ΒΙΟΣ ΣΟΦΟΥ ΤΟΥ ΚΑΤΑ ΔΙΔΑΣΚΑΛΙΑΝ ΤΕΛΕΙΩΘΕΝΤΟΣ Η ΝΟΜΩΝ ΑΓΡΑΦΩΝ ⟨ΤΟ ΠΡΩΤΟΝ⟩ Ο ΕΣΤΙ ΠΕΡΙ ΑΒΡΑΑΜ

[1] 1 I. Τῶν ἱερῶν νόμων ἐν πέντε βίβλοις ἀναγραφέντων ἡ πρώτη καλεῖται καὶ ἐπιγράφεται Γένεσις ἀπὸ τῆς τοῦ κόσμου γενέσεως, ἣν ἐν ἀρχῇ περιέχει, λαβοῦσα τὴν πρόσρησιν, καίτοι μυρίων ἄλλων ἐμφερομένων πραγμάτων, ὅσα κατ᾽ εἰρήνην ἢ πόλεμον ἢ φορὰς καὶ ἀφορίας ἢ λιμὸν καὶ εὐθηνίαν ἢ τὰς μεγίστας τῶν ἐπὶ γῆς φθορὰς διὰ πυρὸς καὶ ὕδατος ἢ τοὐναντίον γενέσεις καὶ εὐτροφίας ζῴων καὶ φυτῶν κατὰ τὴν ἀέρος καὶ τῶν ἐτησίων ὡρῶν εὐκρασίαν καὶ ἀνδρῶν τῶν μὲν ἀρετῇ τῶν δὲ κακίᾳ 2 συμβιωσάντων· ἀλλ᾽ ἐπεὶ τούτων τὰ μέν ἐστι τοῦ κόσμου μέρη, τὰ δὲ παθήματα, τελειότατον δὲ καὶ πληρέστατον ὁ κόσμος, αὐτῷ τὴν ὅλην βίβλον ἀνέθηκεν. ὃν μὲν οὖν τρόπον ἡ κοσμοποιία διατέτακται, διὰ τῆς προτέρας συντάξεως, [2] 3 ὡς οἷόν τε | ἦν, ἠκριβώσαμεν. ἐπεὶ δὲ τοὺς νόμους κατὰ τὸ ἑξῆς ⟨καὶ⟩ ἀκόλουθον ἀναγκαῖον διερευνᾶσθαι, τῶν ἐπὶ μέρους καὶ ὡς ἂν εἰκόνων ὑπέρθεσιν ποιησάμενοι τοὺς καθολικωτέρους καὶ ὡς ἂν

---

[a] *i.e.* the Deluge and the destruction of Sodom and Gomorrah. Philo classes these two together, ignoring the purely local character of the latter. Compare his treatment of the two in *Mos.* ii. 52-65, and *cf. ib.* 263.

ON ABRAHAM

THAT IS, THE LIFE OF THE WISE MAN MADE PERFECT THROUGH TEACHING, OR THE FIRST BOOK ON UNWRITTEN LAWS

I. The first of the five books in which the holy 1
laws are written bears the name and inscription of Genesis, from the genesis or creation of the world, an account of which it contains at its beginning. It has received this title in spite of its embracing numberless other matters; for it tells of peace and war, of fruitfulness and barrenness, of dearth and plenty; how fire and water wrought great destruction of what is on earth;[a] how on the other hand plants and animals were born and throve through the kindly tempering of the air and the yearly seasons, and so too men, some of whom lived a life of virtue, others of vice. But since some of these things are 2
parts of the world, and others events which befall it, and the world is the complete consummation which contains them all, he dedicated the whole book to it.

The story of the order in which the world was made has been set forth in detail by us as well as was possible in the preceding treatise[b]; but, since 3
it is necessary to carry out our examination of the law in regular sequence, let us postpone consideration of particular laws, which are, so to speak, copies, and examine first those which are more general and

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

4 ἀρχετύπους προτέρους διερευνήσωμεν. οὗτοι δέ εἰσιν ἀνδρῶν οἱ ἀνεπιλήπτως καὶ καλῶς βιώσαντες, ὧν τὰς ἀρετὰς ἐν ταῖς ἱερωτάταις ἐστηλιτεῦσθαι γραφαῖς συμβέβηκεν, οὐ πρὸς τὸν ἐκείνων ἔπαινον αὐτὸ μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὑπὲρ τοῦ τοὺς ἐντυγχάνοντας προτρέψασθαι καὶ ἐπὶ τὸν ὅμοιον ζῆλον ἀγαγεῖν.
5 οἱ γὰρ ἔμψυχοι καὶ λογικοὶ νόμοι ἄνδρες ἐκεῖνοι γεγόνασιν, οὓς δυοῖν χάριν ἐσέμνυνεν· ἑνὸς μὲν βουλόμενος ἐπιδεῖξαι, ὅτι τὰ τεθειμένα διατάγματα τῆς φύσεως οὐκ ἀπᾴδει, δευτέρου δὲ ὅτι οὐ πολὺς πόνος τοῖς ἐθέλουσι κατὰ τοὺς κειμένους νόμους ζῆν, ὁπότε καὶ ἀγράφῳ τῇ νομοθεσίᾳ, πρίν τι τὴν ἀρχὴν ἀναγραφῆναι τῶν ἐν μέρει, ῥᾳδίως καὶ εὐπετῶς ἐχρήσαντο οἱ πρῶτοι· ὡς δεόντως ἄν τινα φάναι, τοὺς τεθέντας νόμους μηδὲν ἄλλ' ἢ ὑπομνήματα εἶναι βίου τῶν παλαιῶν, ἀρχαιολογοῦντας
6 ἔργα καὶ λόγους, οἷς ἐχρήσαντο. ἐκεῖνοι γὰρ οὔτε γνώριμοι καὶ φοιτηταὶ γενόμενοί τινων οὔτε παρὰ διδασκάλοις ἃ χρὴ πράττειν καὶ λέγειν ἀναδιδαχθέντες, αὐτήκοοι δὲ καὶ αὐτομαθεῖς, ἀκολουθίαν φύσεως ἀσπασάμενοι, τὴν φύσιν αὐτήν, ὅπερ ἐστὶ πρὸς ἀλήθειαν, πρεσβύτατον θεσμὸν εἶναι ὑπολαβόντες ἅπαντα τὸν βίον ηὐνομήθησαν, ὑπαίτιον μὲν οὐδὲν γνώμαις ἑκουσίοις ἐργασάμενοι, περὶ δὲ τῶν ἐκ τύχης ποτνιώμενοι τὸν θεὸν καὶ λιταῖς καὶ ἱκεσίαις ἐξευμενιζόμενοι πρὸς ὁλοκλήρου μετουσίαν ζωῆς δι' ἀμφοτέρων κατορθουμένης τῶν τε ἐκ προνοίας καὶ τῶν ἄνευ ἑκουσίου γνώμης.
7 II. Ἐπειδὴ τοίνυν ἀρχὴ μετουσίας ἀγαθῶν ἐστιν ἐλπὶς καὶ ταύτην οἷα λεωφόρον ὁδὸν ἡ φιλάρετος

---

[a] See App. p. 597.

may be called the originals of those copies. These 4
are such men as lived good and blameless lives,
whose virtues stand permanently recorded in the
most holy scriptures, not merely to sound their
praises but for the instruction of the reader and as
an inducement to him to aspire to the same ; for in 5
these men we have laws endowed with life and
reason,[a] and Moses extolled them for two reasons.
First he wished to shew that the enacted ordinances
are not inconsistent with nature ; and secondly that
those who wish to live in accordance with the laws
as they stand have no difficult task, seeing that the
first generations before any at all of the particular
statutes was set in writing followed the unwritten
law with perfect ease, so that one might properly
say that the enacted laws are nothing else than
memorials of the life of the ancients, preserving to
a later generation their actual words and deeds.
For they were not scholars or pupils of others, nor 6
did they learn under teachers what was right to say
or do : they listened to no voice or instruction but
their own : they gladly accepted conformity with
nature, holding that nature itself was, as indeed
it is, the most venerable of statutes, and thus their
whole life was one of happy obedience to law. They
committed no guilty action of their own free will or
purpose, and where chance led them wrong they
besought God's mercy and propitiated Him with
prayers and supplications, and thus secured a perfect
life guided aright in both fields, both in their pre-
meditated actions and in such as were not of freely-
willed purpose.

II. Since, then, the first step towards the possession 7
of blessings is hope, and hope like a high road is

ἀνατέμνει καὶ ἀνοίγει ψυχὴ σπουδάζουσα τυχεῖν
τοῦ πρὸς ἀλήθειαν καλοῦ, τὸν πρῶτον ἐλπίδος
ἐραστὴν προσεῖπεν " ἄνθρωπον " τὸ κοινὸν τοῦ
γένους ὄνομα κατ' ἐξαίρετον χάριν δωρησάμενος
8 αὐτῷ—Χαλδαῖοι γὰρ τὸν ἄνθρωπον Ἐνὼς καλοῦσιν
—ὡς μόνου πρὸς ἀλήθειαν ὄντος ἀνθρώπου τοῦ τὰ
ἀγαθὰ προσδοκῶντος καὶ ἐλπίσι χρησταῖς ἐφιδρυ-
μένου· ἐξ οὗ δῆλον, ὅτι τὸν δύσελπιν οὐκ ἄνθρωπον
ἀλλ' ἀνθρωποειδὲς ἡγεῖται θηρίον τὸ οἰκειότατον
9 ἀνθρωπίνης ψυχῆς, ἐλπίδα, ἀφῃρημένον. ὅθεν καὶ
παγκάλως ὑμνῆσαι βουλόμενος τὸν εὔελπιν προ-
ειπών, ὅτι οὗτος ἤλπισεν ἐπὶ τὸν τῶν ὅλων πατέρα
[3] καὶ ποιητήν, ἐπιλέγει· " αὕτη ἡ βίβλος | γενέσεως
ἀνθρώπων," καίτοι πατέρων καὶ πάππων ἤδη
γεγονότων· ἀλλὰ τοὺς μὲν ἀρχηγέτας τοῦ μικτοῦ
γένους ὑπέλαβεν εἶναι, τουτονὶ δὲ τοῦ καθαρωτάτου
10 καὶ διηθημένου, ὅπερ ὄντως ἐστὶ λογικόν. καθάπερ
γὰρ ποιητὴς Ὅμηρος, μυρίων ποιητῶν ὄντων, κατ'
ἐξοχὴν λέγεται, καὶ τὸ μέλαν ᾧ γράφομεν, καίτοι
παντὸς ὃ μὴ λευκόν ἐστι μέλανος ὄντος, καὶ ἄρχων
Ἀθήνησιν ὁ ἐπώνυμος καὶ τῶν ἐννέα ἀρχόντων
ἄριστος, ἀφ' οὗ οἱ χρόνοι καταριθμοῦνται, τὸν αὐτὸν
τρόπον καὶ τὸν ἐλπίδι χρώμενον " ἄνθρωπον " κατ'
ἐξοχὴν ὠνόμασε τὰ πλήθη τῶν ἄλλων ἀφησυχάσας

---

[a] Philo uses "Chaldaean" as a synonym for Hebrew frequently in these works, though not in the treatises contained in Vols. I.-V.

[b] This argument, founded on Gen. iv. 26, LXX "He called his name Enos; he hoped to call on the name of the Lord God" (E.V. "then began men to call upon the name of the Lord") and on the fact that Enos is a poetical Hebrew term for "man," has already been given in substantially the same form in *Quod Det.* 138.

constructed and opened up by the virtue-loving soul in its eagerness to gain true excellence, Moses called the first lover of hope "Man," thus bestowing on him as a special favour the name which is common to the race (for the Chaldean [a] name for Man is Enos), 8
on the grounds that he alone is a true man who expects good things and rests firmly on comfortable hopes.[b] This plainly shows that he regards a despondent person as no man but a beast in human shape, since he has been robbed of the nearest and dearest possession of the human soul, namely hope. And, therefore, in his wish to give the highest praise 9
to the hoper, after first stating that he set his hope on the Father and Maker of all, he adds, "this is the book of the coming into being of men," though fathers and grandfathers had already come into being. But he held that they were the founders of the mixed race, but Enos of that from which all impurity had been strained, in fact of the race which is truly reasonable. For just as we give the title of 10
"*the* poet" to Homer in virtue of his pre-eminence, though there are multitudes of poets besides him, and "*the* black" [c] to the material with which we write, though everything is black which is not white, and "*the* Archon" [d] at Athens to the chief of the nine archons, the Archon Eponymos, from whose year of office dates are calculated, so too Moses gave the name of man in pre-eminence to him who cherished hope and left unnoticed the many others as un-

[c] μέλαν being the regular word for "ink."

[d] The 1st Archon was called simply ὁ ἄρχων, the 2nd ἄρχων βασιλεύς, the 3rd ἄρχων πολέμαρχος, the other nine θεσμοθέται. The addition of ἐπώνυμος ("who gives his name to dates," etc.) seems to be a later use.

ὡς οὐκ ἀξίων τῆς αὐτῆς προσρήσεως ἐπιλαχεῖν.
11 εὖ μέντοι καὶ τὴν βίβλον γενέσεως τοῦ πρὸς ἀλήθειαν ἀνθρώπου προσεῖπεν, οὐκ ἀπὸ σκοποῦ, διότι γραφῆς καὶ μνήμης ἄξιος ὁ εὔελπις, οὐ τῆς ἐν χαρτιδίοις ὑπὸ σητῶν διαφθαρησομένοις, ἀλλὰ τῆς ἐν ἀθανάτῳ τῇ φύσει, παρ' ᾗ τὰς σπουδαίας πράξεις ἀναγράπτους εἶναι συμβέβηκεν.
12 εἰ μέντοι καταριθμήσειέ τις ἀπὸ τοῦ πρώτου καὶ γηγενοῦς, τὸν ὑπὸ μὲν Χαλδαίων Ἐνὼς Ἕλλάδι δὲ διαλέκτῳ προσαγορευόμενον "ἄνθρω-
13 πον" εὑρήσει τέταρτον. ἐν ἀριθμοῖς δὲ ἡ τετρὰς τετίμηται παρά τε τοῖς ἄλλοις φιλοσόφοις, ὅσοι τὰς ἀσωμάτους οὐσίας καὶ νοητὰς ἠσπάσαντο, καὶ μάλιστα παρὰ Μωυσεῖ τῷ πανσόφῳ, ὃς σεμνύνων τὸν τέταρτον ἀριθμόν φησιν ὅτι "ἅγιός ἐστι καὶ αἰνετός"· δι' ἃς δ' αἰτίας ἐλέχθη, διὰ τῆς προτέρας
14 συντάξεως εἴρηται. ἅγιος δὲ καὶ ἐπαινετὸς ὁ εὔελπις, ὡς τοὐναντίον ἄναγνος καὶ ψεκτὸς ὁ δύσελπις, φόβῳ πρὸς ἅπαντα συμβούλῳ κακῷ χρώμενος· οὐδὲν γὰρ οὕτως ἐχθρὸν ἄλλο ἄλλῳ φασίν, ὡς ἐλπίδα φόβῳ καὶ φόβον ἐλπίδι· καὶ μήποτ' εἰκότως· προσδοκία μὲν γὰρ ἑκάτερον, ἀλλ' ἡ μὲν ἀγαθῶν, ἡ δ' ἔμπαλιν κακῶν, ἀκατάλλακτοι δ' αἱ φύσεις τούτων καὶ ἀσύμβατοι.
15 III. τοσαῦτα μὲν ἀπόχρη περὶ ἐλπίδος εἰπεῖν, ἣν

---

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

[b] Enos as Adam's grandson would naturally be third, or, if Abel and Cain are reckoned, fifth. Philo may obtain the

worthy to receive the same title. He did well, too, in speaking of the *book* of the coming into being of the true man.[a] The word was appropriate because the hoper deserves a memorial written not on pieces of paper which moths shall destroy but in the undying book of nature where good actions are registered. 11 Further, if we reckon the generations from the first, the earth-born man, we shall find that he, who is called by the Chaldeans Enos and in our tongue Man, is fourth.[b] 12 Now the number four has been held in high honour by the other philosophers who devoted themselves to the study of immaterial and conceptual realities, and especially by the all-wise Moses who when glorifying that number speaks of it as "holy and for praise,"[c] and why he so called it has been shewn in the former treatise.[d] 13 Holy, too, and praiseworthy is the hopeful man, just as on the contrary the despondent is unholy and blameworthy, since in all things he takes fear for his evil counsellor; for no two things are more at enmity with each other, men say, than fear and hope, and surely that is natural, for each is an expectation, hope of good, fear on the other hand of evil, and their natures are irreconcilable and incapable of agreement. 14 III. No more need be said about 15

number he requires by omitting either Abel, because in Gen. iv. 25 Seth is spoken of as a substitute for him, or Cain as accursed. See App. p. 597.

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

[d] *De Op.* 47 ff.

ἐπὶ θύραις οἷα πυλωρὸν ἡ φύσις ἱδρύσατο βασιλίδων τῶν ἔνδον ἀρετῶν, αἷς οὐκ ἔστιν ἐντυχεῖν μὴ ταύτην
16 προθεραπεύσαντας. πολλὰ μὲν οὖν οἱ νομοθέται, πολλὰ δὲ οἱ πανταχοῦ νόμοι πραγματεύονται περὶ τοῦ τὰς ψυχὰς τῶν ἐλευθέρων ἐλπίδων χρηστῶν ἀναπλῆσαι· ὁ δ' ἄνευ παραινέσεως δίχα τοῦ κελευσθῆναι γενόμενος εὔελπις ἀγράφῳ μὲν νόμῳ δὲ πάλιν αὐτομαθεῖ τὴν ἀρετὴν ταύτην πεπαίδευται, ὃν ἡ φύσις ἔθηκε.

17 Δευτέραν δ' ἔλαχε τάξιν μετὰ τὴν ἐλπίδα ἡ ἐπὶ τοῖς ἁμαρτανομένοις μετάνοια καὶ βελτίωσις· ὅθεν ἑξῆς ἀναγράφει τὸν ἀπὸ χείρονος βίου πρὸς τὸν ἀμείνω μεταβαλόντα, ὃς καλεῖται παρὰ μὲν Ἑβραίοις Ἐνώχ, ὡς δ' ἂν Ἕλληνες εἴποιεν "κεχαρισμένος," ἐφ' οὗ καὶ ταυτὶ λέλεκται, ὡς ἄρα
[4] | "εὑηρέστησεν Ἐνὼχ τῷ θεῷ καὶ οὐχ ηὑρίσκετο,
18 ὅτι μετέθηκεν αὐτὸν ὁ θεός." ἡ γὰρ μετάθεσις τροπὴν ἐμφαίνει καὶ μεταβολήν· πρὸς δὲ τὸ βέλτιον ἡ μεταβολή, διότι προμηθείᾳ γίνεται θεοῦ· πᾶν γὰρ τὸ σὺν θεῷ καλὸν καὶ συμφέρον πάντως, ἐπεὶ καὶ τὸ ἄνευ θείας ἐπιφροσύνης ἀλυσιτελές.

19 εὖ δ' εἴρηται τὸ "οὐχ ηὑρίσκετο" ἐπὶ τοῦ μετατεθειμένου, τῷ τὸν ἀρχαῖον καὶ ἐπίληπτον ἀπαλλήλιφθαι βίον καὶ ἠφανίσθαι καὶ μηκέθ' εὑρίσκεσθαι, καθάπερ εἰ μηδὲ τὴν ἀρχὴν ἐγένετο, ἢ τῷ τὸν μετατιθέμενον καὶ ἐν τῇ βελτίονι ταχθέντα τάξει δυσεύρετον εἶναι φύσει· πολύχουν μὲν γὰρ ἡ κακία, διὸ καὶ πολλοῖς γνώριμον, σπάνιον δ' ἡ ἀρετή, ὡς
20 μηδ' ὑπ' ὀλίγων καταλαμβάνεσθαι. καὶ ἄλλως ὁ

---

[a] Gen. v. 24. The LXX version "Enoch was well-pleasing to God, and he was not found because God translated him"

the subject of hope, set by nature as a door-keeper at the portals of the royal virtues within, to which access cannot be gained unless we have first paid our respects to her. Great indeed are the efforts 16
expended both by lawgivers and by laws in every nation in filling the souls of free men with comfortable hopes; but he who gains this virtue of hopefulness without being led to it by exhortation or command has been educated into it by a law which nature has laid down, a law unwritten yet intuitively learnt.

The second place after hope is given to repentance 17
for sins and to improvement, and, therefore, Moses mentions next in order him who changed from the worse life to the better, called by the Hebrews Enoch but in our language "recipient of grace." We are told of him that he proved "to be pleasing to God and was not found because God transferred him,[a]" for 18
transference implies turning and changing, and the change is to the better because it is brought about by the forethought of God. For all that is done with God's help is excellent and truly profitable, as also all that has not His directing care is unprofitable.

And the expression used of the trans- 19
ferred person, that he was not found, is well said, either because the old reprehensible life is blotted out and disappears and is no more found, as though it had never been at all, or because he who is thus transferred and takes his place in the better class is naturally hard to find. For evil is widely spread and therefore known to many, while virtue is rare, so that even the few cannot comprehend it. Besides, 20

(E.V. "Enoch walked with God: and he was not; for God took him") is familiar from Hebrews xi. 5. See App. p. 597).

μὲν φαῦλος ἀγορὰν καὶ θέατρα καὶ δικαστήρια βουλευτήριά τε καὶ ἐκκλησίας καὶ πάντα σύλλογον καὶ θίασον ἀνθρώπων ἅτε φιλοπραγμοσύνῃ συζῶν μετατρέχει, τὴν μὲν γλῶτταν ἀνιεὶς πρὸς ἄμετρον καὶ ἀπέραντον καὶ ἄκριτον διήγησιν, συγχέων ἅπαντα καὶ φύρων, ἀληθέσι ψευδῆ καὶ ῥητοῖς ἄρρητα καὶ ἴδια κοινοῖς καὶ ἱεροῖς βέβηλα καὶ σπουδαίοις γελοῖα ἀναμιγνύς, διὰ τὸ μὴ πεπαιδεῦσθαι τὸ ἐν καιρῷ κάλλιστον, ἡσυχίαν, τὰ δὲ ὦτα
21 ἐπουρίσας[1] ἕνεκα πολυπράγμονος περιεργίας· τὰ γὰρ ἑτέρων εἴτε ἀγαθὰ εἴτ' αὖ κακὰ γλίχεται μανθάνειν, ὡς αὐτίκα τοῖς μὲν φθονεῖν, ἐφ' οἷς δὲ ἥδεσθαι· βάσκανον γὰρ καὶ μισόκαλον καὶ φιλοπόνηρον ὁ
22 φαῦλος φύσει. IV. ὁ δ' ἀστεῖος ἔμπαλιν ἀπράγμονος ζηλωτὴς βίου γεγονὼς ὑποχωρεῖ καὶ μόνωσιν ἀγαπᾷ, λανθάνειν τοὺς πολλοὺς ἀξιῶν, οὐ διὰ μισανθρωπίαν—φιλάνθρωπος γάρ, εἰ καί τις ἄλλος, —ἀλλὰ διὰ τὸ προβεβλῆσθαι κακίαν, ἣν ὁ πολὺς ὄχλος ἀσπάζεται, χαίρων μὲν ἐφ' οἷς στένειν ἄξιον,
23 λυπούμενος δὲ ἐφ' οἷς γεγηθέναι καλόν. ὧν ἕνεκα συγκλεισάμενος οἴκοι τὰ πολλὰ καταμένει μόλις τὰς κλισιάδας ὑπερβαίνων ἢ διὰ τοὺς ἐπιφοιτῶντας συνεχέστερον ἔξω πόλεως προελθὼν ἐν μοναγρίᾳ ποιεῖται τὰς διατριβὰς ἥδιον συμβιωταῖς χρώμενος τοῖς ἅπαντος τοῦ γένους ἀνθρώπων ἀρίστοις, ὧν τὰ μὲν σώματα διέλυσεν ὁ χρόνος, τὰς δ' ἀρετὰς αἱ ἀπολειφθεῖσαι γραφαὶ ζωπυροῦσι διά τε ποιημάτων καὶ τῶν καταλογάδην συγγραμμάτων, οἷς ἡ ψυχὴ

[1] *ἐπουρίσας*] so Cohn, but the text is very doubtful. Some MSS. have *ἐπορθιάσας εὐπορίας* (with variations of order and spelling), others *ἐπουριάσας* or *ἐπουριάς*. The natural sense of *ἐπουρίζω* (lit. "direct with a favouring wind") seems by itself

the worthless man whose life is one long restlessness haunts market-places, theatres, law-courts, council-halls, assemblies, and every group and gathering of men; his tongue he lets loose for unmeasured, endless, indiscriminate talk, bringing chaos and confusion into everything, mixing true with false, fit with unfit, public with private, holy with profane, sensible with absurd, because he has not been trained to that silence which in season is most excellent. His ears 21
he keeps alert in meddlesome curiosity, ever eager to learn his neighbour's affairs, whether good or bad, and ready with envy for the former and joy at the latter; for the worthless man is a creature naturally malicious, a hater of good and lover of evil. IV.
The man of worth on the other hand, having acquired 22
a desire for a quiet life, withdraws from the public and loves solitude, and his choice is to be unnoticed by the many, not because he is misanthropical, for he is eminently a philanthropist, but because he has rejected vice which is welcomed by the multitude who rejoice at what calls for mourning and grieve where it is well to be glad. And therefore he mostly 23
secludes himself at home and scarcely ever crosses his threshold, or else because of the frequency of visitors he leaves the town and spends his days in some lonely farm, finding pleasanter society in those noblest of the whole human race whose bodies time has turned into dust but the flame of their virtues is kept alive by the written records which have survived them in poetry or in prose and serve

strange in this context. I should prefer to read *ἐπορθιάσας ἐπ' οὐρίας* ("pricked up and ready to catch any chance"). It is true that *ἐπορθιάζω* is not used elsewhere with *ὦτα*, but *ἀνορθιάζω* is several times so used by Philo. See further on *Mos.* i. 283.

24 πέφυκε βελτιοῦσθαι. διὰ τοῦτο εἶπεν ὅτι ὁ μετατεθεὶς "οὐχ εὑρίσκετο" δυσεύρετος καὶ δυσθήρατος ὤν. μεθορμίζεται οὖν εἰς παιδείαν ἐξ ἀμαθίας καὶ ἐξ ἀφροσύνης εἰς φρόνησιν ἔκ τε δειλίας εἰς | [5] ἀνδρείαν καὶ ἐξ ἀσεβείας εἰς εὐσέβειαν, καὶ πάλιν ἐκ μὲν φιληδονίας εἰς ἐγκράτειαν, ἐκ δὲ φιλοδοξίας εἰς ἀτυφίαν· ὧν τίς ἢ πλοῦτος ἐπάξιος ἢ βασιλείας 25 καὶ δυναστείας κτῆσις ὠφελιμωτέρα; εἰ γὰρ χρὴ ταληθὲς εἰπεῖν, ὁ μὴ τυφλὸς ἀλλ' ὀξὺ βλέπων πλοῦτος ἡ τῶν ἀρετῶν ἐστι περιουσία, ἣν εὐθὺς γνήσιον καὶ εὔνομον παρὰ τὰς νόθους καὶ ψευδωνύμους ἀρχὰς ὑποληπτέον ἡγεμονίαν ἐνδίκως ἅπαντα 26 πρυτανεύουσαν. οὐ δεῖ δὲ ἀγνοεῖν, ὅτι τὰ δευτερεῖα φέρεται μετάνοια τελειότητος, ὥσπερ καὶ ἀνόσου σώματος ἡ πρὸς ὑγείαν ἐξ ἀσθενείας μεταβολή. τὸ μὲν οὖν διηνεκὲς καὶ τέλειον ἐν ἀρεταῖς ἐγγυτάτω θείας ἵσταται δυνάμεως, ἡ δ' ἀπό τινος χρόνου βελτίωσις ἴδιον ἀγαθὸν εὐφυοῦς ψυχῆς ἐστι μὴ τοῖς παιδικοῖς ἐπιμενούσης ἀλλ' ἀδροτέροις καὶ ἀνδρὸς ὄντως φρονήμασιν ἐπιζητούσης εὔδιον κατάστασιν [ψυχῆς] καὶ τῇ φαντασίᾳ τῶν καλῶν ἐπιτρεχούσης.

27 V. Ὅθεν εἰκότως τῷ μετανενοηκότι τάττει κατὰ τὸ ἑξῆς τὸν θεοφιλῆ καὶ φιλάρετον, ὃς Ἑβραίων μὲν τῇ γλώττῃ καλεῖται Νῶε, τῇ δὲ Ἑλλήνων "ἀνάπαυσις" ἢ "δίκαιος," οἰκειόταται προσρήσεις σοφῷ· ἐμφανῶς μὲν ὁ δίκαιος, ἄμεινον γὰρ οὐδὲν δικαιοσύνης, τῆς ἐν ἀρεταῖς ἡγεμονίδος, ἢ καθάπερ ἐν χορῷ καλλιστεύουσα πρεσβεύει· ἡ δ' ἀνάπαυσις, ἐπεὶ καὶ τοὐναντίον τὴν παρὰ φύσιν κίνησιν ταραχῶν

[a] "Unnatural movement of the soul" is a phrase used by the Stoics to define *πάθος S.V.F.* iii. 462 and 476.

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

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

V. Naturally, therefore, next to the repentant he 27
sets the lover of virtue and beloved by God, who in the Hebrew language is called Noah but in ours "rest" or "just," both very suitable titles for the Sage. "Just" is obviously so, for nothing is better than justice, the chief among the virtues, who like the fairest maiden of the dance holds the highest place. But "rest" is appropriate also, since its opposite, unnatural movement,[a] proves to be the cause

καὶ θορύβων στάσεών τε καὶ πολέμων αἰτίαν εἶναι συμβέβηκεν, ἣν μετίασιν οἱ φαῦλοι, ἠρεμαῖον δὲ καὶ ἡσυχάζοντα καὶ σταθερὸν ἔτι δὲ καὶ εἰρηνικὸν βίον
28 οἱ καλοκἀγαθίαν τετιμηκότες. ἑπόμενος δ' αὐτὸς αὑτῷ καὶ τὴν ἑβδόμην, ἣν Ἑβραῖοι σάββατα καλοῦσιν, ἀνάπαυσιν ὀνομάζει, οὐχ, ὡς οἴονταί τινες, ὅτι δι' ἓξ ἡμερῶν τῶν συνήθων ἔργων ἀπείχετο τὸ πλῆθος, ἀλλ' ὅτι τῷ ὄντι ὁ ἕβδομος ἀριθμὸς ἔν τε τῷ κόσμῳ καὶ ἐν ἡμῖν αὐτοῖς ἀεὶ ἀστασίαστος καὶ ἀπόλεμος καὶ ἀφιλόνεικος καὶ
29 εἰρηνικώτατος ἁπάντων ἀριθμῶν ἐστι. μάρτυρες δὲ τοῦ λεχθέντος αἱ ἐν ἡμῖν δυνάμεις· αἱ μὲν γὰρ ἓξ τὸν ἄπαυστον καὶ συνεχῆ πόλεμον ἐν γῇ καὶ θαλάττῃ συγκροτοῦσιν, αἵ τε πέντε αἰσθήσεις καὶ ὁ προφορικὸς λόγος, αἱ μὲν πόθῳ τῶν αἰσθητῶν, ὧν ἐὰν μὴ τυγχάνωσιν, ἀνιῶνται, ὁ δ' ἀχαλίνῳ
30 στόματι μυρία τῶν ἡσυχαστέων ἐκλαλῶν· ἡ δ' ἑβδόμη δύναμις ἡ περὶ τὸν ἡγεμόνα νοῦν, ὃς ὅταν ἐπικυδέστερος γένηται τῶν ἓξ καὶ δυνατωτέρᾳ ῥώμῃ κατακρατήσας ἀναχωρήσῃ, μόνωσιν ἀσπασάμενος καὶ ταῖς ἑαυτοῦ πρὸς ἑαυτὸν ⟨χαίρων⟩[1] ὁμιλίαις ὡς ἀπροσδεὴς ὢν ἑτέρου καὶ αὐταρκέστατος ἑαυτῷ, τηνικαῦτα φροντίδων καὶ πραγμα-
[6] τειῶν | ἀπαλλαγεὶς τῶν ἐν τῷ θνητῷ γένει βίον εὔδιον καὶ γαληνὸν ἀσπάζεται.

31 VI. Οὕτως δ' ἀποσεμνύνει τὸν φιλάρετον, ὥστε καὶ γενεαλογῶν αὐτὸν οὐ, καθάπερ ἔθος ἐπὶ τῶν ἄλλων, πάππων ἢ προπάππων ἢ προγόνων ποιεῖται κατάλογον, ὅσοι πρὸς ἀνδρῶν ἢ πρὸς γυναικῶν εἰσιν, ἀλλά τινων ἀρετῶν, μόνον οὐχὶ βοῶν ἀντι-

[1] Or read *τὰς . . . ὁμιλίας* omitting *χαίρων*.

of turmoil and confusion and factions and wars. Such movement is sought by the worthless, while a life which is calm, serene, tranquil and peaceful to boot is the object of those who have valued nobility of conduct. He shews consistency, too, when he 28
gives to the seventh day, which the Hebrews call sabbath, the name of rest; not, as some think, because the multitude abstained after six days from their usual tasks, but because in truth the number seven, both in the world and in ourselves, is always free from factions and war and quarrelling and is of all numbers the most peaceful. This statement is attested by 29
the faculties within us, for six[a] of them wage ceaseless and continuous war on land and sea, namely the five senses and speech, the former in their craving for the objects of sense, deprivation of which is painful to them, speech because with unbridled mouth it perpetually gives utterance where silence is due. But the seventh faculty is that of the 30
dominant mind, which, after triumphing over the six and returning victorious through its superior strength, welcomes solitude and rejoices in its own society, feeling that it needs no other and is completely sufficient for itself, and then released from the cares and concerns of mortal kind gladly accepts a life of calmness and serenity.

VI. So highly does Moses extol the lover of virtue 31
that when he gives his genealogy he does not, as he usually does in other cases, make a list of his grandfathers, great-grandfathers and ancestors in the male and female line, but of certain virtues, and this is

[a] Elsewhere, when Philo's argument requires it, the faculties, excluding mind, are seven by the addition of reproduction (τὸ γόνιμον), *De Op.* 117, *De Mut.* 111.

κρυς, ὅτι οἰκία καὶ συγγένεια καὶ πατρὶς οὐδεμία ἐστὶν ἑτέρα σοφῷ ὅτι μὴ ἀρεταὶ καὶ αἱ κατ' ἀρετὰς πράξεις· "αὗται" γάρ φησιν "αἱ γενέσεις Νῶε· Νῶε ἄνθρωπος δίκαιος, τέλειος ἐν τῇ γενεᾷ αὐτοῦ, 32 τῷ θεῷ εὐηρέστησεν." οὐ δεῖ δὲ ἀγνοεῖν, ὅτι νῦν "ἄνθρωπον" οὐ κοινῷ τύπῳ τὸ λογικὸν θνητὸν ζῷον καλεῖ, τὸν μέντοι κατ' ἐξοχήν, ὃς ἐπαληθεύει τοὔνομα τὰ ἀτίθασα καὶ λελυττηκότα πάθη καὶ τὰς θηριωδεστάτας κακίας τῆς ψυχῆς ἀπελαύνων. 33 σημεῖον δέ· μετὰ τὸν "ἄνθρωπον" ἐπιλέγει τὸν "δίκαιον" εἰπὼν "ἄνθρωπος δίκαιος," ὡς ἀδίκου μὲν οὐδενὸς ὄντος ἀνθρώπου (κυριώτερον δ' εἰπεῖν ἀνθρωπομόρφου θηρίου), μόνου δὲ ὃς ἂν ζηλωτὴς ᾖ 34 δικαιοσύνης. φησὶ δ' αὐτὸν καὶ "τέλειον" γεγονέναι διὰ τούτου παριστάς, ὡς οὐ μίαν ἀρετὴν ἀλλὰ πάσας ἐκτήσατο καὶ κτησάμενος ἑκάστῃ κατὰ τὸ ἐπιβάλλον χρώμενος διετέλεσεν. 35 ἐπιστεφανῶν δ' αὐτὸν ὡς ἀγωνιστὴν ἐκνενικηκότα κηρύγματι λαμπροτάτῳ προσεπικοσμεῖ φάσκων, ὅτι "τῷ θεῷ εὐηρέστησεν"· οὔ τί γένοιτ' ἂν ἐν τῇ φύσει κρεῖττον; τίς καλοκἀγαθίας ἐναργέστερος[1] ἔλεγχος; εἰ γὰρ οἱ δυσαρεστήσαντες τῷ θεῷ κακοδαίμονες, οἷς εὐαρεστῆσαι συνέβη πάντως 36 εὐδαίμονες. VII. οὐκ ἀπὸ σκοποῦ μέντοι ταῖς τοσαύταις ἀρεταῖς ὑμνήσας τὸν ἄνθρωπον ἐπεῖπεν, ὅτι "τέλειος ἦν ἐν τῇ γενεᾷ αὐτοῦ," δηλῶν ὅτι οὐ καθάπαξ ἀλλὰ κατὰ σύγκρισιν τῶν κατ' 37 ἐκεῖνον τὸν χρόνον γεγονότων ἀγαθὸς ἦν. ἤδη γὰρ

[1] MSS. *τῆς κ. ἐναργέστατος.*

---

[a] Gen. vi. 9, *cf. Quod Deus* 117.

[b] *i.e.* "a man, a just one." As the Greek adjective needs no substantive expressed, *ἄνθρωπος*, which would be otherwise

little less than a direct assertion that a sage has no house or kinsfolk or country save virtues and virtuous actions; "for these," he says, "are the generations of Noah. Noah, a man just and perfect in his generation, was well-pleasing to God."[a] But we must not 32
fail to note that in this passage he gives the name of man not according to the common form of speech, to the mortal animal endowed with reason, but to the man who is man pre-eminently, who verifies the name by having expelled from the soul the untamed and frantic passions and the truly beast-like vices. Here 33
is a proof. After "man" he adds "just," implying by the combination[b] that the unjust is no man, or more properly speaking a beast in human form, and that the follower after righteousness alone is man.
He says, too, that Noah became "perfect," thereby 34
shewing that he acquired not one virtue but all, and having acquired them continued to exercise each as opportunities allowed. And as he crowns him 35
as victor in the contest, he gives him further distinction by a proclamation couched in words of splendid praise, "he was well-pleasing to God." What better thing than this has nature to give? What clearer proof can there be of nobility of life? For, if those who have been ill-pleasing to God are ill-fated, happy most surely are those whose lot it is to be well-pleasing to God. VII. But Moses makes 36
a good point when, after praising him as possessed of all these virtues, he adds that he was perfect in his generation, thus shewing he was not good absolutely but in comparison with the men of that time. For 37

superfluous, must have a special emphasis. Assuming, as Philo does, that the LXX follows the usage of classical Greek, the argument has some weight.

οὐκ εἰς μακρὰν ἐπιμνησθήσεται σοφῶν ἑτέρων, οἳ τὴν ἀρετὴν ἀνανταγώνιστον ἔσχον, οὐ πονηροῖς ἀντεξετασθέντες οὐδ' ὅτι βελτίους ἐγένοντο τῶν κατ' αὐτοὺς ἀποδοχῆς καὶ προνομίας ἀξιωθέντες, ἀλλ' ὅτι φύσιν εὔμοιρον κτησάμενοι διετήρησαν αὐτὴν ἀδιάστροφον, οὐ φυγόντες μοχθηρὰ ἐπιτηδεύματα, ἀλλ' οὐδὲ τὴν ἀρχὴν αὐτοῖς περιπεσόντες, προηγουμένως δὲ καλῶν ἔργων καὶ λόγων ἀσκηταὶ
38 γενόμενοι τὸν βίον ἐπεκόσμουν. θαυμασιώτατοι μὲν οὖν ἄνδρες ἐκεῖνοι γεγόνασιν, οἳ ταῖς ὁρμαῖς ἐλευθέραις καὶ εὐγενέσιν ἐχρήσαντο, μὴ κατὰ μίμησιν ἢ ἐναντίωσιν ἑτέρων, ἀλλ' αὐτὸ τὸ καλὸν καὶ τὸ δίκαιον ἀποδεξάμενοι, θαυμάσιος δὲ καὶ ὁ τῆς καθ' αὑτὸν γενεᾶς διενηνοχὼς καὶ μηδενὶ συνενεχθεὶς ὧν ἐζήλωσαν οἱ πολλοί· δευτερείων μὲν οὗτος ἐφίξεται, τὰ δὲ πρῶτα τῶν ἄθλων ἐκείνοις
39 ἀναδώσει ἡ φύσις. τὰ μέντοι δευτερεῖα καὶ αὐτὰ
[7] μεγάλα· τί | δ' οὐχὶ μέγα καὶ περιμάχητον ὧν ὀρέγει καὶ δωρεῖται θεός; σαφεστάτη δὲ πίστις αἱ τῶν χαρίτων ὑπερβολαί, ὧν οὗτος ἔτυχεν.
40 ἐπεὶ γὰρ ἀδικημάτων φορὰν ἤνεγκεν ὁ χρόνος ἐκεῖνος καὶ πᾶσα χώρα καὶ ἔθνος καὶ πόλις καὶ οἰκία καὶ ἕκαστος ἰδίᾳ πονηρῶν ἐπιτηδευμάτων ἀνεπέπλητο, πάντων ἑκουσίως καὶ ἐκ προνοίας ὡς ἐν ἀγῶνι περὶ τῶν ἐν τῷ διαμαρτάνειν πρωτείων ἁμιλλωμένων—μετὰ σπουδῆς γὰρ ἁπάσης ἐφιλονείκουν, ἑκάστου τὸν πλησίον μεγέθει κακίας ὑπερβαλεῖν ἐπειγομένου καὶ μηδὲν παραλείποντος τῶν
41 πρὸς ἐπίληπτον καὶ ἐπάρατον βίον. VIII. ἐφ' οἷς ὁ θεὸς εἰκότως δυσχεράνας, εἰ τὸ ζῷον τὸ ἄριστον

we shall shortly find him mentioning other sages whose virtue was unchallenged, who are not contrasted with the bad, who are adjudged worthy of approval and precedence, not because they were better than their contemporaries but because they possessed a happily-gifted nature and kept it unperverted, who did not have to shun evil courses or indeed come into contact with them at all, but attained pre-eminence in practising that excellence of words and deeds with which they adorned their lives. The highest admiration, then, is due to those 38
in whom the ruling impulses were of free and noble birth, who accepted the excellent and just for their own selves and not in imitation of or in opposition to others. But admiration is also due to him who stood apart from his own generation and conformed himself to none of the aims and aspirations of the many. He will win the second prize, though the first will be awarded by nature to those others. Yet great also is 39
the second prize in itself, for how could anything fail to be great and worthy of our efforts which God offers and gives? And the clearest proof of this is the exceeding magnitude of the bounties which Noah obtained. That time bore its harvest of iniquities, and 40
every country and nation and city and household and every private individual was filled with evil practices; one and all, as though in a race, engaged in rivalry pre-willed and premeditated for the first places in sinfulness, and put all possible zeal into the contention, each one pressing on to exceed his neighbour in magnitude of vice and leaving nothing undone which could lead to a guilty and accursed life. VIII. Naturally this roused the wrath of God, to think that 41
man, who seemed the best of all living creatures,

εἶναι δοκοῦν καὶ συγγενείας ἀξιωθὲν τῆς πρὸς αὐτὸν ἕνεκα τῆς ἐν τῷ λόγῳ κοινωνίας, δέον ἀρετὴν ἐπιτηδεύειν, ἐζήλωσε κακίαν καὶ τὰ εἴδη πάντα κακίας, δίκην ὁρίζει τὴν προσήκουσαν, ἀφανίσαι τοὺς τότε ὄντας κατακλυσμῷ διανοηθείς, οὐ μόνον τοὺς ἐν τῇ πεδιάδι καὶ τοῖς χθαμαλωτέροις ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς ἐν τοῖς ὑψηλοτάτοις ὄρεσι κατοικοῦντας. 42 ἡ μὲν γὰρ μεγάλη θάλαττα μετέωρος ὡς οὐδέπω πρότερον ἀρθεῖσα διὰ τῶν στομάτων ἀθρόᾳ ῥύμῃ τοῖς καθ' ἡμᾶς εἰσερρύη πελάγεσι, τὰ δὲ πλημμύραντα νήσους καὶ ἠπείρους ἐπέκλυσε, πηγῶν δ' ἀενάων καὶ ποταμῶν αὐθιγενῶν τε καὶ χειμάρρων ἐπάλληλοι φοραὶ συνῆπτον ἀλλήλαις ἀναχεόμεναι 43 καὶ πρὸς ὕψος ἐπαιρόμεναι ἐπέβαινον. οὐ μὴν οὐδὲ ὁ ἀὴρ ἠρέμει· πάντα γὰρ τὸν οὐρανὸν βαθὺ καὶ συνεχὲς νέφος ἐπεῖχε καὶ πνεύματα ἦν ἐξαίσια πάταγοί τε βροντῶν καὶ ἐπιλάμψεις ἀστραπῶν καὶ κεραυνῶν φοραί, καταρρηγνυμένων ὄμβρων ἀπαύστων, ὡς νομίσαι τὰ μέρη τοῦ παντὸς εἰς μίαν φύσιν τὴν ὕδατος ἀναστοιχειούμενα σπεύδειν, ἕως τοῦ μὲν ἄνωθεν καταράττοντος τοῦ δὲ κάτωθεν ἐπανιόντος μετάρσια ἤρθη τὰ ῥεῖθρα, οἷς οὐ μόνον ἡ πεδιὰς καὶ ὅση χθαμαλὴ κατακλυσθεῖσα ἠφανίσθη, ἀλλὰ καὶ 44 τῶν ὑψηλοτάτων ὀρῶν αἱ κορυφαί. πάντα γὰρ τὰ μέρη τῆς γῆς ἕδυ καθ' ὕδατος, ὡς πᾶσαν καθηρπάσθαι καὶ τὸν κόσμον ἀκρωτηριασθέντα μεγάλῳ τμήματι τὸν παντελῆ καὶ ὁλόκληρον, ὃ μήτε εἰπεῖν

---

[a] LXX Gen. vii. 11 "the fountains of the abyss were broken up." By the Hebrew word translated in the LXX by ἄβυσσος is understood the "ocean which both encircled the world, and occupied the vast hollows beneath the earth" (Driver). Philo seems to represent the first part of this conception by

who had been judged worthy of kinship with Him because he shared the gift of reason, had, instead of practising virtue as he should, shewn zeal for vice and for every particular form of it. Accordingly He appointed the penalty which fitted their wickedness. He determined to destroy all those who were then alive by a deluge, not only those who dwelt in the plains and lower lands, but also the inhabitants of the highest mountains. For the great deep[a] rose on 42
high as it had never risen before, and gathering its force rushed through its outlets into the seas of our parts, and the rising tides of these flooded the islands and continents, while in quick succession the streams from the perennial fountains and from the rivers spring-fed or winter-torrents pressed on to join each other and mounted upwards to a vast height. Nor 43
was the air still, for a deep unbroken cloud covered the heaven, and there were monstrous blasts of wind and crashings of thunder and flashings of lightning and downfall of thunderbolts, while the rainstorms dashed down ceaselessly, so that one might think that the different parts of the universe were hurrying to be resolved into the single element of water, until, as in one form it rushed down from above and in another rose up from below, the streams were lifted on high, and thus not only the plains and lowlands were submerged and lost to sight, but even the peaks of the highest mountains. For all parts of the 44
earth sank below the water, so that it was entirely carried away as though by violence, and the world seemed mutilated by the loss of a great section, its completeness and perfection destroyed and defaced,

[a] "the great sea or deep," and the second by the "perennial fountains."

μήτε νοῆσαι θέμις, λελωβῆσθαι δοκεῖν. ἀλλὰ γὰρ καὶ ὁ ἀήρ, ἔξω μέρους βραχέος τοῦ κατὰ σελήνην, ἅπας ἀνήλωτο νικηθεὶς ὑπὸ τῆς τοῦ ὕδατος φορᾶς καὶ βίας, ὅπερ ἀνὰ κράτος τὴν ἐκείνου χώραν
45 ἐπέσχε. τότε δὴ τότε εὐθὺς ἐφθείρετο ὅσα σπαρτὰ καὶ δένδρα—φθείρει γὰρ ὡς ἔνδεια καὶ πλῆθος ἄμετρον,—ἔθνησκον δ' αἱ μυρίαι τῶν ζῴων ἀγέλαι ἡμέρων ὁμοῦ καὶ ἀγρίων· ἦν γὰρ εἰκός, τοῦ κρατίστου γένους ἀνθρώπων ἀφανιζομένου, μηδὲν ὑπολειφθῆναι τῶν χειρόνων, ἐπεὶ καὶ πρὸς τὰς ἐκείνου χρείας ἐγένετο δοῦλα τρόπον τινὰ δεσποτικαῖς
46 προστάξεσιν ὑπηρετήσοντα. τοσούτων |
[8] δὴ καὶ τηλικούτων ἐπιρραξάντων κακῶν, ἅπερ ἐκεῖνος ὁ καιρὸς ὤμβρησε—πάντα γὰρ τὰ τοῦ κόσμου μέρη, δίχα τῶν κατὰ τὸν οὐρανόν, ἐκινήθη παρὰ φύσιν, ὡς ἂν βαρεῖαν καὶ θανατώδη νόσον νοσήσαντα,—μόνος δὲ εἷς οἶκος ὁ τοῦ λεχθέντος ἀνδρὸς δικαίου καὶ θεοφιλοῦς διασῴζεται δύο λαβόντος τὰς ἀνωτάτω δωρεάς, μίαν μέν, ἣν εἶπον, τὸ μὴ πᾶσι τούτοις συναπολέσθαι, ἑτέραν δὲ τὸ πάλιν ἀρχηγέτην αὐτὸν ὑπάρξαι νέας ἀνθρώπων σπορᾶς· ἠξίωσε γὰρ αὐτὸν ὁ θεὸς καὶ τέλος τοῦ γένους ἡμῶν καὶ ἀρχὴν γενέσθαι, τέλος μὲν τῶν πρὸ τοῦ κατακλυσμοῦ, τῶν δὲ μετὰ τὸν κατακλυσμὸν ἀρχήν.

47 IX. Τοιοῦτος μὲν ὁ τῶν καθ' αὑτὸν ἄριστος, τοιαῦτα δὲ καὶ τὰ τεθειμένα ἆθλα αὐτῷ, ὁποῖα δεδήλωκεν ὁ ἱερὸς λόγος. τῶν δ' εἰρημένων τριῶν εἴτε ἀνδρῶν εἴτε ψυχῆς τρόπων ἐναρμόνιος ἡ τάξις· ὁ μὲν γὰρ τέλειος ὁλόκληρος ἐξ ἀρχῆς, ὁ δὲ μετατεθειμένος ἡμίεργος, τοῦ βίου τὸν μὲν πρότερον χρόνον ἀναθεὶς κακίᾳ, τὸν δ' ὕστερον ἀρετῇ, πρὸς

a thing too terrible for words or even for thoughts. Indeed even the air, except a small portion belonging to the moon, had been completely made away with, vanquished by the rush and violence of the water which perforce occupied its place. Then 45
indeed at once all crops and trees perished, for excessive quantity of water is as destructive as the lack of it, and the numberless herds of animals died, tame and wild alike ; for it was to be expected that if the highest kind, the human, was annihilated none of the inferior kinds would be left, since they were made for man's needs, as slaves in a sense meant to obey their masters' orders. When all these 46
evils, so many and so vast, had burst upon the world in the downpour which that occasion brought, and the unnatural convulsion had shaken all its parts save the heavenly as with a grievous and deadly plague, one house alone, that of the man called just and dear to God, was preserved. Thus he received two gifts of the highest kind—one that, as I have said, he did not perish with the rest, the other that he should be in his turn the founder of a new race of men. For God deemed him worthy to be both the last and the first of our kind—last of those who lived before the flood and first of those who lived after it.

IX. Such was he who was best of his contem- 47
poraries, and such were the prizes awarded to him, the nature of which is made clear in holy writ. Now the three mentioned above, whether we think of them as men or types of soul, form a series of regular gradation : the perfect man is complete from the first; the transferred stands half-way, since he devoted the earlier part of his life to vice but the latter to

ἣν μετανέστη καὶ μετῳκίσατο, ὁ δὲ ἐλπίζων, ὡς αὐτὸ δηλοῖ τοὔνομα, ἐλλιπής, ἐφιέμενος μὲν ἀεὶ τοῦ καλοῦ, μήπω δ' ἐφικέσθαι τούτου δεδυνημένος, ἀλλ' ἐοικὼς τοῖς πλέουσιν, οἳ σπεύδοντες εἰς λιμένας καταίρειν θαλαττεύουσιν ἐνορμίσασθαι μὴ δυνάμενοι.

48 X. Ἡ μὲν οὖν προτέρα τριὰς τῶν ἀρετὴν ἐπιποθησάντων δεδήλωται. μείζων δέ ἐστιν ἡ ἑτέρα, περὶ ἧς νυνὶ λεκτέον. ἐκείνη μὲν γὰρ τοῖς ἐν ἡλικίᾳ παιδικῇ μαθήμασιν ἔοικεν, αὕτη δὲ τοῖς ἀνδρῶν ἀθλητικῶν γυμνάσμασιν ἐπὶ τοὺς ἱεροὺς ὄντως ἀλειφομένων ἀγῶνας, οἳ σωμασκίας καταφρονοῦντες τὴν ἐν τῇ ψυχῇ κατασκευάζουσιν εὐεξίαν ἐφιέμενοι τῆς κατὰ τῶν ἀντιπάλων παθῶν
49 νίκης. οἷς μὲν οὖν διενήνοχεν ἕκαστος ἐφ' ἓν καὶ τὸ αὐτὸ τέλος ἐπειγόμενος, αὖθις ἀκριβέστερον ἐροῦμεν· ἃ δὲ χρὴ περὶ τῶν τριῶν συλλήβδην
50 προειπεῖν, ἀναγκαῖον μὴ παρασιωπῆσαι. τούτους τοίνυν συμβέβηκε μιᾶς οἰκίας καὶ ἑνὸς γένους εἶναι —ὁ γὰρ τελευταῖος υἱὸς μέν ἐστι τοῦ μέσου, υἱωνὸς δὲ τοῦ πρώτου—καὶ πάντας φιλοθέους ὁμοῦ καὶ θεοφιλεῖς, ἀγαπήσαντας τὸν ἀληθῆ θεὸν καὶ ἀνταγαπηθέντας πρὸς αὐτοῦ, ὃς ἠξίωσε, καθάπερ δηλοῦσιν οἱ χρησμοί, διὰ τὰς ὑπερβολὰς τῶν ἀρετῶν αἷς συνεβίουν κοινωνῆσαι τῆς προσρήσεως
51 αὐτοῖς.[1] τὸ γὰρ ἴδιον ὄνομα τοῖς ἐκείνων ἐναρμοσάμενος ἥνωσε, τὴν ἐκ τῶν τριῶν σύνθετον κλῆσιν ἐπιφημίσας ἑαυτῷ· "τοῦτο γάρ μου" φησίν "ὄνομά ἐστιν αἰώνιον, θεὸς Ἀβραὰμ καὶ θεὸς
[9] Ἰσαὰκ καὶ θεὸς Ἰακώβ"—ἀντὶ τοῦ | καθάπαξ τὸ

[1] So most mss.: Cohn prints αὐτοῦ, but suggests the insertion of αὐτούς.

virtue to which he passed over and migrated; the hoper, as his very name shews, is defective inasmuch as though he always desired the excellent he has not yet been able to attain to it, but resembles sailors eager to put into port, who yet remain at sea unable to reach their haven.

X. So now we have explained the first trinity of 48
those who yearn for virtue; but greater is the second trinity of which we have now to speak. The first we may compare to the studies of children, but the latter to the exercises of athletes who are preparing for games which are really sacred,[a] men who despise bodily training but foster robustness of soul in their desire for victory over their antagonists, the passions. How each of these differed from the others while 49
pressing on to one and the same goal will be described in detail later; but there is something to be said about them taken as a whole which must not be omitted. We find that these three are all of one 50
house and one family. The last is the son of the second and grandson to the first. All alike are God-lovers and God-beloved, and their affection for the true God was returned by Him, Who deigned, as His utterances shew, in recognition of their high and life-long virtues to make them partners in the title which He took, for He united them by joining His special name 51
to theirs and calling Himself by one combined of the three. "For this," He said, "is my eternal name[b]—the God of Abraham, the God of Isaac and the God of Jacob," relative instead of absolute,[c] and surely that

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

[b] Ex iii. 15, *cf. De Mut.* 12 f.

[c] See App. p. 597.

πρός τι· καὶ μήποτ' εἰκότως· ὀνόματος γὰρ ὁ θεὸς οὐ δεῖται, μὴ δεόμενος δ' ὅμως ἐχαρίζετο τῷ γένει τῶν ἀνθρώπων κλῆσιν οἰκείαν, ἵν' ἔχοντες καταφυγὴν πρὸς ἱκεσίας καὶ λιτὰς μὴ ἀμοιρῶσιν
52 ἐλπίδος χρηστῆς. XI. ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ἐπ' ἀνδρῶν ὁσίων εἰρῆσθαι δοκεῖ, μηνύματα δ' ἐστὶ φύσεως ἀδηλοτέρας καὶ πολὺ βελτίονος τῆς ἐν αἰσθητοῖς. τρόπους γὰρ ψυχῆς ἔοικεν ὁ ἱερὸς διερευνᾶσθαι λόγος, ἀστείους ἅπαντας, τὸν μὲν ἐκ διδασκαλίας, τὸν δ' ἐκ φύσεως, τὸν δ' ἐξ ἀσκήσεως ἐφιέμενον τοῦ καλοῦ. ὁ μὲν γὰρ πρῶτος, ἐπίκλησιν Ἀβραάμ, σύμβολον διδασκαλικῆς ἀρετῆς ἐστιν, ὁ δὲ μέσος, Ἰσαάκ, φυσικῆς, ὁ δὲ τρίτος, Ἰακώβ,
53 ἀσκητικῆς. ἀλλὰ γὰρ οὐκ ἀγνοητέον, ὅτι μετεποιεῖτο τῶν τριῶν ἕκαστος δυνάμεων, ὠνομάσθη δὲ ἀπὸ τῆς πλεοναζούσης κατ' ἐπικράτειαν· οὔτε γὰρ διδασκαλίαν ἄνευ φύσεως ἢ ἀσκήσεως τελειωθῆναι δυνατὸν οὔτε φύσις ἐπὶ πέρας ἐστὶν ἐλθεῖν ἱκανὴ δίχα τοῦ μαθεῖν καὶ ἀσκῆσαι οὔτε ἄσκησις, εἰ μὴ προθεμελιωθείη φύσει τε καὶ διδασκαλίᾳ.
54 προσηκόντως οὖν καὶ τὴν τῶν τριῶν λόγῳ μὲν ἀνδρῶν ἔργῳ δ' ὡς εἶπον ἀρετῶν οἰκειότητα συνῆψε, φύσεως, μαθήσεως, ἀσκήσεως,[1] ἃς ἑτέρῳ ὀνόματι Χάριτας ἰσαρίθμους ἄνθρωποι καλοῦσιν, ἢ τῷ κεχαρίσθαι τὸν θεὸν τῷ ἡμετέρῳ γένει τὰς τρεῖς δυνάμεις πρὸς τελειότητα τοῦ βίου ἢ παρόσον αὗται δεδώρηνται ψυχῇ λογικῇ ἑαυτάς, δώρημα τέλειον καὶ κάλλιστον, ἵνα καὶ τὸ αἰώνιον ὄνομα τὸ δηλούμενον ἐν τοῖς χρησμοῖς ἐπὶ τριῶν μὴ ἐπ' ἀνθρώπων
55 μᾶλλον ἢ τῶν εἰρημένων δυνάμεων λέγηται. ἀνθρώπων μὲν γὰρ φθαρτὴ φύσις, ἄφθαρτος δ' ἡ τῶν

[1] MSS. *φύσις μάθησις ἄσκησις.*

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

XI. These words do indeed appear to 52
apply to men of holy life, but they are also statements about an order of things which is not so apparent but is far superior to the order which is perceived by the senses. For the holy word seems to be searching into types of soul, all of them of high worth, one which pursues the good through teaching, one through nature and one through practice. The first called Abraham, the second Isaac and the third Jacob, are symbols of virtue acquired respectively by teaching, nature and practice. But indeed we must not fail 53
to note that each possesses the three qualities, but gets his name from that which chiefly predominates in him; for teaching cannot be consummated without nature or practice, nor is nature capable of reaching its zenith without learning and practising, nor practice either unless the foundation of nature and teaching has first been laid. Very properly, then, 54
Moses thus associated these three together, nominally men, but really, as I have said, virtues—teaching, nature, practice. Another name is given to them by men, who call them the Graces, also three in number; either because these values are a gift of God's grace to our kind for perfecting its life, or because they have given themselves to the reasonable soul as a perfect and most excellent gift. Thus the eternal name revealed in his words is meant to indicate the three said values rather than actual men. For the nature of man is perishable, but that of 55

ἀρετῶν· εὐλογώτερον δὲ ἐπιφημίζεσθαι τὸ[1] ἀίδιον ἀφθάρτοις πρὸ θνητῶν, ἐπεὶ συγγενὲς μὲν ἀιδιότητος ἀφθαρσία, ἐχθρὸν δὲ θάνατος.

56 XII. Χρὴ μέντοι μηδ' ἐκεῖνο ἀγνοεῖν, ὅτι τὸν μὲν πρῶτον ἄνθρωπον τὸν γηγενῆ πατέρα τῶν ἄχρι τοῦ κατακλυσμοῦ φύντων εἰσήγαγε, τὸν δὲ μόνον ἐκ τῆς τοσαύτης φθορᾶς ὑπολειφθέντα πανοίκιον ἕνεκα δικαιοσύνης καὶ τῆς ἄλλης καλοκἀγαθίας τοῦ νεάσοντος αὖθις καινοῦ γένους ἀνθρώπων, τὴν δὲ περίσεμνον τριάδα καὶ περιμάχητον ἑνὸς εἴδους ἐπιλεγομένου "βασίλειον καὶ ἱεράτευμα καὶ ἔθνος
57 ἅγιον"[a] οἱ χρησμοὶ καλοῦσι. μηνύει δὲ τοὔνομα τὴν δύναμιν αὐτοῦ· προσονομάζεται γὰρ Ἑβραίων γλώττῃ τὸ ἔθνος Ἰσραήλ, ὅπερ ἑρμηνευθέν ἐστιν "ὁρῶν θεόν." ὅρασις δ' ἡ μὲν δι' ὀφθαλμῶν ἐν ἁπάσαις καλλιστεύει ταῖς αἰσθήσεσιν, ἐπεὶ καὶ διὰ μόνης καταλαμβάνεται τὰ κάλλιστα τῶν ὄντων, ἥλιος καὶ σελήνη καὶ ὁ σύμπας οὐρανός τε καὶ κόσμος, ἡ δὲ διὰ τοῦ τῆς ψυχῆς ἡγεμονικοῦ προ-
[10] φέρει τὰς ἄλλας ὅσαι περὶ αὐτὸ δυνάμεις· αὕτη | δέ
58 ἐστι φρόνησις ὄψις οὖσα διανοίας. ὅτῳ δὲ μὴ μόνον ἐξεγένετο τἆλλα ὅσα ἐν τῇ φύσει δι' ἐπιστήμης καταλαμβάνειν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸν πατέρα καὶ ποιητὴν τῶν συμπάντων ὁρᾶν, ἐπ' ἄκρον εὐδαιμονίας ἵστω προεληλυθώς· οὐδὲν γὰρ ἀνωτέρω θεοῦ, πρὸς ὃν εἴ τις τὸ τῆς ψυχῆς ὄμμα τείνας
59 ἔφθακε, μονὴν εὐχέσθω καὶ στάσιν. αἱ μὲν γὰρ ἀνάντεις ὁδοὶ καματηραὶ καὶ βραδεῖαι, ἡ δὲ κατὰ πρανοῦς φορά, συρμὸν ἔχουσα τὸ πλέον ἢ κάθοδον,

[1] MSS. *τὸν ἀίδιον.*

[a] Ex. xix. 6.

[b] *Cf.* note on *Quod Deus* 46.

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

XII. There is another thing which we must not fail 56
to know: while Moses represented the first man, the earth-born, as father of all that were born up to the deluge, and Noah who with all his house alone survived that great destruction because of his justice and excellent character in other ways as the father of the new race which would spring up afresh, the oracles speak of this august and precious trinity as parent of one species of that race, which species is called "royal" and "priesthood" and "holy nation."[a] Its high position is shewn by the name; 57
for the nation is called in the Hebrew tongue Israel, which, being interpreted, is "He who sees God." Now the sight of the eyes is the most excellent of all the senses, since by it alone we apprehend the most excellent of existing things, the sun and the moon and the whole heaven and world; but the sight of the mind, the dominant element in the soul, surpasses all the other faculties of the mind, and this is wisdom which is the sight of the understanding.[b] But he to 58
whom it is given not only to apprehend by means of knowledge all else that nature has to shew, but also to see the Father and Maker of all, may rest assured that he is advanced to the crowning point of happiness; for nothing is higher than God, and whoso has stretched the eyesight of the soul to reach Him should pray that he may there abide and stand firm; for 59
journeys uphill are toilsome and slow, but the downhill course where one is swept along rather than

ταχεῖα καὶ ῥᾴστη. πολλὰ δὲ τὰ κάτω βιαζόμενα, ὧν οὐδὲν ὄφελος, ὅταν ἐκ τῶν αὑτοῦ δυνάμεων ἀνακρεμάσας τὴν ψυχὴν ὁ θεὸς ὁλκῇ δυνατωτέρᾳ πρὸς ἑαυτὸν ἐπισπάσηται.

60 XIII. Ταῦτα μὲν οὖν κοινῇ περὶ τῶν τριῶν ἀναγκαίως προειρήσθω. λεκτέον δ' ἑξῆς, ἐν οἷς ἕκαστος ἰδίᾳ προήνεγκεν, ἀπὸ τοῦ πρώτου τὴν ἀρχὴν λαβόντας. ἐκεῖνος τοίνυν εὐσεβείας, ἀρετῆς τῆς ἀνωτάτω καὶ μεγίστης, ζηλωτὴς γενόμενος ἐσπούδασεν ἕπεσθαι θεῷ καὶ καταπειθὴς εἶναι τοῖς προσταττομένοις ὑπ' αὐτοῦ, προστάξεις ὑπολαμβάνων οὐ τὰς διὰ φωνῆς καὶ γραμμάτων μηνυομένας αὐτὸ μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰς διὰ τῆς φύσεως τρανοτέροις σημείοις δηλουμένας, ἃς ἡ ἀληθεστάτη τῶν αἰσθήσεων πρὸ ἀκοῆς τῆς ἀπίστου καὶ ἀβεβαίου

61 καταλαμβάνει. θεώμενος γάρ τις τὴν ἐν τῇ φύσει τάξιν καὶ τὴν παντὸς λόγου κρείττονα πολιτείαν, ᾗ χρῆται ὁ κόσμος, ἀναδιδάσκεται, φθεγγομένου μηδενός, εὔνομον καὶ εἰρηνικὸν βίον ἐπιτηδεύειν εἰς τὴν τῶν καλῶν ἐξομοίωσιν ἀποβλέποντα. ἐναργέσταται δὲ τῆς εὐσεβείας ἀποδείξεις εἰσίν, ἃς περιέχουσιν αἱ ἱεραὶ γραφαί· πρώτην δὲ λεκτέον, ἣ

62 καὶ πρώτη τέτακται. XIV. λογίῳ πληχθεὶς περὶ τοῦ πατρίδα καὶ συγγένειαν καὶ πατρῷον οἶκον καταλιπεῖν καὶ μεταναστῆναι, καθάπερ ἀπὸ τῆς ξένης εἰς τὴν οἰκείαν ἐπανιὼν ἀλλ' οὐκ ἀπὸ τῆς οἰκείας εἰς τὴν ξένην μέλλων ἀπαίρειν, ἐπέσπευδε συντείνων, νομίζων ἰσότιμον εἶναι τῷ τελειῶσαι τὸ

63 ταχέως τὸ προσταχθὲν ἀνύσαι. καίτοι τίνα ἕτερον

[a] Philo seems to assume that the command to leave country and kindred, *cf.* Gen. xii. 1, was given to Abraham in Chaldaea and not in Haran. So perhaps the A.V. "the

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

XIII. So much for what was needed by way of 60
preliminary discussion on the three in common. We must now speak of the superior merits shewn by each separately, beginning with the first. Abraham, then, filled with zeal for piety, the highest and greatest of virtues, was eager to follow God and to be obedient to His commands ; understanding by commands not only those conveyed in speech and writing but also those made manifest by nature with clearer signs, and apprehended by the sense which is the most truthful of all and superior to hearing, on which no certain reliance can be placed. For anyone who 61
contemplates the order in nature and the constitution enjoyed by the world-city whose excellence no words can describe, needs no speaker to teach him to practise a law-abiding and peaceful life and to aim at assimilating himself to its beauties. But the clearest proofs of his piety are those which the holy scriptures contain, and the first which should be mentioned is that which comes first in order. XIV. Under the force of an oracle [a] which bade him leave 62
his country and kinsfolk and seek a new home, thinking that quickness in executing the command was as good as full accomplishment, he hastened eagerly to obey, not as though he were leaving home for a strange land but rather as returning from amid strangers to his home. Yet who else would be likely 63

Lord had said," as against the R.V. "the Lord said." Philo may have implied the same from Gen. xv. 7. *Cf.* Acts vii. 2.

εἰκὸς οὕτως ἀκλινῆ καὶ ἄτρεπτον γενέσθαι, ὡς μὴ φίλτροις ὑπαχθῆναι καὶ ὑπενδοῦναι συγγενῶν καὶ πατρίδος, ὧν ὁ πόθος ἑκάστῳ τρόπον τινὰ συγγεγένηται καὶ συνηύξηται καὶ μᾶλλον ἢ οὐχ ἧττον
64 τῶν ἡνωμένων μερῶν συμπέφυκε; μάρτυρες δὲ οἱ νομοθέται τὴν δευτερεύουσαν θανάτου τιμωρίαν κατὰ τῶν ἐπὶ τοῖς μεγίστοις ἑαλωκότων ὁρίσαντες φυγήν, οὐ δευτερεύουσαν, ὥς γ' ἐμοὶ δοκεῖ, παρ' ἀληθείᾳ δικαζούσῃ, πολὺ δὲ ἀργαλεωτέραν, εἴ γε πέρας μὲν κακοπραγιῶν ὁ θάνατος, ἀρχὴ δ', οὐ πέρας, ἡ φυγὴ καινοτέρων συμφορῶν, ἀνθ' ἑνὸς τοῦ χωρὶς ἀλγηδόνων μυρίους ἐπάγουσα θανάτους τοὺς
[11] σὺν αἰσθήσει. | κατ' ἐμπορίαν ἔνιοι πόθῳ χρηματι-
65 σμοῦ πλέοντες ἢ κατὰ πρεσβείαν ἢ κατὰ θέαν τῶν ἐπὶ τῆς ἀλλοδαπῆς δι' ἔρωτα παιδείας, ὁλκοὺς ἔχοντες δυνάμεις τῆς ἔξω μονῆς οἱ μὲν τὰς ἐπικερδείας, οἱ δὲ τὸ τὴν πόλιν ἐπὶ καιρῶν ἐν τοῖς ἀναγκαιοτάτοις καὶ μεγίστοις ὀνῆσαι, οἱ δὲ ἱστορίαν ὧν πρότερον ἠγνόουν τέρψιν ἅμα καὶ ὠφέλειαν τῇ ψυχῇ παρασκευάζουσαν—τυφλοὶ γὰρ παρ' ὀξὺ βλέποντας ἀναποδήμητοι παρ' ἐκδεδημηκότας—, ὅμως ἐπείγονται τὸ πατρῷον ἔδαφος ἰδεῖν καὶ προσκυνῆσαι καὶ συνήθεις ἀσπάσασθαι συγγενῶν τε καὶ φίλων ἡδίστης καὶ ποθεινοτάτης ὄψεως ἀπολαῦσαι καὶ πολλάκις τὰς πράξεις, ὧν ἕνεκα ἐξεδήμησαν, μηκυνομένας ὁρῶντες κατέλιπον ἱμέρῳ τῶν
66 προσηκόντων ἑλχθέντες βιαιοτάτῳ. μετ'

to be so firm and unmoved of purpose as not to yield and succumb to the charms of kinsfolk and country? The desire of these may be said to be born and grow with each of us and is a part of our nature as much as or even more than the parts which unite to make the whole. And this is attested by the 64
legislators who have appointed banishment as the penalty second only to death for those who have been convicted of the greatest crimes, though indeed, in my opinion, it is not second to death, if truth gives its verdict, but rather a far heavier punishment, since death ends our troubles but banishment is not the end but the beginning of other new misfortunes and entails in place of the one death which puts an end to pains a thousand deaths in which we do not lose sensation. Some men go on voyages for trading 65
purposes in their desire for making money or on embassies or in their love of culture to see the sights of a foreign land. These are subject to influences driving them to stay abroad, in some cases financial gains, in others the chance of benefiting their country, when occasion offers, in its most vital and important interests, in others acquiring knowledge of things which they did not know before and thus providing at once pleasure and profit to the soul, for the stay-at-home is to the travelled as the blind are to the keen-sighted. Yet all these are eager to see and salute their native soil, and to greet their familiars and to have the sweet and most desired enjoyment of beholding their kinsfolk and friends. And often when they find the business for which they left home protracting itself they abandon it, drawn by the constraining desire for their own belongings.

But Abraham, the moment he was 66

ὀλίγων δὲ οὗτος ἢ καὶ μόνος ἅμα τῷ κελευσθῆναι μετανίστατο καὶ τῇ ψυχῇ πρὸ τοῦ σώματος τὴν ἀποικίαν ἐστέλλετο, τὸν ἐπὶ τοῖς θνητοῖς ἵμερον
67 παρευημεροῦντος ἔρωτος οὐρανίου. οὐδενὸς οὖν φροντίσας, οὐ φυλετῶν, οὐ δημοτῶν, οὐ συμφοιτητῶν, οὐχ ἑταίρων, οὐ τῶν ἀφ' αἵματος ὅσοι πρὸς πατρὸς ἢ μητρὸς ἦσαν, οὐ πατρίδος, οὐκ ἀρχαίων ἐθῶν, οὐ συντροφίας, οὐ συνδιαιτήσεως, ὧν ἕκαστον ἀγωγόν τε καὶ δυσαπόσπαστον ὁλκὸν ἔχον δύναμιν, ἐλευθέραις καὶ ἀφέτοις ὁρμαῖς ᾗ τάχιστα μετανίσταται, τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἀπὸ τῆς Χαλδαίων γῆς, εὐδαίμονος χώρας καὶ κατ' ἐκεῖνον ἀκμαζούσης τὸν χρόνον, εἰς τὴν Χαρραίων γῆν, ἔπειτα οὐ μακρὰν ὕστερον καὶ ἀπὸ ταύτης εἰς ἕτερον τόπον, περὶ οὗ λέξομεν ἐκεῖνο πρότερον εἰπόντες.

68 XV. Αἱ δηλωθεῖσαι ἀποικίαι τῷ μὲν ῥητῷ τῆς γραφῆς ὑπ' ἀνδρὸς σοφοῦ γεγόνασι, κατὰ δὲ τοὺς ἐν ἀλληγορίᾳ νόμους ὑπὸ φιλαρέτου ψυχῆς τὸν
69 ἀληθῆ ζητούσης θεόν. Χαλδαῖοι γὰρ ἐν τοῖς μάλιστα διαπονήσαντες ἀστρονομίαν καὶ πάντα ταῖς κινήσεσι τῶν ἀστέρων ἀναθέντες ὑπέλαβον οἰκονομεῖσθαι τὰ ἐν κόσμῳ δυνάμεσιν, ἃς περιέχουσιν ἀριθμοὶ καὶ ἀριθμῶν ἀναλογίαι, ⟨καὶ⟩ τὴν ὁρατὴν οὐσίαν ἐσέμνυνον τῆς ἀοράτου καὶ νοητῆς οὐ λαβόντες ἔννοιαν, ἀλλὰ τὴν ἐν ἐκείνοις τάξιν διερευνώμενοι κατά τε τὰς ἡλίου καὶ σελήνης καὶ τῶν ἄλλων πλανήτων καὶ ἀπλανῶν περιόδους καὶ κατὰ τὰς τῶν ἐτησίων ὡρῶν μεταβολὰς καὶ κατὰ τὴν τῶν οὐρανίων πρὸς τὰ ἐπίγεια συμπάθειαν τὸν κόσμον αὐτὸν ὑπέλαβον εἶναι θεόν, οὐκ εὐαγῶς τὸ

bidden, departed with a few or even alone, and his emigration was one of soul rather than body, for the heavenly love overpowered his desire for mortal things. And so taking no thought for anything, 67
either for his fellow-clansmen, or wardsmen, or schoolmates, or comrades, or blood relations on father's or mother's side, or country, or ancestral customs, or community of nurture or home life, all of them ties possessing a power to allure and attract which it is hard to throw off, he followed a free and unfettered impulse and departed with all speed first from Chaldea, a land at that time blessed by fortune and at the height of its prosperity, and migrated to Haran; then not long afterwards he left this too for another place, about which we shall speak after dealing with something else to which I now proceed.[a]

XV. The migrations as set forth by the literal text 68
of the scriptures are made by a man of wisdom, but according to the laws of allegory by a virtue-loving soul in its search for the true God. For the 69
Chaldeans were especially active in the elaboration of astrology and ascribed everything to the movements of the stars. They supposed that the course of the phenomena of the world is guided by influences contained in numbers and numerical proportions. Thus they glorified visible existence, leaving out of consideration the intelligible and invisible. But while exploring numerical order as applied to the revolution of the sun, moon and other planets and fixed stars, and the changes of the yearly seasons and the interdependence of phenomena in heaven and on earth, they concluded that the world itself

[a] Gen. xi. 31 and xii. 5. For the meaning of "another place" see on § 85.

70 γενόμενον ἐξομοιώσαντες τῷ πεποιηκότι. ταύτῃ
τοι τῇ δόξῃ συντραφεὶς καὶ χαλδαΐσας μακρόν τινα
[12] χρόνον, ὥσπερ ἐκ βαθέος ὕπνου | διοίξας τὸ τῆς
ψυχῆς ὄμμα καὶ καθαρὰν αὐγὴν ἀντὶ σκότους
βαθέος βλέπειν ἀρξάμενος ἠκολούθησε τῷ φέγγει
καὶ κατεῖδεν, ὃ μὴ πρότερον ἐθεάσατο, τοῦ κόσμου
τινὰ ἡνίοχον καὶ κυβερνήτην ἐφεστῶτα καὶ σωτη-
ρίως εὐθύνοντα τὸ οἰκεῖον ἔργον, ἐπιμέλειάν τε καὶ
προστασίαν καὶ τῶν ἐν αὐτῷ μερῶν ὅσα θείας
71 ἐπάξια φροντίδος ποιούμενον. ὅπως οὖν βεβαιώ-
σηται τὴν φανεῖσαν ὄψιν ἐν τῇ διανοίᾳ παγιώτερον,
αὖθίς φησιν ὁ ἱερὸς λόγος αὐτῷ· "τὰ μεγάλα, ὦ
οὗτος, ὑποτυπώσει βραχυτέρων πολλάκις γνωρί-
ζηται, πρὸς ἃ τις ἀπιδὼν ηὔξησε τὴν φαντασίαν
ἀπεριγράφοις μεγέθεσι. παραπεμψάμενος οὖν τούς
τε κατ' οὐρανὸν περιπολοῦντας καὶ τὴν Χαλδαϊκὴν
ἐπιστήμην μετανάστηθι πρὸς ὀλίγον χρόνον ἀπὸ
τῆς μεγίστης πόλεως, τοῦδε τοῦ κόσμου, πρὸς
βραχυτέραν, δι' ἧς δυνήσῃ μᾶλλον καταλαβεῖν τὸν
72 ἔφορον τοῦ παντός." διὰ τοῦτο τὴν
πρώτην ἀποικίαν ἀπὸ τῆς Χαλδαίων γῆς εἰς τὴν
Χαρραίων λέγεται ποιήσασθαι. XVI. Χαρρὰν δὲ
Ἑλληνιστὶ "τρῶγλαι" λέγονται, κατὰ σύμβολον
αἱ τῶν ἡμετέρων αἰσθήσεων χῶραι, δι' ὧν ὥσπερ
ὀπῶν ἑκάστη διακύπτειν πέφυκε πρὸς τὴν τῶν
73 οἰκείων ἀντίληψιν. ἀλλὰ τί τούτων, εἴποι τις ἄν,
ὄφελος ἦν, εἰ μὴ νοῦς ἀόρατος καθάπερ θαυματο-
ποιὸς ἔνδοθεν ὑπήχει ταῖς ἑαυτοῦ δυνάμεσιν, ἃς

---

[a] The allegorical meaning of Haran is given more fully and clearly in *De Mig.* 176 ff. and *De Som.* i. 41 ff. Haran

was God, thus profanely likening the created to the Creator. In this creed Abraham had been reared, 70 and for a long time remained a Chaldean. Then opening the soul's eye as though after profound sleep, and beginning to see the pure beam instead of the deep darkness, he followed the ray and discerned what he had not beheld before, a charioteer and pilot presiding over the world and directing in safety his own work, assuming the charge and superintendence of that work and of all such parts of it as are worthy of the divine care. And so to establish more firmly 71 in his understanding the sight which had been revealed to him the Holy Word follows it up by saying to him, "Friend, the great is often known by its outlines as shown in the smaller, and by looking at them the observer finds the scope of his vision infinitely enlarged. Dismiss, then, the rangers of the heavens and the science of Chaldea, and depart for a short time from the greatest of cities, this world, to the lesser, and thus you will be better able to apprehend the overseer of the All."

This is why he is said to emigrate first from the land of 72 Chaldea to that of Haran.[a] XVI. Now Haran in our language means "holes," a symbol for the seats of our senses through which each of them naturally peers as through orifices to apprehend what belongs to it. Yet what use, we might ask, would they be if 73 the invisible mind were not there like a juggler to prompt its faculties, sometimes relaxing and giving

being the place of sense-perception is the bodily tenement of the mind (*De Mig.* 187), and therefore stands for Socratic self-knowledge as a whole in contrast to astrological speculation. It thus gives the conviction that there is a higher power than mind and thus leads to the second migration from self-knowledge to knowledge of God.

τοτὲ μὲν ἀνιεὶς καὶ ἐπιχαλῶν τοτὲ δὲ ἀντισπῶν καὶ ἀνθέλκων βίᾳ κίνησιν ἐμμελῆ καὶ πάλιν ἡσυχίαν ἐμπαρεῖχε τοῖς θαυμασίοις; τοῦτο ἔχων παρὰ σεαυτῷ τὸ παράδειγμα ῥᾳδίως οὐ σφόδρα ποθεῖς
74 λαβεῖν τὴν ἐπιστήμην κατανοήσεις. οὐ γὰρ ἐν σοὶ μὲν νοῦς ἐστιν ἡγεμὼν ἐπιτεταγμένος, ᾧ καὶ τοῦ σώματος ἅπασα κοινωνία πειθαρχεῖ καὶ ἑκάστη τῶν αἰσθήσεων ἕπεται, ὁ δὲ κόσμος, τὸ κάλλιστον καὶ μέγιστον καὶ τελεώτατον ἔργον, οὗ πάντα τὰ ἄλλα συμβέβηκεν εἶναι μέρη, βασιλέως ἀμοιρεῖ τοῦ συνέχοντος[1] καὶ ἐνδίκως ἐπιτροπεύοντος. εἰ δ' ἀόρατος ὁ βασιλεύς, μὴ θαυμάσῃς· οὐδὲ γὰρ ὁ ἐν
75 σοὶ νοῦς ὁρατός. ταῦτά τις ἐπιλογιζόμενος καὶ οὐ πόρρωθεν ἀλλ' ἐγγύθεν ἀναδιδασκόμενος ἔκ τε ἑαυτοῦ καὶ τῶν περὶ αὐτὸν εἴσεται σαφῶς, ὅτι ὁ κόσμος οὐκ ἔστιν ὁ πρῶτος θεός, ἀλλ' ἔργον τοῦ πρώτου θεοῦ καὶ τοῦ συμπάντων πατρός, ὃς ἀειδὴς ὢν πάντα φαίνει μικρῶν τε αὖ καὶ μεγάλων δια-
76 δεικνὺς τὰς φύσεις. σώματος γὰρ ὀφθαλμοῖς οὐκ ἠξίωσε καταλαμβάνεσθαι, τάχα μὲν ἐπειδὴ θνητὸν ἀιδίου ψαύειν οὐχ ὅσιον ἦν, τάχα δὲ καὶ δι' ἀσθένειαν τῆς ἡμετέρας ὄψεως· οὐ γὰρ ἂν ἐχώρησε τὰς ἀπὸ τοῦ ὄντος ἐκχεομένας αὐγάς, ὁπότε οὐδὲ
[13] ταῖς ἀφ' ἡλίου προσβλέπειν ἀκτῖσιν οἷά τέ ἐστι.
77 XVII. | τεκμήριον δὲ ἐναργέστατον τῆς ἀποικίας, ἣν ἀπ' ἀστρονομίας καὶ τῆς χαλδαϊζούσης δόξης ἡ διάνοια ἐστείλατο· λέγεται γὰρ εὐθὺς ἅμα τῇ μεταναστάσει τοῦ σοφοῦ· "ὤφθη δὲ ὁ θεὸς τῷ Ἀβραάμ" ᾧ δῆλον ὅτι πρότερον οὐκ ἦν ἐμφανής,

[1] MSS. συνέξοντος.

[a] Gen. xii. 7. But this "appearance" comes when Abraham is in Canaan. If Philo is following Genesis carefully the

them a free rein, sometimes forcibly pulling and jerking them back, and thus causing its puppets at one time to move in harmony, at another to rest? With this example in yourself you will easily apprehend that which you so earnestly desire to know. For it cannot be that while in yourself there is a mind 74
appointed as your ruler which all the community of the body obeys and each of the senses follows, the world, the fairest, and greatest and most perfect work of all, of which everything else is a part, is without a king who holds it together and directs it with justice. That the king is invisible need not cause you to wonder, for neither is the mind in yourself visible. Anyone who reflects on these things and 75
learns from no distant source, but from one near at hand, namely himself and what makes him what he is, will know for certain that the world is not the primal God but a work of the primal God and Father of all Who, though invisible, yet brings all things to light, revealing the natures of great and small. For 76
He did not deem it right to be apprehended by the eyes of the body, perhaps because it was contrary to holiness that the mortal should touch the eternal, perhaps too because of the weakness of our sight. For our sight could not have borne the rays that pour from Him that is, since it is not even able to look upon the beams of the sun. XVII. We have a very 77
clear proof of the mind's migration from astrology and the Chaldean creed in the words which follow at once the story of the departure of the Sage. "God," it says, "was seen by Abraham."[a] This shews that God was not manifested to him before, when in his

[a] μετανάστασις must embrace both migrations. But the sequel suggests that he mistakenly assigns it to the Haran period.

ὅτε χαλδαΐζων τῇ τῶν ἀστέρων χορείᾳ προσεῖχεν ἔξω τοῦ κόσμου καὶ τῆς αἰσθητῆς οὐσίας εὐάρμοστον καὶ νοητὴν φύσιν οὐδεμίαν ἁπλῶς κατα-
78 λαμβάνων. ἐπεὶ δὲ μετεχώρησε καὶ μεθωρμίσατο, κατὰ τἀναγκαῖον ἔγνω τὸν κόσμον ὑπήκοον ἀλλ' οὐκ αὐτοκράτορα, οὐ πρυτανεύοντα ἀλλὰ πρυτανευόμενον ὑπ' αἰτίου τοῦ πεποιηκότος, ὅπερ ἡ
79 διάνοια τότε πρῶτον ἀναβλέψασα εἶδε. πολλὴ γὰρ αὐτῆς πρότερον ἀχλὺς ὑπὸ τῶν αἰσθητῶν κατεκέχυτο, ἣν ἐνθέρμοις καὶ διαπύροις δόγμασιν ἀνασκεδάσασα μόλις ἴσχυσεν ὡς ἐν αἰθρίᾳ καθαρᾷ τοῦ πάλαι κρυπτομένου καὶ ἀειδοῦς φαντασίαν λαβεῖν· ὃς ἕνεκα φιλανθρωπίας ἀφικνουμένην τὴν ψυχὴν ὡς ἑαυτὸν οὐκ ἀπεστράφη, προϋπαντήσας δὲ τὴν ἑαυτοῦ φύσιν ἔδειξε, καθ' ὅσον οἷόν τε ἦν
80 ἰδεῖν τὸν βλέποντα. διὸ λέγεται, οὐχ ὅτι ὁ σοφὸς εἶδε θεόν, ἀλλ' ὅτι "ὁ θεὸς ὤφθη" τῷ σοφῷ· καὶ γὰρ ἦν ἀδύνατον καταλαβεῖν τινα δι' αὐτοῦ τὸ πρὸς ἀλήθειαν ὄν, μὴ παραφήναντος ἐκείνου ἑαυτὸν καὶ ἐπιδείξαντος.

81 XVIII. Μαρτυρεῖ δὲ τοῖς εἰρημένοις καὶ ἡ τοῦ ὀνόματος ὑπαλλαγὴ καὶ μετάθεσις. ἐκαλεῖτο γὰρ Ἄβραμ τὸ ἀρχαῖον ὄνομα, προσερρήθη δ' ὕστερον Ἀβραάμ, φωνῇ μὲν ἑνὸς στοιχείου τοῦ ἄλφα διπλασιασθέντος, δυνάμει δὲ μεγάλου πράγματος
82 καὶ δόγματος ἐνδειξαμένου τὴν μεταβολήν. Ἄβραμ μὲν γὰρ ἑρμηνευθέν ἐστι "πατὴρ μετέωρος," Ἀβραὰμ δὲ "πατὴρ ἐκλεκτὸς ἠχοῦς," τὸ μὲν πρότερον ἐμφαῖνον τὸν ἀστρολογικὸν καὶ μετεωρολογικὸν ἐπικαλούμενον, οὕτως τῶν Χαλδαϊκῶν

Chaldean way he was fixing his thoughts on the choric movement of the stars with no apprehension at all of an harmonious and intelligible order of things outside the world and the sphere of sense. But when he had departed and changed his habita- 78
tion he could not help but know that the world is not sovereign but dependent, not governing but governed by its Maker and First Cause. And this his mind then saw for the first time with its recovered sight. For before a great mist had been 79
shed upon it by the things of sense, and only with difficulty could it dispel this mist under the warmth and fervour of higher verities and so be able as in clear open sky to receive the vision of Him Who so long lay hidden and invisible. He in His love for mankind, when the soul came into His presence, did not turn away His face, but came forward to meet him and revealed His nature, so far as the beholder's power of sight allowed. That is why we are told not 80
that the Sage saw God, but that God was seen by him. For it were impossible that anyone should by himself apprehend the truly Existent, did not He reveal and manifest Himself.

XVIII. What has been said is attested by the altera- 81
tion and change in his name, for his original name was Abram, but afterwards he was addressed as Abraham.[a] To the ear there was but a duplication of one letter, alpha, but in fact and in the truth conveyed this duplication shewed a change of great importance. Abram is by interpretation "uplifted 82
father"; Abraham, "elect father of sound." The former signifies one called astrologer and meteoro-

[a] Gen. xvii. 5. For the interpretation of Abram and Abraham (Greek Abraam) *cf. De Cher.* 4, 7, *De Gig.* 62, 64, *De Mut.* 66.

δογμάτων ἐπιμελούμενον, ὡς ἄν τις πατὴρ ἐγγόνων
83 ἐπιμεληθείη, τὸ δ' ὕστερον τὸν σοφόν. διὰ μὲν γὰρ
τῆς ἠχοῦς τὸν προφορικὸν λόγον αἰνίττεται, διὰ τοῦ
πατρὸς δὲ τὸν ἡγεμόνα νοῦν—πατὴρ γὰρ ὁ ἐνδιά-
θετος φύσει τοῦ γεγωνοῦ πρεσβύτερός γε ὢν καὶ
τὰ λεκτέα ὑποσπείρων—, διὰ δὲ τοῦ ἐπιλέκτου τὸν
ἀστεῖον· εἰκαῖος μὲν γὰρ καὶ πεφυρμένος ὁ φαῦ-
λος τρόπος, ἐκλεκτὸς δὲ ὁ ἀγαθός, ἐπικριθεὶς ἐξ
84 ἁπάντων ἀριστίνδην. τῷ μὲν οὖν μετεωρολογικῷ
μεῖζον οὐδὲν τοῦ κόσμου τὸ παράπαν εἶναι δοκεῖ, ᾧ
καὶ τὰς τῶν γινομένων αἰτίας ἀνατίθησιν· ὁ δὲ
σοφὸς ἀκριβεστέροις ὄμμασιν ἰδών τι τελεώτερον
νοητὸν ἄρχον τε καὶ ἡγεμονεῦον, ὑφ' οὗ τἄλλα |
[14] δεσπόζεται καὶ κυβερνᾶται, πολλὰ κατεμέμψατο
τῆς προτέρας ζωῆς ἑαυτὸν ὡς τυφλὸν βίον δι-
εξεληλυθότα, σκηριπτόμενον ἐπὶ τοῖς αἰσθητοῖς,
ἀβεβαίῳ καὶ ἀνιδρύτῳ φύσει πράγματι.
δευτέραν δ' ἀποικίαν στέλλεται λογίῳ πάλιν πεισ-
85 θεὶς ὁ ἀστεῖος οὐκέτ' ἐκ πόλεως εἰς πόλιν, ἀλλ' εἰς
χώραν ἐρήμην, ἐν ᾗ πλαζόμενος διετέλει μὴ δυσ-
αρεστῶν τῇ πλάνῃ καὶ τῷ δι' αὐτὴν ἀνιδρύτῳ.
86 καίτοι τίς ἕτερος οὐκ ἂν ἠχθέσθη μὴ μόνον τῆς
οἰκείας ἀπανιστάμενος, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐξ ἁπάσης πόλεως
ἐλαυνόμενος εἰς δυσβάτους καὶ δυσπορεύτους ἀνο-
δίας; τίς δ' οὐκ ἂν μετατραπόμενος ἐπαλινδρόμη-
σεν οἴκαδε, βραχέα μὲν φροντίσας τῶν μελλουσῶν
ἐλπίδων, τὴν δὲ παροῦσαν ἀπορίαν σπεύδων ἐκ-
φυγεῖν, εὐήθειαν ὑπολαβὼν ἀδήλων χάριν ἀγαθῶν

---

[a] Gen. xii. 9. LXX "And Abram departed and having journeyed encamped in the wilderness." E.V. "And Abram journeyed going on still towards the south." Philo conveniently ignores the earlier movements of Abraham in

logist, one who takes care of the Chaldean tenets as a father would of his children. The latter signifies 83
the Sage, for he uses "sound" as a figure for spoken thought and "father" for the ruling mind, since the inward thought is by its nature father of the uttered, being senior to it, the secret begetter of what it has to say. "Elect" signifies the man of worth, for the worthless character is random and confused, while the good is elect, chosen out of all for his merits. Now to the meteorologist nothing at all seems 84
greater than the universe, and he credits it with the causation of what comes into being. But the wise man with more discerning eyes sees something more perfect perceived by mind, something which rules and governs, the master and pilot of all else. And therefore he blames himself severely for his former life, feeling that all his years have been passed in blindness with no staff to support him but the world of sense, which is by its nature an insecure and unstable thing. The second migration 85
which the man of worth undertakes, again in obedience to an oracle, is not as before from state to state but into a desert country in which he continued to wander, never complaining of the wandering or the insecurity which it caused.[a] Yet who else would not 86
have felt it a burden not only to be severed from his own country, but also to be driven out of all city life into pathless tracts where the traveller could hardly find a way? Who would not have turned his course and hurried back homeward, paying little regard to future hopes, but eager to escape his present hardships, and thinking it folly to choose admitted evil

[a] Canaan and fastens on the ultimate goal—the wilderness, as a symbol of the solitude of the mystic.

87 ὁμολογούμενα αἱρεῖσθαι κακά; μόνος δ' οὗτοσὶ τοὐναντίον πεπονθέναι φαίνεται, βίον ἥδιστον νομίζων τὸν ἄνευ συνδιαιτήσεως τῆς τῶν πολλῶν. καὶ πέφυκεν οὕτως ἔχειν· οἱ γὰρ ζητοῦντες καὶ ἐπιποθοῦντες θεὸν ἀνευρεῖν τὴν φίλην αὐτῷ μόνωσιν ἀγαπῶσι, κατ' αὐτὸ τοῦτο σπεύδοντες πρῶτον ἐξομοιοῦσθαι τῇ μακαρίᾳ καὶ εὐδαίμονι φύσει.

88 ἑκατέραν οὖν ἀπόδοσιν πεποιημένοι, τήν τε ῥητὴν ὡς ἐπ' ἀνδρὸς καὶ τὴν δι' ὑπονοιῶν ὡς ἐπὶ ψυχῆς, ἀξιέραστον καὶ τὸν ἄνδρα καὶ τὸν νοῦν ἀπεφήναμεν, τὸν μὲν πεισθέντα λογίοις ἐκ δυσαποσπάστων ἀφελκυσθέντα, τὸν δὲ νοῦν, ὅτι οὐ μέχρι παντὸς ἀπατηθεὶς ἐπὶ τῆς αἰσθητῆς οὐσίας ἔστη τὸν ὁρατὸν κόσμον ὑπολαβὼν μέγιστον καὶ πρῶτον εἶναι θεόν, ἀλλὰ ἀναδραμὼν τῷ λογισμῷ φύσιν ἑτέραν ἀμείνω τῆς ὁρατῆς νοητὴν ἐθεάσατο καὶ τὸν ἀμφοῖν ποιητὴν ὁμοῦ καὶ ἡγεμόνα.

89 XIX. Ταῦτα τοῦ θεοφιλοῦς τὰ προτέλεια, οἷς ἔπονται πράξεις οὐκ εὐκαταφρόνητοι. τὸ δὲ μέγεθος αὐτῶν οὐ παντί τῳ δῆλον, ἀλλὰ μόνον τοῖς γευσαμένοις ἀρετῆς, οἳ τὰ θαυμαζόμενα παρὰ τοῖς πολλοῖς εἰώθασι χλευάζειν ἕνεκα μεγέθους τῶν περὶ

90 ψυχὴν ἀγαθῶν. ἀποδεξάμενος οὖν ὁ θεὸς τὴν εἰρημένην πρᾶξιν αὐτίκα τὸν ἀστεῖον ἀμείβεται μεγάλῃ δωρεᾷ, τὸν γάμον αὐτῷ κινδυνεύσαντα πρὸς δυνατοῦ καὶ ἀκρατοῦς ἀνδρὸς ἐπιβουλευθῆναι

91 διατηρήσας ἄψαυστόν τε καὶ σῷον. ἡ δ' αἰτία τῆς ἐπιθέσεως ἀρχὴν ἔλαβε τοιάνδε. καρπῶν ἀφορίας

---

[a] For §§ 91-98 see Gen. xii. 10-20.

for the sake of uncertain good? Yet he alone ap- 87
pears to have had feelings the opposite of these, and
to have thought that no life was so pleasant as one
lived without association with the multitude. And
that is natural, for those who seek God and yearn
to find Him love the solitude which is dear to Him,
and in this way first of all hasten to make themselves
like His blessed and happy nature. So in 88
both our expositions, the literal as applied to the man
and the allegorical as applied to the soul, we have
shewn both man and soul to be worthy of our affec-
tion. We have shewn how the man in obedience to
divine commands was drawn away from the stubborn
hold of his associations and how the mind did not
remain for ever deceived nor stand rooted in the
realm of sense, nor suppose that the visible world was
the Almighty and Primal God, but using its reason
sped upwards and turned its gaze upon the intel-
ligible order which is superior to the visible and upon
Him who is maker and ruler of both alike.

XIX. This is the opening of the story of the friend 89
of God, and it is followed by actions which call for
anything but contempt. But their greatness is not
clear to everyone, but only to those who have tasted
virtue and who recognize the greatness of the good
things which belong to the soul and therefore are wont
to deride those which win the admiration of the multi-
tude. God, then, approving of the action just re- 90
lated, at once rewards the man of worth with a great
gift; for when his marriage was threatened through
the designs of a licentious potentate, God kept it
safe and unharmed. [a] The occasion which led up to 91
the attempted outrage originated in the following
way. There had been a failure of the crops for a

ἐπὶ συχνὸν χρόνον γενομένης, τοτὲ μὲν διὰ πολλὴν καὶ ἄμετρον ἐπομβρίαν τοτὲ δὲ δι' αὐχμὸν καὶ ζάλην, αἱ κατὰ Συρίαν πόλεις συνεχεῖ λιμῷ πιεσθεῖσαι κεναὶ τῶν οἰκητόρων ἦσαν, ἄλλων ἀλλαχόσε σκιδναμένων κατὰ ζήτησιν τροφῆς καὶ πορισμὸν
92 τῶν ἀναγκαίων. πυθόμενος οὖν Ἀβραὰμ ἄφθονον εὐθηνίαν καὶ εὐετηρίαν ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ, τοῦ μὲν ποταμοῦ ταῖς πλημμύραις λιμνάσαντος ἐν καιρῷ τὰ πεδία, τῶν δὲ τὸν σπόρον εὔσταχυν ἐνεγκόντων καὶ
[15] ἀναθρεψαμένων | εὐκρασίαις πνευμάτων, ἀπαίρει
93 πᾶσαν τὴν οἰκίαν ἐπαγόμενος. ἦν δ' αὐτῷ γυνὴ τήν τε ψυχὴν ἀρίστη καὶ τὸ σῶμα τῶν καθ' αὐτὴν περικαλλεστάτη· ταύτην ἰδόντες τῶν Αἰγυπτίων οἱ ἐν τέλει καὶ τῆς εὐμορφίας ἀγάμενοι—λανθάνει γὰρ τοὺς ἐν
94 ἐξοχαῖς οὐδέν—μηνύουσι τῷ βασιλεῖ. μεταπεμψάμενος δὲ τὴν ἄνθρωπον καὶ θεασάμενος ἐκπρεπεστάτην ὄψιν, βραχὺ φροντίσας αἰδοῦς καὶ νόμων τῶν ἐπὶ τιμῇ ξένων ὁρισθέντων, ἐνδοὺς ἀκρασίᾳ διενοεῖτο λόγῳ μὲν αὐτὴν ἀγαγέσθαι πρὸς γάμον, τὸ
95 δ' ἀληθὲς αἰσχύνειν. ἡ δ' ἅτε ἐν ἀλλοτρίᾳ γῇ παρ' ἀκρατεῖ τε καὶ ὠμοθύμῳ δυνάστῃ τοῦ βοηθήσοντος ἀποροῦσα—οὐδὲ γὰρ ὁ ἀνὴρ ἔσθενεν ἀρήγειν τὸν ἐπικρεμάμενον ἐκ τῶν δυνατωτέρων φόβον δεδιώς —ἐπὶ τὴν τελευταίαν ἄμ' ἐκείνῳ καταφεύγει
96 συμμαχίαν τὴν ἐκ θεοῦ. λαβὼν δὲ τῶν ξένων οἶκτον ὁ εὐμενὴς καὶ ἵλεως καὶ ὑπέρμαχος τῶν ἀδικουμένων ἀλγηδόνας δυσκαρτερήτους καὶ χαλεπὰς τιμωρίας ἐπάγει τῷ βασιλεῖ, παντοίων κακῶν ἀναπλήσας αὐτοῦ σῶμα καὶ ψυχὴν δυσιάτων, ὡς τὰς μὲν ἐφ' ἡδονὴν ἀγούσας ὀρέξεις ἁπάσας ἐκκεκόφθαι, τὰς δ' ἐναντίας παρεισεληλυθέναι φροντίδας

considerable period, at one time through a great and excessive rainfall, at another through drought and stormy weather; and the cities of Syria, hard pressed through continual famine, were stripped of their inhabitants who scattered in different directions to seek for food and to procure necessities. Abraham, then, 92
learning that there was a rich and abundant supply of corn in Egypt, where the river by its seasonal flooding had turned the plains into pools, and well-tempered winds had produced and fostered a fine growth of corn, set off thither with his whole household. He had a wife distinguished greatly for her 93
goodness of soul and beauty of body, in which she surpassed all the women of her time. When the chief people of Egypt saw her and admired her beauty, since the highly placed leave nothing unobserved, they told the king. He sent for the 94
woman, and, marking her surpassing comeliness, paid little regard to decency or the laws enacted to shew respect to strangers, but gave rein to his licence and determined nominally to take her in marriage, but in reality to bring her to shame. She who in a 95
foreign country was at the mercy of a licentious and cruel-hearted despot and had no one to protect her, for her husband was helpless, menaced as he was by the terror of stronger powers, joined him in fleeing for refuge to the last remaining championship, that of God. And God, Who is kindly and merciful and 96
shields the wronged, had pity for the strangers and plied the king with almost intolerable pains and grievous penalties. He filled him body and soul with all manner of scarce curable plagues. All appetite for pleasure was eradicated and replaced by visitations of the opposite kind, by cravings for release

περὶ ἀπαλλαγῆς ἀνηνύτων βασάνων, ὑφ' ὧν γυμνα-
ζόμενος μεθ' ἡμέραν καὶ νύκτωρ ἐξετραχηλίζετο.
97 παραπέλαυσε δὲ τῆς τιμωρίας καὶ σύμπας ὁ οἶκος
αὐτῷ, μηδενὸς ἐπὶ τῇ ταρανομίᾳ δυσχεράναντος,
ἀλλὰ πάντων ἕνεκα τοῦ συναινεῖν μόνον οὐ συγ-
98 χειρουργησάντων τὸ ἀδίκημα. τοῦτον τὸν τρόπον ἡ
μὲν ἀγνεία τῆς γυναικὸς διασῴζεται, τοῦ δὲ ἀνδρὸς
τὴν καλοκἀγαθίαν καὶ εὐσέβειαν ὁ θεὸς ἠξίωσεν
ἐπιδείξασθαι γέρας αὐτῷ μέγιστον παρασχών,
ἀσινῆ καὶ ἀνύβριστον ὅσον οὔπω κινδυνεύσαντα
διαφθαρῆναι τὸν γάμον, ὃς οὐκ ἔμελλεν ὀλίγων
ἀριθμὸν υἱῶν ἢ θυγατέρων γεννᾶν, ἀλλ' ὅλον ἔθνος
καὶ ἐθνῶν τὸ θεοφιλέστατον, ὅ μοι δοκεῖ τὴν ὑπὲρ
παντὸς ἀνθρώπων γένους ἱερωσύνην καὶ προφητείαν
λαχεῖν.

99 XX. Ἤκουσα μέντοι καὶ φυσικῶν ἀνδρῶν οὐκ
ἀπὸ σκοποῦ τὰ περὶ τὸν τόπον ἀλληγορούντων, οἳ
τὸν μὲν ἄνδρα συμβολικῶς ἔφασκον σπουδαῖον
εἶναι νοῦν ἐκ τῆς περὶ τοὔνομα ἑρμηνευθείσης
δυνάμεως τεκμαιρόμενοι τρόπον ἀστεῖον ἐν ψυχῇ,
τὴν δὲ τούτου γυναῖκα ἀρετήν, ἧς τοὔνομά ἐστι
Χαλδαϊστὶ μὲν Σάρρα, Ἑλληνιστὶ δὲ "ἄρχουσα,"
διὰ τὸ μηδὲν ἀρετῆς ἀρχικώτερον εἶναι καὶ ἡγεμο-
100 νικώτερον. γάμος δέ, ὃν μὲν ἁρμόζεται ἡδονή,
σωμάτων κοινωνίαν ἔλαχεν, ὃν δὲ σοφία, λογισμῶν
καθάρσεως ἐφιεμένων καὶ τελείων ἀρετῶν. ἐναν-
τιώτατοι δὲ ἀλλήλοις εἰσὶν οἱ λεχθέντες γάμοι.
101 κατὰ μὲν γὰρ τὸν τῶν σωμάτων σπείρει μὲν τὸ

[a] Or "students of the (higher) truths of Nature," almost in some contexts (*e.g. Mos.* ii. 216) = "theologians." Nature is so closely akin to the divine (see note on *De Sac.* 98) that allegorical truths such as these especially belong to its study,

from the endless tortures which night and day haunted and racked him almost to death. The whole 97
household, too, shared the punishment with him, since none had shewn indignation at the outrage, but all by consenting were almost accomplices in the misdeed. Thus the chastity of the woman was pre- 98
served, while the nobility and piety of the man was evidenced by God, Who deigned to grant him this signal boon, that his marriage, which would have been in almost immediate danger of violation, should remain free from harm and outrage, that marriage from which was to issue not a family of a few sons and daughters, but a whole nation, and that the nation dearest of all to God, which, as I hold, has received the gift of priesthood and prophecy on behalf of all mankind.

XX. I have also heard some natural philosophers[a] 99
who took the passage allegorically, not without good reason. They said that the husband was a figure for the good mind, judging by the meaning given for interpretation of this name that it stood for a good disposition of soul. The wife, they said, was virtue, her name being in Chaldean Sarah but in our language a sovereign lady,[b] because nothing is more sovereign
or dominant than virtue. Now in a marriage where 100
the union is brought about by pleasure, the partnership is between body and body, but in the marriage made by wisdom it is between thoughts which seek purification and perfect virtues. Now the two kinds of marriage are directly opposed to each other. For 101
in the bodily marriage the male sows the seed and the

cf. De Post. 7 *τὴν δι' ἀλληγορίας ὁδὸν φυσικοῖς φίλην ἀνδράσι*, and *De Mut.* 62 *φυσιολογοῦντες*. See further App. p. 597.

[b] *Cf. De Cher.* 8, *De Mut.* 77.

ἄρρεν, γονὴν δ' ὑποδέχεται τὸ θῆλυ, κατὰ δὲ τὴν |
[16] ἐν ψυχαῖς σύνοδον ἔμπαλιν ἡ μὲν ἀρετὴ τάξιν γυναικὸς ἔχειν δοκοῦσα σπείρειν πέφυκε βουλὰς ἀγαθὰς καὶ λόγους σπουδαίους καὶ βιωφελεστάτων εἰσηγήσεις δογμάτων, ὁ δὲ λογισμὸς εἰς τὴν ἀνδρὸς χώραν τάττεσθαι νομισθεὶς τὰς ἱεροπρεπεῖς καὶ θείας ὑποδέχεται σποράς· ἢ μήποτε τὸ λεχθὲν ἔψευσται δι' ἀπάτην ὀνομάτων, ἐπειδήπερ ὁ μὲν νοῦς ἄρρενος ἡ δ' ἀρετὴ θήλεος μετέχει χαρακτῆρος
102 ἐν φωναῖς. εἰ δέ τις τὰς ἐπισκιαζούσας κλήσεις ἀπαμφιάσας γυμνὰ τὰ πράγματα βουληθείη καθαρῶς ἰδεῖν εἴσεται διότι ἄρρεν μέν ἐστιν ἡ ἀρετὴ φύσει, παρόσον κινεῖ καὶ διατίθησι καὶ καλὰς ἐννοίας καλῶν πράξεων καὶ λόγων ὑπηχεῖ, θῆλυ δὲ ὁ λογισμὸς κινούμενος καὶ παιδευόμενος καὶ ὠφελούμενος καὶ συνόλως ἐν τῷ πάσχειν ἐξεταζόμενος, καὶ τὸ πάθος αὐτῷ τοῦτο μόνον ἐστὶ σωτή-
103 ριον. XXI. ἅπαντες μὲν οὖν καὶ οἱ φαυλότατοι τῷ λόγῳ τιμῶσι καὶ θαυμάζουσιν ἀρετὴν ὅσα τῷ δοκεῖν, χρῶνται δ' αὐτῆς τοῖς παραγγέλμασιν οἱ ἀστεῖοι μόνοι. διὸ καὶ ὁ τῆς Αἰγύπτου βασιλεύς, ὅπερ ἐστὶ συμβολικῶς νοῦς φιλοσώματος, καθυποκρινόμενος ὡς ἐν θεάτρῳ προσποίητον ἐπιμορφάζει κοινωνίαν, πρὸς ἐγκράτειαν ὁ ἀκρατὴς καὶ πρὸς σωφροσύνην ὁ ἀκόλαστος καὶ πρὸς δικαιοσύνην ὁ ἄδικος, καὶ καλεῖ τὴν ἀρετὴν ὡς ἑαυτὸν τῆς παρὰ
104 τοῖς πολλοῖς εὐφημίας γλιχόμενος. ὅπερ κατιδὼν ὁ ἔφορος—μόνῳ γὰρ ἔξεστι θεῷ ψυχὴν ἰδεῖν—ἐμίσησε καὶ προὐβάλετο καὶ βασάνοις ἤλεγξεν ἀργαλεωτάταις ἦθος κατεψευσμένον. αἱ δὲ βάσανοι διὰ τίνων ὀργάνων; ἢ πάντως διὰ τῶν τῆς ἀρετῆς μερῶν, ἅπερ ἐπεισιόντα χαλεπῶς αἰκίζεται καὶ

female receives it; on the other hand in the matings within the soul, though virtue seemingly ranks as wife, her natural function is to sow good counsels and excellent words and to inculcate tenets truly profitable to life, while thought, though held to take the place of the husband, receives the holy and divine sowings. Perhaps however the statement[a] above is a mistake due to the deceptiveness of the nouns, since in the actual words employed νοῦς has the masculine, and ἀρετή the feminine form. And if anyone is willing to divest 102
facts of the terms which obscure them and observe them in their nakedness in a clear light he will understand that virtue is male, since it causes movement and affects conditions and suggests noble conceptions of noble deeds and words, while thought is female, being moved and trained and helped, and in general belonging to the passive category, which passivity is its sole means of preservation. XXI. All men, then, 103
even the most worthless, professedly honour and admire virtue so far as outward appearance goes, but only the worthy practise its injunctions. And so the king of Egypt, under which figure is symbolized the mind which loves the body, acts a part as in a theatre and assumes a counterfeited fellowship, he, the licentious with chastity, the profligate with self-control, the unjust with justice, and in his desire to earn a good repute with the multitude invites virtue to join him. Seeing this, God the surveyor, since He alone 104
can scan the soul, hates and rejects the sham character and submits it to the test of most painful tortures. What are the instruments of these tortures? Surely the different parts of virtue which enter in and plague

[a] *i.e.* that virtue is wife, and mind husband; but see App. pp. 597-598.

τιτρώσκει; βάσανος μὲν γάρ ἐστιν ἀπληστίας ὀλιγοδεΐα, βάσανος δὲ λαγνείας ἐγκράτεια· στρεβλοῦται δὲ καὶ ὁ φιλόδοξος ἀτυφίας εὐημερούσης καὶ
105 ὁ ἄδικος δικαιοσύνης ἐπαινουμένης. μίαν γὰρ ἀμήχανον ψυχὴν κατοικεῖν δύο τὰς ἐχθρὰς φύσεις, κακίαν καὶ ἀρετήν· οὗ χάριν, ἐπειδὰν συνενεχθῶσιν, ἀσύμβατοι καὶ ἀκατάλλακτοι στάσεις καὶ πόλεμοι συγκροτοῦνται, καίτοι τῆς ἀρετῆς εἰρηνικωτάτην φύσιν ἐχούσης, ᾗ φασιν ἐπιμελὲς εἶναι, ὅταν εἰς χειρῶν ἅμιλλαν ἰέναι μέλλῃ, τῆς ἰδίας δυνάμεως ἀποπειρᾶσθαι πρότερον, ἵν', εἰ μὲν ἰσχύοι καταγωνίσασθαι, συνιστῆται, εἰ δ' ἀσθενεστέρᾳ χρῷτο
106 τῇ δυνάμει, μηδὲ συγκαταβῆναι τὴν ἀρχὴν εἰς τὸν ἀγῶνα θαρρήσῃ· κακίαν μὲν γὰρ ἡττᾶσθαι οὐκ αἰσχρόν, ᾗ συγγενὲς ἀδοξία, ἀρετὴν δὲ ὄνειδος, ᾗ πάντων οἰκειότατον εὔκλεια, δι' ἣν πέφυκε νικᾶν ἢ διατηρεῖν αὐτὴν ἀήττητον.

107 XXII. Τὸ μὲν οὖν Αἰγυπτίων ἄξενον καὶ ἀκόλαστον εἴρηται. τοῦ δὲ τοιαῦτα πεπονθότος ἄξιον θαυμάσαι τὴν φιλανθρωπίαν, ὃς μεσημβρίας |
[17] θεασάμενος τρεῖς ὡς ἄνδρας ὁδοιποροῦντας—οἱ δὲ θειοτέρας ὄντες φύσεως ἐλελήθεσαν—προσδραμὼν ἱκέτευε λιπαρῶς μὴ παρελθεῖν αὐτοῦ τὴν σκηνήν, ἀλλ' ὡς πρέπον εἰσεληλυθότας ξενίων μετασχεῖν· οἱ δ' οὐκ ἐκ τῶν λεγομένων μᾶλλον ἢ τῆς διανοίας εἰδότες ἀληθεύοντα μηδὲν ἐνδοιάσαντες ἐπινεύουσι.
108 πληρωθεὶς δὲ τὴν ψυχὴν χαρᾶς πάντ' ἐσπούδαζεν εἰς τὸ ἀνυπέρθετον τῆς ὑποδοχῆς καὶ τῇ μὲν γυναικί φησι "σπεῦσον καὶ τρία μέτρα ποίησον ἐγκρυφιῶν," αὐτὸς δὲ εἰς τὰ βουκόλια συντείνας, ἁπαλὸν καὶ
109 εὔσαρκον ἀγαγὼν μόσχον, οἰκέτῃ παραδίδωσιν. ὁ

[a] For §§ 107-118 see Gen. xviii.

and wound him grievously? For greediness is tortured by frugal contentment and lewdness by continence. And so the vainglorious is racked when simplicity prevails, and the unjust when justice is praised. For 105
it is impossible for the single soul to have for its tenant two hostile natures, vice and virtue, and therefore when they meet factions and wars are set on foot incapable of truce or reconciliation. And yet virtue's nature is most peaceable, and she is careful, so they say, to test her own strength before the conflict, so that if she is able to contend to the end she may take the field, but if she finds her strength too weak she may shrink from entering the contest at all. For vice 106
feels no disgrace in defeat, since ill-repute is congenital to her, but to virtue it is a reproach, for nearest and dearest to her is good fame which makes it natural for her to be victorious or at least to keep herself undefeated.

XXII. [a] I have described the inhospitality and 107
licentiousness of the Egyptians. Turning to the victim of this outrage, we may well admire his kindness of heart. When at noon he saw three travellers in the form of men, for their diviner nature was not apparent to him, he ran to them and earnestly begged of them not to pass his tent but to enter as was fitting and partake of hospitality. But they, knowing, not so much by his words as by the feeling he showed, that he spoke the truth, assented without hesitation. And he, his soul full of joy, was eager to carry out 108
the reception without delay, and said to his wife: "Hasten and bake three measures of cakes in the ashes." Meanwhile he himself hurried to the stalls and brought a tender and well-fed calf which he gave to the servant who killed it and dressed it with all 109

δὲ καταθύσας σκευάζει τάχιστα· βραδὺς γὰρ οὐδεὶς πρὸς φιλανθρωπίαν ἐν οἴκῳ σοφοῦ, ἀλλὰ καὶ γυναῖκες καὶ ἄνδρες καὶ δοῦλοι καὶ ἐλεύθεροι προθυμότατοι πρὸς τὰς τῶν ξενιζομένων ὑπηρεσίας.
110 ἑστιαθέντες δ' οὐ τοῖς εὐτρεπισθεῖσι μᾶλλον ἢ τῇ τοῦ ξενοδόχου γνώμῃ καὶ πολλῇ τινι καὶ ἀπεράντῳ φιλοτιμίᾳ παρέχουσιν ἆθλον ἐλπίδος μεῖζον αὐτῷ, υἱοῦ γνησίου γένεσιν εἰς νέωτα βεβαιωθησομένην ὑποσχόμενοι δι' ἑνὸς τοῦ τῶν τριῶν ἀρίστου— λέγειν γὰρ ἐν ταὐτῷ πάντας ἀθρόους ἦν ἀφιλόσοφον, ἑνὶ δὲ λέγοντι τοὺς ἄλλους συνεπινεύειν
111 ἐμπρεπές—. ἀλλὰ γὰρ οὐδ' ὑπισχνουμένοις ἕνεκα τοῦ περὶ τὸ πρᾶγμα ἀπίστου βεβαίως προσεῖχον· ἤδη γὰρ ὑπερήλικες γεγονότες διὰ μακρὸν γῆρας
112 ἀπεγνώκεσαν παιδὸς σποράν. ἀκούσασαν οὖν τὴν γυναῖκα ἐν ἀρχῇ φησι γελάσαι καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα, εἰπόντων "μὴ ἀδυνατεῖ παρὰ τῷ θεῷ πᾶν ῥῆμα;" καταιδεσθεῖσαν ἠρνῆσθαι τὸν γέλωτα· πάντα γὰρ ἤδει θεῷ δυνατὰ σχεδὸν ἐξ ἔτι σπαργάνων τουτὶ τὸ
113 δόγμα προμαθοῦσα. τότε μοι δοκεῖ πρῶτον οὐκέθ' ὁμοίαν τῶν ὁρωμένων λαβεῖν φαντασίαν, ἀλλὰ σεμνοτέραν ἢ προφητῶν ἢ ἀγγέλων μεταβαλόντων ἀπὸ πνευματικῆς καὶ ψυχοειδοῦς οὐσίας εἰς ἀνθρωπόμορφον ἰδέαν.

114 XXIII. Τὸ μὲν οὖν φιλόξενον τοῦ ἀνδρὸς εἴρηται, πάρεργον ὂν ἀρετῆς μείζονος· ἡ δ' ἀρετὴ θεοσέβεια, περὶ ἧς καὶ πρότερον εἴπομεν, ἧς δεῖγμα σαφέστατον τὰ νῦν λεχθέντα ἐστὶν ὡς ἐπὶ ξένων ἀνδρῶν.

---

[a] *i.e.* Sarah's denial of her laughter is ascribed to a recognition that the Visitor was divine, rather than as in

speed. For in a wise man's house no one is slow in showing kindness; but women and men, slaves and free, are full of zeal to do service to their guests. After 110
feasting not so much on the viands prepared for them as on the goodwill of their host, and on this example of a great and unbounded generosity, they presented him with a reward surpassing his hopes, by promising him the birth of a son born in wedlock. And this promise, which was to be made good in the next year, was given through one, and that the highest, of the three. For wise refinement demanded that all should not speak together at once but rather that one should speak and the others shew assent. But to Abraham 111
and Sarah the thing seemed incredible, and therefore they did not pay serious regard even to the promises of the three. For as they had passed the years of parenthood their great age had made them despair of the birth of a son. So the scripture says that the 112
wife first laughed at the words and afterwards when they said, "Is anything impossible with God?" was ashamed and denied her laughter, for she knew that all things were possible with God, a truth which she had learnt long ago, and even from the cradle. It 113
was then, I think, that she first saw in the strangers before her a different and grander aspect, that of prophets or angels, transformed from their spiritual and soul-like nature into human shape.[a]

XXIII. We have described Abraham's hospitality 114
which was but a by-product of a greater virtue. That virtue is piety, of which we have spoken before, and it is quite clearly seen in this story, even if we think of the strangers as men. Some may feel that the 115

Genesis to fear. Otherwise Philo here gives the natural interpretation of the incident. See note on § 206.

115 εἰ δ' εὐδαίμονα καὶ μακάριον οἶκον ὑπέλαβον εἶναί τινες, ἐν ᾧ συνέβη καταχθῆναι καὶ ἐνδιατρῖψαι σοφούς, οὐκ ἂν ἀξιώσαντας ἀλλ' οὐδ' ὅσον διακῦψαι μόνον, εἴ τι πάθος ἐνεώρων ταῖς ψυχαῖς τῶν ἔνδον ὄντων ἀνίατον, ἐγὼ δὲ οὐκ οἶδα, τίνα ὑπερβολὴν εὐδαιμονίας καὶ μακαριότητος εἶναι φῶ περὶ τὴν οἰκίαν, ἐν ᾗ καταχθῆναι καὶ ξενίων λαχεῖν ὑπέμειναν ἄγγελοι πρὸς ἀνθρώπων,[1] ἱεραὶ καὶ θεῖαι φύσεις, ὑποδιάκονοι καὶ ὕπαρχοι τοῦ πρώτου θεοῦ,
[18] | δι' ὧν οἷα πρεσβευτῶν ὅσα ἂν θελήσῃ τῷ γένει
116 ἡμῶν προθεσπίσαι διαγγέλλει. πῶς γὰρ ἂν τὴν ἀρχὴν εἰσελθεῖν ὑπέμειναν, εἰ μὴ καθάπερ νεὼς εὖ συντεταγμένον πλήρωμα τοὺς ἔνδον ἅπαντας ἥδεσαν ἑνὶ πειθαρχοῦντας κελεύσματι τῷ τοῦ προεστηκότος ὡσανεὶ κυβερνήτου; πῶς δ' ἂν ἑστιωμένων καὶ ξενιζομένων παρέσχον ὑπόληψιν, εἰ μὴ τὸν ἑστιάτορα συγγενῆ καὶ ὁμόδουλον ἡγοῦντο τῷ αὐτῶν προσπεφευγότα δεσπότῃ; νομιστέον μέντοι καὶ κατὰ τὴν εἴσοδον αὐτῶν ἔτι μᾶλλον ἐπιδοῦναι πάντα τὰ μέρη τῆς οἰκίας πρὸς τὸ βέλτιον αὔρᾳ
117 τινὶ τελειοτάτης ἀρετῆς ἐπιπνευσθέντα. τὸ δὲ συμπόσιον οἷον εἰκὸς γενέσθαι, τὴν ἐν εὐωχίαις ἀφέλειαν ἐπιδεικνυμένων πρὸς τὸν ἑστιάτορα τῶν ἑστιωμένων καὶ γυμνοῖς ἤθεσι προσαγορευόντων καὶ ὁμιλίας τὰς ἁρμοττούσας τῷ καιρῷ ποιου-
118 μένων. τεράστιον δὲ καὶ τὸ μὴ πίνοντας πινόντων καὶ τὸ μὴ ἐσθίοντας ἐσθιόντων παρέχειν φαντασίαν. ἀλλὰ ταυτί γε ὡς ἀκόλουθα· τὸ δὲ πρῶτον ἐκεῖνο τερατωδέστατον, ἀσωμάτους ὄντας [τοῦδε σώματος]

[1] So one MS. The others *ἀνθρώπους*, which Cohn prints in the text, but later declared for *-ων*. The accusative, however = "in relation with men" is not impossible.

house must have been happy and blessed in which such an event as this took place, that wise men halted there and made a stay who would not have deigned even to look inside if they saw anything hopelessly wrong in the souls of the inmates. And, if this is so, I do not know how to express the vast happiness and blessedness of that house where angels did not shrink from halting and receiving hospitality from men—angels, those holy and divine beings, the servitors and lieutenants of the primal God whom He employs as ambassadors to announce the predictions which He wills to make to our race. For how could they have 116
brought themselves to enter at all if they had not known that all the household, like a well ordered crew, was obedient to a single call from him who steered them like a pilot? And how should they have given ground for the idea that they feasted and received hospitality unless they thought that the giver of the feast was their kinsman and fellow-servant who had sought refuge with their master? Indeed we must suppose that at their entrance all parts of the house advanced still further in goodness and felt some breath of the inspiration of perfect virtue. The 117
conduct of the meal was such as it should be. The guests showed to their entertainer the frank simplicity of a festive gathering. Their manner in addressing him was unreserved, and their converse suited to the occasion. It is a marvel indeed that 118
though they neither ate nor drank they gave the appearance of both eating and drinking.[a] But that is a secondary matter; the first and greatest wonder is that, though incorporeal, they assumed human

[a] See App. p. 598.

εἰς ἰδέαν ἀνθρώπων μεμορφῶσθαι χάριτι τῇ πρὸς τὸν ἀστεῖον· τίνος γὰρ ἕνεκα ταῦτα ἐθαυματουργεῖτο ἢ τοῦ παρασχεῖν αἴσθησιν τῷ σοφῷ διὰ τρανοτέρας ὄψεως, ὅτι οὐ λέληθε τὸν πατέρα τοιοῦτος ὤν;

119 XXIV. Τὰ μὲν οὖν τῆς ῥητῆς ἀποδόσεως ὠδὶ λελέχθω· τῆς δὲ δι' ὑπονοιῶν ἀρκτέον. σύμβολα τὰ ἐν φωναῖς τῶν διανοίᾳ μόνῃ καταλαμβανομένων ἐστίν· ἐπειδὰν οὖν ἡ ψυχὴ καθάπερ ἐν μεσημβρίᾳ θεῷ περιλαμφθῇ καὶ ὅλη δι' ὅλων νοητοῦ φωτὸς ἀναπλησθεῖσα ταῖς ἐν κύκλῳ κεχυμέναις αὐγαῖς[1] ἄσκιος γένηται, τριττὴν φαντασίαν ἑνὸς ὑποκειμένου καταλαμβάνει, τοῦ μὲν ὡς ὄντος, τῶν δ' ἄλλων δυοῖν ὡς ἂν ἀπαυγαζομένων ἀπὸ τούτου σκιῶν· ὁποῖόν τι συμβαίνει καὶ τοῖς ἐν αἰσθητῷ φωτὶ διατρίβουσιν· ἢ γὰρ ἑστώτων ἢ κινουμένων
120 διτταὶ σκιαὶ πολλάκις συνεμπίπτουσι. μὴ μέντοι νομισάτω τις ἐπὶ θεοῦ τὰς σκιὰς κυριολογεῖσθαι· κατάχρησις ὀνόματός ἐστι μόνον πρὸς ἐναργεστέραν ἔμφασιν τοῦ δηλουμένου πράγματος, ἐπεὶ τό γε
121 ἀληθὲς οὐχ ὧδε ἔχει· ἀλλ' ἔστιν, ὡς ἄν τις ἐγγύτατα τῆς ἀληθείας ἱστάμενος εἴποι, πατὴρ μὲν τῶν ὅλων
[19] ὁ μέσος, ὃς ἐν ταῖς | ἱεραῖς γραφαῖς κυρίῳ ὀνόματι καλεῖται ὁ ὤν, αἱ δὲ παρ' ἑκάτερα αἱ πρεσβύταται καὶ ἐγγυτάτω τοῦ ὄντος δυνάμεις, ἡ μὲν ποιητική, ἡ δ' αὖ βασιλική· προσαγορεύεται δὲ ἡ μὲν ποιητικὴ θεός, ταύτῃ γὰρ ἔθηκέ τε καὶ διεκόσμησε τὸ πᾶν, ἡ δὲ βασιλικὴ κύριος, θέμις γὰρ ἄρχειν καὶ κρατεῖν
122 τὸ πεποιηκὸς τοῦ γενομένου. δορυφορούμενος οὖν

[1] MSS. (with the exception of H²) *τὰς . . κεχυμένας αὐγὰς*, which perhaps might be kept, as Cohn suggests, by correcting *ἄσκιος γένηται* to *ἀσκίους δέχηται* or *ἀσπάσηται*.

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

XXIV. Here we may leave the literal exposition 119
and begin the allegorical. Spoken words contain symbols of things apprehended by the understanding only. When, then, as at noon-tide God shines around the soul, and the light of the mind fills it through and through and the shadows are driven from it by the rays which pour all around it, the single object presents to it a triple vision, one representing the reality, the other two the shadows reflected from it. Our life in the light which our senses perceive gives us a somewhat similar experience, for objects standing or moving often cast two shadows at once. No 120
one, however, should think that the shadows can be properly spoken of as God. To call them so is loose speaking, serving merely to give a clearer view of the fact which we are explaining, since the real truth is otherwise. Rather, as anyone who has approached 121
nearest to the truth would say, the central place is held by the Father of the Universe, Who in the sacred scriptures is called He that is as His proper name, while on either side of Him are the senior potencies, the nearest to Him, the creative and the kingly. The title of the former is God,[a] since it made and ordered the All; the title of the latter is Lord, since it is the fundamental right of the maker to rule and control what he has brought into being. So the central Being with each of His pot- 122

[a] Evidently an allusion to the accepted derivation of *θεός* from *τίθημι*. *Cf. De Conf.* 137 *δύναμις καθ' ἣν ἔθηκε καὶ διετάξατο τὰ πάντα κέκληται ἐτύμως θεός*, where *ἐτύμως* shews that an etymology is intended (see note). *Cf.* also *De Mut.* 29.

ὁ μέσος ὑφ' ἑκατέρας τῶν δυνάμεων παρέχει τῇ ὁρατικῇ διανοίᾳ τοτὲ μὲν ἑνὸς τοτὲ δὲ τριῶν φαντασίαν, ἑνὸς μὲν ὅταν ἄκρως τύχῃ καθαρθεῖσα καὶ μὴ μόνον τὰ πλήθη τῶν ἀριθμῶν ἀλλὰ καὶ τὴν γείτονα μονάδος δυάδα ὑπερβᾶσα πρὸς τὴν ἀμιγῆ καὶ ἀσύμπλοκον καὶ καθ' αὑτὴν οὐδενὸς ἐπιδεᾶ τὸ παράπαν ἰδέαν ἐπείγηται, τριῶν δὲ ὅταν μήπω τὰς μεγάλας τελεσθεῖσα τελετὰς ἔτι ἐν ταῖς βραχυτέραις ὀργιάζηται καὶ μὴ δύνηται τὸ ὂν ἄνευ ἑτέρου τινὸς ἐξ αὐτοῦ μόνου καταλαβεῖν, ἀλλὰ διὰ τῶν
123 δρωμένων, ἢ κτίζον ἢ ἄρχον. δεύτερος μὲν οὖν, ὥς φασι, πλοῦς οὗτος, μετέχει δ' οὐδὲν ἧττον δόξης θεοφιλοῦς· ὁ δὲ πρότερος τρόπος οὐ μετέχει, ἀλλ' αὐτός ἐστι θεοφιλὴς δόξα, μᾶλλον δὲ καὶ δόξης πρεσβυτέρα καὶ παντὸς τιμιωτέρα τοῦ δοκεῖν ἀλήθεια. γνωριμώτερον δὲ τὸ δηλούμενον
124 παραστατέον. XXV. τρεῖς εἰσιν ἠθῶν ἀνθρωπίνων τάξεις, ὧν ἑκάστη διακεκλήρωται μίαν τῶν εἰρημένων φαντασιῶν ἡ μὲν ἀρίστη τὴν μέσην τοῦ ὄντως ὄντος, ἡ δὲ μετ' ἐκείνην τὴν ἐπὶ δεξιά, τὴν εὐεργέτιν, ἣ θεὸς ὄνομα, ἡ δὲ τρίτη τὴν ἐπὶ θάτερα,
125 τὴν ἀρχικήν, ἣ καλεῖται κύριος. τὰ μὲν οὖν ἄριστα τῶν ἠθῶν τὸν καθ' αὑτὸν ἄνευ τινὸς ὄντα θεραπεύει πρὸς μηδενὸς ἑτέρου μεθελκόμενα, τῷ τετάσθαι μοναδικῶς πρὸς τὴν ἑνὸς τιμήν· τῶν δ' ἄλλων τὰ μὲν διὰ τῆς εὐεργέτιδος συνίσταται καὶ γνωρίζεται

---

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

encies as His squire presents to the mind which has vision the appearance sometimes of one, sometimes of three: of one, when that mind is highly purified and, passing beyond not merely the multiplicity of other numbers, but even the dyad which is next to the unit, presses on to the ideal form which is free from mixture and complexity, and being self-contained needs nothing more; of three, when, as yet uninitiated into the highest mysteries, it is still a votary only of the minor rites and unable to apprehend the Existent alone by Itself and apart from all else, but only through Its actions, as either creative or ruling. This is, as they say, a "second best 123
voyage[a]"; yet all the same there is in it an element of a way of thinking such as God approves. But the former state of mind has not merely an element. It is in itself the divinely-approved way, or rather it is the truth, higher than a way of thinking, more precious than anything which is merely thought. But it would be well to state the point in a more familiar guise. XXV. There are three classes of human 124
temperaments, each of them so constituted that the vision presents itself in one of the three ways above-mentioned. To the best class it presents itself in the middle form, that of the essentially existent; to the next best, in that which stands on the right, the beneficent, which bears the name of God; to the third, in that on the left, the governing, which is called Lord. Temperaments of the last kind 125
worship the solely Self-existent and nothing can make them swerve from this, because they are subject to the single attraction which leads them to honour the one. Of the other two types, one is introduced and made known to the Father by

δυνάμεως τῷ πατρί, τὰ δὲ διὰ τῆς βασιλικῆς.
126 ὃ δὲ λέγω, τοιοῦτόν ἐστιν. ἄνθρωποι
μὲν ἐπειδὰν αἴσθωνται κατὰ πρόφασιν ἑταιρείας
προσιόντας αὐτοῖς τινας ἐπὶ θήρᾳ πλεονεξιῶν, ὑπο-
βλέπονταί τε καὶ ἀποστρέφονται τὴν προσποίητον
κολακείαν καὶ τιθασείαν αὐτῶν δεδιότες ὡς
127 σφόδρα ἐπιζήμιον· ὁ δὲ θεὸς ἅτε βλάβην οὐκ ἐπι-
δεχόμενος ἅπαντας τοὺς καθ' ἡντινοῦν ἰδέαν προ-
αιρουμένους τιμᾶν αὐτὸν ἄσμενος προσκαλεῖται,
μηδένα σκορακίζειν ἀξιῶν τὸ παράπαν, ἀλλὰ μόνον
οὐκ ἄντικρυς τοῖς ἀκοὰς ἔχουσιν ἐν τῇ ψυχῇ θεσ-
128 πίζει τάδε· "τὰ μὲν πρῶτα τῶν ἄθλων κείσεται
τοῖς ἐμὲ θεραπεύουσι δι' ἐμὲ αὐτόν, τὰ δὲ δεύτερα
τοῖς δι' ἑαυτούς, ἢ τυχεῖν ἀγαθῶν ἐλπίζουσιν ἢ
τιμωριῶν ἀπαλλαγὴν εὑρήσεσθαι προσδοκῶσι· καὶ
γὰρ εἰ ἔμμισθος ἡ τῶνδε θεραπεία καὶ μὴ ἀδέκα-
στος, ἀλλ' οὐδὲν ἧττον ἐντὸς εἵλεῖται θείων περι-
129 βόλων καὶ οὐκ ἔξω πλάζεται. τὰ δὲ ἆθλα τοῖς |
[20] μὲν ἐμὲ τιμῶσι δι' ἐμὲ κείσεται φίλια, τοῖς δὲ διὰ
τὰς χρείας φίλια μὲν οὔ, τὸ δὲ μὴ ἀλλοτρίοις
νομίζεσθαι· δέχομαι γὰρ καὶ τὸν τῆς εὐεργέτιδός
μου δυνάμεως βουλόμενον μεταλαχεῖν εἰς μετουσίαν
ἀγαθῶν καὶ τὸν φόβῳ τὴν ἡγεμονικὴν καὶ δεσ-
ποτικὴν ἱλασκόμενον ἐξουσίαν εἰς ἀποτροπὴν κολά-
σεως· οὐ γὰρ ἀγνοῶ, διότι πρὸς τῷ χείρους μὴ
γίγνεσθαι καὶ βελτίους ἔσονται τῷ συνεχεῖ τῆς
θεραπείας εἰλικρινῇ καὶ καθαρὰν εὐσέβειαν ἀσκή-
130 σαντες. εἰ γὰρ καὶ μάλιστα οἱ τρόποι διαφέρουσιν,
ἀφ' ὧν ποιοῦνται τὰς πρὸς τὴν ἀρέσκειαν ὁρμάς,
οὐκ αἰτιατέον, ὅτι σκοπὸς εἷς καὶ τέλος ἕν ἐστιν
131 αὐτοῖς, τὸ θεραπεύειν ἐμέ." ὅτι δ' ἡ

the beneficial, the other by the kingly potency.
My meaning is something as follows : 126
men, when they see others approaching them under profession of friendship, in quest of advantages to be gained from them, look askance and turn away ; they fear that counterfeited adulation and suavity which they regard as exceedingly pernicious. But 127
God cannot suffer injury, and therefore He gladly invites all who set themselves to honour Him under any form whatsoever, and in His eyes none such deserves rejection. Indeed one might almost say that to those whose souls have ears God speaks plainly as follows : " My first prizes will be set apart 128
for those who honour Me for Myself alone, the second to those who honour Me for their own sakes, either hoping to win blessings or expecting to obtain remission of punishments, since, though their worship is for reward and not disinterested, yet all the same its range lies within the divine precincts and does not stray outside. But the prizes set aside for those 129
who honour Me for Myself will be gifts of friendship; to those whose motive is self-interest they do not show friendship but that I do not count them as aliens. For I accept both him who wishes to enjoy My beneficial power and thus partake of blessings and him who propitiates the dominance and authority of the master to avoid chastisement. For I know well that they will not only not be worsened, but actually bettered, through the persistence of their worship and through practising piety pure and undefiled. For, however different are the characters which pro- 130
duce in them the impulses to do My pleasure, no charge shall be brought against them, since they have one aim and object, to serve Me."

τριττὴ φαντασία δυνάμει[1] ἑνός ἐστιν ὑποκειμένου, φανερὸν οὐ μόνον ἐκ τῆς ἐν ἀλληγορίᾳ θεωρίας, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῆς ῥητῆς γραφῆς τάδε περιεχούσης·
132 ἡνίκα μὲν γὰρ ὁ σοφὸς ἱκετεύει τοὺς ἐοικότας ὁδοιπόροις τρεῖς ξενισθῆναι παρ' αὐτῷ, διαλέγεται τούτοις οὐχ ὡς τρισίν, ἀλλ' ὡς ἑνί, καὶ φησι· " κύριε, εἰ ἄρα εὗρον χάριν παρὰ σοί, μὴ παρέλθῃς τὸν παῖδά σου·" τὸ γὰρ " κύριε " καὶ τὸ " παρὰ σοὶ " καὶ τὸ " μὴ παρέλθῃς " καὶ ὅσα τοιαῦτα πρὸς ἕνα πέφυκεν ἀλλ' οὐ πρὸς πλείους λέγεσθαι· ἡνίκα δὲ ξενιζόμενοι φιλοφρονοῦνται τὸν ξενοδόχον, πάλιν εἷς ὑπισχνεῖται ὡς μόνος αὐτὸς παρὼν γνησίου παιδὸς σπορὰν διὰ τῶνδε· " ἐπανιὼν ἥξω πρὸς σὲ κατὰ τὸν καιρὸν τοῦτον εἰς νέωτα, καὶ ἕξει υἱὸν Σάρρα ἡ γυνή σου."
133 XXVI. Φανερώτατα μέντοι καὶ διαπονητότατα[2] μηνύει διὰ τῶν ἑξῆς τὸ δηλούμενον. ἡ Σοδομιτῶν χώρα, μοῖρα τῆς Χανανίτιδος γῆς, ἣν ὕστερον ὠνόμασαν Συρίαν Παλαιστίνην, ἀδικημάτων μυρίων ὅσων γεμισθεῖσα καὶ μάλιστα τῶν ἐκ γαστριμαργίας καὶ λαγνείας ὅσα τε μεγέθη καὶ πλήθη τῶν ἄλλων ἡδονῶν ἐπιτειχίσασα ἤδη παρὰ τῷ δικαστῇ
134 τῶν ὅλων κατέγνωστο. αἴτιον δὲ τῆς περὶ τὸ ἀκολασταίνειν ἀμετρίας ἐγένετο τοῖς οἰκήτορσιν ἡ τῶν χορηγιῶν ἐπάλληλος ἀφθονία· βαθύγειος γὰρ καὶ εὔυδρος οὖσα ἡ χώρα παντοίων ἀνὰ πᾶν ἔτος εὐφορίᾳ καρπῶν ἐχρῆτο· " μεγίστη δ' ἀρχὴ κακῶν "

[1] Cohn suspects δυνάμει, needlessly, I think. No doubt δυνάμει is properly opposed to οὐσίᾳ or ἐντελεχείᾳ. *Cf. De Op.* 47, *Leg. All.* i. 61. But the statement here is that the vision of one is the reality *which lies behind* the vision of three. *Actually* a φαντασία can only be of that which appears.

That the triple vision is in reality [a] a vision of a single 131
object is clear not merely from the principles of allegory but from the literal text which contains the following account. When the Sage supplicates the 132
three seeming travellers to accept his hospitality, he discourses with them as though they were one and not three. He says, "Sir, if indeed I have found favour with thee, do not thou pass thy servant by." Here "Sir" and "with thee" and "do not thou pass" and the other like phrases must be addressed to one and not to more than one; and during their entertainment, when they show courtesy to their host, we find one only, as though no other was present, promising the birth of a son born in wedlock in the following words: "I will return and come to thee at this season next year, and Sarah, thy wife, shall have a son." [b]

XXVI. [c] He brings out the point most clearly and 133
elaborately in what follows. The land of the Sodomites, a part of the land of Canaan afterwards called Palestinian Syria, was brimful of innumerable iniquities, particularly such as arise from gluttony and lewdness, and multiplied and enlarged every other possible pleasure with so formidable a menace that it had at last been condemned by the Judge of All. The inhabitants owed this extreme licence to the 134
never-failing lavishness of their sources of wealth, for, deep-soiled and well-watered as it was, the land had every year a prolific harvest of all manner of fruits,

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

[2] Some MSS. *ἀδιαπονητότατα* or *ἀδιαπόνητα*: Cohn suggests *ἀδιαπορητότατα*.

ὡς εἶπέ τις οὐκ ἀπὸ σκοποῦ "τὰ λίαν ἀγαθά."
135 ὧν ἀδυνατοῦντες φέρειν τὸν κόρον ὥσπερ τὰ θρέμματα σκιρτῶντες ἀπαυχενίζουσι τὸν τῆς φύσεως νόμον, ἄκρατον πολὺν καὶ ὀψοφαγίας καὶ ὀχείας ἐκθέσμους μεταδιώκοντες· οὐ γὰρ μόνον θηλυμανοῦντες ἀλλοτρίους γάμους διέφθειρον, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἄνδρες ὄντες ἄρρεσιν ἐπιβαίνοντες, τὴν κοινὴν πρὸς τοὺς πάσχοντας οἱ δρῶντες φύσιν οὐκ αἰδούμενοι, παιδοσποροῦντες ἠλέγχοντο μὲν ἀτελῆ γονὴν σπείροντες, ὁ δ' ἔλεγχος πρὸς οὐδὲν ἦν ὄφελος, ὑπὸ
136 βιαιοτέρας νικωμένων ἐπιθυμίας. εἶτ' ἐκ τοῦ κατ'
[21] | ὀλίγον ἐθίζοντες τὰ γυναικῶν ὑπομένειν τοὺς ἄνδρας γεννηθέντας θήλειαν κατεσκεύασαν αὐτοῖς νόσον, κακὸν δύσμαχον, οὐ μόνον τὰ σώματα μαλακότητι καὶ θρύψει γυναικοῦντες, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰς ψυχὰς ἀγεννεστέρας ἀπεργαζόμενοι, καὶ τό γε ἐπ' αὐτοὺς[1] ἦκον μέρος τὸ σύμπαν ἀνθρώπων γένος διέφθειρον· εἰ γοῦν Ἕλληνες ὁμοῦ καὶ βάρβαροι συμφωνήσαντες ἐζήλωσαν τὰς τοιαύτας ὁμιλίας, ἠρήμωντο ἂν ἐξῆς αἱ πόλεις ὥσπερ λοιμώδει νόσῳ
137 κενωθεῖσαι. XXVII. λαβὼν δὲ ὁ θεὸς οἶκτον ἅτε σωτὴρ καὶ φιλάνθρωπος τὰς μὲν κατὰ φύσιν ἀνδρῶν καὶ γυναικῶν συνόδους γινομένας ἕνεκα παίδων σπορᾶς ηὔξησεν ὡς ἔνι μάλιστα, τὰς δ' ἐκφύλους καὶ ἐκθέσμους διαμισήσας ἔσβεσε καὶ τοὺς ὀργῶντας ἐπὶ ταύτας προβαλόμενος οὐχὶ τὰς ἐν ἔθει καινουργήσας δ' ἐκτόπους καὶ παρηλλαγμένας
138 τιμωρίας ἐτιμωρήσατο. κελεύει γὰρ ἐξαίφνης τὸν ἀέρα νεφωθέντα πολὺν ὄμβρον οὐχ ὕδατος ἀλλὰ

[1] MSS. ἐφ' αὐτοῖς OR ἐπ' αὐτοῖς.

[a] ἀρχὴ μεγίστη τῶν ἐν ἀνθρώποις κακῶν, | ὠγαθέ, τὰ λίαν ἀγαθά. Menander.

and the chief beginning of evils, as one has aptly said, is goods in excess.[a] Incapable of bearing such satiety, 135
plunging like cattle, they threw off from their necks the law of nature and applied themselves to deep drinking of strong liquor and dainty feeding and forbidden forms of intercourse. Not only in their mad lust for women did they violate the marriages of their neighbours, but also men mounted males without respect for the sex nature which the active partner shares with the passive; and so when they tried to beget children they were discovered to be incapable of any but a sterile seed. Yet the discovery availed them not, so much stronger was the force of the lust which mastered them. Then, as little by little they accus- 136
tomed those who were by nature men to submit to play the part of women, they saddled them with the formidable curse of a female disease. For not only did they emasculate their bodies by luxury and voluptuousness but they worked a further degeneration in their souls and, as far as in them lay, were corrupting the whole of mankind. Certainly, had Greeks and barbarians joined together in affecting such unions, city after city would have become a desert, as though depopulated by a pestilential sickness.
XXVII. But God, moved by pity for mankind whose 137
Saviour and Lover He was, gave increase in the greatest possible degree to the unions which men and women naturally make for begetting children, but abominated and extinguished this unnatural and forbidden intercourse, and those who lusted for such He cast forth and chastised with punishments not of the usual kind but startling and extraordinary, newly-created for this purpose. He bade the air grow sud- 138
denly overclouded and pour forth a great rain, not of

πυρὸς ὕειν· ἀθρόας δὲ νιφούσης ἀδιαστάτῳ καὶ ἀπαύστῳ ῥύμῃ φλογός, ἐκαίοντο μὲν ἀγροὶ καὶ λειμῶνες καὶ λάσια ἄλση καὶ ἕλη δασύτατα καὶ δρυμοὶ βαθεῖς, ἐκαίετο δ' ἡ πεδιὰς καὶ ὁ τοῦ σίτου καὶ τῶν ἄλλων σπαρτῶν ἅπας καρπός, ἐκαίετο δὲ καὶ τῆς ὀρεινῆς ἡ δενδροφόρος, στελεχῶν ῥίζαις
139 αὐταῖς ἐμπιπραμένων· ἐπαύλεις δὲ καὶ οἰκίαι καὶ τείχη καὶ ὅσα ἐν οἰκοδομαῖς ἰδιωτικὰ καὶ δημόσια πάντα συγκατεπίμπραντο καὶ ἡμέρᾳ μιᾷ αἱ μὲν εὐανδροῦσαι πόλεις τάφος τῶν οἰκητόρων ἐγεγένηντο, αἱ δ' ἐκ λίθων καὶ ξύλων κατασκευαὶ τέφρα
140 καὶ λεπτὴ κόνις. ἐπεὶ δὲ τὰ ἐν φανερῷ καὶ ὑπὲρ γῆς ἅπαντα κατανάλωσεν ἡ φλόξ, ἤδη καὶ τὴν γῆν αὐτὴν ἔκαιε κατωτάτω διαδῦσα καὶ τὴν ἐνυπάρχουσαν ζωτικὴν δύναμιν ἔφθειρεν εἰς ἀγονίαν παντελῆ, ὑπὲρ τοῦ μηδ' αὖθίς ποτε καρπὸν ἐνεγκεῖν ἢ χλοηφορῆσαι τὸ παράπαν δυνηθῆναι· καὶ μέχρι νῦν καίεται, τὸ γὰρ κεραύνιον πῦρ ἥκιστα σβεννύμενον
141 ἢ νέμεται ἢ ἐντύφεται. πίστις δὲ σαφεστάτη τὰ ὁρώμενα· τοῦ γὰρ συμβεβηκότος πάθους μνημεῖόν ἐστιν ὅ τε ἀναδιδόμενος ἀεὶ καπνὸς καὶ ὃ μεταλλεύουσι θεῖον· τῆς δὲ περὶ τὴν χώραν παλαιᾶς εὐδαιμονίας ἐναργέστατον ὑπολείπεται δεῖγμα πόλις μία τῶν ὁμόρων καὶ ἡ ἐν κύκλῳ γῆ, πολυάνθρωπος μὲν ἡ πόλις, εὔχορτος δὲ καὶ εὔσταχυς καὶ συνόλως καρποφόρος ἡ γῆ, πρὸς ἔλεγχον δίκης γνώμῃ θείᾳ δικασθείσης.

142 XXVIII. Ἀλλὰ γὰρ οὐχ ἕνεκα τοῦ δηλῶσαί με τὰς μεγαλουργηθείσας συμφορὰς καινὰς ταῦτα διεξῆλθον, ἀλλ' ἐκεῖνο βουλόμενος παραστῆσαι, ὅτι τῶν τριῶν ὡς ἀνδρῶν ἐπιφανέντων τῷ σοφῷ δύο

water but fire. And when the flames streamed down massed in one constant and perpetual rush, they burnt up the fields and meadows, the leafy groves, the overgrowths of the marshland and the dense thickets. They burnt the plainland and all the fruit of the corn and other crops. They burnt the forest-land on the mountains, where trunks and roots alike were consumed. The conflagration reached to byres and 139
houses and walls and all public and private property contained in buildings; and in one day populous cities had become the grave of the inhabitants and fabrics of stone and timber had turned into ashes and fine dust. And when the flame had utterly consumed 140
all that was visible and above ground it penetrated right down into the earth itself, destroyed its inherent life-power and reduced it to complete sterility to prevent it from ever bearing fruit and herbage at all. And to this day it goes on burning, for the fire of the thunderbolt is never quenched but either continues its ravages or else smoulders. And the clearest proof 141
is what is still visible, for a monument of the disastrous event remains in the smoke which rises ceaselessly and the brimstone which the miners obtain; while the ancient prosperity of the country is most plainly attested by the survival of one of the cities of the neighbourhood and the land round it; for the city is thickly populated and the land rich in corn and pasturage and fertile in general, thus providing a standing evidence to the sentence decreed by the divine judgement.

XXVIII. However, I have given these details not in 142
order to describe the unprecedented calamity of God's mighty working, but in my wish to shew something else. Scripture tells us that of the three who appeared

[22] μόνους εἰς τὴν | ἀφανισθεῖσαν χώραν τὰ λόγιά φησιν ἐλθεῖν ἐπ' ὀλέθρῳ τῶν οἰκητόρων, τοῦ τρίτου μὴ
143 δικαιώσαντος ἥκειν· ὃς κατά γε τὴν ἐμὴν ἔννοιαν ἦν ὁ πρὸς ἀλήθειαν ὤν, ἁρμόττον ὑπολαβὼν εἶναι τὰ μὲν ἀγαθὰ παρὼν δι' αὑτοῦ χαρίζεσθαι, μόναις δ' ἐπιτρέπειν ταῖς δυνάμεσι καθ' ὑπηρεσίαν τὰ ἐναντία χειρουργεῖν, ἵνα μόνων ἀγαθῶν αἴτιος,
144 κακοῦ δὲ μηδενὸς προηγουμένως νομίζηται. τοῦτό μοι δοκοῦσι καὶ τῶν βασιλέων οἱ μιμούμενοι τὴν θείαν φύσιν πράττειν, τὰς μὲν χάριτας δι' ἑαυτῶν προτείνοντες, τὰς δὲ τιμωρίας δι' ἑτέρων βεβαιοῦν-
145 τες. ἀλλ' ἐπειδὴ τῶν δυεῖν δυνάμεων ἡ μὲν εὐεργέτις ἐστίν, ἡ δὲ κολαστήριος, ἑκατέρα κατὰ τὸ εἰκὸς ἐπιφαίνεται τῇ Σοδομιτῶν γῇ, διότι τῶν ἀρίστων ἐν αὐτῇ πέντε πόλεων τέτταρες μὲν ἔμελ λον ἐμπίπρασθαι, μία δὲ ἀπαθὴς παντὸς κακοῦ σῳος ὑπολείπεσθαι. ἐχρῆν γὰρ διὰ μὲν τῆς κολαστηρίου γίνεσθαι τὴν φθοράν, σώζεσθαι δὲ διὰ τῆς
146 εὐεργέτιδος. ἀλλ' ἐπειδὴ καὶ τὸ σῳζόμενον μέρος οὐχ ὁλοκλήρους καὶ παντελεῖς εἶχεν ἀρετάς, δυνάμει μὲν τοῦ ὄντος εὐεργετεῖτο, προηγουμένως δὲ τῆς ἐκείνου φαντασίας ἀνάξιον ἐνομίσθη τυχεῖν.

147 XXIX. Ἡ μὲν οὖν ἐν φανερῷ καὶ πρὸς τοὺς πολλοὺς ἀπόδοσις ἥδ' ἐστίν· ἡ δ' ἐν ἀποκρύφῳ καὶ πρὸς ὀλίγους, ὅσοι τρόπους ψυχῆς ἐρευνῶσιν ἀλλ' οὐ σωμάτων μορφάς, αὐτίκα λεχθήσεται. συμβολικῶς ἡ πεντάπολις αἱ ἐν ἡμῖν πέντε αἰσθήσεις εἰσί, τὰ τῶν ἡδονῶν ὄργανα, δι' ὧν ἅπασαι μικραί

---

[a] Or "primarily."

[b] The idea that God's direct agency appears only in doing good and that He leaves punishment to His subordinates has been already worked out in *De Conf.* 168 ff. on the text "let

to the Sage in the guise of men two only went on to the land whose existence was blotted out to destroy the inhabitants, but the third thought good not to accompany them. In my opinion that one was the 143
truly Existent, who held it fitting that He should be present to give good gifts by His own agency, but should leave the execution of the opposite of good entirely in the hands of His potencies acting as His ministers, that so He might appear to be the cause of good only, but not directly[a] the cause of anything evil.[b] This is the practice, I think, of kings also, who 144
imitate the divine nature. They are their own agents in granting boons, but employ others to enforce punishment. But since of the two potencies 145
one is beneficial and the other punitive it was natural that each should make his appearance in the land of the Sodomites, since of the five most flourishing cities in it four were to be burnt but one was to be left, preserved from all evil that could harm it. It was right that the punitive should be employed for destruction, but the beneficial for preservation. Yet since the 146
virtues of the part preserved were not complete and perfect, while it received benefits through a potency of the Existent, it was not thought worthy to be granted the vision of Him directly.

XXIX. Such is the natural and obvious rendering 147
of the story as suited for the multitude. We will proceed at once to the hidden and inward meaning which appeals to the few who study soul characteristics rather than bodily forms. Symbolically the group of five cities is the five senses in us, the instruments of the pleasures which, whether great or small, are

us go down and confuse their tongue," and so, too, in *De Fuga* 68 ff. *Cf.* also *De Op.* 72 ff.

148 τε αὖ καὶ μεγάλαι τελεσιουργοῦνται. ἢ γὰρ ὁρῶντες χρωμάτων καὶ σχημάτων ποικιλίας ἔν τε ἀψύχοις καὶ ψυχὴν ἔχουσιν ἡδόμεθα ἢ φωνῶν ἐμμελεστάτων ἀκούοντες ἢ κατὰ γεῦσιν ἐν τοῖς περὶ ἐδωδὴν καὶ πόσιν ἢ κατ' ὄσφρησιν ἐν εὐωδίαις ἀτμῶν ἢ ἐν μαλακοῖς καὶ θερμοῖς ἔτι δὲ λείοις κατὰ
149 τὴν ἁφήν. ζωωδέσταται μὲν οὖν καὶ ἀνδραποδωδέσταται τῶν πέντε τρεῖς εἰσιν αἰσθήσεις, γεῦσις, ὄσφρησις, ἁφή, περὶ ἃς τῶν θρεμμάτων καὶ τῶν θηρίων τὰ γαστριμαργότατα καὶ συνουσιαστικώτατα μάλιστα ἐπτόηται· δι' ὅλης γὰρ ἡμέρας καὶ νυκτὸς ἢ τροφῶν ἁπλήστως ἐμφορεῖται ἢ πρὸς τὰς
150 οἰκείας ὁρμᾷ. δύο δ' εἰσὶν ἐμφιλόσοφοι καὶ ἡγεμονίδες, ἀκοὴ καὶ ὅρασις· βραδύτερα δέ πως καὶ θηλύτερα ὦτα ὀφθαλμῶν ἐπὶ τὰ ὁρατὰ φθανόντων ὑπὸ εὐτολμίας καὶ οὐκ ἀναμενόντων, ἄχρις ἂν ἐκεῖνα κινήσῃ, προϋπαντιαζόντων δὲ καὶ ἀντικινῆσαι γλιχομένων. ἀκοὴ μὲν οὖν, διότι βραδεῖα καὶ
[23] θηλυτέρα, δευτερεύουσαν τάξιν τετάχθω, | προνομία δ' ἔστω τις ἐξαίρετος ὁράσει· ταύτην γὰρ ὁ θεὸς βασιλίδα τῶν ἄλλων ἀπέφηνεν ἐπάνω θεὶς ἁπασῶν καὶ ὥσπερ ἐπ' ἀκροπόλεως ἱδρυσάμενος οἰκειοτάτην
151 ἀπειργάσατο ψυχῇ. τεκμηριώσαιτο δ' ἄν τις ἐκ τοῦ συμμεταβάλλειν ταῖς ἐκείνης τροπαῖς· λύπης μὲν γὰρ ἐγγινομένης, ὀφθαλμοὶ συννοίας γέμουσι καὶ κατηφείας, χαρᾶς δ' ἔμπαλιν, ὑπομειδιῶσι καὶ γεγήθασι, φόβου δὲ κρατήσαντος, ταραχώδους γέμουσιν ἀταξίας, κινήσεις καὶ παλμοὺς
152 καὶ περιστροφὰς ἀτάκτους ἐνδεχόμενοι· εἰ δ' ὀργὴ κατάσχοι, τραχυτέρα πως καὶ ὕφαιμος ἡ ὄψις, καὶ ἐν μὲν τῷ λογίζεσθαι καὶ φροντίζειν τινὸς ἠρεμεῖ καὶ ἐκνένευκε, μόνον οὐ συνεκτείνουσα τῇ διανοίᾳ

brought to their accomplishment by the senses. For 148
we get pleasure either by seeing varieties of colours
and shapes in objects, whether possessed of physical
life or not, or by hearing very melodious sounds or
through taste in matters of food and drink, or through
smell in fragrant perfumes or through touch in soft
and warm and also in smooth substances. Now of the 149
five, the three most animal and servile are taste, smell,
and touch, which cause particular excitation in the
cattle and wild beasts most given to gluttony and
sexual passion. For all day and night they fill them-
selves with food insatiably or are at rut. The other 150
two have a link with philosophy and hold the leading
place—hearing and sight. But the ears are in a way
more sluggish and womanish than eyes. The eyes
have the courage to reach out to the visible objects
and do not wait to be acted on by them, but anticipate
the meeting, and seek to act upon them instead.
Hearing, then, sluggish and more womanish as it is,
must be put in the second place and a special preced-
ence must be given to sight, for God has made it the
queen of the other senses and set it above them all,
and, establishing it as it were on a citadel, has
associated it most closely with the soul.
We may find a proof of this in the way in which it 151
changes with the soul's phases. When the soul feels
grief, the eyes are full of anxiety and depression.
When on the other hand it feels joy, they smile and
rejoice. When fear is supreme, they are full of tur-
bulent confusion, and move and quiver and roll con-
fusedly. If anger prevails, the organ of sight is 152
harsher and bloodshot, and during reflection and care-
ful consideration of any question it has a quiet and
distant appearance, almost as though it was accommo-

ἑαυτήν, ἐν δὲ ταῖς ἀναψύξεσι καὶ ἀνέσεσι συνανίεται
153 καὶ χαλᾶται· καὶ προσιόντι μὲν φίλῳ προευαγγελίζεται τὸ τῆς εὐνοίας πάθος εὐδίῳ καὶ γαληνῷ βλέμματι, εἰ δ' ἐχθρὸς τύχοι, τὸ δυσάρεστον τῆς ψυχῆς πάθος προμηνύει· καὶ θρασύτητι μὲν προπηδῶσι καὶ προεκτρέχουσιν ὀφθαλμοί, αἰδοῖ δὲ πράως ἠρεμοῦσι· [καὶ] ὡς συνελόντι φράσαι ψυχῆς εἰκόνα δεδημιουργῆσθαι τὴν ὅρασιν ἀκρότητι τέχνης εὖ μεμιμημένης ἐναργὲς ἐμφαίνουσαν εἴδωλον οἷα διὰ κατόπτρου τὴν φύσιν ὁρατὴν ἐξ αὐτῆς οὐκ ἐχούσης.
154 ἀλλὰ γὰρ οὐ ταύτῃ μόνον τὰς ἄλλας αἰσθήσεις ὑπερβάλλει τὸ κάλλος ὀφθαλμῶν, ἀλλὰ καὶ διότι τῶν ἄλλων ἐν ταῖς ἐγρηγόρσεσι—τὴν γὰρ καθ' ὕπνον ἀπραξίαν οὐ παραληπτέον—ἐπιλείπουσιν αἱ χρήσεις· ὁπότε γὰρ μὴ κινήσειέ τι τῶν ἐκτός, ἡσυχάζουσιν, αἱ δὲ τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν ἀναπεπταμένων ἐνέργειαι συνεχεῖς καὶ ἀδιάστατοι μηδέποτε πληρουμένων εἰσὶ καὶ ταύτῃ παριστάντων, ἣν ἔχουσι πρὸς
155 ψυχὴν συγγένειαν. ἀλλ' ἐκείνη μὲν ἀεικίνητος οὖσα μεθ' ἡμέραν καὶ νύκτωρ διανίσταται, τοῖς δ' ἄτε σαρκὸς πλεῖστον μετέχουσιν αὐτάρκης ἐδόθη δωρεά, μέρος ἥμισυ τοῦ παντὸς χρόνου καὶ βίου διατελεῖν ἐνεργοῦντας τὰς ἁρμοττούσας ἐνεργείας.
156 XXX. ὃ δ' ἐστὶν ἀναγκαιότατον τῆς ἀπὸ τῶν ὀμμάτων ὠφελείας, ἤδη λεκτέον. μόνῃ γὰρ ὁράσει τῶν αἰσθήσεων ὁ θεὸς ἀνέτειλε φῶς, ὃ καὶ τῶν ὄντων ἐστὶ κάλλιστον καὶ πρῶτον ἐν ἱεραῖς
157 βίβλοις ὠνομάσθη καλόν. διττὴ δὲ φωτὸς φύσις· τὸ μὲν γὰρ ἀπὸ τοῦ χρειώδους πυρός, φθαρτοῦ φθαρτόν, ἐκλάμπει σβέσιν ἐνδεχόμενον, τὸ δὲ

[a] For the distinction between the "useful" and the "heavenly" fire *cf. Quis Rerum* 136 and note.

dating itself to the outlook of the mind. In times of mental refreshment and relaxation it relaxes also and is at its ease. When a friend approaches, its peaceful 153
and sunny look is the happy herald of the kindly feeling within, while in the case of an enemy it gives a warning of the soul's displeasure. Courage makes the eyes dart swiftly forward. Modesty makes them gentle and reposeful. In short, one may say that sight has been created as an image of the soul, and through the perfection of the art which has produced so faithful a copy presents a clear and mirror-like reflection of the original whose nature is in itself invisible. But indeed it is not only in this 154
way that the excellence of the eyes exceeds the other senses, but also because in waking moments, since we need not consider their inaction in sleep, they cease to function. For when no outward object moves them they are still, whilst the eyes when open are constant and unceasing in their activities; they have always room for more, and in this way they shew their kinship with the soul. But, while the soul is always in motion and wakeful 155
day and night, the eyes in which the fleshly is the principal ingredient must rest satisfied with the gift of continuing to exercise the activities which befit them for half the whole span of time and human life.

XXX. But the most vital part of the 156
benefit we gain from sight remains now to be told. God made the light to shine upon sight alone of the senses, and light is the best of existing things and was the first to be called good in the sacred books. Now 157
light has a double nature: one is the effulgence of the fire of common use,[a] perishable as that which produces it and liable to extinction, the other, the

ἄσβεστον καὶ ἀδιάφθορόν ἐστιν, ἄνωθεν ἀπὸ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ πρὸς ἡμᾶς φερόμενον, ὥσπερ ἀπ' ἀενάων πηγῶν ἑκάστου τῶν ἀστέρων αὐγὰς ἐκχέοντος· ἑκατέρῳ δ' ἡ ὄψις ἐνομιλεῖ καὶ δι' ἀμφοτέρων προσβάλλει τοῖς ὁρατοῖς εἰς ἀκριβεστάτην ἀντί-
158 ληψιν. ἔτι τοίνυν ἐπιχειρῶμεν ὀφθαλμοὺς λόγοις ἐγκωμιάζειν, τοῦ θεοῦ τοὺς ἀληθεῖς ἐπαίνους αὐτῶν
[24] | στηλιτεύσαντος ἐν οὐρανῷ, τοὺς ἀστέρας; ἡλίου γὰρ αὐγαὶ καὶ σελήνης καὶ τῶν ἄλλων πλανήτων καὶ ἀπλανῶν τοῦ χάριν γεγόνασιν ὅτι μὴ τῆς ὀφθαλμῶν ἐνεργείας εἰς τὴν τοῦ ὁρᾶν ὑπηρεσίαν;
159 διὸ καὶ προσχρώμενοι τῇ πασῶν ἀρίστῃ δωρεᾷ φωτὶ καταθεῶνται τὰ ἐν κόσμῳ, γῆν, φυτά, ζῷα, καρπούς, πελαγῶν ἀναχύσεις ποταμοὺς αὐθιγενεῖς τε καὶ χειμάρρους πηγῶν τε διαφοράς, ὧν αἱ μὲν ψυχρὸν αἱ δὲ θερμὸν νᾶμα προχέουσι, πάντων τῶν κατὰ τὸν ἀέρα συνισταμένων τὰς φύσεις —ἀμύθητοι δέ εἰσιν ἰδέαι καὶ ἀπερίληπτοι λόγῳ,— καὶ ἐπὶ πᾶσι τὸν οὐρανόν, ὃς ἀληθείᾳ κόσμος ἐν κόσμῳ δεδημιούργηται, καὶ τὰ κατ' οὐρανὸν κάλλη καὶ θεῖα ἀγάλματα. τίς οὖν τῶν ἄλλων αἰσθήσεων ἐπαυχήσει διαβῆναί ποτε τοσοῦτον;
160 XXXI. ἀλλ' ἐάσαντες τὰς ἐπὶ ταῖς φάτναις τὸ σύμφυτον ἡμῖν θρέμμα πιαινούσας, τὴν ἐπιθυμίαν, ἐξετάσωμεν τὴν λόγου μεταποιουμένην ἀκοήν· ἧς ὁ σύντονος καὶ τελειότατος δρόμος ἵσταται κατὰ ἀέρα τὸν περίγειον, ὅταν βία πνευμάτων καὶ κτύποι βροντῶν συρμὸν πολὺν καὶ χαλεπὸν πάταγον
161 ἐξηχῶσιν. ὀφθαλμοὶ δὲ ἀπὸ γῆς ἐν ἀκαρεῖ φθάνουσιν εἰς οὐρανὸν καὶ τὰ πέρατα τοῦ παντός, ἐπ' ἀνατολὰς ὁμοῦ καὶ δύσεις ἄρκτον τε καὶ μεσημβρίαν,

unquenchable and imperishable, brought to us from heaven above, where each of the stars pours forth its rays as though from perennial fountains. With each of these the sight is conversant, and through both it strikes upon visible objects so as to apprehend them with all exactness. Need we still try to expend words 158
in extolling the eyes, when God has set graven in the heaven their true praises, the stars? For with what purpose have the rays of the sun and moon and the other stars, planets or fixed, been made save to serve the action of the eyes and to minister to sight? And 159
so it is, by using light, the best of gifts, that men contemplate the world's contents, earth, plants, living creatures, fruits, seas with their tides, rivers spring-fed or winter torrents, various kinds of fountains, some sending up a cold, others a warm, stream, and all the phenomena of the air with their several natures, the different forms of which are so countless that speech can never include them all; above all, heaven, which in truth has been framed as a world within a world, and the divine and hallowed forms which beautify it. Which of the other senses, then, can boast that it ever traverses so great a span?
XXXI. Let us leave out of consideration those senses 160
which do but fatten in its manger the beast which shares our nature, lust, and examine the one which does lay claim to reason, hearing. When its travelling is tense and at its fullest, that is when the violent winds with their long, sweeping sound or the loud thunders with their terrific claps make themselves heard, it halts within the air that surrounds the earth. But the eyes leave earth and in an instant 161
reach heaven, and the boundaries of the universe, east, west, north and south alike, and when they

⟨καὶ⟩ ἀφικνούμενοι πρὸς τὸ θεωρεῖν ἔλκουσιν ἐπὶ
162 τὰ φανέντα τὴν διάνοιαν. ἡ δὲ τὸ παραπλήσιον ἐνδεξαμένη πάθος οὐκ ἠρεμεῖ, ἀλλ' ἅτε ἀκοίμητος καὶ ἀεικίνητος οὖσα, παρὰ τῆς ὄψεως τοῦ δύνασθαι τὰ νοητὰ θεωρεῖν τὰς ἀφορμὰς λαβοῦσα, εἰς σκέψιν ἦλθε, πότερον τὰ φανέντα ταῦτ' ἐστὶν ἀγένητα ἢ γενέσεως ἔλαβεν ἀρχὴν καὶ πότερον ἄπειρα ἢ πεπερασμένα καὶ πότερον εἷς ἢ πλείονές εἰσι κόσμοι καὶ πότερον τὰ τέτταρα στοιχεῖα τῶν ἁπάντων ἐστὶν ἢ φύσιν ἐξαίρετον οὐρανὸς καὶ τὰ
163 ἐν αὐτῷ κεκλήρωται θειοτέρας καὶ οὐχὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις τῆς αὐτῆς οὐσίας ἐπιλαχόντα· εἰ δὲ δὴ καὶ γέγονεν ὁ κόσμος, ὑπὸ τίνος γέγονε καὶ τίς ὁ δημιουργὸς κατ' οὐσίαν ἢ ποιότητα καὶ τί διανοηθεὶς ἐποίει καὶ τί νῦν πράττει καὶ τίς αὐτῷ διαγωγὴ καὶ βίος καὶ ὅσα ἄλλα περιττὸς νοῦς φρονήσει συμβιῶν εἴωθε
164 διερευνᾶσθαι. ταῦτα δὲ καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα ἀνάκειται τῷ φιλοσοφεῖν· ἐξ οὗ δῆλόν ἐστιν, ὅτι σοφία καὶ φιλοσοφία τὴν ἀρχὴν ἀπ' οὐδενὸς εἴληφεν ἑτέρου τῶν ἐν ἡμῖν ἢ τῆς ἡγεμονίδος τῶν αἰσθήσεων ὁράσεως, ἣν καὶ μόνην ἐκ τῆς σωματικῆς χώρας διέσωσεν ὁ θεὸς τὰς τέσσαρας φθείρας, ὅτι αἱ μὲν σαρκὶ καὶ τοῖς σαρκὸς πάθεσιν ἐδούλευσαν, ἡ δὲ ἴσχυσεν ἀνατεῖναι τὸν αὐχένα καὶ βλέψαι καὶ |
[25] τέρψεις ἑτέρας ἀνευρεῖν πολὺ βελτίους τῶν σωματικῶν ἡδονῶν ἐκ τῆς περὶ τὸν κόσμον θεωρίας καὶ
165 τῶν ἐν αὐτῷ. μίαν οὖν ὥσπερ ἐκ πενταπόλεως τῶν πέντε αἰσθήσεων τὴν ὅρασιν ἐξαιρέτου γέρως τυχεῖν ἁρμόττον ἦν καὶ φθειρομένων τῶν ἄλλων διαμένειν,

---

[a] For the thought *cf. Timaeus* 47A "whence," *i.e.* from the knowledge which sight gives us, "we have derived

arrive draw the understanding to the observation of what they have seen. And the under- 162
standing affected in like manner is not quiescent, but, unsleeping and constantly in motion as it is, takes the sight as the starting-point for its power of observing the things of the mind, and proceeds to investigate whether these phenomena are uncreated or had some beginning of creation, whether they are infinite or finite, whether there is one world or more than one, whether the four elements make up all things, or on the other hand heaven and its contents enjoy a special nature of their own and have been given a substance which differs from the others and is more divine. Further, if the world has been 163
created, who is the Creator? What is His essence and quality? What was His purpose in making it? What does He do now and what is His occupation and way of life? And all the other questions which the curious mind with good sense ever at its side is wont to explore. But these and the like belong to philosophy, 164
whence it is clear that wisdom and philosophy owe their origin to no other of our faculties but to the princess of the senses, sight.[a] And this alone of all the bodily region did God preserve when He destroyed the four, because they were in slavery to flesh and the passions of flesh, while the sight had the strength to stretch its neck upwards, and to look, and to find in the contemplation of the world and its contents pleasures far better than those of the body. It was fitting, 165
then, that the one of the five senses which form, so to speak, a group of five cities, should receive a special privilege and continue to exist when the others were

philosophy." A similar adaptation of the same passage was made in *De Op.* 54, where see note.

ὅτι οὐ περὶ τὰ θνητὰ εἰλεῖται μόνον ὡς ἐκεῖναι, μετανίστασθαι δὲ πρὸς τὰς ἀφθάρτους φύσεις ἀξιοῖ
166 χαίρουσα τῇ θέᾳ τούτων. διὸ καὶ παγκάλως "μικράν" τε καὶ "οὐ μικρὰν" τὴν πόλιν ταύτην οἱ χρησμοὶ διασυνιστᾶσιν αἰνιττόμενοι τὴν ὄρασιν· μικρὰ μὲν γὰρ λέγεται εἶναι, διότι βραχὺ μέρος τῶν ἐν ἡμῖν ἐστι, μεγάλη δέ, διότι μεγάλων ἐφίεται τὸν σύμπαντα οὐρανὸν καὶ κόσμον γλιχομένη καταθεάσασθαι.

167 XXXII. Περὶ μὲν οὖν τῆς ἐπιφανείσης ὄψεως καὶ τῶν ἀοιδίμων καὶ παγκάλων ξενίων, ἐν οἷς δοκῶν ἑστιᾶν ὁ ξενοδόχος εἱστιᾶτο, καθ' ὅσον ἐφικτὸν ἦν, ἀκριβοῦσιν ἡμῖν τὰ περὶ τὸν τόπον δεδήλωται. μεγίστην δὲ πρᾶξιν ἀξίαν ἀκοῆς οὐχ ἡσυχαστέον· ὀλίγου γὰρ δέω φάναι πάσας ὅσαι θεο-
168 φιλεῖς ὑπερβάλλει. λεκτέον δὲ τὰ καίρια περὶ αὐτῆς. υἱὸς ἐκ τῆς γαμετῆς γίνεται τῷ σοφῷ γνήσιος, ἀγαπητὸς καὶ μόνος, τό τε σῶμα κάλ-
169 λιστος καὶ τὴν ψυχὴν ἄριστος· ἤδη γὰρ τελειοτέρας τῆς ἡλικίας ἐξέφαινεν ἀρετάς, ὡς τὸν πατέρα μὴ πάθει μόνον εὐνοίας φυσικῆς ἀλλὰ καὶ γνώμῃ καθάπερ ἠθῶν δικαστὴν ἰσχυρᾷ τινι κεχρῆσθαι φιλοστοργίᾳ. διακειμένῳ δ' οὕτως ἐξαπιναίως
170 θεσπίζεται λόγιον οὔποτ' ἐλπισθέν, σφαγιάσαι τὸν υἱὸν ἐπί τινος ὑψηλοτάτου κολωνοῦ πορρωτάτω πόλεως ἀποστάντα τριῶν ὁδὸν ἡμερῶν. ὁ δὲ καίτοι

---

[a] Gen. xix. 20 *πόλις αὕτη ἐγγὺς . . . ἡ ἐστι μικρά. . . . οὐ μικρά ἐστι;* R.V. "This city is near . . . and it is a little one. . . . Is it not a little one?" Philo either fails to see that the last three words are a question, or more probably thinks that the grammatical possibility of treating them as a statement is a sufficient ground for extracting an allegorical lesson.

destroyed, because its range is not confined to mortal things, as theirs is, but it aspires to find a new home amid imperishable beings and rejoice in their contemplation. And therefore it is excellently said, 166
when the oracles represent this city first as small and then as not small, figuring thereby sight.[a] For sight is said to be small in that it is a little part of all we contain, but great in that great are its desires, since it is the whole world and heaven which it yearns to survey.

XXXII. [b] I have now told with all the care that lay 167
within my powers the story of the vision which was manifested to Abraham and of that splendid and magnificent exchange of hospitality, where the host who seemed to give the feast was himself the feasted. But his greatest action which deserves reporting must not be passed over in silence. For I might almost say that all the other actions which won the favour of God are surpassed by this; and on this subject I must say what is needed. The wife of the 168
Sage bore to him in full wedlock his only and dearly-cherished son, a child of great bodily beauty and excellence of soul. For already he was showing a perfection of virtues beyond his years, so that his father, moved not merely by a feeling of natural affection but also by such deliberate judgement as a censor of character might make, cherished for him a great tenderness. Such were his feelings when 169
suddenly to his surprise there came a divine message that he should sacrifice his son on a certain lofty hill at a very considerable distance,[c] as much as three days' journey, from the city. He, though devoted to 170

[b] For §§ 167-177 see Gen. xxii. 1-19.

[c] Strictly speaking ἀποστάντα agrees with υἱὸν. Perhaps we should read ἀποστάντος.

ἀλέκτῳ πόθῳ τοῦ παιδὸς ἐκκρεμάμενος οὔτε τὴν χρόαν μετέβαλεν οὔτε τὴν ψυχὴν ἐγνάμφθη, γνώμῃ δ' ἀνενδότῳ καὶ ἀρρεπεῖ διέμεινεν ἀκλινής, οἷος καὶ πρόσθεν ἦν· ἔρωτι δὲ θείῳ δεδαμασμένος ἀνὰ κράτος ἐνίκα πάντα ὅσα συγγενείας ὀνόματα καὶ φίλτρα καὶ μηδενὶ τῶν ἔνδον ἐξειπὼν τὸ λόγιον, ἐκ πολυανθρώπου θεραπείας οἰκετῶν δύο μόνους τοὺς πρεσβυτάτους καὶ μάλιστα φιλοδεσπότους παραλαβών, ὡς ἕνεκά τινος ἱερουργίας τῶν ἐν ἕθει τέταρτος
171 ἐξήει σὺν τῷ παιδί. τὸν δὲ προσταχθέντα χῶρον ὥσπερ ἀπὸ σκοπιᾶς ἰδὼν ἐκ μακροῦ τοῖς μὲν θεράπουσι κελεύει καταμένειν, τῷ δὲ παιδὶ πῦρ καὶ ξύλα δίδωσι κομίζειν, αὐτὸ δικαιώσας τὸ ἱερεῖον τὰ πρὸς τὴν θυσίαν ἐπηχθίσθαι, κουφότατον βάρος·
172 οὐδὲν γὰρ εὐσεβείας ἀπονώτερον. βαδίζοντες δ' ἰσοταχῶς οὐ τοῖς σώμασι μᾶλλον ἢ ταῖς διανοίαις ὁδὸν τὴν ἐπίτομον, ἧς ὁσιότης τὸ τέλος, ἐπὶ τὸν | [26]
173 προσταχθέντα τόπον ἀφικνοῦνται. κἄπειθ' ὁ μὲν πατὴρ συνεκόμιζε λίθους, ἵνα δείμαιτο βωμόν, ὁ δὲ υἱὸς τὰ μὲν ἄλλα ὁρῶν ὅσα πρὸς ἱερουργίαν εὐτρεπῆ, ζῷον δὲ μηδέν, ἀπιδὼν εἰς τὸν πατέρα "ἰδοὺ τὸ πῦρ" ἔφη "καὶ τὰ ξύλα, πάτερ, ποῦ τὸ ἱερεῖον;"
174 ἕτερος μὲν οὖν ἃ δρᾶν ἔμελλεν εἰδὼς καὶ τῇ ψυχῇ συσκιάζων ὑπὸ τοῦ λεχθέντος κἂν συνεχύθη καὶ δακρύων πληρωθεὶς ἔμφασιν τοῦ γενησομένου παρ-
175 έσχεν ἐκ τῆς περιπαθήσεως ἡσυχάζων. ὁ δ' οὐδεμίαν ἐνδεξάμενος τροπὴν οὔτε κατὰ τὸ σῶμα οὔτε κατὰ τὴν διάνοιαν σταθερῷ μὲν τῷ βλέμματι σταθερῷ δὲ τῷ λογισμῷ φησι πρὸς τὴν πεῦσιν ἀποκρινόμενος· "ὦ τέκνον, ὁ θεὸς ὄψεται ἱερεῖον

[a] Literally "the names and love-charms of kinship."
[b] In Genesis Isaac does not carry the fire.

his son with a fondness which no words can express, shewed no change of colour nor weakening of soul, but remained steadfast as ever with a judgement that never bent nor wavered. Mastered by his love for God, he mightily overcame all the fascination expressed in the fond terms of family affection,[a] and told the divine call to none of his household, but taking out of his numerous following two only, the oldest and most loyal, he went forth with his son, four in all, as though to perform one of the ordinary rites. But, when, like 171
a scout on some commanding point, he saw the appointed place afar off, he bade his servants stay there, but gave his son the fire [b] and wood to carry; for he thought it good that the victim himself should bear the load of the instruments of sacrifice, a light burden indeed, for nothing is less toilsome than piety. They walked with equal speed of mind rather 172
than body along the short straight road at the end of which is holiness and came to the appointed place.[c] And then, while the father was collecting stones to 173
build the altar, the son, seeing everything else ready for sacrifice but no animal, looked at his father and said: "My father, behold the fire and the wood, but where is the victim?" To anyone else who 174
knew what he was about to do, and was hiding it in his heart, these words would have brought confusion and tearfulness and he would have remained silent through extreme emotion, and thus given an indication of what was going to happen. But Abraham 175
admitted no swerving of body or mind, and with visage and thought alike unmoved he said in answer to the question, "Child, God will provide Himself a

[c] LXX Gen. xxii. 8 καὶ ἐπορεύθησαν οἱ δύο ἅμα. Philo has gained from this phrase a fuller spiritual lesson in *De Mig.* 166 f.

ἑαυτῷ καὶ ἐν ἐρημίᾳ πολλῇ, δι' ἣν ἴσως ἀπογινώσκεις εὑρεθήσεσθαι· πάντα δ' ἴσθι θεῷ δυνατὰ καὶ ὅσα ἐν ἀμηχάνῳ καὶ ἀπόρῳ κεῖται παρ' ἀνθρώ-
176 ποις." καὶ ταῦθ' ἅμα λέγων ᾗ τάχιστα τὸν υἱὸν ἐξαρπάσας ἐπιτίθησι τῷ βωμῷ καὶ σπασάμενος τῇ δεξιᾷ τὸ ξίφος ἐπέφερεν ὡς ἀναιρήσων· φθάνει δ' ὁ σωτὴρ θεὸς ἀπ' ἀέρος φωνῇ μεσολαβήσας τὸ ἔργον, ᾗ προσέταττεν ἀνέχειν καὶ μὴ ψαῦσαι τοῦ παιδός, ὀνομαστὶ καλέσας δὶς τὸν πατέρα, ἵν' ἐπιστρέψας καὶ ἀντισπάσας διακωλύσῃ τὴν σφαγὴν
177 ἐργάσασθαι. XXXIII. καὶ ὁ μὲν διασῴζεται, τὸ δῶρον ἀντιχαρισαμένου τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ τὸν φέροντα ἐν οἷς εὐσεβεῖτο ἀντιτιμήσαντος· τῷ δ' ἤδη καὶ ἡ πρᾶξις, εἰ καὶ μὴ τὸ τέλος ἐπηκολούθησεν, ὁλόκληρος καὶ παντελὴς οὐ μόνον ἐν ταῖς ἱεραῖς βίβλοις ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐν ταῖς τῶν ἀναγινωσκόντων διανοίαις ἀνάγραπτος ἐστηλίτευται.

178 Ἀλλὰ τοῖς φιλαπεχθήμοσι καὶ πάντα διαβάλλουσιν, οἳ ψόγον πρὸ ἐπαίνου τιμᾶν ἐθίζονται, τὸ πραχθὲν ἔργον οὐ δοκεῖ μέγα καὶ θαυμαστόν, ὡς
179 ἡμεῖς ὑπολαμβάνομεν εἶναι. πολλοὺς γὰρ καὶ ἄλλους φασὶ τῶν πάνυ φιλοικείων καὶ φιλοτέκνων ἐπιδοῦναι τοὺς ἑαυτῶν παῖδας, τοὺς μὲν ὑπὲρ πατρίδων σφαγιασθησομένους, λυτήρια ἢ πολέμων ἢ αὐχμῶν ἢ ἐπομβρίας ἢ νοσημάτων λοιμικῶν γενησομένους, τοὺς δ' ὑπὲρ νενομισμένης εὐσεβείας, εἰ
180 καὶ μὴ πρὸς ἀλήθειαν οὔσης· Ἑλλήνων μέν γε τοὺς δοκιμωτάτους, οὐκ ἰδιώτας μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ βασιλεῖς, ὀλίγα φροντίσαντας ὧν ἐγέννησαν διὰ τῆς τούτων ἀναιρέσεως δυνάμεις στρατευμάτων μεγάλας καὶ πολυανθρώπους ἐν μὲν τῇ συμμαχίᾳ τεταγ-

victim, even in this wide desert, which perhaps makes you give up hope of finding it; but know that to God all things are possible, including those that are impossible or insuperable to men." And, as he said 176
this, he hastily seized his son, laid him on the altar and with his drawn knife in his right hand was preparing with it to deal the death blow. But ere he did so, God the Saviour stopped the deed half-way with a voice from the air, in which He ordered him to stay and not touch the lad. And twice He called the father by name to turn him and draw him back from his purpose and thus prevent his carrying out the slaughter. XXXIII. So Isaac was saved, since 177
God returned the gift of him and used the offering which piety rendered to Him to repay the offerer, while for Abraham the action, though not followed by the intended ending, was complete and perfect, and the record of it as such stands graven not only in the sacred books but in the minds of the readers.

But quarrelsome critics who misconstrue every- 178
thing and have a way of valuing censure above praise do not think Abraham's action great or wonderful, as we suppose it to be. They say that many other 179
persons, full of love for their kinsfolk and offspring, have given their children, some to be sacrificed for their country to serve as a price to redeem it from wars or drought or excessive rainfall or pestilence, others for the sake of what was held to be piety though it is not really so. Indeed they say that 180
among the Greeks men of the highest reputation, not only private individuals but kings, have with little thought of their offspring put them to death, and thereby saved armed forces of great strength and magnitude when enlisted as their allies, and

μένας διασῶσαι, ἐν δὲ τῇ μερίδι τῶν ἐχθρῶν αὐτο-
181 βοεὶ διαφθεῖραι· βαρβαρικὰ δὲ ἔθνη μέχρι πολλοῦ
παιδοκτονίαν ὡς ὅσιον ἔργον καὶ θεοφιλὲς προσέσ-
θαι, ὧν μεμνῆσθαι τοῦ ἄγους καὶ τὸν ἱερώτατον
Μωυσῆν· αἰτιώμενος γὰρ αὐτοὺς τοῦ μιάσματος
φάσκει, ὅτι "τοὺς υἱοὺς αὐτῶν καὶ τὰς θυγατέρας
182 κατακαίουσι τοῖς θεοῖς αὐτῶν"· Ἰνδῶν δὲ | τοὺς
[27] γυμνοσοφιστὰς ἄχρι νῦν, ἐπειδὰν ἄρχηται καταλαμ-
βάνειν ἡ μακρὰ καὶ ἀνίατος νόσος, τὸ γῆρας, πρὶν
βεβαίως κρατηθῆναι, πυρὰν νήσαντας ἑαυτοὺς ἐμ-
πιπράναι, δυναμένους ἔτι πρὸς πολυετίαν ἴσως
ἀντισχεῖν· ἤδη δὲ καὶ γύναια προαποθανόντων
ἀνδρῶν ὁρμῆσαι γεγηθότα πρὸς τὴν αὐτὴν πυρὰν
καὶ ζῶντα τοῖς ἐκείνων σώμασιν ὑπομεῖναι συγ-
183 καταφλεχθῆναι· ταῦτα μὲν εἰκότως ἄν τις τῆς
εὐτολμίας θαυμάσειεν ἐκ πολλοῦ τοῦ περιόντος
καταφρονητικῶς ἔχοντα θανάτου καὶ ὡς ἐπ'
ἀθανασίαν αὐτὸν ἰέμενα καὶ ἀπνευστὶ θέοντα·
XXXIV. τὸν δὲ τί προσῆκεν ἐπαινεῖν ὡς ἐγχειρη-
τὴν κεκαινουργημένης πράξεως, ἣν καὶ ἰδιῶται καὶ
βασιλεῖς καὶ ὅλα ἔθνη δρῶσιν ἐν καιροῖς;
184 ἐγὼ δὲ πρὸς τὴν τούτων βασκανίαν καὶ πικρίαν
ἐκεῖνα λέξω· τῶν καταθυόντων παῖδας οἱ μὲν ἔθει
τοῦτο δρῶσιν, ὥσπερ ἐνίους ἔφασκον τῶν βαρ-
βάρων, οἱ δὲ δι' ἀβουλήτους καὶ μεγάλας ὑποθέσεις
πόλεών τε καὶ χωρῶν ἑτέρως κατορθοῦσθαι μὴ
δυναμένων, ὧν οἱ μὲν ἀνάγκῃ τοὺς αὐτῶν ἐπι-

---

[a] Philo may be thinking of Iphigeneia and Macaria in Euripides' *Heracleidae*, though neither exactly fits the circumstances.

[b] Deut. xii. 31.

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

[c] For Philo's knowledge of the Indian custom see App. p. 598.

διδόασιν ὑπὸ δυνατωτέρων βιασθέντες, οἱ δὲ δόξης καὶ τιμῆς ἐφιέμενοι καὶ εὐκλείας μὲν τῆς ἐν τῷ
185 παρόντι, εὐφημίας δὲ τῆς εἰς ὕστερον. οἱ μὲν οὖν ἔθει σφαγιάζοντες οὐδὲν ὡς ἔοικε μέγα δρῶσιν· ἐγχρονίζον γὰρ ἔθος ἐξισοῦται φύσει πολλάκις, ὡς καὶ τὰ δυσυπομόνητα καὶ δυσκαρτέρητα ῥᾳδίως ἐπελαφρίζειν, τὰς ὑπερβολὰς τῶν φοβερῶν ἐξευ-
186 μαρίζον. τῶν δ' ἕνεκα δέους ἐπιδιδόντων ἔπαινος οὐδείς· ὁ γὰρ ἔπαινος ἐν ἑκουσίοις κατορθώμασι γράφεται, τὰ δ' ἀβούλητα ἑτέροις ἀνάκειται πράγμασιν, ἢ καιροῖς ἢ τύχαις ἢ ταῖς ἀπ' ἀνθρώπων
187 ἀνάγκαις. εἰ δέ τις δόξης ὀρεγόμενος υἱὸν ἢ θυγατέρα προΐεται, ψέγοιτ' ἂν ἐνδίκως μᾶλλον ἢ ἐπαινοῖτο, θανάτῳ τῶν φιλτάτων ὠνούμενος τιμήν, ἣν καὶ κεκτημένος ὤφειλεν ὑπὲρ σωτηρίας τῶν
188 τέκνων ἀπορρίπτειν. ἐρευνητέον οὖν, εἰ ὑπό τινος τῶν λεχθέντων ἡττηθεὶς ἐκεῖνος ἔμελλε σφαγιάζειν τὸν υἱόν, ἔθους ἢ τιμῆς ἢ δέους. ἔθος μὲν οὖν τὸ ἐπὶ παιδοκτονίᾳ Βαβυλὼν καὶ Μεσοποταμία καὶ τὸ Χαλδαίων ἔθνος οὐ παραδέχεται, ἐν οἷς ἐτράφη καὶ ἐπεβίωσε τὸν πλείονα χρόνον, ὡς τῇ συνεχείᾳ τῶν δρωμένων ἀμβλυτέραις ταῖς τῶν δει-
189 νῶν φαντασίαις κεκρατῆσθαι[1] δοκεῖν. καὶ μὴν οὐδὲ φόβος τις ἦν ἀπ' ἀνθρώπων—οὐδὲ γὰρ τὸ χρησθὲν αὐτῷ μόνῳ λόγιον ᾔδει τις—, οὐδέ τις συμφορὰ κοινὴ κατείληφεν, ἧς ἔδει τὴν θεραπείαν ἀναιρέσει
190 γενέσθαι τοῦ δοκιμωτάτου παιδός. ἀλλὰ θηρώ-
[28] μενος | ἔπαινον τῶν πολλῶν ἐπὶ τὴν πρᾶξιν ὥρμησε;

[1] Perhaps, as Mangey suggests, κεχρῆσθαι.

pressure of higher powers, partly through desire for glory and honour, to win fame at the time and a good name in the future. Now those who are led 185
by custom to make the sacrifice would not seem to be doing anything great, for long-standing custom often becomes equal to nature, so that in matters where patience and resolution are difficult to attain it gives ease and relief by reducing their terrors to moderate dimensions. Where the gift is made 186
through fear no praise is due, for praise is recorded for voluntary good deeds, while for those which are involuntary other things are responsible, favourable occasions, chances or force brought to bear by men. And if anyone throws away a son or a daughter 187
through desire for glory he will be justly blamed rather than praised, for with the life of his dearest he is purchasing an honour which he ought to cast aside, if he possessed it, to ensure the safety of his children. We must therefore examine 188
whether Abraham, when he intended to sacrifice his son, was mastered by any of these motives, custom or love of honour or fear. Now in Babylonia and Mesopotamia and with the nation of the Chaldeans with whom he was brought up and lived the greater part of his life the custom of child slaughter does not obtain, so as to suggest that his realization of its horrors was rendered less powerful by the regularity of such a practice. Surely, too, he had nothing to 189
fear from man, since no one knew of the oracular message which he alone had received; nor was he under the pressure of any public misfortune which could be remedied only by the immolation of a child of special worth. Or was the quest of praise from the 190
multitude the motive which urged him to the deed?

καὶ τίς ἔπαινος ἐν ἐρημίᾳ, μηδενὸς τοῦ μέλλοντος ἐπευφημήσειν παρόντος, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν δυεῖν οἰκετῶν μακρὰν ἐπίτηδες ἀπολειφθέντων, ἵνα μὴ ἐγκαλλωπίζεσθαι καὶ ἐνεπιδείκνυσθαι δοκῇ μάρτυρας
191 ἐπαγόμενος ὧν εὐσέβει; XXXV. στόμασιν οὖν ἀχαλίνοις καὶ κακηγόροις θύρας ἐπιθέντες μετριαζέτωσαν τὸν ἐν αὐτοῖς μισόκαλον φθόνον καὶ ἀρετὰς ἀνδρῶν εὖ βεβιωκότων μὴ σινέσθωσαν, ἃς ἁρμόττον ἦν εὐφημίᾳ συνεπικοσμεῖν.

ὅτι δὲ τῷ ὄντι ἐπαινετὴ καὶ ἀξιέραστος ἡ πρᾶξις, ἐκ
192 πολλῶν εὐμαρὲς ἰδεῖν. πρῶτον μὲν τοίνυν τὸ πείθεσθαι θεῷ παρὰ πᾶσι τοῖς εὖ φρονοῦσι σεμνὸν καὶ περιμάχητον εἶναι νομιζόμενον ἐν τοῖς μάλιστα ἐπετήδευεν, ὡς μηδενὸς πώποτε τῶν προστεταγμένων ἀλογῆσαι, ἄνευ δυσκολίας καὶ ἀηδίας, κἂν πόνων τε καὶ ἀλγηδόνων μεστὸν ᾖ· παρὸ καὶ τὸ χρησθὲν ἐπὶ τῷ υἱῷ γενναιότατα καὶ στερρότατα
193 ἤνεγκεν. ἔπειτ' οὐκ ὄντος ἔθους ἐν τῇ χώρᾳ, καθάπερ ἴσως παρ' ἐνίοις ἐστίν, ἀνθρωποθυτεῖν, ὃ τῇ συνεχείᾳ τὰς τῶν δεινῶν φαντασίας εἴωθεν ἐκλύειν, αὐτὸς ἔμελλε πρῶτος ἄρχεσθαι καινοτάτου καὶ παρηλλαγμένου πράγματος, ὅ μοι δοκεῖ μηδεὶς ἂν ὑπομεῖναι, καὶ εἰ σιδήρου τὴν ψυχὴν ἢ ἀδάμαντος κατεσκεύαστο· "φύσει" γὰρ ὡς εἶπέ τις "ἔργον
194 μάχεσθαι." γνήσιόν τε υἱὸν πεποιημένος μόνον τοῦτον εὐθὺς εἶχε καὶ τὸ πάθος ἐπ' αὐτῷ τῆς εὐνοίας γνήσιον, ὑπερβάλλον τοὺς σώφρονας ἔρωτας
195 καὶ τὰς φιλίας, ὅσαι δι' ὀνόματος γεγόνασι. προσῆν

What praise could there be in a solitude where no one was present to report his fame afterwards, but even the two servants had been purposely left afar off lest he should appear to be making a boastful parade by bringing witnesses to his pious conduct? XXXV. Let them, therefore, set bolt and bar to 191
their unbridled evil-speaking mouths, control their envy and hatred of excellence and not mar the virtues of men who have lived a good life, virtues which they should rather help to glorify by their good report. That the deed really deserves our praise and love can easily be seen in many ways. First, 192
then, he made a special practice of obedience to God, a duty which every right-minded person holds to be worthy of all respect and effort. Hitherto he had not neglected any of God's commands, nor ever met them with repining or discontent, however charged with toils and pains they might be, and therefore he bore the sentence pronounced on his son with all nobleness and firmness. Secondly, since 193
human sacrifice was not in that country, as it was perhaps in some, sanctioned by custom which is so apt through constant repetition to weaken the realization of the terrible, he would have been the first himself to initiate a totally new and extraordinary procedure, and this, to my mind, is a thing which no one could have brought himself to do even if his soul had been made of iron or adamant, for, as it has been said, it is hard work to fight against nature. And, 194
as he had begotten no son in the truest sense but Isaac, his feeling of affection for him was necessarily on the same high level of truth, higher even than the chaste forms of love and also the much talked-of ties of friendship. Further, he had a most potent 195

δέ τι καὶ βιαστικώτατον φίλτρον, τὸ μὴ καθ' ἡλικίαν ἀλλ' ἐν γήρᾳ γεγεννηκέναι τὸν παῖδα· τοῖς γὰρ ὀψιγόνοις ἐπιμεμήνασί πως οἱ τοκεῖς, ἢ τῷ μακρὸν ἐπιποθῆσαι χρόνον τὴν γένεσιν αὐτῶν ἢ τῷ μηκέθ' ἑτέρους ἐλπίζειν ἔσεσθαι, τῆς φύσεως ἐνταῦθα ἱσταμένης ὡς ἐπὶ τελευταῖον καὶ ὕστατον
196 ὅρον. ἐκ πολυπαιδίας μὲν οὖν ἕνα προέσθαι θεῷ καθάπερ ἀπαρχήν τινα τέκνων παράδοξον οὐδέν, ἔχοντα τὰς ἐπὶ τοῖς ζῶσιν ἡδονὰς οὐ μικρὰ παραμύθια καὶ μειλίγματα τῆς ἐπὶ τῷ σφαγιασθέντι λύπης· ὃν δὲ μόνον τις ἔσχεν ἀγαπητὸν διδοὺς λόγου παντὸς μεῖζον ἔργον διαπράττεται, μηδὲν οἰκειότητι χαριζόμενος, ἀλλ' ὅλῃ τῇ ῥοπῇ πρὸς τὸ θεοφιλὲς
197 ταλαντεύων. ἐκεῖνο μὲν δὴ ἐξαίρετον καὶ μόνῳ σχεδόν τι τούτῳ πεπραγμένον· οἱ μὲν γὰρ ἄλλοι, κἂν ὑπὲρ σωτηρίας πατρίδων ἢ στρατευμάτων ἐπιδιδῶσι σφαγιασθησομένους τοὺς ἑαυτῶν, ἢ οἶκοι καταμένουσιν ἢ μακρὰν ἀφίστανται τῶν βωμῶν ἤ, κἂν παρατυγχάνωσι, τὰς ὄψεις ἀποστρέφονται θεά-
198 σασθαι μὴ ὑπομένοντες, ἄλλων ἀναιρούντων· ὁ δ'
[29] ὥσπερ ἱερεὺς | αὐτὸς κατήρχετο τῆς ἱερουργίας, ἐφ' υἱῷ τὰ πάντα ἀρίστῳ φιλοστοργότατος πατήρ· ἐμέλισε δ' ἂν ἴσως καὶ νόμῳ τῶν ὁλοκαυτωμάτων κατὰ μέλη τὸν υἱὸν ἱερουργῶν. οὕτως οὐ τὸ μέν τι μέρος ἀπέκλινε πρὸς τὸν παῖδα, τὸ δέ τι πρὸς εὐσέβειαν, ἀλλ' ὅλην τὴν ψυχὴν δι' ὅλων ὁσιότητι προσεκλήρωσεν ὀλίγα φροντίσας συγγενικοῦ αἵ-
199 ματος. τί δὴ τῶν εἰρημένων πρὸς ἑτέρους κοινόν; τί δ' οὐκ ἐξαίρετον καὶ παντὸς λόγου κρεῖττον;

incentive to love in that he had begotten the boy in his old age and not in his years of vigour. For parents somehow dote on their late-born children, either because they have longed for their birth for so many years or because they do not hope to have any more, since nature comes to a halt at this point as its final and furthermost boundary. For a father 196
to surrender one of a numerous family as a tithe to God is nothing extraordinary, since each of the survivors continues to give him pleasure, and this is no small solace and mitigation of his grief for the one who has been sacrificed. But one who gives his only darling son performs an action for which no language is adequate, since he concedes nothing to the tie of relationship, but his whole weight is thrown into the scale on the side of acceptability with God. The following point is exceptional, and his conduct 197
in it is practically unique. Other fathers, even if they give their children to be sacrificed for the safety of their country or armies, either stay at home or stand far away from the altars, or, if they are present, turn away their eyes, since they cannot bear the sight, and leave others to kill the victim. But here 198
we have the most affectionate of fathers himself beginning the sacrificial rite as priest with the very best of sons for victim. Perhaps too, following the law of burnt offering, he would have dismembered his son and offered him limb by limb. Thus we see that he did not incline partly to the boy and partly to piety, but devoted his whole soul through and through to holiness and disregarded the claims of their common blood. Which of all the points men- 199
tioned is shared by others? Which does not stand by itself and defy description? Thus everyone who

ὡς τόν γε μὴ φύσει βάσκανον καὶ φιλοπόνηρον καταπλαγῆναι καὶ θαυμάσαι τῆς περιττῆς ἄγαν εὐσεβείας, οὐχ ἅπαντα ὅσα εἶπον ἀθρόα εἰς νοῦν βαλλόμενον, ἀλλὰ κἂν ἕν τι τῶν πάντων· ἱκανὴ γὰρ καὶ ἡ ἑνὸς φαντασία τύπῳ τινὶ βραχεῖ—βραχὺ δ' οὐδὲν ἔργον σοφοῦ—μέγεθος ψυχῆς καὶ ὕψος ἐμφῆναι.

200 XXXVI. Ἀλλὰ γὰρ οὐκ ἐπὶ τῆς ῥητῆς καὶ φανερᾶς ἀποδόσεως ἵσταται τὰ λεχθέντα, φύσιν δὲ τοῖς πολλοῖς ἀδηλοτέραν ἔοικε παρεμφαίνειν, ἣν οἱ τὰ νοητὰ πρὸ τῶν αἰσθητῶν ἀποδεχόμενοι καὶ ὁρᾶν
201 δυνάμενοι γνωρίζουσιν. ἔστι δὲ τοιάδε· ὁ μελλήσας σφαγιάζεσθαι καλεῖται Χαλδαϊστὶ μὲν Ἰσαάκ, Ἑλληνιστὶ δὲ μεταληφθέντος τοῦ ὀνόματος "γέλως". γέλως δ' οὐχ ὁ κατὰ παιδιὰν ἐγγινόμενος σώματι παραλαμβάνεται τὰ νῦν, ἀλλ' ἡ κατὰ
202 διάνοιαν εὐπάθεια καὶ χαρά. ταύτην ὁ σοφὸς ἱερουργεῖν λέγεται δεόντως θεῷ διὰ συμβόλου παριστάς, ὅτι τὸ χαίρειν μόνῳ θεῷ οἰκειότατόν ἐστιν· ἐπίλυπον μὲν γὰρ τὸ ἀνθρώπινον γένος καὶ περιδεές, ἢ παρόντων κακῶν ἢ προσδοκωμένων, ὡς ἢ ἐπὶ τοῖς ἐν χερσὶν ἀβουλήτοις ἀνιᾶσθαι ἢ ἐπὶ τοῖς μέλλουσι ταραχῇ καὶ φόβῳ κραδαίνεσθαι· ἄλυπος δὲ καὶ ἄφοβος καὶ παντὸς πάθους ἀμέτοχος ἡ τοῦ θεοῦ φύσις εὐδαιμονίας καὶ μακαριότητος παντελοῦς
203 μόνη μετέχουσα. τῷ δὴ τὴν ἀληθῆ ταύτην ὁμολογίαν ὡμολογηκότι τρόπῳ χρηστὸς ὢν καὶ φιλάνθρωπος ὁ θεός, φθόνον ἐληλακὼς ἀφ' ἑαυτοῦ, προσηκόντως ἀντιχαρίζεται τὸ δῶρον, καθ' ὅσον ἔχει δυνάμεως ὁ ληψόμενος, καὶ μόνον οὐ ταῦτα θεσπίζει

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

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

XXXVI. But the story here told is not confined to 200
the literal and obvious explanation, but seems to have in it the elements of a further suggestion, obscure to the many but recognized by those who prefer the mental to the sensible and have the power to see it. It is as follows. The proposed victim is 201
called in Chaldaean Isaac, but, if the word is translated into our language, Laughter. But the laughter here understood is not the laughter which amusement arouses in the body, but the good emotion[a] of the understanding, that is joy. This the Sage is 202
said to sacrifice as his duty to God, thus showing in a figure that rejoicing is most closely associated with God alone. For mankind is subject to grief and very fearful of evils either present or expected, so that men are either distressed by disagreeables close at hand or are agitated by troublous fear of those which are still to come. But the nature of God is without grief or fear and wholly exempt from passion of any kind, and alone partakes of perfect happiness and bliss. The frame of mind which has made this true 203
acknowledgement God, Who has banished jealousy from His presence in His kindness and love for mankind, fitly rewards by returning the gift in so far as the recipient's capacity allows. And indeed we may

204 λέγων· " τὸ μὲν τῆς χαρᾶς γένος καὶ τὸ χαίρειν ὅτι
οὐκ ἔστιν ἑτέρου πλὴν ἐμοῦ τοῦ πατρὸς τῶν ὅλων
κτῆμα, σαφῶς οἶδα, κεκτημένος δ' ὅμως οὐ φθονῶ
τοῖς ἀξίοις χρῆσθαι· ἄξιος δὲ τίς ἂν εἴη, πλὴν εἴ
τις ἐμοὶ καὶ τοῖς ἐμοῖς βουλήμασιν ἕποιτο; τούτῳ
γὰρ ἥκιστα μὲν ἀνιᾶσθαι ἥκιστα δὲ φοβεῖσθαι συμ-
βήσεται πορευομένῳ ταύτην τὴν ὁδόν, ἣ πάθεσι μὲν
καὶ κακίαις ἐστὶν ἄβατος, εὐπαθείαις δὲ καὶ ἀρεταῖς
205 ἐμπεριπατεῖται." μηδεὶς δ' ὑπολαβέτω
τὴν ἄκρατον καὶ ἀμιγῆ λύπης χαρὰν ἀπ' οὐρανοῦ
[30] καταβαίνειν ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν, ἀλλὰ | κέκραται[1] ἐξ ἀμφοῖν,
περιττεύοντος τοῦ κρείττονος· ὅνπερ τρόπον καὶ τὸ
φῶς ἐν οὐρανῷ μὲν ἄκρατον καὶ ἀμιγὲς σκότους
ἐστίν, ἐν δὲ τοῖς ὑπὸ σελήνην ἀέρι ζοφερῷ κεκρα-
206 μένον φαίνεται. ταύτης ἕνεκα τῆς αἰτίας δοκεῖ μοι
καὶ πρότερον γελάσασα ἡ ἀρετῆς ἐπώνυμος Σάρρα
πρὸς τὸν πυνθανόμενον ἀρνήσασθαι τὸν γέλωτα,
καταδείσασα μή ποτε ἄρα τὸ χαίρειν οὐδενὸς ὂν
γενητοῦ, μόνου δὲ τοῦ θεοῦ, σφετερίζηται· διόπερ
θαρσύνων αὐτὴν ὁ ἱερὸς λόγος φησί· μηδὲν εὐλαβη-
207 θῇς, ὄντως ἐγέλασας καὶ μέτεστί σοι χαρᾶς. οὐ
γὰρ εἴασεν ὁ πατὴρ τῶν ἀνθρώπων τὸ γένος λύπαις
καὶ ὀδύναις καὶ ἄχθεσιν ἀνιάτοις ἐμφέρεσθαι, παρ-
έμιξε δὲ καὶ τῆς ἀμείνονος φύσεως, εὐδιάσαι καὶ
γαληνιάσαι ποτὲ τὴν ψυχὴν δικαιώσας· τὴν δὲ τῶν

[1] MSS. ἀλλ' *ἐγκέκραται* or ἀλλὰ *κρέμαται et alia.* Perhaps ἀλλά *κρᾶμά τι.*

[a] Gen. xviii. 12 and 15. Sarah's laughter has been explained in the obvious way in § 112. Here we have a more

almost hear His voice saying: "All joy and rejoicing 204
I know well is the possession of none other save Me alone, the Father of All. Yet I do not grudge that this My possession should be used by such as are worthy, and who should be worthy save one who should follow Me and My will, for he will prove to be most exempt from distress and fear if he travels by this road which passion and vice cannot tread, but good feelings and virtue can walk therein."

But let no one suppose that joy de- 205
scends from heaven to earth pure and free from any mixture of grief. No, it is a mixture of both, though the better element is the stronger, just as light too in heaven is pure from any mixture of darkness but in regions below the moon is clearly mixed with dusky air. This was the reason, I think, why Sarah 206
who bears the name of virtue first laughs, and then, in reply to her questioner, denies the laughter.[a] She feared lest she should be grasping for herself the joy which belongs not to created being but to God alone. Therefore, the holy word bids her be of good cheer and says: "Be not afraid: thou didst indeed laugh and dost participate in joy." For the 207
Father did not suffer the whole course of the human race to move amid griefs and pains and burdens which admit no remedy, but mixed with them something of the better nature and judged it well that the soul should at times dwell in sunshine and calm; and as

spiritual interpretation. That the laughter signified joy, not incredulity, has already been suggested in *Leg. All.* iii. 217 f. and *De Mut.* 166. In neither of these places, however, has the subsequent denial been dealt with. The interpretation here suggested that the soul begins to doubt whether joy is not more than humanity can expect appears again in *Spec. Leg.* ii. 54.

σοφῶν καὶ τὸν πλείω χρόνον τοῦ βίου γήθειν καὶ εὐφραίνεσθαι τοῖς τοῦ κόσμου θεωρήμασιν ἐβουλήθη.

208 XXXVII. Τοσαῦτα μὲν περὶ τῆς τοῦ ἀνδρὸς εὐσεβείας, εἰ καὶ πολλῶν ἄλλων ἐστὶν ἀφθονία, λελέχθω. διερευνητέον δὲ καὶ τὴν πρὸς ἀνθρώπους αὐτοῦ δεξιότητα· τῆς γὰρ αὐτῆς φύσεώς ἐστιν εὐσεβῆ τε εἶναι καὶ φιλάνθρωπον, καὶ περὶ τὸν αὐτὸν ἑκάτερον, ὁσιότης μὲν πρὸς θεόν, δικαιοσύνη δὲ πρὸς ἀνθρώπους, θεωρεῖται. πάντα μὲν οὖν τὰ πεπραγμένα μακρὸν ἂν εἴη διεξιέναι, δυεῖν δὲ ἢ
209 τριῶν οὐκ ἄτοπον ἐπιμνησθῆναι. πολυάργυρος καὶ πολύχρυσος ἐν τοῖς μάλιστα ὢν καὶ θρεμμάτων πολυζώους ἔχων ἀγέλας καὶ τῶν ἐγχωρίων καὶ αὐτοχθόνων τοῖς ἱκανὰ κεκτημένοις ἐν τῷ περιουσιάζειν ἀμιλλώμενος καὶ πλουσιώτερος γεγονὼς ἢ κατὰ μέτοικον ὑπ' οὐδενὸς ἐμέμφθη τῶν ὑποδεξαμένων, ἀλλ' ὑπὸ πάντων τῶν εἰς πεῖραν ἐλθόντων
210 ἐπαινούμενος διετέλεσεν. εἰ δὲ καί τις, οἷα φιλεῖ πολλάκις, ἐκ θεραπόντων καὶ τῶν συνδιατριβόντων ἅμιλλα καὶ διαφορὰ πρὸς ἑτέρους ἐγένετο, ταύτην ἐπειρᾶτο διαλύειν ἡσυχῇ βαρυτέρῳ ἤθει τὰ φιλόνεικα καὶ ταραχώδη καὶ στασιαστικὰ πάντα προβε-
211 βλημένος καὶ τῆς ψυχῆς ἀπεληλακώς. καὶ θαυμαστὸν οὐδέν, εἰ πρὸς τοὺς ἀλλοτρίους τοιοῦτος ἦν, οἳ βαρυτέρᾳ καὶ δυνατωτέρᾳ χειρὶ συμφωνήσαντες ἠμύναντο ἂν ἄρχοντα χειρῶν ἀδίκων, ὁπότε καὶ πρὸς τοὺς γένει μὲν οἰκείους, γνώμῃ δ' ἠλλοτριω-

---

[a] Or "kindness and courtesy." See note on *De Fuga* 31.
[b] For Abraham's wealth *cf.* Gen. xiii. 2 and xxiv. 35.
[c] Or "seriousness." But the word seems strange.

for the soul of the wise He willed that it should pass the chief part of its life in glad-hearted contemplation of what the world has to show.

XXXVII. These examples must suffice for our 208
treatment of Abraham's piety, though others might be found in great plenty. But we must also examine the good and wise behaviour[a] shown in his dealings with men. For the nature which is pious is also kindly, and the same person will exhibit both qualities, holiness to God and justice to men. It would be too long, indeed, to describe all his actions, but it would not be out of place to mention two or three. Though he was exceedingly rich[b] in silver and gold 209
and possessed many herds of numerous live-stock and in abundance of wealth rivalled those of the natives and original inhabitants who possessed good means, and became more opulent than would be expected of an immigrant, he incurred no censure from those who received him into their midst but continued to be praised by all who had experience of him. But, if, as often happens, any of his ser- 210
vants or regular associates had a quarrel or difference with his neighbours, he would try to put an end to it quietly, banishing and expelling from the soul by means of his greater dignity[c] of character all that tended to strife and confusion and faction. And we need not wonder that he so bore himself to 211
strangers who could have united to repel him with their superior weight of strength if he was the aggressor in injustice, when we see what moderation he showed to those who, connected with him by birth but estranged from him in moral principles, stood

Mangey wished to read πραοτέρῳ. Cohn notes that the Armenian seems to have read πραοτέρῳ τὰ βαρύτερα.

μένους, ἐρήμους καὶ μόνους καὶ πολλῷ καταδεέστερα κεκτημένους ἐμετρίαζεν, ἐλαττούμενος ἑκὼν
212 ἐν οἷς πλεονεκτεῖν ἐδύνατο. ἦν γὰρ ἀδελφιδοῦς αὐτῷ, τῆς πατρίδος ὅτε μετανίστατο, συνεξεληλυθώς, ἀβέβαιος, ὑπαμφίβολος, ἀντιρρέπων ὧδε
[31] κἀκεῖσε, τοτὲ μὲν προσσαίνων | φιλικοῖς ἀσπάσμασι, τοτὲ δὲ ἀφηνιάζων καὶ ἀπαυχενίζων διὰ τὴν
213 τῶν τρόπων ἀνωμαλίαν. ὅθεν καὶ τὸ οἰκετικὸν αὐτῷ δύσερι καὶ ταραχῶδες ἦν σωφρονιστὴν οὐκ ἔχον καὶ μάλιστα τὸ ποιμενικὸν μακρὰν τοῦ δεσπότου διεζευγμένον· ἀπελευθεριάζοντες γοῦν ὑπ' αὐθαδείας ἀεὶ διεφέροντο τοῖς προεστηκόσι τῶν θρεμμάτων τοῦ σοφοῦ τὰ πολλὰ εἰκουσι διὰ τὴν τοῦ δεσπότου πραϋπάθειαν· ὑφ' οὗ πρὸς ἀπόνοιαν ἐπιδόντες καὶ θράσος ἀναίσχυντον ὤργων, μηνιῶντες ἤδη καὶ τὸ ἀκατάλλακτον ἐν αὐτοῖς ζωπυροῦντες, ἕως ἀπηνάγκασαν τοὺς ἀδικουμένους εἰς
214 ἄμυναν ὁρμῆσαι. μάχης δὲ ἐμβριθεστάτης γενομένης, ἀκούσας ὁ ἀστεῖος τὴν ἀντεφόρμησιν, εἰδὼς ἐπικυδεστέραν οὖσαν τὴν αὐτοῦ μερίδα πλήθει τε καὶ δυνάμει, τὴν διαφορὰν οὐκ εἴασεν ἄχρι νίκης ἐλθεῖν, ὑπὲρ τοῦ μὴ ἀνιᾶσαι τὸν ἀδελφιδοῦν ἐφ' ἥττῃ τῶν ἰδίων, ἀλλ' ἐν μεθορίῳ στὰς συμβατηρίοις λόγοις τοὺς διαφερομένους κατήλλαξεν, οὐ πρὸς τὸ παρὸν μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸν μέλλοντα χρόνον.
215 εἰδὼς γὰρ ὅτι συνοικοῦντες μὲν καὶ ἐν ταὐτῷ διαιτώμενοι γνωσιμαχοῦντες φιλονεικήσουσι στάσεις ἀεὶ καὶ πολέμους κατ' ἀλλήλων ἐγείροντες, ἵνα

---

[a] For §§ 212-216 see Gen. xiii. 5-11.

alone and unsupported and with possessions far inferior to his, and how he willingly accepted to be at a disadvantage when he might have taken advantage of them. [a] For he had a nephew who had 212
accompanied him when he migrated from his native land, an unreliable and hesitating person, ever inclining this way and that, sometimes fawning on him with loving greetings, sometimes rebellious and refractory through the inconsistency of his different moods. Therefore his servants too were quarrel- 213
some and turbulent, as they had no one to control them, and this was particularly the case with the shepherds who were stationed at a distance from their master; thus breaking out of control in their wilfulness they were ever quarrelling with the Sage's herdsmen who many times gave way to them because of their master's gentleness. Then, advancing to a senseless audacity which knew no shame, they grew rampant and fostered in their hearts the flame of a passion beyond hope of conciliation until they compelled their opponents to begin defending themselves against the injustice. When the fight had 214
become very serious, the man of worth, hearing how the aggressors had been countered, and knowing that his own party was more distinguished in strength and number, did not allow the quarrel to be terminated by a victory, as he did not wish to distress his nephew through seeing his own party defeated. So he took up his stand between them and reconciled the disputants by proposals of agreement, good not only for the present but for the future. For he 215
knew that if they lived together and shared the same dwelling-place they would engage in obstinate contention, for ever stirring up wars and factions against

μὴ τοῦτο γένοιτο, συμφέρον ὑπέλαβεν εἶναι παραιτήσασθαι τὸ ὁμοδίαιτον καὶ τὴν οἴκησιν διαζεῦξαι· καὶ μεταπεμψάμενος τὸν ἀδελφιδοῦν αἵρεσιν αὐτῷ δίδωσι τῆς ἀμείνονος χώρας, ἄσμενος ὁμολογῶν ἣν ἂν ἐπιλέξηται μερίδα λήψεσθαι· κερδανεῖν γὰρ
216 κέρδος μέγιστον, τὴν εἰρήνην. καίτοι τίς ἂν ἕτερος ἀσθενεστέρῳ παραχωρήσειεν οὐτινοσοῦν ἰσχυρότερος ὤν; τίς δὲ νικᾶν δυνάμενος βούλοιτ' ἂν ἡττᾶσθαι, μὴ συγχρώμενος τῷ δύνασθαι; μόνος δὲ οὗτος τὸ ἄριστον οὐκ ἐν ῥώμῃ καὶ πλεονεξίᾳ τιθέμενος ἀλλ' ἐν ἀστασιάστῳ βίῳ καὶ τό γε ἐπ' αὐτὸν ἦκον μέρος ἡσυχάζοντι πάντων ἔδοξεν εἶναι θαυμασιώτατος.

217 XXXVIII. Ἐπειδὴ τοίνυν ὡς ἐπ' ἀνθρώπου ἡ λέξις ἐγκωμιαστικὴ λέλεκται, μηνύονται δὲ καὶ τρόποι ψυχῆς κατὰ τοὺς ἀπὸ τῶν ῥητῶν ἐπὶ τὰ νοητὰ μετιόντας, ἁρμόττον ἂν εἴη καὶ τούτους
218 ἀνερευνῆσαι. μυρίοι μὲν οὖν εἰσιν ἀπὸ μυρίων ἀφορμῶν κατὰ παντοδαπὰς ἰδέας πραγμάτων συνιστάμενοι, δύο δ' οἱ νυνὶ μέλλοντες ἐπικρίνεσθαι τρόποι, ὧν ὁ μὲν πρεσβύτερος, ὁ δὲ νεώτερος, πρεσβύτερος μὲν ὁ τὰ πρῶτα καὶ ἡγεμονικὰ τῇ φύσει τιμῶν, νεώτερος δὲ ὁ τὰ ὑπήκοα καὶ ἐν
219 ἐσχατιαῖς ἐξεταζόμενα. πρεσβύτερα μὲν οὖν καὶ ἡγεμονικὰ φρόνησις καὶ σωφροσύνη καὶ δικαιοσύνη
[32] καὶ ἀνδρεία καὶ πᾶν ὅ τι περὶ ἀρετὴν | καὶ αἱ κατ' ἀρετὴν πράξεις· νεώτερα δὲ πλοῦτος καὶ δόξα καὶ ἀρχὴ καὶ εὐγένεια, οὐχ ἡ ἀληθής, ἀλλ' ἣν οἱ πολλοὶ νομίζουσι, καὶ ὅσα ἄλλα τὴν τρίτην μετὰ τὰ ψυχικὰ

each other. To prevent this, he thought it expedient to refuse to continue their living together and to arrange for their dwelling at a distance from each other. So, sending for his nephew, he gave him a choice of the better district, gladly agreeing that he should take whatever part he chose; for he considered that he would thereby get peace, the greatest of gains. And yet who else would give 216
way in any single point to the weaker if he were the stronger? Who, when he could conquer, would be willing to be defeated and not avail himself of his power? He alone took for his ideal not the exercise of strength and self-aggrandizement but a life free from strife and so far as lay with him of tranquillity, and thereby he showed himself the most admirable of men.

XXXVIII. The actual words of the story are an 217
encomium on Abraham as a man; but, according to those who proceed from the literal to the spiritual, characters of soul are indicated also, and therefore it will be well to investigate them too. Such char- 218
acters are numberless, proceeding from numberless starting-points and arising from every kind and variety of circumstance; but those now to be examined are two only, one higher and senior and one lower and junior. The senior is that character which honours things primal and dominant in their nature, the junior that which honours things subject and lowest in the list. Now the senior and dominant 219
are wisdom and temperance and justice and courage and virtue regarded as a whole and actions inspired by virtue, but the junior are wealth and reputation and office and good birth, good not in the true sense but in the sense which the multitude give to it, and everything else which coming after the things of

καὶ σωματικὰ τάξιν εἴληχεν, ἥτις εὐθύς ἐστι καὶ
220 τελευταία. τούτων οὖν τῶν τρόπων ἑκάτερος ἔχει
καθάπερ τινὰς ποίμνας καὶ ἀγέλας, ὁ μὲν τῶν ἐκτὸς
ὀρεγόμενος ἄργυρον, χρυσόν, ἐσθῆτας, πάντα ὅσα
τοῦ πλουτεῖν ὕλαι καὶ παρασκευαί, καὶ πάλιν ὅπλα,
μηχανήματα, τριήρεις, ἱππικὴν καὶ πεζικὴν καὶ
ναυτικὴν δύναμιν, τὰς πρὸς ἡγεμονίαν ἀφορμάς,
ἐξ ὧν περιγίνεται τὸ βεβαίως κρατεῖν, ὁ δὲ καλο-
κἀγαθίας ἐραστὴς τὰ καθ' ἑκάστην ἀρετὴν δόγματα
221 καὶ τὰ σοφίας αὐτῆς θεωρήματα. προ-
στάται δὲ καὶ ἐπιμεληταὶ τούτων ἑκατέρων εἰσί
τινες οἷα θρεμμάτων ποιμένες, τῶν μὲν ἐκτὸς οἱ φιλο-
χρήματοι καὶ φιλόδοξοι καὶ στρατηγιῶντες καὶ ὅσοι
τὴν ἐπὶ τοῖς πλήθεσι δυναστείαν ἀγαπῶσι, τῶν δὲ
περὶ ψυχὴν ὅσοι φιλόκαλοι καὶ φιλάρετοι, μὴ τὰ
νόθα πρὸ τῶν γνησίων ἀλλὰ τὰ γνήσια πρὸ τῶν
222 νόθων ἀγαθὰ αἱρούμενοι. γίνεται οὖν φυσική τις
αὐτοῖς ἡ διαμάχη μηδὲν ἐγνωκόσι τῶν αὐτῶν, ἀλλ'
ἀπᾴδουσι καὶ διαφερομένοις ἀεὶ περὶ πράγματος
συνεκτικωτάτου τῶν ἐν βίῳ, τοῦτο δ' ἐστὶν ἡ κρίσις
223 τῶν πρὸς ἀλήθειαν ἀγαθῶν. ἄχρι μὲν οὖν τινος
ἐπολεμεῖτο ἡ ψυχὴ καὶ τὴν στάσιν ταύτην ἐχώρει
μήπω κεκαθαρμένη παντελῶς, ἀλλ' ἔτι τῶν παθῶν
καὶ νοσημάτων παρευημερούντων τοὺς ὑγιαίνοντας
λόγους· ἀφ' οὗ δὲ ἤρξατο δυνατωτέρα γίνεσθαι καὶ
ῥώμῃ κραταιοτέρᾳ τὸν ἐπιτειχισμὸν τῶν ἐναντίων
δοξῶν καθαιρεῖν, πτερυξαμένη καὶ φρονήματος
ὑποπλησθεῖσα τὸν τὰς ἐκτὸς ὕλας τεθαυμακότα
τρόπον ἐν αὐτῇ διατειχίζει καὶ διαζεύγνυσι καὶ ὡς

---

[a] Or "was the subject of attack, and allowed the revolt to

soul and body takes the third place which is necessarily also the last. Each of the two characters pos- 220
sesses what we may call flocks and herds. The devotee of things external has silver, gold, raiment, all the materials of wealth and the means for procuring them, and again arms, engines, triremes, cavalry, infantry and naval forces, the foundations of sovereignty which produce security of power. The lover of moral excellence has the principles of each separate virtue and the truths discovered by wisdom itself. Now those who preside 221
and have charge over each of these two are, as it were, herdsmen of cattle. The externals are cared for by lovers of wealth or glory, the would-be generals and all who hanker for power over multitudes, the things of the soul by lovers of moral excellence and virtue, who prefer the genuine goods to the spurious and not the spurious to the genuine. So there is a natural 222
conflict between them since they have no common principle but are for ever jangling and quarrelling about the most important thing in life, and that is the decision what are the true goods. For a time the soul 223
was in a state of war, and was the scene of this conflict,[a] for as yet it was not perfectly purified, but its passions and distempers still prevailed over its healthy principles. But from the time when it began to grow more powerful and demolish by superior strength the works with which the opposing doctrines threatened it, it spreads its wings, and, its spirit grown to fullness, sets a wall and barrier between it and that side of its character which has given its admiration to the gear of external things. And it talks with it as with

proceed," *i.e.* the soul is here identified, as it certainly is below, with its own better side.

224 ἀνθρώπῳ διαλεγομένη φησίν· ἀμήχανον ὁμοδίαιτον εἶναί σε καὶ ὁμόσπονδον ἐραστῇ σοφίας καὶ ἀρετῆς, ἴθι δὴ καὶ μετοικισάμενος μακρὰν ἀποζεύχθητι, μηδεμίαν ἔχων κοινωνίαν, ἀλλὰ μηδὲ σχεῖν δυνάμενος· ὅσα γὰρ ὑπολαμβάνεις εἶναι δεξιά, ταῦτ' οἴεται ἐκεῖνος εὐώνυμα, καὶ ὅσα τοὐναντίον σκαιά, ταῦτα παρ' ἐκείνῳ νενόμισται δεξιά.

225 XXXIX. Οὐ τοίνυν εἰρηνικὸς καὶ φιλοδίκαιος αὐτὸ μόνον ἦν ὁ ἀστεῖος, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀνδρεῖος καὶ πολεμικός· οὐχ ἕνεκα τοῦ πολεμεῖν—οὐ γὰρ δύσερις ἦν[1] καὶ φιλόνεικος,—ἀλλ' ὑπὲρ βεβαίου τῆς πρὸς τὸ
[33] μέλλον εἰρήνης, ἣν οἱ ἀντίπαλοι καθῄρουν. | σαφε-
226 στάτη δὲ πίστις τὰ πραχθέντα. τὴν πρὸς ἀνατολὰς μοῖραν τῆς οἰκουμένης τέτταρες μεγάλοι βασιλεῖς εἰλήχεσαν, οἷς ὑπήκουεν ἔθνη τὰ ἑῷα, τά τε ἐκτὸς καὶ ἐντὸς Εὐφράτου. τὰ μὲν οὖν ἄλλα διέμενεν ἀστασίαστα πειθαρχοῦντα τοῖς τῶν βασιλέων ἐπιτάγμασι καὶ τοὺς ἐτησίους δασμοὺς ἀποφασίστως εἰσφέροντα· μόνη δὲ ἡ Σοδομιτῶν χώρα, πρὶν καταφλεχθῆναι, παραλύειν ἤρξατο τὴν εἰρήνην ἀπό-
227 στασιν ἐκ πολλοῦ διανοουμένη. πάνυ γὰρ οὔσης εὐδαίμονος πέντε βασιλεῖς ἐπεκράτουν τάς τε πόλεις καὶ τὴν γῆν δασάμενοι πολλὴν μὲν οὐκ οὖσαν, εὔσταχυν δὲ καὶ εὔδενδρον καὶ καρπῶν περίπλεων· ὃ γὰρ ταῖς ἄλλαις τὸ μέγεθος, τοῦθ' ἡ ἀρετὴ Σοδόμοις παρέσχεν, ὅθεν καὶ πλείους ἐραστὰς ἔσχεν
228 ἡγεμόνας τὸ κάλλος αὐτῆς καταπλαγέντας. οὗτοι τὸν ἄλλον χρόνον τοὺς ἐπιταχθέντας φόρους ἀπε-

[1] MSS. ὧν or omit.

[a] This evidently gives an allegorical interpretation to Gen.

a man and says: "It is impossible that thou and 224
the lover of wisdom and virtue should have a common
home and common ties. Away, change thy dwelling
and betake thyself afar off, for thou hast not, or
rather canst not have, fellowship with him. For all
that thou holdest to be on the right he thinks to be
on the left, and conversely what to thee is on the
wrong side in his judgement stands on the right."[a]

XXIX. So, then, the man of worth was not merely 225
peaceable and a lover of justice but courageous and
warlike, not for the sake of warring, for he was not
quarrelsome or cantankerous, but to secure peace
for the future, the peace which the opponents were
destroying. The clearest proof of this is his actions.[b] 226
That part of the inhabited world which lies towards
the east was in the hands of four great kings who held
in subjection the nations of the Orient on both sides
of the Euphrates. Now the other nations continued
to be free from sedition, obeying the orders of the
king, and paying their taxes without demur. Only
the country of the Sodomites, before it was consumed
by fire, began to undermine this peaceful condition
by a long-standing plan of revolt. For, as it was 227
exceedingly prosperous, it was ruled by five kings
who taxed the cities and the land, which though not
large was rich in corn and well wooded and teeming
with fruits, for the position which size gave to other
countries, was given to Sodom by its goodliness, and
hence it had a plurality of rulers who loved it and were
fascinated by its charm. These hitherto rendered 228
the appointed tributes to the collectors of revenue

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

[b] For §§ 225-235 see Gen. xiv.

δίδοσαν τοῖς ἐκλογεῦσι τῶν χρημάτων, τοὺς δυνατωτέρους ὧν ἦσαν ὕπαρχοι τιμῶντες ἅμα καὶ δεδιότες· ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐκορέσθησαν ἀγαθῶν καί, ὅπερ φιλεῖ, κόρος ὕβριν ἐγέννησε, πλέον τῆς δυνάμεως φρονήσαντες ἀπαυχενίζουσι τὸ πρῶτον, εἶθ' οἷα κακοὶ δοῦλοι δεσπόταις τοῖς ἑαυτῶν ἐπιτίθενται στάσει πιστεύ-
229 σαντες ἢ ῥώμῃ. οἱ δὲ τῆς ἑαυτῶν εὐγενείας ὑπομνησθέντες καὶ φραξάμενοι δυνατωτέρᾳ χειρὶ μάλα καταφρονητικῶς ἤεσαν ὡς αὐτοβοεὶ περιεσόμενοι καὶ συμπλακέντες τοὺς μὲν εὐθὺς εἰς φυγὴν ἀνεσκέδασαν, τοὺς δὲ ἐπιστροφάδην κτείνοντες ἡβηδὸν διαφθείρουσιν, αἰχμαλώτων δὲ πολὺν ὄχλον ἀγαγόντες μετὰ τῆς ἄλλης λείας διενέμοντο· προσαπάγουσι μέντοι καὶ τοῦ σοφοῦ τὸν ἀδελφιδοῦν εἰς μίαν τῆς πενταπόλεως οὐκ ἐκ πολλοῦ μετῳκηκότα.
230 XL. τοῦτο μηνυθὲν ὑπό τινος τῶν ἐκ τῆς τροπῆς διασωθέντων χαλεπῶς αὐτὸν ἠνίασε καὶ οὐκέτ' ἠρέμει διὰ τοῦτο συγκεχυμένος καὶ ζῶντα πενθῶν τὸ ἀργαλεώτερον ἢ εἰ τεθνεῶτα ἐπύθετο· τέλος μὲν γάρ, ὡς αὐτό που δηλοῖ τοὔνομα, τῶν κατὰ τὸν βίον ἁπάντων καὶ μάλιστα κακῶν ἥδει τὴν τελευτήν, μυρία δὲ τῶν ἀβουλήτων
231 ἐφεδρεύοντα τοῖς ζῶσι. διώκειν δ' εὐτρεπιζόμενος ἐπὶ τῷ ῥύσασθαι τὸν ἀδελφιδοῦν ἠπόρει συμμάχων, ἅτε ξένος ὢν καὶ μέτοικος καὶ μηδενὸς τολμῶντος ἀμάχοις δυνάμεσι τοσούτων βασιλέων καὶ ἄρτι
232 νενικηκότων ἐναντιοῦσθαι. καινοτάτην δ' ἐξεῦρε συμμαχίαν—πόρος γὰρ ἐν ἀπόροις, ὅταν δικαίων καὶ φιλανθρώπων ἔργων ἐφιῆταί τις, εὑρίσκεται—·

[a] Or "to the strength" (which they wrongly supposed themselves to have). But this is awkward. I should like to read <μάλλον> ἢ.

out of both respect for and fear of the higher potentates whose satraps they were. But, when they had been surfeited with good things, and as so often happens satiety had begotten insolence, they grew ambitious beyond their powers and first shook off the yoke and then, like bad slaves, attacked their masters, trusting to sedition or violence.[a] But these 229
masters, mindful of their higher birth and armed with more powerful force, advanced in great disdain to the attack, expecting to conquer them with the utmost ease. And, when they engaged, some they sent flying helter-skelter at once, others they mowed down in wholesale massacre, while a great number were taken prisoners and distributed with the rest of the booty. Among these they took the nephew of the Sage, who had migrated not long before into one of the five cities. XL. When 230
this was reported to Abraham by one of those who escaped from the rout, it distressed him exceedingly. He could no longer rest, so severe was the shock, and mourned for the living with greater sorrow than if he had heard of his death. For he knew that death or decease, as the name itself shows, is the end of everything in life, and particularly of its ills, while the troubles which lie in wait for the living are numberless. But, when he made ready to pursue 231
the enemy to rescue his nephew, he was at a loss for allies, since he was a stranger and an immigrant, and no one dared to oppose the invincible forces of the kings, considering their number and their recent victory. But he obtained allies in quite a new 232
quarter, for resource is found where resource is none, when one is set on deeds of justice and kindness. He

συναγαγὼν γὰρ τοὺς οἰκέτας καὶ τοῖς ἀργυρωνήτοις προστάξας οἴκοι καταμένειν—ἔδεισε γὰρ ἐξ αὐτῶν αὐτομολίαν—τοὺς οἰκότριβας καταλέγει καὶ διανείμας εἰς ἑκατονταρχίας τρισὶν ἐπήει τάξεσιν, οὐ ταύταις πεποιθώς—πολλοστὴ γὰρ ἦν μοῖρα τῶν
[34] παρὰ τοῖς βασιλεῦσιν—, ἀλλὰ τῷ ὑπερμάχῳ καὶ
233 προαγωνιστῇ τοῦ | δικαίου θεῷ. συντείνων οὖν ἔσπευδε μηδὲν τάχους ἀνιείς, ἕως καιροφυλακήσας νυκτὸς ἐπιπίπτει τοῖς πολεμίοις δεδειπνοποιημένοις ἤδη καὶ πρὸς ὕπνον μέλλουσι τρέπεσθαι· καὶ τοὺς μὲν ἐν εὐναῖς ἱέρευε, τοὺς δ' ἀντιταχθέντας ἄρδην ἀνῄρει, πάντων δ' ἐρρωμένως ἐπεκράτει τῷ θαρ-
234 ραλέῳ τῆς ψυχῆς μᾶλλον ἢ ταῖς παρασκευαῖς. καὶ οὐ πρότερον ἀνῆκεν, ἕως τὴν μὲν ἀντίπαλον στρατιὰν βασιλεῦσιν αὐτοῖς ἡβηδὸν ἀνελὼν πρὸ τοῦ στρατοπέδου κατεστόρεσε, τὸν δὲ ἀδελφιδοῦν ἀνήγαγε μετὰ λαμπρᾶς καὶ ἐπιφανεστάτης νίκης ἅπασαν τὴν ἵππον καὶ τὴν τῶν ἄλλων πληθὺν ὑπο-
235 ζυγίων καὶ λείαν ἀφθονωτάτην προσπαραλαβών. ὃν θεασάμενος ὁ μέγας ἱερεὺς τοῦ μεγίστου θεοῦ ἐπανιόντα καὶ τροπαιοφοροῦντα σῷον μετὰ σῴου τῆς ἰδίας δυνάμεως—οὐδένα γὰρ τῶν συνόντων ἀπέβαλε—, καταπλαγεὶς τὸ μέγεθος τῆς πράξεως καὶ ὅπερ εἰκὸς ἐννοηθείς, ὡς οὐκ ἄνευ θείας ἐπιφροσύνης καὶ συμμαχίας κατωρθώθη, τὰς χεῖρας ἀνατείνας εἰς τὸν οὐρανὸν εὐχαῖς αὐτὸν γεραίρει καὶ ἐπινίκια ἔθυε καὶ πάντας τοὺς συναραμένους τῷ ἀγῶνι λαμπρῶς εἱστία, γεγηθὼς καὶ συνηδόμενος ὡς ἐπ' οἰκείῳ κατορθώματι· καὶ ἦν τῷ ὄντι οἰκεῖον

---

[a] So LXX (ἠρίθμησε). E.V. "led forth."

collected his servants and, after bidding those who had been acquired by purchase to remain at home, since he feared that they might desert, he made a roll-call[a] of those who were home-bred, distributed them into centuries and advanced with three battalions. Yet he did not trust in these, for they were but a small fraction of the kings' forces, but in God, the champion and defender of the just. So he 233
pressed forward eagerly and never abated his speed until, watching for his chance, he attacked the enemy by night when they had supped and were preparing to go to sleep. Some fell helpless victims to him in their beds, others who took arms against him were completely annihilated, and all were mightily overcome more by his courage of soul than by the resources at his command. Nor did he stay his hand 234
until he had completely slaughtered the opposing army with their kings as well and left them lying in front of the camp. His nephew he brought back in the triumph of his brilliant and magnificent victory, taking too with him all the horses of the cavalry and the whole multitude of the other beasts and spoil in vast plenty. When the high priest of the 235
most high God saw him approaching with his trophies, leader and army alike unhurt, for he had lost none of his own company, he was astonished by the feat, and, thinking, as indeed was natural, that such success was not won without God's directing care and help to their arms, he stretched his hands to heaven and honoured him with prayers on his behalf and offered sacrifices of thanksgiving for the victory and feasted handsomely those who had taken part in the contest, rejoicing and sharing their gladness as though the success were his own; and so indeed it was, for " the

αὐτῷ· "κοινὰ" γὰρ κατὰ τὴν παροιμίαν "τὰ φίλων," πολὺ δὲ πλέον τὰ τῶν ἀγαθῶν, οἷς ἓν τέλος εὐαρεστεῖν θεῷ.

236 XLI. Ταῦτα μὲν οὖν αἱ ῥηταὶ γραφαὶ περιέχουσιν. ἀσώματα δὲ ὅσοι καὶ γυμνὰ θεωρεῖν τὰ πράγματα δύνανται, οἱ ψυχῇ μᾶλλον ἢ σώματι ζῶντες, φήσουσι τῶν ἐννέα βασιλέων τοὺς μὲν τέτταρας εἶναι τὰς ἐν ἡμῖν τῶν τεττάρων παθῶν δυνάμεις, ἡδονῆς, ἐπιθυμίας, φόβου, λύπης, τοὺς δὲ πέντε τὰς ἰσαρίθμους αἰσθήσεις, ὅρασιν, ἀκοήν,
237 γεῦσιν, ὄσφρησιν, ἁφήν. τρόπον γάρ τινα βασιλεύουσι καὶ ἄρχουσιν ἡμῶν ἀνημμέναι τὸ κράτος, ἀλλ' οὐχ ὁμοίως· ὑπήκοοι γὰρ αἱ πέντε τῶν τεττάρων εἰσὶ καὶ φόρους αὐταῖς καὶ δασμοὺς ἀναγ-
238 καίους φέρουσιν ὑπὸ φύσεως ὁρισθέντας. ἐξ ὧν γὰρ ἂν ἴδωμεν ἢ ἀκούσωμεν ἢ ὀσφρανθῶμεν ἢ γευσώμεθα ἢ ἁψώμεθα, λῦπαι καὶ ἡδοναὶ καὶ φόβοι καὶ ἐπιθυμίαι συνίστανται, μηδενὸς τῶν παθῶν καθ' αὑτὸ σθένοντος, εἰ μὴ ἐχορηγεῖτο ταῖς διὰ τῶν
239 αἰσθήσεων παρασκευαῖς. αὗται γὰρ ἐκείνων δυνάμεις εἰσίν, ἢ διὰ χρωμάτων καὶ σχημάτων ἢ διὰ φωνῆς τῆς ἐν τῷ λέγειν ἢ ἀκούειν ἢ διὰ χυλῶν ἢ δι' ἀτμῶν ἢ τῶν ἐν ἁπτοῖς, ἃ μαλακὰ καὶ σκληρὰ
[35] ἢ τραχέα | καὶ λεῖα ἢ θερμὰ καὶ ψυχρά· ταῦτα γὰρ πάντα διὰ τῶν αἰσθήσεων ἑκάστῳ τῶν παθῶν
240 χορηγεῖται. καὶ μέχρι μὲν οἱ λεχθέντες ἀποδίδονται φόροι, μένει τοῖς βασιλεῦσιν ἡ ὁμαιχμία, ὅταν δὲ μηκέθ' ὁμοίως συντελῶνται, στάσεις εὐθὺς καὶ πόλεμοι συνίστανται· τοῦτο δὲ συμβαίνειν ἔοικεν, ὅταν ἀφικνῆται τὸ ἐπώδυνον γῆρας, ἐν ᾧ τῶν μὲν παθῶν ἀσθενέστερον οὐδὲν γίνεται, τάχα δὲ καὶ τῆς παλαιᾶς δυνάμεως κραταιότερον, ἀμυδραὶ δὲ ὄψεις

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

XLI. This is what we find in the scriptures read 236
literally; but those who can contemplate facts stripped of the body and in naked reality, those who live with the soul rather than with the body, will say that of these nine kings, four are the power exercised within us by the four passions, pleasure, desire, fear and grief, and that the five are the five senses, sight, hearing, taste, smell and touch. For these 237
nine are in a sense invested with sovereignty and are our kings and rulers but not all in the same way. For the five are subject to the four, and are forced to pay them the tolls and tributes determined by nature. Griefs and pleasures and fears and desires 238
arise out of what we see or hear or smell or taste or touch, and none of the passions would have any strength of itself if it were not furnished with what the senses supply; for these supplies constitute 239
the forces of the passions, taking the form of colours and shapes, or sounds spoken or heard, or flavours, or scents, or the qualities attached to things tangible, soft and hard or rough and smooth or warm and cold, all of which are supplied through the senses to each of the passions. And while the said tributes are 240
rendered the alliance between the kings holds good, but when they are no longer paid discord and wars at once arise, and this obviously happens when old age with its pains arrives. For then, while none of the passions is weaker, and perhaps is even stronger than of old, yet the eyes are dim and the ears dull of

καὶ ὦτα δυσήκοα καὶ ἑκάστη τῶν ἄλλων αἰσθήσεων ἀμβλυτέρα, μηκέθ' ὁμοίως ἕκαστα ἀκριβοῦν καὶ δικάζειν δυναμένη μηδ' ἴσα τῷ πλήθει[1] ὑποτελεῖν· εἰκότως οὖν ἐξασθενήσασαι πάντα τρόπον καὶ κλιθεῖσαι δι' αὑτῶν ὑπὸ τῶν ἀντιπάλων παθῶν ῥᾳδίως
241 ἀνατρέπονται. φυσικώτατα δὲ ἐκεῖνο εἴρηται, ὅτι τῶν πέντε βασιλέων δύο μὲν εἰς φρέατα ἐμπίπτουσι, τρεῖς δὲ πρὸς φυγὴν ὥρμησαν· ἀφὴ μὲν γὰρ καὶ γεῦσις ἄχρι τῶν τοῦ σώματος βαθυτάτων ἀφικνοῦνται σπλάγχνοις παραπέμπουσαι τὰ οἰκεῖα πρὸς διοίκησιν, ὀφθαλμοὶ δὲ καὶ ὦτα καὶ ὄσφρησις ἔξω τὰ πολλὰ βαίνουσαι ἀποδιδράσκουσι τὴν δου-
242 λείαν τοῦ σώματος. οἷς ἅπασιν ἐφεδρεύων ὁ ἀστεῖος, ἐπειδὴ κατεῖδε τὰ σύμμαχα καὶ φίλα πρὸ μικροῦ νοσοῦντα καὶ πόλεμον ἀντ' εἰρήνης ταῖς ἐννέα βασιλείαις γενόμενον, πρὸς τὰς πέντε τῶν τεττάρων περὶ κράτους ἀρχῆς ἀμιλλωμένων, ἐξαπιναίως καιροφυλακήσας ἐπιτίθεται, φιλοτιμούμενος δημοκρατίαν, τὴν ἀρίστην τῶν πολιτειῶν, ἀντὶ τυραννίδων καὶ δυναστειῶν ἐν τῇ ψυχῇ καταστήσασθαι καὶ τὸ ἔννομον καὶ τὸ δίκαιον ἀντὶ παρανομίας καὶ ἀδικίας, αἳ τέως ἐπεκράτουν.
243 ἔστι δ' οὐ πλάσμα μύθου τὸ λεχθέν, ἀλλὰ πρᾶγμα τῶν ἀψευδεστάτων ἐν ἡμῖν αὐτοῖς θεωρούμενον· πολλάκις μὲν γὰρ ὁμόνοιαν τὴν πρὸς τὰ πάθη διατηροῦσιν αἱ αἰσθήσεις χορηγοῦσαι τὰ

[1] I suggest πλήρει ("equal to the full quota"): Mangey πάθει or πάθεσι.

[a] See note on § 99 above.

[b] For Philo's admiration for democracy, by which he seems to mean each part of the state possessing its proper amount of power, see note on *Quod Deus* 176.

[c] The happy coincidence of the number of the kings with

hearing and each of the other senses blunted, so that it cannot in the same way judge each thing with accuracy or make the same contribution in amount as before. And so, weakened all round as they are and already giving way of themselves, it is natural that they should be easily routed by the opposing passions. There is much philo- 241
sophical truth[a] in the saying that of the five kings two fell into the wells and three took to flight. For touch and taste descend to the lowest recesses of the body and transmit to its inward parts what may properly be dealt with by them ; but eyes and ears and smell for the most part pass outside and escape enslavement by the body. All this the 242
man of worth was watching from his lair, and when he saw trouble festering, where but now was alliance and friendship, and war instead of peace arising between the nine kingdoms, with the four competing against the five for the sovereign power, he seized his opportunity and suddenly made the attack, ambitious to establish in the soul democracy,[b] the best of constitutions, instead of the rule of tyrants and overlords, and legality and justice instead of lawlessness and injustice which hitherto prevailed. All this is no fable of my in- 243
vention, but a fact, and that one of the surest which we may observe in ourselves.[c] For the senses, though often they may maintain concord with the passions and provide them with the objects which they per-

the accepted four passions and five senses naturally attracts Philo to this ingenious allegory. The weak point seems to be that in the story the rebellion of the five against the four is not due to the influence of Abraham, as in the allegory the refusal of the senses to minister to the passions is due to reason.

αἰσθητὰ αὐτοῖς, πολλάκις δὲ καὶ στασιάζουσι μηκέτ' ἀξιοῦσαι τὰ ἴσα τελεῖν ἢ μὴ δυνάμεναι διὰ τὸ παρεῖναι τὸν σωφρονιστὴν λόγον· ὃς ἐπειδὰν ἀναλάβῃ τὴν αὐτοῦ παντευχίαν, τὰς ἀρετὰς καὶ τὰ τούτων δόγματα καὶ θεωρήματα, δύναμιν ἀναταγώνιστον, ἐρρωμενέστατα κρατεῖ· φθαρτὰ γὰρ ἀφθάρτῳ συν-
244 οικεῖν οὐ θέμις. αἱ μὲν οὖν ἐννέα δυναστεῖαι τεττάρων παθῶν καὶ πέντε αἰσθήσεων φθαρταί τε καὶ φθορᾶς αἴτιαι, ὁ δ' ὁρμητηρίῳ χρώμενος ταῖς ἀρεταῖς λόγος ἱερὸς καὶ θεῖος ὄντως, ἐν ἀριθμῷ ταττόμενος δεκάδι τῇ παντελείᾳ, πρὸς ἄμιλλαν ἐλθών, ἐρρωμενεστέρᾳ δυνάμει τῇ κατὰ θεὸν χρώμενος ἀνὰ κράτος νικᾷ τὰς εἰρημένας δυναστείας.

[36] XLII. | Χρόνῳ δ' ὕστερον αὐτῷ τελευτᾷ ἡ γυνὴ
245 θυμηρεστάτη καὶ τὰ πάντα ἀρίστη, μυρία δείγματα τῆς φιλανδρίας ἐνεγκαμένη, τὴν σὺν αὐτῷ τῶν συγγενῶν ἀπόλειψιν, τὴν ἐκ τῆς οἰκείας ἀνενδοίαστον μετάστασιν, τὰς ἐπὶ τῆς ἀλλοδαπῆς συνεχεῖς καὶ ἐπαλλήλους πλάνας, τὰς κατὰ λιμὸν ἐνδείας,
246 τὰς ἐν πολέμοις συστρατείας. ἀεὶ γὰρ καὶ πανταχοῦ παρῆν οὐδένα τόπον ἢ καιρὸν ἀπολείπουσα, κοινωνὸς ὄντως βίου καὶ τῶν κατὰ τὸν βίον πραγμάτων, ἐξ ἴσου δικαιοῦσα μετέχειν ἀγαθῶν ὁμοῦ καὶ κακῶν· οὐ γὰρ ὥσπερ ἔνιαι τὰς μὲν κακοπραγίας ἀπεδίδρασκε, ταῖς δ' εὐτυχίαις ἐφήδρευεν, ἀλλὰ τὸν ἐν ἀμφοτέραις κλῆρον ὡς ἐπιβάλλοντα καὶ ἁρμόττοντα γαμετῇ μετὰ προθυμίας πάσης ἀν-
247 εδέχετο. XLIII. πολλὰ δὲ ἔχων ἐγκώ-

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

ceive, often too revolt and are unwilling any longer to pay the same dues or unable to do so because of the presence of reason, the chastener. For when reason puts on its panoply of the virtues and the doctrines and the lore which embody them, armed with this irresistible power it mightily overcomes. For corruptible and incorruptible may not live together. Now the nine overlords, the four passions 244
and the five senses, are corruptible and the sources of corruption, but the truly divine and holy Word, whose stronghold is in the virtues, whose place in the order of number is tenth, the supremely perfect number,[a] comes to the contest and with the help of the mightier power of God wins an easy victory over the said overlords.

XLII. After this in the course of time he lost the 245
wife who was the darling of his heart and gifted with every excellence. She showed her wifely love by numberless proofs, by sharing with him the severance from his kinsfolk, by bearing without hesitation the departure from her homeland, the continual and unceasing wanderings on a foreign soil and privation in famine, and by the campaigns in which she accompanied him. Everywhere and always she was at his 246
side, no place or occasion omitted, his true partner in life and life's events, resolved to share alike the good and ill. She did not, like some other women, run away from mishaps and lie ready to pounce on pieces of good luck, but accepted her portion of both with all alacrity as the fit and proper test of a wedded wife.

XLIII. [b] Many a story I could relate in 247

amples). For its arithmetical virtues *cf. De Dec.* 20 ff. See App. p. 598.

[b] For §§ 247-254 see Gen. xvi. 1-6.

μια τῆς ἀνθρώπου διεξιέναι, ἑνὸς ὑπομνησθήσομαι, ὃ γενήσεται καὶ τῶν ἄλλων σαφεστάτη πίστις. ἄγονος γὰρ οὖσα καὶ στεῖρα, δείσασα μὴ κατὰ τὸ παντελὲς ἔρημος γενεᾶς ὁ θεοφιλὴς οἶκος ἀπο-
248 λειφθῇ, προσελθοῦσα τῷ ἀνδρί φησι τάδε· "πολὺν μὲν ἤδη χρόνον συμβιοῦμεν ἀλλήλοις εὐαρεστοῦντες, οὗ δὲ χάριν καὶ αὐτοὶ συνεληλύθαμεν καὶ ἡ φύσις τὴν ἀνδρὸς καὶ γυναικὸς ἡρμόσατο κοινωνίαν, τέκνων γένεσις οὐκ ἔστιν, ἀλλ' οὐδ' εἰσαῦθις ἐξ
249 ἐμοῦ γε ὑπερήλικος ἤδη γεγονυίας ἐλπίζεται. μὴ δὴ παραπόλαυε τῆς ἐμῆς ἀγονίας μηδ' ἕνεκα τῆς πρὸς ἐμὲ εὐνοίας αὐτὸς δυνάμενος εἶναι πατὴρ κεκώλυσο· ζηλοτυπία γὰρ οὐκ ἂν γένοιτό μοι πρὸς ἑτέραν, ἣν οὐ δι' ἐπιθυμίαν ἄλογον ἄξῃ, νόμον δὲ
250 φύσεως ἐκπιμπλὰς ἀναγκαῖον. οὗ χάριν οὐχ ὑπερθήσομαι νυμφοστολεῖν ὡς τὸ ἐνδέον ἐμοὶ μέλλουσαν ἐκπληροῦν· καὶ εἴ γε ἀπαντήσειαν αἱ περὶ σπορᾶς τέκνων εὐχαί, σὰ μὲν ἔσται τὰ γεννώμενα γνήσια,
251 θέσει δὲ πάντως ἐμά. πρὸς δὲ τὸ ἀνύποπτον τῆς ζηλοτυπίας ἐμήν, εἰ βούλει, θεράπαιναν ἀγαγοῦ, τὸ μὲν σῶμα δούλην, ἐλευθέραν δὲ καὶ εὐγενῆ τὴν διάνοιαν, ἧς ἐκ πολλῶν χρόνων πεῖραν ἔλαβον καὶ βάσανον, ἀφ' ἧς ἡμέρας τὸ πρῶτον εἰς τὴν ἐμὴν οἰκίαν ἦχθη, γένος μὲν Αἰγυπτίαν, τὴν δὲ προ-
252 αίρεσιν Ἑβραίαν. ἔστι μὲν ἡμῖν οὐσία πολλὴ καὶ ἄφθονος πλοῦτος, οὐχ ὡς μετοίκοις—ἤδη γὰρ τῶν αὐτοχθόνων τοὺς ἐν εὐτυχίαις λαμπραῖς ὑπερβάλλομεν—, κληρονόμος δ' οὐδεὶς ἀποδέδεικται καὶ διάδοχος, καίτοι γε εἶναι δυνάμενος, ἂν ταῖς ἐμαῖς
253 παραινέσεσι πεισθῇς." ὁ δὲ θαυμάσας τῆς γυναικὸς ἔτι μᾶλλον τὴν ἀεὶ καινουμένην φιλανδρίαν καὶ νεάζουσαν καὶ τὸ περὶ τοῦ μέλλοντας ἐξεταστικὸν

praise of this woman, but one I will mention which will be the clearest proof that the others are true. Being childless and barren and fearing lest the house beloved of God should be left entirely desolate, she 248
came to her husband and said: "Long have we lived together in mutual goodwill. But the purpose for which we ourselves came together and for which nature formed the union of man and wife, the birth of children, has not been fulfilled, nor is there any future hope of it, through me at least who am now past the age. But do not let the trouble of my 249
barrenness extend to you, or kind feeling to me keep you from becoming what you can become, a father, for I shall have no jealousy of another woman, whom you will take not for unreasoning lust but in fulfilment of nature's inevitable law. And therefore I 250
shall not be backward to lead to you a bride who will supply what is lacking in myself. And if our prayers for the birth of children are answered the offspring will be yours in full parenthood, but surely mine also by adoption. But to avoid any suspicion of 251
jealousy on my part take if you will my handmaiden, outwardly a slave, inwardly of free and noble race, proved and tested by me for many years from the day when she was first brought to my house, an Egyptian by birth, but a Hebrew by her rule of life. We have 252
much substance and abundance of wealth, not on the usual scale of immigrants, for in this we now outshine those of the native inhabitants who are noted for their prosperity, but no heir or successor has appeared, though there may be if you follow my advice." Abraham with increased admiration 253
for the wifely love, which never grew old and was ever showing itself anew, and her careful forethought

καὶ προμηθὲς ἄγεται τὴν ὑπ' αὐτῆς δοκιμασθεῖσαν
[37] ἄχρι τοῦ παιδοποιήσασθαι, | ὡς δ' οἱ σαφέστατα διηγούμενοί φασιν, ἄχρι τοῦ μόνον ἐγκύμονα γενέσθαι· γενομένης δ' οὐκ εἰς μακράν, ἀποσχέσθαι διά τε φυσικὴν ἐγκράτειαν καὶ τὴν τιμήν, ἣν ἀπένεμε
254 τῇ γαμετῇ. γίνεται μὲν οὖν υἱὸς ἐκ τῆς θεραπαινίδος εὐθὺς τότε, γίνεται δὲ καὶ μακροῖς χρόνοις ὕστερον γνήσιος ἀπεγνωκόσι τὴν ἐξ ἀλλήλων γένεσιν, ἆθλον καλοκἀγαθίας ἐλπίδος πάσης τελειότερον τοῦ φιλοδώρου θεοῦ παρασχόντος.

255 XLIV. Τοσαῦτα μὲν ἀπόχρη δείγματα περὶ τῆς γυναικὸς εἰρῆσθαι, πλείω δ' ἐστὶν ἐγκώμια τοῦ σοφοῦ, ὧν ὀλίγῳ πρότερον ἔνια διεξῆλθον. λέξω δὲ καὶ τὸ περὶ τὴν τελευτὴν τῆς γυναικὸς οὐκ ἄξιον
256 ἔργον ἡσυχασθῆναι. τοιαύτην γὰρ ἀποβαλὼν κοινωνὸν τοῦ σύμπαντος βίου, οἵαν ἔδειξεν ὁ λόγος καὶ μηνύουσιν οἱ χρησμοί, τῆς λύπης ἐπαποδυομένης ἤδη καὶ κατὰ τῆς ψυχῆς κονιομένης ὥσπερ ἀθλητὴς ἐπεκράτησε ῥώσας καὶ θαρσύνας εὖ μάλα τὸν ἀντίπαλον φύσει τῶν παθῶν λογισμόν, ᾧ συμβούλῳ παρὰ πάντα τὸν βίον χρώμενος τότε διαφερόντως ἠξίωσε πείθεσθαι τὰ βέλτιστα παραινοῦντι καὶ
257 συμφέροντα. ἦν δὲ ταυτί· μήτε πλέον τοῦ μετρίου σφαδάζειν ὡς ἐπὶ καινοτάτῃ καὶ ἀγενήτῳ συμφορᾷ μήτε ἀπαθείᾳ καθάπερ μηδενὸς ὀδυνηροῦ συμβεβηκότος χρῆσθαι, τὸ δὲ μέσον πρὸ τῶν ἄκρων ἑλόμενον μετριοπαθεῖν πειρᾶσθαι, τῇ μὲν φύσει τὸ οἰκεῖον χρέος ἀπολαβούσῃ μὴ δυσχεραίνοντα, τὸ

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

for the future, took the mate whom she had approved and kept her till she had borne a child, or, as the surest version of the story runs,[a] only till she became pregnant, and when this occurred not long after he abstained from her through his natural continence and the honour which he paid to his lawful spouse. So a son was born just at that time to the hand- 254
maiden, but long afterwards the wedded pair, who had despaired of the procreation of children, had a son of their own, a reward for their high excellence, a gift from God the bountiful, surpassing all their hopes.

XLIV. [b] We need give no further proofs of the 255
merits of this wife. More numerous are those of the Sage, some of which I have praised in detail a little earlier. But I will speak of one which concerns the death of his wife, in which his conduct should not be passed over in silence. When he had lost 256
his life-long partner, whose qualities have been described in our discourse and are related in the oracles, when sorrow was making itself ready to wrestle with his soul, he grappled with it, as in the arena, and prevailed. He gave strength and high courage to the natural antagonist of passion, reason, which he had taken as his counsellor throughout his life and now particularly was determined to obey, so excellent and profitable were its exhortations. The 257
advice was that he should not grieve over-bitterly as at an utterly new and unheard-of misfortune, nor yet assume an indifference as though nothing painful had occurred, but choose the mean rather than the extremes and aim at moderation of feeling, not resent that nature should be paid the debt which is its due,

[b] For §§ 255-261 see Gen. xxiii.

δὲ συμβεβηκὸς ἡσυχῇ καὶ πράως ἐπελαφρίζοντα.
258 μαρτυρίαι δὲ τούτων ἐν ταῖς ἱεραῖς βίβλοις κατάκεινται, ἃς οὐ θέμις ψευδομαρτυριῶν ἁλῶναι, μηνύουσαι ὅτι βραχέα τῷ σώματι ἐπιδακρύσας θᾶττον ἀπανέστη τοῦ νεκροῦ, τὸ πενθεῖν ἐπὶ πλέον, ὡς ἔοικεν, ἀλλότριον ἡγησάμενος σοφίας, ὑφ' ἧς ἀνεδιδάχθη τὸν θάνατον νομίζειν μὴ σβέσιν
259 ψυχῆς, ἀλλὰ χωρισμὸν καὶ διάζευξιν ἀπὸ σώματος, ὅθεν ἦλθεν ἀπιούσης· ἦλθε δέ, ὡς ἐν τῇ κοσμοποιίᾳ δεδήλωται, παρὰ θεοῦ. καθάπερ δὲ οὐδεὶς ἂν
260 ἄχθοιτο τῶν μετρίων χρέος ἢ παρακαταθήκην ἀποτίνων τῷ προεμένῳ, τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον οὐδὲ τῆς φύσεως ἀπολαμβανούσης τὰ οἰκεῖα χαλεπαίνειν ᾤετο δεῖν, ἀλλὰ τοῖς ἀναγκαίοις ἀσμενίζειν. ὡς δ' ἦκον οἱ ἐν τέλει τῶν κατὰ τὴν χώραν συναλγήσοντες, ἰδόντες οὐδὲν τῶν ἐν ἔθει παρ' αὐτοῖς
261 γινομένων ἐπὶ τοῖς πενθοῦσιν,[1] οὐκ ὀλόφυρσιν, οὐ θρῆνον, οὐ κοπετόν, οὐκ ἀνδρῶν, οὐ γυναικῶν, ἀλλὰ τῆς συμπάσης οἰκίας εὐσταθῆ καὶ νηφάλιον κατήφειαν, ἐθαύμαζον οὐ μετρίως καὶ τὸν ἄλλον βίον προκαταπεπληγμένοι τοῦ ἀνδρός. εἶτ' οὐ στέγοντες ἐν ἑαυτοῖς τὰ τῆς ἀρετῆς αὐτοῦ μεγέθη καὶ κάλλη—πάντα γὰρ ἦν ἐξαίρετα—προσελθόντες ἐξεφώνησαν
[38] | "βασιλεὺς παρὰ θεοῦ εἶ σὺ ἐν ἡμῖν," ἀληθέστατα λέγοντες· αἱ μὲν γὰρ ἄλλαι βασιλεῖαι πρὸς ἀνθρώπων καθίστανται, πολέμοις καὶ στρατείαις καὶ κακοῖς ἀμυθήτοις, ἅπερ ἀντεπιφέρουσιν ἀλληλοκτονοῦντες οἱ δυναστειῶν ἐφιέμενοι, πεζὰς καὶ ἱππικὰς καὶ ναυτικὰς δυνάμεις ἐπιτειχίζοντες· τὴν δὲ τοῦ σοφοῦ βασιλείαν ὀρέγει θεός, ἣν παραλαβὼν ὁ σπουδαῖος οὐδενὶ μὲν αἴτιος γίνεται κακοῦ, πᾶσι

[1] Perhaps read *πένθεσιν* as Cohn suggests.

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

[a] See App. pp. 598-599. [b] *i.e.* in *De Op.* 135.

δὲ τοῖς ὑπηκόοις ἀγαθῶν κτήσεως ὁμοῦ καὶ χρήσεως, εἰρήνην καὶ εὐνομίαν καταγγέλλων.

262 XLV. Ἔστι δὲ καὶ ἀνάγραπτος ἔπαινος αὐτῷ χρησμοῖς μαρτυρηθείς, οὓς Μωυσῆς ἐθεσπίσθη,[1] δι' οὗ μηνύεται ὅτι "ἐπίστευσε τῷ θεῷ," ὅπερ λεχθῆναι μὲν βραχύτατόν ἐστιν, ἔργῳ δὲ βεβαιωθῆναι
263 μέγιστον. τίνι γὰρ ἄλλῳ πιστευτέον; ἆρά γε ἡγεμονίαις ἢ δόξαις καὶ τιμαῖς ἢ περιουσίᾳ πλούτου καὶ εὐγενείᾳ ἢ ὑγείᾳ καὶ εὐαισθησίᾳ ἢ ῥώμῃ καὶ κάλλει σώματος; ἀλλὰ ἀρχὴ μὲν πᾶσα σφαλερὸν μυρίους ἔχουσα τοὺς λοχῶντας ἐφέδρους· εἰ δέ που καὶ βεβαιωθείη, μετὰ μυρίων ὅσων κακῶν, ἃ δρῶσι καὶ πάσχουσιν οἱ ἐν ταῖς ἡγεμονίαις, βεβαιοῦται.
264 δόξαι δὲ καὶ τιμαὶ κτῆμα σφαλερώτατον, ἐν ἀκρίτοις ἤθεσι καὶ πτηνοῖς λόγοις ἀνεξετάστων ἀνθρώπων σαλεῦον· κἂν εἰ παραμένοι, γνήσιον ἀγαθὸν
265 ἔχειν οὐ πέφυκε. πλοῦτοι δὲ καὶ εὐγένειαι προσορίζονται[2] μὲν καὶ τοῖς φαυλοτάτοις· εἰ δὲ καὶ μόνοις σπουδαίοις, ἐγκώμια προγόνων καὶ τύχης
266 ἀλλ' οὐ τῶν ἐχόντων εἰσίν. ἀλλ' οὐδ' ἐπὶ τοῖς περὶ τὸ σῶμα μέγα φρονεῖν ἄξιον, ἐν οἷς τὰ ἄλογα ζῷα πλεονεκτεῖ· τίς γὰρ ἀνθρώπων ἰσχυρότερος ἢ ῥωμαλεώτερος ταύρου μὲν ἐν ἡμέροις, ἐν δ' ἀγρίοις λέοντος; τίς δ' ὀξυωπέστερος ἱέρακος ἢ ἀετοῦ; τίς δὲ περὶ ἀκοὴν εὐτυχὴς οὕτως, ὡς τῶν ζῴων τὸ νωθέστατον, ὄνος; τίς δὲ περὶ τὰς ὀσφρήσεις κυνὸς ἀκριβέστερος, ὃν φασιν οἱ κυνηγετικοὶ

[1] This use of *θεσπίζω* in the passive with the person prophesying as subject is very unusual. This passage is the only example given in L. & S. revised. I should prefer to read *ἐθέσπισε*.

[2] MSS. *προσορμίζονται*.

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

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

[a] See App. p. 599.

ῥινηλατοῦντα τοῖς μακρὰν πτώμασιν εὐσκόπως ἐπιτρέχειν οὐ προϊδόμενον; ὅπερ γὰρ ὄψις ἑτέροις, τοῦτο μυκτῆρες κυσὶ θηρευτικοῖς καὶ ἰχνευτικοῖς.
267 ὑγιεινότατά γε μὴν καὶ ὡς ἔνι μάλιστα ἄνοσα πλεῖστα τῶν ἀλόγων ζώων ἐστίν. ἐν δὲ τῷ περὶ κάλλους ἀγῶνι καὶ τῶν ἀψύχων ἔνιά μοι δοκεῖ νικᾶν δύνασθαι τὰς ἀνδρῶν ὁμοῦ καὶ γυναικῶν εὐμορφίας καὶ ὑπερβάλλειν, ἀγάλματα καὶ ξόανα καὶ ζωγραφήματα καὶ συνόλως ὅσα γραφικῆς ἔργα καὶ πλαστικῆς ἐν ἑκατέρᾳ τέχνῃ κατορθούμενα, περὶ ἃ σπουδάζουσιν Ἕλληνες ὁμοῦ καὶ βάρβαροι πρὸς κόσμον τῶν πόλεων ἐν τοῖς ἐπιφανεστάτοις χωρίοις
268 ἀνατιθέντες. XLVI. μόνον οὖν ἀψευδὲς
[39] | καὶ βέβαιον ἀγαθὸν ἡ πρὸς θεὸν πίστις, παρηγόρημα βίου, πλήρωμα χρηστῶν ἐλπίδων, ἀφορία μὲν κακῶν, ἀγαθῶν δὲ φορά, κακοδαιμονίας ἀπόγνωσις, γνῶσις εὐσεβείας, κλῆρος εὐδαιμονίας, ψυχῆς ἐν ἅπασι βελτίωσις ἐπερηρεισμένης καὶ ἐφιδρυμένης τῷ πάντων αἰτίῳ καὶ δυναμένῳ μὲν
269 πάντα, βουλομένῳ δὲ τὰ ἄριστα. καθάπερ γὰρ οἱ μὲν δι' ὀλισθηρᾶς ὁδοῦ βαδίζοντες ὑποσκελίζονται καὶ πίπτουσιν, οἱ δὲ διὰ ξηρᾶς καὶ λεωφόρου ἀπταίστῳ χρῶνται πορείᾳ, οὕτως οἱ διὰ τῶν σωματικῶν μὲν καὶ τῶν ἐκτὸς τὴν ψυχὴν ἄγοντες οὐδὲν ἀλλ' ἢ πίπτειν αὐτὴν ἐθίζουσιν—ὀλισθηρὰ γὰρ ταῦτά γε καὶ πάντων ἀβεβαιότατα,—οἱ δὲ διὰ τῶν κατὰ τὰς ἀρετὰς θεωρημάτων ἐπὶ θεὸν σπεύδοντες ἀσφαλῆ καὶ ἀκράδαντον ὁδὸν εὐθύνουσιν, ὡς ἀψευδέστατα φάναι, ὅτι ὁ μὲν ἐκείνοις πεπιστευκὼς ἀπιστεῖ θεῷ, ὁ δ' ἀπιστῶν ἐκείνοις πεπίστευκε θεῷ.

[a] Or "plenitude."

[b] A somewhat inadequate rendering for ἀπόγνωσις, which

tell us, led unerringly by the scent, races to the distant quarry which it has not seen; for what sight is to other animals the nostrils are to the hounds used for hunting or tracking. Health? Why, most of the unreasoning animals are exceedingly healthy and as far as possible free from disease. Beauty? In the competition for this, I should say that some lifeless objects can beat and surpass the comeliness both of men and women. Such are the images and statues and pictures and in general all the creations of the painters and the sculptors which achieve success in either art and rouse the enthusiasm of Greeks and barbarians alike, who set them up in the most conspicuous places to adorn their cities. 267

XLVI. Faith in God, then, is the one sure and infallible good, consolation of life, fulfilment[a] of bright hopes, dearth of ills, harvest of goods, inacquaintance[b] with misery, acquaintance with piety, heritage of happiness, all-round betterment of the soul which is firmly stayed on Him Who is the cause of all things and can do all things yet only wills the best. For, just as those who walk on a slippery road are tripped up and fall, while others on a dry highway tread without stumbling, so those who set the soul travelling along the path of the bodily and the external are but learning it to fall, so slippery and utterly insecure are all such things; while those who press onward to God along the doctrines of virtue walk straight upon a path which is safe and unshaken, so that we may say with all truth that belief in the former things is disbelief in God, and disbelief in them belief in God. 268 269

generally means "despair," and, in connexion with κακοδαιμονίας, "confidence of the absence." Philo, however, evidently intends an antithesis of form as well as of sense.

ἀλλ' οὐ μόνον τὴν πρὸς τὸ ὂν πίστιν αὐτῷ μαρτυροῦσιν οἱ χρησμοί, τὴν βασιλίδα τῶν ἀρετῶν, ἀλλὰ καὶ πρῶτον αὐτὸν ἀπεφήναντο "πρεσβύτερον," τῶν πρὸ αὐτοῦ τριπλάσια καὶ πολλαπλάσια ἔτη βιωσάντων, ὧν οὐδένα παρειλήφαμεν ἀξιωθέντα ταύτης τῆς προσρήσεως. καὶ μήποτ' εἰκότως· ὁ γὰρ ἀληθείᾳ πρεσβύτερος οὐκ ἐν μήκει χρόνων ἀλλ' ἐν ἐπαινετῷ καὶ τελείῳ βίῳ θεωρεῖται. τοὺς μὲν οὖν αἰῶνα πολὺν τρίψαντας ἐν τῇ μετὰ σώματος ζωῇ δίχα καλοκἀγαθίας πολυχρονίους παῖδας λεκτέον, μαθήματα πολιᾶς ἄξια μηδέποτε παιδευθέντας, τὸν δὲ φρονήσεως καὶ σοφίας καὶ τῆς πρὸς θεὸν πίστεως ἐρασθέντα λέγοι τις ἂν ἐνδίκως εἶναι πρεσβύτερον, παρωνυμοῦντα τῷ πρώτῳ. τῷ γὰρ ὄντι πρῶτος ὁ σοφὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπων γένους, ὡς κυβερνήτης μὲν ἐν νηΐ, ἄρχων δ' ἐν πόλει, στρατηγὸς δ' ἐν πολέμῳ, καὶ ψυχὴ μὲν ἐν σώματι, νοῦς δ' ἐν ψυχῇ, καὶ πάλιν οὐρανὸς μὲν ἐν κόσμῳ, θεὸς δ' ἐν οὐρανῷ. ὃς τῆς πρὸς αὐτὸν πίστεως ἀγάμενος τὸν ἄνδρα πίστιν ἀντιδίδωσιν αὐτῷ, τὴν δι' ὅρκου βεβαίωσιν ὧν ὑπέσχετο δωρεῶν, οὐκέτι μόνον ὡς ἀνθρώπῳ θεός, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὡς φίλος γνωρίμῳ διαλεγόμενος· φησὶ γὰρ "κατ' ἐμαυτοῦ ὤμοσα," παρ' ᾧ ὁ λόγος ὅρκος ἐστίν, ἕνεκα τοῦ τὴν διάνοιαν ἀκλινῶς καὶ παγίως ἔτι μᾶλλον ἢ πρότερον ἐρηρεῖσθαι. πρεσβύτερος μὲν οὖν καὶ πρῶτος ἔστι τε καὶ λεγέσθω ὁ ἀστεῖος, νεώτερος δὲ καὶ ἔσχατος πᾶς ἄφρων, τὰ νεωτεροποιὰ καὶ ἐν ἐσχατιαῖς ταττόμενα μετιών.

[40] Ταῦτα | μὲν οὖν ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον εἰρήσθω. τῷ δὲ πλήθει καὶ μεγέθει τῶν ἐπαίνων ἐπιτιθεὶς ὥσπερ τινὰ κεφαλὴν τοῦ σοφοῦ φησιν, ὅτι τὸν θεῖον νόμον

But not only do the oracles attest his possession of 270
the queen of virtues, faith in the existent, but he is
also the first whom they speak of as elder,[a] though
those who lived before him tripled or many times
multiplied his years. Yet of none of them do we hear
that he was held worthy of the title and rightly, for the
true elder is shown as such not by his length of days
but by a laudable and perfect life. Those who have 271
passed a long span of years in the existence of the
body without goodness or beauty of life must be
called long-lived children who have never been
schooled in the learning worthy of grey hairs; but he
who is enamoured of sound sense and wisdom and
faith in God may be justly called elder, a name of
like significance to "first." For indeed the wise man 272
is the first of the human race, as a pilot in a ship or a
ruler in a city or a general in war, or again as a soul
in a body and a mind in a soul, or once more heaven
in the world or God in heaven. That God 273
marvelling at Abraham's faith in Him repaid him with
faithfulness by confirming with an oath the gifts which
He had promised, and here He no longer talked with
him as God with man but as a friend with a familiar.
For He, with Whom a word is an oath, yet says "By
Myself have I sworn,"[b] so that his mind might be
established more securely and firmly even than it was
before. So, then, the man of worth is elder and first, 274
and so must he be called; but younger and last is
every fool who pursues the ways which belong to
rebellious youth and stand lowest in the list.

So much for all this, but to these praises of the Sage, 275
so many and so great, Moses adds this crowning say-
ing "that this man did the divine law and the divine

[a] Gen. xxiv. 1; LXX. πρεσβύτερος, E.V. "old." [b] Gen. xxii. 16.

καὶ τὰ θεῖα προστάγματα πάντα ἐποίησεν ὁ ἀνὴρ οὗτος, οὐ γράμμασιν ἀναδιδαχθείς, ἀλλ' ἀγράφῳ τῇ φύσει σπουδάσας ὑγιαινούσαις καὶ ἀνόσοις ὁρμαῖς ἐπακολουθῆσαι· περὶ δὲ ὧν ὁ θεὸς ὁμολογεῖ, τί προσῆκεν ἀνθρώπους ἢ βεβαιότατα πιστεύειν;
276 τοιοῦτος ὁ βίος τοῦ πρώτου καὶ ἀρχηγέτου τοῦ ἔθνους ἐστίν, ὡς μὲν ἔνιοι φήσουσι, νόμιμος, ὡς δ' ὁ παρ' ἐμοῦ λόγος ἔδειξε, νόμος αὐτὸς ὢν καὶ θεσμὸς ἄγραφος.

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

[a] Gen. xxvi. 5.