e.
THE ETERNITY OF THE WORLD, 51-54

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

X. Another very weighty proof to show its perpetuity is supplied by time. If time is uncreated, the world also necessarily must be uncreated. Why? Because as great Plato says time is indicated by days and nights and months and successions of years, and none of these can subsist without the movement of the sun and the revolution of the whole heaven. Therefore, people who are accustomed to define things have correctly explained time as what measures the movement of the universe, and since this is sound, the world is coeval with time and its original source. But nothing can be so preposterous as to suppose that there was a time when the world was when time was not. Time by its nature has no beginning or end, since these very terms "was, time when, when," involve the idea of time. From this it follows that time also did not exist of itself when the world was not, for what does not exist of itself when the world was not, for what does not subsist does not move either and time has been shown to be what measures the cosmic movement. It is necessary therefore that both should have subsisted from everlasting without having any beginning in which they came into being and things which are from everlasting are not susceptible of destruction. Possibly some argumentative Stoic quibbler will say that time is explained as the measurement of the movement not only of the world of the present cosmic order but of that postulated at the conflagration. The answer to this is, "My friend, you are transferring your terms and give the sense of Cosmos to the negation of Cosmos, for if this world which we see is very fitly called
γὰρ οὗτος ὡν ὀρῶμεν ἐτύμως καὶ προσφυέστατα κόσμος κέκληται, διατεταγμένος καὶ διακεκοσμημένος ἀνεπανορθώτων τέχνης ἀκρότητι, τὴν πρὸς τὸ πῦρ αὐτοῦ μεταβολὴν δεόντως ἂν τις ἀκοσμίαν ὄνομάσαι.  

55 XI. Κριτόλαος δὲ <τις> τῶν κεχορευκότων Μοῦσαις, τῆς Περιπατητικῆς ἑραστῆς φιλοσοφίας, τῷ περὶ τῆς ἀιδιότητος κόσμου δόγματι συνειπὼν ἐχρήσατο τοιαύταις πίστευσιν· εἰ γέγονεν ὁ κόσμος, ἀνάγκη καὶ τὴν γῆν γεγονέναι· εἰ δὲ ἡ γῆ γεννητή, πάντως καὶ τὸ ἀνθρώπων γένος· ἀνθρώπος δὲ ἀγένητον, ἐξ ἀιδίου τοῦ γένους ὑφεστώτος, ὀσπερ ἐπιδειχθήσεται· ἄιδιος ἀρά καὶ ὁ κόσμος. τὸ δὲ ὑπερτεθὲν ἡδὴ κατασκευαστέον, εἰ δὲ καὶ ἀποδείξεως τῶν οὕτως ἐμφανέσι· ὑπερτεθέν ἡ ἐν τούτῳ ἀιδιότητι κάθετον, τὸν βίον ἀλήθειαν ὑπερόριον πεφυγαδεύκασιν, οὐ μόνον πόλεις καὶ οἰκους ἀλλὰ καὶ ἕνα ἐκαστὸν τοῦ <ἀρίστου> κτήματος χηρεύειν βιασάμενοι καὶ πρὸς τὸ τῆς φράσεως ὄλκόν μέτρα καὶ ρυθμοὶς δέλεας εἰς ἐνέδραν ἐπινοήσαντες, οἷς ἀφφονων ὥτα καταγοητεύοντι, καθάπερ ὄφθαλμους αἱ ἀμόρφους καὶ εἰδεχθεῖς ἐταίραι περιάπτεις καὶ νόθω κόσμῳ χηρεία γνησίων. λέγουσι γὰρ ὅτι ἡ ἐξ ἀλλήλων γένεσις ἀνθρώπων νεώτερον φύσεως ἔργον, 

57 [493] ἀρχεγονώτερον δὲ καὶ πρεσβύτερον ἢ ἐκ γῆς, ἐπειδὴ πάντων μήτηρ ἐστὶ τε καὶ νενομισταί· τοὺς δὲ ἀδομένους παρ᾽ Ἐλλησι Ὀπαρτόνσι ἐκφύναι,

1 mss. ἀτ᾽ ἐπ᾽ ἀνθρώπου.  
2 mss. πρὸς τὸν τῆς ὀράσεως.

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α Lived about the middle of the second century B.C. For
Cosmos in the proper sense of the word being ordered and disposed with consummate craftsmanship, which admits of no improvement, one may rightly describe its change into fire as the negation of Cosmos."

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

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

b Or "assumed"; cf. § 125.
καθάπερ νῦν τὰ δένδρα, τελείους καὶ ἐνόπλους
58 γῆς παιδάς. ὦτι δὲ μῦθου πλάσμα τοῦτ' ἔστι, συνιδεῖν ἐκ πολλῶν ράδιον. αὐτίκα τῷ πρῶτῳ γενομένῳ ἔδει καθ' ἁρυσμένα μέτρα καὶ ἀριθμοῦς χρόνων αὐξήσεως. βαθμοὺς γὰρ τιναὶ ἡ φύσει τὰς ἡλικίας ἐγέννησε, δὴ ὥν τρόπον τινὰ ἀναβαίνει καὶ κάτεις ἀνθρώπως, ἀναβαίνει μὲν αὐξόμενος, κατέρχεται δὲ ἐν ταῖς μειώσεσιν ὁρὸς δ' ὅ τῶν ἀνωτάτων βαθμῶν ἀκμῆ, πρὸς ὅν φθάσας τοῖς οὐκέτι πρόεισιν, ἀλλ' ὥσπερ οἱ διαυλοδρομοῦντες ἀνακάμπτουσι τὴν αὐτὴν ὅδον, ὥσα παρ' ἰσχυοῦσις νεότητος ἔλαβεν, ἀποδίδοσιν ἀσθενεῖ·
59 γῆρα. τὸ δὲ γεννηθήναι τινα ὀίσθαι τελείους ἐξ ἄρχης ἡγνοκότων ἐστὶ νόμους φύσεως, θεσμοὺς ἀκινήτους. αἱ μὲν γὰρ ἡμέτεραι γνώμαι προσαναματτόμεναι τὸ πλημμέλεις ἐκ τοῦ συνεξενγιμένου μυθοῦ τροπᾶς καὶ μεταβολὰς εἰκότως ἐνδέχονται, ἀτρεπτα δὲ τὰ τῆς τῶν ὀλων ἑστὶ φύσεως, ἀτε πάνων ἐπικρατοῦσης καὶ διὰ βεβαιότητα τῶν ἀπαξ γνωσθέντων τοὺς ἐξ ἀρχης παγέντας ὅρους ἀκινήτως διαφυλαττούσης. εἴπερ δὲν ἀρμόττον ἐνόμιζεν ἀποτίκτεσθαι τελείους, καὶ νῦν ὁ ἐτελειογονεῖτο ἀνθρώπος, μὴ βρέφος, μὴ παῖς, μὴ μειράκιον γινόμενος, ἀλλ' ἀνὴρ εὐθὺς ὁ, ἰσως δὲ καὶ πρὸς ἀπαν ἁγήρως καὶ ἀθάνατος. ω γὰρ μὴ αὐξήσεις, μὴ δὲ μείωσις πρόσεστιν αἱ μὲν γὰρ ἄχρι τῆς ἀνδρός ἡλικίας μεταβολὰς κατ' αὐξήσεις, αἱ δ' ἀπὸ ταύτης ἄχρι γήρως καὶ τελευτῆς κατὰ μείωσις συνίστανται. τῷ δὲ μὴ κοινωνοῦντι τῶν

1 Cohn thinks the superlative meaningless and suggests ἄνω, but "the uppermost steps are bounded by the ἀκμῆ" seems an intelligible phrase.  
2 mss. ἀποδίδοσιν ἐν ἀσθενεῖ.
the earth as trees do now, full-grown and in armour.

That this is a mythical fiction can be easily seen on many grounds; one is that the growth of the man first born must have followed periods of time determined by fixed measurements and numerical rules. For nature has created the stages of age as a sort of steps by which man may be said to go up and down, up while he is growing, down in the times of his decreasing. The limit of the upward steps is the culmination of youth. When he has reached this he no longer advances but like the runners of the double course who return along the self-same track he repays to feeble old age all that he received from lusty youth. But to think that any were born full-grown from the first shows an ignorance of those immutable statutes, the laws of nature. Our decisions and judgements reflect the discord which belongs to the mortal element, our yoke-fellow, and may be expected to admit of change and instability. But there is no swerving in the nature of the universe, for that nature is supreme above all and so steadfast are its decisions once taken that it keeps immutable the limits fixed from the beginning. If then nature had thought it fitting that they should be produced full-grown, mankind would even now be created in that condition, not as infants, nor boys nor youths, but in manhood straight away, and perhaps altogether proof against old age and death. What is not subject to increase is not subject to decrease either, for the process of the changes up to manhood is one of increase but from manhood to old age and death one of decrease, and it is reasonable that one who is exempt from the first set of
προτέρων καὶ τὰς ἐπομένας εὐλογοῦν μὴ ἐπιγίγνεσθαι. τί δ’ ἐμποδῶν ἢν ἀνθρώπους καθάπερ φασὶ πρότερον καὶ νῦν βλαστάνειν; οὕτως καὶ ἡ γῆ γεγήρακεν, ὡς διὰ χρόνου μῆκος ἐστειρώθηκεν δοκεῖν; ἀλλ’ ἐν ὁμοίω μένει νεάξουσα ἄει, διότι τετάρτη μοίρα τοῦ παντός ἐστι καὶ ἕνεκα τῆς τοῦ ὅλου διαμονῆς ὁφείλει μὴ φθίνει, ἐπεὶ καὶ τὰ ἀδελφὰ στοιχεῖα αὐτῆς ὑδώρ ἀήρ τε καὶ πῦρ ἀγήρω διατελεῖ. πίστις δὲ ἐναργής τῆς ἀδιαστάτου καὶ ἁγίου περὶ γῆν ἀκμῆς τὰ φυόμενα καθαρθεῖσα γὰρ ἡ ποταμῶν ἀναχύσεις, ὡσπερ φασίν Αἰγυπτικὸν, ἡ τοῖς ἐτησίωσ όμβροις τὸν ἐκ τῆς φορᾶς 3 κάματον ὑπάνιεται καὶ χαλᾶται, κάπετα διαναταυσάμενη τὴν οἰκείαν δύναμιν ἀνακτᾶται μέχρι παντελοὺς ὅμοιους, εἴτ’ ἀρχεται πάλιν τῆς τῶν ὁμοίων γενέσεως τροφᾶς ἀφθόνους ἀπάσαις ζώων ἱδέαις ἀναδιδοῦσα. XII. παρ’ ὅ [494] μοι δοκούσιν ὁὐκ ἀπὸ σκοποῦ ποιηταὶ Πανδώραν αὐτὴν ὄνομάσαι, πάντα δωρουμένην καὶ τὰ πρὸς ὄφελειαν καὶ ἰδούνης ἀπόλαυσιν ὥσπερ ἄλλα πάσιν ὡς ψυχῆς μεμοίραται. εἰ γοῦν τις έαρος ἀκμάσαντος πτερωθείς ἀρταρδεὶς μετάρρυθμος καὶ κατ’ ἴδιοι τὴν τε ὅρειν καὶ πεδιάδα, τὴν μὲν ἐυχορτοῦν καὶ χλοηφόρον πόας καὶ χιλόν κριθάς τε καὶ πυροῦς καὶ μυρίας ἄλλας σπαρτών φύσεις ἀναδιδοῦσαν, ἄσ τε γεωργοῦ κατεβάλοντο καὶ ἂς ἀπαντοματίζουσα ἡ τοῦ ἔτους ὥρα παρέχεται, τὴν

1 Mangey, Bernays and Cumont correct to καθαρθεῖσα (from κατάρραα = “ irrigate ”), and Cohn’s reference to Timaeus 22 D (“ When the gods send a flood upon earth to purify her”) is hardly to the point; but the example which he quotes (Hermes, 1916, p. 184) from De Providentia 43, where the purification is effected by the ordinary rains which
changes should not be subject to those which follow. And what is to prevent men from springing now as they are alleged to have sprung in former times? Has the earth too grown so old that it may be thought to have been sterilized by length of time? On the contrary it remains as it was ever young, because it is the fourth part of the All and is bound to remain undecayed in order to conserve the sum of things, just as also its sister elements, water, air and fire, continue to defy old age. A clear proof that the earth retains its vigour continually and perpetually at its height is its vegetation, for purified either by the overflow of rivers, as they say is the case in Egypt, or by the annual rains, it takes a respite and relaxation from the weary toil of bearing fruit, and then after this interval of rest recuperates its native force till it reaches its full strength and then begins again to bear fruits like the old and supplies in abundance to each kind of living creature such food as they need. XII. And therefore it seems to me that the poets did not do amiss in giving her the name of Pandora, because she gives all things that bring benefit and pleasurable enjoyment not to some only but to all creatures endowed with conscious life. Suppose one soaring aloft on wings when spring has reached its height were to survey the uplands and the lowlands, he would see the lowlands verdant with herbage, producing pasturage and grass fodder and barley and wheat and numerous other forms of grain, some sown by the farmer, others provided self-grown by the season of the year. He would

nourish animal and vegetable life, justifies the retention of καθαρθείσα.

2 mss. φθορᾶς.
PHILO

δὲ κλάδους καὶ φυλλάσι κατάσκιον, οῖς ἔπικο-
σμεῖται τὰ δένδρα, καὶ καρπῶν περιπληθεστάτην,
οὐχὶ τῶν πρὸς ἐδώδην μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ οἳ πόνους
ἀκείσθαι συμβέβηκεν—ὁ μὲν γὰρ τῆς ἑλαίας καρπὸς
σώματος κάματων ίάται, ὁ δὲ τῆς ἀμπέλου ποθεὶς
64 μετρίως ἐπιχαλὰ τῶν σφοδρᾶς ὀδύνας ψυχῆς—, ἔτι
δὲ τὰς ἀπὸ τῶν ἀνθέων ἀναφερομένας εὐῳδεστάτας
αὔρας καὶ τὰς τῶν χρωμάτων ἀμύθητους ἰδιότητας
τέχνη δαμομινί πεποικιμένας, τὴν δ' ὀψιν ἀπο-
κλίναν ἀπὸ τῶν ἡμέρων ἑν μέρει πάλιν αἰγεῖροι,
κέδρους, πεύκας, ἑλάτας, δρυῶν ψυ ψερμηκέ-
στατα, τὰς ἄλλας τῶν ἀγρίων συνεχεῖς καὶ βαθείας
ύλας περιαρθήσειεν, αἱ τὰ πλείστα καὶ μέγιστα
τῶν ἄρων καὶ τὴν πολλὴν ὅση βαθύγειος τῆς
ὑπορείου υποκιάξουσι, γνώσεται τὴν ἀνένδοτον καὶ
65 ἀκάματον τῆς γῆς ἀεὶ νεαζούσης ἀκμήν· ὅπτ' ὀδὴν
ἐλαττωθείσα τῆς παλαιᾶς ἴσχυος καὶ νῦν ἄν,
εἴ γε τὸ πρότερον, ἔτικτεν ἄνθρωπος, ὑπὲρ δυὸν
τῶν ἀναγκαίων, ἐνὸς μὲν τοῦ μῆ λιποτακτῶν
τάξιν οἰκεῖαν καὶ μάλιστα ἑν ὁπορᾷ καὶ γενέσει
τοῦ χερσαίου ἀπάντων ἀρίστου καὶ ἰγμοῦνος
ἀνθρώπου δευτέρου δὲ γυναικῶν ἐπικουρίας, αἱ
κύουσαι μὲν βαρυτάτοις ἁχθεὶς δέκα που μῆν
πιέζονται, ὁμολογεῖσθαι δ' ἀποτίκτειν πολλάκις ὁδίσων
66 αὐτοῖς ἐναποθήσκουσιν. ὅλως τοῦτ' οὐκ ἐνήθεια
δεινῆ μὴτραν ὑπολαμβάνειν γῆν ἐγκεκολπίσθαι
πρὸς ἀνθρώπων ὁπορᾶν; τὸ γὰρ ἐπάπανον
χωρίον ἐστὶ μῆτρα, "φύσεως," ὃς εἶπέ τις,

1 mss. βιάζονται.

a Literally “the most and greatest of the mountains,”
see the uplands overshadowed with the branches and foliage which deck the trees and filled with a vast quantity of fruits, not merely those which serve for food, but also those which prove to be a cure for troubles. For the fruit of the olive heals the weariness of the body and that of the vine if drunk in moderation relieves the violence of sorrow in the soul. Further he would perceive the sweet fragrance of the exhalations wafted from the flowers and the multitudinous varieties of their colours diversified by superhuman skill. Again looking away from the cultivated vegetation, he would survey poplars, cedars, pines, firs, tall towering oaks and the other deep, unbroken forests of wild trees which overshadow the vast expanse of the huge mountains and the wide stretch of deep soil which lies at their feet. Seeing all this he will recognize that the ever-youthful earth still has the indomitable and unwearying vigour of its prime. And therefore the earth, which has suffered no diminution of its ancient strength, would, if she brought forth men before, be doing so still, and this for two most cogent reasons, part to avoid desertion of her proper post, particularly her duty of sowing and generating man, the best and chief of all the creatures who walk the land, and secondly to aid women, who in pregnancy labour with very grievous burdens for some ten months and when they are on the point of child-birth often actually die in the pains of travail. Indeed is it not terribly foolish to suppose that earth has in its bosom a womb for the sowing of men? For the place which generates life is the womb, the "workshop of meaning perhaps "nearly all and even the highest." In the next line θν πολτν may = "the greater part."
"ἐργαστήριον," ἐν ὦ ζῷα μόνον διαπλάττεται. τὸ δὲ οὐ γῆς μέρος ἐστίν, ἀλλὰ ζῷον θήλεος, δημιουργηθὲν εἰς γένεσιν, ἐπεὶ καὶ μαζὸς καθάπερ γυναικὶ γῆς φατέον ἦνικα ἦνθρωπογόνος προσγενέσθαι, τροφὴν ἵν’ ἔχωσιν οἰκείαιν οἱ πρῶτοι ἀποκυνθέντες: ἀλλὰ γὰρ οὐ ποταμὸς, οὐ πηγὴ τις οὐδαμοῦ τῆς οἰκουμένης ἀνθρώπους μνημονεύεται ποτὲ ὅμβρησαι γάλα. πρὸς δὲ δὴ τούτοις, ὡσπερ γαλακτοτροφεῖσθαι χρὴ τὸ ἀρτίγονον, οὖτως καὶ τῇ δι’ ἀμπεχόνης σκέπη χρήσθαι διὰ τὰς ἄπο [495] κρυμοῦ | καὶ θάλπους ἐγγυνομένας τοῖς σώμασι ζημίας, οὐ χάριν μαίαν καὶ μητέρας, αἰς ἀναγκαία φροντίς εἰσέρχεται τῶν γεννωμένων, κατασταρ-γανοῦσι τὰ βρέφη. τοὺς δὲ γηγενεῖς φύτας πώς οὖκ ἄν τις εὐθὺς διέφθειρε γυμνοῦς ἐαθέντας ἢ ἀέρος κατάφυξις ἢ ἠλίου φλογμός; κρυμοὶ γὰρ καὶ θάλπη κρατήσαντα νόσους καὶ φθορὰς ἀπεργάζονται. ἐπειδὴ δ’ ἀπαξ ἠρξαντο ἀλογεῖν ἀληθείας οἱ μινθοπλάσται, τοὺς Σπαρτοὺς ἐκείνους καὶ ἐνόπλους ἐτερατεύσαντο ἐκφύναι. τῖς γὰρ ἥν κατά γῆς χαλκουργὸς ἢ τοσοῦτος Ἠφαι-στος, ὡς αὐτίκα παντευχίας εὐτρεπίζεσθαι; τῖς δὲ τοῖς πρῶτοι γενομένοις εἰς οἰκείνδυνος οἰκείοτης; ἠμερώτατον γὰρ ζῷον ὁ ἄνθρωπος, λόγον δωρησα-μένης φύσεως αὐτῷ γέρας, ὡς καὶ τὰ ἐξηγερμένα πάθη κατεπάδεται καὶ τιθασεύεται. πολὺ βέλτιον ἧν ἀνθρώπουν ἐν οἰπλων κηρύκεια ἀναδόναι, συμβατηρίων

1 mss. εἰσέρχεται.
2 So Cohn and Cumont from Diels for mss. ἰσώπαυς ἦν, Bernays ὁπλίσεως ἦν.

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nature," as someone calls it, where alone the living are moulded into shape, and this is not a part of the earth but of a female creature framed for generation of other creatures. Folly indeed, since we should also have to say that the earth like a woman has the addition of breasts when she bore men, that the offspring when first brought to birth might have their proper sustenance. But no river or spring anywhere in the habitable earth is recorded as having ever run milk instead of water. Besides just as the newly born needs to be fed with milk, so too he needs to be sheltered by clothing to meet the harms brought upon the body by cold and heat, and therefore midwives and mothers necessarily feeling anxious to protect the offspring wrap the infants in swaddling clothes. Must not then earth-born creatures if left naked have been at once destroyed either by some refrigeration of the air or scorching of the sun, for the powers of cold and heat produce diseases and fatalities? But the myth-makers having once begun to disregard truth also made out these Sown men to have been born armed, a marvel indeed, for what smith was there on earth or a Vulcan so powerful as to prepare full suits of armour straightaway? And what suitable connexion is there between the first generation of men and wearing arms? Man is the gentlest and kindliest of animals, because nature has given him the prerogative of reason, with which the savage passions are charmed away and tamed. Far better would it be for a reasonable being if instead of arms, the herald

\[ a \] This phrase is used several times by Philo, Mos. ii. 84, Spec. Leg. iii. 33, 109 and Legatio 56. This is the only place where he indicates that it is a definite quotation.
σπονδών σύμβολα, λογική φύσει, ὠτος εἰρήνην
πρὸ πολέμου πᾶσι τοῖς πανταχοῦ καταγγέλλῃ.

XIII. τὰ μὲν οὖν τῶν ἐπιτευχυζόντων
ψευδολογίαν κατὰ τῆς ἀληθείας φιλαρήματα μετρίως ἐξελήλεγκται. χρή δ' εὖ εἰδέναι, ὅτι εἴς
αιδίου κατὰ διαδοχὰς εἴς ἀνθρώπων βλαστάνουσιν ἀνθρωποί, σπείροντος μὲν εἰς μήτραν ἄνδρος ὡς
εἰς ἄρουραν, γυναικὸς δ' ὑποδεχομένης τὰ σπέρματα σωτηρίως, τῆς δὲ φύσεως ἀοράτως ἔκαστα
καὶ τῶν τοῦ σώματος καὶ τῶν τῆς ψυχῆς δια-
πλαττούσης μερῶν καὶ ὅπερ οὐκ ἵσχυσε λαβεῖν
ἡμῶν ἔκαστος τοῦθ' ἀπαντή τῷ γένει δωρησαμένης,
τὸ ἀθάνατον μὲνεί γὰρ εἰς ἄει, φθειρομένων τῶν
ἐν εἰδει, τεράστιον ὡς ἀληθῶς καὶ θείον ἔργον.
εἰ δ' ἄιδιον ἀνθρωπός, βραχεία μοίρα τοῦ παντός,
ἀγένητος δὴν παῖς καὶ ὁ κόσμος, ὥστε ἀφθαρτος.

XIV. Ἐπαγωνιζόμενος δ' ο Κριτόλαος ἔχρητο
καὶ τοιοῦτω λόγῳ· τὸ αἴτιον αὐτῷ τοῦ ὑγιαίνειν
ἀνοσὸν ἦστιν· ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸ αἴτιον αὐτῷ τοῦ ἀγρυ-
pνεῖν ἀγρυπνὸν ἦστιν· εἰ δὲ τοῦτο, καὶ τὸ αἴτιον
αὐτῷ τοῦ ὑπάρχειν ἄιδιον ἦστιν· αἴτιος δ' ὁ κόσμος
αὐτῷ τοῦ ὑπάρχειν, εἰ γε καὶ τοῖς ἀλλοις ἀπασιν·
ἀιδιος ἄρα ὁ κόσμος ἦστιν.

Οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ κάκεινο σκοπεῖν ἂξιον, ὅτι πᾶν τὸ
γενόμενον ἐν ἀρχῇ μὲν δεὶ πάντως ἀτελὲς εἶναι,
χρόνῳ δὲ προϊόντος αὐξομένει μέχρι παντελοῦς
tελεωσεως. ὥστε, εἰ γέγονεν ὁ κόσμος, ἢν μὲν

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a Perhaps a reminiscence of Plato, Symp. 206 c ἔστι δὲ
tοῦτο θείον τὸ πράγμα, καὶ τοῦτο ἐν θυμῷ ὦν τῷ ζῷῳ ἀθάνατον
ἐνεστὶν, ἡ κύψης καὶ ἡ γέννησις. See App. p. 521 (on De Vit.
Cont. 59).

b Alluding perhaps to the use of κομώή νήπιος in § 42.
staff, the symbol of treaties of agreement, should spring from the ground, so that it should proclaim peace instead of war to all men everywhere.

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

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

This is not all. A further point worth consideration is that every created thing must in its beginning be quite imperfect and only as time advances grow to its full perfection. Consequently if the world has been created it was once, if I too may borrow a

Philo here speaks in the person of Critolaus, forgetting that Critolaus would not know what arguments had been adduced in the earlier parts of the treatise. This goes to show that Critolaus is throughout these sections paraphrased rather than quoted.
ποθ', ἵνα κάγω χρήσωμαι τοῖς ἡλικιών ὀνόμασι, κομιδή νήπιος, ἐπιβαίνων δ' αὕθις ἐνιαυτῶν περιόδοις καὶ μήκεσι χρόνων ὅψε καὶ μόλις ἐτελευώθη.

72 τοῦ γὰρ μακροβιωτάτου βραδεία ἐξ ἀνάγκης ἀκμῆ. τὸν δὲ | κόσμον εἰ τις νομίζει χρήσασθαι ποτὲ ταῖς τοιαύταις μεταβολαῖς, ἀθεραπεύτω μανία κεκρατημένος μὴ ἀγνοεῖτω. δὴν γὰρ ὡς οὐ μόνον αὐτοῦ τὸ σώματοειδὲς αὐξηθῆσεται, λήψεται δὲ καὶ ὁ νοῦς ἐπίδοσιν, ἐπεὶ καὶ οἱ φθείροντες αὐτὸν λογ-73 κὸν εἶναι ὑπονοοῦσιν. οὐκών ἀνθρώπου τρόπον ἐν ἁρχῇ μὲν τῆς γενέσεως ἁλογος ἐσται, περὶ δὲ τήν ἀκμάζουσαν ἡλικιών λογικός· ἀπερ οὐ μόνον λέγειν ἀλλὰ καὶ ὑπονοεῖν ἀσεβέσ. τὸν γὰρ τελειότατον ὀρατῶν περίβολον καὶ θεοὺς τοὺς ἐν μέρει περιέχοντα κληρούχους πῶς οὐκ ἄξιον ὑπολαμβάνειν αἱ τέλειον κατὰ τε σῶμα καὶ ψυχήν, ἀμέτοχον κηρῶν, αἰς τὸ γενητὸν καὶ φθαρτὸν πᾶν συνένεκται;

74 XV. Πρὸς δὲ τούτοις φησὶ τριτὰς αἴτια δίχα τῶν ἐξωθεν ὑποβεβλήσθαι ξώοις τελευτῆς, νόσων, γῆρας, ἐνδειαν, ὃν οὐδεμιᾶ τὸν κόσμον ἁλωτὸν εἶναι. πεπηγέναι τε γὰρ ἐξ ὅλων τῶν στοιχείων, ὡς ὑπὸ μηδενὸς ὑπολειφθέντος καὶ ἀπελευθεριάζοντος μέρους βιασθῆναι, κατακρατεῖν τε τῶν

1 mss. ἀγνοείσθω.
2 θεοὺς in this place is my insertion. Cumont and Cohn have τῶν ὀρατῶν (θεών). It seems to me necessary, for the sense, to state that the κληρούχοι of the περίβολος are gods, and with this insertion it is not necessary with Cumont to suppose that κληρούχους is corrupt. On the other hand ὀρατῶν can stand alone. Bernays also does not insert either θεῶν or θεοὺς, translates καὶ τοὺς . . . κληρούχοις “welcher die einzelnen göttlichen Theilmächte umschliesst,” and περίβολος by “Tempelbezirk.” He says that περίβολος is speci-234
term from those applied to the stages of human life, a mere infant, and afterwards progressing through the revolutions of years and long stretches of time, was at long last and with difficulty brought to perfection. For the very long-lived is necessarily slow to reach its culmination. Now if anyone thinks that the world has passed through such changes, he had better recognize that he is under the sway of a fatal delusion. For clearly not only will the world's bodily parts increase but its mind also will make advances, for those who preach its destruction also suppose that it is rational. So then like a man, when it originally comes into being it will be irrational, but at the age of culmination rational. Such things are impious not merely to speak but even to think. Surely this the all-perfect which embraces things visible wherein the several occupants included are gods, deserves to be held ever perfect both in body and soul, immune from the plagues inseparable from all that is created and destructible.

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

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

ally applied to temples. But I do not think the index bears this out for Philo. Though in several places it is used with reference to the temple, it does not seem in itself to mean more than "enclosure."
This end of the section seems to be a not very happy adaptation of *Timaeus* 73 a, where the bowels are said to

\[\text{δυνάμεων, ἐξ ὧν αἱ ἀσθένειαι, τὰς ὅ ὑπεικούσας ἀνοσοὺς καὶ ἀγήρων αὐτῶν διαφυλάττειν, αὐταρκεῖς ἀνεπίδεικτος παντὸς γεγονέναι, μηδὲν τῶν εἰς διαμονὴν ύπερήφοντα, τὰς κενώσεως καὶ πληρώσεως ἐν μέρει διαδοχὰς ἀπωσάμενον, αἰς διὰ τὴν ἀμοιβὴν ἀπληστίαν τὰ ξύλα χρῆσθαι, θάνατον ἀντὶ ξωῆς μνώμενα ἢ, τὸ γε ἀναβαλέστερον εἰπεῖν, οὐκτρότερον βιόν ἀπωλείας.}

75 "Ετι τοίνυν, εἰ μὲν μηδεμία φύσις ἀίδιος ἐωράτο, ἢττον ἂν ἐδόκουν οἱ φθορὰν εἰσηγούμενοι τοῦ κόσμου, μηδὲν γὰρ ἔχοντες παράδειγμα ἀίδιότητος, [ἐδόκουν οἱ φθορὰν εἰσηγούμενοι τοῦ κόσμου ἂν] εὐπροφάσιστον ἀδικεῖν.\(^1\) ἐπεὶ δὲ εἰμαρμένη κατὰ τοὺς ἄριστα φυσιολογοῦντας ἀναρχὸς καὶ ἀτελεύτητος ἔστιν, εἰρουσα τὰς ἐκάστων ἀνελλιπώς καὶ ἀδιαστάτως αἰτίας, τὶ δὴποτ' οὐχὶ καὶ τὴν τοῦ κόσμου φύσιν λεκτέον εἴναι μακράιων, τὴν τάξιν τῶν ἀτάκτων, τὴν ἀρμονίαν τῶν ἀναρμόστων, τὴν συμφωνίαν τῶν ἁμφωνῶν, τὴν ἔνωσιν τῶν διεστηκότων, τὴν ξύλων μὲν καὶ λίθων ἕξιν,

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

\(^a\) This end of the section seems to be a not very happy adaptation of *Timaeus* 73 a, where the bowels are said to
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It has dominion over the forces which produce infirmities, and the subservience of these forces keeps it from disease and decay of age. It is absolutely self-sufficient and independent of every need. It is lacking in nothing which can ensure permanence and has excluded the successive alternations between inanition and repletion, which living creatures experience through their gross avidity and thereby court not life but death, or to speak more cautiously, an existence more pitiful than extinction.  

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

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

b This is an allusion to the supposed connexion between εἰμαρμένη and εἰρμός, which would involve connexion with εἰρω also, cf. De Mut. 135 ἡ εἰμαρμένη, ἀκολούθια καὶ ἀναλογία τῶν συμπάντων εἰρμῶν ἔχουσα ἀδιάλυτην. See note there (vol. v. p. 590), where reference is given to S. V. F. ii. 918 ἡ εἰμαρμένη εἰρμός τις οὖσα αἰτίων ἀπαράβατος· οὕτω γὰρ αὕτην οἱ Στωικοὶ ὀρίζονται. It may be noted that here it appears in a non-Stoical argument.
σπαρτών δὲ καὶ δένδρων φύσιν, ψυχὴν δὲ ζώων ἀπάντων, ἀνθρώπων δὲ νοῦν καὶ λόγον, ἀρετὴν δὲ σπουδαίων τελειοτάτην; εἰ δὲ ἤ τοῦ κόσμου φύσις ἀγένητός τε καὶ ἀφθαρτός, δήλον ὅτι καὶ ὁ κόσμος, αἰωνίως συνεχόμενος καὶ διακρατούμενος δεσμῷ.

76 Νικηθέντες δὲ ὑπὸ τῆς ἀληθείας καὶ τῶν ἀντιδοξούντων ἐννοι μετεβάλοντο· προσκλητικὴν γάρ [497] ἔχει δύναμιν τὸ κάλλος, τὸ δὲ ἀληθὲς | δαμονίως ἐστὶ καλὸν, ὡς τὸ ψεῦδος ἐκτόπως αἴσχρον. Βοθθὸς γοῦν ὁ Σιδώνιος¹ καὶ Παναίτιος,² ἀνδρὲς ἐν τοῖς Στωικοῖς δόγμασιν ἰσχυκότες, ἀτε θεόλητοι, τὰς ἐκπυρώσεις καὶ παλιγγενεσίας καταλιπόντες πρὸς ὅσιώτερον³ δόγμα τὸ τῆς ἀφθαρσίας 77 τοῦ κόσμου πάντοσ ἡπτομόλησαν. λέγεται δὲ καὶ [502] Διογένης ἤνικα νέος ἢν συνεπιγραφάμενος | τῷ δόγματι τῆς ἐκπυρώσεως ὃς τῇ ἡλικίᾳ ἐνδοιασάς ἐπισκέψει· οὔ γὰρ νεότητος ἀλλὰ γήρως τὰ σεμνὰ καὶ περιπάχτη διδεῖν, καὶ μάλισθ' ὅσα μὴ δικάζει ἡ ἀλογος καὶ ἀπατηλὸς αἰσθησίν ἀλλ' ὁ καθαρώ-78 τατος καὶ ἀκραφνέστατος νοῦς. XVI. ἀποδείξει δ' οἱ περὶ τὸν Βοθθὸν κέχρηνται πιθανωτάτας, ἃς αὐτῆς λέξομεν· εἰ, φασί, γενητὸς καὶ φθαρτὸς ὁ κόσμος, ἐκ τοῦ μὴ ὄντος τι γενησεῖται, ὅπερ καὶ τοῖς Στωικοῖς ἀτοπώτατον εἶναι δοκεῖ. διὰ τί;
stone, growth in crops and trees, conscious life in all animals, mind and reason in men and the perfection of virtue in the good? And if the nature of the world is uncreated and indestructible, clearly the world also is the same, held together as it is by the might of an eternal bond.

Some conquered by truth and the arguments of their opponents have changed their views. For beauty has power to call us to it and truth is marvellously beautiful as falsehood is monstrously ugly. Thus Boethus of Sidon and Panaetius, powerful supporters of the Stoic doctrines, did under divine inspiration abandon the conflagrations and regenerations and deserted to the more religious doctrine that the whole world was indestructible. It is said too that Diogenes in his youth subscribed to the doctrine of the conflagration but in later years felt doubts and suspended judgement, for it is not given to youth but to old age to discern things precious and worthy of reverence, particularly those which are judged, not by unreasoning and deceitful sense, but by mind when absolutely pure and unalloyed.

XVI. The demonstrations given by the school of Boethus are very convincing and I will proceed to state them. If, they say, the world is created and destructible we shall have something created out of the non-existent and even the Stoics regard this as quite preposterous. Why so? Because it is im-

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

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

c Diogenes (the Babylonian), late third and early second century.
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[503] ὅτι οὐδεμίαν φθοροποιῶν | αἰτθαν εὗρεῖν ἑστὶν, οὐτ' ἐντὸς οὐτ' ἐκτὸς, ἢ τὸν κόσμον ἀνελεῖ· ἐκτός μὲν γὰρ οὐδὲν ἑστὶν ὅτι μὴ τάχα που κενὸν, τῶν στοιχείων ἀποκριθέντων εἰς αὐτὸν ὀλοκλήρων, εἰςω δ' οὖν νόσημα τουοῦτον, ὅ γένοιτ' ἃν αἴτιον θεῖ' οὐδέν οὔσω διαλύσθει· εἰ δ' ἀναιτίως φθείρεται, δῆλον ὅτι ἐκ τοῦ μὴ οὖντος ἑσται ἡ γένεσις τῆς φθορᾶς, ὅπερ οὐδ' ἡ διάνοια παραδέξεται.

79 Καὶ μὴν φασιν, ὅτι γενικοὶ τρόποι φθορᾶς εἰσὶν τρεῖς: ὁ τε κατὰ διαίρεσιν καὶ ο κατὰ ἀναίρεσιν τῆς ἐπεχούσης ποιότητος καὶ ὁ κατὰ σύγχυσιν. τὰ μὲν οὖν ἐκ διεστηκότων, αἰτόλια, βουκόλια, χοροί, στρατεύματα, ἢ πάλιν ἐκ συναπτομένων σώματα παγέντα διαστάσει καὶ διαρέσει λύεται· κατὰ δὲ ἀναίρεσιν τῆς ἐπεχούσης ποιότητος ὁ μετασχηματιζόμενος κηρός ἢ καταλεαινόμενος, ἢ μὴ εἰς ἔτερον τών παράσχηλ τύπον μορφῆς· κατὰ δὲ σύγχυσιν, ὡς ἡ παρὰ ιατροῖς τετραφάρμακος· αἱ γὰρ δυνάμεις τῶν συνενεχθέντων ἡμανίσθησαν εἰς ἔξοχο τοῖς γενεσίᾳ ἀποτελθεῖσις. ποιῶ δὴ τούτων ἄξιον τὸν κόσμον φθείρεσθαι φάναι; τῷ κατὰ διαίρεσιν; ἀλλ' οὔτε ἐκ διεστηκότων

1 MSS. τῶ
2 MSS. συναπτομένων.
3 MSS. καὶ λεαινόμενος.

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

b Or perhaps "inherent." I have not found any examples of such a meaning nor yet of "prevailing." Bernays "umhaftenden," Mangey "primariae." Later we have simply ποιότης.
possible to find any destructive cause either within or without to make away with the world. For there is nothing outside it except possibly a void, since the elements have been completely merged into it and within it there is no distemper such as to cause a dissolution of so great a deity. And if it is destroyed without a cause, clearly the origin of the destruction will arise from what does not exist and this the understanding will reject as not even thinkable.

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

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

\textit{ The same illustration is given in De Conf. 187, where the drug is said to be a compound of wax, tallow, resin and pitch.}
εστίν, ώς τὰ μέρη σκεδασθήναι, οὔτε ἐκ συναπτομένων, ώς διαλυθῆναι, οὔτε τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον τοῖς ἡμετέρους ἦνωται σώμασι: τὰ μὲν γὰρ ἐπικήρως τε ἐξ ἐαυτῶν ἐχει καὶ δυναστεύεται πρὸς μυρίων ύφ’ ὥν βλάπτεται, τοῦ δ’ ἄσττητος ἡ ρώμη πολλὴν 
81 τινὶ περιουσία πάντων κατακρατοῦσα. ἄλλ’ ἀναιρέσει παντελεὶ τῆς ποιότητος; ἄλλ’ ἀμήχανον τούτο γε’ μένει γὰρ κατὰ τοὺς τάναντία αἰρομένους ἡ τῆς διακοσμήσεως ποιότης ἐπ’ ἐλάττωνος υσίας τῆς τοῦ Δίως σταλεῖσα1 κατὰ τὴν ἐκπύρωσιν. ὕπ’ κατὰ τῷ κατὰ σύγχυσιν; ἄλλ’ αμήχανον τοῦτο γε’ μένει γὰρ πάλιν εἰς τὸ μῆ ὡν γίνεσθαι τὴν φθορὰν παραδέχεσθαι. τοῦ χάριν; ὅτι εἰ μὲν ἐκαστὸν ἐν μέρει τῶν στοιχείων ἐφθέρετο, μεταβολὴν ἐδύνατο τὴν εἰς ἐτερον δέχεσθαι, πάντων δὲ συλλῆβδην ἄθρόων κατὰ σύγχυσιν ἀναιρομένων, ἀναγκαῖον2 ὕπονοεῖν τὸ ἀδύνατον.

82 Ετὶ πρὸς τούτοις, ἐὰν ἐκπυρωθῇ, φασὶ, τὰ πάντα, τὶ κατ’ ἐκεῖνον ὁ θεὸς πράξει τὸν χρόνον; ἣ τὸ παράπαν οὐδέν; καὶ μὴ ποτ’ εἰκότως· νυνὶ μὲν γὰρ ἐκαστὸ ἐφορᾷ καὶ πάντων οὐα γνήσιος πατὴρ ἐπιτροπεύει καὶ, εἰ δεὶ τὰλθὲς εἰπεῖν, ἦνιοχοῦ καὶ κυβερνήτου τρόπον ἦνιοχεῖ καὶ πηδαλιουχεῖ τὰ σύμπαντα, ἠλίῳ τε καὶ σελήνῃ καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις πλάνησι καὶ ἀπλανέσιν ἔτι δ’ ἀεὶ καὶ τοῖς

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

2 mss. ἀνάγκη.

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

Moreover if all things are as they say consumed in the conflagration, what will God be doing during that time? Will He do nothing at all? That surely is the natural inference. For at present He surveys each thing, guardian of all as though He were indeed their father, guiding in very truth the chariot and steering the bark of the universe, the defender of the sun and moon and stars whether fixed or wandering, and also the air and the other parts of the world, co-sovereign of the world and subordinate gods; in other words, between the universal divine power as a Unity working in the world and its individual parts and manifestations. The former they denoted by the term Zeus; to the latter they applied the names of the subordinate gods" (Zeller, Stoics (Eng. trans.), p. 328). Thus at the ἐκπύρωσις, such Unity alone remained.
<άλλοις> μέρει τοῦ κόσμου παριστάμενος καὶ συνδρῶν ὅσα πρὸς τὴν τοῦ ὅλου διαμονὴν καὶ τὴν κατ’ ὅρθος λόγον ἀνυπαίτιον διοίκησιν. πάντων δ’ ἀναιρεθέντων, ὑπ’ ἀργίας καὶ ἀπραξίας | δεινὴς ἀβιώτω βίω χρῆσται· οὐ τί γένοιτ’ ἂν ἀτοπώ- τερον; ὅκυρ λέγειν, ὃ μηδὲ θέμις ὑπονοεῖν, ὃτι ἀκολουθήσει θεῷ θάνατος, εἰ γε καὶ ἥρεμια· τὸ γὰρ ἀεικῶντον ἐὰν ἁνέλης ψυχῆς, καὶ αὐτὴν πάν- τως συνανελεῖς· ψυχὴ δὲ τοῦ κόσμου κατὰ τοὺς ἀντιδοξοῦντας θεὸς.

ΧVII. Ἐκεῖνο δ’ οὐκ ἀνάξιον1 διαπορῆσαι, τίνα τρόπον ἔσται παλιγγενεσία, πάντων εἰς πῦρ ἀναλυ- θέντων· ἐξαναλωθείσης γὰρ τῆς οὐσίας ὑπὸ πυρός, ἀνάγκη καὶ τὸ πῦρ οὐκέτ’ ἔχουν τροφὴν ἀποσβε- σθῆναι. μένοντος μὲν οὖν, ὁ σπερματικὸς τῆς διακοσμήσεως ἐσωθείς, ἀναιρεθέντος δέ συνανήρηται. τὸ δ’ ἐστὶν ἐκθεσμὸν καὶ ἁσεβήμα ήδη διπλοῦν, μὴ μόνον φθορὰν τοῦ κόσμου κατηγορεῖν ἀλλὰ καὶ παλιγγενεσίαν ἀναρεῖν, ὡσπερ ἐν ἀκοσμίᾳ καὶ ἀπραξίᾳ καὶ τοῖς πλημμελέσι πᾶσι χαίροντος θεοῦ. τὸν δὲ λόγον ἀκρι- βέστερον ὅδε διερευνητέον· πυρὸς τριττὸν εἴδος: τὸ μὲν ἄνθραξ, τὸ δὲ φλόξ, τὸ δὲ αὐγή. ἄνθραξ μὲν οὖν ἐστὶ πῦρ ἐν οὐσίᾳ γεώδει, ὁ τρόπον ἐξεως

1 mss. οὐκ ἔξειν.

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

operating in all that is needful for the preservation of the whole and the faultless management of it which right reason demands. But if all things are annihilated inactivity and dire unemployment will render His life unworthy of the name and what could be more monstrous than this? I shrink from saying, for the very thought is a blasphemy, that quiescence will entail as a consequence the death of God, for if you annihilate the perpetual motion of the soul you will annihilate the soul itself also and, according to our opponents, God is the soul of the world." XVII. Another question worthy of examination is: How will the rebirth come about if all things are resolved into fire? For if the substance is consumed by fire, the fire too must be extinguished having nothing any longer to feed it. Now if the fire remains the seminal principle of the ordered construction would be preserved, but if the fire perishes that principle perishes with it, and it is an enormity, a twofold sacrilege, not only to predicate destruction of the world but to do away with the rebirth as though God rejoiced in disorder and inactivity and every kind of faultiness. But we must examine it more carefully. Consider it from this point of view. Fire takes three forms: these are the live coal, the flame and the fire-light. Now live coal is fire embodied in an earthy substance, a sort of "δοξοφυτας quite suit Boethus, if we are still having his opinion. For he definitely rejected the common Stoic view that God was contained in the universe (Zeller, p. 152). Or "Generative Reason" or "Seed Power" (Arnold). By the term "Generative Reason" must be understood the creative and forming forces in nature, which have collectively produced the universe, and particular exercises of which (σπερματικοι λόγοι) produce individual things (Zeller).
πνευματικῆς πεφώλευκε καὶ ἐλλοχὰ δὲ ὅλης ἀχρὶ περάτων τεταμένον· φλὸξ δὲ ἐστὶν ὑπερ ἐκ τροφῆς αὖρεται μετεωριζόμενον· αὐγή δὲ τῷ ἀποστελλόμενον ἐκ φλογὸς, συνεργὸν ὀφθαλμοῖς εἰς τὴν τῶν ὀρατῶν ἀντίληψιν. μέσην δὲ χώραν αὐγῆς τε καὶ ἀνθρακὸς εἰληχε φλὸξ· σβεσθείσα μὲν γὰρ εἰς ἀνθρακα τελευτά, ξωπυρουμένη δ' ἔχει φέγγος, δ' ἐπὶ τὴν καυστικὴν ἄφηρομένην δύναμιν ἀστράπτει. εἰ κατὰ τὴν ἐκπύρωσιν οὖν τὸν κόσμον ἀναλύεσθαι φαίμεν, ἀνθραξ μὲν οὐκ ἄν γένοιτο, διότι παμπλήθες ὑπολειώσαται τοῦ γεώδους, δ' τὸ πῦρ ἐγκατελήφθαι συμβέβηκε, ἀρέσκει δὲ μηδὲν τότε τῶν ἄλλων ύφεσταναι σωμάτων, ἄλλα γῆν καὶ ὕδωρ καὶ ᾧρα· καὶ ἀέα εἰς ἀκρατον πῦρ ἀναλύσθαι. καὶ μὴν οὐδὲ φλὸξ· ἀμμὰ γὰρ τροφὴς ἐστὶ, μηδενὸς δὲ καταλειφθέντος, ἀτροφήσασα αὐτίκα ἀποσβέσθεῖ· τούτων ἐπεται τὸ μηδ' αὐγὴν ἀποτελεῖσθαι· καθ' ἐαυτὴν γὰρ ὑπόστασιν οὐκ ἔχει, ἐτὶ δὲ ἀπὸ τῶν προτέρων, ἀνθρακὸς καὶ φλογὸς, ἀφ' οὐ μὲν ἐλάττων, πολλῆ δ' ἀπὸ φλογὸς· ἐχεῖσα γὰρ ἐπὶ μηκίστων· εἰκεῖνων δ' ὡς ἐδείγη, κατὰ τὴν ἐκπύρωσιν οὐκ ὄντων, οὐδ' ἂν αὐγὴ γένοιτο· καὶ γὰρ ἡ μεθημερινή πολλὴ καὶ βαθεία αὐγὴ, τὸν ὑπὸ γῆς ἥλιου δρόμον ἴντος, εὐθὺς ἀφανίζεται νυκτὶ

1 Some mss. ἄμμα.

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

b Or "kindled by." The word ἄμμα is common enough
THE ETERNITY OF THE WORLD, 86–88

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

for a knot or fastening, but there is no example = “the thing fastened,” though such a meaning might easily have been developed. Nor is there any example = “the thing kindled,” though there is ἀναμμα in this sense. Perhaps we should read ἀναμμα.
και μάλιστα ἁσελήνως. οὐ τοίνυν ἐκπυροῦται ὁ κόσμος, ἀλλ’ ἔστιν ἀφθαρτός. εἰ δ’ ἐκπυρωθήσεται, ἔτερος οὐκ ἂν γένοιτο.

89 XVIII. Διὸ καὶ τινὶς τῶν ἀπὸ τῆς Στοάς ὁξυδερκέστερον ἐκ μακροῦ θεασάμενοι τὸν ἐπι-φερόμενον ἐλεγχὸν ἦξίωσαν ὡσπερ θανατῶντι κεφαλαίῳ βοηθήματα προευτρεπίζοσθαι: τὰ δ’ οὐδὲν ἦν ὧφελος. ἔπειδὴ γὰρ αὐτῶν κινήσεως ἐστὶ τὸ πῦρ, κίνησις δὲ γενέσεως ἁρχή, γενέσθαι δ’ ἄνευ κινήσεως διότι οὐκ ἀδύνατον, ἔφασαν ὅτι μετὰ τὴν ἐκπύρωσιν, ἐπειδὰν ὁ νέος κόσμος μέλλῃ ἀναλυόμενος ἀφθαρτός εἶναι, σύμπαν μὲν τὸ πῦρ οὐ σβέννυται, ποσῇ δὲ τὸς αὐτοῦ μῦρα ὑπολείπεται: πάνω γὰρ ἡμιλαβηθήσαν, μὴ σβεσθέντος ἀθρόου μείνῃ τὰ πάντα ἡσυχάσαντα ἀδιάκόσμητα, τοῦ τῆς κινήσεως αὐτοῦ μηκέτ’ ὄντος. εὑρεσιλογοῦντων δὲ πλασμάτων δὴ τʼ ἐστὶ καὶ κατὰ τῆς ἀληθείας τεχναξόντων. τὶ δὴποτε; ὧσπερ ἔπειδὴ τὸν κόσμον ἐκπυρωθέντα γενέσθαι μὲν ἄνθρακι παραπλήγησιν ἀμήχανον, ὡς δὲκεκταί, γεώδους πολλῆς ἀν ὑπολειφθείσης οὐσίας, ἢ δὲπείτε τὸ πῦρ ἐλλοχὰν, ἵσως δ’ οὐδ’ ἐκπυρώσεως τότε κρατοῦσας, εἰ γε μὲνεὶ τὸ στοιχείων βαρύτατον τοῦ κνησματον δὴ ἢ ἐστὶ φλόγα ἢ ἐς αὐγὴν ἀναγκαῖον, εἰς μὲν φλόγα, ὥς ὀφετο Κλεάνθης, εἰς δ’ αὐγὴν, ὥς ἡ Χρύσιππος. ἀλλ’ εἰ γε φλὸξ γίνεται, τραπεζομένη πρὸς σβέσιν ἀπαξ οὐκ ἐκ μέρους ἀλλ’ ἀθρόᾳ σβεσθῆσεται: συνυπάρχει γὰρ τῇ τροφῇ. διὸ πολλῆς μὲν οὐσίας ἐπιδίδωσι καὶ χεῖται, στελλομένης δὲ

1 MSS. eίτε. 2 MSS. ἡ τροφῇ.
THE ETERNITY OF THE WORLD, 88–91

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

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

\(^a\) Or "totally and simultaneously," and so below, § 92.
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μειούται. τεκμηριώσατο δ' ἂν τις ἀπὸ τῶν παρ᾽ ἡμῶν τὸ γνώμενον ὁ λύχνος, ἐως μὲν τις ἑλαιων ἄρδει, περιφεγγεστάτην δίδωσι φλόγα, ἐπειδὰν δ᾽ ἐπίσχη, δαπανήσας ὅσον τῆς τροφῆς λείψανον αὐτίκα κατεσβέσθη, μηδὲν μέρος ταμευσάμενος τῆς φλογὸς. εἰ δὲ μὴ τοῦτο ἄλλ᾽ αὐγή γίνεται, πάλιν ἄθρωσ μεταβάλλει. διὰ τί; ὅτι ὑπόστασιν ἰδίαν οὐκ ἔχει, γεννᾶται δ᾽ ἐκ φλογὸς, ἡς ὄλης δι᾽ ὅλων σβέσιν λαμβανούσης, ἀνάγκη καὶ τὴν αὐγήν μὴ κατὰ μέρος ἄλλ᾽ ἄθρωσ άναφερέσθαι. ὁ γὰρ πρὸς τροφὴν φλόξ, τοῦτο αὐγή πρὸς φλόγα. καθάπερ οὖν τροφὴ συναφείται φλόξ, καὶ αὐγή φλογι. ὅστ᾽ ἀμήχανον παλιγγενεσίαν τὸν κόσμον λαβεῖν, μηδενός ἐντυφομένου σπερματικοῦ λόγου, πάντων δὲ δαπανηθέντων, τῶν μὲν ἄλλων ὑπὸ πυρός, αὐτοῦ δ᾽ ὑπ᾽ ἐνδείασ. εξ ὅν ἐστὶ δῆλον, ὅτι ἀγέννητος καὶ ἀφθαρτὸς ὁ κόσμος. εἴ δέ μή τοῦτο ἄλλ᾽ αὐγή γίνεται, πάλιν ἁθρόα μεταβάλλει, διὰ τί; ὅτι ἐν περὶ ὁ λύχνος, ής ὄλης δι᾽ ὅλων σβέσιν λαμβανούσης, ἀνάγκη καὶ τὴν αὐγήν μὴ κατὰ μέρος ἄλλ᾽ ἄθρωσ άναφερεσθαι. ὁ γὰρ πρὸς τροφὴν φλόξ, τοῦτο αὐγή πρὸς φλόγα: καθάπερ οὖν τροφὴ συναφείται φλόξ, καὶ αὐγή.

92 ἔμεν. Εὐσεβείς τὸν κόσμον καθ᾽ ἀλλήλους ἐπιστήμην, ἢς ὄλης δι᾽ ὅλων σβέσιν λαμβανούσῃς, ἀνάγκη καὶ τὴν αὐγήν μὴ κατὰ μέρος ἄλλ᾽ ἄθρωσ άναφερεσθαι. ὁ γὰρ πρὸς τροφὴν φλόξ, τοῦτο αὐγή πρὸς φλόγα: καθάπερ οὖν τροφὴ συναφείται φλόξ, καὶ αὐγή.

93 φλογι. ἠστ᾽ ἀμήχανον παλιγγενεσίαν τὸν κόσμον λαβεῖν, μηδενός ἐντυφομένου σπερματικοῦ λόγου, πάντων δὲ δαπανηθέντων, τῶν μὲν ἄλλων ὑπὸ πυρός, αὐτοῦ δ᾽ ὑπ᾽ ἐνδείασ. εξ ὅν ἐστὶ δῆλον, ὅτι ἀγένήτος καὶ ἀφθαρτος ὁ κόσμος. εἴ δέ μή τοῦτο ἄλλ᾽ αὐγή γίνεται, πάλιν ἁθρόα μεταβάλλει, διὰ τί; ὅτι ἐν περὶ ὁ λύχνος, ής ὄλης δι᾽ ὅλων σβέσιν λαμβανούσης, ἀνάγκη καὶ τὴν αὐγήν μὴ κατὰ μέρος ἄλλ᾽ ἄθρωσ άναφερεσθαι. ὁ γὰρ πρὸς τροφὴν φλόξ, τοῦτο αὐγή πρὸς φλόγα: καθάπερ οὖν τροφὴ συναφείται φλόξ, καὶ αὐγή.

94 XIX. Φέρε δ᾽ οὖν, ὡς φησιν ὁ Χρύσιππος, τὸ ἀναστοχεωσάν τὴν διακόσμησιν εἰς αὐτὸ πῦρ τοῦ μέλλοντος ἀποτελεῖσθαι κόσμου σπέρμα εἶναι καὶ ὅπως ἐπ᾽ αὐτῷ πεφιλοσόφηκε μηδὲν ἐφεύσθαι, πρῶτον μὲν ὅτι καὶ ἐκ | σπερματος ἢ γένεσις καὶ εἰς σπέρμα ἢ ἀνάλυσις, ἐπείτα δ᾽ ὅτι φυσιολογεῖται ὁ κόσμος καὶ φύσις λογική, οὐ μόνον ἑμψιχος ὄν ἄλλα καὶ νοερός, πρὸς δὲ καὶ φρόνιμος, ἐκ τούτων τούναντιν ὡς θεολογία κατασκευάζεται, τὸ μηδὲ -95 ποτε φθαρίσσεσθαι. αἰ δὲ πίστεις προχειρόταται τοῖς συνεξετάζειν μὴ ἀποκνοῦσιν. οὐκοὶν ὁ κόσμος

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a Cf. Diog. Laert. vii. 142 ζῶον ὁ κόσμος καὶ λογικὸν καὶ ἑμψιχον καὶ νοερόν. The argument that follows does not depend upon these higher qualities, but they make it still 250
THE ETERNITY OF THE WORLD, 91-95

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

XIX. Now suppose that as Chrysippus says the 94 fire which has resolved the world as constructed into itself is the seed of the world which will result and that there is no fallacy in his theories on the subject, primarily that its generation comes from seed and its resolution passes into seed; secondly that natural philosophy shows the world to be also a rational being, having not only life but mind, and further a wise mind, still these establish nothing of what he wishes to prove but its opposite, namely that it will never be destroyed. The proofs of this lie ready 95 at hand for those who do not shrink from examining more impossible that its qualities should be below even those of a plant.

251
PHILO

ἡ φυτῶν, ἡ ζώων. ἀλλ’ εἴτε φυτῶν εἴτε ζώων, κατὰ τὴν ἐκπύρωσιν φθαρείς οὐδὲποτε αὐτὸς αὐτοῦ γενήσεται σπέρμα. μαρτυρεῖ δὲ τὰ παρ’ ἡμῖν, ὡς οὐδὲν οὐκ ἔλαττον οὐ μείζον

96 ποτε φθαρέν εἰς σπέρματος ἀπεκρίθη γένεσιν. οὕχ ὃραι οὐσι μὲν ἡμέρων φυτῶν Ὑλαι, ὃσι δὲ ἀγρίων κατὰ πᾶν μέρος τῆς γῆς ἀνακέχυνται; τούτων τῶν δένδρων ἐκαστὸν, ἄρχε μὲν ὑγιαίνει τὸ στέλλεγος, ἀμα τῷ καρπῷ καὶ τὸ ὄχυμα2 τίκτει, μήκει δὲ χρόνων ἀφανανθέν <ἡ> καὶ ἄλλως αὐταίς ὃς φθαρέν οὐδὲποτε τὴν ἀνάλυσιν εἰς σπέρμα

97 ἔλαβεν. τῶν αὐτῶν μέντοι τρόπον καὶ τὰ γένη τῶν ζώων, α μηδὲ εἰπεῖν διὰ πλῆθος ράδιων, ἄρχε μὲν περιέστι καὶ ήβα, σπέρμα προϊέται γόνιμον, τελευτήσαντα δ’ οὐδαμῇ οὐδαμῶς γίνεται σπέρμα. καὶ γὰρ εὑρεθὲς ἀνθρωπὸς ζώντα μὲν όγδὸν μέρει ψυχῆς, δ’ καλείται γόνιμον, πρὸς τὴν τοῦ ὅμοιον σποραν χρῆσθαι, τελευτήσαντα δὲ ὅλω3 ἐαυτῷ.

98 θάνατος γὰρ οὕτι ζωῆς ἀνυσιμώτερος. ἄλλως τε τῶν οὐντών οὐδὲν ἐκ μόνου σπέρματος δίχα τῆς οἰκείας τροφῆς ἀποτελεῖται. σπέρμα γὰρ ἐοικεν ἀρχή, ἀρχή δὲ καθ’ αὐτὴν οὐ τελευγουέi. μὴ γὰρ αὐ νομίσῃς τὸν στάχυν ἐκ μόνου του καταβληθέντος ὕπο γεωργῶν εἰς τὰς ἀράρες βλαστάνει πυροῦ, τὸ δὲ πλεῖστον εἰς αὐξήσιν αὐτοῦ4 συνεργεῖν ὑγράν τε καὶ ξηράν δικτῆν ἐκ γῆς τροφῆν. καὶ τὰ ἐν μήτραις μέντοι διαπλαττόμενα πέφυκεν οὐκ ἐκ

1 mss. φυτῶ εοικεν. 2 mss. ὄχυμα. 3 mss. ὅλων. 4 mss. αὐτῶν.

a Cf. Diog. Laert. vii. 110. The eight parts are the five senses, speech, the rational faculty and the generative. 252
THE ETERNITY OF THE WORLD, 95–98

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

Philo has given the same classification in De Op. 117, though there the point is that the irrational soul has seven parts. So too De Agr. 30, Quod Det. 168, Quis Rerum 232.
μόνου ζωγονείσθαι σπέρματος ἀλλά καὶ τῆς ἐξωθεν ἀρδοχούσης τροφῆς, ἡν ἡ κύουσα προσ-99 φέρεται. πρὸς δὴ τὶ ταῦτα λέγω; ὅτι κατὰ τὴν ἐκπύρωσιν σπέρμα μόνον ὑπολειφθήσεται, τροφῆς ἡ ὑπαρχοῦσης, ἀπάντων ὡσα τρέφειν ἐμελλεν εἰς πῦρ ἀναλυθέντων, ὡσθ' ὅ κατὰ τὴν παλιγγενεσίαν ἀποτελούμενος κόσμος χωλῆν καὶ ἀτελή γένεσιν ἐξει, τοῦ μάλιστα πρὸς τελείωσιν συνεργοῦντος, ὧ καθάπερ βάκτρῳ τινὶ τὴν σπερματικὴν ἀρχὴν ἔψευσθαι συμβέβηκεν, ἐφθαρμένου. τούτῳ δ' ἦν 100 ἀτοπον ἐκ αὐτῆς ἐλεγχόμενον τῆς ἐναργείας. ἔτι τοῖνυν ὡσα λαμβάνῃ τὴν γένεσιν ἐκ σπέρματος, μεῖζονα τὸν ὅγκον ἐστὶ τοῦ πεποιηκότος καὶ ἐν τόσῳ μεῖζονι θεωρεῖται. δένδρα γοῦν οὐρανομῆκη πολλάκις ἀναβλαστάνει ἐκ βραχυτάτης κέγχρου καὶ ζῶα πιώτατα καὶ περιμηκέστατα ἐξ ὅλιγον τοῦ προεθέντος ύγροῦ. ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸ μικρὸ πρότερον [507] εἰρημένον | συμβαίνει, κατὰ μέν τὸν ψευτωντα τῇ γενέσει χρόνον βραχύτερα τὰ γεννηθέντα εἰναι, μεγεθύνεσθαι δ' αὖθις ἄχρι παντελοῦς τελειώσεως.

101 ἐπὶ δὲ τοῦ παντὸς γενῆσεται τοῦναντίον· τὸ μὲν γὰρ σπέρμα καὶ μεῖζον ἐστι καὶ πλείονα τόπων ἐφέξει, τὸ δ' ἀποτελεσμα βραχύτερον καὶ ἐν ἐλάττονι φανείται τόπῳ, καὶ δ' κόσμος ἐκ σπέρματος συνιστάμενος οὐκ ἐκ τοῦ κατ' ὅλιγον ἐπι-δώσει πρὸς αὔξησιν, ἀλλ' ἐμπαλιν ἐξ ὅγκου 102 μεῖζονος εἰς ἐλάττονα συναιρεθήσεται. τὸ δὲ λεγόμενον ράδιον συνιδεῖν· ἀπαν σῶμα ἀναλυόμενον 254.
be brought to life merely from the seed, but need also the fostering sustenance from outside which the pregnant mother administers. What is the purpose of these remarks? It is to show that at the conflagration seed alone will remain and nothing will exist to nourish it, as all things that would give nourishment are resolved into fire, and lame and imperfect therefore will be the genesis of the world brought about at the rebirth, since that which could best co-operate in its consummation, which the originating seed takes as a staff for its support, has been destroyed. The absurdity of this is self-evident and needs no further refutation. Again all things which originate from seed are greater in bulk than that which made them and visibly occupy a greater space. Thus trees which soar to heaven often spring from a very small grain, and animals of great corpulence and stature come from the emission of a little moisture. Also there is the fact mentioned a little above that during the time following closely on the birth the things generated are smaller but afterwards increase in size till they reach their full consummation. But in the universe the opposite will take place. The seed will both be greater and will occupy more space, but the result produced will be smaller, and will be seen to take up less space, and the Cosmos which forms itself from the seed will not gradually advance in growth but on the contrary will be reduced from a greater bulk to a lesser. The truth of this statement can be easily seen. Every body which is resolved into fire is diffused as

\[ a \text{ i.e. in § 71.} \]

\[ 1 \text{ MSS. } \epsilon\nu\nu\gamma\varepsilon\lambda\alpha\varsigma. \]
εἰς πῦρ ἀναλύεται τε καὶ χεῖται, σβεννυμένης δὲ τῆς ἐν αὐτῷ φλογος, στέλλεται καὶ συνάγεται· πίστεων δὲ τοὺς οὕτως ἐμφανέσι πρὸς μαρτυρίαν ὡς ἀδηλουμένους οὐδεμία χρεία. καὶ μὴν ὁ κόσμος ὁ πυρωθεὶς γενήσεται μείζων, ἀτε συμπάθης τῆς οὐσίας εἰς τὸν λεπτότατον ἀναλυθέσης αἱθέρα. ὁ μοι δοκοῦσι καὶ οἱ Στωικοὶ προϊδόμενοι κενὸν ἀπειροῦν ἐκτὸς τοῦ κόσμου τῷ λόγῳ καταλιπεῖν, ἵν' ἐπειδή χύσιν ἀπέραντόν τινα ἐμελλε λήψεσθαι, μὴ ἀπορῇ τοῦ δεξομένου χωρίον τῆς ἀνάχυσιν.

Τὴν τοσοῦτον ἐπιδέδωκε καὶ συνηύξηται, ὡς μονονυχί τῇ ἀορίστῳ τοῦ κενοῦ φύσι τῷ τῆς ἐλάσεως ἀπειρομεγέθει συνδραμεῖν, στελλομένου μὲν κατὰ τὴν συμπάσης οὐσίας * *, στελλομένου δὲ αέρος εἰς ύδωρ καὶ συνίζοντος, παχυνόμενου δὲ ἐτι μάλλον ύδατος κατὰ τὴν εἰς γῆν, τὸ πυκνότατον τῶν στοιχείων, μεταβολήν. ἔστι δὲ ταῦτα παρὰ τὰς κοινὰς ἐννοίας τῶν δυναμένων ἀκολουθιαν πραγμάτων ἐκλογίζεσθαι.

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

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

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a Cf. Diog. Laert. vii. 140 ἐξωθεὶ δ' αὐτῳ περικεχυμένον εἶναι τὸ κένον ἀπειρον, ὅπερ ἀσώματον εἶναι.

b The text as printed gives “when at the rebirth it...”
THE ETERNITY OF THE WORLD, 102–103

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

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

c “Common notions,” otherwise translated as “primary conceptions.” According to Zeller, Stoics, pp. 79 f., they are not innate ideas, but “those conceptions which from the nature of thought can be equally formed by all men out of experience.”
Δίχα τοίνυν τῶν εἰρημένων κάκείνω χρήσαιτ' ἀν τις εἰς πίστιν, δ' καὶ τοὺς μὴ πέρα τοῦ μετρίου φιλονεικεῖν αἱρομένους ἐπιστάσεται. τῶν ἐν ταῖς συζύγιαις ἐναντίων ἀμήχανον τὸ μὲν εἶναι, τὸ δὲ μὴ. λευκοῦ γὰρ οὖντος ἀνάγκη καὶ μέλαν ὑπάρχειν καὶ μεγάλου βραχῦ καὶ περιττοῦ ἀρτιῶν καὶ γλυκέος πυκρῶν καὶ ἡμέρας νύκτα καὶ ὁσα τούτοις ὁμοότροπα. γενομένης δ' ἐκπυρώσεως, ἅδυνατὸν τι συμβῆσαι· τὸ μὲν γὰρ ἔτερον ὑπάρξει τῶν ἐν ταῖς συζύγιαις, τὸ δὲ ἔτερον οὐκ ἔσται.

Φερε δ' οὔτωσι θεασώμεθα· πάντων εἰς πῦρ ἀναλυθέντων, κούφον μὲν ἔσται τι καὶ μανόν καὶ θερμόν —ἰδια γὰρ πυρὸς ταῦτα—, βαρύ δ' οὐδὲν ἢ πυκνὸν ἢ ψυχρόν, τὰ τοῖς λεχθεῖσιν ἐναντία. πῶς οὖν ἂν τις ἐπιδείξαι μᾶλλον τὴν πεπλεγμένην ἑκ τῆς ἐκπυρώσεως ἀκοσμίαν ἢ τὰ φύσει συνυπάρχοντα δεικνύς ἀπαρτώμενα τῆς συζύγιας; ἢ δ' ἀλλοτρίωσι ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον κεχώρηκεν, ὡς τοῖς μὲν [508] ἀδιότητα | προσομολογεῖν, τοῖς δὲ τὸ ἀνύπαρκτον.

"Ετι τοίνυν κάκεινό μοι δοκεῖ μὴ ἀπὸ σκοποῦ τοῖς ἵχνηλατοῦσι τάληθες εἰρήσαθαι· φθειρόμενος ὁ κόσμος ἦτοι ὑπὸ τινὸς ἔτερας φθαρήσει αἰτίας ἢ ὑπὸ θεοῦ. ὑπ' ἅλλου μὲν οὖν ὡδενὸς τὸ παράπαν δέξεται διάλυσιν· οὖδὲν γὰρ ἐστιν ὁ μὴ περιέχει· τὸ δὲ περιέχομενον καὶ κατακρατούμενον ἀσθενε-στερον δῆτον τοῦ περιέχοντος, ὑφ' οὑ καὶ κατα-κρατεῖται. ὑπὸ δὲ θεοῦ φθείρεσθαι λέγειν αὐτὸν πάντων ἀνοσιώτατον· ὁ γὰρ θεὸς οὐκ ἀτάξιας καὶ ἀκοσμίας καὶ φθορᾶς ἀλλὰ τάξεως καὶ εὐκοσμίας.

1 mss. ἐπιχήται ορ ἐπισχήται. 2 mss. κρατοῦμενον.
XX. Besides those already mentioned, there is another argument which may be used to prove the point, and this, too, will win the assent of those who prefer not to carry their contentiousness to an immoderate extent. In couples of opposites, it is impossible that one member should exist and the other not. If there is white there must be black also, if there is great there must be small, and so with odd and even, bitter and sweet, night and day, and the like. But when the conflagration has taken place we shall have an impossibility. For one of the opposites in couples will exist and the other will not. Consider the following facts. When all things are resolved into fire, there will be something light, rare and hot, since these qualities belong to fire, but nothing of their opposites, heavy, dense and cold. How could we better express the disorder woven by the conflagration theory than by showing that things naturally coexistent are disjoined from the coupling which holds them, and so far does this dissociation extend that we have to predicate perpetuity of the one set and non-existence of the other.

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

107 XXI. Θαυμάσαι δ’ ἂν τις τοὺς τὰς ἐκπυρώσεις καὶ παλιγγενεσίας θρυλοῦντας οὐ μόνον ἔνεκα τῶν εἰρημένων, οἷς ἀπελέγχονται ψευδοδοξοῦντες, ἀλλὰ καὶ δι’ ἐκείνο μάλιστα. τεττάρων γὰρ ὄντων στοιχείων, ἐξ ὧν ὁ κόσμος συνέστηκε, γῆς, ὕδατος, ἀέρος, πυρός, τίνος ἔνεκα πάντων ἀποκληρωσάμενοι τὸ πῦρ τὰ ἄλλα φασίν εἰς τοῦτο μόνον ἀναλυθῆσθαι; δέον γὰρ, εἴποι τις ἂν,—πῶς οὐκ;—εἰς ἀέρα ἢ ὕδωρ ἢ γῆν· ὑπερβάλλουσι γὰρ καὶ ἐν τούτοις εἰς δυνάμεις. ἀλλ’ οὐδεὶς ἔξαερωσθαι ἢ ἐξυδατοῦσθαι ἢ ἀπογεοῦσθαι τὸν κόσμον εἰπεν, ὥστε εἰκὸς ἢ μὴ ἐκπυροῦσθαι φάναι.

108 Χρή μεντοι καὶ τὴν ἐνυπάρχουσαν ἰσονομίαν τῷ κόσμῳ κατανοήσαντας ή δέκασι ή αἴδεσθήναι τοσοῦτο θεοῦ κατηγορεῖν θάνατον υπερβάλλουσα γὰρ τις τῶν τεττάρων ἀντέκτισις δυνάμεως ἱσοτιτικοῦ καὶ δικαιοσύνης ὅρων σταθμωμένων τὰς ἀμοιβὰς. καθάπερ γὰρ αἱ ἑτήσιοι ὄροι κύκλων ἀμείβουσιν ἀλλήλας ἀντιπαραδεχόμεναι πρὸς τὰς ἐναυτῶν οὐδὲποτε ληγόντων περιόδους, [εἰς] τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον [τίθησι] 2 καὶ τὰ στοιχεῖα τοῦ κόσμου ταῖς εἰς ἀλλήλας μεταβολαῖς, τὸ παραδοξότατον, θνήσκειν δοκοῦσται ἀθανατίζεται δολιχεύοντας ἀεὶ καὶ τὴν αὐτὴν ὀδὸν ἅνω καὶ κάτω συνεχῶς ἀμείβοντα. ἡ μὲν οὖν προσάντης ὄνος ἀπὸ γῆς ἀρχεῖαι·

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1 mss. θείου.
2 Cumont reads ἀεὶ for εἰς, and εἰς for τίθησι, but the latter has little resemblance to the word which it replaces. Bernays φησί, but the introduction of the disputant at this point seems unlikely. But the mere omission is equally unsatisfactory.
not of disorder, disharmony and destruction, but of order and harmony and life and all that is most excellent.

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

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

\[\text{The idea of the "uphill" and "downhill" journey comes from Heracleitus, see Diog. Laert. ix. 9, where they are called \( \eta \; \epsilon\pi\; \tau\omicron\; \acute{\alpha}n\omega \) and \( \eta \; \epsilon\pi\; \tau\omicron\; \kappa\acute{a}t\omega \; \omicron\omicron\omicron\).}\]
τηκομένη γὰρ εἰς ὕδωρ [μετα]λαμβάνει τὴν μεταβολὴν, τὸ δ’ ὕδωρ έξατμιζόμενον εἰς ἄερα, ὃ δ’ ἄηρ λεπτυνόμενος εἰς πῦρ ὡς ὑποκατάντη ἀπὸ κεφαλῆς, συνίζοντος μὲν πυρὸς κατὰ τὴν σβέσιν εἰς ἄερα, συνίζοντος δ’ ὡς ὑποκατάντη ἀπὸ συνθλίβοντο εἰς ὕδωρ[509] ἀέρος, ὑδάτως δὲ [τὴν πολλὴν ἀνάχυσιν] κατὰ 111 τὴν εἰς γῆν πυκνομένου μεταβολὴν. εὐκαὶ ὃ Ἡράκλειτος ἐν οἷς φησὶ: "ψυχής τάνατος ὕδωρ γενέσθαι, ὕδατι τάνατος γην γενέσθαι." ψυχὴν γὰρ οἰόμενος εἶναι τὸ πνεῦμα τὴν μὲν ἀέρος τελευτήν γένεσιν ὑδάτως, τὴν δὲ ὑδάτως γῆς πάλιν γένεσιν αἰνύτεται, τάνατον οὖ τὴν εἰς ἀπαν ἀν­αίρεσιν ὄνομάζων, ἀλλὰ τὴν εἰς ἔτερον στοιχεῖον 112 μεταβολὴν. ἀπαραβάτου δὴ καὶ συνεχῶς τῆς αὐτοκρατοῦσα ἱσονομίας ταύτης ἀεὶ φυλαττομένης, ὥσπερ οὐκ έικὸς μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀναγκαῖον, ἐπεὶ τὸ μὲν ἀνισὸν ἄδικον, τὸ δ’ ἄδικον κακῖας ἐγγονὸν, κακία δ’ ἐξ οἶκου τῆς ἄθανασίας πεφυγαδεύται, θείον δὲ τὶ (διὰ τὸ) μέγεθος οὖσας καὶ οἴκος θεῶν αἰσθητῶν ἀποδεδεικταὶ, τὸ δὴ φάσκειν ὅτι φθείρεται μὴ συνορώντων ἐστὶ φύσεως εἰρμὸν καὶ πραγμάτων συνηρτήμενη ἀκολουθίαν. 113 XXII. Προσφιλοτεχνοῦντες δὲ των ἀδιδόν υπολαμβανόντων τὸν κόσμον εἰναι καὶ τοιοῦτω

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

2 Here again the omission is drastic. Cumont declares the text to be right, possibly regarding τὴν πολλὴν ἀνάχυσιν as an accusative of respect. Bernays τῇ πολλῇ ἀνάχυσι, corresponding to μετὰ σβέσιν and ὡς ὑποκατάντη. (If so why not (διὰ τὴν πολλὴν ἀνάχυσιν?) The mss. have πυκνομένην (one πηγνμένου).
formed by melting into water, water by evaporation into air, air by rarefaction into fire. The downhill path leads from the top, the fire as it is extinguished subsides into air; air as it is compressed subsides into water, while water is condensed as it changes into earth. Well, too, spoke Heracleitus when he says, "death for souls is to become water, death for water to become earth," for conceiving that soul is breath he indicates that the final end of air is to become water and again of water to become earth, while by the term death he does not mean complete annihilation but transmutation into another element. That this self-determined equality should be maintained for ever inviolate and constant is not only natural but necessary. And, therefore, since inequality is unjust and injustice is the child of wickedness, and wickedness is banished from the dwelling-place of immortality, while the world is divine in its vastness and has been shown to be the dwelling-place of visible deities, the assertion that it is destroyed shows inability to descry the chain of nature and the unbroken sequence of events.

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

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

\(^3\) mss. \(\Delta παραβλητου\) (-ous) or \(\Delta περιβλητου\).

\(^4\) Bernays θειον δε τι τεμενος, Cumont θειος δε το μεγεθος. The objection to this and Cohn's is that size is a poor reason for the divinity of the Cosmos. Perhaps the most plausible suggestion is Wendland's θειον δε τι (\(\mu\alphaλλον\) δε) \(\mu\epsilonγας\) θεος, which might perhaps be simplified with \(\eta\) instead of \(\mu\alphaλλον\) δε.
πρὸς κατασκευὴν λόγω χρώνται: φθορᾶς τέτταρας εἶναι τρόπους τοὺς ἀνωτάτων συμβέβηκε, πρόσθεσιν ἀφαιρέσιν μετάθεσιν ἄλλοισιν. δυὸς μὲν οὖν προσθέσει μονάδος εἰς τριάδα φθείρεται μηκέτι μένουσα δυὸς, τετράς δὲ ἀφαιρέσει μονάδος εἰς τριάδα, μεταθέσει δὲ τὸ Σ' στοιχεῖον εἰς Η. ὅταν αἱ μὲν ἑγκάρσιοι παράλληλοι πρὸς ὀρθὰς διαναστώσιν, ή δὲ πρὸς ὀρθὰς ἐπεξευγμένη πλαγιασθείσα συνάψῃ τὰς παρ' ἐκάτερα, κατ' ἄλλοισιν δὲ μεταβάλλων οἶνος εἰς ὅξος. τῶν δὲ κατελεγμένων τρόπων οὐδὲς ἐφάπτεται τοῦ κόσμου τὸ παράπαν. ἐπεὶ καὶ τί φώμεν; προστίθεσθαι τι τῷ κόσμῳ πρὸς ἀναίρεσιν; ἄλλ' οὐδὲν ἐστὶν ἐκτὸς, οἱ μὲν μέρος γέγονεν αὐτοῦ ἢ τῶν ὀλοῦ περιέχεται γὰρ καὶ κατακρατεῖται. ἄλλ' ἀφαιρεῖσθαι; πρῶτον μὲν τὸ ἀφαιρθὲν πάλιν κόσμος ἔσται, τοῦ νῦν βραχύτερος. ἔπειτα ἢ μήχανον ἐξω τὸ σῶμα τοῦ ὅλου διαρτηθέν τῆς συμφυίας σκεδασθήναι.

115 ἀλλὰ τὰ μέρη μετατίθεσθαι; μενεὶ μὲν οὖν ἐν ὅμοιῳ τοὺς τόπους οὐκ ἐναλλάττοντα: οὐ γὰρ ἐποχήσεται ποτε οὕτε ὑδάτι πᾶσα γῆ ὅθεν ὑδωρ ἀέρι ὑπείρεθεν τὸν ἀνω, πλὴν οὐχ ὅμοιως: ἀberra καὶ ὑδωρ, τὸν μέσον ἐφεξεῖ τόπον, γῆς μὲν θεμελίου τρόπου ὑπερειδουσι, ὑδατος δ' ἐπιπολάζοντος,

[510] ἀηρ δὲ καὶ πῦρ, τὰ φύσει κοῦφα, | τὸν ἀνω, πλὴν οὐχ ὅμοιως: ἀηρ γὰρ πῦρ ὅχημα γέγονε, τὸ

1 mss. ζ or ζῆτα . . . ή or ήτα (the letter printed here for zeta is an old form which accords with the argument).
2 mss. ἐτι.
3 mss. ἐν γῆ.

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

Atomistic as contrasted with the three of the Stoics given in § 79" (Bernays).
116 δ' ἐποχούμενον εξ ἀνάγκης ὑπερφέρεται. καὶ μὴν οὐδὲ κατ' ἄλλοισιν φθείρεσθαι νομιστέον. ἵσοκρατής γὰρ ἢ τῶν στοιχείων μεταβολῆ, τὸ δ' ἴσοκράτες ἀκλινοῦς βεβαιότητος καὶ ἀσαλεύτου μονῆς αὑτῶν, ἄτε μήτε πλεονεκτοῦν μήτε πλεονεκτούμενον ὡσθ' ἢ ἀντίδοσι καὶ ἢ ἀντέκτισις τῶν δυνάμεων ἀναλογίαι	extsuperscript{1} ἐξισουμένη κανόσιν ὕγιειας καὶ ἀτελευτήτου σωτηρίας δημιουργός. εξ ὦν αἴδιος ὁ κόσμος ἀποδείκνυται.

117 XXIII. Θεόφραστος μέντοι φησί τοὺς γένεσιν καὶ φθορὰς τοῦ κόσμου κατηγοροῦντα ὑπὸ τεττάρων ἀπατηθήναι τῶν μεγίστων, γῆς ἀνωμαλίας, θαλάττης ἀναχωρήσεως, καθ' ἐκάστου τῶν τοῦ ὅλου μερῶν διαλύσεως, χερσαίων φθορᾶς κατὰ γένη

118 ξώνων. κατασκευάζει	extsuperscript{2} δὲ τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ὀὕτως· εἰ μὴ γενέσεως ἀρχὴν ἔλαβεν ἢ γῆ, μέρος ὑπανεστός οὐδὲν ἢ ἐτι αὐτῆς ἑωράτο, χθαμάλη δ' ἤδη τὰ ὅρη πάντα ἐγεγένητο καὶ οἱ γεώλοφοι πάντες ἴσοπεδοὶ τῇ πεδιάδε τοσοῦτων γὰρ καθ' ἐκαστὸν ἐναυτὸν ὀμβρῶν εξ ἀυδίων φερομένων, εἰκὸς ἢν τῶν διηρμένων πρὸς ὑψός τὰ μὲν χειμάρρους ἀπερρήξατι, τὰ δ' ὑπονοστήσατα κεχαλάσθαι, πάντα δὲ διὰ πάντων ἢδη λελειάνθαι.

\textsuperscript{1} mss. ἀναλογίαι.
\textsuperscript{2} mss. κατασκευάζει. See note b.
vehicle is necessarily carried above it. Once more we must not suppose that the world is destroyed by transmutation, for there is a balance of powers in the interchange of the elements and such a balance produces unswerving stability and unshaken permanence, since it neither encroaches nor is encroached on. And thus the reciprocation, the giving and taking of values, equalized according to the standards of proportion creates sound health and perpetual security. These things show the world to be everlasting.

XXIII. Further, Theophrastus says that those who maintain the creation and future destruction of the world are misled by four main considerations, the unevenness of the earth’s surface, the withdrawal of the sea, the dissolution of each several part of the universe, and the perishing of whole species of land animals. The proof which they base on the first of these is according to him the following. If the earth had no beginning in which it came into being, no part of it would still be seen to be elevated above the rest. The mountains would now all be quite low, the hills all on a level with the plain, for with the great rains pouring down from everlasting each year, objects elevated to a height would naturally in some cases have been broken off by winter storms, in others would have subsided into a loose condition and would all of them have been completely planed loosely worded. The “first part” may be either that the surface of the world is uneven, or that they are deceived by this unevenness. Taking the infinitive, they prove neither of these, but that the unevenness shows that the world is everlasting. Taking the indicative, Theophrastus states their reason for holding this opinion, but the proof that it is misleading is deferred till § 143.
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119 νυνὶ δὲ συνεχεῖς ἀνωμαλίαι καὶ παμπόλλων ὀρῶν αἱ πρὸς αἰθέριον ύψωσ ὑπερβολαὶ μηνύματ᾽ ἐστὶν τοῦ τῆν γῆν μὴ ἀίδιον εἶναι. πάλαι γὰρ, ὡς ἐφην, ἐν ἀπείρῳ χρόνῳ ταῖς ἐπομβρίαις ἀπὸ περάτων ἐπὶ πέρατα πᾶσ’ ἀν λεωφόρος ἐγεγένητο. πέφυκε γὰρ ἡ ὑδάτωσ φύσις καὶ μάλιστα ἀπὸ υψηλοτάτων καταράττουσα τὰ μὲν ἐξωθείν τῇ βίᾳ, τὰ δὲ τῶν συνεχεί τῶν ψεκάδων κολάττουσα κολαίνειν ὑπεργάζεσθαι τε τῆν σκληρόγεω καὶ λιθωδεστάτην ὀρυκτήρων οὐκ ἔλαττον.

120 Καὶ μὴν ἡ γε θάλασσα, φασίν, ἥδη μεμείωται. μάρτυρες δ’ αἱ νῆσων εὐδοκιμῶταται ἘΡΩΙΩΝ τε καὶ Δῆλος: αὕται γάρ τὸ μὲν παλαιὸν ἠφανισμέναι κατὰ τῆς θαλάττης ἐδεδύκεσαν ἐπικλυζόμεναι, χρόνῳ δ’ ὑστερον ἔλαττουμένης ἥρεμα, κατ’ ολίγον ἀνίσχουσα διεφάνησαν, ὡς αἱ περὶ αὐτῶν ἀναγραφέσθαι μηνύουσιν ἱστορίαι. τὴν δὲ Δῆλον καὶ Ἀνάφην ὑνόμασαν δι’ ἀμφοτέρων ὁνομάτων πιστούμενοι τὸ λεγόμενον, ἐπειδὴ γὰρ ἀναφανείσα δήλη ἐγένετο, ἀδηλουμένη καὶ ἀφανῆς οὖσα τὸ πάλαι. 2 διὸ καὶ Πίνδαρος ἐπὶ τῆς Δῆλου φησί·

1 mss. ἀναγραφὴν (-ειν).
2 διὸ . . . αὐντόμενος appears in the mss. after ἀποβράτ-τεσθαι at the end of § 122. It certainly is less appropriate there. Both Bernays and Cumont however retain it there.

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

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

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

Apparently a mistake. Delos and Anaphe are different islands.

The anacoluthic επεώή γάρ is read by all three editors (though γάρ is omitted by some mss.). Cf. § 75.
"Χαίρ', ὀ θεοδμάτα, λιπαροπλοκάμου
παίδεσσι Λατοὺς ἱμεροεστατον ἔρνος,
pόντου θύγατερ, χθονὸς εὑρείας ἀκίνητον τέρας,
ἀν τε βροτοὶ
Δᾶλον κυκλήσκουσιν, μάκαρες δ' ἐν Ὁλύμπῳ 
τηλέφαντον κυνείας χθονὸς ἀστροῦ.

θυγατέρα γὰρ πόντου τὴν Δῆλον εἰρήκε τὸ λεχθὲν
αινττόμενος. πρὸς δὲ τούτους μεγάλων | πελαγῶν
μεγάλους κόλπους καὶ βαθεῖς ἀναξηρανθέντας ἤπει-
ρώσθαι καὶ γεγενῆσθαι τῆς παρακείμενης χώρας
μοὴναν οὐ λυπρῶς σπειρομένους καὶ φ τευομένους,
οἷς σημεῖα ἄττα τῆς παλαιᾶς ἐναπολελείφθαι 
θαλαττώσεως φηφίδας τε καὶ κόγχας καὶ ὅσα ὁμοιότροπα
123 πρὸς αἰγιαλοῦς εἴωθεν ἀποβράττεσθαι. εἰ δὴ 
μειοῦται ἡ θάλαττα, μειωθῆσεται μὲν καὶ ἡ γῆ,
μακραῖς δὲ ἐνιαυτῶν περιόδοις καὶ εἰς ἄπαν ἐκά-
τερον στοιχεῖον ἀναλωθῆσεται, δατταν ἔσται δὲ
καὶ τὰ σύμπας ἢ ἁρ ἐκ τοῦ κατ' ὀλγον ἠλαττοῦ-
μενος, ἀποκριθῆσεται δὲ τὰ πάντα εἰς μίαν ὑσίαν 
τὴν πυρῶν.

XXIV. Πρὸς δὲ τὴν τοῦ τρίτου κεφαλαίου κατα-
124 σκευήν χρώνται λόγῳ τοιώδε' φθείρεται πάντως
ἐκεῖνο, οὐ πάντα τὰ μέρη φθαρτά ἐστὶ, τοῦ δὲ
κόσμου πάντα τὰ μέρη φθαρτά ἐστι, φθαρτὸς ἀρα
125 ὁ κόσμος ἐστὶν. ο δ' ὑπερεθέμεθα, νῦν ἐπι-

1 MSS. σημεῖα τὰ.
2 Bernays χρῆται with some ms. authority. Cf. § 117.

a The idea is supposed to be that earth seems dark-blue to
the gods, as heaven seems to us, and that Delos shines like a
Hail, island built by gods,  
Thou scion best beloved by those  
Whom lustrous-haired Latona bore,  
Daughter of Ocean, marvel of broad earth,  
Whose base no power can shake.  
Delos we mortals name thee, but on high,  
Where dwell the blessed ones, they call thee Star  
Seen in the distance of the azure earth.  

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

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

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

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

c Or simply “assumed in this syllogism,” cf. § 56.
σκεπτέον. ποίον μέρος τῆς γῆς, ὃν ἀπὸ ταύτης ἀρξώμεθα, μεῖξον ἡ ἐλαττών, οὐ χρόνῳ διαλύεται; λίθων οἱ κρατάονται ἢ ὡς, οὐ μυδώσι καὶ σήμουται (καὶ) κατὰ τὴν ἦξεως ἀσθένειαν—ἡ δ' ἔστι πνευματικὸς τόνος, δεσμὸς οὐκ ἄρρηκτος ἀλλὰ μόνον δυσδιάλυτος—θρυπτόμενοι καὶ βέοντες εἰς λεπτήν το πρῶτον ἀνάλυονται κόνιν, εἴθ' ύστερον δαπανηθέντες ἐξαναλούονται; 1 τί δ', εἰ μὴ πρὸς ἀνέμων ῥιπζομεν τὸ ὕδωρ, ἀκίνητον οὐχ ὑπ' ἡσυχίας νεκροῦται; μεταβάλλει γοῦν καὶ δυσωδέστατον γά- 126 νεται, οὐ γυμνὴν ἀφημένον ἢ. ἦ γε μὴν ἄνερφορὰ παντὶ τῶν δήλων νοσεῖν γὰρ καὶ φθίνειν καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν τινῶν ἀποθείμενον κατὰ τὴν ἀναφθείσης ὕλης μονήν, δ' αφανίζεται. τὸ παραπλήσιον μέντοι καὶ τὸ ἴδον τὰς ἀναλούσας φυκής μεμοίραται; τί χρή μακρηγορεῖν περί πυρός; ατροφήσεαν γάρ αὐτίκα σβένσαι, χωλόν, [512] ἡ φασιν οἷς ποιηταῖς γεγονὸς εἴ σεαυτού· διὸ σκηρίπτομενον 2 ὑρθοῦται κατὰ τὴν τῆς ἀναφθείσης πυρός; ἀτροφησαν γαρ αυτικα σβενσαι, χωλον, 128 127 ὑπὸς μονήν, 3 ἐξαναλωθέοντας δ' ἀφανιζεται. το παραπλήσιον μέντοι καὶ τοὺς κατὰ τὴν Ἰνδικὴν δράκοντας φασι πάσχειν· ἀνέρποντας γάρ ἐπὶ τὰ 1 mss. ἐξαναλούσαν. 2 Cumont reads χωλὸς Ἡφαιστος . . . γεγονός εἴ αὐτοῦ Δίος σκηρίπτομενος. See App. p. 529. 3 Cumont νομήν.

1 See on § 86.
2 The lameness of Hephaestus (cf. Il. xviii. 397) was interpreted by the allegorists as the inability of the earthly fire (in contrast to the heavenly) to go on without the support of fuel. See App. p. 529.
3 This story, which is found also in Pliny and Aelian, seems very inappropriate. The fire consumes the fuel and 272
To begin with earth. What part of it, great or small, is there which is not dissolved by the action of time? Do not the strongest stones become dank and decay through the weakness of their cohesiveness, that current of spirit force, that bond which is not unbreakable but merely difficult to loose? They break in pieces and first disintegrate into a stream of fine dust and afterwards waste away till there is nothing left of them. Again if water is not whipped by the wind but left unmoved, does it not become like a dead thing through its inactivity? It certainly changes and becomes very malodorous like an animal bereft of its vital force. As for the air, its destruction is evident to everybody, for sickness and decay and what may be called death is natural to it. How, indeed, could anyone, who aimed at truth rather than elegance of language, describe a pestilence save as a death of the air which diffuses its own distemper to destroy all things to which the life force has been given? We need not spend many words on fire, for when it has lost its sustenance it is extinguished at once, in itself lame as the poets say. While with a support it stands erect because the kindled fuel is still there; when that is used up it is seen no more. Much the same is said to happen with the snakes in India. They creep up to those hugest of animals, then perishes. The snakes suck the blood and then perish also; but not because they can get no blood, though Philo seems to suggest this by μηκέ εχοντες τροφην, but because the fallen elephants stifle them. We may suppose that the story interested him so much that he brought it in without considering whether it really illustrated his point. Cumont aptly quotes the account in De Ebr. 174 of the elk, which camouflages its colours to illustrate the different impressions which an object makes on different people, and the same may be said of the polypus and chameleon in the same context.
PHILO

μέγιστα τῶν ζῴων, ἐλέφαντας, περὶ νῦτα καὶ
νηδύν ἀπασαν εἰλείσθαι, φλέβα δ’ ἦν ἂν τύχη
διελόντας ἐμπίνειν τοῦ αἴματος, ἀπλήστως ἐπι-
σπωμένους βιαίω πνεύματι καὶ συντόνω ροίζω,
μέχρι μὲν οὖν τίνος ἐξαναλομένους ἐκεῖνους ἀντι-
έχειν ὡς ἄμηχανίας ἀνασκιρτώντας καὶ τῇ προ-
νομαίᾳ τὴν πλευρὰν τύπτοντας. ὡς καθεξομένους
tῶν δρακόντων, εἶτα άεὶ κενουμένου τοῦ ζωτικοῦ,
πηδὰν μὲν μηκέτι δύνασθαι, κραδαινομένους δ’
ἔσταναι, μικρὸν δ’ ὑστερον καὶ τῶν σκελῶν ἐξ-
ασθενεῖσάντων, κατασκιρτώντας ὑπὸ λυφαίμιας
ἀποψύχειν, πεσόντας δὲ τοὺς αἰτίους τοῦ θανάτου
129 συναπολλύναι τρόπῳ τοιῷδε: μηκέτ’ ἔχοντες τρο-
φὴν οἱ δράκοντες ὃν περιέθεσαν δεσμὸν ἐπιχει-
ροῦσιν ἐκλύειν ἄπαλλαγὴν ἄθη ποθοῦντες, ὑπὸ δὲ
tοῦ βάρους τῶν ἐλεφάντων θλιβόμενοι πιέζονται,
καὶ πολὺ μᾶλλον ἐπειδὰν τύχῃ στέρισαν καὶ
λιθώδες τὸ ἔδαφος. λυσόμενοι γὰρ καὶ πάντα
ποθοῦντες εἰς διάλυσιν, ὑπὸ τῆς τοῦ πιέσαντος βίας
πεδηθέντες, ἐαυτοὺς πολυτρόπως ἐν ἄμηχανίας καὶ
ἀπόρους γυμνάσαντες ἐξασθενεῖσάν (καὶ) καθάπερ
οἱ καταλευσθέντες ή τείχους αἰφνίδιον ἐπενεχθέντος
προκαταληφθέντες, οὐδ’ ὅσον ἀνακύψας δυνάμενοι,
πυγὴ τελευτῶσιν. εἰ δὴ τῶν μερῶν ἐκαστον τοῦ
cόσμου φθορὰν υπομένει, δῆλον ὅτι καὶ ὃ ἔξ αὐτῶν
παγεὶς κόσμος ἀφθαρτος οὐκ ἔσται.

130 Τὸν δὲ τέταρτον καὶ λοιπὸν λόγον ἀκριβωτέον
ώδε, φασίν. εἰ ὁ κόσμος ἀίδιος ἦν, ἦν ἂν καὶ τὰ
ζώα ἀίδια καὶ πολὺ γε μᾶλλον τὸ τῶν ἀνθρώπων
gένος, ὅσοι καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἅμεινοι. ἀλλὰ καὶ
ὄψιγονον φανῆναι τοῖς βουλομένοις ἑρευνᾶν τὰ

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

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

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\[a\] See App. p. 530.
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φύσεως· εἰκός γὰρ μᾶλλον ὡς ἀναγκαῖον ἀνθρώποις συνυπάρξαι τὰς τέχνας ὥς ἂν ἰσήλικας, οὐ μόνον ὧτι λογικὴ φύσει τὸ ἐμμέθοδον οὐκεῖον, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὧτι ζην ἄνευ τῶν οὐκ ἔστιν. ἵνα μὲν ἄνθρωποι ἀλογήσατε τῶν ἐπιτραγῳδομένων θεοίς μύθων μόνον ὡς ἄνθρωποι, οὐδὲ ἄλλο τί ζώον, ὡστ' οὐδ' αἱ δεδεγμέναι ταῦτα χώραι, γῆ καὶ ύδωρ καὶ ἀήρ. ἐξ ὧν τὸ φθαρτὸν εἶναι τὸν κόσμον δῆλον ἔστιν.

131 XXV. Ἀναγκαῖον δέ πρὸς τὴν τοσαύτην εὑρεσιολογίαν ἀπαντῆσαι, μή τις τῶν ἀπειροτέρων ἐνδοῦς ὑπαχθή καὶ ἀρκτεόν γε τῆς ἀντιρρήσεως ἀψι τῆς άπατης. τάς ανωμάλιας οὔκ εῖχρήν εἶναι τῆς γῆς, εἴπερ ἄιδιος ἢν ὁ κόσμος; διά τί, γενναῖοι; φήσουσι γὰρ ἠτεροὶ παρελθόντες, ὅτι δένδρων οὐδὲν αἱ φύσεις τῶν ὀρῶν διαφέρουσι, ἀλλὰ καθάπερ ἔκεινα καιροῖς μὲν τοις φυλλορροεῖ καιροῖς δὲ πάλιν ἀνηβα—διὸ καὶ τὸ ποιητικὸν εὐ εὑρήται

"φύλλα τὰ μὲν τ' ἀνεμοὺς χαμάδις χέει, ἀλλὰ δὲ θ' ύλη
τηλεθόωσα φύει, ἕαρος δ' ἐπιγίγνεται ἀρη"—

τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον καὶ τῶν ὀρῶν τὰ μὲν ἀποθραυτεῖ, μέρη, τὰ δὲ προσφύεται. μακροῖς δὲ χρόνοις ἢ πρόσφυσις καθίσταται γνώριμος, διότι

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

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

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

In the same way the mountains, too, have parts broken off but others come as accretions. But the accretions take long periods of time to become reappeared in this treatise and that though it was in his source the author left it because the details were too much for him, depreciates the "Compilator," as he calls him, far too much.

\[b\] \textit{Il. vi. 147 f.}
τὰ μὲν δένδρα ὅκυτέρα χρώμενα τῇ φύσει θάττον καταλαμβανομένην ἔχει τὴν ἐπίδοσιν, τὰ δ’ ὀρη βραχυτέρα,1 διὸ καὶ τὰς ἐκφύσεις αὐτῶν αἰσθητὰς ὡστὶ μὴ χρόνῳ μακρῷ μόλις εἶναι συμβέβηκεν. 134 ἐοίκασι γε τὸν τρόπον τῆς γενέσεως αὐτῶν ἀγνοεῖν, ἐπεὶ κἂν ἵσως αἰδεούσθηντες ἐγχώσασιν. φθόνοις δ’ οὐδεὶς ἀναδίδοκεν· ἔστι δ’ οὔτε νέον τὸ λεγόμενον οὔτε ῥήμαθ’ ἡμῶν, ἀλλὰ παλαιὰ σοφῶν ἀνδρῶν, οἷς οὔτε ἀδιερεύσθην τῶν εἰς ἐπιστήμην 135 ἀναγκαίων ἀποτελεῖται. ὅταν τὸ κατακεκλεισμένον ἐν τῇ γῇ πυρῶδες ἄνω τῇ τοῦ πυρὸς ἐλαιώνηται φυσικῇ δυνάμει, πρὸς τὸν οἰκεῖον τόπον στείχει, κἂν τινὸς λάβῃ τὰ βραχεῖα ἀναπνοῆς, ἄνω μὲν συνεπών πολλήν τῆς γεώδους οὐσίας, ὡσεὶ ἄν οἶνος τῇ ἕξ, ἐξω δ’ ἐπιγενόμενον ἀπακολούθησαν,2 [ἡ] καὶ μέχρι πολλοῦ συμπαρελθεῖν βιασθεῖσα, πρὸς μήκιστον ἀρθεῖσα ύψος, στέλλεται κορυφουμένη καὶ πρὸς ἔξω ἀποτελεῖται κορυφήν 136 τὸ πυρὸς σχῆμα μμομμένη. γίνεται γὰρ τοῦ κοινοτάτον καὶ βαρύτατον τότε, τῶν φύσει ἀντιπάλων, ἀναγκαία συνανατολών διαμάχη, πρὸς τὴν οἰκείαν ἐκατέρων χώραν ἐπειγομένου καὶ (πρὸς) τὸ βιαζόμενον ἀντιτείνοντος· τὸ μὲν δὴ πῦρ συνανέλκον γῆν ὑπὸ τοῦ πολλοῦ περὶ αὐτῶν νευστικοῦ βρίθεων ἀναγκάζεται, ἡ δὲ γῆ κατωτάτῳ ταλαντεύουσα τῷ τοῦ πυρὸς ἀνωφοίτῳ συνεπελαφρισθεῖσα μετέωρος ἔξαιρεται καὶ κρατηθεῖσα μόλις ὑπὸ δυνατω-
cognizable, because as the process of growth in trees is more rapid their advance is apprehended more quickly, while in mountains that process is slower, and, therefore, their after-growths become just perceptible only after a long time. These people seem to have no knowledge of the way in which mountains come to be, otherwise they would probably have held their tongues for shame. But we shall not grudge giving them instruction, for the tale is nothing new, nor are the words ours, but old-time sayings of wise men, who left nothing uninvestigated that was necessary for knowledge. When the fiery element enclosed in the earth is driven upward by the natural force of fire, it travels towards its proper place, and if it gets a little breathing space, it pulls up with it a large quantity of earthy stuff, as much as it can, but with this outside and on it it moves more slowly. This earthy substance forced to travel with it for a long distance, rises to a great height and contracts and tapers, and passes finally into a pointed peak with the shape of fire for its pattern. For there is necessarily then a conflict when the natural antagonists, the heaviest and the lightest, clash. Each presses on to its proper location and resists the force applied by the other. The fire which is dragging the earth with it is necessarily weighted by the counter-pull which the earth exerts upon it, while the earth though gravitating ever downwards lightened by the upward tendency of the fire rises aloft, and, compelled at last to yield to the stronger power which

emendation; nor does Cumont, who also retains it. Bernays ἦ δ' ἔξωθεν ἐπιγενομένη. The translation I have given supposes ἐπιγενομένης (sc. οὐσίας) and ἦ or ἦ δὲ for the ἦ expunged by Cohn.
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τέρας τῆς ἐπικουφιζούσης ἵσχύος ἀνω πρὸς τὴν
137 τὸν πυρὸς ἔδραν ὥθεται καὶ ἵσταται. 1 τί οὖν
θαυμαστόν, εἰ μὴ τὰ ὁρὲ ταῖς τῶν ὑετῶν φοράς
ἐξανήλωται, τῆς συνεχούσης αὐτὰ δυνάμεως, ὡδὲ
καὶ διανύσταται, μάλα παγίως καὶ κραταῖως
ἐνειλημμένης; λυθέντος γὰρ δεσμὸ τοῦ συν-
ἐχοντος, εἰκὸς ἢν διαλυθῆναι καὶ πρὸς ὕδατος
σκέδασθαι, δυνάμει δὲ σφιγγόμενα τῇ τοῦ πυρὸς
στεγανώτερον πρὸς τὰς τῶν ὑετῶν φοράς ἀντέχει.

[514] XXVI. | ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ήμῖν λελέχθων περὶ τοῦ τῆν
ἀνωμαλίαν τῆς γῆς πίστιν οὖν εἶναι γενέσεως καὶ
φθοράς κόσμου.

138 Πρὸς δὲ τὸ ἀπὸ τῆς μειώσεως τῆς θαλάττης
ἐπιχειρηθέν ἐκεῖνο δεόντως ἂν λέγωτο· μὴ τὰς
ἀνασχούσας νῆσους αὐτὸ μόνον ἄει μηδὲ εἰ τινὲς
ἀποτομαὶ κατακλυζόμενα τὸ πάλαι χρόνοις αὕθις
ηπειρώθησαν σκοπεῖτε—φυσιολογίας γὰρ ἀντι-
παλον φιλοκικία τριτόθητον ἡγούμενης ἀλῆθειν
ἀναπληρώσας τὸ πάλαι χρόνοις αὕθις
ἰχνηλατεῖν—, ἄλλα πολυπραγμονέιτε2 καὶ τούνα-
τίον, ὅσα μὲν ἐν ἡπείροις οὐ παράλιοι μόνον ἄλλα
καὶ μεσόγειοι μοῖραι κατεπόθησαν, ὅση δὲ χέρσος
139 θαλαττωθεῖσα μυριοφόροι ναυσὶν ἐμπλεῖται. (ἡ) τὴν
περὶ τὸν ἵερωτατον Σικελικὸν πορθμὸν ἀνδρι-
μένην ἱστορίαν ἀγνοεῖτε; (ἡν μὲν γὰρ) τὸ

1 So mss., to which I can see no objection. Cohri and Cumont κάνισταται.
2 mss. πολυπραγμονέιται or πολυπραγμονεῖν ἐτί.

a Bernays calls attention to the difference between the

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

To the proof which they attempt to draw from 138 the diminution of the sea, the following answer may justly be given. Do not perpetually fix your eyes merely on the islands which have emerged or any segments which were submerged long ago and in the course of time have been rejoined to the mainland. For contentiousness is a foe to the nature study which holds the investigation of truth to be profoundly desirable. Busy yourselves also with the converse of this, namely, all the parts of the mainland, not only on the sea-coast but in the centre, which have been swallowed up, and all the dry land which has been turned into sea and is the sailing ground of ships of considerable tonnage. Do you 139 not know the celebrated story of the sacred Sicilian theory here stated to account for the permanence of mountains from that in § 132. Philo might reply that the two reasons though different are not inconsistent. The fire prevents them from being destroyed just as the trunk stands when the leaves go, but does not prevent the breaking-off of pieces, which are replaced by new accretions.
παλαιὸν ἤπειρῳ Ἡταλίᾳ Σικελίᾳ συνάπτουσα, μεγάλων δὲ τῶν παρ’ ἐκάτερα πελαγῶν βιαῖοις πνεύμασιν ἐξ ἐναντίας ἐπιδραμόντων, ἡ μεθόριος ἐπεκλύσθη καὶ ἀνερράγη, παρ’ ἣν καὶ πόλει ἐπώνυμος τοῦ πάθους Ὀρίγιον κτισθείσα ὡνομάσθη. καὶ τούναντίόν οὐ προσδόκησεν ἄν τις ἀπέβη· συνεζεύχθη μὲν γὰρ τὰ τέως διεστῶτα πελάγη κατὰ τὴν σύρρυσιν ἐνωθέντα, ἡ δὲ ἴνωμένη γῆ τῷ μεθορίῳ πορθμῷ διεζεύχθη, παρ’ ὃν ἤπειρος οὖσα Σικελία νῆσος ἐβιάσθη γενέσθαι. πολλὰς δὲ καὶ ἄλλας λόγος τῆς θαλάττης ύπερσχούσης ἡφανίσθαι πόλεις καταποθείσας, ἐπεὶ καὶ κατὰ Πελοπόννησον φασὶ τρεῖς

"Αἰγειραν Βοῦράν τε καὶ ύψηλὴν 'Ελίκειαν, τείχεσιν ἢ τάχ’ ἐμέλλε περὶ βρύα μυρία φύσειν,"

εὐδαιμονικὰ τὸ πάλαι γενομένας πολλὴ τοῦ πελάγους ἐπικλυσθῆναι φορᾶ. ἡ δὲ Ἡλλάντις νῆσος, "ἀμα Λιβύης καὶ Ἀσίας μεῖζων," ἦ φησιν ἐν Τιμαιῶ Πλάτων, ἡμέρα μιᾷ καὶ νυκτὶ "σεισμῶν ἐξαίσιων καὶ κατακλυσμῶν γενομένων δύσα κατὰ τῆς θαλάττης ἐξαίφνης ἡφανίσθη," γενομένη πέλαγος, οὖ

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

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

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

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

The source of these lines is unknown. In themselves they do not imply the submersion of any except Heliceia, and nothing is said elsewhere of that of Aegira. Bura (Buris) and Heliceia (Helice) are mentioned as submerged by later writers, including Seneca (Nat. Quaest. vi. 23. 4 and vii. 5. 3), where he gives Callisthenes as his authority, as well as an unknown treatise of Aristotle.
142 πλωτόν, ἀλλὰ βαραθρῶδες. οὐδὲν οὖν εἰς τὸ φθείρεσθαι τὸν κόσμον ἢ πλασθεῖσα τῷ λόγῳ μείωσις τῆς θαλάττης συνεργεῖ· φαίνεται γὰρ ὦν μὲν ἐξαναχωροῦσα, τὰ δὲ ἐπικλύζουσα. ἐχρήν δὲ μὴ θάτερον τῶν γινομένων ἀλλὰ συνάμφω θεωροῦντας ἐπικρίνειν, ἐπεὶ κἂν τοῖς περὶ βίον ἀμφισβητήμασιν οὐκ ἀποφανεῖται.

143 XXVII. Καὶ μὴν ὁ τρίτος λόγος ἐξ εαυτοῦ διελέγχεται, μὴ ὑγίως ἐρωτηθεὶς ἀπὸ τῆς εὐθύς ἐν ἀρχῇ φάσεως. οὐ γὰρ δῆποθεν οὐδὲν πάντα τὰ μέρη φθείρεται φθαρτόν ἐστιν ἐκεῖνο, ἀλλ’ οὐ πάντα τὰ μέρη ἀμα καὶ ἐν ταύτῃ (καὶ) ἄθροα κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν χρόνον, ἐπεὶ καὶ ἄκρον ἀποκοπεῖς τὸς δάκτυλον ζῆν οὔ κεκώλυται, εἰ δὲ τὴν κοινωνίαν τῶν μερῶν καὶ μελῶν πᾶσαν, αὐτικὰ τελευτήσει.

144 τὸν αὐτὸν οὖν τρόπον, εἰ μὲν συλλήβδην ἀπαξ-άπαντα τὰ στοιχεία υφ’ ἕνα καιρὸν ἡφανίζετο, φάσκειν ενδέχεσθαι τὸν κόσμον φθορὰν ἢν ἀναγκαῖον· εἰ δ’ ἐκαστὸν ἱδία πρὸς τὴν τοῦ γείτονος

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*a* Taken partly verbatim from *Timaeus* 24 ε and 25 c–d. The meaning of βαραθρῶδης is doubtful. Philo is paraphrasing Plato’s ἀπορον και ἀδιερεύνητον ... τὴλου κάρτα βραχεος (v.l. βαθεος) εμποδων οντος, δν η νήσος ιζομενη παρ-έσχετο. L. & S. (revised) give (for this passage) “dangerous.” Bernays has “mit Untiefen besäete Wasserfläche.” 284
of abysses.\textsuperscript{a} So then the fiction which they propound 142 that the sea is diminished contributes nothing to show that the world is destroyed, for it is clear that the sea withdraws from some places and inundates others. And judgement should not be given on observation of one of the phenomena but of both together, just as also in the disputes of ordinary life the law-abiding judge will not declare his decision until he has heard both litigants.

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

Dr. Rouse suggests that he may mean hidden reefs, which he thinks of as sunken ravines. Stephanus quoting this passage says “fortasse coenosus,” and cites De Agr. 144 ὑλερῷ δὲ καὶ βαραθρώδει βίω. There Mangey’s correction to βορβορώδει has been generally accepted. Is it possible that the same correction should be made here?

\textsuperscript{b} This use of ερωτάω = “to state a proposition or syllogism not in the form of a question,” is described as a late usage by L. & S. (revised), who cite Galen v. 327. Stephanus speaks of it as a known usage, but after giving some examples of συνερωτάω, gives one example of the simple verb, Sext. Emp. Pyrrh. iii. 13 οἱ κατὰ τῆς ἀποδείξεως ἡρωτημένου λόγοι. Our passage seems to be a clear example, and cf. Quod Omn. Prob. 53, though that may only apply to the question asked by Zeno. See also App. p. 530.
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μεταβάλλει φύσιν, άθανατίζεται μᾶλλον ἡ φθείρεται κατὰ τὸ φιλοσοφηθέν ὑπὸ τοῦ τραγικοῦ

"θνήσκει δ' οὐδὲν τῶν γιγνομένων,
διακρινόμενον δ' ἄλλο πρὸς ἄλλο
μορφὴν ἐτέραν ἀπέδειξεν."

145 Παντελῆς γε μὴν εὐήθεια τὸ γένος τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἀπὸ τῶν τεχνῶν εξετάζεσθαι· τῇ γὰρ περὶ τὸν λόγον ἀτοπίας τις ἀκολουθήσας νέον τὸν κόσμον ἀποφανεὶ κομιδή μόλις πρὸ χιλίων παγέντα ἐνιαυτῶν, ἐπεὶ καὶ οὗς παρειλήφαμεν τῶν ἐπιστημῶν εὐφράτας τὸν λεχθέντα τῶν ἐνιαυτῶν ἁριθμὸν οὐχ ῥαῦχαναν. εἰ δὲ δὴ καὶ λεκτέοι τὰς τέχνιας ισήμορας ἀνθρώπων γένει, μεθ' ιστορίας φυσικῆς ἄλλ' οὐκ ἀπερισκέπτως καὶ βαθύμως λεκτέον. ἦ δ' ιστορία τίς; φθοραὶ τῶν κατὰ γῆν, οὐκ ἀθρόων ἀπάντων ἄλλα τῶν πλείστων, δυσὶ ταῖς μεγίσταις αἰτίαις ἀνατίθενται, πυρὸς καὶ ύδατος ἀλέκτοις φοραὶ· κατασκήπτειν δ' ἐκατέραν ἐν μέρει φασίν ἐν πάνι μακράς ἐνιαυτῶν περιόδοις.

147 ὅταν μὲν οὖν ἐμπρήσῃς καταλαμβάνῃ, ἰδέα μια αἰθέ-

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\(\text{a}\) See on § 30. The citation of these three lines for the third time must be regarded as a piece of careless composition.

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

\(\text{c}\) Cf. Plato, Phaedo 96 Α σοφίαν, ἦν δὴ καλοδύνη περὶ φύσεως
THE ETERNITY OF THE WORLD, 144–147

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

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

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

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

ρίου πυρός ἀνωθεν ἐκχεόμενον πολλαχὴ σκεδάσ
tαί, μεγάλα κλίματα τῆς οἰκουμένης ἐπιτρέχον
ὁταν δὲ κατακλυσμός, ἀπασαν τὴν ὕδατος [κατομ-
βρίαν] κατασύρει1 φύσιν, αὐθιγενῶν καὶ χειμάρρων
ποταμῶν οὐ πλημμυροῦντων μόνον ἄλλα καὶ τὸ
καθεστὸς προσυπερβαλλόντων τῆς ἐπιβάσεως καὶ
tὰς ὀχθὰς ὁ τῇ βίᾳ παραρρηγνύντων ἡ ὑπερ-
πηδώντων ἀναβάσει τῇ πρὸς μήκιστον ύψος. ὁθὲν
ὑπερβλύσαντας εἰς τὴν παρακειμένην ἀναχείσθαι
πεδιάδα, τὴν δὲ τὸ μὲν πρῶτον εἰς μεγάλας λίμνας
dιανέμεσθαι, πρὸς τὰ κοιλότερα ἀεὶ τοῦ ὕδατος
συνιζόντος, αὐθὶς δ’ ἐπιρρέοντος καὶ τοὺς μεθορίους
[516] ἵσθμους | κατακλυζόντος, οἷς διεκρίνοντο αἱ λίμναι,
eἰς μέγεθος ἄχανοις πελάγους κατὰ τὴν πολλὰ
148 ἐνωσιν ἀποκρίνεσθαι. πρὸς δὲ μαχομένων δυνά-
μεων ἐν μέρει τοὺς ἐν τοῖς ἐναντίοις οἰκοῦντας
τόποις ἀπόλυσθαι, πυρὶ μὲν τοὺς ἐν ὀρέσι καὶ
γεωλόφοις καὶ δυσύδροις χωρίοις, ἄτ’ οὐκ ἔχοντας
φύσι2 πυρὸς ἀμυντήριον ἄφθονον ὕδωρ, ἐμπαλιν δ’
ὑδατ τους παρὰ ποταμοῖς ἡ λίμναι ἡ θαλάττῃ
γειτόνων γὰρ ἀπεπεθανεὶ φιλεὶ τὰ κακὰ πρῶτων ἡ
149 καὶ μόνων.3 κατὰ δὴ τοὺς λεχθέντας τρόπους δίχα
μυρίων ἀλλων βραχυτέρων φθειρομένου τοῦ πλεἰ-
στού μέρους ἀνθρώπων, ἐπιλείπειν4 εἴς ἀνάγκης καὶ
tὰς τέχνας: δίχα γὰρ τοῦ μεθοδεύοντος οὐκ εἶναι
καθ’ αὐτὴν ἱδεῖν ἐπιστήμην. ἐπειδὰν δὲ αἱ μὲν
κοινοὶ νόσοι χαλάσωσιν, ἀρξηται δὲ ἀνηβαν καὶ
βλαστάνει τὸ γένος ἐκ τῶν μὴ προκαταληφθέντων

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

\[\text{a So Timaeus 22 c } \phiθοραϊ \ldots \text{ πυρι } \mu\epsilonν \text{ και } \nu\deltaατι \mu \gammaιοσταί, } \mu\nuρλοις \text{ δὲ } \alphaλλοις \text{ } \epsilonτεραι } \betaραχύτεραι.\]
PHILO

tois ἐπιβρίσασι δεινῶς, ἀρχεσθαι καὶ τὰς τέχνας πάλιν συνίστασθαι, οὐ τότε¹ πρῶτον γενομένας, ἀλλὰ τῇ μειώσει τῶν ἐχόντων ὑποσπανισθείσας.

ΛΑμέν οὖν περὶ ἀφθαρσίας τοῦ κόσμου παρειλήφαμεν, εἰρηται κατά δυνάμιν. τὰς δὲ πρὸς ἑκαστὸν ἐναντιώσεις ἐν τοῖς ἕπειτα δηλωτέον.

¹ mss. οὔτε.
also, which are not then born for the first time but have sunk into insignificance through the diminution of persons possessing them, establish themselves once more.

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

\(^a\) See Introduction, p. 177 note a.
FLACCUS
(IN FLACCUM)
INTRODUCTION TO *IN FLACCUM*

The story told in this treatise is as follows.

Flaccus, whose misgovernment and cruelty to the Jews and ultimate fate are here described, was appointed prefect of Alexandria and Egypt in or about A.D. 32 near the end of the principate of Tiberius. Philo tells us that he showed considerable ability and industry during his first five years of office. He remarks that he praises him to exhibit his villainy in a clearer light, and he might have added that his description goes to prove that his toleration of the abominable cruelty shown to the Jews by the Alexandrian populace was not due to weakness but to definite intention (1-7). He had stood well with Tiberius, but the accession of Gaius in 37 endangered his position, for he had been a partisan of Tiberius Gemellus, the rival candidate for the succession, had been concerned in the steps taken to prosecute Agrippina, Gaius's mother, and was friendly with Macro, who, though he had done much to protect Gaius from the distrust and dislike of Tiberius, soon

* It is generally accepted that this is the second part of a work of which the first part has been lost. For (1) the opening words suggest that it follows on an account of the accusations brought against the Jews by Sejanus which are alluded to in *Legatio* 160; (2) the closing sentence “Flaccus also suffered” implies that the fate of some or other persecutor has been told; (3) a passage not to be found in the extant work, but stated to come from the *Flaccus*, is cited by St. John Damascene (see Prolegomena to Cohn-Reiter, vol. vi. pp. xlix f.).

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fell into disfavour with Gaius and was put to death (8-15). This last event reduced Flaccus to despair, and it was at this point that according to Philo the anti-Semitic party in Alexandria, though they included some who at bottom were his enemies, approached him and suggested that if he would give them his support they and the city as a whole would stand by him to protect him against the hostility of the Emperor (16-24). All this may be partially or even wholly true, but it is compatible with the view held by some, who have more right to pronounce an opinion than I, that behind it lies a movement on the part of the Jews to enlarge to full citizenship the special privileges which they had as a πολίτευμα, and that it was this which roused the Greeks to take action and enlist Flaccus's support.\(^a\)

Philo represents Flaccus as only gradually throwing his lot in with them and exhibiting his hostility to the Jews (24). The climax came when Herod Agrippa, recently appointed by Gaius to the kingship of his uncle Philip's tetrarchy, visited Alexandria on his way to his kingdom, and the Alexandrians deeply resenting this exaltation of a Jew and (though Philo does not tell us this) further exasperated by the enthusiasm with which the Jews welcomed their compatriot,\(^b\) staged an insulting mockery by bringing the lunatic Carabas into the Gymnasium and greeting him with royal honours. Philo does not accuse Flaccus of taking an active part in this, and, indeed, admits that in public he behaved to Agrippa with courtesy and friendliness, but charges him with abetting it in as much as he took no steps to suppress the demonstration or punish the offenders (25-40).

\(^a\) See note to § 54, App. p. 534. \(^b\) See note to § 30.
The Alexandrians, presumably aware that they might compromise themselves by insulting Gaius's favourite, then proceeded to a step which would naturally be gratifying to the Emperor. They desecrated the synagogues by setting up images of Gaius in them. We are told very little about this in this treatise. Philo enlarges upon the consequences it entailed, on the danger of such a movement extending beyond Alexandria, and on its futility because the desecrated synagogues would cease to exist as synagogues and the Jews would be unable to pay the homage which they were accustomed to pay by dedicating them in honour of the Emperor or installing such emblems as had been lawfully installed in them in the past (41-52). He passes on to a second wrong, a certain proclamation issued by Flaccus. This which is vaguely described as denouncing the Jews as foreigners and aliens may be fairly connected with the eviction from four of the five "letters" or quarters of the city which is mentioned in the same section (53-54). Then comes a third wrong. He permitted the mob not merely to evict the householders but to plunder their houses, and one consequence of the evictions was that the Jews were unable to carry on their businesses. In fact, a regular

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In the *Legatio* 132 ff. we hear a good deal more. There the desecration seems to follow the pogrom, not precede it, as here, and we are told that there was a wholesale destruction and burning of the synagogues. It is only where the density of the Jewish inhabitants resisted this that the images were installed, though one would have thought that this might have been prevented more easily than the other.

*Cf. Legatio* 133, where the destruction of the synagogues is said to have involved the destruction of many shields and inscriptions of this sort.

See note to § 54, App. p. 534.
pogrom ensued and its brutalities are described in lurid terms. The items selected are somewhat different from those of the *Legatio* but the story is substantially the same (54-72). One point on which Philo dwells with considerable length is the treatment of the Jewish senators. Apparently these as a body were accused of some offences and, though only about half of the members were arrested, they were cruelly flogged. In particular some of them had lost all their property in the sack, and though Flaccus had already been informed of this they were scourged none the less (73-77). A further indignity was the instruments used. Alexandrian citizens were scourged with blades, and hitherto Alexandrian Jews had had the same privilege, but on this occasion there were substituted the scourges used on the Egyptians (78-80). Further, apparently all this took place on or about the Emperor's birthday, which was usually considered an occasion for mercy, but on this occasion brutal treatment of Jews was actually made part of the birthday celebrations (81-85).

The next outrage seems far less serious. The Jews or some of them were accused of having stocks of arms. Their houses were searched and according to Philo none were found, in marked contrast to the huge number taken when a similar investigation had been held of the Egyptians. His indignation seems overdone, and, indeed, the only specific complaint he makes is that the modesty of the women was offended by a military investigation of their intimate belong-

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a If the Jews, as stated in *Legatio* 134, effectively resisted in some cases the attacks upon the synagogues, they must have had weapons of some kind, and though these may not have been of the kinds enumerated in § 90, the suspicion that they were such was natural.
FLACCUS

ings, and in connexion with this he mentions other ill-treatment which the women had received in the pogrom (86-96).

The last item in the list of Flaccus’s crimes is that he suppressed the resolution of congratulation which the Jewish senate had passed at Gaius’s accession and which he had promised to transmit to the Emperor. The Jews suspecting that he had not sent it on had consulted Agrippa when he visited Alexandria and received from him an undertaking which they believed that he had carried out (97-103).

So much for Flaccus’s offences. We pass on to his punishment. The story of his arrest with a detailed account of the circumstances and of the exultation felt by the Jews, is related with all the vividness of which Philo is a master. We note that this occurred during the Feast of Tabernacles, not much more than a month after the birthday of the emperor and that his journey to Rome, during which he suffered from stormy weather, was at the beginning of winter (104-125). We do not know exactly what he was charged with, but are told that Isidorus and Lampo, who were mentioned earlier as leaders of the faction which urged him to secure his position by persecuting the Jews, now appeared as his accusers (126-127). And here Philo interrupts his narrative to tell us something about these two. His tirade against Lampo amounts to a charge that as secretary to the prefect acting as judge he persistently perverted justice, though we also incidentally learn that he had been for a time in serious trouble under Tiberius (128-134). As to Isidorus, we have a lengthy account of an incident belonging to the early days of Flaccus’s prefectship.

a ὡς ἀκούομεν. Does this imply some uncertainty?
Flaccus had originally shown him considerable favour. When he became less cordial Isidorus took umbrage and organized a gathering of his touts, who brought baseless slanders against Flaccus here represented as behaving with moderation and good sense. A meeting to which the respectable part of the people were summoned brought the whole city together full of indignation against the slanderers and sympathy with the governor. Isidorus was completely exposed and had to flee from the city (135-145). He must have reappeared and, surprising as it seems, must, if Philo’s account is true, have persuaded Flaccus that he was a friend on whose advice he could rely. What charges he and Lampo brought against Flaccus we are not told, but a trial was held in which Flaccus was condemned, his property confiscated and himself sentenced to deportation (146-150).

From this point the story proceeds straightforwardly to the end. We are given an account of his journey to Andros and his miserable plight after his arrival, interspersed with speeches and soliloquies in which he laments his fall and acknowledges that his punishment is just. Whether this last represents his feeling may be doubted. We have not and probably Philo had not any means of judging. The end came when Gaius, who is said to have come to the conclusion that the life of the deported was too mild a punishment for him, determined to have him executed. The treatise closes with a description of the way in which this was carried out, followed by the assertion that the fate of Flaccus shows that God still watches over the Jews (151-191).

The Flaccus has considerable literary merits. The narrative, particularly in the last forty sections, is
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exceedingly vivid. It is also, no doubt, historically valuable in so far as it gives a substantially true account of events of which we know very little from other sources. How far it is good history, in the sense of giving a reliable account of the motives and feelings of the actors in the story, I leave to those more competent than myself to assess. Also it is a powerful embodiment of that profound conviction that the nation is under the special Providence of God which has been the life and soul of Judaism throughout the centuries. This conviction naturally entails a belief that the enemies of Judaism are the enemies of God and their punishment a divine visitation. But this belief has its evil side, which seems to me to be very strongly exhibited in this treatise. In § 117 the Jews are represented as saying “We do not rejoice at the punishment of an enemy because we have been taught by the Holy Laws to have human sympathy.” This is easily said but not so easily done, and if Philo believed that he himself had learnt this lesson I think he deceived himself. He gloats over the misery of Flaccus in his fall, exile, and death, with a vindictiveness which I feel to be repulsive.\(^a\) While, as I have said in the preface, none of the treatises in this volume have any great value nor would probably have survived but for the high esteem given to his main work, this is the only one which those who admire the beauty and spirituality so often shown both in the Commentary and Exposition might well wish to have been left unwritten.

\(^a\) See also the conclusion to the *De Praemiis.*
ΕΙΣ ΦΛΑΚΚΟΝ

[517] 1. Δεύτερος μετά Σημιανόν Φλάκκος ΄Αουήλιος διαδέχεται τήν κατά τῶν ’Ιουδαίων ἐπιβουλήν, σύμπαν μὲν ἀδικήσαι τὸ ἔθνος ὡσπερ ἐκεῖνος ἀντικρύς οὐ δυνηθεῖς—ἐλάττους γὰρ εἴχε τὰς εἰς τούτ’ ἀφορμάς—, ἐφ’ ὅσους δ’ ἔφθανεν, ἀθρόους ἀνηκέστοις περιέπειρε κακοῖς. οὐ μὴν ἄλλα καὶ μέρει δόξας ἐπιτίθεσθαι τήν ἐπιβουλήν ἔξετειν ἐπι-ων τοὺς πανταχοῦ πάντας διὰ τέχνης τὸ πλέον ἡ δυνάμεως: οἷς γὰρ ἰσχὺς οὐ πρόσεστι τῶν τὰς φύ-σεις τυραννικῶν, πανουργίας τὰς ἐπιβουλὰς κατ-2 ορθοῦσιν. οὐκ ἦν οὗτος κριθείς παρὰ Τιβερίῳ Καῖσαρι μετὰ τὴν ’Ιβήρου¹ τελευτήν, δός ἐπετέραπτο Αἴγυπτον, καθίσταται τῆς Ἀλεξανδρείας καὶ τῆς χώρας επίτροπος, ἀνθρωπὸς ἐν ἀρχῇ μυρία καλοκαγάθιας ὡσα τῷ δοκεῖν ἐξενεγκών δείγματα: πυκνὸς τε γὰρ ἦν καὶ συνεχῆς καὶ οξύς νοήσαι καὶ τὰ βουλευθέντα πράξαι καὶ προχειρότατος εἰπεῖν καὶ πρὸ τοῦ 3 λεγόμενον τὸ ἰσχαζόμενον αἰσθέσθαι. παντά-πασιν οὖν ὁλίγῳ χρόνῳ τῶν κατὰ τὴν Αἴγυπτον

¹ So Reiter for mss. βήρου or σεβήρου. See note b.

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ᵃ For Sejanus’s hostility to the Jews cf. Legatio 159-161, and see further App. p. 531.
ᵇ The name of Iberus is mentioned by Dio Cass. lviii. 19. 6 302
FLACCUS

I. The policy of attacking the Jews begun by Sejanus was taken over by Flaccus Avillius. He had not like his predecessor the power to ill-treat outright the whole nation, for he had less opportunities of doing so, but those whom he reached suffered the direst misery from the stabs which he dealt to them one and all. And, indeed, though his assault appeared to be only partial, by employing craft rather than power he brought them all wherever they were within the scope of his hostility. For persons naturally tyrannical who have not the addition of strength achieve their malignant designs through cunning. This Flaccus then, who had been given a place in the suite of Tiberius Caesar, was after the death of Iberus, who had been prefect of Egypt, made prefect of Alexandria and the country round it. He was a man who at first gave to all appearance a multitude of proofs of high excellence. He was sagacious and assiduous, quick to think out and execute his plans, very ready at speaking, and at understanding what was left unspoken better even than what was said. So in quite a short time he became thoroughly familiar with Egyptian affairs, as succeeding Vitrasius Pollio as prefect of Egypt. Older editions adopting the reading of most of the mss. called him Severus. Cf. De Som. ii. 123 and note, vol. v. p. 609.
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πραγματειῶν ἓθας γίνεται· πολύτροποι δ’ εἰσὶ καὶ ποικίλαι, μόλις τοῖς ἐκ πρώτης ἡλικίας τὸ ἔργον ἐπιτήδευμα πεποιημένοις γνωριζόμεναι. περιττὸς ὁχλος ἦσαν οἱ γραμματεῖς, ἡδὴ πρὸς πάντα μικρὰ καὶ μεγάλα φθάνοντος αὐτῶν ταῖς ἐμπειρίαις, ὡς μὴ μόνον ὑπερβαλεῖν ἄλλα χάριν ἀκριβείας ἀντὶ γνωρίμου διδάσκαλον γεγονότα τῶν τέως ὕφηγη-4 τῶν. καὶ ὡς μὲν περὶ λογισμοῖς καὶ τὴν τῶν προσδευμένων κατώρθου διοίκησιν, εἰ καὶ μεγάλα καὶ ἀναγκαῖα ἢν, ἀλλ’ οὔδέν γε δείγμα

[518] ἔμπαροινεΐ τὰς ἐλπισιν ἡγεμονικῆς, ὃ δὲ λαμπροτέραν καὶ βασιλικὴν ἐδήλου φύσιν, μετὰ πλείονος παρρησίας ἐπεδείκνυτο· οἷον σεμνότερον ἤγεν αὐτὸν—ἀρχοντὶ δὲ λυπετέοιταν ἵ τύφος—, ἐδίκαζε τὰ μεγάλα μετὰ τῶν ἐν τέλει, τοὺς ὑπεραύχους καθῆρε, μιγάδων καὶ συγκλύδων ἀνθρώπων ὁχλον ἐκώλυεν ἐπισυνίστασθαι· τὰς τε ἐταιρείας καὶ συνόδους, αἱ ἀεὶ ἐπὶ προφάσει θυσιῶν εἴστατο παρρήσιας, διέλυε τοῖς ἐμβριθώς καὶ εὐτόνως προσφέρομενος. εἰτ’ ἐπείδῃ τὴν πόλιν καὶ τὴν χώραν ἀνέπλησεν εὐνομίας, ἐν μέρει πάλιν ταῖς στρατιωτικαῖς δυνάμεσιν ἐφήδρευεν ἐκτάτων, συγκροτῶν, γυμναζῶν πεζοὺς,

α Cf. § 133.

β παρρησία seems to be used here in a wider sense than the ordinary "frankness of speech" and to describe a person who shows his mind by actions as well as speech.

c Or simply "behaved in matters generally like drunkards." So Josephus, Ant. vi. 12. 7 uses the phrase of Saul's general conduct. Cf. De Ios. 45, where the adulterer ἐμπαρονεῖ ταῖς ἐλπισιν of the husband. But the description of the διασοι in § 136 suggests that drunkenness in the literal sense is intended.

d This is a curious use of ἐφεδρεύω. The regular sense of
intricate and diversified as they are and hardly grasped even by those who have made a business of studying them from their earliest years. His crowd of secretaries were a superfluity, since nothing small or great was beyond the reach of his experience, so that he not only surpassed them but thanks to his mastery of detail became the teacher instead of the pupil of his erstwhile instructors. And all matters connected with accountancy and administration of the revenue he managed successfully. These indeed, great and vital though they were, did not supply proof that he possessed the soul of a leader of men, but in a more open way he displayed qualities which revealed a more brilliant and kingly nature. Thus he bore himself with dignity, for outward pomp is very useful to a ruler. He judged important cases with the help of those in authority, humbled the arrogant and prevented any motley promiscuous horde of people from combining in opposition. The sodalities and clubs, which were constantly holding feasts under pretext of sacrifice in which drunkenness vented itself in political intrigue, he dissolved and dealt sternly and vigorously with the refractory. Then when he had fully established good order throughout the city and the country he began to turn his attention to supporting the armed forces. He set them in array, drilled, exercised them, cavalry, infantry and light-

of the word in Philo is to watch or wait generally for an opportunity to attack, sometimes to help. So in De Mig. 57 πρὸς βοήθειαν δύναμις ἀρωγὸς ἐφεδρέυει παρὰ θεῶ. In other writers the sense of waiting seems sometimes to be lost, and it is used more generally for “help” or “reinforce,” though hardly in the sense required here of improving the morale of the troops. Box gives “detail to special duties.”
ιππεῖς, τοὺς τῆς κούφης ὀπλίσεως, τοὺς ἡγεμόνας, ἵνα μὴ τὰς μισθοφορᾶς τῶν στρατιωτῶν ἀφαιροῦμενοι πρὸς ληστείας καὶ ἀρπαγᾶς αὐτοὺς ἀλείφωσι, πάλιν τῶν στρατιωτῶν ἕκαστον, ἵνα μηδὲν ἐξω τῶν κατὰ τὴν στρατείαν περιεργάζῃται μεμνημένος, ὅτι τέτακται καὶ τὴν εἰρήνην διαφυλάττειν.

6 Π. Ἡσιος δ᾽ ἂν τις εἴποι· "σὺ δ', ὦ οὖτος, ἐγνωκός ἀνθρώπου κατηγορεῖν ἐγκλήμα μὲν οὐδὲν διεξῆλθες, μακροὺς δ᾽ ἐπαίνους συνείρεις; μὴ ἄρα παραπαίεις καὶ μέμηνας;"—οὐ μέμηνα, ὦ οὖτος, ὦδ' ἡλίθιός τις εἶμι, ὥσ μὴ δύνασθαι πράγματος ἀκολουθίαν ἱδείν. ἐπαινώ τὸν Φλάκκον, οὐκ ἔπειδὴ προσῆκεν ἐχθρὸν ἐγκωμίζεως, ἀλλ' ἣν αὐτοῦ τὴν μοχθηρίαν ἀριδηλοτέραν παραστήσω τῷ μὲν γὰρ ἁγνοῖς τοῦ κρείττονος διαμαρτάνοντι συγγνώμη δίδοται, ὥς δ' ἐξ ἐπιστήμης ἅδικῶν ἀπολογίαν οὐκ ἔχει προεαλωκῶς ἐν τῷ τοῦ συν-μεμνημένος ως agreeing with Flaccus instead of the individual soldier. This is grammatically possible, but I think the run of the sentence is against it, and
armed alike, training the officers not to withhold the pay of their men and so incite them to pillage and rapine, and also each single soldier not to interfere in things outside his military duties but remember that he had been appointed also to maintain the peace.

II. Possibly someone may say "My dear sir, after deciding to accuse a man you have stated no charge but come out with a long string of praises. Are you out of your senses and gone quite mad?" No, my friend, I have not gone mad and I am not a silly person who cannot see what the sequence of an argument demands. I praise Flaccus not because I thought it right to laud an enemy but to show his villainy in a clearer light. For to one who sins through ignorance of a better course pardon may be given, but a wrongdoer who has knowledge has no defence but stands already convicted at the bar of his conscience.

III. Flaccus held his prefectship for six years and for the first five of these while Tiberius Caesar was alive maintained peace and held command with such activity and vigour that he excelled all his predecessors. But in the last year when Tiberius was dead and Gaius had been appointed Emperor he began to let everything slip from his hands. This may have been due to his profound grief at the death of Tiberius. For how greatly he mourned the loss of one whom he looked on as his closest friend was shown by his constant depression and the stream of tears which poured ceaselessly from
—είτε καὶ κακόνους ὃν τῷ διαδόχῳ διὰ τὸ τῆς τῶν γνησίων πρὸ τῆς τῶν θετῶν τεθεραπευκέναι μερίδα είτε καὶ τῶν συνεπιθεμενῶν τῇ Γαίου μμτρί, καθ' ὃν χρόνον εἰχε τὰς αἰτίας ἐφ' αἷς ἀνηρέθη, γεγονός καὶ διὰ φόβου ἀλώσεως ἐπιλελησμένος. ¹ καὶ μέχρι μὲν τῶν ἡτ' ἀντείχε μὴ κατὰ τὸ παντελὲς μεθεέμενος τῇ τῶν πραγμάτων ἀντίληψιν. ὡς δ' ἦκουσε τὸν Τιβερίου μὲν υἱωνὸν κοινωνὸν δὲ τῆς ἀρχῆς ἀναρεθέντα | Γαίου κελεύ-σαντος, ἀλέκτῳ πληγείς συμφορά καταβολῶν έαυτὸν ἄχανης ἐκεῖτο, τῆς διανοίας πολὺ πρότερον ἀπειρηκώνας καὶ παρειμένης αὐτῷ. ζώντος μὲν γάρ τοῦ μειρακίου τὰ ζώπυρα τῆς ἰδίας σωτηρίας οὐκ ἀπεγίνωσκεν, ἀποθανόντος δὲ συνεθνάναι καὶ τὰς οἰκείας ἐλπίδας ἐδοξεν, εἰ καὶ μικρὰ τὶς ἀπε-ελείπετο αὖρα βοηθείας, ἡ πρὸς Μάκρωνα φιλία τὰ σύμπαντα παρὰ Γαίῳ κατ' ἀρχὰς δυνηθέντα καὶ πλείστην μοῖραν ὡς λόγος εἰσενεγκάμενον αὐτῷ πρὸς τὸ τυχεῖν τῆς ἠγεμονίας καὶ ἔτι μᾶλλον πρὸς τὸ σωθῆναι, πολλάκις μὲν ἐκποδῶν πονήσασθαι

¹ The translation is based on the suggestion that some such phrase as ὃν ἔδει has fallen out. The simplest emendation perhaps would be to change καὶ to καίπερ or, according to Philo's common use, to καίτοι “though he had neglected later” (to take an active part). But can ἐπιλελησμένος mean this?

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³ For this use of γνήσιος see note on Quod Omn. Prob. 87.
² Tiberius Gemellus. For him and other historical points in these sections see App. p. 531.
³ The statement seems hardly consistent with what has been said just before. A better sense can be got if πολὺ πρῶτερον can be taken as a “much graver matter,” i.e. the effect of the news upon him extended much beyond the refusal to speak. There are other passages in Philo which
him as from a fountain. Or it may have been the ill-will he bore to his successor, since he had been a devoted partisan of the actual rather than the adopted children. Or again as he had been one of those who had attacked Gaius's mother when she lay under the charges for which she was put to death, his fear of being held guilty on this count caused him to neglect his duties. And for a time he held out and did not entirely lose his grasp of affairs, but when he heard that the grandson of Tiberius, who shared the sovereignty, had been killed by Gaius's orders, this misfortune was so terrible a blow that he threw himself down and lay speechless, and for a considerable time before this his thinking powers had become feeble and paralysed. For while the youth lived, his hopes of preserving his own safety were still alight, but with his death it seemed that his personal hopes had died also, even though some little waft of possible assistance still reached him in his friendship with Macro, who originally was all-powerful with Gaius, said to have contributed more than anyone to his gaining the principate and still more to his preservation. For Tiberius had been often minded to point to some such meaning for the phrase. In Spec. Leg. i. 101 (of priests marrying) we have "he is a man πολύ πρότερον than a priest and therefore must feel the desire for mating." Here the idea may be that manhood is a wider thing than priesthood. In De Mig. 87, "there is no use in seeming to be so and so, unless you are it πολύ πρότερον." Here "long before" is rather pointless and a better sense is got if the phrase emphasizes the necessity of "being." In Legatio 115 the Jews have been taught from the cradle to worship the one God, by their parents and teachers and πολύ πρότερον by the holy laws. So also perhaps Mos. i. 162, De Praem. 88.

 On Macro see Legatio 32-61, where what is stated here is given much more fully.
τὸν Γάιον διανοηθέντος Τιβερίου ώς κακοήθη καὶ οὐ πεφυκότα πρὸς ἄρχήν, καὶ ἀμα διὰ τὸν ἐπὶ τῷ νίωνφι φόβον—ἐδεδίει γάρ, μὴ παρανάλωμα γένηται τελευτήσαντος αὐτοῦ—, πολλάκις δὲ τοῦ Μάκρωνος τὰς ὑπονοιὰς ὑπεξαιρουμένου καὶ τὸν Γάιον ἐπαινοῦντος ὡς ἀπλοῦν καὶ ἀπόνηρον καὶ κοινωνικὸν καὶ τοῦ ἄνεψιοῦ μάλιστα ἡττημένον, ὡς ἡ μόνη ἂν ἔθελήσαι παραχωρῆσαι τὴν ἧμερον ἡ πάντως τὰ πρωτεῖα. ὃς ἐλευθερήσει ἀσπονδοὺν ἐχθρὸν ἐαυτῷ καὶ νίωνφι καὶ γένει καὶ παρακλήτω Μάκρων καὶ πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις κατα-13 λιπῶν. ἐπειδὴ γὰρ ὁ Μάκρων ὅρων αὐτὸν ἐκδιαφορωμένου καὶ ἀχαλίνου ταῖς ὅρμαις, ἐφ' ἄν τυχῇ καὶ ὡς ἂν τυχῇ, χρώμενον ἐνουθέτει καὶ παρηγορεῖ νομίζων ἐκεῖνον εἶναι Γάιον τὸν, ἂν ἴκ' ἐν' ἐξῆς Τιβέριος, ἐπιεικῆ καὶ πειθαρχικὸν, ὃ κακοδαίμων εὐνοίας περιττῆς ἐδωκε τὰς ἀνωτάτω δίκας πανοίκιος αὐτῇ γυναῖκι καὶ τέκνοις συναναρθεῖς 14 λιπῶν. ὃς περιττόν ἄχθος καὶ παρενόχλημα. καὶ γὰρ ὅποτε πόρρωθεν αὐτὸν ἀφικνοῦμεν ὦν, τοιαῦτα πρὸς τους συνόντας διεξεῖ: "μὴ μειδιώμεν, κατηφώμεν, ὃ νοθετητῆς παραγίνεται, ὃ ἀνθρώποι καστος, ὃ ἀνδρὸς τελείου καὶ αὐτοκράτορος ἀρχαμενὸς νῦν εἶναι παιδαγωγὸς, ὅτε καὶ τοὺς ἐκ πρώτης ἥλικίας ὁ καιρὸς ἀπήλασε καὶ διεξεύχεν." 15 IV. Ἕπει δ' ὃν καὶ τοῦτον ἐγνω προσανηρη-
get Gaius out of the way as a person ill-disposed and
devoid of natural gifts for rulership, and also because
he was concerned for his grandson, who he feared
might at his death be got rid of as an encumbrance. But Macro often tried to eliminate his suspicions and
would praise Gaius as straight-forward and free from
vice and liberal and particularly devoted to his cousin,
so much so that he would willingly relinquish the
principate to his sole charge, or, at any rate, the
premier place. Deceived by these repre-
sentations Tiberius unwittingly left behind him an
implacable enemy to himself, his grandson, his family,
Macro the intercessor and all mankind. For when Macro saw him straying from the regular way and
letting his impulses range unbridled anywhither and
in any way he would admonish and exhort him,
thinking that he was the same Gaius who while
Tiberius still lived was reasonable and docile. But,
alas, poor wretch, for his excessive goodwill he
paid the extreme penalty, being slain with his whole
house, wife and children as a burden, a superfluity
and a nuisance. For whenever Gaius caught sight of him at a distance he would talk in this strain to his
companions, “Let us not smile, let us look downcast,
for here comes the monitor, the stickler for straight
speaking, who has begun to take charge as tutor of
a grown man and an emperor, at this very time which
has dismissed and set aside those who tutored him
from his earliest years.”

IV. So when Flaccus learnt that Macro too had

b Or simply “martinet,” “strict disciplinarian.” The
word is coupled by Plutarch with δμφακίας and στρυφνός in
describing a harsh father. For other examples see Stephanus,
who explains it as meaning a person who reckons αὐτά ἐκαστά
and leaves nothing out.
μένον ὁ Φλάκκος, τὴν λοιπὴν ἐλπίδα κατὰ τὸ παντελὲς ἀπεγνώκει καὶ οὐκέθ’ ὁμοίως ἀντιλαμβάνεσθαι τῶν πραγμάτων οἷός τε ἢν ἐξασθενῶν 17 καὶ διαρρέων τὴν γνώμην. ὅταν δ’ ὁ ἄρχων ἀπογνώ τὸ δύνασθαι κρατεῖν, ἀνάγκη τοὺς ὑπηκόους εὐθὺς ἀφηνάζει καὶ μάλιστα τοὺς ἐκ μικρῶν καὶ τῶν τυχόντων πεφυκότας ἀνερέθιζε σιθαίνοις τοῦ Αἰγυπτιακὸν τὰ πρωτεία φέρεται διὰ βραχυτάτου 18 σπινθήρος εἴωθος ἐκφυσάν στάσεις μεγάλας. ἐν ἀμηχάνοις δὲ καὶ ἀπόροις γεγονός ἐσφάδαζε καὶ τὰ πρὸ μικροῦ πάντα1 ἤλαξεν ἁμα τῇ τοῦ λογισμοῦ [520] ἐν οἷς ἡ ἀρχὴν ἀνομολογηθείς ἐξεροί ἐσπένδετο καὶ 19 συμβούλους περὶ πάντων ἔχρητο. οἱ δ’—ἐγκότως γὰρ εἰχον—τὸ κατηλάχθη δοκεῖν λόγῳ μόνον ἐπιμορφάσαντες, ἔργους δὲ κατὰ διάνοιαν ἄσύμβατα μνησικακοῦντες καὶ ἄστρεοι ἐν θεάτρῳ καθυποκρινόμενοι γνησίαν φιλίαν ἐκφύσασθαι καὶ γίνεται δ’ ὁ μὲν ἄρχων ὑπήκοοσ, οἱ δ’ ὑπήκοοι ἡγεμόνες, εἰσηγούμενοι μὲν ἀλυσιτελεστὰς γνώμ. 20 μας, εὐθὺς δὲ ταῦτα ἐπισφραγιζόμενοι. βεβαιωταὶ γὰρ ὃν ἐβουλεύσαντο πάντων ἐγίνοντο κωφὸν ὡς ἐπὶ σκηνῆς προσωπεῖον ἐνεκα προσχήματος αὐτὸ μόνον παραλαμβάνοντες ἐπιγεγραμμένον ὄνομα ἄρχής, Διονύσιοι δημοκόποι, Λάμπωνες γραμμα—

1 Some word or phrase to express policy seems to be needed. Reiter suggests δόξαντα.
been put to death he completely lost any hope that he still had and could no longer keep any grip of affairs, so utterly enfeebled was he and incapable of solid judgement. And when the ruler despairs of keeping control the subjects necessarily at once become restive, particularly those who are naturally excited by quite small and ordinary occurrences. Among such the Egyptian nation holds the first place, accustomed as it is to blow up the tiniest spark into grave seditions. Flaccus, thus left without help or resources, was much agitated and at the same time as his reasoning powers deteriorated made changes in all his recent policy, beginning with his treatment of his closest companions. For he suspected and repelled those who were well disposed and particularly friendly to him, while he allied himself to those who from the first had been his avowed enemies and took them for his counsellors in every matter. But their rancour was still there. The apparent reconciliation was a counterfeit, existing only in words. In real fact they cherished an implacable vindictiveness and acting as in a theatre the part of genuine friends they carried him off into complete captivity. The ruler became the subject, the subjects leaders, who put forward very pernicious proposals and straightway set on them the seal of reality. They proceeded to confirm all their plans, and took Flaccus like a masked dummy on the stage with the title of government inscribed upon him merely for show, to be an instrument in the hands of a popularity-hunting Dionysius, a paper-

\textsuperscript{a} Dionysius's name does not recur again in this treatise, but see App. p. 532, on him as well as on Isidorus and Lampo.
τοκύφωνες, Ἰσίδωροι στασιάρχαι, φιλοπράγμονές, κακῶν εὐρεταί, ταραξιπόλιδες· τούτο γὰρ κεκράτηκε πως τούνομα. συνταξάμενοι πάντες οὗτοι βουλεύμα βουλεύονσι κατὰ τῶν Ἰουδαίων ἀργαλεώτατον καὶ τῷ Φλάκκῳ προσελθόντες ἱδίας φασίν· "ἐρρει μὲν σοι τὰ ἀπὸ Τιβερίου Νέρωνος τοῦ παιδός, ἐρρει δὲ καὶ ἡ μετ’ ἐκείνου ἐλπίς, ὁ ἐταῖρός σου Μᾶκρων, αἰσία δ’ οὐκ ἔστι σοι τὰ ἀπὸ τοῦ κρατοῦντος. δεὶ δὴ παράκλητον ἡμᾶς εὑρεῖν δυνατώτατον, ύφ’ οὗ Γάιος ἐξευμενοθησεῖται. ὃ δὲ παράκλητος ἡ πόλις Ἀλεξανδρεῶν ἔστιν, ἡν τετίμηκε μὲν ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἄπας ὁ Σεβαστὸς οἶκος, διαφερόντως δ’ ὁ νῦν ἡμῶν δεσπότης. παρακλητεύει τε τυχοῦσι τυντο παρὰ σοῦ δωρεᾶς· μεῖζον δ’ ἀγαθὸν οὐδὲν αὐτῇ παρέξεις ἢ τοὺς Ἰουδαίους ἐκδούς καὶ προέμενος." ἐπὶ τούτους ἀφείλων ἀπώσασθαι καὶ δυσχερὰν τὸς λέγοντας ὃς νεωτεροποιοῦσι καὶ κοινοὺς πολεμίους συνεπιγράφεται τοῖς λεχθεῖσι. καὶ τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἀδηλοτέρας ἔποιεῖτο τὰς ἐπιβουλὰς μὴν ἵσον παρέχων καὶ κοινὸν ἀκροατὴν ἐαυτὸν τοῖς τὰς ἀμφισβητήσεις έχουσιν, ἀλλὰ πρὸς θάτερον ἀποκλίνων μέρος, μήτ’ ἐν τοῖς ἄλλοις ἱσηγορίαν δίδοντο, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὑπότε προσίσκει τις τῶν Ἰουδαίων, ἀποστρεφόμενος καὶ τὸ δυσέντευκτον ἐπιτηδεύων

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a Or perhaps “paper-nosing,” if that is not too slangy. “Paper-porer” is a variation on L. & S.’s “record-porer.” This epithet, which recurs again in § 131, is taken from De 314.
poring a Lampo, an Isidorus, faction leader, busy intriguer, mischief contriver and a name which has gained special currency—state embroiler. b All 21 these combining concerted a plot of the most damaging kind against the Jews and coming to Flaccus privately said, “Lost are your prospects from the 22 boy Tiberius Nero, lost too the hope that you had next to him in your comrade Macro, and your expectations from the Emperor are anything but favourable. We must find you a really powerful intercessor to propitiate Gaius. Such an intercessor 23 is the city of the Alexandrians which has been honoured from the first by all the Augustan house and especially by our present master; and intercede it will if it receives from you some boon, and you can give it no greater benefaction than by surrendering and sacrificing the Jews.” Though on hearing these 24 words it was his duty to repulse and frown upon the speakers as sedition-makers and enemies of the commonwealth he subscribed to their suggestions. At first he showed his hostile intentions in a somewhat less obvious way by refusing to give a fair and impartial hearing to the parties in disputes and leaning to one side only, while in all other matters he gave them no right of free speech, but whenever any Jew approached he turned away, while to all others he

Cor. 209. Though it is uncertain whether Demosthenes applies it to Aeschines as a scribe, or as an usher in his father’s school, Philo clearly takes it in the first sense. No effective rendering has been suggested to my knowledge for the term which describes a pedant hunching his shoulders over writings. Kennedy translates it by “scribbler,” Abbott by “hack of a scribe.” Dr. Rouse suggests to me a number of renderings of which I select “ledger-dredger” as the most effective.

b This epithet is again applied to Isidorus in § 137.
έπι μόνων τούτων· αὕθις δὲ καί ἐκ τοῦ φανεροῦ τήν δυσμένειαν ἐπεδείξατο.

25 Β. Προσεπέρρωσε δ' αὐτοῦ τὴν ἐκ μαθήσεως τὸ πλέον ἡ φύσεως ἐπιτετηδευμένην ἀπόνοιαν καὶ συντυχία τις τοιαύτη. Γάιος Καίσαρ Ἀγρίππα τῷ Ἡρώδου βασιλέως ύπνωφ δίδωσι βασιλείαν τῆς παππώας λήξεως τρίτην μοῦραν, ὡς Φιλίττος τετράρχης θείος ὁν αὐτῷ πρὸς πατρὸς ἐκαρποῦτο. 26 μέλλοντι δ' ἀπαίρειν συνεβούλευσεν δ' Γάιος τὸν μὲν ἀπὸ Βρεντεσίου μέχρι Συρίας πλοῦν μακρὸν ὄντα καὶ καματηρίων παραίτησαν, χρήσθαι δ' ἐπιτόμω τοὺς ἐτησίως ἀναμείναντες διὰ τῆς „Ἀλεξανḍρίδας· τάς τε γὰρ ἐκεῖθεν ὅλκαδας σαρκανυναυτεῖν ἐφασκεῖ καὶ ἐμπειροτάτους εἶναι κυβερνητάς, οἵ καθάπερ ἀθλητάς ήππους ἡνοχοῦσιν ἀπλανῆ παρέχοντες τὸν ἐπ' εὐθείας ὅρομον. δ' δὲ πειθαρχεῖ ὡς δεσπότη τε ἀμα καὶ τὰ δοκοῦντα συμ· 27 φέρειν παραγγέλλοντι. καταβάς δ' εἰς Δικαιάρχειαν καὶ ναὸς υφόρμους „Ἀλεξανδρίδας ἵδ' χειρετείς πρὸς ἀναγωγήν, ἐπίβας μετὰ τῶν ἱδίων, εὐπλοίᾳ χρησάμενος, ὀλίγως ύπερον ἡμέρας ἀνεπιφάτως καὶ ἀφωράτως καταγέται, κελεύσας τοῖς κυβερνητάς—περὶ γὰρ δείλην ὄρον ὁ Φάρος ἀναφαίνεται—τὰ μὲν ἱστία συνάγεν, ἑξὼ δὲ περὶ αὐτῶν μὴ μακρὰν ἀφισταμένους θαλαττεύειν ἅχρι τοῦ βαθείαν ἐσπέραν ἐπιγενέσθαι καὶ νυκτὸς τοῖς λιμέσι προσσχείν, ἵνα ἀποβάς ἀπὸ τετραμμένων (άπαντων) πρὸς ὑπνόν, μηδενὸς ὀρῶντος, ἀφίκηται 28 πρὸς τὸν ἐξενδόχον. δ' μὲν δὴ μετὰ τοσαύτης αἴδους ἐπεδήμησε βουλόμενος εἰ πως οἴον τε ἤν,

[521] a For Agrippa see App. p. 532.  b Puteoli.
made himself easily accessible. But later he also showed his ill-will openly.

V. The infatuation due to instruction from others rather than to his own nature, which thus was shown in his conduct, was further strengthened by the following incident. Gaius Caesar gave to Agrippa, the grandson of King Herod, the kingship over that third part of his grandfather’s territory, the revenues of which were taken by Philip the tetrarch, Agrippa’s paternal uncle. When he was about to set out thither Gaius advised him not to undertake the voyage from Brundisium to Syria which was long and wearisome but wait for the etesian winds and take the short route through Alexandria. He told him that thence there were swift-sailing merchant vessels and highly skilled pilots who manage them as a charioteer manages race-horses and provide a straightforward passage along the direct route. Agrippa did as he was told, partly out of deference to his lord and master, and also because the course he enjoined seemed to be advisable. He went down to Dicaearchia, and seeing there some ships of Alexandria lying at anchor and ready to sail he embarked with his retinue, and after a good voyage came to land a few days later without being expected or his purposes detected. He had ordered the pilots when they sighted Pharos in the late afternoon to furl the sails and lie outside round about it and not far off until the evening had well set in, and then by night to put in at the harbour, so that he might disembark when everyone had settled down to sleep and reach the house of his host without anyone seeing him. His reason for making his visit in such an unassuming way was that he wished if possible to slip out of the
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άραντας τοὺς ἐν τῇ πόλει λαθῶν ὑπεξελθεῖν οὐ γὰρ κατὰ θέαν ἀφίκτο τῆς Ἀλεξανδρείας ἐπιδεικνύσεως αὐτῆς πρότερον, ἣνίκα τῶν ἐπὶ 'Ῥώμης πλοῦν ἐστέλλετο πρὸς Τιβερίον, ἀλλὰ οὕδω χρησιμο"μενὸς τῆς οἰκαδείᾳ ἀφίξεως. οἱ δ' ὑπὸ φθόνον ὑγνωμονεῖ καὶ βάσκανον γὰρ φύσει τὸ Ἀἰγυπτιακὸν—καὶ τὰς ἑτέρων εὐτυχίας ἴδιας ὑπελάβατο· εἶναι κακοπραγίας καὶ ἀμα διὰ τῆν παλαιὰν καὶ τρόπον τινὰ μεταβατὼν εἰς τὴν γεγενημένην· καὶ τῶν ἀθλίων Φλάκκον πάλιν οἱ συνόντες ἀνηρεθίζον εἰς τὸν αὐτὸν ἐνάγοντες καὶ προκαλοῦμενοι φθόνον ἧ παρευθείσης ἦττον, ἦ εἰ αὐτὸς τις έκαστος βασιλείᾳ προροκυκήν ἀφήρητο. καὶ τῶν αἰθλιῶν Φλάκκον πάλιν οἱ συνόντες ἀνηρεθίζον εἰς τὸν αὐτὸν ἐνάγοντες καὶ προκαλοῦμενοι φθόνον, "σὴν κατάλυσίν ἐστι" φάσκοντες "ἡ ἐπιθυμία τούτοις· μείζονα τιμῆς καὶ εὐδοξίας ὅγκον ἦ σῷ περιβέβληται· πάντας εἰς ἐαυτὸν ἐπιστρέφει τὴν δορυφόρον τῶν σωματοφυλάκων στρατιῶν ὀρῶν, καὶ ἐπικράτειαν ὀπλοὺς διακεκοσμημένην· έδει γὰρ ήκειν εἰς ἐπικράτειαν ἐτέρου δυνάμειν πλοῦτον χρησάμενοι εἰς τὴν οἰκείαν ἀσφαλῶς παραπεμφθήναι· καὶ γὰρ εἰ Γάιος ἐπέτρεπε, μᾶλλον δ' ἡνάγκαζεν, ἔχρην ἐκλαυτάρησαν παραπτάσασθαι τὴν ἐνθάδε ἀφίξειν, ἵνα μὴ παρευθείσης ὁ τῆς χώρας ἡγεμῶν ἄδοξη· ταῦτα ἀκούσων ἐτὶ μᾶλλον

1 Other suggestions are συγγεγεγενημένην or ἐγγεγεγενημένην. (Perhaps συγγεγεγενημένην as Cohn in De Praem. 62.)

2 mss. προσκαλοῦμενοι.

This and indeed the general excitement caused by Agrippa's visit seem inconsistent with his attempt to remain incognito. The explanation presumably is that the Jews forced this change of attitude on him. We find later (§ 103)
city quietly and unobserved by the whole population. For he had not come to see Alexandria as he had stayed there before on his voyage to Rome to join Tiberius, and he only wanted to get a short route for his journey home. But jealousy is part of the Egyptian nature, and the citizens were bursting with envy and considered that any good luck to others was misfortune to themselves, and in their ancient, and we might say innate hostility to the Jews, they resented a Jew having been made a king just as much as if each of them had thereby been deprived of an ancestral throne. And the unhappy Flaccus was again stirred up by his companions with incitements and appeals calculated to make him as envious as themselves. “His stay here,” they said, “is your deposition. The dignity of the honour and prestige which invest him surpasses yours; he is attracting all men to him by the sight of his bodyguard of spearmen, decked in armour overlaid with gold and silver.\(^a\) Was it right for him to come to another ruler’s domain when a fair wind\(^b\) could have carried him safely by sea to his own? For if Gaius gave him permission or rather put compulsion on him to do so, he ought to have earnestly entreated to be excused from coming here, so that the governor of the country would not be thrown into the background and lose prestige.” Such words made his temper that they took the occasion to lay before him their grievance against Flaccus for failing to transmit their address to Gaius and doubtless were as ready to make much of his royal status as the Alexandrines were to resent it.

\(^a\) πλω here = εὐπλοια. See examples in L. & S. revised, e.g. πλοῖς ἡμῖν γένεται, and the same phrase as here πλω χρησάονται Thuc. iii. 3. 5. Cf. also εὐπλοία χρησάμενος § 27 above.
ἡ πρότερον Ὄδει καὶ ἐν μὲν τῷ φανερῷ τὸν ἔταΐρον καὶ φίλον καθυσκέρνετο διὰ τὸν ἐκ τοῦ πέμψαντος φόβον, ἵδια δὲ ἐξηλοτύπει καὶ ἐξελάλει τὸ μύσοσ [522] καὶ πλαγίως αὐτὸν ὑβρίζεν, ἐπειδή ἐκ τοῦ πεμφάντου φόβον, ἵδια δὲ ἐζηλοτύπει καὶ ἔξελάλει τὸ μήνος καὶ ἔναγαγὼν αὐτὸς διὰ τῶν ὑπηρετέων τὰ τοιαῦτα εἰσῆλθον. οἱ δ’ ἄφορμῆς ἔλαβον διημέρευον ἐν τῷ γυμνασίῳ χλεύαζοντες τὸν βασιλέα καὶ σκώμματα συνείροντες. πὴ δὲ καὶ ποιηταῖς μύμων καὶ γελοίων διδάσκαλοις χρώμενοι τὴν ἐν τῷ αἰσχρῷ εὐφυὲς ἐπεδείκνυντο, βραδεῖς μὲν ὄντες τὰ καλὰ παιδεύεσθαι, τὰ δ’ ἐναντία μανθάνειν ἄφθασαι καὶ προχειρότατοι. διὰ τί γὰρ οὐκ ἔγνακτησεν, οὐκ ἀπήγαγεν, οὐκ ἐπέπληξε τῆς αὐθάδους βλασφημίας; εἰ δὲ μὴ βασιλεὺς ἦν, ἀλλὰ τῶν ἐκ τῆς Καίσαρος οἰκίας, οὐκ ὥφελε προνομίαν τινὰ καὶ τιμὴν ἔχειν; ἀλλὰ ταύτ’ εἰσὶ πίστεις ἐναργείᾳ τοῦ συναίτιον γεγενήσθαι τῶν βλασφημιῶν Φλάκκον. δ’ γὰρ ἐπιπλήττετεν ἢ τὸ πανύστατον ἐπέχειν ἢ δυνηθεῖς εἰ μὴ κεκώλμη, δῆλος ἦν ἐφείς καὶ ἐπιπρέπων αὐτὸς. πρὸς δ’ τι δ’ ἄν χῤῆσθαι ἀσύντακτος ἄφορμὴν λάβη τῶν

\[a \text{ i.e.} \text{ "took a leaf from their book," referring to the 320} \]
FLACCUS, 32–35

rise still more, and while in public he played the part of friend and comrade to Agrippa through fear of him who had sent him there, in private he vented his jealousy and gave full utterance to his hatred by insulting him indirectly since he had not the courage to do so outright. For the lazy and unoccupied mob in the city, a multitude well practised in idle talk, who devote their leisure to slandering and evil speaking, was permitted by him to vilify the king, whether the abuse was actually begun by himself or caused by his incitement and provocation addressed to those who were his regular ministers in such matters. Thus started on their course they spent their days in the gymnasium jeering at the king and bringing out a succession of gibes against him. In fact they took the authors of farces and jests for their instructors and thereby showed their natural ability in things of shame, slow to be schooled in anything good but exceedingly quick and ready in learning the opposite. Why did Flaccus show no indignation? Why did he not arrest them? Why did he not chastise them for their presumptuous evil-speaking? Even if Agrippa had not been a king, yet as a member of Caesar’s household, did he not deserve to have some precedence and marks of honour? No, these are clear proofs that Flaccus was a party to the defamation. For it is evident that if he who could have chastised or at the very least stopped them did nothing to prevent them from acting in this way they did it with the full permission and consent of him himself. And if the undisciplined mob get a starting point for their misconduct in any Carabas incident which was a sort of "mime." See Box’s notes on §§ 34 and 38.
PHILO

αμαρτημάτων, οὐχ ἵσταται, μέτεισι δ' ἄφ' ἐτέρων εἰς ἑτέρα προσεπεξεργαζόμενος ἀεὶ τι νεώτερον.

36 VI. Ἡν τις μεμηνώς ὄνομα Καραβᾶς οὐ τὴν ἄγριαν καὶ θηριωδὴ μανίαν—ἀσκηπτος γὰρ αὐτὴ γε καὶ τοῖς ἔχουσι καὶ τοῖς πλησιάζουσιν—, ἅλλα τὴν ἀνεμένην καὶ μαλακωτέραν. οὔτος διημέρευε καὶ διενυκτέρευε γυμνὸς ἐν ταῖς ὁδοῖς οὔτε θάλπος οὔτε κρυμὸν ἐκτρεπόμενος, ἄθυρμα νηπίων καὶ

37 μειρακίων σχολαζόντων. συνελάσαντες τὸν ἄθλιον ἄχρι τοῦ γυμνασίου καὶ στήσαντες μετέωρον, ἵνα καθορῶτο πρὸς πάντων, βύβλον μὲν εὐρύναντες ἀντὶ διαδήματος ἐπιτιθέασιν αὐτοῦ τῇ κεφαλῇ, χαμαίστρωτω δὲ τὸ ἄλλο σώμα περιβάλλουσιν ἀντὶ χλαμύδος, ἀντὶ δὲ σκήπτρου βραχὺ τι παπύρου τμήμα τῆς ἐγχωρίου καθ' ὁδὸν ἐρριμένον ἵδων τὶς ἀναδίδωσιν. ἔπει δὲ ὡς ἐν θεατρικοῖς μίμωσ τὰ παράσημα τῆς βασιλείας ἀνειλήφει καὶ διεκεκόμητο εἰς βασιλέα, νεανίας ῥάβδοις ἐπὶ τῶν ὁμών φέροντες ἀντὶ λογχοφόρων ἐκατέρωθεν ἐιστήκεσαν μιμούμενοι δορυφόρους. εἰθ' ἐτεροὶ προσήσαν, οἱ μὲν ὡς ἀσπασόμενοι, οἱ δὲ ὡς δικασόμενοι, οἱ δ' ὡς ἐντευξόμενοι περὶ κοινών πραγμάτων. ἔτ' ἐκ τοῦ περιεστώτος ἐν κύκλῳ πλήθους ἐξήχει βοὴ τις ἀτόπος Μάριν ἀποκάλυπτων—οὔτως δὲ φασὶ τὸν κύριον όνομάζοντα παρὰ Σῦροις— ὑδεαζαν γὰρ Ἀγρίππαν καὶ γένει

1 So mss. This otherwise unknown word, for which L. & S. gives “which cannot be feigned,” makes nonsense here. So also does ἀσκηπτος, which Mangey adopts and translates “improvisus.” I think that another suggestion ἀσκεπῆς (better in the equivalent form ἀσκέπαστος) is not quite hopeless. From its natural meaning of “uncovered” it
direction, they do not halt there but pass on from one
ting in some fresh form of violence.

VI. There was a certain lunatic named Carabas, 36
whose madness was not of the fierce and savage kind,
which is dangerous both to the madmen themselves
and those who approach them, but of the easy-going,
gentler style. He spent day and night in the streets
naked, shunning neither heat nor cold, made game
of by the children and the lads who were idling about.
The rioters drove the poor fellow into the gymnasium 37
and set him up on high to be seen of all and put on
his head a sheet of byblus spread out wide for a
diadem, clothed the rest of his body with a rug for a
royal robe, while someone who had noticed a piece of
the native papyrus thrown away in the road gave it to
him for his sceptre. And when as in some theatrical 38
farce he had received the insignia of kingship and
had been tricked out as a king, young men carrying
rods on their shoulders as spearmen stood on either
side of him in imitation of a bodyguard. Then
others approached him, some pretending to salute
him, others to sue for justice, others to consult him
on state affairs. Then from the multitudes standing 39
round him there rang out a tremendous shout hailing
him as Marin, 9 which is said to be the name for “lord”
in Syria. For they knew that Agrippa was both a

9 Cf. 1 Cor. xvi. 22. R.V. “Maranatha,” with marginal
note, “That is, our Lord cometh.”

might come to mean “defenceless” and so as applied to a
position “indefensible” and therefore “dangerous,” which
seems to be what we want here. But we have no knowledge
of any such development. Box very tentatively suggests
άστεκτος = “insufferable.”
Σύρον καὶ Συρίας μεγάλην ἔχοντα,
ης ἐβασίλευε. ταῦτα δὲ ἀκουόν, μᾶλλον δὲ ὀρῶν
ὁ Φλάκκος, δεόντως ἃν καὶ τὸν μεμηνότα συλλαβῶν
καὶ καθείρξας, ἵνα μὴ παρέχῃ τοῖς κατακερτομοῦν
ἀφορμὴν εἰς ύβρὶν τῶν βελτίων, καὶ τοὺς ἐνσκευά-
σαντας τιμωρησάμενος, ὡτί γε βασιλέα καὶ φίλον
Καίσαρος καὶ ὑπὸ τῆς Ῥωμαίων βουλῆς τετμη-
μένον στρατηγικαὶς τιμαῖς ἐτόλμησαν καὶ ἔργους
καὶ λόγους καὶ φανερῶς καὶ πλαγίως ύβρίζειν, οὐ
μόνον οὐκ ἔπειπήσειν, ἀλλ' οὔθ' ἔπιμηχαὶ ήξίωσεν
ἄδειαν καὶ εἰκεχειρίαν διδοὺς τοῖς ἔθελοκακοῦσι
καὶ ἔθελέχθρως ἔχουσιν, προσποιούμενος ἃ τε ἐώρα μὴ
ὁρᾶν καὶ διὸ ἰκουε μὴ ἀκούειν. ὁπερ συναισθῶ-
μενος ὁ ὄχλος—οὐχ ὁ καθεστῶς καὶ δημοτικὸς,
ἀλλ' ὁ πάντα θορύβοι καὶ ταραχῆς εἴσωθως ἀναπμ-
πλάναι διὰ φιλοπραγμοσύνην καὶ ξήλον ἄβιωτον
βίον καὶ τὴν ἔσθος ἀργίαν καὶ σχολήν, πράγμα
ἐπίβουλον—συναντότες εἰς τὸ θέατρον ἐξ ἐωθινοῦ
Φλάκκον ήδη τιμών ἀθλίων ἐτρωμένοι, ὅσ ὁ
doxomανής καὶ παλύμπρατος ἐλάμβανεν οὐ καθ'
αὐτὸν μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ τῆς κοινῆς ἁσφαλείας,
ἀνεβόησαν ἀφ' ἔνος συνθήματος εἰκόνας ἐν ταῖς
προσευχαῖς ἀνατίθεναι, καινότατον καὶ μηδέπω
πραχθέν εἰσηγούμενοι παρανόμημα. καὶ τοῦτ'
εἰδότες—ὁξύτατοι γὰρ τὴν μοχθηρίαν εἰσὶ—κατα-
σοφίζονται τὸ Καίσαρος ὄνομα προκάλυμμα ποιη-
σάμενοι, ὃ προσάπτετιν τι τῶν ἐπαιτίων οὐ θεμιτόν.
τί οὖν ὁ τῆς χώρας ἐπίτροπος; ἐπι-
Syrian by birth and had a great piece of Syria over which he was king. When Flaccus heard, or rather saw all this, it was his duty to take and keep the madman in charge, to prevent him from providing an occasion to the railers for insulting their betters and then to punish those who had arrayed him thus, because they had dared both in word and deed both openly and indirectly to insult a king, a friend of Caesar's, a person who had received Praetorian honours from the Roman Senate. Instead of this not merely did he refrain from chastising them but even shrank from restraining them, thereby giving immunity and free-play to those who displayed evil intentions and hostile feeling by pretending not to see what he saw nor hear what he heard. When the crowd perceived this, not the peaceful, public-spirited crowd, but the crowd which regularly fills everything with confusion and turmoil, which by its love of meddling, its eager pursuit of the worthless life, its habitual laziness and idling, is a thing that means mischief, they streamed into the theatre at early dawn, and having Flaccus purchased by the miserable price which he crazy for fame and ever-ready to be sold took to the destruction not only of himself but of the public safety, called out with one accord for installing images in the meeting-houses. What they proposed was a breach of the law entirely novel and unprecedented and knowing this, quick-witted as they are for villainy, they cunningly glozed it by using the name of Caesar as a screen, that name with which no guilty action can lawfully be associated. What then did the governor

*Legatio* 132 f. Later in § 53 a more active participation is suggested.
στάμενος, ὅτι καὶ ἡ πόλις οἰκήτορας ἔχει διττούς, ἡμᾶς τε καὶ τούτους, καὶ πᾶσα Αἰγύπτως, καὶ ὅτι οὐκ ἀποδέουσι μυριάδων ἐκατόν οἱ τὴν Ἁλβανδρείαν καὶ τὴν χώραν Ἰουδαίων κατοικοῦντες ἀπὸ τοῦ πρὸς Διβύην καταβαθμοῦ μέχρι τῶν ὄριων Ἁλθισίας, καὶ ὡς ἡ πείρα κατὰ πάντων ἐστὶ καὶ ὡς οὐ λυσιτελές ἐθή πάτρια κινεῖν, ἁμελήσας ἀπάντων ἐπιτρέπει ποιήσασθαι τὴν ἀνάθεσιν, μυρία καὶ πάντα προνοητικὰ δυνάμενος ἢ ὡς ἄρχων κελεύειν ἢ συμβουλεύειν ὡς φίλος.

44 VII. Ὅ δὲ—συνεχειρούργει γὰρ ἐκαστὰ τῶν ἀμαρτανομένων—καὶ ἀπὸ μείζονος ἐξουσίας ἀναρριπίζει καινοτέραις ἀεὶ κακών προσθήκαις τὴν στάσιν ἡξίου καὶ τὸ γ' ἐφ' αὐτῶν ἦκον μέρος ἀπασαν ὄλγου δείν φάναι τὴν οἰκομένην ἐμφυλίων πολέμων ἐπλήρωσεν. οὐ γὰρ ἦν ἄδηλον, ὅτι ἡ περὶ τὴν κατάλυσιν τῶν προσευχῶν φήμη λαβούσα τὴν ἄρχην ἀπὸ τῆς Ἁλεξανδρείας διαδοθήσεται μὲν εὔθυς εἰς τοὺς ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ νομοὺς, δραμεῖται [524] ἀπὸ μὲν Αἰγύπτου πρὸς ἀνατολὰς καὶ ἐθνή τὰ ἐξα, ἀπὸ δὲ τῆς ὑποταινίας καὶ Μαρείας, αἰ Διβύης εἰς ἄρχαί, πρὸς δυσμᾶς καὶ ἐθνὴ τὰ ἔστερια. Ἰουδαίους γὰρ χώρα μία διὰ πολυανθρώποι πίναν ὡς χωρεῖ. ἦς αἰτίας ἐνεκα τὰς πλείστας καὶ εὐδαιμονεστάτας τῶν ἐν Εὐρώπῃ καὶ Ἁσίᾳ κατὰ τε νῆσους καὶ ἡπείρους ἐκνέμονται μητρόπολιν μὲν

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a As to what is implied by this word, see App. p. 533.

b Or district below the coastal strip (Box, see his note on the geography). Mangey has "ora maritima."

c Lit. "the most and most prosperous." So in § 51 "the most and most necessary," and in De Aet. 64 τὰ πλείστα καὶ
FLACCUS, 43-46

of the country do? He knew that both Alexandria and the whole of Egypt had two kinds of inhabitants, us and them, and that there were no less than a million Jews resident in Alexandria and the country from the slope into Libya to the boundaries of Ethiopia; also that this was an attack against them all, and that ancestral customs cannot be disturbed without harm, yet he disregarded all these facts and permitted the installation of the images though there were a host of considerations all tending to caution which he might have set before them either as orders from a ruler or advice from a friend.

VII. But since he worked hand in hand with them in all their misdeeds he did not scruple to use his superior power to fan the flames of sedition perpetually by still more novel additions of evil, and as far as lay in his power filled, one may also say, the whole habitable world with racial conflict. For it was perfectly clear that the rumour of the overthrowing of the synagogues beginning at Alexandria would spread at once to the nomes of Egypt and speed from Egypt to the East and the nations of the East and from the Hypotaenia and Marea, which are the outskirts of Libya, to the West and the nations of the West. For so populous are the Jews that no one country can hold them, and therefore they settle in very many of the most prosperous countries in Europe and Asia both in the islands and on the mainland, and while they hold the Holy City where μέγιστα τῶν ὀρῶν. Here Box gives “the most extensive and wealthiest,” and below “the greatest and most important.” I am not sure whether πλεῖστα can mean this and at any rate it does not fit in with De Aet. 64. I think that in all three places it is a curious way of expressing “most of the wealthiest, greatest,” etc.
tên ieropolin ἵγούμενοι, καθ' ἧν ἰδρυται ὁ τοῦ υψίστου θεοῦ νεώς ἁγιος, ἀς δ' ἐλαχὸν ἐκ πατέρων καὶ πάππων καὶ προπάππων καὶ τῶν ἐτι ἀνω προγόνων οἴκειν ἐκαστοι πατρίδας νομίζοντες, ἐν αἰς ἐγεννήθησαν καὶ ἔτραφησαν· εἰς ἐνίας ἰ' καὶ κτιζόμενας εὐθὺς ἢλθον ἀποκίαν στειλάμενοι, τοῖς 47 κτίσταις χαριζόμενοι. καὶ δέος ἦν, μή οἱ πανταχοῦ τὴν ἁφορμὴν ἐκείθεν λαβόντες ἐπηρεάζωσι τοῖς πολίταις αὐτῶν Ἰουδαίοις εἰς τὰς προσευχὰς καὶ 48 τὰ πάτρια νεωτερίζοντες. οἱ δὲ—οὐ γὰρ ἐμέλλον ἀχρὶ παντὸς ἴσηχαζειν καίτοι πεφυκότες εἴ τρος εἰρήνην, οὐ μόνον ὁτι παρὰ πάσιν ἀνθρώποις οἱ περὶ τῶν ἔθων ἁγῶνες καὶ τοὺς περὶ ψυχῆς κινδύνους ὑπερβάλλουσιν, ἀλλ' ὁτι καὶ μόνοι τῶν ὕψι ἢλιον ἀμα ταῖς προσευχαῖς ἀπεστεροῦντο τὴν εἰς τοὺς εὐεργέτας εὐσέβειαν, ὁ μυρίων θανάτων ἐτετίμητο ἁν—οὐκ ἔχοντες ἱερούς περιβόλους, οἳ ἐνδιάθησον τὸ εὐχάριστον, τὸ σεβαστοῦν 1 καὶ τοῖς ἐναντιο- 49 μένους εἰπον ἀν· "λελήθατε ἑαυτοὺς οὐ προστιθέντες τοῖς κυρίοις τιμῆν, ἀλλ' ἀφαιρούμενοι, οὐκ εἰδότες ὡς τοῖς πανταχόθι τῆς οἰκουμένης Ἰουδαίοις ὀρμητήρια τῆς εἰς τὸν Σεβαστὸν οἶκον

1 It would perhaps be better to omit the marks of the parenthesis, and put a colon or full stop at εὐχάριστον. In this case we have the same anacoluthic γὰρ as in De Aet. 75, and the verb to which οἳ δὲ is subject is ἐμέλλον. See note b.

a The thought here seems confused. The point in which the Jews were unique is that they believed that the admission of an image into a place of worship desecrated it, and assuming as Philo does that εὐσέβεια can only be adequately shown in a place of worship, they would be deprived of the means of 328
stands the sacred Temple of the most high God to be their mother city, yet those which are theirs by inheritance from their fathers, grandfathers, and ancestors even farther back, are in each case accounted by them to be their fatherland in which they were born and reared, while to some of them they have come at the time of their foundation as immigrants to the satisfaction of the founders. And it was to be feared that people everywhere might take their cue from Alexandria, and outrage their Jewish fellow-citizens by rioting against their synagogues and ancestral customs. Now the Jews though naturally well-disposed for peace could not be expected to remain quiet whatever happened, not only because with all men the determination to fight for their institutions outweighs even the danger to life, but also because they are the only people under the sun who by losing their meeting-houses were losing also what they would have valued as worth dying many thousand deaths, namely, their means of showing reverence to their benefactors, since they no longer had the sacred buildings where they could set forth their thankfulness. And they might have said to their enemies "You have failed to see that you are not adding to but taking from the honour given to our masters, and you do not understand that everywhere in the habitable world the religious veneration of the Jews for the Augustan house has its basis as showing it adequately. But the destruction of their temples would equally incapacitate Gentiles. But see App. p. 533.

b The sentence as punctuated here has no verb to the initial οἱ, unless καὶ at the end is taken = "also," which seems pointless. If punctuated as suggested in note 1, there would be no objection to taking εἴρνου as 1st person singular, which will fit in better with οὐκ ὀφθα.
οσιότητός είσιν αἱ προσευχαὶ ἐπιδήλως, ὡς ἡμῖν ἀναφεβεισῶν τῖς ἐτερος ἀπολέιπεται τόπος ἢ 50 τρόπος τιμῆς; εἰ μὲν γὰρ ἐφιέντων τῶν ἑθῶν ὀλιγωροῦμεν, τῆς ἀνωτάτῳ τιμωρίᾳ δίκαιοι τυν-χάνειν ἐσμὲν μὴ παρέχοντες ἁρτίους καὶ πλήρεις τὰς ἀμοιβὰς. εἰ δ’ οὐκ ἔξον τοῖς ἑδίων ὑποστελ-λομεν νομίμοις, ἂ καὶ τῷ Σεβαστῷ φίλον βεβαιοῦν, τί μικρὸν ἢ μέγα πλημμελοῦμεν οὐκ οἴδα. πλὴν εἰ μὴ ψέγειν τις ἐθελήσει τὸ μὴ γνώμη ἐκουσίῳ παραχωμεν τὰς ἐκδιαιτήσεις τῶν ἑθῶν οὐ φυλαξα-μένους, αἱ, καὶ ἀφ’ ἐτερῶν ἄρξωνται, τελευτῶσι 51 πολλάκις εἰς τοὺς αἰτίους.” ἂλλ’ ὁ μὲν Φλάκκος τά τε λεκτέα ὁμοιάζων καὶ τὰ ἁμαρτστέα λέγων οὔτως εἰς ἡμᾶς ἤπειρον εἰς ἑτελείται. ἀκοκέοι δ’, οἶς ἔχαριζετο, τίνα γνώμην εἴχον; ἀρά γε τὴν τῶν ἑθῶν ἔθελον οὐχ εἰς ἱερῶν κατὰ τὴν πόλιν, ἢς τὰ πλεῖστα καὶ ἀναγκαιότατα μέρη 52 τετεμένισται, πρὸς ἀνάθεσιν οὐ έβούλοντο; τὴν μὲν οὖν τῶν φιλαθεμάτων καὶ μετὰ τέχνης ἐπιβουλευότων ὑμῶν ἐφαμεν, δι’ ὑπ’ οἰ μὲν ἐπηρεά-[525] ζοντες οὐ δόξουσιν ἄδικεκτος, τοῖς δ’ ἐπηρεαζόμενοι

1 mss. ἀφιέντων or ἀφεθέντων.

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a I take νομίμοις as a dative of the same kind as νόμω or νόμοις corresponding to our own “by the law,” e.g. χρὴ θανεῖν answered by ποίω νόμω; or οἶκεῖν τοῖς νόμοις. See other examples in Stephanus. Box takes it after ὑποστέλλειν = “shelter ourselves under the laws.”

b The sentence πλὴν . . . αἰτίους is very difficult, for (1) πλὴν εἰ μὴ is pleonastic instead of either πλὴν εἰ or εἰ μὴ; (2) the general sense seems to be “if we are to be blamed it is not because we refused to break the law by admitting images, but because we have not been strict enough in preventing defec­tion” (though what this alludes to is not clear); (3) τοὺς αἰτίους must mean those who are responsible by having allowed the
all may see in the meeting-houses, and if we have these destroyed no place, no method is left to us for paying this homage. If we neglect to pay it when our institutions permit we should deserve the utmost penalty for not tendering our requital with all due fullness. But if we fall short because it is forbidden by our own laws, which Augustus also was well pleased to confirm, I do not see what offence, either small or great, can be laid to our charge. The only thing for which we might be blamed would be that we transgressed, though involuntarily, by not defending ourselves against the defections from our customs, which even if originally due to others often ultimately affect those who are responsible for them."

It was by saying what he should leave unsaid and leaving unsaid what he should say that Flaccus treated us in this iniquitous way. But what were the motives of those whose favour he was seeking? Was it that they really wished to honour the Emperor? Was there then any lack of temples in the city, so many parts of which are consecrated and give all that is needed for the installation of anything they wished? No, what we have described is an act of aggression by bitterly hostile and crafty plotters in which the authors of the outrages would not appear to be acting unjustly and the sufferers could not oppose them with others to begin. But this is very forced (I am inclined to think that \( \mu \eta \) has dropped out as often in Philo, or that we should read \( \dot{a}v\eta t\iota o\varsigma \)); (4) assuming that \( \tau o\varsigma a\iota t\iota o\varsigma \) is right, what is meant by \( \tau e\lambda e\iota t\dot{\omega}a\ . . . e i\varsigma ? \) Perhaps "they at last come to practise them" (Box). Rather I think "they ultimately suffer from the consequences," and perhaps the thought may be something like this: "If we had insisted more on the strict observance of the law in other matters, the Greeks would not have attempted to force this desecration upon us."
οὐκ ἀσφαλῆς ἐναντιοῦσθαι. οὐ γὰρ ἔστιν, ὃ 
γενναῖοι, τιμὴ καταλύειν νόμους, ἐθῆ πάτρια κινεῖν,
ἐπηρεάζειν τοῖς συνοικοῦσιν, διδάσκειν καὶ τοὺς ἐν 
ταῖς ἄλλαις πόλεσιν ὁμοφροσύνης ἀλογεῖν.

53 VIII. Ἐπειδὴ τούν τὴν νόμων πείρα 
eυοδεῖν ἔδοξεν αὐτῷ τὰς προσευχὰς ἀρπάσαντι καὶ 
μὴδὲ τοὺνομα ὑπολιπομένῳ, πάλιν ἐφ’ ἑτέρων 
ἐπέτευτο, τὴν τῆς ἡμετέρας πολιτείας ἀναίρεσιν, 
iν’ ἀποκοπεῖν τοῖς οἷς μόνοις ἐφώρμει ὁ ἡμετέρος 
βίος ἑθῶν τε πατρίων καὶ μετουσίαις πολιτικῶν 
dικαίῳ τὰς ἐσχάτας ὑπομένωμεν συμφορὰς οὐδὲνος 
54 ἐπειλημμένοι πείσματος εἰς ἀσφάλειαν. ὡλγαῖς 
γὰρ ἕτερον ἠμέραις τίθησι πρόγραμμα, δι’ ὦν 
ξένῳ καὶ ἐπηλύδῳς ἡμᾶς ἀπεκάλει μηδὲ λόγου 
μεταδοὺς, ἀλλ’ ἀκρίτως καταδικάζων. οὐ τί ἂν 
eἰπὶ τυραννίδος ἐπάγγελμα μείζον; αὐτὸς γενόμενο 
κατήγορος, εχθρός, μάρτυς, δικαστής, κολαστής, εἶτα 
δυσὶ τοῖς προτέροις καὶ τρίτον προσέθηκεν ἐφείς ὡς 
ἐν ἀλώσει τοῖς ἐθέλουσι 
55 πορθεῖν Ἰουδαίους. οἱ δὲ ἱαβόντες ἄδειαν 
τὰ πάντα; πέντε μοῖρα τῆς πόλεως εἰσὶν, ἐπώ νυμοι 
τῶν πρώτων στοιχείων τῆς ἐγγραμμάτου 
φωνῆς τούτων δύο Ἰουδαϊκαὶ λέγονται διὰ τὸ 
πλείστους Ἰουδαίους ἐν ταῖς κατοικεῖν. οἰκοῦσι 
δὲ καὶ ἐν ταῖς ἄλλαις οὐκ ὁλίγοι σποράδες. τὶ ὦν 
ἐποίησαν; ἐκ τῶν τεσσάρων γραμμάτων ἐξωκίσαν 
τοὺς Ἰουδαίους καὶ συνήλασαν εἰς ἐνὸς μοῖραν

1 mss. ἐν δυɔίν.

a As to what this proclamation actually meant, see App. 
pp. 534 f. The only point which here emerges is that the 
Jews were restricted to the one quarter (Delta, according to 
332
FLACCUS, 52-55

safety. For surely, my good sirs, there is no honour given by overthrowing the laws, disturbing ancestral customs, outraging fellow-citizens and teaching the inhabitants of other cities to disregard the claims of fellow feeling.

VIII. When then his attack against our laws by seizing the meeting-houses without even leaving them their name appeared to be successful, he proceeded to another scheme, namely, the destruction of our citizenship, so that when our ancestral customs and our participation in political rights, the sole mooring on which our life was secured, had been cut away, we might undergo the worst misfortunes with no cable to cling to for safety. For a few days afterwards he issued a proclamation in which he denounced us as foreigners and aliens and gave us no right of pleading our case but condemned us unjudged. What stronger profession of tyranny could we have than this? He became everything himself, accuser, enemy, witness, judge and the agent of punishment, and then to the two first wrongs he added a third by permitting those who wished to pillage the Jews as at the sacking of a city. Having secured this immunity what did they do? The city has five quarters named after the first letters of the alphabet, two of these are called Jewish because most of the Jews inhabit them, though in the rest also there are not a few Jews scattered about. So then what did they do? From the four letters they ejected the Jews and drove them

Josephus, B.J. ii. 18. 8) which had been originally allotted to them. It did not of course formally sanction the pogrom which ensued. That Flaccus did not stop this was a third wrong.

b Or perhaps “because most of the inhabitants are Jews,” i.e. there are also Gentiles.
56 βραχυτάτην. οἱ δὲ ἐξεχέοντο διὰ τὸ πλῆθος εἰς αἰγιαλοὺς καὶ κοπρίας καὶ μνήματα πάντων στερομενοι τῶν ἱδίων. ἔκεινοι δὲ τὰς οἰκίας ἐρήμους καταδραμόντες ἐφ' ἀρπαγὴν ἐτράποντο καὶ ὡς ἐκ πολέμου λείαν διενέμοντο, μηδενὸς δὲ κωλύοντος καὶ τὰ ἐργαστήρια τῶν Ἰουδαίων συγκεκλεισμένα διὰ τὸ ἐπὶ Δρούσιλλη πένθος ἀναρρήζαντες οὐσα εἴρην—πολλὰ δὲ καὶ ταῦτ' ἂν—ἐξεφόρησαν καὶ διὰ μέσης ἁγορᾶς ἐκόμιζον ὡς οἰκείοις τοῖς ἄλλοτρίοις καταχρώμενοι. τῆς δ' ἀρπαγῆς ἢ ἀπραξία κακὸν ἢν βαρύτερον, τὰς μὲν ἑνθήκας ἀπολλεκότων τῶν ποριστῶν, μηδενὸς δὲ ἐωμένου, μὴ γεωργοῦ, μὴ ναυκλήρου, μὴ ἐμπόρου, μὴ τεχνίτου, τὰ συνήθη πραγματεύεσθαι, ὡς διχόθεν κατεσκευάσθαι πενίαν, ἐκ τῆς ἀρπαγῆς, ἐξουσιών μιᾶς ἡμέρας γενομένων καὶ περισεσυλημένων τὰ ἰδία, κάκ τοῦ μὴ δεδυνήσθαι πορίζειν ἐκ τῶν συνήθων ἐπιτηθευμάτων.

57 καταχρώμενοι. τής δ' ἀρπαγῆς ἢ ἀπραξία κακὸν ἢν βαρύτερον, τὰς μὲν ἑνθήκας ἀπολλεκότων τῶν ποριστῶν, μηδενὸς δὲ ἐωμένου, μὴ γεωργοῦ, μὴ ναυκλήρου, μὴ ἐμπόρου, μὴ τεχνίτου, τὰ συνήθη πραγματεύεσθαι, ὡς διχόθεν κατεσκευάσθαι πενίαν, ἐκ τῆς ἀρπαγῆς, ἐξουσιών μιᾶς ἡμέρας γενομένων καὶ περισεσυλημένων τὰ ἰδία, κάκ τοῦ μὴ δεδυνήσθαι πορίζειν ἐκ τῶν συνήθων ἐπιτηθευμάτων.

58 Καὶ ταῦτα μὲν εἰ καὶ ἀφόρητα, ἀλλ' οὖν τοῖς αὐθίοις πεπραγμένοις συγκρινόμενα οἰστά. πενία γὰρ χαλεπὸν μὲν, καὶ μάλισθ' ὅταν κατασκευάζηται πρὸς ἑκτρῶν, ἔλαττον δὲ τῆς εἰς τὰ σώματα ὑβρεως, καὶ ἢ βραχυτάτη. τοὺς δ' ἡμετέρους διὰ τὰς ὑπερβολὰς ὃν ἐπαθὼν οὐδ' ἂν εἴποι τις υβριν ἢ αἰκίαν ἐνδεδεχθαι κυρίοις χρώμενοι τοῖς ὀνόμασιν, ἀλλὰ μοι δοκεῖ προσφήσειν οἰκείοις ἂν ἀπορῆσαι διὰ μέγεθος κεκαινουργημένης ὑμότητος, ὡς τὰ τῶν πολέμων μὲν κρατησάντων, ἐκ φύσεως δ' ἀσπόνδων εἰς τοὺς ἑαλωκότας, συγκρινόμενα

[526] IX. | Καὶ ταῦτα μὲν εἰ καὶ ἀφόρητα, ἀλλ' οὖν τοῖς αὐθίοις πεπραγμένοις συγκρινόμενα οἰστά. πενία γὰρ χαλεπὸν μὲν, καὶ μάλισθ' ὅταν κατασκευάζηται πρὸς ἑκτρῶν, ἔλαττον δὲ τῆς εἰς τὰ σώματα ὑβρεως, καὶ ἢ βραχυτάτη. τοὺς δ' ἡμετέρους διὰ τὰς ὑπερβολὰς ὃν ἐπαθὼν οὐδ' ἂν εἴποι τις υβριν ἢ αἰκίαν ἐνδεδεχθαι κυρίοις χρώμενοι τοῖς ὀνόμασιν, ἀλλὰ μοι δοκεῖ προσφήσειν οἰκείοις ἂν ἀπορῆσαι διὰ μέγεθος κεκαινουργημένης ὑμότητος, ὡς τὰ τῶν πολέμων μὲν κρατησάντων, ἐκ φύσεως δ' ἀσπόνδων εἰς τοὺς ἑαλωκότας, συγκρινόμενα

*a Gaius's sister. She died on June 10th, which gives the terminus a quo for the attack. See also App. p. 535. 334
to herd in a very small part of one. The Jews were so numerous that they poured out over beaches, dunghills and tombs, robbed of all their belongings. Their enemies overran the houses now left empty and turned to pillaging them, distributing the contents like spoil of war, and as no one prevented them they broke open the workshops of the Jews which had been closed as a sign of mourning for Drusilla, carried out all the articles they found, which were very numerous, and bore them through the middle of the market-place, dealing with other people’s property as freely as if it was their own. A still more grievous evil than the pillaging was the unemployment produced. The tradespeople had lost their stocks, and no one, husbandman, shipman, merchant, artisan, was allowed to practise his usual business. Thus poverty was established in two ways: first, the pillaging, by which in the course of a single day they had become penniless, completely stripped of what they had, and secondly, their inability to make a living from their regular employments.

IX. Unbearable though these things were, yet compared with subsequent actions they were tolerable. Poverty, indeed, is grievous, particularly when it is effected by enemies, but it is less grievous than bodily injuries if suffered through wanton violence, even the slightest. But so excessive were the sufferings of our people that anyone who spoke of them as undergoing wanton violence or outrage would be using words not properly applicable and would I think be at a loss for adequate terms to express the magnitude of cruelty so unprecedented that the actions of conquerors in war, who are also naturally merciless to the conquered, would seem kindness
PHILO

60 τοῖς τούτων ἥμερώτατα ἂν εἶναι δόξαι. χρήματα ἀρπάζουσιν ἐκεῖνοι καὶ πλῆθος αἰχμαλώτων σωμάτων, ἀλλὰ κινδυνεύσαντες, εἴπερ ἡττήθησαν, ἀποβαλεῖν τὰ οἰκεῖα. οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ καὶ μυρίους, ὃν λύτρα κατατιθέοντας συγγενεῖς ἢ φίλοι, μεθίενται τῶν δορυφόρων, ἵσως μὲν ἀκαμπτὸς ὄντες πρὸς ἔλεον, ἡττώμενοι δὲ φιλαργυρίας. ἀλλὰ τί τοῦτο; φαίη τις ἂν. τοῖς γὰρ ἐπὶ πάσχουσιν ἀδιαφορεῖ τῆς  
61 σωτηρίας ὁ τρόπος. ἥδη δὲ καὶ τοὺς πεσόντας ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ τῶν ἐχθρῶν ταφῆς ἄξιούσιν οἱ μὲν ἔπιεικεῖς καὶ φιλάνθρωποι ταῖς οὐκοθεν δαπάναις, οἱ δὲ τὴν ἐχθραν καὶ πρὸς νεκροὺς ἀποτείνοντες ὑπόσποντα τὰ σώματα διδόντες ὑπὲρ τοῦ μὴ τῆς τελευταίας χάριτος ἀμοιρῆσαι τῶν νομιζόμενων. ἔν πολέμῳ μὲν οἱ δυσμενεῖς ταῦτα· ἐν εἰρήνῃ δ' οἱ πρὸ μικροῦ φίλοι θεασώμεθα ὅποια. μετὰ γὰρ τὰς ἀρπαγὰς καὶ τοὺς ἄνουκισμοὺς καὶ τὰς εἰκὸς τῶν πλεῖστων μερῶν τῆς πόλεως βιαίους ἔλασεις καθ' ἀπερ τειχήρεις έν κύκλῳ περικαθημένων ἐχθρῶν γεγονότες, ἀπορία καὶ σπάνει δεινῆ τῶν ἀναγκαίων πιεζόμενοι καὶ γύναια καὶ τέκνα νήπιαν ἀρώτων ἐν φθαλμοῖς παραπολλύμενα λιμῷ χειροποιήτω—  
62 πάντα γὰρ τάλλα εὐθηνίας καὶ εὔνειας μεστὰ ἢ, τοῦ μὲν ποταμοῦ ταῖς πλημμύραις τὰς ἀρούρας πλουσίως λιμάσαντος, τῆς δὲ πεδιάδος, διὰ σημοφόρος, ἀφθονότατον ὑπ' εὐγονίας τῶν τοῦ  
63 σίτου καρπῶν ἀναγούσης—, μηκέτι στέγειν δυνάμενοι τὰς ἐνδείας, οἱ μὲν ἐπὶ συγγενῶν καὶ φίλων, πρότερον οὐκ εἰσθότες, οἰκίας ἦλθον ἔρανον αὐτά 

a For another account of the pogrom described in the next 336
itself in comparison. Those conquerors do seize property and take numerous captives but they have run the risk of losing their own if they were defeated. And indeed, multitudes of the prisoners of war, whose ransoms are provided by their kinsfolk and friends, are released by their captors, not perhaps because they have weakened towards mercy, but because they cannot resist their desire for money, though of that one might say, "to the benefited the method of their rescuing is a matter of indifference." Observe, too, that enemies fallen in war are allowed burial. The mild and humane give it at their own expense and those who extend their hostility even to the dead restore the bodies under a truce, that they may not lack the final boon which the established rites supply. This is what enemies do in war. Let us see what was done in peace by our friends of yesterday. After the pillaging and eviction and violent expulsion from most parts of the city the Jews were like beleaguered men with their enemies all round them. They were pressed by want and dire lack of necessities; they saw their infant children and women perishing before their eyes through a famine artificially created, since elsewhere all else was teeming with plenty and abundance, the fields richly flooded by the overflow of the river and the wheat-bearing parts of the lowlands producing through their fertility the harvest of grain in unstinted profusion. Unable any longer to endure their privation, some of them contrary to their former habits went to the houses of their kinsmen and friends to ask for ten sections see Legatio 119-131, where the violence is ascribed to the belief of the Alexandrians that Gaius hated the Jews, a point completely ignored here.
PHILO

τὰ ἀναγκαῖα αἰτήσοντες, οἱ δ’ ἀπὸ φρονῆματος ἐνγενοῦς τὴν μετατῶν τύχην ὡς δουλοπρεπὴ καὶ ἀνελεύθερον ἐκτρεπόμενοι προῆλθον εἰς ἀγορὰν οὐδενὸς ἑτέρον χάριν ἡ τοῦ πρίασθαι τοῖς τε ὁικείοις καὶ ἑαυτοῖς τροφάς, οἱ δυστυχεῖς. εὐθὺς γὰρ συναρπασθέντες ὑπὸ τῶν τὴν ὀχλοκρατίαν ἐπιτειχισάντων δολοφονοῦνταί καὶ συρόμενοι καὶ πατοῦμενοι διὰ τῆς πόλεως ἀπάσης ἐξαναλώθησαν, οὐδενὸς ὑπολειφθέντος μέρους, ὁ δυνήσεται κοινω-

66 νῆσαι ταφῆς. μυρίους μέντοι καὶ ἄλλους πολυτύποποι κακῶν ἱδέας ἐπιτειχισμένων εἰς χαλεπῆν ὠμότητα κατειργάσαντο καὶ διέφθειραν οἱ λευτ-[527]τήσαντες ὑπ’ ἀγριότητος | εἰς θηρίων φύσιν τοὺς γὰρ ὅπη τύχη φανέτας τῶν Ἰουδαίων ἥ κατέλευον ἥ ἐξοίκους κατέκοπτον οὐκ εὐθὺς ἐπὶ τὰ καιροῖς μέρη τὰς πληγὰς φέροντες, ἵνα μὴ θάττον τελευτήσατες θάττον καὶ τὴν τῶν ὀδυνηρῶν ἀντίληψιν

67 ἀπόθωνται. τῇ δὲ τῶν συμφορῶν ἄδεια1 καὶ ἐκεχειρία των ἐπενειφεύμενοι, τῶν ἀμβλυτερῶν ὀπλῶν ἀλογήσαντες, ἀνελάμβανον τὰ πάντων ἀνυσμώτατα, πῦρ καὶ σίδηρον, καὶ πολλοὺς μὲν ξίφοις ἀνείλον, οὐκ ολίγους δὲ πυρὶ διέφθειραν. ἡδὲ δὲ καὶ γενεὰς ὅλας, ἄνδρας μετὰ γυναικῶν, τέκνα νήπια μετὰ γονέων, ἐνέπρησαν οἱ πάντων ἀνηλε-έστατοι κατὰ μέσην τὴν πόλιν, μὴ γῆρας, μὴ νεότητα, μὴ παῖδων ἄκακον ἡλικιών οἰκτισάμενοι· καὶ ὅποτε ἔξολων ὕλης ἀπορήσειν, φρύγανα συλ-λέγοντες κατινῷ τὸ πλέον ἡ πυρὶ διέφθειραν, οἰκτρότερον καὶ ἐπιμηκέστερον ὀλέθρον τοῖς δει-λαίοις τεχνάζοντες, ὡς τὰ σώματα ἡμίφλεκτα

1 mss. ἀδικία or ἀδίκω.
FLACCUS, 64–68

the mere necessities as a charity, while those whose high-born spirit led them to avoid the beggar’s lot as fitter for slaves than for the free went forth into the market solely to buy sustenance for their families and themselves. Poor wretches, they were at once seized by those who wielded the weapon of mob rule, treacherously stabbed, dragged through the whole city, and trampled on, and thus completely made away with till not a part of them was left which could receive the burial which is the right of all. Multitudes of others also were laid low and destroyed with manifold forms of maltreatment, put in practice to serve their bitter cruelty by those whom savagery had maddened and transformed into the nature of wild beasts; for any Jews who showed themselves anywhere, they stoned or knocked about with clubs, aiming their blows at first against the less vital parts for fear that a speedier death might give a speedier release from the consciousness of their anguish. Some, made rampant by the immunity and licence which accompanied these sufferings, discarded the weapons of slower action and took the most effective of all, fire and steel, and slew many with the sword, while not a few they destroyed with fire. Indeed, whole families, husbands with their wives, infant children with their parents, were burnt in the heart of the city by these supremely ruthless men who showed no pity for old age nor youth, nor the innocent years of childhood. And when they lacked wood for fire they would collect brushwood and dispatch them with smoke rather than fire, thus contriving a more pitiable and lingering death for the miserable victims whose bodies lay promiscuously half-burnt,

a See note on Quod Omn. Prob. 123.
69 ἀναμίξ ἐκεῖτο, χαλεπῇ καὶ ὀδυνηρότηθι θέα. εἰ
de καὶ οἱ παραληφθέντες ἐπὶ φρυγανισμὸν ἐβρά-
dυνον, ἐπὶ τῶν ἱδίων σκευῶν τῶν ἐκ τῆς ἀρπαγῆς
ἐνεπίμπρασαν τὰ ὑπόλοιπα τὰ μὲν πολυτέλῃ
νοσφιξόμενοι, τὰ δὲ μὴ πάνυ χρήσιμα συγκαταφλέ-
70 γοντές, οἷς ἄντι ξύλων εἰκαίων ἐχρώντο. πολλοὺς
de καὶ ξώντας τῶν ποδοῦν τὸν ἔτερον ἐκδήσαντες
κατὰ τὸ σφυρὸν εἶλκον ἃμα καὶ κατηλόων ἐναλλό-
71 μενοι θάνατον ὁμότατον ἐπινοήσαντες· καὶ τελευ-
τησάντων, οὐδὲν ἦττον ἀτελεύτητα μηνιώντες
βαρυτέρας αἰκίας τοὺς σώμασιν ἐπέφερον, διὰ
πάντων ὅλιγον δὲ φάναι τῶν τῆς πόλεως στενω-
pῶν κατασύροντες, ἐξὼς ὁ νεκρὸς δορᾶς, σάρκας,
ἢν ὅπω τῆς τῶν ἐδάφων ἁνωμαλίας καὶ τραχύ-
tητος περιθρυφθεῖς, καὶ τῶν ἱκνωμένων μερῶν τῆς
συμφυίας διαστάντων καὶ διασπαρέντων ἄλλαχόσε
72 ἄλλων, ἐδαπανήθη. καὶ οἱ μὲν ταῦτα
dρόντες ὡσπερ ἐν τοῖς θεατρικοῖς μίμοις καθ-
υπεκρίνοντο τοὺς πάσχοντας· τῶν δ’ ὡς ἀληθῶς
πεπονθῶν φίλοι καὶ συγγενεῖς, ὁτι μόνον ταῖς
τῶν προσηκόντων συμφοραῖς συνήλγησαν, ἀπή-
gοντο, ἐμαστιγοῦντο, ἐτροχίζοντο, καὶ μετὰ πάσας
tὰς αἰκίας, ὃς ἔδυνατο χωρῆσαι τὰ σώματα
αὐτοῖς, ἡ τελευταία καὶ ἕφεδρος τιμωρία σταυρὸς
ἡν.

*Not to be translated "mimicked the sufferers," even if
that is the outcome of what is said. The regular use of this
verb followed by the article with a noun or participle points
to what I have put. Thus in § 32 above we have τὸν ἔταῖρον
καὶ φίλον καθυπεκ., in De Ios. 50 Potiphar’s wife accusing
340*
a painful and most heart-rending spectacle. And if the persons enlisted to get brushwood were too slow, they would burn the owners with their own furniture taken out of the spoil. Costly articles, indeed, they appropriated but anything that was not very useful they put on the fire to serve instead of ordinary wood. Many also while still alive they drew with one of the feet tied at the ankle and meanwhile leapt upon them and pounded them to pieces. And when by the cruel death thus devised, their life ended, the rage of their enemies did not end, but continued all the same. They inflicted worse outrages on the bodies, dragging them through almost every lane of the city until the corpses, their skin, flesh and muscles shattered by the unevenness and roughness of the ground, and all the parts which united to make the organism dismembered and dispersed in different directions, were wasted to nothing.

While those who did these things like actors in a farce assumed the part of the sufferers, the friends and kinsmen of the true sufferers, simply because they grieved over the misfortunes of their relations, were arrested, scourged, tortured and after all these outrages, which were all their bodies could make room for, the final punishment kept in reserve was the cross.

Joseph καθυπεκ. τὴν σώφρονα, ibid. 166 Joseph to his brothers καθνπεκ. τὸν δυσχεραίνοντα. So also in this treatise with similar verbs ἐπιφάσκων τὸν πλουσιον § 130 and προσποιούμενος τὸν ἡδὸμενον § 98. No doubt "pretended to be the sufferers" may mean "mimicked them," but I should prefer to take it that they assumed the air of the injured parties, who were only inflicting a righteous punishment. This will give more point to ἀληθῶς, and if Box is right in his note on "mimes" (§ 34) that they emphasized the characteristic rather than the dramatic, it will be in accord with this view.
Χ. Πάντα δὲ διορύξας καὶ τοιχωρυχήσας ὁ Φλάκκος καὶ μηδὲν μέρος τῶν Ἰουδαϊκῶν ἀμέτοχον ἐπιβουλής τῆς ἀνωτάτω καταλιπών ἐπενόησεν ἐκτοποῦν τινα καὶ παρηλλαγμένην ἐπίθεσιν, ὁ μεγα- 73 λουργός, ὁ καίνων ἀδικημάτων εὐρετής. τῆς γὰρ ἡμετέρας γερουσίας, ἦν ὁ σωτήρ καὶ εὐεργέτης Σεβαστός ἐπιμεληθημένην τῶν Ἰουδαϊκῶν εἰλετο [528] μετὰ τὴν τοῦ γενάρχου | τελευτῆν διὰ τῶν πρὸς Μάγιον Μάξιμον ἐντολῶν μέλλοντα πάλιν [ἀπ’] Ἀλεξάνδρειας καὶ τῆς χώρας ἐπιτροπεύειν, ὅκτω καὶ τριάκοντα συλλαβῶν τοὺς εὑρεθέντας ἐν ταῖς οἰκίαις εὔθες μὲν δῆσαι κελεύει, καὶ στείλας καλὴν πομπὴν διὰ μέσης ἄγορᾶς προσβύτας δεσμίους ἐξηγκωσμένους, τοὺς μὲν ἰμάσι, τοὺς δὲ σιδηρὰς ἀλύσεων, εἰς τὸ θέατρον εἰσάγει—θέαν οἰκτίστην 74 καὶ ἄλλοτριωτάτην τῷ καιρῷ—καὶ στάντας ἀντικρῦ ἐχθρῶν καθεξομένων πρὸς ἐπίδειξιν αἰσχύνης προστάττει πάντας περιδυθέντας αἰκισθήναι μάστιξιν, αἰς ἔθος τοὺς κακούργων πονηροτάτους προπηλάκιζει, ὡς ἐκ τῶν πληγῶν τοὺς μὲν φοράδην ἐκκομισθέντας αὐτίκα τελευτήσαι, τοὺς δὲ νοσήσαντας ἐπὶ πλείστον χρόνον εἰς ἀπόγνωσιν σωτηρίας 75 καὶ ἀλλοτριωτάτην τῷ καιρῷ—καὶ στάντας ἀντικρῦ ἐχθρῶν καθεξομένων πρὸς ἐπίδειξιν αἰσχύνης προστάττει πάντας περιδυθέντας αἰκισθήναι μάστιξιν, αἰς ἔθος τοὺς κακούργων πονηροτάτους προπηλάκιζει, ὡς ἐκ τῶν πληγῶν τοὺς μὲν φοράδην ἐκκομισθέντας αὐτίκα τελευτήσαι, τοὺς δὲ νοσήσαντας ἐπὶ πλείστον χρόνον εἰς ἀπόγνωσιν σωτηρίας ἐλθεῖν. ἦς ἐπιβουλής τὸ μέγεθος ἐξελή- λεγκταί μὲν καὶ δι’ ἐτέρων, οὐχ ἦττον δὲ καὶ διὰ

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*a* The term γενάρχης elsewhere applied by Philo to founders and heads of the nation (Abraham, the three Patriarchs, and the Seventy Elders) here apparently = the technical word εθνάρχης (cf. 2 Cor. xi. 32), the official who at Alexandria, at any rate according to Strabo writing under Augustus, served as general administrator and judge of the Jews.

*b* Or "elsewhere," *i.e.* either in some other treatise or some lost part of this. Reiter and others assume that this is the 342
FLACCUS, 73–76

X. Having broken into everything like a burglar and left no side of Jewish life untouched by a hostility carried to the highest pitch, Flaccus devised another monstrous and unparalleled line of attack worthy of this perpetrator of enormities and inventor of novel iniquities. Our Senate had been appointed to take charge of Jewish affairs by our saviour and benefactor Augustus, after the death of the ethnarch, orders to that effect having been given to Magius Maximus when he was about to take office for the second time as Governor of Alexandria and the country. Of this Senate the members who were found in their houses, thirty-eight in number, were arrested by Flaccus, who having ordered them to be straightway put in bonds marshalled a fine procession through the middle of the market of these elderly men trussed and pinioned, some with thongs and others with iron chains, and then taken into the theatre, a spectacle most pitiable and incongruous with the occasion. Then as they stood with their enemies seated in front to signalize their disgrace he ordered them all to be stripped and lacerated with scourges which are commonly used for the degradation of the vilest malefactors, so that in consequence of the flogging some had to be carried out on stretchers and died at once, while others lay sick for a long time despairing of recovery.

The great lengths of malevolence to which the plan was carried have been fully proved in other ways, but all the same meaning of δι' ἓρεπον and perhaps there are other places in Philo, not quoted by them nor observed by me, which go to prove that this is its meaning here. Failing such evidence, I should prefer to take it as above. The ἐπιβουλή may be either the pogrom in general or the treatment of the thirty-eight just described.
τοῦ μέλλοντος λέγεσθαι σαφέστερον ἐπιδειχθήσεται. τῶν ἀπὸ τῆς γερουσίας τρεῖς ἄνδρες, Εὐδοκὸς καὶ Τρύφων καὶ Ἀνδρῶν, ἐγεγένητο ἐξούσιοι, πάνθ᾽ ὡς εἶχον ἐν ταῖς οἰκίαις διαρπασθέντες ἐφόδῳ μιᾶ, οὕς οὔκ ἦγνόησε ταῦτα πεπονθότας· ἐδηλώθη γὰρ αὐτῷ μεταπεμψαμένῳ πρότερον τοὺς ἡμετέρους ἀρχοντας ὡς τῷ δοκεῖν ἐπὶ καταλλαγάς ταῖς πρὸς τὴν ἄλλην πόλιν. καὶ ὡς εἴδως ἀκριβῶς (τοὺ)· τοὺς στερομένους τῶν ἰδίων ὡς ὀφει τῶν ἀρπασάντων ἐτυπτεν, ἵνα οἱ μὲν ὑπομένωσι διττὰς συμφοράς, πενίαν ὡς καὶ τὴν ἐν τοῖς σώμασιν ὑβριν, οἱ δὲ διττὴν ἤδονήν, ἀλλότριόν τε καρπούμενοι πλούτον καὶ τῆς τῶν ἀφαιρέθεντων ἀτυμίας εἰς κόρον ἀπολαύντες.

77 Ἐχὼν τι τῶν τότε πεπραγμένων εἶπείν ἐπαμφερίζω, μὴ ἀρά εὐτελές εἶναι νομισθέν ἐκλύση τὰ μεγάθη τῶν τοσούτων· ἐστὶ δ᾽ εἰ καὶ μικρῶν, ἂλλ᾽ οὐ μικρᾶς δείγμα κακονοίας. τῶν μαστίγων εἰσὶ διαφοραὶ διακεκριμέναι κατὰ τὴν πόλιν πρὸς τά τῶν τύπτεσθαι μελλόντων ἀξιώματα· τοὺς μὲν γὰρ Αἰγυπτιός ἐτέρας μαστίζεσθαι συμβέβηκε καὶ πρὸς ἐτέρων, τοὺς δὲ Ἀλεξανδρέας σπάθαις καὶ τῶν ἐπὶ σπάθηφόρων Ἀλεξανδρέων. τὸ ἔθος τούτῳ καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν ἡμετέρων διετήρησαν οἱ πρὸς Φλάκκον καὶ Φλάκκος αὐτὸς τοὺς πρῶτους χρόνους. ἐστι

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a It will be observed that this interview must have taken place after the pillaging described in §§ 56 f. This suggests the possibility that it was either the attitude there taken up by 344
they will be shown still more clearly by the following statement. Three members of the Senate, Euodus, Trypho and Andro, had become penniless, having been robbed in a single inroad of all that they had in their houses; and that they had been so treated was known to Flaccus, who had been so informed when on an earlier occasion he sent for our magistrates, ostensibly to reconcile them with the rest of the city. Nevertheless, though he knew quite well that they had been deprived of their property, he beat them before the eyes of their despoilers. Thus, while they suffered a twofold misfortune, poverty and the outrage to their persons, the others had a twofold pleasure, enjoying the possession of the wealth which was not their own and sating themselves with gloating on the dishonour of those from whom that wealth was taken.

One point in the deeds committed at this time I mention only with hesitation, lest by being considered an insignificant matter it may detract from the magnitude of these horrors. Yet even if it is a small thing it is an evidence of no small malignancy. There are differences between the scourges used in the city, and these differences are regulated by the social standing of the persons to be beaten. The Egyptians actually are scourged with a different kind of lash and by a different set of people, the Alexandrians with a flat blade, and the persons who wield them also are Alexandrians. This custom was also observed in the case of our people by the predecessors of Flaccus and by Flaccus himself in his first years of office. For it is surely possible when inflicting the magistrates or their failure to carry out the conditions there laid down which led to their arrest and punishment.
γάρ, έστι καὶ ἐν ἀτυμίᾳ βραχύ τι τῶν εἰς ἐπιτιμίαν εὑρεῖν καὶ ἐν ὑβρεὶ παραφερόμενον τι τῶν εἰς τὸ ἀνύβριστον, ὅταν τις αὐτὰς ἐφ’ ἐαυτῶν ἡ τὰς φύσεις τῶν πραγμάτων ἐξετάζεσθαι, μὴ προστιθεῖσιν οἴκοθεν ἐπίβουλον πάθος, ο郤 πάνθ’ ὥσα παραμέμκται τῆς ἐπιεικεστέρας ἰδέας ύφαιρεὶ καὶ διοικεῖ. τῶς οἷς οὐ παγχάλησαν, τῶν ἰδιωτῶν Ἀλεξανδρεῶν Ἰουδαίων ταῖς ἐλευθερωτέραις καὶ πολιτικωτέραις μᾶς τετυπμένων, εἰ ποτὲ ἐδοξαν πληγῶν ἄξια ἐργάσασθαι, τοὺς ἄρχοντας,

[529] | τὴν γερουσιάν,1 ο郤 καὶ γήρως καὶ τιμῆς εἰς ἐπώνυμοι, κατὰ τοῦτο τὸ μέρος ἐλαττον τῶν ὑπηκόων ἐνέγκασθαι, καθάπερ Ἀιγυπτίων τοὺς ἀφανεστάτους καὶ ἐνόχους τοῖς μεγιστοῖς ἀδική-, 81 μασὶν; ἐὼ λέγειν ὅτι, εἰ καὶ μυρία ἦσαν ἡμαρτηκότες, ὅψετε τὸν καρὸν αἰδεσθεὶς τὰς τιμωρίας ὑπερθέσθαι τοῖς γὰρ ὀρθῶς πολιτευομένως τιμῶν ἀλλ’ ὀντως τιμῶσι τοὺς ἐνεργεῖτας ἔθος ἐστὶ μηδένα κολάζειν τῶν κατακρίτων, ἀχρὶ ἃν αἱ ἐπιφανεῖς2 γενέθλιοι καὶ πανηγύρεις αὐτοὶ τῶν 82 ἐπιφανῶν Σεβαστῶν διεξέλθωσιν. ὅ δ’ ἐν αὐτὰς παρηνόμει καὶ ἐτιμωρεῖτο τοὺς μηδὲν ἀδικοῦντας, οὔς ἐνὴν αὐθίς, εὐπερ ἐβούλετο, κολάζειν. ἀλλ’ ἐσπευδὴ καὶ κατῆπεγεν ἕνεκα τῆς πρὸς τὸν ἐναντίον ὄχλον ἀρεσκείας, ταύτῃ νομίζων ἐξοικειώσασθαι 83 μᾶλλον αὐτὸν εἰς ἄπερ διενοεῖτο. ἥδη τοῖς οἴδα

1 Very possibly a gloss inserted in view of the words which follow.
2 Perhaps, as Mangey held, an insertion. The duplication of the epithet, with no obvious point, is not like Philo.
degradation on others to find some little thing to sustain their dignity, or when wantonly maltreating them, to find some accompaniment to counteract the wantonness, if one allows the nature of the case to be determined on its own merits and does not import some personal feeling of malice which removes and dislodges all ingredients of the milder type. Surely then it was the height of harshness that when commoners among the Alexandrian Jews, if they appeared to have done things worthy of stripes, were beaten with whips more suggestive of freemen and citizens, the magistrates, the Senate, whose very name implies age and honour, in this respect fared worse than their inferiors and were treated like Egyptians of the meanest rank and guilty of the greatest iniquities. I leave out of account the point that if they had committed a host of crimes he ought to have postponed the punishments in respect for the season, for rulers who conduct their government as they should and do not pretend to honour but do really honour their benefactors make a practice of not punishing any condemned person until these notable celebrations in honour of the birthdays of the illustrious Augustan house are over. Instead he made them an occasion for illegality and for punishing those who had done no wrong, whom he could have punished at a later time if he wished. But he hurried and pressed on the matter to conciliate the mob, who were opposed to the Jews, thinking that this would help to bring them to make his policy their own. I have known cases when on

\[a\] Apparently the birthday of Gaius himself (Aug. 31st). Cf. αὐτοκράτορος § 83.

\[3\] MSS. οὐδένα ἡν.
τῶν ἀνεσκολοπισμένων μελλούσης ἐνίστασθαι τοι-αύτης ἐκεχειρίας καθαρισθέντας καὶ τοῖς συγγενέσιν ἐπὶ τῷ ταφῆς ἀξιωθήματος καὶ τυχεῖν τῶν νεομυ-σμένων ἀποδοθέντας. ἐδει γὰρ καὶ νεκροὺς ἀπο-λαύσας τινὸς χρηστοῦ γενεθλιακῆς αὐτοκράτορος καὶ ἀμα τὸ ἱεροπρεπὲς τῆς πανηγύρεως φυλαχθῆναι.

84 ὁ δ᾽ οὐ τετελευτηκότας ἐπὶ σταυρῶν καθαρεῖν, ζῶντας δ᾽ ἀνασκολοπίζεσθαι προσέτατεν, οἷς ἀμνηστίαν ἐπὶ διόγγοιν, οὐ τὴν εἰς ἄπαν, ὁ καιρὸς ἐδίδου πρὸς ὑπέρθεσιν τιμωρίας, οὐκ ἀφεῖσιν παντελῆ καὶ ταῦτ᾽ εἰργάζετο μετὰ τὸ πληγαῖς αἰκίσασθαι ἐν μέσῳ τῷ θεάτρῳ καὶ πυρὶ καὶ συ- δήρῳ βασανίσαι. καὶ ἡ θέα διενενέμητο· τὰ μὲν γὰρ πρῶτα τῶν θεαμάτων ἀχρί τρίτης ἡ τετάρ-της ὄρας ἑξ ἐσθινοῦ ταῦτα ἦν. Ἰουδαῖοι μαστιγοῦ- μενοι, κρεμάμενοι, προχιζόμενοι, κατακιζόμενοι, διὰ μέσης τῆς ὀρχήστρας ἀπαγόμενοι τὴν ἐπὶ θανάτων· τὰ δὲ μετὰ τὴν καλῆν ταύτην ἐπίδειξιν ὀρχησταὶ καὶ μύσι καὶ αὖληται καὶ ὅσα ἄλλα σκηνικῶν ἀθυρμάτων ἀγώνων.

85 XI. Καὶ τί ταῦτα μηκύνω; δευτέρα γὰρ ἐπι- νοεῖται πόρθησις, βουλομένου καὶ τὸ στρατευόμενον πλῆθος ἡμῖν ἐπίτειχόμει ξένου συκοφαντήματος εὑρέσει. τὸ δὲ συκοφάντημα ἢν, ὅς τῶν Ἰουδαίων πανοπλίας ἐν ταῖς οἰκίαις ἐχόντων. μεταπεμψά-μενοι οὐ πάντων ἐπὶ ἐκατόνταρχον ὁ μάλιστ᾿ ἐπὶ στρατιωτῶν. Κάστον ὄνομα, κελεύει παραλαβόντα τῆς ὑπηκοόν τὰξεως ἕαυτῷ τοὺς εὐτολμητῶν στρατιωτῶν

¹ MSS. καταδικαζόμενοι.

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This elliptical phrase is principally cited from Herodotus, κεκοσμημένον τὴν ἐπὶ θανάτῳ i. 109, συλλαβῶν δὲ σφεας ἐδήσε τὴν ἐπὶ θανάτῳ iii. 119, and so with κατέδησαν v. 72. If this 348
the eve of a holiday of this kind, people who have been crucified have been taken down and their bodies delivered to their kinsfolk, because it was thought well to give them burial and allow them the ordinary rites. For it was meet that the dead also should have the advantage of some kind treatment upon the birthday of an emperor and also that the sanctity of the festival should be maintained. But Flaccus gave no orders to take down those who had died on the cross. Instead he ordered the crucifixion of the living, to whom the season offered a short-lived though not permanent reprieve in order to postpone the punishment though not to remit it altogether. And he did this after maltreating them with the lash in the middle of the theatre and torturing them with fire and the sword. The show had been arranged in parts. The first spectacle lasting from dawn till the third or fourth hour consisted of Jews being scourged, hung up, bound to the wheel, brutally mauled and haled for their death march through the middle of the orchestra. After this splendid exhibition came dancers and mimes and flute players and all the other amusements of theatrical competitions.

XI. But why dwell on these things, for he had a second plan of spoliation hatching. He desired to use the large body of soldiers serving under him as a weapon against us, and to do this he invented a strange calumny to the effect that the Jews had stocks of every kind of arms in their houses. Accordingly having sent for a centurion named Castus, whom he especially trusted, he bade him take the most intrepid soldiers in the company under him and with-represents the facts it would seem to be a deliberate archaism in Philo. Lucian however also uses it (Alex. 44).
PHILO

ἐπισπεύδειν καὶ ἄνευ προφήτευσις ἐπεισιόντα ταῖς τῶν Ἰουδαίων οἰκίαις ἔρευνῶν, μὴ τις ὀπλῶν ἐναπόκειται παρασκευή. | καὶ ὁ μὲν συντείνας ἔθει τὸ προσταχθὲν ἐργασόμενον. οἱ δὲ τὴν ἐπινοιαν οὐκ εἰδότες ἀχανεῖς τὸ πρῶτον εἰστήκεσαν ὑπ’ ἐκπλήξεως, γυναίων καὶ τέκνων αὐτοῖς ἐμπλεκόμενων καὶ ἰσχυρῶν δάκρυσι διὰ τὸν ἐπ’ αἰχμαλώτους φόβον. ὃ γὰρ λοιπὸν τῆς πορθήσεως, τούτ’ αἰτεῖ προσεδόκων. ὡς δ’ ἤκουσαν παρὰ τίνος τῶν ἑρευνῶντων “ποῦ ταμιεύεσθε τὰ ὀπλα;” μικρὸν ἀνέπνευσαν καὶ πάντα καὶ τὰ ἐν μυχοῖς ἀναπετάκομεν. ὡς δ’ ἤκουσαν παρὰ τίνος τῶν ἑρευνῶντων “ποῦ ταμιεύεσθε τὰ ὀπλα;” μικρὸν ἀνέπνευσαν καὶ πάντα καὶ τὰ ἐν μυχοῖς ἀναπετάκομεν.

88 αἰτεῖ προσεδόκων. ὡς δ’ ἤκουσαν παρὰ τίνος τῶν ἑρευνῶντων “ποῦ ταμιεύεσθε τὰ ὀπλα;” μικρὸν ἀνέπνευσαν καὶ πάντα καὶ τὰ ἐν μυχοῖς ἀναπετάκομεν. ὡς δ’ ἤκουσαν παρὰ τίνος τῶν ἑρευνῶντων “ποῦ ταμιεύεσθε τὰ ὀπλα;” μικρὸν ἀνέπνευσαν καὶ πάντα καὶ τὰ ἐν μυχοῖς ἀναπετάκομεν.

89 σαντε ἐπεδείκνυτο, τῇ μὲν ἰδόμενοι, τῇ δὲ στένοντες, ἰδόμενοι μὲν ἐπὶ τῷ διελεγχθῆσθαι τὸ συκοφάντημα ἐξ ἕαυτοῦ, ὄψαντες δὲ, οὐ πρῶτον μὲν αἱ τηλικαύται διαβολαὶ καὶ τὴν αὐτῶν προπιστεύοντα συνιδοθῆσαν πρὸς ἐχθρῶν, ἐπειτα δ’, ότι γύναια κατάκλεισται μηδὲ τὴν αὐλείαν προερχόμεναι καὶ ἑρευνώμεναι παρθένοι, δι’ αἰδώ τὰς ἀνδρῶν όψεις καὶ τῶν οἰκειοτάτων ἐκτρεπόμεναι, τότε οὐ μόνον ἀσυνήθεσιν ἀλλὰ καὶ στρατιωτικὸν δέος ἐπανατείνομενοι εμφανεῖς ἐγένοντο.

90 γενομένης δ’, ὅμως ἀκριβῶς ἑρεύνης ὅσου πλῆθος ἀμυντηρίων ὀπλῶν εὐρέθη! κράνη, θώρακες, ἀσπίδες, ἐγχειρίδια, κοντοί, παντευχίαι σωρηδόν προεκμίζοντο, καὶ ἐν μέρει τὰ ἐκηβόλα, παλτοί.

1 Wendland suggests πόσον, but see note c.

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a The phrase τὸν ἐπ’ αἰχμαλώτους is certainly strange, but we have something like it in De Ios. 184 τὸν ὅσον ἐπὶ τεθνεώτι φόβον “the fear that he is dead,” though here to make the parallel complete we should have a participle ἐσομένος.

b Cf. Spec. Leg. iii. 169 “The women are best suited to the indoor life which keeps to the house, within which the
out loss of time and without giving notice enter and search the houses of the Jews to see whether they had any arms stored there. Castus hurried off to do what he was told. The Jews as they knew nothing of the scheme at first stood dumbfounded in consternation, while their women and children clung to them bathed in tears in the fear of being taken into captivity. For they lived in expectation of this which was the one thing left to complete the spoliation. When they heard one of the searching party say “Where do you stock your arms?” they revived somewhat and laid open everything, even the contents of the recesses. In one way they felt pleased, in another deeply pained. They were pleased that the refutation of the calumny would be self-evident but indignant first that such grave slanders, fabricated against them by their enemies, were so readily believed, secondly that their women kept in seclusion, never even approaching the outer doors, and their maidens confined to the inner chambers, who for modesty’s sake avoided the sight of men, even of their closest relations, were displayed to eyes, not merely unfamiliar, but terrorizing through the fear of military violence. And after this careful investigation, what an enormous amount of defensive weapons was discovered, the helmets, breastplates, shields, daggers, pikes, outfits of armour, piles of which were produced, and on another side, the middle door (μέσαυλον = θαλαμενόμεναι here) is taken by the maidens as their boundary, and the outer door by those who have reached full womanhood.” See note, vol. vii. p. 640. A good deal of additional information is given by Box.

οἴον exclamationary may be kept as more expressive than πόσον, cf. e.g. Ῥεφ. 450 οἴον . . . ἐἰργάσασθε! οἴον λόγον . . . κινεῖτε!
PHILO

σφενδόναι, τόξα, βέλη! τούτων ἀπλῶς οὐδέν· ἀλλ’ οὔδε τὰ πρὸς τὴν καθ’ ἡμέραν διαίταν ὄφαρτυτῶν
91 αὐτάρκη μαχαιρίδια. ἐξ ὦ καὶ ἡ περὶ τοῦ βίου εὐθὺς εὐκολία διεφαίνετο πολυτέλειαν καὶ τὸ ἄβροδίαιτον μὴ προσιεμένων, ἃ πέφυκε γεννάν κόρον· κόρον δ’ ὑβρις ἐγγυον, ἢ πάντων κακῶν
92 ἀρχή. καίτου γ’ οὐ πρὸ πολλοῦ τῶν κατὰ τὴν χώραν Αιγυπτίων ὀπλολογηθέντων ὑπὸ Βάσσου τινός, ὃς προσέταξεν ὁ Φλάκκος τουτί τὸ ἔργον, [ἄλλ’] ἦν τότε ἰδεῖν στόλον μὲν πολὺν νεῶν καταπεπλευκότα καὶ ἐνορμοῦντα τοῖς τοῦ ποταμοῦ λίμεσιν, γέμοντα παντοίων ὀπλῶν, ἀχθοφόρα δ’ ὑποζύγια παμπληθή συνδεδεμένων δοράτων φόρμιδον ἀφ’ ἐκατέρας πλευράς εἰς τὸ ἱσόρροπον; τὰς δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦ στρατοπέδου πάσας σχεδὸν ἀρμαμάξας μεστὰς πανοπλιῶν, αἱ στοιχηδόν ὑπὸ μίαν ὦμην καὶ τὴν αὐτὴν σύνταξιν ἐν κόσμῳ προήσαν· τὸ δὲ μεταξὺ τῶν λιμένων καὶ τῆς ἐν τοῖς βασιλείοις ὀπλοθήκης, εἰς ἓν ἔδει κατατεθῆναι τὰ ὀπλα, δέκα
93 σταδίων που διάστημα σύμπαν ἔχον. τὰς τῶν ταῦτα παρασκευασμένων οἰκίας ἄξιον ἦν ἐρευναῖθαι: πρὸς γὰρ νεωτέρισθον ὑποττο κολλάκες ἀποστάντες ἦσαν, καὶ ἐδει κατὰ μίμησιν τῶν ἱερῶν ἀγώνων τριετηρίδας ἄγειν καυτὰς ἐν Αἰγύπτω συγκομιδῆς ὀπλῶν τοὺς προεστῶτας, ἢς ἢ μὴ κατασκευάζεσθαι φθάνωσιν ἢ ἀντὶ πολλῶν ὀλίγα, 94 καίρων οὐκ ἔχοντες εἰς ἀναχώρησιν.1 ἡμᾶς δὲ τί τοιούτον ἔδει παθεῖν; | πότε γὰρ εἰς ἀπόστασιν

1 The word is hopeless. Of the corrections proposed,
sile kind, javelins, slings, bows and arrows! Why! absolutely nothing, not even the knives which suffice the cooks for their daily use. This last in itself showed clearly the simplicity of the life led by people who discarded the expensive habits and luxury which naturally breed that satiety, whose child is the wanton insolence which is the source of all evils.

And yet not long before, when the Egyptians in the country districts had their weapons collected by one Bassus, on whom Flaccus had laid this task, there was a great array of ships to be seen which had sailed to the bank and moored in the harbours of the river brimful of all manner of weapons, also a great number of beasts of burden with spears tied in bundles hung on each side to balance equally. Also there was a procession of waggons sent from the camp, nearly all full of outfits of armour, moving regularly one after the other so as to form a single ordered line, all visible at once, and the space between the harbours and the armoury in the palace where the arms had to be deposited was, taken altogether, about ten stades long. Those who procured these equipments might well have had their houses searched, for they had often revolted and were suspected of favouring sedition. Indeed, the authorities ought to have copied the sacred contests by instituting new triennial celebrations for the collection of arms, so that the Egyptians would not have time to provide them or at least only a few instead of this great quantity, as they had no opportunity for replacing them. But why should we have been subject to anything of the kind?

ἀνανέωσις and ἀναχώνευσις ("reforging"), the latter seems the more probable. Considering that it follows on ἀντί πολλῶν ὀλίγα, I should myself prefer ἀναπλήρωσιν to ἀνανέωσιν.
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υπωπτεύθημεν; πότε δ’ οὐκ εἰρηνικοι πᾶσιν ἐνομίσθημεν; τὰ δ’ ἐπιτηδεύματα, οἷς καθ’ ἐκά-
ςτην ἡμέραν χρώμεθα, οὐκ ἀνεπιλήπτα, οὐ συντεῖ-
νοντα πρὸς εὐνομίαν πόλεως καὶ εὐστάθειαν; εἰ
γε μὴν εἰχὸν ὅπλα Ἰουδαίοι παρ’ αὐτοῖς, ὑπὲρ
tετρακοσίας ἀφηρέθησαν οἰκίας, εξ ὧν μετα-
νάσται ἐγένοντο, φυγαδευθέντες πρὸς τῶν τὰς
οὐσίας ἀρπασάντων· διὰ τί οὖν οὐχὶ καὶ τὰ παρὰ
τούτως ἤρευνησέ τις, τοῖς εἰ καὶ μὴ ἰδια ὅπλα,
95 ὅσα γοῦν ἦρπασαν, ἔχουσιν; ἀλλ’ ἦν,
ὡς ἐφη, ὅλον τὸ πράγμα ἐπιβουλὴ τῆς ἀποτομίας
Φλάκκου καὶ τῶν ὁχλών, ὃν ἀπέλαυσαν καὶ
γυναῖκες· οὐκ ἐν ἄγορα γὰρ μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐν
μέσῳ τῶ θεάτρῳ καθάπερ αἰχμαλωτοὶ συνηρπάζοντο
καὶ ἐπὶ τὴν σκηνὴν ἐφ’ ὃτι ἐποδεύεσε συκοφάντο-
μεναι παρῆγοντο μετὰ τινος ἀφορίτου καὶ ἀργα-
96 λεωτάτης ὑβρεώς· εἰτ’ ἐπειδὴ μὲν ἐγνωρίσθησαν
ἐτέρου γένους, ἀπελύσαντο—πολλὰς γὰρ ὡς Ἰουδαίας
ἀκριβὴ μὴ ποιοῦμενοι τῆς ἀληθείας τὴν ἔρευναν
συνελάμβανον—, εἰ δ’ ἐφάνησαν ἡμέτεραι, προσ-
έταττον οἱ ἀντὶ θεάτων τύραννοι καὶ δεσπόται
γεγονότες κρέα χοίρεια διδόναι κομίζοντας. ὅσαι

1 Mangey, Reiter, etc., take this sentence as a question,
and Reiter inserts ἂν after ἀφηρέθησαν. But see note a.

a This sentence has been taken by other editors as a ques-
tion (ἀν being inserted after ἀφηρέθησαν) and understood to
mean “if they had had arms, would they have been stripped
of their homes?” This is quite good sense in itself, but what
bearing has it on the sequel? As I have taken it, the apodosis
is suppressed for the moment, but is understood from the next
sentence, i.e. “if they had arms, they must have passed into
the hands of those who occupied their houses.”

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FLACCUS, 94–96

When were we suspected of revolting? When were we not thought to be peacefully inclined to all? Were not our ways of living which we follow day by day blameless and conducive to good order and stability in the State? Indeed, if the Jews did have arms in their possession, they had been dispossessed from over four hundred houses from which they were driven to wander by those who seized their property. Why then did not their despoilers have their property searched, since they would have, if not arms of their own, at any rate those which they had seized?

But the whole proceeding was as I have said a malicious plot, due to the ruthlessness of Flaccus and the turbulent outbreaks, the effect of which was felt by women also. For they were seized like captives not only in the market-place but also in the middle of the theatre and taken on to the stage on no matter what calumnious charge, meanwhile being subjected to outrage of an intolerable and most barbarous kind. Then, if they were recognized to be of another race, since many were arrested as Jewesses without any careful investigation of the truth, they were released. But if they were found to be of our nation then these onlookers at a show turned into despotic tyrants and gave orders to fetch swine’s flesh and give it to the women. Then all

b So rather than “crowds,” for which Philo would use the singular; nor does it suit ἄπελανσαν so well. For the use ὑπὸ τὸ πλῆθος . . . ὀχλῶν καὶ θορύβων De Mut. 144.

c Why does Philo bring this account of the women’s sufferings in at this point? They belong rather to the pogrom which we left at § 85. Possibly he means that the insult to feminine modesty involved in the investigation just described did not stand alone, though in the account of the atrocities nothing had been said about the women.
μὲν οὖν φόβῳ κολάσεως ἀπεγεύσαντο, μηδὲν ἔτι
dεινὸν προσπομείνασαι ἀπελύοντο. αἱ δ’ ἐγκρατε-
στεραι βασανισταῖς παρεδίδοντο πρὸς αἰκίας ἀνη-
κέστους, ὦπερ τού μηδὲν ἄδικεῖν αὐτὰς σαφεστάτη
πίστις ἦστι.

97 XII. Πρὸς τοῖς εἰρημένοις οὐ δι’ ἑαυτοῦ μόνον ἄλλ’ ἦδη καὶ διὰ τοῦ αὐτοκράτορος ἐξήτει καὶ ἐπενόει κακοῦν ἡμᾶς. τιμᾶς γὰρ, ὡσας οἶν τε ἦν καὶ ἐπέτρεπον οἱ νόμοι, πάσας Γαίῳ ψηφισά-
μενοι καὶ ἐπιτελέσαντες ἔργοις ἀνέδομεν τὸ ψήφισμα
αὐτῶ, δεθέντες, ἐπειδὴ πρεσβείαν αὐτησαμένοι
οὐκ ἂν ἐπέτρεψεν, ἵνα διαπέμψηται δι’ αὐτοῦ.

98 ἀναγνώστες δὲ καὶ ἐκάστῳ τῶν ἐν τῷ ψηφίσματι
πολλάκις τῇ κεφαλῇ συνεπινεύσας, ὑπομειδῆς καὶ
gεγανωμένους ἢ προσπομομένοις τὸν ἡδόμενον,
"ἀποδέχομαι πάντας ὑμᾶς" ἐφη "τῆς εὐσεβείας
καὶ πέμψω, καθάπερ αἰτεῖσθε, ἦ πρεσβευτοῦ τάξιν
ἐκπλήσσω, ἵνα ισβήται Τάιος τῆς ὑμετέρας εὐχαρι-
στίας. μαρτυρήσω δὲ καὶ αὐτὸς ὡς σύνοιδα τῷ
πλῆθει τῶν εἰς κοσμίοτητα καὶ εἰς εὐπείθειαν
προστιθεῖς οὐδέν· ἢ γὰρ ἀλήθεια αὐταρκεστάτος
100 ἐπανοῦν." ἐπὶ ταύταις ταῖς ὑποσχέσεις 
γεγονέναι εὐχαριστοῦμεν, ὡς ἦδη ταῖς ἐλπίσι παραγεν-
ομένου Γαίῳ τοῦ ψηφίσματος. καὶ γὰρ ἦν εἰκός,
ἐπειδὴ πάνθ’ ὡς διὰ τῶν ὑπάρχων πέμπται μετὰ

1 mss. ἡμῖν or ὑμῖν.

The sections which follow describe events which go back
to a time previous to those narrated in § 25 and onwards.
Philo seems to take this action of Flaccus as his crowning
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the women who in fear of punishment tasted the meat were dismissed and did not have to bear any further dire maltreatment. But the more resolute were delivered to the tormentors to suffer desperate ill-usage, which is the clearest proof of their entire innocence of wrongdoing.

XII. a To all these we have to add that Flaccus had before this been seeking to utilize the emperor to supplement his own efforts to injure us and laid his plans accordingly. We had decreed and ratified with our actions all the tributes to Gaius which were possible and were allowed by the laws and had submitted the decree to Flaccus, begging him since he would not have granted our request for an embassy to provide himself for its transmission. He read it and nodded his head several times in assent at each point, smiled gently, and looked pleased or pretended to be pleased, and said “I commend you all for your piety, and I will send it as you ask or will fulfil the duties of an envoy myself that Gaius may learn your gratitude. I will also testify myself from my own knowledge to your abundantly orderly and loyal behaviour without adding anything else, b for the truth in itself is all-sufficient praise.” When we heard these promises we rejoiced and were thankful, feeling in our hopefulness as though Gaius had already read the decree. The hope was reasonable, since any communication sent by a viceroy with urgency secures a prompt de-

wickedness, and very possibly connects it directly with his fall, perhaps justly. It is quite conceivable that when the insulted Agrippa informed the emperor that Flaccus had suppressed a complimentary address to himself, his animosity against Flaccus was roused to activity.

b Or “without adding to the multitude,” etc. But the dative of the thing known following σύνοω is not uncommon.
101 διάγνωσιν. ο δὲ πολλὰ χαίρειν φράσας οἰς διενοθήμεν, οἰς εἰπεν, οἰς ὀμολόγησε, τὸ ψήφισμα παρ’ έαυτῷ παρακατέσχεν, ίνα μόνοι τῶν ύφ’ ἥλιον ἀνθρώπων ἐχθροὶ νομισθῶμεν. ταῦτ’ οὐ δηγρυπνηκότος ἦν ἐκ πολλοῦ καὶ περισσεκεμένου τὴν καθ’ ἡμῶν ἐπιβουλὴν, ἀλλὰ μὴ κατ’ ἀπόνοιαν αὐτοσχεδιάζοντος ἀκαίρω φορᾷ καὶ παραγωγὴ τινὶ λογισμοῦ; ήδες δ’ ὦς ἐοικεν, ὦ μέλει τῶν ἀνθρωπείων πραγμάτων, τους θώπας αὐτοῦ λόγους καὶ κεκομβεμένους ἐπὶ φενακισμῷ καὶ τὸ τῆς ἔκνομον διανοίας βουλευτήριον, ἐν ὦ κατ’ εστρατήγηε, προβαλλόμενος, λαβὼν οἴκτον ἡμῶν, ἀφορμὴν οὐκ εἰς μακρὰν ἐμπαρέσχε τοῦ μὴ ψυν- 

102 σθῆναι τῆς ἑλπίδος. Ἀγρίππας γὰρ ἐπιδημήσας ο βασιλεὺς δηγησαμένοις ἡμῖν τὴν ἐκ Φλάκκου γενομένην ἐπιβουλὴν ἐπανορθοῦται τὸ πράγμα καὶ ύποσχόμενος τὸ ψήφισμα διαπέμψειης λαβὼν ὡς ἀκούομεν ἐπημψεν, ἀπολογισάμενος καὶ περὶ τοῦ χρόνου, ὡς οὐκ ὅψε μαθόντων εὐθείαν εἰς τὸν εὐεργετὴν ὅλον, ἀλλ’ ἐξ ἀρχῆς μὲν σπουδασάντων, ἐπηρεία δὲ τοῦ προεστῶτος τὴν καίριον ἐπίδειξιν 

103 ἀφαιρεθέντων. ἐπὶ δὴ τούτους ἤρξατο κοινεῖθαι κατ’ αὐτοῦ ἡ ὑπέρμαχος μὲν καὶ παραστάτης ἀδικουμένων τιμωροῦ ὁ ἄνοσίων καὶ ἔργων καὶ ἀνθρώπων δίκη. πρῶτον μὲν γὰρ καινοτάτην 

1 mss. ἐπίνοιαν.

a Or perhaps "perusal," for διαγιγνώσκω is sometimes used for διαναγιγνώσκω. Perhaps indeed read διανάγνωσιν, which Mangey suggested and Box adopts.

b Literally "in the council chamber (or council) of his lawless mind," cf. De Vit. Cont. 27. The figure it may be noted is a common one in Philo, cf. Quod Det. 40, De Ebr. 358
cision \textsuperscript{a} by the head. But Flaccus, dismissing all consideration for our intentions and his own words and agreements, detained the decree in his own possession so that it might be supposed that we alone among men who dwell under the sun were hostile. Do not these actions show long unsleeping vigilance and careful preparation of the insidious attack against us and that it was not improvised in a fit of insanity, in an ill-timed outburst due to some perversion of the reason? But God, it is clear, who takes care for human affairs, rejected his flattering words so elegantly framed to cajole and the treacherous counsels against us debated in his lawless mind \textsuperscript{b} and in His compassion before long provided us with grounds for thinking that our hopes would not be disappointed. For when King Agrippa visited Alexandria and we told him of Flaccus’s malignant action, he rectified the matter, promised us that he would have the decree transmitted and took it and as we understand sent it, apologizing also for the delay and stating that we had not been slow to learn the duty of piety to the house of our benefactors; on the contrary we had been eager to show it from the first but had been deprived of the chance of proving it in good time by the spite of the Governor. At this point justice, the champion and defender of the wronged, the avenger of unholy men and deeds, began to enter the lists against him. For in the

\textsuperscript{165} De Conf. 86, De Dec. 98. \textsuperscript{α} καταστρατηγεῖν = “to overcome by cunning or treachery” is here used absolutely by Philo, as also in Legatio 25, and perhaps De Dec. 141. In De Dec. 91 we have καταστρατηγεῖς τὸν ὄρκον of making the oath which the judges have sworn of none effect. All the other examples cited by Stephanus have an accusative or genitive following.
υπέμεμεν ύβριν καὶ συμφορὰν οὐδεὶ τῶν πάλαι γενομένην ὑπάρχων, ἃφ’ οὗ τὴν ἡγεμονίαν ὁ Σεβαστὸς οἶκος ἀνήματο γῆς καὶ θαλάττης.  

105 ένιοι γὰρ καὶ ἐπὶ Τιβερίου καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτοῦ Καίσαρος τῶν διεπόντων τὰς ἐπικρατείας, τὴν ἐπιμέλειαν καὶ προστασίαν εἰς δυναστείαν καὶ τυραννίδα μεθαρμοσάμενοι, τὰς χώρας ἐνέπλησαν κακῶν ἀνήκεστων δωροδοκίας, ἀρπαγαίς, καταδίκαις, τῶν μηδὲν ἡμαρτηκότων ἐλάσσοντας καὶ νυκτίζοντας, τῶν δυνατῶν ἀκρίτων ἀναιρεσίσειν οὐς μετὰ τὸν ὀρισθέντα χρόνον τῆς ἀρχῆς ἐπανελθόντας εἰς Ῥώμην οἱ αὐτοκράτορες λόγον καὶ εὐθύνας τῶν πεπραγμένων ἢτοι, καὶ μάλιστ’ ὁπότε πρεσβεύσαντο αἰ ἀδικηθείσαι πόλεις. τότε γὰρ κοινῶς παρέχοντες έαυτοὺς δικαστάς, εξ ἴσου καὶ τῶν κατηγόρων καὶ τῶν ἀπολογουμένων ἀκροώμενοι, μηδὲν ἀκρίτου προκαταγωγώσκειν ἀξιώματες, ἐβράβευον οὔτε πρὸς εχθραν οὔτε πρὸς χάριν, ἀλλὰ πρὸς τὴν φύσιν τῆς ἀληθείας τὰ δόξαντα εἶναι δίκαια. Φλάκκω δ’ οὐ μετὰ τὴν ἁρχὴν ἀλλ’ ἐμπροθέσμως προὐπήντησεν ἢ μισοπόνηρος δίκη ταῖς ἀμέτρους ὑπερβολαῖς ὁν ἰδίκει καὶ παρηγόμει δυσχεράνασα.

107 Phlakkw δ’ οὐ μετὰ τὴν ἁρχὴν ἀλλ’ ἐμπροθέσμως προὐπήντησεν ἢ μισοπόνηρος δίκη ταῖς ἀμέτρους ὑπερβολαῖς ὁν ἰδίκει καὶ παρηγόμει δυσχεράνασα.

108 [533] XIII. | Γίνεται δ’ ὁ τρόπος αὐτῷ τῆς συλλήψεως τοιόσοδε. ὑπέλαβεν ἢδη τὸν Γάιον περὶ δὲν ὑποπτοῦ ἢν ἐξεμενοῦσθαι, τὰ μὲν ἐπιστολιμαίοις γράμμασιν, τὰ κολακεῖας ἢν ὑπέρμεστα, τὰ δὲ ἐν ὦς δημηγορῶν πολλάκις ἐθεράπευε λόγους θώπας καὶ μακρὰς ῥήσεις πεπλασμένων ἐγκωμίων συνείρων, τὰ δὲ καὶ ἐκ τοῦ σφόδρα εὐδοκιμεῖν παρὰ τῷ πλείστῳ

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first place he was subjected to an unprecedented indignity and disaster such as had not befallen any of the viceroys in the past since the Augustan House assumed the sovereignty of land and sea. Some, indeed, of those who held governorships in the time of Tiberius and his father Caesar, had perverted their office of guardian and protector into domination and tyranny and had spread hopeless misery through their territories with their venality, robbery, unjust sentences, expulsion and banishment of quite innocent people, and execution of magnates without trial. But these people on their return to Rome, after the termination of their time of office, had been required by the emperor to render an account and submit to scrutiny of their doings, particularly when the aggrieved cities sent ambassadors. For on these occasions the emperors showed themselves impartial judges; they listened equally to both the accuser and the defender, making it a rule to condemn no one offhand without a trial, and awarded what they thought to be just, influenced neither by hostility nor favour but by what actually was the truth. Flaccus, on the other hand, not after his time of office, but in advance of the regular date, was encountered by justice, who hates evil and was indignant at the boundless excesses of his unjust and lawless actions.

XIII. The manner of his arrest was as follows. He supposed that Gaius had been by now propitiated as to the matters on which he was under suspicion, partly through his written dispatches, which overflowed with flattery, partly through the obsequiousness of his public harangues, in which he span together fawning words and long screeds of insincere encomium, partly again by the high esteem in which
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109 μέρει τῆς πόλεως. ἔλαθε δ' αὐτὸν ἀπατών· ἀβέβαιοι γὰρ αἱ τῶν πονηρῶν ἀνθρώπων ἐλπίδες, εἰκαλζόντων μὲν τὰ χρηστότερα, τὰ δὲ παλάβημα καὶ ὃν ἄξιοι τυγχάνειν εἰσὶ πασχόντων. πέμπεται μὲν γὰρ ἀπὸ τῆς Ἰταλίας Βάσσος ἐκατοντάρχης ὑπὸ Γαῖου χειροτονηθεὶς μετὰ τῆς τάξεως τῶν στρατιωτῶν, ἢς ἀφηγεῖτο. σκάφους δ' ἐπιβάς τῶν μάλιστα ταχύναυτοντων ὀλίγαις ἡμέραις πρὸς τοῖς λιμέσι γίνεται τῆς Ἀλεξάνδρείας κατὰ τὴν Φάρον νῆσον περὶ δείλην ἐσπέραν καὶ κελεύει τῷ κυβερνητῇ μέχρι τῆς ἑλίου καταδύσεως ἐξω τοῦ μή προαισθόμενον Φλάκκον καὶ βουλευσάμενον τι νεώτερον ἀπρακτὸν αὐτῷ τῆν ὑπηρεσίαν ἐργάσασθαι.  

110 γενομένης δ' ἐσπέρας, ἢ μὲν ναῦς προσέσχεν, ὁ δὲ Βάσσος μετὰ τῶν ἱδίων ἀποβὰς προῆι, μῆτε γνωρίζουν τινα μῆτε γνωριζόμενος ὑπὸ τοῦ, στρατιωτῇν δὲ τινα τῶν ἐν τοῖς τετραδίοις φυλάκων καθ' ὅδον εὑρὼν κελεύει δεικνύναι τὴν οἰκίαν τοῦ στρατάρχου· τοῦτω γὰρ ἐβούλετο τὸ ἀπόρρητον ἄνεψεν, ἵνα, καὶ δὴ πολυχειρίας, ἐξή τὸν συναγωνιοῦμενον. πυθόμενος δ' αὐτὸν ἐστιάσθαι παρὰ τινι συν Φλάκκω, μηδὲν τάχος ἄνιεις συνέτεινεν ἄχρι τῆς τοῦ κεκληκότος οἰκίας—Στεφάνιων ἤν τῶν τοῦ Τιβερίου Καίσαρος ἄπελευθέρων, παρ' ὧ κατήγοντο—καὶ μικρὸν ἀποθεῖν ὑποστείλας ἐκτέμπει τινα τῶν ἱδίων κατασκευόμενον εἰς ἀκόλουθον ἀσκήσας, σόφισμα τοῦ μηδένα

\footnote{a} Cf. § 92. It is somewhat surprising to find another and evidently different Bassus. But the name is too common to justify any suspicion of its genuineness here or there.  
\footnote{b} More literally “the sentries arrayed in quaternions,”
he was held by the chief part of the city. But he little knew that he was deceiving himself, for the hopes of the wicked are without foundation. Their prognostications are favourable but their experiences fraught with evil omens are what they deserve. A centurion named Bassus was sent from Italy by Gaius's appointment with the company of soldiers which he commanded. Having embarked on one of the swiftest sailing ships he arrived in a few days at the harbours of Alexandria, off the island of Pharos, in the late afternoon and bade the pilot wait at sea outside till sunset, his scheme being to avoid observation, so that Flaccus might not get knowledge of it beforehand and by planning some act of violence, make his mission unsuccessful. When it was evening the ship was brought to land and Bassus disembarking with his men went forward without recognizing or being recognized by anyone. And finding on the way a soldier belonging to the quaternions acting as sentries, he ordered him to show him the house of the military commander. For he wished to communicate his secret instructions to him so that if a strong force was required he might have someone to support him in the contest. And learning that the commander as well as Flaccus was feasting with someone, he hurried with unabated speed to the house of the giver of the feast, by name Stephanio, one of the freedmen of Tiberius Caesar. It was in his house that the two were being entertained, and Bassus keeping in the background a little way off sent on one of his men to reconnoitre attired as an attendant, hoping by this artifice to maintain secrecy. The

i.e. the night was divided into four watches and each watch was served by four soldiers. For “quaternions” cf. Acts xii. 4.
συναισθέσθαι. παρελθών δὲ εἰς τὸ συμπόσιον ὡς ἐνὸς τινος τῶν παρατυγχανόντων οἰκέτης, ἀπαντα
μετ’ ἀκριβείας περιαθρήσας, ἐπανελθὼν ἐμήνυσε
113 τῷ Βάσσῳ. γνοὺς δὲ τὸ περὶ τὰς εἰσόδους ἀφυ-
λακτον καὶ τὴν περὶ τὸν Φλάκκον ὀλιγότητα—
μόλις γὰρ δέκα ἢ πεντεκαίδεκα τῶν διακονικῶν ἀνδραπόδων ἔπηκολουθήκει—σύνθημα δοὺς τοῖς
περὶ αὐτῶν εἰσέδραμεν ἐξαιρέσεις, καὶ τῶν στρατιω-
τῶν οἱ μὲν παρὰ τὸ συμπόσιον ἐπιστάντες ύπεζω-
σμένοι τὰ ξίφη κυκλούσαν αὐτὸν οὐ προϊδόμενον,
ἐτύγχανε γὰρ καὶ πρόποσιν τινὶ διδοὺς καὶ φιλο-
114 φρονούμενος τοὺς παρόντας. εἰς μέσον δὲ τοῦ
Βάσσου παρελθόντος, ἵδων εὐθὺς ὑπ’ ἐκπλήξεως ἀχάνης γίνεται καὶ βουλόμενος ἀναστήναι, τὴν ἐν
κύκλῳ φρουρὰν θεασάμενος, ἔγνω καὶ πρὶν ἀκούσαι,
τί βούλεται Γάιος ἐπ’ αὐτῷ καὶ τί προστάτακται
τοῖς ἦκουσι καὶ τί παραντικὰ μελλῆσει υπομένειν·
δεινὸς γὰρ ὁ νοῦς τὰ κατὰ μέρος ἐν χρόνῳ μακρῷ
γνώμενα πανθ’ ἁμα ἰδεῖν καὶ πάντων ἀθρόων
1

115

[534] ἀκοῦσαι. τῶν μὲν | οὖν συνδειπνοῦντων ἐκαστὸς ἀναστὰς ὑπὸ δέους ἐπεφρίκει καὶ ἐπετήγει, μή τις
ὡρισται καὶ τοῦ συνεστιαθῆναι δίκη· φεύγειν γὰρ
οὔτ’ ἄσφαλες ὤν οὔτ’ ἅλλως ἐνεδέχετο, προκατ-

1 mss. ἀθρόων.
soldier made his way into the dining-hall in the guise of a servant of one or other of the visitors and having taken a careful look all round returned with his information to Bassus. He, learning the unguarded condition of the entrances and the scantiness of Flaccus's retinue, for barely ten or fifteen of his household slaves had accompanied him, gave the signal to his companions and rushed in suddenly. Some of the soldiers taking their stand along the dining-hall, with swords in their girdles, surrounded Flaccus before he saw them, since he was drinking the health of some particular person and toasting the company. But when Bassus came forward into the middle of the room he saw him and was at once struck speechless with consternation. He wished to rise but when he surveyed the guard around him, he knew even before he heard it what Gaius wanted to do with him and what orders had been given to the newcomers and what would be his fate in the immediate future. For the mind has a marvellous power of seeing all at once and hearing altogether the successive events which will cover a long space of time. As for his fellow-guests, each of them rose shuddering and petrified with fear lest their presence in his company at the feast was a crime destined for punishment. For it was unsafe to fly and, moreover, impossible, since the entrances had been occupied in advance. Flaccus himself at Bassus's orders, was led away by the soldiers. Thus it was from a convivial gathering that he made his final departure, for it was only right that a hospitable hearth should be the scene where justice

According to the lexicons, φιλοφρονεῖσθαι merely means "making himself agreeable to them"; but the context seems to need some specific action which diverted his attention.
PHILO

μυρίους ἀνεστίους οἴκους οὐδὲν ἡδυκήκότων ἀνθρώπων ἐργασαμένου.

116 XIV. Τούτο καυνότατον ὑπέμεινε Φλάκκος ἐν χώρᾳ, ὥς ἀφηγεῖτο, πολεμίου τρόπων ἰωγηθεὶς ἐνεκά μοι δοκῶ τῶν Ἰουδαίων, οὓς ἀρδην ἀφανίσαι διεγνώκει λιμοδοζών. ἐναργὴς δὲ πίστις καὶ ὁ χρόνος τῆς συλλήψεως ἔορτή μὲν γὰρ ἦν πάνθημος τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις κατὰ τὴν μετοπωρινὴν ἱσημερίαν.

117 ἐν ὑ διάγειν Ἰουδαίοις ἔθος ἐν σκηναῖς. οὐδὲν δὲ τῶν ἐν ἐορτῇ συνόλως ἀπετελεῖτο, τῶν μέν ἀρχόντων ἐτί καθειρμένων μετὰ τὰς ἀνήκεστος καὶ ἀφορίστους αἰκίας καὶ ὑβρείς, τῶν δὲ ἱδιωτῶν τὰς ἐκείνων συμφορὰς ἀπαντῶν τοῦ ἐθνος κοινὰς νομιζόντων καὶ ἐπὶ ταῖς ἐξαιρέτοις, ἃς ἴδια ἐκαστὸς ὑπέμεινεν, οὐ μετρίως κατηφούντων. τὰ γὰρ ἀνιαρά διπλασιάζβσβαί, φιλεῖ μάλιστα ἐν ἐορταῖς τοῖς μὴ δυναμένους ἐορτάζειν, στερήσει τὰ ἐλαρὰς εὐθυμίας, ἢν πανήγυρις ἐπίζητεί, καὶ μετουσία λύπης, υφ' ἢς ἐξεταρχηλίζοντο, μηδὲν ἀκος τῶν τοσούτων κακοπραγιῶν ἀνευρεῖν δυνάμενοι.

118 σφόδρα δ' ἔχουσιν ὀδυνηρῶς καὶ πεπιεσμένοις ἀχθεὶς ἐφυστάτῳ—συνείληντο δ' ἐν ταῖς οἰκίαις, ἀτε νυκτὸς ἐπεχοῦς—ήκον τίνες ἀπαγγέλλοντες τὴν γενομένην σύλληψιν. οὶ δ' ἀπόπειραν εἶναι νομίσαντες, οὐκ ἀλήθειαν, ἔτι μάλλον ἐπὶ τῷ κατακερτομεῖσθαι καὶ ἐνεδρεύσθαι δοκεῖν ὑδυνῶντο.

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a Philo means that providence shows itself by sending deliverance just when things are darkest. The festal season, particularly as its chief characteristic, the living in booths, could not be observed, brought their misery to a climax.

b Note the imperfect with its sudden change from the general to the particular.

366
first fell on one who had destroyed numberless hearths and homes of persons that had done no wrong.

XIV. Such was the unprecedented blow which fell upon Flaccus, carried off like a prisoner in war in the country which he was governing. It was caused, I am convinced, by his treatment of the Jews, whom in his craving for aggrandisement he had resolved to exterminate utterly. We have a clear proof of this also in the time of his arrest, for the Jews were holding then the national feast of the autumn equinox, in which it is the custom of the Jews to live in tents. But nothing at all of the festal proceedings was being carried out. The rulers after suffering deadly and intolerable injuries and outrages were still in prison and their misfortunes were regarded by the commoners as shared by the whole nation, while the special sufferings which each of them experienced individually made them extremely depressed. For painful sensations are apt to double themselves most especially at feast time in persons who are unable to observe the feast, both because they are deprived of the cheerful gaiety which the festal gathering demands and also because they communicate to each other their sorrow—sorrow which in this case laid them prostrate through their powerlessness to find any remedy for their great miseries. They were in this very painful condition oppressed by an overwhelming burden when there came to them while crowded in their houses, because night was falling, some messengers who announced the arrest that had been made. They supposed that it was no true story but something fabricated to try them and were still more pained at what seemed a mockery and a snare.

Or perhaps "was in possession," i.e. "had fallen."
120 θορύβου δ’ οντος κατὰ τὴν πόλιν καὶ τῶν νυκτο- 
φυλάκων ἀνω κατώ διαθέοντων καὶ τινῶν ἐπιπέων 
εἰς τὸ στρατόπεδον καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ στρατόπεδου 
τάχει συντόνω μετὰ σπουδῆς ἀντιεξελαυνόντων, τῶ 
τοῦ πράγματος ἀήθει κινηθέντες τινὲς προῆλθον 
ἐκ τῶν οἰκιῶν κατὰ πύστω τοῦ συμβεβηκότος.

121 ἐφαίνετο γὰρ εἰναί τι νεώτερον. ὡς δ’ ἠθικό τὴν 
ἀπαγωγὴν καὶ τὸν Φλάκκον ἐντὸς ἀρκύων ἢδη 
γεγενημένον, προτείνοντες τὰς χεῖρας εἰς οὐρανὸν 
ὕμνων καὶ παίανας ἐξήρχον εἰς τὸν ἑφορον θεοῦ 
τῶν ἀνθρωπίνων πραγμάτων, "οὐκ ἔφηδόμεθα," 
λέγοντες, "ω δέσποτα, τιμωρίαις ἔχθροῦ, δεδι- 
δαγμένοι πρὸς τῶν ιερῶν νόμων ἀνθρωποπαθῶν· 
ἀλλὰ σοὶ δικαίως εὐχαριστοῦμεν ὅκτον καὶ ἔλεον 
ημῶν λαβόντι καὶ τὰς συνεχεῖς καὶ ἑπαλλήλους | 
κακῶσεις ἐπικουφίσαντι." πάννυχοι δὲ διατελέ-
σαντες ἐν ὑμνοῖς καὶ ὠδαῖς καὶ ἀμα τῇ ἕω διὰ 
πυλῶν ἐκχυθέντες ἐπὶ τοὺς πλησίον οἰκίαλοις 
ἀφικνόνται—τὰς γὰρ προσευχὰς ἀφήρηντο—καὶ 
τῷ καθαρωτάτῳ στάντες ἀνεβόησαν ομοθυμαδῶν.

122 "γῆν καὶ θάλατταν, ἀέρα τε καὶ οὐρανόν, τὰ μέρη 
του παντὸς καὶ σύμπαντα τὸν κόσμον, ὥς μέγιστα 
βασιλεῖ θνητῶν καὶ ἀθανάτων, παρακαλέσοντες 
εἰς εὐχαριστίαν τὴν σὴν ἡκομεν, οἰς μόνοις ἐν-
diaiōmedha, τῶν ἀλλων ὕσι δημιουργεῖται πρὸς 
ἀνθρώπων ἐληλαμένοι καὶ στερόμενοι πόλεως καὶ 
tῶν ἐν πόλει δημοσίων καὶ ἱδιωτικῶν περιβόλων, 
ἀπόλιδες καὶ ἀνέστιοι μόνοι τῶν υφ’ ἠλιον ἕξ

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*a This is the classification natural to the ordinary man, who speaks of what he sees around him, rather than the scientific “four elements.” So of the translators of the LXX 368*
But when a tumult arose in the city and the night-watch were running up and down and horsemen busily riding backwards and forwards at full speed to and from the camp, some of them, stirred by so unusual an event, advanced from their houses to get information of what had occurred. For it was clear that there was some upheaval. And when they learnt of the arrest and that Flaccus was now within the toils, with hands outstretched to heaven they sang hymns and led songs of triumph to God who watches over human affairs. "We do not rejoice, O Lord," they said, "at the punishment meted to an enemy, for we have been taught by the holy laws to have human sympathy. But we justly give thanks to Thee because Thou has taken pity and compassion on us and relieved our unbroken and ceaseless afflictions." All night long they continued to sing hymns and songs of praise and at dawn pouring out through the gates, they made their way to the parts of the beach near at hand, since their meeting-houses had been taken from them, and standing in the most open space cried aloud with one accord "Most Mighty King of mortals and immortals, we have come here to call on earth and sea, and air and heaven, into which the universe is partitioned, and on the whole world, to give Thee thanks. They are our only habitation, expelled as we are from all that men have wrought, robbed of our city and the buildings within its walls, public and private, alone of all men under the sun bereft of home and country through the malign-

in Mos. ii. 37, where these same four as here are called τὰ μέρη τῆς φύσεως (where μέρη should not have been translated "elements"). Cf. also Mos. i. 113 and De Som. i. 15, though in the last the phrase ἐξ ὧν συνεστηκε instead of μέρη is nearer to the scientific conception. See also on De Aet. 29.
επιβουλής ἀρχοντός γενόμενοι. χρηστάς ύπο-
γράφεις ἡμῖν ελπίδας καὶ περὶ τῆς τῶν λειπομένων ἐπανορθώσεως, ἣδη ταῖς ἡμετέραις λυταῖς ἀρξά-
μενος συνεπινεύειν, εἰ γε τὸν κοινὸν ἔχθρὸν τοῦ ἔθνους καὶ τῶν ἐπ’ αὐτῷ συμφορῶν ύψηλήτην καὶ
dιδάσκαλον μέγα πνεύματα καὶ οἴηθέντα διὰ ταῦτα εὐδοκιμήσειν ἐξαίφνης καθεῖλε, οὐ πορρωτάτω γενόμενον,
ἰν αἰσθόμενοι δι’ ἀκοῆς οἱ κακῶς πεπονθότες ἀμβλύτερον ἡθῶσιν, ἀλλ’ ἐγγὺς οὐτωσί, μόνον οὐκ ἐν ὧμει τῶν ἡδικημένων, πρὸς τρανο-
tέραις φαντασίαις τῆς ἐν βραχεῖ καὶ παρ’ ἐλπίδας ἐπεξόδου."

XV. Τρίτον δ’ ἐτι πρὸς τοῖς εἰρημένοις κακείνοι
μοι δοκεῖ θεία πρόνοια συμβήναι. ἐπειδὴ γάρ
ἀναχθεῖς ἀρχομένου χειμῶνος—ἐδει γάρ αὐτὸν καὶ
tῶν ἐν θαλάττῃ φοβερῶν ἀπολαυσαί τὰ στοιχεία
τοῦ παντὸς ἀστεβημάτων ἀνάπλησαν—μυρία πνη-
θεῖς μόλις ἤλθεν εἰς Ἰταλίαν, εὐθὺς ἐκδέχονται τὰς
ἐπ’ αὐτῷ κατηγορίας δύο τῶν ἔχθιστων, Ἰσιδώρος

τε καὶ Λάμπων, οἱ πρὸς μικρὸν μὲν τὰξιν εἶχον
ὐπηκόων δεσπότην καὶ δικαίων καὶ σωτήρα καὶ
τὰ τοιαῦτα ἀνακαλοῦντες, νυνὶ δ’ ἀντιδίκων οὐκ
ἰσορροποῦν ἀλλὰ δυνατωτέραν ἑσχὺν ἐκ πολλοῦ τοῦ
περιόντος ἐπιδεικνυμένων, οὐ μόνον ἔνεκα τοῦ
θαρρεῖν τοῖς δικαίοις, ἀλλ’, δ’ ἅ γέμιστον ἢν, ότι
τὸν πρῶτον τῶν ἀνθρωπίνων πραγμάτων ἔχθρον

" Or perhaps "wilt restore what is in an inferior condition" or "fallen behind," a sense which λείττομαι sometimes has.

b On the common phrase (cf. § 152) signifying sometimes pride and sometimes influence see note on De Virt. 171.

c See further on these two App. p. 532.
nancy of a governor. Thou givest also a glimpse of cheering hopes that Thou wilt amend what remains for amendment, in that Thou hast already begun to assent to our prayers. For the common enemy of the nation, under whose leadership and by whose instruction these misfortunes have befallen it, who in his windy pride thought that they would promote him to honour, Thou hast suddenly brought low; and that not when he was afar off, so that they whom he ill-treated would hear it by report and have less keen pleasure, but just here close at hand almost before the eyes of the wronged to give them a clearer picture of the swift and unhoped-for visitation.”

XV. Besides the two circumstances which I have mentioned there is a third which seems to me to have been brought about by divine providence. He had started on his voyage in early winter and endured a multitude of hardships, tasting of the terrors of the sea also, a just fate for one who had filled the elements of the universe with his impious deeds. When with difficulty he arrived in Italy the charges against him were taken up by two of his worst enemies, Isidorus and Lampo. It was not long since these men had ranked as his subjects and hailed him as their master and benefactor and saviour and the like. But now they appeared to plead against him with a strength which was not a mere match for his but vastly more powerful. For not merely had they confidence in the justice of their case but their most important advantage was that they saw that he who presided over human affairs was his mortal enemy,

\[\text{Here } \varepsilon\kappa\pi\rho\iota\lambda\mu\sigma\tau\omega\varsigma \text{ intensifies } \delta\upsilon\nu\nu\alpha\tau\omega\tau\epsilon\rho\alpha\upsilon\text{ and marks the contrast to } \iota\sigma\hat{o}\rho\rho\rho\sigma\nu\upsilon\sigma\nu, \text{ "so far from being equal it is more powerful with a lot to spare." See note on } \text{De Vit. Cont. 63.}\]
έώρων ἀσπονδον αὐτῷ, μέλλοντα σχῆμα μὲν ὑποδύεσθαι δικαστῷ, προνοία τοῦ μὴ δοκεῖν ἀκρίτου τυγὸς προκαταγωγός, ἔργον δ’ ἐπιδείκνυσθαι δυσμενοῦς, πρὸ κατηγορίας καὶ ἀπολογίας ἕδη τῇ ψυχῇ κατεγνωκότος καὶ τὰς ἀνωτάτως τιμωρίας ὕρικότος ἐπ’ αὐτῷ. χαλεπὸν δ’ οὐδὲν οὔτως, ὡς ὑπ’ ἐλαττόνων κρείττων καὶ πρὸς ὑπηκόων ἀρχοντάς ποτὲ γενομένους κατηγορεῖσθαι, ὥσπερ ἂν εἰ καὶ δεσπότας ὑπ’ οἰκοτρίβων ἢ ἀργυρωνήτων.

127 ἕρμην τῆς κατηγορίας ἐπ’ αὐτῶ. 'Αλλ’ ἢν, ὡς έοικε, τοῦτο κοιφότερον κακὸν συγκρινομένον ἐτέρω μείζονι. οὐ γὰρ ἀπλὴν τῶν ἐχοντες ὑπηκόων αἰφνίδιον ἐπ’ ἐθεντο ταῖς κατηγορίαις ἐπαποδομενοὶ καὶ συμφρονήσαντες, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸν πλεῖστον χρόνον τῆς ἐπιτροπῆς ἢν ἐπετρόπευσε τῆς χώρας ἐκ πάντων οὖτοι μᾶλιότ’ αὐτῷ δ’ ἀπεχθείας ἐγεγένητο. Λάμποι μὲν ἀσεβείας τῆς εἰς Τιβέριον Καίσαρα δίκην σχῶν καὶ ἐπὶ διετίαν τριβομένου 129 τοῦ πράγματος ἀπειρηκὼς. ὑπερθέσεις γὰρ καὶ ἀναβολὰς ὁ δικαστὴς ἔθεσεν ἐκκύττετο βουλόμενος, κἂν ἀποφύγῃ τὸ ἐγκλῆμα, τὸν γοῦν περὶ μέλλοντος ἄδηλου φόβον πρὸς μὴκιστὸν χρόνον ἐπικεραμάσας αὐτῷ. ζωῆν ὀψαλφατέραν βανατοῦ παρασχεῖν. εἴθ’ ύστερον καὶ ὅτε νικᾶν ἔδοξεν, εἰς τὴν οὐσίαν ἐπηρεασθῆναι ἐφασκεῖν—ναγκάσθη γὰρ γυμνασιαρχεῖν—, ἦτοι τῷ γλύσχροσ καὶ ἀνελευθεροῦς εἶναι περὶ τὰς δαπάνας, προφασιζόμενος τῷ μὴ κεκτῆσθαι πρὸς τοσαύτην ἀθυσίαν ἀναλωμάτων ἰκανὴν οὐσίαν, ἡ τῷ ὀντὶ μὴ κεκτημένον.

1 mss. ἄδηλον (also ἄδολον and ἄδικον).
who would assume, indeed, the guise of a judge to save himself from appearing to condemn anyone by anticipation and without trial, but in his actions would be revealed as an enemy, who forestalled the accusation and defence by condemning him already in his soul and had fixed his punishment at the uttermost. And no lot is so hard as for superiors to be accused by inferiors and rulers by their former subjects; as well might masters be accused by the slaves whom they have bred in their house or purchased with their money.

XVI. But this as we shall see was a lighter evil compared with another still greater. For they were not simply in the position of subjects who suddenly attacked him and by mutual agreement addressed themselves to accusing him. On the contrary, throughout the greater part of his time of governorship of the country, they were above all others his bitterest enemies. Lampo had been put on his trial for impiety to Tiberius Caesar and as the trial had dragged on for two years he had broken down under it. For the ill-will of his judge had concocted postponements and delays, as he wished, even if he was acquitted on the charge, to keep hanging over him for as long as possible the fear of the uncertain future, and so render his life more painful than death. Afterwards when he appeared to have won his case he declared that he was the victim of an outrageous attack upon his property. For he was forced to act as gymnasiarch and protested that he had not sufficient means to meet the great expenses of the office.\(^a\) The excuse may be due to meanness and illiberality in spending his money, or it may be that

\(^a\) See App. p. 535.
άλλα πρὶν μὲν εἰς ἀπόπειραν ἐλθεῖν ἐπιφάσκων τὸν πάνυ πλοῦσιον, ἐν δὲ τῇ δοκιμασίᾳ μὴ φανεῖς ἀγαν πολυχρήματος ἀνθρώπος, οὐσα ἐκτῆσατο σχεδὸν

131 ἀπαντά ἐξ ἀδικημάτων περιποιησάμενος· προσεστώς γὰρ τοῖς ἡγεμόσιν, ὅποτε δικάζοιες, ὑπεμνηματίζετο τὰς δίκας εἰσάγων ὡς ἔχων τάξιν, εἴτε τὰ μὲν ἀπήλειφεν ἢ παρῆκεν ἐκών, τὰ δ' οὐ λεγθέντα προσενεταττεν, ἐστὶ δ' οτὲ καὶ ὑπηλ-λάττετο μεταποιῶν καὶ μετατιθεῖς καὶ στρέφων ἀνω κάτω τὰ γράμματα, κατὰ συλλαβῆν, μᾶλλον δὲ καὶ κεραίᾳν ἐκάμεν τὰ ἀργυρολόγων ὁ γραμματο-

132 κύφων· δόν πολλάκις ὁ δῆμος ἀπας ὀμοθυμαδὸν εὐθυβόλως καὶ εὐσκόπους καλαμοσφάκτην ἐξεκήρυξεν, οἷς ἤγγραφε μυρίους [καὶ] ἀνελόντα καὶ ξόνιας ἀθλωτέρους τῶν ἀποθανόντων ἀπεργασά-μενον, οἱ δυνάμενοι νικᾶν καὶ περιουσιάζων ἢταν καὶ πενίαν ἀδικώτατην τροπήν, ἡμησαμένων ἀμφότερα τῶν ἐχθρῶν παρὰ τοῦ τὰς ἀλλοτριὰς

133 οὐσίας ἐπευνώνυμον καὶ πιπράκοντος. ἀμή-χανον μὲν γὰρ ἢν τοὺς ἡγεμόνας τοσαύτης χώρας ἐπιτρεποῦντας, ἀεὶ καινοτέρων ἐπεισδρόντων ἰδιω-τικῶν τε καὶ δημοσίων πραγμάτων, ἀπαντῶν μεμνήθαι, καὶ ταῦτα οὐ δικάζοντας μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ λογισμοῦ τῶν προσόδων καὶ δασμῶν λαμ-βάνοντας, ὅν ἢ ἐξετασὶς τὸν πλείων τοῦ ἐναντοῦ 134 χρόνον ἀνήλισκεν. ὁ δὲ φιλάττεν ἐπιτραπεῖς τὴν

1 MSS. δικάζοντο.

2 This can hardly give the required sense, and even with the addition of toλανθε (as in A) is rather otiose. Mangey suggested ὡς ἔχων τάξιν ("as they came in order "). The suggestion εἰσαγώγεως for εἰσάγων ὡς made by Mr. Box in Class. Quarterly 1935 seems admirable, if it can be fitted in with the functions here described. On this see App. p. 536.
he really had not the means, and though before the
test he had pretended to be quite rich he was shown
under examination to be not very wealthy, owning
in fact hardly anything beyond the proceeds of his
iniquitous deeds. For he stood beside the governors
when they were giving judgement, and took the
minutes of the cases which he introduced in virtue
of this position. He would then expunge some of
the evidence or deliberately pass it over and some-
times insert statements which had not been made,
sometimes, too, tamper with the documents by re-
modelling and rearranging them and turning them
upside-down, while he picked up money at every
syllable, or rather at every jot and tittle, like the
paper-porer that he was. Frequently the whole
people, truly and appropriately, denounced him as
a pen-murderer, whose writings had done multitudes
to death and made more miserable than the dead
multitudes of the living, who, when they might have
won their case and enjoyed abundance, had suffered
a defeat and poverty utterly undeserved, both pur-
chased by their enemies from this cheapjack and
vendor of other people’s property. For it was im-
possible that the governors who had the manage-
ment of so large a territory should keep in mind the per-
petual flood of new cases private and public, particu-
larly as they not only acted as judges but received
the calculations of revenues and tributes, the scrutiny
of which took up the greater part of the year. But
Lampo, who was commissioned to guard the most

a Philo means that his attempt to avoid the office was
discreditable on either supposition. Either he was rich and
mean or if he was not rich he had pretended to be rich.
ΦΙΛΟ

ἀναγκαίοτάτην παρακαταθήκην, τὰ δίκαια καὶ τὰς ἐπὶ αὐτῶς ὅσωτάτας γνώμας, ἐνεπορεύετο τὴν λήθην τῶν δικαστῶν, τοὺς μὲν νικῶν ἱπεῖλοντας γράφων ἐν ἡττημένοις, τοὺς δὲ ἡττᾶσθαι μετὰ τὸν ἐπάρατον μισθὸν ἢ κυριώτερον εἰπεῖν τὸ μίσθωμα ἐν νενικηκόσιν.

XVII. Ὅ μὲν δὴ Λάμπων τοιοῦτος ὄν ἐφεστήκει κατήγορος, δ’ Ἰσίδωρος οὐκ ἀποδέων τὴν μοχθηρίαν, ἀνθρωπος όχλικός, δημοκόπος, καθάπερ αὐτοῖς συγχέειν πράγματα μεμελετηκώς, ἐχθρὸς εἱρήνη καὶ εὐσταθεία, στάσεις καὶ θορύβους κατασκευάσαι μὲν οὐκ ὅντας, γενομένους δὲ συγκροτήσαι καὶ συναυξήσαι δενός, ὅχλον ἀσύντακτον καὶ πεφορημένον ἢκ μιγάδων καὶ συγκλύδων ἁρμοσμένον περὶ αὐτὸν ἦκεν ἐσπουδακώς, ὅς εἰς μοίρας ἐκμεθοτήτως καθάπερ τινὰς συμμορίας διανενέμηται.

θίασοι κατὰ τὴν πόλιν εἰσὶ πολύνθρωποι, ὅν κατάρχει τῆς κοινωνίας οὐδὲν ὑγιές, ἀλλ’ ἁκρατος καὶ μέθη καὶ παροινίας καὶ τοῦτων έκγονος ύβρις σύνοδοι καὶ κλίναται προσομοίωται ὑπὸ τῶν ἐγχωρίων. ἐν ἄπασι τοῖς θίασοις ἢ τοῖς πλείστοις δ’ Ἰσίδωρος τὰ πρωτεία φέρεται καὶ λέγεται ὁ συμποσίαρχος, ὁ κλινάρχης, ὁ νταραξίπολις. εἰτα όταν τὰ βουληθῆ διαπράξασθαι τῶν ἀλθυτελῶν, ἀφ’ ἐνὸς συνθήματος ἀθρόως συνέρχονται καὶ τὸ κελευσθέν λέγουσι καὶ δρῶσι, καὶ ποτε τῷ Φλάκκω δυσχεράνας, ὅτι δόξας παρὰ αὐτῶς τις εἶναι καὶ ἢπαρχαὶ οὐκέθα ὅμοιος αὕτης ἐσπουδαζέτο, μυθοδοτήσας τῶς ἀλειφοβίους καὶ φωνασκεῖν

1 MSS. σοίαρχος.
vital trust, justice and the verdicts based with all sanctity on justice, traded on the short memory of the judges and recorded defeat for those who should have had victory and for those who should have been defeated a victory in return for the accursed fee, better described as hire, which he received.

XVII. Such was the Lampo who appeared against Flaccus as an accuser. And with him was Isidorus nothing behind him in villainy, a mob courter, popularity hunter, practised in producing disturbance and confusion, a foe to peace and tranquillity, an adept at creating factions and tumults where they do not exist and organizing and fostering them when made, ever at pains to keep in contact with him an irregular and unstable horde of promiscuous, ill-assorted people, divided up into sections, or what might be called syndicates.

In the city there are clubs with a large membership, whose fellowship is founded on no sound principle but on strong liquor and drunkenness and sottish carousing and their offspring, wantonness. "Synods" and "divans" are the particular names given to them by the people of the country. In all or most of the clubs Isidorus held the first place and was called the feast ruler or divan master and state embroiler. Then when he wished to get some worthless project carried out, a single call brought them together in a body and they said and did what they were bidden. And at one time being annoyed with Flaccus, because whereas at first he seemed to be regarded by him as a person of some importance, he afterwards found himself no longer in the same favour, he hired the

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\[ a \] As to whether this term implies a religious association or merely one for banqueting, see App. p. 536.
εἰωθότας, οἱ τὰς καταβοήσεις ὡσπερ ἐπ' ἀγορᾶς πιπράσκουσι τοῖς ἐξουσιών ὑνητικῶς, παρακελεύει 139 συνελθεὶν εἰς τὸ γυμνάσιον. οἱ δὲ πληρώσαντες αὐτὸ τοῦ Φλάκκου ἀπ' οὐδεμιᾶς προφάσεως κατηγόρουν, ἀγένητα πλάττοντες ἐγκλήματα καὶ ψευδεῖς ῥήσεις δι' ἀναπαίστων καὶ μακρᾶς συνείροντες, ὡς καταπεπλήχθαι μὴ μόνον Φλάκκον ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ἐπὶ τῷ παραλόγῳ καὶ, ὅπερ ἦν, συμβαλεῖν, ὅτι πάντως ἐστὶ τις ὃς χαρίζονται, μήτ' αὐτοῖ τι πεπονθότες ἀνήκεστον μήτε τὴν ἄλλην πόλιν εἰ δὲ 140 εἰδότες πλημμελθεῖσαν, ἔπειτα βουλευομένοις ἐδόξει συλλαβεῖν τινας καὶ τὴν αἰτίαν τῆς ἀκρίτου καὶ αἰφνιδίου μανίας καὶ λύττης πυνθάνεσθαι. οἱ δὲ συλληφθέντες ἀνευ βασάνων δυναλοῦσι τάληθές, ἀμα καὶ τὼν διὰ τῶν ἐργῶν πίστεις ἐφαρμόζοντες, τῶν διωμολογηθέντα μισθόν, τῶν ἤδη δεδομένων, τῶν καθ' ὑποσχέσεις ύστερον δοθησόμενον, τοὺς ἐπὶ τὴν διανομήν αἱρεθέντας ὡς ἂν ἡγεμόνας τῆς στάσεως, τὸν τόπον, τὸν καιρὸν, ἐν ὃ γέγονεν ἢ 141 δωροδοκία. πάντως δ', ὡς εἰκός, ἀγανακτούντων καὶ τῆς πόλεως χαλεπῶς φεροῦσι ἐπὶ τῷ τὴν ἐνίων ἀγνωμοσύνην προσαναμάττεσθαι τούνομ' αὐτῆς, ἐδόξει τὸ καθαρώτατον τοῦ δήμου μεταπεμψάμενον τῇ ύστεραια παραγαγεῖν τοὺς τὸν

1 mss. metapempsámēnon.

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a Or “touts” (Box). See App. p. 537.

b The word φωνασκεῖν, which properly means “exercising” (rather than as L. & S. “training”) the voice, does not seem to carry in itself any unfavourable sense. It is applied by Demosthenes to Aeschines in several places (e.g. De Cor. 308 and De Fal. Leg. 336), but that Aeschines had a fine voice is recognized. Cf. also Plato, Legg. 665 f.

c Or possibly literally “in anapaests.” See App. p. 537.
beggarly lot\textsuperscript{a} who regularly served him as vocalists,\textsuperscript{b} the people who sell their yells as in a market to willing purchasers, and ordered them to come to the gymnasium. They filled the building and launched 139 accusations against Flaccus with no foundation, inventing against him things which had never happened and spinning long lying screeds of ribald doggerel,\textsuperscript{c} so that not only Flaccus but everyone else was utterly astonished at so unexpected an onset and conjectured, as indeed was the case, that there was surely someone whom they wanted to gratify and that they had never themselves suffered any injury past mending nor had real knowledge of any offence\textsuperscript{d} committed against the rest of the State. Then on deliberation 140 the authorities decided to arrest some and ascertain the cause of so reckless and sudden an outburst of insanity. The persons arrested without being put to the question confessed the truth and also added the proofs supplied by the facts, the payment agreed upon, both what had already been given and what was to be given afterwards according to the promises; the persons chosen as ringleaders of the agitation to distribute the money, the place and occasion where and when the act of bribery had taken place. And 141 as everyone was naturally indignant and the city felt annoyed that the senselessness of some persons should also set its stamp\textsuperscript{e} upon her name, he decided to summon the most highly respectable part of the public on the morrow and set the dispensers of the

\textsuperscript{a} Or perhaps “knew well that no offence,” etc., though in that case the second \textit{μήτε} is wrongly used.

\textsuperscript{b} The subject of the infinitive is probably \textit{τοῦνομε}, not \textit{ἀγνώμοστήν}, but see App. p. 538. The point of \textit{προσ-} is perhaps that the loss of reputation was an addition to the actual inconvenience caused by the uproar.
μισθόν ἐπινείμαντας, ὡς καὶ τὸν Ἰσίδωρον ἀπελέγξη καὶ ἀπολογήσηται περὶ τῆς αὐτοῦ πολιτείας ὡς ἄδικως διαβληθεῖσι. αἰσθόμενοι δὲ τῆς παραγγελίας | οὐχ οἱ ἐν τῇ μέλλοντος Ἰνα καὶ τὸν Ἰσίδωρον ἀπελέγξη καὶ ἀπολογήσηται περὶ τῆς αὐτοῦ πολιτείας ὡς ἄδικως διαβληθεῖσι.

142 εἴλήκοσθαι μέρους ἐπὶ τῷ μεμισθοδοτήσθαι. καὶ οἱ μὲν ὑπηρετήσαντες τὴν καλήν ταύτην ὑπηρεσίαν ἀναβιβασθέντες, ἴνα μετέωροι καὶ ἐμφανεῖς εἴεν καὶ γνωρίζοντο πρὸς ἄπαντων, ἥλεγχον τὸν Ἰσίδωρον ὡς αἴτιον τῶν θορύβων καὶ τῶν βλασφημιῶν τῶν εἰς Φλάκκον γενομένων, οὐκ ὁλίγω πλήθει παρασχόντα καὶ ἀργυρίων καὶ οἶνον δι᾽ αὐτόν.

143 αὐτόν. ἐπεὶ πόθεν ἐφάσκον ἡμῖν αφθονία τοσαύτη; πένητες ἐσμὲν καὶ μόλις τούφήμερον εἰς αὐτὰ τὰ ἀναγκαία πορίζειν δυνάμεθα. τι δὲ καὶ δεινόν ἐπεπόνθειμεν υπὸ τοῦ ἡγεμόνος, ὡς βιασθῆναι μησικακεῖν; ἀλλ’ ὁ πάντων αἴτιος καὶ δημιούργος ἐκεῖνος, ἀεὶ τοῖς εὐ πράττονσι βασκαί-νων καὶ εὐνόμως καταστάσει πολέμιος.” α γνωρίζοντες οἱ παρατυγχάνοντες—τύποι γάρ τινες ἦσαν ἀρίθηλοι καὶ χαρακτήρες τὰ λεγόμενα τῆς τοῦ κατηγορούμενον προαιρέσεως—ἀνεβόων, οἱ μὲν ἀτιμοῦν, οἱ δὲ φυγαδεύειν, οἱ δ’ αἱρέων πλείους δ’ ἦσαν οὕτων πρὸς οὓς καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι μετεβάλλοντο, ὡς ἀπαντας ὀμοθυμαδὸν μὰ φωνὴ κεκραγέναι, κτείνειν τὸν κοινὸν λυμεώνα, τὸν ἀφ’ οὗ παρῆλθε

1 So three mss. of the four. But the sense “on account of him,” i.e. Flaccus, is very poor, and I have translated the reading of S ἐν αὐτῶν. A possible alternative would be παρασχόντες (αὐτῶν = Ισίδωρος).

* Something like this must be the meaning of διακύπτω.
payment before them so that he might both expose Isidorus and defend his own administration against the aspersions unjustly cast upon him. But on hearing the summons there came not only persons in high position but the whole city except that part whose acceptance of payment was to be exposed. And those who had served in this glorious capacity, being set on a platform so that in this conspicuous elevation they might be recognized by all, gave proof that Isidorus was responsible for the tumults and slanders against Flaccus and had employed them to supply both money and wine to no small number of people. "Whence," they asked, "could we have had all this money to squander? We are poor people scarcely able to provide the daily wage needed to purchase absolute necessaries. What terrible grievance had we suffered from the governor that we should be compelled to cherish a grudge against him? No! The author and creator of all these things is that Isidorus ever envious of the prosperous and the foe of law-abiding tranquillity." The audience, recognizing the truth of this, since the statement clearly represented and indicated the motives and intention of the accused, shouted out some for disfranchisement, some for banishment, some for death. These last were the majority and the rest came over and joined them so that they all cried out with one heart and voice, "Slay the ruiner of all alike, who ever since he came to the front and wormed his way into state here and it is a fairly natural development from the original meaning of "stoop through." But there is little authority for such a development, at any rate in Philo. He uses the word at least fourteen times, but never except here in any other sense than to look or peer into, suggesting minute examination.
καὶ διέκυψεν ἐπὶ τὰ κοινὰ, μηδέν μέρος τῆς πόλεως

145 ἀνοσὸν ἔσαντα. καὶ ὁ μὲν ἐνεκά τοῦ συνειδότος ἀπεδίδρασκε σύλληψιν εὐλαβηθεὶς. ὁ δὲ Φιλάκκος οὐδὲν ἐπ’ αὐτῷ περιεργάζετο, νομίζοις ἐκποδῶν ἐκουσίῳ γνώμῃ γεγονότος ἀστασίαστα καὶ ἀνερίθεντα τὰ κατὰ τὴν πόλιν ἔσεσθαι.

146 ΧVIII. Ταῦτ’ ἐμήκυνα, οὐχ ὑπὲρ τοῦ παλαιῶν ἀπομνημονεύουν ἀδικημάτων, ἀλλὰ τεθαμμακὼς τὴν ἐφορὰν τῶν ἀνθρωπεῶν δίκην, ὅτι οἱ ἔξ ἀρχῆς γενόμενοι δυσμενῶν αὐτῷ καὶ ὅσ’ ἐκ πάντων ἀπηχθάνετο καὶ ἐκληρώσαντο τὴν ἐπ’ αὐτῷ κατηγορίαν εἰς ἀνίας ὑπερβολήν· οὐ γὰρ οὕτως ἐστὶ δεινὸν τὸ ἐγκαλεῖσθαι ὡς τὸ πρὸς ὀμολογομενῶν ἐχθρῶν.

147 ο δ’ οὐ κατηγορήθη μόνον, ἀρχῶν πρὸς υπηκόων καὶ ὑπὸ δυσμενῶν ἀεὶ γενομένων ὁ πρὸ μικροῦ κύριος ὕπ’ ὑπερβολῆς δὲ παλαιῶν ἐκατέρου ζωῆς, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀνὰ κράτος ἦλισκε, διπλοὺ ἐκδεχόμενος κακόν, τὸ μεθ’ ἢττης γελάσθαι πρὸς ἐχθρῶν ἐφηδομένων, ὁ καὶ θανάτου χείρον ἐστὶ τοῖς εὐ φρονοῦσιν.

148 εἴτ’ τις εὐφορία γίνεται κακοπραγιῶν αὐτῷ· τῆς τε γὰρ οὐσίας ἀπάσης εὐθὺς ἐξίσταται, ἢν τε παρὰ γονέων ἐκληρονόμησε καὶ ἢν αὐτὸς ἐκτήσατο, φιλόκοσμος εἰς τοῖς καλοῖς ἐξίσταται, φιλόκοσμος εἰς τοῖς μάλιστα γεγονότος. οὐ γὰρ ὡς ἐν τοῖς εὐφροσύναις πολυχρημάτων ὁ πλοῦτος ἡν ὑλή, πάντα δ’ ἐξητασμένα πρὸς τὸ περιεργόν, ἐκπώματα, ἑσθήτες, στρωμαί, ἐπιπλα, τάλλα ὡς ὀίκιας κό-

149 σμος, ἐκλογα πάντα· καὶ πρὸς τούτοις ἤ οἰκετικὴ θεραπεία, ἀριστίνηθη ἐπικριθεῖσα κατὰ τὸ τῶν σωμάτων εὐμομφίας ὁμοί καὶ εὐεξίας καὶ κατὰ τὸ ἀπταίστον ἐν τῷ χρειώδει τῶν ὑπηρεσιῶν· ἐφ’
affairs, has let no part of the city remain untainted.” Fearing arrest, Isidorus fled conscious-stricken, but Flaccus took no trouble about him, thinking that, since he was out of the way by his own freewill, the life of the city could now go on undisturbed by faction and intrigue.

XVIII. I have described these events at length, not in order to recall long-past iniquities but to extol the justice which watches over human affairs, because, to those who had been hostile to him from the first and of all his foes the most bitter it also fell to conduct his arraignment and so magnify his afflictions to the uttermost. For arraignment is not by itself so grievous as when it is brought by admitted foes. Not only was he accused, a ruler by his subjects, a potentate who but now had the life of both in his hands by inveterate enemies, but he was also condemned, suffering thereby a mighty twofold blow in that his fall was coupled with the laughter of gloating enemies, which to men of good sense is worse even than death.

Then there came to him a rich harvest of misfortunes. He was at once deprived of all his property, both what he inherited from his parents and what he acquired himself. For his taste for things ornamental was quite exceptional. Wealth was not with him as it is with some rich men inert matter, but everything had been carefully selected for its elaborate workmanship, his cups, clothes, coverlets, utensils and all the other ornaments of the house, all were of the choicest: besides these the staff of household slaves had been picked as the best for comeliness of form and fine condition and the faultless way in which they ministered to the needs of their master. For whatever tasks they were
διν γάρ ἦσαν ἐκαστοί τεταγμένοι, διεφερον, ὡς ἕπρωτοι νομίζεσθαι τῶν τὰ αὐτὰ ἐπιτηδευόντων ἦν μηδενός δεύτεροι τὸ παράπαν. ἐναργῆς δὲ πίστις τὸ μυρίων δημοπράτων γενομένων οὐσίων, αἱ τῶν κατακρίτων ἦσαν, μόνην τὴν τοῦ Φλάκκου ταμευ-θήναι τῷ αὐτοκράτορι, δίχα τινῶν ὀλίγων, ὑπὲρ τοῦ μὴ παραβιβασθῆναι τὸν ἐπὶ τοῖς οὕτως ἐαλωκόσι 151 τεθέντα νόμον. μετὰ δὲ τὴν ἀφαίρεσιν τῆς οὐσίας κατέγνωστο αὐτοῦ φυγή, καὶ ἐὰν ἀπάσης μὲν ἡλαύ-νετο τῆς ἥπειρος—τὸ δ' ἐστὶ μεῖζον καὶ ἀμεινον τμῆμα τῆς οἰκουμένης—, ἐὰν ἀπάσης δὲ νήσου τῶν εὐδαιμονίων. ἐμέλλησε γάρ εἰς τὴν λυπροτάτην τῶν ἐν Αἰγαίῳ—Γύαρα καλεῖται—διώκεσθαι, μὴ παρακλήτως χρησάμενος Λεπίδῳ, δι' ὅν ἀνθυπήλ-152 λάξατο Γυάρων Ἀνδρον ἐγγυνατάκι κεμένην. εἰτ' ἐστέλλετο τὴν ἀπὸ Ῥώμης ἄχρι Βρεντεσίου πάλιν ὀδὸν, ἧν καὶ πρὸ ὀλίγων ἑτὸν ἐστείλατο, καθ' ὅν καὶς τρεπότοντο τῆς Ἀἰγύπτου καὶ τῆς ὁμόν Λιβύης ἐπίτροπος, ἦν' ἀν τότε θεσάμεναι πόλεις αὐτὸν μέγα πνέοντα καὶ τοῦ ὄγκον τῆς εὐτυχίας ἐπιδεικτόμην πάλιν θέασονται μεστόν ατιμίας. 153 δ' ἐς δακτυλοδεικτούμενος καὶ ὄνειδιζόμενος τῆς ἀθρόας μεταβολῆς πιέζεται βαρυτέραις αἰχμαλωσίας, αἱ κανονικής καὶ ζωπυρουμένως αὐτῷ τῆς συμφορᾶς νεωτέρων Κακὼν προσθήκαις, ἀν καθαπερ ὤν ταῖς

1 mss. κακομένης.

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a For Gyara or Gyaros as the proverbial place for “deportatio” see Mayor’s note on Juv. i. 73 “aude aliquid brevibus Gyaris et carcere dignum.”

b Or perhaps “and reproached for the complete (or overwhelming) change.” My only objections to this are that I do not know what authority there is for this genitive after ὄνειδιζω, and that the “complete change” is hardly a matter for 384
severally appointed to do they excelled in, so that they were held to stand either first among those who performed the same functions or certainly second to none. A clear proof of this is that while a vast number of properties belonging to condemned persons were sold by public auction, that of Flaccus alone was reserved for the emperor, a few articles only being excepted so as not to run counter to the law enacted about persons convicted on these grounds. And when his property had been taken from him he was sentenced to banishment and expelled not only from the whole continent, which is the larger and better section of the habitable world, but also from every one of the islands in which life can prosper. For he was to be exiled to the most miserable of the Aegean islands, called Gyara, had he not found an intercessor in Lepidus who enabled him to exchange Gyara for Andros, the island which lies nearest to it. He then again travelled along the road from Rome to Brundisium which he had travelled a few years before at the time when he had been appointed a governor of Egypt and its neighbour Libya, so that the cities which then beheld him puffed with pride, parading the grandeur of his good fortune, might once more behold him covered with dishonour instead. As fingers pointed at him and reproaches poured upon him he was oppressed by the heavier afflictions caused by the change which had overwhelmed him, for his misery was ever being renewed and rekindled by the accession of fresh troubles which also forcibly brought back, reproaches, which I should suppose were pointed against real or supposed misdeeds. If the translation is right the meaning is that the finger-pointing and reproaches affected him comparatively little, because the sense of ruin occupied his mind.
νόσοις ὑποτροπιάζειν ἀναγκάζει καὶ τὰς τῶν ἀρχαίων κακοπραγιῶν ὑπομνήσεις, αἱ τέως ἔδοξαν ἡμαυρώσθαι.

154 XIX. Περαισσάμενος δὲ τὸν Ἰόνιον κόλπον ἐπλει τὴν ἀχρὶ Κορίνθου θάλατταν, ταῖς παράλοις τῶν ἐν Πελοποννήσῳ πόλεων θέα γινόμενος κατὰ πῦστιν τῆς αἰφνιδίου μεταβολῆς· ὅποτε γὰρ ἀποβαίνῃ τῆς νεώς, συνέθεσαν οἱ μὲν μοχθηροὶ τὰς φύσεις ἑθελοκακοῦντες, οἱ δ' ἀλλοί συναλγήσοντες, οἵς ἐθος ταῖς ἐτέρων τύχαις σωφρονίζεσθαι. διελθὼν δ' ἀπὸ Λεχαίου τὸν Ἰσθμὸν εἰς τὴν ἀντιπέραν θάλατταν καὶ καταβάς εἰς Κεγχρεάς, τὸ Κορίνθιον ἐπίνειον, ἀναγκάζεται πρὸς τῶν φυλάκων ἀναχώρησιν οὐδ' ἤντινα ένδιδόντων εὐθὺς ἐπιβάς 

155 βραχείας ὄλκάδος | ἀνάγεσθαι καὶ πνεύματος ἐναντίον καταρραγέντος μυρία ταλαιπώρηθείς μόλις ἀχρὶ τοῦ Πειραιῶς κατασύρεται. λήξαντος δὲ τοῦ χειμῶνος, παραμειφάμενος τὴν Ἀττικὴν ἀχρὶ τῆς Σομυνάδος ἀκρας τὰς ἔξης λοιπῶν ἐπεραιότο νῆσους, τὴν Ἑλένην, τὴν Κίαν, τὴν Κύθνον, τὰς ἄλλας ὅσαι κείναι στοιχηθῶν ἔξης μέχρι τῆς ἔφ' ἣν τελευταῖαν ἐλθεῖν ἔδει, τὴν Ἀνδριῶν.

157 ἦν πόρρωθεν ἵδων δ' κακοδαίμων δακρύων τινά

1 Mangey suggested υποτροπιαζούσας ἀνάγει which Box has adopted. See note a.

a Literally “which force the recollections to recur.” The whole sentence is rather vague and wordy, but I see little or no difficulty in the text, whereas Mangey’s would give a difficult order in ἐν ταῖς νόσοις υποτρόπ. for ἐν ταῖς τοις ν. υ. υποτροπιάζω is a medical term which can be applied to the
like symptoms recurring in sickness, recollections of past mishaps which seemed for a while to have been dulled. a

XIX. Having passed through the Ionian Gulf he 154 sailed upon the sea which extends to Corinth, a spectacle to the Peloponnesian cities on the seashore when they heard of his sudden change of fortune. For whenever he disembarked the people flocked thither, the baser natures out of malice, the rest, whose way is to find lessons of wisdom in the fate of others, to sympathize. And crossing the Isthmus 155 from Lechaenum to the opposite coast and coming down to Cenchreae, the port of Corinth, he was forced by his guards, who refused him any kind of intermission, to embark at once on a small merchant vessel and put to sea, where under the violence of a contrary wind he suffered a thousand discomforts and only with difficulty arrived storm-tossed b at the Peiraeus. When the tempest ceased he coasted along Attica to 156 Cape Sunium and then continued his journey along the series of islands, namely Helene, Cia, Cythnus and the rest, which lie in a row one after the other, to that which was to be the end of his journey, the island of the Andrians. When he saw it 157 afar off the miserable man let a stream of tears pour
disease which recurs as in § 182, to the things (i.e. symptoms) which recur in diseases as here, and to the patient who relapses into his old disease (ἐπὶ τὴν ἀργαλαν ὑποτροπιάσας νόσον) as in De Mig. 150. The only slight difficulty is that καὶ, which brings out that new misfortunes remind us of the old, besides the actual misery which they give, should come before ὑποτροπ. ἀναγκ. instead of after it. But I do not think that Philo is very particular where he places his καὶ.

b Lit. "kept being swept down," a phrase which would naturally suggest a rapid passage, the reverse of μόλις. Here "was swept about till he reached Peiraeus."
Φοράν ώσπερ άπο πηγής εξέχει κατά τῶν παρειῶν καὶ τὰ στέρνα πλήξας, πικρότατα ἀνοιμώξας, "ἄνδρες," εἶπεν, "οἱ φυλακὲς μου καὶ προπομποί, καλὴν γε χώραν "Ανδρον, οὐκ εὐτυχὴ νήσον, τῆς
158 εὐδαίμονος Ἰταλίας ἀνθυπαλλάττομαι, Φλάκκος, ὁ γεννηθεὶς μὲν καὶ τραφεὶς καὶ παιδευθεὶς ἐν τῇ ἠγεμονίδι Ῥώμῃ, συμφοιτητὴς δὲ καὶ συμβιωτὴς γενόμενος τῶν θυγατριδῶν τοῦ Σεβαστοῦ, κριθεὶς δὲ τῶν πρώτων φίλων παρὰ Τιβέριῳ Καίσαρι καὶ τὸ μέγιστον αὐτοῦ τῶν κτημάτων, Αἴγυπτον, ἐπὶ
159 ἔξαετίαν ἐπιτραπεῖσι. τὸς ἡ τοσαύτη μεταβολῆ; νῦξ ἐν ἡμέρᾳ, καθάπερ ἐκλεύψεως γενομένης, τὸν ἐμὸν ἐπέσχηκε βίον. τὴν νησίδα ταύτην τὶ φῶ; πότερον φυγαδευτὴριον ἐμὸν ἡ πατρίδα καυνῆν,1 ὑπόδρομον καὶ καταφυγὴν ἀτυχῆ; τάφος ἢ ἐν εἰ̄
160 τὸ κυριώτατον αὐτῆς ὄνομα. στέλλομαι γὰρ ὁ κακοδαίμων ἐγὼ τρόπον τινὸς νεκροφόρων ἐμαυτὸν ὦσπερ εἰς ἡρίον· ἢ γὰρ ταῖς ἀνίαις τὴν ἅθλιαν ζωὴν ἀπορρήζω ἢ, κἂν ἐπιβιώναι δυνηθῶ, τὸν μακρὸν ἐν η ὄνας τώ λιμένι προσ-σχούσης, ἀπέβαινε πάς εἰς τοῦδαφος νεύων, ὦσπερ οἱ θλιβόμενοι πρὸς ἁχθοὺς βαρυτάτου, τὸν αὐχένα ταῖς συμφοραῖς πιέζομενος, οὔτ' ὅσον ἀνακύψαι σθένων ἢ μὴ τολμῶν διὰ τοὺς συναντώντας καὶ τοὺς ἐπὶ θέαν ἢκοντας, οἱ παρ' ἐκάτερα τῆς ὀδοῦ

1 mss. κενήν.

a "Sons of daughters," i.e. the sons of Julia by her second husband M. Agrippa. These were C. Caesar, L. Caesar and Agrippa Postumus, all of whom died young. As the eldest would have been 58 at the time of Flaccus’s banishment, 388
down his cheeks as from a fountain and smiting his breast with bitter wailing cried "Oh my guards and escort, it is for this fine land of Andros, this un-blest island that I exchange happy Italy, I, Flaccus, who was born and reared and educated in sovereign Rome, the school-mate and familiar associate of the grandsons \(^a\) of Augustus, chosen at the court of Tiberius to be among his foremost friends, entrusted for six years with the charge of Egypt the greatest of his possessions? This great reversal what does it mean? A night in daytime as in an eclipse has taken possession of my life. This petty island what shall I call it? My home of exile,\(^b\) or a new fatherland, a hapless haven and refuge? A tomb would be its truest name, for as I journey in my misery it is as though I were bearing the corpse that is myself to a sepulchre. For either through my afflictions I shall break the thread of my miserable life, or even, if I am able to survive die a long drawn-out death in which consciousness still lives." In such wise did he lament and when the ship put in at the haven he got out with his whole body bowing down to the ground, as people do under the pressure of an exceedingly heavy load, his neck over-weighted with his misfortunes, lacking either the strength even to lift his head, or else the courage to face those who met him and came to gaze at him as they stood in

and the youngest 50, we get a hint of Flaccus’s age which is not, I think, found elsewhere.

\(^b\) So perhaps rather than "city of refuge," and so avoid the tautology with καταφυγήν. Elsewhere Philo uses the word only in reproducing the LXX of Num. xxxv. 12, etc., for the "Cities of Refuge." But in dealing with φυγή he passes very easily from refuge to banishment, and the Cities themselves are regarded as places of exile in De Fug. 100 f.
προειστήκεσαν. οἱ δὲ παραπέμψαντες αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τὸν δῆμον ἀγαγόντες τῶν Ανδρίων ἐπεδείξαντο πᾶσι, μάρτυρας ποιούμενοι τῆς εἰς τὴν νήσον ἀφίξεως τοῦ φυγάδου. καὶ οἱ μὲν τὴν διακονίαν ἐκπλήσαντες ἀπήσαν τῷ δὲ Φλάκκῳ μηδεμίαν ὁμιλοῦσαν ἐτίθεμεν τὸ πάθος ἐκανοῦσαν τρανότερον φαντασίαις ἐναργεστέραις. καὶ τὴν ἐν κύκλῳ κατανοοῦντι πολλὴν ἐρωμαίαν, ἢς μέσος ἀπείληπτο, κονοφότερον ἐδόκει κακὸν ἢ ἐν τῇ πατρίδι βλαβοις ἀναίρεσις, μᾶλλον δὲ συγκρίσει τῶν παρόντων ἀσπαστόν αὐτὸν. οὕτως ἐσφάζετο, ὡς μηδὲν τῶν μεμηνότων διαφέρειν ἐπήδα πολλάκις ἀνω κάτω διαθέων, τὰς χεῖρας συνεκρότει, τοὺς μηροὺς ἐπαιε, κατέβαλεν εἰς τοῦδαφος εαυτὸν, ἐζεφώνει πολλάκις- "ἐγώ Φλάκκος εἰμί, ὁ πρὸ μικροῦ τῆς μεγαλόπολεως ἡ πολυπόλεως Ἀλεξανδρείας Ἡγεμών, ὁ τῆς εὐδαιμονεστάτης χώρας ἐπίτροπος Ἀιγύπτου, εἰς ὄν ἐπέστρεφον αἰ τοσαῦται μυριάδες τῶν οἰκητῶν, ὁ δυνάμεις πολλὰς πεζὰς καὶ ἵππας καὶ ναυτικὰς οὐκ ἀριθμὸν ἄλλως ἄλλον δοκιμώτατον ἐν ὑπηκόοις ἔχων, ὁ καθ' ἐκάστην ἡμέραν ἐν ταῖς ἐξόδοις ὑπὸ μυρίων ὅσων παραπεμπόμενος. ἀλλὰ μὴ φάσμα ταῦτ' ἦν, οὐκ ἀλήθεια; καὶ κοιμώμενος ὄναρ εἶδον τὴν τὸτ' εὐθυμίαν, εἶδολα κατὰ κενοῦ βαινοντα, πλάσματα ψυχῆς ὄσως ἀναγραφοῦσις τὰ μὴ ὑπάρχοντα ὡς ὄντα; διηπάτημαί σκιὰ πραγμάτων ἃρ' ἦσαν, οὐ πράγματα, μίμησις ἐναργεῖας, οὐκ ἐνάργεια τρα-

*Or “so violent was his emotion.” That is to say σφαδάζειν in Philo nearly always suggests strong mental emotion, 390*
FLACCUS, 161–165

front on either side of the road. His escort brought him to the popular assembly of the Andrians and exhibited him to them all, calling them to witness to the arrival of the exile at the island. Then having fulfilled their service they departed, but Flaccus having no longer before his eyes any familiar face felt his sufferings renewed thereby more poignantly as his imaginations grew more vivid. And gazing at the wide desolation around him, in the midst of which he was isolated, it seemed to him that a death by violence in his native land would be the lighter evil, or rather in comparison with his present plight a welcome boon. His wild gesticulations were just like those of a madman. He would often jump about, run up and down, clash his hands together, smite his thighs, fling himself on the ground and often cry out, "I am Flaccus, who but now was governor of Alexandria, that great city, or multitude of cities, ruler of the highly blest land of Egypt, to whom so many thousands of inhabitants paid regard, who had among his subjects great forces of infantry, cavalry, naval, not a mere lot of counters but all men of the best-proved excellence, who every day when I proceeded forth went escorted by a host of followers. But was this then a phantom, not the truth? Was I asleep and dreamt the light-heartedness of those days, saw but spectres moving in a void, figments of a soul which recorded as we may suppose things which had no existence as though they were? Yes, I have been deluded. They were the shadow of realities, not the realities themselves, a counterfeit of clear vision, not the clear vision which exposes the

but does not necessarily imply that the violence has any special outward expression. See further App. p. 538.
νουσα το τι ζεδδος. ως γαρ των εν τοις ονειροις
φανεντων ουδεν περιανασταντες ευρισκομεν, αλλη
οιχεται παντα άθροι διαπταντα, ουτως και τα
λαμπρα έκεινα, οες ποτε ένωμιλησα, έσβεσηθ βρα-
χυτατη καιρου ροπη.”

166 Τοιοντως αει κατεπαλαιετο λογισμοί και
τρόπων των έξετραχηλιζετο· τας δε των πολλων
συνόδους άποδιδρασκων δια την παρακολουθοσαν
αισχύνην ουτ' εις λιμένα κατη ουτ' εις άγοραν
προελθειν υπέμενεν, αλλη οικοι συγκλεισαμενος
εφωλευε, μηδε την άγοραν υπερβαινειν θαρρων.

167 έστι δ' οτε και περι βαθυν ορθρον, ετι των άλλων
εν ευναις οντων, μηδενοι φανε οποιαν έξω
τειχους προη και διημερευεν επι της έρημιας,
εκτρεπόμενοι. ει που τις υπαντησειν εμμελε, και
tauς έναιλοις μημαις των κακοτραγιων διακαναι-
μενοι και διεσθομενοι της ψυχης, ο δειλαιος,
νυκτος εισηζε βαθειας, ευχομενοι δια τας άμετρους
και ατελευτησων άδημονιας έσπεραν μεν πρωτον
γεναθαι, πεφρικως το σκοτος και τας άλλοκοτον
φαντασιας, οποτε τυχοι καταδρασων, άμα δε τη
έω παλιν έσπεραν· ο γαρ περι αυτων ζοφος ηναν-

168 τιοτο τοις φαιδροις άπασιν.

όλιγοις δ' υστερον μεστ βραχυ τι γηδιον πριαμενος εν αυτω
πολλα διετριβε μονομενοι και τον οικεον επι-

a So perhaps simply, though the examples of ροπη =
“moment” without qualification are principally from the
LXX. Otherwise more exactly “by a momentary change in
what time brings,” i.e. in fortune. Cf. καιρων οδειας μετα-
βολαις De Post. 113.

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falsehood to the light. For just as when we wake up we find nothing of what we saw in our dreams, but all are gone and have taken flight together, so, too, that brightness which surrounded my life has been quenched in one short moment of time."  

XX. Such were the thoughts which held him ever firmly in their grip and so to speak flung him prostrate to the ground. He shunned meeting with people in large numbers because of the sense of shame which accompanied him. He did not go down to the harbour nor bring himself to enter the market but shut himself at home and there lay hidden not having even the courage to pass the threshold. Sometimes, too, in the dark hours of the morning when everyone else was still in bed he would come out without a soul seeing him and advance outside the wall and spend the day in the solitude, turning aside if anyone was about to meet him, his soul lacerated, poor wretch, and devoured by the vivid memories of his calamities. Then when the night had quite closed in he would go indoors, praying in his endless and boundless sorrow that the evening might be morning, so much did he dread the darkness and the weird visions which it gave him, if he chanced to fall asleep. So in the morning again he prayed for evening, for to the gloom that surrounded him everything bright was repugnant.  

A few months later he bought a small piece of ground and spent much of his time there in solitude, bewailing with tears and

*b Clearly a reminiscence of the curse in Deut. xxviii. 67 "In the morning thou shalt say, Would God it were even! and at even thou shalt say, Would God it were morning!" See note on De Praem. 151, where as here Philo takes the words which follow "for the sight of thine eyes which thou shalt see" to refer to the awful dreams seen by the accursed.
στενών καὶ κατακλαίων δαίμονα. λέγεται δὲ ποτε καὶ περὶ μέσας νύκτας ὦσπερ οἶ | κορυβαντιώντες ἐνθοὺς γενόμενος, ἐκ τῆς ἐπαύλεως ἐξω προελθόν καὶ τὴν ὁψὶν ἀνατείνας εἰς οὐρανὸν καὶ τοὺς ἀστέρας, τὸν ἐν κόσμῳ κόσμον ὅντως ἰδῶν, ἀναβοὴ-
σαι. "βασιλεὺς θεῶν καὶ ἀνθρώπων, οὐκ ἀρα τοῦ τῶν Ἰουδαίων ἐθνοῦς ἁμελῶς ἐχεις, οὐδ’ ἐπισευ-
δονται τὴν ἐκ σοῦ πρόνοιαν, ἀλλ’ ὅσοι φασίν αὕτως μὴ προαγωνιστῇ σοι καὶ υπερμάχῳ χρῆσθαι, δόξης ὑγιοῦς διαμαρτάνουσι. σαφῆς δ’ ἐγὼ πίστις: οὐσιν
γὰρ κατεμάνην τῶν Ἰουδαίων, αὐτὸς πέπονθα. τὰς ὅσιας ἀρπαζομένων περιεδόν ἐκεχειρίαν τοὺς λεη-
lατοῦσι δεδομένης· ἀφηρέθην διὰ τοῦτο τὰ πατρῷα καὶ μητρῷα καὶ ὅσα ἐν μέρει χάριτος καὶ δωρεάς ἐλαβον ἡ ὅσα ἀλλα καθε ἐτέρας ἰδέας ἐκτησμῆν.
ωνείδισα ποτε ἄτιμαν καὶ ἐξεντείαν αὕτως ἑπτή-
μοις ὁσι κατοίκοις, ὃν ἡσθὼν οἰ αντίπαλοι,
πλῆθος ἀσύντακτον καὶ πεφορημένον, ύψ’ οὐ κολα-
κευόμενος ὅ δυστυχὴς ἡπατῶμην· διὰ τοῦτο ἦτί-
μωμαι καὶ φυγάς ἐξ ἀπάσης ἐληλαμένος τῆς
οικουμένης ἐνταυθοὶ συγκέκλεισμαι. παράγων εἰς
tὸ θέατρον ἐνίους ἐν ὅμεσι τῶν ἐχθίστων αἰκίζεσθαι
προσέταττον ἀδίκως· τογαροῦν ἐγὼ δικαίως οὐκ
eis θέατρον ἐν ὃ ἡ μίαν πόλιν ἐπὶ ταῖς ἔσχαταις
ὑβρεί παρήχθην αἰκίζεσθαι πρὸ τοῦ σώματος τῆς
ἀθλίαν ψυχήν, ἀλλ’ ἐπόμενα διὰ μὲν πάση
'Ἰταλίας ἀχρὶ Βρεντεσίου, διὰ δὲ πάσης Πελο-
pονήσου μέχρι Κορίνθου, διὰ δὲ τῆς Ἀττικῆς καὶ

a Lit. “his peculiar fate.” οἰκεῖον seems pleonastic, but expresses, perhaps, the feeling of one who asks “Why should I in particular have this fate?” See however on De Prov. 8. 394.
FLACCUS, 169–173

groans that such should be his fate. It is said that 169 once about midnight he became possessed as in a Corybantic frenzy, and coming out of the shelter put up there turned his eyes to heaven and the stars, and beholding that veritable world within a world, lifted up his voice. “King of gods and men,” he 170 cried, “so then Thou dost not disregard the nation of the Jews, nor do they misreport Thy Providence, but all who say that they do not find in Thee a Champion and Defender, go astray from the true creed. I am a clear proof of this, for all the acts which I madly committed against the Jews I have suffered myself. I allowed them to be robbed 171 of their possessions by giving free licence to the plunderers. For that I had taken from me my heritage from father and mother and all I received by way of benefactions and gifts and other possessions which do not fall under this head. I cast on them the 172 slur that they were foreigners without civic rights, though they were inhabitants with full franchise, just to please their adversaries, a disorderly and unstable horde, whose flattery, to my sorrow, deceived me, and, therefore, I have lost my rights and have been driven in exile from all the habitable world to be shut up here. Some I marched into the theatre 173 and ordered them to be maltreated before the eyes of their bitterest enemies unjustly, and, therefore, justly was I maltreated in my miserable soul rather than in my body, with the utmost contumely; I was not indeed marched into one theatre or one city but was paraded through all Italy to Brundisium and through all the Peloponnese to Corinth and past Attica and

b The thought occurs also in De Abr. 159 and De Praem. 41. Cf. De Aet. 4.
174 τῶν νῆσων ἀχρὶς "Ἀνδρου, τῆς ἐμῆς εἰρκτῆς. καὶ πέπεισμαι σαφῶς, στὶς οὐκ ἐστίν ὅρος οὕτος τῶν ἐμῶν κακοπραγιῶν, ἀλλ᾽ ἐφεδρεύουσιν ἔτεραι πρὸς ἐκπλήρωσιν ἀντίρροπον δὲν εἰργασάμην. ἀνειλόν τινας καὶ ἀναρεθεῖσι πρὸς ἐτέρων οὐκ ἐπεξηλθον κατελευσθησάν τινες καὶ ξόντες οἱ μὲν ἐνεπρή σθησαν, οἱ δὲ διὰ μέσης κατεσύρθησαν ἀγορᾶς, ἐῶς 175 ὅλα τὰ σώματα αὐτοῖς ἔδαπανήθην. τούτων οὖν ὅτι ἀναμένουσι με αἱ Ποιναῖ, καὶ οἱ ἀλάστορες ὡσπερ ἐπὶ βαλβίσι πέρασαν ἤδη καὶ φονώντες ἔγκεινται, καὶ καθ᾽ ἐκάστην ἡμέραν, μᾶλλον δὲ ὄραν, προαποθνήσκων πολλοὺς θανάτους ὑπομένων 176 ἀνθ᾽ ἐνοῦ τοῦ τελευταῖον." πολλάκις δὲ ἐδειματούτο καὶ διεπτόητο καὶ φρίκη μὲν τὰ μέλη καὶ μέρη τοῦ σώματος κατεσείτο, φόβῳ δ᾽ ὑπότρομον εἰχε τὴν ψυχὴν ἀσθματι καὶ παλμῷ τινασσομένῃ, ἄτε τοῦ μόνου υπογορεύστων τὸν ἀνθρώπινον βίον ἐκ φύσεως δυναμένου στερόμενοι, χρήσις ἐλπίδος. 177 ὅρνις αἰσθήσεις αὐτῷ προυφαίνετο· πάντες δυσοίωνες, κληδόνες παλιμφημοί, ἐπίπονοι ἐγρήγοροις, περιδεήσις ὑπνόσ, ἡ μόνωσις θηριώδης. ἀλλ᾽ ἦδιστον αὐτῷ τὸ ἀγελαίον; ἀγέλεστον αἱ [543] κατὰ πόλιν διατριβαί· ἀσφαλεῖς οὐκείδος ἢ κατ᾽ ἀγρὸν ἐρημία; σφαλεῖς, ἀδυσώπητος. ὅ ἡρέμα προσιῶν 178 ὑποπτος· "βουλεύεται τι" φησὶ "κατ᾽ ἐμοῦ· ὁ βάττον βαδίζων οὐ πρὸς ἐτερόν τι σπεύδων ἐοικεν, ἀλλ᾽ ἐμὲ διώκει· ὁ ἠδός ἐνεδρεύει, ὁ παρρησιαστὴς καταφρονεῖ· στιὰ μοι καὶ ποτὰ καθάπερ 179 τοῖς θρέμμασιν ἐπὶ σφαγῆν δίδοται. μέχρι τίνος ὁ

1 This sentence is punctuated differently in other editions ὅ ἡρέμα προσιῶν ὑποπτος. "βουλεύεται τι" φησὶ "κατ᾽ ἐμοῦ· ὁ βάττον βαδίζων· οὐ πρὸς ἐτερόν τι σπεύδων ἐοικε," κτλ.
the islands to Andros my prison. And I have a clear 174 conviction that this is not the limit of my misfortunes but there are others in reserve to complete the sum and counterbalance all that I did. I killed some and when others killed them took no steps to punish the murderers. Some were stoned, some while still alive were burnt to death or dragged through the middle of the market-place till nothing at all was left of their bodies. That their avenging furies await me 175 I know full well. The ministers of punishment are already as it were standing at the barriers and press forward eager for my blood; every day or rather every hour I die in anticipation and suffer many deaths instead of the final one.” He often became frightened 176 and scared and while the limbs and members of his body shivered and shuddered, his soul shaken with his pantings and palpitations quailed with dread. For the one thing which is naturally capable of consoling human life, the comforter hope, he had lost. No favourable omen was vouchsafed to him, only all 177 of evil omen, sinister sounds and voices, his waking hours spent in weariness, his sleep full of terrors, his solitude as the solitude of the beasts of the field. Then was life in the crowd what he craved for most? No, staying in a city was most hateful of all. Did his lone rural life, a slur though it was, bring safety? No, danger menacing with shameless insistence. Someone approaches quietly, he suspects him: “He is plotting something against me,” he says. 178 “This one who comes walking fast surely has no other purpose for his hurry than to pursue me. This bland agreeable person is laying a snare. This frank talker is showing his contempt. My food and drink are given to me as to animals to keep them for the
σιδηροὺς πρὸς τοσαύτας ἀντέχω συμφορᾶς; οἴδ᾿ ὅτι μαλακίζομαι πρὸς θάνατον, ἡξ ἐπηρείας δαιμονος ὢν ἐπιτρέποντός μοι τὴν ἀθλίαν ζωὴν συντόμως ἀπορρῆξαι διὰ τινὰς ύπερβολὰς ἀνηκέστων κακῶν, ἀ κατ᾿ ἐμοῦ θησαυριζόμενος χαρίζεται τοῖς δολοφονθείσι.”

XXI. Τοιαύτα ἀναπολὼν καὶ σφαδάζων ἐκαρδὸκει τῆς εἰμαρμένης τὸ πέρας· καὶ τοῦ μὲν αἱ συνεχεῖς ὀδύναι τὴν ψυχὴν ἀνεκύκων καὶ ἀνέστρεφον. Γάτος δὲ τὴν φύσιν ὁμόθυμος ὡν καὶ ἀκόρεστος ἐν ταῖς τιμωρίαις ὃν ὦσπερ ἐνιοί μεθίετο τοῦς ἀπαξ κολασθέντας, ἀλλ᾿ ἀτελεύτητα μηνιῶν ἀεὶ τυπηκήν ἐπ᾿ αὐτοῖς ἐμεγαλούργησε συμφορὰν· τὸν δὲ Φλάκκον καὶ διαφερόντως ἧχατρειν, ὡς καὶ τοὺς ὀμωνύμους ἀλλοτριώσει τῆς κλῆσεως υποβλέπεσθαι, καὶ πολλάκις αὐτὸν μετάνοια εἰσῆι, διὸτι κατέγνω φυγήν, ἀλλ᾿ οὐχὶ θάνατον, καὶ τὸν παράκλητον αἰδούμενος ὠμίτατο Δέπιδουν, ὡστ᾿ ἐκείνος ἀπηγόρευσε φόβῳ τῆς καθ᾿ άλλω γενόμενος κουφοτέρας δίκης βαρυτέραν αὐτὸς ἐνδέξηται. μηδενὸς οὖν ἐν τῶν εἰς παραίτησιν λέγειν έπικαλόντος, ἀμετάκλητος καὶ ἀφέτος ἢρητο ταῖς όργαῖς, αἰ, χρόνω δέον ἀμαυρώσθαι, παρεθήγοντο μᾶλλον καθάπερ αἱ ἐν τοῖς σῶμασιν ὑποτροπίαξουσι νόσοι· τῶν γὰρ προτέρων εἰς τῶν ἀργαλεῶτερα. φασίν ὡς, ὦτι νῦκτωρ ποτὲ διαγρυπνῶν εἰς ἐννοιαν ήλθε τῶν ἐν τέλει φυγάδων, ὅνόματι μὲν υποπτευομένων ἀτυχεῖν, βίον

1 MSS. ὡς.

a Or perhaps “desisted from pleading.”
FLACCUS, 179–183

slaughter. How long shall I steel my heart against all these misfortunes? Yet I know that I do not boldly face death. For my destiny in its malignancy does not permit me to cut abruptly the thread of my wretched life, because there is still a huge stock of deadly ills which it treasures against me as boons to those whom I treacherously murdered.”

XXI. Such were the wild thoughts that he revolved as he waited anxiously for the fated end. And continual pangs kept his soul reeling in confusion. But Gaius, naturally ruthless and never satisfied with the revenges he had taken, did not like some others show clemency to those who had been punished once, but always in his unceasing anger was preparing some great new blow to inflict upon them. He hated Flaccus especially, so much so that in his dislike of his name he looked askance at all who shared it with him. He was often seized with regret that he had condemned him to exile instead of death and censured his intercessor Lepidus, in spite of the respect which he had for him, so that Lepidus was prostrate with fear of finding himself punished. For he naturally dreaded that by helping to lighten the sentence of another he would himself incur one still more severe. So as no one had any longer the courage to plead for mercy Gaius allowed his fierce passions to range unsoftened and unbridled, passions which were not blunted, as they should be, by time, but grew still more sharp-edged like relapses in bodily disease, which are more severe than those which preceded them. And so they say that one night as he lay awake his thoughts turned upon the exiles of high rank, how though nominally they were supposed to be people in misfortune they had really secured a life
δ' ἀπράγμονα καὶ ἰσυχάζοντα καὶ ἐλεύθερον ὄντως
184 περιπεποιημένων. μετετίθει δὲ καὶ τὴν κλῆσιν ἀποδημίαν προσαγορεύων ἡ ἄφονα τὰ ἐπιτήδεια καὶ σύν ἀπραγμοσύνη καὶ εὐσταθεία ζῆν δυνάμενων. οὐς ἄτοπον εἶναι τρυφάν ἀπολαύοντας εἰρήνης, βίον καρπούμενος φιλόσο-
185 φον." εἶτα προστάττει τοὺς ἐπιφανεστάτους καὶ ὁ λόγος ἀναρέθη, γραφήν δοὺς ὄνομάτων, ἡ γέγειτο Φλάκκος. ἐπεὶ δ' ἦκον εἰς Ἀνδρον ὁι κτείνειν διεὔρητο, Φλάκκος μὲν ἐτύγ-
χανεν ἀγρόθεν εἰς ἀστυ παραγινόμενος, οἱ δ' ἐκ τοῦ [544] λιμένος ὑπηντίαζον, καὶ πόρρωθεν ἀντιπροείδον
186 ἀλλήλους. οἴδεν συναισθόμενος ἐφ' ὁ σπεύδοδοιν—
μαντικώτατον γὰρ ἡ ἐκάστου ψυχῆ, καὶ μάλιστα τῶν ἐν κακοπραγίαις—ἐκτραπόμενος τῆς ὅδου διὰ τραχείας ἔθει φεύγων, ἐπιλελησμένος ἰσως, ὅτι νῆσος ἄλλ' οὐκ ἦπερ ἕπερ ἐστιν, ἐν ἢ τὶ ὁφέλος ὁκύτητος, περικλειούσης θαλάττης; ἀνάγκη γὰρ δυοῖν θάτερον, ἣ προσωτέρω χωροῦντα κατὰ τοῦ
187 πέρας ἦκοντα. βέλτιον ἅρ' ἐν συγκρίσει κακῶν ἢ κατὰ γῆν τῆς ἐν πελάγος φθορά, ἐπειδήπερ ἀνθρώ-
ποις καὶ πᾶσι χερσαίοις οἰκεῖοτατον ἡ φύσις χωρίον ἀπένειμε γῆν, οὐ μόνον ἱώσιν ἄλλα καὶ ἀποθανοῦ-
σιν, ἢ αὐτῇ καὶ τὴν πρώτην ὑποδέχεται γένεσιν
188 καὶ τὴν ἐκ τοῦ βίου τελευταίαν ἀνάλυσιν. οἱ δ' 400
FLACCUS, 183–188

of release from business, of tranquillity and true liberty. He proposed also to change the title from exile to residence abroad, "for," said he, "the banishment of such people is a sort of residence abroad where they have abundance of necessaries and can exist released from business and in general well-being and it is preposterous that they should luxuriate in the enjoyment of peace and the advantages of the philosopher's life." He then ordered that the most distinguished and those who were held in the highest account should be put to death and gave a list of the names headed by that of Flaccus. When the persons appointed to execute him arrived at Andros, Flaccus happened to be passing from the country to the town, and the party from the harbour came forward to meet him. When they were at some distance they saw him and he saw them and thence inferred the purpose which was urging them on. For the soul of every man is highly prophetic, particularly in distressing circumstances. He struck out from the road and raced away from them through the rough ground forgetting, perhaps, that Andros is not the mainland but an island in which speed is no use since it is enclosed by the sea. For there are only two possible alternatives, to go on farther and fall into the sea or to be caught on arriving at the very edge. And surely if we compare two evils it were better to perish on the land than in the sea, since nature has assigned the land to men and all the creatures that dwell on it as the most appropriate place not only in their lifetime but at their death; it received them when they first came into existence, it should also receive them when they finally depart from life. The assassins never lost a moment
ἀπνευστὶ διώκοντες καταλαμβάνουσι· καὶ οἱ μὲν εὐθὺς ὠρυττον βόθρον, οἱ δὲ πρὸς βίαν εἶλκον ἀφηνιάζοντα καὶ κεκραγότα καὶ διαπαλαίοντα· ὃν χάρων καὶ σύμμαν κατετρώθη τὸ σῶμα καθάπερ τὰ

θηρία ταῖς πληγαῖς ἐπιτρέχων. ἐμπλεκόμενος γὰρ καὶ τῶν κτεινῶν ἐλλαμβανόμενος, νῦν μὲν ἐπιφέρει τὰ ξίφη κωλυομένων, ἐγκαρσίους δὲ πληγὰς καταφερόντων, αὕτω ἐγένετο βαρυτέρων ἐαυτῶ συμφορῶν· διατμῆθεις δὲ καὶ διακοπεῖς χεῖρας, βάσεις, κεφαλῆς, στέρνα, πλευρᾶς, ὡς ἱερείου τρόπον κρεουργηθῆναι, ἐκεῖτο, τῆς δίκης σφαγὰς ἵσαρίθμους τοῖς φόνοις τῶν ἐκνόμως ἀναιρεθέντων Ἰουδαίων ἐνὶ σώματι βουληθείσης ἐργάσασθαι.

καὶ ὁ μὲν τόπος ἀπαὶ αἴματι κατερρεῖτο διὰ πλευόνων φλεβῶν, αἱ κατὰ μέρος διεκόπησαν, κρουνηδόν ἐκχεομένων· νῦν μὲν ὁ ὀρνυγμένων βόθρον τοῦ νεκροῦ τὰ πλεῖστα μέρη διελύετο, τῶν νεύρων κατεσχισμένων, ὡς ἡ κοινω-

νία συνεδείτο πᾶσα τοῦ σώματος. τοιαῦτα καὶ Φλάκκος ἔπαθε γενόμενοι ἀφευδεστάτη πίστις τοῦ μῆ ἀπεστερῆσθαι τὸ Ἰουδαῖων ἔθνος ἐπικουρίας τῆς ἐκ θεοῦ.

1 MSS. ἐκχεομένων.
in pursuing him. When they caught him some of them at once dug a pit while others violently dragged him along, resisting and screaming and struggling hard, the result of which was that as wild beasts do, he ran upon the blows and had his whole body pierced with wounds. For, as he clutched hold of the slaughterers and was so entangled in the scramble with them that they had no room to apply their swords directly but dealt their blows downwards and sidewards, he caused himself to suffer more severely, and with hands, feet, head, breast and sides slashed and cut to bits, he lay carved like a sacrificial victim. For it was the will of justice that the butcheries which she wrought on his single body should be as numerous as the number of the Jews whom he unlawfully put to death. The whole place was flooded with the blood which poured out like a fountain from the many veins which one after the other were severed, while as his corpse was dragged into the pit which had been dug, most of the parts fell asunder as the ligaments which bind the whole body together in one had been rent. Such was the fate of Flaccus also, who thereby became an indubitable proof that the help which God can give was not withdrawn from the nation of the Jews.

\( a \) i.e. as well as Sejanus? See Introd. p. 295 note a.
HYPOTHETICA
(APOLOGIA PRO IUDAEIS)
INTRODUCTION TO EXTRACTS FROM THE
HYPOTHETICA

We have no information about the two extracts which are here reproduced beyond what Eusebius tells us, namely that the first is taken from the second book of a work entitled by Philo "Hypothetica," in which the author is writing a defence of the Jews, and that the second comes from the "apology for the Jews," while in his history (ii. 18) when giving a list of the works of Philo he mentions one Περὶ Ἰουδαίων. The general assumption is that these three are one and the same.  

Of the second extract, which describes the Essenes, nothing need be said here, as some remarks on its relation to Philo’s other account of these communities will be found in the Appendix. The first extract is divided into two main parts and both of these again have two sub-divisions joined together by the phrase μετὰ βραχέα φησίν. Very little discussion so far as I can learn has been devoted to it, though in many ways it is very curious and interesting.

Certainty of course is not attainable. Though the title given to the second extract expresses what he says is the substance of the contents or part of the contents of the first, surprise may still be felt that the titles should be different.

The longest discussion known to me is in Bernays’ Gesammelte Abhandlungen, pp. 261-282. This principally deals with the meaning of the name “Hypothetica,” and with certain phrases, particularly ἀ τις παθεῖν ἐχθαίρει, μὴ ποιεῖν.
PHILO

The opening part gives the impression that he wishes to meet the hostile criticism of the Gentiles by giving a rationalistic version of the history. The Exodus is described as the movement of an increasing population seeking a fresh living-room and inspired by a yearning for their own natal land of which the Pentateuch knows nothing. The divine influence is indeed admitted but has been given through dreams and visions, a strange way of treating the visitations described in Exodus. The divine mission of Moses is kept very much in the background and the observer is invited to choose between natural explanations of the fact that he led the people successfully through the wilderness. When we come to the occupation of Palestine any appeal to the miraculous victories of Joshua is definitely set aside, and outsiders are left to choose between two possibilities, one that it was due to superior force, the other that the virtues of the incomers won the

αὐτῶν and ἀ μὴ κατέδηκε μὴ ἀναρεῖοθαι (7. 6) and with the Buzygia (7. 8). Heinemann in his Bildung, pp. 352-358, discusses some aspects of the description of the Mosaic laws in the Hypothetica, particularly the glaring differences between it and the Spec. Leg., such as the indiscriminate assignment of death as a penalty. It is interesting to note that he says these differences had led Cohn to express a doubt as to the genuineness of the fragment. Heinemann himself does not actually repudiate this suspicion, but says that he does not consider it convincing, largely because of the inconsistencies in Spec. Leg. itself. It certainly seems to me that the style as well as the substance of this part of the first extract is rather unlike Philo, but while it is no doubt possible to deny the genuineness of the first extract without impugning that of the second, the pieces which Eusebius describes as from the Hypothetica must stand and fall together, and the concluding piece on the Sabbath seems to me, as I say below, thoroughly Philonic.

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HYPOTHETICA

respect and submission of the native population. I find it difficult to understand the motive of Philo in this treatment of the story, or of Eusebius in recording it, for Eusebius’s purpose is to give an account of the Mosaic constitution as it is depicted by the two most distinguished Jewish writers, and on this it has no bearing.\footnote{There seems to me to be a remarkable similarity between the \textit{Hypothetica} and the \textit{Contra Apionem} on many points. See notes. I do not know whether this has been taken into account by scholars in discussing Josephus’s possible indebtedness to Philo. Thackeray, who notes resemblances in his preface to the translation of the \textit{Antiquities} (see note in vol. vi. of my \textit{Philo}, p. xvii), says nothing about it in his few lines of preface to the \textit{Apion}.}

The second part of the extract, which does describe this constitution, is at least in the first subdivision curious in another way. We naturally compare it with the vastly longer and fuller account in the four books on the Special Laws and the \textit{De Virtutibus}. The scope of the two is so hugely different that we should not expect more than the smallest fragment of the great Exposition in these few pages. The strange thing is that they contain so much which is ignored in the Exposition. There we hear little about the subjection of women, or of the inviolability of dedicated offerings or of the ways of obtaining release from these on which so much stress is here laid, or of the minor duties of supplying water, fire and burial. Humanity to animals is stressed in both, but the one law bearing on this which is mentioned here is not noticed there. The contrast no doubt is partly accounted for in the words where he states his intention to note the unwritten as well as the written, but only partly to my mind.
PHILO

The second subdivision of this second part on the other hand, which deals with the observation of the sabbath, does not contradict anything that we find elsewhere in Philo. The account of the meetings in the Synagogue is much the same as that given in his description of the Essenes in the Quod Omn. Prob. and of the Therapeutae in the De Vit. Cont. and of the nation as a whole in Spec. Leg. ii. 62, and the stress laid on the sabbatical year both as a tribute to the land itself and an act of charity to the poor is thoroughly in his spirit.

The meaning of the title is obscure. The theory of Viger that it means “suppositions,” between which those addressed are invited to choose, only fits the opening sections, and was superseded by that of Bernays, who suggested that it meant exhortations or directions on conduct. Bernays shows that not only is ὑποθήκαι often used in this sense but the ὑποθετικὸς λόγος is a technical term for a discourse with this object. The examples he quotes show that the hypothetical discourse has a close connexion with the protreptic, the term which Philo so often uses, and that in one case at least it is to be distinguished from the latter as the summary of counsels which closes the discourse. Still this does not seem to agree with the nature of the treatise so far as we can judge it from the specimens which Eusebius records. A hortatory discourse is a very different thing from a defence, at least, a defence of this kind. Bernays indeed quotes a passage in which

\[\text{ἐπεισενεκτέων τὸν ὑποθετικὸν λόγον, δι' οὗ τὰς πρὸς τὴν ἀσφάλειαν καὶ τὴν ὁρθότητα τῆς ἐκάστου χρήσεως ὑποθήκας ἐν ἐπιτομαῖς ἔξουσι (Bernays, p. 267).}\]
the closely connected if not identical protreptic is stated on the one hand to show the high worth of virtue and on the other hand to convict those who deny or accuse or otherwise defame philosophy. But this does not apply to the opponents whom Philo is refuting. They do not attack the philosophy of the Law as he represents it, but either deny or are not aware that the Jews have any such philosophy.

The text of these extracts is not included in the Editio Maior of Cohn. As here printed it is that of the Editio Minor. It is not stated who is responsible for this, and there is no Apparatus Criticus. I have however carefully compared the text with those of Heinichen 1842, Dindorf 1867, and Gifford 1903, in their editions of the Preparatio. Gifford has such an apparatus, and in his introduction gives a full account of the manuscripts of which he obtained collations. I am not aware of any later edition.

The following is an analysis of the two extracts:

**First Extract, viii. 6. 1-9, 7. 1-20**

Part I. The first subdivision (6. 1) gives a short account of the causes which led to the Exodus from Egypt. The second subdivision (6. 2-9) suggests for consideration different explanations of the success of Moses in leading the people though the wilderness (2-4) and of the conquest of Palestine (5-8) and ends with an emphatic assertion of the devotion of the people through all the centuries to Moses and the Law (9).

\[\text{Translation: } \tauοὺς \\text{ἀνασκευάζοντας ή κατηγοροῦντας ή πως άλλως κακοπθιζομένους τήν φιλοσοφίαν ἀπελέγχει.}\]
PHILO

Part II. The first subdivision (7. 1-9) gives a general sketch of the Mosaic constitution, contrasting its severity with the laxity of Gentile law and practice (1-3), particularly dwelling on the inviolability attached to vows and dedications (3-5). Other laws and customs are mentioned largely dwelling on duties of charity and mercy (6-9). The second subdivision (7. 10-20) describes the Sabbath as an institution intended mainly to provide opportunities for studying the law, gives a short account of the meetings and commends the universal knowledge of the Law which they effect (10-14). It then passes on to the sabbatical year, described as a proper relaxation for the land itself (15-18) and as a charitable institution, because the fruits which grew from it untilled were at the service of the poor and needy (19-20).

SECOND EXTRACT, viii. 11. 1-18

This is merely another description of the Essene communities, a general description (1-2), the mature age required for admission (3), their simple and communal life (4-5), their industry and practice of every kind of innocent activity (6-9), how the proceeds are put into a common bank (10-11), even clothes being held in common (12), their care for the sick and aged (13), their repudiation of marriage and exclusion of women, with some of their reasons for so doing (14-18). A final eulogy (18).

The references to chapters in the eighth book are those in all editions of the *Preparatio*. The references to sections with the chapters are those in Cohn's Editio Minor. Sections are also numbered in 412.
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Heinichen’s edition, but do not correspond to these. Gifford has no such sections, but gives the pages of Viger’s edition with subdivisions a, b, c, d. I have noted these pages but not the sub-divisions. I have also noted the pages in Mangey, vol. ii. They are to be distinguished from the others by the square brackets.
ΥΠΟΘΕΤΙΚΩΝ

(ΥΠΕΡ ΙΟΥΔΑΙΩΝ ΑΠΟΛΟΓΙΑΣ)

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6. 1. Τὸν μὲν παλαιὸν αὐτῶς πρόγονον ἀπὸ Χαλδαίων εἶναι, τὸν δὲ λαὸν ἀναστήναι τοῦτον ἐξ Αἰγύπτου μετωκισμένον ἀπὸ Συρίας τὸ πάλαι, μυριάσι τε ἄμυθητοι πλήθοντα καὶ τῆς γῆς οὐκ οὕσης ἰκανῆς, πρὸς δ' ἔτι καὶ νεότητι φρονημάτων ἐντεθραμμένον μεγάλως καὶ ἁμα τοῦ θεοῦ διὰ φασμάτων καὶ ὀνείρατων ἐξοδον αὐτῶις δηλοῦντος, καὶ οὐδενός ἦττον εἰς πόθον κατὰ δαίμονα ἐμπε-

[627] σόντας τῆς πατρίου καὶ ἀρχαίας γῆς. | ὅθεν δὴ καὶ τὸν πρόγονον ἐκείνον αὐτῶις κατελθεῖν εἰς Ἀἰγύπτου, εἴτε τῷ θεῷ δὴ δόξαν εἴτε προνοίᾳ τινί, <καὶ>

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a Eusebius follows this extract with another from Josephus, c. Apion. ii. 163-228, to the same effect.

b As the sequel shows that Jacob, not Abraham, is intended, Mangey wished to emend this to Canaanite. But Moses himself is said by Philo to be a Chaldean by race (Mos. i. 5).
HYPOTHETICA

(APOLOGY FOR THE JEWS)

Euseb. *Praep. Evang.* viii. 5. 11. Let us proceed to survey the constitution established by the legislation of Moses as described by authors held in high honour among the Jews. I will begin by quoting Philo’s account of their journey from Egypt under the leadership of Moses from the first book of the work which he entitled *Hypothetica*, where, while speaking in defence of the Jews as against their accusers, he says as follows:

6. 1. Their original ancestor belonged to the Chaldeans, but this people who had emigrated from Syria to Egypt in past time removed from Egypt partly because of the vast size of the population for which the land was insufficient. Also it was due to the high spirit of enterprise in which they had been bred and to the revelations of God made by dreams and visions bidding them go forth, and what influenced them as much as anything was that they had providentially been seized by a yearning for their ancient fatherland. It was from there that this ancestor of theirs had passed over into Egypt either because God had so decreed or through some prevision of his own.

κατὰ δάιμονα, as L. & S. says, in ordinary usage means little more than τοῦχνη, with which it is sometimes coupled, but in Philo’s mouth perhaps something more, though hardly so much as Gifford’s “under divine inspiration.”
πάντων εὐδαιμονῆσαι μάλιστα, ὡς ἀπ᾿ ἐκείνου
μέχρις εἰς τὸ παρὸν τὸ τε ἔθνος αὐτοῖς καὶ γεγε-
νήσθαι καὶ διαμένειν καὶ τοσοῦτον ὑπερβάλλειν
eἰς πολυανδρίαν.

6. 2. Καὶ μετὰ βραχέα φησίν

'Ανήρ γε μὴν αὐτοῖς ἢγεῖτο τῆς τε ἐξόδου καὶ
τῆς πορείας εἰς οὐδὲν τῶν πολλῶν, εἰ βούλει,
διάφορος· οὕτω καὶ ἑλοιδόρον γόητα καὶ κέρκωπα
λόγων. καλῆς μέντοι γοητείας καὶ πανουργίας,
εξ ἓς τὸν γε λαὸν ἄπαντα ἐν ἀνυδρία καὶ λιμῷ
καὶ τῶν ὅδων ἀγνοία καὶ ἀπορία τῶν συμπάντων
οὐ μόνον εἰς τὸ παντελῆς διεσώσατο [καὶ] ὡσπερ
ἐν εὐθυνίᾳ πάση καὶ παραπομπῇ τῶν μεταξὺ
κειμένων ἔθνων, ἀλλὰ καὶ πρὸς ἄλλην ἀστασία-
στοὺς αὐτοὺς καὶ πρὸς ἑαυτὸν μάλιστα εὐπειθεῖς
dιεφύλαξε. 6. 3. καὶ ταύτα οὐκ ὃλιγον δήπου
χρόνον, ἀλλ’ ὅσον οὐδ’ οἰκίαν ἐν ὀμοφροσύνῃ συμ-
μείναι μετὰ πάσης εὐθυνίας εἰκός ἐστιν. καὶ οὐ
dύμος, οὐ λιμός, οὐ φθορὰ σωμάτων, οὐχὶ φόβος
περὶ τῶν μελλόντων, οὐκ ἀγνοία τῶν συμβήσομέ-
νων, ἑπὶ τὸν γόητα ἐκείνων ἑπὶρε τοὺς ἐξαπατω-
μένους καὶ περιφθειρομένους λαοὺς. 6. 4. καίτοι
τί βούλει; φῶμεν ἐκείνῳ τινὰ ἐλνας τοσαύτην

a Probably this refers to the abusive terms used by Molon,
etc., cf. Jos. c. Apion. ii. 145 γόητα καὶ ἀπατεόνα, rather
than to the murmurers in the wilderness, though the imper-
fekt ελοιδόρον rather suggests this. The next sentence shows
that he persists in ignoring any rebellion.

b For the ironical use of καλῆς cf. Flacc. 157.

c The punctuation and exact meaning of the following
section is not clear. The translation supposes that there are
three alternatives: (1) the extraordinary virtues of Moses;
(2) the docility of the people; (3) divine influence. In this
HYPOTHETICA, 6. 1-4

There he had prospered to an unequalled degree so that from his time to the present day their nation has existed and survives and is so exceedingly populous.

6. 2. Shortly afterwards he says:

Their departure and journey was made under the command of one who nothing differed from the ordinary run of men. So you may say if you like: indeed there were people also who abused him as an impostor and prating mountebank.\(^a\) Well, that was a fine\(^b\) kind of imposture and knavery which enabled him to bring the whole people in complete safety amid drought and hunger and ignorance of the way and lack of everything as well as if they had abundance of everything and supplies obtainable from the neighbouring nations, and further to keep them free from internal factions and above all obedient to himself. 6. 3. And observe that these conditions lasted not for a little while but for a space of time during which even a household living in all comfort could not be expected to remain in unanimity. Yet neither thirst nor hunger nor bodily decay, nor fear of the future, nor ignorance of the course which events would take roused these deluded and perishing masses of men against that impostor. 6. 4.\(^c\) How will you explain this? Shall we say that he had some case \(\gamma\alpha\rho\) is hardly intelligible and Bernays, who translates the section, corrects to \(\alpha\rho\alpha\). Gifford, who puts colons instead of question marks after \(\epsilon\chi\epsilon\upsilon\nu\) and \(\epsilon\pi\sigma\sigma\tau\alpha\tau\epsilon\nu\), translates \(\gamma\alpha\rho, \kappa\tau\lambda,\) by “For either we must admit,” etc. This suggests that the double \(\gamma\) introduces a dilemma which is the logical consequence of accepting the high estimate of Moses, but I do not understand the logic. A minor point is that he punctuates the opening words as \(\tau\iota\,\beta\omicron\upsilon\lambda\epsilon\iota\,\phi\omega\mu\nu\iota\); \(\epsilon\kappa\epsilon\iota\nu\omega,\) \(\kappa\tau\lambda,\) which seems to me very possible.
PHILO

tέχνην ἡ δεινότητα λόγων ἢ σύνεσιν, ώς τῶν
tοσοῦτων καὶ τοιοῦτων ἀτόπων καὶ πρὸς ὀλεθρον
ἀπαντας ἀγόντων ἐπικρατεῖν; ἡ γὰρ τὰς φύσεις
tῶν ὑπ’ αὐτὸν ἀνθρώπων οὐκ ἀμαθώς οὐδὲ δυσ-
κόλως, ἀλλ’ εὐπειθῶς καὶ τοῦ μέλλοντος οὐκ
ἀπρονοήτως ἔχειν; ἡ τούτων μὲν ὡς μάλιστα
κακοὺς εἶναι, τὸν δὲ θεὸν τὰς δυσκολίας αὐτῶν
πραΰνειν καὶ τοῦ παρόντος καὶ τοῦ μέλλοντος
ὡσπερ ἐπιστατεῖν; ὅπερ γὰρ σοι μάλιστα ἂν ἐκ
τούτων ἀληθὲς εἶναι δόξη, πρὸς ἐπαίνου καὶ τιμῆς
καὶ ζήλου περὶ αὐτῶν συμπάντων ἰσχύειν φαίνεται.

6. 5. Καὶ τὰ μὲν τῆς ἐξόδου δὴ ταῦτα. ἐπειδ’
δὲ εἰς τὴν γῆν ταύτην ἠλθον, ὡς μὲν ποτε ἄρα
ἰδρύθησαν καὶ τὴν χώραν ἔσχον, ἐν ταῖς ἱεραῖς
ἀναγραφαῖς δηλούται. οὐ μήν ἐγωγε δικαιώ
μαλλον καθ’ ιστορίαν ή κατὰ τινα λογισμόν περὶ
αὐτῶν τὰ εἰκότα ἐπεξελθεῖν. 6. 6. ποτέρον γάρ
ποτε βούλει τῷ πλήθει τῶν σωμάτων ἐτι περιόντας,
καὶ ποτε θαυμάζει τω πλήθει τῶν σωμάτων ἐτι περιόντας,
καὶ τὰ ὅπλα ἐν χερσὶν ἐχοντας, ἐπὶ τα κράτους
ἐλεῖν τὴν χώραν, Σύρους τε ὁμοί καὶ Φοῖνικας ἐν
αὐτῇ τῇ ἐκείνων γῆ μαχομένους νικῶντας, ἡ τούς
μὲν ἀπολέομοι καὶ ἀνάρδους εἶναι καὶ παντελῶς
ὁλίγους ὑποθῶμεθα καὶ τῶν εἰς πόλεμον παρα-
σκευῶν ἀπόρους, αἰδέσεως δὲ τυχεῖν παρὰ τούτους

1 Mangey and Heinichen ὄμως δὲ διαχύοντας. Gifford
ὁμοι δὲ (διαχυρίζοντας) with a note “δὲ (διαχυρίζοντας)
Mangey? ” But I cannot find any support of this in
Mangey, nor any trace of the active διαχυρίζω elsewhere.

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a Or “praise and honour and admiration for them all.”
So Gifford, Mangey and Bernays. Still on the whole I prefer
the rendering of ζῆλος given above for the following reasons:
kind of skill or eloquence or intelligence great enough to surmount so many strangely different circumstances which were carrying them all to perdition? Otherwise we must suppose that either his subjects were naturally not stupid nor discontented but docile and gifted with some prevision of the future or else that they were thoroughly bad though God softened their discontents and kept their present and their future state as it were in his charge. Whichever of these views you consider to be the truth it appears to redound mightily to his praise and honour and zeal for them all.¹

6. 5. So much for the story of the migration. But when they came to this land the holy records show clearly how they established themselves there and occupied the country. Yet in discussing the probable facts of this occupation I think it better to go not so much by the historical narrative as by what our reason tells us about them. 6. 6. Which alternative do you prefer? Were they still superior in the number of their fighting men though they had fared so ill to the end, still strong and with weapons in their hand, and did they then take the land by force, defeating the combined Syrians and Phoenicians when fighting in their own country? Or shall we suppose that they were unwarlike and feeble, quite few in numbers and destitute of warlike equipment, but won the

(1) Philo’s use of the word as shown in some twenty-five examples in the index suggests not admiration in the abstract, but “zeal,” i.e. admiration followed by emulation or passion; (2) one of the alternatives mentioned, i.e. that they were thoroughly bad, but “softened” by God, does not seem to demand praise and honour for them; (3) in this section we are more concerned with the praise of Moses than of the nation.
καὶ τὴν γῆν λαβεῖν παρ’ ἐκόντων, ἔπειτα δ’ εὐθὺς οὖκ εἰς μακρὰν τὸν τε νεῶν οἰκοδομήσαι καὶ τάλλα εἰς εὐσέβειαν καὶ ἀγιστείαν καταστήσασθαι; 6. 7. δηλοῖ γάρ, ὡς έουκε, ταῦτα καὶ θεοφιλεστάτους αὐτῶν ἀνωμολογήσθαι καὶ παρὰ τοῖς ἔχθροῖς· ἔχθροὶ γὰρ ἦσαν ἐξ ἀνάγκης, ὅν ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν ἐξαίφνης ήλθον ὡς ἀφαιρησόμενοι.

6. 8. παρὰ τούτοις δ’ οὖν αἰδέσεως καὶ τιμῆς τυγχάνοντες πῶς οὐχ ὑπερβάλλειν εὐτυχία τοὺς ἄλλους φαίνονται; τίνα δὲ τὰ δεύτερα ἐφεξῆς ἢ τὰ τρίτα πρὸς τούτοις λέγωμεν; πότερον τὸ τῆς εὐνομίας καὶ εὐπειθείας αὐτῶν ἢ τῆς ὀσιότητος καὶ δικαιοσύνης καὶ εὐσεβείας; ἀλλὰ τὸν μὲν ἄνδρα ἐκείνον, ὡς ποτὲ ἤν ὁ τῶν νόμων αὐτοῖς θείς, οὕτω σφόδρα ἔθαυμασαν, ὡς ὁ τι δήσητε ἔδοξεν ἐκεῖνω καὶ αὐτοῖς. 6. 9. εἴτε οὖν λελογισμένος αὐτὸς εἴτε ἄκοιξιν παρὰ δαίμονος ἔφρασε, τοῦτο ἀπαν εἰς τὸν θεόν ἀνάγειν, καὶ πλειώνων ἑτῶν διεληλυθότων, τὸ μὲν ἀκριβές οὖν ἐκχω λέγειν ὅπόσα, πλεῖω δ’ οὖν ἡ δυσχίλια ἐστι, μηδὲ ρημά γε αὐτὸ μόνον τῶν ὑπ’ αὐτοῦ γεγραμμένων κινῆσαι, ἀλλὰ κἂν μυριάκις αὐτοὺς ἀποθανεῖν ὑπομεῖναι θάττων ἢ τοῖς ἐκείνου νόμοις καὶ ἔθεσιν ἐναντία πεισθήναι.

6. 10. Ταῦτ’ εἰπὼν ἐπιτέλεσε tὴν ἐκ τῶν Μωυσείως νόμων καταβεβλημένην τῷ Ἰουδαίων ἔθνει πολιτείαν γράφων οὕτως·

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a The literal translation "straightway" seems incompatible not only with the history but with οὖν εἰς μακρὰν.
respect of their opponents who voluntarily surrendered their land to them and that as a direct consequence they shortly afterwards built their temple and established everything else needed for religion and worship?

6. 7. This would clearly show that they were acknowledged as dearly beloved of God even by their enemies. For those whose land they suddenly invaded with the intention of taking it from them were necessarily their enemies.

6. 8. And if they got credit and honour in the sight of their enemies surely it shows that they exceeded all in good fortune. What qualities shall we put in addition to this good fortune in the second and the third place? Shall we give the preference to their respect for law and loyal obedience or to their religion and justice and piety? Whichever you choose the fact remains that so great was their veneration for that man who gave them their laws, whatever view we take of him, that anything which approved itself to him approved itself also to them. 6. 9. So whether what he told them came from his own reasoning powers or was learnt from some supernatural source they held it all to come from God and after the lapse of many years, how many I cannot say exactly, but at any rate for more than two thousand, they have not changed a single word of what he wrote but would even endure to die a thousand deaths sooner than accept anything contrary to the laws and customs which he had ordained.

6. 10. After these remarks he gives the following summary of the constitution laid down for the nation in the laws of Moses.

The use of εὐθύς for what follows as a logical consequence is common in Philo, e.g. De Op. 3.
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7. 1. Ἀρά τι τούτων ἢ τούτως προσόμοιον παρ’ ἐκείνοις ἐστὶ, πρᾶον εἶναι δοκοῦν καὶ τυθασόν καὶ δικῶν εἰσαγωγὰς καὶ σκήψεις καὶ ἀναβολὰς καὶ τιμήσεις καὶ πάλιν ὑποτιμήσεις ἔχον; οὐδὲν, ἄλλα πάντα ἀπλὰ καὶ δήλα. ἦν παιδεραστής, ἦν μουχεύης, ἦν διαφεύγειν καὶ ἄρρενα μὲν μηδὲ λέγε, ἄλλα κἂν θηλείαν ὁμοίως ἦν σαυτὸν καταπορνεύῃς, ἦν καὶ παρ’ ἥλικὶαν αἰσχρόν τι πάθης ἢ δοκῆς ἢ μέλλῃς, θάνατος ἢ ζημία. 7. 2. ἦν εἰς δούλον σώμα, ἦν εἰς ἔλευθερον ὑβρίζης, ἦν δεσμοῖς συνέχης, ἦν ἀπάγων πωλῆς, ἦν βέβηλη ἦν ἱερὰ παρακλέπτης, ἦν ἀσεβῆς, οὐκ ἔργῳ μόνον 358 ἄλλα καὶ ἦν ρήματι τῷ τυχόντι, εἰς μὲν θεὸν αὐτὸν (ἰλεώς ἡμῖν ο θεὸς καὶ αὐτῆς τῆς περὶ τούτων [629] ἐννοιας γένοιτο) οὐδὲ, ἂξιον λέγειν, ἄλλ’ εἰς πατέρα ἢ μητέρα ἢ εὐεργέτην σαυτὸ θάνατος ὁμοίως, καὶ οὐτὸς οὐ κοινὸς οὐδ’ ὁ τυχών, ἄλλα δεὶ κατα-

1 So Cohn. Other editions and apparently all mss. ἐπαγωγὰς. See note b.

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a Philo has evidently in a part omitted by Eusebius given proofs that Gentiles allowed all sorts of evasions of the penalties prescribed in their laws. So Jos. c. Apion. ii. 276 contrasts the Jewish strictness with the διαλύσεις or διαδύσεις ("evasions") provided by the legislators themselves.

b See note 1. The mss. ἐπαγωγὰς is translated by Gifford "solicitations of justice" (?), by Mangey "intentiones
7. 1. Do we find any of these things\(^a\) or anything similar among the Jews; anything which so savours of mildness and lenity, anything which permits of legal proceedings\(^b\) or extenuations or postponements or assessments of penalties and reductions of assessments?\(^c\) Nothing at all, everything is clear and simple.\(^d\) If you are guilty of pederasty or adultery or rape of a young person, even of a female, for I need not mention the case of a male, similarly if you prostitute yourself or allow or purpose or intend any action which your age makes indecent the penalty is death. 7. 2. So too if you commit an outrage on the person of a slave or a free man, if you confine him in bonds or kidnap and sell him. So too with larceny of things profane and sacred, so too with impiety not only of act but even of a casual word and not only against God Himself (may He forgive the very thought of such a thing which should not even be mentioned), but also against a father or mother or benefactor of your own the penalty is the same, death and not the common ordinary death: the offender in words only.

\(^{a}\) In the sense of "chicanery" I see no great difficulty about it, and all of the first three accusatives at any rate should perhaps be taken with δικών.

\(^{b}\) Or "self-assessments" (L. & S.). These of course would suggest mitigation of penalties. Philo has used the word in the general sense of "excuse" or "extenuation" in Spec. Leg. iii. 157.

\(^{c}\) \(\text{Or "self-assessments" (L. & S.)}.\) These of course would suggest mitigation of penalties. Philo has used the word in the general sense of "excuse" or "extenuation" in Spec. Leg. iii. 157.

\(^{d}\) \(\text{i.e. all the offences that follow are stated in the law to be capital crimes}.\) This is true of παιδεραστία (Lev. xviii. 22, xx. 13), of μοιχεία (Lev. xx. 10), for kidnappers and selling men (Ex. xxi. 16), for reviling a parent (Ex. xxi. 17), (LXX κακολογῶν, R.V. "curseth"), for rape (under certain circumstances) (Deut. xxii. 23 ff.). But I do not think that either Philo in Spec. Leg. or the law itself suggests death for stealing in general, or that the punishment for reviling a parent extends to reviling a benefactor.
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λευσθήναι τὸν εἰπόντα μόνον ὡς οὐ χείρονα ἁσεβείας πράξαντα. 7. 3. ἄλλα δ’ αὖ πάλιν ὅποιά τινα: γυναῖκας ἀνδράσι δουλεύειν, πρὸς ὑβρεῖς μὲν οὐδεμᾶς, πρὸς εὐπεθεῖειαν δ’ ἐν ἀπασι: γονεῖς παιδῶν ἄρχειν ἐπὶ σωτηρία καὶ πολυωρία: τῶν ἐαυτοῦ κτημάτων ἕνα ἐκαστὸν κύριον εἶναι, μὴ θεόν γε ἐπιφημίσαντα αὐτῶς μηδ’ ὡς τῷ θεῷ ταῦτα ἀνίησιν: εἰ δὲ λόγῳ μόνῳ ὑποσχέσθαι προσπέσοι, ψάυσαι καὶ θιγεῖν αὐτῶν οὐκ ἔστω, ἀλλ’ εὐθὺς ἀπάντων ἀποκεκλείσθαι. 7. 4. μὴ μοι τὰ τῶν θεῶν ἀρπάζειν μηδ’ ἀποσυλάν ἔτερων ἀναθέντων: ἀλλ’ καὶ τῶν οἰκείων, ὠσπερ ἐφην, προσπεσὸν τι καὶ λαθὼν αὐτῶν ἰὴμα ἐπ’ ἀναθέσει, εἰπόντα δὲ πάντων στέρεσθαι: μεταγυνώσκοντι δὲ ἡ ἀπαρνομένης τὰ λελεγμένα καὶ τὴν ψυχὴν προσαφαιρεῖσθαι. 7. 5. καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν ἄλλων ὅν κυριεύει ὁ αὐτὸς λόγος, ἐὰν ἐπιφημίσῃ τροφήν γυναικὸς ἀνήρ ἵεραν εἶναι, τροφῆς ἀνέχειν ἐὰν πατήρ υἱόν, ἐὰν ἄρχων τοῦ υπηκόου, ταύτὸν. καὶ ἐκλύσις δὲ ἐπιφημισθέντων ἡ μὲν τελειότατη καὶ μεγίστη τοῦ ἱερέως ἀποφή-

1 The sentence as it stands is ungrammatical. Mangey omits δὲ.

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a Lit. “as (being) no worse having committed (i.e. if he has committed) impieties”—an extraordinarily awkward construction.

b Gifford, who translates ὡς θεῷ by “as to God,” explains the construction as an “abrupt transition” and quotes Heinichen “ἀνίησι sequitur quasi praecessit et μὴ ἐπιφημίζει.” This is only a way of saying that the sentence is ungrammatical. I think it is best explained by taking ὡς = δὴτι as introducing oratio obliqua and governed by ἐπιφημίσαντα.

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must be stoned to death. His guilt is as great as if he were the perpetrator of impious actions.\(^a\)

7. 3. Other rules again there are of various kinds: wives must be in servitude to their husbands, a servitude not imposed by violent ill-treatment but promoting obedience in all things. Parents must have power over their children to keep them safe and tend them carefully. Each individual is master of his possessions unless he has solemnly named the name of God over them declaring that he has given them to God.\(^b\) And if he has merely made a chance verbal promise of them he must not touch or handle them, but hold himself at once debarred from them all.

7. 4. I need not consider the case of his robbing what belongs to the gods\(^c\) or plundering what others have dedicated; even with his own, I repeat, a chance word of dedication spoken unawares deprives him of them all and if he repents or denies his promise his life is forfeit also.

7. 5. The same holds of any other persons over whom he has authority. If a man has devoted his wife’s sustenance to a sacred purpose he must refrain from giving her that sustenance; so with a father’s gifts to his son or a ruler’s to his subjects. The chief and most perfect way of releasing dedicated property is by the priest refusing it, for he

This verb can be followed either by a noun or a clause as below ἐπιφημίσω τροφῆν ... ἵππον ἐλαυ. See examples in lexicon. The combination of the two constructions is awkward but not ungrammatical.

\(^a\) In using the plural Philo may have in mind Ex. xxii. 28 (LXX “thou shalt not revile the gods”), a text on which both he (Mos. ii. 205, Spec. Leg. i. 53) and Jos. (c. Apion. ii. 237) base the prohibition of speaking evil of the heathen gods. But it is hardly necessary to bring this in here. He would naturally deny the possibility of his people committing sacrilege in any temples.
PHILO

σαντοζ' ὑπὸ γὰρ τοῦ θεοῦ κύριος οὗτος δέξασθαι· καὶ μετὰ ταῦτην δὲ ἡ παρὰ τῶν μᾶλλον ἂεὶ κυρίων ὀσία ὅλεω τῶν θεῶν ἀποφαίνειν, ὡς μηδὲ ἔπαναγκες τὴν ἀνάθεσιν δέχεσθαι. 7. 6. μυρία δὲ ἄλλα ἐπὶ τούτοις, ὅσα καὶ ἐπὶ ἀγράφων ἔθων καὶ νομίμων καὶ τοὶς νόμοις αὐτοῖς· ἀ τις παθεῖν ἐχθαίρει, μὴ ποιεῖν αὐτόν· ἢ μὴ κατέθηκεν, μηδ' ἀναιρεῖσθαι, μηδ' ἐκ πρασίας μηδ' ἐκ λιπῶν μηδ' ἐξ ἁλωνος· μὴ θημώνος ὑφαιρεῖσθαι μέγα ἡ μικρὸν ἀπλώς μηδέν· μὴ πυρὸς δεηθέντι φθονεῖν· μὴ νάματα ὑδάτων αποκλείειν· ἄλλα καὶ πτωχοῖς καὶ πηροῖς τροφήν ἐρανίζουσι πρὸς τὸν θεόν εὐαγώς ἀνέχειν. 7. 7. μὴ ταφῆς νεκρὸν ἐξείργειν, ἄλλα

1 This redundant δὲ is, I think, very unusual, if not unique, in Philo.

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a While the Pentateuch (Num. xxx. 1-3, Deut. xxiii. 21-23) more or less bears out the strict obligation of a vow, it says nothing about any penalty (much less death) for failure to keep it, or on the other hand of ways of absolution. See App. p. 539.

b The construction is difficult. The translation assumes that ἡ agrees with ἐκλυσις, and ὀσία ἀποφαίνειν = "holy enough to declare" (or perhaps, "make") God propitious. But I have not found any example of such an infinitive following ὀσιος. Possibly ἡ may agree with the noun ὀσία and ἀποφαίνειν depends on κυρίων. But the order of the words is somewhat against it.

c The nearest text to this in the O.T. is, I suppose, Lev. xix. 18 "thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself," which is adopted in the N.T. as well as the positive form of that given here "whatsoever ye would that men should do to you, do ye even so to them," Matt. vii. 12. On this Wetstein gives abundant illustration from ancient literature both in the positive and negative form, beginning with Herodotus iii. 426
is empowered by God to accept it or not.\(^a\) Next to this, that given by those who at the time have the higher authority may lawfully declare that God is propitiated\(^b\) so that there is no necessity to accept the dedication.

7. 6. Besides these there is a host of other things which belong to unwritten customs and institutions or are contained in the laws themselves. What a man would hate to suffer he must not do himself to others.\(^c\) What he has not laid down he must not take up\(^d\) either from a garden or a wine press or a threshing floor. He must not filch anything great or small from a stack. He must not grudge to give fire to one who needs it or close off running water.\(^e\) If the poor or the cripple beg food of him he must give it as an offering of religion to God.\(^f\)

7. 7. He must not debar dead bodies from

\(^a\) The nearest in form to this is from Isocrates \(\alpha\) πάχοντες ύφ\(\epsilon\) \(\epsilon\)τέρων ὄργίζεσθε τα\(\upsilon\) τούς ἄλλους μ\(\nu\) ποιεῖτε.

\(^b\) This also, as Bernays points out, is not found in this short form in the O.T., nor indeed in any nearer form than Deut. xxii. 1-3, where the finder of a lost animal or garment is bidden to restore it to the owner. On the other hand it is a famous piece of moralizing in Greek, ascribed to Solon (Diog. Laert i. 57), and described by Plato, Legg. xi. 913 c, as κάλλιστος νόμος. Jos. (c. \(\zeta\)πίοιο. ii. 208) follows Philo in declaring it to be a recognized principle of Judaism, and that it was so recognized is suggested by Luke xix. 21, where α\(\iota\)ρεις δ\(\omicron\) \(\omicron\) γ\(\omicron\) έθηκασ is the reproach made by the unprofitable servant to his master.

\(^c\) So too Jos. c. \(\zeta\)πίοιο. ii. 211.

\(^d\) \(\alpha\)νέχω seems to be used in the somewhat rare sense of offering sacrifices or prayers, unless πρός τον θεόν can, like πρός τούς ἄρχοντας, etc., mean "in the presence of" or "before God." The duty of giving charity to the poor is enjoined by Philo from the Law in De Virt. 82-87. It is to be found more definitely in other passages outside the Law, e.g. Prov. xix. 17 and Ps. xlii. 1 ff. and still more in Tobit iv.
καὶ γῆς αὐτοῖς ὡςον γε ἐις τὴν ὁσίαν προσεπιβάλλειν· μὴ θήκας, μὴ μνήματα ὅλως κατοιχομένων κινεῖν. | μὴ δεσμά, μὴ κακὸν μὴν πλέον τῷ ἐν ἀνάγκαις προσεπιφέρειν. μὴ γονήν ἀνδρῶν ἐκτέμνοντας, μὴ γυναικῶν ἀτοκίους καὶ ἄλλων μηχαναῖς ἀμβλούν· μὴ ζῴους ἔμπαλιν ἢ κατέδειξεν εἰτ' οὖν ὁ θεὸς εἴτε τις καὶ νομοθέτης προσφέρεσθαι· μὴ σπέρμα ἀφανίζειν· μὴ γέννημα δολούν.

7. 8. μὴ ζυγὸν ἄδικον ἀνθυπύβάλλειν, μὴ χοίνικα ἀμετρον, μὴ νόμισμα ἄδικον. μὴ φίλων ἀπόρρητα ἐν ἑχθρὰ φαίνειν. ποί δὴ πρὸς τοῦ θεοῦ ἡμῖν τὰ Βουζύγια ἐκέινα; ἄλλα δὲ πρὸς τούτοις ὁρα' μὴ παίδων διοικίζειν γονέας, μὴ δ' ἢν αἰχμαλώτους ἐχθρὰς, μὴ γυναῖκα ἀνδρός, κἂν νομίμως ἕως ἤν ἐν ἑκλεκτά τοῖς παιδίσκοις. 7. 9. ἡ ποὺ σεμνότερα καὶ μείζω ταῦτα, ἄλλα δὲ μικρὰ καὶ τὰ τυχόντα· μὴ νεοτιάν φησί κατοικίδιον ἐρημοῦν· μὴ ζῷων

1 Other editions δολοῦν. But δολοῦν seems to have good mss. authority. See note c.
HYPOTHETICA, 7. 7–9

burial, but throw upon them as much earth as piety demands, nor disturb in any way the resting places and monuments of the departed. He must not by fettering or any other means worsen the plight of him who is in hard straits; he must not make abortive the generative power of men by gelding nor that of women by sterilizing drugs and other devices. There must be no maltreatment of animals contrary to what is appointed by God or even by a law-giver; no destroying of their seed nor defrauding of their offspring. 7. 8. No unjust scales, no false measurements, no fraudulent coinage must be substituted. The secrets of a friend must not be divulged in enmity. What need in heaven's name have we of your Buzyges and his precepts? There are other matters to be noted: children must not be parted from their parents even if you hold them as captive, nor a wife from her husband even if you are her owner by lawful purchase.

7. 9. These no doubt are more important and serious matters, but there are others, little things of casual occurrence. Do not render desolate the nesting

the vague statement about the treatment of animals should separate two such closely connected injunctions. The other reading δονλον is translated by Gifford "enslave not thy offspring," but such a command seems very unnecessary and pointless.

Cf. Prov. xi. 1, xvi. 11, Lev. xix. 35, Deut. xxv. 13-16.

e i.e. when they quarrel or become enemies. It is more clearly expressed by Jos. § 207 "We must conceal nothing from our friends, nor divulge secrets, εκρα αν εμβη τις έχθρα."

Buzyges, a hero of Athens, who first yoked oxen to the plough (Hesychius), was commemorated at a festival of Demeter, where one of his family repeated various imprecations against those who refused fire and water and did other uncharitable actions. For an abstract of Bernays' full note on the subject see App. p. 539.
ικεσίαν οία ἔσθ' ὅτε προσφευγόντων ἀναιρεῖν, μὴ εἰ τῶν τοιούτων ἤττον ἐστιν. οὐδὲνος ἀξία ταῦτα γε εἴποις ἀν' ἄλλ' ο γε ἐπ' αὐτοῖς νόμος ἐστι μέγας καὶ πάσης ἐπιμελείας αἰτίος, καὶ αἱ προρρήσεις μεγάλαι καὶ ἄραι κατὰ τὰς ἐξωλείας, καὶ ὁ θεὸς αὐτὸς ἐποίησε τῶν τοιούτων καὶ τιμωρὸς ἁπανταχοῦ.

7. 10. Καὶ μετὰ βραχέα φησίν

"Ολην δὲ ἡμέραν, εἰ τύχοι, μᾶλλον δὲ οὐδὲ μᾶν ἀλλὰ πολλάς, καὶ ταύτας οὐκ εὑρὼς ἐφεξῆς ἀλλήλαις, ἀλλ' ἐκ διαλειμμάτων, καὶ τούτων δὲ παρ' ἐπτά, κρατοῦντος ὡς εἰκός αἰεὶ τοῦ παρὰ τὰς βεβηλείους έθους, μηδὲν ἂν παραβῆναι τῶν προστεταγμένων οὐ θαυμάζεις; 7. 11. ἄρ' οὐ πρὸς ἀσκήσεως μόνον αὐτοῖς τοῦτο ἐγκράτειας ἐστιν, ὡς ἐξ ἰσοῦ καὶ δρᾶν τι πονοῦτας καὶ ἀνέχειν ἱσχὺειν ἀπὸ τῶν ἑργῶν, εἰ δέοι; οὐ δῆτα. ἀλλὰ καὶ πρὸς ἑργού μεγάλοι καὶ θαυμαστοῦ τινὸς ὑπῆθη δεῖν ὁ νομοθέτης αὐτούς μὴ τὰλλα μόνον ἰκανοὺς εἶναι δρᾶν καὶ μὴ δρᾶν ώσαύτως, ἀλλ' ἐτί καὶ τῶν πατρίων νόμων καὶ ἐθῶν ἐμπείρως ἐχειν. 7. 12. τί οὖν ἐποίησε; ταῖς ἐβδόμαις

1 I should prefer to omit τέ. As it stands the phrase is awkwardly coupled with μεγάλαι.

a Or “the nest under thy root” (Gifford). But the allusion is clearly to Deut. xxii. 6, where anyone who finds a bird’s nest “in the way or on a tree or on the ground” may take the eggs, but not the mother bird.

b So Jos. §213 “creatures which take refuge in our houses like suppliants he has forbidden us to kill.” I do not understand what is meant. See App. p. 540.
HYPOTHETICA, 7. 9–12

home of birds\(^a\) or make the appeals of animals of none effect when they seem to fly to you for help as they sometimes do.\(^b\) Nor commit any lesser offence of the kind. These things are of nothing worth, you may say, yet great is the law which ordains them and ever watchful is the care which it demands. Great too and appalling\(^c\) are the warnings and imprecations which accompany it. And such deeds are everywhere surveyed and avenged by God Himself.

7. 10. \(^d\) Shortly afterwards he says:

Is it not a marvel that for a whole day they should have kept from transgressing on any occasion any of the ordinances, or rather for many days, not one only, days too which did not follow straight on each other but only after intervals, and intervals of seven during which habits belonging to the secular days naturally hold the mastery? 7. 11. You may ask: Is not this merely a case of practising self-control so that they should be capable of abstaining from toil if necessary no less than of toilsome activity? No, it was a great and marvellous achievement\(^e\) which the lawgiver had in view. He considered that they should not only be capable of both action and inaction in other matters but also should have expert knowledge of their ancestral laws and customs. 7. 12. What then did he do? He required them to

\(^a\) More literally "threatening destruction." Cf. Spec. Leg. iv. 34 for this Demosthenic phrase.

\(^b\) The part here omitted by Eusebius contained no doubt an account of the strict rules enforced on the sabbath.

\(^c\) Gifford translates πρὸς ἔργον "at the cost of great and extraordinary pains." I understand πρὸς as = "belonging to" like πρὸς δίκης or πρὸς λόγου and indeed πρὸς ἐπαίνου καὶ τίμης in 6. 4 above.
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taútais ἡμέραις αὐτοὺς εἰς ταύτων ἡξίου συν-ἀγεσθαι καὶ καθεξομένους μετ' ἄλληλων σὺν αἰδοῖ καὶ κόσμῳ τῶν νόμων ἀκροαθαὶ τοῦ μηδένα 360 ἀγνοῆσαι χάριν. 7. 13. καὶ δῆτα συνέρχονται μὲν αἴει καὶ συνεδρεύουσι μετ' ἄλληλων· οἱ μὲν πολλοὶ σιωπῆ, πλὴν εἴ τι προσεπευφημήσας τοῖς ἀνα-
γινωσκομένοις νομίζεται· τῶν ἱερέων δὲ τις ὁ παρών ἢ τῶν γερόντων εἰς ἀναγινωσκεῖ τοὺς | [631] οἱ συνέρχονται μὲν αἴει καὶ καθ' ἐκαστὸν ἐξηγεῖται μέχρι σχεδον δείλης ὁφίας· κἀκε ἄπολυταν τῶν τέ νόμων τῶν ἱερῶν ἐμπείρως ἔχουντες καὶ πολὺ δὴ πρὸς εὐσέβειαν ἐπιδεδωκότες. 7. 14. ἀρὰ
σοι δοκεῖ ταύτα ἄργοντων εἶναι καὶ οὐ παντὸς ἐργου μᾶλλον ἀναγκαία αὐτοῖς; τοιγαροῦν οὐκ ἐπὶ θεσμῳδοὺς ἐρχονται περὶ τῶν πρακτέων καὶ
μὴ διερωτῶντες οὐδὲ καθ' ἐαυτοὺς ύπ' ἀγνοίας τῶν νόμων ῥαδιουργοῦσιν, ἀλλ' οντινα αὐτῶν κινεῖς καὶ περὶ τῶν πατρίων διαπυνθάνη, προ-
χείρως ἔχει καὶ ῥαδίως εἰπείν· καὶ ἄνηρ γυναῖκι καὶ παισὶ πάτηρ καὶ δούλως δεσπότης ἰκανὸς εἶναι δοκεῖ τοὺς νόμους παραδίδοναι. 7. 15.
καὶ μήν περὶ τοῦ γε έτους τοῦ ἐβδόμου ῥάδιον ὀφαντάζως λέγειν, οὐ μὴν ταῦταν ὑσώσ. οὐ γὰρ αὐτοὶ τῶν ἐργῶν ἀφεστάσιν, ὡσπερ ταῖς ἐβδόμαις
ἐκείναις ἁμέραις, ἀλλὰ τὴν γῆν ἀργὴν ἀφιάσιν εἰς

a Or persons who make a profession of enunciating moral and legal opinions? The words θεσμῳδός and θεσμῳδέω are only cited by Stephanus from this passage and De Som. i. 193, and L. & S. (revised) has nothing to add except a reference to one inscription. In both cases ἰησοπ- has been proposed, and in the sense of making divine or prophetic
assemble in the same place on these seventh days, and sitting together in a respectful and orderly manner hear the laws read so that none should be ignorant of them. 7. 13. And indeed they do always assemble and sit together, most of them in silence except when it is the practice to add something to signify approval of what is read. But some priest who is present or one of the elders reads the holy laws to them and expounds them point by point till about the late afternoon, when they depart having gained both expert knowledge of the holy laws and considerable advance in piety. 7. 14. Do you think that this marks them as idlers or that any work is equally vital to them? And so they do not resort to persons learned in the law with questions as to what they should do or not do, nor yet by keeping independent transgress in ignorance of the law, but any one of them whom you attack with inquiries about their ancestral institutions can answer you readily and easily. The husband seems competent to transmit knowledge of the laws to his wife, the father to his children, the master to his slaves.

7. 15. Again with regard to the seventh year one can without difficulty use much the same though perhaps not identical words. For here it is not they themselves who abstain from work as on those seventh days, but it is the land which they leave idle against the days utterances would be suitable enough in De Som., but hardly here. If the word is right, the termination would seem to have lost its force.

Lit. "relying on themselves," i.e. they learn from each other.

Philo’s remarkable insistence on the sabbatical year has been shown several times, Spec. Leg. ii. 86-109, iv. 215-217, De Virt. 97, 98, De Praem. 154-157.
τὰ μέλλοντα αὕτης εὐθηνίας χάριν. πολὺ γὰρ δια-
φέρειν αὐτὴν ἀνάπαυλαν λαβοῦσαν, εἴτε δὲ εἰς
νέωτα γεωργεῖσθαι καὶ μὴ τῇ συνεχείᾳ τῆς
ἐργασίας κατεξάνθαι. 7. 16. ταύτων δὲ καὶ περὶ
tὰ σώματα ἀν ἵδοις συμβαίνον εἰς ρώμην· οὐ γὰρ
δὴ πρὸς ύγείαν μόνον διαλείμματα καὶ τινὰς
ἀναπαύλας ἀπὸ τῶν ἐργῶν τοὺς ἰατροὺς προστάτ-
tοντας· τὸ γὰρ συνεχὲς καὶ μονοειδὲς αἰεὶ, μάλιστα
dὲ ἐπ᾽ ἐργων, βλάπτεσθαι ἔοικε. 7. 17. σημεῖον
dὲ· τὴν γὰρ αὐτὴν ταύτην γῆν εἰ τις ἐπαγγέλλοντο
αὐτοῖς ἑξεργάσεσθαι πολὺ μᾶλλον ἢ πρόσθεν τὸ
ἔβδομον ἔτος τούτι καὶ τῶν καρπῶν πάντων συμ-
παραχωρήσεων ὅλων, οὐκ ἂν οὐδεμίας δέξαντο·
όγὰρ αὐτοὶ τῶν πόνων ἀνέχειν οἴονται δεῖν μόνοι
—καὶ τοῦτ’ ἐποίουν, οὐδὲν ἂν θαύμαστὸν
ἡν—, ἀλλὰ τὴν χώραν αὐτοῖς ἀνεσίν τινα καὶ
ῥαστώνῃν εἰς ἀρχὴν ἔτεραν τῆς αὕτης ἐπιμελείας
καὶ γεωργίας λαβεῖν. 7. 18. ἐπεὶ τί ἐκώλυε πρὸς
tοῦ θεοῦ ἐπὶ τοῦ παρελθόντος ἔτους αὐτὴν προ-
εκδοῦναι καὶ παρὰ τῶν ἐργαζομένων ἐκείνων τῶντ' 361
φόρον τοῦ ἔτους ἐκλέγειν; ἄλλ', ὡσπερ ἔφην,
kαὶ' οὐδένα τρόπον οὐδὲν τῶν τοιούτων προνοία
μοι δοκεῖ τῆς χώρας ἐκδέχονται. 7. 19. τῆς δὲ
φιλανθρωπίας αὐτῶν καὶ τοῦτο μέγα ὡς ἄληθῶς
σημεῖον· ἐπεὶ γὰρ αὐτοὶ τῶν ἐργῶν ἐκείνων τοῦ
ἔτους ἀνέχουσιν, τοὺς γυνομένους καρποὺς οὐκ
οἴονται δεῖν συλλέγειν οὐδ’ ἀποτίθεσθαι μὴ ἐκ τῶν
οἰκείων πόνων περιόντας αὐτοῖς, ἄλλ’ ἄτε τοῦ θεοῦ
παρεσχηκότος αὐτοῖς, ἀνιέσης ἀπ’ αὐτομάτου τῆς

1 mss. τὸν ἐκείνων, and so Dindorf. Gifford τὸν ἐκείνου.
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to come hereafter to give it fertility, for they believe that it gains much by getting a respite and is then tilled in the next year without being exhausted by unbroken cultivation. 7. 16. You may see that the same treatment of our bodies tends to strengthen them. Physicians prescribe some intermissions and relaxations not merely when health has to be restored.\textsuperscript{a} For monotony without a break, particularly in work, is always seen to be injurious. 7. 17. Here is a proof that their object is as I describe. If anyone offered to cultivate this same land during the seventh year much more strenuously than before and to surrender to them the whole of the fruits they would absolutely refuse. For they do not think that it is only themselves who should abstain from work, though if they did so it would be nothing to wonder at, but that the land should gain at their hands a respite and easing off to make a fresh start in receiving renewed attention and husbandry. 7. 18. For what in heaven's name was to hinder them from letting out the land during the year\textsuperscript{b} and collecting the produce of that year at its end from the others who tilled it? But, as I have said, they entirely refuse anything of the kind, doubtless out of consideration for the land. 7. 19. We have a truly great proof of their humanity in the following also. Since they themselves abstain from labour during that year, they think that they should not gather or lay by the fruits produced which do not accrue to them from their own toil, but since God has provided them, sprung from the soil by its own action,

\textsuperscript{a} \textit{i.e.} they prescribe it for people who are perfectly well.

\textsuperscript{b} Lit. "during the past year," \textit{i.e.} the year which will be past when the fruit is gathered.


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γῆς, τοὺς βουλομένους ἡ δεομένους τῶν τε ὁδο- [682] πόρων καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἄξιούσι μετὰ ἀδείας χρῆσθαι. | 7. 20. καὶ περὶ μὲν τούτων ἄλις σοι τὸ γὰρ ταῖς ἐβδόμαις ἔβδομοις ἡδη τὸν νόμον αὐτοὺς στήσαι ταῦτα οὖν ἂν ἐμὲ ἀπαιτήσαις, ἵσωσ πολλῶν πολλάκις καὶ ἰατρῶν καὶ φυσιολόγων καὶ φιλοσόφων ἀκηκὼς περὶ τούτου πρότερον, ἢντιν ἀρα δύναμιν ἔχει πρὸς τε τῆν τῶν συμπάντων καὶ δὴ πρὸς τὴν ἀνθρωπείαν φύσιν. οὗτος ο τῆς ἐβδόμης λόγος.

11. 1. Μνημόνιος δὲ τῶν γνωρίμων ὁ ἡμέτερος νομοθέτης ἤλειφεν ἐπὶ κοινωνίαν, οὗ καλοῦνται μὲν Ἑσσαῖοι, παρὰ τὴν ὁσιότητα μοι δοκῶ τῆς προσηγορίας ἄξιωθέντες. οἰκοῦσι δὲ πολλὰς μὲν πόλεις τῆς Ἰουδαίας, πολλὰς δὲ κώμας καὶ μεγάλους καὶ πολυανθρώπους ὀμίλους. 11. 2. ἔστι δ’ αὐτοῖς ἡ προαίρεσις οὐ γένει—γένος γὰρ ἐφ’ ἐκουσίοις οὐ γράφεται—, διὰ δὲ ζηλον ἀρετῆς καὶ

κατὰ?—Though accepted without comment by Mangey and Gifford, the construction οἰκεῖν ὀμίλους seems hardly possible.

a The following extract is made by Eusebius at a later point in the same book of the Praeparatio. He introduces it by saying that the Jewish nation is divided into two sections, (1) the multitude which Moses intended to be guided by the literal meaning (ῥητὴ διάνοια), and (2) the philosophers who can rise from the literal to the higher meaning. As an example of the second class he reproduces Philo’s two 436
they should grant them to be used freely by way
farers and others who desire or need them. 7. 20.
You have now had enough on this subject, for you
will not require me to show that these rules for the
seventh days are established firmly among them by
the law. Probably you have often heard ere now
from many physicians, scientists and philosophers
what influence it has over the life of all things and of
mankind in particular. This is what I have to say
about the seventh day.

\[\textit{\textsuperscript{a} 11. 1. Multitudes of his disciples has the lawgiver}
trained for the life of fellowship. These people are
called Essenes, a name awarded to them doubtless in
recognition of their holiness. They live in many cities
of Judaea and in many villages and grouped in great
societies of many members. 11. 2. Their persuasion\textsuperscript{b}
is not based on birth, for birth is not a descriptive
mark of voluntary associations,\textsuperscript{c} but on their zeal for

accounts of the Essenes, one from the \textit{Quod Omn. Prob.}
(see pp. 54-63), and the following which he quotes from \textit{“The
Apology for the Jews.”} See for this title Introduction, p. 407,
and for remarks on the two accounts App. p. 514.
\textsuperscript{b} Or \textit{“vocation.”} \textit{ Cf. De Vit. Cont. 2,} and see App.
p. 514.
\textsuperscript{c} \textit{i.e.} when we define the principles or considerations on
which a voluntary association is based, birth or family is not
among them. But Gifford may be right in translating
more simply \textit{“family descent is not ranked among matters of
choice,”} though I am not sure that \textit{γράφεται ἐπὶ} can mean
this, or what the point of the remark is.
11. 3. Ἐσσαίων γοῦν κοιμοῦσιν νήπιος οὖδείς, ἀλλ' οὖδὲ πρωτογένειος ἢ μειράκιον, ἐπεὶ τὰ γε τούτων ἄβεβαν ήθη τῷ τῆς ἥλικίας ἀτελεῖ συννεστερίζοντα,1 τέλειοι δ' ἄνδρες καὶ πρὸς γῆρας ἀποκλίνοντες ἡδή, μηκέθ' ὑπὸ τῆς τοῦ σώματος ἑπιρροῆς κατακλυζόμενοι μηδ' ὑπὸ τῶν παθῶν ἀγόμενοι, τὴν ἁμενή δὲ καὶ μόνην ὄντως ἐλευθερίαν καρποῦμενοι. 11. 4. μάρτυς δὲ τῆς ἐλευθερίας αὐτῶν ὁ βίος. ὦδιον οὖδεὶς οὐδὲν ὑπομένει κτήσασθαι τὸ παράπαν, οὐκ οἰκίαν, οὐκ ἄνδραποδον, οὐ χωρίον, οὔ βοσκήματα, οὔχ ὀσα άλλα παρασκευαὶ καὶ χορηγίαι πλοῦτον· πάντα δ' εἰς μέσον ἄθροα καταθέντες κοινὴν καρποῦνται τὴν ἀπάντων ὥφελειαν. 11. 5. οἰκοῦσι δ' ἐν ταύτῳ κατὰ θιάσους ἑταίριας καὶ συσσίτια πεποιημένοι καὶ πάνθ' ὑπὲρ τοῦ κοινωφελοῦς πραγματευόμενοι [633] διατελοῦσιν. 11. 6. ἄλλ' ἑτέρων ἑτεραι πραγματεῖαι, αἰς ἐπαποδύντες ἀόκνως διαθλοῦσιν, οὐ κρυμόν, οὐ θάλπος, οὐχ ὀσα ἄρος νεωτέρῳ συνεστερίζεται πρὶν δ' ἡλιόν ἄνασχεῖν ἐπὶ τὰ συνήθη τρεπόμενοι δυνόμενοι μόλις ἐπανίσασι χαιροῦσι οὐχ ἢττον τῶν ἐν τοῖς γυμνικοῖς ἑξεταζομένων ἄγωσιν. 11. 7. ὑπολαμβάνονσι γὰρ ἀττ' ἃν ἐπιτηδεύσων εἶναι βιωφελέστερα καὶ ἠδίω ψυχή

1 Other editions συννεστερίζονται. One ms. has —τα, which accords better with Philo's general if not universal rule of using the singular verb with a neuter plural subject. (But see note in vol. viii. p. 445.) On the other hand if ἄβεβαν is predicate its position is strange.
HYPOTHETICA, 11. 3-7

virtue and desire to promote brotherly love. 11. 3. Thus no Essene is a mere child nor even a stripling or newly bearded, since the characters of such are unstable with a waywardness corresponding to the immaturity of their age, but full grown and already verging on old age, no longer carried under by the tide of the body nor led by the passions, but enjoying the veritable, the only real freedom. 11. 4. This freedom is attested by their life. None of them allows himself to have any private property, either house or slave or estate or cattle or any of the other things which are amassed and abundantly procured by wealth, but they put everything together into the public stock and enjoy the benefit of them all in common. 11. 5. They live together formed into clubs, bands of comradeship with common meals, and never cease to conduct all their affairs to serve the general weal. 11. 6. But they have various occupations at which they labour with untiring application and never plead cold or heat or any of the violent changes in the atmosphere as an excuse. Before the sun is risen they betake themselves to their familiar tasks and only when it sets force themselves to return, for they delight in them as much as do those who are entered for gymnastic competitions. 11. 7. For they consider that the exercises which they practise whatever they may be are more valuable to life, more pleasant to soul and body and more

*a παρασκευὴ πλούτου may mean what prepares or procures wealth. But it is better taken as = “what wealth procures,” the word often carrying with it the idea of affluence or luxury both in quality and quantity. Thus τῆς ἀφθόνου παρασκευῆς of Pharaoh, De Sac. 48, τῶν περιττῶν καὶ ἄκαθαρτῶν παρασκευῶν Leg. All. iii. 147, and τὴν παρασκευὴν of the sumptuous banquet in De Vit. Cont. 53. 
καὶ σώματι τὰ γυμνάσματα καὶ πολυχρονιώτερα τῶν ἐν ἀθλήσει, μὴ συναφηβώντα τῇ τοῦ σώματος ἀκμῇ. 11. 8. εἰσὶ γὰρ αὐτῶν οἱ μὲν γεηπόνοι τῶν περὶ σπορὰν καὶ φυτουργίαν ἐπιστήμονες, οἱ δὲ ἀγελάρχαι, παντοδαπῶν θρεμμάτων ἱγμόνες, ἐνοι δὲ σημήνη μελιττῶν ἐπιτροπεύουσιν. 11. 9. ἄλλοι δὲ δημιουργοὶ τῶν κατὰ τέχνας εἰσὶν, ὑπὲρ τοῦ μηδὲν ὅποι ἀναγκαῖοι χρείαν βιάζονται παθεῖν, οὐδὲν ἀναβαλλόμενοι τῶν εἰς πορισμὸν ἀνυπαίτιων. 11. 10. ἐκ δὴ τῶν οὗτως διαφερόντων ἐκαστῷ τὸν μισθὸν λαβόντες ἐνὶ διδόσι τῷ χειροτονηθέντι ταμίᾳ, λαβὼν δὲ ἐκείνος αὐτίκα τάπιτηδεῖα ὁνεῖται καὶ παρέχει τροφάς ἀφθόνους καὶ πᾶλα ὅν ὁ ἀνθρώπων βίος χρειῶθη. 11. 11. οἱ δὲ ὁμοδίαιτοι καὶ ὁμοτράπεζοι καθ’ ἐκάστην ἡμέραν εἰσὶν τοῖς αὐτοῖς ἀσμενιζομένης, ὁλιγοδέιας ἐραστεῖ, πολυτέλειαν ὡς ψυχὴς καὶ σώματος νόσον ἐκτρέπομενοι. 11. 12. κοινῆ δ’ οὐ τράπεζα μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ ἔσθης αὐτοῖς ἐστὶ πρόκεινται γὰρ χειμῶν μὲν στιφραὶ χλαῖναι, θέρει δ’ ἐξωμίδες εὔτελεῖς, ὡς εὐμαρῶς ἐξεῖναι τῷ βουλομένῳ ἢν ἢν ἐθελήσῃ λαβεῖν, ἐπειδὴ καὶ τὰ ἐνὸς ἀπάντων καὶ τὰ πάντων ἔμπαλιν ἐνὸς ὑπείληπται. 11. 13. καὶ μὴν εἰ τις αὐτῶν ἀσθενήσειεν, ἐκ τῶν κοινῶν νοσηλεύεται θεραπευόμενος ταῖς ἀπάντων ἐπιμελείαις καὶ φροντίσων. οἱ δὲ δὴ πρεσβύτωτα, καὶ εἰ τὰ χρόνια ἄτεκνοι, καθάπερ οὐ πολύπαιδες μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ σφόδρα εὔπαιδες, ἐν εὐτυχιστάτῳ καὶ λιπαρωτάτῳ γῆρᾳ τὸν βίον εἰώθασι καταλύειν, ὑπὸ τοσοῦτων προνομίας ἀξιούμενοι καὶ τιμῆς ἐκουσίως γνώμη μᾶλλον 440
lasting than those of the athlete in as much as they can still be plied with vigour when that of the body is past its prime. 11. 8. Some of them labour on the land skilled in sowing and planting, some as herds­men taking charge of every kind of cattle and some superintend the swarms of bees. 11. 9. Others work at the handicrafts to avoid the sufferings which are forced upon us by our indispensable requirements and shrink from no innocent way of getting a livelihood. 11. 10. Each branch when it has received the wages of these so different occupations gives it to one person who has been appointed as treasurer. He takes it and at once buys what is necessary and provides food in abundance and anything else which human life requires. 11. 11. Thus having each day a common life and a common table they are content with the same conditions, lovers of frugality who shun expensive luxury as a disease of both body and soul. 11. 12. And not only is their table in common but their clothing also. For in winter they have a stock of stout coats ready and in summer cheap vests,\(^a\) so that he who wishes may easily take any garment he likes, since what one has is held to belong to all and conversely what all have one has. 11. 13. Again if anyone is sick he is nursed at the common expense and tended with care and thoughtfulness by all. The old men too even if they are childless are treated as parents of a not merely numerous but very filial family and regularly close their life with an exceedingly prosperous and comfortable old age; so many are those who give them precedence and honour as their due and minister to them as a duty voluntarily and deliberately ac­

\(^a\) Or " tunics," cf. De Vit. Cont. 38.
η φύσεως ἀνάγκη θεραπεύειν ἄξιοντων.

11. 14. ἐτὶ τούτων ὅπερ ἡ μόνον ἡ μάλιστα τὴν κοινωνίαν ἐμελλε διαλύειν ὡς ἔνδειξτερον ἰδόντες γάμον παρατίθεσαι μετὰ τοῦ καὶ διαφερόντως ἀσκεῖν ἐγκράτειαν. Ἐσσαίων γὰρ οὖν ἀγαθεῖς ἀγείται γυναῖκα, διότι φίλαυτον ἡ γυνὴ καὶ ζηλοτυποῦσιν ὠν μετρίως καὶ διευόν ἀνδρὸς ᾁθὶ παλεῦσαι καὶ συνεχείς γοητεῖας ὑπάγεσθαι. 11. 15. μελετήσασα

[634] γὰρ θώπας λόγους καὶ τὴν ἄλλην ὑπόκρισιν ὡς ἐπὶ σκηνῆς, ὤψεις καὶ ἀκοὰς όταν δειλασι, διαπαθημένων οἰα ὑπηκόων τὸν ἤγεμόνα νοῦν φενακίζει. 11. 16. παίδες δὲ εἰ γένοιτο, φρονήματος ὑποπλησθεῖσα καὶ παρρησίας ὡς κατ᾽ εἰρωνείαν πρότερον ὑπούλως ὑπηνίττετο, ταῦτα ἀπ᾽ εὐ-381 τολμοτέρου θράσους ἐκλαλεῖ καὶ ἀναισχυντοῦσα βιαζοίται πράττειν ὧν ἐκαστον κοινωνίας ἑχθρόν. 11. 17. ὁ γὰρ ἡ γυναῖκος φίλτροις ἐνδεθεὶς ἡ τέκνων ἁνάγκη φύσεως προκηδόμενος οὐκέτι πρὸς ἄλλους ὁ αὐτὸς ἔστιν, ἀλλ᾽ ἐτέρος λέληθε γεγονός, ἀτ᾽ ἐλευθέρου δοῦλος.

11. 18. Οὐτῶς γοῦν ὁ βίος ἔστιν αὐτῶν περιμάχητος, ὥστε οὐκ ἰδιῶται μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ μεγάλοι βασιλεῖς ἀγάμενοιν τοὺς ἄνδρας τεθήσαι καὶ τὸ σεμύνον αὐτῶν ἀποδοχαῖς καὶ τιμαίς ἐτὶ μᾶλλον σεμνοποιοῦσι.

1 Other editions γέγονε λεληθῶς.

<sup>a</sup> Cf. ἑρίδες ἐκ πάθους γυναικείου, ζηλοτυπίας Spec. Leg. i. 108. This diatribe must not, I think, be taken as Philo’s definite opinion, but rather as what might be plausibly argued by the Essenes.
HYPOTHETICA, 11. 13–18

tected rather than enforced by nature.
11. 14. Furthermore they eschew marriage because they clearly discern it to be the sole or the principal danger to the maintenance of the communal life, as well as because they particularly practise continence. For no Essene takes a wife, because a wife is a selfish creature, excessively jealous and an adept at beguiling the morals of her husband and seducing him by her continued impostures. 11. 15. For by the fawning talk which she practises and the other ways in which she plays her part like an actress on the stage she first ensnares the sight and hearing, and when these subjects as it were have been duped she cajoles the sovereign mind. 11. 16. And if children come, filled with the spirit of arrogance and bold speaking she gives utterance with more audacious hardihood to things which before she hinted covertly and under disguise, and casting off all shame she compels him to commit actions which are all hostile to the life of fellowship. 11. 17. For he who is either fast bound in the love lures of his wife or under the stress of nature makes his children his first care ceases to be the same to others and unconsciously has become a different man and has passed from freedom into slavery.

11. 18. Such then is the life of the Essenes, a life so highly to be prized that not only commoners but also great kings look upon them with admiration and amazement, and the approbation and honours which they give add further veneration to their venerable name.
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(DE PROVIDENTIA)
INTRODUCTION TO *DE PROVIDENTIA*

As stated in the Preface the fragments from the *De Providentia* recorded by Eusebius stand on a different footing from the extracts from the *Hypothetica*, in that not only they but the whole treatise of which they are a part exist in an Armenian version. It consists of two books, both cast at any rate originally in the form of a dialogue between Philo who maintains the belief that the world is governed by Providence and one Alexander who puts forth his doubts and difficulties. This Alexander may be taken with fair certainty to be Philo's nephew Alexander Tiberius, who afterwards apostatized from Judaism.

As Eusebius's extracts are all drawn from the second book we need not trouble with the much shorter first book. It will be enough to record Wendland's verdict without necessarily accepting it entirely. It amounts to this. It has been worked over by a clumsy hand which has destroyed the interlocutory setting, and torn the thoughts away from their essential order; it includes two large Christian interpolations, but otherwise is genuinely Philonic. The second book, which is twice the length, has no such difficulties. The dialogue is

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*a* The Armenian version was translated into Latin by Aucher in 1822, together with another, *De Animalibus*. It is this Latin translation which is always quoted by commentators and editors of Philo.
clearly maintained throughout. There is nothing which suggests interpolation and the parallelism both of thought and language, at any rate in the part of which the original is preserved by Eusebius, gives overwhelming evidence of its genuineness. This is particularly true of the first part of the second fragment. It is very remarkable therefore that it is more devoid of traces of Judaism than even the *Quod Omn. Prob.* and the *De Aet.* There are no allusions to the O.T., and no mention of Moses; the one and only fact which suggests that the writer is a Jew is the personal allusion to his visit to Jerusalem via Ascalon (§ 64). This has naturally raised doubts in the minds of critics who have not made themselves thoroughly familiar with Philo’s thoughts and diction, but Wendland’s a searching analysis and collection of the parallels can hardly fail to carry conviction to the most sceptical, and even without this any fairly careful reader of Philo will constantly feel, as he goes through the Greek of the *De Providentia*, that he has seen something like this before though he cannot exactly say where it is to be found.

Eusebius has recorded something like two-thirds of Philo’s answers to Alexander’s argument but of the argument itself only the first section of this text, and even this he represents as if it were a statement by Philo himself of the objections which opponents might adduce—there are occasional uses of a second person singular but otherwise there is hardly anything to suggest a dialogue.

The omission of the opponent’s case is not seriously felt either in the short extract given here as Frag-

*a Philos Schrift über die Vorsehung, 1892.*
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ment (1), or in the long answer to the argument that Providence, if it exists, treats the good too badly and the bad too well. For this is a difficulty felt in every age and probably found in every literature from Job and Asaph onwards. Philo was able to manipulate, even if he did not entirely invent, the part which Alexander plays, and he does not seem to have treated his opponent fairly in making him quote as examples of the good fortune of the wicked Polycrates, who was finally impaled, and Dionysius, whose life of perpetual anxiety was proverbial. In the second part of this extract things are rather different and the suppression of Alexander’s difficulties makes the discourse seem disjointed. The references for instance to the country of the Cyclopes, to the habits of swallows, snakes and crocodiles seem a chaotic ramble until we turn to the argumentation to which they are an answer.

For the full understanding of this part of the extract the earlier part of the Armenian version is invaluable. What is its value in the part where the Greek and Armenian stand side by side? As a translation, not much, nor would it be very much, even if Aucher’s Latin was always intelligible, or if we were sure that he had always rendered the Armenian accurately. But in deciding the text it has a value which seems to have been ignored by the editors of the Praeparatio.\(^a\) Where the Latin

\(^a\) I do not see in the editions of either Gaisford or Gifford, who give a critical apparatus, any allusions to the readings of the Armenian, nor in either Heinichen’s or Dindorf’s edition any sign that they have been taken into account, though Aucher’s translation was available to them all. None of them probably knew any Armenian, and Wendland, who as far as I can ascertain, was the first to make use of it
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corresponds closely to the Greek there is often some word or phrase which clearly points to a variant from the text of all or most of the mss. of Eusebius and constitutes an important independent authority. Several examples of this will be found in the notes.

What was said in the introduction to Quod Omn. Prob., that it may probably be ascribed to an earlier stage in Philo's spiritual life when his mind was more occupied with Greek philosophy and he had not yet settled down to his great task of interpreting the Pentateuch in the light of that philosophy, may be said of this treatise and also of the De Aet. if that is his work.

The following is an analysis of the extracts:

First fragment—The Divine artist in creating the Cosmos may be held to have accomplished what human artists aim at, namely, to use exactly the right amount of matter.

Second fragment—Alexander says that the wicked as a rule fare best and the good fare worst and that this shows that human life is not governed by Providence (1). Philo replies that if God does not at once punish the wicked it is on the same principle as that a father does not at once cast off a profligate for this purpose, tells us that he was equally ignorant of it, but he had great help from Conybeare, who was a distinguished Armenian scholar.

An Armenian version also exists for several treatises in the six volumes of Cohn and Wendland and is frequently cited by them, and these citations have been occasionally noted in this translation, though I do not remember many places except in the De Vit. Cont. where it has had much influence on them. They had, I suppose, no authoritative version of the Armenian like Aucher's to assist them.
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son (2-6). Also that the wicked are never really happy (7-8). The external goods valued by men are not valued by God or by the wise (9-10). Gold and silver are but lumps of earth though we fight for their possession (10-12). So with clothes, so with reputation (13). Bodily strength (14). Beauty (15). All these the true philosopher despises (16). The physician who is called in to attend a king does not waste time in admiring the royal trappings but goes straight to his patient (17). So, too, the physician of the soul should treat spiritual maladies and not be dazzled by external things or misled by the judgement of the evil world (18-20). It is no wonder therefore that the sages defied poverty (21) and the ill-treatment they receive is a necessary consequence of the moral atmosphere around them, even as the rain falls upon the just and the unjust (22-23). Alexander has cited the cases of Polycrates and the elder Dionysius. Polycrates' ultimate fate and his life of anxiety is an answer to this (24-25). And so too with Dionysius—witness the stories of his suspicions of his wife (26-28) and of Damocles (29-30). This is followed by general reflections on the mental sufferings sustained by such as these (30-32). The fate of the Phocian leaders who robbed the temple at Delphi shows that Heaven sometimes sends an immediate punishment for sin (33-34). And if tyrants sometimes remain unpunished we must remember first that God's judgement of their deserts are surer than ours (35-36) and also that they may be ministers sent to purge a sinful land, just as he sends pestilence and the like for the same purpose (37-42).

In the second part of this discourse he deals first
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with the disasters caused by natural phenomena, such as storms. All these are explained on the theory of "attendant circumstances" on the primary works of nature which are rightly regarded as providential (43-46). At the same time these attendant circumstances may be indirectly useful and illustrations of this are given (47-50). Phenomena which we do not understand, at any rate give an opportunity for research which is in itself valuable (51-52). The same applies to earthquakes and pestilences which are not to be regarded as Divine judgement (this seems to contradict 41). And that some even of the just should suffer from them is as inevitable as their participation in the dangers of a storm (53-55). Other points which Alexander has raised are then dealt with.\(^a\) The existence of savage beasts is no reflection on Providence. Hunting them develops courage and the less courageous can easily guard against them if they are reasonably careful (56-58). Reptiles if generated from putrefaction may be classed as "attendant circumstances" (59), if generated in the ordinary way they may be accounted for on the grounds that their poisons are useful in compounding drugs and also it is suggested that they are sent as ministers of punishment (60-61). Alexander had also made a point of their hiding in houses, which Philo denies. At any rate if they sometimes do so it is the accumulation of rubbish which brings them (62). He also asked why Providence made the swallow frequent houses while the birds which we eat keep away. Philo replies that

\(^a\) The objections raised by Alexander, which are indispensable for understanding the latter part of the treatise, are for convenience stated again more fully in the notes to the text.

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the swallows know that men will not hurt them, and illustrates this by the habits of the pigeons at Ascalon where they may not be eaten, and the crocodiles in parts where they are held in honour by the Egyptians (63-65). Alexander contrasted the fertility according to Homer of the land of the unjust Cyclopes with the barrenness of Greece, the country of the wise. The story of the Cyclopes, says Philo, is a fable and the dry climate of Greece though bad for the vegetation is good for intellect (66-68). Again he asks, why should Providence create animals and scents, both of which pander to luxury? Philo replies that we need not eat animal flesh and that scents of flowers have other uses (69-71). He concludes by saying that he thinks he has given a satisfactory answer to Alexander's difficulties.
Περὶ δὲ τοῦ ποσοῦ τῆς οὐσίας, εἰ δὴ γέγονεν ὄντως, ἔκεινο λεκτέον. ἔστοχάσατο πρὸς τὴν τοῦ κόσμου γένεσιν ὁ Θεὸς αὐταρκεστάτης ὡς 

μὴ ἐνδείκνυτιν ὕπερβάλλοι. καίγαρ ἄν τοῖς μὲν κατὰ μέρος τεχνίταις, ὅπως τι δημιουργοῖεν, καὶ μᾶλιστα τῶν πολυτελῶν, τὸ ἐν ὀλλαῖς αὐταρκεῖσταίς, σταθμήσαται, τὸν δὲ ἀριθμὸν καὶ μέτρα καὶ τὰ ἐν τούτοις ἱσότητας ἀνευρήκοτα μὴ φροντίσαι τοῦ ἱκανοῦ. λέξω δὴ μετὰ παρρησίας, ὅτα ὲν σίν οὐτοῦ ὕπερβάλλοιν ὑπείρασθαι μὲν τῶν πολυτελῶν, τὸ φροντίσαι τοῦ ἱκανοῦ, λέξω δή μετά παρρησίας, ὅτι οὐτοῦ ἐλάττονος οὐτε πλείονος οὐσίας ἔδει τῷ κόσμῳ πρὸς κατασκευὴν, ἐπεὶ οὐκ ἦν ἐγένετο τέλεος, οὐδὲ ἐν πάσι τοῖς μέρεσιν ὀλόκληρος· εἰ δὲ δεδημιουργημένος ἐκ τελείας οὐσίας ἀπετελεσθῇ πανσόφου γὰρ τὴν τέχνην ἰδιον, πρὶν ἀρχαῖα τίνος κατασκευῆς, τὴν ἱκανήν ἰδεῖν ὑλήν. ἀνθρωπος μὲν οὖν κἂν εἰ τῶν ἀλλών τὴν ἐπιστήμην διαφέροι, μὴ δυνάμενος κατὰ τὸ παντελῆ ἐκφυγεῖν τὴν συγγενῆ τῶν θνητῶν πλάνην, ἀπατῶτο

The context of this fragment (Aucher, pp. 78-82) is as follows: Alexander has asked why, if God created the world, was just this amount of matter used and why just four elements taken. Philo, conceding for the sake of argument that matter may have been unoriginate, argues that this

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As to the quantity of the substance assuming that it was really created what we have to say is this. God estimated for the creation of the world just sufficient matter that there should be neither deficiency nor excess. For it would be monstrous to suppose that while particular craftsmen when framing something, especially anything costly, estimate what material is just sufficient, He who invented numbers, measures and equality in them had no thought for what was adequate. I will say indeed with all confidence that the world needed neither less nor more substance for its construction, since otherwise it would not have been made perfect nor complete in all its parts, whereas actually it was made excellently out of a perfect substance. For it is a characteristic of a complete master of his art to see before he begins any constructive work that he has sufficient material. Now a man even if superior to everyone in knowledge may perhaps, as he cannot escape the errors congenital to mortals, be deceived as to the quantity of would not exclude the work of Providence in shaping it into the Cosmos.

Presumably the οὐσία. But I do not understand the clause, for the assumption on which he is arguing is that it was not created by God. See App. p. 541.
ὁδόν περὶ τὴν ποσότητα τῆς ὑλῆς, ὡστε τεχνιτεύοι· τὸτε μὲν ὡς ἐλάττονον1 προστιθέναι, τότε δὲ ὡς περιττῆς ἀφαιρεῖν· ὃ δὲ πηγῇ τις ἐν ἐπιστημῶν, ἐνδέον ἡ περιττεύον οὐδὲν ἐμελλεν ὑποβάλλεσθαι, μέτροις ἂτε χρώμενος εἰς ἀκρίβειαν 337 ὑπερφυώς πεπονημένοις ἀπασιν ἐπαινετοῖς. ὃ δὲ βουλόμενος ἄλλως ὑθλεῖν οὐκ ὡς φθάνοι καὶ τὰ πάντων ἑργα τῶν τεχνιτῶν ἀντία2 τιθέμενος, ὡς ἀμεινὸν τῆς κατασκευῆς ἐπιλαχόντα προσθέσει τινὸς ἢ μειώσει τῶν ἐν ὑλαις, ἀλλὰ γὰρ σοφιστείας μὲν ἑργον εὑρεσιλογεῖν, σοφίας δὲ ἐκαστα διερευνάν τῶν ἐν τῇ φύσει.

1 MSS. ἐλάττον εὑρεσιλογεῖν.
2 So Viger, Heinichen and Gifford for MSS. αἰτία. I should myself prefer to retain αἰτία with Gaisford and Dindorf but insert ἄν after ἀμεινὸν = they are sure to bring it against the work of craftsmen as a whole that it might have been improved by using less or more, i.e. no human work uses an absolutely perfect amount of material and the same may be
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material needed when he practises his craft. He may sometimes find it too little and have to add, sometimes excessive and have to take away. But He who is as it were the fountain head of all knowledge was sure to provide nothing deficient or superfluous, since the standards which He employs are all to be extolled as elaborated with absolute accuracy. A person who wishes to waste his time in foolishness is sure also to confront us at once with the works of all other craftsmen as having improved their construction by adding to or diminishing the material. But we leave futile argument for the sophist: the task of wisdom is to investigate all that nature has to show.

\(^a\) For this idiomatic use of \(\text{o\'n } \text{av } \phi\theta\acute{a}v\alpha\nu\), to express an immediate or inevitable action, see lexicon.

true of the Cosmos. The Armenian seems to have read \(\alpha\tau\tau\alpha\) ("cunctorum opera artificum accusabit"), though what follows seems widely different from the Greek.
Κατασκευάζει δὲ τὸν λόγον τοῦτον τὸν τρόπον.

Πρόνοιαν εἶναι λέγεις ἐν τοσαύτῃ τῶν πραγμάτων ταραχὴ καὶ συγχύσει; τί γὰρ τῶν κατὰ τὸν ἀνθρώπινον βίον διατέτακται; τί μὲν οὖν οὐκ ἀταξίας γέμει καὶ φθορᾶς; ἢ μόνος ἄγνοεῖς, ὅτι τοῖς μὲν κακίστοις καὶ πονηροτάτοις ἁφθόνα ἑπικωμάζει τὰ ἀγαθά, πλοῦτος, εὐδοξία, τιμαῖ παρὰ τοῖς πλῆθεσιν ἀφικνομένα μέν, ὑγεία, εὐαισθησία, κάλλος, ἰσχύς, ἀπόλαυσις ἡδονῶν ἀκώλυτος, διὰ τε παρασκευῶν περιουσίαν καὶ διὰ τὴν εἰρηνικωτάτην σώματος εὔμοιρίαν; οἱ δὲ φρονήσεως καὶ αρετῆς ἀπάσης ἐρασταί τε καὶ ἀσκηταὶ πάντες εἰσίν, ὥστε δὲν φάναι, πένητες, ἀφανεῖς, ἀδοξοὶ, ταπεινοὶ.

Ταῦτα εἰς ἀνάσκευην καὶ μυρία ἄλλα πλείω τούτων εἰπών,

a See Introduction, p. 448.

b Alexander goes on to enlarge on all these injustices and to argue that they cannot be the work of a just providence. He then mentions specific cases, Polycrates and the elder Dionysius, both of which are later answered by Philo. He also says that the fall of the son of Dionysius is not to the point, for a just ruler does not punish the children for the guilt of the father (see § 55). He then speaks of the martyrdoms of Socrates, Zeno and Anaxarchus (cf. Quod Omn. Prob. 106 ff.). Philo in his reply does not deal with these.
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(FRAGMENT 2)

This is the method in which he conducts this discussion. 1 Alexander says a:

"Do you maintain the existence of providence amid this vast welter and confusion of things? For what part of human life is subject to order, nay, what is not brimful of disorder and corruption? Or are you alone ignorant that to the worst and vilest of men good things in abundance come crowding in, wealth, high repute, honours paid to them by the masses, again authority, health with efficiency of the senses, beauty, strength, unimpeded enjoyment of pleasures through the abundance of their resources and the bodily well-being free from all disturbance which they possess, while the lovers and practisers of wisdom and every virtue are almost universally poor, obscure, of little repute and in a humble position?"

After stating these and a host of others b on the negative 2

In fact Alexander is represented as more or less answering himself. For he says of Zeno that by his endurance he earned high praise and of Anaxarchus that he could not really suffer affliction, "qui divinae partis dignus est factus."

The first part of Philo's reply is not given by Eusebius. In it in answer to Alexander's assertion of the poverty of the just, he points out that Democritus and Anaxagoras voluntarily resigned their property (cf. De Vit. Cont. 14 and 15, where a somewhat different view of their conduct is taken).

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εξῆς ἐπιλύεται τὰς ἀντιθέσεις διὰ τούτων.

Οὐ τύραννος ὁ Θεός, ὀμότητα καὶ βίαν καὶ ὁσα [635] δεσπότης ἀνημέρου | ἀρχῆς ἐργα ἐπιτετηδευκῶς, ἀλλὰ βασιλεὺς ἢμερον καὶ νόμιμον ἀνημένος ἡγεμονίαν, μετὰ δικαιοσύνης τὸν σύμπαντα ὀφρα- εἶ δὲ καὶ κόσμου βραβεύει. βασιλεῖ δὲ οὐκ ἔστιν πρόσρησις οἰκειοτέρα πατρός. ὁ γὰρ ἐν ταῖς συγγένειαις πρὸς τέκνα γονεῖς, τούτῳ βασιλεύει, μὲν πρὸς πόλιν, πρὸς δὲ κόσμον ὁ Θεός, δύο κάλλιστα φύσεως θεσμοὺς ἀκινήτους ἀδιαλύτως ἐνώσει ἄρμοσάμενος, τὸ ἡγεμονικὸν μετὰ τοῦ κηδεμονικοῦ.

4 καθάπερ οὖν τῶν ἀσώτων νιέων οὐ περιορώσων οἱ τοκέες, ἀλλὰ τῆς ἀτυχίας οίκτον λαμβάνοντες περιέπουσι καὶ τημελοῦσι, νομίζοντες ἐχθρῶν ἀσπούδων ἐργον εἶναι κακοπραγίαις ἐπεμβαίνειν, φίλων δὲ καὶ συγγενῶν ἐπελαφρίζειν τὰ πταισματα.

5 πολλάκις δὲ καὶ τούτως μᾶλλον ἡ τοῖς σώφροσιν ἐπιδαφιλεύομενοι χαρίζονται, σαφῶς εἰδότες, ὡς ἐκεῖνος μὲν ἄφθονος εἰς εὐπορίαν ἀφορμὴ πάρεστιν ἡ σωφροσύνη, τοῖς δὲ ἐλπὶς μία οἱ γονεῖς, ἡς εἰ ἐλπὶς μία οἱ γονεῖς, ἢς εἰ ἐλπὶς μία οἱ γονεῖς, ἡς εἰ 6 σφαλεῖεν, ἀπορήσουσι καὶ τῶν ἀναγκαῖων. τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον καὶ ὁ Θεός, λογικῆς συνέσεως πατήρ ὁ, ἀπάντων μὲν τῶν λογισμοῦ μεμοιραμένων 387 κηδεται, προμηθεῖται δὲ καὶ τῶν ὑπαιτίως ζωντῶν, ἀμα μὲν καρδίαν εἰς ἐπανάθημαν αὐτοῖς δίδοις, ἀμα δὲ καὶ τὴν ἱλεων φύσιν αὐτοῦ μὴ ὑπερβαίνων,
side a he next proceeds to refute the objections as follows.

God is not a tyrant who has made a practice of cruelty and violence and all the deeds committed by a despot who rules by ruthlessness, but a king invested with a kindly and law-abiding sovereignty who governs the whole heaven and earth with justice. Now for a king there is no fitter name than father, for what the father in family life is to the children the king is to the state and God is to the world,—God who under the immutable laws of nature has joined in indissoluble union two things most excellent, governorship and guardianship. Now parents do not lose thought for their wastrel children but, in pity for their unhappy state, bestow on them care and attention, deeming that it is only mortal enemies who take advantage of the miseries of others to trample on them, while friends and kinsmen should lighten their downfall. Often too they lavish their kindness on the wastrels more than on the well behaved, knowing well that these have in their sober disposition a plentiful source of prosperity while the wastrels' one hope is in their parents, and if this fail them they will lack the very necessaries of life. In the same way God too the Father of reasonable intelligence has indeed all who are endowed with reason under His care but takes thought also for those who live a misspent life, thereby giving them time for reformation and also keeping within the bounds of His merciful nature, which has for its attendant

b Eusebius at this point has omitted some words "and therefore in the greatest of poets, Homer, Zeus is called the father of gods and men."

c On the line of thought taken in this section see App. p. 541.
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ἡς ὀπαδὸς ἄρετὴ καὶ φιλανθρωπία γέγονεν, ἐπαξία τὸν θείον περιπολεῖν κόσμον.

7 "Ενα μὲν δὴ λόγον τούτον, ὁ ψυχή, δέξαι τέως αὐτοῦ παρακαταθήκην, ἔτερον δὲ συννῷδον καὶ ἐναρμόνιον αὐτῷ τοιόνδε. μὴ τοσοῦτον ποτε ψευσθῇς τῆς ἁλθείας, ὡς εὐδαίμονα τυν τῶν φαύλων εἶναι νομίζαι, κἂν πλουσιώτερος μὲν ἢ Κροίσου, Λυγκέως δ’ ὀξυπέστερος, ἀνδρεῖότερος δὲ τοῦ Κροτωνιάτου Μίλωνος, καλλίων δὲ Γαυμήδους,

"διν καὶ ἀνηρεύσαντο θεοὶ Δὶ οἴνοχοευνεν, κάλλεος εἶνεκα οἶο."

8 τὸν γοῦν ὅδιον δαίμονα, λέγω δὲ τὸν ἕαυτοῦ νοῦν, μυρίων ὅσων δεσποτῶν δοῦλον ἀποφήνας, ἔρωτός, ἐπιθυμίας, ἡδονῆς, φόβου, λύπης, ἀφροσύνης, ἀκολασίας, δειλίας, ἀδικίας, οὐκ ἂν εἶναι ποτε δύναιτο εὐδαίμων, κἂν οἱ πολλοὶ σφαλλόμενοι κρίσεως ἁλθοῦσι νομίζουσι, δεκασθέντες ὑπὸ κακοῦ διδύμου, τῆς καὶ κενῆς δόξης, δεινών παλέυσαι καὶ παραγαγεῖν ἀνερμάτιστους ψυχάς, περὶ ἄ γενος τὸ πλεῖστον ἀνθρώπων. εἰ μέντοι

1 The Armenian seems to have read ὐψυχή ("in animum accipe"), which certainly seems more appropriate to a dialogue. On the other hand such an address to the soul or mind in general is thoroughly Philonic, cf. De Cher. 29, De Sac. 20; and in these sections 6-18 he is so seriously pursuing one of his favourite doctrines that we may well believe him to have cast aside for a moment the thought of a dialogue.

a Or perhaps "traverse," i.e. leave no part unvisited, as 462
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virtue and loving kindness well fitted to keep watch as sentry a around God’s world.

Here is one thought. Receive it, O soul, and ponder it awhile as a trust committed to thee by Him, but receive also another in harmony and agreement with it. It is this. Mayst thou never be so led astray from the truth as to think that happiness is the lot of any of the wicked though he excel Croesus in wealth, Lynceus in keen sight, Milo of Croton in muscular strength and Ganymede in beauty,

He who was for his beauty by the gods
Caught up to be the cupbearer of Zeus. b

Surely c if he has brought the ruler of his lot, d that is his mind, into slavery to a host of masters, love, lust, pleasure, fear, grief, folly, incontinence, cowardice, injustice, happiness can never be his lot, however much it seems so to the multitude led astray from true judgement, seduced by the twofold pest, vain pomps and vain imaginations which are so highly skilled to cajole and mislead unballasted souls and are the source of disaster e to most of the human race. If 9

God’s scouts observing the needs of all. Hardly “pervade,” as Gifford.

b II. xx. 234.

c Philo’s γούν can rarely be translated (as by Gifford here) by the traditional “at least.” It generally serves to introduce an example or illustration and may be given by “thus.” Here it introduces a definition of the φαύλος which shows his essential κακοδαιμονία.

d For τὸν ἰδιὸν δαίμονα cf. τὸν οἰκείον δαίμονα Flaccus 168. The force of the adjective in both cases is to mark that δαίμων here indicates the genius or personified fate of the individual and not a demon or supernatural being in general. (So perhaps rather than as in note on p. 394.)

e Or “of anxiety.” On Philo’s use of this phrase see App. p. 542.

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τὸ τῆς ψυχῆς | ὃμιμα τείνας βουλήθεις περιαθρήσαι
Θεοῦ πρόνοιαν, ὡς ἐνεστὶν ἀνθρωπίνῳ λογισμῷ,
τρανωτέραν τὴν τοῦ προς ἀλήθειαν ἀγαθοῦ λαβῶν
φαντασίαν, γελάσῃ τὰ παρ’ ἦμιν, ἃ τέως ἔθαύμαζες.
αἰε γὰρ ἰπποῦσι τῶν κρειττόνων τιμᾶται τὰ
χείρονα, τὴν ἐκείνων κληρονομοῦντα τάξιν ἐπι-
φανέντων δὲ ὑποστέλλει, δευτερείοις ἄθλων ἄρκο-
µεν. καταπλαγεὶς οὖν τὸ θεοειδῆς ἐκεῖνο ἀγαθὸν
tε καὶ καλὸν, πάντως ἐννοήσεις, ὃτι παρὰ Θεῷ
τῶν εἰρημένων πρότερον οὐδὲν καθ' ἐαυτὸ τῆς
ἀγαθοῦ μοίρας ἥξιωται, διότι τὰ μὲν ἀργύρου
μέταλλα καὶ χρυσοῦ γῆς ἐστὶ ἡ φαυλοτάτη μοῖρα,
tῆς πρὸς καρπῶν ἀνεμένης γένεσιν ὅλῳ καὶ τῶ
παντὶ λειπομένῃ. οὐ γάρ ἔσθ' ὁμοιον τροφῆς, ἃς
ἀνευ λημένων, εὐπορία1 χρημάτων. μία τού-
tων ἐστὶ βάσανος ἐναργεστάτη λιμός, ὃ τὸ πρὸς
ἀλήθειαν ἀναγκαῖον καὶ χρήσιμον δοκιμάζεται.
θησαυροὺς γὰρ τοὺς πανταχοῦ πάντας ἀντικα-
ταλλάξατ' ἀν τις βραχείας ποτὲ τροφῆς ἀσμενος.
12 ὅταν δὲ ἡ τῶν ἀναγκαίων ἀφθονία, μυρίῳ φορᾶς
〈καὶ〉 ἀκατασχέτω πλήθει ῥυεῖσα, κατὰ πόλεις
ἀναχέται, τοῖς τῆς φύσεως ἀγαθοῖς ἐντρυφῶντες,
388 ἐπ’ αὐτῶν μόνων οὐκ ἄξιομεν ἱστασθαι, κόρον
δ’ ὑβριστὴν ἡγεμόνα τοῦ βίου ποιησάμενοι, ἀργύρου
τε καὶ χρυσοῦ κτήσεως ἐπαποδύντες, ἄπασι, παρ’
ὅν ἂν τι κερδανέιν ἐπεπλήσωμεν, κοινόμεθα
1 Gifford following Mangey reads εὐπορία ἀκατασχέτω χρημάτων,
believing that ὁμοιοῖς cannot be followed by a genitive. But
of. De Vit. Cont. 41. If emendation is required rather
τροφῆς, cf. the Armenian “ non est similis cibo . . . opum
possessio.”
indeed you would strain the soul's eyes to contemplate the providence of God as far as human reason can do so, you will gain a clearer vision of the true good and laugh to scorn what here are reckoned as goods which hitherto had your admiration. For in the absence of the better things worse are always held in honour and succeed to the position which belongs to the better, but when these return the worse withdraw and have to be content with the second prize. Then awestruck at that divine revelation, so good and excellent, you will surely recognize that none of the things mentioned above ranks of itself in the sight of God as a good; for mines of silver and gold are the most worthless portion of the earth, utterly and absolutely inferior to that which is given up to the production of fruit. For there is no likeness between abundance of money, and the food without which we cannot live. The one clearest proof of this is famine, which tests what is truly necessary and useful. For anyone would gladly exchange all the treasures in the world for a little food. But when the lavish supply of necessaries spreads in a vast resistless flood from city to city we enjoy the luxury of these good gifts of nature but are not content to confine ourselves to them. We take insolent satiety as our guide in life and prepare ourselves for the task of acquiring gold and silver, armed with every means by which we may hope to get some gain, like blind men whose mind

\[ a \) Cf. Flacc. 91 and see note on De Virt. 162.

\[ b \] Both ἐπαυδάσσεαι and κοινεσθαι are favourite words of Philo (cf. Flacc. 128, Hyp. 11. 6 and Flacc. 104). When they occur together as here and in Quod Det. 32 and De Abr. 256 they presumably indicate the preliminary and the final stage in the preparation for any action, the stripping preceding the powdering.
καθάπερ τυφλοί, μηκέτι τῇ διανοίᾳ βλέποντες ὑπὸ ϕιλαργυρίας ὅτι γῆς εἰσὶν ὅγκοι, περὶ ὁν ἐκ μὲν
eἰρήνης συνεχῆς καὶ ἀδιάστατος πόλεμος. ἐσθή-
tέσ γε μὴν προβάτων εἰσίν, ὡς οἱ ποιηταὶ πον
φασίν, ἀνθεος, κατὰ δὲ τὴν δημουργία τέχνην, ὑφαντῶν ἔτσινος. εἰ δὲ τις ἐπὶ δόξῃ μέγα φρονεῖ,
tὴν παρὰ τῶν φαύλων ἀποδοχὴν ἀσπαζόμενος,
ἰστὼ μὲν καὶ αὐτὸς φαιλὸς ὅν τὸ γὰρ ὄμοιον
χαίρει τῷ ὄμοιῷ. εὐχέσθω δὲ καθαρσίων μετα-
λαχῶν ἱαθῆναι τὰ ὅτα, δι’ ὃν αἱ μεγάλαι ψυχῆ
νόσοι κατασκήπτουσι. μαθέτωσαν δὲ καὶ οὐσί ἐπ’
eὐτονία πεφύσηται μὴ ὑπαυχενεῖν, ἀπιδόντες εἰς
tὰς τῶν ἡμέρων καὶ ἀπαθάςιν ἡμέρων ἀμυθῆτος
ἀγέλας, αἰς ἰσχῦς καὶ ρώμη συγγεγέννηται. τῶν
γὰρ ἀποπωτάτων ἔστιν ἐπὶ θηρίων ἀρετῶς, καὶ
tαῦτα παρευημεροῦμενον ὑπ’ αὐτῶν, ἄνθρωπον
ὁντα σεμνύνεσθαι. διὰ τὶ δ’ ἢν τις εἰ δὴ φρονῶν
ἐπὶ σώματος εὐμορφία ἀγάλλωτο, ἣν βραχύς
καίρος ἐσβεσε, πρὶν ἐπὶ μήκουστον ἀνθήσαι, | τὴν
ἀπατηλὴν αὐτῆς ἀκμὴν ἀμαυρώσας, καὶ ταὐθ’
ὁρῶν ἐν ἁψύχοις περιμάχητα καλλιγράφων ἔργα
καὶ πλαστῶν καὶ ἀλλών τεχνιτῶν, ἐν τε ἡγη-
ρίϕασι, καὶ ἀνδρίασι, καὶ υφασμάτων ποικίλαις,
ἐν ἐλλάδι καὶ βαρβάρῳ κατὰ πόλιν ἐκάστην
ἐυδοκίμουντα; τούτων οὖν, ὅπερ ἐφῆν, οὐδὲν
παρὰ Θεῶ τῆς <τοῦ> ἀγαθοῦ μοίρας ἥξισται. καὶ
tὶ θαυμάζομεν εἰ μὴ παρὰ Θεῶ; οὐδὲ γὰρ παρὰ
ἀνθρώπως τοῖς θεοφιλέσι, παρ’ οἷς ὁ τά πρὸς
ἀλθείαν ἄγαθὰ καὶ καλὰ τετίμηται, φύσεως μὲν
eὐμοίρου λαχοῦσι, μελέτη δὲ μετ’ ἀσκησεως τὴν
φύσιν ἐπικοσμήσασιν, ὡν ἢ ἄνοδος φιλοσοφία

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through covetousness has lost the power to see that it is for lumps of earth that we forfeit peace and wage a constant and persistent war. As for clothes, they are but what the poets call the flower of the sheep and on the craftsman's side a credit to the weavers. And if anyone prides himself on his prestige and welcomes with open arms the approval of the worthless he may be assured of his own worthlessness, for like delights in like. Let him pray to get purging medicine for his ears, through which pass heavy maladies to strike the soul. And all who puff themselves up on their bodily strength must learn not to be proud necked but turn their eyes to the myriad kinds of animals tame and wild, in which bodily strength and muscle are congenital. It is a monstrous absurdity for a human being to pride himself on excellencies which belong to savage beasts when actually he is outdone in these by them. And why should anyone of good sense glory in bodily beauty which ere it has flowered for its full span is brought to extinction by a brief season which dims the brightness of its delusive prime?—particularly when he sees exhibited in lifeless forms the much prized work of painters, sculptors and other artists, in portraits, statues and cunning tapestry work, works which are famous in every city throughout Greece and the outside world. None of these as I have said is ranked in God's sight as a good. And why should we wonder that God does not accept them as goods?—since neither do godly men accept them, who honour things truly good and excellent, men who have been blest with a gifted nature and by study and exercise have further beautified that nature, men who have been made what they are by genuine

a Cf. II. xiii. 599 and elsewhere οἵος ἄωτρο.
δημιουργὸς. οὔσι δὲ νόθου παιδείας ἐπεμελήθησαν, οὐδὲ τους ἱατροὺς ἐμμηνήσαντο τὸ δούλον ψυχῆς σώμα θεραπεύοντας, οἱ τὴν δέσποιναν ἐπιφάσκοντες ἱάσθαι. ἐκεῖνοι μὲν γὰρ, ἐπειδὰν τις εὐτυχῆς νοσήσῃ, κἂν ὁ μέγας ἤ βασιλεύς, πάνθ' ὑπερβάντες τὰ περίστωα, τοὺς ἀνδρῶνας, τὰς γυναικείαις, γραφάς, ἄργυρον, χρυσὸν, ἀσημον, ἐπίσημον, ἐκπωμάτων ἤ ύψασμάτων πλῆθος, τὸν ἄλλον τῶν βασιλέων ἀοίδιμον κόσμον, ἔτι δὲ τὸν οἰκετικὸν όχλον, καὶ τὴν φίλων ἤ συγγενῶν, ὑπηκόων τῶν ἐν τέλει θεραπείαν ἔπεμβαντες, [τῶν σωματοφυλάκων], ἄραχνοὺς φιλοῦντας, υπηκόων τῶν ἐν τέλει θεραπείαν ἔπεμβαντες, οὕτως δὲ τὸν οἰκετικὸν όχλον, καὶ τῶν περὶ αὐτὸ τὸ σῶμα ἄλογος σωματοφυλάκων, ἄραχνος, υπηκόων τῶν τούτων ἐπιφάσκοντος ωθούσαν, ότι κλίναι λιθοκόλλητοι καὶ ολόχρυσοι θαυμάσαντες, ότι λιθογραφημέναι στρωμναί, ότι στρωμναί, ότι στρωμναί, ότι στρωμναί, ὑπηκόων τῶν τούτων ἐπιφάσκοντος ωθούσαν, ὑπηκόων τῶν τούτων ἐπιφάσκοντος ωθούσαν, ὑπηκόων τῶν τούτων ἐπιφάσκοντος ωθούσαν, ὑπηκόων τῶν τούτων ἐπιφάσκοντος ωθούσαν, ὑπηκόων τῶν τούτων ἐπιφάσκοντος ωθούσαν, ὑπηκόων τῶν τούτων ἐπιφάσκοντος ωθούσαν, ὑπηκόων τῶν τούτων ἐπιφάσκοντος ωθούσαν.

1 mss. ἐξαντε, which Gaisford and Dindorf retain. See App. p. 542.

2 The sentence cannot stand as it is, but I doubt whether Gifford and others are right in regarding τῶν σωμ. as a gloss. The picture seems to have passed from τις εὐτυχῆς to the Great King, and that beside the friends and courtiers he should have bodyguards round his bed is natural enough. I should prefer to read <διὰ> τῶν σωμ. The Armenian is translated by "per custodes corporis." Also perhaps καὶ should be inserted after συγγενῶν.

3 The phrase, for which some mss. have λιθογραφημέναι, is justly suspected both because of λιθοκόλλητοι just above and because jewels do not fit well with bedding or with γράφω or γραφέω. Mangey, who asks "why not λίνον for λίθος?", goes on to suggest λινορραφεῖς or λινορραφοῦμαι (so Dindorf). But is there any serious objection to the formation of 468
But those whose study has been in a spurious culture do not even follow the example of the physicians who treat the body which is the servitor of the soul, though they claim to be healing the mistress. For those physicians of the body, when a man favoured by fortune is sick, even though he be the Great King himself, take no notice of the colonnades, of the men's apartments, of the ladies' bowers, of the pictures, of the silver and gold whether coined or uncoined, of the accumulation of goblets or tapestry work and the rest of the magnificence which adorns kingship. They care not for the multitude of serving men or the friends or kinsmen or subjects in high positions who are in attendance, but make their way to his bed and taking no account of the surroundings of the body itself nor noting with admiration that the beds are inlaid with jewels and of pure gold and that the bedding is of spider-web silk or brocaded, or the coverlets of different kinds of beauty, they go farther and strip the wrap-

a Or perhaps better "which (i.e. μελέτη and ἀσκησις) are produced by genuine philosophy," though philosophy cannot properly be said to create the study. But cf. Quod Omn. Prob. 160.

b Or possibly ὁχλον may be governed by ὑπερβάντες and θεραπείαν ἐάσαντες = "omitting to pay their respects" (to the great people). This would emphasize the antithesis between these physicians and the false physicians of the soul who render homage (προσεκύνουν) to the courtiers (see § 19).

c Or "his clothes," and χλαίνας "blankets" (so Gifford).

λινογραφείω? That it is not known from elsewhere matters little in Philo. The meaning will be the same as that of ἀνθοβαφεῖς De Vit. Cont. 49. Wendland suggests ἡμθο-γραφημένα, cf. De Op. 138. The Armenian has "lapillis descriptum."
άπτονται χειρῶν, καὶ τὰς φλέβας προσπιεζούντες ἀκριβοῦσι τοὺς παλμούς, εἰ σωτηριοὶ πολλάκις δὲ καὶ τοὺς χυτωνίσκους ἀναστείλαντες, εἰ περιπληθής ἐσθ' ή γαστήρ ἐξετάζουσιν. εἰ πεπυρωμένον ο θώραξ, εἰ ἀτακτα ἡ καρδία πηδαί· κάπειτα τὴν οἰκείαν προσφέροντες θεραπείαν.

18 ἔδει δὲ καὶ τοὺς φιλοσόφους ἰατρικήν ὁμολογούντας ἐπιτηδεύειν τῆς φύσει βασιλίδος ψυχῆς, καταφρονεῖν μὲν ἀπάντων ὡσα αἱ κεναὶ δόξαι τυφοπλαστοῦσιν, εἶσι δὲ προσιόντας ἀπτεσθαι διανοίας αὐτῆς, εἰ ὑπ' ὀργῆς ἀνισοτάχεις καὶ παρὰ φύσιν κεκυμνέμοι παλμοί, ἀπτεσθαί καὶ γλώττης, εἰ [638] τραχεία καὶ ] κακήγορος, εἰ πεπορνευκυία καὶ ἄταμιευτος, ἀπτεσθαί καὶ γαστρός, εἰ ἀπλήστω σχήματι ἐπιθυμίας διώδηκε· καὶ συνόλως παθῶν καὶ νοσημάτων καὶ ἀρρωστήματων, εἰ κεκράσθαι δοκεῖ, διερευνάν ἐκαστὸν, ἵνα μὴ διαμαρτάνωσι

19 τῶν προσφόρων εἰς τὸ σῶζειν. νυνὶ δὲ υπὸ τῆς τῶν ἐξω περιαυγασθέντες λαμπρότητος, ἀτε νοητὸν φῶς ἱδεῖν ἀδεινατοῦντες, πλαζόμενοι διετέλεσαν εἰς τὸν αἰώνα, πρὸς μὲν τὸν βασιλέα λογισμὸν φθάσαι μή δυνηθέντες, ἄχρι δὲ τῶν προπυλαίων μόλις ἀφικνούμενοι, καὶ τοὺς ἐπὶ θύρας ἀρετῆς, πλοῦτὸν τε καὶ δόξαν καὶ υγείαν τά συγγενῆ

1 See note a. Mangey suggested φυσήματι or ρέματι. But I should like to read ἀπλήστω σχήματι ἐπιθυμία, cf. De Vit. Cont. 74, Spec. Leg. i. 148, iv. 94. The regular association of this Platonic phrase with the belly makes it very suitable here. I do not know that the change of letters involved is very promising, but it is a remarkable coincidence that in De Mut. 105 the mss. have σχημάτων, which has been with general acceptance corrected to θρεμάτων. But see App. p. 543.
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pings off him and take hold of his hands and squeezing the veins mark carefully the pulsations to see whether they are healthy. And often they draw up the under-vest and make an examination to see whether the belly is over-loaded or the chest inflamed, or the heart-beats irregular, and then they apply the appropriate treatment. So too the philosophers who profess to practise the art of healing that queen of Nature’s making, the soul, should despise all the vain inventions of idle opinion, and passing within take hold of the mind itself, to see whether anger makes its pulsations run at an irregular rate and with unnatural excitement: so too with the tongue to see whether it is rough and evil speaking or bawdy and licentious: so too the belly to see whether it is swollen by an insatiable form of lust; and in general if there appear to be a complication of passions, dis-tempers and infirmities to investigate each of them so as not to miss anything which may serve to restore it to health. As it is, dazzled by the brilliance of external things, because they are unable to see the spiritual light, they have continued to wander for ever, never able to reach King Reason, only just managing to make their way to his portal where, struck with admiration for those who wait at virtue’s doorstep, riches, reputation, health and their kin, they

a Namely gluttony. So rather than as Gifford “some insatiable form.” As Philo has dealt with the particular vices of which the tongue is the instrument, so now with the belly. Possibly λαμαργία or its equivalent has fallen out. But σχήματι itself is open to suspicion. Philo does not seem to use it=form in the sense of “kind.” When it is not used in a literal or geometrical way, it=“guise” or “appearance,” whether external as De Vit. Cont. 30 or moral as in Flacc. 126. For possible corrections see note 1.
τεθαυμακότες, προσεκύνουν. ἀλλὰ γὰρ ὡς ὑπερβολὴ μανίας χρωμάτων κριταῖς χρῆσθαι τυφλοῖς, ἢ κωφοῖς τῶν κατὰ μουσικὴν φθόγγων, οὕτω καὶ φαύλοις ἀνδράσι τῶν πρὸς ἀλήθειαν ἄγαθῶν. καὶ γὰρ οὗτοι τὸ κυριώτατον τῶν ἐν αὐτοῖς διάνοιαν πεπήρωνται, ἦς βαθὺ σκότος ἀφροσύνη κατέχεεν.

εἶτα νῦν θαυμάζομεν, εἰ Σωκράτης καὶ ὁ δείνα ἢ ὁ δείνα τῶν σπουδαίων εἶν πενίᾳ διεσέξαν, ἀνθρωποὶ μὴ δὲν πώποτε τῶν εἰς πορευσμὸν ἑπιτηθεύσαντες, ἀλλὰ μηδὲ ὡσα ἢ παρὰ φίλων πολυχρηματίων ἢ παρὰ βασιλεῶν δωρεάς μεγάλας προτεινόντων [παρὴν] ἀλλεῖν ἀξιώσαντες, ἕνεκα τοῦ μονὸν ἄγαθον καὶ καλὸν τὴν τῆς ἀρετῆς κτήσιν ἥγεισαν, περὶ ἦν πονύμενοι τῶν ἄλλων ἄγαθῶν πάντων ἠλόγουν; τίς δ' οὐκ ἄλογησαι νόθων ἕνεκα προνοίας τῶν γνησίων; εἰ δὲ σώματος θυγατρόις μεταλαχόντες, καὶ κηρῶν γέμοι τῶν ἀνθρωπίνων, καὶ μετὰ τοσοῦτον πλῆθους ἄδικον ζῶντες, δὲν οὐδ' ἀριθμὸν εὐρεῖν εὐποροῦν, ἐπεβουλεύσαν, τί τὴν φύσιν αὐτωμέθα, δέον τὴν τῶν έπιθεμένων κακίζειν ὠμότητα; καὶ γὰρ εἰ ἐν ἀέρι γεγένητο λοιμικῷ, πάντως ὢφειλον νοσήσαν· καταστάσεις δὲ λοιμικῆς μᾶλλον, ἦ ὡς ἢς τὸν, φθοροποιοῦ ἐστὶν ἡ κακία. καὶ γὰρ ὡς ὃποταν ὕποταν μὲν ὄντος, ἀνάγκη τὸν σοφὸν, εἰ ἐν ύπαίθρῳ διάγω, καταβρέχεσθαι, Βορέων δὲ ἐν ψυχρῷ καταπνεόντος ἐγείρεσθαι καὶ ψυχεῖ, θέρους δ' ἀκμαίοντος ἀλειάνεσθαι (ταῖς γὰρ ἔτησίοις τροπαίς τὰ σώματα

1 παρὴν is bracketed by most editors, including Dindorf; Gifford's Apparatus Criticus indicates that it is omitted by most if not all MSS. If retained as by Mangey translate "all that they might have received."
rendered homage to them. But to take the judgement of the bad as to what is truly good is as grossly insane as to take that of the blind on colours or the deaf on musical sounds. For the bad have lost the use of their most dominant part, their mind, over which folly has shed profound darkness.

Can we then still wonder that Socrates and any virtuous person you like to name have continued to live a life of poverty, never having practised any method of gaining wealth, refusing indeed to take anything from wealthy friends or kings who offered them great gifts, because they considered that there is nothing good or excellent save acquiring virtue, for which they laboured neglecting all the other goods? And who with the thought of the genuine before them would not disregard the spurious for its sake? But if possessed of a mortal body and brimful of the plagues which beset mankind and living amid the unjust, a multitude so great that it cannot even be easily counted, they become the victims of malice, why do we accuse Nature when we should reproach the cruelty of their assailants? For if they had been living in a pestilential atmosphere they would have been bound to take the disease, and vice is more or at least no less destructive than pestilential surroundings. And as the wise man must needs get drenched if he stays in the open air when it is raining or suffer from the rigour of the cold when the north wind's blast is chilly, or get heated in the summer, since it is a law of nature that our bodily feelings correspond

\hspace{1cm} a \textit{i.e.} as courtiers in attendance (see examples in lexicon) rather than gate-keepers.

\hspace{1cm} b Perhaps in allusion to Alexander's remark (Aucher, p. 50), though there it is the unjust condemnation, not the poverty of Socrates, which is cited.
PHILO

συμπάσχειν νόμος φύσεως), τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον τὸν ἐν τοῖς τοιούτοις χωρίοις ἐνοικοῦντα,

"ἐνθα φόνοι λυμοί τε καὶ ἄλλων ἐθνεὰ κηρῶν,"
ἐναλλάττεσθαι τὰς ἀπὸ τῶν τοιούτων τιμὰς ἀναγκαίους.²

24 Ἐπεὶ Πολυκράτει γε, ἐφ' οἷς δεινοῖς ἡδίκησε καὶ ἂσβεστο, χορηγὸς ἀπήντησε, χείρων ἤ του βίου βαρυδαιμονία πρόσθες δὲ ύπὸ μεγάλου βασιλέως ἐκολάζετο, καὶ προσηλούτο, χρήσμον ἐκπιπλάς. Οἶδα, ἔφη, καμάρτον οὐ πρὸ πολλοῦ θεωρήσαι ³ δόξαν ὑπὸ μὲν ἠλίθιον ἀλείφεσθαι, λούεσθαι δὲ ὑπὸ Διὸς. αἱ γὰρ διὰ συμβόλων αἰνιγματώδεις αὕται φάσεις, ἀδηλοῦμεναι τὸ πάλαι, τὴν διὰ τῶν ἔργων ἀριθμητάτην ἑλάμβανον πίστιν. οὐκ ἐπὶ τελευτῇ δὲ μόνον, ἀλλὰ παρὰ πάντα τὸν ἔρχησ βίον, ἐλελήθει πρὸ τοῦ σώματος τὴν ψυχὴν κρεμάμενος. αἰεὶ γὰρ φοβούμενος καὶ τρέμων τὸ πλήθος τῶν ἐπιτιθέμενων ἐπτόητο, σαφῶς ἐξεπιστάμενος ὅτι εὐνοὺς μὲν ἕν οὐδὲς, ἐχθροὶ δὲ πάντες δυσπραξίᾳ ἀμείλικτοι.

1 mss. φόνοι τελοῦνται καὶ, which Gaisford and Dindorf retain.

2 Eusebius here has missed out a sentence which is given by Aucher (p. 63) thus: "nullatenus ergo decet eos felices putare, qui paulo ante memorati sunt, etsi fortuna iuvare eos videatur." This explains the ἐπεὶ . . . γε which begins the next sentence.

3 Dindorf ἡσθίσαι. See App. p. 543.

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¹ Quoted from Empedocles, though the line runs φόνος τε κότος τε. See App. p. 543.

² χείρων may possibly mean that the punishment was worse than the offence, but the addition of μὲν followed by πρόσθες δὲ suggests that the βίον βαρυδαιμονία was worse than the impalement, and this is brought out in what follows.

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to the annual changes of the season, so also he who lives in places

Where murder's rife and famine too and tribes of other ills must submit to the penalties which they successively impose.

For as for Polycrates, in requital for his terrible acts of injustice and impiety he encountered his rewarder in the shape of lifelong misery. Add to this a lesser ill, that he was punished by the Great King and impaled, thus fulfilling an oracle. "I know," he said, "that I saw myself not long ago anointed as it seemed by the sun and washed by Zeus." For the riddle thus symbolically stated, though at first obscure, received very clear attestation from what actually occurred. But it was not only at the end but through all his life from the first that his soul, though he knew it not, was in the same suspense which later befell his body. For he lived in perpetual fear and trembling, scared by the multitude of his assailants and knowing well that none was friendly to him, but all had been turned by their misery into implacable enemies.

I have translated the sentence as punctuated in the editions, but I see no point in the οίδα or καί in κάμαυτόν. I should prefer to punctuate the sentence, χρησμόν ἐκπιπλάς οίδα, ἔφη, κάμαυτόν, κτλ. and translate: "I recognize that I have fulfilled an oracle, and that it was myself that I saw who appeared to be anointed," etc., i.e. he dreamt that he saw somebody being anointed, etc., but did not recognize that it was himself. This is I think quite in accordance with the phenomena of dreams. In any case the story differs from Her. iii. 124, where it is the daughter of Polycrates who sees the dream. On the Armenian version see App. p. 543.

Or "even more than in his body." Cf. the same phrase in § 56, where order in value rather than in time seems to be indicated. And so also, I think, in Flacc. 2.
Τῆς δὲ ἀνηγνώτου καὶ συνεχούσ1 εὑλαβείας μάρτυρες 391 οί τὰ Σικελικὰ συγγράφαντες, οί φασίν, ὅτι καὶ τὴν θυμηρεστάτην ὑποπτον εἶχε γυναίκα. σημεῖον δὲ τὴν εἰς τὸ δωμάτιον εἴσοδον, δι' ἣς φοιτήσεων ἔμελλεν ὡς αὐτόν, ἐκέλευσε στορεθῆναι σανίσιν, ἵνα μὴ λάθη ποτὲ παρεισερπύσασα, ψόφῳ δὲ καὶ κτύπῳ τῆς ἐπιβάσεως προμηνύῃ τὴν ἀφίξην. εἰτ' οὐκ ἀνείμονα μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ πᾶσι τοῖς μέρεσι γυμνῆν, ἅ μὴ θέμις ὑπ' ἀνδρῶν ὀρᾶσθαι, παρέχεσθαι. πρὸς δὲ τοῦτοι, τὸ συνεχές τοῦ κατὰ τὴν ὁδὸν ἐδάφους εἰς τάφρον γεωργικῆς εὔρος καὶ βάθος διακοπῆι, κατὰ δέος μὴ τι πρὸς ἐπιβουλήν ἀφανῶς ἐπικρύπτηται, ὅπερ ἢ ἀλμασιν ἢ μακραῖς 27 διαβάσεσιν ἔμελλε διελέγχεσθαι. πόσων ἄρα κακῶν ὸ ταῦτα παρατηρῶν καὶ τεχνάξων ἐπὶ γυναικὸς, ἢ πρὸ τῶν ἄλλων ὀφείλει πιστεύειν, μεστός ἦν; ἀλλὰ γὰρ ἐφῄει τοῖς δι' ἀπορρώγος ὀροὺς ἐπὶ τῷ τὰς ἐν οὐρανῷ φύσεις ἀριστοκρατεῖσα κατανοήσαι κρημνοβατοῦσι, οἱ μόλις φθάνοντες ἀφικότος αὔχενος, οὔτ άνω χωρεῖν 2 ἐτι δύνανται, πρὸς τὸ λειπόμενον ὕφος ἀπειρηκτέος, οὕτε καταβάινειν θαρροῦσι, πρὸς τὴν ὁμοῖαν τῶν χασμάτων 28 ἰλιγγυώντες. ἔρασθεις γάρ, ὡς θείον πράγματος καὶ περιμαχήτου, τυραννίδος, οὔτε μένειν οὔτε ἀποδιδράσκειν ἀσφαλῆς εἶναι ὑπελάμβανε. μένοντι

1 It seems quite necessary to insert here Διονυσίου, though no ms. nor the Armenian translation has it.

mss. ἄνακωρεῖν.

a Or “anxiety,” so rather than “caution,” though the noun usually carries a favourable sense in Philo as in other writers. Philo however sometimes uses the verb in a more general sense, e.g. Flacc. 145.

b The same story is told of Dionysius in Cic. Tusc. Disp. 476
The endless and continual fear shown by Dionysius is attested by the historians of Sicily, who tell us that he suspected even his dearly beloved wife. This is proved by his ordering that the entrance to the chamber through which she had to pass to join him should be covered with boards so that she should never creep in unawares but should give notice of her arrival by the creaking and rattling made by her stepping on them. Also she had to come not merely undressed but with the parts naked which it is indecent for men to see. Further he had the continuous line of the floor along the passage broken by a gap as deep and broad as a ditch in the farmland, so that if, as he dreaded, some secret attempt to do him a mischief were made in the darkness it would be detected by the visitors jumping or striding across the gap. How vast a burden of ills was his who watched so craftily over the wife whom he was bound to trust above all others. Indeed he resembled the climbers who scale a precipitous mountain to get a clearer view of the heavenly bodies, and when they manage with difficulty to reach some outstanding cliff cannot go any higher because their heart fails them before the height which still remains, nor have they courage to descend as their heads swim at the sight of the yawning chasms below. For enamoured as he was of tyranny as something divine and much to be coveted he did not consider it safe either to stay as he was or to flee. If he stayed he was sure

v. 59, though there Dionysius has two wives treated thus. So also the story of Damocles, ibid. 61 f. See App. p. 544.

or more accurately "heavenly beings"—a common phrase for the stars conceived of as alive. Cf. e.g. Quod Det. 88, and the description of sun and moon as θείαι φύσεις below, § 50, also De Aet. 47.
μὲν γὰρ ἀλλεπάλληλα ἐπέρρει κακὰ ἀμύθητα·
βουλομένω δ' ἀποδιδράσκειν ὑπὲρ τοῦ ζῆν ἐπ-
[640] εκρέματο κίνδυνος, ὀπλισμένων, | εἰ καὶ μὴ τοῖς
σώμασιν, ἀλλὰ τοῖς διανοιαίς κατ' αὐτοῦ.

29 ὃν ἄν καὶ τὸ ἔργον, ὃ πρὸς τὸν
μακρίζοντα τὸν τῶν τυράννων βίον φασὶ χρή-
σασθαι Διονύσιον. καλέσας γὰρ αὐτὸν ἐπὶ λαμπρο-
tάτου καὶ πολυτελεστάτου δείπνου παρασκευῆν,
ἐκ μηρίθου πάνυ λεπτής προσέταζεν ἄτοι
σῶμα, ἀλλὰ τοῖς διάνοιας κατ' αὐτοῦ.

30 δηλοὶ δὲ καὶ τὸ ἔργον, ὃς ἀνθρώπος,

392 οὐδὲνος ἵππον ἀπέλθησιν, καὶ
κινδύνους ἀνηκέστως, καὶ νόσον ἐρπηνώδους καὶ
φθινάδος χαλεπωτέραν, ἀθεράπευτον ἀεὶ

31 ὃν ὁ Διονύσιος, Ἀρ ἡδῆ κατανοεῖς, ἐφη,
τὴν ἀντίθεσιν αἰσθήσας, ἁπάτωμεν δὲ

a Or “by painting under (i.e. pencilling) their eyes,” and probably this is what is intended here. But strictly speaking the singular ὄψιν, which Philo also uses, Leg. All. iii. 62, 478
to meet a torrent of innumerable evils in constant succession. If he wanted to flee, his life was menaced by danger from those whose minds at least if not their bodies were armed against him. Another proof is the way in which he is said to have treated a person who asserted the felicity of the tyrant's life. Having invited him to a dinner which had been provided on a very magnificent and costly scale he ordered a sharp-edged axe to be suspended over him by a very slender thread. When after taking his place on the couch the guest suddenly saw this, he had neither the courage in the tyrant's presence to rise and remove himself nor the power in his terror to enjoy the dishes provided, and so regardless of the abundance and wealth of the pleasures before him, he lay with neck and eye strained upwards, expecting his own destruction. Dionysius perceived this and said: "Do you now understand what this glorious and much coveted life of ours really is?" This is the sort of thing it is in the eyes of anyone who does not wish to deceive himself. For it includes wealth supplied in full abundance but not the enjoyment of anything worth having, only terrors in constant succession, dangers unescapable, a malady more grievous than the creeping and wasting sickness, bringing with it destruction that knows no remedy. But the thoughtless multitude deluded by the brilliant outward appearance are in the same condition as men ensnared by unsightly courtesans who disguise their ugliness with fine raiment and gold and the paint upon their faces, and so for lack of the genuine beauty

De Sac. 21, De Fug. 153, must mean "face." Cf. also of the male prostitutes Spec. Leg. iii. 37 τὰς ὀψεῖς τριβόμενοι καὶ ὑπογραφόμενοι.
32 θεωμένων δημιουργεῖ. τοιαύτης γέμουσι βαρυ-
δαιμονίας οί λίαν εύτυχείς, ὡς τὰς ύπερβολὰς αὐτοῖ
δικάσαντες παρ’ ἑαυτοῖς οὐ στέγονυν, ἀλ’ ὡσπερ
οί τὰ ἀρρωστήματα¹ ὑπ’ ἀνάγκης ἐκκαλοῦντες,
ἀφίασι τὰς ἐκ πάθους ἀμενιστότατος φωνάς, ἐπὶ
συνουσία τιμωρίων καὶ παρουσίων καὶ προσδοκω-
μένων ζῶντες, καθάπερ τῶν θρεμμάτων τὰ πρὸς
ἰερουργίαν παρουσίζοντα. καὶ γὰρ ταῦτα τῆς πλει-
στης ἐπιμελείας ἐπὶ τῷ σφαγῆς τυγχάνει διὰ
πολύκρεων ευνοίαν.

33 Εἰςὶ δ’ οἱ καὶ περὶ χρημάτων² ἀσεβῶν οὐκ ἀδή-
λους ἀλλὰ φανερῶς ἐδοσαν δίκας, ὥν τὰ πλῆθη
καταλέγεσθαι περιττὸς πόνος, ἀπόχρη δ’ ἐν ἔργον
παράδειγμα πάντων ἐστάναι. λέγεται τοῖνυν ὑπὸ
tῶν ἀναγεγραφότων τὸν ιερὸν πόλεμον³ ἐν
Φωκίδι, νόμου κειμένου τὸν ἱερόσυλον κατα-
κρημνίζεσθαι ἢ καταποντοῦσθαι ἢ καταπίμπασθαι,
tρεῖς συλήσαντας τὸ ἐν Δελφοῖς ἱερὸν, Φιλόμηλον
καὶ Όνόμαρχον καὶ Φάυλλον, διανείμασθαι τὰς
τιμωρίας. τὸν μὲν γὰρ διὰ λόφου τραχέος καὶ
λιθώδως βαγείσης πέτρας κατακρημνισθῆναι τε

¹ Or ἀρρητα, which is read by one good ms. and is adopted
by Mangey and Dindorf. It was also read by the Armenian
(Aucher, p. 67) “ sicut illi, qui arcana quae silere vellent,
tamen coacti tormentis exponunt,” and gives a more natural
sense.
² The Armenian (Aucher, p. 67) “ sunt qui illico impietatis
non occultas sed potius manifestas poenas luant ” evidently
reads παραχρήμα τῶν ἀσεβῶν, which Wendland believes to be
the true reading. And though “ for impious gains ” suits
the examples which follow quite well, the form is rather
strange, and the next paragraph suggests that the im-
create the spurious to entrap those who behold them. Such is the misery which fills to the brim the life of those greatly favoured by fortune, misery whose extent measured by the judgement of their own hearts is more than they can contain, and like those who are forced to proclaim their maladies they utter words of absolute sincerity wrung from them by their sufferings. Surrounded by punishments present and expected they live like beasts who are fattened for a sacrifice, for such receive the most careful attention to prepare them for the slaughter, because of the rich feast of flesh which they supply.

There are some who have been punished not obscurely but conspicuously for sacrilegious robbery, a numerous body which it would be superfluous labour to name in full. It will suffice to let one case stand as an example of them all. The historians who have described the sacred war in Phocis state that whereas there was a law enacted that the temple robber should be thrown from a precipice or drowned in the sea, or burnt alive, three persons who robbed the temple at Delphi, Philomelus, Onomarchus and Phaýllus, had these punishments distributed between them. The first fell over a rugged and stony crag and as a piece of rock broke off he was killed both from the fall from the height and from the weight of

\[\alpha\] Or "disclose what should be kept secret." See note 1.

piety punished is not restricted to sacrilege, but includes all violence.

\[3\] All other editions insert τὸν without any ms. authority. Gifford is, I think, quite right in arguing that when one attribute has been given between the article and the noun, a second attribute may follow the noun without a repetition of the article.
καὶ καταλευσθήναι τὸν δὲ, ἀφηνάσαντος τοῦ κομίζοντος ἵππου | καὶ μέχρι θαλάσσης καταβάντος, ἐπιδραμόντος τοῦ πελάγους, εἰς ἀχανή βυθὸν αὐτοῦ πρὶν καταδύναι. Φάυλλον δὲ φθινάδι νόσῳ (διττός γὰρ ὁ περὶ αὐτοῦ λόγος) συντακῆναι, ἢ ἐν τῷ ἐν ἀβαις ιερῶ συνεμπρησθέντα ἀπολέσθαι. τἀῦτα γὰρ φιλονεικότατον λέγειν ἀποβήναι κατὰ τύχην. εἰ μὲν γὰρ τινὲς ἢ ἐν διαφέρουσι καρποῖς ἢ ἐτέραις ἐκκλάσθησαν τιμωρίαις, εἰκὸς ἦν τὸ ἀστατὸν τῆς τύχης προφασίζεσθαι. πάντων δὲ ἀθρόως καὶ ύφ’ ἕνα καρπὸν καὶ μὴ ἐτέραις τιμωρίαις ἄλλα ταῖς περιεχομέναις ἐν τοῖς νόμοις κολασθέντων, εὐλογον φάσκειν ὅτι Θεοῦ δικάσαντος ἐάλωσαν.

Εἰ δὲ τινὲς τῶν ὑπολειφθέντων βιαιῶν, καὶ τοῖς πλήθεσιν ἐπαναστάντων, καὶ δουλωσμένων οὐ μόνον δήμους ἐτέρους ἄλλα καὶ πατρίδας τὰς ἑαυτῶν, ἀτιμώρητοι διετέλεσαν, θαυμαστόν οὐδὲν, πρώτον μὲν γὰρ οὐχ ὃμοίως ἄνθρωπος δικάζει καὶ Θεός, διότι τὰ μὲν φανερὰ ἡμεῖς ἐρευνῶμεν, οὗ δὲ ἄχρι μυχῶν ψυχῆς εἰσδύομενοι ἀψωφητί, καθάπερ ἐν ἤλλῳ λαμπράν διάνοιαν αὑγάζει, ἀπαμπύσχων μὲν τὰ περίαπτα, οἷς ἐγκατείληπται, γυμνὰ δὲ περιαβρῶν τὰ βουλήματα, καὶ διαγνώσκων εὐθὺς τὰ τε παράσημα καὶ δόκιμα.

μηδέποτε οὖν τὸ οἰκεῖον δικαστήριον τοῦ θείου προκρίναντες, ἀψυνεδέστερον αὐτὸ καὶ εὐβουλό-

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a So cf. Diodorus xvi. 30 εαυτῶν κατεκρήμνισε, Pausanias x. 2 ῥίππει εαυτῶν κατά ὑψηλοῦ καὶ ἀποτόμου κρημνοῦ.

b Pausanias x. 2 gives a different version of this: φεύγων . . . καὶ ἐπὶ θάλασσαν ἀφικόμενος ἐνταῦθα ὑπὸ τῶν στρατιωτῶν κατηκοστισθῇ τῶν οἰκείων, who ascribed their defeat to his cowardice and blundering.
the stone." In the case of the second the horse on which he was riding got out of control and rushed down to the sea and under the onrush of the tide both rider and horse sank in the deep gulf. As for Phayllus, there are two versions of his story, one that he wasted away in consumption, the other that he perished in the flame which consumed the temple at Abae. To assert that these events are due to chance is pure contentiousness. No doubt if people had been punished at different times or by other penalties it would be sensible enough to ascribe them to the caprice of fortune. But when all were punished together about the same time and by penalties not of another kind but those contained in the laws, it is reasonable to assert that they were the victims of divine justice.

And if some of the men of violence still left unmentioned, insurgents who seized power over the populace and enslaved not only other peoples but their own countries, continued unpunished, why should we wonder? For in the first place the judgements of men and God are not alike. For we inquire into what is manifest but He penetrates noiselessly into the recesses of the soul, sees our thoughts as though in bright sunlight, and stripping off the wrappings in which they are enveloped, inspects our motives in their naked reality and at once distinguishes the counterfeit from the genuine. Let us never then prefer our own tribunal to that of God and assert that it is more infallible and wiser in counsel, for that

\(^c\) The first version is given by both Diodorus and Pausanias, \textit{l.c.} Pausanias x. 35 mentions the burning of the temple at Abae by the Thebans, together with the Phocian refugees within it.
τερον εἶναι φῴμεν· οὐ γὰρ ὁσιον. ἐν ὁ μὲν γὰρ πολλὰ τὰ σφάλλοντα, ἀπατηλαὶ αἰσθήσεις, πάθη ἐπίβουλα, κακιῶν ὁ βαρύτατος ἐπιτειχισμὸς, ἐν ὁ δὲ οὐδὲν μὲν τῶν ἐπ' ἔξαπάτη, δικαιότης δὲ καὶ ἁλήθεια, αἰς ἕκαστον βραβευόμενον ἐπαινετῶς ἐξορθοῦσθαι πέφυκεν.

37 Ὅπερτ', ὦ γενναίε, μὴ νομίσῃς ἀλυσιτελές ἐπικαιρὸν εἶναι πυραννίδα. οὐδὲ γὰρ ἡ κόλασις ἀλυσιτελές, ἀλλὰ τιμωρίας διδόναι τοῖς ἁγαθοῖς ἡ ὁφελιμότερον ἡ οὐκ ἀποδέον. οὐ χάριν ἐν ἀπασί μὲν τοῖς ὀρθῶς γραφεῖσι παρεῖληπται νόμοις· οἱ δὲ γράφαντες ὑπὸ πάντων ἐπαινοῦνται. ὃπερ γὰρ ἐν δήμῳ τῦραννος, τοῦτ' ἐν νόμῳ κόλασις.

38 ἐπειδάν οὖν ἐνδεία μὲν καὶ σπάνις δεινὴ καταλάβῃ τὰς πόλεις ἀρετῆς, ἀφθονία δ' ἀφροσύνης ἐπιπολάσῃ, τηνικαῦτα ὁ Θεός, ὅσπερ ἐνίφα αἰσθήματοι τὴν φορὰν τῆς κακίας ἀποχετεύσας γλυχόμενος, ἵνα καθάρη τὸ γένος ήμῶν, ἰσχύν καὶ κράτος δίδωσιν· τοῖς ταῦτας φύσεις ἀρχικοῖς. ἰώμης γὰρ δίχα ψυχῆς οὐ καθαίρεται κακία· καὶ ὅπερ τρόπον αἱ πόλεις ἐπ' ἄνδροφονοι καὶ προδόταις καὶ θεοσύλαις δημίους ἀνατρέφουσιν, οὐ τὴν γνώμην ἀποδεχόμεναι τῶν ἄνδρῶν, ἀλλὰ τὸ τῆς υπηρεσίας χρήσιμον ἔξετάξουσαι, τοὺς ἄνδρον τρόπον καὶ τῆς μεγαλόπολεως τοῦτο τοῦ κόσμου κηδεμών, οἷα δημίους κοινοὺς ἐφίστησι τοὺς τυράννους ταῖς πόλεσιν, ἐν αἷς ἄν αὐσθηται βίαν, ἀδικίαν, ἀσέβειαν,

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a Literally "more profitable or not less so," i.e. than the absence of any punishment for offences. But the sentence is obscure. The translation above makes the best sense, but we should expect either δίδοσθαι or τοὺς ἀδίκους as subject to
ON PROVIDENCE, 2. 36–39

religion forbids. Ours has many pitfalls, the delusions of the senses, the malignancy of the passions and most formidable of all the hostility of the vices; while in His there is nothing that can deceive, only justice and truth, and everything that is judged according to these standards brings praise to the judge and cannot but be settled aright.

Secondly, my friend, do not suppose that a temporary tyranny is without its uses. For neither is punishment useless, and that penalties should be inflicted is actually profitable to the good or at any rate not detrimental. And therefore in all properly enacted laws punishment is included, and those who enacted them are universally praised, for punishment has the same relation to law as a tyrant has to a people. So when a dire famine and dearness of virtue takes possession of states, and folly unstinted is prevalent, God, desiring to drain off the current of wickedness as if it were the stream of a torrent, gives strength and power to men naturally fitted to rule in order to purify our race. For wickedness cannot be purged away without some ruthless soul to do it. And just as states maintain official executioners to deal with murderers and traitors and temple robbers, not that they approve of the sentiments of these persons, but with an eye to the usefulness of their service, so the Governor of this great city of the world sets up tyrants like public executioners over the cities which He sees inundated with violence, in-

διδόναι. The straightforward translation “it is more profitable to the good to be punished,” i.e. because punishment however unjust brings out heroism, seems out of place here. Another possibility “it is more beneficial to give the power of punishing to the good (than to a tyrant)” does not suit οὐκ ἀποδέων. The two could hardly be put on a par.

485
τὰ ἄλλα κακὰ πλημμύροντα, ὡς ἦδη ποτὲ στάντα λωφῆς. τηνικάδυτα καὶ τοὺς αἰτίους, ὡς ἐκ δυσκαθάρτου καὶ ἄνηλεοὺς ψυχῆς ὑπηρετήσαντας, ἐφ’ ἀπασιν, ἀποτικά τινὰς κορυφάιον, ἀξιοὶ μετέχεσθαι. καθάπερ γὰρ ἡ τοῦ πυρὸς δύναμις, ὅταν παραβληθεῖσαν ὑλήν ἀναλώση, τελευταῖον αὐτήν ἐπινέμετα, τούτον τὸν τρόπον καὶ οἱ ἐπὶ τοὺς πλὴθεις δυναστείας εἰληφότες, ὅταν δαπανήσαντες τὰς πόλεις κενὰς ἀνδρῶν ἐργάσωνται, τὰς ὑπὲρ ἀπάντων τίνοτες δίκας ἐπιδιαφθείρονται. καὶ τί θαυμάζομεν, εἰ διὰ τυράννων ὁ Θεὸς κακίαν ἀναχύθεσαι ἐν πόλεις καὶ χώραις καὶ ἔθνεσιν ἀποδιοπομπεῖται; πολλάκις γὰρ μὴ χρώμενος ὑπηρέταις ἄλλοις αὐτὸς δι’ ἐαυτοῦ τοὺς ἐργάζεται, λιμὸν ἐπάγων ἢ λοιμὸν ἢ σεισμὸν καὶ ὅσα ἄλλα θεήλατα, οἷς οἱ ομιλοὶ μεγάλοι καὶ πολυάνθρωποι καθ’ ἕκασθην ἡμέραν ἀπόλλυνται, καὶ πολλὴ μοῖρα τῆς οἰκουμένης ἐρημοῦται διὰ προμήθειαν ἁρετῆς. Ἰκανῶς μὲν οὖν εἰς γε τὰ παρόντα περὶ τοῦ μὴ τῶν φαύλων εὐδαιμονεῖν, ὡς οἶμαι, λέλεκται· δι’ οὐ μάλιστα παρίσταται τὸ ἐνεῖ πρόνοιαν. εἰ δὲ μηδέπω πέπεισαι, τὸν ἐθ’ ὑπουργοῦντα ἐνδοιασμὸν εἰπὲ θαρρῶν ἄμφοτεροι γὰρ ἡ ταληθῆς ἔχει συνδιαπορήσαντες εἰσόμεθα.

Καὶ μεθ’ ἐτερα πάλιν φησίν·

Ἀνέμων καὶ υἱῶν φοράς οὐκ ἐπὶ λύμη τῶν

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There is a considerable interval between these two parts of Philo’s argument. In this interval Alexander, in response to the invitation given in the preceding sentence, alleges various facts about the construction of the universe, which seem to serve no purpose which can be ascribed to Providence. Philo has answered many of these difficulties as
ON PROVIDENCE, 2. 39–43

justice, impiety and all the other evils, in order that they may be at last brought to a standstill and abate. Then too it seems good to Him to crown the punishment of all by bringing to justice those who have carried it out. For knowing that their services were the outcome of an impious and ruthless soul He treats them as in a sense the capital offenders. For just as the force of fire after devouring all the fuel supplied to it finally consumes itself, so too those who have seized dominion over the populaces when they have exhausted the cities and emptied them of all their men pay the penalty due for all and perish as well. And why should we wonder that God uses tyrants to sweep away the wickedness which has spread through cities and countries and nations. For often instead of employing other ministers He effects this by Himself by bringing famine or pestilence and earthquake, and all the other divine visitations whereby great bodies of people perish in huge numbers every day and a large part of the world is desolated for His purpose of promoting virtue.

Enough then I think has been said for the present on the theme that none of the wicked has happiness, and this is a very strong proof that providence exists. But if you are not yet convinced, fear not to tell me your still lingering doubts, for by combining our efforts we shall both get to know where the truth is to be found.

Later again he says:

Storms of wind and rain were made by God, not as they arise, and among these is that recorded by Eusebius in another connexion (see Frag. I). The others he deals with in his final answer, which is given by Eusebius in the sections which follow.
Alexander has been represented (Aucher, p. 100) as describing the injuries caused by rain and wind and adding that while rain may be often useful, hail, snow, thunder and lightning are quite useless.

Or perhaps "the anointing is appointed" or even "the oil is placed," and below "those who are being anointed," and the importance in the next section attached to the oil favours this. But πολιτικαί χρείαι, whatever that exactly means,
you supposed, to do grievous harm to voyagers and husbandmen, but to benefit our race as a whole. For He purges the earth with water and the whole sublunary region with breezes. And with both He gives sustenance, growth and maturity to animals and plants. If these sometimes harm persons who travel by sea out of season or tillers of the land there is nothing wonderful. They are but a small fraction and His care is for the whole human race. So then as the course of training in the gymnasium is drawn up for the benefit of the pupils, but the gymnasiarch sometimes to suit civic requirements makes a change in the arrangement of the regular hours whereby some of those under training lose their lesson, so too God having the charge of the whole world as though it were a city is wont to create wintry summers and spring-like winters for the benefit of the whole, even though some skippers and workers on the land are bound to suffer loss through the irregular way in which they occur. The interchanges of the elements out of which the world was framed and now consists He knows to be a vital operation and produces them in unimpeded succession. But frost and snow and similar phenomena are circumstances attendant on the refrigeration of the air as thunders and lightnings are on the clashing and friction of clouds. And none of these we may suppose is by providence, but while could hardly affect the mere act of anointing, unless that was necessarily the prelude to instruction. The functions of the ἀλείπτης were a good deal wider than merely anointing.

The terms here used, ἐπακολουθεῖν and παρακολουθεῖν, ἐπισυμβαίνειν, ἐπιγίνεσθαι below all express the Stoic doctrine, which accounts for evils such as diseases, etc., as not primary (προηγούμενα) works of nature but incidental consequences. See App. p. 545.
According to Wendland this refers to the ablution after the exercise. I understand provisionally that the ἀπειρό- 

άλλοι καὶ πνεύματα ζωῆς καὶ τροφῆς καὶ αὐξήσεως τοῖς περὶ γῆν αὐτία, δια ταῦτα ἐπακολουθήματα. οὖν, γυμνασιάρχου φιλοτιμίαις πολλάκις ἀνεμένας ποιομένου διαπάνας, ἀνθ' ὦδατος ἐλαιῶς καταλωνόμενοι τινὲς τῶν ἀπειρόκαλων εἰς τοῦδαφος βανίδας ἀποστάζουσιν, ὁ δὲ ὀλισθηρότατος αὐτίκα γίνεται πηλός· ἀλλ' οὐκ ἂν τις εὖ φρονών εἶποι, τὸν πηλὸν καὶ τὸν ὀλισθὸν προμηθεία τοῦ γυμνασιάρχου γεγονέναι, παρηκολουθήσει δὲ ἄλλως τῇ ἀφθονίᾳ τῶν χορηγῶν ταῦτα.

47 ἔρις δὲ καὶ ἀλως καὶ ὅσα ὀμοιότροπα πάλιν ἐστὶν αὐγών ἐγκριναμένων τοῖς νέφεσιν ἐπακολουθήματα, οὐκ ἔργα φύσεως προηγούμενα, φυσικοῖς ὁ ἐπισυμβαίνοντα ἔργοισ'. οὐ μὴν ἄλλα παρέχει τινὰ καὶ ταῦτα χρείαν ἀναγκαίαν τοῖς φρονιμωτέροις· νηνεμίας γὰρ καὶ πνεύματα, εὐδίας τε καὶ χειμώνας ἀπὸ τούτων τεκμαιρόμενοι προλέγουσι. τὰς κατὰ πόλιν στοὰς οὖς ὥρας; τούτων αἱ πλείους πρὸς μεσημβρίαν νεφεύκασιν, ὑπὲρ τοῦ τοὺς ἐμπεριπατοῦντας χειμώνι μὲν ἀλεάνεσθαι, θέρους δὲ καταπνεῖσθαι. παρακολουθεῖ δὲ τι καὶ ἔτερον, ο ἡ γνώμη τοῦ κατεσκευαστοῦ ἐπιγίνεται.

48 ἄτια τοῦτ έστιν; αἱ ἀπὸ τῶν ποδῶν ἐκπίπτουσαι σκιολ τῇ ἡμετέρᾳ πείρᾳ διασημαίνουσι τὰς ὥρας·

49 καὶ μὲν δὴ τὸ πῦρ φύσεως ἀναγκαίοτατον ἔργων·

1 mss. αὐτῶν.

2 So Mangey, Gifford and Heinichen. On the other hand Gaisford and Dindorf τὰ μέτρα διασημαίνουσι ταῖς ὥραις. See App. p. 545.

According to Wendland this refers to the ablution after the exercise. I understand provisionally that the ἀπειρό-
ON PROVIDENCE, 2. 45–49

rainstorms and breezes are causal to the life and sustenance and growth of terrestrial things they have these others for their attendant circumstances. Similarly a gymnasiarch prompted by ambition may often provide on a lavish scale and some vulgarly extravagant people wash themselves with oil instead of water and let the drops drip to the ground, so that at once we have some slippery mud; yet no sensible person would say that the slipperiness and the mud were due to the purposive design of the gymnasiarch or anything but mere concomitants to the munificent scale of the supply. Again a rainbow and a halo and all similar phenomena are attendant circumstances caused by rays mixing with clouds, not primary works of Nature but happenings consequent upon her works. Not but what they often render essential service to the more thoughtful who from the evidence which they give predict the presence or absence of wind and fine or stormy weather. Observe the porticoes in the cities. Most of them have been built to face the south so that persons who walk in them may enjoy the sun in winter and the breeze in summer. But they also have an attendant circumstance which does not arise through the intention of the builder. What is this? The shadows cast at our feet indicate the hours as we find by experience. Fire too is a most essential work of nature and smoke seeing an abundance of the valuable article use it for a purpose for which it is not suited. For the word cf. De Vit. Cont. 52, and also De Ios. 205 of the "tasteless display" which Joseph avoided by not providing a sumptuous banquet in famine time. Gifford’s note is "the unrefined, being accustomed to bathe only in water and shake off the drops, do the same with the oil which is meant to be rubbed in.”

b Or "for our experience.”

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έπακολούθημα δὲ τούτου, καπνὸς· ἀλλ’ ὁμως παρέχεται τινα ὠφέλειαν ἐστιν ὅτε καὶ αὐτὸς. ἐν γούν ταῖς μεθημεριναῖς πυρσείαις, ἤμικα τὸ πῦρ ὑπὸ τῶν ἡλιακῶν καταλαμμόμενον αὐγῶν ἔξαμαν-50 ρούται, καπνῷ μηνύεται πολεμίων ἔφοδος. οἶδ’ ἅ’ οὖν ἐπὶ τῆς θρίδος, τοιοῦτος καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν ἐκλείψεων ὁ λόγος· θείας γὰρ φύσεων ἡλίου καὶ σελήνης ἐπακολουθοῦσιν ἐκλείψεις· αἱ δὲ μηνύματα εἰσιν ἡ βασιλέως τελευτῆς, ἡ πόλεων φθορᾶς· ο[644] καὶ | Πίνδαρος ἤμιξατο γενομένης ἐκλείψεως διὰ 51 τῶν πρόσθεν εἰρημένων. ἡ δὲ δὴ τοῦ γάλακτος κύκλος τῆς μὲν αὐτῆς οὐσίας τοῖς ἄλλοις ἀστροις μετέσχηκε, δυσαιτιολόγητος δ’ εἴπερ ἐστί, μὴ ἀποκνεῖτωσαν οἱ τὰ φύσεως ἔρευνὰν εἰσηθότες. 396 ὠφελιμώτατον γὰρ ἡ εὕρεσις, ἥδιστος δὲ καὶ καθ’ 52 αὐτὸ τοῖς φιλομαθέσιν ή ζήτησις. ὡσπερ οὖν ἡλίου καὶ σελήνη προνοία γεγόνασιν, οὔτω καὶ τὰ ἐν οὐρανῷ πάντα, καὶ ήμεῖς τὰς ἐκάστων φύσεις τε καὶ δυνάμεις ἰχνηλατεῖν ἀδυνατοῦντες ήσυχα-53 ξώμεν. σεισμοὶ τε καὶ λοιμοί, καὶ κεραυνῶν βολαί, καὶ ὅσα τοιαύτα, λέγεται μὲν εἶναι θεήλατα, πρὸς δ’ ἀλλήλειαν οὐκ ἔστι (Θεὸς γὰρ οὐδενὸς αὐτίος κακοῦ τοπαράπαν), ἄλλ’ αἱ τῶν στοιχείων μεταβολαὶ ταῦτα γεννώσων, οὐ προηγούμενα ἔργα φύσεως, ἄλλ’ ἐπόμενα τοῖς ἀναγκαῖοις, καὶ τοῖς 54 προηγούμενοις ἐπακολουθοῦντα. εἰ δὲ τῶν
is a circumstance attendant to it, yet smoke too itself is sometimes helpful. Take for instance beacon signals in the daytime: when the fire is deadened by the rays of the sun shining on it, the enemy's approach is announced by the smoke. Much the same may be said about eclipses as about the rainbow. The sun and moon are natural divinities, and so these eclipses are concomitant circumstances, yet eclipses announce the death of kings and the destruction of cities as is darkly indicated by Pindar on the occurrence of an eclipse in the passage quoted above. As for the belt of the Milky Way it possesses the same essential qualities as the other stars, and though it is difficult to give a scientific account of it students of natural phenomena must not shrink from the quest. For while discovery is the most profitable, research is also a delight to lovers of learning. Just then as the sun and moon have come into being through the action of providence so too have all the heavenly bodies, even though we, unable to trace the natures and powers of each, are silent about them. Earthquakes, pestilence, thunderbolts and the like though said to be visitations from God are not really such. For nothing evil at all is caused by God, and these things are generated by changes in the elements. They are not primary works of nature but a sequel of her essential works, attendant circumstances to the primary. If some

b Aucher, p. 97. See App. p. 546 for what can apparently be made of the Armenian version of this passage from Pindar.

c Alexander (Aucher, p. 101) has mentioned the various explanations given of this and suggested the only use of it is to provide philosophers with something to dispute about.

d On the discrepancy between this and § 41 see App. p. 546.
PHILO

χαριεστέρων¹ συναπολαύουσι τῆς ἀπὸ τούτων βλά-
βης, οὐκ αἰτιατέον τὴν διοίκησιν. πρῶτον μὲν
γάρ, οὐκ εἰ τινες ἀγαθοὶ παρ’ ἡμῖν νομίζονται, καὶ
πρὸς ἀλήθειαν εἰσιν, ἐπειδὴ τὰ Θεοῦ κριτήρια τῶν
κατὰ τὸν ἀνθρώπινον νόον πάντων ἀκριβέστερα:
dεύτερον δὲ, τὸ προμηθὲς ἐπὶ τὰ τῶν ἐν κόσμῳ
συνεκτικώτατα ἐφορᾶν ἁγαπᾷ, καθάπερ ἐν ταῖς
βασιλείαις καὶ στραταρχίαις, ἐπὶ τὰς πόλεις καὶ
tὰ στρατόπεδα, οὐκ ἐπὶ τινὰ τῶν ἠμελημένων,
καὶ ἀφανῶν ἕνα τὸν προστυχόντα. λέγουσι δὲ
τινες, καθάπερ ἐν ταῖς τυραννοκτονίαις καὶ τοὺς
συγγενεῖς ἀναφεύγονται νόμιμον ἐστὶ ὑπέρ τοῦ
μεγέθει τῆς τιμωρίας ἐπισχεθῆναι τὰ ἀδικήματα,
tὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον καὶ ταῖς λοιμώδεσιν νόσοις
παραπόλλυσθαι τινὰς τῶν μὴ ὑπαιτίων, ἣν πόρ-
ρωθεὶν οἱ ἄλλοι σωφρονίζωνται, διά τοῦ ἀναγκαῖον
eῖναι τοὺς ἐμφερομένους ἀέρι νοσώδει νοσεῖν,
ὡσπερ καὶ τοὺς ἐν νηὶ χειμάζομενοι κινδυνεύειν
εἶς ἰσοῦ. τὰ δ’ ἄλκιμα τῶν θηρίων
γέγονεν (οὐ γάρ ὑποσιωπητέον, εἰ καὶ τῷ δεινὸς
eἰπεῖν εἶναι προλαβῶν τῆν ἀπολογίαν διέσυρε

¹ The word seems very strange. Gifford gives “the more
refined.” But why should they be particularly mentioned?
Mangey gives “probos,” Aucher “bonos” from the
Armenian, and so Gaisford. But no example is forthcoming
of any such general use of the word. Mangey in his
Addenda suggests χρηστοτέρων.

² See note 1. A possible explanation might be that the
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persons of a finer character participate in the damage which they cause, the blame must not be laid on God's ordering of the world, for in the first place it does not follow that if persons are considered good by us they are really such, for God judges by standards more accurate than any which the human mind employs. Secondly providence or forethought is contented with paying regard to things in the world of the most importance, just as in kingdoms and commands of army it pays regard to cities and troops, not to some chance individual of the obscure and insignificant kind. Some declare that just as when tyrants are put to death it is justifiable to execute their kinsfolk also, so that wrongdoings may be checked by the magnitude of the punishment, so too in times of pestilence it is well that some of the guiltless should perish also as a lesson extending further to call all others to a wiser life. Apart from this they point out that persons who move in a tainted atmosphere must needs take the sickness just as in a storm or on board a ship they share the danger equally. The stronger kinds of wild animals were made in order to give us practice in warlike contests, for I feel bound to mention this point though you as a skilful advocate anticipated word is used with some irony. The visitations even affect the superior people, who think themselves exempt from anything of the kind. But this is not in Philo's manner.

In the first example τὸ προμηθὲς refers to divine providence, but passes in the second to forethought in general.

This seems to be intended as a reply to Alexander's remark (Aucher, p. 49) that the fall of the younger Dionysius could not be regarded as justifying Providence in leaving the father unpunished. Philo does not actually accept the view that such executions are justifiable. Indeed he has strongly argued against it in Spec. Leg. iii. 164 ff.
άσκήσεως ἑνεκα τῆς πρὸς τοὺς πολεμικοὺς ἀγώνας. τὰ γὰρ γυμνάσια καὶ αἱ συνεχεῖς θήραι συγκροτοῦσι καὶ νευροῦσι εὗ μᾶλα τὰ σώματα, καὶ πρὸ τῶν σωμάτων τὰς ψυχὰς ἐθίζουσιν ἑχθρῶν ἐξαπωναίας ἐφόδους τῷ καρτερῷ τῆς βώμης ἄλογεῖν. | τοῖς δὲ τὰς φύσεις εἰρηνικοῖς ἐξεστιν, οὐ μόνον τειχῶν ἐντὸς ἀλλὰ καὶ κλισιάδων θαλαμομένους, ἀποζήν ἀνεπιβουλεύτως, ἔχουσιν εἰς ἀπόλαυσιν ἀφθονω-57 τάτας ἡμέρων ἄγελας, ἐπειδὴ σὺς, καὶ λέοντες, καὶ ὁσα ὀμοιότροπα, ἐκουσία φύσει χρώμενα, μακρὰν ἀστεοὺς ἀπελήλαται, τὸ μηδὲν παθεῖν 397 τάτας ἡμέρων ἄγελας, ἐπειδὴ σὺς, καὶ λέοντες, καὶ ὁσα ὀμοιότροπα, ἐκουσία φύσει χρώμενα, μακρὰν ἀστεοὺς ἀπεληλαταί, τὸ μηδὲν παθεῖν 58 ἀγαπῶντα τῆς ἀνθρώπου ἐπιβουλῆς. εἰ δὲ τινες ὑπὸ βαθμίας ἀστεοῦ καὶ ἀπαράσκευου ταῖς καταδύσεις τῶν θηρίων ἀδεώς ἐνδιατῶνται, τῶν συμβανόντων ἑαυτοὺς ἀλλὰ μὴ τὴν φύσιν αἰτιάσωσιν, διότι ψυχάσθαι παρὸν ἀλλιγῳρησιν. ἦδη γοῦν καὶ ἐν ἐπιβουλής εἰδῶν τινας εἰξαντας ἀλογιστία, οἷ, δέου ἐγκαθέζεσθαι καὶ σὺν κόσμῳ θεωρεῖν, ἐν μέσῳ στάντες, ὑπὸ τῆς ρύμης τῶν τεθρίππων ἀνωθέντες, ποσὶ καὶ τροχοῖς κατηλοήθησαν, ἀνοίας τάπιχειρα εύραμενοι.

59 Περὶ μὲν οὖν τοὺτων ἀπόχρη τὰ λεχθέντα. τῶν δ' ἐρπτέων τὰ ἱοβόλα γέγονεν οὐ κατὰ πρόιοναν, ἀλλὰ κατ' ἐπακολούθησιν, ὡς καὶ πρότερον εἶπον. ξωγογείται γάρ, ὅταν ἡ ἐνυπάρχουσα ἰκμᾶς μετα-

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a Alexander, after speaking of the ravages of wild beasts (Aucher, p. 102) which do not attack those whom they know to be practised huntsmen, but only peaceful cultivators of the soil, adds that even if it can be pleaded that they seem to give practice in bodily courage, nothing of the kind can be said about poisonous animals. By “through being skilful at speaking” Philo means that Alexander has shown
this defence and tried to discredit it.\textsuperscript{a} For the training in gymnastics and constant hunting expeditions weld and brace the body admirably and affect the soul even more than the body by inuring it in the starkness of its strength to meet unconcernedly sudden onsets of the enemy. And people of peaceful nature\textsuperscript{b} can live sheltered within the walls of their cities and even of their chambers without fear of attack with abundance of different kinds of animals for their enjoyment, since boars and lions and the like following their natural inclination are banished to a distance from the town, preferring to be immune from men’s hostility. And if some persons are so careless that they do not fear to resort unarmed and unprepared to the lairs of these beasts they must lay the blame of what happens on themselves and not on Nature, since they have neglected to take precautions when they could. Thus in chariot races too I have seen people giving way to thoughtlessness who, instead of sitting in their places as they should as orderly spectators, stood in the middle of the course and pushed over by the rush of the chariots were crushed under the feet and wheels, a proper reward for their folly.

Enough has been said on these matters. As for reptiles the venomous kinds have not come into being by direct act of providence but as an attendant circumstance as I have said above. For they come to life when the moisture already in them changes to himself an accomplished rhetorician. Anticipation of an argument was a recognized device, technically known as προκατάληψις.\textsuperscript{b} This is said to counter the suggestion of Alexander that the fact that wild beasts are allowed to attack such persons tends to disprove Providence.
βάλη πρὸς τὸ θερμότερον. ἐνια δὲ καὶ σῆμις ἐψύχωσεν, ὥς ἐλμωνᾶς μὲν ἡ περὶ τροφῆν, φθείρας δὲ ἢ ἀπὸ τῶν ἰδρῶτων. σοα δὲ ἐξ οἴκειας ὑλῆς κατὰ φύσιν σπερματικῆν καὶ προηγουμένην ἔχει 60 γένεσιν, εἰκότως ἐπιγέγραπται πρόνοιαν. ἦκουσα δὲ καὶ περὶ ἐκείνων διυτούς λόγους, ὡς ἐπ' ὦφελεῖας τοῦ ἀνθρώπου γεγονότων, οὕς οὐκ ἂν ἐπικρυψαίμην. ἦν δ' ὃ μὲν ἑτέρος, τοιοῦτος πρὸς πολλὰ τῶν ἰατρικῶν ἐφασάν τυχε τὰ ἱοβόλα συνεργεῖν, καὶ τοὺς μεθοδεύοντας τὴν τέχνην, εἰς ὃ δεὶ καταχρωμένους αὐτοὺς ἐπιστημόνων, ἀλεξιφαρμάκων εὐπορεῖν, ἐπὶ τῇ τῶν μάλιστα ἐπισφαλῶς ἐχόντων ἀπροσδοκητήσις σωτηρίας καὶ μέχρι νῦν ἔστιν ίδεῖν τοὺς μὴ βαθύμως καὶ ἀμελῶς ἰατρεύοντας ἐπιχειροῦντας ἐν ταῖς συνθέσεις τῶν φαρμάκων κατα- 61 χρωμένως ἕκαστοις οὐ παρέργωσα. ὃ δ' ἑτέρος λόγος οὐκ ἰατρικός, ἀλλὰ φιλόσοφος ἦν, ὡς ἐοικε. τῷ γὰρ Θεῷ ταῦτ' ἐφασκεν ἡπτρεπίσθαι κατὰ τῶν ἀμαρτανόντων κολαστήρια, ὡς στρατηγοῖς καὶ ἡγε- μόσι ὑστρικάς ἡ σίδηρον· οὐ χάριν, ἠρεμοῦτα τὸν ἀλλόν χρόνον ἀνερεθίζεσθαι πρὸς ἄλκην ἐπὶ τοῖς κατακριθείσις, ἄν ἡ φύσις ἐν τῷ ἀδωροδοκήτῳ 62 δικαστηρίῳ ἐπιτήθη κατέγυμνοι θάνατον. τὸ δ' ἐν ταῖς οἰκίαις πεφωλευκέναι μᾶλλον, ἐστὶ μὲν ἰεῦδος· 398 ἐξω γὰρ ἀστέος ἐν ἀγρῷ καὶ ἐρημίαις θεωρεῖται, |

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The same phrase is used in *Spec. Leg.* iii. 52 and 121. By ἐαυτῆς he means perhaps the "court which is herself," i.e. Nature is both court and judge. Cf. *De Vit. Cont.* 27, and similar phrases, e.g. *De Ebr.* 165 καθίσας οὖν ὁ νοῦς ἐν τῷ ἐαυτοῦ συνεδρίῳ.

Alexander has said (Aucher, p. 103) that the useful animals, i.e. those good to eat, such as roes (capri), deer (cervi) and hares, have been kept far away from mankind, 498
ON PROVIDENCE, 2. 59–62

a higher temperature. In some cases putrefaction breeds them. For instance putrefaction in food and in perspiration breed respectively worms and lice. But all kinds which are created out of their proper substance by a seminal and primary process of nature are reasonably ascribed to providence. As to them I have heard two theories, which I should be sorry to suppress, to the effect that they are made for the benefit of mankind. One of them was as follows. Some have said that the venomous animals co-operate in many medical processes, and that those who practise the art scientifically by using them with knowledge where suitable are well provided with antidotes for saving unexpectedly the life of patients in a particularly dangerous condition. And even to this day we may see those who take up the medical profession with care and energy making use of every kind of these creatures as an important factor in compounding their remedies. The other theory clearly belongs not to medicine but to philosophy. It declares that these creatures were prepared by God as instruments for the punishment of sinners just as generals and governors have their scourges or weapons of steel, and therefore while quiescent at all other times they are stirred up to do violence to the condemned whom Nature in her incorruptible assize has sentenced to death. But the statement that they hide themselves chiefly in houses is false, for they are to be seen in the fields and desolate places outside the town, avoiding man as

while the poisonous snakes lurk in houses. (The argument is surprising from a Jew, as hares at any rate were forbidden.) He uses the same argument about edible birds, as opposed to swallows, and this is dealt with in the sequel.
PHILO

[646] He violates the dignity of man, for he makes use of sacrifices, and the sacrifices of the Egyptians, as elsewhere, e.g. Spec. Leg. ii. 20, treat all meat-eating as a luxury.

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α Or perhaps somewhat stronger “which we indulge in”; cf. § 69. Philo there, as elsewhere, e.g. Spec. Leg. ii. 20, treats all meat-eating as a luxury.
though he was their master. Not but what if it really is true there is some reason for it. For rubbish and a great quantity of refuse accumulate in the corners of houses, into which the creatures like to creep, and also the smell has a powerful attraction for them. If swallows live with us there is nothing to be wondered at for we do not attempt to catch them, and the instinct of self-preservation is implanted in irrational as well as in rational souls. But birds which we like to eat will have nothing to do with us because they fear our designs against them except in cases where the law forbids that their kind should be used as food. There is a city on the sea coast of Syria called Ascalon. While I was there at a time when I was on my way to our ancestral temple to offer up prayers and sacrifices I observed a large number of pigeons at the cross roads and in each house, and when I asked the reason I was told that it was not lawful to catch them because they had been from old times forbidden food to the inhabitants. In this way the creature has been so tamed by its security that it not merely lives under their roof but shares their table regularly and takes delight in the immunity which it enjoys. In Egypt you may see a still more wonderful sight, for the man-eating crocodile, the most dangerous of wild animals, which is born and bred in the holiest of rivers the Nile, understands the benefit of this though it is a deep water creature. For among the people who honour it, it is found in great numbers, but where men try to destroy it not a glimpse of it is to be seen, so that in

b So, rather than "the time" as Gifford. Philo does not imply that this was a solitary or even a rare visit to Jerusalem.
πάνυ θρασεῖς μηδ' ἀκρον ἐπιτολμᾶν καθιέναι δάκτυλον, ἀγελθηδὸν ἐπιφοιτώντων· ὅπου δὲ καὶ τοὺς ἀγαν δειλοὺς ἐξαλλομένους νήχεσθαι μετὰ παιδιᾶς. χώρα¹ δ' ἡ Κυκλώπων, ἐπειδὴ τὸ γένος αὐτῶν ἐστὶ πλάσμα μύθου, δίχα σπορᾶς καὶ γεωπόνων ἀνδρῶν ἡμερῶν καρπὸς οὐ φύεται, καθάπερ οὔδ' ἐκ τοῦ μὴ ὅντος τι γεννᾶται. τῆς Ἑλλάδος οὐ κατηγορητέον, ὅς λυπρᾶς καὶ ἀγόνου· πολὺ γὰρ καὶ ταύτῃ τὸ βαθύγειον. εἰ δ' ἡ βάρβαρος διαφέρει ταῖς εὐκαρπίαις, πλεονεκτεῖ μὲν τροφαῖς, ἐλαττοῦται δὲ τοῖς τρεφομένοις, ὃν χάριν αἱ τροφαί. μόνη γὰρ ἡ Ἑλλάς ἀψευδῶς ἀνθρωπογονεῖ, φυτῶν οὐράνιον καὶ βλάστημα θείον ἀκριβωμένον, λογισμοῦ ἀποτικτούσα οἰκειούμενον ἐπιστήμη. τὸ αὐτίκον λεπτότητι ἄκονσθαι. διὸ καὶ Ἡράκλειτος οὐκ ἀπὸ σκοποῦ φησίν, "οὔ γῆ ἐξηρή, ψυχή σοφωτάτη καὶ ἀρίστη." τεκμηριώσατο δ' ἂν τις καὶ ἐκ τοῦ τοὺς μὲν νήφοντας καὶ ὀλγοδεεῖς συνετωτέρους εἶναι, τοὺς δὲ ποτῶν

¹ The sentence is an anacoluthon. If emendation is required the simplest would be χώρα (= χώρα) δὲ Κυκ.
² mss. αὐγή (a form of the saying which is found elsewhere, see App. p. 546). οὔ γῆ is required here by the sense and is supported by the Armenian "in terra sicca animus est sapiens ac virtutem amans." Gaisford and Dindorf retain αὐγή.

"Alexander (Aucher, p. 105) has quoted Od. ix. 106-111 to the effect that the arrogant and lawless Cyclopes neither sow nor plough, "trusting to the immortal gods," yet everything grows there, wheat and barley and vines. On the contrary "pietatem colentibus nihil fere remanet," and Greece is thin-soiled and barren and the barbarians have to supply it with everything. The answer has a certain dry humour rare in Philo."
some places people sailing on the Nile do not venture, even the very boldest, to dip the tip of a finger in the water as the crocodiles resort thither in shoals, while in other places quite timid people jump out and swim and play about. As to the land of the Cyclopes, a since that race is a mythical fiction, it is not the case that cultivated fruit is produced without seed being sown or husbandmen tilling it, on the principle that from what does not exist nothing is generated. Greece must not be accused of being a sour unproductive land. For it too has plenty of deep rich soil, and if the world outside excels in fruitfulness its superiority in foodstuffs is counterbalanced by inferiority in the people to be fed for whose sake the food is produced. For Greece alone can be truly said to produce mankind, she who engenders the heavenly plant, b the divine shoot, a perfect growth, even reason so closely allied to knowledge, and the cause of this is that the mind is naturally sharpened by the fineness of the air. c And so Heracleitus aptly says "where the land is dry the soul is best and wisest." One may find evidence for this in the superior intelligence of the sober and frugal, while those who cram

b From Timaeus 90 a, cf. Quod Det. 85, De Plant. 17. In Plato the heavenly plant is mankind, and in the passages cited Philo recognizes this. I think it may be possible (1) to take both φυτὸν and βλάστημα as governed by ἀνθρωπογονεῖ or rather as in apposition with ἀνθρωπον implied, and (2) ἡκριβωμένον as agreeing with λογισμόν. Even if (1) is impossible, (2) seems to me preferable. ἡκριβ. is an epithet more suitable to λογισμόν than to βλάστημα. So the Armenian translator, p. 117 ("certam veramque intellegentiam procreans"), though he goes wrong in taking φυτὸν and βλάστημα in apposition with Ἑλλάς.

c Mangey quotes Cic. De Fat. 4 "Athenis tenue caelum, ex quo etiam acutiores putantur Attici."
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ἀεὶ καὶ σιτίων ἐμπιπλαμένους ἢκιστά φρονίμους,
68 ἀτε βαπτιζομένου τοῖς ἐπιούσι τοῦ λογισμοῦ. διὸ
kατὰ τὴν βαρβαρον ἐρνη μὲν ταῖς εὔτροφίαις καὶ
stελέχη περιμήκιστα, καὶ ζῴων ἀλόγων σφόδρα
tὰ γονιμότατα, νοῦν δ’ ἢκιστα γεννά, διότι τὸ
ὑψωθήναι εξ ἀέρος αἰτίου\(^{1}\) αἰ γῆς καὶ ὑδατός ἐπάλ-
λῆλοι καὶ συνεχεῖς ἀναθυμιάσεις κατεκράτησαν.
69 ἵχθυων δὲ καὶ ὅρνθων καὶ χερσάιων
gένῃ ζῴων οὐκ ἔστιν ἐγκλήματα φύσεως ἐφ’
ηδονὴν παρακαλοῦσης, ἀλλὰ δεινὸς ψόγος τῆς
ημῶν αὐτῶν ἀκρασίας. ἀναγκαῖον μὲν γὰρ ἢν εἰς
tὴν τοῦ ὀλού συμπλήρωσιν, ἵνα γένηται κόσμος ἐν
ἐκάστω μέρει, φύσει ζῴων ἱδέας ἀπάντων· οὐκ
ἀναγκαῖον δὲ ἐπὶ τὴν τούτων ἀπόλαυσιν ὀρμήσαι
tὸ σοφίας συγγενέστατον χρήμα τὸν ἀνθρωπον,
70 μεταβαλόντα εἰς ἀγριότητα θηρίων. διὸ καὶ μέχρι
νῦν, οἰς λόγος ἐγκρατείας, ἀπαξ ἀπάντων ἀπ-
έχονται, λαχανώδει χλόῃ καὶ καρποῖς δένδρων
προσοψήμασιν ἡδίστη ἀπολαύσει χρώμενοι. τοῖς
δὲ τὴν τῶν εἰρημένων θοίνην ἣγουμένοις εἶναι
κατὰ φύσιν ἐπέστησαν διδάσκαλοι, σωφρονισταί,

\(^{1}\) So apparently all mss. All editors except Gifford αὐτὸν.
If αἰτίου is retained, the sense must be as in the trans-
lation. But αἰτίον in this sense is strange without some
clearer indication of what it causes. Mangey suggested
τὸ μὴ ψυχωθήναι εξ ἀέρος αὐτοῦ, οὗ, and I am inclined to
think that ψυχωθήναι is right. In this case the objection to
αἰτίου is removed, for the air is the cause of vitalization. Cf.
_De Som._ i. 136 τὰ ἐν ἐκείνοις ὀστὸς ἐψύχωσεν, where ἐκείνοις
is earth and water and ὀστὸς is air. This is supported by the
Armenian “mens nusquam nascitur ob frigefactionem et
gelationem.” The translator, who often duplicates, may
easily have taken ψυχωθῆθαι in the sense which it sometimes
bears, though not in Philo, of “being refrigerated.” See
App. p. 547.
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ON PROVIDENCE, 2. 67–70

themselves with food and drink are most wanting in wisdom, because the reason is drowned by the stuff that is brought in. And therefore in the world outside Greece the plants and trunks are so well nourished that they grow to a great height and it is exceedingly productive of the most prolific animals but very unproductive of intelligence, because the continual and unceasing exhalations from the earth and water overpower it and prevent it from rising out of the air which is its source. The various kinds of fishes, birds and land-animals do not give grounds for charging Nature of inviting us to pleasure, but they constitute a severe censure on our want of restraint. For to secure the completeness of the universe and that the cosmic order should exist in every part it was necessary that the different kinds of living animals should arise, but it was not necessary that man the creature most akin to wisdom should be impelled to feast upon them and so change himself into the savagery of wild beasts. And therefore to this day those who have thought for self-restraint abstain from every one of them and take green vegetables and the fruits of trees as a relish to their bread with the utmost enjoyment. And those who hold that feasting on these animals is natural have had placed over them teachers, censors and lawgivers who in

* Alexander has argued (p. 106) that if self-denial and temperance, as the philosophers say, are acceptable to God and gluttony and the like are not, Providence, if it existed, would not have created animals of this kind to minister to men's appetites. Philo is unkind to his opponent in putting the argument into his mouth, since above he was bringing it against Providence that it kept these animals at a distance from mankind. See on § 62.
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νομοθέται κατὰ πόλεις, οίς ἐμέλησε τὴν ἀμετρίαν
tῶν ἐπιθυμιῶν στείλαι, μὴ ἐπιτρέψαι τὴν χρῆσιν
71 ἄδεα πάσι πάντων. ἵνα1 δὲ καὶ ῥόδα καὶ
κρόκος, καὶ ἡ ἄλλη τῶν ἀνθέων ποικιλία, πρὸς
vincean, οὐ πρὸς ἡδονήν γέγονεν. ἀπλετοί γὰρ
τούτων αἱ δυνάμεις, καὶ καθ’ αὐτὰς διὰ τῶν ὅσμων
ωφελοῦσιν, εὐωδίασ πάντας ἀνατιμπλᾶσαι, καὶ
πολὺ μᾶλλον ἐν ταῖς ἰατρικαῖς συνθέσει τῶν φαρ-
μάκων. ἔνια γὰρ ἀναμιχθέντα τὰς εαυτῶν δυνάμεις
ἀριθμολότερος παρέχεται, καθάπερ εἰς ζῦφον γένεσιν
ἡ ἄρρενος καὶ θήλεος μίξις, ἵδια ἐκατέρου μὴ
72 πεφυκότος ποιεῖν ἀπερ ἀμφω συνελθόντα. ταῦτ
ἀναγκαῖος λέλεκται πρὸς τὰ λοιπὰ τῶν ὑπὸ σου
400 διαπορηθέντων, ἰκανὴν πίστιν ἐργάσασθαι δυνάμενα
τοῖς μὴ φιλονείκως ἐχουσι περὶ τοῦ τῶν Θεὸν τῶν
ἀνθρωπίνων ἐπιμελεῖσθαι πραγμάτων.

1 mss. εἰ. See App. p. 547.

* The same argument had been applied to the scents of
flowers, particularly as an accompaniment of banquets.
Philo elsewhere does not appear insensible to the beauty of
flowers, but neither this nor their fragrance seem to him to
come under the head of sensual pleasure, which is what he
means by ἡδονή here.
the different cities make it their business to restrain
the intemperance of their appetites by refusing to
allow all people to use them all without restriction.

Violets, roses, and crocuses and the other flowers in their manifold variety were made
to give health not pleasure. For their properties
are infinite; they are beneficial in themselves by
their scents, impregnating all with their fragrance,
and far more beneficial when used by physicians
in compounding drugs. For some things show their
virtues more clearly when combined with others,
just as the union of male and female serves to en-
gender animal life while neither of them is qualified
to do separately what they can do when combined.

This is the best answer I can make to the rest of the points raised by you, and it is enough to create
in the mind of those who are not contentiously inclined solid grounds for believing that God takes
care of human affairs.

\[b\] For this sense of \(\alpha\nu\gamma\kappa\alpha\iota\omega\) cf. Spec. Leg. iii. 4, Quod Det. 160, and note on the latter, vol. ii. p. 497.

\[c\] This is not actually the end of the treatise. Philo goes on to invite any other questions, but Alexander politely de-
clines further discussion for the present.
APPENDIX TO QUOD OMNIS PROBUS
LIBER SIT

§ 2. "Walk not on the highways." The form given here is almost the same as that in the latest edition of Diogenes Laertius, viz. τὰς λεωφόρους μὴ βαδίζειν. But another reading is ἑκτὸς λεωφόρου μὴ βαδίζειν. This has been emended to ἐντὸς, but does it not rather point to a variant assigning a quite different and more obvious meaning to the maxim?

§ 3. Super-law. Or "divine ordinance." Cf. De Op. 143 νόμος τῆς φύσεως ὁρθὸς λόγος, δὲ κυριωτέρα κλήσει πρὸσον-μάζεται θεσμός, νόμος θεῖος ὁ. In the same way the Ten Commandments are in a true sense θεσμοί, Quis Rerum 168. Besides being more divine the θεσμός has a wider scope and is like a general principle. So the Ten are θεσμοὶ τῶν κατὰ μέρος ἀπειρῶν νόμων γενικὰ κεφάλαια, De Cong. 120. It is a pity that these examples from Philo have not been used in the lexica. For though L. & S. remarks that θεσμός properly applies to ancient laws supposed to be sanctioned by the gods, it cites no examples which bring out the distinction from νόμος. Stephanus too after quoting the θεσμοὶ of Draco and the νόμοι of Solon, which may be merely traditional titles, only cites Plato, Ep viii. 355 b, where after an exhortation to set the ἄρετή of the soul above that of the body, and that again above money, he says δὲ ταῦτα ἄπεργαζόμενος θεσμὸς νόμος ἄν ὄρθως ύμῖν εἴη κείμενος, which points to a sort of distinction as that quoted above from De Cong.

§ 5. The puppet show. Though probably this is suggested by the words quoted in the footnote, those do not mean what is stated here. Plato does not mean that the prisoners in the cave mistake the realities for θαύματα. The phrase comes in incidentally to indicate that the wall behind which move the persons who carry the objects the shadows of which are reflected is like the screen behind which the θαυματοτούοι
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stand when exhibiting their show. Elsewhere Plato uses the figure (Laws 644 ν, 804 β) to describe human conduct, mankind being the puppets whose strings are worked by some higher power, a figure which Philo also uses, De Op. 117, De Fug. 46.

§ 10. Highly connected. Or more exactly "highly connected on both sides." Philo has ἀμφιθαλῆς twice elsewhere, De Cong. 132, where Moses is said to be καὶ τα πρὸς πατρὸς καὶ τα πρὸς μητρὸς ἀμφιθαλῆς, and Legatio 93, where Hermes, Apollo, and Ares are μεῖζονες καὶ ἀμφιθαλεῖς as compared with Dionysus and Heracles, presumably because Semele and Alcmena were mere women. This is a natural extension of the meaning in Il. xxii. 496 and Plato, Laws 927 ν, viz. a child who has both parents alive. So here cf. πρὸς ἄνδρῶν καὶ πρὸς γυναικῶν below.

§ 15. (The hiatus παιδεία ἀναθεϊναι.) Cohn in Hermes, li. (1916), pp. 172 ff. propounds a theory that the hiatus here is justified on the principle that Philo does not avoid it between the verb and its noun or adjective, which are so grammatically connected as to form a sort of unity. In the same way he accounts for ἵσαν ἀντιτιμηθεντες εὔνοια (§ 42) and φόβω ἐκκλίνει (§ 159), and notes similar examples in other treatises. On the other hand εὐτονία κραταιοτάτη εὐθύβολον (§ 40), θεοῖ ἐλευθέρους (§ 42) and σὺν εὐτολμία ἐφυθέπουν (§ 124) have no such justification. Accordingly the first of these remains "suspect" (though one would have thought κραταιοτάτης was an easy correction), the second is corrected to τῶν θεῶν, and the third has μετ' εὐτολμίας suggested in a footnote. This new law of justifiable exceptions is a big extension of the principle laid down by Jessen and Cumont (see my note in vol. viii. p. 428), by which familiar conjunctions like ἕτοιμοι ὁμας are declared acceptable. There are no such familiar conjunctions in the instances quoted from §§ 42 and 159.

Wendland in his essay on De Providentia written several years earlier points out (p. 146) Philo's general avoidance of the hiatus in that treatise, but notes a few exceptions, ἀδιαλύτω ἐνώσει ἀμυοσάμενος (§ 3), εὐμορφία ἀγάλλουτο (§ 15), ἀπατηλὰ αἰσθήσεις, πάθη ἐπίβουλα (§ 36), and there are some others which he has not observed. He then makes a remark which seems to me worth quoting: "We must not forget that avoidance of the hiatus is a matter of feeling only, not of
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anxious calculation, and there were very few writers in whom this feeling was so finely developed that it was not exposed to fluctuations and caprices.” This is not quite the same as the view suggested in the note above mentioned, namely that he avoided it generally but not when the avoidance would hamper his expression, but it leads to the same practical conclusion. When the tradition, Wendland continues, does not present any difficulty or any other cause for alteration, the editor of a writer like Philo will do well not to introduce any alteration merely on account of the hiatus.

§ 15. *New vessels,* etc. Cohn quotes Quintilian i. 1. 5 “natura tenacissimi sumus eorum quae rudibus annis percepimus, ut sapor, quo nova imbuas, durat.” The parallel will be still clearer if we adopt the correction “quo nova imbuas *<vase>.*” As Quintilian in the sentence before has quoted Chrysippus, Περὶ παιδῶν ἀγωγῆς, it seems probable that the illustration in both cases comes from a Stoic source.

§ 28. (Insertion of *οὕτως.*) Though not grammatically necessary it certainly appears to be Philo’s invariable usage when a comparison begins with a relative conjunction to introduce the main clause with an adverb *οὕτως* or τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον. So in this treatise §§ 15, 30, 45, 49, 51, 130, 140. And so in *De Prov.* §§ 3, 6, 20, 23, 39, 40, 52, 55. If the comparison begins with the main clause as in § 155 the rule naturally does not apply, nor always if the relative clause does not contain a separate verb as in *De Prov.* 32. Otherwise I have found no exceptions either in these two treatises or in *De Praem.*, in which I have tested it.

§ 70. *Wholefruits.* Or “wholly fruits.” In this digression induced by a favourite text, Deut. xxx. 14, and the favourite interpretation of mouth, heart, hands by words, thoughts, actions, we have something more akin to the Philo of the Commentary than we find anywhere else in this treatise. The meaning is that while in the natural garden the fruit only comes in the final stage, in the spiritual life all is fruit. As a matter of fact ὀλοκαρπώματα occurs only three times in our text of the Pentateuch and then only as a variant for ὀλοκαυτώματα. But the form ὀλοκάρπωσις is more frequent, occurring three times in Gen. xxi. in the story of the sacrifice of Isaac, and also in Gen. viii. 20, where Noah took of
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every clean beast and every clean fowl and offered them for a ὀλοκάρπωσις. On this passage, where perhaps he read ὀλοκάρπωμα for ὀλοκάρπωσις, Philo has a special meditation in Quaest. in Gen. ii. 52. The point of this is that the pure beasts are “sapientis sensus” and the pure fowls “intellectus cum cogitationibus in mente agitatis” and that they must be offered as “integer fructus.” The thought is perhaps much the same as in the stanzas of Rabbi Ben Ezra beginning “Not on the vulgar mass.”

§ 73. οἱ ἑτύμως ἐπτὰ σοφοὶ προσονμασθέντες. I find that the view taken in the footnote that the appellation is ἑτυμον because ἐπτά is akin to σέβας and σεμνός is thought to be a hard saying; and I am asked why it should not mean that they were called σοφοί because they were truly wise. I think that that explanation not only slurs the πρός but is entirely contrary to Philo’s use of ἑτύμως and ἑτυμος. That word in classical use is an epic or lyric word, in the ordinary sense of “true,” but with the grammarians came to mean the true or original form of the root from which other words spring, and thence the name “etymology” for the science of these ἑτυμα. Thus (De Op. 127) the Latin “septem” is said to be ἑτυμώτερον than the Greek ἐπτά because it preserves the original σ of the etymon.

As stated shortly in the note in vol. iv. p. 556, the examples of ἑτύμως in the index bear this out.

Names are said to be given ἑτύμως:
(1) De Op. 36. στερέωμα to “heaven,” because it is σωματικός (as opposed to νοητός), and σώμα is στερεόν.
(2) Ibid. 126. φωνήεντα to the vowels, because εξ ἑαυτῶν φωνοῦνται.
(3) Ibid. 133. παμμήτωρ and like names given by the poets to γῆ, because it is the source (αιτία) of γένεσις.
(4) De Conf. 137. θεός to God, because ἔθηκε τὸ πᾶν.
(5) Mos. i. 17. Moses so called, because he was drawn from the water and the Egyptian for water is μῶν.
(6) Ibid. 130. “Dog-fly” from its persistence, because the dog and the fly are the most shameless creatures in earth and air.
(7) Mos. ii. 105. θυμιατήριον given to the altar of incense, because ἀναθημάσεις τηρεῖ.
(8) Ibid. 149. τελεώσεως to the rams by which the sacrificers were admitted to the τελεταί.

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(9) Spec. Leg. i. 88. λογείον to the breastplate symbolizing heaven, because heaven is governed by λόγος.
(10) Ibid. 93. ροήσκοι to pomegranates παρά τήν ρύσιν.
(11) Ibid. 147. σιαγόνες to the jaws, because they shake (σείω).
(12) Ibid. 183. πρωτογεννημάτων to Pentecost, because τά πρώτα τῶν γεννημάτων are then offered. So also De Dec. 160.
(13) Spec. Leg. ii. 188. “Trumpet-feast” to the ἱερομηνία, because it is the custom to sound the trumpet.

In this volume, besides the words under discussion, we have (14) De Vit. Cont. 2, the Therapeutae, so called because θεραπεύοντι (“worship” or “heal”).
(15) De Aet. 54. κόσμος to the world, because it exhibits κόσμος (“order”).

Many of these are explanations of a term rather than what we should call derivations or etymologies, but they all have this in common, that the ετυμότης does not consist in the appropriateness of the term in itself, or of its application in the particular case, but in its relation to some other word or in (15) to some other sense of the same word. None of them suggest that a person could be called ετυμως σοφός because the adjective σοφός could be justly applied to him. The ετυμότης therefore I believe belongs to εππά, and the words of De Op. 127 explain in what it consists.

I should add that in the note, vol. iv. p. 556, I suggested that σοφός also was traced to σεβασμός, but this, I think, has no foundation.

§ 74. πρεσβευταί λόγων καὶ ἔργων. Οὐ πρεσβεύεται λόγων ἔργα? In support of the latter it is worth noting that Strabo xv. 1. 59 cites Megasthenes as saying of the Brachmanes (on whom see next note) ἐν ἔργοις γὰρ αὐτοῦς κρείττους καὶ λόγοις εἶναι. That Philo in his account of the Gymnosophists and Calanus had Megasthenes in mind is at least very probable.

§ 74. Gymnosophists. What did Philo understand by the Gymnosophists? Is it simply another name for the caste of the philosophers, i.e. the Brahmans, or for a specially ascetic type among them and possibly other castes? They are mentioned in the same vague way as here by Strabo xvi. 2. 39 coupled with the Magi and the μάντεις of other nations. So too Plut. ii. 322 b eulogizes the ἐμφυτὴς σοφία of the Indian sages.

When Strabo xv. 1. 39 ff. describes from Megasthenes the seven castes, of which the philosophers are the first, he does
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not use the term Gymnosophist or indicate any especial asceticism. Further on, *ibid.* 59, Megasthenes is stated to classify the philosophers as Brachmanes, *i.e.* presumably Brahmins, and Garmanes, by whom experts appear to understand Buddhists, and it is these Garmanes or some of them who seem best to exemplify the asceticism implied in the name of Gymnosophists, though nakedness is not actually mentioned. Again, *ibid.* 70, the Brachmanes are distinguished from the Pramnae and it is as applied to some of these last that we first meet the term.

On the other hand Arrian, who also is supposed to be quoting Megasthenes, definitely says of the philosophical caste that as a whole they live (διαιτώνται) naked, and when Plutarch (*Alexander* 64) applies the name Gymnosophists to the philosophers who had stirred up national feeling against the invader (§ 59), presumably he means the caste as a whole. I leave the experts to disentangle these conflicting statements. I suspect that the legend as Philo received it included (1) a belief that the philosophers were a caste, (2) that some of them were believed to practise a special asceticism, without aiming at anything more exact.

§ 75. Essenes. This note does not attempt to digest the many theories propounded about the Essenes but merely to summarize what Philo says about them and compare it with Josephus. In *Quod Omn. Prob.* Philo gives the following account of them: (1) They do not sacrifice animals; (2) they live in villages; (3) they work industriously at various occupations, not military nor commercial; (4) they keep no slaves; (5) their study is on morals and religion, particularly the allegorical meaning of the Scriptures; (6) they pursue and exhibit every kind of virtue; (7) this includes refusal to swear oaths and ceremonial purity; (8) they hold goods and clothing in common; (9) they provide for the sick and aged. To this is added an account of their sabbatical meetings, but this does not materially differ from that given of the Therapeutae in the *De Vit. Cont.* and of the nation as a whole in the *Hypothetica.*

Of these the *Hypothetica* mentions in much the same strain (3), (6), (8) and (9) and adds (10) that only adults are admitted to the order and (11) that they eschew marriage and have a poor opinion of women.

Josephus's account is given in *B.J.* ii. 8. 2-13, with some
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additions in Ant. xviii. 1. 5. It confirms practically all the points mentioned by Philo but goes far more into detail. Thus he describes fully the terms and process of admission to the order and also their refusal to take oaths in ordinary life and their ceremonial ablutions, points indicated by Philo only by the single words ἀνώμοτον and ἀγνεία. Interesting additions which he gives are that they regard the use of oil as a defilement, wear white garments, keep the sabbath with extraordinary strictness and show a feeling of reverence for the sun and sunrise which reminds us somewhat of De Vit. Cont. 27 and 89. Elsewhere he credits them with the power of predicting the future, also he gives us, what Philo entirely omits, some information about their doctrines, that they believed in the immortality of the soul though not of the body and in future rewards and punishments.

(Sections 89 to 91.) I have not seen any notice of the historical statements made in these sections and this note must be regarded as a tentative inquiry. I feel little doubt that Philo is referring in the first instance to Herod, who, according to Jos. Ant. xv. 10. 5, treated the Essenes with special friendship and thought of them as something higher than human (μείζόν τι φρονών ἐπ’ αὐτοῖς ἦ κατὰ τὴν θνητὸν φύσιν). This friendship is traced by Josephus originally to the predictions made by the Essene Manahem to Herod, first in his boyhood when Manahem prophesied that he would be a king who at first would govern righteously but afterwards would commit crimes for which he would be punished. When he became king Herod asked Manahem how long he would reign and was told that for at least thirty years, but no other limit was given, which answer appears to have satisfied Herod.

We have no other evidence, I think, as to how the Essenes were treated by any other ruler in Palestine. But we may ask who are these ferocious or treacherous potentates here alluded to. Apart from the wild statement of Pliny, N.H. v. 17 that the Essenes had flourished in Palestine "per millia saeculorum," the only allusion to their existence in earlier times is in Jos. Ant. xiii. 5. 9, where he mentions them as existing in the times of Jonathan the high priest, i.e. about 150 B.C. But this does not of course show that they did not exist at a considerably earlier date, and Philo might well have had Antiochus Epiphanes in mind. One would
hardly think that any of the Hasmoneans would appear in this light to Philo, though both Aristobulus and Alexander Jannaeus are credited with some barbarity. Archelaus at the other end, who also (B.J. ii. 7. 3) listened to the prediction of an Essene, would fit, but his date is too late, at any rate if the Quod Omn. Prob. is an early work of Philo.

§ 96. (Death of Calanus.) This is described by Strabo (xv. 1. 68), who says that while the historians differ on some minor points they agree that he accompanied Alexander and when in his seventy-third year he fell ill for the first time he burnt himself to death in Alexander's presence. Strabo adds that Megasthenes denied that suicide was enjoined by the philosophers, who regarded it as showing a reckless disposition.

Ibid. (Text of the letter.) Cohn in the article in Hermes mentioned in the note on § 15 observes that it contains four instances of hiatus, which however need not concern us, as Philo though avoiding it himself does not trouble himself to correct them in quotations. Cohn would not therefore raise this objection to my proposed insertion of ἀπεραί ημῖν.

§ 99. “Burn me, consume my flesh,” etc. I am rather surprised that Nauck, T.G.F. p. 525, lists this quotation as from the Syleus. Is not its juxtaposition with the Syleus in this one of the four places where it occurs sufficiently accounted for by the fact that Heracles plays a part in both? But the attitude which it represents seems very different from the boisterous behaviour in the Satyric play.

§ 100. (The Syleus.) Who speaks the last four lines of the first quotation and the three of the second? Cohn, following Nauck, T.G.F. p. 526, says Syleus. Subject to correction from those who know the ways of Satyric drama better than I do, I should reconstruct the situation as follows. Hermes brings Heracles to market much as Diogenes is brought in § 123, and one of the possible purchasers asks the question whether he is φαύλος. The auctioneer emphatically denies this, and then turning to Heracles says “Do try and look more like the sort of servant that people like to have.” Heracles then accommodates himself somewhat and is bought by Syleus, who finds out too late what a bad bargain he has made. Even if we assume that Cohn and Nauck are so far right that the last four lines from οὐδεὶς to ἐμβολήν are to be detached from the other four, I should still prefer to
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ascribe them to one of the ὄντως ἔχοντες, who declined to buy anyone so dangerous, rather than to Syleus.

§ 127. Theodorus. An account of this follower of Aristippus about the end of the fourth century is given by Diog. Laert. ii. 98-102, who mentions his important book Περὶ θεῶν and his denial of much of the popularly accepted morality. According to Diogenes Laertius he did not take refuge with Lysimachus on his expulsion from Athens but with Ptolemy, who sent him on an embassy to Lysimachus. Another saying attributed to him by Cicero and others is that when Lysimachus threatened to crucify him he replied that it was a matter of indifference to him whether he went to corruption in the earth or in the air.

§ 134. Ion. A contemporary of the great Tragedians and sufficiently eminent for Longinus to say that though he was faultless, polished and elegant no one in his senses would match all his tragedies taken together with one of Sophocles. Little has been preserved of his, and of the sixty-eight fragments listed by Nauck many are single words, few as long as this and only one longer.

§ 140. The Venerable Goddesses. Cohn’s statement that these are Demeter and Persephone seems rather rash. He adduces Ar. Thesm. 294

δούλοις γὰρ οὐκ ἔξεστ' ἀκούειν τῶν λόγων,

and though this line has been suspected as a gloss the preceding words,

οὐ δ’ ἀπελ', ὦ Θραττ', ἐκποδῶν,

show that the slave girl was excluded. But it does not follow that this was the only cult from which slaves were excluded. Though no doubt the epithet σεμνὰι θεῖαι might be applied to Demeter and Persephone, its regular connotation is the Eumenides. The procession in honour of the Eumenides is alluded to by Aeschylus at the end of the play and is mentioned by other writers as including the carrying of sacred cakes (see Pfühl, De Atheniensium pompis sacris, pp. 92 ff., a reference given me by Dr. Cook). Pfühl accepts without question that it is this to which Philo refers.

Also it would seem prima facie unlikely that the procession at the Thesmophoria would include men as well as women or that the cakes would be prepared by the Ephebi, though I do not know that there is positive evidence about this.

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APPENDIX TO *DE VITA CONTEMPLATIVA*

(Title and sub-title.) The main title as here printed is that used by Eusebius himself, first when making his famous disquisition on the Therapeutae, *Hist. Eccl.* ii. 17, and again in his list of Philo's writings in the next chapter. There can therefore be no doubt of its authenticity, but it is difficult to see why Philo substituted *ἰκετῶν* for *θεραπευτῶν*. It does not occur in the treatise itself and though as Conybeare shows there are many passages where *ἰκεταί* and *θεραπευταί* are coupled, they are not exactly the same and *ἰκεταί* does not suit the sense of healing which he gives as an alternative meaning for Therapeutae.

As for the sub-title, the "fourth (part or book) of the virtues" has no authority from Eusebius but appears to be given in all the mss. The title of *Περὶ ἀρετῶν* is given by Eus. ii. 18 to the treatise of which the *Legatio* as we have it is a part, and he says in ii. 5 that this had five books and in ii. 6 speaks of the sufferings of the Jews in Alexandria as being described in the second book. The sub-title, therefore, affirms that the *De Vit. Cont.* was the fourth book of this treatise. We may be sure at any rate that Eusebius had no idea of this. But this, being part of the wider question what the complete *Περὶ ἀρετῶν* consists of and what is the meaning of the title, may be postponed until the *Legatio* is translated.

§ 2. *προαίρεσις*. This word occurs again five times in this treatise, §§ 17, 29, 32, 67, 79, and twice elsewhere in this volume, *Quod Omn. Prob.* 89 and *Hyp.* 11. 2. The uses in Philo, all springing from the sense of choice or purpose, may be divided into those which describe the purpose or motive of some particular action and those which indicate the motives and principles which regulate a lifetime or a career. To the first class belong §§ 29 and 79 as I under-
stand the passage, and § 32 might be taken in the same way. In the other passages it is used in the second sense. In §§ 2, 17 and Hyp. 11. 2, where it is applied to the Therapeuta or the Essenes, it may be thought that it simply = the sect itself. So indeed Gifford translates it in the latter passage and L. & S. recognizes this use of the word. But it seems to me better in the Philonic passages to take it as the beliefs and principles held by the sects, thus including both a creed and a rule of life. The various attempts made in this volume to translate it, i.e. "persuasion," "vocation," "creed" and "rule of life," are none of them, perhaps, quite adequate.

§ 3. (Hephaestus and Poseidon.) So Cornutus (§ 19) says of Hephaestus ἐκ τοῦ ἡφθαί ωνομασμένος. In the same chapter he, like Philo in De Dec. 54, identifies Ἡρα with ἀήρ, but does not suggest a common derivation. For Poseidon cf. Corn. 4, where he identifies him with ἥ ἀπεργαστική τοῦ ἐν τῇ γῇ καὶ περὶ τῆν γῆν ύγρον δύναμις and adds εἰτ' ἀπὸ τῆς πόσεως οὔτω κέκληται. This is followed by two alternative suggestions, cf. Philo's τάχα.

§ 17. ῥαψωδίας. Conybeare, scolding Lucius, who saw in this reference to the thirteenth rhapsody the mark of later authorship, says that the division into rhapsodies was the work of Zenodotus and Aristarchus, 250 years before Philo. He does not give his authority for this. As to the use of the word in this sense the lexica do not give any certain evidence. L. & S. (old and revised) gives "portions of an epic poem fit for recitation, etc., e.g. a book of the Ιliad or Οδyssey, Plut. 2, 186 ε, Lucian, D. Mort. 20. 2 and Cont. 9." In this they are really repeating Stephanus. In the first of the Lucian passages the greater Homeric personalities when in Hades are described as τὰ κεφάλαια τῶν ῥαψωδίων. In the second Homer in Charon's boat was sea-sick and vomits his rhapsodies. Plutarch is more definite. Alcibiades asks the teacher for a rhapsody of Homer and when the teacher says he has no Homer gives him a box on the ears. In the Life of Alcibiades 7 Plutarch repeats this story, substituting βίβλιον for ῥαψωδίαν. It is both curious and regrettable that this passage of Philo which so definitely establishes the use of the word for the Homeric books as we have them has not found its way into the lexicon.

§ 25. μοναστήριον. On this word Conybeare states that
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it does not exist elsewhere in any Greek document until the end of the third century, when it has acquired the sense of a building or establishment for a single monk or hermit (for which he gives references from Athanasius and other patristic writers) or for several monks together. The statement that it does not occur earlier is confirmed by L. & S. revised, which, apparently ignoring the patristic use, quotes this passage but nothing else earlier than the sixth century. It translates it here by "hermit's cell," which does not seem to me a happy phrase. It indicates simply a room in a house, into which no one else is allowed to enter. The familiar "closet" of Matt. vi. 6, though the R.V. has replaced it by "inner chamber," seems to me to carry the same idea.

Ibid. (End of section.) τὰ άλλα presumably refers to writings of some kind. But the words may refer to the συγγράμματα mentioned in § 29, or to the other books of scripture besides those indicated above. So Wendland, who quotes the Canon given by Josephus, Ant. i. 8, i.e. the Law, the Prophets (including the historical books), and the four books of the psalms and precepts of human life, i.e. Psalms, Proverbs, Ecclesiastes and Cantica. If Philo means this, τὰ άλλα will be the last three. But unless other evidence is forthcoming this seems very conjectural.

§ 36. λιπαίνουσιν. Wendland, like Conybeare, takes this word to mean "anoint" in the literal sense. He does not translate the passage, but as he thinks that τὰ θρέμματα is figuratively used and cites several passages where Philo uses the word to represent the senses or body as cattle under the guidance of the shepherd, the mind, he presumably would translate it "releasing as it were the animal side from its labours." He also takes the passage to be a reminiscence of Plato, Menexenus 238 λ, where oil is spoken of as πόνων ἀρωγήν, cf. De Aet. 63. With all due deference to two such high authorities, I still hold to the interpretation given in the translation that the relaxation of abstinence on the sabbath is to the Therapeutae what release from labour is to the beasts of burden. The Therapeutae have not endured the labour for which oil is a relief nor is λιπαίνω the natural word for anointing. Wendland certainly makes a point when he remarks that the indicative ἀνίασι would be expected rather than the participle. But the construction may, I think, be explained quite easily by understanding
lamainous. When he asks if they only eat bread and salt on the sabbath, what did they do on the other days, the natural answer is that on the sabbath they did not fast for the whole day or even until sunset. It is, I think, worth noting that according to Josephus, B.J. ii. 8. 3, the Essenes abstained altogether from the use of oil. Though it is not a decisive point it is a little surprising to find the Therapeutae making a sabbatical luxury of the indulgence which the less ascetic Essenes refuse.

§ 49. τρίκλινα. “Sets of three couches” is one of the meanings given in L. & S. revised for τρίκλινος (the more usual form) and τρίκλινον which appears to be found occasionally. Conybeare gives “couches for three to recline upon.” Whatever the exact meaning is the point is, as he says, that they are large articles of furniture and therefore it shows extravagance to make them of very expensive material.

§ 58. (Xenophon’s Symposium.) Philo’s description of this is very superficial. The amusements mentioned chiefly appear at the beginning and end of the banquet and he does no justice to the mixture of banter and seriousness (ἀναμικεὶς ἐσκωψάν τε καὶ ἐσποῦδασαν) which characterizes most of the talk, nor to the real seriousness in Socrates’ longer speech, while, on the other hand, he ignores the fact that the acceptance of the feature in Greek sentiment so strongly denounced in §§ 60-62 is as prominent here as in Plato’s Symposium.

§ 59. (Plato’s Symposium.) Philo’s criticisms of this are not very creditable to him. In the first place his equating πάνδημος ἔρως with παιδεραστία is entirely wrong. The essence of πάνδημος ἔρως as represented in Pausanias’s speech, where the phrase principally appears, is that it is περὶ σώματος. It is concerned with women as much as with boys (181 b) and the passion of a male for a younger male plays a greater part in οὐράνιος ἔρως. But more important than this is the error of dismissing the οὐράνιος ἔρως as merely a secondary adjunct brought in to give a touch of humour or wit. Such a description indeed would be appropriate to Aristophanes’ fable of the original third sex which Philo takes so seriously in § 63, but it does not apply to the rest, and much of the picture ascribed by Socrates to Diotima is very much after Philo’s heart. Indeed, he himself uses the word ἔρως in the same idealistic way, e.g. De Ebr. 136.

Philo, of course, is not the only person who has been
shocked by the acceptance in some parts of the *Symposium* of παιδεραστία as a normal feeling and still more by the apparent callousness of Socrates as described by Alcibiades in the last part. It was perhaps with reference mainly to this that Athenaeus xi. 506 c declares that what Plato says about Alcibiades in the *Symposium* is not fit for repetition οὐδ' εἰς φῶς άξιον λέγεσθαι, and that, as every Cambridge student learnt in an earlier generation, Paley in the *Evidences*, part ii. 2, says that Socrates himself was more than suspected of the foulest impurities. Philo makes very little use of the *Symposium* himself. The only definite reminiscence listed by Leisegang is that noted on p. 232 of this volume, though perhaps the thought of the preference of the Therapeutae for the immortal rather than mortal children in De Vit. Cont. 68 may have in mind *Symp.* 209.

§ 65. δι' ἑπτά ἐβδομάδων. Wendland rejects Conybeare’s view almost entirely on the ground that the word cannot yield this sense. He is wrong, I believe, in saying that the words in themselves cannot mean “after seven weeks.” διά in this sense indicates the interval between two events, but whether this interval occurs only once or recurs regularly depends on the context. Here, as stated in the footnote, since weekly sabbaths have been mentioned, “every seven weeks” is the natural meaning. But admitting that Philo has expressed himself carelessly if he means seven weeks after the Passover, is it likely that the Therapeutae, who appear to have been orthodox Jews, discarded the religious calendar of Moses and arranged a new system of festal days which one would have thought would have been difficult in itself? For since periods of fifty days do not fit into the year, this great feast would recur seven times in one year and eight times in another and in different months from year to year.

Wendland does not notice μεγίστης ἐορτής, which is not without its difficulties on Conybeare’s hypothesis but much more perplexing on his. In what sense is every fiftieth day which follows the *Symposium* on the forty-ninth called the greatest feast and what happened on it? Nor does he notice τὸ μὲν πρῶτον. Conybeare understood this to mean that they first meet on the eve for the banquet, the religious meeting on the day itself for worship being taken for granted. By translating it “first of all” I suggest that he does not rule
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out other cheerful convivial meals but takes this as the most notable, cf. § 40.

Ibid. The chief feast. Conybeare, p. 313, gives the following as reasons why Philo describes the Pentecostal meal in preference to the Paschal. The Passover was a domestic feast celebrated more austerely than Pentecost, which was also a day prescribed by the Law for rejoicing; also it occurred in a season more suited to remaining all night in the open air. These are perhaps satisfactory reasons for his selection of the feast for description, but not for his calling it the greatest feast, and Conybeare is mistaken when he says, p. 300, that Philo uniformly refers to Pentecost as the greatest of the feasts. Philo I think only mentions Pentecost three times, De Dec. 160, Spec. Leg. i. 183, ii. 176 ff. In the third of these he remarks that it is a greater feast than the Sheaf which he has just described. In the second he calls it δημοτελεστάτη, i.e. especially national or generally celebrated, while in the first he speaks of the Passover and Tabernacles as the greatest feasts. However this inconsistency is not greater than many of those to be found in Philo’s writings.

§ 67. (Genuineness of ἄλλ’ ἐτι κομιδὴ νέων παῖδας.) In Hermes, 1916, p. 179, Cohn gives as an additional reason for expunging these words that they make no sense, and that not they but ἄλλα τοὺς ἐκ πρώτης . . . φιλοσοφίας are the antithesis to τοὺς πολυετείς καὶ πολιοῦς. This last is true, but the sentence contains another antithesis, viz. πρεσβυτέρους and νέων παῖδας. This may be awkward, but is perfectly intelligible. Conybeare says “Armenio plane desunt, non tamen omittenda esse videntur.”

§ 78. Reminding. I think this should be taken as an allusion to the Platonic doctrine that learning is recollection (Meno 81). The knowledge is latent in the mind and the teacher only brings it into consciousness, cf. De Praem. 9.

Conybeare discussing this thinks that the employment of ὑπόμνησις instead of ἀνάμνησις is against it. But surely if learning is recollection, teaching is reminding. He considers that Spec. Leg. iv. 107 is still more against it, but this seems to me irrelevant. There Philo says that, when the lesson is over, the pupil, by chewing the cud, i.e. by using his memory to call up what the teacher has told him, stamps a firm impression of them on his mind.

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§ 80. (The hymns.) That the Jewish churches in the Hellenistic world should have hymns and that they should be composed in metres familiar to Greeks is perfectly natural, and I presume it was knowledge of such hymns that led Josephus to make the fanciful statement (Ant. vii. 12. 3) that David arranged the Psalms, some in trimeters and others in pentameters, and also that Moses composed both his longer and shorter hymns in hexameters (ii. 16. 4, iv. 8. 44), but I have seen no illustration of this statement of Philo which seems curiously elaborate, particularly its enumeration of Greek metres. Among these προσοδίων (or, at least the variant προσοδιακών) and στάσιμων are recognized metrical terms. But παραβωμίων and παρασπονδείων are not cited elsewhere, at least as applied to hymns or lyrics, and χορικών appears to be a general term for any choral hymn.
§ 12. Ocellus. The work attributed to Ocellus consists of four chapters. The first argues the indestructibility of the Cosmos and it is in this that the analogies to the De Aet. are mostly to be found. The most striking is in the eleventh section where he argues that the destroying cause must come either from within or from without and both of these are impossible. This is to the same effect as De Aet. 20-24 and in one place there is a certain similarity of language, ὁ κόσμος ἀγει ὧν πάντα μέρη § 22, beside ἀγεῖ τὰ ἄλλα πάντα ὑπὸ τοῦ παντός of Ocellus. It has far less detail than Philo and in fact is more a statement than an argument. Again i. 9 makes much the same point as De Aet. 70, namely that the world causes other things to exist and therefore causes itself to exist. Thirdly, §§ 12-13 describe shortly the transmutation of elements and there is a considerable analogy to De Aet. 107-110 and in both we have the same phrase κύκλον ἀμείβειν. The second chapter deals with γένεσις and is largely a reproduction of Aristotle, De Generatione et Corruptione. The third short chapter asserts the existence from everlasting of the human race, arguing to much the same effect as Critolaus in De Aet. 55. Chapter four is ethical; the view that the generation of mankind is from the first from mankind and not from the earth is declared to demand sexual purity and continence.

A curious point about the book is that the quotations from it in Stobaeus are in Doric while our manuscripts are in ordinary Greek. The presumption is that it was originally written in Doric, probably to give it the appearance of a heritage from the early days of Pythagoreanism, and afterwards translated into ordinary Greek to make it more acceptable to the general reader.

§ 13. Gods sprung from gods, etc. Archer-Hind (who
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translates “Gods of gods”) and others take this as an intensive expression like κακά κακῶν and ἄρρητ' ἄρρητων in Sophocles, but these do not seem to me quite analogous. The other rendering however is also very difficult. The words which follow in the mss. of Plato ὄν ἐγὼ δημιουργός πατήρ τε ἐργῶν ἄ δι' ἐμοῦ γενόμενα ἀληθα ἐμοῦ γε μή ἔθελοντος are rendered by Archer-Hind “whose creator am I and father of works which by me coming into being are indissoluble save by my will.” Philo omits not only ὄν but ἄ δι' ἐμοῦ γενόμενα.

Bernays held that these words are a gloss in Plato, and I see that the Loeb edition and apparently others omit them, quoting Philo as their authority. I do not think that the omission by Philo is a strong argument for their spuriousness. The translation given above making ὄν ἐργῶν = ἐργῶν ἄ would of course be impossible with the ordinary reading. I think it is an alternative possibility that Philo did omit ὄν but actually wrote ἄ before ἀληθα which has fallen out. In this case he may have taken the words as “Gods, of gods I am the maker (cf. θεοπλάστην below) and father of works which,” etc.

The μή δεθέν for δὴ δεθέν is of course a mere scribe’s blunder. The same uncertainty between θέλοντος and μὴ θέλοντος is found in the mss. both of Plato and Philo, but I cannot feel with Archer-Hind that the sense is as good with the positive as with the negative.

§ 21. Opposite extremes. The use of εναντιότης for a pair of opposites or for one member of such a pair, or for the condition of such a member, is too well supported by Philo’s use of it, particularly in Quis Rerum, to allow us to take the phrase ταΐς ἄλλαις εναντ. as = “the other hostile forces.” So too Ocellus in chapter two of his treatise taken, as stated in the last note, from Aristotle, De Gen. et Corr. Here the ἐναντιότητες or at least the primary ones are hot and cold, wet and dry. Fire is hot and dry, air hot and wet, water wet and cold, earth dry and cold. When one opposite overcomes the other, e.g. the wetness of water overcomes the dryness of fire, fire changes to air, and it is the overcoming of one opposite by the other which brings about the transmutation of the elements described by Philo, §§ 107 ff., but this conversion of one element into another is quite distinct from the causes of destruction of the world. Philo clearly
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has in mind the passage from the *Timaeus* translated in § 26. I suspect that he thought that when Plato follows “hot things and cold” by “all that have strong powers” he refers to the other *έναντιότητες*: if so I think he misunderstood Plato.

§ 23. (Transposition of the text.) Between ἀδεκτον ἦσται and κατὰ τῷ παντελὲς the mss. insert a mass of sections from § 53 ὑποστήναι καθ’ ἑαυτὸν to § 77 νέος ἦν συνεπιγραφάμενος. This no doubt happened because the leaves containing these sections were torn off and then replaced wrongly. The result was confusion at all three places, §§ 23, 53, 77. ἀδεκτον ἦσται ὑποστήναι καθ’ ἑαυτὸν, κτλ., τὸ μηδὲ χρόνον τῷ δόγματι, κτλ. and συνεπιγραφάμενος κατὰ τῷ παντελές, κτλ. are all equally unintelligible. Mangey of course perceived this but supposed that at each place words had dropped out which would have supplied the necessary connexion. Bernays’ discovery that the confusion was caused by the displacement of these sections was a brilliant feat of scholarship and is incontrovertible. The words fit in exactly where they are now placed and nothing needs to be added. In this way the transposition stands on a different footing from that made by Cohn in *De Vit. Cont.* p. 144 of this volume, where several words have to be added to make the passage coherent.

§§ 25 and 38. (Text of quotations from Plato.) In § 25 besides a few minor differences there are as stated in the footnotes three departures of some importance in the mss. of Philo from the accepted text of Plato. In the first, ὡς τὰ τῷ for ὡς συστάτω, it must be noted that συστάτω though accepted by recent editors is a correction. The mss. for the most part have συνιστάς (-άν) τῷ σώματι, out of which Stallbaum produced ἁ συνιστά τὰ σώματα. If συστάτω is accepted the accommodation of τὰ τῷ to this is justifiable, since that makes no sense and cannot have been written by Philo. The second case of λυπεῖ for λύει is different, for λυπεῖ makes good sense. But there is no reason to doubt that Plato wrote λύει or that Philo meant to reproduce Plato’s words as exactly as possible. He often indeed does not reproduce quotations exactly, but the substitution of λυπεῖ for λύει is as likely to be due to a scribe as to him, and it seems to me a doubtful point whether we should not make the correction here as Mangey and the earlier editions did. Bernays indeed supports λυπεῖ on the grounds that it
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gives a preferable meaning, but surely that is irrelevant unless he means that the text of Plato should be emended accordingly. In the third case of θεός for ἐν we have in θεός an interpolation which Philo might naturally make by mistake, and though ἐν is of some importance as echoing πρός δὲ τόντοις ἐν above this might easily escape notice, and the text is best left as it stands. In §38 the change of the three masculines, αὐτός . . . παρέχων . . . πάσχων, to the corresponding neuters is necessitated by the neuters in the last sentence. But the addition of ἄλλων is perhaps unnecessary and is not accepted by Cumont and Bernays.

§48. ἰδίως ποιόν, etc. Zeller, Stoics and Epicureans, p. 100, says of ποιόν that it “comprises all those essential attributes by means of which a definite character is impressed on otherwise indeterminate matter. If the definite character belongs to a group or class it is called a common form κοινῶς ποιόν, or if it be something peculiar and distinctive it is called a distinctive form ἰδίως ποιόν.” There are a good many passages quoted in S.V.F. which contain the phrase, though they do not I think throw much light on the meaning. To them we may add Diog. Laert. vii. 138, where one definition of the Cosmos is ὁ ἰδίως ποιός τῆς τῶν ὅλων οὐσίας, which Hicks translates the “individual being qualifying the whole of substance” (perhaps rather “the substance of the all”). I do not feel that either this or Zeller’s “distinctive form” conveys to me any clear meaning. On the formula stated here that “two ἰδίως ποιόι or ποιά cannot exist on the same substratum,” Zeller says that it follows as a matter of course since ἰδίως ποιός distinguishes a thing from every other. As to the argument based on it Bernays in the dissertation which precedes his commentary says frankly that we cannot expect to understand it, but in the commentary itself he does give an explanation which I do not understand. We can see however that, assuming as in the typical case that Theon is destroyed when Dion’s foot is amputated, the application which Philo makes is logical or at least intelligible. The Cosmos is a composite being with body and soul, the soul being Providence. In the conflagration when the Cosmos loses its bodily part it is on the same analogy not the Cosmos which is destroyed but its soul.

It may possibly help us to compare the similar argument
in Plutarch Comm. Not. chapter 36, 1077 B where we have the Cosmos, identified with Zeus, as the whole man with Providence for its soul. What happens at the conflagration according to the Stoics is that Zeus alone among the gods is not destroyed, cf. De Aet. 81, and passes over or withdraws (ἀναχωρεῖ=ἀνέδραμε here) into Providence and they (i.e. the Cosmos and Providence) being brought together (ὥστε γενομένους) both continue to exist on the single οὐσία of ether (does this mean that as in the διακόσμησις the Cosmos was the ἴδιος . . . ποιὸς τῆς οὐσίας τῶν ὅλων now that τὰ ὅλα are resolved into ether, this has both Zeus and Providence for its ἴδιος ποιῶς?), and this is supposed to contradict the doctrine of δύο ἴδιος ποιά, etc. The only thing I can claim to gather with certainty from the two passages is that the Peripatetics argued that the Stoic doctrine of the ἐκπύρωσις contradicted their own doctrine of δύο ἴδιος ποιά, etc.

Two minor points are: (1) the mss. reading εἰδοποιοῦσ is retained by Bernays though he clearly takes it as equal to ἴδιος ποιούσ. He curiously says that this is not to be put down to the scribes, but shows that the source is Peripatetic, since Aristotle uses the term “specific.” (2) The treatise Περί αὐξανομένων is not mentioned in Diogenes Laertius’s catalogue of Chrysippus’s writings. The subject no doubt is what Plutarch 1083 B calls ο λόγος περί αὐξήσεως and deals with the relation of increases and diminutions to identity of personality. Plutarch represents the Stoics as holding that these changes are wrongly called in familiar language increase and diminution and are rather γενέσεις and φθοράι.

§ 127. Fire . . . lame. This allegorical interpretation of the post-Homeric story that Hephaestus became lame when thrown from heaven to earth comes originally from Heraclitus according to a scholiast on Il. i. 590. It is also alluded to by Plutarch, De facie in orbe lunae 922 Α and Cornutus 19, who says that fire cannot advance ἀνεύ ξύλων nor a lame man ἀνεύ ξυλώδους βάκτρου (see quotations in Cohn). Cumont’s emendation given in the footnotes is ingenious in the sense that Ἡφαίστος might easily have been lost before ἂφαισι, and Διὸς σκηρ. corrupted to διὸ σκηρ., but is surely impossible. He cites the passage from the scholiast to support it, but this only mentions Zeus to equate him with the heavenly fire which is contrasted with the earthly. He
also declares that εξ εαυτοῦ would be καθ' εαυτόν if taken as Bernays and the translation take it, but see § 20 above, and De Vit. Cont. 4 and 5. νομήν ("feeding on") for μονήν is also unnecessary and indeed less suitable to the context.

§ 129. Free their heads. So I think rather than "lift their heads." ανακύπτω in the common sense of emerging from water suggests coming up to breathe, cf. ἀνανήξασθαι Spec. Leg. iii. 3. The snakes might conceivably, even though crushed by the elephants, still have their heads free, and it is this that is negatived here.

§ 143. (ἐρωτάω—"state a proposition.") Another example of this use, which may be much commoner than the lexicon suggests, occurs in the passage of Plutarch mentioned in the note on ιδίως ποιόν above, ὁ περὶ αὐξήσεως λόγος . . . ἡρώτηται ἦν Ἐπιχάρμου.

Sections 147 ff. I take the opportunity of pointing out a serious omission in the notes in vol. vi. In De Abr. 1 Philo says that the Book of Genesis tells how fire and water wrought the greatest destructions on what is on the earth. In Mos. ii. 53, speaking of the punishment of the wicked, he says that the most forceful elements in the universe, fire and water, fell upon them, so that as the times revolved some perished by water, others by conflagration. He then mentions the deluge itself and continues "at a later time when the race sprung from the remnant had again become very populous, he determined to destroy them by fire," and we then have a short account of the destruction of Sodom and Gomorrah. I did not at the time perceive the close connexion of these passages with the Timaeus and the Laws. The connexion is clearer still in Mos. ii. 263, where we are told that the men had lost count of the sabbath by reason of the constant destructions by fire and water. Philo evidently considers the deluge and the destruction of Sodom and Gomorrah as examples of the destructions described by Plato. Whether he supposed that they were only examples, as the last passage suggests, and that other unrecorded visitations had occurred, we cannot tell. At any rate he would hold that what truth there was in Plato's story came from Moses.
APPENDIX TO IN FLACCUM

§ 1. Sejanus. According to Eus. Hist. Eccl. ii. 5, Philo related in his "Embassy" that "Sejanus, who had the greatest influence with the Emperor, was zealous to destroy utterly the whole Jewish nation." In Legatio 160 he says that Sejanus brought charges against the Jews in Rome, the falsity of which was recognized by Tiberius after Sejanus's fall and execution. Sejanus had invented these calumnies because he knew that the Jews would defend the Emperor against his treason. I have not seen elsewhere any support of these statements.

§ 10. (Tiberius Gemellus.) Gemellus was the son of Drusus, Tiberius's son who had died in A.D. 23. He was therefore one of the γνήσιοι while his cousin Gaius was the son of Germanicus, Tiberius's nephew, who had been adopted (θετός) into the Gens Julia. The story of the murder of Gemellus, or, more strictly speaking, his enforced suicide, is told by Philo in Legatio 22-31. Philo is somewhat inaccurate in speaking of him as κοινωνός τής αρχής here and in Legatio 23, 28. Tiberius had left his property to the two equally, but had said nothing about the succession to the principate. This, however, might be taken to imply that he wished the two to share the sovereignty, and Gemellus's partisans, no doubt, claimed that this was his rightful position. Indeed, though Gaius obtained from the senate the cancellation of the will, he according to Philo declared his wish that Gemellus should ultimately be his partner, but that as he was a mere child (he was actually 17 or 18, and only seven years younger than Gaius), he needed to be educated for this and he therefore made him his adopted son.

There seems to be another inaccuracy in the statement that Gaius's mother, Agrippina, was put to death. She and her son, Nero, had been condemned and exiled in A.D. 33.
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statement made by both Tacitus and Suetonius that she starved herself to death seems to be generally accepted, though Tac. Ann. v. 25 suggests that possibly food was refused her.

§ 20. Dionysius. Dionysius is presumed to be identical with the Gaius Julius Dionysius or Dionysius son of Theon, mentioned in the recently discovered letter of Claudius, see the text with translation and commentary in H. I. Bell's Jews and Christians in Egypt, pp. 23 ff. The letter was written in answer to the embassy sent by the Alexandrians, primarily to congratulate Claudius on his accession, but also to present their defence for the recent anti-Jewish disturbances. Dionysius is named among the ambassadors and also the zeal with which he pleaded his case is especially mentioned.

Our knowledge of Isidorus and Lampo is not confined to the activities described by Philo, see Introduction, pp. 299 f. They reappear in another interesting document. This is a fragment of what Bell calls the Alexandrian Propagandists' Literature, known as the "pagan acts of the martyrs." This fragment probably belongs to some twelve years later. It appears that Isidorus, now gymnasiarch, and Lampo are still the protagonists of the Greek cause. They have brought charges against Agrippa the Second, but have lost their case and are themselves put to death. In this literature the arch-rogues and villains have become the true patriots who withstand the pernicious influence of the Jews and the tyranny of Rome.

In another fragment, apparently of the same type, described by Box, p. lvi, Dionysius appears with Isidorus as having an interview with Flaccus, in which they procure from him a permit to leave the country. This does not appear to do more than confirm Philo's statement that Dionysius was one of Isidorus's leading supporters.

§ 25. Agrippa. Agrippa the First is a subject of a long biographical notice in Jos. Ant. xviii. 6 and other notices elsewhere, but he is also well known to multitudes, who have never heard of Josephus, from Acts xii. He is the Herod who figures there as persecutor of the early church and dying miserably. A grandson of Herod the Great, his early life was one of extravagance, and when reduced to destitution he had on a visit to Alexandria borrowed a large sum from
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Philo's brother, the alabarch Alexander. This visit is mentioned by Philo in § 28, though he discreetly says nothing of the circumstances. At Rome he had made friends with Gaius but got into trouble with Tiberius and was imprisoned. But Gaius on his accession released him and gave him as Philo tells us the territory which Philip had ruled as tetrarch as well as the title of king. Philip, the "best of the Herods," had died three years before and Tiberius had annexed the tetrarchy to the province of Syria, but under the condition that the revenues should be kept separate, and these presumably fell into Agrippa's hands. Josephus adds that Gaius gave him at the same time the tetrarchy of Lysanias, and, finally, after Gaius's death, Claudius gave him also Judea and Samaria, so that he held all the dominions over which his grandfather had ruled. Agrippa's loyalty to his nation appears again in Legatio 261-332, where Gaius while praising his candour blames him for his complaisance (ἀρέσκεια) to his fellow nationals, thus agreeing with the author of the Acts when he tells us how Agrippa slew James the brother of John with a sword, and because he saw that it pleased (ἀρεστόν ἐστι) the Jews proceeded further to take Peter also.

§ 45. (κατάλυσις.) Up to this point we should think that the overthrow or destruction consisted in the desecration caused by the installation of the images. But in § 53 this is expanded into "Flaccus seizes them without even leaving them their name." And in Legatio 132 the Alexandrians, thinking that Gaius would approve their action, destroy and burn all the synagogues in which the Jews did not make an effective resistance and installed the images in the others. How are we to reconcile these statements? I should suggest as most probable that Flaccus had merely ostentatiously abstained from interfering when the Alexandrians tried to install the images by force. These attacks resulted in riotous conflicts in which many synagogues actually were destroyed, and the statement quoted above from § 53 merely means that the Jews felt that they had lost their holy houses and considered that Flaccus was ultimately responsible. On the other hand, H. I. Bell in Cambridge Ancient History, vol. x. p. 310, takes the statement in § 53 more literally and says that Flaccus forbade the Jews the exercise of their religion, closing the synagogues. See also note on § 54.

§ 48. (Footnote a, p. 328.) When I wrote this note I had
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not sufficiently considered Box's translation and note. He translates "they have no sacred precincts in which they could set forth their gratitude" and gives as a note "the Jews of the Diaspora had no temples," i.e. the προσευχαί are not ἱεροὶ περίβολοι, whereas I understand Philo to say that they are holy until they are desecrated. His explanation has the great merit that he gets rid of the difficulty mentioned in my footnote, but it seems to me to raise other difficulties. It is true that the synagogues were not temples, that is to say sacrifices could not be offered in them, but that they were ἱεροὶ περίβολοι is implied by the very fact that they could be desecrated. Box seems also to suggest a distinction between the pagan temples and the synagogues in that inscriptions to benefactors could not be placed in them, and loyalty could only be shown by dedications and emblems in honour of the imperial power. I dare say he may have evidence of this, but it seems rash to assume that the phrase ἐνδιαθήσονται τὸ εὐχάριστον would not apply to dedications and emblems. If it does not, then neither were the Jews deprived of the means of showing their loyalty, for they never had it. I still prefer my view and explain the μόνοι ἀπεστεροῦντο to mean that the Jews were the only people who would be deprived of their places of worship by the introduction of images and thus also be deprived of the means of showing their gratitude. It is badly and obscurely expressed, but so is much in these sections.

§ 54. (The edict.) The purport of this is obscure and I can do little more than record some recent suggestions on the subject. Box, p. xlv, looks upon it as a pronouncement that the Jews would retain only legal rights assured by a competent authority, and that every merely prescriptive right or concession would be withdrawn. Among these were the right to live in other quarters than the one originally granted, and the privilege of being beaten by blades, mentioned in § 78. Balsdon, The Emperor Gaius, p. 132, says that the Alexandrians pleaded that the Jews had no right to live in Alexandria at all and that what Flaccus did was to lay down that this right was limited as above. I do not know what evidence he has that the Alexandrians proposed anything so extreme. Both these views imply, I suppose, that when Philo says that the edict deprived the Jews of their political rights in general, it is merely a rhetorical exaggeration.
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The fact that the edict was issued a few days after the demand for desecrating the synagogues suggests that the two things are connected. Accordingly Bell in *Cambridge Ancient History*, vol. x. p. 310, says that Flaccus welcomed the proposal and on the inevitable refusal by the Jews branded them as aliens and intruders. This hint started the pogrom, the blame for which Flaccus cast on the Jews and in consequence closed the synagogues. Box and Balsdon, so far as I can judge, would hold that these two things were separate though practically simultaneous attacks organized by the Alexandrians.

Another possibility, more or less favoured by Bell, in his *Jews and Christians*, p. 16, is that at the bottom of both, but kept in the background by Philo, is a claim made by the Jews of full citizenship. This may have been formally made by the Jews or formally repudiated by the Alexandrians; if so, the edict is exactly what it stated, a specific answer to a specific question. The Jews are aliens and incomers and, as Claudius worded it some years afterwards, live in a city "which is not their own." It need not, though it may have added, "but there are certain ancient privileges which they may retain." In this case, the two things have the very close connexion, that the Alexandrians strengthened their case by bringing out the disloyal refusal of the Jews to give the honours to the Emperor which the true citizens give.

§ 56. Drusilla. The mourning for Drusilla is not the ordinary tribute to the death of a royal person. She was especially beloved by Gaius, who was believed to live incestuously with her, and on her death he proclaimed a *iuustitium*, during which it was a capital crime to laugh, bathe, dine, with parents or wife or children (Suet. Gaius 24).

§ 130. Great expenses of the office. "The gymnasiarch had to maintain and pay the persons who were preparing themselves for the games and contests in the public festivals, to provide them with oil and perhaps with the wrestlers’ dust, also to adorn the gymnasium or the places where the *agones* took place" (*Dict. of Ant.*). This is said of Athens, but the statement here and the particular expense of the oil mentioned in *De Prov.* 46 show that much the same held in Alexandria. Bell (*Camb. Anc. History*, vol. x. p. 299) says that in the capitals of each nome in Egypt the Roman rule established a superior class known as the Gymnasium Class.
and “only members of this were entitled to that education in the gymnasium which was as much the hall-mark of social superiority as a public school education has been in England.” If this is to be extended to Alexandria, we can understand that the official who catered for so select a body would naturally feel bound not to skimp the expenses. Lampo’s protest is perhaps to his credit.

§ 131. (εἰσάγων ὡς or εἰσαγωγεύως.) Mr. Box is too modest over this emendation; textually it is obviously satisfactory, getting rid of a serious, if not a fatal, difficulty, at a minimum cost. In his note in Class. Quart. 1935, he refers to papyri for the use of the term εἰσαγωγεύς. I am not sure that these help him as far as the functions are concerned, but they show, at any rate, that the word was in use in Egypt, and if so it is only natural that the persons who εἰσάγουσι τὰς δίκας should be called εἰσαγωγεύς. He quotes also a parallel from Lucian, which is worth quoting for itself, though since Lucian does not actually use the word εἰσαγωγεύς it does not strengthen his case. Lucian, Apol. 12, says that he at one time held a post in Egypt, which was important, lucrative, and likely to lead to high promotion. In this he introduced the cases (εἰσάγει τὰς δίκας), assigned the order, taking minutes of the proceedings (ὕπομνήματα τῶν πραττομένων καὶ λεγομένων γράφεσθαι), arranged (ῥυθμίζει) the speeches of the pleaders, preserved the decisions of the magistrates, clearly, faithfully and accurately, and transmitted them to be kept for ever.

§§ 136, 137. (κλίνη and κλίναρχης.) On the question of the exact meaning of these terms, the lexicon speaks with uncertain sound. The original L. & S. gives for the second “one who takes the first place,” with reference to this passage. The revised repeats this misleading, indeed, erroneous entry, but adds (for κλίναρχος) “president of an Isiac fraternity.” For κλίνη the original edition noted “ἱερὰ κλίνη, the lectisternium or pulvinar deorum of the Romans,” and the revised while repeating part of this has added the example κλίνη τοῦ κυρίου Σαράπιδος, and finally κλίνη is used “generally for a banquet.” Under πρωτοκλίναρχος, a word unknown to the original edition, it gives “president of a κλίνη, i.e. a religious association.” This and the other references added by the revised are all from papyri or inscriptions. Stephanus gives nothing on the subject; Box adds more references from 536
similar sources. The natural conclusion seems to be that originally the couch is that on which the divine image is laid (cf. the couch of Adonis in the fifteenth Idyll of Theocritus), and the extensions to the festal meeting and further to the associates themselves are quite intelligible. The present passage suggests that the religious side was often left very much in the background. The words are untranslatable, “couch” is meaningless, and the substitution of “divan” on the grounds that the word connotes both a couch and a collection of people is perhaps not much improvement.

§ 138. (άλειφόβιος.) A rare word of which only one other example from a fragment of Aristophanes is cited. Hesychius explains it as πένης. L. & S. regards it as a contemptuous term for ἀλειπτής or the menial serving an ἀλειπτής, and so Bekker’s Anecdota 382. 17 τὸν περὶ παλαιότραν ἀναστρέφομεν καὶ ὑπηρετοῦντα.

§ 139. (Anapaests.) It certainly seems that this term may be applied to verse which is not anapaestic in the regular sense, though it does not follow that it connotes ribald verse in general. The Greek ear could find in certain metres and rhythms, as in music, something undignified and suited to burlesque, and these are called anapaesthetic, presumably because anapaests often predominated in them. So Demetrius, De Eloc. 189, speaks of σύνθεσις ἀναπαιστικὴ καὶ μάλιστα ἐν αὐτῷ τῶν κεκλασμένων καὶ ἁσέμνων μέτρων. So it is applied to the parabasis in the Old Comedy even to the parts which are not anapaestic (see several examples in Stephanus). L. & S. revised notes its special application to “ribald and satirical” verse and cites two examples. The first, Plut. Per. 33, consists of regular anapaests. In the second, from Dion Cassius 65. 8, the Alexandrians taunt Vespasian; and, though Titus appeases his anger somewhat, still continue. Their first refrain is ἐξ ὀβόλους προσαίτεις and the second συγγιγνώσκομεν αὐτῷ οὐ γὰρ οἶδε κασαρεύειν. Here only the first words of the second piece are anapaestic, but Vespasian is said to have been enraged not only by the substance of what they said, but ἐκ τοῦ κατακεκλασμένου καὶ ἀναπαίστου. Here κατακεκλασμένου, like κεκλασμένου in the quotation from Demetrius, indicates something lacking the proper seriousness and dignity. Cornutus 30 seems to equate the “anapaestic” with the iambic, which also often indicates a lampoon. He derives θρίαμβος from θροεῖν and
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ιαμβίζειν and then adds ὅθεν καὶ ἐν τοῖς κατὰ τῶν πολεμίων θριάμβοις πολλοῖς ἀναπάύοις σκώπτοντες χρώνται.

§ 141. (Subject of προσαναμάττεσθαι.) The use of these compounds of -μάττομαι is somewhat uncertain. The only one listed by Leisegang is ἐναπόματτομαι. Of his ten examples of this seven are middle in the sense of "receiving the impression," but three, namely, Quod Deus 43, Mos. ii. 76 and Spec. Leg. i. 47, have an active sense of "giving the impression." In other compounds I have noted ἀναμάττομαι De Virt. 24 and De Aet. 2, both in the sense of receiving, also ἀπομάττομαι De Virt. 207. L. & S. gives our word as = "besmirch in addition," clearly taking ἀγνωμοσύνην as subject. No doubt this is possible, but the mass of evidence as far as I can judge is in favour of τοῦνοµα.

§ 162. (φαδάζειν.) A favourite word with Philo. It is badly dealt with in Leisegang’s index, which though frequently missing an example or two is generally near enough to completeness to enable one to decide how Philo uses the word. Here he has listed five examples, namely, De Cher. 36, De Mig. 156, De Abr. 257, De Virt. 128 and Quod Omn. Prob. 39. In addition to these I have noted eight, some from Siegfried, and probably there are others, possibly many. For the use of other students I give the references: De Ebr. 121, Mos. i. 170, Spec. Leg. iv. 81, De Virt. 30, De Praem. 140, and in this volume besides this passage Flacc. 18 and 180, also Legatio 184. Only in De Praem. 140 is bodily struggling necessarily implied and in most of them it would be grotesque.
APPENDIX TO HYPOTHETICA

§ 7. 5. (Absolution from vows.) On this Edersheim (The Temple, its Ministry and Services, p. 69) says that release from a vow which affected the interests of others might be obtained from one sage or from three persons in the presence of him who had been affected by the vow. He does not state the authority for this and it seems strange that in treating the subject he does not refer to this passage in Philo. In the same connexion he remarks that all laws were limited by higher obligations: according to the Mishnah a man could not vow what of his fortune he owed to others nor his widow’s portion. Philo’s statement that a man by vowing his wife’s τροφή could bind himself not to support her agrees with the practice denounced in Mark vii. 10 ff., but is contrary to the principle described by Edersheim, and it is strange to find Philo apparently approving it.

§ 7. 8. (Precepts of Buzyges.) The rare passages alluding to these are collected by Bernays (see Introd. p. 407 note b). The Paroemiographer, p. 233, has ὃ γάρ Βουζύγης Ἀθήνησι ὁ τὸν ἱερὸν ἄρωτον ἐπιτελῶν (“instituted the sacred rite of the plough”) ἀλλὰ τε πολλὰ ἄρωται καὶ τοῖς μὴ κοινοῦσι κατὰ τὸν βίον ὅδατος ἢ πυρὸς, ἢ μὴ ὑποφαίνουσιν ὀδὸν πλανωμένου. A scholiast on Soph. Ant. 255 mentions the saying that Buzyges cursed those who left a corpse unburied. Clem. Alex. Strom. ii. 503 says that those who bid others do what they judge to be not profitable to themselves οὐκ ἀν ἐκφύγουσι τὴν Βουζύγιαν ἀρῶν. Though the name of Buzyges is not mentioned, there is clearly an allusion to the same in a fragment of Diphilus where refusals of charity are said to be denounced in the “curses.” Cicero, De Off. iii. 54 f., speaks of refusing to show the way as denounced “Athenis exsecrationibus publicis” and interprets it to include those who allow a purchaser to be defrauded by a mistake.
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Bernays notes that three of the specific things here mentioned, the duty of showing the way, allowing free use of fire and water, and giving burial are all mentioned by Philo. Bernays does not give any quotation for the statement that the curses are repeated by a descendant of Buzyges at a feast of Demeter.

§ 7. 9. (Appeal of animals.) The statement seems to me remarkable and I should like to meet with some illustration of it or comment on it particularly in the form given it by Josephus. When is it that animals enter our houses as suppliants? The only thing in the law which suggests helping animals in trouble is the command in Deut. xxii. 4 to help to raise up a fallen beast and there really the point is helping the owner.

Philo in De Virt. 125-147 has insisted earnestly on the duty of kindness to animals, but it is remarkable that of the points which he mentions, namely the prohibitions against (1) separating the mother and offspring before seven days, (2) killing the two in the same day, (3) seething the lamb in its mother's milk, (4) muzzling the treading ox, (5) yoking different kinds of animals together, none is mentioned here, at any rate definitely, though (1) may be alluded to in § 7. On the other hand the one which precedes this here is omitted there.
APPENDIX TO DE PROVIDENTIA

FRAGMENT 1

Really created. In the preceding paragraph, if the Latin translation of the Armenian version is to be trusted, Philo has declared that he is ready to concede "universum ingenitum et sempiternum esse," a belief which he ascribes not only to Parmenides and Empedocles but also to Zeno and Cleanthes. But still of the "ingenita materia" some part may be created and destroyed ("generetur et corrumputur"), sometimes by providence, sometimes in the course of nature. He goes on to compare this with the work of a statuary and other craftsmen. According to this hypothesis God did not create eternally the primal matter but used matter to shape the Cosmos. And even if we go a step farther and suppose that the Cosmos itself as well as matter was uncreated ("etsi una cum materia mundus ingenitus supponatur") there is still room for providence in directing it. In this case the analogy is with the Ephors at Sparta, which they rule though they did not build it. I cannot fit ei δη γεγονεν οντως into this. I should understand it better if for οντως we substituted ουτως = "assuming that this is the method of its genesis." This is not quite satisfactory, since properly speaking if it is αγενητος it has no genesis.

The Armenian has "materiae specialiter factae," of which Aucher says that the translator read της υλης ειδος. Is it not simpler to suppose that he took ei δη as a single word and unable to make anything of the rest omitted it?

FRAGMENT 2

§ 4. The thought here is very striking. Wendland cites for it from Sen. Ep. lxvi. 26-27. Here we have "num quis tam iniquam censuram inter suos agit, ut sanum filium
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quam aegrum magis diligat? . . . quoniam quidem etiam parentium amor magis in ea, quorum miseretur, inclinat.”

But this is not quite the same. For as the sequel “virtus quoque opera sua, quae videt affici et premi, non magis amat, sed parentium bonorum more magis complectitur ac fovet” shows, it is pity for the sufferings of the good and not a yearning for those who have gone astray which Seneca means. Philo’s words come nearer to the spirit of the story of the Prodigal Son than anything I have seen elsewhere in ancient philosophy.

§ 8. περὶ αἱ κηραίνει. This phrase is here given in Gifford’s translation by “about which . . . are anxious”; in Mangey’s by “quorum in cupiditate . . . contabescit,” and L. & S. revised, connecting it with κηρ and citing a very similar passage to this (De Dec. 153), has “be sick at heart or anxious.” But the evidence of Philo’s use of the phrase points to the meaning given in the translation, i.e. “incurring disaster” or “getting into trouble in connexion with something.” Leisegang has eight examples of it, to which add this passage and perhaps De Virt. 31. In none of these is “suffering disaster” impossible and in some “being anxious” is impossible. Thus in Spec. Leg. i. 81 the body of the would-be priest must be scrutinized ἵνα περὶ μηδὲν ἀτύχημα κηραίνῃ; ib. 260 the bodies of the victims sacrificed must be without flaw and the souls of the offerers must κηραίνειν περὶ μηδὲν πάθος; De Praem. 29 the defectiveness of human reason is shown by ὁ λογισμὸς περὶ πολλὰ κηραίνων. In De Ebr. 164 Lot περὶ τάτα μάλιστα κηραίνει, where τάτα is explained as the fact that Lot had only daughters and therefore could breed nothing masculine or perfect.

§ 17. (Footnote 1, ἄξαντες.) I do not know what sense Dindorf and Gaisford supposed this to have. Gifford, clearly taking it from ἄγνυμι, says that “if it is retained the meaning will be ‘having broken through,’” but no such meaning of ἄγνυμι is known, and even if it were possible it would still be necessary to follow it with διὰ. Nor can any meaning be obtained by taking it from ἄγω. But it is not quite so impossible that it should be the participle of ἄλωσο, though the picture of the physicians being so eager to reach the royal bed that they dart or rush through the bodyguard is, like “breaking through,” somewhat grotesque. In this case we should print ἄξαντες <διὰ> (though the mss. would have it without
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the iota subscript) and ὄχλον and θερατείαν would be governed by ὑπερβάντες. Wendland suggests as alternatives εἰς ἐναντίας or ἀντικρυ or ἀμελήσαντες.

§ 18. σχήματι. Something is to be said for Mangey’s proposal to correct this to βεύματι. This is supported by Wendland, but it should be pointed out that in this case the word would be used in the medical sense of a flux or discharge. Galen and Dioscorides both speak of a βεῦμα γαστρός or κοιλίας in this sense. The Armenian has a word which Aucher translates by “ laxitate ” and it is possible that it is some medical term which might indicate discharges or as we should say “ looseness ” of the bowels, but is διωδηκε a word which would be joined with βεῦμα in this medical sense?

§ 23. (The quotation from Empedocles.) Two lines of this are quoted by Synesius

“ ἔνθα φόνος τε κότος τε καὶ ἄλλων ἔθνεα κηρῶν αὐχυμηραί τε νόσοι καὶ σῆμιες ἔργα τε ῥευστά.”

Another line quoted by Clement

“ κλαῦσά τε καὶ κώκυσα ἰδὼν ἀσυνήθεα χώρον”

is no doubt rightly supposed to precede the two. The correction of φόνοι τελοῦνται to φόνοι λιμοὶ τε is apparently due to Stephanus, but I feel as Dindorf evidently did that it is somewhat arbitrary. There is no great similarity between τελοῦνται and λιμοὶ τε and nothing very strange in Philo quoting the first two words, then inserting the verb, and then quoting the conclusion of the line. Nor is hunger to the point. The places spoken of are those in which not physical evils but human cruelty predominates. The Armenian no doubt had τελοῦνται, for the Latin is “ ubi caedes aliaque huius modi pravae gentium consuetudines vigent.”

§ 24. (Footnote 3, ἥωρήσθαι.) This correction of Dindorf for θεωρήσαι, which is not noticed in Gifford’s later edition, is clearly based on the fact that in Her. iii. 124 Polycrates’ daughter dreamt that her father ἐν ἡρί μετέωρον ὄντα was washed by Zeus and anointed by the sun. Mangey had suggested μετεωρίζεσθαι. The correction leads up well to κρεμάμενον.

§ 24. The Armenian version of this section as it appears in Aucuer’s translation is very curious. Wendland dismisses it
as corrupt, but much of it admits of some interesting interpretation. It does not give the name of Polycrates at all, and Aucher in a note says that the translator seems to have read πολύ κρατεί γε, which he rendered by a phrase which Aucher represents by "per multum temporis tenet." This no doubt he tacked on to the clause about fortune given in the footnote as omitted by Eusebius. He made a full stop then and continued with what Aucher represents by "condigne iis quae patraverat inique impieque ut eorum promoter et auctor sortitus est deterioris vitae infortunium, atque iussu magni regis diu tortus et clavis compressus crudeliter consummatus est." That is to say he took χορήγος as = "promoter and author" and as subject to ἡδίκησε καὶ ῥήσβησε. At the end of the sentence his "crudeliter consummatus est" seems to represent what he read for χρησμὸν ἐκπιπλάς or perhaps χρησμὸν ἐκπιπλάς οἶδα. The Latin then proceeds "illa vero dimiserunt eum quae non multis ante horis gloriae speciem ferebant ante solem ungi et a love lavari." The words ἐφῇ κάμαυτὸν of the received text are to some extent conjectural, for almost all the MSS. divide them otherwise such as ἐφῇκε εμαυτόν or ἀμαυτόν, and if the Armenian by a slight change got ἀφῆκεν αυτὸν it will explain "dimiserunt eum." I suspect therefore that he read ἀφῆκεν αὐτὸν τὰ οὐ πρὸ πολλοῦ ἐκτιμήσαι (or some similar word which he substituted for θεωρῆσαι) δόξαντα, and the translation will run "He was sent out of life by the things which seemed a short time before to have promised him high honour, namely being anointed," etc. If the similar word is θεῷ εἰκάσαι "to liken him to a god," we should have something which would make admirable sense and be textually fairly satisfactory, but not well represented by "gloriae." His version, I am afraid, cannot be accepted in face of the violent changes from the MSS. involved, but it is a much more sensible version. It avoids the pointlessness of putting these words into the mouth of Polycrates and also the contradiction of Herodotus's story. If we had no access to the Greek and had to choose between his account and that in the translation no one would hesitate to choose the former.

§ 26. ἀνείμονα. For this word see note on De Som. i. 99 (vol. v. p. 599), where this example should have been noted as well as Spec. Leg. i. 83. In all these cases Philo uses this apparently rare word in the sense of without the upper
covering and contrasted with γυμνός. The contrast is obvious both here and in Spec. Leg., where it is explained as = "in short tunics," almost as obvious in De Som. i. 99, where the phrase κομμάδιαν ἀνείμονα means sleeping with inadequate covering. In that note I suggested that Philo had Od. iii. 348 in mind, but if so he misunderstood the meaning, for there the ἀνείμων is not a person who sleeps uncovered but a host who is unable to supply proper covering to himself or his guest. But the misunderstanding is shared by L. & S. which translates it as = "unclad." I also commented on L. & S. revised being, like Stephanus, still unable to supply an example of the word except that in the Odyssey. In the Addenda however two examples are given, one from a fragment of Callimachus in a papyrus and our Spec. Leg. passage (which however should be given as Ph. 2. 225— not 355).

§ 45. For the Stoic doctrine of "incidental consequences" as distinguished from the "primary works of nature" cf. Gellius vii. 1. 7 "existimat (sc. Chrysippus) non fusisse hoc principale consilium ut faceret homines morbis obnoxios . . . sed cum multa, inquit, atque magna gigneret pareretque aptissima ac utilissima alia quoque simul agnata sunt incommoda, eaque non per naturam sed per sequelas quasdam necessarias facta dicit quod ipse appellat κατὰ παρακολουθήσω." This dictum of Chrysippus applies primarily to diseases but the latter part gives it the same general application as Philo gives it here. See Zeller, Stoics and Epicureans, p. 179 (Eng. trans.). Zeller adds that the Stoics also pointed out that things ordinarily regarded as evil may be of the greatest service, and illustrates this from a saying of Chrysippus quoted by Plutarch that bugs do us good service by preventing us from sleeping too long. Cf. for this the incidental uses pointed out by Philo in §§ 47-51.

§ 48. (Footnote 2.) I have allowed what may be called the generally received text to stand but further investigation since the translation was made makes me think that Gaisford and Dindorf were almost certainly right. Gaisford's App. Crit. seems to indicate that he found τὰ μέτρα or τὰ ἡμέτερα μέτρα in his mss. with one exception and found πείρα in none. Gifford in the two mss. which he relied on for this part of the Praeparatio found the same. Also τὰς ὁρασ, not τὰς ὁρασ, appears to be universal. On the other hand
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tὴ ημετέρα πείρα goes back to Viger, 1688 and possibly (though I have had no opportunity of verifying it) to Stephanus in 1544. How then did Viger or Stephanus get it? The clue seems to be that the one exception noted by Gaisford has τὴ ημετέρα πέτρα. Assuming that Viger or Stephanus found this, the correction to πείρα would be very natural. But if μέτρα is right, ημετέρα, which appears in nearly all mss., must either be dismissed as a dittography or amended to ημέρινα (or ταῖς ημερίναις . . . ὥραις?). Wendland, quoting the Armenian, “diei mensuras notat et horas,” suggests τὴς ημέρας, but the adjective used in its common antithesis to νυκτέρινος seems to me preferable.

Wendland also notes that the Armenian has “quae de columnis cadunt umbrae,” and suggests that παστάδων should replace ποδών.

§ 50. (Quotation from Pindar.) The quotation here alluded to occurs in that part between the two divisions of the second fragment which was omitted by Eusebius. It is undoubtedly from the beginning of a fragment of Pindar preserved in Dionysius of Halicarnassus, De Vi Dem. 6. It is listed among the fragments of Pindar as 107 or 74 (Schröder, p. 427), in Sandys’s Loeb translation, p. 548 as Paean 9. The Latin version in Aucher has enough resemblance to show the identity, but otherwise is sheer nonsense and does not even suggest the general sense, which is that the sun is asked why by this darkening it threatens the world with evil. A version supplied by Conybeare, from which Schröder quotes various bits, would probably explain it better. But it certainly seems that the Armenian who could manage Philo with general accuracy was unable to tackle Pindar. The continuation as given by Dionysius does not suggest the death of kings or the destruction of cities, but war and faction, abnormal storms and floods and through these the destruction of mankind. Some lines however seem to be missed out in the continuation, which may have been more specific.

§ 53. The inconsistency between this and the view expressed in § 41 may perhaps be explained by supposing that though earthquakes, pestilences, etc., are in themselves incidental consequences they may still be employed by God as a means of chastisement.

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(Eng. trans.) has a long discussion on this Heracleitean saying. It is quoted by numerous writers, Stobaeus, Musonius, Plutarch, Galen, Clement and others in various forms and the variation extends to different mss. of these authors. The chief variants are αυγη ψυχη, αυγη ξηρη ψυχη, ξηρη ψυχη. Zeller thinks that αυγη ξηρη can hardly be the original form, largely on the ground that there is no such thing as a wet beam. The form ου γη ξηρη does not appear in any of these quotations, though one variant in the mss. of Musonius has αυγη ξηρη, but Zeller has no doubt that this is a true reading in our passage, though his remarks, which are transcribed by Gifford, are oddly worded and not very logical. “Philo,” he says, “ap. Ευς. Πραεπ. Ευανευ. viii. 14. 67 has ου γη ξηρη, κτλ., and that this is the true reading... is clear from the passage in Philo, De Prov. ii. 109 ‘in terra sicca,’” etc., i.e. Zeller, unless the translator has misrepresented him, and Gifford certainly, were not aware that Philo ap. Ευς. and Philo, De Prov. were the same, and that what he is quoting is only the Latin translation of the Armenian translation of the same passage. What the words in Aucher show beyond doubt is that the Armenian found ου γη in his text, for he is not likely to have had the acumen to make the correction independently, and they thus give a very convincing support to what we might otherwise have supposed to be an emendation of Stephanus or Viger.

§ 68. (Footnote 1.) The Armenian also presumably read αιτιου. The full sentence is “mens tamen nusquam nascitur ob frigefactionem gelationemque, quoniam aer, terra et aquae in causis sunt simul, et frequentes exhalationes densae supereminent.” I imagine that he read or translated as if he read εξ αέρος αιτιου και γης και υδατος instead of αι γης.

§ 71. Ια. So Wendland from the Armenian “viola vero et rosa crocusque”; this is perhaps the best example of the value which the Armenian occasionally has, see Introd. pp. 449 f. The common reading ει does not give any good sense. The rendering which I had given, “though roses, etc., exist they exist for health not pleasure,” lays a difficult stress upon γεγονεν and Gifford’s “roses, etc., are meant, if for health, yet not all for pleasure” misplaces the “if” and gives no clear meaning.