

ΠΕΡΙ ΓΕΩΡΓΙΑΣ

1 I. “Καὶ ἤρξατο Νῶε ἄνθρωπος γεωργὸς γῆς
[300] εἶναι, καὶ ἐφύτευσεν ἀμπελῶνα, καὶ ἔπιε | τοῦ
οἴνου, καὶ ἐμεθύσθη ἐν τῷ οἴκῳ αὐτοῦ.”

Οἱ μὲν πολλοὶ τῶν ἀνθρώπων τὰς φύσεις τῶν
πραγμάτων οὐκ εἰδότες καὶ περὶ τὴν τῶν ὀνομάτων
θέσιν ἐξ ἀνάγκης ἀμαρτάνουσι· τοῖς μὲν γὰρ ὥσπερ
ἐξ ἀνατομῆς περινοηθεῖσι κύριαι προσρήσεις
ἔπονται, τοῖς δ’ ὑποσυγκεχυμένοις οὐ σφόδρα
2 ἠκριβωμένοι. Μωυσῆς δὲ κατὰ πολλὴν περιουσίαν
τῆς ἐν τοῖς πράγμασιν ἐπιστήμης ὀνόμασιν εὐθυ-
βολωτάτοις καὶ ἐμφαντικωτάτοις εἴωθε χρῆσθαι.
πολλαχοῦ μὲν οὖν τῆς νομοθεσίας τὴν ὑπόσχεσιν
ἐπαληθεύουσαν εὐρήσομεν, οὐχ ἥκιστα δὲ κὰν τῷ
προτεθέντι κεφαλαίῳ, καθ’ ὃ γεωργὸς ὁ δίκαιος
3 Νῶε εἰσάγεται. τίνι γὰρ τῶν προχειροτέρων οὐκ
ἂν δόξειε τὰ αὐτὰ εἶναι γεωργία τε καὶ γῆς ἐργασία,
καίτοι πρὸς ἀλήθειαν οὐ μόνον οὐκ ὄντα τὰ αὐτά,
ἀλλὰ καὶ λίαν ἀπηρτημένα, ὥς ἀντιστατεῖν καὶ
4 διαμάχεσθαι; δύναται μὲν γάρ τις καὶ ἄνευ ἐπι-
στήμης περὶ τὴν γῆς ἐπιμέλειαν πονεῖσθαι, γεωργὸς
δὲ τὸ μὴ ἰδιώτης ἀλλ’ ἔμπειρος εἶναι καὶ τῷ ὀνόματι
πεπίστωται, ὅπερ ἐκ τῆς γεωργικῆς τέχνης, ἥς
5 φερώνυμός ἐστιν, εὖρηται. πρὸς δὲ τούτῳ κἀκεῖνο

^a The LXX has ἐμεθύσθη καὶ ἐγυμνώθη ἐν τῷ οἴκῳ αὐτοῦ.

ON HUSBANDRY

I. " And Noah began to be a husbandman, and he ¹
planted a vineyard, and drank of the wine, and became
drunken within his house ^a " (Gen. ix. 20 f.).

Most men, not knowing the nature of things,
necessarily go wrong also in giving them names. For
things which are well considered and subjected as
it were to dissection have appropriate designations
attached to them in consequence; while others having
been presented in a confused state receive names
that are not thoroughly accurate. Moses, being abun- ²
dantly equipped with the knowledge that has to do
with things, is in the habit of using names that are
perfectly apt and expressive. We shall find the
assurance just given made good in many parts of the
Lawgiving, and not least in the section before us in
which the righteous Noah is introduced as a husband-
man. Would not anyone who answers questions off- ³
hand think that husbandry and working on the soil
were the same things, although in reality they not
only are not the same things, but are ideas utterly
at variance with each other and mutually repugnant?
For a man is able even without knowledge to labour ⁴
at the care of the soil, but a husbandman is guaranteed
to be no unprofessional, but a skilled worker by his
very name, which he has gained from the science
of husbandry, the science whose title he bears. In ⁵

[301] λογιστέον, ὅτι ὁ μὲν γῆς | ἐργάτης πρὸς ἓν τέλος,
 τὸν μισθόν, ἀφορῶν—ἔμμισθος γὰρ ὧ: ἐπίπαν οὗτος
 —οὐδεμίαν ἔχει φροντίδα τοῦ καλῶς ἐργάσασθαι,
 ὁ μέντοι γεωργὸς πολλὰ ἂν ἐθελήσαι καὶ τῶν ἰδίων
 εἰσφέρειν καὶ προσαναλίσκειν οἰκοθέν τι ὑπὲρ¹ τοῦ
 καὶ τὸ χωρίον ὀνήσαι καὶ πρὸς μηδενὸς τῶν ἰδόντων
 μεμφθῆναι· βούλεται γὰρ οὐχ ἐτέρωθέν ποθεν, ἀλλ'
 ἐκ τῶν γεωργηθέντων εὐτοκία χρωμένων ἀνὰ πᾶν
 6 ἔτος τοὺς καρποὺς ἀναλαμβάνειν. οὗτος τὰ μὲν
 ἄγρια τῶν δένδρων ἡμεροῦν, τὰ δ' ἡμέρα ἐπι-
 μελείαις συναύξειν, τὰ δ' ὑπὸ πλεοναζούσης τροφῆς
 κεχυμένα τομαῖς στέλλειν, τὰ δ' ἐσταλμένα καὶ
 πεπιλημένα ἐπιφύσεων ἐκτάσει μηκύνειν, καὶ ὅσα
 μὲν εὐγενῇ πολυκληματοῦντα κατὰ γῆς τείνειν ἐν
 οὐ πάνυ βαθείαις τάφροις, ὅσα δὲ μὴ εὐκαρπα
 ἐτέρων εἰς τὸν πρὸς ταῖς ρίζαις κορμὸν ἐνθέσει
 καὶ συμφυεστάτῃ ἐνώσει βελτιοῦν ἐθελήσει—καὶ
 γὰρ ἐπ' ἀνθρώπων τυγχάνει ταῦτόν, ὥς τοὺς θετοὺς
 παῖδας γένεσιν ἄλλοτρίοις διὰ τὰς σφετέρας οἰκειου-
 7 μένους ἀρετὰς παγίως ἐναρμόζεσθαι—· μυρία τοίνυν
 καὶ αὐτόπρεμνα ρίζαις αὐταῖς ἀνασπάσας κατέβαλε
 τὰς εἰς εὐκαρπίαν <ἐκ>φύσεις² ἐστειωμένα καὶ
 τοῖς φέρουσι μεγάλην ζημίαν ἐκ τοῦ παραπεφυ-
 τεῦσθαι πλησίον ἐνεγκόντα. τοιαύτη μὲν τίς ἐστίν

¹ MSS. περί.² Cf. *Quod Deus* 38.

ON HUSBANDRY, 5-7

addition to this there is the further point to be considered, that the worker on the soil is as a rule a wage-earner, and as such has but one end in view, his wages, and cares nothing at all about doing his work well ; whereas the husbandman would be willing not only to put into the undertaking much of his private property, but to spend a further amount drawn from his domestic budget, to do the farm good and to escape being blamed by those who have seen it. For, regardless of gain from any other source, he desires only to see the crops which he has grown yielding plentifully year by year and to take up their produce. Such a man will be anxious to bring under 6 cultivation the trees that were before wild, to improve by careful treatment those already under cultivation, to check by pruning those that are over-luxuriant owing to excess of nourishment, to give more scope to those which have been curtailed and kept back, splicing on new growths to stem or branch ; when trees of good kinds throw out abundant tendrils, he will like to train them under ground in shallow trenches ; and to improve such as yield poor crops by inserting grafts into the stem near the roots and joining them with it so that they grow together as one. The same thing happens, I may remark, in the case of men, when adopted sons become by reason of their native good qualities congenial to those who by birth are aliens from them, and so become firmly fitted into the family. To return to our subject. The 7 husbandman will pull up by the roots and throw away quantities of trees on which the shoots that should bear fruit have lost their fertility, and so, because they have been planted near them, have done great harm to those that are bearing fruit. The science,

- ἡ περὶ τὰ βλαστώνοντα ἐκ γῆς φυτὰ τέχνη, τὴν δὲ
 ψυχῆς γεωργικὴν ἐν μέρει πάλιν ἐπισκεψώμεθα.
- 8 II. Πρῶτον μὲν τοίνυν σπείρειν ἢ φυτεύειν ἄγονον
 οὐδὲν ἐπιτηδεύει, πάντα δ' ἡμέρα καὶ καρποτόκα
 φόρους ἐτησίους οἴσοντα τῷ ἡγεμόνι ἀνθρώπων·
 τοῦτον γὰρ ἄρχοντα ἡ φύσις δένδρων τε καὶ ζώων
 τῶν ἄλλων ὅσα θνητὰ ἅπαξ ἀπάντων ἀνέδειξεν.
- 9 ἄνθρωπος δὲ ὁ ἐν ἐκάστῳ ἡμῶν τίς ἂν εἴη πλὴν ὁ
 νοῦς, ὃς τὰς ἀπὸ τῶν σπαρέντων καὶ φυτευθέντων
 ὠφελείας εἶωθε καρποῦσθαι; ἐπεὶ δὲ νηπίοις μὲν
 ἐστὶ γάλα τροφή, τελείοις δὲ τὰ ἐκ πυρῶν πέμματα,
 καὶ ψυχῆς γαλακτώδεις μὲν ἂν εἶεν τροφαὶ κατὰ
 τὴν παιδικὴν ἡλικίαν τὰ τῆς ἐγκυκλίου μουσικῆς
 προπαιδεύματα, τέλειαι δὲ καὶ ἀνδράσιν ἐμπρεπεῖς
 αἱ διὰ φρονήσεως καὶ σωφροσύνης καὶ ἀπάσης
 ἀρετῆς ὑψηλῆς· ταῦτα γὰρ σπαρέντα καὶ φυτευ-
 θέντα ἐν διανοίᾳ καρποὺς ὠφελιμωτάτους οἴσει,
- 10 καλὰς καὶ ἐπαινετὰς πράξεις. διὰ ταύτης τῆς
 γεωργικῆς καὶ ὅσα παθῶν ἢ κακιῶν δένδρα ἀνα-
 βλαστόντα εἰς ὕψος ἐξήρθη φθοροποιοὺς φέροντα
- [302] καρπούς, ὑποτεμνόμενα καθαίρεται, | ὥς μηδὲ
 βραχὺ τι λείψανον ἐαθῆναι, ἀφ' οὗ νέαι βλάσται
- 11 πάλιν ἀμαρτημάτων ἀναδραμοῦνται. κἂν εἴ τινα
 μέντοι δένδρα εἴη μήτ' ὠφελίμων μήτ' αὐτὴν βλαβερῶν
 καρπῶν οἰστικά, ταῦτα ἐκκόψει μὲν, οὐ μὴν ἐάσει
 γε ἀφανισθῆναι, κατατάξει δ' αὐτὰ εἰς ἐναρμόνιον
 χρήσιν ἢ βαλλομένη χάρακας καὶ σταυροὺς ἐν
 κύκλῳ στρατοπέδου ἢ φραγμὸν πόλεως, ἵνα ἀντὶ
- 12 τείχους ᾗ. III. λέγει γάρ· "πᾶν ὁ οὐ καρπό-
 βρωτόν ἐστίν, ἐκκόψεις καὶ ποιήσεις χαράκωσιν

ON HUSBANDRY, 7-12

then, that has to do with growths that spring out of the earth is of the kind I have described. Let us consider in its turn soul-husbandry.

II. First, then, it makes it its aim to sow or plant 8 nothing that has no produce, but all that is fitted for cultivation and fruit-bearing, and likely to yield yearly tributes to man, its prince; for him did nature appoint to be ruler of all trees as well as of the living creatures besides himself that are mortal. But who else could the man that is in each of us be 9 save the mind, whose place it is to reap the benefits derived from all that has been sown or planted? But seeing that for babes milk is food, but for grown men wheaten bread, there must also be soul-nourishment, such as is milk-like suited to the time of childhood, in the shape of the preliminary stages of school-learning, and such as is adapted to grown men in the shape of instructions leading the way through wisdom and temperance and all virtue. For these when sown and planted in the mind will produce most beneficial fruits, namely fair and praiseworthy conduct. By means of this husbandry whatever trees 10 of passions or vices have sprung up and grown tall, bearing mischief-dealing fruits, are cut down and cleared away, no minute portion even being allowed to survive, as the germ of new growths of sins to spring up later on. And should there be any trees 11 capable of bearing neither wholesome nor harmful fruits, these it will cut down indeed, but not allow them to be made away with, but assign them to a use for which they are suited, setting them as pales and stakes to surround an encampment or to fence in a city in place of a wall. III. For he says, " Every 12 tree whose fruit is not edible thou shalt cut down and

- ἐπὶ τὴν πόλιν, ἥτις ποιήσει πρὸς σέ τὸν πόλεμον.”
 ταῦτα δ’ εἰκάζεται τὰ δένδρα ταῖς περὶ λόγους
 13 δυνάμεσι θεωρίαν ψιλὴν ἐχούσαις· ἐν αἷς θετέον
 ἰατρολογίαν ἀπεξευγμένην ἔργων, δι’ ὧν τοὺς κάμ-
 νοντας εἰκός ἐστι σῶζεσθαι, καὶ ῥητορικῆς τὸ
 συνηγορικὸν καὶ ἔμμισθον εἶδος οὐ περὶ τὴν εὕρεσιν
 τοῦ δικαίου πραγματευόμενον, ἀλλὰ περὶ τὴν δι’
 ἀπάτης πειθὼ τῶν ἀκουόντων, ἔτι μέντοι καὶ
 διαλεκτικῆς καὶ γεωμετρίας ὅσα εἰς μὲν ἐπαν-
 ὀρθωσιν ἡθους οὐδὲν συνεργεῖ, παραθήγει δὲ τὸν
 νοῦν οὐκ ἐῶντα ἀμβλείᾳ χρῆσθαι τῇ πρὸς ἕκαστα
 τῶν ἀπορουμένων προσβολῇ, τομαῖς δὲ αἰεὶ καὶ
 διαστολαῖς χρῆσθαι, ὡς τὴν ἐκάστου πράγματος
 14 ἰδιότητα κοινῶν διαzeugνῆναι ποιότητων. τὸν γοῦν
 κατὰ φιλοσοφίαν λόγον τρίδυμον ὄντα τοὺς παλαιούς
 ἀγρῶ φασιν ἀπεικάσαι, τὸ μὲν φυσικὸν αὐτοῦ
 δένδροις καὶ φυτοῖς παραβάλλοντας, τὸ δ’ ἠθικὸν
 καρποῖς, ὧν ἕνεκα καὶ τὰ φυτά, τὸ δ’ αὖ λογικόν
 15 φραγμῶ καὶ περιβόλῳ· καθάπερ γὰρ τὸ περι-
 κείμενον τείχος ὁπώρας καὶ φυτῶν τῶν κατὰ τὸν
 ἀγρόν ἐστι φυλακτήριον τοὺς ἐπὶ τῷ σίνεσθαι
 παρειασφθεῖρεσθαι βουλομένους ἀνείργον, τὸν αὐτὸν
 τρόπον τὸ λογικὸν μέρος φιλοσοφίας φρουρά τις
 ἐστὶν ὀχυρωτάτη τῶν δυεῖν ἐκείνων, ἠθικοῦ τε καὶ
 16 φυσικοῦ· τὰς γὰρ διπλᾶς καὶ ἀμφιβόλους ὅταν
 ἐξαπλοῖ λέξεις καὶ τὰς διὰ τῶν σοφισμάτων
 πιθανότηας ἐπιλύῃ καὶ τὴν εὐπαράγωγον ἀπάτην,

^a “The modes . . . processes,” lit. “dialectic and geometry” (or “logic and mathematics”).

^b See App. p. 490.

ON HUSBANDRY, 12-16

shalt make into a palisade to resist the city, which shall make war against thee " (Deut. xx. 20). The Scripture uses these trees to represent the purely intellectual activities which deal with theory alone. Among these we must place medical science dis- 13 sociated from practical measures such as lead to the recovery of the sick ; the kind of oratory practised by the hired advocate, that is concerned not to find out the rights of the case, but to influence the hearers by falsehood ; and over and above these we must include all the modes of reaching conclusions by argumentative and rigidly deductive processes,^a that contribute nothing to the improvement of character,^b but whet the mind, compelling it to pay keen attention to each problem as it presents itself ; and enabling it to draw clear distinctions, and to make the special character of the matter in hand stand out in bold relief against the background of the features which it has in common with others. Accordingly, they tell 14 us that the men of old likened philosophic discussion with its threefold division^b to a field, comparing that part which deals with nature to trees and plants ; that which deals with morality to fruits and crops, for the sake of which the plants exist ; that part which has to do with logic to a fence enclosing it. For even as the wall built round it serves to protect 15 the fruit and the plants that grow in the field, keeping off those who would like mischievously to make their way in with a view to plunder ; in the same way the logical part of philosophy is, so to speak, a strong barrier guarding those other two parts, the ethical and the physical. For when it disentangles ambiguous 16 expressions capable of two meanings, and exposes the fallacies created by tricks of argument, and using

μέγιστον ψυχῆς δέλεαρ καὶ ἐπιζήμιον, ἀναιρῇ διὰ λόγων ἐμφαντικωτάτων καὶ ἀποδείξεων ἀνενδοιάστων, ὥσπερ κηρὸν λελειασμένον τὸν νοῦν ἀπεργάζεται ἔτοιμον δέχεσθαι τοὺς τε φυσιολογίας καὶ τοὺς ἠθοποιίας ἀσινεῖς καὶ πάνυ δοκίμους χαρακτήρας.

17. IV. Ταῦτ' οὖν ἡ ψυχῆς ἐπαγγελλομένη γεωργικὴ προκηρύνττει· τὰ ἀφροσύνης δένδρα καὶ ἀκολασίας ἀδικίας τε καὶ δειλίας πάντ' ἐκκόψω, ἐκτεμῶ καὶ τὰ ἡδονῆς καὶ ἐπιθυμίας ὀργῆς τε καὶ θυμοῦ καὶ τῶν παραπλησίων παθῶν, κἂν ἄχρις οὐρανοῦ μηκύνηται,¹ τὰ φυτά, ἐπικαύσω καὶ τὰς ρίζας αὐτῶν ἐφιεῖς' ἄχρι τῶν ὑστάτων τῆς γῆς φλογὸς ῥιπήν, [303] ὡς μηδὲν | μέρος ἀλλὰ μηδ' ἵχνος ἢ σκιὰν ὑπολει-
- 18 φθῆναι τὸ παράπαν. ἀνελῶ μὲν δὴ ταῦτα, φυτεύσω δὲ ταῖς μὲν ἐν ἡλικίᾳ παιδικῇ ψυχαῖς μοσχεύματα, ὧν ὁ καρπὸς αὐτὰς τιθηνήσεται—ἔστι δὲ ταῦτα ἡ τοῦ γράφειν καὶ ἀναγινώσκειν εὐτρόχως ἐπιτήδευσις, ἡ τῶν παρὰ σοφοῖς ποιηταῖς ἀκριβῆς ἔρευνα, γεωμετρία καὶ ἡ περὶ τοὺς ῥητορικοὺς λόγους μελέτη καὶ ἡ σύμπασα τῆς ἐγκυκλίου παιδείας μουσική—, ταῖς δὲ νεανιευομέναις καὶ ἀνδρουμέναις ἤδη τὰ ἀμείνω καὶ τελεώτερα, τὸ φρονήσεως φυτόν, τὸ ἀνδρείας, τὸ σωφροσύνης, τὸ δικαιοσύνης, τὸ ἀρετῆς ἀπάσης. ἂν μέντοι τι καὶ τῶν τῆς ἀγρίας λεγομένης ὕλης² ἐδώδιμον μὲν μὴ φέρη καρπὸν, δύνηται δὲ ἐδώδιμος φραγμὸς εἶναι καὶ φυλακτήριον, καὶ τοῦτο ταμιεύσομαι, οὐ δι' ἑαυτό, ἀλλ' ὅτι ὑπηρετεῖν ἀναγκαίῳ καὶ χρησίμῳ σφόδρα πέφυκε.

¹ MSS. μηκύνη.

² MSS. μουσής.

ON HUSBANDRY, 16-19

perfectly clear and unmistakable language and adducing proofs which admit of no doubt destroys plausible falsehood, that greatest snare and pest of the soul, it makes the mind like smoothed wax ready to receive the impressions made by the science that explores existence and that which aims at building character, impressions free from flaw and aught that is not genuine.

IV. These, then, are the offers held out by soul-¹⁷ husbandry in its inaugural proclamation : " The trees of folly and licentiousness, of injustice and cowardice I will wholly cut down ; I will moreover extirpate the plants of pleasure and desire, of anger and wrath and of like passions, even though they be grown up to heaven ; I will burn up their very roots, letting the rush of fire pursue them even to the depths of the earth, that no part or trace or shadow of them whatever be left behind. These I will destroy, but ¹⁸ I will plant for souls in their childhood suckers whose fruit shall feed them. These suckers are the learning to write easily and read fluently ; the diligent search of what wise poets have written ; geometry and the practice of rhetorical composition ; and the whole of the education embraced in school-learning. For souls at the stage of youths and of those now growing into men I will provide the better and more perfect thing suited to their age, the plant of sound sense, that of courage, that of temperance, that of justice, that of all virtue. If, again, some tree among those ¹⁹ that belong to what is called wild wood does not bear edible fruit, but can be a fence and protection of such fruit, this tree also will I keep in store, not for its own sake, but because it is adapted to do service to another that is indispensable and most useful."

- 20 V. Διὰ τοῦτο ὁ πάνσοφος Μωυσῆς τῷ μὲν δικαίῳ τὴν τῆς ψυχῆς γεωργικὴν ὡς ἐναρμόνιον καὶ ἐπιβάλλουσαν τέχνην ἀνατίθησι λέγων “ ἤρξατο Νῶε ἄνθρωπος εἶναι γεωργός,” τῷ δὲ ἀδίκῳ τὴν ἀνευ ἐπιστήμης φέρουσιν ἄχθῃ βαρύτερα γῆς ἐργασίαν.
- 21 “ Κάιν” γάρ φησιν “ ἦν ἐργαζόμενος τὴν γῆν,” καὶ μικρὸν ὕστερον, ἡνίκα τὸ ἐπὶ τῇ ἀδελφοκτονίᾳ ἄγος ἐργασάμενος καταφωράται, λέγεται· “ ἐπικατάρατος σὺ ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς, ἣ ἔχανε τὸ στόμα αὐτῆς δέξασθαι τὸ αἷμα τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ σου ἐκ τῆς χειρός σου, ἣ ἐργᾷ τὴν γῆν, καὶ οὐ προσθήσει τὴν ἰσχὺν αὐτῆς δοῦναί σοι.” πῶς οὖν ἂν τις περιφανέστερον ἐπιδείξαι δύναίτο, ὅτι γῆς ἐργάτην ἀλλ’ οὐ γεωργὸν ὁ νομοθέτης νομίζει τὸν φαῦλον, ἢ τὸν τρόπον τοῦτον; οὐ μὴν ὑποληπτέον ἢ περὶ ἀνθρώπου χερσὶ καὶ ποσὶ καὶ τῇ ἄλλῃ δυνάμει τοῦ σώματος ἐνεργεῖν ἱκανοῦ ἢ περὶ γῆς ὀρεινῆς καὶ πεδιάδος εἶναι τὸν λόγον, ἀλλὰ περὶ τῶν καθ’ ἕκαστον ἡμῶν δυνάμεων· τὴν γὰρ τοῦ φαύλου ψυχὴν περὶ οὐδὲν ἄλλο πραγματεύεσθαι συμβέβηκεν ἢ τὸ γήινον
- 23 σῶμα καὶ τὰς τοῦ σώματος ἀπάσας ἡδονάς. ὁ γοῦν πολὺς ὄμιλος ἀνθρώπων τὰ γῆς ἐπιὼν κλίματα καὶ ἄχρι τῶν περάτων φθάνων αὐτῆς καὶ τὰ πελάγη περαιούμενος καὶ τὰ ἐν μυχοῖς θαλάττης ἀναζητῶν καὶ μηδὲν μέρος ἐὼν τοῦ παντὸς ἀδιερεύνητον αἰεὶ καὶ πανταχοῦ πορίζει ταῦτα, δι’ ὧν ἡδονὴν συναυ-
- 24 ξήσει· καθάπερ γὰρ οἱ ἀλιευόμενοι δίκτυα καθιᾶσιν ἔστιν ὅτε μήκιστα πολλὴν ἐν κύκλῳ περιβαλλόμενοι

^a Or “earned from his working.” Philo plays with *ἐργάζομαι* which can mean either “to work” (till) or “gain by work.” So, too, *ἄγος* (pollution) carries with it the idea of a curse and explains the *ἐπικατάρατος* of the text.

ON HUSBANDRY, 20-24

V. It is for this reason that Moses, the all-wise, 20 ascribes to the righteous man soul-husbandry as a science in keeping with him and rightly pertaining to him, saying "Noah began to be a husbandman," whereas to the unrighteous man he ascribes that working of the ground which is without scientific knowledge and carries very heavy loads. For he 21 says, "Cain was one working the ground" (Gen. iv. 2), and, a little later, when he is discovered to have incurred^a the pollution of fratricide, it is said: "Cursed art thou from the ground, which hath opened her mouth to receive thy brother's blood from thy hand, with which thou shalt work the ground, and it shall not yield^b its strength to give it thee" (Gen. iv. 12 f.). How, I ask, could anyone shew more clearly 22 than in this manner that the lawgiver considers the bad man a worker of the soil and not an husbandman? We must not, however, suppose that what is here spoken of is either a man able to work with hands and feet and the other powers of the body, or that it is soil on hill or plain. No, the subject dealt with is the faculties of each one of us; for the soul of the bad man has no other interest than his earthy body, and all the body's pleasures. At all events 23 the majority of mankind traversing all the quarters of the earth and finding their way to its utmost bounds, and crossing its oceans, and seeking what is hidden in far-reaching creeks of the sea, and leaving no part of the whole world unexplored, are always and everywhere procuring the means of increasing pleasure. For even as fishermen let down nets, 24 sometimes very long, taking in a large extent of sea,

^b Or "add." Cf. *Quod Det.* 112.

- θάλατταν, ἵν' ὥς πλείστους ἐντὸς ληφθέντας ἀρκύων
οἷα τειχήρεις γεγονότας ἰχθύας συλλάβωσι, τὸν αὐ-
τὸν τρόπον ἢ πλείστη μοῖρα ἀνθρώπων οὐκ ἐπὶ
[304] μέρος θαλάττης μόνον, | ἀλλ' ἐφ' ἅπασαν τὴν
ὑδατος καὶ γῆς καὶ ἀέρος φύσιν τὰ πάντα, ὥς
οἱ ποιηταὶ πού φασι, λῖνα τείνας' ἅπαντα παντα-
χόθεν δι' ἡδονῆς ἀπόλαυσίν τε καὶ χρήσιν ἀγκι-
25 στρεύεται· καὶ γὰρ γῆν μεταλλεύουσι καὶ τὰ πελάγη
διαβαίνουνσι καὶ τᾶλλα πάντα ὅσα εἰρήνης καὶ
πολέμου ἔργα δρῶσιν, ὕλας ἀφθότους ὥς βασιλίδι
ἡδονῇ πορίζοντες, οἱ γεωργίας μὲν ἀμύητοι ψυ-
χικῆς, ἣ σπείρουσα καὶ φυτεύουσα τὰς ἀρετὰς
καρπὸν δρέπεται τὸν εὐδαίμονα βίον ἀπ' αὐτῶν,
ἐργασάμενοι δὲ καὶ μεθοδεύοντες τὰ φίλα τῇ
σαρκὶ καὶ τὸν σύνθετον χοῦν, τὸν πεπλασμένον
ἀνδριάντα, τὸν ψυχῆς ἔγγιστα οἶκον,¹ ὃν ἀπὸ
γενέσεως ἄχρι τελευτῆς, ἄχθος τοσοῦτον, οὐκ
ἀποτίθεται νεκροφοροῦσα, μετὰ σπουδῆς τῆς
πάσης οἰκείουμενοι.
- 26 VI. Ὡς μὲν οὖν γεωργίας ἐργασία γῆς καὶ
γεωργοῦ γῆς ἐργάτης διαφέρουσιν, εἴρηται. σκε-
πτέον δέ, μὴ καὶ ἄλλαι τινές εἰσιν ἰδέαι συγγενεῖς
τῶν εἰρημένων, διὰ τὴν ἐν τοῖς ὀνόμασι κοινωνίαν
ἐπικρύπτουσιν τὰς ἐν τοῖς πράγμασι διαφοράς·
εἰσι δέ γε αἷς ἀναζητοῦντες εὖρομεν διτταί, περὶ
27 ὧν τὰ προσήκοντα, εἰάν οἷόν τε ᾗ, λέξομεν. αὐτίκα
τοίνυν ὥς γεωργὸν καὶ γῆς ἐργάτην δόξαντας
ἀδιαφορεῖν ἀλλήλων εὖρομεν ἐν τοῖς κατὰ διάνοιαν

¹ Mangey ὄγκον, which perhaps may be right. For οἶκον
cf. *Quod Deus* 150.

ON HUSBANDRY, 24-27

in order that they may enclose within the toils as many fish as possible imprisoned as though by a wall: in just the same fashion the larger part of mankind stretching what the poets call, I think, "all-capturing nets," not only over every part of the sea but over the whole realm of water, earth and air, ensnares from all quarters things of all sorts to satisfy and indulge Pleasure. They dig into the ground and 25 cross the seas and do all works incidental to war or peace to provide lavish materials for Pleasure as for a queen. These people have not learned the secrets of soul-husbandry, which sows and plants the virtues and reaps as their fruit a happy life. They have made the objects dear to the flesh their business,^a and these they pursue methodically. With all earnestness they seek to make their own that composition of clay, that moulded statue, that house so close to the soul, which it never lays aside but carries as a corpse from birth to death, ah! how sore a burden!

VI. We have stated how working of the soil differs 26 from husbandry and a worker of the soil from an husbandman. But we must consider whether there are not other cases like those which have been mentioned, in which the difference between the things signified is obscured by their passing under the same name. There are two such instances which we have found by careful search, and concerning which we will say, if we can, what ought to be said. For example, then, as in the case of "husbandman" 27 and "soil-worker," by resorting to allegory we found a wide difference in meaning to underly apparent

^a Or "their work," still continuing the thought of γῆς ἐργασία.

- ἀλληγοροῦντες μακρῷ διεστηκότας, οὕτως ποιμένα
καὶ κτηνοτρόφον· μέμνηται γὰρ ποτὲ μὲν κτηνο-
28 τροφίας ποτὲ δ' αὖ ποιμενικῆς ὁ νομοθέτης. καὶ οἱ
γε μὴ λίαν ἡκριβωμένοι τάχα που τῆς αὐτῆς ἐπι-
τηδεύσεως συνωνυμούσας ὑπολήφονται προσρήσεις
εἶναι, εἰσὶ δέ γε πραγμάτων διαφερόντων ἐν ταῖς
29 δι' ὑπονοιῶν ἀποδόσεσι· καὶ γὰρ εἰ τοῖς θρεμμάτων
προεστηκόσιν ἀιφότερα ἐπιφημίζειν ἔθος κτηνο-
τρόφων καὶ ποιμένων ὀνόματα, ἀλλ' οὐ γε τῷ τὴν
ψυχῆς ἀγέλην ἐπιτετραμμένῳ λογισμῷ· φαῦλος
μὲν γὰρ ὢν ὁ ἀγελάρχης οὗτος καλεῖται κτηνο-
τρόφος, ἀγαθὸς δὲ καὶ σπουδαῖος ὀνομάζεται
30 ποιμήν. ὃν δὲ τρόπον, ἐπιδείξομεν αὐτίκα· VII. ἡ
φύσις ἡμῶν ἐκάστῳ κτήνῃ συγγεγέννηκε, τῆς
ψυχῆς ὥσπερ ἀπὸ μιᾶς ῥίζης ἔρρη διττὰ ἀνα-
βλαστούσης, ὧν τὸ μὲν ἄτμητον ὅλον δι' ὅλων
ἐαθὲν ἐπεφημίσθη νοῦς, τὸ δ' ἐξαχῇ σχισθὲν εἰς
ἐπτὰ φύσεις πέντε τῶν αἰσθήσεων καὶ δυεῖν ἄλλων
31 ὀργάνων, φωνητηρίου τε καὶ γονίμου. αὕτη δὲ
πᾶσα ἡ πληθὺς ἄλογος οὐσα κτήνεσιν ἀπεικάζεται,
πληθύει δὲ νόμῳ φύσεως ἡγεμόνος ἐξ ἀνάγκης δεῖ.¹
[305] ἐπειδὰν μὲν οὖν ἄπειρος ἀρχῆς ἅμα καὶ | πλούσιος
ἐξαναστὰς ἄρχοντα ἑαυτὸν ἀποφήνῃ, μυρίων αἴτιος
32 κακῶν γίνεται τοῖς θρέμμασιν· αὐτὸς μὲν γὰρ
ἄφθονα παρέχει τὰ ἐπιτήδεια, τὰ δὲ ἀμέτρως
ἐμφορούμενα ὑπὸ πλεοναζούσης τροφῆς ἐξυβρίζει
—κόρου γὰρ ὕβρις ἔγγονον γνήσιον—, ἐξυβρίζοντα

¹ MSS. *ἀεί et alia*.

* Cf. *De Op.* 117 and note.

identity, so shall we find it to be with "shepherd" and "cattle-rearer." For the lawgiver speaks in some places of "cattle-rearing," in others of "shepherding," and people who have not acquired real 28 accuracy will perhaps suppose that these are synonymous descriptions of the same pursuit, whereas they denote different things when words are rendered in the light of their deeper meaning. For though it is 29 customary to apply to those who have charge of animals both names, calling them "cattle-rearers" and "shepherds" indiscriminately, yet we may not do so when we are speaking of the reasoning faculty to which the flock of the soul has been entrusted: for this ruler of a flock is called a "cattle-rearer" when he is a bad ruler, but, when a good and sterling one, he receives the name of "shepherd." How this is, we will at once shew. VII. Nature has produced 30 each one of us with "cattle" as part of our being. The living soul puts forth, as it were, from one root two shoots, one of which has been left whole and undivided and is called "Mind," while the other by a sixfold division is made into seven growths, five those of the senses and (two) of two other organs, that of utterance and that of generation.^a All this 31 herd being irrational is compared to cattle, and by nature's law a herd cannot do without a governor. Now when a man at once without experience in ruling and possessed of wealth rises up and constitutes himself a ruler, he becomes the author of a multitude of evils to his charges. For he on his 32 part supplies provender lavishly, and the animals gorging themselves beyond measure wax wanton from abundance of food, wantonness being the true offspring of excess, and in their wantonness they

- μέντοι σκιρτᾷ καὶ ἀφηνιάζει καὶ κατὰ μέρος
 σκιδνάμενα διαλύει τὸ τῆς ἀγέλης συντεταγμένον
 33 στίφος. ὁ δὲ τέως ἡγεμὼν καταλειφθεὶς ὑπὸ τῶν
 ἀρχομένων ιδιώτης ἀνεφάνη, καὶ ἐπιτρέχει μὲν
 σπονδάζων, εἴ τι δύναιτο συλλαβεῖν ἐξ ὑπαρχῆς
 καὶ ὑπαγαγέσθαι· ὅταν δὲ ἀδυνατῇ, στένει καὶ
 κλαίει τὴν ἰδίαν κακίζων εὐχέριαν καὶ ἑαυτὸν τῶν
 34 συμβεβηκότων αἰτιώμενος. τοῦτον δὲ τὸν τρό-
 πον καὶ τὰ τῶν αἰσθήσεων θρέμματα, ἐπειδὰν ὁ
 νοῦς ὑπτίως καὶ ῥαθύμως ἔχῃ, τῆς τῶν αἰσθητῶν
 ἀπλήστως ἐμφορούμενα ἀφθονίας ἀπαυχενίζει τε
 καὶ σκιρτᾷ καὶ πλημμελῶς ὅπῃ τύχοι φέρεται, καὶ
 ὀφθαλμοὶ πρὸς πάντα ἀναπεπταμένοι τὰ ὁράτά,
 καὶ ἃ μὴ θέμις ὄρᾶν, ἐξώκειλαν, καὶ ἀκοαὶ πάσας
 φωνὰς παραδεχόμεναι καὶ μηδέποτε πληρούμεναι,
 διψῶσαι δὲ αἰεὶ περιεργίας καὶ φιλοπραγμοσύνης,
 ἔστι δὲ ὅπου καὶ ἀνελευθέρου χλεύης ἐκπεφοιτή-
 35 κασιν. VIII. ἐπεὶ πόθεν ἄλλοθεν τὰ πανταχοῦ
 τῆς οἰκουμένης θέατρα νομίζομεν ἀμυθήτων μυ-
 ριάδων ἀνὰ πᾶσαν ἡμέραν πληροῦσθαι; οἱ γὰρ
 ἀκουσμάτων καὶ θεαμάτων ἡττους καὶ ὦτα καὶ
 ὀφθαλμοὺς χωρὶς ἡνιῶν ἐάσαντες φέρεσθαι καὶ
 κιθαριστὰς καὶ κιθαρῳδοὺς καὶ πᾶσαν τὴν κεκλα-
 σμένην καὶ ἀνανδρον μουσικὴν περιέποντες, ἔτι δὲ
 ὀρχηστὰς καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους μίμους ἀποδεχόμενοι, ὅτι
 σχέσεις καὶ κινήσεις ἐκτεθλυμμένας ἴσχονται καὶ
 κινοῦνται, τὸν ἐπὶ σκηνῆς αἰεὶ πόλεμον συγκρο-
 τοῦσι μήτε τῆς τῶν ἰδίων μήτε τῆς τῶν κοινῶν

“ Or “ actively promoting the warfare of the stage,” i.e. encouraging by their partisanship the rivalries and intrigues of the actors. Mangey “factiones theatricas instaurant.”

ON HUSBANDRY, 32-35

become frolicsome and refuse to be controlled, and getting separated in scattered groups they break up the compact array of the flock. The erstwhile 33 ruler, forsaken by his subjects, is shewn to be a raw hand, and runs after them anxious if possible to get hold of some animal and bring it under control again. Finding that he cannot do this, he weeps and groans, cursing his own rashness, and blaming himself for what has happened. Precisely in this way does that 34 other herd, our senses, act; whenever the mind gets lazy and careless, they gorge themselves insatiably with the lavish food brought in by the objects of sense, shake off restraint, and get unruly, going at random where they have no business to go. The eyes wide open to all things visible, even those which it is not right to look upon, meet with disaster. The ears welcome all sounds and are never satisfied; they are athirst all the time for particulars about other people's business, in some cases for topics for vulgar jesting, and go far and wide on these errands. VIII. From 35 what other quarter can we suppose that the theatres all over the world are filled every day with countless myriads? Those whom spectacles and musical performances have made their slaves, allowing ears and eyes to wander about unbridled; taken up with flute-players and harpers and the whole range of unmanly and effeminate music; delighting in dancers and other actors, because they put themselves into indelicate positions and make indelicate movements; ever organizing a warfare as mimic as that on the stage ^a without a thought for their own betterment or

Philo frequently uses *συγκροτέω* with *πόλεμον* in the sense of "organize" or "wage"; otherwise it might be taken as = "applaud."

PHILO

- ἐπανορθώσεως πεφροντικότες, ἀλλὰ τὸν ἑαυτῶν οἱ
 δυστυχεῖς διὰ τε ὀφθαλμῶν καὶ ὠτῶν ἀνατρέποντες
 36 βίον. ἄλλοι δὲ εἰσιν οἱ τούτων ἀθλιώτεροι καὶ
 κακοδαιμονέστεροι, οἱ τὴν γεῦσιν ὥσπερ ἐκ δεσμῶν
 ἔλυσαν· ἡ δὲ πρὸς πᾶσαν σιτίων τε καὶ ποτῶν
 <ἀπόλαυσιν> ἄφετος εὐθὺς ὀρμήσασα τά τε ἤδη
 εὐτρεπισθέντα ἐπιλέγεται καὶ πείναν ἄληκτον καὶ
 ἄπληστον ἴσχει τῶν ἀπόντων, ὥς, καὶ αἱ τῆς
 γαστρὸς ἀποπληρωθῶσι δεξαμεναί, σπαργῶσαν ἔτι
 καὶ μαιμῶσαν τὴν αἰεὶ κενὴν ἐπιθυμίαν περι-
 βλέπεσθαι καὶ περιφοιτᾶν, μή τί πού παροραθὲν
 λείψανον ἀφείται, ἵνα καὶ τοῦτο παμφάγου πυρὸς
 37 δίκην ἐπιλιχμήσῃται. γαστριμαργία τοίνυν ἡ ὀπα-
 δὸς ἐκ φύσεως ἀκολουθεῖ συνουσίας ἡδονῇ μανίαν
 ἔκτοπον καὶ οἶστρον ἀνεπίσχετον καὶ λύτταν
 ἀργαλεωτάτην ἐπιφέρουσα· ὅταν γὰρ ὑπὸ ὀψο-
 [306] φαγίας καὶ ἀκράτου καὶ πολλῆς | μέθης ἄνθρωποι
 πιεσθῶσιν, οὐκέτι κρατεῖν ἑαυτῶν δύνανται, πρὸς
 δὲ τὰς ἐρωτικὰς μίξεις ἐπειγόμενοι κωμάζουσι καὶ
 θυραυλοῦσι, μέχρις ἂν τὸν πολὺν τοῦ πάθους ἀπ-
 38 οχετευσάμενοι βρασμὸν ἡρεμῆσαι δυνηθῶσιν. οὐ
 χάριν καὶ ἡ φύσις ὥς ἔοικεν ὑπογαστρία τὰ
 συνουσίας ὄργανα ἐδημιούργησε, προλαβοῦσα ὅτι
 λιμῶ μὲν οὐ χαίρει, πλησμονῇ δὲ ἔπεται καὶ πρὸς
 τὰς ἰδίας ἐνεργείας ὑπανίσταται.
- 39 IX. Τοὺς οὖν τοῖς θρέμμασι τούτοις ἐπιτρέ-
 ποντας ἀθρόων ὧν ὀρέγονται πάντων ἐμφορεῖσθαι
 κτηνοτρόφους λεκτέον, ποιμένας δ' ἔμπαλιν ὅσοι
 τά τε ἀναγκαῖα καὶ αὐτὰ μόνα τὰ ἐπιτήδεια παρ-
 ἔχουσι περιτεμνόμενοι καὶ ἀποκόπτοντες τὴν περιτ-

for that of the commonweal, but overthrowing (the poor wretches !), by means of eyes and ears their own life itself. Others there are more miserable 36 and ill-starred than these, who have let loose their appetite like an animal which had been tied up. Thus left at large it at once makes for all kinds of enjoyment of eatables and drinkables, takes its pick of what has already been served up, and develops a ceaseless and insatiable craving for what is not on the table. So, even if the receptacles of the belly have been completely filled, taste still empty and still swelling and panting goes about looking everywhere to see whether haply there are any leavings that have been overlooked and let pass, that like an all-devouring fire it may pick up this as well. Glut- 37 tony is naturally followed by her attendant, sexual indulgence, bringing on extraordinary madness, fierce desire and most grievous frenzy. For when men have been loaded up with overeating and strong drink and heavy intoxication, they are no longer able to control themselves, but in haste to indulge their lusts they carry on their revels and beset doors until they have drained off the great vehemence of their passion and find it possible to be still. This is 38 apparently the reason why Nature placed the organs of sexual lust where she did, assuming that they do not like hunger, but are roused to their special activities when fulness of food leads the way.

IX. So we must give the name of cattle-rearers to 39 those who permit these creatures to gorge themselves wholesale with all that they crave after. The title of shepherds we must give on the other hand to such as supply them with the necessities of life only and nothing more, pruning and cutting off all excessive

PHILO

- τὴν καὶ ἀλυσιτελῇ πᾶσαν ἀφθονίαν, ἥτις ἀπορίας καὶ ἐνδείας οὐχ ἥκιστα βλάπτει, πρόνοιάν τε πολλὴν ἔχουσι τοῦ μὴ ἐξ ἀμελείας καὶ ῥαθυμίας νοσῆσαι τὴν ἀγέλην εὐχόμενοι μηδὲ τὰς ἑξῶθεν
- 40 εἰωθυίας κατασκήπτειν νόσους ἐπιγενέσθαι. στοχάζονται δὲ οὐδὲν ἦττον καὶ τοῦ μὴ διασπασθεῖσαν αὐτὴν σποράδην διασκεδασθῆναι, φόβον ἐπανατεινόμενοι τὸν σωφρονιστὴν τῶν λόγῳ μηδέποτε πειθομένων καὶ κολάσει χρώμενοι συνεχεῖ, μετρία μὲν κατὰ τῶν ἰάσιμα νεωτερίζοντων, ἀφορητῶ δὲ κατὰ τῶν ἀνίατα· τὸ γὰρ εἶναι δοκοῦν ἀπευκτὸν μέγιστον ἀγαθὸν ἀφραίνουσιν, ἢ κόλασις, ὥσπερ τοῖς
- 41 τὰ σώματα κάμνουσιν αἱ ἱατρικαὶ ὕλαι. X. ταῦτα τὰ ἐπιτηδεύματα ποιμένων ἐστίν, οἳ τῶν σὺν ἡδονῇ βλαβερῶν τὰ μετὰ ἀηδίας προτιμῶσιν ὠφέλιμα. οὕτως γοῦν σεμνὸν καὶ λυσιτελὲς νενόμισται τὸ ποιμαίνειν, ὥστε τὸ μὲν ποιητικὸν γένος τοὺς βασιλέας ποιμένας λαῶν εἴωθε καλεῖν, ὃ δὲ νομοθέτης τοὺς σοφούς, οἳ μόνοι πρὸς ἀλήθειαν βασιλεῖς εἰσιν· ἄρχοντας γὰρ αὐτοὺς ὡς ἂν ποιμένης εἰσάγει τῆς ἀνθρώπων ἀπάντων ἀλόγου φορᾶς.
- 42 Διὰ τοῦτο καὶ τῷ τελειωθέντι ἐξ ἀσκήσεως Ἰακώβ τὴν ποιμενικὴν ἐπιστήμην περιῆψε· ποιμαίνει γὰρ οὗτος τὰ πρόβατα Λάβαν, τῆς τοῦ ἄφρονος ψυχῆς τὰ αἰσθητὰ μόνα καὶ φαινόμενα νομίζουσης ἀγαθὰ, χρώμασι καὶ σκιαῖς ἡπατημένης καὶ δεδουλωμένης· λευκασμὸς γὰρ ἐρμηνεύε-
- 43 ται Λάβαν. καὶ Μωυσεῖ τῷ πανσόφῳ τὴν αὐτὴν

* See App. p. 490.

ON HUSBANDRY, 39-43

and hurtful luxuriance, a thing which does no less harm than straitness and dearth. "Shepherds" too are those who exercise much forethought that the flock may not contract disease as the result of negligence and laziness, praying too that there may be no occurrence of such plagues as are wont to come as a visitation which cannot be guarded against. No less 40 do they make it their aim that the flock may not be broken up and scattered about. Fear is the corrector of those who never obey reason. This they hold over them, and have recourse to constant punishment, a mild form in the case of those whose rebellion is capable of being cured, but very severe in the case of those whose wrongdoings defy curative treatment. For that which is apparently much to be deprecated is a very great boon to people who act senselessly, just as physic is to people in bad bodily health. X. These are the practices and ways of shepherds, 41 who prefer what is distasteful but beneficial to what is pleasant but hurtful. So full of dignity and benefit has the shepherd's task been held to be, that poets are wont to give to kings the title of "shepherds of peoples," a title which the lawgiver bestows on the wise. They are the only real kings,^a and he shews them to us ruling, as a shepherd does his flock, over the irrational tendency common to all mankind.

This is why he ascribed to Jacob, who was perfected 42 as the result of discipline, the shepherd's lore. For Jacob tends the sheep of Laban (Gen. xxx. 36), that is to say, of the soul of the foolish one which considers nothing good but sensible objects that meet the eye, and which is deceived and enslaved by colours and shadows; for the meaning of "Laban" is "whitening." He ascribes the same profession to Moses, the 43

τέχνην ἀνατίθῃσι· καὶ γὰρ οὗτος ποιμὴν ἀπο-
 δείκνυται διανοίας τύφον πρὸ ἀληθείας ἀσπαζο-
 [307] μένης καὶ πρὸ τοῦ εἶναι τὸ δοκεῖν | ἀποδεχομένης·
 περισσὸς γὰρ Ἰοθὼρ ἐρμηνεύεται, περιττὸν δὲ καὶ
 ἐπεισηγμένον ἀπλανεῖ βίῳ πρὸς ἀπάτην τύφος, ὧ
 καὶ τὰ κατὰ πόλεις ἕτερα παρ' ἑτέροις, οὐ τὰ αὐτὰ
 δίκαια παρὰ πᾶσιν, ἔθος εἰσηγεῖσθαι τὰ κοινὰ τῆς
 φύσεως καὶ ἀκίνητα νόμιμα οὐδ' ὄναρ ἰδόντι·
 λέγεται γὰρ ὅτι “ Μωυσῆς ἦν ποιμαίνων τὰ προ-
 44 βατα Ἰοθὼρ τοῦ ἱερέως Μαδιάμ.” ὁ δ' αὐτὸς οὗτος
 εὖχεται, μὴ ὡς ἀνεπιτρόπευτον ποιμῆν τὸν ὄχλον
 καὶ λεῶν¹ ἅπαντα τῆς ψυχῆς ἀφεθῆναι, τυχεῖν δὲ
 ἀγαθοῦ ποιμένος ἐξάγοντος μὲν ἀπὸ τῶν ἀφροσύνης
 καὶ ἀδικίας καὶ πάσης κακίας δικτύων, εἰσάγοντος
 δὲ εἰς τὰ παιδείας καὶ τῆς ἄλλης ἀρετῆς δόγματα·
 “ ἐπισκεψάσθω ” γάρ φησι “ κύριος ὁ θεὸς τῶν
 πνευμάτων καὶ πάσης σαρκὸς ἄνθρωπον ἐπὶ τῆς
 συναγωγῆς ταύτης.” εἶτα ὀλίγα προσειπὼν ἐπι-
 φέρει· “ καὶ οὐκ ἔσται ἡ συναγωγή κυρίου ὡσεὶ
 45 πρόβατα, οἷς οὐκ ἔστι ποιμὴν.” XI. ἀλλ' οὐκ
 ἄξιον εὐχεσθαι μὴ χωρὶς ἐπιστάτου καὶ ἡγεμόνος
 ἐαθῆναι τὸ συγγενὲς καὶ συμφυὲς ἡμῶν ἐκάστω
 ποιμνιον, ὡς μὴ τῆς φαυλοτάτης τῶν κακο-
 πολιτειῶν ὀχλοκρατίας, ἣ παράκομμα τῆς ἀρίστης
 δημοκρατίας ἐστίν, ἀναπλησθέντες θορύβοις καὶ
 ταραχαῖς καὶ ἐμφυλίοις στάσεσιν αἰεὶ χρώμενοι
 46 διατελῶμεν; οὐ μὴν ἀναρχία μόνον ὀχλοκρατίαν
 τίκτουσα δεινόν, ἀλλ' ἡ καὶ παρανόμου καὶ βιαίου

¹ MSS. κλαίων *et alia*.

^a See App. p. 490.

all-wise ; for he also is appointed shepherd of a mind that welcomes conceit in preference to truth, and approves seeming in preference to being. For "Jethro" or "Iothor" means "uneven,"^a and self-conceit is an uneven and adventitious thing that comes in to beguile a fixed and steady life. It is a quality whose way is to introduce principles of right varying city by city ; of one kind in this city, of another kind in that ; not the same rule of right in all. The ordinances of nature that apply to all alike and are immovable it has never seen even in a dream. What we are told is that "Moses was shepherding the sheep of Jethro the priest of Midian" (Exod. iii. 1). This same Moses prays that the whole multi- 44 tude of the soul-folk may not be left as an untended flock, but may be given a good shepherd, leading them forth away from the snares of folly and injustice and all wickedness, and leading them in to imbibe all that discipline and virtue in its other forms would teach them. For he says, "Let the Lord, the God of the spirits and of all flesh, appoint a man over this congregation ;" then, after adding a few words, he continues, "And the congregation of the Lord shall not be as sheep that have no shepherd" (Numb. xxvii. 16 f.). XI. Is it not well to pray that the flock linked 45 to each one of us by a common birth and a common growth may not be left without a ruler and guide ? So might mob-rule, the very worst of bad constitutions, the counterfeit of democracy, which is the best of them, infect us, while we spend our days in ceaseless experience of disorders, tumults and intestine broils. Anarchy, however, the mother of mob-rule, is not our 46 only danger. We have to dread also the uprising of some aspirant to sovereign power, forcibly setting law

- τινὸς ἐφ' ἡγεμονίαν ἐπανάστασις· τύραννος γὰρ ἐκ φύσεως ἐχθρός, πόλεων μὲν ἄνθρωπος, σώματος δὲ καὶ ψυχῆς καὶ τῶν καθ' ἐκάτερον πραγμάτων ὁ τὴν ἀκρόπολιν ἐπιτετειχικῶς ἐκάστω θηριωδέ-
 47 στατος νοῦς. ἄλυσιτελεῖς δὲ οὐχ αὐταὶ μόνον αἱ δεσποτεῖται, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν λίαν ἐπιεικῶν ἀρχαί τε καὶ προστασίαι· χρηστότης γὰρ πρᾶγμα εὐκαταφρόνητον καὶ ἐκατέροις, ἄρχουσὶ τε καὶ ὑπηκόοις, βλαβερὸν, τοῖς μὲν ἐκ τῆς τῶν ὑποτεταγμένων εἰς αὐτοὺς ὀλιγωρίας μηδὲν μήτε ἴδιον μήτε κοινὸν ἐπανορθώσασθαι δυναμένοις. ἔστι δ' ὅτε καὶ τὰς ἡγεμονίας ἀναγκαζομένοις ἀποτίθεσθαι, τοῖς δὲ ἐκ συνεχοῦς τῆς πρὸς τοὺς ἄρχοντας ὀλιγωρίας πειθοῦς ἡμεληκόσι καὶ ἀδεῶς¹ ἐπὶ μεγάλῳ κακοῦ κτήσει
 48 περιποιησαμένοις αὐθάδειαν. τούτους μὲν <οὖν> θρεμμάτων, ἐκείνους δὲ κτηνοτρόφων οὐδὲν νομιστέον διαφέρειν· οἱ μὲν γὰρ τρυφᾶν ἐν ἀφθόνοις ὕλαις ἀναπείθουσιν, οἱ δὲ τὸν κόρον ἀδυνατοῦντες φέρειν ἐξυβρίζουσι. χρὴ δὲ ὥσπερ αἰπόλον ἢ βουκόλον ἢ ποιμένα ἢ κοινῶς νομέα τὸν ἡμέτερον
 [308] ἄρχειν νοῦν τὸ | συμφέρον πρὸ τοῦ ἡδέος ἑαυτῷ τε καὶ τοῖς θρέμμασιν αἰρούμενον.
- 49 XII. Ἡ δὲ τοῦ θεοῦ ἐπίσκεψις πρῶτον σχεδὸν καὶ μόνον αἷτιον τοῦ τὰ μέρη τῆς ψυχῆς μὴ ἀνεπιτρόπευτα ἀφεθῆναι, τυχεῖν δὲ ἀνυπαίτιον καὶ πάντα ἀγαθοῦ ποιμένος· οὐ κατασταθέντος ἀμή-

¹ MSS. καταδεῆς OR κατὰ δέος.

at naught. For a tyrant is a natural enemy. In cities this enemy is man ; to body and soul and all the interests of each of these, it is an utterly savage mind, that has turned our inner citadel into a fortress from which to assail us. Nor is it only from these 47 tyrannies that we derive no benefit. We gain nothing from the rule and governance of men who are too good and gentle. For kindness is a quality open to contempt, and injurious to both sides, both rulers and subjects. The former, owing to the slight esteem in which they are held by those placed under their authority, are powerless to set right anything that is wrong either with individual citizens or with the commonwealth. In some instances they are actually compelled to abdicate. Their subjects, as the result of habitual contempt for their rulers, have come to disregard their moral suasion, and undeterred by fear, have, at the cost of incurring a great evil, made the acquisition of stubbornness. These, therefore, we 48 must regard as differing in no respect from cattle, nor their rulers from cattle-rearers. The latter induce them to luxuriate in abundance of material comforts ; the former, powerless to bear the overfeeding, wax wanton. But our mind ought to rule as a goat-herd, or a cow-herd, or a shepherd, or, to use a general term, as a herdsman, as one who chooses both for himself and the creatures he tends what is advantageous in preference to what is agreeable.

XII. That which brings it about that the different 49 parts of the soul are not left to drift with no one to watch over them, is, we may say, mainly, nay solely, God's care and oversight. It secures for the soul the benefit of a blameless and perfectly good shepherd. When He has been set over it there is no possibility

χανον τὴν σύνοδον τῆς διανοίας γενέσθαι σποράδα. ὑπὸ γὰρ μίαν καὶ τὴν αὐτὴν σύνταξιν ἐξ ἀνάγκης φανεῖται πρὸς τὴν ἐνὸς ἐπιστάσιαν ἀφορώσα, ἐπεὶ τό γε πολλαῖς ὑπακούειν ἀρχαῖς ἀναγκάζεσθαι βαρύτατον ἄχθος.

- 50 Οὕτως μέντοι τὸ ποιμαίνειν ἐστὶν ἀγαθόν, ὥστε οὐ βασιλεῦσι μόνον καὶ σοφοῖς ἀνδράσι καὶ ψυχαῖς τέλεια κεκαθαρμέναις ἀλλὰ καὶ θεῷ τῷ πανηγεμόνι δικαίως ἀνατίθεται. τούτου δὲ ἐγγυητῆς οὐχ ὁ τυχὼν ἀλλὰ προφήτης ἐστίν, ᾧ καλὸν πιστεύειν, ὁ τὰς ὑμνωδίας ἀναγράφας· λέγει γὰρ ὧδε· “ κύριος
51 ποιμαίνει με, καὶ οὐδέν με ὑστερήσει.” τοῦτο μέντοι τὸ ᾄσμα παντὶ φιλοθέῳ μελετᾶν ἐμπρεπές, τῷ δὲ δὴ κόσμῳ καὶ διαφερόντως· καθάπερ γὰρ τινα ποίμνην γῆν καὶ ὕδωρ καὶ ἀέρα καὶ πῦρ καὶ ὅσα ἐν τούτοις φυτὰ τε αὖ καὶ ζῶα, τὰ μὲν θνητὰ τὰ δὲ θεῖα, ἔτι δὲ οὐρανοῦ φύσιν καὶ ἡλίου καὶ σελήνης περιόδους καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἀστέρων τροπὰς τε αὖ καὶ χορείας ἐναρμονίους ὁ ποιμὴν καὶ βασιλεὺς θεὸς ἄγει κατὰ δίκην καὶ νόμον, προστησάμενος τὸν ὀρθὸν αὐτοῦ λόγον καὶ πρωτόγονον υἱόν, ὃς τὴν ἐπιμέλειαν τῆς ἱερᾶς ταύτης ἀγέλης οἶά τις μεγάλου βασιλέως ὑπαρχος διαδέξεται· καὶ γὰρ εἴρηται· “ Ἴδου ἐγὼ εἰμι, ἀποστέλλω ἄγγελόν μου εἰς πρόσωπόν σου τοῦ φυλάξαι σε ἐν τῇ
52 ὁδῷ.” λεγέτω τοίνυν καὶ ὁ κόσμος ᾧπας, ἡ μεγίστη καὶ τελεωτάτη τοῦ ὄντος θεοῦ ποίμνη· “ κύριος ποιμαίνει με, καὶ οὐδέν με ὑστερήσει.”
53 λεγέτω καὶ ἕκαστος τῶν ἐν μέρει τὸ αὐτὸ τοῦτο μὴ τῇ διὰ γλώττης καὶ στόματος ρεύσῃ φωνῇ πρὸς βραχεῖαν ἀέρος ἐξικνουμένη μοῖραν, ἀλλὰ τῇ τῆς διανοίας εὐρνομένη καὶ τῶν τοῦ παντὸς
134

of the union of the mind's parts being dissolved. For, having been brought under one and the same direction, it will evidently have to look only to the guidance of a single chief. For to be compelled to give heed to many authorities is a very heavy burden.

Indeed, so good a thing is shepherding that it is 50 justly ascribed not to kings only and wise men and perfectly cleansed souls but also to God the All-Sovereign. The authority for this ascription is not any ordinary one but a prophet, whom we do well to trust. This is the way in which the Psalmist speaks : " The Lord shepherds me and nothing shall be lacking to me " (Ps. xxiii. 1). It well befits every lover of 51 God to rehearse this Psalm. But for the Universe it is a still more fitting theme. For land and water and air and fire, and all plants and animals which are in these, whether mortal or divine, yea and the sky, and the circuits of sun and moon, and the revolutions and rhythmic movements of the other heavenly bodies, are like some flock under the hand of God its King and Shepherd. This hallowed flock He leads in accordance with right and law, setting over it His true Word and Firstborn Son Who shall take upon Him its government like some viceroy of a great king ; for it is said in a certain place : " Behold I AM, I send My Angel before thy face to guard thee in the way " (Exod. xxiii. 20). Let therefore even the whole 52 universe, that greatest and most perfect flock of the God who IS, say, " The Lord shepherds me, and nothing shall fail me." Let each individual person 53 too utter this same cry, not with the voice that glides forth over tongue and lips, not reaching beyond a short space of air, but with the voice of the understanding that has wide scope and lays hold on the

- [309] ἀπτομένη περάτων· | ἀμήχανον γὰρ τῶν ἐπι-
 βαλλόντων ἔνδειαν εἶναι τινος ἐπιστατοῦντος θεοῦ
 πλήρη καὶ τέλεια τὰγαθὰ τοῖς οὖσιν ἅπασιν
 54 εἰωθότος χαρίζεσθαι. XIII. παγκάλῃ δὲ εἰς ὁσιό-
 τητα παραίνεσις ἢ διὰ τοῦ λεχθέντος ἁσματος· τῷ
 γὰρ ὄντι ὁ μὲν πάντα τὰ ἄλλα δοκῶν ἔχειν, τῇ δὲ
 ἐνὸς προστασίᾳ δυσχεραίνων, ἀτελὴς καὶ πένης·
 ἥτις δὲ ὑπὸ θεοῦ ποιμαίνεται ψυχὴ τὸ ἐν καὶ μόνον
 ἔχουσα, οὐ τὰ πάντα ἐκκρέμαται, ἀπροσδεῆς
 εἰκότως ἐστὶν ἄλλων, οὐ τυφλὸν πλοῦτον, βλέ-
 ποντα δὲ καὶ σφόδρα ὀξυδορκοῦντα θαυμάζουσα.
 55 Τούτου πάντες οἱ μαθηταὶ εἰς σύντονον καὶ
 δυσαπάλλακτον ἔρωτα ἦλθον, διὸ κτηνοτροφίαν
 γελάσαντες ἐξεπόνησαν ποιμενικὴν ἐπιστήμην.
 56 τεκμήριον δέ· ὁ τὴν περὶ σῶμα καὶ τὰς κενὰς
 δόξας ὑπόθεσιν αἰεὶ μελετῶν Ἰωσήφ, ἄρχειν μὲν
 καὶ ἐπιστατεῖν ἀλόγου φύσεως οὐκ ἐπιστάμενος—
 πρεσβύταις γὰρ ἔθος ἐπὶ τὰς ἀνυπευθύνους¹ ἀρχὰς
 καλεῖσθαι, νέος δὲ ἐστὶν οὗτος αἰεὶ, κἂν τὸ χρόνου
 μήκει γῆρας ἐπιγινόμενον ἐνέγκηται—, τρέφειν
 δὲ εἰωθὼς καὶ συναύξειν ὑπολαμβάνει καὶ τοὺς
 φιλαρέτους πείσαι δυνήσεσθαι μεταβάλλειν ὡς
 αὐτόν, ἵνα τῶν ἀλόγων καὶ ἀψύχων περιεχόμενοι
 μηκέτ' ἐνευκαιρεῖν δύνωνται τοῖς λογικῆς ψυχῆς
 57 ἐπιτηδεύμασι· φησὶ γάρ· ἂν ὁ βασιλεὺς νοῦς τῆς
 σωματικῆς χώρας πυνθάνηται, τί τὸ ἔργον ὑμῶν,
 ἀποκρίνεσθε· ἄνδρες κτηνοτρόφοι ἐσμέν. τοῦτο

¹ MSS. ἀνυπαιτίους.

ends of the universe. For it cannot be that there should be any lack of a fitting portion, when God rules, whose wont it is to bestow good in fullness and perfection on all that is.. XIII. Magnificent is the 54 call to holiness sounded by the psalm just quoted ; for the man is poor and incomplete in very deed, who, while seeming to have all things else, chafes at the sovereignty of One ; whereas the soul that is shepherded of God, having the one and only thing on which all depend, is naturally exempt from want of other things, for it worships no blind wealth, but a wealth that sees and that with vision surpassingly keen.

An intense and unquenchable love for this wealth 55 was entertained by all who belonged to its school, and this made them laugh cattle-rearing to scorn and spend labour on the lore of shepherding. The history of Joseph affords proof of this. Joseph, always having 56 as the object of his thought and aim the rule of life based on the body and on the surmises of vain imagination, does not know how to govern and direct irrational natures. To offices such as this which are subject to no higher control older men are generally called ; but he is always a young man, even if he have attained the old age that comes on us by mere lapse of time. Being accustomed to feed and fatten irrational natures instead of ruling them, he imagines that he will be able to win the lovers of virtue also to change over to his side in order that, devoting themselves to irrational and soulless creatures, they may no longer be able to find time for the pursuits of a rational soul. For he says, " If that Mind, whose realm is the body, 57 inquire what your work is, tell him in reply, We are cattle-rearers " (Gen. xlvi. 33 f.). On hearing this

ἀκούσαντες κατὰ τὸ εἰκὸς δυσχεραίνουσιν, εἰ
 ἡγεμόνες ὄντες ὑπηκόων τάξιν ἔχειν ὁμολογή-
 58 σουσιν· οἱ μὲν γὰρ τροφὰς ταῖς αἰσθήσεσι διὰ τῆς
 τῶν αἰσθητῶν ἀφθονίας εὐτρεπιζόμενοι δοῦλοι
 γίνονται τῶν τρεφομένων καθάπερ δεσποίναις
 οἰκέται φόρον τελοῦντες καθ' ἑκάστην ἡμέραν
 ἀναγκαῖον, ἄρχοντες δὲ οἱ τούτων ἐπιστατοῦντες
 καὶ τὰ περιττὰ τῆς εἰς ἀπληστίαν ὀρμῆς αὐτῶν
 59 ἐπιστομίζοντες. τὸ μὲν οὖν πρῶτον καίτοι τοῦ
 λεχθέντος οὐ καθ' ἡδονὴν ἀκούσαντες ἐχεμυθήσουσι
 περιττὸν ἡγούμενοι τὸ μὴ μαθησομένοις διαφορὰν
 κτηνοτροφίας καὶ ποιμενικῆς ὑφηγεῖσθαι, αὐθις δὲ
 ὅταν ὁ περὶ τούτων ἀγὼν ἐνστή, διαγωνιοῦνται
 πάσῃ δυνάμει καί, πρὶν ἀνὰ κράτος ἐλεῖν, οὐκ
 ἀνήσουσι τὸ τῆς φύσεως ἐλεύθερόν τε καὶ εὐγενές
 καὶ ἡγεμονικὸν τῷ ὄντι ἐπιδειξάμενοι· πυνθανο-
 μένου γοῦν τοῦ βασιλέως “ τί τὸ ἔργον ὑμῶν; ”
 ἀποκρίνονται· “ ποιμένες ἐσμέν, καὶ οἱ πατέρες
 60 ἡμῶν.” XIV. εἴτ' οὐκ ἂν δόξαιεν ἐπὶ ποιμενικῇ
 τοσοῦτον αὐχεῖν, ὅσον οὐδὲ ἐπὶ τῷ τοσοῦτῳ κράτει
 τῆς ἀρχῆς ὁ προσομιλῶν αὐτοῖς βασιλεύς; οἷ γε
 οὐχ αὐτοῖς μόνοις τὴν προαίρεσιν τοῦ βίου τούτου
 μαρτυροῦσιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῖς πατράσιν αὐτῶν, ὥς
 61 σπουδῆς καὶ ἐπιμελείας ἀπάσης | ἀξίου· καίτοι γε,
 [310] εἰ μὲν ἦν περὶ αἰγῶν ἢ προβάτων ἐπιμελείας ὁ
 λόγος, καὶ ἴσως ἡδέσθησαν ὁμολογεῖν ἀτιμίαν
 φυγόντες· ἄδοξα γὰρ καὶ ταπεινὰ τὰ τοιαῦτα παρὰ
 τοῖς ὄγκον μὲν εὐτυχίας τὸν ἄνευ φρονήσεως περι-
 βεβλημένοι καὶ μάλιστα βασιλεῦσι νενόμισται·

they are vexed, as we might expect, that, being rulers, they are to admit that they occupy the position of subjects ; for those, who prepare food for the senses 58 by means of the lavish abundance of sensible objects, become slaves of those whom they feed, compelled day by day, like household servants to mistresses, to render the appointed due ; whereas the place of rulers is held by those who exercise authority over the senses, and check their excessive impulse to greed. At first his brethren, though far from pleased at 59 hearing what was said to them, will hold their peace, deeming it superfluous trouble to set forth to those who will not learn the difference between cattle-feeding and shepherding ; but afterwards when the contest regarding these matters is upon them, they will engage in it with all their might, and, until they have carried the day, they will never relax their efforts to make manifest the free and noble and truly princely character that pertains to their nature. When the king asks them " What is your work ? " they answer " We are shepherds, as were our fathers " (Gen. xlvii. 3). XIV. Aye indeed ! Does it not seem 60 as though they were more proud of being shepherds than is the king, who is talking to them, of all his sovereign power ? They proclaim that not they only but their fathers also deliberately chose this course of life as worthy of entire and enthusiastic devotion. And yet, if the care of literal goats or sheep was what 61 was meant, they would perhaps, in their shrinking from disgrace, have been actually ashamed to own what they were ; for such pursuits are held mean and inglorious in the eyes of those who have compassed that importance, wholly devoid of wisdom, that comes with prosperity, and most of all in the eyes of mon-

PHILO

- 62 τὸ δὲ Αἰγυπτιακὸν ἐκ φύσεως καὶ διαφερόντως
 ἐστὶν ὑπέραυχον, ὅποτε μικρά τις αὐτὸ μόνον αὔρα
 καταπνεύσειεν εὐπραγίας, ὡς χλεύην καὶ πλατὺν
 γέλωτα ἡγείσθαι τὰς τῶν δημοτικωτέρων ἀνθρώπων
- 63 περὶ βίον σπουδὰς τε καὶ φιλοτιμίας. ἐπειδὴ δὲ
 περὶ τῶν ἐν ψυχῇ δυνάμεων λογικῶν τε αὖ καὶ
 ἀλόγων πρόκειται σκοπεῖν, εἰκότως αὐχήσουσιν οἱ
 πεπεισμένοι ὅτι δύνανται κρατεῖν τῶν ἀλόγων
- 64 συμμάχοις χρώμενοι ταῖς λογικαῖς. ἐὰν μέντοι τις
 βάσκανος καὶ φιλεγκλήμων αἰτιώμενος φάσκη·
 πῶς οὖν ποιμενικὴν τέχνην διαπονοῦντες καὶ τῆς
 συμφυοῦς ποιμένης ἐπιμέλειαν ἔχειν καὶ προστασίαν
 ἐπαγγελλόμενοι προσορμίσασθαι τῇ σώματος καὶ
 παθῶν χώρα διανοήθητε, Αἰγύπτῳ, ἀλλ' οὐχ
 ἐτέρῳσε τὸν πλοῦν ἐποιήσασθε; μετὰ παρρησίας
 αὐτῷ λεκτέον, ὅτι “ παροικεῖν, οὐ κατοικεῖν
- 65 ἤλθομεν.” τῷ γὰρ ὄντι πᾶσα ψυχὴ σοφοῦ πατρίδα
 μὲν οὐρανόν, ξένην δὲ γῆν ἔλαχε, καὶ νομίζει τὸν
 μὲν σοφίας οἶκον ἴδιον, τὸν δὲ σώματος ὀθνείον,
- 66 ᾧ καὶ παρεπιδημεῖν οἴεται. οὐκοῦν ἐπειδὴν ὁ
 ἀγελάρχης νοῦς παραλαβὼν τὴν ψυχῆς ἀγέλην
 νόμῳ φύσεως διδασκάλῳ χρώμενος εὐτόνως ἀφ-
 ηγγῆται, δόκιμον αὐτὴν καὶ σφόδρα ἐπαινετὴν ἀπερ-
 γάζεται, ὅταν δὲ παρανομία ραθύμως καὶ ἀνειμένως
 προσφερόμενος, ψεκτὴν. εἰκότως τοίνυν ὁ μὲν
 βασιλέως ὄνομα ὑποδύσεται ποιμὴν προσαγο-
 ρευθεὶς, ὁ δ' ὠσαρτυτοῦ τινος ἢ σιτοπόνου κτηνο-

ON HUSBANDRY, 62-66

archs. The spirit of the Egyptians too is by nature 62
arrogant even beyond that of other men, whenever
a feeble breath only of good fortune has blown over
it, and this arrogance makes them treat the aims in
life and the ambitions of more common people as
matter for rude jesting and loud ridicule. But seeing 63
that the subject propounded for consideration is that
of the rational and irrational faculties in the soul,
those will have ground for boasting who are convinced
that they are able by employing the rational faculties
as their allies to get the better of those which are
irrational. If, however, some malignant and con- 64
tentious person find fault with them and say, "How
is it, then, that, devoting your labour to the science
of shepherding, and professing to bestow the care of
leaders on the flock that lives and grows with your
life and growth, you conceived the idea of coming to
anchor in Egypt, the land of the body and the pas-
sions, instead of voyaging to some different port?"
—we may confidently say to him "We came to
sojourn (Gen. xlvii. 4)—not to settle there"; for in 65
reality a wise man's soul ever finds heaven to be his
fatherland and earth a foreign country, and regards
as his own the dwelling-place of wisdom, and that of
the body as outlandish, and looks on himself as a
stranger and sojourner in it. Accordingly when 66
Mind, the ruler of the flock, taking the flock of the
soul in hand with the law of Nature as his instructor
shews it the way with vigorous leadership, he renders
it well worthy of praise and approval, even as he
subjects it to blame if he disregard Nature's law and
behave slackly and carelessly. With good reason,
then, will the one take on him the name of king and
be hailed "shepherd," but the other that of a sort

PHILO

τρόφος ἐπιφημισθεῖς, εὐωχίαν καὶ θοίνην ἀδηφαγεῖν
θρέμμασιν εἰωθόσιν εὐτρεπιζόμενος.

- 67 XV. "Οὐ δὴ τρόπον γεωργὸς μὲν ἐργάτου γῆς,
ποιμὴν δὲ κτηνοτρόφου διενήνοχεν, οὐκ ἀμελῶς
ἐπιδέδειχα. καὶ τρίτον δ' ἐστὶ συγγένειάν τινα ἔχον
πρὸς τὰ λεχθέντα, περὶ οὗ νῦν ἐροῦμεν· ἵππέα τε
γὰρ καὶ ἀναβάτην οὐ μόνον ἄνθρωπον ἐποχούμενον
ἐποχουμένου χρεμετιστικῶ ζῶω μακρῶ διαφέρειν
68 ἡγεῖται, ἀλλὰ καὶ λογισμὸν λογισμοῦ. ὁ μὲν
τοίνυν ἄνευ τέχνης ἵππικῆς ἐπιβεβηκὼς λέγεται
μὲν εἰκότως ἀναβάτης, ἐκδέδωκε δὲ ἑαυτὸν ἀλόγῳ
καὶ σκιρτητικῶ θρέμματι, ὥσθ' ὅπῃ ἂν ἐκείνο
[311] χωρῇ | ἔκεισε πάντως ἀναγκαῖον φέρεσθαι καὶ μὴ
προϊδόμενον χάσμα γῆς ἢ βαθύν τινα βόθρον ὑπὸ
τῆς ἐν τῷ δρόμῳ ῥύμης κατακρημνισθῆναι [συν-
69 ἡνέχθη] καὶ συγκαταποθῆναι τὸν φερόμενον. ὁ
δ' ἵππεὺς πάλιν, ὅταν ἀνέρχεσθαι μέλλῃ, χαλινὸν
ἐντίθῃσι κᾶπειτ' ἐφαλλόμενος τῆς περιανχεῖου
χαίτης ἐνείληπται καὶ φέρεσθαι δοκῶν αὐτός, εἰ
δεῖ τὰληθὲς εἰπεῖν, ἄγει τὸ κομίζον τρόπον
κυβερνήτου· καὶ γὰρ ἐκείνος ἄγεσθαι δοκῶν ὑπὸ
νεὼς τῆς κυβερνωμένης ἄγει πρὸς ἀλήθειαν αὐτὴν
70 καὶ ἐφ' οὗς ἐπείγεται παραπέμπει λιμένας. ὅταν
μὲν οὖν εὐηνίως προέρχεται, καταψήχει ὁ ἵππεὺς
ὡς ἂν ἐπαινῶν τὸν ἵππον, ὅταν δὲ σὺν πλείονι
ὀρμῇ πέραν ἐκφέρηται τοῦ μετρίου, μετὰ βίας
εὐτόνως ἀναχαιτίζει, ὡς ὑπανεῖναι τοῦ τάχους·
ἐὰν δὲ ἀπειθῶν ἐπιμένῃ, λαβὼν τοῦ χαλινοῦ ὅλον
ἀντέσπασε καὶ ἀντιπεριήγαγεν αὐτοῦ τὸν αὐχένα,

^a Or "mounted man."

^b Or "the man mounted on him."

ON HUSBANDRY, 66-70

of cook or baker and be entitled "cattle-feeder," serving up rich fare as a feast for beasts who make a habit of gluttony.

XV. I have taken some pains to shew in what way 67
a husbandman differs from a worker on the soil, and
a shepherd from a feeder of cattle. There is a third
head akin to those that have been dealt with, and of
it we will now speak. For the lawgiver holds that a
horseman differs greatly from a rider, not only when
each is a man seated on a neighing animal but when
each is a process of reasoning. Well then, he who
being without skill in horsemanship is on a horse's
back is naturally called a rider.^a He has given him- 68
self over to an irrational and capricious beast, the
consequence being that, wherever the creature goes,
thither he must of absolute necessity be carried, and
that the animal, not having caught sight in time of an
opening in the ground or of some deep trench, is
hurled headlong owing to the violence of his pace,
and his rider ^b is borne to destruction with him. The 69
horseman, on the other hand, when he is about to
mount, puts the bit in the horse's mouth and then as
he leaps on its back, seizes hold of its mane, and,
though seeming to be borne along, himself in actual
fact leads, as a pilot does, the creature that is carrying
him. For the pilot also, while seeming to be led by
the ship which he is steering, in reality leads it, and
convoys it to the ports which he is anxious to reach.
When the horse goes ahead in obedience to the rein, 70
the horseman strokes him as though he were praising
him, but when he gets too impetuous and exceeds
the suitable pace, he uses force and pulls back his head
strongly, so as to lessen his speed. If he goes on
being refractory, he grips the bit and pulls his whole

PHILO

- 71 ὥς ἐξ ἀνάγκης στήναι· καὶ πρὸς σκιρτήσεις μὲν καὶ τοὺς συνεχεῖς ἀφηνιασμούς· εἰσι μάστιγες καὶ μύωπες εὐτρεπεῖς καὶ τὰλλ' ὅσα πωλοδάμναις ἵππων κατεσκευάσται κολαστήρια. καὶ θαυμαστὸν οὐδέν· ἀνιόντος γὰρ τοῦ ἱππέως καὶ ἱππικὴ τέχνη συνανέρχεται,¹ ὥστε δύο ὄντες καὶ ἐποχούμενοι καὶ ἐπιστήμονες εἰκότως ἑνὸς καὶ ὑποβεβλημένου καὶ ἀπαραδέκτου τέχνης ζῶου περιέσσονται.
- 72 XVI. Μεταβάς τοίνυν ἀπὸ τῶν χρεμετιζόντων καὶ τῶν ἐποχουμένων αὐτοῖς τὴν σαντοῦ ψυχὴν εἰ θέλεις ἐρευνήσον· εὐρήσεις γὰρ ἐν τοῖς μέρεσιν αὐτῆς καὶ ἵππους καὶ ἡνίοχον καὶ ἀναβάτην, ὅσαπερ
- 73 καὶ ἐν τοῖς ἐκτός. ἵπποι μὲν οὖν ἐπιθυμία καὶ θυμὸς εἰσιν, ὁ μὲν ἄρρην, ἡ δὲ θήλεια. διὰ τοῦθ' ὁ μὲν γαυριῶν ἄφετος εἶναι βούλεται καὶ ἐλεύθερος καὶ ἔστιν ὑψαύχην ὡς ἂν ἄρρην, ἡ δ' ἀνελεύθερος καὶ δουλοπρεπῆς καὶ πανουργία χαιρουσα οἰκόσιτος, οἰκοφθόρος· θήλεια γάρ. ἀναβάτης δὲ καὶ ἡνίοχος εἰς ὁ νοῦς· ἀλλ' ἡνίκα μὲν μετὰ φρονήσεως ἄνεισιν, ἡνίοχος, ὁπότε δὲ μετ' ἀφροσύνης, ἀναβάτης.
- 74 ἄφρων μὲν οὖν ὑπὸ ἀμαθίας κρατεῖν ἀδυνατεῖ τῶν ἡνιῶν, αἱ δὲ τῶν χειρῶν ἀπορρνεῖσαι χαμαὶ πίπτουσι, τὰ δὲ ζῶα εὐθὺς ἀφηνιάσαντα πλημ-
- 75 μελῇ καὶ ἄτακτον ποιεῖται τὸν δρόμον. ὁ δ' ἐπιβεβηκὼς οὐδενὸς ἐνείλημμένος, ὅψ' οὐ στηριχθήσεται, πίπτει, περιδρυπτόμενος δὲ γόνυ καὶ χεῖρας καὶ πρόσωπα μεγάλα κλαίει τὴν ἰδίαν κακοπράγιαν ὁ δειλαιο, πολλάκις δὲ καὶ τὰς

¹ MSS. συνέρχεται.

^a The figure is based on *Phaedrus* 246 ff. Cf. note to *Leg. All.* 70, Vol. I. p. 478.

^b i.e. "eats you out of house and home." See App. p. 490.

ON HUSBANDRY, 70-75

neck round the other way, so that he is forced to stop. To counter rearings and constant unruliness there are 71 whips and spurs ready at hand and all the other contrivances with which breakers-in of colts are provided for punishing them. There is nothing to wonder at in all this, for when the horseman gets on the horse's back, skill in horsemanship gets up with him, so that there are really two, a seated man on the horse and an expert, and they will naturally get the better of a single animal who is not only underneath them but is incapable of acquiring skill.

XVI. Passing then from the neighing animals and 72 those that ride upon them, search, if you please, your own soul ; for you will find among its constituent parts both horses and one who wields the reins and one who is mounted, all just as in the outside world. Desire and high spirit are horses, the one male, the 73 other female.^a For this reason the one prances and wants to be free and at large and has a high neck, as you might expect of a male. The other is mean and slavish, up to sly tricks, keeps her nose in the manger and empties it in no time,^b for she is a female. The Mind is alike mounted man and wielder of the reins ; a wielder of the reins, when he mounts accompanied by good sense, a mere mounted man when folly is his companion. The foolish man, since he has never learnt, 74 cannot keep hold of the reins. They slip from his hand and drop on the ground ; and straightway the animals are out of control, and their course becomes erratic and disorderly. The fool behind them does 75 not take hold of anything to steady him, but tumbles out barking knee and hands and face, and loudly bewails, poor miserable fellow, his own misfortune. Many a time his feet catch in the board, and he hangs

- βάσεις πρὸς τὸν δίφρον ἐξημμένους ἀνατραπεῖς
 [312 ὑπτιος ἐπὶ νῶτα | ἀπηώρηται καὶ ἐν ἄρματοτροχιαῖς
 αὐταῖς κεφαλὴν τε καὶ αὐχένα καὶ ὦμους ἀμ-
 φοτέρους περιθραύεται κατασυρόμενος, εἴθ' ὧδε
 κἀκεῖσε φορούμενος καὶ πᾶσι τοῖς ἐν ποσὶ προσ-
 76 αραττόμενος οἰκτρότατον ὑπομένει θάνατον. τῷ
 μὲν δὴ τοιοῦτον ἀποβαίνει τὸ τέλος, τὸ δὲ ὄχημα
 ἀνακουφίζόμενον καὶ ἐξαλλόμενον μετὰ βίας, ὅταν
 ἐπὶ γῆν παλίσσυστον ἐνεχθῇ, ῥᾶστα κατὰγνυται,
 ὡς μηκέτ' αὐθις ἀρμοσθῆναι καὶ παγῆναι δύνασθαι·
 τὰ δὲ ζῶα πάντων τῶν συνεχόντων ἀφειμένα
 παρακινεῖται καὶ οἰστρᾷ καὶ οὐ παύεται φερόμενα,
 πρὶν ὑποσκελισθέντα πεσεῖν ἢ κατὰ τινος ἐνεχθέντα
 77 κρημνοῦ βαθέος παραπολέσθαι. XVII. τοῦτον οὖν
 ἔοικε τὸν τρόπον αὐτοῖς ἐπιβάταις τὸ τῆς ψυχῆς
 ὄχημα σύμπαν διαφθείρεσθαι πλημμελήσαν τὴν
 ἡνίοχῃσιν. τοὺς δὴ τοιούτους ἵππους καὶ τοὺς
 ἐποχουμένους ἄνευ τέχνης αὐτοῖς λυσιτελεῖς καθ-
 αιρεῖσθαι, ἵνα τὰ ἀρετῆς ἐγείρηται· πιπτούσης
 γὰρ ἀφροσύνης ἀνάγκη φρόνησιν ὑπανίστασθαι.
 78 Διὰ τοῦτ' ἐν προτρεπτικοῖς Μωυσῆς φησιν· “ἐὰν
 ἐξέλθῃς εἰς πόλεμον ἐπ' ἐχθρούς σου καὶ ἴδῃς ἵππον
 καὶ ἀναβάτην καὶ λαὸν πλείονα, οὐ φοβηθήσῃ, ὅτι
 κύριος ὁ θεὸς μετὰ σοῦ.” θυμοῦ γὰρ καὶ ἐπι-
 θυμίας καὶ συνόλως ἀπάντων παθῶν, καὶ τῶν
 ὅλων ἐποχουμένων ὥσπερ ἵπποις ἐκάστοις λογι-
 σμῶν, καὶ ἀμάχῳ ῥώμῃ κεχρησθαι νομισθῶσιν,
 ἀλογητέον τοὺς ἔχοντας τὴν τοῦ μεγάλου βασιλέως
 θεοῦ δύναμιν ὑπερασπίζουσιν καὶ προαγωνιζομένην
 79 αἰεὶ καὶ πανταχοῦ. στρατὸς δὲ θεῖος αἱ ἀρεταὶ
 φιλοθέων ὑπέρμαχοι ψυχῶν, αἷς, ἐπειδὰν ἴδωσι τὸν

^a One of Philo's names for Deuteronomy; cf. § 172.

suspended turned over back-downwards, and as he is dragged along in the very wheel tracks he gets head and neck and both shoulders battered and crushed, and in the end, tossed after this fashion in every direction and knocking up against everything that comes in his way, he undergoes a most pitiable death. For 76 him such is the end that results, but the vehicle lifting itself up and making violent springs, when it reaches the ground in its rebound, too easily becomes a wreck, so that it is quite beyond being mended and made strong again. The horses, released from all that kept them in, become distracted and maddened and never stop tearing along until they trip and fall, or are swept down some steep precipice and perish. XVII. It is to be expected that the entire vehicle of 77 the soul with all who are on it should come to ruin in this manner, if it has gone wrong in the matter of the driving. It is a gain that such horses and those who drive them without skill should be destroyed, that the products of virtue may be exalted ; for when folly has a fall, wisdom is bound to rise up.

This is why Moses in his "hortatory discourse" ^a 78 says: "If thou shalt go out to war against thine enemies and see horse and rider and much people, thou shalt not be afraid, because the Lord thy God is with thee" (Deut. xx. 1). For high spirit and craving lust and all passions generally, and the whole array of reasoning faculties seated upon each of them as upon horses, even though they be held to have at their disposal resistless might, may be disregarded by those who have the power of the Great King acting always and everywhere as their shield and champion. There 79 is a divine army consisting of the virtues who fight on behalf of souls that love God, whom it befits

- ἀντίπαλον ἡττημένον, ἀρμόττει πάγκαλον καὶ πρε-
 πωδέστατον ὕμνον ᾄδειν τῷ νικηφόρῳ καὶ καλλι-
 νίκῳ θεῷ. δύο δὲ χοροί, ὁ μὲν τῆς ἀνδρωνίτιδος,
 ὁ δὲ τῆς γυναικωνίτιδος ἐστίας, στάντες ἀντηχον
 80 καὶ ἀντίφωνον ἀναμέλψουσιν ἀρμονίαν. χρήσεται
 δ' ὁ μὲν τῶν ἀνδρῶν χορὸς ἡγεμόνι Μωυσεῖ, νῶ
 τελείῳ, ὁ δὲ τῶν γυναικῶν Μαριάμ, αἰσθήσει
 κεκαθαρμένη· δίκαιον γὰρ καὶ νοητῶς καὶ αἰσθητῶς
 τοὺς εἰς τὸ θεῖον ὕμνους καὶ εὐδαιμονισμοὺς
 ἀνυπερθέτως ποιεῖσθαι καὶ τῶν ὀργάνων ἐμμελῶς
 κρούειν ἐκάτερον, τό τε νοῦ καὶ αἰσθήσεως, ἐπὶ
 81 τῇ τοῦ μόνου σωτῆρος εὐχαριστία καὶ τιμῇ. τὴν
 γοῦν παράλιον ᾠδὴν ᾄδουσι μὲν πάντες ἄνδρες,
 οὐ μὴν τυφλῇ διανοίᾳ, ἀλλ' ὅξυν καθορῶντες Μωυ-
 σέως ἐξάρχοντος, ᾄδουσι δὲ καὶ γυναῖκες αἱ
 πρὸς ἀλήθειαν ἄρισται, τῷ τῆς ἀρετῆς ἐγγεγραμ-
 μέναι πολιτεύματι, Μαριάμ ἀφηγουμένης αὐταῖς.
 82 XVIII. ὕμνος δὲ ὁ αὐτὸς ἀμφοτέροις ᾄδεται τοῖς
 χοροῖς ἐπωδὸν ἔχων θαυμασιώτατον, ὃν ἐφ-
 υμνεῖσθαι καλόν· ἔστι δὲ τοιόσδε· “ἄσωμεν τῷ
 [313] κυρίῳ, ἐνδόξως γὰρ | δεδόξασται· ἵππον καὶ
 83 ἀναβάτην ἔρριψεν εἰς θάλασσαν.” ἀμείνονα γὰρ
 καὶ τελειότεραν οὐκ ἂν τις εὖροι σκοπῶν νίκην ἢ
 καθ' ἣν τὸ τετράπουν καὶ σκιρτητικὸν καὶ ὑπέρ-
 αυχον ἡττηται παθῶν τε καὶ κακιῶν ἀλκιμώτατον
 στίφος—καὶ γὰρ κακίαι τῷ γένει τέτταρες καὶ
 πάθη ταύταις ἰσάριθμα—, πρὸς δὲ καὶ ὁ ἐπιβάτης
 αὐτῶν μισάρετος καὶ φιλοπαθῆς νοῦς καταπεσὼν

^a See App. p. 490.

^b The four vices are folly, cowardice, intemperance, in-justice (corresponding to the four virtues). Diog. Laert. vii. 92. For the four passions, grief, fear, desire, pleasure, see S.V.F. iii. 381 ff.

when they see the adversary vanquished, to sing to God, gloriously triumphant and giver of victory, a hymn of beauty and wholly befitting Him. And two choirs, one from the quarters of the men, one from those of the women, with answering note and voice shall raise harmonious chant. The choir of the 80 men shall have Moses for its leader, that is Mind in its perfection, that of the women shall be led by Miriam, that is sense-perception made pure and clean^a (Exod. xv. 1, 20). For it is right with both mind and sense to render hymns and sing blessings to the Godhead without delay, and tunefully to strike each of our instruments, that of mind and that of sense perception, in thanksgiving and honour paid to the only Saviour. So we find^a the Song by the seashore 81 sung by all that are men, with no blind understanding but with keenest vision, with Moses as their leader ; it is sung also by the women who in the true sense are the best, having been enrolled as members of Virtue's commonwealth, with Miriam to start their song. XVIII. The same hymn is sung by both 82 choirs, and it has a most noteworthy refrain, the recurrence of which is strikingly beautiful. It is this : " Let us sing unto the Lord, for gloriously hath He been glorified ; horse and rider He threw into the sea " (Exod. xv. 1, 21). No one who looks 83 into the matter could find a more perfect victory than one in which that most doughty array of passions and vices, four-footed, restless, boastful beyond measure, has been defeated. So it is, for vices are four in kind and passions equal to these in number.^b It is a victory, moreover, in which their rider has been thrown and dispatched, even virtue-hating and

οἷχεται, ὃς ἡδοναῖς καὶ ἐπιθυμίαις, ἀδικίαις τε καὶ πανουργίαις, ἔτι δὲ ἀρπαγαῖς καὶ πλεονεξίαις καὶ τοῖς παραπλησίοις θρέμμασιν ἐγεγῆθαι.

84 Παγκάλως οὖν ὁ νομοθέτης ἐν ταῖς παραινέσεσιν ἐκδιδάσκει μὴδ' ἄρχοντα χειροτονεῖν ἵπποτρόφον, ἀνεπιτήδειον οἰόμενος εἶναι πρὸς ἡγεμονίαν πάνθ' ὃς ἂν περὶ ἡδονὰς καὶ ἐπιθυμίας καὶ ἔρωτας ἀκαθέκτους μεμηνῶς οἶα ἀχαλίνωτος καὶ ἀφηνιαστής ἵππος οἰστρᾷ· λέγει γὰρ ὧδε· "οὐ δυνήσῃ καταστήσαι ἐπὶ σεαυτὸν ἄνθρωπον ἀλλότριον, ὅτι οὐκ ἀδελφός σου ἐστι· διότι οὐ πληθυνεῖ ἑαυτῷ ἵππον, οὐδὲ μὴ ἀποστρέψῃ τὸν λαὸν εἰς Αἴγυπτον."

85 οὐκοῦν τῶν ἵπποτρόφων πρὸς ἀρχὴν πέφυκεν οὐδεὶς κατὰ τὸν ἱερώτατον Μωυσῆν· καίτοι φαίη τις ἂν ἴσως, ὅτι μεγάλη χεὶρ ἐστὶ βασιλέως ἱππικὴ δύναμις οὔτε πεζῆς οὔτε ναυτικῆς ἀποδέουσα, πολλαχοῦ δὲ καὶ λυσιτελεστέρα καὶ μάλιστα ἐν οἷς ἀνυπερθέτου καὶ συντόνου τάχους² τῆς ἐπεξόδου δεῖ τῶν καιρῶν μέλλειν οὐκ ἐπιτρεπόντων, ἀλλ' ἐπ' αὐτῆς ἰσταμένων ἀκμῆς, ὥς μὴ ἀναβάλλεσθαι τοὺς ὑστερηκότας μᾶλλον ἢ ἀποτυχεῖν ἂν εἰκότως εἰσάπαν νομισθῆναι, φθάντων παρελθεῖν ὥσπερ

86 νέφους ἐκεῖνων. XIX. εἵπομεν δ' ἂν αὐτοῖς· οὐδεμίαν, ᾧ γενναῖοι, φρουρὰν ἄρχοντος ὁ νομοθέτης ὑποτέμνεται οὐδὲ τὸ συλλεχθὲν αὐτῷ στράτευμα ἀκρωτηριάζει τῆς δυνάμεως τὸ ἀνυσιμώτερον, τὴν ἱππικὴν δύναμιν, ἀποκόπτων, ἀλλ' ὥς

¹ MSS. ἐπ' αὐτὸν.

² MSS. ἀνυπερθέτω καὶ συντόμῳ τάχει.

* Another of Philo's names for Deuteronomy.

passion-loving mind, whose delight was in pleasures and cravings, acts of injustice and rascality, as well as in exploits of plundering and overreaching and all that stable.

Right well therefore does the lawgiver in his 84 Charges^a give directions not to appoint a horse-rearer to be a ruler, regarding as unsuited for such high authority any man who resembles an unbridled and unruly horse, and, in his wild excitement over pleasures, lusts and amours, knows no restraint. These are the lawgiver's words, "Thou mayest not appoint over thyself a foreigner, because he is not thy brother; for the reason that he shall not multiply to himself horses, nor turn the people back into Egypt" (Deut. xvii. 15 f.). According, therefore, to 85 Moses, that most holy man, a rearer of horses is by nature unfit to hold rule; and yet it might be urged that strength in cavalry is a great asset to a king, and not a whit less important than infantry and the naval force; nay, in many cases of greater service than these. These arms are especially important when it is requisite that the offensive should be instantaneous and vigorously pressed; when the state of affairs does not admit of delay, but is in the highest degree critical; so that those who are behind-hand would fairly be considered not so much to have been slow to gain the advantage as to have failed for good and all, since the other side has been too quick for them, and gone by them like a cloud. XIX. We would say in answer to these criticisms, 86 "My good sirs, the lawgiver is not curtailing any ruler's garrison, nor is he incapacitating the army which he has collected by cutting off the more effective part of the force, the cavalry. He is trying

- οἶόν τε πειράται συναύξειν, ἵν' εἷς τε ἰσχὺν καὶ
 πλήθος ἐπιδόντες οἱ σύμμαχοι ῥᾶστα τοὺς ἐναντίους
 87 καθαιρῶσι. τίνι γὰρ οὕτω λοχίσαι στράτευμα καὶ
 τάξαι καὶ κατὰ φάλαγγας διανείμαι καὶ λοχαγοὺς
 καὶ ταξιάρχους καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους πλείονων ἢ ἐλατ-
 τόνων ἡγεμόνας καταστήσαι ἢ ὅσα τακτικά καὶ
 στρατηγικά εὖρηται [καὶ] τοῖς ὀρθῶς χρησόμενοις
 ὑφηγήσασθαι κατὰ πολλὴν τῆς ἐν τούτοις ἐ-
 88 στήμης περιουσίαν ἐξεγένετο; ἀλλὰ γὰρ οὐκ ἔστι
 νῦν ὁ λόγος αὐτῷ περὶ δυνάμεως ἱππικῆς, ἣν
 συγκροτεῖσθαι πρὸς ἄρχοντος ἐπ' ἀναιρέσει δυσ-
 μενῶν καὶ σωτηρία φίλων ἀναγκαῖον, ἀλλὰ περὶ
 τῆς κατὰ ψυχὴν ἀλόγου καὶ ἀμέτρου καὶ ἀπειθοῦς
 φορᾶς, ἣν ἐπιστομίζειν λυσιτελές, μὴ ποτε τὸν
 λαὸν αὐτῆς ἅπαντα εἰς Αἴγυπτον, τὴν τοῦ σώματος
 χώραν, ἀποστρέψῃ καὶ φιλήδονον καὶ φιλοπαθῇ
 μᾶλλον ἢ φιλάρετον καὶ φιλόθεον ἀνὰ κράτος |
 [314] ἐργάσεται, ἐπειδὴ τὸν πλήθος ἵππων παρ' ἑαυτῷ
 κτώμενον ἀνάγκη τὴν εἰς Αἴγυπτον, ὡς αὐτὸς
 89 ἔφη, βαδίζειν ὁδόν. ὅταν γὰρ καθ' ἑκάτερον
 τοῖχον τῆς ψυχῆς νεὼς τρόπον, τὸν τε νοῦ καὶ
 αἰσθήσεως, ὑπὸ βίας τῶν καταπνεόντων εἰς αὐτὴν
 παθῶν τε καὶ ἀδικημάτων ἀντιρρεπούσης καὶ
 κλινομένης ἐξαιρόμενον ἐπιβαίνει τὸ κῦμα, τόθ' ὡς
 εἰκὸς ὑπέραντλος ὁ νοῦς γινόμενος καταποντοῦται·
 βυθὸς δέ ἐστιν, εἰς ὃν καταποντοῦται καὶ κατα-
 δύεται, σῶμα αὐτὸ τὸ ἀπειασθὲν Αἰγύπτῳ.
 90 XX. μὴ ποτ' οὖν περὶ τοῦτο σπουδᾶσθαι τῆς
 ἵπποτροφίας τὸ εἶδος. οἱ μὲν γὰρ θάτερον μετ-
 ιόντες ψεκτοὶ μὲν καὶ αὐτοὶ πῶς γὰρ οὐ; παρ'
 οἷς ἄλογα ζῶα μᾶλλον τετίμηται, ὧν ἐκ τῆς οἰ-

ON HUSBANDRY, 86-90

his best to improve it, that by an increase, both in strength and numbers, those who are fighting side by side may most easily overcome their enemies. For who was so capable as he, in virtue of abundant 87 acquaintance with these matters, to marshal an army by phalanxes and draw it up in order of battle and to appoint captains and corps-commanders and the other leaders of larger or smaller bodies of men, or to impart to those who would make a right use of it all that has been found out in the way of tactics and strategy? But the fact is that he is not talking 88 in this passage about a cavalry force, which a sovereign has to organize for the overthrow of an unfriendly power and for the safety of his friends. He is speaking about that irrational and unmeasured and unruly movement in the soul to check which is in her interest, lest some day it turn back all her people to Egypt, the country of the body, and forcibly render it a lover of pleasure and passion rather than of God and virtue. For he who acquires a multitude of horses cannot fail, as the lawgiver himself said, to take the road to Egypt. For when the 89 soul is swaying and tossing like a vessel, now to the side of the mind now to that of body, owing to the violence of the passions and misdeeds that rage against her, and the billows rising mountains high sweep over her, then in all likelihood the mind becomes waterlogged and sinks; and the bottom to which it sinks is nothing else than the body, of which Egypt is the figure. XX. Never then give 90 your mind to this kind of horse-rearing. Blameworthy indeed are those also who make a business of it in its literal form. To be sure they are so. With them irrational beasts are of greater value than human

PHILO

- κίας ἵππων μὲν ἀγέλαι κατευωχημένων αἰὲ προ-
 ἔρχονται, ἀνθρώπων δὲ ἐπομένων οὐδὲ εἰς ἔρανον
 εἰς ἐπανόρθωσιν ἐνδείας, οὐ δωρεὰν εἰς περιουσίαν
 91 εὕρισκόμενος. ἀλλ' ὅμως κουφότερα ἀδικοῦσιν·
 ἀθλητὰς γὰρ ἵππους ἀνατρέφοντες τοὺς τε ἱεροὺς
 ἀγῶνας καὶ τὰς πανταχῇ πανηγύρεις ἀγομένας φασὶ
 κοσμεῖν καὶ οὐχ ἡδονῆς μόνον [ἀλλὰ] καὶ τῆς περὶ
 τὴν θεὰν τέρψεως αἵτιοι γίνεσθαι τοῖς ὁρώσιν, ἀλλὰ
 καὶ τῆς τῶν καλῶν¹ ἀσκήσεώς τε καὶ μελέτης· οἱ
 γὰρ τὸν τοῦ νικηφορῆσαι πόθον ἐνιδόντες² θηρίοις,
 διὰ τιμῆς ἔρωτα καὶ ζῆλον ἀρετῆς ἀλέκτω τινὶ
 προτροπῇ καὶ προθυμίᾳ χρησάμενοι, πόνους ἡδεῖς
 ὑποστάντες τῶν οἰκείων καὶ ἐπιβαλλόντων οὐκ ἀφ-
 92 ἔξονται, πρὶν ἢ ἐπὶ τέλος ἐλθεῖν αὐτῶν. ἀλλ' οὗτοι
 μὲν εὐρεσιλογοῦσιν ἀδικοῦντες, οἱ δ' ἄνευ ἀπολογίας
 διαμαρτάνοντές εἰσιν οἱ τὸν ἀναβάτην νοῦν ἔποχον
 ἀποφαίνοντες ἄπειρον ἵππικῆς ἐπιστήμης κακία
 93 καὶ πάθει τετράποδι. ἐὰν μέντοι τέχνην τὴν
 ἡνιοχικὴν ἀναδιδαχθεὶς ἐπὶ πλέον ἐνομιλήσης καὶ
 ἐνδιατρίψῃς αὐτῇ καὶ ἥδη νομίσης ἱκανὸς εἶναι
 δύνασθαι κρατεῖν ἵππων, ἀναβὰς ἔχου τῶν ἡνιῶν·
 οὕτως γὰρ οὕτε ἀνασκιρτώντων αὐτὸς ἀποπίπτων
 μετὰ τραυμάτων δυσιάτων γέλωτα παρ' ἐπιχαιρε-
 κακοῦσιν ὀφλήσεις θεαταῖς οὗτ' ἐξ ἐναντίας ἢ
 κατόπιν ἐπιτρεχόντων ἐχθρῶν ἀλώση, τοὺς μὲν
 τάχει φθάνων τῷ προεκδραμεῖν διώκοντας, τῶν

¹ MSS. κακῶν.

² MSS. ἐνιδύοντες.

^a Whether ἡδεῖς is taken as nom. or acc., it is doubtful Greek in this sense. Mangey's ἡδέως is more natural.

beings. From their mansions there continually come troops of well-fed horses leading the way, while of the human beings that come behind these not one can get out of them a contribution to supply his need, or a gift to provide him with some spare cash. Nevertheless the wrong done by these people is less 91 heinous. For they contend that by training race-horses they both add lustre to the sacred race-meetings, and to the national festivals which are held universally ; that they not only give the spectators pleasure and provide them with the enjoyment of the sight, but promote the cultivation and study of noble aims ; for men (they say) who behold in animals the desire to carry off the victory, find themselves filled, by reason of their love of honour and enthusiasm for excellence, with an urgency and readiness beyond words, and so readily^a submit to exertions in such contests as properly belong to them, and will not desist till they achieve their object. While these people find arguments in favour of their 92 ill-doing, those who sin without excuse are those who take Mind, that rider who is a tyro in the science of horsemanship, and put him on the back of four-footed vice and passion. If, however, you have 93 been taught the art of driving, and having become fairly familiar with it by persistent practice, have come to the conclusion that you can now manage horses, mount and hold on to the reins. By this means you will escape two disasters. If the horses rear you will not fall off, get badly hurt, and incur the ridicule of malicious spectators ; nor, if enemies make a rush at you from in front or from behind, will you be caught ; you will be too quick for those who come from behind and outstrip their pursuit ; and you will

δὲ προσιόντων ἀλογῶν διὰ τὴν τοῦ δύνασθαι
ἐξαναχωρεῖν ἀσφαλῶς ἐπιστήμην.

- 94 XXI. Οὐκ εἰκότως οὖν Μωυσῆς ἐπὶ τῇ τῶν
ἀναβατῶν ἄδων ἀπωλείᾳ τοῖς ἱππεύσιν εὐχεται
σωτηρίαν παντελῇ; δύνανται γὰρ οὗτοι χαλινὸν
ταῖς ἀλόγοις δυνάμεσιν ἐμβαλόντες αὐτῶν ἐπι-
στομίξειν τῆς πλεοναζούσης τὴν φορὰν ὁρμῆς.
τίς οὖν ἢ εὐχή, λεκτέον. “γενέσθω” φησί “Δὰν
ὄφεις ἐφ’ ὁδοῦ, ἐγκαθήμενος ἐπὶ τρίβου, δάκνων
πτέρναν ἵππου, καὶ πεσεῖται ὁ ἱππεὺς εἰς τὰ ὀπίσω,
95 τὴν σωτηρίαν περιμένων κυρίου.” ὁ δ’ αἰνίττεται
διὰ τῆς εὐχῆς, μηνυτέον. ἐρμηνεύεται Δὰν κρίσις.
[315] τὴν | οὖν ἐξετάζουσαν καὶ ἀκριβοῦσαν καὶ δια-
κρίνουσαν καὶ τρόπον τινὰ δικάζουσαν ἕκαστα τῆς
ψυχῆς δυνάμιν ὡμοίωσε δράκοντι—ζῶον δ’ ἐστὶ
καὶ τὴν κίνησιν ποικίλον καὶ συνετὸν ἐν τοῖς
μάλιστα καὶ πρὸς ἀλκὴν ἔτοιμον καὶ τοὺς χειρῶν
ἄρχοντας ἀδίκων ἀμύνεσθαι δυνατώτατον—, οὐ
μὴν τῷ φίλῳ καὶ συμβούλῳ ζῶης—Εὖαν πατρίῳ
γλώττῃ καλεῖν αὐτὴν ἔθος—, ἀλλὰ τῷ πρὸς
Μωυσέως ἐξ ὕλης χαλκοῦ δημιουργηθέντι, ὃν οἱ
δηχθέντες ὑπὸ τῶν ἰοβόλων ὄφειν καίτοι μέλλοντες
τελευτήσιν ὅποτε κατίδοιεν ἐπιβιοῦν καὶ μηδέποτε
96 ἀποθνήσκειν λέγονται. XXII. ταῦτα δ’ οὕτως
μὲν λεγόμενα φάσμασιν ἔοικε καὶ τέρασι, δράκων
ἀνθρώπου προῖέμενος φωνὴν καὶ ἐνσοφιστεύων
ἀκακωτάτοις ἡθεσι καὶ πιθανότησιν εὐπαραγώγοις
γυναιῖκα ἀπατῶν, καὶ ἕτερος αἴτιος σωτηρίας γενό-
97 μενος παντελοῦς τοῖς θεασαμένοις. ἐν δὲ ταῖς δι’

^a See App. p. 491.

^b Or “playing the sophist with innocent ways.”

make light of the frontal attack owing to your knowing the trick of backing without risk.

XXI. Does not Moses, then, when celebrating the 94 destruction of the riders, naturally pray for complete salvation for the horsemen? For these are able^a by applying bit and bridle to the irrational faculties to curb the excessive violence of their movement. We must say, then, what his prayer is: "Let Dan," he says, "be a serpent on the road, seated upon the track, biting the heel of the horse; and the horseman shall fall backwards, waiting for the salvation of the Lord" (Gen. xlix. 17 f.). What he intimates by the 95 prayer, we must point out. "Dan^a" means "judgement" or "sifting." The faculty, then, which tests and investigates and determines and, in a manner, judges all the soul's concerns, he likened to a serpent. This is a creature tortuous in its movements, of great intelligence, ready to shew fight, and most capable of defending itself against wrongful aggression. He did not liken the faculty to the serpent that played the friend and gave advice to "Life"—whom in our own language we call "Eve"—but to the serpent made by Moses out of material brass. When those who had been bitten by the venomous serpents looked upon this one, though at the point of death, they are said to have lived on and in no case to have died (Numb. xxi. 8). XXII. Told in this way, these 96 things are like prodigies and marvels, one serpent emitting a human voice and using quibbling arguments to an utterly guileless character,^b and cheating a woman with seductive plausibilities; and another proving the author of complete deliverance to those who beheld it. But when we interpret words by the 97

ὑπονοιῶν ἀποδόσει τὸ μὲν μυθῶδες ἐκποδὼν οἴχεται, τὸ δ' ἀληθὲς ἀρίδην εὐρίσκεται· τὸν μὲν οὖν τῆς γυναικὸς ὄφιν, αἰσθήσεως καὶ σαρκῶν ἐκκρεμαμένης ζωῆς, ἡδονὴν εἶναί φασιν, ἰλυσπωμένην καὶ πολυπλοκωτάτην, ἀνεγερθῆναι μὴ δυναμένην, αἰεὶ καταβεβλημένην, ἐπὶ μόνα τὰ γῆς ἔρπουσαν ἀγαθὰ, καταδύσεις τὰς ἐν τῷ σώματι ζητοῦσαν, ὥσπερ ὀρύγμασιν ἢ χάσμασιν ἐκάστη τῶν αἰσθήσεων ἐμφωλεύουσιν, σύμβουλον ἀνθρώπου, φονῶσαν κατὰ τοῦ κρείττονος, ἰοβόλοις καὶ ἀνωδύνοις γλιχομένην δῆγμασιν ἀποκτεῖναι· τὸν δὲ Μωυσέως ὄφιν τὴν ἡδονῆς ἐναντίαν διάθεσιν, καρτερίαν, παρὸ καὶ τῆς χαλκοῦ κραταιοτάτης

98 ὕλης κατεσκευασμένος εἰσάγεται. τὸν οὖν ἄκρως καταθεασάμενον τὸ καρτερίας εἶδος, καὶ εἰ δεδηγμένος πρότερον ὑπὸ τῶν φίλτρων ἡδονῆς τυγχάνοι, ζῆν ἀναγκαῖον· ἡ μὲν γὰρ ἐπανατείνεται ψυχῇ θάνατον ἀπαραίτητον, ἐγκράτεια δ' ὑγίαν καὶ σωτηρίαν προτείνει βίου. ἀντιπαθεῖς δ' ἀκολασίας

99 φάρμακον ἢ ἀλεξίκακος σωφροσύνη. παντὶ δὲ [316] σοφῷ τὸ καλὸν φίλον, ὃ καὶ πάντως ἐστὶ | σωτήριον. ὥσθ' ὅταν εὐχῆται Μωυσῆς γενέσθαι τῷ Δάν ἢ αὐτὸν ἐκεῖνον ὄφιν—ἐκατέρως γὰρ ἐστὶν ἐκδέξασθαι—, παραπλήσιον τῷ ὑπ' αὐτοῦ κατασκευασθέντι, ἀλλ' οὐχ ὅμοιον τῷ τῆς Εὐσας εὐχεται· τὴν γὰρ εὐχὴν ἀγαθῶν αἵτησιν εἶναι συμβέβηκε.

100 τὸ μὲν οὖν τῆς καρτερίας γένος ἀγαθὸν καὶ οἰστικὸν ἀφθαρσίας, ἀγαθοῦ τελείου, τὸ δὲ τῆς ἡδονῆς κακὸν

^a Cf. the LXX in Gen. iii. 20 καὶ ἐκάλεσεν Ἀδὰμ τὸ ὄνομα τῆς γυναικὸς αὐτοῦ, Ζωή.

^b This seems strange here, notwithstanding "friend and counsellor" above, § 95. Mangey proposed ἐπίβουλον, Wend. <κακὸν> σύμβουλον.

ON HUSBANDRY, 97-100

meanings that lie beneath the surface, all that is mythical is removed out of our way, and the real sense becomes as clear as daylight. Well then, we say that the woman is Life ^a depending on the senses and material substance of our bodies ; that her serpent is pleasure, a crawling thing with many a twist, powerless to raise itself upright, always prone, creeping after the good things of earth alone, making for the hiding-places afforded to it by the body, making its lair in each of the senses as in cavities or dug-outs, giving advice to a human being, ^b athirst for the blood of anything better than itself, delighting to cause death by poisonous and painless bites. We say that the serpent of Moses is the disposition quite contrary to pleasure, even stedfast endurance, which explains why it is represented as being made of very strong material like brass. He, then, who has looked with 98 fixed gaze on the form of patient endurance, even though he should perchance have been previously bitten by the wiles of pleasure, cannot but live ; for, whereas pleasure menaces the soul with inevitable death, self-control holds out to it health and safety for life ; and self-mastery, that averter of ills, is an antidote to licentiousness. And the thing that is 99 beautiful and noble, which assuredly brings health and salvation, is dear to every wise man. So when Moses prays, either that there may be for Dan, or that Dan himself may be, a serpent (for the words may be taken either way), he prays for a serpent corresponding to the one made by him, but not like Eve's ; for prayer is an asking for good things. And 100 we know that endurance is of a good kind that brings immortality, a perfect good, while pleasure is

- τὴν μεγίστην τιμωρίαν ἐπιφέρων, θάνατον. διὸ λέγει. “γενέσθω Δὲν ὅφρις” οὐχ ἐτέρωθι μᾶλλον ἢ
- 101 “ἐφ’ ὁδοῦ”. τὰ μὲν γὰρ τῆς ἀκρασίας καὶ λαιμαργίας καὶ ὅσα ἄλλα αἱ ἀμέτρητοι καὶ ἀπληστοι, πληρούμεναι πρὸς τῆς τῶν ἐκτὸς ἀφθονίας, ὠδίνουσι καὶ τίκτουσιν ἡδοναί, κατὰ λεωφόρου καὶ εὐθυτενοῦς βαίνειν οὐκ ἐπιτρέπει ψυχὴν, φάραγξι δὲ καὶ βαράθροις ἐμπίπτειν ἄχρι τοῦ καὶ διαφθεῖραι παντελῶς αὐτὴν ἀναγκάζει· τὰ δὲ καρτερίας καὶ σωφροσύνης καὶ τῆς ἄλλης ἀρετῆς * * * ἐχόμενα μόνα,¹ μηδεὶν ὄντος ἐν ποσὶν ὀλισθηροῦ, ᾧ προσπταίσασα κλιθήσεται. προσφύεστατα οὖν ἔχεσθαι τῆς ὁρθῆς ὁδοῦ σωφροσύνην εἶπε, διότι καὶ τὴν ἐναντίαν ἕξιν ἀκολασίαν ἀνοδία χρῆσθαι συμ-
- 102 βέβηκε. XXIII. τὸ δὲ “καθήμενος ἐπὶ τρίβου” τοιοῦτον ὑποβάλλει νοῦν, ὥς γε ἐμᾶντὸν πείθω· τρίβος ἐστὶν ἡ τετριμμένη πρὸς τε ἀνθρώπων καὶ ὑποζυγίων ἱππήλατος καὶ ἄμαξήλατος
- 103 ὁδός. ταύτῃ φασὶν ἡδονὴν ἐμφερεστάτην εἶναι· σχεδὸν γὰρ ἀπὸ γενέσεως ἄχρι τοῦ μακροῦ γήρως ἐπιβαίνουσι καὶ ἐμπεριπατοῦσι καὶ μετὰ σχολῆς καὶ ῥαστώνης ἐνδιατρίβουσι τῇ ὁδῷ ταύτῃ, οὐκ ἄνθρωποι <μόνον>, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὅσαι ἄλλαι ἰδέαι τῶν ζώων εἰσὶν· ἐν γὰρ οὐδὲν ἐστὶν ὃ μὴ πρὸς ἡδονῆς δελεασθὲν εἴλκυσται καὶ ἐμφέρεται τοῖς πολυπλοκωτάτοις δικτύοις αὐτῆς, ἃ πολὺς διεκδύναί πόνος.
- 104 αἱ δὲ φρονήσεως καὶ σωφροσύνης καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἀρετῶν ὁδοί, καὶ εἰ μὴ ἀβατοι, ἀλλά τοι πάντως

¹ The passage is evidently corrupt. Wendland's conjecture that there is a lacuna after ἀρετῆς which he supplies with <εὐοδίαν ψυχῇ παρέχεται μόνα has been followed in the

of an evil kind that inflicts the greatest penalty, even death. Wherefore it says, "Let Dan become a serpent" not elsewhere than "on the road." For 101 lack of self-control, and gluttony, and all else that issues from the womb of those immoderate and insatiate pleasures that ever conceive by the abundance of external comforts, never allow the soul to go along the straight course by the highway, but compel it to fall into pits and clefts, until they have utterly destroyed it. But only the practice of endurance and temperance and other virtue secures for the soul a safe journey where there is no slippery object under foot upon which the soul must stumble and be laid low. Most fitly therefore did he say that temperance keeps to the right road, since the opposite condition, that of licentiousness, finds no road at all.

XXIII. The sense suggested by the words "sitting on 102 the track" is, I am convinced, something of this kind. By "track" is meant the road for horses and carriages trodden both by men and by beasts of burden. They say that pleasure is very like this road; for 103 almost from birth to late old age this road is traversed and used as a promenade and a place of recreation in which to spend leisure hours not by men only but by every other kind of living creatures. For there is no single thing that does not yield to the enticement of pleasure, and get caught and dragged along in her entangling nets, through which it is difficult to slip and make your escape. But the roads of sound-sense 104 and self-mastery and of the other virtues, if not untrodden, are at all events unworn; for scanty is the

translation, but it is a mere guess; and the *ἐχέσθαι τῆς ὁδοῦ* in the next sentence rather suggests that *ἐχόμενα* should be kept.

PHILO

- ἄτριπτοι· ὀλίγος γὰρ ἀριθμός ἐστι τῶν αὐτὰς
 βαδιζόντων, οἱ πεφιλοσοφήκασιν ἀνόθως καὶ πρὸς
 μόνον τὸ καλὸν ἑταιρίαν ἔθεντο, τῶν ἄλλων
 105 ἀπάντων ἅπαξ ἀλογήσαντες. “ἐγκάθηται” οὖν,
 καὶ οὐχ ἅπαξ, ὅτῳ ζῆλος καὶ φροντίς εἰσέρχεται
 καρτερίας, ἢ ἐξ ἐνέδρας ἐπιθέμενος τὴν ἐθάδα
 ἡδονήν, πηγὴν ἀενάων κακῶν, ἐπιφράξῃ καὶ ἐκ
 106 τοῦ τῆς ψυχῆς ἀνέλῃ χωρίου. τότε, ὡς φησιν
 ἀκολουθία χρώμενος, ἀναγκαίως “δήξεται πτέρναν
 ἵππου”· καρτερίας γὰρ καὶ σωφροσύνης ἴδιον τὰς
 τῆς ὑψαυχενούσης κακίας καὶ τοῦ παρατεθηγμένου
 107 καὶ ὀξυκινήτου καὶ σκιρτητικοῦ πάθους ἐπιβάθρας
 [317] διασεῖσαι | καὶ ἀνατρέψαι. XXIV. τὸν μὲν οὖν
 τῆς Εὐδας ὄφιν εἰσάγει κατ’ ἀνθρώπου φονῶντα—
 λέγει γὰρ ἐν ταῖς ἀραῖς· “αὐτός σου τηρήσει
 κεφαλὴν, καὶ σὺ τηρήσεις αὐτοῦ πτέρναν”—, τὸν
 δὲ τοῦ Δάν, περὶ οὗ νῦν ἐστὶν ὁ λόγος, ἵππου
 108 πτέρναν, ἀλλ’ οὐκ ἀνθρώπου δάκνοντα· ὁ μὲν γὰρ
 τῆς Εὐδας ἡδονῆς ὢν σύμβολον, ὡς ἐδείχθη πρό-
 τερον, ἀνθρώπῳ τῷ καθ’ ἕκαστον ἡμῶν ἐπιτίθεται
 λογισμῷ—φθορὰ γὰρ διανοίας πλεοναζούσης ἡδονῆς
 109 ἀπόλαυσις τε καὶ χρήσις—· ὁ δὲ τοῦ Δάν, εἰκὼν
 τις ὢν ἐρρωμενεστάτης ἀρετῆς καρτερίας, ἵππον,
 τὸ πάθους καὶ κακίας σύμβολον, δήξεται, διότι
 σωφροσύνη τὴν τούτων καθαίρεσιν τε καὶ φθορὰν
 μελετᾷ. δηχθέντων μέντοι καὶ ὀκλασάντων “ὁ
 110 ἵππεὺς” φησί “πεσεῖται.” ὁ δ’ αἰνίτ-
 τεται, τοιοῦτόν ἐστι· καλὸν καὶ περιμάχῃον εἶναι

^a i.e. “and remains there.”

^b Or “according to the natural sequence of the thought” (perhaps, as Mangey, read ἀναγκαίᾳ).

ON HUSBANDRY, 104-110

number of those that tread them, that have genuinely devoted themselves to the pursuit of wisdom, and entered into no other association than that with the beautiful and noble, and have renounced everything else whatever. To continue. There "lies in am- 105 bush," and that not once only,^a everyone into whom a zeal and care for endurance enters, in order that making his onslaught from his lurking-place he may block the way of familiar pleasure, the fountain of ever-flowing ills, and rid the domain of the soul of her. Then, as he goes straight on to say,^b he will as 106 a matter of course "bite the horse's heel"; for it is characteristic of endurance and self-mastery to disturb and upset the means by which vaunting vice and passion, keen and swift and unruly, make their approach. XXIV. Eve's serpent is represented by 107 the lawgiver as thirsting for man's blood, for he says in the curses pronounced on it, "He shall lie in wait for thy head, and thou shalt lie in wait for his heel" (Gen. iii. 15); whereas Dan's serpent, of which we are now speaking, is represented as biting, not a man's, but a horse's heel. For Eve's serpent, being, 108 as was shewn before, a symbol of pleasure, attacks a man, namely, the reasoning faculty in each of us; for the delightful experience of abounding pleasure is the ruin of the understanding; whereas the serpent 109 of Dan, being a figure of endurance, a most sturdy virtue, will be found to bite a horse, the symbol of passion and wickedness, inasmuch as temperance makes the overthrow and destruction of these its aim. When these have been bitten and brought to their knees, "the horseman," he says, "shall fall."

What he conveys by a figure is this. 110
He regards it as no worthy object of ambition for

- νομίζει¹ μηδενὶ τῶν ἐκ πάθους ἢ κακίας τὸν ἡμέτερον ἐποχεῖσθαι νοῦν, ἀλλ' ὁπότ' ἐπιβῆναί τινα αὐτῶν βιασθεῖη, σπουδάζειν καθάλλεσθαι καὶ ἀποπίπτειν· τὰ γὰρ τοιαῦτα πτώματα φέρει τὰς εὐκλεεστάτας νίκας. διὸ καὶ τῶν πάλαι τις προκληθεὶς ἐπὶ λουδορίας ἄμιλλαν οὐκ ἂν εἰς τοιοῦτον ἀγῶνα ἔφη ποτὲ παρελθεῖν, ἐν ᾧ χείρων ὁ νικῶν ἐστι τοῦ
- 111 ἡττωμένου. XXV. καὶ σὺ τοῖνυν, ὦ οὗτος, μηδέποτ' εἰς κακῶν παρέλθης ἄμιλλαν μηδὲ περὶ πρωτείων τῶν ἐν τούτοις διαγωνίσῃ, ἀλλὰ μάλιστα μὲν, ἐὰν οἶόν τε ἦ, σπούδασον ἀποδρᾶναι· ἐὰν δέ που πρὸς ἔρρωμενεστέρας δυνάμεως βιασθεὶς ἀναγκασθῇ διαγωνίσασθαι, μὴ μελλήσῃς ἡττᾶσθαι·
- 112 τότε γὰρ εὖ μὲν ἔσῃ νενικηκὼς ὁ ἡττώμενος, ἡττώμενοι δ' οἱ νενικηκότες. καὶ μὴ ἐπιτρέψῃς μηδὲ κήρυκι κηρυῖσαι μηδὲ βραβευτῇ στεφανῶσαι τὸν ἐχθρόν, ἀλλ' αὐτὸς παρελθὼν τὰ βραβεῖα καὶ τὸν φοῖνικα ἀνάδος καὶ στεφάνωσον, εἰ θέλει, καὶ ταῖς ταινίαις ἀνάδησον καὶ κήρυξον αὐτὸς μεγάλη καὶ ἀρρήκτω φωνῇ κήρυγμα τοιοῦτον· τὸν ἐπιθυμίας καὶ θυμοῦ καὶ ἀκολασίας ἀφροσύνης τε αὖ καὶ ἀδικίας προτεθέντα ἀγῶνα, ὦ θεαταὶ καὶ ἀθλοθέται, ἡττημαὶ μὲν ἐγώ, νενίκηκε δ' οὐτοσί,² καὶ οὕτως ἐκ πολλοῦ τοῦ περιόντος νενίκηκεν, ὥστε καὶ παρὰ τοῖς ἀνταγωνισταῖς ἡμῖν, οὓς
- 113 εἰκόσ³ ἦν βασκαίνειν, μὴ φθονεῖσθαι. τὰ μὲν οὖν τῶν ἀνιέρων τούτων ἀγῶνων ἀθλα παραχώρησον ἄλλοις, τὰ δὲ τῶν ἱερῶν ὄντως αὐτὸς ἀνάδησαι· ἱεροὺς δὲ μὴ νομίσης ἀγῶνας, οὓς αἱ πόλεις ἐν ταῖς

¹ MSS. νομίζειν.² MSS. οὗτος εἰ.³ MSS. ὡς νίκος.^a Demosthenes; see Stobaeus, *Flor.* xix. 4.

our mind to ride on any of the progeny of passion or wickedness, but, should it ever be forced to mount one of them, he considers that it is best for it to make haste to jump down and tumble off; for such falls bring the noblest victories. This explains what was meant by one of the ancients^a when challenged to a reviling match. He said that he would never come forward for such a contest, for in it the victor is worse than the vanquished. XXV. Do you then 111 also, my friend, never come forward for a rivalry in badness, nor contend for the first place in this, but, best of all, if possible make haste to run away, but if in any case, under the pressure of strength greater than your own, you are compelled to engage in the contest, do not hesitate to be defeated; for then 112 you, the defeated combatant, will have won a grand victory, and those who have won will be suffering defeat. And do not allow either the herald to announce or the judge to crown the enemy as victor, but come forward yourself and present the prizes and the palm, and crown him ("by your leave, sir"), and bind the headband round his head, and do you yourself make with loud and strong voice this announcement: "In the contest that was proposed in lust and anger and licentiousness, in folly also and injustice, O ye spectators and stewards of the sports, I have been vanquished, and this man is the victor, and has proved himself so vastly superior, that even we, his antagonists, who might have been expected to grudge him his victory, feel no envy." Yield, 113 then, to others the prizes in these unholy contests, but bind upon your own head the wreaths won in the holy ones. And count not those to be holy contests which the states hold in their triennial Festivals,

- τριετηρίσιν ἄγουσι θέατρα ἀναδειμάμεναι πολλὰς
 [318] ἀνθρώπων δεξόμενα¹ μυριάδας· ἐν | γὰρ τούτοις ἡ
 ὁ καταπαλαίσας τινὰ καὶ ὑπτιον ἡ πρηγὴ τείνας
 ἐπὶ γῆν ἡ ὁ πυκτεύειν² καὶ παγκρατιάζειν δυνά-
 μενος καὶ μηδεμιᾶς μήτε ὕβρεως μήτε ἀδικίας ἀπ-
 114 ἐχόμενος φέρεται τὰ πρωτεία· XXVI. εἰσὶ δ' οἱ
 σφόδρα καὶ κραταιότατα σιδηροῦν τροπὸν³ ἀκονη-
 σάμενοι καὶ στομώσαντες ἐκατέραν τῶν χειρῶν
 περιάψαντες κεφαλὰς καὶ πρόσωπα τῶν ἀντιπάλων
 ἀποσκάπτουσι καὶ τᾶλλα, ἐπὰν τύχῃ τὰς πληγὰς
 ἐνεγκόντες, ἀποθραύουσιν, εἴτα βραβείων καὶ στε-
 φάνων τῆς ἀνγλεοῦς ὁμότητος ἕνεκα μεταποιοῦν-
 115 ται. τὰ μὲν γὰρ ἄλλα ἀγωνίσματα δρομέων ἡ
 πεντάθλων τίς οὐκ ἂν γελάσαι τῶν εὖ φρονούντων,
 ἐπιτετηδευκότων μήκιστα ἐξάλλεσθαι καὶ μετρου-
 μένων τὰ διαστήματα καὶ περὶ ποδῶν ὠκύτητος
 ἀμιλλωμένων; οὓς οὐ μόνον τῶν ἀδροτέρων ζώων
 δορκὰς ἡ ἔλαφος ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν βραχυτάτων
 σκυλάκιον ἡ λαγωδάριον μὴ σφόδρα ἐπειγόμενον
 116 ρύμῃ καὶ ἀπνευστὶ θέοντας παραδραμεῖται. τούτων
 μὲν δὴ τῶν ἀγώνων πρὸς ἀλήθειαν ἱερὸς οὐδεὶς,
 καὶ πάντες ἀνθρώποι μαρτυρῶσιν, οὓς ἀνάγκη
 πρὸς ἑαυτῶν ψευδομαρτυριῶν ἀλίσκεσθαι· οἱ γὰρ
 ταῦτα θαυμάζοντες τοὺς νόμους τοὺς καθ' ὕβριστῶν
 καὶ τιμωρίας τὰς ἐπὶ ταῖς αἰκίαις ἔθεσαν καὶ
 δικαστὰς τοὺς περὶ ἐκάστων διαγνωσομένους ἀπ-
 117 ἐκλήρωσαν. πῶς οὖν εἰκὸς ἐστὶ τοὺς αὐτοὺς ἐπὶ
 μὲν τοῖς ἰδίᾳ τινὰς αἰκισαμένοις ἀγανακτεῖν καὶ
 δίκας κατ' αὐτῶν ἀπαραιτήτους ὠρικένοι, ἐπὶ δὲ
 τοῖς δημοσίᾳ καὶ ἐν πανηγύρεσι καὶ θεάτροις

¹ MSS. δεξάμεναι (-α).² MSS. παλαίειν.³ Conj. Tr.: MSS. and Wend. σιδήρου τρόπον.

ON HUSBANDRY, 113-117

and have built for them theatres to hold many myriads of men ; for in these prizes are carried away either by the man who has out-wrestled someone and laid him on his back or on his face upon the ground, or by the man who can box or combine boxing with wrestling, and who stops short at no act of outrage or unfairness. XXVI. Some give a sharp, strong 114 edge to an iron-bound thong,^a and fasten it round both hands and lacerate the heads and faces of their opponents, and, when they succeed in planting their blows, batter the rest of their bodies, and then claim prizes and garlands for their pitiless savagery. As 115 for the other contests, of sprinters or of those who enter for the five exercises, what sensible person would not laugh at them, at their having practised to jump as far as possible, and getting the several distances measured, and making swiftness of foot a matter of rivalry ? And yet not only one of the larger animals, a gazelle or a stag, but a dog or hare, among the smaller ones, will, without hurrying much, outstrip them when running full pelt and without taking breath. Of these contests, in sober truth, 116 none is sacred, and even if all men testify to that effect, they cannot escape being convicted of false witness by themselves. For it was the admirers of these things who passed the laws against overbearing persons, and fixed the punishments to be awarded to acts of outrage, and allotted judges to investigate the several cases. How, then, are these two things compatible ? How can the very same persons be 117 indignant at outrages committed in private and have affixed to them inexorable penalties, and at the same time have by law awarded garlands and public

^a See App. p. 491.

PHILO

- στεφάνους καὶ κηρύγματα καὶ ἄλλα τινὰ νομο-
 118 θετῆσαι; δυεῖν γὰρ ἐναντίων καθ' ἑνὸς εἴτε
 σώματος εἴτε πράγματος ὀρισθέντων ἢ εὖ ἢ
 κακῶς ἐξ ἀνάγκης ἂν ἔχοι θάτερον· ἄμφω γὰρ
 ἀμήχανον. πότερον οὖν ἐπαινοῖτ'¹ ἂν δεόντως;
 ἂρ' οὐ τὸ τοὺς χειρῶν ἄρχοντας ἀδίκων κολάζε-
 σθαι; ψέγοιτ' ἂν οὖν εἰκότως τὸ ἐναντίον, τὸ
 τιμᾶσθαι· ψεκτὸν δ' οὐδὲν τῶν ἱερῶν, ἀλλὰ πάντως
 119 εὐκλεές. XXVII. ὁ τοίνυν Ὀλυμπιακὸς ἀγὼν
 μόνος ἂν λέγοιτο ἐνδίκως ἱερός, οὐχ ὃν τιθέασιν
 οἱ τὴν Ἥλιν οἰκοῦντες, ἀλλ' ὁ περὶ κτήσεως τῶν
 θείων καὶ ὀλυμπίων ὡς ἀληθῶς ἀρετῶν. εἰς
 τοῦτον τὸν ἀγῶνα οἱ ἀσθενέστατοι τὰ σώματα
 ἐρρωμενέστατοι δὲ τὰς ψυχὰς ἐγγράφονται πάντες,
 εἴτα ἀποδυσάμενοι καὶ κονισάμενοι πάνθ' ὅσα καὶ
 τέχνης καὶ δυνάμεως ἔργα δρῶσι, παραλιπόντες
 120 οὐδὲν ὑπὲρ τοῦ νικηφορῆσαι. τῶν μὲν οὖν ἀντι-
 πάλων οἱ ἀθληταὶ περίεισιν οὗτοι, πρὸς ἀλλήλους
 δὲ πάλιν περὶ πρωτείων διαφέρονται². οὐ γὰρ ὁ
 αὐτὸς τῆς νίκης τρόπος ἅπασιν, ἀλλὰ πάντες ἄξιοι
 τιμῆς ἀργαλεωτάτους καὶ βαρεῖς ἀνατρέψαντες
 121 καὶ καταβαλόντες ἐχθρούς. θαυμασιώτατος δὲ καὶ
 τούτων ὁ διενεγκών, ᾧ καὶ τὰ πρῶτα τῶν ἀθλῶν³ |
 [319] οὐ φθονητέον λαμβάνοντι. οἱ δὲ καὶ δευτερείων
 ἢ τρίτων ἀξιωθῶσι, μὴ κατηφείτωσαν· καὶ γὰρ
 ταῦτα ἐπ' ἀρετῆς κτήσει προτίθεται, τοῖς δὲ μὴ

¹ MSS. πότερον συνεπαινοῖτ' ἂν.

² MSS. διαλέγονται.

³ MSS. ἀθλητῶν.

^a See App. p. 491.

^b Or "as a reward for."

ON HUSBANDRY, 117-121

announcements and other honours to those who have done so publicly and at State festivals and in theatres? For if two things, contrary the one to the other, have 118 been determined against one person or one action, one or other must of necessity be right and the other wrong; for it is out of the question that they should both be right or both wrong. Which then, rightly, would you praise? Would you not approve the punishment of those who are guilty of unprovoked violence and wrong? In that case you would censure, as a matter of course, the opposite treatment of them, the shewing honour to them. XXVII. And, since 119 nothing sacred is censurable, but wholly of good report, it follows that the Olympic contest^a is the only one that can rightly be called sacred; not the one which the inhabitants of Elis hold, but the contest for the winning of the virtues which are divine and really Olympian. For this contest those who are very weaklings in their bodies but stalwarts in their souls all enter, and proceed to strip and rub dust over them and do everything that skill and strength enables them to do, omitting nothing that can help them to victory. So these athletes prevail 120 over their opponents, but they are also competing among themselves for the highest place. For they do not all win the victory in the same way, though all deserve honour for overthrowing and bringing down most troublesome and doughty opponents. Most worthy of admiration is the one who excels 121 among these, and, as he receives the first prizes, no one can grudge them to him. Nor let those be down-cast who have been held worthy of the second or third prize. For these, like the first, are prizes offered with a view to^b the acquisition of virtue, and those

τῶν ἄκρων ἐφικέσθαι δυναμένοις ἢ τῶν μέσων
 κτήσις ὠφέλιμος, λέγεται δὲ ὅτι καὶ βεβαιότερα
 τὸν ἐμφυόμενον αἰεὶ τοῖς ὑπερέχουσιν ἐκφεύγουσα
 122 φθόνον. παιδευτικώτατα οὖν εἴρηται τὸ “ πεσεῖται
 ὁ ἱππεύς,” ἢ εἴ τις ἀποπίπτει [μὲν] κακῶν,
 ἐγείρηται [δὲ] ἀγαθοῖς ἐπεριδόμενος καὶ συν-
 ορθιασθῇ. διδασκαλικώτατον δὲ καὶ κείνο, μὴ πρόσω
 φάναι, κατόπιν δὲ πίπτειν, ἐπειδὴ κακίας καὶ
 123 πάθους ὑστερίζειν αἰεὶ λυσιτελέστατον· φθάνειν μὲν
 γὰρ τὰ καλὰ δρῶντα δεῖ, τὰ δὲ αἰσχρὰ μέλλειν
 [καὶ] ἔμπαλιν, κακείοις μὲν προσέρχεσθαι, τούτων
 δὲ ὑστερίζειν καὶ μακρὸν ὅσον ἀπολείπεσθαι· ὥ
 <γὰρ> τῶν ἁμαρτημάτων ἐγγίνεται <καὶ> παθῶν
 ὑστερίζειν, ἄνοσος διατελεῖ. τὴν γοῦν “ παρὰ τοῦ
 θεοῦ σωτηρίαν περιμένειν” φησὶν αὐτόν, ἵνα ἐφ’
 ὅσον ἀπελείφθῃ τοῦ ἀδικεῖν, ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον τῷ
 δικαιοπραγεῖν ἐπιδράμῃ.

124 XXVIII. Περὶ μὲν οὖν ἱππέως καὶ ἀναβάτου,
 κτηνοτρόφου τε καὶ ποιμένος, ἔτι δὲ γῆν ἐργαζο-
 μένου καὶ γεωργοῦ τὰ προσήκοντα εἴρηται, καὶ αἱ
 καθ’ ἐκάστην συζυγίαν ὡς οἶόν τε ἦν ἡκρίβωνται
 125 διαφοραί. πρὸς δὲ τὰ ἀκόλουθα καιρὸς ἤδη τρέ-
 πεσθαι. τὸν οὖν ἐφιεόμενον ἀρετῆς οὐ παντελεῖ
 κεκτημένον τὴν γεωργικὴν¹ ψυχῆς ἐπιστήμην εἰσ-
 ἀγει, ἀλλ’ αὐτὸ μόνον περὶ τὰς ἀρχὰς αὐτῆς πεπονη-
 μένον· λέγει γάρ· “ ἦρξατο Νῶε ἄνθρωπος εἶναι

¹ MSS. γεωργικῆς; cf. ἡ γεωργικὴ ψυχῆς τέχνη *Quod Det.* 111.

^a Or “ meaning that he should be as eager for right-doing as he was backward for wrong-doing,” the ἵνα expressing the purpose of the prophet’s words, rather than that of the horseman, as in § 122.

ON HUSBANDRY, 121-125

who cannot reach the topmost virtues are gainers by the acquisition of the less lofty ones, and theirs is actually, as is often said, a more secure gain since it escapes the envy which ever attaches itself to pre-eminence. There is, then, a very instructive purpose 122 in the words, "the horseman shall fall," namely, that if a man fall off from evil things, he may get up supporting himself upon good things and be set upright. Another point full of teaching is his speaking of falling not forwards, but backwards, since to be behindhand in vice and passion is always most to our advantage ; for we ought to be beforehand when 123 doing noble deeds, but on the contrary to be tardy about doing base deeds : we should go to meet the former, but be late for the latter, and fall short of them by the greatest possible distance ; for he, whose happiness it is to be late for sinful deeds and passion's promptings, abides in freedom from soul-sickness. You see, it says that he is "waiting for the salvation that comes from God." He looks out for it, to the end that he may run as far to meet right-doing, as he was late for wrongdoing.^a

XXVIII. All that is pertinent to horseman and 124 rider, cattle-rearer and shepherd, as well as to soil-worker and husbandman, has now been said, and the differences between the members of each pair have been stated with such minuteness as was possible. It is time to turn to what comes afterwards. Well, 125 the lawgiver represents the aspirant to virtue as not possessing in its completeness the science of soul-husbandry, but as having done no more than spend some labour on the elements of that science ; for he says, "Noah began to be an husbandman." Now

- γεωργός." ἀρχὴ δ', ὁ τῶν παλαιῶν λόγος, ἡμῖς
 τοῦ παντὸς ὡς ἂν ἡμίσει πρὸς τὸ τέλος ἀφ-
 εστηκυῖα,¹ οὐ μὴ προσγενομένου καὶ τὸ ἀρξασθαι
 126 πολλάκις μεγάλα πολλοὺς ἔβλαψεν. ἤδη γοῦν τινες
 καὶ τῶν οὐκ εὐαγῶν τῆς διανοίας κατὰ τὰς συνεχεῖς
 μεταβολὰς στροβουμένης ἔννοιαν χρηστοῦ τινος
 ἔλαβον, ἀλλ' οὐδὲν ὠνήντο· ἔστι γὰρ μὴ πρὸς τὸ
 τέλος ἡξάντων φορὰν ἀθρόον τῶν ἐναντίων καταρ-
 ραγεῖσαν ἐπικλύσαι καὶ τὸ χρηστὸν ἐκείνο δια-
 127 φθαρῆναι νόημα. XXIX. οὐ διὰ τοῦτο
 μέντοι δόξαντι θυσίας ἀμέμπτους ἀναγαγεῖν τῷ
 Κάιν λόγιον ἐξέπεσε μὴ θαρρεῖν ὡς κεκαλλιερη-
 κότες; μὴ γὰρ ἐφ' ἱεροῖς καὶ τελείοις βουθυτῆσαι·
 τὸ δὲ λόγιόν ἐστι τοιόνδε· "οὐκ ἔαν ὀρθῶς προσ-
 128 ἐνέγκῃς, ὀρθῶς δὲ μὴ διελθῇς." ὀρθὸν μὲν οὖν ἡ
 τοῦ θεοῦ τιμή, τὸ δὲ ἀδιαίρετον οὐκ ὀρθόν. ὃν
 δ' ἔχει καὶ τοῦτο λόγον, ἴδωμεν· εἰσὶ τινες οἱ τὸ
 εὐσεβὲς ἐν τῷ πάντα φάσκειν ὑπὸ θεοῦ γενέσθαι,
 129 τὰ τε καλὰ καὶ τὰ ἐναντία, περιγράφοντες· πρὸς
 [320] οὓς ἂν λέγοιμεν, ὅτι τὸ μὲν ὑμῶν | ἐπαινετόν ἐστι
 τῆς δόξης, τὸ δ' ἔμπαλιν ψεκτόν, ἐπαινετόν μὲν,
 ὅτι τὸ μόνον θαυμάζετε τίμιον, ψεκτόν δὲ αὖ,
 παρόσον ἄνευ τομῆς καὶ διαιρέσεως· ἔδει γὰρ μὴ

¹ MSS. ὅς ἂν . . . ἀφῆστηκεν.

^a Cf. *Quod Det.* 64.

^b The main links of the thought from here to § 168 may be given as follows: Good ideas are often spoilt for want of proper analysis or "distinguishing," but (§ 134) distinguishing by itself is useless, without remembering and meditating on what has been learnt (*cf. De Sac.* 82 ff.). In connexion with this we have the tirade against futile and exaggerated distinguishing (*cf. §§ 136-141*). The two together will give perfection, but till this is gained the beginner must not attempt

"a beginning is half of the whole," or "begun is half done,"^a as was said by the men of old, as being half-way towards the end, whereas if the end be not added as well, the very making of a beginning has many a time done many people much harm.^b It has, 126 as we all know, happened before now that even people far from guiltless, as their mind kept turning about in perpetual change, have hit upon an idea of something wholesome, but have got no good from it; for it is possible that ere they have come to the end, a strong current of contrary tendencies has swept over them like a flood, and that wholesome idea has come to nothing.

XXIX. Was it not owing to 127 this, that, when Cain imagined that he had presented faultless sacrifices, a divine intimation was made to him not to be confident that his offering had met with God's favour; for that the conditions of his sacrifice had not been holy and perfect? The divine message is this: "<All is> not <well>, if thou offerest rightly, but dost not rightly distinguish"^c (Gen. iv. 7). So 128 the honour paid to God is a right act, but the failure to divide is not right. What this means, let us see. There are some whose definition of reverence is that it consists in saying that all things were made by God, both beautiful things and their opposites. We 129 would say to these, one part of your opinion is praiseworthy, the other part on the contrary is faulty. It is praiseworthy that you regard with wonder and reverence that which is alone worthy of honour; on the other hand, you are to blame for doing so without clear-cut distinctions. You ought never to have things beyond his capacity (§§ 146-165), or he will find himself supplanted by others (§§ 166-168).

^c For Philo's way of taking this text see note on *De Sobr.* 50.

- φῦραι καὶ συγγέαι πάντων ἀθρώως ἀποφήναντας αἷτιον, ἀλλὰ μετὰ διαστολῆς μόνων ὁμολογήσαι
 130 τῶν ἀγαθῶν. ἄτοπον γὰρ ἱερέων μὲν πρόνοιαν ἔχειν, ὡς ὀλόκληροι τὰ σώματα καὶ παντελεῖς ἔσονται, τῶν τε καταθνομένων ζώων, ὡς οὐδὲν οὐδεμιᾶ τὸ παράπαν ἀλλ' οὐδὲ τῇ βραχυτάτῃ χρήσεται λώβῃ, καὶ τινες διόπους¹ ἐπ' αὐτὸ τοῦτο χειροτονεῖν τὸ ἔργον, οὓς ἔνιοι μωμοσκόπους ὀνομάζουσιν, ἵνα ἄμωμα καὶ ἀσινῇ προσάγῃται τῷ βωμῷ τὰ ἱερεῖα, τὰς δὲ περὶ θεοῦ δόξας ἐν ταῖς ἐκάστων ψυχαῖς ὑποσυγκεχύσθαι² καὶ μὴ κανόνι
 131 ὀρθοῦ λόγου διακεκρίσθαι. XXX. τὸν κάμηλον οὐχ ὀρᾷς ὅτι ἀκάθαρτον εἶναι φησι ζῶον ὁ νόμος, ἐπειδὴ μηρυκᾶται μὲν, οὐ διχληλεῖ δέ; καίτοι γε πρὸς τὴν ῥήτην ἐπίσκεψιν οὐκ οἶδ' ὃν ἔχει λόγον ἢ προσαποδοθεῖσα <αἰτία>, πρὸς δὲ τὴν
 132 δι' ὑπονοιῶν ἀναγκαιότατον· ὥσπερ γὰρ τὸ μηρυκώμενον τὴν προκαταβληθεῖσαν ὑπαναπλέουσαν αὐθις ἐπιλεαίνει τροφήν, οὕτως ἡ ψυχὴ τοῦ φιλομαθοῦς, ἐπειδάν τινα δι' ἀκοῆς δέξῃται θεωρήματα, λήθῃ μὲν αὐτὰ οὐ παραδίδωσιν, ἡρεμήσασα δὲ καθ' ἑαυτὴν ἕκαστα μεθ' ἡσυχίας τῆς πάσης ἀναπολεῖ
 133 καὶ εἰς ἀνάμνησιν τῶν πάντων ἔρχεται. μνήμη δ' οὐ πᾶσα ἀγαθόν, ἀλλ' ἡ ἐπὶ μόνοις τοῖς ἀγαθοῖς, ἐπεὶ τό γε ἄλῃστα εἶναι τὰ κακὰ βλαβερώτατον· οὗ ἕνεκα πρὸς τελειότητα χρεῖα τοῦ διχληλεῖν, ἵνα

¹ MSS. δεῖ ὅσους.² MSS. ἐπισυγκεχύσθαι.

* See App. p. 491.

mixed and confused the matter by representing Him as Author of all things indiscriminately, but to have drawn a sharp line and owned Him Author of the good things only.^a It is a senseless thing to be 130 scrupulous about priests being free from bodily defect or deformity and about animals for sacrifice being exempt from the very slightest blemish, and to appoint inspectors (called by some "flaw-spiers") on purpose to provide that the victims may be brought to the altar free from flaw or imperfections; and at the same time to suffer the ideas about God in their several souls to be in confusion, with no distinctions made between true and false by the application to them of the rule and standard of right principles.

XXX. Do you not see that the Law 131 says that the camel is an unclean animal, because, though it chews the cud, it does not part the hoof (Lev. xi. 4)? And yet, if we fix our eyes on the literal way of regarding the matter, I do not know what principle there is in the reason given for the camel's uncleanness; but, if we look to the way suggested by latent meanings there is a most vital principle. For as the animal that chews the cud 132 renders digestible the food taken in before as it rises again to the surface,^a so the soul of the keen learner, when it has by listening taken in this and that proposition, does not hand them over to forgetfulness, but in stillness all alone goes over them one by one quite quietly, and so succeeds in recalling them all to memory. Not all memory, however, is a good thing, 133 but that which is brought to bear upon good things only, for it would be a thing most noxious that evil should be unforgettable. That is why, if perfection is to be attained, it is necessary to divide the hoof,

- τοῦ μνημονικοῦ δίχα τμηθέντος ὁ λόγος διὰ στόματος, οὐ πέρατα¹ ἢ φύσις διττὰ εἰργάσατο χεῖλη, ῥέων διαστείλῃ τό τε ὠφέλιμον καὶ τὸ ἐπιζήμιον
- 134 μνήμης γένους εἶδος. ἀλλ' οὐδὲ τὸ διχηλεῖν ἄνευ τοῦ μηρυκᾶσθαι καθ' ἑαυτὸ φαίνεταιί τινα ἔχειν ὄνησιν ἐξ αὐτοῦ. τί γὰρ ὄφελος τὰς φύσεις τῶν πραγμάτων τέμνειν ἄνωθεν ἀρξάμενον μέχρι τῶν λεπτοτάτων, εἰς τοῦσχατον <δὲ> αὐτὸ μηκέτι γίνεσθαι μηδὲ ἔχειν διαιρετὰ² τὰ μέρη, ἅπερ ἄτομα καὶ ἀμερῇ πρὸς ἐνίων εὐθυβόλως ὀνομάζεται;
- 135 ταῦτα γὰρ συνέσεως μὲν καὶ περιττῆς ἀκριβείας ἡκονημένης εἰς ὀξύτατην ἀγχίνουαν ἐναργῇ δείγματ' ἐστίν, ὄνησιν δὲ οὐδεμίαν πρὸς καλοκάγαθίαν καὶ
- [321] | ἀνεπιλήπτου βίου διεξοδὸν ἔχει.
- 136 XXXI. καθ' ἐκάστην γοῦν ἡμέραν ὁ πανταχοῦ τῶν σοφιστῶν ὄμιλος ἀποκναίει τὰ ὦτα τῶν παρατυγχανόντων ἀκριβολογούμενος καὶ τὰς διπλᾶς καὶ ἀμφιβόλους λέξεις ἀναπτύσσων καὶ τῶν πραγμάτων ὅσα δοκεῖ μεμνησθαι—πέπηγε δὲ καὶ πλειόνων—διακρίνων. ἢ οὐχ οἱ μὲν τὰ στοιχεῖα τῆς ἐγγράμματος φωνῆς εἰς τε ἄφωνα καὶ φωνήεντα τέμνουσιν; ἔνιοι δὲ τὸν λόγον εἰς τὰ ἀνωτάτω τρία, ὄνομα,
- 137 ῥῆμα, σύνδεσμον; μουσικοὶ δὲ τὴν ἰδίαν ἐπιστήμην εἰς ῥυθμόν, εἰς μέτρον,³ εἰς μέλος, καὶ τὸ μέλος εἰς τε τὸ χρωματικὸν καὶ ἐναρμόνιον καὶ διατονικὸν εἶδος καὶ διὰ τεσσάρων καὶ διὰ πέντε

¹ MSS. ὥσπερ ἄττα.

² Perhaps read ἀδιαιρετά, *i.e.* "never finding that the parts we come to are incapable of division." See App. p. 492.

³ MSS. μέρος.

^a Lit. "no longer to reach," *i.e.* "to fail to do what we do in other undertakings," a common extension of meaning in οὐκέτι or μηκέτι.

^b See App. p. 491.

ON HUSBANDRY, 133-137

in order that, the faculty of memory being cut in twain, language as it flows through the mouth, for which Nature wrought lips as twin boundaries, may separate the beneficial and the injurious forms of memory. But neither does dividing the hoof by 134 itself apart from chewing the cud appear to have anything advantageous on its own account. For what use is there in dissecting the natures of things, beginning from the beginning and going on to the minutest particles, and yet failing to reach^a the absolute end, and finding before you defying division those parts which are happily named by some "atoms" or "partless"?^b For such a course is clear proof of 135 sagacity and nicety of precision whetted to keenest edge of shrewdness; but it is of no advantage towards promoting nobility of character and a blameless passage through life.

XXXI. See 136

how true this is. Day after day the swarm of sophists to be found everywhere wears out the ears of any audience they happen to have with disquisitions on minutiae, unravelling phrases that are ambiguous and can bear two meanings and distinguishing among circumstances such as it is well to bear in mind—and they are set on bearing in mind a vast number.^c Do not some of them divide the letters of written speech into consonants and vowels? And do not some of them break up language into its three ultimate^d parts, noun, verb, conjunction? Do not musicians divide 137 their own science into rhythm, metre, tune; and the tune or melody into the chromatic, harmonic and diatonic form, and into intervals of a fourth, a fifth

^a Or "such as they think well . . . and even more" (*i.e.* than they themselves think worth remembering).

^d Or "main parts," as γενικώτατα § 138.

- καὶ διὰ πασῶν, συνημμένων τε καὶ διεzeugμένων
 138 μελωδίας; γεωμέτραι δὲ εἰς τὰς γενικωτάτας δύο
 γραμμὰς εὐθεϊάν τε καὶ περιφέρειαν; καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι
 139 τεχνῖται εἰς τὰς καθ' ἐκάστην ἐπιστήμην ἰδέας τὰς
 ἀπὸ τῶν πρώτων ἄχρι τῶν ὑστάτων; ὧς συνεπ-
 ηχείτω μέντοι καὶ τῶν φιλοσοφούντων χορὸς ἅπας
 τὰ εἰωθότα διεξιὼν, ὅτι τῶν ὄντων τὰ μὲν ἐστί
 σώματα, τὰ δ' ἄσώματα· καὶ τὰ μὲν ἄψυχα, τὰ δὲ
 ψυχὴν ἔχοντα· καὶ τὰ μὲν λογικά, τὰ δ' ἄλογα·
 καὶ τὰ μὲν θνητά, τὰ δὲ θεία· καὶ τῶν θνητῶν τὸ
 140 μὲν ἄρρεν, τὸ δὲ θῆλυ, τὰ ἀνθρώπου τμήματα· καὶ
 πάλιν τῶν ἀσωμάτων τὰ μὲν τέλεια, τὰ δὲ ἀτελῆ·
 καὶ τῶν τελείων τὰ μὲν ἐρωτήματα καὶ πύσματα
 ἀρατικά¹ τε αὖ καὶ ὀρκικά καὶ ὅσαι ἄλλαι τῶν
 κατ' εἶδος ἐν ταῖς περὶ τούτων στοιχειώσεσιν ἀνα-
 γράφονται διαφοραί, τὰ δὲ πάλιν ἃ διαλεκτικοῖς
 141 ἔθος ὀνομάζειν ἀξιώματα· καὶ τούτων τὰ μὲν ἀπλᾶ,
 τὰ δ' οὐχ ἀπλᾶ· καὶ τῶν οὐχ ἀπλῶν τὰ μὲν συν-
 ημμένα, τὰ δὲ παρασυνημμένα τὸ μᾶλλον ἢ ἦττον,²
 καὶ προσέτι δὲ διεzeugμένα καὶ ἄλλα τοιοντότροπα,
 ἔτι δ' ἀληθῆ τε καὶ ψευδῆ καὶ ἄδηλα, δυνατά τε
 καὶ ἀδύνατα [καὶ τὰ μὲν φθαρτὰ καὶ ἀφθαρτα]
 καὶ ἀναγκαῖα καὶ οὐκ ἀναγκαῖα, καὶ εὐπορά τε
 καὶ ἄπορα καὶ ὅσα συγγενῇ τούτοις· πάλιν δὲ τῶν
 ἀτελῶν αἱ εἰς τὰ λεγόμενα κατηγορήματα καὶ

¹ MSS. ἐρωτικά.

² Perhaps (as in Diog. Laert. vii. 69) <τὰ διασαφούντα> (or some equivalent participle) τὸ μᾶλλον καὶ ἦττον.

^a Or "from the primary (divisions) to the ultimate."

^b The Stoics admitted four kinds of "incorporeal" things, viz. time, place, void, and λεκτόν or σημαινόμενον, i.e. the meaning conveyed by speech as opposed to the actual sound

or an octave, and into melodies with united or dis-joined tetrachords? Do not geometricians put all 138 lines under two main heads, the straight line and the curve? Do not other experts place everything in the principal categories that their several sciences suggest, categories that start with the elements of the science and go on until they have dealt with their last and highest achievements^a? With their com- 139pany let the whole choir of philosophers chime in, harping on their wonted themes, how that of existences some are bodies, some incorporeal^b; and of bodies, some lifeless, some having life; some rational, some irrational, some mortal, some divine; and of mortal beings, some male, some female; a distinction which applies to man; and of things incorporeal 140again, some complete, some incomplete^c; and of those that are complete, some questions and inquiries, imprecations and adjurations, not to mention all the other particular differences, all of which are set forth in the elementary handbooks which deal with them. Again, there are what dialecticians are accustomed to call propositions. Of these, some are simple, some 141not so; and of the non-simple, some hypothetical, some inferential, some <indicating> more or less, some moreover disjunctive; and suchlike distinctions. They distinguish further things true, false, and doubtful; possible and impossible; conclusive and inconclusive;^d soluble and insoluble; and all kindred antitheses. Again, applying to incorporeal things which are incomplete there are the subdivisions into which was corporeal. See *S.V.F.* ii. 331. Philo ignores the first three and deals with the subdivisions of λεκτόν.

^a For the explanation of these and the following terms see App. p. 492.

^d Or "necessarily and not necessarily true."

- ουμβεβηκότα καὶ ὅσα τούτων ἐλάττω διαιρέσεις
 142 προσεχéis. XXXII. κὰν ἔτι παρα-
 θήξας ὁ νοῦς εἰς τὸ λεπτότερον ἑαυτόν, καθάπερ
 ἰατρός τὰ σώματα, τὰς τῶν πραγμάτων φύσεις
 ἀνατέμνει, πλεον οὐδὲν πρὸς ἀρετῆς κτήσιν ἐργά-
 σεται, ἀλλὰ διχληήσκει μὲν διαστέλλειν καὶ δια-
 κρίνειν ἕκαστα δυνάμενος, οὐ μηρυκεθήσεται δέ,
 ὡς ὠφελίμῳ χρῆσθαι τροφῇ κατὰ τὰς ὑπομνήσεις
 [322] τὴν ἐξ ἁμαρτημάτων ἐπιγεγεννημένην τραχύτητα
 143 ψυχῇ λεαινούσῃ καὶ | προσηνῇ καὶ λείαν τῷ ὄντι
 κίνησιν ἀπεργαζομένη. μυριοὶ οὖν τῶν λεγομένων
 σοφιστῶν θαυμασθέντες κατὰ πόλεις καὶ τὴν οἰκου-
 μένην σχεδὸν ἅπασαν ἐπὶ τιμὴν ἐπιστρέψαντες
 ἔνεκα ἀκριβολογίας καὶ τῆς περὶ τὰς εὐρέσεις
 δεινότητος ἀνὰ κράτος τοῖς πάθεσι ἐγκατεγήρασαν
 καὶ ἐγκατέτριψαν¹ τὸν βίον οὐδὲν ἰδιωτῶν ἡμελη-
 μένων καὶ φαυλοτάτων διενεγκόντες ἀνθρώπων.
 144 διὸ καὶ παγκάλως τοὺς οὕτω βιοῦντας τῶν σοφι-
 στῶν ὁ νομοθέτης τῷ συνῶν παραβάλλει γένει
 διαυγεί μὲν οὐδενὶ καὶ καθαρῷ θολερῷ δέ καὶ
 βορβορώδει² βίῳ καὶ τοῖς αἰσχίστοις ἐμφερομένους.³
 145 τὸν γὰρ σὺν ἀκάθαρτον εἶναί φησιν, ὅτι διχληεῖ
 μὲν, οὐ μηρυκαῖται δέ, ὡς τὸν κάμηλον διὰ τὴν
 ἐναντίαν πρόφασιν, ὅτι μηρυκώμενος οὐ διχληεῖ.
 ὅσα μὲν<τοι> τῶν ζώων ἀμφοτέρων μετέχει,
 καθαρὰ εἰκότως ἀναγράφεται, ὅτι τὴν περὶ ἐκά-
 τερον⁴ τῶν λεχθέντων ἀτοπίαν ἐκπέφευγε. καὶ γὰρ
 διαίρεσις ἄνευ μνήμης καὶ μελέτης καὶ διεξόδου

¹ MSS. κατεγήρασαν καὶ κατέτριψαν, which perhaps might be retained and a participle like χρώμενοι inserted to govern πάθεσι.

² MSS. βαρβαρώδει.

³ So MSS.: perhaps ἐμφερομένων.

⁴ MSS. θατέραν (-α).

“predicates” and “complements” and still more minute refinements. XXXII. And if the 142 mind putting a still finer edge upon itself dissect the natures of things, as a surgeon does men’s bodies, he will effect nothing that is of advantage for the acquiring of virtue. It is true that, by reason of his power to distinguish and discriminate in each case, he will “divide the hoof,” but he will not “chew the cud” so as to have at his service beneficial nourishment with its wholesome reminders, smoothing out the roughness that had accrued to the soul as the result of errors, and producing an easy and truly smooth movement.” And so multitudes of those who 143 are called sophists, after winning the admiration of city after city, and after drawing wellnigh the whole world to honour them for their hair-splitting and their clever inventiveness, have with all their might worn their life out, and brought it to premature old age, by the indulgence of their passions, differing not at all from neglected nobodies and the most worthless of mankind. Excellently, therefore, does the law- 144 giver compare the race of sophists who live in this way to swine. Such men are at home in a mode of life not bright and luminous but thick and muddy and in all that is most ugly. For he says that the 145 pig is unclean, because, though it divide the hoof, it does not chew the cud (Lev. xi. 7). He pronounces the camel unclean for the opposite reason, because though chewing the cud he does not divide the hoof. But such animals as do both are, as we might expect, set down as clean, since they have escaped the unnatural development in each of the directions named. For indeed distinguishing without memory and with-

* See App. p. 493.

τῶν ἀρίστων * * *¹ ἀγαθὸν ἀτελές, ἡ δ' ἀμφοῖν εἰς ταὐτὸ σύννοδος τε καὶ κοινωνία τελειότατον.

- 146 XXXIII. Τελειότητα δὲ καὶ οἱ δυσμενεῖς τῆς ψυχῆς καταπτήσσουσιν, ὧν μηκέτι ἐπανίστασθαι δυναμένων ἢ ἀψευδῆς εἰρήνη κρατεῖ. ἡμιέργου δ' ὅσοι σοφίας ἢ πάλιν ἡμιπαγοῦς ἔλαχον, ἀσθενέστεροι ἢ ὥστε ἁμαρτημάτων ἐκ πολλοῦ συγκεκροτημένων καὶ πρὸς ἀλκὴν ἐπιδεδωκότων ἐναντιοῦσθαι
- 147 στίφεσι. διὰ τοῦθ' ὅταν ἐν τῷ τοῦ πολέμου καιρῷ ποιῇται τῆς στρατιᾶς κατάλογον, οὐχ ἅπασαν καλεῖ τὴν νεότητα, καὶ μετὰ προθυμίας τῆς πάσης αὐτοκελεύστω χρήται πρὸς ἐχθρῶν ἄμυναν ἐτοιμότητι, προστάττει δὲ ἀπιόντας οἴκοι καταμεῖναι, ὥς ἂν ἐκ συνεχοῦς μελέτης τὴν τοῦ ποτε δύνασθαι νικᾶν ἀνὰ κράτος ἰσχύν τε καὶ ἐμπειρίαν εὗρῃνται
- 148 κραταιοτάτην. ἡ δὲ πρόσταξις διὰ τῶν τῆς στρατιᾶς γραμματέων γίνεται, ὅταν ὁ πόλεμος ἐγγὺς καὶ ἐπὶ θύραις ὧν ἤδη τυγχάνῃ· ταυτὶ δὲ φήσουσι· “ τίς ὁ ἄνθρωπος ὁ οἰκοδομήσας οἰκίαν καινὴν καὶ οὐκ ἐνεκαίνισεν αὐτήν; πορευέσθω καὶ ἀποστραφήτω εἰς τὴν οἰκίαν αὐτοῦ, μὴ ἀποθάνῃ ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ καὶ ἄνθρωπος ἕτερος ἐγκαινιεῖ αὐτήν. καὶ τίς ὃς ἐφύτευσεν ἀμπελῶνα καὶ οὐκ εὐφράνθη ἐξ αὐτοῦ; πορευέσθω καὶ ἀποστραφήτω εἰς τὴν οἰκίαν αὐτοῦ, μὴ ἀποθάνῃ ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ καὶ ἄνθρωπος ἕτερος εὐφρανθήσεται ἐξ αὐτοῦ. καὶ τίς ἐμνηστεύσατο γυναῖκα καὶ οὐκ ἔλαβεν αὐτήν; πορευέσθω καὶ ἀποστραφήτω εἰς τὴν οἰκίαν αὐτοῦ, μὴ ἀποθάνῃ ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ καὶ ἄνθρωπος ἕτερος

¹ The translation follows Wend., who supplies after ἀρίστων some such words as καὶ μνήμη χωρὶς διαιρέσεως τῶν ἀγαθῶν καὶ τῶν ἐναντίων; but see App. 493.

out conning and going over of the things that are best is an incomplete good (as is memory without distinguishing between good things and their opposites), but the meeting and partnership of both in combination is a good most complete and perfect.

XXXIII. Now even men of ill will cower before 146
perfection of soul, and, when they can no longer resist it, genuine peace prevails. But men that have attained to a wisdom half-wrought or, to change the figure, half-baked, are too feeble to stand up against massed bodies of sins that have been long in training and have become increasingly formidable. This is 147
why, when in time of war the lawgiver is mustering the army, he does not summon all the youth, even though it be filled with the utmost zeal and shew readiness that requires no spurring to repel the enemy, but bids them depart and stay at home, that as the result of constant practice they may acquire overpowering strength and skill, such as shall enable them one day to win a decisive victory. The command is given through the marshals or 148
secretaries^a of the army, when war is near and already at the very doors. What they are to say is this: "Who is the man that has built a new house and has not hanselled it? Let him go and turn back to his house, lest he be killed in the war and another man hansel it. And who is there that has planted a vineyard and not been made joyous by its fruits? Let him go his way and turn back to his house, lest he die in the war and another have joy from it. And to whom has a wife been promised, whom he has not taken? Let him go his way and turn back to his house, lest he die in the war and another take her "

^a E.V. "officers."

- 149 | λήφεται αὐτήν.” XXXIV. διὰ τί γάρ, εἵπομι’
 [323] ἂν, ὧ θαυμασιώτατε, οὐχὶ τούτους μᾶλλον ἐτέρων
 εἰς τὸν ἀγῶνα τοῦ πολέμου κατατάττειν ἀξιοῖς, οἱ
 γύναια καὶ οἰκίας καὶ ἀμπελῶνας καὶ τὴν ἄλλην
 κτῆσιν ἀφθονωτάτην περιπεποιήνται; τοὺς γὰρ
 περὶ τῆς τούτων ἀσφαλείας κινδύνους, καὶ εἰ
 πάντως εἰεν βαρύντατοι, κουφότατα οἴσουσιν· ἐπεὶ
 οἷς γε τῶν λεχθέντων οὐδὲν πρόσσεστιν, ἅτε μηδὲν
 ἔχοντες ἀναγκαῖον ἐνέχυρον ὅκνω καὶ ῥαθυμίας τὰ
 150 πολλὰ χρήσονται. ἢ παρόσον οὐδενὸς τῶν κτηθέν-
 των ἀπολελαύकाσιν, εἴτα μηδ’ ὕστερον δυνηθῶσιν
 ἀπολαῦσαι; τοῖς γὰρ κρατηθείσι τῷ πολέμῳ τίς
 ἀπολείπεται τῶν κτηθέντων ὄνησις; ἀλλ’ οὐχ
 ἀλώσονται.¹ εὐθὺς μὲν οὖν τό γε ἐπὶ τοῖς ἀστρατεύ-
 τοις πείσσονται· οἴκοι γὰρ καθεζομένων καὶ τρυ-
 φώντων ἀνάγκη τοὺς τὰ τοῦ πολέμου συντόνως
 δρῶντας ἐχθροὺς οὐκ ἀναιμωτὶ μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ
 151 ἀκονιτὶ κρατεῖν. ἀλλὰ τὸ τῶν ἄλλων συμμάχων
 πλῆθος καὶ τὸν ὑπὲρ τούτων ἀγῶνα προθύμως
 ἀναδέξεται. πρῶτον μὲν ἄτοπον ἐπὶ ταῖς ἐτέρων
 σπουδαῖς ἢ τύχαις ὀρμεῖν, καὶ μάλιστα ὅτε περὶ
 ἀναστάσεως καὶ ἀνδραποδισμοῦ καὶ πορθησεως
 ἰδιὸς τε καὶ κοινὸς ἐπικρέμαται κίνδυνος, δυνα-
 μένους συνδιαφέρεσθαι τὰ τοῦ πολέμου καὶ μήθ’
 ὑπὸ νόσου μήθ’ ὑπὸ γήρωι μήθ’ ὑπ’ ἄλλης κακο-
 πραγίας μηδεμιᾶς κωλυομένους. ἀρπάσαντας γὰρ
 δεῖ τὰ ὄπλα ἐν ταῖς πρώταις φάλαγγι τούτους καὶ

¹ Wend. prints a mark of interrogation here and in §151 after ἀναδέξεται. The translators have substituted full stops, regarding the sentences in both cases as objections raised by the other side.

^a The elaborate argument which follows to show that Moses must have intended an intellectual or spiritual warfare
 184

(Deut. xx. 5-7).^a XXXIV. "For what reason," I 149
 should be inclined to say, "my good friend, do you
 not think fit to assign these more than others to the
 conflict of the war, who have secured for themselves
 wives and houses and vineyards and other possessions
 in lavish abundance? They will bear very lightly, be
 they ever so heavy, the dangers incurred to keep them
 safe; while those who have none of the ties mentioned,
 having nothing vital at stake, will for the most part
 be sluggish and slack. Or, again, is the fact that they 150
 have derived no enjoyment from any of their acquisitions
 a good reason for depriving them of the possibility
 of doing so in the future? For what advantage
 from their possessions remains to the vanquished?"

"Nay but," I think you urge, "*they* will not be
 prisoners."

On the contrary, they will at once incur the fate of
 non-combatants. For enemies vigorously carrying
 on operations of war are quite sure to become masters
 of men sitting at home at their ease, not merely
 without bloodshed but without a struggle.

"Nay," you urge again, "the large forces on their 151
 side will gladly undertake to fight for these as well."

In the first place, I reply, it is monstrous to rely
 on the efforts or good fortune of others, especially
 when there is the menace hanging over both indi-
 vidual citizens and the city itself of spoliation and
 deportation and enslavement, and that when they
 are able to do their part in bearing the burdens of
 war and are hindered from doing so neither by
 illness nor by old age nor by any other misfortune.
 It behoves these people to snatch up their weapons

takes the form of a dialogue with the *γραμματεῖς* in which
 they raise objections in §§ 150, 151, and 155.

ὑπερέχειν τῶν συμμάχων τὰς ἀσπίδας ἐκθύμως
καὶ φιλοκινδύνως μαχομένους. XXXV.

- 152 ἔπειτ' οὐ προδοσίας μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ πολλῆς ἀν-
αλησιᾶς ἐξενηνοχότες ἂν εἶεν δείγματα, εἰ οἱ μὲν
ἄλλοι προπολεμήσουσιν, αὐτοὶ δὲ πρὸς τοῖς οἰκείοις
πράγμασιν ἔσονται, καὶ οἱ μὲν τοὺς ὑπὲρ τῆς
ἐκείνων σωτηρίας ἀγῶνας ἀναρρίπτειν θελήσουσιν,
οἱ δὲ οὐδὲ τοὺς ὑπὲρ ἑαυτῶν ἀναδέξονται, καὶ οἱ
μὲν ἀσιτίας καὶ χαμευνίας καὶ τὰς ἄλλας σώματός
τε καὶ ψυχῆς κακώσεις ἄσμενοι διὰ τὸν τοῦ νικῆσαι
πόθον καρτερήσουσιν, οἱ δὲ κονιάματα καὶ λήρους,
κόσμον ἄψυχον, οἰκίαις περιτιθέντες ἢ τὴν κατ'
ἀγροὺς ὁπώραν δρεπόμενοι καὶ τὰ πλῆνι' ἄγοντες
ἢ ταῖς ὁμολογηθείσαις ἑκπαλαι παρθένους νῦν πρῶ-
τον εἰς ὁμιλίαν ἐρχόμενοι καὶ συνευναζόμενοι ὥς
ἐν ἐπιτηδειοτάτῳ τοῦ γαμεῖν καιρῷ διατελοῦσι;
153 καλὸν γε τοίχων ἐπιμελεῖσθαι, προσόδους ἐκλέγειν,
ἐστιᾶσθαι, μεθύειν, θαλαμεύεσθαι, νυμφοστολεῖσθαι
τὰς γεγηρακυίας καὶ σαπράς, τὸ λεγόμενον, ἀλλ'
εἰρήνης ἔργα, ἐν δ' ἔτι ἡβῶντός τε καὶ ἀνθοῦντος
154 ἀκμῇ πολέμου ἄτοπα¹ δρᾶν. ἢ τούτων οὐχ ὁ
πατήρ, οὐκ ἀδελφός, οὐ τῶν ἀφ' αἵματος οὐδεὶς,
οὐ γένους ἐστράτευται, ἀλλὰ πανοίκιος αὐτοῖς ἐμ-
[324] πεφώλευκεν | ἢ δειλία; ἀλλὰ πάντως εἰσὶ μυριοί
τῶν συγγενῶν ἀγωνιζόμενοι. τούτων οὖν τὸν ὑπὲρ
τῆς ψυχῆς κίνδυνον αἰρομένων οἱ χλιδῶντες
καὶ ἀβροδιαίτως ζῶντες τίνας οὐκ ἂν ἀτιθάσους
θῆρας δι' ὑπερβολὴν ὠμότητος παραδράμοιεν;
155 ἀλλὰ χαλεπὸν τὸ ἐτέρους ἀπονητὶ τῶν ἡμετέρων

¹ Conj. Tr.: mss. πάντα: Cohn suggested ταῦτα δρᾶν
αἰσχιστον. Perhaps πολέμου <πολέμου> πάντα, i.e. in time of war

ON HUSBANDRY, 151-155

and taking their place in the front ranks to hold their shields over their comrades fighting with a courage that courts danger.

XXXV. In the next 152 place, they would have given proof not only of treachery but of utter insensibility, if, while the others are to be fighting in their defence, they are to be about their private business ; and while the others are to be willing to stand the hazard of the conflict for their safety, they are not to take the trouble to fight for their own ; and, while the others in their desire for victory are gladly to put up with short rations and sleeping in the field and the other hardships of body and soul, they spend their time in decking their houses with stuccoes and trumperies, poor soulless display ; or getting in the fruit of their orchards and celebrating the vintage festival ; or now for the first time consummating their marriage with the maidens betrothed to them long before, as though this were an ideal season for weddings. 'Tis good to 153 look after walls, to collect rents, to attend banquets, to get tipsy, to indulge in sexual intercourse, for the aged and as the saying is, decayed dames, to be escorted to the bridal chamber, but they are works of peace, and monstrous things to do when war is in full course. Has not a father, has not a brother, has no blood- 154 relation, no member of the clan of these men enlisted ? Has cowardice made their whole family its lair ? Nay, there surely are a host of their kinsfolk at the front. Would not, then, those, who live in ease and luxury while these are imperilling their lives, far surpass in cruelty any savage beasts you can name ?

"It is hard," you are thinking, "that other 155

it is well that all that is done should be things of war. Possibly *πολέμου* <*ἄρα πολέμου*>, cf. § 25 above.

- ἀπολαῦσαι πόνων. καὶ πότερον χαλεπώτερον ἐχθροὺς ἔτι ζώντων ἢ φίλους καὶ συγγενεῖς τετελευτηκότων ἐπὶ τὸν κλῆρον ἐλθεῖν; ἢ καὶ τὸ συγκρίνειν τὰ οὕτως μακρὰν ἀφεστῶτα εὔηθες;
- 156 καὶ μὴν εὐλογον μὴ μόνον ὅσα τοῖς ἀστρατεύτοις πρόσσεστιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ αὐτοὺς ἐκείνους ἐχθρῶν κεκρατηκότων γενέσθαι κτήματα· τοῖς δέ γε ἀποθνήσκουσιν ὑπὲρ τῆς κοινῆς σωτηρίας, καὶ εἰ μηδενὸς ἀπώναντο¹ πρότερον τῶν κατὰ τὴν οὐσίαν, ἡδίστη τελευτὴ γίνεται λογιζομένοις ὅτι πρὸς οὓς ἠϋξάντο διαδόχους τὴν οὐσίαν ἐλθεῖν ἔρχεται.
- 157 XXXVI. Τὸ μὲν οὖν τοῦ νόμου ῥήτὸν τοσαύτας καὶ ἔτι πλείους ἐπισκέψεις ἴσως ἔχει. ὥς δὲ μηδεὶς εὐρεσιλογῶν θρασύνηται τῶν κακοτεχνούντων, ἀλληγοροῦντες φήσομεν ὅτι πρῶτον μὲν οὐ μόνον οἶεται δεῖν ὁ νόμος περὶ τὴν τῶν ἀγαθῶν πονεῖσθαί τινα κτῆσιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ περὶ τὴν τῶν κτηθέντων ἀπόλαυσιν, καὶ τό γε εὐδαιμονεῖν ἀρετῆς χρήσει τελείας περιγενέσθαι νομίζει σῶον καὶ παντελεῆ περιποιούσης βίον· ἔπειθ' ὅτι οὐ περὶ οἰκίας ἢ ἀμπελῶνος ἢ τῆς καθ' ὁμολογίας ἐγγυηθείσης γυναικός ἐστιν ὁ λόγος αὐτῷ, ὅπως τὴν μὲν ὥς μνηστὴρ ἀγάγηται, τοῦ δ' ἀμπελῶνος τὸν καρπὸν ὁ φυτουργὸς ἀποδρεψάμενος καὶ ἀποθλίψας, εἴτ' ἐμπῶν μεθύσματος ἀκράτου γανῶθῃ, τὴν δ' οἰκίαν ὁ ἀναδειμάμενος οἰκήσῃ, ἀλλὰ περὶ τῶν

¹ mss. ἀφ' ὧν ἂν τὸ, which was formerly patched up by reading εἰ μηδενὸς ἀπέλαυσαν ἀφ' ὧν ἂν τὸ πρότερον εἶχον.

ON HUSBANDRY, 155-157

people without doing any work should get the benefit of our labours."

Pray, which is harder, that enemies should come into the property while we are still alive, or that friends and kinsfolk should do so when we are dead? Nay, 'tis silly even to compare things so wide apart. Again, it is probable not only that all that belongs 156 to those who did not join up should become the property of the victorious enemy, but that they themselves should so become; while to those who are dying for the common salvation, even supposing that they had in former days derived no benefit from the family property, a happy ending comes as they reflect that the property is falling to the heirs to whom it was their prayer that it should fall.

XXXVI. The letter of the Law perhaps suggests 157 all these considerations and more than these. But that no malicious critic may too daringly give rein to his inventive talent, we will leave the letter, and make one or two remarks about the inner meaning of the Law. Firstly, it considers that a man ought to concern himself not only with the acquisition of good things, but with the enjoyment of what he has acquired, and that happiness results from the practice of perfect excellence seeing that such excellence secures a life sound and complete in every way. Secondly, what the Law means is that a man's main consideration is not house or vineyard or the wife already betrothed to him; how he is to take to wife her whom he has wooed and won; how the planter of the vineyard is to cull and crush its fruit, and then drink large draughts of the intoxicating beverage and make his heart glad; or how the man that has built the house is to occupy it; but that the faculties of a

κατὰ ψυχὴν δυνάμεων, δι' ὧν συμβέβηκεν ἀρχάς
 τε λαμβάνειν καὶ προκοπὰς καὶ τελειότητας ἐν
 158 πράξεσιν ἐπαινεταῖς· αἱ μὲν τοίνυν ἀρχαὶ περὶ
 μνηστῆρα φιλοῦσι γίνεσθαι—καθάπερ γὰρ ὁ μνώ-
 μενος γυναῖκα μέλλει ἔτι ἀνὴρ¹ οὐ γεγονώς ἤδη,
 τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον ὁ εὐφυὴς εὐγενῇ μὲν καὶ καθαρὰν
 ἄξεσθαι παρθένον, παιδείαν, ἐλπίζει, μνᾶται δ'
 αὐτίκα—, αἱ δὲ προκοπαὶ περὶ γεωργόν—ὥς γὰρ
 ἐπιμελὲς τῷ φυτουργῷ τὰ δένδρα αὔξεσθαι, καὶ
 τῷ φιλομαθεῖ τὰ φρονήσεως θεωρήματα ποιῆσαι
 μηκίστην λαβεῖν ἐπίδοσιν—, αἱ δὲ τελειότητες περὶ
 159 πῆξιν λαβούσης. XXXVII. ἀρμόττει δὴ πᾶσι
 τούτοις, ἀρχομένοις, προκόπτουσι, τετελειωμένοις,
 βιοῦν ἀφιλονείκως καὶ μὴ τῷ τῶν σοφιστῶν ἐπα-
 ποδύεσθαι πολέμῳ δύσεριν ταραχὴν ἐπὶ νοθείᾳ
 [325] τάληθοῦς αἰεὶ μελετώντων· ἐπειδὴ τάληθές εἰρήνη
 160 φίλον, | ἢ δυσμενὴς αὐτοῖς. εἰ γὰρ εἰς τοῦτον
 ἀφίξονται τὸν ἀγῶνα πρὸς ἐμπειροπολέμους ἰδιώ-
 ται, παντελῶς ἀλώσονται· ὁ μὲν ἀρχόμενος, <ὅτι>
 ἄπειρος, ὁ δὲ προκόπτων, ὅτι ἀτελής, ὁ δὲ τέλειος,
 ὅτι οὐπω ἄτριβος² ἀρετῆς· δεῖ δ' ὥσπερ τὰ κοινά-
 ματα στηριχθῆναι βεβαίως καὶ λαβεῖν πῆξιν, οὕτως

¹ Conj. Tr.: mss. μέλλων ἐπὶ ἀνὴρ. Adler proposes μέλλων ἐπὶ ἀνδρῶσθαι or ἐπὶ ἀνδρὸς εἶναι. Wendland suggested μέλλει γενέσθαι ἀνὴρ.

² Sic mss. Emendations proposed are οὐπω ἐντριβὴς or ἔτι ἀτριβὴς (? πω ἀτριβὴς, the usage being perhaps defensible with the implied negative in ἀτριβὴς).

* Or the passage may be taken as follows: "The lawgiver is not speaking of house or vineyard. . . . He does not wish that he should take to wife . . . But he is speaking of the

ON HUSBANDRY, 157-160

man's soul are a man's main consideration.^a Through these he can make a beginning, make progress, and reach perfection in praiseworthy doings. Beginnings 158 are seen in a wooer, for, just as he who is wooing a woman has wedlock still in futurity not being already a husband, in the same way the well-constituted man looks forward to one day marrying Discipline, a high-born and pure maiden, but for the present he is her wooer. Progress is seen in the work of the husbandman, for, as it is the planter's care that the trees should grow, so is it the earnest student's care to bring it about that the principles of sound sense shall receive the utmost development. Perfection is to be seen in the building of a house, which is receiving its finishing touches, but has not yet become quite compact and firmly settled. XXXVII. It 159 befits all these, the beginners, those making progress, and those who have reached perfection, to live without contention, refusing to engage in the war waged by the sophists, with their unceasing practice of quarrelsomeness and disturbance to the adulteration of the truth: for the truth is dear to peace, and peace has no liking for them. If our friends *do* come 160 into this conflict, mere unprofessionals engaging trained and seasoned fighters, they will undoubtedly get the worst of it; the beginner because he lacks experience, the man who is progressing, because he is incomplete, the man who has reached completeness, because he is still unpractised in virtue. It is requisite, just as it is that plaster should become firm and fixed and acquire solidity,^b so too that the

faculties of a man's soul;” *cf.* for this use of ὁ λόγος αὐτῶ, “he is not speaking about,” § 88 above.

^b See App. p. 493.

- τὰς τῶν τελειωθέντων ψυχὰς κραταιωθείσας παγιώ-
 τερον ἰδρυθῆναι μελέτῃ συνεχεῖ καὶ γυμνάσμασιν
 161 ἐπαλλήλοις. οἱ δὲ μὴ τούτων τυγχάνοντες παρὰ
 τοῖς φιλοσόφοις διαλεληθότες εἶναι λέγονται σοφοί·
 τοὺς γὰρ ἄχρι σοφίας ἄκρας ἐληλακότας καὶ τῶν
 ὄρων αὐτῆς ἄρτι πρῶτον ἀψαμένους ἀμήχανον
 εἰδέναι φασὶ τὴν ἑαυτῶν τελείωσιν· μὴ γὰρ κατὰ
 τὸν αὐτὸν χρόνον ἄμφω συνίστασθαι, τὴν τε πρὸς
 τὸ πέρας ἄφιξιν καὶ τὴν τῆς ἀφίξεως κατάληψιν,
 ἀλλ' εἶναι μεθόριον ἄγνοιαν, οὐ τὴν μακρὰν ἀπ-
 εληλαμένην ἐπιστήμης, ἀλλὰ τὴν ἐγγὺς καὶ ἀγχι-
 162 θυρον αὐτῇ. τοῦ μὲν οὖν καταλαμβάνοντος καὶ
 συνιέντος καὶ τὰς ἑαυτοῦ δυνάμεις ἐπισταμένου
 ἄκρως γένοιτ' ἂν ἔργον πολεμῆσαι τῷ φιλέριδι
 καὶ σοφιστικῶ στίφει· νικήσειν γὰρ τὸν τοιοῦτον
 ἐλπίς. ᾧ δὲ ἔτι τὸ ἀγνοίας ἐπιπροσθεῖ σκότος,
 μήπω τοῦ τῆς ἐπιστήμης ἀναλάμψαι φέγγους
 ἰσχυκύτος, ἀσφαλὲς οἴκοι καταμεῖναι, τουτέστιν
 εἰς τὴν περὶ ᾧ ἄκρως οὐ κατείληφε μὴ παρελθεῖν
 163 ἄμιλλαν, ἀλλ' ἡρεμῆσαί τε καὶ ἡσυχάσαι. ὁ δ'
 ὑπ' αὐθαδείας ἐξενεχθεὶς, τὰ παλαίσματα τῶν
 ἀντιπάλων οὐκ εἰδὼς πρὶν δρᾶσαι παθεῖν φθή-
 σεται καὶ τὸν ἐπιστήμης θάνατον ἐνδέξεται, ὅς
 ἐστὶν ἀργαλεώτερος τοῦ ψυχῇ καὶ σῶμα διακρίνον-
 164 τος. ὀφείλει δὲ τοῦτο συμβαίνειν τοῖς πρὸς τῶν
 σοφισμάτων ἀπατωμένοις· ὅταν γὰρ τὰς λύσεις
 αὐτῶν εὐρεῖν μὴ δυνηθῶσιν, ὡς ἀληθέσι τοῖς

* See App. p. 493.

ON HUSBANDRY, 160-164

souls of those that have been perfected should become more firmly settled, strengthened by constant practice and continual exercise. Those who do not enjoy these advantages have the name among the philosophers of wise men unconscious of their wisdom.^a For they say that it is out of the question that those who have sped as far as the edge of wisdom and have just come for the first time into contact with its borders should be conscious of their own perfecting, that both things cannot come about at the same time, the arrival at the goal and the apprehension of the arrival, but that ignorance must form a border-land between the two, not that ignorance which is far removed from knowledge, but that which is close at hand and hard by her door. It will, then, be the business of him who fully apprehends and understands the subject and thoroughly knows his own powers, to go to war with the strife-loving band of sophists ; for there is ground for expecting that such an one will be the conqueror. But for him whose eyes are still covered by the darkness of ignorance, the light of knowledge not being strong enough as yet to shine out, it is safe to stay at home, that is, not to come forward for the contest about matters which he has not fully apprehended, but to keep still and be quiet. But he who has been carried away by presumption, not knowing his opponents' grips and throws, before he can be an agent will quickly be a victim and experience the death of knowledge, which is a far more woeful death than that which severs soul and body. This is bound to befall those who are cheated by sophistries ; for they fail to find the way to refute these, and owing to their having regarded false statements as true and given

- κατεψευσμένοις πεπιστευκότες ἀποθνήσκουσι βίον
 τὸν τῆς ἐπιστήμης ταύτῃ πεπονθότες τοῖς ὑπὸ
 κολάκων φενακιζομένοις· καὶ γὰρ τούτων ἡ τῆς
 ψυχῆς ὑγιαίνουσα καὶ ἀληθὴς ὑπὸ τῆς φύσει νοσερᾶς
 165 ἐξωθεῖται καὶ ἀνατρέπεται φιλίας. XXXVIII.
 συμβουλευτέον οὖν εἰς τοὺς τοιούτους ἀγῶνας μὴ
 παρέρχεσθαι τοῖς τε ἀρχομένοις τοῦ μανθάνειν—
 ἀνεπιστήμονες γάρ—καὶ τοῖς προκόπτουσι, διότι οὐ
 τέλειοι, καὶ τοῖς πρῶτον τελειωθείσι, διότι λέλθην
 166 αὐτοὺς ἄχρι πῇ τελειότης. τῶν δὲ ἀπειθησάντων
 ἄλλος, φησὶν, ἄνθρωπος τὴν μὲν οἰκίαν οἰκῆσει,
 τὸν δ' ἀμπελῶνα κτήσεται, τὴν δὲ γυναικα ἄξεται·
 τὸ δ' ἐστὶν ἴσον τῷ αἰ λεχθεῖσαι δυνάμεις σπουδῆς,
 [326] βελτιώσεως, τελειώσεως | ἐπιλεύσουσι μὲν οὐδέ-
 ποτε, ἄλλοτε δὲ ἄλλοις ἐνομιλήσουσιν ἀνθρώποις
 ἐπιφοιτῶσαι καὶ τὰς ψυχὰς οὐ τὰς αὐτὰς * * *¹
 167 ἀμείβουσαι, σφραγίσιν² ὁμοιούμεναι. καὶ γὰρ αὐται
 τὸν κηρὸν ἐπειδὰν τυπώσωσι, παθοῦσαι μηδὲν ἀπ'
 αὐτῶν εἶδος ἐγχαράξασαι μένουσιν ἐν ὁμοίῳ· καὶ
 ὁ τυπωθεὶς συγχυθῇ κηρὸς καὶ ἀφανισθῇ, πάλιν
 ἕτερος ὑποβληθήσεται. ὥστε, ὦ γενναῖοι, μὴ
 νομίσητε φθειρομένοις συμφθείρεσθαι τὰς δυνάμεις
 ὑμῖν· ἀθάνατοι γὰρ οὔσαι μυρίους ἄλλους πρὸ
 ὑμῶν ἀσπάζονται τῆς ἀπ' αὐτῶν εὐκλείας,³ οὓς ἂν
 αἰσθωνται μὴ ὥσπερ ὑμᾶς διὰ τὸ ῥιψοκίνδυνον
 ἀποδεδρακότας τὴν ὁμιλίαν αὐτῶν, ἀλλὰ προσ-

¹ The translation follows Wend., who suggests οὐ τὰς αὐτὰς <ἀεὶ κατοικοῦσαι, ἀλλ' ἐξ ἄλλων ἄλλας> ἀμείβουσαι. An alternative is to limit the corruption to ἀμείβουσαι. Mangey ἀπομάττουσαι.

² mss. σφόδρα γ' εἰσιν.

³ The genitive is hardly defensible. Wend. proposes ἀσπάζονται <μεταδιδούσαι>, Cohn τῇ . . . εὐκλείᾳ.

ON HUSBANDRY, 164-167

them credence, they die so far as the life of knowledge is concerned. Their experience is the same as that of those who are taken in by flatterers : for in their case, too, the true and healthy friendship of the soul is thrust out and overturned by the friendship that is essentially unwholesome. XXXVIII. 165 We must therefore advise those, who are beginning to learn, to decline such contests, owing to their lack of knowledge ; those who are making progress, owing to their not being perfect ; and those who have just attained perfection, because they are to some extent unconscious of their perfectness. As 166 for those who disregard this bidding, it says of each of them, another man shall live in his house, shall become owner of his vineyard, shall marry his betrothed. This is equivalent to saying, " the faculties ^a mentioned of keenness to learn, of improvement, of becoming perfect, shall indeed never fail, but they associate with one man at one time, with another man at another time, going about and not tenanting the same souls always and changing from soul to soul. In this the faculties resemble 167 seals ; for these too, when they have stamped the wax, unaffected by the impressions they have made, after engraving an image on it remain as they were, and if the impression on the wax gets blurred and effaced, other wax will be substituted for it. So do not imagine, good sirs, that the faculties decay when you do. They are immortal, and ready to welcome ten thousand others in preference to you to the fame gained from them. These are all whom they perceive not to have shunned their converse as you did, owing to your foolhardiness, but to draw

^a Or " talents."

- 168 **ιόντας καὶ θεραπευτικῶς ἀσφαλείας ἔχοντας.** εἰ δέ τις ἀρετῆς φίλος, εὐχέσθω τὰ καλὰ πάντα ἐμφυτευθῆναι τε αὐτῷ καὶ ἐπὶ τῆς ἑαυτοῦ ψυχῆς φανῆναι καθάπερ ἐν ἀνδριάντι καὶ γραφῇ τελεία τὰς εἰς εὐμορφίαν συμμετρίας, λογιζόμενος ὅτι εἰσὶν ἔφεδροι μυρίοι, οἷς ἡ φύσις ἀντ' αὐτοῦ δωρήσεται ταῦτα πάντα, εὐμαθείας, προκοπὰς, τελειότητος. ἄμεινον δὲ πρὸ ἐκείνων αὐτὸν ἐκλάμβαι ταμιευόμενον τὰς ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ δοθείσας ἀσφαλῶς χάριτας καὶ μὴ προενεγκόντα πόρθησιν ἐχθροῖς ἀφειδοῦσιν ἐτοιμοτάτην λείαν παρασχεῖν.
- 169 **XXXIX.** Οὐκοῦν βραχὺ ὄφελος ἀρχῆς, ἣν τέλος αἷσιον οὐκ ἐσφράγισται. πολλάκις μέντοι καὶ τελειωθέντες τινὲς ἀτελεῖς ἐνομίσθησαν τῷ παρὰ τὴν ἰδίαν προθυμίαν, ἀλλὰ μὴ κατ' ἐπιφροσύνην θεοῦ βελτιωθῆναι δόξαι, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο μέντοι <τὸ> δόξαι μετεωρισθέντες¹ καὶ ἐξαρθέντες ἐπὶ μήκιστον ἀφ' ὑψηλοτέρων χωρίων εἰς ἔσχατον κατενεχ-
- 170 **θέντες βυθὸν ἠφανίσθησαν.** “ἐὰν” γάρ φησιν “οἰκοδομήσης οἰκίαν καινὴν, καὶ ποιήσεις στεφάνην τῷ δώματί σου, καὶ οὐ ποιήσεις φόνον ἐν τῇ οἰκίᾳ σου, ἐὰν πέσῃ ὁ πεσὼν ἀπ' αὐτοῦ.”
- 171 **πτωμάτων γὰρ ἀργαλεώτατον θεοῦ τιμῆς ἀποπεσεῖν ὀλισθόντα, στεφανώσαντα πρὸ ἐκείνου ἑαυτὸν καὶ φόνον ἐμφύλιον ἐργασάμενον· κτείνει γὰρ τὴν ἑαυτοῦ ψυχὴν ὃ μὴ τὸ ὄν τιμῶν, ὡς ἀνόνητον αὐτῷ γενέσθαι παιδείας τὸ οἰκοδόμημα.**

¹ MSS. νεωτερισθέντες.

^a So the LXX, which Philo takes to mean “for fear you yourself fall.” The E.V. “that thou bring not blood upon thy house, if any man fall from thence” gives the real sense better.

ON HUSBANDRY, 168-171

near and pay great heed to safety. If any man be 168
 a lover of virtue, let him pray that all fair things may
 not only be implanted in him, but may shew them-
 selves upon the surface of his soul, as do the ex-
 quisite proportions of beauty in a statue and a perfect
 portrait. Let him consider that there are myriads
 waiting to follow him, on whom in his stead Nature
 will bestow all the boons of which we have been
 thinking, the gift of quickness to learn, that of
 making progress, that of attaining perfection. Is it
 not better that, instead of leaving it to them, he
 should himself shine out and be a retentive steward
 of God's gracious gifts, and that he should not, by
 gratuitously offering an opportunity for plunder, supply
 ruthless foes with booty lying ready to their hand?

XXXIX. Little advantage, therefore, is there in a 169
 beginning to which a right ending has not set its seal.
 Quite frequently persons who had attained perfection
 have been accounted imperfect owing to their fancy-
 ing that their improvement was due to their own zeal
 and not to the directing care of God. Owing to this
 fancy they were lifted up and greatly exalted, and
 so came to be borne down from lofty regions into the
 lowest abyss and so lost to sight: for we read,
 "If thou shalt build a new house, then shalt thou 170
 also make a parapet round thy roof, and so thou
 shalt not cause death in thy house, if the faller from
 it falls"^a (Deut. xxii. 8). For there is no fall so 171
 grievous as to slip and fall away from rendering
 honour to God, through ascribing the victory to one-
 self instead of to Him, and so being the perpetrator
 of the murder of one's kin. For he that fails to
 honour That which IS slays his own soul, so that the
 edifice of instruction ceases to be of use to him. In-

PHILO

- παιδεία δὲ φύσιν ἔλαχε τὴν ἀγήρω, διόπερ καινὴν
 εἶπε τὴν οἰκίαν αὐτῆς· τὰ μὲν γὰρ ἄλλα χρόνῳ
 φθείρεται, ἡ δ' ἐφ' ὅσον πρόεισιν, ἐπὶ μήκιστον
 ἡβᾶ καὶ ἐπακμάζει τὸ ἀειθαλὲς εἶδος φαιδρυνομένη
 172 καὶ ταῖς συνεχέσιν ἐπιμελείαις καινουμένη. κὰν
 [327] τοῖς | προτρεπτικοῖς μέντοι παραινεί τοὺς κτήσιν
 ἀγαθῶν λαχόντας πλείστην μὴ ἑαυτοὺς ἀναγράφαι
 τῆς κτήσεως αἰτίους, ἀλλὰ “μνησθῆναι θεοῦ τοῦ
 173 διδόντος ἰσχὺν ποιῆσαι δύναμιν.” τοῦτο μὲν οὖν
 τὸ εὐπραγίας ἦν πέρας, ἀρχαὶ δ' ἐκείναι· ὥστε
 τοὺς ἐκλανθανομένους τοῦ τέλους μηδὲ τῆς τῶν
 κτηθέντων <ἀρχῆς> εὖ ἂν ἔτ' ἀπόνασθαι.¹ τού-
 τοις μὲν οὖν ἐκούσια γίνεται διὰ φιλαυτίαν τὰ
 σφάλματα οὐχ ὑπομένουσι τὸν φιλόδωρον² καὶ
 τελεσφόρον θεὸν αἴτιον ἀποφῆναι τῶν ἀγαθῶν.
 174 XL. εἰσὶ δ' οἱ πάντα κάλων εὐσεβείας ἀνασεύσαντες
 ἐνορμίσασθαι τοῖς λιμέσιν αὐτῆς ταχυναυτοῦντες
 ἐσπούδασαν, κᾷπειτ' οὐ μακρὰν ἀφεστηκότων,
 ἀλλ' ἤδη μελλόντων προσέχειν, αἰφνίδιον ἐξ ἐναν-
 τίας καταρραγὲν πνεῦμα πλησίστιον³ εὐθυδρομοῦν
 τὸ σκάφος ἀνέωσεν, ὥς⁴ ὑποκείραι πολλὰ τῶν πρὸς
 175 εὐπλοῖαν συνεργούντων. τούτους οὐκ ἂν τις ἔτι
 θαλαττεύοντας αἰτιάσαιτο· ἀκούσιος γὰρ αὐτοῖς
 ἐπειγομένοις⁵ γέγονεν ἡ βραδυτής· τίς οὖν ἀπεικά-
 ζεται τούτοις ἢ ὁ τὴν μεγάλην λεγομένην εὐξάμενος

¹ MSS. ἐπαπόνασθαι.

² MSS. θεόφιλον.

³ MSS. πλησίον.

⁴ MSS. ἀνώσεως or ἀνέσεως.

⁵ MSS. ἐπιγιγνώμενος, -η.

^a The vow of the Nazarite is called (as in *Leg. All.* i. 17) “the great vow” from Numb. vi. 2 *ὅς ἐστιν μεγάλην εὐχὴν* (R.V. “a special vow”). For Philo’s interpretation cf. *Quod Deus* 89, 90, where also the contact with the corpse is treated as an “involuntary” error.

struction has obtained the nature that never grows old, and for this reason her house is called "new." For whereas other things decay by lapse of time, she, however far she advances, retains the bloom of youth and is in her prime all along, radiant with unfailing loveliness, and renewing her freshness by her unceasing diligence. Moreover in his Exhortations the lawgiver charges those who have obtained large possession of good things not to inscribe themselves in their hearts as authors of their wealth, but "to remember God Who giveth strength to acquire power" (Deut. viii. 18). This remembrance, then, was in his eyes the goal of prosperity, the putting forth of power the beginning: the consequence of this being that those who forget the end of their acquisitions cannot any longer derive real benefit from their beginning. The disasters which befall these men are self-chosen, the outcome of selfishness. They cannot bear to acknowledge as the Author of the good things which they enjoy the God Who brings to perfection the gifts which He loves to bestow. XL. But there are others who, with every stitch of piety's canvas spread, have used every effort to make a quick voyage, and to come to anchor in her harbours, and then, when they were no distance away, but on the very point of coming to land, a violent head-wind has suddenly burst upon them, and driven the vessel straight back, stripping her of much of the gear on which her seaworthiness depended. No one would find fault with these men for being still at sea; for the delay was contrary to their wish and befell them when they were making all speed. Who, then, resembles these men? Who but he who vowed what is called the great Vow^a? For he says:

- εὐχὴν; “ἐὰν γάρ τις” φησὶν “ἀποθάνῃ ἐπ’ αὐτῷ αἰφνίδιον, παραχρῆμα μianθήσεται ἢ κεφαλὴ εὐχῆς αὐτοῦ, καὶ ξυρήσεται.” εἶτα ὀλίγα προσειπὼν ἐπιφέρει. “αἱ δ’ ἡμέραι αἱ πρότεραι ἄλογοι ἔσονται, 176 ὅτι ἐμιάνη κεφαλὴ εὐχῆς αὐτοῦ.” δι’ ἀμφοτέρων τοίνυν, τοῦ τε “αἰφνίδιον” καὶ τοῦ “παραχρῆμα” εἰπεῖν, ἡ ἀκούσιος παρίσταται τῆς ψυχῆς τροπῇ· πρὸς μὲν <γὰρ> τὰ ἐκούσια τῶν ἁμαρτημάτων εἰς τὸ βουλευσασθαι ποῦ καὶ πότε καὶ πῶς πρακτέον χρόνου δεῖ, τὰ δὲ ἀκούσια ἐξαίφνης, ἀπερισκέπτως καί, εἰ οἶόν τε τοῦτ’ εἰπεῖν, ἀχρόνως 177 κατασκήπτει. χαλεπὸν γὰρ ὥσπερ τοὺς δρομεῖς ἀρξαμένους ὁδοῦ τῆς πρὸς εὐσέβειαν ἀπταίστως καὶ ἀπνευστὶ διευθύναι τὸν δρόμον, ἐπειδὴ μυρία 178 ἐμποδῶν παντὶ τῷ γενομένῳ. πρότερον μὲν <οὖν>, ὃ ἐν καὶ μόνον εὐεργεσία, μηδενὸς τῶν κατὰ γνώμην ἀδικημάτων ἐφάσασθαι πᾶσάν τε τὴν ἀμῆχανον τῶν ἐκουσίων¹ πληθὺν ἰσχυῖσαι διώσασθαι· δεύτερον δὲ τὸ μήτε πολλοῖς τῶν ἀκουσίων μήτ’ ἐπὶ μήκιστον χρόνον ἐνδιατρῆψαι.
- 179 Παγκάλως δὲ τὰς τῆς ἀκουσίου τροπῆς ἡμέρας εἶπεν ἀλόγους, οὐ μόνον ἐπειδὴ τὸ ἁμαρτάνειν ἄλογον, ἀλλ’ ὅτι καὶ τῶν ἀκουσίων λόγον οὐκ ἔστιν ἀποδοῦναι. παρὸ καὶ πυνθανομένων πολλάκις τὰς τῶν | [328] πραγμάτων αἰτίας φαμέν μήτ’ εἰδέναι μήτ’ εἰπεῖν δύνασθαι· μήτε γὰρ γιγνομένων συμπαραληφθῆναι,

¹ So MSS. Wend. ἀκουσίων, i.e. the ideal course is to avoid both kinds of offence, the next best to avoid the “voluntary” and to minimize the “involuntary.” But since the “occasions of the involuntary are infinite” (§ 179), the ideal can rarely be reached (§ 180).

^a In *Quod Deus* 90 they are not worth counting.

ON HUSBANDRY, 175-179

“ If someone die suddenly beside him, the head of his vow shall forthwith be defiled, and he shall shave it.” Then, after a few more words, he adds, “ The former days shall be void, because the head of his vow was defiled ” (Numb. vi. 9, 12). The involuntary nature 176 of the soul’s failure is evidenced by both of the words which he uses, “ sudden ” and “ forthwith,” for whereas in the case of deliberate sins time is required for planning where and when and how the thing is to be done, unintentional sins swoop upon us suddenly, without thought, and if we may so say, in no time. For it is difficult for the runners, as we may call them, 177 after starting on the way to piety, to finish the whole course without stumbling, and without stopping to draw breath ; for every man born meets ten thousand obstacles. The first need then, which is the one 178 and only thing that is “ well-doing,” is never to put hand to any deliberate wrong-doing, and to have strength to thrust from us the countless host of voluntary offences ; the second not to fall into many involuntary offences, nor to continue long in the practice of them.

Right well did he say that the days of the involun- 179 tary failure were void (*ἀλόγους*) not only because to sin is void of reason (*ἄλογον*) but also because it is impossible to render an account (*λόγον*) of involuntary sins.^a Accordingly, when people inquire after the motives for things that have been done,^b we often say that we neither know nor are able to tell them : for that when they were being done we were not taken

^a Apparently meaning “ *our* motives for what *we* have done.” Philo seems to be expressing in a curiously strong way the feeling that our “ involuntary ” errors are something quite independent of us. They treat us as strangers and we are taken aback when we find that they have happened.

PHILO

- 180 ἀλλὰ καὶ τὴν ἄφιξιν αὐτῶν ἀγνοῆσαι. σπάνιον οὖν εἴ τῳ δωρήσεται ὁ θεὸς ἀπ' ἀρχῆς ἄχρι τέλους σταδιεῦσαι τὸν βίον μήτ' ὀκλάσαντι μήτ' ὀλισθόντι, ἀλλ' ἑκατέραν φύσιν ἀδικημάτων, ἐκουσίων τε καὶ ἀκουσίων, ῥύμη καὶ φορᾶ τάχους ὠκυδρομωτάτου ὑπερπτήναι.
- 181 Ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ἀρχῆς τε πέρι καὶ τέλους εἴρηται διὰ Νῶε τὸν δίκαιον, ὃς τὰ πρῶτα καὶ στοιχειώδη τῆς γεωργικῆς κτησάμενος τέχνης ἄχρι τῶν περάτων αὐτῆς ἐλθεῖν ἡσθένησε· λέγεται γὰρ ὅτι “ἤρξατο γῆς εἶναι γεωργός,” οὐ τῶν ὄρων τῶν ἄκρας ἐπιστήμης ἐλάβετο. τὰ δὲ περὶ τῆς φυτουργίας εἰρημένα αὐτοῦ λέγωμεν αὖθις.

ON HUSBANDRY, 179-181

into confidence, nay, that they arrived without our knowing it. 'Tis a rare event then if God shall vouch- 180
safe to a man to run life's course from beginning to end without slackening or slipping, and to avoid each kind of transgressions, voluntary and involuntary, by flying past them, in the vehement rush of matchless speed.

These remarks on beginning and end have been 181
made apropos of Noah the righteous man who, after making himself master of the elements of the science of husbandry, had not the strength to reach its final stages, for it is said that " he began to be a husbandman," not that he reached the furthest limits of full knowledge. What is said about his work as a planter let us tell at another time.