

ΠΕΡΙ ΤΟΥ ΠΑΝΤΑ ΣΠΟΥΔΑΙΟΝ ΕΛΕΥ- ΘΕΡΟΝ ΕΙΝΑΙ

[445] ¹ I. Ὁ μὲν πρότερος λόγος ἦν ἡμῖν, ὦ Θεόδοτε, περὶ τοῦ δοῦλον εἶναι πάντα φαῦλον, ὥς καὶ διὰ πολλῶν καὶ εἰκότων καὶ ἀληθῶν ἐπιστῶσάμεθα· οὗτοσί δ' ἐκείνου συγγενῆς, ὁμοπάτριος καὶ ὁμομήτριος ἀδελφὸς καὶ τρόπον τινὰ δίδυμος, καθ' ὃν ² ἐπιδείξομεν, ὅτι πᾶς ὁ ἀστεῖος ἐλεύθερος. τὸν μὲν οὖν τῶν Πυθαγορείων ἱερώτατον θιάσον λόγος ἔχει μετὰ πολλῶν καὶ ἄλλων καλῶν καὶ τοῦτ' ἀναδιδάσκειν, “ταῖς λεωφόροις μὴ βαδίζειν ὁδοῖς,” οὐχ ἵνα κρημνοβατῶμεν—οὐ γὰρ ποσὶ κάματον παρήγγελλεν—, ἀλλ' αἰνιττόμενος διὰ συμβόλου τὸ μήτε λόγοις μήτ' ἔργοις δημῶδεσι καὶ πεπατημένοις ³ χρῆσθαι. ὅσοι δὲ φιλοσοφίαν γνησίως ἡσπάσαντο, καταπειθεῖς γενόμενοι τῷ προστάγματι νόμον αὐτὸ μᾶλλον δὲ θεσμὸν ἰσούμενον χρησμῷ ὑπέτοπησαν, δόξας δ' ἀγελαίους ὑπερκύψαντες ἀτραπὸν ἄλλην ἐκαινοτόμησαν ἄβατον¹ ἰδιώταις λόγων

¹ MSS. ἄλλην.

^a See Introd. p. 4.

EVERY GOOD MAN IS FREE

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

^b On this and the Stoic “ paradoxes ” in general see
Intro. pp. 2 ff.

^c See Diog. Laert. viii. 17, where this occurs in a list of
allegorical watchwords or precepts (σύμβολα) put forth by
Pythagoras, others being “ Don’t stir a fire with a knife,”
“ Don’t eat your heart,” and “ Don’t keep birds with crooked
claws.” Diogenes Laertius explains a few of them. On the
exact form of the one quoted here see App. p. 509.

^d See App. p. 509.

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καὶ δογμάτων, ἰδέας ἀνατείλαντες ὧν οὐδενὶ μὴ
 4 καθαρῷ θέμις ψαύειν. λέγω δὲ μὴ
 [446] καθαρούς, ὅσοι ἢ παιδείας εἰς ἅπαν ἄγευστοι | δι-
 ετέλεσαν ἢ πλαγίως ἀλλὰ μὴ ἐπ' εὐθείας αὐτὴν
 ἐδέξαντο κάλλος τὸ σοφίας εἰς τὸ σοφιστείας
 5 αἰσχος μεταχαράξαντες. οὗτοι τὸ νοητὸν φῶς
 ἰδεῖν οὐ δυνάμενοι δι' ἀσθένειαν τοῦ κατὰ ψυχὴν
 ὁμματος, ὃ ταῖς μαρμαρυγαῖς πέφυκεν ἐπισκιάζε-
 σθαι, καθάπερ ἐν νυκτὶ διάγοντες ἀπιστοῦσι τοῖς
 ἐν ἡμέρᾳ ζῶσι καὶ ὅς' ἂν αὐγαῖς ἀκράτοις τῶν
 ἡλιακῶν ἀκτίνων¹ εἰλικρινέστατα περιαθρήσαντες
 διηγῶνται τεράστια νομίζουσι φάσμασιν εἰκότα,
 τῶν ἐν τοῖς θαύμασιν οὐ διαφέροντα.
 6 πῶς γὰρ οὐκ ἐκτόπια καὶ θαύματ' ὄντως, φυγάδας
 μὲν καλεῖν τοὺς μὴ μόνον ἐν μέσῃ τῇ πόλει διατρί-
 βοντας, ἀλλὰ καὶ βουλευοντας καὶ δικάζοντας καὶ
 ἐκκλησιαάζοντας, ἔστι δ' ὅτε καὶ ἀγορανομίας καὶ
 γυμνασιαρχίας καὶ τὰς ἄλλας λειτουργίας ὑπο-

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

^a *ἰδέα* here in the Platonic sense equivalent to *νοητὸν φῶς* below.

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

^c So Plato 515 c *διὰ τὰς μαρμαρυγὰς ἀδυνατοὶ καθορᾶν ἐκεῖνα ὧν τότε τὰς σκιὰς εἶρα.*

^d Philo is perhaps thinking of *ibid.* 514 B *ὥσπερ τοῖς*

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truths, and have brought to light the ideal forms^a which none of the unclean may touch.

By unclean I mean all those who without ever tasting⁴ education at all, or else having received it in a crooked and distorted form, have changed the stamp of wisdom's beauty into the ugliness of sophistry. These,^b unable to discern the conceptual light through⁵ the weakness of the soul's eye, which cannot but be beclouded by the flashing rays,^c as dwellers in perpetual night disbelieve those who live in the daylight, and think that all their tales of what they have seen around them, shown clearly by the unalloyed radiance of the sunbeams, are wild phantom-like inventions no better than the illusions of the puppet show.^d

"Surely it is an absurdity," they think,^e 6
"a mere showman's trick, to apply names in this way, to give the name of exile to men who not only spend their days in the heart of the city, but also sit as councillors, jurymen, and members of assembly, and sometimes undertake the burden of administering the market, or managing the gymnasium and the

θαυματοποιούς πρὸ τῶν ἀνθρώπων πρόκειται τὰ παραφράγματα, ὑπὲρ ὧν τὰ θαύματα δεικνύσων. But see App. p. 509.

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

- 7 μένοντας, πολίτας δὲ τοὺς ἢ μὴ ἐγγραφέντας τὸ παράπαν ἢ ὧν ἀτιμία καὶ φυγὴ κατέγνωσται, πέραν ὄρων ἀνθρώπους ἐληλαμένους, οὐ μόνον οὐκ ἐπιβῆναι τῆς χώρας ἀλλ' οὐδ' ἐξ ἀπόπτου τὸ πατρῶον ἔδαφος θεάσασθαι δυναμένους, εἰ μὴ τισι Ποιναῖς ἐλαύνονται θανατῶντες; ἔφεδροι γὰρ καταστειχόντων κολασταὶ μυρίοι, καὶ δι' ἑαυτῶν ἡκονημένοι καὶ νόμων προστάξειςιν ὑπηρετοῦντες.
- 8 II. πῶς δὲ οὐ παράλογα καὶ γέμοντα πολλῆς ἀναισχυντίας ἢ μανίας ἢ οὐκ ἔχω τί λέγω—διὰ γὰρ ὑπερβολὴν οὐδ' οἰκείων ὀνομάτων εὐπορῆσαι ῥάδιον—πλουσίους μὲν ὀνομάζειν τοὺς ἀπορωτάτους καὶ τῶν ἀναγκαίων ἐνδεεῖς, λυπρῶς καὶ ἀθλίως ἀποζῶντας, μόλις τὸ ἐφήμερον ἐκπορίζοντας, ἐν εὐθηνίᾳ κοινῇ λιμὸν ἐξαίρετον ἔχοντας, ἀρετῆς αὔρα, καθάπερ ἀέρι φασὶ τοὺς τέττιγας, τρεφομένους,
- 9 πένητας δὲ τοὺς ἀργύρῳ καὶ χρυσῷ καὶ πλήθει κτημάτων καὶ προσόδων καὶ ἄλλων ἀμυθῆτων ἀγαθῶν ἀφθονίᾳ περιρρεομένους, ὧν ὁ πλοῦτος οὐ συγγενεῖς καὶ φίλους αὐτὸ μόνον ὦνησεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῆς οἰκίας ἔξω προελθὼν μεγάλους ὁμίλους δημοτῶν καὶ φυλετῶν, διαβάς δ' ἔτι μείζον καὶ πόλει χορηγεῖ τὰ πάντα, ὧν εἰρήνη χρεῖος ἢ πόλεμος;

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

^b Lit. "I know not." This use of the 1st person sing. in a statement of other people's opinions seems strange, but is paralleled in *De Aet.* 119, and *Flacc.* 50.

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other public services : to call those citizens^a who have 7
either never been placed on the burgess rolls or have
been condemned to disfranchisement or banishment,
men chased beyond the frontiers, unable not only to
set foot in the country but even to get a distant view
of their ancestral soil, unless hounded thither by some
kind of avenging furies they come courting death.
For when they return there are numberless ministers
of punishment waiting for them, spurred to vengeance
by their personal feelings and also ready to do service
to the commands of the law."

II. "Surely 8
your other statements too," they continue, "are con-
trary to reason, brimful of shameless effrontery and
madness or one knows not^b what to call them, for even
names are difficult to find appropriate to such extra-
vagance. You call those rich^c who are utterly desti-
tute, lacking the very necessities, who drag on their
sorry, miserable life, scarcely providing their daily
subsistence, starving exceptions to the general pros-
perity, feeding on the empty breath of virtue as
grasshoppers are said to feed on air.^d You call those 9
poor who are lapped round by silver and gold and a
multitude of landed possessions and revenues and
numberless other good things in unstinted abundance,
whose wealth not only benefits their kinsfolk and
friends but steps outside the household to do the same
to multitudes of fellow tribesmen and wardsmen, and
taking a still wider sweep endows the state with all
that either peace or war demands. It is part of the 10

^c The paradox good man rich *v.* bad man poor is very
common, see examples in *S.V.F.* iii. 589-603. Philo's con-
stant insistence on the contrast between blind wealth and
seeing wealth is substantially the same.

^d See on *De Vit. Cont.* 35.

10 ἀπὸ δὲ τῆς αὐτῆς ὀνειρώξεως τοῖς μὲν ἀμφιθαλέσι καὶ τῷ ὄντι εὐπατρίδαις, ὧν οὐ γονεῖς μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ πάπποι καὶ πρόγονοι μέχρι τῶν ἀρχηγετῶν καὶ πρὸς ἀνδρῶν καὶ πρὸς γυναικῶν ἐπιφανέστατοι γεγόνاسι, δουλείαν ἐτόλμησαν ἐπιφημίσαι, τοῖς δ' ἐκ τριγωνίας στιγματαίαις, πεδότριψι καὶ παλαιο-δούλοις, ἐλευθερίαν.

11 [447] "Ἔστι δὲ | τὰ τοιαῦτα, ὡς ἔφην, πρόφασις ἀνθρώπων, οἳ διάνοιαν μὲν ἡμαύρωνται, δούλοι δ' εἰσὶ δόξης ἐπανέχοντες αἰσθήσεσιν, ὧν τὸ συνέδριον ὑπὸ

12 τῶν κρινομένων ἀεὶ δεκαζόμενον¹ ἀβέβαιον. χρῆν δὲ αὐτούς, εἴπερ ὅλως ἐξήλουν ἀλήθειαν, μὴ τῶν τὰ σώματα καμνόντων ἐν τῷ φρονεῖν ἐλαττοῦσθαι· ἐκεῖνοι μὲν γὰρ ἑαυτοὺς ἐπιτρέπουσιν ἰατροῖς ὑγείας ὀρεγόμενοι, κατοκνοῦσι δ' οὗτοι νόσον ψυχῆς, ἀπαιδευσίαν, ἀπώσασθαι, γενόμενοι σοφῶν ἀνδρῶν ὁμιληταί, παρ' ὧν οὐ μόνον ἔστιν ἀπομαθεῖν ἀμαθίαν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸ ἴδιον ἀνθρώπου κτῆμα προσλαβεῖν, ἐπι-

13 στήμην. ἐπειδὴ δὲ κατὰ τὸν ἱερώτατον² Πλάτωνα "φθόνος ἕξω θείου χοροῦ ἴσταται," θειότατον δὲ καὶ κοινωνικώτατον σοφία, συγκλείει μὲν οὐδέποτε τὸ ἑαυτῆς φροντιστήριον, ἀναπεπταμένη δὲ ἀεὶ δέχεται τοὺς ποτίμων διψώντας λόγων, οἷς ἀκράτου διδασκαλίας ἄφθονον ἐπαντλοῦσα νᾶμα μεθύειν τήν

¹ mss. δικαζόμενον.

² So M. The others λιγυρώτατον ("most musical" or "clear-voiced"). I feel considerable doubt as to whether M is right. The quotation which follows as well as the phrase ποτίμων λόγων comes from the myth in the *Phaedrus* which Socrates introduces with an appeal to the Muses as λῆγεται (237 A), and λιγυρός has been used earlier, 230 c, in describing the scene of the dialogue.

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

So they think, but all this is as I have said, the 11 shallow talk of men with minds bedimmed, slaves to opinion, basing themselves on the senses, whose unstable council is always open to bribes from its suitors. If they whole-heartedly sought for truth, they ought 12 not to let themselves be outdone in prudence by the sick in body. They in their desire for health commit themselves to physicians, but these people show no willingness to cast off the soul-sickness of their untrained grossness by resorting to wise men from whom they can not only unlearn their ignorance but gain that knowledge which is mankind's peculiar property. But since we have it on the sacred author- 13 ity of Plato that envy has no place in the divine choir,^b and wisdom is most divine and most free-handed, she never closes her school of thought but always opens her doors to those who thirst for the sweet water of discourse,^c and pouring on them an unstinted stream of undiluted doctrine, persuades them to be drunken with the drunkenness which is

^a See App. p. 510.

^b *Phædrus* 247 A. Quoted also with *βαίνει* for *ἵσταται* *Spec. Leg.* ii. 249, and with many echoes elsewhere. See note on *De Fuga* 62 (vol. v. pp. 583 f.).

^c Cf. *Phædrus* 243 D *ἐπιθυμῶ ποτίμῳ λόγῳ οἷον ἀλμυρὰν ἀκοὴν ἀποκλύσασθαι*. The phrase has been used several times by Philo.

14 νηφάλιον ἀναπαίθει μέθην. οἱ δὲ ὥσπερ ἐν ταῖς τελεταῖς ἱεροφαντηθέντες, ὅταν ὀργίων γεμισθῶσι, πολλὰ τῆς πρόσθεν ὀλιγωρίας ἑαυτοὺς κακίζουσιν, ὥς οὐ φεισάμενοι χρόνου, βίον δὲ τρύπαντες ἀβίω-

15 τον, ἐν ᾧ φρονήσεως ἐχήρευσαν. ἄξιον οὖν νεότητα τὴν πανταχοῦ πᾶσαν τὰς ἀπαρχὰς τῆς πρώτης ἀκμῆς μηδενὶ μᾶλλον ἢ παιδείᾳ ἀναθεῖναι,¹ ἥ καὶ ἐνηβῆσαι καὶ ἐγγηράσαι καλόν· ὥσπερ γάρ, φασί, τὰ καινὰ τῶν ἀγγείων ἀναφέρει τὰς τῶν πρώτων εἰς αὐτὰ ἐγχυθέντων ὁσμάς, οὕτως καὶ αἱ τῶν νέων ψυχαὶ τοὺς πρώτους τῶν φαντασιῶν τύπους ἀνεξαλείπτους ἐναποματτόμεναι, τῇ φορᾷ τῶν αὐθις ἐπεισερόντων ἥκιστα κατακλυζόμεναι, τὸ ἀρχαῖον διαφαίνουσιν εἶδος.

16 III. Ἄλις μὲν δὴ τούτων. ἀκριβωτέον δὲ τὸ ζητούμενον, ἵνα μὴ τῇ τῶν ὀνομάτων ἀσαφείᾳ παραγόμενοι πλαζώμεθα, καταλαβόντες δὲ περὶ οὗ ὁ λόγος τὰς ἀποδείξεις εὐσκόπως ἐφαρμόττωμεν.

17 δουλεία τοίνυν ἢ μὲν ψυχῶν, ἢ δὲ σωμάτων λέγεται. δεσπόται δὲ τῶν μὲν σωμάτων ἄνθρωποι, ψυχῶν δὲ κακίαι καὶ πάθη. κατὰ ταῦτα δὲ καὶ ἐλευθερία· ἢ μὲν γὰρ ἄδειαν σωμάτων ἀπ' ἀνθρώπων δυνατωτέρων, ἢ δὲ διανοίας ἐκεχειρίαν ἀπὸ τῆς τῶν παθῶν
[448] 18 δυναστείας | ἐργάζεται. τὸ μὲν οὖν πρότερον οὐδὲ εἰς ζητεῖ· μυρίαί γὰρ αἱ ἀνθρώπων τύχαι, καὶ πολλοὶ πολλάκις καιροῖς ἀβουλῆτοις τῶν σφόδρα

¹ On the hiatus παιδείᾳ ἀναθεῖναι see App. p. 510.

^a See App. p. 511.

^b The meaning presumably is that ἐλευθερία in the literal sense cannot be the subject of a philosophical ζήτημα because

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soberness itself. Then when like initiates in the 14
mysteries they have taken their fill of the revelations,
they reproach themselves greatly for their former
neglect and feel that they have wasted their time
and that their life while they lacked wisdom was not
worth the living. It is well then that the young, all 15
of them and everywhere, should dedicate the first
fruits of the flower of their prime above all else to
culture, wherein it is good for both youth and old age
to dwell. For just as new vessels are said to retain
the scents of the substances first poured into them,^a
so, too, the souls of the young take indelible impres-
sions of the ideas first presented to them and do not
have them washed away by the stream of the later
influx, and so they preserve the original form for all
to see.

III. So much for these matters. Let us proceed 16
to the subject of our discourse and give it careful
consideration, that we may not go astray, misled by
the vagueness in the terms employed, but apprehend
what we are talking about, adjust our arguments to
it, and so prove our point. Slavery then is applied 17
in one sense to bodies, in another to souls ; bodies
have men for their masters, souls their vices and
passions. The same is true of freedom ; one freedom
produces security of the body from men of superior
strength, the other sets the mind at liberty from the
domination of the passions. No one makes the first 18
kind the subject of investigation.^b For the vicissi-
tudes of men are numberless and in many instances
and at many times persons of the highest virtue
have through adverse blows of fortune lost the

no moral issues are involved. It is an accident which does
not tell us anything about character or conduct.

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ἀστείων τὴν ἐκ γένους ἀπέβαλον ἐλευθερίαν· ἀλλ' ἔστιν ἡ σκέψις περὶ τρόπων, οὓς οὐτ' ἐπιθυμῖαι οὔτε φόβοι οὐθ' ἡδοναὶ οὔτε λῦπαι κατέζευξαν, ὥσπερ ἐξ εἰρκτῆς προεληλυθότων καὶ δεσμῶν οἷς
 19 ἐπεσφίγγοντο διαφειμένων. ἀνελόντες οὖν ἐκποδὼν τὰς προφασιστικὰς εὐρεσιλογίας καὶ τὰ φύσεως μὲν ἀλλότρια δόξης δ' ἡρτημένα ὀνόματα οἰκοτρίβων ἢ ἀργυρωνήτων ἢ αἰχμαλώτων τὸν ἀψευδῶς ἐλεύθερον ἀναζητῶμεν, ᾧ μόνῳ τὸ αὐτοκρατὲς πρόσσεσι, καὶ μυρίοι γράφωσι δεσπότης ἑαυτοῦς. ἀναφθέγγεται γὰρ ἐκείνο τὸ Σοφόκλειον οὐδὲν τῶν πυθοχρήστων διαφέρον·

“θεὸς¹ ἐμὸς ἄρχων, θνητὸς δ' οὐδεὶς.”

20 τῷ γὰρ ὄντι μόνος ἐλεύθερος ὁ μόνῳ θεῷ χρώμενος ἡγεμόνι, κατ' ἐμὴν δὲ διάνοιαν καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἡγεμῶν, ἐπιτετραμμένος τὰ περίγεια, οἷα μεγάλου βασιλέως, θνητὸς ἀθανάτου, διάδοχος. ἀλλ' ὁ μὲν περὶ ἀρχῆς τοῦ σοφοῦ λόγος εἰς καιρὸν ἐπιτηδειότερον ὑπερκεῖσθω, τὸν δὲ περὶ ἐλευθερίας τὰ νῦν
 21 ἀκριβωτέον. εἰ δὴ τις εἴσω προελθὼν τῶν πραγμάτων ἐθελήσειε διακύψαι, γνώσεται σαφῶς, ὅτι οὐδὲν ἄλλο ἄλλῳ συγγενὲς οὕτως, ὥς αὐτοπραγία ἐλευθερία, διότι πολλὰ μὲν τῷ φαύλῳ τὰ ἐμποδῶν, φιλαργυρία, φιλοδοξία, φιληδονία, τῷ δ' ἀστείῳ τὸ παράπαν οὐδέν, ἐπανισταμένῳ καὶ ἐπιβεβηκότι

¹ Perhaps read Ζεὺς, see note a.

^a This line is quoted in Arist. *Eth. Eud.* 1242 a 37 with Ζεὺς for θεός, as the anapaestic metre requires, and is paraphrased by Ambrose “Jupiter mihi praeest, nullus autem hominum.” As Ambrose is not likely to have known the

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freedom to which they were born. Our inquiry is concerned with characters which have never fallen under the yoke of desire, or fear, or pleasure, or grief; characters which have as it were escaped from prison and thrown off the chains which bound them so tightly. Casting aside, therefore, specious 19 quibblings and the terms which have no basis in nature but depend upon convention, such as "home-bred," "purchased" or "captured in war," let us examine the veritable free man, who alone possesses independence, even though a host of people claim to be his masters. Let us hear the voice of Sophocles in words which are as true as any Delphic oracle

God and no mortal is my Sovereign.^a

For in very truth he who has God alone for his leader, 20 he alone is free, though to my thinking he is also the leader of all others, having received the charge of earthly things from the great, the immortal King, whom he, the mortal, serves as viceroy. But the subject of the wise man's sovereignty^b must be postponed to a more suitable occasion and we have now to examine his freedom carefully. If one looks with 21 a penetrating eye into the facts, he will clearly perceive that no two [things are so closely akin as independence of action and freedom, because the bad man has a multitude of incumbrances, such as love of money or reputation and pleasure, while the good man has none at all. He stands defiant and trium-

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

^b Cf. Diog. Laert. vii. 122 οὐ μόνον δὲ ἐλευθέρους εἶναι τοὺς σοφοὺς ἀλλὰ καὶ βασιλέας. This is probably the most common of the paradoxes, and is given by Philo several times, e.g. *De Mut.* 152 (vol. v. p. 591), where see note.

καθάπερ ἐν ἄθλων ἀγῶνι τοῖς καταπαλαισθεῖσιν, ἔρωτι, φόβῳ, δειλίᾳ, λύπῃ, τοῖς ὁμοιοτρόποις.
 22 ἔμαθε γὰρ ἀλογεῖν ἐπιταγμάτων, ὅσα οἱ ψυχῆς παρανομώτατοι ἄρχοντες ἐπιτάττουσι, διὰ ζῆλον καὶ πόθον ἐλευθερίας, ἥς τὸ αὐτοκέλευστον καὶ ἐθελουργὸν κλήρος ἴδιος. ἐπαινεῖται παρά τισιν ὁ τὸ τρίμετρον ἐκείνο ποιήσας

“ τίς δ’ ἐστὶ δοῦλος τοῦ θανεῖν ἄφροντις ὦν;”

ὥς μάλα συνιδὼν τὸ ἀκόλουθον· ὑπέλαβε γάρ, ὅτι οὐδὲν οὕτως δουλοῦσθαι πέφυκε διάνοιαν, ὥς τὸ ἐπὶ θανάτῳ δέος, ἔνεκα τοῦ πρὸς τὸ ζῆν ἰμέρου.

- 23 IV. χρῆν δὲ λογίσασθαι, ὅτι οὐχ ὁ τοῦ θανεῖν μόνον ἄφροντις ὦν ἀδούλωτος, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὁ τοῦ πένεσθαι καὶ ἀδοξεῖν καὶ ἀλγεῖν καὶ τῶν ἄλλων
 [449] ὅσα οἱ πολλοὶ κακὰ νομίζουσι, κακοὶ τῶν | πραγμάτων ὄντες αὐτοὶ κριταί, οἵτινες ἐκ τῶν χρειῶν δοκιμάζουσι τὸν δοῦλον εἰς τὰς ὑπηρεσίας ἀφ-
 24 ὀρῶντες, δέον εἰς τὸ ἀδούλωτον ἦθος. ὁ μὲν γὰρ ἀπὸ ταπεινοῦ καὶ δουλοπρεποῦς φρονήματος ταπεινοῖς καὶ δουλοπρεπέσι παρὰ γνώμην ἐγχειρῶν τὴν ἑαυτοῦ δοῦλος ὄντως· ὁ δὲ πρὸς τὸν παρόντα καιρὸν ἀρμοζόμενος τὰ οἰκεῖα καὶ ἐκουσίως ἅμα καὶ τλητικῶς ἐγκαρτερῶν τοῖς ἀπὸ τύχης καὶ μηδὲν καιρὸν τῶν ἀνθρωπίνων εἶναι νομίζων, ἀλλ’ ἐξήτακὼς ἐπιμελῶς, ὅτι τὰ μὲν θεῖα αἰωνίῳ τάξει καὶ εὐδαιμονίᾳ τετίμηται, τὰ δὲ θνητὰ πάντα σάλῳ καὶ κλύδωνι πραγμάτων διαφερόμενα πρὸς ἀνίσους ροπὰς ταλαντεύει, καὶ γενναίως ὑπομένων τὰ συμ-

^a Quoted also by Plut. *De Poet. Aud.* 13 as from Euripides. Plutarch makes the same point as Philo, that it applies to other seeming evils besides death.

EVERY GOOD MAN IS FREE, 21-24

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

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

and think that he well understood the thought that it involves. For he meant that nothing is so calculated to enslave the mind as fearing death through desire to live.

IV. But we must reflect that exemption from slavery belongs to him who takes no thought not only of death but also of poverty, disrepute and pain and all the other things which the mass of men count as evil, though the evil lies in themselves and in their judgement, which makes them test the slave by the tasks he performs and fix their eyes on the services he renders instead of on his unenslaved character. For he who with a mean and slavish spirit puts his hand to mean and slavish actions contrary to his own proper judgement is a slave indeed. But he who adjusts himself and his to fit the present occasion and willingly and also patiently endures the blows of fortune, who holds that there is nothing new in human circumstances, who has by diligent thought convinced himself that, while what is God's has the honour of possessing eternal order and happiness, all mortal things are carried about in the tossing surge of circumstance and sway unevenly on the balance, who nobly endures whatever befalls him—he indeed needs no more to

25 πίπτοντα φιλόσοφος εὐθύς ἐστι καὶ ἐλεύθερος. ὅθεν οὐδὲ παντὶ τῷ¹ προστάττοντι ὑπακούσεται, κἂν αἰκίας καὶ βασάνους καὶ τινας φοβερωτάτας ἀπειλὰς ἐπανατείνηται, νεανιευσάμενος δὲ ἀντικηρύξει·

“ ὅπτα, κάταιθε σάρκας, ἐμπλήσθητί μου πίνων κελαινὸν αἷμα· πρόσθε γὰρ κάτω γῆς εἰσιν ἄστρα, γῇ δ’ ἄνεις’ ἐς οὐρανόν, πρὶν ἐξ ἐμοῦ σοι θῶπ’ ἀπαντῆσαι λόγον.”

26 V. ἤδη ποτ’ εἶδον ἐν ἀγῶνι παγκρατιαστῶν τὸν μὲν ἐπιφέροντα τὰς πληγὰς καὶ χερσὶ καὶ ποσὶ καὶ πάσας εὐσκόπως καὶ μηδὲν παραλελοιπότα τῶν εἰς τὸ νικᾶν ἀπειρηκότα καὶ παρειμένον καὶ πέρας ἀστεφάνωτον ἐξελθόντα τοῦ σταδίου, τὸν δὲ τυπτόμενον, ὑπὸ πυκνότητος σαρκῶν πεπιλημένον, στρυφνόν, ναστόν, ὄντως γέμοντα πνεύματος ἀθλητικοῦ, δι’ ὅλων νενευρωμένον, οἷα πέτραι ἢ σίδηρον, οὐδὲν μὲν πρὸς τὰς πληγὰς ἐνδόντα, τὴν δὲ τοῦ ἀντιπάλου δύναμιν τῷ καρτερικῷ καὶ παγίῳ τῆς ὑπομονῆς καθηρηκότα
27 μέχρι παντελοῦς νίκης. ὅμοιον δὴ τι τούτῳ πεπονθέναι μοι δοκεῖ ὁ ἀστεῖος· τὴν γὰρ ψυχὴν εὖ μάλα κραταιωθείς ἰσχυρογνώμονι λογισμῷ θάπτει ἀναγκάζει τὸν βιαζόμενον ἀπειπεῖν ἢ ὑπομένει τι

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

^a See on § 99.

^b Or “elasticity”—or perhaps “with the well-knit frame of the true athlete.” That is to say I conceive the word to be used in the semi-physical Stoic sense of the force or current

EVERY GOOD MAN IS FREE, 25-27

make him a philosopher and a free man. And, there- 25
fore, he will not obey just anyone who gives him
orders, even though he menaces him with outrage
and tortures and threats however dreadful, but will
openly and boldly defy him thus :

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

V. I have observed in a contest of pancratiasts how 26
one of the combatants will strike blow after blow both
with hands and feet, every one of them well aimed,
and leave nothing undone that might secure his
victory, and yet he will finally quit the arena without
a crown in a state of exhaustion and collapse, while
the object of his attack, a mass of closely packed
flesh, rigid and solid, full of the wiriness^b of the true
athlete, his sinews taut from end to end, firm as a
piece of rock or iron, will yield not a whit to the
blows, but by his stark and stubborn endurance will
break down utterly the strength of his adversary and
end by winning a complete victory. Much the same 27
as it seems to me is the case of the virtuous man ;
his soul strongly fortified with a resolution firmly
founded on reason, he compels the employer of
violence to give up in exhaustion, sooner than himself

which holds bodies together and is otherwise known as *ἔξις*.
Thus "walking" is said by Seneca to be a "*spiritus a princi-
pali usque ad pedes permissus*" (Arnold, *Roman Stoicism*,
pp. 89, 250). See on *ἔξεως πνευματικῆς* (*De Aet.* 86). It
can hardly here mean "athletic spirit" in the sense that we
use the phrase, nor yet the "good wind" of the athlete,
though Leisegang perhaps took it so, when he couples this
passage with *Leg. All.* iii. 14 ἀθλητοῦ τρόπον διαπνέοντος καὶ
συλλεγομένου τὸ πνεῦμα.

PHILO

- δράσαι τῶν παρὰ γνώμην. ἀλλ' ἄπιστον ἴσως τοῖς
 μὴ πεπονηθόσιν ἀρετῇ¹ τὸ λεγόμενον²—καὶ γὰρ
 ἐκείνο τοῖς τοῖς παγκρατιαστὰς οὐκ εἰδόσι—, γέγονε
 28 δ' οὐδὲν ἥττον ἐπ' ἀληθείας. εἰς ταῦτα δ' ἀπιδὼν
 Ἀντισθένης δυσβάστακτον εἶπεν εἶναι τὸν ἀστεῖον·
 ὥς γὰρ ἡ ἀφροσύνη κοῦφον καὶ φερόμενον, (οὕτως)³
 ἡ φρόνησις ἐπηρεισμένον καὶ ἀκλινὲς καὶ βάρος
 29 ἔχον ἀσάλευτον. ὁ δὲ δὴ τῶν Ἰουδαίων νομοθέτης
 [450] τὰς τοῦ σοφοῦ χεῖρας | βαρείας εἰσάγει, διὰ συμ-
 βόλων τὰς πράξεις αἰνιττόμενος οὐκ ἐπιπολαίως
 ἀλλὰ παγίως ἐρηρεισμένας ἀπὸ διανοίας ἀρρεπουῖς.
 30 πρὸς οὐδενὸς οὖν ἀναγκάζεται, ἅτε καταπεφρονη-
 κῶς μὲν ἀλγηδόνων, καταπεφρονηκῶς δὲ θανάτου,
 νόμῳ δὲ φύσεως ὑπηκόους ἔχων ἅπαντας ἄφρονας·
 ὅνπερ γὰρ τρόπον αἰγῶν μὲν καὶ βοῶν καὶ προ-
 βάτων αἰπόλοι καὶ βουκόλοι καὶ νομεῖς ἀφηγοῦνται,
 τὰς δ' ἀγέλας ἀμήχανον ἐπιτάξαι ποιμέσι, τὸν
 αὐτὸν τρόπον οἱ μὲν πολλοὶ θρέμμασιν ἐοικότες
 ἐπιστάτου καὶ ἄρχοντος δέονται, ἡγεμόνες δ' εἰσὶν
 οἱ ἀστεῖοι τὴν τῶν ἀγελαρχῶν τεταγμένοι τάξιν.
 31 Ὁμηρος μὲν οὖν “ποιμένας λαῶν” εἴωθε καλεῖν
 τοὺς βασιλέας, ἡ δὲ φύσις τοῖς ἀγαθοῖς κυριώτερον

¹ See note *a*. The correction *προσπεπονηθόσιν ἀρετῇ* is possible, particularly as M has *ἀρετῇ* (= -ῇ) = “devoted to virtue.” I suggest for consideration *πεποιθόσιν ἀρετῇ* or *πεποθηκόσιν ἀρετῇ*.

² Cohn punctuates with a colon after *λεγόμενον*, and comma after *εἰδόσι*, thus making the case of the pancratiast to be the subject of *γέγονε* instead of the moral victory of the *ἀστεῖος*.

³ On the insertion of *οὕτως* see App. p. 511.

^a *i.e.* in themselves, but *πάσχειν ἀρετῇ* in this sense, or
 26

EVERY GOOD MAN IS FREE, 27-31

submit to do anything contrary to his judgement. This statement may perhaps seem incredible to those who have had no experience of virtue^a (so would the other just mentioned to those who do not know the pancratiast), but none the less it is an actual fact. It 28 is this which Antisthenes had in view when he said that a virtuous man is heavy to carry,^b for as want of sense is a light thing, never stationary, so good sense is firmly based, never swerves and has a weight that cannot be shaken. The law-giver of the Jews de- 29 scribes the wise man's hands as heavy,^c indicating by this figure that his actions are not superficial but firmly based, the outcome of a mind that never wavers. No one then can compel him, since he has 30 come to despise both pain and death, and by the law of nature has all fools in subjection. For just as goats and oxen and sheep are led by goatherds and oxherds and shepherds, and flocks and herds cannot possibly give orders to herdsmen, so too the multitude, who are like cattle, require a master and a ruler and have for their leaders men of virtue, appointed to the office of governing the herd. Homer 31 often calls kings "shepherds of the people,"^d but nature more accurately applies the title to the good,

even in the sense of having experience of virtue in others is more than doubtful Greek. No satisfactory emendation however has been proposed. See note 1.

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

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

^d e.g. *Il.* ii. 243.

τουτὶ τοῦνομα ἐπεφήμεσεν, εἴ γε ἐκείνοι ποιμαίνονται τὸ πλεόν ἢ ποιμαίνουσιν—ἄκρατος γὰρ αὐτοὺς ἄγει καὶ εὐμορφία πέμματα τέ καὶ ὄψα καὶ τὰ μαγεύρων καὶ σιτοποιῶν ἡδύσματα, ἵνα τὰς ἀργύρου καὶ χρυσοῦ καὶ τῶν σεμνοτέρων ἐπιθυμίας παραλείπω—, τοῖς δ' ὑπ' οὐδενὸς συμβέβηκε δελεάζεσθαι, νουθετεῖν δὲ καὶ ὅσους ἂν αἰσθωνται πάγαις ἡδονῆς ἀλικομένους.

- 32 VI. Ὅτι δ' οὐχ αἱ ὑπηρεσίαι μηνύματ' εἰσὶ δουλείας, ἐναργεστάτη πίστις οἱ πόλεμοι· τοὺς γὰρ στρατευομένους ἰδεῖν ἔστιν αὐτουργοὺς ἅπαντας, οὐ μόνον τὰς πανοπλίας κομίζοντας, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὅσα πρὸς τὴν ἀναγκαίαν χρῆσιν ὑποζυγίων τρόπον ἐπηχθισμένους, εἴτ' ἐφ' ὕδρειαν ἐξιόντας καὶ φρυγανισμόν καὶ χιλὸν κτήνεσι. τὰ γὰρ πρὸς τοὺς ἐχθροὺς ἐν ταῖς στρατείαις τί δεῖ μακρηγορεῖν, τάφρους ἀνατεμνόντων ἢ τεῖχη κατασκευαζόντων ἢ τριήρεις ναυπηγουμένων ἢ ὅσα ὑπουργίας ἢ τέχνης πάντα χερσὶ καὶ τῷ ἄλλῳ σώματι ὑπηρε-
34 τούντων. ἔστι δέ τις καὶ κατ' εἰρήνην πόλεμος τῶν ἐν τοῖς ὅπλοις οὐκ ἀποδέων, ὃν ἀδοξία καὶ πενία καὶ δεινὴ σπάνις τῶν ἀναγκαίων συγκροτοῦσιν, ὑφ' οὗ βιασθέντες ἐγχειρεῖν καὶ τοῖς δουλοπρεπεστάτοις ἀναγκάζονται, σκάπτοντες, γέωπονοῦντες, βαναύσους ἐπιτηδεύοντες τέχνας,

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

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

VI. ^aThat services rendered are no proof of enslave- 32
ment is very clearly shown in war-time. We see soldiers in the field all working on their own account, not only carrying all their weapons, but also laden like beasts with every necessary requirement, and then making expeditions to get water or firewood or fodder for the animals. As for labours required in 33
defence against the enemy, such as cutting trenches or building walls or constructing triremes, and all other skilled or subsidiary operations in which the hands and the rest of the body are employed, there is no need to recount them at length. On the other hand, 34
there is a peace-time war, no less grave than those fought with arms, a war set on foot by disrepute and poverty and dire lack of the necessities of life, a war by which men are forced under duress to undertake the most servile tasks, digging and toiling on the land and practising menial crafts, labouring un-

calls the soldier a slave, nor yet that other soldier, the freeman driven by poverty to do menial tasks. On the other hand (§ 34) persons who are admittedly slaves in the ordinary sense have functions which are not *ὑπηρεσίαι*. A second test (obedience) begins in § 36. This breaks down because children and pupils obey but are not slaves; a third test, purchase (§ 37), because ransomed captives are not slaves, and purchase also does not prevent the complete subjection of the purchaser to the purchased (§§ 38-39).

ὑπηρετοῦντες ἀόκνως ἔνεκα τοῦ παρατρέφεσθαι, πολλάκις δὲ καὶ κατὰ μέσσην ἀγορὰν ἀχθοφοροῦντες ἐν ἡλικιωτῶν καὶ συμφοιτητῶν καὶ συνεφήβων
 35 ὄψεσιν. ἕτεροι δ' εἰσὶν ἐκ γένους δοῦλοι

τὰ τῶν ἐλευθέρων εὐμοιρία τύχης μετιόντες· ἐπι-
 τροποι γὰρ οἰκιῶν καὶ κτημάτων καὶ μεγάλων
 οὐσιῶν, ἔστι δ' ὅτε καὶ τῶν ὁμοδούλων ἄρχοντες
 καθίστανται, πολλοὶ δὲ καὶ γυναῖκας καὶ παῖδας
 ὀρφανοὺς δεσποτῶν ἐπετράπησαν, φίλων καὶ συγ-
 γενῶν προκριθέντες εἰς πίστιν· ἀλλ' ὅμως εἰσὶ
 δοῦλοι, δανείζοντες, ὠνούμενοι, προσόδους ἐκλεγό-
 μενοι, θεραπευόμενοι. τί οὖν θαυμαστόν, εἰ καὶ
 [451] κατὰ τὸναντίον ὀλίσθω τις εὐτυχίας | δουλικὰς
 36 χρείας ἐπιτελεῖ; τὸ δ' ὑπακούειν ἑτέρῳ τὴν ἐλευ-
 θερίαν ἀφαιρεῖται. καὶ πῶς πατὴρς μὲν ἢ μητὴρ
 ἐπιταγμάτων παῖδες ἀνέχονται, γνώριμοι δὲ ὦν
 ὑφηγηταὶ¹ διακελεύονται; δοῦλος γὰρ ἐκὼν οὐδεὶς.
 οἳ γε μὴν τοκέες οὐ τοσαύτην ὑπερβολὴν ἐπιδεί-
 ξονται ποτε μισοτεκνίας, ὥσθ' ἂ μόνον σύμβολα
 δουλείας ἐστί, τὰς ὑπηρεσίας, ἀναγκάσαι ἂν παῖδας
 37 τοὺς ἑαυτῶν ὑπομένειν. εἰ δέ τινας ὑπ' ἀνδραπο-
 δοκαπήλων ἐπευωνιζομένους ἰδὼν τις οἶεται δού-
 λους εὐθὺς εἶναι, πολὺ διαμαρτάνει τῆς ἀληθείας·
 οὐ γὰρ ἡ πρᾶσις ἢ κύριον ἀποφαίνει τὸν πριάμενον

¹ MSS. ὑφηγῶνται or ἀφηγοῦνται.

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

^b This may be taken in two ways, (1) as in the translation with what follows: the parents' interests are identical with those of the children, and they cannot wish them to be slaves;

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ceasingly to earn a meagre^a subsistence ; often too carrying burdens in the midst of the market place before the eyes of their fellows in age who were their associates in boyhood and in youth.

There are others born in slavery, who by a happy dispensation of fortune pursue the occupations of the free. 35 They receive the stewardship of houses and landed estates and great properties ; sometimes too they become the rulers of their fellow slaves. Many too have the wives and orphan children of their masters committed to their charge, being preferred for trustworthiness to friends and members of the family. Still all the same they are slaves though they lend, purchase, collect revenues and are much courted. Why then should we wonder when the opposite occurs and a man whose good luck has taken a bad turn performs the offices of a slave ? But you say, " by 36 obedience to another he loses his liberty." How then is it that children suffer the orders of their father or mother, and pupils the injunctions of their instructors ? For no one is willing to be a slave^b ; and surely parents will not show such an extreme hatred of their offspring as to compel their own children to submit to render services which according to you are the sole distinctive marks of slavery. Again, anyone who 37 thinks that people put up for sale^c by kidnappers thereby become slaves goes utterly astray from the truth. Selling does not make the purchaser a master,

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

^a Perhaps " sold cheap " as apparently in § 121. On the other hand neither here nor in *Placcus* 132 is there much point in cheapness. See my note on *De Cher.* 123, vol. ii. p. 486, where it is suggested that the word merely conveys some measure of contempt like our " peddling."

ἢ τὸν πραθέντα δοῦλον, ἐπεὶ καὶ πατέρες υἱῶν τιμὰς κατέθεσαν καὶ υἱοὶ πολλάκις πατέρων ἢ κατὰ ληστείας ἀπαχθέντων ἢ κατὰ πόλεμον αἰχμαλώτων γενομένων, οὓς οἱ τῆς φύσεως νόμοι τῶν κάτωθεν ὄντες βεβαιότεροι γράφουσιν ἐλευθέρους.

- 38 ἤδη δέ τινες καὶ προσυπερβάλλοντες εἰς τοῦναντίον περιήγαγον τὸ πρᾶγμα, δεσπότηαι γεγόμενοι τῶν πριαμένων ἀντὶ δούλων· ἔγωγ' οὖν ἐθεασάμην πολλάκις εὐμορφα παιδισκάρια καὶ φύσει στωμύλα δυσὶν ὀρμητηρίοις, ὧς κἀλλει καὶ τῇ περὶ λόγους χάριτι, πορθοῦντα τοὺς κεκτημένους· ἐλεπόλεις γὰρ ταῦτα ψυχῶν ἀνδρύτων καὶ ἀνερματίστων, μηχανημάτων ἀπάντων ὅσα ἐπ' ἀνατροπῇ τειχῶν κατασκευάζεται σθεναρώτερα.
- 39 σημεῖον δέ· θεραπεύουσιν, ἰκετεύουσιν, εὐμένειαν ὥς παρὰ τύχης καὶ ἀγαθοῦ δαίμονος αἰτεῖσθαι γλίσχονται, καὶ παρορώμενοι μὲν σφαδάζουσιν, εἰ δ' αὐτὸ μόνον τὸ βλέμμα ἵλεων θεάσαιντο, γε-
- 40 γηθότες ἀνορχοῦνται. εἰ μὴ καὶ τὸν λέοντας ὠνησάμενον δεσπότην φατέον εἶναι λεόντων, ὅς, εἰ μόνον ἐπανατείνωντο τὰς ὄψεις, οἷους ἐπρίατο κυρίους ὁ δύστηνος, ὥς χαλεποὺς καὶ ὠμοθύμους, αὐτίκα παθὼν εἴσεται. τί οὖν; οὐκ οἴομεθα τὸν σοφὸν ἀδουλωτότερον εἶναι λεόντων, ἐλευθέρῳ καὶ ἀτρώτῳ ψυχῇ τὴν ἀλκὴν ἔχοντα μᾶλλον ἢ εἰ

^a εἰ μὴ refers back to § 37. Philo is no doubt thinking

EVERY GOOD MAN IS FREE, 37-40

nor the purchased a slave. Fathers pay a price for their sons and sons often for their fathers if they have been carried off in raids or taken prisoners in war, and that such persons are free men is asserted by the laws of nature which have a more solid foundation than those of our lower world.

Indeed, some of those thus bought and sold reverse 38 the situation to such an extreme extent that they become the masters of their purchasers instead of their slaves. I have often myself seen pretty little slave girls with a natural gift for wheedling words, who with these two sources of strength, beauty of face and charm of speech, stormed the hearts of their owners. For these two are engines of attack against souls with no ballast or stability, engines mightier than all the machines constructed to demolish walls. This is shown by the way in which their owners court 39 them, supplicate them, eagerly beg their favours, as though they were praying to fortune or some good genius. If they are scouted they go into fits of despair and if they just see a kindly glance they dance for joy. If selling constitutes slavery we 40 should have to assert that a person who had bought some lions is master of the lions,^a whereas if the beasts do but turn menacing eyes upon him, the poor man will learn at once by experience the cruel and ferocious lordship of those whom he has purchased. Well then must we not suppose that if lions cannot, still less can the wise man be enslaved, who has in his free and unscathed soul a greater power of resistance of the story told of Diogenes (Diog. Laert. vi. 75): when his friends offered to ransom him from the pirates, he refused, "for lions are not slaves of those who keep them, but they are the slaves of the lions. For fear is the mark of the slave, but wild beasts make men fear them."

σώματι φύσει δούλω καὶ εὐτονία κραταιοτάτῃ¹
 ἰσχύος ἀφηγιάζοι;

- 41 VII. Μάθοι δ' ἂν τις τὴν ἐλευθερίαν,² ἥ περὶ τὸν
 σπουδαῖόν ἐστι, καὶ ἐξ ἑτέρων· δοῦλος εὐδαίμων
 πρὸς ἀλήθειαν οὐδεὶς· τί γὰρ ἀθλιώτερον ἢ πάντων
 ἄκυρον εἶναί τινα καὶ ἑαυτοῦ; ὁ δέ γε σοφὸς
 εὐδαίμων, ἔρμα καὶ πλήρωμα καλοκαγαθίας ἐπι-
 φερόμενος, ἐν ἧ τὸ κῦρὸς ἐστὶν ἀπάντων· (ὥστ')
 ἀναμφιβόλως καὶ ἐξ ἀνάγκης ὁ σπουδαῖος ἐλεύ-
 42 θερὸς ἐστι. πρὸς τούτοις τίς οὐκ ἂν εἴποι τοὺς
 φίλους τοῦ θεοῦ³ ἐλευθέρους εἶναι; εἰ μὴ τοῖς μὲν
 [452] τῶν βασιλέων ἐταίροις | ἄξιον οὐ μόνον ἐλευθερίαν
 ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀρχὴν ὁμολογεῖν⁴ συνεπιτροπεύουσι καὶ
 συνδιέπουσι τὴν ἡγεμονίαν, τοῖς δὲ θεῶν τῶν
 ὀλυμπίων δουλείαν ἐπιφημιστέον, οἱ διὰ τὸ φιλό-
 θεον εὐθὺς γενόμενοι θεοφιλεῖς, ἴση ἀντιτιμηθέντες
 εὐνοία παρ' ἀληθεία δικαζούσῃ, καθάπερ οἱ ποιηταὶ
 φασι, πανάρχοντές τε καὶ βασιλέες βασιλέων εἰσί.
 43 νεανικώτερον δ' ὁ τῶν Ἰουδαίων νομοθέτης προσ-
 υπερβάλλων, ἅτε γυμνῆς ὡς λόγος ἀσκητῆς
 φιλοσοφίας, τὸν ἔρωτι θείῳ κατεσχημένον καὶ τὸ
 ὄν μόνον θεραπεύοντα οὐκέτ' ἄνθρωπον ἀλλὰ θεὸν

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

² mss. ἀλήθειαν.

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

⁴ mss. συνομολογεῖν.

^a See on § 128.

EVERY GOOD MAN IS FREE, 40-43

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

VII. The freedom of the good man may be learnt 41 in other ways. No slave is really happy. For what greater misery is there than to live with no power over anything, including oneself? But the wise man is happy, ballasted and freighted ^a by his high morality, which confers power over everything, and so beyond all doubt and of sheer necessity, the good man is free. Furthermore no one would deny that the friends 42 of God are free. Surely when we agree that the familiars of kings enjoy not only freedom but authority, because they take part in their management and administration as leaders, we must not give the name of slaves to those who stand in the same relation to the celestial gods, who are god-lovers and thereby necessarily god-beloved, rewarded with the same affection as they have shown, and in the judgement of truth are as the poets say, ^b rulers of all and kings of kings. The legislator of the Jews in a bolder spirit 43 went to a further extreme and in the practice of his "naked" philosophy, ^c as they call it, ventured to speak of him who was possessed by love of the divine and worshipped the Self-existent only, as having

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

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

ἀπετόλμησεν εἰπεῖν· ἀνθρώπων μέντοι θεόν, οὐ τῶν
 τῆς φύσεως μερῶν, ἵνα τῷ πάντων καταλίπη πατρὶ
 44 τὸ θεῶν εἶναι βασιλεῖ καὶ θεῷ. ἀρ' ἄξιον τὸν
 προνομίας τοσαύτης τετυχηκότα δοῦλον ἢ μόνον
 ἐλεύθερον εἶναι νομίζεις; ὃς εἰ καὶ θείας οὐκ
 ἡξίωται μοίρας καθ' αὐτόν, ἀλλὰ τοι διὰ τὸ φίλῳ
 θεῷ χρῆσθαι πάντως ὥφειλεν εὐδαιμονεῖν· οὔτε γὰρ
 ἀσθενὴς ὁ ὑπέρμαχος οὔτε φιλικῶν ἀμελὴς δικαίων
 θεὸς ἐταίρεῖος ὢν καὶ τὰ κατὰ τοὺς ἐταίρους
 45 ἐφορῶν. ἔτι τοίνυν, ὥσπερ τῶν πόλεων αἱ μὲν
 ὀλιγαρχούμεναι καὶ τυραννούμεναι δουλείαν ὑπο-
 μένουσι χαλεποὺς καὶ βαρεῖς ἔχουσαι δεσπότης
 τοὺς ὑπαγομένους καὶ κρατοῦντας, αἱ δὲ νόμοις
 ἐπιμεληταῖς χρώμεναι καὶ προστάταις εἰσὶν ἐλεύ-
 θεραι, οὕτως καὶ τῶν ἀνθρώπων, παρ' οἷς μὲν ὀργὴ
 ἢ ἐπιθυμία ἢ τι ἄλλο πάθος ἢ καὶ ἐπίβουλος κακία
 δυναστεύει, πάντως εἰσὶ δοῦλοι, ὅσοι δὲ μετὰ νόμου
 46 ζῶσιν, ἐλεύθεροι. νόμος δὲ ἀψευδὴς ὁ ὀρθὸς λόγος,
 οὐχ ὑπὸ τοῦ δέινος ἢ τοῦ δαίμονος, θνητοῦ φθαρτός,
 ἐν χαρτιδίῳ ἢ στήλαις, ἄψυχος ἀψύχους, ἀλλ' ὑπ'
 ἀθανάτου φύσεως ἄφθαρτος ἐν ἀθανάτῳ διανοίᾳ
 47 τυπωθεὶς. διὸ καὶ θαυμάσαι ἂν τις τῆς ἀμβλυ-
 ωπίας τοὺς τρανὰς οὔτω πραγμάτων ιδιότητος μὴ
 συνορῶντας, οἳ μεγίστοις μὲν δήμοις Ἀθήναις καὶ
 Λακεδαιμόνι πρὸς ἐλευθερίαν αὐταρκεστάτους εἶναι
 φασὶ τοὺς Σόλωνος καὶ Λυκούργου νόμους κρα-
 τοῦντάς τε καὶ ἄρχοντας πειθαρχούντων αὐτοῖς
 τῶν πολιτευομένων, σοφοῖς δὲ ἀνδράσι τὸν ὀρθὸν
 λόγον, ὃς καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἐστὶ πηγὴ νόμοις, οὐχ

^a See Ex. vii. 1 "Behold I give thee as a god to Pharaoh";

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passed from a man into a god, though, indeed, a god to men, not to the different parts of nature, thus leaving to the Father of all the place of King and God of gods.^a Does one who has obtained so great a 44 preferment deserve to be considered a slave and not rather the solely free? Though he was not deemed worthy of divine rank in his own right, yet because he had God for a friend, he was bound to have absolute felicity, for he had no feeble champion, nor one neglectful of the rights of friendship in Him who is the comrade's god and keeps watch over the claims of comradeship. Further again, just as with cities, 45 those which lie under an oligarchy or tyranny suffer enslavement, because they have cruel and severe masters, who keep them in subjection under their sway, while those which have laws to care for and protect them are free, so, too, with men. Those in whom anger or desire or any other passion, or again any insidious vice holds sway, are entirely enslaved, while all whose life is regulated by law are free. And right reason is an infallible law engraved not by 46 this mortal or that and, therefore, perishable as he, nor on parchment or slabs, and, therefore, soulless as they, but by immortal nature on the immortal mind, never to perish. So, one may well wonder at the 47 short-sightedness of those who ignore the characteristics which so clearly distinguish different things and declare that the laws of Solon and Lycurgus are all-sufficient to secure the freedom of the greatest of republics, Athens and Sparta, because their sovereign authority is loyally accepted by those who enjoy that citizenship, yet deny that right reason, which is the

a text cited elsewhere several times. Cf. in particular *Quod Det.* 161 ff.

ικανὸν εἶναι πρὸς μετουσίαν ἐλευθερίας ὑπακούουσι πάντων, ἅττ' ἂν ἢ προστάτῃ ἢ ἀπαγορεύῃ.

- 48 πρὸς τοίνυν τοῖς εἰρημένοις ἐναργεστάτῃ πίστις ἐλευθερίας ἰσηγορία, ἣν οἱ σπουδαῖοι πάντες ἄγουσι πρὸς ἀλλήλους. ὅθεν καὶ τὰ τρίμετρα φιλοσόφως ἐκείνά φασιν εἰρῆσθαι.

[453] | “οὐ γὰρ μετεῖναι τῶν νόμων δούλοις ἔφν.”

καὶ πάλιν.

“δοῦλος πέφυκας, οὐ μέτεστί σοι λόγου.”

- 49 καθάπερ οὖν ὁ μουσικὸς νόμος ἅπασι τοῖς ἐπιτετηδευκόσι μουσικὴν ἰσηγορίας τῆς ἐν τῇ τέχνῃ μεταδίδωσι καὶ ὁ γραμματικὸς ἢ ὁ γεωμετρικὸς γραμματικοῖς ἢ γεωμέτραις, οὕτω καὶ ὁ ἐν τῷ
50 βίῳ νόμος τοῖς ἐμπείροις τῶν βιωτικῶν. οἱ δὲ σπουδαῖοι πάντες ἔμπειροι τῶν κατὰ τὸν βίον πραγμάτων εἰσίν, ὅποτε καὶ τῶν ἐν ἀπάσῃ τῇ φύσει· καὶ εἰσὶ τινες αὐτῶν ἐλεύθεροι, ὥστε καὶ ὅσοι τούτοις ἰσηγορίας μετέχουσιν. οὐδεὶς ἄρα τῶν σπουδαίων δοῦλος, ἀλλ' ἐλεύθεροι πάντες.
51 VIII. ἀπὸ δὲ τῆς αὐτῆς ἀφορμῆς καὶ ὅτι δοῦλος ὁ ἄφρων ἐστίν, ἐπιδειχθήσεται. ὥσπερ γὰρ ὁ κατὰ μουσικὴν νόμος οὐ δίδωσιν ἰσηγορίαν ἀμουσοῖς

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

^b The point of the words “some . . . free” is obscure both here and below and their expunction has been suggested. I think they are defensible here, but not below, where I suggest that they may have been inserted in mistaken analogy. The argument, as I understand it, is, *ἰσηγορία* between persons implies that they are of the same status, both free

EVERY GOOD MAN IS FREE, 47-51

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

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

No part or lot in law has any slave
and again

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

Just as the laws of music put all adepts in music on 49 an equal footing in discussing that art and the laws of grammar and geometry do the same for their respective professionals, so, too, the laws of human life and conduct create a similar equality between those who are proficient in life-matters. But the 50 good are all proficient in such matters, because their proficiency embraces the whole of nature. Some of the good are admittedly free,^b and, therefore, all who enjoy the right to address them on an equal footing are free also. Consequently none of the good is a slave but all are free. VIII. By the same line of 51 argument it will appear that the fool is a slave. The laws of music, of grammar, of art in general, do not put the unmusical, the illiterate, the inartistic in

or both slaves. All good men, being proficient in the laws or art of conduct, have *ισηγ.* with each other, therefore they are all either free or slaves. And as no one denies that some good men are free, they must all be free.

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

πρὸς μεμουςωμένους οὐδ' ὁ κατὰ γραμματικὴν
 ἀγγραμμάτοις πρὸς γραμματικούς οὐδὲ συνόλως
 ὁ τεχνικός πρὸς τεχνίτας ἀτέχνους, οὕτως οὐδ' ὁ
 βιωτικός νόμος ἰσηγορίας μεταδίδωσι τοῖς κατὰ
 52 τὸν βίον ἀπείροις πρὸς ἐμπείρους. τοῖς δ' ἐλευθέ-
 ροις ἢ ἐκ νόμου πᾶσιν ἰσηγορία δίδεται· [καὶ εἰσὶ
 τινες τῶν σπουδαίων ἐλεύθεροι·] καὶ τῶν βιωτικῶν
 ἄπειροι μὲν οἱ φαῦλοι, ἐμπειρότατοι δ' οἱ σοφοί·
 οὐκ ἄρ' εἰσὶ τινες τῶν φαύλων ἐλεύθεροι, δοῦλοι
 53 δὲ πάντες. ὁ δὲ Ζήνων, εἰ καὶ τις ἄλλος ὑπ'
 ἀρετῆς ἀχθείς, νεανικώτερον ἀποδείκνυσι περὶ τοῦ
 μὴ εἶναι τοῖς φαύλοις ἰσηγορίαν πρὸς ἀστείουσ-
 φησὶ γάρ· “οὐκ οἰμώζεται μὲν ὁ φαῦλος, ἐὰν
 ἀντιλέγῃ τῷ σπουδαίῳ;” οὐκ ἄρ' ἐστὶν ἰσηγορία
 54 τῷ φαύλῳ πρὸς σπουδαῖον. οἶδ' ὅτι πολλοὶ τοῦ
 λόγου κατακερτομήσουσιν ὥς αὐθαδεῖα τὸ πλεόν
 ἐρωτηθέντος ἢ συνέσει. μετὰ δὲ τὴν χλευήν παυ-
 σάμενοι τοῦ γέλωτος ἦν ἐβελήσωσι διακύψαι καὶ
 τὸ λεγόμενον σαφῶς ἐρευνῆσαι, καταπλαγέντες
 αὐτοῦ τὸ ἀψευδὲς εἴσονται, ὅτι ἐπ' οὐδενὶ μᾶλλον
 55 οἰμώζεται τις ἢ τῷ μὴ πειθαρχεῖν τῷ σοφῷ. ζημία
 γὰρ χρημάτων ἢ ἀτιμία ἢ φυγαὶ ἢ αἱ διὰ πληγῶν
 ὕβρεις ἢ ὅσα ὁμοιότροπα βραχέα καὶ τὸ μηδὲν
 ἀντιτιθέμενα κακίαις καὶ ὧν αἱ κακαὶ δημιουργοί.
 τοὺς δὲ πολλούς, οὐ συνροῶντας τὰς ψυχῆς βλάβας

^a Cohn and Arnim in *S.V.F.* i. 228 take this sentence as part of the quotation from Zeno. It seems to me better to take it as Philo's inference from Zeno's dictum. To include it in Zeno's words would imply that he made a point of

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general on an equal footing in discussion with the musical, the literary and the artistic. In the same way the laws of life and conduct do not put the unproficient in life matters on an equal footing in discussion with the proficient. But this right of equal 52 discussion, which these laws give, is given to all the free [and some of the good are free]. And in life-matters the bad are unproficient, while the wise are most proficient and consequently none of the bad is free but all are slaves. Zeno, who lived under the 53 direction of virtue to an unsurpassed degree, proves still more forcibly that the bad are not on equal terms in addressing the virtuous. "Shall not the bad rue it if he gainsay the good?" he says. The bad man, therefore, has no right to speak to a good man as his equal.^a I am aware that many people 54 will pour abuse on such words and hold that Zeno's question^b shows presumption rather than good sense. But when they have had their jeering and stopped laughing, if they are willing to look closely and seek for a clear understanding of the saying, they will to their utter confusion recognize its absolute truth and that nothing will a man rue more than refusal to 55 listen to the wise. For confiscation of money or disfranchisement or banishment or the cruel disgrace of the lash, or anything else of the same kind, are small things and of no account when set against vices and the results which vices produce. But the majority, who through the blindness of their reason do not discern the damages which the soul has sustained, *ισηγορία*, and one might expect to hear more of it, but the term does not appear elsewhere in *S.V.F.* Also § 54 deals entirely with Zeno's question and not with the inference drawn from it.

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

- διὰ λογισμοῦ πῆρῳσιν, ἐπὶ νόμοις ταῖς ἐκτὸς συμβέβηκεν ἄχθεσθαι, τὸ κριτήριον ἀφῆρημένους, ὧ
 56 μόνῳ καταλαβεῖν ἔστι διανοίας ζημίαν. εἰ δὲ
 δυνηθεῖεν ἀναβλέψαι, θεασάμενοι τὰς δι' ἀφροσύνης
 [454] ἀπάτας καὶ τὰς ἐκ | δειλίας ἐπηρείας καὶ ὅσα
 ἀκολασία παρώνησεν ἢ ἀδικία παρηνόμησεν, ἐπὶ
 ταῖς τοῦ ἀρίστου συμφοραῖς λύπης ἀπαύστου γε-
 μισθέντες οὐδὲ παρηγορίας δι' ὑπερβολὰς κακῶν
 57 ἀνέξονται. εἴοικε δὲ ὁ Ζήνων ἀρύσασθαι
 τὸν λόγον ὥσπερ ἀπὸ πηγῆς τῆς Ἰουδαίων νομο-
 θεσίας, ἐν ᾗ δυοῖν ὄντοι ἀδελφοῖν, τοῦ μὲν σώ-
 φρονος, τοῦ δ' ἀκολάστου, λαβὼν οἶκτον ὁ κοινὸς
 ἀμφοῖν πατήρ τοῦ μὴ ἐπ' ἀρετὴν ἦκοντος εὐχεται,
 ἵνα δουλεύσῃ τῷ ἀδελφῷ, τὸ δοκοῦν μέγιστον
 εἶναι κακόν, δουλείαν, ἀγαθὸν τελεώτατον ὑπο-
 λαμβάνων ἀφρονι, τὸ μὲν αὐτεξούσιον ἀφῆρη-
 μένῳ πρὸς τὸ μὴ σὺν ἀδείᾳ πλημμελεῖν, ἐκ δὲ τῆς
 τοῦ προεστῶτος προστασίας βελτιωθησομένῳ τὸ
 ἦθος.
- 58 IX. Τὰ μὲν οὖν λεχθέντα πρὸς τὴν τοῦ ζητου-
 μένου διασύστασιν ἔμοιγε ἀποχρῶντα ἦν. ἐπεὶ δὲ
 τὰ ποικίλα τῶν νοσημάτων ἰατροῖς ἔθος ποικιλω-
 τέραις ἰᾶσθαι θεραπείαις, ἀνάγκη καὶ τοῖς παρα-
 δόξοις νομιζομένοις τῶν προβλημάτων διὰ τὸ ἄηθες
 ἐπάγειν πίστεις ἐπαλλήλους προσεγυχρίοντας· μόλις
 γὰρ ἔνιοι συνεχεῖα πληττόμενοι τῶν ἀποδείξεων
 59 αἰσθάνονται. λέγεται τοίνυν οὐκ ἀπὸ σκοποῦ, ὅτι

^a Gen. xxvii. 40 "Thou shalt serve (δουλεύσεις) thy brother." Cf. *De Cong.* 176. For the idea that Zeno drew from Moses cf. the ascription of Heracleitus's doctrine of the opposites to him, *Quis Rerum* 214.

^b The word perhaps carries on the idea of medical treat-

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only feel the pain of external injuries, because the faculty of judgement, which alone can enable them to apprehend the damage to the mind, is taken from them. But if they could recover their sight, observing the delusions which folly brings and the outrages wrought by cowardice and all that the sottishness of incontinence and the lawlessness of injustice has done, they will be filled with ceaseless sorrow at the calamitous plight of the best thing they possess, and even refuse to listen to consolation, so vast are the evils which have befallen them.

We may well suppose that the fountain from which Zeno drew this thought was the law-book of the Jews, which tells of two brothers, one wise and temperate, the other incontinent, how the father of them both prayed in pity for him who had not attained to virtue that he should be his brother's slave.^a He held that slavery, which men think the worst of evils, was the best possible boon to the fool, because the loss of independence would prevent him from transgressing without fear of punishment, and his character would be improved under the control of the authority set above him.

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

ment, *i.e.* ointment or liniment, but more probably, as suggested by *πληττόμενοι*, friction, "rubbing it in."

ὁ φρονίμως πάντα ποιῶν εὖ ποιεῖ πάντα, ὁ δ' εὖ
 ποιῶν πάντα ὀρθῶς ποιεῖ πάντα, ὁ δ' ὀρθῶς πάντα
 ποιῶν καὶ ἀναμαρτήτως καὶ ἀμέμπτως καὶ ἀνεπι-
 λήπτως καὶ ἀνυπευθύνως καὶ ἀζημίως, ὥστ' ἐξου-
 σίαν σχήσει πάντα δρᾶν καὶ ζῆν ὡς βούλεται· ὧ δὲ
 ταῦτ' ἔξεστιν, ἐλεύθερος ἂν εἴη. ἀλλὰ μὴν πάντα
 φρονίμως ποιεῖ ὁ ἀστείος· μόνος ἄρα ἐστὶν ἐλεύ-
 60 θερος. καὶ μὴν ὃν μὴ ἐνδέχεται μήτ' ἀναγκάσαι
 μήτε κωλύσαι, ἐκεῖνος οὐκ ἂν εἴη δοῦλος· τὸν δὲ
 σπουδαῖον οὐκ ἔστιν οὔτ' ἀναγκάσαι οὔτε κωλύσαι·
 οὐκ ἄρα δοῦλος ὁ σπουδαῖος. ὅτι δ' οὔτ' ἀναγκά-
 ζεται οὔτε κωλύεται, δῆλον· κωλύεται μὲν γὰρ ὁ
 μὴ τυγχάνων ὧν ὀρέγεται, ὀρέγεται δ' ὁ σοφὸς
 τῶν ἀπ' ἀρετῆς, ὧν ἀποτυγχάνειν οὐ πέφυκε. καὶ
 μὴν εἰ ἀναγκάζεται, δῆλον ὅτι ἄκων τι ποιεῖ· ἐν οἷς¹
 δὲ αἱ πράξεις, ἧ ἀπ' ἀρετῆς εἰσι κατορθώματα ἢ
 ἀπὸ κακίας ἀμαρτήματα ἢ μέσα καὶ ἀδιάφορα.
 61 τὰ μὲν οὖν ἀπ' ἀρετῆς οὐ βιασθεῖς ἀλλ' ἐκῶν—
 αἰρετὰ γάρ ἐστιν αὐτῷ πάνθ' ἃ δρᾶ—, τὰ δ' ἀπὸ
 κακίας ἅτε φευκτὰ οὐδ' ὄναρ πράττει· οὐδὲ μὴν
 τὰ ἀδιάφορα εἰκός, πρὸς ἃ καθάπερ ἐπὶ πλάστιγγος
 ἢ διάνοια ἰσορροπεῖ, δεδιδραγμένη μήτε ὡς ὀλκὸν
 ἔχουσι δύναμιν ἐνδιδόναι μήθ' ὡς ἀποστροφῆς
 ἀξίοις δυσχεραίνειν. ἐξ ὧν ἐστὶ δῆλον, ὅτι οὐδὲν

¹ Perhaps ἀνθρώποις (written ἀνοῖς) δέ, see note *a*.

^a Literally “ things in which there are actions are righteous actions,” etc., which is hardly sense. Arnim’s correction to ἀνθρώποις δέ (see note 1) is very probable.

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argument is well to the point. He who always acts sensibly, always acts well : he who always acts well, always acts rightly : he who always acts rightly, also acts impeccably, blamelessly, faultlessly, irreproachably, harmlessly, and, therefore, will have the power to do anything, and to live as he wishes, and he who has this power must be free. But the good man always acts sensibly, and, therefore, he alone is free. Again, one who cannot be compelled to do anything 60 or prevented from doing anything, cannot be a slave. But the good man cannot be compelled or prevented : the good man, therefore, cannot be a slave. That he is not compelled nor prevented is evident. One is prevented when he does not get what he desires, but the wise man desires things which have their origin in virtue, and these, being what he is, he cannot fail to obtain. Further, if one is compelled he clearly acts against his will. But where there are actions,^a they are either righteous actions born of virtue or wrong actions born of vice or neutral and indifferent. The virtuous actions he performs not under constraint 61 but willingly, since all that he does are what he holds to be desirable. The vicious are to be eschewed and therefore he never dreams of doing them. Naturally too in matters indifferent he does not act under compulsion.^b To these, as on a balance his mind preserves its equipoise, trained neither to surrender to them in acknowledgement of their superior weight, nor yet to regard them with hostility, as deserving aversion. Whence it is clear that he does nothing

^a Philo cannot of course mean "that he does not do indifferent actions," and we must understand *βασθέντα πάντα*. Ambrose's paraphrase "indifferentibus ita non movetur ut nullis momentis . . . inclinetur" looks as if he read something else (? *ἐκκλῆ*).

ἄκων ποιεῖ οὐδ' ἀναγκάζεται· δοῦλος δ' εἴπερ ἦν, ἡναγκάζεται ἄν· ὥστ' ἐλεύθερος ἂν εἴη ὁ ἀστεῖος.

- 62 X. Ἐπεὶ δέ τινες τῶν | ἡκιστα κεχορευκότων
[455] Μούσαις λόγων ἀποδεικτικῶν οὐ συνιέντες, οἱ τὰς καθόλου τῶν πραγμάτων ἐμφάσεις παριστᾶσιν, εἰώθασιν ἐρωτᾶν· τίνες οὖν ἢ πρότερον γεγόνασιν ἄνδρες ἢ νῦν εἰσιν, ὁποίους ἀναπλάττετε; καλὸν γε ἀποκρίνασθαι, ὅτι καὶ πάλαι τινὲς ἦσαν οἱ τῶν καθ' ἑαυτοὺς ἀρετῇ διέφερον, ἡγεμόνι μόνῳ θεῷ χρώμενοι καὶ κατὰ νόμον, τὸν ὀρθὸν φύσεως λόγον, ζῶντες, οὐκ ἐλεύθεροι μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς πλησιάζοντας ἐλευτέρου φρονήματος ἀναπιμπλάντες, καὶ ἐφ' ἡμῶν αὐτῶν ἔτ' εἰσὶν ὥσπερ εἰκόνες ἀπὸ ἀρχετύπου γραφῆς, σοφῶν ἀνδρῶν καλοκαγαθίας, 63 τυπωθέντες. οὐ γάρ, εἰ αἱ τῶν ἀντιλεγόντων ψυχαὶ κεχηρεύκασιν ἐλευθερίας, ὑπ' ἀφροσύνης καὶ τῶν ἄλλων κακιῶν δουλαγωγηθεῖσαι, διὰ τοῦτο καὶ τὸ τῶν ἀνθρώπων γένος. εἰ δὲ μὴ κατὰ στίφη μεγάλα προΐασιν ἀγγελιδόν, θαυμαστὸν οὐδέν· πρῶτον μὲν, ὅτι τὰ λίαν καλὰ σπάνια, εἴτ' ἐπειδὴ τὸν τῶν εἰκαιωτέρων ἐκτρεπόμενοι πολὺν ὄμιλον θεωρία τῶν τῆς φύσεως σχολάζουσιν, εὐχόμενοι μὲν, εἴ πως ἐνῆν, ἐπανορθώσασθαι τὸν βίον—κοινωφελὲς γάρ ἡ ἀρετή,—τὸ δὲ ἀδυνατοῦντες, πλημμυρούντων κατὰ πόλεις ἀλλοκότων πραγμάτων, ἃ ψυχῆς πάθη <καὶ> κακίαι συνηύξησαν, ἀποδιδράσκουσιν, ὥς μὴ

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

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

^c For this thought of the rarity and retiring nature of the

EVERY GOOD MAN IS FREE, 61-63

unwillingly and is never compelled, whereas if he were a slave he would be compelled, and therefore the good man will be a free man.

X. But among those who have kept little company ⁶² with the Muses, there are some who have no understanding of the methods of logical deduction, but make general statements based on appearances.^a These people often ask "who have there been in the past, and who are there living now of the kind that you imagine?" An excellent answer is that in the past there have been those who surpassed their contemporaries in virtue, who took God for their sole guide and lived according to a law of nature's right reason, not only free themselves, but communicating ^b to their neighbours the spirit of freedom: also in our own time there are still men formed as it were in the likeness of the original picture supplied by the high excellence of sages. For it does not ⁶³ follow that if the souls of the gainsayers have been bereft of freedom, held in bondage to folly and the other vices, the same is true of the human race. Nor is it a matter for wonder that the good do not appear herded in great throngs. First because specimens of great goodness are rare, secondly, because they avoid the great crowd of the more thoughtless and keep themselves at leisure for the contemplation of what nature has to show.^c Their prayer is that if possible they may work a reformation in the lives of the others, for virtue serves the common weal. But as this is made impossible through the atrocious doings which flood the cities, gathering strength from the passions and vices of the soul, they flee right away

good *cf. De Mut.* 34-38, where it is associated with the text "Enoch was not found."

τῇ ῥύμῃ τῆς φορᾶς καθάπερ ἀπὸ χειμάρρου βίας
 64 κατασυρεῖεν. ἡμᾶς δέ, εἰ βελτιώσεως ζῆλός τις ᾔην,
 ἰχνηλατεῖν ἔδει τὰς τούτων καταδύσεις καὶ ἰκέ-
 τας καθεζομένους παρακαλεῖν, ἵνα τεθριωμένον τὸν
 βίον προσελθόντες ἐξημερώσωσιν, ἀντὶ πολέμου καὶ
 δουλείας καὶ κακῶν ἀμυθήτων εἰρήνην καὶ ἐλευ-
 θερίαν καὶ τὴν τῶν ἄλλων ἀγαθῶν ἀφθονίαν περιρ-
 65 ρομένην¹ καταγγείλαντες. νυνὶ δὲ χρημάτων μὲν
 ἕνεκα πάντας μυχοὺς ἐρευνῶμεν καὶ γῆς στρυφ-
 νὰς καὶ ἀποκρότους φλέβας ἀναστέλλομεν, καὶ
 μεταλλεύεται μὲν πολλὴ τῆς πεδιάδος, μεταλλεύεται
 δὲ οὐκ ὀλίγη τῆς ὄρεινῆς, χρυσὸν καὶ ἄργυρον,
 χαλκὸν τε καὶ σίδηρον, καὶ τὰς ἄλλας ὕλας ἀναζη-
 66 τούντων. θεοπλαστοῦσα δὲ ἡ κενὴ δόξα τὸν τύφον
 ἄχρι καὶ βυθοῦ κατέβη θαλάττης διερευνωμένη, μή
 τι τῶν πρὸς αἴσθησιν ἀφανὲς ἐναπόκειται πού
 καλόν· καὶ λίθων ποικίλων καὶ πολυτελῶν ἀνευ-
 ροῦσα ἰδέας, τὰς μὲν πέτραις προσπεφυκυίας, τὰς
 δ' ὀστρέοις, αἷ καὶ τιμαλφέστεραι γεγόνασιν, ὅψεως
 67 ἀπάτην ἐξετίμησε. φρονήσεως δὲ ἡ σωφροσύνης
 ἡ ἀνδρείας ἡ δικαιοσύνης ἕνεκα γῇ μὲν ἀπόρευτός
 ἐστι καὶ ἡ βάσιμος, πελάγη δὲ ἅπλωτα τὰ καθ'
 ἐκάστην ὥραν τοῦ ἔτους ναυκλήροις ἐμπλεόμενα.
 68 καίτοι τίς ἡ μακρᾶς ὁδοιπορίας ἡ τοῦ θαλαττεύειν
 456] ἐστὶ | χρεία πρὸς ἔρευναν καὶ ζήτησιν ἀρετῆς, ἥς
 τὰς ρίζας ὁ ποιῶν οὐ μακρὰν ἀλλ' οὕτωςι πλησίον
 ἐβάλετο; καθάπερ καὶ ὁ σοφὸς τῶν Ἰουδαίων
 νομοθέτης φησὶν· “ ἐν τῷ στόματί σου καὶ ἐν τῇ
 καρδίᾳ σου καὶ ἐν ταῖς χερσί σου,” αἰνιττόμενος

¹ So one ms. (S). The others either omit or have περιρ-
 48

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

^a Mangey translates " numquid pretiosum adhuc fugiens sensum ibi reponatur." But this, which is certainly simpler, would require the omission of τῶν.

ρεομένων which seems quite impossible, but the middle in the sense of " overflow " has no examples quoted.

- διὰ συμβόλων λόγους, βουλὰς, πράξεις, ἃ δὴ πάντα
 69 γεωργικῆς τέχνης δεῖται. οἱ μὲν οὖν ἀργίαν πόνου
 προτιμήσαντες οὐ μόνον τὰς βλάστας ἐκώλυσαν,
 ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰς ρίζας ἀφανάναντες ἔφθειραν· οἱ δὲ
 σχολὴν μὲν βλαβερὸν ἡγούμενοι, πονεῖν δὲ ἐθέ-
 λοντες, ὥσπερ εὐγενῇ μοσχεύματα γεωργοῦντες,
 τῷ συνεχεῖ τῆς ἐπιμελείας οὐρανομήκεις ἐστελέχω-
 σαν ἀρετάς, αἰιθαλῇ καὶ ἀθάνατα ἔρνη καρπὸν
 φέροντα εὐδαιμονίαν οὐδέποτε λήγοντα ἢ, ὥς τινες,
 οὐ φέροντα, ἀλλ' αὐτὰ ὄντα εὐδαιμονίαν, ἃ Μωυσῆς
 ὀνόματι συνθέτω καλεῖν εἴωθεν ὀλοκαρπώματα.
 70 ἐπὶ μὲν γὰρ τῶν ἐκ γῆς βλαστανόντων οὐθ' ὁ
 καρπὸς ἐστὶ δένδρα οὔτε τὰ δένδρα καρπός, ἐπὶ δὲ
 τῶν ἐν ψυχῇ φυομένων ὅλα δι' ὅλων εἰς καρποῦ
 φύσιν μεταβέβληκε τὰ ἔρνη, τὸ φρονήσεως, τὸ
 71 δικαιοσύνης, τὸ ἀνδρείας, τὸ σωφροσύνης. XI.
 ἔχοντες οὖν τοιαύτας παρ' ἑαυτοῖς ἀφορμὰς οὐκ
 ἐρυθριῶμεν ἔνδειαν σοφίας ἀνθρώπων γένει καταγ-
 γέλλοντες, ἣν δυνατὸν ἦν ἐκφυσῆσαντας καθάπερ
 ἐν ὕλῃ σπινθήρα τυφόμενον ζωπυρῆσαι; ἀλλὰ γὰρ
 πρὸς ἃ μὲν σπεύδειν ἐχρῆν ὡς συγγενέστατα καὶ
 οἰκειότατα, πολὺς ὄκνος καὶ ῥαθυμία συνεχῆς, ὑφ'
 ὧν τὰ καλοκάγαθίας σπέρματα διαφθείρεται, ὧν
 δὲ εἰκὸς ἦν ὑστερίζειν, ἥμερος καὶ πόθος ἅπληστος.
 72 διὰ τοῦτο πλουσίων μὲν καὶ ἐνδόξων καὶ ταῖς ἡδο-
 ναῖς χρωμένων μεστὴ γῇ καὶ θάλαττα, φρονίμων
 δὲ καὶ δικαίων καὶ ἀστείων ὀλίγος ἀριθμὸς· τὸ δὲ

^a The whole section is founded on Deut. xxx. 11-14, part
 50

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a figure, words, thoughts and actions? ^a All these, indeed, need the cultivator's skill. Those who prefer 69 idleness to labour, not only prevent the growths but also wither and destroy the roots. But those who consider inaction mischievous and are willing to labour, do as the husbandman does with fine young shoots. By constant care they rear the virtues into stems rising up to heaven, saplings everblooming and immortal, bearing and never ceasing to bear the fruits of happiness, or as some hold, not so much bearing as being in themselves that happiness. These Moses often calls by the compound name of wholefruits.^b In the case of growths which 70 spring from the earth, neither are the trees the fruit nor the fruit the trees, but in the soul's plantation the saplings of wisdom, of justice, of temperance, have their whole being transformed completely into fruits. XI. Having then in us such 71 potentialities, should we not blush to denounce the human race as lacking in wisdom, wisdom which the bellows could kindle into a blaze like the spark which smoulders in the firewood? And yet these things for which we should strive eagerly, things so closely akin to ourselves, so truly our own, we treat with great slackness and constant indifference and thus destroy the germs of excellence, while those things in which deficiency were a merit we desire with an insatiable yearning. Consequently land and 72 sea are full of the rich, the distinguished and the men of pleasure, but of the wise and just and virtuous, the number is small. But this small body though scanty

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

^b See App. p. 511.

73 ὀλίγον, εἰ καὶ σπάνιον, οὐκ ἀνύπαρκτον. μάρτυς δὲ ἡ Ἑλλὰς καὶ ἡ βάρβαρος· ἐν τῇ μὲν γὰρ οἱ ἐτύμως ἐπὶ σοφοὶ προσονομασθέντες ἦνθησαν, καὶ ἄλλων πρότερον καὶ αὖθις ὡς εἰκὸς ἀκμασάντων, ὧν ἡ μνήμη παλαιότερων μὲν ὄντων μήκει χρόνων ἠφανίσθη, νεαζόντων δὲ ἔτι διὰ τὴν ἐπιπολάζουσαν τῶν συνόντων ὀλιγωρίαν ἐξαμαυροῦται.

74 Κατὰ δὲ τὴν βάρβαρον, ἐν ᾗ πρεσβευταὶ λόγων καὶ ἔργων,¹ πολυανθρωπότατα στίφη καλῶν καὶ ἀγαθῶν ἐστὶν ἀνδρῶν· ἐν Πέρσαις μὲν τὸ μάγων, οἳ τὰ φύσεως ἔργα διερευνώμενοι πρὸς ἐπίγνωσιν τῆς ἀληθείας καθ' ἡσυχίαν τὰς θείας ἀρετὰς τρανοτέrais ἐμφάσεσιν ἱεροφαντοῦνται τε καὶ ἱεροφαντοῦσιν· ἐν Ἰνδοῖς δὲ τὸ γυμνοσοφιστῶν, οἳ πρὸς τῇ [457] φυσικῇ καὶ τὴν ἠθικὴν φιλοσοφίαν | διαπονούντες ὅλον ἐπίδειξιν ἀρετῆς πεποιήνται τὸν βίον.

75 XII. ἔστι δὲ καὶ ἡ Παλαιστίνη Συρία καλοκά-

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

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

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

XII. Palestinian Syria, too, has not 75

^a So too in *De Mut.* 35-37, though some say that σοφία and ὁ σοφός are ἀνύπαρκτος, the conclusion is that each of them is ὑπαρκτὸν πρᾶγμα.

^b "Appropriate," because ἐπρά is supposed to be derived from σεμνός and σεβασμός, cf. *De Op.* 127. But see App. p. 512.

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

^d Cf. the very similar remarks in *Spec. Leg.* iii. 100 and note vol. vii. pp. 635 f.

^e On the Gymnosophists see App. p. 513.

- γαθίας οὐκ ἄγονος, ἣν πολυανθρωποτάτου ἔθνους τῶν Ἰουδαίων οὐκ ὀλίγη μοῖρα νέμεται. λέγονταί τινες παρ' αὐτοῖς ὄνομα Ἑσσαῖοι, πληθὸς ὑπερ-
 τετρακισχίλιοι, κατ' ἐμὴν δόξαν—οὐκ ἀκριβεῖ τύ-
 πῳ διαλέκτου Ἑλληνικῆς—παρώνυμοι ὁσιότητος,
 ἐπειδὴ καὶ τοῖς μάλιστα θεραπευταὶ θεοῦ γεγό-
 νοσιν, οὐ ζῶα καταθύνοντες, ἀλλ' ἱεροπρεπεῖς τὰς
 76 ἑαυτῶν διανοίας κατασκευάζειν ἀξιοῦντες. οὗτοι
 τὸ μὲν πρῶτον κωμηδὸν οἰκοῦσι τὰς πόλεις ἐκ-
 τρεπόμενοι διὰ τὰς τῶν πολιτευομένων χειροθήεις
 ἀνομίας, εἰδότες ἐκ τῶν συνόντων ὡς ἀπ' ἀέρος
 φθοροποιοῦ νόσον ἐγγινομένην προσβολὴν ψυχᾷς
 ἀνίατον· ὧν οἱ μὲν γεωπονοῦντες, οἱ δὲ τέχνας
 μετιόντες ὅσαι συνεργάτιδες εἰρήνης, ἑαυτοὺς τε
 καὶ τοὺς πλησιάζοντας ὠφελοῦσιν, οὐκ ἄργυρον καὶ
 χρυσὸν θησαυροφυλακοῦντες οὐδ' ἀποτομὰς γῆς
 μεγάλας κτῶμενοι δι' ἐπιθυμίαν προσόδων, ἀλλ'
 ὅσα πρὸς τὰς ἀναγκαίας τοῦ βίου χρείας ἐκπορί-
 77 ζοντες. μόνοι γὰρ ἐξ ἀπάντων σχεδὸν ἀνθρώπων
 ἀχρήματοι καὶ ἀκτήμονες γεγονότες ἐπιτηδεύσει
 τὸ πλεόν ἢ ἐνδεΐα εὐτυχίας πλουσιώτατοι νομί-
 ζονται, τὴν ὀλιγοδείαν καὶ εὐκολίαν, ὅπερ ἐστί,
 78 κρίνοντες περιουσίαν. βελῶν ἢ ἀκόντων ἢ ξιφι-
 δίων ἢ κράνους ἢ θώρακος ἢ ἀσπίδος οὐδένα παρ'
 αὐτοῖς ἂν εὖροις δημιουργὸν οὐδὲ συνόλως ὅπλο-
 ποιὸν ἢ μηχανοποιὸν ἢ τι τῶν κατὰ πόλεμον
 ἐπιτηδεύοντα· ἀλλ' οὐδὲ ὅσα τῶν κατ' εἰρήνην
 εὐόλισθα εἰς κακίαν· ἐμπορίας γὰρ ἢ καπηλείας ἢ

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

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failed to produce high moral excellence. In this country live a considerable part of the very populous nation of the Jews, including as it is said, certain persons, more than four thousand in number, called Essenes.^a Their name which is, I think, a variation, though the form of the Greek is inexact, of *ἁγιότης* (holiness), is given them, because they have shown themselves especially devout in the service of God, not by offering sacrifices of animals, but by resolving to sanctify their minds. The first thing about these 76 people is that they live in villages and avoid the cities because of the iniquities which have become inveterate among city dwellers, for they know that their company would have a deadly effect upon their own souls, like a disease brought by a pestilential atmosphere. Some of them labour on the land and others pursue such crafts as co-operate with peace and so benefit themselves and their neighbours. They do not hoard gold and silver or acquire great slices of land because they desire the revenues therefrom, but provide what is needed for the necessary requirements of life. For while they stand almost alone in 77 the whole of mankind in that they have become moneyless and landless by deliberate action rather than by lack of good fortune, they are esteemed exceedingly rich, because they judge frugality with contentment to be, as indeed it is, an abundance of wealth. As for darts, javelins, daggers, or the helmet, 78 breastplate or shield, you could not find a single manufacturer of them, nor, in general, any person making weapons or engines or plying any industry concerned with war, nor, indeed, any of the peaceful kind, which easily lapse into vice, for they have not the vaguest idea of commerce either wholesale or

ναυκληρίας οὐδ' ὄναρ ἴσασι, τὰς εἰς πλεονεξίαν
 79 ἀφορμὰς ἀποδιοπομπούμενοι. δοῦλός τε παρ'
 αὐτοῖς οὐδὲ εἰς ἐστίν, ἀλλ' ἐλεύθεροι πάντες ἀνθ-
 υπουργοῦντες ἀλλήλοις· καταγινώσκουσί τε τῶν
 δεσποτῶν, οὐ μόνον ὡς ἀδίκων, ἰσότητα λυμαιο-
 μένων, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὡς ἀσεβῶν, θεσμὸν φύσεως
 ἀναιρούντων, ἣ πάντας ὁμοίως γεννήσασα καὶ
 θρεψαμένη μητρὸς δίκην ἀδελφούς γνησίους, οὐ
 [158] λεγομένους ἀλλ' ὄντας ὄντως, | ἀπειργάσατο· ὦν
 τὴν συγγένειαν ἢ ἐπίβουλος πλεονεξία παρευη-
 μερήσασα διέσεισεν, ἀντ' οἰκειότητος ἀλλοτριότητα
 80 καὶ ἀντὶ φιλίας ἔχθραν ἐργασαμένη. φιλοσοφίας
 τε τὸ μὲν λογικὸν ὡς οὐκ ἀναγκαῖον εἰς κτῆσιν
 ἀρετῆς λογοθήραιοι, τὸ δὲ φυσικὸν ὡς μείζον ἢ
 κατὰ ἀνθρωπίνην φύσιν μετεωρολέσχαιοι ἀπολιπόν-
 τες, πλὴν ὅσον αὐτοῦ περὶ ὑπάρξεως θεοῦ καὶ τῆς
 τοῦ παντὸς γενέσεως φιλοσοφεῖται, τὸ ἠθικὸν εὖ
 μάλα διαπονοῦσιν ἀλείπταις χρώμενοι τοῖς πατρίοις
 νόμοις, οὓς ἀμύχανον ἀνθρωπίνην ἐπινοῆσαι ψυχὴν
 81 ἄνευ κατοκωχῆς ἐνθέου. τούτους ἀνα-
 διδάσκονται μὲν καὶ παρὰ τὸν ἄλλον χρόνον, ἐν δὲ
 ταῖς ἐβδόμαις διαφερόντως. ἱερὰ γὰρ ἢ ἐβδόμη
 νενομίσται, καθ' ἣν τῶν ἄλλων ἀνέχοντες ἔργων,
 εἰς ἱεροὺς ἀφικνούμενοι τόπους, οἱ καλοῦνται συν-
 αγωγαί, καθ' ἡλικίας ἐν τάξεσιν ὑπὸ πρεσβυτέροις
 νέοι καθέζονται, μετὰ κόσμου τοῦ προσήκοντος
 82 ἔχοντες ἀκροατικῶς. εἴθ' εἰς μὲν τις τὰς βίβλους
 ἀναγινώσκει λαβὼν, ἕτερος δὲ τῶν ἐμπειροτάτων

^a The triple division of philosophy has been frequently mentioned by Philo. For the fullest account of it see *De*

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retail or marine, but pack the inducements to covetousness off in disgrace. Not a single slave is to be 79 found among them, but all are free, exchanging services with each other, and they denounce the owners of slaves, not merely for their injustice in outraging the law of equality, but also for their impiety in annulling the statute of Nature, who mother-like has born and reared all men alike, and created them genuine brothers, not in mere name, but in very reality, though this kinship has been put to confusion by the triumph of malignant covetousness, which has wrought estrangement instead of affinity and enmity instead of friendship. As for 80 philosophy they abandon the logical part to quibbling verbalists as unnecessary for the acquisition of virtue, and the physical to visionary praters as beyond the grasp of human nature, only retaining that part which treats philosophically of the existence of God and the creation of the universe.^a But the ethical part they study very industriously, taking for their trainers the laws of their fathers, which could not possibly have been conceived by the human soul without divine inspiration.

In these they are instructed 81 at all other times, but particularly on the seventh days. For that day has been set apart to be kept holy and on it they abstain from all other work and proceed to sacred spots which they call synagogues. There, arranged in rows according to their ages, the younger below the elder, they sit decorously as befits the occasion with attentive ears. Then one takes the 82 books and reads aloud and another of especial pro-

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

- ὅσα μὴ γνώριμα παρελθὼν ἀναδιδάσκει· τὰ γὰρ
 πλείστα διὰ συμβόλων ἀρχαιοτρόπῳ ζηλώσει παρ'
 83 αὐτοῖς φιλοσοφεῖται. παιδεύονται δὲ εὐσέβειαν,
 ὁσιότητα, δικαιοσύνην, οἰκονομίαν, πολιτείαν, ἐπι-
 στήμην τῶν πρὸς ἀλήθειαν ἀγαθῶν καὶ κακῶν καὶ
 ἀδιαφόρων, αἰρέσεις ὧν χρὴ καὶ φυγὰς τῶν ἐναν-
 τίων, ὅροις καὶ κανόσι τριττοῖς χρώμενοι, τῷ τε
 84 φιλοθέῳ καὶ φιλαρέτῳ καὶ φιλανθρώπῳ. τοῦ μὲν
 οὖν φιλοθέου δείγματα παρέχονται μυρία· τὴν παρ'
 ὅλον τὸν βίον συνεχῇ καὶ ἐπάλληλον ἀγνείαν, τὸ
 ἀνώμοτον, τὸ ἄψευδές, τὸ πάντων μὲν ἀγαθῶν
 αἴτιον, κακοῦ δὲ μηδενὸς νομίζειν εἶναι τὸ θεῖον·
 τοῦ δὲ φιλαρέτου τὸ ἀφιλοχρήματον, τὸ ἀφιλόδοξον,
 τὸ ἀφιλήδονον, τὸ ἐγκρατές, τὸ καρτερικόν, ἔτι δὲ
 ὀλιγοδείαν, ἀφέλειαν, εὐκολίαν, τὸ ἄτυφον, τὸ νό-
 μιμον, τὸ εὐσταθές, καὶ ὅσα τούτοις ὁμοιότροπα·
 τοῦ δὲ φιλανθρώπου εὐνοίαν, ἰσότητα, τὴν παντὸς
 λόγου κρείττονα κοινωνίαν, περὶ ἧς οὐκ ἄκαιρον
 85 βραχέα εἰπεῖν. πρῶτον μὲν τοίνυν οὐδενὸς οἰκία
 τίς ἐστὶν ἰδία, ἣν οὐχὶ πάντων εἶναι κοινὴν συμ-
 βέβηκε· πρὸς γὰρ τῷ κατὰ θιάσους συνοικεῖν
 ἀναπέπταται καὶ τοῖς ἐτέρωθεν ἀφικνουμένοις τῶν
 86 ὁμοζήλων. εἴτ' ἐστὶ ταμεῖον ἐν πάντων
 καὶ δαπάναι <κοιναί>, καὶ κοινὰ μὲν ἐσθῆτες,
 κοινὰ δὲ τροφαὶ συσσίτια πεποιημένων· τὸ γὰρ
 ὁμωρόφιον ἢ ὁμοδίαιτον ἢ ὁμοτράπεζον οὐκ ἂν τις

^a Or "with ardour worthy of the men of old." The same phrase occurs in *De Plant.* 158 and *De Mig.* 201, where also the exact meaning is somewhat uncertain.

^b i.e. ceremonial purity and avoidance of defilement. So rather than general purity of life, which would come under τὸ φιλάρετον. For this use of ἀγνεία cf. Plato, *Legg.*

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ficiency comes forward and expounds what is not understood. For most of their philosophical study takes the form of allegory, and in this they emulate the tradition of the past.^a They are trained in 83 piety, holiness, justice, domestic and civic conduct, knowledge of what is truly good, or evil, or indifferent, and how to choose what they should and avoid the opposite, taking for their defining standards these three, love of God, love of virtue, love of men. Their love of God they show by 84 a multitude of proofs, by religious purity^b constant and unbroken throughout their lives, by abstinence from oaths, by veracity, by their belief that the Godhead is the cause of all good things and nothing bad; their love of virtue, by their freedom from the love of either money or reputation or pleasure, by self-mastery and endurance, again by frugality, simple living, contentment, humility, respect for law, steadiness and all similar qualities; their love of men by benevolence and sense of equality, and their spirit of fellowship, which defies description, though a few words on it will not be out of place. First of all then no one's house is his own 85 in the sense that it is not shared by all, for besides the fact that they dwell together in communities, the door is open to visitors from elsewhere who share their convictions. Again they all have 86 a single treasury and common disbursements; their clothes are held in common and also their food through their institution of public meals. In no other community can we find the custom of sharing

917 *ἡ καθαρότης τε καὶ ἀγνείας τὰ περὶ τοὺς θεοὺς.* Though this kind of purity is not mentioned elsewhere in this narrative, it is in other accounts, see App. p. 514.

[459] εὔροι παρ' ἑτέροις μᾶλλον ἔργῳ βεβαιούμενον· | καὶ
μήποτ' εἰκότως· ὅσα γὰρ ἂν μεθ' ἡμέραν ἐργασά-
μενοι λάβωσιν ἐπὶ μισθῷ, ταῦτ' οὐκ ἴδια φυλάτ-
τουσιν, ἀλλ' εἰς μέσον προτιθέντες κοινὴν τοῖς
ἐθέλουσι χρῆσθαι τὴν ἀπ' αὐτῶν παρασκευάζουσιν
87 ὠφέλειαν. οἱ τε νοσοῦντες οὐχ ὅτι πορίζειν ἀδυ-
νατοῦσιν ἀμελοῦνται, τὰ πρὸς τὰς νοσηλείας ἐκ τῶν
κοινῶν ἔχοντες ἐν ἐτοίμῳ, ὥς μετὰ πάσης ἀδείας
ἐξ ἀφθονωτέρων ἀναλίσκειν. αἰδῶς δ' ἐστὶ πρε-
σβυτέρων καὶ φροντίς, οἷα γονέων ὑπὸ γνησίων
παίδων χερσὶ καὶ διανοίαις μυρίαῖς ἐν ἀφθονίᾳ τῇ
88 πάσῃ γηροτροφουμένων. XIII. τοιού-
τους ἢ δίχα περιεργίας Ἑλληνικῶν ὀνομάτων ἀθ-
λητὰς ἀρετῆς ἀπεργάζεται φιλοσοφία, γυμνάσματα
προτιθέισα τὰς ἐπαινετὰς πράξεις, ἐξ ὧν ἡ ἀδούλω-
89 τος ἐλευθερία βεβαιοῦται. σημεῖον δέ· πολλῶν
κατὰ καιροὺς ἐπαναστάντων τῇ χώρᾳ δυναστῶν καὶ
φύσει καὶ προαιρέσει χρησαμένων διαφερούσαις
—οἱ μὲν γὰρ πρὸς τὸ ἀτίθασον ἀγριότητα θηρίων
ἐκνικῆσαι σπουδάσαντες, οὐδὲν παραλιπόντες τῶν
εἰς ὠμότητα, τοὺς ὑπηκόους ἀγελῆδον ἱερεύοντες
ἢ καὶ ζῶντας ἔτι μαγείρων τρόπον κατὰ μέρη καὶ
μέλη κρεουργοῦντες ἄχρι τοῦ τὰς αὐτὰς ὑπομεῖναι
συμφορὰς ὑπὸ τῆς τὰ ἀνθρώπεια ἐφορώσης δίκης
90 οὐκ ἐπαύσαντο· οἱ δὲ τὸ παρακεκινημένον καὶ
λελυττηκὸς εἰς ἑτέρας εἶδος κακίας μεθαρμοσά-

^a γνήσιος is here used of children, not as usual in antithesis to νόθος, but in the literal as opposed to the figurative sense. So too in *Legatio* 62, 71, the behaviour of a father-in-law to his son-in-law is as good as if he were the γνήσιος πατήρ. So

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roof, life and board more firmly established in actual practice. And that is no more than one would expect. For all the wages which they earn in the day's work they do not keep as their private property, but throw them into the common stock and allow the benefit thus accruing to be shared by those who wish to use it. The sick are not neglected because 87 they cannot provide anything, but have the cost of their treatment lying ready in the common stock, so that they can meet expenses out of the greater wealth in full security. To the elder men too is given the respect and care which real^a children give to their parents, and they receive from countless hands and minds a full and generous maintenance for their latter years.

XIII. Such are the athletes 88 of virtue produced by a philosophy free from the pedantry of Greek wordiness, a philosophy which sets its pupils to practise themselves in laudable actions, by which the liberty which can never be enslaved is firmly established. Here we have a proof. 89 Many are the potentates who at various occasions have raised themselves to power over the country. They differed both in nature and the line of conduct which they followed. Some of them carried their zest for outdoing wild beasts in ferocity to the point of savagery. They left no form of cruelty untried. They slaughtered their subjects wholesale, or like cooks carved them piecemeal and limb by limb whilst still alive, and did not stay their hands till justice who surveys human affairs visited them with the same calamities. Others transformed this wild frenzy into 90 another kind of viciousness. Their conduct showed

too in *Spec. Leg.* iv. 184 of the behaviour of a ruler to his subjects.

- μενοι, πικρίαν ἄλεκτον ἐπιτηδεύσαντες, ἡσυχῇ δια-
 λαλοῦντες, ἡρεμαιοτέρας φωνῆς ὑποκρίσει βαρύνῃ
 ἦθος ἐπιδεικνύμενοι, κυνῶν ἰοβόλων τρόπον προσ-
 σαίνοντες, ἀνιάτων γενόμενοι κακῶν αἰτιοί, κατὰ
 πόλεις μνημεῖα τῆς ἐαυτῶν ἀσεβείας καὶ μισαν-
 θρωπίας ἀπέλιπον τὰς τῶν πεπονηθῶτων ἀλήστους
 91 συμφοράς—, ἀλλὰ γὰρ οὐδεὶς οὔτε τῶν σφόδρα
 ὠμοθύμων οὔτε τῶν πάνυ δολερῶν καὶ ὑπούλων
 ἴσχυσε τὸν λεχθέντα τῶν Ἑσσαίων ἢ ὀσίων ὄμιλον
 αἰτιάσασθαι, πάντες δὲ ἀσθενέστεροι τῆς τῶν
 ἀνδρῶν καλοκάγαθίας γενόμενοι καθάπερ αὐτονό-
 μοις καὶ ἐλευθέροις οὖσιν ἐκ φύσεως προσηνέχθη-
 σαν, ἄδοντες αὐτῶν τὰ συσσίτια καὶ τὴν παντός
 λόγου κρείττονα κοινωνίαν, ἣ βίου τελείου καὶ
 σφόδρα εὐδαίμονός ἐστι σαφέστατον δεῖγμα.
- 92 XIV. Χρὴ δ', ἐπειδὴ τὰς ἐν τοῖς πλήθεσιν ἀρετὰς
 οὐκ οἶονταί τινες εἶναι τελείας, ἀλλ' ἄχρι συναυξή-
 σεως καὶ ἐπιδόσεως αὐτὸ μόνον ἵστασθαι, μάρτυρας
 βίους τῶν κατὰ μέρος ἀνδρῶν ἀγαθῶν παραγαγεῖν,
 93 οἱ σαφέσταται πίστεις ἐλευθερίας εἰσὶ. Κάλανος
 ἦν Ἰνδὸς γένος τῶν γυμνοσοφιστῶν· οὗτος καρτε-
 [460] ρικώτατος τῶν κατ' αὐτὸν ἀπάντων | νομισθεὶς οὐ
 μόνον ὑπὸ τῶν ἐγχωρίων ἀλλὰ καὶ πρὸς ἄλλοφύλων,
 ὃ δὴ σπανιώτατόν ἐστιν, ἐχθρῶν βασιλέων ἐθαυ-
 μάσθη, λόγοις ἐπαινετοῖς σπουδαῖα ἔργα συνυφῆνας.
- 94 Ἀλέξανδρος γοῦν ὁ Μακεδὼν βουλόμενος ἐπιδείξα-
 σθαι τῇ Ἑλλάδι τὴν ἐν τῇ βαρβάρῳ σοφίαν,
 καθάπερ ἀπ' ἀρχετύπου γραφῆς ἀπεικόνισμα καὶ
 μίμημα, τὸ μὲν πρῶτον παρεκάλει Κάλανον συν-
 αποδημῆσαι, μέγιστον περιποιήσοντα κλέος <ἐν>
 95 ὅλῃ Ἀσίᾳ καὶ ὅλῃ Εὐρώπῃ. ὥς δ' οὐκ ἔπειθεν,

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intense bitterness, but they talked with calmness, though the mask of their milder language failed to conceal their rancorous disposition. They fawned like venomous hounds yet wrought evils irremediable and left behind them throughout the cities the unforgettable sufferings of their victims as monuments of their impiety and inhumanity. Yet none of these, 91 neither the extremely ferocious nor the deep-dyed treacherous dissemblers, were able to lay a charge against this congregation of Essenes or holy ones here described. Unable to resist the high excellence of these people, they all treated them as self-governing and freemen by nature and extolled their communal meals and that ineffable sense of fellowship, which is the clearest evidence of a perfect and supremely happy life.^a

XIV. But since some consider that the virtues of 92 large bodies are never perfect, but merely grow and improve and then come to a halt, we must cite as evidence the lives of good individual men, which are the clearest proof of the existence of liberty. Calanus 93 was an Indian by birth of the school of the gymnosophists. Regarded as possessed of endurance more than any of his contemporaries, by combining virtuous actions with laudable words he gained the admiration, not only of his fellow countrymen, but of men of other races, and, what is most singular of all, of enemy sovereigns. Thus Alexander of Macedon, wishing to 94 exhibit to the Grecian world a specimen of the barbarians' wisdom, like a copy reproducing the original picture, began by urging Calanus to travel with him from India with the prospect of winning high fame in the whole of Asia and the whole of Europe ; and 95

^a On §§ 89-91 see App. p. 515.

ἀναγκάσειν ἔφη συνακολουθεῖν· ὁ δὲ εὐθυβόλως πάνυ καὶ εὐγενῶς “ τίνος οὖν ” εἶπεν “ ἄξιόν με τοῖς Ἑλλήσιν ἐπιδείξεις, Ἀλέξανδρε, εἴ γε ἀναγκασθήσομαι ποιεῖν ἃ μὴ βούλομαι; ” ἄρ’ οὐ γέμων μὲν παρρησίας ὁ λόγος, πολὺ δὲ μᾶλλον ἐλευθερίας¹ ὁ νοῦς; ἀλλὰ γὰρ καὶ ἐν τοῖς βεβαιότεροις φωνῶν γράμμασιν ἥθους ἀδουλώτου τύπους 96 ἔστηλίτευσεν ἀριδήλους. μνηνύει δὲ ἡ πεμφθεῖσα ἐπιστολὴ τῷ βασιλεῖ·

“ Κάλανος Ἀλεξάνδρῳ

Φίλοι πείθουσί σε χεῖρας καὶ ἀνάγκην προσφέρειν Ἰνδῶν φιλοσόφοις οὐδ’ ἐν ὕπνοις ἑωρακότες ἡμέτερα ἔργα. σώματα μὲν γὰρ μετοίσεις ἐκ τόπου εἰς τόπον, ψυχὰς δὲ οὐκ ἀναγκάσεις ποιεῖν ἃ μὴ βούλονται μᾶλλον ἢ πλίνθους καὶ ξύλα φωνὴν ἀφεῖναι. πῦρ μεγίστους τοῖς ζῶσι σώμασι πόνους καὶ φθορὰν ἐργάζεται· τούτου ὑπεράνω ἡμεῖς γινόμεθα, ζῶντες καίόμεθα. οὐκ ἔστι βασιλεὺς οὐδὲ ἄρχων, ὃς ἀναγκάσει ἡμᾶς ποιεῖν ἃ μὴ προαιρούμεθα. Ἑλλήνων δὲ φιλοσόφοις οὐκ ἐξομοιούμεθα, ὅσοι αὐτῶν εἰς πανήγυριν λόγους ἐμελέτησαν, ἀλλὰ λόγοις ἔργα παρ’ ἡμῖν ἀκόλουθα καὶ ἔργοις λόγοι βραχεῖαν² ἔχουσι δύναμιν καὶ μακαριότητα

¹ MSS. παρρησίας.

² M has βραχεῖς ἄλλην. The evidently defective text of this sentence must be judged in the light of Ambrose’s paraphrase. Ambrose, whose version of the letter in *Ep.* 37 is very close till the end, closes with “ nobis res sociae verbis et verba rebus: res celeres et sermones breves: in virtute nobis libertas beata est.” From this Cohn suggests after ἔργοις λόγοι, (ἔργα μὲν ταχέα καὶ λόγοι) βραχεῖς, ἀλλ’ ἔχουσι δύναμιν, κτλ. The difficulty I find in this is that it ignores

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when he failed to persuade him declared that he would compel him to follow him. Calanus's reply was as noble as it was apposite. "What shall I be worth to you, Alexander, for exhibiting to the Greeks if I am compelled to do what I do not wish to do?" What a wealth of frankness there is in the words and far more of freedom in the thought. But more durable than his spoken are his written words and in these he set on record clear signs of a spirit which could not be enslaved. The letter he sent to Alex- 96
ander runs thus :—

" Calanus to Alexander

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

^a Cf. *De Abr.* 182, where it is stated that the gymnosophists burn themselves at the outset of old age. Calanus is said to have ended his life in this way. See App. p. 516.

Ambrose's "in virtute." I tentatively suggest and have translated (ἔργα μὲν ταχέα καὶ λόγοι) βραχείαν ἔχουσι δύναμιν (ἀρεταὶ ἡμῶν) καὶ μακαριότητα καὶ ἐλευθερίαν περιποιῶνται (this

97 καὶ ἐλευθερίαν περιποιούντες.” ἐπὶ δὴ
 τοιαύταις ἀποφάσεσι καὶ γνώμαις ἄρ’ οὐκ ἄξιον
 τὸ Ζηνώνειον ἐπιφωνῆσαι, ὅτι “ θάττον ἂν ἀσκὸν
 βαπτίσαι τις πλήρη πνεύματος ἢ βιάσαιτο τῶν
 σπουδαίων ὄντινούν ἄκοντα δρᾶσαί τι τῶν ἀβουλή-
 των”; ἀνένδοτος γὰρ ψυχὴ καὶ ἀήττητος, ἣν ὁ
 ὀρθὸς λόγος δόγμασι παγίοις ἐνεύρωσε.

98 XV. Τῆς δὲ σπουδαίων ἐλευθερίας μάρτυρές
 εἰσι ποιηταὶ καὶ συγγραφεῖς, ὧν ταῖς γνώμαις
 “Ἕλληνες ὁμοῦ καὶ βάρβαροι σχεδὸν ἐξ αὐτῶν
 σπαργάνων ἐντρεφόμενοι βελτιοῦνται τὰ ἥθη, πᾶν
 ὅσον ἐξ ὑπαιτίου τροφῆς καὶ διαίτης ἐν ταῖς ψυχαῖς
 κεκιβδήλευτα μεταχαραττόμενοι πρὸς τὸ δόκιμον.

99 ἴδε γοῦν οἶα παρ’ Εὐριπίδῃ φησὶν ὁ Ἡρακλῆς·

[461] | “ πῖμπρα, κάταιθε σάρκας, ἐμπλήσθητί μου
 πίνων κελαινὸν αἷμα· πρόσθε γὰρ κάτω
 γῆς εἰσιν ἄστρα γῇ τ’ ἄνεις’ εἰς αἰθέρα,
 πρὶν ἐξ ἐμοῦ σοι θῶπ’ ἀπαντῆσαι λόγον.”

τῷ γὰρ ὄντι θωπεία μὲν καὶ κολακεία καὶ ὑπό-
 κρισις, ἐν οἷς λόγοι γνώμαις διαμάχονται, δουλο-
 πρεπέστατα, τὸ δὲ ἀνόθως καὶ γνησίως ἐκ καθαροῦ
 τοῦ συνειδότης ἐλευθεροστομεῖν εὐγενέσιν ἀρμόττον.

100 πάλιν τὸν αὐτὸν σπουδαῖον οὐχ ὀρᾶς,
 ὅτι οὐδὲ πωλούμενος θεράπων εἶναι δοκεῖ, κατα-
 πλήττων τοὺς ὀρῶντας, ὡς οὐ μόνον ἐλεύθερος ὢν

last is read by two mss. for περιποιούντες). The similar
 ending of δύναμιν and ἡμῖν would facilitate the loss of ἀρεταὶ
 ἡμῖν. At the same time it is true that the βραχεῖς of M fits
 better with Ambrose’s “ breves.” See also App. p. 516.

^a Or if Cohn’s reconstruction (see note 2, pp. 64-66) is pre-
 66

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virtues secure to us blessedness and freedom.”^a

Protestations and judgements like these 97 may well bring to our lips the saying of Zeno : “ Sooner will you sink an inflated bladder than compel any virtuous man to do against his will anything that he does not wish.” For never will that soul surrender or suffer defeat which right reason has braced with principles firmly held.

XV. The freedom of the virtuous is also vouched 98 for by the poets and prose writers, in whose thoughts Greeks and barbarians alike are reared almost from the cradle, and so gain improvement of character and restamp into sterling coin every bit of metal in their souls which has been debased by a faulty upbringing and mode of life. See, for instance, what Heracles 99 says in Euripides :

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

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

Again, observe how this same man of 100 worth, even when put up for sale, seems to be no menial, but strikes awe into the beholders, who feel

ferred, “ Our deeds are swift and our words short ; but they have power, securing for us blessedness and freedom.” For the suggested reconstruction translated above see same note.

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

PHILO

101 ἀλλὰ καὶ δεσπότης ἐσόμενος τοῦ πριαμένου; ὁ
 γοῦν Ἑρμῆς πυνθανομένω μὲν, εἰ φαῦλός ἐστιν,
 ἀποκρίνεται·

“ ἥκιστα φαῦλος, ἀλλὰ πᾶν τοῦναντίον
 πρὸς σχῆμα σεμνὸς κοῦ ταπεινὸς οὐδ’ ἄγαν
 εὖογκος ὡς ἂν δοῦλος, ἀλλὰ καὶ στολήν
 ἰδόντι λαμπρὸς καὶ ξύλῳ δραστήριος.

οὐδεὶς δ’ ἐς οἴκους δεσπότης ἀμείνονας
 αὐτοῦ πρίασθαι βούλεται· σέ δ’ εἰσορῶν
 πᾶς τις δέδοικεν. ὄμμα γὰρ πυρὸς γέμεις,
 ταῦρος λέοντος ὡς βλέπων πρὸς ἐμβολήν.”

εἴτ’ ἐπιλέγει·

“ τό γ’ εἶδος αὐτό σου¹ κατηγορεῖ
 σιγῶντος, ὡς εἴης ἂν οὐχ ὑπήκοος,
 τάσσειν δὲ μᾶλλον ἢ ᾧπιτάσσεσθαι θέλοις.”

102 ἐπεὶ δὲ καὶ πριαμένου Συλέως εἰς ἀγρὸν ἐπέμφθη,
 διέδειξεν ἔργοις τὸ τῆς φύσεως ἀδούλωτον· τὸν μὲν
 γὰρ ἄριστον τῶν ἐκεῖ ταύρων καταθύσας Διὶ
 πρόφασιν εὖωχεῖτο, πολὺν δ’ οἶνον ἐκφορήσας
 103 ἀθρόον εὖ μάλα κατακλιθεὶς ἡκρατίζετο. Συλεῖ
 δὲ ἀφικομένῳ καὶ δυσανασχετοῦντι ἐπὶ τε τῇ
 βλάβῃ καὶ τῇ τοῦ θεράποντος ῥαθυμίᾳ καὶ τῇ

¹ MSS. τὸ εἶδος αὐτοῦ οὐ (or οὐδ). Cohn prints the last two words as above, but leaves the equally unmetrical τὸ εἶδος though he expresses high approval of the correction (Elmsley's) to τό γ’.

EVERY GOOD MAN IS FREE, 100-103

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

Worthless ? far from it, quite the contrary :
His bearing's dignified, no meanness here,
Not slave-like overstocked with fat, and look
How smart his dress—and he can wield a club.

To which the other replies :

Who wants to buy a stronger than himself,
And bring him home as master of the house ?
It fairly frightens one to look at you,
Eyes full of fire—you look just like a bull
Watching a lion's onset.

Then he continues :

Your looks alone are evidence enough,
Though you say nothing, that you won't obey—
Giving, not taking, orders is your line.

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

^a This passage from a Satyric drama of Euripides evidently gives a different version from that in Apollodorus ii. 6. 2, in which Heracles having murdered Iphitus has to expiate his crime by three years servitude and accordingly is sold by Hermes to Omphale. During this servitude he kills Syleus, who used to compel strangers to dig in his vineyard. See further App. p. 516.

περιττῇ καταφρονήσει μηδὲν μήτε τῆς χροᾶς μήτε ὧν ἔπραττε μεταβαλὼν εὐτολμότατά φησι·

“ κλίθητι καὶ πίωμεν, ἐν τούτῳ δέ μου τὴν πείραν εὐθὺς λάμβαν’, εἰ κρείσσων ἔσῃ.”

104 τοῦτον οὖν πότερον δοῦλον ἢ κύριον ἀποφαντέον τοῦ δεσπότου, μὴ μόνον ἀπελευθεριάζειν ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐπιτάγματα ἐπιτάττειν τῷ κτησαμένῳ καὶ εἰ ἀφηνιάζοι τύπτειν καὶ προπηλακίζειν, εἰ δὲ καὶ βοηθοὺς ἐπάγοιτο, πάντας ἄρδην ἀπολλύναι τολμῶντα; γέλως οὖν ἂν εἴη καὶ φλυαρία πολλή τὰ κατὰ τὰς λεγομένας ὠνὰς γράμματα, ἐπειδὴν τῇ καθ’ ὧν γράφεται παρενημερηθῇ σθεναρωτέρα δυνάμει, χαρτιδίων ἀγράφων ἀκρότερα, ὑπὸ σέων ἢ χρόνου ἢ εὐρώτος εἰς ἅπαν διαφθαρησόμενα.

[462] XVI. | ‘Ἄλλ’ οὐ χρή, φήσει τις, τὰς τῶν ἡρώων
105 παράγειν εἰς πίστιν ἀρετάς· μείζους γὰρ ἢ κατὰ ἀνθρωπίνην φύσιν γενομένους Ὀλυμπίοις ἀμιλλᾶσθαι, μικτῆς γενέσεως, ἀθανάτων καὶ θνητῶν ἀνακραθέντων σπερμάτων, ἐπιλαχόντας, ἡμιθέους εἰκότως προσαγορευθέντας, τοῦ θνητοῦ μίγματος ὑπὸ τῆς ἀφθάρτου μερίδος κατακρατηθέντος, ὥς μηδὲν εἶναι παράδοξον, εἰ τῶν ἐπ’ αὐτοῖς δουλείαν
106 τεχναζόντων ὀλιγώρουν. ἔστω ταῦτα. μὴ καὶ Ἀνάξαρχος ἢ Ζήνων ὁ Ἐλεάτης ἥρωες ἢ ἐκ θεῶν; ἀλλ’ ὅμως ὑπὸ τυράννων ὠμοθύμων καὶ τὴν φύσιν πικρῶν ἔτι μᾶλλον ἐπ’ αὐτοῖς ἐκθηριωθέντων στρεβλούμενοι κεκαινουργημέναις αἰκίαις, ὥσπερ ἀλλότρια ἢ ἐχθρῶν ἐπιφερόμενοι σώματα, μάλα
107 καταφρονητικῶς ἡλόγουν τῶν φοβερῶν. τὴν γὰρ

EVERY GOOD MAN IS FREE, 103-106

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

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

How then must we describe his standing with his 104 master ? Is he slave or lord, he who dares not only to take these liberties, but even to issue orders to his owner, ready to beat him and knock him about if he shows resistance, or if he calls others to his aid to annihilate them altogether ! Surely then these title-deeds, which record the so-called purchases, are just a laughing-stock and a mass of nonsense, when they are put out of court by the superior force of those against whom they are drawn up, less valid even than blank sheets of paper and destined to perish utterly, through moths, or time, or mildew.

XVI. But it is not fair, an objector will say, to cite 105 the achievements of the heroes as evidence. They have a greatness above human nature ; they vie with the Olympians and as inheritors of a mixed parentage, a blend of mortal and immortal seed, are rightly called demigods, because the mortal ingredient is overpowered by the immortal part, so that there is nothing extraordinary in their contempt for those who plan to enslave them. Be it so ! But what of 106 Anaxarchus or Zeno the Eleatic ? Are they heroes or the offspring of gods ? Nevertheless in the hands of cruel-hearted tyrants, naturally bitter and stirred to still greater ferocity by anger with them, though racked with strange and ingeniously invented tortures, they behaved as though the bodies in which they lay belonged to strangers or enemies, and with high disdain set the terrors of the tormentors at

- ψυχὴν ἐθίσαντες ἐξ ἀρχῆς δι' ἐπιστήμης ἔρωτα τῆς
 μὲν πρὸς τὰ πάθη κοινωνίας ἀφίστασθαι, παιδείας
 δὲ καὶ σοφίας περιέχεσθαι, μετανάστιν μὲν σώματος
 εἰργάσαντο, φρονήσει δὲ καὶ ἀνδρεία καὶ ταῖς ἄλ-
 108 λαις ἔρεταῖς σύννοικον ἀπέφηναν. τοιγαροῦν ὁ μὲν
 κρεμάμενος¹ καὶ κατατεινόμενος ὑπὲρ τοῦ τι τῶν
 ἀρρήτων ἐκλαλήσαι, πυρὸς καὶ σιδήρου, τῶν ἐν τῇ
 φύσει κραταιοτάτων, φανεῖς δυνατώτερος, ἀποτρα-
 γῶν τοῖς ὁδοῦσι τὴν γλῶτταν εἰς τὸν βασανιστὴν
 ἠκόντισεν, ἵνα μὴδ' ἄκων ἂ καλὸν ἡσυχάζειν
 109 φθέγγηται βιασθεῖς. ὁ δὲ τλητικώτατα εἶπε·
 “ πτίσσε τὸν Ἀναξάρχου ἀσκόν· Ἀναξάρχον γὰρ
 οὐκ ἂν δύναιο.” αὐταὶ γέμουσαι θράσους αἱ
 εὐτολμῖαι τὴν ἡρωϊκὴν εὐγένειαν οὐ μετρίως
 ὑπερβάλλουσι,² διότι τοῖς μὲν τὸ κλέος ἐν τοῖς
 φυτεύσασιν ἀκούσιον, τῶν δ' ἐν ἐκουσίοις ἀρεταῖς,
 αἱ τοὺς ἀδόλως χρωμένους ἀθανατίζειν πεφύκασιν.
 110 XVII. Παλαιστὰς οἶδα καὶ παγκρατιαστὰς πολ-
 λάκις ὑπὸ φιλοτιμίας καὶ τῆς εἰς τὸ νικᾶν σπουδῆς,
 ἀπαγορευόντων αὐτοῖς τῶν σωματῶν, μόνη ψυχῇ
 διαπνέοντας ἔτι καὶ διαθλούντας, ἣν ἐθίσαντες
 καταφρονητικῶς ἔχειν τῶν φοβερῶν ἐγκαρτεροῦσιν
 111 ἄχρι τῆς τοῦ βίου τελευτῆς. εἴτ' οἰόμεθα τοὺς μὲν
 ἀσκητὰς τῆς ἐν σώμασιν εὐτονίας ἐπιβεβηκέναι
 φόβῳ θανάτου ἢ δι' ἐλπίδα νίκης ἢ ὑπὲρ τοῦ μὴ

¹ So mss. except M which has κρινόμενος (so Cohn).

² mss. ὑπερβάλλουσαι.

^a The same story is told of Zeno in Diogenes Laertius ix. 27, and also of Anaxarchus, *ibid.* 59.

^b For this story see Diogenes Laertius ix. 59, where the word for the thing pounded is θύλακος (“bag” or “pouch”). By this is meant the body as being the bag containing the

EVERY GOOD MAN IS FREE, 107-111

nought. For having inured the soul from the first to 107
hold aloof through love of knowledge from association
with the passions, and to cleave to culture and
wisdom, they set it wandering away from the body
and brought it to make its home with wisdom and
courage and the other virtues. So it was that Zeno 108
when suspended and stretched on the wheel, to make
him tell something which should not be disclosed,
showed himself mightier than the strongest things in
nature, fire and iron. He gnawed off his tongue and
shot it at the torturer, lest under violence he should
involuntarily utter what honour would leave un-
spoken.^a Anaxarchus's speech showed the staunchest 109
endurance. "Pound Anaxarchus's skin," he said,
"Anaxarchus you cannot pound."^b These examples
of true courage, full of the spirit of defiance, have a
value far exceeding the inherited nobleness of the
heroes. Their glory belongs to their parentage and
is not of their own volition. The glory of the philo-
sophers rests upon achievements of virtue, freely
willed by themselves, and these being what they are,
immortalize those who practise them in sincerity.

XVII. I know many cases of wrestlers and pan- 110
cratiasts so full of ambition and eagerness for victory
that though their bodies have lost their strength, they
renew their vigour and continue their athletic efforts
with nothing to help them but the soul, which they
have inured to despise terrors, and in this they per-
severe to their last gasp. Then, if those who exercise 111
their bodily vigour have surmounted the fear of death
whether in the hope of victory or to avoid seeing
themselves defeated, can we suppose that those

soul and *ἄσκός* here may mean the same rather than the skin
in the literal sense.

PHILO

τὴν ἰδίαν ἦτταν ἐπιδεῖν, τοὺς δὲ τὸν ἀόρατον νοῦν
 γυμνάζοντας ἐν ἑαυτοῖς, ὃς ἀψευδῶς ἀνθρωπός
 ἐστιν οἶκον ἐπιφερόμενος τὸ αἰσθητὸν εἶδος, καὶ |
 [463] λόγοις μὲν τοῖς ἐκ φιλοσοφίας ἔργοις δὲ τῆς ἀρετῆς
 ἀλείφοντας οὐχ ὑπὲρ ἐλευθερίας ἐβελήσειν ἀπο-
 θνήσκειν, ἢ ἐν ἀδουλώτῳ φρονήματι τὴν εἰμαρ-
 112 μένην ἀνύσωσι πορείαν; ἐν ἀγῶνί φασιν ἱερῷ δύο
 ἀθλητὰς ἰσορρόπῳ κεκρημένους ἀλκῇ, τὰ αὐτὰ
 ἀντιδρῶντάς τε καὶ ἀντιπάσχοντας, μὴ πρότερον
 ἀπειπεῖν ἢ ἐκάτερον τελευτῆσαι.

“ δαιμόνιε, φθίσει σε τὸ σὸν μένος,”

113 εἴποι τις ἂν ἐπὶ τῶν τοιούτων. ἀλλὰ γὰρ οὐκ
 κοτίνων μὲν χάριν καὶ σελίνων εὐκλεῆς ἀγωνισταῖς
 ἢ τελευτῇ, σοφοῖς δὲ οὐ πολὺ μᾶλλον ἐλευθερίας,
 ἧς ὁ πόθος ταῖς ψυχαῖς μόνον, εἰ δεῖ τὰληθὲς εἰπεῖν,
 ἐνίδρυται καθάπερ τι μέρος ἠνωμένον οὐ τῶν ἐπι-
 τυχόντων, οὐ διακοπέντος ἅπασαν τὴν κοινωνίαν
 114 φθείρεσθαι συμβέβηκε; Λακωνικοῦ παιδὸς ἄδεται
 παρ’ οἷς ἔθος ἰχνηλατεῖν ἀρετὰς τὸ ἐκ γένους ἢ
 φύσεως ἀδούλωτον· ἐπεὶ δὲ γὰρ αἰχμάλωτος ἀπαχ-
 θεὶς ὑπὸ τινος τῶν Ἀντιγόνου τὰς μὲν ἐλευθέρως
 χρειὰς ὑπέμενε, ταῖς δὲ δουλικαῖς ἠναντιοῦτο φά-
 σκων οὐχὶ δουλεύσειν, καίτοι μήπω τοῖς Λυκούργου
 νόμοις παγίως ἐντραφῆναι διὰ τὴν ἡλικίαν δυνη-
 θεὶς, ὅτι μόνον αὐτῶν ἐγεύσατο, τοῦ παρόντος
 ἀβιώτου βίου θάνατον εὐτυχέστερον κρίνας, ἀπο-
 γνοὺς ἀπολύτρωσιν, ἄσμενος ἑαυτὸν διεχρήσατο.

^a *Il.* vi. 407.

^b *i.e.* Antigonus Doson, who conquered Sparta 221 B.C.

EVERY GOOD MAN IS FREE, 111-115

who drill the invisible mind within them, the veritable man, housed within the form which the senses perceive,—those who train it with words of philosophy and deeds of virtue will not be willing to die for their freedom and so complete their appointed pilgrimage with a spirit that defies enslavement! It is told of 112 two athletes in a sacred contest how possessed of equal strength, each offensive taken by the one returned in equal measure by the other, they never flagged until both fell dead. “Ah! then thy own prowess will destroy thee,”^a are words which will apply to such as these. Surely then if to die for a 113 garland of wild olive or parsley is a glory to the rivals in the arena, a far greater glory is it to the wise to die for freedom, the love of which stands in very truth implanted in the soul like nothing else, not as a casual adjunct but an essential part of its unity, and cannot be amputated without the whole system being destroyed as the result. Students who investigate 114 examples of high excellence sing the praises of the Laconian boy, to whom race or his own nature gave a spirit which would not brook enslavement. Carried into captivity by one of Antigonus’s^b people, he submitted to such tasks as became a freeman, but stood out against those of a slavish kind, declaring that he would not be a slave. And although by reason of his tender years he had not received the solid nutrition of the laws of Lysurgus, yet from his mere taste of them, he judged that death was a happier lot than his present valueless life, and despairing of ransom gladly put an end to himself.^c There is also the story 115

^c The same story is told by Sen. *Ep.* 77 with the same moral. According to Seneca he killed himself by knocking his head against the wall.

- 115 λέγεται δὲ καὶ πρὸς Μακεδόνων ἀλούσας Δαρ-
 δανίδας γυναικας αἰσχιστον κακὸν δουλείαν
 ὑπολαβούσας οὓς ἐκουροτρόφουν παῖδας εἰς τὸ
 βαθύτατον τοῦ ποταμοῦ ρίπτειν ἐπιφωνούσας·
 “ ἄλλ’ ὑμεῖς γε οὐ δουλεύετε, πρὶν δ’ ἄρξασθαι
 βίου βαρυνδαίμονος, τὸ χρεῶν ἐπιτεμόντες ἐλεύ-
 θεροι τὴν ἀναγκαίαν καὶ πανυστάτην ὁδὸν περαιώ-
 116 σεσθε.” Πολυξένην δὲ ὁ τραγικὸς Εὐριπίδης
 ἀλογοῦσαν μὲν θανάτου φροντίζουσιν δὲ ἐλευθερίας
 εἰσάγει δι’ ὧν φησιν·

“ ἐκούσα θνήσκω, μή τις αἴψηται χροὸς
 τοῦμοῦ· παρέξω γὰρ δέρην εὐκαρδίως,
 ἐλευθέραν δέ μ’, ὡς ἐλευθέρα θάνω,
 πρὸς θεῶν μεθέντες κτείνατε.”

- 117 XVIII. εἰτ’ οἰόμεθα γυναίοις μὲν καὶ
 μειρακίοις, ὧν τὰ μὲν φύσει ὀλιγόφρονα τὰ δὲ
 ἡλικία εὐολίσθω χρώμενα, τοσοῦτον ἐλευθερίας
 ἔρωτα ἐντήκεσθαι, ὥς ὑπὲρ τοῦ μὴ ταύτην ἀφαιρε-
 θῆναι πρὸς θάνατον ὡς ἐπ’ ἀθανασίαν ὁρμᾶν, τοὺς
 δὲ σοφίας ἀκράτου σπάσαντας οὐκ εὐθὺς ἐλευθέρους
 [464] εἶναι, | πηγὴν τινα εὐδαιμονίας τὴν ἀρετὴν (ἐν)
 ἑαυτοῖς περιφέροντας, ἣν ἐπίβουλος οὐδεμία πώ-
 ποτε δύναμις κατέζευξε τὸν ἀρχῆς καὶ βασιλείας
 118 ἔχουσιν αἰώνιον κλῆρον; ἀλλὰ γὰρ καὶ
 δῆμους ὅλους ἀκούομεν ὑπὲρ ἐλευθερίας ἅμα καὶ
 πίστεως τῆς πρὸς ἀποθανόντας εὐεργέτας αὐθαί-
 ρετον πανωλεθρίαν ὑποστάντας, ὥσπερ φασὶν οὐ
 πρὸ πολλοῦ Ξανθίου. ἐπειδὴ γὰρ εἰς τῶν ἐπι-
 θεμένων Ἰουλίῳ Καίσαρι, Βροῦτος, ἐπιὼν ἐπ’

^a No reference is given for this story. Dardania is

of the Dardanian women taken prisoners by the Macedonians, how holding slavery to be the worst disgrace they threw the children which they were nurturing into the deepest part of the river, exclaiming, "You at least shall not be slaves but ere you have begun your life of misery shall cut short your destined span and pass still free along the final road which all must tread."^a Polyxena, too, is described 116 by the tragedian Euripides as thinking little of death but much of her freedom when she says :

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

XVIII. Then can we suppose that while 117 women and lads, the former endowed by nature with little sense, the latter at so insecure an age, are imbued with so profound a love of liberty, that to save themselves from losing it they seek death as eagerly as if it were immortality—can we suppose, I say, that those who have drunk deep of wisdom undiluted can be anything but free—those who bear within them a well-spring of happiness in the high courage which no malignant force has ever yet subdued because sovereignty and kingship is its everlasting heritage?

Indeed we hear of whole populations 118 voluntarily suffering annihilation to safeguard their liberty and at the same time their good faith to dead benefactors. Such is the story told of the Xanthians in recent years. When one of the assassins of Julius Caesar, namely Brutus, marched with an army

apparently a vague term for part of Mysia (*Dictionary of Geography*).

^b *Hecuba* 548 ff.

- αὐτοὺς ἐστράτευσε, δεδιότες οὐ πόρθησιν ἀλλὰ
 <δουλείαν> τὴν ὑπ' ἀνδροφόνου κτείναντος ἡγεμόνα
 καὶ εὐεργέτην—ἀμφότερα γὰρ ἦν αὐτῷ Καῖσαρ—
 ἀπεμάχοντο μὲν ἐφ' ὅσον οἰοί τε ἦσαν δυνατῶς τὸ
 119 πρῶτον, ὑπαναλούμενοι δὲ ἐκ τοῦ κατ' ὀλίγον ἔτ'
 γύναια καὶ γονεῖς καὶ τέκνα συνελάσαντες εἰς τὰς
 σφῶν οἰκίας ἕκαστοι καθιέρεον· καὶ σωρηδὸν τὰ
 σφάγια νήσαντες, πῦρ ἐνέντες καὶ ἑαυτοὺς ἐπι-
 κατασφάξαντες, ἐλεύθεροι τὸ πεπρωμένον ἀπ' ἐλευ-
 120 θέρου καὶ εὐγενοῦς φρονήματος ἐξέπλησαν. ἀλλ'
 οὗτοι μὲν πικρίαν ἀμείλικτον τυραννικῶν ἐχθρῶν
 ἀποδιδράσκοντες πρὸ ἀδόξου βίου τὸν μετ' εὐκλείας
 θάνατον ἠροῦντο. οἷς δὲ ἐπέτρεπε ζῆν τὰ πράγ-
 ματα τὰ τυχερά, τλητικῶς ὑπέμενον τὴν Ἡρά-
 κλειον εὐτολμίαν ἀπομιμούμενοι· καὶ γὰρ ἐκείνος
 τῶν Εὐρυσθέως ἐπιταγμάτων διεφάνη κρείττων.
 121 ὁ γοῦν κυνικὸς φιλόσοφος Διογένης
 ὕψει καὶ μεγέθει τοσούτῳ φρονήματος ἐχρήσατο,
 ὥσθ' ἄλους ὑπὸ ληστῶν, ἐπεὶ γλίσχρως καὶ μόλις
 τὰς ἀναγκαίας αὐτῷ παρεῖχον τροφάς, οὗθ' ὑπὸ
 τῆς παρούσης τύχης γναμφθεῖς οὔτε τὴν ὠμότητα
 τῶν ὑπηγμένων δείσας “ἀτοπώτατον οὖν” ἔφη
 “γίνεται, δελφάκια μὲν ἢ προβάτια, ὅποτε μέλλοι
 πιπράσκεσθαι, τροφαῖς ἐπιμελεστέραις πιαίνειν εἰς
 εὐσαρκίαν, ζώων δὲ τὸ ἄριστον, ἄνθρωπον, ἀσιτίαις

^a The story is told at length by Appian, *Bell. Civ.* iv. 76-80.

^b The first of these stories about Diogenes, §§ 121 and 122, does not appear to be referred to elsewhere. Of the re-

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

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

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

κατασκελετευθέντα καὶ συνεχέσιν ἐνδείαις ἐπeuwο-
 122 ζεσθαι.” λαβὼν δὲ τροφὰς διαρκεῖς, ἐπειδὴ μεθ’
 ἐτέρων αἰχμαλώτων ἔμελλεν ἀπεμπολεῖσθαι, καθ-
 ίσας πρότερον ἡρίστα μαλ’ εὐθαρσῶς, ἐπιδιδούς
 καὶ τοῖς πλησίον. ἐνὸς δὲ οὐχ ὑπομένοντος,¹ ἀλλὰ
 καὶ σφόδρα κατηφοῦντος, “ οὐ παύσῃ τῆς συννοίας;
 χρῶ τοῖς παροῦσιν ” ἔφη.

“ καὶ γάρ τ’ ἡύκομος Νιόβη ἐμνήσατο σίτου,
 τῇ περ δώδεκα παῖδες ἐνὶ μεγάροισιν ὄλοντο,
 ἕξ μὲν θυγατέρες, ἕξ δ’ υἱέες ἡβῶντες.”

123 | εἴτ’ ἐπινεανιευόμενος πρὸς τὸν πυθόμενον τῶν
 [465] ὠνητικῶς ἐχόντων “ τί οἶδας; ” “ ἄρχειν ” εἶπεν
 “ ἀνθρώπων,” ἔνδοθεν, ὡς ἔοικε, τῆς ψυχῆς τὸ
 ἐλεύθερον καὶ εὐγενὲς καὶ φύσει βασιλικὸν ὑπη-
 χούσης. ἤδη δὲ καὶ πρὸς χαριεντισμὸν ὑπὸ τῆς
 συνήθους ἐκεχειρίας,² ἐφ’ οἷς οἱ ἄλλοι συννοίας γέ-
 124 μοντες κατήφουν, ἐτράπετο. λέγεται γοῦν, ὅτι
 θεασάμενός τινα τῶν ὠνουμένων, ὃν θήλεια νόσος
 εἶχεν, ἐκ τῆς ὀψεως οὐκ ἄρρενα προσελθὼν ἔφη.

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

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

constant privations and so fetch a lower price."^a He 122 then received adequate allowances of food and when he was about to be brought to market with the other captives, he first sat down and took his dinner in the highest spirits, and gave some of it to those near him. To one of them who could not resign himself,^b and, indeed, was exceedingly dejected, he said, "Stop this repining and make the best of things, for

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

Then when one of the prospective purchasers asked 123 him what he was skilled at, he said with all boldness "at ruling men," a reply which, showing freedom, nobility, and natural kingliness, was clearly dictated by the soul within him. Again we find him with his wonted licence making witticisms out of a situation which filled the others with melancholy and dejection. It is said, for instance, that looking at one of 124 the purchasers, an addict to effeminacy, whose face showed that he had nothing of the male about him, he went up to him and said, "You should buy me, for

^a See on § 37.

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

^c *Il.* xxiv. 602 ff.

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

PHILO

“ σύ με πρίω· σὺ γὰρ ἀνδρὸς χρεῖαν ἔχειν μοι δοκεῖς,” ὥς τὸν μὲν δυσωπηθέντα ἐφ’ οἷς ἑαυτῷ συνήδει καταδῦναι, τοὺς δὲ ἄλλους τὸ σὺν εὐτολμία εὐθυβόλον ἐκπλήττεσθαι. ἄρα γε τῷ τοιούτῳ δουλείαν, ἀλλ’ οὐ μόνον ἐλευθερίαν δίχα ἀνυπευ-
 125 θύνου ἡγεμονίας ἐπιφημιστέον; ζηλω-
 τῆς δὲ τῆς τούτου παρρησίας ἐγένετό τις Χαιρέας τῶν ἀπὸ παιδείας. Ἀλεξάνδρειαν γὰρ οἰκῶν τὴν πρὸς Αἰγύπτῳ, δυσχεράναντός ποτε Πτολεμαίου καὶ ἀπειλήσαντος οὐ μετρίως, τῆς ἐκείνου βασιλείας οὐδὲν ἐλάττονα τὴν ἐν τῇ ἑαυτοῦ φύσει νομίσας ἐλευθερίαν, ἀντέλεξεν.

“ Αἰγυπτίοισιν ἄνασσε, σέθεν δ’ ἐγὼ οὐκ ἀλεγίζω οὐδ’ ὀθομαι κοτέοντος.”

126 ἔχουσι γάρ τι βασιλικὸν αἱ εὐγενεῖς ψυχαί, τὸ λαμπρὸν πλεονεξία τύχης οὐκ ἀμαυρούμεναι, ὃ προτρέπει καὶ τοῖς τᾶξίωμα ὑπερόγκοις ἐξ ἴσου διαφέρεσθαι, ἀλαζονείᾳ παρρησίαν ἀντιτάττον.

127 Θεόδωρον λόγος ἔχει τὸν ἐπικληθέντα ἄθεον ἐκπεσόντα τῶν Ἀθηνῶν καὶ πρὸς Λυσίμαχον ἐλθόντα, ἐπειδὴ τις τῶν ἐν τέλει τὸν δρασμὸν ὠνείδισεν, ἅμα καὶ τὰς αἰτίας ἐπιλέγων, ὅτι ἐπὶ ἀθεότητι καὶ διαφθορᾷ τῶν νέων καταγνωσθεῖς

^a This phrase is difficult. The sense given to δίχα in the translation, by which “without” is extended to mean “not

EVERY GOOD MAN IS FREE, 124-127

you seem to me to need a husband," whereat the person concerned conscience-stricken into shame subsided, and the others were amazed at the courage and the aptness of the sally. Must we apply the term slavery to such as him, or any other word but liberty, over which irresponsible domination has no power? ^a

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

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

For noble souls, whose brightness the greed of fortune 126
cannot dim, have a kingly something, which urges them to contend on an equal footing with persons of the most massive dignity and pits freedom of speech against arrogance.

A story is told of 127
Theodorus ^c surnamed the atheist, that when he had been banished from Athens and had joined Lysimachus, his flight was brought up against him by a person of authority, who recited the circumstances which caused it and declared that he had been ejected after being condemned as an atheist and corrupter of

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

^b *Il.* i. 180 f. (*Μυρμιδόνεσσιν* for *Αἰγυπτιόισιν* in the original).

^c For Theodorus see App. p. 517.

- ἐξέπεσεν, "[οὐκ] ἐξέπεσον"¹ φάναι, "τὸ δ' αὐτὸ
 128 ἔπαθον τῷ Διὸς Ἡρακλεῖ. καὶ γὰρ ἐκείνος ἐξ-
 ετέθη πρὸς τῶν Ἀργοναυτῶν, οὐκ ἀδικῶν, ἀλλ' ὅτι
 μόνος πλήρωμα καὶ ἔρμα καθ' αὐτὸν ὦν ἐναυβάρει,
 δέος παρασχὼν τοῖς συμπλέουσι, μὴ τὸ σκάφος
 ὑπέραντλον γένηται. καὶ γὰρ διὰ τοῦτο μετανέστην,
 ὕψει καὶ μεγέθει τῆς ἐμῆς διανοίας τῶν πολιτενο-
 μένων Ἀθήνησιν οὐ δυνηθέντων συνδραμεῖν, ἅμα
 129 καὶ φθονηθεῖς." προσανερομένου δὲ Λυσιμάχου·
 "μὴ καὶ ἐκ τῆς πατρίδος ἐξέπεσες φθόνῳ;" πάλιν
 ἀποκρίνασθαι· "φθόνῳ μὲν οὐ, φύσεως δὲ ὑπερ-
 130 βολαῖς, ἃς ἡ πατρίς οὐκ ἐχῶρει. καθάπερ γὰρ
 Σεμέλης, ἡνίκα Διόνυσον ἐκύνει, τὸν ὠρισμένον ἄχρι
 [466] τῆς | ἀποτέξεως χρόνον ἐνεγκεῖν οὐ δυνηθείσης,
 καταπλαγεὶς Ζεὺς τὴν τοῦ κατὰ γαστρὸς φύσιν
 ἡλιτόμηνον ἐξελκύσας ἰσότιμον τοῖς οὐρανίοις ἀπ-
 ἔφηνε θεοῖς, οὕτω καὶ ἐμὲ, τῆς πατρίδος βραχυτέρας
 οὐσῆς ἢ ὥστε δέξασθαι φιλοσόφου φρονήματος
 ὄγκον τοσοῦτον, δαίμων τις ἢ θεὸς ἀναστήσας εἰς
 εὐτυχέστερον τόπον Ἀθηνῶν² ἀποικίσαι διενόηθη."
 131 XIX. Τῆς δὲ ἐν σοφοῖς ἐλευθερίας, ὥσπερ καὶ
 τῶν ἄλλων ἀνθρωπίνων ἀγαθῶν, καὶ τοῖς ἀλόγοις

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

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

EVERY GOOD MAN IS FREE, 127-131

youth. "I was ejected," he answered, "but I shared that fortune with the son of Zeus Heracles, for he was thrown overboard by the Argonauts, not 128 for any wrongdoing, but because he himself alone was freight^a and ballast enough to overload the vessel, and made his fellow sailors afraid that it would be water-logged. And I, too, changed my residence^b for this reason, because the politicians at Athens were unable to keep pace with the loftiness and magnitude of my intellect; also I was the object of envy." When 129 Lysimachus put the further question, "Was it then for envy that you were ejected?" he answered, "No, not through envy but because of the transcendence of my natural gifts which the country could not hold. For just as when Semele, while carrying Dionysus, 130 was unable to bear the weight till the time appointed for her delivery, and Zeus in consternation pulled out the fruit of her womb in a premature stage of being and made it rank equal to the celestial gods, so it was with me: my country was too small to hold such a mass of philosophical thinking, and some lower or higher deity dislodged me and resolved to transplant me to a place more favoured by fortune than Athens."

XIX. The freedom of the wise like all other human 131 good gifts may be seen exemplified also in the irra-

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

^b Or perhaps "was made to leave my home," *μετανέστην* having the passive sense which the uncompounded verb often has.

- ζώοις παραδείγματα σκοπῶν ἂν τις εὖροι. οἱ γοῦν ἄλεκτρύονες οὕτως εἰώθασι φιλοκινδύνως ἀγωνίζεσθαι, ὥστε ὑπὲρ τοῦ μὴ εἶξαι καὶ παραχωρῆσαι, καὶ ἡττῶνται ταῖς δυνάμεσιν, οὐχ ἡττώμενοι ταῖς
- 132 εὐτολμίαις ἄχρι θανάτου παραμένουσιν. ὁ συνιδὼν Μιλτιάδης ὁ τῶν Ἀθηναίων στρατηγός, ἡνίκα βασιλεὺς ὁ Περσῶν ἅπασαν τὴν ἀκμὴν τῆς Ἀσίας ἀναστήσας μυριάσι πολλαῖς διέβαινεν ἐπὶ τὴν Εὐρώπην, ὡς ἀναρπάσων αὐτοβοεῖ τὴν Ἑλλάδα, συναγαγὼν ἐν τῷ παναθηναϊκῷ τοὺς συμμάχους ὀρνίθων ἀγῶνας ἐπέδειξε, λόγου παντὸς δυνατωτέρα ὑπολαμβάνων ἔσεσθαι τὴν διὰ τῆς τοιαύτης ὀψεως παρακέλευσιν· καὶ γνώμης οὐχ ἡμαρτε.
- 133 θεασάμενοι γὰρ τὸ τλητικὸν καὶ φιλότιμον ἄχρι τελευτῆς ἐν ἀλόγοις ἀήττητον, ἀρπάσαντες τὰ ὄπλα πρὸς τὸν πόλεμον ὥρμησαν, ὡς ἐχθρῶν ἀγωνιούμενοι σώμασι, τραυμάτων καὶ σφαγῶν ἀλογοῦντες, ὑπὲρ τοῦ καὶ ἀποθανόντες ἐν ἐλευθέρῳ γοῦν τῷ τῆς πατρίδος ἐδάφει ταφῆναι. προτροπῆς γὰρ εἰς βελτίωσιν οὐδὲν οὕτως αἷτιον, ὡς ἡ τῶν ἀφανέ-
- 134 στέρων ἐλπίδος μείζων κατόρθωσις. τοῦ δὲ περὶ τοὺς ὄρνιθας ἐναγωνίου μέμνηται καὶ ὁ τραγικὸς Ἴων διὰ τούτων·

“ οὐδ’ ὃ γε σῶμα τυπεῖς διφνεῖς τε κόρας ἐπιλάθεται ἀλκᾶς,
ἀλλ’ ὀλιγοδρανέων φθογγάζεται·
θάνατον δ’ ὃ γε δουλοσύνας προβέβουλε.”

- 135 τοὺς οὖν σοφοὺς τί οἰόμεθα οὐκ ἀσμενέστατα δουλείας ἀντικαταλλάξεσθαι τελευτήν; τὰς δὲ τῶν νέων καὶ εὐφυῶν ψυχὰς ἄρ’ οὐκ ἄτοπον λέγειν

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tional animals. Thus cocks are wont to fight with such intrepidity that rather than yield and withdraw, though outdone in strength yet not outdone in courage they continue fighting until they die. This 132 Miltiades, the general of the Athenians, had observed, and when the Persian king having pressed into the ranks all the flower of Asia crossed into Europe with many myriads, thinking to seize Greece without a struggle, Miltiades collected his fellow soldiers at the Panathenaea and showed them some cocks fighting, holding that the spectacle would speak with a persuasion which no words could have. His judgement did not err, for when they saw this invin- 133 cible gallantry and endurance asserting itself even to death in irrational creatures, they seized their arms and rushed to war, where the rivals against whom they were matched would be the bodies of the foes, and recked not of the wounds nor of the slaughter in their hope to secure that if they fell at least their native soil in which they lay would still be free. For nothing so creates an impulse to do better, as that those of less repute than ourselves should rise to heights of achievement beyond our expectation. Cock-fighting is also mentioned by the Tragedian Ion^a 134 in these words :

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

Why then should we suppose that the wise would not 135 most gladly choose death rather than slavery ? Is it not against all reason that the souls of the young and highly gifted should be worsted in the contests of

^a See App. p. 517.

ἐν ἄθλοις ἀρετῆς ὀρνίθων ἐλαττοῦσθαι καὶ μόλις
φέρεισθαι τὰ δευτερεῖα;

- 136 Καὶ μὴν οὐδ' ἐκεῖνό τις τῶν ἐπὶ βραχὺ παιδείας
ἀψαμένων ἀγνοεῖ, ὅτι καλὸν μὲν πρᾶγμα ἐλευθερία,
αἰσχρὸν δὲ δουλεία, καὶ ὅτι τὰ μὲν καλὰ πρόσεστι
τοῖς ἀγαθοῖς, τὰ δ' αἰσχρὰ τοῖς φαύλοις. ἐξ
ᾧ ἐναργέστατα παρίσταται τὸ μήτε τινὰ τῶν
σπουδαίων δοῦλον εἶναι, καὶ μυρίοι τὰ δεσποτῶν
σύμβολα προφέροντες ἐπανατείνωνται, μήτε τῶν
137 ἀφρόνων ἐλευθέρων, καὶ Κροῖσος ἢ Μίδας ἢ ὁ μέγας
[467] βασιλεὺς ᾧν τυγχάνη. XX. | τὸ δὲ
ἐλευθερίας μὲν αἰοίδιμον κάλλος δουλείας δὲ ἐπά-
ρατον αἰσχος ὑπὸ τῶν παλαιότερων καὶ πολυχρο-
νιωτέρων καὶ ὡς ἐν θνητοῖς ἀθανάτων, οἷς θέμις
138 ἀψευδεῖν, πόλεων τε καὶ ἔθνων μαρτυρεῖται. βουλαί
τε γὰρ καὶ ἐκκλησίαι καθ' ἑκάστην σχεδὸν ἡμέραν
ἀθροίζονται περὶ τίνος μᾶλλον ἢ ἐλευθερίας παρ-
ούσης μὲν βεβαιώσεως, εἰ δ' ἀπίει, κτήσεως; ἢ
δ' Ἑλλὰς καὶ βάρβαρος κατὰ ἔθνη στασιάζουσι καὶ
πολεμοῦσιν αἰεὶ τί βουλόμεναι ὅ τι μὴ δουλείαν μὲν
139 ἀποδιδράσκειν, ἐλευθερίαν δὲ περιποιεῖσθαι; διὸ
καὶ ταῖς μάχαις ἢ λοχαγῶν καὶ ταξιαρχῶν καὶ
στρατηγῶν μεγίστη παρακέλευσις ἥδ' ἐστί. “κα-
κῶν τὸ βαρύτερον, ἄνδρες σύμμαχοι, δουλείαν
ἐπιφερομένην ἀπωσώμεθα· τοῦ καλλίστου τῶν ἐν

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

EVERY GOOD MAN IS FREE, 135-139

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

This too is a truth well known to everyone who 136 has taken even a slight hold of culture, that freedom is an honourable thing, and slavery a disgraceful thing, and that honourable things are associated with good men and disgraceful things with bad men. Hence, it clearly follows that no person of true worth is a slave, though threatened by a host of claimants who produce contracts to prove their ownership, nor is any fool a free man, even though he be a Croesus or a Midas or the Great King himself.

XX. " And this doctrine that freedom is glorious and 137 honourable, slavery execrable and disgraceful, is attested by cities and nations, which are more ancient, more permanent, and, as far as mortals may be, immortal, and for immortals it is a law of their being that their every word is true. The senates and 138 national assemblies meet almost every day to discuss more than anything else how to confirm their freedom if they have it, or to acquire it if they have it not. The Greek and the outside world are perpetually engaged in feuds and wars, nation against nation, and with what object save to escape from slavery and to win freedom ? And so on the battle- 139 field, the commanders of armies and regiments and companies couch their exhortations to their men mainly in this form. " Fellow soldiers, slavery is the most grievous of evils. Let us repel its assault.

is still more excellent—that the exclusion of slaves in the ordinary sense from the Athenian celebrations and from the *Argo* did incidentally teach the lesson that the " free " might carry out menial duties without loss of true freedom. But those ideas are only just hinted at. The real argument is resumed in § 144.

- ἀνθρώποις ἀγαθῶν, ἐλευθερίας, μὴ περιίδωμεν.
 ἥδ' ἐστὶν ἀρχὴ καὶ πηγὴ τῆς εὐδαιμονίας, ἀφ' ἧς
 140 αἱ κατὰ μέρος ρέουσιν ὠφέλειαι.” διό
 μοι δοκοῦσιν οἱ τῶν Ἑλλήνων ὀξυδερκέστατοι διά-
 νοιαν Ἀθηναῖοι—ὅπερ γὰρ ἐν ὀφθαλμῷ κόρη ἢ ἐν
 ψυχῇ λογισμός, τοῦτ' ἐν Ἑλλάδι Ἀθῆναι—τὴν ἐπὶ
 ταῖς Σεμναῖς Θεαῖς πομπὴν ὅταν στέλλωσι, δοῦλον
 μηδένα προσπαραλαμβάνειν τὸ παράπαν, ἀλλὰ δι'
 ἐλευθέρων ἕκαστα τῶν νενομισμένων ἀνδρῶν τε καὶ
 γυναικῶν ἐπιτελεῖν, καὶ οὐχ οἷων ἂν τύχη, ἀλλὰ
 βίον ἐξηλωκότων ἀνεπίληπτον· ἐπεὶ καὶ τὰ πρὸς
 τὴν ἐορτὴν πέμματα τῶν ἐφήβων οἱ δοκιμώτατοι
 σιτοπονοῦσι, πρὸς εὐδοξίας καὶ τιμῆς, ὅπερ ἐστί,
 141 τὴν ὑπηρεσίαν τιθέμενοι. πρῶν ὑποκριτῶν τρα-
 γωδίας ἐπιδεικνυμένων καὶ τὰ παρ' Εὐριπίδῃ
 τρίμετρα διεξιόντων ἐκεῖνα

“ τοῦλεύθερον γὰρ ὄνομα παντὸς ἄξιον,
 καὶν σμίκρ' ἔχη τις, μεγάλ' ἔχειν νομίζέτω,”

- τοὺς θεατὰς ἅπαντας εἶδον ἐπ' ἄκρων ποδῶν ὑπ'
 ἐκπλήξεως ἀναστάντας καὶ φωναῖς μείζουσι καὶ
 ἐκβοήσεσιν ἐπαλλήλοις ἔπαινον μὲν τῆς γνώμης,
 ἔπαινον δὲ καὶ τοῦ ποιητοῦ συνείροντας, ὃς οὐ
 μόνον τὴν ἐλευθερίαν ἔργοις ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῦνομα
 142 αὐτῆς ἐσέμνυνεν. ἄγαμαι καὶ τῶν Ἀργοναυτῶν,
 οἱ σύμπαν ἀπέφηναν ἐλεύθερον τὸ πλήρωμα μηδένα
 μηδὲ τῶν εἰς ἀναγκαίας ὑπηρεσίας προσέμενοι δοῦ-
 λον, ἀδελφὴν ἐλευθερίας αὐτουργίαν ἐν τῷ τότε

^a According to Cohn, Demeter and Persephone, but see App. p. 517.

EVERY GOOD MAN IS FREE, 139-142

Freedom is the noblest of human blessings ; let us not suffer it to be lost. Freedom is the source and fountain of happiness and from it flow all particular benefits." This I think is the reason why ¹⁴⁰ the Athenians, the keenest in intelligence among the Greeks—for Athens is in Greece what the pupil is in the eye and the reason in the soul—when they celebrate the procession in honour of the Venerable Goddesses,^a admit no slave to the company, but employ free men and women to carry out all the solemnities, and these not chosen at haphazard, but such as have earnestly pursued a blameless life. On the same principle, the cakes for the feast are made by the youths who have best passed their test, and they consider this service to be an honour and glory as indeed it is. A short time ago, when some players ¹⁴¹ were acting a tragedy, and reciting those lines of Euripides,

The name of freedom is worth all the world ;
If one has little, let him think that much,^b

I saw the whole audience so carried away by enthusiasm that they stood upright to their full height, and raising their voices above the actors, burst into shout after shout of applause, combining praise of the maxim with praise of the poet, who glorified not only freedom for what it does, but even its name. I also admire the Argonauts, who ¹⁴² made their crew consist entirely of the free and admitted no slave, not even those who would do the necessary menial labours, welcoming personal service in these circumstances as the sister of

^b Part of four lines quoted by Stobaeus from the *Auge* of Euripides.

143 ἀσπασαμένων. εἰ δὲ καὶ ποιηταῖς προσέχειν ἄξιον
—διὰ τί δὲ οὐ μέλλομεν; παιδευταὶ γὰρ οὗτοί γε
τοῦ σύμπαντος βίου, καθάπερ ἰδία γονεῖς παῖδας
καὶ οὗτοι δημοσίᾳ τὰς πόλεις σωφρονίζοντες—, οὐδ'
ἢ Ἀργὼ ναυαρχοῦντος Ἰάσονος ἐπέτρεπεν ἐπι-
[468] βαίνειν οἰκέταις, μεμοιραμένη | ψυχῆς καὶ λογισμοῦ,
φύσις οὕσα φιλελεύθερος. ὅθεν καὶ ὁ Αἰσχύλος ἐπ'
αὐτῆς εἶπε·

“ ποῦ δ' ἐστὶν Ἀργούς ἱερόν, αὔδασον,¹ ξύλον; ”

- 144 Ἐπανατάσεων δὲ καὶ ἀπειλῶν, ἃς σοφοῖς ἀν-
δράσιν ἐπανατείνονται καὶ ἀπειλοῦσί τινες, ἥκιστα
φροντιστέον καὶ τὰ ὅμοια λεκτέον Ἀντιγενίδα τῷ
αὐλητῇ. καὶ γὰρ ἐκεῖνόν φασιν, ἐπειδὴ τις τῶν
ἀντιτέχνων ὀργισθεὶς εἶπεν “ ὠνήσομαί σε, ” βαθεῖ
ἦθει φάναι. “ κἀγὼ τοιγαροῦν διδάξω σε αὐλεῖν. ”
- 145 ἄξιον οὖν καὶ τῷ σπουδαίῳ πρὸς μὲν τὸν ἔχοντα
ὠνητικῶς λέγειν. “ σωφροσύνην ἄρα ἀναδίδαχ-
θήσῃ, ” πρὸς δὲ τὸν ἀπειλοῦντα φυγῇ. “ πᾶσα γῆ
- 146 μοι πατρίς, ” πρὸς δὲ τὸν χρημάτων ζημίαν. “ ἀρκεῖ
μετρία βιοτά μοι, ” πρὸς δὲ τὸν πληγὰς ἢ θάνατον

¹ MSS. αὔδασαι or αὔδασε or (M) δαπέν^σ (sic). For the sug-
gestion αὐδῆεν see note a.

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

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freedom. And if we are justified in listening to 143
the poets,—and why should we not, since they are
our educators through all our days, and as parents in
private life teach wisdom to their children, so do they
in public life to their cities—if I say we believe them,
even the *Argo*, which captained by Jason was endowed
with soul and reason, a sentient being filled with love
of freedom, would not let bond servants board her.
So Aeschylus says of her :

Where is the sacred bark of *Argo*? Speak.^a

The menacing gestures and speeches with which 144
some people threaten the wise should be treated
with little respect and meet with a reply like that
of Antigenidas, the flute-player. When a rival pro-
fessional said to him in anger, "I'll buy you," he
answered him with great irony,^b "Then I'll teach you
to play." So then, too, the man of worth may say 145
to his prospective purchaser, "Then you will have
lessons in self-control." If one threatens him with
banishment, he can say, "Every land is my native
country"^c; if with loss of money, "A moderate 146
livelihood suffices me"^d; if the threat takes the

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

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

^c Perhaps a reminiscence of the line by an unknown author

τῷ γὰρ καλῶς πράσσοντι πᾶσα γῆ πατρίς,

though the meaning of this is not what is intended here.

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

ἐπανατεινόμενον· “ οὐ μορμολύττεται με ταῦτα, οὐδ’ εἰμὶ πυκτῶν ἢ παγκρατιαστῶν ἐλάττων, οὔτινες ἀμαυρὰ εἶδωλα ἀρετῆς ὀρώντες, ἅτε σωμάτων αὐτὸ μόνον εὐεξίαν διαπονήσαντες, ἐκάτερα τλητικῶς ὑπομένουσιν· ὁ γὰρ ἡγεμὼν σώματος ἐν ἐμοὶ νοῦς ἀνδρεία τονωθείς οὕτω σφόδρα νενεύρωται, ὥς ἐπάνω πάσης ἀλγηδόνης ἵστασθαι δύνασθαι.”

147 XXI. [Φυλακτέον οὖν τὸν τοιοῦτον θῆρα συλλαμβάνειν, ὃς οὐκ ἀλκὴν μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ ὄψιν φοβερός ὢν τὸ δυσάλωτον καὶ μὴ εὐκαταφρόνητον δείκνυται.]

148 Ἀσυλία τόπων πολλάκις οἰκετῶν τοῖς καταφεύγουσιν ἄδειαν καὶ ἐκχειρίαν ὥς ἰσοτίμοις καὶ ἰσοτελέσι παρέσχετο· καὶ τοὺς ἐκ προπάππων καὶ τῶν ἄνω προγόνων κατὰ τινα συγγενικὴν διαδοχὴν παλαιοδούλους ἔστιν ἰδεῖν, ὅταν ἐν ἱεροῖς ἰκέται καθέζωνται, μετὰ πάσης ἀδείας ἐλευθεροστομοῦν-

149 τας. εἰσὶ δ’ οἱ καὶ τοῖς κτησαμένοις οὐκ ἐξ ἴσου μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐκ πολλοῦ τοῦ περιόντος εὐτόνως ἅμα καὶ καταφρονητικῶς διαφέρονται περὶ τῶν δικαίων· οὓς μὲν γὰρ ὁ τοῦ συνειδότος ἔλεγχος, κὰν ὦσιν εὐπατρίδαι, πέφυκε δουλοῦσθαι, οἱ δὲ τὴν τοῦ σώματος ἄδειαν ἐκ τῆς περὶ τὸν τόπον ἀσυλίας πεπορισμένοι ψυχῆς, ἣν ὁ θεὸς ἐκ πάντων ἀχείρωτον ἐδημιούργησεν, ἐλεύθερα καὶ εὐγενῆ σφόδρα

^a That this section makes impossible nonsense here is obvious. Massebieau propounded the theory that §§ 32-40 should be transferred to after § 146 and followed by § 147. While the relevance of §§ 32-40 as it stands is not very clear, it seems to me they would be still more intrusive here. And what connexion has § 147 with § 40? In § 40 lions are said to be really the masters of their owners and the moral deduced is that still more is the wise man master in the true

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form of blows or death, he can say, "These bugbears do not scare me; I am not inferior to boxers or pancratiasts, who though they see but dim shadows of true excellence, since they only cultivate robustness of body, yet endure both bravely. For the mind within me which rules the body is by courage so well-braced and nerved, that it can stand superior to any kind of pain."

XXI. [We must be careful, therefore, not to take a wild 147
beast of this kind, which displays not only strength, but by
the terrors of its appearance, its invincible and formidable
nature.]^a

Places which serve as sanctuaries often provide the 148
bond servants who take refuge in them with the same
security and licence of speech as if they enjoyed
equal rights and privileges with the rest. And one
may see those whose servitude is immemorial handed
down from their great-grandfathers and earlier
ancestors by a kind of family succession, talking freely
with complete fearlessness, when sitting in temples as
suppliants. Some even show not mere equality but 149
great superiority in the energy and disdain with which
they dispute questions of justice with their owners.
For while the owners however highly born may well
become as slaves through the conscience which con-
victs them, the suppliants, who are provided with
bodily security by the inviolability of the place,
exhibit in the soul, which God created proof against
all that could subdue it, characteristics of freedom

sense. To follow by a warning against buying lions would be utterly inept. By what accident it got inserted here, it is useless guessing. But probably it belongs to some disquisition in which harbouring passions is compared to keeping wild beasts (*cf. De Praem.* 88). Such a disquisition might well have found a place in the twin treatise "that every fool is a slave."

- 150 ἀναφαίνουσιν ἥθη· εἰ μὴ λίαν οὕτω τις ἐστὶν ἀλό-
γιστος, ὥς χωρία μὲν θάρσους αἴτια καὶ παρρησίας
[469] ὑπολαμβάνειν εἶναι, τὸ δὲ τῶν ὄντων θεοειδέστατον,
ἀρετὴν, μηκέτι, δι' ἣν καὶ τοῖς | χωρίοις καὶ τοῖς
ἄλλοις ὅσα φρονήσεως μετέχει τὸ ἱεροπρεπὲς ἐγ-
151 γίνεται. καὶ μὴν τοῖς μὲν εἰς ἀσύλους τόπους
καταφεύγουσιν, ἐκ μόνων τῶν τόπων περιπεποιη-
μένοις ἀσφάλειαν, ἐκ μυρίων ἄλλων ἀγωγίμοις
συμβέβηκε γίνεσθαι, δώρων γυναικός, ἀδοξίας τέκ-
νων, ἔρωτος ἀπάτης, τοῖς δὲ εἰς ἀρετὴν ὥσπερ εἰς
ἀκαθαίρετον καὶ ἐρυμνότατον τεῖχος ἀλογεῖν βλη-
μάτων, ὧν αἱ ἐφεδρεῖαι τῶν παθῶν βάλλουσι καὶ
152 τοξεύουσι. ταύτῃ τις πεφραγμένος τῇ δυνάμει
μετὰ παρρησίας ἂν εἴποι, ὅτι οἱ μὲν ἄλλοι πρὸς
τῶν τυχόντων ἀλίσκονται,

“ ἐγὼ δ' ἐμαντοῦ ” κατὰ τὸν τραγικὸν “ καὶ
κλύειν ἐπίσταμαι,
ἄρχειν θ' ὁμοίως, τὰρετῇ σταθμώμενος
τὰ πάντα.”

- 153 λέγεται γοῦν ὁ Πριηνεὺς Βίας ἀπειλοῦντι Κροίσῳ
μάλα καταφρονητικῶς ἀνταπειλῆσαι ἐπεσθίειν τῶν
κρομμύων, αἰνιττόμενος τὸ κλαίειν, ἐπεὶ δάκρυα
154 κινεῖ ἢ κρομμύων βρώσις. οὕτως οἱ σοφοὶ βασι-
λικώτερον οὐδὲν ἀρετῆς νομίζοντες, ἢ τοῦ βίου

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

^b φρονήσεως has not been questioned, but seems to me

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and high nobility.^a It must be so, for who could be 150
 so exceedingly unreasonable as to think that while
 places produce courage and free speaking, this does
 not extend to the most God-like thing existing,
 virtue, through which both places and everything
 else which participates in wisdom ^b acquires sanctity?
 And indeed those who take refuge in sacrosanct 151
 localities and owe their security to the localities only,
 turn out to be in bondage to numberless other con-
 siderations, such as a wife seduced by gifts,^c children
 fallen into disgrace, betrayal in love matters. But
 those who take refuge in virtue, as in an indestruct-
 ible and impregnable fortress, disregard the darts
 and arrows aimed at them by the passions which
 stalk them. Fortified by this power, a man may say 152
 freely and boldly, "While all others are the victims
 of chance circumstances, I can say with the tragic
 poet :

Myself I can obey and can command.
 I measure all things by the rule of virtue."^d

Thus Bias of Priene is said to have retorted very dis- 153
 dainfully to the threats of Croesus,^e by bidding him
 eat onions, a phrase which means "go weep," because
 eating onions sets the tears running. In this spirit 154
 the wise who hold that nothing is more royal than
 virtue, the captain whom they serve as soldiers

hardly possible, at any rate if *τοῖς ἄλλοις* is retained. What
 is wanted is something to indicate the sacrosanctity which
 altars, vessels and the like share with sanctuaries (? *ὅσ' ἀφ-*
ιερώσεως).

^c If this is the meaning. So Mangey "uxore corrupta,"
 but the phrase seems strange.

^d Source unknown, thought by Nauck to be Euripides.

^e According to Diog. Laert. i. 83 it was said to Halyattes
 the father of Croesus.

παντὸς αὐτοῖς ταξιαρχεῖ, τὰς ἄλλων ἡγεμονίας ὡς
 ὑπηκόων οὐ δεδίασι. παρ' ὃ τοὺς διχόνους καὶ
 δολερούς ἅπασιν ὀνομάζειν ἔθος ἀνελευθέρους τε
 155 καὶ δουλοπρεπεῖς. ὅθεν κακεῖνα εὖ πεφώνηται·

“ οὐποτε δουλείῃ κεφαλὴ εὐθεία πέφυκεν,
 ἀλλ' αἰεὶ σκολιή, καυχένα λοξὸν ἔχει.”

τὸ γὰρ πλάγιον καὶ ποικίλον καὶ ἀπατηλὸν ἦθος
 ἀγενέστατον, ὥσπερ <εὐγενές> τὸ εὐθὺ καὶ ἄπλα-
 στον καὶ ἀνύπουλον, λόγων βουλεύμασι καὶ βουλευ-
 156 μάτων λόγοις συναδόντων. ἄξιον δὲ
 καταγελᾶν τῶν ἐπειδὰν ἀπαλλαγῶσι δεσποτικῆς
 κτήσεως ἐλευθερωθῆναι νομιζόντων· οἰκέται μὲν
 γὰρ οὐκέθ' ὁμοίως <ἄν> εἶεν οἱ γε ἀφειμένοι,
 δούλοι δὲ καὶ μαστιγῖαι πάντες, ὑπακούοντες οὐκ
 ἀνθρώπων—ἦττον γὰρ ἂν ἦν τὸ δεινόν—, ἀλλὰ καὶ
 τῶν ἐν ἀψύχοις ἀτιμοτάτων, ἀκράτου, λαχάνων,¹
 περμμάτων,² ὅσα ἄλλα σιτοπόνων τε καὶ ὀψαρτυτῶν
 157 γούσιν. ὁ γοῦν Διογένης ἰδὼν τινα τῶν λεγομένων
 ἀπελευθέρων ἀβρυνόμενον καὶ πολλοὺς αὐτῷ συν-
 ηδομένους, θαυμάσας τὸ ἄλογον καὶ ἄκριτον,
 “ ὅμοιον ” εἶπεν “ ὡς εἴ τις ἀνακηρύξειέ τινα τῶν
 οἰκετῶν ἀπὸ ταύτης τῆς ἡμέρας εἶναι γραμματικὸν
 [470] ἢ γεωμέτρην ἢ μουσικόν, οὐδ' | ὄναρ τῶν τεχνῶν

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

² mss. *σπερμάτων*. The manuscripts here appear to be confused. In the same line where *σιτοπόνων* is printed, M has *περμμάτων*, the others *πομάτων* or *σπερμάτων* repeated.

EVERY GOOD MAN IS FREE, 154-157

throughout their lives, do not fear the orders of others whom they regard as subordinates.^a And so double-faced and shifty people are universally called servile and slavish. This same thought is well 155 expressed in another couplet :

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

For the crooked, artificial, deceitful character is utterly ignoble, while the straight, simple and ingenuous, in which thoughts agree with words and words with thoughts, is noble. We may 156 well deride the folly of those who think that when they are released from the ownership of their masters they become free. Servants, indeed, they are no longer now that they have been dismissed, but slaves they are and of the vilest kind, not to men, which would not be so grievous, but to the least reputable of inanimate things, to strong drink, to pot-herbs, to baked meats and all the other preparations made by the elaborate skill of cooks and confectioners, to afflict the miserable belly. Thus Diogenes the cynic, 157 seeing one of the so-called freedmen pluming himself, while many heartily congratulated him, marvelled at the absence of reason and discernment. "A man might as well," he said, "proclaim that one of his servants became from this day a grammarian, a geometrician, or musician, when he has no idea whatever of the art." For as the proclamation cannot

^a The logical connexion demanded by $\pi\alpha\rho' \delta$ is not clear and Mangey may be right in supposing that something has been lost before this sentence. ^b Theognis, *El.* v. 535 f.

The correction *σιτοπόνων* is based on its frequent conjunction with *ὀψαρτυτής*, e.g. *De Vit. Cont.* 53.

ἐπησθημένον.” ὥς γὰρ ἐπιστήμονας οὐ ποιεῖ τὸ κήρυγμα, οὕτως οὐδὲ ἐλευθέρους—ἐπεὶ μακάριον ἦν τι—, ἀλλὰ μόνον οὐκ οἰκέτας.

- 158 XXII. Ἀνελόντες οὖν τὴν κενὴν δόξαν, ἧς ὁ πολὺς ὄμιλος ἀνθρώπων ἀπηώρηται, καὶ ἀληθείας ἱερωτάτου κτήματος ἐρασθέντες μήτε τοῖς λεγομένοις ἀστοῖς πολιτείαν ἢ ἐλευθερίαν μήτε τοῖς οἰκότρυσιν ἢ ἀργυρωνήτοις δουλείαν ἐπιφημίσωμεν, ἀλλὰ γένη καὶ δεσποτικὰ γράμματα καὶ συνόλως
159 σώματα παρελθόντες ψυχῆς φύσιν ἐρευνῶμεν. εἰ μὲν γὰρ πρὸς ἐπιθυμίας ἐλαύνεται ἢ ὑφ’ ἡδονῆς δελεάζεται ἢ φόβῳ ἐκκλίνει ἢ λύπῃ στέλλεται¹ ἢ ὑπ’ ὀργῆς τραχηλίζεται, δουλοῖ μὲν αὐτήν, δοῦλον δὲ καὶ τὸν ἔχοντα μυρίων δεσποτῶν ἀπεργάζεται· εἰ δὲ φρονήσει μὲν ἀμαθίαν, σωφροσύνη δ’ ἀκολασίαν, δειλίαν δὲ ἀνδρείαν καὶ πλεονεξίαν δικαιοσύνη κατηγωνίσαστο, τῷ ἀδουλώτῳ καὶ τὸ ἀρχικὸν προσείλη-
160 φεν. ὅσαι δὲ μηδετέρας ἰδέας πῶ μετεσχήκασι, μήτε τῆς καταδουλουμένης μήτε δι’ ἧς ἐλευθερία βεβαιούται, γυμναὶ δὲ εἰσιν ἔτι, καθάπερ αἱ τῶν κομιδῇ νηπίων, ταύτας τιθηνοκομητέον, ἐνστάζοντας² τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἀντὶ γάλακτος ἀπαλὰς τροφάς, τὰς διὰ τῶν ἐγκυκλίων ὑψηλήσεις, εἴτ’ αὖθις κραταιοτέρας ὧν φιλοσοφία δημιουργός, ἐξ ὧν ἀνδρωθεῖσαι καὶ εὐεκτήσασαι πρὸς τέλος αἷσιον, οὐ Ζηνώνειον μᾶλλον ἢ πυθόχρηστον, ἀφίξονται, τὸ ἀκολούθως τῇ φύσει ζῆν.

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

² mss. *ἐντάττοντας* (M *προτάττων τὰς*).

EVERY GOOD MAN IS FREE, 157-160

make them men of knowledge, so neither can it make them free, for that is a state of blessedness. It can only make them no longer servants.

XXII. Let us then do away with the idle fancy, to 158 which the great mass of men feebly cling, and fixing our affections on that holiest of possessions, truth, refuse to ascribe citizenship or freedom to possessors of so-called civic rights, or slavery to servants, whether homebred or purchased, but dismissing questions of race and certificates of ownership and bodily matters in general, study the nature of the soul. For if the 159 soul is driven by desire, or enticed by pleasure, or diverted^a from its course by fear, or shrunk by grief, or helpless in the grip of anger, it enslaves itself and makes him whose soul it is a slave to a host of masters. But if it vanquishes ignorance with good sense, incontinence with self-control, cowardice with courage and covetousness with justice, it gains not only freedom from slavery but the gift of ruling as well. But souls 160 which have as yet got nothing of either kind, neither that which enslaves, nor that which establishes freedom, souls still naked like those of mere infants, must be tended and nursed by instilling first, in place of milk, the soft food of instruction given in the school subjects, later, the harder, stronger meat, which philosophy produces.^b Reared by these to manhood and robustness, they will reach the happy consummation which Zeno, or rather an oracle higher than Zeno, bids us seek, a life led agreeably to nature.

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

^b For this view of the part played by the Encyclic and Philosophy in education see *De Congressu*, *passim* and *Gen. Introd.* to vol. i. pp. xvi f.