

ΠΕΡΙ ΤΗΣ ΠΡΟΣ ΤΑ ΠΡΟΠΑΙΔΕΥΜΑΤΑ ΣΥΝΟΔΟΥ

- ¹ [519] I. “Σάρα δὲ ἡ γυνὴ Ἀβραάμ οὐκ ἔτικτεν αὐτῷ.
ἦν δὲ αὐτῇ παιδίσκη Αἰγυπτία, ἥ ὄνομα Ἄγαρ.
εἶπε δὲ Σάρα πρὸς Ἀβραάμ· ἰδοὺ, συνέκλεισέ με
κύριος τοῦ μὴ τίκτειν, εἴσελθε πρὸς τὴν παιδίσκην
2 μου, ἵνα τεκνοποιήσῃς ἐξ αὐτῆς.” τὸ Σάρας
ὄνομα μεταληφθέν ἐστίν “ἀρχή μου”· φρόνησις
δὲ ἡ ἐν ἐμοὶ καὶ σωφροσύνη ἡ ἐν ἐμοὶ καὶ ἡ ἐπὶ
μέρους δικαιοσύνη καὶ ἐκάστη τῶν ἄλλων ἀρετῶν,
ἦν περὶ ἐμὲ μόνον εἶναι συμβέβηκεν, ἀρχή ἐστίν
ἐμοῦ μόνου· ἐπιστατεῖ γάρ μου καὶ ἡγεμονεύει
πειθαρχεῖν ἐγνωκότος, βασιλὶς ἐκ φύσεως ὑπάρ-
3 χουσα. ταύτην Μωυσῆς, τὸ παραδοξό-
τατον, καὶ στεῖραν ἀποφαίνει καὶ πολυγονωτάτην,
εἴ γε τὸ πολυανθρωπότατον τῶν ἔθνων ἐξ αὐτῆς
ὁμολογεῖ γενέσθαι. τῷ γὰρ ὄντι ἡ ἀρετὴ πρὸς
μὲν τὰ φαῦλα πάντα ἐστείρωται, τῶν δὲ ἀγαθῶν
εὐτοκία χρῆται τοιαύτῃ, ὥς μηδὲ μαιευτικῆς
4 τέχνης—φθάνει γὰρ ἀποτίκτουσα—δεῖσθαι. τὰ
μὲν οὖν ζῶα καὶ φυτὰ διαλείποντα τὸν πλείω
χρόνον ἅπαξ ἢ δις τὸ πλείστον τοὺς οἰκείους δι’
ἐνιαυτοῦ φέρει καρπούς, καθ’ ὃν ἔταξεν ἀριθμὸν
ἐκάστοις ἢ φύσις ἐναρμοζόμενον ταῖς ἐτησίαις

^a For the thought cf. *De Cher.* 5.

ON MATING WITH THE PRELIMINARY STUDIES

I. "Now Sarah the wife of Abraham was not bearing 1
him children, but she had an Egyptian handmaiden
named Hagar, and Sarah said to Abraham, 'Behold
the Lord hath closed me that I should not bear. Go
in unto my handmaid and beget children from her'"
(Gen. xvi. 1, 2). Now Sarah's name is, by interpre- 2
tation, "sovereignty of me," and the wisdom in me,
the self-control in me, the individual righteousness
and each of the other virtues whose place is confined
to the "me," are a sovereignty over me only.^a That
sovereignty rules and dominates me, who have willed
to render obedience to it, in virtue of its natural
queenship.

This ruling power Moses 3
represents as at once barren and exceedingly prolific,
since he acknowledges that from her sprang the most
populous of nations. A startling paradox, yet true.
For indeed virtue is barren as regards all that is bad,
but shews herself a fruitful mother of the good; a
motherhood which needs no midwifery, for she bears
before the midwife comes.^b Animals and plants bear 4
the fruit proper to them only after considerable in-
tervals, once or twice at most in the year, the number
being determined for each by nature and adjusted

^b An allusion to Ex. i. 19; cf. *De Mig.* 142.

PHILO

ῥαῖς· ἀρετὴ δὲ οὐ διαλείπουσα ἀνελλιπῶς δὲ καὶ
ἀδιαστάτως κατὰ τοὺς ἡμερεῖς χρόνους αἰεὶ γεννᾷ,
βρέφη μὲν οὐδαμῶς, λόγους δὲ ἀστείους καὶ
[520] βουλὰς | ἀνεπιλήπτους καὶ ἐπαινετὰς πράξεις.

5 II. ἀλλ' οὔτε πλοῦτος, ᾧ μὴ δυνατόν
ἐστι χρῆσθαι, τοὺς κεκτημένους ὠφελεῖ οὔτε ἡ
φρονήσεως εὐτοκία, ἐὰν μὴ καὶ ἡμῖν αὐτοῖς τὰ
ὠφέλιμα τίκτῃ. τοὺς μὲν γὰρ εἰσάπαν ἀξίους
ἔκρινε τῆς συμβιώσεως αὐτῆς, οἱ δ' οὐπω <τὴν>
ἡλικίαν ἔδοξαν ἔχειν, ὥς ἐπαινετῆς καὶ σώφρονος
οἰκουρίας ἀνέχεσθαι· οἷς τὰ προτέλεια τῶν γάμων
ἐφῆκε ποιεῖσθαι, ἐλπίδα καὶ τοῦ θύσειν τοὺς γάμους
6 παρασχοῦσα.

Σάρα οὖν, ἡ ἄρχουσά μου
τῆς ψυχῆς ἀρετῆ, ἔτικτε μὲν, ἐμοὶ δ' οὐκ ἔτικτε·
οὐ γὰρ ἡδυνάμην πω νέος ὢν τὰ γεννήματα αὐτῆς
παραδέχεσθαι, τὸ φρονεῖν, τὸ δικαιοπραγεῖν, τὸ
εὐσεβεῖν, διὰ τὸ πλῆθος τῶν νόθων παίδων, οὓς
ἀπεκύησάν μοι αἱ κεναὶ δόξαι. τροφαὶ γὰρ αἱ
τούτων καὶ συνεχεῖς ἐπιμέλειαὶ καὶ φροντίδες
ἄληκτοι¹ τῶν γνησίων καὶ ὥς ἀληθῶς ἀστῶν
7 ὀλιγωρεῖν ἠνάγκασαν. καλὸν οὖν εὐχεσθαι τὴν
ἀρετὴν μὴ μόνον τίκτειν, ἥ καὶ δίχα εὐχῆς
εὐτοκεῖ, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἡμῖν αὐτοῖς τίκτειν, ἵνα
τῶν σπερμάτων καὶ γεννημάτων αὐτῆς μεταλαγ-
χάνοντες εὐδαιμονώμεν. εἴωθε γὰρ θεῷ μόνῳ
τίκτειν, τὰς ἀπαρχὰς ὧν ἔτυχεν ἀγαθῶν εὐχαρίστως
ἀποδιδούσα τῷ τὴν ἀειπάρθενον μήτραν, ὥς φησι
8 Μωυσῆς, ἀνοίξαντι. καὶ γὰρ τὴν λυχ-
νίαν, τὸ ἀρχέτυπον τοῦ μιμήματος παράδειγμα, ἐκ

¹ MSS. ἄλεκτοι.

^a i.e. in Ex. xxv. 37, in the "pattern shewn to Moses in the mount" (v. 40), the lamps are to give light ἐξ ἐνὸς προ-
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to the seasons of the year. But virtue has no such intervals. She bears ceaselessly, successively, from moment to moment, and her offspring are no infants, but honest words, innocent purposes and laudable acts.

II. But as wealth which one cannot use ⁵ does not profit the owner, so the motherhood of virtue profits not if the offspring be not profitable for ourselves. Some she judges quite worthy to share her life, but others she thinks have not yet reached the age to submit to her admirable and chaste and sober domesticity. Such she allows to celebrate the preliminaries of marriage, and holds out hopes of consummating the full rite in the future.

So Sarah, the ⁶ virtue which rules my soul, was a mother, but not a mother for me. For young as I was I could not yet receive her offspring, wisdom, justice, piety, because of the multitude of bastard children whom vain imaginations had borne to me. The nurture of these, the constant supervision, the ceaseless anxiety, compelled me to take little thought of the genuine, the truly free-born. It is well then to pray that virtue ⁷ may not only bear (she does that in abundance without our prayers), but also may bear for ourselves, that we, by sharing in what she sows and genders, may enjoy happiness. For in ordinary course she bears for God only, thankfully rendering the first-fruits of the blessings bestowed upon her to Him who, as Moses says, opens the womb which yet loses not its virginity (Gen. xxix. 31).

In confirmation of ⁸ this we read that the candlestick, that is the original pattern of the later copy,^a gives light from one part

σώπου (E.V. "over against it"). In the narrative of the making of the candlestick, Ex. xxxviii. 5 f. (xxxvii. 17), this point is not repeated.

τοῦ ἐνὸς μέρους φησὶ φαίνειν, δηλονότι τοῦ πρὸς θεόν· ἐβδόμη γὰρ οὐσα καὶ μέση τῶν ἑξ καλαμίσκων διχα διηρημένων εἰς τριάδας, ἐκατέρωθεν δορυφορούντων, ἄνω τὰς αὐγὰς ἀποστέλλει πρὸς τὸ ὄν,¹ λαμπρότερον ἡγουμένη τὸ φέγγος ἢ ὡς δύνασθαι θνητὴν αὐτῷ προσβάλλειν ὄψιν.

- 9 III. διὰ τοῦτο οὐ φησι μὴ τίκτειν τὴν Σάραν, ἀλλ' αὐτῷ τινι μὴ τίκτειν. οὐ γάρ ἐσμεν ἱκανοὶ δέξασθαι πω γονὰς ἀρετῆς, εἰ μὴ πρότερον ἐντύχοιμεν αὐτῆς τῇ θεραπαινίδι· θεραπαινὶς δὲ σοφίας ἢ διὰ
10 τῶν προπαιδευμάτων ἐγκύκλιος μουσικῆ.² ὥσπερ γὰρ ἐν μὲν οἰκίαις αὐλαιοὶ πρόκεινται κλισιάδων, ἐν δὲ πόλεσι τὰ προάστεια, δι' ὧν εἴσω βαδίζειν ἔνεστιν, οὕτως καὶ ἀρετῆς πρόκειται τὰ ἐγκύκλια· ταῦτα γὰρ ὁδὸς ἐστὶν ἐπ' ἐκείνην φέρουσα.
- 11 Χρὴ δ' εἰδέναι, ὅτι τῶν μεγάλων ὑποθέσεων μεγάλα καὶ τὰ προοίμια εἶναι συμβέβηκε. μεγίστη δὲ ὑπόθεσις ἀρετῆ· καὶ γὰρ περὶ μεγίστην ὕλην καταγίνεται, τὸν σύμπαντα ἀνθρώπων βίον. εἰκότως οὖν οὐ βραχέσι χρήσεται προοιμίους, ἀλλὰ γραμματικῇ, γεωμετρίᾳ, ἀστρονομίᾳ, ῥητορικῇ,
[521] μουσικῇ, τῇ | ἄλλῃ λογικῇ θεωρίᾳ πάσῃ, ὧν ἐστὶ σύμβολον ἡ Σάρας θεραπαινὶς "Ἀγαρ, ὡς
12 ἐπιδείξομεν. "εἶπε" γὰρ φησι "Σάρα πρὸς Ἀβραάμ· ἰδοὺ συνέκλεισέ με κύριος τοῦ μὴ τίκτειν· εἴσελθε πρὸς τὴν παιδίσκην μου, ἵνα τεκνοποιήσης ἑξ αὐτῆς." τὰς σωματῶν πρὸς σώματα μίξεις καὶ ὁμιλίας ἡδονὴν ἐχούσας τὸ τέλος ὑπεξ-

¹ MSS. ἔν.

² Some MSS. add καὶ ἡ λογικὴ σοφισμάτων γεῦσις (νεῦσις), the last word being evidently a corruption for εὕρεσις. Cf. § 29. The interpolators did not understand that μουσικῆ is here used in the more general sense.

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only, that is the part where it looks towards God. For being seventh in position, and placed between the six branches, divided as they are into triplets which guard it on either side, it sends its rays upwards towards the Existent, as though feeling that its light were too bright for human sight to look upon it (Ex. xxv. 37, 31).

III. This is why Moses ⁹ does not say that Sarah did not bear, but only that she did not bear for some particular person. For we are not capable as yet of receiving the impregnation of virtue unless we have first mated with her handmaiden, and the handmaiden of wisdom is the culture gained by the primary learning of the school course. For, just as in houses we have outer doors in front of ¹⁰ the chamber doors, and in cities suburbs through which we can pass to the inner part, so the school course precedes virtue ; the one is a road which leads to the other.

Now we must understand that great themes need ¹¹ great introductions ; and the greatest of all themes is virtue, for it deals with the greatest of materials, that is the whole life of man. Naturally, then, virtue will employ no minor kind of introduction, but grammar, geometry, astronomy,^a rhetoric, music, and all the other branches of intellectual study. These are symbolized by Hagar, the handmaid of Sarah, as I shall proceed to shew. For Sarah, we are told, said ¹² to Abraham : " Behold, the Lord has shut me out from bearing. Go in unto my handmaid, that thou mayest beget children from her." In the present discussion, we must eliminate all bodily unions or

See App. p. 577.

αιρετέον τοῦ παρόντος λόγου· νοῦ γὰρ πρὸς ἀρετὴν ἔστι σύνοδος ἐξ αὐτῆς ἐφιεμένου παιδοποιεῖσθαι, εἰ δὲ μὴ δύναιτο εὐθύς, ἀλλὰ τοι τὴν θεραπαινίδα αὐτῆς, τὴν μέσσην παιδείαν, ἐγγυᾶσθαι διδασκο-

- 13 μένου. IV. ἄξιον δὲ τῆς αἰδοῦς καταπλαγῆναι σοφίαν, ἥτις τὸ βραδὺ πρὸς γένεσιν ἢ τελέως ἄγονον οὐκ ἠξίωσεν ἡμῖν ὀνειδίσαι, καίτοι τοῦ χρησμοῦ τάληθές εἰπόντος, ὅτι “οὐκ ἔτικτεν,” οὐ διὰ φθόνον, ἀλλὰ διὰ τὴν ἡμῶν αὐτῶν ἀνεπιτηδειότητα. “συνέκλεισε” γάρ φησι “μὲ κύριος τοῦ μὴ τίκτειν,” καὶ οὐκέτι προστίθῃσιν “ὑμῖν,” ἵνα μὴ προφέρειν ἀτυχίαν καὶ ὀνειδίζειν ἑτέροις
14 δοκῇ. “εἰσελθε” οὖν φησι “πρὸς τὴν παιδίσκην μου,” τὴν τῶν μέσων καὶ ἐγκυκλίων ἐπιστημῶν μέσσην παιδείαν, “ἵνα τεκνοποιήσῃ πρότερον ἐξ αὐτῆς.” αὐθις γὰρ δυνήσῃ καὶ τῶν πρὸς τὴν δέσποιναν ὁμιλιῶν <ἐπὶ> γενέσει παίδων

- 15 γνησίων ἀπόνασθαι. γραμματικὴ μὲν γὰρ ἱστορίαν τὴν παρὰ ποιηταῖς καὶ συγγραφεῦσιν ἀναδιδάξασα¹ νόησιν καὶ πολυμάθειαν ἐργάσεται καὶ καταφρονητικῶς ἔχειν ἀναδιδάξει τῶν ὅσα αἱ κεναὶ δόξαι τυφοπλαστοῦσι, διὰ τὰς κακοπραγίας, αἷς τοὺς ἀδομένους παρ’ αὐτοῖς ἡρωάς τε καὶ

- 16 ἡμιθέους λόγος ἔχει χρῆσασθαι. μουσικὴ δὲ τὸ μὲν ἄρρυθμον [ἐν] ῥυθμοῖς, τὸ δ’ ἀνάρμοστον ἁρμονία, τὸ δ’ ἀπωδὸν καὶ ἐκμελὲς μέλει κατεπάδουσα τὸ ἀσύμφωνον εἰς συμφωνίαν ἄξει. γεωμετρία δ’ ἰσότητος καὶ ἀναλογίας ἐμβαλ-

¹ Or perhaps, as Wendland conjectures, ἀναπτύξασα. See § 148 and note.

^a Or “delicate feeling.” The genitive is one of cause, a common construction with *θανμάζω* and similar verbs.

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intercourse which has pleasure as its object. What is meant is a mating of mind with virtue. Mind desires to have children by virtue, and, if it cannot do so at once, is instructed to espouse virtue's handmaid, the lower instruction.

IV. Now we may well feel profound admiration for the discretion^a shewn by Wisdom. She refrains from reproaching us with our backwardness or complete impotence in generation, though, as the text truly stated, it was through our unfitness that she was not bearing, and not because she grudged us offspring. Thus she says, "The Lord has shut me out from bearing," and does not go on to add, "for you." She does not wish to seem to upbraid and reproach others for their misfortune.

"Go in, then," she says, "to my handmaid, the lower instruction given by the lower branches of school lore, that first you may have children by her," for afterwards you will be able to avail yourself of the mistress's company to beget children of higher birth.

For grammar teaches us to study literature in the poets and historians, and will thus produce intelligence and wealth of knowledge. It will teach us also to despise the vain delusions of our empty imagination by shewing us the calamities which heroes and demi-gods who are celebrated in such literature are said to have undergone.^b

Music will charm away the unrhythmic by its rhythm, the inharmonious by its harmony, the unmelodious and tuneless by its melody,^c and thus reduce discord to concord. Geometry will sow in the soul that loves to learn the seeds of equality

^b See App. p. 577.

^c The accepted division of music was into rhythm, harmony, and melody; cf. *De Agr.* 137.

- λομένη τὰ σπέρματα εἰς ψυχὴν φιλομαθῇ γλαφυρότητι συνεχοῦς θεωρίας δικαιοσύνης ζῆλον
- 17 ἐμποιῇσει. ῥητορικὴ δὲ καὶ τὸν νοῦν πρὸς θεωρίαν ἀκονησαμένη καὶ πρὸς ἐρμηνείαν γυμνάσασα τὸν λόγον καὶ συγκροτήσασα λογικὸν ὄντως ἀποδείξει τὸν ἄνθρωπον ἐπιμεληθεῖσα τοῦ ἰδίου καὶ ἐξαιρέτου, ὃ μηδενὶ τῶν ἄλλων ζώων ἢ
- 18 φύσις δεδωρήται. διαλεκτικὴ δὲ ἡ ῥητορικῆς ἀδελφὴ καὶ δίδυμος, ὡς εἰπόν τινες, τοὺς ἀληθεῖς τῶν ψευδῶν λόγους διακρίνουσα καὶ τὰς τῶν σοφισμάτων πιθανότηας ἐλέγχουσα μεγάλην νόσον ψυχῆς, ἀπάτην, ἀκέσεται. τούτοις οὖν καὶ τοῖς παραπλησίοις ἐνομιλῆσαι καὶ ἐμπρομελετῆσαι λυσιτελές· ἴσως γάρ, ἴσως, ὃ πολλοῖς συνέβη, διὰ τῶν ὑπηκόων ταῖς βασιλίαις ἀρεταῖς
- 19 γνωρισθησόμεθα. οὐχ ὁρᾷς, ὅτι καὶ τὸ σῶμα [522] ἡμῶν οὐ πρότερον πεπηγυῖαις | καὶ πολυτελέσι χρῆται τροφαῖς, πρὶν ἢ ταῖς ἀποικίλοις καὶ γαλακτώδεσιν ἐν ἡλικίᾳ τῇ βρεφώδει; τὸν αὐτὸν δὲ τρόπον καὶ τῇ ψυχῇ παιδικὰς μὲν νόμισον εὐτρέπισθαι τροφὰς τὰ ἐγκύκλια καὶ τὰ καθ' ἕκαστον αὐτῶν θεωρήματα, τελειότερας δὲ καὶ πρεπούσας ἀνδράσιν ὡς ἀληθῶς τὰς ἀρετάς.
- 20 V. Οἱ δὲ πρῶτοι τῆς μέσης παιδείας χαρακτῆρες διὰ δυεῖν παρίστανται συμβόλων, τοῦ τε γένους καὶ τοῦ ὀνόματος. γένος μὲν ἐστὶν Αἰγυπτία, καλεῖται δὲ Ἄγαρ, τοῦτο δὲ ἐρμηνευθέν ἐστὶ παροίκησης· ἀνάγκη γὰρ τὸν ἐγχορεύοντα ταῖς ἐγκυκλίαις θεωρίαις καὶ πολυμαθείας ἐταῖρον ὄντα τῷ γεῶδει καὶ Αἰγυπτίῳ προσκεκληρῶσθαι σώ-

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and proportion, and by the charm of its logical continuity will raise from those seeds a zeal for justice.

Rhetoric, sharpening the mind to the ob- 17
servation of facts, and training and welding thought to expression,^a will make the man a true master of words and thoughts, thus taking into its charge the peculiar and special gift which nature has not bestowed on any other living creature. Dialectic, 18
the sister and twin,^b as some have said, of Rhetoric, distinguishes true argument from false, and convicts the plausibilities of sophistry, and thus will heal that great plague of the soul, deceit.

It is profitable then to take these and the like for our associates and for the field of our preliminary studies. For perhaps indeed it may be with us, as it has been with many, that through the vassals we shall come to the knowledge of the royal virtues. Observe too that 19
our body is not nourished in the earlier stages with solid and costly foods. The simple and milky foods of infancy come first. Just so you may consider that the school subjects and the lore which belongs to each of them stand ready to nourish the childhood of the soul, while the virtues are grown-up food, suited for those who are really men.

V. The primary characteristic marks of the lower 20
education are represented by two symbols giving its race and its name. In race it is Egypt, but its name is Hagar, which is by interpretation "sojourn-
ing."^c The votary of the school studies, the friend of wide learning, must necessarily be associated with the earthly and Egyptian body ; since he needs eyes

^a The *θεωρία* represents the technical *εὐρεσις*. See on *De Mig.* 35.

^b See App. p. 577.

^c See note on *Leg. All.* iii. 244.

- ματι, χρήζοντα καὶ ὀφθαλμῶν, ὥς ἰδεῖν καὶ ἀναγνῶναι, καὶ ὥτων, ὥς προσσχεῖν τε καὶ ἀκοῦσαι, καὶ τῶν ἄλλων αἰσθήσεων, ὥς ἕκαστον
- 21 τῶν αἰσθητῶν ἀναπτύξαι. δίχα γὰρ τοῦ κρίνοντος τὸ κρινόμενον οὐ πέφυκε καταλαμβάνεσθαι· κρίνει δὲ τὸ αἰσθητὸν αἰσθήσις, ὥστ' ἀκριβωθῆναί τι τῶν κατὰ τὸν αἰσθητὸν κόσμον, ἐν οἷς ἡ πλείων μοῖρα τοῦ φιλοσοφεῖν, οὐκ ἐνῆν ἄνευ αἰσθήσεως. αἰσθήσις δέ, τὸ σωματοειδέστερον ψυχῆς μέρος, τῷ τῆς ὅλης ψυχῆς ἀγγεῖω προσερρίζωται, τὸ δὲ τῆς ψυχῆς ἀγγεῖον Αἴγυπτος διὰ συμβόλου προσονομάζεται.
- 22 Χαρακτήρ μὲν εἰς ὃ ἀπὸ τοῦ γένους οὖτος, ὃν ἡ θεραπαινὶς ἀρετῆς ἔλαχεν· ὃ δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦ ὀνόματος ποῖός ἐστιν, ἐπισκεψώμεθα. τὴν μέσσην παιδείαν παροίκου λόγον ἔχειν συμβέβηκεν· ἐπιστήμη μὲν γὰρ καὶ σοφία καὶ ἀρετὴ πᾶσα αὐθιγενὴς καὶ αὐτόχθων καὶ πολίτις ὡς ἀληθῶς ἐστὶ μόνη τοῦ παντός, αἱ δὲ ἄλλαι παιδεῖαι δευτέρων καὶ τρίτων καὶ ὑστάτων ἄθλων τυγχάνουσαι μεθόριοι ξένων καὶ ἀστῶν εἰσιν· οὐδετέρου τε γὰρ γένους ἀκράτου καὶ πάλιν ἀμφοῖν κατὰ τινα κοινωνίαν ἐφάπτονται.
- 23 πάροικος γὰρ τῷ μὲν ἐνδιατρίβειν ἀστοῖς, τῷ δὲ μὴ κατοικεῖν ἀλλοδαποῖς ἰσοῦται· καθάπερ, οἶμαι, καὶ οἱ θεοὶ παῖδες, ἧ μὲν κληρονομοῦσι τὰ τῶν θεμένων, τοῖς γνησίοις, ἧ δ' οὐ γεγέννηται πρὸς αὐτῶν, τοῖς ὀθνείοις. ὃν δὴ λόγον ἔχει δέσποινα μὲν πρὸς θεραπαινίδα, γυνὴ δὲ ἀστὴ πρὸς παλλακὴν, τοῦτον ἔξει τὸν λόγον ἀρετῇ Σάρρα πρὸς παιδείαν Ἄγαρ· ὥστ' εἰκότως τοῦ θεωρίαν καὶ ἐπιστήμην ἐξηλωκότος, Ἀβραὰμ ὄνομα, γένοιτ' ἂν ἡ μὲν ἀρετὴ, Σάρρα, γυνή, παλλακὴ δὲ Ἄγαρ, ἡ ἐγκύκλιος μουσικὴ πᾶσα.

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to see and read, ears to listen and hear, and the other senses to unveil the several objects of sense. For the 21 thing judged cannot be apprehended without one to judge it, and it is sense which judges the sensible, and therefore without sense it is always impossible to obtain accurate knowledge of any of the phenomena in the sensible world which form the staple of philosophy. Sense being the bodily part of the soul is riveted to the vessel of the soul as a whole, and this soul-vessel is symbolically called Egypt.

This, then, is one of the marks of the handmaid of 22 virtue, namely that of race. Let us now consider the nature of the other mark, that of name. The lower education is in the position of a sojourner. For knowledge and wisdom and every virtue are native born, indigenous, citizens in the truest sense, and in this they are absolutely alone; but the other kinds of training, which win second or third or last prizes, are on the border-line between foreigners and citizens. For they belong to neither kind in its pure form, and yet in virtue of a certain degree of partnership they touch both. The sojourner in so far as he is staying in the 23 city is on a par with the citizens, in so far as it is not his home, on a par with foreigners. In the same way, I should say, adopted children, in so far as they inherit from their adopters, rank with the family; in so far as they are not their actual children, with outsiders. Sarah, virtue, bears, we shall find, the same relation to Hagar, education, as the mistress to the servant-maid, or the lawful wife to the concubine, and so naturally the mind which aspires to study and to gain knowledge, the mind we call Abraham, will have Sarah, virtue, for his wife, and Hagar, the whole range of school culture, for his concubine.

- 24 Ὡτινι μὲν οὖν φρόνησις ἐκ διδασκαλίας περι-
γίνεται, τὴν "Αγαρ οὐκ ἂν ἀποδοκιμάζοι· πάνν γὰρ
ἀναγκαία ἡ τῶν προπαιδευμάτων κτήσις. VI. εἰ
δέ τις τοὺς ὑπὲρ ἀρετῆς ἄθλους ἐγνωκῶς δια-
πονεῖν μελέταις χρῆται συνεχέσιν ἀνενδότως ἔχων
πρὸς ἀσκησιν, δύο μὲν ἀστᾶς, παλλακὰς δὲ τὰς
[523] ἴσας, τῶν ἀστῶν | θεραπαινίδας, ἄξεται. φύσιν
25 δὲ καὶ ἰδέαν ἔλαχεν αὐτῶν ἐκάστη διάφορον.
αὐτίκα τῶν ἀστῶν ἡ μὲν ἐστὶν ὑγιεινοτάτη καὶ
εὐσταθεστάτη καὶ εἰρηνικωτάτη κίνησις, ἣν ἀπὸ
τοῦ συμβεβηκότος ὠνόμασε Λείαν. ἡ δὲ ἔοικεν
ἀκόνῃ, καλεῖται δὲ Ῥαχήλ, πρὸς ἣν ὁ φίλαθλος
καὶ φιλογυμναστής νοῦς παραθηγόμενος ὀξύνεται·
ἐρμηνεύεται δὲ ὄρασις βεβηλώσεως, οὐκ ἐπειδὴ
βεβήλως ὄρα, ἀλλὰ τοῦναντίον, ὅτι τὰ ὁρατὰ καὶ
αἰσθητὰ παρὰ τὴν ἀκήρατον φύσιν τῶν ἀοράτων
καὶ νοητῶν οὐκ εὐαγῇ βέβηλα δὲ εἶναι νομίζει.
26 τῆς γὰρ ψυχῆς ἡμῶν διμεροῦς ὑπαρχούσης καὶ τὸ
μὲν λογικὸν τὸ δὲ ἄλογον ἐχούσης, ἀρετὴν ἐκατέρω
ὑπάρχειν συμβέβηκε, Λείαν μὲν τῷ λογικῷ, τῷ δὲ
27 ἀλόγῳ¹ Ῥαχήλ. γυμνάζει γὰρ ἡμᾶς ἡ
μὲν διὰ τῶν αἰσθήσεων καὶ τῶν τοῦ ἀλόγου μερῶν
πάντων καταφρονητικῶς ἔχειν ὦν ἀλογεῖν ἄξιον,
δόξης καὶ πλούτου καὶ ἡδονῆς, ἃ περίβλεπτα καὶ
- ¹ MSS. τὸ λογικὸν καὶ τὸ ἄλογον, which might be kept, if with
some MSS. we read ἐκάτερον ἔχειν above for ἐκατέρω ὑπάρχειν.

^a The allegory of §§ 24-33 is in some ways difficult and very different from Philo's usual way of treating the two wives of Jacob. Elsewhere Rachel is αἰσθησις or σώματος εὐμορφία. Here no doubt she is connected with τὸ ἄλογον and trains us through the senses and so far is entitled to have the bodily function of "swallowing" as her handmaid, but her function is to teach us the inferiority of sense, while Leah is no longer the virtue which "refuses" vice and is "weary" with effort

THE PRELIMINARY STUDIES, 24-27

He then who gains wisdom by instruction will not 24
 reject Hagar, for the acquisition of these preliminary
 subjects is quite necessary, (VI.) but, anyone whose
 mind is set on enduring to the end the weary contest in
 which virtue is the prize, who practises continually for
 that end, and is unflagging in self-discipline, will take
 to him two lawful wives and as handmaids to them two
 concubines.^a And to each of them is given a different 25
 nature and appearance. Thus one of the lawful wives
 is a movement, sound, healthy and peaceful, and
 to express her history Moses names her Leah or
 "smooth."^b The other is like a whetstone. Her
 name is Rachel, and on that whetstone the mind
 which loves effort and exercise sharpens its edge.
 Her name means "vision of profanation," not be-
 cause her way of seeing is profane, but on the contrary,
 because she judges the visible world of sense to be
 not holy but profane, compared with the pure and
 undefiled nature of the invisible world of mind. For 26
 since our soul is twofold, with one part reasoning and
 the other unreasoning, each has its own virtue or
 excellence, the reasoning Leah, the unreasoning
 Rachel. The virtue we call Rachel, acting 27
 through the senses and the other parts of our un-
 reasoning nature, trains us to despise all that should
 be held of little account, reputation and wealth and
 (see note on *De Cher.* 41), but the virtue which proceeds to
 noble life without a conflict. In fact, she is rather akin to
 the *αἰσχρομαθής* Isaac, and Rachel to the *ἀσκητής* Jacob. Why
 this Leah needs oratorical power for her handmaid is not
 clear to me.

^a Philo here and in § 31 adopts the Epicurean term *λεία κίνησις*, which he has used with disparagement in *De Post.* 79, and with a qualification in *De Agr.* 142 (see notes). The name is also derived from the Greek instead of the Hebrew in *Leg. All.* ii. 59, but in a somewhat different sense.

περιμάχητα ὁ πολὺς καὶ ἀγελαῖος ἀνθρώπων ὄχλος
 κρίνει δεδεκασμέναις μὲν ἀκοαῖς, δεδεκασμένῳ δὲ
 28 καὶ τῷ ἄλλῳ τῶν αἰσθήσεων δικαστηρίῳ· ἡ δὲ
 ἀναδιδάσκει τὴν ἀνώμαλον καὶ τραχεῖαν ὁδὸν
 ἄβατον φιλαρέτοις ψυχαῖς ἐκτρέπεσθαι, λείως δὲ
 διὰ τῆς λεωφόρου βαίνειν ἄνευ πταισμάτων καὶ
 29 τῶν ἐν ποσὶν ὀλίσθων. ἀναγκαίως οὖν
 τῆς μὲν προτέρας ἔσται θεραπαινὶς ἢ διὰ τῶν
 φωνητηρίων ὀργάνων ἐρμηνευτικὴ δύναμις καὶ ἡ
 λογικὴ¹ σοφισμάτων εὗρεσις εὐστόχῳ πιθανότητι
 καταγοητεύουσα, τῆς δὲ ἀναγκαῖαι τροφαί, πόσις τε
 30 καὶ βρώσις. ὀνόματα δὲ ἡμῖν τῶν δυεῖν θεραπει-
 νίδων ἀνέγραψε, Ζέλφαν τε καὶ Βάλλαν. ἡ μὲν
 οὖν Ζέλφα μεταληφθεῖσα πορευόμενον καλεῖται
 στόμα, τῆς ἐρμηνευτικῆς καὶ διεξοδικῆς σύμ-
 βολον δυνάμεως, ἡ δὲ Βάλλα κατάποσις, τὸ πρῶ-
 τον καὶ ἀναγκαϊότατον θνητῶν ζώων ἔρεισμα·
 καταπόσει γὰρ τὰ σώματα ἡμῶν ἐνορμεῖ, καὶ τὰ
 τοῦ ζῆν πείσματα ἐκ ταύτης ὡς ἀπὸ κρηπίδος
 31 ἐξήπται. πάσαις οὖν ταῖς εἰρημέναις
 δυνάμεσιν ὁ ἀσκητὴς ἐνομιλεῖ, ταῖς μὲν ὡς ἐλευθέ-
 ραις καὶ ἀσταῖς, ταῖς δὲ ὡς δούλαις καὶ παλλακίσιν.
 ἐφίεται μὲν γὰρ τῆς Λείας κινήσεως—λεία δὲ
 κίνησις ἐν μὲν σώματι γινομένη ὑγίαν, ἐν δὲ ψυχῇ
 καλοκαγαθίαν καὶ δικαιοσύνην ἂν ἐργάσαιτο—,
 Ῥαχὴλ δὲ ἀγαπᾷ πρὸς τὰ πάθη παλαίων καὶ πρὸς

¹ I suspect a lacuna between λογικὴ and σοφισμάτων. See App. p. 577.

^a See App. p. 577.

^b In the interpretation of Zilpah's name διεξοδικῆς represents πορευόμενον and ἐρμηνείας (-ευτικῆς) represents στόμα. The former corresponds to the εὗρεσις of technical rhetoric and

THE PRELIMINARY STUDIES, 27-31

pleasure, which the vulgar mass of ordinary men who accept the verdict of dishonest hearsay and the equally dishonest court of the other senses, judge worthy of their admiration and their efforts. Leah 28 teaches us to avoid the rough and uneven path, impassable to virtue-loving souls, and to walk smoothly along the level highway where there are no stumbling-blocks or aught that can make the foot to slip.

Necessarily then Leah will have for her 29 handmaid the faculty of expression by means of the vocal organs, and on the side of thought the art of devising clever arguments whose easy persuasiveness is a means of deception,^a while Rachel has for her's the necessary means of sustenance, eating and drinking. Moses has given us, as the names of these 30 two handmaidens, Zilpah and Bilhah (Gen. xxx. 3, 9). Zilpah by interpretation is "a walking mouth,"^b which signifies the power of expressing thought in language and directing the course of an exposition, while Bilhah is "swallowing," the first and most necessary support of mortal animals. For our bodies are anchored on swallowing, and the cables of life are fastened on to it as their base.

With all 31

these aforesaid faculties the Man of Practice mates, with one pair as free-born legitimate wives, with the other pair as slaves and concubines. For he desires the smooth, the Leah movement, which will produce health in the body, noble living and justice in the soul. He loves Rachel when he wrestles with the passions and when he goes into training to gain self-control, thus appears in § 33 as *ἡ κατὰ διάνοιαν πηγὴ*. *διέξοδος*, a rather vague word, signifying a fully worked out narrative or disquisition, is used because the *ὁδός* in it corresponds to *πορευόμενον*. Hence the use of the word "course" in the translation.

ἐγκράτειαν ἀλειφόμενος καὶ τοῖς αἰσθητοῖς πᾶσιν
 32 ἀντιταπτόμενος. διττοὶ μὲν γὰρ ὠφελείας τρόποι,
 ἢ κατὰ ἀπόλαυσιν ἀγαθῶν ὡς ἐν εἰρήνῃ ἢ κατὰ
 [524] ἀντίταξιν καὶ ὑφαίρεσιν κακῶν ὡς ἐν | πολέμῳ.
 Λεία μὲν οὖν ἐστι, καθ' ἣν συμβαίνει τὰ πρε-
 σβύτερα καὶ ἡγεμονεύοντα ἀγαθὰ καρποῦσθαι,
 'Ραχὴλ δέ, καθ' ἣν τὰ ὡς ἂν ἐκ πολέμου λάφυρα.
 33 τοιαύτη μὲν ἡ πρὸς τὰς ἀστὰς συμβίωσις. χρήζει
 δὲ ὁ ἀσκητῆς Βάλλας μὲν, καταπόσεως, ἀλλὰ ὡς
 δούλης καὶ παλλακίδος—ἄνευ γὰρ τροφῆς καὶ ζωῆς
 οὐδ' ἂν τὸ εὖ ζῆν περιγένοιτο, ἐπεὶ τὰ μέσα τῶν
 ἀμεινόνων αἰεὶ θεμέλιοι,—χρήζει δὲ καὶ Ζέλφας,
 διεξοδικῆς ἐρμηνείας, ἵνα τὸ λογικὸν αὐτῷ διχόθεν
 συνερανίζηται πρὸς τελείωσιν, ἔκ τε τῆς κατὰ
 διάνοιαν πηγῆς καὶ ἐκ τῆς περὶ τὸ φωνητήριον
 ὄργανον ἀπορροῆς.

- 34 VII. 'Αλλ' οὗτοι μὲν καὶ πλειόνων γυναικῶν καὶ
 παλλακίδων, οὐκ ἀστῶν μόνον, ἄνδρες ἐγένοντο,
 ὡς αἱ ἱεραὶ μηνύουσι γραφαί· τῷ δὲ 'Ισαὰκ οὔτε
 πλείους γυναῖκες οὔτε συνόλως παλλακή, μόνη δ'
 35 ἡ κουρίδιος ἄχρι παντὸς συνοικεῖ. διὰ τί; ὅτι
 καὶ ἡ διδακτικὴ ἀρετὴ, ἣν 'Αβραὰμ μέτεισι,
 πλειόνων δέεται, γνησίων μὲν τῶν κατὰ φρόνησιν,
 νόθων δὲ τῶν κατὰ τὰ ἐγκύκλια προπαιδεύματα
 θεωρημάτων, καὶ ἡ δι' ἀσκήσεως τελειούμενη, περὶ
 ἣν 'Ιακώβ ἐσπουδακέναι φαίνεται· διὰ πλειόνων
 γὰρ καὶ διαφερόντων αἱ ἀσκήσεις δογμάτων, ἡγου-
 μένων ἐπομένων, προαπαντώντων ὑστεριζόντων,
 πόνους τοτὲ μὲν ἐλάττους τοτὲ δὲ μείζους ἐχόντων.

THE PRELIMINARY STUDIES, 31-35

and takes his stand to oppose all the objects of sense. For help may take two forms. It may act by giving 32 us enjoyment of the good, the way of peace, or by opposing and removing ill, the way of war. So it is Leah through whom it comes to pass that he reaps the higher and dominant blessings, Rachel through whom he wins what we may call the spoils of war. Such is his life with the legitimate wives. But the 33 Practiser needs also Bilhah, "swallowing," though only as the slave and concubine, for without food and the life which food sustains we cannot have the good life either, since the less good must always serve as foundation for the better. He needs Zilpah too, the gift of language giving expression to the course of an exposition, that the element of words and thoughts may make its twofold contribution to the perfecting process, through the fountain of thought in the mind and the outflow through the tongue and lips.

VII. Now Abraham and Jacob, as the Holy Scrip- 34 tures tell us, became the husbands of several women, concubines as well as legitimate wives, but Isaac had neither more wives than one nor any concubine at all, but his lawful wife is the one who shares his home throughout. Why is this? It is because the virtue 35 that comes through teaching, which Abraham pursues, needs the fruits of several studies, both those born in wedlock, which deal with wisdom, and the base-born, those of the preliminary lore of the schools. It is the same with the virtue which is perfected through practice, which Jacob seems to have made his aim. For many and different are the truths in which practice finds its exercising ground, truths which both lead and follow, hasten to meet it and lag behind, and entail sometimes greater, sometimes less

- 36 τὸ δὲ αὐτομαθὲς γένος, οὐ κεκοινώνηκεν Ἰσαάκ, ἡ
 εὐπαθειῶν ἀρίστη χαρά, φύσεως ἀπλῆς καὶ ἀμιγυῶς
 καὶ ἀκράτου μεμοίραται, μήτε ἀσκήσεως μήτε
 διδασκαλίας δεόμενον, ἐν οἷς παλλακίδων ἐπιστη-
 μῶν, οὐκ ἀστῶν μόνον, ἐστὶ χρεία. θεοῦ γὰρ τὸ
 αὐτομαθὲς καὶ αὐτοδίδακτον ἄνωθεν ἀπ' οὐρανοῦ
 καλὸν ὁμβρήσαντος ἀμήχανον ἦν ἔτι δούλαις καὶ
 παλλακαῖς συμβιῶναι τέχναις, νόθων δογματῶν οἶα
 37 παίδων ὀρεχθέντα. δεσποίνης γὰρ καὶ βασιλίδος
 ἀρετῆς ὁ τούτου λαχὼν τοῦ γέρωσ ἀνὴρ ἀνα-
 γράφεται· καλεῖται δὲ παρὰ μὲν Ἑλλήσιν ὑπομονή,
 παρὰ δὲ Ἑβραίοις Ἑβέκκα. ζητεῖ γὰρ ὁ ἄπονον
 καὶ ἀταλαίπωρον εὐράμενος σοφίαν δι' εὐμοιρίαν
 φύσεως καὶ εὐτοκίαν ψυχῆς οὐδὲν τῶν εἰς βελτίω-
 38 σιν. ἔχει γὰρ ἐν ἐτοίμῳ τέλεια τὰ τοῦ θεοῦ δῶρα
 χάρισι ταῖς πρεσβυτέραις ἐπιπνευσθέντα, βούλεται
 δὲ καὶ εὐχεται ταῦτα ἐπιμεῖναι. παρὸ μοι δοκεῖ
 καὶ ὁ εὐεργέτης, ἵνα διαιωνίζωσιν αἱ χάριτες αὐτοῦ
 τῷ λαβόντι, γυναικα τὴν ἐπιμονὴν ἐγγυῆσαι.
- 39 VIII. Ἀνάμνησίς γε μὴν μνήμης τὰ δευτερεῖα
 φέρεται καὶ ὁ ἀναμνησκόμενος τοῦ μεμνημένου·
 [525] ὁ μὲν | γὰρ ἔοικε τῷ συνεχῶς ὑγιαίνοντι, ὁ δὲ τῷ
 ἐκ νόσου ἀναλαμβάνοντι· λήθη γὰρ νόσος μνήμης.
- 40 ἀνάγκη δὲ τὸν ὑπομνήσει χρώμενον ἐκλαθέσθαι
 πρότερον ὧν ἐμέμνητο. τὴν μὲν οὖν μνήμην
 Ἑφραῖμ, ἐρμηνευόμενον καρποφορίαν, ὁ ἱερὸς ὄνο-
 μάζει λόγος, τὴν δὲ ἀνάμνησιν ἐκ λήθης Μανασσῆν

THE PRELIMINARY STUDIES, 36-40

labour. But the self-learnt kind, of which Isaac is a 36 member, that joy which is the best of the good emotions, is endowed with a simple nature free from mixture and alloy, and wants neither the practice nor the teaching which entails the need of the concubine as well as the legitimate forms of knowledge. When God rains down from heaven the good of which the self is a teacher and learner both, it is impossible that that self should still live in concubinage with the slavish arts, as though desiring to be the father of bastard thoughts and conclusions. He who has obtained this prize is enrolled as the husband of the queen and mistress virtue. Her name in the Greek means "constancy"; in the Hebrew it is Rebecca. He who has gained the wisdom that comes without 37 toil and trouble, because his nature is happily gifted and his soul fruitful of good, does not seek for any means of betterment: for he has ready beside him in 38 their fulness the gifts of God, conveyed by the breath of God's higher graces, but he wishes and prays that these may remain with him constantly. And therefore I think his Benefactor, willing that His graces once received should stay for ever with him, gives him Constancy for his spouse.

VIII. Again, reminiscence takes the second place 39 to memory, and so with the reminded and the rememberer. The conditions of these two resemble respectively continuous health and recovery from disease, for forgetting is a disease of memory. The 40 man who is reminded must necessarily have forgotten what he remembered before. So the holy word names memory Ephraim, which by interpretation is "fruit-bearing," while reminding or reminiscence is called in the Hebrew Manasseh, that is "from

- 41 προσαγορεύουσιν Ἑβραῖοι. ὁὕτως γὰρ ἡ μὲν τοῦ μεμνημένου ψυχὴ καρποφορεῖ ἃ ἔμαθεν οὐδὲν ἀποβάλλουσα αὐτῶν, ἡ δὲ τοῦ ἀναμνήσει χρωμένου ἔξω λήθης γίνεται, ἣ πρὶν ὑπομνησθῆναι κατέσχητο. μνημονικῶς μὲν οὖν ἀνδρὶ ἀστὴ συμβιοῖ γυνή, μνήμη, ἐπιλανθανομένῳ δὲ παλλακίς, ἀνάμνησις, Σύρα τὸ γένος, ἀλαζὼν καὶ ὑπέραυχος· Συρία γὰρ
- 42 ἐρμηνεύεται μετεωρία.¹ τῆς δὲ παλλακίδος ταύτης, ἀναμνήσεως, υἱὸς ἔστι Μαχεῖρ, ὡς Ἑβραῖοι καλοῦσιν, ὡς δὲ Ἕλληνες, πατρός². νομίζουσι γὰρ οἱ ἀναμνησκόμενοι τὸν πατέρα νοῦν αἴτιον εἶναι τοῦ ὑπομνησθῆναι, καὶ οὐ λογίζονται, ὅτι ὁ αὐτὸς οὗτος ἐχώρησέ ποτε καὶ λήθην, οὐκ ἂν δεξάμενος
- 43 αὐτήν, εἰ παρ' αὐτὸν ἦν τὸ μεμνησθαι. λέγεται γάρ· “ἐγένοντο υἱοὶ Μανασσῆ, οὓς ἔτεκεν αὐτῷ ἡ παλλακὴ· ἡ Σύρα, τὸν Μαχεῖρ· Μαχεῖρ δὲ ἐγέννησε τὸν Γαλαάδ.”

Καὶ Ναχωρ μέντοι, ὁ ἀδελφὸς Ἀβραάμ, ἔχει δύο γυναῖκας, ἀσπὴν τε καὶ παλλακὴν· ὄνομα δὲ τῆς μὲν ἀστῆς Μελχά, Ρουμὰ δὲ τῆς παλλακίδος.

44 ἀλλ' οὐχ ἱστορικὴ γενεαλογία ταύτ' ἐστὶν ἀναγραφείσα παρὰ τῷ σοφῷ νομοθέτῃ—μηδεὶς τοῦτ' εὖ φρονῶν ὑπονοήσειεν,—ἀλλὰ πραγμάτων ψυχὴν ὠφελεῖναι δυναμένων διὰ συμβόλων ἀνάπτυξις. τὰ δ' ὀνόματα μεταβαλόντες εἰς τὴν ἡμετέραν διάλεκτον εἰσόμεθα τὴν ὑπόσχεσιν ἀληθῆ. φέρ' οὖν ἕκαστον αὐτῶν ἐρευνήσωμεν.

¹ So mss.: Wendland μετέωρα, which the mss. have in *Leg. All.* iii. 18. The neuter plural seems strange; μετεωρία, however, is only quoted from Latin writers and in the sense of “forgetfulness.”

² Cohn suggested <ἐγρήγορσις> πατρός, from “Onomastica, ed. Lag. 195. 68.” This I have not been able to see.

THE PRELIMINARY STUDIES, 41-44

forgetfulness." For it is quite true that the soul of 41 the rememberer has the fruits of what he learned and has lost none of them, whereas the soul of the reminded comes out of forgetfulness which possessed him before he was reminded. The man of memory then is mated to a legitimate wife, memory ; the forgetful man to a concubine, reminiscence, Syrian by race, boastful and arrogant, for Syria is by interpretation " loftiness." This concubine has for a son, in the 42 Hebrew, Machir, meaning with us " the father's," for people who recall to memory think that the father mind was the cause of their being reminded, and do not reflect that this same mind also contained the forgetfulness, for which it would not have had room, if memory were present with it. We read, " The 43 sons of Manasseh were those whom the Syrian concubine bore to him, Machir, and Machir begat Gilead " (Gen. xlv. 20).^a

Nahor too, the brother of Abraham, has two wives, legitimate and concubine, and the name of the legitimate wife was Milcah, and the name of the concubine Reumah (Gen. xxii. 23, 24). Now let no 44 sane man suppose that we have here in the pages of the wise legislator an historical pedigree. What we have is a revelation through symbols of facts which may be profitable to the soul. And if we translate the names into our own tongue, we shall recognize that what is here promised is actually the case. Let us inquire then into each of them.

^a This verse is not in the Hebrew here, but the substance of it appears in both Hebrew and LXX in 1 Chron. vii. 14.

- 45 IX. Ναχὼρ ἐρμηνεύεται φωτὸς ἀνάπαυσις, Μελχὰ
 δὲ βασιλίσσα, Ῥουμὰ δὲ ὁρῶσά τι. τὸ μὲν οὖν
 φῶς ἔχειν κατὰ διάνοιαν ἀγαθόν, τὸ δὲ ἀναπαυό-
 μενον καὶ ἡρεμοῦν καὶ ἀκίνητον οὐ τέλειον ἀγαθόν·
 ἡσυχία μὲν γὰρ τὰ κακὰ χρῆσθαι λυσιτελές, τὰ
 46 δὲ ἀγαθὰ κινήσει συμφέρον. τίς γὰρ ὄνησις
 εὐφώνου ἡσυχάζοντος ἢ μὴ αὐλοῦντος αὐλητοῦ ἢ
 κιθαριστοῦ μὴ κιθαρίζοντος ἢ συνόλως τεχνίτου τὰ
 κατὰ τὴν τέχνην μὴ ἐνεργοῦντος; ἢ γὰρ ἄνευ
 πράξεως θεωρία ψιλὴ πρὸς οὐδὲν ὄφελος τοῖς
 ἐπιστήμοσιν· οὐ γὰρ ὁ παγκρατιάζειν ἢ πυκτεύειν
 ἢ παλαίειν εἰδὼς ἐξαγκωνισθεὶς ἀπόναιτ' ἂν
 ἀθλήσεως ἢ ὁ τὴν τοῦ τρέχειν ἐπιστήμην ἐκμαθὼν,
 εἰ ποδαγρικῶ χρήσαιο πάθει ἢ τινα ἄλλην περὶ
 47 τὰς βάσεις κῆρα ἀναδέξαιτο. φῶς δὲ ψυχῆς
 ἡλιοειδέστατον ἐπιστήμη· καθάπερ γὰρ τὰ ὄμματα
 αὐγαῖς, καὶ ἡ διάνοια σοφία περιλάμπεται καὶ |
 [526] ὀξυδερκέστερα ἐμβλέπειν ἐγχριομένη καινοῖς αἰεὶ
 48 θεωρήμασιν ἐθίζεται. φωτὸς οὖν ἀνάπαυσις ἐρμη-
 νεύεται Ναχὼρ εἰκότως· ἢ μὲν γὰρ Ἀβραάμ ἐστὶ
 τοῦ σοφοῦ συγγενής, φωτὸς τοῦ κατὰ σοφίαν
 μετέσχηκεν· ἢ δ' οὐ συναποδεδήμηκεν αὐτῷ τὴν
 ἀπὸ τοῦ γενομένου πρὸς τὸ ἀγένητον καὶ τὴν ἀπὸ
 τοῦ κόσμου πρὸς τὸν κοσμοπλάστην ἀποδημίαν,
 χωλὴν καὶ ἀτελῇ τὴν ἐπιστήμην ἐκτήσατο, ἀνα-
 παυομένην καὶ μένουσαν, μᾶλλον δ' ἀνδριάντος
 49 ἀψύχου τρόπον πεπηγυῖαν. τῆς γὰρ Χαλδαϊκῆς

^a In the allegory of §§ 45-53, Nahor represents any philosophy which does not rise to the acknowledgement of God, not merely astrology, though for a moment in § 49 it seems to be identified with it. Rather its highest study is astrology, a science for which, so far as it recognizes the harmony of the heavens, Philo has considerable respect, cf.

THE PRELIMINARY STUDIES, 45-49

IX. Nahor means "rest of light"^a; Milcah, "queen"; 45
and Reumah, "seeing something." Now to have light
in the mind is good, yet what is at rest, quiet and
immovable, is not a perfect good; it is well that
things evil should be in a state of stillness; motion
on the other hand is the proper condition for the good.
For what use is the flute-player, however fine a per- 46
former he may be, if he remain quiet and does not
play, or the harpist if he does not use his harp, or in
general any craftsman if he does not exercise his
craft? No knowledge is profitable to the possessors
through the mere theory if it is not combined with
practice: a man may know how to contend in the
pancratium, to box or to wrestle, yet if his hands be
tied behind his back he will get no good from his
athletic training; so too with one who has mastered
the science of running, if he suffers from gout or from
any other affliction of the feet. Now knowledge is 47
the great sunlight of the soul. For as our eyes are
illuminated by the sun's rays, so is the mind by
wisdom, and anointed with the eyesalve of ever fresh
acquisitions of knowledge it grows accustomed to
see with clearer vision. Nahor is therefore properly
called "rest of light": in so far as he is wise Abra- 48
ham's kinsman, he has obtained a share in wisdom's
light; but in so far as he has not accompanied him
abroad in his journey from the created to the un-
created, and from the world to the world's Framer,
the knowledge he has gained is halting and incom-
plete, resting and staying where it is, or rather stand-
ing stockstill, like a lifeless statue. For he does not 49

De Mig. 178 ff. Its lower study is sceptical quibbling, and these two represent respectively the lawful wife and the concubine.

οὐ μετανίσταται χώρας, τουτέστι τῆς περὶ ἀστρονομίαν θεωρίας οὐ διαζεύγνυται, τὸ γενόμενον πρὸ τοῦ πεπονηκότος καὶ κόσμον πρὸ θεοῦ τετιμηκώς, μᾶλλον δὲ τὸν κόσμον αὐτὸν θεὸν αὐτοκράτορα νομίζων, οὐκ αὐτοκράτορος ἔργον θεοῦ.

- 50 X. Μελχὰν δὲ ἄγεται γυναικα, οὐκ ἀνθρώπων ἢ πόλεων ἀφηγουμένην, <ἦν> τύχη, βασιλίδα, ἀλλ' ὁμώνυμον αὐτὸ μόνον ἐκείνη. καθάπερ γὰρ τὸν οὐρανόν, ἅτε κράτιστον ὄντα τῶν γεγονότων, βασιλέα τῶν αἰσθητῶν εἴποι τις ἂν οὐκ ἀπὸ σκοποῦ, οὕτως καὶ τὴν περὶ αὐτὸν ἐπιστήμην, ἣν μετίασιν οἱ ἀστρονομοῦντες καὶ Χαλδαῖοι διαφερόντως,
- 51 βασιλίδα τῶν ἐπιστημῶν. γυνὴ μὲν οὖν ἦδε ἀστή, παλλακὴ δὲ ἣ ἔν τι τῶν ὄντων ὀρώσα, κἂν εἰ πάντων εὐτελέστατον ὑπάρχοι. τῷ μὲν οὖν ἀρίστῳ γένει τὸ ἄριστον ὀρᾶν, τὸ ὄντως ὄν, συμβέβηκεν—Ἰσραὴλ γὰρ ὀρῶν θεὸν ἐρμηνεύεται,—τῷ δὲ δευτερείῳ ἐφιεμένῳ τὸ δεύτερον, τὸν αἰσθητὸν οὐρανὸν καὶ τὴν ἐν αὐτῷ τῶν ἀστέρων ἐναρμόνιον τάξιν καὶ πάμμουσον ὡς ἀληθῶς χορείαν.
- 52 τρίτοι δὲ εἰσιν οἱ σκεπτικοί, τῶν μὲν ἐν τῇ φύσει κρατίστων, αἰσθητῶν τε καὶ νοητῶν, οὐκ ἐφαπτόμενοι, περὶ μικρὰ μέντοι σοφίσματα τριβόμενοι καὶ γλισχρολογούμενοι. τούτοις ἡ ὀρώσά τι κἂν¹ τὸ μικρότατον παλλακὶς Ῥουμὰ συνοικεῖ μὴ δυναμένοις πρὸς τὴν τῶν ἀμεινόνων ἐλθεῖν ἔρευναν,
- 53 ἐξ ὧν τὸν ἑαυτῶν βίον ὀνήσουσιν. ὥσπερ γὰρ ἐν ἰατροῖς ἡ λεγομένη λογιατρεία πολὺ τῆς τῶν καμνόντων ὠφελείας ἀποστατεῖ—φαρμάκοις γὰρ καὶ χειρουργίαις καὶ διαίταις, ἀλλ' οὐ λόγοις, αἱ νόσοι θεραπεύονται,—οὕτω καὶ ἐν φιλοσοφίᾳ

¹ MSS. καὶ.

THE PRELIMINARY STUDIES, 49-53

remove from the land of Chaldaea, that is he does not sever himself from the study of astrology; he honours the created before the creator, and the world before God, or rather he holds that the world is not the work of God but is itself God absolute in His power.

X. But in Milcah he marries 50 a queen, not a ruler of men or perhaps cities, but one who merely bears the same name with a different meaning. For just as heaven, being the best and greatest of created things, may be rightly called the king of the world of our senses, so the knowledge of heaven, which the star-gazers and the Chaldaeans especially pursue, may be called the queen of sciences. Milcah, then, is the legitimate wife, but the concubine 51 is she who sees one thing of what is, though it be but the meanest of all. Now to see the best, that is the truly existing, is the lot of the best of races, Israel, for Israel means seeing God. The race or kind that strives for the second place sees the second best, that is the heaven of our senses, and therein the well-ordered host of the stars, the choir that moves to the fullest and truest music.

Third are the 52 sceptics, who do not concern themselves with the best things in nature, whether perceived by the senses or the mind, but spend themselves on petty quibbles and trifling disputes. These are the house-mates of Reumah, who "sees something," even the smallest, men incapable of the quest for the better things which might bring profit to their lives. In 53 the case of physicians what is called word-medicine is far removed from assistance to the sick, for diseases are cured by drugs and surgery and prescriptions of diet, but not with words; and so too in philosophy

λογοπῶλαι καὶ λογοθῆραί τινες αὐτὸ μόνον εἰσί,
 τὸν ἀρρωστημάτων γέμοντα βίον θεραπεύειν οὔτε
 ἐθέλοντες οὔτε ἐπιτηδεύοντες, ἐκ πρώτης δὲ
 ἡλικίας ἄχρι γήρως ἐσχάτου γνωσιμαχοῦντές τε
 [527] καὶ συλλαβομαχοῦντες οὐκ ἐρυθριῶσιν, | ὥσπερ
 τῆς εὐδαιμονίας ἐπ' ὀνομάτων καὶ ῥημάτων [καὶ]
 ἀπεράντῳ καὶ ἀνηνύτῳ περιεργία κειμένης, ἀλλ'
 οὐκ ἐν τῷ τὸ ἦθος, τὴν τοῦ ἀνθρωπείου <βίου>
 πηγὴν, ἄμεινον καταστήσασθαι, τὰς μὲν κακίας
 ὑπερορίους φυγαδεύσαντα αὐτοῦ, τὰς δὲ ἀρετὰς
 εἰσοικίσαντα.¹

- 54 XI. Παλλακὰς μέντοι [ἦ]² δόξας καὶ δόγματα
 προσίενται καὶ οἱ φαῦλοι. φησὶ γοῦν ὅτι Θαμνά,
 ἡ παλλακὴ Ἐλιφὰς τοῦ υἱοῦ Ἡσαῦ, ἔτεκε τῷ
 Ἐλιφὰς τὸν Ἀμαλήκ. ὦ τῆς τοῦ ἀπογόνου
 λαμπρᾶς δυσγενείας· ὅψει δὲ αὐτοῦ τὴν δυσ-
 γένειαν, ἐὰν ἀποστὰς τοῦ περὶ ἀνθρώπων ταῦτα
 εἰρῆσθαι νομίζειν τὴν ψυχὴν ὥσπερ ἐξ ἀνατομῆς
 55 ἐπισκέπτῃ. τὴν μὲν τοίνυν ἄλογον καὶ ἄμετρον
 ὁρμὴν τοῦ πάθους Ἀμαλήκ προσαγορεύει· μετα-
 ληφθεὶς γάρ ἐστι λαὸς ἐκλείχων· καθάπερ γὰρ ἡ
 τοῦ πυρὸς δύναμις τὴν παραβληθεῖσαν ὕλην ἀνα-
 λίσκει, τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον καὶ τὸ πάθος ἀναζέον τὰ
 ἐν ποσὶ πάντα ἐπιλιχμᾶται καὶ διαφθείρει.
 56 τούτου τοῦ πάθους πατὴρ Ἐλιφὰς ἀναγράφεται
 δεόντως· ἐρμηνεύεται γάρ· θεὸς με διέσπειρεν.
 ἀλλ' οὐχ ὅταν ἀνασκεδάσῃ ἢ διασπείρῃ καὶ σκορα-

¹ τινα must be understood as subject to καταστήσασθαι; otherwise grammar will require φυγαδεύσαντας (-ες?) and εἰσοικίσαντας (-ες?).

² Perhaps read παλλακὰς μέντοι <καὶ ἀστάς>, δόξας κτλ. See App. p. 578.

THE PRELIMINARY STUDIES, 53-56

there are men who are merely word-mongers and word-hunters, who neither wish nor practise to cure their life, brimful of infirmities as it is, but from their earliest years to extreme old age contend in battles of argument^a and battles of syllables and blush not to do so. They act as though happiness depended on the endless fruitless hypercriticism of words as such,^b instead of on establishing on a better basis character, the fount of human life,^c by expelling the vices from its borders and planting there the virtues as settlers in their stead.

XI. The wicked, too, take to them as concubines, 54 opinions and doctrines. Thus he says that Timna, the concubine of Eliphaz, the son of Esau, bore Amalek to Eliphaz (Gen. xxxvi. 12). How distinguished is the misbirth of him whose descent is here given! What the misbirth is you will see, if you cast away all thought that these words refer to men and turn your attention to what we may call the anatomy of soul-nature.^d It is then the unreasoning and un- 55 measured impulse or appetite of passion which he calls Amalek, for the word by translation means "people licking up." For as the force of fire consumes the fuel laid before it, so too the boiling of passion licks up and destroys all that stands in its way. This passion is rightly declared to 56 have Eliphaz for its father, for Eliphaz means "God hath dispersed me." And is it not true that when God scatters and disperses the soul and ejects

^a See App. p. 577.

^b Lit. "nouns and verbs," see note on *De Mig.* 49.

^c See App. p. 578.

^d Lit. "observe the soul as it were by anatomy."

κίση τὴν ψυχὴν ἀφ' ἑαυτοῦ ὁ θεός, τὸ ἄλογον
 εὐθὺς γεννᾶται πάθος; τὴν μὲν γὰρ ὁρατικὴν
 αὐτοῦ φιλόθεον ὄντως διάνοιαν, κληματίδα εὐγενῆ,
 καταφυτεύει ῥίζας ἀποτεινὼν πρὸς ἀδιότητα καὶ
 εὐφορίαν καρπῶν διδούς πρὸς κτῆσιν καὶ ἀπό-
 57 λαισιν ἀρετῶν. διὸ καὶ Μωυσῆς εὐχεται φάσκων·
 “εἰσαγαγὼν καταφύτευσον αὐτούς,” ἵνα μὴ ἐφ-
 ἡμερα ἀλλ' ἀθάνατα καὶ μακραίωνα γένηται τὰ
 θεῖα βλαστήματα. τῇ δὲ ἀδικον καὶ ἄθεον ψυχὴν
 φυγαδεύων ἀφ' ἑαυτοῦ πορρωτάτῳ διέσπειρεν εἰς
 τὸν ἡδονῶν καὶ ἐπιθυμιῶν καὶ ἀδικημάτων χώρον.
 ὁ δὲ χώρος οὗτος προσφυέστατα ἀσεβῶν καλεῖται,
 οὐχ ὁ μυθεύμενος ἐν “Αἰδου· καὶ γὰρ ὁ πρὸς
 ἀλήθειαν “Αἰδης ὁ τοῦ μοχθηροῦ βίος ἐστίν, ὁ
 ἀλάστωρ καὶ παλαμναῖος καὶ πάσαις ἀραῖς ἔνοχος.

58 XII. ἔστι δὲ καὶ ἐτέρωθι τὸ γράμμα
 τοῦτο ἐστηλιτευμένον· “ἡνίκα διεμέριζεν ὁ ὕψι-
 στος ἔθνη, ὡς διέσπειρεν υἱοὺς Ἀδάμ,” τοὺς γηγῆνους
 ἅπαντας τρόπους οὐράνιον οὐδὲν ἀγαθὸν ἐσπουδα-
 κότας ἰδεῖν ἤλασεν, αἰοίκους καὶ ἀπόλιδας καὶ
 σποράδας ὄντως ἐργασάμενος. οὐδενὶ γὰρ τῶν
 φαύλων οὐκ οἶκος, οὐ πόλις, οὐκ ἄλλο τῶν εἰς
 κοινωνίαν οὐδὲν διασώζεται, ἀλλ' ἀνίδρυτος ὢν
 σπεῖρεται, πάντῃ φορούμενος καὶ μετανιστάμενος
 αἰεὶ καὶ μηδαμῶθι στηριχθῆναι δυνάμενος.

59 γίνεται οὖν τῷ φαύλῳ ἐξ ἀσθῆς μὲν κακία, τὸ δὲ
 πάθος ἐκ παλλακῆς. λογισμοῦ γὰρ ἡ μὲν ὅλη
 [528] ψυχὴ καθάπερ ἀσθὴ σύμβιος | —ψυχὴ δὲ ἐπίληπτος
 τίκτει κακίας,—ἡ δὲ τοῦ σώματος φύσις παλλακῆ,

^a Or “graft.”

^b Or simply “recorded.”

^c i.e. including the ἄλογον part of the soul as well as the
 “soul's soul” or mind. Cf. *Quis Rerum* 55.

THE PRELIMINARY STUDIES, 56-59

it with contumely from His presence unreasoning passion is at once engendered? The mind which truly loves God, that has the vision of Him, He "plants in," as a branch^a of goodly birth, and He deepens its roots to reach to eternity and gives it fruitfulness for the acquisition and enjoyment of virtue. That is why Moses prays in these words, 57 "Bring them in and plant them in" (Ex. xv. 17), that the saplings of God's culture may not be for a day but age-long and immortal. On the other hand he banishes the unjust and godless souls from himself to the furthest bounds, and disperses them to the place of pleasures and lusts and injustices. That place is most fitly called the place of the impious, but it is not that mythical place of the impious in Hades. For the true Hades is the life of the bad, a life of damnation and blood-guiltiness, the victim of every curse.

XII. And elsewhere we have this text, 58 graven as on a stone,^b "When the Highest divided the nations, when He dispersed the sons of Adam" (Deut. xxxii. 8), that is, when He drove away all the earthly ways of thinking which have no real desire to look on any heaven-sent good, and made them homeless and cityless, scattered in very truth. For none of the wicked have preserved for them home or city, nor aught else that tends to fellowship, but they are scattered without settlement, driven about on every side, ever changing their place, nowhere able to hold their ground.

So then the wicked man 59 begets vice by his legitimate wife and passion by his concubine. For the soul as a whole^c is the legitimate life-mate of reason, and if it be a soul of guilt it brings forth vices. The bodily nature is the concubine, and

- δι' ἧς ἡ γένεσις τοῦ πάθους θεωρεῖται· ἡδονῶν γὰρ
 60 καὶ ἐπιθυμιῶν χώρα τὸ σῶμα. καλεῖται δὲ
 Θαμνά, ἧς μεταληφθέν ἐστὶ τοῦνομα ἔκλειψις
 σαλευομένη· ἐκλείπει γὰρ καὶ ἀδυνατεῖ ἡ ψυχὴ τῷ
 πάθει, σάλον καὶ κλύδωνα πολλὴν ἀπὸ σώματος
 ἐνδεξαμένη διὰ τὸν καταρραγέντα βαρὺν χειμῶνα
 61 ἐξ ἀμετρίας ὀρμῆς. κεφαλὴ δὲ ὡς ζώου
 πάντων τῶν λεχθέντων μερῶν ὁ γενάρχης ἐστὶν
 Ὑσαῦ, ὃς τοτὲ μὲν ποίημα, τοτὲ δὲ δρῦς ἐρμη-
 νεύεται, δρῦς μὲν, παρόσον ἀκαμπῆς καὶ ἀνένδοτος
 ἀπειθής τε καὶ σκληραύχην φύσει, συμβούλῳ
 χρώμενος ἀνοία, δρύινος ὄντως, ποίημα δέ, παρ-
 ὅσον πλάσμα καὶ μῦθος ἐστὶν ὁ μετὰ ἀφροσύνης
 βίος, τραγωδίας καὶ κενοῦ κόμπου καὶ πάλιν
 γέλωτος καὶ κωμικῆς χλεύης ἀνάπλεως, ὑγιὲς ἔχων
 οὐδέν, κατεψευσμένος, ἐκτετοξευκὼς ἀλήθειαν, τὴν
 ἄποιον καὶ ἀνείδεον καὶ ἀπλαστον φύσιν ἐν οὐδενὶ
 62 λόγῳ τιθέμενος, ἧς ὁ ἀσκητῆς ἐρᾷ. μαρτυρεῖ δὲ
 Μωυσῆς φάσκων, ὅτι “ ἦν Ἰακώβ ἀπλαστος,
 οἰκῶν οἰκίαν,” ὥστε ὁ ἐναντίος τούτῳ ἄοικος ἂν
 εἴη, πλάσματος καὶ ποιήματος καὶ μυθικῶν λήρων
 ἐταῖρος, μᾶλλον δὲ σκηνὴ καὶ μῦθος αὐτός.
 63 XIII. Ἡ μὲν δὲ λογισμοῦ φιλοθεάμονος πρὸς
 ἀστὰς καὶ παλλακίδας δυνάμεις σύνοδος, ὡς οἶόν
 τε ἦν, εἴρηται· τὸν δ' εἰρμόν τοῦ λόγου συνυφαν-

^a Cf. note on *De Sac.* 17.

^b Throughout these sections there is a play upon the technical literary use of ποίημα and πλάσμα. While ποίημα in this sense is a poem in general, πλάσμα is used of fictitious but possible material such as was used in comedy, while μῦθος gives the legendary matter which formed the staple of tragedy. The double use of ποίημα in *Quod Det.* 125 is somewhat similar.

THE PRELIMINARY STUDIES, 59-63

we see that through it passion is generated, for the body is the region of pleasures and lusts. This 60 concubine is called Timna, whose name translated is "tossing faintness." For the soul faints and loses all power through passion when it receives from the body the flood of tossing surge caused by the storm wind which sweeps down in its fury, driven on by unbridled appetite.

And of all the mem- 61

bers of the clan here described Esau is the progenitor, the head as it were of the whole creature,—Esau whose name we sometimes interpret as "an oak," sometimes as "a thing made up."^a He is an oak because he is unbending, unyielding, disobedient and stiff-necked by nature, with folly as his counsellor, oak-like in very truth; he is a thing made up because the life that consorts with folly is just fiction and fable, full of the bombast of tragedy on the one hand and of the broad jesting of comedy on the other;^b it has nothing sound about it, is utterly false and has thrown truth overboard; it makes no account of the nature which is outside qualities^c and forms and fashionings, the nature which the Man of Practice loves. To this Moses testifies when he says, "Jacob 62 was a plain or unfashioned man, living in a house" (Gen. xxv. 27). And therefore Esau his opposite must be houseless, and the friend of fiction and make-up and legendary follies, or rather himself the actor's stage and the playwright's legend.

XIII. We have now to the best of our ability 63 described the mating of the reason which yearns to see and learn with the faculties both of the lawful and the concubine type. We must now continue the thread of our discourse by examining the words

^c Again a play (not translatable) on *πολιμα*.

τέον τὰκόλουθα διερευνῶντας. “ ὑπήκουσε ” φησὶν
 “ Ἀβραὰμ τῆς φωνῆς Σάρρας ”· ἀναγκαῖον γὰρ
 τοῖς παραγγέλμασιν ἀρετῆς τὸν μανθάνοντα πειθ-
 64 αρχεῖν. οὐ πάντες δὲ πειθαρχοῦσιν, ἀλλ’ ὅσοις
 σφοδρὸς ἔρως ἐντέτηκεν ἐπιστήμης· ἐπεὶ καθ’
 ἑκάστην σχεδὸν ἡμέραν τὰ τε ἀκροατήρια καὶ τὰ
 θέατρα πληροῦται, διεξέρχονται δὲ ἀπνευστὶ συν-
 είροντες τοὺς περὶ ἀρετῆς λόγους οἱ φιλοσοφοῦντες.
 65 ἀλλὰ τί τῶν λεγομένων ὄφελος; ἀντὶ γὰρ τοῦ
 προσέχειν ἐτέρωσε τὸν νοῦν ἀποστείλαντες οἱ μὲν
 πλοῦ καὶ ἐμπορίας, οἱ δὲ προσόδων καὶ γεωργίας,
 οἱ δὲ τιμῶν καὶ πολιτείας, οἱ δὲ τῶν ἀφ’ ἑκάστης
 τέχνης καὶ ἐπιτηδεύσεως κερδῶν, ἄλλοι δὲ τιμω-
 ρίας ἐχθρῶν, οἱ δὲ τῶν ἐν ταῖς ἐρωτικαῖς ἐπι-
 θυμίαις ἀπολαύσεων καὶ συνόλως ἐτέρων ἕτεροι
 διαμέμνηνται, ὥς ἔνεκα τῶν ἐπιδεικνυμένων κεκω-
 φῆσθαι, τοῖς μὲν σώμασι παρῆναι μόνον, ταῖς δὲ
 διανοαῖς ἀπηλλάχθαι, εἰδῶλων καὶ ἀνδριάντων
 66 διαφέρειν μηδέν. εἰ δέ τινες καὶ προσ-
 ἔχουσι, τοσοῦτον χρόνον καθέζονται μόνον ἀκού-
 οντες, ἀπαλλαγέντες δ’ οὐδενὸς τῶν εἰρημένων δια-
 μέμνηνται, καὶ ἦκον τερφθῆναι δι’ ἀκοῆς μᾶλλον
 ἢ ὠφεληθῆναι· ὥστε οὐδὲν αὐτῶν ἴσχυσεν ἢ ψυχὴν
 συλλαβεῖν καὶ κυοφορῆσαι, ἀλλ’ ἅμα τὸ κινεῖν τὴν
 [529] ἡδονὴν αἵτιον | ἡσύχασε καὶ ἡ προσοχὴ κατεσβέσθη.
 67 τρίτοι δὲ εἰσιν οἷς ἔναυλα μὲν τὰ
 λεχθέντα ὑπηχεῖ, σοφισταὶ δὲ ἀντὶ φιλοσόφων
 ἀνευρίσκονται. τούτων ὁ μὲν λόγος ἐπαινετός, ὁ
 δὲ βίος ψεκτός ἐστι· δυνατοὶ μὲν γὰρ εἰπεῖν,
 68 ἀδύνατοι δὲ εἰσι πράττειν τὰ βέλτιστα. μόλις οὖν

THE PRELIMINARY STUDIES, 63-67

which follow. Abraham, it says, "hearkened to the voice of Sarah" (Gen. xvi. 2), for the learner must needs obey the commands of virtue. Yet not all do 64 obey, only those in whom the strong longing for knowledge has become ingrained. Hardly a day passes but the lecture-halls and theatres are filled with philosophers discoursing at length, stringing together without stopping to take breath their disquisitions on virtue. Yet what profit is there in their 65 talk? For instead of attending, the audience dismiss their minds elsewhere, some occupied with thoughts of voyaging and trading, some with their farming and its returns, others with honours and civic life, others on the profits they get from their particular trade and business, others with the vengeance they hope to wreak on their enemies, others with the enjoyments of their amorous passions, the class of thought in fact differing with the class of person. Thus, as far as what is being demonstrated is concerned, they are deaf, and while they are present in the body are absent in mind, and might as well be images or statues. 66

And any who 66 do attend sit all the time merely hearing, and when they depart they remember nothing that has been said, and in fact their object in coming was to please their sense of hearing rather than to gain any profit; thus their soul is unable to conceive or bring to the birth, but the moment the cause which stirred up pleasure is silent their attention is extinguished too.

There is a third class, who carry away 67 an echo of what has been said, but prove to be sophists rather than philosophers. The words of these deserve praise, but their lives censure, for they are capable of saying the best, but incapable of doing it.

- ἔστιν εὐρεῖν προσεκτικὸν καὶ μνημονικόν, τὸ πράττειν τοῦ λέγειν προτιμῶντα, ἃ δὴ μαρτυρεῖται τῷ φιλομαθεῖ διὰ τοῦ “ ὑπήκουσε τῆς φωνῆς Σάρρας.” οὐ γὰρ ἀκούων ἀλλ’ ὑπακούων εἰσάγεται· τὸ δέ ἐστι τοῦ συναινεῖν καὶ πειθαρχεῖν εὐθυβολώτατον ὄνομα.
- οὐκ ἀπὸ σκοποῦ δὲ πρόσκειται τὸ “ τῆς φωνῆς,” ἀλλὰ μὴ τῆς φωνούσης Σάρρας ὑπακοῦσαι. ἴδιον γὰρ τοῦ μανθάνοντος φωνῆς καὶ λόγων ἀκροᾶσθαι, διδάσκεται γὰρ τούτοις μόνοις· ὁ δὲ ἀσκήσει τὸ καλὸν ἀλλὰ μὴ διδασκαλία κτώμενος οὐ τοῖς λεγομένοις ἀλλὰ τοῖς λέγουσι προσέχει, μιμούμενος τὸν ἐκείνων βίον ἐν ταῖς κατὰ μέρος ἀνεπιλήπτοις πράξεσι. λέγεται γὰρ ἐπὶ τοῦ Ἰακώβ, ἥνίκα εἰς τὸν συγγενικὸν γάμον πέμπεται· “ εἰσήκουσεν Ἰακώβ τοῦ πατρὸς καὶ τῆς μητρὸς αὐτοῦ, καὶ ἐπορεύθη εἰς τὴν Μεσοποταμίαν,” οὐ τῆς φωνῆς οὐδὲ τῶν λόγων—τοῦ γὰρ βίου μιμητὴν ἔδει τὸν ἀσκητὴν, οὐκ ἀκροατὴν λόγων εἶναι· τοῦτο μὲν γὰρ ἴδιον τοῦ διδασκομένου, ἐκείνο δὲ τοῦ διαθλοῦντος,—ἵνα κἀνταῦθα διαφορὰν ἀσκητοῦ καὶ μανθάνοντος καταλάβωμεν, τοῦ μὲν κοσμονμένου κατὰ τὸν λέγοντα, τοῦ δὲ κατὰ τὸν ἐκείνου λόγον.
- 71 XIV. “ Λαβοῦσα ” οὖν φησι “ Σάρρα ἡ γυνὴ Ἀβραάμ ἤγαγε τὴν Αἰγυπτίαν, τὴν ἑαυτῆς παιδίσκην, μετὰ δέκα ἔτη τοῦ οἰκῆσαι Ἀβραάμ ἐν γῇ Χαναάν, ἔδωκε τῷ Ἀβραάμ τῷ ἀνδρὶ αὐτῆς αὐτῷ γυναικα.” βάσκανον μὲν καὶ πικρὸν καὶ κακόηθες φύσει κακία, ἡμερον δὲ καὶ κοινωνικὸν καὶ εὐμενές

THE PRELIMINARY STUDIES, 68-71

Rarely then shall we find one who combines attention, 68
memory and the valuing of deeds before words, which
three things are vouched for in the case of Abraham,
the lover of learning, in the phrase "He hearkened to
the voice of Sarah," for he is represented not as hear-
ing, but as hearkening, a word which exactly ex-
presses assent and obedience.

There is a 69
point, too, in the addition "to the voice," instead of
"he hearkened to Sarah speaking." For it is a
characteristic mark of the learner that he listens to a
voice and to words, since by these only is he taught.
whereas he who acquires the good through practice,
and not through teaching, fixes his attention not on
what is said, but on those who say it, and imitates
their life as shewn in the blamelessness of their
successive actions. Thus we read in the case of 70
Jacob, when he was sent to marry into his mother's
family, "Jacob heard his father and mother, and went
to Mesopotamia" (Gen. xxviii. 7). "Heard *them*,"
it says, not their voice or words, for the practiser must
be the imitator of a life, not the hearer of words, since
the latter is the characteristic mark of the recipient
of teaching, and the former of the strenuous self-
exerciser. Thus this text too is meant as a lesson to
us that we may realize the difference between a
learner and a practiser, how the course of one is
determined by what a person says, the other by the
person himself.

XIV. The verse continues, "So Sarah the wife of 71
Abraham, ten years after Abraham dwelt in Canaan,
took Hagar the Egyptian her handmaid and gave
her to Abraham her husband as his wife" (Gen.
xvi. 3). Now vice is malignant and sour and ill-
minded by nature, while virtue is gentle and sociable

- ἀρετή, πάντα τρόπον τοὺς εὐφυῶς ἔχοντας ὠφελεῖν
 72 ἢ δι' αὐτῆς ἢ δι' ἐτέρων ἐθέλουσα. νυνὶ γοῦν μήπω
 δυναμένοις ἡμῖν ἐκ φρονήσεως παιδοποιεῖσθαι τὴν
 ἑαυτῆς ἐγγυᾶ θεραπαινίδα, τὴν ἐγκύκλιον, ὡς ἔφην,
 παιδεῖαν, καὶ μονονοῦ προξενεῖν καὶ νυμφοστολεῖν
 ὑπομένει· αὐτὴ γὰρ λέγεται λαβοῦσα διδόναι τῷ
 73 ἀνδρὶ αὐτῆς γυναῖκα ταύτην. ἄξιον δὲ
 διαπορῆσαι, διὰ τί νυνὶ πάλιν γυναῖκα τοῦ Ἀβραάμ
 εἶπε τὴν Σάρραν, πολλάκις ἤδη πρότερον μεμηνυ-
 κώς· οὐ γὰρ μακρολογίας τὸ φαυλότατον εἶδος,
 ταυτολογίαν, ἐπιτετήδευκε. τί οὖν λεκτέον; ἐπειδὴ
 μέλλει τὴν θεραπαινίδα φρονήσεως, τὴν ἐγκύκλιον
 παιδεῖαν, ἐγγυᾶσθαι, φησὶν ὅτι οὐκ ἐξελάθετο τῶν
 πρὸς τὴν δέσποιναν αὐτῆς ὁμολογιῶν, ἀλλ' οἶδε μὲν
 ἐκείνην ἑαυτοῦ νόμῳ καὶ γνώμῃ γυναῖκα, ταύτην δὲ
 ἀνάγκῃ καὶ βία καιροῦ. τοῦτο δὲ παντὶ συμβαίνει
 φιλομαθεῖ· μάρτυς δ' ὁ πεπονθὼς γένοιτ' ἂν ἀψευ-
 74 δέστατος. | ἐγὼ γοῦν ἡνίκα πρῶτον
 [530] κέντροις φιλοσοφίας πρὸς τὸν πόθον αὐτῆς ἀν-
 ηρεθίσθην, ὠμίλησα κομιδῇ νέος ὢν μὲν τῶν θερα-
 παινίδων αὐτῆς, γραμματικῇ, καὶ ὅσα ἐγέννησα ἐκ
 ταύτης, τὸ γράφειν, τὸ ἀναγινώσκειν, τὴν ἱστορίαν
 75 τῶν παρὰ ποιηταῖς, ἀνέθηκα τῇ δεσποίνῃ. καὶ
 πάλιν ἑτέρα συνελθὼν, γεωμετρία, καὶ τοῦ κάλλους
 ἀγάμενος—εἶχε γὰρ συμμετρίαν καὶ ἀναλογίαν ἐν
 τοῖς μέρεσι πᾶσι—τῶν ἐγγόνων οὐδὲν ἐνοσφισάμην,
 76 ἀλλὰ τῇ ἀστῇ φέρων ἐδωρησάμην. ἐσπούδασα καὶ
 τρίτῃ συνελθεῖν—ἣν δὲ εὐρυθμος, εὐάρμοστος, ἐμ-

THE PRELIMINARY STUDIES, 71-76

and kindly, willing in every way, either by herself or others, to help those whom nature has gifted. Thus in the case before us, since as yet we are unable 72 to beget by wisdom, she gives us the hand of her maiden, who is, as I have said, the culture of the schools ; and she does not shrink, we may almost say, to carry out the wooing and preside over the bridal rites ; for she herself, we are told, took Hagar and gave her as wife to her husband. Now 73

it is worth considering carefully why in this place Moses again calls Sarah the wife of Abraham, when he has already stated the fact several times ; for Moses did not practise the worst form of prolixity, namely tautology. What must we say then ? This. When Abraham is about to wed the handmaid of wisdom, the school culture, he does not forget, so the text implies, his faith plighted to her mistress, but knows that the one is his wife by law and deliberate choice, the other only by necessity and the force of occasion. And this is what happens to every lover of learning ; personal experience will prove the most infallible of testimonies. For instance 74

when first I was incited by the goads of philosophy to desire her I consorted in early youth with one of her handmaids, Grammar, and all that I begat by her, writing, reading and study of the writings of the poets, I dedicated to her mistress. And again I kept 75 company with another, namely Geometry, and was charmed with her beauty, for she shewed symmetry and proportion in every part. Yet I took none of her children for my private use, but brought them as a gift to the lawful wife. Again my ardour moved 76 me to keep company with a third ; rich in rhythm, harmony and melody was she, and her name was

PHILO

μελῆς, μουσικῇ δὲ ἐκαλεῖτο—καὶ ἐγέννησα ἐξ αὐτῆς
 διατονικὰ χρώματα καὶ ἐναρμόνια, συνημμένα,
 διεzeugμένα μέλη, τῆς διὰ τεττάρων, τῆς διὰ
 πέντε, τῆς διὰ πασῶν συμφωνίας ἐχόμενα, καὶ
 πάλιν οὐδὲν αὐτῶν ἀπεκρυψάμην, ἵνα πλουσία μοι
 γένηται ἡ ἀστὴ γυνή, μυρίων οἰκετῶν ὑπηρετου-
 77 μένη πλήθει. τινὲς γὰρ τοῖς φίλτροις τῶν
 θεραπαινίδων δελεασθέντες ὠλιγόρησαν τῆς δεσ-
 ποίνης, φιλοσοφίας, καὶ κατεγήρασαν οἱ μὲν ἐν
 ποιήμασιν, οἱ δὲ ἐν γραμμαῖς, οἱ δὲ ἐν χρωμάτων
 κράσεσιν, οἱ δὲ ἐν ἄλλοις μυρίοις, οὐ δυνηθέντες
 78 ἐπὶ τὴν ἀστὴν ἀναδραμεῖν. ἔχει γὰρ ἐκάστη τέχνη
 γλαφυρότητας, ὁλοκούς τινὰς δυνάμεις, ὅφ' ὧν ἔνιοι
 ψυχαγωγούμενοι καταμένουσιν, ἐκκλησήμενοι τῶν
 πρὸς φιλοσοφίαν ὁμολογιῶν. ὁ δὲ ἐμμένων ταῖς
 συνθήκαις πορίζει πάντα πανταχόθεν πρὸς τὴν
 ἀρέσκειαν αὐτῆς. εἰκότως οὖν τῆς πίστεως αὐτὸν
 ἀγάμενος ὁ ἱερὸς λόγος φησὶν, ὅτι καὶ νῦν ἦν αὐτῷ
 γυνὴ Σάρρα, ὅτε τὴν θεραπαινίδα πρὸς τὴν ἐκείνης
 79 ἀρέσκειαν ἡγάγετο. καὶ μὴν ὥσπερ τὰ ἐγκύκλια
 συμβάλλεται πρὸς φιλοσοφίας ἀνάληψιν, οὕτω καὶ
 φιλοσοφία πρὸς σοφίας κτῆσιν. ἔστι γὰρ φιλο-
 σοφία ἐπιτήδευσις σοφίας, σοφία δὲ ἐπιστήμη
 θείων καὶ ἀνθρωπίνων καὶ τῶν τούτων αἰτίων.
 γένοιτ' ἂν οὖν ὥσπερ ἡ ἐγκύκλιος μουσικῇ φιλο-
 80 σοφίας, οὕτω καὶ φιλοσοφία δούλῃ σοφίας. φιλο-
 σοφία δὲ ἐγκράτειαν μὲν γαστρός, ἐγκράτειαν δὲ

THE PRELIMINARY STUDIES, 76-80

Music, and from her I begat diatonics, chromatics and enharmonics, conjunct and disjunct melodies, conforming with the consonance of the fourth, fifth or octave intervals.^a And again of none of these did I make a secret hoard, wishing to see the lawful wife a lady of wealth with a host of servants ministering to her. For some have been ensnared by the 77 love lures of the handmaids and spurned the mistress, and have grown old, some doting on poetry, some on geometrical figures, some on the blending of musical "colours,"^b and a host of other things, and have never been able to soar to the winning of the lawful wife.^c For each art has its charms, its powers of attraction, 78 and some beguiled by these stay with them and forget their pledges to Philosophy. But he who abides by the covenants he has made provides from every quarter everything he can to do her service. It is natural, then, that the holy word should say in admiration of his faithfulness that even then was Sarah his wife when he wedded the handmaid to do her service. And indeed just as the school subjects 79 contribute to the acquirement of philosophy, so does philosophy to the getting of wisdom. For philosophy is the practice or study of wisdom, and wisdom is the knowledge of things divine and human and their causes.^d And therefore just as the culture of the schools is the bond-servant of philosophy, so must philosophy be the servant of wisdom. Now philo- 80 sophy teaches us the control of the belly and the

^a Cf. *Leg. All.* iii. 122, *De Post.* 104, *De Agr.* 137.

^b See App. p. 578.

^c For the tendency to prolong the study of the *Encyclia* beyond what Philo considered the proper time cf. *De Ebr.* 51.

^d See App. p. 579.

τῶν μετὰ γαστέρα, ἐγκράτειαν δὲ καὶ γλώττης ἀναδιδάσκει. ταῦτα λέγεται μὲν εἶναι δι' αὐτὰ αἰρετά, σεμνότερα δὲ φαίνοιτ' ἅν, εἰ θεοῦ τιμῆς καὶ ἀρεσκείας ἕνεκα ἐπιτηδεύοιτο. μεμνησθαι οὖν δεῖ τῆς κυρίας, ὅποτε μέλλοιμεν αὐτῆς <τὰς> θεραπαινίδας μνασθαι· καὶ λεγόμεθα μὲν ἄνδρες εἶναι τούτων, ὑπαρχέτω δ' ἡμῖν ἐκείνη πρὸς ἀλήθειαν γυνή, μὴ λεγέσθω.

[531] 81 XV. | Δίδωσι δ' οὐκ εὐθύς εἰς τὴν Χαναναίων γῆν ἀφικομένῳ, ἀλλὰ μετὰ δεκαετίαν τῆς ἐκεῖ διατριβῆς. τί δὲ τοῦτ' ἐστίν, οὐκ ἀμελῶς ἐπισκεπτέον· ἐν ἀρχῇ μὲν τῆς γενέσεως ἡμῶν ἡ ψυχὴ συντρόφοις τοῖς πάθεσι μόνοις χρήται, λύπαις, ἀλγηδόσι, πτόαις, ἐπιθυμίαις, ἡδοναῖς, ἃ διὰ τῶν αἰσθήσεων ἐπ' αὐτὴν ἔρχεται, μήπω τοῦ λογισμοῦ βλέπειν δυναμένου τὰ τε ἀγαθὰ καὶ κακὰ καὶ ἣ διαφέρει ταῦτα ἀλλήλων ἀκριβοῦν, ἀλλ' ἔτι νυστάζοντος καὶ ὡς ἐν ὕπνῳ βαθεῖ καταμεμυκός.

82 χρόνου δὲ προϊόντος ὅταν ἐκβαίνοντες τῆς παιδικῆς ἡλικίας μεираκιῶσθαι μέλλωμεν, τὸ δίδυμον στέλεχος εὐθύς ἐκ μιᾶς, ἀρετὴ καὶ κακία, φύεται ρίζης· καὶ ποιούμεθα μὲν τὴν κατάληψιν ἀμφοῖν, αἱρούμεθα δὲ πάντως τὴν ἑτέραν, οἱ μὲν εὐφυνεῖς 83 ἀρετὴν, κακίαν δ' οἱ ἐναντίοι. τούτων

προϋποτυπωθέντων εἰδέναι χρή, ὅτι παθῶν μὲν Αἴγυπτος σύμβολόν ἐστι, κακιῶν δὲ ἡ Χαναναίων γῆ· ὥστ' εἰκότως ἀναστήσας ἀπ' Αἰγύπτου τὸν 84 λεὼν εἰς τὴν Χαναναίων εἰσάγει χώραν. ἄνθρωπος γάρ, ὡς ἔφην, ἅμα μὲν τῇ γενέσει τὸ Αἰγύπτιον πάθος ἔλαχεν οἰκεῖν ἡδοναῖς καὶ ἀλγηδόσι προσερριζώμενος, αὐθις δ' ἀποικίαν στέλλεται τὴν πρὸς

THE PRELIMINARY STUDIES, 80-84

parts below it, and control also of the tongue. Such powers of control are said to be desirable in themselves, but they will assume a grander and loftier aspect if practised for the honour and service of God. So when we are about to woo the handmaids we must remember the sovereign lady, and let us be called their husbands, but let her be not called but be in reality our true wife.

XV. Next Sarah gives Hagar to Abraham, not at 81 once after his arrival in the land of the Canaanites, but after he has stayed there for ten years. The meaning of this requires careful consideration. In the first stage of our coming into existence the soul is reared with none but passions to be its comrades, griefs, pains, excitements, desires, pleasures, all of which come to it through the senses, since the reason is not yet able to see good and evil and to form an accurate judgement of the difference between them, but is still slumbering, its eyes closed as if in deep sleep. But as time goes on, when we leave 82 the stage of boyhood and are adolescent, there springs from the single root the twofold stalk, virtue and vice, and we form an apprehension of both, but necessarily choose one or the other, the better-natured choosing virtue, the opposite kind vice.

Following on this preliminary sketch 83 we must know that Egypt symbolizes sense, and the land of the Canaanites vice, and thus it is natural that when Moses brings the people out of Egypt he should lead them into the country of the Canaanites. The man, as I have said, at his first coming into being 84 receives for his habitation Egyptian passion, and his roots are fixed in pleasures and pains; but after awhile he emigrates to a new home, vice. The

κακίαν, ἥδη τοῦ λογισμοῦ πρὸς τὸ ὀξύωπέστερον ἐπιδεδωκότος καὶ καταλαμβάνοντος μὲν ἀμφότερα, ἀγαθὸν τε αὐ καὶ κακόν, τὸ δὲ χεῖρον αἰρουμένου διὰ τὸ πολὺ μετέχειν τοῦ θνητοῦ, ὧς τὸ κακὸν οἰκεῖον, ἐπεὶ καὶ τοῦναντίον τῷ θείῳ, τὸ ἀγαθόν.

85

XVI. ἀλλ' αἱ μὲν φύσει πατρίδες αὐται, παιδικῆς μὲν ἡλικίας τὸ πάθος, Αἴγυπτος, ἡβώσης δὲ κακία, ἡ Χαναάνιτις. ὁ δὲ ἱερὸς λόγος, καίτοι σαφῶς ἐπιστάμενος τὰς τοῦ θνητοῦ γένους πατρίδας ἡμῶν, ὑποτίθεται τὰ πρακτέα καὶ συν-
οίσοντα παραγγέλλων μισεῖν τὰ ἔθνη καὶ τὰ νόμιμα
86 καὶ τὰ ἐπιτηδεύματα αὐτῶν ἐν οἷς φησι. “ καὶ εἶπε κύριος πρὸς Μωυσῆν λέγων· λάλησον τοῖς υἱοῖς Ἰσραὴλ καὶ ἐρεῖς πρὸς αὐτούς· ἐγὼ κύριος ὁ θεὸς ὑμῶν· κατὰ τὰ ἐπιτηδεύματα γῆς Αἰγύπτου, ἐν ᾗ κατοικήσατε ἐπ' αὐτῆς, οὐ ποιήσετε· καὶ κατὰ τὰ ἐπιτηδεύματα γῆς Χαναάν, εἰς ἣν ἐγὼ εἰσάγω ὑμᾶς ἐκεῖ, οὐ ποιήσετε· καὶ τοῖς νομίμοις αὐτῶν οὐ πορεύσεσθε· τὰ κρίματά μου ποιήσετε, καὶ τὰ προστάγματά μου φυλάξεσθε, πορεύεσθε ἐν αὐτοῖς· ἐγὼ κύριος ὁ θεὸς ὑμῶν. καὶ φυλάξεσθε πάντα τὰ προστάγματά μου καὶ τὰ κρίματά μου, καὶ ποιή-
σετε αὐτά. ὁ ποιήσας αὐτὰ ζήσεται ἐν αὐτοῖς·
87 ἐγὼ κύριος ὁ θεὸς ὑμῶν.” οὐκοῦν ἡ πρὸς ἀλήθειαν ζωὴ περιπατοῦντός¹ ἐστὶν ἐν ταῖς τοῦ θεοῦ κρίσεσι
[532] καὶ προστάξεσιν, | ὥστε θάνατος ἂν εἴη τὰ τῶν ἀθέων ἐπιτηδεύματα. τίνα δὲ τὰ ἀθέων εἶρηται.

¹ MSS. περὶ παντός.

THE PRELIMINARY STUDIES, 84-87

reason has by this time advanced to a higher degree of vision, and while it apprehends both alternatives, good and evil, chooses the worst, because mortality is so large an ingredient in the reason, and evil is native to mortality as its opposite, good, is to the divine.

XVI. Now according to nature 85 these are the native-lands of the two ages : Egypt, that is passion, of the age of childhood ; Canaan, that is vice, of the age of adolescence. But the holy word, though it knows full well what are the native-lands of our mortal race, sets before us what we should do and what will be for our good, by bidding us hate the habits and the customs and the practices of those lands. It does so in the following words, " And the 86 Lord spake unto Moses, saying : ' Speak unto the sons of Israel, and thou shalt say unto them " I am the Lord your God. According to the practices of the land of Egypt, in which ye dwelt therein, ye shall not do ; and according unto the practices of the land of Canaan, into which I bring you there, you shall not do, and by their customs ye shall not walk. Ye shall do My judgements and ye shall keep My ordinances, walk in them. I am the Lord your God. And ye shall keep all My ordinances and My judgements, and ye shall do them. He that doeth them shall live in them. I am the Lord your God ' " (Lev. xviii. 1-5). So then the true life is the life of him 87 who walks in the judgements and ordinances of God, so that the practices of the godless must be death. And what the practices of the godless are we have been told. They are the practices of passion and

τὰ πάθους καὶ κακιῶν ἐστίν,¹ ἐξ ὧν τὰ ἀσεβῶν καὶ ἀνοσιουργῶν² πλήθῃ φύεται.

- 88 Μετὰ δεκαετίαν οὖν τῆς πρὸς Χαναναίους μεταοικίας ἀξόμεθα τὴν Ἄγαρ, ἐπειδήπερ εὐθὺς μὲν γενόμενοι λογικοὶ τῆς φύσει βλαβεράς ἀμαθίας καὶ ἀπαιδευσίας μεταποιούμεθα, χρόνῳ δ' ὕστερον καὶ ἐν ἀριθμῷ τελείῳ, δεκάδι, νομίμου³ παιδείας τῆς ὠφελεῖν δυναμένης εἰς ἐπιθυμίαν ἐρχόμεθα.

- 89 XVII. Τὸν δὲ περὶ δεκάδος λόγον ἐπιμελῶς μὲν ἠκρίβωσαν μουσικῶν παῖδες, ὕμνησε δὲ οὐ μετρίως ὁ ἱερώτατος Μωυσῆς, ἀναθεὶς αὐτῇ τὰ κάλλιστα, τὰς ἀρχάς,⁴ τὰς ἀπαρχάς, τὰ τῶν ἱερέων ἐνδελεχῇ δῶρα, τὴν τοῦ Πάσχα διατήρησιν, τὸν ἱλασμόν, τὴν διὰ πεντηκονταετίας ἄφεσιν τε καὶ εἰς τὰς ἀρχαίας λήξεις ἐπάνοδον, τὴν κατασκευὴν τῆς ἀδιαλύτου σκηνῆς, ἄλλα μυρία, ὧν μακρὸν ἂν εἴη μεμνήσθαι.

- 90 τὰ δὲ καίρια οὐ παρετέον.⁵ αὐτίκα τὸν Νῶε ἡμῖν—πρῶτος δ' οὗτος δίκαιος ἐν ταῖς ἱεραῖς ἀνερρήθη γραφαῖς—ἀπὸ τοῦ διαπλασθέντος ἐκ γῆς εἰσάγει δέκατον, οὐκ ἐνιαυτῶν πλήθος παραστήσαι

¹ MSS. τινὰ δὲ ἀθεώρητα πάθους καὶ κακιῶν ἐστίν.—The text printed is my conjecture. Mangey retains the ms. text and translates, ignoring the neuter τινὰ, “quidam non perpendunt affectus et vitia.” Markland’s ἅτινα δὴ is an improvement, but still leaves ἀθεώρητα in the unnatural sense of “regardless of” (and therefore “practising”). Moreover, the words are quite pointless. With the correction the argument proceeds quite logically. The later part of the quotation tells us that he who does God’s ordinances will live. It follows that the practices of the godless are death. If you ask what are the practices of the godless, the first part of the text has told us (εἴρηται) that they are the practices of Egypt and Canaan, that is (see § 85) passion and vice. We might perhaps get even nearer to the MSS. by omitting τὰ before ἀθέων.

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vices, from which spring the many multitudes of the impious and the workers of unholiness.

So then ten years after our migration to the 88 Canaanites we shall wed Hagar, since as soon as we have become reasoning beings we take to ourselves the ignorance and indiscipline whose nature is so mischievous^a and only after a time and under the perfect number ten do we reach the desire for the lawful discipline which can profit us.

XVII. Now the lore of the decad has been care- 89 fully discussed in detail in the schools of the musicians, and is extolled in no ordinary degree by the holiest of men, Moses, who connects with it things of special excellence, governments, the first-fruits, the recurrent gifts of the priests, the observation of the passover, the atonement, the liberation and return to the old possessions in the fiftieth year, the furnishing of the permanent tabernacle, and others without number. These it would take too long to mention, but crucial examples must not be omitted.

For instance, he represents Noah, the first man re- 90 corded as just in holy scriptures, as the tenth descendant from the man who was moulded from the earth ; and in doing so he does not wish to set before

^a Or perhaps "the natural (and harmful) ignorance," which, though a less obvious way of taking the words, agrees better with the thought that ignorance is the *πατρίς* of the man.

² Perhaps read *ἀνοσίων ἔργων* ; general practices are the progenitors of particular deeds.

³ MSS. *νομίμω* (-ως).

⁴ So one MS. : the rest *εὐχὰς*, which Mangey preferred, but see beginning of § 92, and the thought of *ἀρχὰς* recurs in § 110.

⁵ MSS. *παρεατέον* or *παριτέον*.

- βουλόμενος, ἀλλὰ διδάξαι σαφῶς, ὅτι ὥσπερ δεκάς ἀριθμῶν τῶν ἀπὸ μονάδος ἐστὶ πέρας τελειότατον, οὕτω τὸ δίκαιον ἐν ψυχῇ τέλειον καὶ πέρας ὄντως
- 91 τῶν κατὰ τὸν βίον πράξεων. τὴν μὲν γὰρ πολλαπλασιαζομένην ἐφ' ἑαυτὴν τριάδα πρὸς ἐνάτου γένεσιν ἀριθμοῦ πολεμιωτάτην ἐξεῖπον οἱ χρησμοί, τὴν δὲ ἐπιβεβηκυῖαν μονάδα πρὸς ἐκπλή-
- 92 ρωσιν δεκάδος ὡς φίλην ἀπεδέξαντο. σημεῖον δέ τὰς ἐννέα τῶν βασιλέων ἀρχάς, ἡνίκα ἡ ἐμφύλιος ἀνερριπίσθη στάσις, τῶν τεττάρων παθῶν πρὸς τὰς πέντε αἰσθήσεις κονισαμένων καὶ πόρθησιν καὶ κατασκαφὴν κινδυνευούσης τρόπον πόλεως τῆς ὅλης¹ ἀναδέχεσθαι ψυχῆς, ἐκστρατεύσας ὁ σοφὸς
- 93 Ἀβραὰμ κατέλυσε δέκατος ἐπιφανείς. οὗτος ἀντὶ χειμῶνος γαλήνην καὶ ὑγίαν ἀντὶ νόσου καὶ ζώην, εἰ δεῖ τάληθές εἰπεῖν, ἀντὶ θανάτου παρεσκεύασε, τοῦ νικηφόρου θεοῦ τροπαιοφόρον αὐτὸν ἀναδείξαντος, ᾧ καὶ τὰς δεκάτας χαριστήρια τῆς νίκης
- 94 ἀνατίθησι. καὶ παντὸς μέντοι τοῦ ἐλθόντος “ὑπὸ τὴν ράβδον,” λέγω δὲ τὴν παιδείαν, ἡμέρου καὶ τιθασοῦ θρέμματος τὸ δέκατον ἀποκρίνεται, νόμου προστάξει γινόμενον “ἅγιον,” ἢ ἐκ πολλῶν διδασκώμεθα τὴν δεκάδος πρὸς θεὸν οἰκειότητα καὶ τὴν τοῦ ἐννέα ἀριθμοῦ πρὸς τὸ
- 95 θνητὸν ἡμῶν γένος. XVIII. ἀλλὰ γὰρ [533] οὐκ ἀπὸ ζώων | μόνον ἀπάρχεσθαι δεκάτας, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν ὅσα ἐκ γῆς βλαστάνει διείρηται. “πᾶσα” γὰρ φησι “δεκάτη τῆς γῆς ἀπὸ τοῦ

¹ Some mss. αὐλῆς: Wend. conjectures ἀλούσης.

^a See note on § 59. Here the phrase seems to be used of the animal or unreasoning nature, ignoring the mind. For the “city” of the story is Sodom, which is a “soul blind of

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us any particular number of years, but to shew us clearly that, just as ten is the end of the numbers which start from one and most perfect, so justice in the soul is perfect and the true end of our life's actions.

For when three is multiplied by 91 itself and thus produces the number nine, the oracles pronounce it to be a number of great hostility, while the added one which completes the ten they approve of as friendly. This is shewn in the incident of 92 Abraham and the nine kings. When the civil war burst into flames, and the four passions prepared for combat with the five senses, when the whole soul^a was on the point to suffer sacking and razing like a city, wise Abraham took the field, and appearing as the tenth, made an end of all nine governments (Gen. xiv.). He provided calm in the place of storm, health for 93 sickness, and life we may truly say for death, being declared the winner of the trophies by God the victory-giver, to whom too he dedicated the tenths as thank-offerings for his victory (Gen. xiv. 20).

Further, everything that comes "under the rod," the 94 rod of discipline,^b that is every tame and docile creature, has a tenth set apart from it which by the ordinance of the law becomes "holy" (Lev. xxvii. 32), that so through many reminders we may learn the close connexion of ten with God and of nine with our mortal race.

XVIII. But indeed it is 95 commanded to offer tenths as first-fruits, not only from animals, but from all that springs from the earth. "Every tenth of the earth," it says, "from the seed

reason" (§ 109). Wendland's ἀλούσης (agreeing with πόλεως) may be right.

^b Cf. *Leg. All.* iii. 89 f., *De Post.* 97. For ten as the number of παιδεία cf. note on *De Sac.* 122.

- σπέρματος καὶ τοῦ καρποῦ τοῦ ξυλίνου ἐστὶν ἅγιον τῷ κυρίῳ· καὶ πᾶσα δεκάτη βοῶν καὶ προβάτων, καὶ πᾶν ὃ ἂν διέλθῃ ἐν τῷ ἀριθμῷ ὑπὸ τὴν ῥάβδον,
- 96 τὸ δέκατον ἔσται ἅγιον τῷ κυρίῳ.” ὁρᾷς, ὅτι καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ περὶ ἡμᾶς ὄγκου σωματικοῦ, ὃς γεώδης καὶ ξύλινος ὄντως ἐστίν, οἴεται δεῖν ἀπάρχεσθαι; ἡ γὰρ ζωὴ καὶ διαμονὴ καὶ αὐξήσις καὶ ὑγίεια αὐτῷ θεία γίνεται χάριτι. ὁρᾷς δ’ ὅτι καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν ἐν ἡμῖν αὐτοῖς ζώων ἀλόγων—ταῦτα δ’ εἰσὶν αἰσθήσεις—πάλιν ἀπάρχεσθαι διείρηται; τὸ γὰρ ὁρᾶν καὶ ἀκούειν καὶ ὁσφραίνεσθαι καὶ γεύεσθαι, ἔτι δὲ ἄπτεσθαι δωρεαὶ θεῆται, ὑπὲρ ὧν εὐχαρισστητέον.
- 97 ἀλλὰ γὰρ οὐ μόνον ἐπὶ τοῖς ξυλίνοις καὶ γηνίοις σώματος ὄγκοις¹ οὐδ’ ἐπ’ ἀλόγοις ζώοις, ταῖς αἰσθήσεσι, τὸν εὐεργέτην ἐπαινεῖν διδασκόμεθα, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐπὶ τῷ νῷ, ὃς κυρίως εἰπεῖν ἀνθρωπός ἐστιν ἐν ἀνθρώπῳ, κρείττων ἐν χείρο
- 98 ρονι καὶ ἀθάνατος ἐν θνητῷ. διὰ τοῦτο οἶμαι τὰ πρωτότοκα καθιέρωσε πάντα, τὴν δεκάτην, λέγω Λευιτικὴν φυλὴν, ἀντικαταλλαζάμενος πρὸς διατήρησιν καὶ φυλακὴν ὁσιότητος καὶ εὐσεβείας καὶ λειτουργιῶν, αἱ πρὸς τὴν τοῦ θεοῦ τιμὴν ἀναφέρονται. τὸ γὰρ πρῶτον καὶ ἄριστον ἐν ἡμῖν αὐτοῖς ὁ λογισμὸς ἐστὶ, καὶ ἄξιον τὰς συνέσεως καὶ ἀγχινοίας καταλήψεώς τε καὶ φρονήσεως καὶ τῶν ἄλλων δυνάμεων, ὅσαι περὶ αὐτόν εἰσιν, ἀπαρχὰς ἀνατιθέναι θεῷ τῷ τὴν εὐφορίαν τοῦ διανοεῖσθαι
- 99 παρασχόντι. ἐνθένδε ὁ μὲν ἀσκητικὸς ὀρμηθεὶς εὐχόμενος εἶπε· “ πάντων ὧν ἂν μοι δῶς, δεκάτην ἀποδεκατώσω σοί,” ὁ δὲ χρησμὸς ὁ μετὰ τὰς ἐπινικίους εὐχὰς ἀναγραφείς, ὃς ὁ τὴν αὐτομαθῆ

¹ MSS. σωματικοῖς,

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and from the fruit of wood, and every tenth of oxen and sheep, and everything that passes through in the number under the rod the tenth shall be holy unto the Lord " (Lev. xxvii. 30, 32). Observe that he thinks 96 that first-fruits are due from our body, the cumbersome mass which is indeed of earth and of wood. For its life and survival, growth and health, come to it by the grace of God. Note too that we are also bidden to give first-fruits of the unreasoning creatures within us, the senses, for sight and hearing and smell and taste and touch also are gifts of God for which we must give thanks.

Yet not only for the 97 wooden and earthen mass of the body, not only for the unreasoning creatures, the senses, are we taught to praise the Benefactor, but also for the mind which may be truly called the man within the man, the better part within the worse, the immortal within the mortal. This is why, I believe, He sanctified all the 98 first-born, and took as their ransom the tenth, that is the tribe of Levi, that they should observe and maintain holiness and piety and the rites which are offered for the honour of God. For the first and best thing in us is the reason, and it is only right that from its intelligence, its shrewdness, its apprehension, its prudence and the other qualities which belong to it, we should offer first-fruits to God, who gave to it its fertility of thinking. It was this feeling which 99 prompted the Man of Practice when he vowed thus, 'Of all that thou givest me, I will give a tenth to thee' (Gen. xxviii. 22); which prompted the oracle that follows the blessing given to the victor by Melchisedek the holder of that priesthood, whose

- καὶ αὐτοδίδακτον λαχὼν ἱερωσύνην ποιεῖται Μελ-
 χισεδέκ, “ ἔδωκε γὰρ αὐτῷ ” φησὶν “ δεκάτην ἀπὸ
 πάντων,” ἀπὸ τῶν κατ’ αἴσθησιν τὸ καλῶς αἰσθάνε-
 σθαι, ἀπὸ τῶν κατὰ λόγον τὸ εὖ λέγειν, ἀπὸ τῶν
 100 κατὰ νοῦν τὸ εὖ διανοεῖσθαι. παγκάλως
 οὖν καὶ ἀναγκαίως ἅμα ἐν εἵδει παραδιηγήματος,
 ἡνίκα τῆς οὐρανίου καὶ θείας τροφῆς τὸ μνημεῖον
 ἐν στάμνῳ χρυσῷ καθιερωῦτο, φησὶν ὡς ἄρα “ τὸ
 γομὸρ τὸ δέκατον τῶν τριῶν μέτρων ἦν.” ἐν ἡμῖν
 γὰρ αὐτοῖς τρία μέτρα εἶναι δοκεῖ, αἴσθησις, λόγος,
 νοῦς· αἰσθητῶν μὲν αἴσθησις, ὀνομάτων δὲ καὶ
 ῥημάτων καὶ τῶν λεγομένων ὁ λόγος, νοητῶν δὲ
 101 νοῦς. ἀφ’ ἐκάστου δὴ τῶν τριῶν μέτρων τούτων
 ἀπαρκτέον ὥσπερ τινὰ ἱερὰν δεκάτην, ἵνα καὶ τὸ
 λέγειν καὶ τὸ αἰσθάνεσθαι καὶ τὸ καταλαμβάνειν
 ἀνυπαίτιως καὶ ὑγιεινῶς κατὰ θεὸν ἐξετάζηται· τὸ
 [534] γὰρ ἀληθινὸν καὶ | δίκαιον μέτρον τοῦτ’ ἐστί, τὰ δὲ
 102 καθ’ ἡμᾶς ψευδῇ τε καὶ ἄδικα. XIX. εἰκότως οὖν
 καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν θυσιῶν τὸ μὲν δέκατον τοῦ μέτρου τῆς
 σεμιδάλεως τοῖς ἱερείοις ἐπὶ τὸν βωμὸν συναν-
 ενεχθήσεται, ὁ δὲ ἕνατος ἀριθμὸς, τὸ λείψανον τοῦ
 δεκάτου, παρ’ ἡμῖν αὐτοῖς παραμενεῖ.
 103 τούτοις συνάδει καὶ ἡ τῶν ἱερέων ἐνδελεχῆς θυσία·
 τὸ γὰρ δέκατον τὸ τοῦ οἴφι σεμιδάλεως αἰεὶ δι-
 είρηται προσφέρειν αὐτοῖς. ἔμαθον γὰρ τὸν ἕνατον
 ὑπερβαίνοντες αἰσθητὸν δοκῆσαι θεὸν τὸν δέκατον
 καὶ μόνον ὄντα ἀψευδῶς προσκυνεῖν. ἐννέα γὰρ
 ὁ κόσμος ἔλαχε μοίρας, ἐν οὐρανῷ μὲν ὀκτώ, τὴν
 τε ἀπλανῆ καὶ ἑπτὰ τὰς πεπλαηγημένας ἐν τάξεσι

^a Or “Him who is tenth and alone truly exists”; or
 “Him who is truly tenth and alone” (cf. § 10), referring to
 the mystical identity of the Ten and the One.

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tradition he had learned from none other but himself. For "he gave him," it runs, "a tenth from all" (Gen. xiv. 20); from the things of sense, right use of sense; from the things of speech, good speaking; from the things of thought, good thinking.

Admirable then, and demanded by the facts, are the words added as a sort of side utterance, when while telling us how the memorial of the divine and heaven-sent food was enshrined in a golden jar he continues, "the omer was the tenth part of three measures" (Ex. xvi. 36). For we seem to contain three measures, sense, speech, mind; sense measuring the objects of sense, speech the parts of speech and what we say, and mind the things of mind. Of each of these three measures we must offer as it were a holy tenth, that speech, sense perception and apprehension may be judged soundly and blamelessly according to God's standard, for this is the true and just measure, while our measures are false and unjust. XIX. So too it is only natural that in the matter of sacrifices the tenths of the measure of fine flour should be brought with the victims to the altar (Ex. xxix. 40), while the numbers up to nine, what is left by the tenth, remain with ourselves.

And the recurrent oblation of the priests is in agreement with this; they are commanded to offer always the tenth of the ephah of fine flour (Lev. vi. 20), for they have learned to rise above the ninth, the seeming deity, the world of sense, and to worship Him who is in very truth God, who stands alone as the tenth.^a For to the world belong nine parts, eight in heaven, one of the stars which wander not and seven of those that wander, though the order of their wandering is ever

- φερομένας ταῖς αὐταῖς, ἐνάτην δὲ γῆν σὺν¹ ὕδατι
καὶ ἀέρι· τούτων γὰρ μία συγγένεια τροπᾶς καὶ
105 μεταβολᾶς παντοίας δεχομένων. οἱ μὲν οὖν πολλοὶ
τὰς ἐννέα ταύτας μοίρας καὶ τὸν παγέντα κόσμον ἐξ
αὐτῶν ἐτίμησαν, ὁ δὲ τέλειος τὸν ὑπεράνω τῶν
ἐννέα, δημιουργὸν αὐτῶν, δέκατον θεόν· ὅλον γὰρ
ὑπερκύψας τὸ ἔργον ἐπόθει τὸν τεχνίτην, καὶ
ικέτης καὶ θεραπευτῆς ἐσπούδαζεν αὐτοῦ γενέσθαι.
διὰ τοῦτο δεκάτην ἐνδελεχῆ τῷ δεκάτῳ καὶ μόνῳ
106 καὶ αἰωνίῳ ὁ ἱερεὺς ἀνατίθησι. τοῦτ'
ἐστὶ κυρίως εἰπεῖν τὸ ψυχικὸν Πάσχα, ἢ <ἀπὸ>
παντὸς πάθους καὶ παντὸς αἰσθητοῦ διάβασις πρὸς
τὸ δέκατον, ὃ δὴ νοητόν ἐστι καὶ θεῖον· λέγεται
γάρ· “δεκάτῃ τοῦ μηνὸς τούτου λαβέτωσαν ἕκα-
στος πρόβατον κατ’ οἰκίαν,” ἵνα ἀπὸ τῆς δεκάτης τῷ
δεκάτῳ καθιερωθῇ τὰ θύματα διατηρηθέντα ἐν τῇ
ψυχῇ κατὰ δύο μοίρας ἐκ τριῶν πεφωτισμένη,
μέχρις ἂν ὅλη δι’ ὅλων γενομένη φέγγος οὐράνιον,
οἷα πλησιφαῆς σελήνη κατὰ δευτέρας ἐβδομάδος
παραύξησιν, μὴ μόνον φυλάττειν ἀλλὰ καὶ ἱερουρ-
γεῖν ἤδη δύνηται τὰς ἀσινεῖς καὶ ἀμώμους προ-
107 κοπᾶς. τοῦτ’ ἐστὶν ἱλασμός²—καὶ γὰρ
οὗτος δεκάτῃ τοῦ μηνὸς βεβαιοῦται, τὸν δέκατον
ἱκετενοῦσης θεὸν ψυχῆς καὶ τὴν ταπεινότητα καὶ

¹ MSS. τὴν σὺν (ἐν).

² MSS. ἱλασμούς.

^a The imperfects are difficult. The translation suggests that though “gnomic” like the aorist ἐτίμησαν, and not referring specially to the past, they differ from the aorist in expressing continuity. Cf. *Quis Rerum* 17.

^b The thought of the section is that the sheep taken on the tenth day, when the moon is two thirds on its way to fullness, is an allegory of a soul which has reached a certain stage of

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the same, while earth with water and air make the ninth, for the three form a single family, subject to changes and transformations of every kind. Now 105 the mass of men pay honour to these nine parts and to the world which is formed from them, but he that has reached perfection honours Him that is above the nine, even their maker God, who is the tenth. For he continues to soar above all the artificer's work and desire^a the artificer Himself, ever eager to be His suppliant and servant. That is why the priest offers recurrently a tenth to Him who is tenth and alone and eternal.

We find this "ten" plainly 106 stated in the story of the soul's passover, the crossing from every passion and all the realm of sense to the tenth, which is the realm of mind and of God; for we read "on the tenth day of this month let everyone take a sheep for his house" (Ex. xii. 3), and thus beginning with the tenth day we shall sanctify to Him that is tenth the offering fostered in the soul whose face has been illumined through two parts out of three, until its whole being becomes a brightness, giving light to the heaven like a full moon by its increase in the second week. And thus it will be able not only to keep safe, but to offer as innocent and spotless victims its advances on the path of progress.^b

We find the same in the pro- 107 pitiation which is established on the tenth day of the month (Lev. xxiii. 27), when the soul is suppliant to God the tenth, and is schooled to know the humilia-

progress and preserves (or increases?) it till it reaches its consummation, when it offers itself to God. For the connexion of the sheep with moral progress cf. *De Sac.* 112 *προκοπῆς δὲ πρόβατον, ὡς καὶ αὐτὸ δηλοῖ τοῦνομα* (derived from *προβαίνω*) *σύμβολον. φωτισμός* and *παραύξησης* are the regular terms for the "lighting up" and increasing of the moon.

- οὐδένεϊαν τοῦ γενητοῦ περίνοια¹ λογισμοῦ πεποι-
 θυίας καὶ τὰς ἐν ᾗπασι τοῖς καλοῖς ὑπερβολὰς καὶ
 ἀκρότητας τοῦ ἀγενήτου δεδιδαγμένης. ἔλεως οὖν
 καὶ ἄνευ ἱκετείας ἔλεως εὐθύς γίνεται τοῖς ἑαυτοὺς
 κακοῦσι καὶ συστέλλουσι καὶ μὴ καυχῆσαι καὶ
 108 οἰήσαι φνισωμένοις. τοῦτ' ἐστὶν ἄφεις,
 τοῦτ' ἐλευθερία παντελὴς ψυχῆς ὃν ἐπλανήθη τε
 πλάνον ἀποσειομένης καὶ πρὸς τὴν ἀπλανῆ φύσιν
 μεθορμιζομένης καὶ ἐπὶ τοὺς κλήρους ἐπανιούσης,
 [535] οὓς ἔλαχεν, ἥνικα λαμπρὸν | ἔπνει καὶ τοὺς περὶ
 τῶν καλῶν πόνους ἤθλει.² τότε γὰρ αὐτὴν τῶν
 ἄθλων ἀγάμενος ὁ ἱερὸς λόγος ἐτίμησε, γέρας
 ἐξαίρετον δούς, κληρον ἀθάνατον, τὴν ἐν ἀφθάρτῳ
 109 γένει τάξιν. τοῦτο καὶ Ἀβραὰμ ὁ σοφὸς
 ἱκετεύει, μελλούσης ἐμπίπρασθαι λόγῳ μὲν τῆς
 Σοδομίτιδος γῆς, ἔργῳ δὲ τῆς ἐστειωμένης τὰ
 καλὰ καὶ τυφλῆς τὸν λογισμὸν ψυχῆς, ἢ, ἐὰν
 εὐρεθῇ τὸ δικαιοσύνης μνημεῖον, ἢ δεκάς, ἐν αὐτῇ,
 τύχη τινὸς ἀμνηστίας· ἄρχεται μὲν οὖν τῆς ἱκεσίας
 ἀπὸ τοῦ τῆς ἀφέσεως ἀριθμοῦ, πεντηκοντάδος,
 λήγει δὲ εἰς δεκάδα, τὴν τελευταίαν ἀπολύτρωσιν.
 110 XX. ἀφ' οὗ μοι δοκεῖ καὶ Μωυσῆς
 μετὰ τὴν χιλιάρχων καὶ ἑκατοντάρχων καὶ πεντη-
 κοντάρχων αἵρεσιν ἐπὶ πᾶσι δεκαδάρχους χειρο-
 τονεῖν, ἢ, εἰ μὴ δύναιτο διὰ τῶν πρεσβυτέρων
 τάξεων βελτιοῦσθαι ὁ νοῦς, ἀλλὰ τοι διὰ τῶν

¹ mss. περινοίαν (-as): Mangey adopted περινοία, but took it as "having learnt by sagacity of reason the nothingness," etc., a sense which πεποιθυίας cannot, I think, bear. The translation given above is just grammatical, but awkward in the extreme. For conjectures see Appendix, p. 579.

² mss. ἡνθει.

THE PRELIMINARY STUDIES, 107-110

tion and nothingness of its trust in the sagacity of a created reason, and how transcendent and supreme is the Uncreated in all that is good. And so He becomes propitious, and propitious even at once without their supplication, to those who afflict and belittle themselves and are not puffed up by vaunting and self-pride. We find it in the 108

"release" ^a (Lev. xxv. 9 ff.), in the perfect freedom of soul which shakes off the wandering of its past and finds a new harbour in the nature which wanders not, and returns to the heritages which it received in the years when the breath of its spirit was fresh and strong, and travail which has the good for its prize exercised its energy. For then the holy word, in admiration of its efforts, honoured it, and gave it a special guerdon, an undying heritage, its place in the order of the imperishable.

We find it in the suppliant prayer of wise Abraham, 109 who when fire was about to consume what is called the land of Sodom, but is in reality a soul barren of good and blind of reason, prayed that if there should be found in it that token of righteousness, the ten, it might receive some remission of punishment (Gen. xviii. 32). He begins indeed his supplication with fifty, the number of release, but ends with ten, which closes the possibility of redemption.

XX. It is on the same principle, as it seems to me, 110 that Moses, after choosing rulers of thousands and hundreds and fifties, appointed rulers of tens last of all (Ex. xviii. 25), so that if the mind could not be bettered through the work of the senior ranks, it might get purification through the hindermost.

institution of the Jubilee year, Philo refers to its proclamation on the 10th day of the month.

- 111 ὑστάτων καθαίρηται. πάγκαλον δὲ δόγμα καὶ ὁ τοῦ φιλομαθοῦς παῖς ἔμαθεν, ἥνίκα τὴν θαυμαστὴν ἐκείνην ἐπρέσβευε πρεσβείαν, αὐτομαθεῖ σοφῶ προξενῶν οἰκειοτάτην ἀρετὴν, ἐπιμονήν. “δέκα γὰρ καμήλους λαμβάνει,” τὴν δεκάδος, λέγω δὲ παιδείας ὀρθῆς, ἀνάμνησιν, ἀπὸ πολλῶν
- 112 ἀπείρων μὲν οὖν τοῦ κυρίου μνημῶν. λαμβάνει δὲ καὶ “τῶν ἀγαθῶν ἐκείνου” δῆλον ὡς οὐκ ἄργυρον οὐδὲ χρυσὸν ἢ τινα ἄλλα τῶν ἐν ὕλαις φθαρταῖς—τὴν γὰρ ἀγαθοῦ πρόσρησιν οὐδέποτε τούτοις ἐπεφήμισε Μωυσῆς,—ἀλλὰ τὰ γνήσια, ἃ δὴ ψυχῆς ἐστὶ μόνα, ἐφοδιάζεται καὶ ἐμπορεύεται, διδασκαλίαν, προκοπὴν, σπουδὴν, πόθον, ζῆλον, ἐνθου-
- 113 σιασμούς, προφητείας, τοῦ κατορθοῦν ἔρωτα· οἷς ἐμμελετῶν καὶ ἐνασκούμενος, ὅταν ὥσπερ ἐκ πελάγους ἐνορμίζεσθαι λιμένι μέλλῃ, λήψεται δύο μὲν ἐνώτια, ἀνὰ δραχμὴν ὀλκὴν, ψέλια δὲ δέκα χρυσῶν ἐπὶ τὰς χεῖρας τῆς προξενουμένης. ὡ θεοπρεποῦς κόσμου, δραχμὴν μίαν¹ εἶναι τὸ ἄκουσμα καὶ μονάδα ἀρραγῇ καὶ ὀλκὸν φύσει—ἀκοὴν γὰρ οὐδενὶ σχολάζειν ἐμπρεπές, ὅτι μὴ λόγῳ ἐνί, ὅς ἂν τὰς τοῦ ἐνὸς ἀρετὰς καὶ μόνου θεοῦ καλῶς διεξέρχεται,—δέκα δὲ χρυσῶν τὰ ἐγχειρήματα· πράξεις γὰρ αἱ κατὰ σοφίαν τελείοις ἀριθμοῖς βεβαιοῦνται, καὶ ἔστιν ἐκάστη τιμιωτέρα χρυσοῦ.
- 114 XXI. τοιαύτη τίς ἐστὶ καὶ ἡ ἀριστίνδην ἐπικριθεῖσα τῶν ἀρχόντων εἰσφορά, ἣν

¹ MSS. μὲν: perhaps, as Wendland conjectures, μὲν μίαν.

THE PRELIMINARY STUDIES, 111-114

And that is the high truth, too, which 111
the servant of the lover of learning had mastered
when he went as ambassador on that splendid errand,
wooing for the man of self-taught wisdom the bride
most suited to him, constancy (Gen. xxiv. 10) ; for
out of the many or rather countless memories of his
lord, he takes "ten camels," that is the "reminding"^a
which right instruction figured by the ten produces.
He takes too of "his goods," clearly meaning not 112
gold or silver or any others which are found in perish-
able materials, for Moses never gave the name of
good to these ; but genuine goods, which are soul-
goods only, he takes for his journey's provisions and
his trading wares,—teaching, progress, earnestness,
longing, ardour, inspiration, prophecy, and the love of
high achievement. By practice and exercising him- 113
self in these, when the time comes for him to leave
the seas, so to speak, and anchor in harbour, we shall
find that he takes two ear-rings, drawing a weight^b of a
drachma, and bracelets of ten weights of gold for the
hands of the bride, whom he courts for his master
(Gen. xxiv. 22). Truly a glorious adorning, first that
the thing heard should be a single drachma, a unit
without fractions whose nature is to draw, for it is
not well that hearing should devote itself to aught
save one story only, a story which tells in noble words
the excellences of the one and only God ; secondly,
that the undertakings of the hands should be of
ten weights of gold, for the actions of wisdom rest
firmly on perfect numbers and each of them is more
precious than gold. XXI. Such too is that 114
tribute of the princes, chosen as the best that they

^a For the symbolism of camels = memory, and Philo's reasons for it, *cf. De Post.* 148 f.

^b For the play on ὀλκή, ὀλκός, see *De Mig.* 202.

ἐποίησαντο, ἥνίκα ἡ ψυχὴ κατασκευασθεῖσα ὑπὸ φιλοσοφίας ἱεροπρεπῶς τὰ ἐγκαίνια ἤγεν αὐτῆς εὐχαριστοῦσα τῷ διδασκάλῳ καὶ ὑφήγητῇ θεῷ. “θυῖσκη γὰρ δέκα χρυσῶν πλήρη θυμιάματος ἀνατίθηναι,” ἵνα τὰς ὑπὸ φρονήσεως καὶ πάσης ἀρετῆς ἀναδιδόμενας αὔρας ὁ μόνος ἐπικρίνη σοφός.

115 ἐπειδὴ δὲ δόξωσιν εἶναι προσηνεῖς, τὸ ἐφύμνιον |
[536] ἄσεται Μωυσῆς λέγων. “ὡσφρανθῇ κύριος ὁσμὴν εὐωδίας,” τὸ ὡσφρανθῆναι τιθεῖς ἐπὶ τοῦ συναινεῖσαι· οὐ γὰρ ἀνθρωπόμορφος οὐδὲ μυκτῆρων ἢ τινων ἄλλων ὀργανικῶν μερῶν χρεῖος.

116 προῖων δὲ καὶ τὸ θεῖον ἐνδιαίτημα, τὴν σκηνήν, “δέκα αὐλαίας” ἐρεῖ· τὸ γὰρ τῆς ὅλης πῆγμα σοφίας ἀριθμὸν τέλειον εἴληχε, δεκάδα· σοφία δὲ αὐλή καὶ βασιλείον ἐστὶ τοῦ πανηγεμόνος καὶ

117 μόνου βασιλέως αὐτοκράτορος. ὁ μὲν δὴ νοητὸς οἶκος οὗτος, αἰσθητὸς δ’ ὁ κόσμος ἐστίν, ἐπεὶ καὶ τὰς αὐλαίας ἐκ τοιούτων συνύφηνεν, ἃ τῶν τεττάρων στοιχείων σύμβολά ἐστιν· ἐκ γὰρ βύσσου καὶ ὑακίνθου καὶ πορφύρας καὶ κοκκίνου δημιουργοῦνται, τεττάρων, ὥς ἔφην, ἀριθμῷ.¹ σύμβολον δὲ γῆς μὲν ἡ βύσσος—φύεται γὰρ ἐκ ταύτης,—ἀέρος δὲ ὁ ὑακίνθος—μέλας γὰρ οὗτος φύσει,—ὔδατος δὲ ἡ πορφύρα—τὸ γὰρ τῆς βαφῆς αἷτιον ἐκ

¹ So Mangey: mss. and Wendland ἀριθμῶν.

^a Or “chosen (by God) in virtue of the princes’ special rank or merit”; cf. Plato, *Legg.* 855 c τὸ τῶν περυσινῶν ἀρχόντων ἀριστίνδην ἀπομερισθὲν δικαστήριον. Mangey’s translation, “per optimates viritim facta collatio,” gives no adequate sense to ἀριστίνδην.

^b There is an obvious play on αὐλή and αὐλαίας which cannot be reproduced in English.

^c Or “the adornment (*i.e.* the curtains) is perceived by

THE PRELIMINARY STUDIES, 114-117

had,^a which they offered when the soul, equipped by the love of wisdom, celebrated its dedication in right holy fashion, giving thanks to the God who was its teacher and guide. For the worshipper offers "a censer of ten gold weights, full of incense" (Num. vii. 14, 20, etc.), that God who alone is wise might choose the perfumes exhaled by wisdom and every virtue. And when these perfumes are pleasant in 115 His judgement, Moses will celebrate them in a hymn of triumph in the words "The Lord smelt a scent of sweet fragrance" (Gen. viii. 21). Here he uses smell in the sense of accept, for God is not of human form, nor has need of nostrils or any other parts as organs.

And further on he will speak of 116 God's dwelling-place, the tabernacle, as being "ten curtains" (Ex. xxvi. 1), for to the structure which includes the whole of wisdom the perfect number ten belongs, and wisdom is the court^b and palace of the All-ruler, the sole Monarch, the Sovereign Lord. This dwelling is a house perceived by the mind, yet 117 it is also the world of our senses,^c since he makes the curtains to be woven from such materials as are symbolical of the four elements; for they are wrought of fine linen, of dark red,^d of purple and of scarlet, four in number as I said. The linen is a symbol of earth, since it grows out of earth; the dark red of air, which is naturally black; the purple of water, since the means by which the dye is produced, the shell-fish

sense." The translation above is given in the belief that the thought is something less obvious. Philo finding the tabernacle apparently identified with the curtains (ποιήσεις σκηνὴν δέκα αὐλαίας) infers the mystical identity of the two worlds, cf. *De Mig.* 205. But it is difficult to extract this sense from the words as they stand. Perhaps read αἰσθητὸς δὲ καὶ κόσμος.

^d Or "dark blue."

θαλάττης, ἡ ὁμωνυμοῦσα κόγχη,—πυρὸς δὲ τὸ
κόκκινον· ἐμφερέστατον γὰρ φλογί.

- 118 πάλιν γε μὴν Αἴγυπτον ἀφηνιάσασαν, ἥνικα τὸν
ἀντίθεον¹ ἀπεσέμνυνε νοῦν τὰ παράσημα τῆς βασι-
λείας ἀναδοῦσα αὐτῷ, τὸν θρόνον, τὸ σκῆπτρον, τὸ
διάδημα, δέκα πληγαῖς καὶ τιμωρίαις ὁ τῶν ὅλων

- 119 ἐπίτροπος καὶ κηδεμὼν νουθετεῖ. τὸν
αὐτὸν δὲ τρόπον καὶ Ἀβραὰμ ὑπισχνεῖται τῷ
σοφῷ οὔτε πλειόνων οὔτε ἐλαττόνων, ἀλλὰ αὐτὸ
μόνον δέκα ἔθνων ἀπώλειαν καὶ παντελῆ φθορὰν
ἐργάσασθαι καὶ τὴν τῶν ἀναιρεθέντων χώραν
δώσειν τοῖς ἐγγόνοις αὐτοῦ, πανταχοῦ δεκάδι καὶ
πρὸς ἔπαινον καὶ πρὸς ψόγον καὶ πρὸς τιμὴν καὶ
πρὸς κόλασιν καταχρησθαι δικαίων.

- 120 καίτοι τί τούτων μεμνήμεθα; τὴν γὰρ ἱερὰν
καὶ θεῖαν νομοθεσίαν² δέκα τοῖς σύμπασι λόγοις
Μωυσῆς ἀναγέγραffen· οὗτοι δὲ εἰσι θεσμοί, τῶν
κατὰ μέρος ἀπείρων νόμων γενικὰ κεφάλαια, ρίζαι
καὶ ἀρχαὶ <καὶ> πηγαὶ ἀέναοι διαταγμάτων προσ-
τάξεις καὶ ἀπαγορεύσεις περιεχόντων ἐπ' ὠφελείᾳ
121 τῶν χρωμένων. XXII. εἰκότως οὖν

μετὰ δεκαετίαν τῆς εἰς Χαναναίων γῆν³ ἀφίξεως ἡ
πρὸς τὴν Ἁγὰρ κοινωνία γίνεται· οὐ γὰρ εὐθύς
λογικοὶ γερόμενοι πλαδῶσης ἔτι τῆς διανοίας
ὀρεχθῆναι παιδείας τῆς ἐγκυκλίου δυνάμεθα, ἀλλ'
ἐπειδὰν σύνεσιν καὶ ἀγχίνοιαν κραταιωσάμενοι
μηκέτι κούφη καὶ ἐπιπολαίῳ, ἀλλὰ βεβαίᾳ καὶ
παγίᾳ γνώμῃ περὶ ἀπάντων χρώμεθα.

¹ MSS. ἀντίθετον.

² MSS. ἐκκλησίαν — a very drastic alteration, for which, however, there seems no alternative; unless indeed we substituted ἀναδεδίδαχεν for ἀναγέγραffen. But the congregation though often called "holy" could hardly be called "divine."

THE PRELIMINARY STUDIES, 117-121

which bears the same name, comes from the sea ; and the scarlet of fire, since it closely resembles flame.

Again rebellious Egypt, when it glorified the mind which usurps the place of God, and bestowed on it the emblems of sovereignty, the throne, the sceptre, the diadem, is admonished through ten plagues and punishments by the Guardian and Ruler of all.

In the same way He promises to wise Abraham that He will work the ruin and complete destruction of just ten nations, neither more nor less, and will give the land of the victims to his descendants (Gen. xv. 18-20). Thus everywhere he thinks well to extend the meaning of the ten, to cover both praise and blame, honour and chastisement.

But why note such examples as these, when the holy and divine law is summed up by Moses in precepts which are ten in all, statutes which are the general heads, embracing the vast multitude of particular laws, the roots, the sources, the perennial fountains of ordinances containing commandments positive and prohibitive for the profit of those who follow them ?

XXII. It is quite natural, then, that the mating with Hagar should take place when ten years have elapsed from the arrival in the land of the Canaanites ; for we cannot desire the training of the schools the moment we become reasoning beings, as the understanding is still soft and flaccid. That only comes when we have hardened our intelligence and quickness of mind and possess about all things a judgement which is no longer light and superficial, but firm and steady.

³ All mss. but one γῆς, which points to Mangey's conjecture τῆς εἰς Χαναάνων <ἐκ Χαλδαίων> γῆς.

- 122
[537] Διὸ τὰκόλουθον προσυφαίνεται | τὸ “ εἰσῆλθε
πρὸς Ἀγαρ”· ἦν γὰρ ἀρμόττον τῷ μανθάνοντι
πρὸς ἐπιστήμην διδάσκαλον φοιτᾶν, ἵνα ἀναδιδασχθῇ
τὰ προσήκοντα ἀνθρώπου φύσει παιδεύματα. νυνὶ
μὲν ὁ γνώριμος εἰς διδασκάλου βαδίζων εἰσάγεται·
προεκτρέχει δὲ πολλάκις ἐξοικίσασα φθόνον ἀφ’
123 ἑαυτῆς καὶ τοὺς ἔχοντας εὐφυῶς ἐπισπᾶται. τὴν
γοῦν ἀρετὴν, Λείαν, ἔστιν ἰδεῖν προαπαντῶσαν καὶ
λέγουσαν τῷ ἀσκητῇ· “ πρὸς μὲ εἰσελεύσῃ σήμε-
ρον,” ἥνικα ἐκεῖνος ἀγρόθεν ἐπανήει. ποῖ¹ γὰρ
ᾧφειλεν <εἰς>ελθεῖν ὁ τῶν ἐπιστήμης σπερμάτων
καὶ φυτῶν ἐπιμελητής, ὅτι μὴ πρὸς τὴν γεωρ-
124 γηθεῖσαν ἀρετὴν; XXIII. ἔστι δ’ ὅτε
καὶ ἀποπειρωμένη τῶν φοιτητῶν, ὥς ἔχουσι προ-
θυμίας καὶ σπουδῆς, οὐχ ὑπαντᾷ μὲν, ἐγκαλυψα-
μένη δὲ τὸ πρόσωπον ὥσπερ Θάμαρ ἐπὶ τριόδου
καθέζεται, πόρνης δόξαν παρασχούσα τοῖς ὁδῶ
βαδίζουσιν, ἵνα οἱ περιέργως ἔχοντες ἀνακαλύ-
ψαντες ἀναφήνωσι καὶ καταθεάσωνται τὸ ἄψαυστον
καὶ ἀμίαντον καὶ παρθένιον ὄντως αἰδοῦς καὶ
125 σωφροσύνης ἐκπρεπέστατον κάλλος. τίς οὖν ὁ
ἐξεταστικός καὶ φιλομαθὴς καὶ μηδὲν ἄσκεπτον
καὶ ἀδιερεύνητον τῶν ἐγκεκαλυμμένων πραγμάτων
παραλιπεῖν ἀξιῶν ἐστίν, ὅτι μὴ ὁ ἀρχιστράτηγος
καὶ βασιλεὺς καὶ ταῖς πρὸς θεὸν ὁμολογίαις ἐμ-
μένων τε καὶ χαίρων, ὄνομα Ἰούδας; “ ἐξέκλινε”
γάρ φησι “ πρὸς αὐτὴν τὴν ὁδὸν καὶ εἶπεν· ἕασόν
με εἰσελθεῖν πρὸς σέ”—ἀλλ’ οὐκ ἔμελλε παρα-
βιάζεσθαι—καὶ σκοπεῖν, τίς τε ἡ ἐγκεκαλυμμένη
126 δύναμις ἐστὶ καὶ ἐπὶ τί παρεσκεύασται. μετὰ τοῖνυν

¹ Some mss. and Wendland ποῦ.

THE PRELIMINARY STUDIES, 122-126

That is why the text continues with the words that 122 follow, "He went in unto Hagar" (Gen. xvi. 4), for it was well that the learner should resort to knowledge as his teacher, to be instructed in the lessons suited to human nature. In the present case the pupil is represented as going to the teacher's school, but often knowledge rids herself of grudging pride, runs out to meet the gifted disciples, and draws them into her company. And so we may see that Leah, 123 or virtue, goes forth to meet the Man of Practice when he was returning from the field, and says to him, "Thou shalt come in unto me to-day" (Gen. xxx. 16); for whither indeed should he go in, he who is tending the seeds and saplings of knowledge, save to virtue, the field of his husbandry?

XXIII. But sometimes she makes trial of her scholars, 124 to test their zeal and earnestness; and then she does not meet them, but veils her face and sits like Tamar at the cross-roads, presenting the appearance of a harlot to the passers-by (Gen. xxxviii. 14, 15). Her wish is that inquiring minds may unveil and reveal her and gaze upon the glorious beauty, inviolate, undefiled and truly virginal, of her modesty and chastity. Who then is he, the investigator, the lover 125 of learning, who refuses to leave aught of the things that are veiled, unexamined and unexplored? He can only be the chief captain, the king, whose name is Judah, who persists and rejoices in confessing and praising God. "He turned aside his path to her" (Gen. xxxviii. 16) it says, and said "Suffer me to come in unto thee." "Suffer me," he means (for he would not use force to her), "suffer me to see what is the virtue which veils its face from me, and what purpose it is prepared to serve." And so then after he went 126

τὸ εἰσελθεῖν γέγραπται “καὶ συνέλαβε” καὶ τὸ “τίς” ῥητῶς οὐ μεμνήνται· συλλαμβάνει γὰρ καὶ συναρπάζει ἢ μὲν τέχνη τὸν μανθάνοντα ἐρωτικῶς ἔχειν ἀναπεύθουσα ἑαυτῆς, ὁ δὲ μανθάνων τὴν διδασκουσαν, ὅποτε φιλομαθῆς εἴη.

- 127 Πολλάκις δέ τις τῶν μέσας ἐπιστήμας¹ ὑφηγουμένων γνωρίμου τυχὼν εὐφυοῦς ἠῦχῃσεν ἐπὶ τῇ διδασκαλίᾳ μόνος ὑπολαβὼν τῷ φοιτητῇ γεγονέναι τῆς εὐμαθίας αἴτιος, καὶ μετεωρίσας καὶ φύσῃσας ἑαυτὸν ὑψαυχενεῖ· καὶ τὰς ὀφρῦς εὖ μάλα ἀνασπάσας τετύφωται καὶ παρὰ τῶν βουλομένων συνδιατρίβειν πάμπολλα αἰτεῖ· οὓς δ’ ἂν αἰσθηται πένητας μὲν, διψῶντας δὲ παιδείας, ἀποστρέφεται, ὥσπερ θησαυρόν τινα σοφίας μόνος ἀνευρηκώς.

- 128 τοῦτ’ ἐστὶ τὸ “ἐν γαστρὶ ἔχειν,” οἰδεῖν καὶ τετυφῶσθαι καὶ ὄγκον πλείονα τοῦ μετρίου περιβεβλήσθαι, δι’ ὧν καὶ τὴν κυρίαν τῶν μέσων ἐπιστημῶν, ἀρετὴν, ἔδοξάν τινες ἀτιμάζειν, ἐπί-
129 τιμον οὖσαν ἐξ ἑαυτῆς. ὅσαι μὲν οὖν ψυχαὶ μετὰ φρονήσεως κυοφοροῦσι <μετὰ>² πραγμάτων τικτουσιν ὁμῶς, τὰ συγκεχυμένα διακρίνουσαι καὶ |

¹ MSS. πολλάκις δέ τινα τῶν μέσων ἐπιστημῶν ὑφηγουμένου(-η), which Mangey keeps with ὑφηγούμενος.

² <μετὰ> is my insertion: Mangey takes πραγμάτων as object of κυοφοροῦσι (surely impossible) and reads ὁμοίως for ὁμῶς (i.e. all these souls bear in the same way): Wendland proposed <ἀνευ> πραγμάτων . . . ἀπόνως. I understand Philo to mean that these souls, before they attain their εὐτοκία, have to go through the pains suggested by διαστέλλουσαι τὰ συγκεχυμένα. I have not found the combination μετὰ πραγμάτων as antithesis to the common ἀνευ, but σὺν πράγμασι and μετὰ πραγματείας are quoted.

THE PRELIMINARY STUDIES, 126-129

in to her, we read of a conceiving or taking^a (Gen. xxxviii. 18). Who it is who conceives or takes we are not told in so many words. For the art or science that is studied does seize and take hold of the learner and persuades him to be her lover, and in like manner the learner takes his instructress, when his heart is set on learning.

Often on the other hand some teacher of the lower 127 subjects, who has chanced to have a gifted pupil, boasts of his own teaching power, and supposes that his pupil's high attainments are due to him alone. So he stands on tiptoe, puffs himself out, perks up his neck and raises high his eyebrows, and in fact is filled with vanity, and demands huge fees from those who wish to attend his courses ; but when he sees that their thirst for education is combined with poverty, he turns his back on them as though there were some treasures of wisdom which he alone has discovered.

That is the condition called 128 "having in the womb," a swollen, vanity-ridden condition, robed in a vesture of inordinate pride, which makes some people appear to dishonour virtue, the essentially honourable mistress in her own right of the lower branches of knowledge. The souls then 129 whose pregnancy is accompanied with wisdom, though they labour, do bring their children to the birth, for they distinguish and separate what is in con-

^a *i.e.* grammatically the subject of *συνέλαβε* may be either. Philo must not be thought to deny that in the literal story the subject must be Tamar, but spiritually both learner and teacher may be said *συνλαμβάνειν* in its original sense of to seize or take, and he considers himself entitled to find this secondary thought in the text.

- [538] διαστέλλουσαι, καθάπερ ἡ Ῥεβέκκα—λαβοῦσα γὰρ ἐν γαστρὶ τῶν διττῶν διανοίας¹ ἐθνῶν ἐπιστήμην, ἀρετῆς τε καὶ κακίας, εὐτοκία χρωμένη τὴν ἑκατέρου φύσιν διαστέλλει τε καὶ διακρίνει—ὅσαι δὲ ἄνευ φρονήσεως, ἢ ἀμβλίσκουσιν ἢ δύσεριν καὶ σοφιστὴν βάλλοντα καὶ τοξεύοντα ἢ βαλλόμενον
- 130 καὶ τοξευόμενον ἀποκύουσι. καὶ μήποτε εἰκότως· αἱ μὲν γὰρ λαμβάνειν, αἱ δὲ ἔχειν ἐν γαστρὶ οἶονται, παμμεγέθους <οὔσης> διαφορᾶς. αἱ μὲν γὰρ ἔχειν νομίζουσαι τὴν αἵρεσιν² καὶ γένεσιν ἑαυταῖς ἐπιγράφουσαι σεμνομυθοῦσιν, αἱ δὲ λαμβάνειν ἀξιούσαι τὸ μὲν μηδὲν οἰκεῖον ἐξ ἑαυτῶν ἔχειν συνομολογοῦσι, τὰ δὲ σπέρματα καὶ τὰς γονὰς ἐξωθεν ἀρδομένας καταλαμβάνουσai καὶ θαυμάζουσai³ τὸν διδόντα κακὸν μέγιστον, φιλαυτίαν, ἀγαθῶ τελείῳ,
- 131 θεοσεβείᾳ, διωθοῦνται. XXIV. τοῦτον τὸν τρόπον καὶ τὰ νομοθετικῆς τῆς παρὰ ἀνθρώποις κατεβλήθη σπέρματα· “ἦν· γάρ τις” φησὶν “ἐκ τῆς φυλῆς Λευί, ὃς ἔλαβε τῶν θυγατέρων τῶν Λευί, καὶ ἔσχεν αὐτήν. καὶ ἐν γαστρὶ ἔλαβε καὶ ἔτεκεν ἄρρεν· ἰδόντες δὲ αὐτὸ ἀστείον ὃν ἐσκέπασαν
- 132 αὐτὸ μήνας τρεῖς.” οὗτός ἐστι Μωυσῆς, ὁ καθαρώτατος νοῦς, ὁ ἀστείος ὄντως, ὁ νομοθετικὴν ὁμοῦ καὶ προφητείαν ἐνθουσιώσῃ καὶ θεοφορήτῳ σοφίᾳ λαβὼν, ὃς γένος ὦν τῆς Λευιτικῆς φυλῆς καὶ

¹ MSS. διανοίας.

² The word hardly makes sense: ? ἄρσιν.

³ MSS. καταλαμβάνουσι καὶ θαυμάζουσι.

^a Cf. De Cher. 9 ff.

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fusion within them, just as Rebecca, receiving in her womb the knowledge of the two nations of the mind, virtue and vice, distinguished the nature of the two and found therein a happy delivery (Gen. xxv. 23). But where its pregnancy is without wisdom, the soul either miscarries or the offspring is the quarrelsome sophist^a who shoots with the bow (Gen. xxi. 20), or is the target of the bowman. And this contrast is to 130 be expected. For the one kind of soul thinks that it receives in the womb, and the other that it has in the womb, and that is a mighty difference. The latter, supposing that they "have," with boastful speech ascribe the choice and the birth to themselves. The former claim but to receive, and confess that they have of themselves nothing which is their own. They accept^b the seeds of impregnation that are showered on them from outside, and revere the Giver, and thus by honouring God they repel the love of self, repel, that is, the greatest of evils by the perfect good.

XXIV. In this way 131 too were sown the seeds of the legislative art which we men enjoy. "There was," says the Scripture, "a man of the tribe of Levi who took one of the daughters of Levi and had her to wife, and she received in her womb and bore a male child, and seeing that he was goodly they guarded him for three months" (Ex. ii. 1, 2). This is Moses, the mind of purest quality, 132 the truly "goodly,"^c who, with a wisdom given by divine inspiration, received the art of legislation and prophecy alike, who being of the tribe of Levi both

^b Or "seize upon." The word expresses something less passive than λαμβάνειν but escapes the thought of self-satisfaction which he finds in εχειν.

^c See note on *De Conf.* 106.

- τὰ πρὸς πατρός καὶ τὰ πρὸς μητρός ἀμφιβαλὴς τῆς
 133 ἀληθείας ἔχεται. μέγιστον δὲ ἐπάγγελμα
 τοῦ γενάρχου τῆς φυλῆς ἐστὶ ταύτης· θαρρεῖ γὰρ
 λέγειν, ὅτι αὐτός μοι μόνος ἐστὶ θεὸς τιμητέος,
 ἄλλο δ' οὐδὲν τῶν μετ' αὐτόν, οὐ γῆ, οὐ θάλασσα,
 οὐ ποταμοί, οὐκ αἶρος φύσις, οὐ πνευμάτων οὐχ
 ὥρων¹ μεταβολαί, οὐ ζώων οὐ φυτῶν ἰδέαι, οὐχ
 ἥλιος, οὐ σελήνη, οὐκ ἀστέρων πλήθος ἐν τάξεσιν
 ἐναρμονίοις περίπολύντων, οὐχ ὁ σύμπας οὐρανός
 134 τε καὶ κόσμος. μεγάλης καὶ ὑπερφυοῦς ψυχῆς τὸ
 αὔχημα, γένεσιν ὑπερκύπτειν καὶ τοὺς ὄρους αὐτῆς
 ὑπερβάλλειν καὶ μόνου τοῦ ἀγενήτου περιέχεσθαι
 κατὰ τὰς ἱερὰς ὑφηγήσεις, ἐν αἷς διείρηται “ἔχε-
 σθαι αὐτοῦ.” τοιγάρτοι τοῖς ἐχομένοις καὶ ἀδια-
 στάτως θεραπεύουσιν ἀντιδίδωσι κληρὸν αὐτόν.
 ἐγγυᾶται δέ μου τὴν ὑπόσχεσιν λόγιον, ἐν ᾧ
 135 λέγεται. “κύριός αὐτὸς κληρὸς αὐτοῦ.” οὕτως
 ἐν γαστρὶ λαμβάνουσαι μᾶλλον ἢ ἔχουσαι² αἱ ψυχαὶ
 τίκτειν πεφύκασιν. καθάπερ δ' οἱ σώμα-
 τος ὀφθαλμοὶ πολλάκις μὲν ἀμυδρῶς πολλάκις δὲ
 τηλαυγῶς ὁρῶσι, τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον καὶ τὸ τῆς
 ψυχῆς ὄμμα τοτὲ μὲν ὑποσυγκεχυμένας καὶ ἀδήλους
 [539] τοτὲ δὲ καθαρὰς καὶ τρανὰς δέχεται τὰς ἀπὸ τῶν
 136 πραγμάτων | ἰδιότητας. ἡ μὲν οὖν ἀσαφὴς καὶ ἀδη-
 λουμένη προσβολὴ ἔοικε τῷ μήπω κατὰ γαστρός
 ἐμβρύῳ διατυπωθέντι, ἡ δὲ ἐναργὴς καὶ τρανὴ

¹ MSS. αἶρων OR καίρων.

² MSS. ἔχουσαι μᾶλλον ἢ λαμβάνουσαι.

^a Or “being of the tribe of Levi and equally fortunate both on his father’s and his mother’s side, holds fast to truth.” But the point of the last words is not clear in this rendering.

THE PRELIMINARY STUDIES, 132-136

on the father's and the mother's side has a double link^a with truth. Great indeed is the profession of the founder of this tribe.^b He has the 133 courage to say, God and God alone must I honour, not aught of what is below God, neither earth nor sea nor rivers, nor the realm of air, nor the shiftings of the winds and seasons, nor the various kinds of animals and plants, nor the sun nor the moon nor the host of the stars, performing their courses in ranks of ordered harmony, no, nor yet the whole heaven and universe. A great and transcendent soul does such a boast bespeak, to soar above created being, 134 to pass beyond its boundaries, to hold fast to the Uncreated alone, following the sacred admonitions in which we are told to cling to Him (Deut. xxx. 20), and therefore to those who thus cling and serve Him without ceasing He gives Himself as portion, and this my affirmation is warranted by the oracle which says, "The Lord Himself is his portion" (Deut. x. 9). Thus^c we see the capacity to bear comes to souls by 135 "receiving" rather than by "having in the womb."

But just as the eyes of the body often see dimly and often clearly, so the distinguishing characteristics which things present sometimes reach the eye of the soul in a blurred and confused, sometimes in a clear and distinct form. When the vision thus presented is indistinct and ill-defined, it 136 is like the embryo not yet fully formed in the depths of the womb; when it is distinct and definite, it bears

^b Levi, not Moses as Wendland seems to think. See App. p. 579.

^c οὕτως takes us back to the argument, interrupted in § 133 by the meditation on the tribe of Levi, and, as often, marks the conclusion of the argument. In §§ 138-139 we have a different point, though suggested by it.

- μάλιστα τῷ διαπεπλασμένῳ καὶ καθ' ἕκαστον τῶν ἐντός τε καὶ ἐκτός μερῶν τετεχνιτευμένων καὶ τὴν
 137 ἀρμόττουσαν ἰδέαν ἀπειληφότι. νόμος
 δὲ ἐπὶ τούτοις ἐγράφη πάνυ καλῶς καὶ συμφερόντως
 τεθείς οὗτος· “ἐὰν μαχομένων ἀνδρῶν δύο πατάξῃ
 τις γυναῖκα ἐν γαστρὶ ἔχουσαν καὶ ἐξέλθῃ τὸ παιδίον
 αὐτῆς μὴ ἐξεικονισμένον, ἐπιζήμιον ζημιωθήσεται·
 καθ' ὃ τι ἂν ἐπιβάλῃ ὁ ἀνὴρ τῆς γυναικός, δώσει
 μετὰ ἀξιώματος· ἐὰν δὲ ἐξεικονισμένον ᾖ, δώσει
 ψυχὴν ἀντὶ ψυχῆς.” οὐ γὰρ ἦν ὁμοιον, τέλειόν τε
 καὶ ἀτελὲς διανοῶν ἔργον διαφθεῖραι, οὐδὲ εἰκα-
 ζόμενον καὶ καταλαμβανόμενον, οὐδὲ ἐλπιζόμενον
 138 καὶ ἤδη ὑπάρχον. διὰ τοῦτο ὅπου μὲν ἐπιτίμιον
 ἄδηλον ἐπ' ἀδήλῳ πράγματι, ὅπου δὲ ὠρισμένον
 ἐπὶ τελείῳ νομοθετεῖται, τελείῳ δὲ οὐχὶ τῷ πρὸς
 ἀρετὴν, ἀλλὰ τῷ κατὰ τινὰ τέχνην τῶν ἀνεπιλήπ-
 των γενομένων· κυφορεῖ γὰρ αὐτὸ¹ οὐχ ἡ λαβοῦσα,
 ἀλλ' ἡ ἐν γαστρὶ ἔχουσα, οἷσιν πρὸ ἀτυφίας ἐπ-
 αγγελλομένη. καὶ γὰρ ἀμήχανον ἀμβλίσκειν τὴν ἐν
 γαστρὶ λαβοῦσαν, ἐπεὶ τὸ φυτὸν ὑπὸ τοῦ σπείραν-
 τος ἐμπρεπὲς τελεσφορεῖσθαι· τὴν δὲ ἔχουσαν οὐκ
 ἀνοίκειον, ἅτε νόσω χωρὶς ἱατροῦ κατεσχημένην.
 139 XXV. Μὴ νομίσης δὲ τὴν Ἄγαρ λέγεσθαι ἐαυτὴν

¹ MSS. αὐτὸν.

^a Philo means that “perfected” or “fully grown” is here used of things on a lower plane. Since the woman of the enactment is said “to have in the womb,” the allegory cannot mean that the perfected work of the mind is one of moral perfection. It refers rather to the fully formed ideas produced by “a system of conceptions coordinated for some useful end” (see the definition of “art” in § 141). Such arts have nothing wrong about them (*ἀνεπιλήπτων*), but cannot rank with the study of virtue. For this reduced sense of *ἀνεπιλήπτος* see note on *De Mig.* 207.

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a close analogy to the same embryo when fully shaped, with each of its parts inward and outward elaborated, and thus possessed of the form suited to it.

Now there is a law well and suitably enacted to deal ¹³⁷ with this subject which runs thus : " When two men are fighting if one strikes a woman who has in the womb, and her child comes forth not fully formed, he shall be surely fined : according as the husband of the woman shall lay upon him he shall be fined with a valuation, but if the child be fully formed he shall give life for life " (Ex. xxi. 22, 23). This was well said, for it is not the same thing to destroy what the mind has made when it is perfect as when it is imperfect, when it is guesswork as when it is apprehended, when it is but a hope as when it is a reality. Therefore in one the thing in question and the ¹³⁸ penalty are alike indefinite, in the other there is a specified penalty for a thing perfected. Note however that by " perfected " we do not mean perfected in virtue, but that it has attained perfection in some one of the arts to which no exception can be taken.^a For the child in this case is the fruit of one who has in the womb, not has received in the womb, one whose attitude is that of self-conceit rather than of modesty. And indeed miscarriage is impossible for her who " has received in the womb," for it is to be expected that the Sower should bring the plant to its fulness : for her who " has in the womb " it is natural enough ; she is the victim of her malady, and there is no physician to help her.^b

XXV. Do not suppose that by the words " When ¹³⁹

^b Or " if there is no physician." Philo, that is, may not intend to deny the possibility of a better fate for those " who have in the womb."

ὁρᾶν ἐν γαστρὶ ἔχουσαν διὰ τοῦ "ἰδοῦσα¹ ὅτι ἐν
 γαστρὶ ἔχει," ἀλλὰ τὴν κυρίαν αὐτῆς Σάρραν. καὶ
 γὰρ ὕστερον αὕτη περὶ ἑαυτῆς φησιν· "ἰδοῦσα ὅτι
 140 ἐν γαστρὶ ἔχει, ἡτιμάσθη² ἐνώπιον αὐτῆς." διὰ
 τί; ὅτι αἱ μέσαι τέχναι, κατ'εἰ τὰ καθ' αὐτάς, ὧν
 εἰσιν ἐγκύμονες, ὁρῶσιν, ἀλλά τοι πάντως ἀμυδρῶς
 ὁρῶσιν, ἀλλ' ἐπιστῆμαι τηλαυγῶς καὶ σφόδρα
 ἐναργῶς καταλαμβάνουσιν· ἐπιστήμη γὰρ πλέον
 ἐστὶ τέχνης, τὸ βέβαιον καὶ ἀμετάπτωτον ὑπὸ
 141 λόγου προσειληφυῖα. τέχνης μὲν γὰρ ὁρος οὗτος·
 σύστημα ἐκ καταλήψεων συγγεγυμνασμένων³ πρὸς
 τι τέλος εὐχρηστον, τοῦ εὐχρήστου διὰ τὰς κακο-
 τεχνίας ὑγιῶς προστιθεμένου· ἐπιστήμης δέ· κατά-
 ληψις ἀσφαλῆς καὶ βέβαιος, ἀμετάπτωτος ὑπὸ
 142 λόγου. μουσικὴν μὲν οὖν καὶ γραμ-
 ματικὴν καὶ τὰς συγγενεῖς καλοῦμεν τέχνας—καὶ
 γὰρ οἱ ἀποτελούμενοι δι' αὐτῶν τεχνῆται λέγονται
 μουσικοὶ τε καὶ γραμματικοί,—φιλοσοφίαν δέ καὶ
 τὰς ἄλλας ἀρετὰς ἐπιστήμας καὶ τοὺς ἔχοντας αὐτάς
 [540] ἐπιστήμονας· | φρόνιμοι γάρ εἰσι καὶ σώφρονες καὶ
 φιλόσοφοι, ὧν οὐδὲ εἷς ἐν τοῖς τῆς διαπεπονημένης
 ἐπιστήμης σφάλλεται δόγμασι, καθάπερ οἱ προ-
 ειρημένοι ἐν τοῖς τῶν μέσων τεχνῶν θεωρήμασιν.

¹ LXX εἶδεν, which perhaps should be read here.

² So LXX: MSS ἡτ(ο)ιμάσθη.

³ MSS. ἐγγεγυμνασμένων (-ον), which may be right. See App. p. 580.

^a See App. 580.

^b Or "apprehensions" as below. But the word seems to be used in a slightly different sense in the two definitions.

^c Or perhaps "results arrived at," in contrast to principles (δόγματα). That is to say, the difference between δόγματα

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she saw that she had in the womb "(Gen. xvi. 4), it is meant that Hagar saw that it was so with herself. It is her mistress Sarah who saw, for afterwards Sarah says of herself, " Seeing that she had in the womb, I was dishonoured before her " (Gen. xvi. 5). Why is 140 this ? Because the lower arts, even if they see their own products, which are carried in their womb, necessarily see them but dimly, while they are clearly and very distinctly apprehended by knowledge in its various forms. For knowledge is something more than art, as it has in addition a stability which no argument can shake. The definition of art is as 141 follows :^a a system of conceptions^b co-ordinated to work for some useful end, " useful " being a very proper addition to exclude mischievous arts. Knowledge on the other hand is defined as a sure and certain apprehension which cannot be shaken by argument.^a We give the name of arts 142 therefore to music, grammar and the kindred arts, and accordingly those who by means of them reach fulness of accomplishment are called artists, whether they are musicians or grammarians ; but we give the name of knowledge to philosophy and the other virtues, and that of men of knowledge to those who possess these virtues. Those only are prudent and temperate and philosophers who without exception do not err in the dogmatic conclusions belonging to that form of knowledge which they have mastered by their diligence in the way that the above-mentioned err in the more theoretical conclusions^c of the lower

and θεωρήματα, which are often combined by Philo, lies not so much in that the latter are uncertain (Euclid did not consider his θεωρήματα uncertain), as in that they are slighter, and do not rise to the status of an important principle.

- 143 ὥσπερ γὰρ ὀφθαλμοὶ μὲν ὁρῶσιν, ὁ δὲ νοῦς δι' ὀφθαλμῶν τηλαυγέστερον, καὶ ἀκούει μὲν ὦτα, ὁ δὲ νοῦς δι' ὠτων ἄμεινον, καὶ ὁσφραίνονται μὲν οἱ μυκτῆρες, ἡ δὲ ψυχὴ διὰ ῥινῶν ἐναργέστερον, καὶ αἱ ἄλλαι αἰσθήσεις τῶν καθ' αὐτὰς ἀντιλαμβάνονται, καθαρώτερον δὲ καὶ εἰλικρινέστερον ἢ διάνοια—κυρίως γὰρ εἰπεῖν ἥδ' ἐστὶν ὀφθαλμὸς μὲν ὀφθαλμῶν, ἀκοὴ δὲ ἀκοῆς καὶ ἐκάστης τῶν αἰσθήσεων αἴσθησις εἰλικρινεστέρα, χρωμένῃ μὲν ἐκείναις ὡς ἐν δικαστηρίῳ ὑπηρέτισι, δικάζουσα δ' αὐτὴ τὰς φύσεις τῶν ὑποκειμένων, ὡς τοῖς μὲν συναινεῖν, τὰ δὲ ἀποστρέφειν, —οὕτως αἱ μὲν λεγόμεναι μέσαι τέχναι ταῖς κατὰ τὸ σῶμα δυνάμεσιν ἐοικυῖαι τοῖς θεωρήμασιν ἐντυγχάνουσι κατὰ τινὰς ἀπλᾶς ἐπιβολάς, ἀκριβέστερον δὲ ἐπιστήμαι
- 144 καὶ σὺν ἐξετάσει περιττῇ. ὁ γὰρ νοῦς πρὸς αἴσθησιν, τοῦτ' ἐπιστήμη πρὸς τέχνην ἐστὶ· καθάπερ γὰρ αἴσθησις τις αἰσθήσεων, ὡς ἐλέχθη πρότερον, ἐστὶν ἡ ψυχὴ * * *¹ ἐκείνων μὲν οὖν ἐκάστη μικρὰ ἅττα τῶν ἐν τῇ φύσει παρεσπάσατο, περὶ ἃ πονεῖται καὶ πραγματεύεται, γραμμὰς μὲν γεωμετρία, φθόγγους δὲ μουσική, φιλοσοφία δὲ πᾶσαν τὴν τῶν ὄντων φύσιν· ὕλη γάρ ἐστιν αὐτῆς ὅδε ὁ κόσμος καὶ
- 145 πᾶσα ἡ τῶν ὄντων ὁρατὴ τε καὶ ἀόρατος οὐσία. τί οὖν θαυμαστόν, εἰ ἢ τὰ ὅλα καθορῶσα θεᾶται καὶ τὰ μέρη, καὶ ἄμεινον ἐκείνων, ἅτε ὀφθαλμοῖς μείζουσι καὶ ὀξυδερκεστέροις ἐνομματοθεῖσα; εἰκότως οὖν ἡ κυρία φιλοσοφία τὴν μέσην παιδείαν, τὴν

¹ Wendland supplies οὕτως τέχνη τις τεχνῶν ἐπιστήμη.

* Lit. "through simple applications (of the mind)." Cf. note on *De Post.* 79.

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arts. The following illustration may serve. The 143
eyes see, but the mind through the eyes sees further
than the eyes. The ears hear, but the mind through
the ears hears better than the ears. The nostrils
smell, but the soul through the nose smells more
vividly than the nose, and while the other senses
apprehend the objects proper to them, the under-
standing apprehends with more purity and clarity.
For we may say quite properly that the mind is the
eye's eye and the hearing's hearing and the purified
sense of each of the senses ; it uses them as ushers in
its tribunal, but itself passes judgement on the natures
of the objects presented, giving its assent to some
and refusing it to others. In the same way, what we
call the lower or secondary arts, resembling as they do
the bodily faculties, handle the questions which they
answer without involved consideration,^a but know-
ledge in each case does so with greater accuracy and
minute examination. What the mind is to sense, 144
that knowledge is to art ; for just as, to repeat the
statement, the soul is the sense of the senses, [so
knowledge is the art of arts.] So each of the arts has
detached and annexed some small items from the
world of nature which engage its efforts and atten-
tion : geometry has its lines, and music its notes, but
philosophy takes the whole nature of existing things ;
for its subject matter is this world and every form of
existence visible and invisible. Why wonder, then, 145
if when it surveys the whole of things it sees also the
parts, and sees them better than those others, fur-
nished as it is with stronger eyes and more penetrat-
ing sight ? Naturally then will the pregnancy of the
handmaid, the lower instruction, be more visible to

- θεραπαινίδα αὐτῆς, ἐγκύμονα θεάσεται μᾶλλον ἢ
 146 ἐαυτὴν ἐκείνη. XXVI. καίτοι γ' οὐδὲ
 τοῦτό τις ἀγνοεῖ, ὅτι πάσαις ταῖς κατὰ μέρος τὰς
 ἀρχὰς καὶ τὰ σπέρματα, ἐξ ὧν ἀναβλαστεῖν ἔδοξε
 τὰ θεωρήματα, φιλοσοφία δεδῶρηται. ἰσόπλευρα
 γὰρ καὶ σκαληνὰ κύκλους τε καὶ πολυγώνια καὶ τὰ
 ἄλλα σχήματα γεωμετρία προσεξεῦρε, σημείου δὲ
 καὶ γραμμῆς καὶ ἐπιφανείας καὶ στερεοῦ φύσιν, ἃ
 δὴ ρίζαι καὶ θεμέλιοι τῶν λεχθέντων εἰσίν, οὐκέτι
 147 γεωμετρία. πόθεν γὰρ αὐτῇ λέγειν ὀριζομένη, ὅτι
 σημεῖον μὲν ἐστὶν οὐ μέρος οὐδέν, γραμμὴ δὲ
 μῆκος ἀπλατές, ἐπιφάνεια δὲ ὁ μῆκος καὶ πλάτος
 μόνον ἔχει, στερεὸν δὲ ὁ τὰς τρεῖς ἔχει διαστάσεις,
 μῆκος, πλάτος, βάθος; ταῦτα γὰρ ἀνάκειται
 φιλοσοφία καὶ ἡ περὶ ὄρων πραγματεία πᾶσα τῷ
 148 φιλοσόφῳ. τό γε μὴν γράφειν καὶ
 ἀναγινώσκειν γραμματικῆς τῆς ἀτελεστεράς ἐπ-
 ἀγγελμα, ἣν παρατρέποντές τινες γραμματιστικὴν
 καλοῦσι, τῆς δὲ τελειοτέρας ἀνάπτυξις τῶν παρὰ
 [541] ποιηταῖς τε καὶ συγγραφεύσιν. | ἐπειδὰν οὖν περὶ
 τῶν τοῦ λόγου διεξέρχωνται μερῶν, τότε οὐ τὰ
 φιλοσοφίας εὐρήματα παρασπῶνταιί τε καὶ παρ-
 149 εργολαβοῦσι; ταύτης γὰρ ἴδιον ἐξετάζειν, τί σύν-
 δεσμος, τί ὄνομα, τί ῥῆμα, τί κοινὸν ὄνομα, τί
 ἴδιον, τί ἑλλιπὲς ἐν λόγῳ, τί πλήρες, τί ἀποφαντόν,
 τί ἐρώτημα, τί πύσμα, τί περιεκτικόν, τί εὐκτικόν,

^a Or "prose-writers" in general. On the definition of γραμματικὴ here given see App. p. 580.

^b The word (παρεργολαβεῖν) is not known elsewhere. L. & S. translate "take as an accessory." Stephanus (impossibly) "quaestum ex aliqua re facere." I understand the word, in accordance with the common use of πάρεργον for

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the mistress philosophy than it is to the handmaid herself. XXVI. And indeed this too is 146

general knowledge that all the particular arts have their origins and the germs from which the conclusions they reach seem to spring, as a gift from philosophy. For such further matters as isosceles and scalene triangles, and circles and polygons and the other figures are the discovery of geometry; but when we come to the nature of the point, the line, the superficies and the solid which are the roots and foundations of those named above, we leave geometry behind. For whence does she obtain the 147
definition of a point as that which has no parts, of a line as length without breadth, of superficies as that which has length and breadth only, and of a solid as that which has three dimensions, length, breadth, and depth? For these belong to philosophy, and the whole subject of definitions is the philosopher's province.

Again the lower stage of grammar, 148
sometimes by a slight modification of *γραμματική* called *γραμματιστική*, undertakes to teach reading and writing, while the task of the higher stage is the elucidation of the writings of the poets and historians.^a When therefore they discourse on the parts of speech, are they not encroaching on, and casually appropriating^b the discoveries of philosophy? For it is the 149
exclusive property of philosophy to examine what a conjunction is, or a noun, or a verb, or a common as distinguished from a proper noun, or in the sentence what is meant by defective or complete or declaratory or inquiry, or question, or comprehensive, or pre-

a thing of secondary importance, to imply that they adopt these terms without any thought of how they are arrived at or any conception of their importance.

τί ἀρατικόν¹. τὰς γὰρ περὶ αὐτοτελῶν καὶ ἀξιωμα-
των καὶ κατηγορημάτων πραγματείας ἥδ' ἐστὶν ἡ
150 συνθεῖσα. ἡμίφωνον δὲ ἡ φωνῇεν ἡ παντελῶς
ἄφωνον στοιχεῖον ἰδεῖν, καὶ πῶς ἕκαστον τούτων
εἶωθε λέγεσθαι; καὶ πᾶσα ἡ περὶ φωνῆς καὶ στοι-
χείων καὶ τῶν τοῦ λόγου μερῶν ἰδέα οὐ φιλοσοφία
πεπύνηται καὶ κατήνυσται; βραχείας δ' ὥσπερ
ἀπὸ χειμάρρου σπάσαντες λιβάδας καὶ βραχυτέrais
ταῖς ἑαυτῶν ψυχαῖς ἐναποθλύψαντες τὸ κλαπέν οἱ
φῶρες οὐκ ἐρυθριῶσι προφέροντες ὡς ἴδιον.

151 XXVII. Οὐδ' χάριν φρυαττόμενοι τῆς κυρίας, ἡ
τὸ κύρος ὄντως καὶ ἡ τῶν θεωρουμένων ἀνάκειται
βεβαίωσις, ἀλογοῦσι. συναισθημένη δὲ αὕτη τῆς
ὀλιγορίας τούτων ἐλέγξει καὶ μετὰ παρρησίας
φήσει· ἀδικοῦμαι καὶ παρασπονδοῦμαι τό γε ἐφ'
152 ὑμῖν ὁμολογίας παραβαίνουσιν. ἀφ' οὗ γὰρ ἐνεκολ-
πίσασθε τὰ προπαίδεύματα, τῆς ἐμῆς θεραπαινίδος
τὰ ἔγγονα, τὴν μὲν ὡς γαμετὴν ἐξετιμήσατε, ἐμὲ
δὲ οὕτως ἀπεστράφητε, ὡς μηδὲ πώποτε ἐς ταῦτόν
ἐλθόντες. ἀλλ' ἴσως ἐγὼ μὲν ταῦτα περὶ ὑμῶν
ὑπέιληφα, ἐκ τῆς φανεράς πρὸς τὴν οἰκέτιν ὁμιλίαν
τὴν ἄδηλον πρὸς ἐμὲ αὐτὴν ἀλλοτριώσιν τεκμαιρο-
μένη· εἰ δ' ὑμεῖς ἐναντίως ἡ ὡς ὑπέιληφα διά-
κεισθε, γινῶναι μὲν ἀμήχανον ἐτέρῳ, ῥᾶδιον δὲ
153 μόνῳ θεῷ. διόπερ οἰκείως ἐρεῖ· “κρίναι ὁ θεὸς
ἀνὰ μέσον ἐμοῦ καὶ σοῦ,” οὐ προκατεγνωκυῖα ὡς

¹ τί εὐκτικόν, τί ἀρατικόν is deduced by Wendland from εὐκτικόν M, ὀρατικόν A, εὐ τί κακὸν ἀρα SF, εὐ κακὸν δὲ τί H. For ἀρατικόν cf. *De Agr.* 140.

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catory, or imprecatory. For to her is due the system which embraces the study of complete sentences and propositions and predicates.^a Again, the observation 150 of the semi-vowel, the vowel and the completely voiceless or consonant, and the usage of each, and the whole field of phonetics and the elements of sound and the parts of speech, have been worked out and brought to its consummation by philosophy. From this, as from a torrent, the plagiarists have drawn a few small drops, squeezed them into their still smaller souls, and do not blush to parade what they have filched as their own.

XXVII. So in their insolence they neglect the mis- 151
tress to whom the lordship really belongs, to whom is due the firm foundation of their studies. And she, conscious of their neglect, will rebuke them and speak with all boldness. "I am wronged and betrayed, in so far as you have broken faith with me. For ever since you took to your arms the lower forms 152
of training, the children of my handmaid, you have given her all the honour of the wedded wife, and turned from me as though we had never come together. And yet perhaps, in thinking this of you, I may be but inferring from your open company with her my servant a less certain matter, your alienation from me. But to decide whether your feelings are as I have supposed, or the opposite, is a task impossible for any other, but easy for God alone," and therefore 153
Sarah will say quite properly, "God judge between you and me" (Gen. xvi. 5). She does not hastily

been already explained in the note to the parallel passage *De Agr.* 140, 141, see App. p. 580. It is a good example of Philo's capacity for looking at things from opposite points of view, that these distinctions are scoffed at as superfluous refinements, here they belong to true philosophy.

ἡδίκηκός, ἀλλ' ἐνδοιάζουσα ὡς τάχ' ἂν ἴσως καὶ κατορθοῦντος· ὅπερ ἀψευδῶς οὐκ εἰς μακρὰν ἀναφαίνεται δι' ὧν ἀπολογούμενος καὶ τὸν ἐνδοιασμόν αὐτῆς ἐξιῶμενός φησιν· “ ἰδοὺ ἡ παιδίσκη ἐν ταῖς χερσὶ σου, χρῶ αὐτῇ, ὡς ἂν σοι ἀρεστόν¹ ᾖ.”

154 καὶ γὰρ ὁ παιδίσκην εἰπὼν ἀμφότερα ὁμολογεῖ, τό τε δούλην καὶ τὸ νηπίαν¹ εἶναι—τὸ γὰρ τῆς παιδίσκης ὄνομα ἐκατέρω τούτων ἐφαρμόζει,—συνομολογεῖ δὲ πάντως εὐθύς καὶ τὰναντία, τῇ μὲν νηπίᾳ τὴν τελείαν, τῇ δὲ δούλῃ τὴν κυρίαν, μονοноῦ βοῶν ἀντικρυς, ὅτι τὴν μὲν ἐγκύκλιον παιδείαν καὶ ὡς νεωτέραν καὶ ὡς θεραπαινίδα ἀσπάζομαι, τὴν δὲ ἐπιστήμην καὶ φρόνησιν ὡς τελείαν καὶ δέσποιναν

155 ἐκτετίμηκα. τὸ δὲ “ ἐν ταῖς χερσὶ σου ”

δηλοῖ μὲν τὸ ὑποχείριός ἐστὶ σοι. σημαίνει δὲ καὶ τοιοῦτον ἕτερον· τὰ μὲν τῆς δούλης εἰς χεῖρας | [542] ἀφικνεῖται σώματος—σωματικῶν γὰρ ὀργάνων καὶ δυνάμεων τὰ ἐγκύκλια χρεῖα,—τὰ δὲ τῆς κυρίας εἰς ψυχὴν ἔρχεται· λογισμοῖς γὰρ τὰ κατὰ τε φρόνησιν

156 καὶ ἐπιστήμην ἀνατίθεται. ὥσθ' ὅσω δυνατώτερον καὶ δραστικώτερον καὶ τοῖς ὅλοις κρεῖττον διάνοια χειρός² ἐστὶ, τοσούτῳ τῆς ἐγκυκλίου μουσικῆς ἐπιστήμην καὶ φρόνησιν θαυμασιωτέραν εἶναι νενόμικα καὶ διαφερόντως ἐκτετίμηκα. λαβοῦσα οὖν, ᾧ καὶ ὑπάρχουσα καὶ πρὸς ἐμοῦ νομιζομένη κυρία, τὴν ἐμὴν ἅπασαν παιδείαν ὡς θεραπαινίδι χρῶ, “ ὡς

157 εὐάρεστόν σοι.” τὸ δὲ σοὶ εὐάρεστον οὐκ ἀγνοῶ

¹ MSS. νήπιον.

² MSS. χρεῖος.

^a The argument implies that “thy hands” refers to the body, a natural thought if the address was to the soul, but not so appropriate when addressed to philosophy. For another suggestion see App. p. 581.

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condemn Abraham as a wrongdoer, but expresses a doubt as though perhaps his heart may be true and upright. That it is so is shewn unmistakably soon after, when he makes his defence and thereby heals her doubts. "Behold," he says, "the servant girl is in thy hands. Deal with her as is pleasing to thee" (Gen. xvi. 6). Indeed in calling her a servant girl ¹⁵⁴ he makes a double admission, that she is a slave and that she is childish, for the name suits both of these. At the same time the words involve necessarily and absolutely the acknowledgment of the opposites of these two, of the full-grown as opposed to the child, of the mistress as opposed to the slave. They amount almost to a loud and emphatic confession: I greet the training of the schools, he implies, as the junior and the handmaid, but I have given full honour to knowledge and wisdom as the full-grown and the mistress. And the words "in thy hands" ¹⁵⁵ mean no doubt "she is subject to thee," but they also signify something more, namely that while what is implied by the slave belongs to the domain of the hands in the bodily sense, since the school subjects require the bodily organs and faculties, what is implied by the mistress reaches to the soul, for wisdom and knowledge and their implications are referred to the reasoning faculties.^a "And so," says Abraham, "in ¹⁵⁶ the same degree as the mind is more powerful, more active and altogether better than the hand, I hold knowledge and wisdom to be more admirable than the culture of the schools and have given them full and special honour. Do thou then, who both art the mistress and art held as such by me, take all my training and deal with it as thy handmaid, 'even as is well-pleasing to thee.' And what is well-pleasing

ὅτι πάντως ἐστὶν ἀγαθόν, εἰ καὶ μὴ προσηγνές, καὶ ὠφέλιμον, εἰ καὶ μακρὰν τοῦ ἡδέος ἀφέστηκεν.

- Ἀγαθὸν δὲ καὶ ὠφέλιμον τοῖς ἐλέγχου δεομένοις νουθεσία, ὃ ἐτέρῳ ὀνόματι κάκωσιν ὁ ἱερὸς μηνύει
 158 λόγος. XXVIII. διόπερ ἐπιφέρει· “καὶ ἐκάκωσεν αὐτήν,” ἴσον τῷ ἐνουθέτησε καὶ ἐσωφρόνισε. λυσιτελές γὰρ σφόδρα τοῖς ἐν ἀδείᾳ καὶ ἐκεχειρίᾳ, καθάπερ ἵπποις ἀφηνιασταῖς, ὅξυ κέντρον, ἐπεὶ μάλιστα καὶ ἀγωγῇ δαμασθῆναι καὶ τιθα-
 159 σευθῆναι δύνανται. ἢ τὰ προκείμενα ἄθλα οὐχ ὀρᾶς τοῖς ἀνεπιπλήκτοις¹; λιπῶσιν, εὐρύνονται, παιαίνονται, λαμπρὸν πνέουσιν· εἶτα αἶρονται τὰ ἀσεβείας, οἱ πανάθλιοι καὶ βαρυνδαίμονες, οἰκτρὰ βραβεῖα, <ἐπ’> ἀθεότητι κηρυττόμενοι καὶ στεφανούμενοι. διὰ γὰρ τὴν λείως ῥέουσιν εὐτυχίαν ὑπέλαβον ἑαυτοὺς εἶναι τοὺς ὑπαργύρους καὶ ὑποχρύσους θεοὺς, νομίσματος κεκιβδηλευμένου τὸν τρόπον, τοῦ ἀληθινοῦ καὶ ὄντως ὄντος ἐκλαθό-
 160 μενοι. μαρτυρεῖ δὲ καὶ Μωυσῆς ἐν οἷς φησιν· “ἐλιπάνθη, ἐπαχύνθη, ἐπλατύνθη καὶ ἐγκατέλιπε θεὸν τὸν ποιήσαντα αὐτόν”· ὥστε εἰ ἡ ἐπὶ πλεονᾶναις τὸ μέγιστον κακόν, ἀσέβειαν, ὠδίνει, τούναντίον ἢ μετὰ νόμου κάκωσις ἀγαθὸν τέλειον ἀποτίκτει, τὴν αἰοίδιμον νουθεσίαν.
 161 ἐνθένδε ὁρμηθεὶς καὶ τῆς πρώτης ἐορτῆς τὸ σύμ-

¹ MSS. τοῖς ἀνεπιπλήκτως or τοὺς ἀνεπιπλήκτους. The former may perhaps suggest τοῖς ἀνεπιπλήκτως <ζῶσι>.

^a See App. p. 581.

^b The article is difficult. The translation assumes that τοὺς . . . ὑποχρύσους is a belated epithet to ἑαυτοὺς like οἱ πανάθλιοι above. But this is very awkward. Perhaps better “they think themselves to be gods, these gods (of the pagans) whose very gold and silver is unreal.” There is an

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to thee I know full well is altogether good, even if it be not agreeable, and profitable even if it be far removed from pleasant."

Yes, good and profitable. And such to those who need convincing of their errors is the admonishing which the holy text indicates under its other name of affliction. XXVIII. Therefore he adds "and 158 she afflicted her" (Gen. xvi. 6), which means she admonished and chastised her. For the sharp spur is indeed profitable to those who live in security and ease, just as it is to unruly horses, since it is difficult to master or break them in merely with the whip or guiding hand. Or do you fail to see the rewards 159 which await the unrebuked? ^a They grow sleek and fat, they expand themselves, and the breath of their spirit is lusty and strong, and then to their utter sorrow and misery they win the woeful prizes of impiety, proclaimed and crowned as victors in the contest of godlessness. For because of the smooth flow of their prosperity, veneered as they are with gold and silver,^b like base coin, they fancy themselves to be gods, forgetting Him who is the true coin, the really Existent. I have Moses' testimony when he 160 says, "He waxed fat, grew thick, was widened, and abandoned the God who made him" (Deut. xxxii. 15). It follows that if increased laxity is the parent of that greatest of ills, impiety, contrarywise affliction, regulated by law, breeds a perfect good, that most admirable thing, admonition.^c On 161 this same principle he calls the unleavened bread,

allusion to Ex. xx. 23 *θεὸς ἀργυροῦς καὶ θεὸς χρυσοῦς οὐ ποιήσετε*. For the use of the prefix ὑπ- see App. p. 581.

^c As *κἀκωσις μετὰ νόμου* has been stated to be another name for *νουθεσία*, this remark is extraordinarily weak. See App. p. 582.

- βολον " ἄρτον κακώσεως " εἶπε, τὰ ἄζυμα. καίτοι τίς οὐκ οἶδεν, ὅτι ἑορταὶ καὶ θαλαῖαι περιποιοῦσιν ἱλαρὰς εὐφροσύνας καὶ εὐθυμίας, οὐ κακώσεις ; ἀλλὰ δῆλον, ὡς ὀνόματι κατακέχρηται πόνου, τοῦ
- 162 σωφρονιστοῦ. τὰ γὰρ πλείστα καὶ μέγιστα τῶν ἀγαθῶν ἀσκητικαῖς ἀθλήσεσι καὶ ἡβῶσι πόνοις εἴωθε περιγίνεσθαι· ψυχῆς δὲ ἑορτὴ ζῆλος ὁ τῶν ἀρίστων καὶ τελεσφορούμενος πόνος. οὐ χάριν διείρηται καὶ " ἐπὶ πικρίδων τὰ ἄζυμα ἐσθίειν " οὐχ ὡς προσεψήματος, ἀλλ' ἐπειδὴ τὸ μὴ οἰδεῖν καὶ ἀναζεῖν ταῖς ἐπιθυμίαις, ἐστάλθαι δὲ καὶ συνῆχθαι πρὸς ἀηδίας οἱ πολλοὶ τίθενται, πικρὸν ἡγούμενοι
- [543] τὸ | ἀπομαθεῖν τὸ πάθος, ὅπερ ἐστὶν εὐφροσύνη καὶ
- 163 ἑορτὴ διανοία φιλάθλῳ. XXIX. ταύτης ἕνεκά μοι δοκεῖ τῆς αἰτίας ἐν χωρίῳ, ὃ κέκληται πικρία, τὰ νόμιμα ἀναδιδασκῆναι· ἡδὺ μὲν γὰρ τὸ ἀδικεῖν, ἐπίπονον δὲ τὸ δικαιοπραγεῖν· τοῦτο δὲ ἐστὶν ὁ ἀψευδέστατος νόμος. ἐξελθόντες γάρ, φησιν, ἐκ τῶν Αἰγυπτιακῶν παθῶν " ἦλθον εἰς Μερρά, καὶ οὐκ ἡδύναντο πιεῖν ὕδωρ ἐκ Μερρῶν· πικρὸν γὰρ ἦν. διὰ τοῦτο ἐπωνομάσθη τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ τόπου ἐκείνου πικρία. καὶ διεγόγγυζεν ὁ λαὸς κατὰ Μωυσῆ λέγοντες· τί πióμεθα ; ἐβόησε δὲ Μωυσῆς πρὸς κύριον, καὶ ἔδειξεν αὐτῷ κύριος ξύλον, καὶ ἐνέβαλεν αὐτὸ εἰς τὸ ὕδωρ, καὶ ἐγλυκάνθη τὸ ὕδωρ. ἐκεῖ ἔθετο αὐτῷ δικαιώματα καὶ
- 164 κρίσεις, καὶ ἐκεῖ αὐτὸν ἐπέιραζεν." ἡ γὰρ ἀδηλος ἀπόπειρα καὶ δοκιμασία τῆς ψυχῆς ἐστὶν ἐν

^a Or " at the height of its vigour." But the word is strange and perhaps to be suspected.

^b Though these words run on in the LXX, there is really a stop at "judgements," which brings to an end the proof of

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the symbol of the first feast, "bread of affliction." And yet we all know that feasts and highdays produce cheerfulness and gladness, not affliction. Clearly he is extending the meaning of the word as a name for the chastener, toil, for the most numerous and most important of goods are wont to result from repeated strenuous contention and keen^a toiling, and the soul's feast is ardour for the best, and the consummation of toil. That is why we also have the command to "eat the unleavened bread with bitter herbs" (Ex. xii. 8), not as a relish, but because the mass of men hold that when they no longer swell and boil with desires, but are confined and compressed, they are in a state of discomfort; and they think that the unlearning of passion is a bitterness, though to a mind that welcomes effort that same is a joy and a feast.

XXIX. For this cause I believe the lesson of the statutes of the law was given in a place whose name is bitterness, for injustice is pleasant and just-dealing is troublesome, and this is the most infallible of laws. For when they had gone out of the passions of Egypt, says the text, "they came to Marah, and they could not drink water from Marah, for it was bitter. Therefore the name of that place was called bitterness, and the people murmured against Moses, saying what shall we drink? And Moses called aloud to the Lord, and the Lord shewed him a tree; and he threw it into the water, and the water was sweetened. There He laid down for him ordinances and judgements" (Ex. xv. 23-25).

"And there He tried him"^b (*ibid.*), the text continues. Yes, for the trial and proving of the soul,

the connexion of *κάκωσις* and its bitterness with law. The final words raise a new point, its connexion with "trial."

- τῷ πονεῖν καὶ πικραίνεσθαι· ὅπη γὰρ ταλαντεύσει, χαλεπὸν διαγινῶναι. οἱ μὲν γὰρ προκαμόντες ἀνέπεσον, βαρὺν ἀντίπαλον ἡγησάμενοι τὸν πόνον, καὶ τὰς χεῖρας ὑπ' ἀσθενείας ὥσπερ ἀπειρηκότες ἀθληταὶ καθήκαν, παλινδρομεῖν εἰς Αἴγυπτον ἐπὶ
- 165 τὴν ἀπόλαυσιν τοῦ πάθους ἐγνωκότες. οἱ δὲ τὰ φοβερὰ καὶ δεινὰ τῆς ἐρήμης πάνυ τλητικῶς καὶ ἐρρωμένως ἀναδεχόμενοι τὸν ἀγῶνα τοῦ βίου διήθλησαν ἀδιάφθορον καὶ ἀήττητον φυλάξαντες καὶ τῶν τῆς φύσεως ἀναγκαίων κατέξαναστάντες, ὥς πείναν, δίψος, [ρίγος,] κρύος, θάλπος, ὅσα τοὺς ἄλλους εἴωθε δουλοῦσθαι, κατὰ πολλὴν ἰσχὺς
- 166 περιουσίαν ὑπάγεσθαι. αἷτιον δὲ ἐγένετο οὐ ψιλὸς ὁ πόνος, ἀλλὰ σὺν τῷ γλυκανθῆναι· λέγει γάρ· “ἐγλυκάνθη τὸ ὕδωρ,” γλυκὺς δὲ καὶ ἡδὺς πόνος ἐτέρῳ ὀνόματι φιλοπονία καλεῖται. τὸ γὰρ ἐν πόνῳ γλυκὺ ἔρως ἐστὶ καὶ πόθος καὶ ζῆλος
- 167 καὶ φιλία τοῦ καλοῦ. μηδεὶς οὖν τὴν τοσαύτην κάκωσιν ἀποστρέφεισθω, μηδ' “ἄρτον κακώσεως” νομισάτω ποτὲ λέγεσθαι τὴν ἐορτῆς καὶ εὐφροσύνης τράπεζαν ἐπὶ βλάβῃ μᾶλλον ἢ ὠφελείᾳ· τρέφεται γὰρ τοῖς παιδείας δόγμασιν ἢ νοουθετουμένη ψυχῇ.
- 168 XXX. τὸ ἄζυμον πέμμα τοῦτο οὕτως ἐστὶν ἱερὸν, ὥστε χρησιμοῖς προστέτακται δώδεκα ἄρτους ἄζύμους ταῖς φυλαῖς ἰσαριθμούς προτιθέναι ἐπὶ τῆς ἐν τοῖς ἀδύτοις χρυσῆς τραπέζης, καὶ
- 169 καλοῦνται προθέσεως. καὶ νόμῳ δὲ ἀπείρηται πᾶσαν ζύμην καὶ πᾶν μέλι προσφέρειν τῷ βωμῷ· χαλεπὸν γὰρ ἢ τὰς γλυκύτητας τῶν κατὰ τὸ σῶμα

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with all its uncertainty, lies in toil and bitterness of heart, and it is uncertain because it is hard to discern which way the balance will incline. Some faint ere the struggle has begun, and lose heart altogether, counting toil a too formidable antagonist, and like weary athletes they drop their hands in weakness and determine to speed back to Egypt to enjoy passion. But there 165 are others who, facing the terrors and dangers of the wilderness with all patience and stoutness of heart, carry through to its finish the contest of life, keeping it safe from failure and defeat, and take a strong stand against the constraining forces of nature, so that hunger and thirst, cold and heat, and all that usually enslave the rest, are made their subjects by their preponderating fund of strength.

But this result is brought about not by toil unaided, 166 but by toil with sweetening. He says "the water was sweetened," and another name for the toil that is sweet and pleasant is love of labour. For what is sweet in toil is the yearning, the desire, the fervour, in fact the love of the good. Let no one, 167 then, turn away from affliction such as this, or think that, when the table of joy and feasting is called the bread of affliction, harm and not benefit is meant. No, the soul that is admonished is fed by the lessons of instruction's doctrine.

XXX. So holy 168 is this unleavened bake-meat, that the oracles ordain that twelve unleavened loaves, corresponding to the number of the tribes, be set forth on the golden table in the inmost shrine, and these are called the loaves of setting forth (Ex. xxv. 29). And further it is 169 forbidden by law to bring any leaven or any honey to the altar (Lev. ii. 11). For it is a hard matter to consecrate as holy the sweet flavours of bodily

- ἡδονῶν ἢ τὰς τῆς ψυχῆς ἀραιὰς καὶ χαίνουσ ἐπ-
 ἀρσεις καθιεροῦν ὡς ἅγια, τὰ φύσει βέβηλα καὶ
 170 ἀνίερα ἐξ αὐτῶν. ἀρ' οὖν οὐκ εἰκότως
 ἐπισεμνυνόμενος ὁ προφήτης λόγος, ὄνομα Μωυσῆς,
 ἐρεῖ· “ μνησθήσῃ πᾶσαν τὴν ὁδὸν ἣν ἤγαγέ σε
 κύριος ὁ θεὸς ἐν ἐρήμῳ, ὅπως ἂν κακώσῃ σε καὶ
 ἐκπειράσῃ σε καὶ διαγνωσθῇ τὰ ἐν καρδίᾳ σου, εἰ
 [544] φυλάξεις ἐντολὰς αὐτοῦ ἢ | οὐ· καὶ ἐκάκωσέ σε καὶ
 ἐλιμαγχόνησέ σε καὶ ἐψώμισέ σε τὸ μάννα, ὃ οὐκ
 ἤδειςαν οἱ πατέρες σου, ἵνα ἀναγγείλῃ σοι, ὅτι οὐκ
 ἐπ' ἄρτῳ μόνῳ ζήσεται ὁ ἄνθρωπος, ἀλλ' ἐν παντὶ
 171 ῥήματι ἐκπορευομένῳ διὰ στόματος θεοῦ; ” τίς
 οὖν οὕτως ἀνόσιός ἐστιν, ὡς ὑπολαβεῖν κακωτὴν
 τὸν θεὸν καὶ λιμόν, οἴκτιστον ὄλεθρον, ἐπάγοντα
 τοῖς ἄνευ τροφῆς ζῆν μὴ δυναμένοις; ἀγαθὸς γὰρ
 καὶ ἀγαθῶν αἷτιος, εὐεργέτης, σωτήρ, τροφεύς,
 πλουτοφόρος, μεγαλόδωρος, κακίαν ὄρων ἱερῶν
 ἀπεληλακῶς· οὕτω γὰρ τὰ γῆς ἄχθη, τὸν τε Ἀδὰμ
 καὶ Εὐάν,¹ ἐφυγάδευσεν ἐκ τοῦ παραδείσου.
 172 μὴ παραγώμεθα οὖν ταῖς φωναῖς,² ἀλλὰ τὰ δι'
 ὑπονοιῶν σημαινόμενα σκοπῶμεν καὶ λέγωμεν, ὅτι
 τὸ μὲν “ ἐκάκωσε ” ἴσον ἐστὶ τῷ ἐπαίδευσεν καὶ
 ἐνουθέτησε καὶ ἐσωφρόνισε, τὸ δὲ “ λιμῷ παρ-
 ἔβαλεν ” οὐ σιτίων καὶ ποτῶν εἰργάσατο ἔνδειαν,
 ἀλλ' ἡδονῶν καὶ ἐπιθυμιῶν φόβων τε καὶ λύπης καὶ
 ἀδικημάτων καὶ συνόλως ἀπάντων ὅσα ἢ κακιῶν
 173 ἐστὶν ἢ παθῶν ἔργα. μαρτυρεῖ δὲ τὸ ἐπιλεγό-
 μενον ἐξῆς· “ ἐψώμισέ σε τὸ μάννα.” ἀρά γε τὸν
 τὴν ἄπονον καὶ ἀταλαίπωρον τροφὴν δίχα σπουδῆς

¹ So Mangey: mss. and Wendland Κάιν.

² See App. p. 582.

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pleasures or the risings of the soul in their leaven-like thinness and sponginess, so profane and unholy are they by their very nature. Is it not, then, 170

with legitimate pride that the prophet-word called Moses says, as we shall find, "Thou shalt remember all the way which the Lord thy God led thee in the wilderness, that He might afflict thee and prove thee and the thoughts in thy heart might be tested, whether thou wilt keep His commandments or not, and He afflicted thee and made thee weak by famine and fed thee with manna which thy fathers knew not, that He might proclaim to thee that not alone on bread shall man live, but on every word that goeth forth through the mouth of God" (Deut. viii. 2). Who then is so impious as to suppose that God is 171 an afflictor, or evil-entreater, and that He sends famine, death in its most miserable form, on those who cannot live without food? For God is good and the cause of what is good, the benefactor, the saviour, the nourisher, the enricher, the bountiful giver, and He has expelled evil-mindedness from the holy boundaries. For so He banished those cumberers of the earth, both Adam and Eve,^a from Paradise.

Let us not, then, be misled by the actual 172 words, but look at the allegorical meaning that lies beneath them, and say that "afflicted" is equivalent to "disciplined and admonished and chastened," and that "subjected to famine" does not mean that He brought about a dearth of food and drink, but a dearth of pleasures and desires and fears and grief and wrong-doings, and in general all the works of the vices or the passions. And this is confirmed by the words that 173 follow, "He fed thee with the manna." He who provided the food that costs no toil or suffering, the

- τῶν ἀνθρώπων οὐκ ἐκ γῆς, ὡς ἔθος, ἀναδοθείσαν, ἀπ' οὐρανοῦ δέ, τεράστιον ἔργον, ἐπ' εὐεργεσία τῶν χρησομένων παρασχόμενον ἄξιον λέγειν λιμοῦ καὶ κακώσεως ἢ τούναντίον εὐθηνίας καὶ εὐετηρίας
- 174 ἀδείας τε καὶ εὐνομίας αἴτιον; ἀλλ' οἱ πολλοὶ καὶ ἀγελαῖοι νομίζουσι τοὺς λόγοις θείοις τρεφομένους ἀθλίως καὶ ταλαιπώρως ζῆν—ἄγευστοι γάρ εἰσι τοῦ παντρόφου γεύματος σοφίας,—οἱ δ' <ἐν> ταῖς εὐπαθείαις καὶ εὐφροσύναις λελήθασιν διάγοντες.
- 175 XXXI. οὕτω τοίνυν ἡ ποιά κάκωσις ὠφέλιμόν ἐστιν, ὥστε καὶ τὸ ταπεινώσασθαι αὐτῆς, ἢ δουλεία, μέγα ἀγαθὸν νενόμισται. καὶ ταύτην ἠϋξάτο τις ἐν ταῖς ἱεραῖς ἀναγραφαῖς πατὴρ υἱῶ, τῷ ἄφρονι Ἡσαῦ ὁ ἄριστος Ἰσαάκ. εἶπε γάρ πού·
- 176 “ἐπὶ μαχαίρα σου ζήσεις, καὶ τῷ ἀδελφῷ σου δουλεύσεις,” λυσιτελέστατον κρίνων τῷ πόλεμον ἀντ' εἰρήνης αἰρουμένῳ καὶ ὥσπερ ἐν μάχαις ὀπλοφοροῦντι διὰ τὴν ἐν τῇ ψυχῇ στάσιν καὶ ταραχὴν ὑπηκόῳ γενέσθαι καὶ δουλεῦσαι καὶ ἐπιτάγμασιν, ἅττ' ἂν ὁ σωφροσύνης ἐραστὴς
- 177 ἐπικελεύσῃ, πᾶσι πειθαρχεῖν. ἐνθένδε μοι δοκεῖ τις τῶν φοιτητῶν Μωυσέως, ὄνομα εἰρηνικός, ὃς πατρίῳ γλώττῃ Σαλομῶν καλεῖται, φάναι· “παιδείας θεοῦ, υἱέ, μὴ ὀλιγώρει, καὶ μὴ ἐκλύου ὑπ' αὐτοῦ ἐλεγχόμενος· ὃν γὰρ ἀγαπᾷ κύριος ἐλέγχει, μαστιγοῖ δὲ πάντα υἱὸν ὃν παραδέχεται.” οὕτως ἄρα ἡ ἐπίπληξις καὶ νουθεσία
- [545] καλὸν νενόμισται, | ὥστε δι' αὐτῆς ἢ πρὸς θεόν

^a Or “agreement,” “covenant,” words which describe the normal relation of God and Israel. Wendland, suspecting the word, conjectures ὁμολογείται συγγένεια γίνεσθαι.

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food which without the cares and pains of men came not from the earth in the common way, but was sent, a wonder and a marvel from heaven for the benefit of those who should use it—can we rightly speak of Him as the author of famine and affliction? Should we not on the contrary call Him the author of thriving and prosperity and secure and ordered living? But 174 the multitude, the common herd, who have never tasted of wisdom, the one true food of us all, think that those who feed on the divine words live in misery and suffering, and little know that their days are spent in continued well-being and gladness.

XXXI. Thus so profitable a thing is affliction of one 175 sort, that even its most humiliating form, slavery, is reckoned a great blessing. Such slavery we read of in the holy scriptures as invoked by a father on his son, by the most excellent Isaac on the foolish Esau. There is a place where he says, "Thou shalt live on 176 thy sword and shalt be a slave to thy brother" (Gen. xxvii. 40). He judges it most profitable for him who chooses war instead of peace, who by reason of his inward tumult and rebellion is armed as it were with the weapons of war, that he should become a subject and a slave and obey all the orders that the lover of self-control may impose. Therefore, I think, 177

did one of Moses' disciples, who is named a man of peace, which is in our ancestral tongue Solomon, say as follows: "My son, despise not the discipline of God, nor faint when thou art rebuked by Him, for whom the Lord loveth He rebukes and scourges every son whom He receiveth" (Prov. iii. 11, 12). So we see that reproaching and admonition are counted so excellent a thing, that they turn our acknowledgment of God into kinship with Him, for what relation

- ὁμολογία συγγένεια γίνεται. τί γὰρ οἰκειότερον
 178 υἱῷ πατρὸς ἢ υἱοῦ πατρί; ἀλλ' ἵνα μὴ
 λόγον ἐκ λόγου συνείροντες μηκύνειν δοκῶμεν,
 ἐναργεστάτην δίχα τῶν εἰρημένων πίστιν παρεξό-
 μεθα τοῦ τὴν ποιὰν κάκωσιν ἀρετῆς ἔργον εἶναι·
 νόμος γάρ ἐστι τοιοῦτος· “πᾶσαν χήραν καὶ
 ὀρφανὸν οὐ κακώσετε· ἐὰν δὲ κακίᾳ κακώσητε
 αὐτούς.” τί λέγει; ἄρ' ὑπὸ τινος ἔστιν ἄλλου
 κακοῦσθαι; εἰ γὰρ κακίας ἔργα μόνης αἰ κακώσεις,
 περιττὸν τὸ ὁμολογούμενον γράφειν, ὃ καὶ δίχα
 179 προσθήκης ἀνομολογηθήσεται. φήσῃ δὲ πάντως·
 οἶδα καὶ ὑπὸ ἀρετῆς ἐλεγχόμενον καὶ ὑπὸ φρονή-
 σεως παιδεύομενον. διόπερ οὐ πᾶσαν κάκωσιν ἐν
 αἰτία τίθεμαι, ἀλλὰ τὴν μὲν δικαιοσύνης καὶ
 νομοθετικῆς ἔργον οὖσαν—ἐπιπλήξει γὰρ σωφρονί-
 ζει—μάλιστα θαυμάζω, τὴν δὲ ἀφροσύνης καὶ
 κακίας, βλαβερὰν ὑπάρχουσαν, ἀποστρέφομαι καὶ
 κακίζω δεόντως.
- 180 “Ὅταν οὖν τὴν Ἀγαρ κακουμένην ὑπὸ Σάρρας
 ἀκούσης, μηδὲν τῶν ἐν ταῖς γυναικείαις ζηλο-
 τυπίαις εἰωθότων γίνεσθαι ὑπονοήσης· οὐ γὰρ περὶ
 γυναικῶν ἔστιν ὁ λόγος, ἀλλὰ διανοιῶν, τῆς μὲν
 γυμναζομένης ἐν τοῖς προπαιδεύμασι, τῆς δὲ τοὺς
 ἀρετῆς ἄθλους διαθλούσης.

^a The argument in these sections depends, as often, on Philo's failure to understand the well-known Hebrew idiom. Cf., e.g., his treatment of βρώσει φάγη (Gen. ii. 16) in *Leg. All.* i. 97 and of θανάτῳ ἀποθανείσθε of the same text in *Leg. All.* i. 105.

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can be closer than that of a father to a son, or a son to a father? But lest the series of argument following argument should seem tedious and prolix, I will add but one proof, and that the clearest, to those here given, to shew that affliction or ill-usage of a kind is a work of virtue.^a There is a law in the following terms: "Ye shall not evil-entreat any widow or orphan, but if ye evil-entreat them with evil^b" (Ex. xxii. 22). What does he mean? Is it that one can be evil-entreated by some other thing than evil? For if evil-treatments are the work of evil and nothing else, it is superfluous to add what is a matter of agreement and will be admitted even without any further words. No doubt he means to say, "I know that one 179 may be rebuked by virtue and disciplined by wisdom, and therefore I do not hold all afflicting or evil-entreating to be blameworthy." When it is the work of justice and the power of the law which chastens by reproof I am filled with admiration. When it is the work of folly and vice and therefore harmful, I turn away from it and call it by the evil names that are its due.

When, then, you hear of Hagar as afflicted or evil- 180 entreated by Sarah, do not suppose that you have here one of the usual accompaniments of women's jealousy. It is not women that are spoken of here; it is minds—on the one hand the mind which exercises itself in the preliminary learning, on the other, the mind which strives to win the palm of virtue and ceases not till it is won.

^a Or "evil-mindedness," and so throughout for *κακία*.