

ΒΙΟΣ ΠΟΛΙΤΙΚΟΥ ΟΠΕΡ ΕΣΤΙ ΠΕΡΙ ΙΩΣΗΦ

- [41] ¹ I. Τρεῖς μὲν εἰσιν ἰδέαι, δι' ὧν τὸ ἄριστον τέλος, μάθησις, φύσις, ἀσκησις, τρεῖς δὲ καὶ σοφῶν οἱ πρεσβύτατοι κατὰ Μωυσῆν ἐπώνυμοι τούτων· ὧν τοὺς βίους ἀναγεγραφώς, τὸν τε ἐκ διδασκαλίας καὶ τὸν αὐτομαθῆ καὶ τὸν ἀσκητικόν, τέταρτον κατὰ τὸ ἐξῆς ἀναγράψω τὸν πολιτικόν, οὗ πάλιν ἐπώνυμον ἓνα τῶν φυλάρχων διασυνίστησιν ἐκ πρώτης ἡλικίας
- ² συγκροτηθέντα. ἤρξατο μέντοι συγκροτεῖσθαι περὶ ἔτη γεγονώς ἑπτακαίδεκα τοῖς κατὰ ποιμενικὴν θεωρήμασιν, ἃ συνάδει τοῖς περὶ πόλιν· ὅθεν οἶμαι καὶ τὸ ποιητικὸν γένος “ποιμένας λαῶν” τοὺς βασιλεῖς εἶωθεν ὀνομάζειν· ὁ γὰρ τὴν ποιμενικὴν κατωρθωκὼς ἄριστος ἂν εἴη καὶ βασιλεύς, τῆς καλλίστης ζώων ἀγέλης, ἀνθρώπων, τὴν ἐπιμέλειαν
- ¹²³ ἐν ταῖς ἐλάττονος σπουδῆς ἀξίαις ἀναδιδαχθεῖς· καὶ καθάπερ τῷ μέλλοντι πολεμαρχεῖν καὶ στρατηγεῖν ἀναγκαιότατον αἰ περὶ τὰ κυνηγέσια μελέται, τὸν |
- [42] αὐτὸν τρόπον καὶ οἷς ἐλπίς ἐπιτροπεῦσαι πόλεως οἰκειότατον ποιμενικὴ προάγων τις οὖσα ἐπιστα-

^a Gen. xxxvii. 2.

^b Il. i. 263 and often elsewhere

ON JOSEPH

THAT IS, THE LIFE OF THE STATESMAN

I. The factors which produce consummate excellence are three in number: learning, nature, practice. And these names are represented in three of the wise men to whom Moses gives the senior place. Since I have described the lives of these three, the life which results from teaching, the life of the self-taught and the life of practice, I will carry on the series by describing a fourth life, that of the statesman. This name again has its representation in one of the patriarchs who, as Moses shews, was trained to his calling from his earliest youth. This training was first given to him at about the age of seventeen by the lore of the shepherd's craft,^a which corresponds closely to the lore of statesmanship. And therefore I think the order of poets often speaks of kings as shepherds of peoples,^b for success in shepherding will produce the best king, since through the charge of flocks which deserve less thought and care he has been taught the charge of the noblest flock of living creatures—mankind. And, just as to the future leaders in wars, or in commanding armies, practice in the hunting-field is most necessary, so to those who hope to superintend a state nothing is so suitable as shepherding, which gives practice in the exercise of authority and

4 σίας καὶ στρατηγίας. ἐνορῶν οὖν ὁ πατὴρ αὐτῷ
 φρόνημα εὐγενές καὶ μεῖζον ἢ κατ' ἰδιώτην ἐθαύ-
 μαζε καὶ περιεΐπε καὶ τῶν ἄλλων νιῶν μᾶλλον
 ἔστεργεν, ἐπειδὴ ὀψίγονος ἦν, ὅπερ οὐδενὸς ἦττον
 ἀγωγὸν ἐστὶν εἰς εὖνοιαν· καὶ ἅτε φιλόκαλος ὢν
 ἐζωπύρει τὴν τοῦ παιδὸς φύσιν ἐξαιρέτοις καὶ
 περιτταῖς ἐπιμελείαις, ἵνα μὴ ἐντύφηται μόνον,
 5 ἀλλὰ καὶ θάττον ἐκλάμψη. II. φθόνος
 δὲ ὁ αἰεὶ ταῖς μεγάλαις εὐπραγίαις ἀντίπαλος καὶ
 τότε πᾶσι τοῖς μέρεσιν οἰκίαν κατορθοῦσαν ἐπι-
 θέμενος διέστησε καθ' ἑνὸς πολλοὺς ἀδελφοὺς
 ἀλείψας, οἱ τῇ πρὸς ἐκείνον εὐνοίᾳ τοῦ πατρὸς
 ἰσόρροπον δύσνοιαν ἐπεδείκνυντο μισοῦντες ὅσον
 ἐστέργετο· τὸ δὲ μῖσος οὐκ ἐξελάλουν, ἀλλ' ἐν
 ἑαυτοῖς ἐταμίεον, ὅθεν εἰκότως ἀργαλεώτερον
 ἐφύετο· τὰ γὰρ στεγόμενα πάθη μὴ διαπνέοντα τοῖς
 6 ἐπισχοῦσι λόγοις βαρύτερα. χρώμενος οὖν ἀκάκοις
 τοῖς ἡθεσι καὶ τὴν ὑποικουροῦσαν ἔχθραν ἐκ τῶν
 ἀδελφῶν οὐ συνιείς, ὄναρ ἰδὼν αἰσιον, ὡς δὴ εὖνοις
 διηγείται· “ἔδοξα” γάρ φησιν “ἀμήτου καιρὸν
 ἐφεστάναι καὶ πάντας ἡμᾶς ἀφικομένους εἰς τὸ
 πεδίον ἐπὶ τὴν τοῦ καρποῦ συλλογὴν δρέπανα
 λαβόντας θερίζειν, αἰφνίδιον δὲ τὸ μὲν ἐμὸν δράγμα
 ὑπανίστασθαι καὶ μετεωρισθὲν ὀρθοῦσθαι, τὰ δὲ
 ὑμέτερα ὥσπερ ἀπὸ συνθήματος ἐπιδραμόντα τε-
 θηπέναι καὶ μετὰ τιμῆς τῆς πάσης προσκυνεῖν.”

^a This can hardly be right: though *στρατηγία* is sometimes used in the civic sense of the praetorship, Philo is not likely to have used so predominantly military a word where the civic is in antithesis to the military. Two mss. have *δημαγωγίας*, but neither is this a very suitable word. What is wanted is *ἡγεμονίας*, or its equivalent. See also App. p. 600.

ON JOSEPH, 4-6

generalship.^a So his father, observing in him a noble 4 spirit which rose above ordinary conditions, rendered to him high admiration and respect, while his love for this child of his later years—and nothing conduces to affection more than this—exceeded his love for his other sons. And being himself a lover of excellence, by special and exceptional attentions he fostered the fire of the boy's nature, in the hope that it would not merely smoulder but burst rapidly into flame.

II. ^bBut envy, which is ever 5 the enemy of high success, in this case too set to work and created division in a household where every part had been happily flourishing, and stirred up the many brethren against the one. They displayed ill-will to Joseph as a counterpoise to his father's goodwill, and equalled his love with their hatred.^c They did not, however, proclaim that hatred aloud, but kept it a secret among themselves, and thus it naturally grew to greater bitterness. For emotions which are cooped up and find no vent become more violent because expression is stifled. Joseph in the 6 simple innocence of his nature had no notion of the enmity which was lurking in his brothers' hearts, and, believing them to be friendly, told them a significant dream which he had seen. "I thought," he said, "that harvest-time was with us, and that we had all come to the plain to gather in the crops. We had taken our sickles and were reaping, when suddenly my sheaf rose and stood bolt upright, while yours, as though at a signal, rushed up in astonishment and did homage to mine with every mark of honour."

^b §§ 5-27 follow fairly closely the narrative of Gen. xxxvii.

^c Literally "hating him as much as he was loved" (by his father).

- 7 οἱ δὲ εἰς σύνεσιν ἀκριβεῖς καὶ δεινοὶ διὰ συμβόλων ἰχνηλατῆσαι πρᾶγμ' ἀδηλούμενον¹ εἰκόσι στοχασμοῖς “μὴ νομίζεις” ἔφασαν “ἔσεσθαι βασιλεὺς ἡμῶν καὶ κύριος; ταῦτα γὰρ διὰ τῆς κατεψευσμένης φαντασίας ὑπαινίττη.” τὸ δὲ μῖσος ἔτι μᾶλλον ἐζωπυρεῖτο προσλαμβάνον ἀεί τινα καινὴν πρόφασιν
- 8 εἰς συναύξησιν. ὁ δὲ οὐδὲν ὑπιδόμενος ὀλίγαις ὕστερον ἡμέραις ὄναρ ἰδὼν ἕτερον καταπληκτικώτερον τοῦ προτέρου τοῖς ἀδελφοῖς ἀνέφερεν· ὦτο γὰρ ἥλιον καὶ σελήνην καὶ ἑνδεκα ἀστέρας ἤκοντας προσκυνεῖν αὐτόν, ὡς τὸν πατέρα θαυμάσαντα τὸ γεγονὸς ἐναποθέσθαι τῇ διανοίᾳ ταμιεύοντα καὶ
- 9 σκοπούμενον τὸ ἐσόμενον. ἐμβριθῶς δ' ἐνουθέτει τὸν παῖδα κατὰ δέος τοῦ μή τι διαμαρτεῖν καὶ φησιν· “ἄρα δυνησόμεθα ἐγὼ καὶ ἡ μήτηρ καὶ οἱ ἀδελφοὶ προσκυνῆσαί σε;—διὰ μὲν γὰρ ἡλίου τὸν πατέρα, διὰ δὲ σελήνης τὴν μητέρα, διὰ δὲ
- [43] τῶν ἑνδεκα ἀστέρων τοὺς | ἑνδεκα ἀδελφούς ὑποσημαίνειν ἔοικας—ὁ μὴδὲ εἰς νοῦν ποτε ἔλθοι τὸν σόν, ὦ παῖ, λαθοῦσα δὲ καὶ ἡ μνήμη τῶν φανέντων ὑπεξέλθοι· τὸ γὰρ τὴν ἐπὶ τοῖς οἰκείοις ἐλπίζειν καὶ καραδοκεῖν ἡγεμονίαν ἀπενεκτὸν ἄγαν παρ' ἐμοὶ κριτῇ, νομίζω δὲ καὶ παρὰ πᾶσιν, ὅσοις ἰσότητος
- 10 μέλει καὶ συγγενικῶν δικαίων.” εὐλαβηθεῖς δ' ὁ πατήρ, μή τις ἐκ τῆς συνδιαιτήσεως ἐπιγένηται ταραχὴ καὶ στάσις τοῖς ἀδελφοῖς μνησικακοῦσιν ὑπὲρ τῶν ὀνειράτων τῷ θεασαμένῳ, τοὺς μὲν ἐκπέμπει ποιμανοῦντας, τὸν δὲ οἶκοι παρεφύλαττεν ἄχρι καιροῦ τοῦ προσήκοντος, εἰδὼς ὅτι τῶν τῆς

¹ Most mss. πρᾶγμα δηλούμενον which Cohn in his translation adopted (taking it with διὰ συμβόλων). The order of words seems to me to favour his earlier view.

ON JOSEPH, 7-10

His brothers, being men of keen intelligence, skill- 7
ful at interpreting symbols and thus by probable
conjectures discovering the obscure, replied : " Do
you think that you will be our lord and king ? For
that is what you hint at in this lying vision." And
their hatred, ever finding some new ground to aug-
ment it, was still more kindled against him. He, 8
suspecting nothing, a few days after saw and told
his brothers another dream even more astounding
than the former. In this he dreamt that the sun
and moon and eleven stars came and did him homage.
This caused surprise to his father, who laid up the
matter in his mind and carefully watched to see what
the outcome would be. But, fearing that the boy 9
had made a serious mistake,^a he chid him severely,
saying, " You seem to mean by the sun your father
and by the moon your mother and by the eleven
stars your eleven brothers. Can it be that I and
your mother and your brothers shall do you homage ?
Let no such thought ever enter your mind, my son,
and let the memory of what you saw insensibly fade
away. For the idea of hoping and eagerly expecting
to gain dominion over your family is very odious in
my judgement, and I think that all who care for
equality and justice between kinsfolk must agree."

Then, dreading lest continued associa- 10
tion should breed disturbance and broils among the
brothers through the grudge which they bore against
the dreamer for his visions, Jacob sent them away
to tend the sheep, but kept him at home for such
season as should prove needed. He knew that time

^a Or "fearing that he himself had made a mistake" (in setting store upon the dream).

- ψυχῆς παθῶν καὶ νοσημάτων λέγεται εἶναι χρόνος
 ἱατρός, ἱκανὸς καὶ πένθος ἀνελεῖν καὶ θυμὸν σβέσαι
 καὶ φόβον θεραπεῦσαι· πάντα γὰρ ἐξευμαρίζει καὶ
- 11 ὅσα κατὰ τὴν φύσιν δυσίατα. ὥς δ' ἐτόπασε μηδὲν
 ἔτι ταῖς διανοαῖς αὐτῶν ἔχθος ὑποικουροῦν, ἐκπέμ-
 πει τὸν υἱὸν ἅμα μὲν τοὺς ἀδελφούς ἀσπασόμενον,
 ἅμα δὲ καὶ δηλώσοντα, πῶς ἔχουσιν αὐτοί τε καὶ αἱ
 τῶν θρεμμάτων ἀγέλαι.
- 12 III. Ταύτην τὴν ὁδὸν ἀρχὴν συνέβη γενέσθαι
 μεγάλων κακῶν τε αὖ καὶ ἀγαθῶν παρ' ἐλπίδας
 ἑκατέρων. ὁ μὲν γὰρ ταῖς ἐπισκῆψεσι πειθαρχῶν
 τοῦ πατρὸς ἦει πρὸς τοὺς ἀδελφούς, οἱ δὲ μακρόθεν
 ἀφικνούμενον ἰδόντες ἄλλος ἄλλῳ διελάλουν οὐδὲν
 εὖφημον, ὅποτε οὐδ' ὀνομαστὶ προσαγορεύειν ἡξίουν
 αὐτόν, ἀλλ' ὄνειροπλήγη καὶ “ ἐνυπνιαστὴν ” καὶ
 τοιαῦτα ἐπεφῆμιζον καὶ ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον προῆγον
 ὀργῆς, ὥστε καὶ τὸν ἐπ' αὐτῷ φόνον οὐ πάντες ἀλλ'
 οἱ πλείους ἐβούλευον καὶ ὑπὲρ τοῦ μὴ καταφωρα-
 θῆναι ρίπτειν ἀνελόντες ἐγνώκεσαν εἰς ὄρυγμα γῆς
 βαθύτατον· πολλὰ δὲ εἰσι περὶ τὸν τόπον ὕδατος
- 13 ὀμβρίου δεξαμεναί. καὶ μικροῦ τὸ μέγιστον ἄγος,
 ἀδελφοκτονίαν, εἰργάσαντο, εἰ μὴ παρηγορίαις τοῦ
 πρεσβυτάτου μόλις ἐπείσθησαν, ὃς παρῆνει μὴ
 ἐφάψασθαι τοῦ μιάσματος, ἀλλ' αὐτὸ μόνον εἰς ἐν
 τῶν ὀρυγμάτων ῥῖψαι, διανοούμενός τι σωτήριον,
 ἵνα λαβὼν μετὰ τὴν ἀναχώρησιν ἀπαθῇ παντὸς
- 14 κακοῦ παραπέμψῃ τῷ πατρί. συναινεσάντων δέ, ὁ
 μὲν προσιὼν ἡσπάζετο, οἱ δὲ ὥς πολέμιον συλ-

ON JOSEPH, 10-14

is said to be the physician of the distempers and ailments of the soul and is able to remove grief, to quench anger and to heal fear, for time relieves everything, even what is naturally hard to cure. But when he guessed that they would have ceased 11 to harbour enmity in their hearts, he sent him partly to salute his brothers and partly to bring him word how it fared with themselves and the flocks under their charge.

III. This journey proved to be the source of great 12 evil and great good, both exceeding anything that could have been expected. For Joseph, in obedience to his father's commands, went to his brethren, but they, when they saw him coming afar off, talked to each other, and their language was very sinister. They did not even deign to speak of him by his name, but called him the dream-driveller and the vision-monger and similar terms. Their anger reached such a pitch that they plotted by a majority, though not unanimously, to murder him, and in order to avoid detection they determined to throw his dead body into a very deep pit in the ground. In that region there are many such, made to hold the rain-water. And they were only deterred from 13 committing that most accursed of deeds, fratricide, by the exhortation of the eldest among them, to which they reluctantly yielded. He urged them to keep their souls clear from the abominable act, and merely to throw him into one of the deep pits, thinking to contrive some means for saving him and hoping when they had gone away to take him up and send him to their father quite unharmed. When 14 they had agreed to this, Joseph approached and saluted them, but they caught hold of him as though

λαβόντες ἀπαμπίσχουσι τὴν ἐσθῆτα καὶ τὸν μὲν καθιμῶσιν εἰς βαθεῖς βόθρους, τὴν δ' ἐρίφου αἵματι φοινίζαντες διαπέμπονται τῷ πατρὶ πρόφασιν ὡς ὑπὸ θηρίων δαπανηθέντος.

- 15 IV. Ἐκεῖνη δὲ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ κατὰ τινα συντυχίαν ἔμποροὶ τινες ὠδοιπόρουν τῶν ἔθους ἐχόντων ἀπ' Ἀραβίας εἰς Αἴγυπτον κομίζειν φόρτον· οἷς ἀνελκύσαντες τὸν ἀδελφὸν πιπράσκουσιν, ἡγησαμένου τὴν γνώμην τοῦ καθ' ἡλικίαν τετάρτου· καὶ γὰρ οὗτός μοι δοκῶ δείσας, μή ποθ' ὑπὸ τῶν ὀργῆν ἀμείλικτον ἐπ' αὐτῷ ζωπυρούντων δολοφονηθῇ, συνεβούλευ-
- [44] σεν ἀποδόσθαι δουλείαν ὑπαλλαττόμενος | θανάτου,
- 16 κουφότερον κακὸν μείζονος. ὁ δὲ πρεσβύτατος—οὐ γὰρ παρῆν πιπρασκομένου—διακύψας καὶ μὴ κατιδὼν, ὃν ἀπολελοίπει πρὸ μικροῦ, ἐβόα καὶ ἐκεκράγει καὶ τὰς ἐσθῆτας περιρρηξάμενος ἄνω καὶ κάτω καθάπερ ἐμμανὴς ἐφέρετο τὰς χεῖρας κροτῶν καὶ τὰς τρίχας τίλλων, “τί πέπονθε;” λέγων.
- 17 “εἵπατε, ζῇ ἢ τέθνηκεν; εἰ μὲν οὐκ ἔστι, δείξατέ μοι τὸν νεκρόν, ἵν' ἐπιδακρύσας τῷ πτώματι λωφῆσω τῆς συμφορᾶς· ἰδὼν κείμενον παρηγορηθήσομαι. τί καὶ νεκρῷ μνησικακοῦμεν; πρὸς τοὺς ἐκποδὼν φθόνος οὐδεὶς φύεται. εἰ δὲ ζῇ, ποῖ γῆς ἀπελήλυθε; φυλάττεται παρὰ τίσιν; οὐ γὰρ δὴ καγὼ καθάπερ ἐκεῖνος ἐν ὑποψίαις εἰμί, ὡς ἀπι-
- 18 στείσθαι.” εἰπόντων δ' ὅτι πέπραται καὶ τὴν τιμὴν ἐπιδεικνυμένων, “καλὴν ἐμπορίαν” εἶπεν “ἐστείλασθε· τὰ κέρδη διανεμώμεθα· τοῖς ἀνδραποδισταῖς περὶ κακίας ἄθλων ἀμίλλησάμενοι στεφανηφορῶμεν,

* Or “a fine business you have embarked on.”

ON JOSEPH, 14-18

he were an enemy in battle and stripped him of his coat. They then let him down by ropes into the open depths. His coat they dyed red in the blood of a kid, and sent it to his father with the story that wild beasts had made away with him.

IV. Now it chanced that day that some merchants 15 belonging to a caravan which was wont to carry wares from Arabia to Egypt were travelling that way. To these they sold their brother, after hauling him up, the leader in this plan being the fourth eldest brother. He, I imagine, feared that Joseph might be treacherously murdered by the others who were inflamed with such merciless wrath against him, and therefore advised them to sell him and thus substitute the 16 lesser evil of slavery for the greater evil of death. The eldest brother had not been present at the sale. When he looked down into the pit and did not see the boy whom he had left there a short time before, he cried aloud and shouted, rent his garments and rushed up and down like a madman, beating his hands together and tearing his hair. "Tell me," he cried, "what 17 has become of him. Is he alive or dead? If he is no more, shew me his dead body, that I may weep over the corpse and thus make the calamity seem lighter. If I see him lying here I shall be comforted. Why do we still bear a grudge to the dead? Envy cannot fasten on the departed. But if he is alive where on earth has he gone? In whose charge is he kept? Tell me, for you cannot suspect me as well as him that 18 you should refuse me your confidence." When they said that he had been sold, and shewed the price that had been paid, "A fine bargain you have made,"^a he said. "Let us divide the profits. We have competed with slave-dealers for the prize of wickedness ;

- προσυπερβάλλοντες αὐτοὺς ὡμότητι σεμνυνόμεθα·
κατὰ ἄλλοτρίων ἐκεῖνοι συντίθενται, κατὰ δ' οἰκειο-
- 19 τάτων καὶ φιλτάτων ἡμεῖς. κεκαινούργηται μέγα
ὄνειδος, περιβόητος αἰσχύνη. μνημεῖα καλοκάγα-
θίας οἱ πατέρες ἡμῶν πανταχοῦ τῆς οἰκουμένης
ἀπέλιπον, ἀπολείψομεν καὶ ἡμεῖς ἀπιστίας καὶ
μισανθρωπίας ἀθεραπεύτους διαβολάς· φθάνουσι
γὰρ αἱ τῶν μεγαλουργηθέντων φῆμαι πανταχόσε,
τῶν μὲν ἐπαινετῶν θαυμαζόμεναι, τῶν δ' ὑπαιτίων
- 20 ψόγου καὶ κατηγορίας τυγχάνουσαι. τίνα ἄρα
τρόπον ὁ πατήρ ἡμῶν τὴν περὶ τῶν συμβεβηκότων
ἀκοὴν δέξεται; τρισμακαρίῳ καὶ τρισευδαίμονι
τὸν καθ' ἡμᾶς βίον ἀβίωτον παρέσχησθε. τὸν
πραθέντα τῆς δουλείας ἢ τοὺς πεπρακότας τῆς
ὡμότητος οἰκτιεῖται; πολὺ μᾶλλον εὖ οἶδα ἡμᾶς,
ἐπεὶ καὶ τοῦ ἀδικεῖσθαι τὸ ἀδικεῖν χαλεπώτερον·
τὸ μὲν γὰρ δυσὶ βοηθεῖται τοῖς μεγίστοις, ἐλέω καὶ
ἐλπίδι, τὸ δ' οὐδετέρου μετέχον ἅπασιν ἡττᾶται
- 21 τοῖς κριταῖς. ἀλλὰ τί ταῦτα θρηνῶν ἀπηχῶ; βέλ-
τιον ἡσυχάζειν, μὴ καὶ αὐτὸς παραπολαύσω τινὸς
ἀπευκτοῦ· τραχύτατοι γάρ <ἐστε> εἰς ὀργὴν καὶ
ἀπαραίτητοι καὶ πνεῖ λαμπρὸς ἔτι ὁ ἐν ἐκάστῳ
θυμός.”
- 22 V. Ὡς δ' ἤκουσεν ὁ πατήρ οὐ τάληθές, ὅτι
πέπραται ὁ υἱὸς αὐτοῦ, τὸ δὲ ψεῦδος, ὅτι τέθηκε
καὶ ὡς ὑπὸ θηρίων ἐξανάλωται, πληχθεὶς τὰ μὲν
ὦτα διὰ τῶν λεγομένων, τοὺς δ' ὀφθαλμοὺς διὰ
τοῦ φανέντος—ὁ γὰρ χιτῶν αὐτοῦ κατεσχισμένος |
[45] καὶ κατηκισμένος καὶ πολλῷ αἵματι πεφοινιγμένος
ἐκεκόμιστο—, συγχυθεὶς ὑπὸ τῆς περιπαθήσεως

^a Or “ his life under the conditions which we have created.”

ON JOSEPH, 18-22

let us wear the crown, and glory that we surpass them in cruelty, for their designs are aimed against aliens, ours against our nearest and dearest. A great and 19 novel reproach has been brought about, a far-famed disgrace. Our fathers left behind in every part of the world records of their noble conduct; we shall leave behind us beyond all retrieving the scandal of our faithlessness and inhumanity. For, when deeds of grave import are done, the rumours of them reach everywhere, causing admiration where they are praiseworthy, censure and contumely when they are guilty. How will our father receive the report of the 20 event? Thrice blessed he was and thrice happy, and ye have made his life with us ^a intolerable. Which will he pity most, the sold for his enslavement or the sellers for their cruelty? Surely us far more than him, since it is less grievous to suffer wrong than to do it.^b The former is assisted by two mighty forces, pity and hope; the latter has no part in either, and in the judgement of all comes off the worst. But why 21 do I lament thus wildly? It were better to hold my peace, lest I too come in for a share in some horrible fate. For ye are exceedingly savage of temper and merciless, and the fierceness in each heart is still in full blast."

V. When his father heard, not the truth that his 22 son had been sold, but the lie that he was dead and had seemingly been devoured by wild beasts, the words that he heard and the sight that he saw fell like a blow on his ears and eyes. For Joseph's tunic had been brought to him rent and marred and stained scarlet with much blood. Collapsing under his great

But I should prefer to read as Mangey suggests τὸ καθ' ἡμᾶς
= "as far as we can do it." ^b See App. p. 600.

PHILO

- ἀχανῆς ἐπὶ πλείστον χρόνον ἔκειτο, μηδ' ὅσον τὴν κεφαλὴν ἐπᾶραι δυνάμενος, θλιβούσης καὶ ἐκτραχη-
 23 λισούσης τῆς συμφορᾶς. εἰθ' ὥσπερ τινὰ πηγὴν δακρύων ἐξαίφνης ἀνιείς μετ' οἰμωγῆς πικρᾶς παρειᾶς καὶ γένεια καὶ στέρνα κατένιπτε καὶ τὰς περὶ αὐτὸν ἐσθῆτας ἅμα τοιαῦτ' ἐπιλέγων· "οὐχ ὁ θάνατός με λυπεῖ, τέκνον, ἀλλ' ὁ τούτου τρόπος¹. εἰ ἐπὶ γῆς ἐτάφης τῆς σῆς, παρηγορούμην, ἐθερά-
 24 ἔλιπον. ἀλλ' εἰ καὶ ἐπὶ τῆς ξένης, εἶπον ἄν· τὸ οἰκεῖον ὄφλημα τῆς φύσεως ἀπολαβούσης, ὦ οὗτος, μὴ κατήφει· πρὸς ζῶντας αἱ πατρίδες, ἀποθανόντων δὲ πᾶσα γῆ τάφος· ὠκύμορος οὐδεὶς ἢ πάντες ἄνθρωποι, καὶ γὰρ ὁ μακροβιώτατος ὀλιγοχρόνιος
 25 ἀντεξεταζόμενος αἰῶνι. εἰ δὲ δὴ καὶ βιαίως καὶ ἐξ ἐπιβουλῆς ἔδει θνήσκεν, ἦν ἄν μοι κουφότερον κακόν, ὑπ' ἀνθρώπων ἀναιρεθέντος, οἱ κτείναντες νεκρὸν ἂν ἡλέησαν, ὥς ἐπαμήσασθαι κόνιν καὶ τὸ σῶμα συγκρῦναι· εἰ δὲ καὶ πάντων ἐγεγένητο ὠμότατοι, τί πλέον εἶχον ἢ ῥύφαντες ἄταφον ἀπαλλάττεσθαι; τῶν δ' ἐν ὁδῷ παριόντων ἴσως τις ἐπιστὰς καὶ θεασάμενος, οἶκτον τῆς κοινῆς λαβὼν φύσεως, ἐπιμελείας καὶ ταφῆς ἡξίωσε. νυνὶ δ', ὥς λόγος, ἀτιθάσις καὶ σαρκοβόροις θηρσὶν εὐωχία καὶ θοίνῃ γέγονας γευσάμενους καὶ ἐστιαθείσι τῶν

¹ MSS. τάφος.

^a Cf. *De Abr.* 257.

^b Perhaps a somewhat distorted reminiscence of ἀνδρῶν γὰρ ἐπιφανῶν πᾶσα γῆ τάφος Thuc. ii. 43.

ON JOSEPH, 22-26

emotion, he lay for a great while with closed lips, not even able to lift his head, so utterly did the calamity afflict and break him down. Then, suddenly pouring 23 forth tears like a fountain, he watered his cheeks and chin and breast and his own raiment, while bitterly wailing, and uttered such words as these : " Child, it is not your death which grieves me, but the manner of it. If you had been buried in your own land, I should have comforted and watched and nursed your sick-bed, exchanged the last farewells as you died, closed your eyes, wept over the body as it lay there, given it a costly funeral and left none of the customary rites undone. Nay, even if it had been on foreign 24 soil, I should have said to myself : ' Man, be not downcast that nature has recovered the forfeit that was her due.'^a Separate countries concern the living : every land is the tomb of the dead.^b Death comes early to none, or rather it comes early to all, for few are the years of the longest-lived compared with eternity. And, indeed, if you needs must have died 25 by violence or through premeditation, it would have been a lighter ill to me, slain as you would have been by human beings, who would have pitied their dead victim, gathered some dust and covered the corpse. And then if they had been the cruellest of men, what more could they have done but cast it out unburied and go their way, and then perhaps some passer-by would have stayed his steps, and, as he looked, felt pity for our common nature and deemed the tendance of burial to be its due. But, as it is, you have become, in common phrase, a rich banquet for savage carnivorous beasts who have found my own flesh and blood to their taste, and feasted thereon. I am long 26

- 26 ἐμῶν σπλάγχχνων. ἀθλητῆς εἰμι τῶν ἀβουλήτων, εἰκῇ γεγύμνασμαι πολλαῖς κακοπαθείαις, ἀλώμενος, ξενιτεύων, θητεύων, ἀναγκαζόμενος, ἄχρι καὶ ψυχῆς ἐπιβουλευόμενος ὑφ' ὧν ἦκιστ' ἐχρῆν· καὶ πολλὰ μὲν εἶδον, πολλὰ δ' ἤκουσα, μυρία δ' αὐτὸς ἔπαθον τῶν ἀνηκέστων, ἐφ' οἷς παιδευθεὶς μετριοπαθεῖν οὐκ ἐγνάμφθην· ἀλλ' οὐδὲν τοῦ συμβεβηκότος ἀφορητότερον, ὃ μου τὴν ῥώμην τῆς ψυχῆς ἀνατέ-
- 27 τροφε καὶ καθήρηκε. τί γὰρ μείζον ἢ οἰκτρότερον πένθος; ἡ μὲν ἐσθῆς τοῦ παιδὸς διακεκόμισται μοι τῷ πατρί, τοῦ δὲ οὐ μέρος, οὐ μέλος, οὐ βραχὺ λείψανον· ἀλλ' ὁ μὲν ὅλος δι' ὅλων δεδαπάνηται μηδὲ ταφῆς δυνηθεὶς μεταλαχεῖν, ἡ δ' οὐδ' ἂν εἰσπεμφθῆναί μοι δοκεῖ τὸ παράπαν, εἰ μὴ πρὸς ἀνίας ὑπόμνησιν καὶ ὧν ὑπέμεινε καίνωσιν, εἰς ἀλήστους καὶ συνεχεῖς ἐμοὶ συμφοράς." καὶ ὁ μὲν
- [46] τοιαυτ' ἀπωδύρετο. οἱ δ' ἔμποροι | πιπράσκουσι τὸν παῖδα ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ τῶν εὐνούχων τινὶ τοῦ βασιλέως, ὅς ἐστιν ἀρχιμάγειρος.
- 28 VI. "Ἄξιον μέντοι μετὰ τὴν ῥητὴν διήγησιν καὶ τὰ ἐν ὑπονοίαις προσαποδοῦναι· σχεδὸν γὰρ τὰ πάντα ἢ τὰ πλεῖστα τῆς νομοθεσίας ἀλληγορεῖται. ὁ τοίνυν ἐπικρινόμενος τρόπος παρὰ μὲν Ἑβραίοις Ἰωσήφ καλεῖται, παρὰ δ' Ἑλλήσι "κυρίου πρόσθεσις," εὐθυβολώτατον <ὄνομα> καὶ τῷ δηλουμένῳ πράγματι οἰκειότατον· προσθήκη γάρ ἐστι τῆς τὸ κύρος ἀπάντων ἀνημμένης φύσεως ἢ κατὰ δήμους

^a So LXX. E.V. "An officer of Pharaoh's, the captain of the guard."

trained in the athletics of adversity, drilled by many a random stroke of misfortune, a wanderer, a stranger, a serf, a thrall, my very life and soul a mark for the malice of those by whom I should least have been so treated. Many desperate calamities I have seen and heard: thousands of them have I experienced myself, but trained to moderate my feelings at such I remained unmoved. But none was more unbearable than this event which has overturned and destroyed the strength of my soul. For what sorrow could be 27 greater or more pitiful? My son's raiment has been conveyed to me, his father, but not a part of him, not a limb, not a tiny fragment. But, while he has been utterly made away with beyond even any possibility of burial, his raiment too would not have been sent to me at all save to remind me of my sorrow, and to make his sufferings live again as calamities constant and indelible to myself." Thus did he bewail. But the merchants sold the boy in Egypt to one of the king's eunuchs who was his chief cook.^a

VI. After this literal account of the story, it will 28 be well to explain the underlying meaning, for, broadly speaking, all or most of the law-book is an allegory. The kind of character then here under discussion is called in the Hebrew "Joseph," but in our language is "addition of a lord," a most significant title well suited to the thing which it indicates, since polity as seen in the various peoples is an addition to nature who is invested with a universal lordship.^b

^b The interpretation of Joseph as="Addition" has appeared in *De Mut.* 89 and *De Som.* ii. 47 without any appendage. There, however, it is applied to adventitious wealth, luxuries and the like. Here the appendage "of a lord" helps Philo in the political interpretation which he gives. See further App. p. 600.

- 29 πολιτεία. ἡ μὲν γὰρ μεγαλόπολις ὅδε ὁ κόσμος ἐστὶ καὶ μιᾷ χρηταὶ πολιτεία καὶ νόμῳ ἐνί· λόγος δέ ἐστι φύσεως προστακτικὸς μὲν ὧν πρακτέον, ἀπαγορευτικὸς δὲ ὧν οὐ ποιητέον· αἱ δὲ κατὰ τόπους αὗται πόλεις ἀπερίγραφοί τέ εἰσιν ἀριθμῶ καὶ πολιτείαις χρῶνται διαφερούσαις καὶ νόμοις οὐχὶ τοῖς αὐτοῖς, ἄλλα γὰρ παρ' ἄλλοις ἔθνη καὶ
- 30 νόμιμα παρεξευρημένα καὶ προστεθειμένα. αἴτιον δὲ τὸ ἄμικτον καὶ ἀκοινῶνητον οὐ μόνον Ἑλλήνων πρὸς βαρβάρους ἢ βαρβάρων πρὸς Ἑλλήνας, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸ ἐκατέρου γένους ἰδίᾳ πρὸς τὸ ὁμόφυλον· εἴθ' ὥς ἔοικε τὰ ἀναίτια αἰτιώμενοι, καιροὺς ἀβουλή-
τους, ἀγωνίαν καρπῶν, τὸ λυπρόγεων, τὴν θέσιν ὅτι παράλιος ἢ μεσόγειος ἢ κατὰ νῆσον ἢ κατὰ ἡπειρον ἢ ὅσα τούτοις ὁμοιότροπα, τάληθές ἡσυχάζουσιν· ἐστὶ δ' ἡ πλεονεξία καὶ ἡ πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἀπιστία, δι' ἧς οὐκ ἀρκεσθέντες τοῖς τῆς φύσεως θεσμοῖς τὰ δόξαντα συμφέρειν κοινῇ τοῖς ὁμογνώμοσιν ὁμίλοις
- 31 ταῦτα νόμους ἐπεφήμισαν. ὥστε εἰκότως προσ-
θῆκαι μᾶλλον αἱ κατὰ μέρος πολιτεῖαι μιᾶς τῆς κατὰ τὴν φύσιν· προσθῆκαι μὲν γὰρ οἱ κατὰ πόλεις νόμοι τοῦ τῆς φύσεως ὀρθοῦ λόγου, προσθήκη δέ ἐστι πολιτικὸς ἀνὴρ τοῦ βιοῦντος κατὰ φύσιν.
- 32 VII. οὐκ ἀπὸ σκοποῦ μέντοι καὶ χιτῶνα ποικίλον ἀναλαμβάνειν λέγεται· ποικίλον γὰρ πολιτεία καὶ πολύτροπον, μυρίας ὅσας ἐνδεχο-
μένη μεταβολάς, προσώποις, πράγμασιν, αἰτίαις,

* This term for the Stoic ideal of the world conceived of as a state and expressed in the name *κοσμοπολίτης* has been used in *De Op.* 19 and appears again in *Mos.* ii. 51. It is not quoted from any other writer than Philo in this sense. Cf. also *μεγαλοπολίτης De Op.* 143.

ON JOSEPH, 29-32

For this world is the Megalopolis or "great city,"^a 29 and it has a single polity and a single law, and this is the word or reason of nature, commanding what should be done and forbidding what should not be done. But the local cities which we see are unlimited in number and subject to diverse polities and laws by no means identical, for different peoples have different customs and regulations which are extra inventions and additions. The cause of this is the reluctance to 30 combine or have fellowship with each other, shewn not only by Greeks to barbarians and barbarians to Greeks, but also within each of them separately in dealing with their own kin. And then we find them alleging causes for this which are no real causes, such as unfavourable seasons, want of fertility, poverty of soil or how the state is situated, whether it is maritime or inland or whether it is on an island or on the mainland and the like. The true cause they never mention, and that is their covetousness and mutual mistrusts, which keep them from being satisfied with the ordinances of nature, and lead them to give the name of laws to whatever approves itself as advantageous to the communities which hold the same views. Thus naturally particular polities are rather 31 an addition to the single polity of nature, for the laws of the different states are additions to the right reason of nature, and the politician is an addition to the man whose life accords with nature.

VII. Further, he is quite properly said to assume a 32 coat of varied colours,^b for political life is a thing varied and multiple, liable to innumerable changes brought about by personalities, circumstances,

^b Gen. xxxvii. 3. Observe that the point has not been mentioned in the narrative.

- πράξεων ιδιότησι, καιρῶν καὶ τόπων διαφοραῖς.
- 33 ὥσπερ γὰρ κυβερνήτης ταῖς τῶν πνευμάτων μεταβολαῖς συµμεταβάλλει τὰς πρὸς εὐπλοίαν βοηθείας, εὐθύνων τὸ σκάφος οὐχ ἐνὶ τρόπῳ, καὶ ἱατρὸς οὐ μιᾷ χρήται θεραπεία πρὸς ἅπαντας τοὺς κάμνοντας, ἀλλ' οὐδὲ πρὸς ἓνα, τοῦ πάθους μὴ ἐπιμένοντος, ἀλλ' ἐπιτηρῶν ἀνέσεις, ἐπιτάσεις, πληρώσεις, κενώσεις, αἰτίων μεταβολὰς ποικίλλει ταῦτα¹ πρὸς
- [47] σωτηρίαν ποτὲ μὲν ταυτὶ ποτὲ δὲ ταυτὶ | προσ-
- 34 φέρων, οὕτως, οἶμαι, καὶ τὸν πολιτικὸν ἀναγκαῖον εἶναί τινα πολυειδῆ καὶ πολύμορφον, ἕτερον μὲν κατ' εἰρήνην, ἕτερον δ' ἐν πολέμῳ, ἄλλον δὲ ἐπισυνισταμένων ὀλίγων ἢ πολλῶν, τῶν μὲν ὀλίγων εὐτόνως κατεξανιστάμενον, μετὰ δὲ πειθοῦς τοῖς πολλοῖς ὀμιλοῦντα, καὶ ὅπου μὲν μετὰ κινδύνου τὸ εἶναι,² διὰ τὸ κοινωφελὲς φθάνοντα τοὺς ἄλλους αὐτουργία, ὅπου δὲ πόνων ἢ σκέψις, ἐτέροις ὑπ-
- 35 ηρετεῖν ἐξιστάμενον. εὖ μέντοι τὸ φάναι πιπράσκεισθαι τὸν ἄνθρωπον· ὁ μὲν γὰρ δημοκόπος καὶ δημηγόρος ἀναβὰς ἐπὶ τὸ βῆμα, καθάπερ τὰ πιπρασκόμενα τῶν ἀνδραπόδων, δοῦλος ἀντ' ἐλευθέρου γίνεται διὰ τῶν τιμῶν, ἃς δοκεῖ λαμβάνειν, ἀπ-
- 36 αχθεῖς ὑπὸ μυρίων δεσποτῶν. ὁ δ' αὐτὸς καὶ θηριάλωτος εἰσάγεται· θηρίον δὲ ἀτίθασον ἢ λοχῶσα κενοδοξία συναρπάζουσα καὶ διαφθείρουσα

¹ Unless ἀνέσεις etc. can represent processes rather than symptoms, in which case we should have to change, as Mangey suggested, αἰτίων into σιτίων, ταῦτα is quite illogical. Cohn suggests πάντα or τὰ. The latter is adopted in the translation.

² This τὸ εἶναι seems quite impossible and the reading of some mss. τοῦ εἶναι ("danger to existence"), though thought possible by Cohn, does not commend itself. I suggest for

ON JOSEPH, 32-36

motives, individualities of conduct, differences in occasions and places. The pilot is helped to a successful voyage by means which change with the changes of the wind, and does not confine his guidance of the ship to one method. The physician does not use a single form of treatment for all his patients, nor even for an individual if the physical condition does not remain unaltered, but he watches the lowering and the heightening of the strain, its alternations of fullness and emptiness and all the changes of symptoms,^a and varies his salutary processes, sometimes using one kind and sometimes another. And so too the politician must needs be a man of many sides and many forms. He must be a different man in peace from what he is in war, another man as those who venture to oppose him are few or many, resisting the few with vigorous action but using persuasion in his dealings with the many, and when danger is involved he will, to effect the common good, outstrip all others in his personal activity, but when the prospect is one of labour merely he will stand aside and leave others to serve him. Again it is rightly said that this person is sold, for when the would-be popular orator mounts the platform, like a slave in the market, he becomes a bond-servant instead of a free man, and, through the seeming honours which he receives, the captive of a thousand masters. Again, he is also represented as the prey of wild beasts, and indeed the vainglory which lies in ambush and then seizes and destroys those who

^a Lit. "causes."

consideration τὸ ἰέναι διὰ τοῦ κοινωφελούς (according to the common idiom of ἰέναι διὰ). "When the path of serving the commonweal involves danger," etc.

τοὺς χρωμένους. οἱ δ' ὠνησάμενοι καὶ πιπράσκουσιν· οὐ γὰρ εἰς δεσπότης τῶν πολιτευομένων, ἀλλ' ὄχλος, ἐξ ἐτέρων ἕτεροι κατὰ τινας ἐφεδρείας καὶ διαδοχάς· οἱ δὲ τρίπρατοι κακῶν θεραπόντων τρόπον ἀλλάττουσι τοὺς κυρίους οὐχ ὑπομένοντες τοὺς προτέρους διὰ τὴν ἀψίκoron καὶ φιλόκαινον τῶν ἡθῶν ἀνωμαλίαν.

- 37 VIII. Τοσαῦτα καὶ περὶ τούτων. ὁ μέντοι νεανίας εἰς Αἴγυπτον ἀχθεὶς καὶ γενόμενος, ὡς ἐλέχθη, παρ' εὐνούχῳ δεσπότη, τῆς καλοκάγαθίας καὶ εὐγενείας πείραν ὀλίγαις ἡμέραις δούς τὴν ἐπὶ τοῖς ὁμοδούλοις ἀρχὴν παραλαμβάνει καὶ συμπάσης τῆς οἰκίας τὴν ἐπιμέλειαν· ἥδη γὰρ ὁ κτησάμενος ἐτεκμηριούτο διὰ πολλῶν, ὡς οὐκ ἄνευ θείας ἐπιφροσύνης ἐκεῖνος ἕκαστα λέγει τε καὶ πράττει.
- 38 τῷ μὲν οὖν δοκεῖν ὑπὸ τοῦ πριαμένου καθίστατο τῆς οἰκίας ἐπίτροπος, ἔργῳ δὲ καὶ ταῖς ἀληθείαις ὑπὸ φύσεως μνωμένης αὐτῷ πόλεων καὶ ἔθνους καὶ χώρας μεγάλης ἡγεμονίαν· ἔδει γὰρ τὸν μέλλοντα ἐσεσθαι πολιτικὸν ἐγγυμνάσασθαι καὶ ἐνασκηθῆναι πρότερον τοῖς κατ' οἰκονομίαν· οἰκία τε γὰρ πόλις ἐστὶν ἐσταλμένη καὶ βραχεῖα καὶ οἰκονομία συνηγμένη τις πολιτεία, ὡς καὶ πόλις μὲν οἶκος μέγας,
- 39 πολιτεία δὲ κοινή τις οἰκονομία. δι' ὧν μάλιστα παρίσταται τὸν αὐτὸν οἰκονομικὸν τε εἶναι καὶ πολιτικόν, κἂν τὰ πλήθη καὶ μεγέθη τῶν ὑποκειμένων διαλλάττη· καθάπερ ἐπὶ ζωγραφίας ἔχει

^a The false statement, as in *De Som.* ii. 65, is treated as true for the purposes of allegory. Cf. *De Mig.* 21.

^b §§ 37-53 follow the narrative of Gen. xxxix.

^c See note on *De Abr.* 99.

ON JOSEPH, 36-39

indulge it is a savage beast.^a Once more his purchasers sell him again, for politicians have not one but a multitude of masters who buy them one from another, each waiting to take his turn in the succession, and those who are thus sold again and again like bad servants change their masters, because, capricious and fitful in character as they are and ever hankering after novelty, they cannot endure their old lords.

VIII. ^b Enough on this subject also. To resume the 37 story, when the youth had been brought to Egypt and as I have said placed with the eunuch as his master, he gave proof in a few days of his nobility of character and nature, and therefore he received authority over his fellow-servants and the charge of the whole household; for his owner had already observed many signs that everything which he said or did was under God's directing care. So, while in outward 38 appearance it was his purchaser who appointed him steward of his household, in fact and reality it was nature's ^c doing, who was taking steps to procure for him the command of whole cities and a nation and a great country. For the future statesman needed first to be trained and practised in house management; for a house is a city compressed into small dimensions, and household management may be called a kind of state management, just as a city too is a great house and statesmanship the household management of the general public.^d All this shews 39 clearly that the household manager is identical with the statesman, however much what is under the purview of the two may differ in number and size. The same holds with sculpture and painting, for the

[†] See App. p. 600.

καὶ πλαστικῆς· ὁ γὰρ ἀγαθὸς ἀνδριαντοποιὸς ἢ ζωγράφος, εἴαν τε πολλὰ καὶ κολοσσιαῖα μεγέθη κατασκευάζῃ, εἴαν τε ὀλίγα καὶ βραχύτερα, τὴν αὐτὴν ἐπιδεικνύμενος τέχνην ὁ αὐτὸς ἐστὶ.

- 40 IX. Σφόδρα δὲ εὐδοκιμῶν ἐν τοῖς κατὰ τὴν οἰκουρίαν ἐπιβουλεύεται πρὸς τῆς τοῦ δεσπότητος
[48] γυναικὸς ἐπιβουλὴν τὴν ἐξ ἔρωτος | ἀκολάστου. τῇ γὰρ εὐμορφίᾳ ἐπιμανεῖσα τοῦ νεανίσκου καὶ ἀκαθέκτως περὶ τὸ πάθος λυττώσα τοὺς περὶ μίξεως λόγους προσέφερεν ἔρρωμένως ἐναντιουμένῳ καὶ μηδ' ὅλως προσίεσθαι ὑπομένοντι διὰ τὴν ἐκ φύσεως καὶ μελέτης ἐνυπάρξασαν κοσμιότητα καὶ
41 σωφροσύνην. ἐπεὶ δὲ ζωπυροῦσα καὶ ἀναφλέγουσα τὴν ἔκνομον ἐπιθυμίαν αἰὲ μὲν ἀπεπειρᾶτο, αἰὲ δ' ἀπετύγχανε, βία λοιπὸν προσπαθοῦσα ἐχρήτο καὶ λαβομένη τῆς ἀμπεχόνης εὐτόνως ἄχρι τῆς εὐνῆς ἐπεσπάσατο ῥώμῃ κραταιοτέρα, τοῦ πάθους ἰσχὺν ἐπιδιδόντος, ὃ καὶ τοὺς ἀσθενεστάτους εἴωθε νευ-
42 ροῦν. ὁ δὲ τῆς παρούσης ἀκαιρίας γενόμενος δυνατώτερος τὰς ἐλευθερίους καὶ ἀξίας τοῦ γένους ἔρρηξε φωνάς, “ τί βιάζῃ; ” λέγων· “ ἐξαιρέτοις ἔθεσι καὶ νομίμοις χρώμεθα ἡμεῖς οἱ Ἑβραίων
43 ἀπόγονοι. τοῖς ἄλλοις ἐφεῖται μετὰ τὴν τεσσαρεσκαίδεκάτην ἡλικίαν πόρναις καὶ χαμαιτύπαις καὶ ταῖς ὅσαι μισθαρνοῦσιν ἐπὶ τοῖς σώμασι μετὰ πολλῆς ἀδείας χρῆσθαι, παρ' ἡμῖν δὲ οὐδ' ἑταίρα ζῆν ἔξεστιν, ἀλλὰ κατὰ τῆς ἑταιρούσης ὥρισται δίκη θάνατος. πρὸ δὲ συνόδων νομίμων ὁμιλίαν ἑτέρας γυναικὸς οὐκ ἴσμεν, ἀλλ' ἀγνοῖ γάμων ἀγναῖς

* Cf. Deut. xxiii. 17. The passage hardly suggests this

good statuary or painter, whether the works which he produces are many and of colossal size or few and smaller, is the same man exhibiting the same skill.

IX. But while he was winning a high reputation 40 in household affairs, his master's wife made him the object of her designs, which were prompted by licentious love ; for wrought up to madness by the beauty of the youth, and putting no restraint upon the frenzy of her passion, she made proposals of intercourse to him which he stoutly resisted and utterly refused to accept, so strong was the sense of decency and temperance which nature and the exercise of control had implanted in him. And, 41 since, as she fed the fire of lawless lust till it burst into a blaze, her constant efforts to gain him as constantly failed, at last in an accession of passion she was fain to employ violence. She caught hold of his outer garment and powerfully drew him to her bed by superior force, since passion which often braces even the weakest gave her new vigour. But 42 he shewed power which was more than a match for the untoward situation and burst into speech with a frankness worthy of his race. "What," he said, "are you forcing me to ? We children of the Hebrews follow laws and customs which are especially our own. Other nations are permitted after the fourteenth 43 year to deal without interference with harlots and strumpets and all those who make a traffic of their bodies, but with us a courtesan is not even permitted to live, and death is the penalty appointed for women who ply this trade.^a Before the lawful union we know no mating with other women, but come as virgin men

extreme interpretation, but Philo repeats it in *De Spec. Leg.* iii. 51.

- παρθένους προσερχόμεθα προτεθειμένοι τέλος οὐχ
 44 ἡδονὴν ἀλλὰ γνησίων παίδων σποράν. εἰς δὴ
 ταύτην καθαρεύσας τὴν ἡμέραν οὐκ ἄρξομαι παρα-
 νομεῖν ἀπὸ μοιχείας, τοῦ μεγίστου τῶν ἀδικη-
 μάτων, ὀφείλων, εἰ καὶ τὸν ἄλλον χρόνον ὑπῆρχον
 ἐκδεδιητημένος καὶ νεότητος ὀρμαῖς ἡγμένος καὶ
 τὴν ἐγχώριον ἐξηλωκὼς τρυφήν, ὅμως ἀλλότριον μὴ
 θηρᾶν γάμον· ἐφ' ᾧ τίς ἀνθρώπων οὐ φονᾷ; περὶ
 γὰρ τῶν ἄλλων εἰωθότες διαφέρεσθαι μόνον τοῦθ'
 ὁμογνωμονοῦντες πανταχοῦ πάντες ἄξιον θανάτων
 μυρίων ἐνόμισαν ἀκρίτους ἐκδιδόντες τοὺς ἀλόντας
 45 τοῖς πεφωρακόσι. σὺ δ' ἐπιδαιφιλευομένη καὶ
 τρίτον¹ προστίθης μοι μίasma κελεύουσα μὴ μοι-
 χεύειν μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ δέσποιναν καὶ δεσπότην
 γυναῖκα διαφθείρειν· εἰ μὴ ἄρα τούτου χάριν παρ-
 ῆλθον εἰς τὴν ὑμετέραν οἰκίαν, ἵν' ἀποστὰς τῶν
 ὑπηρεσιῶν, ἃς δεῖ θεράποντα παρέχειν, μεθύω
 καὶ ἐμπαροινῶ ταῖς ἐλπίσι τοῦ πριαμένου νοθεύων
 46 αὐτοῦ γάμον, οἰκίαν, συγγένειαν. ἀλλὰ γὰρ οὐχ
 ὥς δεσπότην μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ ὥς εὐεργέτην ἤδη
 τιμᾶν προάγομαι· πάντ' ἐπιτέτροφέ μοι τὰ οἰκεία,
 οὐδὲν οὐ μικρὸν οὐ μέγα ὑπεξήρηται τὸ παράπαν
 δίχα σοῦ τῆς γυναικός· ἀνθ' ὧν ἄξιον αὐτὸν ἐν οἷς
 [49] παραινεῖς ἀμεύβασθαι; καλὰς | ὥς ἔοικεν ἀντιπαρ-
 ἔξω δωρεὰς ταῖς προὔπηργμέαις χάρισιν οἰκείας.
 47 ὁ μὲν δεσπότης αἰχμάλωτον ὄντα με καὶ ξένον ταῖς
 εὐεργεσίαις ἐλεύθερον καὶ ἀστὸν τὸ γοῦν ἐπ' αὐτὸν

¹ So mss.: Cohn *τρίτον*. If *τρίτον* is kept the three *μίσματα* will be (1) harlotry, (2) adultery, (3) adultery with a master's wife. With *τρίτον* they will presumably be (1) adultery, (2) adultery with a mistress, (3) adultery with a master's

ON JOSEPH, 43-47

to virgin maidens. The end we seek in wedlock is not pleasure but the begetting of lawful children. To this day I have remained pure, and I will not take 44 the first step in transgression by committing adultery, the greatest of crimes. For even if I had always hitherto lived an irregular life, drawn by the appetites of youth and following after the luxury of this land, I ought not to make the wedded wife of another my prey. Who does not thirst for the blood of the adulterer? For while men are accustomed to differ on other matters they are all and everywhere of one mind on this; they count the culprits worthy of a multitude of deaths, and deliver them unjudged into the hands of those who have discovered their guilt. But you in your extravagance would impose upon 45 me a third pollution when you bid me not only commit adultery but also defile my mistress and my master's wife. You cannot think that for this purpose I came into your house, to decline the duties which a servant should render and play like a drunkard and a sot with the hopes of the master who bought me by debasing his bed, his household and his kin. Indeed I am called on to honour him not 46 only as a master but further as a benefactor. He has entrusted to me all his belongings and nothing at all great or small has been withdrawn from me save you, his wife. Is it well that I should requite him for this by doing what you urge me to do? A fine gift this would seem to be, a suitable return for preceding favours! The master found me a captive 47 and an alien, and has made me by his kindnesses a free man and a citizen as far as he can do it. Shall

wife. But no stress is laid on any distinction between these two in the sequel.

- ἦκον μέρος ἀπειργάσατο, ἐγὼ δ' ὁ δοῦλος ὡς ξένῳ καὶ αἰχμαλώτῳ προσενεχθήσομαι τῷ δεσπότῃ; τίني ψυχῇ παραδεξάμενος τὸ ἀνοσιούργημα τοῦτο; προσβλέψω δὲ τίσιν ὀφθαλμοῖς ὁ σιδηροῦς ἐγώ; τὸ συνειδὸς ἐλλαμβανόμενον ὀρθοῖς ὄμμασιν οὐκ ἔασει προσβλέπειν, καὶ δυνηθῶ λανθάνειν· λήσομαι δ' οὐδαμῶς· εἰσὶ γὰρ ἔξετασταὶ μυρίοι τῶν λάθρα
- 48 δρωμένων, οἷς οὐ θέμις ἡσυχάζειν. ἐγὼ λέγειν ὅτι, καὶ μηδεὶς ἕτερος αἰσθηταὶ ἢ συναισθηόμενος μὴ κατείπη, μηνυτῆς οὐδὲν ἥττον αὐτὸς γενήσομαι κατ' ἐμαυτοῦ τῷ χρώματι, τῷ βλέμματι, τῇ φωνῇ, καθάπερ μικρῷ πρότερον εἶπον, ὑπὸ τοῦ συνειδότος ἐλεγχόμενος· εἰ δὲ καὶ μηδεὶς κατερεῖ, τὴν πάρεδρον τοῦ θεοῦ δίκην καὶ τῶν πραγμάτων ἔφορον οὔτε δέδιμεν οὔτ' αἰδούμεθα; ”
- 49 X. Πολλὰ τοιαῦτα συνείροντος καὶ φιλοσοφούντος, ἐκεκώφητο πρὸς ἅπαντα· δεῖναι γὰρ αἱ ἐπιθυμίαι καὶ τὰς ἀκριβεστάτας τῶν αἰσθήσεων ἐπισκιάσαι· ὅπερ συνιδὼν ἀποδιδράσκει τὰ ἱμάτια καταλιπὼν ἐν ταῖς χερσὶν αὐτῆς, ὧν ἐπέιληπτο.
- 50 τοῦτο παρέσχεν αὐτῇ τὸ ἔργον εὐρεσιλογεῖν προφάσεις σκεπτομένη κατὰ τοῦ νεανίσκου, αἷς αὐτὸν ἀμυνέται· παραγενομένῳ γὰρ ἐξ ἀγορᾶς τῷ αὐτῆς ἀνδρὶ καθυποκρινομένη τὴν σὺν φρόνα καὶ κοσμίαν καὶ τοῖς ἀκολάστοις ἐπιτηδεύμασι πάντῃ δυσχεραίνουσαν “ ἡγαγες ” ἔφη “ θεράποντα ἡμῖν παῖδα Ἑβραῖον, ὃς οὐ μόνον ἤδη τὴν σὴν ψυχὴν διέφθαρκεν εὐχερῶς καὶ ἀνεξετάστως ἐπιτρέψαντος αὐτῷ τὴν οἰκίαν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐμοῦ ἀπετόλμησεν αἰσχύναι
- 51 τὸ σῶμα. ταῖς γὰρ ὁμοδοῦλοις οὐκ ἐξήρκεσεν αὐτῷ χρῆσθαι μόναις ἀσελγεστάτῳ καὶ λαγνιστάτῳ γενομένῳ, πειρᾶν δὲ καὶ τὴν δέσποιναν ἐπεχείρησεν

ON JOSEPH, 47-51

I, the slave, deal with the master as though he were an alien and a captive? What would be my inward feelings if I agreed to this unholy act? What my looks when I face him, iron-hearted though I be? No, conscience will take hold of me and not suffer me to look him straight in the face^a even if I can escape detection. And that cannot be, for there are thousands to sit in judgement on my secret doings who must not remain silent; not to mention that, 48 even if no other knows of it or reports the knowledge which he shares with me, all the same I shall turn informer against myself through my colour, my look, my voice, convicted as I said just now by my conscience. And even if no one denounce me, have we no fear or respect for justice, the assessor of God, justice who surveys all our doings?"^b

X. Thus he spoke long and wisely, but she remained deaf to it all. For lust is powerful to becloud even the keenest of the senses. And seeing this he fled leaving in her hands the garments which she had grasped. This action of his gave her the opportunity to invent a story and devise charges against the youth to punish him. When her husband came in from the market she put on the air of a chaste and modest woman who regards licentious practices with the utmost indignation. "You brought to us," she said, "a Hebrew lad as servant, who has not only corrupted your soul when you lightly and thoughtlessly entrusted your household to him, but has had the audacity to dishonour my body. For not content 51 with taking merely the women who were his fellow-servants, so utterly lewd and lascivious has he shown himself, he has attempted to violate me by force,

^a Or "with unchanged eyes." ^b See App. pp. 600-601.

- ἐμὲ καὶ βιάζεσθαι. καὶ τὰ δείγματα τῆς φρενοβλαβείας ἐναργῆ καὶ δῆλὰ ἐστὶ· περιπαθήσασα γὰρ ὡς ἐξεφώνησα τοὺς ἔνδον βοηθοὺς ἐπικαλοῦσα, πτοηθεὶς διὰ τὸ ἀπερίσκεπτον τὴν ἐσθῆτα καταλιπὼν ἀποδιδράσκει φόβῳ συλλήψεως." ἦν καὶ ἐπιδεικνυμένη πίστιν ἐδόκει προσφέρειν τῶν λεγομένων.
- 52 ἄπερ ἀληθῆ νομίσας ὁ δεσπότης εἶναι κελεύει τὸν ἄνθρωπον εἰς εἰρκτὴν ἀπαγαγεῖν δυσὶ τοῖς μεγίστοις ἁμαρτῶν, ἐνὶ μὲν ὅτι μὴ μεταδοὺς ἀπολογίας ἀκρίτως κατέγνω τοῦ μηδὲν ἡδίκηκότος ὡς τὰ μέγιστα παρανομήσαντος, ἐτέρῳ δὲ ὅτι ἡ ἐσθῆς, ἣν προῦφερεν ἡ γυνὴ ὡς ἀπολειφθεῖσαν ὑπὸ τοῦ νεανίσκου, πίστις ἦν βίας, οὐχ ἦν ἐκεῖνος εἰργάζετο, ἀλλὰ τὴν ὑπομονὴν¹ ἦν ὑπέμεινεν ἐκ τῆς γυναικός· βιαζομένου μὲν γὰρ ἔργον ἦν τὴν ἀμπεχόνην τῆς δεσποίνης κατέχειν, βιασθέντος δὲ τὴν ἰδίαν ἀφαιρεθῆναι. συγγνωστός | δ' ἴσως τῆς ἄγαν ἀπαιδευσίας, ἅτε τὴν δίαιταν ἐν μαγειρείῳ ποιούμενος αἵματος καὶ καπνοῦ καὶ τέφρας ἀνάπλεω,² τοῦ λογισμοῦ καιρὸν οὐκ ἔχοντος ἐνηρεμεῖν καὶ σχολάζειν ἑαυτῷ διὰ τὸ πεφύρθαι μᾶλλον ἢ οὐχ ἥττον τοῦ σώματος.
- 54 XI. Τρεῖς ἤδη χαρακτῆρας τοῦ πολιτικοῦ διετύπωσε, τὸν τε ποιμενικὸν καὶ τὸν οἰκονομικὸν καὶ τὸν καρτερικόν. περὶ μὲν οὖν τῶν προτέρων εἴρηται δυεῖν, ὁ δ' ἐγκρατὴς οὐχ ἥττον ἐκείνων πρὸς
- 55 πολιτείαν συντείνει. πρὸς μὲν οὖν ἅπαντα τὰ τοῦ βίου πράγματα λυσιτελεῖς ἐγκράτεια καὶ σωτήριον,

¹ Not only awkward, but ungrammatical. It would be simpler with Mangey to expunge τὴν ὑπ. than, as Wendland suggests, to substitute τῆς ἐπιβουλῆς.

² MSS. ἀνάπλεως or -ων.

ON JOSEPH, 51-55

me his mistress. The proofs of his insane depravity are clear and evident, for when in my great agitation I cried aloud and called those who were indoors to my aid, he was so scared at my unexpected action^a that he left his garment behind and fled in fear of arrest." This garment she showed and made as though she were proffering a proof of her tale. Joseph's master, believing this to be true, ordered 52 him to be carried away to prison, and in this he committed two great errors. First he gave him no opportunity of defence, and convicted unheard this entirely innocent person as guilty of the greatest misconduct. Secondly, the raiment which his wife produced as left by the youth was a proof of violence not employed by him but suffered at her hands. For if force were used by him he would retain his mistress's robe, if against him he would lose his own. But his master may perhaps be pardoned for his 53 gross ignorance, since his days were spent in a kitchen full of blood and smoke and cinders, where the reason even more, or at least no less, than the body lives amid confusion and has no chance of quietly retiring into itself.

XI. Moses has now set before us three character- 54 istics of the statesman, his shepherd-craft, his household-management, his self-control. We have dealt with the two first, but the last-named has quite as much bearing on statesmanship. While in all the 55 affairs of life self-mastery is a source of profit and

^a This is an unusual sense for ἀπελσκεπτος which regularly means with Philo "reckless" or "inconsiderate." It is possible, though less likely, that it may mean here "in his thoughtlessness," i.e. he did not consider what evidence he would leave behind him.

- πρὸς δὲ τὰ πόλεως καὶ διαφερόντως, ὡς ἀφθόνως τοῖς βουλομένοις μανθάνειν πάρεστι καὶ προχειρό-
 56 τατα. τίς γὰρ ἀγνοεῖ τὰς ἐξ ἀκρασίας ἔθνεσι καὶ χώραις καὶ ὅλοις κλίμασι τῆς οἰκουμένης ἐν γῇ καὶ θαλάττῃ γινομένας συμφοράς; τῶν γὰρ πολέμων οἱ πλείους καὶ μέγιστοι δι' ἔρωτας καὶ μοιχείας καὶ γυναικῶν ἀπάτας συνέστησαν, ὑφ' ὧν τὸ πλεῖστον καὶ ἄριστον ἐξαναλώθη τοῦ τε Ἑλληνικοῦ καὶ βαρβαρικοῦ γένους καὶ τῶν πόλεων ἡ νεότης
 57 ἐφθάρη. εἰ δὲ τὰ ἐξ ἀκρασίας στάσεις ἐμφύλιοι καὶ πόλεμοι καὶ κακὰ ἐπὶ κακοῖς ἀμύθητα, δηλὸν ὅτι τὰ ἐκ σωφροσύνης εὐστάθεια καὶ εἰρήνη καὶ τελείων κτῆσις ἀγαθῶν καὶ ἀπόλαυσις.
- 58 XII. Ἄξιον μέντοι καὶ τὰ διὰ τούτων ἐμφαινόμενα κατὰ τὸ ἀκόλουθον παραστήσαι. ὁ πριάμενος τὸν ἐπικρινόμενον εὐνούχος εἶναι λέγεται· δεόντως· ὁ γὰρ ὠνούμενος τὸν πολιτικὸν ὄχλος ἐστὶ πρὸς ἀλήθειαν εὐνούχος, ὅσα μὲν τῷ δοκεῖν ἔχων τὰ γεννητικά, τὰς δ' εἰς τὸ γεννᾶν δυνάμεις ἀφῆρη-
 μένος, καθάπερ καὶ οἱ τὰς ὄψεις ὑποχυθέντες ὀφθαλμοὺς ἔχοντες τῆς δι' ὀφθαλμῶν ἐνεργείας στέρονται
 59 βλέπειν οὐ δυνάμενοι. τίς οὖν ἡ πρὸς ὄχλον εὐνούχων ὁμοιότης; ὅτι ἄγονός ἐστι σοφίας δοκῶν ἐπιτηδεύειν ἀρετὴν· ὅταν γὰρ μιγάδων καὶ συγκλύδων πλῆθος ἀνθρώπων εἰς ταῦτόν συνέλθῃ, λέγει μὲν τὰ δέοντα, φρονεῖ δὲ καὶ πράττει τὰναντία, τὰ νόθα πρὸ τῶν γνησίων ἀποδεχόμενος, ἔνεκα τοῦ δόξης μὲν ἡττᾶσθαι, τὸ δ' ἀληθείᾳ καλὸν μὴ ἐπι-
 60 τηδεύειν. ὅθεν καὶ—τὸ παραλογώτατον—γυνῇ τῷ

^a Philo is no doubt thinking primarily of the Trojan War, and it is not unlike him to magnify this into a plural. Still

ON JOSEPH, 55-60

safety, it is particularly so in affairs of state, as those who will may learn from plentiful and obvious examples. Who does not know the misfortunes which 56 licentiousness brings to nations and countries and whole latitudes of the civilized world on land and sea? For the majority of wars, and those the greatest, have arisen through amours and adulteries and the deceits of women, which have consumed the greatest and choicest part of the Greek race and the barbarian also, and destroyed the youth of their cities.^a And, if the results of licentiousness are civil strife and 57 war, and ill upon ill without number, clearly the results of continence are stability and peace and the acquisition and enjoyment of perfect blessings.

XII. We should now, however, in due course 58 show the lessons revealed to us by this story. The purchaser of the subject of our examination is said to be a eunuch; rightly so, for the multitude which purchases the statesman is in very truth a eunuch, possessing to all appearance the organs of generation but deprived of the power of using them, just as those who suffer from cataract have eyes but lack the active use of them and cannot see. How then 59 does the multitude resemble eunuchs? It is because the multitude is unproductive of wisdom, though it seems to practise virtue. For when a mixed crowd of heterogeneous persons comes together, it says what is right, but it thinks and does the opposite. It prefers the spurious to the genuine, because it is under the dominion of appearances and does not practise what is truly excellent. And, therefore, also, paradoxical though it be, this 60

he can hardly have failed to have Antony and Cleopatra also in mind.

- εὐνούχῳ τούτῳ συνοικεῖ· μνᾶται γὰρ ὄχλος ἐπιθυμίαν, ὥσπερ ἀνὴρ γυναῖκα, δι' ἧς ἕκαστα καὶ λέγει καὶ πράττει σύμβουλον αὐτὴν ποιούμενος ἀπάντων ῥητῶν καὶ ἀπορρήτων μικρῶν τε αὖ καὶ μεγάλων, ἥκιστα προσέχειν εἰωθὼς τοῖς ἐκ λογι-
- 61 σμοῦ. προσφύεστατα μέντοι καὶ ἀρχιμάγειρον αὐτὸν καλεῖ· καθάπερ γὰρ οὐδὲν ἕτερον ἐπιτηδεύει μάγειρος ἢ τὰς ἀνηνύτους καὶ περιττὰς γαστρὸς ἡδονάς, τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον καὶ ὁ πολιτικὸς ὄχλος τὰς δι' ἀκοῆς τέρψεις τε καὶ θρύψεις, ὑφ' ὧν
- [51] οἱ τόνοι τῆς διανοίας χαλῶνται καὶ τρόπον τινὰ |
- 62 τὰ νεῦρα τῆς ψυχῆς ἐκλύεται. τὴν δὲ πρὸς ἰατροὺς μαγείρων διαφορὰν τίς οὐκ οἶδεν; οἱ μὲν τὰ ὑγιεινά, καὶ μὴ προσηνῇ τυγχάνη, μόνα διὰ σπουδῆς τῆς πάσης εὐτρεπίζονται, οἱ δ' ἔμπαλιν
- 63 μόνα τὰ ἡδέα τοῦ συμφέροντος ἀλογοῦντες. ἰατροῖς μὲν οὖν εἰκόσιν ἐν δήμῳ νόμοι καὶ οἱ κατὰ νόμους ἄρχοντες βουλευταὶ τε καὶ δικασταὶ φροντίζοντες τῆς τῶν κοινῶν σωτηρίας καὶ ἀσφαλείας ἀκολάκευτοι, ὀψαρτυταῖς δὲ οἱ πολυάνθρωποι τῶν νεωτέρων ὄμιλοι· μέλει γὰρ αὐτοῖς οὐ τὰ συνοίσοντα, ἀλλὰ πῶς τὴν ἐν τῷ παρόντι καρπώσονται
- 64 μόνον ἡδονήν. XIII. ἐρᾷ δ' ὡς ἀκόλαστος γυνὴ καὶ ἡ τῶν ὄχλων ἐπιθυμία τοῦ πολιτικοῦ καὶ φησιν αὐτῷ· “παρελθὼν, ὦ οὗτος, εἰς ὄχλον, ᾧ συνοικῶ, πάντων ἐκλαθοῦ τῶν ιδίων ἡθῶν, ἐπιτηδευμάτων, λόγων, ἔργων, ἐν οἷς ἐτράφη· ἐμοὶ δὲ πειθάρχει καὶ ἐμέ θεράπευε καὶ ὅσα δι' ἡδονῆς ἐστὶ μοι
- 65 πρᾶττε. αὐστηρὸν γὰρ καὶ αὐθέκαστον καὶ ἀληθείας ἐταῖρον καὶ ἀκριβοδίκαιον, ὄγκῳ καὶ σεμ-

^a See App. p. 601.

ON JOSEPH, 60-65

eunuch is mated with a wife. For the multitude woos desire as a man woos a woman, and makes her his medium in all that he says and does, and takes her as his counsellor in all things great and small, whether decency sanctions them or not, and is wont to pay little heed to the promptings of reason.

Very aptly too does Moses call him a chief cook ; 61 for, just as the cook is solely occupied in endlessly providing superfluous pleasures for the belly, so is the multitude, considered as politicians, in choosing what charms and pleases the ears, and thus the tension of the understanding is relaxed and the sinews of the soul, so to speak, unstrung. As for 62 the difference between cooks and physicians, it is a matter of common knowledge.^a The physician devotes all his energies solely to preparing what is wholesome, even if it is unpalatable, while the cook deals with the pleasant only and has no thought of what is beneficial. Now in a democracy, physi- 63 cians are represented by laws, and those who rule in accordance with the law, members of councils and juries who consider the safety and security of the common weal and are proof against flattery ; cooks by the swarming crowd of younger spirits, for they do not care what will be beneficial but only how they may reap pleasure for the moment. XIII. And like a licentious woman the desire of the multi- 64 tudes makes love to the statesman. "Forward,^b lad," she says, "forward, to my mate, the multitude. Forget your own old ways, the habits, the words, the actions in which you were bred. Obey me, wait on me and do all that gives me pleasure. The stern, 65 strict, uncompromising friend of truth, stiff and solemn

^a Or "when you address . . . forget."

- νότῃτι πρὸς ἅπαντα χρώμενον καὶ πρὸς μηδὲν
 εἴκοντα, μόνου περιεχόμενον αἰὲ τοῦ συμφέροντος
 ἄνευ θεραπείας τῶν ἀκρωμένων, οὐκ ἀνέχομαι.
- 66 διαβολὰς δ' ἐρανιῶ κατὰ σοῦ μυρίας καὶ¹ πρὸς τὸν
 ἑμὸν ἄνδρα τὸν ὄχλον, τὸν σὸν δεσπότην· ἄχρι
 γὰρ νῦν ἀπελευθεριάζειν δοκεῖς μοι καὶ ὅτι δοῦλος
 τυραννικοῦ γέγονας δεσπότης λίαν ἀγνοεῖς. εἰ δὲ
 ᾔδεις, ὅτι αὐτοπραγία μὲν οἰκειότατον ἐλευθέρῳ,
 οἰκότηρ δ' ἀλλότριον, ἐπεπαίδευστο ἂν αὐθάδειαν μεθ-
 έμενος εἰς ἐμέ βλέπειν τὴν ἐκείνου γυναῖκα, ἐπι-
 θυμίαν, καὶ δρᾶν τὰ πρὸς ἀρέσκειαν τὴν ἐμήν,
- 67 δι' ὧν μάλιστα εὐαρεστήσεις. XIV. ὁ
 δὲ πολιτικὸς ὄντως οὐκ ἀγνοεῖ μὲν, ὅτι δεσποτικὴν
 ἐξουσίαν ἔχει ὁ δῆμος, αὐτὸν δ' οὐχ ὁμολογήσει
 δοῦλον ἀλλ' ἐλεύθερον καὶ . . .² τὴν τῆς ψυχῆς
 ἀρέσκειαν. ἀλλ' ἀντικρὺς ἐρεῖ· “δημοκοπεῖν οὐτ'
 ἔμαθον οὐτ' ἐπιτηδεύσω ποτέ, πόλεως δὲ προ-
 στασίαν καὶ ἐπιμέλειαν ἔχειν ἐγχειρισθείς, ὥς
 ἀγαθὸς ἐπίτροπος ἢ πατήρ εὖνους³ ἀδόλως καὶ
- 68 καθαρῶς ἄνευ τῆς ἐχθρᾶς ὑποκρίσεως. ταῦτα
 φρονῶν ἐξετασθήσομαι μηδὲν ὑποστέλλων μηδὲ
 συγκρύπτων φωρὸς τρόπον, ἀλλὰ τὸ συνειδὸς
 αὐγάζων ὥς ἐν ἡλίῳ καὶ φωτί· φῶς γὰρ ἡ ἀλήθεια·
 φοβηθήσομαι δ' οὐδὲν ὧν ἂν ἐπανατείνηται, κἂν
 θάνατον ἀπειλή· θανάτου γὰρ ἐμοὶ κακὸν ἀργαλεώ-

¹ Cohn, who prints καὶ, notes “*excludendum videtur*.” It certainly seems pointless. If retained, it must mean that the charges are disseminated in general as well as made to the master in particular.

² Something is clearly lost; Mangey's πάντα δρῶντα κατὰ will make good sense.

³ Here, too, Cohn indicates a lacuna and suggests δράσω

ON JOSEPH, 65-68

and inflexible in all his dealings, who clings to the beneficial only and pays no court to his audience, is to me intolerable. And I will collect any number 66 of charges against you to produce before my husband, the multitude, your master. For hitherto you have seemed to me to act as if at liberty and you are quite unaware that you have become the slave of a despotic master. But if you had known that independence may be quite properly possessed by the free man, but is denied to the slave, you would have schooled yourself to abandon your self-will and to look to me, Desire, his wife, and do what may please me as the best way to secure his favour."

XIV. Now the true statesman knows 67 quite well that the people has the power of a master, yet he will not admit that he is a slave, but regards himself as a free man and shapes his activities to please his own soul. He will frankly say, "I have never learned to cringe to the people, and I will never practise it. But since the leadership and charge of the state is put into my hands I will know how to hold it as a good guardian or an affectionate father, guilelessly and sincerely without the dissimulation which I hate. Being thus minded, I 68 will not be found cloaking and hiding anything as a thief might do, but I will keep my conscience clear as in the light of the sun, for truth is light. I will fear none of the tyrant's menaces, even though he threaten me with death, for death is a less evil than

or χρηματιῶ. It does not seem to me necessary. It is not difficult to understand ἐμαθὼν καὶ ἐπιτηδεύσω. To understand an affirmative out of a negative is a looseness which may be found in good writers. A good example occurs in the opening lines of Horace's *Satires*.

- 69 *τερον ὑπόκρισις. ἦν ὑπομενῶ τοῦ χάριν; καὶ γὰρ εἰ δεσπότης ὁ δῆμος, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἐγὼ δοῦλος, εὐπατρίδης δ' εἰ καὶ τις ἄλλος ἐφίεμενος ἐγγραφῆς τῆς ἐν τῷ μεγίστῳ καὶ ἀρίστῳ πολιτεύματι τοῦδε*
 70 *τοῦ κόσμου. ὅταν | γὰρ μὴ δῶρα, μὴ παρα-*
 [52] *κλήσεις, μὴ τιμῶν ἔρως, μὴ ἀρχῆς ἐπιθυμία, μὴ ἀλαζονεία, μὴ ὁ τοῦ δοκεῖν ἡμερος, μὴ ἀκολασία, μὴ ἀνανδρία, μὴ ἀδικία, μηδὲν ἄλλο τῶν ὅσα ἐκ πάθους ἢ κακίας ὑπάγεται, τίνος ἔτι φοβηθήσομαι*
 71 *δεσποτεῖαν; ἢ δῆλον ὅτι τὴν ἀπ' ἀνθρώπων; ἀλλ' οὐτοί γε τὴν σώματος ἐπιγράφονται κυρεῖαν, οὐ τὴν κατ' ἐμέ. ἐγὼ γὰρ ἀπὸ τοῦ κρείττονος, τῆς ἐν ἐμαυτῷ διανοίας, χρηματίζω, καθ' ἣν παρεσκεύασμαι βιοῦν ὀλίγα φροντίζων τοῦ θνητοῦ σώματος, ὃ καὶ ὁ στρέου δίκην περιπεφυκὸς ἐπηρεάζεται πρὸς τινων, ἀφειμένους¹ τῶν ἔνδον δεσποτῶν τε χαλεπῶν καὶ δεσποινῶν, οὐκ ἀνιάσομαι τὴν βαρυτάτην*
 72 *ἀνάγκην ἐκπεφευγώς. ἐὰν οὖν δικάζειν δέῃ, δικάσω μῆτε πλουσίῳ προσθέμενος διὰ τὴν περιουσίαν μῆτε πένητι διὰ τὸν ἐπὶ ταῖς ἀτυχίαις ἔλεον, ἀλλὰ τὰ τῶν κρινομένων ἀξιώματα καὶ σχήματα παρακαλυψάμενος ἀδόλως βραβεύσω τὸ φανησόμενον δίκαιον. ἐὰν τε βουλευώ, γνώμας εἰσηγή-*
 73 *σομαι τὰς κοινωφελείας, καὶ μὴ πρὸς ἡδονὴν ὦσιν. ἐὰν τε ἐκκλησιάζω, τοὺς θῶπας λόγους ἐτέροις καταλιπὼν τοῖς σωτηρίοις χρήσομαι καὶ συμφέρουσιν, ἐπιτιμῶν, νουθετῶν, σωφρονίζων, οὐκ αὐθάδειαν μανιώδη καὶ παράφορον ἀλλὰ νήφουσιν*
 74 *παρρησίαν ἐπιτετηδευκώς. εἰ δὲ μὴ χαίρει τις ταῖς βελτιώσεσιν, ἐπιτιμάτω καὶ γονεῦσι καὶ ἐπιτρόποις*

¹ So Mangey: most mss. ἀφειμένον, which Cohn retains, others -ων. The masculine seems to me necessary for the sense.

ON JOSEPH, 69-74

dissimulation. And why should I submit to it? 69
For, though the people be a master, I am not a
slave, but as highly-born as any, one who claims
enrolment among the citizens of that best and
greatest state, this world. For when neither presents 70
nor appeals nor craving for honours nor desire for
office nor spirit of pretentiousness nor longing for
reputation, nor incontinence, nor unmanliness, nor
injustice, nor any other creation of passion and vice
can subdue me, what domination is still left for me
to fear? Clearly, it can only be that of men, but 71
men, while they assume the sovereignty of my body,
are not sovereigns of the real I. For I take my
title from the better part, the understanding within
me, and by that I am prepared to live with little
thought of the mortal body, the shell-like growth
which encases me. And, though some may mal-
treat it, yet, if I be free from the hard masters and
mistresses within, I shall suffer no affliction, since I
have escaped the cruellest tyranny of all. If then 72
I have to serve on a jury, I will give my verdict
without favouring the rich because of his abundant
wealth, or the poor through pity of his misfortunes,
but drawing a veil over the dignity or the out-
ward appearance of the litigants I will in all honesty
award what shall appear just. If I act as a councillor 73
I will introduce such proposals as are for the common
good, even if they be not agreeable. If I speak in
the general assembly I will leave all talk of flattery
to others and resort only to such as is salutary and
beneficial, reproving, warning, correcting in words
studied to shew a sober frankness without foolish and
frantic arrogance. He who does not gladly receive 74
improving advice must to be consistent censure

καὶ διδασκάλοις καὶ πᾶσι τοῖς κηδεμόσιν, ὅτι τέκνα γνήσια καὶ ὀρφανοὺς παῖδας καὶ φοιτητὰς κακηγοροῦσιν, ἔστι δ' ὅτε καὶ τύπτουσιν, οἷς οὔτε βλασφημίαν οὔθ' ὕβριν ὅσιον ἐπιφημίζειν, ἀλλὰ
 75 τοῦναντίον τὰ φιλίας καὶ εὐνοίας ὀνόματα. πάνν γὰρ ἀνάξιον τὸν πολιτικὸν ἐμὲ καὶ τὰ τοῦ δήμου πάντα ἐπιτετραμμένον ἐν τοῖς περὶ τοῦ συμφέροντος λογισμοῖς χείρονα γενέσθαι τινὸς τὴν ἰατρικὴν
 76 τέχνην ἐπιτηδεύοντος. ἐκείνος γὰρ οὐδὲν τῆς περὶ τὸν θεραπευόμενον λαμπρότητος ἐν ταῖς νομιζομένας εὐτυχίαις φροντίσας, οὔθ' ὅτι εὐγενὴς ἦν ἢ πολυχρήματος οὔθ' ὅτι τῶν κατ' αὐτὸν ἐνδοξότατος βασιλεὺς ἢ τύραννος, ἐνὸς περιέχεται μόνου τοῦ σῶσαι κατὰ δύναμιν, καὶν δέη τομαῖς ἢ καύσεσι χρῆσθαι, καίει τε καὶ τέμνει τὸν ἄρχοντα καὶ
 77 δεσπότην ὁ ὑπήκοος καὶ λεγόμενος δοῦλος. ἐγὼ δ' οὐχ ἓνα ἄνδρα πόλιν δ' ὅλην κάμνουσαν παραλαβὼν ὑπ' ἀργαλεωτέρων νόσων, ἃς κατεσκεύασαν αἱ συγγενεῖς ἐπιθυμίαι, τί πράσσειν ὀφείλω; προέμενος τὰ συνοίσοντα πᾶσι κοινῇ τὰ τοῦ δεινὸς ἢ τοῦ δεινὸς ὦτα θεραπεύειν ἀνελευθέρῳ καὶ σφόδρα δουλοπρεπεῖ κολακείᾳ; τεθνάναι μᾶλλον ἢ ἐλοίμην ἢ πρὸς
 [53] ἡδονὴν τι φθεγξάμενος | ἐπικρύψαι τὴν ἀλήθειαν καὶ τοῦ συμφέροντος ἀμελήσαι.

78 “ πρὸς ταῦθ' ”

ὥς ὁ τραγικός φησιν

“ ἴτω μὲν πῦρ, ἴτω δὲ φάσγανον.”—

“ πίμπρα, κάταιθε σάρκας, ἐμπλήσθητί μου πίνων κελαινὸν αἷμα· πρόσθε γὰρ κάτω γῆς εἰσιν ἄστρο, γῇ δ' ἄνεις· εἰς αἰθέρα, πρὶν ἐξ ἐμοῦ σοι θῶπ' ἀπαντῆσαι λόγον.”

ON JOSEPH, 74-78

parents and guardians and teachers and all persons in charge, because they reprimand and sometimes even beat their own children or orphan-wards or pupils, though really it is against all morality to call such treatment evil-speaking or outrage instead of friendliness and benevolence. For it were a quite 75 unworthy thing that I, the statesman, to whom are committed all the interests of the people, should, in planning for their benefit, shew myself inferior to anyone who practises the physician's art. He cares 76 not how brilliant is the good fortune, as men hold it, which attends his patient or that he is high-born or wealthy or the most glorious king or despot of his time, but devotes himself to one object only, to save him to the best of his ability, even if he must use cautery or surgery, and he applies the fire or the knife, he the subject to his ruler, he the so-called slave to his master. And I, who am called 77 to attend not on a single person but on the whole state afflicted by the more powerful distempers which its inbred lusts have produced, what ought I to do? Shall I sacrifice the future welfare of all and minister to the cares of this man and that man with flattery utterly slave-like and unworthy of the free? I would rather lie dead than with some pleasant words conceal the truth and disregard real welfare. As the tragedian says : 78

So then come fire, come sword.^a
Burn me, consume my flesh, drink my dark blood,
Take fill of me; for sooner shall the stars
Go 'neath the earth, and earth go up to sky
Than thou shalt from these lips hear fawning word.

^a The first line is from Eur. *Phoenissae* 521. The others also from Eur. Quoted *Leg. All.* iii. 202 and *Quod Probus* 99, where the speaker is given as Heracles.

79 οὕτως οὖν ἡρρενωμένον τὸ φρόνημα καὶ ἐκτὸς πάντων παθῶν ἱστάμενον, ἡδονῆς, φόβου, λύπης, ἐπιθυμίας, ἄνδρα πολιτικὸν ὁ δεσπότης δῆμος οὐκ ἀνέχεται, συλλαβὼν δ' ὡς ἐχθρὸν κολάζει τὸν εὖ-
νον καὶ φίλον, πρὸ ἐκείνου τιμωρούμενος ἑαυτὸν τῇ μεγίστῃ τῶν τιμωριῶν, ἀπαιδευσία, δι' ἣν οὐκ ἔμαθεν ἄρχεσθαι, τὸ κάλλιστον καὶ βιωφελέστατον, ἐξ οὗ περιγίνεται καὶ τὸ ἄρχειν.

80 XV. Ἀποχρώντως δὴ καὶ περὶ τούτων διειλεγ-
μένοι τὰ ἐξῆς ἴδωμεν. ὁ διαβληθεὶς νεανίας ὑπὸ τῆς ἐρωμένης γυναικὸς τῷ δεσπότηι πλασαμένης ἀντιστρόφους αἰτίας, αἷς ἦν ἔνοχος αὐτή, μηδ' ἀπολογίας τυχὼν εἰς εἴρκτην ἀπάγεται· καὶ γενόμενος ἐν τῷ δεσμωτηρίῳ τοσοῦτον ἀρετῆς μέγεθος ἐπεδείξατο, ὥς καὶ τοὺς πονηροτάτους τῶν ἐκεῖ τεθηπέναι καὶ καταπλήττεσθαι καὶ παρηγόρημα τῶν συμφορῶν ὑπολαμβάνειν ἀλεξίκακον εὕρηκεναι

81 τὸν ἄνθρωπον. ὅσης δ' ἀπανθρωπίας οἱ εἴρκτο-
φύλακες γέμουσι καὶ ὠμότητος, οὐδεὶς ἀγνοεῖ· φύσει τε γὰρ ἀνηλεεῖς εἰσι καὶ μελέτῃ συγκροτοῦνται θηριούμενοι καθ' ἐκάστην ἡμέραν πρὸς ἀγριότητα, χρηστὸν μὲν οὐδὲν ἄλλ' οὐδ' ἐκ τύχης ὀρῶντες ἢ λέγοντες ἢ δρῶντες, ὅσα δὲ βιαιότατα καὶ χαλεπώ-

82 τατα. καθάπερ γὰρ οἱ τὰ σώματα εὐπαγεῖς, ὅταν τὴν ἐξ ἀθλητικῆς ἀσκήσιν προσλάβωσι, νευροῦνται δυνάμει ἀνантаγώνιστον καὶ εὐεξίαν ὑπερβάλλουσαν κτώμενοι, τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον, ὅταν ἀτίθασος καὶ ἀμείλικτος φύσις ἀσκήσιν εἰς τὸ ἀνήμερον προσλάβῃ, διχόθεν ἄβατος καὶ ἀπρόσιτος οἰκτω

ON JOSEPH, 79-82

When the statesman stands thus aloof from all 79 passions, from pleasure, from fear, from pain, from desire, with the spirit of a true man, the despot-people cannot away with him, but takes him and chastises as an enemy its friend and well-wisher. And thus it lays upon itself rather than on its victim the greatest of punishments, indiscipline, whereby it fails to learn the lesson of submission to government, that lesson most excellent and of life-long profit, which he who learns learns also how to govern.

XV. ^a Having sufficiently discussed these matters, 80 let us proceed to the next. The youth who had been brought into disgrace with his master by the false charges of a lovesick woman, charges which were the counterpart of those to which she was liable herself, was carried away to gaol without even any opportunity of making his defence. In the prison he displayed such a wealth of virtue that even the vilest of the inmates were astounded and over-awed, and considered that they had found in him a consolation for misfortunes and a defence against future ills. Everyone knows how full of inhumanity 81 and cruelty gaolers are ; pitiless by nature and case-hardened by practice, they are brutalized day by day towards savagery, because they never even by chance see or say or do any kindness, but only the extremes of violence and cruelty. Just as men 82 of well-built physique, if they add to this athletic training, grow sinewy and gain irresistible strength and unequalled robustness, so, whenever any uncivilized and unsoftened nature adds practice to its harshness, it becomes doubly impervious and in-

^a For §§ 80-124 see Gen. xxxix. 20-xli. 45.

- 83 γίνεται, χρηστῶ πάθει καὶ φιλανθρώπῳ. ὥσπερ γὰρ οἱ τῶν ἀγαθῶν ὀμιλεῖται βελτιοῦνται τοὺς τρόπους χαίροντες τοῖς συνοῦσιν, οὕτω καὶ οἱ τοῖς πονηροῖς συζῶντες ἀπομάττονται τι τῆς ἐκείνων κακίας· δεινὸν γὰρ τὸ ἔθος ἐξομοιωσαι καὶ βιάσασθαι πρὸς φύσιν. συνδιατρίβουσιν οὖν οἱ εἰρκοφύλακες λωποδύταις, κλέπταις, τοιχωρύχοις, ὕβρισταῖς, βιαίοις, φθορεῦσιν, ἀνδροφόνοις, μοιχοῖς, ἱεροσύλοις, ὧν ἀπ' ἐκάστου σπῶνταιί τι μοχθηρίας καὶ συνερανίζουσι καὶ ἐκ τῆς πολυμιγοῦς κράσεως ἐν ἀποτελοῦσι πάμφυρτον καὶ παμμίαρον κακόν.
- 85 [54] XVI. ἀλλ' ὅμως ὁ τοιοῦτος | ἡμερωθεὶς ὑπὸ τῆς τοῦ νεανίσκου καλοκαγαθίας οὐ μόνον ἀδείας καὶ ἐκεχειρίας μετέδωκεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀρχῆς τῆς ἐφ' ἅπασιν τοῖς δεσμώταις, ὡς λόγῳ μὲν ἔνεκα προσήματος ἐμμένειν εἰρκοφύλαξ, τὴν δ' ἐν ἔργοις τάξιν παρακεχωρηκέναι τῷ νεανίᾳ, δι' ἧς οὐκ ὀλίγα 86 συνέβαινε τοὺς ἀπαχθέντας ὠφελεῖσθαι. τὸ γοῦν χωρίον οὐδ' ὀνομάζειν ἔτ' ἡξίουν εἰρκτὴν, ἀλλὰ σωφρονιστήριον· ἀντὶ γὰρ βασάνων καὶ τιμωριῶν, ὧς νύκτωρ καὶ μεθ' ἡμέραν ὑπέμενον τυπτόμενοι καὶ καταδούμενοι καὶ τί κακὸν οὐ πάσχοντες, λόγοις καὶ δόγμασι τοῖς φιλοσοφίας ἐνουθετοῦντο καὶ ταῖς ἀνυσιμωτέραις παντὸς λόγου πράξεσι τοῦ 87 διδάσκοντος. τὸν γὰρ αὐτοῦ βίον σωφροσύνης καὶ πάσης ἀρετῆς οἷα γραφὴν ἀρχέτυπον εἰς δεδημιουργημένην ἐν μέσῳ θεὸς ἐπέστρεψε καὶ τοὺς πάνυ δοκοῦντας ἀνιάτως ἔχειν, οἷς μακραὶ νόσοι τῆς ψυχῆς ἐλώφησαν ἤδη κακίζουσιν ἐπὶ τοῖς πεπραγ-

ON JOSEPH, 82-87

accessible to the kindly and humane emotion of pity. For, even as those who consort with the good are 83 improved in character by the pleasure they take in their associates, so those who live with the bad take on some impression of their vice. Custom has a wonderful power of forcing everything into the likeness of nature. Gaolers then spend their days 84 with footpads, thieves, burglars, men of violence and outrage, who commit rape, murder, adultery and sacrilege, and from each of these they imbibe and accumulate something of their villainy, out of which miscellaneous amalgam they produce a single body of evil, a fusion of every sort of pollution. XVI. But nevertheless one of this kind, tamed by 85 the nobility of the youth, not only allowed him some security from violence and hardship, but gave him the command of all the prisoners; and thus while he remained nominally and for the sake of appearance the keeper of the gaol, he resigned to Joseph the actual office, which thus became the source of no small benefit to those who were in confinement. Thus even the place, as they felt, could 86 not rightly be called a prison, but a house of correction. For instead of the tortures and punishments which they used to endure night and day under the lash or in manacles or in every possible affliction, they were rebuked by his wise words and doctrines of philosophy, while the conduct of their teacher effected more than any words. For by setting before 87 them his life of temperance and every virtue, like an original picture of skilled workmanship, he converted even those who seemed to be quite incurable, who as the long-standing distempers of their soul abated reproached themselves for their past

μένοις αὐτοὺς καὶ μετανοοῦσι καὶ τοιαῦτ' ἐπιφθεγγομένοις· “ ποῦ ποτ' ἄρ' ἦν πάλα τοσοῦτον ἀγαθόν, οὐδὲ τὴν ἀρχὴν ἐσφάλημεν; ἰδοὺ γὰρ ἐπιλάμψαντος αὐτοῦ, ὥς πρὸς κάτοπτρον τὴν ἀκοσμίαν ὁρῶντες αὐτῶν αἰσχυρόμεθα.”

- 88 XVII. Τοῦτον τὸν τρόπον βελτιουμένων εἰσάγονται δύο εὐνοῦχοι τοῦ βασιλέως, ὁ μὲν ἀρχιοινοχόος, ὁ δὲ ἀρχισιτοποιός, ἐν οἷς ἐπετράπησαν κατηγορηθέντες καὶ καταγνωσθέντες. ὁ δὲ καὶ τούτων τὴν ἐπιμέλειαν ἦν καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἐποιεῖτο, εὐχόμενος ὅπως οἷός τε ἦ μηδὲν χείρους τῶν ἀν-
- 89 ἐπιλήπτων ἀπεργάσασθαι τοὺς ὑφ' ἑαυτῷ. χρόνου δ' οὐ μακροῦ διελθόντος, ἐπιὼν τοὺς δεσμώτας ὁρᾷ συννοίας καὶ κατηφείας γέμοντας μᾶλλον ἢ πρότερον τοὺς εὐνούχους καὶ στοχασάμενος ἐκ τῆς σφοδρᾶς λύπης προσπεπτωκέναι τι νεώτερον ἐπυν-
- 90 θάνετο τὴν αἰτίαν. ἀποκριναμένων δέ, ὥς ὀνείρους ἰδόντες ἄσης καὶ ἀδημονίας πεπλήρωνται, μηδενὸς ὄντος τοῦ διακρινούντος, “ θαρσεῖτε ” ἔφη “ καὶ διηγείσθε, γνώριμοι γὰρ ἔσονται βουλομένου θεοῦ· βούλεται δὲ τὰ συνεσκιασμένα τῶν πραγμάτων ἀνακαλύπτειν τοῖς ἀλήθειαν ποθοῦσιν.”
- 91 εἶτα πρότερος ὁ ἀρχιοινοχόος φησὶν· “ ἔδοξα μεγάλην ἄμπελον ἐκπεφυκέναι τριῶν πυθμένων ἐν εὐερνέστατον στέλεχος, τεθληλῦαν καὶ βοτρυηφοροῦσαν ὥς ἐν ἀκμῇ τῆς ὀπώρας, ὑποπερκαζούσης δὲ τῆς σταφυλῆς δρέψασθαι τῶν βοτρύων καὶ εἰς ἔκπωμα βασιλικὸν ἀποθλίβειν, ὅπερ ἱκανῶς ἔχον
- 92 ἀκράτου προσενεγκεῖν τῷ βασιλεῖ.” ὁ δὲ μικρὸν ἐπισχὼν “ εὐτυχίαν ” εἶπεν “ ἡ φαντασία σοι καταγγέλλει καὶ τῆς προτέρας ἀνάληψιν ἀρχῆς· αἱ γὰρ τρεῖς ρίζαι τῆς ἀμπέλου τρεῖς ἡμέρας ὑπο-

ON JOSEPH, 87-92

and repented with such utterances as these : " Ah, where in old days was this great blessing which at first we failed to find ? See, when it shines on us we behold as in a mirror our misbehaviour and are ashamed."

XVII. While they were thus growing in goodness, 88 two eunuchs of the king were brought in, the chief butler and the chief baker, both of them accused and condemned for dereliction of duties. Joseph paid the same attention to them as to the others, in his earnest wish to raise if possible those under him to the level of those who were innocent of offence. And 89 after no long time on visiting the prisoners he saw that they were full of depression and dejection, even more than before, and, guessing from their extreme sadness that something unusual had befallen them, he asked the reason. When they answered that they 90 had had dreams which filled them with sore trouble and distress because there was no one to interpret them, he said to them : " Cheer up, and tell me these dreams, for their meaning will be known, if God wills, and He does will to unveil what is hidden to those who desire the truth." Then the chief butler 91 spoke first and said : " I dreamt that I saw a great vine, an exceedingly fine stalk growing from three roots. It was thriving and covered with grapes as in the height of the vintage season, and from a cluster which was turning ripe black I plucked some grapes and squeezed them into the royal cup, and when it had plenty of liquor I brought it to the king." Joseph 92 paused for a little, and then said : " Your vision is an announcement to you of good fortune and the recovery of your former office. The three roots of

γράφουσι, μεθ' ὧς ὑπομνησθήσεται σου ὁ βασιλεὺς καὶ μεταπεμψάμενος ἐνθένδε παρέξει μὲν ἀμνηστίαν, ἐπιτρέψει δὲ τῆς αὐτῆς μεταποιεῖσθαι τάξεως, καὶ ὑπὲρ βεβαιώσεως τῆς ἀρχῆς οἰνοχοήσεις ἀναδούς ἕκπωμα τῷ δεσπότῃ.” καὶ ὁ μὲν ἐγεγῆθει ταύτ’

93 ἀκούσας.

XVIII. ὁ δ’ ἀρχισιτοποιὸς |

[55] ἀποδεξάμενος τὴν διάκρισιν, ὥς καὶ αὐτὸς εὖτυχές ὄναρ ἰδὼν—ἣν δ’ οὐ μετρίως παλίμφημον—, ἀπατηθεὶς ταῖς ἐτέρου χρησταῖς ἐλπίσι φησὶν· “ ἀλλὰ καὶ γὰρ κανηφορεῖν ἔδοξα καὶ τρία πλήρη κανᾶ πεμμάτων κομίζειν ἐπὶ τῆς κεφαλῆς, τὸ δ’ ἀνωτάτω πλήρες εἶναι παντοίων γενῶν, οἷς ἔθος ἐστὶ χρῆσθαι τὸν βασιλέα—ποικίλας δ’ εἶναι τὰς πρὸς δίαιταν βασιλικὴν σιτοπόνων περιεργίας—, ὅρνεις δὲ καθιπταμένους ἀρπάζειν ἀπὸ τῆς κεφαλῆς καὶ ἀπλήστως ἐμφορεῖσθαι, μέχρις οὗ πάντ’ ἀναλῶσαι καὶ μηδὲν

94 τῶν εὐτρέπισθέντων ὑπολιπέσθαι.” ὁ δὲ “ ἐβουλόμην μὲν ” εἶπε “ μὴ παραστήναί σοι τὴν φαντασίαν ἢ φανείσαν ἡσυχασθῆναι ἢ, εἰ καὶ διηγεῖτό τις, μακρὰν γοῦν, ἵνα μὴ κατακούσαιμι, τῶν ἐμῶν ὥτων γενέσθαι τὴν διήγησιν· ὁκνῶ τε γάρ, εἰ καὶ τις ἄλλος, εἶναι κακῶν ἄγγελος συναλγῶ τε τοῖς ἐν συμφοραῖς, ἔνεκα φιλανθρωπίας οὐχ ἥκιστα τῶν

95 ὑπομενόντων ὀδυνώμενος. ἀλλ’ ἐπειδὴ τοῖς ὀνείρων κριταῖς ἀληθεύειν ἀναγκαῖον θεῖα λόγια διερμηνεύουσι καὶ προφητεύουσι, λέξω μηδὲν ὑποστειλάμενος· ἀψευδεῖν γὰρ ἐπὶ μὲν πάντων ἄριστον, ἐπὶ

96 δὲ τῶν θείων ἀποφθεγμάτων καὶ ὀσιώτατον. τὰ τοία κανᾶ σύμβολον τριῶν ἡμερῶν ἐστίν· ἐπισχῶν

ON JOSEPH, 92-96

the vine denote three days, after which the king will remember you and send for you from this place. He will then grant you free pardon, and allow you to take your old post, and to confirm you in the office you will act as butler and offer the cup to your master." The chief butler rejoiced on hearing this.

XVIII. The chief baker, for his part, approved the 93 interpretation, and, thinking that he himself had had a lucky dream, though in reality it was very much the reverse, and misled by the comforting hopes of the other, proceeded as follows : " I too had a dream. I thought I was carrying three baskets—full of bake-meats—~~on my head~~, the uppermost full of all the different kinds which are regularly provided for the use of the king, for the delicacies produced by the caterers for the king's table are varied and elaborate. Then birds flew down and snatched them from my head, and gobbled them insatiably until all was consumed and nothing of the provisions was left." Joseph replied : " I could have wished that this 94 vision had never been seen by you, or, if seen, had remained unmentioned, or, if its story were told, that at least it should have been told far away from my ears to prevent my hearing it. For no one shrinks more than I from being a messenger of ill-tidings. I sympathize with those in misfortune, and kindly affection makes me feel as much pain as the actual sufferers. But the interpreters of dreams must needs 95 tell the truth, since they are prophets expounding divine oracles, and I will therefore speak without reserve ; for, while veracity is best in all matters, in dealing with God's messages, anything else is profanity.^a The three baskets are symbols of three days. 96

^a ὁσιον here in the sense of what is demanded by religion.

- ταύτας ὁ βασιλεὺς ἀνασκολοπισθῆναί σε καὶ τὴν κεφαλὴν ἀποτμηθῆναι κελεύσει καὶ καταπτάμενα ὄρνεα τῶν σῶν εὐωχηθήσεται σαρκῶν, ἄχρισ ἂν
 97 ὅλος ἐξαναλωθῆς.” καὶ ὁ μὲν ὥσπερ εἰκὸς συγ-
 χυθεὶς ἀνατέτραπτο, караδοκῶν τὴν ὀρισθεῖσαν
 προθεσμίαν καὶ τῇ διανοίᾳ τὰς ἀνίας προσδεχό-
 μενος. ὥς δ’ αἱ τρεῖς ἡμέραι διῆλθον, γενέθλιος
 ἐπέστη τοῦ βασιλέως, ἐν ᾗ πάντες οἱ κατὰ τὴν
 χώραν ἐπανηγύριζον, διαφερόντως δ’ οἱ περὶ τὰ
 98 βασιλεία. ἐστιωμένων οὖν τῶν ἐν τέλει καὶ τῆς
 θεραπείας εὐωχουμένης ὥσπερ ἐν δημοθιονίᾳ, τῶν
 κατὰ τὸ δεσμωτήριον εὐνούχων ὑπομνησθεὶς ἀχθῆ-
 ναι κελεύει καὶ θεασάμενος τὰς τῆς τῶν ὀνείρων
 διακρίσεως ἐπισφραγίζεται, προστάξας τὸν μὲν ἀνα-
 σκολοπισθῆναι τὴν κεφαλὴν ἀποτμηθέντα, τῷ δὲ
 τὴν ἀρχὴν ἣν διείπε πρότερον ἀπονεῖμαι.
- 99 XIX. Καταλλαγεὶς δὲ ὁ ἀρχαιονοχόος ἐκλαν-
 θάνεται τοῦ τὰς καταλλαγὰς προειπόντος καὶ
 ἕκαστα τῶν συμπεσόντων ἀτυχημάτων ἐπικουφί-
 σαντος, ἴσως μὲν ἐπειδὴ πᾶς ἀχάριστος ἀμνήμων
 ἐστὶν εὐεργετῶν, ἴσως δὲ καὶ κατὰ πρόνοιαν θεοῦ
 βουλευθέντος τὰς εὐπραγίας τῷ νεανίᾳ μὴ δι’ ἀν-
 100θρώπου γενέσθαι μᾶλλον ἢ δι’ ἑαυτοῦ. μετὰ γὰρ
 διετῇ χρόνον τῷ βασιλεῖ τὰ μέλλοντα τῇ χώρᾳ
 συμβαίνειν ἀγαθὰ καὶ κακὰ διτταῖς φαντασίαις δι’
 ὀνείρου θεσπίζεται ταῦτόν ὑποσημαινούσαις ἕνεκα
 101 βεβαιοτέρας πίστεως. ἔδοξε γὰρ ἐπτά βόας ἀνέρ-
 πειν ἐκ τοῦ ποταμοῦ, πίονας καὶ σφόδρα εὐσάρκους
 καὶ καλὰς ὀφθῆναι, καὶ παρὰ ταῖς ὄχθαις νέμεσθαι.
 [56] μεθ’ ὧς ἑτέρας ἀριθμὸν ἴσας, | ἀσάρκους τρόπον
 τινὰ καὶ κατεσκελετευμένας καὶ εἰδεχθεστάτας,
 ἀνελθεῖν καὶ συννέμεσθαι ταῖς προτέραις· εἰτ’
 188

When these have passed, the king will order you to be impaled and beheaded, and the birds will feast upon your flesh until you are entirely devoured." The baker, as might be expected, was confounded 97 and upset, having the appointed day before his eyes and mentally anticipating its pangs. But, when the three days had passed, came the king's birthday, when all the inhabitants of the country held festive gatherings, and particularly those of the palace. So, 98 while the dignitaries were banqueting, and the servants were regaling themselves as at a public feast, the king remembered the eunuchs in the prison and bade them be brought to him. And, when he saw them, he ratified what had been forecast in the interpretation of the dreams, by ordering one to be beheaded and impaled and the other to be restored to his former office.

XIX. But, when he was reconciled to his master, 99 the chief butler forgot him who had predicted the reconciliation and alleviated all the misfortunes which befell him; perhaps because the ungrateful are always forgetful of their benefactors, perhaps also in the providence of God Who willed that the happy events which befell the youth should be due to God rather than to man. For after two years the future 100 of his country for both good and ill was revealed to the king when dreaming, in two visions with the same significance, repeated in order to carry stronger conviction. He dreamt that seven oxen came up from 101 the river, fat and well covered with flesh and fair to look upon, and browsed beside the banks. After them seven others, mere skeletons, and fleshless, so to speak, and loathsome in appearance, came up and browsed with the former seven. Then suddenly

- ἑξαπιναίως ὑπὸ τῶν χειρόνων καταβρωθῆναι τὰς ἀμείνους καὶ μηδὲν ἀλλὰ μηδὲ τὸ βραχύτατον ταῖς ἐμφορηθείσαις πρὸς ὄγκον ἐπιδοῦναι τὰς γαστέρας, 102 ἀλλ' ἢ μᾶλλον ἢ οὐχ ἦττον ἐστάλθαι. περιαναστὰς δὲ καὶ κοιμηθεὶς πάλιν ἑτέρα πληχθῆναι φαντασία· νομίσαι γὰρ ἑπτὰ πυροῦ στάχυν ἐκπεφυκότας ἑνὸς πυθμένος, ἰσαιτάτους τοῖς μεγέθεσιν, αὐξομένους καὶ τεθηλότας αἵρεσθαι πρὸς ὕψος μάλ' εὐρώστους· εἶθ' ἑτέρους ἑπτὰ λεπτοὺς καὶ ἀσθενεῖς ἀναπεφυκέναι πλησίον, ὅφ' ὧν ἐπιδραμόντων καταποθῆναι 103 τὸν εὐσταχυν πυθμένα. ταύτην ἰδὼν τὴν ὄψιν, τὸ λειπόμενον τῆς νυκτὸς ἄνπνος διατελέσας—ἡγείρον γὰρ αἱ φροντίδες κεντοῦσαι καὶ τιτρώσκουσαι—, μεταπέμπεται τοὺς σοφιστὰς ἅμα τῇ ἔω καὶ τὴν 104 φαντασίαν διηγεῖται. μηδενὸς δὲ στοχασμοῖς εἰκόσι τάληθές ἰχνηλατῆσαι δυναμένου, παρελθὼν ὁ ἀρχι-οινοχόος φησὶν· “ὦ δέσποτα, τὸν ἄνδρα ὃν ζητεῖς ἐλπίς ἐστὶν εὐρήσειν· ἀμαρτόντας ἐμὲ καὶ τὸν ἀρχι-σιτοποιὸν ἐκέλευσας εἰς τὸ δεσμωτήριον ἀπαχθῆναι, ἐν ᾧ τοῦ ἀρχιμαγείρου θεραπείων ἦν Ἑβραῖος, ᾧτινι διηγησάμεθα ἐγὼ τε καὶ κεῖνος ὀνείρατα τὰ φανέντα ἡμῖν· ὁ δ' οὕτως εὐθυβόλως καὶ εὐσκόπως διέκρινεν, ὥς ὅσα προεῖπεν ἐκατέρω συμβῆναι, τῷ μὲν ἦν ὑπέμεινε τιμωρίαν, ἐμοὶ δὲ τὸ σοῦ τυχεῖν 105 ἴλεω καὶ εὐμενοῦς.” XX. ὁ μὲν οὖν βασιλεὺς ἀκούσας προστάττει συντείναντας ἀνακαλεῖν τὸν νεανίαν. οἱ δ' ἀποκείραντες—βαθεῖαι γὰρ ἦσαν αὐτῷ χαῖται καθειργμένῳ κεφαλῆς καὶ γενείου—καὶ ἀντὶ ρυπώσεως λαμπρὰν ἐσθῆτα ἀντιδόντες καὶ τᾶλλα φαιδρύναντες εἰσάγουσιν αὐτὸν 106 πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα· ὃς ἐκ τῆς ὀψεως τεκμηράμενος

ON JOSEPH, 101-106

the better seven were devoured by the worse, and yet these after swallowing the others shewed not the smallest increase in bulk of belly but were even more, or at least not less, shrunken. The king awoke and then slept again, and was beset by another vision. He thought that seven ears of wheat had sprung out of a single stalk. They were very equal in size and grew and throve and rose to a considerable height, fine and strong. Then seven others sprang up near them, thin and feeble, which overran and swallowed up the stalk which bore the good ears. After seeing this the king remained sleepless for the rest of the night, kept awake by the thoughts which pricked and stung him. At dawn he sent for his wise men and told them the vision, and when no one could make any likely conjecture which could give a clue to the truth, the chief butler came forward and said: "Master, we may hope to find the man whom you seek. When I and the chief baker had offended, we were by your orders cast into prison where there was a Hebrew servant of the chief cook, to whom we two told the dreams which we had seen, and he interpreted them so exactly and skilfully that all that he had predicted happened to each of us, to him the penalty which he suffered, to me my admission to your clemency and favour."

XX. The king on hearing this bade them hasten and summon the youth. They obeyed, but first they had him shaven and shorn, for in his confinement the hair had grown long and thick on his head and chin. Then they put on him a bright and clean raiment instead of his filthy prison clothes, and smartened him in other ways and thus brought him to the king. The king, judging him by his appearance to be a man of free and noble birth, for the

ἄνδρα ἐλεύθερον καὶ εὐγενῆ—χαρακτήηρες γὰρ ἐπιφαίνονταί τινες τῷ σώματι τῶν ὁρωμένων οὐχ ὁρατοὶ πᾶσιν, ἀλλ' οἷς τὸ τῆς διανοίας ὄμμα ὀξύδορκεῖ—“μαντεύεται” εἶπεν “ἡ ψυχὴ μου περὶ τοῦ μὴ εἰς ἅπαν ἀσαφεία τοὺς ὀνείρους ἐπισκιάσθῃσθαι· δεῖγμα γὰρ σοφίας ὁ νεανίας οὗτος ὑποφαίνει, διακαλύψει τὴν ἀλήθειαν, οἷα φωτὶ σκότος ἐπιστήμη τὴν ἀμαθίαν τῶν παρ' ἡμῖν σοφιστῶν ἀποσκεδάσει.” καὶ τοὺς ὀνείρους δι-

107 ἡγεῖτο. ὁ δὲ τὰξίωμα τοῦ λέγοντος οὐδὲν καταπλαγεῖς ὥσπερ ὑπηκόω βασιλεὺς, ἀλλ' οὐχ ὑπήκοος βασιλεῖ, παρρησίᾳ σὺν αἰδοῖ χρώμενος διελέγετο καὶ φησιν· “ὅσα μέλλει ποιεῖν ὁ θεὸς ἐν τῇ χώρᾳ, προμεμήνυκέ σοι. τὰς μέντοι διττὰς φαντασίας μὴ ὑπολάβῃς εἶναι διττοὺς ὀνείρους· εἰς ἑστὶ, τὴν ἀναδίπλωσιν ἔχων οὐ περιττήν, ἀλλὰ πρὸς
108 ἔλεγχον βεβαιότερας πίστεως. αἱ τε γὰρ πίονες ἑπτὰ βόες καὶ οἱ εὐβλαστοὶ καὶ εὐθαλεῖς ἑπτὰ |

[57] στάχυες ἐνιαυτοὺς ἑπτὰ δηλοῦσιν εὐθηνίας καὶ εὐετηρίας καὶ ἑπτὰ ἑτέρους λιμοῦ αἱ ἐπανιοῦσαι ἑπτὰ βόες λεπταὶ καὶ εἰδεχθεῖς καὶ οἱ παρεφθαρ-

109 μένοι καὶ μεμυκότες ἑπτὰ στάχυες. ἥξει μὲν οὖν ἑπταετία προτέρα πολλὴν καὶ ἄφθονον ἔχουσα εὐκαρπίαν, πλημμύραις μὲν ἀνὰ πᾶν ἔτος τοῦ ποταμοῦ λιμνάζοντος τὰς ἀρούρας, τῶν δὲ πεδίων ὥς οὐπω πρότερον εὐτοκία χρωμένων· ἥξει δὲ μετὰ ταῦτα ἑπταετία πάλιν ἐναντία χαλεπὴν ἔνδειαν καὶ σπάνιν τῶν ἀναγκαίων ἐπιφέρουσα, μήτ' ἀναχεομένου τοῦ ποταμοῦ μήτε τῆς γῆς λιπαινομένης, ὥς τῆς προτέρας εὐθηνίας ἐκλαθῆσθαι καὶ εἴ τι λεί-
110 ψανον παλαιᾶς εὐετηρίας ἦν ἀναλωθῆναι. τὰ μὲν οὖν ἐκ τῆς διακρίσεως τοιαῦτ' ἐστίν. ὑπηχεῖ δέ

ON JOSEPH, 106-110

persons of those whom we see exhibit characteristics which are not visible to all, but only to those in whom the eye of the understanding is quick to discern, said : " My soul has a prophetic inkling that my dreams will not for ever remain veiled in obscurity, for in this youth there are signs and indications of wisdom. He will reveal the truth, and as light disperses darkness his knowledge will disperse the ignorance of our wizards." So he told him the dreams.

Joseph, nothing awed by the high dignity of the 107 speaker, spoke to him with frankness combined with modesty, rather as a king to a subject than as a subject to the king. " God has given you," he said, " warning of all that He is about to do in the land. But do not suppose that the two visions are two dreams. There is one dream repeated, though the repeating is not superfluous, but given to convince you more firmly of its trustworthiness. For both the 108 seven fat oxen and the seven well-grown and flourishing ears indicate seven years of abundance and prosperity, while the seven oxen that came up after, thin and loathly, and the seven blasted and shrunken ears mean seven other years of famine. The first period 109 of seven years, then, will come bringing a large and plentiful wealth of crops, while the river each year, with its rising waters, turns the fields into pools and the plains have a fertility never known before. But after this will come in its turn another period of seven years of the opposite kind, bringing severe dearth and lack of the means of living, with the river ceasing to overflow and the fields to get their fatness, so that men will forget the former prosperity and every trace of the old abundance will be blotted out. Such are 110 the facts which appear from the interpretation, but

- μοι καὶ ἐκλαλεῖ τὸ θεῖον ὑποβάλλον τὰ ὡς ἐν νόσω σωτήρια· νόσος δὲ πόλεων καὶ χωρίων ἢ βαρυτάτη λιμός, ἢ κατασκευαστέον ἀσθένειαν, ἵνα μὴ τε-
- 111 λείως ῥωσθεῖσα τοὺς οἰκήτορας ἐκφάγη. πῶς οὖν ἀσθενήσῃ; τοῦ καρποῦ τῶν ἑπτὰ ἐτῶν, ἐν οἷς ἡ εὐφορία, τὸ πλεονάζον μετὰ τὰς αὐτάρκεις τοῖς πλήθεσι τροφὰς—ἔσται δ' ἴσως μέρος πέμπτον—θησαυριστέον ἐν πόλει καὶ κώμαις, μὴ μετακομίζοντας τὰ θέρη μακρόθεν, ἀλλ' ἐξ ὧν ἂν ἡ χωρίων, ἐν ἐκείνοις φυλάττοντας πρὸς τὴν τῶν οἰκούν-
- 112 των παρηγορίαν· συγκομίζειν δὲ τὸν καρπὸν αὐτοῖς δράγμασι μῆτε ἀλοῶντας μῆτε συνόλως καθαίροντας, τεττάρων ἕνεκα· ἐνὸς μὲν τοῦ σκέπη χρώμενον πρὸς πλείω χρόνον διαμένειν ἀδιάφθορον· ἑτέρου δὲ τοῦ καθ' ἕκαστον ἐνιαυτὸν γίνεσθαι τῆς εὐθηνίας ὑπόμνησιν, ἀλοῶντων καὶ λικμώντων· ἡ γὰρ μίμησις τῶν πρὸς ἀλήθειαν ἀγαθῶν δευτέραν ἔμελ-
- 113 λεν ἡδονὴν ἀπεργάζεσθαι· τρίτου δὲ τοῦ μηδ' εἰς ἀριθμὸν ἐλθεῖν, ἐν στάχυσι καὶ δράγμασιν ἀδήλου καὶ ἀπεριγράφου τοῦ καρποῦ ὑπάρχοντος, ἵνα μὴ προαναπέσωσιν αἱ διάνοιαι τῶν ἐγχωρίων ἐν ταῖς ἀναλώσεσι τοῦ συλλογισθέντος, ἀλλ' εὐθυμία χρώμενοι τῇ σιτιῶν ἀμείνوني τροφῇ—τρέφει γὰρ ἐν τοῖς μάλιστα ἐλπίς—ἐπικουφίζωσι τὴν ἐκ τῆς ἐνδείας βαρεῖαν νόσον· τετάρτου δὲ τοῦ καὶ τοῖς θρέμ-

^a For this regular use of *ὑπηχεῖν* in Philo for a voice heard inwardly see note on *De Som.* i. 164.

^b Or "country districts"; cf. the common use of the word for farms or estates.

^c There is no authority for this statement in Genesis, or the arguments adduced for it. But Philo may well have heard or read of precedents.

^d i.e. when we thresh the annual allowance from the store

ON JOSEPH, 110-113

I also hear the promptings^a of the divine voice, devising safeguards for the disease, as we may call it ; and famine in cities and localities^b is the severest of diseases, and we must provide means of weakening it lest it grow to full strength and devour the inhabitants. How, then, shall it be weakened ? What 111 is left over from the harvest of the seven years of abundance after the necessary allowance for feeding the multitudes, which perhaps will be a fifth, should be stored in the city and villages, without transporting the crops to a distance, but keeping them in the places where they have been produced, to encourage the inhabitants. And the crops should be brought 112 in just as they are in the sheaves, without threshing them or purging them in any way,^c for four reasons. First, that being thus under shelter they will last longer without spoiling ; secondly, that every year when they are threshed and winnowed they will serve as a reminder of the prosperous time, for we always find that imitation^d of our real blessings has brought a repetition of the pleasure ; thirdly, the grain cannot 113 even be reckoned when it is contained in ears and sheaves, and therefore is an uncertain and incalculable quantity. This will prevent the minds of the inhabitants from being prematurely depressed, when they see that the grain, which is a known quantity,^e is being gradually consumed. On the contrary, they will have courage, nourished on a food which is better than corn, since hope is the best of nourishments, and take more lightly the heavy scourge of want. Fourthly, to provide a store of fodder for the cattle we copy what we do in the ordinary harvest and therefore are reminded of it. But Cohn in his translation adopts Mangey's ὑπόμνησις.

^e Lit. "which has been calculated."

- μασι χιλὸν τεταμιεύσθαι, τῶν ἀχύρων καὶ ἀθέρων
 114 ἐκ τῆς τοῦ καρποῦ καθάρσεως διακρινομένων. ἐπι-
 μελητὴν δὲ τούτων χειροτονητέον ἄνδρα φρονιμώ-
 τατον καὶ συνετώτατον καὶ ἐν πᾶσι δόκιμον, ὃς
 γένοιτ' ἂν ἱκανὸς ἀμισῶς καὶ ἀνεπάφως εὐτρεπῇ
 τὰ λεχθέντα ποιεῖν μηδεμίαν αἰσθησιν τοῖς πλή-
 θεσιν ἐνδιδούς περὶ τοῦ γενησομένου λιμοῦ· χαλεπὸν
 γὰρ τὸ προκάμνοντας ταῖς ψυχαῖς ἀναπνεεῖν δυσ-
 115 ἐλπιστία. εἰ δέ τις ἐπιζητῇ τὴν αἰτίαν, φήσει
 δεῖν, καθάπερ ἐν εἰρήνῃ προνοεῖν τῶν ἐν τῷ
 [58] πολέμῳ παρασκευῶν, καὶ ἐν | εὐπορίαις τῶν κατ'
 ἔνδειαν· ἀδήλους δὲ εἶναι πολέμους καὶ λιμούς
 καὶ συνόλως τοὺς καιροὺς τῶν ἀβουλήτων, εἰς
 οὓς ἀναγκαῖον εἶναι παρεσκευάσθαι, ἀλλὰ μὴ
 γενομένων τότε τὴν θεραπείαν ζητεῖν, ὅτ' οὐδὲν
 ὄφελος.”
- 116 XXI. Ἀκούσας δὲ ὁ βασιλεὺς καὶ τὴν τῶν
 ὀνείρων διάκρισιν εὐθυβόλως καὶ εὐσκόπως στοχα-
 ζομένην τῆς ἀληθείας καὶ τὴν συμβουλίαν ὅσα τῷ
 δοκεῖν ὠφελιμωτάτην κατὰ τὴν τοῦ μέλλοντος
 ἀδήλου πρόνοιαν, τοὺς συνόντας ἐγγυτέρω προσ-
 ελθεῖν κελεύσας, ἵνα μὴ κατακούοι, “ ἄρ’ ” εἶπεν,
 “ ἄνδρες, εὐρήσομεν τοιοῦτον ἄνθρωπον, ὃς ἔχει
 117 πνεῦμα θεῖον ἐν ἑαυτῷ; ” συνεπαυνούντων δὲ καὶ
 συνευφημούντων, ἀπιδὼν εἰς τὸν παρεστῶτα “ ἐγ-
 γὺς ” εἶπεν “ ἐστὶν ὃν παραινεῖς ἀναζητεῖν, οὐ
 μακρὰν ἀφέστηκεν ὁ φρόνιμος καὶ συνετός, ὃν ἔδει
 κατὰ τὰς σὰς ὑφηγήσεις σκοπεῖν, αὐτὸς ὢν τυγ-
 χάνεις· οὐ γὰρ ἄνευ θεοῦ ταῦτ' ἀποφθέγγεσθαι μοι
 δοκεῖς. ἴθι δὴ καὶ παραλάμβανε τὴν τ' ἐπιμέλειαν
 τῆς ἐμῆς οἰκίας καὶ τὴν Αἰγύπτου πάσης ἐπι-
 118 τροπήν. εὐχέρεيان δ' οὐδεῖς μου καταγνώσεται
 196

ON JOSEPH, 113-118

when the bran and chaff are separated through the purging of the grain. And to take charge of all this 114 you must appoint a man of the utmost prudence and good sense and well-approved all round, one who will be competent, without exciting hatred or open resistance, to make the preparations here described without giving the multitude any idea of the coming famine. For it would be a grievous thing if they should faint in anticipation and lose heart through lack of hope. And, if anyone asks the reason for 115 these measures, he should be told that, just as in peace we must exercise forethought in preparing for war, so, too, in years of plenty must we provide against dearth. Wars and famines and times of adversity in general are uncertain, and we must stand ready to meet them, not wait till they have come and look for the remedy when nothing is available."

XXI. The king having heard both his interpreta- 116 tion of the dreams, so exactly and skilfully divining the truth, and his advice to all appearance most profitable in its foresight for the uncertainties of the future, bade his companions come closer to him so that Joseph might not hear, and said: "Sirs, shall we find another man such as this, who has in him the spirit of God?" When they with one accord praised 117 and applauded his words, he looked at Joseph who was standing by, and said: "He whom you bid us seek is near at hand, the man of prudence and sense is not far distant. He for whom according to your advice we should look is yourself, for I think that God is with you in the words you speak. Come, then, and take the charge of my house, and the superintendence of all Egypt. And no one will 118 condemn me for hastiness, for I am not actuated by

- μὴ φιλαυτία χρωμένου, πάθει δυσιάτῳ· αἱ τε γὰρ μεγάλαι τῶν φύσεων χρόνοις οὐ δοκιμάζονται μακροῖς, ὅγκῳ δυνάμεως βιαζόμεναι φθάνειν εἰς ἀποδοχὴν αὐτῶν ἀνυπέρθετον, τά τε πράγματα μέλλουσιν καὶ διατριβὴν οὐκ ἀνέχεται, τῶν καιρῶν
- 119 ἐπειγόντων εἰς τὰς ἀναγκαίας παρασκευάς.” εἰτ’ αὐτὸν καθίστησι τῆς βασιλείας διάδοχον, μᾶλλον δ’, εἰ χρὴ τάληθές εἰπεῖν, βασιλέα, τὸ μὲν ὄνομα τῆς ἀρχῆς ὑπολειπόμενος αὐτῷ, τῆς δ’ ἐν ἔργοις ἡγεμονίας ἐκστάς ἐκείνῳ καὶ τᾶλλα πράττων ὅσα
- 120 ἐπὶ τιμῇ τοῦ νεανίου. δίδωσιν οὖν αὐτῷ σφραγίδα βασιλικὴν καὶ ἱερὰν ἐσθήτα καὶ κύκλον χρυσοῦν περιδέραιον καὶ ἐπὶ δευτερεῖον τῶν ἀρμάτων ἀναβιβάσας κελεύει περιελθεῖν τὴν πόλιν, προσερχομένου κήρυκος καὶ δηλοῦντος τοῖς ἀγνοοῦσι τὴν χειρο-
- 121 τονίαν. μετονομάζει δ’ αὐτὸν ἀπὸ τῆς ὀνειροκριτικῆς ἐγχωρίῳ γλώττῃ προσαγορεύσας καὶ ἐγγυᾶ πρὸς γάμον αὐτῷ τὴν ἐπιφανεστάτην τῶν κατ’ Αἴγυπτον ἱερέως Ἡλίου θυγατέρα. ταῦτ’ ἐγένετο, περὶ ἔτη γεγονότος ἤδη τριάκοντα.
- 122 τοιαῦτα τῶν εὐσεβῶν τὰ τέλη· καὶ γὰρ κλιθῶσιν, οὐκ εἰς ἅπαν πίπτουσιν, ἀλλὰ διαναστάντες ὀρθοῦνται παγίως καὶ βεβαίως, ὥς μηκέθ’ ὑποσκελι-
- 123 σθῆναι. τίς γὰρ ἂν προσεδόκησε μιᾷ ἡμέρᾳ τὸν αὐτὸν ἀντὶ μὲν δούλου δεσπότην, ἀντὶ δὲ δεσμώτου
- [59] πάντων ἀξιονικότατον, | καὶ τὸν ὑποδιάκονον εἰρκτοφύλακος ὑπαρχον βασιλέως ἔσσεσθαι καὶ ἀντὶ τῆς εἰρκτῆς τὰ βασιλεία οἰκήσειν, τὰ πρῶτα τῶν ἐπὶ τιμαῖς φερόμενον ἀντὶ τῶν εἰς ἀτιμίαν ἐσχάτων;
- 124 ἀλλ’ ὅμως καὶ γέγονε ταῦτα καὶ γενήσεται πολ-
λάκις, ὅταν δοκῇ τῷ θεῷ· μόνον ἐντυφέσθω τι

ON JOSEPH, 118-124

self-confidence, that passion so hard to cure. Great natures take no long time to prove themselves, but by the massiveness of their power force others to give them a rapid and immediate acceptance ; and the facts of the case do not admit of delay and procrastination, since the needs of the time urge us on to make the necessary preparations." He then ap- 119 pointed him viceroy of the kingdom, or rather, if the truth be said, king, reserving indeed to himself the name of the office, but resigning to him the actual sovereignty and doing everything else that might give the young man honour. So, then, he bestowed 120 on him the royal seal and put upon him a sacred robe and a golden necklace, and setting him on his second chariot bade him go the round of the city with a crier walking in front who proclaimed the appointment to those who did not know of it. He 121 also gave him another name in the language of the country, based on his art of dream interpretation, and betrothed him to the most distinguished of the ladies of Egypt, the daughter of the priest of the Sun. These events happened when he was about thirty years old. Such is the latter end 122 of the pious ; though they be bent they do not altogether fall, but arise and stand upright firm and strong, never to be brought low any more. For 123 who would have expected that in a single day the same man would turn from slave to master, from a prisoner to the highest of dignitaries, that the gaoler's underling would be the king's vice-regent and lodge in the palace instead of the gaol, thus winning the foremost place of honour instead of the lowest of dishonour ? But nevertheless these things have 124 happened and will often happen when God so wills.

καλοκάγαθίας ἐμπύρευμα ταῖς ψυχαῖς ὅπερ ἀναγκαῖόν ποτε ῥιπιζόμενον ἐκλάμψαι.

- 125 XXII. Ἐπεὶ δὲ πρόκειται μετὰ τὴν ῥητὴν ἀπόδοσιν καὶ τὴν τροπικωτέραν ἐξετάζειν, λεκτέον ἂν χρὴ καὶ περὶ αὐτῆς. ἴσως μὲν οὖν γελάσονται τινες τῶν εἰκαιτέρων ἀκούσαντες· ἐγὼ δ' ἐρῶ μηδὲν ὑποστειλάμενος, ὅτι ὁ πολιτικός πάντως ὄνειροκριτικός ἐστίν, οὐχὶ τῶν βωμολόχων οὐδὲ τῶν ἐναδολεσχούντων καὶ ἐνσοφιστευόντων ἐπὶ μισθῷ καὶ τὴν τῶν καθ' ὕπνον φαντασιῶν διάκρισιν ἀργυρισμοῦ πρόβλημα πεποιημένων, ἀλλὰ τὸν κοινὸν καὶ πάνδημον καὶ μέγαν ὄνειρον οὐ κοιμωμένων μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐγρηγορότων εἰωθὼς ἀκρι-
- 126 βοῦν. ὁ δὲ ὄνειρος οὗτος, ὡς ἀψευδέστατα φάναι, ὁ τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἐστὶ βίος· ὡς γὰρ ἐν ταῖς καθ' ὕπνον φαντασίαις βλέποντες οὐ βλέπομεν καὶ ἀκούοντες οὐκ ἀκούομεν καὶ γευόμενοι ἢ ἀπτόμενοι οὔτε γευόμεθα οὔτε ἀπτόμεθα λέγοντές τε οὐ λέγομεν καὶ περιπατοῦντες οὐ περιπατοῦμεν καὶ ταῖς ἄλλαις κινήσεσι καὶ σχέσεσι χρῆσθαι δοκοῦντες οὐδεμιᾷ τὸ παράπαν χρώμεθα—κεναὶ δ' εἰσὶ τῆς διανοίας πρὸς οὐδὲν ὑποκείμενον ἀληθείᾳ μόνον ἀναζωγραφοῦσης καὶ ἀνειδωλοποιούσης τὰ μὴ ὄντα ὡς ὄντα,—οὕτω καὶ τῶν παρ' ἡμῖν ἐγρηγορότων αἱ φαντασίαι τοῖς ἐνυπνίοις εἰκόασιν· ἤλθον, ἀπῆλθον, ἐφάνησαν, ἀπεπήδησαν, πρὶν καταληφθῆναι βε-
- 127 βαίως ἀπέπτυσαν. ἐρευνησάτω δ' ἕκαστος αὐτὸν καὶ τὸν ἑλεγχον οἰκοθεν ἄνευ τῶν παρ' ἐμοῦ πίστεων εἴσεται, καὶ μάλιστ' εἴ τις πρεσβύτερος ἤδη γεγωνὼς τυγχάνοι· οὗτος ἦν ὁ ποτὲ βρέφος καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα παῖς, εἴτ' ἔφηβος, εἴτα μειράκιον, καὶ
- 128 νεανίας αὖθις, εἴτ' ἀνὴρ, καὶ γέρων ὕστατον. ἀλλὰ

ON JOSEPH, 124-128

Only there must be some live coal of nobility smouldering in the soul, which is sure; if it be fanned into flame, to blaze into light.

XXII. But since it is our purpose to examine the 125 more allegorical meaning after the literal, I must say what is needful on that also. Perhaps some of the more thoughtless will laugh at my words; but I will say quite plainly that the statesman is most certainly an interpreter of dreams, not one of the parasites, nor one of the praters who shew off their cleverness for hire and use their art of interpreting the visions given in sleep as a pretext for making money; but one who is accustomed to judge with exactness that great general universal dream which is dreamt not only by the sleeping but also by the waking.^a This dream in veriest truth is human life: 126 for, just as in the visions of sleep, seeing we see not, hearing we hear not, tasting and touching we neither taste nor touch, speaking we speak not, walking we walk not, and the other motions which we make or postures we adopt we do not make or adopt at all, but they are empty creations of the mind which without any basis of reality produces pictures and images of things which are not, as though they were, so, too, the visions and imaginations of our waking hours resemble dreams. They come; they go; they appear; they speed away; they fly off before we can securely grasp them; let every man search into his own heart and 127 he will test the truth of this at first hand, with no need of proof from me, especially if he is now advanced in years. This is he who was once a babe, after this a boy, then a lad, then a stripling, then a young man, then a grown man and last an old man. But where 128

^a For some discussion of §§ 125-147 see App. pp. 601-602.

- ποῦ πάντ' ἐκεῖνα; οὐκ ἐν μὲν παιδὶ τὸ βρέφος
 ὑπεξῆλθεν, ὁ δὲ παῖς ἐν παρήβῳ, ὁ δ' ἔφηβος ἐν
 μειρακίῳ, τὸ δὲ μειράκιον ἐν νεανίᾳ, ἐν ἀνδρὶ δ' ὁ
 νεανίας, ἀνὴρ δ' ἐν γέροντι, γῆρα δ' ἔπεται τε-
 129 λευτή; τάχα μέντοι τάχα καὶ τῶν ἡλικιῶν ἐκάστη
 παραχωροῦσα τοῦ κράτους τῇ μεθ' ἑαυτὴν προαπο-
 θνήσκει, τῆς φύσεως ἡμᾶς ἀναδιδασκούσης ἡσυχῇ
 μὴ δεδιέναι τὸν ἐπὶ πᾶσι θάνατον, ἐπειδὴ τοὺς προ-
 τέρους εὐμαρῶς ἡνέγκαμεν, τὸν βρέφος, τὸν
 παιδός, τὸν ἐφήβου, τὸν μειρακίου, τὸν νεανίου, τὸν
 ἀνδρός, ὧν οὐδεὶς ἔτ' ἐστὶ γῆρως ἐπιστάντος.
 130 XXIII. τὰ δ' ἄλλα ὅσα περὶ τὸ σῶμα
 οὐκ ἐνύπνια; οὐ κάλλος μὲν ἐφήμερον, πρὶν ἀν-
 [60] θῆσαι μαραινόμενον; ὑγεία δὲ | ἀβέβαιον διὰ τὰς
 ἐφέδρους ἀσθενείας; ἰσχὺς δ' εὐάλωτον νόσοις ἐκ
 μυρίων προφάσεων; ἢ τ' ἀκρίβεια τῶν αἰσθήσεων
 οὐ παγία ρεύματος ἐνστάσει βραχέος ἀνατρέπεται;
 131 τὴν δὲ τῶν ἐκτὸς ἀσάφειαν τίς οὐκ
 οἶδε; μὲν ἡμέρα πλοῦτοι μεγάλοι πολλακίς ἀπερ-
 ρύησαν· τὰ πρωτεῖα τῶν ἐν ταῖς ἀνωτάτω τιμαῖς
 ἐνεγκάμενοι μυρίοι πρὸς ἡμελημένων καὶ ἀφανῶν
 ἀδοξίαν μετέβαλον· ἀρχαὶ βασιλέων αἱ μέγισται
 132 καθηρέθησαν βραχεῖα καιροῦ ῥοπῇ. ἐγγυᾶταί μου
 τὸν λόγον Διονύσιος ὁ ἐν Κορίνθῳ, ὃς Σικελίας
 μὲν τύραννος ἦν, ἐκπεσὼν δὲ τῆς ἡγεμονίας εἰς
 Κόρινθον καταφεύγει καὶ γραμματιστῆς ὁ τοσοῦτος
 133 ἡγεμὼν γίνεται. συνεγγυᾶται καὶ Κροῖσος ὁ
 Λυδίας βασιλεὺς, πλουσιώτατος βασιλέων, ὃς ἐλ-
 πίσας τὴν Περσῶν καθελεῖν ἀρχὴν οὐ μόνον τὴν

^a Cf. *De Cher.* 114.

^b The γραμματιστής is lower than the γραμματικός, cf. the

ON JOSEPH, 128-133

are all these gone? Has not the baby vanished in the boy, the boy in the lad, the lad in the stripling, the stripling in the youth, the youth in the man, the man in the old man, while on old age follows death? ^a Perhaps, indeed, each of the stages, as it resigns its 129 rule to its successor, dies an anticipatory death, nature thus silently teaching us not to fear the death which ends all, since we have borne so easily the earlier deaths:—that of the babe, of the boy, of the lad, of the stripling, of the man, who are all no more when old age has come. XXIII. And the other 130

things of the body are they not dreams? Is not beauty but for a day, withering before it flowers; health insecure because of the infirmities that lie ready to attack it; strength an easy victim of the diseases which arise from numberless causes; accuracy of senses unstable and easily upset by the onset of some little humour? As for the 131

external goods, who does not know their uncertainty? Magnificent fortunes have often been dissolved in a single day. Multitudes who have won the first place with the highest honour have passed over to the unglorious lot of the unmeritable and obscure. The greatest kings have seen their empires overthrown when occasion gives a slight turn to the scale. What 132 I say is vouched for by Dionysius of Corinth, who was the tyrant of Sicily, but when he fell from power fled to Corinth and there this great sovereign became a teacher of the rudiments.^b Another witness is 133 Croesus, the king of Lydia, wealthiest of monarchs, who hoped to overthrow the empire of the Persians,

definition of γραμματιστική as γραμματική ἀτελεστέρα, *De Cong.* 148. Cicero, *Tusc.* iii. 27, merely says of Dionysius “docebat pueros.”

- οἰκειαν προσapéβαλεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ζωγρηθεῖς ἐμέλ-
 134 λησε καταπίμπρασθαι. μάρτυρες τῶν ἐνυπνίων
 οὐκ ἄνδρες μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ πόλεις, ἔθνη, χῶραι, ἡ
 Ἑλλάς, ἡ βάρβαρος, ἡπειρώται, νησιῶται, ἡ
 Εὐρώπη, ἡ Ἀσία, δύοσις, ἀνατολή. μεμένηκε
 γὰρ οὐδὲν οὐδαμοῦ τὸ παράπαν ἐν ὁμοίῳ, τροπαῖς
 δὲ καὶ μεταβολαῖς ἐχρήσατο πάντα διὰ πάντων.
 135 Αἴγυπτός ποτε πολλῶν ἐθνῶν ἡγεμονίαν εἶχεν,
 ἀλλὰ νῦν ἐστὶ δούλη. Μακεδόνες οὕτως ἐπὶ καιρῶν
 ἥκμασαν, ὥς ἀπάσης ἀνάψασθαι τῆς οἰκουμένης
 τὸ κράτος, ἀλλὰ νῦν τοῖς ἐκλογεῦσι τῶν χρημάτων
 τοὺς ἐπιταχθέντας ὑπὸ τῶν κυρίων δασμοὺς ἐτη-
 136 σίους εἰσφέρουσι. ποῦ δὲ ἡ τῶν Πτολεμαίων οἰκία
 καὶ ἡ καθ' ἕκαστον τῶν διαδόχων ἐπιφάνεια μέχρι
 γῆς καὶ θαλάττης περάτων ἐκλάμψασα; ποῦ δ' αἱ
 τῶν αὐτονόμων ἐθνῶν καὶ πόλεων ἐλευθερίαι; ποῦ
 δ' ἔμπαλιν αἱ δουλείαι τῶν ὑπηκόων; οὐ Πέρσαι
 μὲν Παρθυαίων ἐπεκράτουν, νυνὶ δὲ Περσῶν Παρ-
 θυαῖοι διὰ τὰς τῶν ἀνθρωπείων πραγμάτων στροφὰς
 καὶ τὰς ἄνω καὶ κάτω πεττείας καὶ μεταθέσεις
 137 αὐτῶν; ἀναπλάττουσιν ἔνιοι μακρὰς τινὰς καὶ
 ἀπεράτους εὐτυχίας ἑαυτοῖς, αἱ δ' ἀρχαὶ μεγάλων
 κακῶν εἰσι· καὶ σπεύδοντες ὥς ἐπ' ἀγαθῶν κληρο-
 νομίαν εὐρίσκουσι δεινὰς κακοπραγίας, καὶ τοῦ-
 ναντίον κακὸν προσδοκῆσαντες ἀγαθοῖς ἐνέτυχον.
 138 ἀθληταὶ δυνάμεσι καὶ ῥώμαις καὶ εὐεξίαις σωμάτων
 μέγα φρονούντες, ἀνευδοίαστον νίκην ἐλπίσαντες,
 ἐξαγώνιοι πολλάκις ἐγένοντο μὴ δοκιμασθέντες ἢ
 καταστάντες εἰς τὸν ἀγῶνα ἡττήθησαν, οἱ δ'
 ἀπογνόντες καὶ δευτερείων ἐφίξεσθαι τὰ πρῶτα

^a Cf. *Quod Deus* 173 f.

^b i.e. of Alexander.

and not only lost his own as well but was taken prisoner and on the point of being burnt alive. That 134 these are dreams is attested not only by single men, but by cities, nations, countries, by Greeks, by the world of the barbarians, by dwellers on the mainland, by dwellers on islands, by Europe, by Asia, by West, by East.^a For nothing at all anywhere has remained in the same condition; everywhere all has been subject to changes and vicissitudes. Egypt once 135 held the sovereignty over many nations, but now is in slavery. The Macedonians in their day of success flourished so greatly that they held dominion over all the habitable world, but now they pay to the tax-collectors the yearly tributes imposed by their masters. Where is the house of the Ptolemies, and 136 the fame of the several Successors^b whose light once shone to the utmost boundaries of land and sea? Where are the liberties of the independent nations and cities, where again the servitude of the vassals? Did not the Persians once rule the Parthians, and now the Parthians rule the Persians? So much do human affairs twist and change, go backward and forward as on the draught-board. Some picture for 137 their future a long and unlimited run of luck, and the outcome is great calamity, and when they press eagerly to secure what they think to be their heritage of good they find terrible misfortunes, while on the contrary when they expect evil what they meet with is good. Athletes mightily proud of the 138 strength and muscle and robustness of their bodies, hoping for undoubted victory, have often failed to pass the test and been excluded from the arena, or if admitted, have been vanquished, while others who despaired of taking even the second place have won

- 139 τῶν ἄθλων στεφανηφοροῦντες ἦραντο. θέρους ἀναχ-
θέντες τινές—ὁ γὰρ καιρὸς εὐπλοίας—ἐναυάγησαν,
ἕτεροι δὲ χειμῶνος ἀνατραπήσεσθαι προσδοκῶντες
ἀκινδύνως ἄχρι λιμένων παρεπέμφθησαν. ὥς ἐφ'
ὁμολογούμενα κέρδη συντείνουσιν ἔνιοι τῶν ἐμ-
πόρων ἀγνοοῦντες τὰς ἐφέδρους ζημίας, ἔμπαλιν
λογιζόμενοι βλαβήσεσθαι μεγάλων ἀπέλαυσαν |
[61] ὠφελειῶν. οὕτως ἄδηλοι μὲν αἱ τύχαι πρὸς ἐκά-
140 τερα, τὰ δ' ἀνθρώπεια ὥς ἐπὶ ζυγοῦ ταλαντεύεται
βάρεσιν ἀνίσοις ἐπικουφιζόμενα καὶ καθέλκοντα·
δεινὴ δ' ἀσάφεια καὶ πολὺ σκότος κατακέχυται τῶν
πραγμάτων· ὥς δ' ἐν βαθεῖ ὕπνῳ πλαζόμεθα μηδὲν
ἐμπεριελθεῖν ἀκριβεῖα λογισμοῦ δυνάμενοι μηδ'
εὐτόνως καὶ παγίως ἐπιδράξασθαι τινος, σκιαῖς γὰρ
141 ἔοικε καὶ φάσμασι. καὶ ὥσπερ ἐν ταῖς πομπαῖς τὰ
πρῶτα παρέρχεται φεύγοντα τὰς ὄψεις καὶ τοῖς
χειμάρροις τὸ φερόμενον ρεῦμα φθάνει παραδραμὸν
ὀξύτητι τάχους τὴν κατάληψιν, οὕτω καὶ τὰ ἐν τῷ
βίῳ πράγματα φερόμενα καὶ παρεξίοντα φαντάζε-
ται μὲν ὥς ὑπομένοντα, μένει δ' οὐδ' ἐπ' ἀκαρές,
142 ἀλλ' αἰεὶ ὑποσύρεται. καὶ οἱ ἐγρηγορότες,
ὅσα γε πρὸς τὸ ἐν ταῖς καταλήψεσιν ἀβέβαιον
οὐδὲν τῶν κοιμωμένων διαφέροντες, ἀπατῶντες
ἑαυτοὺς ἱκανοὶ νομίζουσιν εἶναι τὰς φύσεις τῶν
πραγμάτων ἀπλανέσι λογισμοῖς ὁρᾶν· οἷς ἐκάστη
τῶν αἰσθήσεων εἰς ἐπιστήμην ἐμπόδιος, δεκαζομένη
θεάμασιν, ἀκούσμασι, χυλῶν ποιότησιν, ἀτμῶν
ιδιότησι, πρὸς ἅπερ ἀποκλίνουσα συνεφέλλεται καὶ
τὴν ὅλην ψυχὴν οὐκ ἐῷσα ὀρθοῦσθαι καὶ ἀπταίστως
οἶα διὰ λεωφόρων ὁδῶν προέρχεσθαι· τὸ δ' ὑψηλο-

ON JOSEPH, 139-142

the first prize and worn the crown. Some who 139
embarked in summer, the safe sailing season, have
been shipwrecked; others who sailed in winter,
expecting to be capsized, have reached the harbour
in security. Of merchants, some hurry to what seems
certain gain, and little know the disasters that await
them. Again, when they reckon that they will
suffer loss, they win great profits. Thus fortunes 140
are uncertain either way, and human affairs swing
as on a scale with unequal weights, carried lightly
up or pressing the balance down, and terrible is the
uncertainty and vast the darkness which envelops
the events of life. We flounder as though in deep
sleep, unable to compass anything by accurate
reasoning or to grasp it vigorously and firmly, for
all are like shadows and phantoms. And as in 141
processions the front part passes on and is lost to
sight, and in the winter torrents the stream in its
course speeds past us and by its violence and rapidity
outstrips our observation, so too the events of life
rush along past us, and though they make a show of
remaining do not stay even for a moment, but are
ever swept away. And those who 142
are awake, who in the uncertainty of apprehension
differ nothing from the sleeping, deceive themselves
and think that they are capable of discerning differ-
ences in the nature of things by incontrovertible
processes of reason. Each sense impedes their attain-
ment of knowledge, seduced whether by the sights
it sees or by the sounds it hears, or by varieties of
flavours, or by scents of different quality, to which
it turns aside and is dragged along with them, and
prevents the soul as a whole from standing erect
and advancing without stumbling as along a high

τάπεινον καὶ μεγαλόμικρον καὶ πᾶν ὅσον ἀνισότητι καὶ ἀνωμαλίᾳ συγγενὲς ἀπεργάζεται καὶ σκοτοδιναῖαν ἀναγκάζει καὶ πολὺν ἐμποιεῖ ἱλιγγον.

- 143 XXIV. τοσαύτης οὖν ταραχῆς καὶ ἀταξίας ἔτι δὲ ἀσαφείας γέμοντος τοῦ βίου, παρελθόντα δεῖ τὸν πολιτικὸν ὥσπερ τινὰ σοφὸν τὴν ὀνειροκριτικὴν τὰ μεθήμερινὰ ἐνύπνια καὶ φάσματα τῶν ἐγρηγορέναι δοκούντων διακρίνειν εἰκόσι στοχασμοῖς καὶ εὐλόγοις πιθανότησι περὶ ἐκάστου ἀναδιδάσκοντα, ὅτι τοῦτο καλόν, ἐκείνο αἰσχρόν, τοῦτο ἀγαθόν, κακὸν ἐκείνο, τουτὶ δίκαιον, ἀδίκον τούναντίον, καὶ τᾶλλα ταύτῃ, τὸ φρόνιμον, τὸ ἀνδρεῖον, τὸ εὐσεβές, τὸ ὅσιον, τὸ συμφέρον, τὸ ὠφέλιμον, καὶ πάλιν τὸ ἀνωφελές, τὸ ἀλόγιστον, τὸ ἀγεννές, τὸ ἀσεβές, τὸ ἀνόσιον, τὸ ἀσύμφορον,
- 144 τὸ βλαβερὸν, τὸ φίλαυτον.¹ καὶ ἔτι πρὸς τούτοις² ἄλλότριον τοῦτο, μὴ ἐπιθύμει· ἴδιον τοῦτο, χρῶ μὴ παραχρῶμενος· περιουσιάζεις, μεταδίδου· πλούτου γὰρ τὸ κάλλος οὐκ ἐν βαλαντίοις, ἀλλ' ἐν τῇ τῶν χρηζόντων ἐπικουρίᾳ· ὀλίγα κέκτησαι, μὴ φθόνει τοῖς ἔχουσι· πένητα γὰρ βάσκανον οὐδεὶς ἂν ἐλέησαι· εὐδοξεῖς καὶ τετίμησαι, μὴ καταλαζονεύου· ταπεινὸς εἰ ταῖς τύχαις, ἀλλὰ τὸ φρόνημα μὴ καταπιπτέτω· πάντα σοι κατὰ νοῦν χωρεῖ, μεταβολὴν εὐλαβοῦ· πταίεις πολλάκις, χρηστὰ ἔλπιζε· πρὸς

¹ The two lists balance so closely that one may be tempted to make the balance complete, and Cohn suggests the omission of τὸ ἀνωφελές at the beginning of the second and the insertion of τὸ φιλόανθρωπον. The argument does not seem to me convincing. Perhaps, too, φιλόθεον rather than φιλόανθρωπον is the reverse of Philo's φίλαυτον. Cf. *Quod Det.* 32.

² The transition to a totally different kind of question

ON JOSEPH, 142-144

road. And thus the senses produce the confusion of high with low and great with small, and all that is akin to inequality and irregularity, and the soul's sight swims perforce in the great dizziness which they create.

XXIV. Since, then, human life ¹⁴³ is full of this vast confusion and disorder and uncertainty also, the statesman must come forward, and, like some wise expounder of dreams, interpret the day-time visions and phantoms of those who think themselves awake, and with suggestions commended by reason and probability shew them the truth about each of these visions : that this is beautiful, that ugly, this just, that unjust, and so with all the rest ; what is prudent, courageous, pious, religious, beneficial, profitable, and conversely what is unprofitable, unreasonable, ignoble, impious, irreligious, deleterious, harmful, selfish.^a And he will ¹⁴⁴ give other lessons, such as, This is another's, do not covet it ; This is your own, use it but do not misuse it ; You have abundance of wealth, give a share to others, for the excellence of wealth consists not in a full purse but in succouring the needy ; Your possessions are small, be not jealous of the rich, for envious poverty gets pity from none ; You have high reputation and have received honour, be not arrogant ; Your fortunes are lowly, let not your spirits sink also ; All goes with you as you would have it, be prepared for change ; You have made many a trip, hope for a better time, for with men

^a Or perhaps better "self-assertive."

seems a little abrupt. It may be observed that what we might expect, viz. *ἀλλὰ οἶον*, would very easily be lost before *ἀλλότριον*.

- 145 γὰρ τὰναντία τῶν ἀνθρώπων αἱ τροπαί. σελήνη
 μὲν γὰρ καὶ ἥλιος καὶ ὁ σύμπας οὐρανὸς σαφεῖς καὶ
 ἀριδήλους ἔχει τὰς τρανότητας, ἅτε πάντων τῶν |
 [62] κατ' αὐτὸν ὁμοίων μενόντων καὶ τοῖς τῆς ἀληθείας
 αὐτῆς μετρουμένων κανόσιν ἐν τάξεσιν ἐναρμονίοις
 καὶ συμφωνιῶν ταῖς ἀρίσταις, τὰ δ' ἐπίγεια πολ-
 λῆς ἀταξίας γέμοντα καὶ ταραχῆς ἀσύμφωνα καὶ
 ἀνάρμοστα, ὡς κυριώτατα φάναι, ὅτι ταῦτα μὲν
 βαθὺ σκότος κατεῖληφεν, ἐκεῖνα δ' ἐμφέρεται τηλ-
 αυγεστάτῳ φωτί, μᾶλλον δ' αὐτὸ φῶς ἐστὶν εἰλι-
 146 κρινέστατον καὶ καθαρώτατον. εἰ γοῦν βουλευθεὶς
 διακύπτειν εἴσω τις τῶν πραγμάτων, εὐρήσει τὸν
 οὐρανὸν ἡμέραν αἰώνιον, νυκτὸς καὶ πάσης σκιᾶς
 ἀμέτοχον, ἅτε περιλαμπόμενον ἀσβέστοις καὶ
 147 ἀκηράτοις ἀδιαστάτως φέγγεσιν. ὅσω τε δια-
 φέρουσιν οἱ παρ' ἡμῖν ἐγρηγορότες τῶν κοιμω-
 μένων, τοσούτῳ καὶ ἐν ᾧπαντι τῷ κόσμῳ τὰ οὐράνια
 τῶν ἐπιγείων, τὰ μὲν ἐγρηγόρσει χρώμενα ἀκοι-
 μήτῳ διὰ τὰς ἀπλανεῖς καὶ ἀπταίστους καὶ ἐν
 ᾧπασι κατορθούσας ἐνεργείας, τὰ δ' ὕπνῳ κατεχό-
 μενα, καὶ ἐπὶ βραχὺ διανασταίῃ, πάλιν καθελκό-
 μενα καὶ καταδαρθάνοντα διὰ τὸ μηδὲν εὐθυτενῶς
 δύνασθαι τῇ ψυχῇ βλέπειν, ἀλλὰ πλάζεσθαι καὶ
 περιπταῖν· ἐπισκοτεῖται γὰρ ψευδέσι δόξαις, ὑφ'
 ὧν ὄνειρώττειν ἀναγκαζόμενα καὶ τῶν πραγμάτων
 ὑστερίζοντα οὐδὲν παγίως καὶ βεβαίως ἱκανὰ
 148 καταλαμβάνειν ἐστί. XXV. συμ-
 βολικῶς μέντοι καὶ ἐπὶ τὸ δευτερεῖον τῶν βασιλικῶν
 ἀρμάτων ἀναβαίνειν λέγεται δι' αἰτίαν τοιάνδε· ὁ
 πολιτικὸς τὰ δευτερεῖα φέρεται βασιλέως· οὔτε γὰρ
 ἰδιώτης ἐστὶν οὔτε βασιλεὺς, ἀλλ' ἀμφοῖν μεθόριος,
 ἰδιώτου μὲν ὧν κρείττων, ἐλάττων δ' εἰς ἀρχὴν

ON JOSEPH, 145-148

things turn to their opposite ; The sun and moon and 145
the whole heaven stand out in such clear and plain
distinctness because everything there remains the
same and regulated by the standards of truth itself
moves in harmonious order and with the grandest
of symphonies ; while earthly things are brimful of
disorder and confusion and in the fullest sense of the
words discordant and inharmonious, because in them
deep darkness reigns while in heaven all moves in
most radiant light, or rather heaven is light itself
most pure and unalloyed. And indeed if one be 146
willing to look into the inner realities he will find
that heaven is an eternal day, wherein there is no
night or any shadow, because around it shine without
ceasing unquenchable and undefiled beams of light.
And the same difference that there is here in people 147
when asleep and when awake exists in the universe
as a whole between the heavenly and the earthly,
for the former is kept in unsleeping wakefulness by
active forces which do not err or stumble and go
always aright, but the earthly life is sunk in sleep,
and even if it wake up for a little is dragged down
again and falls asleep, because it can see nothing
steadily with its soul but wanders and stumbles about
darkened as it is by false opinions which compel it
to dream, and thus never catching up with realities
it is incapable of apprehending anything firmly and
securely.

XXV. Again there is a sym- 148
bolic meaning in saying that Joseph mounts on the
king's second chariot, and the reason is this. The
statesman takes a second place to the king, for he is
neither a private person nor a king, but something
between the two. He is greater than a private
person but less than a king in absolute power, since

- αὐτεξούσιον βασιλέως, τῷ δήμῳ βασιλεῖ χρώμενος,
 ὑπὲρ οὗ πάντα πράττειν προήρηται καθαρᾷ καὶ
 149 ἀδολωτάτῃ πίστει. φέρεται δὲ ὡς ἐφ'
 ἄρματείου δίφρου μετέωρος ὑπὸ τε τῶν πραγμάτων
 καὶ τῶν ὄχλων εἰς ὕψος αἰρόμενος, καὶ μάλισθ'
 ὅταν κατὰ νοῦν ἕκαστα μικρὰ καὶ μεγάλα χωρῇ,
 μηδενὸς ἀντιπνέοντος μηδ' ἀντιστατοῦντος, ἀλλ' ὡς
 ἐν εὐπλοίᾳ πάντων σωτηρίως ὑπὸ θεοῦ κυβερνω-
 μένων. ὃν τε δίδωσιν ὁ βασιλεὺς δακτύ-
 λιον, ἐναργέστατον δεῖγμα πίστεώς ἐστιν, ἣν πεπί-
 στευκεν ὁ τε βασιλεὺς δῆμος τῷ πολιτικῷ καὶ ὁ
 πολιτικὸς τῷ βασιλεύοντι δήμῳ.
- 150 ὁ δὲ περὶ τὸν τράχηλον χρυσοῦς κύκλος εὐδοξίαν
 ὁμοῦ καὶ κόλασιν ἔοικεν ὑποσημαίνειν· ἕως μὲν
 γὰρ τὰ κατὰ τὴν πολιτείαν εὐδοεῖ πράγματα αὐτῷ,
 γαῦρός ἐστι καὶ σεμνὸς ὑπὸ τῶν ὄχλων τιμώμενος·
 ἐπειδὰν δὲ πταιῖσμα συμβῇ, μὴ κατὰ προαίρεσιν
 —τοῦτο γὰρ ὑπαίτιον—, ἀλλὰ τυχερόν, ὅπερ ἐστὶ
 συγγνωστόν, οὐδὲν ἡττον ἔλκεται κάτω διὰ τοῦ
 περιανχένιου κόσμου καὶ ταπεινοῦται, μόνον οὐκ
 ἐπιλέγοντος τοῦ δεσπότου· “ τὸν περιανχένιον τοῦ-
 τον κύκλον ἐδωρησάμην σοι καὶ κόσμον κατορθου-
 μένων τῶν ἐμῶν καὶ ἀγχόνην ἀποτυγχανομένων.”
- 151 XXVI. | Ἦκουσα μέντοι καθ' ἑτέραν ἰδέαν
 [63] τροπικώτερον τὰ περὶ τὸν τόπον ἀκριβοῦντων. ἦν
 δὲ τοιαύδε· τὸν βασιλέα τῆς Αἰγύπτου τὸν ἡμέτερον
 νοῦν ἔλεγον εἶναι, τὸν τῆς καθ' ἕκαστον σωματικῆς
 χώρας ἡγεμόνα, ὃς οἷα βασιλεὺς ἀνῆπται τὸ κράτος.
- 152 ὧ γενομένῳ φιλοσωμάτῳ τρία τὰ πλείστης ἀξιού-
 μενα σπουδῆς διαπονεῖται, σιτία καὶ ὄψα καὶ ποτά,

ON JOSEPH, 148-152

he has the people for his king, and to serve that king with pure and guileless good faith is the task he has set before him. He rides, too, aloft seated 149 on a chariot, raised on high both by the affairs he handles and the multitude around him, especially when everything great and small goes as he would have it, when from none comes any counterblast or opposition, and under the safe pilotage of God all is well with the voyage. And the ring which the king gives is the clearest sign of the good faith which the king-people places in the statesman and the statesman in the king-people.

The golden chain around his neck seems to indicate 150 both high fame and punishment, for while affairs of state fare well in his hands he is proud and dignified and honoured by the multitude, but when disaster befalls him, not indeed of his set purpose which would imply guilt, but by chance which is a venial matter, he is all the same dragged down to the dust by the decoration round his neck, and as he falls you may almost hear his master say : " I gave you this neck circlet both as a decoration when my business prospers and as a halter when it goes amiss." ^a

XXVI. I have heard, however, some scholars give 151 an allegorical exposition of this part of the story in a different form. It was as follows. The king of Egypt, they said, was our mind, the ruler of the land of the body in each of us over which he is invested with kingly power. When this mind 152 becomes enamoured of the body, its efforts are expended on three things which it deems most worthy of its care and trouble, bread, meat and drink ; and,

^a The incidents of Joseph's exaltation discussed in these sections are treated somewhat differently in *De Som.* ii. 43-47.

PHILO

- παρὸ καὶ τρισὶ χρήται τοῖς τῶν λεγομένων ἐπιμελη-
ταῖς, ἀρχισιτοποιῶ καὶ ἀρχιοινοχόω καὶ ἀρχι-
μαγείρῳ· πρυτανεύει γὰρ ὁ μὲν τὰ περὶ ἐδωδῆν, ὁ
δὲ τὰ περὶ πόσιν, ὁ δ' ἐπιτέτακται τοῖς περὶ αὐτὰ
153 τὰ ὄψα ἡδύσμασιν. πάντες δὲ εἰσιν εὐνοῦχοι, ἐπει-
δὴ ὁ φιλήδονος ἄγονός ἐστι τῶν ἀναγκαιοτάτων,
σωφροσύνης, αἰδοῦς, ἐγκρατείας, δικαιοσύνης, ἀπά-
σης ἀρετῆς· οὐδὲν γὰρ οὕτως ἐχθρόν ἄλλο ἄλλῳ, ὥς
ἀρετῇ ἡδονή, δι' ἣν ἀλογοῦσιν οἱ πολλοὶ ὧν μόνον
ἄξιον πεφροντικέναι, ταῖς ἀκαθέκτοις ἐπιθυμίαις
154 χαριζόμενοι καὶ οἷς ἂν προστάττωσιν εἰκόντες. ὁ
μὲν οὖν ἀρχιμάγειρος οὗτ' εἰς δεσμοκτήριον ἀπ-
άγεται οὔτε τινὶ περιπίπτει λύμῃ διὰ τὸ μὴ σφόδρα
τῶν ἀναγκαίων εἶναι τὰς παραρτύσεις οὐχ ἡδονὰς
οὔσας ἀλλ' εὐσβεστα ἡδονῶν ὑπεκκαύματα, δύο
δὲ τῶν περὶ τὴν ἄθλιον γαστέρα πραγματευομένων,
ἀρχισιτοποιὸς καὶ ἀρχιοινοχόος, ἐπειδὴ τὰ συνεκ-
τικώτατα τῶν εἰς τὸ ζῆν χρησίμων ἐστὶ βρώσις καὶ
πόσις, ὧν ἐπιμελείας μὲν ἄξιουμένων οἱ προεστῶτες
εἰκότως ἐπαίνων τυγχάνουσιν, ὀλιγωρουμένων δὲ
155 ὀργῆς καὶ κολάσεως ἀξιοῦνται. διαφορὰ δὲ καὶ
ταῖς κολάσεσιν, ὅτι διάφορος ἡ χρεία, σιτίων μὲν
ἀναγκαιοτάτη, οἴνου δὲ οὐ πάννυ χρησίμη· καὶ γὰρ
ἀκράτου δίχα ζῶσιν ἄνθρωποι ναματιαίῳ ὕδατι
156 ποτῶ χρώμενοι. δι' ἣν αἰτίαν πρὸς μὲν τὸν ἀρχι-
οινοχόον γίνονται καταλλαγαὶ καὶ συμβάσεις ὥς
ἂν ἀμαρτόντα περὶ τὸ ἔλαττον μέρος, ἀσύμβατα
δὲ καὶ ἀκατάλλακτα τὰ πρὸς τὸν ἀρχισιτοποιόν
ἐστὶν ἄχρι θανάτου λαμβάνοντα τὴν ὀργὴν ὥς ἂν
περὶ τὸ μέγιστον ἀδικήσαντα· τελευτῇ γὰρ ἔπεται
σιτίων σπάνει· οὐ χάριν καὶ ὁ περὶ ταῦτ' ἑξαμαρ-
τῶν εἰκότως θνήσκει κρεμασθεὶς, ὅμοιον κακὸν
214

ON JOSEPH, 152-156

therefore, it provides three offices to provide for these, a chief baker, a chief butler and a chief cook, for the first presides over the food, the second over the drink, the third over the seasoning which adds relish to the actual meat. All are eunuchs, since 153 the lover of pleasure is barren of all the chief necessities, temperance, modesty, self-restraint, justice and every virtue; for no two things can be more hostile to each other than virtue is to pleasure, which makes the many disregard what alone deserves their care, satisfy their unbridled lusts and submit to whatever those lusts command. So, then, the chief cook is not haled 154 to prison and meets with no maltreatment, because the extra seasonings he prepares are not of the most indispensable kind and are not pleasure, but incitements to pleasure, which kindle only to be quenched. Not so with the other two whose business lies with the miserable belly, namely the chief baker and the chief butler. For the most essential of the needs of life are food and drink, and those who take charge of them are naturally held to deserve praise if they treat the charge as worthy of their care, but anger and punishment if they neglect it. The punishment 155 also differs in the two cases because the usefulness of the two differs, being absolutely vital in regard to bread-food, less so in regard to wine, for men can live without strong liquor by drinking fresh water, and 156 therefore it is possible to make terms of reconciliation with the chief butler as an offender in a less important matter. Not so with the chief baker who, being guilty in what is all-important, is the object of an anger which demands his life. For death is the consequence of lack of bread-food, and therefore the offender in this is properly put to death by hanging,

ὧ διέθηκε παθών· καὶ γὰρ αὐτὸς ἀνεκρέμασε καὶ παρέτεινε τὸν πεινῶντα λιμῷ.

- 157 XXVII. Τοσαῦτα καὶ περὶ τούτου. ὁ μέντοι βασιλέως ὑπαρχος κατασταθεὶς καὶ τῆς Αἰγύπτου τὴν ἐπιμέλειαν καὶ προστασίαν λαβὼν ἐξῆει γνωρισθησόμενος ἅπασι τοῖς ἐγχωρίοις καὶ τοὺς λεγομένους νομοὺς ἐπιὼν κατὰ πόλεις πολὺν αὐτοῦ πόθον ἐνειργάζετο τοῖς ὀρώσιν, οὐ μόνον ταῖς ὠφελείαις, ἃς ἐκάστοις παρείχεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ταῖς περὶ τὴν ὄψιν τε καὶ τὴν ἄλλην ὁμιλίαν ἀλέκτοις
- 158 καὶ ἐξαιρέτοις χάρισιν. ἐπεὶ δὲ κατὰ τὴν τῶν ὀνειράτων σύγκρισιν¹ ἐνέστη προτέρα τῆς εὐθηνίας
- [64] ἡ ἑπταετία, τὸ πέμπτον | τῶν καρπῶν ἀνὰ πᾶν ἔτος συνάγων διὰ τε τῶν ὑπάρχων² καὶ τῶν ἄλλων, οἱ πρὸς τὰς δημοσίας χρείας ὑπηρέτουν αὐτῷ, τοσαύτην ἡθροισε πληθὺν δραγμάτων, ὅσῃ οὐδεὶς πω πρότερον γενομένην ἐμέμνητο· πίστις δὲ σαφειστάτη τὸ μὴδ' ἀριθμηθῆναι δύνασθαι, καίτοι μυρία τινῶν πονηθέντων, οἷς ἐπιμελές, περιεργία διαριθμήσαι
- 159 σθαι. διεξελθόντων δὲ τῶν ἑπτὰ ἐτών, ἐν οἷς εὐφόρησεν ἡ πεδιάς, ἀρχὴν ἐλάμβανεν ὁ λιμός, ὃν ἐπιβαίνοντα καὶ συναυξόμενον οὐκ ἐχώρησεν Αἴγυπτος· ἀναχεόμενος γὰρ καὶ τὰς ἐξῆς αἰεὶ πόλεις καὶ χώρας ἐπικαταλαμβάνων ἄχρι περάτων καὶ τῶν πρὸς ἑω καὶ τῶν πρὸς δυσμὰς ἔφθασε τὴν οἰ-
- 160 κουμένην ἐν κύκλῳ πᾶσαν κατασχών. λέγεται γοῦν

¹ Cohn would read *διάκρισιν*, but cf. *De Mig.* 19 τὰς ἀληθεῖς καὶ σαφεῖς τῶν πραγμάτων συγκρίσεις (referring also to Joseph's dreams) εἶναι κατὰ θεόν.

² Perhaps read *τοπάρχων*, the word used (in the form *τοπάρχης*) in Gen. xli. 34.

ON JOSEPH, 156-160

suffering what he has made others to suffer, for indeed he has hanged and racked the starving man with hunger.

XXVII. So much for this.^a To continue the story, 157 Joseph, thus appointed viceroy to the king and promoted to the superintendence of Egypt, took a journey to make himself known to all the people of the country. He visited the nomes,^b as they are called, city by city, and made his presence very welcome to those who saw him, not only through the benefits which they received from him, but through the remarkable and exceptional charm of his appearance and his general deportment. When the 158 first seven years of plenty came, as his reading of the dreams had predicted, he employed the (local) prefects and others who served him in providing for the public needs to collect a fifth part of the fruits every year, and the quantity of sheaves which he amassed surpassed anything within the memory of men. The clearest proof of this is that it was impossible even to count them, though some persons who were interested in it spent a vast amount of labour in making elaborate calculations. But when 159 the seven years during which the plains bore plentifully were ended, the famine began and spread and grew till Egypt could not hold it. It overran successively the cities and countries which lay in its path to the utmost limits of east and west, and rapidly made itself master of the whole civilized world round Egypt. In fact, it is said that never did so great a 160

^a From this point on to § 257 Philo's narrative follows Gen. xli: 46-xlvii. 12 without serious interruption.

^b The name regularly given to the districts of Egypt. See L. & S.

- μηδέποτε κοινή νόσος κατασκήψαι τοσαύτη, καθά-
 περ ἦν ἱατρῶν παῖδες ὀνομάζουσιν ἔρπηνα· καὶ γὰρ
 αὕτη πᾶσι τοῖς μέρεσιν ἐπιφοιτῶσα τὴν κοινωνίαν
 τῶν ἡλκωμένων σωμάτων ὅλην δι' ὅλων στοιχηδὸν
 161 πυρὸς τρόπον ἐπινέμεται. τοὺς οὖν ἀφ' ἐκάστης
 δοκιμωτάτους αἱρούμενοι σιτώνας ἐξέπεμπον εἰς
 Αἴγυπτον· ἥδη γὰρ ἡ πρόνοια τοῦ νεανίσκου παντα-
 χόσε διηγγέλλετο ταμιευσαμένου τροφὰς ἀφθόνους
 162 εἰς καιρὸν ἐνδείας. ὁ δὲ τὸ μὲν πρῶτον κελεύει
 ἀνοιχθῆναι τοὺς σωροὺς ἅπαντας, ὑπολαμβάνων εὐ-
 θυμοτέρους παρασκευάσειν τοὺς ἰδόντας καὶ τρόπον
 τινὰ τὰς ψυχὰς ἀναθρέψειν πρὸ τῶν σωμάτων
 ἐλπίσι χρησταῖς, ἔπειτα διὰ τῶν ἐπιτραπέντων τὰς
 σιταρχίας ἐπώλει τοῖς ἔχουσιν ὠνητικῶς, στοχαζό-
 μενος τοῦ μέλλοντος αἰεὶ καὶ τὸ ἐπιὸν ὀρώων τοῦ
 παρόντος ἀκριβέστερον.
- 163 XXVIII. Ἐν δὲ τούτῳ καὶ ὁ πατήρ, ὑποσπανι-
 ζόντων ἤδη τῶν ἀναγκαίων, ἀγνοῶν τὴν τοῦ παιδὸς
 εὐτυχίαν ἐκπέμπει δέκα τῶν υἱῶν ἐπὶ σιτωνίαν τὸν
 νεώτατον οἴκοι κατασχών, ὃς ἦν ὁμομήτριος ἀδελ-
 164 φὸς τῷ βασιλέως ὑπάρχω. καὶ οἱ μὲν εἰς Αἴγυπτον
 ἐλθόντες ἐντυγχάνουσιν ὡς ἀλλοτρίῳ τᾷδελεφῶ καὶ
 τὴν περὶ αὐτὸν ἀξίωσιν καταπλαγέντες ἔθει παλαιῷ
 προσκυνοῦσιν, ἥδη καὶ τῶν ὀνειράτων αὐτοῦ λαμβα-
 165 νόντων βεβαίωσιν. ὁ δὲ τοὺς πεπρακότας θεασά-
 μενος εὐθὺς ἐγνώρισεν ἅπαντας ὑπὸ μηδενὸς αὐτὸς
 γνωρισθεῖς τὸ παράπαν, μὴ βουληθέντος πω τοῦ
 θεοῦ τάληθές ἀναφῆναι διὰ τινος ἀναγκαίας αἰτίας,
 ὥς τότε βέλτιον ἦν ἡσυχάζεσθαι, ἀλλ' ἢ τὴν ὄψιν
 218

ON JOSEPH, 160-165

scourge fall upon the whole community. In this it resembled what the medical schools call herpes, which attacks every part and spreads in successive stages like a fire over the whole framework of the festering body. Accordingly from each city the most ap- 161 proved persons were chosen and sent to Egypt, for already the story of Joseph's foresight in storing up abundance of food against a time of dearth had penetrated to every quarter. He first ordered all 162 the stores to be thrown open, thinking that he would thus increase the courage of those who saw them, and, so to speak, feed their souls with comforting hopes before he fed their bodies. Afterwards, through the commissioners of victualling he sold to those who wished to buy, still always forecasting the after-time and keeping a keener eye on the future than on the present.

XXVIII. In these circumstances, his father, too, 163 as the necessities of life were now growing scarce, little knowing his boy's good fortune, sent ten of his sons to buy corn, but kept at home the youngest, the uterine brother of the king's viceroy. The ten came 164 to Egypt and had an interview with their brother, thinking him to be a stranger, and awestruck at his dignified position bowed to him in the old-fashioned way, and thus at the very outset brought his dreams to fulfilment.^a He, seeing those who had sold him, 165 immediately recognized them all, though none of them recognized him. It was not God's will to reveal the truth as yet, for cogent reasons which were best at the time kept secret, and therefore He

^a Philo is probably thinking of Gen. xlii. 9 "Joseph remembered the dreams which he dreamed of them, and said unto them, Ye are spies."

ἀλλάξαντος εἰς σεμνότερον εἶδος τοῦ τὴν χώραν
ἐπιτραπέντος ἢ παρατρέψαντος τὰς ἀκριβεῖς κατα-
166 λήψεις τῆς διανοίας τῶν ὁρώντων. εἰτ' οὐχ ὥσπερ
νέος καὶ τοσαύτης ἡγεμονίας διάδοχος ἀρχὴν τὴν
μετὰ βασιλέα πρώτην ἀναψάμενος, εἰς ὃν ἀνατολαὶ
[65] καὶ δύσεις ἀπέβλεπον, | ἡλικίας ἀκμῇ καὶ μεγέθει
τῆς ἐξουσίας ἐπαρθείς, καιρὸν ἔχων ἀμύνης ἐμνησι-
κάκησεν, ἀλλ' ἐγκρατῶς τὸ πάθος ἐνεγκὼν καὶ
ταμιευσάμενος αὐτοῦ τῇ ψυχῇ μετὰ πολλοῦ τοῦ
προμηθοῦς ἐπεμόρφάζεν ἀλλοτρίωσιν καὶ βλέμμασι
καὶ φωνῇ καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις καθυποκρινόμενος τὸν
δυσχεραίνοντα “ οὐδέν ” εἶπεν, “ ὦ οὔτοι, φρονεῖτε
εἰρηνικόν, ἀλλὰ τις τῶν βασιλέως ἐχθρῶν κατα-
σκόπους ὑμᾶς ἐξέπεμψεν, ᾧ κακὰς ὑπηρεσίας ὁμο-
λογήσαντες ὑπηρετήσῃν λήσεσθαι μὲν ὤθητε,
λανθάνει δ' οὐδέν τῶν δρωμένων ἐπ' ἐνέδρα, κἂν
187 βαθεῖ σκότῳ συσκιάζεται.” πειρωμένων
δ' ἀπολογεῖσθαι καὶ διεξιόντων, ὥς ἐπ' ἀγενήτοις
κατηγοροῦνται, μήτε γὰρ παρὰ δυσμενῶν ἦκειν
μήτ' αὐτοὶ τοῖς ἐγχωρίοις ἀπέχθεσθαι μηδ' ἂν
ὑπομεῖναι ποτε τοιαύτην διακονίαν, εἶναι γὰρ τὰς
φύσεις εἰρηνικοὶ καὶ μεμαθηκέναι σχεδὸν ἐξ ἔτι
νηπίων παιδῶν τιμᾶν εὐστάθειαν παρ' ὀσιωτάτῳ
καὶ θεοφιλεστάτῳ πατρί, ᾧ δώδεκα γενομένων
νιῶν ἓνα μὲν τὸν νεώτατον οὐκ ἔχοντά πω ἡλικίαν
ἀποδημίας οἴκοι καταμεῖναι, δέκα δὲ τοὺς ὀρω-
μένους ἡμᾶς ἐνταῦθα ὑπάρχειν, τὸν δὲ λοιπὸν
ἐκποδὼν γεγενῆσθαι—, XXIX. ταῦτ'

either changed and added grandeur to the appearance of the regent or else perverted the understanding of the brothers from properly apprehending what they saw. Then, though, young as he was, promoted 166 to so high a command, invested with the first office after the king, looked up to by east and west, flushed with the vigour of his prime and the greatness of his power, with the opportunity of revenge in his hands, he might well have shewn vindictiveness, he did not do so. He bore up firmly against his feelings, and, keeping them under the management of his soul, with a carefully considered purpose, he feigned disfavour and with looks and voice and the rest of his demeanour counterfeited indignation.

"Sirs," he said, "your intentions are not peaceful. You have been sent as spies by one of the king's enemies, to whom you have agreed to render this base service thinking that you would escape detection. But no treacherous action passes undetected, however profound the obscurity in which it is shrouded." The brothers attempted 167

to defend themselves, and maintained that the charges had no foundation of fact. They had not been sent, they said, by ill-disposed persons, and they themselves had no hostility to the people of the country and could never have brought themselves to undertake such employment, being men of peaceful nature who had learned almost from infancy to value a steady and quiet life under a father of scrupulous conduct and highly favoured by God. "This father has had twelve sons, the youngest of whom has stayed at home, being not of an age to travel. Ten are we whom you see before you here, and the twelfth has passed away."

- ἀκούσας ὡς ἐπὶ τεθνεῶτι ἑαυτῷ παρὰ τῶν ἀπο-
 168 δομένων τί τὴν ψυχὴν ἄρα ἐπεπόνθει; καὶ γὰρ
 εἰ μὴ ἐξελάλησε τότε τὸ παραστὰν πάθος, ἀλλὰ
 τούτοις ὑποτυφόμενῳ καὶ ζωπυρουμένῳ πάντως τὰ
 ἐντὸς ἐκαίετο, βαθεῖ δ' ὅμως ἦθει φησὶν αὐτοῖς·
 “εἰ τῷ ὄντι μὴ κατασκευόμενοι τὴν γῆν ἀφίχθε,
 πρὸς πίστιν τὴν ἐμὴν ὑμεῖς μὲν ἐνταυθοὶ διατρίψατε
 βραχύν τινα χρόνον, ὃ δὲ νεώτατος ἀδελφὸς ὑμῶν
 ἀφικέσθω μετακληθεὶς ἐπιστολιμαίοις γράμμασιν.
 169 ἔὰν δ' ἔνεκα τοῦ πατρὸς ἐπείγησθε ἀπιέναι φοβη-
 σομένου τάχα τὴν μακρὰν ὑμῶν διάζευξιν, οἱ μὲν
 ἄλλοι πάντες ἀπάρατε, καταμεινάτω δ' εἰς ὀμηρεύ-
 σων, ἄχρις ἂν ἐπανέλθῃτε σὺν τῷ νεωτάτῳ· τιμωρία
 δὲ κατὰ τῶν μὴ πειθαρχούντων ἢ ἀνωτάτῳ προ-
 170 κέσεται θάνατος.” καὶ ὁ μὲν τοιαυτ' ἀπειλήσας
 ὑποβλεπόμενος καὶ βαρείας ὀργῆς δείγματα παρα-
 σχὼν ὅσα τῷ δοκεῖν ἀπηλλάττετο· οἱ δὲ συννοίας
 καὶ κατηφείας γεμισθέντες ἐκάκιζον ἑαυτοὺς ἔνεκα
 τῆς πρὸς τὸν ἀδελφὸν ἐπιβουλῆς “ἐκεῖνο” λέγοντες
 “τὰδίκημα τῶν παρόντων ἐστὶ κακῶν αἴτιον, τῆς
 ἐφόρου δίκης τῶν ἀνθρωπείων πραγμάτων ἥδη τι
 μηχανωμένης καθ' ἡμῶν· βραχύν γὰρ ἡσυχάσασα
 χρόνον διανίσταται τὴν ἀμείλικτον καὶ ἀπαραίτητον
 αὐτῆς ἐπιδεικνυμένη φύσιν τοῖς ἀξίοις κολάσεως.
 171 πῶς γὰρ οὐκ ἄξιοι; οἱ δεόμενον καὶ ποτνιώμενον
 τὸν ἀδελφὸν οἱ ἀνηλεεῖς ὑπερεῖδομεν οὐδὲν μὲν
 ἔξαμαρτόντα, φαντασίας δὲ τὰς καθ' ὕπνον διὰ τὸ
 φιλοῖκειον ὡς συνήθεσιν ἀνενεγκόντα, ὑπὲρ ὧν οἱ
 θηριωδέστατοι καὶ πάντων ἀγριώτατοι δυσχεραί-
 [66] νοντες ἡμεῖς οὐχ ὅσια—δεῖ γὰρ | ἀψευδεῖν—εἰργα-
 172 σάμεθα. τοιγαροῦν καὶ ταῦτα καὶ ἔτι χεῖρω τού-

^a Or “with consummate acting.” See App. p. 602.

ON JOSEPH, 168-172

XXIX. When he heard this and found himself spoken of as dead by those who had sold him, what do we suppose were the sensations of his soul? Though he gave no utterance to the emotion which 168 he felt, yet inwardly he was consumed by the secret fire which their words had kindled. In spite of this, he said, assuming a very impressive air,^a "If it is true that you have not come to spy out the land, do you as a proof of good faith to me abide here for a short time and let your youngest brother be summoned hither by letter. But, if you are anxious 169 to depart for the sake of your father who will perhaps be alarmed at his long separation from you, let all the rest set off but one remain to serve as a hostage until you return with the youngest. And any disobedience in this will entail the extreme penalty of death." Thus he threatened with grim 170 looks, and giving to all appearance signs of great anger took his departure. But they, filled with gloom and depression, began to reproach themselves for their plot against their brother. "That wrong we did," they said, "is the cause of our present evil plight. Justice, the surveyor of human affairs, is now devising our downfall. For a little while she kept quiet, but now is awake and shews her implacable and inexorable nature to those who deserve punishment. And who deserves it more than we, 171 who mercilessly disregarded the prayers and supplications of our brother, though he had committed no offence, but merely in family affection recounted to us as his intimates the visions of his sleep, in resentment for which, with unparalleled brutality and savagery, we wrought what truth forces us to admit were unholy deeds? And, therefore, let us 172

- των πείσεσθαι προσδοκῶμεν, οἷτινες μόνοι σχεδὸν ἐξ ἀπάντων ἀνθρώπων εὐπατρίδαι λεγόμενοι διὰ τὰς πατέρων καὶ πάππων καὶ προγόνων ὑπερβαλλούσας ἀρετὰς ἡσχύναμεν τὴν συγγένειαν ἐπιφανὲς
- 173 ὄνειδος κτήσασθαι σπουδάσαντες.” ὁ δὲ πρεσβύτατος τῶν ἀδελφῶν, ὃς καὶ ἐν ἀρχῇ, συντιθεμένων τὴν ἐπιβουλήν, ἠναντιοῦτο, “ ἐπὶ δὴ πεπραγμένοις ” εἶπεν “ ἀνωφελεῖς αἱ μεταμέλειαι· παρεκάλουν, ἰκέτευον, ἐξετάζων ὅσον ἐστὶ τὸ ἀνοσιούργημα, μὴ θυμῷ χαρίζεσθαι· συναινεῖν δέον, ταῖς ἀβουλίαις
- 174 αὐτῶν εἴξατε. τοιγαροῦν καρπούμεθα τῆς αὐθαδείας καὶ ἀσεβείας τὰ πείχειρα· ζητεῖται μὲν ἢ ἐπ’ ἐκείνῳ τυρευθεῖσα ἐπιβουλή, ὃ δὲ ζητῶν οὐκ ἔστιν ἄνθρωπος, ἀλλ’ ἢ θεὸς ἢ λόγος ἢ νόμος θεῖος.”
- 175 XXX. ταῦτα δ’ ἤκουεν ὁ πραθεὶς ἀδελφὸς ἡσυχῇ διαλαλούντων, ἔρμηνέως μεταξὺ ὄντος· καὶ νικηθεὶς ὑπὸ τοῦ πάθους, μέλλων δακρύνειν, ὥς μὴ γένοιτο καταφανής, ἀποστρέφεται καὶ προχέας θερμὰ καὶ ἐπάλληλα δάκρυα καὶ πρὸς ὀλίγον ἐπικουφισθεὶς, τὴν ὄψιν ἀπομαζάμενος, ἐπιστρέφει καὶ κελεύει τὸν ἡλικία δεῦτερον τῶν ἀδελφῶν ἐν ὅψεσι ταῖς ἀπάντων δεθῆναι, τὸν αὐτῷ κατάλληλον—ὁ γὰρ ἐν πλείοσι δεῦτερος τῷ παρεσχάτῳ κατάλληλος, ἐπεὶ καὶ τῷ τελευταίῳ ὁ πρῶτος
- 176 — ἴσως μέντοι καὶ διότι τὴν πλείστην μοῖραν ἔδοξε τῶν ἀμαρτηθέντων εἰσενεγκεῖν μόνον οὐ συνταγματάρχων καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ἀλείφων ἐπὶ δυσμένειαν· εἰ γὰρ συνετάχθη τῷ πρεσβυτάτῳ χρηστὰ καὶ

^a Gen. xlii. 23 “ they knew not that Joseph understood, for there was an interpreter between them.” By missing out the first half of this Philo obscures the point. Presumably he means the same as Genesis, viz. that they ventured on

ON JOSEPH, 172-176

expect to suffer this, and even more than this, we who though almost alone among men we owe our title of nobly-born to the surpassing virtues of father, grandfather and ancestors, have shamed our kin and hastened to load ourselves with infamy and disgrace." The eldest of the brothers, who originally opposed them when they were forming their plot, said : " Remorse for what is done is useless. I proved to you the enormity of the crime and begged and exhorted you not to give way to your wrath, but when you should have accepted my advice you let your evil counsels have their way. And so we are reaping the rewards of our self-will and impiety. The plot we hatched for him is under inquisition, but the inquisitor is no man but God or the word or law of God." XXX. As they talked

thus quietly, since an interpreter was acting for them,^a the brother whom they had sold heard what they said, and, overcome by his emotion and on the point to weep, turned aside to avoid discovery and let the tears stream warm and fast. Then, somewhat relieved, he wiped them from his face, turned round and bade the second eldest of the brothers to be bound in the sight of them all. This brother corresponded to himself, for the second of a large number corresponds to the last but one as the eldest does to the last. But perhaps too he thought that that brother had the greatest responsibility for the wickedness, since he might be almost called the officer of the company and the ringleader of their spite. For if he had ranged himself with the eldest when

this quiet conversation, because they supposed that he would not understand them in the absence of the interpreter, who had acted before.

- φιλόανθρωπα βουλευομένῳ, νεώτερος μὲν ἐκείνου, τῶν δ' ἄλλων πρεσβύτερος ὢν, ἴσως ἂν ἴσως ἐπ-
 εσχέθη τὰ δίκαια, τῶν τὴν ἀνωτάτω τάξιν καὶ τιμὴν
 ἔχόντων συμπνεόντων καὶ ὁμογνωμονούντων περὶ
 πράγματος, ὃ καὶ¹ καθ' αὐτὸ πολλὴν ῥοπὴν συνεφ-
 177 εἴλκετο· νυνὶ δ' ἀποστὰς τῆς ἡμέρου καὶ ἀμείνονος
 τάξεως πρὸς τὴν ἀνήμερον καὶ χαλεπὴν ἡτομόλησε
 καὶ ταύτης ἀποδειχθεὶς ἡγεμὼν οὕτως ἐθάρσυνε
 τοὺς συνεφαπτομένους τοῦ παρανομήματος, ὥς
 ἀνενδότως τὸν ἐπιληπτον ἄθλον διαθλῆσαι. διὰ
 ταῦτ' ἐξ ἀπάντων μόνος οὗτος δεθῆναί μοι δοκεῖ.
 178 οἱ δ' ἄλλοι τὴν οἴκαδε ἐπάνοδον ἤδη παρευτρεπί-
 ζονται, κελεύσαντος τοῦ τῆς χώρας ἐπιτρόπου τοῖς
 πυροπωλοῦσι τὰ ἀγγεῖα τῶν ἀδελφῶν ὥς ξένων
 ἅπαντα πληρῶσαι καὶ ἣν ἔλαβον τιμὴν ἐπὶ τῶν
 στομίῳ λάθρα καταθεῖναι μὴ προειπόντας οἷς
 ἀπεδίδοσαν καὶ τρίτον τι προσεπιδαφιλεύεσθαι
 τροφάς, αἱ γένοιντ' ἂν ἱκαναὶ κατὰ τὴν ὁδόν,
 ἐξαιρέτους ὑπὲρ τοῦ παραπεμφθῆναι τὴν σιτωνίαν
 179 ἀμείωντον. ὁδοιπορούντων δὲ καὶ τὸν ἐν δεσμοῖς
 ἀδελφὸν ὥς εἰκὸς οἰκτιζομένων, οὐχ ἥττον δ' ἐπὶ
 τῷ πατρὶ κατηφούντων, εἰ πάλιν ἀκούσεται συμ-
 [67] φορᾶς, καθ' ἐκάστην ὁδὸν | ἐλαττουμένης καὶ
 ἀποκειρομένης αὐτοῦ τῆς εὐπαιδίας, καὶ λεγόντων
 “ ἄλλ' οὐδὲ πιστεύσει δεδέσθαι, πρόφασιν δ' εἶναι
 τὰ δεσμὰ τελευτῆς ὑπολήψεται διὰ τὸ τοὺς ἅπαξ
 πληγέντας εἰς τὰ αὐτὰ προσπταίνειν,” ἐσπέρα κατα-
 λαμβάνει καὶ τῶν ὑποζυγίων καθελόντες τὰ ἄχθη
 τὰ μὲν ἐπεκουφίζον, αὐτοὶ δὲ βαρυτέρας ταῖς ψυχαῖς

¹ My correction: mss. and Cohn καὶ. Mangey ἂν ἐφείλκετο
 for συνεφείλκετο.

ON JOSEPH, 176-179

he counselled kindness and humanity, being, though younger than he, older than the others, the wrongdoing might well have been stopped. For the two highest in position and honour would have been united in sentiment and purpose on the question, and this of itself would have had great weight to turn the scale. As it was, he left the mild, the better, side, and 177 deserted to the cruel and savage side, and being appointed their leader so encouraged his fellow-malefactors that they played out without flinching the criminal contest. It was for this reason, I think, that he alone of them all was put in bonds.

As the others were now preparing for their journey 178 homewards, the regent ordered the corn-factors to fill all their sacks, thus treating them as guests, and secondly to place secretly in the mouth of each sack the price which had been paid, without giving information of this repayment to the recipients, and thirdly to bestow an additional bounty, namely a special stock of provisions sufficient for the journey, so that the corn purchased might be brought to its destination undiminished. The brothers journeyed 179 on, pitying as was natural the one whom they left in bonds, and no less depressed at the thought of their father, how he would again hear of misfortune and feel that every journey diminished and curtailed his wealth of children. "Indeed," they said, "he will not even believe that he has been put in bonds, but think that bonds are a pretext to cloak death, since those who have once received a blow often find themselves brought up against the same calamity." As they thus talked, evening overtook them, and when they had unloaded their beasts, though these were relieved, they themselves felt the burden of their

- φροντίδας ἐδέχοντο· φιλεῖ γὰρ ἐν ταῖς ἀνα-
 παύλαις τῶν σωμάτων ἐναργεστέρας τῶν ἀβουλήτων
 ἢ διάνοια λαμβάνουσα φαντασίας χαλεπῶς ἄγαν
 180 θλίβεσθαι καὶ πιέζεσθαι. XXXI. λύσας δέ τις ἐν
 ἀγγεῖον ὁρᾷ παρὰ τῷ στομίῳ βαλάντιον ὑπόμεστον
 ἀργυρίου καὶ διαριθμησάμενος εὕρισκεν ὅσην τοῦ
 σίτου καθῆκε τιμὴν ἀποδοδομένην αὐτῷ καὶ κατα-
 181 πλαγεῖς τοῖς ἀδελφοῖς ἀνέφερεν. οἱ δ' οὐ χάριν
 ἀλλ' ἐνέδραν ὑποτοπήσαντες ἠθύμουν καὶ βουλό-
 μενοι πάντα τὰ ἀγγεῖα διερευνήσασθαι φόβῳ
 διώξεως ἄραντες ἢ τάχιστα συνέτεινον καὶ μόνον
 οὐκ ἀπνευστὶ θέοντες πολυήμερον ὁδὸν ἐπιτεμόντες
 182 ἀνύουσιν. εἴτ' ἀλλαχόθεν ἄλλοι τὸν πατέρα οὐκ
 ἀδακρυτὶ περιλαβόντες ἐφίλουν ἐκάστῳ περιπλεκό-
 μενον καὶ περιχεόμενον ἐκθύμως, καίτοι τῆς ψυχῆς
 ἤδη τι μαντευομένης ἀβούλητον· καὶ γὰρ προσιόντας
 καὶ δεξιουμένους κατενόει καὶ τὸν ὑπολειφθέντα
 υἱὸν ὡς ὑστερηκότα τῆς βραδυτήτος ἡτιᾶτο καὶ
 πρὸς τὰς εἰσόδους ἀπέβλεπε σπεύδων τὸν ἀριθμὸν
 183 τῶν τέκνων πλήρη θεάσασθαι. μηδενὸς δ' ἔξωθεν
 ἔτι προσεπιφοιτῶντος, διεπτοημένον ἰδόντες “ τῶν
 ἀβουλήτων ” ἔφασαν, “ ὦ πάτερ, ἀνιαιρότερος τῆς
 μαθήσεως ὁ ἐνδοιασμός ἐστι· μαθὼν μὲν γὰρ τις
 ὁδὸν εὗρεν εἰς σωτηρίαν, ἢ δ' ἀμφίβολος ἄγνοια
 δυσοδίας καὶ ἀπορίας αἴτιον· ἄκουε δὴ σφόδρα μὲν
 184 ἀνιαροῦ διηγήματος, ἀναγκαίου δέ λεχθῆναι. ὁ
 συμπεμφθεὶς ἡμῖν ἀδελφὸς ἐπὶ σιτωνίαν καὶ μὴ
 ἐπανελθὼς ζῇ μὲν—δεῖ γὰρ τὸν ὡς ἐπὶ τεθνεῶτι
 ἀπαλλάξαι σου μείζονα φόβον—, ζῶν δ' ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ

^a More literally “from different sides,” or perhaps “taking hold of different parts.”

ON JOSEPH, 179-184

cares weigh heavier on their souls. For when the body takes rest the mind receives clearer visions of adversities and is grievously afflicted and oppressed thereby. XXXI. One of them, loosing a particular sack, saw at its mouth a purse nearly full of silver, and, counting it, found that the exact price which he had paid for the corn had been restored to him. Filled with astonishment, he told his brothers, who, suspecting that it was not a gift but a trap, were dismayed. And though they fain would have examined all the sacks, so great was their fear of pursuit that they started off and hurried on with all speed, and racing along with hardly a pause for breath made a short matter of accomplishing a journey of many days. Then grouped around^a their father they embraced him, weeping the while, and kissed him as he clung to each and folded them passionately in his arms, though his soul already had a boding of some calamity. For he took note of them as they approached and greeted him, and, thinking that the son who was actually left behind was playing the laggard, he blamed him for his slowness and kept looking to the different approaches in his eagerness to see the number of his children complete. And, seeing his agitation when no one else appeared from outside, they said: "In calamity, to learn the truth is less painful than to doubt. He who has learned the truth may find the way to safety; the ignorance of doubt produces the perplexity which finds no path. Listen, then, to a story, which, painful though it be, must needs be told. The brother who was sent with us to buy corn and has not returned is alive—you must cast from your mind the worse fear of his death—but, though alive, he remains in Egypt with the regent

καταμένει παρὰ τῷ τῆς χώρας ἐπιτρόπῳ, ὃς εἴτ' ἐκ
 διαβολῆς εἴτε καὶ ὑποτοπήσας αὐτὸς αἰτίαν ἡμῖν
 185 ὡς κατασκόποις ἐπέφερεν. ἀπολογουμένων¹ δὲ ὅσα
 ὁ καιρὸς καὶ περὶ τε σοῦ τοῦ πατρὸς διεξιόντων¹ καὶ
 τῶν ἀπολειπομένων ἀδελφῶν, ἐνὸς μὲν τοῦ τεθνεῶ-
 τος, ἐτέρου δὲ τοῦ παρὰ σοὶ διατρίβοντος, ὃν ἔφαμεν
 ἔτι νέον ὄντα διὰ τὴν ἡλικίαν οἴκοι² καταμεῖναι,
 πάντα ἀπαμπίσχοντες καὶ ἀπογυμνοῦντες τὰ τῆς
 συγγενείας εἰς τὸ ἀνύποπτον οὐδὲν ἡνύσαμεν, ἀλλ'
 ἔφη μόνην ἂν αὐτῷ πίστιν ἀψευδοῦς ὁμολογίας
 γενέσθαι τὴν ὡς αὐτὸν ἀφίξιν τοῦ νεωτάτου παιδός,
 οὐ χάριν καὶ τὸν δεύτερον κατεσχηκένοι ρύσιόν τε
 186 καὶ ἐνέχυρον ἐκείνου. τὸ μὲν οὖν ἐπίταγμα πάντων
 ἀνιαρότατον, ὁ δὲ καιρὸς αὐτὸ προστάττει μᾶλλον
 [68] τοῦ κελεύοντος, ᾧ | πειστέον ἐξ ἀνάγκης διὰ
 τὰπιτήδεια, μόνης Αἰγύπτου χορηγούσης αὐτὰ
 187 τοῖς λιμῷ πιεσθεῖσιν." XXXII. ὁ δὲ
 βαρύτερον ἀναστενάξας "τίνα πρῶτον" εἶπεν "ὄλο-
 φύρωμαι; τὸν παρέσχατον, ὃς οὐ τελευταῖος ἀλλὰ
 πρῶτος ἔλαχε τὴν τῶν συμφορῶν τάξιν; ἢ τὸν
 δεύτερον, ὃς τὰ δευτερεῖα τῶν κακῶν ἤρατο, πρὸ
 θανάτου δεσμά; ἢ τὸν νεώτατον, ὃς ἀπενεκταιο-
 τάτην ὁδὸν ἀφίξεται, ἐὰν ἄρα ἀπίη, ταῖς τῶν
 ἀδελφῶν κακοπραγίαις οὐ σωφρονησθεῖς; ἐγὼ δὲ
 κατὰ μέλη καὶ μέρη διαρτῶμενος—μέρη γὰρ τέκνα
 γονέων—εἰς ἀπαιδίαν κινδυνεύω περιελθεῖν ὁ πολύ-
 188 παις καὶ εὖπαις ἄχρι πρὸ μικροῦ νομισθεῖς." ὁ δὲ
 πρεσβύτατος "εἰς ὁμηρεῖαν" ἔφη "σοὶ δύο υἱοὺς
 δίδωμι, οὓς καὶ μόνους ἐγέννησα· τούτους ἀπό-
 κτεινον, ἐὰν μὴ σῶον ἀποδῶ τὸν ἐγχειρισθησόμενον

¹ The ungrammatical genitives should perhaps be corrected to nominatives.

² MSS. οἴκαδε.

ON JOSEPH, 184-188

of the land, who, either on some accusations laid by others, or on his own suspicions, charged us with being spies. We made all the defence which the occasion called for. We told him of you, our father, 185 and the brothers who were absent from our company, how one of them was dead and the other was abiding with you, who, as we said, was still quite young and therefore on account of his age kept at home. But when we thus laid bare without concealment all the facts about our family we made no headway in removing his suspicion. He told us that the only proof which he would accept of the truth of our assertions was that the youngest son should be sent to him, and that to ensure this he detained the second son as pledge and security for the other. This command 186 is painful beyond everything, but is laid upon us less by him who issued it than by the needs of the time, which we must perforce obey to get those provisions which Egypt alone supplies to people who are hard pressed by famine.”

XXXII. Their 187 father gave a deep groan, and said : “ Whom should I lament for first ? My youngest but one, who was not the last but the first to be placed on the list of unfortunates, or the second eldest who won the second prize of evils, bonds in place of death, or the youngest who, if he does go, will go on a journey of truly evil omen, unlessoned by the misfortunes of his brothers ? While I, divided limb by limb and part by part, since the child is part of its parent, am like to survive childless, I who but lately was held to be the father of a fine and numerous family.” His eldest son then 188 said : “ I give you my two sons, my only children, as hostages. Slay them if I do not restore to you in safety the brother whom you will entrust to my hand,

ἀδελφόν, ὃς ἀφικόμενος εἰς Αἴγυπτον δύο περιποιή-
σει τὰ μέγιστα ἡμῖν, ἐν μὲν πίστιν σαφῇ τοῦ μὴ
κατασκόπους μηδὲ πολεμίους εἶναι, ἕτερον δὲ τὸ
τὸν ἀδελφὸν τὸν ἐν δεσμοῖς ἀπολαβεῖν δυνηθῆναι.”

- 189 σφόδρα δ' ἀχθομένου τοῦ πατρὸς καὶ λέγοντος
ἀγνοεῖν,¹ ὅτι δυεῖν ὄντων ὁμομητρίων ὁ μὲν ἤδη
τέθνηκεν, ὁ δ' ἔρημος καὶ μόνος ἀπολειφθεὶς
εὐλαβήσεται τὴν ὁδὸν καὶ ζῶν προαποθανεῖται τῷ
δέει κατὰ τὴν φοβερῶν ἐκείνων ὑπόμνησιν, ἃ
συνέβη τὸν πρότερον παθεῖν, ταῦτα λέγοντος, τὸν
εὐτολμότατον καὶ ἀρχικὸν φύσει καὶ δυνατὸν
εἰπεῖν—ἦν δὲ καθ' ἡλικίαν ἀπὸ τοῦ πρώτου τέταρ-
τος—προσστησάμενοι διερμηνεύειν ἔπεισαν τὰ δο-
190 κοῦντα πᾶσιν. ἐδόκει δὲ τῶν μὲν ἀναγκαίων
ὑστεριζόντων—ὁ γὰρ κομισθεὶς πρότερος σίτος
ἐπιλελοίπει—, κρατοῦντος δὲ τοῦ λιμοῦ καὶ πιέ-
ζοντος, ὠνησομένους ἀπιέναι, μὴ βαδιεῖσθαι δὲ τοῦ
νεωτάτου καταμένοντος· τὸν γὰρ τῆς χώρας ἐπί-
τροπον ἀπηγορευκέναι δίχα τούτου παραγενέσθαι.
191 λογισάμενος δὲ ἄτε σοφὸς ἀνὴρ, ὡς
ἔστιν ἄμεινον ἔνα προέσθαι τῷ τοῦ μέλλοντος
ἀδήλῳ καὶ ἀμφιβόλῳ πρὸ τῆς ὁμολογουμένης τῶν
τοσούτων ἀπωλείας, ἦν ὑπομενεῖ πᾶς οἶκος ἐνδεῖα
192 πιεσθεὶς, ἀνιάτῳ νόσῳ, φησὶν αὐτοῖς· “ ἀλλ' εἰ τῆς
ἐμῆς βουλήσεως ἐπικρατέστερα τὰ τῆς ἀνάγκης
ἐστίν, εἰκτέον· ἴσως γὰρ ἴσως ἢ φύσις οἰκονομεῖ τι
βέλτιον, ὃ μήπω ταῖς διανοαῖς ἡμῶν παραφαίνειν
193 ἀξιοῖ. λαβόντες οὖν καὶ τὸν νεώτατον, ὡς προ-
ῆρησθε, ἅπιτε, μὴ μέντοι τὸν αὐτὸν ὃν καὶ πρόσθεν
τρόπον· πάλαι μὲν γὰρ ἀργυρίου μόνον ἔδει πρὸς

¹ ἀγνοεῖν in this sense is strange: Cohn suggests ἀποκνεῖν, Mangey (better) ἀμφιγνοεῖν: I would also suggest as nearer 232

ON JOSEPH, 188-193

whose coming to Egypt will procure us two very great gains, first the clear proof that we are not spies or enemies, secondly the power to recover our brother from bondage." The father was much distressed, and 189 said that he knew not what to do, since of the two full brothers one was already dead and the other left desolate and alone would dread the journey and suffer a living death through fright recalling the horrors which had befallen his precursor. When he thus spoke, they put forward the fourth in age, the most courageous of them all, a man princely in nature and powerful of speech, and persuaded him to act as spokesman of what they all thought. This was, that, since the 190 necessities of life were running short, as the first stock of corn which they had brought was exhausted and the stress of the famine pressed hard upon them, they should set out to buy more corn but would not do so if their youngest brother stayed behind, since the ruler of the land had forbidden them to appear without him. Their father, reckoning in 191 his wisdom that it was better to surrender one to the mercy of an obscure and dubious future than that many should suffer the undoubted destruction which the stress of famine, that fatal scourge, would inflict upon the whole household, said: "Nay, if the call of necessity 192 is stronger than my wishes, I must yield, for haply it may be that nature has some better gift in store, which as yet she refuses to reveal to our mind. Take, 193 then, the youngest as you propose, and depart, but not in the same fashion as before, for on the former occasion when you were unknown and had not met

to the MSS. & ἐνδοι, "what was in his mind." The ταῦτα λέγοντος is anacoluthic in any case.

- σιτωνίαν ἀγνοούμενοις ἀνθρώποις καὶ μηδὲν πω πεπονθόσιν ἀνήκεστον, νυνὶ δὲ καὶ δώρων, τριῶν
 [69] ἔνεκα, τῆς τε | πρὸς τὸν ἡγεμόνα καὶ σιτάρχην ἀρεσκείας, ὅφ' οὗ γνωρίζεσθαί φατε, καὶ τοῦ τὸν ἐν δεσμοῖς ἀπολαβεῖν θάπτον πολλὰ καταθέντας αὐτοῦ λύτρα καὶ τοῦ τὴν ὑπόνοιαν τῆς κατασκοπῆς
 194 ὥς ἐνὶ μάλιστα ἰάσασθαι. πάντων οὖν ὅσων ἡ ἡμετέρα γῇ φέρει λαβόντες ὥσπερ τινὰς ἀπαρχὰς κομίζετε τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ καὶ δισσὸν ἀργύριον, τό τε ἀποδοθὲν πρότερον, ὃ ἴσως ἀγνοία τινὸς ἀπεδόθη,
 195 καὶ ἕτερον αὐταρκες εἰς σιτωνίαν. ἐπιφέρεσθε μέντοι καὶ τὰς ἡμετέρας εὐχάς, ἃς πρὸς τὸν σωτήρα ποιούμεθα θεόν, ἵνα καὶ εὐάρεστοι τοῖς ἐγχωρίοις ξενιτεύοντες ᾗτε καὶ ἐπανέρχησθε σῶι τὰς ἀναγκαίας παρακαταθήκας, υἱούς, ἀποδιδόντες πατρί, τὸν τε καταλειφθέντα πρότερον ἐν δεσμοῖς καὶ ὃν συνεπάγεσθε νυνὶ νεώτατον καὶ πραγμάτων ἄπειρον." ἄραντες δὲ συνέτεινον εἰς Αἴγυπτον.
 196 XXXIII. Εἴτ' ὀλίγαις ὕστερον ἡμέραις ἀφικόμενους ἰδὼν ὃ τῆς χώρας ἐπίτροπος ἦσθη πάνυ καὶ κελεύει τῷ τῆς οἰκίας ἐπιμελουμένῳ πολυτελὲς ἄριστον εὐτρεπίζειν καὶ τοὺς ἄνδρας εἰσάγειν ἀλῶν
 197 καὶ τραπέζης μεθέξοντας. εἰσαχθέντες δὲ καὶ ἐφ' ὅτῳ μὴ συναισθόμενοι διεπτόντητο καὶ συγχυθέντες ἐτόπαζον ἐπὶ κλοπῇ μέλλειν συκοφαντεῖσθαι ὥς ὑφελόμενοι τὴν τοῦ σίτου τιμὴν, ἣν πρότερον ἐν τοῖς ἀγγείοις ἀνεῦρον· εἶτα τῷ τῆς οἰκίας ἐπιμελητῇ προσελθόντες ἀπελογοῦντο περὶ οὗ μηδεὶς ἐτόλμα κατηγορεῖν τὸ συνειδὸς ἰώμενοι καὶ ἅμα προφέροντες ἐπεδείκνυν τὸ ἀργύριον εἰς ἀπόδοσιν.

with any fatal disaster you only needed money to pay for the corn, but now you must take presents also for three reasons, to propitiate the governor and chief victualler to whom you say you are known, to hasten the delivery of the prisoner with a considerable ransom, and to remedy the suspicion that you are spies as much as you can. Take, then, samples of all ¹⁹⁴ the products of our land, firstfruits, as it were, and a double sum of money, to make good what was restored to you on your former visit, perhaps through someone's oversight, and also enough for purchasing the corn. Carry with you, further, my own prayers ¹⁹⁵ which I offer to the God of our salvation that you, as strangers in the land, may be well-pleasing to the inhabitants, and also may return in safety and restore to your father the sureties which he has been forced to pledge, even his sons, both him who before was left behind in bondage and the one whom you now take with you, the youngest so inexperienced in life."

XXXIII. They set off, and hastened to Egypt. ¹⁹⁶ On their arrival a few days afterwards the governor saw them and was greatly pleased. He bade the steward of his household prepare a sumptuous meal and bring them in to partake of his salt and board. Conducted thus, with no knowledge of what was ¹⁹⁷ intended, they were scared and perturbed, guessing that they were to be libelled as thieves for having filched the price of the corn which they had found in the sacks on the first occasion. Then they approached the steward and made their defence, clearing their consciences of a matter on which no one was venturing to charge them, and at the same time they produced and shewed him the money which they had

- 198 ὁ δὲ χρηστοῖς καὶ φιλανθρώποις λόγοις εὐθυμο-
 τέρους αὐτοὺς ἐποίει φάσκων· “ οὐδεὶς ἀσεβῆς
 ἐστὶν οὕτως, ὡς τὰς τοῦ θεοῦ χάριτας συκοφαντεῖν,
 ὃς ἰλεως εἶη· θησαυροὺς γὰρ ἐν τοῖς ὑμετέροις
 ὤμβρησεν ἀγγείοις οὐ μόνον τροφὰς ἀλλὰ καὶ
 199 πλοῦτον ἐξ ἐτοίμου διδούς.” οἱ δὲ παρηγορηθέντες
 ἐν τάξει διετίθεσαν ἃ οἴκοθεν ἐπηνέγκαντο δῶρα
 καὶ παραγενομένῳ τῷ δεσπότῃ τῆς οἰκίας προσ-
 ἔφερον· πυνθανομένῳ δέ, πῶς ἔχοιεν καὶ εἰ ὁ πατὴρ
 ζῇ, περὶ οὗ πρόσθεν ἔλεγον, ἀποκρίνονται περὶ μὲν
 αὐτῶν οὐδέν, περὶ δὲ τοῦ πατρὸς ὅτι ζῇ καὶ ὑγιαί-
 200 νει. κατευξάμενος δ’ ἐκείνῳ καὶ θεοφιλέστατον προσ-
 ειπών, τὸν ὁμομήτριον περιβλεψάμενος ἀδελφὸν
 ὡς εἶδεν, οὐ κατασχών ἀλλ’ ἤδη νικώμενος ὑπὸ τοῦ
 πάθους, πρὶν γενέσθαι καταφανής, ἐπιστρέφεται
 καὶ δραμῶν πρόφασιν ἐπὶ τι τῶν κατεπειγόντων—
 ἐκλαλήσαι γὰρ τάληθές καιρὸς οὐκ ἦν—ἐν μυχῇ τινι
 τῆς οἰκίας ἀνακλαυσάμενος ἀποχεῖ τὴν τῶν δακρύων
 201 φορὰν. XXXIV. εἶπ’ ἀπονυψάμενος λογισμῷ τῆς
 ἀνίας ἐπεκράτησε καὶ προσελθὼν εἰστία τοὺς ξένους
 ἀποδοὺς πρότερον καὶ τὸν ἀντὶ τοῦ νεωτάτου
 κατασχεθέντα εἰς ὁμηρείαν· συνεισιτῶντο δὲ καὶ
 202 ἄλλοι τῶν παρ’ Αἰγυπτίοις δοκίμων. αἱ
 δ’ ὑποδοχαὶ κατὰ τὰ πάτρια ἐκάστοις ἐγίνοντο,
 χαλεπὸν ἡγουμένου παλαιοὺς νόμους παριδεῖν, καὶ
 ταῦτα ἐν εὐνοχίᾳ τινί, ἔνθα τῶν ἀηδιῶν αἱ ἡδοναὶ
 203 πλείους. | ἐξῆς δὲ προστάξαντος κατὰ τὰς ἡλικίας
 [70] καθέζεσθαι, μήπω τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἐν ταῖς συμ-
 ποτικαῖς συνουσίαις κατακλίσει χρωμένων, ἐθαύ-

* Perhaps based on Gen. xliii. 32 “ they set on for him by himself, and them by themselves, and for the Egyptians by themselves.”

ON JOSEPH, 198-203

brought for repayment. But he raised their courage 198
with kind and friendly words. "No one," he said,
"is so impious as to libel the bounties of God Whose
mercy I invoke. For He has poured treasure into
your sacks, thereby providing not only sustenance
but wealth to spend as you need it." Thus en- 199
couraged, they proceeded to set out in order the gifts
they had brought from home, and when the master
of the house arrived they offered them to him. He
asked them how they were, and whether the father
of whom they spoke before still lived, in answer to
which they said nothing about themselves but told
him that their father was alive and well. Joseph 200
invoked a blessing on him and pronounced him most
favoured by God, and then, when, looking round, he
saw Benjamin, his own mother's son, he could not
contain himself, but, overcome by emotion, turned
aside before he could be observed, and hastened,
nominally on some pressing business, as the time for
disclosure had not come, into a corner of the house
and there burst into weeping and let the tears stream
forth. XXXIV. Then he washed his face, and, reason 201
prevailing over his troubled feelings, approached his
guests and led them to the feast, having first restored
the prisoner who had been detained as hostage for the
youngest. Other Egyptian dignitaries feasted with
them. The method of entertainment 202
followed in each case ancestral practice,^a since he
strongly disapproved of neglecting old customs,
particularly at a festivity where the pleasures out-
number the disagreeables. When the guests were 203
seated, arranged by his commands in order of age, as
at that date it was not the custom to recline at con-

μαζον, εἰ Αἰγύπτιοι ζηλωταὶ τῶν αὐτῶν Ἑβραίοις
εἰσὶ τάξεώς τε πεφροντικότες καὶ τὰς πρεσβυτέρων
204 καὶ νεωτέρων τιμὰς διακρίνειν ἐπιστάμενοι. τάχα
μέντοι καὶ τὸν ἄλλον χρόνον, ἔφασκον, τῆς χώρας
ἀμαθέστερον τὰ περὶ δίαιταν ἀγούσης, ὁ ἀνὴρ οὗτος
τοῖς κοινοῖς ἐπιστὰς οὐ μόνον τοῖς μεγάλοις πράγ-
μασιν ἤρμοσεν εὐταξίαν, δι' ὧν τὰ εἰρήνης καὶ
πολέμου κατορθοῦσθαι πέφυκεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῖς
εὐτελεστέροις εἶναι δοκοῦσιν, ὧν τὰ πλεῖστα ἐν
παιδιαῖς· ἰλαρότητα γὰρ ἐπιζητοῦσιν εὐωχίαι
σεμνὸν ἄγαν καὶ αὐστηρὸν συμπότην ἥκιστα παρα-
205 δεχόμεναι. τοιούτους ἐπαίνους ἡρέμα συνειρόντων,
τράπεζαι μὲν οὐ σφόδρα πολυτελεῖς εἰσκομίζονται,
διὰ τὸν λιμὸν οὐκ ἀξιώσαντος τοῦ ξενοδόχου ταῖς
ἐτέρων ἀτυχίαις ἐντρυφᾶν· αὐτοὶ δ' ἅτε σύνεσιν
ἀκριβεῖς καὶ τοῦτ' εἰς τὰ ἐγκώμια παρελάμβανον,
ὥς ἀπειροκαλίαν, πρᾶγμα ἐπίφθονον, ἀπέστραπται,
λέγοντες· ὥς καὶ τὸ τοῦ συναλγοῦντος τοῖς δεο-
μένοις καὶ τὸ τοῦ ἐστιάτορος σχῆμα διασώζει
μεθόριον ἀμφοῖν τιθεὶς αὐτὸν καὶ τὴν ἐν ἑκατέρῳ
206 μέμψιν ἐκφεύγων. αἱ μὲν οὖν παρασκευαὶ τὸ
ἀμισῆς εἶχον πρόσφοροι τῷ καιρῷ γεγονυῖαι· τὸ δ'
ἐλλιπὲς ἀνεπλήρουν αἱ συνεχεῖς φιλοφροσύναι προ-
πόσεις, εὐχαῖς, παραινέσεις ταῖς εἰς ἀνάληψιν, ἃ
τοῖς ἐλευθέροις καὶ μὴ ἀμούσοις τὸ ἥθος ἡδίω τῶν
ὅσα περὶ ἐδωδὴν καὶ πόσιν εὐτρεπίζουσιν οἱ φιλ-

^a See Gen. xliii. 33, where the statement that they were placed in order of seniority is followed by "the men marvelled one with another."

^b Philo may have found a ground for this in the phrase

ON JOSEPH, 203-206

vivial gatherings, they were surprised to find that the Egyptians affected the same fashions as the Hebrews, and were careful of order of precedence, and knew how to discriminate between younger and older in the honours which they paid them.^a "It may 204 be," they said, "that in other times the style of life in this country was less civilized, until this man, when put over the state, introduced good order not only in the important matters which give rise to success in peace and war, but in those regarded as less important which mainly belong to the lighter side of life. For festivities demand cheerfulness and have no room for the over-grave and austere guest." While they thus quietly descanted in his praise the 205 tables were brought in, not over-sumptuously laden,^b because their host, on account of the famine, disliked the thought of luxury while others were suffering want; and they themselves had the sound sense to include in their eulogies this also, that he had shunned the odious fault of tasteless display. He had preserved, they said, the attitude both of a sympathizer with the needy and of the host at a feast, had set himself in the mean between the two and escaped censure on either count. The arrangements, 206 then, did not offend good taste, but were suitable to the occasion, and any deficiency was made good by the constant signs of kind feeling shewn in toasts and good wishes and invitations to take refreshment, things which to liberal and cultured temperaments give more pleasure than all the preparations of food and drink provided by the lovers of high feasting for

"set on bread" in contrast to the more elaborate preparations of Gen. xviii. He apparently forgets that the steward had been ordered to provide a sumptuous meal (§ 196).

εστιάτορες καὶ φιλόδειπνοι τὰ μηδεμιᾶς ἄξια σπουδῆς εἰς ὀλιγοφρόνων ἐπίδειξιν πομποστολοῦντες.

- 207 XXXV. Τῇ δ' ὕστεραία ἅμα τῇ ἔω μεταπεμφάμενος τὸν ἐπίτροπον τῆς οἰκίας κελεύει τὰ ἀγγεῖα τῶν ἀνδρῶν ὅσα ἐπηνέγκαντο γεμίσαι σίτου καὶ πάλιν ἐπὶ τῶν στομιῶν τὴν τιμὴν ἐν βαλαντίοις καταθεῖναι, εἰς δὲ τὸ τοῦ νεωτάτου καὶ τὸ κάλλιστον τῶν ἀργυρῶν ἔκπωμα, ᾧ πίνειν ἔθος εἶχεν
- 208 αὐτός. καὶ ὁ μὲν τὰ προσταχθέντα προθύμως ἐπέτελει μηδένα μάρτυρα παραλαμβάνων, οἱ δ' οὐδὲν τῶν κρύφα γεγονότων εἰδότες ἀνεξεύγνυσαν ἐπὶ τοῖς
- 209 παρ' ἐλπίδας ἀγαθοῖς ἅπασιν χαίροντες. ἃ μὲν γὰρ προσεδόκησαν, ταῦτα ἦν· ἐπὶ κλοπῇ τοῦ ἀποδοθέντος ἀργυρίου συκοφαντίαν ἔξειν, ἀδελφὸν τὸν ὁμηρεύοντα μὴ ἀπολήψεσθαι, προσαποβαλεῖν καὶ τὸν νεώτατον ἴσως ὑπὸ τοῦ σπουδάσαντος αὐτὸν
- 210 ἀχθῆναι βία κατασχεθέντα. τὰ δ' ἀποβάντα αἰσίων
- [71] τελειότερα εὐχῶν· τὸ πρὸς | τῷ μὴ συκοφαντηθῆναι τραπέζης καὶ ἁλῶν, ἃ σύμβολα γνησίου φιλίας ἀνθρώποις ἀνεύρηται, μεταλαχεῖν, τὸ κομίσασθαι τὸν ἀδελφὸν ἀνύβριστον, μηδενοῦς ἐντυχόντος καὶ δεηθέντος, τὸ καὶ τὸν νεώτατον ἀγαγεῖν πρὸς τὸν πατέρα σῶον, ἐκπεφευγότας μὲν τὰς ἐπὶ κατασκόπων ὑπονοίας, ἄφθονον δὲ τροφῶν πληθὸς ἐπιφερομένους, χρηστὰ δὲ καὶ περὶ τοῦ μέλλοντος λογιζομένους· εἰ γὰρ ἐπιλίποι τὰπιτήδεια πολλάκις, ἔφασκον, οὐκέθ' ὥς πρότερον περιδεεῖς ἀλλὰ γεγηθότες ὥς πρὸς ἴδιον ἀλλ' οὐ ξένον τὸν τῆς χώρας

ON JOSEPH, 206-210

themselves and others, who make a parade of what is unworthy of care and attention with the ostentation natural to men of little mind.

XXXV. On the next day at dawn he sent for the 207 steward of the house and bade him fill with corn all the sacks which the men had brought, and again put the purchase-money in purses at the mouths of the sacks, and also to place in that of the youngest his finest piece of silver, the cup out of which he was accustomed to drink himself. The steward readily 208 carried out his orders without anyone else being present, and they, knowing nothing of these secret doings, set off in high spirits at all their good fortune so far beyond their hopes. What they had expected 209 was to find themselves the victims of a false charge of stealing the money which had been restored to them, to fail to recover their brother who was left as hostage and perhaps also in addition to lose the youngest who might be forcibly detained by the governor who had urged his coming. What had 210 happened surpassed their most sanguine wishes. Instead of being subjected to accusation, they had been made partners in the board and salt which men have devised as the symbols of true friendship. They had recovered their brother inviolate without any intervention or entreaty. They were bringing, too, the youngest safe and sound to his father, and while they had escaped the suspicion of being spies they were taking with them a rich abundance of food and moreover had comfortable prospects for the future. "For if provisions should chance to fail," they reasoned, "we shall leave home not in extreme fear as before but with joyful hearts, knowing that we shall find in the governor of the country not a stranger but a per-

- 211 ἐπίτροπον ἀποδημήσομεν. XXXVI. ἀλλὰ
 γὰρ οὕτω διακειμένων καὶ τοιαῦτα ταῖς ψυχαῖς
 ἀναπολούντων, αἰφνίδιος καὶ ἀπροσδόκητος ταραχὴ
 καταλαμβάνει. προσταχθεὶς γὰρ ὁ τῆς οἰκίας
 ἐπιμελητῆς, ἐπαγόμενος therapόντων πλήθος οὐκ
 ὀλίγον, κατασεῖων τὰς χεῖρας καὶ μένειν ὑποσημαί-
 212 νων ἐβοηδρόμει. καὶ συντείνας ἄσθματος πλήρης
 “ἐπεσφράγισθε” εἶπε “καὶ τὰς προτέρας καθ’
 αὐτῶν αἰτίας· ἀγαθὰ κακοῖς ἀμειψάμενοι πάλιν τὴν
 αὐτὴν ὁδὸν τῶν ἀδικημάτων ἐτράπεσθε· τὴν τοῦ
 σίτου τιμὴν ὑπεξελόμενοι καὶ μείζον ἔτι προσεξ-
 ειργάσασθε· πονηρία γὰρ τυχοῦσα ἀμνηστίας ἐπι-
 213 δίδωσι. τὸ κάλλιστον καὶ τιμιώτατον ἔκπωμα τοῦ
 δεσπότου, ἐν ᾧ προπόσεις προῦπινεν ὑμῖν, κεκλό-
 φατε οἱ λίαν εὐχάριστοι, οἱ λίαν εἰρηνικοί, οἱ μηδ’
 ὄνομα κατασκοπῆς εἰδότες, οἱ διττὸν ἀργύριον εἰς
 ἀπόδοσιν τοῦ προτέρου κεκομικότες, ἐνέδραν ὡς
 ἔοικε καὶ δέλεαρ ἐπὶ θήραν καὶ ἀρπαγὴν πλειό-
 νων. ἀλλ’ οὐκ εἰς ἅπαν εὐδοεῖ κακία, λανθάνειν δ’
 214 αἰεὶ τεχνάζουσα καταφωρᾶται.” ταῦτα συνείροντος,
 ἀχανεῖς ἐπάγησαν, λύπης καὶ φόβου, τῶν ἀργα-
 λεωτάτων κακῶν, ἐξαίφνης ἐπιπεσόντων, ὡς μηδὲ
 διαῖραι τὸ στόμα δύνασθαι· τῶν γὰρ ἀπροσδοκῆτων
 κακῶν αἱ προσβολαὶ καὶ τοῖς δεινοῖς περὶ λόγους
 215 ἀφωνίαν ἐμποιοῦσι. παρειμένοι δ’ ὁμως ὑπὲρ τοῦ
 μὴ δοκεῖν ἀλισκόμενοι τῷ συνειδότητι καθησυχάζειν
 “πῶς” ἔφασαν “ἀπολογησόμεθα καὶ πρὸς τίνα;
 σὺ γὰρ μέλλεις ἔσεσθαι καὶ δικαστῆς ὁ κατήγορος,
 ὃς ὥφειλες καὶ ἐτέρων αἰτιωμένων ἡμῖν συν-
 αγορεύειν ἐξ ὧν ἐπειράθης· ἢ τὸ μὲν ἀργύριον τὸ

ON JOSEPH, 211-215

sonal friend.” XXXVI. While they were 211
in this mood, and their souls occupied with these reflections, a sudden and unexpected discomfiture overtook them. For the steward, by order of his master, with a considerable body of servants, appeared in pursuit waving his hands and beckoning to them to halt. And when he arrived, all eagerness and panting 212
hard, “You have set the seal,” he said, “to the earlier charges made against you. You have returned evil for good and once more set your feet in the same path of iniquity. You have filched the price of the corn and committed in addition a still worse crime, for villainy grows if it receives condonation. You have stolen the finest and most valuable 213
of my master’s cups in which he pledged you, you, who were so exceedingly grateful, so exceedingly peace-loving, you who did not so much as know the meaning of ‘spy,’ you who brought double money to pay what was due before, apparently as a trap and snare to serve you in your quest for still more plunder. But wickedness does not prosper in the long run ; it is ever scheming to remain hid but is detected in the end.” While he continued in this strain, they 214
stood paralysed and speechless, suddenly seized by those most painful inflictions, grief and fear, so that they could not even open their mouths. For the onset of unexpected ills can render even eloquent speakers mute. Yet, unnerved as they were, they 215
did not wish their silence to be construed as a sign that their conscience convicted them, and therefore they replied : “How shall we defend ourselves, and to whom ? You will be our judge, you who are also our accuser, who from your experience of us should rather be the advocate did others arraign us. Could

- εὐρεθὲν ἐν τοῖς ἀγγείοις πρότερον οὐδενὸς ἐλέγχοντος ἐκομίσασμεν ἀποδώσοντες, τοσαύτη δ' ἔχρησάμεθα τῶν τρόπων μεταβολῇ, ὥς τὸν ξενοδόχον ἀμείψασθαι ζημίαις καὶ κλοπαῖς; ἀλλ' οὔτε γέγονε
- 216 τοῦτο μήτ' εἰς νοῦν ἔλθοι ποτὲ τὸν ἡμέτερον. ὃς δ' ἂν ἔχων ἀλῶ τὸ ἔκπωμα τῶν ἀδελφῶν, θνησκέτω· θανάτου γὰρ τὰδίκημα, εἰ γέγονεν ὄντως, τιμώμεθα διὰ πολλά· πρῶτον μὲν ὅτι πλεονεξία καὶ τὸ τῶν ἀλλοτρίων ἐπιθυμεῖν παρανομώτατον, δεύτερον ὅτι τοὺς ὠφεληκότας βλάπτειν ἐπιχειρεῖν ἀνοσιώτατον, τρίτον δὲ ὅτι τοὺς μέγα φρονούντας
- [72] ἐπ' εὐγενείᾳ τὸ τῶν προγόνων ἀξίωμα | καθαιρεῖν ἔργοις ὑπαιτίοις τολμᾶν ὄνειδος αἰσχιστον· οἷς ἅπασιν ἔνοχος ὢν, εἴ τις ἡμῶν ὑφῆρηται, θανάτων
- 217 μυρίων ἄξια πεπραχὼς τελευτάτω." XXXVII. καὶ ἅμα λέγοντες τὰ ἄχθη τῶν ὑποζυγίων καθαιρουσὶ καὶ προτρέπονται μετὰ πάσης ἐπιμελείας ἐρευνᾶν. ὁ δὲ οὐκ ἀγνοῶν ἐν τῷ τοῦ νεωτάτου κατακείμενον ἅτε αὐτὸς λάθρα θεὸς ἐσοφίζετο καὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν ἀπὸ τοῦ πρεσβυτάτου ποιησάμενος ἐξῆς κατὰ στοῖχον ἐπακολουθῶν ταῖς ἡλικίαις ἐσκόπει, προφέροντος ἐκάστου καὶ ἐπιδεικνυμένου τὰ ἀγγεῖα, μέχρι τοῦ τελευταίου, παρ' ᾧ καὶ τὸ ζητούμενον ἀνευρέθη, ὥς ἰδόντας ἀθρόους ἀνοιμῶσαι καὶ τὰς ἐσθῆτας διαρρήξαντας ἐκδακρύειν ἐπιστένοντας καὶ ζῶντα τὸν ἀδελφὸν ἔτι προθρηνοῦντας καὶ οὐχ ἥττον αὐτοὺς καὶ τὸν πατέρα, ὃς προὔλεγε τὰς συμβησομένας τῷ νύῳ κακοπραγίας, δι' ἃς βουλομένους
- 218 συναποδημεῖν τὸν ἀδελφὸν οὐκ ἐπέτρεπε. κατ-

ON JOSEPH, 215-217

it be that after bringing in repayment the money we found in our sacks though no one challenged us, we completely changed our characters, so as to requite our entertainer by mulcting and robbing him ? No, we have not done so, and may no such thought ever enter our mind. Let whoever of the brothers is proved to have the cup be put to death, for death is the penalty at which we assess the crime if it really has been committed, for several reasons. First, because covetousness and the desire for what is another's is against all law ; secondly, because to attempt to injure benefactors is a most unholy deed ; thirdly, because to those who pride themselves on their high lineage it is a most shameful reproach if they do not shrink from ruining the prestige of their ancestors by deeds of guilt. And since, if any one of us has committed this theft, he is liable on all these counts, let him die since his deed deserves a thousand deaths."

XXXVII. With these words they pulled the packs from off their beasts, and bade him search with all diligence. He, who knew well that the cup was lying in the sack of the youngest son, since he had secretly put it there himself, tricked them by beginning his examination with the eldest, and continued in regular order according to their age, as each produced and shewed his sack, until he reached the last. When the object of the search was actually found in his possession, a wail arose from the whole body at the sight. They rent their clothes and wept and groaned, mourning for the death which awaited the brother who was still alive, and no less for themselves and their father who foretold the misfortunes which would befall his son and had therefore for a time refused to consent to their wish that their brother should travel

- ηφούντες δὲ καὶ συγκεχυμένοι τὴν αὐτὴν ὑπέστρεφον
 ὁδὸν εἰς τὴν πόλιν ἐκπεπληγμένοι τῷ συμβεβηκότι
 καὶ τὸ πρᾶγμα ἐπιβουλὴν ἄλλ' οὐ φιλαργυρίαν
 ἀδελφοῦ νομίζοντες· εἶτα τῷ τῆς χώρας ἐπιτρόπῳ
 219 προσαχθέντες φιλάδελφον εὖνοιαν ἀπὸ γνησίου πά-
 θους ἐπιδείκνυνται. προσπεσόντες γὰρ ἄνθρωποι τοῖς
 ἐκείνου γόνασιν ὡς κλοπῇ πάντες ἔνοχοι, ὃ μὴδ'
 εἰπεῖν θέμις ἐπ' αὐτῶν,¹ ἔδακρυσσόντων, ἰκέτευον,
 ἑαυτοὺς ἐξεδίδουσαν, ἐκούσιον δουλείαν ὑπισχνούντο,
 δεσπότην προσηγόρευον ἐκείνον, προβλήτους,² οἰκό-
 τριβας, ἀργυρωνήτους, οὐδὲν παραλείποντες τῶν
 οἰκετικῶν ὀνομάτων, ἀνεκάλουν ἑαυτοὺς.
- 220 ὁ δ' ἔτι μᾶλλον ἀποπειρώμενος ἤθει βαρυτάτῳ
 φησὶν αὐτοῖς· “μὴδέποτε τοῦτο ἐργασαίμην, ὡς
 τοσοῦτους ἀπάγειν ἐνὸς ἀμαρτόντος· τί γὰρ εἰς
 μετουσίαν ἄξιον καλεῖν τιμωριῶν τοὺς μὴ τῶν
 ἀδικημάτων κοινοπραγήσαντας; ἐκείνος μόνος,
- 221 ἐπεὶ καὶ μόνος ἔπραξε, κολαζέσθω. πυνθάνομαι
 μὲν οὖν, ὅτι πρὸ τῆς πόλεως καὶ θάνατον ὠρίζετε
 κατὰ τοῦ ἀλόντος· ἐγὼ δ' ἕκαστα πρὸς τὸ ἐπιεικὲς
 ἄγων καὶ ἡμερώτερον ἐπικουφίζω τὴν τιμωρίαν
- 222 δουλείαν ὀρίσας ἀντὶ θανάτου.” XXXVIII. χαλε-
 πῶς δὲ τὴν ἀπειλὴν φερόντων καὶ ἐφ' οἷς ἐσυκοφαν-
 τοῦντο καταδυομένων ὁ τέταρτος καθ' ἡλικίαν—ἦν

¹ MSS. ἐπ' αὐτῷ.

² So Cohn and Mangey with some ms. authority. Most MSS. have *προσηλύτους* or *προσβλήτους*. See note a.

^a Assuming that *προβλήτους* is to be read, its place in the series as a “servile name,” followed by *οἰκότριβας* and *ἀργυρωνήτους*, suggests that it also describes a special type of slave. If so, it may perhaps refer to children who had been exposed in infancy and then annexed by persons who brought them up as their own slaves. Thus they would

ON JOSEPH, 218-222

with them. Downcast and confounded they returned 218 by the same road to the city, appalled at the event and attributing it to a malicious plot and not to the covetousness of their brother. Then, when brought before the governor, they shewed their brotherly good feeling by their genuine emotion. For, falling 219 in a body at his knees, as though they were all guilty of the theft, a charge the mere mention of which was an outrage, they wept, they besought him, they put themselves at his disposal, they volunteered to submit to enslavement, they called him their master and themselves his slaves of any and every kind, outcasts,^a household bred or purchased in the market ; no servile name did they leave unsaid. But 220 he, to try them still further, assumed a very severe ^b air and said : " I trust that I may never act thus, and send so many to captivity for the sin of one. For what good reason is there for including in the penalties those who had no share in the offence ? He yonder, who alone did the deed, let him suffer for it. Now, I 221 am told that before you entered the city ^c death was the sentence you too approved for the guilty person, but as I am ever inclined for the moderate and humaner course I reduce the punishment and sentence him to slavery instead of death." XXXVIII. This stern 222 decision had greatly distressed them, utterly dejected as they were by the false accusations made against them, when the fourth in age, who combined

naturally form a third class to *οικότριβας* (taken as = *οικογένειαι*) and *ἀργυρωνήτους*. I have not been able to find in Greek or Roman legislation any allusion to such a status, but see App. p. 602.

^b Or perhaps "dignified," "impressive," *cf. De Abr.* 210. Possibly, as Mangey suggested, read *βαθυτέρω*, *cf. § 168 above.*

^c Lit. "in front of the city."

- δὲ τολμητῆς μετ' αἰδοῦς καὶ θαρραλέος, παρρησίαν
 τὴν ἀνευ ἀναισχυντίας ἐπιτετηδευκώς—προσελθὼν
 φησι· “δέομαι, δέσποτα, μὴ θυμῷ χαρίσασθαι μηδ’
 ὅτι τέταξαι τὴν μετὰ βασιλέα τάξιν προκαταγνῶναι
 223 πρὸ τῆς ἀπολογίας ἡμῶν. πυνθανομένῳ σοι κατὰ
 τὴν προτέραν ἐπιδημίαν περί τε ἀδελφοῦ καὶ πα-
 [73] τρὸς ἀπεκρινάμεθα· πατήρ μὲν | ἐστὶ πρεσβύτης,
 οὐ χρόνῳ μᾶλλον γεγηρακώς ἢ ταῖς ἐπαλλήλοις
 δυστυχίαις, ὑφ’ ὧν γυμναζόμενος ἀθλητοῦ τρόπον
 ἐν πόνοις καὶ δυσκαρτερήτοις κακοπαθείαις δι-
 ετέλεσεν· ἀδελφὸς δὲ κομιδῇ νέος ἐστίν, ἐκτόπως
 στεργόμενος ὑπὸ τοῦ πατρός, ἐπειδὴ καὶ ὀψίγονός
 ἐστὶ καὶ δυεῖν γενομένων ὁμομητρίων ἀπελείφθη
 μόνος, τοῦ πρεσβυτέρου βιαίως ἀποθανόντος.
 224 κελεύοντος δὲ σοῦ ἐνθάδε τὸν ἀδελφὸν ἀγαγεῖν καὶ
 ἀπειλοῦντος, εἰ μὴ παραγένοιτο, μηδ’ ἡμῖν εἰς ὄψιν
 ἔλθειν ἔτι τὴν σὴν ἐπιτραπήσεσθαι, κατηφοῦντες
 ἀπηλλαττόμεθα καὶ μόλις οἴκαδε ἐπανελθόντες
 225 ἔδηλοῦμεν τὰ ἀπὸ σοῦ τῷ πατρί. ὁ δὲ κατ’ ἀρχὰς
 μὲν ἀντέλεγε δεδιὼς σφόδρα περὶ τῷ παιδί, τῶν
 δ’ ἀναγκαίων ὑποσπανιζόντων καὶ μηδενὸς ἡμῶν
 τολμῶντος ἐπὶ σιτωνίαν ἤκειν δίχα τοῦ νεωτάτου
 διὰ τὰς σὰς ἐπανατάσεις, μόλις πείθεται τοῦτον
 συνεκπέμψαι μυρία μὲν αἰτιώμενος, ὅτι ἀδελφὸν
 ἄλλον ἔχειν ὡμολογήσαμεν, μυρία δ’ οἰκτιζόμενος,
 εἰ μελλήσει διαζεύγνυσθαι· νήπιος γάρ ἐστι καὶ
 πραγμάτων ἄπειρος, οὐ μόνον τῶν κατὰ τὴν ἀλ-
 226 λοδαπήν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν κατὰ τὴν πόλιν.¹ πρὸς οὖν

¹ The singular seems strange. Mangey wished to correct either to τὴν <ιδίαν> πόλιν or τὰς πόλεις. The latter is accepted

ON JOSEPH, 222-225

boldness and courage with modesty and practised frankness of speech without effrontery, approached him and said : " My lord, I pray you not to give way to wrath, nor, because you have been appointed to the second post after the king, to condemn before you have heard our defence. When you asked us at our first visit of our brother and father, we answered, ' Our father is an old man, aged not so much by years as by repeated misfortunes, whereby as in a training-school he has been continually exercised amid labours and sufferings which have tried him sore. But our brother is quite young, the idol and darling of his father, because he is the child of his later years, the only one left of the two that their mother bore, since the elder has died a violent death. Now when you bade us bring that brother here, and threatened that if he did not arrive we should not even be admitted again to your presence, we departed in dejection, and, when we got home, only with reluctance told your orders to our father. He at first opposed them in his great fear for the boy, but, when necessities grew scarce and yet none of us dared to come and buy corn without the youngest because of the stern warning you had given, he was with difficulty persuaded to send the boy with us. Many a time did he blame us for admitting that we had another brother. Many a time did he pity himself for the coming separation from the boy, for he is but a child and without experience, not only of life in a foreign land, but of city^a life

^a Cohn translates " einheimischen," which would seem to represent Mangey's *τὴν ἰδίαν πόλιν* (see critical note).

by Cohn in a similar passage in *De Decal.* 13, where the mss. have *κατὰ πόλιν*. (The absence of the article perhaps makes a difference, and *κατὰ πόλιν* might be read in both passages.)

οὕτω διακείμενον τὸν πατέρα πῶς ἂν ἀφικοίμεθα;
 τίσι δ' ὀφθαλμοῖς αὐτὸν θεάσασθαι δίχα τούτου
 δυνησόμεθα; τελευτὴν οἰκτίστην ὑπομενεῖ μόνον
 ἀκούσας, ὥς οὐκ ἐπανελήλυθεν· εἴθ' ἡμᾶς ἀνδρο-
 φόνους καὶ πατροκτόνους ἕκαστος ἐρεῖ τῶν φι-
 λαπεχθημόνων καὶ ἐπὶ ταῖς τοιαύταις συμφοραῖς
 227 ἐθελοκακούντων. τὸ δὲ πλείστον τῆς κατηγορίας
 ῥηθήσεται κατ' ἐμοῦ· πολλὰ γὰρ ὑπεσχόμην τῷ πατρὶ
 προέσθαι παρακαταθήκην λαμβάνειν ὁμολογῶν, ἣν
 ὑποδώσειν, ὅταν ἀπαιτηθῶ· πῶς δ' ἂν, εἰ μὴ ἐξ-
 ευμενισθείης αὐτός, ἀποδοῦναι δυναίμην; οἶκτον
 δέομαι τοῦ πρεσβύτου λαβεῖν καὶ εἰς ἔννοιαν ἐλθεῖν
 τῶν κακῶν οἷσπερ ἀνιαθήσεται μὴ κομισάμενος ὃν
 228 ἀβουλῶν ἐνεχείρισεν. ἀλλὰ σὺ μὲν ὑπὲρ ὧν ἔδοξας
 ἡδικῆσθαι δίκας λάμβανε. δώσω δ' ἐθελοντῆς ἐγώ·
 δοῦλον ἀπὸ ταύτης ἀνάγραφε τῆς ἡμέρας, ἄσμενος
 ὑπομενῶ τὰ τῶν νεωνήτων, ἐὰν τὸ παιδίον ἐθελήσῃς
 229 ἐᾶσαι. λήψεται¹ δ' οὐκ αὐτὸς τὴν χάριν, ἐὰν ἄρα
 διδῶς, ἀλλ' ὁ μὴ παρὼν ἐπικουφισθεῖς τῶν φρον-
 τίδων, ὁ τῶν τοσούτων πατὴρ ἱκετῶν ἀπάντων·
 ἱκέται γάρ ἐσμεν καταπεφευγότες ἐπὶ τὴν σὴν
 230 ἱερωτάτην δεξιάν, ἥς μηδέποτε διαμάρτοιμεν. ἔλεος
 οὖν εἰσελθέτω σε γήρως ἀνδρὸς τοὺς ἀρετῆς ἄθλους
 κατὰ πᾶσαν ἡλικίαν διαπονήσαντος· τὰς κατὰ
 Συρίαν πόλεις εἰς ἀποδοχὴν αὐτοῦ καὶ τιμὴν ἐπ-
 ἔστρεψε, καίτοι ξενικωτέροις ἔθεσι καὶ νομίμοις καὶ
 πολὺ διεστῶσι χρώμενος, οὐ βραχεῖ τινι τῶν ἐγγω-
 ρίων ἡλλοτριωμένος· ἀλλ' ἡ τοῦ βίου καλοκάγαθία
 καὶ τὸ σύμφωνον καὶ ὁμολογούμενον πρὸς ἔργα
 λόγων καὶ πρὸς λόγους ἔργων ἐξενίκησεν, ὥς καὶ
 [74] τοὺς ἔνεκα | τῶν πατρίων μὴ εἰγνώμονας μεθ-

¹ MSS. λήψη.

ON JOSEPH, 226-230

in general. Then, since such are our father's feelings, 226
how can we return to him? How can we look him
in the face without the boy? He will suffer the
saddest of deaths on merely hearing that he has not
returned, and we shall be called murderers and parri-
cides by all the spiteful people who gloat over such
misfortunes. And the chief stream of obloquy will 227
be directed against me, for I pledged myself with
many forfeits to my father, and declared that I re-
ceived the boy as a deposit which I would restore
when it was demanded from me. But how can I restore
it, unless you yourself are propitiated? I pray you
to take pity on the old man, and realize the miseries
which he will suffer if he does not recover him whom
he unwillingly entrusted to my hand. But do you 228
exact the penalty for the wrongs which you believe
yourself to have received. I will willingly pay it.
Write me down your slave from this day onwards. I
will gladly endure what the newly-bought endure
if you will spare the child. This boon, if indeed you 229
grant it, will be a boon not to the boy himself but to
one who is not here present, whom you will relieve
of his cares, the father of all these many suppliants.
For suppliants we are who have fled for refuge to
your most august right hand, which we pray may
never fail us. Take pity, then, on the old age of one 230
who has spent all his years labouring in the arena of
virtue. The cities of Syria he won over to receive and
honour him, though his customs and usages were
strange to them and very different, and those of the
country alien to him in no small degree. But the
nobility of his life, and his acknowledged harmony of
words with deeds and deeds with words, prevailed so
that even those whom national feelings prejudiced

231 αρμόσασθαι. τοιαύτην μέλλεις κατατίθεσθαι χάριν,
 ἥς οὐκ ἂν δύναίτο τις μείζονα λαβεῖν· τίς γάρ ἂν
 γένοιτο πατρὶ δωρεὰ μείζων ἢ υἱὸν ἀπογνωσθέντα
 κομίσασθαι; ”

232 XXXIX. Πάντα δ' ἦσαν ἀπόπειρα καὶ ταῦτα
 καὶ τὰ πρότερα, πῶς ἔχουσι τοῦ τῆς χώρας ἐπι-
 τρόπου σκοποῦντος εὐνοίας πρὸς τὸν ὁμομήτριον
 ἀδελφόν· ἐδεδίει γάρ, μὴ φυσικῇ τινι ἀλλοτριώσει
 κέχρηται, καθάπερ οἱ ἐκ μητρικῶν γεγονότες πρὸς

233 τὸν ἐξ ἐτέρας ἰσοτίμου γυναικὸς οἶκον. διὰ τοῦτο
 καὶ ὡς κατασκόπους ἤτιᾶτο καὶ περὶ τοῦ γένους
 ἐπυνθάνετο πρόφασιν τοῦ γνῶναι, εἰ περίεστιν ὁ
 ἀδελφός, ἀλλὰ μὴ ἐξ ἐπιβουλῆς ἀνήρηται, καὶ ἓνα
 κατέσχε τοὺς ἄλλους ἐάσας ἀπαίρειν ὁμολογή-
 σαντας ἀγαγεῖν τὸν νεώτατον, ὃν ἰδεῖν μάλιστα¹
 ἐπόθει καὶ τῆς ἐπ' αὐτῷ χαλεπῆς καὶ βαρυτάτης

234 ἀνίας ἀπαλλαγῆναι,¹ καὶ ἐπειδὴ παρεγένετο καὶ τὸν
 ἀδελφὸν ἐθεάσατο, μικρὸν ὅσον ἀνεθείς τῆς φρον-
 τίδος, καλέσας ἐπὶ ξενίαν καὶ ἐστίων πολυτελεσ-
 τέrais εὐώχει τὸν ὁμομήτριον παρασκευαῖς, ἀπο-
 βλέπων εἰς ἕκαστον καὶ τεκμαιρόμενος ἐκ τῆς

235 ὀψεως, εἴ τις αὐτοῖς ὑποικουρεῖ φθόνος, καὶ ὡς
 ἀσμενίζοντας ἐώρα καὶ ἀναχεομένους ἐπὶ τῇ τοῦ
 νεωτάτου τιμῇ, δυσὶν ἤδη μαρτυρίαις σημειω-
 σάμενος τὸ μηδὲν ἔχθος ὑποτύφεσθαι καὶ τρίτην
 ἐπενόησε, τὴν τοῦ κεκλέφθαι δοκοῦντος ἐκπώματος

¹ Cohn and Mangey's punctuation seems to me faulty in this sentence. They place full stops after ἀπαλλαγῆναι and φθόνος (Mangey also after ἀνήρηται). But surely it is all one sentence introduced by διὰ τοῦτο and stating that all these steps were taken as a test.

^a Benjamin's "mess" was five times as much as any of
 252

ON JOSEPH, 231-235

against him were brought over to his ways. Such 231
is the gratitude which you will earn, and what greater
could be earned? For what greater boon could a
father have than the recovery of a son of whose safety
he has despaired?"

XXXIX. All this and what had gone before was 232
intended to test what feeling they shewed under
the eyes of the governor to his own mother's son.
For he feared that they might have had that natural
estrangement which the children of a stepmother
often shew to the family of another wife who was no
less esteemed than their own mother. This was the 233
reason why he accused them of spying, and ques-
tioned them on their kin in order to know whether
that brother was alive and had not been the victim
of a plot, and also why he detained one when he
let the others depart after agreeing to bring the
youngest, whom he greatly yearned to see and thus
shake off the trouble which weighed on him so
heavily. This again was why, though when he 234
came to join them and seeing his brother felt just a
little relieved, he after inviting them to the hospi-
tality of his board entertained his mother's son on
a richer scale than the rest,^a but meanwhile observed
each of them to judge from their looks whether they
still cherished some secret envy. Finally it was for 235
the same reason that when he saw how pleased and
overjoyed they were at the honour paid to that
brother and thus had established by two testimonies
that there was no smouldering enmity, he devised
this third testimony, namely to pretend that the

theirs, Gen. xliii. 34. Philo has rather strangely omitted
to mention this in his account of the feast. Josephus, *Ant.*
ii. 125, gives the same reason for the action.

- αἰτίαν ἀναθεῖς τῷ νεωτάτῳ· σαφέστατος γὰρ
 ἔμελλεν ἔλεγχος οὕτως γενέσθαι τῆς ἐκάστου
 διανοίας καὶ οἰκειότητος τῆς πρὸς τὸν συκοφαν-
 236 τούμενον ἀδελφόν. ἐξ ὧν ἀπάντων ἤδη συνεπί-
 θετο περὶ τοῦ μὴ καταστασιάζεσθαι μηδ' ἐπι-
 βουλεύεσθαι τὸν μητρῶον οἶκον λογισμὸν τε εἰκότα
 καὶ περὶ τῶν αὐτῷ συμβεβηκότων ἐλάμβανεν, ὥς
 οὐκ ἐπιβουλαῖς ἀδελφῶν αὐτὰ μᾶλλον εἶη πεπονθὼς
 ἢ κατὰ πρόνοιαν θεοῦ τὰ μακρὰν ἐμβλέποντος καὶ
 τὰ μέλλοντα οὐχ ἥττον τῶν παρόντων ὁρῶντος.
- 237 XL. Εἰτ' ἐπὶ συμβάσεις καὶ καταλλαγὰς ἵετο
 νικώμενος ὑπὸ φιλοικείου πάθους καὶ ὑπὲρ τοῦ
 μηδὲν ὄνειδος προσβαλεῖν τοῖς ἀδελφοῖς ἕνεκα τῆς
 πράξεως οὐδένα τῶν Αἰγυπτίων ἐδικαίωσε παρεῖναι
- 238 κατὰ τὴν πρώτην ἀναγνώρισιν· ἀλλὰ κελεύσας
 ἅπασαν τὴν θεραπείαν μεταστῆναι, πηγὴν τινα
 δακρύων ἐξαίφνης ἀνείς καὶ τῇ δεξιᾷ προσελθεῖν
 ἐγγυτέρω σημήνας, ἵνα μηδ' ἐκ τύχης ἐπακοῦσαι
 τις ἄλλος δυνηθῇ, φησὶν αὐτοῖς· “ἐπεσκιασμένον
 πρᾶγμα καὶ χρόνῳ μακρῷ συγκεκρύφθαι δοκοῦν
 μέλλων ἀνακαλύπτειν μόνος μόνοις ὑμῖν ἀπαμ-
 πίσχω· ἀδελφὸν δὲν ἀπέδοσθε εἰς Αἴγυπτον, ἐκείνος
- 239 δὲν ὁράτε νῦν παρεστῶτα αὐτός εἰμι ἐγώ.” κατα-
 πλαγέντων δ' αὐτῶν παρ' ἐλπίδα καὶ διεπτοημένων
 καὶ ὥσπερ ὀλκῇ τινι βιαίῳ τὰς ὄψεις ἐπὶ γῆν κατα-
 βεβληκότων καὶ πεπηγότων ἀφώνων καὶ ἀχανῶν,
- [75] “μὴ κατηφεῖτε” | εἶπεν, “ἀμνηστίαν ἀπάντων
 παρέχω τῶν εἰς ἐμὲ πεπραγμένων, μηδενὸς ἑτέρου
- 240 δεῖσθε παρακλήτου· αὐτοκελεύστω καὶ ἐκουσίῳ
 γνώμῃ πρὸς συμβάσεις ἐθελοντῆς ἀφίγμαι συμβού-
 λους¹ χρησάμενος δυσί, τῇ τε πρὸς τὸν πατέρα

¹ MSS. συμβόλοις.

ON JOSEPH, 235-240

cup had been stolen, and charge the theft to the youngest. For this would be the clearest way of testing the real feeling of each, and their attachment to the brother thus falsely accused. On all these 236 grounds he was now convinced that there was no factious conspiracy to undo his mother's family, and also considering what had happened to himself he came to the conclusion that his experiences were probably due not so much to their conspiring as to the providence of God Who beholds distant events and sees the future no less than the present.

XL. So then, overcome by family affection, he 237 hastened to conclude his reconciliation. And that no reproach might attach to the brothers for their action he judged it best that no Egyptian should be present at the first recognition. Instead he bade all 238 the staff to withdraw, and then suddenly shedding a flood of tears and beckoning to them with his right hand to approach nearer so that no one else could by chance hear him, he said: "I am going to reveal to you a matter which has been shrouded in darkness and long time hidden, and I do so while you and I are all alone. The brother whom you sold into Egypt is I myself, whom you see standing beside you." When, astonished and staggered at the un- 239 expected news, they stood rooted to the spot mute and speechless with eyes cast to the ground as though drawn by some compelling force, "Be not downcast," he continued, "I forgive and forget all what you did to me. Do not ask for any other advocate. Of my own free, unbidden judgement I 240 have voluntarily come to make my peace with you. In this I have two fellow-counsellors, my reverence

- εὐσεβεία, ᾧ τὸ πλεῖστον τῆς χάριτος ἀνατίθηναι, καὶ
 τῇ φυσικῇ φιланθρωπία, ἣ πρὸς ἅπαντας δια-
 241 φερόντως δὲ πρὸς τοὺς ἀφ' αἵματος χρῶμαι. (καὶ
 νομίζω τῶν συμβεβηκότων οὐχ ὑμᾶς ἀλλὰ θεὸν
 αἷτιον γεγενῆσθαι βουλευθέντα με τῶν αὐτοῦ χαρί-
 τῶν καὶ δωρεῶν, ὥς ἐν τοῖς ἀναγκαιοτάτοις καιροῖς
 ἡξίωσε τῷ γενεῖ τῶν ἀνθρώπων παρασχεῖν, ὑπη-
 242 ρέτην γενέσθαι καὶ διάκονον. ἐναργῇ δὲ πίστιν
 δύνασθε λαβεῖν ἐξ ὧν ὁράτε· πᾶσαν μὲν Αἴγυπτον
 ἐπιτέτραμμαι, τιμὴν δὲ ἔχω τὴν πρώτην παρὰ τῷ
 βασιλεῖ καὶ μὲ νέον ὄντα πρεσβύτερος ὢν ὡς πατέρα
 τιμᾶ· θεραπεύομαί τε οὐχ ὑπὸ τῶν ἐγχωρίων μόνον
 ἀλλὰ καὶ ὑπὸ πλείστων ἄλλων ἐθνῶν, ὅσα καὶ
 ὑπήκοα καὶ αὐτόνομα· χρεῖα γὰρ πάντα διὰ τὴν
 243 ἔνδειαν προεστῶτος. ἄργυρός τε καὶ χρυσὸς καί,
 τὸ τούτων ἀναγκαιότερον, αἱ τροφαὶ παρ' ἐμοὶ μόνῳ
 ταμιεύονται διανέμονται καὶ κατακερματίζονται πρὸς
 τὰς ἀναγκαίας χρείας ἐκάστοις τῶν δεομένων, ὡς
 μήτε τι τῶν εἰς τρυφὴν περιττεῦσαι μήτε τι τῶν
 244 εἰς ἐκπλήρωσιν ἐνδείας ἐπιλιπεῖν. ἀλλ' οὐκ ἐναβρυ-
 νόμενος καὶ σεμνυνόμενος ταυτὶ διεξῆλθον, ἀλλ'
 ἵν' αἰσθησθε, ὅτι τῶν τηλικούτων οὐδεὶς ἔμελλεν
 ἀνθρώπων αἷτιος ἔσεσθαι δούλῳ καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα
 δεσμώτῃ γενομένῳ—καὶ γὰρ ἐδέθην ποτὲ συκο-
 φαντηθεῖς—, ἀλλ' ὁ τὰς ἐσχάτας συμφοράς τε καὶ
 δυσπραγίας μεθαρμοσάμενος εἰς τὰς ἀνωτάτω καὶ
 245 πρώτας εὐτυχίας θεὸς ἦν, ᾧ πάντα δυνατά. ταῦτα
 ἐμοῦ διανοουμένου, μηκέτι εὐλαβῶς ἔχετε τὰς δυσ-
 φροσύνας ἐκποδῶν ποιησάμενοι καὶ πρὸς ἰλαρὰν
 μεταβαλόντες εὐθυμίαν. εὖ δ' ἂν ἔχοι καὶ πρὸς τὸν
 πατέρα συντεῖναι καὶ πρῶτον αὐτῷ τὰ περὶ τῆς

ON JOSEPH, 240-245

for our father, which is chiefly responsible for the favour I shew you, and the natural humanity which I feel to all men, and particularly to those of my blood. (And I consider that the cause of what has 241 happened is not you but God, Who willed to use me as His servant, to administer the boons and gifts which He deigns to grant to the human race in the time of their greatest need. You can have a clear 242 proof of this in what you see. All Egypt is committed to my hands, and I hold the first place of honour with the king, and though I am young, and he my elder, he honours me as a father. I have waiting on my will not only the inhabitants of the land, but most of the other nations, whether subject or independent, for because of the dearth they all need me at the head. Silver and gold are stored in my 243 keeping alone, and, what is more necessary than these, the means of sustenance, which I distribute and parcel out to those who ask, according to their necessary requirements, so that they have no superfluities which might serve for luxury nor lack of what may satisfy actual want. But I have told you all 244 this, not because I plume and pride myself thereon, but that you may perceive that no man could have caused such greatness to come to one who was a slave and afterwards a prisoner—for I was once in bonds under a false charge—but He Who turned my condition of extreme calamity into one of unequalled and exalted good fortune was God to Whom all things are possible. Since I am so dis- 245 posed, fear no more, but cast aside your heaviness of heart and take a cheerful courage in its stead. It would be well that you should hasten to our father, and first of all give him the good tidings that you

- ἐμῆς εὐρέσεως εὐαγγελίσασθαι· φθάνουσι γὰρ αἱ
 246 φῆμαι πανταχόσε.” XLI. οἱ δὲ κατὰ
 διαδοχὴν τοὺς ἐπαίνους αὐτοῦ συνείροντες ἀπαύ-
 στως ἀχαλίνους στόμασιν ἐξύμνουν ἄλλος ἄλλο τι
 διεξιὼν, ὁ μὲν τὸ ἀμνησίκακον, ὁ δὲ τὸ φιλοΐκειον,
 ὁ δὲ τὴν σύνεσιν, ἅπαντες δ’ ἄθροοι τὴν εὐσέβειαν
 ἐπὶ τὸν θεὸν ἀναφέροντος τὰ τέλη τῶν κατορθου-
 μένων καὶ μηκέτι ταῖς ἀβουλήτοις ἀρχαῖς καὶ
 247 πρῶταις ἐνστάσεσι τῶν μὴ κατὰ γνώμην δυσχερά-
 ναντος καὶ τὴν ὑπερβάλλουσιν μετ’ αἰδοῦς καρ-
 248 τερίαν· ὃς ἐν τοσαύταις γεγονῶς ἀνωμαλίαις οὔτε
 δουλεύων βλάσφημον οὐδὲν εἶπε κατὰ τῶν ἀδελφῶν
 ὡς πεπρακότων οὐτ’ εἰς εἰρκτὴν ἀπαγόμενος ὑπ’
 ἀθυμίας ἐξελάλησέ τι τῶν ἀπορρήτων οὔτε πολὺν
 [76] χρόνον ἐκεῖ καταμένων, οἷα | φιλεῖ, τοῖς δεσμώταις
 ἔθους ὄντος τὰς ἰδίας ἀτυχίας ἀναμετρεῖσθαι, ἀπ-
 248 εγύμνωσεν· ἀλλ’ ὡς μηδὲν εἰδὼς τῶν αὐτῷ συμβε-
 βηκότων, ἀλλ’ οὐδ’ ὅτε τὰ ὀνειράτα διέκρινεν ἢ τοῖς
 εὐνούχοις ἢ τῷ βασιλεῖ, καιρὸν ἔχων εἰς μὴνυσιν
 ἐπιτήδειον, ἐφθέγγετό τι περὶ τῆς ἰδίας εὐγενείας,
 οὐδ’ ὅτε βασιλέως ὑπαρχος ἐχειροτονεῖτο καὶ τῆς
 Αἰγύπτου πάσης τὴν ἐπιμέλειαν καὶ προστασίαν
 παρελάμβανεν, ἵνα μὴ δόξη τις εἶναι τῶν ἡμελη-
 μένων καὶ ἀφανῶν, ἀλλὰ τῷ ὄντι εὐπατρίδης, οὐ
 φύσει δοῦλος, ἀλλ’ ἐπιβουλὰς ὑφ’ ὧν ἦκιστ’ ἐχρῆν
 249 ἀνηκέστους ὑπομεμενηκῶς καὶ συμφοράς. ἔτι δὲ
 πρὸς τούτοις ἐρρῦν πολὺς ἔπαινος ἰσότητος αὐτοῦ
 καὶ δεξιότητος· τὰς γὰρ τῶν ἄλλων ἀλαζονείας καὶ

* §§ 246–249 have no basis in Genesis. The nearest corresponding text is xlv. 15 “and after that his brethren talked
 258

ON JOSEPH, 245-249

have found me, for rumours travel fast in all directions." XLI. ^aThe brothers, letting their 246
tongues run freely, ceased not to sound his praises point by point. Each one had a different theme, one his readiness to forgive, one his family affection, one his prudence, while all united in praising his piety in attributing to God the success which crowned his career and abandoning all resentment at the unwelcome experiences which had attended its distressing opening and earliest stages. They praised also the pre-eminent self-restraint of his modest 247
reticence. He had passed through all these vicissitudes, yet neither while in slavery did he denounce his brothers for selling him nor when he was haled to prison did he in his despondency disclose any secret, nor during his long stay there make any revelations of the usual kind, since prisoners are apt to descant upon their personal misfortunes. He 248
behaved as though he knew nothing of his past experiences, and not even when he was interpreting their dreams to the eunuchs or the king, though he had a suitable opportunity for disclosing the facts, did he say a word about his own high lineage. Nor yet, when he was appointed to be the king's viceroy and was charged with the superintendence and headship over all Egypt, did he say anything to prevent the belief that he was of obscure and ignoble station, whereas he was really a noble, no slave by birth, but the unfortunate victim of the ruthless conspiracy of those who should have been the last to treat him so. In addition there was a great outflow of praise of 249
his fairness and kind behaviour, for they knew the
with him." Did Philo read or think he read *περὶ* for *πρὸς αὐτόν*?

- ἀπαιδευσίας ἡγεμόνων εἰδότες ἐθαύμαζον τὸ ἀνεπί-
 φαντον καὶ ἀτραγώδητον καὶ ὡς εὐθύς ἰδὼν κατὰ
 τὴν προτέραν ὁδὸν ἀποκτεῖναι δυνάμενος ἢ τὸ γοῦν
 τελευταῖον λιμώττουσι τροφὰς μὴ παρασχεῖν πρὸς
 τῷ μὴ τιμωρήσασθαι καὶ ὡς χάριτος ἀξίοις δωρεὰν
 ἔδωκε τὰπιτήδεια τὴν τιμὴν αὐτῶν ἀποδοθῆναι
 250 κελεύσας. οὕτω μέντοι τὰ τῆς ἐπιβουλῆς καὶ
 πράσεως εἰς ἅπαν ἡγνοήθη καὶ διέλαθεν, ὥσθ' οἱ ἐν
 τέλει τῶν Αἰγυπτίων συνήδοντο, ὡς πρῶτον ἄρτι
 τῶν ἀδελφῶν τοῦ προεστῶτος ἡκόντων, καὶ ἐπὶ
 ξενίαν ἐκάλουν καὶ φθάνοντες εὐηγγελίζοντο τῷ
 βασιλεῖ, καὶ πάντα διὰ πάντων ἔγεμε χαρὰς οὐκ
 ἔλαττον ἢ εἴπερ εὐφόρησεν ἡ πεδιάς καὶ ὁ λιμὸς εἰς
 251 εὐθηνίαν μετέβαλε. XLII. γνοὺς δ' ὁ βασιλεὺς,
 ὅτι καὶ πατήρ ἐστιν αὐτῷ καὶ ἡ γενεὰ πολυ-
 ἄνθρωπος, προτρέπει μεταναστῆναι πανοικὶ τὴν
 βαθυγειοτάτην Αἰγύπτου μοῖραν ὁμολογήσας δε-
 δωρῆσθαι τοῖς ἀφιζομένοις. ἀπήνας οὖν καὶ ἄρμα-
 μάξας καὶ πλῆθος ὑποζυγίων ἐπηχθισμένων τὰπι-
 τήδεια δίδωσι τοῖς ἀδελφοῖς καὶ θεραπείαν ἱκανήν,
 ἵνα μετ' ἀσφαλείας ἀγάγωσι τὸν πατέρα.
 252 Παραγενομένων δὲ καὶ τὰ περὶ τὸν ἀδελφὸν
 ἄπιστα καὶ μείζονα ἐλπίδων διηγουμένων, οὐ πάνυ
 προσεῖχε· κἂν γὰρ οἱ λέγοντες ἀξιοπιστότατοι, ἀλλ'
 ἢ γε τοῦ πράγματος ὑπερβολὴ ραδίως συναινεῖν οὐκ
 253 ἐπέτρεπεν. ἰδὼν δὲ ὁ πρεσβύτερος τὰς ἐν τοιούτῳ

^a Lit. "the last thing at any rate," i.e. the extreme of clemency which could be expected. Cohn takes it with λιμώττουσι—"in the extremity of famine." The position of γοῦν seems to me to be against this. Mangey *postea certe*, presumably meaning "at the conclusion of the interview."

ON JOSEPH, 249-253

arrogance and gross rudeness of other governors, and admired the absence of obtrusiveness and blustering. They remembered how directly he saw them on their former expedition, though he might have put them to death or at the very least^a refused to provide them with food against the famine, so far from taking vengeance he treated them as worthy of his favour and gave them the victuals for nothing by bidding the price to be restored to them. In 250 fact the story of their conspiracy and selling of him to slavery was so completely unknown and remained so secret that the chiefs of the Egyptians rejoiced to hear that the brothers of the governor had now for the first time come to visit him. They invited them to share their hospitality and hastened to bring the good news to the king, and universal joy reigned everywhere, no less than if the fields had borne fruit and the famine had been changed into abundance. XLII. When the king learned that his 251 viceroy had a father and that his family was very numerous, he urged that the whole household should leave its present home, and promised to give the most fertile part of Egypt to the expected settlers. He therefore gave the brothers carts and wagons and a great number of beasts laden with provisions, and an adequate body of servants, that they might bring their father safely.

When they arrived home and told the story of 252 their brother, so incredible and beyond anything he could have hoped for, he gave no heed to them at all, for, however worthy of credit the speakers might be, the extravagance of the tale did not allow him to assent to it readily. But, when the old man saw 253 the equipments suited for an occasion of the kind,

- καιρῷ παρασκευὰς καὶ χορηγίας τῶν ἀναγκαίων ἀφθόνους τοῖς περὶ τούτου λεγομένοις εὐτυχήμασι συναδούσας ὕμνει τὸν θεόν, ὅτι τὸ δοκοῦν ἐκλελοι-
- 254 πέναι μέρος τῆς οἰκίας ἀπεπλήρωσεν. ἡ δὲ χαρὰ καὶ φόβον εὐθύς ἐγέννησε τῇ ψυχῇ περὶ τῆς τῶν πατρίων ἐκδιαιτήσεως· ἦδει γὰρ καὶ νεότητα εὐόλισθον φύσει καὶ ξενιτείας τὴν εἰς τὸ ἁμαρτάνειν ἐκεχειρίαν καὶ μάλιστα τῆς ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ χώρας
- [77] τυφλωττούσης περὶ τὸν ἀληθῆ θεὸν ἕνεκα | τοῦ γενητὰ καὶ θνητὰ θεοπλαστεῖν καὶ προσέτι πλούτου καὶ δόξης ἐπιθέσεις <ᾶς>¹ ὀλιγόφροσι διανοίαις ἐπιτίθενται καὶ διότι ἀπολειφθεῖς, μηδενὸς τῶν ἐκ τῆς πατρώας οἰκίας συνεξεληλυθότος³ σωφρονιστοῦ, μόνος ὢν καὶ ἔρημος διδασκάλων ἀγαθῶν ἔτοιμος
- 255 ἔσται πρὸς τὴν τῶν ὀθνείων μεταβολήν. οὕτως οὖν διακείμενον ἰδὼν ὧ μόνῳ δυνατὸν ἄορατον ψυχὴν ὁρᾶν ἔλεον λαμβάνει καὶ κοιμωμένῳ νύκτωρ ἐπιφανείς φησι· “μηδὲν εὐλαβοῦ περὶ τῆς εἰς Αἴγυπτον ἀφίξεως· αὐτὸς ἡγεμονεύσω τῆς ὁδοῦ παρέχων τὴν ἀποδημίαν ἀσφαλῆ καὶ εὐάρεστον· ἀποδώσω μέντοι καὶ τὸν τριπόθητον υἱόν, ὃς ποτε τεθνάναι νομισθεὶς ἐκ πολυετίας οὐ ζῶν μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ χώρας τοσαύτης ἡγεμὼν ἀναφαίνεται.” πληρωθεὶς δ’ εὐελπιστίας ἅμα τῇ ἔω γεγηθὼς ἐπέσπευδεν.
- 256 ὁ δ’ υἱὸς ἀκούσας—σκοποὶ γὰρ καὶ φραστῆρες τῆς ὁδοῦ πάντ’ ἐδήλουν—οὐ μακρὰν τῶν ὁρίων ἀπέχοντα³ διὰ ταχέων ἀπήντα τῷ πατρί· καὶ κατὰ τὴν καλουμένην Ἡρώων πόλιν ἐντυχόντες ἐπιπίπτουσιν

¹ My insertion. The sentence evidently needs correction, which Cohn would make by expunging ἐπιτίθενται.

² Most mss. συνεξεληλυθότων or ἐξ-, one ἐξεληλυθότος.

³ So mss., Cohn, and Mangey; but? ἀπέχοντι.

and that the lavish supplies of all that was needed agreed with the story they told him of his son, he praised God that He had filled the seeming gap in his house. But joy also straightway begat fear in his 254 soul at the thought of leaving his ancestral way of life. For he knew how natural it is for youth to lose its footing and what licence to sin belongs to the stranger's life, particularly in Egypt where things created and mortal are deified, and in consequence the land is blind to the true God. He knew what assaults wealth and renown make on minds of little sense, and that left to himself, since his father's house supplied no monitor to share his journey, alone and cut off from good teaching, he would be readily influenced to change to alien ways. Such were his 255 feelings when He Whose eye alone can see the invisible soul took pity, and in his sleep at night appeared to him and said, "Fear not to go to Egypt. I Myself will guide thee on the road and make the journey safe and to thy pleasure. Further, I will restore to thee the son for whom thou hast so greatly yearned,^a who once was thought dead, but now, after many years, is found not only alive but a ruler of that great country." Then, filled with high hopes, he hastened at dawn to set forth rejoicing. But his son 256 when he heard it, informed of all by the scouts who watched the road, proceeded with all speed to meet his father when he was not far from the boundary. And when the two met at the place called the Heroes'

^a Gen. xlv. 4 "and Joseph shall put his hands upon thine eyes." Did Philo fail to understand this phrase, which does not occur again in the LXX? The idea of closing the eyes of the dead, otherwise expressed, was of course familiar to him in the classics, *cf.* § 23 above.

PHILO

- ἀλλήλοις τὰς κεφαλὰς ἐπὶ τῶν αὐχένων ἐρείσαντες
καὶ τὰς ἐσθῆτας δάκρυσι φύροντες πολυχρονίων
ἀσπασμάτων ἀπλήστως ἐνεφοροῦντο καὶ μόλις
257 πανσάμενοι συνέτεινον ἄχρι τῶν βασιλείων. θεασά-
μενος δὲ ὁ βασιλεὺς καὶ τὴν ὄψιν καταπλαγεὶς τῆς
σεμνότητος ὥς οὐχ ὑπάρχου πατέρα ἀλλ' ἑαυτοῦ
μετὰ πάσης αἰδοῦς καὶ τιμῆς ἐδεξιούτο· καὶ μετὰ
τὰς ἐν ἔθει καὶ ἐξαιρέτους φιλοφροσύνας δίδωσιν
αὐτῷ γῆς ἀποτομὴν ἀρετῶσαν καὶ σφόδρα εὐκαρπον,
τούς τε υἱοὺς αὐτοῦ πυνθανόμενος εἶναι κτηνο-
τρόφους τὴν πολλὴν οὐσίαν ἔχοντας ἐν θρέμμασι
καθίστησιν ἐπιμελητὰς τῶν ἰδίων αἰπόλια καὶ βου-
κόλια καὶ ποιμένας καὶ μυρίας ὄσας ἀγέλας ἐγχειρίσας
αὐτοῖς.
- 258 XLIII. Ὁ δὲ νεανίας τοσαύτῃ πίστεως ἐχρήσατο
ὑπερβολῇ, ὥστε τῶν καιρῶν καὶ τῶν πραγμάτων
εἰς ἀργυρισμὸν παρεχόντων πλείστας ὄσας ἀφορμάς,
δυνηθεὶς δι' ὀλίγου πλουσιώτατος τῶν κατ' αὐτὸν
γενέσθαι, τὸν γνήσιον ὥς ἀληθῶς πρὸ τοῦ νόθου
πλουτὸν καὶ τὸν βλέποντα πρὸ τοῦ τυφλοῦ θαυμάσας
ἅπαντα τὸν ἄργυρον καὶ χρυσόν, ὅσον ἐκ τῆς τιμῆς
ἤθροισε τοῦ σίτου, ἐν τοῖς βασιλέως ἐθησανρίζετο
ταμειοῖς οὐδεμίαν δραχμὴν νοσφισάμενος, ἀλλὰ
μόναις ἀρκεσθεὶς ταῖς δωρεαῖς, αἷς ἀμειβόμενος
259 ἐκεῖνος ἀντεχαρίζετο. καθάπερ τε οἰκίαν μίαν

^a So LXX. E.V. Goshen.

^b §§ 258-260 are a very free version of Gen. xlvii. 13-26.
Joseph's honesty is deduced from verse 14 "Joseph brought
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City^a they laid their heads upon each other's neck and while the tears smeared their raiment lingered long in embraces of which they could not take their fill, and, when at last they brought themselves to cease therefrom, pressed onwards to the king's court. When the king beheld him, overcome by his vener- 257
able appearance, he welcomed him with all modesty and respect, as though he were the father not of his viceroy but of himself. And, after the usual, and more than the usual, courtesies had passed, he gave him a portion of land, rich of soil and very fruitful. And, learning that the sons were graziers who had much substance of cattle, he appointed them keepers of his own, and put into their charge flocks and herds innumerable of goats and oxen and sheep.

XLIII. ^b Now the young man's honesty was ex- 258
ceedingly great, so much so that, though the times and state of affairs gave him very numerous opportunities for gaining wealth, and he might have soon become the richest of his contemporaries, his reverence for the truly genuine riches rather than the spurious, the seeing rather than the blind, led him to store up in the king's treasuries all the silver and gold which he collected from the sale of corn and refuse to appropriate to himself a single drachma, contented with nothing more than the gifts with which the king repaid his services. The excellence 259

all the money into Pharaoh's house." Philo omits the stages by which the property and land of the Egyptians passed into the king's hand, and the tax of one-fifth of the produce imposed upon them. That the gift of seed was only made in the seventh year of the famine might be fairly inferred from the LXX in verse 24 "and the land shall have its produce" (ἐσται δὲ γεννήματα αὐτῆς). The appointment of overseers has no parallel in Genesis.

- Αἴγυπτον καὶ σὺν αὐτῇ χώρας ἑτέρας καὶ ἔθνη
 πιεσθέντα τῷ λιμῷ παντὸς λόγου κρεῖττον ἐπετρό-
 πευσεν ὁ ἀνὴρ οὗτος κατὰ τὸ πρόπον διανέμων τὰς
 τροφὰς καὶ ἀφορῶν οὐκ εἰς τὸ παρὸν μόνον λυσι-
 τελεῖς ἀλλὰ καὶ τὴν πρὸς τὸ μέλλον ὠφέλειαν.
- 260 ἥνίκα γοῦν ὁ ἑβδομος ἐνιαυτὸς τῆς ἐνδεΐας ἐνέστη,
 [78] μεταπεμψάμενος τοὺς γεωργοὺς—ἤδη γὰρ | τῆς
 εὐφορίας καὶ εὐθηνίας ἐλπίς ἦν—ἐδίδου κριθάς τε
 καὶ πυροὺς εἰς σπέρματα φροντίσας τοῦ μηδένα
 νοσφίσασθαι καταθεῖναι δὲ¹ εἰς τὰς ἀρούρας αὐ-
 ἔλαβεν, ὁπτηῖρας καὶ ἐφόρους ἐπιλέξας ἀριστίνδην,
 οἳ τὴν σπορὰν παραφυλάξουσι.
- 261 Μετὰ δὲ τὸν λιμὸν χρόνοις μακροῖς ὕστερον
 τελευτήσαντος τοῦ πατρός, ὑπονοία πληχθέντες
 οἱ ἀδελφοὶ καὶ δείσαντες, μή τι χαλεπὸν πάθωσι
 μνησικακία,² προσελθόντες ἐδέοντο λιπαρῶς ἐπ-
- 262 ἀγόμενοι γυναικας καὶ γενεάν. ὁ δ' ἐπιδακρύσας
 φησὶν· “ὁ μὲν καιρὸς ἱκανὸς ὑπόνοιαν κατασκευά-
 σαι τοῖς ἀφόρητα ἐργασαμένοις καὶ μὴ δι' ἑτέρου
 μᾶλλον ἢ τοῦ συνειδότος ἐλεγχόμενοις· ἡ γὰρ
 τελευτὴ τοῦ πατρός τὸν ἀρχαῖον φόβον, ὃν πρὸ τῶν
 καταλλαγῶν εἶχετε, κεκαίνωκεν, ὥς τοῦ μὴ λυπήσαι
 τὸν πατέρα χάριν τὴν ἀμνηστίαν ἐμοῦ παρασχόντος.
- 263 ἐγὼ δὲ τὸν τρόπον οὐ χρόνοις μεταβάλλομαι οὐδ'
 ὁμολογῆσας ἔνσπονδος εἶναι δράσω ποτὲ τὰ ἄ-
 σπονδα· οὐ γὰρ ὑπερθέσεις ἀμύνης ἐκαιροφυλάκουν,
 ἀλλὰ τὴν εἰς ἅπαν ἀπαλλαγὴν τῆς κολάσεως ἐχαρι-
 ζόμεν ἐπινέμων τὸ μὲν τι τιμῇ τοῦ πατρός—δεῖ γὰρ
 ἀψευδεῖν—, τὸ δὲ τι εὐνοία τῇ πρὸς ὑμᾶς ἀναγκαία.

¹ So Mangey: Cohn and MSS. καταθεῖναι τε.

² MSS. μνησικακίας.

with which he managed Egypt, as though it were a single household, and also the other famine-stricken lands and nations was beyond all words, and he dispensed the lands and food as was suitable, looking not only to present profit but also to future advantage. Accordingly, when the seventh year of dearth came, 260 having now reason to hope for plentiful harvests, he sent for the farmers and gave them barley and wheat as seed, and at the same time, to ensure that no one should embezzle it instead of putting it in the fields, he appointed men of high merit as inspectors and supervisors to watch the sowing.

^a Many years after the famine his father died, and 261 his brothers, attacked by misgivings and fears that he might still harbour malice and wreak his vengeance on them, approached him with their wives and families and made earnest supplication. But he, moved to 262 tears, said: "The occasion might well raise misgivings in those whom conscience rather than others convicts of intolerable misdoing. My father's death has awakened the old fear which you felt before our reconciliation, with the idea that I gave you my pardon only to save my father from sorrow. But time does not change my character, nor, after promising to keep the peace with you, will I ever violate it by my actions. I was not watching for the hour of vengeance 263 repeatedly delayed, but I freely granted you immunity from punishment once for all, partly no doubt influenced, for I must tell the truth, by respect for my father, but partly by the goodwill which I cannot but feel towards you. And, even if it were 264

^a For §§ 261-268 see Gen. i. 15-end.

264 εἰ δὲ καὶ πατὴρ ἔνεκα πάντ' ἐποιοῦν τὰ χρηστὰ καὶ
 φιλάνθρωπα, φυλάξω ταῦτα καὶ πατὴρ¹ τετελευ-
 τηκότος· τέθνηκε δ' οὐδείς παρ' ἐμοὶ κριτῇ τῶν
 ἀγαθῶν ἀνδρῶν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ζήσεται τὸν αἰὲ χρόνον
 ἀγήρως, ἀθανάτῳ φύσει ψυχῇ μηκέτι ταῖς σώματος
 265 ἀνάγκαις ἐνδεδεμένη. τί δὲ δεῖ μόνου μεμνήσθαι
 τοῦ γεννητοῦ πατρός; ἔχομεν τὸν ἀγέννητον, τὸν
 ἄφθαρτον, τὸν αἰδίου, "ὃς ἐφορᾷ πάντα καὶ πάντων
 ἐπακούει" καὶ τῶν ἡσυχάζοντων, τὸν αἰὲ βλέποντα
 καὶ τὰ ἐν μυχοῖς τῆς διανοίας, ὃν μάρτυρα καλῶ
 266 τοῦ συνειδότος ἐπ' ἀψευδέσι καταλλαγαῖς. ἐγὼ
 γάρ, καὶ μὴ θαυμάσητέ μου τὸν λόγον, τοῦ θεοῦ
 εἰμι τοῦ τὰ πονηρὰ βουλευμάτων ὑμῶν εἰς ἀγαθῶν
 περιουσίαν μεθαρμοσαμένου. γίνεσθε οὖν ἄφοβοι
 καὶ πρὸς τὸ μέλλον χρησιμωτέρων μεθέξοντες ἢ
 267 ζῶντος ἔτι τοῦ πατρός ἐκαρποῦσθε." XLIV. τοι-
 οῦτοῖς θαρσύνας τοὺς ἀδελφοὺς λόγοις, ἔργοις τὰς
 ὑποσχέσεις ἐβεβαίον μᾶλλον οὐδὲν παραλιπὼν τῶν
 εἰς ἐπιμέλειαν. μετὰ δὲ τὸν λιμόν, ἐπ'
 εὐθηνίᾳ καὶ εὐετηρίᾳ τῆς χώρας ἤδη γεγηθότων
 τῶν οἰκητόρων, ἐτιμᾶτο πρὸς ἀπάντων ἀμοιβὰς
 ἀντεκτινόντων ὑπὲρ ὧν εὖ πεπόνθησαν ἐν καιροῖς
 268 ἀβουλήτοις. ἡ δὲ φήμη ῥυεῖσα τὰς ἐξῆς πόλεις
 κατέπλησε τῆς ἐπὶ τῷδε τῷ ἀνδρὶ εὐκλείας. ἔτη
 δὲ βιώσας δέκα πρὸς τοῖς ἑκατὸν ἐτελεύτησεν
 εὐγῆρως ἐπ' ἄκρον ἐλθὼν εὐμορφίας καὶ φρονή-
 269 σεως καὶ λόγων δυνάμειος. μαρτυρεῖ δὲ τὸ μὲν

¹ MSS. πρὸς (or omit): some have τετελευτηκότα for -ότος.

* Cohn places the comma after φύσει, "will live proof against old age in an immortal existence with a soul," etc.

for my father's sake that I acted with this kindness and humanity, I will continue in the same now that he is gone. In my judgement, no good man is dead, but will live for ever, proof against old age,^a with a soul immortal in its nature no longer fettered by the restraints of the body. But why should I mention ²⁶⁵ that father who is but a creature? We have the uncreated Father, the Imperishable, the Eternal, "Who surveys all things and hears all things,"^b even when no word is spoken, He Who ever sees into the recesses of the mind, Whom I call as witness to my conscience, which affirms that that was no false reconciliation. For I,—do not marvel at my words, ²⁶⁶ —belong to God ^c Who converted your evil schemes into a superabundance of blessings. Rid yourselves, then, of fear, since in the future greater advantage will fall to your share than you enjoyed while our father was still alive." XLIV. With such words he ²⁶⁷ encouraged his brothers, and by his actions he confirmed his promises, leaving nothing undone which could shew his care for their interests.

But, after the famine, when the inhabitants were now rejoicing in the prosperity and fertility of the land, he was honoured by them all, who thus requited the benefits which they had received from him in the times of adversity. And rumour, float- ²⁶⁸ ing into the neighbouring states, filled them with his renown. He died in a goodly old age, having lived 110 years, unsurpassed in comeliness, wisdom and power of language. His personal beauty is ²⁶⁹

^b *Il.* iii. 277, *Od.* xi. 109, xii. 323 *ὁς πάντ' ἐφορᾷ καὶ πάντ' ἐπακούει* (of the sun).

^c So LXX. (*Gen.* i. 19). E.V. "Am I in the place of God (to punish you)?" Philo has made use of the text in the same sense *De Mig.* 22 and 160, *De Som.* ii. 107.

[79] κάλλος τοῦ σώματος ἔρως ὃς ἐξέμηνεν | ἐπ' αὐτῷ
 γυναικα, τὴν δὲ σύνεσιν ἢ ἐν ταῖς ἀμνηστῶν τῶν
 κατὰ τὸν βίον ἀνωμαλίαις ὁμαλότης εὐαρμοστίαν
 τοῖς ἀναρμόστοις καὶ συμφωνίαν τοῖς ἐξ αὐτῶν
 ἀσυμφώνοις ἐργασαμένη, τὴν δὲ τῶν λόγων δύνα-
 μιν ἢ τε τῶν ὀνειράτων διάκρισις καὶ ἢ ἐν ταῖς
 ὁμιλίαις εὐέπεια καὶ ἢ παρακολουθήσασα πειθῶ, δι'
 ἣν οὐδεὶς τῶν ἀρχομένων ἀνάγκη μᾶλλον ἢ ἐκὼν
 270 ὑπήκουε. τούτων δὲ τῶν ἐνιαυτῶν ἑπτακαίδεκα
 μὲν ἄχρι μειρακίου διέτριβεν ἐν τῇ πατρῷᾳ οἰκίᾳ,
 τρισκαίδεκα δ' ἐν ταῖς ἀβουλήτοις συντυχίαις, ἐπι-
 βουλευόμενος, πιπρασκόμενος, δουλεύων, συκοφαν-
 τούμενος, ἐν δεσμωτηρίῳ καταδούμενος, τοὺς δ'
 ἄλλους ὀγδοήκοντα ἐν ἡγεμονίᾳ καὶ εὐπραγίᾳ τῇ
 πάσῃ, λιμοῦ καὶ εὐθηνίας ἔφορος καὶ βραβευτῆς
 ἄριστος, τὰ πρὸς ἑκάτερον καιρὸν πρυτανεύειν
 ἱκανώτατος.

ON JOSEPH, 269-270

attested by the furious passion which a woman conceived for him ; his good sense by the equable temper he shewed amid the numberless inequalities of his life, a temper which created order in disorder and concord where all was naturally discordant ; his power of language by his interpretations of the dreams and the fluency of his addresses and the persuasiveness which accompanied them, which secured him the obedience, not forced but voluntary, of every one of his subjects. Of these years he spent 270 seventeen up to adolescence in his father's house, thirteen in painful misfortunes, the victim of conspiracy, sold into slavery, falsely accused, chained in a prison, and the other eighty as a ruler and in complete prosperity, a most admirable supervisor and arbiter in times both of famine and plenty, and most capable of presiding over the requirements of both.