

ΠΕΡΙ ΦΥΓΗΣ ΚΑΙ ΕΥΡΕΣΕΩΣ

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¹ I. | “Καὶ ἐκάκωσεν αὐτὴν Σάρα, καὶ ἀπέδρα ἀπὸ προσώπου αὐτῆς. εὗρε δὲ αὐτὴν ἄγγελος κυρίου ἐπὶ τῆς πηγῆς τοῦ ὕδατος ἐν τῇ ἐρήμῳ, ἐπὶ τῆς πηγῆς ἐν τῇ ὁδῷ Σούρ. καὶ εἶπεν αὐτῇ ὁ ἄγγελος κυρίου· παιδίσκη Σάρας, πόθεν ἔρχῃ, καὶ ποῦ πορεύῃ; καὶ εἶπεν· ἀπὸ προσώπου Σάρας τῆς κυρίας μου ἐγὼ ἀποδιδράσκω. εἶπε δὲ αὐτῇ ὁ ἄγγελος κυρίου· ἀποστράφηθι πρὸς τὴν κυρίαν σου καὶ ταπεινώθητι ὑπὸ τὰς χεῖρας αὐτῆς. καὶ εἶπεν αὐτῇ ὁ ἄγγελος κυρίου· <ἰδοὺ> σὺ ἐν γαστρὶ ἔχεις, καὶ τέξῃ υἱόν, καὶ καλέσεις τὸ ὄνομα αὐτοῦ Ἰσμαήλ, ὅτι ἐπήκουσε κύριος τῇ ταπεινώσει σου. οὗτος ἔσται ἀγροῖκος ἄνθρωπος· αἱ χεῖρες αὐτοῦ ἐπὶ πάντας καὶ αἱ χεῖρες πάντων ἐπ’ αὐτόν.”

2 εἰρηκότες ἐν τῷ προτέρῳ τὰ πρέποντα περὶ τῶν προπαιδευμάτων καὶ περὶ κακώσεως, ἐξῆς τὸν περὶ φυγάδων ἀναγράψομεν τόπον. μέμνηται γὰρ πολλαχοῦ τῶν ἀποδιδρασκόντων, καθάπερ καὶ νῦν φάσκων ἐπὶ τῆς Ἀγαρ, ὅτι κακωθεῖσα “ἀπέδρα ἀπὸ προσώπου τῆς κυρίας.”

3 Αἰτίας οὖν ἔγωγε τρεῖς εἶναι νομίζω φυγῆς, μῖσος, φόβον, αἰδῶ. μίσει μὲν οὖν καὶ γυναῖκες

ON FLIGHT AND FINDING

I. "And Sarai evil-entreated her, and she fled¹ from her face. And an angel of the Lord found her at the fountain of water in the wilderness, at the fountain in the way to Shur. And the angel of the Lord said unto her, 'Handmaid of Sarai, whence comest thou? and whither goest thou?' And she said, 'From the face of Sarai my mistress I am fleeing.' And the angel of the Lord said unto her, 'Return to thy mistress, and humble thyself under her hands' (Gen. xvi. 6-9). And the angel of the Lord said unto her, 'Behold, thou art with child, and shalt bear a son; and thou shalt call his name Ishmael, because the Lord hath hearkened to thy humiliation. He shall be a dweller in the fields; his hands shall be against all men, and all men's hands shall be against him'" (*ibid.* 11, 12).

Having in the² preceding treatise said what was fitting about the courses of preliminary training and about evil-entreatment, we will next proceed to set forth the subject of fugitives. For the Lawgiver has in several places made mention of those who run away, as he does here, saying of Hagar that upon being evil-entreated "she ran away from the face of her mistress."

There are, I think, three motives for flight: hatred,³ fear, and shame. From hatred wives leave husbands

- ἄνδρας καὶ ἄνδρες γυναῖκας ἀπολείπουνσι, φόβῳ δὲ τοὺς γονεῖς παῖδες καὶ δεσπότης οἰκέται, αἰδοῖ δὲ τοὺς ἐταίρους, ὅποτε μὴ καθ' ἡδονήν τι πράξειαν αὐτοῖς, οἱ φίλοι· ἤδη δὲ καὶ πατέρας οἶδα διὰ τὸ ἀβροδίατον αὐστηρὸν καὶ φιλόσοφον βίον παίδων ἐκτραπομένους¹ καὶ δι' αἰδῶ τὸν ἀγρὸν πρὸ τῆς πόλεως οἰκεῖν ἐλομένους. τῶν τριῶν τούτων αἰτιῶν ἔστιν εὐρεῖν ἐν ταῖς ἱεραῖς γραφαῖς ὑπομνήματα. ὁ γοῦν ἀσκητῆς Ἰακώβ μίσει μὲν τὸν πενθερὸν [547] Λάβαν, φόβῳ δὲ τὸν ἀδελφὸν Ἡσαῦ | ἀποδιδράσκει, ὡς αὐτίκα παραστήσομεν.² ἡ δ' Ἀγαρ ἀπαλλάττεται δι' αἰδῶ· σημεῖον δὲ τὸ ὑπαντᾶν αὐτῇ ἄγγελον, θεῖον λόγον, ᾧ χρή παραινέσονται καὶ ὑψηγησόμενον ἐπανόδου τῆς εἰς τὸν δεσποίνης οἶκον, ὃς καὶ θαρσύνων φησὶν· “ἐπήκουσε κύριος τῇ ταπεινώσει σου,” ἣν οὔτε διὰ φόβον ἔσχες οὔτε διὰ μῖσος—τὸ μὲν γὰρ ἀγεννοῦς, τὸ δὲ φιλαπεχθήμονος πάθος ψυχῆς,—ἀλλ' ἔνεκα τοῦ σωφροσύνης ἀπεικονίσματος, αἰδοῦς. εἰκὸς γὰρ ἦν, εἰ διὰ φόβον ἀπεδίδρασκε, τῇ τὸν φόβον ἐπανατειναμένη παρηγορῆσαι πραοπαθεῖν· τηνικαῦτα γὰρ ἀσφαλές ἦν ἐπανερχεσθαι τῇ φυγούσῃ, πρότερον δ' οὔ. ἀλλὰ τῇ μὲν οὐδεὶς προεντυγχάνει ἅτε ἐξευμενισθείσῃ δι' ἑαυτῆς, τὴν δὲ ὁ δι' εὐνοίαν φίλος ὁμοῦ καὶ σύμβουλος ἔλεγχος διδάσκει μὴ αἰδεῖσθαι μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ εὐτολμία χρῆσθαι· ἥμισυ γὰρ ἀρετῆς εἶναι τὴν δίχα τοῦ θαρρεῖν αἰδῶ.
- 7 II. Τοὺς μὲν οὖν ἀκριβεστέρους χαρακτήρας ὁ

¹ Perhaps ἐντραπομένους (W.H.D.R.), a frequent synonym for αἰδεῖσθαι.

² MSS. παραστήσομαι.

^a Or “by conviction” (personified). See note on *Quod Deus* 125.

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and husbands wives ; from fear children leave their parents and servants their masters ; from shame friends leave their fellows when something they have done displeases them. I know fathers whose effeminacy has made them unwilling to face the strict and philosophic life of their sons, and who out of shame have chosen to live in the country instead of in the city. Instances of the working of these 4 three motives are to be found in the sacred writings. Jacob, the Practiser, as we shall presently shew, flies from his father-in-law Laban out of hatred, from his brother Esau out of fear. Hagar's motive 5 for departing is shame. A sign of this is the fact that an angel, a Divine Word, meets her to advise the right course, and to suggest return to the house of her mistress. This angel addresses her in the encouraging words, "The Lord hath hearkened to thy humiliation" (Gen. xvi. 11), a humiliation prompted neither by fear nor by hatred, the one the feeling of an ignoble, the other of a quarrelsome soul, but by shame, the outward expression of inward modesty. Had she run away 6 owing to fear, the angel would probably have moved her who had inspired the fear to a gentler frame of mind ; for then, and not till then, would it have been safe for the fugitive to go back. But no angel first approached Sarai, seeing that she is favourably disposed of her own accord. But it is Hagar who is taught by the angel monitor,^a whose goodwill to her makes him at once her friend and counsellor, not to feel only shame, but to be of good courage as well ; pointing out that shame apart from confidence is but a half virtue.

II. The ensuing argument will bring to light the 7

- ἐξῆς μηνύσει λόγος. ἐπανιτέον δ' ἐπὶ τὰ προτα-
θέντα¹ κεφάλαια καὶ ἀρκτέον ἀπὸ τῶν μίσους χάριν
ἀποδιδρασκόντων. “ἐκρυψε” γάρ φησιν “Ἰακώβ
Λάβαν τὸν Σύρον, τοῦ μὴ ἀπαγγεῖλαι αὐτῷ ὅτι
ἀποδιδράσκει, καὶ ἀπέδρα αὐτὸς καὶ τὰ αὐτοῦ
8 πάντα.” τίς οὖν αἰτία τοῦ μίσους; ποθεῖς γάρ
ἴσως δὴ τοῦτο² μαθεῖν. εἰσὶ τινες οἱ τὴν ἄποιον
καὶ ἀνείδεον καὶ ἀσχημάτιστον οὐσίαν θεοπλα-
στοῦντες, τὸ κινεῖν αἴτιον οὔτε εἰδότες οὔτε παρὰ
τῶν εἰδόντων μαθεῖν σπουδάσαντες, ἀγνοοῖα δὲ καὶ
ἀμαθία κεχρημένοι τοῦ καλλίστου μαθήματος, οὗ
πρώτου καὶ μόνου τὴν ἐπιστήμην ἐκπονεῖν ἦν
9 ἀναγκαῖον. ὁ Λάβαν τοῦ γένους ἐστὶ τούτου·
τὴν γὰρ ἄσημον αὐτῷ ποιμήνην οἱ³ χρησιμοὶ προσ-
νέμουσιν· ἄσημος δὲ ἐν μὲν τοῖς ὅλοις ἢ ἄποιος
ὕλη, ἐν ἀνθρώποις δὲ ἢ ἀμαθὴς ψυχὴ καὶ ἀπαιδ-
10 γώγητος. ἑτεροὶ δ' εἰσὶ τῆς ἀμείνωνος μοίρας, οἱ
νοῦν ἔφασαν ἐλθόντα πάντα διακοσμήσαι, τὴν ἐξ
ὀχλοκρατίας ἐν τοῖς οὖσιν ἀταξίαν εἰς ἀρχῆς
νομίμου, βασιλείας, τάξιν ἀγαγόντα. τοῦ θιάσου
τούτου χορευτὴς Ἰακώβ ἐστίν, ὃς ἐπιστατεῖ τῆς
ἐπισήμου ποικίλης ἀγέλης· ἐπίσημον δὲ πάλιν καὶ
ποικίλον ἐν μὲν τοῖς ὅλοις τὸ εἶδος, ἐν δὲ ἀνθρώποις
ἢ εὐπαίδευτος καὶ φιλομαθὴς διάνοια.
- 11 πολλοῦ δὴ τοῦ φύσει κοινωνικοῦ σπάσας ὁ ἐπίσημος
καὶ μοναρχίας ἀληθοῦς ἐταῖρος ἔρχεται πρὸς τὸν
ἄσημον, ὑλικὰς μὲν, ὡς εἶπον ἤδη, θεοπλαστοῦντα

¹ MSS. προτεθέντα.² MSS. τι τοῦ.³ MSS. οἱ.

^a The allusion to Anaxagoras in § 10 perhaps suggests that some definite persons or school is meant, possibly his predecessors the Ionic philosophers. See App. p. 581.

^b See Diog. Laert. ii. 6 (the opening words of Anaxagoras's

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more subtle traits of shame. I must now go back to the heads suggested, and must begin with those who run away because of hatred. We are told that "Jacob kept Laban the Syrian in the dark, so as not to tell him that he is fleeing, and he fled, himself and all that belonged to him" (Gen. xxxi. 20 f.). What, 8 then, was the cause of the hatred? You would like perhaps to be told this. There are people who fashion their God out of substance devoid of quality or form or shape^a; but the moving Cause they neither know, nor have taken any trouble to learn from those who do know Him. They have neither mastered nor do they study the fairest subject of all, the first, nay the only one, whose knowledge it was a vital matter for them to acquire. Laban is of this class; for the 9 sacred oracles assign to him the flock that is without mark (Gen. xxx. 42); and in the universe it is the matter devoid of quality and in men the ignorant and untutored soul that is without mark. Others there 10 are of the better part, who said that Mind came and ordered all things,^b bringing the disorder that prevailed in existing things as the result of mob-rule into the order of regular government under a king. Of this company Jacob is a votary, who is in charge of the variegated flock, marked and distinguished; and in the universe it is form that has variety and distinction, while among men it is the understanding, well-trained and loving to learn. The man of mark, associate of true monarchy, has 11 imbibed in full measure the inbred spirit of fellowship, and comes to the man of no mark, when he fashions, as I said before, material sovereignties as

treatise), πάντα χρήματα ἦν ὁμοῦ· εἶτα νοῦς ἐλθὼν αὐτὰ διεκόσμησε.

- ἡγεμονίας, ἔξω δὲ τούτων δραστήριον μηδεμίαν
 12 νομίζοντα, διδάζων ὅτι οὐκ ὀρθογνωμονεῖ. γέγονέ
 τε γὰρ ὁ κόσμος καὶ πάντως ὑπ' αἰτίου τινὸς
 γέγονεν· ὁ δὲ τοῦ ποιούντος λόγος αὐτός ἐστιν ἡ
 σφραγίς, ἥ τῶν ὄντων ἕκαστον μεμόρφωται· παρὸ
 [548] καὶ τέλειον | τοῖς γινομένοις ἐξ ἀρχῆς παρακο-
 λουθεῖ τὸ εἶδος, ἅτε ἐκμαγεῖον καὶ εἰκὼν τελείου
 13 λόγου. τὸ γὰρ γενόμενον ζῶον ἀτελὲς μὲν ἐστι
 τῷ ποσῷ—μάρτυρες δὲ αἱ καθ' ἡλικίαν ἐκάστην
 παραυξήσεις,—τέλειον δὲ τῷ ποιῷ· μένει γὰρ ἡ
 αὕτη ποιότης ἅτε ἀπὸ μένοντος ἐκμαγεῖσα καὶ
 14 μῆδαμῇ τρεπομένου θείου λόγου. III.
 ὁρῶν δ' ὅτι πρὸς μάθησιν καὶ νόμιμον¹ ἐπιστασίαν
 κεκώφωται, δρασμὸν εἰκότως βουλεύεται· δέδιδε
 γάρ, μὴ πρὸς τῷ μηδὲν ἰσχύσαι ὀνήσαι ἔτι καὶ
 ζημιωθῇ. βλαβεραὶ γὰρ αἱ μετὰ ἀνοήτων συνουσίαι,
 καὶ ἄκουσα πολλάκις ἡ ψυχὴ τῆς ἐκείνων φρενο-
 βλαβείας ἀπομάττεται τὰ εἶδωλα· καὶ ὄντως ἐστὶν
 ἐχθρὸν φύσει παιδεία ἀπαιδευσία καὶ φιλοπονία
 15 ἀμελετησία. παρὸ καὶ φωνὴν αἱ ἀσκη-
 τικαὶ δυνάμεις ἀφείσαι κεκράγασι τὰς αἰτίας τοῦ
 μίσους παραδιηγούμεναι· “ μὴ ἔστιν ἡμῖν ἔτι μερὶς
 ἡ κληρονομία ἐν τῷ οἴκῳ τοῦ πατρὸς ἡμῶν; οὐχ
 ὡς ἀλλότριαι λελογίσμεθα αὐτῷ; πέπρακε γὰρ
 ἡμᾶς καὶ κατέφαγε καταβρώσει τὸ ἀργύριον ἡμῶν.
 πᾶς ὁ πλοῦτος καὶ ἡ δόξα, ἣν ἀφείλετο ὁ θεὸς τοῦ
 πατρὸς ἡμῶν, ἡμῖν ἔσται καὶ τοῖς τέκνοις ἡμῶν.”
 16 ἐλεύθεραι γὰρ καὶ τοῖς ὀνόμασι καὶ τοῖς ἐνθυμῇ-

¹ MSS. *μόμιμον*.

^a See App. p. 581.

^b Or “giving in addition.”

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Divine, and holds no sovereignty outside of these to be efficient,—comes to him to teach him that he is mistaken. For the world has come into being, and 12 assuredly it has done so under the hand of some Cause ; and the Word of Him who makes it is Himself the seal, by which each thing that exists has received its shape. Accordingly from the outset form in perfection accompanies the things that come into being, for it is an impress and image of the perfect Word. For the living creature that has come 13 into being is imperfect in quantity, as is shewn by its constant growth as its age advances, but perfect in quality ; for the same quality continues, inasmuch as it is the impress of a Divine Word ever continuing and free from every kind of change.^a III. 14

Jacob, seeing that Laban has grown deaf to instruction or lawful authority, naturally plans to run away, fearing lest, besides being unable to help, he should suffer harm at his hands. For association with men devoid of sense is hurtful, and the soul often involuntarily takes the impressions of their mad folly ; and in the nature of things culture feels a repugnance towards lack of culture, and painstaking towards carelessness. And so the faculties of the 15 Practiser lift their voice aloud, proclaiming^b their grounds for hatred : “ Is there yet any portion or inheritance for us in our father’s house ? Are we not counted of him strangers ? For he hath sold us, and hath also quite devoured our money. All the riches and the glory, which God took away from our father, shall be for us and for our children ” (Gen. xxxi. 14-16). For being free both in names^c and in senti- 16

^a I can give no satisfactory explanation of “ names.” See App. pp. 581 f.

- μασιν οὐδένα τῶν ἀφρόνων νομίζουσι πλούσιον ἢ ἔνδοξον εἶναι, πάντας δ', ὡς ἔπος εἰπεῖν, ἀδόξους καὶ πένητας, κἂν βασιλέων πολυχρύσων τύχας ὑπερβάλλωσιν. οὐ γάρ φασι τὸν πλοῦτον τοῦ πατρός, ἀλλὰ τὸν ἀφαιρεθέντα πλοῦτον, οὐδὲ τὴν ἐκείνου δόξαν, ἀλλὰ τὴν ἀφαιρεθεῖσαν αὐτοῦ δόξαν
- 17 σχήσειν. ἐστέρηται δ' ὁ φαῦλος τοῦ ἀληθινοῦ πλούτου καὶ τῆς ἀψευδοῦς εὐδοξίας· τὰ γὰρ ἀγαθὰ ταῦτα φρόνησις καὶ σωφροσύνη καὶ αἱ συγγενεῖς περιποιούσι διαθέσεις, ὧν αἱ φιλάρετοι ψυχαὶ κληρο-
- 18 νομοῦσιν. οὐκοῦν οὐ τὰ προσόντα τῷ μοχθηρῷ, τὰ δ' ὧν ἐκεῖνος ἐστέρηται περιουσία καὶ εὐκλεία τοῖς ἀστείοις ἐστίν· ἐστέρηται δὲ ἀρετῶν, αἱ δὴ κτήματα τῶνδε γεγόνασιν, ἵνα καὶ τὸ ἐτέρωθι λεχθὲν συνάδῃ· “τὰ βδελύγματα Αἰγύπτου θύσομεν κυρίῳ τῷ θεῷ”. τέλεια γὰρ καὶ ἄμωμα ἱερεῖα αἱ ἀρεταὶ καὶ αἱ κατὰ ἀρετὰς πράξεις, ἃς τὸ φιλο-
- 19 παθὲς Αἰγύπτιον βδελύττεται σῶμα. καθάπερ γὰρ ἐνταῦθα φυσικῶς τὰ βέβηλα παρ' Αἰγυπτίοις ἱερὰ παρὰ τοῖς ὀξὺ καθορῶσι λέγεται καὶ πάντα θύεται, τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον καὶ ὧν ἐστέρηται καὶ ἀφήρηται πᾶς ἄφρων, τούτων κληρονόμος ἔσται ὁ καλο-
- [549] κάγαθίας ἐταῖρος· ταῦτα | δέ ἐστι δόξα ἀληθοῦς ἐπιστήμης ἀδιαφοροῦσα καὶ πλοῦτος οὐχ ὁ τυφλός, ἀλλ' ὁ τῶν ὄντων ὀξυδερκέστατος, ὃς οὐδὲν παραδέχεται νόμισμα κίβδηλον, ἀλλ' οὐδ' ἄψυχον τὸ παράπαν, εἰ καὶ δόκιμον εἴη.

* The meaning seems to be that while the three Aristotelian ἀγαθὰ, viz. τὰ περὶ ψυχὴν, τὰ περὶ σῶμα and τὰ ἐκτός may be δόκιμα in a sense, for even the Stoics admitted “preferable indifferents” among the two latter, only the first is acceptable to the true Practiser. See *Quod Det.* 7 and note, also *De Gig.* 38.

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ments, they deem no senseless man to be rich or glorious, but all such, speaking broadly, to be poor and inglorious, even if they surpass in fortune wealthy kings. For they do not say that they will have their father's wealth, but that which was taken away from their father, nor his glory, but the glory that was taken away from him. The worthless man is destitute 17 of the real riches and the true gloriousness ; for these good things are won by sound sense and self-mastery and the dispositions akin to these, which are the inheritance of virtue-loving souls. Accordingly it is not 18 the things that pertain to the good-for-nothing man, but those of which he has been stripped, that are affluence and renown to the worthy. Virtues are what has been stripped from him, and has become the property of the worthy, thus bringing into harmony what is said elsewhere : " we will sacrifice the abominations of Egypt to the Lord our God " (Exod. viii. 26) ; for victims perfect and free from blemish are the virtues and virtuous conduct, and these the Egyptian body, in its devotion to the passions, abominates. For even as in this passage, understood in 19 accordance with reality, things which Egyptians reckon profane are called sacred in the estimation of the keen-sighted, and are all offered in sacrifice ; exactly in the same way, the things of which every foolish man has been deprived and stripped, these the comrade of nobility of character will inherit. And these are real glory, indistinguishable from knowledge, and wealth, not the blind wealth, but that which has the keenest sight for the things that actually are, which accepts no counterfeit coinage, nay nothing whatever that is soulless, even though it be approved coin.^a

- 20 Προσηκόντως οὖν ἀποδράσεται τὸν τῶν θείων ἀγαθῶν ἀμέτοχον, ὃς καὶ ἐν οἷς ἕτερον αἰτιᾶται διαβάλλων ἑαυτὸν λέληθεν, ἐπειδὰν φῇ· “εἰ ἀν- ἡγγειλάς μοι, ἐξαπέστειλα ἄν σε.” αὐτὸ γὰρ τοῦτο φυγῆς ἦν ἄξιον, εἰ μυρίων δεσποτῶν δοῦλος ὢν, ἐπιμορφάζων ἀρχὴν καὶ ἡγεμονίαν, ἐλευθερίαν
- 21 ἄλλοις ἐκήρυττες. ἐγὼ δέ, φησί, τῆς ἐπ’ ἀρετὴν ἀγούσης ὁδοῦ συνεργὸν ἄνθρωπον οὐκ ἔλαβον, ἀλλ’ ὑπήκουσα χρησμῶν θείων κελευόντων ἐνθένδε
- 22 ἀπαίρειν, οἳ καὶ μέχρι νῦν με ποδηγετοῦσι. πῶς δ’ ἂν με ἐξαπέστειλας; ἦ, ὥς σεμνολογούμενος διεξῆεις, μετ’ “εὐφροσύνης” τῆς ἐμοὶ λυπηρᾶς καὶ “μουσικῶν” ἀμούσων καὶ “τυμπάνων” [καὶ]¹ κτύπων ἀνάρθρων καὶ ἀλόγων πληγὰς ἐμφορούντων ψυχῇ δι’ ὧτων καὶ μετὰ “κιθάρας,” ἀλύρων καὶ ἀναρμόστων οὐκ ὀργάνων μᾶλλον ἢ τῶν κατὰ τὸν βίον πράξεις; ἀλλὰ γὰρ ταῦτ’ ἐστὶν ὧν ἕνεκα φυγὴν ἐβούλευσα, σὺ δ’, ὥς ἔοικεν, ἀντισπᾶσμάτα μου τῆς φυγῆς ἐπενόεις, ἵνα παλινδρομήσω διὰ τὸ ἀπα- τηλὸν καὶ εὐπαράγωγον φύσει τῶν αἰσθήσεων, αἷς μόλις ἴσχυσα ἐπιβῆναι.
- 23 IV. Μῖσος μὲν δὴ τοῦ λεχθέντος δρασμοῦ γέγονεν αἷτιον, φόβος δὲ τοῦ λεχθησομένου. “εἶπε” γὰρ φησι “Ῥεβέκκα πρὸς Ἰακώβ· ἰδοῦ, Ἡσαῦ ὁ ἀδελφός σου ἀπειλεῖ (σοι) ἀποκτεῖναί σε. νῦν οὖν, τέκνον, ἄκουσόν μου τῆς φωνῆς καὶ ἀναστὰς ἀπόδραθι πρὸς Λάβαν τὸν ἀδελφόν μου εἰς Χαρρὰν καὶ οἴκησον μετ’ αὐτοῦ ἡμέρας τινάς, ἕως τοῦ

¹ I have bracketed καὶ as disturbing the symmetry of the sentence. The LXX has μετ’ εὐφροσύνης καὶ μετὰ μουσικῶν καὶ τυμπάνων καὶ κιθάρας. Each of the four terms receives in turn its negative qualification.

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Right fitly, therefore, will Jacob run away from the 20
man who has no part in the good things of God, the
man who, even in finding fault with another, impugns
himself without knowing it when he says, "If thou
hadst told me, I would have sent thee forth" (Gen.
xxxi. 27). For this alone would have been a sufficient
ground for flight, if, when you were the slave of ten
thousand masters, you assumed the style of dominion
and lordship and proclaimed liberty to others. I how- 21
ever, says Jacob, took no man to help me to find the
way that leads to virtue, but paid heed to Divine
oracles bidding me depart hence, and to this moment
they guide my steps. And how wouldst thou have 22
sent me forth? Would it have been, as thou didst
grandiloquently recount, "with merriment" that
caused me pain, and "music" all unmusical, and
"drums" noises inarticulate and meaningless, in-
flicting blows on the soul through the ears, "and with
cithara" (*ibid.*), not instruments but modes of conduct
void of melody or harmony? Nay, these are the very
things that made me plan flight; but you, it seems,
devised them as means of diverting me back from
flight, to induce me to retrace my steps for the sake
of the power to cheat and mislead inbred in those
senses which I had with difficulty gained strength to
tread underfoot.

IV. Hatred, then, was the cause of the flight that 23
has been spoken of, but fear of that of which I am
about to speak. For we read as follows: "Rebecca
said to Jacob, 'Lo, Esau thy brother threatens to
kill thee. Now therefore, child, listen to my voice
and arise and flee to Laban my brother to Haran,
and live with him for some days, until the wrath and

- ἀποστρέψαι τὸν θυμὸν καὶ τὴν ὀργὴν τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ σου, καὶ ἐπιλάθῃται ἃ πεποίηκας αὐτῷ· καὶ ἀπο-
- 24 στείλασα μεταπέμψομαί σε ἐκείθεν.” ἄξιον γὰρ δεδιέναι, μὴ τὸ χεῖρον τῆς ψυχῆς μέρος ἐξ ἐνέδρας λοχῆσαν ἢ καὶ ἐκ τοῦ φανεροῦ κοιμισάμενον ἀνατρέψῃ καὶ καταβάλλῃ τὸ κρεῖττον. συμβουλή δ’ ἀρίστη τῆς ὀρθογνώμονος ἐπιμονῆς, ‘Ρεβέκκας ἦδε·
- 25 ἐπειδὴν ἴδῃς, φησί, τὸν φαῦλον πολὺ(ν) ῥέοντα κατὰ ἀρετῆς καὶ ὧν ἀλογεῖν προσῆκε πολὺν λόγον ἔχοντα, πλούτου, δόξης, ἡδονῆς, καὶ τὰδικεῖν ἐπαινοῦντα ὡς αἴτιον ἐκάστου τῶν εἰρημένων—πολυαργύρους γὰρ καὶ πολυχρύσους καὶ ἐνδόξους τοὺς ἀδικοῦντας μάλιστα γίνεσθαι,—μὴ τὴν ἐναντίαν ὁδὸν τραπόμενος εὐθὺς ἀχρηματίαν καὶ ἀτυφίαν αὐστηρόν τε καὶ μονωτικὸν βίον ἐπιτηδεύσης· ἀνερεθίσεις γὰρ τὸν ἀντίπαλον καὶ βαρύτερον ἐχθρὸν ἀλείψεις κατὰ
- 26 σεαυτοῦ. τί ἂν οὖν ἐργασάμενος ἐκφύγῃς τὰ παλαίσματ’ αὐτοῦ, σκόπει. συνενέχθητι τοῖς αὐτοῖς, οὐκ ἐπιτηδεύμασι λέγω, τοῖς δὲ τῶν εἰρημένων ποιητικοῖς, τιμαῖς, ἀρχαῖς, ἀργύρῳ, χρυσῷ,
- [550] | κτήμασι, χρώμασι, σχήμασι διαφόροις, κάλλεσι, καὶ ὅταν ἐντύχῃς, οἷα δημιουργὸς ἀγαθὸς εἶδος ἄριστον ταῖς ὑλिकाῖς οὐσίαις ἐγγάραξον καὶ ἐπαι-
- 27 νετὸν ἀποτέλεσον ἔργον. ἢ οὐκ οἶδας, ὅτι ναῦν ἰδιώτης μὲν παραλαβὼν σώζεσθαι δυναμένην ἀνατρέπει, κυβερνητικὸς δὲ ἀνὴρ καὶ τὴν ἀπολλυμένην

^a For a comparison of this interpretation of fleeing from Esau's wrath with that given in *De Mig.* 210, 211 see App. p. 582.

^b Or “prepare,” “give strength to,” a definite reference to the gymnastic school. So below *παλαίσματα* = wrestling-grips.

anger of thy brother turn away, and he forget the things which thou hast done to him : and I will send and fetch thee thence ' ' (Gen. xxvii. 42-45). For 24 there is reason to fear lest the worse part of the soul set an ambush and lie in wait, or even openly arm, and then overthrow and cast down the better part. And this is excellent advice given by Rebecca, that is, by judicious Patience.^a Whenever, she says, you 25 see the base one flowing in full current against virtue, and taking much account of things which it ought to disregard, of wealth, fame, pleasure, when he extols injustice as the author of each of these, and points out that it is mostly wrongdoers who attain to fame and to abundance of gold and silver, do not take at once the opposite direction, and practise penury and humility and a strict and unsocial mode of life ; for in this way you will rouse your adversary's spirit and stimulate^b a more dangerous foe to the contest against you. Consider, 26 then, by what course of action you are to escape his machinations. Adapt yourself, not to his pursuits and practices, but to the objects which serve to create them^c—honours, offices, silver, gold, possessions, different forms and colours, beautiful objects. And whenever you meet with these, do as a good artist does, and engrave upon the material substances a form as good as possible, and thus accomplish a work which may win men's praise. You know well how, when 27 an unskilled man takes charge of a vessel that is quite capable of making a safe voyage, he upsets it, whereas a skilled helmsman often saves one which

^a Or τῶν ἐληφένων may refer to wealth, fame, and pleasure, § 25. See App. pp. 582 f.

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πολλάκις ἔσωσε, καὶ τῶν καμνόντων οἱ μὲν ἀπειρία
 τῶν θεραπευόντων χρησάμενοι σφαλερῶς τὰ σώ-
 ματα ἔσχον, οἱ δὲ ἐμπειρία καὶ τὰς σφαλερὰς
 νόσους ἀπέφυγον; καὶ τί δεῖ μηκύνειν; αἰεὶ γὰρ
 τὰ μετὰ τέχνης ἔλεγχός ἐστι τῶν σὺν ἀτεχνία
 γινομένων, καὶ ὁ τούτων ἀληθὴς ἔπαινος ἀψευδὴς
 28 ἐκείνων ἐστὶ κατηγορία. V. εἰς οὖν
 θέλῃς διελέγξαι τὸν πολυχρήματον φαῦλον, μὴ
 ἀποστραφῇς τὴν ἐν χρήμασι περιουσίαν. ὁ μὲν
 γὰρ ἢ ἀνελεύθερος καὶ δουλοπρεπὴς ὀβολοστάτης
 καὶ τοκογλύφος, βαρυδαίμων ἀνὴρ, ἀναφανεῖται ἢ
 ἔμπαλιν ἄσωτος πεφορημένος, λαφύττειν καὶ σπα-
 θᾶν ἐτοιμότητος, ἑταιρῶν καὶ πορνοτρόφων καὶ
 μαστροπῶν καὶ παντὸς ἀκολάστου θιάσου χορηγὸς
 29 φιλοτιμότητος. σὺ δὲ ἔρανον παρέξεις πένησι
 φίλων, χαριεῖ¹ δωρεὰς τῇ πατρίδι, συνεκδώσεις
 θυγατέρας ἀπόροις γονεῦσιν αὐταρκεστάτην προῖκα
 ἐπιδούς, μονονοῦκ εἰς μέσον προθεῖς τὰ ἴδια
 καλέσεις ἐπὶ μετουσίαν ἅπαντας τοὺς ἀξίους χάρι-
 30 τος. τὸν αὐτὸν μέντοι τρόπον καὶ δοξο-
 μανοῦντα καὶ ἐπικομπάζοντα βουληθεῖς ὀνειδίσαι
 μοχθηρόν, δυνηθεῖς ἔντιμος εἶναι μὴ ἀποστραφῇς
 τὸν παρὰ τοῖς πολλοῖς ἔπαινον· οὕτως γὰρ τὸν
 μακρὰ βαίνοντα καὶ φρναττόμενον ἄθλιον ὑπο-
 σκελιεῖς. ὁ μὲν γε τῷ ἐπιφανεῖ καταχρήσεται
 πρὸς ὕβριν καὶ ἀτιμίαν ἀμεινόνων ἐτέρων, αὖξων
 τοὺς χεῖρους ἐπ' αὐτοῖς· σὺ δὲ ἔμπαλιν τοῖς ἀξίοις

¹ MSS. χάριτο(α)s.

ON FLIGHT AND FINDING, 27-30

is sinking ; and how sick folk, under the care of inexperienced attendants, fall into a dangerous condition of body, while those who meet with experienced attendants recover even from dangerous diseases. I need not labour the point. It is invariably the case that what is done with skill shews up and convicts what is done without it, and true praise accorded to the one is sure condemnation of the other.

V. If, then, you desire ²⁸ thoroughly to expose the worthless man of wealth, do not refuse abundance of wealth. He, miserable creature, will be seen in his true colours, either with the instincts of a slave rather than a gentleman, a skinflint and a splitpenny ; or on the other hand as living in a whirl of prodigality, ever ready to fling away money and to guzzle—an ever-active patron of courtesans, pimps, panders, and every licentious crew. You will contribute freely to needy friends, ²⁹ will make bountiful gifts to serve your country's wants, you will help parents without means to marry their daughters, and provide them with an ample dowry ; you will all but throw your private property into the common stock and invite all deserving of kindness to take a share.

In exactly the ³⁰ same way, when someone is crazy after fame and full of boastfulness, if you wish to cast reproach on the sorry fellow, do not turn your back upon popular applause if you have an opportunity of winning honour, and then, while the poor braggart strides conceitedly along, you will send him tumbling. While he will misuse his distinguished position to insult and disgrace others better than himself, and will exalt worse men above them, you on the other hand will make all worthy men sharers in the ad-

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- ἅπανσι μεταδώσεις τῆς εὐκλείας, ἀσφάλειαν μὲν περιποιῶν τοῖς ἀγαθοῖς, βελτιῶν δὲ τοὺς χείρους
- 31 νουθεσίᾳ. καὶ ἐπ' ἄκρατον μέντοι καὶ πολυτελεῖς τραπέζας ἔης, θαρρῶν ἴθι· τὸν γὰρ ἀκράτορα αἰσχυνεῖς διὰ τῆς σεαυτοῦ δεξιότητος. ὁ μὲν γὰρ πεσὼν ἐπὶ γαστέρα καὶ πρὸ τοῦ στόματος τὰς ἀπλήστους διοίξας ἐπιθυμίας ἀκόσμως ἐμφορήσεται καὶ τὰ τοῦ πλησίον ἐπισπάσεται καὶ πάντ' ἐπιλιχμώμενος οὐκ ἐρυθρίασει· καὶ διακορῆς ἔδωδῆς ἐπειδὰν γένηται, χανδόν, ὡς οἱ ποιηταὶ λέγουσι, “πίνων” γέλωτα καὶ χλεύην παρέξει τοῖς ὀρώσι.
- 32 σὺ δ' ἄνευ μὲν ἀνάγκης χρήσῃ τοῖς μετρίοις, ἐὰν δέ που βιασθῆς εἰς πλειόνων ἀπόλαυσιν ἐλθεῖν, λογισμὸν τῆς ἀνάγκης ἐπιστήσας ἡγεμόνα τὴν ἡδονὴν εἰς ἀηδίαν οὐδέποτε ἐκτρέψεις, ἀλλ', εἰ χρή τὸν τρόπον εἰπεῖν τοῦτον, νηφάλια μεθυσθήσῃ.
- 33 VI. μέμψαιτ' ἂν οὖν δεόντως ἡ ἀλήθεια τοῖς ἀν-
[551] εἰσέτάστως ἀπολείπουν τὰς ἐν τῷ | πολιτικῷ βίῳ πραγματείας καὶ πορισμοὺς καὶ δόξης καὶ ἡδονῆς καταπεφρονηκέναι λέγουσιν. ἀλαζονεύονται γάρ, οὐ καταφρονοῦσι, τὸ ρυπᾶν καὶ σκυθρωπάζειν αὐστηρῶς τε καὶ αὐχμηρῶς ἀποζῆν δελέατα προτιθέντες, ὡς δὴ κοσμιότητος καὶ σωφροσύνης καὶ
- 34 καρτερίας ἐρασταί. τοὺς δ' ἀκριβεστέρους ἀπατᾶν οὐ δύνανται διακύπτοντας εἶσω καὶ μὴ τοῖς ἐν ἐμφανεί παραγομένους. ταῦτα γὰρ προκαλύμματα

^a Or “good behaviour.” See App. p. 583.

^b *Odyssey* xxi. 294:

οἶνός σε τρώει μελιδῆς, ὅς τε καὶ ἄλλους
βλάπτει, ὅς ἂν μιν χανδὸν ἔλῃ μὴδ' αἴσιμα πίνῃ.

ON FLIGHT AND FINDING, 30-34

vantages of your good name, securing the position of the better kind, and improving the worse by your counsel.

Again, if you go to a luxurious 31
repat where the wine flows freely, go without hesitation ; for you will put the intemperate man to shame by having yourself well in hand.^a He will fall upon his belly and open his insatiable appetites before he opens his mouth, cram himself in unseemly fashion, grab at his next neighbour's food, and gobble up everything without a blush ; and when he is thoroughly sated with eating, he will as the poets say " drink with a yawning maw,"^b and incur the mocking and ridicule of all who see him. But you, 32
when there is no compulsion, will drink in moderation ; and should you be forced in any case to indulge more freely, you will place the compulsion under the charge of reason, and never debase pleasure to the displeasure of others, but, if we may so speak, get soberly drunken.^c

VI. Truth would there- 33
fore rightly find fault with those who without full consideration give up the business and financial side of a citizen's life, and say that they have conceived a contempt for fame and pleasure. For they do not despise these things, they are practising an imposture. Their dirty bodies and gloomy faces, the rigour and squalour of their pinched life, are so many baits to lead others to regard them as lovers of orderliness and temperance and endurance. But they are 34
unable to deceive the more sharp-sighted, who peer inside and refuse to be taken in by what meets the eye. For they thrust this back as mere screening

^a For the milder sense carried by *μεθύειν* see Introduction to *De Plant.* Vol. III. p. 209, where St. John ii. 10 *ὅταν μεθύσθῳσι* (R.V. " have drunk freely ") was quoted.

ὄντα ἐτέρων ἀναστείλαντες, τὰ ἐναποκείμενα ἔνδον, ὅποια ἅττα τὴν φύσιν ἐστίν, ἐθεάσαντο καί, εἰ μὲν εἷη καλὰ, ἐθαύμασαν, εἰ δὲ αἰσχρά, ἐχλεύασαν καὶ
 35 τῆς ὑποκρίσεως ἐμίσησαν. λέγωμεν οὖν

τοῖς τοιούτοις· τὸν ἄμικτον καὶ ἀκοινώνητον μονό-τροπὸν τε καὶ μονωτικὸν βίον ζηλοῦτε; τί γὰρ τῶν ἐν κοινωνίᾳ καλῶν προεπεδείξασθε; ἀργυρισμόν ἀποστρέφεσθε; γενόμενοι γὰρ χρηματισταὶ δικαιοπραγεῖν ἠθελήσατε; τῶν γαστροῦ καὶ μετὰ γαστέρα ἡδονῶν ἐπιμορφάζοντες ἀλογεῖν, ἡνίκα τὰς εἰς ταῦτα ἀφθόνους ὕλας εἵχετε, ἐμετριάσατε; δόξης καταφρονεῖτε; γενόμενοι γὰρ ἐν τιμαῖς ἀτυφίαν ἡσκήσατε; πολιτείαν ἐγελάσατε ὑμεῖς, ἴσως ὥς χρήσιμόν ἐστι τὸ πρᾶγμα οὐ κατανοή-
 36 σαντες. πρότερον οὖν ἐγγυμνάσασθε καὶ

προεμμελετήσατε τοῖς τοῦ βίου πράγμασιν ἰδίους τε καὶ κοινοῖς καὶ γενόμενοι πολιτικοί τε καὶ οἰκονομικοὶ δι' ἀδελφῶν ἀρετῶν, οἰκονομικῆς τε καὶ πολιτικῆς, κατὰ πολλὴν περιουσίαν τὴν εἰς ἕτερον καὶ ἀμείνω βίον ἀποικίαν στείλασθε· τὸν γὰρ πρακτικὸν τοῦ θεωρητικοῦ βίου, προάγωνά τινα ἀγῶνος τελειοτέρου, καλὸν πρότερον διαθλῆσαι. οὕτως τὴν ὀκνου καὶ ἀργίας κατηγορίαν ἀποδρά-
 37 σεσθε. οὕτως καὶ τοῖς Λευítais τὰ μὲν

ἔργα ἐπιτελεῖν ἄχρι πεντηκονταετίας διείρηται, ἀπαλλαγείσι δὲ τῆς πρακτικῆς ὑπηρεσίας σκοπεῖν

ON FLIGHT AND FINDING, 34-37

of quite different things, and get a view of the true nature of the things concealed within, which, if they are beautiful, they admire, but if ugly, ridicule and loathe them for their hypocrisy. To such 35

men, then, let us say : Do you affect the life that eschews social intercourse with others, and courts solitary loneliness ? Well, what proof did you ever give before this of noble social qualities ? Do you renounce money-making ? When engaged in business, were you determined to be just in your dealings ? Would you make a show of paying no regard to the pleasures of the belly and the parts below it—say, when you had abundant material for indulging in these, did you exercise moderation ? Do you despise popular esteem ? Well, when you held posts of honour, did you practise simplicity ? State business is an object of ridicule to you people. Perhaps you have never discovered how serviceable a thing it is.

Begin, then, by getting some exercise and practice in the business of life both private and public ; and when by means of the sister virtues, household-management and statesmanship, you have become masters in each domain, enter now, as more than qualified to do so, on your migration to a different and more excellent way of life. For the practical comes before the contemplative life ; it is a sort of prelude to a more advanced contest ; and it is well to have fought it out first. By taking this course you will avoid the imputation of shrinking from it through sheer laziness.

It was 37 on this principle too that the Levites were charged to perform their active service until the age of fifty (Numb. iv. 3 ff.), but, when released from their practical ministry, to make everything an object of

ἕκαστα καὶ θεωρεῖν, τῆς ἐν τῷ πρακτικῷ βίῳ
κατορθώσεως γέρας λαβόντας ἕτερον βίον, ὃς
ἐπιστήμη καὶ θεωρία μόνη χαίρει.

38 καὶ ἄλλως ἀναγκαῖον, τοὺς τῶν θείων ἀξιοῦντας
μεταποιεῖσθαι δικαίων τὰ ἀνθρώπεια πρότερον
ἐκπληρῶσαι· πολλὴ γὰρ εὐήθεια τῶν μειζόνων ὑπο-
λαμβάνειν ἐφίξεσθαι ἀδυνατοῦντας τῶν ἐλαττόνων
περιγίνεσθαι. γνωρίσθητε οὖν πρότερον τῇ κατ'
ἀνθρώπους ἀρετῇ, ἵνα καὶ τῇ πρὸς θεὸν συσταθῇτε.

39 VII. Τοιαῦτα ὑφηγεῖται τῷ ἀσκητικῷ ἢ ὑπομονῇ,
τὰς δὲ λέξεις ἀκριβωτέον. “ἴδου” φησὶν “Ἡσαῦ
ὁ ἀδελφός σου ἀπειλεῖ σοι”—ἀλλ’ οὐχ ὁ δρύινος
καὶ ὑπ’ ἀμαθίας ἀπειθῆς τρόπος, ὄνομα Ἡσαῦ,
ἐγκότως ἔχει καὶ τὰ τῆς θνητῆς ζωῆς προ-
τείνων ἐπ’ ὀλέθρῳ δελέατα, χρήματα, δόξαν,
ἡδονάς, τὰ συγγενῇ τούτοις, κατὰ σοῦ φονᾶ;—“σὺ
δέ, ὦ τέκνον, ἀπόδραθι τὸν ἐν τῷ παρόντι ἀγῶνα·
[552] οὐπω γὰρ εἰς τὸ παντελές | ἐπιδέδωκέ σοι τὰ τῆς
ρώμης, ἀλλ’ ἔτι οἷα παιδὸς¹ οἱ ψυχικοὶ τόνοι μαλ-
40 θακώτεροι.” διὸ καὶ τέκνον αὐτὸν προσεῖπε, τὸ δ’
ἐστὶν εὐνοίας καὶ ἡλικίας ὄνομα ἐν ταύτῳ· τὸν γὰρ
ἀσκητικὸν τρόπον καὶ νέον παρὰ τὸν τέλειον καὶ
φιλίας ἄξιον εἶναι τίθεμεν. ὁ δὲ τοιοῦτος ἱκανὸς
μὲν ἐστὶ τὰ προτιθέμενα παισὶν¹ ἄθλα ἄρασθαι, τὰ
δὲ ἀνδράσιν οὐδέπω δυνατός· ἀνδρῶν δὲ ἄριστον
41 ἄθλον ἢ θεοῦ μόνου θεραπεία. τοιγαροῦν ἐπειδὰν
μήπω τελείως καθαρθέντες, δόξαντες δὲ αὐτὸ² μόνον

¹ MSS. φησιν.

² MSS. τοῦτο.

ON FLIGHT AND FINDING, 37-41

observation and contemplation ; receiving as a prize for duty well done in the active life a quite different way of life whose delight is in knowledge and study of principles alone. And apart from this, 38

it is a vital matter that those who venture to make the claims of God their aim and study should first have fully met those of men ; for it is sheer folly to suppose that you will reach the greater while you are incapable of mastering the lesser. Therefore first make yourselves familiar with virtue as exercised in our dealings with men, to the end that you may be introduced to that also which has to do with our relation to God.

VII. Such is the substance of the advice which 39 Patience gives to the Man of Practice, but the actual words need detailed treatment. "Behold," she says, "Esau thy brother is threatening thee." Is it not the case that the character which is hard and wooden, whose ignorance makes it disobedient, the character called "Esau," nurses a grudge, and, offering the baits of this mortal life to destroy thee, money, fame, pleasures, and the like, is bent on killing thee ? "But do thou, my child, flee from the present contest : for not yet has thy strength reached its full development, but, as is natural in a boy, the sinews of thy soul lack firmness." This is why she addressed 40 him as "child," a title at the same time expressive of kindly feeling and suited to a tender age ; for we regard the character of the Practiser both as young compared with the fully developed and as lovable. Such a one is quite capable of winning the prizes that are offered to boys, but is not as yet able to carry off those offered to men ; and the best prize that men can obtain, is to minister to the only God. So, when 41 we present ourselves at the courts in which we are

- ἐκνύφασθαι τὰ καταρρυπαίνοντα ἡμῶν τὸν βίον, ἐπ' αὐλὰς τῆς θεραπείας ἀφικώμεθα, θάττον ἢ προσελθεῖν ἀπεπηδήσαμεν, τὴν αὐστηρὰν δίαιταν αὐτῆς καὶ τὴν ἄνπνον θρησκείαν¹ καὶ τὸν συνεχῆ καὶ
- 42 ἀκάματον πόνον οὐκ ἐνεγκόντες. ἀποφεύγετε οὖν ἐν τῷ παρόντι καὶ τὸ κάκιστον καὶ τὸ ἄριστον, κάκιστον μὲν τὸ μυθικὸν πλάσμα, τὸ ἄμετρον καὶ ἐκμελὲς ποίημα, τὸ ὑπ' ἀμαθίας σκληρὸν καὶ δρύινον ὄντως νόημα καὶ πείσμα, ὧν Ἡσαῦ ἐπώνυμος, ἄριστον δὲ τὸ ἀνάθημα· τὸ γὰρ θεραπευτικὸν γένος ἀνάθημά ἐστι θεοῦ, ἱερῶμενον
- 43 τὴν μεγάλην ἀρχιερωσύνην αὐτῷ μόνῳ. τὸ μὲν γὰρ συνδιατρίβειν κακῷ βλαβερώτατον, τὸ δὲ ἀγαθῷ τελείῳ σφαλερώτατον. ὁ γοῦν Ἰακώβ καὶ τὸν Ἡσαῦ ἀποδιδράσκει καὶ τῶν γονέων διοικίζεται· ἀσκητικὸς γὰρ ὢν καὶ ἔτι διαθλῶν φεύγει μὲν κακίαν, ἀρετῇ δὲ τελείᾳ καὶ αὐτομαθεῖ συζῆν
- 44 ἀδυνατεῖ. VIII. διόπερ ἀποδημήσει πρὸς Λάβαν, οὐ τὸν Σύρον, ἀλλὰ τὸν ἀδελφὸν τῆς μητρός, τὸ δ' ἐστὶν εἰς τὰς τοῦ βίου λαμπρότητας ἀφίξεται· λευκὸς γὰρ ἐρμηνεύεται Λάβαν. ἀφικόμενος δὲ οὐχ ὑψαυχενήσει, φυσώμενος ταῖς τυχηραῖς εὐπραγίαις· μεταληφθεὶς γὰρ ὁ Σύρος ἐστὶ μετέωρος. νυνὶ δὲ τοῦ Σύρου Λάβαν οὐχὶ μέμνηται, τοῦ δὲ
- 45 Ῥεβέκκας ἀδελφοῦ. αἱ γὰρ κατὰ τὸν βίον ὕλαι φαύλῳ μὲν παραδοθεῖσαι μετέωρον ἐξαίρουσι τὸν κενὸν φρονήσεως νοῦν, ὅστις ὠνόμασται Σύρος, ἐραστῇ δὲ παιδείας ἐπιμένοντι τοῖς καλοκαγαθίας

¹ MSS. ἀρέσκειαν.

^a Cf. *De Cong.* 61, 62 and note.

ON FLIGHT AND FINDING, 41-45

to minister not yet thoroughly purified, but having just washed off, as we think, the spots which smirch our life, we hurry away from that ministry more quickly than we came to it, not brooking its severe way of living, and the unsleeping observance and the continuous and unflagging toil which it demands.

Flee, then, at present both that which 42 is worst, and that which is best. Worst is the fabulous fiction,^a the poem without metre or melody, the conception and persuasion^b which ignorance has rendered hard and wooden in very deed. From this Esau derives his name. Best is the dedicated offering; for the ministering kind is a sacred offering to God, consecrated for the great high priesthood to Him alone. To spend one's days with evil is most hurtful : 43 to do so with perfect goodness most dangerous. So Jacob both flees from Esau and moves away from his parents ; for being bent on practice and still engaged in a contest, he flies from evil, but is incapable of sharing the life of perfect virtue that learns untaught. VIII. Consequently he will go abroad to Laban, not 44 the Syrian, but his mother's brother. This means that he will arrive amid the splendours of life, for "Laban" signifies "bright." And when he has arrived, he will not be elated by his good fortune and have a lofty mien ; for, though "aloft" is the translation of "Syrian," there is no mention here of the Syrian Laban, but only of the brother of Rebecca. For the 45 ways and means of life placed at the disposal of a worthless man carry his mind up into the height, empty as it is of sound sense, and such a mind is called "Syrian," but for the man enamoured of discipline, steadfastly and firmly persisting in the prin-

^b Or perhaps "confidence." See App. p. 583.

σταθερῶς καὶ παγίως δόγμασιν * * *¹ οὗτός ἐστιν ὁ Ῥεβέκκας ἀδελφός, τῆς ἐπιμονῆς· οἰκεῖ δὲ τὴν Χαρράν, ἣ μεταληφθεῖσά εἰσι τρώγλαι, σύμβολον τῶν αἰσθήσεων². ὁ γὰρ ἔτι χορεύων ἐν τῷ θνητῷ βίῳ χρεῖος τῶν αἰσθήσεων ὀργάνων ἐστίν.

- 46 “οἴκησον” οὖν φησὶν “ὦ τέκνον, μετ’ αὐτοῦ”
μὴ τὸν ἅπαντα αἰῶνα, ἀλλ’ “ἡμέρας τινάς,” τοῦτο
[553] δ’ ἐστὶ τὴν τῶν αἰσθήσεων | χώραν κατὰμαθε,
γνώθῃ σαυτὸν καὶ τὰ σαυτοῦ μέρη, τί τε ἕκαστον
καὶ πρὸς τί γέγονε καὶ πῶς ἐνεργεῖν πέφυκε καὶ
τίς ὁ τὰ θαύματα κινῶν καὶ νευροσπαστῶν ἀόρατος
ἀοράτως εἶτε ὁ ἐν σοὶ νοῦς εἶτε ὁ τῶν συμπάντων.
47 ἐπειδὰν δὲ σαυτὸν ἐξετάσης, καὶ τὰ ἴδια τοῦ Λάβαν
ἀκρίβωσον, τὰς τῆς κενῆς δόξης λαμπρὰς νομιζο-
μένας εὐπραγίας, ὑφ’ ὧν μηδεμιᾶς ἀλῶς, πάσας
δ’ οἷα ἀγαθὸς δημιουργὸς τεχνικῶς ταῖς οἰκείαις
ἐφάρμοσον χρεῖαις. ἐὰν γὰρ ἐπιδειξῇ γενόμενος
ἐν τῷ πολιτικῷ καὶ πεφυρμένῳ τούτῳ βίῳ σταθερὸν
καὶ εὐπαίδευτον ἦθος, μεταπέμψομαί σε ἐκεῖθεν,
ἵνα τύχῃς οὐπὲρ καὶ οἱ σοὶ γονεῖς ἄθλου· τὸ δ’
ἄθλον ἐστὶν ἡ ἀκλινὴς καὶ ἀνένδοτος³ τοῦ μόνου
θεραπεία σοφοῦ.
48 IX. Τὰ δ’ ὅμοια καὶ ὁ πατὴρ ὑφηγεῖται, μικρὰ
προσθεῖς· λέγει γάρ· “ἀναστὰς ἀπόδραθι εἰς τὴν
Μεσοποταμίαν εἰς τὸν οἶκον Βαθουήλ, τοῦ πατρὸς
τῆς μητρὸς σου, καὶ λάβε ἐκεῖθεν σαυτῷ γυναῖκα
ἐκ τῶν θυγατέρων Λάβαν τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ τῆς μητρὸς
49 σου.” πάλιν καὶ οὗτος οὐ Σύρον εἶπε τὸν Λάβαν,
ἀλλὰ Ῥεβέκκας ἀδελφόν, μέλλοντα κατ’ ἐπιγαμίαν

¹ For the lacuna real or supposed see App. p. 583.

² Mangey τῶν <ὁπῶν τῶν> αἰσθήσεων; cf. *De Mig.* 188.

³ MSS. ἀνενδο(ύ)αστος.

ciples of nobility of character . . . this is the brother of Rebecca, or "Persistence"; and he dwells in "Haran," which in our language is "cavities," a symbol of the senses; for the man who is still moving upon the stage of this mortal life cannot dispense with the organs of sense. This mother therefore says, "child, make thine abode with him," not for ever, but "for a few days" (Gen. xxvii. 44). This means "Learn well the country of the senses; know thyself, and the parts of which thou dost consist, what each is, and for what it was made, and how it is meant to work, and who it is that, all invisible, invisibly sets the puppets^a in motion and pulls their strings, whether it be the Mind that is in thee or the Mind of the Universe. And when thou hast examined thyself, make too a precisescrutiny of all that is peculiar to Laban, even the triumphs of vainglory which are accounted so brilliant. Be not caught by any of these, but, like a good craftsman, skilfully adapt them all to thine own requirements. For if, when placed in this turbid scene of state and city life, thou shalt have displayed a steadfast and well-disciplined character, I will fetch thee thence (Gen. xxvii. 45), that thou mayest obtain the very prize obtained by thy parents: and the prize is the unfaltering and untiring ministry to the only wise Being."

IX. Similar instructions are given him by his father, with slight additions; for he says, "Rise up and flee away into Mesopotamia, to the house of Bethuel thy mother's father, and take to thee thence a wife from the daughters of Laban thy mother's brother" (Gen. xxviii. 2). Notice here again how he too, when speaking of Laban as intended to become a con-

^a Cf. *De Op.* 117.

- τῷ ἀσκητῇ κῆδος συνάπτειν. “ ἀπόδραθι οὖν εἰς τὴν Μεσοποταμίαν,” τουτέστιν εἰς μέσον τὸν χειμάρρουν ποταμὸν τοῦ βίου, καὶ μὴ ἐπικλυσθεὶς ἐγκαταποθῆς, στηριχθεὶς δὲ βιαιοτάτην¹ ἄνωθεν καὶ ἐκατέρωθεν καὶ πανταχόθεν ἐπικυματίζουσαν φορὰν
- 50 τῶν πραγμάτων σθεναρῶς ἀπώθει. τὸν γὰρ σοφίας οἶκον εὐδιον καὶ γαληνὸν λιμένα εὐρήσεις, ὃς ἐνορμιζόμενόν σε ῥαδίως ὑποδέξεται· σοφίας δὲ ὄνομα Βαθουήλ ἐν χρησιμοῖς ἄδεται, τοῦτο δὲ μεταληφθὲν θυγάτηρ θεοῦ προσαγορεύεται, καὶ γνησία γε θυγάτηρ καὶ ἀειπάρθετος, ἀψαύστου καὶ ἀμιάντου φύσεως ἐπιλαχοῦσα διὰ τε τὴν ἑαυτῆς κοσμιότητα καὶ διὰ τὸ ἀξίωμα τοῦ γεννή-
- 51 σαντος. πατέρα δὲ τῆς Ῥεβέκκας Βαθουήλ εἶπε. καὶ πῶς ἦ γε θυγάτηρ τοῦ θεοῦ, σοφία, λέγοιτ’ ἂν ἐνδίκως εἶναι πατήρ; ἦ διότι ὄνομα μὲν θῆλυ σοφίας ἐστίν, ἄρρεν δὲ ἡ φύσις; καὶ γὰρ αἱ ἀρεταὶ πᾶσαι προσήσεις μὲν ἔχουσι γυναικῶν, δυνάμεις δὲ καὶ πράξεις ἀνδρῶν τελειοτάτων· ἐπειδὴ τὸ μετὰ τὸν θεόν, κἂν εἰ τῶν ἄλλων ἀπάντων πρεσβύτατον εἴη, δευτέραν ἔχον² χώραν θῆλυ ὥς ἂν παρὰ ἄρρεν τὸ τὰ ὅλα ποιοῦν ἐλέχθη κατὰ τὴν πρὸς τᾶλλα ὁμοιότητα· αἰὲ γὰρ προνομίαν τοῦ ἄρρενος ἔχοντος ἐνδεῖ καὶ ὑστερίζει τὸ θῆλυ.
- 52 λέγωμεν οὖν μηδὲν τῆς ἐν τοῖς ὀνόμασι διαφορᾶς φροντίσαντες τὴν θυγατέρα τοῦ θεοῦ σοφίαν ἄρρενά τε καὶ πατέρα εἶναι, σπείροντα καὶ γεννῶντα ἐν ψυχαῖς μάθησιν, παιδείαν, ἐπιστήμην, φρόνησιν,

¹ MSS. βεβαιοτάτην.² MSS. ἔχεις or ἔχει.

ON FLIGHT AND FINDING, 49-52

nexion by marriage with the Practiser, called him not "Syrian" but "brother of Rebecca." "Flee away," he says, "into Mesopotamia," into the midst, that is, of the torrent of life's river, and take care that thou be not overwhelmed by it and drowned, but set thyself firmly, and beat back with vigour the current of affairs as it comes dashing upon thee with utmost violence, from above and from either side and from all directions. For thou shalt find 50 the house of wisdom a calm and fair haven, which will welcome thee kindly as thou comest to thy moorings in it; and it is wisdom's name that the holy oracles proclaim by "Bethuel," a name meaning in our speech "Daughter of God"; yea, a true-born and ever-virgin daughter, who, by reason alike of her own modesty and of the glory of Him that begot her, hath obtained a nature free from every defiling touch.

He called Bethuel Rebecca's father. 51 How, pray, can Wisdom, the daughter of God, be rightly spoken of as a father? Is it because, while Wisdom's name is feminine, her nature is manly? As indeed all the virtues have women's titles, but powers and activities of consummate men. For that which comes after God, even though it were chiefest of all other things, occupies a second place, and therefore was termed feminine to express its contrast with the Maker of the Universe who is masculine, and its affinity to everything else. For pre-eminence always pertains to the masculine, and the feminine always comes short of and is lesser than it.

Let us, then, pay no heed to the discrepancy in the 52 gender of the words, and say that the daughter of God, even Wisdom, is not only masculine but father, sowing and begetting in souls aptness to learn, dis-

καλὰς καὶ ἐπαινετὰς πράξεις. ἐνθένδε ὁ ἀσκητῆς
[554] Ἰακώβ μνᾶται γάμον ἑαυτῷ· πόθεν γὰρ | ἄλλοθεν
ἢ ἐκ τοῦ σοφίας οἴκου κοινωνὸν εὐρήσει γνώμην
ἀνεπιληπτον, ἥ πάντα συνδιατρίψει τὸν αἰῶνα;

53 X. Λελάληκε δ' ἀκριβέστερον περὶ φυγῆς, ἥνικα
τὸν ἐπὶ τοῖς ἀνδροφόνοις ἐτίθει νόμον, ἐν ᾧ πάντ'
ἐπεξήλθε τὰ εἶδη, τὸ ἐκουσίου φόνου, τὸ ἀκουσίου,
τὸ ἐπιθέσεως τε καὶ¹ βουλεύσεως. λέγε τὸν νόμον·
“ἐὰν πατάξῃ τις τινα καὶ ἀποθάνῃ, θανάτῳ θανα-
τούσθω· ὁ δὲ οὐχ ἐκὼν, ἀλλ' ὁ θεὸς παρέδωκεν
αὐτὸν εἰς τὰς χεῖρας αὐτοῦ, δώσω σοι τόπον, οὗ
φεύζεται ὁ φονεύσας. ἐὰν δέ τις ἐπιθῇται τῷ
πλησίον ἀποκτείνει αὐτὸν δόλῳ καὶ καταφύγῃ,
ἀπὸ τοῦ θυσιαστηρίου λήψῃ αὐτὸν θανατῶσαι.”

54 . σαφῶς εἰδώς, ὅτι περιττὸν ὄνομα οὐδὲν
τίθησιν ὑπὸ τῆς τοῦ πραγματολογεῖν ἀμυθήτου
φορᾶς, ἡπόρουν κατ' ἑμαυτόν, διὰ τί τὸν ἐκουσίως
κτείναντα οὐκ εἶπε θανατοῦσθαι μόνον, ἀλλὰ θανάτῳ

55 θανατοῦσθαι· τίμη γὰρ ἄλλῳ ὁ ἀποθνήσκων ἢ θανα-
τάτῳ τελευτᾷ; φοιτήσας οὖν παρὰ γυναῖκα σοφὴν,
ἥ σκέψις ὄνομα, τοῦ ζητεῖν ἀπηλλάγην· ἐδίδαξε
γάρ με, ὅτι καὶ ζῶντες ἐνιοὶ τεθνήκασιν καὶ τεθνη-
κότες ζῶσιν. τοὺς μὲν γε φαύλους ἄχρι γήρως
ὑστάτου παρατείνοντας νεκροὺς ἔλεγεν εἶναι τὸν
μετ' ἀρετῆς βίον ἀφηρημένους, τοὺς δὲ ἀστείους,
κἂν τῆς πρὸς σῶμα κοινωνίας διαζευχθῶσι, ζῆν
εἰσαεῖ, ἀθανάτου μοίρας ἐπιλαχόντας.

¹ MSS. τὸ ἐπιθέσεως, τὸ βουλήσεως, but see § 78, where assault and premeditation form a single head.

^a So Mangey; Wendland places the comma before ὑπό, perhaps taking it “through my perpetual tendency to argue I began” etc. See on *De Som.* i. 230.

ON FLIGHT AND FINDING, 52-56

cipline, knowledge, sound sense, good and laudable actions. It is from this household that Jacob the Practiser seeks to win a bride. To what other place than to the house of wisdom shall he go to find a partner, a faultless judgement, with whom to spend his days for ever ?

X. The lawgiver has spoken in greater detail on 53 the subject of flight when laying down the law respecting manslaughter, in which he goes into all the different forms, that of intentional slaying, that of unintentional, that of deliberate assault. Read the Law : " If a man smite another and he die, let him die the death. But he that did not intend it, but God delivered him into his hands, I will give thee a place to which the slayer shall flee. And if a man attack his neighbour to slay him by guile and he take refuge, from the altar shalt thou take him to put him to death " (Exod. xxi. 12-14). Well 54

knowing that he never puts in a superfluous word, so vast is his ^a desire to speak plainly and clearly, I began debating with myself why he said that the intentional slayer is not to be put to death only but " by death to be put to death." " In what other 55 way," I asked myself, " does a man who dies come to his end save by death ? " So I attended the lectures of a wise woman, whose name is " Consideration," and was rid of my questioning ; for she taught me that some people are dead while living, and some alive while dead. She told me that bad people, prolonging their days to extreme old age, are dead men, deprived of the life in association with virtue, while good people, even if cut off from their partnership with the body, live for ever, and are granted immortality. XI. She confirmed what 56

56 XI. ἐπιστοῦτο μέντοι καὶ χρησιμοῖς τὸν ἑαυτῆς λόγον, ἐνὶ μὲν τοιῷδε· “οἱ προσκείμενοι κυρίῳ τῷ θεῷ, ζῆτε πάντες ἐν τῇ σήμερον”· τοὺς γὰρ πρόσφυγας καὶ ἰκέτας τοῦ θεοῦ μόνους ζῶντας οἶδε, νεκροὺς δὲ τοὺς ἄλλους· ἐκείνοις δ’, ὡς ἔοικε, καὶ ἀφθαρσίαν μαρτυρεῖ διὰ τοῦ προσθεῖναι “ζῆτε ἐν

57 τῇ σήμερον.” σήμερον δ’ ἐστὶν ὁ ἀπέρατος¹ καὶ ἀδιεξίτητος αἰὼν· μηνῶν γὰρ καὶ ἐνιαυτῶν καὶ συνόλως χρόνων περίοδοι δόγματα ἀνθρώπων εἰσὶν ἀριθμὸν ἐκτετιμηκότων· τὸ δ’ ἀψευδὲς ὄνομα αἰῶνος ἢ σήμερον. ἥλιος γὰρ οὐκ ἀλλαττόμενος ὁ αὐτὸς ἐστὶν αἰεὶ, ποτὲ μὲν ὑπὲρ γῆς ποτὲ δὲ ὑπὸ γῆν ἰών, παρ’ ὃν ἡμέρα καὶ νύξ, τὰ αἰῶνος μέτρα, διεκρί-

58 θησαν· ἐτέρῳ δ’ ἐπιστοῦτο τοιῷδε χρησμῷ· “ἰδοὺ δέδωκα πρὸ προσώπου σου τὴν ζωὴν καὶ τὸν θάνατον, τὸ ἀγαθὸν καὶ τὸ κακόν”—οὐκοῦν, ὧ πάνσοφε, τὸ μὲν ἀγαθὸν καὶ ἡ ἀρετὴ ἐστὶν ἡ ζωὴ, τὸ δὲ κακὸν καὶ ἡ κακία ὁ θάνατος· καὶ ἐν ἐτέροις· “αὕτη ἡ ζωὴ σου καὶ ἡ μακρότης τῶν ἡμερῶν, ἀγαπᾶν κύριον τὸν θεόν σου.” ὅρος ἀθανάτου βίου κάλλιστος οὗτος, ἔρωτι καὶ φιλίᾳ θεοῦ ἀσάρκῳ καὶ ἀσωμάτῳ κατεσχῆσθαι.

59
[555] Οὕτως | οἱ μὲν ἱερεῖς Ναδαῶβ καὶ Ἀβιούδ, ἵνα

¹ Perhaps ἀπέρατος. See note on *Quis Rerum* 212.

^a Or “eternity,” but there is not here that opposition between time and eternity which we sometimes have in Philo, e.g. *Quod Deus* 32. Perhaps “the ages” is the best English equivalent.

^b The thought is not very clear. Perhaps “the sun measures time by its presence and absence. Thus it is always some day and therefore at each moment ‘to-day.’”

she said by holy oracles also, one of them to this effect: "Ye that did cleave unto the Lord your God are alive all of you at this day" (Deut. iv. 4). For only those who have taken refuge in God and become His supplicants does Moses recognize as living, accounting the rest to be dead men. Indeed he evidently ascribes immortality to the former by adding "ye are alive 'to-day.'" Now "to-day" ⁵⁷ is the limitless age that never comes to an end; for periods of months and years, and of lengths of time generally, are notions of men arising from the high importance which they have attached to number. But the absolutely correct name for "endless age" ^a is "to-day." For the sun never changes, but is always the same, going now above, now below, the earth; and through it day and night, the measures of endless age, are distinguished.^b Another ⁵⁸ oracle by which she verified her statement was this: "Behold, I have given before thy face life and death, good and evil" (Deut. xxx. 15). Accordingly, thou wisest of teachers, goodness and virtue is life, evil and wickedness is death. Again, elsewhere: "This is thy life and length of days, to love the Lord thy God" (Deut. xxx. 20). This is a most noble definition of deathless life, to be possessed by a love of God and a friendship for God with which flesh and body have no concern.

It is thus that the priests Nadab and Abihu ^c die ⁵⁹

It might be given more clearly by translating in a different order; "For the sun, though its course is sometimes above sometimes below the earth, and thus creates the distinction between daytime and night-time, which serves as a measure of the ages, is always the same sun." Perhaps read $\pi\alpha\rho' \delta$ for $\pi\alpha\rho' \delta\nu$. The same thought appears in *Leg. All.* iii. 25.

^c Cf. *Leg. All.* ii. 58, *Quis Rerum* 309.

ζήσωσιν, ἀποθνήσκουσιν θνητῆς ζωῆς ἄφθαρτον ἀντικαταλλαττόμενοι βίον καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ γενομένου πρὸς τὸ ἀγέννητον μετανιστάμενοι· ἐφ' ὧν¹ τὰ σύμβολα τῆς ἀφθαρσίας ἄδεται, ὅτι² ἐτελεύτησαν ἐνώπιον κυρίου, τουτέστιν ἔζησαν· νεκρὸν γὰρ οὐ θέμις εἰς ὄψιν ἔλθειν τοῦ θεοῦ. καὶ πάλιν “τοῦτό ἐστιν ὃ εἶπε κύριος· ‘ἐν τοῖς ἐγγιζουσί μοι ἁγιασθήσομαι,’” “νεκροὶ δ’,” ὡς καὶ ἐν ὕμνοις λέγεται, “οὐκ αἰνέσουσι κύριον”· ζώντων γὰρ τὸ ἔργον.

- 60 Κάιν δ’ ὁ ἐναγῆς καὶ ἀδελφοκτόνος οὐδαμοῦ τῆς νομοθεσίας ἀποθνήσκων εὐρίσκεται, ἀλλὰ καὶ λόγιόν ἐστιν ἐπ’ αὐτῷ χρησθὲν τοιοῦτον· “ἔθετο κύριος ὁ θεὸς τῷ Κάιν σημεῖον, τοῦ μὴ
61 ἀνελεῖν αὐτὸν πάντα τὸν εὐρίσκοντα.” διὰ τί; ὅτι, οἶμαι, ἡ ἀσέβεια κακὸν ἐστὶν ἀτελεύτητον, ἑξαπτόμενον καὶ μηδέποτε³ σβεσθῆναι δυνάμενον, ὡς τὸ ποιητικὸν ἀρμόττειν ἐπὶ κακίας εἰπεῖν·

ἡ δέ τοι οὐ θνητή, ἀλλ’ ἀθάνατον κακὸν ἐστίν, ἀθάνατον δ’ ἐν τῷ παρ’ ἡμῖν βίῳ, ἐπεὶ πρὸς γε τὴν ἐν θεῷ ζωὴν ἄψυχον καὶ νεκρὸν καὶ “κοπρίων,”
62 ὡς ἔφη τις, “ἐκβλητότερον.” XII. ἀλλ’ ἔδει γε πάντως χώρας ἀπονεμηθῆναι διαφερούσας πράγμασι διαφέρουσιν, οὐρανὸν μὲν ἀγαθῷ, τὰ δὲ περιγεια κακῷ. τὸ μὲν οὖν ἀγαθὸν ἀνώφοιτόν ἐστι,

¹ MSS. ᾧ.

² MSS. ὅτε (τότε).

³ MSS. μηδέπω.

^a In E.V. Ps. cxv. 17.

^b The real meaning of the text no doubt is “He set a sign upon Cain, in order that no one should kill him.” But the fuller discussion of the text in *Quod Det.* 177 shows that Philo, with little respect for grammar, takes it as in the translation, viz. that the distinctive mark of the Cain-soul is that it can never be killed.

ON FLIGHT AND FINDING, 59-62

in order that they may live, receiving an incorruptible life in exchange for mortal existence, and being translated from the created to the uncreate. Over them a proclamation is uttered betokening immortality, "They died before the Lord" (Lev. x. 2), that is "They came to life," for a corpse may not come into God's presence. And again, "This is that which the Lord hath said, 'I will be sanctified in them that draw nigh unto me'" (Lev. x. 3), "But dead men," as we hear in the Psalms, "shall not praise the Lord" (Psalm cxiii. 25)^a: for that is the work of living men. On the other hand, 60 of Cain the accursed fratricide's death no mention is found anywhere in the Books of the Law—nay, there is an oracle uttered concerning him which says, "The Lord God set a sign on Cain, even this, that no man that found him should kill him" (Gen. iv. 15).^b Why so? Because, I suppose, impiety is 61 an evil that cannot come to an end, being ever set alight and never able to be quenched, so that we may fitly apply to wickedness the poet's words:

No mortal is she, but a deathless ill.^c

It is in life as we know it that it is "deathless," for in relation to the LIFE in God it is a lifeless corpse, "more utter refuse than dung," as one has said.^d XII. Now, it was quite fitting that different regions 62 should be allotted to different things, heaven to a good thing, the earthly parts to an evil thing. That which is good is a thing upward-soaring; and should

^c *Odyssey* xii. 118.

^d Heraclitus. The phrase νέκρες κοπρίων ἐκβλητότεροι is quoted as from him by several writers. See Bywater, *Heracliti Ephesii reliquiae* 85.

- καὶν εἴ ποτε ἔλθοι πρὸς ἡμᾶς—φιλόδωρος γὰρ ὁ πατὴρ αὐτοῦ,—σπονδάζει παλινδρομῆσαι δικαίως· τὸ δὲ κακὸν ἐνταυθοῖ καταμένει, πορρωτάτῳ θεῖου χοροῦ διωκισμένον, περιπολοῦν τὸν θνητὸν βίον καὶ μὴ δυνάμενον ἐκ τοῦ ἀνθρωπίνου γένους
- 63 ἀποθανεῖν. τοῦτό τις καὶ τῶν ἐπὶ σοφία θαυμασθέντων ἀνὴρ δόκιμος ἐφώνησε μεγαλειότερον ἐν Θεαιτήτῳ φάσκων· “ ἄλλ’ οὐτ’ ἀπολέσθαι τὰ κακὰ δυνατόν—ὑπεναντίον γάρ τι τῷ ἀγαθῷ¹ αἰεὶ εἶναι ἀνάγκη—οὔτε ἐν θεοῖς² αὐτὰ ἰδρῦσθαι, τὴν δὲ θνητὴν φύσιν καὶ τόνδε τὸν τόπον περιπολεῖ³. διὸ καὶ πειρᾶσθαι χρὴ ἐνθένθε ἐκείσε φεύγειν ὅτι τάχιστα. φυγὴ δὲ ὁμοίωσις θεῷ κατὰ τὸ δυνατόν· ὁμοίωσις δὲ δίκαιον καὶ ὅσιον μετὰ φρονήσεως
- 64 γενέσθαι.” εἰκότως οὖν ὁ Κάιν οὐκ ἀποθανεῖται, τὸ κακίας σύμβολον, ἣν αἰεὶ δεῖ ζῆν ἐν τῷ θνητῷ γένει παρ’ ἀνθρώποις. ὥστ’ οὐκ ἀπὸ σκοποῦ τὸ “ θανάτῳ θανατοῦσθαι ” λέλεκται τὸν ἀνδροφόνον διὰ τὰς δεδηλωμένας αἰτίας.
- 65 XIII. Τὸ δὲ “ οὐχ ἐκὼν, ἀλλ’ ὁ θεὸς παρέδωκεν ” ἐπὶ τῶν τὸν ἀκούσιον φόνον δρῶντων πάνυ καλῶς εἴρηται. δοκεῖ γὰρ αὐτῷ τὰ μὲν ἐκούσια γνώμης τῆς ἡμετέρας ἔργα εἶναι, τὰ δὲ ἀκούσια θεοῦ· λέγω δὲ οὐ τὰ ἀμαρτήματα, ἀλλὰ τὸνναντίον ὅσα

¹ So Plato: mss. γὰρ τῷ θεῷ.

² So Plato: mss. θεοῖς, which Wendland retains. Philo may have deliberately wished to avoid the thought of “ gods.”

³ So Plato: mss. περιπολεῖν, which Wendland retains.

⁴ Wendland puts a colon before ὥστε. But the following clause does not belong to the Cain meditation, which is a digression, but refers to the whole argument begun in § 54 and broken off in § 60.

^a See App. pp. 583 f.

it ever come to us, in the bounty of its Father, it hastens, as is meet and right, to retrace its steps; but that which is evil stays here, removed as far as possible from the Divine Company,^a making our mortal life its haunt, and incapable of quitting the human race by dying. This truth found noble 63 utterance in the *Theaetetus*, where a man highly esteemed, one of those admired for their wisdom, says: "Evils can never pass away; for there must always remain something which is antagonistic to good. Having no place among the gods in heaven, of necessity they hover around the mortal nature and this earthly sphere. Wherefore we ought to fly away from earth to heaven as quickly as we can; and to fly away is to become like God, as far as this is possible; and to become like Him is to become holy, just, and wise."^b Naturally, therefore, Cain will 64 not die, being the symbol of wickedness, which must of necessity ever live among men in the race that is mortal.

There is, then, for the reasons that have been pointed out, definite point in the direction that the manslayer "be put by death to death."

XIII. The words, "not intentionally, but God 65 delivered him into his hands," are admirably employed of those who commit an unintentional homicide. The writer feels that intentional acts are acts of our own determination, and that unintentional acts are God's acts: I mean not the sins, but, on the contrary, all acts that are a punishment for sins.^c

^b *Theaetetus* 176 A, B (Jowett's translation).

^c *i.e.* Philo distinguishes between the ordinary sense of ἀκούσια meaning our involuntary and unavoidable slips and that in which it indicates the acts in which we are unconsciously God's ministers. In § 76 he seems to drop this distinction.

- ⁶⁶
[556] ἁμαρτημάτων ἐστὶ κόλασις. | ἀπρεπὲς γὰρ θεῷ
τὸ κολάζειν ἅτε πρῶτῳ καὶ ἀρίστῳ νομοθέτῃ,
κολάζει¹ δὲ <δι> ὑπηρετούντων ἐτέρων, οὐ δι'
ἑαυτοῦ. τὰς μὲν γὰρ χάριτας καὶ δωρεὰς καὶ
εὐεργεσίας αὐτὸν ἀρμόττει προτείνειν ἅτε ἀγαθὸν
καὶ φιλόδωρον ὄντα φύσει, τὰς δὲ τιμωρίας οὐκ
ἄνευ μὲν ἐπικελεύσεως τῆς ἑαυτοῦ βασιλέως ἅτε
υὑάρχοντος, δι' ἄλλων δέ, οἱ πρὸς τοιαύτας χρείας
⁶⁷ εὐτρεπεῖς εἰσι. μαρτυρεῖ δέ μου τῷ
λόγῳ ὁ ἀσκητὴς ἐν οἷς φησιν· “ὁ θεὸς ὁ τρέφων
με ἐκ νεότητος, ὁ ἄγγελος ὁ ῥυόμενός με ἐκ πάντων
τῶν κακῶν.” τὰ μὲν γὰρ πρεσβύτερα ἀγαθὰ, οἷς
ἡ ψυχὴ τρέφεται, ἀνέθηκε θεῷ, τὰ δὲ νεώτερα, ὅσα
ἐκ φυγῆς ἁμαρτημάτων περιγίνεται, θεράποντι
⁶⁸ θεοῦ. διὰ τοῦτ', οἶμαι, καὶ ἡνίκα τὰ τῆς
κοσμοποιΐας ἐφιλοσόφει, πάντα τᾶλλα εἰπὼν ὑπὸ
θεοῦ γενέσθαι μόνον τὸν ἄνθρωπον ὡς ἂν μετὰ
συνεργῶν ἐτέρων ἐδήλωσε διαπλασθέντα. “εἶπε”
γάρ φησιν “ὁ θεός· ποιήσωμεν ἄνθρωπον κατ'
εἰκόνα ἡμετέραν,” πλήθους διὰ τοῦ “ποιήσωμεν”
⁶⁹ ἐμφαινομένου. διαλέγεται μὲν οὖν ὁ τῶν ὅλων
πατὴρ ταῖς ἑαυτοῦ δυνάμεσιν, αἷς τὸ θνητὸν ἡμῶν
τῆς ψυχῆς μέρος ἔδωκε διαπλάττειν μιμουμέναις
τὴν αὐτοῦ τέχνην, ἡνίκα τὸ λογικὸν ἐν ἡμῖν
ἐμόρφον, δικαίων ὑπὸ μὲν ἡγεμόνος τὸ ἡγεμονεῖδον
ἐν ψυχῇ, τὸ δ' ὑπήκοον πρὸς ὑπηκόων δημιουργ-
⁷⁰ γεῖσθαι. κατεχρήσατο <δὲ> καὶ ταῖς μεθ' ἑαυτοῦ
δυνάμεσιν οὐ διὰ τὸ λεχθὲν μόνον, ἀλλ' ὅτι ἐμελλεν

¹ MSS. κολάζειν, which perhaps might be retained. To understand ἐμπρεπὲς from ἀπρεπὲς might be paralleled in Philo.

ON FLIGHT AND FINDING, 66-70

For it is unbecoming to God to punish, seeing that 66
He is the original and perfect Lawgiver : He punishes
not by His own hands but by those of others who
act as His ministers. Boons, gifts, benefits it is
fitting that He should extend, since He is by nature
good and bountiful, but punishments by the agency
of others who are ready to perform such services,
though not without his command given in virtue of
his sovereignty.

The Practiser testifies 67
to what I say in the words, " God who nourishes me
from youth, the Angel who delivers me out of all
my evils " (Gen. xlviii. 15 f.). He ascribes to God
the more important good things, by which the soul
is nourished, and the less important, which come
about by escape from sins, to God's minister. ^a

It is for this reason, I imagine, that Moses, when 68
treating in his lessons of wisdom of the Creation of
the world, after having said of all other things that
they were made by God, described man alone as
having been fashioned with the co-operation of
others. His words are : " God said, let us make
man after our image " (Gen. i. 26), " let us make " ^b
indicating more than one. So the Father of all things 69
is holding parley with His powers, whom He allowed
to fashion the mortal portion of our soul by imitating
the skill shewn by Him when He was forming that
in us which is rational, since He deemed it right that
by the Sovereign should be wrought the sovereign
faculty in the soul, the subject part being wrought
by subjects. And He employed the powers that 70
are associated with Him not only for the reason
mentioned, but because, alone among created

^a Cf. *Leg. All.* iii. 177, *De Conf.* 181.

^b Cf. *De Conf.* 169.

ἢ ἀνθρώπου ψυχὴ μόνη κακῶν καὶ ἀγαθῶν ἐννοίας λαμβάνειν καὶ χρῆσθαι ταῖς ἐτέραις, εἰ μὴ δυνατόν ἀμφοτέραις. ἀναγκαῖον οὖν ἡγήσατο τὴν κακῶν γένεσιν ἐτέροις ἀπονεῖμαι δημιουργοῖς, τὴν δὲ

71 τῶν ἀγαθῶν ἐαυτῷ μόνῳ. XIV. διὸ

καὶ λεχθέντος πρότερον “ποιήσωμεν ἄνθρωπον” ὥς ἂν ἐπὶ πλήθους, ἐπιφέρεται τὸ ὥς ἂν ἐφ’ ἐνός· “ἐποίησεν ὁ θεὸς τὸν ἄνθρωπον.” τοῦ μὲν γὰρ πρὸς ἀλήθειαν ἀνθρώπου, ὃς δὴ νοῦς ἐστὶ καθαρώτατος, εἰς ὃ μόνος θεὸς δημιουργός, τοῦ δὲ λεγομένου καὶ κεκραμένου μετ’ αἰσθησεως τὸ πλήθος.

72 οὗ χάριν ὁ μὲν κατ’ ἐξοχὴν ἄνθρωπος σὺν τῷ ἄρθρῳ μεμῆνυται—λέγεται γάρ· “ἐποίησεν ὁ θεὸς τὸν ἄνθρωπον,” τὸν αἰδιῇ καὶ ἄκρατον ἐκείνον λογισμόν,—ὃ δὲ ἄνευ τῆς τοῦδε προσθήκης· τὸ γὰρ “ποιήσωμεν ἄνθρωπον” ἐμφαίνει τὸν ἐξ ἀλόγου καὶ λογικῆς συνυφανθέντα φύσεως.

73 ἐπόμενος τούτοις τό τε εὐλογεῖν τοὺς ἀγαθοὺς καὶ τὸ καταρᾶσθαι τοῖς ὑπαιτίοις ἀνέθηκεν οὐχὶ τοῖς αὐτοῖς, καίτοι γε ἀμφοτέρων ἐχόντων ἔπαινον, ἀλλ’ ἐπειδὴ τὸ μὲν εὐλογεῖν τοὺς ἀξίους ἡγεμονίαν ἔχει τὴν ἐν ἐγκωμίοις, τὸ δ’ ἄρὰς τοῖς φαύλοις τίθεσθαι δευτέραν τάξιν, τῶν ἐπὶ ταῦτα χειρο-

[557] τονηθέντων—| εἰσὶ δὲ οἱ τοῦ γένους ἀρχηγέται δώδεκα ἀριθμῷ, φυλάρχας αὐτοὺς ὀνομάζειν ἔθος—ἐξ μὲν τοὺς ἀμείνους ἔταξεν ἐπὶ τῆς εὐλογίας, Συμεών, Λευί, Ἰούδαν, Ἰσάαχар, Ἰωσήφ καὶ Βενιαμίν, τοὺς δ’ ἐτέρους ἐπὶ τῆς κατάρας, τὸν τε πρῶτον καὶ τὸν ὑστατον τῶν Λείας, Ῥουβὴν καὶ Ζαβουλών, καὶ τοὺς ἐκ τῶν θεραπεινίδων νόθους

^a Literally, “unless it is possible,” which of course it is not, *εἰ μὴ*, as often, indicating a *reductio ad absurdum*.

ON FLIGHT AND FINDING, 70-73

beings, the soul of man was to be susceptible of conceptions of evil things and good things, and to use one sort or the other, since it is impossible for him to use both.^a Therefore God deemed it necessary to assign the creation of evil things to other makers, reserving that of good things to Himself alone.

XIV. Wherefore also, while in the former 71 case the expression used was "let us make man," as though more than one were to do it, there is used afterwards an expression pointing to One, "God made the man" (Gen. i. 27). For of the real man, who is absolutely pure Mind, One, even the only God, is the Maker; but a plurality of makers produce man so-called, one that has an admixture of sense-perception. That is why he who is man in 72 the special sense is mentioned with the article. The words run "God made the man," that invisible reasoning faculty free from admixture. The other has no article added; for the words "let us make man" point to him in whom an irrational and rational nature are woven together. In 73

adherence to the same principle he ascribes the blessing of the good and the cursing of the guilty to different persons. Both, it is true, receive praise, but blessing those worthy of blessing enjoys the prerogative which belongs to eulogies, while the laying of curses on the evil occupies but a second place. Therefore of those appointed for this purpose, the chiefs of the race, twelve in number, whom we are accustomed to call tribe-leaders, he set the six best over the blessing, Symeon, Levi, Judah, Issachar, Joseph and Benjamin; and the other six over the cursing, the first and the last of the sons of Leah, Reuben and Zabulon, and the four bastard-born of

- 74 τέτταρας. τῆς γὰρ βασιλείου καὶ (τῆς) ἱερωμένης φυλῆς οἱ ἡγεμόνες ἐν τῇ προτέρα τάξει χορεύουσιν, Ἰουδας τε καὶ Λευί. εἰκότως οὖν καὶ τοὺς ἄξια θανάτου δρῶντας ἐτέρων χερσὶν ἐκδίδωσιν ἐπὶ τιμωρία, βουλόμενος ἡμᾶς ἀναδιδάσκειν, ὅτι ἡ κακοῦ φύσις μακρὰν ἀπελήλαται χοροῦ θείου, ὁπότε καὶ τὸ μιμηλάζον ἀγαθὸν κακῶ, ἢ τιμωρία, δι' ἐτέρων βεβαιούται.
- 75 Τὸ δὲ “ δώσω σοι τόπον, οὗ φεύζεται ὁ φονεύσας ” ἀκουσίως, πάνυ καλῶς εἰρησθαί μοι δοκεῖ· τόπον γὰρ καλεῖ νῦν οὐ χώραν ἐκπεπληρωμένην ὑπὸ σώματος, ἀλλὰ δι' ὑπονοιῶν αὐτὸν τὸν θεόν, ἐπειδὴ περιέχων οὐ περιέχεται καὶ ὅτι καταφυγὴ τῶν ὄλων ἐστί. θέμις οὖν τῷ δόξαντι τροπῇ χρήσασθαι ἀκουσίῳ φάναι κατὰ θεὸν συμβῆναι τὴν τροπὴν, ὅπερ¹ οὐ θέμις τῷ ἐκουσίως ἀμαρτύνει. “ δώσειν ” δέ φησιν οὐ τῷ κτείναντι, ἀλλ' ᾧ διαλέγεται, ὥσθ' ἕτερον μὲν εἶναι τὸν οἰκήτορα, ἕτερον δὲ τὸν φεύγοντα. τῷ μὲν γὰρ ἑαυτοῦ λόγῳ ὁ θεὸς πατρίδα οἰκεῖν τὴν ἐπιστήμην ἑαυτοῦ, ὥς ἂν αὐτόχθονι, δεδῶρηται, τῷ δ' ἐν ἀκουσίῳ γενομένῳ σφάλμασι καταφυγὴν, ὥς ὀθνεῖω ξένην, οὐχ ὥς πατρίδα ἀστώ.
- 77 XV. Ταῦτα καὶ περὶ τῶν ἀκουσίων φιλοσοφήσας περὶ τῆς ἐπαναστάσεως καὶ βουλευσεως ἐξῆς νομοθετεῖ φάσκων· “ εἰ δέ τις ἐπιθῆται τῷ πλησίον

¹ MSS. ὥσπερ.

^a The point of the sentence is not quite clear. Perhaps the meaning is that by placing the two clearly superior tribes in the first list, Moses indicates that this list is as a whole superior.

^b See App. p. 584.

ON FLIGHT AND FINDING, 74-77

the handmaids (Deut. xxvii. 12 f.). For the leaders 74 of the royal and of the priestly tribe hold a position in the former list, Judah and Levi.^a Quite naturally, then, does He give up for punishment into the hands of others those who commit acts deserving death. He wishes to teach us that the nature of evil is far removed from the Divine Company, inasmuch as even the good thing which imitates evil, punishment, is ratified by means of others.

The terms in which the announcement "I will 75 give thee a place where the " unintentional " slayer shall take refuge " is made, seem to me to be excellently chosen. For here He uses the word "place," not of a space entirely filled by a body,^b but symbolically of God Himself, since He contains and is not contained, and because He is the Refuge for the whole universe. It is lawful, therefore, for one 76 who feels that he has fallen into an unintentional offence, to say that the offence came about as God ordained, a statement which the deliberate wrongdoer may not make. Further He says that He "will give" not to the slayer but to him whom He is addressing,^c which shews that the dweller in the place is a different person from him who escapes thither. For to His Word, as to one indigenous, God has given His knowledge as a fatherland to dwell in, but to one who has fallen into unintentional offences He has given it as a place of refuge, as a strange land to an alien, not as a fatherland to one with a citizen's rights.

XV. After treating in this way of unintentional 77 acts he goes on to legislate concerning assault and premeditation, saying, "If a man set upon his

^a *i.e.* Philo takes the "thee" of the text to be the Logos.

ἀποκτεῖναι αὐτὸν δόλῳ καὶ καταφύγῃ¹” ἐπὶ τὸν
 θεόν, τὸν προειρημένον συμβολικῶς τόπον, παρ’
 ὃν ζῆν συμβέβηκε τοῖς πᾶσι· καὶ γὰρ ἐτέρωθί
 78 φησιν· “ὅς ἂν φύγῃ ἐκεῖ, καὶ ζήσεται.” ἀλλ’ οὐ
 ζωὴ μὲν ἐστὶν αἰώνιος ἢ πρὸς τὸ ὃν καταφυγή,
 θάνατος δ’ ὁ ἀπὸ τούτου δρασμός; εἰ δέ τις ἐπι-
 τίθεται, πάντως ἐκ προνοίας ἀδικεῖ, καὶ τὸ σὺν
 δόλῳ πραττόμενον ἐκουσίως ἔνοχον, ὥς τὸ ἀδόλως
 79 ἔμπαλιν οὐδ’ ὑπαίτιον. οὐδὲν οὖν τῶν ὑπούλως
 καὶ δολερῶς καὶ ἐκ προνοίας πραττομένων ἀδι-
 κημάτων ἄξιον λέγειν γίνεσθαι κατὰ θεόν, ἀλλὰ
 καθ’ ἡμᾶς αὐτούς. ἐν ἡμῖν γὰρ αὐτοῖς, ὥς ἔφην,
 οἱ τῶν κακῶν² εἰσι θησαυροί, παρὰ θεῷ δέ οἱ μόνων
 80 ἀγαθῶν. ὅς ἂν οὖν καταφύγῃ, τὸ δ’ ἐστὶν ὅς ἂν
 τῶν ἁμαρτημάτων μὴ ἑαυτὸν ἀλλὰ θεὸν αἰτιᾶται,
 κολαζέσθω, τῆς μόνοις ἰκέταις πρὸς σωτηρίαν καὶ
 ἀσφάλειαν καταφυγῆς, τοῦ βωμοῦ, στερούμενος,
 καὶ μήποτ’ εἰκότως· ἀμώμων γὰρ ἱερείων, λέγω
 [558] δὲ ψυχῶν ἀσινῶν καὶ κεκαθαρμένων, τὸ | θυσια-
 στήριον ἀνάπλεών ἐστι· δυσίατος δὲ ἡ παντελῶς
 ἀνίατος μῶμος τὸ φάσκειν καὶ κακῶν αἴτιον εἶναι
 81 τὸ θεῖον. φίλαντοι δὴ μᾶλλον ἢ φιλόθεοι σπουδά-
 σαντες οἱ τοιοῦτοι τρόποι πάντες εἶναι βαινέτωσαν
 ἔξω περιρραντηρίων, ἵν’ ὥς μιαιοὶ καὶ ἀκάθαρτοι
 μηδ’ ἐξ ἀπόπτου τὴν ἱερὰν φλόγα τῆς ἀνακαιομένης
 ἀσβέστου ψυχῆς καὶ θεῷ καθαγνιζομένης ὀλοκλήρῳ
 82 καὶ παντελεῖ δυνάμει θεάσωνται. παγ-
 κάλως τις τῶν πάλαι σοφῶν εἰς ταῦτ’ οὗτο συν-

¹ So according to Mangey in the New College ms.: Wend.’s mss. have καταφύγη ποιεῖ, from which Cohn suggests, I think with great probability, καταφύγη· ποῖ;

² MSS. κακιῶν.

ON FLIGHT AND FINDING, 77-82

neighbour to slay him by guile and flee for refuge " (Exod. xxi. 14) to God, even to Him Who has been already symbolically called a place, Who is the occasion of life to all; for in another place likewise it says, " Whosoever shall flee there shall live " (Deut. xix. 5). And is it not life eternal to take refuge with Him 78 that is, and death to flee away from Him? But if a man sets upon another he certainly deliberately commits a wrong, and that which is done intentionally with guile incurs guilt, even as, on the other hand, no blame attaches to the act in which there is no guile. Accordingly it is not right to say that any wrongs 79 committed with secret hostility and with guile and as the result of premeditation are done as God ordains; they are done as we ordain. For as I have said, the treasures of evil things are in ourselves; with God are those of good things only. Whosoever, 80 therefore, takes refuge, that is, whosoever blames not himself but God for his sins, let him be punished, by being deprived of the refuge which is a place of deliverance and safety for suppliants only, namely the altar. Is not this meet and right? For the place of sacrifice is wholly occupied by victims free from blemish, that is by innocent and purified souls; and it is a blemish that can hardly, if at all, be remedied, to assert that the Deity is the cause of evil things as of all others. All such characters have made self- 81 love their aim rather than love of God. Let them go forth outside the hallowed precincts, that in their foulness and uncleanness they may not behold even from afar the sacred flame of the soul ascending in unquenchable fire, and with power entire and unimpaired being sacrificed to God. In daring 82 and noble language one of the wise men of old has

δραμῶν ἐθάρρησεν εἰπεῖν, ὅτι “ θεὸς οὐδαμῇ οὐ-
 δαμῶς ἄδικος, ἀλλ’ ὡς οἷόν τε δικαιοτάτος, καὶ
 οὐκ ἔστιν αὐτῷ ὁμοιότερον οὐδὲν ἢ ὃς ἂν ἡμῶν αὐ¹
 γένηται ὅτι δικαιοτάτος. περὶ τοῦτον² καὶ ἡ ὡς
 ἀληθῶς δεινότης ἀνδρὸς καὶ οὐδενία τε καὶ ἀν-
 ανδρία. ἡ μὲν γὰρ τούτου γνῶσις σοφία καὶ ἀρετὴ
 ἀληθινή, ἡ δὲ ἄγνοια ἀμαθία τε καὶ κακία ἐναργής.
 αἱ δὲ ἄλλαι δεινότητες δοκοῦσαι καὶ σοφαί ἐν μὲν
 πολιτικαῖς δυναστείαις γιγνόμεναι φορτικάι, ἐν δὲ
 83 τέχναις βάνανσοι.” XVI. προστάξας οὖν ἀπ-
 ἄγεσθαι τὸν ἀνιέρων καὶ κακῆγορον τῶν θείων ἀπὸ
 τῶν ἱερωτάτων καὶ ἐκδίδοσθαι ἐπὶ τιμωρίᾳ φησὶν
 ἐξῆς· “ ὃς τύπτει πατέρα ἢ μητέρα, τελευτάτω ”
 καὶ ὁμοίως “ ὁ κακῆγορῶν πατέρα καὶ μητέρα
 84 τελευτάτω.” μονονοῦ γὰρ βοᾷ καὶ κέκραγεν, ὅτι
 τῶν εἰς τὸ θεῖον βλασφημούντων οὐδενὶ συγγνώμης
 μεταδοτέον. εἰ γὰρ οἱ τοὺς θνητοὺς κακῆγορή-
 σαντες γονεῖς ἀπάγονται τὴν ἐπὶ θανάτῳ, τίνος
 ἀξίους χρὴ νομίζειν τιμωρίας τοὺς τὸν τῶν ὅλων
 πατέρα καὶ ποιητὴν βλασφημεῖν ὑπομένοντας; τίς
 δ’ ἂν γένοιτο αἰσχίων κακῆγορία ἢ τὸ φάσκειν μὴ
 παρ’ ἡμᾶς, ἀλλὰ παρὰ θεὸν γένεσιν εἶναι τῶν
 85 κακῶν; ἐλαύνετε οὖν, ἐλαύνετε, ᾧ μύσται καὶ
 ἱεροφάνται θείων ὀργίων, τὰς μιγάδας καὶ σύγ-
 κλυδας καὶ πεφυρμένας, δυσκαθάρτους καὶ δυσεκ-
 πλύτους ψυχάς, αἱ ἄκλειστα μὲν ὦτα, ἄθυρον δὲ
 γλῶτταν, ὅργανα τῆς ἐαυτῶν βαρυδαιμονίας εὐ-
 τρεπῇ, περιφέρουσιν, ἵνα καὶ πάντων καὶ ὧν μὴ

¹ So Plato: mss. εἶ.

² Plato τοῦτον (presumably neuter): Wend. does not note this: I retain τοῦτον with doubt.

^a *Theaetetus* 176 c. See App. p. 584.

brought out the truth which I am enforcing. "In no case and in no way," he says, "is God unrighteous: He is absolute righteousness; and nothing exists more like Him than whoso of us in his turn attains to the greatest possible righteousness. It is by his relation to Him that a man's real attainment is determined, as well as his worthlessness and failure to attain real manhood. For to know Him is true wisdom and virtue, and ignorance of Him is manifest stupidity and wickedness. All other seeming attainments and proofs of wisdom so called, if displayed in gaining political power, are merely vulgar; if in practising handicrafts, merely mechanical." ^a XVI. After 83 directing, then, that the man who is profane and reviles things sacred be led away from the most holy spots and given up to punishment, he goes on to say, "He that smiteth father or mother, let him die," and likewise "he that revileth father or mother, let him die" (Exod. xxi. 15 f.). He as good as proclaims in a loud 84 voice that no pardon must be granted to a blasphemer against God. For if those who have reviled mortal parents are led away for execution, what penalty must we consider that those have merited who take upon them to blaspheme the Father and Maker of the universe? And what more foul reviling could be uttered than the statement, that the origination of evil lies not at our door but at God's? Drive off, 85 then, ye initiates and hierophants of holy mysteries, drive off the motley crowd, flotsam and jetsam, souls hardly capable of cleansing and purifying, carrying about wherever they go ears ever unclosed, and tongue ever unconfined, ready instruments of their miserable condition in their longing to hear all that heaven forbids us to hear, and to tell out such things

θέμις ἀκούωσι καὶ πάντα¹ καὶ ὅσα μὴ χρεῶν ἐκλα-
 86 λῶσιν. ὅσοι δὲ διαφορὰν ἐκουσίῳν καὶ ἀκουσίῳν
 ἐπαιδεύθησαν καὶ εὖφημον στόμα ἀντὶ κακηγόρου
 γλώττης ἔλαχον, κατορθοῦντες μὲν ἐπαινετοί,
 σφαλλόμενοι δὲ μὴ κατὰ γνώμην οὐ πάνυ ψεκτοί·
 διὸ καὶ πόλεις αὐτοῖς εἰς καταφυγὴν ἀπεκρίθησαν.

87 XVII. | "Ἀξίον δὲ τῶν περὶ τὸν τόπον αὐτὰ τὰ
 [559] ἀναγκαῖα μάλιστα ἀκριβῶσαι. ἔστι δ' ἀριθμῶ τέτ-
 ταρα· ἓν μὲν, διὰ τί οὐκ ἐξ ὧν αἱ ἄλλαι φυλαὶ
 πόλεων ἔλαχον, ἀλλ' ἐξ ὧν ἡ Λευιτικὴ μόνη, φυγάσι
 πόλεις ἀπεκρίθησαν· δεύτερον δέ, διὰ τί ἐξ ἀριθμῶ
 καὶ οὔτε πλείους οὔτε ἐλάττους· τρίτον, τί δήποτε
 τρεῖς μὲν πέραν τοῦ Ἰορδάνου, αἱ δ' ἑτεραι² ἐν τῇ
 Χαναanaίων γῇ· τέταρτον, διὰ τί προθεσμία τοῖς
 φυγάσιν ὥρισται τοῦ κατελθεῖν ὁ τοῦ ἀρχιερέως
 88 θάνατος. λεκτέον οὖν περὶ ἐκάστου τὰ
 ἀρμόττοντα, ἀρχὴν ἀπὸ τοῦ πρώτου λαβόντας. εἰς
 τὰς ἀπονεμηθείσας Λευίταις μόνοις πόλεις φεύγειν
 διείρηται πάνυ προσηκόντως· καὶ γὰρ οἱ Λευῖται
 τρόπον τινὰ φυγάδες εἰσὶν, ἕνεκα ἀρεσκείας θεοῦ
 γονεῖς καὶ τέκνα καὶ ἀδελφοὺς καὶ πᾶσαν τὴν
 89 θνητὴν συγγένειαν ἀπολελοιπότες. ὁ γοῦν ἀρχ-
 ηγέτης τοῦ θιάσου τούτου λέγων εἰσάγεται τῷ
 πατρὶ καὶ τῇ μητρὶ· "οὐχ ἐώρακα ὑμᾶς, καὶ τοὺς
 ἀδελφοὺς οὐ γινώσκω, καὶ τοὺς υἱοὺς ἀπογινώσκω"

¹ MSS. καὶ πάντων or omit.

² MSS. τὰς ἑτέρας: perhaps retain and add e.g. λέγει.

^a Or "achieve (full) righteousness" (in something of the Stoic sense), i.e. are free from the ἐκούσια as well as the ἐκούσια; cf. *De Agr.* 177 ff.

^b The connexion of thought seems to be as follows: the blasphemer who ascribes ἐκούσια ἀμαρτήματα to God and not only he but all the profane and irreverent must be avoided,

ON FLIGHT AND FINDING, 86-89

as should never find utterance. But all who have 86
been trained to discriminate between intentional and
unintentional actions, and have been given lips that
can keep a holy silence in place of a reviling tongue,
are praiseworthy when they go aright,^a and are not
much to blame when they fail without meaning it :
that is why cities of refuge were set apart for them
(Num. xxxv.).^b

XVII. It is worth while to treat with particular 87
detail those aspects of the subject which are of vital
importance.^c They are four in number : first, why
cities set apart for fugitives were chosen, not from the
cities allotted to the other tribes, but from those
assigned to the tribe of Levi only ; secondly, for what
reason they were six in number, and neither more
nor less ; thirdly, why three were beyond the Jordan,
and the others in the land of Canaan ; fourthly, why
the time appointed beforehand for the return of the
fugitives was the death of the High Priest.

On each of these points we must say what is pertinent, 88
beginning with the first. The direction to fly to the
cities allotted to Levites only is wholly appropriate,
for the Levites too are in a certain sense fugitives,
having, for the sake of being well-pleasing to God,
forsaken parents and children and brothers and all
their mortal kindred. So the original founder of this 89
company is represented as saying to his father and
mother, " I have not seen you, my brethren I know
not, and my sons I know no more " (Deut. xxxiii. 9),

while those who know better than to be guilty of this
particular blasphemy and of profanity in general will find
in God a refuge for their unintentional errors.

^c The translation ignores *αὐτά*. Perhaps it is used like
the frequent *αὐτὸ μόνον* for "just these," in which case
ἀναγκαία may be taken as "absolutely necessary."

ὑπὲρ τοῦ δίχα μεθολκῆς θεραπεύειν τὸ ὄν. ἡ δ' ἀψευδὴς φυγὴ στέρησις τῶν οἰκειοτάτων καὶ φιλάτων ἐστίν. φυγάδας οὖν φυγάσι παρακατατίθεται πρὸς τὴν ὦν εἰργάσαντο ἀμνησίαν, δι' ὁμοιότη⁹⁰ τα ἔργων. ἄρ' οὖν διὰ τοῦτο μόνον ἡ καὶ δι' ἐκεῖνο, (ὅτι) ἡ τῶν νεωκόρων Λευιτικὴ φυλὴ τοὺς θεοπλαστήσαντας τὸν χρυσοῦν μόσχον, τὸν Αἰγυπτιακὸν τύφον, ἡβηδὸν ἐξ ἐπιδρομῆς κατέκτειναν, ὀργῇ δικαίᾳ σὺν ἐνθουσιασμῷ καὶ τινι κατοκωχῇ θεοφορήτῳ χρυσάμενοι; “καὶ κτείνει ἕκαστος ἀδελφὸν καὶ πλησίον καὶ τὸν ἑγγιστα,” ἀδελφὸν μὲν ψυχῆς τὸ σῶμα, τὸ δὲ λογικοῦ πλησίον τὸ ἄλογον, τὸν δὲ ἑγγιστα νοῦ τὸν προ-⁹¹ φορικὸν λόγον. οὕτως γὰρ ἂν μόνως θεραπευτικὸν γένοιτο τοῦ τῶν ὄντων ἀρίστου τὸ ἐν ἡμῖν αὐτοῖς ἀρίστον, πρῶτον μὲν εἰ ἀναλυθείη ὁ ἄνθρωπος εἰς ψυχὴν, διαζευχθέντος καὶ διακοπέντος αὐτῷ τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ σώματος καὶ τῶν ἀνηνύτων ἐπιθυμιῶν· εἶτα τῆς ψυχῆς ἀποβαλούσης, ὡς ἔφην, τὸ πλησίον τοῦ λογικοῦ, τὸ ἄλογον—καὶ γὰρ αὐτὸ¹ χειμάρρου τρόπον πενταχῇ σχιζόμενον διὰ πασῶν τῶν αἰσθήσεων οἷα δεξαμενῶν τὴν τῶν παθῶν⁹² ἀνεγείρει φοράν—· εἴθ' ἐξῆς τοῦ λογισμοῦ διοικίσαντος καὶ διαζεύξαντος τὸν ἑγγυτάτω δοκοῦντα εἶναι, τὸν προφορικὸν λόγον, ἢν' ὁ κατὰ διάνοιαν ἀπολειφθῇ μόνος, ἔρημος σώματος, ἔρημος αἰσθή-

¹ Unless Philo uses the nominative for the demonstrative, αὐτό seems pointless: perhaps τοῦτο.

^a So L. & S. render the word; perhaps rather “all those of military age,”=Latin *pubes*.

^b In the parallel passage *De Ebr.* 69 ff. the “neighbour” is the senses themselves.

ON FLIGHT AND FINDING, 89-92

that I may without distraction minister to Him that is. And a flight that is real exile is loss of our nearest and dearest. It is on the ground, then, of a similarity in their doings that the Lawgiver commits fugitives to the keeping of fugitives, that they may obtain an amnesty for what they had done. Was 90 this, then, the only reason, or was it also because the Tribe of Levi, consisting of those who had the care of the Tabernacle, rushed upon and slew from the young upwards^a those who fashioned into a god the golden calf, the Egyptian folly? They did this under the impulse of righteous anger accompanied by an inspiration from above and a God-sent possession: "And each man slays brother and neighbour and his nearest" (Exod. xxxii. 27), for the body is "brother" of the soul, the irrational part of us neighbour of the rational, and the word of utterance "next of kin" to mind. For in this way only could 91 that which is best in ourselves become capable of ministering before Him Who is Best of all Existences, if in the first place the man were resolved into soul, his brother body and its interminable cravings being broken off and cut in twain; if in the next place the soul rid itself, as I have said, of that neighbour of our rational element, the irrational,^b which like a torrent in five divisions pours through the channels of all the senses and rouses the violence of the passions; if in 92 the next place the reasoning faculty sever and banish from itself that which has the appearance of being closest to it, the word of utterance. All this is to the end that the word or thought^c within the mind may be left behind by itself alone, destitute of body,

^a With ὁ κατὰ διάνοιαν sc. λόγος = ἐνδιάθετος, the regular antithesis to προφορικός.

σεως, ἔρημος γεγωνοῦ λόγου προφορᾶς· ἀπολειφθεὶς γάρ, τῇ κατὰ τὴν μόνωσιν διαίτῃ χρώμενος, τὸ μόνον <ὄν> καθαρῶς καὶ ἀμεθέλκτως ἀσπάσεται. |
 93 πρὸς γε μὴν τοῖς εἰρημένοις καὶ κεῖνον
 [560] ὑπομνηστέον, ὅτι ἡ Λευιτικὴ φυλὴ νεωκόρων καὶ ἱερέων ἐστίν, οἷς ἡ τῶν ἁγίων ἀνάκειται λειτουργία· λειτουργοῦσι δὲ καὶ οἱ τὸν ἀκούσιον φόνον δρῶντες, εἴ γε κατὰ Μωυσῆν “ὁ θεὸς παραδίδωσιν εἰς τὰς χεῖρας αὐτῶν” τοὺς θανάτου ἄξια εἰργασμένους πρὸς ἀναίρεσιν. ἀλλ’ οἱ μὲν ἐτάχθησαν ἐπὶ τῷ τοὺς ἀγαθοὺς σεμνύνειν, οἱ δ’ ἐπὶ τῷ τοὺς ὑπαιτίους κολάζειν.

94 XVIII. Αὐταὶ μὲν εἰσιν αἱ αἰτίαι, ὧν ἕνεκα οἱ τὸν ἀκούσιον φόνον δράσαντες εἰς μόνας τὰς τῶν νεωκόρων φεύγουσι πόλεις. τίνες δὲ εἰσι καὶ διὰ τί ἀριθμῶ ἕξ, ἐπομένως λεκτέον. μήποτ’ οὖν ἡ μὲν πρεσβυτάτη καὶ ἐχυρωτάτη καὶ ἀρίστη μητρό-
 95 πόλις, οὐκ αὐτὸ μόνον πόλις, ὁ θεὸς ἐστὶ λόγος, ἐφ’ ὃν πρῶτον καταφεύγειν ὠφελιμώτατον. αἱ δ’ ἄλλαι πέντε, ὥς ἂν ἀποικίαι, δυνάμεις εἰσὶ τοῦ λέγοντος, ὧν ἄρχει ἡ ποιητικὴ, καθ’ ἣν ὁ ποιῶν λόγῳ τὸν κόσμον ἐδημιούργησε· δευτέρα δ’ ἡ βασιλική, καθ’ ἣν ὁ πεποιηκὼς ἄρχει τοῦ γενομένου· τρίτη δ’ ἡ ἰλως, δι’ ἧς ὁ τεχνίτης οἰκτεῖρει

* Mangey and Wend. suspected τοῦ λέγοντος and suggested *δντος* or *ἡγεμόνος*. But Philo sometimes thinks of the Logos as in the literal sense the “word” which God speaks. It is particularly natural here in connexion with creation, where every creative act is preceded by “God said.” Cf. *De Som.* i. 75.

ON FLIGHT AND FINDING, 92-95

destitute of sense-perception, destitute of utterance in audible speech ; for when it has been thus left, it will live a life in harmony with such solitude, and will render, with nothing to mar or to disturb it, its glad homage to the Sole Existence.

Another point to be called to mind, in addition to 93 those which have been mentioned, is that the Tribe of Levi is that of ministers of the Tabernacle and priests, on whom rests the service of the Sanctuary, and those who commit unintentional homicide are also engaged in a service, since, as Moses tells us, " God delivers into their hands " (Exod. xxi. 13) for destruction those that have done deeds worthy of death. But, while the Levites were appointed for the exaltation of the good, these others were appointed for the chastisement of the guilty.

XVIII. Such are the reasons for the perpetrators 94 of unintentional homicide taking refuge only in the cities of the Tabernacle attendants. We must next say what those cities are, and why they are six in number. It would seem, then, that the chiefest and surest and best mother-city something more than just a city, is the Divine Word, and that to take refuge first in it is supremely advantageous. The other 95 five, colonies as it were, are powers of Him who speaks that Word,^a their leader being creative power, in the exercise of which the Creator produced the universe by a word^b ; second in order is the royal power, in virtue of which He that has made it governs that which has come into being ; third stands the gracious power, in the exercise of which the Great Artificer takes pity and compassion on his own work ;

^b Or " He who created the world through the Word wrought His work," etc.

- καὶ ἐλεεῖ τὸ ἴδιον ἔργον· τετάρτη δ' ἡ * * *¹ νομο-
θετικῆς μοῖρα, δι' ἧς ἃ μὴ χρή γίνεσθαι ἀπαγορεύει.
- 96 πάγκαλοι δὲ καὶ εὐερκέσταται πόλεις,
ἀξίων σώζεσθαι ψυχῶν τὸν αἰῶνα ἄρισταί γε κατα-
φυγαί· χρηστὴ δὲ καὶ φιλόανθρωπος ἡ διάταξις,
ἀλεῦσαι καὶ ῥῶσαι πρὸς εὐελπιστίαν (ἱκανή· ἧς)
τίς ἂν ἐδυνήθη μᾶλλον τοσαύτην τῶν δυναμένων
εὐεργετεῖν ἀναδείξαι ἀφθονίαν διὰ τὰς διαφορὰς
τῶν ἐν τροπαῖς ἀκουσίοις γενομένων, οἷς οὔτε ἰσχύς
- 97 οὔτε [ἡ] ἀσθένεια ἡ αὐτή; προτρέπει δὴ τὸν μὲν
ὠκυδρομεῖν ἱκανὸν συντείνειν ἀπνευστὶ πρὸς τὸν
ἀνωτάτω λόγον θεῖον, ὃς σοφίας ἐστὶ πηγὴ, ἵνα
ἀρυσάμενος τοῦ νάματος ἀντὶ θανάτου ζῶν ἀίδιον
ἄθλον εὕρηται· τὸν δὲ μὴ οὕτως ταχὺν ἐπὶ τὴν
ποιητικὴν καταφεύγειν δύναμιν, ἣν Μωυσῆς ὀνο-
μάζει θεόν, ἐπειδὴ δι' αὐτῆς ἐτέθη καὶ διεκοσμήθη
τὰ σύμπαντα—τῷ γὰρ ὅτι γέγονε τὸ πᾶν καταλα-
βόντι μεγάλου² κτήσις ἀγαθοῦ περιγίνεται, ἡ τοῦ
πεποιηκότος ἐπιστήμη, ἡ δ' εὐθὺς ἀναπείθει τὸ
- 98 γενόμενον ἐρᾶν τοῦ φυτεύσαντος—τὸν δὲ μὴ οὕτως
ἔτοιμον ἐπὶ τὴν βασιλικήν—φόβῳ γὰρ ἄρχοντος τὸ
ὑπήκοον, εἰ καὶ μὴ εὐνοία πατρὸς τὸ ἔκγονον,
ἀνάγκη σωφρονιζούσῃ νουθετεῖται—τῷ δὲ μὴ
φθάνοντι πρὸς τοὺς λεχθέντας ὅρους ὡς μακρὰν
διεστῶτας ἀφικνεῖσθαι καμπτήρες εἴσω πεπήγασιν
ἕτεροι δυνάμεων ἀναγκαίων, τῆς ἴλεω, τῆς προσ-
ταττούσης ἃ δεῖ, τῆς ἀπαγορευούσης ἃ μὴ δεῖ.

¹ Wend. proposes, to fill up the lacuna, νομοθετικῆς, δι' ἧς
προσάττει ἃ δεῖ, πέμπτη δ' ἡ. See below, §§ 98, 100, 104.

² MSS. μεγάλη.

^a An allusion as often to the derivation of θεός from τίθημι.

ON FLIGHT AND FINDING, 95-99

fourth <is the legislative power, by which He prescribes duties incumbent on us; and fifth> that division of legislation, by which He prohibits those things which should not be done. Right goodly cities 96 are they, and exceeding strong in their ramparts, noblest refuges for souls meet to be in safety for ever: kind and beneficent is the ordinance, with power to stimulate and brace to hopefulness. What ordinance could better shew the rich abundance of these beneficial powers adapted to the differences in the victims of involuntary lapses, so various both in their strength and in their weakness? The man who is capable of 97 running swiftly it bids stay not to draw breath but pass forward to the supreme Divine Word, Who is the fountain of Wisdom, in order that he may draw from the stream and, released from death, gain life eternal as his prize. One less swift-footed it directs to the power to which Moses gives the name "God," since by it the Universe was established and ordered.^a It urges him to flee for refuge to the creative power, knowing that to one who has grasped the fact that the whole world was brought into being a vast good accrues, even the knowledge of its Maker, which straightway wins the thing created to love Him to whom it owes its being. One who is less ready it 98 urges to betake himself to the kingly power, for fear of the sovereign has a force of correction to admonish the subject, where a father's kindness has none such for the child. For him who fails to reach the posts just mentioned, because he thinks them too far distant, another set of goals have been set up nearer the starting-point—the gracious power, the power which enjoins duties, and that which forbids offences; those in fact which are indispensable. For he that 99

- 99 ὁ τε γὰρ προλαβὼν, | ὡς οὐκ ἀπαραίτητον ἀλλ'
 [561] εὐμενὲς δι' ἡμερότητα φύσεώς ἐστι τὸ θεῖον, κἂν
 ἀμάρτη πρότερον, αὐθις μετενόησεν ἀμνηστίας
 ἐλπίδι, ὃ τε ἔννοιαν λαβὼν, ὅτι νομοθέτης ὁ θεός
 ἐστιν, πειθαρχῶν οἷς ἂν προστάτῃ πᾶσιν εὐδαι-
 μονήσῃ· ὁ δ' ὕστατος ὑστάτην εὐρήσεται κατα-
 φυγὴν, ἀποτροπὴν κακῶν, εἰ καὶ μὴ μετουσίαν
 100 προηγουμένων ἀγαθῶν. XIX. αἶδ' εἰσὶν
 <αἱ> ἕξ πόλεις, ἃς καλεῖ φυγαδευτήρια, ὧν αἱ μὲν
 πέντε ἀπεικονίσθησαν καὶ ἔστιν αὐτῶν ἐν τοῖς
 ἀγίοις τὰ μιμήματα, προστάξεως μὲν καὶ ἀπ-
 αγορεύσεως οἱ ἐν τῇ κιβωτῷ νόμοι, τῆς δ' ἱλεω
 δυνάμεως τὸ ἐπίθημα τῆς κιβωτοῦ—καλεῖ δὲ αὐτὸ
 ἱλαστήριον,—ποιητικῆς δὲ καὶ βασιλικῆς τὰ ὑπό-
 101 πτερα καὶ ἐφιδρυμένα Χερουβίμ· ὁ δ' ὑπεράνω
 τούτων λόγος θεῖος εἰς ὁρατὴν οὐκ ἦλθεν ἰδέαν,
 ἅτε μηδενὶ τῶν κατ' αἴσθησιν ἐμπερήσ ὦν, ἀλλ'
 αὐτὸς εἰκὼν ὑπάρχων θεοῦ, τῶν νοητῶν ἀπαξ ἀπάν-
 των ὁ πρεσβύτατος, ὁ ἐγγυτάτω, μηδενὸς ὄντος
 μεθορίου διαστήματος, τοῦ μόνου,¹ ὃ ἐστιν ἀψεudῶς,
 ἀφιδρυμένος.² λέγεται γάρ· “λαλήσω σοι ἄνωθεν
 τοῦ ἱλαστηρίου, ἀνὰ μέσον τῶν δυεῖν Χερουβίμ,”
 ὥσθ' ἡνίοχον μὲν εἶναι τῶν δυνάμεων τὸν λόγον,
 ἔποχον δὲ τὸν λαλοῦντα, ἐπικελευόμενον τῷ ἡνιόχῳ
 102 τὰ πρὸς ὀρθὴν τοῦ παντὸς ἡνιόχῃσιν. ὁ
 μὲν οὖν ἄνευ τροπῆς, ἐκουσίῳ μὲν ἄπαγε, ἀλλὰ
 καὶ τῆς ἀκουσίῳ γεγονώς, αὐτὸν τὸν θεὸν κληρὸν
 ἔχων, ἐν αὐτῷ μόνῳ κατοικήσῃ· οἱ δ' οὐκ ἐκ

¹ MSS. τὸ (τῷ) μόνον.

² So MSS.: Wendland ἐφιδρυμένος.

^a See App. p. 584.

^b Philo apparently takes “thee” to be the Logos; cf.

has made sure that the Godhead is not inexorable, but kindly, owing to gentleness of nature, even if he have first sinned, afterwards repents in hope of forgiveness ; and he that has taken in the thought that God is Lawgiver, will by obeying all His injunctions attain happiness ; while the last of the three will gain a third and last refuge, the averting of ills, even if he fail to obtain a share of God's principal good gifts.

XIX. Such are the six cities, which 100
Moses calls "places of refuge" (Num. xxxv. 12), five of which were represented by symbolic figures which are in the sanctuary, the Laws laid up in the ark being symbols of injunction and prohibition ; the lid of the ark, which he calls the Mercy-seat, representing the gracious power ; while the creative and kingly powers are represented by the winged Cherubim that rest upon it. The Divine Word, Who is 101
high above all these, has not been visibly portrayed, being like to no one of the objects of sense. Nay, He is Himself the Image of God, chiefest of all Beings intellectually perceived, placed nearest, with no intervening distance, to the Alone truly existent One.^a For we read : " I will talk with thee ^b from above the Mercy-seat, between the two Cherubim " (Ex. xxv. 21), words which shew that while the Word is the charioteer of the Powers, He Who talks is seated in the chariot, giving directions to the charioteer for the right wielding of the reins of the Universe.

He, then, that has shewn himself free from even un- 102
intentional offence—intentional is not to be thought of—having God Himself as his portion (Deut. x. 9), will have his abode in Him alone ; while those who

§ 76. See also note on § 95, though here the Logos is spoken to, not the word spoken.

προνοίας ἀλλ' ἀβουλήτοις χρησάμενοι σφάλμασι καταφυγὰς ἔξουσιν τὰς εἰρημένας ἀφθόνοους καὶ πλουσίας οὕτως.¹

- 103 Τῶν δὲ πρὸς καταφυγὴν πόλεων τρεῖς μὲν εἰσι πέραν, αἱ μακρὰν ἡμῶν τοῦ γένους ἀφεστᾶσι. τίνες αὗται; ὁ τοῦ ἡγεμόνος λόγος καὶ ἡ ποιητικὴ καὶ βασιλικὴ δύναμις αὐτοῦ· τούτων γὰρ ὁ τε
- 104 οὐρανὸς καὶ σύμπας ὁ κόσμος ἐπικοινωνεῖ. αἱ δὲ προσεχεῖς² ἡμῖν καὶ ἐφαπτόμεναι τοῦ τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἐπικλήρου γένους, ᾧ μόνῳ συμβέβηκε διαμαρτάνειν, αἱ ἐντὸς εἰσι τρεῖς, ἡ ἰλῆως, ἡ προστακτικὴ τῶν ποιητέων, ἡ ἀπαγορευτικὴ τῶν μὴ ποιητέων· αὗται
- 105 γὰρ ἤδη ἡμῶν ἐφάπτονται. τίς γὰρ ἀπαγορεύσεως χρεῖα τοῖς μὴ μέλλουσιν ἀδικήσῃν, τίς δὲ προσταξέως τοῖς μὴ πεφυκόσι σφάλλασθαι, τίς δὲ τῆς ἰλῆω τοῖς μηδ' ὅλως ἀμαρτησομένοις; ἀλλὰ τό γε ἡμέτερον γένος χρεῖον γέγονε τούτων διὰ τὸ πεφυκέναι καὶ ἐπικλινῶς ἔχειν πρὸς τε τὰ ἐκούσια καὶ ἀκούσια ἀμαρτήματα.
- 106 XX. Τέταρτον καὶ λοιπὸν ἦν τῶν προταθέντων ἡ προθεσμία τῆς τῶν πεφευγόντων καθόδου, τοῦ ἀρχιερέως ὁ θάνατος, πολλὴν ἐν τῷ ῥήτῳ μοι παρέχουσα δυσκολίαν. ἄνισος γὰρ ἡ τιμωρία κατὰ τῶν τὰ αὐτὰ δρασάντων νομοθετεῖται, εἴ γε οἱ
- [562] μὲν | πλείῳ χρόνον ἀποδράσσονται, οἱ δὲ ἐλάττω· μακροβιώτατοι γὰρ (οἱ μὲν), οἱ δὲ ὀλιγοχρονιώ-
- 107 τατοι τῶν ἀρχιερέων εἰοί· καὶ οἱ μὲν νέοι, οἱ δὲ πρεσβῦται καθίστανται· καὶ τῶν ἐάλωκόντων ἐπ' ἀκουσίῳ φόνῳ οἱ μὲν ἐν ἀρχῇ τῆς ἱερωσύνης

¹ πόλεις perhaps (as Wendland) is needed. For the strange οὕτως Wendland suggests οὕσας: 'perhaps rather *ὄντως*.'

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have fallen, not of set purpose but against their will, will have the refuges which have been mentioned, so freely and richly provided.

Now of the cities of refuge three are beyond the 103 River, far removed from our race. Which are these ? The Word of the Sovereign Ruler, and His creative and His kingly power : for in fellowship with these are heaven and all the universe. But those which are 104 close to us and in actual contact with perishable mankind, the only race which sin has befallen, are the three within—the gracious power, the power which enjoins things that are to be done, and that which prohibits those which are not to be done ; for these touch us closely. For what need is there of 105 prohibition in the case of those who are sure to do no wrong ? What need of injunction for those whose nature exempts them from failure ? And what need of recourse to the Gracious Power for those who will commit no sin at all ? But our race stands in need of these powers by reason of its natural proneness both to intentional and unintentional sins.

XX. The fourth and only remaining point of those 106 proposed for consideration was the time prescribed for the return of the fugitives, namely, that of the death of the High Priest. If taken literally, this point presents, I feel, great difficulty. The penalty inflicted by law on those whose offences are identical is unequal, if some are to be fugitives for a longer, some for a shorter, period ; for of the High Priests some are very long-lived, some the reverse ; some are 107 appointed in youth, some in old age ; and of those guilty of unintentional homicide some went into exile

² MSS. ἐπικοινων(ι)αὶ δὲ προσεχεῖς: Mangey ἐστὶ κοινωναὶ δὲ καὶ προσεχεῖς.

- ἐφυγαδεύθησαν, οἱ δ' ἤδη μέλλοντος τελευτᾶν τοῦ
 ἱερωμένου, ὥς τοὺς μὲν αἰῶνα μακρόν τινα τῆς
 πατρίδος ἐστερηῆσθαι, τοὺς δ' αὐτὸ μόνον ἡμέραν,
 εἰ τύχοι, μεθ' ἣν τὸν αὐχένα ἐπαίροντες καὶ φρυατ-
 τόμενοι καὶ γελῶντες τοὺς ἄγχιστα γένους τῶν
 108 ἀνηρημένων ἀφίξονται. τὸ ἄπορον οὖν
 καὶ δυσαπολόγητον ἀποδρασόμεθα τῆς δι' ὑπονοιῶν
 φυσικῆς ἀποδόσεως ἐφιέμενοι. λέγομεν γὰρ τὸν
 ἀρχιερέα οὐκ ἄνθρωπον ἀλλὰ λόγον θεῖον εἶναι
 πάντων οὐχ ἑκουσίῳ μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀκουσίῳ
 109 ἀδικημάτων ἀμέτοχον. οὔτε γὰρ ἐπὶ πατρί, τῷ
 νῷ, οὔτε ἐπὶ μητρί, τῇ αἰσθήσει, φησὶν αὐτὸν
 Μωυσῆς δύνασθαι μαινεσθαι, διότι, οἶμαι, γονέων
 ἀφθάρτων καὶ καθαρωτάτων ἔλαχεν, πατρὸς μὲν
 θεοῦ, ὃς καὶ τῶν συμπάντων ἐστὶ πατήρ, μητρὸς
 110 δὲ σοφίας, δι' ἣς τὰ ὅλα ἦλθεν εἰς γένεσιν· καὶ διότι
 τὴν κεφαλὴν κέχρισται ἐλαίῳ, λέγω δὲ τὸ ἡγεμο-
 νικὸν φωτὶ αὐγοειδεῖ περιλάμπεται, ὥς ἀξιόχρεως
 “ ἐνδύσασθαι τὰ ἱμάτια ” νομισθῆναι—ἐνδύεται δ'
 ὁ μὲν πρεσβύτατος τοῦ ὄντος λόγος ὡς ἐσθῆτα τὸν
 κόσμον (γῆν γὰρ καὶ ὕδωρ καὶ ἀέρα καὶ πῦρ καὶ
 τὰ ἐκ τούτων ἐπαμπίσχεται), ἡ δ' ἐπὶ μέρους ψυχὴ
 τὸ σῶμα, ἡ δὲ τοῦ σοφοῦ διάνοια τὰς ἀρετάς·
 111 καὶ ὅτι τὴν κεφαλὴν “ οὐδέποτε ἀπομιμνήσκει,” τὸ

“ Or “with,” “through,” as Philo understands the preposition. The meaning of the original is that as contact with a corpse entails defilement, the priests are only to touch the bodies of their nearest of kin (Lev. xxi. 2), but the High Priest not even these. Philo's allegory understands it to mean that with the ordinary man both father mind and mother sense may cause defilement, but the Logos is of other parentage.

^b Or “the soul in the partial sense,” *i.e.* excluding the

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at the outset of the High Priest's priesthood, some when the holder of the sacred office was nearing his end. Thus some have been cut off from their native place for a very long time indeed, others merely for a day, it may be, after which they will arrive with their heads in the air, insolently laughing at the nearest relatives of those whom they have slain.

Let us, then, have recourse to the scientific mode of 108 interpretation which looks for the hidden meaning of the literal words, and we shall escape from the difficulty and be able to give a reasonable account of the matter. We say, then, that the High Priest is not a man, but a Divine Word and immune from all unrighteousness whether intentional or unintentional. For Moses says that he cannot defile himself either 109 for^a the father, the mind, nor for the mother, sense-perception (Lev. xxi. 11), because, methinks, he is the child of parents incorruptible and wholly free from stain, his father being God, who is likewise Father of all, and his mother Wisdom, through whom the universe came into existence ; because, more- 110 over, his head has been anointed with oil, and by this I mean that his ruling faculty is illumined with a brilliant light, in such wise that he is deemed worthy "to put on the garments." Now the garments which the supreme Word of Him that is puts on as raiment are the world, for He arrays Himself in earth and air and water and fire and all that comes forth from these ; while the body is the clothing of the soul considered as the principle of physical life,^b and the virtues of the wise man's understanding. Moses 111 also says that "he shall never remove the mitre"

"ruling principle"; cf. *De Op.* 117 τῆς ἡμετέρας ψυχῆς τὸ δίχα τοῦ ἡγεμονικοῦ μέρος.

βασιλείον οὐκ ἀποθήσεται διάδημα, τὸ σύμβολον
τῆς οὐκ αὐτοκράτορος μέν, ὑπάρχου δὲ καὶ θαυ-
μαστῆς ἡγεμονίας, “ οὐδ’ αὖ τὰ ἱμάτια διαρρήξει ”·

112 ὃ τε γὰρ τοῦ ὄντος λόγος δεσμός ὢν τῶν ἀπάντων,
ὡς εἴρηται, καὶ συνέχει τὰ μέρη πάντα καὶ σφίγγει
κωλύων αὐτὰ διαλύεσθαι καὶ διαρτᾶσθαι· ἢ τ’ ἐπὶ
μέρους ψυχῇ, καθόσον δυνάμεως μεμοίραται, τῶν
τοῦ σώματος οὐδὲν ἀποσχίζεσθαι καὶ ἀποτέμενεσθαι
μερῶν παρὰ φύσιν ἑᾶ, τὸ δ’ ἐπ’ αὐτῇ πάντα ὁλό-
κληρα ὄντα ἁρμονίαν καὶ ἔνωσιν ἀδιάλυτον ἄγει
τὴν πρὸς ἄλληλα· ὃ τε κεκαθαρμένος τοῦ σοφοῦ
νοῦς ἀρρήκτους καὶ ἀπήμονας διαφυλάττει τὰς
ἀρετάς, τὴν φυσικὴν αὐτῶν συγγένειάν τε καὶ
κοινωνίαν ἁρμοσάμενος εὐνοία παγιωτέρα.

113 XXI. οὗτος “ ἐπὶ πᾶσαν ψυχὴν τετελευτηκυῖαν,”
ἢ φησι Μωυσῆς, “ οὐκ εἰσελεύσεται ”· θάνατος δὲ
[563] ψυχῆς ὁ μετὰ κακίας | ἐστὶ βίος, ὥστε οὐδέ τινος
ἄγους, ὢν προσβάλλειν ἀφροσύνη φιλεῖ, ποτὲ προσ-
114 ἀψεται. τούτῳ καὶ παρθένος ἐκ τοῦ ἱεροῦ γένους
ἀρμόζεται, καθαρὰ καὶ ἀμίαντος καὶ ἀδιάφθορος
εἰς αἰὲ γνῶμη· χήρας γὰρ καὶ ἐκβεβλημένης καὶ
βεβήλου καὶ πόρνης ἀνὴρ οὐδέποτε γίνεται, πόλεμον
ἄσπονδον καὶ ἀκήρυκτον πρὸς αὐτὰς αἰὲ συγκροτῶν.
ἐχθρὸν γὰρ αὐτῷ τὸ χηρεύειν ἀρετῆς καὶ ἐκβεβλη-
σθαι καὶ πεφυγαδεῦσθαι πρὸς αὐτῆς καὶ πᾶν ὃ τι
ἂν ἢ βέβηλον πείσμα καὶ ἀνίερρον· τὸ δὲ πολυμιγὲς

^a So G.H.W. This translation assumes that προσβάλλειν is used idiomatically, *sc. ὁσμήν*. See examples in L. & S., *e.g.* κρέα ἰχθύων προσβάλλει, “the flesh smells like fish.” But the
70

from his head ; he shall not, that is to say, lay aside the kingly diadem, the symbol not of absolute sovereignty, but of an admirable viceroyalty ; “ nor ” again “ shall he rend his clothes ” (Lev. xxi. 10) ; for 112 the Word of Him that is is, as has been stated, the bond of all existence, and holds and knits together all the parts, preventing them from being dissolved and separated ; just as the principle of physical life, in so far as it has been endowed with power, suffers none of the parts of the body to be split or cut off contrary to nature, but, so far as in it lies, all the parts are complete, and maintain unbroken a mutual harmony and oneness ; and, in like manner, the purified mind of the wise man preserves the virtues free from breach or hurt, linking in a yet firmer concord the affinity and fellowship which is theirs by nature.

XXI. The High Priest, so Moses says, 113 “ shall not go in to any dead soul ” (Lev. xxi. 11). Death of soul is a life in the company of vice, so that what is meant is that he is never to come in contact with any polluting object, and of these folly always stinks.^a To him there is betrothed moreover a maiden 114 of the hallowed people, pure and undefiled and of ever inviolate intention ; for never is he wedded to a widow or one divorced or to a profane woman or to a harlot (*ibid.* 13 f.), but against them he ever wages a truceless and unrelenting warfare. For hateful to him is widowhood from virtue, and the plight of one cast out and driven from her doors, and any conviction that is profane and unholy. But the promiscuous, use of such a phrase here seems to me rather strange, and I should prefer to remove the comma, take $\omega\nu$ as $=\tau\omega\nu$ & and translate “ of those which folly is wont to send in its way.” Cf. *Quod Det.* 98. Or perhaps with Mangey read ϕ and translate “ which folly loves to approach.”

- καὶ πολὺάνδρον καὶ πολύθεον, ἄθεον¹ μὲν οὖν κακόν, πόρνην, οὐδὲ προσιδεῖν ἀξιοῖ, τὴν ἓνα ἄνδρα καὶ πατέρα τὸν ἡγεμόνα θεὸν ἐπιγεγραμμένην ἡγα-
 115 πηκῶς. ὑπερβολὴ τις περὶ τὸν τρόπον τοῦτον τελειότητος ἐνορεῖται. τὸν μὲν γε τὴν μεγάλην εὐξάμενον εὐχὴν οἶδέ που καὶ ἀκουσίως σφαλλόμενον, εἰ καὶ μὴ ἐκουσίῳ γνώμῃ· λέγει γάρ· “ἐὰν δέ τις ἀποθάνῃ ἐπ’ αὐτῷ ἐξάπινα, παρα-
 χρήμα μιανθήσεται”. τὰ γὰρ ἀβούλητα² ἔξωθεν αἰφνίδιον κατασκήπτοντα παραχρήμα τὴν ψυχὴν οὐ πρὸς αἰῶνα μήκιστον μαιίνει, ἅτε ὄντα ἀκούσια. τούτων δ’ ὁ ἀρχιερεὺς καθάπερ καὶ τῶν ἐκουσίων
 116 ὑπεράνω στας ἀλογεῖ. ταῦτα δ’ οὐκ ἀπὸ σκοποῦ μοι λέλεκται, ἀλλ’ ὑπὲρ τοῦ διδάξαι, ὅτι φυσικωτάτῃ προθεσμίᾳ καθόδου φυγάδων ὁ τοῦ
 117 ἀρχιερέως ἐστὶ θάνατος. ἕως μὲν γὰρ ὁ ἱερώτατος οὗτος λόγος ζῇ καὶ περίεστιν ἐν ψυχῇ, ἀμήχανον τροπὴν ἀκούσιον εἰς αὐτὴν κατελθεῖν· ἀμέτοχος γὰρ καὶ ἀπαράδεκτος παντὸς εἶναι πέφυκεν ἀμαρτήματος. ἐὰν δὲ ἀποθάνῃ, οὐκ αὐτὸς διαφθαρεῖς, ἀλλ’ ἐκ τῆς ἡμετέρας ψυχῆς διαζευχθεῖς, κάθοδος εὐθὺς δίδοται τοῖς ἀκουσίοις³ σφάλμασιν· εἰ γὰρ μένοντος καὶ ὑγιαίνοντος ἐν ἡμῖν ἐξωκίζετο, μετ-

¹ Mangey and Cohn would omit ἄθεον as inappropriate here, in which case surely καὶ should also be omitted before πολύθεον or ἄθεον μὲν οὖν entirely (as Cohn). But see App. p. 584.

² MSS. τὰ (τῶν) γὰρ ἀβουλῶν(λή)των: perhaps, as Wendland suggests, τῶν γὰρ ἀβουλήτων <τινὰ>.

³ So MSS.: Wendland ἐκουσίοις following Ambrose, *De fuga saeculi* 2. 13, who in a paraphrase of the passage has “incipit anima peccatis patere voluntariis.” If this is right, presumably the thought is that while the offences when expelled were involuntary, if they return it will be as voluntary sins. The transition would be less abrupt if καὶ

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polyandrous cause of polytheism, or rather atheism, the harlot, he deigns not even to look at, having learned to love her who had adopted, as her one Husband and Father, God the All-sovereign.

In this character we see perfection in something like 115 its highest form. On the other hand, as to the man who has vowed the Great Vow, the lawgiver seems to recognize that he does stumble unintentionally, even if not with deliberate intent; for he says, "If one die by him suddenly, he shall at once be defiled" (Num. vi. 9): for that which suddenly swoops down upon us from without, apart from any wish of our own, defiles the soul at once, though not for an interminable period, owing to its being unintentional.^a But with such involuntary defilements, even as with those that are voluntary, the High Priest has no concern, but stands far up beyond their reach.

The observations which I have been making are 116 not beside the mark, but are meant to shew that the fixing of the High Priest's death as the term for the return of the exiles is in perfect accordance with the natural fitness of things (Num. xxxv. 25). For so long as this holiest Word is alive and is still 117 present in the soul, it is out of the question that an unintentional offence should come back into it; for this holy Word is by nature incapable of taking part in and of admitting to itself any sin whatever. But if the Word die, not by being itself destroyed, but by being withdrawn out of our soul, the way is at once open for the return of unintentional errors; for if it was abiding within us alive and well when they were

^a Cf. *Quod Deus* 89, *De Agr.* 175 and note.

was inserted after *δίδοται*, or we might read *ἀκουσίους* <*καὶ ἐκουσίους*>, cf. the end of § 115.

- 118 ανισταμένου πάντως εισοικισθήσεται. γέρας γὰρ ἐξαίρετον ὁ ἀμίαντος ἀρχιερεύς, ἔλεγχος, ἐκ φύσεως κεκάρπωται τὸ μηδέποτ' εἰς αὐτὸν παραδέξασθαι τόπον γνώμης ὀλισθόν.¹ διόπερ ἄξιον εὐχεσθαι ζῆν ἐν ψυχῇ τὸν ἀρχιερέα ὁμοῦ καὶ βασιλέα, δικαστὴν ἔλεγχον, ὃς ὅλον ἡμῶν τὸ διανοίας ἀποκεκληρωμένος δικαστήριον ὑπ' οὐδενὸς τῶν ἀγομένων εἰς κρίσιν δυσωπεῖται.
- 119 XXII. Λελαληκότες οὖν τὰ ἀρμόττοντα περὶ φυγάδων τὴν κατὰ τὸν εἶρμόν ἀκολουθίαν συνυφανοῦμεν. λέγεται γὰρ ἐξῆς². “εὔρεν αὐτὴν ἄγγελος κυρίου,” κάθοδον ψηφισάμενος ὑπ' αἰδοῦς
 [564] κινδυνευσοῦσιν ψυχῇ πλανᾶσθαι καὶ μονονοῦ | προπομπὸς γινόμενος τῆς εἰς τὴν ἀπλανῇ γνώμην
- 120 ἐπανόδου. χρήσιμον δὲ καὶ
 τὰ περὶ εὐρέσεως καὶ ζητήσεως φιλοσοφηθέντα τῷ νομοθέτῃ μὴ ἡσυχασθῆναι. τοὺς μὲν γὰρ εἰσάγει μηδὲν μήτε ζητοῦντας μήτε εὐρίσκοντας, τοὺς δὲ ἐν ἑκατέρῳ κατορθοῦντας, ἐνίοις δὲ θάτερον περιπεποιημένους, ὧν οἱ μὲν ζητοῦντες οὐχ εὐρίσκουσιν, οἱ δ' εὐρίσκουσιν οὐ ζητήσαντες.
- 121 οἱ μὲν οὖν μήτε εὐρέσεως
 μήτε ζητήσεως ἐφιεμένοι τὸν λογισμὸν ἀπαιδευσία καὶ ἀμελετησία χαλεπῶς ἠκίσαντο καὶ δυνάμενοι ὁδὸν καθορᾶν ἐπηρώθησαν. οὕτως φησὶ “τὴν

¹ The text as it stands is untranslatable: Mangey suggests τὸ παράπαν for τόπον: I suggest ὀλισθόν, “any room for lapse of purpose,” i.e. for any ἐκούσιον ἀμάρτημα.

² MSS. ἐξ ἀρχῆς.

^a The interpretation of §§ 116-118 does not seem to be in keeping with what has gone before. Hitherto it was the
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removed, assuredly when it departs and goes elsewhere they will be reinstated. For the Monitor, the 118 undefiled High Priest, enjoys as the fruit of his nature the special prerogative of never admitting into himself any uncertainty of judgement. Wherefore it is meet that we should pray that He who is at once High Priest and King may live in our soul as Monitor on the seat of justice, seeing that he has received for his proper sphere the entire court of our understanding, and faces unabashed all who are brought up for judgement there.^a

XXII. Having now said all that was called for on 119 the subject of fugitives, we will go on to treat of what comes next in natural sequence. The next words are "An angel of the Lord found her" (Gen. xvi. 7)—the angel who decreed a return home to a soul whose shame was like to lead into wandering, and well-nigh was its escort back to the frame of mind which wanders not.

It will be an advantage 120 that the lawgiver's reflections about finding and seeking should not be passed over. He represents some as neither seeking nor finding anything, others as succeeding in both, some as having mastered one but not the other, either seeking and not finding, or finding without having sought.

Those with 121 no desire either to find or to seek grievously impair their faculty of reason, by refusing to train and exercise it, and, though capable of being keen-sighted, become blind. This is his meaning when he says that

"involuntary offenders" themselves who found a refuge in the Powers of which the Logos himself was the chief. Here the thought is that the *offences* have been *banished* and will not return so long as we retain the Logos. He has in fact passed from the sense of *φεύγω* = "to take refuge" to that of *φεύγω* = "be banished."

- γυναῖκα. Λὼτ στραφεῖσαν εἰς τοῦπίσω γενέσθαι
στήλην," οὐ μυθοπλαστών, ἀλλὰ πράγματος ἰδιό-
122 τητα μηνύων. ὃς γὰρ ἂν ὀλιγωρήσας τοῦ διδά-
σκοντος ὑπὸ ῥαθυμίας ἐμφύτου τε ὁμοῦ καὶ συν-
ήθους τὰ μὲν πρόσω καταλίπη, δι' ὧν ὁρᾶν καὶ
ἀκούειν καὶ ταῖς ἄλλαις δυνάμεσιν ἔστι χρῆσθαι
πρὸς τὴν τῶν φύσεως πραγμάτων ἐπίκρισιν, ἐκτρα-
χηλίσας δ' αὐτὸν εἰς τοῦπίσω περιαγάγη, τὰ τυφλὰ
τῶν ἐν τῷ βίῳ πραγμάτων μᾶλλον ἢ τῶν τοῦ
σώματος μερῶν ἐξηλωκώς, ἀψύχου καὶ κωφῆς
123 λίθου τρόπον στηλιτεύεται. οὐ γὰρ
ἔσχον, ἢ φησι Μωυσῆς, οἱ τοιοῦτοι τρόποι " καρ-
δίαν συνιέναι καὶ ὀφθαλμοὺς βλέπειν καὶ ὠτα
ἀκούειν," ἀλλὰ τυφλὸν καὶ κωφὸν καὶ ἀνόητον καὶ
πάντῃ πηρὸν βίον ἀβίωτον ἑαυτοῖς ἐξεργάσαντο,
124 οὐδενὶ τῶν δεόντων ἐφιστάντες. XXIII. ἡγεμῶν
δ' ἐστὶ τοῦ χοροῦ τούτου ὁ τῆς σωματικῆς χώρας
βασιλεύς. "ἐπιστραφεῖς" γὰρ φησι "Φαραὼ
εἰσῆλθεν εἰς τὸν οἶκον αὐτοῦ, καὶ οὐκ ἐπέστησε
τὸν νοῦν οὐδ' ἐπὶ τούτῳ," ἴσον τῷ ἐπ' οὐδενὶ τὸ
παράπαν, ἀλλ' εἷασεν αὐτὸν οἶα φυτὸν ἀγεώργητον
125 ἀφαναίνεσθαι καὶ στερούμενον ἀγωνίᾳ χρῆσθαι. οἱ
μὲν γε βουλευόμενοι καὶ σκοπούμενοι καὶ πάντ'
ἐπιμελῶς ἐξετάζοντες ἀκονῶσι καὶ παραθήγουσιν
αὐτόν. ὁ δὲ γυμναζόμενος τοὺς οἰκείους φέρει
καρπούς, ἀγχινόιαν τε καὶ σύνεσιν, δι' ὧν τὸ
ἀφενάκιστον περιγίνεται. ὁ δ' ἀπερίσκεπτος ἀμ-
βλύνει καὶ περιθραύει τὰς φρονήσεως ἀκμάς.
126 Τὸν μὲν οὖν ἄλογον καὶ ἀψυχον ὡς ἀληθῶς τῶν
τοιούτων θίασον ἑατέον, τὸν¹ δὲ τῶν σκέψει καὶ
εὐρέσει χρωμένων ἐπικριτέον. αὐτίκα τοίνυν ὁ

¹ MSS. τῶν.

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" Lot's wife turned backwards and became a pillar " (Gen. xix. 26), and here he is not inventing a fable but indicating precisely a real fact. For a man who is led by innate and habitual laziness to pay no attention to his teacher neglects what lies in front of him, which would enable him to see and hear and use his other faculties for the observation of nature's facts. Instead he twists^a his neck and turns his face backwards, and his thoughts are all for the dark and hidden side—of life, that is, not of the body and its parts, and so he turns into a pillar and becomes like a deaf and lifeless stone.

Speaking of such characters as these Moses says that they did not get " a heart to understand, and eyes to see, and ears to hear " (Deut. xxix. 4), but wrought out for themselves a life that was no life, blind and deaf and unintelligent and in every way maimed, setting themselves to nothing that demands their thoughts. XXIII. As leader of this company we see the king of the country which symbolizes the body ; for we read that " Pharaoh turned and went into his house, and did not set his heart even to this " (Ex. vii. 23, R.V. mg.), as much as to say that he set it to nothing at all, but allowed it like an untilled plant to wither away and become barren and bear nothing. It is whetted and made keen by those who consider and observe and examine all things carefully ; and when it is in exercise it bears its proper fruits, shrewdness and insight, which save it from being duped ; but the unobservant man blunts and crushes the edges of intelligence.

We must, then, let alone the irrational and truly lifeless company of such men as these, and scan well that of those who practise looking and finding. Our

^a Or " (almost) dislocates."

- πολιτικὸς μὲν ἥκιστα δὲ δοξομανὴς τρόπος, ἐφ-
 ἰμένος τῆς ἀμείνονος γενεᾶς, ἣν ἀρεταὶ κεκλή-
 ρωνται, ζητῶν τε καὶ ἀνευρίσκων αὐτὴν εἰσάγεται.
- 127 “εὔρε” γάρ φησιν “ἄνθρωπος τὸν Ἰωσήφ πλανώ-
 μενον ἐν τῷ πεδίῳ, καὶ ἠρώτησεν αὐτόν· τί ζητεῖς;
 ὁ δὲ εἶπεν· τοὺς ἀδελφούς μου ἐγὼ ζητῶ, ἀνάγ-
 γειλόν μοι, ποῦ βόσκουσιν. εἶπε δὲ αὐτῷ ὁ ἄν-
 θρωπος· ἀπήρκασιν ἐντεῦθεν· ἤκουσα γὰρ αὐτῶν
 λεγόντων· πορευθῶμεν εἰς Δωθαῖν. καὶ ἐπορεύθη
- [565] Ἰωσήφ κατόπιν τῶν ἀδελφῶν αὐτοῦ, καὶ | εὔρεν
 128 αὐτοὺς ἐν Δωθαῖν.” ἐρμηνεύεται Δωθαῖν ἐκλειψις
 ἱκανή, σύμβολον ψυχῆς οὐ μέσως ἀλλὰ τελείως
 ἀποδεδρακυίας τὰς κενὰς δόξας, αἱ γυναικῶν μάλ-
 λον ἢ ἀνδρῶν ἐπιτηδεύμασιν ἐοίκασι. διὸ πάνυ
 καλῶς ἡ ἀρετὴ Σάρρα “τὰ γυναικεῖα ἐκλείπει,”
 περὶ ἧς πονούμεθα οἱ τὸν ἄνανδρον καὶ θῆλυν ὄντως
 βίον μεταδιώκοντες. ὁ δὲ σοφὸς καὶ “ἐκλείπων
 προστίθεται” κατὰ Μωυσῆν, φυσικώτατα· τὴν
 γὰρ τῆς κενῆς δόξης ἀφαίρεσιν πρόσθεσιν ἀληθείας
- 129 εἶναι συμβέβηκεν. εἰ δὴ τις ἔτ’ ἐν θνητῷ καὶ
 πολυμιγεί καὶ πολυμόρφῳ βίῳ διατρίβων καὶ
 κεχρημένος ἀφθόνοις ταῖς πρὸς περιουσίαν ὕλαις
 σκέπτεται καὶ ζητεῖ περὶ τῆς ἀμείνονος καὶ πρὸς
 τὸ καλὸν μόνον ἀφορώσης γενεᾶς, ἄξιος ἀποδοχῆς
 ἐστίν, ἂν μὴ πάλιν τὰ ὀνειράτα καὶ φαντάσματα
 τῶν νομιζομένων καὶ φαινομένων ἀγαθῶν ὑπανα-
- 130 πλεύσαντα παρενημερήσῃ. μένων γὰρ ἐν ἀκιβδη-
 λεύτῳ τῇ ψυχικῇ σκέψει, κατ’ ἴχνος τῶν ζητου-

^a E.V. “gave up the ghost . . . and was gathered (to his people).” Cf. *De Sac.* 5.

^b i.e. seeking for the goods of the soul, instead of those of the body and outside the body.

ON FLIGHT AND FINDING, 126-130

first example shall be the man who takes part indeed in public life, but is very far from having a mad thirst for fame : his ambition is for that better family, which the virtues have taken as their heritage, and he is represented as both seeking and finding it. For 127 we are told that " a man found Joseph wandering in the plain, and asked him, ' What art thou seeking ? ' and he said ' I am seeking my brethren ; tell me, where are they feeding their flocks ? ' And the man said to him, ' They have departed hence, for I heard them saying, Let us go to Dothan.' And Joseph went his way after his brethren, and found them in Dothan" (Gen. xxxvii. 15-17). Dothan means " a thorough for- 128 saking," and is the symbol of a soul that has in no half measure but completely run away from those empty notions which resemble the practices of women rather than those of men. Accordingly it is finely said that Sarah, who is Virtue, " forsakes the ways of women " (Gen. xviii. 11), those ways on which we toil who follow after the unmanly and really feminine life. But the wise man too " forsaking is added " (Gen. xxv. 8),^a as Moses says in perfect accord with the nature of things : for the subtraction of vainglory is the addition of reality. If a man, while spending his 129 days in this mortal life full of such diverse elements and assuming so many phases, and while he has at his disposal abundant material for a life of luxury, makes that better family, which has an eye only for what is morally excellent, his study and quest, he is worthy of approbation, if the dreams and phantoms of things that have the name and appearance of good things do not rise to the surface again and get the better of him. For if he continues in that soul^b 130 inquiry and keeps it free from alloy, he will not give

- μένων βαίνων καὶ ἐπακολουθῶν οὐκ ἀνήσει πρό-
 131 τερον ἢ τοῖς ποθουμένοις ἐντυχεῖν. ἀλλ' οὐδέν' αὐτῶν¹ παρὰ μοχθηροῖς ἀνευρήσει· διὰ τί; “ἀπ-
 ἤρκασι γὰρ ἐντεύθεν,” τὰς μὲν ἡμετέρας σπουδὰς ἐκλιπόντες, μετοικισάμενοι δ' εἰς τὸν ἔρημον κακῶν εὐσεβῶν χώρον. λέγει δὲ ταῦτα ὁ ἀληθινὸς ἄν-
 θρωπος, ὁ ἐπὶ ψυχῆς ἔλεγχος, ὃς ἀπορουῶσαν καὶ σκεπτομένην καὶ ζητοῦσαν αὐτὴν ἰδὼν εὐλαβεῖται, μὴ πλανηθεῖσα διαμάρτη τῆς ὁρθῆς ὁδοῦ.
- 132 XXIV. Πάνυ τεθαύμακα κἀκείνους, τὸν μὲν φιλοπευστοῦντα περὶ τοῦ μέσου τῶν ἄκρων καὶ λέγοντα· “ἰδοὺ τὸ πῦρ καὶ τὰ ξύλα, ποῦ τὸ πρό-
 βατον τὸ εἰς ὀλοκάρπωσιν,” τὸν δ' ἀποκρινόμενον· “ὁ θεὸς ὄψεται ἑαυτῷ πρόβατον εἰς ὀλοκάρπωσιν, τέκνον” καὶ ὕστερον τὸ ἀντιδοθὲν εὐρίσκοντα· “ἰδοὺ γὰρ κριὸς εἰς κατεχόμενος τῶν κεράτων ἐν
 133 φυτῷ Σαβέκ.” ἴδωμεν οὖν, τί ὁ μὲν ζητῶν ἀπορεῖ, ὁ δ' ἀποκρινόμενος ἀποφαίνεται, καὶ τρίτον τί τὸ εὐρίσκόμενον ἦν. ὁ μὲν οὖν πυνθάνεται τοιοῦτόν ἐστιν· ἰδοὺ τὸ δρῶν αἴτιον, τὸ πῦρ· ἰδοὺ καὶ τὸ πάσχον, ἡ ὕλη, τὰ ξύλα· ποῦ τὸ τρίτον, τὸ ἀπο-
 τέλεσμα; οἷον ἰδοὺ ὁ νοῦς, ἔνθερμον καὶ πεπυρω-
 134 μένον πνεῦμα· ἰδοὺ καὶ τὰ νοητά, ὥσανεὶ ὕλαι· ποῦ τὸ τρίτον, τὸ νοεῖν; πάλιν ἰδοὺ ἡ ὄρασις, ἰδοὺ τὸ χρῶμα, ποῦ τὸ ὄραν; καὶ συνόλως ἰδοὺ ἡ αἴσθησις, τὸ κριτήριον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰ αἰσθητά, αἱ ὕλαι· τὸ οὖν

¹ MSS. οὐδενὶ τῶν: Wendland οὐδὲν αὐτῶν.

^a For this interpretation of the “man” of Gen. xxxvii. 15 cf. *Quod Det.* 23.

^b E.V. “thicket.” “Sabek” is a translation of the Hebrew word for thicket, which the LXX apparently took for the name of a plant. ^c Or “the thing effected.”

^d Or “spirit.” See App. pp. 584 f.

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up walking in the track of the objects of his quest, and following them up until he has reached those for whom he yearns. But none of them will he find 131 among the worthless. Why so? Because "they have departed hence," forsaking all that we care about, and have removed into the abode of the pious where no evil men are found. The speaker is the true "man,"^a the Monitor, set over the soul, who, seeing its perplexity, its inquiring, its searching, is afraid lest it go astray and miss the right road.

XXIV. Another instance is that of those well- 132 known two whom I hold in great admiration. One is full of curiosity about the middle term between two others, and says, "Lo, the fire and the wood; where is the sheep for a whole burnt-offering?" The other replies, "God will see for Himself a sheep for a whole burnt-offering, Child"; and afterwards finds the substitute provided, for "behold a single ram held by the horns in a Sabek shrub"^b (Gen. xxii. 7, 8, 13). Let us see, then, what the inquirer's difficulty is, and 133 what the answerer declares; and in the third place what the thing found was. Well, the inquiry he makes is of this kind: "Behold, the efficient cause, the fire; behold also, the passive object, the material, the wood; where is the third term, the finished result?" As though he should say, "Behold the 134 mind, breath^d all warm and on fire; behold also the objects which the mind perceives, materials, as it were; where is the third term, the mind's perception?" Or once more, "Here is sight; here is colour; where is the seeing?" and, quite generally, "Lo, here is sense-perception, the instrument for forming judgements; yes, and the objects of sense-perception, the material for it to work upon; where,

- 135 αἰσθάνεσθαι ποῦ; ταῦτα πυνθανομένῳ δεόντως ἀποκρίνεται· “ὁ θεὸς ὄψεται ἑαυτῷ”· θεοῦ γὰρ ἔργον ἴδιον τὸ τρίτον. ἐπιφροσύνη γὰρ αὐτοῦ ὁ μὲν νοῦς καταλαμβάνει, ἡ δ’ ὄρασις ὁρᾷ καὶ πᾶσα αἰσθησις αἰσθάνεται. “κριὸς δ’ εὐρίσκεται κατεχόμενος,” τουτέστι λόγος ἡσυχάζων
- 136 καὶ ἐπέχων. ἄριστον γὰρ ἱερεῖον ἡσυχία καὶ |
[566] ἐποχὴ περὶ ὧν πάντως οὐκ εἰσι πίστεις. ῥητὸν γὰρ μόνον τοῦτο “ὁ θεὸς ὄψεται,” ᾧ γνώριμα τὰ πάντα, ὃς λαμπροτάτῳ φωτί, ἑαυτῷ, τὰ ὅλα αὐγάζει· τὰ δ’ ἄλλα οὐ ῥητὰ γενέσει, ἧς πολὺ κατακέχυται τὸ σκότος· ἡρεμία δ’ ἀσφαλὲς ἐν σκότῳ.
- 137 XXV. Ζητήσαντες καὶ τί τὸ τρέφον ἐστὶ τὴν ψυχὴν—“οὐ γὰρ” ἢ φησι Μωυσῆς “ἥδεισαν τί ἦν”—εὗρον μαθόντες ῥῆμα θεοῦ καὶ λόγον θεῖον, ἀφ’ οὗ πᾶσαι παιδεῖαι καὶ σοφαὶ ρέουσιν ἀένναοι. ἡδ’ ἐστὶν ἡ οὐράνιος τροφή, μηνύεται δ’ ἐν ταῖς ἱεραῖς ἀναγραφαῖς ἐκ προσώπου τοῦ αἰτίου λέγοντος· “ἰδοὺ ἐγὼ ὕω ὑμῖν ἄρτους ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ”·
- 138 τῷ γὰρ ὄντι τὴν αἰθέριον σοφίαν ὁ θεὸς ταῖς εὐφύεσι καὶ φιλοθεάμοσιν ἄνωθεν ἐπιψεκάζει διανοαῖς· αἱ δὲ ἰδοῦσαι καὶ γευσάμεναι καὶ σφόδρ’ ἡσθεῖσαι ἔμαθον μὲν ὃ ἔπαθον, τὸ δὲ διαθὲν ἀγνοοῦσι. διὸ πυνθάνονται· “τί ἐστὶ τοῦτο,” ὃ μέλιτος γλυκύτερον, χιόνος δὲ λευκότερον εἶναι πέφυκε; διδαχ-

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then, is the act of perceiving ? ” To these inquiries ¹³⁵ the other gives the only right answer, “ God will see for Himself ” ; for the third term is God’s special work. For it is by His taking thought for them that the mind apprehends, and sight sees, and every sense perceives.

As for the words “ A ram is found held fast,” this is reason keeping quiet and in suspense. For the best offering is quietness and sus- ¹³⁶ pense of judgement, in matters that absolutely lack proofs. The only word we may say is this, “ God will see.” To Him all things are known ; He sees all things distinctly, by clearest light, even by Himself. No other word can be spoken by created beings on whom the darkness has been shed in full measure ; and in darkness, safety lies in keeping still.

XXV. Another instance. When they sought what ¹³⁷ it is that nourished the soul (for, as Moses says, “ they knew not what it was ”) (Exod. xvi. 15), they became learners and found it to be a saying of God, that is the Divine Word, from which all kinds of instruction and wisdom flow in perpetual stream. This is the heavenly nourishment, and it is indicated as such in the sacred records, when the First Cause in his own person says, “ Lo, it is I that am raining upon you bread out of the heaven ” (*ibid.* 4) ; for in very deed ¹³⁸ God drops from above the ethereal wisdom upon minds which are by nature apt and take delight in Contemplation ; and they see it and taste it and are filled with pleasure, being fully aware of what they feel, but wholly ignorant of the cause which produced the feeling. So they inquire “ What is this ” (*ibid.* 15) which has a nature making it sweeter than honey and whiter than snow ? And they will be taught by

- θήσονται δὲ ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοπρόπου, ὅτι “ οὗτός ἐστιν
 139 ὁ ἄρτος, ὃν ἔδωκε κύριος αὐτοῖς φαγεῖν.” τίς οὖν
 ὁ ἄρτος, εἰπέ. “ τοῦτο ” φησί “ τὸ ῥῆμα ὃ συν-
 ἔταξε κύριος.” ἡ θεία σύνταξις αὕτη τὴν ὁρατικὴν
 ψυχὴν φωτίζει τε ὁμοῦ καὶ γλυκαίνει, φέγγος μὲν
 τὸ ἀληθείας ἀπαστράπτουσα, πειθοῖ δέ, ἀρετῇ
 γλυκεία, τοὺς διψῶντας καὶ πεινῶντας καλοκά-
 γαθίας ἐφηδύνουσα.
- 140 Ζητήσας καὶ ὁ προφήτης αὐτός, τί τὸ τοῦ κατορ-
 θοῦν αἷτιον, ἀνεῦρεν ὅτι ἡ θεοῦ μόνου σύνοδος.
 ἐπειδὴ γὰρ ἡπόρει, τίς εἰμι καὶ τίς ὢν τὸ ὁρατικὸν
 γένος ἀπὸ τοῦ βασιλεύειν δοκοῦντος ἀντιθέου
 τρόπου ρύσομαι, διδάσκεται χρησμῶ, ὅτι “ ἔσομαι
 141 μετὰ σοῦ.” ζητήσεις δ’ αἱ τῶν κατὰ μέρος
 ἔχουσι μὲν γλαφυρὰν θεωρίαν καὶ φιλόσοφον—
 πῶς γὰρ οὐ;—ἡ δὲ τοῦ τῶν ὄντων ἀρίστου καὶ
 ἀσυγκρίτου καὶ πάντων αἰτίου θεοῦ ζήτησις
 εὐφραίνει μὲν εὐθὺς ἰόντας ἐπὶ τὴν σκέψιν, ἀτελὴς
 δ’ οὐ γίνεται, προὔπαντῶντος διὰ τὴν ἱλεω φύσιν
 ἑαυτοῦ ταῖς παρθένοισι χάρισι καὶ ἐπιδεικνυμένου
 ἑαυτὸν τοῖς γλιχομένοις ἰδεῖν, οὐχ οἷός ἐστιν—
 ἀμήχανον γάρ, ἐπεὶ καὶ Μωυσῆς “ ἀπέστρεψε τὸ
 πρόσωπον· εὐλαβεῖτο γὰρ κατεμβλέψαι ἐνώπιον
 τοῦ θεοῦ,”—ἀλλ’ ὥς ἐνεχώρει γεννητὴν φύσιν τῇ
 142 ἀπερινοήτῳ¹ δυνάμει προσβαλεῖν. ἀναγέγραπται
 καὶ τοῦτο ἐν τοῖς προτρεπτικοῖς. “ ἐπιστρα-
 φήσεσθε ” γάρ φησι “ πρὸς κύριον τὸν θεὸν

¹ MSS. περὶ νοητὰ (-ῶ).

* These words of course really refer to the orders which follow as to the gathering of the manna. Philo takes them to refer to the preceding verse and thus identifies the manna with the “saying” and therefore also with the Logos. So also *Leg. All.* iii. 173.

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the seer that "This is the bread, which the Lord hath given them to eat" (*ibid.* 15). Tell me, then, of 139 what kind the bread is. "This saying," he says, "which the Lord ordained"^a (*ibid.* 16). This Divine ordinance fills the soul that has vision alike with light and sweetness, flashing forth the radiancy of truth, and with the honied grace of persuasion imparting sweetness to those who hunger and thirst after nobility of character.

A seeker also was the prophet himself, to know 140 the cause of successful achievement, and he found that it was the presence with him of the only God. For when he asked in doubt, "Who am I, and what is there in me that I should deliver the race of vision from the character which fancies itself king and sets itself up against God?" he is instructed by a message from God, "I will be with thee" (Exod. iii. 11 f.). It is true, of course, that the seeking of partial and 141 subordinate objects calls out in us the exercise of delicate and profound thought; but the seeking of God, best of all existences, incomparable Cause of all things, gladdens us the moment we begin our search, and never turns out fruitless, since by reason of His gracious nature He comes to meet us with His pure and virgin graces, and shews Himself to those who yearn to see Him, not as He is, which is a thing impossible, since even Moses "turned away his face, for he was afraid to look upon God" (Exod. iii. 6), but so far as it was allowable that created nature should direct its gaze towards the Power that is beyond conception. This promise also is included in 142 the Exhortations,^b where it is said "Ye shall turn

^a See note on § 170.

[567] ὑμῶν, καὶ εὐρήσετε αὐτόν, ὅταν | ἐκζητήσητε αὐτὸν ἐξ ὅλης τῆς καρδίας καὶ ἐξ ὅλης τῆς ψυχῆς ὑμῶν."

- 143 XXVI. Ἀποχρώντως λελαληκότες καὶ περὶ τούτων ἐπὶ τὸ τρίτον ἐξῆς τρεψώμεθα κεφάλαιον, ἐν ᾧ τὸ μὲν ζητεῖν ἦν, τὸ δ' εὐρίσκειν οὐχ εἶπετο. Λάβαν γοῦν ἀναζητήσας ὅλον τοῦ ἀσκητοῦ τὸν ψυχικὸν οἶκον "οὐχ εὗρεν" ἢ φησι Μωυσῆς "τὰ εἶδωλα"· πλήρης γὰρ πραγμάτων, οὐκ ὀνειράτων
- 144 καὶ κενῶν φαντασμάτων ἦν. οὐδ' οἱ τυφλοὶ διάνοιαν Σοδομίται σπουδάσαντες ἐκθύμως αἰσχῦναι τοὺς ἱεροὺς καὶ ἀμιάντους λόγους εἶδρον τὴν εἰς τοῦτ' ἄγουσαν ὁδόν, ἀλλ', ὥς φησι τὸ λόγιον, "παρελύθησαν ζητοῦντες τὴν θύραν," καίτοι γε ἐν κύκλῳ πᾶσαν τὴν οἰκίαν περιθέοντες καὶ πάντα κινήσαντες λίθον πρὸς ἐκπλήρωσιν τῆς ἐκφύλου
- 145 καὶ ἀσεβοῦς ἐπιθυμίας. ἤδη τινὲς καὶ ἀντὶ πυλωρῶν βασιλεῖς ἐθελήσαντες γενέσθαι καὶ τὸ κάλλιστον ἐν βίῳ, τάξιν, καταλῦσαι οὐ μόνον τῆς ἀδίκως ἐλπισθείσης εὐπραγίας ἐσφάλησαν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἦν ἐν χερσὶν εἶχον ἐκβαλεῖν ἡναγκάσθησαν. ἱερωσύνης γὰρ τοὺς Κορὲ θιασώτας ὀρεχθέντας
- 146 * * *¹ ὁ νόμος διαμαρτεῖν φησιν ἀμφοῖν. ὥσπερ γὰρ οὐ τὰ αὐτὰ παῖδες καὶ ἄνδρες μανθάνουσιν, ἀλλ' ἐκατέρᾳ τῶν ἡλικιῶν εἰσιν ἀρμόττουσαι διδασκαλαί, οὕτως πεφύκασιν εἶναί τινες αἰεὶ παιδικαὶ ψυχαὶ καὶ ἐν σώμασι γεγηρακόσι καὶ

¹ Wend. proposes to fill up the lacuna: μὴ ἀρκουμένους τῇ νεωκόρων τάξει. Perhaps καίτοι ἤδη . . . ἔχοντας would account better for the loss of the words in the MSS.

^a Or "although" . . . still." ὥσπερ . . . οὕτως seem here

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back to the Lord your God, and shall find Him, when ye shall seek after Him, with all your heart, and with all your soul " (Deut. iv. 29 f.).

XXVI. Having said enough about those who seek 143 and find, let us turn next to our third head, in which there is, we said, seeking, but no finding follows. Laban falls under this head. He searched the whole of the soul-dwelling of the Practiser, and as Moses says " found not the idols " (Gen. xxxi. 33); for it was full of real things, not of dreams and empty phantoms.

The men of Sodom, too, blind 144 in understanding, when madly bent on bringing shame upon the sacred and undefiled Words, did not find the way that leads to this, but, as the sacred passage says, " wearied themselves in seeking the door " (Gen. xix. 11), although they ran all round the house and left no stone unturned to carry out their unnatural and unholy lust.

It has happened before 145 now, that men having conceived the desire to become kings instead of gate-keepers and to overthrow order, the most beautiful thing in human life, have not only failed of the success which they had unjustly hoped for, but have been compelled to part with the advantage which they held in their hands. For the Law tells us that the men of Korah's company, when they aimed at (priesthood and were not satisfied with the post of Tabernacle attendants), failed of both (Num. xvi.). For just as boys and men do not learn the 146 same things, but either age has its appropriate teachings, so^a it is the nature of some souls to be always childish even in bodies that have grown old, and, on the other hand, to be full grown in bodies just reach-

to be used in this adversative sense, as *ut* and *ita* often are in Latin, but I do not know of any parallel.

ἔμπαλιν τελειόταται ἐν ἄρτι ἀκμάζουσι καὶ ἡβῶσιν. ὄφλοιεν ἂν οὖν εὐθήθειαν, ὅσοι μειζόνων ἢ κατὰ τὴν ἑαυτῶν φύσιν ἐρώσιν, ἐπειδὴ πᾶν τὸ ὑπὲρ δύναμιν ἐπιτάσει σφοδρότητος ἀπορρήττεται.

147 καὶ Φαραὼ “ζητῶν ἀνελεῖν Μωυσῆν,” τὸ προφητικὸν γένος, οὐδέποτε εὐρήσει, καίτοι χαλεπὸν ἀκηκοὼς κατ’ αὐτοῦ λόγον ὡς ἐπικεχειρηκότος καθελεῖν τὴν σώματος ἅπασαν ἡγεμονίαν δυσὶ

148 προσβολαῖς· ὧν τὴν μὲν προτέραν ἐποιήσατο πρὸς τὸν Αἰγύπτιον τρόπον, ὃς ἐπετείχιζεν ἡδονὴν ψυχῇ—“πατάξας γὰρ αὐτὸν” οὐσίᾳ σποράδι “κατέχωσεν, ἄμμω,” τοῦ αὐτοῦ νομίσας ἀμφοτέρα εἶναι τὰ δόγματα, καὶ ἡδονὴν ὡς πρῶτον καὶ μέγιστον ἀγαθὸν καὶ ἀτόμους ὡς τῶν ὅλων ἀρχάς, —τὴν δ’ ἑτέραν πρὸς τὸν κατακερματίζοντα τὴν φύσιν τοῦ ἀγαθοῦ καὶ τὸ μὲν ψυχῇ, τὸ δὲ σώματι, τὸ δὲ τοῖς ἐκτὸς ἀπονέμοντα. ὁλόκληρον γὰρ αὐτὸ βούλεται εἶναι, τῷ ἀρίστῳ τῶν ἐν ἡμῖν, διανοία μόνῃ, προσκεκληρωμένον καὶ μηδενὶ τῶν ἀψύχων ἐφαρμόττον.

149 XXVII. Οὐδὲ τὴν ἀνίκητον ἀρετὴν καὶ πικραινομένην ἐπὶ ταῖς καταγελάστοις τῶν ἀνθρώπων σπουδαῖς, ὄνομα Θάμαρ, ὃ διαπεμφθεὶς ἐπὶ τὴν [568] ζήτησιν αὐτῆς ἀνευρίσκει, | φυσικώτατα· λέγεται γάρ· “ἀπέστειλε δὲ Ἰούδας τὸν ἔριφον ἐν χειρὶ τοῦ ποιμένος τοῦ Ὀδολλαμίτου κομίσασθαι τὸν ἀρραβῶνα παρὰ τῆς γυναικός· καὶ οὐχ εὗρεν αὐτήν. ἐπηρώτησε δὲ τοὺς ἄνδρας τοὺς ἐκ τοῦ τόπου· ποῦ

^a Philo evidently interprets the two attacks as directed (1) against the Epicureans, (2) against the Peripatetics. The two schools however are not put on the same footing. The Epicurean is an Egyptian, who is smiting the Hebrew Stoic;

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ing the prime of youth. All such as are enamoured of things too great for their nature will be convicted of foolishness, since every effort beyond our strength breaks down through over-violent straining.

Pharaoh, again, seeking to destroy Moses (Exod. ii. 147 15), that is, the prophetic nature, will never find him, albeit he has heard a grievous charge against him, namely, that he has attempted to overthrow the entire dominion of the body in two attacks.^a The first of 148 these he made against the Egyptian character, which was assailing the soul from the vantage-ground of pleasure ; for " after smiting him he covered him with sand " (Exod. ii. 12), a drifting, disconnected substance. He evidently regarded both doctrines as having the same author, the doctrine that pleasure is the prime and greatest good, and the doctrine that atoms are the elementary principles of the universe. Another attack (*ibid.* 13) was directed against him who splits up the nature of good into subdivisions, and assigns one to soul, one to body, one to things outside us. For he would have the good to be a complete whole, apportioned to the best element in us, to understanding alone, and in agreement with nothing lifeless.

XXVII. Again, it is in perfect keeping with the 149 nature of things that invincible Virtue, bitterly vexed at men's absurd aims—Tamar is her name—is not found by the messenger dispatched to seek her ; for it is said, " And Judah sent the kid of the goats by the hand of his shepherd the Adullamite, to receive the pledge from the woman's hand : and he found her not. And he asked the men of the place, in the second case the wrongdoer whom Moses rebukes is a Hebrew as well as his opponent.

- ἐστιν ἡ πόρνη ἡ γενομένη ἐν Αἰνὰν ἐπὶ τῆς ὁδοῦ;
καὶ εἶπον· οὐκ ἦν ἐνταῦθα πόρνη. καὶ ἀπεστράφη
πρὸς Ἰούδαν καὶ εἶπεν· οὐχ εὖρον, καὶ οἱ ἄνθρωποι
οἱ ἐκ τοῦ τόπου λέγουσι μὴ εἶναι ὧδε πόρνην.
εἶπε δὲ Ἰούδας· ἐχέτω αὐτά, ἀλλὰ μὴ ποτε κατα-
γελασθῶμεν· ἐγὼ μὲν ἀπέσταλκα τὸν ἔριφον τοῦ-
τον, σὺ δὲ οὐχ εὖρηκας.” ὃ θαυμαστῆς δοκιμασίας,
150 ὃ ἱεροπρεποῦς πείρας. ἀρραβῶνά τις ἔδωκεν
ὠνητικῶς ἔχουσα διάνοια τοῦ καλλίστου κτήματος,
θεοσεβείας, διὰ τριῶν ἐνεχύρων ἢ συμβόλων, δακ-
τυλίου, ὀρμίσκου, ῥάβδου,¹ βεβαιότητα καὶ πίστιν,
εἰρμὸν καὶ ἀκολουθίαν λόγου πρὸς βίον καὶ βίου
πρὸς λόγον, ὀρθὴν καὶ ἀκλινὴ παιδείαν, ἣ λυσιτελές
151 ἐπερείδεσθαι. τὸν ἀρραβῶνα τοῦτον εἰ καλῶς
ἔδωκε, βασανίζει. τίς οὖν ἡ βάσανος; καθεῖναι
τι δέλεαρ ὀλκῷ κεχρημένον δυνάμει, δόξαν ἢ
πλοῦτον ἢ ὑγίαν σώματος ἢ τι τῶν ὁμοιοτρόπων,
καὶ γινῶναι πρὸς πότερα καθάπερ ἐπὶ πλάστιγγος
ταλαντεύσει· ῥοπή γὰρ εἰ γένοιτο πρὸς τι τούτων,
ὁ ἀρραβὼν οὐ βέβαιος. ἀπέστειλεν οὖν τὸν ἔριφον
κομίσασθαι τὸν ἀρραβῶνα παρὰ τῆς γυναικός, οὐ
τοῦτο προηρημένος πάντως ἀπολαβεῖν, ἀλλ’ εἴ
152 ποτε ἀναξία τοῦ κατέχειν ἐκείνη γένοιτο. γενή-
σεται δὲ πότε; ἥνίκα ἂν τὰ διαφέροντα ἀδιαφόρων
ἀντικαταλλάξῃται, τῶν γνησίων ἀγαθῶν τὰ νόθα
προτιμήσασα· γνήσια μὲν οὖν ἀγαθὰ πίστις, εἰρμός
καὶ ἀκολουθία λόγων πρὸς ἔργα, παιδείας κανὼν
ὀρθῆς, ὡς ἔμπαλιν κακὰ ἀπιστία, τὸ ἀνακόλουθον,
ἀπαιδευσία, τὰ δὲ νόθα, ὅσα τῆς ἀλόγου φορᾶς
153 ἀπηώρηται. ζιτῶν οὖν “ οὐκ ἀνεῦρεν

¹ Wend. suggests the insertion of *δηλοῦσα* before *διὰ*: better, as Cohn, *δοῦσα* after *ῥάβδου*.

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‘Where is the harlot that was at Enaim by the way-side?’ And they said, ‘There was no harlot here.’ And he returned to Judah and said, ‘I have not found her, and the men of the place say that there is no harlot here.’ And Judah said ‘Let her have them, but let us never be laughed to scorn; I have sent this kid, and thou hast not found her’” (Gen. xxxviii. 20-23). O admirable assay! O sacred test! A mind, bent on purchasing that fairest possession, piety, gave a pledge in the form of three securities or symbols, a signet ring, a cord, a staff (*ibid.* 18): the first, steadfastness and fidelity; the second, sequence and correspondence of word with life and life with word; the third, straight and unbending discipline, on which it is an advantage to lean.^a The mind is putting to the test whether it did well to give this pledge. What, then, is the test? To drop some bait possessed of attractive power, fame or riches or health of body, or something of this kind, and to ascertain towards which side it sinks as on a pair of scales; for should there be an inclination towards any of these, the pledge is not safe. So he sent the kid thus to recover the pledge from the woman, not with the purpose of getting it back in any case, but only if she should ever prove unworthy to retain it. When will she be proved such? Whenever she exchanges things that matter for things that do not, preferring counterfeits to genuine goods. Now genuine goods are fidelity, sequence and correspondence of words with acts, a standard of right discipline (as on the other hand evils are faithlessness, inconsistency, lack of discipline); while the counterfeits are all things that depend upon irrational impulse.

He

^a See App. p. 585.

αὐτήν". δυσεύρετον γὰρ ἢ καὶ παντελῶς ἀν-
εύρετον ἐν πεφυρμένῳ βίῳ τὸ καλόν. κἂν δια-
πύθῃται, εἰ ἔστι περὶ πάντα τὸν τόπον τοῦ καλοῦ
πεπορνευμένη ψυχῇ, ῥητῶς ἀκούσεται, ὅτι οὔτε
ἔστιν οὔτε ἦν πρότερον· ἀκόλαστος γὰρ ἢ μαχλὰς
ἢ τριοδίτις σοβὰς ἢ τὸ τῆς ὥρας ἄνθος ἐπεν-
ωνίζουσα ἢ καθαρσίῳσι καὶ λουτροῖς τὰ ἐκτὸς φαι-
δρυνομένη, τὰ δὲ ἐντὸς ῥυπῶσα, ἢ καθάπερ τὰ
πινάκια χρώμασι τὴν ὄψιν ὑπογραφομένη χήτει
φυσικῆς εὐμορφίας ἢ τὸ λεγόμενον πολύανδρον
κακὸν ὡς ἀγαθὸν μεταδιώκουσα ἢ πολυγαμίας
ἐρώσα ἢ πρὸς μυρία σπειρομένη¹ ἢ ὑπὸ μυρίων
σωμάτων ὁμοῦ καὶ πραγμάτων ἐμπαιζομένη καὶ
154 περιωβριζομένη κείθι οὐκ ἔστι. ταῦτα
ὁ διαπεμψάμενος ἀκούσας, φθόνον ἡλλοτριωκῶς
ἀφ' αὐτοῦ καὶ τὴν φύσιν ἴλεως γέγηθεν οὐ μετρίως
[569] | καὶ φησι· μὴ γὰρ οὐ δι' εὐχῆς ἐστὶ μοι τὴν
διάνοιαν ἀστείαν τε καὶ ἀστήν ὡς ἀληθῶς εἶναι,
κοσμιότητι καὶ σωφροσύνῃ καὶ ταῖς ἄλλαις δια-
πρέπουσαν ἀρεταῖς, ἐνὶ προσέχουσιν ἀνδρὶ καὶ τὴν
ἐνὸς οἰκουρίαν ἀγαπῶσαν καὶ μοναρχίᾳ χαίρουσαν.
εἰ δὴ τοιαύτη τίς ἐστιν, ἐχέτω τὰ δεδομένα, καὶ
τὴν παιδείαν καὶ τὸν εἰρμὸν λόγου πρὸς βίον καὶ
βίου πρὸς λόγον καὶ τὸ ἀναγκαιότατον, βεβαιότητα
155 καὶ πίστιν. ἀλλὰ μή ποτε γελασθῶμεν ἀνάξια

¹ A difficult phrase which Mangey regarded as spurious: perhaps read *μυρίων*, "she becomes the seed-plot of thousands."

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sought there and "did not find her"; for that which is morally excellent is hard or even impossible to find in a life of turmoil. And if he make careful inquiries whether there be in all the region of that which is morally excellent a soul that has played the harlot, he will be told definitely that there neither is nor was aforetime, for that there is not there any licentious one, or a wanton, or a street-walker, or one prostituting for gain the flower of her youth, or making bright what is outside by baths and cleansings while she is foul within, or in default of natural beauty painting her face as pictures are coloured, or what is called the "many-husband" pest, following after evil as though it were good, or a lover of polygamy, or dispersing herself upon a thousand different objects material and immaterial alike, or mocked and outraged by that multitude. He who had sent the messenger, on hearing this, being one who had put envy far from him and was of a gracious disposition, rejoices greatly and says: "Is it not my heart-felt prayer that my understanding should be a true and high-born lady,^a eminent for chastity and modesty and all other virtues, devoted to one husband and keeping watch with delight over the home of one, and exulting in a sole ruler? If in truth she is such an one, let her keep the things which have been given her, both discipline and the correspondence of word with life and of life with word, and the most vital of all, steadfastness and fidelity. But let us never be laughed to scorn in the belief that we

^a The allegory seems to get a little confused at this point. Properly the mind is the purchaser of the lady Virtue or Piety.

- κεχαρίσθαι δόξαντες, καίτοι γ' ὑπολαβόντες ἐπι-
 τηδειότατα τῇ ψυχῇ δεδωρῆσθαι. ἀλλὰ γὰρ ἐγὼ
 μέν, ὅπερ εἰκὸς ἦν ἐργάσασθαι τὸν βουλόμενον
 τρόπου βάσανον καὶ δοκιμασίαν λαβεῖν, πεποίηκα,
 δέλεαρ καθεὶς καὶ διαπεμψάμενος, ὃ δὲ ἐπεδείξατο
 156 τὴν ἑαυτοῦ φύσιν οὐκ εὐάλωτον. ἄδηλον δὲ ἐμοὶ
 τὸ διὰ τί <τίς>¹ οὐκ εὐάλωτος· μυρίους γὰρ εἶδον
 τῶν ἄγαν φαύλων τὰ αὐτὰ δρῶντας ἔσθ' ὅτε τοῖς
 λίαν ἀγαθοῖς, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἀπὸ διανοίας τῆς αὐτῆς,
 ἐπειδὴ τοῖς μὲν ἀλήθεια, τοῖς δὲ ὑπόκρισις ἀσκεῖ-
 ται· χαλεπὴ δ' ἡ διάγνωσις ἀμφοῖν· πολλάκις γὰρ
 ὑπὸ τοῦ δοκεῖν παρενυμερήθη τὸ εἶναι.
- 157 XXVIII. Καὶ τὸν χίμαρον τὸν περὶ τῆς ἁμαρτίας
 ὃ φιλάρετος ζητεῖ μέν, οὐχ εὐρίσκει δέ· ἤδη γὰρ,
 ὡς δηλοῖ τὸ λόγιον, ἐνεπέπρηστο. τί δ' αἰνίτ-
 τεται, σκεπτέον· τὸ μὲν μηδὲν ἁμαρτεῖν ἴδιον θεοῦ,
 τὸ δὲ μετανοεῖν σοφοῦ· παγχάλεπον δὲ καὶ δυσεύ-
 158 ρετον τοῦτό γε. φησὶν οὖν ὁ χρησμός, ὅτι “ ζητῶν
 ἐξεζήτησε Μωυσῆς ” ἐν τῷ θνητῷ βίῳ τὸν περὶ
 ἁμαρτημάτων μετανοίας λόγον. ἐσπούδαζε γὰρ
 ἀνευρεῖν ἀπαμπισχομένην τὸ ἀδικεῖν ψυχὴν καὶ
 ἄνευ αἰσχύνης γυμνὴν προϊούσαν ἁμαρτημάτων.
 ἀλλ' ὅμως οὐχ εὔρε, τῆς φλογός, λέγω δὲ τῆς

¹ *τίς* is my insertion: Wend. prints *δηλον* for the ms. *ἄδηλον*, but this does not agree with the sequel. The test was necessary, because experience shews that without such a test we may easily be deceived. It would be possible to read *τίς* indefinite instead of *τίς* interrogative; but the double interrogative (what makes who?) is idiomatic Greek. Cf. *De Som.* ii. 296.

* Or “of little value.” Philo interprets the *lxx* “Let her have them (*i.e.* the pledges), but let us never be laughed to scorn” as meaning that to suppose that the material gift of the kid should be taken in exchange for the spiritual,

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thought our gifts unmerited;^a we did indeed suppose that they were presents perfectly adapted to the soul. But while I, on my part, did what one who wished to test and try a character would naturally do, when I offered a bait, and sent a messenger, that character on its part made it evident that it was by its nature no easy prey. But I could not tell what it is 156 which makes one an easy prey and another not; for I have seen great numbers of the exceedingly wicked sometimes acting exactly like the very good, but not for the same reason, since one set is putting truth into practice, the other set hypocrisy: and it is hard to distinguish these two; for many a time being is outdone by seeming."

XXVIII. Again, the goat of the sin-offering is 157 sought for by the lover of virtue, but he does not find it; for, as the passage of Holy Writ shews, it had already been burnt (Lev. x. 16). We must consider what he means by this figure. To do no sin is peculiar to God; to repent, to the wise man; and this latter is a very difficult thing, and hard to find. So the oracle says that "Moses diligently sought" 158 in this mortal life the secret of repentance for sins; for he was intent on discovering a soul divesting itself of unrighteousness, and going forth without shame, naked of misdeeds. But nevertheless he did not find one, for the flame, in other words the irrational im-

would expose the offerer to the charge that he thought the latter of little value (or perhaps unduly depreciated the soul to which the offer is made). It is not so. The offer is the test which every aspiring soul must put to itself.

It might perhaps be suggested that the scorn is Tamar's, and the gift scorned the kid, and this is supported by the description of her in § 149. But it is difficult to fit this in with the rest of the sentence.

- ὀξυκίνητοτάτης ὁρμῆς ἀλόγου, καταδραμούσης καὶ
 159 ὅλην ψυχὴν ἐπινεμηθείσης. νικᾶται γὰρ τὰ μὲν
 ἐλάττω πρὸς τῶν πλειόνων, τὰ δὲ βραδύτερα πρὸς
 τῶν ὠκυδρομωτέρων, τὰ δὲ μέλλοντα πρὸς τῶν
 παρόντων· ἐσταλμένον δὲ καὶ βραδὺ καὶ μέλλον ἢ
 μετάνοια, πολὺ δὲ καὶ ταχὺ καὶ συνεχὲς ἐν τῷ
 θνητῷ βίῳ τὸ ἀδικεῖν. εἰκότως οὖν ἐν τροπῇ τις
 γενόμενός φησι μὴ δύνασθαι “ τοῦ περὶ ἁμαρτίας
 ἐμφαγεῖν ”· μὴ γὰρ ἐπιτρέπειν τὸ συνειδὸς αὐτῷ
 μετανοίᾳ τραφῆναι· διὸ λέγεται· “ ἤκουσε Μωυσῆς,
 160 καὶ ἤρεσεν αὐτῷ.” τὰ γὰρ πρὸς γένεσιν τῶν πρὸς
 θεὸν μακρὰν ἀπέξευκται· τῇ μὲν γὰρ τὰ φανερά
 μόνα, τῷ δὲ καὶ τὰ ἀφανῆ γνώριμα. παραπαίει
 δ’, ὅς ἂν τοῦ ἀληθοῦς καταψευδόμενος ἔτ’ ἀδικῶν
 μετανενοηκέναι φάσκη· ὅμοιον ὡς εἰ καὶ ὁ νοσῶν
 [570] τὸν | ὑγιαίνοντα καθυποκρίνοιτο· μᾶλλον γάρ, ὡς
 ἔοικε, νοσήσει μηδὲν τῶν εἰς ὑγίειαν προσφόρων
 ἐπιτηδεύειν ἀξιῶν.
- 161 XXIX. Ἐζήτει ποτὲ προαχθεὶς ὑπὸ τοῦ φιλο-
 μαθοῦς καὶ τὰς αἰτίας, αἷς τὰναγκαιότατα τῶν ἐν
 τῷ κόσμῳ πραγμάτων ἐπιτελείται· θεώμενος γὰρ
 ὅσα ἐν γενέσει φθειρόμενα καὶ γεννώμενα, ἀπολ-
 λύμενά τε αὖ καὶ διαμένοντα, τέθηπε καὶ κατα-
 πέπληκται καὶ ἐκβοᾷ φάσκων· “ τί, ὅτι ὁ βᾶτος

^a The main point of the story of Lev. x. 16-20, some of the details of which seem to be difficult, is that the goat should have been eaten by the priests instead of being burnt. Aaron pleaded in defence “there have befallen me such things as these,” i.e. the death of his sons Nadab and Abihu. “In spite of the sacrifice offered on behalf of Aaron and his house, two of his sons have perished; with such a

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pulse exceeding swift in its movements, had overrun and devoured the whole soul. For the fewer are over- 159
powered by the more numerous, and the slower by the more fleet, and things that tarry by things that are present ; and repentance is a restricted and slow and tarrying thing, whereas wrongdoing is copious and swift and constantly present in this mortal life. Naturally, then, one who has come into a state of lapse from virtue says that he is " unable to eat of the sin-offering," since his inward feeling does not permit him to be fed by repentance, wherefore it is said " Moses heard it, and it pleased him " (Lev. x. 19 f.). For our 160
relation to other created beings is a very different thing from our relation to God ; for to creation only things manifest are known, but to God hidden things also. The man who, lying against the truth, maintains while still doing wrong that he has repented, is a madman. It is just as if the sick man were to act the part of the healthy man : he will clearly get worse through declining to have recourse to any means conducive to health.^a

XXIX. Again, on one occasion the prophet, led on 161
by his love of acquiring knowledge, was seeking after the causes by which the most essential occurrences in the universe are brought about ; for observing all created things wasting away and coming to the birth, perishing and yet remaining, he is smitten with amazement and cries out saying, " Why is it that the bush

token of the divine displeasure resting upon him could he, immediately afterwards, feel himself entitled to eat the sacrifice?" (Driver). Philo interprets the goat as Repentance, which is consumed by the fire of unreasoning appetite, and therefore " not found " ; and to eat of it and thus to assume a repentance which is not sincere will make the sinner's condition worse.

- 162 καίεται καὶ οὐ κατακαίεται”· τὸν γὰρ ἄβατον [οὐ]¹
 πολυπραγμονεῖ χῶρον, θείων ἐνδιαίτημα φύσεων,
 ἀλλ’ ἤδη μέλλων ἀνήνυτον καὶ ἀτελεῖ πόνον διαθλεῖν
 ἐπικουφίζεται ἐλέω καὶ προμηθείᾳ τοῦ πάντων
 σωτῆρος θεοῦ, ὃς ἔχρησεν ἐκ τῶν ἀδύτων· “μὴ
 ἐγγίσης ᾧδε,” ἴσον τῷ μὴ πρόσσιθι τοιαύτη δια-
 σκέψει· περιεργίας γὰρ καὶ φιλοπραγμοσύνης μεί-
 ζονος ἢ κατὰ ἀνθρωπίνην δύναμιν τὸ ἔργον· ἀλλὰ
 τὰ μὲν γεγονότα θαύμαζε, τὰς δὲ αἰτίας, δι’ αἷς ἢ
 163 γέγονεν ἢ φθείρεται, μὴ πολυπραγμόνει. “ὁ γὰρ
 τόπος ἐν ᾧ σὺ ἔστηκας” φησί “γῆ ἁγία ἐστί.”
 ποῖος τόπος; ἢ δῆλον ὅτι ὁ αἰτιολογικός, ὃν
 μόνον ταῖς θείαις ἀνῆψε φύσεσιν, ἀνθρώπων οὐδένα
 νομίσας ἱκανὸν εἶναι αἰτιολογίας ἐφάσασθαι;
 164 ὁ δ’ ἄρα διὰ πόθον ἐπιστήμης ὑπερ-
 κύψας ἅπαντα τὸν κόσμον ζητεῖ περὶ τοῦ κοσμο-
 ποιοῦ, τίς ἐστιν ὁ δυσόρατος οὗτος καὶ δυστόπαστος,
 σῶμα ἢ ἀσώματος ἢ ὑπεράνω τι τούτων ἢ φύσις
 ἀπλῆ, οἷα μονάς, ἢ σύγκριμα ἢ τί τῶν ὄντων.
 καὶ τοῦθ’ ὁρῶν ὡς ἔστι δυσθήρατον καὶ δυσπερι-
 νόητον, εὐχεται παρ’ αὐτοῦ μαθεῖν τοῦ θεοῦ, τίς
 ἐστιν ὁ θεός· οὐ γὰρ ἤλπισε δυνήσεσθαι γινῶναι
 165 παρ’ ἐτέρου τινὸς τῶν μετ’ αὐτόν. ἀλλ’ ὁμως
 ἴσχυσε² μηδὲν περὶ τῆς τοῦ ὄντος ἐρευνᾶν οὐσίας·

¹ [οὐ]: so Mangey: Wend., who retains it, may have thought that the *βάτος* represented the laws of causation in the visible world while the *ἄβατος* χῶρος was the supernatural sphere; but this is impossible in view of τὰς δὲ αἰτίας . . . μὴ πολυπραγμόνει below. Wend. probably also did not realize that *βάτος* was supposed by Greek philologists to be derived from *ἄβατος*. It would however be possible to retain οὐ if a question-mark is placed after φύσεων (“are not his thoughts busy?”).

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is burning and not being consumed ? ” (Exod. iii. 2 f.), for his thoughts are busy over the untrodden place, 162 familiar only to Divine natures. But when now on the point of engaging in an endless and futile labour, he is relieved of it by the kindness and providence of God the Saviour of all men, who from out of the hallowed spot warned him “ Draw not nigh hither ” (*ibid.* 5), as much as to say “ Enter not on such an inquiry ”; for the task argues a busy, restless curiosity too great for human ability : marvel at all that has come into being, but as for the reasons for which they have either come into being or are decaying, cease to busy thyself with them. For “ the place on which 163 thou standest is holy ground,” it says (*ibid.* 5). What kind of place or topic is meant ? Evidently that of causation, a subject which He has assigned to Divine natures only, deeming no human being capable of dealing with the study of causation.

But the prophet owing to desire of knowledge lifts 164 his eyes above the whole universe and becomes a seeker regarding its Creator, asking of what sort this Being is so difficult to see, so difficult to conjecture. Is He a body or incorporeal, or something exalted above these ? Is He a single Nature, a Monad as it were ? Or a composite Being ? What among all that exists ? And seeing that this is a problem hard to pursue, hard to take in by thought, he prays that he may learn from God Himself what God is : for he had no hope of being able to ascertain this from another, from one of those that are inferior to Him. Nevertheless he did not succeed in finding anything 165 by search respecting the essence of Him that is. For

“ τὰ γὰρ ὀπίσω μου ” φησὶν “ ὄψει, τὸ δὲ πρόσωπον οὐ μὴ ἴδῃς.” αὐταρκες γὰρ ἔστι σοφῶ τὰ ἀκόλουθα καὶ ἐπόμενα καὶ ὅσα μετὰ τὸν θεὸν γνῶναι, τὴν δ’ ἡγεμονικὴν οὐσίαν ὁ βουλόμενος καταθεάσασθαι τῷ περιαιγεί τῶν ἀκτίνων πρὶν ἰδεῖν πηρὸς ἔσται.

- 186 XXX. Τοσαῦτα καὶ περὶ τοῦ τρίτου διειλεγμένοι κεφαλαίου μέτιμεν ἐπὶ τὸ τέταρτον καὶ τε-
 [571] λευταῖον | τῶν προταθέντων, καθ’ ὃ μὴ γενομένης ζητήσεως φιλεῖ προαπαντᾶν εὗρεσις. ἐν τούτῳ τάττεται πᾶς αὐτομαθὴς καὶ αὐτοδίδακτος σοφός· οὐ γὰρ σκέψει καὶ μελέταις καὶ πόνοις ἐβελτιώθη, γενόμενος δ’ εὐθὺς εὐτρεπισμένην εἶρε σοφίαν ἄνωθεν ὁμβρηθεῖσαν ἀπ’ οὐρανοῦ, ἥς ἀκράτου σπάσας εἰστιάθη καὶ διετέλεσε μεθύνων τὴν μετ’
 187 ὀρθότητος λόγου νήφουσιν μέθην. οὗτός ἐστιν ὃν Ἰσαὰκ ὠνόμασαν οἱ χρησμοί, ὃν οὐχ ἑτέρῳ μὲν χρόνῳ συνέλαβεν, ἑτέρῳ δὲ ἔτεκεν ἡ ψυχὴ· “ συλλαβοῦσα ” γὰρ φησιν “ ἔτεκεν ” ὥς ἂν ἀχρόνως. οὐ γὰρ ἄνθρωπος ἦν ὁ γεννώμενος, ἀλλὰ νόημα καθαρώτατον, φύσει μᾶλλον ἢ ἐπιτηδεύσει καλόν· οὐ χάριν καὶ ἡ τίκτουσα αὐτὸ λέγεται “ τὰ γυναικεῖα ἐκλιπεῖν,” τὰ συνήθη καὶ εὐλογα καὶ ἀνθρώ-
 188 πινα. καινὸν γὰρ καὶ κρεῖττον λόγου καὶ θεῖον ὄντως τὸ αὐτομαθὲς γένος, οὐκ ἀνθρωπίναις ἐπινοίαις, ἀλλ’ ἐνθέῳ μανίᾳ συνιστάμενον. ἡ ἀγνοεῖς ὅτι οὐ δέονται πρὸς τὸν τόκον μαιῶν Ἑβραῖαι, “ τίκτουσι ” δ’, ὥς φησι Μωυσῆς, “ πρὶν εἰσελθεῖν
 100

he is told "What is behind Me thou shalt see, but My face thou shalt by no means see" (Exod. xxxiii. 23). For it amply suffices the wise man to come to a knowledge of all that follows on after God and in His wake, but the man that wishes to set his gaze upon the Supreme Essence, before he sees Him will be blinded by the rays that beam forth all around Him.

XXX. Having said thus much about the third 166 head also, we will go on to the fourth and last of those proposed for consideration, in which there has been no "seeking," and yet "finding" meets us unbidden. Under this head is ranged every wise man who learns directly from no teacher but himself; for he does not by searchings and practisings and toilings gain improvement, but as soon as he comes into existence he finds wisdom placed ready to his hand, shed from heaven above, and of this he drinks undiluted draughts, and sits feasting, and ceases not to be drunken with the sober drunkenness which right reason brings. This is he whom Holy Writ 167 calls "Isaac," whom the soul did not conceive at one time and give birth to at another, for it says "she conceived and gave birth" (Gen. xxi. 2) as though timelessly. For he that was thus born was not a man, but a most pure thought, beautiful not by practice but by nature. And for this reason she that gave birth to it is said "to have forsaken the ways of women" (Gen. xviii. 11), those human ways of custom and mere reasoning. For the nature of 168 the self-taught is new and higher than our reasoning, and in very deed Divine, arising by no human will or purpose but by a God-inspired ecstasy. Do you not know that Hebrew mothers need no midwives for their delivery, but as Moses says "before the mid-

τὰς μαίας," λέγω δὲ μεθόδους, τέχνας, ἐπιστήμας,
 φύσει μόνῃ χρώμεναι συνεργῶ; παγ-
 κάλους δὲ καὶ προσφυστάτους ὄρους ἀποδίδωσι
 τοῦ αὐτομαθοῦς, ἓνα μὲν τοιοῦτον, τὸ ταχὺ εὐρισκό-
 169 μενον, ἕτερον δὲ "ὁ παρέδωκεν ὁ θεός." τὸ μὲν
 οὖν διδασκόμενον μακροῦ χρόνου δεῖται, τὸ δὲ
 φύσει ταχύ τε καὶ τρόπον τινὰ ἄχρονόν ἐστι·
 κακεῖνο μὲν ἄνθρωπον, τοῦτο δὲ θεὸν ὑφήγητὴν
 ἔχει. τὸν μὲν δὴ πρότερον ὄρον κατέταξεν ἐν
 πεύσει· "τί τοῦτο ὁ ταχὺ εὔρες, ὦ τέκνον," τὸν
 δὲ ἕτερον ἐν ἀποκρίσει φάσκων· "ὁ παρέδωκε
 170 κύριος ὁ θεός." XXXI. ἔστι δὲ καὶ
 τρίτος ὄρος τοῦ αὐτομαθοῦς, τὸ ἀναβαῖνον αὐτό-
 ματον. λέγεται γὰρ ἐν τοῖς προτρεπτικοῖς· "οὐ
 σπερεῖτε, οὐδὲ μὴ ἀμήσητε τὰ αὐτόματα ἀναβαί-
 νοντα αὐτῆς"· τέχνης γὰρ οὐδεμιᾶς χρεῖα τὰ φύσει,
 τοῦ θεοῦ σπείροντος αὐτὰ καὶ τῇ γεωργικῇ τέχνῃ
 τελεσφοροῦντος ὡς ἂν αὐτόματα τὰ οὐκ αὐτόματα,
 πλὴν παρόσον ἐπινοίας ἀνθρωπίνης οὐκ ἐδεήθη
 171 τὸ παράπαν. οὐ προτρέπει δὲ μᾶλλον ἢ γνώμην
 ἀποφαίνεται· παραινῶν μὲν γὰρ εἶπεν ἄν· μὴ
 σπείρητε, μὴ ἀμήσητε, ἀποφαινόμενος δέ· "οὐ
 σπερεῖτε, οὐδὲ μὴ ἀμήσητε τὰ αὐτόματα"· οἷς
 γὰρ ἀπαυτοματίζουσιν ἐκ φύσεως ἐπιτυγχάνομεν,
 τούτων οὔτε τὰς ἀρχὰς οὔτε τὰ τέλη παρ' ἑαυτοὺς
 [572] | ὡς ἂν αἰτίους¹ εὐρίσκομεν. ἀρχὴ μὲν οὖν ὁ

¹ mss. ἀναίτιους: Mangey ἀναιτίων.

^a Since in the other six places where Philo uses the phrase the quotation comes from Deuteronomy, it is perhaps more probable that here also he thinks he is quoting that book.

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wives " (Exod. i. 19), that is before systems, arts, sciences, come in, they give birth with the co-operation of nature alone? Admirable and most suitable are the marks which the Lawgiver sets forth to define the direct learner : one, " that which is quickly found," another, " that which God delivered." While that which is taught needs a long 169 time, that which comes by nature is rapid, and, we may say, timeless ; and, while the one has man as teacher, the other has God. The former mark he sets down in a question : " What is this which thou didst find quickly, Child ? " the other in a reply, in the words " that which God the Lord delivered " (Gen. xxvii. 20).

XXXI. There is besides 170 a third mark of the direct learner, namely that which comes up of itself. For it is said in the Exhortations^a : " Ye shall not sow, nor shall ye reap its growths that come up of themselves " (Lev. xxv. 11) : for natural growths require no artificial treatment, since God sows them and by His art of husbandry brings to perfection, as though they were self-grown, plants which are not self-grown, save only so far as they had no need whatever of human attention. His 171 words are not those of exhortation, but of statement^b : for, in commanding, he would have said " do not sow," " do not reap " ; instead he says in the form of a statement, " Ye shall not sow, nor assuredly shall ye reap that which is self-grown." For when we observe such growths as spring up spontaneously by nature, we find that we are not responsible either for their beginning or their end. Now the seed is

^b Or, more fully, "statement of what he thinks (will happen)." For this argument from the indicative form of the words cf. *De Ebr.* 138.

- 172 σπόρος, τελευτή δὲ ὁ ἄμνητος.¹ ἄμεινον δ' ἐκεῖνο
ἐκδέξασθαι· πᾶσα ἀρχὴ καὶ πᾶν τέλος αὐτόματόν
ἐστίν, ἴσον τῷ φύσει, οὐχ ἡμέτερον ἔργον· οἷον
ἀρχὴ τίς τοῦ μαθάνειν; ἡ δὴλον ὅτι ἡ ἐν τῷ
διδασκομένῳ φύσις εὐπαράδεκτος οὖσα πρὸς τὰ
κατὰ μέρος θεωρήματα; τίς δὲ τοῦ τελειοῦσθαι;
πάλιν, εἰ δεῖ μηδὲν ὑποστειλάμενον εἰπεῖν, ἡ φύσις.
προκοπὰς μὲν γὰρ ἐμποιῆσαι καὶ ὁ διδάσκων
ἱκανός, τὴν δ' ἐπ' ἄκρον τελειότητα ὁ θεὸς μόνος,
173 ἡ ἀρίστη φύσις. ὁ τούτοις ἐντρεφό-
μενος τοῖς δόγμασι τὴν αἰδίων εἰρήνην ἄγει, πόνων
ἀφειμένος ἀτρύτων. ἀδιαφορεῖ δ' ἐβδομάδος
εἰρήνην κατὰ τὸν νομοθέτην· ἐν γὰρ αὐτῇ τὸ δοκεῖν
174 ἐνεργεῖν ἀποτιθεμένη γένεσις ἀναπαύεται. προσ-
ηκόντως οὖν λέγεται· “καὶ ἔσται τὰ σάββατα τῆς
γῆς ὑμῖν βρώματα,” δι' ὑπονοιῶν· τρόφιμον γὰρ
καὶ ἀπολαυστὸν μόνον ἡ ἐν θεῷ ἀνάπαυσις, τὸ
μέγιστον ἀγαθὸν περιποιούσα, τὴν ἀπόλεμον εἰρή-
νην. ἡ μὲν γὰρ κατὰ πόλεις ἀνακέκρται ἐμφυλῖ
πολέμῳ, ἡ δὲ ψυχῆς ἀμιγῆς διαφορᾶς ἀπάσης
175 ἐστίν. ἐναργέστατα δέ μοι δοκεῖ τὴν
ἄνευ ζητήσεως εὗρεσιν παριστάνειν διὰ τούτων·
“ὅταν εἰσαγάγῃ σε κύριος ὁ θεὸς σου εἰς τὴν γῆν
ἣν ὤμοσε τοῖς πατράσι σου δοῦναί σοι, πόλεις

¹ Wendland puts a full stop after αὐτόματα, a colon after ἐνρίσκομεν, and a full stop after ἄμνητος. The last at any rate seems to me to obscure the connexion of thought. See note ^a below.

^a The connexion of thought seems to be as follows: to say that we shall not sow or reap (in the sense of bringing to the harvest) self-grown plants is a truism. Sowing must mean “beginning” and reaping “ending” and the text is

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the beginning and the reaping the end; and the 172
text is better understood in this way : every beginning and every end is " automatic," in the sense that it is not our doing but that of nature.^a For instance, what is the beginning of the act of learning? Evidently it is the nature residing in the pupil with its receptivity towards the several subjects of study. What again is the beginning of the completion of learning? Undoubtedly it is nature. It is within the power of the teacher to lead us from one stage of progress to another ; God only, Nature at its best, can produce in us the full completion.

The man that is nurtured on these doctrines enjoys 173
the peace that never ends, released from unabating toils. Peace and Seven are identical according to the Legislator: for on the seventh day^b creation puts away its seeming activity and takes rest. So, taken 174
in a symbolic sense, the words " And the sabbath of the land shall be food for you " (Lev. xxv. 6) are to the point ; for nothing is nourishing and enjoyable food, save rest in God, securing as it does for us the greatest boon, the peace which is unbroken by war. For the peace which is made by one city with another is mixed with and marred by intestine war ; but the peace of the soul has no admixture of discord whatever.

But it is by the following that the 175
Lawgiver seems to me most clearly to supply an example of finding without seeking : " When the Lord thy God shall have led thee into the land which He sware unto thy fathers to give thee, cities great intended to teach us that all our actions begin and end from God.

^b Or " the seventh (anything)." See note on *De Mut.* 260. Philo clearly has the sabbatical year in mind as well as the sabbath itself.

μεγάλας καὶ καλὰς, ἃς οὐκ ὤκοδόμησας, οἰκίας
πλήρεις πάντων ἀγαθῶν, ἃς οὐκ ἐνέπλησας, λάκ-
κους λελατομημένους, οὓς οὐκ ἐξελατόμησας, ἀμ-
πελῶνας καὶ ἐλαιῶνας, οὓς οὐ κατεφύτευσας.”

176 ὁρᾷς τὴν ἀφθονίαν τῶν κεχυμένων μεγάλων καὶ
ἐτοιμῶν πρὸς κτήσιν καὶ ἀπόλαυσιν ἀγαθῶν;
εἰκάζονται δὲ πόλεσι μὲν αἱ γενικαὶ ἀρεταί, διότι
ἐπὶ πλείστον εὐρύνονται, οἰκίαις δ’ αἱ ἐν εἶδει—
στέλλονται γὰρ εἰς βραχύτερον αὐται κύκλον,—
λάκκοις δὲ αἱ εὐφρεῖς ψυχαί, αἱ εὐπαράδεκτοι
σοφίας ὡς ἐκεῖνοι ὕδατος, ἀμπελῶσι δὲ καὶ ἐλαιῶ-
σιν αἱ προκοπαὶ καὶ αὐξήσεις καὶ καρπῶν γενέσεις·
καρπὸς δ’ ἐπιστήμης ὁ θεωρητικὸς βίος, ἄκρατον
εὐφροσύνην περιποιῶν ὡς ἀπ’ οἴνου καὶ νοητὸν
φέγγος ὡς ἀπὸ φλογός, ἧς ἔλαιον τροφή.

177 XXXII. Ταῦτα καὶ περὶ εὐρέσεως εἰπόντες μέτ-
ιμεν ἐξῆς ἐπὶ τὰ ἀκόλουθα τῆς ἐφόδου. “εὗρεν”
οὖν φησιν “αὐτὴν ἄγγελος κυρίου ἐπὶ τῆς πηγῆς
τοῦ ὕδατος.” λέγεται δὲ πολλαχῶς πηγὴ, ἓνα
μὲν τρόπον ὁ ἡμέτερος νοῦς, ἕτερον δὲ ἡ λογικὴ
ἐξίς καὶ παιδεία, τρίτον δ’ ἡ φαύλη διάθεσις,
τέταρτον ἡ σπουδαία καὶ ἐναντία ταύτης, πέμπτου

178 αὐτὸς ὁ τῶν ὅλων | ποιητὴς καὶ πατήρ. τὰς δὲ
[573] τούτων πίστει οἱ ἀναγραφέντες δηλοῦσι χρησμοί·
τίνες οὖν εἰσιν, ἐπισκεπτέον. ἄδεται τις ἐν ἀρχῇ
τῆς νομοθεσίας μετὰ τὴν κοσμοποιίαν εὐθὺς
τοιόσδε· “πηγὴ δὲ ἀνέβαινε ἐκ τῆς γῆς καὶ
179 ἐπότιζε πᾶν τὸ πρόσωπον τῆς γῆς.” οἱ μὲν οὖν
ἀλληγορίας καὶ φύσεως τῆς κρύπτεσθαι φιλούσης

^a Cf. *Quod Deus* 94 ff.

^b See App. p. 585.

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and fair, which thou buildedst not, houses full of all good things, which thou filledst not, cisterns cut out, which thou cuttedst not, vineyards and olive-yards, which thou plantedst not " (Deut. vi. 10 f.). Seest 176 thou the lavish abundance of the good things showered upon them, great and ready for possession and enjoyment? The generic virtues are likened to cities, because they have the greatest expanse; the special virtues to houses, for these are restricted to a narrower compass; souls endowed with good native ability are likened to cisterns, being ready to receive wisdom as these do water; vineyards and olive-yards represent progress and growth and yield of fruits; and the fruit of knowledge is the life of contemplation, winning for us unmixed gladness as from wine, and intellectual light as from a flame which oil feeds.^a

XXXII. In what preceded we have spoken about 177 finding, having previously dealt with flight. We will now pass on in turn to the points which follow next in our plan of treatment. We read, then, "An angel of the Lord found her at the water-spring" (Gen. xvi. 7). "Spring" is a word used in many senses. In the first place, our mind is so called; secondly, the reasoning habit^b and education; thirdly, the bad disposition; fourthly, its opposite, the good disposition; fifthly, the Maker and Father of the Universe Himself. The proofs of this statement are 178 supplied by the Oracles of Scripture: let us see what they are. There is one such declaration in the beginning of the Book of the Law, immediately after the record of the Creation of the World, running as follows: "A spring went up out of the earth and watered all the face of the earth" (Gen. ii. 6). Those who are 179 unversed in allegory and the nature-truth which

- ἀμύητοι τὴν εἰρημένην εἰκάζουσι πηγὴν τῷ Αἰγυπτίῳ ποταμῷ, ὃς κατὰ πᾶν ἔτος ἀναχεόμενος λιμνάζει τὴν πεδιάδα, μονονοῦκ ἀντίμιμον οὐρανοῦ
- 180 δύνανται ἐπιδείκνυσθαι δοκῶν. ὁ γὰρ χειμῶνος ταῖς ἄλλαις χώραις οὐρανός, τοῦτ' Αἰγύπτῳ θέρους ἀκμάζοντος ὁ Νεῖλός ἐστιν· ὁ μὲν γὰρ ἄνωθεν ἐπὶ γῆν τὸν ὑετὸν ἀποστέλλει, ὁ δὲ κάτωθεν ἄνω, τὸ παραδοξότατον, ὕψων ἄρδει τὰς ἀρούρας. ὅθεν ὀρμηθεὶς καὶ Μωυσῆς ἄθεον ἀνέγραψε τὸν Αἰγύπτιον τρόπον γῆν οὐρανοῦ προκρίνοντα καὶ τῶν ὀλυμπίων τὰ χερσαῖα καὶ ψυχῆς τὸ σῶμα.
- 181 ἀλλὰ μὴν περὶ τούτων καὶ αὐθὶς ποτε ἐνέσται λέγειν, ὅταν ἐπιτρέπωσιν οἱ καιροί· νυνὶ δὲ—στοχαστέον γὰρ τοῦ μὴ μακρηγορεῖν—ἐπανιτέον ἐπὶ τὴν δι' ὑπονοιῶν ἀπόδοσιν καὶ λεκτέον τὸ “πηγὴν ἀναβαίνειν καὶ ποτίζειν πᾶν τὸ πρό-
- 182 σωπον τῆς γῆς” τοιοῦτον εἶναι· τὸ ἡγεμονικὸν ἡμῶν εἰκὸς πηγῇ δυνάμεις πολλὰς οἶα διὰ γῆς φλεβῶν ἀνομβροῦν, τὰς δυνάμεις ταύτας ἄχρι τῶν αἰσθήσεων [ὀργάνων],¹ ὀφθαλμῶν, ὠτων, ῥινῶν, τῶν ἄλλων, ἀποστέλλει· αἱ δ' εἰσὶ παντὸς ζώου περὶ κεφαλὴν καὶ πρόσωπον. ποτίζεται οὖν ὥσπερ ἀπὸ πηγῆς τοῦ κατὰ ψυχὴν ἡγεμονικοῦ τὸ σῶματος ἡγεμονικὸν πρόσωπον, τὸ μὲν ὁρατικὸν πνεῦμα τείνοντος εἰς ὄμματα, τὸ δὲ ἀκουστικὸν εἰς οὖς, εἰς δὲ μυκτῆρας τὸ ὁσφρήσεως, τὸ δ' αὖ

¹ MSS. τῶν αἰσθήσεως ὀργάνων: I retain Wendland's text with grave doubt. He bases his correction on the feminine *ai*. But I see no great difficulty in referring this to the “faculties” which if they spring from the mind exhibit themselves in the face. The phrase *αἰσθήσεως ὄργανα* as applied to the eyes, etc., is quite common, *e.g.* *De Som.* i. 55, and indeed is more correct than *αἰσθήσεις*.

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loves to conceal its meaning compare the spring mentioned with the River of Egypt, which rises in flood yearly and turns the plain into a lake, seeming to exhibit a power well-nigh rivalling the sky. For 180 what the sky is in winter to other countries, this the Nile is to Egypt in the height of summer : the one sends the rain from above upon the earth, the other, strange to say, rains up from below and waters the fields. This afforded Moses ground^a for branding the Egyptian character as atheistical in its preference for earth above heaven, for the things that live on the ground above those that dwell on high, and the body above the soul.

However, it will 181 be possible to speak of this hereafter, when opportunity permits. At present the need for aiming at brevity compels me to take up the interpretation of the passage allegorically, and to say that "a spring going up and watering all the face of the earth" has the meaning I am about to give. Our dominant 182 faculty resembles a spring : and from it like the spring water through the veins of the earth well up many powers which it sends forth till they reach the senses, eyes, ears, nostrils, and so on. Every animal has those in its head and face. Thus the dominant faculty in the soul waters, as from a spring, the face, which is the dominant part of the body, extending to the eyes the spirit^b of vision, that of hearing to the ears, to the nostrils that of smelling,

^a Literally "starting from which," i.e. this is the original cause of the facts which led Moses to brand, etc. Cf. *De Mos.* ii. 193 ff., where the blasphemy of the son of an Egyptian father (Lev. xxiv. 10-15) is ascribed to the atheism of Egypt and this to their deification of a mere river.

^b Or "current."

γεύσεως εἰς στόμα καὶ τὸ ἀφῆς εἰς σύμπασαν τὴν ἐπιφάνειαν.

- 183 XXXIII. Εἰσὶ δὲ καὶ τῆς παιδείας πολύτροποι πηγαί, αἷς ὀρθοὶ καὶ τροφιμώτατοι λόγοι, καθάπερ στελέχη φοινίκων, παρανέβλαστον. “ἦλθον” γάρ φησιν “εἰς Αἰλίμ, καὶ ἐν Αἰλίμ ἦσαν δώδεκα πηγαὶ ὑδάτων καὶ ἑβδομήκοντα στελέχη φοινίκων· παρενέβαλον δὲ ἐκεῖ παρὰ τὰ ὕδατα.” Αἰλίμ πυλῶνες ἐρμηνεύονται, εἰσόδου τῆς πρὸς ἀρετὴν σύμβολον· ὥσπερ γὰρ οἰκίας ἀρχαὶ πυλῶνες, καὶ ἀρετῆς τὰ ἐγκύκλια προπαιδεύματα.
- 184 τέλειος δ’ ἀριθμὸς ὁ δώδεκα, μάρτυς δ’ ὁ ζῳδιακὸς ἐν οὐρανῷ κύκλος, τοσούτοις κατηστερισμένος φωσφόροις ἄστροις· μάρτυς καὶ ἡ ἡλίου περίοδος· μῆσι γὰρ δώδεκα τὸν ἑαυτοῦ περατοῖ κύκλον, ἰσαριθμούς τε τοῖς ἐνιαυτοῦ μῆσι τὰς ἡμέρας καὶ
- 185 νυκτὸς ὥρας ἄγουσιν ἄνθρωποι. Μωυσῆς δ’ οὐκ ἐν ὀλίγοις ὑμνεῖ τὸν ἀριθμόν, δώδεκα φυλὰς τοῦ ἔθνους ἀναγράφων, ἄρτους δώδεκα τῆς προθέσεως νομοθετῶν, λίθους, ἐν οἷς αἱ γλυφαί, δώδεκα τῇ ἱερᾷ ἐσθῆτι τοῦ ποδήρους ἐνδύματος ἐπὶ τῷ λογίῳ
- 186 συνυφαίνειν | κελεύων. ὑμνεῖ μέντοι
- [574] καὶ τὴν δεκάδι πολυπλασιαζομένην ἑβδομάδα, νυνὶ μὲν ἑβδομήκοντα φοίνικας παρὰ ταῖς πηγαῖς εἶναι λέγων, ἐν ἑτέροις δὲ πρεσβυτέρους μόνους ἑβδομήκοντα, οἷς τὸ θεῖον ἐπενεμήθη καὶ προφητικὸν πνεῦμα, καὶ πάλιν ἱερεῖα μόσχων ἑβδομήκοντα ἐν διαιρέσεσι καὶ τάξεσιν ἐναρμονίοις ἑορτῇ τῶν σκηνῶν προσαγομένων· βουθυτοῦνται γὰρ οὐκ ἄθρόοι, ἀλλ’ ἐν ἡμέραις ἑπτά, τῆς ἀρχῆς ἀπὸ τρισκαίδεκα ταύρων γενομένης· οὕτως γὰρ κατὰ

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that of tasting to the mouth, and that of touch to the whole surface.

XXXIII. There are also a variety of springs of 183 education, by the side of which there grow up, like stems of palm-trees, upright forms of reason rich in nourishing food. For we read that "they came to Elim, and in Elim there were twelve springs of water, and seventy stems of palm-trees; and they encamped there by the waters" (Exod. xv. 27). "Elim" means "gateways," a figure of the entrance to virtue; for just as gateways are the beginnings of a house, so are the preliminary exercises of the schools the beginning of virtue.

And 184 twelve is a perfect number. The zodiac circle in the sky is a witness to this, being adorned with that number of luminous constellations: a further instance is the sun's circuit, for it completes its round in twelve months, and men keep the hours of day and night equal in number to the months of the year. And Moses celebrates this number in several places, 185 telling us of twelve tribes in the nation, directing twelve loaves to be set forth on the Table, bidding them weave twelve inscribed stones on the "oracle" in the holy vestment of the high priest's full-length robe (Ex. xxviii. 17 ff.).

He also pro- 186 claims the ten-fold seven, telling in this passage of seventy palm-trees by the springs, and in another of the Divine Spirit of prophecy bestowed on only seventy elders (Num. xi. 16), and again of seventy calves offered as victims at the Feast of Tabernacles arranged in divisions following a regular series: for they are not all sacrificed at once, but on different days, beginning with thirteen bull-calves (Num. xxix. 13 ff.); for in this way, the number being

- τὴν ἐνὸς ὑφαίρεσιν αἰεὶ μέχρι τῆς ἐβδόμης ἔμελλεν ὁ
 τῶν ἐβδομήκοντα συντεθείς ἀριθμὸς ἐκπληροῦσθαι.
- 187 παραγενόμενοι δὲ εἰς τοὺς θυρώνας ἀρετῆς,
 τὰ προπαιδεύματα, καὶ θεασάμενοι πηγὰς καὶ παρ'
 αὐταῖς ἔρνη φοινίκων στρατοπεδεύειν οὐ παρὰ
 τοῖς φυτοῖς ἀλλὰ παρὰ τοῖς ὕδασι λέγονται. διὰ
 τί; ὅτι φοίνικι μὲν καὶ ταινίαις οἱ παντελοῦς
 ἀρετῆς ἐπιφερόμενοι τὰ ἄθλα κοσμοῦνται, οἱ δὲ
 ἔτι (ἐγ)χορεύοντες τοῖς προπαιδεύμασιν ἅτε μα-
 θήσεως διψῶντες παρὰ ταῖς δυναμέναις ἄρδιν καὶ
 ποτίζειν τὰς ψυχὰς αὐτῶν ἐπιστήμας ἰδρύονται.
- 188 XXXIV. Τοιαῦται μὲν εἰσιν αἱ παιδείας τῆς
 μέσης πηγαί, τὴν δ' ἀφροσύνης ἐπισκεψώμεθα,
 περὶ ἧς λελάληκεν ὁ νομοθέτης ὧδε· “ὅς ἂν
 κοιμηθῇ μετὰ γυναικὸς ἀποκαθημένης, τὴν πηγὴν
 αὐτῆς ἀπεκάλυψε, καὶ αὕτη ἀπεκάλυψε τὴν ῥύσιν
 τοῦ αἵματος αὐτῆς· ἐξολοθρευθήτωσαν ἀμφότεροι”·
 189 γυναικα τὴν αἴσθησιν καλεῖ, νοῦν¹ ἄνδρα αὐτῆς
 ὑποτιθέμενος. ἀποκάθεται δὲ αἴσθησις, ὅπερ ἐστὶν
 ἀπωτάτω καθέζεται, ὅταν νοῦν ἀπολιποῦσα, τὸν
 γνήσιον ἄνδρα, ἐφιδρύηται, τοῖς δελεάζουσι καὶ
 φθείρουσι αἰσθητοῖς καὶ ἐρωτικῶς ἐκάστοις ἐμ-
 πλέκεται· τότε οὖν εἰ πρὸς ὕπνον τράποιτο ὁ νοῦς,
 ἐγρηγορέναι δέον, “τὴν πηγὴν” τῆς αἰσθήσεως
 “ἀπεκάλυψεν” αὐτὸν—αὐτὸς γὰρ ἦν, ὥσπερ
 ἔφην, ἡ αἰσθήσεως πηγὴ,—τοῦτο δὲ ἐστὶν ἄστεγον
 καὶ ἀτείχιστον καὶ εὐεπιβούλευτον κατεσκεύασεν
 190 ἑαυτόν. οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ κακείνη “ἀπεκάλυψε τὴν
 ῥύσιν τοῦ αἵματος αὐτῆς”· ῥέουσα γὰρ πᾶσα
 αἴσθησις πρὸς τὸ ἐκτὸς αἰσθητὸν ἐπικαλύπτεται
 μὲν καὶ στέλλεται διακρατουμένη λογισμῷ, κατα-

¹ MSS. οὖν.

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diminished by one every day up to the seventh, the aggregate of seventy would be made up.

When they have arrived at the vestibules of virtue, 187 the subjects of preliminary instruction, and have beheld springs and palms growing by them, they are said to encamp, not by the trees but by the waters. Why is this ? Because palm and fillets are the adornment of those who carry off the prizes of consummate virtue, but those whose sphere is still that of the preliminary studies, athirst as they are for learning, settle down beside the springs of knowledge which are able to water their souls and give them drink.

XXXIV. Such are the springs of the lower educa- 188
tion. Let us now consider the spring of folly, respecting which the Lawgiver has spoken in these terms : " Whosoever shall have slept with a woman in her separation hath unclosed her spring, and she hath unclosed the flow of her blood ; let them both be put to death " (Lev. xx. 18) : he gives to sense-perception the name woman, suggesting Mind as her husband. Sense-perception is " in separation," 189 which is " sitting a long way off," when, having forsaken Mind, her lawful husband, she plants herself on the objects of sense that ensnare and corrupt, and passionately embraces them one after another. At such a time, then, if Mind go to sleep, when he ought to be awake, " he has unclosed the spring " of sense-perception, himself to wit—for, as I have already said, he himself is the spring of sense-perception—that is, he has exposed himself, without covering or wall of defence, to the plots of his enemies. More- 190
over she too " unclosed the flow of her blood " ; for every sense, in its flow towards the external object of sense, is covered over and drawn in when con-

- λείπεται δὲ ἔρημος χηρεύσασα ἡγεμόνος ὀρθοῦ¹.
 κακὸν δὲ βαρύτατον ὥς πόλει τὸ ἀτείχιστον, καὶ
 191 ψυχῇ τὸ ἀφύλακτον. πότε οὖν ἀφύλακτος γίνεται;
 ἢ ὅταν ἄστεγος μὲν ὄρασις κεχυμένη πρὸς τὰ ὄρατά,
 ἄστεγος δὲ ἀκοή φωναῖς ἀπάσαις ἐπαντλουμένη,
 ἄστεγοι δὲ ὅσμαι καὶ αἱ συγγενεῖς δυνάμεις κατα-
 λειφθῶσι,² πρὸς ὃ τι ἂν οἱ κατατρέχοντες βούλωνται
 διαθεῖναι παθεῖν ἐτοιμώταται, ἄστεγος δὲ καὶ ὁ
 προφορικὸς λόγος, ὃς μυρία τῶν ἀπορρήτων, ἅτε
 [575] μηδενὸς τὴν | φορὰν ἀνωθοῦντος, ἀκαίρως ἐξ-
 ελάλησε; ῥυεῖς³ γοῦν ἀκωλύτως μεγάλας βίων ὑπο-
 θέσεις ὀρθὰς οἶα ἐν γαλήνῃ πλεούσας περιέτρεψεν.
 192 οὗτός ἐστιν ὁ μέγας κατακλυσμός, ἐν
 ᾧ “ ἀνεώχθησαν μὲν οἱ καταρράκται τοῦ οὐρανοῦ,”
 λέγω δὲ τοῦ νοῦ, “ ἀπεκαλύφθησαν δὲ αἱ πηγαὶ
 τῆς ἀβύσσου,” τουτέστι τῆς αἰσθήσεως. μόνως
 γὰρ οὕτως ἡ ψυχὴ κατακλύζεται, ἄνωθεν μὲν ὥσπερ
 ἀπ’ οὐρανοῦ τοῦ νοῦ καταρραγέντων ἀδικημάτων,
 κάτωθεν δὲ ὥσπερ ἀπὸ γῆς τῆς αἰσθήσεως ἀνομ-
 193 βρησάντων παθῶν. οὗ χάριν ἀπαγορεύει Μωυσῆς
 “ ἀσχημοσύνην πατρὸς καὶ μητρὸς ἀποκαλύπτειν,”
 εἰδὼς σαφῶς, ἡλίκον ἐστὶ κακὸν τὰ ἁμαρτήματα
 τοῦ νοῦ καὶ τῆς αἰσθήσεως μὴ ἐπέχειν καὶ ἐπι-
 κρύπτειν, ἀλλ’ ὥσπερ κατορθώματα προφέρειν εἰς
 μέσον.
 194 XXXV. Αἴδ’ εἰσὶν αἱ τῶν ἁμαρτημάτων πηγαί,
 τὴν δὲ φρονήσεως ἐρευνητέον. εἰς ταύτην ἡ ὑπο-
 μονὴ κάτεισι, Ῥεβέκκα, καὶ τὸ ψυχῆς ὅλον πληρώ-

¹ Has λόγου fallen out? ὀρθοῦ ἡγεμόνος seems strange.

² MSS. καταλείψωσι (-ουσι or -ουσai).

³ Possibly we should read ῥύσις. See App. p. 585.

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trolled by reason, but is left destitute when widowed of an upright ruler, and as it is the most grievous evil for a city to be without walls, so is it for a soul to be without a protector. When, then, is it without 191 a protector? Is it not when sight, spread abroad amid objects of sight, is left uncovered; uncovered too the hearing, flooded by every kind of sound; uncovered the powers of smell and others of like kin, full ready for any experience to which marauding foes may wish to subject them; uncovered again the faculty of speech, giving ill-timed utterance to a thousand things that should have been kept quiet, since there is no one to force back the current? In its unhindered flow it has wrecked great life-projects, which were like ships in fair weather sailing on even keel.

This is the great deluge in which 192 "the cataracts of heaven," that is of the mind, "were opened," "and the fountains of the abyss," that is of sense-perception, "were unclosed" (Gen. vii. 11).^a For only in this way is a deluge brought upon the soul, when as though from heaven, that is the mind, wrongdoings burst upon it as in a cataract; and from sense-perception below, as it were from the earth, passions come welling up. That is why Moses pro- 193 hibits the "disclosing of the shame of father and mother" (Lev. xviii. 7), well knowing how great an evil it is not to keep back and conceal the sins of the mind and of sense-perception, but to make them public as though they were achievements of righteousness.

XXXV. Such are the springs of sinful deeds: let 194 us investigate that of sound sense. To this Patience, called Rebecca, goes down, and, when she has filled

^a See *De Conf.* 23 and note.

- σασα ἀγγεῖον ἀναβαίνει, τὴν κάθοδον ἀνοδὸν
 εἰπόντος τοῦ νομοθέτου φυσικώτατα· πρὸς γὰρ
 ὕψος ἐξαίρεται τὸ ἀρετῆς, ἥτις ἂν ἀπ' ἀλαζονείας
 195 τῆς ὑπεραύχου διανοῇται κατέρχεσθαι. λέγει γάρ·
 “καταβᾶσα δὲ ἐπὶ τὴν πηγὴν ἐπλησε τὴν ὑδρίαν,
 καὶ ἀνέβη.” ἥδ' ἐστὶν ἡ θεία σοφία, ἐξ ἧς αἱ τε
 κατὰ μέρος ἐπιστῆμαι ποτίζονται καὶ ὅσαι ψυχαὶ
 φιλοθεάμονες ἔρωτι τοῦ ἀρίστου κατέσχηνται.
 196 ταύτῃ ὁ ἱερὸς λόγος τῇ πηγῇ προσφυστάτα
 ὀνόματα τίθεται, “κρίσιν” αὐτὴν καὶ “ἀγίαν”
 προσαγορεύων. “ἀναστρέψαντες” γάρ φησιν
 “ἦλθον ἐπὶ τὴν πηγὴν τῆς κρίσεως, αὕτη ἐστὶ
 Κάδης”· καλεῖται δὲ Κάδης ἀγία. μονονοῦ βοᾷ
 καὶ κέκραγεν, ὅτι ἡ τοῦ θεοῦ σοφία ἀγία τέ ἐστιν
 οὐδὲν ἐπιφερομένη γήινον καὶ κρίσις τῶν ὅλων, ἥ
 πᾶσαι αἱ ἐναντιότητες διαζεύγνυνται.
 197 XXXVI. Λεκτέον δ' ἤδη περὶ τῆς ἀνωτάτω καὶ
 ἀρίστης πηγῆς, ἣν ὁ πατὴρ τῶν ὅλων διὰ προφη-
 τικῶν ἐθέσπισε στομάτων. εἶπε γάρ πον· “ἐμέ
 ἐγκατέλιπον πηγὴν ζωῆς, καὶ ὥρυξαν ἑαυτοῖς λάκ-
 198 ὕδωρ.” οὐκοῦν ὁ θεὸς ἐστὶν ἡ πρεσβυτάτη (πηγή),
 καὶ μήποτ' εἰκότως· τὸν γὰρ σύμπαντα τοῦτον
 κόσμον ὤμβρησε. καταπέπληγμαι δ' ἀκούων, ὅτι
 ζωῆς ἐστὶν ἡδε ἡ πηγὴ· μόνος γὰρ ὁ θεὸς ψυχῆς
 καὶ ζωῆς καὶ διαφερόντως λογικῆς ψυχῆς καὶ τῆς
 μετὰ φρονήσεως ζωῆς αἷτιος. ἡ μὲν γὰρ ὕλη
 νεκρόν, ὁ δὲ θεὸς πλεόν τι ἢ ζωή, πηγὴ τοῦ ζῆν,
 199 ὡς αὐτὸς εἶπεν, ἀένναος. οἱ δ' ἀσεβεῖς

^a Cf. *De Post.* 136.

^c Or “sifting.”

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the whole vessel of the soul, goes up ; for the law-giver speaks of the descent as an ascent with perfect truth to the nature of things, for a soul that resolves to come down from over-weening imposture is exalted thereby to virtue's height.^a For it says : " And having gone down to the spring she filled the water-pot, and came up " (Gen. xxiv. 16). This spring is the Divine Wisdom, from which both the several fields of knowledge are watered, and all contemplation-loving souls which are possessed by a love of that which is best. To this spring the sacred message applies most appropriate names, calling it " judgement " ¹⁹⁵ and " holy." For it says : " They returned and came to the Spring of Judgement ; this is Kadesh " (Gen. xiv. 7) ; and " Kadesh " means " holy." One might think that it cries aloud that the wisdom of God is both holy, containing no earthly ingredient, and a sifting of all the universe, whereby all opposites are separated from each other.^c

XXXVI. And now we have to speak of the supreme and most excellent Spring, which the All-Father declared by the mouth of prophets. For He said in a certain place : " Me they forsook, a spring of Life, and dug for themselves broken cisterns, which shall fail to hold water " (Jer. ii. 13). God, therefore, is the chiefest spring, and well may He be so called, for this whole universe is a rain that fell from Him. But I bow in awe when I hear that this spring is one of Life: for God alone is the Cause of soul and life, and pre-eminently of the rational soul, and of the Life that is united with wisdom. For matter is a dead thing, but God is something more than Life, an ever-flowing Spring of living, as He Himself says. But ¹⁹⁷
¹⁹⁸
¹⁹⁹

^a Cf. *Quis rerum* 133 f. and 207 f.

ἀποδράντες, ἄγευστοι τοῦ τῆς ἀθανασίας ποτοῦ
 διατελέσαντες, ὥρυξαν, οἱ φρενοβλαβεῖς, ἑαυτοῖς
 ἀλλ' οὐ θεῶ τὸ πρῶτον, τὰς ἰδίας πράξεις τῶν |
 [576] οὐρανίων καὶ Ὀλυμπίων προκρίναντες καὶ τὰ ἐκ
 200 φροντίδος τῶν αὐτομάτων καὶ ἐτοιμῶν. ἔπειτα
 ὀρύττουσιν οὐχ ὡς Ἀβραὰμ καὶ Ἰσαάκ, οἱ σοφοί,
 φρέατα, βαθείας ἐπιστήμας ποτίμους λόγους ἀνα-
 διδούσας, ἀλλὰ λάκκους, ἴδιον οὐδὲν ἐξ ἑαυτῶν
 ἔχοντας τρόφιμον καλόν, τῆς δ' ἔξωθεν χρήζοντας
 ἐπιρροῆς, ἣ γένοιτ' ἂν ἐκ διδασκαλίας ἐπαντλούν-
 των αἰ τῶν ὑφηγητῶν ἀκοαῖς τῶν μανθανόντων
 ἀθρόα τὰ ἐπιστήμης δόγματα καὶ θεωρήματα, καὶ
 φρενὶ κατασχεῖν καὶ μνήμη τὰ παραδοθέντα ταμι-
 201 εὔεσθαι.¹ νυνὶ δ' εἰσὶν "οἱ λάκκοι συντετριμμένοι,"
 τουτέστι πᾶσαι τῆς ἀναγώγου ψυχῆς αἱ δεξαμεναὶ
 τεθραυσμέναι καὶ διαρρέουσαι, μὴ δυνάμεναι συ-
 σχεῖν καὶ φυλάξαι τὴν τῶν οἴων τε ὠφέλειν ἐπιρ-
 ροήν.

202 XXXVII. "Α μὲν οὖν περὶ πηγῶν καιρὸς ἦν
 εἰπεῖν λέλεκται. πάνυ δ' ἐξήτασμένως τὴν Ἀγαρ
 εἰσάγουσιν οἱ χρησμοὶ εὕρισκομένην μὲν ἐπὶ τῆς
 πηγῆς, οὐκ ἀρυτομένην δ' ἀπ' αὐτῆς. οὐπω γάρ
 ἔστιν ἱκανὴ ψυχὴ προκόπτουσα τῷ σοφίας ἀκράτῳ
 ποτῷ χρῆσθαι, πλησίον δ' οὐ κεκώλυται ποιεῖσθαι
 203 τὰς διατριβάς. ἔστι δὲ καὶ λεωφόρος
 πᾶσα ἢ κατὰ παιδείαν ὁδὸς ἐχυρωτάτη καὶ εὐ-
 εркеστάτη. διό φησιν "ἐν τῇ ὁδῷ Σούρ" αὐτὴν
 εὐρεθῆναι, τείχος δὲ ἢ εὐθυσμός ἐρμηνεύεται Σούρ.

¹ Something is wrong with this sentence. The translation follows Cohn's suggestion to insert ὡς after θεωρήματα (Mangey κελυόντων, Wend. παραινούντων with much the same effect). None of these seems to me satisfactory. See App. p. 585.

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the impious flee from Him, persist in leaving untasted the water of immortality, and dig in their madness for themselves but not for God, putting their own works above the celestial gifts of heaven, and the results of forethought above those which come spontaneously and ready for their use. That is their first 200 folly. In the next place they dig, not as did the wise, Abraham and Isaac, wells (Gen. xxi. 30, xxvi. 18), deep sources of knowledge from which draughts of reason are drawn, but cisterns, having no excellent thing of their own to afford nourishment, but needing the inflow from without, that must come from teaching, as the instructors keep on pumping in unbroken stream into the ears of their pupils the principles and conclusions which constitute knowledge, that they may both grasp what is imparted to them with their intelligence and treasure it in their memory. As it is 201 the "cisterns" are "broken," that is to say, all the receptacles of the ill-conditioned soul are crushed and leaking, unable to hold in and keep the inflow of what might do them good.

XXXVII. On the subject of springs all that the 202 occasion required has now been said. But it is with a most carefully considered meaning that Hagar is represented by the sacred oracles as found by the spring but not drawing water from it (Gen. xvi. 7). For a soul, while making gradual progress, is not yet capable of availing itself of Wisdom's untempered draught, but such a soul is not prevented from staying hard by her.

Now the road of discipline 203 is all a highway, thoroughly safe and well guarded. Wherefore it says that she was found in the way to Shur^a (*ibid.*), and "Shur" means "wall" or "straighten-

^a Or "the way (called) Shur."

- ἐνλαλῶν οὖν ὁ ἔλεγχος τῇ ψυχῇ φησιν αὐτῇ·
 “πόθεν ἔρχη, καὶ ποῦ πορεύη;” τοῦτο δ’ οὐκ
 ἐνδοιάζων καὶ οὐ πυνθανόμενος μᾶλλον ἢ δυσωπῶν
 καὶ ὀνειδίζων προφέρεται· θέμις γὰρ οὐδὲν ἀγνοεῖν
 204 τῶν καθ’ ἡμᾶς ἀγγέλῳ. σημεῖον δέ· καὶ τὰ κατὰ
 γαστρός, ἅπερ ἄδηλα γενέσει, σαφῶς οἶδεν ἐν οἷς
 φησιν· “ἰδοὺ σὺ ἐν γαστρὶ ἔχεις, καὶ τέξῃ παιδίον,
 καὶ καλέσεις τὸ ὄνομα αὐτοῦ Ἰσμαήλ.” τὸ γὰρ
 γνῶναι, ὅτι τὸ κυφορούμενον ἄρρεν ἐστίν, οὐκ
 ἀνθρωπίνης δυνάμεως, ἀλλ’ οὐδὲ τὸ τὴν προαίρεσιν
 ἢ χρῆσεται τοῦ βίου ὁ μήπω γεγεννημένος, ὅτι
 205 ἄγροῖκος, ἀλλ’ οὐ πολιτικὴ καὶ ἡμερος.¹ τὸ
 “πόθεν οὖν ἔρχη;” πρὸς ἐπίπληξιν² λέγεται τῆς
 ἀποδιδρασκούσης ψυχῆς τὴν ἀμείνω καὶ κυρίαν
 γνώμην, ἧς θεραπαινὶς οὐ λεγομένη μᾶλλον ἢ
 ἔργοις ὑπάρχουσα μέγα κλέος ἔμελλεν [ἐξ]οῖσθαι.
 “ποῖ δὲ καὶ πορεύη;” τὰ ἄδηλα μετατρέχεις, τὰ
 206 ὁμολογούμενα ἀπορρίψασα. καλὸν οὖν
 αὐτὴν ἐπαινέσαι χαίρουσαν ἐπὶ νουθεσίᾳ³. δείγματα
 δὲ τοῦ χαίρειν ἐξενήνοχε τό τε μὴ κατηγορῆσαι
 τῆς δεσποίνης καὶ τὸ τὴν αἰτίαν ἀναθεῖναι ἑαυτῇ
 τοῦ δρασμοῦ καὶ τὸ μὴ ἀποκρίνασθαι πρὸς τὸ δεύ-
 τερον πύσμα τὸ “ποῦ πορεύη;” ἄδηλον γάρ, περὶ
 [577] δὲ τῶν ἀδῆλων ἐπέχειν | ἀσφαλές τε καὶ ἀναγκαῖον.
 207 XXXVIII. ἀποδεξάμενος οὖν τῆς
 πειθαρχίας αὐτὴν ὁ ἔλεγχος “ἀποστραφῆθι πρὸς
 τὴν κυρίαν σου” φησί· λυσιτελές γὰρ τῇ μαν-
 θανούσῃ ἢ τῆς διδασκούσης ἐπιστάσια καὶ τῇ ἀτελεῖ

¹ MSS. ἄγροικον . . . πολιτικὸν . . . ἡμερον.

² MSS. ἐπιπλήξεως.

³ MSS. νουθεσίαν.

^a It is difficult to give any sense to οὖν. Perhaps read γοῦν (transitional).

ing." The inward monitor, then, speaking within the soul, says to it, "Whence comest thou, and whither art thou going?" (*ibid.* 8). In thus addressing her he does not express doubt or inquiry; rather he is reproaching and putting her to shame; for we may not think that an angel is ignorant of anything affecting us. Here is a proof of it: even the secrets of the 204 womb, which are hidden from created beings, the angel knows with certainty, as his words shew: "Lo, thou art with child, and shalt give birth to a boy, and shalt call his name Ishmael" (*ibid.* 11). For it is not in the power of man to know that the embryo is a male, nor to know the principle that is to govern the life of one who is not yet born, that it will be the way of the rude country-side, not the refined one of civic life. So the words "Whence comest thou?" 205 are spoken to rebuke the soul that is running away from the better judgement, "the mistress," a mistress whom to serve as handmaiden could not but win her high renown, if the service be one of deeds rather than of name. And the words "Whither goest thou?" mean "Thou hast cast away acknowledged gains, and art running after uncertainties."

We may well praise her for receiving reproof with 206 gladness.^a Of her gladness she has given plain evidence by not accusing her mistress, and by laying the blame of her flight upon herself, and by making no answer to the second question "Whither art thou going?" for it was uncertain, and regarding uncertainties suspension of judgement is not only safe but requisite.

XXXVIII. Her monitor, then, 207 pleased with her for her compliance, bids her "Go back to thy mistress"; for the teacher's authority is an advantage to the learner, and bond-service

- ἡ παρὰ φρονήσει δουλεία. ὅταν δ' ὑποστρέψῃς,
 "ταπεινώθητι ὑπὸ τὰς χεῖρας αὐτῆς" καλὴν
 ταπείνωσιν φρονήματος ἀλόγου καθαίρεσιν περι-
 208 ἔχουσιν. οὕτως γὰρ πραϋτόκοις ὠδίσιν ἄρρενα
 γενεὰν ἀποκυήσεις, ὄνομα Ἰσμαήλ, ἀκοαῖς θείαις
 σωφρονισθεῖσα· ἐρμηνεύεται γὰρ Ἰσμαήλ ἀκοή
 θεοῦ. ἀκοή δ' ὁράσεως τὰ δευτερεῖα φέρεται,
 ὅρασιν δὲ ὁ γνήσιος υἱὸς καὶ πρωτόγονος Ἰσραὴλ
 κεκλήρωται· μεταληφθεὶς γάρ ἐστιν ὁρῶν θεόν.
 ἀκούειν μὲν γὰρ καὶ ψευδῶν ὡς ἀληθῶν ἔνεστιν,
 ὅτι ἀπατηλὸν ἀκοή, ἀψευδὲς δ' ὅρασις, ἥ τὰ ὄντα
 ὄντως κατανοεῖται.
- 209 Τὸν δὲ γεννηθέντα τρόπον χαρακτηρίζει διὰ τε
 τοῦ λέγειν ἀγροῖκον ἔσεσθαι, ὡς ἂν ἀγροϊκόσοφον,
 μήπω τῆς τιθασοῦ¹ καὶ πολιτικῆς ὄντως μοίρας
 ἡξιωμένον—αὕτη δὲ ἐστὶν ἀρετή, δι' ἧς πέφυκεν
 ἡμεροῦσθαι τὸ ἦθος,— καὶ διὰ τοῦ
 φάσκειν· "αἱ χεῖρες αὐτοῦ ἐπὶ πάντας καὶ αἱ
 χεῖρες πάντων ἐπ' αὐτόν"· σοφιστοῦ γὰρ βούλημα
 τοῦτο τὸ λίαν σκεπτικὸν ἐπιμορφάζοντος καὶ λόγοις
 210 χαίροντος ἐριστικοῖς. οὗτος καὶ πάντας βάλλει
 τοὺς ἀπὸ τῶν μαθημάτων, ἰδίᾳ τε ἐκάστῳ καὶ
 κοινῇ πᾶσιν ἐναντιούμενος, καὶ βάλλεται πρὸς
 ἀπάντων, εἰκότως ἀμυνομένων ὡς ὑπὲρ οἰκείων
 ἐκγόνων ὧν ἔτεκεν αὐτῶν ἡ ψυχὴ δογμάτων.
- 211 ἀλλὰ καὶ τρίτον προσυπογράφει χαρα-
 κτῆρα φάσκων· "κατὰ πρόσωπον πάντων τῶν
 ἀδελφῶν κατοικήσει," μονονοῦκ ἄντικρυς ἐπιδεικ-
 νύμενος τὴν ἀντιπρόσωπον διαμάχην καὶ ἀντί-
 στασιν αἰώνιον.

¹ MSS. θείας ὁρ θιάσσου.

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under Good Sense a gain to her that is imperfect. "And when thou hast returned humble thyself under her hands" (*ibid.* 9), with a noble humiliation which carries with it the overthrow of irrational high-mindedness. For so doing thou shalt give birth with 208 easy travail to a male offspring, Ishmael by name (*ibid.* 11), since thou shalt have been chastened by hearkening to words of God ; for "Ishmael" means "hearkening to God." Hearing takes the second place, yielding the first to sight, and sight is the portion of Israel, the son free-born and first-born ; for "seeing God" is the translation of "Israel." It is possible to hear the false and take it for true, because hearing is deceptive, but sight, by which we discern what really is, is devoid of falseness.

The character thus given birth to is described first 209 by the statement that it will be rude, of rude "mother wit" as it were, not yet admitted to the privilege of the refined and truly civilized lot, virtue, that is, the natural refiner and tamer of character ; next by the words "his hands shall be against all men, and all men's hands against him" (*ibid.* 12) ; for this is just the Sophist's way, with his pretence of excessive open-mindedness, and his love of arguing for arguing's sake. This character aims its shafts at 210 all representatives of the sciences, opposing each individually and all in common, and is the target of them all since they naturally shew fight, as in defence of offspring of their own, that is of the doctrines to which their soul has given birth. And he 211 adds a third characteristic in the words "he shall dwell face to face with all his brethren" (*ibid.*), words which are almost a distinct picture of combat face to face and perpetual opposition.

PHILO

Ἡ κυοφοροῦσα οὖν τὸν σοφιστὴν λόγον ψυχὴ
 φησι τῷ λαλοῦντι πρὸς αὐτὴν ἐλέγχω· “ σὺ θεὸς ὁ
 ἐπιδὼν με,” ἴσον τῷ σὺ ποιητῆς εἰ τῶν ἐμῶν
 βουλευμάτων καὶ ἐκγόνων,¹ καὶ μήποτ’ εἰκότως·
 212 ἐλευθέρων μὲν γὰρ καὶ ἀστῶν ὡς ἀληθῶς ψυχῶν
 ὁ ἐλεύθερος καὶ ἐλευθεροποιὸς δημιουργός, δούλων
 δὲ δοῦλοι· ἄγγελοι δ’ οἰκέται θεοῦ, νομιζόμενοι
 πρὸς τῶν ἔτ’ ἐν πόνοις καὶ δουλείαις ὑπαρχόντων
 θεοί. “ διὰ τοῦτο ” φησὶν “ ἐκάλεσε
 213 τὸ φρέαρ φρέαρ οὗ ἐνώπιον εἶδον.” ἀλλ’ οὐκ
 ἔμελλες, ὦ ψυχὴ προκόπτουσα καὶ τῇ τῶν ἐγ-
 κυκλίων ἐπιστήμῃ προπαιδευμάτων ἐμβαθύνουσα,
 καθάπερ διὰ κατόπτρου τῆς παιδείας τὸν αἴτιον τῆς
 ἐπιστήμης ἰδεῖν; οἰκειότατος δὲ καὶ
 ὁ τοῦ τοιούτου φρέατος τόπος “ ἐν μέσῳ Κάδης
 καὶ Βαράδ ”· ἐρμηνεύεται δὲ Βαράδ μὲν ἐν κακοῖς,
 Κάδης δὲ ἀγία· μεθόριος γὰρ ἀγίων καὶ βεβήλων
 ὁ ἐν προκοπαῖς, ἀποδιδράσκων μὲν τὰ φαῦλα,
 μήπω δ’ ἱκανὸς ὧν τελείους συμβιοῦν ἀγαθοῖς.

¹ The combination is somewhat strange, and Mangey suggested *ἔργων* for *ἐκγόνων*. I should conjecture as an alternative *κυημάτων* for *βουλευμάτων*.

^a The connexion of thought is obscure. Perhaps: the angel has decreed what the offspring of the Hagar or slave-soul will be. He is therefore its maker, and as making is the attribute of God, she naturally gives that name to God's subordinate minister.

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The soul, then, which is pregnant with the sophist-principle says to the monitor who is talking to her : "Thou art God that didst look upon me," which is equivalent to saying "Thou art the Maker of my wishes and offspring" ; and well may she say this, ²¹² for of free and really high-born souls He who is free and sets free is the Creator, while slaves are makers of slaves : and angels are God's household-servants, and are deemed gods by those whose existence is still one of toil and bondage.^a

"For this reason," it says, "she called the well 'Well where I saw Him before me'" ^b (*ibid.* 14). Nay, how couldst ²¹³ thou fail, thou soul, who in thy progress art dipping deep into the school-lore knowledge, to see reflected in thy training as in a mirror the Author of that knowledge ?

Most appropriate too is the situation of such a well "between Kadesh and Bered" (*ibid.* 14) : "Bered" means "in evils," and Kadesh "holy," for he that is in gradual progress is on the borderland between the holy and the profane, fleeing from bad things, but not yet competent to share the life of perfect goodness.

^b E.V. Beer-lahai-roi, explained in the margin as "the well of the living one who seeth me." Whatever the exact meaning of the LXX was, the next sentence shows that Philo interpreted it as in the translation (ἐνώπιον probably taken as an adjective with αὐτόν understood).