

ΥΠΟΘΕΤΙΚΩΝ

(ΥΠΕΡ ΙΟΥΔΑΙΩΝ ΑΠΟΛΟΓΙΑΣ)

355

[626]

Euseb. *Praep. Evang.* viii. 5. 11. Φέρε λοιπὸν καὶ τὸ πολίτευμα τῆς κατὰ Μωυσέα νομοθεσίας ἐκ τῶν παρὰ τοῖς ἀνδράσι διαφανῶν θεασώμεθα. πρῶτα δὲ θήσω Φίλωνος τὰ περὶ τῆς ἀπ' Αἰγύπτου πορείας τῶν Ἰουδαίων, ἣν πεποιήνται Μωυσέως ἡγουμένου, ἀπὸ τοῦ πρώτου συγγράμματος ὧν ἐπέγραψεν Ὑποθετικῶν, ἐνθα τὸν ὑπὲρ Ἰουδαίων ὡς πρὸς κατηγοροὺς αὐτῶν ποιούμενος λόγον ταῦτά φησιν·

6. 1. Τὸν μὲν παλαιὸν αὐτοῖς πρόγονον ἀπὸ Χαλδαίων εἶναι, τὸν δὲ λαὸν ἀναστῆναι τοῦτον ἐξ Αἰγύπτου μετωκισμένον ἀπὸ Συρίας τὸ πάλοι, μυριάσι τε ἀμυθηῖτοις πλήθοντα καὶ τῆς γῆς οὐκ οὔσης ἱκανῆς, πρὸς δ' ἔτι καὶ νεότητι φρονημάτων ἐντεθραμμένον μεγάλως καὶ ἄμα τοῦ θεοῦ διὰ φασμάτων καὶ ὄνειράτων ἔξοδον αὐτοῖς δηλοῦντος, καὶ οὐδενὸς ἦττον εἰς πόθον κατὰ δαίμονα ἐμπε-
[627] σόντας τῆς πατρίου καὶ ἀρχαίας γῆς· | ὅθεν δὴ καὶ τὸν πρόγονον ἐκείνον αὐτοῖς κατελθεῖν εἰς Αἴγυπτον, εἵτε τῷ θεῷ δὴ δόξαν εἵτε προνοίᾳ τινί, <καὶ>

^a Eusebius follows this extract with another from Josephus, c. *Apion.* ii. 163-228, to the same effect.

^b As the sequel shows that Jacob, not Abraham, is intended, Mangey wished to emend this to Canaanite. But Moses himself is said by Philo to be a Chaldean by race (*Mos.* i. 5).

HYPOTHETICA

(APOLOGY FOR THE JEWS)

Euseb. *Praep. Evang.* viii. 5. 11. Let us proceed to survey the constitution established by the legislation of Moses as described by authors^a held in high honour among the Jews. I will begin by quoting Philo's account of their journey from Egypt under the leadership of Moses from the first book of the work which he entitled *Hypothetica*, where, while speaking in defence of the Jews as against their accusers, he says as follows :

6. 1. Their original ancestor belonged to the Chaldeans,^b but this people who had emigrated from Syria to Egypt in past time removed from Egypt partly because of the vast size of the population for which the land was insufficient. Also it was due to the high spirit of enterprise in which they had been bred and to the revelations of God made by dreams and visions bidding them go forth, and what influenced them as much as anything was that they had providentially^c been seized by a yearning for their ancient fatherland. It was from there that this ancestor of theirs had passed over into Egypt either because God had so decreed or through some prevision of his own.

^a κατὰ δάμωνα, as L. & S. says, in ordinary usage means little more than τύχη, with which it is sometimes coupled, but in Philo's mouth perhaps something more, though hardly so much as Gifford's "under divine inspiration."

πάντων εὐδαιμονῆσαι μάλιστα, ὥς ἀπ' ἐκείνου
μέχρις εἰς τὸ παρὸν τό τε ἔθνος αὐτοῖς καὶ γεγε-
νησθαι καὶ διαμένειν καπὶ τοσοῦτον ὑπερβάλλειν
εἰς πολυανδρίαν.

6. 2. Καὶ μετὰ βραχεία φησίν^a

Ἄνῃρ γε μὴν αὐτοῖς ἡγείτο τῆς τε ἐξόδου καὶ
τῆς πορείας εἰς οὐδέν τῶν πολλῶν, εἰ βούλει,
διάφορος· οὕτω καὶ ἐλοιδόρουν γόητα καὶ κέρκωπα
λόγων. καλῆς μέντοι γοητείας καὶ πανουργίας,
ἐξ ἧς τὸν γε λαὸν ἅπαντα ἐν ἀνυδρίᾳ καὶ λιμῷ
356 καὶ τῶν ὁδῶν ἀγνοία καὶ ἀπορία τῶν συμπάντων
οὐ μόνον εἰς τὸ παντελὲς διεσώσατο [καὶ] ὥσπερ
ἐν εὐθηνίᾳ πάσῃ καὶ παραπομπῇ τῶν μεταξὺ
κειμένων ἔθνων, ἀλλὰ καὶ πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἀστασιά-
στους αὐτοὺς καὶ πρὸς ἑαυτὸν μάλιστα εὐπειθεῖς
διεφύλαξε. 6. 3. καὶ ταῦτα οὐκ ὀλίγον δήπου
χρόνον, ἀλλ' ὅσον οὐδ' οἰκίαν ἐν ὁμοφροσύνῃ συμ-
μεῖναι μετὰ πάσης εὐθηνίας εἰκὸς ἐστίν. καὶ οὐ
δίψος, οὐ λιμός, οὐ φθορὰ σωμάτων, οὐχὶ φόβος
περὶ τῶν μελλόντων, οὐκ ἄγνοια τῶν συμβησομέ-
νων, ἐπὶ τὸν γόητα ἐκείνον ἐπῆρε τοὺς ἐξαπατω-
μένους καὶ περιφθειρομένους λαοὺς. 6. 4. καίτοι
τί βούλει; φῶμεν ἐκείνῳ τινὰ εἶναι τοσαύτην

^a Probably this refers to the abusive terms used by Molon, etc., cf. Jos. c. *Apion*. ii. 145 γόητα καὶ ἀπατεῶνα, rather than to the murmurers in the wilderness, though the imperfect ἐλοιδόρουν rather suggests this. The next sentence shows that he persists in ignoring any rebellion.

^b For the ironical use of καλῆς cf. *Flacc.* 157.

^c The punctuation and exact meaning of the following section is not clear. The translation supposes that there are three alternatives: (1) the extraordinary virtues of Moses; (2) the docility of the people; (3) divine influence. In this

HYPOTHETICA, 6. 1-4

There he had prospered to an unequalled degree so that from his time to the present day their nation has existed and survives and is so exceedingly populous.

6. 2. Shortly afterwards he says :

Their departure and journey was made under the command of one who nothing differed from the ordinary run of men. So you may say if you like : indeed there were people also who abused him as an impostor and prating mountebank.^a Well, that was a fine ^b kind of imposture and knavery which enabled him to bring the whole people in complete safety amid drought and hunger and ignorance of the way and lack of everything as well as if they had abundance of everything and supplies obtainable from the neighbouring nations, and further to keep them free from internal factions and above all obedient to himself. 6. 3. And observe that these conditions lasted not for a little while but for a space of time during which even a household living in all comfort could not be expected to remain in unanimity. Yet neither thirst nor hunger nor bodily decay, nor fear of the future, nor ignorance of the course which events would take roused these deluded and perishing masses of men against that impostor. 6. 4. ^c How will you explain this ? Shall we say that he had some

case ἢ γὰρ is hardly intelligible and Bernays, who translates the section, corrects to ἢ ἄρα. Gifford, who puts colons instead of question marks after ἔχειν and ἐπιστατεῖν, translates ἢ γάρ, κτλ., by "For either we must admit," etc. This suggests that the double ἢ introduces a dilemma which is the logical consequence of accepting the high estimate of Moses, but I do not understand the logic. A minor point is that he punctuates the opening words as τί βούλει φῶμεν; ἐκείνω, κτλ., which seems to me very possible.

τέχνην ἢ δεινότητα λόγων ἢ σύνεσιν, ὡς τῶν τοσοούτων καὶ τοιούτων ἀτόπων καὶ πρὸς ὄλεθρον ἅπαντας ἀγόντων ἐπικρατεῖν; ἢ γὰρ τὰς φύσεις τῶν ὑπ' αὐτὸν ἀνθρώπων οὐκ ἀμαθῶς οὐδέ δυσκόλως, ἀλλ' εὐπειθῶς καὶ τοῦ μέλλοντος οὐκ ἀπρονοήτως ἔχειν; ἢ τούτους μὲν ὡς μάλιστα κακοὺς εἶναι, τὸν δὲ θεὸν τὰς δυσκολίας αὐτῶν πραῦναι καὶ τοῦ παρόντος καὶ τοῦ μέλλοντος ὥσπερ ἐπιστατεῖν; ὅπερ γάρ σοι μάλιστα ἂν ἐκ τούτων ἀληθὲς εἶναι δόξῃ, πρὸς ἐπαίνου καὶ τιμῆς καὶ ζήλου περὶ αὐτῶν συμπάντων ἰσχύειν φαίνεται.

6. 5. Καὶ τὰ μὲν τῆς ἐξόδου δὴ ταῦτα. ἐπειδὴ δὲ εἰς τὴν γῆν ταύτην ἦλθον, ὅπως μὲν ποτε ἄρα ἰδρῦθησαν καὶ τὴν χώραν ἔσχον, ἐν ταῖς ἱεραῖς ἀναγραφαῖς δηλοῦται. οὐ μὴν ἔγωγε δικαίῳ μᾶλλον καθ' ἱστορίαν ἢ κατὰ τινα λογισμόν περὶ αὐτῶν τὰ εἰκότα ἐπεξελεῖν. 6. 6. πότερον γάρ ποτε βούλει τῷ πλήθει τῶν σωμάτων ἔτι περιόντας, καίπερ εἰς τέλος κεκακωμένους, ὅμως δ' ἰσχύοντας¹ [628] καὶ τὰ ὅπλα ἐν χερσὶν ἔχοντας, εἴτα | κατὰ κράτος ἐλεῖν τὴν χώραν, Σύρους τε ὁμοῦ καὶ Φοίνικας ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ ἐκείνων γῇ μαχομένους νικῶντας, ἢ τοὺς μὲν ἀπολέμους καὶ ἀνάνδρους εἶναι καὶ παντελῶς ὀλίγους ὑποθώμεθα καὶ τῶν εἰς πόλεμον παρασκευῶν ἀπόρους, αἰδέσεως δὲ τυχεῖν παρὰ τούτοις

¹ Mangey and Heinichen ὅμως δὲ δισχύοντας. Gifford ὅμως δὲ <δυσχυρίζοντας> with a note “δὲ <δυσχυρίζοντας> Mangey?” But I cannot find any support of this in Mangey, nor any trace of the active *δυσχυρίζω* elsewhere.

^a Or “praise and honour and admiration for them all.” So Gifford, Mangey and Bernays. Still on the whole I prefer the rendering of ζήλος given above for the following reasons:

HYPOTHETICA, 6. 4-6

kind of skill or eloquence or intelligence great enough to surmount so many strangely different circumstances which were carrying them all to perdition? Otherwise we must suppose that either his subjects were naturally not stupid nor discontented but docile and gifted with some prevision of the future or else that they were thoroughly bad though God softened their discontents and kept their present and their future state as it were in his charge. Whichever of these views you consider to be the truth it appears to redound mightily to his praise and honour and zeal for them all.^a

6. 5. So much for the story of the migration. But when they came to this land the holy records show clearly how they established themselves there and occupied the country. Yet in discussing the probable facts of this occupation I think it better to go not so much by the historical narrative as by what our reason tells us about them. 6. 6. Which alternative do you prefer? Were they still superior in the number of their fighting men though they had fared so ill to the end, still strong and with weapons in their hand, and did they then take the land by force, defeating the combined Syrians and Phoenicians when fighting in their own country? Or shall we suppose that they were unwarlike and feeble, quite few in numbers and destitute of warlike equipment, but won the

(1) Philo's use of the word as shown in some twenty-five examples in the index suggests not admiration in the abstract, but "zeal," *i.e.* admiration followed by emulation or passion; (2) one of the alternatives mentioned, *i.e.* that they were thoroughly bad, but "softened" by God, does not seem to demand praise and honour for them; (3) in this section we are more concerned with the praise of Moses than of the nation.

καὶ τὴν γῆν λαβεῖν παρ' ἐκόντων, ἔπειτα δ' εὐθὺς οὐκ εἰς μακρὰν τὸν τε νεὼν οἰκοδομῆσαι καὶ τᾶλλα εἰς εὐσέβειαν καὶ ἁγιστείαν καταστήσασθαι; 6. 7.

357 δηλοῖ γάρ, ὡς ἔοικε, ταῦτα καὶ θεοφιλεστάτους αὐτοὺς ἀνωμολογῆσαι καὶ παρὰ τοῖς ἐχθροῖς· ἐχθροὶ γὰρ ἦσαν ἐξ ἀνάγκης, ὧν ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν ἐξαίφνης ἦλθον ὡς ἀφαιρεσόμενοι.

6. 8. παρὰ τούτοις δ' οὖν αἰδέσεως καὶ τιμῆς τυγχάνοντες πῶς οὐχ ὑπερβάλλειν εὐτυχίᾳ τοὺς ἄλλους φαίνονται; τίνα δὲ τὰ δεύτερα ἐφεξῆς ἢ τὰ τρίτα πρὸς τούτοις λέγωμεν; πότερον τὸ τῆς εὐνομίας καὶ εὐπειθείας αὐτῶν ἢ τῆς ὁσιότητος καὶ δικαιοσύνης καὶ εὐσεβείας; ἀλλὰ τὸν μὲν ἄνδρα ἐκείνον, ὅστις ποτὲ ἦν ὁ τοὺς νόμους αὐτοῖς θεῖς, οὕτω σφόδρα ἐθαύμασαν, ὡς ὃ τι δήποτε ἔδοξεν ἐκείνῳ καὶ αὐτοῖς. 6. 9. εἴτε οὖν λελογισμένος αὐτὸς εἴτε ἀκούων παρὰ δαίμονος ἔφρασε, τοῦτο ἅπαν εἰς τὸν θεὸν ἀνάγειν, καὶ πλειόνων ἐτῶν διεληλυθότων, τὸ μὲν ἀκριβὲς οὐκ ἔχω λέγειν ὅποσα, πλείω δ' οὖν ἢ δισχίλιά ἐστι, μηδὲ ρῆμά γε αὐτὸ μόνον τῶν ὑπ' αὐτοῦ γεγραμμένων κινήσαι, ἀλλὰ καὶ μυριάκις αὐτοὺς ἀποθανεῖν ὑπομεῖναι θάπτον ἢ τοῖς ἐκείνου νόμοις καὶ ἔθεσιν ἐναντία πεισθῆναι.

6. 10. Ταῦτ' εἰπὼν ἐπιτέμνεται τὴν ἐκ τῶν Μωυσέως νόμων καταβεβλημένην τῷ Ἰουδαίων ἔθνει πολιτείαν γράφων οὕτως·

^a The literal translation "straightway" seems incompatible not only with the history but with οὐκ εἰς μακρὰν.

HYPOTHETICA, 6. 6-10

respect of their opponents who voluntarily surrendered their land to them and that as a direct consequence^a they shortly afterwards built their temple and established everything else needed for religion and worship?

6. 7. This would clearly show that they were acknowledged as dearly beloved of God even by their enemies. For those whose land they suddenly invaded with the intention of taking it from them were necessarily their enemies. 6. 8. And

if they got credit and honour in the sight of their enemies surely it shows that they exceeded all in good fortune. What qualities shall we put in addition to this good fortune in the second and the third place? Shall we give the preference to their respect for law and loyal obedience or to their religion and justice and piety? Whichever you choose the fact remains that so great was their veneration for that man who gave them their laws, whatever view we take of him, that anything which approved itself to him approved itself also to them. 6. 9. So whether what he told them came from his own reasoning powers or was learnt from some supernatural source they held it all to come from God and after the lapse of many years, how many I cannot say exactly, but at any rate for more than two thousand, they have not changed a single word of what he wrote but would even endure to die a thousand deaths sooner than accept anything contrary to the laws and customs which he had ordained.

6. 10. After these remarks he gives the following summary of the constitution laid down for the nation in the laws of Moses.

The use of *ἐθὺς* for what follows as a logical consequence is common in Philo, *e.g.* *De Op.* 3.

PHILO

7. 1. Ἐὰν τί τούτων ἢ τούτοις προσόμοιον παρ' ἐκείνοις ἐστί, πρᾶον εἶναι δοκοῦν καὶ τιθασὸν καὶ δικῶν εἰσαγωγὰς¹ καὶ σκήψεις καὶ ἀναβολὰς καὶ τιμῆσεις καὶ πάλιν ὑποτιμῆσεις ἔχον; οὐδέν, ἀλλὰ πάντα ἀπλᾶ καὶ δῆλα. ἐὰν παιδευαστῆς, ἐὰν μοιχεύης, ἐὰν βιάσῃ παῖδα, ἄρρενα μὲν μηδὲ λέγε, ἀλλὰ κἂν θήλειαν· ὁμοίως ἐὰν στυγερὸν καταπορνεύης, ἐὰν καὶ παρ' ἡλικίαν αἰσχροῦ τι πάθῃς ἢ δοκῇς ἢ μέλλῃς, θάνατος ἢ ζημία. 7. 2. ἐὰν εἰς δούλον σῶμα, ἐὰν εἰς ἐλεύθερον ὑβρίζῃς, ἐὰν δεσμοῖς συνέχῃς, ἐὰν ἀπάγων πωλῇς, ἐὰν βέβηλα ἐὰν ἱερὰ παρακλέπτῃς, ἐὰν ἀσεβῇς, οὐκ ἔργῳ μόνον
 358 ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐὰν ῥήματι τῷ τυχόντι, εἰς μὲν θεὸν αὐτὸν (ἰλεως ἡμῖν ὁ θεὸς καὶ αὐτῆς τῆς περὶ τούτων
 [629] ἐννοίας γένοιτο) οὐδὲ | ἄξιον λέγειν, ἀλλ' εἰς πατέρα ἢ μητέρα ἢ εὐεργέτην στυγερὸν θάνατος ὁμοίως, καὶ οὗτος οὐ κοινὸς οὐδ' ὁ τυχών, ἀλλὰ δεῖ κατα-

¹ So Cohn. Other editions and apparently all mss. ἐπαγωγὰς. See note b.

^a Philo has evidently in a part omitted by Eusebius given proofs that Gentiles allowed all sorts of evasions of the penalties prescribed in their laws. So Jos. c. *Apion*. ii. 276 contrasts the Jewish strictness with the διαλύσεις or διαδύσεις ("evasions") provided by the legislators themselves.

^b See note 1. The mss. ἐπαγωγὰς is translated by Gifford "solicitations of justice" (?), by Mangey "intentiones

HYPOTHETICA, 7. 1-2

7. 1. Do we find any of these things ^a or anything similar among the Jews ; anything which so savours of mildness and lenity, anything which permits of legal proceedings ^b or extenuations or postponements or assessments of penalties and reductions of assessments ? ^c Nothing at all, everything is clear and simple. ^d If you are guilty of pederasty or adultery or rape of a young person, even of a female, for I need not mention the case of a male, similarly if you prostitute yourself or allow or purpose or intend any action which your age makes indecent the penalty is death. 7. 2. So too if you commit an outrage on the person of a slave or a free man, if you confine him in bonds or kidnap and sell him. So too with larceny of things profane and sacred, so too with impiety not only of act but even of a casual word and not only against God Himself (may He forgive the very thought of such a thing which should not even be mentioned), but also against a father or mother or benefactor of your own the penalty is the same, death and not the common ordinary death : the offender in words only

litium." In the sense of "chicanery" I see no great difficulty about it, and all of the first three accusatives at any rate should perhaps be taken with *δικῶν*.

^c Or "self-assessments" (L. & S.). These of course would suggest mitigation of penalties. Philo has used the word in the general sense of "excuse" or "extenuation" in *Spec. Leg.* iii. 157.

^d *i.e.* all the offences that follow are stated in the law to be capital crimes. This is true of *παιδεραστία* (Lev. xviii. 22, xx. 13), of *μοιχεία* (Lev. xx. 10), for kidnappers and selling men (Ex. xxi. 16), for reviling a parent (Ex. xxi. 17), (*לֹא יְקַלְלוּ* *אֶת* *אָבִיהֶם* *וְאֶת* *אִמָּתָם*, R.V. "curseth"), for rape (under certain circumstances) (Deut. xxii. 23 ff.). But I do not think that either Philo in *Spec. Leg.* or the law itself suggests death for stealing in general, or that the punishment for reviling a parent extends to reviling a benefactor.

λευσθῆναι τὸν εἰπόντα μόνον ὥς οὐ χείρονα ἀσεβείας πράξαντα. 7. 3. ἄλλα δ' αὖ

πάλιν ὁποῖά τινα· γυναικάς ἀνδράσι δουλεύειν, πρὸς ὕβρεως μὲν οὐδεμιᾶς, πρὸς εὐπείθειαν δ' ἐν ἅπασιν· γονεῖς παίδων ἄρχειν ἐπὶ σωτηρίᾳ καὶ πολυωρίᾳ· τῶν ἑαυτοῦ κτημάτων ἓνα ἕκαστον κύριον εἶναι, μὴ θεόν γε ἐπιφημίσαντα αὐτοῖς μηδ' ὥς τῷ θεῷ ταῦτα ἀνίσιν· εἰ δὲ λόγῳ μόνον ὑποσχέσθαι προσπέσοι, ψαῦσαι καὶ θιγεῖν αὐτῶν οὐκ ἔστιν, ἀλλ' εὐθὺς ἀπάντων ἀποκεκλεῖσθαι.

7. 4. μή μοι τὰ τῶν θεῶν ἀρπάζειν μηδ' ἀποσυλᾶν ἑτέρων ἀναθέντων· ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν οἰκείων, ὥσπερ ἔφην, προσπεσόν τι καὶ λαθὼν αὐτὸν ῥῆμα ἐπ' ἀναθέσει, εἰπόντα δὲ¹ πάντων στέρεσθαι· μεταγινώσκοντι δὲ ἢ ἀπαρνούμενῳ τὰ λελεγμένα καὶ τὴν ψυχὴν προσαφαιρεῖσθαι.

7. 5. καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν ἄλλων ὧν κυριεύει ὁ αὐτὸς λόγος. εἰς ἐπιφημίση τροφὴν γυναικὸς ἀνὴρ ἱερὰν εἶναι, τροφῆς ἀνέχειν· εἰς πατὴρ υἱοῦ, εἰς ἄρχων τοῦ ὑπηκόου, ταῦτόν. καὶ ἔκλυσις δὲ ἐπιφημισθέντων ἢ μὲν τελειοτάτη καὶ μεγίστη τοῦ ἱερέως ἀποφή-

¹ The sentence as it stands is ungrammatical. Mangey omits δέ.

^a Lit. "as (being) no worse having committed (i.e. if he has committed) impieties"—an extraordinarily awkward construction.

^b Gifford, who translates ὥς θεῷ by "as to God," explains the construction as an "abrupt transition" and quotes Heinichen "ἀνίσιν sequitur quasi praecessit εἰ μὴ ἐπιφημίζει." This is only a way of saying that the sentence is ungrammatical. I think it is best explained by taking ὥς=ὅτι as introducing oratio obliqua and governed by ἐπιφημίσαντα.

HYPOTHETICA, 7. 2-5

must be stoned to death. His guilt is as great as if he were the perpetrator of impious actions.^a

7. 3. Other rules again there are of various kinds: wives must be in servitude to their husbands, a servitude not imposed by violent ill-treatment but promoting obedience in all things. Parents must have power over their children to keep them safe and tend them carefully. Each individual is master of his possessions unless he has solemnly named the name of God over them declaring that he has given them to God.^b And if he has merely made a chance verbal promise of them he must not touch or handle them, but hold himself at once debarred from them all.

7. 4. I need not consider the case of his robbing what belongs to the gods^c or plundering what others have dedicated; even with his own, I repeat, a chance word of dedication spoken unawares deprives him of them all and if he repents or denies his promise his life is forfeit also.

7. 5. The same holds of any other persons over whom he has authority. If a man has devoted his wife's sustenance to a sacred purpose he must refrain from giving her that sustenance; so with a father's gifts to his son or a ruler's to his subjects. The chief and most perfect way of releasing dedicated property is by the priest refusing it, for he

This verb can be followed either by a noun or a clause as below *ἐπιφημίση τροφήν . . . ἱερὰν εἶναι*. See examples in lexicon. The combination of the two constructions is awkward but not ungrammatical.

^a In using the plural Philo may have in mind Ex. xxii. 28 (LXX "thou shalt not revile the gods"), a text on which both he (*Mos.* ii. 205, *Spec. Leg.* i. 53) and Jos. (*c. Apion.* ii. 237) base the prohibition of speaking evil of the heathen gods. But it is hardly necessary to bring this in here. He would naturally deny the possibility of his people committing sacrilege in any temples.

PHILO

σαντος· ὑπὸ γὰρ τοῦ θεοῦ κύριος οὗτος δέξασθαι· καὶ μετὰ ταύτην δέ¹ ἢ παρὰ τῶν μᾶλλον αἰεὶ κυρίων ὁσία ἴλεω τὸν θεὸν ἀποφαίνειν, ὡς μηδὲ ἐπάναγκες τὴν ἀνάθεσιν δέχεσθαι.

7. 6. μυρία δὲ ἄλλα ἐπὶ τούτοις, ὅσα καὶ ἐπὶ ἀγράφων ἐθῶν καὶ νομίμων κὰν τοῖς νόμοις αὐτοῖς· ἃ τις παθεῖν ἐχθαίρει, μὴ ποιεῖν αὐτόν· ἃ μὴ κατέθηκεν, μηδ' ἀναιρεῖσθαι, μηδ' ἐκ πρασιᾶς μηδ' ἐκ ληνοῦ μηδ' ἐξ ἄλωνος· μὴ θημῶνος ὑφαιρεῖσθαι μέγα ἢ μικρὸν ἀπλῶς μηδέν· μὴ πυρὸς δεηθέντι φθονεῖν· μὴ νάματα ὑδάτων ἀποκλείειν· ἀλλὰ καὶ πτωχοῖς καὶ πηροῖς τροφὴν ἐρανίζουσι πρὸς τὸν θεὸν εὐαγῶς ἀνέχειν. 7. 7. μὴ ταφῆς νεκρὸν ἐξείργειν, ἀλλὰ

¹ This redundant δὲ is, I think, very unusual, if not unique, in Philo.

^a While the Pentateuch (Num. xxx. 1-3, Deut. xxiii. 21-23) more or less bears out the strict obligation of a vow, it says nothing about any penalty (much less death) for failure to keep it, or on the other hand of ways of absolution. See App. p. 539.

^b The construction is difficult. The translation assumes that ἡ agrees with ἐκλυσις, and ὁσία ἀποφαίνειν="holy enough to declare" (or perhaps, "make") God propitious. But I have not found any example of such an infinitive following ὁσιος. Possibly ἡ may agree with the noun ὁσία and ἀποφαίνειν depends on κυρίων. But the order of the words is somewhat against it.

^c The nearest text to this in the O.T. is, I suppose, Lev. xix. 18 "thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself," which is adopted in the N.T. as well as the positive form of that given here "whatsoever ye would that men should do to you, do ye even so to them," Matt. vii. 12. On this Wetstein gives abundant illustration from ancient literature both in the positive and negative form, beginning with Herodotus iii.

is empowered by God to accept it or not.^a Next to this, that given by those who at the time have the higher authority may lawfully declare that God is propitiated^b so that there is no necessity to accept the dedication.

7. 6. Besides these there is a host of other things which belong to unwritten customs and institutions or are contained in the laws themselves. What a man would hate to suffer he must not do himself to others.^c What he has not laid down he must not take up^d either from a garden or a wine press or a threshing floor. He must not filch anything great or small from a stack. He must not grudge to give fire to one who needs it or close off running water.^e If the poor or the cripple beg food of him he must give it as an offering of religion to God.^f 7. 7. He must not debar dead bodies from

142. 3 ἐγὼ δὲ τὰ τῷ πέλας ἐπιπλήσω, αὐτὸς κατὰ δύναμιν οὐ ποιήσω. The nearest in form to this is from Isocrates ἀ πασχοντες ὑφ' ἐτέρων ὀργίζεσθε ταῦτα τοὺς ἄλλους μὴ ποιεῖτε.

^a This also, as Bernays points out, is not found in this short form in the O.T., nor indeed in any nearer form than Deut. xxii. 1-3, where the finder of a lost animal or garment is bidden to restore it to the owner. On the other hand it is a famous piece of moralizing in Greek, ascribed to Solon (Diog. Laert i. 57), and described by Plato, *Legg.* xi. 913 c, as κάλλιστος νόμος. Jos. (c. *Apion.* ii. 208) follows Philo in declaring it to be a recognized principle of Judaism, and that it was so recognized is suggested by Luke xix. 21, where αἵρεις δ' οὐκ ἔθηκας is the reproach made by the unprofitable servant to his master.

^e So too Jos. c. *Apion.* ii. 211.

^f ἀνέχω seems to be used in the somewhat rare sense of offering sacrifices or prayers, unless πρὸς τὸν θεόν can, like πρὸς τοὺς ἄρχοντας, etc., mean "in the presence of" or "before God." The duty of giving charity to the poor is enjoined by Philo from the Law in *De Virt.* 82-87. It is to be found more definitely in other passages outside the Law, e.g. Prov. xix. 17 and Ps. xli. 1 ff. and still more in Tobit iv.

καὶ γῆς αὐτοῖς ὅσον γε εἰς τὴν ὁσίαν προσεπι-
 359 βάλλειν· μὴ θήκας, μὴ μνήματα ὅλως κατοικο-
 [630] μένων κινεῖν. | μὴ δεσμά, μὴ κακὸν μηδὲν πλέον
 τῷ ἐν ἀνάγκαις προσεπιφέρειν. μὴ γονὴν ἀνδρῶν
 ἐκτέμνοντας, μὴ γυναικῶν ἀτοκίοις καὶ ἄλλαις
 μηχαναῖς ἀμβλοῦν· μὴ ζώοις ἔμπαλιν ἢ κατέδειξεν
 εἴτ' οὖν ὁ θεὸς εἴτε τις καὶ νομοθέτης προσφέρε-
 σθαι· μὴ σπέρμα ἀφανίζειν· μὴ γέννημα δολοῦν.¹
 7. 8. μὴ ζυγὸν ἄδικον ἀνθυποβάλλειν, μὴ χοῖνικα
 ἄμετρον, μὴ νόμισμα ἄδικον. μὴ φίλων ἀπόρρητα
 ἐν ἔχθρᾳ φαίνειν. ποῖ δὲ πρὸς τοῦ θεοῦ ἡμῖν τὰ
 Βουζύγια ἐκεῖνα; ἄλλα δὲ πρὸς τούτοις ὅρα· μὴ
 παίδων διοικίζειν γονέας, μηδ' ἂν αἰχμαλώτους
 ἔχῃς, μὴ γυναῖκα ἀνδρός, κἂν νομίμως ἑωνημένος
 ᾗς δεσπότης. 7. 9. ἣ που σεμνότερα
 καὶ μείζω ταῦτα, ἄλλα δὲ μικρὰ καὶ τὰ τυχόντα·
 μὴ νεοττιάν φησι κατοικίδιον ἐρημοῦν· μὴ ζώων

¹ Other editions δολοῦν. But δολοῦν seems to have good mss. authority. See note c.

^a So also Jos. *l.c.* The duty is acknowledged in Tobit i. 17 ff.

^b So Jos. *c. Apion.* ii. 213 "He permitted only the lawful use of them (*i.e.* animals), and forbade all others." Thackeray refers this to the prohibition of working animals on the sabbath. But Philo at least must, I think, have something more than this in mind.

^c The suggestion given by the translation, which must be regarded as merely tentative, is that it forbids the castration of animals, which Jos. *l.c.* 271 seems to treat as a crime, and taking away the offspring prematurely. Perhaps we might translate "destroy not the seed (referring to the story of Onan); frustrate not the thing which might be born." This would be distinguished from μὴ γονήν, κτλ., above as being the action of the man himself. In this case a full stop should be put after προσφέρεσθαι. But it is strange that 428

HYPOTHETICA, 7. 7-9

burial,^a but throw upon them as much earth as piety demands, nor disturb in any way the resting places and monuments of the departed. He must not by fettering or any other means worsen the plight of him who is in hard straits; he must not make abortive the generative power of men by gelding nor that of women by sterilizing drugs and other devices. There must be no maltreatment of animals contrary to what is appointed by God or even by a law-giver^b; no destroying of their seed nor defrauding of their offspring.^c 7. 8. No unjust scales, no false measurements, no fraudulent coinage must be substituted.^d The secrets of a friend must not be divulged in enmity.^e What need in heaven's name have we of your Buzyges^f and his precepts? There are other matters to be noted: children must not be parted from their parents even if you hold them as captive, nor a wife from her husband even if you are her owner by lawful purchase.

7. 9. These no doubt are more important and serious matters, but there are others, little things of casual occurrence. Do not render desolate the nesting

the vague statement about the treatment of animals should separate two such closely connected injunctions. The other reading *δουλοῦν* is translated by Gifford "enslave not thy offspring," but such a command seems very unnecessary and pointless.

^a Cf. Prov. xi. 1, xvi. 11, Lev. xix. 35, Deut. xxv. 13-16.

^b *i.e.* when they quarrel or become enemies. It is more clearly expressed by Jos. § 207 "We must conceal nothing from our friends, nor divulge secrets, *ἐὰν συμβῇ τις ἔχθρα*."

^f Buzyges, a hero of Athens, who first yoked oxen to the plough (Hesychius), was commemorated at a festival of Demeter, where one of his family repeated various imprecations against those who refused fire and water and did other uncharitable actions. For an abstract of Bernays' full note on the subject see App. p. 539.

PHILO

ἱκεσίαν οἶα ἔσθ' ὅτε προσφευγόντων ἀναιρεῖν, μὴ εἴ τι τῶν τοιούτων ἡττόν ἐστιν. οὐδενὸς ἄξια ταυτὰ γε εἶποις ἂν· ἀλλ' ὃ γε ἐπ' αὐτοῖς νόμος ἐστὶ μέγας καὶ πάσης ἐπιμελείας αἷτιος, καὶ αἱ προρρήσεις μεγάλαι καὶ ἀραὶ κατὰ τε¹ ἐξωλείας, καὶ ὁ θεὸς αὐτὸς ἐπόπτης τῶν τοιούτων καὶ τιμωρὸς ἀπανταχοῦ.

7. 10. Καὶ μετὰ βραχεία φησὶν·

“Ὀλην δὲ ἡμέραν, εἰ τύχοι, μᾶλλον δὲ οὐδὲ μίαν ἀλλὰ πολλὰς, καὶ ταύτας οὐκ εὐθύς ἐφεξῆς ἀλλήλαις, ἀλλ' ἐκ διαλειμμάτων, καὶ τούτων δὲ παρ' ἐπτά, κρατοῦντος ὡς εἰκὸς αἰεὶ τοῦ παρὰ τὰς βεβήλους ἔθους, μηδὲν ἂν παραβῆναι τῶν προστεταγμένων οὐ θαυμάζεις; 7. 11. ἄρ' οὐ πρὸς ἀσκήσεως μόνον αὐτοῖς τοῦτο ἐγκρατείας ἐστίν, ὡς ἐξ ἴσου καὶ δρᾶν τι πονουντας καὶ ἀνέχειν ἰσχύειν ἀπὸ τῶν ἔργων, εἰ δέοι; οὐ δῆτα. ἀλλὰ καὶ πρὸς ἔργου μεγάλου καὶ θαυμαστοῦ τινος ὠήθη δεῖν ὁ νομοθέτης αὐτοὺς μὴ τᾶλλα μόνον ἱκανοὺς εἶναι δρᾶν καὶ μὴ δρᾶν ὡσαύτως, ἀλλ' ἔτι καὶ τῶν πατρίων νόμων καὶ ἐθῶν ἐμπείρως ἔχειν. 7. 12. τί οὖν ἐποίησε; ταῖς ἐβδόμαις

¹ I should prefer to omit τε. As it stands the phrase is awkwardly coupled with μεγάλοι.

^a Or “the nest under thy roof” (Gifford). But the allusion is clearly to Deut. xxii. 6, where anyone who finds a bird's nest “in the way or on a tree or on the ground” may take the eggs, but not the mother bird.

^b So Jos. § 213 “creatures which take refuge in our houses like suppliants he has forbidden us to kill.” I do not understand what is meant. See App. p. 540.

HYPOTHETICA, 7. 9-12

home of birds^a or make the appeals of animals of none effect when they seem to fly to you for help as they sometimes do.^b Nor commit any lesser offence of the kind. These things are of nothing worth, you may say, yet great is the law which ordains them and ever watchful is the care which it demands. Great too and appalling^c are the warnings and imprecations which accompany it. And such deeds are everywhere surveyed and avenged by God Himself.

7. 10. ^a Shortly afterwards he says :

Is it not a marvel that for a whole day they should have kept from transgressing on any occasion any of the ordinances, or rather for many days, not one only, days too which did not follow straight on each other but only after intervals, and intervals of seven during which habits belonging to the secular days naturally hold the mastery? 7. 11. You may ask : Is not this merely a case of practising self-control so that they should be capable of abstaining from toil if necessary no less than of toilsome activity? No, it was a great and marvellous achievement^e which the law-giver had in view. He considered that they should not only be capable of both action and inaction in other matters but also should have expert knowledge of their ancestral laws and customs. 7. 12. What then did he do? He required them to

^c More literally "threatening destruction." Cf. *Spec. Leg.* iv. 34 for this Demosthenic phrase.

^a The part here omitted by Eusebius contained no doubt an account of the strict rules enforced on the sabbath.

^e Gifford translates *πρὸς ἔργου* "at the cost of great and extraordinary pains." I understand *πρὸς* as = "belonging to" like *πρὸς δίκης* or *πρὸς λόγου* and indeed *πρὸς ἐπαίνου* καὶ τίμης in 6. 4 above.

ταύταις ἡμέραις αὐτοὺς εἰς ταὐτὸν ἡξίου συν-
 ἄγεσθαι καὶ καθεζομένους μετ' ἀλλήλων σὺν αἰδοῖ
 καὶ κόσμῳ τῶν νόμων ἀκροᾶσθαι τοῦ μηδένα
 360 ἀγνοῆσαι χάριν. 7. 13. καὶ δῆτα συνέρχονται μὲν
 αἰεὶ καὶ συνεδρεύουσι μετ' ἀλλήλων· οἱ μὲν πολλοὶ
 σιωπῇ, πλὴν εἴ τι προσεπευφημῆσαι τοῖς ἀνα-
 γινωσκομένοις νομίζεται· τῶν ἱερέων δέ τις ὁ
 παρὼν ἢ τῶν γερόντων εἰς ἀναγινώσκει τοὺς |
 [631] ἱεροὺς νόμους αὐτοῖς καὶ καθ' ἕκαστον ἐξηγεῖται
 μέχρι σχεδὸν δείλης ὀψίας· καὶ τοῦδε ἀπολύονται
 τῶν τε νόμων τῶν ἱερῶν ἐμπείρως ἔχοντες καὶ
 πολὺ δὴ πρὸς εὐσέβειαν ἐπιδεδωκότες. 7. 14. ἄρα
 σοι δοκεῖ ταῦτα ἀργούντων εἶναι καὶ οὐ παντὸς
 ἔργου μᾶλλον ἀναγκαῖα αὐτοῖς; τοιγαροῦν οὐκ
 ἐπὶ θεσμοδουὺς ἔρχονται περὶ τῶν πρακτέων καὶ
 μὴ διερωτῶντες οὐδὲ καθ' ἑαυτοὺς ὑπ' ἀγνοίας
 τῶν νόμων ῥαδιουργοῦσιν, ἀλλ' ὄντινα αὐτῶν
 κινεῖς καὶ περὶ τῶν πατρίων διαπυνθάνη, προ-
 χείρως ἔχει καὶ ῥαδίως εἰπεῖν· καὶ ἀνὴρ γυναικὶ
 καὶ παισὶ πατὴρ καὶ δούλοις δεσπότης ἱκανὸς εἶναι
 δοκεῖ τοὺς νόμους παραδιδόναι. 7. 15.
 καὶ μὴν περὶ τοῦ γε ἔτους τοῦ ἐβδόμου ῥάδιον
 ὡσαύτως λέγειν, οὐ μὴν ταὐτὸν ἴσως. οὐ γὰρ
 αὐτοὶ τῶν ἔργων ἀφεστᾶσιν, ὥσπερ ταῖς ἐβδόμαις
 ἐκείναις ἡμέραις, ἀλλὰ τὴν γῆν ἀργὴν ἀφιασιν εἰς

^a Or persons who make a profession of enunciating moral and legal opinions? The words *θεσμοδός* and *θεσμοδέω* are only cited by Stephanus from this passage and *De Som.* i. 193, and L. & S. (revised) has nothing to add except a reference to one inscription. In both cases *θεσι-* has been proposed, and in the sense of making divine or prophetic

HYPOTHETICA, 7. 12-15

assemble in the same place on these seventh days, and sitting together in a respectful and orderly manner hear the laws read so that none should be ignorant of them. 7. 13. And indeed they do always assemble and sit together, most of them in silence except when it is the practice to add something to signify approval of what is read. But some priest who is present or one of the elders reads the holy laws to them and expounds them point by point till about the late afternoon, when they depart having gained both expert knowledge of the holy laws and considerable advance in piety. 7. 14. Do you think that this marks them as idlers or that any work is equally vital to them? And so they do not resort to persons learned in the law ^a with questions as to what they should do or not do, nor yet ^b by keeping independent transgress in ignorance of the law, but any one of them whom you attack with inquiries about their ancestral institutions can answer you readily and easily. The husband seems competent to transmit knowledge of the laws to his wife, the father to his children, the master to his slaves. 7. 15.

Again with regard to the seventh year one can without difficulty use much the same though perhaps not identical words.^c For here it is not they themselves who abstain from work as on those seventh days, but it is the land which they leave idle against the days

utterances would be suitable enough in *De Som.*, but hardly here. If the word is right, the termination would seem to have lost its force.

^b Lit. "relying on themselves," *i.e.* they learn from each other.

^c Philo's remarkable insistence on the sabbatical year has been shown several times, *Spec. Leg.* ii. 86-109, iv. 215-217, *De Virt.* 97, 98, *De Praem.* 154-157.

τὰ μέλλοντα αὐθις εὐθηνίας χάριν· πολὺ γὰρ διαφέρειν αὐτὴν ἀνάπαυλαν λαβοῦσαν, εἴτα δὲ εἰς νέωτα γεωργεῖσθαι καὶ μὴ τῇ συνεχείᾳ τῆς ἐργασίας κατεξάνθαι. 7. 16. ταῦτόν δὲ καὶ περὶ τὰ σώματα ἂν ἴδοις συμβαῖνον εἰς ῥώμην· οὐ γὰρ δὴ πρὸς ὑγείαν μόνον διαλείμματα καὶ τινὰς ἀναπαύλας ἀπὸ τῶν ἔργων τοὺς ἰατροὺς προστάττοντας· τὸ γὰρ συνεχὲς καὶ μονοειδὲς αἰεὶ, μάλιστα δὲ ἐπ' ἔργων, βλάπτειν ἔοικε. 7. 17. σημεῖον δέ· τὴν γὰρ αὐτὴν ταύτην γῆν εἴ τις ἐπαγγέλλοιτο αὐτοῖς ἐξεργάσεσθαι πολὺ μᾶλλον ἢ πρόσθεν τὸ ἔβδομον ἔτος τουτὶ καὶ τῶν καρπῶν πάντων συμπαρὰχωρήσειν ὅλων, οὐκ ἂν οὐδαμῶς δέξαιντο· οὐ γὰρ αὐτοὶ τῶν πόνων ἀνέχειν οἶονται δεῖν μόνοι —καίτοι κἂν εἰ τοῦτ' ἐποιοῦν, οὐδὲν ἂν θαυμαστὸν ᾦν—, ἀλλὰ τὴν χώραν αὐτοῖς ἀνεσὶν τινὰ καὶ ῥαστώνην εἰς ἀρχὴν ἑτέραν τῆς αὐθις ἐπιμελείας καὶ γεωργίας λαβεῖν. 7. 18. ἐπεὶ τί ἐκώλυε πρὸς τοῦ θεοῦ ἐπὶ τοῦ παρελθόντος ἔτους αὐτὴν προεκδοῦναι καὶ παρὰ τῶν ἐργαζομένων ἐκείνων τὸν¹

361 φόρον τοῦ ἔτους ἐκλέγειν; ἀλλ', ὥσπερ ἔφην, κατ' οὐδένα τρόπον οὐδὲν τῶν τοιούτων προνοία μοι δοκεῖ τῆς χώρας ἐκδέχονται. 7. 19. τῆς δὲ φιλανθρωπίας αὐτῶν καὶ τοῦτο μέγα ὡς ἀληθῶς σημεῖον· ἐπεὶ γὰρ αὐτοὶ τῶν ἔργων ἐκείνου τοῦ ἔτους ἀνέχουσι, τοὺς γινομένους καρποὺς οὐκ οἶονται δεῖν συλλέγειν οὐδ' ἀποτίθεσθαι μὴ ἐκ τῶν οἰκείων πόνων περιόντας αὐτοῖς, ἀλλ' ἅτε τοῦ θεοῦ παρεσχηκότος αὐτοῖς, ἀνιείσης ἀπ' αὐτομάτου τῆς

¹ MSS. τὸν ἐκείνων, and so Dindorf. Gifford τὸν ἐκείνου.

HYPOTHETICA, 7. 15-19

to come hereafter to give it fertility, for they believe that it gains much by getting a respite and is then tilled in the next year without being exhausted by unbroken cultivation. 7. 16. You may see that the same treatment of our bodies tends to strengthen them. Physicians prescribe some intermissions and relaxations not merely when health has to be restored.^a For monotony without a break, particularly in work, is always seen to be injurious. 7. 17. Here is a proof that their object is as I describe. If anyone offered to cultivate this same land during the seventh year much more strenuously than before and to surrender to them the whole of the fruits they would absolutely refuse. For they do not think that it is only themselves who should abstain from work, though if they did so it would be nothing to wonder at, but that the land should gain at their hands a respite and easing off to make a fresh start in receiving renewed attention and husbandry. 7. 18. For what in heaven's name was to hinder them from letting out the land during the year^b and collecting the produce of that year at its end from the others who tilled it? But, as I have said, they entirely refuse anything of the kind, doubtless out of consideration for the land. 7. 19. We have a truly great proof of their humanity in the following also. Since they themselves abstain from labour during that year, they think that they should not gather or lay by the fruits produced which do not accrue to them from their own toil, but since God has provided them, sprung from the soil by its own action,

^a *i.e.* they prescribe it for people who are perfectly well.

^b Lit. "during the past year," *i.e.* the year which will be past when the fruit is gathered.

γῆς, τοὺς βουλομένους ἢ δεομένους τῶν τε ὁδοι-
 [632] πόρων καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἀξιοῦσι μετὰ ἀδείας χρῆσθαι. |
 7. 20. καὶ περὶ μὲν τούτων ἅλῃς σοι· τὸ γὰρ ταῖς
 ἐβδόμαις ἤδη τὸν νόμον αὐτοῖς στῆσαι ταῦτα οὐκ
 ἂν ἐμὲ ἀπαιτήσαις, ἴσως πολλῶν πολλάκις καὶ
 ἱατρῶν καὶ φυσιολόγων καὶ φιλοσόφων ἀκηκοὺς
 περὶ τούτου πρότερον, ἦντιν' ἄρα δύναμιν ἔχει πρὸς
 τε τὴν τῶν συμπάντων καὶ δὴ πρὸς τὴν ἀνθρωπείαν
 φύσιν. οὗτος ὁ τῆς ἐβδόμης λόγος.

11. 1. Μυρίους δὲ τῶν γνωρίμων ὁ ἡμέτερος
 νομοθέτης ἤλειψεν ἐπὶ κοινωνίαν, οἱ καλοῦνται
 μὲν Ἑσσαιῶι, παρὰ τὴν ὁσιότητά μοι δοκῶ τῆς
 προσηγορίας ἀξιοθέντες. οἰκοῦσι δὲ πολλὰς μὲν
 πόλεις τῆς Ἰουδαίας, πολλὰς δὲ κώμας καὶ¹ μεγά-
 λους καὶ πολυανθρώπους ὁμίλους. 11. 2. ἔστι δ'
 αὐτοῖς ἡ προαίρεσις οὐ γένει—γένος γὰρ ἐφ'
 ἑκουσίοις οὐ γράφεται—, διὰ δὲ ζῆλον ἀρετῆς καὶ

¹ κατὰ?—Though accepted without comment by Mangey and Gifford, the construction οἰκεῖν ὁμίλους seems hardly possible.

^a The following extract is made by Eusebius at a later point in the same book of the *Praeparatio*. He introduces it by saying that the Jewish nation is divided into two sections, (1) the multitude which Moses intended to be guided by the literal meaning (ῥήτῃ διάνοια), and (2) the philosophers who can rise from the literal to the higher meaning. As an example of the second class he reproduces Philo's two

HYPOTHETICA, 7. 19—11. 2

they should grant them to be used freely by wayfarers and others who desire or need them. 7. 20. You have now had enough on this subject, for you will not require me to show that these rules for the seventh days are established firmly among them by the law. Probably you have often heard ere now from many physicians, scientists and philosophers what influence it has over the life of all things and of mankind in particular. This is what I have to say about the seventh day.

^a 11. 1. Multitudes of his disciples has the lawgiver trained for the life of fellowship. These people are called Essenes, a name awarded to them doubtless in recognition of their holiness. They live in many cities of Judaea and in many villages and grouped in great societies of many members. 11. 2. Their persuasion ^b is not based on birth, for birth is not a descriptive mark of voluntary associations,^c but on their zeal for

accounts of the Essenes, one from the *Quod Omn. Prob.* (see pp. 54-63), and the following which he quotes from "The Apology for the Jews." See for this title Introduction, p. 407, and for remarks on the two accounts App. p. 514.

^b Or "vocation." Cf. *De Vit. Cont.* 2, and see App. p. 514.

^c *i.e.* when we define the principles or considerations on which a voluntary association is based, birth or family is not among them. But Gifford may be right in translating more simply "family descent is not ranked among matters of choice," though I am not sure that *γράφεται ἐπὶ* can mean this, or what the point of the remark is.

φιλανθρωπίας ἴμερον. 11. 3. Ἐσσαιῶν γοῦν κομιδῇ νήπιος οὐδεὶς, ἀλλ' οὐδὲ πρωτογένειος ἢ μειράκιον, ἐπεὶ τά γε τούτων ἀβέβαια ἦθη τῷ τῆς ἡλικίας ἀτελεῖ συννεωτερίζοντα,¹ τέλειοι δ' ἄνδρες καὶ πρὸς γῆρας ἀποκλίνοντες ἤδη, μηκέθ' ὑπὸ τῆς τοῦ σώματος ἐπιρροῆς κατακλυζόμενοι μηδ' ὑπὸ τῶν παθῶν ἀγόμενοι, τὴν ἀψευδῇ δὲ καὶ μόνῃ ὄντως ἐλευθερίαν καρποῦμενοι. 11. 4. μάρτυς δὲ τῆς ἐλευθερίας αὐτῶν ὁ βίος. Ἰδιον οὐδεὶς οὐδὲν ὑπομένει κτήσασθαι τὸ παράπαν, οὐκ οἰκίαν, οὐκ ἀνδράποδον, οὐ χωρίον, οὐ βοσκήματα, οὐχ ὅσα ἄλλα παρασκευαὶ καὶ χορηγαί πλούτου· πάντα δ' εἰς μέσον ἀθρόα καταθέντες κοινὴν καρποῦνται τὴν ἀπάντων ὠφέλειαν. 11. 5. οἰκοῦσι δ' ἐν ταύτῳ κατὰ θιάσους ἐταιρίας καὶ συσσίτια πεποιημένοι καὶ πάνθ' ὑπὲρ τοῦ κοινωφελοῦς πραγματευόμενοι [633] διατελοῦσιν. 11. 6. ἀλλ' ἐτέρων | ἕτεραι πραγματεῖαι, αἷς ἐπαποδύντες ἀόκνως διαθλοῦσιν, οὐ κρυμόν, οὐ θάλπος, οὐχ ὅσα ἀέρος νεωτερίσματα προφασίζόμενοι· πρὶν δ' ἡλίον ἀνασχεῖν ἐπὶ τὰ συνήθη τρεπόμενοι δυομένου μόλις ἐπανίασι χαίροντες οὐχ ἥττον τῶν ἐν τοῖς γυμνικοῖς ἐξεταζομένων ἀγῶσιν. 11. 7. ὑπολαμβάνουσι γὰρ ἅττ' ἂν ἐπιτηδεύουσιν εἶναι βιωφελέστερα καὶ ἡδίω ψυχῇ

¹ Other editions *συννεωτερίζονται*. One ms. has —τα, which accords better with Philo's general if not universal rule of using the singular verb with a neuter plural subject. (But see note in vol. viii. p. 445.) On the other hand if *ἀβέβαια* is predicate its position is strange.

HYPOTHETICA, 11. 3-7

virtue and desire to promote brotherly love. 11. 3. Thus no Essene is a mere child nor even a stripling or newly bearded, since the characters of such are unstable with a waywardness corresponding to the immaturity of their age, but full grown and already verging on old age, no longer carried under by the tide of the body nor led by the passions, but enjoying the veritable, the only real freedom. 11. 4. This freedom is attested by their life. None of them allows himself to have any private property, either house or slave or estate or cattle or any of the other things which are amassed^a and abundantly procured by wealth, but they put everything together into the public stock and enjoy the benefit of them all in common. 11. 5. They live together formed into clubs, bands of comradeship with common meals, and never cease to conduct all their affairs to serve the general weal. 11. 6. But they have various occupations at which they labour with untiring application and never plead cold or heat or any of the violent changes in the atmosphere as an excuse. Before the sun is risen they betake themselves to their familiar tasks and only when it sets force themselves to return, for they delight in them as much as do those who are entered for gymnastic competitions. 11. 7. For they consider that the exercises which they practise whatever they may be are more valuable to life, more pleasant to soul and body and more

^a παρασκευὴ πλούτου may mean what prepares or procures wealth. But it is better taken as = "what wealth procures," the word often carrying with it the idea of affluence or luxury both in quality and quantity. Thus τῆς ἀφθόνου παρασκευῆς of Pharaoh, *De Sac.* 48, τῶν περιττῶν καὶ ἀκαθάρτων παρασκευῶν *Leg. All.* iii. 147, and τὴν παρασκευὴν of the sumptuous banquet in *De Vit. Cont.* 53.

καὶ σώματι τὰ γυμνάσματα καὶ πολυχρονιώτερα
 τῶν ἐν ἀθλήσεσι, μὴ συναφηβῶντα τῇ τοῦ σώματος
 ἀκμῇ. 11. 8. εἰσὶ γὰρ αὐτῶν οἱ μὲν γεηρόνοι
 τῶν περὶ σπορὰν καὶ φυτουργίαν ἐπιστήμονες, οἱ
 380 δὲ ἀγελάρχαι, παντοδαπῶν θρεμμάτων ἡγεμόνες,
 ἔνιοι δὲ σμήνη μελιττῶν ἐπιτροπεύουσιν. 11. 9.
 ἄλλοι δὲ δημιουργοὶ τῶν κατὰ τέχνας εἰσὶν, ὑπὲρ
 τοῦ μηδὲν ὦν αἱ ἀναγκαῖαι χρεῖαι βιάζονται παθεῖν,
 οὐδὲν ἀναβαλλόμενοι τῶν εἰς πορισμὸν ἀνυπαίτιον.
 11. 10. ἐκ δὴ τῶν οὕτως διαφερόντων ἕκαστοι τὸν
 μισθὸν λαβόντες ἐνὶ διδόασι τῷ χειροτονηθέντι
 ταμία, λαβὼν δ' ἐκεῖνος αὐτίκα τὰπιτήδεια ὠνεῖται
 καὶ παρέχει τροφὰς ἀφθόνους καὶ τᾶλλα ὦν ὁ
 ἀνθρώπινος βίος χρειώδης. 11. 11. οἱ δ' ὁμο-
 δίαιτοι καὶ ὁμοτράπεζοι καθ' ἑκάστην ἡμέραν εἰσὶ
 τοῖς αὐτοῖς ἀσμενίζοντες, ὀλιγοδείας ἐρασταί,
 πολυτέλειαν ὡς ψυχῆς καὶ σώματος νόσον ἐκτρεπό-
 μενοι. 11. 12. κοινὴ δ' οὐ τράπεζα μόνον ἀλλὰ
 καὶ ἐσθῆς αὐτοῖς ἐστι· πρόκεινται γὰρ χειμῶνι μὲν
 στιφραὶ χλαῖναι, θέρει δ' ἐξωμίδες εὐτελεῖς, ὡς
 εὐμαρῶς ἐξεῖναι τῷ βουλομένῳ ἢν ἂν ἐθελήσῃ
 λαβεῖν, ἐπειδὴ καὶ τὰ ἐνὸς ἀπάντων καὶ τὰ πάντων
 ἔμπαλιν ἐνὸς ὑπείληπται. 11. 13. καὶ μὴν εἴ τις
 αὐτῶν ἀσθενήσειεν, ἐκ τῶν κοινῶν νοσηλεύεται
 θεραπευόμενος ταῖς ἀπάντων ἐπιμελείαις καὶ φρον-
 τίσιν. οἱ δὲ δὴ πρεσβῦται, κἂν εἰ τύχοιεν ἄτεκνοι,
 καθάπερ οὐ πολὺπαιδες μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ σφόδρα
 εὐπαιδες, ἐν εὐτυχestatῳ καὶ λιπαρωτάτῳ γήρᾳ
 τὸν βίον εἰώθασι καταλύειν, ὑπὸ τοσοῦτων προ-
 νομίας ἀξιούμενοι καὶ τιμῆς ἐκουσίῳ γνώμῃ μᾶλλον
 440

HYPOTHETICA, 11. 7-13

lasting than those of the athlete in as much as they can still be plied with vigour when that of the body is past its prime. 11. 8. Some of them labour on the land skilled in sowing and planting, some as herdsmen taking charge of every kind of cattle and some superintend the swarms of bees. 11. 9. Others work at the handicrafts to avoid the sufferings which are forced upon us by our indispensable requirements and shrink from no innocent way of getting a livelihood. 11. 10. Each branch when it has received the wages of these so different occupations gives it to one person who has been appointed as treasurer. He takes it and at once buys what is necessary and provides food in abundance and anything else which human life requires. 11. 11. Thus having each day a common life and a common table they are content with the same conditions, lovers of frugality who shun expensive luxury as a disease of both body and soul. 11. 12. And not only is their table in common but their clothing also. For in winter they have a stock of stout coats ready and in summer cheap vests,^a so that he who wishes may easily take any garment he likes, since what one has is held to belong to all and conversely what all have one has. 11. 13. Again if anyone is sick he is nursed at the common expense and tended with care and thoughtfulness by all. The old men too even if they are childless are treated as parents of a not merely numerous but very filial family and regularly close their life with an exceedingly prosperous and comfortable old age; so many are those who give them precedence and honour as their due and minister to them as a duty voluntarily and deliberately ac-

^a Or "tunics," *cf. De Vit. Cont.* 38.

ἢ φύσεως ἀνάγκη θεραπεύειν ἀξιούντων.

11. 14. ἔτι τοίνυν ὅπερ ἢ μόνον ἢ μάλιστα τὴν κοινωνίαν ἔμελλε διαλύειν ὁξυτερὸν ἰδόντες γάμον παρητήσαντο μετὰ τοῦ καὶ διαφερόντως ἀσκεῖν ἐγκράτειαν. Ἐσσαίων γὰρ οὐδεὶς ἄγεται γυναῖκα, διότι φίλαντον ἢ γυνή καὶ ζηλότυπον οὐ μετρίως καὶ δεινὸν ἀνδρὸς ἦθη παλεῦσαι καὶ συν-
[634] ἐχέσι γοητείαις ὑπάγεσθαι. 11. 15. μελετήσασα γὰρ θῶπας λόγους καὶ τὴν ἄλλην | ὑπόκρισιν ὥσπερ ἐπὶ σκηνῆς, ὅψεις καὶ ἀκοὰς ὅταν δελεάσῃ, δι-
ηπατημένων οἷα ὑπηκόων τὸν ἡγεμόνα νοῦν φενα-
κίζει. 11. 16. παῖδες δ' εἰ γένοιτο, φρονήματος ὑποπλησθεῖσα καὶ παρρησίας ὅσα κατ' εἰρωνείαν πρότερον ὑποῦλως ὑπηγνίσκετο, ταῦτα ἀπ' εὐ-
381 τολμοτέρου θράσους ἐκλαλεῖ καὶ ἀναισχυρτοῦσα βιάζεται πράττειν ὧν ἕκαστον κοινωνίας ἐχθρόν.
11. 17. ὁ γὰρ ἢ γυναικὸς φίλτροις ἐνδεθεὶς ἢ τέκνων ἀνάγκη φύσεως προκηδόμενος οὐκέτι πρὸς ἄλλους ὁ αὐτὸς ἐστίν, ἀλλ' ἕτερος λέληθε γεγονώς,¹ αὐτ' ἐλευθέρου δούλος.

11. 18. Οὕτως γοῦν ὁ βίος ἐστὶν αὐτῶν περι-
μάχητος, ὥστ' οὐκ ἰδιῶται μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ μεγάλοι βασιλεῖς ἀγάμενοι τοὺς ἀνδρας τεθήπασιν καὶ τὸ σεμνὸν αὐτῶν ἀποδοχαῖς καὶ τιμαῖς ἔτι μᾶλλον σεμνοποιούσιν.

¹ Other editions γέγονε λεληθώς.

^a Cf. ἔριδες ἐκ πάθους γυναικείου, ζηλοτυπίας *Spec. Leg.* i. 108. This diatribe must not, I think, be taken as Philo's definite opinion, but rather as what might be plausibly argued by the Essenes.

HYPOTHETICA, 11. 13-18

cepted rather than enforced by nature.

11. 14. Furthermore they eschew marriage because they clearly discern it to be the sole or the principal danger to the maintenance of the communal life, as well as because they particularly practise continence. For no Essene takes a wife, because a wife is a selfish creature, excessively jealous^a and an adept at beguiling the morals of her husband and seducing him by her continued impostures. 11. 15. For by the fawning talk which she practises and the other ways in which she plays her part like an actress on the stage she first ensnares the sight and hearing, and when these subjects as it were have been duped she cajoles the sovereign mind. 11. 16. And if children come, filled with the spirit of arrogance and bold speaking she gives utterance with more audacious hardihood to things which before she hinted covertly and under disguise, and casting off all shame she compels him to commit actions which are all hostile to the life of fellowship. 11. 17. For he who is either fast bound in the love lures of his wife or under the stress of nature makes his children his first care ceases to be the same to others and unconsciously has become a different man and has passed from freedom into slavery.

11. 18. Such then is the life of the Essenes, a life so highly to be prized that not only commoners but also great kings look upon them with admiration and amazement, and the approbation and honours which they give add further veneration to their venerable name.