

ΝΟΜΩΝ ΙΕΡΩΝ ΑΛΛΗΓΟΡΙΑΣ ΤΩΝ ΜΕΤΑ ΤΗΝ ΕΞΑΗΜΕΡΟΝ ΤΟ ΠΡΩΤΟΝ

¹
[43] I. “Καὶ συνετελέσθησαν ὁ οὐρανὸς καὶ ἡ γῆ καὶ πᾶς ὁ κόσμος αὐτῶν” (Gen. ii. 1). νοῦ καὶ αἰσθήσεως γένεσιν εἰπὼν πάλαι, νῦν δὲ ἀμφοτέρων τελείωσιν διασυνίστησιν. οὔτε δὲ νοῦν τὸν ἄτομον οὔτε αἴσθησιν τὴν ἐν μέρει πέρας εἰληφέναι φησίν, ἀλλ’ ἰδέας, τὴν μὲν νοῦ, τὴν δὲ αἰσθήσεως· συμβολικῶς μὲν γὰρ τὸν νοῦν οὐρανόν, ἐπειδὴ αἰνοῦται φύσεις ἐν οὐρανῷ, τὴν δὲ αἴσθησιν καλεῖ γῆν, ὅτι σύστασιν σωματοειδῇ καὶ γεωδεστέραν ἔλαχεν αἴσθησις· κόσμος δὲ νοῦ μὲν τὰ ἀσώματα καὶ νοητὰ πάντα, αἰσθήσεως δὲ τὰ ἐνσώματα καὶ ὅσα συνόλως αἰσθητά.

²
[44] II. “Καὶ συνετέλεσεν ὁ θεὸς τῇ ἡμέρᾳ τῇ ἕκτῃ τὰ ἔργα αὐτοῦ ᾧ ἐποίησεν” (Gen. ii. 2). εὐῆθες πάνυ τὸ οἶεσθαι ἐξ ἡμέραις ἢ καθόλου χρόνῳ γεγονέναι τὸν κόσμον· διὰ τί; ὅτι πᾶς χρόνος ἡμερῶν καὶ νυκτῶν ἐστὶ σύστημα, ταῦτα δὲ ἡλίου κίνησις ὑπὲρ γῆν καὶ ὑπὸ γῆν ἰόντος ἐξ

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

^b 6th. So LXX. E.V. 7th.

ALLEGORICAL INTERPRETATION OF GENESIS II., III.

BOOK I

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

II. "And God finished on the sixth^b day His works which He had made" (Gen. ii. 2). It is quite foolish to think that the world was created in six days or in a space of time at all. Why? Because every period of time is a series of days and nights, and these can only be made such by the movement of the sun as it goes over and under the earth: but

ἀνάγκης ἀποτελεῖ· ἥλιος δὲ μέρος οὐρανοῦ γέγονεν, ὥστε χρόνον ἀνομολογεῖσθαι νεώτερον κόσμον. λέγοιτ' ἂν οὖν ὀρθῶς, ὅτι οὐκ ἐν χρόνῳ γέγονε κόσμος, ἀλλὰ διὰ κόσμου συνέστη χρόνος· ἡ γὰρ

3 οὐρανοῦ κίνησις χρόνου φύσιν ἔδειξεν. ὅταν οὖν λέγῃ “συνετέλεσεν ἕκτη ἡμέρα τὰ ἔργα,” νοητέον ὅτι οὐ πλῆθος ἡμερῶν παραλαμβάνει, τέλειον δὲ ἀριθμὸν τὸν ἕξ, ἐπειδὴ πρῶτος ἴσος ἐστὶ τοῖς ἑαυτοῦ μέρεσιν, ἡμίσει καὶ τρίτῳ καὶ ἕκτῳ, καὶ ἀπὸ ἑτερομήκους συνίσταται τοῦ δις τρία· δυὰς μέντοι καὶ τριάς ἐκβέβηκε τὴν κατὰ τὸ ἐν ἀσωματότητα, ὅτι ἡ μὲν ὕλης ἐστὶν εἰκὼν, διαιρουμένη καὶ τεμνομένη καθάπερ ἐκείνη, τριάς δὲ στερεοῦ

4 σώματος, ὅτι περὶ τριχῇ τὸ στερεὸν διαιρετόν. οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ καὶ συγγενὴς ἐστὶ ταῖς τῶν ὀργανικῶν ζώων κινήσεσιν· ἐξαχῇ γὰρ τὸ ὀργανικὸν σῶμα πέφυκε κινεῖσθαι, πρόσω καὶ κατόπιν, ἄνω καὶ κάτω, ἐπὶ δεξιὰ καὶ εὐώνυμα. βούλεται οὖν τά τε θνητὰ γένη καὶ πάλιν αὐτὰ τὰ ἄφθαρτα κατὰ τοὺς οἰκείους ἐπιδείξαι συστάντα ἀριθμούς, τὰ μὲν θνητὰ ὡς ἔφην παραμετρῶν ἑξάδι, τὰ δὲ

5 μακάρια καὶ εὐδαίμονα ἑβδομάδι. πρῶτον οὖν ἐβδόμῃ ἡμέρᾳ καταπαύσας τὴν τῶν θνητῶν σύστασιν ἄρχεται ἐτέρων θειοτέρων διατυπώσεως. III. παύεται γὰρ οὐδέποτε ποιῶν ὁ θεός, ἀλλ' ὥσπερ ἴδιον τὸ καίειν πυρὸς καὶ χιόνος τὸ ψύχειν, οὕτως καὶ θεοῦ τὸ ποιεῖν· καὶ πολὺ γε

^a See App. p. 477.

^b Aristotle, *Ethics* iii. 1. 6, and Grant's note.

ALLEGORICAL INTERPRETATION, I. 2-5

the sun is a part of heaven, so that time is confessedly more recent than the world. It would therefore be correct to say that the world was not made in time, but that time was formed by means of the world, for it was heaven's movement that was the index of the nature of time. When, then, Moses says, "He finished His work on the sixth day," we must understand him to be adducing not a quantity of days, but a perfect number, namely six, since it is the first that is equal to the sum of its own fractions $\frac{1}{2}$, $\frac{1}{3}$, and $\frac{1}{6}$, and is produced by the multiplication of two unequal factors,^a 2×3 ; and see, the numbers 2 and 3 have left behind the incorporeal character that belongs to 1, 2 being an image of matter, and being parted and divided as that is, while 3 is the image of a solid body, for the solid is patient of a threefold division. Nay more, the number 6 is akin to the movements of animals provided with instrumental limbs,^b for the body equipped with such instruments is so constituted by nature that it can move in six directions, forwards and backwards, upwards and downwards, to the right and to the left. Moses' wish, therefore, is to exhibit alike the things created of mortal kind and those that are incorruptible as having been formed in a way corresponding to their proper numbers. As I have just said, he makes mortal things parallel with the number six, the happy and blessed things with the number seven.

First of all, then, on the seventh day the Creator, having brought to an end the formation of mortal things, begins the shaping of others more divine. III. For God never leaves off making, but even as it is the property of fire to burn and of snow to chill, so it is the property of God to make: nay more so

PHILO

μᾶλλον, ὅσω καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἅπασιν ἀρχὴ τοῦ
 6 δρᾶν ἐστίν. εὐ μέντοι καὶ τὸ φάναι “κατέπαυσεν,”
 οὐχὶ “ἐπαύσατο”. παύει μὲν γὰρ τὰ δοκοῦντα
 ποιεῖν οὐκ ἐνεργοῦντα, οὐ παύεται δὲ ποιῶν αὐτός.
 διὸ καὶ ἐπιφέρει “κατέπαυσεν ὧν ἤρξατο”. ὅσα
 μὲν γὰρ ταῖς ἡμετέραις τέχναις δημιουργεῖται,
 τελειωθέντα ἴσταιται καὶ μένει, ὅσα δὲ ἐπιστήμη
 θεοῦ, περατωθέντα πάλιν κινεῖται· τὰ γὰρ τέλη
 αὐτῶν ἐτέρων εἰσὶν ἀρχαί, οἷον ἡμέρας τέλος
 νυκτὸς ἀρχή, καὶ μῆνα δὲ καὶ ἐνιαυτὸν ἐνισταμένους
 [45] | πέρατα δήπου τῶν ἐξηκόντων ὑποληπτέον·
 7 γένεσις τε αὐτῶν φθειρομένων ἐτέρων καὶ φθορὰ γεννω-
 μένων ἄλλων ἀποτελεῖται, ὥστε ἀληθὲς εἶναι τὸ
 λεγόμενον ὅτι

θνήσκει δ' οὐδὲν τῶν γιγνομένων,
 διακρινόμενον δ' ἄλλο πρὸς ἄλλο
 μορφὴν ἑτέραν ἀπέδειξεν.

8 IV. Χαίρει δὲ ἡ φύσις ἐβδομάδι· πλάνητές τε
 γὰρ ἐπτὰ γεγόνασιν, ἀντίρροποι τῇ κατὰ ταῦτα
 καὶ ὡσαύτως ἐχούσῃ φορᾷ· καὶ ἄρκτος ἐπτὰ
 ἄστροις συμπληροῦται, κοινωνίας καὶ ἐνώσεως
 ἀνθρώπων, οὐκ ἐπιμιξίας αὐτὸ μόνον, οὐσα αἰτία·
 καὶ τροπαὶ δὲ σελήνης ἐβδομάσι γίνονται, συμ-
 παθεστάτου πρὸς τὰ ἐπίγεια ἄστρον, καὶ ἃς κατὰ
 τὸν αέρα μεταβολὰς ἐργάζεται, μάλιστα τοῖς
 9 καθ' ἐβδομάδα σχηματισμοῖς ἀποτελεῖ. τά γε μὴν

^a Eurip. fr. 839.

^b 8-16. Cf. *De Op.* 89-128.

ALLEGORICAL INTERPRETATION, I. 5-9

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

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

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

^a The reference is to the Planets (*De Op.* 113), to the Pleiades (115), whose settings and risings rule sowing and reaping, and to the Equinoxes (116). The subject of ἐργάζεται is ἡ φύσις at the opening of the section.

- θητά, σπάσαντα ἀπ' οὐρανοῦ θείαν ἀρχήν, καθ' ἑβδομάδα σωτηρίως κινεῖται· τίς γὰρ οὐκ οἶδεν, ὅτι τῶν βρεφῶν τὰ μὲν ἐπτάμηνα γόνιμα, τὰ δὲ πλείω χρόνον προσλαβόντα, ὡς ὀκτὼ μῆνας ἐνδαιο-
- 10 τηθῆναι γαστρί, κατὰ τὸ πλείστον ἄγονα; λογικόν τέ φασιν ἄνθρωπον κατὰ τὴν πρώτην ἐπταετίαν γίνεσθαι, ὅτε ἤδη ἱκανός ἐστιν ἐρμηνεύς εἶναι τῶν συνήθων ὀνομάτων καὶ ῥημάτων, τὴν λογικὴν ἕξιν περιπεποιημένος, κατὰ δὲ τὴν δευτέραν ἐπταετίαν ἄκρως τελειοῦσθαι· τελείωσις δὲ ἐστὶ δύναμις τῆς τοῦ ὁμοίου σπορᾶς· περὶ γὰρ τὴν τετταρεσκαίδεκαετῇ ἡλικίαν τὸ ὅμοιον γεννᾶν δυνάμεθα· τρίτη πάλιν ἐπταετία πέρας ἐστὶν αὐξήσεως· ἄχρι γὰρ ἐνὸς καὶ εἴκοσιν ἐτῶν ἐπιδίδωσιν εἰς μέγεθος ἄνθρωπος, καὶ καλεῖται παρὰ πολλοῖς ὁ χρόνος
- 11 οὗτος ἀκμή· ψυχῆς γε μὴν τὸ ἄλογον ἐπταμερές, αἰσθήσεις πέντε καὶ φωνητήριον ὄργανον καὶ τὸ διήκον ἄχρι παραστατῶν, ὃ δὴ γόνιμόν ἐστι.
- 12 πάλιν αὖ σώματος ἐπτά κινήσεις, ὀργανικαὶ μὲν ἕξ, ἐβδόμη δὲ ἡ κύκλω· σπλάγχνα γε μὴν ἐπτά· στόμαχος, καρδία, σπλήν, ἥπαρ, πνεύμων, νεφροὶ δύο· μέλη δὲ σώματος ὁμοίως ἰσάριθμα· κεφαλὴ, τράχηλος, στέρνον, χεῖρες, κοιλία, ἦτρον, πόδες· τό τε ἡγεμονικώτατον τοῦ ζώου πρόσωπον ἐπταχῇ κατατέτρηται, δυσὶν ὀφθαλμοῖς καὶ ὥσιν δυσὶν,
- 13 ἴσοις μυκτῆρσιν, ἐβδόμῳ στόματι· αἷ τε ἀποκρίσεις ἐπτά· δάκρυα, μύξαι, σίελος, σπέρμα, διττοὶ περιττωμάτων ὀχετοί, καὶ δι' ὅλου τοῦ σώματος ἰδρώς· ἔν γε μὴν ταῖς νόσοις κριτικωτάτῃ ἐβδομάς· καὶ γυναιξὶ δὲ αἱ καταμήνιοι καθάρσεις ἄχρι ἐβδομάδος παρατείνουσιν.

ALLEGORICAL INTERPRETATION, I. 9-13

all that concerns us mortals has a divine origin drawn from heaven and is for our weal when its movement is ruled by seven. Who does not know that seven months' infants come to the birth, while those that have taken a longer time, remaining in the womb eight months, are as a rule still-born? And they say that man becomes a reasoning being during his first seven years, by which time he is already capable of expressing ordinary nouns and verbs through having acquired the reasoning faculty; and that during his second period of seven years he reaches complete consummation; consummation meaning the power of reproducing his like; for at about the age of fourteen we are able to beget offspring like ourselves. The third period of seven years, again, is the end of growth, for till the age of twenty-one years men increase in height, and by many this time is called his prime. Furthermore the unreasoning side of the soul consists of seven parts, five senses, and the organ of speech, and the genital organ. The body again has seven movements, six mechanical, the seventh circular. Seven also are the internal organs, stomach, heart, spleen, liver, lung, two kidneys. Of equal number in like number are the divisions of the body—head, neck, breast, hands, belly, abdomen, feet. And the face, the living creature's noblest part, is pierced by seven apertures, by two eyes, and two ears, as many nostrils, and the mouth, which make up seven. The excrements are seven—tears, mucus, spittle, seed, superfluities discharged by two ducts, and the sweat that oozes from all over the body. Once again in diseases the seventh is the most critical day. And the monthly purgings of women extend to seven days.

V. The power

- ¹⁴
[46] V. διελήλυθε δὲ ἡ | δύναμις αὐτῆς καὶ ἐπὶ τὰς
ὠφέλιμωτάτας τῶν τεχνῶν· ἐν γοῦν γραμματικῇ
τὰ ἄριστα τῶν στοιχείων καὶ πλείστην δύναμιν
ἔχοντα ἐπτά ἐστὶν ἀριθμῶ, τὰ φωνήεντα· κατὰ τε
μουσικὴν ἡ ἐπτάχορδος λύρα πάντων σχεδὸν
ὀργάνων ἀρίστη, διότι τὸ ἐναρμόνιον, ὃ δὴ τῶν
μελωδουμένων γενῶν ἐστὶ τὸ σεμνότατον, κατ'
αὐτὴν μάλιστα πως θεωρεῖται· τὰς τε τῶν φθόγγων
τάσεις ἐπτά εἶναι συμβέβηκεν, ὁξύν, βαρύν, περι-
¹⁵ σπώμενον, δασύν, ψιλόν, μακρόν, βραχύν. ἔτι
πρώτός ἐστιν ἀπὸ τελείου τοῦ ἕξ καὶ μονάδι κατὰ
τινα λόγον ὁ αὐτός. οἱ τε ἐντὸς δεκάδος ἀριθμοὶ
ἢ γεννῶνται ἢ γεννῶσι τοὺς ἐντὸς δεκάδος καὶ
αὐτήν, ἡ δὲ ἑβδομάς οὔτε γεννᾷ τινα τῶν ἐντὸς
δεκάδος ἀριθμῶν οὔτε γεννᾶται ὑπὸ τίνος. παρὸ
μυθεύοντες οἱ Πυθαγόρειοι τῇ ἀειπαρθένω καὶ
ἀμήτορι αὐτὴν ἀπεικάζουσιν, ὅτι οὔτε ἀπεκνήθη
οὔτε ἀποτεέξεται.
- ¹⁶ VI. “ Κατέπαυσεν οὖν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ τῇ ἑβδόμῃ ἀπὸ
πάντων τῶν ἔργων αὐτοῦ ὧν ἐποίησε ” (Gen. ii. 2).
τοῦτο δ' ἐστὶ τοιοῦτο· τὰ θνητὰ γένη παύεται
πλάττων ὁ θεός, ὅταν ἄρχηται ποιεῖν τὰ θεῖα καὶ
ἑβδομάδος φύσει οἰκεῖα. ἡ δὲ πρὸς τὸ ἡθος
ἀπόδοσίς ἐστι τοιαύτη· ὅταν ἐπιγένηται τῇ ψυχῇ
ὁ κατὰ ἑβδομάδα ἅγιος λόγος, ἐπέχεται ἡ ἐξὰς
καὶ ὅσα θνητὰ ταύτη¹ ποιεῖν δοκεῖ.

VII. “ Καὶ εὐλόγησεν ὁ θεὸς τὴν ἡμέραν τὴν

¹ ταύτη (sc. τῇ ἐξάδι) conj. Cohn: τουτὶ mss.

ALLEGORICAL INTERPRETATION, I. 14-16

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

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

VII. "And God blessed the seventh day and

^a Literally, "caused to rest."

- 17 ἐβδόμην καὶ ἡγίασεν αὐτήν" (Gen. ii. 3). τοὺς κατὰ τὸ ἑβδομον καὶ θεῖον ὡς ἀληθῶς φῶς κινή-
θέντας τρόπους εὐλογεῖ τε ὁ θεὸς καὶ εὐθὺς ἀγίους
ἀποφαίνει· συγγενέστατοι γὰρ ἀλλήλοις ὁ εὐλό-
γιστός τε καὶ ὁ ἅγιος. διὰ τοῦτο ἐπὶ τοῦ τὴν
μεγάλην εὐχὴν εὐξαμένου φησὶν ὅτι, ἐὰν τροπὴ
κατασκήψασα αἰφνίδιον μίανη τὸν νοῦν, οὐκέτ'
ἔσται ἅγιος (cf. Num. vi. 9)· ἀλλ' " αἱ ἡμέραι αἱ
πρότεραι ἄλογοι" (ib. vi. 12)· κατὰ τὸ εἰκός·
ἀλόγιστος γὰρ ὁ μὴ ἅγιος τρόπος, ὥστε ὁ εὐλό-
18 γιστος ἅγιος. ὀρθῶς οὖν ἔφη ὅτι τὴν ἐβδόμην
εὐλόγησέ τε καὶ ἡγίασεν, " ὅτι ἐν αὐτῇ κατέπαυσεν
ἀπὸ πάντων τῶν ἔργων αὐτοῦ ὧν ἤρξατο ποιεῖν ὁ
θεός" (Gen. ii. 3). αἰτία δ' ἡ δι' ἣν εὐλόγιστός
τε καὶ ἅγιος γέγονεν ὁ κατὰ τὸ ἑβδομον καὶ
τέλειον φῶς ἄγων ἑαυτόν, ἐπεὶ ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ φύσει
παύεται ἡ τῶν θνητῶν σύστασις. καὶ γὰρ οὕτως
ἔχει· ὅταν ἀνατείλῃ φέγγος τῆς ἀρετῆς τὸ λαμ-
πρότατον καὶ θεῖον ὄντως, ἐπέχεται τῆς ἐναντίας
φύσεως ἡ γένεσις. ἐδηλώσαμεν δὲ ὅτι παύων
[47] ὁ | θεὸς οὐ παύεται ποιῶν, ἀλλ' ἐτέρων γενέσεως
ἄρχεται, ἅτε οὐ τεχνίτης μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ πατὴρ
ὧν τῶν γινομένων.
- 19 VIII. " Αὕτη ἡ βίβλος γενέσεως οὐρανοῦ καὶ
γῆς, ὅτε ἐγένετο" (Gen. ii. 4). οὗτος ὁ κατὰ

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

^b See Numb. vi. 2.

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

^d "Not reckoned" (ἄλογος) suggests "not taken into

ALLEGORICAL INTERPRETATION, I. 17-19

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

VIII. "This book is that of the origin of heaven and earth, when it came into being" (Gen. ii. 4).

account" (ἀλόγιστος), which is the direct opposite of "well accounted of," a meaning that might be given to εὐλόγιστος.

^a Strictly "caused to cease."

^f Or "blessed."

^g This ceaseless action of God as Father, by the operation of the all-permeating Spirit, Philo finds implied in Gen. ii. 3.

PHILO

- ἐβδομάδα κινούμενος τέλειος λόγος ἀρχὴ γενέσεως τοῦ τε κατὰ τὰς ἰδέας νοῦ τεταγμένου καὶ τῆς κατὰ τὰς ἰδέας τεταγμένης νοητῆς, εἰ οἶόν τε τοῦτο εἰπεῖν, αἰσθήσεως. βιβλίον δὲ εἶρηκε τὸν τοῦ θεοῦ λόγον, ᾧ συμβέβηκεν ἐγγράφεισθαι καὶ 20 ἐγχαράττεσθαι τὰς τῶν ἄλλων συστάσεις. ἵνα δὲ μὴ καθ' ὠρισμένας χρόνων περιόδους ὑπολάβῃς τὸ θεῖόν τι ποιεῖν, ἀλλ' εἰδῆς ἄδηλα καὶ ἀτέκμαρτα καὶ ἀκατάληπτα τῷ θνητῷ γένει τὰ δημιουργούμενα, ἐπιφέρει τὸ "ὅτε ἐγένετο," τὸ πότε κατὰ περιγραφὴν οὐ διορίζων· ἀπεριγράφως γὰρ γίνεται τὰ γινόμενα ὑπὸ τοῦ αἰτίου. ἀνήρηται τοίνυν τὸ ἐν ἑξ ἡμέραις γεγενῆσθαι τὸ πᾶν.
- 21 IX. "Ἡ ἡμέρα ἐποίησεν ὁ θεὸς τὸν οὐρανὸν καὶ τὴν γῆν καὶ πᾶν χλωρὸν ἄγρου πρὸ τοῦ γενέσθαι ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς καὶ πάντα χόρτον ἄγρου πρὸ τοῦ ἀνατεῖλαι· οὐ γὰρ ἔβρεξεν ὁ θεὸς ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν, καὶ ἄνθρωπος οὐκ ἦν ἐργάζεσθαι τὴν γῆν" (Gen. ii. 4, 5). τὴν ἡμέραν ταύτην ἐπάνω βίβλον εἶρηκεν, εἴ γε ἐν ἀμφοτέροις οὐρανοῦ καὶ γῆς ὑπογράφει γένεσιν· τῷ γὰρ περιφανεστάτῳ καὶ τηλανγεστάτῳ ἑαυτοῦ λόγῳ ὁ θεὸς ἀμφότερα ποιεῖ, τὴν τε ἰδέαν τοῦ νοῦ, ὃν συμβολικῶς οὐρανὸν κέκληκε, καὶ τὴν ἰδέαν τῆς αἰσθήσεως, ἣν διὰ σημείου γῆν ὠνό- 22 μασεν. ἀγροῖς δὲ ἀπεικάζει δυσὶ τὴν τε ἰδέαν τοῦ νοῦ καὶ τὴν ἰδέαν τῆς αἰσθήσεως· φέρει γὰρ ὁ μὲν νοὺς καρπὸν τὰ ἐν τῷ νοεῖν, ἡ δὲ αἴσθησις τὰ

* Philo can identify the Book with Reason, since λόγος can mean Reason as well as Word.

^b "Sense-perception" has its function in the material sphere. It cannot strictly be spoken of as acting in the domain of mind or pure intellect.

ALLEGORICAL INTERPRETATION, I. 19-22

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

IX. " In the day in which God made the heaven and the earth and every green thing of the field before it appeared upon the earth and all grass of the field before it sprang up; for God had not sent rain on the earth, and there was no man to till the earth " (Gen. ii. 4, 5). Above he has called this day a book, for he delineates the creation of heaven and earth as wrought in both: for by His own supremely manifest and far-shining Reason God makes both of them, both the original of the mind, which in symbolic language he calls " heaven," and the original of sense-perception, to which by a figure he gave the name of " earth." And he compares the original of the mind and the original of sense-perception to two fields; for they bear fruit, the mind all that is done in thinking, sense-perception all that is done in per-

ἐν τῷ αἰσθάνεσθαι. ὃ δὲ λέγει, τοιοῦτόν ἐστιν· ὥσπερ τοῦ ἐπὶ μέρους καὶ ἀτόμου νοῦ προϋπάρχει τις ἰδέα, ὡς ἂν ἀρχέτυπος καὶ παράδειγμα τούτου, καὶ πάλιν τῆς κατὰ μέρος αἰσθήσεως <ιδέα τις αἰσθήσεως>, σφραγίδος λόγον ἔχουσα εἶδη τυπούσης, οὕτως πρὶν μὲν γενέσθαι τὰ ἐπὶ μέρους νοητά, ἦν τὸ αὐτὸ τοῦτο γενικὸν νοητόν, οὐ κατὰ μετοχὴν καὶ τὰ ἄλλα ὠνόμασται, πρὶν δὲ γενέσθαι τὰ κατὰ μέρος αἰσθητά, ἦν τὸ αὐτὸ τοῦτο γενικὸν αἰσθητόν, οὐ κατὰ μετουσίαν καὶ τὰ ἄλλα αἰσθητά

23 γέγονε. χλωρὸν μὲν οὖν ἀγροῦ τὸ νοητὸν εἶρηκε
[48] | τοῦ νοῦ· ὡς γὰρ ἐν ἀγρῷ τὰ χλωρὰ βλαστάνει καὶ ἀνθεῖ, οὕτως βλάστημα τοῦ νοῦ τὸ νοητόν ἐστι. πρὶν οὖν τὸ κατὰ μέρος νοητὸν γενέσθαι, τὸ αὐτὸ τοῦτο νοητὸν ἀποτελεῖ γενικὸν ὄν, ὃ δὴ καὶ “πᾶν” κέκληκεν ὑγιῶς· τὸ μὲν γὰρ κατὰ μέρος νοητὸν ἀτελὲς ὄν οὐ πᾶν, τὸ δὲ γενικὸν
24 ἅπαν, ἅτε πλήρες ὄν. X. “καὶ πάντα”

φησί “χόρτον ἀγροῦ πρὸ τοῦ ἀνατεῖλαι,” τουτέστι πρὸ τοῦ ἀνατεῖλαι τὰ κατὰ μέρος αἰσθητά ἦν τὸ γενικὸν αἰσθητὸν προμηθείᾳ τοῦ πεποιηκότος, ὃ δὴ πάλιν “πᾶν” εἶρηκεν. εἰκότως μέντοι χόρτω τὸ αἰσθητὸν ἀπέεικασεν· ὡς γὰρ ὁ χόρτος ἀλόγου τροφῇ, οὕτως τὸ αἰσθητὸν τῷ ἀλόγῳ μέρει ψυχῆς
160

ALLEGORICAL INTERPRETATION, I. 22-24

ceiving. What he means is something of this sort. As before the particular and individual mind there subsists a certain original as an archetype and pattern of it, and again before the particular sense-perception, a certain original of sense-perception related to the particular as a seal making impression is to the form which it makes ; just so, before the individual objects of intellectual perception came into being, there was existing as a genus the 'intellectually-perceptible' itself, by participation in which the name has been given to the members of the genus ; and before the individual objects of sense-perception came into existence, there was existing as a genus the 'sensibly-perceptible' itself, by sharing in whose being all other objects of sense have become such. "Green of the field," then, is what he terms the "intellectually-perceptible" of the mind ; for as in a field the green things spring up and bloom, even so the 'intellectually-perceptible' is a growth springing from the mind. Before, then, the particular 'intellectually-perceptible' came into being, the Creator produces the solely abstract 'intellectually - perceptible,' as a generic existence. This he rightly calls "all," for the particular 'intellectually - perceptible,' being a fragment, is not all, but the generic is so, being a full whole.

X. "And all the grass of the field" he says, "before it sprang up," that is to say, before the particular objects of sense sprang up, there existed by the Maker's forethought the generic 'sensibly-perceptible,' and that it is that he again calls "all." Natural enough is his comparison of the 'sensibly-perceptible' to grass. For as grass is the food of a creature devoid of reason, so has the

PHILO

- προσκεκλήρωται· ἐπεὶ διὰ τί προειπὼν “χλωρὸν ἀγροῦ” ἐπιφέρει “καὶ πάντα χόρτον,” ὥς οὐ γινόμενου χόρτου χλωροῦ τὸ παράπαν; ἀλλὰ τὸ μὲν ἀγροῦ χλωρὸν τὸ νοητὸν ἐστίν, ἐκβλάστημα νοῦ, ὁ δὲ χόρτος τὸ αἰσθητὸν, τοῦ ἀλόγου τῆς ψυχῆς
- 25 καὶ αὐτὸ βλάστημα. “οὐ γὰρ ἔβρεξεν ὁ θεὸς” φησὶν “ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν, καὶ ἄνθρωπος οὐκ ἦν ἐργάζεσθαι τὴν γῆν.” φυσικώτατα· ἐὰν γὰρ μὴ ἐπομβρήσῃ ταῖς αἰσθήσεσι τὰς ἀντιλήψεις τῶν ὑποκειμένων ὁ θεός, οὐδ’ ὁ νοῦς ἐργάσεται καὶ πραγματεύσεται τι περὶ αἰσθησιν· ἄπρακτος γὰρ αὐτὸς ἐξ ἑαυτοῦ μὴ ὥσπερ ὕοντος καὶ ἐπιψεκάζοντος ὁράσει μὲν χρώματα, φωνὰς δὲ ἀκοῇ, γεύσει δὲ χυλοὺς καὶ ταῖς ἄλλαις τὰ οἰκεία τοῦ
- 26 αἰτίου. ὅταν δὲ ἄρδῃ ὁ θεὸς ἄρξῃται τὴν αἰσθησιν αἰσθητοῖς, τηνικαῦτα καὶ ὁ νοῦς ἐργάτης οἷα πίονος γῆς ἀνευρίσκεται. ἡ δ’ ἰδέα τῆς αἰσθήσεως οὐ δεῖται τροφῆς· τροφή δὲ αἰσθήσεως, ἣν κατὰ σύμβολον βροχὴν εἴρηκεν, τὰ ἐπὶ μέρους αἰσθητά, ἃ δὴ σώματά ἐστιν· ἰδέα δὲ σωμάτων ἀλλότριον. πρὶν οὖν γενέσθαι τὰ κατὰ μέρος συγκρίματα, οὐκ ἔβρεξεν ὁ θεὸς ἐπὶ τὴν ἰδέαν τῆς αἰσθήσεως, ἣν εἴρηκε γῆν, τοῦτο δέ ἐστι, τροφήν οὐ παρέσχεν αὐτῇ· οὐδὲ γὰρ ἐδεῖτο αἰσθητοῦ τὸ
- 27 παράπαν οὐδενός. τὸ δὲ “καὶ ἄνθρωπος

ALLEGORICAL INTERPRETATION, I. 24-27

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

He goes on "for God had not rained upon the earth, and there was no man to work the ground." These words discover a deep knowledge of the laws of being. For if God does not shower upon the senses the means of apprehending objects presented to them, neither will the mind have anything to "work" or take in hand in the field of sense-perception. For the mind by itself is without employment when the Cause of all things does not pour down, like rain and moisture, colours on the sight, sounds on the hearing, savours on the taste, and that which is proper to them on the other senses. But as soon as God has begun to water sense with objects of sense, that moment the mind also is found to be a tiller of rich soil, so to speak. The original of 'sense-perception' has no need of nourishment; but the nourishment of 'sense-perception,' which he figuratively calls "rain," is the particular objects of sense, which of course are bodies; whereas an original has nothing to do with bodies. Thus before the creation of particular concrete substances, God did not rain on the original idea of sense-perception, which Moses calls "earth," and this means that He supplied it with no food: for indeed it was in absolutely no need whatever of a sensible object of perception. The

οὐκ ἦν ἐργάζεσθαι τὴν γῆν" τοιοῦτόν ἐστιν· ἡ ἰδέα τοῦ νοῦ τὴν ἰδέαν τῆς αἰσθήσεως οὐκ εἰργάζετο· ὁ μὲν γὰρ ἐμὸς καὶ σὸς νοῦς ἐργάζεται τὴν αἴσθησιν διὰ τῶν αἰσθητῶν, ἡ δὲ τοῦ νοῦ ἰδέα, ἅτε δὴ μηδενὸς ὄντος ἐπὶ μέρους οἰκείου σώματος, οὐκ ἐργάζεται τὴν ἰδέαν τῆς αἰσθήσεως· εἰ γὰρ εἰργάζετο, διὰ τῶν αἰσθητῶν ἂν εἰργάζετο, αἰσθητὸν δὲ ἐν ἰδέαις οὐδέν.

- 28 XI. " Πηγὴ δὲ ἀνέβαινεν ἐκ τῆς γῆς καὶ ἐπότιζε πᾶν τὸ πρόσωπον τῆς γῆς " (Gen. ii. 6). τὸν μὲν
 [49] νοῦν εἴρηκε | γῆς πηγὴν, τὰς δὲ αἰσθήσεις πρόσ-
 ωπον, ὅτι χωρίον αὐταῖς ἐξ ἅπαντος τοῦ σώματος
 πρὸς τὰς ἰδίας ἐνεργείας ἐπιτηδεύατον ἢ πάντα
 προμηθουμένη φύσις ἀπένειμε τοῦτο· πηγῆς δὲ
 τρόπον ἄρδει τὰς αἰσθήσεις ὁ νοῦς, ἐπιπέμπων τὰ
 πρόσφορα ἐκάστη ρεύματα. ἴδε οὖν, πῶς ἀλύσεως
 τρόπον αἱ τοῦ ζώου δυνάμεις ἀλλήλων ἔχονται·
 νοῦ γὰρ καὶ αἰσθήσεως ἔτι δὲ αἰσθητοῦ τριῶν
 ὄντων μέσον μὲν ἐστὶν αἴσθησις, ἄκρον δὲ ἐκότερον
 29 ὁ τε νοῦς καὶ τὸ αἰσθητόν. ἀλλ' οὐθ' ὁ νοῦς
 δυνατὸς ἐργάσασθαι, τουτέστιν ἐνεργῆσαι κατὰ
 αἴσθησιν, ἐὰν μὴ βρέξῃ καὶ ὕσῃ τὸ αἰσθητὸν ὁ
 θεός, οὔτε ὑσθέντος αἰσθητοῦ ὀφελός ἐστιν, ἐὰν
 μὴ πηγῆς τρόπον ὁ νοῦς, τείνας ἑαυτὸν ἄχρι τῆς
 αἰσθήσεως, κινήσῃ τε αὐτὴν ἡρεμοῦσαν, καὶ ἀγάγῃ
 πρὸς ἀντίληψιν τοῦ ὑποκειμένου· ὥστε ἀντίδοσιν ὁ
 νοῦς καὶ τὸ αἰσθητὸν αἰ μελετῶσι, τὸ μὲν προ-
 ὑποκείμενον αἰσθήσει ὡς ἂν ὕλη, ὁ δὲ κινῶν τὴν

ALLEGORICAL INTERPRETATION, I. 27-29

meaning of the words, "and there was not a man to work the ground," is this: the original idea of the mind did not work the original idea of sense-perception: for my mind like yours works the sense-perception through the objects of the senses, but the original idea of the mind, as there was of course no particular body in existence proper to it, does not work the original idea of 'sense-perception': for were it working, it would be working it by means of the objects of sense, but among original ideas there is no such thing as an object of sense.

XI. "And a spring went up out of the earth and watered all the face of the earth" (Gen. ii. 6). He calls the mind a "spring" of the earth, and the senses its "face," because Nature, exercising forethought in all things, assigned this place to them out of all the body as most suitable for their special activities: and the mind like a spring waters the senses, sending to each of them the streams suitable to it. See then, how, like links in a chain, the powers of the living creature hold on to each other; for mind and 'sense-perception' and object of sense being three, 'sense-perception' is in the middle, while mind and object of sense occupy each extreme. But neither has the mind power to work, that is, to put forth its energies by way of 'sense-perception,' unless God send the object of sense as rain upon it; nor is any benefit derived from the object of sense when so rained down, unless, like a spring, the mind, extending itself to reach the 'sense-perception,' stir it out of its repose to grasp the object presented to it. Thus the mind and the object of sense are always practising a reciprocity of giving, the one lying ready for sense-perception as its material, the

- αἰσθησιν πρὸς τὸ ἐκτὸς ὡς ἂν τεχνίτης, ἵνα γένηται
 30 ὁρμή. τὸ γὰρ ζῶον τοῦ μὴ ζῶου δυσὶ προὔχει, φαντασία καὶ ὁρμῇ· ἡ μὲν οὖν φαντασία συνίσταται κατὰ τὴν τοῦ ἐκτὸς πρόσοδον τυποῦντος νοῦν δι' αἰσθήσεως, ἡ δὲ ὁρμή, τὸ ἀδελφὸν τῆς φαντασίας, κατὰ τὴν τοῦ νοῦ τονικὴν δύναμιν, ἣν τείνας δι' αἰσθήσεως ἄπτεται τοῦ ὑποκειμένου καὶ πρὸς αὐτὸ χωρεῖ γλιχόμενος ἐφικέσθαι καὶ συλλαβεῖν αὐτό.
- 31 XII. “Καὶ ἔπλασεν ὁ θεὸς τὸν ἄνθρωπον χοῦν λαβὼν ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς, καὶ ἐνεφύσησεν εἰς τὸ πρόσωπον αὐτοῦ πνοὴν ζωῆς, καὶ ἐγένετο ὁ ἄνθρωπος εἰς ψυχὴν ζῶσαν” (Gen. ii. 7). διττὰ ἀνθρώπων γένη· ὁ μὲν γάρ ἐστιν οὐράνιος ἄνθρωπος, ὁ δὲ γήϊνος. ὁ μὲν οὖν οὐράνιος ἄτε κατ’ εἰκόνα θεοῦ γεγονώς φθαρτῆς καὶ συνόλως γεώδους οὐσίας ἀμέτοχος, ὁ δὲ γήϊνος ἐκ σποράδος ὕλης, ἣν χοῦν κέκληκεν, ἐπάγη· διὸ τὸν μὲν οὐράνιον φησιν οὐ πεπλάσθαι, κατ’ εἰκόνα δὲ τετυπῶσθαι θεοῦ, τὸν δὲ γήϊνον πλάσμα, ἀλλ’ οὐ γέννημα,
 32 εἶναι τοῦ τεχνίτου. ἄνθρωπον δὲ τὸν ἐκ γῆς λογιστέον εἶναι νοῦν εἰσκρινόμενον σώματι, οὕτω
 [50] | δ’ εἰσκεκριμένον. ὁ δὲ νοῦς οὗτος γεώδης ἐστὶ τῷ ὄντι καὶ φθαρτός, εἰ μὴ ὁ θεὸς ἐμπνεύσειεν αὐτῷ δύναμιν ἀληθινῆς ζωῆς· τότε γὰρ γίνεται, οὐκέτι πλάττεται, εἰς ψυχὴν, οὐκ ἄργον καὶ ἀδιατύπωτον, ἀλλ’ εἰς νοερὰν καὶ ζῶσαν ὄντως·

^a See App. p. 477.

ALLEGORICAL INTERPRETATION, I. 29-32

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

XII. "And God formed the man by taking clay from the earth, and breathed into his face a breath of life, and the man became a living soul" (Gen. ii. 7). There are two types of men; the one a heavenly man, the other an earthly. The heavenly man, being made after the image of God, is altogether without part or lot in corruptible and terrestrial substance; but the earthly one was compacted out of the matter scattered here and there, which Moses calls "clay." For this reason he says that the heavenly man was not moulded, but was stamped with the image of God; while the earthly is a moulded work of the Artificer, but not His offspring. We must account the man made out of the earth to be mind mingling with, but not yet blended with, body. But this earthlike mind is in reality also corruptible, were not God to breathe into it a power of real life; when He does so, it does not any more undergo moulding, but becomes a soul, not an inefficient and imperfectly formed soul, but one

- “ εἰς ψυχὴν ” γάρ φησι “ ζῶσαν ἐγένετο ὁ ἄν-
 33 θρωπος.” XIII. ζητήσαι δ’ ἄν τις, διὰ
 τί ἡξίωσεν ὁ θεὸς ὅλως τὸν γηγενῆ καὶ φιλο-
 σώματον νοῦν πνεύματος θείου, ἀλλ’ οὐχὶ τὸν κατὰ
 τὴν ἰδέαν γεγονότα καὶ τὴν εἰκόνα ἑαυτοῦ· δεύ-
 τερον δέ, τί ἐστι τὸ “ ἐνεφύσησε ”· τρίτον, διὰ τί
 εἰς τὸ πρόσωπον ἐμπνέεται· τέταρτον, διὰ τί
 πνεύματος ὄνομα εἰδώς, ὅταν λέγῃ “ καὶ πνεῦμα
 θεοῦ ἐπεφέρετο ἐπάνω τοῦ ὕδατος ” (Gen. i. 2),
 34 πνοῆς νῦν ἀλλ’ οὐχὶ πνεύματος μέμνηται. πρὸς
 μὲν οὖν τὸ πρῶτον λεκτέον ἐν μέν, ὅτι φιλόδωρος
 ὢν ὁ θεὸς χαρίζεται τὰ ἀγαθὰ πᾶσι καὶ τοῖς μὴ
 τελείοις, προκαλούμενος αὐτοὺς εἰς μετουσίαν καὶ
 ζῆλον ἀρετῆς, ἅμα καὶ τὸν περιττὸν πλοῦτον ἐπι-
 δεικνύμενος αὐτοῦ, ὅτι ἐξαρκεῖ καὶ τοῖς μὴ λίαν
 ὠφεληθησομένοις. τοῦτο δὲ καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν ἄλλων
 ἐμφαντικώτατα παρίστησιν. ὅταν γὰρ ὕψος μὲν
 κατὰ θαλάττης, πηγὰς δὲ ἐν τοῖς ἐρημοτάτοις
 ἀνομβρῇ, τὴν δὲ λεπτόγεων καὶ τραχείαν καὶ
 ἄγονον γῆν ἄρδῃ ποταμοὺς ἀναχέων ταῖς πλημ-
 μύραις, τί ἕτερον παρίστησιν ἢ τὴν ὑπερβολὴν τοῦ
 τε πλοῦτου καὶ τῆς ἀγαθότητος ἑαυτοῦ; ἢ δ’
 ἐστὶν αἰτία δι’ ἣν ἄγονον οὐδεμίαν ψυχὴν ἐδημι-
 ούργησεν ἀγαθοῦ, καὶ ἢ χρῆσις ἀδύνατος ἐνίοις
 35 ἢ αὐτοῦ. ἕτερον δὲ λεκτέον ἐκεῖνο·
 βούλεται τὰ θέσει δίκαια εἰσαγαγεῖν. ὁ μὲν οὖν
 μὴ ἐμπνευσθεὶς τὴν ἀληθινὴν ζωὴν, ἀλλ’ ἀπειρος
 ὢν ἀρετῆς, κολαζόμενος ἐφ’ οἷς ἡμάρτανεν εἶπεν
 ἂν ὡς ἀδίκως κολάζεται, ἀπειρία γὰρ τοῦ ἀγαθοῦ

endowed with mind and actually alive ; for he says, "man became a living soul." XIII.

The question might be asked, why God deemed the earthly and body-loving mind worthy of divine breath at all, but not the mind which had been created after the original, and after His own image ; in the second place, what "breathed in" means ; thirdly, why the breathing is "into the face" ; fourthly, why, though he shows his knowledge of the word 'spirit' when he says "and the Spirit of God was borne above the water" (Gen. i. 2), he now says "breath" not "spirit." In answer to the first query, one thing to be said is that God loves to give, and so bestows good things on all, even those who are not perfect, at the same time encouraging them to a zeal for virtue, and a participation in it, by displaying His own overflowing wealth, and how there is abundance even for those who will derive no great benefit from it. This characteristic He shows very clearly in other instances also. For when He rains upon the sea, and causes springs to gush forth in the depths of the desert, and waters the poor and rough and barren soil, pouring on it rivers with their overflowings, what else does He prove save the exceeding greatness of His own wealth and goodness ? This is the reason for which He created no soul barren of virtue, even if the exercise of it be to some impossible.

A second thing to be said is this. It is His will to make compliance with positive ordinances part of duty. One, then, into whom real life had not been breathed, but who was without experience of virtue, when punished for his transgressions would have said that he is unjustly punished, for that it was through inexperience

σφάλλεσθαι περὶ αὐτό, αἴτιον δὲ εἶναι τὸν μηδεμίαν ἐμπνεύσαντα ἔννοιαν αὐτοῦ· τάχα δὲ μηδὲ ἁμαρτάνειν φήσκει τὸ παράπαν, εἴ γε τὰ ἀκούσια καὶ κατὰ ἄγνοιαν οὐδὲ ἀδικημάτων ἔχειν λόγον φασί

36 **τινες.** τό γε μὴν “ἐνεφύσησεν” ἴσον

ἐστὶ τῷ ἐνέπνευσεν ἢ ἐψύχωσε τὰ ἄψυχα· μὴ γὰρ τοσαύτης ἀτοπίας ἀναπλησθείημεν, ὥστε νομίσαι θεὸν στόματος ἢ μυκτῆρων ὀργάνοις χρῆσθαι πρὸς τὸ ἐμφυσῆσαι· ἄποιος γὰρ ὁ θεός, οὐ μόνον οὐκ ἀνθρωπόμορφος. ἐμφαίνει δέ τι καὶ φυσικώτερον

37 ἢ προφορά. τρία γὰρ εἶναι δεῖ, τὸ ἐμπνέον, τὸ δεχόμενον, τὸ ἐμπνεόμενον· τὸ μὲν οὖν ἐμπνέον ἐστὶν ὁ θεός, τὸ δὲ δεχόμενον ὁ νοῦς, τὸ δὲ ἐμπνεό-

[51] **μενον** τὸ πνεῦμα. τί | οὖν ἐκ τούτων συνάγεται;

ἔνωσις γίνεται τῶν τριῶν, τείναντος τοῦ θεοῦ τὴν ἀφ’ ἑαυτοῦ δύναμιν διὰ τοῦ μέσου πνεύματος ἄκριτοῦ ὑποκειμένου — τίνος ἔνεκα ἢ ὅπως ἔννοιαν αὐ-

38 τοῦ λάβωμεν; ἐπεὶ πῶς ἂν ἐνόησεν ἡ ψυχὴ θεόν, εἰ μὴ ἐνέπνευσε καὶ ἤψατο αὐτῆς κατὰ δύναμιν; οὐ γὰρ ἂν ἀπετόλμησε τοσοῦτον ἀναδραμεῖν ὁ ἀνθρώπινος νοῦς, ὡς ἀντιλαβέσθαι θεοῦ φύσεως, εἰ μὴ αὐτὸς ὁ θεὸς ἀνέσπασεν αὐτὸν πρὸς ἑαυτόν, ὡς ἐνῆν ἀνθρώπινον νοῦν ἀνασπασθῆναι, καὶ ἐτύπωσε κατὰ τὰς ἐφικτὰς νοηθῆναι δυνάμεις.

39 εἰς δὲ τὸ πρόσωπον ἐμπνεῖ καὶ φυσικῶς καὶ ἠθικῶς· φυσικῶς μὲν, ὅτι ἐν προσώπῳ τὰς αἰσθήσεις ἐδημιούργει· τοῦτο γὰρ μάλιστα τοῦ σώματος τὸ μέρος ἐψύχεται [καὶ ἐμπέπνευσται].

ALLEGORICAL INTERPRETATION, I. 35-39

of good that he failed in respect of it, and that the blame lay with Him who had failed to breathe into him any conception of it. Nay, he will perhaps say that he does not sin at all, if (as some say) involuntary acts and acts done in ignorance do not count as wrong deeds.

"Breathed into," we note, is equivalent to "inspired" or "be-souled" the soulless ; for God forbid that we should be infected with such monstrous folly as to think that God employs for inbreathing organs such as mouth or nostrils ; for God is not only not in the form of man, but belongs to no class or kind. Yet the expression clearly brings out something that accords with nature. For it implies of necessity three things, that which inbreathes, that which receives, that which is inbreathed : that which inbreathes is God, that which receives is the mind, that which is inbreathed is the spirit or breath. What, then, do we infer from these premises ? A union of the three comes about, as God projects the power that proceeds from Himself through the mediant breath till it reaches the subject. And for what purpose save that we may obtain a conception of Him ? For how could the soul have conceived of God, had He not breathed into it and mightily laid hold of it ? For the mind of man would never have ventured to soar so high as to grasp the nature of God, had not God Himself drawn it up to Himself, so far as it was possible that the mind of man should be drawn up, and stamped it with the impress of the powers that are within the scope of its understanding.

The breathing "into the face" is to be understood both physically and ethically : physically, because it is in the face that He set the senses ; for this part of the body is beyond other parts endowed with soul :

ἡθικῶς δὲ οὕτως· ὥσπερ σώματος ἡγεμονικόν ἐστι τὸ πρόσωπον, οὕτως ψυχῆς ἡγεμονικόν ἐστὶν ὁ νοῦς· τούτῳ μόνῳ ἐμπνέει ὁ θεός, τοῖς δ' ἄλλοις μέρεσιν οὐκ ἄξιοι, ταῖς τε αἰσθήσεσι καὶ τῷ λόγῳ
 40 καὶ τῷ γονίμῳ· δεύτερα γάρ ἐστι τῇ δυνάμει. ὑπὸ τίνος οὖν καὶ ταῦτα ἐνεπνεύσθη; ὑπὸ τοῦ νοῦ δηλονότι· οὗ γὰρ μετέσχεν ὁ νοῦς παρὰ θεοῦ, τούτου μεταδίδωσι τῷ ἀλόγῳ μέρος τῆς ψυχῆς, ὥστε τὸν μὲν νοῦν ἐψυχῶσθαι ὑπὸ θεοῦ, τὸ δὲ ἄλογον ὑπὸ τοῦ νοῦ· ὥσανεὶ γὰρ θεός ἐστι τοῦ ἀλόγου ὁ νοῦς, παρὸ καὶ Μωυσῆν οὐκ ὥκνησεν
 41 εἰπεῖν “θεὸν τοῦ Φαραώ” (Exod. vii. 1). τῶν γὰρ γινομένων τὰ μὲν καὶ ὑπὸ θεοῦ γίνεται καὶ δι’ αὐτοῦ, τὰ δὲ ὑπὸ θεοῦ μὲν, οὐ δι’ αὐτοῦ δέ· τὰ μὲν οὖν ἄριστα καὶ ὑπὸ θεοῦ γέγονε καὶ δι’ αὐτοῦ· προελθὼν γοῦν ἐρεῖ ὅτι “ἐφύτευσεν ὁ θεὸς παράδεισον” (Gen. ii. 8)· τούτων καὶ ὁ νοῦς ἐστι· τὸ δὲ ἄλογον ὑπὸ θεοῦ μὲν γέγονεν, οὐ διὰ θεοῦ δέ, ἀλλὰ διὰ τοῦ λογικοῦ τοῦ ἄρχοντός τε καὶ βασι-
 42 λεύοντος ἐν ψυχῇ. “πνοήν” δέ, ἀλλ’ οὐ πνεῦμα, εἶρηκεν, ὡς διαφόρᾳς οὔσης· τὸ μὲν γὰρ πνεῦμα νενόηται κατὰ τὴν ἰσχὺν καὶ εὐτονίαν καὶ δύναμιν, ἡ δὲ πνοὴ ὡς ἂν αἰθρά τίς ἐστι καὶ ἀναθυμίασις ἡρεμαία καὶ πραεῖα. ὁ μὲν οὖν κατὰ τὴν εἰκόνα γεγονώς καὶ τὴν ἰδέαν νοῦς πνεύματος ἂν λέγοιτο κεκοινωνηκέναι—ῥώμην γὰρ ἔχει ὁ λογισμὸς αὐτοῦ—ὁ δὲ ἐκ τῆς ὕλης τῆς κούφης καὶ ἐλαφροτέρας αὔρας ὡς ἂν ἀποφορᾷς τινος,

ALLEGORICAL INTERPRETATION, I. 39-42

but ethically, on this wise. As the face is the dominant element in the body, so is the mind the dominant element of the soul: into this only does God breathe, whereas He does not see fit to do so with the other parts, whether senses or organs of utterance and of reproduction; for these are secondary in capacity. By what, then, were these also inspired? By the mind, evidently. For the mind imparts to the portion of the soul that is devoid of reason a share of that which it has received from God, so that the mind was be-souled by God, but the unreasoning part by the mind. For the mind is, so to speak, God of the unreasoning part. In like manner he does not hesitate to speak of Moses as "a God to Pharaoh" (Exod. vii. 1). For of the things which come into being some come into being both by God's power and through God's agency, while others come into being by God's power but not by His agency. The most excellent things were made both by God and through God. For example, he will presently say, "God planted a pleasaunce" (Gen. ii. 8): to these the mind belongs; but the part devoid of reason was made by God's power but not by God's agency, but by that of the reasonable power which rules and holds dominion in the soul.

He uses the word 'breath' not 'spirit,' implying a difference between them; for 'spirit' is conceived of as connoting strength and vigour and power, while a 'breath' is like an air or a peaceful and gentle vapour. The mind that was made after the image and original might be said to partake of spirit, for its reasoning faculty possesses robustness; but the mind that was made out of matter must be said to partake of the light and less substantial air, as of some exhalation,

ὅποῖαι γίνονται ἀπὸ τῶν ἀρωμάτων· φυλαττομένων γὰρ οὐδὲν ἦττον καὶ μὴ ἐκθυμιωμένων εὐωδία τις γίνεται.

- 43 XIV. “Καὶ ἐφύτευεν ὁ θεὸς παράδεισον ἐν Ἑδέμ κατὰ ἀνατολὰς· καὶ ἔθετο ἐκεῖ τὸν ἄνθρωπον ὃν ἔπλασε” (Gen. ii. 8). τὴν μετάρσιον καὶ οὐράνιον σοφίαν πολλοῖς ὀνόμασι πολυνύμῳ
 [52] οὖσαν | δεδήλωκε· καὶ γὰρ ἀρχὴν καὶ εἰκόνα καὶ ὄρασιν θεοῦ κέκληκε. ταύτης δ’ ὡς ἂν ἀρχετύπου μίμημα τὴν ἐπίγειον σοφίαν νυνὶ παρίστησι διὰ τῆς τοῦ παραδείσου φυτουργίας· μὴ γὰρ τοσαύτη κατάσχοι τὸν ἀνθρώπινον λογισμὸν ἀσέβεια, ὡς ὑπολαβεῖν ὅτι θεὸς γεωπονεῖ καὶ φυτεύει παραδείσους, ἐπεὶ καὶ τίνος ἔνεκα εὐθὺς διαπορήσομεν· οὐ γὰρ ὅπως ἀναπαύλας εὐδιαγώγους καὶ ἡδονὰς ἑαυτῷ πορίζῃ—μηδὲ εἰς νοῦν ἔλθοι ποτέ τὸν
 44 ἡμέτερον ἢ τοιαύτη μυθοποιΐα—· θεοῦ γὰρ οὐδὲ ὁ σύμπας κόσμος ἄξιον ἂν εἶη χωρίον καὶ ἐνδιαίτημα, ἐπεὶ αὐτὸς ἑαυτοῦ τόπος καὶ αὐτὸς ἑαυτοῦ πλήρης καὶ ἱκανὸς αὐτὸς ἑαυτῷ ὁ θεός, τὰ μὲν ἄλλα ἐπιδεῖα καὶ ἔρημα καὶ κενὰ ὄντα πληρῶν καὶ περιέχων, αὐτὸς δὲ ὑπ’ οὐδενὸς ἄλλου περιεχόμενος, ἅτε
 45 εἰς καὶ τὸ πᾶν αὐτὸς ὢν. τὴν οὖν ἐπίγειον ἀρετὴν σπεῖρει καὶ φυτεύει τῷ θνητῷ γένει ὁ θεὸς μίμημα καὶ ἀπεικόνισμα οὖσαν τῆς οὐρανίου· ἐλεήσας γὰρ ἡμῶν τὸ γένος καὶ κατιδὼν ὅτι ἐξ ἀφθόνων καὶ πλουσίων κακῶν συνέστηκεν, ἐπικουρον καὶ ἀρωγὸν τῶν ψυχῆς νόσων ἀρετὴν ἐπίγειον ἐρρίζου, μίμημα, ὡς ἔφην, τῆς οὐρανίου καὶ ἀρχετύπου, ἣν πολλοῖς ὀνόμασι καλεῖ. παράδεισος μὲν δὴ τροπικῶς εἴρηται ἢ ἀρετή, τόπος

ALLEGORICAL INTERPRETATION, I. 42-45

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

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

Well then, God sows and plants earthly excellence for the race of mortals as a copy and reproduction of the heavenly. For pitying our race and noting that it is compact of a rich abundance of ills, He caused earthly excellence to strike root, to bring succour and aid to the diseases of the soul. It is, as I said before, a copy of the heavenly and archetypal excellence, to which Moses gives many names. Virtue is figuratively called " pleasaunce," and the locality specially suited to the pleasaunce

- δὲ οἰκείος τῷ παραδείσῳ Ἐδέμ, τοῦτο δὲ ἐστὶ
 τρυφή· ἀρετῇ δὲ ἀρμόττον εἰρήνη καὶ εὐπάθεια καὶ
 46 χαρά, ἐν οἷς τὸ τρυφᾶν ὡς ἀληθῶς ἐστὶ. καὶ μὴν
 κατὰ ἀνατολάς ἐστιν ἡ φυτουργία τοῦ παραδείσου·
 οὐ γὰρ δύεται καὶ σβέννυται, ἀλλ' αἰεὶ πέφυκεν
 ἀνατέλλειν ὁ ὀρθὸς λόγος, καὶ ὥσπερ, οἶμαι,
 ἀνατείλας ἥλιος τὸν ζόφον τοῦ ἀέρος φωτὸς
 ἐνέπλησεν, οὕτως καὶ ἀρετῇ ἀνατείλασα ἐν ψυχῇ
 τὴν ἀχλὺν αὐτῆς ἐναυγάζει καὶ τὸν πολὺν σκότον
 47 σκεδάννυσι. “καὶ ἔθετο” φησὶν “ἐκεῖ
 τὸν ἄνθρωπον ὃν ἔπλασεν.” ἀγαθὸς γὰρ ὢν ὁ
 θεὸς καὶ ἐπ' ἀρετὴν ὡς οἰκειότατον ἔργον ἀσκῶν
 τὸ γένος ἡμῶν τὸν νοῦν τίθησιν ἐν τῇ ἀρετῇ, ἵνα
 δηλονότι μηδὲν ἄλλο ἢ ταύτην καθάπερ ἀγαθὸς
 γεωργὸς τημελῇ καὶ περιέπη. XV.
- 48 ζητήσῃς δ' ἂν τις, διὰ τί, τοῦ μιμεῖσθαι θεοῦ τὰ
 ἔργα ὄντος ὁσίου, ἐμοὶ μὲν ἀπηγόρευται φυτεῦν
 ἄλσος παρὰ τῷ θυσιαστηρίῳ, τὸν δὲ παράδεισον
 ὁ θεὸς φυτεύει; φησὶ γάρ· “οὐ φυτεύσεις σεαυτῷ
 ἄλσος, πᾶν ξύλον παρὰ τὸ θυσιαστήριον κυρίου
 [53] τοῦ θεοῦ σου οὐ | ποιήσεις σεαυτῷ” (Deut. xvi.
 21). τί οὖν λεκτέον; ὅτι πρέπει τῷ θεῷ φυτεῦν
 49 καὶ οἰκοδομεῖν ἐν ψυχῇ τὰς ἀρετάς. φίλαυτος δὲ
 καὶ ἄθεος ὁ νοῦς, οἰόμενος ἴσος εἶναι θεῷ καὶ
 ποιεῖν δοκῶν ἐν τῷ πάσχειν ἐξεταζόμενος· θεοῦ
 δὲ σπεύροντος καὶ φυτεύοντος ἐν ψυχῇ τὰ καλά,
 ὁ λέγων νοῦς ὅτι “ἐγὼ φυτεύω” ἀσεβεῖ. οὐ
 φυτεύσεις οὖν, ὅταν ὁ θεὸς φυτουργῇ· ἐὰν δὲ καὶ
 φυτὰ ἐν ψυχῇ καταβάλῃ, ὧ διάνοια, καρποτόκα
 φύτευε πάντα, ἀλλὰ μὴ ἄλσος, ἐν ἄλσει γὰρ καὶ
 ἀγρίας ὕλης ἐστὶ καὶ ἡμέρου δένδρα· κακίαν δὲ

ALLEGORICAL INTERPRETATION, I. 45-49

"Eden," which means "luxury"; excellence to be sure has for its fit adjuncts peace and welfare and joy, in which true luxury consists. Again the planting of the pleasaunce is "towards the sun-rising," for right reason does not set nor is quenched, but its nature is ever to rise, and, I take it, just as the sun when it has risen fills the gloom of the atmosphere with light, so virtue also, when it has risen in the soul, illumines its mist and disperses its deep darkness.

"And He placed there" it says, "the man whom He had formed." For God, being good and training our race to virtue as the operation most proper to it, places the mind amid virtue, evidently to the end that as a good gardener it may spend its care on nothing else but this.

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

PHILO

- τὴν ἄγονον ἐν ψυχῇ μετὰ τῆς ἡμέρου καὶ καρπο-
τόκου φυτεύειν ἀρετῆς λέπρας ἐστὶ τῆς διφυοῦς
50 καὶ μιγάδος οἰκείου. ἐὰν μέντοι γε τὰ ἄμικτα
καὶ σύγκλυδα εἰς ταῦτὸν ἄγῃς, χωρίζε καὶ διάκρινε
τῆς καθαρᾶς καὶ ἀμιάντου φύσεως τῆς ἀναφερούσης
τὰ ἄμωμα τῷ θεῷ, αὕτη δέ ἐστι τὸ θυσιαστήριον.
τούτου γὰρ ἄλλότριον τὸ λέγειν ἔργον τι εἶναι
ψυχῆς, ἐπὶ θεὸν πάντων λαμβανόντων τὴν ἀνα-
φοράν, καὶ τὸ τὰ ἄκαρπα τοῖς καρποτόκοις
ἀναμιγνύναι. μῶμος γὰρ τοῦτό γε, τὰ δὲ ἄμωμα
51 τῷ θεῷ προσάγεται. ἐὰν οὖν τι τούτων παραβῇς,
ὦ ψυχῇ, σαυτὴν βλάψεις, οὐ θεόν· διὰ τοῦτό
φησιν· “οὐ φυτεύσεις σεαυτῷ”. θεῷ γὰρ οὐδεὶς
ἐργάζεται, καὶ μάλιστα τὰ φαῦλα· καὶ ἐπιφέρει
πάλιν· “οὐ ποιήσεις σεαυτῷ.” λέγει δὲ καὶ ἐν
ἐτέροις· “οὐ ποιήσετε μετ’ ἐμοῦ θεοὺς ἀργυροῦς,
καὶ θεοὺς χρυσοῦς οὐ ποιήσετε ὑμῖν ἑαυτοῖς”
(Exod. xx. 23). ὁ γὰρ ἢ ποιότητα οἰόμενος ἔχειν
τὸν θεὸν ἢ μὴ ἓνα εἶναι ἢ μὴ ἀγέννητον καὶ ἄ-
φθαρτον ἢ μὴ ἄτρεπτον ἑαυτὸν ἀδικεῖ, οὐ θεόν.
“ἑαυτοῖς” γὰρ φησιν “οὐ ποιήσετε”. δεῖ γὰρ
ἡγέσθαι καὶ ἄποιον αὐτὸν καὶ ἓνα καὶ ἀφθαρτον
καὶ ἄτρεπτον· ὁ δὲ μὴ οὕτως διανοούμενος ἑαυτοῦ
τὴν ψυχὴν ψευδοῦς καὶ ἀθέου δόξης ἀναπίμπλησιν.
52 οὐχ ὁρᾷς ὅτι, καὶ εἰσαγάγῃ ἡμᾶς εἰς τὴν ἀρετὴν
καὶ εἰσαχθέντες φυτεύσωμεν ἄκαρπον μὲν οὐδὲν
“πᾶν δὲ ξύλον βρώσιμον,” κελεύει “περικαθ-
αρίσαι τὴν ἀκαθαρσίαν αὐτοῦ” (Lev. xix. 23);

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

ALLEGORICAL INTERPRETATION, I. 49-52

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

τοῦτο δ' ἐστὶ τὸ δοκεῖν φυτεῦειν· ἀποτεμεῖν
οἷσιν γὰρ ἐπαγγέλλεται, οἷσις δὲ ἀκάθαρτον
53 φύσει.

XVI. ὃν δὲ ἐπλασεν ἄνθρωπον
τιθέναι φησὶν ἐν τῷ παραδείσῳ νυνὶ μόνον· τίς
οὖν ἐστίν, ἐφ' οὗ ὕστερόν φησιν ὅτι “ ἔλαβε
κύριος ὁ θεὸς τὸν ἄνθρωπον ὃν ἐποίησε¹ καὶ ἔθετο
αὐτὸν ἐν τῷ παραδείσῳ, ἐργάζεσθαι αὐτὸν καὶ
φυλάσσειν ” (Gen. ii. 15); μήποτ' οὖν ἕτερός
ἐστὶν ἄνθρωπος οὗτος, ὁ κατὰ τὴν εἰκόνα καὶ τὴν
ιδέαν γεγωνώς, ὥστε δύο ἀνθρώπους εἰς τὸν
παράδεισον εἰσάγεσθαι, τὸν μὲν πεπλασμένον, τὸν
54 δὲ κατ' εἰκόνα. ὁ μὲν οὖν κατὰ τὴν ιδέαν γεγωνώς
[54] οὐ | μόνον ἐν ταῖς φυτουργίαις τῶν ἀρετῶν ἐξετά-
ζεται, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐργάτης ἐστὶν αὐτῶν καὶ φύλαξ,
τοῦτο δ' ἐστὶ μνημῶν ὧν ἤκουσε καὶ ἤσκησεν·
ὁ δὲ πλαστὸς οὔτε ἐργάζεται τὰς ἀρετὰς οὔτε
φυλάττει, ἀλλὰ μόνον εἰσάγεται εἰς τὰ δόγματα
ἀφθονία θεοῦ, μέλλων αὐτίκα φυγὰς ἀρετῆς
55 ἔσεσθαι. διὰ τοῦτο ὃν μὲν μόνον τίθησιν ἐν τῷ
παραδείσῳ, πλαστὸν καλεῖ, ὃν δὲ καὶ ἐργάτην καὶ
φύλακα ἀποδείκνυσιν, οὐ πλαστόν, ἀλλὰ “ ὃν
ἐποίησε ”· καὶ τοῦτον μὲν λαμβάνει, ἐκείνον δὲ
ἐκβάλλει. ὃν δὲ λαμβάνει, τριῶν ἀξιοῖ, ἐξ ὧν
συνέστηκεν ἡ εὐφυΐα, εὐθιξίας, ἐπιμονῆς, μνήμης·
ἡ μὲν οὖν εὐθιξία θέσις ἐστὶν ἐν τῷ παραδείσῳ,
ἡ δὲ ἐπιμονὴ πρᾶξις τῶν καλῶν [τὸ ἐργάζεσθαι
τὰ καλά], ἡ δὲ μνήμη φυλακὴ καὶ διατήρησις τῶν
ἀγίων δογμάτων. ὁ δὲ πλαστὸς νοῦς οὔτε μνημο-

¹ We must suppose that Philo found *ποίησε* in his text of LXX.

(Lev. xix. 23)? And this means the notion that we are planting, for it is the cutting away of self-conceit that He demands, and self-conceit is in its nature unclean.

XVI. Speaking here of the man whom God moulded, it merely says that He "placed him in the garden." Who then is it of whom it says later on "The Lord God took the man whom He had made, and placed him in the garden to till it and to guard it" (Gen. ii. 15)? It would seem then that this is a different man, the one that was made after the image and archetype, so that two men are introduced into the garden, the one a moulded being, the other "after the image." The one then that was made according to the original has his sphere not only in the planting of virtues but is also their tiller and guardian, and that means that he is mindful of all that he heard and practised in his training; but the "moulded" man neither tills the virtues nor guards them, but is only introduced to the truths by the rich bounty of God, presently to be an exile from virtue. For this reason in describing the man whom God only places in the garden, Moses uses the word "moulded," but of the man whom He appoints both tiller and guardian he speaks not as "moulded," but he says "whom He had made"; and the one He receives, and the other He casts out. And He confers on him whom He receives three gifts, which constitute natural ability, facility in apprehending, persistence in doing, tenacity in keeping. Facility in apprehending is the placing in the garden, persistence in doing is the practice of noble deeds, tenacity in keeping the guarding and retaining in the memory of the holy precepts. But the "moulded" mind neither keeps in mind nor

νεύει τὰ καλὰ οὔτε ἐργάζεται, μόνον δὲ εὐθικὸς ἐστι· παρὸ καὶ τεθείς ἐν τῷ παραδείσῳ μικρὸν ὕστερον ἀποδιδράσκει καὶ ἐκβάλλεται.

- 56 XVII. “Καὶ ἐξανέτειλεν ὁ θεὸς ἐκ τῆς γῆς πᾶν ξύλον ὠραῖον εἰς ὄρασιν καὶ καλὸν εἰς βρώσιν, καὶ τὸ ξύλον τῆς ζωῆς ἐν μέσῳ τῷ παραδείσῳ, καὶ τὸ ξύλον τοῦ εἰδέναι γνωστὸν καλοῦ καὶ πονηροῦ” (Gen. ii. 9). ἃ φυτεύει ἐν τῇ ψυχῇ δένδρα ἀρετῆς, νῦν ὑπογράφει· ἔστι δὲ ταῦτα αἱ τε κατὰ μέρος ἀρεταὶ καὶ αἱ κατ’ αὐτὰς ἐνέργειαι, καὶ τὰ κατορθώματα, καὶ τὰ λεγόμενα παρὰ τοῖς
- 57 φιλοσοφοῦσι καθήκοντα· ταῦτά ἐστι τοῦ παραδείσου τὰ φυτά. χαρακτηρίζει μέντοι γε αὐτὰ ταῦτα, δηλῶν ὅτι τὸ ἀγαθὸν καὶ ὁφθῆναι κάλλιστόν ἐστι καὶ ἀπολαυσθῆναι· ἔνιαι γὰρ τῶν τεχνῶν θεωρητικαὶ μὲν εἰσιν, οὐ πρακτικαὶ δέ, γεωμετρία, ἀστρονομία, ἔνιαι δὲ πρακτικαὶ μὲν, οὐ θεωρητικαὶ δέ, τεκτονική, χαλκευτική, καὶ ὅσαι βάνανσοι λέγονται· ἡ δὲ ἀρετὴ καὶ θεωρητικὴ ἐστὶ καὶ πρακτικὴ· καὶ γὰρ θεωρίαν ἔχει, ὅποτε καὶ ἡ ἐπ’ αὐτὴν ὁδὸς φιλοσοφία διὰ τῶν τριῶν αὐτῆς μερῶν, τοῦ λογικοῦ, τοῦ ἠθικοῦ, τοῦ φυσικοῦ, καὶ πράξεις· ὅλου γὰρ τοῦ βίου ἐστὶ τέχνη ἡ
- 58 ἀρετὴ, ἐν ᾧ καὶ αἱ σύμπασαι πράξεις. ἀλλὰ καίτοι θεωρίαν ἔχουσα καὶ πρᾶξιν, πάλιν ἐν ἑκατέρῳ ὑπερβάλλει κατὰ τὸ κρεῖττον· καὶ γὰρ ἡ θεωρία τῆς ἀρετῆς παγκάλη, καὶ ἡ πρᾶξις καὶ ἡ χρῆσις περιμάχητος. διὸ καὶ φησιν ὅτι καὶ “εἰς ὄρασιν ἐστὶν ὠραῖον,” ὅπερ ἦν τοῦ θεωρητικοῦ σύμβολον, καὶ “καλὸν εἰς βρώσιν,” ὅπερ ἐστὶ

^a Cf. Cicero, *De Officiis* i. 3. 8, iii. 3. 14, κατορθώματα are honesta or recta; τὰ καθήκοντα are media or communia.

carries out in action the things that are noble, but has facility in apprehending them and no more than this. Accordingly after being placed in the garden he soon runs away and is cast out.

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

^b See App. p. 477.

PHILO

τοῦ χρηστικοῦ καὶ πρακτικοῦ σημείου.

- 59 XVIII. τὸ δὲ ξύλον τῆς ζωῆς ἐστὶν ἡ γενικωτάτη ἀρετή, ἣν τινες ἀγαθότητα καλοῦσιν, ἀφ' ἧς αἱ κατὰ μέρος ἀρεταὶ συνίστανται. τούτου χάριν καὶ μέσον ἱδρυταὶ τοῦ παραδείσου, τὴν συνεκτικωτάτην χώραν ἔχον, ἵνα ὑπὸ τῶν ἐκατέρωθεν, [55] βασιλέως | τρόπον, δορυφορῇται. οἱ δὲ λέγουσι τὴν καρδίαν ξύλον εἰρῆσθαι ζωῆς, ἐπειδὴ αἰτία τε τοῦ ζῆν ἐστὶ καὶ τὴν μέσῃν τοῦ σώματος χώραν ἔλαχεν, ὡς ἂν κατ' αὐτοὺς ἡγεμονικὸν ὑπάρχουσα. ἀλλ' οὗτοι μὲν ἰατρικὴν δόξαν ἐκτιθέμενοι μᾶλλον ἢ φυσικὴν μὴ λανθανέτωσαν, ἡμεῖς δέ, ὡς καὶ πρότερον ἐλέχθη, τὴν γενικωτάτην 60 ἀρετὴν ξύλον εἰρῆσθαι ζωῆς λέγομεν. τοῦτο μὲν οὖν ῥητῶς φησὶν ὅτι ἐστὶν ἐν μέσῳ τῷ παραδείσῳ· τὸ δὲ ἕτερον ξύλον, τὸ τοῦ γινώσκειν καλὸν καὶ πονηρόν, οὐ δεδήλωκεν οὔτε εἰ ἐντὸς οὔτε εἰ ἐκτὸς ἐστὶ τοῦ παραδείσου, ἀλλ' εἰπὼν οὕτως “ καὶ τὸ ξύλον τοῦ εἰδέναι γνωστὸν καλοῦ καὶ πονηροῦ ” εὐθύς ἡσύχασεν οὐ δηλώσας ὅπου τετύχηκεν ὄν, ἵνα μὴ ὁ φυσιολογίας ἀμύητος τὸν τόπον¹ τῆς 61 ἐπιστήμης θαυμάζη. τί οὖν χρὴ λέγειν; ὅτι τὸ ξύλον τοῦτο καὶ ἐν τῷ παραδείσῳ ἐστὶ καὶ ἐκτὸς αὐτοῦ, οὐσία μὲν ἐν αὐτῷ, δυνάμει δὲ ἐκτὸς. πῶς; τὸ ἡγεμονικὸν ἡμῶν πανδεχές ἐστὶ καὶ

¹ Reading *τόπον* for *ὄντα*, as Cohn (after Jost) suggests. See note b, on p. 36 of Heinemann's translation, signed "L. C.," and App. p. 478.

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

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

words which point to its excellence in exercise and practice.

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

ἔοικε κηρῷ πάντας τύπους καλοὺς τε καὶ αἰσχροὺς
 δεχομένῳ· παρὸ καὶ ὁ πτερνιστῆς Ἰακώβ ὁμολογεῖ
 φάσκων “Ἐπ’ ἐμὲ ἐγένετο πάντα ταῦτα”
 (Gen. xlii. 36)· ἐπὶ γὰρ μίαν οὖσαν τὴν ψυχὴν αἱ
 ἀμύθητοι τυπώσεις ἀπάντων τῶν ἐν τῷ παντὶ
 ἀναφέρονται· ὅταν μὲν οὖν δέξηται τὸν τῆς τελείας
 ἀρετῆς χαρακτῆρα, γέγονε τὸ τῆς ζωῆς ξύλον,
 ὅταν δὲ τὸν τῆς κακίας, γέγονε τὸ τοῦ εἰδέναι
 γνωστὸν καλοῦ καὶ πονηροῦ· ἡ δὲ κακία πεφυ-
 γάδευται θείου χοροῦ· τὸ δεδεγμένον οὖν αὐτὴν
 ἡγεμονικὸν ἐν τῷ παραδείσῳ ἐστὶ κατὰ τὴν
 οὐσίαν, ἐν αὐτῷ γάρ ἐστι καὶ ὁ τῆς ἀρετῆς χαρα-
 κτῆρ οἰκείος ὣν τῷ παραδείσῳ, δυνάμει δὲ πάλιν
 οὐκ ἔστιν ἐν αὐτῷ, ὅτι ὁ τύπος ὁ κακίας ἀλλότριός
 62 ἐστὶ θείων ἀνατολῶν. ὁ δὲ λέγω, καὶ οὕτως ἄν
 τις καταμάθοι. νῦν ἐν τῷ σώματί μου τὸ ἡγε-
 μονικὸν ἐστὶ κατὰ τὴν οὐσίαν, δυνάμει δὲ ἐν
 Ἰταλία ἢ Σικελία, ὅποτε περὶ τῶν χωρῶν τούτων
 ἐπιλογίζεται, καὶ ἐν οὐρανῷ, ὅποτε περὶ οὐρανοῦ
 σκοπεῖ· παρὸ καὶ πολλάκις ἐν βεβήλοις ὄντες
 χωρίοις τινὲς κατὰ τὴν οὐσίαν ἐν ἱερωτάτοις
 ὑπάρχουσι, φαντασιούμενοι τὰ ἀρετῆς, καὶ ἔμ-
 παλιν, ἐν τοῖς ἀδύτοις ὑπάρχοντες ἄλλοι τὴν
 διάνοιάν εἰσι βέβηλοι, τῷ τροπᾷ πρὸς τὸ χεῖρον
 καὶ τύπους αὐτὴν λαμβάνειν φαύλους· ὥστε οὔτε
 ἐν τῷ παραδείσῳ ἡ κακία ἐστὶν οὔτε οὐχί ἐστι·
 δύναται μὲν γὰρ εἶναι κατ’ οὐσίαν, δυνάμει δὲ οὐ
 δύναται.

- 63 XIX. “Ποταμὸς δὲ ἐκπορεύεται ἐξ Ἐδὲμ
 ποτίζειν τὸν παράδεισον· ἐκεῖθεν ἀφορίζεται εἰς
 [56] τέσσαρας ἀρχάς. ὄνομα | τῷ ἐνὶ Φεισῶν· οὗτος
 ὁ κυκλῶν πᾶσαν τὴν γῆν Εὐνιάτ, ἐκεῖ οὐ ἐστὶ τὸ
 186

ALLEGORICAL INTERPRETATION, I. 61-63

resembles wax that receives all impressions fair and ugly; accordingly the supplanter Jacob makes acknowledgement saying, "Upon me came all these things" (Gen. xlii. 36); for upon the soul, one as it is, the countless impressions of all things in the universe are borne. Whenever, then, it shall have received the stamp of perfect virtue, it straightway becomes the tree of life, but when it receives that of wickedness, it straightway becomes the tree of knowledge of good and evil. But wickedness has been exiled from the divine choir.^a The ruling part in us therefore that has received it is actually in the garden, for it has in it likewise the stamp of virtue, properly belonging to the garden; but on the other hand it is virtually not in it, because the impress of wickedness is alien to a place of divine sunrising. You may grasp what I mean in this way. At this moment my ruling part is in literal fact in my body, but virtually in Italy or Sicily, when it is pondering on these countries, and in heaven, when it is considering heaven. Accordingly it often happens that people who are actually in unconsecrated spots are really in most sacred ones, when they are forming images of all that pertains to virtue. Others, on the other hand, who are in consecrated spots are in mind profane, owing to their mind admitting bad impressions and inclinations to what is unworthy. Thus wickedness neither *is* in the garden, nor is it *not* in it, for it can be there actually, but virtually it cannot.

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

^a Plato, *Phaedrus* 247 A.

χρυσίον· τὸ δὲ χρυσίον τῆς γῆς ἐκείνης καλόν·
 καὶ ἐκεῖ ἐστὶν ὁ ἄνθραξ καὶ ὁ λίθος ὁ πράσινος.
 καὶ ὄνομα τῷ ποταμῷ τῷ δευτέρῳ Γηών· οὗτος
 κυκλοῖ πᾶσαν τὴν γῆν Αἰθιοπίας. καὶ ὁ ποταμὸς
 ὁ τρίτος Τίγρις· οὗτος ὁ πορευόμενος κατέναντι
 Ἀσσυρίων. ὁ δὲ ποταμὸς ὁ τέταρτος Εὐφράτης”
 (Gen. ii. 10–14). διὰ τούτων βούλεται τὰς κατὰ
 μέρος ἀρετὰς ὑπογράφειν· εἰσὶ δὲ τὸν ἀριθμὸν
 τέτταρες, φρόνησις σωφροσύνη ἀνδρεία δικαιο-
 σύνη. ὁ μὲν δὴ μέγιστος ποταμὸς, οὗ αἱ τέτταρες
 ἀπόρροiai γεγόνασιν, ἡ γενικὴ ἐστὶν ἀρετὴ, ἣν
 ἀγαθότητα ὠνομάσαμεν, αἱ δὲ τέτταρες ἀπόρροiai
 64 αἱ ἰσάριθμοι ἀρεταί. λαμβάνει μὲν οὖν τὰς ἀρχὰς
 ἡ γενικὴ ἀρετὴ ἀπὸ τῆς Ἐδέμ, τῆς τοῦ θεοῦ
 σοφίας, ἣ χαίρει καὶ γάννυται καὶ τρυφᾷ ἐπὶ
 μόνῳ τῷ πατρὶ αὐτῆς ἀγαλλομένη καὶ σεμνυ-
 νομένη θεῷ, αἱ δὲ ἐν εἶδει τέτταρες ἀπὸ τῆς
 γενικῆς, ἥτις ποταμοῦ δίκην ἄρδει τὰ κατορθώματα
 ἐκάσταις πολλῷ ρεύματι καλῶν πράξεων.
 65 ἴδωμεν δὲ καὶ τὰς λέξεις. “ποταμὸς δὲ” φησὶν
 “ἐκπορεύεται ἐξ Ἐδέμ ποτίζειν τὸν παράδεισον.”
 ποταμὸς ἡ γενικὴ ἐστὶν ἀρετὴ, ἡ ἀγαθότης· αὕτη
 ἐκπορεύεται ἐκ τῆς Ἐδέμ, τῆς τοῦ θεοῦ σοφίας·
 ἡ δὲ ἐστὶν ὁ θεοῦ λόγος· κατὰ γὰρ τοῦτον πεποιήται
 ἡ γενικὴ ἀρετὴ. τὸν παράδεισον δὲ ποτίζει ἡ
 γενικὴ ἀρετὴ, τουτέστι τὰς κατὰ μέρος ἀρετὰς
 ἄρδει. “ἀρχὰς” δὲ οὐ τὰς τοπικὰς λαμβάνει,
 ἀλλὰ τὰς ἡγεμονικὰς· ἐκάστη γὰρ τῶν ἀρετῶν
 ἡγεμονὶς καὶ βασιλὶς ὡς ἀληθῶς ἐστι. τὸ δὲ
 “ἀφορίζεται” ἴσον ἐστὶ τῷ ὅροις πεπεράτῳται·
 ἡ μὲν φρόνησις περὶ τὰ ποιητέα ὅρους αὐτοῖς
 τιθεῖσα, ἡ δὲ ἀνδρεία τοῖς ὑπομενετέοις, ἡ δὲ

ALLEGORICAL INTERPRETATION, I. 63-65

is ; and the gold of that land is good ; and there is the ruby and the emerald. And the name of the second river is Geon ; this encompasses all the land of Aethiopia. And the third river is Tigris ; this is that whose course is in front of Assyria. And the fourth river is Euphrates " (Gen. ii. 10-14). By these rivers his purpose is to indicate the particular virtues. These are four in number,^a prudence, self-mastery, courage, justice. The largest river, of which the four are effluxes, is generic virtue, which we have called "goodness." The four effluxes are the virtues of the same number. Generic virtue takes its start from Eden, the wisdom of God, which is full of joy, and brightness, and exultation, glorying and priding itself only upon God its Father ; but the specific virtues, four in number, are derived from generic virtue, which like a river waters the perfect achievements of each of them with an abundant flow of noble doings.

Let us look too at the particular words used. "A river," it says "issues forth from Eden to water the garden." "River" is generic virtue, goodness. This issues forth out of Eden, the wisdom of God, and this is the Reason of God ; for after that has generic virtue been made. And generic virtue waters the garden, that is, it waters the particular virtues. "Heads" he takes not in the sense of locality but of sovereignty. For each of the virtues is in very deed a sovereign and a queen. "Is separated" is equivalent to 'has boundaries to define it.' Prudence, concerned with things to be done, sets boundaries round them ; courage round things to be endured ; self-mastery

^a The four cardinal virtues belong, of course, to Platonism, though adopted by later philosophers.

σωφροσύνη τοῖς αἰρετέοις, ἡ δὲ δικαιοσύνη τοῖς ἀπονεμητέοις.

- 66 XX. “Ὄνομα τῷ ἐνὶ Φεισῶν· οὗτος ὁ κυκλῶν πᾶσαν τὴν γῆν Εὐιλάτ, ἐκεῖ οὐ ἐστὶ τὸ χρυσίον, τὸ δὲ χρυσίον τῆς γῆς ἐκείνης καλόν· καὶ ἐκεῖ ἐστὶν ὁ ἄνθραξ καὶ ὁ λίθος ὁ πράσινος.” τῶν τεττάρων ἀρετῶν ἐν εἰδός ἐστιν ἡ φρόνησις, ἣν Φεισῶν ὠνόμασε παρὰ τὸ φεῖδεσθαι καὶ φυλάττειν τὴν ψυχὴν ἀπὸ ἀδικημάτων. χορεύει δὲ καὶ κύκλῳ περίεισι τὴν γῆν Εὐιλάτ, τοῦτο δέ ἐστι, τὴν εὐμενῇ καὶ πραεῖαν καὶ ἴλεων κατάστασιν [57] περιέπει· καθάπερ δὲ | τῆς χυτῆς οὐσίας ἡ κρατίστη, καὶ δοκιμωτάτη χρυσός ἐστιν, οὕτως καὶ ψυχῆς 67 ἡ δοκιμωτάτη ἀρετὴ φρόνησις γέγονε. τὸ δὲ “ἐκεῖ οὐ ἐστὶ τὸ χρυσίον” οὐκ ἔστι τοπικὸν τοιοῦτον, ἐκεῖ ὅπου ἐστὶ τὸ χρυσίον, ἀλλ’ ἐκεῖ οὐ κτῆμά ἐστιν ἡ χρυσαυγῆς καὶ πεπυρωμένη καὶ τιμία φρόνησις· κτῆμα δὲ θεοῦ κάλλιστον ἥδε ἀνωμολόγηται. κατὰ δὲ τὸν τόπον τῆς φρονήσεως δύο εἰσὶ ποιοί, ὃ τε φρόνιμος καὶ ὁ φρονῶν, οὓς ἄνθρακι καὶ λίθῳ πρασίῳ παραβέβληκεν.
- 68 XXI. “Καὶ ὄνομα τῷ ποταμῷ τῷ δευτέρῳ Γηῶν· οὗτος κυκλοῖ πᾶσαν τὴν γῆν Αἰθιοπίας.” συμβολικῶς ἐστὶν ὁ ποταμὸς οὗτος ἡ ἀνδρεία· ἐρμηνευθὲν γὰρ τὸ Γηῶν ὄνομά ἐστι στήθος ἢ κερατίζων· ἐκάτερον δὲ ἀνδρείας μηνυτικόν· περὶ τε γὰρ τὰ στήθη, ὅπου καὶ ἡ καρδιά, διατρίβει καὶ πρὸς ἄμυναν εὐτρέπιστα· ἐπιστήμη γάρ ἐστιν ὑπομενετέων καὶ οὐχ ὑπομενετέων καὶ οὐδετέρων. περικυκλοῖ δὲ καὶ περικάθηται προσπολεμοῦσα τὴν Αἰθιοπίαν, ἥς ἐστὶν ἐρμηνευθὲν τοῦνομα

^a φεῖδεσθαι = “to spare.”

round things to be chosen ; justice round things to be awarded.

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

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

^b This definition of *ἀνδρεία* is Stoic (*S. V. F.* iii. 262 ff.).

ταπεινώσεις· ταπεινὸν δὲ ἡ δειλία, ἡ δὲ ἀνδρεία
ταπεινώσει καὶ δειλία πολέμιον.

69 “Καὶ ὁ ποταμὸς ὁ τρίτος Τίγρις, οὗτος ὁ
πορευόμενος κατέναντι Ἀσσυρίων.” τρίτη ἐστὶν
ἀρετὴ σωφροσύνη, ἀντιστατοῦσα τῇ κατευθύνειν
δοκούσῃ τὴν ἀνθρωπίνην ἀσθένειαν ἡδονῇ· Ἀσ-
σύριοι γὰρ εὐθύνοντες Ἑλλάδι γλώττῃ καλοῦνται.
τίγριδι δὲ τῷ ἀτιθασωτάτῳ ζῷῳ τὴν ἐπιθυμίαν
εἵκασε, περὶ ἣν ἡ σωφροσύνη πραγματεύεται.

70 XXII. ἄξιον μέντοι ἀπορῆσαι, διὰ τί δευτέρα
μὲν ἀνδρεία, τρίτη δὲ σωφροσύνη, πρώτη δὲ
φρόνησις εἴρηται, καὶ οὐχ ἑτέραν τῶν ἀρετῶν
τάξιν δεδῆλωκε. νοητέον οὖν ὅτι ἐστὶν ἡμῶν
τριμερὴς ἡ ψυχὴ καὶ ἔχει μέρος τὸ μὲν λογικόν,
τὸ δὲ θυμικόν, τὸ δὲ ἐπιθυμητικόν. καὶ συμ-
βέβηκε τοῦ μὲν λογικοῦ χωρίον εἶναι καὶ ἐν-
διαίτημα τὴν κεφαλὴν, τοῦ δὲ θυμικοῦ τὰ στέρνα,
τοῦ δὲ ἐπιθυμητικοῦ τὸ ἥτρον, ἀρετὴν δὲ ἐκάστῳ
τῶν μερῶν οἰκείαν προσηρμόσθαι, τῷ μὲν λογικῷ
φρόνησιν, λογισμοῦ γάρ ἐστιν ἐπιστήμην ἔχειν
ὧν τε δεῖ ποιεῖν καὶ ὧν μὴ, τῷ δὲ θυμικῷ ἀνδρείαν,

[58] τῷ δὲ ἐπιθυμητικῷ σωφροσύνην, | σωφροσύνη γάρ

71 τὰς ἐπιθυμίας ἀκούμεθα καὶ ἰώμεθα. ὥσπερ οὖν
κεφαλὴ μὲν πρῶτον τοῦ ζώου καὶ ἀνωτάτῳ μέρος
ἐστί, δεύτερον δὲ στέρνα, τρίτον δὲ ἥτρον, καὶ
πάλιν ψυχῆς πρῶτον μὲν τὸ λογικόν, δεύτερον
δὲ τὸ θυμικόν, τρίτον δὲ τὸ ἐπιθυμητικόν, οὕτως
καὶ τῶν ἀρετῶν πρώτη μὲν ἡ περὶ τὸ πρῶτον
μέρος τῆς ψυχῆς, ὃ δὴ λογικόν ἐστι, καὶ τοῦ
σώματος διατρίβουσα κεφαλὴν φρόνησις, δευτέρα

* See App. p. 478.

ALLEGORICAL INTERPRETATION, I. 68-71

puted is 'lowness'; and cowardice is a low thing, while courage is a foe to lowness and cowardice.

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

δὲ ἀνδρεία, ὅτι περὶ τὸ δεύτερον μέρος ψυχῆς μὲν θυμόν, σώματος δὲ τὰ στέρνα φωλεύει, τρίτη δὲ σωφροσύνη, ὅτι περὶ τὸ ἥτρον, ὃ δὴ τρίτον ἐστὶ τοῦ σώματος, καὶ περὶ τὸ ἐπιθυμητικόν, ὃ τρίτην εἵληχε χώραν ἐν ψυχῇ, πραγματεύεται.

72 XXIII. “Ὁ δὲ ποταμὸς” φησὶν “ὁ τέταρτος Εὐφράτης.” καρποφορία καλεῖται ὁ Εὐφράτης, ἔστι δὲ συμβολικῶς ἀρετὴ τετάρτη, δικαιοσύνη, καρποφόρος τῷ ὄντι καὶ εὐφραίνουσα τὴν διάνοιαν. πότε οὖν γίνεται; ὅταν τὰ τρία μέρη τῆς ψυχῆς συμφωνίαν ἔχῃ· συμφωνία δὲ αὐτοῖς ἐστὶν ἡ τοῦ κρείττονος ἡγεμονία, οἷον ὅταν τὰ δύο, τὸ τε θυμικὸν καὶ τὸ ἐπιθυμητικόν, ἡμιохῶνται καθάπερ ἵπποι ὑπὸ τοῦ λογικοῦ, τότε γίνεται δικαιοσύνη· δίκαιον γὰρ τὸ μὲν κρείττον ἄρχειν αἰεὶ καὶ πανταχοῦ, τὸ δὲ χεῖρον ἄρχεσθαι· κρείττον μὲν δὴ τὸ λογικόν, χεῖρον δὲ τὸ ἐπιθυμητικόν καὶ τὸ θυμικόν.

73 ὅταν δὲ ἔμπαλιν ἀφηνιάσῃ καὶ ἀναχαιτίσῃ ὁ θυμὸς καὶ ἡ ἐπιθυμία, καὶ τὸν ἡνίοχον, λέγω δὲ τὸν λογισμόν, τῇ βίᾳ τῆς ὁρμῆς κατασύρῃ καὶ ὑποζεύξῃ, ἐκάτερον δὲ πάθος λάβηται τῶν ἡνίων, ἀδικία κρατεῖ· ἀνάγκη γὰρ ἀπειρία καὶ κακία <τοῦ> ἡνίοχου τὰ ὑπεξευγμένα κατὰ κρημνῶν φέρεσθαι καὶ βαράθρων, ὥσπερ ἐμπειρία καὶ ἀρετὴ διασώζεσθαι.

74 XXIV. Ἔτι καὶ οὕτως ἴδωμεν τὸ προκείμενον. Φεισὼν ἐρμηνεύεται στόματος ἀλλοίωσις, Εὐνιδᾶς δὲ ὠδίνουσα· καὶ διὰ τούτων ἡ φρόνησις ἐμφαίνεται. οἱ μὲν γὰρ πολλοὶ φρόνιμον νομίζουσι τὸν εὐρετὴν λόγων σοφιστικῶν καὶ δεινὸν ἐρμηνεύσαι τὸ νοηθέν, Μωυσῆς δὲ λογοφίλην μὲν αὐτὸν

^a See Plato, *Phaedrus* 253 D.

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

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

XXIV. Now let us go on to look at our subject in this way. "Pheison" signifies 'alteration of mouth,' and "Évilat" 'in travail' : and by these prudence is plainly indicated. For while most people deem the man prudent who can find sophistical arguments, and is clever at expressing his ideas, Moses knows such

- οἶδε, φρόνιμον δὲ οὐδαμῶς. ἐν ἀλλοιώσει γὰρ τοῦ στόματος, τουτέστι τοῦ ἐρμηνευτικοῦ λόγου, ἢ φρόνησις θεωρεῖται· ὅπερ ἦν μὴ ἐν λόγῳ τὸ φρονεῖν, ἀλλ' ἐν ἔργῳ θεωρεῖσθαι καὶ σπουδαίαις
- 75 πράξεσι. κύκλον δὲ περιτίθῃσι καὶ ὥσανεὶ τεῖχος ἢ φρόνησις τῇ Εὐιλὰτ τῇ ὠδινούσῃ ἀφροσύνῃ πρὸς πολιορκίαν αὐτῆς καὶ καθαίρεσιν· ἀφροσύνη δὲ
- [59] κύριον ὄνομά ἐστιν | ὠδίνουσα, ὅτι ὁ ἄφρων νοῦς ἀνεφίκτων ἐρῶν ἐκάστοτε ἐν ὠδίσιν ἐστιν, ὅτε χρημάτων ἐρᾷ, [ὠδίνει,] ὅτε δόξης, ὅτε ἡδονῆς,
- 76 ὅτε ἄλλου τινός. ἐν ὠδίσι δὲ ὧν οὐδέποτε τίκτει· οὐ γὰρ πέφυκε γόνιμον οὐδὲν τελεσφορεῖν ἢ τοῦ φαύλου ψυχῇ· ἃ δ' αἶν καὶ δοκῇ προφέρειν, ἀμβλωθρίδια εὐρίσκεται καὶ ἐκτρώματα, κατεσθίοντα τὸ ἡμῖν τῶν σαρκῶν αὐτῆς, ἴσα θανάτῳ ψυχικῷ. παρὸ καὶ δεῖται ὁ ἱερὸς λόγος Ἀαρὼν τοῦ θεοφιλοῦς Μωυσέως ἰάσασθαι τὴν τροπὴν τῆς Μαριάμ, ἵνα μὴ γένηται ἐν ὠδίσι κακῶν ἢ ψυχῇ, διὸ καὶ φησι· “μὴ γένηται ὡς ἴσον θανάτῳ, ὡς ἐκτρωμα ἐκπορευόμενον ἐκ μήτρας μητρός, καὶ κατεσθίει τὸ ἡμῖν τῶν σαρκῶν αὐτῆς” (Num. xii. 12).
- 77 XXV. “Ἐκεῖ” οὖν φησιν “οὐ ἐστὶ τὸ χρυσίον” (Gen. ii. 11). οὐ λέγει ἐκεῖ εἶναι τὸ χρυσίον μόνον, ἀλλὰ “ἐκεῖ οὐ ἐστίν.” ἢ γὰρ φρόνησις, ἣν εἵκασε χρυσίῳ, ἀδόλῳ καὶ καθαρᾷ καὶ πεπυρωμένῃ καὶ δεδοκιμασμένῃ καὶ τιμῇ φύσει, ἐκεῖ μὲν ἐστὶν ἐν τῇ τοῦ θεοῦ σοφίᾳ, ἐκεῖ δὲ οὐσα οὐκ ἔστι τῆς σοφίας κτῆμα, ἀλλὰ οὐ καὶ ἡ σοφία ἐστὶν αὐτή, τοῦ δημιουργοῦ καὶ

^a i.e., transference of the matter from the sphere of theory to that of practice.

ALLEGORICAL INTERPRETATION, I. 74-77

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

XXV. To resume. "There," it says, "where (or 'whose') the gold is" (Gen. ii. 11). It does not merely say that the gold is there, but "there (is He) 'whose' it is." For prudence, which he has likened to gold, a substance free from alloy and pure and cleansed by fire and tested and precious, is there in the wisdom of God, but, being there, is not a possession of wisdom, but of Him whose is wisdom itself also, even God Who created it and makes it His.

78 κτωμένου θεοῦ. “ τὸ δὲ χρυσίον τῆς γῆς ἐκείνης καλόν ” (Gen. ii. 12). οὐκοῦν ἐστὶν ἕτερον χρυσίον οὐχὶ καλόν; πάνυ γε· διττὸν γὰρ φρονήσεως γένος, τὸ μὲν καθόλου, τὸ δὲ ἐπὶ μέρους· ἢ μὲν οὖν ἐν ἐμοὶ φρόνησις ἐκ μέρους οὔσα οὐ καλή, φθαρέντος γὰρ μου συμφθείρεται· ἢ δὲ καθόλου φρόνησις ἢ οἰκοῦσα τὴν τοῦ θεοῦ σοφίαν καὶ τὸν οἶκον αὐτοῦ καλή, ἄφθαρτος γὰρ ἐν ἀφθάρτῳ οἴκῳ διαμένει.

79 XXVI. “ Καὶ ἐκεῖ ἐστὶν ὁ ἄνθραξ καὶ ὁ λίθος ὁ πράσινος ” (ib.) οἱ δύο ποιοί, ὃ τε φρόνιμος καὶ ὁ φρονῶν, ὁ μὲν συνιστάμενος κατὰ τὴν φρόνησιν, ὁ δὲ φρονῶν κατὰ τὸ φρονεῖν· τούτων γὰρ ἕνεκα τῶν ποιῶν ἔσπειρεν ὁ θεὸς <ἐν> τῷ γηγενεῖ φρόνησίν τε καὶ ἀρετήν· τί γὰρ ὄφελος ἦν αὐτῆς, εἰ μὴ οἱ δεξόμενοι λογισμοὶ ὑπῆρχον καὶ τοὺς τύπους αὐτῆς ἐναπομαζόμενοι; ὥστ’ εἰκότως ἐκεῖ ἐστὶν, ὅπου ἡ φρόνησις, ὃ τε φρόνιμος καὶ ὁ φρονῶν, οἱ δύο λίθοι. μήποτε δὲ ὁ

Ἰούδας ἐστὶ καὶ ὁ Ἰσάχαρ· ὁ γὰρ τῆς τοῦ θεοῦ φρονήσεως ἀσκητῆς ἐξομολογεῖται εὐχαριστικῶς τῷ τὸ ἀγαθὸν ἀφθόνως δωρησαμένῳ, ὁ δὲ καὶ τὰ καλὰ καὶ σπουδαῖα ἐργάζεται· τοῦ μὲν οὖν ἐξομολογουμένου ὁ Ἰούδας σύμβολον, ἐφ’ οὗ καὶ ἴσταται τίκτουσα ἡ Λεία (Gen. xxix. 35), τοῦ δὲ ἐργαζομένου τὰ καλὰ ὁ Ἰσάχαρ, “ ὑπέθηκε γὰρ

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

^b See App. p. 478.

ALLEGORICAL INTERPRETATION, I. 78-80

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

XXVI. "And there is the ruby and the greenstone (*ibid.*), the two concrete embodiments of this virtue, the man who has good sense, and the man who exercises good sense: the determining quality in the one is potential good sense, that in the other good sense exercised. For it was for the sake of these concretes that God sowed in the earth-born man good sense (in particular) and virtue (in general). For what benefit had there been in virtue had there not been ready for it the activities of reason to welcome it and receive its impressions?" So that, naturally, there where good sense is, there is both the man who has good sense, and the man who exercises good sense, the two precious stones.^a

Judah and Issachar^b seem to be these. For the man who exercises himself in the practical wisdom of God, makes thankful acknowledgement to Him who bestowed good without stint; while the representative of the other aspect is furthermore engaged in noble and worthy works. Now of the man who makes confession of thankfulness Judah is the symbol, with whose birth Leah leaves off bearing (Gen. xxix. 35); but of him who is engaged in noble deeds Issachar is the figure, "for he submitted his shoulder to labour

τὸν ὤμον εἰς τὸ πονεῖν καὶ ἐγένετο ἀνὴρ γεωργός ”
 (Gen. xlix. 15), ἐφ’ οὗ φησι Μωυσῆς σπαρέντος
 καὶ φυτευθέντος ἐν ψυχῇ “ ἔστι μισθός ” (Gen.
 xxx. 18), ὅπερ ἦν οὐκ ἀτελής ὁ πόνος ἀλλὰ
 [60] στεφανούμενος ὑπὸ θεοῦ καὶ μισθοδοτούμενος. |
 81 ὅτι δὲ τούτων ποιεῖται μνήμην, δι’ ἐτέρων δηλοῖ,
 ὅταν ἐπὶ τοῦ ποδῆρους φῇ· “ καὶ συννυφανεῖς ἐν
 αὐτῷ λίθον τετράστιχον· στίχος λίθων ἔσται,
 σάρδιον τοπάζιον σμάραγδος ὁ στίχος ὁ εἰς ”—
 ‘Ρουβὴν Συμεὼν Λευί—“ καὶ ὁ στίχος ” φησὶν
 “ ὁ δεύτερος ἄνθραξ καὶ σάπφειρος ” (Exod.
 xxviii. 17, 18)· ὁ δὲ σάπφειρος πράσινος λίθος
 ἐστίν. ἐγγέγλυπται δὲ τῷ μὲν ἄνθρακι ὁ Ἰουδας,
 τέταρτος γάρ, τῷ δὲ σαπφείρῳ ὁ Ἰσάακ.
 82 διὰ τί οὖν οὐχ ὥσπερ λίθον πράσινον
 εἶρηκεν, οὕτως καὶ λίθον ἀνθράκινον; ὅτι ὁ μὲν
 Ἰουδας ὁ ἐξομολογητικὸς τρόπος αὐλὸς ἐστὶ καὶ
 ἀσώματος· καὶ γὰρ αὐτὸ τοῦνομα τὸ τῆς ἐξομο-
 λογήσεως ἐμφαίνει τὴν ἐκτὸς ἑαυτοῦ ὁμολογίαν·
 ὅταν γὰρ ἐκβῇ ὁ νοῦς ἑαυτοῦ καὶ ἑαυτὸν ἀνενέγκῃ
 θεῷ, ὥσπερ ὁ γέλως Ἰσαάκ, τηνικαῦτα ὁμολογίαν
 τὴν πρὸς τὸν ὄντα ποιεῖται· ἕως δὲ ἑαυτὸν ὑπο-
 τίθεται ὡς αἰτιὸν τινος, μακρὰν ἀφέστηκε τοῦ παρα-
 χωρεῖν θεῷ καὶ ὁμολογεῖν αὐτῷ· καὶ αὐτὸ γὰρ
 τοῦτο τὸ ἐξομολογεῖσθαι νοητέον ὅτι ἔργον ἐστὶν
 οὐχὶ τῆς ψυχῆς, ἀλλὰ τοῦ φαίνοντος αὐτῇ θεοῦ τὸ
 εὐχάριστον. αὐλὸς μὲν δὴ ὁ ἐξομολογούμενος

^a “Judah” is derived from a verb meaning “to thank”:
 “Issachar” from a noun meaning “reward.” That thankful
 acknowledgement of God’s goodness is the crowning virtue
 is typified by Leah ceasing to bear when she had given
 birth to Judah (Heinemann).

ALLEGORICAL INTERPRETATION, I. 80-82

and became a tiller of the soil " (Gen. xlix. 15). In his case, as Moses says, when he has been sown and planted in the soul "there is a reward" (Gen. xxx. 18),^a that is to say his labour is not in vain, but crowned by God and awarded a recompense. That he is referring to these patriarchs he shows elsewhere when he says of the high-priestly garment, "And thou shalt weave together in it precious stones in fourfold order : there shall be a row of precious stones, sardius, topaz, smaragdus, making the one row"—Reuben, Simeon, Levi—"and the second row" it says "ruby and sapphire" (Exod. xxviii. 17 f.) : but the sapphire is a green stone. Now Judah is engraved in the ruby, for he is fourth in order, and Issachar on the sapphire.

Why then, while saying "a green stone," does he not also say, "a ruby stone"?^b Because Judah, the disposition prone to make confession of praise, is exempt from body and matter. For indeed the very word denoting confession (of praise) vividly portrays the acknowledgement that takes a man out of himself. For whenever the mind goes out from itself and offers itself up to God, as Isaac or "laughter," does, then does it make confession of acknowledgement towards the Existent One. But so long as the mind supposes itself to be the author of anything, it is far away from making room for God and from confessing or making acknowledgement to Him. For we must take note that the very confession of praise itself is the work not of the soul but of God who gives it thankfulness.^c Incorporeal assuredly is Judah with his confession of praise.

^b *i.e.*, in Gen. ii. 12.

^c *φαλνεν*, "cause to appear" = "give." Cf. *Odyssey*, iv. 12, xv. 26.

- 83 Ἰούδας. τῷ δὲ ἐκ πόνου προεληλυθότι Ἰσάαχαρ
 δεῖ καὶ ὕλης σωματικῆς· ἐπεὶ πῶς ἀναγνώσεται
 χωρὶς ὁμμάτων ὁ ἀσκητής; πῶς δὲ ἀκούσεται
 τῶν προτρεπτικῶν λόγων χωρὶς ἀκοῆς; πῶς δὲ
 σιτίων καὶ ποτῶν ἐφίξεται δίχα γαστρὸς καὶ τῆς
 περὶ αὐτὴν τερατουργίας; διὰ τοῦτο λίθῳ ἀπ-
 84 εἰκάσθη. καὶ τὰ χρώματα μέντοι διάφορα· τῷ μὲν
 γὰρ ἐξομολογητικῷ οἰκεία χροιά ἡ τοῦ ἄνθρακος,
 πεπύρωται γὰρ ἐν εὐχαριστίᾳ θεοῦ καὶ μεθύει τὴν
 νήφουσαν μέθην, τῷ δὲ ἔτι πονοῦντι ἡ τοῦ πρασίνου
 λίθου, ὡχροὶ γὰρ οἱ ἐν ἀσκήσει διὰ τε τὸν τρύχοντα
 πόνον καὶ διὰ δέος τοῦ μὴ τυχεῖν ἂν ἴσως τοῦ κατ'
 εὐχὴν τέλους.
- 85 XXVII. Ἄξιον δὲ διαπορῆσαι, διὰ τί οἱ μὲν
 δύο ποταμοὶ ὁ Φεισὼν καὶ ὁ Γηὼν κυκλοῦσι
 χώρας, ὁ μὲν τὴν Εὐιλάτ, ὁ δὲ τὴν Αἰθιοπίαν,
 τῶν δὲ λοιπῶν οὐδέτερος, ἀλλ' ὁ μὲν Τίγρις κατ-
 ἔναντι Ἀσσυρίων λέγεται εἶναι, ὁ δὲ Εὐφράτης
 οὐδενός· καίτοι γε πρὸς τὸ ἀληθές ὁ Εὐφράτης
 καὶ περιρρεῖ τινὰς χώρας καὶ ἀντικρὺς ἔχει πολλὰς.
 ἀλλ' οὐκ ἔστι περὶ τοῦ ποταμοῦ ὁ λόγος, ἀλλὰ
 86 περὶ ἡθους ἐπανορθώσεως. λεκτέον οὖν ὅτι ἡ
 μὲν φρόνησις καὶ ἡ ἀνδρεία δύνανται κύκλον καὶ
 τεῖχος βαλέσθαι κατὰ τῶν ἐναντίων κακιῶν, ἀφρο-
 σύνης τε καὶ δειλίας, καὶ ἐλεῖν αὐτάς· ἀσθενεῖς γὰρ
 καὶ εὐάλωτοι ἀμφότεροι, καὶ γὰρ ὁ ἄφρων εὐληπτος
 τῷ φρονίμῳ καὶ ὁ δειλὸς ὑποπέπτωκε τῷ ἀνδρείῳ·
 [61] ἡ δὲ σωφροσύνη ἀδυνατεῖ κυκλώσασθαι | τὴν ἐπι-
 θυμίαν καὶ ἡδονήν· χαλεπαὶ γὰρ ἀντίπαλοι καὶ
 δυσκαθαίρετοι· οὐχ ὅρῳς ὅτι καὶ οἱ ἐγκρατέστατοι

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

XXVII. It is worth inquiring why, while the two rivers Pheison and Geon encompass countries, the one Evilat, the other Ethiopia, neither of the others does so; but of the Tigris it is said that it is over against the Assyrians, and the Euphrates is not said to be over against anything; and yet as a matter of fact the Euphrates both flows round many countries and has many facing it. But the subject of the passage is not the river, but amendment of character. We must observe, then, that prudence and courage are able to construct an enclosing wall against the opposite vices, folly and cowardice, and capture them; for they are both of them weak and easy to take, for the foolish man falls an easy victim to the prudent man, and the coward lies at the mercy of the brave man; self-mastery on the contrary is powerless to encircle desire and pleasure; for they are hard to wrestle with and difficult to overthrow. Mark you not that

ἀνάγκη τοῦ θνητοῦ παραγίνονται ἐπὶ σιτία καὶ ποτά, ἐξ ὧν αἱ γαστροὶ ἡδοναὶ συνεστᾶσιν; ἀγαπητὸν οὖν ἐστὶν ἀντιβῆναι καὶ μαχέσασθαι τῷ 87 γένει τῆς ἐπιθυμίας. διὸ καὶ κατέναντι Ἀσσυρίων ἐστὶν ὁ Τίγρις ποταμός, ἡ σωφροσύνη τῆς ἡδονῆς. ἡ δέ γε δικαιοσύνη, καθ' ἣν ὁ Εὐφράτης ποταμός συνίσταται, οὔτε πολιορκεῖ καὶ περιτειχίζει τινὰ οὔτε ἀντιστατεῖ· διὰ τί; ὅτι ἀπονεμητικὴ τῶν κατ' ἀξίαν ἐστὶν ἡ δικαιοσύνη καὶ τέτακται οὔτε κατὰ τὸν κατήγορον οὔτε κατὰ τὸν ἀπολογούμενον, ἀλλὰ κατὰ τὸν δικαστήν. ὥσπερ οὖν ὁ δικαστὴς οὔτε νικῆσαί τινος προήρηται οὔτε πολεμῆσαί τισι καὶ ἐναντιωθῆναι, γνώμην δὲ ἀποφηνάμενος βραβεύει τὸ δίκαιον, οὕτως ἡ δικαιοσύνη οὐδενὸς οὔσα ἀντίδικος ἀπονέμει τὸ κατ' ἀξίαν ἐκάστω πράγματι.

88 XXVIII. “Καὶ ἔλαβε κύριος ὁ θεὸς τὸν ἄνθρωπον ὃν ἐποίησε καὶ ἔθετο αὐτὸν ἐν τῷ παραδείσῳ, ἐργάζεσθαι αὐτὸν καὶ φυλάσσειν” (Gen. ii. 15). τοῦ πλασθέντος διαφέρει ὃν ἐποίησεν ὁ θεὸς ἄνθρωπον, ὡς εἶπον· ὁ μὲν γὰρ πλασθεὶς νοῦς ἐστὶ γεωδέστερος, ὁ δὲ ποιηθεὶς ἀνυλότερος, φθαρτῆς ὕλης ἀμέτοχος, καθαρωτέρας καὶ εἰλικρινε- 89 στέρας τετυχηκῶς συστάσεως. τοῦτον οὖν τὸν καθαρὸν νοῦν λαμβάνει ὁ θεός, οὐκ ἐὼν ἐκτὸς ἑαυτοῦ βαίνειν, καὶ λαβὼν τίθησιν ἐν ταῖς ἐρριζωμέναις καὶ βλαστανούσαις ἀρεταῖς, ἵνα ἐργάζεται αὐτὰς καὶ φυλάττη. πολλοὶ γὰρ ἀσκηταὶ γενόμενοι τῆς ἀρετῆς ἐπὶ τοῦ τέλους μετέβαλον· ὧ δὲ παρέχει ὁ θεὸς ἐπιστήμην βεβαίαν, τούτῳ δίδωσιν ἀμφοτέρα, ἐργάζεσθαι τε τὰς ἀρετὰς καὶ

* The Stoic definition of justice, *S. V. F.* iii. 262.

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

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

μηδέποτε αὐτῶν ἀφίστασθαι, ἀλλ' αἰεὶ ταμιεύειν καὶ φυλάττειν ἐκάστην. τὸ μὲν οὖν "ἐργάζεσθαι" ἀντὶ τοῦ πράττειν, τὸ δὲ "φυλάττειν" ἀντὶ τοῦ μνημονεύειν.

- 90 XXIX. "Καὶ ἐνετείλατο κύριος ὁ θεὸς τῷ Ἀδὰμ λέγων· ἀπὸ παντὸς ξύλου τοῦ ἐν τῷ παραδείσῳ βρώσει φάγη, ἀπὸ δὲ τοῦ ξύλου τοῦ γινώσκειν καλὸν καὶ πονηρὸν οὐ φάγεσθε ἀπ' αὐτοῦ· ἢ δ' ἂν ἡμέρᾳ φάγητε ἀπ' αὐτοῦ, θανάτῳ ἀποθανείσθε" (Gen. ii. 16, 17). ποίῳ Ἀδὰμ ἐντέλλεται καὶ τίς ἐστὶν οὗτος, διαπορητέον· οὐ γὰρ μέμνηται πρότερον αὐτοῦ, νυνὶ δὲ πρῶτον ὠνόμακεν αὐτόν. μήποτ' οὖν βούλεται σοι τοῦ πλαστοῦ ἀνθρώπου παραστήσαι τοῦνομα. καλεῖ|
- [62] δὴ, φησὶν, αὐτὸν γῆν· τοῦτο γὰρ Ἀδὰμ ἐρμηνεύεται, ὥστε ὅταν ἀκούῃς Ἀδὰμ, γήινον καὶ φθαρτὸν νοῦν εἶναι νόμιζε· ὁ γὰρ κατ' εἰκόνα οὐ
- 91 γήινος, ἀλλ' οὐράνιος. ζητητέον δέ, διὰ τί πᾶσιν ἐπιτιθεῖς τοῖς ἄλλοις τὰ ὀνόματα οὐκ ἐπιτέθεικεν ἑαυτῷ. τί οὖν λεκτέον; ὁ νοῦς ὁ ἐν ἐκάστῳ ἡμῶν τὰ μὲν ἄλλα δύναται καταλαβεῖν, ἑαυτὸν δὲ γνωρίσαι ἀδυνάτως ἔχει· ὥσπερ γὰρ ὁ ὀφθαλμὸς τὰ μὲν ἄλλα ὁρᾷ, ἑαυτὸν δὲ οὐχ ὁρᾷ, οὕτως καὶ ὁ νοῦς τὰ μὲν ἄλλα νοεῖ, ἑαυτὸν δὲ οὐ καταλαμβάνει· εἰπάτω γάρ, τίς τέ ἐστι καὶ ποταπός, πνεῦμα ἢ αἷμα ἢ πῦρ ἢ ἀήρ ἢ ἕτερόν τι [σῶμα], ἢ τοσοῦτόν γε ὅτι σῶμά ἐστιν ἢ πάλιν ἀσώματον. εἰτ' οὐκ εὐήθεις οἱ περὶ θεοῦ σκεπτόμενοι οὐσίας; οἱ γὰρ τῆς ἰδίας ψυχῆς τὴν οὐσίαν οὐκ ἴσασι, πῶς ἂν περὶ τῆς τῶν ὄλων ψυχῆς ἀκριβῶσαιεν; ἢ

^a "Feedingly" is a rough representation of the Hebrew idiom. E.V. "freely."

ALLEGORICAL INTERPRETATION, I. 89-91

that of never desisting from them, but of evermore husbanding and guarding each one of them. So "tilling" represents practising, while "guarding" represents remembering.

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

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

- γὰρ τῶν ὅλων ψυχὴ ὁ θεὸς ἐστὶ κατὰ ἔννοιαν.
- 92 XXX. εἰκότως οὖν ὁ Ἀδάμ, τουτέστιν ὁ νοῦς, τὰ ἄλλα ὀνομάζων καὶ καταλαμβάνων, ἑαυτῷ ὄνομα οὐκ ἐπιτίθησιν, ὅτι ἑαυτὸν ἀγνοεῖ καὶ τὴν ἰδίαν φύσιν. ἐντέλλεται δὲ τούτῳ καὶ οὐχὶ τῷ κατ' εἰκόνα καὶ κατὰ τὴν ἰδέαν γεγονότι· ἐκείνος μὲν γὰρ καὶ δίχα προτροπῆς ἔχει τὴν ἀρετὴν αὐτομαθῶς, οὗτος δ' ἄνευ διδασκαλίας οὐκ ἂν φρο-
- 93 νήσεως ἐπιλάχοι. διαφέρει δὲ τρία ταῦτα· πρόσταξις, ἀπαγόρευσις, ἐντολὴ καὶ παραίνεσις· ἡ μὲν γὰρ ἀπαγόρευσις περὶ ἁμαρτημάτων γίνεται καὶ πρὸς φαῦλον, ἡ δὲ πρόσταξις <περὶ> κατορθωμάτων, ἡ δὲ παραίνεσις πρὸς τὸν μέσον, τὸν μήτε φαῦλον μήτε σπουδαῖον· οὔτε γὰρ ἁμαρτάνει, ὥς ἀπαγορεύειν ἂν τινα αὐτῷ, οὔτε κατορθοῖ κατὰ τὴν τοῦ ὀρθοῦ λόγου πρόσταξιν, ἀλλὰ χρεῖαν ἔχει παραινέσεως τῆς ἀπέχειν¹ μὲν τῶν φαύλων διδασκουσῆς, προτρεπούσης δὲ ἐφίεσθαι τῶν ἀστειῶν.
- 94 τῷ μὲν οὖν τελείῳ τῷ κατ' εἰκόνα προστάττειν ἢ ἀπαγορεύειν ἢ παραινεῖν οὐχὶ δεῖ, οὐδενὸς γὰρ τούτων ὁ τέλειος δεῖται, τῷ δὲ φαύλῳ προστάξεως καὶ ἀπαγορεύσεως χρεῖα, τῷ δὲ νηπίῳ παραινέσεως καὶ διδασκαλίας, ὥσπερ τῷ τελείῳ γραμματικῷ ἢ μουσικῷ οὐδενὸς δεῖ παρραγγέλλματος τῶν εἰς τὰς τέχνας, τῷ δὲ σφαλλομένῳ περὶ τὰ θεωρήματα ὥσανεὶ τινων νόμων προστάξεις καὶ ἀπαγορεύσεις ἐχόντων, τῷ δὲ ἄρτι μαθάνοντι

¹ ἀπέχειν has three mss. and, apparently, the Armenian version on its side, as against ἀνέχειν = "cease from," which would fit the *bad* man, but not the *neutral* man. In Plutarch, *Life of Alexander*, ch. xxxiii., to which L. and S. (1925) refer, ἀνέχων is probably transitive. For ἀπέχειν see especially Xen. *Mem.* i. 2. 62, for ἀνέχειν *De Opif.* 128.

ALLEGORICAL INTERPRETATION, I. 91-94

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

^a See App. p. 478.

[63] διδασκαλίας.

95 μήτε φαύλῳ ὄντι μήτε σπουδαίῳ ἀλλὰ μέσῳ τὰ νῦν ἐντέλλεται καὶ παραινεί. ἡ δὲ παραινέσις γίνεται δι' ἀμφοτέρων τῶν κλήσεων καὶ τοῦ κυρίου καὶ τοῦ θεοῦ, “ἐνετείλατο” γὰρ “κύριος ὁ θεός,” ἵνα, εἰ μὲν πείθοιτο ταῖς παραινέσεσιν, ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ εὐεργεσιῶν ἀξιωθείη, εἰ δὲ ἀφηνιάζοι, ὑπὸ τοῦ κυρίου ὡς δεσπότης καὶ ἐξουσίαν ἔχοντας 96 σκορακίζοιτο. διόπερ καὶ ὅτε ἐκβάλλεται τοῦ παραδείσου, τὰς αὐτὰς κλήσεις παρείληφε, λέγει γάρ· “καὶ ἐξαπέστειλεν αὐτὸν κύριος ὁ θεός ἐκ τοῦ παραδείσου τῆς τρυφῆς, ἐργάζεσθαι τὴν γῆν ἐξ ἧς ἐλήφθη” (Gen. iii. 23), ἵνα, ἐπεὶ καὶ ὡς δεσπότης ὁ κύριος καὶ ὡς εὐεργέτης ὁ θεός ἐνετέλλετο, πάλιν ὡς ἀμφοτέρα ὦν τὸν παρακούσαντα τιμωρῆται· δι’ ὧν γὰρ προὔτρεπε δυνάμειν, διὰ τούτων τὸν ἀπειθοῦντα ἀποπέμπεται.

97 XXXI. Ἄ δὲ παραινεί, ταῦτά ἐστιν· “ἀπὸ παντὸς ξύλου τοῦ ἐν τῷ παράδεισῳ βρώσει φάγη” (Gen. ii. 16). προτρέπει τὴν τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ψυχὴν μὴ ἀφ’ ἐνὸς ξύλου μὴδ’ ἀπὸ μιᾶς ἀρετῆς ἀλλ’ ἀπὸ πασῶν τῶν ἀρετῶν ὠφελεῖσθαι· τὸ γὰρ φαγεῖν σύμβολόν ἐστι τροφῆς ψυχικῆς· τρέφεται δὲ ἡ ψυχὴ ἀναλήψει τῶν καλῶν καὶ 98 πράξει τῶν κατορθωμάτων. μὴ μόνον δέ φησι “φάγη,” ἀλλὰ καὶ “βρώσει,” τουτέστι κατ-αλέσας καὶ ἐπιλεάνας μὴ ἰδιώτου ἀλλ’ ἀθλητοῦ τρόπον τὴν τροφήν, ἵνα ἰσχὺν καὶ δυνάμειν περι-

ALLEGORICAL INTERPRETATION, I. 95-98

Quite naturally, then, does God give the commandments and exhortations before us to the earthly man who is neither bad nor good but midway between these. To enforce the exhortation, both Divine titles are employed, both "Lord" and "God," for it says "God the Lord commanded him." This is in order that, should he obey the exhortations, he may be deemed worthy by God of His benefactions; but that, should he rebel, he may be driven from the presence of the Lord who has a Master's authority over him. For this reason again, when he is being cast out of the garden, the sacred writer has introduced the same titles, for he says, "And the Lord God sent him forth out of the garden of delight, to till the ground, out of which he was taken" (Gen. iii. 23). This is to show that, since "the Lord" as Master and "God" as Benefactor had issued the commands, so in both capacities does He inflict punishment on him who had disobeyed them. For he dismisses the disobedient by the exercise of the very powers which He had exercised in urging him to obedience.

XXXI. The charge which he gives is this: "From every tree that is in the garden thou shalt eat feedingly thereon" (Gen. ii. 16). He moves the soul of the man to get benefit, not from a single tree or from a single virtue but from all the virtues: for eating is a figure of soul-nourishment: and the soul is nourished by the acquisition of things noble, and the practice of things rightful. And He says not merely "shalt eat," but also "feedingly," that is, chewing and masticating the nourishment, not like an ordinary person, but like an athlete, that you may

- ποιήσῃ· καὶ γὰρ τοῖς ἀθληταῖς οἱ ἀλείπται παραγγέλλουσι μὴ κάπτειν, ἀλλὰ κατὰ σχολὴν λεαίνειν, ἵνα πρὸς ἰσχὺν ἐπιδιδῶσιν· ἐτέρως γὰρ ἐγὼ καὶ ὁ ἀθλητῆς τρεφόμεθα, ἐγὼ μὲν γὰρ ἕνεκα τοῦ ζῆν μόνον, ὁ δὲ ἀθλητῆς καὶ ἕνεκα τοῦ πιαίνεσθαι καὶ ῥώννυσθαι, παρὸ καὶ ἐν τι τῶν ἀσκητικῶν ἐστι τὸ λεαίνεισθαι τροφήν. τὸ “ βρώσει φαγεῖν ” ἐστι 99 τοιοῦτον. ἔτι δὲ ἀκριβέστερον διατυπώσωμεν αὐτό. τὸ τιμᾶν τοὺς γονεῖς ἐδώδιμον καὶ τρόφιμόν ἐστιν· ἀλλ’ ἐτέρως οἱ ἀγαθοὶ καὶ οἱ φαῦλοι τιμῶσιν, οἱ μὲν γὰρ διὰ τὸ ἔθος, οἷτινες οὐ βρώσει ἐσθίουσιν, ἀλλὰ μόνον ἐσθίουσι· πότε οὖν καὶ βρώσει; ὅταν ἀναπτύξαντες καὶ τὰς αἰτίας ἐρευνήσαντες κρίνωσιν ἐκουσίως, ὅτι καλὸν τοῦτ’ ἐστίν· αἱ δὲ αἰτίαι τοιαῦται· ἐγέννησαν ἡμᾶς, ἔθρεψαν, ἐπαίδευσαν, πάντων αἴτιοι γεγόνασιν ἀγαθῶν. πάλιν ἐδώδιμον <τὸ> τὸν ὄντα τιμᾶσθαι· τότε δὲ “ βρώσει,” ὅταν καὶ μετὰ τῆς τοῦ κεφαλαίου ἀναπτύξεως καὶ τῆς τῶν αἰτιῶν ἀποδόσεως.
- 100 XXXII. “ Ἀπὸ δὲ τοῦ ξύλου τοῦ γινώσκειν καλὸν καὶ πονηρὸν οὐ φάγεσθε ἀπ’ αὐτοῦ ” (Gen. ii. 17). οὐκοῦν οὐκ ἔστιν ἐν τῷ παραδείσῳ τὸ [64] ξύλον | τοῦτο· εἰ γὰρ ἀπὸ παντὸς ἐσθίειν παραγγέλλει τῶν ἐν τῷ παραδείσῳ, ἀπὸ δὲ τούτου μὴ φαγεῖν, δῆλον ὅτι οὐκ ἔστιν ἐν τῷ παραδείσῳ· καὶ φυσικῶς· ἔστι γάρ, ὡς ἔφην, οὐσία καὶ οὐκ ἔστι δυνάμει. ὥσπερ γὰρ ἐν τῷ κηρῷ δυνάμει μὲν εἰσι πᾶσαι αἱ σφραγίδες, ἐντελεχεῖα δὲ μόνῃ ἡ

gain strength and power : for, as we know, the trainers charge the athletes not to bolt their food, but to masticate it slowly, in order that they may grow stronger. For the athlete and I take nourishment with different objects ; I, just to sustain life, the athlete, for the further purpose of growing brawny and strong ; and so mastication of food is a special point in training. Such is the meaning of " thou shalt eat feedingly thereon."

Let us try to form a yet more precise conception of it. To honour our parents is something eatable and nutritious : but good and bad sons honour them differently, the latter in compliance with custom, and these do not " eat feedingly," but simply eat. When, then, eat they feedingly too ? When, after exploring the precept and searching for the grounds on which it rests, they freely determine that such conduct is noble. The grounds for it are such as these : they gave us birth, nurtured us, educated us, have been authors of all good things to us. Honour again shown to the Existent One is something eatable ; it is shown " feedingly," when the honour we show is coupled with close search into the precept, and with a due appreciation of its motives.^a

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

^a Or " rendering of our reasons."

PHILO

τετυπωμένη, οὕτως καὶ ἐν τῇ ψυχῇ κηροειδεῖ
ὑπαρχούσῃ πάντες οἱ τύποι περιέχονται δυνάμει,
οὐκ ἀποτελέσματι, κρατεῖ δὲ ὁ εἰς χαραχθεὶς ἐν
αὐτῇ, ἕως μὴ ἀπαλήλιπται ὑφ' ἑτέρου ἐναργέστερον
καὶ ἐκδήλως μᾶλλον ἐπιχαράζαντος.

- 101 ἐξῆς καὶ κεῖνο διαπορητέον· ὅτε μὲν παραινεῖ ἀπὸ
παντὸς ξύλου τοῦ παραδείσου ἐσθίειν, ἓνα προ-
τρέπει, ὅτε δὲ ἀπαγορεύει χρῆσθαι τῷ πονηροῦ
καὶ καλοῦ αἰτίῳ, πλείοσι διαλέγεται· ἐκεῖ μὲν γάρ
φησιν “ ἀπὸ παντὸς φάγη,” ἐνταῦθα δὲ “ οὐ
φάγεσθε ” καὶ “ ἥ δ' ἂν ἡμέρα φάγητε,” οὐχὶ
102 φάγῃς, καὶ “ ἀποθανεῖσθε,” οὐχὶ ἀποθανῇ. λε-
κτέον οὖν τάδε, ὅτι πρῶτον μὲν σπάνιον ἐστι
τάγαθόν, τὸ δὲ κακὸν πολύχουν· διὰ τοῦτο σοφὸν
μὲν εὐρεῖν ἓνα μόνον ἔργον, φαύλων δὲ πλῆθος
ἀναρίθμητον· εἰκότως οὖν ἐνὶ παραγγέλλει ταῖς
ἀρεταῖς ἐντρέφεσθαι, πολλοῖς δὲ περὶ τοῦ πανουρ-
103 γίας ἀπέχεσθαι, ταύτῃ γὰρ μυρίοι χρῶνται. δεύ-
τερον <δέ>, εἰς ἀρετῆς ἀνάληψίν τε καὶ χρῆσιν
ἐνὸς μόνου δεῖ τοῦ λογισμοῦ· τὸ δὲ σῶμα οὐχ οἶον
οὐ συνεργεῖ πρὸς τοῦτο, ἀλλὰ καὶ κωλυσιεργεῖ·
σχεδὸν γὰρ σοφίας ἔργον τοῦτ' ἐστίν, ἀλλοτριου-
σθαι πρὸς τὸ σῶμα καὶ τὰς ἐπιθυμίας αὐτοῦ·
εἰς δὲ ἀπόλαυσιν κακίας οὐ μόνον δεῖ πως ἔχειν
τὸν νοῦν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὴν αἴσθησιν καὶ τὸν λόγον
104 καὶ τὸ σῶμα· ὁ γὰρ φαῦλος δεῖται τούτων ἀπάντων
πρὸς ἐκπλήρωσιν τῆς ἰδίας κακίας· ἐπεὶ πῶς

* Plato, *Phaedo* 65 A.

soul, whose nature is waxlike, all the types are contained virtually, but not in actual execution, and the single one engraved in it is in possession, so long as it has not been obliterated by another seal which has made over it a clearer and bolder impression.

Next there is this further question to be raised. When He is giving the charge to eat of every tree of the garden, He addresses the command to a single person, but when He issues the prohibition against making any use of that which causes evil and good, He speaks to more than one : for in the former case He says, "Thou shalt eat from every tree" ; but in the latter, "ye shall not eat, and in the day that ye eat" not "that thou eatest," and "ye shall die" not "thou shalt die." We must accordingly remark in the first place that the good is scarce, the evil abundant. Hence it is hard to find a single wise man, while of inferior men there is a countless multitude. Quite fitly, therefore, does He bid a single man to find nourishment in the virtues, but many to abstain from evil-doing, for myriads practise this. In the second place, for the acquisition and practice of virtue a single thing only, namely our understanding, is requisite : but the body not only fails to co-operate to this end, but is an actual hindrance ; for we may almost make it an axiom that the business of wisdom is to become estranged from the body and its cravings^a : but for the enjoyment of evil it is necessary not only that the mind be in a certain condition, but also the power of perception and of speech, in fact the body ; for all these the inferior man requires for the full satisfaction of his particular form of wickedness. For how shall he divulge sacred and hidden truths

ἐκλαλήσει μυστήρια φωνητήριον οὐκ ἔχων ὄργανον; πῶς δὲ ταῖς ἡδοναῖς χρήσεται γαστρός καὶ τῶν αἰσθητηρίων στερόμενος; δεόντως οὖν ἐνὶ μὲν τῷ λογισμῷ διαλέγεται περὶ κτήσεως ἀρετῆς, μόνου γάρ, ὡς ἔφην, ἐστὶν αὐτοῦ χρεία πρὸς τὴν ἀνάληψιν αὐτῆς, περὶ δὲ κακίας πλείοσι, ψυχῇ, λόγῳ, αἰσθήσεσι, σώματι, διὰ πάντων γὰρ τούτων ἐμφαίνεται.

- 105 XXXIII. Λέγει γε μὴν· “ ἡ ἂν ἡμέρα φάγητε ἀπ’ αὐτοῦ, θανάτῳ ἀποθανεῖσθε ” (Gen. ii. 17). καὶ φαγόντες οὐχ οἶον οὐκ ἀποθνήσκουσιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ παιδοποιοῦνται καὶ ἐτέροις τοῦ ζῆν αἷτιοι καθίστανται. τί οὖν λεκτέον; ὅτι διττός ἐστι
 [65] θάνατος, ὁ μὲν ἀνθρώπου, | ὁ δὲ ψυχῆς ἴδιος· ὁ μὲν οὖν ἀνθρώπου χωρισμός ἐστι ψυχῆς ἀπὸ σώματος, ὁ δὲ ψυχῆς θάνατος ἀρετῆς μὲν φθορά
 106 ἐστὶ, κακίας δὲ ἀνάληψις. παρὸ καὶ φησιν οὐκ ἀποθανεῖν αὐτὸ μόνον ἀλλὰ “ θανάτῳ ἀποθανεῖν,” δηλῶν οὐ τὸν κοινὸν ἀλλὰ τὸν ἴδιον καὶ κατ’ ἐξοχὴν θάνατον, ὅς ἐστι ψυχῆς ἐντυμβευομένης πάθεσι καὶ κακίαις ἀπάσαις. καὶ σχεδὸν οὗτος ὁ θάνατος μάχεται ἐκείνῳ· ἐκεῖνος μὲν γὰρ διάκρισις ἐστὶ τῶν συγκριθέντων σώματός τε καὶ ψυχῆς, οὗτος δὲ τούναντίον σύνοδος ἀμφοῖν, κρατοῦντος μὲν τοῦ χειρόνος σώματος, κρατουμένου δὲ τοῦ
 107 κρείττονος ψυχῆς. ὅπου δ’ ἂν λέγῃ “ θανάτῳ ἀποθανεῖν,” παρατήρει ὅτι θάνατον τὸν ἐπὶ τιμωρίᾳ παραλαμβάνει, οὐ τὸν φύσει γινόμενον· φύσει μὲν

^a Plato, *Phaedo* 64 c.

^b Or “ of elements which had been in combination.”

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

XXXIII. And further he says, " In the day that ye eat thereof, ye shall die the death " (Gen. ii. 17). And yet after they have eaten, not merely do they *not* die, but they beget children and become authors of life to others. What, then, is to be said to this ? That death is of two kinds, one that of the man in general, the other that of the soul in particular. The death of the man is the separation of the soul from the body,^a but the death of the soul is the decay of virtue and the bringing in of wickedness. It is for this reason that God says not only " die " but " die the death," indicating not the death common to us all, but that special death properly so called, which is that of the soul becoming entombed in passions and wickedness of all kinds. And this death is practically the antithesis of the death which awaits us all. The latter is a separation of combatants that had been pitted against one another,^b body and soul, to wit. The former, on the other hand, is a meeting of the two in conflict. And in this conflict the worse, the body, overcomes, and the better, the soul, is overcome. But observe that wherever Moses speaks of " dying the death," he means the penalty-death, not that which takes place in the course of nature. That one is in the course

PHILO

οὖν ἐστι, καθ' ὃν χωρίζεται ψυχὴ ἀπὸ σώματος,
 ὃ δὲ ἐπὶ τιμωρίᾳ συνίσταται, ὅταν ἡ ψυχὴ τὸν
 108 ἀρετῆς βίον θνήσκη, τὸν δὲ κακίας ζῇ μόνον. εἶ
 καὶ ὁ Ἡράκλειτος κατὰ τοῦτο Μωυσέως ἀκολου-
 θήσας τῷ δόγματι, φησὶ γάρ· “ Ζῶμεν τὸν ἐκείνων
 θάνατον, τεθνήκαμεν δὲ τὸν ἐκείνων βίον,” ὡς
 νῦν μέν, ὅτε ζῶμεν, τεθνηκυίας τῆς ψυχῆς καὶ ὡς
 ἂν ἐν σήματι τῷ σώματι ἐντετυμβευμένης, εἰ δὲ
 ἀποθάνοιμεν, τῆς ψυχῆς ζώσης τὸν ἴδιον βίον καὶ
 ἀπηλλαγμένης κακοῦ καὶ νεκροῦ συνδέτου τοῦ
 σώματος.

ALLEGORICAL INTERPRETATION, I. 107-108

of nature in which soul is parted from body ; but the penalty-death takes place when the soul dies to the life of virtue, and is alive only to that of wickedness. That is an excellent saying of Heraclitus, who on this point followed Moses' teaching, " We live," he says, " their death, and are dead to their life." He means that now, when we are living, the soul is dead and has been entombed in the body as in a sepulchre ; whereas, should we die, the soul lives forthwith its own proper life, and is released from the body, the baneful corpse to which it was tied.^a

^a For *σῆμα*—*σῶμα* cf. Plato, *Gorgias* 493 A, *Cratylus* 400 B.

Β'

- ¹ [66] I. “Καὶ εἶπε κύριος ὁ θεός Οὐ καλὸν εἶναι τὸν ἄνθρωπον μόνον, ποιήσωμεν αὐτῷ βοηθὸν κατ’ αὐτόν” (Gen. ii. 18). διὰ τί τὸν ἄνθρωπον, ὧς προφήητα, οὐκ ἔστι καλὸν εἶναι μόνον; ὅτι, φησί, καλὸν ἔστι τὸν μόνον εἶναι μόνον· μόνος δὲ καὶ καθ’ αὐτὸν εἰς ὧν ὁ θεός, οὐδὲν δὲ ὅμοιον θεῷ· ὥστ’ ἐπεὶ τὸ μόνον εἶναι τὸν ὄντα καλὸν ἔστι— καὶ γὰρ περὶ μόνον αὐτὸν τὸ καλόν—οὐκ ἂν εἴη
- ² καλὸν τὸ εἶναι τὸν ἄνθρωπον μόνον. τὸ δὲ μόνον εἶναι τὸν θεὸν ἔστι μὲν ἐκδέξασθαι καὶ οὕτως, ὅτι οὔτε πρὸ γενέσεως ἦν τι σὺν τῷ θεῷ οὔτε κόσμου γενομένου συντάττεται τι αὐτῷ· χρήζει γὰρ οὐδενὸς τὸ παράπαν. ἀμείνων δὲ ἦδε ἡ ἐκδοχή· ὁ θεός μόνος ἔστι καὶ ἓν, οὐ σύγκριμα, φύσις ἀπλῇ, ἡμῶν δ’ ἕκαστος καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ὅσα γέγονε πολλά· οἷον ἐγὼ πολλά εἰμι, ψυχὴ σῶμα, καὶ ψυχῆς ἄλογον λογικόν, πάλιν σώματος θερμὸν ψυχρὸν βαρὺ κοῦφον ξηρὸν ὑγρόν· ὁ δὲ θεός οὐ σύγκριμα οὐδὲ ἐκ πολλῶν συνεστώς, ἀλλ’ ἀμιγῆς
- 224

BOOK II

I. " And the Lord God said, It is not good that the man should be alone, let us make for him a helper corresponding to him " (Gen. ii. 18). Why, O prophet, is it not good that the man should be alone ? Because, he says, it is good that the Alone should be alone : but God, being One, is alone and unique, and like God there is nothing. Hence, since it is good that He Who is should be alone—for indeed with regard to Him alone can the statement " it is good " be made—it follows that it would not be good that the man should be alone. There is another way in which we may understand the statement that God is alone. It may mean that neither before creation was there anything with God, nor, when the universe had come into being, does anything take its place with Him ; for there is absolutely nothing which He needs. A yet better interpretation is the following. God is alone, a Unity, in the sense that His nature is simple not composite, whereas each one of us and of all other created beings is made up of many things. I, for example, am many things in one. I am soul and body. To soul belong rational and irrational parts, and to body, again, different properties, warm and cold, heavy and light, dry and moist. But God is not a composite Being, consisting of many parts,

³ [67] ἄλλω· ὁ γὰρ ἂν προσκριθῇ | θεῷ, ἣ κρείσσον
 ἐστὶν αὐτοῦ ἢ ἔλασσον ἢ ἴσον αὐτῷ· οὔτε δὲ ἴσον
 οὔτε κρείσσον ἐστὶ θεοῦ, ἔλασσον γε μὴν οὐδὲν
 αὐτῷ προσκρίνεται· εἰ δὲ μή, καὶ αὐτὸς ἐλαττωθή-
 σεται· εἰ δὲ τοῦτο, καὶ φθαρτὸς ἔσται, ὅπερ οὐδὲ
 θέμις νοῆσαι. τέτακται οὖν ὁ θεὸς κατὰ τὸ ἐν
 καὶ τὴν μονάδα, μᾶλλον δὲ ἢ μονὰς κατὰ τὸν
 ἓνα θεόν· πᾶς γὰρ ἀριθμὸς νεώτερος κόσμου, ὥς
 καὶ χρόνος, ὁ δὲ θεὸς πρεσβύτερος κόσμου καὶ
 δημιουργός.

4 Π. Οὐδένα δὲ ἄνθρωπον καλὸν ἐστὶν εἶναι
 μόνον. δύο γὰρ ἀνθρώπων γένη, τό τε κατὰ τὴν
 εἰκόνα γεγονὸς καὶ τὸ πεπλασμένον ἐκ γῆς· οὔτε
 δὲ τῷ κατ' εἰκόνα ἀνθρώπῳ καλὸν ἐστὶν εἶναι
 μόνῳ—ἐφίεται γὰρ τῆς εἰκόνης· ἡ γὰρ εἰκὼν τοῦ
 θεοῦ ἀρχέτυπος ἄλλων ἐστί· πᾶν δὲ μίμημα
 ποθεῖ τοῦτο, οὐπὲρ ἐστὶ μίμημα, καὶ μετ' ἐκείνου
 τάττεται—οὔτε τῷ πλαστῷ πολὺ μᾶλλον καλὸν
 ἐστὶν εἶναι μόνῳ, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀδύνατον, καὶ γὰρ
 αἰσθήσεις καὶ πάθη καὶ κακίαι καὶ μυρία ἄλλα

5 τούτῳ τῷ νῷ συνέζευκται καὶ συνήρμοσται. τῷ
 δὲ δευτέρῳ ἀνθρώπῳ βοηθὸς συνίσταται, πρῶτον
 μὲν γενητός, “ποιήσωμεν” γάρ φησιν “αὐτῷ
 βοηθόν,” ἔπειτα δὲ νεώτερος τοῦ βοηθουμένου·
 πρότερον μὲν γὰρ ἔπλασε τὸν νοῦν, μέλλει δὲ
 πλάττειν τὸν βοηθὸν αὐτοῦ. ἀλλὰ καὶ ταῦτα
 φυσικῶς ἀλληγορεῖ· ἡ γὰρ αἴσθησις καὶ τὰ πάθη

ALLEGORICAL INTERPRETATION, II. 3-5

nor is He mixed with aught else. For whatever is added to God, is either superior or inferior or equal to Him. But there is nothing equal or superior to God. And no lesser thing is resolved into Him. If He do so assimilate any lesser thing, He also will be lessened. And if He can be made less, He will also be capable of corruption ; and even to imagine this were blasphemous. The "one" and the "monad" are, therefore, the only standard for determining the category to which God belongs. Rather should we say, the One God is the sole standard for the "monad." For, like time, all number is subsequent to the universe ; and God is prior to the universe, and is its Maker.

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

PHILO

- τῆς ψυχῆς εἰσι βοηθοὶ νεώτεροι τῆς ψυχῆς. πῶς
 μὲν οὖν βοηθοῦσιν, ὁφόμεθα· ὅτι δὲ εἰσι νεώτεροι,
 6 θεασώμεθα. III. ὥσπερ κατὰ τοὺς ἀρίστους τῶν
 ἱατρῶν καὶ φυσικῶν δοκεῖ τοῦ ὅλου σώματος
 προπλάττεσθαι ἢ καρδία, θεμελίου τρόπον ἢ ὡς
 ἐν νηὶ τρόπῳ, ἐφ' ἣ οἰκοδομεῖται τὸ ἄλλο σῶμα—
 παρὸ καὶ μετὰ τὴν τελευτὴν ἔτι ἐμπεδῶν φασιν
 αὐτὴν ὡς καὶ πρώτην γινομένην καὶ ὑστέραν
 φθειρομένην—οὕτως καὶ τὸ ἡγεμονικὸν τῆς
 ψυχῆς πρεσβύτερον τῆς ὅλης εἶναι, τὸ δ' ἄλογον
 νεώτερον, οὗ τὴν γένεσιν οὕτω μὲν δεδήλωκε,
 μέλλει δὲ ὑπογράφειν. τὸ δὲ ἄλογον αἰσθησίς
 ἐστὶ καὶ τὰ ταύτης ἔκγονα πάθη, καὶ μάλιστα εἰ
 μὴ κρίσεις εἰσὶν ἡμέτεραι. καὶ νεώτερος οὖν
 οὗτος ὁ βοηθὸς [θεοῦ] καὶ γενητὸς εἰκότως.
 7 τὸ δ' ὑπερτεθὲν ἴδωμεν, πῶς βοηθεῖ.
 [68] | πῶς ἡμῶν ὁ νοῦς καταλαμβάνει, ὅτι τουτὶ
 λευκὸν ἢ μέλαν ἐστίν, εἰ μὴ βοηθῶ χρησάμενος
 ὁράσει; πῶς δὲ ὅτι ἡδεῖα ἢ τοῦ κιθαρωδοῦ φωνή
 ἢ τοῦναντίον ἐκμελής, εἰ μὴ βοηθῶ χρησάμενος
 ἀκοῇ; πῶς δὲ ὅτι εὐώδεις ἢ δυσώδεις οἱ ἀτμοί,
 εἰ μὴ συμμάχῳ χρησάμενος ὁσφρήσει; πῶς δὲ
 δοκιμάζει τοὺς χυλοὺς, εἰ μὴ διὰ βοηθοῦ τῆς
 8 γεύσεως; πῶς δὲ αὐτὰ μαλακὰ καὶ τραχέα, εἰ
 μὴ δι' ἀφῆς; ἔστι τοίνυν ἕτερον εἶδος βοηθῶν,
 ὡς ἔφην, τὰ πάθη· καὶ γὰρ ἡδονὴ βοηθεῖ πρὸς
 διαμονὴν τοῦ γένους ἡμῶν καὶ ἐπιθυμία, καὶ
 λύπη μέντοι καὶ φόβος δάκνυντα τὴν ψυχὴν
 ἐπέστρεψεν αὐτὴν μηδενὸς ὀλιγωρεῖν, ὀργὴ τε

^a See App. p. 479.

ALLEGORICAL INTERPRETATION, II. 5-8

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

Now let us consider the point which we deferred, *how* the help is given. How does our mind apprehend the fact that an object is white or black, except by using sight as a helper ? How does it become aware that the musician's voice is sweet or on the other hand out of tune, save by using the sense of hearing as a helper ? How does it recognize that perfumes are pleasant or disagreeable, except by using as an ally the sense of smell ? How does it distinguish savours, except by means of the taste acting as its helper ? Things smooth and rough, again, how but by touch ? Moreover, there are, as I have said, helpers of another kind, namely the passions. For pleasure and desire contribute to the permanence of our kind : pain and fear are like bites or stings warning the soul to treat nothing carelessly : anger

ἀμυντήριον ὄπλον [ἡ] μεγάλη πολλοὺς ὠφέλησε, καὶ τᾶλλα ταύτη. διὸ καὶ εὐθυβόλως εἶπε “κατ’ αὐτὸν εἶναι τὸν βοηθόν”· τῷ γὰρ ὄντι οἰκείος οὗτος ὁ βοηθός ἐστι τῷ νῷ ὡς ἂν ἀδελφὸς καὶ ὁμαιμος· μιᾶς γάρ ἐστι ψυχῆς μέρη καὶ γεννήματα ἢ τε αἰσθησις καὶ τὰ πάθη.

- 9 IV. Τοῦ δὲ βοηθοῦ ἐστι διττὸν τὸ εἶδος, τὸ μὲν ἐν πάθεσι, τὸ δ’ ἐν αἰσθήσει. τό γε νῦν μόνον τὸ πρότερον εἶδος γεννήσει, λέγει γάρ· “καὶ ἔπλασεν ὁ θεὸς ἔτι ἐκ τῆς γῆς πάντα τὰ θηρία τοῦ ἀγροῦ καὶ πάντα τὰ πετεινὰ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ καὶ ἤγαγεν αὐτὰ πρὸς τὸν Ἀδάμ, ἰδεῖν τί καλέσει αὐτά· καὶ πᾶν ὃ ἂν ἐκάλεσεν αὐτὸ Ἀδὰμ ψυχὴν ζώσαν, τοῦτο ὄνομα αὐτοῦ” (Gen. ii. 19). ὁρᾷς, τίνες εἰσὶν ἡμῶν οἱ βοηθοί, τὰ θηρία, τῆς ψυχῆς τὰ πάθη· εἰπὼν γὰρ “ποιήσωμεν βοηθὸν κατ’ αὐτόν” ἐπιφέρει τὸ “ἔπλασε τὰ θηρία,” ὡς
- 10 τῶν θηρίων ὄντων βοηθῶν ἡμῖν. οὐ κυρίως δὲ οὗτοι βοηθοὶ ἀλλὰ καταχρηστικῶς λέγονται, εὐρίσκονται γέ τοι πρὸς ἀλήθειαν <καὶ> πολέμιοι, ὥσπερ καὶ τῶν πόλεων ἐστὶν ὅτε οἱ σύμμαχοι προδόται καὶ αὐτόμολοι καὶ ἐν ταῖς φιλίαις οἱ κόλακες ἀντὶ ἐταίρων ἐχθροί. οὐρανὸν δὲ καὶ ἀγρὸν συνωνύμως κέκληκεν ἀλληγορῶν τὸν νοῦν· οὗτος γὰρ καὶ ὡς ἀγρὸς ἀνατολὰς καὶ βλάστας ἔχει μυρίας ὅσας καὶ ὡς οὐρανὸς πάλιν λαμπρὰς
- 11 καὶ θείας καὶ εὐδαίμονας φύσεις. θηρίοις δὲ καὶ πτηνοῖς ἀπεικάζει τὰ πάθη, ὅτι σίνεται τὸν νοῦν ἀτίθασα καὶ ἀνήμερα ὄντα καὶ ὅτι πτηνῶν τρόπον ἐπιποτᾶται τῇ διανοίᾳ· ὁξεῖα γὰρ ἢ τούτων καὶ

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

ALLEGORICAL INTERPRETATION, II. 8-11

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

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

PHILO

- ἀνεπίσχετος ὁρμή. οὐ παρέργως δὲ πρόσκειται τῷ “ἐπλασε” τὸ “ἔτι.” διὰ τί; ὅτι καὶ
- [69] ἐπάνω πεπλάσθαι | τὰ θηρία φησὶ πρὸ τῆς ἀνθρώπου γενέσεως, <ὥς> καὶ δηλοῖ διὰ τούτων ἐν ἑκτῇ ἡμέρᾳ. “καὶ εἶπεν Ἐξαγαγέτω ἡ γῆ ψυχὴν ζῶσαν κατὰ γένος, τετράποδα καὶ ἔρπετά καὶ
- 12 θηρία” (Gen. i. 24). τί παθὼν οὖν ἄλλα πλάττει θηρία νῦν οὐκ ἀρκεσθεῖς τοῖς προτέροις; λεκτέον οὖν ἡθικῶς μὲν τοῦτο· πλούσιόν ἐστι τὸ κακίας γένος ἐν τῷ γεννητῷ, ὥστε ἀεὶ γεννᾶσθαι τὰ φαυλότατα ἐν τούτῳ· φυσικῶς δὲ ἐκείνο· πρότερον μὲν ἐν τῇ ἐξαήμερῳ τὰ γένη τῶν παθῶν καὶ τὰς ἰδέας εἰργάζετο, νυνὶ δὲ τὰ
- 13 εἶδη προσπλάττει· διὸ φησιν “ἐπλασεν ἔτι.” ὅτι δὲ τὰ πάλαι κατασκευασθέντα γένη ἦν, φανερόν ἐξ ὧν φησιν “ἐξαγαγέτω ἡ γῆ ψυχὴν ζῶσαν” οὐ κατ’ εἶδος, ἀλλὰ “κατὰ γένος.” καὶ τοιοῦτος ἐν ἅπασιν εὐρίσκεται· πρὸ γὰρ τῶν εἰδῶν ἀποτελεῖ τὰ γένη, ὥσπερ καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου· προτυπώσας γὰρ τὸν γενικὸν ἄνθρωπον, ἐν ᾧ τὸ ἄρρεν καὶ τὸ θῆλυ γένος φησὶν εἶναι, ὕστερον τὸ εἶδος ἀεργάζεται τὸν Ἀδάμ.
- 14 V. Τοῦτο μὲν οὖν τὸ εἶδος τῶν βοηθῶν εἶρηκε, τὸ δ’ ἕτερον ὑπερτίθεται τὸ τῆς αἰσθήσεως, ἔστ’ ἂν ἐπιχειρῇ πλάττειν τὴν γυναῖκα· ἐκείνο δ’

ALLEGORICAL INTERPRETATION, II. 11-14

for the assault of the passions is violent and irresistible. The addition of "further" to "formed" is by no means otiose. How do we see this? Because above also he mentions the forming of the wild beasts before the creation of man, as we see from these words referring to the sixth day: and He said, "Let the earth bring forth the living soul after its kind, four-footed animals and creeping things and wild beasts" (Gen. i. 24).

How comes He, then, to form other wild beasts now, and not to be satisfied with those former ones? From the ethical point of view what we must say is this. In the realm of created things the class or kind of wickedness is abundant. It follows that in this the worst things are ever being produced. From the philosophical point of view our answer must be, that on the former occasion, when engaged in the Work of the six days, He wrought the genera or kinds and the originals of the passions, whereas now He is fashioning the species as well. This is why he says, "He fashioned moreover." That what were created in the first instance were genera, is evident from the words employed, "Let the earth bring forth the living soul," not according to species but "according to kind." And we find Him in every instance working in this way. Before the species He completes the genera. He does so in the case of man. Having first fashioned man as a genus, in which the prophet says that there is the male and the female genus, He afterwards makes Adam, the finished form or species.

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

PHILO

- ὑπερθέμενος περὶ τῆς τῶν ὀνομάτων θέσεως τεχνολογεῖ. ἔστι δὲ καὶ ἡ τροπικὴ καὶ ἡ ῥητὴ ἀπόδοσις ἀξία τοῦ θαυμάζεσθαι· ἡ μὲν ῥητὴ, παρόσον τὴν θέσιν τῶν ὀνομάτων προσῆψε τῷ
- 15 πρώτῳ γενομένῳ ὁ νομοθέτης. καὶ γὰρ οἱ παρ' Ἑλλήσι φιλοσοφοῦντες εἶπον εἶναι σοφοὺς τοὺς πρώτους τοῖς πράγμασι τὰ ὀνόματα θέντας· Μωυσῆς δὲ ἄμεινον, ὅτι πρῶτον μὲν οὐ τισι τῶν πρότερον, ἀλλὰ τῷ πρώτῳ γενομένῳ, ἵνα ὥσπερ αὐτὸς ἀρχὴ τοῖς ἄλλοις γενέσεως ἐπλάσθη, οὕτως καὶ αὐτὸς ἀρχὴ τοῦ διαλέγεσθαι νομισθῇ—μὴ γὰρ ὄντων ὀνομάτων, οὐδ' ἂν διάλεκτος ἦν—ἔπειτα ὅτι πολλῶν μὲν τιθέντων ὀνόματα διάφωνα καὶ ἄμικτα ἔμελλεν ἔσεσθαι, ἄλλων ἄλλως τιθέντων, ἑνὸς δὲ ὥφειλεν ἡ θέσις ἐφαρμόττειν τῷ πράγματι, καὶ τοῦτ' εἶναι σύμβολον ἅπασιν τὸ αὐτὸ τοῦ τυγχάνοντος ἢ τοῦ σημαινομένου.
- 16 VI. ὁ δὲ ἠθικὸς λόγος τοιοῦτός ἐστιν· τὸ “τί” πολλάκις τίθεμεν ἀντὶ τοῦ “διὰ τί,” οἷον τί λέλουσαι, τί περιπατεῖς, τί διαλέγῃ, πάντα γὰρ ταῦτα ἀντὶ τοῦ “διὰ τί.” ὅταν οὖν λέγῃ “ἰδεῖν τί καλέσει,” ἀκούε ἴσον τῷ, διὰ τί καλέσει καὶ προσκαλέσεται καὶ ἀσπάζεται τούτων ἕκαστον ὁ νοῦς· πότερον ἔνεκα τοῦ ἀναγκαίου μόνον, ὅτι

^a See App. p. 479.

ALLEGORICAL INTERPRETATION, II. 14-16

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

VI. What he says in the domain of ethics is to this effect. We often use "τί" (= "what") for "διὰ τί"^a ("by reason of what"), as "what (*i.e.* why) have you bathed?" "What (*i.e.* 'why') are you walking?" "What (*i.e.* 'why') are you conversing?" In all these cases "what" stands for "because of what." When the prophet says "to see *what* he would call them" you should understand something equivalent to 'why the mind would call and invite to it and greet' each of these objects, whether only for the

- κατέζευκται τὸ θνητὸν ἐξ ἀνάγκης πάθεσι καὶ κακίαις, ἥ καὶ ἔνεκα τοῦ ἀμέτρου καὶ περιττοῦ· καὶ πότερον διὰ τὰς τοῦ γηγενοῦς χρείας ἢ διὰ
- 17 τὸ κρίνειν αὐτὰ βέλτιστα καὶ θαυμασιώτατα· οἶον
- [70] ἡδονῇ χρῆσθαι δεῖ τὸ γεγονός· ἀλλ' ὁ | μὲν φαῦλος ὡς ἀγαθῷ τελείῳ χρήσεται, ὁ δὲ σπουδαῖος ὡς μόνον ἀναγκαίῳ· χωρὶς γὰρ ἡδονῆς οὐδὲν γίνεται τῶν ἐν τῷ θνητῷ γένει. πάλιν τὴν τῶν χρημάτων κτήσιν ὁ μὲν <φαῦλος> τελειότατον ἀγαθὸν κρίνει, ὁ δὲ σπουδαῖος ἀναγκαῖον καὶ χρήσιμον αὐτὸ μόνον. εἰκότως οὖν ὁ θεὸς ἰδεῖν καὶ καταμαθεῖν βούλεται, πῶς ἕκαστον τούτων προσκαλεῖται καὶ ἀποδέχεται ὁ νοῦς, εἴτε ὡς ἀγαθὰ εἴτε ὡς
- 18 ἀδιάφορα ἢ ὡς κακὰ μὲν, χρειώδη δὲ ἄλλως. διὸ καὶ πᾶν ὃ ἂν προσεκαλέσατο καὶ ἡσπάσατο ὡς ψυχὴν ζῶσαν ἰσότημον αὐτὸ ἡγησάμενος ψυχῇ, τοῦτο ὄνομα οὐ τοῦ κληθέντος ἐγένετο μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῦ καλέσαντος· οἶον, εἰ ἀπεδέξατο ἡδονήν, ἐκαλεῖτο ἡδονικός, εἰ ἐπιθυμίαν, ἐπιθυμητικός, εἰ ἀκολασίαν, ἀκόλαστος, εἰ δειλίαν, δειλός, καὶ οὕτως ἐπὶ τῶν ἄλλων· ὥσπερ γὰρ ἀπὸ τῶν ἀρετῶν ὁ κατ' αὐτὰς ποιὸς καλεῖται φρόνιμος ἢ σώφρων ἢ δίκαιος ἢ ἀνδρεῖος, οὕτως ἀπὸ τῶν κακιῶν ἄδικος καὶ ἄφρων καὶ ἀνανδρος, ἐπειδὴν τὰς ἑξεῖς προσκαλέσεται καὶ δεξιώσεται.
- 19 VII. “Καὶ ἐπέβαλεν ὁ θεὸς ἑκστασιν ἐπὶ τὸν Ἀδάμ, καὶ ὑπνώσε· καὶ ἔλαβε μίαν τῶν πλευρῶν αὐτοῦ” καὶ τὰ ἐξῆς (Gen. ii. 21). τὸ ῥητὸν ἐπὶ

^a See App. p. 479.

ALLEGORICAL INTERPRETATION, II. 16-19

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

VII. "And God brought a trance upon Adam, and he fell asleep ; and He took one of his sides " and what follows (Gen. ii. 21). These words in

- τούτου μυθῶδές ἐστι· πῶς γὰρ ἂν παραδέξαιτό τις, ὅτι γέγονεν ἐκ πλευρᾶς ἀνδρὸς γυνή ἢ συνόλως ἄνθρωπος; τί δὲ ἐκώλυεν, ὥσπερ ἐκ γῆς ἄνδρα ἐδημιουργεῖ τὸ αἷτιον, οὕτως καὶ γυναῖκα δημιουργῆσαι; ὃ τε γὰρ ποιῶν ὁ αὐτὸς ἦν ἢ τε ὕλη σχεδὸν ἄπειρος, ἐξ ἧς πᾶσα ποιότης κατεσκευάζετο. διὰ τί δὲ οὐκ ἐξ ἄλλου μέρους, τοσούτων ὑπαρχόντων, ἀλλ' ἐκ πλευρᾶς ἐτύπου τὴν γυναῖκα; ποτέραν δὲ πλευρὰν <ἔλαβεν>—ἵνα καὶ δύο μόνas ἐμφαίνεσθαι φῶμεν, πρὸς γὰρ ἀλήθειαν οὐδὲ πλῆθος αὐτῶν ἐδήλωσεν—; ἄρα γε τὴν εὐώνυμον
- 20 ἢ τὴν δεξιάν; εἴ γε μὴν ἀνεπλήρου σαρκὶ τὴν ἑτέραν, ἢ ἀπολειπομένη οὐκ ἦν σαρκίνη δῆπου; καὶ μὴν ἀδελφαί γ' εἰσὶ καὶ συγγενεῖς πᾶσι τοῖς μέρεσιν αἱ ἡμῶν πλευραὶ καὶ σαρκὸς γεγόνασιν.
- 21 τί οὖν λεκτέον; πλευρὰς ὁ βίος ὀνομάζει τὰς δυνάμεις· λέγομεν γὰρ πλευρὰς ἔχειν τὸν ἄνθρωπον ἴσον τῷ δυνάμεις, καὶ εὐπλευρον εἶναι τὸν ἀθλητὴν ἀντὶ τοῦ ἰσχυρόν, καὶ πλευρὰς ἔχειν τὸν κιθαρῳδὸν
- 22 ἀντὶ τοῦ δύναντα ἐρρωμένην ἐν τῷ ᾄδειν. τούτου
- 71] προειρημένου κακεῖνο λεκτέον, | ὅτι ὁ γυμνὸς καὶ ἀνένδετος σώματι νοῦς—περὶ γὰρ τοῦ μήπω ἐνδεδεμένου ἐστὶν ὁ λόγος—πολλὰς ἔχει δυνάμεις, ἐκτικὴν φυτικὴν ψυχικὴν¹ διανοητικὴν, ἅλλας μυρίας κατὰ τε εἶδη καὶ γένη. ἡ μὲν ἕξις κοινή καὶ τῶν ἀψύχων ἐστὶ λίθων καὶ ξύλων, ἧς μετέχει

¹ λογικὴν is omitted with the Armenian version.

^a See App. pp. 479, 480.

^b See App. p. 480.

ALLEGORICAL INTERPRETATION, II. 19-22

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

- καὶ τὰ ἐν ἡμῖν εἰκότα λίθοις ὅστέα. ἡ δὲ φύσις διατείνει καὶ ἐπὶ τὰ φυτά· καὶ ἐν ἡμῖν δὲ ἐστὶν εἰκότα φυτοῖς, ὄνυχές τε καὶ τρίχες· ἔστι δὲ ἡ
- 23 φύσις ἕξις ἥδη κινουμένη. ψυχὴ δὲ ἐστὶ φύσις προσειληφύια φαντασίαν καὶ ὁρμήν· αὕτη κοινὴ καὶ τῶν ἀλόγων ἐστίν· ἔχει δὲ καὶ ὁ ἡμέτερος νοῦς ἀναλογοῦν τι ἀλόγου ψυχῇ. πάλιν ἡ διανοητικὴ δύναμις ἰδίᾳ τοῦ νοῦ ἐστὶ, καὶ κοινὴ μὲν τάχα καὶ τῶν θειοτέρων φύσεων, ἰδίᾳ δὲ ὡς ἐν θνητοῖς ἀνθρώπου· αὕτη δὲ διττὴ, ἡ μὲν καθ' ἣν λογικοὶ ἐσμεν νοῦ μετέχοντες, ἡ δὲ καθ' ἣν διαλεγόμεθα.
- 24 ἔστιν <οὖν καὶ> ἄλλη δύναμις ἐν ψυχῇ τούτων ἀδελφὴ, ἡ αἰσθητικὴ, περὶ ἧς ἐστὶν ὁ λόγος· οὐδὲν γὰρ ἄλλο νῦν ὑπογράφει ἢ γένεσιν τῆς κατ' ἐνέργειαν αἰσθήσεως· καὶ κατὰ λόγον· VIII. μετὰ γὰρ νοῦν εὐθύς ἔδει δημιουργηθῆναι αἰσθησιν βοηθὸν αὐτῷ καὶ σύμμαχον. τελεσιουργήσας οὖν ἐκεῖνον τὸ δεύτερον καὶ τῇ τάξει καὶ τῇ δυνάμει πλάττει δημιούργημα, τὴν κατ' ἐνέργειαν αἰσθησιν, πρὸς συμπλήρωσιν τῆς ὅλης ψυχῆς καὶ πρὸς τὴν
- 25 τῶν ὑποκειμένων ἀντίληψιν. πῶς οὖν γεννᾶται; ὡς αὐτὸς πάλιν φησὶν, ὅταν ὑπνώσῃ ὁ νοῦς· τῷ γὰρ ὄντι ὑπνώσαντος νοῦ γίνεται αἰσθησις, καὶ γὰρ ἔμπαλιν ἐργηγορότος νοῦ σβέννυται· τεκ-

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

ALLEGORICAL INTERPRETATION, II. 22-25

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

PHILO

μήριον δέ· ὅταν τι βουλώμεθα ἀκριβῶς νοῆσαι, εἰς ἐρημίαν ἀποδιδράσκομεν, καταμύομεν τὰς ὄψεις, τὰ ὦτα ἐπιφράττομεν, ἀποταττόμεθα ταῖς αἰσθήσεσιν. οὕτως μὲν, ὅταν ἀναστῇ καὶ ἐγρηγόρσει χρήται ὁ νοῦς, φθείρεται αἴσθησις.

- 26 "Ἰδωμεν δὲ καὶ θάτερον, πῶς ὕπνῳ χρήται ὁ νοῦς. περιαναστάσης καὶ ζωπυρηθείσης αἰσθήσεως, ὅταν ἡ ὄψις γραφέων ἢ πλαστῶν ἔργα εὖ δεδημιουργημένα καθορᾷ, οὐχ ὁ νοῦς ἄπρακτός ἐστι νοητὸν ἐπινοῶν οὐδέν; τί δ' ὅταν ἡ ἀκοή προσέχη φωνῆς ἐμμελεία, δύναται ὁ νοῦς λογίζεσθαι τι τῶν οἰκείων; οὐδαμῶς. καὶ μὴν πολὺ πλέον ἄπρακτος γίνεται, ὅταν ἡ γεῦσις ἐξαναστᾶσα λάβρως ἐμπιπλῇται τῶν γαστρὸς ἡδονῶν.
- 27 Διὸ καὶ Μωυσῆς φοβηθείς, μή ποτε ὁ νοῦς μὴ μόνον κοιμηθῇ, ἀλλὰ καὶ τελείως ἀποθάνῃ, φησὶν [72] ἐν | ἐτέροις· "καὶ πάσσαλος ἔσται σοι ἐπὶ τῆς ζώνης σου· καὶ ἔσται, ὅταν διακαθιζάνῃς, ὀρύξεις ἐν αὐτῷ καὶ ἐπαγαγὼν καλύψεις τὴν ἀσχημοσύνην σου" (Deut. xxiii. 13), πάσσαλον συμβολικῶς φάσκων τὸν ἐξορύσσοντα λόγον τὰ κρυμμένα τῶν πραγμάτων. κελεύει δ' αὐτὸν φορεῖν ἐπὶ τοῦ πάθους, ὃ ἀνεζῶσθαι χρή καὶ μὴ ἔαν κεχαλάσθαι καὶ ἀνείσθαι· τοῦτο δὲ πρακτέον, ὅταν ὁ νοῦς τοῦ τόνου τῶν νοητῶν ἀποστὰς ὑφίηται πρὸς τὰ πάθη καὶ διακαθιζάνῃ ἐνδιδοὺς καὶ

ALLEGORICAL INTERPRETATION, II. 25-28

A proof of this is afforded by the fact that whenever we wish to get an accurate understanding of a subject we hurry off to a lonely spot ; we close our eyes ; we stop our ears ; we say "good-bye" to our perceptive faculties. So then, we see that, when the mind is astir and awake, the power of perception is suppressed.

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

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

- 29 ἀγόμενος ὑπὸ τῆς σωματικῆς ἀνάγκης. καὶ οὕτως ἔχει· ὅταν ἐν ταῖς ἀβροδιαίτοις συνουσίαις ἐπιλάβηται ὁ νοῦς ἑαυτοῦ κρατηθεὶς τοῖς ἐπὶ τὰς ἡδονὰς ἄγουσι, δεδουλώμεθα καὶ ἀκατακαλύπτῳ τῇ ἀκαθαρσίᾳ χρώμεθα· ἐὰν δὲ ὁ λόγος ἰσχύσῃ ἀνακαθᾶραι τὸ πάθος, οὔτε πίνοντες μεθυσκόμεθα οὔτε ἐσθίοντες ἐξυβρίζομεν διὰ κόρον, ἀλλὰ δίχα
- 30 τοῦ ληρεῖν νηφάλια σιτούμεθα. οὐκοῦν ἡ τε τῶν αἰσθήσεων ἐγρήγορσις ὕπνος ἐστὶ <τοῦ> νοῦ ἡ τε τοῦ νοῦ ἐγρήγορσις ἀπραξία τῶν αἰσθήσεων, καθάπερ καὶ ἡλίου ἀνατείλαντος μὲν ἀφανεῖς αἱ τῶν ἄλλων ἀστέρων λάμψεις, καταδύντος δὲ ἔκδηλοι· ἡλίου δὴ τρόπον ὁ νοῦς ἐγρηγορῶς μὲν ἐπισκιάζει ταῖς αἰσθήσεσι, κοιμηθεὶς δὲ αὐτὰς ἐξέλαμψε.
- 31 IX. Τούτων εἰρημένων ἐφαρμοστέον τὰς λέξεις. “ἐπέβαλε” φησὶν “ὁ θεὸς ἔκστασιν ἐπὶ τὸν Ἀδὰμ, καὶ ὕπνωσεν” (Gen. ii. 21). ὀρθῶς· ἡ γὰρ ἔκστασις καὶ τροπὴ τοῦ νοῦ ὕπνος ἐστὶν αὐτοῦ· ἐξίσταται δέ, ὅταν μὴ πραγματεύηται τὰ ἐπιβάλλοντα αὐτῷ νοητά· ὅτε δ’ οὐκ ἐνεργεῖ ταῦτα, κοιμᾶται. εὖ δὲ τὸ φάναι ὅτι ἐξίσταται, τοῦτο δ’ ἐστὶ τρέπεται, οὐ παρ’ ἑαυτόν, ἀλλὰ παρὰ τὸν ἐπιβάλλοντα καὶ ἐπιφέροντα καὶ ἐπι-
- 32 πέμποντα τὴν τροπὴν θεόν. καὶ γὰρ οὕτως ἔχει· εἰ γοῦν παρ’ ἐμὲ ἦν τὸ τρέπεσθαι, ὁπότε ἐβουλόμην, ἂν ἐχρώμην αὐτῷ, καὶ ὁπότε μὴ ἐπροηρούμην, ἄτρεπτος διετέλουν· νυνὶ δὲ καὶ ἀντιφιλονεικεῖ μοι ἡ τροπή, καὶ πολλάκις βουλόμενος καθήκόν

ALLEGORICAL INTERPRETATION, II. 29-32

by bodily necessity. And this is how the matter stands. Whenever the mind forgets itself amid the luxuries of a festive gathering and is mastered by all that conduces to pleasure, we are in bondage and we leave our "unseemliness" uncovered. But if the reason prove strong enough to purge the passion, we neither go on drinking till we are drunk, nor eat so greedily as to wax wanton, but we banish folly and take our food soberly. Thus the wakefulness of the senses means sleep for the mind, and the wakefulness of the mind a time of leisure for the senses ; just as, when the sun has risen, the lights of the other heavenly bodies are invisible ; when it has set, they show themselves. The mind, like the sun, when awake, throws the senses into the shade, but if it goes to sleep, it causes them to shine out.

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

PHILO

- τι νοῆσαι ἐπαντλοῦμαι ταῖς παρὰ τὸ καθῆκον ἐπιρροαῖς, καὶ ἔμπαλιν ἔννοιάν τινος λαμβάνων αἰσχροῦ ποτίμοις ἐννοαῖς ἀπερρυψάμην ἐκείνο, θεοῦ τῇ ἑαυτοῦ χάριτι γλυκὺ νᾶμα ἀντὶ ἀλμυροῦ
- 33 ἐπεισχεάντος τῇ ψυχῇ. πᾶν μὲν οὖν τὸ γεννητὸν ἀναγκαῖον τρέπεσθαι, ἴδιον γάρ ἐστι τοῦτο αὐτοῦ, ὥσπερ θεοῦ τὸ ἄτρεπτον εἶναι· ἀλλ' οἱ μὲν τραπέντες κατέμειναν ἄχρι παντελοῦς φθορᾶς, οἱ δ' ὅσον μόνον παθεῖν τὸ θνητόν, οὗτοι δ' εὐθύς
- 34 ἀνεσώθησαν. διὸ καὶ Μωυσῆς φησιν ὅτι “οὐκ | [73] ἔάσει τὸν ὀλοθρεύοντα εἰσελθεῖν εἰς τὰς οἰκίας ὑμῶν πατάξαι” (Exod. xii. 23). ἔᾱ μὲν γὰρ τὸν ὀλοθρεύοντα—ὄλεθρος δὲ ψυχῆς ἐστὶν ἢ τροπή—εἰσελθεῖν εἰς τὴν ψυχὴν, ἵνα τὸ ἴδιον ἐνδείξῃται τοῦ γεννητοῦ· οὐκ ἀφήσει δὲ ὁ θεὸς τὸν τοῦ ὀρώντος ἔγγονον Ἰσραὴλ οὕτως τραπῆναι, ὥστε πληγῆναι ὑπὸ τῆς τροπῆς, ἀλλὰ ἀναδραμεῖν καὶ ἀνακύψαι ὥσπερ ἐκ βυθοῦ καὶ ἀνασωθῆναι βιάσεται.
- 35 X. “Ἐλαβε μίαν τῶν πλευρῶν αὐτοῦ” (Gen. ii. 21). τῶν πολλῶν τοῦ νοῦ δυνάμεων μίαν ἔλαβε τὴν αἰσθητικὴν. τὸ δὲ “ἔλαβεν” οὐκ ἀντὶ τοῦ ἀφείλεν ἀκουστέον, ἀλλ' ἀντὶ τοῦ κατηρίθμηνεν, ἐξήτασεν, ὡς ἐν ἑτέροις “λάβε τὸ κεφάλαιον τῶν σκύλων τῆς αἰχμαλωσίας” (Num. xxxi. 26).
- 36 τί οὖν ἐστὶν ὃ βούλεται παραστήσαι; διχῶς αἰσθησις λέγεται, ἡ μὲν καθ' ἑξίν, ἥτις καὶ κοιμωμένων ἡμῶν ἐστὶν, ἡ δὲ κατ' ἐνέργειαν. τῆς μὲν

^a Philo is adapting Plato, *Phaedrus* 243 D ποτίμῳ λόγῳ οἷον ἀλμυρὰν ἀκοὴν ἀποκλύσασθαι.

ALLEGORICAL INTERPRETATION, II. 32-36

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

X. " He took one of his sides " (Gen. ii. 21). Of the many faculties of the mind He took one, the faculty of perception. " Took " must not be understood as equivalent to " removed," but as equivalent to " enrolled," " registered," as we find it elsewhere " take the sum of the spoils of the captivity " (Numb. xxxi. 26). What idea is it, then, that he wants to convey ? The word " perception " is used in two ways, first in that of a condition, in which sense it is ours when we are asleep, secondly in the sense of an activity. From perception in the

- οὖν προτέρας τῆς καθ' ἕξιν ὄφελος οὐδέν, οὐδὲ γὰρ αὐτῇ τῶν ὑποκειμένων ἀντιλαμβανόμεθα, τῆς δὲ δευτέρας τῆς κατ' ἐνέργειαν, διὰ γὰρ ταύτης
- 37 ποιούμεθα τὰς τῶν αἰσθητῶν ἀντιλήψεις. γεννήσας οὖν τὴν προτέραν τὴν καθ' ἕξιν αἰσθησιν, ὅτε καὶ τὸν νοῦν ἐγέννα—σὺν γὰρ πολλαῖς δυνάμεσιν ἡρεμούσαις αὐτὸν κατεσκεύαζε—νῦν βούλεται τὴν κατ' ἐνέργειαν ἀποτελέσαι· ἀποτελεῖται δὲ ἢ κατ' ἐνέργειαν, ὅταν ἢ καθ' ἕξιν κινηθεῖσα ταθῇ μέχρι τῆς σαρκὸς καὶ τῶν αἰσθητικῶν ἀγγείων· ὥσπερ γὰρ φύσις ἀποτελεῖται κινηθέντος σπέρματος,
- 38 οὕτως καὶ ἐνέργεια κινηθείσης ἕξεως. XI. “ἀνεπλήρου δὲ σάρκα αὐτῆς” (Gen. ii. 21), τουτέστι συνεπλήρου τὴν καθ' ἕξιν αἰσθησιν ἄγων εἰς ἐνέργειαν καὶ τείνων αὐτὴν ἄχρι σαρκὸς καὶ τῆς ὅλης ἐπιφανείας. διὸ καὶ ἐπιφέρει ὅτι “ᾠκοδόμησεν εἰς γυναῖκα” (Gen. ii. 22), διὰ τούτου παριστὰς ὅτι οἰκειότατον καὶ εὐθυβολώτατον ἐστὶν ὄνομα αἰσθήσεως γυνή· ὥσπερ γὰρ ὁ μὲν ἀνὴρ ἐν τῷ δρᾶσαι¹ θεωρεῖται, ἐν δὲ τῷ πάσχειν ἡ γυνή, οὕτως ἐν μὲν τῷ δρᾶν ὁ νοῦς, ἐν δὲ τῷ πάσχειν
- 39 γυναικὸς τρόπον ἢ αἰσθησις ἐξετάζεται. μαθεῖν δὲ ἐκ τῆς ἐναργείας ῥάδιον· ἢ ὅψις πάσχει ὑπὸ τῶν κινούντων αὐτὴν ὁράτων, τοῦ λευκοῦ, τοῦ μέλανος, τῶν ἄλλων, ἢ ἀκοή πάλιν ὑπὸ τῶν φωνῶν καὶ ἢ γεῦσις ὑπὸ τῶν χυλῶν διατίθεται, ὑπὸ τῶν ἀτμῶν ἢ ὁσφρησις, ὑπὸ τραχέος καὶ μαλακοῦ ἢ ἀφή· καὶ ἡρεμουσί γε αἱ αἰσθήσεις

¹ ? τῇ δράσει.

ALLEGORICAL INTERPRETATION, II. 36-39

former sense, as it is a state, we derive no benefit, for it does not enable us to apprehend the objects about us. It is from the second kind of perception, as an activity, that we get benefit, for our apprehension of the objects of sense-perception is made possible by this. Having, then, brought into being the former sort of perception as a quiescent condition, at the time when He was bringing the mind itself into being—for He made the mind with many faculties lying dormant—now it is His wish to produce perception as an activity. Active perception is brought to pass when quiescent perception has been set in motion and extended to reach the flesh and the perceptive organs. For, just as growth is effected by seed being set in motion, so is activity or actuality by a quiescent condition being set in motion. XI. "And he filled up flesh in its stead" (Gen. ii. 21), that is to say He fulfilled perception that was only a state by leading it on to be an activity, and extending it till it reached the flesh and the whole surface of the body. And so he adds the words, "He built it to be a woman" (Gen. ii. 22), proving by this that the most proper and exact name for sense-perception is "woman." For just as the man shows himself in activity and the woman in passivity, so the province of the mind is activity, and that of the perceptive sense passivity, as in woman. It is easy to learn this from what is before our eyes. Sight is in a passive relation to the objects of sight that set it moving, white, black, and the rest. Hearing, again, is affected by sounds, and the sense of taste by savours, the sense of smell by odours, that of touch by things rough and smooth; and the faculties of perception are all dormant, until

ἅπασαι, μέχρις ἂν προσέλθῃ ἐκάστη τὸ κινήσων
ἔξωθεν.

- 40 XII. “Καὶ ἤγαγεν αὐτὴν πρὸς τὸν Ἀδάμ· καὶ
εἶπεν Ἀδάμ· Τοῦτο νῦν ὅσπου ἐκ τῶν ὀστέων μου
καὶ σὰρξ ἐκ τῆς σαρκός μου” (Gen. ii. 22, 23).
τὴν κατ’ ἐνέργειαν αἰσθῆσιν ἄγει ὁ θεὸς πρὸς τὸν
[74] νοῦν, εἰδὼς ὅτι ἀνακάμπτειν | δεῖ τὴν κίνησιν
αὐτῆς καὶ ἀντίληψιν ἐπὶ νοῦν. ὁ δὲ θεασάμενος ἦν
πρότερον εἶχε δύναμιν καὶ καθ’ ἑξίν ἡρεμοῦσαν
νῦν ἀποτέλεσμα καὶ ἐνέργειαν γεγεννημένην καὶ
κινουμένην, θαυμάζει τε καὶ ἀναφθέγγεται φάσκων
ὅτι οὐκ ἔστιν ἀλλοτρία αὐτοῦ, ἀλλὰ σφόδρα οἰκεία·
41 “τοῦτο,” γάρ φησιν “ἐστὶν ὅσπου ἐκ τῶν ἐμῶν
ὀστέων,” τουτέστι δυνάμεις ἐκ τῶν ἐμῶν δυνάμεων
—ἐπὶ γὰρ δυνάμεως καὶ ἰσχύος νῦν παρείληπται
τὸ ὀστέον—καὶ πάθος ἐκ τῶν ἐμῶν παθῶν, “καὶ
σὰρξ” φησὶν “ἐκ τῆς σαρκός μου”· πάντα γὰρ
ὅσα πάσχει ἢ αἰσθῆσις, οὐκ ἄνευ νοῦ ὑπομένει,
πηγὴ γὰρ οὗτός ἐστιν αὐτῇ καὶ θεμέλιος ᾧ ἐπ-
42 ερείδεται. ἄξιον δὲ σκέψασθαι, διὰ τί τὸ “νῦν”
προσετέθη· “τοῦτο” γάρ φησι “νῦν ὅσπου ἐκ
τῶν ὀστέων μου.” ἡ αἰσθῆσις φύσει νῦν ἐστι,
κατὰ τὸν ἐνεστώτα χρόνον ὑφισταμένη μόνον. ὁ
μὲν γὰρ νοῦς τῶν τριῶν ἐφάπτεται χρόνων, καὶ
γὰρ τὰ παρόντα νοεῖ καὶ τῶν παρεληλυθότων
43 μέμνηται καὶ τὰ μέλλοντα προσδοκᾷ· ἡ δὲ αἰσθῆσις
οὔτε μελλόντων ἀντιλαμβάνεται οὐδ’ ἀνάλογόν τι
πάσχει προσδοκία ἢ ἐλπίδι οὔτε παρεληλυθότων
μέμνηται, ἀλλ’ ὑπὸ τοῦ ἤδη κινουντος καὶ παρόντος
μόνου πάσχειν πέφυκεν, οἷον ὀφθαλμὸς λευκαίνει-

ALLEGORICAL INTERPRETATION, II. 39-43

there draws near to each of them from outside that which is to set it in motion.

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

ται νῦν ὑπὸ τοῦ παρόντος λευκοῦ, ὑπὸ δὲ τοῦ μὴ παρόντος οὐδὲν πάσχει. ὁ δὲ νοῦς καὶ ἐπὶ τῷ μὴ παρόντι κινεῖται, παρεληλυθότι μὲν κατὰ μνήμην, μέλλοντι δὲ ἐπελπίζων καὶ προσδοκῶν.

- 44 XIII. “Ταύτη καὶ κληθήσεται γυνή” (Gen. ii. 23), ἀντὶ τοῦ, διὰ τοῦτο ἡ αἴσθησις γυνή προσ-
 ρηθήσεται, “ὅτι ἐκ τοῦ ἀνδρός” τοῦ κινούντος
 αὐτήν “λαμβάνεται αὕτη” φησί. διὰ τί οὖν τὸ
 “αὕτη” πρόσκειται; ὅτι ἐστὶν ἑτέρα αἴσθησις,
 οὐκ ἐκ τοῦ νοῦ λαμβανομένη, ἀλλὰ σὺν αὐτῷ
 γεγεννημένη· δύο γάρ, ὡς εἶπον ἤδη, εἰσὶν αἰσθή-
 45 σεις, ἡ μὲν καθ’ ἑξίν, ἡ δὲ κατ’ ἐνέργειαν· ἡ μὲν
 οὖν καθ’ ἑξίν οὐκ ἐκ τοῦ ἀνδρός, τουτέστι τοῦ
 νοῦ, λαμβάνεται, ἀλλὰ σὺν αὐτῷ φύεται· ὁ γὰρ
 νοῦς, καθάπερ ἐδήλωσα, ὅτε ἐγεννᾶτο, σὺν πολλαῖς
 δυνάμεσι καὶ ἔξεσιν ἐγεννᾶτο, λογικῇ ψυχικῇ
 φυτικῇ, ὥστε καὶ αἰσθητικῇ· ἡ δὲ κατ’ ἐνέργειαν
 ἐκ τοῦ νοῦ· ἐκ γὰρ τῆς ἐν νῷ καθ’ ἑξίν οὐσης
 αἰσθήσεως ἐτάθη, ἵνα γένηται κατ’ ἐνέργειαν,
 ὥστε ἐξ αὐτοῦ τοῦ νοῦ γεγενῆσθαι τὴν δευτέραν
 46 καὶ κατὰ κίνησιν. μάταιος δὲ ὁ νομίζων πρὸς
 τὸν ἀληθῆ λόγον ἐκ τοῦ νοῦ τι συνόλως γεννᾶσθαι
 ἢ ἐξ ἑαυτοῦ. οὐχ ὁρᾷς ὅτι καὶ τῇ ἐπὶ τῶν
 εἰδώλων καθεζομένη αἰσθήσει τῇ Ῥαχὴλ νομι-
 ζούσῃ ἐκ τοῦ νοῦ τὰ κινήματα εἶναι ἐπιπλήττει ὁ
 [75] βλέπων; ἡ | μὲν γάρ φησι· “δός μοι τέκνα, εἰ
 δὲ μὴ, τελευτήσω ἐγώ” (Gen. xxx. 1)· ὁ δὲ

^a See App. p. 480.

^b LXX. εἶδωλα, E.V. ‘teraphim.’

ALLEGORICAL INTERPRETATION, II. 43-46

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

XIII. "To this one shall be given the title^a 'woman'" (Gen. ii. 23), as much as to say, for this cause shall perception be called "woman" because out of man that sets it in motion "this one is taken." Why, then is "this one" put in? Because there is another perception, not taken from the mind, but brought into being together with it. For there are, as I have said already, two perceptions, one existing as quiescent condition, the other as activity. The one, then, that exists as quiescent condition, is not taken out of the man, that is to say the mind, but comes into being with it. For the mind, as I have pointed out, when it came into existence, came into existence in association with many potentialities and conditions, those of reason, animal life, and growth, and so with that of perception also. But the one that exists as an activity comes out of the mind. For it was extended out of the perception which is in the mind as a condition, that it might come to be an activity. Thus the second one, the one that is characterized by movement, has been produced out of the mind itself. But he is a shallow thinker who supposes that in strict truth anything whatever derives its birth from the mind or from himself. Do you not see that perception in the person of Rachel^a who sits upon the teraphim,^b is rebuked by "the seeing one," when she imagines that movements have their source in mind? For she says, "Give me children; if you do not, I shall die" (Gen.

- ἀποκρίνεται ὅτι, ὡ ψευδοδοξοῦσα, οὐκ ἔστιν ὁ νοῦς αἴτιον οὐδενός, ἀλλ' ὁ πρὸ τοῦ νοῦ θεός· διὸ καὶ ἐπιφέρει· “μὴ ἀντὶ θεοῦ ἐγὼ εἰμι, ὃς ἐστέρησέ σε καρπὸν κοιλίας” (ib. 2); ὅτι δὲ ὁ γεννῶν ὁ θεός ἐστι, μαρτυρήσει ἐπὶ τῆς Λείας, ὅταν φῇ· “ἰδὼν δὲ κύριος ὅτι μισεῖται Λεία, ἤνοιξε τὴν μήτραν αὐτῆς, Ῥαχὴλ δὲ ἦν στεῖρα” (Gen. xxix. 31). ἀνδρὸς δὲ ἴδιον τὸ μήτραν ἀνοιγνύναι. φύσει δὲ μισεῖται παρὰ τῷ θνητῷ <γένει> ἡ ἀρετή, διὸ καὶ ὁ θεὸς αὐτὴν τετίμηκε καὶ παρέχει
- 47 48 τὰ πρωτοτόκια τῇ μισουμένῃ. λέγει δ' ἐν ἑτέροις· “ἐὰν δὲ γένωνται ἀνθρώπῳ δύο γυναῖκες, μία αὐτῶν ἡγαπημένη καὶ μία αὐτῶν μισουμένη, καὶ τέκωσιν αὐτῷ καὶ γένηται υἱὸς πρωτότοκος τῆς μισουμένης, . . . οὐ δυνήσεται πρωτοτοκεῦσαι τῷ υἱῷ τῆς ἡγαπημένης, ὑπεριδὼν τὸν υἱὸν τῆς μισουμένης τὸν πρωτότοκον” (Deut. xxi. 15, 16)· πρώτιστα γάρ ἐστι καὶ τελειότατα τὰ τῆς μισουμένης ἀρετῆς γεννήματα, τὰ δὲ τῆς ἀγαπωμένης ἡδονῆς ἔσχατα.
- 49 XIV. “Ἔνεκα τούτου καταλείψει ἄνθρωπος τὸν πατέρα καὶ τὴν μητέρα, καὶ προσκολληθήσεται πρὸς τὴν γυναῖκα αὐτοῦ, καὶ ἔσονται οἱ δύο εἰς σὰρκα μίαν” (Gen. ii. 24). ἔνεκα τῆς αἰσθήσεως ὁ νοῦς, ὅταν αὐτῇ δουλωθῇ, καταλείπει καὶ τὸν πατέρα τῶν ὄλων θεὸν καὶ τὴν μητέρα τῶν συμπάντων, τὴν ἀρετὴν καὶ σοφίαν τοῦ θεοῦ, καὶ προσκολλᾶται καὶ ἐνοῦται τῇ αἰσθήσει καὶ ἀναλύεται εἰς αἴσθησιν, ἵνα γένωνται μία σὰρξ καὶ
- 50 ἐν πάθος οἱ δύο. παρατήρει δ' ὅτι οὐχ ἡ γυνή

xxx. 1) ; but he answers, " O woman, full of false fancies, the mind is the origin of nothing, but God who is antecedent to the mind is the only cause " ; and so he adds, " Am I in the place of God who deprived thee of the fruit of the womb ? " (*ibid.* 2). But that it is God who brings about birth, Scripture will give evidence in the case of Leah, when it says, " And the Lord seeing that Leah was hated opened her womb, but Rachel was barren " (Gen. xxix. 31). The opening of the womb is man's proper function. But mortal kind is prone of itself to hate virtue, and accordingly God has bestowed honour upon it and vouchsafes to her that is hated to bear the first-born. He says elsewhere, " If a man have two wives, one of them beloved and one of them hated, and they shall bear children to him and the first-born son be the son of the hated wife . . . he shall not be able to give the right of the first-born to the son of the beloved wife, overlooking the son of the hated one who is the first-born " (Deut. xxi. 15, 16) : for first of all and most perfect of all are the offspring of the hated virtue, while the offspring of the well-loved pleasure are last of all.

XIV. " For this cause shall a man leave his father and his mother, and shall cleave unto his wife, and the twain shall be one flesh " (Gen. ii. 24). For the sake of sense-perception the Mind, when it has become her slave, abandons both God the Father of the universe, and God's excellence and wisdom, the Mother of all things, and cleaves to and becomes one with sense-perception and is resolved into sense-perception so that the two become one flesh and one experience. Observe that it is not the woman that cleaves to the man,

- κολλᾶται τῷ ἀνδρί, ἀλλ' ἔμπαλιν ὁ ἀνὴρ τῇ γυναικί, ὁ νοῦς τῇ αἰσθήσει· ὅταν γὰρ τὸ κρείττον ὁ νοῦς ἐνωθῇ τῷ χεῖρονι τῇ αἰσθήσει, ἀναλύεται εἰς τὸ χεῖρον τὸ σαρκὸς γένος, τὴν παθῶν αἰτίαν αἰσθησιν· ὅταν δὲ τὸ χεῖρον ἢ αἰσθησις ἀκολουθήσῃ τῷ κρείττονι τῷ νῷ, οὐκέτι ἔσται σάρξ, ἀλλὰ ἀμφότερα νοῦς. οὗτος μὲν δὴ τοιοῦτος, τὸ φιλο-
51 παθὲς προκρίνων τοῦ φιλοθέου. ἔστι δέ τις ἕτερος τούναντίον ἡρημένος ὁ Λευὶ ὁ “ λέγων τῷ πατρὶ καὶ τῇ μητρί Οὐχ ἑώρακά σε, καὶ τοὺς ἀδελφούς οὐκ ἐπέγνων, καὶ τοὺς υἱοὺς ἀπέγνων ” (Deut. xxxiii. 9)· πατέρα καὶ μητέρα οὗτος [τε], τὸν νοῦν καὶ τὴν τοῦ σώματος ὕλην, καταλείπει ὑπὲρ τοῦ κληρον ἔχειν τὸν ἕνα θεόν, “ κύριος γὰρ αὐτὸς
52 κληρὸς αὐτῷ ” (Deut. x. 9). γίνεται δὴ τοῦ μὲν φιλοπαθοῦς κληρὸς τὸ πάθος, τοῦ δὲ <φιλοθέου> τοῦ Λευὶ κληρὸς ὁ θεός. οὐχ ὁρᾷς ὅτι καὶ τῇ δεκάτῃ τοῦ <ἐβδόμου> μηνὸς κελεύει δύο τράγους [κληρὸν] προσάγειν, “ κληρὸν ἕνα τῷ κυρίῳ καὶ κληρὸν ἕνα τῷ ἀποπομπαίῳ ” (Lev. xvi. 8); τοῦ γὰρ φιλοπαθοῦς ἔστι κληρὸς ὄντως τὸ ἀποπόμπιμον πάθος.
- 53 XV. “ Καὶ ἦσαν οἱ δύο γυμνοί, ὃ τε Ἀδὰμ καὶ ἡ γυνὴ αὐτοῦ, καὶ οὐκ ἡσχύνοντο. Ὁ δὲ ὄφεις ἦν φρονιμώτατος πάντων τῶν θηρίων τῶν ἐπὶ τῆς
[76] γῆς, ὧν | ἐποίησε κύριος ὁ θεός ” (Gen. ii. 25, iii. 1). γυμνός ἐστιν ὁ νοῦς ὁ μήτε κακία μήτε ἀρετῇ ἀμπεχόμενος, ἀλλ' ἑκατέρου γεγυμνωμένος ὄντως, οἷον ἢ τοῦ νηπίου παιδὸς ψυχὴ ἀμέτοχος οὔσα ἑκατέρου, ἀγαθοῦ τε καὶ κακοῦ, ἀπημφιάσται

ALLEGORICAL INTERPRETATION, II. 50-53

but conversely the man to the woman, Mind to Sense-perception. For when that which is superior, namely Mind, becomes one with that which is inferior, namely Sense-perception, it resolves itself into the order of flesh which is inferior, into sense-perception, the moving cause of the passions. But if Sense the inferior follow Mind the superior, there will be flesh no more, but both of them will be Mind. The man, then, of whom the prophet speaks is such as has been described; he prefers the love of his passions to the love of God. But there is a different man, one who has made the contrary choice, even Levi, who "said to his father and his mother 'I have not seen thee,' and knew not his brethren, and disclaimed his sons" (Deut. xxxiii. 9). This man forsakes father and mother, his mind and material body, for the sake of having as his portion the one God, "for the Lord Himself is his portion" (Deut. x. 9). Passion becomes the portion of the lover of passion, but the portion of Levi the lover of God is God. Do you not see again that he prescribes that on the tenth day of the seventh month they should bring two goats, "one portion for the Lord and one for the averter of evil"? (Lev. xvi. 8). For in very deed the portion of the lover of passion is a passion that needs an averter.

XV. "And the two were naked, Adam and his wife, and were not ashamed." "Now the serpent was the most subtil of all the beasts that were upon the earth, which the Lord God had made" (Gen. ii. 25, iii. 1). The mind that is clothed neither in vice nor in virtue, but absolutely stripped of either, is naked, just as the soul of an infant, since it is without part in either good or evil, is bared and

PHILO

- τὰ καλύμματα καὶ γεγύμνωται· ταῦτα γὰρ ἐστὶν ἐσθήματα ψυχῆς, οἷς σκεπάζεται καὶ συγκρύπτεται, τῆς μὲν σπουδαίας τὸ ἀγαθόν, τῆς δὲ 54 φαύλης τὸ κακόν. τριχῶς δὲ [καὶ] ψυχὴ γυμνοῦται· ἅπαξ μὲν ὅτε ἄτρεπτος διατελεῖ καὶ πασῶν μὲν ἡρήμωται κακιῶν, πάντα δὲ τὰ πάθη ἀπημφίασται καὶ ἀποβέβληκε. διὰ τοῦτο καὶ “Μωυσῆς ἔξω τῆς παρεμβολῆς πῆγνυσι τὴν ἑαυτοῦ σκηνὴν, μακρὰν ἀπὸ τῆς παρεμβολῆς, καὶ ἐκλήθη σκηνὴ 55 μαρτυρίου” (Exod. xxxiii. 7). τοῦτο δ’ ἐστὶ τοιοῦτον· ἡ φιλόθεος ψυχὴ ἐκδῶσα τὸ σῶμα καὶ τὰ τούτῳ φίλα καὶ μακρὰν ἔξω φυγοῦσα ἀπὸ τούτων πῆξιν καὶ βεβαίωσιν καὶ ἴδρυσιν ἐν τοῖς τελείοις ἀρετῆς δόγμασι λαμβάνει· διὸ καὶ μαρτυρεῖται ὑπὸ θεοῦ, ὅτι καλῶν ἐρᾷ, “ἐκλήθη γὰρ σκηνὴ μαρτυρίου” φησί· καὶ τὸν καλοῦντα παρ-εσιώπησεν, ἵνα συγκινηθεῖσα ἡ ψυχὴ σκέψῃται, τίς ὁ μαρτυρῶν ταῖς φιλαρέτοις διανοίαις ἐστὶ.
- 56 τούτου χάριν ὁ ἀρχιερεὺς εἰς τὰ ἅγια τῶν ἀγίων οὐκ εἰσελεύσεται ἐν τῷ ποδήρει (cf. Lev. xvi. 1 ss.), ἀλλὰ τὸν τῆς δόξης καὶ φαντασίας ψυχῆς χιτῶνα ἀποδυσάμενος καὶ καταλιπὼν τοῖς τὰ ἐκτὸς ἀγαπῶσι καὶ δόξαν πρὸ ἀληθείας τετιμηκόσι γυμνὸς ἄνευ χρωμάτων καὶ ἤχων εἰσελεύσεται σπείσαι τὸ ψυχικὸν αἷμα καὶ θυμιάσαι ὅλον τὸν 57 νοῦν τῷ σωτήρι καὶ εὐεργέτῃ θεῷ. καὶ μὲν δὴ Ναδάβ καὶ Ἀβιουδ (cf. Lev. x. 1) οἱ ἐγγίσαντες θεῷ καὶ τὸν μὲν θνητὸν βίον καταλιπόντες, τοῦ δ’ ἀθανάτου μεταλαχόντες, γυμνοὶ θεωροῦνται τῆς κενῆς καὶ θνητῆς δόξης· οὐ γὰρ ἂν ἐν τοῖς χιτῶσιν αὐτοὺς οἱ κομίζοντες ἔφερον

stripped of coverings: for these are the soul's clothes, by which it is sheltered and concealed. Goodness is the garment of the worthy soul, evil that of the worthless. Now there are three ways in which a soul is made naked. One is when it continues without change and is barren of all vices, and has divested itself of all the passions and flung them away. For this reason "Moses fixes his tent outside the camp, a long way from the camp, and it was called the tent of testimony" (Exod. xxxiii. 7).

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

Nadab and Abihu, too, who had drawn nigh to God and had forsaken the mortal life and become partakers of the life immortal are beheld naked of vain and mortal glory. For those who carried them away would not have borne them in their

- (Lev. x. 5), εἰ μὴ γεγύμνωντο πάντα δεσμὸν πάθους καὶ σωματικῆς ἀνάγκης διαρρήξαντες, ἵνα μὴ ἡ γύμνωσις αὐτῶν καὶ ἀσωματότης ἀθέων ἐπεισὸδῳ λογισμῶν κιβδηλευθῇ· οὐ γὰρ πᾶσιν ἐπιτρεπτέον τὰ θεοῦ καθορᾶν ἀπόρρητα, ἀλλὰ μόνοις τοῖς
- 58 δυναμένοις αὐτὰ περιστέλλειν καὶ φυλάττειν. διὸ καὶ οἱ περὶ τὸν Μισαδαὶ οὐχὶ τοῖς ἰδίους χιτῶσιν αἴρουν, ἀλλὰ τοῖς τῶν ἐκπυρωθέντων καὶ ἀναλφθέντων Ναδάβ καὶ Ἀβιούδ· ἀποδυσάμενοι γὰρ τὰ ἐπικαλύπτοντα πάντα τὴν μὲν γύμνωσιν τῷ
- [77] θεῷ | προσήνεγκαν, τοὺς δὲ χιτῶνας τοῖς περὶ Μισαδαὶ κατέλιπον· χιτῶνες δ' εἰσὶ τὰ μέρη τοῦ ἀλόγου, ἃ τὸ λογικὸν ἐπεσκίαζε. καὶ Ἀβραὰμ
- 59 γυμνοῦται, ὅταν ἀκούσῃ· “ἐξέλθε ἐκ τῆς γῆς σου καὶ ἐκ τῆς συγγενείας σου” (Gen. xii. 1). καὶ ὁ Ἰσαὰκ οὐ γυμνοῦται μὲν, ἀεὶ δὲ γυμνός ἐστι καὶ ἀσώματος· πρόσταγμα γὰρ αὐτῷ δέδοται, μὴ καταβῆναι εἰς Αἴγυπτον (Gen. xxvi. 2), τουτέστι τὸ σῶμα. καὶ Ἰακώβ γυμνότητος ἐρᾷ ψυχικῆς— ἡ γὰρ λειότης αὐτοῦ γύμνωσις ἐστίν— ἦν γὰρ Ἡσαῦ ἀνὴρ δασύς, Ἰακώβ δέ, φησὶν, ἀνὴρ λεῖος (Gen. xxvii. 11), παρὸ καὶ τῆς Λείας ἀνὴρ ἐστι.
- 60 XVI. Μία μὲν ἀρίστη γύμνωσις ἐστὶν αὕτη, ἡ δ' ἐτέρα ἐστὶν ἐναντία, ἀρετῆς ἀφαίρεσις ἐκ τροπῆς γινομένη, ὅταν ληραίνῃ καὶ παρανοῇ ἡ ψυχὴ. ταύτῃ χρῆται ὁ Νῶε γυμνούμενος, ὅταν πῖναι τοῦ οἴνου· χάρις δὲ τῷ θεῷ, ὅτι ἡ τροπὴ καὶ ἡ γύμνωσις τοῦ νοῦ κατ' ἀρετῆς ἀφαίρεσιν οὐκ

^a The Greek for 'Leah' (λεία) is the feminine of λεῖος, 'smooth.'

ALLEGORICAL INTERPRETATION, II. 57-60

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

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

- ἄχρι τῶν ἐκτὸς ἐχύθη, ἀλλ' ἔμεινεν ἐν τῷ οἴκῳ·
 φησὶ γὰρ ὅτι “ἐγυμνώθη ἐν τῷ οἴκῳ αὐτοῦ”
 (Gen. ix. 21)· καὶ γὰρ ἀμάρτη ὁ σοφός, οὐχ οὕτως
 ἐξώκειλεν ὡς ὁ φαῦλος, τοῦ μὲν γὰρ κέχυται ἡ
 κακία, τοῦ δὲ συνέσταλται· διὸ καὶ ἀνανήφει,
 τοῦτο δ' ἐστὶ μετανοεῖ καὶ ὥσπερ ἐκ νόσου
 61 ἀναλαμβάνει. ἀκριβέστερον δὲ τὸ ἐν
 τῷ οἴκῳ γίνεσθαι τὴν γύμνωσιν θεασώμεθα·
 ἐπειδὴν ἡ ψυχὴ τραπέισα μόνον ἐννοηθῇ τι τῶν
 ἀτόπων καὶ μὴ ἐπεξέλθῃ, ὥστε αὐτὸ ἔργῳ τε-
 λειῶσαι, ἐν τῷ τῆς ψυχῆς χωρίῳ καὶ οἴκῳ γέγονε
 τὸ ἀμάρτημα· ἐὰν δὲ πρὸς τῷ μοχθηρόν τι λογί-
 σασθαι καὶ ἐπανύσῃται, ὥστε ἐργάσασθαι, κέχυται
 62 καὶ εἰς τὰ ἐκτὸς τὸ ἀδίκημα. παρὸ καὶ τῷ
 Χαναὰν καταρᾶται, ὅτι τὴν τῆς ψυχῆς τροπὴν
 ἔξω ἀπήγγειλε, τουτέστι καὶ εἰς τὰ ἐκτὸς ἔτεινε
 καὶ ἐπεχειργάσατο προσθεὶς τῷ κακῷ βουλήματι
 κακὸν τὸ διὰ τῶν ἔργων ἀποτέλεσμα· Σὴμ δὲ
 καὶ Ἰάφεθ ἐπαινοῦνται μὴ ἐπιθέμενοι τῇ ψυχῇ,
 63 ἀλλὰ τὴν τροπὴν αὐτῆς περικαλύψαντες. διὰ
 τοῦτο καὶ αἱ εὐχαὶ καὶ οἱ ὀρίσμοι τῆς ψυχῆς
 ἐπιλύονται, ὅταν ἐν οἴκῳ γένωνται πατρὸς ἢ
 ἀνδρός (Num. xxx. 4 ff.), μὴ ἡσυχάζοντων τῶν
 λογισμῶν μηδὲ ἐπιτιθεμένων τῇ τροπῇ, ἀλλὰ
 περιαιρούντων τὸ ἀμάρτημα· τότε γὰρ καὶ ὁ
 δεσπότης ἀπάντων “καθαριεῖ αὐτήν.” εὐχὴν δὲ
 χήρας καὶ ἐκβεβλημένης ἀναφαίρετον ἔῃ· “ὅσα
 γὰρ ἂν εὕξῃται” φησὶ “κατὰ τῆς ψυχῆς αὐτῆς,

* See App. pp. 480, 481.

ALLEGORICAL INTERPRETATION, II. 60-63

which ensued upon the deprivation of virtue, did not spread out abroad and reach those outside, but stayed in the house, for what is said is "he was made naked in his house" (Gen. ix. 21): for the wise man, if he do commit sin, does not run riot, as does the bad man. The evil of the one has been spread forth; that of the other has been held in check; so he becomes sober again, that is to say, he repents and recovers as from an illness.

Let us contemplate more in detail the fact that the stripping takes place in the house. When the soul in its perversion only purposes some outrage, but does not follow it up so as to complete it in action, the sin has been committed in the soul's abode and house. But if, in addition to designing the bad deed, it goes on to carry out its design and do the thing, the unrighteous act has been spread out of doors as well. It is in accordance with this that a curse is pronounced on Canaan, because he reported abroad the change of the soul. This means that he gave it fuller scope and wrought it out further, adding a further evil to the evil wish, even its accomplishment by deeds. Shem and Japhet on the other hand receive praise for not joining in the soul's act but covering over its sad change. For this reason also the vows and determinations of the soul are annulled, when they have been made in the house of father or husband (Numb. xxx. 4 ff.^a), if the reason and reflection do not hold their peace and so add their weight to the soul's failure, but remove the offence; for in that case the Lord of all also "shall cleanse her." But he leaves with no removal the vow of a widow or of her that is cast off: "for whatever vows she shall have vowed,"

PHILO

μένει αὐτῇ" (Num. xxx. 10)· κατὰ λόγον· εἰ γὰρ ἄχρι τῶν ἐκτὸς ἐκβληθεῖσα προελήλυθεν, ὥς μὴ τρέπεσθαι μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ διὰ τῶν ἀποτελεσμάτων ἁμαρτάνειν, ἀθεράπευτος μένει ἀνδρείου τε λόγου μὴ μετασχούσα καὶ τῆς τοῦ πατρὸς παρηγορίας στερηθεῖσα.

- 64 Τρίτη γύμνωσις ἐστὶν ἡ μέση, καθ' ἣν ὁ νοῦς ἄλογός ἐστι μήτε ἀρετῆς πω μήτε κακίας μετέχων. περὶ ταύτης ἐστὶν ὁ λόγος, ἥς καὶ ὁ νήπιος
- [78] κοινωνεῖ, ὥστε | τὸ λεγόμενον "ἦσαν οἱ δύο γυμνοί, ὃ τε Ἀδὰμ καὶ ἡ γυνὴ αὐτοῦ" τοιοῦτον εἶναι· οὔτε ὁ νοῦς ἐνόει οὔτε ἡ αἴσθησις ἠσθάνετο, ἀλλ' ἦν ὁ μὲν τοῦ νοεῖν ἔρημός τε καὶ γυμνός, ἡ
- 65 δὲ τοῦ αἰσθάνεσθαι. XVII. τὸ δὲ "οὐκ ἦσχύοντο" πάλιν ἴδωμεν. τρία κατὰ τὸν τόπον ἐστὶν· ἀναισχυντία, αἰδώς, τὸ μήτε ἀναισχυντεῖν μήτε αἰδεῖσθαι· ἀναισχυντία μὲν οὖν ἴδιον φαύλου, αἰδώς δὲ σπουδαίου, τὸ δὲ μήτε αἰδεῖσθαι μήτε ἀναισχυντεῖν τοῦ ἀκαταλήπτως ἔχοντος καὶ ἀσυγκαταθέτως, περὶ οὗ νῦν ἐστὶν ὁ λόγος· ὁ γὰρ μηδέπω κατάληψιν ἀγαθοῦ ἢ κακοῦ λαβὼν οὔτε
- 66 ἀναισχυντεῖν οὔτε αἰδεῖσθαι δύναται. τῆς μὲν οὖν ἀναισχυντίας παραδείγματα αἱ ἀσχημοσύναι πᾶσαι, ὅταν ὁ νοῦς ἀποκαλύπτῃ τὰ αἰσχροῦ, συσκιάζειν δέον, ἐπαυχῶν καὶ σεμνυνόμενος ἐπ' αὐτοῖς. λέγεται καὶ ἐπὶ τῆς Μαρίας, ὅτε κατέλαλει Μωυσῆ· "εἰ ὁ πατὴρ αὐτῆς πτύων ἐνέπτυσεν εἰς τὸ πρόσωπον αὐτῆς, οὐκ ἐντραπήσεται ἐπτά

^a See App. p. 481.

ALLEGORICAL INTERPRETATION, II. 63-66

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

A third form of producing nakedness is the middle or neutral one. Here the mind is irrational and has no part as yet either in virtue or in vice. It is of this form that the prophet is speaking. In this the infant too is partaker. Accordingly the words, "The two were naked, both Adam and his wife," amount to this: neither mind nor sense was performing its functions, the one being bare and barren of mental action and the other of the activity of sense-perception.

XVII. Let us look again at the words, "they were not ashamed."^a The words suggest three points for consideration: shamelessness, and shamefastness, and absence of both shamelessness and shamefastness. Shamelessness, then, is peculiar to the worthless man, shamefastness to the man of worth, to feel neither shamefastness nor shamelessness to the man who is incapable of right apprehension and of due assent thereto, and this man is at this moment the prophet's subject. For he who has not yet attained to the apprehension of good and evil cannot possibly be either shameless or shamefast. Examples of shamelessness are all those unseemly actions, when the mind uncovers shameful things which it ought to hide from view, and vaunts itself in them and prides itself on them. Even in the case of Miriam, when she spoke against Moses, it is said, "If her father had but spat in her face, should she not feel shame seven days?"

- 67 ἡμέρας;” (Num. xii. 14) ὄντως γὰρ ἀναίσχυντος καὶ θρασεῖα ἢ αἰσθησις, ἢ ἐξουθενηθεῖσα ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ τοῦ πατρὸς παρὰ τὸν πιστὸν ἐν ὅλῳ τῷ οἴκῳ (ib. 7), ᾧ τὴν Αἰθιοπίσσαν, τὴν ἀμετάβλητον καὶ κατακορῇ γνώμην, αὐτὸς ὁ θεὸς ἡρμόσατο, τολμᾷ καταλαλεῖν Μωυσῇ καὶ κατηγορεῖν, ἐφ’ ᾧ ὥφειλεν ἐπαινέσθαι (ib. 1). τοῦτο γάρ ἐστιν ἐγκώμιον αὐτοῦ μέγιστον, ὅτι τὴν Αἰθιοπίσσαν ἔλαβε, τὴν ἄτρεπτον καὶ πεπυρωμένην καὶ δόκιμον φύσιν· ὥσπερ γὰρ ἐν ὀφθαλμῷ τὸ βλέπον μέλαν ἐστίν, οὕτως τὸ ὁρατικὸν τῆς ψυχῆς Αἰθιοπίσσα
- 68 κέκληται. διὰ τί οὖν, πολλῶν ὄντων κακίας ἔργων, ἐνὸς μόνου μέμνηται τοῦ κατὰ τὸ αἰσχρὸν εἰπὼν “οὐκ ἡσχύνοντο,” ἀλλ’ <οὐκ> οὐκ ἡδίκουν ἢ οὐχ ἡμάρτανον ἢ οὐκ ἐπλημμέλουν; παράκειται δὲ ἡ αἰτία. μὰ τὸν ἀληθῆ μόνον θεὸν οὐδὲν οὕτως αἰσχρὸν ἡγοῦμαι ὡς τὸ ὑπολαμβάνειν
- 69 ὅτι νοῶ ἢ ὅτι αἰσθάνομαι. ὁ ἐμὸς νοῦς αἷτιος τοῦ νοεῖν; πόθεν; ἑαυτὸν γὰρ οἶδεν, ὅστις ὢν τυγχάνει ἢ πῶς ἐγένετο; ἢ δὲ αἰσθησις αἰτία τοῦ αἰσθάνεσθαι; πῶς ἂν λέγοιτο, μήθ’ ὑφ’ αὐτῆς μήτε ὑπὸ τοῦ νοῦ γνωριζομένη; οὐχ ὁρᾷς ὅτι ὁ δοκῶν νοεῖν νοῦς εὐρίσκεται πολλάκις ἄνους, ἐν τοῖς κόροις, ἐν ταῖς μέθαις, ἐν ταῖς παραφροσύναις; ποῦ δὴ τὸ νοεῖν ἐπ’ αὐτῶν; ἢ δὲ αἰσθησις οὐ πολλάκις ἀφαιρεῖται τὸ αἰσθάνεσθαι; ὁρῶντες ἐστὶν ὅτε οὐχ ὁρῶμεν καὶ ἀκούοντες οὐκ ἀκούομεν,

^a See App. p. 481.

ALLEGORICAL INTERPRETATION, II. 67-69

(Numb. xii. 14). For veritably shameless and bold was sense-perception in daring to decry and find fault with Moses for that for which he deserved praise. In comparison with him, who was "faithful in all God's house" (*ibid.*), sense-perception was set at naught by the God and Father; and it was God Himself who wedded to Moses the Ethiopian woman, who stands for resolve unalterable, intense, and fixed.^a For this Moses merits high eulogy, that he took to him the Ethiopian woman, even the nature that has been tried by fire and cannot be changed. For, even as in the eye the part that sees is black, so the soul's power of vision has the title of woman of Ethiopia.^a

Why then, seeing that results of wickedness are many, has he mentioned only one, that which attends on conduct that is disgraceful, saying "they were not shamed," but not saying "they did not commit injustice," or "they did not sin," or "they did not err"? The reason is not far to seek. By the only true God I deem nothing so shameful as supposing that I exert my mind and senses. My own mind the author of its exertion? How can it be? Does it know as to itself, what it is or how it came into existence? Sense-perception the origin of the perceiving by sense? How could it be said to be so, seeing that it is beyond the ken either of itself or of the mind? Do you not observe that the mind which thinks that it exercises itself is often found to be without mental power, in scenes of gluttony, drunkenness, folly? Where does the exercise of mind show itself then? And is not perceptive sense often robbed of the power of perceiving? There are times when seeing we see not and hearing

ἐπειδὴν ὁ νοῦς μικρὸν ὅσον ἐτέρῳ νοητῷ προσ-
 70 ενεχθῇ παρενθυμούμενος. ἕως οὖν γυμνοὶ εἰσιν,
 ὁ μὲν νοῦς τοῦ νοεῖν, ἡ δὲ αἴσθησις τοῦ αἰσθάνεσθαι,
 [79] οὐδὲν ἔχουσιν αἰσχροῦ. ἐπειδὴν δὲ | ἄρξωνται
 καταλαμβάνειν, ἐν αἰσχύνη καὶ ὕβρει γίνονται,
 εὐρεθήσονται γὰρ εὐηθεία καὶ μωρία πολλάκις
 χρώμενοι μᾶλλον ἢ ὑγαινούσῃ ἐπιστήμῃ, οὐ
 μόνον ἐν κόροις καὶ μελαγχολίαις καὶ παρα-
 φροσύναις ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐν τῷ ἄλλῳ βίῳ· ὅτε μὲν γὰρ
 ἡ αἴσθησις κρατεῖ, ὁ νοῦς ἡνδραπόδισται μηδενὶ
 προσέχων νοητῷ, ὅτε δὲ ὁ νοῦς κρατεῖ, ἡ αἴσθησις
 ἄπρακτος θεωρεῖται μηδενὸς ἀντίληψιν ἴσχουσα
 αἰσθητοῦ.

- 71 XVIII. “Ὁ δὲ ὄφεις ἦν φρονιμώτατος πάντων
 τῶν θηρίων τῶν ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς, ὣν ἐποίησε κύριος
 ὁ θεός” (Gen. iii. 1). δυεῖν προγεγονότων νοῦ
 καὶ αἰσθήσεως καὶ τούτων γυμνῶν κατὰ τὸν
 δεδηλωμένον τρόπον ὑπαρχόντων, ἀνάγκη τρίτην
 ἡδονὴν συναγωγὸν ἀμφοῖν ὑπάρξαι πρὸς τὴν τῶν
 νοητῶν καὶ αἰσθητῶν ἀντίληψιν· οὔτε γὰρ ὁ νοῦς
 δίχα αἰσθήσεως ἡδύνατο καταλαβεῖν ζῶον ἢ
 φυτὸν ἢ λίθον ἢ ξύλον ἢ συνόλως σῶμα οὔτε ἡ
 αἴσθησις δίχα τοῦ νοῦ περιποιῆσαι τὸ αἰσθάνεσθαι.
 72 ἐπειδὴ τοίνυν ἅμφω ταῦτα συνελθεῖν ἔδει πρὸς
 κατάληψιν τῶν ὑποκειμένων, τίς αὐτὰ συνήγαγεν
 ὅτι μὴ δεσμὸς τρίτος ἔρωτος καὶ ἐπιθυμίας,
 ἀρχούσης καὶ δυναστευούσης ἡδονῆς, ἦν συμ-

ALLEGORICAL INTERPRETATION, II. 69-72

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

XVIII. "Now the serpent was the most subtle of all the beasts on the earth, which the Lord God had made" (Gen. iii. 1). Two things, mind and bodily sense, having already come into being, and these being in nakedness after the manner that has been set forth, it was necessary that there should be a third subsistence, namely pleasure, to bring both of them together to the apprehension of the objects of mental and of bodily perception. For neither could the mind apart from bodily sense apprehend an animal or a plant or a stone or a log or any bodily shape whatever, nor could the bodily sense apart from the mind maintain the act of perceiving. Since then it was necessary that both of these should come together for the apprehension of the objects about them, who was it that brought them together save a third, a bond of love and desire, under the rule and dominion of pleasure, to which

- 73 βολικῶς ὄφιν ὠνόμασε; πάνυ καλῶς ὁ ζωοπλάστης θεὸς ἐδημιούργησε τὴν τάξιν· νοῦν πρῶτον τὸν ἄνδρα, πρεσβύτατον γὰρ ἐν ἀνθρώπῳ, εἶτα αἰσθησιν τὴν γυναῖκα, εἶτα ἐξῆς τρίτον ἡδονήν. δυνάμει δέ εἰσιν αὐτῶν αἱ ἡλικίαι διάφοροι νοούμεναι μόνον, χρόνῳ δὲ ἰσήλικες· ἅμα γὰρ ἑαυτῇ ψυχῇ πάντα ἐπιφέρεται, ἀλλὰ τὰ μὲν ἐντελεχεία, τὰ δὲ τῷ δύνασθαι γενέσθαι, εἰ καὶ μήπω προσείληφε
- 74 τὸ τέλος. εἰκάσθη δὲ ὅφει ἡδονὴ διὰ τὸδε· πολὺπλοκος γὰρ καὶ ποικίλη ὥσπερ τοῦ ὀφews ἡ κίνησις, οὕτως καὶ ἡδονῆς· πενταχῇ γέ τοι πρῶτον εἰλείται, καὶ γὰρ δι' ὀράσεως ἡδοναὶ συνίστανται καὶ δι' ἀκοῆς καὶ διὰ γεύσεως καὶ διὰ ὀσφρήσεως καὶ δι' ἀφῆς· γίνονται δὲ αἱ σφοδρόταται καὶ σύντονοι αἱ περὶ τὰς γυναῖκας ὁμιλίας, δι' ὧν γένεσις ἡ τοῦ ὁμοίου ἐφέυκεν ἀποτελεῖσθαι.
- 75 Καὶ μὴν οὐ διὰ τοῦτο μόνον ποικίλην φαμέν τὴν ἡδονήν, ὅτι περὶ πάντα τὰ τοῦ ἀλόγου τῆς ψυχῆς εἰλείται, ἀλλ' ὅτι καὶ περὶ ἕκαστον μέρος πολὺπλοκός ἐστιν· εὐθέως δι' ὀράσεως ἡδοναὶ γίνονται ποικίλαι, γραφικὴ πᾶσα, πλαστικὴ, τὰλλα ὅσα κατὰ τέχνας τεχνικὰ δημιουργήματα τέρπει τὴν ὄρασιν· πάλιν φυτῶν βλαστανόντων ἀνθούτων καρποτοκούντων διαφοραί, ζώων εὐμορφίαι πολυσχιδεῖς· ὁμοίως τὴν ἀκοὴν αὐλὸς ἡδύνει, κιθάρα, [80] πᾶσα ὀργάνων ἰδέα, | ζώων ἀλόγων ἐμμελεῖς

ALLEGORICAL INTERPRETATION, II. 73-75

the prophet gave the figurative name of a serpent ? Exceeding well did God the Framers of living beings contrive the order in which they were created. First He made mind, the man, for mind is most venerable in a human being, then bodily sense, the woman, then after them in the third place pleasure. But it is potentially only, as objects of thought, that they differ in age ; but in actual time they are equal in age. For the soul brings all together with herself, some parts in virtue of actual existence, others in virtue of the potentiality to arrive, even if they have not yet reached their consummation.

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

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

PHILO

φωναί, χελιδόνων, ἀηδόνων, τῶν ἄλλων ὅσα φύσις μεμούσῳκε, λογικῶν εὐφωνία, κιθαρωδῶν κωμωδία, τραγωδία, τὴν ἄλλην ὑποκριτικὴν ἐπιδεικνυμένων.

- 76 XIX. Τί <δὲ> δεῖ περὶ τῶν γαστροῦς ἡδονῶν διδάσκειν; σχεδὸν γὰρ ὅσαι τῶν ὑποκειμένων χυλῶν προσηνῶν διαφοραὶ καὶ τὴν αἴσθησιν κινούντων, τοσαῦται καὶ τῆς ἡδονῆς. ἄρ' <οὖν> οὐ δεόντως ποικίλον οὐσα ἡδονὴ ποικίλῳ ζῳῷ
- 77 ὀφείλει παρεβλήθη; διὰ τοῦτο καὶ τὸ λαῶδες καὶ ὄχλον ἔχον ἐν ἡμῖν μέρος, ὅτε τῶν ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ, τουτέστι τῷ σωματικῷ ὄγκῳ, οἰκιῶν ἐφίεται, ἡδοναῖς περιπίπτει θάνατον ἐπαγούσαις, οὐ χωρισμὸν ψυχῆς ἀπὸ σώματος, ἀλλὰ ψυχῆς ὑπὸ κακίας φθοράν· φησὶ γάρ· “καὶ ἀπέστειλε κύριος εἰς τὸν λαὸν τοὺς ὀφείας τοὺς θανατοῦντας, καὶ ἔδακνον τὸν λαόν, καὶ ἀπέθνησκε λαὸς πολὺς τῶν υἱῶν Ἰσραὴλ” (Num. xxi. 6). ὥντως γὰρ οὐδὲν οὕτως θάνατον ἐπάγει ψυχῇ, ὡς ἀμετρία τῶν
- 78 ἡδονῶν. τὸ δὲ ἀποθνήσκον οὐ τὸ ἄρχον ἐστὶν ἐν ἡμῖν, ἀλλὰ τὸ ἀρχόμενον τὸ λαῶδες, καὶ μέχρι τούτου θάνατον ἐνδέξεται, μέχρις ἂν μετανοία χρησάμενον ὁμολογήσῃ τὴν τροπὴν· προσελθόντες γὰρ ἔλεγον Μωυσῇ “ὅτι ἡμαρτήκαμεν, ὅτι κατελαλήσαμεν κατὰ κυρίου καὶ κατὰ σοῦ· εὗξαι οὖν πρὸς κύριον, καὶ ἀφελέτω ἀφ’ ἡμῶν τοὺς ὀφείας” (ib. 7). εἰ τὸ φάναι, οὐχ ὅτι κατελαλήσαμεν, ἡμάρτομεν, ἀλλ’ “ὅτι ἡμάρτομεν, κατελαλήσαμεν”· ὅταν γὰρ ἀμάρτη καὶ ἀπαρτηθῇ

^a See App. p. 481.

^b Or “‘Because we spoke, we sinned’ but ‘because we sinned, we spoke;’”

ALLEGORICAL INTERPRETATION, II. 75-78

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

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

PHILO

ὁ νοῦς ἀρετῆς, αἰτιᾶται τὰ θεῖα τὴν ἰδίαν τροπὴν προσάπτων θεῷ.

- 79 XX. Πῶς οὖν γίνεται ἴασις τοῦ πάθους; ὅταν ἕτερος ὄφιος κατασκευασθῇ τῷ τῆς Εὐσας ἐναντίος, ὁ σωφροσύνης λόγος· ἡδονῇ γὰρ ἐναντίον σωφροσύνη, ποικίλῳ πάθει ποικίλη ἀρετὴ καὶ ἀμυνομένη πολεμίαν ἡδονήν. τὸν κατὰ σωφροσύνην οὖν ὄφιν κελεύει ὁ θεὸς Μωυσεῖ κατασκευάσασθαι καὶ φησι· “ποιήσον σεαυτῷ ὄφιν καὶ θεὸς αὐτὸν ἐπὶ σημείου” (ib. 8). ὁρᾷς ὅτι οὐκ ἄλλῳ τινὶ κατασκευάζεται τοῦτον ὁ Μωυσῆς τὸν ὄφιν ἢ ἐαυτῷ, προστάττει γὰρ ὁ θεός “ποιήσον σεαυτῷ,” ἵνα γνῶς, ὅτι οὐ παντός ἐστι κτῆμα σωφροσύνης,
- 80 ἀλλὰ μόνου τοῦ θεοφιλοῦς. σκεπτέον

- δέ, διὰ τί Μωυσῆς χαλκοῦν ὄφιν κατασκευάζεται, οὐ προσταχθὲν αὐτῷ περὶ ποιότητος. μήποτ’
- [81] | οὖν διὰ τάδε· πρῶτον μὲν αὐλοὶ εἰσιν αἱ θεοῦ χάριτες [ἰδέαι αὐται] καὶ ἄποιοι, αἱ δὲ τῶν θνητῶν σὺν ὕλῃ θεωροῦνται· δεύτερον δὲ Μωυσῆς μὲν ἀσωμάτων ἐρᾷ ἀρετῶν, αἱ δ’ ἡμέτεραι ψυχαὶ οὐ δυνάμεναι ἐκδῦναι τὰ σώματα σωματικῆς ἐφίενται
- 81 ἀρετῆς. δυνατῇ δὲ καὶ στερεᾷ οὐσίᾳ τῇ χαλκοῦ ἀπείκασται ὁ κατὰ σωφροσύνην λόγος εὐτονος καὶ ἀδιάκοπος ὢν, ἴσως δὲ καὶ παρόσον ἢ μὲν ἐν τῷ θεοφιλεῖ σωφροσύνη τιμιωτάτῃ ἐστὶ καὶ χρυσῷ ἐοικυῖα, δευτερεύουσα δὲ ἢ ἐν τῷ κατὰ προκοπὴν σοφίαν ἀναλαβόντι. ὃν ἂν οὖν “δάκη ὄφιος, πᾶς ὁ ἰδὼν αὐτὸν ζήσεται” (ib.)· πάνυ

ALLEGORICAL INTERPRETATION, II. 78-81

cleave to virtue, that it blames God's ways, fastening its own defection on God.

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

We must consider why Moses makes a brazen serpent, no direction having been given him as to material. Possibly these are the reasons. In the first place, matter is not an element in God's gifts making them to be of this or that sort; but the gifts of us mortals are always looked upon embodied in matter. A second reason: Moses loves excellences without bodily form, whereas our souls, being unable to get out of our bodies, crave for excellence in bodily shape. But the principle of self-mastery, being forcible and unyielding, is likened to the strong and firm substance of brass, perhaps also because, whereas the self-mastery found in the man beloved of God is most precious and like gold, that which is found in him who has absorbed wisdom by gradual progress holds the second place. Everyone, then, "whom a serpent shall have bitten, when he looks on it shall live" (*ibid.*). This is quite true. For if the

- ἀληθῶς· ἐὰν γὰρ ὁ νοῦς δηχθεὶς ἡδονῇ, τῷ τῆς
 Εὐσας ὀφεί, ἰσχύσῃ κατιδεῖν ψυχικῶς τὸ σωφρο-
 σύνης κάλλος, τὸν Μωυσέως ὄφιν, καὶ διὰ τούτου
 τὸν θεὸν αὐτόν, ζήσεται· μόνον ἰδέτω καὶ κατα-
 82 νοησάτω. XXI. οὐχ ὀρᾷς ὅτι καὶ ἡ ἄρ-
 χουσα σοφία Σάρρα φησὶν· “ὅς γὰρ ἂν ἀκούσῃ,
 συγχαρεῖταί μοι” (Gen. xxi. 6); ἀλλὰ φέρε
 τινὰ ἰσχύσαι ἀκοῦσαι, ὅτι τέτοκεν ἡ ἀρετὴ τὴν
 εὐδαιμονίαν Ἰσαάκ, καὶ εὐθύς συγχαρητικὸν ὕμνον
 ὑμνήσει. ὥς οὖν τοῦ ἀκούσαντός ἐστι <τὸ>
 συγχαίρειν, οὕτως τοῦ σωφροσύνην καὶ θεὸν
 83 ἰδόντος εἰλικρινῶς τὸ μὴ ἀποθνήσκειν. πολλὰ
 δὲ καρτερίας καὶ σωφροσύνης ἐρασθεῖσαι ψυχαὶ
 καὶ ἐρημωθεῖσαι παθῶν ὅμως κράτος ὑπέμειναν
 θεοῦ καὶ τροπὴν τὴν πρὸς τὸ χεῖρον ἐδέξαντο,
 διασυνιστάντος αὐτόν τε καὶ τὴν γένεσιν τοῦ
 δεσπότου, ἑαυτὸν μὲν, ὅτι ἀκλινῆς ἑστήκεν αἰεί,
 τὴν δὲ γένεσιν, ὅτι ταλαντεύει καὶ πρὸς τὰναντία
 84 ἀντιρρέπει· φησὶ γάρ· “τοῦ ἀγαγόντος σε διὰ
 τῆς ἐρήμου τῆς μεγάλης καὶ τῆς φοβερᾶς ἐκείνης,
 οὗ ὄφεις δάκνων καὶ σκορπίος καὶ δίψα, οὗ οὐκ
 ἦν ὕδωρ, τοῦ ἐξαγαγόντος σοι ἐκ πέτρας ἀκρο-
 τόμου πηγὴν ὕδατος, τοῦ ψωμίσαντός σε τὸ
 μάννα ἐν τῇ ἐρήμῳ, ὃ οὐκ ᾔδεισαν οἱ πατέρες
 σου” (Deut. viii. 15, 16). ὀρᾷς ὅτι οὐ μόνον
 τῶν ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ παθῶν ἐφιεμένη ἡ ψυχὴ περι-
 πίπτει τοῖς ὀφείσιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὅτε ἐστὶν ἐν ἐρήμῳ
 δάκνεται ὑφ’ ἡδονῆς, τοῦ ποικίλου καὶ ὀφιώδους
 πάθους· οἰκειότατον δὲ ὄνομα εἴληχε τὸ ἡδονῆς
 85 ἔργον, δηγμὸς γὰρ καλεῖται. ἀλλ’ οὐ μόνον οἱ
 ἐν ἐρήμῳ δάκνονται ὑφ’ ἡδονῆς, ἀλλὰ καὶ οἱ

^a See App. p. 481.

ALLEGORICAL INTERPRETATION, II. 81-85

mind, when bitten by pleasure, the serpent of Eve, shall have succeeded in beholding in soul the beauty of self-mastery, the serpent of Moses, and through beholding this, beholds God Himself, he shall live ; only let him look and mark well.

XXI. Do you not notice that Sarah, that is dominant wisdom, says : " For whosoever shall hear of it shall rejoice with me " (Gen. xxi. 6) ? Just suppose that someone has succeeded in hearing that Virtue has given birth to Happiness (Isaac). Straightway he will sing a hymn of sympathetic joy. As then fellowship in joy is his who has heard of Isaac's birth, so is escape from death his who has looked with clear vision on self-mastery and God. " But many souls, after being enamoured of endurance and self-mastery and divested of passions, nevertheless do experience the might of God and receive the turning to the lower way, the Master making a sharp distinction between Himself and His creation. He Himself stands ever steadfast, while His creation wavers and inclines in opposite directions. For the prophet says : " Who led thee through that great and terrible wilderness, where there was biting serpent and scorpion and drought, where there was no water, who brought out a spring of water for thee from the hard rock, who fed thee with manna in the wilderness, which thy fathers knew not " (Deut. viii. 15 f.). You see that it is not only when attracted by the passions of Egypt that the soul falls in with the serpents, but when it is in a wilderness too it is bitten by pleasure, that subtle and snake-like passion. And pleasure's mode of action has received a most appropriate name, for it is here called a biting. But not those in a wilderness only are bitten by pleasure, but those

ἐσκορπισμένοι· καὶ γὰρ ἐγὼ πολλάκις καταλιπὼν
 μὲν ἀνθρώπους συγγενεῖς καὶ φίλους καὶ πατρίδα
 καὶ εἰς ἐρημίαν ἐλθὼν, ἵνα τι τῶν θέας ἀξίων
 κατανοήσω, οὐδὲν ὦνησα, ἀλλὰ σκορπισθεὶς ὁ
 νοῦς ἢ πάθει δηχθεὶς ἀνεχώρησεν εἰς τὰναντία·
 ἔστι δὲ ὅτε καὶ ἐν πλήθει μυριάνδρῳ ἡρεμῶ τὴν
 [82] διάνοιαν, | τὸν ψυχικὸν ὄχλον σκεδάσαντος θεοῦ
 καὶ διδάξαντός με, ὅτι οὐ τόπων διαφοραὶ τό τε
 εὖ καὶ χεῖρον ἐργάζονται, ἀλλ' ὁ κινῶν θεὸς καὶ
 ἄγων ἢ ἂν προαιρῇται τὸ τῆς ψυχῆς ὄχημα.

86 πλὴν περιπίπτει σκορπίῳ, ὅπερ ἐστὶ
 σκορπισμῶ, ἐν τῇ ἐρήμῳ, καὶ δίψα καταλαμβάνει
 ἢ τῶν παθῶν, μέχρις ἂν ὁ θεὸς τῆς ἀκροτόμου
 σοφίας ἑαυτοῦ τὸ νῆμα ἐπιπέμψῃ καὶ ποτίσῃ τὴν
 τραπέισαν ψυχὴν ἀμεταβλήτῳ ὑγείᾳ· ἢ γὰρ
 ἀκρότομος πέτρα ἢ σοφία τοῦ θεοῦ ἐστίν, ἣν
 ἄκραν καὶ πρωτίστην ἔτεμεν ἀπὸ τῶν ἑαυτοῦ δυ-
 νάμεων, ἐξ ἧς ποτίζει τὰς φιλοθέους ψυχὰς·
 ποτισθεῖσαι δὲ καὶ τοῦ μάννα ἐμπίπλυνται τοῦ
 γενικωτάτου—καλεῖται γὰρ τὸ μάννα “τί,” ὁ
 πάντων ἐστὶ γένος—, τὸ δὲ γενικώτατόν ἐστιν ὁ
 θεός, καὶ δεύτερος ὁ θεοῦ λόγος, τὰ δ' ἄλλα λόγῳ
 μόνον ὑπάρχει, ἔργοις δὲ ἐστίν οὐ ἴσα τῷ οὐχ
 ὑπάρχοντι.

87 XXII. Ἴδε νῦν διαφορὰν τοῦ ἐν ἐρήμῳ τρεπο-
 μένου καὶ τοῦ ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ· ὁ μὲν γὰρ τοῖς θανα-
 τοῦσιν ὄφεσι χρῆται, τουτέστιν ἀπλήστοις ἡδοναῖς

^a Or “supremely generic.”

ALLEGORICAL INTERPRETATION, II. 85-87

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

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

XXII. Note now a difference between him who turns aside in the wilderness and him who does so in Egypt. The one has experience of deadly serpents, that is to say insatiable pleasures inflicting

θάνατον ἐπιφερούσαις, ὁ δ' ἀσκητῆς δάκνεται
μόνον ὑφ' ἡδονῆς καὶ σκορπίζεται, οὐ θανατοῦται·
κάκεινος μὲν σωφροσύνη, χαλκῶ ὄφει, θερα-
πεύεται γενομένη ὑπὸ τοῦ σοφοῦ Μωυσέως, οὗτος
δὲ ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ ποτίζεται κάλλιστον ποτὸν σοφίαν
ἐκ τῆς πηγῆς ἣν αὐτὸς ἐξήγαγεν ἀπὸ τῆς ἑαυτοῦ
88 σοφίας. οὐδὲ τοῦ θεοφιλεστάτου Μωυσέως ἀπ-
έχεται ἡ ὀφιώδης <ἡδονή>, λέγεται δὲ ὧδε· “ἐὰν
οὖν μὴ πιστεύσωσί μοι μηδὲ εἰσακούσωσι τῆς
φωνῆς μου—ἐροῦσι γάρ, οὐκ ὥπταί σοι ὁ θεός—,
τί ἐρῶ πρὸς αὐτούς; καὶ εἶπε κύριος Μωυσεῖ·
τί τοῦτ' ἐστὶ τὸ ἐν τῇ χειρὶ σου; ὁ δὲ εἶπε·
ῥάβδος. καὶ εἶπε· ῥῖψον αὐτὴν ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν. καὶ
ἔρριψεν αὐτὴν ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν, καὶ ἐγένετο ὄφεις,
καὶ ἔφυγε Μωυσῆς ἀπ' αὐτοῦ. καὶ εἶπε κύριος
Μωυσεῖ· ἔκτεινον τὴν χεῖρα καὶ ἐπιλαβοῦ τῆς
κέρκου. ἐκτείνας οὖν τὴν χεῖρα ἐπελάβετο τῆς
κέρκου, καὶ ἐγένετο ῥάβδος ἐν τῇ χειρὶ <αὐτοῦ>·
ἵνα πιστεύσωσί σοι ” (Exod. iv. 1 ff.).

89 πῶς ἂν τις πιστεύσαι θεῷ; ἐὰν μάθῃ, ὅτι πάντα
τὰ ἄλλα τρέπεται, μόνος δὲ αὐτὸς ἄτρεπτός ἐστι.
πυνθάνεται οὖν ὁ θεὸς τοῦ σοφοῦ, τί ἐστὶν ἐν τῷ
πρακτικῷ τῆς ψυχῆς αὐτοῦ βίω· ἡ γὰρ χεὶρ σύμ-
βολον πράξεως· ὁ δ' ἀποκρίνεται, ὅτι παιδεία,
ἣν ῥάβδον καλεῖ. διὸ καὶ ὁ πτερνιστῆς τῶν
παθῶν Ἰακώβ φησιν· “ἐν γὰρ τῇ ῥάβδῳ μου
διέβην τὸν Ἰορδάνην τοῦτον ” (Gen. xxxii. 10).

[83] Ἰορδάνης | δὲ κατάβασις ἐρμηνεύεται· τῆς δὲ
κάτω καὶ γηίνης καὶ φθαρτῆς φύσεώς ἐστι τὰ
κατὰ κακίαν καὶ πάθος· διαβαίνει δὲ ταῦτα ὁ
ἀσκητῆς νοῦς ἐν παιδείᾳ· ταπεινὸν γὰρ τὸ ἐκ-
δέχεσθαι, ὅτι βακτηρίαν ἔχων ποταμὸν διέβαινε.

death ; but the disciplined one is only bitten and scattered, not done to death, by pleasure. And while the one is cured by self-mastery, even the brazen serpent made by the wise Moses, the other is caused by God to drink a draught most excellent, even wisdom out of the fountain which He drew out from His own wisdom. Not even from Moses, most beloved of God, does Pleasure, the serpent-like one, refrain, but this is what we read : " If therefore they say, ' God has not appeared to thee,' and believe me not and hearken not to my voice, what shall I say to them ? And the Lord said unto Moses, ' What is that in thine hand ? ' And he said, ' A rod.' And He said, ' Cast it upon the ground.' And he cast it upon the ground, and it became a serpent, and Moses fled from it. And the Lord said unto Moses, ' Stretch forth thine hand and lay hold of its tail ' (and he stretched forth his hand and took hold of its tail, and it became a rod in his hand) : that they may believe thee " (Exod. iv. 1 ff.).

How should one come to believe God ? By learning that all other things change but He is unchangeable. Therefore God asks the wise man what there is in his hand or in the active life of his soul, for the hand represents activity ; and he answers, " Schooling," giving it the name of a rod. So Jacob also, the supplanter of the passions, says, " For in my rod I crossed this Jordan " (Gen. xxxii. 10). The meaning of Jordan is " descent " or " coming down." And to the nature that is down below, earthly, corruptible, belongs all that is done under the impulse of vice and passion. Over these Mind, the disciplined One, crosses in schooling himself. To take the words to mean that he crossed the river with a staff in

- 90 XXIII. καλῶς οὖν καὶ ὁ θεοφιλὴς Μωυσῆς ἀποκρίνεται· ὄντως γὰρ αἱ πράξεις τοῦ σπουδαίου παιδεία ὡς ἂν ῥάβδῳ ἐπερείδονται, τὸν κλόνον καὶ σάλον τῆς ψυχῆς ἰδρυνόμεναι. αὕτη ἡ ῥάβδος ἀπορριφθεῖσα γίνεται ὄφιν· εἰκότως· ἐὰν γὰρ ἡ ψυχὴ ἀπορρίψῃ τὴν παιδείαν, γέγονε φιλήδονος ἀντὶ φιλαρέτου. διὸ καὶ Μωυσῆς φεύγει ἀπ' αὐτοῦ· ἀπὸ γὰρ τοῦ πάθους καὶ τῆς ἡδονῆς
- 91 ἀποδιδράσκει ὁ φιλάρετος. ἀλλὰ τοί γε ὁ θεὸς τὴν φυγὴν οὐκ ἐπαινεῖ· σοὶ μὲν γάρ, ὦ διάνοια, μήπω τελειωθείση φυγὴν καὶ δρασμὸν τῶν παθῶν ἀρμόζει μελετᾶν, Μωυσεῖ δὲ τῷ τελείῳ παραμένειν τῷ πρὸς αὐτὰ πολέμῳ καὶ ἀντιστατεῖν αὐτοῖς καὶ διαμάχεσθαι· εἰ δὲ μή, ἀδείας καὶ ἐξουσίας λαβόμενα μέχρι τῆς ψυχικῆς ἀκροπόλεως ἀναβάντα πᾶσαν ἐκπολιορκήσῃ καὶ λεηλατήσῃ τυράννου
- 92 τρόπον τὴν ψυχὴν. διὸ καὶ προστάττει ὁ θεὸς “λαβέσθαι τῆς κέρκου,” τουτέστι τὸ ἀντίδικον τῆς ἡδονῆς καὶ ἀτίθασον αὐτῆς μὴ φοβεῖτω σε, ἀλλὰ τούτου μάλιστα λαβοῦ καὶ κατάσχεσ καὶ περικράτησον· ἔσται γὰρ πάλιν ἀντὶ ὀφews ῥάβδος, τουτέστιν ἀντὶ ἡδονῆς γενήσεται ἐν τῇ χειρὶ
- 93 παιδεία. ἀλλὰ γενήσεται ἐν τῇ χειρὶ, ἐν τῇ πράξει τοῦ σοφοῦ, ὃ δὴ καὶ ἀληθές ἐστι· λαβέσθαι δὲ καὶ περικρατῆσαι ἡδονῆς ἀδύνατον, εἰ μὴ πρότερον ἐκταθεῖ ἡ χεὶρ, τουτέστιν εἰ μὴ τὰς πράξεις καὶ προκοπὰς ἀπάσας ὁμολογήσειεν ἡ ψυχὴ κατὰ θεὸν εἶναι καὶ μηδὲν εἰς ἑαυτὴν ἀναγάγοι. τοῦτον μὲν δὴ τὸν ὄφιν ἀποδιδράσκειν ὁ βλέπων δι-

ALLEGORICAL INTERPRETATION, II. 90-93

his hand would be tame. XXIII. Good, therefore is the reply of Moses beloved of God ; for in truth the conduct of the virtuous man leans on discipline as on a rod, settling and allaying the tumult and tossing of the soul. This rod when cast away becomes a serpent ; naturally ; for if the soul casts away discipline, it at once becomes a lover of pleasure in place of a lover of virtue. And so Moses flies from it ; for the lover of virtue runs away from passion and pleasure. But, mark you, God does not applaud his flight. For while it well befits thee, O my mind, who art not yet made perfect, to get practice by flying and running away from the passions, it befits Moses, the perfect one, not to desist from the warfare against them, but to resist them and fight it out. Otherwise, finding nothing to alarm or to stop them, they will make their way up to the very citadel of the soul, and storm and plunder the whole soul after the fashion of a lawless ruler. Wherefore also God bids him "lay hold of the tail." This means, "Let not pleasure's opposition and her savagery daunt thee. That is the very part to make for. Grip it fast and quell it; for then there shall be once more a rod instead of a serpent ; that is to say, instead of pleasure there shall be in thy hand discipline." But it is "in the *hand*," in the *doing* of the wise man, that this shall come to pass. This is quite true. It would be impossible to lay hold of pleasure and get the mastery of it if the hand were not first stretched out, that is to say, if the soul were not first to acknowledge that all its achievements and successes are due to God's impelling force and to refer nothing to itself. The man whose eyes are open determines to run away from

ἐγνώκεν· ἕτερον δὲ τὸν σωφροσύνης λόγον κατασκευάζει, τὸν χαλκοῦν ἐκείνον, ἵνα ὁ δηχθεὶς ὑφ' ἡδονῆς ἰδὼν σωφροσύνην ζήσῃ τὸν ἀληθῆ βίον.

- 94 XXIV. Τοιοῦτον ὄφιν εὐχεται ὁ Ἰακώβ γενέσθαι τὸν Δάν καὶ φησιν οὕτως· “Δάν κρινεῖ τὸν ἑαυτοῦ λαόν, ὥσεί καὶ μία φυλὴ Ἰσραήλ, καί· Γενέσθω Δάν ὅφιν ἐφ' ὁδοῦ, ἐγκαθήμενος ἐπὶ τρίβου, δάκνων πτέρναν ἵππου, καὶ πεσεῖται ὁ ἵππευς εἰς τὰ ὀπίσω, τὴν σωτηρίαν περιμένων κυρίου” (Gen. xlix. 16-18). ἐκ μὲν τῆς Λείας πέμπτος υἱὸς ἐστὶν Ἰσάακ γνήσιος τοῦ Ἰακώβ, συγκαταριθμουμένων δὲ τῶν ἐκ τῆς Ζέλφας δυεῖν ἑβδομος, τοῦ δὲ Ἰακώβ πέμπτος ἐστὶν ὁ Δάν ἐκ τῆς Βάλλας τῆς παιδίσκης Ῥαχήλ. τὴν δὲ αἰτίαν ἐν τοῖς κατ' ἰδίαν ἐξευρήσομεν. περὶ δὲ τοῦ Δάν
- 95 πάλιν κατανοητέον. δύο γένη φορεῖ ἡ ψυχὴ, τὸ μὲν θεῖον, τὸ δὲ φθαρτόν· τὸ μὲν οὖν κρεῖττον κεκύηκεν ἤδη καὶ ἴσταται ἐπ' αὐτοῦ· ὅτε γὰρ
- [84] ἐξομολογήσασθαι τῷ | θεῷ καὶ παραχωρῆσαι πάντα ἴσχυσεν ἡ ψυχὴ, κτῆμα κρεῖσσον λαβεῖν οὐκέτ' εἶχε· διὰ τοῦτ' ἔστη τοῦ τίκτειν τὸν Ἰούδαν, τὸν
- 96 ἐξομολογητικὸν τρόπον, ἐνεγκοῦσα. τὸ δὲ θνητὸν γένος νῦν ἄρχεται διαπλάττειν. ὑφέστηκε δὲ τὸ θνητὸν καταπόσει· θεμελίου γὰρ τρόπον ἡ γεῦσις, ἡ αἰτία τῆς τῶν ζώων διαμονῆς ἐστι· Βάλλα δὲ ἐρμηνεύεται κατάποσις· ἐκ ταύτης οὖν γίνεται ὁ Δάν, ὃς ἐρμηνεύεται κρίσις· τοῦτο γὰρ τὸ γένος διακρίνει καὶ χωρίζει τὰ ἀθάνατα ἀπὸ τῶν θνητῶν. εὐχεται οὖν αὐτὸν γενέσθαι σωφροσύνης ἐραστήν,

ALLEGORICAL INTERPRETATION, II. 93-96

this serpent, and he fashions another, the principle of self-mastery, that serpent of brass, in order that the man who has been bitten by pleasure may, on seeing self-mastery, live the real life.

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

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

(Gen. xlix. 16-18.)

Of those born of Leah Issachar is Jacob’s fifth genuine son, or if Zilpah’s two sons are reckoned in, he is the seventh. But Jacob’s fifth son is Dan, by Bilhah Rachel’s handmaid. The occasion of this remark we shall discover in my special treatise on the subject. The subject of Dan demands further study. The soul bears two kinds of offspring, the one divine, the other perishable. The better kind she has already conceived, and with it she ceases to bear. For when the soul had attained to making full submission and acknowledgement to God there was no better possession for it to go on to gain. This is why she ceased when she had borne Judah, the spirit of praise and acknowledgement. The soul now goes on to the fashioning of the mortal race. The mortal subsists by swallowing. For the taste, like a foundation, is the cause of living creatures continuing to live. And Bilhah means “swallowing.” From this woman there springs Dan, whose name signifies sifting or distinguishing : for this race distinguishes and separates things immortal from those that are mortal. So his father prays that he may

τῷ δὲ Ἰούδα οὐκ εὖξεται· ἔχει γὰρ ἤδη τὸ ἐξομολο-
 97 γεῖσθαι καὶ εὐαρεστεῖν θεῷ. “γενέσθω” οὖν φησι
 “Δὰν ὄφεις ἐφ’ ὁδοῦ.” ὁδὸς ἡμῶν ἐστὶν ἡ ψυχὴ·
 ὥσπερ γὰρ ἐν ταῖς ὁδοῖς ἐστὶν ἰδεῖν διαφορὰν τῶν
 ὄντων, ἀψύχων ἐμψύχων, ἀλόγων λογικῶν, σπου-
 δαίων φαύλων, δούλων ἐλευθέρων, νεωτέρων πρε-
 σβυτέρων, ἀρρένων θηλειῶν, ξένων ἀστῶν, νοσοῦν-
 των ὑγιαίνοντων, λελωβημένων ὀλοκλήρων, οὕτως
 καὶ ἐν ψυχῇ καὶ ἄψυχα καὶ ἀτελῇ καὶ νοσώδη καὶ
 δοῦλα καὶ θήλεα καὶ μυρία ἄλλα κηρῶν μεστὰ
 κινήματά ἐστι, καὶ ἔμπαλιν ἔμψυχα ὀλόκληρα
 ἄρρενα ἐλεύθερα ὑγιᾶ πρεσβύτερα σπουδαῖα γνήσια
 98 καὶ ἀστὰ ὄντως. γενέσθω οὖν ὁ σωφρο-

σύνης λόγος ὄφεις ἐπὶ τῆς ψυχῆς τῆς ὀδεουούσης διὰ
 πάντων τῶν ἐν τῷ βίῳ πραγμάτων καὶ ἐγκαθισάτω
 ἐπὶ τρίβον. τί δὲ τοῦτ’ ἐστίν; ἄτριπτος μὲν ὁ
 ἀρετῆς χώρος, ὀλίγοι γὰρ βαίνουσιν αὐτόν, τέτριπ-
 ται δὲ ὁ κακίας· ἐγκαθίσαι δὴ καὶ ἐνεδρεῦσαι καὶ
 λοχῆσαι παραινεῖ τὴν τετριμμένην ὁδόν, τὸ πάθος
 καὶ τὴν κακίαν, ἐν οἷς κατατρίβονται τὸν βίον οἱ
 φυγάδες ἀρετῆς λογισμοί.

99 XXV. “Δάκνων πτέρναν ἵππου.” ἐχομένως
 πτερνιστῆς ἐστὶν ὁ τὴν στάσιν τοῦ γενητοῦ καὶ
 φθαρτοῦ διασειῶν τρόπος. τὰ πάθη δὲ ἵππῳ
 ἀπεικάσθη· τετρασκελὲς γὰρ καὶ τὸ πάθος ὡς
 ἵππος καὶ ὀρμητικὸν καὶ αὐθαδείας γέμον καὶ
 σκιρτητικὸν φύσει. ὁ δὲ σωφροσύνης λόγος δάκ-
 νειν καὶ τιτρώσκειν φιλεῖ καὶ ἀναιρεῖν τὸ πάθος·
 πτερνισθέντος δὲ τοῦ πάθους καὶ ὀκλάσαντος
 “πεσεῖται ὁ ἵππεὺς εἰς τὰ ὀπίσω.” ἵππέα νοητέον
 <τὸν> ἐπιβεβηκότα τοῖς πάθεσι νοῦν, ὃς ἀποπίπτει

ALLEGORICAL INTERPRETATION, II. 96-99

prove a lover of self-mastery. But for Judah he will offer no such prayer, for Judah already has the property of praising and pleasing God. So he says, "Let Dan become a serpent on the road." The soul is our road ; for as on the roads it is possible to see the distinction of existences, lifeless, living ; irrational, rational ; good, bad ; slave, free ; young, or older ; male, female ; foreign, or native ; sickly, healthy ; maimed, entire ; so in the soul too there are lifeless, incomplete, diseased, enslaved, female, and countless other movements full of disabilities ; and on the other hand movements living, entire, male, free, sound, elder, good, genuine, and, in a real sense, of the fatherland.

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

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

^a See App. p. 481.

- τῶν παθῶν, ὅταν αὐτὰ συλλογισθῇ καὶ πτερνισθῇ.
 100 εὖ δ' ὅτι εἰς τοῦμπροσθεν οὐ πίπτει ἢ ψυχὴ·
 μὴ γὰρ προερχέσθω τῶν παθῶν, ἀλλ' ὑστεριζέτω
 τούτων, καὶ σωφρονισθήσεται. καὶ δογματικόν
 ἐστὶν ὃ λέγει· ἐὰν γὰρ ὀρμήσας ὁ νοῦς ἀδικῆσαι
 ὑστερήσῃ καὶ πέσῃ εἰς τὰ ὀπίσω, οὐκ ἀδικήσει·
 ἐὰν δὲ ἐπὶ πάθος κινηθεῖς ἄλογον μὴ ἐπεκδράμῃ,
 [85] ἀλλὰ | κατόπιν μείνῃ, ἀπάθειαν, τὸ κάλλιστον,
 101 καρπώσεται. διὸ καὶ τὸ κατόπιν πτώμα ἀποδεχό-
 μενος τῶν κακιῶν ἐπιφέρει· “τὴν σωτηρίαν περι-
 μένων κυρίου” ὧντως γὰρ ὑπὸ θεοῦ σώζεται ὁ
 ἀποπίπτων τῶν παθῶν καὶ ὑστερίζων τῆς ἐν-
 εργείας αὐτῶν. πέσοι τοιοῦτόν μου πτώμα ἢ ψυχὴ
 καὶ μηδέποτε ἀνασταίῃ ἐπὶ τὸ ἵππειον καὶ σκιρτη-
 τικόν πάθος, ἵνα θεοῦ σωτηρίαν περιμείνασα εὐδαι-
 102 μονήσῃ. διὰ τοῦτο καὶ Μωυσῆς ἐν τῷ ᾄσματι
 ὑμνεῖ τὸν θεόν, ὅτι “ἵππον καὶ ἀναβάτην ἔρριψεν
 εἰς θάλασσαν” (Exod. xv. 1), τὰ τέσσαρα πάθη
 καὶ τὸν ἐποχούμενον αὐτοῖς ἄθλιον νοῦν εἰς τὴν
 φθορὰν τῶν πραγμάτων καὶ τὸν ἀνήνυτον βυθόν·
 καὶ σχεδὸν τοῦ ᾄσματος ὅλου τὸ κεφάλαιον τοῦτ'
 ἐστίν, ἐφ' ὃ τὰ ἄλλα πάντα ἀναφέρεται, καὶ οὕτως
 ἔχει· ἐὰν γὰρ ἀπάθεια κατὰσχῃ τὴν ψυχὴν, τελέως
 εὐδαιμονήσῃ.
- 103 XXVI. Ζητητέον δέ, τίνος ἕνεκα ὁ μὲν Ἰακώβ
 φησιν, ὅτι “πεσεῖται ὁ ἵππεὺς εἰς τὰ ὀπίσω”
 (Gen. xlix. 17), Μωυσῆς δὲ ἄδει, ὅτι ἵππος καὶ
 ἀναβάτης κατεποντώθησαν. λεκτέον οὖν ὅτι ὁ
 μὲν καταποντούμενος ὁ Αἰγύπτιός ἐστι τρόπος, ὅς,
 καὶ φεύγῃ, ὑπὸ τὸ ὕδωρ τουτέστιν ὑπὸ τὴν φθορὰν

which falls off the passions when they are brought to a reckoning and overthrown. 'Tis well that the soul does not fall forwards : let him not get in advance of the passions, but be behind them, and he shall learn self-control. And there is sound principle in what is said here. For if the mind, after starting out to do wrong, drops behind and falls backwards, it will not do the wrong deed ; and if, after experiencing an impulse to an irrational passion, it does not follow it up, but stays behind, it will reap the fairest reward, even exemption from passion. That is why the prophet, understanding the falling backwards to be escape from the passions, adds the words, " waiting for the salvation of the Lord " : for he is indeed saved by God who falls away from the passions and comes short of realizing them in act. May my soul have such a fall, and never mount the beast of passion, wild like a bounding capering horse, that, having waited for God's salvation, it may attain to bliss. This explains why Moses in the Song praises God, that " He cast horse and rider into the sea " (Exod. xv. 1). He means that God cast to utter ruin and the bottomless abyss the four passions and the wretched mind mounted on them. This is indeed practically the chief point of the whole Song, to which all else is subsidiary. And it is true ; for if the soul be won by exemption from passion, it will have perfect bliss.

XXVI. But we must inquire why, whereas Jacob says, " the horseman shall fall backwards " (Gen. xlix. 17), Moses sings of the drowning of horse and rider. We must remark then, that, whereas he that is to perish by drowning is the Egyptian character, which, even if it flees, flees under the water, that is, under

- τῶν παθῶν φεύγει, ὁ δὲ πίπτων ἵππεὺς εἰς τὰ ὀπίσθια οὐκ ἔστι τῶν φιλοπαθῶν· τεκμήριον δέ, ὅτι οὗτος μὲν ἔστιν ἵππεύς, ἐκεῖνος δὲ ἀναβάτης·
- 104 ἵππέως μὲν οὖν ἔργον δαμάζειν τὸν ἵππον καὶ ἀφηγιάζοντα ἐπιστομίζειν, ἀναβάτου δὲ φέρεσθαι ἢ ἂν τὸ ζῶον ἄγῃ· καὶ ἐν θαλάττῃ τοῦ μὲν κυβερνήτου ἔργον ἄγειν τὸ σκάφος καὶ εὐθύνειν καὶ ὀρθοῦν, τοῦ δὲ ἐπιβάτου πιάσχειν ὅσα ἂν ἡ ναὺς ὑπομένη· παρὸ καὶ ὁ δαμάζων τὰ πάθη ἵππεὺς οὐ καταποντοῦται, ἀλλὰ ἀποβὰς αὐτῶν τὴν σωτηρίαν περιμένει τοῦ δεσπότου.
- 105 Παραινεῖ μέντοι ὁ ἱερὸς λόγος ἐν Λευιτικῷ “ ἀπὸ τῶν ἐρπετῶν, ἃ πορεύεται ἐπὶ τεσσάρων, ἃ ἔχει σκέλη ἀνώτερον τῶν ποδῶν, ὥστε πηδᾶν ἐν αὐτοῖς ” σιτεῖσθαι (Lev. xi. 21), ὧν ἔστιν ὁ βροῦχος καὶ ὁ ἄττακός καὶ ἀκρίς καὶ τέταρτον ὁ ὀφιομάχης· καὶ δεόντως· εἰ γὰρ ἄτροφον καὶ βλαβερὸν πρᾶγμα ὀφιώδης ἡδονή, τροφιμώτατον ἂν καὶ σωτήριοιον γένοιτο ἢ πρὸς ἡδονὴν διαμαχο-
- 106 μένη φύσις· αὕτη δὲ ἡ σωφροσύνη ἐστί· μάχου δὴ καὶ σύ, ὦ διάνοια, πρὸς πᾶν πάθος καὶ διαφερόντως πρὸς ἡδονήν, καὶ γὰρ “ φρονιμώτατός ἐστιν ὁ ὄφεις πάντων θηρίων τῶν ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς, ὧν
- 107 ἐποίησε κύριος ὁ θεός ” (Gen. iii. 1)· τῶν γὰρ πάντων πανουργότατόν ἐστιν ἡδονή· διὰ τί; ὅτι πάντα ἡδονῆς δούλα καὶ ὁ βίος ὁ τῶν φαύλων δεσπόζεται ὑφ’ ἡδονῆς· τὰ γοῦν ποιητικὰ αὐτῆς εὐρίσκεται διὰ πανουργίας πάσης, χρυσὸς ἄργυρος
- [86] δόξα τιμαὶ ἀρχαί, αἱ ὕλαι τῶν | αἰσθητῶν, καὶ τέχνη αἱ βάνανσοι καὶ ὅσαι ἄλλαι κατασκευαί·

the current of the passions ; the horseman who falls backwards does not belong to the lovers of the passions. A proof of this is that he is called " horseman," whereas the other is called " rider." A horseman's business is to subdue his horse and use the bit when it disregards the rein, whereas a rider's business is to be carried wherever the animal takes him. On the sea, too, the helmsman's business is to guide the boat and keep it upright and in its course, but it is for the passenger to experience all that the ship undergoes. Accordingly the horseman who subdues the passions is not drowned but, dismounting from them, awaits the salvation that comes from the Master.

Now the sacred word in Leviticus directs them to feed " on creeping things that go upon all four, which have legs above their feet, so as to leap with them " (Lev. xi. 21). Such are the locust, the wild locust, the grasshopper, and in the fourth place the cricket. And this is as it should be. For if serpentlike pleasure is a thing un-nourishing and injurious, self-mastery, the nature that is in conflict with pleasure, must be wholesome and full of nourishment. Do thou also contend, O my mind, against all passion and above all against pleasure, for indeed " the serpent is the most subtle of all beasts upon the earth, which the Lord God made " (Gen. iii. 1) ; for pleasure is the most cunning of all things. Why is this ? Because all things are enthralled to pleasure, and the life of bad men is under the dominion of pleasure. The things that yield pleasure are obtained by means of cunning of every kind ; gold, silver, glory, honours, offices, the materials of objects of sense, the mechanical arts, and all other

PHILO

στικάι ἡδονῆς πάνυ ποικίλαι. καὶ ἀδικοῦμεν δι'
ἡδονήν, τὰ δὲ ἀδικήματα οὐκ ἄνευ πανουργίας
108 τῆς ἐσχάτης ἐστίν. τὴν ὀφιομάχον οὖν γνώμην
ἀντίταπτε καὶ κάλλιστον ἀγῶνα τοῦτον διάθλησον
καὶ σπούδασον στεφανωθῆναι κατὰ τῆς τοῦς
ἄλλους ἅπαντας νικώσης ἡδονῆς καλὸν καὶ εὐ-
κλεᾶ στέφανον, ὃν οὐδεμία πανήγυρις ἀνθρώπων
ἐχορήγησεν.

ALLEGORICAL INTERPRETATION, II. 107-108

arts in great variety that minister to pleasure. It is for the sake of pleasure that we do wrong, and wrong deeds are ever associated with desperate cunning. Therefore set judgement, the serpent-fighter, against it, and contend to the end in this noblest contest, and strive earnestly, by defeating pleasure that conquers all others, to win the noble and glorious crown, which no human assembly has ever bestowed.

Γ

1

- [87] I. “Καὶ ἐκρύβησαν ὁ τε Ἀδὰμ καὶ ἡ γυνὴ αὐτοῦ ἀπὸ προσώπου κυρίου τοῦ θεοῦ ἐν μέσῳ τοῦ ξύλου τοῦ παραδείσου” (Gen. iii. 8). δόγμα εἰσηγείται διδάσκον, ὅτι ὁ φαῦλος φυγὰς ἐστίν. εἰ γὰρ πόλις οἰκεῖα τῶν σοφῶν ἢ ἀρετῇ, ταύτης ὁ μὴ δυνάμενος μετέχειν ἀπελήλαται πόλεως, ἥς ἀδυνατεῖ μετέχειν ὁ φαῦλος· ἀπελήλαται ἄρα καὶ πεφυγάδευται μόνος ὁ φαῦλος. ὁ δ’ ἀρετῆς φυγὰς εὐθὺς ἀποκέκρυπται θεόν· εἰ γὰρ καὶ ἐμφανεῖς οἱ σοφοὶ θεῷ, ἅτε ὄντες αὐτῷ φίλοι, δῆλον ὡς ἀποκρύπτονται καὶ καταδύονται πάντες οἱ φαῦλοι, ὡς
- 2 ἂν ἐχθροὶ καὶ δυσμενεῖς ὄντες ὀρθῶ λόγῳ. ὅτι μὲν οὖν ἄπολις καὶ ἄοικος ὁ φαῦλός ἐστι, μαρτυρεῖ ἐπὶ τοῦ δασέος καὶ ποικίλου τὴν κακίαν Ἡσαῦ, ὅτε φησὶν· “ἦν δὲ Ἡσαῦ εἰδὼς κυνηγεῖν, ἀγροῖκος” (Gen. xxv. 27). οὐ γὰρ πέφυκεν ἡ τῶν παθῶν θηρευτικὴ κακία τὴν ἀρετῆς πόλιν οἰκεῖν ἀγροικίαν καὶ ἀπαιδευσίαν μετὰ πολλῆς ἀγνωμοσύνης μεταδιώκουσα. ὁ δέ γε σοφίας
- [88] μεστός Ἰακώβ καὶ πολίτης | ἐστὶ καὶ οἰκίαν τὴν ἀρετὴν κατοικεῖ· φησὶ γοῦν περὶ αὐτοῦ· “Ἰακώβ δὲ ἄπλαστος ἄνθρωπος οἰκῶν οἰκίαν” (ib.).

* See App. p. 482.

BOOK III

I. " And Adam and his wife hid themselves from the presence of the Lord God in the midst of the forest of the garden " (Gen. iii. 8). He introduces a doctrine showing that the bad man is an exile. For if virtue is a city peculiar to the wise, the man who has no capacity to partake of virtue has been driven away from the city, in which the bad man is incapable of taking part. It is accordingly the bad man only who has been driven away and sent into exile. But the exile from virtue has by incurring such exile hidden himself from God. For if the wise, as being His friends, are in God's sight, it is evident that all bad men slink away and hide from Him, as is to be expected in men who cherish hatred and ill-will to right reason. The prophet, moreover, finds proof that the bad man is without city or dwelling-house, in the account of Esau, the hairy man, crafty in wickedness, when he says, " Esau was skilled in hunting, a countryman " (Gen. xxv. 27); for vice, that hunts after the passions, is by nature unfit to dwell in the city of virtue. Rather, in utter senselessness, it follows after rustic^a grossness, the life of the untrained. Jacob, the man full of wisdom, belongs to a city, and as a dwelling-house he occupies virtue. The prophet says of him : " But Jacob was a simple man dwelling in a house "

PHILO

- 3 παρὸ καὶ “ αἱ μαῖαι, ἐπειδὴ ἐφοβοῦντο τὸν θεόν, ἐποίησαν ἑαυταῖς οἰκίας ” (Exod. i. 21). αἱ γὰρ ζητητικαὶ τῶν ἀφανῶν θεοῦ μυστηρίων, ὅπερ ἐστὶ “ ζωογονεῖν τὰ ἄρσена,” οἰκοδομοῦσι τὰ ἀρετῆς πράγματα, οἷς καὶ ἐνοικεῖν προήρηνται. διὰ μὲν δὴ τούτων ἐπιδέδεικται, πῶς ὁ μὲν φαῦλος ἀπολὶς τέ ἐστι καὶ ἄοικος, φυγὰς ἀρετῆς ὢν, ὁ δὲ σπουδαῖος καὶ πόλιν ἔχειν καὶ οἶκον σοφίαν κεκλήρωται.
- 4 II. Ἰδωμεν δὲ ἐξῆς, πῶς καὶ ἀποκρύπτεσθαι τις θεὸν λέγεται. εἰ δὲ μὴ ἀλληγορήσειέ τις, ἀδύνατον παραδέξασθαι τὸ προκείμενον· πάντα γὰρ πεπλήρωκεν ὁ θεὸς καὶ διὰ πάντων διεληλύθεν καὶ κενὸν οὐδὲν οὐδὲ ἔρημον ἀπολέλοιπεν ἑαυτοῦ. ποῖον δὴ τις τόπον ἐφέξει, ἐν ᾧ οὐχὶ θεὸς ἐστι; μαρτυρεῖ δὲ καὶ ἐν ἑτέροις λέγων “ ὁ θεὸς ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ ἄνω καὶ ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς κάτω, καὶ οὐκ ἔστιν ἔτι πλὴν αὐτοῦ ” (Deut. iv. 39). καὶ πάλιν “ ὦδε ἔστηκα πρὸ τοῦ σε ” (Exod. xvii. 6). πρὸ γὰρ παντὸς γενητοῦ ὁ θεὸς ἐστι, καὶ εὐρίσκεται πανταχοῦ, ὥστε οὐκ ἂν δύναιτό τις ἀποκρύπτεσθαι.
- 5 καὶ τί θαυμάζομεν; τῶν γὰρ γενομένων τὰ συνεκτικώτατα οὐδ’ ἂν, εἴ τι γένοιτο, ἐκφεύγειν καὶ ἀποκρύπτεσθαι δυνηθείημεν, οἷον γῆν φυγέτω τις ἢ ὕδωρ ἢ ἀέρα ἢ οὐρανὸν ἢ τὸν σύμπαντα κόσμον· ἀνάγκη γὰρ ἐν τούτοις περιέχεσθαι, οὐ γὰρ ἔξω
- 6 γέ τις τοῦ κόσμου φεύγειν δυνησεται. εἴτα <μὴ> τὰ μέρη τοῦ κόσμου μηδὲ τὸν κόσμον αὐτὸν δυνάμενός τις ἀποκρύπτεσθαι τὸν θεὸν ἂν ἰσχύσαι

ALLEGORICAL INTERPRETATION, III. 3-6

(*ibid.*). It accords with this too that the midwives, since they feared God, made houses for themselves (Exod. i. 21); for such (souls) as make a quest of God's hidden mysteries—and this is what is meant by "saving the males' lives" or "bringing the males to the birth"—build up the cause of virtue, and in this they have elected to have their abode. By these instances it has been made clear how the bad man is without a city or home, being an exile from virtue, while the good man has received it as his lot to have wisdom for both city and dwelling.

II. Let us see next how a man is said actually to hide himself from God. Were one not to take the language as figurative, it would be impossible to accept the statement, for God fills and penetrates all things, and has left no spot void or empty of His presence. What manner of place then shall a man occupy, in which God is not? The prophet elsewhere bears witness of this saying, "God in heaven above and upon the earth beneath and there is none else but He" (Deut. iv. 39). And again, "Here stand I before thou (wert made)" (Exod. xvii. 6); for before every created thing God is, and is found everywhere, so that no one could possibly hide himself from God. And why should we marvel at this? Whatever should happen, we could never escape or hide ourselves from those, even among things created, that are essential elements of creation. For instance, let a man fly, if he can, from earth or water or air or sky or the world at large. A man must needs have all these round him, for no one shall ever be able to escape out of the world. Then, seeing a man is powerless to hide himself from the parts of the world or from the world itself, would he

PHILO

λανθάνειν; οὐδαμῶς. τί οὖν τὸ “ἐκρύβησαν”;
 ὁ φαῦλος δοκεῖ εἶναι τὸν θεὸν ἐν τόπῳ, μὴ περι-
 έχοντα, ἀλλὰ περιεχόμενον· οὗ χάριν καὶ οἶται
 ἀποκρύπτεσθαι, ὡς κατ’ ἐκείνο τὸ μέρος οὐκ
 ὄντος τοῦ αἰτίου, καθ’ ὃ φωλεύειν διέγνωκεν.
 7 III. ἔστι δὲ οὕτως ἐκδέξασθαι· ἐν τῷ φαύλῳ ἢ
 ἀληθῆς περὶ θεοῦ δόξα ἐπεσκίασται καὶ ἀποκρύπ-
 τεται, σκότους γὰρ πλήρης ἐστὶ μηδὲν ἔχων ἐναύ-
 γασμα θεῖον, ᾧ τὰ ὄντα περισκίβεται· ὁ δὲ τοιοῦτος
 πεφυγάδευται θείου χοροῦ, καθάπερ ὁ λεπρὸς καὶ
 γονορρυῆς, ὁ μὲν θεὸν καὶ γενέσιν, ἀντιπάλους
 φύσεις, δύο χρωμάτων ὄντων, ἀγαγὼν εἰς ταῦτό
 ὡς αἷτια, ἐνὸς ὄντος αἰτίου τοῦ δρῶντος, ὁ δὲ
 γονορρυῆς ἐκ κόσμου πάντα καὶ εἰς κόσμον ἀνάγων,
 ὑπὸ θεοῦ δὲ μηδὲν οἰόμενος γεγονέναι, Ἡρακλει-
 [89] τείου δόξης ἐταῖρος, κόρον | καὶ χρησιμοσύνην καὶ
 8 ἐν τὸ πᾶν καὶ πάντα ἀμοιβῇ εἰσάγων. διό φησι
 καὶ ὁ θεῖος λόγος· “ἐξαποστειλάτωσαν ἐκ τῆς
 ἁγίου ψυχῆς πάντα λεπρὸν καὶ πάντα γονορρυῆ
 καὶ πάντα ἀκάθαρτον ἐν ψυχῇ, ἀπὸ ἀρσενικοῦ ἕως
 θηλυκοῦ” (Num. v. 2), καὶ τοὺς θλαδίας καὶ
 ἀποκεκομμένους τὰ γεννητικὰ τῆς ψυχῆς καὶ
 πόρνους τὴν ἐνὸς ἀρχὴν ἀποδιδράσκοντας, οἷς
 ἄντικρυς ἀπείρηται εἰς ἐκκλησίαν θεοῦ φοιτᾶν
 9 (Deut. xxiii. 2). οἱ δέ γε σοφοὶ λογισμοὶ οὐχ οἷον
 ἀποκρύπτονται, ἀλλ’ ἐμφανεῖς εἶναι γλίσχονται.
 οὐχ ὁρᾷς ὅτι ὁ Ἀβραὰμ “ἔτι ἦν ἐστηκὼς ἐνώπιον

^a See App. p. 482.

^b Literally “there being two colours.” See Lev. xiii. 9-17. ‘Raw flesh’ and ‘white’ would seem to be the “two colours.”

ALLEGORICAL INTERPRETATION, III. 6-9

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

- κυρίου καὶ ἐγγίσας εἶπε Μὴ συναπολέσης δίκαιον μετὰ ἀσεβοῦς" (Gen. xviii. 22, 23), τὸν ἐμφανῆ σοι καὶ γνώριμον μετὰ τοῦ φεύγοντός σε καὶ ἀποδιδράσκοντος; οὗτος μὲν γὰρ ἀσεβής, δίκαιος δὲ ὁ ἐστηκώς ἐναντίον σου καὶ μὴ φεύγων· σὲ
- 10 γάρ, ὦ δέσποτα, τιμᾶσθαι δίκαιον μόνον. οὐχ ὥσπερ δὲ ἀσεβής, οὕτω καὶ εὐσεβής τις εὐρίσκεται, ἀλλ' ἀγαπητόν, εἰ δίκαιος, οὐ χάριν φησί· "μὴ συναπολέσης δίκαιον μετὰ ἀσεβοῦς." ἀξίως γὰρ οὐδεὶς τὸν θεὸν τιμᾷ, ἀλλὰ δικαίως μόνον· ὁπότε γὰρ οὐδὲ τοῖς γονεῦσιν ἴσας ἀποδοῦναι χάριτας ἐνδέχεται—ἀντιγεννηῆσαι γὰρ οὐχ οἷόν τε τούτους—πῶς οὐκ ἀδύνατον τὸν θεὸν ἀμείψασθαι ἢ ἐπαινέσαι κατὰ τὴν ἀξίαν τὸν τὰ ὅλα συστησάμενον ἐκ μὴ ὄντων; πᾶσαν γὰρ ἀρετὴν παρέσχετο.
- 11 IV. Τρεῖς οὖν καιροὺς, ὦ ψυχή, τουτέστι τὸν τριμερῆ χρόνον σύμπαντα ἐμφανῆς αἰεὶ γίνου θεῷ, μὴ τὸ θῆλυ αἰσθητὸν πάθος ἐφελκομένη, ἀλλὰ τὸν ἀνδρεῖον καὶ καρτερίας ἀσκητὴν λογισμὸν ἐκθυμῶσα· τρισὶ γὰρ καιροῖς τοῦ ἐνιαυτοῦ ὀφθῆναι πᾶν ἀρσενικὸν ἐναντίον κυρίου τοῦ θεοῦ Ἰσραὴλ
- 12 ὁ ἱερὸς λόγος προστάττει (Deut. xvi. 16). διὰ τοῦτο καὶ Μωυσῆς, ὅτε ἐμφανῆς καθίσταται θεῷ, φεύγει τὸν διασκεδαστὴν τρόπον Φαραῶ, ὃς αὐχεῖ λέγων μὴ εἰδέναι τὸν κύριον (Exod. v. 2)· "ἀνεχώρησε" γάρ φησι "Μωυσῆς ἀπὸ προσώπου Φαραῶ καὶ κατώκησεν ἐν γῇ Μαδιάμ" (Exod. ii. 15), τῇ κρίσει

ALLEGORICAL INTERPRETATION, III. 9-12

said, 'Destroy Thou not the just man together with the impious one' " (Gen. xviii. 22 f.), the one that is manifest and known to Thee together with him who shuns and avoids Thee? For this one is impious, but he that stands before Thee and avoids Thee not is just. For the only justice is that Thou, O Master, shouldst be honoured. A pious man is not found with the same ease as an impious one. We have to be content with a just man. This is why he says, "Destroy not a just together with an impious man." For no one honours God as He deserves but only as is just. It is impossible to requite even our parents with boons equal to those which we have received from them—for it is out of the question to requite by becoming their parents. How must it not be impossible to recompense or to praise as He deserves Him who brought the universe out of non-existence? For it was an exercise towards us of every virtue.

IV. Through three seasons, then, O soul, that is throughout the whole of time with its threefold divisions, make thyself ever manifest to God, not dragging after thee the weak feminine passion of sense-perception, but giving forth as incense the manly reasoning schooled in fortitude. For the sacred word (Deut. xvi. 16) enjoins that at three seasons of the year every male is to show himself before the Lord the God of Israel. For this reason Moses also, when he is being established as one standing open before God, avoids Pharaoh, the symbol of dispersion, for he boasts saying that he knows not the Lord (Exod. v. 2). "Moses," we read, "withdrew from Pharaoh's presence and settled in the land of Midian" (Exod. ii. 15), or

- τῶν φύσεως πραγμάτων, “καὶ ἐκάθισεν ἐπὶ τοῦ φρέατος,” ἐκδεχόμενος τί ὁ θεὸς ἀνομβρήσει πότιμον τῇ διψώσῃ καὶ ποθούσῃ ψυχῇ τὸ ἀγαθόν.
- 13 ἀναχωρεῖ μὲν δὴ ἀπὸ τῆς ἀθέου καὶ ἡγεμονίδος τῶν παθῶν δόξης Φαραώ, ἀναχωρεῖ δὲ εἰς Μαδιάμ, τὴν κρίσιν, ἐξετάζων πότερον ἡρεμητέον αὐτῷ |
- [90] ἐστὶν ἢ δικαστέον πάλιν πρὸς τὸν φαῦλον ἐπ’ ὀλέθρῳ αὐτοῦ· σκέπτεται δέ, εἰ ἐπιθέμενος ἰσχύσει νικηφορήσαι, παρὸ καὶ κατέχεται ὑπομένων, ὡς ἔφην, εἰ ἀναδώσει ὁ θεὸς τῷ βαθεὶ καὶ μὴ κούφῳ λογισμῷ πηγὴν ἱκανὴν ἐπικλύσαι τὴν φορὰν τοῦ
- 14 Αἰγυπτίων βασιλέως, τῶν παθῶν αὐτοῦ. ἀξιούται μέντοι τῆς χάριτος· στρατευσάμενος γὰρ στρατεῖαν τὴν ὑπὲρ ἀρετῆς οὐ παύεται πολεμῶν, πρὶν ἐπιθεῖν πρηνεῖς καὶ ἀπράκτους τὰς ἡδονάς. οὐδ’ χάριν οὐ φεύγει Μωυσῆς ἀπὸ τοῦ Φαραώ, ἀνεπιστρεπτὶ γὰρ ἂν ἀπεδίδρασκεν, ἀλλ’ ἀναχωρεῖ, τουτέστιν ἀνακωχὴν ποιεῖται τοῦ πολέμου ἀθλητοῦ τρόπον διαπνέοντος καὶ συλλεγομένου τὸ πνεῦμα, μέχρις ἂν ἐγείρας τὴν φρονήσεως καὶ τῆς ἄλλης ἀρετῆς συμμαχίαν διὰ λόγων θείων μετὰ δυνάμεως ἐρρωμενεστάτης ἐπίθῃται.
- 15 Ὁ δὲ Ἰακώβ, περνιστῆς γὰρ ἐστὶ, μεθόδοις καὶ τέχναις τὴν ἀρετὴν οὐκ ἀκονιτὶ κτῶμενος—οὐ γὰρ μετωνόμαστό πω εἰς τὸν Ἰσραὴλ—ἀποδιδράσκει τῶν κατὰ Λάβαν πραγμάτων, τουτέστι χρωμάτων καὶ σχημάτων καὶ συνόλως σωματῶν, ἃ τὸν νοῦν διὰ τῶν αἰσθητῶν τιτρώσκειν πέφυκεν· ἐπειδὴ γὰρ αὐτὰ νικῆσαι παρὼν κατὰ τὸ παντελὲς

ALLEGORICAL INTERPRETATION, III. 12-15

in the examination of the things of nature, "and sat on the well," waiting to see what draught God would send to quench the thirst of his soul in its longing for that which is good. So he withdraws from the godless opinion of Pharaoh, which the passions follow as their leader, and withdraws into Midian, the sifting-place, to inquire whether he is to be still or to dispute again with the evil man for his destruction; he considers whether, if he attack him, he shall prevail to win the victory, and so he is kept there waiting upon God, as I have said, to see whether He will bestow upon a deep reasoning faculty free from shallowness a stream sufficient to drown the onrush of the king of the Egyptians, the onrush, that is, of his passions. And he is deemed worthy of the boon: for, having taken the field in the cause of virtue, he does not abandon the warfare till he beholds the pleasures prostrate and out of action. This is why Moses does not fly from Pharaoh, for that would have been to run away and not return, but, like an athlete taking an interval to regain his breath, "withdraws," that is, brings about a cessation of arms, until he shall by divine words have raised forces of wisdom and every other virtue to aid him in renewing the attack with irresistible power.

But Jacob, "Supplanter" that he is, acquiring virtue with great toil by wiles and artifices, his name having not yet been changed into "Israel," runs away from Laban and all his belongings, tints and shapes and material bodies generally, whose nature it is to inflict wounds on the mind through the objects of sense. For since when facing them he was not able completely to vanquish them, he

- οὐκ ἡδύνατο, φεύγει δεδιὼς τὴν πρὸς αὐτῶν ἤτταν καὶ σφόδρα ἐπαίνων ἄξιος· “εὐλαβεῖς” γάρ φησι Μωυσῆς “ποιήσετε τοὺς υἱοὺς τοῦ ὀρώντος” (Lev. xv. 31), ἀλλ’ οὐ θρασεῖς καὶ τῶν μὴ καθ’
- 16 αὐτοὺς ἐρώντας. V. “καὶ ἔκρυψεν Ἰακώβ Λάβαν τὸν Σύρον τοῦ μὴ ἀναγγεῖλαι αὐτῷ ὅτι ἀποδιδράσκει. καὶ ἀπέδρα αὐτὸς καὶ τὰ αὐτοῦ πάντα, καὶ διέβη τὸν ποταμὸν καὶ ὤρμησεν εἰς τὸ ὄρος Γαλαὰδ” (Gen. xxxi. 20, 21). φυσικώτατόν ἐστι τὸ κρύπτειν ὅτι ἀποδιδράσκει καὶ μὴ ἀναγγέλλειν τῷ ἡρτημένῳ τῶν αἰσθητῶν λογισμῷ Λάβαν· οἶον ἔαν κάλλος ἰδὼν αἵρεθῆς αὐτῷ καὶ μέλλης πταίειν περὶ αὐτό, φύγε λαθὼν ἀπὸ τῆς φαντασίας αὐτοῦ καὶ μηκέτι ἀναγγεῖλῃς τῷ νῷ, τουτέστι μὴ ἐπιλογίῃς πάλιν μηδὲ μελετήσῃς· αἱ γὰρ συνεχεῖς ὑπομνήσεις τύπους ἐγχαράττουσαι τρανοὺς βλάπτουσι τὴν διάνοιαν καὶ ἄκουσαν αὐτὴν <πολλάκις>
- 17 περιτρέπουσιν. ὁ δ’ αὐτὸς λόγος καὶ ἐπὶ πάντων τῶν καθ’ ἡντινοῦν αἰσθησιν ὀλκῶν· ἐν γὰρ τούτοις σῶτειρα ἢ λαθραία φυγή, τὸ δ’ ὑπομιμνήσκεσθαι καὶ ἀναγγέλλειν καὶ ἀναπολεῖν κρατεῖ καὶ δουλοῦται βιαίως τὸν λογισμόν. μηδέποτ’ οὖν, ὦ διάνοια, τὸ φανὲν αἰσθητόν, εἰ μέλλεις ἀλίσκεσθαι πρὸς αὐτοῦ, ἀναγγεῖλῃς σαυτῇ μηδὲ ἀναπολήσῃς αὐτό, ἵνα μὴ κρατηθεῖσα κακοδαίμονῃς· ἀλλ’ ἄφετος ὀρμήσασα ἀπόδραθι ἐλευθερίαν ἀτίθασον δουλείας χειροθήους προκρίνουσα.

^a See App. p. 482.

ALLEGORICAL INTERPRETATION, III. 15-17

flies, fearing defeat at their hands. And in doing so he is thoroughly deserving of praise ; for Moses says, " Ye shall make the sons of the seeing one cautious " (Lev. xv. 31), not bold and aiming at what is beyond their capacity. V. " And Jacob stole away unawares to Laban the Syrian, in that he told him not that he fled.^a So he fled with all that he had ; and passed over the river, and set his face toward the mountain of Gilead " (Gen. xxxi. 20 f.). It is thoroughly in accordance with true principles that he is said to have concealed the fact that he is running away and not made it known to Laban, who represents the way of thinking governed by objects of sense. For instance, if thou hast caught sight of beauty and been captivated by it, and if it is like to be a cause of stumbling to thee, fly secretly from the vision of it, and give no further report of it to thy mind, that is to say, do not give it another thought or ponder it : for to keep on recalling anything is the way to engrave on the mind distinct outlines of it, which injure the mind and often bring it to ruin against its will. The same principle holds in the case of every kind of attraction by the avenue of whatever sense it may reach us ; for here safety lies in secret flight ; but recalling the attractive object in memory, telling of it, turning it over, spells conquest and harsh slavery for our reasoning faculty. If, therefore, O my mind, thou art in imminent danger of falling a prey to some object of sense that has shown itself, never report it to thyself, never dwell on it, lest thou be overcome and plunged into misery. Nay, rush forth at large, make thy escape, choose the freedom of the wild rather than the slavery of the tame.

- 18 VI. Διὰ τί δὲ νῦν ὡς ἀγνοοῦντος τοῦ Ἰακώβ, ὅτι Σύρος ὁ Λάβαν ἐστί, φησὶν “ ἔκρυψε δὲ Ἰακώβ
 [91] Λάβαν τὸν Σύρον ”; ἔχει δὲ καὶ τοῦτο οὐ |
 πάρεργον λόγον· Συρία γὰρ ἐρμηνεύεται μετέωρα·
 ὁ ἀσκητὴς οὖν Ἰακώβ νοῦς, ὅτε μὲν ὁρᾷ ταπεινὸν
 τὸ πάθος, περιμένει λογιζόμενος αὐτὸ νικήσειν
 κατὰ κράτος, ὅτε δὲ μετέωρον καὶ ὑψαυχενοῦν
 καὶ ὑπέρογκον, ἀποδιδράσκει τε ὁ νοῦς ὁ ἀσκητὴς
 πρῶτος, εἶτα καὶ τὰ αὐτοῦ πάντα μέρη τῆς
 ἀσκήσεως, ἀναγνώσεις, μελέται, θεραπείαι, τῶν
 καλῶν μνήμαι, ἐγκράτεια, τῶν καθηκόντων ἐνέρ-
 γειαι, καὶ διαβαίνει τὸν τῶν αἰσθητῶν ποταμὸν
 τὸν ἐπικλύζοντα καὶ βαπτίζοντα τῇ φορᾷ τῶν
 παθῶν τὴν ψυχὴν, καὶ ὁρμᾷ διαβὰς εἰς τὸν ὑψηλὸν
 καὶ μετέωρον <τόπον> τὸν λόγον τῆς τελείας
 19 ἀρετῆς· “ ὥρμησε γὰρ εἰς τὸ ὄρος Γαλαᾶδ,”
 ἐρμηνεύεται δὲ μετοικία μαρτυρίας, τοῦ θεοῦ
 μετοικίσαντος τὴν ψυχὴν ἀπὸ τῶν κατὰ Λάβαν
 παθῶν καὶ μαρτυρήσαντος αὐτῇ μετανάστασιν,
 ὅτι λυσιτελεῖ καὶ συμφέρουσα, καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν
 ταπεινῶν καὶ χαμαίζηλον ἀπεργαζομένων τὴν
 ψυχὴν κακῶν εἰς ὕψος καὶ μέγεθος ἀρετῆς προ-
 ἀγοντος.
- 20 Διὰ τοῦτο ὁ φίλος τῶν αἰσθήσεων καὶ κατ’
 αὐτὰς ἀλλὰ μὴ κατὰ νοῦν ἐνεργῶν Λάβαν ἀγα-
 νακτεῖ καὶ διώκει καὶ φησιν· “ ἵνα τί κρυφῇ
 ἀπέδρας ” (Gen. xxxi. 26), ἀλλ’ οὐ παρέμεινας
 τῇ τοῦ σώματος ἀπολαύσει καὶ τῷ δόγματι τῷ
 <τὰ> περὶ σῶμα καὶ τὰ ἐκτὸς ἀγαθὰ κρίνοντι;
 ἀλλὰ καὶ φεύγων ἀπὸ τῆσδε τῆς δόξης ἐσύλησας

ALLEGORICAL INTERPRETATION, III. 18-20

VI. Now (let us ask) why, as though Jacob were not aware that Laban was a Syrian, does he say, "Jacob kept Laban the Syrian in the dark"? In this likewise there is a point not without pertinence. For "Syria" means "Highlands." Jacob, therefore, the mind in training, when he sees passion grovelling low before him, awaits its onset calculating that he will master it by force, but when it is seen to be lofty, stately, weighty, the first to run away is the mind in training, followed by all his belongings, being portions of his discipline, readings, ponderings, acts of worship, and of remembrance of noble souls, self-control, discharge of daily duties; he crosses the river of objects of sense, that swamps and drowns the soul under the flood of the passions, and, when he has crossed it, sets his face for the lofty high-land, the principle of perfect virtue: "for he set his face towards the mountain of Gilead." The meaning of this name is "migration of witness"; for God caused the soul to migrate from the passions that are represented by Laban, and bore witness to it how greatly to its advantage and benefit its removal was, and led it on away from the evil things that render the soul low and grovelling up to the height and greatness of virtue.

For this reason Laban, the friend of the senses and the man whose actions are regulated by them and not by the mind, is vexed, and pursues him, and says, "Why didst thou run away secretly" (Gen. xxxi. 26), but didst not remain in the company of bodily enjoyment and of the teaching that gives the preference to bodily and external good things? But in addition to fleeing from this view of life, thou

- μου καὶ τὸ φρονεῖν, Λείαν τε καὶ Ῥαχήλ· αὐταὶ γάρ, ἡνίκα παρέμενον τῇ ψυχῇ, φρένας ἐνεποιοῦν ταύτῃ, μεταναστᾶσαι δὲ ἀμαθίαν καὶ ἀπαιδευσίαν αὐτῇ κατέλιπον· διὸ καὶ ἐπιφέρει ὅτι “ἐκλοπο-φύρησάς με” (ib.), τουτέστι τὸ φρονεῖν ἔκλεψας.
- 21 VII. τί οὖν ἦν τὸ φρονεῖν, ἐξηγήσεται· ἐπιφέρει γάρ· “καὶ ἀπήγαγες τὰς θυγατέρας μου ὡς αἰχμαλώτιδας· καὶ εἰ ἀνήγγειλάς μοι, ἐξαπέστειλα ἂν σε” (ib.). οὐκ ἂν ἐξαπέστειλας τὰ μαχόμενα ἀλλήλοις· εἰ γὰρ ἐξαπέστειλας ὄντως καὶ ἤλευθέρους τὴν ψυχὴν, περιεῖλες ἂν αὐτῆς τοὺς σωματικούς καὶ αἰσθητικούς ἅπαντας ἥχους· οὕτως γὰρ ἀπολυτροῦται κακιῶν καὶ παθῶν διάνοια. νυνὶ δὲ λέγεις μὲν, ὡς ἐξαποστέλλεις ἐλευθέραν, διὰ δὲ τῶν ἔργων ὁμολογεῖς, ὅτι κατέσχεες ἂν ἐν δεσμωτηρίῳ· εἰ γὰρ “μετὰ μουσικῶν καὶ τυμπάνων καὶ κιθάρας” καὶ τῶν καθ’ ἐκάστην αἴσθησιν ἡδονῶν προὔπεμπες, οὐκ ἂν ὄντως ἐξαπέστειλας. οὐ γὰρ μόνον σέ, ὦ σωματῶν καὶ χρωμάτων ἐταῖρε Λάβαν, ἀποδιδράσκομεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ πάντα τὰ σά, ἐν οἷς καὶ αἱ τῶν αἰσθήσεων φωναὶ ταῖς τῶν παθῶν ἐνεργείαις συνηχοῦσαι· μεμελετήκαμεν γάρ, εἴ γε ἀρετῆς ἐσμεν ἀσκηταί, μελέτην ἀναγκαίαν, ἣν καὶ Ἰακώβ ἐμελέτησεν,
- [92] ἀπολλύναι καὶ διαφθείρειν | τοὺς ἀλλοτρίους τῆς

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

ALLEGORICAL INTERPRETATION, III. 20-22

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

^b The things mutually at variance are true "well-being" and the lower delights, represented by the "music and tabrets and harp," which, as Philo takes it, are to go with those released.

ψυχῆς [τοὺς] θεοὺς, τοὺς χωνευτοὺς θεοὺς, οὓς ἀπηγόρευκε Μωυσῆς δημιουργεῖν (Lev. xix. 4). οὗτοι δ' εἰσὶν ἀρετῆς μὲν καὶ εὐπαθείας διάλυσις, κακίας δὲ καὶ παθῶν σύστασις τε καὶ πῆξις, τὸ γὰρ χεόμενον διαλυθὲν αὖθις πῆγνυται.

- 23 VIII. Λέγει δὲ οὕτως· “καὶ ἔδωκαν Ἰακώβ τοὺς θεοὺς τοὺς ἀλλοτρίους, οἳ ἦσαν ἐν ταῖς χερσὶν αὐτῶν, καὶ τὰ ἐνώτια τὰ ἐν τοῖς ὠσὶν αὐτῶν, καὶ κατέκρυψεν αὐτὰ Ἰακώβ ὑπὸ τὴν τερέβινθον τὴν ἐν Σικίμοις” (Gen. xxxv. 4). οὗτοι δ' εἰσὶ τῶν φαύλων θεοί. ὁ δὲ Ἰακώβ οὐ λέγεται λαμβάνειν, ἀλλὰ κρύπτειν καὶ ἀπολλύναι· πάντα διηκριβωμένως· ὁ γὰρ ἀστείος οὐδὲν λήψεται πρὸς περιουσίαν τῶν ἀπὸ κακίας, ἀλλὰ κρύψει καὶ ἀφανιεῖ
- 24 λάθρα· καθάπερ καὶ Ἀβραὰμ τῷ Σοδόμων βασιλεῖ τεχνάζοντι ἀλόγου φύσεως ποιήσασθαι ἀντίδοσιν πρὸς λογικὴν, ἵππου πρὸς ἄνδρας, φησὶ μηδὲν λήψεσθαι τῶν ἐκείνου, ἀλλ’ “ἐκτενεῖν” τὴν ψυχικὴν πράξιν, ὅπερ διὰ συμβόλου “χεῖρα” ὠνόμασε, “πρὸς τὸν θεὸν τὸν ὑψιστον” (Gen. xiv. 22), μὴ γὰρ λήψεσθαι “ἀπὸ σπαρτίου ἕως σφαιρωτῆρος ὑποδήματος” ἀπὸ πάντων τῶν ἐκείνου, ἵνα μὴ εἴπη πλούσιον πεποιηκέναι τὸν ὀρώντα πενίαν ἀρετῆς τῆς πλουσίας ἀντιδιδούς.
- 25 κρύπτεται μὲν αἰεὶ καὶ φυλάττεται τὰ πάθη ἐν Σικίμοις—ὠμιάσις δὲ ἐρμηνεύεται, ὁ γὰρ πονοῦμενος περὶ τὰς ἡδονὰς φυλακτικὸς τῶν ἡδονῶν ἐστίν—ἀπόλλυται δὲ καὶ διαφθείρεται παρὰ τῷ

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

^b De Migratione Abrahami 221.

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

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

^c Or "shouldering," *i.e.* 'toil.'

- σοφῶ, οὐ πρὸς βραχύν τινα χρόνον, ἀλλ' "ἕως τῆς σήμερον ἡμέρας," τουτέστιν αἰεὶ· ὁ γὰρ αἰὼν ἅπας τῷ σήμερον παραμετρεῖται, μέτρον γὰρ τοῦ
- 26 παντὸς χρόνου ὁ ἡμερήσιος κύκλος. διὸ καὶ ἐξαίρετον δίδωσι τῷ Ἰωσήφ τὰ Σίκιμα ὁ Ἰακώβ (Gen. xlviii. 22), τὰ σωματικὰ καὶ αἰσθητικά, μετιόντι τὸν ἐν τούτοις πόνον, τῷ δ' ἐξομολογούμενῳ Ἰουδα οὐχὶ δόσεις, ἀλλὰ αἶνεσιν καὶ ὕμνοισιν καὶ θεοπρεπεῖς ᾠδὰς πρὸς τῶν ἀδελφῶν (Gen. xlix. 8). τὰ δὲ Σίκιμα ὁ Ἰακώβ λαμβάνει οὐ παρὰ θεοῦ, ἀλλ' "ἐν μαχαίρᾳ καὶ τόξοις," λόγοις τμητικοῖς καὶ ἀμυντηρίοις· ὑποτάττει γὰρ καὶ τὰ δεύτερα ἑαυτῷ ὁ σοφός, ὑποτάξας δὲ οὐ φυλάττει,
- 27 ἀλλὰ χαρίζεται τῷ πεφυκότι πρὸς αὐτά. οὐχ ὁρᾷς ὅτι καὶ τοὺς θεοὺς δοκῶν λαμβάνειν οὐκ
- [93] εἴληφεν, ἀλλὰ ἀπέκρυψε | καὶ ἠφάνισε καὶ διέφθειρε τὸν αἰεὶ χρόνον ἀφ' ἑαυτοῦ; τίνι οὖν ψυχῇ ἀποκρύπτειν καὶ ἀφανίζειν κακίαν ἐγένετο, εἰ μὴ ἡ ὁ θεὸς ἐνεφανίσθη, ἣν καὶ τῶν ἀπορρήτων μυστηρίων ἠξίωσε; φησὶ γάρ· "μὴ κρύψω ἐγὼ ἀπὸ Ἀβραάμ τοῦ παιδός μου ἃ ἐγὼ ποιῶ;" (Gen. xviii. 17) εἶ, σῶτερ, ὅτι τὰ σεαυτοῦ ἔργα ἐπιδείκνυσαι τῇ ποθούσῃ τὰ καλὰ ψυχῇ καὶ οὐδὲν αὐτὴν τῶν σῶν ἔργων ἐπικέκρυψαι. τούτου χάριν ἰσχύει φεύγειν κακίαν καὶ ἀποκρύπτειν καὶ συσκιαίνειν καὶ ἀπολλύναι αἰεὶ τὸ βλαβερὸν πάθος.
- 28 IX. "Ὅν μὲν οὖν τρόπον φυγὰς τέ ἐστιν ὁ φαῦλος καὶ ἀποκρύπτεται θεόν, δεδηλώκαμεν· νυνὶ δὲ

^a LXX. Σίκιμα ἐξαίρετον. R.V. (text) "one portion"; R.V. (margin) "one mountain slope." Heb. "Shechem" = "shoulder."

^b See Gen. xxxv. 4.

ALLEGORICAL INTERPRETATION, III. 25-28

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

IX. In what manner, then, the bad man is in banishment and hiding himself from God we have

- σκεψώμεθα, ὅπου ἀποκρύπτεται. “ἐν μέσῳ” φησί “τοῦ ξύλου τοῦ παραδείσου” (Gen. iii. 8), τουτέστι κατὰ μέσον τὸν νοῦν, ὃς καὶ αὐτὸς μέσος ἐστὶν ὡσανεὶ παραδείσου τῆς ὅλης ψυχῆς· ὁ γὰρ
- 29 ἀποδιδράσκων θεὸν καταφεύγει εἰς ἑαυτόν. δυοῖν γὰρ ὄντων τοῦ τε τῶν ὅλων νοῦ, ὃς ἐστὶ θεός, καὶ τοῦ ἰδίου, ὁ μὲν φεύγων ἀπὸ τοῦ καθ’ αὐτὸν καταφεύγει ἐπὶ τὸν συμπάντων—ὁ γὰρ νοῦν τὸν ἴδιον ἀπολείπων ὁμολογεῖ μηδὲν εἶναι τὰ κατὰ τὸν ἀνθρώπινον νοῦν, ἅπαντα δὲ προσάπτει θεῷ—ὁ δὲ πάλιν ἀποδιδράσκων θεὸν τὸν μὲν οὐδενὸς αἰτιόν φησιν εἶναι, τῶν δὲ γινομένων ἀπάντων
- 30 ἑαυτόν· λέγεται γοῦν παρὰ πολλοῖς, ὅτι τὰ ἐν τῷ κόσμῳ πάντα φέρεται χωρὶς ἡγεμόνος ἀπ-αυτοματίζοντα, τέχνας δὲ καὶ ἐπιτηδεύματα καὶ νόμους καὶ ἔθνη καὶ πολιτικά καὶ ἴδια καὶ κοινὰ δίκαια πρὸς τε ἀνθρώπους καὶ πρὸς τὰ ἄλογα
- 31 ζῶα ἔθετο μόνος ὁ ἀνθρώπινος νοῦς. ἀλλ’ ὁρᾷς, ὦ ψυχή, τῶν δοξῶν τὸ παραλλάττον· ἡ μὲν γὰρ τὸν ἐπὶ μέρους τὸν γενητὸν καὶ θνητὸν ἀπολιποῦσα τὸν τῶν ὅλων καὶ ἀγένητον καὶ ἀφθαρτον ἐπιγράφεται ὄντως, ἡ δὲ πάλιν θεὸν ἀποδοκιμάζουσα τὸν μηδ’ αὐτῷ βοηθῆσαι ἱκανὸν νοῦν σύμμαχον ἐπισπᾶται πλημμελῶς.
- 32 X. Τούτου χάριν καὶ Μωυσῆς φησιν ὅτι “ἐὰν <έν> τῷ διορύγματι εὔρεθῇ ὁ κλέπτης καὶ πληγεὶς ἀποθάνῃ, οὐκ ἔστιν αὐτῷ φόνος· ἐὰν δὲ καὶ ὁ ἥλιος ἀνατείλῃ ἐπ’ αὐτῷ, ἐνοχός ἐστιν, ἀνταπο-

* See App. pp. 482, 483.

ALLEGORICAL INTERPRETATION, III. 28-32

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

X. This is the ground for Moses' words, " If the thief be found where he has just broken through and be smitten and die, there is no blood-guiltiness for him ^a : but if the sun have risen upon him, (then he)

- θανείται" (Exod. xxii. 1, 2). ἐὰν γάρ τις τὸν ἐστῶτα καὶ ὑγιῇ καὶ ὀρθὸν διακόψῃ καὶ διέλῃ λόγον, ὃς θεῷ μόνῳ τὸ πάντα δύνασθαι μαρτυρεῖ, καὶ εὗρεθῇ ἐν τῷ διορύγματι τουτέστιν ἐν τῷ τετρημένῳ καὶ διηρημένῳ, ὃς τὸν ἴδιον νοῦν ἐνεργοῦντα οἶδεν, ἀλλ' οὐ θεόν, κλέπτῃς ἐστὶ τὰ
- 33 ἀλλότρια ἀφαιρούμενος· θεοῦ γὰρ τὰ πάντα κτήματα, ὥστε ὁ ἑαυτῷ τι προσνέμων τὰ ἑτέρου νοσφίζεται καὶ πληγὴν ἔχει παγχάλεπον καὶ δυσίατον, οἷσιν, πρᾶγμα ἀμαθίας καὶ ἀπαιδευσίας συγγενές. τὸν δὲ πλήττοντα παρησύχασεν· οὐ
- [94] γάρ ἐστὶν ἕτερος τοῦ πληττομένου· ἀλλ' | ὥσπερ ὁ τρίβων ἑαυτὸν καὶ τρίβεται καὶ ὁ ἐκτείνων ἑαυτὸν καὶ ἐκτείνεται—τὴν τε γὰρ τοῦ δρῶντος δύναμιν καὶ τὸ τοῦ ὑπομένουτος πάθος αὐτὸς¹ ἐκδέχεται—οὕτως ὁ κλέπτων τὰ θεοῦ καὶ ἑαυτῷ ἐπιγράφων ὑπὸ τῆς ἑαυτοῦ ἀθεότητός τε καὶ
- 34 οἰήσεως αἰκίζεται. εἴθε μέντοι πληχθεὶς ἀποθάνοι, τουτέστιν ἄπρακτος διατελέσειεν· ἦττον γὰρ ἁμαρτάνειν δόξει. τῆς γὰρ κακίας ἡ μὲν ἐν σχέσει θεωρεῖται, ἡ δὲ ἐν κινήσει θεωρεῖται· νεύει δὲ πρὸς τὰς τῶν ἀποτελεσμάτων ἐκπληρώσεις ἡ ἐν τῷ κινεῖσθαι, διὸ καὶ χείρων τῆς κατὰ σχέσιν
- 35 ἐστίν. ἐὰν οὖν ἡ διάνοια ἀποθάνῃ ἡ δοξάζουσα αὐτὴν αἰτίαν τῶν γινομένων, ἀλλὰ μὴ θεόν, τουτέστιν ἡρεμήσῃ καὶ συσταλῇ, οὐκ ἔστιν αὐτῇ φόνος· οὐκ ἀνῆρκε τελέως τὸ ἐμφυχον δόγμα τὸ

¹ ? αὐτὸς.^a Or "comes to pass."

ALLEGORICAL INTERPRETATION, III. 32-35

is liable, he shall die in requital" (Exod. xxii. 1 f.). For if a man cleave and break through the tenet that stands firm in its soundness and uprightness, testifying of unlimited power as belonging to God alone, and he be found where he has broken through, that is, in the pierced and cloven doctrine that is conscious of a man's own mind at work but not of God, he is a thief abstracting what belongs to another ; for all things are God's possessions, so that he who assigns anything to himself is appropriating what is another's, and he receives a blow grievous and hard to be healed, even self-conceit, a thing akin to boorish ignorance. Moses does not make distinct mention of the man who strikes, for he is no other than the man who is struck ; just as the man who rubs himself is also rubbed, and the man who stretches himself is also stretched ; for in his own person he is at the same time active and passive, employs the force and submits to its effect. Even so he that steals what is God's and assigns it to himself, is the victim of the outrage inflicted by his own impiety and self-conceit. A good thing it would be should he die when struck, that is to say permanently fail of the accomplishment of his purpose ; for he must then be held to be less a sinner. For wickedness presents itself now as stationary, now as moving. It is wickedness in motion that is ripe for filling up its full measure by carrying its designs to completion, and so it is worse than stationary wickedness. If, therefore, the understanding which fancies itself and not God to be the cause of all that comes into existence ^a die, that is, shrink into inactivity, blood-guiltiness does not pertain to it ; it has not gone the full length of

θεῶ τὰς ἀπάσας δυνάμεις ἐπιγράφον· ἐὰν δὲ ἀνατείλῃ ὁ ἥλιος, τουτέστιν ὁ φαινόμενος λαμπρὸς νοῦς ἐν ἡμῖν, καὶ δόξῃ πάντα διορᾶν καὶ πάντα βραβεύειν καὶ μηδὲν ἐκφεύγειν ἑαυτόν, ἔνοχός ἐστιν, ἀνταποθανεῖται τοῦ ἐμφύχου δόγματος ὁ ἀνείλε, καθ' ὃ μόνος αἰτιός ἐστιν ὁ θεός, εὐρισκόμενος ἄπρακτος καὶ νεκρὸς ὄντως αὐτός, ἀψύχου καὶ θνητοῦ καὶ πλημμελοῦς δόγματος εἰσηγητὴς γεγεννημένος.

- 36 XI. Παρὸ καὶ καταρᾶται ὁ ἱερὸς λόγος τιθέντι ἐν ἀποκρύφῳ γλυπτὸν ἢ χωνευτόν, ἔργον χειρῶν τεχνίτου (Deut. xxvii. 15). τί γὰρ τὰς φαύλας δόξας, ὅτι ποιός ἐστιν ὁ θεὸς ὡς καὶ τὰ γλυπτὰ ὁ ἄποιος, ὅτι φθαρτὸς ὡς τὰ χωνευτὰ ὁ ἀφθαρτος, ταμιεύεις καὶ θησαυρίζεις, ὦ διάνοια, ἐν σαυτῇ, ἀλλ' οὐκ εἰς μέσον προφέρεις, ἵν' ὑπὸ τῶν ἀσκητῶν τῆς ἀληθείας ἃ χρὴ διδαχθῆς; οἶει μὲν γὰρ τεχνική τις εἶναι, ὅτι κατὰ τῆς ἀληθείας ἀμούσους πιθανότητος μεμελέτηκας, ἄτεχνος δὲ ἀνευρίσκει νόσον χαλεπὴν ψυχῆς ἀμαθίαν οὐκ ἐθέλουσα θεραπεύεσθαι.

- 37 XII. Ὅτι δὲ ὁ φαῦλος εἰς τὸν σποράδα νοῦν ἑαυτοῦ καταδύεται φεύγων τὸν ὄντα, μαρτυρήσει Μωυσῆς ὁ “πατάξας τὸν Αἰγύπτιον καὶ κρύψας ἐν τῇ ἄμμῳ” (Exod. ii. 12), ὅπερ ἦν, συλλογισάμενος τὸν προστατεῖν λέγοντα <τὰ> τοῦ

abolishing the living doctrine which ascribes to God the totality of powers. But if the sun shall have risen, that is the mind that shines so brilliantly in us, and shall have conceived the notion that it discerns all things, and decides all things, and that nothing ever escapes it, he is guilty, he shall die in requital for the living doctrine which he destroyed, which acknowledges God as the sole Cause. For he is found futile and dead indeed in himself; he has come forward as the author of a lifeless, mortal, and erroneous doctrine.

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

XII. That the bad man sinks down into his own incoherent mind as he strives to avoid Him that is, we shall learn from Moses who "smote the Egyptian and hid him in the sand" (Exod. ii. 12). This means that he took full account of the man who maintains

- σώματος καὶ μηδὲν τὰ ψυχῆς νομίζοντα καὶ τέλος
 38 ἡγούμενον τὰς ἡδονάς· κατανοήσας γὰρ τὸν πόνον
 τοῦ τὸν θεὸν ὀρώντος, ὃν ἐπιτίθῃσιν αὐτῷ ὁ βασι-
 λεὺς τῆς Αἰγύπτου, ἢ τῶν παθῶν ἡγεμονὶς κακία,
 ὁρᾷ τὸν Αἰγύπτιον ἄνθρωπον, τὸ ἀνθρώπειον καὶ
 ἐπὶ κηρον πάθος, τύπτοντα καὶ αἰκιζόμενον τὸν
 ὀρώντα, περιβλεψάμενος δὲ τὴν ὅλην ψυχὴν ὧδε
 κἀκεῖσε καὶ μηδένα ἰδὼν ἐστῶτα, ὅτι μὴ τὸν ὄντα
 θεόν, τὰ δ' ἄλλα κλονούμενα καὶ σαλευόμενα, |
 [95] πατάξας καὶ συλλογισάμενος τὸν φιλήδονον κρύπτει
 ἐν τῷ σποράδι καὶ συμπεφορημένῳ¹ νῶ, ὃς συμ-
 φυΐας καὶ ἐνώσεως τῆς πρὸς τὸ καλὸν ἐστέρηται.
 39 οὗτος μὲν οὖν ἀποκέκρυπται εἰς αὐτόν· ὁ δὲ
 ἐναντίος τούτῳ φεύγει μὲν ἀφ' ἑαυτοῦ, κατα-
 φεύγει δ' ἐπὶ τὸν τῶν ὄντων θεόν. XIII. διὸ καὶ
 φησιν· “ἐξήγαγεν αὐτὸν ἔξω καὶ εἶπεν Ἀνά-
 βλεψον εἰς τὸν οὐρανὸν καὶ ἀρίθμησον τοὺς
 ἀστέρας” (Gen. xv. 5), οὓς ἐβουλόμεθα μὲν
 περιλαβεῖν καὶ περιαθρῆσαι ἅπληστοι τῶν ἀρετῆς
 ὄντες ἐρώτων, ἀδυνατοῦμεν δὲ πλοῦτον ἀνα-
 40 μετρήσαι θεοῦ. ἀλλ' ὅμως χάρις τῷ φιλοδώρῳ,
 ὅτι οὕτω σπέρματα ἐν ψυχῇ βαλέσθαι φησὶ
 τηλαυγῇ καὶ λαμπρὰ καὶ δι' ὅλων νοερά ὡς τοὺς
 ἀστέρας ἐν οὐρανῷ. οὐ παρέργως δὲ πρόσκειται
 τῷ “ἐξήγαγεν αὐτὸν” τὸ “ἔξω”; τίς γὰρ
 ἔνδον ἐξάγεται; ἀλλὰ μήποτε ὁ λέγει τοιοῦτόν
 ἐστίν· ἐξήγαγεν αὐτὸν εἰς τὸ ἐξωτάτῳ χωρίον,
 οὐκ εἰς τι τῶν ἐκτός, ὃ δύναται ὑπ' ἄλλων περι-
 ἔχεσθαι· ὥσπερ γὰρ ἐν ταῖς οἰκίαις τοῦ θαλάμου

¹ συμπεφ. from Mangey's conjecture.

^a Cf. Exod. ii. 11.

ALLEGORICAL INTERPRETATION, III. 37-40

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

- ἐκτὸς μὲν ἐστὶν ὁ ἀνδρῶν, ἐντὸς δὲ ὁ αὐλῶν, καὶ ἡ αὐλῆος ἐκτὸς μὲν τῆς αὐλῆς, εἴσω δὲ τοῦ πυλῶνος, οὕτως καὶ ἐπὶ ψυχῆς δύναται τὸ ἐκτὸς
- 41 τινος ἐντὸς εἶναι [τοῦ] ἐτέρου. οὕτως οὖν ἀκουστέον· τὸν νοῦν εἰς τὸ ἐξώτατον ἐξήγαγε. τί γὰρ ὄφελος ἦν καταλιπεῖν αὐτὸν τὸ σῶμα, καταφυγεῖν δὲ ἐπ' αἰσθησιν; τί δὲ αἰσθήσει μὲν ἀποτάξασθαι, λόγῳ δὲ ὑποστεῖλαι τῷ γεγωνῶ; χρή γὰρ τὸν μέλλοντα νοῦν ἐξάγεσθαι καὶ ἐν ἐλευθερίᾳ ἀφίεσθαι πάντων ὑπεκστῆναι, σωματικῶν ἀναγκῶν, αἰσθητικῶν ὀργάνων, λόγων σοφιστικῶν, πιθανότητων, τὰ τελευταῖα καὶ ἑαυτοῦ.
- 42 XIV. διὸ καὶ ἐν ἐτέροις αὐχεῖ λέγων· “κύριος ὁ θεὸς τοῦ οὐρανοῦ καὶ ὁ θεὸς τῆς γῆς, ὃς ἔλαβέ με ἐκ τοῦ οἴκου τοῦ πατρός μου” (Gen. xxiv. 7). οὐ γάρ ἐστι <τὸν> κατοικοῦντα ἐν σώματι καὶ τῷ θνητῷ γένει δυνατόν θεῷ συγγενέσθαι, ἀλλὰ τὸν <ὄν> ἐκ τοῦ δεσμωτηρίου θεὸς διαρρύεται.
- 43 οὗ ἕνεκα καὶ ἡ τῆς ψυχῆς χαρὰ Ἰσαάκ, ὅταν ἀδολεσχῇ καὶ ἰδιάζῃ θεῷ, ἐξέρχεται ἀπολείπων ἑαυτὸν καὶ τὸν ἴδιον νοῦν· “ἐξῆλθε” γάρ φησιν “Ἰσαάκ ἀδολεσχῆσαι εἰς τὸ πεδίον τὸ πρὸς δείλης” (Gen. xxiv. 63). καὶ Μωυσῆς δὲ ὁ προφητικὸς λόγος φησὶν· “ὅταν ἐξέλθω τὴν πόλιν,” τὴν ψυχὴν—πόλις γάρ ἐστι καὶ αὕτη τοῦ ζώου νόμους διδοῦσα καὶ ἔθνη—“ἐκπετάσω τὰς χεῖρας” (Exod. ix. 29), καὶ ἀναπετάσω καὶ ἐξαπλώσω πάσας τὰς πράξεις θεῷ μάρτυρα καλῶν καὶ ἐπίσκοπον ἐκάστης, ὃν κακία κρύπ-

quarters outside them and the passage inside them, and the courtyard door is outside the court but inside the gateway, even so, in the case of the soul too, that which is outside one part can be inside another part. We must take what he says in this way ; He led forth the mind to the outermost bound. For what advantage would it have been for it to leave the body behind and take refuge in sense-perception ? What gain in renouncing sense-perception and taking shelter under the uttered word ? For it behoves the mind that would be led forth and let go free to withdraw itself from the influence of everything, the needs of the body, the organs of sense, specious arguments, the plausibilities of rhetoric, last of all itself.

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

[96] τεσθαι οὐ πέφυκεν, | ἑξαπλοῦσθαι δὲ καὶ φανερώς
 ὁρᾶσθαι.

44 "Όταν μέντοι διὰ πάντων ἡ ψυχὴ καὶ λόγων καὶ
 ἔργων ἑξαπλωθῇ καὶ ἐκθειασθῇ, παύονται τῶν
 αἰσθήσεων αἱ φωναὶ καὶ πάντες οἱ ὀχληροὶ καὶ
 δυσώνυμοι ἤχοι· φωνεῖ γὰρ καὶ καλεῖ τὸ μὲν
 ὁρατὸν τὴν ὄρασιν ἐφ' ἑαυτό, ἡ δὲ φωνὴ τὴν
 ἀκοήν, ὃ δὲ ἀτμός τὴν ὄσφρησιν, καὶ συνόλως τὸ
 αἰσθητὸν τὴν αἴσθησιν ἐφ' ἑαυτὸ προσκαλεῖται·
 ταῦτα δὲ πάντα παύεται, ὅταν ἑξελλθοῦσα τὴν
 ψυχῆς πόλιν ἡ διάνοια θεῶ τὰς ἑαυτῆς πράξεις
 45 καὶ διανοήσεις ἀνάψῃ. XV. καὶ γὰρ εἰσιν "αἱ
 χεῖρες Μωυσεὶ βαρεῖαι" (Exod. xvii. 12)· ἐπειδὴ
 γὰρ αἱ τοῦ φαύλου πράξεις ἀνεμιαῖοί τε καὶ
 κοῦφαι, γένοιντ' ἂν αἱ τοῦ σοφοῦ βαρεῖαι καὶ
 ἀκίνητοι οὐδ' εὐσάλευτοι· παρὸ καὶ στηρίζονται
 ὑπὸ τε Ἀαρών, τοῦ λόγου, καὶ Ὡρ, ὃ ἐστι φῶς·
 οὐδὲν <δὲ> τῶν πραγμάτων φῶς ἐναργέστερόν
 ἐστὶν ἀληθείας· βούλεται οὖν διὰ συμβόλων σοὶ
 παραστήσαι, ὅτι αἱ τοῦ σοφοῦ πράξεις στηρίζονται
 ὑπὸ τῶν ἀναγκαιοτάτων λόγου τε καὶ ἀληθείας.
 διὸ καὶ Ἀαρὼν ὅταν τελευτᾷ, τουτέστιν ὅταν
 τελειωθῇ, εἰς Ὡρ, ὃ ἐστι φῶς, ἀνέρχεται (Num.
 xx. 25)· τὸ γὰρ τέλος τοῦ λόγου ἀλήθειά ἐστιν ἡ
 φωτὸς τηλαυγεστέρα, εἰς ἣν σπουδάζει ὁ λόγος
 ἐλθεῖν.

46 Οὐχ ὁρᾷς ὅτι καὶ τὴν παρὰ τοῦ θεοῦ σκηνὴν
 (Exod. xxxiii. 7) λαβὼν, τουτέστι σοφίαν, ἐν ἣ
 κατασκηνοῖ καὶ ἐνοικεῖ ὁ σοφός, ἔπηξε καὶ ἐβε-
 βαιώσατο καὶ κραταιῶς ἰδρύσατο, οὐκ ἐν τῷ
 σώματι, ἀλλ' ἔξω τούτου; παρεμβολῇ γὰρ αὐτὸ
 ἀπεικάζει, στρατοπέδῳ πολέμων καὶ κακῶν ὅσα

ALLEGORICAL INTERPRETATION, III. 43-46

but is forced to remove all disguises and be plainly seen.

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

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

^a Exod. ix. 29 is still being handled.

- πόλεμος ἐργάζεται πλήρει, μετουσίαν εἰρήνης οὐκ ἔχοντι. “καὶ ἐκλήθη ἡ σκηνὴ μαρτυρίου,” σοφία μαρτυρουμένη ὑπὸ θεοῦ· καὶ γὰρ “πᾶς ὁ ζητῶν
 47 κύριον ἐξεπορεύετο,” παγκάλως· εἰ γὰρ ζητεῖς θεόν, ὦ διάνοια, ἐξελθοῦσα ἀπὸ σαυτῆς ἀναζήτει, μένουσα δὲ ἐν τοῖς σωματικοῖς ὄγκοις ἢ ταῖς κατὰ νοῦν οἰήσεσιν ἀζητήτως ἔχεις τῶν θείων, κἂν ἐπιμορφάζῃς ὅτι ζητεῖς· εἰ δὲ ζητοῦσα εὐρήσεις θεόν, ἄδηλον, πολλοῖς γὰρ οὐκ ἐφάνέρωσεν ἑαυτόν, ἀλλ’ ἀτελῇ τὴν σπουδὴν ἄχρι παντὸς ἔσχον· ἐξαρκεῖ μέντοι πρὸς μετουσίαν ἀγαθῶν καὶ ψιλὸν τὸ ζητεῖν μόνον, αἰ γὰρ αἱ ἐπὶ τὰ καλὰ ὀρμαί, κἂν τοῦ τέλους ἀτυχῶσι, τοὺς
 48 χρωμένους προευφραίνουσιν. οὕτως ὁ μὲν φαῦλος ἀρετὴν γε φεύγων καὶ θεὸν ἀποκρυπτόμενος ἐπ’ ἀσθενῇ βοηθὸν καταφεύγει τὸν ἴδιον νοῦν, ὁ δὲ σπουδαῖος ἔμπαλιν ἑαυτὸν ἀποδιδράσκων ἀνα-
 [97] στρέφει πρὸς τὴν τοῦ ἐνὸς ἐπίγνωσιν, | καλὸν δρόμον καὶ πάντων ἄριστον ἀγώνισμα τοῦτο νικῶν.
 49 XVI. “Καὶ ἐκάλεσε κύριος ὁ θεὸς τὸν Ἀδὰμ καὶ εἶπεν αὐτῷ Ποῦ εἶ;” (Gen. iii. 9) διὰ τί μόνος καλεῖται ὁ Ἀδὰμ, συγκεκρυμμένης αὐτῷ καὶ τῆς γυναικός; λεκτέον οὖν πρῶτον, ὅτι καλεῖται ὁ νοῦς ὅπου ἦν, ὅταν ἔλεγχον λαμβάνῃ καὶ ἐπίστασιν τῆς τροπῆς· οὐ μόνον <δ’> αὐτὸς καλεῖται, ἀλλὰ καὶ αἱ δυνάμεις αὐτοῦ πᾶσαι, ἄνευ γὰρ τῶν δυνάμεων ὁ νοῦς καθ’ ἑαυτὸν γυμνὸς καὶ οὐδὲ ὧν εὐρίσκεται· μία δὲ τῶν δυνάμεων καὶ ἡ

^a i.e. ‘in the case in which it was.’ The sequel describes its case.

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

XVI. "And the Lord God called Adam and said to him, 'Where art thou?'" (Gen. iii. 9). Why is Adam alone called, his wife having hid herself with him? Well, first of all we must say, that the mind is called even there where it was,^a when it receives reproof and a check is given to its defection. But not only is the mind itself called, but all its faculties as well, for without its faculties the mind by itself is found naked and not even existent; and one of the faculties is sense-perception, the

50 αἰσθησις, ἥτις ἐστὶ γυνή. συγκέκληται οὖν τῷ Ἀδάμ τῷ νῷ καὶ ἡ γυνή αἰσθησις· ἰδίᾳ δ' αὐτὴν οὐ καλεῖ· διὰ τί; ὅτι ἄλογος οὖσα ἔλεγχον ἐξ ἑαυτῆς λαμβάνειν οὐ δύναται· οὔτε γὰρ ἡ ὄρασις οὔθ' ἡ ἀκοή οὔτε τις τῶν ἄλλων αἰσθήσεων διδακτὴ, ὥστε οὐ δύναται κατάληψιν πραγμάτων ποιήσασθαι· μόνων γὰρ σωμάτων διακριτικὴν εἰργάσατο αὐτὴν ὁ ἐργασάμενος· ὁ δὲ νοῦς ὁ διδασκόμενός ἐστιν, οὗ χάριν αὐτὸν ἄλλ' οὐ τὴν αἰσθησιν προκέκληται.

51 XVII. Τὸ δὲ “ποῦ εἶ” πολλαχῶς ἔστιν ἀποδοῦναι· ἅπαξ μὲν οὐ τὸ πειστικόν, ἀλλὰ τὸ ἀποφαντικόν τὸ ἴσον τῷ “ἐν τόπῳ ὑπάρχεις” βαρυνονομένου τοῦ “ποῦ εἶ.” ἐπειδὴ γὰρ ὠήθης τὸν θεὸν ἐν τῷ παραδείσῳ περιπατεῖν καὶ ὑπὸ τούτου περιέχεσθαι, μάθε ὅτι <οὐκ> εὖ τοῦτο πέπονθας, καὶ ἄκουσον παρὰ τοῦ ἐπισταμένου θεοῦ ῥῆσιν ἀληθεστάτην, ὅτι ὁ μὲν θεὸς οὐχὶ που—οὐ γὰρ περιέχεται ἀλλὰ περιέχει τὸ πᾶν—τὸ δὲ γενόμενον ἐν τόπῳ, περιέχεσθαι γὰρ αὐτὸ ἄλλ' οὐ

52 περιέχειν ἀναγκαῖον. δεῦτερον δὲ τὸ λεγόμενον ἴσον ἐστὶ τούτῳ· ποῦ γέγονας, ὦ ψυχὴ; ἀνθ' οἷων ἀγαθῶν οἷα ἥρῃσαι κακά; καλέσαντός σε τοῦ θεοῦ πρὸς μετουσίαν ἀρετῆς κακίαν μετέρχῃ, καὶ τὸ τῆς ζωῆς ξύλον, τουτέστι σοφίας ἢ δυνήσῃ ζῆν, παρασχόντος εἰς ἀπόλαυσιν ἀμαθίας καὶ φθορᾶς ἐνεφορήθης, κακοδαιμονίαν τὸν ψυχῆς θάνατον εὐδαιμονίας τῆς ἀληθινῆς ζωῆς προ-

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

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

A second account is this : What is said is equivalent to "Where hast thou arrived, O soul?" In the place of how great goods, what evils hast thou chosen for thyself? When God had invited thee to participate in virtue, art thou going after wickedness, and when He had provided for thy enjoyment the tree of life, that is of wisdom, whereby thou shouldst have power to live, didst thou gorge thyself with ignorance and corruption, preferring misery the soul's death to

- 53 κρίνασα; τρίτον ἐστὶ τὸ πειστικόν, πρὸς
 ὃ δύο γένοιντ' ἂν ἀποκρίσεις· μία μὲν πυνθανο-
 μένω “ ποῦ εἶ ” ἢ “ οὐδαμοῦ,” τόπον γὰρ οὐδένα
 ἔχει ἢ τοῦ φαύλου ψυχῇ, ᾧ ἐπιβήσεται ἢ ἐφ'
 οὗ ἰδρυθήσεται, παρὸ καὶ ἄτοπος λέγεται εἶναι ὁ
 φαῦλος—ἄτοπον δέ ἐστι κακὸν δύσθετον— τοιοῦτος
 δ' ὁ μὴ ἀστείος, σαλεύων καὶ κλονούμενος αἰεὶ καὶ
 πνεύματος τρόπον ἀστάτου διαφερόμενος, βεβαίον
 54 τὸ | παράπαν οὐδεμιᾶς γνώμης ἐταῖρος ὢν· ἑτέρα
 [98] δὲ γένοιτ' ἂν ἀπόκρισις τοιαύδε, ἥ κέχρηται καὶ ὁ
 Ἀδάμ· ποῦ εἰμι ἄκουε· ὅπου οἱ τὸν θεὸν ἰδεῖν
 ἀδυνατοῦντες, ὅπου οἱ θεοῦ οὐκ ἀκούοντες, ὅπου
 οἱ τὸ αἷτιον ἀποκρυπτόμενοι, ὅπου οἱ φεύγοντες
 ἀρετήν, ὅπου οἱ γυμνοὶ σοφίας, ὅπου οἱ φοβού-
 μενοι καὶ τρέμοντες ὑπ' ἀνανδρίας καὶ δειλίας
 ψυχικῆς· ὅταν γὰρ λέγῃ “ τῆς φωνῆς σου ἤκουσα
 ἐν τῷ παραδείσῳ καὶ ἐφοβήθην, ὅτι γυμνός εἰμι,
 καὶ ἐκρύβην ” (Gen. iii. 10), πάντα τὰ εἰρημένα
 παρίστησιν, ὡς καὶ ἐν τοῖς προτέροις διὰ μακρο-
 55 τέρων λόγων ἀπεδείξαμεν. XVIII. καίτοι γυμνὸς
 οὐκ ἔστι νῦν ὁ Ἀδάμ· “ ἐποίησαν ἑαυτοῖς περι-
 ζώματα ” ὀλίγῳ πρότερον εἴρηται· ἀλλὰ καὶ διὰ
 τούτου βούλεται σε διδάξαι, ὅτι γυμνότητα οὐ
 τὴν τοῦ σώματος παραλαμβάνει, ἀλλὰ καθ' ἣν ὁ
 νοῦς ἁμοιρος καὶ γυμνὸς ἀρετῆς ἀνευρίσκεται.
 56 “ Ἡ γυνή ” φησὶν “ ἦν ἔδωκας μετ' ἐμοῦ, αὕτη
 μοι ἔδωκεν ἀπὸ τοῦ ξύλου, καὶ ἔφαγον ” (Gen.

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

"The woman," he says, "whom Thou gavest with me, she gave me of the tree, and I ate" (Gen. iii. 12). It is well his not saying, "the

- iii. 12). εὖ τὸ μὴ φάναι, ἢ γυνὴ ἦν ἔδωκας ἐμοί, ἀλλὰ “ μετ’ ἐμοῦ.” οὐ γὰρ ἐμοί ὡς κτῆμα τὴν αἴσθησιν ἔδωκας, ἀλλὰ καὶ αὐτὴν ἀφῆκας ἄνετον καὶ ἐλευθέραν, κατὰ τινα τρόπον οὐχ ὑπείκουσιν τοῖς τῆς ἐμῆς διανοίας ἐπιτάγμασιν· ἐὰν γοῦν βουλευθῇ ὁ νοῦς προστάξει τῇ ὁράσει μὴ ἰδεῖν, οὐδὲν ἦττον αὕτη τὸ ὑποκείμενον ὄψεται· καὶ ἡ ἀκοὴ μέντοι προσπεσούσης φωνῆς ἀντιλήψεται πάντως, κἂν ὁ νοῦς φιλονεικῶν διακελεύηται αὐτῇ μὴ ἀκούειν· καὶ μὴν ἢ γε ὁσφρησις ἀτμῶν χωρησάντων εἰς αὐτὴν ὁσφρήσεται, κἂν ὁ νοῦς ἀπογορεύῃ μὴ ἀντιλαβέσθαι. διὰ τοῦτο ὁ θεὸς οὐκ ἔδωκεν αἴσθησιν τῷ ζῳῷ, ἀλλὰ μετὰ τοῦ ζώου· τὸ δὲ τοῦτ’ ἐστίν· ἅπαντα αἴσθησις μετὰ τοῦ ἡμετέρου νοῦ γνωρίζει καὶ ἅμα αὐτῷ· οἷον ἡ ὄρασις ἅμα τῷ νῷ ἐπιβάλλει τῷ ὁρατῷ· εἶδέ τε γὰρ ὁ ὀφθαλμὸς τὸ σῶμα καὶ εὐθὺς ὁ νοῦς κατέλαβε τὸ ὁραθέν, ὅτι μέλαν ἢ λευκὸν ἢ ὠχρὸν ἢ φοινικοῦν ἢ τρίγωνον ἢ τετράγωνον ἢ στρογγύλον ἢ τὰ ἄλλα χρώματά τε καὶ σχήματα· καὶ πάλιν ἡ ἀκοὴ ἐπλήχθη ὑπὸ τῆς φωνῆς καὶ μετ’ αὐτῆς ὁ νοῦς· τεκμήριον δέ, ἔκρινεν εὐθὺς τὴν φωνήν, ὅτι λεπτὴ ἢ μέγεθος ἔχουσα ἢ ἐμμελὴς καὶ εὐρυθμὸς καὶ πάλιν εἰ ἐκμελὴς τε καὶ οὐκ ἑναρμόνιος· καὶ ταῦτόν ἐπὶ τῶν ἄλλων αἰσθήσεων εὐρίσκεται.
- 58 πάνυ δὲ καλῶς καὶ τὸ προσθεῖναι τὸ “ αὕτη μοι ἔδωκεν ἀπὸ τοῦ ξύλου.” τὸν γὰρ ξύλινον καὶ αἰσθητὸν ὄγκον τῷ νῷ οὐδεὶς δίδωσιν, ὅτι μὴ αἴσθησις· τίς γὰρ ἔδωκε τῇ διανοίᾳ γνωρίσαι τὸ σῶμα ἢ τὸ λευκόν; οὐχ ἢ ὄψις; τίς δὲ τὴν

ALLEGORICAL INTERPRETATION, III. 56-58

woman whom Thou gavest to me," but "with me"; for Thou gavest not sense to me as a possession, but it too Thou didst leave free and at large, in some respects not subservient to the behests of my understanding. For instance, should the mind choose to bid the sight not to see, the sight will none the less see what lies before it. The hearing again, when a sound has reached it, will assuredly give it entrance, even if the mind resolutely command it not to hear. And the sense of smell, when odours have found their way in to it, will smell them, even though the mind forbid it to welcome them. Owing to this God did not give sense-perception *to* the living being, but *with* the living being. What "giving with" means is this. Sense becomes aware of all things with our mind and simultaneously with it. For instance, the visible object arrests simultaneously the attention of the sight and of the mind; for the eye caught sight of the material substance, and at once the mind took in the thing that had been seen, took in that it was black or white or yellow or red or triangular or square or round, or some other colour or shape. Again the hearing received the impression of the sound and the mind with it: in proof that it did, it immediately judged of the sound, pronouncing it weak or loud, tuneful and rhythmical, and on the other hand whether it is out of tune and a discord. We find the same thing in the case of the other senses. Quite excellent is the addition of the words "*she* gave me of the tree." For no one, except sense-perception, ever gives to the mind the tree with its sensibly-discerned bulk. For who gave to the mind the possibility of recognizing the body or whiteness? Did

φωνήν; οὐχ ἡ ἀκοή; τίς δὲ τὸν ἀτμόν; οὐχ ἡ
 [99] ὄσφρησις; τίς δὲ τὸν χυλόν; οὐχ ἡ γεῦσις; | τίς
 δὲ τὸ τραχὺ καὶ μαλακόν; οὐχ ἡ ἀφή; ὀρθῶς
 οὖν καὶ πάνυ ἀληθῶς εἴρηται ὑπὸ τοῦ νοῦ, ὅτι
 τὰς τῶν σωμάτων ἀντιλήψεις δίδωσί μοι μόνη ἡ
 αἴσθησις.

- 59 XIX. “Καὶ εἶπεν ὁ θεὸς τῇ γυναικί· Τί τοῦτο
 ἐποίησας; καὶ εἶπεν Ὁ ὄφιν ἠπάτησέ με, καὶ
 ἔφαγον” (Gen. iii. 13). ἄλλο μὲν πυνθάνεται
 τῆς αἰσθήσεως ὁ θεός, ἄλλο δὲ αὐτῇ ἀποκρίνεται·
 πυνθάνεται μὲν γάρ τι περὶ τοῦ ἀνδρός, ἡ δὲ οὐ
 περὶ τούτου φησὶν, ἀλλὰ τι περὶ ἑαυτῆς, λέγουσα
 60 ὅτι ἔφαγον, οὐχ ὅτι ἔδωκα. μήποτ’ οὖν ἀλλη-
 γοροῦντες λύσομεν τὸ ἀπορηθὲν καὶ δεῖξομεν τὴν
 γυναῖκα εὐθυβόλως πρὸς τὸ πύσμα ἀποκρινο-
 μένην. ἀνάγκη γάρ ἐστίν αὐτῆς φαγοῦσης καὶ
 τὸν ἄνδρα φαγεῖν· ὅταν γὰρ ἡ αἴσθησις ἐπιβάλ-
 λουσα τῷ αἰσθητῷ πληρωθῇ τῆς αὐτοῦ φαντασίας,
 εὐθὺς καὶ ὁ νοῦς συμβέβληκε καὶ ἀντελάβετο καὶ
 τρόπον τινὰ τροφῆς τῆς ἀπ’ ἐκείνου πεπλήρωται.
 τοῦτ’ οὖν φησιν· ἤκουσα δέδωκα τῷ ἀνδρί· προσ-
 βαλούσης γάρ μου τῷ ὑποκειμένῳ, ὀξυκίνητος
 61 ὢν αὐτὸς ἐφαντασιώθη καὶ ἐτυπώθη. XX. παρα-
 τήρει δ’ ὅτι ὁ μὲν ἀνὴρ λέγει τὴν γυναῖκα δεδω-
 κέναι, ἡ δὲ γυνὴ οὐχὶ τὸν ὄφιν δεδωκέναι, ἀλλὰ
 ἠπατηκέναι· ἴδιον γὰρ αἰσθήσεως μὲν τὸ διδόναι,
 ἡδονῆς δὲ τῆς ποικίλης καὶ ὀφιώδους τὸ ἀπατᾶν
 καὶ παρακρούεσθαι· οἷον τὸ λευκὸν τῇ φύσει καὶ

“ Or “ Why didst thou do this ? ”

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

XIX. "And God said to the woman, 'What is this thou hast done?' " And she said, 'The serpent beguiled me and I ate'" (Gen. iii. 13). God puts a question to sense-perception touching one point; she gives an answer touching another point: for God asks something about the man; she speaks not about him, but says something about herself, for her words are "I ate," not "I gave." Perhaps, then as we read the passage figuratively, we shall solve the puzzle and show that the woman gives a very pertinent answer to the question put to her. For it is a matter of necessity that when she ate, the man too should eat. For when sense-perception, meeting with the object of sense, is filled with the presentation of it, forthwith the mind also is in contact, takes hold and in a way absorbs the sustenance which it provides. This, then, is what she says: My giving it to the man was by no act of will, for even as I struck upon the object, he (so swift is he to move) received the image and impression of it himself. XX. Now observe that, whereas the man says that the woman gave, the woman says not that the serpent gave but that he beguiled; for to give is characteristic of sense-perception but to cheat and beguile of pleasure with its serpent-like subtilty. For instance, sense-perception gives to the mind that which is by its nature white and that which is

τὸ μέλαν καὶ τὸ θερμὸν καὶ τὸ ψυχρὸν δίδωσιν ἢ αἰσθησις τῷ νῶ, οὐχὶ ἀπατώσα ἀλλὰ πρὸς ἀλήθειαν· τοιαῦτα γάρ ἐστι τὰ ὑποκείμενα, οἷα καὶ ἡ ἀπ' αὐτῶν προσπίπτουσα φαντασία, κατὰ τοὺς πλείστους τῶν μὴ φυσικώτερον φυσιολογούντων· ἡ δὲ ἡδονὴ οὐχ οἷόν ἐστι τὸ ὑποκείμενον, τοιοῦτον αὐτὸ γνωρίζει τῇ διανοίᾳ, ἀλλ' ἐπιψεύδεται τέχνη τὸ ἀλυσιτελὲς εἰς συμφέροντος τάξιν ἐμβιβάζουσα·

62 ὥσπερ καὶ τῶν ἐταιρῶν τὰς εἰδεχθεῖς ἰδεῖν ἔστι φαρματτούσας καὶ ὑπογραφομένας τὴν ὄψιν, ἵνα τὸ περὶ αὐτὰς αἰσχος ἐπικρύψῃσι, καὶ τὸν ἀκρατῆ ἐπὶ τὴν γαστρὸς νενευκότα ἡδονήν· οὗτος τὸν πολὺν ἄκρατον καὶ τῶν σιτίων τὴν παρασκευὴν ἀποδέχεται ὡς ἀγαθόν, βλαπτόμενος καὶ τὸ σῶμα

63 καὶ τὴν ψυχὴν ἀπ' αὐτῶν· πάλιν τοὺς ἐρώντας ἰδεῖν ἔστι πολλάκις ἐπὶ γυναιῶν αἰσχίστων ὀφθῆναι ἐπιμεμηνότας, τῆς ἡδονῆς ἀπατώσεως καὶ μονονουχὶ διεξιούσης, ὅτι εὐμορφία καὶ εὐχροια καὶ εὐσαρκία καὶ τῶν μερῶν ἀναλογία περὶ τὰς πάντα τὰ ἐναντία

[100] τούτοις ἐχούσας ἐστί· τὰς γοῦν πρὸς | ἀλήθειαν ἀμέμπτῳ κεχρημένας κάλλει παρορώσιν, ἐκείνων

64 δὲ ὧν εἶπον κατατήκονται. πᾶσα οὖν ἀπάτη οἰκειοτάτη ἡδονῇ, δόσις δὲ αἰσθήσει· ἡ μὲν γὰρ σοφίζεται καὶ παράγει τὸν νοῦν, οὐχ ὅποια τὰ ὑποκείμενά ἐστι δηλοῦσα, ἀλλ' ὅποια οὐκ ἔστιν, ἡ δὲ αἰσθησις ἀκραιφνῶς δίδωσι τὰ σώματα οὕτως, ὥς ἔχει φύσεως ἐκείνα, πλάσματος καὶ τέχνης ἐκτός.

^a "I should say the reference is to the philosophers in the succession who held that αἰσθησις was true, Empedocles, probably Leucippus, and Epicurus himself, but not (*e.g.*) Parmenides or Democritus."—CYRIL BAILEY. In this case perhaps φυσικώτερον may be understood in the same sense as 342

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

in *De Post.* 7 (see note), where *φυσικοί ἄνδρες* are those who can discern the higher truths that underlie nature. Thus the whole phrase (*τῶν μὴ φυσικώτερον φυσιολογούντων*) means something like "materialistic philosophers."

- 65 XXI. "Καὶ εἶπε κύριος ὁ θεὸς τῷ ὄφει Ὅτι ἐποίησας τοῦτο, ἐπικατάρατος σὺ ἀπὸ πάντων τῶν κτηνῶν καὶ ἀπὸ πάντων τῶν θηρίων τῆς γῆς. ἐπὶ τῷ στήθει καὶ τῇ κοιλίᾳ πορεύσῃ, καὶ γῆν φάγεσαι πάσας τὰς ἡμέρας τῆς ζωῆς σου. καὶ ἔχθραν θήσω ἀνὰ μέσον σοῦ καὶ ἀνὰ μέσον τῆς γυναικός, καὶ ἀνὰ μέσον τοῦ σπέρματός σου καὶ τοῦ σπέρματος αὐτῆς. αὐτός σου τηρήσει κεφαλὴν, καὶ σὺ τηρήσεις αὐτοῦ πτέρναν" (Gen. iii. 14, 15). διὰ τίνα αἰτίαν χωρὶς ἀπολογίας καταρᾶται τῷ ὄφει, κελεύων ἐν ἑτέροις <ὡς> εἰκὸς "στήναι τοὺς δύο, οἷς ἐστὶν ἡ ἀντιλογία" (Deut. xix. 17)
- 66 καὶ μὴ τῷ ἑτέρῳ προπιστεύειν; καὶ μὴν ὁρᾷς ὅτι τῷ Ἀδὰμ οὐ προπεπίστευκε κατὰ τῆς γυναικός, ἀλλὰ δίδωσιν αὐτῇ εἰς ἀπολογίαν ἀφορμὴν, ὅταν πυνθάνηται "τί τοῦτο ἐποίησας;" (Gen. iii. 13) ἡ δέ γε ὁμολογεῖ πταῖσαι παρὰ τὴν τῆς ὀφιδόδους καὶ ποικίλης ἡδονῆς ἀπάτην. τί οὖν ἐκώλυε, καὶ τῆς γυναικός εἰπούσης ὅτι ὁ ὄφεις ἠπάτησέ με, πυθέσθαι τοῦ ὄφεως, εἰ οὗτος ἠπάτησεν, ἀλλὰ μὴ ἀκρίτως χωρὶς ἀπολογίας καταρᾶσθαι; λεκτέον οὖν ὅτι ἡ αἴσθησις οὔτε τῶν φαύλων οὔτε τῶν σπουδαίων ἐστίν, ἀλλὰ μέσον τι αὕτη καὶ κοινὸν σοφοῦ τε καὶ ἄφρονος, καὶ γενομένη μὲν ἐν ἄφρονι γίνεται φαύλη, ἐν ἀστείῳ δὲ σπουδαία. εἰκότως οὖν, ἐπειδὴ φύσιν ἐξ ἑαυτῆς μοχθηρὰν οὐκ ἔχει, ἀλλ' ἐπαμφοτερίζουσα νεύει πρὸς ἑκάτερα τό τε εὖ καὶ χεῖρον, οὐ καταδικάζεται πρὶν ὁμολογήσαι, ὅτι ἠκολούθησε τῷ χείρονι.

* See App. p. 483.

XXI. "And the Lord God said to the serpent, 'Because thou hast done this, cursed art thou from among all cattle and from among all the beasts of the earth. Upon thy breast^a and thy belly shalt thou go, and earth shalt thou eat all the days of thy life. And I will put enmity between thee and the woman, and between thy seed and her seed. He shall watch for thy head, and thou shalt watch for his heel'" (Gen. iii. 14 f.). For what reason does He curse the serpent without giving it the opportunity to defend itself, though elsewhere, as seems reasonable, He commands that "the two parties between whom the dispute is should stand forth" (Deut. xix. 17) and that credit be not given to the one till the other be heard? Yet you see, no doubt, that He did not thus give credit to Adam, and prejudge the case against the woman, but gives her opportunity to defend herself, when He inquires "What is this that thou hast done?" (Gen. iii. 13), and she acknowledges that she failed owing to the deception practised on her by subtle serpent-like pleasure. When, then, the woman said "the serpent beguiled me," what was there to prevent His inquiring here too from the serpent, whether he beguiled her, instead of prejudging the case and pronouncing the curse without listening to any defence? We have to say, then, that sense-perception comes under the head neither of bad nor of good things, but is an intermediate thing common to a wise man and a fool, and when it finds itself in a fool it proves bad, when in a sensible man, good. Reasonably then, since it has no evil nature on its own account, but halts between good and evil, inclining to either side, it is not pronounced guilty till it has owned that it

68 ὁ δὲ ὄφεις ἢ ἡδονὴ ἐξ ἑαυτῆς ἐστὶ μοχθηρά· διὰ τοῦτο ἐν μὲν σπουδαίῳ οὐχ εὐρίσκεται τὸ παράπαν, μόνος δ' αὐτῆς ὁ φαῦλος ἀπολαύει. κατὰ τὸ οἰκεῖον οὖν μὴ διδούς ἀπολογίαν αὐτῇ καταρᾶται ὁ θεός, σπέρμα ἀρετῆς οὐκ ἐχούση, ἀλλὰ αἰεὶ καὶ πανταχοῦ ἐπιλήπτω καὶ μιαρᾷ καθεστῶση.

69 XXII. Διὰ τοῦτο καὶ τὸν Εἰρ χωρὶς αἰτίας περιφανοὺς πονηρόν οἶδεν ὁ θεός (Gen. xxxviii. 7) καὶ ἀποκτείνει· τὸν γὰρ δερμάτινον ὄγκον ἡμῶν τὸ σῶμα—Εἰρ γὰρ δερμάτινος ἐρμηνεύεται—πονηρόν τε καὶ ἐπίβουλον τῆς ψυχῆς οὐκ ἀγνοεῖ καὶ νεκρὸν καὶ τεθνηκὸς αἰεὶ· μὴ γὰρ ἄλλο τι

[101] νοήσης ἕκαστον ἡμῶν ποιεῖν ἢ νεκροφορεῖν, | τὸ νεκρὸν ἐξ ἑαυτοῦ σῶμα ἐγειρούσης καὶ ἀμοχθὶ φερούσης τῆς ψυχῆς· καὶ τὴν εὐτονίαν αὐτῆς, εἰ

70 βούλει, κατανόησον. ὁ μὲν ἐρρωμενέστατος ἀθλητῆς οὐκ ἂν ἰσχύσαι τὸν ἑαυτοῦ πρὸς βραχὺν χρόνον ἀνδριάντα κομίσαι, ἢ δὲ ψυχὴ μέχρις ἑκατονταετίας ἔστιν ὅτε τὸν τοῦ ἀνθρώπου φέρει κούφως ἀνδριάντα μὴ κάμνουσα· οὐ γὰρ νῦν αὐτὸν ἀπέκτεινεν, ἀλλ' ἐξ ἀρχῆς νεκρὸν τὸ σῶμα ἀπ-

71 ειργάσατο. πονηρόν δὲ φύσει μὲν, ὡς εἶπον, ἐστὶ καὶ ψυχῆς ἐπίβουλον, οὐ φαίνεται δὲ πᾶσιν, ἀλλὰ μόνῳ τῷ θεῷ καὶ εἴ τις θεῷ φίλος· “ἐναντίον” γάρ φησι “κυρίου πονηρὸς Εἰρ.” ὅταν γὰρ ὁ νοῦς μετεωροπολῇ καὶ τὰ τοῦ κυρίου μυστήρια μνηται, πονηρόν καὶ δυσμενὲς κρίνει τὸ σῶμα· ὅταν δὲ ἀποστῇ τῆς τῶν θείων ἐρεύνης, φίλον

ALLEGORICAL INTERPRETATION, III. 68-71

followed evil. But the serpent, pleasure, is bad of itself ; and therefore it is not found at all in a good man, the bad man getting all the harm of it by himself. Quite appropriately therefore does God pronounce the curse without giving pleasure an opportunity of defending herself, since she has in her no seed from which virtue might spring, but is always and everywhere guilty and foul.

XXII. For this reason in the case of Er also God knows him to be wicked and puts him to death without bringing an open charge against him (Gen. xxxviii. 7). For He is well aware that the body, our "leathern" bulk ("leathern" is the meaning of "Er"), is wicked and a plotter against the soul, and is even a corpse and a dead thing. For you must make up your mind that we are each of us nothing but corpse-bearers, the soul raising up and carrying without toil the body which of itself is a corpse. And note, if you will, how strong the soul is. The most muscular athlete would not have strength to carry his own statue for a short time, but the soul, sometimes for as long as a hundred years, easily carries the statue of the human being without getting tired ; for it is not now (at the last) that God slays Er ; nay, but the body which He made and which Er represents was a corpse to begin with. By nature, as I have said, it is wicked and a plotter against the soul, but it is not evident to all that it is so, but to God alone and to anyone who is dear to God ; for we read "Er was wicked in the sight of the Lord." For when the mind soars aloft and is being initiated in the mysteries of the Lord, it judges the body to be wicked and hostile ; but when it has abandoned the investigation of things

- αὐτῷ καὶ συγγενές καὶ ἀδελφὸν ἡγεῖται, κατα-
 72 φεύγει γοῦν ἐπὶ τὰ φίλα τούτῳ. διὰ τοῦτο
 ἀθλητοῦ ψυχὴ καὶ φιλοσόφου διαφέρει· ὁ μὲν γὰρ
 ἀθλητῆς πάντα ἐπὶ τὴν τοῦ σώματος εὐεξίαν
 ἀναφέρει καὶ τὴν ψυχὴν αὐτὴν πρόοιτ' ἂν ὑπὲρ
 αὐτοῦ ἅτε φιλοσώματος ὑπάρχων, ὁ δὲ φιλόσοφος
 ἐραστῆς ὢν τοῦ καλοῦ τοῦ ζῶντος ἐν ἑαυτῷ
 κήδεται ψυχῆς, τοῦ δὲ νεκροῦ ὄντως σώματος
 ἀλογεῖ μόνον στοχαζόμενος, ἵνα μὴ ὑπὸ κακοῦ
 καὶ νεκροῦ συνδέτου πλημμελῇται τὸ ἄριστον ἢ
 73 ψυχῇ. XXIII. ὁρᾷς ὅτι τὸν Εὐρ ἀποκτείνει οὐχ
 ὁ κύριος, ἀλλ' ὁ θεός· οὐ γάρ, καθὸ ἄρχει καὶ
 ἡγεμονεύει δυναστείᾳ κράτους αὐτεξουσίῳ χρώ-
 μενος, ἀναιρεῖ τὸ σῶμα, ἀλλὰ καθὸ ἀγαθότητι
 καὶ χρηστότητι χρῆται—ὁ θεὸς γὰρ ἀγαθότητός
 ἐστὶ τοῦ αἰτίου ὄνομα—ἵνα εἰδῆς ὅτι καὶ τὰ
 ἄψυχα οὐκ ἐξουσία πεποίηκεν ἀλλ' ἀγαθότητι, ἥ
 καὶ τὰ ἔμψυχα· ἔδει γὰρ εἰς τὴν τῶν βελτιόνων
 δήλωσιν γένεσιν ὑποστῆναι καὶ τῶν χειρόνων
 ὑπὸ δυνάμεως τῆς αὐτῆς ἀγαθότητος τοῦ αἰτίου,
 74 ἥτις ἐστὶν ὁ θεός. πότε οὖν, ὦ ψυχῇ,
 μάλιστα νεκροφορεῖν σαυτὴν ὑπολήψη; ἄρα γε οὐχ
 ὅταν τελειωθῆς καὶ βραβείων καὶ στεφάνων ἀξιω-
 θῆς; ἔση γὰρ τότε φιλόθεος, οὐ φιλοσώματος.
 τεύξῃ δὲ τῶν ἄθλων, ἐὰν γυνή σου γένηται
 ἢ τοῦ Ἰούδα νύμφη Θάμαρ, ἥτις ἐρμηνεύεται

ALLEGORICAL INTERPRETATION, III. 71-74

divine, it deems it friendly to itself, its kinsman and brother. The proof of this is that it takes refuge in what is dear to the body. On this account there is a difference between the soul of an athlete and the soul of a philosopher. For the athlete refers everything to the well-being of the body, and, lover of the body that he is, would sacrifice the soul itself on its behalf; but the philosopher being enamoured of the noble thing that lives in himself, cares for the soul, and pays no regard to that which is really a corpse, the body, concerned only that the best part of him, his soul, may not be hurt by an evil thing, a very corpse, tied to it. XXIII. You see that Er is slain not by the Lord, but by God. For it is not as Ruler and Governor employing the absolute power of sovereignty that He destroys the body, but in the exercise of goodness and kindness. For "God" is the name of the goodness pertaining to the First Cause, and is so used that thou mayest know that He hath made the inanimate things also not by exercising authority but goodness, even as by goodness He hath made the living creatures. For it was necessary with a view to the clear manifestation of the superior beings that there should be in existence an inferior creation also, due to the same power, even the goodness of the First Cause. And that goodness is God.

When, then, O soul, wilt thou in fullest measure realize thyself to be a corpse-bearer? Will it not be when thou art perfected, and accounted worthy of prizes and crowns? For then shalt thou be no lover of the body, but a lover of God. And thou shalt win the rewards if Judah's daughter-in-law become thy wife, even Tamar, which means a palm-tree, the sign of

- φοῖνιξ, σύμβολον νίκης· τεκμήριον δέ· ὅταν αὐτὴν ἀγάγηται ὁ Εἷρ, εὐθὺς πονηρὸς τε εὐρίσκεται καὶ κτείνεται· λέγει γάρ· “καὶ ἔλαβεν Ἰούδας γυναῖκα Εἷρ τῷ πρωτοτόκῳ αὐτοῦ, ἣ ὄνομα Θάμαρ” (Gen. xxxviii. 6), καὶ εὐθὺς ἐπιλέγει· “καὶ ἐγένετο Εἷρ πονηρὸς ἐναντι κυρίου, καὶ ἀπέκτεινεν αὐτὸν ὁ θεός” (ib. 7)· ὅταν γὰρ ὁ νοῦς τὰ ἀρετῆς ἀπενέγκηται νικητήρια, θάνατον
- 75 καταψηφίζεται τοῦ νεκροῦ σώματος. ὁρᾷς ὅτι καὶ τὸν ὄφιν ἄνευ ἀπολογίας καταρᾶται, ἡδονὴ γάρ ἐστι, καὶ τὸν Εἷρ χωρὶς αἰτίας περιφανοῦς
- [102] | ἀποκτείνει, ἔστι γὰρ σῶμα. καὶ σκοπῶν, ὃ γενναῖε, εὐρήσεις τὸν θεὸν πεποικηκότα φύσεις ἐξ ἑαυτῶν ἐπιλήπτους τε καὶ ὑπαιτίους ἐν ψυχῇ καὶ ἐν πᾶσι σπουδαίας καὶ ἐπαινετάς, ὥσπερ ἔχει
- 76 καὶ ἐπὶ φυτῶν καὶ ζώων. οὐχ ὁρᾷς ὅτι καὶ τῶν φυτῶν τὰ μὲν ἡμερὰ καὶ ὠφέλιμα καὶ σωτήρια κατεσκευάκεν ὁ δημιουργός, τὰ δὲ ἄγρια καὶ βλαβερὰ καὶ νόσων καὶ φθορᾶς αἷτια, καὶ ζῶα ὁμοίως; καθάπερ ἀμέλει καὶ τὸν ὄφιν, περὶ οὗ νῦν ἐστὶν ὁ λόγος, φθοροποιὸν γὰρ τὸ ζῶον καὶ ἀναιρετικὸν ἐξ αὐτοῦ. ὁ δὲ διατίθῃσιν ἄνθρωπον ὄφιν, τοῦτο καὶ ψυχὴν ἡδονή, παρὸ καὶ ἀπεικάσθη ὄφιν ἡδονῇ.
- 77 XXIV. Ὡσπερ οὖν ἡδονὴν καὶ σῶμα ἄνευ μεμίσηκεν αἰτιῶν ὁ θεός, οὕτω καὶ φύσεις ἀστείας χωρὶς περιφανοῦς αἰτίας προαγήσκειν, ἔργον οὐδὲν πρὸ τῶν ἐπαινῶν αὐτῶν ὁμολογήσας. εἰ γὰρ τις ἔροιτο, διὰ τί φησι τὸν Νῶε χάριν εὐρεῖν ἐναντίον κυρίου τοῦ θεοῦ (Gen. vi. 8) μηδὲν πρότερον ἐργασάμενον, ὅσα γε εἰς τὴν ἡμετέραν ἐπίγνωσιν, ἀστεῖον, ἀποκρινόμεθα δεόντως ὅτι

ALLEGORICAL INTERPRETATION, III. 74-77

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

XXIV. Exactly, then, as God has conceived a hatred for pleasure and the body without giving reasons, so too has he promoted goodly natures apart from any manifest reason, pronouncing no action of theirs acceptable before bestowing his praises upon them. For should anyone ask why the prophet says that Noah found grace in the sight of the Lord God (Gen. vi. 8) when as yet he had, so far as our knowledge goes, done no fair deed, we shall give a suitable

ἐπαινετῆς ἐλέγχεται συστάσεως καὶ γενέσεως, ἐρμηνεύεται γὰρ Νῶε ἀνάπαυσις ἢ δίκαιος· ἀνάγκη δὲ τὸν πανόμενον ἀδικημάτων καὶ ἁμαρτημάτων, ἀναπαυόμενον ἐπὶ τῷ καλῷ καὶ δικαιοσύνῃ συζῶντα, χάριν εὑρεῖν παρὰ τῷ θεῷ.

78 τὸ δὲ χάριν εὑρεῖν οὐκ ἔστι μόνον, ὡς νομίζουσιν τινες, ἴσον τῷ εὐαρεστῆσαι, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοιοῦτον· ζητῶν ὁ δίκαιος τὴν τῶν ὄντων φύσιν ἐν τούτῳ εὕρισκει ἄριστον εὔρημα, χάριν ὄντα τοῦ θεοῦ τὰ σύμπαντα, γενέσεως δὲ οὐδὲν χάρισμα, ὅτι γε οὐδὲ κτῆμα, θεοῦ δὲ κτῆμα τὰ πάντα, διὸ καὶ μόνου τὴν χάριν οἰκεῖον· τοῖς γοῦν ζητοῦσι, τίς ἀρχὴ γενέσεως, ὀρθότατα ἂν τις ἀποκρίνοιτο, ὅτι ἀγαθότης καὶ χάρις τοῦ θεοῦ, ἣν ἐχαρίσατο τῷ μετ' αὐτὸν γένει· δωρεὰ γὰρ καὶ εὐεργεσία καὶ χάρισμα θεοῦ τὰ πάντα ὅσα ἐν κόσμῳ καὶ αὐτὸς ὁ κόσμος ἐστί.

79 XXV. Καὶ Μελχισεδὲκ βασιλέα τε τῆς εἰρήνης —Σαλήμ τοῦτο γὰρ ἐρμηνεύεται— <καὶ> ἱερέα [103] ἑαυτοῦ πεποίηκεν ὁ θεός (Gen. xiv. 18), | οὐδὲν ἔργον αὐτοῦ προδιατυπώσας, ἀλλὰ τοιοῦτον ἐργασάμενος βασιλέα καὶ εἰρηναῖον καὶ ἱερωσύνης ἄξιον τῆς ἑαυτοῦ πρώτον· καλεῖται γὰρ βασιλεὺς δίκαιος, βασιλεὺς δὲ ἐχθρὸν τυράννω, ὅτι ὁ μὲν 80 νόμων, ὁ δὲ ἀνομίας ἐστὶν εἰσηγηγῆς. ὁ μὲν οὖν τύραννος νοῦς ἐπιτάγματα ἐπιτάττει τῇ τε ψυχῇ καὶ τῷ σώματι βίαια καὶ βλαβερά καὶ σφοδράς λύπας ἐργαζόμενα, τὰς κατὰ κακίαν λέγω πράξεις καὶ τὰς τῶν παθῶν ἀπολαύσεις· ὁ δὲ [δεύτερος] βασιλεὺς πρώτον μὲν [οὖν] οὐκ ἐπιτάττει μᾶλλον

ALLEGORICAL INTERPRETATION, III. 77-80

answer to the effect that he is shown to be of an excellent nature from his birth, for Noah means "rest" or "righteous." But it cannot but be that he who rests from sinful and unrighteous acts and rests upon what is noble and lives in fellowship with righteousness, should find favour with God. Now *finding favour* is not as some suppose equivalent only to being well-pleasing, but something of this kind besides. The righteous man exploring the nature of existences makes a surprising *find*, in this one discovery, that all things are a *grace* of God, and that creation has no gift of grace to bestow, for neither has it any possession, since all things are God's possession, and for this reason grace too belongs to Him alone as a thing that is His very own. Thus to those who ask what the origin of creation is the right answer would be, that it is the goodness and grace of God, which He bestowed on the race that stands next after Him. For all things in the world and the world itself is a free gift and act of kindness and grace on God's part.

XXV. Melchizedek, too, has God made both king of peace, for that is the meaning of "Salem," and His own priest (Gen. xiv. 18). He has not fashioned beforehand any deed of his, but produces him to begin with as such a king, peaceable and worthy of His own priesthood. For he is entitled "the righteous king," and a "king" is a thing at enmity with a despot, the one being the author of laws, the other of lawlessness. So mind, the despot, decrees for both soul and body harsh and hurtful decrees working grievous woes, conduct, I mean, such as wickedness prompts, and free indulgence of the passions. But the king in the first place resorts to persuasion rather

- ἢ πείθει, ἔπειτα τοιαῦτα παραγγέλλει, δι' ὧν ὥσπερ σκάφος τὸ ζῶον εὐπλοία τῇ τοῦ βίου χρήσεται κυβερνώμενον ὑπὸ τοῦ ἀγαθοῦ [καὶ τεχνίτου] κυβερνήτου, οὗτος δέ ἐστιν ὁ ὀρθὸς λόγος. καλείσθω οὖν ὁ μὲν τύραννος ἄρχων πολέμου, ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς ἡγεμὼν εἰρήνης, Σαλήμ, καὶ προσφερέτω τῇ ψυχῇ τροφὰς εὐφροσύνης καὶ χαρὰς πλήρεις· ἄρτους γὰρ καὶ οἶνον προσφέρει, ἅπερ Ἀμμανῖται καὶ Μωαβῖται τῷ βλέποντι παρασχεῖν οὐκ ἠθέλησαν, οὐ χάριν ἐκκλησίας εἶργονται καὶ συλλόγου θείου· Ἀμμανῖται γὰρ οἱ ἐκ τῆς μητρὸς αἰσθήσεως καὶ Μωαβῖται οἱ ἐκ τοῦ πατρὸς νοῦ φύντες τρόποι δύο ταῦτα τῶν ὄντων συνεκτικὰ νομίζοντες νοῦν καὶ αἴσθησιν, θεοῦ δὲ μὴ λαμβάνοντες ἔννοιαν, “οὐκ εἰσελεύσονται” φησὶ Μωυσῆς “<εἰς ἐκκλησίαν> κυρίου, . . . παρὰ τὸ μὴ συναντῆσαι αὐτοὺς ἡμῖν μετ’ ἄρτων καὶ ὕδατος” (Deut. xxiii. 3, 4) ἐξιοῦσιν
- 82 ἐκ τῶν παθῶν Αἰγύπτου. XXVI. ἀλλ’ ὁ μὲν Μελχισεδὲκ ἀντὶ ὕδατος οἶνον προσφερέτω καὶ ποτιζέτω καὶ ἀκρατιζέτω ψυχάς, ἵνα κατάσχετοι γένωνται θεία μέθη νηφαλεωτέρα νήψεως αὐτῆς· ἱερεὺς γὰρ ἐστὶ λόγος κληρὸν ἔχων τὸν ὄντα καὶ ὑψηλῶς περὶ αὐτοῦ καὶ ὑπερόγκως καὶ μεγαλοπρεπῶς λογιζόμενος· τοῦ γὰρ ὑψίστου ἐστὶν ἱερεὺς (Gen. xiv. 18), οὐχ ὅτι ἐστὶ τις ἄλλος οὐχ ὑψιστος—ὁ γὰρ θεὸς εἰς ὧν “ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ ἄνω ἐστὶ καὶ ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς κάτω, καὶ οὐκ ἔστιν ἔτι πλὴν αὐτοῦ” (Deut. iv. 39)—, ἀλλὰ τὸ μὴ ταπεινῶς καὶ χαμαιζήλως ὑπερμεγέθως δὲ καὶ ὑπεραὔλως καὶ ὑψηλῶς νοεῖν περὶ θεοῦ ἔμφασιν τοῦ ὑψίστου κινεῖ.
- 83 XXVII. Τί δὲ εἰργάσατο ἤδη καλὸν ὁ Ἀβράμ,

than decrees, and in the next place issues directions such as to enable a vessel, the living being I mean, to make life's voyage successfully, piloted by the good pilot, who is right principle. Let the despot's title therefore be ruler of war, the king's prince of peace, of Salem, and let him offer to the soul food full of joy and gladness; for he brings bread and wine, things which Ammonites and Moabites refused to supply to the seeing one, on which account they are excluded from the divine congregation and assembly. These characters, Ammonites deriving their nature from sense-perception their mother, and Moabites deriving theirs from mind their father, who hold that all things owe their coherence to these two things, mind and sense-perception, and take no thought of God, "shall not enter," saith Moses, "into the congregation of the Lord, because they did not meet us with bread and water" (Deut. xxiii. 3 f.) when we came out from the passions of Egypt. XXVI. But let Melchizedek instead of water offer wine, and give to souls strong drink, that they may be seized by a divine intoxication, more sober than sobriety itself. For he is a priest even Reason, having as his portion Him that is, and all his thoughts of God are high and vast and sublime: for he is priest of the Most High (Gen. xiv. 18), not that there is any other not Most High—for God being One "is in heaven above and on earth beneath, and there is none beside Him" (Deut. iv. 39)—but to conceive of God not in low earthbound ways but in lofty terms, such as transcend all other greatness and all else that is free from matter, calls up in us a picture of the Most High.

XXVII. What good thing had Abram already done,

ὅτι κελεύει αὐτῷ πατρίδος καὶ τῆς γενεᾶς ταύτης
 ξενοῦσθαι καὶ γῆν οἰκεῖν, ἣν <ἄν> αὐτὸς δῶ ὁ
 θεός (Gen. xii. 1); πόλις δέ ἐστιν ἀγαθὴ καὶ
 πολλή καὶ σφόδρα εὐδαίμων, τὰ γὰρ δῶρα τοῦ
 θεοῦ μεγάλα καὶ τίμια. ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῦτον τὸν
 τρόπον ἐγέννησε τύπον ἔχοντα σπουδῆς ἄξιον.

[104] ἐρμηνεύεται γὰρ Ἀβραὰμ "πατὴρ | μετέωρος,"

84 δι' ἀμφοτέρων τῶν ὀνομάτων ἐπαινετός· ὁ γὰρ
 νοῦς, ὅταν μὴ δεσπότου τρόπον ἀπειλῇ τῇ ψυχῇ,
 ἀλλ' ὡς πατὴρ ἄρχῃ, μὴ τὰ ἡδέα χαριζόμενος
 αὐτῇ, τὰ δὲ συμφέροντα καὶ ἀκούσῃ διδούς, καὶ
 ἐπίπαν τῶν ταπεινῶν καὶ ἀγόντων ἐπὶ τὰ θνητὰ
 ἀποστὰς μετεωροπολῇ καὶ συνδιατρίβῃ θεωρήμασι
 τοῖς περὶ κόσμου καὶ τῶν μερῶν αὐτοῦ καὶ ἔτι
 μᾶλλον ἐπανιών ἐρευνᾷ τὸ θεῖον καὶ τὴν τούτου
 φύσιν δι' ἔρωτα ἐπιστήμης ἄλεκτον, μένειν ἐπὶ
 τῶν ἐξ ἀρχῆς δογμάτων οὐ δύναται, ἀλλὰ μετοικίαν
 ζητεῖ βελτιούμενος ἀμείνω.

85 XXVIII. Ἐνίους δὲ ὁ θεός καὶ πρὸ τῆς γενέ-
 σεως καλῶς διαπλάττει καὶ διατίθεται καὶ κλῆρον
 ἔχειν ἄριστον προήρηται. οὐχ ὁρᾷς, τί περὶ τοῦ
 Ἰσαάκ φησι τῷ Ἀβραὰμ οὐκ ἐλπίσαντι, ὅτι
 γενήσεται τοιούτου γεννήματος πατὴρ, ἀλλὰ καὶ
 γελάσαντι ἐπὶ τῇ ὑποσχέσει καὶ εἰπόντι "Εἰ τῷ
 ἑκατονταετεί γενήσεται, καὶ Σάρρα ἐνένηκοντα
 ἐτῶν οὔσα τέξεται;" (Gen. xvii. 17) καταφάσκει
 καὶ ἐπινεύει λέγων "Ναί, ἰδοὺ Σάρρα ἡ γυνή σου
 τέξεταί σοι υἱὸν καὶ καλέσεις τὸ ὄνομα αὐτοῦ
 Ἰσαάκ, καὶ στήσω τὴν διαθήκην μου πρὸς αὐτὸν

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

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

XXVIII. Some even before their birth God endows with a goodly form and equipment, and has determined that they shall have a most excellent portion. Dost thou not see what He says concerning Isaac to Abraham when unable to trust that he shall ever become the father of such an offspring, nay when he actually laughed at the promise and said, " Shall it come to pass to him that is a hundred years old, and shall Sarah who is ninety years old bear a child ? " (Gen. xvii. 17). He ratifies and confirms it saying, " Yes, Sarah thy wife shall bear thee a son and thou shalt call his name Isaac, and I will establish My covenant with Him for an everlasting

- 86 εἰς διαθήκην αἰώνιον" (ib. 19). τί οὖν ἐστὶ τὸ καὶ τοῦτον πρὸ τῆς γενέσεως ἐπαινεῖσθαι πεποιηκός; ἔνια τῶν ἀγαθῶν γενόμενα καὶ παρόντα ὠφελεῖ, οἷον ὑγίεια, εὐαισθησία, πλοῦτος εἰ τύχοι, δόξα—λεγέσθω γὰρ καὶ ταῦτα καταχρηστικώτερον ἀγαθὰ—ἔνια δ' οὐ γενόμενα μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ θεσπισθέντα ὅτι γενήσεται, ὥσπερ ἡ χαρὰ—εὐπάθεια ψυχῆς ἐστὶν ἥδε—[γὰρ] οὐχ ὅταν παρούσα δραστηρίως ἐνεργῇ μόνον εὐφραίνει, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὅταν ἐλπίζεται προγανοῖ· ἐξαίρετον γὰρ καὶ τοῦτ' ἔχει· τὰ μὲν ἄλλα ἀγαθὰ ἰδίᾳ ἐνεργεῖ, ἡ δὲ χαρὰ καὶ ἴδιον καὶ κοινὸν ἀγαθόν ἐστίν· ἐπιγίνεται γοῦν ἅπασι, χαίρομεν γὰρ καὶ ἐπὶ ὑγείᾳ καὶ ἐπ' ἐλευθερίᾳ καὶ ἐπὶ τῇ τιμῇ καὶ ἐπὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις, ὥστε κυρίως εἰπεῖν μηδὲν εἶναι ἀγαθόν, ᾧ μὴ πρόσσεστι.
- 87 χαρά. ἀλλ' οὐ μόνον ἐπὶ προγεγεννημένοις ἤδη τοῖς ἄλλοις ἀγαθοῖς καὶ παροῦσι χαίρομεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐπὶ μέλλουσι καὶ προσδοκωμένοις, οἷον ὅτε ἐλπίζομεν πλουτήσῃν ἢ ἄρξῃν ἢ ἐπαινεθήσεσθαι ἢ νόσων ἀπαλλαγῇν εὐρήσεσθαι ἢ εὐτονίας καὶ ῥώμης κοινωνήσῃν ἢ ἐπιστήμονες ἀντ' ἀνεπιστημόνων ἔσεσθαι, γεγήθαμεν οὐ μετρίως. ἐπειδὴ τοίνυν ἡ χαρὰ οὐ παρούσα μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐλπίζομένη ἀναχεῖ τε καὶ εὐφραίνει τὴν ψυχὴν, εἰκότως τὸν Ἰσαὰκ πρὶν γεννηθῆναι ὀνόματός τε καὶ δωρεᾶς μεγάλης ἡξίωσε· γέλως γὰρ ψυχῆς καὶ χαρὰ καὶ εὐφροσύνη διερμηνεύεται οὗτος.

covenant" (*ibid.* 19). What is it, then, that has made this one too to be praised before his birth? Some good things benefit us when they have reached us and are present, as health, excellence of bodily senses, wealth perhaps, fame—for even these may be loosely called "good things";—some again not only when they have come, but when their coming has been foretold. For instance joy, a happy condition of the soul, gladdens not only when it is present and in active operation, but, when still an object of hope, brings an anticipatory brightness. For here again is a peculiar advantage which it possesses. While other good things take effect in virtue of their own particular goodness only, joy is both a particular and a general good. See how it comes to add to and enrich them all. We rejoice over health, and over liberty, and over honour, and over the other good things, so that we say with literal truth that nothing is good unless joy be attached to it. But we rejoice over the other good things not only when they have already come about beforehand and are present, but also when they are looked for in the future, as when we hope that we shall grow rich, or shall obtain office, or shall win praise, or shall discover a way of getting rid of disease, or shall obtain our share of health and strength, or shall be no longer ignorant, but men of knowledge, we are glad in no small measure. Seeing then, that joy, not only when present but when hoped for, causes the soul to overflow with gladness, God fitly held Isaac, even before he was begotten, worthy of his great name and therein of a vast endowment: for "Isaac" means laughter of soul and joy and gladness.

88 XXIX. Πάλιν δὲ τὸν Ἰακώβ καὶ τὸν Ἡσαῦ
 τὸν μὲν ἄρχοντα καὶ ἡγεμόνα καὶ δεσπότην τὸν
 [105] δὲ Ἡσαῦ ὑπήκοον καὶ | δούλον ἔτι κατὰ γαστρὸς
 ὄντας φησὶν εἶναι· ὁ γὰρ ζωοπλάστης θεὸς ἐπί-
 σταται τὰ ἑαυτοῦ καλῶς δημιουργήματα καὶ πρὶν
 αὐτὰ εἰς ἄκρον διατορεῦσαι, τὰς τε δυνάμεις,
 αἷς αὖθις χρῆσονται, καὶ συνόλως τὰ ἔργα τούτων
 καὶ πάθη. ἐπειδὴ γὰρ πορεύεται ἡ ὑπομονητικὴ
 ψυχὴ Ῥεβέκκα πυθέσθαι παρὰ θεοῦ, ἀποκρίνεται
 αὐτῇ, ὅτι “ δύο ἔθνη ἐν τῇ γαστρί σου ἔστι, καὶ
 δύο λαοὶ ἐκ τῆς κοιλίας σου διασταλήσονται, καὶ
 λαὸς λαοῦ ὑπερέξει, καὶ ὁ μείζων δουλεύσει τῷ
 89 ἐλάσσονι ” (Gen. xxv. 23). φύσει γὰρ δούλον
 παρὰ θεῷ τὸ φαῦλον καὶ ἄλογον, ἡγεμονικὸν δὲ
 καὶ ἐλεύθερον τὸ ἀστεῖον καὶ λογικὸν καὶ ἄμεινον,
 καὶ οὐχ ὅταν ἤδη γένηται ἐν τῇ ψυχῇ τέλειον
 ἑκάτερον, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐνδοιάζηται· ὅλως γὰρ καὶ
 μικρά τις αὖρα τῆς ἀρετῆς ἀρχὴν καὶ ἡγεμονίαν,
 οὐκ ἐλευθερίαν μόνον, ἐμφαίνει, καὶ ἔμπαλιν ἡ
 τυχούσα κακίας γένεσις δουλοῖ τὸν λογισμὸν, καὶ
 μήπω τέλειον αὐτῆς ἐκφοιτήσῃ τὸ γέννημα.

90 XXX. Τί δὲ παθὼν ὁ αὐτὸς οὗτος Ἰακώβ, τοῦ
 Ἰωσήφ τοὺς δύο υἱοὺς προσαγαγόντος τὸν πρε-
 σβύτερον Μανασσῆν καὶ τὸν νεώτερον Ἐφραῖμ,
 ἐναλλάττει τὰς χεῖρας καὶ τὴν μὲν δεξιὰν ἐπιτίθῃσι
 τῷ νεωτέρῳ Ἐφραῖμ, τὴν δ’ εὐώνυμον τῷ πρε-
 σβυτέρῳ Μανασσῇ, καὶ βαρὺ τὸ πρᾶγμα ἡγησα-
 μένου τοῦ Ἰωσήφ καὶ οἰηθέντος τὸν πατέρα ἄκοντα
 σφαλῆναι περὶ τὴν τῶν χειρῶν ἐπίθεσιν, φησὶν·
 οὐ διήμαρτον, ἀλλ’ “ οἶδα, τέκνον, οἶδα, καὶ οὗτος
 ἔσται εἰς λαὸν καὶ οὗτος ὑψωθήσεται, ἀλλ’ ὁ

* The words “ and better ” are perhaps an intrusion.

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

XXX. What led this same Jacob, when Joseph brought to him his two sons, the elder Manasseh and the younger Ephraim, to cross his hands and place his right hand on Ephraim the younger son and his left hand on Manasseh the elder; and when Joseph was distressed by it and imagined that his father had made an unintentional mistake in so placing his hands, to say it was no error, but "I know, my child, I know, this one too shall be a people,

- ἀδελφὸς αὐτοῦ ὁ νεώτερος μείζων αὐτοῦ ἔσται”
- 91 (Gen. xlviii. 19). τί οὖν χρή λέγειν ἢ τοῦτο, ὅτι δύο φύσεις ἐδημιουργήθησαν ἐν ψυχῇ ὑπὸ θεοῦ σφόδρα ἀναγκαῖαι, μνήμη τε καὶ ἀνάμνησις; ἀμείνων μὲν ἡ μνήμη, χείρων δὲ ἡ ἀνάμνησις· ἡ μὲν γὰρ ἐναύλους ἔχει καὶ ἐναργεῖς τὰς καταλήψεις, ὥς μηδὲ ἄγνοια διαμαρτεῖν, ἀναμνήσεως δὲ λήθη πάντως προηγείται, πηρόν καὶ τυφλόν
- 92 πρᾶγμα. πρεσβύτερον δὲ τὸ χείρον ἡ ἀνάμνησις εὐρίσκεται μνήμης τοῦ κρείττονος· * * * συνεχές καὶ ἀδιάστατον· οἱ γὰρ πρῶτον εἰς τὰς τέχνας εἰσαγόμενοι περικρατῆσαι τῶν εἰς αὐτὰς θεωρημάτων ἀδυνατοῦμεν εὐθύς· λήθη οὖν κατ’ ἀρχὰς χρώμενοι πάλιν ἀναμνησκομέθα, ἕως ἐκ τοῦ πολλάκις μὲν ἐκλαθέσθαι πολλάκις δὲ ἀναμνησθῆναι βέβαιος αὐθις μνήμη κρατήσῃ, παρὸ καὶ νεωτέρα—ὀψίγονος γάρ ἐστι—συνίσταται τῆς ἀναμνήσεως.
- 93 συμβολικῶς οὖν ὁ μὲν Ἑφραῖμ λέγεται μνήμη, καρποφορία γὰρ ἐρμηνεύεται, τῆς τοῦ φιλομαθοῦς ψυχῆς τὸν οἰκεῖον <καρπὸν> ἐνηνοχίας, ὁπότε |
- [106] διὰ μνήμης ἔχοι βεβαιοῦν τὰ θεωρήματα· ὁ δὲ Μανασσῆς ἀνάμνησις, μεταληφθεὶς γὰρ “ἐκ λήθης” εἶναι λέγεται, ὁ δὲ λήθην ἐκφεύγων ἀναμνησκέσθαι πάντως. ὀρθότατα οὖν ὁ πτερνιστῆς τῶν παθῶν καὶ ἀσκητῆς ἀρετῆς Ἰακώβ δεξιούται τὴν καρποφόρον μνήμην Ἑφραῖμ, δευτερείων δὲ ἀξιοῖ τὴν ἀνάμνησιν Μανασσῆν.

¹ μηδὲν conj. Wendland.

ALLEGORICAL INTERPRETATION, III. 90-93

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

94 Καὶ Μωυσῆς μέντοι τῶν θυνόντων τὸ Φασέκ τοὺς μὲν <τὸ> πρότερον θύσαντας μάλιστα ἐπαινεῖ, ὅτι διαβάντες ἀπὸ τῶν παθῶν Αἰγύπτου ἐπέμειναν τῇ διαβάσει καὶ οὐχ ὥρμησαν ἔτι ἐπ' αὐτά, τοὺς δὲ τὸ δεύτερον δευτερείων ἀξιοῖ (Num. ix. 6 ff.), τραπέντες γὰρ ἀνέδραμον τὴν τροπὴν καὶ ὥσπερ ἐπιλαθόμενοι τῶν πρακτέων πάλιν ἐπὶ τὸ πράττειν ὥρμησαν αὐτά, οἱ δὲ πρότεροι ἄτρεπτοι διετέλεσαν. ἔοικεν οὖν τοῖς μὲν τὸ δεύτερον Πάσχα θύουσιν ὁ ἐκ λήθης Μανασσῆς, τοῖς δὲ τὸ πρότερον ὁ καρποφόρος Ἐφραΐμ.

95 XXXI. "Ὅθεν καὶ Βεσελεὴλ ἀνακαλεῖ ὁ θεὸς ἐξ ὀνόματος καὶ φησιν αὐτῷ δωρήσασθαι σοφίαν καὶ ἐπιστήμην, καὶ δημιουργὸν αὐτὸν καὶ ἀρχιτέκτονα πάντων τῶν τῆς σκηνῆς, τουτέστι τῶν τῆς ψυχῆς ἔργων, ἀποδείξειν (Exod. xxxi. 2 ff.), μηδὲν ἔργον, ὃ καὶ ἐπαινέσειέ τις, προὑποδείξας αὐτοῦ. λεκτέον οὖν ὅτι καὶ τοῦτο τὸ σχῆμα τῇ ψυχῇ ἐντετύπωκεν ὁ θεὸς νομίσματος δοκίμου τρόπον. τίς οὖν ἐστὶν ὁ χαρακτήρ εἰσόμεθα, εἰάν τὴν ἐρμηνείαν πρότερον
96 τοῦ ὀνόματος ἀκριβώσωμεν. ἐρμηνεύεται οὖν Βεσελεὴλ ἐν σκιᾷ θεοῦ· σκιά θεοῦ δὲ ὁ λόγος αὐτοῦ ἐστίν, ᾧ καθάπερ ὀργάνῳ προσχρησάμενος ἐκοσμοποιεῖ. αὕτη δὲ ἡ σκιά καὶ τὸ ὥσανεὶ ἀπεικόνισμα ἐτέρων ἐστὶν ἀρχέτυπον· ὥσπερ γὰρ ὁ θεὸς παρὰ-

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

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

^c In Numb. ix. 6 ff. Philo interprets ἀκάθαρτοι of moral,

ALLEGORICAL INTERPRETATION, III. 94-96

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

XXXI. This, moreover, is the reason of God's proclaiming Bezalel by name, and saying that He has given him wisdom and knowledge, and that He will appoint him artificer and chief craftsman of all the works of the Tabernacle, that is of the soul (Exod. xxxi. 2 ff.), though He has so far pointed to no work or deed of Bezalel's, such as to win him even commendation. We must say, then, that here too we have a form which God has stamped on the soul as on the tested coin. What, then, the image impressed on it is we shall know if we first ascertain accurately the meaning of the name. Bezalel means, then, "in the shadow of God"; but God's shadow is His Word, which he made use of like an instrument, and so made the world. But this shadow, and what we may describe as the representation, is the archetype for further creations. For just as God is the

not ceremonial, uncleanness, as excluding from the keeping of the Passover in the first month.

- δειγμα τῆς εἰκόνας, ἣν σκιὰν νυνὶ κέκληκεν,
 οὕτως ἡ εἰκὼν ἄλλων γίνεται παράδειγμα, ὡς
 καὶ ἐναρχόμενος τῆς νομοθεσίας ἐδήλωσεν εἰπών·
 “καὶ ἐποίησεν ὁ θεὸς τὸν ἄνθρωπον κατ’ εἰκόνα
 θεοῦ” (Gen. i. 27), ὡς τῆς μὲν εἰκόνας κατὰ
 [107] τὸν θεὸν ἀπεικονισθείσης, τοῦ δὲ ἀνθρώπου | κατὰ
 τὴν εἰκόνα λαβοῦσαν δύναμιν παραδείγματος.
- 97 XXXII. Τίς οὖν ὁ ἐπιγινόμενος χαρακτήρ,
 θεασώμεθα. ἐζήτησαν οἱ πρῶτοι, πῶς ἐνόησαμεν
 τὸ θεῖον, εἰθ’ οἱ δοκοῦντες ἄριστα φιλοσοφεῖν
 ἔφασαν, ὅτι ἀπὸ τοῦ κόσμου καὶ τῶν μερῶν αὐτοῦ
 καὶ τῶν ἐνυπαρχουσῶν τούτοις δυνάμεων ἀντί-
- 98 ληψιν ἐποιησάμεθα τοῦ αἰτίου· ὥσπερ γάρ, εἴ
 τις ἴδοι δεδημιουργημένην οἰκίαν ἐπιμελῶς προ-
 πυλαίοις στοαῖς ἀνδρώσι γυναικωνίτισι τοῖς ἄλλοις
 οἰκοδομήμασιν, ἔννοιαν λήψεται τοῦ τεχνίτου—οὐ
 γὰρ ἄνευ τέχνης καὶ δημιουργοῦ νομιεῖ τὴν οἰκίαν
 ἀποτελεσθῆναι—τὸν αὐτὸν δὲ τρόπον καὶ ἐπὶ
 πόλεως καὶ νεῶς καὶ παντὸς ἐλάττονος ἢ μείζονος
- 99 κατασκευάσματος, οὕτως δὴ καὶ εἰσελθὼν τις
 ὥσπερ εἰς μεγίστην οἰκίαν ἢ πόλιν τόνδε τὸν
 κόσμον καὶ θεασάμενος οὐρανὸν μὲν ἐν κύκλῳ
 περιπολοῦντα καὶ πάντα ἐντὸς συνειληφότα, πλανή-
 τας δὲ καὶ ἀπλανεῖς ἀστέρας κατὰ ταῦτα καὶ
 ὡσαύτως κινουμένους ἐμμελῶς τε καὶ ἐναρμονίως
 καὶ τῷ παντὶ ὠφελίμως, γῆν δὲ τὸν μέσον χώρον
 λαχοῦσαν, ὕδατός τε καὶ αἰέρος χύσεις ἐν μεθορίῳ
 τεταγμένας, ἔτι δὲ ζῶα θνητά τε αὐ καὶ ἀθάνατα
 καὶ φυτῶν καὶ καρπῶν διαφοράς, λογίζεται δήπου,
 ὅτι ταῦτα οὐκ ἄνευ τέχνης παντελοῦς δεδημι-
 ούργηται, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἦν καὶ ἔστιν ὁ τοῦδε τοῦ

^a See App. p. 483.

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

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

παντὸς δημιουργὸς ὁ θεός. οἱ δὲ οὕτως ἐπι-
 λογιζόμενοι διὰ σκιᾶς τὸν θεὸν καταλαμβάνουσι,
 διὰ τῶν ἔργων τὸν τεχνίτην κατανοοῦντες.

100 XXXIII. "Ἐστι δέ τις τελεώτερος καὶ μᾶλλον
 κεκαθαρμένος νοῦς τὰ μεγάλα μυστήρια μνηθεῖς,
 ὅστις οὐκ ἀπὸ τῶν γεγονότων τὸ αἷτιον γνωρίζει,
 ὥς ἂν ἀπὸ σκιᾶς τὸ μένον, ἀλλ' ὑπερκύψας τὸ
 γενητὸν ἔμφασιν ἐναργῇ τοῦ ἀγενήτου λαμβάνει,
 ὥς ἀπ' αὐτοῦ αὐτὸν καταλαμβάνειν καὶ τὴν σκιὰν
 αὐτοῦ, ὅπερ ἦν τὸν τε λόγον καὶ τόνδε τὸν κόσμον.

101 οὗτός ἐστι Μωυσῆς ὁ λέγων "Ἐμφάνισόν μοι
 σαυτόν, γνωστῶς ἴδω σε" (Exod. xxxiii. 13). μὴ
 γὰρ ἐμφανισθείης μοι δι' οὐρανοῦ ἢ γῆς ἢ ὕδατος
 ἢ ἀέρος ἢ τινος ἀπλῶς τῶν ἐν γενέσει, μηδὲ
 κατοπτρισαίμην ἐν ἄλλῳ τινὶ τὴν σὴν ἰδέαν ἢ ἐν
 σοὶ τῷ θεῷ, αἱ γὰρ ἐν γενητοῖς ἐμφάσεις δια-
 λύνονται, αἱ δὲ ἐν τῷ ἀγενήτῳ μόνιμοι καὶ βέβαιοι
 καὶ αἰδίοι <ἂν> διατελοῖεν. διὰ τοῦτο Μωυσῆν

102 ἀνακέκληκε καὶ ἐλάλησεν αὐτῷ ὁ θεός. καὶ
 Βεσελεὴλ ἀνακέκληκεν, ἀλλ' οὐχ ὁμοίως, ἀλλὰ
 τὸν μὲν τὴν ἔμφασιν τοῦ θεοῦ λαμβάνοντα ἀπ'
 αὐτοῦ τοῦ αἰτίου, τὸν δὲ ὥσπερ ἀπὸ σκιᾶς τῶν
 γενομένων τὸν τεχνίτην ἐξ ἐπιλογισμοῦ κατα-
 νοοῦντα. διὰ τοῦθ' εὐρήσεις τὴν σκηνὴν καὶ τὰ
 σκευὴ πάντα αὐτῆς πρότερον μὲν ὑπὸ Μωυσέως,

[108] αὐθις δ' ὑπὸ | Βεσελεὴλ κατασκευαζόμενα·
 Μωυσῆς μὲν γὰρ τὰ ἀρχέτυπα τεχνιτεύει, Βεσελεὴλ
 δὲ τὰ τούτων μιμήματα· χρῆται μὲν γὰρ Μωυσῆς

whole universe was and is God. Those, who thus base their reasoning on what is before their eyes, apprehend God by means of a shadow cast, discerning the Artificer by means of His works.

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

- ὑφήγητῇ τῷ θεῷ, ὥς φησι· “κατὰ τὸ παράδειγμα
 τὸ δεδειγμένον σοι ἐν τῷ ὅρει πάντα ποιήσεις”
 103 (Exod. xxv. 40), Βεσελεήλ δὲ Μωυσεῖ· καὶ εἰ-
 κότως· καὶ γὰρ ὅτε Ἀαρὼν ὁ λόγος καὶ Μαριάμ
 ἡ αἰσθησις ἐπανίστανται, ῥητῶς ἀκούουσιν ὅτι,
 “ἐὰν γένηται προφήτης κυρίῳ, ἐν ὁράματι αὐτῷ
 γνωσθήσεται” καὶ ἐν σκιᾷ ὁ θεός, οὐκ ἐναργῶς,
 Μωυσεῖ δέ, ὅστις “πιστὸς ἐν ὅλῳ τῷ οἴκῳ,
 στόμα κατὰ στόμα λαλήσει, ἐν εἶδει καὶ οὐ δι’
 αἰνιγμάτων” (Num. xii. 6-8).
- 104 XXXIV. Ἐπειδὴ τοίνυν δύο φύσεις εὗρομεν
 γενομένας καὶ πλαττομένας καὶ ἄκρως τετορευ-
 μένας ὑπὸ θεοῦ, τὴν μὲν ἐξ ἑαυτῆς βλαβερὰν καὶ
 ἐπίληπτον καὶ κατάρατον, τὴν δὲ ὠφέλιμον καὶ
 ἐπαινετήν, καὶ ἔχουσιν τὴν μὲν κίβδηλον, τὴν δὲ
 δόκιμον χαρακτήρα, καλὴν καὶ ἀρμόττουσαν εὐχὴν
 εὐξώμεθα, ἣν καὶ Μωυσῆς, “ἵν’ ἡμῖν ἀνοίξῃ ὁ
 θεὸς τὸν ἑαυτοῦ θησαυρὸν” (Deut. xxviii. 12)
 καὶ τὸν μετάρσιον καὶ ἐγκύμονα θείων φώτων
 λόγον, ὃν δὴ κέκληκεν οὐρανόν, τοὺς δὲ τῶν
 105 κακῶν ἐπισφίγξῃ. εἰσὶ γὰρ ὥσπερ ἀγαθῶν οὕτω
 καὶ κακῶν παρὰ τῷ θεῷ θησαυροί, ὥς ἐν μεγάλῃ
 φησὶν ὥδῃ· “οὐκ ἰδοὺ ταῦτα συνήκται παρ’ ἐμοί,
 καὶ ἐσφράγισται ἐν τοῖς θησαυροῖς μου, ἐν ἡμέρᾳ
 ἐκδικήσεως, ὅταν σφαλῇ ὁ πούς αὐτῶν;” (Deut.
 xxxii. 34, 35) ὁρᾷς ὅτι κακῶν εἰσι θησαυροί·
 καὶ ὁ μὲν τῶν ἀγαθῶν εἰς—ἐπεὶ γὰρ ὁ θεὸς
 εἰς, καὶ ἀγαθῶν θησαυρὸς <εἰς>—πολλοὶ δὲ τῶν
 κακῶν, ὅτι καὶ οἱ ἁμαρτάνοντες ἄπειροι τὸ πλῆθος.

^a See App. p. 483.

Instructor, as He says "thou shalt make all things according to the pattern that was shown to thee in the mount" (Exod. xxv. 40), but Bezalel is instructed by Moses. And all this is just as we should expect. For on the occasion likewise of the rebellion of Aaron, Speech, and Miriam, Perception, they are expressly told "If a prophet be raised up unto the Lord, God shall be known unto him in a vision" and in a shadow, not manifestly; but with Moses, the man who is "faithful in all His house, He will speak mouth to mouth in manifest form and not through dark speeches" (Numb. xii. 6-8).

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

^a Philo often refers to Deuteronomy xxxii. under this title.

ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐν τούτῳ σκόπει τὴν τοῦ ὄντος ἀγα-
θότητα· τὸν μὲν τῶν ἀγαθῶν θησαυρὸν ἀνοίγει,
τοὺς δὲ τῶν κακῶν ἐπισφίγγει· θεοῦ γὰρ ἴδιον
τὰ μὲν ἀγαθὰ προτείνειν καὶ φθάνειν δωρούμενον,
106 τὰ δὲ κακὰ μὴ ῥαδίως ἐπάγειν. Μωυσῆς δὲ καὶ
ἐπιτείνων τὸ τοῦ θεοῦ φιλόδωρον καὶ χαριστικὸν
οὐ μόνον ἐν τῷ ἄλλῳ χρόνῳ φησὶ τοὺς θησαυροὺς
τῶν κακῶν ἐσφραγίσθαι, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὅταν ἡ ψυχὴ
σφαλῇ κατὰ τὴν βάσιν τοῦ ὀρθοῦ λόγου, ὅποτε
καὶ ἄξιον ᾦν αὐτὴν δίκης ἀξιούσθαι. <ἐν> ἡμέρᾳ
γὰρ φησιν ἐκδικήσεως ἐσφραγίσθαι τοὺς τῶν
κακῶν θησαυροὺς, δεικνύντος τοῦ ἱεροῦ λόγου,
ὅτι οὐδὲ τοῖς ἀμαρτάνουσιν εὐθὺς ἐπέξεισιν ὁ θεός,
ἀλλὰ δίδωσι χρόνον εἰς μετάνοιαν καὶ τὴν τοῦ
σφάλματος ἱασίν τε καὶ ἐπανόρθωσιν.

- 107 XXXV. “Καὶ εἶπε κύριος ὁ θεὸς τῷ ὄφει
Ἐπικατάρατος σὺ ἀπὸ πάντων τῶν κτηνῶν καὶ
ἀπὸ πάντων τῶν θηρίων τῆς γῆς” (Gen. iii. 14).
ὥσπερ ἡ χαρὰ εὐπάθεια οὕσα εὐχῆς ἐστὶν ἐπαξία,
οὕτως κατάρas ἡδονή, τὸ πάθος, ἡ μεταθείσα
τοὺς ὅρους τῆς ψυχῆς καὶ κατασκευάσασα αὐτὴν
[109] ἀντὶ φιλαρέτου | φιλοπαθῆ· φησὶ δὲ Μωυσῆς ἐν
ταῖς ἀραῖς, ἐπικατάρατον εἶναι τὸν μετατιθέντα
τὰ ὅρια τοῦ πλησίον (Deut. xxvii. 17)· ὅρον γὰρ
ἔθηκε καὶ νόμον ὁ θεὸς τὴν ἀρετὴν τῇ ψυχῇ, τὸ
τῆς ζωῆς ξύλον· τοῦτον δὲ μετατέθεικεν <ὁ>
108 πῆξας ὅρον κακίαν, ξύλον θανάτου. “ἐπικατ-
άρατος μέντοι καὶ ὁ πλανῶν τυφλὸν ἐν ὁδῷ”
(Deut. xxvii. 18), “καὶ ὁ τύπτων τὸν πλησίον
δόλῳ” (ib. 24). καὶ ταῦτα δ’ ἐργάζεται ἡ
ἀθεωτάτη ἡδονή· τυφλὸν γὰρ φύσει ἡ αἴσθησις

^a See Vol. II., App. p. 495, note on *Quod et.* 120.

are those that sin. But here too observe the goodness of Him who is. The treasury of good things He opens, those of evil things He closes. For it is God's property to hold out good things and to be beforehand in bestowing them, but to be slow to inflict evil things. But Moses, magnifying God's love of giving gifts and granting favours, says that the treasuries of evil things are sealed up not only at other times, but also when the soul fails to direct its steps in keeping with the right principle ; and yet then it might justly have been deemed worthy of punishment. For he says that the treasuries of evil things were sealed in the day of vengeance, the sacred word thus showing that not even against those who sin will God proceed at once, but gives time for repentance and for the healing and setting on his feet again of him who had slipped.

XXXV. " And the Lord God said to the serpent, Cursed art thou from among all cattle and from among all the beasts of the earth " (Gen. iii. 14). Just as joy, being a good condition of soul,^a deserves prayer, so pleasure, the passion *par excellence*, deserves cursing ; it shifts the standards of the soul and renders it a lover of passion instead of a lover of virtue :—" Accursed," says Moses in the Curses, " is he who removes his neighbour's landmarks " (Deut. xxvii. 17) :—for God set as a landmark and law for the soul virtue, the tree of life. This is removed by the man who has fixed as landmark in its stead wickedness, the tree of death. " Cursed again is he who causes a blind man to go astray in the way " (Deut. xxvii. 18), " and he that smiteth his neighbour craftily " (*ibid.* 24). And these also are acts of pleasure, the utterly godless one ; for sense by itself

PHILO

- ἄτε ἄλογος οὖσα, ἐπεὶ τὸ λογικὸν ἐξομματοῦται παρὸ καὶ μόνῳ τούτῳ τὰ πράγματα καταλαμβάνομεν, αἰσθήσει δ' οὐκέτι, μόνα γὰρ τὰ σώματα
- 109 φαντασιούμεθα δι' αἰσθήσεως. τὴν οὖν πηρὰν αἰσθησιν τῆς τῶν πραγμάτων ἀντιλήψεως ἐξηπάτηκεν, εἴ γε δυναμένην ἐπὶ νοῦν τρέπεσθαι καὶ ἡνιοχεῖσθαι ὑπ' αὐτοῦ κεκώλυκεν, ἐπὶ τὸ ἐκτὸς αἰσθητὸν ἀγαγοῦσα καὶ λίσχον αὐτὴν ἀπεργασαμένη τοῦ ἑαυτῆς ποιητικοῦ, ἵνα ἡ μὲν αἰσθησις πηρὸς οὖσα ἀκολουθῇ τυφλῷ ποδηγῷ τῷ αἰσθητῷ, ὃ δὲ νοῦς, ὑπ' ἀμφοτέρων ποδηγούμενος οὐ βλέπόντων, ἐκτραχηλίζεται καὶ ἀκρατῆς ἑαυτοῦ γίνηται.
- 110 εἰ γάρ τις ἦν τοῦ κατὰ φύσιν ἀκολουθία, τῷ βλέποντι λογισμῷ τὰ πηρὰ ἐχρῆν ἔπεισθαι, οὕτως γὰρ ἂν τὰ βλαβερά ἐπεκουφίζετο· νυνὶ δὲ τοσοῦτον ἔστησε μηχανήματα κατὰ τῆς ψυχῆς, ὥστε ἡγεμόσιν αὐτὴν χρῆσθαι τυφλοῖς ἡνάγκασε, παρακρουσαμένη καὶ ἀναπείσασα κακῶν ἀρετὴν ἀλλάξαι καὶ ἀντιδοῦναι πονηρῶν ἀκακίαν. XXXVI. ἀπείρηκε δὲ καὶ τὴν τοιαύτην ἀντίδοσιν ὁ ἱερὸς λόγος, ὅταν φῇ· “οὐκ ἀλλάξεις καλὸν πονηρῷ” (Lev.
- 111 xxvii. 33). ἐπικατάρατος δὲ διὰ ταῦτα ἡ ἡδονή. ἡ δὲ καταρᾶται αὐτῇ, ἴδωμεν ὡς προσφυᾶ. ἀπὸ πάντων φησὶ τῶν κτηνῶν ἐπάρατον εἶναι (Gen. iii. 14). οὐκοῦν κτηνῶδες μὲν ἐστὶ τὸ ἄλογον καὶ αἰσθητικόν, ἐκάστη δὲ αἰσθησις

is a blind thing, inasmuch as it is irrational, for it is the reasoning faculty that confers sight. Accordingly it is with the reason only that we apprehend matters; sense does not carry us so far; for by means of sense we gain impressions only of the material forms of things. Pleasure, then, has cheated poor maimed sense of the power of apprehending matters, inasmuch as, when it could have had recourse to mind and have secured it for its charioteer, it has prevented it, leading it to what can be perceived externally only, and by giving it a craving for that which produces pleasure, to the end that sense, being a maimed thing, may follow a blind guide, namely that which sense can perceive, and that the mind, led by this pair of blind guides, may be brought to the ground and robbed of self-control. For if there had been any correspondence with what nature prescribes, it would have been incumbent upon the maimed faculties to follow the reasoning faculty which has eyes, for in this way the damage incurred would have been diminished. As it is, pleasure has organized such a shrewd device against the soul, that it has compelled it to employ blind guides, inducing it by delusive wiles to change virtue for evil things, and to surrender its innocence and receive wickedness in lieu of it. Such an exchange too is forbidden by the holy word, when it says, "Thou shalt not change good with evil" (Lev. xxvii. 33).

Accursed on these grounds is pleasure. Let us see how appropriate the curses are which He pronounces upon it. He says that it is cursed from all cattle (Gen. iii. 14). Our irrational faculty of sense-perception, then, is of the cattle kind, and each of our senses curses

ἡδονῇ καταρᾶται ὡς πολεμιωτάτῃ καὶ ἐχθίστῃ· καὶ γὰρ ἐστὶ τῷ ὄντι πολέμιος αἰσθήσει· τεκμήριον δέ, ὅταν ἡδονῆς ἀμέτρου κορεσθῶμεν, οὐθ' ὀράν οὔτ' ἀκούειν οὔτ' ὀσφραίνεσθαι οὔτε γεύεσθαι οὐθ' ἅπτεσθαι εἰλικρινῶς δυνάμεθα, ἀλλ' ἀμυδράς

112 καὶ ἀσθενεῖς ποιούμεθα τὰς προσβολάς. καὶ τοῦτο μὲν, ὅταν ἐπίσχωμεν τὴν χρῆσιν αὐτῆς, πάσχομεν· ἐν αὐταῖς δ' ὄντες ταῖς τῆς ἡδονῆς ἀπολαύσεσι κατὰ τὸ παντελές καὶ τὴν διὰ τῶν συνεργουσῶν αἰσθήσεων ἀντίληψιν ἀφαιρούμεθα, ὡς δοκεῖν πεπηρῶσθαι. πῶς οὖν οὐκ ἂν εἰκότως ἀρὰς θεῖτο αἰσθησις τῇ πηρούσῃ αὐτὴν ἡδονῇ;

113 XXXVII. | ἐπικατάρατος δέ ἐστι καὶ παρὰ πάντα
[110] τὰ θηρία, λέγω δὴ τὰ πάθη τῆς ψυχῆς, τούτοις γὰρ νοῦς τιτρώσκεται καὶ διαφθείρεται. διὰ τί οὖν καὶ τῶν ἄλλων παθῶν χεῖρων εἶναι δοκεῖ; ὅτι σχεδὸν ὑποβέβληται πᾶσιν, ὥσπερ τις ἀρχὴ καὶ θεμέλιος· ἥ τε γὰρ ἐπιθυμία γέγονε δι' ἔρωτος ἡδονῆς, ἥ τε λύπη συνίσταται κατὰ τὴν ταύτης ἀφαίρεσιν, φόβος τε αὖ γεννᾶται δι' εὐλάβειαν ἀπουσίας αὐτῆς· ὥστε δῆλον εἶναι, ὅτι πάντα ἐφορμεῖ τὰ πάθη τῇ ἡδονῇ, καὶ οὐδ' ἂν συνέστη τὸ παράπαν ἴσως ἐκεῖνα, εἰ μὴ προκατεβλήθη τὸ οἰστικὸν αὐτῶν ἡδονή.

114 XXXVIII. “Ἐπὶ τῷ στήθει καὶ τῇ κοιλίᾳ πορεύσῃ” (Gen. iii. 14). περὶ γὰρ ταῦτα φωλεύει τὰ μέρη τὸ πάθος, τὰ τε στέρνα καὶ τὴν γαστέρα, ὅταν μὲν ἔχῃ τὰ ποιητικὰ καὶ τὰς ὕλας ἢ ἡδονή, περὶ τὴν γαστέρα καὶ τὰ μετ' αὐτήν, ὅταν <δ> ἀπορῇ, περὶ τὰ στήθη, ὅπου ὁ θυμός· οἱ γὰρ

pleasure as a most deadly enemy : for it is in very deed hostile to sense, as is proved by the fact that, when we have gluttoned ourselves with immoderate pleasure, we cannot see nor hear nor smell nor taste nor feel with clearness, but our contact with objects of sense is dim and feeble. This is what we experience when we have ceased from indulging in pleasure ; but when we are in the very midst of the enjoyments it affords, we find ourselves utterly deprived of the support that we obtain through the co-operation of the senses, to such an extent that we seem to have been maimed. How, then, should not sense rightly lay curses on pleasure that maims it ? XXXVII. It is cursed also beyond all the wild beasts. By these I mean the passions of the soul, for by these the mind is wounded and destroyed, Why, then, is it accounted worse than the other passions ? Because it is, we may say, at the bottom of them all, like a kind of starting-point and foundation. Lust comes into play through love of pleasure ; pain arises as pleasure is withdrawn ; fear again is engendered owing to a dread of being without pleasure. It is clear, then, that all the passions depend on pleasure, and these would perchance never have taken shape at all, if first there had not been deposited that which is productive of them, pleasure.

XXXVIII. " On thy breast and belly shalt thou go " (Gen. iii. 14). For passion has its lair in these parts of the body, the breast and the belly. When pleasure has the materials it needs to produce it, it haunts the belly and the parts below it. But when it is at a loss for these materials, it occupies the breast where wrath is ; for lovers of pleasure when

φιλήδονοι στερόμενοι τῶν ἡδονῶν ὀργίζονται καὶ
 115 παραπικραίνονται. ἔτι δὲ ἀκριβέστερον ἴδωμεν τὸ
 δηλούμενον. τριμερῇ συμβέβηκε τὴν ψυχὴν ἡμῶν
 εἶναι καὶ ἔχειν μέρος μὲν ἐν λογιστικόν, δεύτερον
 δὲ θυμικόν, τρίτον δὲ ἐπιθυμητικόν. ἔνιοι μὲν
 οὖν τῶν φιλοσόφων τὰ μέρη ταῦτα δυνάμει μόνον
 διέκριναν ἀλλήλων, τινὲς δὲ καὶ τόποις· εἴτα
 ἔνειμαν τῷ μὲν λογιστικῷ τὸν περὶ κεφαλὴν χώρον
 εἰπόντες, ὅπου ὁ βασιλεὺς, ἐκεῖ καὶ οἱ δορυφόροι,
 δορυφόροι δὲ αἱ αἰσθήσεις τοῦ νοῦ περὶ κεφαλὴν
 οὔσαι, ὥστε καὶ ὁ βασιλεὺς εἴη ἂν ἐκεῖ, ὥσπερ
 ἄκραν ἐν πόλει λαχὼν οἰκεῖν, τῷ δὲ θυμικῷ τὰ
 στέρνα, παρὸ καὶ τὴν φύσιν ὀχυρῶσαι τὸ μέρος
 πυκνότητι καὶ κραταιότητι συνεχῶν ὀστέων ὥσπερ
 στρατιώτην ἀγαθὸν καθοπλίσασαν θώρακι καὶ
 ἀσπίδι πρὸς τὴν τῶν ἐναντιουμένων ἄμυναν, τῷ
 δὲ ἐπιθυμητικῷ τὸν περὶ τὸ ἥτρον καὶ τὴν κοιλίαν
 τόπον, ἐνταῦθα γὰρ κατοικεῖ ἐπιθυμία, ὄρεξις
 116 ἄλογος.

XXXIX. ἐὰν οὖν ποτε ζητῆς,
 ᾧ διάνοια, τίνα χώρον ἡδονὴ κεκλήρωται, μὴ
 σκέπτου τὸν περὶ κεφαλὴν τόπον, ὅπου τὸ λογι-
 στικόν, οὐ γὰρ μὴ εὐρήσεις, ἐπεὶ μάχεται ὁ λόγος
 τῷ πάθει καὶ ἐν ταύτῳ μένειν οὐ δύναται· κρατοῦν-
 τος μὲν γὰρ λόγου φρουρὸς ἢ ἡδονή, νικώσης δὲ
 ἡδονῆς φυγὰς ὁ λόγος· ζήτει δ' ἐν στήθει καὶ
 κοιλίᾳ, ὅπου ὁ θυμὸς καὶ ἡ ἐπιθυμία, μέρη τοῦ
 ἀλόγου· ἐν αὐτῷ γὰρ εὐρίσκεται καὶ ἡ κρίσις ἢ

^a See App. p. 478, note on *L.A.* i. 70.

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

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

- 117 ἡμετέρα καὶ τὰ πάθη. οὐ κεκώλυται οὖν νοῦς ἐκβὰς τῶν νοητῶν καὶ οἰκείων ἐπιβολῶν ἐκδοθῆναι τῷ χείρονι· τοῦτο δὲ συμβαίνει, ὅταν ὁ ψυχῆς κρατήσῃ πόλεμος· ἀνάγκη γὰρ δορυάλωτον
- [111] γίνεσθαι τὸν μὴ μάχιμον | ἀλλ' εἰρηναῖον [τὸν] ἐν ἡμῖν λογισμόν.
- 118 XL. Εἰδὼς γοῦν ὁ ἱερὸς λόγος ὅσον ἡ ἐκατέρου δύναται ὁρμὴ πάθους, θυμοῦ τε καὶ ἐπιθυμίας, ἐκάτερον ἐπιστομίξει, ἡνίοχον καὶ κυβερνήτην ἐφιστὰς τὸν λόγον. καὶ πρότερον περὶ τοῦ θυμοῦ, θεραπεύων αὐτὸν καὶ ἰώμενος, διαλέγεται οὕτως·
- 119 “ καὶ ἐπιθήσεις ἐπὶ τὸ λόγιον τῶν κρίσεων τὴν δήλωσιν καὶ τὴν ἀλήθειαν, καὶ ἔσται ἐπὶ τοῦ στήθους Ἀαρών, ὅταν εἰσέρχῃται εἰς τὸ ἅγιον ἐναντίον κυρίου ” (Exod. xxviii. 30). λόγιον οὖν ἔστιν ἐν ἡμῖν τὸ φωνητήριον ὄργανον, ὅπερ ἔστιν ὁ γεγωνὴς λόγος· οὗτος δὲ ἡ ἀκριτόμυθος ἔστι καὶ ἀδόκιμος ἢ κεκριμένος καὶ δόκιμος· εἰς ἔννοιαν δ' ἡμᾶς ἄγει λόγου τοῦ κατὰ διάκρισιν· τὸ γὰρ λόγιόν φησιν οὐ τὸ ἄκριτον ἢ κίβδηλον, ἀλλὰ τὸ τῶν κρίσεων, ἴσον τῷ διακεκριμένον καὶ ἐξητασμένον.
- 120 τούτου δὲ τοῦ δοκίμου λόγου δύο ἀρετάς φησιν εἶναι τὰς ἀνωτάτω, σαφήνειαν καὶ ἀληθότητα, καὶ πάνυ ὀρθῶς· ὁ γὰρ λόγος τὸ μὲν πρῶτον παρήκε τοῦ σαφῆ ποιῆσαι καὶ δῆλα τὰ πράγματα τῷ πλησίον, μὴ δυνηθέντων ἡμῶν τὸ ἐγγενόμενον τῇ

^a By emphasizing “our” Philo perhaps means that the faculties of the Soul of the Universe are not hampered, as are ours, in choosing what course to take, by desire or ambition or shrinking from pain. Plutarch says that in face of the fact that human faculties are thus hampered, some philosophers said that our *πάθη* are *λόγοι* or *κρίσεις*, i.e. exercises of reason in choosing; while others said that every virtue has in it an

380

choice ^a and the passions. Well, there is nothing to prevent the mind from going out from the purely intellectual interests which are proper to it and giving itself up to its inferior. This happens when war prevails in the soul; ^b for then reason, that is in us not as a combative but as a peaceful inmate, cannot fail to become a prisoner of war.

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

^b Literally "when the soul's war shall have prevailed" (over peace).

PHILO

- ψυχῇ πάθος ὑπὸ τῶν ἐκτὸς ἐπιδείξασθαι οὐδ' οἷον ἦν παραστῆσαι· **XLI.** διόπερ ἠναγκάσθημεν ἐλθεῖν ἐπὶ τὰ διὰ φωνῆς σύμβολα, ὀνόματα καὶ ῥήματα, ἃ δεῖ πάντως εἶναι γνώριμα, ἵνα σαφῶς καὶ ἐκδήλως ὁ πλησίον ἐκλάβηται· ἔπειτα τοῦ
- 121 ἀληθῶς αὐτὰ ἀπαγγεῖλαι· τί γὰρ ὄφελος τρανὴν μὲν καὶ σαφῇ τὴν ἐρμηνείαν ποιεῖσθαι, ψευδῇ δὲ ἄλλως; ἀνάγκη γὰρ οὕτως ἐχόντων ἀπαταᾶσθαι τὸν ἀκροατὴν καὶ μεγίστην καρποῦσθαι συμφοράν, μετὰ ἀγνοίας ἀπαιδευσίαν· τί γάρ, ἂν λέγω τῷ παιδὶ τρανῶς καὶ σαφῶς δείξας τὸ ἄλφα στοιχεῖον ὅτι ἐστὶ γάμμα ἢ τὸ ἦτα ὅτι ἐστὶν ᾠ; ἢ ὁ μουσικὸς λέγῃ τῷ πρῶτα εἰσαγομένῳ δεικνὺς τὸ ἐναρμόνιον ὅτι χρῶμά ἐστιν, ἢ τὸ χρωματικὸν ὅτι διατονικόν, ἢ τὴν ὑπάτην ὅτι μέση, ἢ τὸ συν-
- 122 ημμένον ὅτι διεzeugμένον, ἢ τὴν ὑπερβολαίαν ὅτι προσλαμβανόμενος; τρανῶς μὲν ἴσως καὶ σαφῶς ἐρεῖ, οὐκ ἀληθῶς δέ, ἀλλὰ ταύτῃ κακίαν ἐργάσεται τὴν ἐν λόγῳ· ὅταν δὲ ἀμφοτέρω καὶ σαφήνειαν καὶ ἀληθότητα ποιῇται, ὠφέλιμον παρέξει τῷ μανθάνοντι τὸν λόγον, χρησάμενος ταῖς δυσὶν ἀρεταῖς αὐτοῦ, ἃς καὶ μόνας σχεδὸν εἶναι συμβέβηκέ που.
- 123 **XLII.** Φησὶν οὖν ἰδρῦσθαι τὸν κεκριμένον λόγον ἔχοντα τὰς ἰδίας ἀρετὰς ἐπὶ τοῦ στήθους δηλονότι Ἀαρών, τουτέστιν ἐπὶ τοῦ θυμοῦ, ἵν' οὗτος ἡνιοχῇται λόγῳ τὸ πρῶτον καὶ μὴ ὑπὸ τῆς ἑαυτοῦ

a Or "which need to be thoroughly known."

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

XLII. It says, then, that the tested word, having the virtues which are peculiarly its own, was enthroned upon the breast (Aaron's namely), that is, upon the spirited element, that this might first of all be guided by reason, and not injured by its own

ἀλογίας βλάπτηται, εἴτα δὲ σαφηνεία, οὐ πέφυκε
 [112] γὰρ ὁ θυμὸς σαφηνείας εἶναι φίλος· τῶν | γοῦν
 ὀργιζομένων οὐ μόνον ἡ διάνοια ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰ
 ῥήματα ταραχῆς καὶ συγχύσεως γέμει· οἰκείον
 οὖν ἦν τὴν τοῦ θυμοῦ ἀσάφειαν ἐπανορθωθῆναι
 124 σαφηνεία· ἐπὶ τούτοις ἀληθότητι, μετὰ γὰρ τῶν
 ἄλλων καὶ τοῦτο ἔχει ὁ θυμὸς ἴδιον, τὸ ψεύδεσθαι·
 τῶν γοῦν χρωμένων τῷ πάθει τούτῳ σχεδὸν οὐδεὶς
 ἀληθεύει, ἅτε μέθῃ κεκρατημένος ψυχῆς, οὐ σώ-
 ματος· ταῦτα ἀλεξιφάρμακα τοῦ θυμικοῦ μέρους
 ἐστί· λόγος, σαφήνεια λόγου, ἀλήθεια αὐτοῦ· ἐν
 γάρ ἐστι δυνάμει τὰ τρία, λόγος σὺν ἀρεταῖς
 ἀληθότητι καὶ σαφηνεία θυμὸν νόσημα χαλεπὸν
 ψυχῆς ἰώμενος.

125 XLIII. Τίνος οὖν ἐστι φέρειν ταῦτα; οὐχὶ τῆς
 ἐμῆς ἢ τῆς <τοῦ> τυχόντος διανοίας, ἀλλὰ τῆς
 ἱερωμένης καὶ θυούσης καθαρῶς, τῆς Ἀαρών·
 καὶ οὐδὲ ταύτης αἰεί, πολλάκις γὰρ τρέπεται, ἀλλ'
 ὅταν ἀτρέπτως διάγῃ, ὅταν εἰσπορεύηται εἰς τὸ
 ἅγιον, ὅταν συνεισπορεύηται ὁ λογισμὸς ταῖς
 ἀγίαις γνώμας καὶ μὴ τούτων ἀποδιδράσκη.

126 ἀλλὰ πολλάκις συνεισέρχεται μὲν ὁ νοῦς εἰς ἱερὰς
 καὶ ὁσίους καὶ κεκαθαρμένας δόξας, ἀλλὰ ἀνθρω-
 πείους ταύτας, οἷον τὰς περὶ τῶν καθηκόντων,
 τὰς περὶ τῶν κατορθωμάτων, τὰς περὶ τῶν θέσει
 νομίμων, τὰς περὶ τῆς κατ' ἀνθρώπους ἀρετῆς·
 οὐδ' ὁ τοῦτον διακείμενος τὸν τρόπον ἱκανός ἐστι

ALLEGORICAL INTERPRETATION, III. 123-126

irrationality ; in the next place by clearness, for it is not the nature of anger to be a friend of clearness. Do we not see in those who are enraged how not their understanding only but their words also are full of disturbance and confusion ? It was appropriate therefore that anger's lack of clearness should be set right again by clearness. It must be guided in the third place by truthfulness, for together with its other faults anger has this one also as peculiarly its own, that of lying. As a matter of experience, of those who give way to this passion, hardly one speaks the truth. They are victims of an intoxication not of body but of soul. These are antidotes for the region of anger ; reason, clearness of speech, truth of speech. For the three are virtually one, since reason, accompanied by the two virtues of truthfulness and distinctness, acts as a healer of anger, that sore sickness of the soul.

XLIII. To whom, then, does it pertain to bear these ? Not to my understanding or to that of any chance comer, but to that which exercises its priesthood and offers sacrifices in purity, that of Aaron, and not even to this always, for many a time it turns and fails, but when it continues free from turning, when it enters into the Holy Place, when the reasoning faculty enters in together with holy resolves and does not abandon these. But full often does the mind enter with these into sacred and holy and purified opinions, but these are mere human opinions, as for instance those concerning simple duties, those concerning high-standard actions, those concerning usages resting on human enactment, those concerning virtue conforming to human standards. Not even he who is in such case as this

τὸ λόγιον φέρειν ἐπὶ τοῦ στήθους μετὰ τῶν ἀρετῶν, ἀλλὰ μόνος ὁ ἐναντίον κυρίου εἰσιών, τουτέστιν ὁ ἔνεκα θεοῦ πάντα πράττων καὶ μηδὲν τῶν μετὰ θεὸν ὑπερτιμῶν, ἀλλὰ νέμων μὲν καὶ τούτοις τὰ κατ' ἀξίαν, μὴ ἰστάμενος μέντοι ἐπ' αὐτῶν, ἀλλ' ἀνατρέχων ἐπὶ τὴν γνῶσιν καὶ ἐπι-

127 στήμην καὶ τιμὴν τοῦ ενός· τῷ γὰρ οὕτως δια-
κειμένῳ ἡνιοχθήσεται ὁ θυμὸς ὑπὸ τε λόγου κε-
καθαρμένου τὸ ἄλογον αὐτοῦ περιαιρουντος καὶ
ὑπὸ σαφηνείας τὸ ἀσαφὲς καὶ συγκεχυμένον θερα-
πευούσης καὶ ὑπὸ ἀληθότητος τὸ ψεῦδος ἀπο-

128 κοπτούσης. XLIV. ὁ μὲν οὖν Ἀαρὼν—δεύτερος γὰρ
ἐστὶ Μωυσῆ ἐκτέμνοντος τὸ στήθος, ὅπερ ἐστὶ τὸν
θυμὸν—οὐκ ἔα αὐτὸν ἀκρίτοις ὀρμαῖς ἐκφέρεσθαι,
δεδιδῶς μὴ ποτε ἀφεθεὶς ἵππου τρόπον ἀνασκιρτήσας
ὅλην πατήσῃ τὴν ψυχὴν, ἀλλὰ θεραπεύει καὶ
ἐπιστομίζει τὸ μὲν πρῶτον λόγῳ, ἵνα ἡνιόχῃ
χρῶμενος ἀρίστῳ μὴ σφόδρα ἀφηνιάσῃ, ἔπειτα δὲ
ταῖς ἀρεταῖς τοῦ λόγου, σαφηνεῖα καὶ ἀληθεία· εἰ
γὰρ παιδευθεὶς ὁ θυμὸς οὕτως, ὥστε καὶ λόγῳ
εἴκειν καὶ σαφηνεῖα καὶ τὸ ἀψευδὲς ἀσκεῖν, ἑαυτὸν
τε τῆς πολλῆς ζήσεως ἀπαλλάξει τὴν θ' ὅλην ψυχὴν
ἵλεων κατασκευάσει.

129 XLV. Ἀλλ' οὗτος μὲν, ὡς ἔφην, ἔχων τὸ πάθος
ἰᾶσθαι αὐτὸ πειράται τοῖς λεχθεῖσι σωτηρίοις φαρ-

[113] μάκοις, Μωυσῆς δὲ ὅλον τὸν | θυμὸν ἐκτέμνειν καὶ
ἀποκόπτειν οἶεται δεῖν τῆς ψυχῆς, οὐ μετριο-
πάθειαν ἀλλὰ συνόλως ἀπάθειαν ἀγαπῶν. μαρτυρεῖ

^a See App. p. 483.

is sufficient to bear the oracle upon his breast with the virtues that belong to it, but he only who goes in in the sight of the Lord, that is he who does all things for God's sake, and overvalues none of the things that are of less importance than God, but accords to these also all they deserve, not, however, stopping at them, but mounting up in the endeavour to acquaint himself with and know and honour the One. For he who is in this case will have his spirited element charioteered by purified reason, which will abolish all that is irrational in him, and by clearness, which will heal all that is uncertain and confused, and by truthfulness, which will eliminate falsehood. XLIV. Aaron, then, being inferior to Moses who cuts the breast, that is the spirited element, clean out—suffers it not to be carried away by random impulses, for he is afraid that, if it be given the rein, it may some day get unmanageable, as a horse does, and trample down all the soul. No, he curbs and controls it, first by reason, that being driven by an excellent charioteer it may not get too restive ; next he employs the virtues of speech, distinctness, and truth. For if high spirit be trained in this manner, so as to yield to reason and distinctness, and also to exercise itself in eschewing falsehood, it will not only rid itself of much ferment, but will render the whole soul gentle.

XLV. Well, Aaron, as I have said, having this passion, attempts to cure it by the saving medicines that have been mentioned. Moses, on the other hand, thinks it necessary to use the knife on the seat of anger in its entirety, and to cut it clean out of the soul, for no moderation of passion ^a can satisfy him ; he is content with nothing but complete

PHILO

- δέ μου τῷ λόγῳ ὁ ἱερώτατος χρησμός· “ λαβὼν ”
 γάρ φησι “ Μωυσῆς τὸ στηθύνιον ἀφείλεν αὐτὸ
 ἐπίθεμα ἐναντίον κυρίου ἀπὸ τοῦ κριοῦ τῆς τελειώ-
 σεως, καὶ ἐγένετο Μωυσεῖ ἐν μερίδι ” (Lev. viii.
 130 29)· πᾶν καλῶς· τοῦ γὰρ φιλαρέτου καὶ θεοφιλοῦς
 ἔργον ἦν τὴν ὅλην ψυχὴν θεασάμενον λαβέσθαι τοῦ
 στήθους, ὅπερ ἐστὶ τοῦ θυμοῦ, καὶ ἀφελεῖν αὐτὸν
 καὶ ἀποκόψαι, ἵνα τοῦ πολεμικοῦ μέρους ἐκ-
 τμηθέντος εἰρήνην τὸ λοιπὸν ἄγῃ. ἀφαιρεῖ δὲ οὐκ
 ἀπὸ τοῦ τυχόντος ζώου, ἀλλ’ ἀπὸ τοῦ κριοῦ τῆς
 τελειώσεως, καίτοι καὶ μόσχος ἱεουργήθη· ἀλλὰ
 τοῦτον παρελθὼν ἐπὶ τὸν κριὸν ἦλθε, διότι κρου-
 στικὸν φύσει ζῷόν ἐστι καὶ θυμικὸν καὶ ὀρμητικόν,
 παρὸ καὶ οἱ μηχανοποιοὶ τὰ πολλὰ τῶν πο-
 131 λεμιστηρίων ὀργάνων κριοὺς κατασκευάζουσι. τὸ
 κριῶδες οὖν καὶ ὀρμητικὸν καὶ ἄκριτον ἐν ἡμῖν
 ἐστὶ τὸ ἐριστικὸν εἶδος· ἔρις δὲ μήτηρ ἐστὶ θυμοῦ·
 παρὸ καὶ οἱ φιλονεικότεροι ἐν τε ταῖς συζητήσεσι
 καὶ ταῖς ἄλλαις ὀμιλίαις ῥᾶστα ὀργίζονται. τῆς
 οὖν ἐριστικῆς καὶ φιλονείκου ψυχῆς πλημμελὲς
 γέννημα θυμὸν ἐκτέμνει δεόντως, ἵνα στερωθεῖσα
 παύσῃται βλαβερὰ τίκτουσα καὶ γένηται μερὶς
 τοῦτο ἁρμόζουσα τῷ φιλαρέτῳ, οὐ τὸ στηθὺς οὐδ’
 ὁ θυμός, ἀλλὰ τὸ ἀφελεῖν αὐτά· μοῖραν γὰρ ὁ θεὸς
 ἔνειμεν ἀρίστην τῷ σοφῷ τὸ ἐκτέμνειν τὰ πάθη
 δύνασθαι. ὁρᾷς πῶς ὁ τέλειος τελείαν ἀπάθειαν

* Philo perhaps wrote κριοῖς. That battering-rams were
 “adorned with” a ram’s head may be seen in the illustration
 in Seyffert’s *Dictionary of Antiquities*, p. 64 a.

absence of passion. That what I say is true Holy Writ testifies : for it says, " Moses took the breast and removed it as a crowning offering before the Lord from the ram of consecration and it became Moses' portion " (Lev. viii. 29). Very good ; for it was the business of the man who loved virtue and was beloved of God, when he had contemplated the entire soul, to seize the breast, which is the spirited element, and to cut it off and take it away, in order that, through the excision of the warlike part, the remainder might have peace. He removes it, not from this or that animal, as it may happen, but from the ram of consecration, although there was a heifer offered too. But he passed this by and went to the ram, because it is a creature naturally prone to butt, owing to its being full of spirit and ready for the fray. It is owing to this that engineers make most of the engines of war in the shape of rams.^a The part of us, then, that resembles a ram in his reckless readiness for a fight is the wrangling species ; and wrangling is the mother of anger ; accordingly it is those who contend most eagerly in debates and other gatherings that most easily lose their tempers. So Moses cuts out, as he needs must, anger, discordant offspring of the soul that loves wrangling and contention. He does this that she may be rendered barren, and cease bearing hurtful progeny, and that *this* may become a portion befitting the lover of virtue, not the breast nor the seat of high spirit, but the removal of these : for God assigned to the wise man a share of surpassing excellence, even the power to cut out the passions. You observe how the perfect man always makes perfect freedom from passion his study. But Aaron,

- 132 αἰεὶ μελετᾷ. ἀλλ' ὃ γε προκόπτων δεύτερος ὢν
 Ἀαρὼν μετριοπάθειαν, ὡς ἔφην, ἀσκεῖ, ἐκτεμεῖν
 γὰρ ἔτι τὸ στηῆθος καὶ τὸν θυμὸν ἀδυνατεῖ· φέρει δ'
 ἐπ' αὐτὸν τὸν ἡνίοχον σὺν ταῖς προσφύεσιν ἀρεταῖς
 λόγον, τὸ λόγιον, ἐφ' οὗ δήλωσις ἐστὶ καὶ ἀλήθεια.
- 133 XLVI. Παραστήσει δὲ σαφέστερον τὴν διαφορὰν
 καὶ διὰ τούτου· “ τὸ γὰρ στηθύδιον ” φησί “ τοῦ
 ἐπιθέματος καὶ τὸν βραχίονα τοῦ ἀφαιρέματος
 εἴληφα παρὰ τῶν υἱῶν Ἰσραὴλ ἀπὸ τῶν θυσιῶν τοῦ
 σωτηρίου ὑμῶν, καὶ ἔδωκα αὐτὰ Ἀαρὼν καὶ τοῖς
 134 υἱοῖς αὐτοῦ ” (Lev. vii. 34). ὁρᾷς ὅτι οὐκ εἰσιν
 οὗτοι ἱκανοὶ τὸ στηῆθος μόνον λαβεῖν, ἀλλὰ σὺν τῷ
 βραχίονι, Μωυσῆς δὲ χωρὶς τοῦ βραχίονος. διὰ τί;
 ὅτι ὁ μὲν τέλειος ὢν βραχὺ καὶ ταπεινὸν οὐδὲν
 φρονεῖ οὐδὲ μετριοπαθεῖν βούλεται, ἀλλ' ἐκ περι-
 ουσίας ὅλα τὰ πάθη δι' ὅλων ἀπέκοψεν, οἱ δὲ
 βραχέως καὶ οὐ μέγας ὁρμῶσιν ἐπὶ τὸν τῶν παθῶν
 πόλεμον, ἀλλὰ καταλλάττονται καὶ σπονδὰς πρὸς
 [114] αὐτὰ τίθενται τὸν συμβατήριον λόγον | προτείνοντες,
 ἵν' οὗτος ἡνίοχου τρόπον ἐπιστομίζῃ τὴν ἐπὶ πλεόν
 135 αὐτῶν φορὰν. ἔστι δὲ καὶ σύμβολον ὁ βραχίων
 πόνου καὶ κακοπαθείας· τοιοῦτος δὲ ὁ θεραπευτὴς
 καὶ λειτουργὸς τῶν ἁγίων, ἀσκήσει καὶ πόνῳ
 χρώμενος· ἄπονός δ' ἐστὶν ᾧ ὁ θεὸς χαρίζεται κατὰ
 πολλὴν περιουσίαν τὰ ἀγαθὰ τέλεια· βραχύτερος δ'
 εὐρίσκεται καὶ ἀτελέστερος ὁ πόνῳ κτώμενος τὴν
 ἀρετὴν τοῦ ἀπόνως καὶ εὐμαρῶς αὐτὴν παρὰ θεοῦ
 λαβόντος Μωυσῆ· ὡς γὰρ αὐτὸ τὸ πονεῖν βραχύ-

the man who is making gradual progress, holding a lower position, practises moderation, as I have said ; for his power does not go so far as to enable him to cut out the breast and the high-spirited element, but he brings to it, as charioteer and guide, reason with the virtues attached to it, and this is the oracle on which is Clear-showing and Truth.

XLVI. But he shall bring out the difference more clearly by means of the following words : " The breast of the offering put on, and the shoulder of the part removed, I have taken at the hands of the children of Israel from the sacrifices of your salvation, and have given to Aaron and his sons " (Lev. vii. 34). You see that these are not capable of taking the breast by itself, but must take it with the shoulder, whereas Moses takes it without the shoulder. Why is this ? Because he, being perfect, has no small or petty aims, nor any desire to moderate his passions, but goes so far as to cut off all passions everywhere ; while those others set out to wage war on the passions on an insignificant, not on a grand, scale, but seek to come to terms and arrange a truce with them, putting forward the word of pacification, that this like a charioteer may curb their excessive impetuosity. Furthermore the shoulder is a symbol of toil and hardship ; and this is the character of him who attends to and ministers in holy things, subject to toil and discipline. But the man on whom God bestows in overflowing measure his good things in perfection is free from toil. He who acquires virtue by toil is found to come short of full achievement, as compared with Moses, who received it easily and without toil from the hands of God. For, as toiling itself falls short of the toilless achieve-

PHILO

- τερον καὶ ἑλαττόν ἐστι τοῦ ἀπόνου, οὕτω καὶ το
 ἀτελὲς τοῦ τελείου καὶ τὸ μανθάνον τοῦ αὐτομαθοῦς.
 διὰ τοῦτο σὺν μὲν βραχίονι λαμβάνει τὸ στηθός
 136 Ἀαρών, ἄνευ δὲ βραχίονος Μωυσῆς. τὸ στηθύνιον
 δὲ ἐπιθέματος καλεῖ διὰ τοῦτο, ὅτι ἐπικεῖσθαι δεῖ τῷ
 θυμῷ καὶ ἐφιδρῦσθαι τὸν λόγον ὥσανεὶ τινα ἡνίοχον
 εὐθύνοντα σκληραύχενα καὶ ἀφηνιαστὴν ἵππον· τὸν
 δὲ βραχίονα οὐκέτι ἐπιθέματος ἀλλ' ἀφαιρέματος
 διὰ τόδε, ὅτι δεῖ τὸν ὑπὲρ ἀρετῆς πόνον μὴ ἑαυτῇ
 προσάγειν τὴν ψυχὴν, ἀλλ' ἀφελεῖν ἀφ' ἑαυτῆς καὶ
 θεῷ ἀνευγεῖν, ὁμολογοῦσαν ὅτι οὐχ ἡ ἰσχὺς αὐτῆς
 οὐδὲ ἡ δύναμις περιεποίησε τὸ καλόν, ἀλλὰ ὁ καὶ
 137 τὸν ἔρωτα χαρισάμενος. οὕτε δὲ στηθύνιον οὕτε
 ὁ βραχίων λαμβάνεται πλὴν ἀπὸ τῆς θυσίας τοῦ
 σωτηρίου· κατὰ τὸ εἰκός· τότε γὰρ ἡ ψυχὴ
 σῴζεται, ὅταν καὶ ὁ θυμὸς ἡνιοχηθῇ ὑπὸ λόγου καὶ
 ὁ πόνος μὴ οἴησιν ἐγκατασκευάσῃ ἀλλὰ παρα-
 χώρησιν τῷ εὐεργέτῃ θεῷ.
- 138 XLVII. Τὸ δὲ μὴ μόνον ἐπὶ τῷ στηθῇ ἀλλὰ καὶ
 τῇ κοιλίᾳ πορεύεσθαι τὴν ἡδονὴν εἵπομεν ἥδη,
 οἰκειότατον δηλοῦντες ἡδονῇ χωρίον τὴν γαστέρα,
 σχεδὸν γὰρ ἀγγεῖον τῶν ἡδονῶν ἀπασῶν αὕτη
 ἐστὶ· πληρωθείσης γὰρ τῆς γαστρὸς ὀρέξεις καὶ τῶν
 ἄλλων ἡδονῶν γίνονται σύντονοι, κενωθείσης δὲ
 139 ἡρεμαῖαι καὶ σταθιρότεραι. διὸ καὶ φησιν ἐτέρωθι·

^a i.e., taught directly by God or by Virtue's self.

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

XLVII. We have already mentioned that pleasure goes not only on its breast but also on its belly, and pointed out that the stomach is a place most appropriate to pleasure, for we may almost describe it as a reservoir of all the pleasures. For when the belly has been filled, cravings after the other pleasures also become vehement, but when it has been emptied, these are quieted and become more still. And so the prophet says in another passage, "Whatsoever

PHILO

“ πᾶς ὁ πορευόμενος ἐπὶ κοιλίᾳ καὶ πᾶς ὁ πορευόμενος ἐπὶ τεσσάρων διὰ παντός, ὃς πολυπληθεῖ ποσίν, ἀκάθαρτός ἐστι ” (Lev. xi. 42). τοιοῦτος δ’ ὁ φιλήδονος ἀεὶ χωρῶν ἐπὶ γαστέρα καὶ τὰς μετὰ ταύτην ἡδονάς. τῷ δὲ ἔρποντι ἐπὶ κοιλίαν τὸν ἐπὶ τεσσάρων βαδίζοντα ἤνωκεν· εἰκότως· τέτταρα γάρ ἐστι τὰ πάθη τῶν ἐν ἡδονῇ, ὥς τις κατ’ ἐξαίρετον λόγος μέμνηται. ἀκάθαρτος οὖν καὶ ὁ τῷ ἐνὶ χρώμενος τῇ ἡδονῇ καὶ ὁ πᾶσιν ἐφορμῶν τοῖς τέσσαρσι.

- 140 Τούτων εἰρημένων ἴδε διαφορὰν πάλιν τελείου καὶ προκόπτοντος. ὥσπερ οὖν πρότερον εὐρίσκετο ὁ μὲν τέλειος ὅλον ἐκτέμνων τὸν θυμὸν τῆς ἐριστικῆς ψυχῆς καὶ ποιῶν αὐτὴν τιθασὸν καὶ χειροῦθη καὶ εἰρηναῖαν καὶ ἴλεων πρὸς πάντα ἔργῳ [115] τε καὶ λόγῳ, ὁ δὲ προκόπτων | οὐ δυνάμενος μὲν ἀποκόψαι τὸ πάθος—φέρει γὰρ τὸ στῆθος—παιδεύων δὲ αὐτὸ λόγῳ κεκριμένῳ, ἔχοντι δύο ἀρετάς, σαφήνειαν καὶ ἀλήθειαν, XLVIII. οὕτως καὶ νῦν εὐρεθήσεται ὁ μὲν σοφὸς τέλειος ἡδονὰς ἀπορρυπτόμενος καὶ ἀποσειόμενος Μωυσῆς, ὁ δὲ προκόπτων οὐχ ἅπασαν, ἀλλὰ τὴν μὲν ἀναγκαίαν καὶ ἀπλὴν προσιέμενος, τὴν δὲ περιέργον καὶ περιττὴν κατὰ τὰς ἐπεντρώσεις παραιτούμενος·
- 141 ἐπὶ γὰρ Μωυσέως φησὶν οὕτως· “ καὶ τὴν κοιλίαν καὶ τοὺς πόδας ἔπλυνεν ὕδατι τοῦ ὀλοκαυτώματος ” (Lev. ix. 14). πάνυ καλῶς· ὅλην γὰρ τὴν ψυχὴν

^a ἐπί with dative.

^b ἐπί with accusative.

^c ἐπί with genitive.

^d This treatise was never written or is lost.

^e Lev. vii. 3. Literally “ for he bears away the breast.”

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

Now that we have said this, note once more how a perfect man differs from one making gradual progress. We have already discovered the perfect man cutting out the seat of anger entirely from the wrangling soul, and so rendering it gentle and submissive and peaceable, and cheerfully ready to face every demand both in act and word; while the man of gradual improvement was found powerless to cut away the passion, for the breast is Aaron's portion,^e but schooling it by well-tested speech, attended by two virtues, clearness and truth. XLVIII. In a corresponding manner we shall now find Moses, the wise man, in his perfection, scouring away and shaking off pleasures, but the man of gradual improvement not so treating pleasure in its entirety, but welcoming simple and unavoidable pleasure, while declining that which is excessive and over-elaborate in the way of delicacies. For in the case of Moses he uses this language: "And he washed with water the belly and the feet of the whole burnt-offering" (Lev. ix. 14). It is excellently said; for

- ἀξίαν οὖσαν θεῷ προσάγεσθαι διὰ τὸ μηδένα ἔχειν μήθ' ἐκούσιον μήτ' ἀκούσιον μῶμον ὁ σοφὸς καθ-
 αγιάζει· οὕτως δὲ διακείμενος ὅλην τὴν γαστέρα
 καὶ τὰς αὐτῆς καὶ μετ' αὐτὴν ἡδονὰς ἐκπλύνει καὶ
 ἀπολούεται καὶ ἀπορρύνεται, οὐχὶ μέρος τι, ἀλλ'
 οὕτω καταφρονητικῶς ἔσχηκεν αὐτῆς, ὥστε οὐδὲ
 τὰ ἀναγκαῖα σιτία ἢ ποτὰ προσίεται θεωρία τῶν
 142 θείων τρεφόμενος. διὸ καὶ ἐν ἑτέροις μαρτυρεῖται
 αὐτῷ· “τετταράκοντα ἡμέρας ἄρτου οὐκ ἔφαγε καὶ
 ὕδωρ οὐκ ἔπιεν” (Exod. xxxiv. 28), ὅτε ἐν τῷ
 θείῳ ὅρει γενόμενος χρησμῶν θεοῦ νομοθετοῦντος
 ἤκουεν. ἀλλ' οὐ μόνον ὅλη τῇ γαστρὶ ἀποτάττεται,
 ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς πόδας αὐτῇ συναπορρύνεται,
 τουτέστι τὰς ἐπιβάσεις τῆς ἡδονῆς· ἐπιβάσεις δὲ
 143 ἡδονῆς εἰσι τὰ ποιητικὰ αὐτῆς· ὁ [τε] γὰρ προ-
 κόπτων λέγεται τὰ ἐγκοίλια καὶ τοὺς πόδας λούειν
 (Lev. i. 9), οὐ τὴν ὅλην κοιλίαν· ἱκανὸς γὰρ οὐκ
 ἔστι πᾶσαν ἡδονὴν διώσασθαι, ἀγαπητὸν δέ, ἐὰν
 τὰ ἐγκοίλια αὐτῆς τουτέστι τὰ ἐπεντρώματα, ἃ
 φασιν οἱ φιλήδονοι ἐπιλεάνσεις εἶναί τινας τῶν
 προηγουμένων ἡδονῶν, ἃ γίνεται ὀψαρτυτῶν καὶ
 144 σιτοπόνων λίχνων περιεργία. XLIX. καὶ προσεπι-
 τείνει τὴν τοῦ προκόπτοντος μετριοπάθειαν τῷ
 τὸν μὲν ἄνευ προστάξεως παραιτεῖσθαι ὅλην τὴν
 γαστρὸς ἡδονήν, τὸν δὲ προκόπτοντα μετὰ προσ-
 τάξεως· ἐπὶ μὲν γὰρ τοῦ σοφοῦ λέγεται οὕτως·
 “τὴν κοιλίαν καὶ τοὺς πόδας ὕδατι ἔπλυνεν”
 (Lev. ix. 14), ἀνεπικελεύστως κατὰ τὴν ἐκούσιον

^a Or “means of approach.”

the wise man consecrates his whole soul as being worthy to be offered to God, owing to its freedom from voluntary or involuntary blemish ; and, being in this condition, he washes out and bathes away and scours off the whole belly and the pleasures that it and the parts adjoining it yield, not so dealing with some part of it, but filled with such contempt for the whole, that he rejects even necessary food and drink, being fed by the contemplation of things divine. And therefore witness is borne to him in another place also : “ for forty days he ate no bread and drank no water ” (Exod. xxxiv. 28), when he was in the holy mount and listened to the divine communications made by God as He declared His laws. But not only does he renounce the whole belly, but with it he scours away the feet, that is, the supports^a of pleasure ; but the things that create pleasure are its supports,^a for the man of gradual improvement is said to wash the inwards and the feet (Lev. i. 9), not the whole belly : for he is not sufficient to thrust from him pleasure in its completeness, but is content if he can get rid of its inwards, that is, of the delicacies, produced by the elaborate skill of dainty cooks and confectioners, of which we are told by the epicures that they serve, if we may so speak, as a means of giving succulence to the principal pleasures. XLIX. He lays further stress upon the mere moderating of passion in the man of gradual advance, by representing the wise man as declining without any bidding all the pleasures of the belly, while the man of gradual advance acts under orders ; for in the wise man’s case what is said is “ he washed with water the belly and the feet ” (Lev. ix. 14), spontaneously and unbidden,

PHILO

γνώμην, ἐπὶ δὲ τῶν ἱερέων οὕτως· “ τὰ δὲ ἐγκοιλία καὶ τοὺς πόδας ” οὐχὶ ἔπλυναν, ἀλλὰ “ πλυνούσι ” (Lev. i. 9)· σφόδρα παρατετηρημένως· δεῖ γὰρ τὸν μὲν τέλειον ἐξ ἑαυτοῦ κινεῖσθαι πρὸς τὰς κατ’ ἀρετὴν ἐνεργείας, τὸν δὲ ἀσκητὴν μετὰ τοῦ ὑψηλομένου τὰ πρακτέα λόγου, ᾧ προστάττοντι πείθεσθαι καλόν.

- ¹⁴⁵
[116] Οὐ δεῖ δὲ ἀγνοεῖν, ὅτι Μωυσῆς | ὅλην τὴν κοιλίαν τουτέστι τὴν γαστρὸς ἐκπλήρωσιν παραιτούμενος σχεδὸν καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις πάθεσιν ἀποτάττεται, τοῦ νομοθέτου ἀπὸ μέρους ἑνὸς τὸ σύμπαν ἐναργῶς παριστάντος καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ συνεκτικωτάτου περὶ τῶν ἄλλων, ἐν οἷς ἡσύχασε, δυνάμει διεξιόντος· L. συνεκτικώτατον <γὰρ> ἡ γαστρὸς ἐκπλήρωσις καὶ ὥσανεὶ θεμέλιός τις τῶν ἄλλων παθῶν· οὐδὲν γοῦν ἐκείνων δύναται συστήναι μὴ ἐπεριεδόμενον
- 146 γαστρί, ἥ πάντα ἐφίδρυκεν ἡ φύσις. διὰ τοῦτο, γεννηθέντων τῶν ἐκ τῆς Λείας προτέρων τῶν ψυχικῶν ἀγαθῶν καὶ στάντων ἐπὶ τῆς ἐξομολογήσεως Ἰούδα (Gen. xxix. 35), μέλλων ὁ θεὸς δημιουργεῖν καὶ τὰς σώματος προκοπὰς Βάλλαν τὴν Ῥαχὴλ παιδίσκην καὶ πρὸ τῆς δεσποίνης τίκτειν παρασκευάζει· Βάλλα δ’ ἐστὶν ἐγκατάποσις· ἥδει γὰρ ὅτι οὐδὲν τῶν σωματικῶν ἄνευ καταπόσεως καὶ γαστρὸς ὑποστήναι δύναται, ἀλλὰ αὕτη κρατεῖ καὶ ἡγεμονεύει παντὸς τοῦ σώματος καὶ τοῦ κατὰ τὸ ζῆν ψιλὸν ὄγκου.
- 147 παρατῆρει δὲ πᾶσαν τὴν λεπτολογίαν, οὐδὲν γὰρ
398

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

We must not fail to notice that Moses, when he refuses the entire belly, that is the filling of his stomach, practically renounces the other passions too. The lawgiver uses one portion to give from it a clear presentation of the whole ; and having mentioned the most essential matter, virtually treats of the rest about which he has been silent. L. For the filling of the belly is the most essential matter, and the foundation, so to speak, of the other passions. None of them, as we see, can take shape unless it have the belly to support it, for nature has made the belly the basis of all things. Hence it comes that when Leah's sons, the good things of the soul, had been born before Jacob's other sons, and had ceased with Judah, who is " praise " (Gen. xxix. 35), God, being about to create representatives of the forward striving of the body as well, causes Bilhah, Rachel's handmaid, to bear children even before her mistress. Now Bilhah is " swallowing." For the prophet knew that no part or organ of the body can subsist without " swallowing " and the belly, but this holds sway and sovereignty over all the body and over all the material frame whose concern is with mere living. Do not let any subtle point escape your notice, for you will not find a

PHILO

λεχθὲν παρέργως εὐρήσεις. Μωυσῆς τὸ μὲν στηθύ-
νιον ἀφαιρεῖται, τὴν δὲ κοιλίαν οὐκ ἀφαιρεῖ μὲν,
πλύνει δέ (Lev. viii. 29, ix. 14)· διὰ τί; ὅτι ὁ
τέλειος σοφὸς ὅλον μὲν τὸν θυμὸν ἰσχύει παραιτή-
σασθαι καὶ ἀποκόψαι ὀργῆς κατεξαναστάς, τὴν δὲ
κοιλίαν ἐκτεμεῖν ἀδυνατεῖ· τοῖς γὰρ ἀναγκαίοις
σιτίοις καὶ ποτοῖς ἢ φύσις βιάζεται χρῆσθαι καὶ
τὸν ὀλιγοδεέστατον καὶ καταφρονητικὸν αὐτῶν
τῶν ἀναγκαίων καὶ ἀσιτίαν αὐτῶν μελετῶντα.
πλυνέτω οὖν αὐτὴν καὶ καθαιρέτω ἀπὸ τῶν
περιττῶν καὶ ἀκαθάρτων παρασκευῶν· ἱκανὴ
γὰρ καὶ αὕτη παρὰ θεοῦ τῷ φιλαρέτῳ δωρεά.

148 LI. διὰ τοῦτο ἐπὶ τῆς ὑπονοηθείσης διεφθάρθαι
ψυχῆς φησιν (Num. v. 27), ὅτι ἂν μὲν ἀπολελοιπυῖα
τὸν ὀρθὸν λόγον, ὅς ἐστιν ἀνὴρ νόμιμος, εὐρεθῇ
προσκεχωρηκυῖα τῷ μιαίνοντι τὴν ψυχὴν πάθει,
“πρησθήσεται τὴν γαστέρα,” ὅπερ ἦν, ἀπληρώτους
καὶ ἀκορέστους ἔξει τὰς γαστροὺς ἡδονὰς καὶ
ἐπιθυμίας, καὶ οὐδέποτε παύσεται ἄπληστος οὔσα
δι’ ἀπαιδευσίαν, ἀλλ’ ἀμυθήτων ἐπιρρεόντων αἰδίων

149 ἔξει τὸ πάθος. οἶδα γοῦν πολλοὺς οὕτω πταίοντας
περὶ τὴν τῆς γαστροὺς ἐπιθυμίαν, ὥστ’ ἐμέτοις
χρησάμενοι πάλιν ἐπὶ τὸν ἄκρατον καὶ τᾶλλα
ὥρμησαν· οὐ γὰρ ἀναλογεῖ τοῖς σωματικοῖς
ὄγκοις ἢ τῆς ἀκράτορος ψυχῆς ἐπιθυμία, ἀλλ’
οἱ μὲν ἅτε ἀγγεῖα ὄντες μεμετρημένα ἄμετρον
οὐδὲν προσίενται, ἀλλὰ τὸ περιττὸν ἐκβάλλουσιν,
ἢ δὲ ἐπιθυμία πληροῦται μὲν οὐδέποτε, μένει δὲ

150 ἐνδεὴς καὶ διψαλέα αἰεί. | παρὸ καὶ τὸ
[117] 400

single pointless expression. Moses removes the breast; the belly he does not remove, but washes (Lev. viii. 29, ix. 14). Why is this? Because the perfect wise man can, by wholly renouncing anger, utterly avert and drive off the uprising of the spirited element in him, but to excise the belly he is powerless. Even the man of fewest needs who scorns the very necessities of life and trains himself in abstinence from them, is forced by nature to take necessary food and drink. Let him therefore wash the belly and cleanse it from superfluous and unclean provisions; for this too is a sufficiently great gift from God to the lover of virtue. LI. It is owing to this ^a that when treating of the soul suspected of adultery he says (Num. v. 27), that if it have forsaken the right principle, which is the lawful husband, and be discovered to have had intercourse with soul-defiling passion, "it will swell up in the belly," which signified that it will have ever unfilled and insatiable the pleasures and desires of the belly, and will never cease to be insatiate owing to gross stupidity, but, with a countless throng of them pouring in, will keep its passion for ever. To cite an instance, I know many brought to such disaster over the craving of the belly, that after resorting to emetics they fly back again to strong drink and all the rest. For the craving of the soul that is out of control is not restricted as the bodily organs are by their size. These are vessels of a fixed capacity admitting nothing that exceeds it, but ejecting all that is superfluous. Desire is never filled up, but continues always thirsty and in want of more.

^a διὰ τοῦτο seems to refer to § 146. The intervening § 147 is of the nature of a note.

ἀκόλουθον προστίθεται τῷ πρησθῆναι τὴν γαστέρα τὸ “διαπεσεῖν τὸν μηρόν”· διαπίπτει γὰρ τότε τῇ ψυχῇ καὶ ὁ σπερματικὸς καὶ γεννητικὸς τῶν καλῶν λόγος ὀρθός· “ἐὰν” γοῦν φησι “μὴ μianθῇ καὶ καθαρὰ <ῆ>, καὶ ἀθῶος ἔσται <καὶ> ἐκσπερματιεῖ σπέρμα” (Num. v. 28), ἐὰν ὑπὸ πάθους μὴ μianθῇ, καθαρεύσῃ δὲ πρὸς τὸν νόμιμον ἄνδρα, τὸν ὑγιῇ καὶ ἡγεμόνα λόγον, γόνιμον ἔξει ψυχὴν καὶ καρποφόρον, φέρουσιν γέννημα φρονήσεως καὶ δικαιοσύνης καὶ τῆς συμπάσης ἀρετῆς.

- 151 LII. Ἄρ’ οὖν ἡμᾶς ἐνδεδεμένους σώματι οἶόν τε σωματικαῖς ἀνάγκαις μὴ χρῆσθαι; καὶ πῶς ἔνεστιν; ἀλλ’ ὅρα. ὁ ἱεροφάντης τὸν τρόπον παραγγέλλει τῷ ἀγομένῳ ὑπὸ σωματικῆς χρείας αὐτῷ μόνῳ χρῆσθαι τῷ ἀναγκαίῳ. πρῶτον μὲν φησι “τόπος ἔστω σοι ἔξω τῆς παρεμβολῆς” (Deut. xxiii. 12), παρεμβολὴν καλῶν τὴν ἀρετὴν, ἐν ᾗ ἐστρατοπέδευκεν ἡ ψυχὴ· οὐ γὰρ δύναται τὸν αὐτὸν κρατεῖν χώρον φρόνησις καὶ σωματικῆς ἀνάγκης ἀπόλαυσις. εἰτα “ἐξελεύσῃ” φησὶν “ἐκεῖ ἔξω”· διὰ τί; ὅτι οὐ δύναται ἡ ψυχὴ καταμένουσα μετὰ φρονήσεως καὶ ἐν τῷ οἴκῳ διατρίβουσα τῆς σοφίας χρῆσθαι τινι τῶν φίλων σώματος· τρέφεται γὰρ τότε θειοτέrais τροφαῖς ἐν ταῖς ἐπιστήμαις, δι’ αἷς καὶ τῆς σαρκὸς ἀμελεῖ· ἐπειδὴν γὰρ ἐξέλθῃ τῶν ἱερῶν ἀρετῆς οἴκῳ, τηνικαῦτα ἐπὶ τὰς τὸ σῶμα πλημμελοῦσας καὶ πιεζούσας ὕλας τρέπεται. πῶς οὖν αὐταῖς χρή-

^a See on De Op. 43.

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

LII. Is it possible, then, that we, tied as we are to a body, should not comply with bodily requirements? How *can* it be possible? But look. The sacred guide tells the man who feels the pressure of bodily necessity the way to deal with it, namely, to comply with it only so far as he is actually obliged to do so. First he says, "Let there be to thee a place outside the camp" (Deut. xxiii. 12), meaning by "the camp" virtue, in which the soul has pitched its camp. For good sense and indulgence of a bodily necessity cannot occupy the same quarters. Next he says, "Thou shalt go forth there without." Why go forth? Because the soul cannot have dealings with any of the body's friends while it abides with good sense and spends its days in the house of wisdom. For then it is nourished by food more divine, which it finds in all knowledge, and for the sake of this it actually disregards the flesh. For when it has gone forth from the sacred dwellings of virtue, it is then that it turns to material things which treat the body ill and weigh it down. How

- 153 σομαι; “πάσσαλος ἔστω σοι” φησὶν “ἐπὶ τῆς
ζώνης σου, καὶ ὀρύξεις ἐν αὐτῷ” (Deut. xxiii.
13), τουτέστι λόγος ἐπὶ τοῦ πάθους ἐξορύττων
καὶ ἀναστέλλων καὶ ἀπαμφιεννὺς αὐτό· ἀνεζῶσθαι
γὰρ βούλεται ἡμᾶς τὰ πάθη, ἀλλὰ μὴ ἀνειμένα
154 καὶ κεχαλασμένα φορεῖν. διὸ καὶ ἐπὶ τῆς δια-
βάσεως αὐτῶν, ὃ καλεῖται Πάσχα, προστάττει
τὰς “ὀσφῦς περιεζῶσθαι” (Exod. xii. 11), ἥτοι
συνεστάλθαι τὰς ἐπιθυμίας. πάσσαλος οὖν, του-
τέστι λόγος, ἐπέσθω τῷ πάθει, κωλύων αὐτὸ
χεῖσθαι· οὕτως γὰρ αὐτοῖς μόνοις χρῆσόμεθα τοῖς
ἀναγκαίοις, τῶν δὲ περιττῶν ἀφεξόμεθα. LIII.
- 155 καὶ ἐν συνουσίαις ὄντες καὶ μέλλοντες εἰς ἀπόλου-
σιν καὶ χρῆσιν τῶν παρεσκευασμένων ἐλθεῖν σὺν
λόγῳ παραγενώμεθα ὥσπερ ὅπλῳ τινὶ ἀμυντηρίῳ,
οὔτε πέραν τοῦ μετρίου σιτίων ἐμφορηθῆσόμεθα
αἰθυιῶν τρόπον οὔτ’ ἀκράτου ἀμέτρου κορεσθέντες
μέθη ληραίνειν ἀναγκαζούσῃ χρῆσόμεθα· ἐπιστομιεῖ
[118] γὰρ ὁ λόγος καὶ ἐγχαλινώσῃ τὴν ῥύμην | καὶ
156 φอรὰν τοῦ πάθους. ἐγὼ γοῦν αὐτὸ πολλάκις
παθὼν οἶδα· εἰς γὰρ ἀδιάγωγον συνουσίαν ἐλθὼν
καὶ πολυτελῇ δεῖπνα, ὁπότε μὴ ἀφικοίμην σὺν
λόγῳ, δούλος ἐγενόμην τῶν παρεσκευασμένων,
ἀγόμενος ὑπὸ δεσποτῶν ἀτιθάσων, θεαμάτων καὶ
ἀκουσμάτων καὶ τῶν ὅσα διὰ μυκτῆρος καὶ
γεύσεως ἡδονὰς ἀπεργάζεται· ὁπότε δὲ μετὰ τοῦ
αἰροῦντος λόγου, δεσπότης ἀντὶ δούλου γίνομαι
καὶ ἀνὰ κράτος νικῶ καλὴν νίκην κερτερίας

* Or “ill-regulated.”

then shall I deal with them? "Let there be to thee, he says, a shovel upon thy girdle, and thou shalt dig with it" (Deut. xxiii. 13), that is to say, reason shall be upon the passion digging it out, tucking it up, not suffering it to clothe thee about. For God would have us gird up our passions, not wear them flowing and loose. So at the crossing over from them, which is called Passover, He bids that their "loins should be girded up" (Exod. xii. 11), in other words that their desires should be restrained. Let a shovel then, that is, reason, follow the passion, preventing it from spreading abroad, for by this means we shall comply only with demands which are urgent, but from all that goes beyond this we shall abstain. LIII. When we are present at entertainments and are about to take and enjoy the viands provided, if we take our places at table with reason like some weapon to parry blows, we shall neither gorge ourselves with food beyond measure like cormorants, nor overdosed with unlimited strong drink shall we succumb to intoxication with its resultant foolish talk; for reason will curb and bridle the impetuous rush of the passion. I, to mention myself in proof of what I say, know by frequent experience how true it is. Many a time have I been present at a gathering with little that was sociable about it^a or at costly suppers. When I did not arrive with reason for my companion, I found myself the slave of the enjoyments provided, at the mercy of harsh masters, entertainments for eye and ear and all that brings pleasure by way of taste or smell. But whenever I arrive with convincing reason at my side, I find myself a master not a slave, and, putting forth all my strength, win

- καὶ σωφροσύνης, ἀντιβαίνων καὶ ἀντιφιλονεικῶν
 πᾶσι τοῖς ἀναρρηγνῦσι τὰς ἀκράτορας ἐπιθυμίας.
- 157 “διορύξεις” φησὶ γοῦν “τῷ πασσάλῳ” (Deut.
 xxiii. 13), τουτέστιν, ἣν ἕκαστον ἔχει φύσιν, τὸ
 φαγεῖν, τὸ πιεῖν, τὸ τοῖς μετὰ γαστέρα χρῆσθαι,
 τῷ λόγῳ γυμνώσεις καὶ διαστελεῖς, ἵνα διακρίνας
 γνῶς τάληθές· τότε γὰρ εἴσῃ, ὅτι ἐν οὐδενὶ τούτων
 ἐστὶ τὸ ἀγαθόν, ἀλλὰ τὸ ἀναγκαῖον μόνον καὶ
- 158 χρήσιμον. “καὶ ἐπαγαγὼν καλύψεις τὴν ἀσχη-
 μοσύνην σου” (ib.). πάνυ καλῶς· ἔπαγε γάρ,
 ὦ ψυχὴ, τὸν λόγον ἐπὶ πάντα, ὃ καλύπτεται καὶ
 συσκιάζεται καὶ συγκρύπτεται πᾶσα ἀσχημοσύνη
 σαρκὸς καὶ πάθους· τὰ γὰρ μὴ σὺν λόγῳ πάντα
- 159 αἰσχρά, ὥσπερ τὰ σὺν λόγῳ κόσμια. οὐκοῦν ὁ
 μὲν φιλήδονος ἐπὶ κοιλίαν βαδίζει, ὁ δὲ τέλειος
 τὴν κοιλίαν ὄλην ἐκπλύνει, ὁ δὲ προκόπτων τὰ
 ἐν κοιλίᾳ, ὁ δὲ ἄρτι ἀρχόμενος παιδεύεσθαι ἔξω
 πρόεισιν, ὅταν μέλλῃ τῆς γαστρὸς τοῖς ἀναγκαίοις
 ἐπιφερόμενος λόγον ἐπιστομιεῖν τὸ πάθος, ὃς
 εἴρηται συμβολικῶς πάσσαλος.
- 160 LIV. Εὖ μέντοι καὶ τὸ προσθεῖναι· “πορεύσῃ
 ἐπὶ τῷ στήθει καὶ τῇ κοιλίᾳ” (Gen. iii. 14). ἡ
 γὰρ ἡδονὴ οὐκ ἔστι τῶν ἡρεμούντων καὶ ἰστα-
 μένων, ἀλλὰ τῶν κινουμένων καὶ ταραχῆς γεμόν-
 των· ὥσπερ γὰρ ἡ φλόξ ἐν κινήσει, οὕτως φλογμοῦ
 τινα τρόπον τὸ πάθος ἐν τῇ ψυχῇ κινούμενον
 ἡρεμεῖν αὐτὴν οὐκ ἔῃ. διὸ καὶ τοῖς λέγουσι

^a Strictly “after.” See 139.

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

LIV. There is an excellent point in the next words too: "*Thou shalt go upon thy breast and thy belly*" (Gen. iii. 14). For pleasure does not belong to the category of things becalmed and stationary, but to that of things moving and full of turmoil. For as the flame is in movement, so, not unlike a blazing thing, passion moving in the soul does not suffer it to be calm. Thus the prophet does not agree

καταστηματικὴν εἶναι τὴν ἡδονὴν οὐ συμφέρεται· ἡρεμία γὰρ λίθω μὲν καὶ ξύλῳ καὶ παντὶ ἀψύχῳ οἰκεῖον, ἀλλότριον δὲ ἡδονῇ· γαργαλισμοῦ γὰρ καὶ σπασμώδους ἐφίεται καὶ ἐπ' ἐνίων οὐκ ἡρεμίας ἀλλὰ συντόνου καὶ σφοδρᾶς κινήσεώς ἐστι χρεία.

161 LV. Τὸ δὲ “ γὴν φάγεσαι πάσας τὰς ἡμέρας τῆς ζωῆς σου ” (Gen. iii. 14), τοῦτο προσφυῶς

[119] εἴρηται· τῆς γὰρ | σώματος τροφῆς ἡδοναὶ γήιναι· καὶ μήποτ' εἰκότως· δύο <γάρ> ἐστὶν ἐξ ὧν συνέσταμεν, ψυχὴ τε καὶ σῶμα· τὸ μὲν οὖν σῶμα ἐκ γῆς δεδημιούργηται, ἡ δὲ ψυχὴ αἰθέρος ἐστίν, ἀπόσπασμα θεῖον· “ ἐνεφύσησε γὰρ εἰς τὸ πρόσωπον αὐτοῦ πνεῦμα ζωῆς ὁ θεός, καὶ ἐγένετο ὁ ἄνθρωπος εἰς ψυχὴν ζῶσαν ” (Gen. ii. 7). εὐλόγως οὖν τὸ μὲν ἐκ γῆς διαπλασθὲν σῶμα συγγενεῖς ἔχει τροφὰς ὥς ἀναδίδωσιν ἡ γῆ, ἡ δὲ αἰθερίου φύσεως μοῖρα οὐσα ψυχὴ πάλιν αἰθερίους καὶ θείας· ἐπιστήμας γὰρ τρέφεται καὶ οὐ σιτίοις ἢ ποτοῖς, ὧν ἐπιδεές ἐστι τὸ σῶμα.

162 LVI. “ Ὅτι δὲ οὐ γήινοι ἀλλ' οὐράνιοι αἱ ψυχῆς τροφαί, μαρτυρήσει διὰ πλειόνων ὁ ἱερὸς λόγος· “ ἰδοὺ ἐγὼ ὕω ὑμῖν ἄρτους <ἐκ> τοῦ οὐρανοῦ, καὶ ἐξελεύσεται ὁ λαὸς καὶ συνάξουσιν τὸ τῆς ἡμέρας εἰς ἡμέραν, ὅπως πειράσω αὐτούς, εἰ πορεύσονται τῷ νόμῳ μου ἢ οὐ ” (Exod. xvi. 4). ὁρᾶς ὅτι οὐ γηίνοις καὶ φθαρτοῖς τρέφεται ἡ ψυχὴ, ἀλλ' οἷς ἂν ὁ θεὸς ὁμβρήσῃ λόγοις ἐκ τῆς μεταρσίου

163 καὶ καθαρᾶς φύσεως, ἣν οὐρανὸν κέκληκεν· ἐξίτω

^a καταστηματικὴν. Cf. Diogenes Laertius, x. 136 ὁ δ' Ἐπίκουρος ἐν τῷ περὶ αἰρέσεων οὕτω λέγει· ἡ μὲν γὰρ ἀταραξία καὶ ἀπονία καταστηματικαὶ εἰσιν ἡδοναί· ἡ δὲ χαρὰ καὶ εὐφροσύνη κατὰ κίνησιν ἐνεργεία βλέπονται. See App. p. 483.

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

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

LVI. That the food of the soul is not earthly but heavenly, we shall find abundant evidence in the Sacred Word. "Behold I rain upon you bread out of heaven, and the people shall go out and they shall gather the day's portion for a day, that I may prove them whether they will walk by My law or not" (Exod. xvi. 4). You see that the soul is fed not with things of earth that decay, but with such words as God shall have poured like rain out of that lofty and pure region of life to which the prophet has given the title of "heaven." To

μέντοι ὁ λεὼς καὶ πᾶν τὸ τῆς ψυχῆς σύστημα
καὶ συναγαγέτω καὶ ἀρχέσθω τῆς ἐπιστήμης,
μὴ ἀθρόως ἀλλὰ “ τὸ τῆς ἡμέρας εἰς ἡμέραν ”·
πρῶτον μὲν γὰρ ἀθρόον οὐ χωρήσει τὸν πολὺν
πλοῦτον τῶν τοῦ θεοῦ χαρίτων, ἀλλὰ τῇ φορᾷ
χειμάρρου τρόπον ἐπικλυσθήσεται· ἔπειτ’ ἐστὶν
ἄμεινον τὰ αὐτάρκη λαβόντας ἀγαθὰ καὶ μεμε-
164 τρημένα τῶν λοιπῶν ταμίαν οἰηθῆναι τὸν θεόν. ὁ
δὲ πάντα μετιὼν ἀθρόα δυσελπιστίαν καὶ ἀπιστίαν
μετὰ πολλῆς ἀνοίας κτᾶται· δύσελπις μὲν <γίνεται>,
εἰ νῦν μόνον ἀλλὰ μὴ καὶ αὖθις ἐλπίζει τὸν θεὸν
ὁμβρήσειν αὐτῷ ἀγαθὰ, ἄπιστος δέ, εἰ μὴ πε-
πίστευκε καὶ νῦν καὶ αἰεὶ τὰς τοῦ θεοῦ χάριτας
ἀφθόνως τοῖς ἀξίοις προσνέμεσθαι, ἄνους δέ, εἰ
οἶεται τῶν συναχθέντων ἱκανὸς ἔσσεσθαι φύλαξ
ἄκοντος θεοῦ· μικρὰ γὰρ ῥοπή τὸν ἀσφάλειαν
καὶ βεβαιότητα περιάπτοντα νοῦν ὑπὸ μεγα-
λαυχίας ἑαυτῷ ἄκυρον καὶ ἀβέβαιον ὧν ἐδόκει
165 φύλαξ εἶναι πάντων ἐποίησε. LVII.

σύναγε οὖν, ὦ ψυχή, τὰ αὐτάρκη καὶ καθήκοντα
καὶ μήτε πλείω τῶν ἱκανῶν ὥς ὑπερβάλλειν μήτε
ἐλάττω πάλιν ὥς ἐνδεῖν, ἵνα μέτροις δικαίοις
χρωμένη μὴ ἀδικῇς. καὶ γὰρ διάβασίν γε μελε-
τῶσαν ἀπὸ τῶν παθῶν καὶ τὸ Πάσχα θύουσαν
δεῖ τὴν προκοπὴν, τὸ πρόβατον, λαμβάνειν μὴ

* The Greek for “sheep” is *ποόβατον*, which properly means *anything that walks forward*.

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

LVII. Gather together, therefore, O soul, what is adequate of itself and suitable, and neither more than sufficient so as to be excessive, nor on the other hand less so as to fall short, that dealing in right measures thou mayest do no wrong. For thou art required also, when making it thy study to cross over from the passions and when sacrificing the Passover, to take the forward step, whose symbol is the lamb,^a not without measure, for he

PHILO

ἀμέτρως· “ἕκαστος” γάρ φησι “τὸ ἀρκούν αὐτῷ συναριθμήσεται¹ εἰς πρόβατον” (Exod. xii. 4).

- 166 Καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ μάννα οὖν καὶ ἐπὶ πάσης δωρεᾶς,
 [120] ἣν ὁ θεὸς δωρεῖται | τῷ γένει ἡμῶν, καλὸν τὸ ἐνάριθμον καὶ μεμετρημένον καὶ μὴ τὸ ὑπὲρ ἡμᾶς λαμβάνειν· πλεονεξίας γὰρ τοῦτό γε. τὸ τῆς ἡμέρας οὖν εἰς ἡμέραν συναγαγέτω ἡ ψυχὴ (Exod. xvi. 4), ἵνα μὴ ἐαυτὴν φύλακα τῶν ἀγαθῶν
 167 ἀλλὰ τὸν φιλόδωρον θεὸν ἀποφήνη. LVIII. καὶ διὰ τοῦτό μοι δοκεῖ τὸ προκείμενον λέγεσθαι· σύμβολον φωτὸς ἐστὶν ἡ ἡμέρα, φῶς δὲ ψυχῆς ἐστὶ παιδεία. πολλοὶ οὖν τὰ ἐν ψυχῇ φῶτα ἐκτήσαντο εἰς νύκτα καὶ σκότος, ἀλλ’ οὐκ εἰς ἡμέραν καὶ φῶς, οἷον τὰ προπαιδεύματα πάντα καὶ τὰ ἐγκύκλια λεγόμενα καὶ φιλοσοφίαν αὐτὴν τρυφῆς ἕνεκεν ἢ ἀρχῆς τῆς πρὸς τοὺς ἡγεμόνας. ὁ δέ γε ἀστείος τὴν ἡμέραν ἕνεκα ἡμέρας καὶ τὸ φῶς ἕνεκα φωτὸς καὶ τὸ καλὸν ἕνεκα τοῦ καλοῦ κτᾶται μόνου, οὐχ ἕνεκα ἄλλου τινός. διὸ καὶ ἐπιφέρει· “ὅπως πειράσω αὐτοὺς, εἰ πορεύσονται τῷ νόμῳ μου ἢ οὐ” (Exod. xvi. 4)· νόμος γὰρ
 168 θεῖος οὗτος, τὴν ἀρετὴν δι’ ἐαυτὴν τιμᾶν. τοὺς οὖν ἀσκητὰς ὥσπερ νόμισμα δοκιμάζει ὁ ὀρθὸς λόγος, πότερα κεκληλίδωνται ἐπὶ τι τῶν ἐκτὸς ἀναφέροντες τὸ τῆς ψυχῆς ἀγαθὸν ἢ ὡς δόκιμοι²

¹ συναριθμήσεται (as in LXX.) is restored in accordance with Mangey’s conjecture.

² δόκιμοι is substituted for δόκιμον (conj. Tr.)

^a Or “than luxurious living.”

^b πρὸς τοὺς ἡγεμόνας. πρὸς seems to be used as in the phrase πρὸς ἄλλον ζῆν, ‘to live with reference to, dependent

says "each man shall reckon what suffices for him as a lamb" (Exod. xii. 4).

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

upon, at the beck and call of, another' (Cope, *The Rhetoric of Aristotle*, i. 9. 27). "A life of luxury or office-holding at the will of the powers that be."

διαστέλλουσιν ἐν διανοίᾳ μόνη τοῦτο διαφυλάττοντες. τούτοις συμβέβηκε μὴ τοῖς γήινοις ἀλλὰ ταῖς ἐπουρανίοις ἐπιστήμας τρέφεσθαι.

- 169 LIX. Δηλοῖ δὲ καὶ δι' ἐτέρων, ὅταν φῇ· "τὸ πρῶτ' ἐγένετο καταπαυομένης τῆς δρόσου κύκλῳ τῆς παρεμβολῆς, καὶ ἰδοὺ ἐπὶ πρόσωπον τῆς ἐρήμου <λεπτὸν> ὥσει κόριον, λευκὸν ὥσει πάγος ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς. ἰδόντες δὲ αὐτὸ εἶπον ἕτερος τῷ ἐτέρῳ Τί ἐστὶ τοῦτο; οὐ γὰρ ᾔδεισαν, τί ἦν. εἶπε δὲ αὐτοῖς Μωυσῆς Οὗτος ὁ ἄρτος, ὃν δέδωκεν ἡμῖν κύριος τοῦ φαγεῖν, τοῦτο τὸ ῥῆμα ὃ συνέταξε κύριος" (Exod. xvi. 13 ff.). ὁρᾷς τῆς ψυχῆς τροφήν οἷα ἐστί· λόγος θεοῦ συνεχῆς, εἰκὼς δρόσῳ κύκλῳ πᾶσαν περιειληφὼς καὶ μηδὲν
- 170 μέρος ἀμέτοχον αὐτοῦ ἔων. φαίνεται δ' οὐ πανταχοῦ ὁ λόγος οὗτος, ἀλλ' ἐπ' ἐρήμου παθῶν καὶ κακιῶν, καὶ ἔστι λεπτὸς νοῆσαί τε καὶ νοηθῆναι καὶ σφόδρα διαυγῆς καὶ καθαρὸς ὁραθῆναι, καὶ ἔστιν ὥσει κόριον. φασὶ δὲ οἱ γεωπόνοι τὸ σπέρμα τοῦ κορίου διαιρεθὲν εἰς ἄπειρα καὶ τμηθὲν καθ' ἕκαστον τῶν μερῶν καὶ τμημάτων σπαρὲν βλαστάνειν οὕτως, ὥς καὶ τὸ ὅλον ἡδύνατο· τοιοῦτος καὶ ὁ θεοῦ λόγος, καὶ δι' ὅλων ὠφελητικὸς καὶ διὰ παντὸς μέρους καὶ τοῦ τυχόντος.
- 171 μήποτε δὲ ὁμοιοῦται καὶ τῇ κατὰ τὸν ὀφθαλμὸν κόρῃ· ὥς γὰρ αὕτη βραχύτατον οὖσα μέρος τὰς τῶν ὄντων ὁρᾷ ζώνας ὅλας καὶ θάλατταν ἄπειρον

^a The κόριον, coriander-seed, suggests the κόρη (pupilla) of the eye.

and guard this treasure as belonging to thought and mind alone. Such men have the privilege of being fed not with earthly things but with the heavenly forms of knowledge.

LIX. He gives a further elucidation of this point, when he says, "in the early morning when the dew ceased it appeared all round the camp, and lo ! upon the face of the wilderness a fine thing as it were coriander seed, white like hoar-frost on the ground. And when they saw it, they said one to another, 'What is this?' for they knew not what it was. And Moses said unto them, 'This bread, which the Lord hath given us to eat, is this word, which the Lord hath prescribed'" (Exod. xvi. 13 ff.). You see of what sort the soul's food is. It is a word of God, continuous, resembling dew, embracing all the soul and leaving no portion without part in itself. But not everywhere does this word show itself, but on the wilderness of passions and wickednesses, and it is fine and delicate both to conceive and be conceived, and surpassingly clear and transparent to behold, and it is as it were coriander seed. Tillers of the soil say that if you cut a coriander seed and divide it into countless pieces, each of the portions into which you cut it, if sown, grows exactly as the whole seed could have done. Such too is the word of God, able to confer benefits both as a whole and by means of every part, yes any part you light upon.

It is possible that a resemblance between the word of God and the pupil^a of the eye, is also intended. For as the pupil of the eye is a very small part of it and sees the zones of the universe in their completeness,

[121] καὶ | ἀέρος μέγεθος καὶ τοῦ παντὸς οὐρανοῦ ὅσον ἀνατέλλων καὶ δυνόμενος ὁ ἥλιος ὀρίζει, οὕτως καὶ ὁ θεοῦ λόγος ὀξυδερκέστατός ἐστιν, ὡς πάντα ἐφορᾶν εἶναι ἱκανός, * * * ὥ τὰ θέας ἄξια κατ-όψονται· παρὸ καὶ λευκόν ἐστι· τί γὰρ ἂν εἴη λαμπρότερον ἢ τηλαυγέστερον θείου λόγου, οὗ κατὰ μετουσίαν καὶ τὰ ἄλλα τὴν ἀχλὺν καὶ τὸν ζόφον ἀπελαύνει φωτὸς κοινωνῆσαι ψυχικοῦ γλιχόμενα;

172 LX. Ἰδιον δὲ περὶ τοῦτον τὸν λόγον συμβαίνει πάθος. ὅταν γὰρ καλέσῃ πρὸς ἑαυτὸν τὴν ψυχὴν, πῆξιν ἀνεγείρει τῷ γεώδει καὶ σωματικῷ καὶ αἰσθητικῷ παντί· διὸ λέγεται τὸ “ὥσει πάγος ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς” (Exod. xvi. 14)· καὶ γὰρ ἡνίκα ὁ τὸν θεὸν ὀρῶν φυγὴν τὴν ἀπὸ τῶν παθῶν μελετᾷ, πῆγνυται τὰ κύματα, τουτέστιν ἡ φορὰ καὶ αὐξησης καὶ τὸ μέγалаυχον αὐτῶν· “ἐπάγη γὰρ τὰ κύματα ἐν μέσῳ τῆς θαλάσσης” (Exod. xv. 8),

173 ἵνα διαβῇ τὸ πάθος ὁ βλέπων τὸν ὄντα. πυνθάνονται οὖν ἀλλήλων αἱ ψυχαὶ αἱ πεπονθυῖαι μὲν ἤδη τὸν λόγον, οὐκ ἔχουσαι δ’ εἰπεῖν τὸ “τί ἐστι” (Exod. xvi. 15)· καὶ γὰρ γλυκανθέντες πολλάκις τὸν κεκνηκότα χυμὸν ἀγνοοῦμεν καὶ ἡδέων ἀτμῶν ὀσφραϊνόμενοι τίνες εἰσὶν οὐκ ἴσμεν· οὕτως οὖν ἡ ψυχὴ γανωθεῖσα πολλάκις εἰπεῖν οὐκ ἔχει, τί τὸ γανῶσαν αὐτὴν ἐστι· διδάσκεται δὲ ὑπὸ τοῦ ἱεροφάντου καὶ προφήτου Μωυσέως, ὅς

ALLEGORICAL INTERPRETATION, III. 171-173

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

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

ἐρεῖ· “οὗτός ἐστιν ὁ ἄρτος” (ibid.), ἡ τροφή, ἣν δέδωκεν ὁ θεὸς τῇ ψυχῇ, προσενέγκασθαι τὸ ἑαυτοῦ ῥῆμα καὶ τὸν ἑαυτοῦ λόγον· “οὗτος” γὰρ “ὁ ἄρτος, ὃν δέδωκεν ἡμῖν φαγεῖν, τοῦτο τὸ ῥῆμα.”

174 LXI. Λέγει δὲ καὶ ἐν Δευτερονομίῳ· “καὶ ἐκάκωσέ σε καὶ ἐλιμαγχόνησέ σε, καὶ ἐψώμισέ σε τὸ μάννα, ὃ οὐκ ᾔδεισαν οἱ πατέρες σου, ἵνα ἀναγγείλῃ σοι, ὅτι οὐκ ἐπ’ ἄρτῳ μόνῳ ζήσεται ἄνθρωπος, ἀλλ’ ἐπὶ παντὶ ῥήματι <τῷ> ἐκπορευομένῳ διὰ στόματος θεοῦ” (Deut. viii. 3). ἡ κάκωσις αὕτη ἱλασμός ἐστι· καὶ γὰρ τῇ δεκάτῃ κακῶν ἡμῶν τὰς ψυχὰς ἱλάσκεται (Lev. xvi. 30). ὅταν γὰρ τὰ ἡδέα περισυλᾶται, δοκοῦμεν κακοῦσθαι, τὸ δ’ ἐστὶ πρὸς ἀλήθειαν ἵλεων τὸν θεὸν ἔχειν.

175 περιποιεῖ δ’ ἡμῖν καὶ λιμόν, οὐχ ἄρετῆς, ἀλλὰ τῶν ἐκ πάθους καὶ κακίας συνισταμένων· τεκμήριον δέ, διατρέφει γὰρ ἡμᾶς τῷ γενικωτάτῳ αὐτοῦ λόγῳ· τὸ γὰρ μάννα ἐρμηνεύεται “τί,” τοῦτό ἐστι τὸ γενικώτατον τῶν ὄντων· καὶ ὁ λόγος δὲ τοῦ θεοῦ ὑπεράνω παντός ἐστι τοῦ κόσμου καὶ πρεσβύτατος καὶ γενικώτατος τῶν ὅσα γέγονε. τοῦτον τὸν λόγον οὐκ ᾔδεισαν οἱ πατέρες, οὐχ οἱ πρὸς ἀλήθειαν, ἀλλ’ οἱ χρόνῳ πολιοὶ οἱ λέγοντες· “δῶμεν ἀρχηγὸν καὶ ἀποστρέψωμεν εἰς” τὸ

176 πάθος “Αἴγυπτον” (Num. xiv. 4). ἀναγγελλέτω

[122] οὖν ὁ θεὸς τῇ ψυχῇ, ὅτι | “οὐκ ἐπ’ ἄρτῳ μόνῳ ζήσεται ὁ ἄνθρωπος” [κατ’ εἰκόνα], “ἀλλ’ ἐπὶ παντὶ ῥήματι τῷ ἐκπορευομένῳ διὰ στόματος θεοῦ,” τουτέστι καὶ διὰ παντός τοῦ λόγου τροφή-

^a As Heinemann points out, *De Congressu eruditionis*

bread (*ibid.*) is the food which God hath given to the soul, for it to feed on His own utterance and His own word; for this bread, which He hath given us to eat, is "this word."

LXI. He says in Deuteronomy also; "And He afflicted thee and made thee weak by hunger, and fed thee with manna, which thy fathers knew not, that He might proclaim to thee, that not on bread alone shall man live, but on every word that goeth forth through the mouth of God" (Deut. viii. 3). This afflicting is propitiation; for on the tenth day also by afflicting our souls He makes propitiation (Lev. xvi. 30). For when we are being deprived of pleasant things, we think we are being afflicted, but in reality thereby we have God propitious to us. He occasions famine also to us, not a famine of virtue, but a famine of the creations^a of passion and wickedness. We have a proof of this in His feeding us with His own most "generic"^b word; for "manna" means "something,"^c and this is the most generic of all terms. And the word of God is above all the world, and is eldest and most all-embracing of created things. This word "the fathers knew not." This does not mean the real forefathers, but those whose hair was grey from age who said, "Let us appoint a leader and let us return to Egypt," that is, "to passion" (Numb. xiv. 4). Let God then proclaim to the soul, "Not on bread only shall men live, but on every utterance that goeth forth through the mouth of God," that is to say he shall be fed *gratia* 172 proves that Philo wrote not τὸν συνιστάμενον but τῶν συνισταμένων.^b Or "all-embracing."

^c Philo audaciously substitutes the indefinite for the interrogative pronoun ("something" for "what?"). See App. p. 483.

σεται καὶ διὰ μέρους αὐτοῦ· τὸ μὲν γὰρ στόμα σύμβολον τοῦ λόγου, τὸ δὲ ῥῆμα μέρος αὐτοῦ. τρέφεται δὲ τῶν μὲν τελειοτέρων ἢ ψυχὴ ὅλῳ τῷ λόγῳ· ἀγαπήσαιμεν δ' ἂν ἡμεῖς, εἰ καὶ μέρει τραφείημεν αὐτοῦ.

- 177 LXII. Ἄλλ' οὗτοι μὲν εὔχονται θεοῦ λόγῳ τραφῆναι. ὁ δὲ Ἰακώβ καὶ τὸν λόγον ὑπερκύψας ὑπ' αὐτοῦ φησι τρέφεσθαι τοῦ θεοῦ, λέγει δ' οὕτως· “ὁ θεός, ᾧ εὐηρέστησαν οἱ πατέρες μου Ἀβραὰμ καὶ Ἰσαάκ, ὁ θεὸς ὁ τρέφων με ἐκ νεότητος ἕως τῆς ἡμέρας ταύτης, ὁ ἄγγελος ὁ ῥυόμενός με ἐκ πάντων τῶν κακῶν, εὐλογῆσαι τὰ παιδία ταῦτα” (Gen. xlviii. 15, 16). ὥραίος οὗτος ὁ τρόπος· τροφέα τὸν θεόν, οὐχὶ λόγον, ἡγεῖται, τὸν δὲ ἄγγελον, ὅς ἐστι λόγος, ὥσπερ ἰατρὸν κακῶν· φυσικώτατα· ἀρέσκει γὰρ αὐτῷ τὰ μὲν προηγούμενα ἀγαθὰ αὐτοπροσώπως αὐτὸν τὸν ὄντα διδόναι, τὰ δεύτερα δὲ τοὺς ἀγγέλους καὶ λόγους αὐτοῦ· δεύτερα δ' ἐστὶν ὅσα περιέχει κακῶν ἀπαλλαγὴν.
- 178 διὰ τοῦτ' οἶμαι καὶ ὑγείαν μὲν τὴν ἀπλὴν, ἧς οὐ προηγείται νόσος ἐν τοῖς σώμασιν, ὁ θεὸς χαρίζεται δι' ἑαυτοῦ μόνου, τὴν δὲ γινομένην κατὰ νόσου φυγὴν καὶ διὰ τέχνης καὶ διὰ ἰατρικῆς, ἐπιγράφων καὶ ἐπιστήμῃ καὶ τεχνίτῃ τὸ δοκεῖν ἰᾶσθαι, πρὸς ἀλήθειαν αὐτὸς καὶ διὰ τούτων καὶ ἄνευ τούτων ἰώμενος. τοῦτον δὲ τὸν τρόπον καὶ ἐπὶ ψυχῆς ἔχει· τὰ μὲν ἀγαθὰ, τὰς τροφάς, αὐτὸς χαρίζεται δι' ἑαυτοῦ, διὰ δὲ ἀγγέλων καὶ λόγων ὅσα ἀπαλλαγὴν περιέχει κακῶν.

^a Or “verb.”

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

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

- 179 LXIII. Ταῦτα δ' ἠϋξάτο αἰτιώμενος τὸν πολι-
τικὸν Ἰωσήφ, ὃς ἐτόλμησεν εἰπεῖν ὅτι “ ἐκθρέψω
σε ἐκεῖ ”. “ σπεύσαντες ” γάρ φησιν “ ἀνάβητε
πρὸς τὸν πατέρα μου καὶ εἶπατε αὐτῷ· Τάδε λέγει ”
καὶ τὰ ἐξῆς, εἶτα “ κατὰβηθι πρὸς με καὶ μὴ
μείνης,” ἐπὶ πᾶσι “ καὶ ἐκθρέψω σε ἐκεῖ, ἔτη γὰρ
πέντε λιμός ” (Gen. xlv. 9, 11). ἐπιμεμφόμενος
οὖν ἅμα καὶ διδάσκων τὸν δοκησίσοφον λέγει· ὦ
οὗτος, ἴσθι τὰς ψυχῆς τροφὰς ἐπιστήμας ὑπαρχού-
σας, ἃς οὐχ ὁ αἰσθητὸς λόγος ἀλλ’ ὁ θεὸς δωρεῖται,
ὁ τρέφων ἐκ νεότητος καὶ πρώτης ἀκμῆς <με>
μέχρι τελείου φωτὸς (cf. Gen. xlviii. 15) αὐτὸς
180 ἐμπλήσει. ἔπαθεν οὖν ταῦτόν ὁ Ἰωσήφ τῇ μητρὶ
αὐτοῦ Ῥαχὴλ· καὶ γὰρ αὕτη ἐνόμισε δύνασθαι τι τὸ
γενητόν, διὸ λέγει· “ δός μοι τέκνα ” (Gen. xxx. 1).
ἀλλ’ ὃ γε πτερνιστὴς αὐτὴν μωμησάμενος ἐρεῖ·
πλάνον πεπλάνησαι πολύν, οὐ γὰρ ἀντὶ θεοῦ ἐγώ |
[123] εἰμι τοῦ μόνου δυναμένου τὰς ψυχῶν μήτρας
ἀνοιγνύναι καὶ σπείρειν ἐν αὐταῖς ἀρετὰς καὶ
ποιεῖν ἐγκύμονας καὶ τικτούσας τὰ καλά· κατὰμαθέ
γέ τοι τὴν ἀδελφὴν σου Λείαν καὶ εὐρήσεις ἐξ
οὐδενὸς γενητοῦ λαμβάνουσας τὴν σπορὰν καὶ τὴν
γονήν, ἀλλ’ ὑπ’ αὐτοῦ τοῦ θεοῦ· “ ἰδὼν γὰρ
κύριος, ὅτι μισεῖται Λεία, ἤνοιξε τὴν μήτραν
αὐτῆς· Ῥαχὴλ δὲ ἦν στείρα ” (Gen. xxix. 31).
181 ἀλλ’ ὅρα πάλιν τὴν ἐν τούτῳ λεπτοურ-
γίαν· τῆς ἀρετῆς ὁ θεὸς τὰς μήτρας ἀνοίγει,
σπείρων ἐν αὐταῖς τὰς καλὰς πράξεις, ἡ δὲ μήτρα,
παραδεξαμένη τὴν ἀρετὴν ὑπὸ θεοῦ, οὐ τίκτει τῷ
θεῷ—χρεῖος γὰρ οὐδενὸς ἐστὶν ὁ ὢν—ἀλλ’ ἐμοὶ
τῷ Ἰακώβ υἱοῦς· ἐμοῦ γὰρ ἔνεκα ἔσπειρεν ὁ θεὸς

LXIII. In offering this prayer Jacob passed a censure on Joseph the statesman, who had ventured to say "I will nourish thee there." His words were, "Make haste and go up to my father and say to him 'thus saith'" and so on, and then "come down to me and tarry not," finishing with "and I will nourish thee there, for there shall be famine for five years" (Gen. xlv. 9, 11). So Jacob at once chides and instructs the man wise in his own conceit when he says: "You must know, fine Sir, that the foods which nourish the soul are various forms of knowledge, and that these are not bestowed by the word of bodily sense but by God. He who reared me from youth and early prime to full-grown manhood (*cf.* Gen. xlviii. 15) will Himself satisfy my needs." Joseph therefore went through the same experience as his mother Rachel. She too imagined that a created being has some power, for she says "Give me children" (Gen. xxx. 1). But the Supplanter will find fault with her and say, 'Thou hast greatly erred, for I am not in the place of God, who alone hath power to open the wombs of souls, and to sow virtues in them, and to make them pregnant with noble things, and to give birth to them. Take note of Leah thy sister, and thou wilt find her receiving seed and offspring out of no created being but by God's own gift'; "for the Lord, when he saw that Leah was hated, opened her womb, but Rachel was barren" (Gen. xxix. 31).

But note again the delicate subtilty here. God opens the wombs of virtue, sowing in them noble doings, but the womb, after receiving virtue at God's hand, does not bear to God—for He that is is in need of no one—but bears sons to me Jacob; for it may well be that it

ἐν τῇ ἀρετῇ τάχα, οὐχ ἑαυτοῦ. οὐκοῦν ἄλλος μὲν ἀνὴρ τῆς Λείας ὁ ἡσυχάζόμενος εὐρίσκεται, ἄλλος δὲ πατὴρ τῶν ἐκ Λείας τέκνων· ἀνὴρ μὲν γὰρ ὁ τὴν μήτραν ἀνοίγων, πατὴρ δὲ τῶν τέκνων, ᾧ ταῦτα τίκτειν λέγεται.

- 182 LXIV. “Καὶ ἔχθραν θήσω ἀνὰ μέσον σου καὶ ἀνὰ μέσον τῆς γυναικός” (Gen. iii. 15). ὄντως ἐστὶν ἡδονὴ ἐχθρὸν αἰσθήσει, καίτοι δοκοῦν ἐνίοις μάλιστα εἶναι φίλον· ἀλλ’ ὥσπερ τὸν κόλακα οὐκ ἂν τις ἐταῖρον εἴποι—νόσος γὰρ φιλίας ἢ κολακεία—οὐδὲ τὴν ἐταῖραν εὖνουν ἐραστῇ—τοῖς γὰρ διδο-
 μένοις, οὐκ αὐτῷ, προσπέπονθεν—οὕτω καὶ τὴν ἡδονὴν ἐξετάζων εὐρήσεις νόθον οἰκειότητα ὑπο-
 183 δυομένην πρὸς αἴσθησιν. ὅταν γέ τοι κορεσθῶμεν ἡδονῆς, ἐκπίπτει τῶν τόνων ἡμῶν τὰ αἰσθητήρια· ἢ τοὺς οἶνω ἢ ἔρωτι μεθύοντας οὐ καταμανθάνεις, ὅτι ὀρώντες οὐχ ὀρώσι καὶ ἀκούοντες οὐκ ἀκούουσι καὶ τῶν ἄλλων αἰσθήσεων ἀφήρηνται τὰς ἀκριβεῖς ἐνεργείας; ἔστι δ’ ὅτε καὶ διὰ πληθὸς ἄμετρον τροφῆς ἅπαντες οἱ τόνοι τῶν αἰσθήσεων ὑφέιθησαν ὕπνου καταλαμβάνοντος, ὃς καὶ τοῦνομα ἔσχεν ἀπὸ τῆς ὑφέσεως αὐτῶν· χαλᾶται γὰρ τότε τὸ αἰσθη-
 τικὸν ὄργανον, ὥσπερ ἐν ταῖς ἐγρηγόρσεσιν ἐπι-
 τείνεται, μηκέτι κωφὰς τὰς ἀπὸ τοῦ ἐκτὸς πλήξεις
 δεχόμενον ἀλλὰ γεγωνυίας καὶ ἐναργεῖς τὴν τε
 ἡχὴν ἄχρι τοῦ νοῦ διαδιδούσας· δεῖ γὰρ αὐτὸν
 πληχθέντα γνωρίσαι τὸ ἐκτὸς καὶ λαβεῖν αὐτοῦ

^a Philo connects ὑφεις (“relaxing”) with ὕπνος (“sleep”).

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

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

184 τύπον ἐναργῆ.

LXV. τήρει δ' ὅτι οὐκ

εἶπεν “ἐχθραν θήσω σοὶ καὶ τῇ γυναικί,” ἀλλὰ
 “ἀνὰ μέσον σου καὶ τῆς γυναικός.” διὰ τί δέ;
 ὅτι περὶ τὸ μέσον καὶ ὡς ἂν ἐν μεθορίῳ κείμενον
 ἡδονῆς καὶ αἰσθήσεως γίνεται τούτων ὁ πόλεμος.

[124] τὸ δὲ μέσον ἀμφοῖν | ἐστι τὸ πότιμον, τὸ ἐδώδιμον,
 τὸ εὐτρεπὲς πρὸς τὰ τοιαῦτα πάντα, ὧν ἕκαστον
 αἰσθητὸν τέ ἐστι καὶ ποιητικὸν ἡδονῆς. ὅταν οὖν
 ἀπλήστως ἐμφορηθῇ τούτων ἡ ἡδονή, βλάβην

185 εὐθὺς εἰργάσατο αἰσθήσει. τὸ δ' “ἀνὰ μέσον τοῦ
 σπέρματός σου καὶ τοῦ σπέρματος αὐτῆς” εἴρηται
 πάλιν φυσικῶς· σπέρμα γὰρ πᾶν ἐστι γενέσεως
 ἀρχή· ἀρχὴ δὲ ἡδονῆς μὲν [οὐ] τὸ πάθος, [ἀλλ']
 ἄλογος ὁρμή, αἰσθήσεως δὲ ὁ νοῦς· ἀπὸ γὰρ τούτου
 καθάπερ τινὸς πηγῆς αἱ αἰσθητικαὶ τείνονται
 δυνάμεις, μάλιστα κατὰ τὸν ἱερώτατον Μωυσῆν, ὃς
 ἐκ τοῦ Ἀδὰμ πεπλάσθαι φησὶ τὴν γυναῖκα, τὴν
 αἰσθησιν ἐκ τοῦ νοῦ. ὅπερ οὖν ἡδονὴ πρὸς
 αἰσθησιν, τοῦτο πάθος πρὸς νοῦν, ὥστ' ἐπειδὴ
 ἐκείνα ἐχθρά, καὶ ταῦτ' ἂν εἴη πολέμια.

186 LXVI. καὶ περιφανὴς ἐστὶν ὁ τῶνδε πόλεμος· κατὰ
 γοῦν τὰς ἐπικρατείας τοῦ νοῦ, ὅτε τοῖς νοητοῖς καὶ
 ἄσωμάτοις παραβάλλει, φυγαδεύεται τὸ πάθος· καὶ
 ἔμπαλιν ὅταν τοῦτο νικήσῃ νίκην κακὴν, εἵκει ὁ
 νοῦς κωλυόμενος προσέχειν ἑαυτῷ καὶ τοῖς ἑαυτοῦ
 πᾶσιν ἔργοις. φησὶ γοῦν ἐν ἐτέροις, ὅτι “ὅταν
 μὲν ἐπῆρε τὰς χεῖρας Μωυσῆς, κατίσχυεν Ἰσραήλ,
 ὅταν δὲ καθῆκε, κατίσχυεν Ἀμαλὴκ” (Exod. xvii.
 11), τοῦτο παριστὰς ὅτι ὁ νοῦς ἐπειδὴ μὲν
 ἐξάρη αὐτὸν ἀπὸ τῶν θνητῶν καὶ μετεωρισθῇ,

a vivid impression of it.

LXV. Observe that the words are not "I will set enmity for thee and the woman," but "between thee and the woman." Now why is it put so? Because it is over that which is *between* pleasure and sense, over that which lies in their boundary so to speak, that the warfare of these two arises. But what is between them both are drinkables, eatables, what is adapted to all such purposes, each one of them being both an object of sense and a thing productive of pleasure. When pleasure, therefore, has indulged immoderately in these, it forthwith inflicts injury on sense. The expression again "between thy seed and her seed" is full of philosophical truth: for every seed is a starting-point of existence, but the starting-point of pleasure is passion, an irrational impulse, that of sense the mind; for from the mind as from a fountain the faculties of sense flow forth and extend. This is certainly taught by Moses, the holy prophet, who says that the woman was fashioned out of Adam, sense (that is) out of mind. What pleasure, then, is to sense, that passion is to mind. Since, therefore, the former pair are mutually hostile, the latter must also be at war with each other.

LXVI. And their warfare is patent. When mind is victorious, devoting itself to immaterial things its proper object, passion quits the scene: and on the other hand; when passion has won an evil victory, mind gives in, being prevented from giving heed to itself and to all its own occupations. Moses elsewhere says, "Whenever Moses lifted up his hands, Israel prevailed, but when he dropped them, Amalek prevailed" (Exod. xvii. 11), showing that when the mind lifts itself up away from mortal things and is

ῥώννυται τὸ ὀρώων τὸν θεόν, ὅπερ ἐστὶν Ἰσραήλ, ἐπειδὴν δὲ καθῆ τούτους ἰδίους τόνους καὶ ἐξασθενήσῃ, αὐτίκα τὸ πάθος ἰσχύσει, ὃ Ἀμαλήκ, ὃς ἐρμηνεύεται λαὸς ἐκλείχων· ὄντως γὰρ διεσθίει τὴν ὅλην ψυχὴν καὶ ἐκλιχμάται, μηδὲν ἐν αὐτῇ σπέρμα ἢ
 187 ζώπυρον ἀρετῆς ὑπολείπων. παρὸ καὶ λέγεται “ἀρχὴ ἐθνῶν Ἀμαλήκ” (Num. xxiv. 20), ὅτι τῶν μιγάδων καὶ συγκλύδων καὶ πεφυρμένων ἀβουλεῖ τὸ πάθος ἄρχει καὶ κυριεύει. διὰ τούτου πᾶς ὁ ψυχῆς ἀναρριπίζεται πόλεμος· αἷς γοῦν χαρίζεται διανοίαις ὁ θεὸς εἰρήνην, ταύταις ὁμολογεῖ ἀπαλείψειν “τὸ μνημόσυνον Ἀμαλήκ ἐκ τῆς ὑπ’ οὐρανόν” (Exod. xvii. 14).

- 188 LXVII. Τὸ δὲ “αὐτὸς σου τηρήσει κεφαλὴν, καὶ σὺ τηρήσεις αὐτοῦ πτέρναν” (Gen. iii. 15) τῇ μὲν φωνῇ βαρβαρισμός ἐστι, τῷ δὲ σημαινόμενῳ κατόρθωμα· τῷ γὰρ ὅφει λέγεται περὶ τῆς γυναικός, ἢ δὲ γυνὴ “αὐτὸς” οὐκ ἔστιν, ἀλλ’ “αὐτή.” τί οὖν λεκτέον; ἀπὸ τοῦ περὶ τῆς γυναικὸς λόγου μετελήλυθεν ἐπὶ τὸ σπέρμα καὶ
 [125] τὴν ἀρχὴν αὐτῆς· ἀρχὴ δὲ ἦν αἰσθήσεως | ὁ νοῦς· οὗτος δὲ ἄρρη, ἐφ’ οὗ χρὴ λέγειν αὐτὸς καὶ αὐτοῦ καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα. ὀρθῶς οὖν τῇ ἡδονῇ λέγεται, ὅτι ὁ νοῦς σου τηρήσει τὸ κεφάλαιον καὶ ἡγεμονικὸν δόγμα, καὶ σὺ τηρήσεις αὐτοῦ, τοῦ νοῦ, τὰς ἐπιβάσεις καὶ ἐφιδρύσεις τῶν ἀρεσκόντων, αἷς αἱ πτέρναι κατὰ λόγον εἰκάσθησαν.
 189 LXVIII. τὸ δὲ “τηρήσει” δύο δηλοῖ· ἐν μὲν τὸ οἶον διαφυλάξει καὶ διασώσει, ἕτερον δὲ τὸ ἴσον

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

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

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

^b See App. p. 483.

- τῷ ἐπιτηρήσει πρὸς ἀναίρεσιν. ἀνάγκη δὲ τὸν νοῦν ἢ φαῦλον ἢ σπουδαῖον εἶναι· ὁ μὲν οὖν ἄφρων φύλαξ καὶ ταμίας ἂν γένοιτο τῆς ἡδονῆς, χαίρει γὰρ αὐτῇ, ὁ δὲ σπουδαῖος ἐχθρὸς, καταδοκῶν ὅτε ἐπιθέμενος ἰσχύσει καθελεῖν αὐτὴν εἰσάπαν. καὶ μὴν ἔμπαλιν ἢ ἡδονὴ τοῦ μὲν ἄφρονος διατηρεῖ τὴν ἐπίβασιν, τοῦ δὲ σοφοῦ λύειν καὶ ἀναιρεῖν ἐπιχειρεῖ τὴν ἔνστασιν, ἡγουμένη τὸν μὲν κατά- λυσιν αὐτῆς μελετᾶν, τὸν δ' ἄφρονα δι' ὧν μάλιστα
 190 σωθήσεται. ἀλλ' ὅμως πτερνίζειν δοκοῦσα καὶ ἀπατᾶν τὸν ἀστεῖον αὐτὴ πτερνισθήσεται πρὸς τοῦ πάλην ἡσκηκότος Ἰακώβ—πάλην δ' οὐ τὴν σώματος ἀλλ' ἣν παλαίει ψυχὴ πρὸς τοὺς ἀνταγωνιστὰς τρόπους αὐτῆς πάθεσι καὶ κακίαις μαχο- μένη— καὶ οὐ πρότερον ἀνήσει πτέρναν τοῦ ἀνταγωνιστοῦ πάθους, πρὶν ἀπειπεῖν αὐτὸ καὶ ὁμολογήσαι, ὅτι ἐπτέρνισται καὶ νενίκηται δῖς, ἔν τε τοῖς πρωτοτοκίοις καὶ ἐν τῷ εὐλογιστεῖν.
 191 “δικαίως” γὰρ φησιν “ἐκλήθη τὸ ὄνομα αὐτοῦ Ἰακώβ, ἐπτέρνικέ με γὰρ ἤδη δεύτερον· τότε τὰ πρωτοτόκιά μου εἴληφε, καὶ νῦν εἴληφε τὴν εὐλογίαν μου” (Gen. xxvii. 36). πρεσβύτερα δὲ ὁ μὲν φαῦλος ἡγεῖται τὰ σώματος, ὁ δ' ἀστεῖος τὰ ψυχῆς, ἃ καὶ πρὸς ἀλήθειάν ἐστιν, οὐ χρόνῳ ἀλλὰ δυνάμει καὶ ἀξιώματι πρεσβύτερα καὶ πρῶτα ὄντως, ὡς καὶ ἄρχων ἐν πόλει· ἡγεμονὶς δὲ τοῦ συγκρίματος ἢ ψυχῆ.
 192 LXIX. Εἴληφεν οὖν τὰ πρῶτα ὁ πρῶτος κατ' ἀρετὴν, ἃ καὶ ἐπέβαλεν αὐτῷ· εἴληφε γὰρ καὶ <τὸ>

* See App. p. 483.

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

LXIX. He therefore that is first in virtue has received the things that are first, which indeed were his portion ; for he has received the blessing also

- εὐλογιστεῖν σὺν εὐχαῖς τελείαις. μάταιος δὲ καὶ
 οἰησίσοφος ὁ λέγων “ τὰς ἐμὰς εὐλογίας καὶ τὰ
 ἐμὰ πρωτοτόκια εἴληφεν ”· οὐ γὰρ τὰ σά, ὦ οὗτος,
 λαμβάνει, ἀλλὰ τοῖς σοῖς τὰ ἐναντία· τὰ μὲν γὰρ
 σὰ δουλείας, τὰ δ’ ἐκείνου δεσποτείας ἡξίωται·
 193 καὶ εἰ ἀγαπήσεις δοῦλος γενέσθαι τοῦ σοφοῦ,
 νουθεσίας καὶ σωφρονισμοῦ κοινωνήσεις, ἀμαθίαν
 καὶ ἀπαιδευσίαν κῆρας ψυχῆς ἀποβαλὼν· εὐχό-
 μενος γὰρ ὁ πατήρ σοί φησιν, ὅτι “ τῷ ἀδελφῷ
 σου δουλεύσεις ” (Gen. xxvii. 40)· ἀλλ’ οὐχὶ νῦν
 —οὐ γὰρ ἀνέξεται σε ἀφηνιάζοντα—ἀλλ’ ὅταν
 “ ἐκλύσης τὸν ζυγὸν ἀπὸ τοῦ τραχήλου σου ”
 (ib.), τὸ αὔχημα καὶ φρύαγμα ἀποβαλὼν ὃ
 [126] ἐκτήσω ὑποζεύξας | σεαυτὸν ὀχήματι παθῶν, ἡνιο-
 194 χούσης ἀφροσύνης. νυνὶ μὲν δοῦλος εἰ χαλεπῶν
 καὶ ἀφορήτων τῶν ἐν σαυτῷ δεσποτῶν, οἷς νόμος
 ἐστὶ μηδένα ἐλεύθερον ποιεῖν· ἐὰν δὲ τούτους
 δρασμῷ χρησάμενος καταλίπῃς, ὑποδέχεται σε
 φιλόδουλος δεσπότης ἐπ’ ἐλπίσι χρησταῖς ἐλευ-
 θερίας καὶ οὐκ ἐκδῶσει ἔτι τοῖς προτέροις δεσπό-
 ταις, μαθὼν παρὰ Μωυσέως δίδαγμα καὶ δόγμα
 ἀναγκαῖον, “ μὴ παραδιδόναι παῖδα τῷ κυρίῳ, ὅς
 προστίθεται αὐτῷ παρὰ τοῦ κυρίου· μετὰ γὰρ
 αὐτοῦ κατοικήσει ἐν παντὶ τόπῳ, ὃ ἐὰν ἀρέσκῃ
 195 αὐτῷ ” (Deut. xxiii. 15, 16). LXX. ἀλλ’ ἔως
 οὐκ ἀποδέδρακας, ἔτι δ’ ἐγκεχαλίνωσαι ταῖς
 ἐκείνων τῶν δεσποτῶν ἡνίαις, ἀνάξιος εἰ δουλεύειν
 σοφῷ· τεκμήριον μέγιστον ἡθους ἀνελευθέρου καὶ
 δουλοπρεποῦς παρέχεις, ὅταν λέγῃς “ τὰ ἐμὰ

ALLEGORICAL INTERPRETATION, III. 192-195

accompanied by perfect prayers. But vainly deeming himself wise is he who says, " My blessings and my birthright hath he taken " : not thine, man, does he take, but those which are opposite to thine ; for those which are thine have been accounted meet for slavery, but his for lordship. And if thou shalt consent to become a slave of the wise one, thou shalt cast from thee ignorance and boorishness, plagues of the soul, and be partaker of admonition and correction. For in his prayer thy father says to thee, " To thy brother shalt thou be a slave " (Gen. xxvii. 40) ; but not now shall this be, for he will not put up with thy restiveness, but when thou shalt have loosed the yoke from thy neck " (*ibid.*), casting from thee vaunting and insolence which thou didst acquire by yoking thyself to a chariot of passions, of which folly was the driver. Now indeed thou art a slave of the harsh and insufferable masters within thee, to whom it is a fixed law to set no one free. But if thou escape and abandon these, a master to whom his slaves are dear shall welcome thee, holding out bright hopes of liberty and shall not give thee up again to thy former masters. For he has learned from Moses a lesson and rule inviolable, " that a man deliver not up to his master a servant who has been handed over to him by the Lord ; ^a for he shall dwell with him in whatever place it liketh him best " (Deut. xxiii. 15 f.). LXX. But so long as thou hast not run away, but art still governed by the bit and bridle of thine old masters, thou art unworthy to be slave to a wise man. Thou affordest most sure proof of a servile character unworthy of a free man by saying

^a *i.e.*, " has taken refuge in Israel from a hard heathen master."

- πρωτοτόκια καὶ τὰς ἐμὰς εὐλογίας" (Gen. xxvii. 36). εἰς ἄμετρον γὰρ ἀμαθίαν κεχωρηκότων αἶδε αἱ φωναί, ἐπειδὴ μόνῳ ἀρμόττει θεῷ λέγειν τὸ ἐμόν, αὐτοῦ γὰρ ὄντως κτήματα μόνου τὰ πάντα.
- 196 διὸ καὶ μαρτυρήσει, ὅταν φῇ "τὰ δῶρά μου, δόματά μου, καρπώματά μου διατηρήσεις" (Num. xxviii. 2), ὅτι δῶρα δομάτων διαφέρει· τὰ μὲν γὰρ ἔμφασιν μεγέθους τελείων ἀγαθῶν δηλοῖ, ἃ τοῖς τελείοις χαρίζεται ὁ θεός, τὰ δ' εἰς βραχύτατον ἔσταλται, ὧν μετέχουσιν οἱ εὐφυεῖς ἀσκηταὶ
- 197 οἱ προκόπτοντες. οὐδ' χάριν καὶ Ἀβραὰμ ἀκολουθῶν τῷ θεοῦ θελήματι τὰ μὲν ὑπάρχοντα, ἅπερ ἦν αὐτῷ ἐκ θεοῦ, κατέχει, ἀποπέμπεται δὲ τὴν ἵππον τοῦ βασιλέως Σοδόμων (Gen. xiv. 21 ff.), ὡς καὶ τὰ ὑπαρκτὰ τῶν παλλακῶν. καὶ Μωυσῆς μέντοι τὰ μέγιστα δικαιονομεῖν ἀξιοῖ καὶ περὶ τῶν μεγίστων, τὰ δὲ βραχέα τῶν κριμάτων ἐπιτρέπει τοῖς δευτερεύουσι σκοπεῖν (cf. Exod. xvi. 26). ὅστις δὲ τολμᾷ λέγειν ἑαυτοῦ τι εἶναι, δοῦλος τὸν πάντα αἰῶνα γεγράφεται, ὥσπερ ὁ λέγων "ἠγάπηκα τὸν κύριόν μου καὶ τὴν γυναῖκά μου καὶ τὰ παῖδιά μου· οὐκ ἀποτρέχω ἐλεύθερος" (Exod. xxi. 5). εὖ γε τὸ ἑαυτῷ ὁμολογήσαι δουλείαν· πῶς γὰρ ὁ λέγων οὐ δοῦλος Ἐμὸς ὁ κύριος νοῦς ἐστι, κύριος ἑαυτοῦ καὶ αὐτοκράτωρ· ἐμὴ καὶ ἡ αἴσθησις, αὐταρκες τῶν σωμάτων κριτήριον· ἐμὰ καὶ τὰ τούτων ἔκγονα, τοῦ μὲν νοῦ τὰ νοητά, τῆς δ' αἰσθήσεως τὰ αἰσθητά· ἐπ'

^a See note on 24.

^b A reference to Gen. xxv. 6.

^c Literally, "do not run away."

"my birthright and my blessings" (Gen. xxvii. 36); for these utterances are those of men who are sunk in boundless ignorance, seeing that to speak of "Mine" befits God only, for all things are in reality the property of Him alone. For this reason He shall also testify, when he says, "Thou shalt preserve My gifts, My grants, My fruits" (Numb. xxviii. 2), that "gifts" excel "grants." For the term "gifts" brings out the sense of great and perfect boons, which God bestows upon the perfect; "grants" have shrunk to a very meagre compass: these are for those of natural excellence who practise and make progress.

Because this is so, Abraham also in harmony with the will of God retains the property which had come to him from God, but gets rid of the horses ^a of the king of Sodom (Gen. xiv. 21 ff.), as also of the possessions of the concubines.^b Moses, moreover, thinks fit to judge the weightiest cases and issues, but the investigation of the insignificant questions he commits to inferior officers (cf. Exod. xviii. 26). Whoever dares to say that anything is his own will thereby have registered himself a slave in perpetuity, even as the man who says "I have come to love my master and my wife and my children: I decline to go away free"^c (Exod. xxi. 5). It is well that he acknowledged himself a slave; for how can the man be other than a slave who says "mine is the master, even mind," that is its own master and absolute lord; "mine also is sense-perception," a means of judging material forms that is dependent upon none; "mine also are the offspring of these," Mind's proper objects being Mind's offspring, and sensible objects the offspring of sense; "for in my power it is to exercise mind and

199 ἐμοὶ γὰρ τὸ νοεῖν, τὸ αἰσθάνεσθαι. ἀλλὰ μὴ
μόνον ἑαυτοῦ καταμαρτυρεῖτω, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὑπὸ τοῦ
θεοῦ καταδικασθεὶς αἰωνίαν καὶ βεβαιοτάτην ὑπο-
μενέτω δουλείαν κελεύοντος τό τε οὖς τρυπᾶσθαι,
ἵνα μὴ παραδέξῃται λόγους ἀρετῆς, καὶ δουλεύειν
τὸν αἰῶνα τῷ νῶ καὶ τῇ αἰσθήσει, κακοῖς καὶ
ἀνηλεέσι δεσπόταις.

- 200 LXXI. "Καὶ τῇ γυναικὶ εἶπε Πληθύνων πλη-
θυνῶ τὰς λύπας σου καὶ τὸν στεναγμόν σου"
(Gen. iii. 16). τῆς γυναικός, ἥτις αἰσθησις ἦν,
[127] ἰδιὸν ἐστὶν ἀλγηδὼν πάθος, ἡ λύπη καλεῖται·
περὶ ὃ γὰρ γίνεται τὸ ἡδεσθαι, περὶ τοῦτο καὶ τὸ
ἀλγεῖν· ἡδόμεθα δὲ διὰ τῶν αἰσθήσεων, ὥστε ἐξ
ἀνάγκης καὶ ἀλγοῦμεν δι' αὐτῶν. ἀλλ' ὁ μὲν
σπουδαῖος καὶ κεκαθαρμένος νοῦς ἐλάχιστα ἀλγεῖ,
ἥκιστα γὰρ ἐπιτίθενται αὐτῷ αἱ αἰσθήσεις· τῷ δ'
ἄφρονι περιττεύει τὸ πάθος οὐδὲν ἔχοντι ἀλεξι-
φάρμακον ἐν τῇ ψυχῇ, ὧ τὰς ἀπὸ τῶν αἰσθήσεων
201 καὶ αἰσθητῶν κῆρας ἀμυνεῖται. ὥσπερ γὰρ ἐτέρως
τύπτεται ὁ ἀθλητῆς καὶ ὁ δοῦλος, ὁ μὲν καθ'
ὑπόπτωσιν ἐνδιδούς πρὸς τὰς αἰκίας καὶ ὑπείκων,
ὁ δ' ἀθλητῆς ἀντέχων καὶ ἀντιστατῶν καὶ τὰς
ἐπιφερομένας <πληγὰς> ἀποσειόμενος, καὶ κείρεις
ἐτέρως μὲν ἄνθρωπον, ἐτέρως δὲ τὸ κῶδιον—τὸ
μὲν γὰρ ἐν τῷ πάσχειν μόνον ἐξετάζεται, ὁ δ'
ἄνθρωπος καὶ ἀντιδρᾷ καὶ ὥσπερ ἀντιπέπονθε
202 σχηματίζων ἑαυτὸν πρὸς τὸ κείρεσθαι—οὕτως ὁ
μὲν ἀλόγιστος ἀνδραπόδων δίκην ἐτέρῳ ὑπείκει καὶ
ὑποπίπτει ταῖς ἀλγηδόσιν ὡς ἀφορήτοις δεσποί-
ναις ἀντιβλέψαι πρὸς αὐτὰς ἀδυνατῶν, ἄρρενας

* 201 ff. are reproduced in an expanded form in *De Cher.* 79 ff.

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

LXXI. And to the woman He said, " I will greatly multiply thy sorrows and thy groaning " (Gen. iii. 16). Woman, who is, as we have seen, Sense, is the subject of an experience peculiarly her own, namely grief, which is called " sorrow " ; for there is a quarter of our being in which gladness takes rise, and in that same quarter does grief also take rise : but it is through the senses that we feel gladness, so that of necessity we feel grief also through them. But the excellent and cleansed Mind grieves least, for the senses assail him least. But the foolish Mind experiences grief abundantly, having no antidote in the soul, with which to repel the deadly ills that come from the senses and their objects.^a The athlete and the slave take a beating in different ways, the one submissively giving in and yielding to the stripes, while the athlete opposes and withstands and shakes off the blows that are falling upon him. You crop a man in one way, a (sheep's) fleece in another. The sheep has the rôle of mere passivity, whereas, in the man's case, there is not only an active reciprocity, but his very submission is, so to speak, also reciprocal, as he adapts his position and posture to the process of being cropped. Just in the same way the man who does not reason yields to another as slaves do, and submits to sorrows as intolerable mistresses, and is powerless to look them in the face, not able to

καὶ ἔλευθέρους σπᾶν μὴ δυνάμενος λογισμούς, παρὸ δὴ καὶ πλῆθος ἄπειρον διὰ τῶν αἰσθήσεων αὐτῷ τῶν ὀδυνηρῶν ἐπαντλεῖται, ὁ δ' ἐπιστήμων ἀθλητοῦ τρόπον μετὰ δυνάμεως καὶ ῥώμης καρτερᾶς ἀντιβᾶς πρὸς τὰ ἀλγεινὰ πάντα ἀντιπνέι, ὥς μὴ τιτρώσκεσθαι πρὸς αὐτῶν, ἀλλ' ἐξαδιαφορεῖν ἕκαστον, καὶ μοι δοκεῖ νεανιευσάμενος ἂν ἐπιφωνῆσαι τὸ τραγικὸν πρὸς τὴν ἀλγηδόνα οὕτως·

<Πίμπρη>, κάταιθε σάρκας, ἐμπλήσθητί μου πίνουσα κελαινὸν αἷμα· πρόσθε γὰρ κάτω γῆς εἰσιν ἄστρα, γῇ δ' ἄνεις' ἐς αἰθέρα, πρὶν ἐξ ἐμοῦ σοι θῶπ' ἀπαντῆσαι λόγον.

203

LXXII. ὥσπερ δὲ τῇ αἰσθήσει τὰ ἀλγεινὰ πάντα παραυξήσας τέθεικεν ὁ θεός, οὕτω τῇ σπουδαίᾳ ψυχῇ πλῆθος ἄφθονον ἀγαθῶν δεδωρηται. φησὶ γοῦν ἐπὶ τοῦ τελείου Ἀβραάμ τὸν τρόπον τοῦτον· “κατ’ ἐμαντοῦ ὤμοσα, λέγει κύριος· οὐ εἵνεκα ἐποίησας τὸ ῥῆμα τοῦτο καὶ οὐκ ἐφείσω τοῦ υἱοῦ σου τοῦ ἀγαπητοῦ δι’ ἐμέ, ἦ μὴν εὐλογῶν εὐλογήσω σε, καὶ πληθύνων πληθυνῶ τὸ σπέρμα σου ὡς τοὺς ἀστέρας τοῦ οὐρανοῦ καὶ ὡς τὴν ἄμμον τὴν παρὰ τὸ χεῖλος τῆς θαλάσσης” (Gen. xxii. 16, 17). εἶ καὶ τὸ ὅρκῳ βεβαιῶσαι τὴν ὑπόσχεσιν καὶ ὅρκῳ θεοπρεπεῖ· ὅρῳ γὰρ ὅτι οὐ καθ’ ἑτέρου ὁμνύει θεός, οὐδὲν γὰρ αὐτοῦ κρείττον, ἀλλὰ καθ’ ἑαυτοῦ, ὅς ἐστι πάντων ἄριστος.

204

[128] Ἔφασαν δέ τινες, ὡς ἀνοίκειον ἦν ὁμνύναι· ὁ ὅρκος γὰρ πίστεως ἔνεκα παραλαμβάνεται, | πιστὸς δὲ μόνος ὁ θεὸς καὶ εἴ τις θεῷ φίλος, καθάπερ

^a A Fragment of Euripides.

^b By οὐ ἔνεκα LXX. means “because.” Philo ignores this un-Attic idiom. Cf. 209.

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

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

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

Some have said, that it was inappropriate for Him to swear ; for an oath is added to assist faith, and only God and one who is God's friend is faithful,

Μωυσῆς λέγεται, “ πιστὸς ἐν παντὶ τῷ οἴκῳ ”
γεγενῆσθαι (Num. xii. 7). ἄλλως τε καὶ οἱ λόγοι
τοῦ θεοῦ εἰσιν ὅρκοι καὶ νόμοι τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ
θεσμοὶ ἱεροπρεπέστατοι· τεκμήριον δὲ τῆς ἰσχυ-
ρότητος αὐτοῦ, ὃ ἂν εἴπη γίνεται, ὅπερ ἦν οἰκειό-
τατον ὅρκῳ· ὥστ’ ἀκόλουθον ἂν εἴη λέγειν, ὅτι
πάντες οἱ τοῦ θεοῦ λόγοι εἰσιν ὅρκοι βεβαι-
205 ούμενοι ἔργων ἀποτελέσμασι. LXXIII. φασί γε
μὴν ὅρκον εἶναι μαρτυρίαν θεοῦ περὶ πράγματος
ἀμφισβητουμένου· εἰ δὴ ὁμνυσιν ὁ θεός, ἑαυτῷ
μαρτυρεῖ, ὅπερ ἐστὶν ἄτοπον, ἕτερον γὰρ δεῖ
εἶναι τὸν ποιούμενον τὴν μαρτυρίαν καὶ τὸν ὑπὲρ
οὗ γίνεται. τί οὖν λεκτέον; πρῶτον μὲν ὥς οὐκ
ἔστιν ὑπαίτιον ἑαυτῷ μαρτυρεῖν τὸν θεόν· τίς γὰρ
ἂν ἄλλος γένοιτο ἱκανὸς αὐτῷ μαρτυρῆσαι; ἔπειτα
πάντ’ ἐστὶν αὐτὸς ἑαυτῷ τὰ τιμιώτατα, συγγενὴς
οἰκεῖος φίλος ἀρετὴ εὐδαιμονία μακαριότης ἐπι-
στήμη σύνεσις ἀρχὴ τέλος ὅλον πᾶν δικαστὴς
206 γνώμη βουλὴ νόμος πράξις ἡγεμονία. ἄλλως τε
ἂν τὸ “ κατ’ ἑμαυτοῦ ὥμοσα ” ὃν χρὴ τρόπον
ἐκδεξώμεθα, παυσόμεθα τῆς ἄγαν σοφιστείας.
μήποτ’ οὖν ἐστι τοιοῦτον· οὐδὲν τῶν δυναμένων
πιστοῦν δύναται παγίως περὶ θεοῦ πιστῶσαι,
οὐδενὶ γὰρ ἔδειξεν αὐτοῦ τὴν φύσιν, ἀλλ’ ἀόρατον
αὐτὴν παντὶ τῷ γένει παρεσκεύασε· τίς ἂν ἰσχύσαι
ἢ ὅτι ἀσώματον ἢ ὅτι σῶμα ἢ ὅτι ποιὸν ἢ ὅτι
ἄποιον τὸ αἷτιον εἰπεῖν ἢ συνόλως περὶ οὐσίας ἢ
ποιότητος ἢ σχέσεως ἢ κινήσεως αὐτοῦ βεβαίως
ἀποφύνασθαι; ἀλλὰ περὶ γε ἑαυτοῦ μόνος ἰσχυ-

* See App. p. 483.

even as Moses is said to have been found "faithful in all His house" (Numb. xii. 7). Moreover, the very words of God are oaths and laws of God and most sacred ordinances; and a proof of His sure strength is that whatever He saith cometh to pass, and this is specially characteristic of an oath. It would seem to be a corollary from this that all God's words are oaths receiving confirmation by accomplishment in act. LXXIII. They say indeed that an oath is a calling God to witness to a point which is disputed; so if it is God that swears, He bears witness to Himself, which is absurd, for he that bears the witness must needs be a different person from him on whose behalf it is borne. What then must we say? First that there is nothing amiss in God bearing witness to Himself. For who else would be capable of bearing witness to Him? Secondly He Himself is to Himself all that is most precious, kinsman, intimate, friend, virtue, happiness, blessedness, knowledge, understanding, beginning, end, whole, everything, judge, decision, counsel, law, process, sovereignty. Besides if we once take "by Myself have I sworn" in the right way, we shall quit this excessive quibbling. Probably then the truth of the matter is something like this. Nothing that can give assurance can give positive assurance touching God, for to none has He shown His nature, but He has rendered it invisible to our whole race. Who can assert of the First Cause either that It is without body or that It is a body, that It is of such a kind or that It is of no kind?^a In a word who can make any positive assertion concerning His essence or quality or state or movement? Nay He alone shall affirm anything regarding Himself since

ριεῖται, ἐπεὶ καὶ μόνος ἀψευδῶς τὴν ἑαυτοῦ φύσιν
 207 ἠκρίβωσε. βεβαιωτῆς οὖν ἰσχυρότατος ἑαυτοῦ τὸ
 πρῶτον, ἔπειτα καὶ τῶν ἔργων αὐτοῦ μόνος ὁ
 θεός, ὥστ' εἰκότως ὤμνυε καθ' ἑαυτοῦ πιστού-
 μενος ἑαυτόν, ὃ μὴ δυνατόν ἦν ἄλλῳ.

διὸ καὶ ἀσεβεῖς ἂν νομισθεῖεν οἱ φάσκοντες ὁμνύναι
 κατὰ θεοῦ· εἰκότως γὰρ οὐδεὶς ὁμνυσι κατ' αὐτοῦ,
 ὅτι γε οὐ περὶ τῆς φύσεως αὐτοῦ διαγινῶναι
 δύναται, ἀλλ' ἀγαπητόν, ἔαν <κατὰ> τοῦ ὀνόματος
 αὐτοῦ δυνηθῶμεν, ὅπερ ἦν τοῦ ἐρμηνέως λόγου·
 οὗτος γὰρ ἡμῶν τῶν ἀτελῶν ἂν εἴη θεός, τῶν δὲ
 208 σοφῶν καὶ τελείων ὁ πρῶτος. καὶ Μωυσῆς μέντοι
 τὴν ὑπερβολὴν θαυμάσας τοῦ ἀγενήτου φησὶν·
 “καὶ τῷ ὀνόματι αὐτοῦ ὁμῇ” (Deut. vi. 13),
 οὐχὶ αὐτῷ· ἱκανὸν γὰρ τῷ γεννητῷ πιστοῦσθαι καὶ
 μαρτυρεῖσθαι λόγῳ θείῳ· ὃ δὲ θεὸς αὐτοῦ πίστις
 [129] ἔστω καὶ μαρτυρία | βεβαιωτάτη.

209 LXXIV. Τὸ δὲ “οὐ εἵνεκα ἐποίησας τὸ ῥῆμα
 τοῦτο” (Gen. xxii. 16) σύμβολόν ἐστιν εὐσεβείας·
 τὸ γὰρ ἔνεκα θεοῦ μόνου πάντα πράττειν εὐσεβές.
 παρὸ καὶ ἀφειδοῦμεν τοῦ ἀγαπητοῦ τέκνου τῆς
 ἀρετῆς, τοῦ εὐδαιμονῆσαι, παραχωροῦντες αὐτὸ
 τῷ δημιουργῷ, ἄξιον τὸ γέννημα κρίνοντες κτῆμα
 θεοῦ νομίζεσθαι, ἀλλὰ μὴ γεννητοῦ τινος. εὖ δὲ
 210 τὸ φάναι “εὐλογῶν εὐλογήσω” (ib. 17)· πολλὰ
 γὰρ εὐλόγιστα δρῶσί τινες, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἐπ' εὐλογίαις,

He alone has unerringly exact knowledge of His own nature. God alone therefore is the strongest security first for Himself, and in the next place for His deeds also, so that He naturally swore by Himself when giving assurance as to Himself, a thing impossible for another than He.

It follows that men who say that they swear by God should be considered actually impious ; for naturally no one swears by Him, seeing that he is unable to possess knowledge regarding His nature. No, we may be content if we are able to swear by His Name, which means (as we have seen) the interpreting word. For this must be God for us the imperfect folk, but, as for the wise and perfect, the primal Being is their God. Moses too, let us observe, filled with wonder at the transcendancy of the Uncreate, says, " and thou shalt swear by His Name " (Deut. vi. 13), not " by Him," for it is enough for the created being that he should be accredited and have witness borne to him by the Divine word : but let God be His own most sure guarantee and evidence.

LXXIV. The words, " for Whose sake thou hast done this thing " (Gen. xxii. 16) are a token of piety ; for it is pious to do all things for the sake of God only. That is why we are unsparing of that only child of virtue, even the happiness we have attained, surrendering it to the Creator, deeming such offspring meet to be reckoned a possession of God, but not of any created being. Beautifully significant are the words, " blessing I will bless " (*ibid.* 17) ; for there are some people who do many things that are of the nature of benedictions, when their underlying character is not fraught with

ἐπεὶ καὶ ὁ φαῦλος ἔνια δρᾷ τῶν καθηκόντων οὐκ ἀφ' ἑξέως καθηκούσης, καὶ ὁ μεθύων μέντοι καὶ μεμηνώς ἔστιν ὅτε νηφάλια φθέγγεται τε καὶ ποιεῖ, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἀπὸ νηφούσης διανοίας, καὶ οἱ ἔτι κομιδῇ νήπιοι παῖδες οὐκ ἀπὸ λογικῆς ἑξέως — οὐπω γὰρ αὐτοὺς ἡ φύσις λογικοὺς πεπαιδευκε — πολλὰ πράττουσι καὶ λέγουσιν ὧν οἱ λογικοί. βούλεται δὲ ὁ νομοθέτης τὸν σοφὸν μὴ σχετικῶς καὶ εὐαλώτως καὶ ὥς ἂν ἐκ τύχης εὐλόγιστον δοκεῖν εἶναι, ἀλλ' ἀπὸ ἑξέως καὶ διαθέσεως εὐλόγιστου.

- 211 LXXV. Οὐκ ἐξήρκεσεν οὖν τῇ βαρυδαίμονι αἰσθήσει χρῆσθαι πλουσίως ταῖς λύπαις, ἀλλὰ καὶ “τῷ στεναγμῷ.” ἔστι δὲ στεναγμὸς σφοδρὰ καὶ ἐπιτεταμένη λύπη· πολλάκις γὰρ ἀλγοῦμεν οὐχὶ στένοντες· ὅταν δ' ἐπιστένωμεν, ἀνιαρῶς καὶ πάνυ ὀμβρηρῶς χρώμεθα ταῖς λύπαις. τὸ δὲ στένειν ἐστὶ διττόν· ἐν μὲν ὃ γίνεται περὶ τοὺς ἐπιθυμοῦντας καὶ ὀρεγομένους τῶν ἀδικιῶν καὶ μὴ τυγχάνοντας, ὃ δὴ καὶ φαῦλόν ἐστιν· ἕτερον δὲ ὃ γίνεται περὶ τοὺς μετανοοῦντας καὶ ἀχθομένους ἐπὶ τῇ πάλαι τροπῇ καὶ λέγοντας Κακοδαίμονες ἡμεῖς, ὅσον ἄρα χρόνον ἐλελήθειμεν νοσοῦντες ἀφροσύνης νόσον καὶ ἀνοίας καὶ ἀδικίας
- 212 ἐπιτηδευμάτων. τοῦτο δ' οὐ γίνεται, ἐὰν μὴ τελευτήσῃ καὶ ἀποθάνῃ ἐκ τῆς ψυχῆς ὁ βασιλεὺς

^a οὐκ ἐπ' εὐλογίας. Cf. *De Vita Mosis*, i. 283, 2 Cor. ix. 6. In all three places the preposition probably marks the ground or motive. This is made clear here by ἀπό ('from') taking the place of ἐπὶ in each of the examples which follow. God meant blessing not cursing when He suffered Balaam to go to Balak. The giver in 2 Corinthians gives out of an overflowing heart. Those here in view might seem, if

blessing.^a Why, even the bad man does some things that it is his duty to do without acting from a dutiful character.^b Yes, and the drunken man and the madman now and then utter sober words and do sober deeds, but not from a sober mind ; and those who are still quite young children not from a fixedly rational state (for nature has not yet trained them to be rational), do and say many things that rational men do and say. But the lawgiver wishes the wise man to be accounted a man of benediction not as the outcome of a passing mood, or of being easily led by others, or as though by chance, but as the result of a fixed state and disposition charged with benediction.

LXXV. To return to our text. It was not enough for ill-starred sense to experience sorrows in large measure, it must indulge in "groaning" also. Groaning is intense and excessive sorrow. For we often grieve without groaning ; but when we groan over them, we let our sorrows bring on us a very storm of trouble and distress. Now groaning is of two kinds. One kind is found in men who desire and long for opportunities of wrongdoing and cannot get them, and this a bad kind. Another kind is that which is seen in those who repent and are vexed over their defection in former days and cry "Hapless we, how long a time had we, as is now evident, been ill all unaware of it with the illness of folly and senselessness and unrighteousness in our conduct." But this does not come about unless the king of Egypt, the godless and pleasure-loving

judged by isolated acts, to be *drawing upon a rich store of blessings*, but are not really doing so.

^b See App. pp. 483, 484.

- τῆς Αἰγύπτου, ὁ ἄθεος καὶ φιλήδονος τρόπος· “μετὰ γὰρ τὰς ἡμέρας τὰς πολλὰς ἐκείνας ἐτελεύτησεν ὁ βασιλεὺς τῆς Αἰγύπτου”· εἴτ’ εὐθὺς ἀποθανούσης κακίας στενάζει ὁ ὄρων τὸν θεὸν [καὶ] τὴν ἑαυτοῦ τροπὴν, “κατεστέναξαν γὰρ οἱ υἱοὶ Ἰσραὴλ ἀπὸ τῶν σωματικῶν καὶ Αἰγυπτιακῶν ἔργων” (Exod. ii. 23)· ἐπεὶ ζῶν γε ὁ βασιλεὺς καὶ φιλήδονος τρόπος ἐν ἡμῖν γεγεθέναι τὴν ψυχὴν ἀναπείθει ἐφ’ οἷς ἀμαρτάνει, ὅταν δὲ
- 213 τελευτήσῃ, στένει. διὸ καὶ ἐκβοᾷ πρὸς τὸν δεσπότην ἱκετεύουσα, μηκέτι τραπῆναι μηδὲ ἀτελῇ τὴν τελείωσιν λαβεῖν· πολλαῖς γὰρ ψυχαῖς μετανοία χρῆσθαι βουλευθείσαις οὐκ ἐπέτρεψεν ὁ θεός, ἀλλ’ ὥσπερ ὑπὸ παλιρροίας εἰς τοῦμπαλιν ἀνεχώρησαν
- [180] τρόπον τινὰ τῆς Λῶτ | γυναικὸς (Gen. xix. 26) τῆς λιθουμένης διὰ τὸ Σοδόμων ἐρᾶν καὶ εἰς τὰς κατεστραμμένας ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ φύσεις ἀνατρέχειν.
- 214 LXXVI. Ἀλλὰ νυνὶ γέ φησιν ὅτι “ἀνέβη ἡ βοή αὐτῶν πρὸς τὸν θεόν” (Exod. ii. 23), μαρτυρῶν τῇ τοῦ ὄντος χάριτι· εἰ γὰρ μὴ δυνατῶς πρὸς ἑαυτὸν ἐκάλεσε τὸν ἰκέτην λόγον, οὐκ ἂν ἀνέβη, τουτέστιν οὐκ ἂν ἀνεβιβάσθη καὶ ἠυξήθη καὶ μετewρεῖν ἤρξατο φυγῶν τὴν ταπεινότητα τῶν γηγίνων. διὸ καὶ ἐν τοῖς ἐξῆς φησιν· “ἰδοὺ κραυγὴ τῶν υἱῶν Ἰσραὴλ ἦκει πρὸς μέ” (Exod.
- 215 iii. 9). πάννυ καλῶς τὸ φθάσαι μέχρι θεοῦ τὴν ἰκεσίαν· οὐκ ἂν δὲ ἔφθασεν, εἰ μὴ ὁ καλῶν χρηστὸς ᾖν. ἐνίαις δὲ ψυχαῖς προαπαντᾷ· “ἦξω πρὸς σέ καὶ εὐλογήσω σε” (Exod. xx. 24). ὁρᾷς ὅση τοῦ αἰτίου ἡ χάρις φθάνοντος τὴν ἡμετέραν μέλ-

disposition, shall have met his end and died out of the soul : " for after those many days the king of Egypt died." Then straightway when wickedness has died, he that seeth God groans over his own failure, " for the children of Israel groaned by reason of their material and Egyptian works " (Exod. ii. 23). For while the king and pleasure-loving temper is alive in us it induces the soul to rejoice over the sins it is committing, but when he has died, it groans. And thus it is that it cries out to the Master beseeching that it may turn no more nor receive its consummation imperfectly. For many souls have desired to repent and not been permitted by God to do so, but have gone away backward as though drawn by a change of current. This befell Lot's wife, who became stone owing to her being enamoured of Sodom and reverting to the characters that had been overthrown by God.

LXXVI. Now, however, he says " their cry ascended to God " (Exod. ii. 23), bearing witness by so saying to the grace of the existent One ; for had He not powerfully called to Himself the suppliant word, it would not have ascended, that is, it would not have been caused to mount, and have grown in volume and begun to soar on high after escaping from the baseness of the things of the earth. Wherefore in the sequel He says, " Behold, the cry of the children of Israel hath come to Me " (Exod. iii. 9). Very beautiful is it that the entreaty reached as far as God : but it would not have reached so far, but for the kindness of Him that called. Some souls He anticipates and goes forth to meet : " I will come to thee and will bless thee " (Exod. xx. 24). Thou seest how great is the grace of the First Cause, as He is

- λησιν καὶ προαπαντῶντος εἰς εὐεργεσίαν παντελῇ τῆς ψυχῆς. καὶ χρησμός ἐστι δογματικὸς τὸ λεγόμενον· ἐὰν γὰρ ἔλθῃ εἰς τὴν διάνοιαν ἔννοια θεοῦ, εὐθὺς εὐλογιστεῖ τε καὶ πάσας τὰς νόσους αὐτῆς ἰᾶται. ἡ δὲ γε αἴσθησις αἰεὶ λυπεῖται καὶ στένει καὶ τίκτει μετ' ὀδύνης καὶ ἀλγηδόνων ἀνηκέστων τὸ αἰσθάνεσθαι, ὡς καὶ αὐτὸς φησιν· “ ἐν λύπαις τέξῃ τέκνα ” (Gen. iii. 16)· τίκτει δὲ ἡ μὲν ὄρασις τὸ ὁρᾶν, ἡ δὲ ἀκοή τὸ ἀκούειν, ἡ δὲ γεῦσις τὸ γεύεσθαι, καὶ συνόλως ἡ αἴσθησις τὸ αἰσθάνεσθαι· ἀλλ' οὐκ ἄνευ χαλεπῆς ἀνίας τῷ ἄφρονι ἕκαστον τούτων ποιεῖται, ἐπιλύπως γὰρ οὗτος καὶ ὁρᾷ καὶ ἀκούει καὶ γεύεται καὶ ὀσφραίνεται καὶ κοινῶς αἰσθάνεται.
- 217 LXXVII. “ Ἐμπαλιν δὲ τὴν ἀρετὴν εὐρήσεις μετὰ χαρᾶς ὑπερβαλλούσης [καὶ] κυοφοροῦσαν καὶ τὸν σπουδαῖον σὺν γέλῳ καὶ εὐθυμίᾳ γεννῶντα καὶ τὸ γέννημα ἀμφοῖν αὐτὸ γέλῳτ' ὄν. ὡς μὲν οὖν ὁ σοφὸς χαίρων ἀλλ' οὐ λυπούμενος γεννᾷ, μαρτυρήσει λέγων οὕτως ὁ θεῖος λόγος· “ εἶπεν ὁ θεὸς τῷ Ἀβραάμ· Σάρα ἡ γυνὴ σου οὐ κληθήσεται Σάρα, ἀλλὰ Σάρρα αὐτῆς ἔσται τὸ ὄνομα· εὐλογήσω αὐτὴν καὶ δώσω σοι ἐξ αὐτῆς τέκνον ” (Gen. xvii. 15, 16)· εἰτ' ἐπιλέγει· “ καὶ ἔπεσεν Ἀβραάμ ἐπὶ πρόσωπον καὶ ἐγέλασε καὶ εἶπεν Εἰ τῷ ἑκατονταετεί γενήσεται, καὶ ἡ Σάρρα
- 218 ἐνενήκοντα ἑτῶν οὕσα τέξεται; ” (ib. 17) οὗτος μὲν δὴ φαίνεται γεγηθὼς καὶ γελῶν, ὅτι μέλλει γεννᾶν τὸ εὐδαιμονεῖν, τὸν Ἰσαάκ· γελᾷ δὲ καὶ ἡ ἀρετὴ Σάρρα, μαρτυρήσει δὲ ὁ αὐτὸς λέγων ὧδε· “ ἐξέλιπε Σάρρα γίνεσθαι τὰ γυναικεῖα, καὶ ἐγέλασε τῇ διανοίᾳ καὶ εἶπεν Οὐπω μοι γέγονε τὸ εὐ-

beforehand with our hesitation, and anticipates and meets us, bringing unlimited gain to the soul. And what is said is a divine intimation full of instruction. For if a thought of God come into the mind, He forthwith blesses it and heals all its sicknesses. Sense, however, is always sorrowing and groaning, and with pangs and incurable pain bringing forth perception, as God Himself says, "In sorrow shalt thou bring forth children" (Gen. iii. 16); sight brings forth seeing, the ear hearing, taste tasting, in a word sense perceiving: but not without sore distress to the foolish one does she do each of these things, for to such an one pain is caused as he sees and hears and tastes and smells and generally exercises any sense.

LXXVII. On the other hand, you will find virtue full of exceeding joy at her pregnancy, and the good man begetting with laughter and a glad heart, and the offspring of them both laughter itself. That the wise man begets with joy not sorrow, the Divine word shall testify in these words, "God said to Abraham, Sarai thy wife shall not be called Sarai, but Sarah shall be her name: I will bless her and will give thee a child of her" (Gen. xvii. 15 f.); then he says further, "And Abraham fell on his face and laughed and said, Shall he that is a hundred years old have a son, and shall Sarah who is ninety years old bear?" (*ibid.* 17). Abraham evidently rejoices and laughs, because he is to beget Isaac (who is), Happiness; and Sarah, who is Virtue, laughs also.^a The same book shall witness to this when it says, "It ceased to be with Sarah after the manner of women, and she laughed in her mind and said, Not

^a See App. p. 484.

- δαιμονεῖν ἕως τοῦ νῦν· ὁ δὲ κύριός μου” θεῖος λόγος “πρεσβύτερός ἐστιν” (Gen. xviii. 11, 12), ὧ προσεῖναι τοῦτο ἀνάγκη καὶ πιστεῦειν καλὸν ὑπισχνουμένῳ. καὶ τὸ γέννημα δ’ ἐστὶ γέλως καὶ χαρά· τοῦτο γὰρ καὶ Ἰσαὰκ ἐρμηνεύεται. |
- [131] λυπεῖσθω τοιγαροῦν αἰσθησις, ἀρετὴ δ’ αἰεὶ χαι-
 219 ρέτω· καὶ γὰρ γεννηθέντος τοῦ εὐδαιμονεῖν φησι σεμννομένη· “γέλωτα ἐποίησέ μοι ὁ κύριος· ὃς γὰρ ἂν ἀκούσῃ, συγχαρεῖταί μοι” (Gen. xxi. 6). ἀναπετάσαντες οὖν ὦτα, ὧ μύσται, παραδέξασθε τελετὰς ἱερωτάτας· ὁ γέλως ἐστὶν ἡ χαρά, τὸ δὲ “ἐποίησεν” ἴσον τῷ ἐγέννησεν, ὥστ’ εἶναι τὸ λεγόμενον τοιοῦτον· Ἰσαὰκ ἐγέννησεν ὁ κύριος· αὐτὸς γὰρ πατὴρ ἐστὶ τῆς τελείας φύσεως, σπείρων ἐν ταῖς ψυχαῖς καὶ γεννῶν τὸ εὐδαιμονεῖν.
- 220 LXXVIII. “Καὶ πρὸς τὸν ἄνδρα σου” φησὶν “ἡ ἀποστροφή σου” (Gen. iii. 16). δύο αἰσθήσεως ἄνδρες εἰσὶν, ὁ μὲν νόμιμος, ὁ δὲ φθορεὺς· ἄνδρὸς μὲν γὰρ <φθορέως> τρόπον τὸ μὲν ὁρατὸν κινεῖ τὴν ὄρασιν, ἡ δὲ φωνὴ τὴν ἀκοήν, ὁ δὲ χυλὸς τὴν γεῦσιν, καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἕκαστον· ταῦτα δ’ ἀποστρέφει καὶ καλεῖ τὴν ἄλογον αἴσθησιν πρὸς ἑαυτὰ καὶ κατακρατεῖ καὶ κυριεύει· τό τε γὰρ κάλλος τὴν ὄρασιν ἐδουλώσατο ὃ τε ἡδὺς χυλὸς τὴν γεῦσιν καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἕκαστον αἰσθητῶν τὴν
- 221 κατ’ αὐτὸ αἰσθησιν· ἴδε γέ τοι τὸν λίχνον, ὡς δουλεύει ταῖς παρασκευαῖς τῶν ὅσα ὀψαρτυταὶ καὶ σιτοπόνοι τεχνιτεύουσι, καὶ τὸν σεσοβημένον περὶ μέλος, πῶς ἐπικρατεῖται ὑπὸ κιθάρας ἢ αὐλοῦ ἢ καὶ ἄδειν ἐπισταμένου. τῇ δέ γε πρὸς τὸν νόμιμον ἄνδρα, τὸν νοῦν, ἀποστραφείσῃ μεγίστη ἐστὶν ὠφέλεια αἰσθήσει.

yet hath happiness befallen me till now but my Lord (the divine Word) is greater ^a (Gen. xviii. 11 f.), to whom this ^b must needs belong and whom I must believe when he promises good." Moreover, the offspring is laughter and joy, for that is what "Isaac" means. Let sense-perception therefore be sorrowful, but let virtue always rejoice: for again when Happiness has been born she says with pride "the Lord hath made laughter for me; for whosoever shall hear of it will rejoice with me" (Gen. xxi. 6). Therefore, O ye initiate, open your ears wide and take in holiest teachings. The "laughter" is joy, and "made" is equivalent to "beget," so that what is said is of this kind, the Lord begat Isaac; for He is Himself Father of the perfect nature, sowing and begetting happiness in men's souls.

LXXVIII. "And to thy husband," He says, "shall be thy resort" (Gen. iii. 16). Sense has two husbands, the one lawful, the other a seducer. After the fashion of a seducing husband the thing seen acts on the sight, the sound on the hearing, the flavour on the palate, and so with the rest one by one. And these turn away and invite to themselves the irrational sense and get the mastery of it and domineer over it. Beauty enslaves the sight, the pleasant savour the palate, and the several objects of sense enslave the sense corresponding to them. Look at that glutton, what a slave he is to the dishes prepared by the skill of cooks and confectioners. Mark that one wild with excitement over music, how he is swayed and held spellbound by harp or flute or it may be by a good singer. But to sense that has been turned from all else to Mind, her lawful husband, vast benefit befalls.

^a Literally, "elder."

^b i.e., happiness.

- 222 LXXIX. "Ἰδωμεν οὖν ἐξῆς, τίνα καὶ περὶ αὐτοῦ τοῦ νοῦ διεξέρχεται παρὰ τὸν ὀρθὸν λόγον κινουμένου. "τῷ δὲ Ἀδὰμ εἶπεν ὁ θεός "Οτι ἤκουσας τῆς φωνῆς τῆς γυναικός σου καὶ ἔφαγες ἀπὸ τοῦ ξύλου, οὐ ἐνετειλάμην σοι μὴ φαγεῖν, ἀπ' αὐτοῦ ἔφαγες, ἐπικατάρατος ἡ γῆ ἐν τοῖς ἔργοις σου" (Gen. iii. 17). ἀλυσιτελέστατόν ἐστιν ἀκούειν αἰσθήσεως νοῦν, ἀλλὰ μὴ αἰσθησιν νοῦ· αἰεὶ γὰρ τὸ κρεῖττον ἄρχειν, τὸ δὲ χεῖρον ἄρχεσθαι δεῖ.
- 223 νοῦς δὲ κρεῖττον αἰσθήσεως. ὥσπερ οὖν ἄρχοντος μὲν ἡνίοχου καὶ ταῖς ἡνίαις τὰ ζῶα ἄγοντος ἡ βούλεται ἄγεται τὸ ἄρμα, ἀφηνιασάντων δὲ ἐκεῖνων καὶ κρατησάντων ὃ τε ἡνίοχος κατεσύρη πολλάκις τὰ τε ζῶα ἔστιν ὅτε τῇ ῥύμῃ τῆς φορᾶς εἰς βόθρον κατηνέχθη πλημμελῶς τε πάντα φέρεται, καὶ ναῦς εὐθυδρομεῖ μὲν, ἡνίκα τῶν οἰάκων λαβόμενος ὁ κυβερνήτης ἀκολουθῶς πηδαλιουχεῖ, περιτρέπεται δ' ὅτε πνεύματος ἐναντίου περιπνεύσαντος τῇ
- 224 θαλάττῃ ὁ κλύδων ἐνώκησεν, οὕτως ἐπειδὰν μὲν
 132] ὁ τῆς ψυχῆς ἡνίοχος ἢ κυβερνήτης | ὁ νοῦς ἄρχῃ τοῦ ζώου ὅλου καθάπερ ἡγεμὼν πόλεως, εὐθύνεται ὁ βίος, ὅταν δὲ ἡ ἄλογος αἰσθησις φέρεται τὰ πρωτεῖα, σύγχυσις καταλαμβάνει δεινὴ, οἷα δούλων δεσπόταις ἐπιτεθειμένων· τότε γάρ, εἰ δεῖ τὰ ληθῆς εἰπεῖν, ἐμπίπραται φλεγόμενος ὁ νοῦς, τῶν αἰσθήσεων τὴν φλόγα ἐγειρουσῶν τὰ αἰσθητὰ ὑποβεβλημένων. LXXX. καὶ Μωυσῆς μέντοι δηλοῖ περὶ τῆς τοιαύτης ἐμπρήσεως, ἣ γίνεται διὰ τῶν
- 225 αἰσθήσεων, τοῦ νοῦ, ὅταν λέγῃ· "καὶ αἱ γυναῖκες ἔτι προσεξέκαυσαν πῦρ ἐν Μωάβ"—ἐρμηνεύεται γὰρ

* Heb. "for thy sake."

LXXIX. Let us observe in the next place how he discourses respecting Mind itself when acted upon in violation of the right principle. "To Adam God said, 'Because thou hast listened to the voice of thy wife, and hast eaten of the tree, of which I commanded thee not to eat [of it thou hast eaten], cursed is the ground in respect of thy labours ^a,'" (Gen. iii. 17). Most profitless is it that Mind should listen to Sense-perception, and not Sense-perception to Mind: for it is always right that the superior should rule and the inferior be ruled; and Mind is superior to Sense-perception. When the charioteer is in command and guides the horses with the reins, the chariot goes the way he wishes, but if the horses have become unruly and got the upper hand, it has often happened that the charioteer has been dragged down and that the horses have been precipitated into a ditch by the violence of their motion, and that there is a general disaster. A ship, again, keeps to her straight course, when the helmsman grasping the tiller steers accordingly, but capsizes when a contrary wind has sprung up over the sea, and the surge has settled in it. Just so, when Mind, the charioteer or helmsman of the soul, rules the whole living being as a governor does a city, the life holds a straight course, but when irrational sense gains the chief place, a terrible confusion overtakes it, just as when slaves have risen against masters: for then, in very deed, the mind is set on fire and is all ablaze, and that fire is kindled by the objects of sense which Sense-perception supplies. LXXX. Moses, moreover, gives intimations of such a conflagration of the mind as this, occasioned by the senses, when he says: "And the women kindled yet further a fire in Moab."

“ ἐκ πατρός,” ὁ τε πατήρ ἡμῶν ὁ νοῦς ἐστι—
 “ τότε ” γάρ φησιν “ ἐροῦσιν οἱ αἰνιγματισταί
 Ἐλθετε εἰς Ἑσεβών, ἵνα οἰκοδομηθῇ καὶ κατα-
 σκευασθῇ πόλις Σηών. ὅτι πῦρ ἐξῆλθεν ἐξ Ἑσε-
 βών, φλόξ ἐκ πόλεως Σηών, καὶ κατέφαγεν ἕως
 Μωάβ καὶ κατέπιε στήλας Ἀρνών. οὐαί σοι,
 Μωάβ· ἀπώλου, λαὸς Χαμῶς. ἀπεδόθησαν <οἱ>
 υἱοὶ αὐτῶν σφάζεσθαι, καὶ αἱ θυγατέρες αὐτῶν
 αἰχμάλωτοι τῷ βασιλεῖ Ἀμορραίων Σηών, καὶ τὸ
 σπέρμα αὐτῶν ἀπολείται Ἑσεβών ἕως Δεβών,
 καὶ <αἱ> γυναῖκες ἔτι προσεξέκαυσαν πῦρ ἐπὶ
 226 Μωάβ ” (Num. xxi. 27-30). Ἑσεβών ἐρμηνεύε-
 ται λογισμοί· οὗτοι δ’ εἰσὶν αἰνίγματα ἀσα-
 φείας γέμοντα. ἴδε λογισμὸν ἱατροῦ· κενώσω τὸν
 κάμνοντα, θρέψω, φαρμάκοις ἰάσομαι <καὶ> διαίτη,
 τεμῶ, καύσω· ἀλλὰ πολλάκις ἢ φύσις καὶ ἄνευ
 τούτων ἰάσατο καὶ μετὰ τούτων ἀπώλεσεν, ὥς
 τοὺς ἱατροῦ πάντας ἐπιλογισμοὺς ἐνύπνια εὗρε-
 θῆναι ἀσαφείας καὶ αἰνιγμάτων πλήρη. πάλιν ὁ
 227 γεωπόνος φησί· σπέρματα βαλοῦμαι, φυτεύσω,
 αὐξήσει τὰ φυτά, καρποὺς ταῦτα οἴσει, οἳ οὐ
 μόνον εἰς ἀπόλαυσιν ἔσονται χρήσιμοι τὴν ἀναγ-
 καίαν, ἀλλὰ καὶ πρὸς περιουσίαν ἀρκέσουσιν· εἴτ’
 ἐξαίφνης φλόξ ἢ ζάλη ἢ ἐπομβρίαί συνεχεῖς
 διέφθειραν πάντα· ἔστι δ’ ὅτε τὰ μὲν ἐτελεσιουργή-
 θη, ὁ δὲ ταῦτα λογισάμενος οὐκ ὦνατο, ἀλλὰ
 προαπέθανε καὶ ἐπὶ τοῖς τῶν πονηθέντων καρποῖς
 μάτην ἀπόλαυσιν ἐμαντεύσατο.

For "Moab" means "out of a father," and our father is the Mind. His words are, "Then shall they that propound riddles say, Come to Heshbon that it may be built, and that the city of Sihon may be constructed. For a fire hath gone forth from Heshbon and a flame from the city of Sihon, and it devoured as far as Moab and drank up the boundaries of Arnon. Woe to thee, Moab, thou art undone, O people of Chemosh. Their sons were given up as fugitives,^a and their daughters as prisoners of war to Sihon, king of the Amorites, and their seed shall perish, Heshbon unto Dibon, and their women yet further kindled a fire against Moab" (Numb. xxi. 27-30). "Heshbon" means "reasonings": and "reasonings" are riddles full of obscurity. Look at a doctor's reasonings: "I will purge the patient, I will feed him up, I will prescribe medicines and put him on a diet that will make him well, I will operate, I will cauterize." But many a time has nature either brought recovery without these means being used, or brought death when these have been resorted to, proving all the doctor's calculations to be vain dreams, nothing but guesswork in the dark. Again, the farmer says, "I will sow, I will plant, the plants will grow, seeds and plants will yield crops, not only useful as affording food that we cannot do without, but so abundant as to give us enough and to spare." Then all of a sudden a fire, or a storm, or persistent rain spoils everything. Sometimes all that he had reckoned on comes to pass, but the reckoner dies first without having had the benefits of them, and his expectation of enjoying the fruits of his toil proves a vain one.

^a Literally, "to save themselves" (by flight).

- 228 LXXXI. "Αριστον οὖν τῷ θεῷ πεπιστευκέναι καὶ μὴ τοῖς ἀσαφέσι λογισμοῖς καὶ ταῖς ἀβεβαίοις εἰκασίαις· "Ἀβραάμ γέ τοι ἐπίστευσε τῷ θεῷ, καὶ δίκαιος ἐνομήσθη" (Gen. xv. 6)· καὶ Μωυσῆς ἄρχει μαρτυρούμενος ὅτι ἐστὶ "πιστὸς ἐν ὅλῳ τῷ οἴκῳ" (Num. xii. 7). ἐὰν δὲ ἀποπιστεύσωμεν τοῖς ἰδίῳις λογισμοῖς, κατασκευάσομεν καὶ οἰκοδομήσομεν τὴν πόλιν τοῦ διαφθείροντος τὴν ἀλήθειαν νοῦ· Σηὼν γὰρ ἐρμηνεύεται διαφθείρων.
- 229 παρὸ καὶ ἀναστάς, παρ' ᾧ ἦν ἐνύπνια, εὗρεν, ὅτι
 [133] αἱ κινήσεις | ἅπασαι καὶ αἱ διατάσεις τοῦ ἄφρονός εἰσιν ἐνύπνια ἀληθείας ἀμέτοχα—αὐτὸς γὰρ ὁ νοῦς ἐνύπνιον εὐρέθη—, ὅτι ἀληθές μὲν ἐστὶ δόγμα τὸ πιστεύειν θεῷ, ψεῦδος δὲ τὸ πιστεύειν τοῖς κενοῖς λογισμοῖς. ἄλογος δὲ ὁρμὴ ἐξέρχεται καὶ φοιτᾷ ἀφ' ἐκατέρων τῶν τε λογισμῶν καὶ τοῦ νοῦ τοῦ διαφθείροντος τὴν ἀλήθειαν· διὸ καὶ φησιν, ὅτι "πῦρ ἐξῆλθεν ἐξ Ἑσεβῶν, φλόξ ἐκ πόλεως Σηὼν" (Num. xxi. 28)· οὕτως γὰρ ἄλογον τὸ πιστεύειν ἢ λογισμοῖς πιθανοῖς ἢ νῷ διαφθείροντι
- 230 τὸ ἀληθές. LXXXII. "κατεσθίει γέ τοι καὶ ἕως Μωάβ," τουτέστιν ἕως τοῦ νοῦ· τίνα γὰρ ἄλλον ἢ τὸν ἄθλιον νοῦν ἢ ψευδῆς δόξα ἀπατᾷ; κατεσθίει καὶ βιβρώσκει καὶ μέντοι καὶ καταπίνει τὰς ἐν αὐτῷ στήλας, τουτέστι τὰ κατὰ μέρος ἐνθυμήματα, ἃ καθάπερ ἐν στήλῃ τετύπωται καὶ ἐγκεχάρακται. Ἀρνῶν δ' εἰσὶν αἱ στήλαι, ὅπερ ἐρμηνεύεται "φῶς αὐτῶν," ἐπεὶ τῶν πραγμάτων
- 231 ἕκαστον ἐν λογισμῷ σαφηνίζεται. ἄρχεται μὲν οὖν θρηνεῖν τὸν αὐθάδη καὶ φίλαντον νοῦν οὕτως· "οὐαὶ σοι, Μωάβ, ἀπώλου"· εἰ γὰρ αἰνίγμασι προσέχεις τοῖς κατὰ τὴν τῶν εἰκότων ἐπιβολήν,

LXXXI. So then it is best to trust God and not our dim reasonings and insecure conjectures: "Abraham believed God and was held to be righteous" (Gen. xv. 6); and the precedence which Moses takes is testified to by the words he is "faithful^a in all My house" (Numb. xii. 7). But if we repose our trust in our own reasonings, we shall construct and build up the city of Mind that corrupts the truth: for "Sihon" means "corrupting." Accordingly the dreamer finds on rising up that all the movements and exertions of the foolish man are dreams void of reality. Yea Mind itself turned out to be a dream. And this is so, because to trust God is a true teaching, but to trust our vain reasonings is a lie. An irrational impulse issues forth and goes its rounds, both from our reasonings and from Mind that corrupts the truth; wherefore also he says, "There went forth a fire from Heshbon, a flame from the city of Sihon" (Numb. xxi. 28). In this way trust in plausible reasonings or in Mind corrupting that which is true, is irrational. LXXXII. "It devours even as far as Moab," that is to say as far as Mind. For whom else does false opinion deceive but wretched Mind? It devours and eats up yea and swallows down the boundary-stones in it, that is, each particular thought or judgement, which are graved and chiselled as though upon a boundary-stone. The stones are Arnon, which means "their light," since it is in reasoning that each matter is elucidated. This is how he begins the dirge over the headstrong and selfish Mind: "Woe to thee, Moab: thou art undone"; for if thou heedest guesses made according to what is probable, thou

^a Philo takes πιστός actively, "believing."

ἀπολώλεκας ἀλήθειαν. “λαὸς Χαμῶς” τουτέστιν ὁ λαὸς σου καὶ ἡ δύναμις εὐρηται πηρὸς καὶ τετυφλωμένος· Χαμῶς γὰρ ἐρμηνεύεται “ὡς ψηλά-φημα”· ἴδιον δὲ τοῦ μὴ ὁρῶντος τὸ ἔργον τοῦτο.

232 τούτοις οἱ μὲν υἱοὶ <οἱ> κατὰ μέρος λογισμοὶ φυγάδες, αἱ δὲ γινώμαι θυγατέρων ἔχουσαι δύναμιν αἰχμάλωτοι τῷ βασιλεῖ τῶν Ἀμορραίων, τουτέστι τῷ σοφιστῇ λαλούντων· οἱ γὰρ Ἀμορραῖοι ἐρμηνεύονται λαλῶντες, τοῦ γεγωνότος λόγου σύμβολον ὄντες· ὁ δὲ τούτων ἡγεμὼν ὁ σοφιστής ἐστι καὶ δεινὸς λόγων ἀνερευνᾶν τέχνας, ὑφ’ οὗ κατασοφίζονται οἱ τὸν ὄρον τῆς ἀληθείας ὑπερ-
233 βαίνοντες. LXXXIII. Σηὼν οὖν ὁ διαφθείρων τὸν ὑγιή κανόνα τῆς ἀληθείας καὶ τὸ σπέρμα αὐτοῦ ἀπολείται καὶ Ἑσεβῶν τὰ αἰνίγματα τὰ σοφιστικά ἕως Δεβῶν, ὃ καλεῖται δικασμός· πάνυ προσφυῶς· τὰ γὰρ εἰκότα καὶ πιθανὰ οὐκ ἔχει περὶ ἀληθείας ἐπιστήμην, ἀλλὰ δίκην καὶ ἀμφισβήτησιν καὶ ἐριστικὴν ἄμιλλαν καὶ φιλονεικίαν καὶ πάντα τὰ τοιαῦτα.

234 Ἄλλ’ οὐκ ἐξήρκεσε τῷ νῷ τὰς ἰδίας καὶ νοητὰς ἔχειν κῆρας, ἀλλ’ ἔτι καὶ αἱ γυναῖκες προσεξέ-
[134] | ἔκαυσαν πῦρ, αἱ αἰσθήσεις, πυρκαϊὰν πολλὴν ἐπ’ αὐτόν. Ἴδε μέντοι τὸ λεγόμενον οἷόν ἐστι. πολ-
λάκις νύκτωρ οὐδεμιᾷ τῶν αἰσθήσεων ἐνεργοῦντες ἀτόπους περὶ πολλῶν καὶ διαφερόντων λαμβάνομεν
[134] | ἐννοίας, τῆς ψυχῆς ἀεικινήτου ὑπαρχούσης καὶ μυρίας τροπὰς ἐνδεχομένης. ἦν οὖν ἱκανὰ πρὸς

hast lost truth. "The people of Chemosh," that is thy people and its power has been found to be maimed and blinded; for "Chemosh" means "as a groping," and groping is characteristic of one who cannot see. These find their sons, each particular reasoning, fugitives, while their judgements, corresponding to daughters, are captives of war to the king of the Amorites, that is "the lecturer of men fond of talking"; for the Amorites, if we translate the name, are "men fond of talking," being a figure of the uttered word, and the prince of these is the lecturer or sophist clever at searching after verbal artifices, and those who transgress the boundary of truth place themselves at the mercy of his quibbling. LXXXIII. Sihon, therefore, the corrupter of the healthy rule of the truth, "and his seed shall perish together with Heshbon" (that is) the quibbling riddles "as far as Dihon," a name given to going to law, and quite appropriately, for probabilities and plausible arguments involve no knowledge concerning truth, but trial and disputation and wrangling conflict and contentiousness and everything of that sort.

It was not, however, enough for Mind to have the troubles that are peculiar to it and belong to its own sphere, but over and above these the women, the senses, that is, lit a fire, a huge conflagration, to add to its disasters. Prythee see what I mean by this. It often happens in the night when we are actively employing no single one of our senses, that we entertain strange notions on many different subjects, for the soul is perpetually in movement and can turn ten thousand different ways. This being so, what it produces by itself would have been

- διαφθοράν αὐτῇ, ὅσα αὐτὴ ἐξ ἑαυτῆς ἐγέννησε.
 235 νυνὶ δὲ καὶ ὁ τῶν αἰσθήσεων ὄχλος ἐπεισωδίασεν
 αὐτῇ κηρῶν ἀμήχανον πλήθος, τοῦτο μὲν ἐκ τῶν
 ὁρατῶν, τοῦτο δὲ ἐκ τῶν φωνῶν, εἴτα χυλῶν
 <καὶ> ἀτμῶν τῶν κατὰ τὴν ὁσμήν· καὶ σχεδὸν ἡ
 ἀπ' αὐτῶν φλόξ χαλεπώτερον τὴν ψυχὴν διατίθησι
 τῆς ἐγγινομένης ὑπ' αὐτῆς τῆς ψυχῆς ἄνευ συμ-
 παραλήψεως αἰσθητηρίων.
- 236 LXXXIV. Τούτων μία τῶν γυναικῶν ἐστὶν ἡ
 Πεντεφρῆ τοῦ Φαραὼ ἀρχιμαγείρου (Gen. xxxix.
 1 ff.). ὃς πῶς ἔχει γυναῖκα εὐνοῦχος ὢν, ἐπι-
 σκεπτέον· τοῖς γὰρ τὰ ῥήματα τοῦ νόμου πραγ-
 ματευομένοις πρὸ ἀλληγορίας ἀκολουθήσει τὸ
 δοκοῦν ἀπορεῖσθαι· ὁ γὰρ εὐνοῦχος καὶ ἀρχι-
 μάγειρος ὄντως νοῦς μὴ ταῖς ἀπλαῖς μόνον ἀλλὰ
 καὶ ταῖς περιτταῖς χρώμενος ἡδοναῖς εὐνοῦχος
 κέκληται καὶ ἄγονος σοφίας, ὢν εὐνοῦχος οὐκ
 ἄλλου τινὸς ἢ τοῦ σκεδαστοῦ τῶν καλῶν Φαραώ·
 ἐπεὶ τοι κατ' ἄλλον λόγον ἄριστον ἂν εἴη τὸ
 εὐνοῦχον γενέσθαι, εἰ δυνήσεται ἡμῶν ἡ ψυχὴ
 237 κακίαν ἐκφυγοῦσα ἀπομαθεῖν τὸ πάθος. διὸ καὶ
 Ἰωσήφ ὁ ἐγκρατὴς τρόπος τῇ λεγούσῃ ἡδονῇ
 "Κοιμήθητι μετ' ἐμοῦ (Gen. xxxix. 7) καὶ
 ἄνθρωπος ὢν ἀνθρωποπάθησον καὶ ἀπόλαυσον
 τῶν κατὰ τὸν βίον τερπνῶν" ἐναντιοῦται φάσκων·
 "ἀμαρτήσομαι εἰς τὸν θεὸν τὸν φιλάρετον, εἰ
 γενοίμην φιλήδονος· πονηρὸν γὰρ τοῦτ' ἔργον."
- 238 LXXXV. καὶ νῦν μὲν ἀκροβολίζεται, ἥδη δὲ καὶ
 καρτερῶς ἀπομάχεται, ὅταν εἰσέλθῃ εἰς τὸν ἑαυτῆς

sufficient for its corruption. But as it is, the mob of the senses has introduced into it from outside an untold host of mischiefs, drawn partly from visible objects, partly from sounds, as well as from savours and scents that touch the sense of smell ; and we may say that the flame arising from them affects the soul more disastrously than the flame that is kindled in it by the soul itself without calling in the organs of sense to assist it.

LXXXIV. One of these women is the wife of Potiphar, Pharaoh's head-cook (Gen. xxxix. 1 ff.). How, being a eunuch, he comes to have a wife, is a point to be considered : for those, who are occupied with the literal wording of the law rather than with its figurative interpretation, will find that it involves what appears to such a difficulty. For the Mind, that is really an eunuch and chief cook, dealing not in the simple pleasures only but in excessive ones also, deserves the title of eunuch as one who is incapable of begetting wisdom, seeing that he serves as eunuch none other than Pharaoh, the disperser of noble things. For you must bear in mind that from another point of view to become an eunuch would be a very good thing, if so our soul should be able to escape wickedness and unlearn passion. So Joseph too, the self-controlling character, when pleasure says to him " Sleep with me " (Gen. xxxix. 7) ' and being human indulge human passions and enjoy the delights that come in life's course,' refuses to comply with her saying, ' I shall be sinning against God the Lover of virtue, were I to show myself a lover of pleasure ; for this is a wicked deed.' LXXXV. And now he is merely skirmishing, but before long he is stoutly fighting it out, when the

PHILO

οἶκον ἢ ψυχὴ καὶ ἀναδραμοῦσα ἐπὶ τοὺς ἑαυτῆς
τόνους ἀποτάξεται τοῖς κατὰ τὸ σῶμα καὶ τὰ
ἴδια ὡς ψυχῆς ἔργα ἐργάσεται· οὐτ' εἰς τὸν
οἶκον Ἰωσήφ οὔτε Πεντεφρῆ, ἀλλ' " εἰς τὴν
οἰκίαν "—καὶ οὐ προστίθῃσι τὴν τίνος, ἵνα σκεπτι-
κῶς ἀλληγορῆς—" ποιεῖν τὰ ἔργα αὐτοῦ " (Gen.
239 xxxix. 11). ἡ μὲν οὖν οἰκία ἐστὶν ἡ ψυχὴ, εἰς ἣν
ἀνατρέχει καταλιπὼν τὰ ἐκτός, ἵνα τὸ λεγόμενον
ἐντὸς αὐτοῦ γένηται· τὰ δὲ τοῦ ἐγκρατοῦς ἔργα
μήποτε θεοῦ βουλήματί¹ ἐστὶ· καὶ γὰρ οὐδεὶς
ἦν ἀλλότριος λογισμὸς τῶν εἰωθότων ἐν τῇ
ψυχῇ κατοικεῖν εἶσω. πλὴν οὐκ ἀφίσταται ζυγο-
μαχοῦσα ἢ ἡδονή, ἀλλὰ τῶν ἱματίων λαβομένη
φησί " Κοιμήθητι μετ' ἐμοῦ." σκεπάσματα δὲ
ὥσπερ σώματος τὰ ἐσθήματά ἐστιν, οὕτως τοῦ
ζώου σιτία καὶ ποτά. τοῦτο δὴ φησι· τί παραιτῇ
240 τὴν ἡδονήν, ἥς ἄνευ οὐ δύνασαι ζῆν; ἰδοὺ ἐκ-
λαμβάνομαι τῶν ποιητικῶν αὐτῆς καὶ φημί σε μὴ
ἂν δυνηθῆναι ὑποστῆναι, εἰ μὴ τινι τῶν ποιητικῶν
χρήσαιο. τί οὖν ὁ ἐγκρατής; εἰ μέλλω, φησί,
[135] δουλεύειν πάθει διὰ τὴν ποιητικὴν | ὕλην, καὶ
ἐξελεύσομαι ἀπὸ τοῦ πάθους ἔξω· " καταλιπὼν
γὰρ τὰ ἱμάτια ἐν ταῖς χερσὶν αὐτῆς ἔφυγε καὶ
241 ἐξῆλθεν ἔξω " (Gen. xxxix. 12). LXXXVI. τίς

¹ ? βουλήματα. See note on translation.

^a θεοῦ βουλήματι. Cf. *De Posteritate Caini* 73 τῷ μὴ κατὰ βούλημα τὸ τοῦ θεοῦ ζῶντι, *De Vita Mosis* 287 οὐ συνάδει τῷ τοῦ θεοῦ βουλήματι. The absence of an article in our passage is suspicious; and the dative is somewhat harsh with ἐστὶ. These difficulties would be got over, and a stronger sense gained, by reading βουλήματά. The man of self-control carries out in act purposes of God learned in
462

ALLEGORICAL INTERPRETATION, III. 238-241

soul has entered into her own house, and falling back on her own energies has renounced all that is regulated by the body, and has set to work at business properly belonging to her inasmuch as they are activities of the soul. He goes neither into Joseph's house nor into that of Potiphar, but "into the house." He does not go on to say *whose* house, that you may think and interpret. He simply adds, "to do his business" (Gen. xxxix. 11). The house then is the soul, into which he retires, abandoning all that is outside, to the end that he may, as we say, get within himself. The "business" of the man of self-control is, we may take it, done by God's will^a; for indeed, among all the reasonings wont to have their abode in the soul within, there was not one such uncongenial reasoning^b found there. Meanwhile pleasure does not desist from struggling, but laying hold of his garments says "Sleep with me." As clothes are coverings of the body, so are food and drink of the living being. This is what she says, "Why do you decline pleasure, without which you cannot live? See, I seize and carry off part of what goes to produce her, and I declare that you would be unable to exist without using something productive of pleasure." What does the man of self-control do? "If," he says, "I am going to be a slave to passion for the sake of the matter that is productive of it, I will even leave passion behind and go forth outside"; for "leaving his garments in her hands he fled and went forth outside" (Gen. xxxix. 12). LXXXVI. "Who,"

communion with his own heart. The following sentence seems intended to justify so high a claim.

^b See App. p. 484.

δὲ ἔνδον, φαίη τις ἄν, ἐξέρχεται; οὐ πολλοί; ἢ οὐ φυγόντες τινὲς τὸ ἱεροσυλεῖν ἐξ ἰδιωτικῆς ἔκλειψαν οἰκίας, καὶ οὐκ ὄντες πατροτύπται ἀλλότριον ὕβρισαν; οὗτοι ἐξέρχονται μὲν ἀπὸ τῶν ἀμαρτημάτων, εἰς ἕτερα δὲ εἰσέρχονται· τὸν δὲ τελείως ἐγκρατῇ δεῖ πάντα φεύγειν τὰ ἀμαρτήματα καὶ τὰ μείζω καὶ τὰ ἐλάττω καὶ ἐν μηδενὶ ἐξετάζεσθαι τὸ παράπαν.

242 Ἄλλ' ὁ μὲν Ἰωσήφ—νέος τε γάρ ἐστι καὶ τῷ Αἰγυπτίῳ σώματι οὐκ ἴσχυσεν ἀγωνίσασθαι καὶ νικῆσαι τὴν ἡδονήν—[καὶ] ἀποδιδράσκει. Φινεὲς δὲ ὁ ἱερεὺς ὁ ζηλώσας τὸν ὑπὲρ θεοῦ ζῆλον οὐ φυγῇ τὴν ἰδίαν σωτηρίαν πεπόρισται, ἀλλὰ τὸν “σειρομάστην” τουτέστι τὸν ζηλωτικὸν λόγον λαβὼν οὐκ ἀποστήσεται, πρὶν ἢ “ἐκκεντῆσαι τὴν Μαδιανῖτιν” τὴν ἐκκεκριμένην θείου χοροῦ φύσιν “διὰ τῆς μήτρας αὐτῆς” (Num. xxv. 7, 8), ἵνα μηδέποτε ἰσχύσῃ φυτὸν ἢ σπέρμα κακίας ἀνατεῖλαι. LXXXVII. οὐ χάριν ἐκκοπίσης ἀφροσύνης ἀθλον καὶ κλῆρον ἢ ψυχὴ λαμβάνει διττόν, εἰρήνην καὶ ἱερωσύνην (ib. xii. 13), συγγενεῖς καὶ ἀδελφὰς ἀρετάς.

243 Τοιαύτης μὲν οὖν γυναικὸς οὐκ ἀκουστέον, αἰσθήσεως μοχθηρᾶς λέγω, ἐπεὶ καὶ “τὰς μαίας εὖ ἐποίει θεός” (Exod. i. 20), ὅτι τῶν προστάξεων τοῦ σκεδαστοῦ Φαραὼ ἠλόγουν “τὰ ἄρρενα” τῆς ψυχῆς “ζωογονοῦσαι,” ἃ ἐκεῖνος ἤθελε διαφθεῖρειν τῆς θηλείας ὕλης ἐραστῆς ὢν, τὸ δ' αἴτιον ἀγνοῶν καὶ λέγων ὅτι “οὐκ οἶδα αὐτόν” (Exod. v. 2). ἑτέρα δὲ πειστέον γυναικί, οἷαν συμβέβηκε Σάρραν εἶναι, τὴν ἄρχουσαν ἀρετῇν.

someone may ask, "goes forth *within*?" Do not many? Or have not some who have avoided the robbing of temples stolen goods from a private house, and some who have not been father-beaters, committed violence on a stranger? These people do indeed come forth from the sins mentioned, but they come into others. But he that exercises perfect self-control must shun all sins, both the greater and the lesser, and be found implicated in none whatever.

Joseph, however, being but a youth and lacking strength to contend with the Egyptian body and vanquish pleasure, runs away. But Phinehas the priest, who was zealous with the zeal for God, has secured his own safety, not by flight, but grasping the "spear," i.e. the spirit of zeal, he will not desist before he has "pierced the Midianitish woman," the nature that has been sifted out of the sacred company, "through her womb" (Numb. xxv. 7 f.), that she may never be able to cause plant or seed of wickedness to shoot up: LXXXVII. in recompense for this, for the cutting out of folly, the soul obtains a twofold portion as its reward, peace and priesthood (*ibid.* 12 f.), virtues as near of kin as sisters.

To such a woman, therefore, we must not hearken, wicked sense I mean. For "God dealt well with the midwives" (Exod. i. 20), because disregarding the injunctions of Pharaoh, the scatterer, they "saved alive" the male offspring of the soul which he wished to destroy; for, enamoured of what is material and female, he knows not the First Cause and says, "I know Him not" (Exod. v. 2). Quite a different woman claims our compliance, a woman such as Sarah is seen to have been, even paramount

- καὶ πείθεται γε ὁ σοφὸς Ἀβραὰμ αὐτῇ παρ-
 αινοῦσῃ ἃ δεῖ· πρότερον μὲν γάρ, ὅτ' οὐπω τέλειος
 ἐγεγέννητο, ἀλλ' ἔτι πρὶν μετονομασθῆναι τὰ
 μετέωρα ἐφιλοσόφει, ἐπισταμένη ὅτι οὐκ ἂν
 δύναίτο γεννᾶν ἐξ ἀρετῆς τελείας, συμβουλεύει
 ἐκ τῆς παιδίσκης τουτέστι παιδείας τῆς ἐγκυκλίου
 παιδοποιεῖσθαι τῆς Ἀγαρ (Gen. xvi. 2 ff.), ὃ
 λέγεται παροίκησις· ὁ γὰρ μελετῶν ἐν ἀρετῇ
 τελείᾳ κατοικεῖν, πρὶν ἐγγραφῆναι τῇ πόλει αὐτῆς,
 τοῖς ἐγκυκλίοις μαθήμασι παροικεῖ, ἵνα διὰ τούτων
 245 πρὸς τελείαν ἀρετὴν ἀφέτως ὁρμήσῃ· ἔπειτα ὅταν
 ἴδῃ τετελειωμένον αὐτὸν καὶ ἤδη δυνάμενον σπεί-
 ρειν, * * * καὶ ἐκεῖνος εὐχάριστος ὢν πρὸς τὰ
 παιδεύματα, δι' ὧν ἀρετῇ συνεστάθῃ, χαλεπὸν
 ἡγῆται παραιτήσασθαι αὐτά, χρησμῶ πραῦνθή-
 σεται θεοῦ τῷ κελεύοντι· “πάντα ὅσα ἂν εἶπῃ
 Σάρρα, ἄκουε τῆς φωνῆς αὐτῆς” (Gen. xxi. 12).
 [136] νόμος ἡμῶν ἔστω | ἐκάστω τὸ δοκοῦν ἀρετῇ· εἰ
 γὰρ πάντων ὅσα παραινεῖ ἡ ἀρετὴ βουλόμεθα
 ἀκούειν, εὐδαιμονήσομεν.
- 246 LXXXVIII. Τὸ δὲ “καὶ ἔφαγες ἀπὸ τοῦ ξύλου
 οὗ ἐνετειλάμην σοι τούτου μόνου μὴ φαγεῖν”
 ἴσον ἐστὶ τῷ συγκατέθου κακία, ἣν χρή σε ἀνὰ
 κράτος ἀπείργειν· διὰ τοῦτο “ἐπικατάρατος”
 οὐχὶ σύ, <ἀλλ' > “ἡ γῆ ἐν τοῖς ἔργοις σου”
 (Gen. iii. 17). τίς οὖν ἡ αἰτία τούτων; ὁ ὄφεις
 ἦν ἡδονή, ἑпарσις ἄλογος ψυχῆς· αὕτη κατάρατος
 ἐξ ἑαυτῆς, μόνῳ γέ τοι τῷ φαύλῳ προσγίνεται,

* See App. p. 484.

virtue. The wise Abraham complies with her when she recommends the course to follow. For at an earlier time, when he had not yet become perfect but, before his name had been changed, was still only inquiring into supramundane things, being aware that he could not beget seed out of perfect virtue, she advises him to beget children out of the handmaiden, that is school-learning, even Hagar (Gen. xvi. 2 ff.). This name means "Sojourning," for he that is studying to make his home in perfect virtue, before he is registered as a member of her city, sojourns with the subjects learned in the schools, that he may be led by these to apply his unfettered powers to virtue.^a Afterwards, when she sees him brought to perfection, and capable now of begetting . . . And if he, filled with gratitude towards the education by means of which he was brought into union with virtue, thinks it harsh to reject it, he shall be brought to compliance by an oracle of God bidding him, "In all that Sarah saith to thee listen to her voice" (Gen. xxi. 12). Let that which seems good to virtue be law for each one of us; for if we choose to hearken to all that virtue recommends, we shall be happy.

LXXXVIII. The words "and thou didst eat of the tree of which alone I commanded thee not to eat" are equivalent to "thou didst consent to wickedness, which it is thy duty to keep off with all thy might": because of this "cursed"—not "art thou" but "is the earth in thy works" (Gen. iii. 17). What then was the reason of this? The serpent, we saw, was pleasure, an irrational elation of soul. She is accursed on her own account, but mark well that she attaches herself only to the worthless man, not

PHILO

σπουδαίῳ δ' οὐδενί. ὁ Ἀδὰμ δὲ ὁ μέσος ἐστὶ νοῦς, ὃς τοτὲ μὲν ἀμείνων τοτὲ δὲ χείρων ἐξετάζεται· ἢ γὰρ νοῦς ἐστίν, οὔτε φαῦλος οὔτε σπουδαῖος εἶναι πέφυκεν, ἀρετῇ δὲ καὶ κακίᾳ πρὸς τὸ εὖ καὶ πρὸς τὸ χείρον εἴωθε μεταβάλλειν.

247 εἰκότως οὖν οὐκ ἔστι κατάρατος ἐξ ἑαυτοῦ, ὥς οὔτε κακία ὦν οὔτε κατὰ κακίαν πράξις, ἀλλ' ἐν τοῖς ἔργοις αὐτοῦ ἡ γῆ κατάρατος· αἱ γὰρ πράξεις αἱ διὰ τῆς ὅλης ψυχῆς, ἣν κέκληκε γῆν, ἐπιληπτοὶ καὶ ὑπαίτιοι κατὰ κακίαν ἕκαστα δρῶντός εἰσι. παρὸ καὶ ἐπιφέρει, ὅτι “ἐν λύπῃ φάγεσαι αὐτήν,” ὅπερ ἐστὶν ἴσον τῷ ἀπολαύσεις τῆς ψυχῆς ἐπιλύπως· ἐπωδύνως γὰρ ὁ φαῦλος πάντα τὸν βίον χρήται τῇ ἑαυτοῦ ψυχῇ μηδὲν ἔχων χαρᾶς αἵτιον, ὃ πέφυκε γεννᾶν δικαιοσύνη καὶ φρόνησις καὶ αἱ σύνθρονοι ταύτης ἀρεταί.

248 LXXXIX. “Ἀκάνθας οὖν καὶ τριβόλους ἀνατελεῖ σοι” (Gen. iii. 18). ἀλλὰ τί φύεται καὶ βλαστάνει ἐν ἄφρονος ψυχῇ, πλὴν τὰ κεντοῦντα καὶ τιτρώσκοντα αὐτήν πάθῃ; ἃ διὰ συμβόλων ἀκάνθας κέκληκεν, οἷς ἡ ἄλογος ὁρμὴ πυρὸς τὸν τρόπον πρῶτοις ἐντυγχάνει, μεθ' ὧν ταχθεῖσα πάντα τὰ αὐτῆς καταφλέγει καὶ διαφθείρει. λέγει γὰρ οὕτως· “ἐὰν δὲ ἐξελθὼν πῦρ εὖρη ἀκάνθας καὶ προσεμπρήσῃ ἄλωνα ἢ στάχνας ἢ πεδῖον, ἀποτίσει ὁ τὸ πῦρ ἐκκαύσας” (Exod. xxii. 6).

249 ὁρᾷς ὅτι τὸ πῦρ ἐξελθόν, ἡ ἄλογος ὁρμή, οὐκ ἐμπίπρησι τὰς ἀκάνθας, ἀλλὰ εὕρισκει· ζητητικῇ

to any good man. Adam is the neutral mind, which now proves better, now worse. For in so far as he is mind, his nature is neither bad nor good, but under the influence of virtue and vice it is his wont to shift towards good and bad. It is then just as we should expect, that he is not accursed on his own account, inasmuch as he is neither wickedness nor conduct with wickedness for its rule, but the earth is accursed in his works; for the doings of which the whole soul, to which is here given the name of "earth," is the means and occasion, are blameworthy and faulty when he allows wickedness to regulate them in each case. Accordingly he goes on "in sorrow shalt thou eat of it." This is tantamount to "thou shalt sorrowfully get the benefit of being alive." For in pain does the bad man all his life long avail himself of his own vitality. He has no motive for joy. Such a motive is in the nature of things supplied by righteousness and good sense and the virtues that share her throne.

LXXXIX. "Thorns therefore and burrs shall it cause to spring up for thee" (Gen. iii. 18). Nay, what *does* grow and shoot up in the soul of a foolish man, but the passions which goad and wound it? To these, using figures, he has given the name of thorns. These the irrational impulse like a fire meets first, and ranging herself with them burns up and consumes all the soul's possessions. For this is what is said: "If a fire break out and find thorns and go on to burn threshing-floor or standing corn or field; he that kindled the fire shall make restitution" (Exod. xxii. 6). You see that the fire, the irrational impulse, when it has broken out does not burn the thorns but finds them; for being a

- γὰρ τῶν παθῶν οὐσα ἃ ἐπόθει λαβεῖν εὗρεν· ὅταν δὲ εὗρη, καταφλέγει τρία ταῦτα, ἀρετὴν τελείαν, προκοπὴν, εὐφυΐαν· ἀρετὴν μὲν οὖν παραβέβληκε τῇ ἄλλῳ, συγκεκριόμεσται γάρ, ὡς ἐνταῦθα ὁ καρπός, οὕτως καὶ ἐν τῇ τοῦ σοφοῦ ψυχῇ τὰ καλὰ· στάχυσι δὲ τὴν προκοπὴν, ἐπεὶ καὶ ἐκάτερον ἀτελὲς ἐφ-
 [137] ²⁵⁰ εὐπαράδεκτος σπερμάτων ἀρετῆς ἐστίν. | ἕκαστον δὲ τῶν παθῶν τριβόλια εἵρηκεν, ἐπειδὴ τριττά ἐστίν, αὐτό τε καὶ τὸ ποιητικὸν καὶ τὸ ἐκ τούτων ἀποτέλεσμα, οἶον ἡδονή, ἡδύ, ἡδεσθαι· ἐπιθυμία, ἐπιθυμητόν, ἐπιθυμεῖν· λύπη, λυπηρόν, λυπεῖσθαι· φόβος, φοβερόν, φοβεῖσθαι.
- 251 XC. “Καὶ φάγεσαι τὸν χόρτον τοῦ ἀγροῦ· ἐν ἰδρῶτι τοῦ προσώπου σου <φάγεσαι τὸν ἄρτον σου>” (Gen. iii. 18, 19). χόρτον καὶ ἄρτον καλεῖ συνωνύμως, πρᾶγμα ταυτόν· χόρτος ἀλόγου τροφή ἐστίν· ἄλογον δὲ <ὁ> φαῦλος ἐκτετμημένος τὸν ὀρθὸν λόγον, ἄλογοι δὲ καὶ αἱ αἰσθήσεις τῆς ψυχῆς οὐσαι μέρος· ὁ δὲ νοῦς ἐφίεμενος τῶν αἰσθη-
 τῶν διὰ τῶν ἀλόγων αἰσθήσεων οὐκ ἄνευ πόνου καὶ ἰδρῶτος ἐφίεται· σφόδρα γὰρ ὀδυνηρὸς καὶ ἐπαχθὴς ὁ τοῦ ἄφρονος βίος μετιόντος καὶ ἐπι-
 λιχνεύοντος τὰ ποιητικὰ τῶν ἡδονῶν καὶ τῶν
 252 ὅσα κακία ἀπεργάζεσθαι φιλεῖ. καὶ μέχρι τίνος; “μέχρι” φησὶν “ἀποστρέψεις εἰς τὴν γῆν, ἐξ ἧς

searcher after the passions it finds what it wanted to get; and when it has found them it burns up these three things, perfect virtue, gradual progress, goodness of natural disposition. Virtue he likens to the contents of the threshing-floor, for as the grain has been gathered together on it, so in the soul of the wise man have been gathered noble things. To the standing corn he likens gradual advance, since either is incomplete and is earnestly set on its completeness. He likens goodness of natural disposition to the field, because it is receptive of the seeds of virtue. He calls each of the passions "burrs" or "three-spiked caltrops," because they are threefold, the passion itself, that which produces it, and the finished result of these. For instance, pleasure, the pleasant, feeling pleasure; desire, the desirable, desiring; sorrow, the sorrowful, feeling sorrow; fear, the fearful, fearing.

XC. "And thou shalt eat the grass of the field; in the sweat of thy face shalt thou eat thy bread" (Gen. iii. 18 f.). He uses the terms grass and bread as synonyms; the thing meant is the same. Grass is food of an irrational creature; and such is a bad man with the right principle cut out of him; irrational also are the senses, being a part of the soul. But the mind striving to attain the objects of sense by means of the irrational senses, makes this striving not without toil and sweat. For exceeding painful and burdensome is the life of the foolish man, as he pursues with greedy desire all things that are productive of pleasures and of all things that wickedness loves to bring about. And how long is this to be? "Until," He says, "thou shalt turn back into the earth, from which thou wert taken" (Gen. iii.

ἐλήφθης" (Gen. iii. 19). νῦν γὰρ οὐκ ἐν τοῖς γεώδεσι καὶ ἀσυστάτοις ἐξετάζεται τὴν οὐράνιον σοφίαν καταλιπών; πῇ οὖν ἔτι ἀποστρέφεται, σκεπτόν. ἀλλὰ μήποτε ὁ λέγει τοιοῦτόν ἐστιν, ὅτι ὁ ἄφρων νοῦς ἀπέστραπται μὲν αἰεὶ τὸν ὀρθὸν λόγον, εἴληπται δὲ οὐκ ἀπὸ τῆς μεταρσίου φύσεως, ἀλλ' ἀπὸ τῆς γεωδεστέρας ὕλης, καὶ μένων δὲ καὶ κινούμενος ὁ αὐτός ἐστιν ἐφιεμένος τε τῶν αὐτῶν.

253 διὸ καὶ ἐπιφέρει, "ὅτι γῇ εἰ καὶ εἰς γῆν ἀπελεύση" (ibid.), ὅπερ ἴσον ἐστὶ τῷ προειρημένῳ. δηλοῖ δὲ καὶ τοῦτο· ἡ ἀρχὴ σου καὶ τὸ τέλος ἐν καὶ ταυτόν ἐστιν· ἤρξω τε γὰρ ἀπὸ τῶν φθειρομένων γῆς σωμάτων, τελευτήσεις δὲ πάλιν εἰς ἐκεῖνα τὴν μεταξὺ τοῦ βίου τρίψας ὁδὸν οὐ λεωφόρον ἀλλὰ τραχείαν, βάτων καὶ τριβόλων κεντεῖν τε καὶ τιτρώσκειν πεφυκότων μεστήν.

19). For, having forsaken the wisdom of heaven, is he not now ranked with things earthly and chaotic? How then he turns back yet further, we have to consider. But perhaps what he means is of this kind, that the foolish mind has indeed always turned back from the right principle, but has been taken not from the sublime nature but from the more earthly substance, and, whether staying still or in movement, is the same and devoted to the same interests. And that is why he goes on to say, "Earth thou art and into earth shalt thou depart" (*ibid.*), which amounts to what I have already said. It signifies this also, "thine origin and thine end are one and the same, for thou tookest thine origin from earth's decaying bodies, and into them shalt thou again come to thine end, after treading the way of life that comes between, along no high road but on a rough path, full of brambles and burrs whose nature is to prick and wound."