

DE PROVIDENTIA

(EUS. *PRAEP. EVANG.* VII. 21, 336 b—337 a)

- [625] Περὶ δὲ τοῦ ποσοῦ τῆς οὐσίας, εἰ δὴ γέγονεν ὄντως, ἐκείνο λεκτέον. ἐστοχάσατο πρὸς τὴν τοῦ κόσμου γένεσιν ὁ Θεὸς αὐταρκεστάτης ὕλης ὥς
- [626] μήτ' ἐνδέοι μήθ' ὑπερβάλλοι. καίγαρ | ἄτοπον ἦν τοῖς μὲν κατὰ μέρος τεχνίταις, ὅποτε τι δημιουργοῖεν, καὶ μάλιστα τῶν πολυτελῶν, τὸ ἐν ὕλαις αὐταρκες σταθμῆσασθαι, τὸν δ' ἀριθμούς καὶ μέτρα καὶ τὰς ἐν τούτοις ἰσότητας ἀνευρηκότα μὴ φροντίσαι τοῦ ἱκανοῦ. λέξω δὴ μετὰ παρρησίας, ὅτι οὗτ' ἐλάττωνος οὔτε πλείονος οὐσίας ἔδει τῷ κόσμῳ πρὸς κατασκευήν, ἐπεὶ οὐκ ἂν ἐγένετο τέλειος, οὐδ' ἐν πᾶσι τοῖς μέρεσιν ὁλόκληρος· εὖ δὲ δεδημιουργημένος ἐκ τελείας οὐσίας ἀπετελέσθη· πανσόφου γὰρ τὴν τέχνην ἴδιον, πρὶν ἄρξασθαι τινος κατασκευῆς, τὴν ἱκανὴν ἰδεῖν ὕλην. ἄνθρωπος μὲν οὖν καὶ ἐν τῶν ἄλλων τὴν ἐπιστήμην διαφέρει, μὴ δυνάμενος κατὰ τὸ παντελὲς ἐκφυγεῖν τὴν συγγενῇ τῶν θνητῶν πλάνην, ἀπατῶτο

^a The context of this fragment (Aucher, pp. 78-82) is as follows : Alexander has asked why, if God created the world, was just this amount of matter used and why just four elements taken. Philo, conceding for the sake of argument that matter may have been unoriginate, argues that this

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(FRAGMENT I)^a

As to the quantity of the substance assuming that it^b was really created what we have to say is this. God estimated for the creation of the world just sufficient matter that there should be neither deficiency nor excess. For it would be monstrous to suppose that while particular craftsmen when framing something, especially anything costly, estimate what material is just sufficient, He who invented numbers, measures and equality in them had no thought for what was adequate. I will say indeed with all confidence that the world needed neither less nor more substance for its construction, since otherwise it would not have been made perfect nor complete in all its parts, whereas actually it was made excellently out of a perfect substance. For it is a characteristic of a complete master of his art to see before he begins any constructive work that he has sufficient material. Now a man even if superior to everyone in knowledge may perhaps, as he cannot escape the errors congenital to mortals, be deceived as to the quantity of would not exclude the work of Providence in shaping it into the Cosmos.

^b Presumably the *οὐσία*. But I do not understand the clause, for the assumption on which he is arguing is that it was not created by God. See App. p. 541.

PHILO

ἂν ἴσως περὶ τὴν ποσότητα τῆς ὕλης, ὅποτε
 τεχνιτεύοι· τότε μὲν ὡς ἐλάττονι¹ προστιθέναι, τότε
 δὲ ὡς περιττῆς ἀφαιρεῖν· ὁ δὲ πηγὴ τις ὢν ἐπι-
 στημῶν, ἐνδέον ἢ περιττεῦον οὐδὲν ἔμελλεν ὑπο-
 βάλλεσθαι, μέτροις ἅτε χρώμενος εἰς ἀκρίβειαν
 337 ὑπερφυῶς πεπονημένοις ἅπασιν ἐπαινετοῖς. ὁ δὲ
 βουλόμενος ἄλλως ὑθλεῖν οὐκ ἂν φθάνοι καὶ τὰ
 πάντων ἔργα τῶν τεχνιτῶν ἀντία² τιθέμενος, ὡς
 ἄμεινον τῆς κατασκευῆς ἐπιλαχόντα προσθέσει
 τινὸς ἢ μειώσει τῶν ἐν ὕλαις, ἀλλὰ γὰρ σοφιστείας
 μὲν ἔργον εὐρεσιλογεῖν, σοφίας δὲ ἕκαστα διερευνᾶν
 τῶν ἐν τῇ φύσει.

¹ MSS. ἔλαττον εὐρεσιλογεῖν.

² So Viger, Heinichen and Gifford for MSS. αἷτια. I should myself prefer to retain αἷτια with Gaisford and Dindorf but insert ἂν after ἄμεινον=they are sure to bring it against the work of craftsmen as a whole that it might have been improved by using less or more, *i.e.* no human work uses an absolutely perfect amount of material and the same may be

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material needed when he practises his craft. He may sometimes find it too little and have to add, sometimes excessive and have to take away. But He who is as it were the fountain head of all knowledge was sure to provide nothing deficient or superfluous, since the standards which He employs are all to be extolled as elaborated with absolute accuracy. A person who wishes to waste his time in foolishness is sure ^a also to confront us at once with the works of all other craftsmen as having improved their construction by adding to or diminishing the material. But we leave futile argument for the sophist: the task of wisdom is to investigate all that nature has to show.

^a For this idiomatic use of οὐκ ἄν φθάνοι, to express an immediate or inevitable action, see lexicon.

true of the Cosmos. The Armenian seems to have read *αἴτια* ("cunctorum opera artificum accusabit"), though what follows seems widely different from the Greek.

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(EUS. PRAEP. EVANG. VIII. 14, 386—399)

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1

Κατασκευάζει δὲ τὸν λόγον τοῦτον τὸν τρόπον·

Πρόνοιαν εἶναι λέγεις ἐν τοσαύτῃ τῶν πραγμάτων ταραχῇ καὶ συγχύσει; τί γὰρ τῶν κατὰ τὸν ἀνθρώπινον βίον διατέτακται; τί μὲν οὖν οὐκ ἀταξίας γέμει καὶ φθορᾶς; ἢ μόνος ἀγνοεῖς, ὅτι τοῖς μὲν κακίοις καὶ πονηροτάτοις ἄφθονα ἐπικωμᾷζει τὰ ἀγαθὰ, πλοῦτος, εὐδοξία, τιμαὶ παρὰ τοῖς πλήθεσιν· ἡγεμονία πάλιν, ὑγεία, εὐαισθησία, κάλλος, ἰσχύς, ἀπόλαυσις ἡδονῶν ἀκώλυτος, διὰ τε παρασκευῶν περιουσίαν καὶ διὰ τὴν εἰρηνικωτάτην σώματος εὐμοιρίαν; οἱ δὲ φρονήσεως καὶ ἀρετῆς ἀπάσης ἐρασταί τε καὶ ἀσκηταὶ πάντες εἰσὶν, ὀλίγου δέω φάναι, πένητες, ἀφανεῖς, ἄδοξοι, ταπεινοί;

2 Ταῦτα εἰς ἀνασκευὴν καὶ μυρία ἄλλα πλείω τούτων εἰπὼν,

^a See Introduction, p. 448.

^b Alexander goes on to enlarge on all these injustices and to argue that they cannot be the work of a just providence. He then mentions specific cases, Polycrates and the elder Dionysius, both of which are later answered by Philo. He also says that the fall of the son of Dionysius is not to the point, for a just ruler does not punish the children for the guilt of the father (see § 55). He then speaks of the martyrdoms of Socrates, Zeno and Anaxarchus (*cf. Quod Omn. Prob.* 106 ff.). Philo in his reply does not deal with these.

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(FRAGMENT 2)

THIS is the method in which he conducts this discussion. ¹
Alexander says “:

“ Do you maintain the existence of providence amid this vast welter and confusion of things? For what part of human life is subject to order, nay, what is not brimful of disorder and corruption? Or are you alone ignorant that to the worst and vilest of men good things in abundance come crowding in, wealth, high repute, honours paid to them by the masses, again authority, health with efficiency of the senses, beauty, strength, unimpeded enjoyment of pleasures through the abundance of their resources and the bodily well-being free from all disturbance which they possess, while the lovers and practisers of wisdom and every virtue are almost universally poor, obscure, of little repute and in a humble position? ”

After stating these and a host of others ^b on the negative ²

In fact Alexander is represented as more or less answering himself. For he says of Zeno that by his endurance he earned high praise and of Anaxarchus that he could not really suffer affliction, “ *qui divinae partis dignus est factus.* ”

The first part of Philo's reply is not given by Eusebius. In it in answer to Alexander's assertion of the poverty of the just, he points out that Democritus and Anaxagoras voluntarily resigned their property (*cf. De Vit. Cont.* 14 and 15, where a somewhat different view of their conduct is taken).

PHILO

ἐξῆς ἐπιλύεται τὰς ἀντιθέσεις διὰ τούτων.

Οὐ τύραννος ὁ Θεός, ὡμότητα καὶ βίαν καὶ ὅσα
 [635] δεσπότης ἀνημέρου | ἀρχῆς ἔργα ἐπιτετηδευκώς,
 ἀλλὰ βασιλεὺς ἡμερον καὶ νόμιμον ἀνημμένος
 ἡγεμονίαν, μετὰ δικαιοσύνης τὸν σύμπαντα οὐρα-
 3 νόν τε καὶ κόσμον βραβεύει. βασιλεῖ δὲ οὐκ ἔστι
 πρόσρησις οἰκειότερα πατρός. ὁ γὰρ ἐν ταῖς
 συγγενείαις πρὸς τέκνα γονεῖς, τοῦτο βασιλεὺς μὲν
 πρὸς πόλιν, πρὸς δὲ κόσμον ὁ Θεός, δύο κάλλιστα
 φύσεως θεσμοῖς ἀκινήτοις ἀδιαλύτῳ ἐνώσει ἀρμοσά-
 4 μενος, τὸ ἡγεμονικὸν μετὰ τοῦ κηδεμονικοῦ.
 καθάπερ οὖν τῶν ἀσώτων υἱέων οὐ περιορῶσιν οἱ
 τοκέες, ἀλλὰ τῆς ἀτυχίας οἶκτον λαμβάνοντες
 περιέπουσι καὶ τημελοῦσι, νομίζοντες ἐχθρῶν
 ἀσπόνδων ἔργον εἶναι κακοπραγίαις ἐπεμβαίνειν,
 φίλων δὲ καὶ συγγενῶν ἐπελαφρίζειν τὰ πταίσματα.
 5 πολλάκις δὲ καὶ τούτοις μᾶλλον ἢ τοῖς σώφροσιν
 ἐπιδιδασκόμενοι χαρίζονται, σαφῶς εἰδότες, ὡς
 ἐκείνοις μὲν ἄφθονος εἰς εὐπορίαν ἀφορμὴ πάρεστιν
 ἢ σωφροσύνη, τοῖς δ' ἐλπίς μία οἱ γονεῖς, ἥς εἰ
 6 σφαλεῖν, ἀπορήσουσι καὶ τῶν ἀναγκαίων. τὸν
 αὐτὸν τρόπον καὶ ὁ Θεός, λογικῆς συνέσεως πατὴρ
 ὢν, ἀπάντων μὲν τῶν λογισμοῦ μεμοιραμένων
 387 κήδεται, προμηθεῖται δὲ καὶ τῶν ὑπαιτίως ζώντων,
 ἅμα μὲν καιρὸν εἰς ἐπανόρθωσιν αὐτοῖς διδούς,
 ἅμα δὲ καὶ τὴν ἵλεων φύσιν αὐτοῦ μὴ ὑπερβαίνων,

^a ἀνασκευή is the regular term for a destructive argument.
 Cf. Quintilian ii. 4. 18 "opus confirmandi destruendique eas
 (i.e. narrationes) quod κατασκευή et ἀνασκευή vocatur." κατα-
 σκευή (-άζω) can be used in a more general way as above.

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side ^a he next proceeds to refute the objections as follows.

God is not a tyrant who has made a practice of cruelty and violence and all the deeds committed by a despot who rules by ruthlessness, but a king invested with a kindly and law-abiding sovereignty who governs the whole heaven and earth with justice. Now for a king there is no fitter name than father, ³ for what the father in family life is to the children the king is to the state and God is to the world,^b—God who under the immutable laws of nature has joined in indissoluble union two things most excellent, governorship and guardianship. Now parents do ⁴ not lose thought for their wastrel children but, in pity for their unhappy state, bestow on them care and attention, deeming that it is only mortal enemies who take advantage of the miseries of others to trample on them, while friends and kinsmen should lighten their downfall.^c Often too they lavish their ⁵ kindness on the wastrels more than on the well behaved, knowing well that these have in their sober disposition a plentiful source of prosperity while the wastrels' one hope is in their parents, and if this fail them they will lack the very necessities of life. In the same way God too the Father of reasonable ⁶ intelligence has indeed all who are endowed with reason under His care but takes thought also for those who live a misspent life, thereby giving them time for reformation and also keeping within the bounds of His merciful nature, which has for its attendant

^b Eusebius at this point has omitted some words "and therefore in the greatest of poets, Homer, Zeus is called the father of gods and men."

^c On the line of thought taken in this section see App. p. 541.

ἥς ὁπαδὸς ἀρετὴ καὶ φιланθρωπία γέγονεν, ἐπαξία τὸν θεῖον περιπολεῖν κόσμον.

- 7 "Ἐνα μὲν δὴ λόγον τοῦτον, ὧ ψυχῇ,¹ δέξαι τέως αὐτοῦ παρακαταθήκην, ἕτερον δὲ συνωδὸν καὶ ἐναρμόνιον αὐτῷ τοιόνδε. μὴ τοσοῦτόν ποτε ψευσθείης τῆς ἀληθείας, ὥς εὐδαίμονά τινα τῶν φαύλων εἶναι νομίσαι, κἂν πλουσιώτερος μὲν ἢ Κροίσου, Λυγκέως δ' ὀξυωπέστερος, ἀνδρειότερος δὲ τοῦ Κροτωνιάτου Μίλωνος, καλλίων δὲ Γανυμήδους,

“ὃν καὶ ἀνηρεΐψαντο θεοὶ Διὶ οἰνοχοεῖν, κάλλεος εἵνεκα οἴο.”

- 8 τὸν γοῦν ἴδιον δαίμονα, λέγω δὲ τὸν ἑαυτοῦ νοῦν, μυρίων ὅσων δεσποτῶν δοῦλον ἀποφήνας, ἔρωτος, ἐπιθυμίας, ἡδονῆς, φόβου, λύπης, ἀφροσύνης, ἀκολασίας, δειλίας, ἀδικίας, οὐκ ἂν εἶναί ποτε δύναιτο εὐδαίμων, κἂν οἱ πολλοὶ σφαλλόμενοι κρίσεως ἀληθοῦς νομίζωσι, δεκασθέντες ὑπὸ κακοῦ διδύμου, τύφου καὶ κενῆς δόξης, δεινῶν παλεῦσαι καὶ παραγαγεῖν ἀνερματίστους ψυχάς, περὶ ᾧ
9 κηραίνει γένος τὸ πλεῖστον ἀνθρώπων. εἰ μέντοι

¹ The Armenian seems to have read *ψυχῇ* (“in animum accipe”), which certainly seems more appropriate to a dialogue. On the other hand such an address to the soul or mind in general is thoroughly Philonic, cf. *De Cher.* 29, *De Sac.* 20; and in these sections 6-18 he is so seriously pursuing one of his favourite doctrines that we may well believe him to have cast aside for a moment the thought of a dialogue.

^a Or perhaps “traverse,” i.e. leave no part unvisited, as

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virtue and loving kindness well fitted to keep watch as sentry ^a around God's world.

Here is one thought. Receive it, O soul, and ponder 7 it awhile as a trust committed to thee by Him, but receive also another in harmony and agreement with it. It is this. Mayst thou never be so led astray from the truth as to think that happiness is the lot of any of the wicked though he excel Croesus in wealth, Lynceus in keen sight, Milo of Croton in muscular strength and Ganymede in beauty,

He who was for his beauty by the gods
Caught up to be the cupbearer of Zeus.^b

Surely ^c if he has brought the ruler of his lot,^d that is 8 his mind, into slavery to a host of masters, love, lust, pleasure, fear, grief, folly, incontinence, cowardice, injustice, happiness can never be his lot, however much it seems so to the multitude led astray from true judgement, seduced by the twofold pest, vain pomps and vain imaginations which are so highly skilled to cajole and mislead unballasted souls and are the source of disaster ^e to most of the human race. If 9

God's scouts observing the needs of all. Hardly "pervade," as Gifford.

^b *Il.* xx. 234.

^c Philo's γούν can rarely be translated (as by Gifford here) by the traditional "at least." It generally serves to introduce an example or illustration and may be given by "thus." Here it introduces a definition of the φάυλος which shows his essential κακοδαιμονία.

^d For τὸν ἴδιον δαίμονα cf. τὸν οἰκείον δαίμονα *Flaccus* 168. The force of the adjective in both cases is to mark that δαίμων here indicates the genius or personified fate of the individual and not a demon or supernatural being in general. (So perhaps rather than as in note on p. 394.)

^e Or "of anxiety." On Philo's use of this phrase see App. p. 542.

- [636] τὸ τῆς ψυχῆς | ὄμμα τείνας βουληθείης περιαθρήσαι
 Θεοῦ πρόνοιαν, ὡς ἔνεστιν ἀνθρωπίνῳ λογισμῷ,
 τρανωτέραν τὴν τοῦ πρὸς ἀλήθειαν ἀγαθοῦ λαβὼν
 φαντασίαν, γελάσῃ τὰ παρ' ἡμῖν, ἃ τέως ἐθαύμαζες.
 αἰεὶ γὰρ ἀπουσία τῶν κρειττόνων τιμᾶται τὰ
 χείρονα, τὴν ἐκείνων κληρονομοῦντα τάξιν· ἐπι-
 φανέντων δὲ ὑποστέλλει, δευτερείοις ἄθλων ἀρκού-
 10 μενα. καταπλαγεῖς οὖν τὸ θεοειδὲς ἐκείνο ἀγαθόν
 τε καὶ καλόν, πάντως ἐννοήσεις, ὅτι παρὰ Θεῷ
 τῶν εἰρημένων πρότερον οὐδὲν καθ' ἑαυτὸ τῆς
 ἀγαθοῦ μοίρας ἡξίωται, διότι τὰ μὲν ἀργύρου
 μέταλλα καὶ χρυσοῦ γῆς ἐστὶ ἡ φαυλοτάτη μοῖρα,
 τῆς πρὸς καρπῶν ἀνειμένης γένεσιν ὄλῳ καὶ τῷ
 11 παντὶ λειπομένη. οὐ γὰρ ἐστ' ὅμοιον τροφῆς, ἥς
 ἄνευ ζῆν ἀδύνατον, εὐπορία¹ χρημάτων. μία τού-
 των ἐστὶ βάσανος ἐναργεστάτη λιμός, ᾧ τὸ πρὸς
 ἀλήθειαν ἀναγκαῖον καὶ χρήσιμον δοκιμάζεται·
 θησαυροὺς γὰρ τοὺς πανταχοῦ πάντας ἀντικα-
 τλάσσει· ἂν τις βραχείας ποτὲ τροφῆς ἄσμενος.
 12 ὅταν δὲ ἡ τῶν ἀναγκαίων ἀφθονία, μυρίῳ φορᾷς
 <καὶ> ἀκατασχέτῳ πλήθει ῥυεῖσα, κατὰ πόλεις
 ἀναχέηται, τοῖς τῆς φύσεως ἀγαθοῖς ἐντρυφῶντες,
 388 ἐπ' αὐτῶν μόνων οὐκ ἀξιοῦμεν ἵστασθαι, κόρον
 δ' ὑβριστὴν ἡγεμόνα τοῦ βίου ποιησάμενοι, ἀργύρου
 τε καὶ χρυσοῦ κτήσεσιν ἐπαποδύντες, ἅπασι, παρ'
 ὧν ἂν τι κερδαεῖν ἐπελπίσωμεν, κονιόμεθα

¹ Gifford following Mangey reads εὐπορία <καὶ> χρημάτων, believing that ὅμοιος cannot be followed by a genitive. But cf. *De Vit. Cont.* 41. If emendation is required rather τροφῇ, cf. the Armenian "non est similis cibo . . . opum possessio."

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indeed you would strain the soul's eyes to contemplate the providence of God as far as human reason can do so, you will gain a clearer vision of the true good and laugh to scorn what here are reckoned as goods which hitherto had your admiration. For in the absence of the better things worse are always held in honour and succeed to the position which belongs to the better, but when these return the worse withdraw and have to be content with the second prize. Then 10 awestruck at that divine revelation, so good and excellent, you will surely recognize that none of the things mentioned above ranks of itself in the sight of God as a good ; for mines of silver and gold are the most worthless portion of the earth, utterly and absolutely inferior to that which is given up to the production of fruit. For there is no likeness between 11 abundance of money, and the food without which we cannot live. The one clearest proof of this is famine, which tests what is truly necessary and useful. For anyone would gladly exchange all the treasures in the world for a little food. But when the lavish supply 12 of necessities spreads in a vast resistless flood from city to city we enjoy the luxury of these good gifts of nature but are not content to confine ourselves to them. We take insolent satiety ^a as our guide in life and prepare ourselves for the task of acquiring gold and silver, armed ^b with every means by which we may hope to get some gain, like blind men whose mind

^a Cf. *Flacc.* 91 and see note on *De Virt.* 162.

^b Both ἐπαποδύεσθαι and κοιέσθαι are favourite words of Philo (cf. *Flacc.* 128, *Hyp.* 11. 6 and *Flacc.* 104). When they occur together as here and in *Quod Det.* 32 and *De Abr.* 256 they presumably indicate the preliminary and the final stage in the preparation for any action, the stripping preceding the powdering.

- καθάπερ τυφλοί, μηκέτι τῇ διανοίᾳ βλέποντες ὑπὸ φιλαργυρίας ὅτι γῆς εἰσὶν ὄγκοι, περὶ ὧν ἐκ μὲν
- 13 εἰρήνης συνεχῆς καὶ ἀδιάστατος πόλεμος. ἐσθῆ-
 τές γε μὴν προβάτων εἰσὶν, ὥς οἱ ποιηταὶ που
 φασίν, ἄνθος, κατὰ δὲ τὴν δημιουργὸν τέχνην,
 ὑφαντῶν ἔπαινος. εἰ δέ τις ἐπὶ δόξῃ μέγα φρονεῖ,
 τὴν παρὰ τῶν φαύλων ἀποδοχὴν ἀσπαζόμενος,
 ἴστω μὲν καὶ αὐτὸς φαῦλος ὢν· τὸ γὰρ ὅμοιον
- 14 χαίρει τῷ ὁμοίῳ. εὐχέσθω δὲ καθαρσίῳν μετα-
 λαχὼν ἰαθῆναι τὰ ὦτα, δι' ὧν αἱ μεγάλαι ψυχῇ
 νόσοι κατασκήπτουσι. μαθέτωσαν δὲ καὶ ὅσοι ἐπ'
 εὐτονίᾳ πεφύσχηται μὴ ὑψαυχενεῖν, ἀπιδόντες εἰς
 τὰς τῶν ἡμέρων καὶ ἀτιθάσων ζώων ἀμυθήτους
 ἀγέλας, αἷς ἰσχύς καὶ ῥώμη συγγεγένηται. τῶν
 γὰρ ἀτοπωτάτων ἐστὶν ἐπὶ θηρίων ἀρεταῖς, καὶ
 ταῦτα παρενημερούμενον ὑπ' αὐτῶν, ἄνθρωπον
- 15 ὄντα σεμνύνεσθαι. διὰ τί δ' ἂν τις εὖ φρονῶν
 ἐπὶ σώματος εὐμορφίᾳ ἀγάλλοιτο, ἣν βραχύς
- [637] καιρὸς ἔσβησε, πρὶν ἐπὶ μήκιστον ἀνθήσαι, | τὴν
 ἀπατηλὴν αὐτῆς ἀκμὴν ἀμαυρώσας, καὶ ταῦθ'
 ὁρῶν ἐν ἀψύχοις περιμάχητα καλλιγράφων ἔργα
 καὶ πλαστῶν καὶ ἄλλων τεχνιτῶν, ἐν τε ζωγρα-
 φήμασι, καὶ ἀνδριάσι, καὶ ὑφασμάτων ποικιλίαις,
 ἐν Ἑλλάδι καὶ βαρβάρῳ κατὰ πόλιν ἐκάστην
- 16 εὐδοκιμοῦντα; τούτων οὖν, ὅπερ ἔφην, οὐδὲν
 παρὰ Θεῷ τῆς <τοῦ> ἀγαθοῦ μοίρας ἡξίωται. καὶ
 τί θαυμάζομεν εἰ μὴ παρὰ Θεῷ; οὐδὲ γὰρ παρὰ
 ἀνθρώποις τοῖς θεοφιλέσι, παρ' οἷς τὰ πρὸς
 ἀλήθειαν ἀγαθὰ καὶ καλὰ τετίμηται, φύσεως μὲν
 εὐμοίρου λαχοῦσι, μελέτῃ δὲ μετ' ἀσκήσεως τὴν
 φύσιν ἐπικοσμήσασιν, ὧν ἡ ἄνοθος φιλοσοφία

ON PROVIDENCE, 2. 12-16

through covetousness has lost the power to see that it is for lumps of earth that we forfeit peace and wage a constant and persistent war. As for clothes, they are 13 but what the poets call the flower of the sheep^a and on the craftsman's side a credit to the weavers. And if anyone prides himself on his prestige and welcomes with open arms the approval of the worthless he may be assured of his own worthlessness, for like delights in like. Let him pray to get purging medicine for 14 his ears, through which pass heavy maladies to strike the soul. And all who puff themselves up on their bodily strength must learn not to be proud necked but turn their eyes to the myriad kinds of animals tame and wild, in which bodily strength and muscle are congenital. It is a monstrous absurdity for a human being to pride himself on excellencies which belong to savage beasts when actually he is outdone in these by them. And why should anyone of good 15 sense glory in bodily beauty which ere it has flowered for its full span is brought to extinction by a brief season which dims the brightness of its delusive prime?—particularly when he sees exhibited in lifeless forms the much prized work of painters, sculptors and other artists, in portraits, statues and cunning tapestry work, works which are famous in every city throughout Greece and the outside world. None of these as 16 I have said is ranked in God's sight as a good. And why should we wonder that God does not accept them as goods?—since neither do godly men accept them, who honour things truly good and excellent, men who have been blest with a gifted nature and by study and exercise have further beautified that nature, men who have been made what they are by genuine

^a Cf. *Il.* xiii. 599 and elsewhere *οἶος ἄνθρωπος*.

17 δημιουργός. ὅσοι δὲ νόθου παιδείας ἐπεμελήθησαν, οὐδὲ τοὺς ἰατροὺς ἐμμήσαντο τὸ δοῦλον ψυχῆς σῶμα θεραπεύοντας, οἱ τὴν δέσποιναν ἐπιφάσκοντες ἰᾶσθαι. ἐκεῖνοι μὲν γάρ, ἐπειδάν τις εὐτυχῆς νοσήσῃ, καὶ ὁ μέγας ἢ βασιλεὺς, πάνθ' ὑπερβάντες τὰ περίστωα, τοὺς ἀνδρῶνας, τὰς γυναικωνίτιδας, γραφάς, ἄργυρον, χρυσόν, 389 ἄσημον, ἐπίσημον, ἐκπωμάτων ἢ ὑφασμάτων πλήθος, τὸν ἄλλον τῶν βασιλέων αἰοίδιμον κόσμον, ἔτι δὲ τὸν οἰκετικὸν ὄχλον, καὶ τὴν φίλων ἢ συγγενῶν, ὑπηκόων τῶν ἐν τέλει θεραπείαν ἑάσαντες,¹ [τῶν σωματοφυλάκων],² ἄχρι τῆς εὐνῆς ἀφικόμενοι, καὶ τῶν περὶ αὐτὸ τὸ σῶμα ἀλογήσαντες, οὗθ' ὅτι κλίνει λιθοκόλλητοι καὶ ὀλόχρυσοι θαυμάσαντες, οὗθ' ὅτι ἀραχνοῦφείς ἢ λίθῳ γεγραφημέναι³ στρωμαί, οὗθ' ὅτι ἐσθημάτων ἰδέαι διάφοροι, προσέτι δὲ τὰς περὶ αὐτὸν χλαίνας ἀπαμφιάσαντες,

¹ mss. ἄξαντες, which Gaisford and Dindorf retain. See App. p. 542.

² The sentence cannot stand as it is, but I doubt whether Gifford and others are right in regarding τῶν σωμ. as a gloss. The picture seems to have passed from τις εὐτυχῆς to the Great King, and that beside the friends and courtiers he should have bodyguards round his bed is natural enough. I should prefer to read <διὰ> τῶν σωμ. The Armenian is translated by "per custodes corporis." Also perhaps καὶ should be inserted after συγγενῶν.

³ The phrase, for which some mss. have λιθογραφημέναι, is justly suspected both because of λιθοκόλλητοι just above and because jewels do not fit well with bedding or with γράφω or γραφέω. Mangey, who asks "why not λίνον for λίθος?", goes on to suggest λινορραφεῖς or λινορραφούμεναι (so Dindorf). But is there any serious objection to the formation of 468

philosophy.^a But those whose study has 17
 been in a spurious culture do not even follow the
 example of the physicians who treat the body which
 is the servitor of the soul, though they claim to be
 healing the mistress. For those physicians of the
 body, when a man favoured by fortune is sick, even
 though he be the Great King himself, take no notice
 of the colonnades, of the men's apartments, of the
 ladies' bowers, of the pictures, of the silver and gold
 whether coined or uncoined, of the accumulation of
 goblets or tapestry work and the rest of the mag-
 nificence which adorns kingship. They care not for
 the multitude of serving men or the friends or kins-
 men or subjects in high positions who are in attend-
 ance,^b but make their way to his bed and taking no
 account of the surroundings of the body itself nor
 noting with admiration that the beds are inlaid with
 jewels and of pure gold and that the bedding is of
 spider-web silk or brocaded, or the coverlets^c of differ-
 ent kinds of beauty, they go farther and strip the wrap-

^a Or perhaps better "which (*i.e.* μελέτη and ἄσκησις) are produced by genuine philosophy," though philosophy cannot properly be said to create the study. But *cf.* *Quod Omn. Prob.* 160.

^b Or possibly ὄχλον may be governed by ὑπερβάντες and θεραπείαν ἐάσαντες = "omitting to pay their respects" (to the great people). This would emphasize the antithesis between these physicians and the false physicians of the soul who render homage (προσεκύνουν) to the courtiers (see § 19).

^c Or "his clothes," and χλαίνας "blankets" (so Gifford).

λινογραφέω? That it is not known from elsewhere matters little in Philo. The meaning will be the same as that of ἀνθοβαφεῖς *De Vit. Cont.* 49. Wendland suggests ἡνθογραφημέναι, *cf.* *De Op.* 138. The Armenian has "lapillis descriptum."

ἄπτονται χειρῶν, καὶ τὰς φλέβας προσπιεζοῦντες ἀκριβοῦσι τοὺς παλμούς, εἰ σωτήριοι· πολλάκις δὲ καὶ τοὺς χιτωνίσκους ἀναστείλαντες, εἰ περιπληθὴς ἐσθ' ἡ γαστήρ ἐξετάζουσιν· εἰ πεπυρωμένος ὁ θώραξ, εἰ ἄτακτα ἡ καρδία πηδᾷ· κᾷπειτα τὴν οἰκείαν προσφέρουσι θεραπείαν.

- 18 ἔδει δὲ καὶ τοὺς φιλοσόφους ἱατρικὴν ὁμολογοῦντας ἐπιτηδεύειν τῆς φύσει βασιλίδος ψυχῆς, καταφρονεῖν μὲν ἀπάντων ὅσα αἱ κεναὶ δόξαι τυφοπλαστοῦσιν, εἴσω δὲ προσιόντας ἄπτεσθαι διανοίας αὐτῆς, εἰ ὑπ' ὀργῆς ἀνισοταχεῖς καὶ παρὰ φύσιν κεκινημένοι παλμοί, ἄπτεσθαι καὶ γλώττης, εἰ [638] τραχεῖα καὶ | κακῆγορος, εἰ πεπορνευκυῖα καὶ ἀταμίεντος, ἄπτεσθαι καὶ γαστρός, εἰ ἀπλήστω σχήματι¹ ἐπιθυμίας διώδηκε· καὶ συνόλως παθῶν καὶ νοσημάτων καὶ ἀρρωστημάτων, εἰ κεκρᾶσθαι δοκεῖ, διερευνᾶν ἕκαστον, ἵνα μὴ διαμαρτάνωσι
- 19 τῶν προσφόρων εἰς τὸ σώζειν. νυνὶ δὲ ὑπὸ τῆς τῶν ἔξω περιανγασθέντες λαμπρότητος, ἅτε νοητὸν φῶς ἰδεῖν ἀδυνατοῦντες, πλαζόμενοι διετέλεσαν εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα, πρὸς μὲν τὸν βασιλέα λογισμὸν φθάσαι μὴ δυνηθέντες, ἄχρι δὲ τῶν προπυλαίων μόλις ἀφικνούμενοι, καὶ τοὺς ἐπὶ θύραις ἀρετῆς, πλοῦτόν τε καὶ δόξαν καὶ ὑγείαν καὶ τὰ συγγενή

¹ See note *a*. Mangey suggested *φυσήματι* or *ρέυματι*. But I should like to read *ἀπλήστω θρέμματι ἐπιθυμία*, cf. *De Vit. Cont.* 74, *Spec. Leg.* i. 148, iv. 94. The regular association of this Platonic phrase with the belly makes it very suitable here. I do not know that the change of letters involved is very promising, but it is a remarkable coincidence that in *De Mut.* 105 the mss. have *σχημάτων*, which has been with general acceptance corrected to *θρεμμάτων*. But see App. p. 543.

ON PROVIDENCE, 2. 17-19

pings off him and take hold of his hands and squeezing the veins mark carefully the pulsations to see whether they are healthy. And often they draw up the under-vest and make an examination to see whether the belly is over-loaded or the chest inflamed, or the heart-beats irregular, and then they apply the appropriate treatment.

So too the philosophers who 18 profess to practise the art of healing that queen of Nature's making, the soul, should despise all the vain inventions of idle opinion, and passing within take hold of the mind itself, to see whether anger makes its pulsations run at an irregular rate and with unnatural excitement: so too with the tongue to see whether it is rough and evil speaking or bawdy and licentious: so too the belly to see whether it is swollen by an insatiable form of lust^a; and in general if there appear to be a complication of passions, distempers and infirmities to investigate each of them so as not to miss anything which may serve to restore it to health. As it is, dazzled by the brilliance 19 of external things, because they are unable to see the spiritual light, they have continued to wander for ever, never able to reach King Reason, only just managing to make their way to his portal where, struck with admiration for those who wait at virtue's doorstep, riches, reputation, health and their kin, they

^a Namely gluttony. So rather than as Gifford "*some insatiable form.*" As Philo has dealt with the particular vices of which the tongue is the instrument, so now with the belly. Possibly *λαίμαργία* or its equivalent has fallen out. But *σχήματι* itself is open to suspicion. Philo does not seem to use it=form in the sense of "kind." When it is not used in a literal or geometrical way, it="guise" or "appearance," whether external as *De Vit. Cont.* 30 or moral as in *Flacc.* 126. For possible corrections see note 1.

- 20 τεθραυμακότες, προσεκύνουν. ἀλλὰ γὰρ ὡς ὑπερβολὴ μανίας χρωμάτων κριταῖς χρῆσθαι τυφλοῖς, ἢ κωφοῖς τῶν κατὰ μουσικὴν φθόγγων, οὕτω καὶ φαύλοις ἀνδράσι τῶν πρὸς ἀλήθειαν ἀγαθῶν. καὶ γὰρ οὗτοι τὸ κυριώτατον τῶν ἐν αὐτοῖς διάνοιαν πεπῆρωνται, ἥς βαθὺ σκότος ἀφροσύνη κατέχεεν.
- 21 εἶτα νῦν θαυμάζομεν, εἰ Σωκράτης
390 καὶ ὁ δεῖνα ἢ ὁ δεῖνα τῶν σπουδαίων ἐν πενίᾳ διετέλεσαν, ἄνθρωποι μὴδὲν πώποτε τῶν εἰς πορισμὸν ἐπιτηδεύσαντες, ἀλλὰ μὴδ' ὅσα ἢ παρὰ φίλων πολυχρημάτων ἢ παρὰ βασιλέων δωρεὰς μεγάλας προτεινόντων [παρῆν]¹ λαβεῖν ἀξιώσαντες, ἔνεκα τοῦ μόνον ἀγαθὸν καὶ καλὸν τὴν τῆς ἀρετῆς κτῆσιν ἡγεῖσθαι, περὶ ἣν πονούμενοι τῶν ἄλλων
- 22 ἀγαθῶν πάντων ἡλόγουν; τίς δ' οὐκ ἂν ἀλογῆσαι νόθων ἔνεκα προνοίας τῶν γνησίων; εἰ δὲ σώματος θνητοῦ μεταλαχόντες, καὶ κηρῶν γέμοντες ἀνθρωπίνων, καὶ μετὰ τοσούτου πλήθους ἀδίκων ζῶντες, ὧν οὐδ' ἀριθμὸν εὑρεῖν εὐπορον, ἐπεβουλεύθησαν, τί τὴν φύσιν αἰτιώμεθα, δέον τὴν τῶν
- 23 ἐπιθεμένων κακίζειν ὁμότητα; καὶ γὰρ εἰ ἐν ἀέρι γεγένητο λοιμικῶ, πάντως ὥφειλον νοσῆσαι· καταστάσεως δὲ λοιμικῆς μᾶλλον, ἢ οὐχ ἥττον, φθοροποιός ἐστιν ἢ κακία. ὥς δ' ὁπόταν ὑετοῦ μὲν ὄντος, ἀνάγκη τὸν σοφόν, εἰ ἐν ὑπαίθρῳ διάγοι, καταβρέχεσθαι, Βορέου δὲ ψυχροῦ καταπνέοντος ῥίγει πιέζεσθαι καὶ ψυχεῖ, θέρους δ' ἀκμάζοντος ἀλεαίνεσθαι (ταῖς γὰρ ἐτησίοις τροπαῖς τὰ σώματα

¹ παρῆν is bracketed by most editors, including Dindorf; Gifford's Apparatus Criticus indicates that it is omitted by most if not all mss. If retained as by Mangey translate "all that they might have received."

ON PROVIDENCE, 2. 20-23

rendered homage to them.^a But to take the judgment of the bad as to what is truly good is as grossly insane as to take that of the blind on colours or the deaf on musical sounds. For the bad have lost the use of their most dominant part, their mind, over which folly has shed profound darkness.

Can we then still wonder that Socrates^b and any virtuous person you like to name have continued to live a life of poverty, never having practised any method of gaining wealth, refusing indeed to take anything from wealthy friends or kings who offered them great gifts, because they considered that there is nothing good or excellent save acquiring virtue, for which they laboured neglecting all the other goods? And who with the thought of the genuine before them would not disregard the spurious for its sake? But if possessed of a mortal body and brimful of the plagues which beset mankind and living amid the unjust, a multitude so great that it cannot even be easily counted, they become the victims of malice, why do we accuse Nature when we should reproach the cruelty of their assailants? For if they had been living in a pestilential atmosphere they would have been bound to take the disease, and vice is more or at least no less destructive than pestilential surroundings. And as the wise man must needs get drenched if he stays in the open air when it is raining or suffer from the rigour of the cold when the north wind's blast is chilly, or get heated in the summer, since it is a law of nature that our bodily feelings correspond

^a *i.e.* as courtiers in attendance (see examples in lexicon) rather than gate-keepers.

^b Perhaps in allusion to Alexander's remark (Aucher, p. 50), though there it is the unjust condemnation, not the poverty of Socrates, which is cited.

συμπάσχειν νόμος φύσεως), τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον τὸν ἐν τοῖς τοιούτοις χωρίοις ἐνοικοῦντα,

“ ἔνθα φόνοι λιμοὶ τε¹ καὶ ἄλλων ἔθνεα κηρῶν,”

ἐναλλάττεσθαι τὰς ἀπὸ τῶν τοιούτων τιμὰς ἀναγκαῖον.²

- 24 Ἐπεὶ Πολυκράτει γε, ἐφ’ οἷς δεινοῖς ἡδίκησε
[639] καὶ ἡσέβησε, χορηγὸς ἀπήντησε, χείρων | μὲν ἢ τοῦ
βίου βαρυδαιμονία· πρόσθε δ’ ὥς ὑπὸ μεγάλου
βασιλέως ἐκολάζετο, καὶ προσηλοῦτο, χρησμὸν
ἐκπιπλᾶς. Οἶδα, ἔφη, κάμαντον οὐ πρό πολλοῦ
θεωρῆσαι³ δόξαντα ὑπὸ μὲν ἡλίου ἀλείφεσθαι,
λούεσθαι δ’ ὑπὸ Διός. αἱ γὰρ διὰ συμβόλων
αἰνιγματώδεις αὐταὶ φάσεις, ἀδηλούμεναι τὸ πάλαι,
τὴν διὰ τῶν ἔργων ἀριδηλοτάτην ἐλάμβανον
25 πίστιν. οὐκ ἐπὶ τελευτῇ δὲ μόνον, ἀλλὰ παρὰ
πάντα τὸν ἐξ ἀρχῆς βίον, ἐλελήθει πρὸ τοῦ σώ-
ματος τὴν ψυχὴν κρεμάμενος. αἰεὶ γὰρ φοβού-
μενος καὶ τρέμων τὸ πλῆθος τῶν ἐπιτιθεμένων
ἐπτόητο, σαφῶς ἐξεπιστάμενος ὅτι εὖνους μὲν ἦν
οὐδεὶς, ἐχθροὶ δὲ πάντες δυσπραξία ἀμείλικτοι.

¹ MSS. φόνοι τελοῦνται καὶ, which Gaisford and Dindorf retain.

² Eusebius here has missed out a sentence which is given by Aucher (p. 63) thus: “nullatenus ergo decet eos felices putare, qui paulo ante memorati sunt, etsi fortuna iuvare eos videatur.” This explains the ἐπεὶ . . . γε which begins the next sentence.

³ Dindorf ἡωρήσθαι. See App. p. 543.

^a Quoted from Empedocles, though the line runs φόνος τε κόστος τε. See App. p. 543.

^b χείρων may possibly mean that the punishment was worse than the offence, but the addition of μὲν followed by πρόσθε δὲ suggests that the βίου βαρυδαιμονία was worse than the impalement, and this is brought out in what follows.

ON PROVIDENCE, 2. 23-25

to the annual changes of the season, so also he who lives in places

Where murder 's rife and famine too and tribes of other ills ^a
must submit to the penalties which they successively impose.

For as for Polycrates, in requital for his terrible acts ²⁴
of injustice and impiety he encountered his rewarder in the shape of lifelong misery. Add to this a lesser ill,^b that he was punished by the Great King and impaled, thus fulfilling an oracle. "I know," he said, "that I saw myself not long ago anointed as it seemed by the sun and washed by Zeus."^c For the riddle thus symbolically stated, though at first obscure, received very clear attestation from what actually occurred. But it was not only at the end but through ²⁵
all his life from the first that his soul, though he knew it not, was in the same suspense which later befell his body.^d For he lived in perpetual fear and trembling, scared by the multitude of his assailants and knowing well that none was friendly to him, but all had been turned by their misery into implacable enemies.

^e I have translated the sentence as punctuated in the editions, but I see no point in the *οἶδα* or *καί* in *κάμαντόν*. I should prefer to punctuate the sentence, *χρησμὸν ἐκπιπλᾶς οἶδα, ἔφη, κάμαντόν, κτλ.* and translate: "I recognize that I have fulfilled an oracle, and that it was myself that I saw who appeared to be anointed," etc., *i.e.* he dreamt that he saw somebody being anointed, etc., but did not recognize that it was himself. This is I think quite in accordance with the phenomena of dreams. In any case the story differs from Her. iii. 124, where it is the daughter of Polycrates who sees the dream. On the Armenian version see App. p. 543.

^d Or "even more than in his body." Cf. the same phrase in § 56, where order in value rather than in time seems to be indicated. And so also, I think, in *Flacc.* 2.

26 Τῆς δὲ ἀνηνύτου καὶ συνεχοῦς¹ εὐλαβείας μάρτυρες
 391 οἱ τὰ Σικελικὰ συγγράψαντες, οἳ φασιν, ὅτι καὶ
 τὴν θυμηρεστάτην ὑποπτον εἶχε γυναῖκα. σημεῖον
 δέ· τὴν εἰς τὸ δωμάτιον εἴσοδον, δι' ἧς φοιτήσῃ
 ἔμελλεν ὡς αὐτόν, ἐκέλευσε στορεσθῆναι σανίσιν,
 ἵνα μὴ λάθῃ ποτὲ παρεισερπύσασα, ψόφῳ δὲ καὶ
 κτύπῳ τῆς ἐπιβάσεως προμηνύῃ τὴν ἀφίξιν· εἰτ'
 οὐκ ἀνείμονα μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ πᾶσι τοῖς μέρεσι
 γυμνήν, ἃ μὴ θέμις ὑπ' ἀνδρῶν ὁρᾶσθαι, παρ-
 ἔρχεσθαι· πρὸς δὲ τούτοις, τὸ συνεχές τοῦ κατὰ
 τὴν ὁδὸν ἐδάφους εἰς τάφρου γεωργικῆς εὗρος καὶ
 βάθους διακοπῆναι, κατὰ δέος μὴ τι πρὸς ἐπιβουλήν
 ἀφανῶς ἐπικρύπτηται, ὅπερ ἢ ἄλμασιν ἢ μακραῖς
 27 διαβάσεσιν ἔμελλε διελέγχεσθαι. πόσων ἄρα κακῶν
 ὁ ταῦτα παρατηρῶν καὶ τεχνάζων ἐπὶ γυναικός,
 ἢ πρὸ τῶν ἄλλων ὥφειλε πιστεύειν, μεστὸς ἦν;
 ἀλλὰ γὰρ ἐώκει τοῖς δι' ἀπορρώγος ὄρους ἐπὶ τῷ
 τὰς ἐν οὐρανῷ φύσεις ἀριδηλοτέρας κατανοῆσαι
 κρημνοβατοῦσιν, οἳ μόλις φθάνοντες ἄχρι προ-
 νενευκότος αὐχένος, οὐτ' ἄνω χωρεῖν² ἔτι δύνανται,
 πρὸς τὸ λειπόμενον ὕψος ἀπειρηκότες, οὔτε κατα-
 βαίνειν θαρροῦσι, πρὸς τὴν ὄψιν τῶν χασμάτων
 28 ἰλιγγιῶντες. ἐρασθεῖς γάρ, ὡς θείου πράγματος
 καὶ περιμαχήτου, τυραννίδος, οὔτε μένειν οὔτε
 ἀποδιδράσκειν ἀσφαλές εἶναι ὑπελάμβανε. μένοντι

¹ It seems quite necessary to insert here Διονυσίου, though no ms. nor the Armenian translation has it.

² MSS. ἀναχωρεῖν.

^a Or "anxiety," so rather than "caution," though the noun usually carries a favourable sense in Philo as in other writers. Philo however sometimes uses the verb in a more general sense, e.g. *Flacc.* 145.

^b The same story is told of Dionysius in Cic. *Tusc. Disp.*

ON PROVIDENCE, 2. 26-28

The endless and continual fear^a shown by Dionysius 26 is attested by the historians of Sicily, who tell us that he suspected even his dearly beloved wife.^b This is proved by his ordering that the entrance to the chamber through which she had to pass to join him should be covered with boards so that she should never creep in unawares but should give notice of her arrival by the creaking and rattling made by her stepping on them. Also she had to come not merely undressed^c but with the parts naked which it is indecent for men to see. Further he had the continuous line of the floor along the passage broken by a gap as deep and broad as a ditch in the farmland, so that if, as he dreaded, some secret attempt to do him a mischief were made in the darkness it would be detected by the visitors jumping or striding across the gap. How vast a burden of ills was his who 27 watched so craftily over the wife whom he was bound to trust above all others. Indeed he resembled the climbers who scale a precipitous mountain to get a clearer view of the heavenly bodies,^d and when they manage with difficulty to reach some outstanding cliff cannot go any higher because their heart fails them before the height which still remains, nor have they courage to descend as their heads swim at the sight of the yawning chasms below. For enamoured 28 as he was of tyranny as something divine and much to be coveted he did not consider it safe either to stay as he was or to flee. If he stayed he was sure

v. 59, though there Dionysius has two wives treated thus. So also the story of Damocles, *ibid.* 61 f. ^c See App. p. 544.

^d Or more accurately "heavenly beings"—a common phrase for the stars conceived of as alive. Cf. *e.g.* *Quod Det.* 88, and the description of sun and moon as *θεῖαι φύσεις* below, § 50, also *De Aet.* 47.

μὲν γὰρ ἀλλεπάλληλα ἐπέρρει κακὰ ἀμύθητα·
 βουλομένῳ δ' ἀποδιδράσκειν ὁ περὶ τοῦ ζῆν ἐπ-
 [640] ἐκρέματο κίνδυνος, ὠπλισμένων, | εἰ καὶ μὴ τοῖς
 σώμασιν, ἀλλὰ τοι ταῖς διανοαῖς κατ' αὐτοῦ.

- 29 δηλοῖ δὲ καὶ τὸ ἔργον, ᾧ πρὸς τὸν
 μακαρίζοντα τὸν τῶν τυράννων βίον φασὶ χρή-
 σασθαι Διονύσιον. καλέσας γὰρ αὐτὸν ἐπὶ λαμπρο-
 τάτου καὶ πολυτελεστάτου δείπνου παρασκευήν,
 ἐκ μηρίνου πάνυ λεπτῆς προσέταξεν ἡκονημένον
 ὑπεραιωρηθῆναι πέλεκυν. ἐπεὶ δὲ κατακλιθεὶς
 εἶδεν αἰφνίδιον, οὐτ' ἐξαναστήναι θαρρῶν διὰ τὸν
 τύραννον, οὐτ' ἀπολαῦσαί τινος τῶν παρεσκευα-
 σμένων διὰ δέος οἷός τε ὦν, ἀφθόνων καὶ πλουσίων
 ἀλογήσας ἡδονῶν, ἀνατείνας τὸν αὐχένα καὶ τὰς
 30 ὄψεις ἐκαρადόκει τὸν οἰκεῖον ὄλεθρον. συνεῖς δ'
 ὁ Διονύσιος, Ἄρ' ἤδη κατανοεῖς, ἔφη, τὸν αἰοίδιμον
 καὶ περιμάχητον ἡμῶν βίον; ἔστι γὰρ τοιοῦτος,
 εἰ μὴ βούλοιτό τις ἑαυτὸν φενακίζειν, ἐπειδὴ
 περιέχει παμπληθεῖς μὲν χορηγίας, ἀπόλαυσιν δ'
 392 οὐδενὸς χρηστοῦ· φόβους δ' ἐπαλλήλους, καὶ
 κινδύνους ἀνηκέστους, καὶ νόσον ἐρπηνώδους καὶ
 φθινάδος χαλεπωτέραν, ἀθεράπευτον αἰεὶ φέρουσιν
 31 ὄλεθρον. οἱ δὲ πολλοὶ τῶν ἀνεξετάστων ὑπὸ τῆς
 λαμπρᾶς φανερότητος ἀπατώμενοι, ταῦτόν πε-
 πόνθασι τοῖς ἀγκιστρευομένοις ὑπὸ τῶν εἰδεχθῶν
 ἑταιρίδων, ἃ τὴν δυσμορφίαν ἐσθῆτι καὶ χρυσῷ
 καὶ ταῖς τῆς ὀψεως ὑπογραφαῖς ἐπισκιάζοντα,
 γνησίου κάλλους ἀπορία, νόθον ἐπ' ἐνέδρα τῶν

“ Or “ by painting under (i.e. pencilling) their eyes,” and probably this is what is intended here. But strictly speaking the singular ὄψιν, which Philo also uses, *Leg. All.* iii. 62,

ON PROVIDENCE, 2. 28-31

to meet a torrent of innumerable evils in constant succession. If he wanted to flee, his life was menaced by danger from those whose minds at least if not their bodies were armed against him. Another 29

proof is the way in which he is said to have treated a person who asserted the felicity of the tyrant's life. Having invited him to a dinner which had been provided on a very magnificent and costly scale he ordered a sharp-edged axe to be suspended over him by a very slender thread. When after taking his place on the couch the guest suddenly saw this, he had neither the courage in the tyrant's presence to rise and remove himself nor the power in his terror to enjoy the dishes provided, and so regardless of the abundance and wealth of the pleasures before him, he lay with neck and eye strained upwards, expecting his own destruction. Dionysius perceived this and 30 said: "Do you now understand what this glorious and much coveted life of ours really is?" This is the sort of thing it is in the eyes of anyone who does not wish to deceive himself. For it includes wealth supplied in full abundance but not the enjoyment of anything worth having, only terrors in constant succession, dangers unescapable, a malady more grievous than the creeping and wasting sickness, bringing with it destruction that knows no remedy. But the 31 thoughtless multitude deluded by the brilliant outward appearance are in the same condition as men ensnared by unsightly courtesans who disguise their ugliness with fine raiment and gold and the paint upon their faces,^a and so for lack of the genuine beauty

De Sac. 21, *De Fug.* 153, must mean "face." Cf. also of the male prostitutes *Spec. Leg.* iii. 37 τὰς ὄψεις τριβόμενοι καὶ ὑπογραφόμενοι.

32 θεωμένων δημιουργεῖ. τοιαύτης γέμουσι βαρυνδαιμονίας οἱ λίαν εὐτυχεῖς, ἥς τὰς ὑπερβολὰς αὐτοὶ δικάσαντες παρ' ἑαυτοῖς οὐ στέγουσιν, ἀλλ' ὥσπερ οἱ τὰ ἄρρωστήματα¹ ὑπ' ἀνάγκης ἐκλαλοῦντες, ἀφιασι τὰς ἐκ πάθους ἀψευδεστάτας φωνάς, ἐπὶ συνουσίᾳ τιμωριῶν καὶ παρουσῶν καὶ προσδοκωμένων ζῶντες, καθάπερ τῶν θρεμμάτων τὰ πρὸς ἱεουργίαν παινόμενα. καὶ γὰρ ταῦτα τῆς πλείστης ἐπιμελείας ἐπὶ τῷ σφαγῆναι τυγχάνει διὰ πολύκρεων εὐωχίαν.

33 Εἰσὶ δ' οἱ καὶ περὶ χρημάτων² ἀσεβῶν οὐκ ἀδήλους ἀλλὰ φανεράς ἔδοσαν δίκας, ὧν τὰ πλήθη καταλέγεσθαι περιττὸς πόνος, ἀπόχρη δ' ἐν ἔργον παράδειγμα πάντων ἐστάναι. λέγεται τοίνυν ὑπὸ τῶν ἀναγεγραφότων τὸν ἱερὸν πόλεμον³ ἐν Φωκίδι, νόμον κειμένου τὸν ἱερόσυλον κατακρημνίζεσθαι ἢ καταποντοῦσθαι ἢ καταπίμπρασθαι, τρεῖς συλήσαντας τὸ ἐν Δελφοῖς ἱερὸν, Φιλόμηλον καὶ Ὀνόμαρχον καὶ Φάυλλον, διανείμασθαι τὰς τιμωρίας. τὸν μὲν γὰρ διὰ λόφου τραχέος καὶ λιθώδους ῥαγείσης πέτρας κατακρημνισθῆναί τε

¹ Or ἄρρητα, which is read by one good ms. and is adopted by Mangey and Dindorf. It was also read by the Armenian (Aucher, p. 67) "sicut illi, qui arcana quae silere vellent, tamen coacti tormentis exponunt," and gives a more natural sense.

² The Armenian (Aucher, p. 67) "sunt qui *illico* impietatis non occultas sed potius manifestas poenas luant" evidently reads παραχρῆμα τῶν ἀσεβῶν, which Wendland believes to be the true reading. And though "for impious gains" suits the examples which follow quite well, the form is rather strange, and the next paragraph suggests that the im-

ON PROVIDENCE, 2. 31-33

create the spurious to entrap those who behold them. Such is the misery which fills to the brim the life of 32 those greatly favoured by fortune, misery whose extent measured by the judgement of their own hearts is more than they can contain, and like those who are forced to proclaim their maladies^a they utter words of absolute sincerity wrung from them by their sufferings. Surrounded by punishments present and expected they live like beasts who are fattened for a sacrifice, for such receive the most careful attention to prepare them for the slaughter, because of the rich feast of flesh which they supply.

There are some who have been punished not 33 obscurely but conspicuously for sacrilegious robbery, a numerous body which it would be superfluous labour to name in full. It will suffice to let one case stand as an example of them all. The historians who have described the sacred war in Phocis state that whereas there was a law enacted that the temple robber should be thrown from a precipice or drowned in the sea, or burnt alive, three persons who robbed the temple at Delphi, Philomelus, Onomarchus and Phayllus, had these punishments distributed between them. The first fell over a rugged and stony crag and as a piece of rock broke off he was killed both from the fall from the height and from the weight of

^a Or "disclose what should be kept secret." See note 1.

piety punished is not restricted to sacrilege, but includes all violence.

³ All other editions insert *τὸν* without any ms. authority. Gifford is, I think, quite right in arguing that when one attribute has been given between the article and the noun, a second attribute may follow the noun without a repetition of the article.

- καὶ καταλευσθῆναι· τὸν δέ, ἀφηνιάσαντος τοῦ
 [641] κομίζοντος ἵππου | καὶ μέχρι θαλάσσης καταβάντος,
 ἐπιδραμόντος τοῦ πελάγους, εἰς ἀχανῆ βυθὸν αὐτῷ
 ζῶω καταδῦναι· Φάυλλον δὲ φθινάδι νόσω (διττὸς
 γὰρ ὁ περὶ αὐτοῦ λόγος) συντακῆναι, ἥ ἐν τῷ ἐν
 34 "Αβαις ἱερῷ συνεμπρησθέντα ἀπολέσθαι. ταῦτα
 γὰρ φιλονεικότατον λέγειν ἀποβῆναι κατὰ τύχην.
 εἰ μὲν γάρ τινες ἢ ἐν διαφέρουσι καιροῖς ἢ ἐτέραις
 ἐκολάσθησαν τιμωρίαις, εἰκὸς ἦν τὸ ἄστατον τῆς
 τύχης προφασίζεσθαι· πάντων δ' ἀθρόως καὶ ὑφ'
 ἓνα καιρὸν καὶ μὴ ἐτέραις τιμωρίαις ἀλλὰ ταῖς
 περιεχομέναις ἐν τοῖς νόμοις κολασθέντων, εὐλογον
 35 φάσκειν ὅτι Θεοῦ δικάσαντος ἐάλωσαν.
 393 Εἰ δέ τινες τῶν ὑπολειφθέντων βιαίων, καὶ τοῖς
 πλήθεσιν ἐπαναστάντων, καὶ δουλωσαμένων οὐ
 μόνον δῆμους ἐτέρους ἀλλὰ καὶ πατρίδας τὰς
 ἑαυτῶν, ἀτιμώρητοι διετέλεσαν, θαυμαστὸν οὐδέν.
 πρῶτον μὲν γὰρ οὐχ ὁμοίως ἄνθρωπος δικάζει
 καὶ Θεός, διότι τὰ μὲν φανερά ἡμεῖς ἐρευνῶμεν,
 ὁ δὲ ἄχρι μυχῶν ψυχῆς εἰσδυόμενος ἀποφητί,
 καθάπερ ἐν ἡλίῳ λαμπρὰν διάνοιαν αὐγάζει,
 ἀπαμπίσχων μὲν τὰ περιάπτα, οἷς ἐγκατείληπται,
 γυμνὰ δὲ περιαθρῶν τὰ βουλήματα, καὶ δια-
 γινώσκων εὐθύς τά τε παράσημα καὶ δόκιμα.
 36 μηδέποτε' οὖν τὸ οἰκεῖον δικαστήριον τοῦ θείου
 προκρίναντες, ἀψευδέστερον αὐτὸ καὶ εὐβουλό-

^a So cf. Diodorus xvi. 30 ἑαυτὸν κατεκρήμνισε, Pausanias x. 2 ρίπτει ἑαυτὸν κατὰ ὑψηλοῦ καὶ ἀποτόμου κρημνοῦ.

^b Pausanias x. 2 gives a different version of this: φεύγων . . . καὶ ἐπὶ θάλασσαν ἀφικόμενος ἐνταῦθα ὑπὸ τῶν στρατιωτῶν κατηκοντίσθη τῶν οἰκείων, who ascribed their defeat to his cowardice and blundering.

ON PROVIDENCE, 2. 33-36

the stone.^a In the case of the second the horse on which he was riding got out of control and rushed down to the sea and under the onrush of the tide both rider and horse sank in the deep gulf.^b As for Phaÿllus, there are two versions of his story, one that he wasted away in consumption, the other that he perished in the flame which consumed the temple at Abae.^c To assert that these events are due to chance 34 is pure contentiousness. No doubt if people had been punished at different times or by other penalties it would be sensible enough to ascribe them to the caprice of fortune. But when all were punished together about the same time and by penalties not of another kind but those contained in the laws, it is reasonable to assert that they were the victims of divine justice.

And if some of the men of violence still left un- 35 mentioned, insurgents who seized power over the populace and enslaved not only other peoples but their own countries, continued unpunished, why should we wonder? For in the first place the judgements of men and God are not alike. For we inquire into what is manifest but He penetrates noiselessly into the recesses of the soul, sees our thoughts as though in bright sunlight, and stripping off the wrappings in which they are enveloped, inspects our motives in their naked reality and at once distinguishes the counterfeit from the genuine. Let us never then 36 prefer our own tribunal to that of God and assert that it is more infallible and wiser in counsel, for that

^a The first version is given by both Diodorus and Pausanias, *l.c.* Pausanias x. 35 mentions the burning of the temple at Abae by the Thebans, together with the Phocian refugees within it. .

τερον εἶναι φῶμεν· οὐ γὰρ ὅσιον. ἐν ᾧ μὲν γὰρ πολλὰ τὰ σφάλλοντα, ἀπατηλαὶ αἰσθήσεις, πάθη ἐπίβουλα, κακιῶν ὁ βαρύτατος ἐπιτειχισμός, ἐν ᾧ δὲ οὐδὲν μὲν τῶν ἐπ' ἑξαπάτη, δικαιοσύνης δὲ καὶ ἀλήθεια, αἷς ἕκαστον βραβευόμενον ἐπαινετῶς ἐξορθοῦσθαι πέφυκεν.

37 Ἐπειτ', ὧ γενναῖε, μὴ νομίσης ἀλυσιτελὲς ἐπικαιρον εἶναι τυραννίδα. οὐδὲ γὰρ ἡ κόλασις ἀλυσιτελής, ἀλλὰ τιμωρίας διδόναι τοῖς ἀγαθοῖς ἢ ὠφελιμώτερον ἢ οὐκ ἀποδέον. οὐδ' χάριν ἐν ἅπασιν μὲν τοῖς ὀρθῶς γραφείσιν παρείληπται νόμοις· οἱ δὲ γράψαντες ὑπὸ πάντων ἐπαινοῦνται. ὅπερ γὰρ ἐν δήμῳ τύραννος, τοῦτ' ἐν νόμῳ κόλασις.

38 ἐπειδὴν οὖν ἔνδεια μὲν καὶ σπάνις δεινὴ καταλάβῃ τὰς πόλεις ἀρετῆς, ἀφθονία δ' ἀφροσύνης ἐπιπολάσῃ, τηνικαῦτα ὁ Θεός, ὥσπερ ῥεύμα χειμάρρου τὴν φορὰν τῆς κακίας ἀποχετεῦσαι γλιχόμενος, ἵνα καθάρῃ τὸ γένος ἡμῶν, ἰσχὺν καὶ κράτος
[642] δίδωσι | τοῖς τὰς φύσεις ἀρχικοῖς. ὥμῃς γὰρ δίχα
39 ψυχῆς οὐ καθαίρεται κακία. καὶ ὅνπερ τρόπον αἱ πόλεις ἐπ' ἀνδροφόνους καὶ προδόταις καὶ θεοσύλαις δημίους ἀνατρέφουσιν, οὐ τὴν γνώμην ἀποδεχόμεναι τῶν ἀνδρῶν, ἀλλὰ τὸ τῆς ὑπηρεσίας χρήσιμον ἐξετάζουσιν, τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον καὶ ὁ τῆς μεγαλοπόλεως τοῦδε τοῦ κόσμου κηδεμών, οἷα δημίους κοινούς ἐφίστησι τοὺς τυράννους ταῖς πόλεσιν, ἐν αἷς αὖ αἰσθηταὶ βίαν, ἀδικίαν, ἀσέβειαν,

^a Literally "more profitable or not less so," i.e. than the absence of any punishment for offences. But the sentence is obscure. The translation above makes the best sense, but we should expect either δίδωσθαι or τοὺς ἀδίκους as subject to

ON PROVIDENCE, 2. 36-39

religion forbids. Ours has many pitfalls, the delusions of the senses, the malignancy of the passions and most formidable of all the hostility of the vices ; while in His there is nothing that can deceive, only justice and truth, and everything that is judged according to these standards brings praise to the judge and cannot but be settled aright.

Secondly, my friend, do not suppose that a temporary tyranny is without its uses. For neither is punishment useless, and that penalties should be inflicted is actually profitable to the good or at any rate not detrimental.^a And therefore in all properly enacted laws punishment is included, and those who enacted them are universally praised, for punishment has the same relation to law as a tyrant has to a people. So when a dire famine and dearth of virtue takes possession of states, and folly unstinted is prevalent, God, desiring to drain off the current of wickedness as if it were the stream of a torrent, gives strength and power to men naturally fitted to rule in order to purify our race. For wickedness cannot be purged away without some ruthless soul to do it. And just as states maintain official executioners to deal with murderers and traitors and temple robbers, not that they approve of the sentiments of these persons, but with an eye to the usefulness of their service, so the Governor of this great city of the world sets up tyrants like public executioners over the cities which He sees inundated with violence, in-

διδόναι. The straightforward translation "it is more profitable to the good to be punished," *i.e.* because punishment however unjust brings out heroism, seems out of place here. Another possibility "it is more beneficial to give the power of punishing to the good (than to a tyrant)" does not suit *οὐκ ἀποδέον*. The two could hardly be put on a par.

- 40 τὰ ἄλλα κακὰ πλημμύροντα, ὅπως ἤδη ποτὲ στάντα
 394 λωφῆσθαι. τηνικαῦτα καὶ τοὺς αἰτίους, ὡς ἐκ
 δυσκαθάρτου καὶ ἀνηλεοῦς ψυχῆς ὑπηρετήσαντας,
 ἐφ' ἅπασιν, ὥσπερ τινὰς κορυφαίους, ἀξιοὶ μετέρ-
 χεσθαι. καθάπερ γὰρ ἡ τοῦ πυρὸς δύναμις, ὅταν
 παραβληθεῖσαν ὕλην ἀναλώσῃ, τελευταῖον αὐτὴν
 ἐπινέμεται, τοῦτον τὸν τρόπον καὶ οἱ ἐπὶ τοῖς
 πλήθεσι δυναστείας εἰληφότες, ὅταν δαπανήσαντες
 τὰς πόλεις κενὰς ἀνδρῶν ἐργάσωνται, τὰς ὑπὲρ
 41 ἀπάντων τίνοντες δίκας ἐπιδιαφθείρονται. καὶ τί
 θαυμάζομεν, εἰ διὰ τυράννων ὁ Θεὸς κακίαν
 ἀναχθεῖσαν ἐν πόλεσι καὶ χώραις καὶ ἔθνεσιν
 ἀποδιοπομπεῖται; πολλάκις γὰρ μὴ χρώμενος
 ὑπηρέταις ἄλλοις αὐτὸς δι' ἑαυτοῦ τοῦτ' ἐργάζεται,
 λιμὸν ἐπάγων ἢ λοιμὸν ἢ σεισμὸν καὶ ὅσα ἄλλα
 θεήλατα, οἷς ὄμιλοι μεγάλοι καὶ πολυάνθρωποι
 καθ' ἐκάστην ἡμέραν ἀπόλλυνται, καὶ πολλὴ μοῖρα
 τῆς οἰκουμένης ἐρημοῦται διὰ προμήθειαν ἀρετῆς.
 42 Ἰκανῶς μὲν οὖν εἷς γε τὰ παρόντα περὶ τοῦ μή
 τινα τῶν φαύλων εὐδαιμονεῖν, ὡς οἶμαι, λέλεκται·
 δι' οὗ μάλιστα παρίσταται τὸ εἶναι πρόνοιαν. εἰ
 δὲ μηδέπω πέπεισαι, τὸν ἔθ' ὑποικουροῦντα ἐν-
 δοιασμὸν εἰπέ θαρρῶν· ἀμφότεροι γὰρ ἢ τὰλῆθές
 ἔχει συνδιαπορήσαντες εἰσόμεθα.

43 Καὶ μεθ' ἕτερα πάλιν φησὶν

Ἀνέμων καὶ ὑετῶν φορὰς οὐκ ἐπὶ λύμῃ τῶν

^a There is a considerable interval between these two parts of Philo's argument. In this interval Alexander, in response to the invitation given in the preceding sentence, alleges various facts about the construction of the universe, which seem to serve no purpose which can be ascribed to Providence. Philo has answered many of these difficulties as

ON PROVIDENCE, 2. 39-43

justice, impiety and all the other evils, in order that they may be at last brought to a standstill and abate. Then too it seems good to Him to crown the punishment of all by bringing to justice those who have carried it out. For knowing that their services were the outcome of an impious and ruthless soul He treats them as in a sense the capital offenders. For just as the force of fire after devouring all the fuel supplied to it finally consumes itself, so too those who have seized dominion over the populaces when they have exhausted the cities and emptied them of all their men pay the penalty due for all and perish as well. And why should we wonder that God uses tyrants to sweep away the wickedness which has spread through cities and countries and nations. For often instead of employing other ministers He effects this by Himself by bringing famine or pestilence and earthquake, and all the other divine visitations whereby great bodies of people perish in huge numbers every day and a large part of the world is desolated for His purpose of promoting virtue.

Enough then I think has been said for the present on the theme that none of the wicked has happiness, and this is a very strong proof that providence exists. But if you are not yet convinced, fear not to tell me your still lingering doubts, for by combining our efforts we shall both get to know where the truth is to be found.

Later again he says ^a:

Storms of wind and rain were made by God, not as they arise, and among these is that recorded by Eusebius in another connexion (see Frag. I). The others he deals with in his final answer, which is given by Eusebius in the sections which follow.

πλεόντων, ὡς ἐνόμιζες, ἢ γεωργούντων, ἀλλ' ἐπ' ὠφελείᾳ τοῦ παντός ἡμῶν γένους ὁ Θεὸς εἰργάζετο. ὕδασι μὲν γὰρ τὴν γῆν καθαίρει, τὸν δ' ὑπὸ σελήνην ἅπαντα χῶρον πνεύμασιν· ἀμφοτέροις δὲ ζῶα καὶ
 44 φυτὰ τρέφει, καὶ αὖξει, καὶ τελειοῖ. εἰ δὲ τοὺς μὴ ἐν καιρῷ πλωτῆρας ἢ γεωπόνους ἐστὶν ὅτε βλάπτει, θαυμαστὸν οὐδέν· βραχὺ γὰρ οὗτοι μέρος, ἢ δ' ἐπιμέλεια τοῦ παντός ἀνθρώπων γένους. ὥσπερ οὖν τὸ ἐν τῷ γυμνασίῳ ἄλειμμα τίθεται μὲν ἐπ' ὠφελείᾳ, πολλάκις δ' ὁ γυμνασίαρχος ἔνεκα πολιτικῶν χρειῶν ὥρας τῆς ἐν ἔθει μετέθηκε
 [643] τὴν τάξιν, δι' ἧς | ὑστέρησαν ἔνιοι τῶν ἀλειφομένων· οὕτω καὶ ὁ Θεός, οἷα πόλεως τοῦ παντός ἐπιμελούμενος κόσμον, θέρη χειμαίνοντα καὶ χειμῶνας ἐαρίζοντας εἴωθε ποιεῖν ἐπὶ τῇ τοῦ παντός ὠφελείᾳ, καὶ εἰ ναύκληροί τινες ἢ γῆς ἐργάται μέλλοιεν ταῖς
 45 τούτων ἀνωμαλίαις ζημιουῖσθαι. τὰς οὖν τῶν στοιχείων εἰς ἄλληλα μεταβολάς, ἐξ ὧν ὁ κόσμος ἐπάγη καὶ συνέστηκεν, εἰδὼς ἀναγκαιότατον ἔργον,
 395 ἀκωλύτους παρέχεται· πάχνη δὲ καὶ χιόνες καὶ ὅσα ὁμοιότροπα ἀέρος ἐπακολουθεῖ καταψύξει, καὶ πάλιν προσαράξει καὶ παρατρίψει νεφῶν, ἀστραπαί τε καὶ βρονταί· ὧν οὐδὲν ἴσως κατὰ πρόνοιαν,

^a Alexander has been represented (Aucher, p. 100) as describing the injuries caused by rain and wind and adding that while rain may be often useful, hail, snow, thunder and lightning are quite useless.

^b Or perhaps "the anointing is appointed" or even "the oil is placed," and below "those who are being anointed," and the importance in the next section attached to the oil favours this. But *πολιτικαὶ χρεῖαι*, whatever that exactly means,

you supposed,^a to do grievous harm to voyagers and husbandmen, but to benefit our race as a whole. For He purges the earth with water and the whole sub-lunary region with breezes. And with both He gives sustenance, growth and maturity to animals and plants. If these sometimes harm persons who travel 44 by sea out of season or tillers of the land there is nothing wonderful. They are but a small fraction and His care is for the whole human race. So then as the course of training in the gymnasium is drawn up ^b for the benefit of the pupils, but the gymnasiarch sometimes to suit civic requirements makes a change in the arrangement of the regular hours whereby some of those under training lose their lesson, so too God having the charge of the whole world as though it were a city is wont to create wintry summers and spring-like winters for the benefit of the whole, even though some skippers and workers on the land are bound to suffer loss through the irregular way in which they occur. The interchanges of the elements 45 out of which the world was framed and now consists He knows to be a vital operation and produces them in unimpeded succession. But frost and snow and similar phenomena are circumstances attendant ^c on the refrigeration of the air as thunders and lightnings are on the clashing and friction of clouds. And none of these we may suppose is by providence, but while

could hardly affect the mere act of anointing, unless that was necessarily the prelude to instruction. The functions of the ἀλειπτῆς were a good deal wider than merely anointing.

^c The terms here used, ἐπακολουθεῖν and παρακολουθεῖν, ἐπισυμβαίνειν, ἐπὶ γίνεσθαι below all express the Stoic doctrine, which accounts for evils such as diseases, etc., as not primary (προηγούμενα) works of nature but incidental consequences. See App. p. 545.

ἀλλ' ὑετοὶ καὶ πνεύματα ζωῆς καὶ τροφῆς καὶ
 αὐξήσεως τοῖς περὶ γῆν αἷτια, ὧν ταῦτα ἐπακο-
 46 λουθήματα. οἷα, γυμνασιάρχου φιλοτιμίαις πολ-
 λάκις ἀνειμένους ποιουμένου δαπάνας, ἀνθ' ὕδατος
 ἐλαίῳ καταιονούμενοί τινες τῶν ἀπειροκάλων εἰς
 τοῦδαφος ῥανίδας ἀποστάζουσιν, ὃ δ' ὀλισθηρό-
 τατος αὐτίκα γίνεται πηλός· ἀλλ' οὐκ ἂν τις εὖ
 φρονῶν εἴποι, τὸν πηλὸν καὶ τὸν ὀλισθον προ-
 μηθεία τοῦ γυμνασιάρχου γεγονέναι, παρηκολου-
 θηκέναι δὲ ἄλλως τῇ ἀφθονίᾳ τῶν χορηγιῶν ταῦτα.
 47 ἴρις δὲ καὶ ἄλλως καὶ ὅσα ὁμοιότροπα πάλιν ἐστὶν
 αὐγῶν¹ ἐγκριναμένων τοῖς νέφεσιν ἐπακολουθήματα,
 οὐκ ἔργα φύσεως προηγούμενα, φυσικοῖς δ' ἐπι-
 συμβαίνοντα ἔργοις· οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ παρέχει τινὰ
 καὶ ταῦτα χρεῖαν ἀναγκαίαν τοῖς φρονιμωτέροις·
 48 ἀπὸ τούτων τεκμαιρόμενοι προλέγουσι. τὰς κατὰ
 πόλιν στοὰς οὐχ ὁρᾷς; τούτων αἱ πλείους πρὸς
 μεσημβρίαν νενεύκασιν, ὑπὲρ τοῦ τοὺς ἐμπερι-
 πατοῦντας χειμῶνι μὲν ἀλεαίνεσθαι, θέρους δὲ
 καταπνεῖσθαι. παρακολουθεῖ δέ τι καὶ ἕτερον,
 ὃ μὴ τῇ γνώμῃ τοῦ κατεσκευακότος ἐπιγίνεται.
 τί δὲ τοῦτ' ἔστιν; αἱ ἀπὸ τῶν ποδῶν ἐκπύπτουσαι
 σκιαί τῇ ἡμετέρᾳ πείρᾳ διασημαίνουσι τὰς ὥρας.²
 49 καὶ μὲν δὴ τὸ πῦρ φύσεως ἀναγκαιότατον ἔργον·

¹ mss. αὐτῶν.

² So Mangey, Gifford and Heinichen. On the other hand Gaisford and Dindorf τὰ μέτρα διασημαίνουσι ταῖς ὥραις. See App. p. 545.

^a According to Wendland this refers to the ablution after the exercise. I understand provisionally that the ἀπειρό-
 490

rainstorms and breezes are causal to the life and sustenance and growth of terrestrial things they have these others for their attendant circumstances. Similarly a gymnasiarch prompted by ambition may 46 often provide on a lavish scale and some vulgarly extravagant people wash themselves with oil instead of water and let the drops drip to the ground, so that at once we have some slippery mud ^a; yet no sensible person would say that the slipperiness and the mud were due to the purposive design of the gymnasiarch or anything but mere concomitants to the munificent scale of the supply. Again a rainbow 47 and a halo and all similar phenomena are attendant circumstances caused by rays mixing with clouds, not primary works of Nature but happenings consequent upon her works. Not but what they often render essential service to the more thoughtful who from the evidence which they give predict the presence or absence of wind and fine or stormy weather. Observe 48 the porticoes in the cities. Most of them have been built to face the south so that persons who walk in them may enjoy the sun in winter and the breeze in summer. But they also have an attendant circumstance which does not arise through the intention of the builder. What is this? The shadows cast at our feet indicate the hours as we find by experience.^b Fire too is a most essential work of nature and smoke 49

καλοι seeing an abundance of the valuable article use it for a purpose for which it is not suited. For the word cf. *De Vit. Cont.* 52, and also *De Ios.* 205 of the "tasteless display" which Joseph avoided by not providing a sumptuous banquet in famine time. Gifford's note is "the unrefined, being accustomed to bathe only in water and shake off the drops, do the same with the oil which is meant to be rubbed in."

^b Or "for our experience."

ἐπακολούθημα δὲ τούτου, καπνός· ἀλλ' ὅμως παρ-
 ἔχεται τινα ὠφέλειαν ἔστιν ὅτε καὶ αὐτός. ἐν γοῦν
 ταῖς μεθημεριναῖς πυρσεύαις, ἥνικα τὸ πῦρ ὑπὸ
 τῶν ἡλιακῶν καταλαμπόμενον αὐγῶν ἐξαμαν-
 50 ροῦται, καπνῷ μηνύεται πολεμίων ἔφοδος. οἷός
 γ' οὖν ἐπὶ τῆς ἱριδος, τοιοῦτος καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν
 ἐκλείψεων ὁ λόγος· θείαις γὰρ φύσεσιν ἡλίου καὶ
 σελήνης ἐπακολουθοῦσιν ἐκλείψεις· αἱ δὲ μηνύματά
 εἰσιν ἢ βασιλέων τελευτῆς, ἢ πόλεων φθορᾶς· ὁ
 [644] καὶ | Πίνδαρος ἡνίξατο γενομένης ἐκλείψεως διὰ
 51 τῶν πρόσθεν εἰρημένων. ὁ δὲ δὴ τοῦ γάλακτος
 κύκλος τῆς μὲν αὐτῆς οὐσίας τοῖς ἄλλοις ἄστροις
 μετέσχηκε, δυσαιτιολόγητος δ' εἴπερ ἐστί, μὴ
 ἀποκνεῖτωσαν οἱ τὰ φύσεως ἐρευνᾶν εἰωθότες.
 396 ὠφελιμώτατον γὰρ ἢ εὗρεσις, ἥδιστος δὲ καὶ καθ'
 52 αὐτὸ τοῖς φιλομαθέσιν ἢ ζήτησις. ὥσπερ οὖν
 ἡλῖος καὶ σελήνη προνοία γεγόνασιν, οὕτω καὶ τὰ
 ἐν οὐρανῷ πάντα, καὶ ἡμεῖς τὰς ἐκάστων φύσεις
 τε καὶ δυνάμεις ἰχνηλατεῖν ἀδυνατοῦντες ἡσυχά-
 53 ζωμεν. σεισμοί τε καὶ λοιμοί, καὶ κεραυνῶν
 βολαί, καὶ ὅσα τοιαῦτα, λέγεται μὲν εἶναι θεήλατα,
 πρὸς δ' ἀλήθειαν οὐκ ἔστι (Θεὸς γὰρ οὐδενὸς
 αἷτιος κακοῦ τοπαράπαν), ἀλλ' αἱ τῶν στοιχείων
 μεταβολαὶ ταῦτα γεννῶσιν, οὐ προηγούμενα ἔργα
 φύσεως, ἀλλ' ἐπόμενα τοῖς ἀναγκαίοις, καὶ τοῖς
 54 προηγούμενοις ἐπακολουθοῦντα. εἰ δέ τινες τῶν

^a See on § 27. The point of the phrase here is that though divine they are part of nature.

ON PROVIDENCE, 2. 49-54

is a circumstance attendant to it, yet smoke too itself is sometimes helpful. Take for instance beacon signals in the daytime: when the fire is deadened by the rays of the sun shining on it, the enemy's approach is announced by the smoke. Much the same may be 50 said about eclipses as about the rainbow. The sun and moon are natural divinities,^a and so these eclipses are concomitant circumstances, yet eclipses announce the death of kings and the destruction of cities as is darkly indicated by Pindar on the occurrence of an eclipse in the passage quoted above.^b As for the 51 belt of the Milky Way^c it possesses the same essential qualities as the other stars, and though it is difficult to give a scientific account of it students of natural phenomena must not shrink from the quest. For while discovery is the most profitable, research is also a delight to lovers of learning. Just then as the sun 52 and moon have come into being through the action of providence so too have all the heavenly bodies, even though we, unable to trace the natures and powers of each, are silent about them. Earthquakes, pestilence, 53 thunderbolts and the like though said to be visitations from God are not really such.^d For nothing evil at all is caused by God, and these things are generated by changes in the elements. They are not primary works of nature but a sequel of her essential works, attendant circumstances to the primary. If some 54

^b Aucher, p. 97. See App. p. 546 for what can apparently be made of the Armenian version of this passage from Pindar.

^c Alexander (Aucher, p. 101) has mentioned the various explanations given of this and suggested the only use of it is to provide philosophers with something to dispute about.

^d On the discrepancy between this and § 41 see App. p. 546.

χαριεστέρων¹ συναπολαύουσι τῆς ἀπὸ τούτων βλάβης, οὐκ αἰτιατέον τὴν διοίκησιν. πρῶτον μὲν γάρ, οὐκ εἴ τινες ἀγαθοὶ παρ' ἡμῖν νομίζονται, καὶ πρὸς ἀλήθειάν εἰσιν, ἐπειδὴ τὰ Θεοῦ κριτήρια τῶν κατὰ τὸν ἀνθρώπινον νοῦν πάντων ἀκριβέστερα· δεύτερον δέ, τὸ προμηθεὺς ἐπὶ τὰ τῶν ἐν κόσμῳ συνεκτικώτατα ἐφορᾶν ἀγαπᾶ, καθάπερ ἐν ταῖς βασιλείαις καὶ στραταρχίαις, ἐπὶ τὰς πόλεις καὶ τὰ στρατόπεδα, οὐκ ἐπὶ τινὰ τῶν ἡμελημένων, 55 καὶ ἀφανῶν ἓνα τὸν προστυχόντα. λέγουσι δέ τινες, καθάπερ ἐν ταῖς τυραννοκτονίαις καὶ τοὺς συγγενεῖς ἀναιρεῖσθαι νόμιμόν ἐστι ὑπὲρ τοῦ μεγέθει τῆς τιμωρίας ἐπισχεθῆναι τὰ ἀδικήματα, τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον καὶ ταῖς λοιμώδεσιν νόσοις παραπόλλυσθαι τινὰς τῶν μὴ ὑπαιτίων, ἵνα πόρρωθεν οἱ ἄλλοι σωφρονίζωνται, δίχα τοῦ ἀναγκαῖον εἶναι τοὺς ἐμφερομένους ἀέρι νοσῶδει νοσεῖν, ὥσπερ καὶ τοὺς ἐν νηϊ χειμαζομένους κινδυνεύειν 56 ἐξ ἴσου. τὰ δ' ἄλκιμα τῶν θηρίων γέγονεν (οὐ γὰρ ὑποσιωπητέον, εἰ καὶ τῷ δεινὸς εἰπεῖν εἶναι προλαβὼν τὴν ἀπολογίαν διέσυρες)

¹ The word seems very strange. Gifford gives "the more refined." But why should they be particularly mentioned? Mangey gives "probos," Aucher "bonos" from the Armenian, and so Gaisford. But no example is forthcoming of any such general use of the word. Mangey in his *Addenda* suggests *χρηστοτέρων*.

^a See note 1. A possible explanation might be that the

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persons of a finer character^a participate in the damage which they cause, the blame must not be laid on God's ordering of the world, for in the first place it does not follow that if persons are considered good by us they are really such, for God judges by standards more accurate than any which the human mind employs. Secondly providence or forethought^b is contented with paying regard to things in the world of the most importance, just as in kingdoms and commands of army it pays regard to cities and troops, not to some chance individual of the obscure and insignificant kind. Some declare that just as 55 when tyrants are put to death it is justifiable to execute their kinsfolk also, so that wrongdoings may be checked by the magnitude of the punishment,^c so too in times of pestilence it is well that some of the guiltless should perish also as a lesson extending further to call all others to a wiser life. Apart from this they point out that persons who move in a tainted atmosphere must needs take the sickness just as in a storm or on board a ship they share the danger equally. The stronger kinds of wild 56 animals were made in order to give us practice in warlike contests, for I feel bound to mention this point though you as a skilful advocate anticipated

word is used with some irony. The visitations even affect the superior people, who think themselves exempt from anything of the kind. But this is not in Philo's manner.

^b In the first example τὸ προμηθεὺς refers to divine providence, but passes in the second to forethought in general.

^c This seems to be intended as a reply to Alexander's remark (Aucher, p. 49) that the fall of the younger Dionysius could not be regarded as justifying Providence in leaving the father unpunished. Philo does not actually accept the view that such executions are justifiable. Indeed he has strongly argued against it in *Spec. Leg.* iii. 164 ff.

- ἀσκήσεως ἕνεκα τῆς πρὸς τοὺς πολεμικοὺς ἀγῶνας.
 τὰ γὰρ γυμνάσια καὶ αἱ συνεχεῖς θῆραι συγκροτοῦσι
 καὶ νευροῦσιν εὖ μάλα τὰ σώματα, καὶ πρὸ τῶν
 [645] σωματίων τὰς ψυχὰς ἐθίζουσιν ἐχθρῶν ἐξαπιναίως
 57 ἐφόδους τῷ καρτερῷ τῆς ῥώμης ἀλογεῖν. | τοῖς δὲ
 τὰς φύσεις εἰρηνικοῖς ἕξεστιν, οὐ μόνον τειχῶν
 ἐντὸς ἀλλὰ καὶ κλισιάδων θαλαμνομένοις, ἀποζῆν
 ἀνεπιβουλεύτως, ἔχουσιν εἰς ἀπόλαυσιν ἀφθονω-
 397 τάτας ἡμέρων ἀγέλας, ἐπειδὴ σὺς, καὶ λέοντες,
 καὶ ὅσα ὁμοιότροπα, ἐκουσίᾳ φύσει χρώμενα,
 μακρὰν ἄστεος ἀπελήλαται, τὸ μηδὲν παθεῖν
 58 ἀγαπῶντα τῆς ἀνθρώπων ἐπιβουλῆς. εἰ δέ τινες
 ὑπὸ ῥαθυμίας ἄοπλοι καὶ ἀπαράσκευοι ταῖς καταδύ-
 σεσι τῶν θηρίων ἀδεῶς ἐνδαιτῶνται, τῶν συμ-
 βαινόντων ἑαυτοὺς ἀλλὰ μὴ τὴν φύσιν αἰτιάσθωσαν,
 διότι φυλάξασθαι παρὸν ὠλιγώρησαν. ἤδη γοῦν
 καὶ ἐν ἵπποδρομίαις εἰδὼν τινες εἷξαντας ἀλογιστίᾳ,
 οἷ, δέον ἐγκαθεζεσθαι καὶ σὺν κόσμῳ θεωρεῖν, ἐν
 μέσῳ στάντες, ὑπὸ τῆς ῥύμης τῶν τεθρίππων
 ἀνωσθέντες, ποσὶ καὶ τροχοῖς κατηλοήθησαν,
 ἀνοίας τὰπίχειρα εὐράμενοι.
- 59 Περὶ μὲν οὖν τούτων ἀπόχρη τὰ λεχθέντα. τῶν
 δ' ἐρπετῶν τὰ ἰοβόλα γέγονεν οὐ κατὰ πρόνοιαν,
 ἀλλὰ κατ' ἐπακολούθησιν, ὥς καὶ πρότερον εἶπον.
 ζωογονεῖται γάρ, ὅταν ἡ ἐνυπάρχουσα ἱκμὰς μετα-

^a Alexander, after speaking of the ravages of wild beasts (Aucher, p. 102) which do not attack those whom they know to be practised huntsmen, but only peaceful cultivators of the soil, adds that even if it can be pleaded that they seem to give practice in bodily courage, nothing of the kind can be said about poisonous animals. By "through being skilful at speaking" Philo means that Alexander has shown

this defence and tried to discredit it.^a For the training in gymnastics and constant hunting expeditions weld and brace the body admirably and affect the soul even more than the body by inuring it in the starkness of its strength to meet unconcernedly sudden onsets of the enemy. And people of peaceful nature^b can live sheltered within the walls of their cities and even of their chambers without fear of attack with abundance of different kinds of animals for their enjoyment, since boars and lions and the like following their natural inclination are banished to a distance from the town, preferring to be immune from men's hostility. And if some persons are so careless that they do not fear to resort unarmed and unprepared to the lairs of these beasts they must lay the blame of what happens on themselves and not on Nature, since they have neglected to take precautions when they could. Thus in chariot races too I have seen people giving way to thoughtlessness who, instead of sitting in their places as they should as orderly spectators, stood in the middle of the course and pushed over by the rush of the chariots were crushed under the feet and wheels, a proper reward for their folly.

Enough has been said on these matters. As for reptiles the venomous kinds have not come into being by direct act of providence but as an attendant circumstance as I have said above. For they come to life when the moisture already in them changes to

himself an accomplished rhetorician. Anticipation of an argument was a recognized device, technically known as *προκατάληψις*.

^b This is said to counter the suggestion of Alexander that the fact that wild beasts are allowed to attack such persons tends to disprove Providence.

βάλῃ πρὸς τὸ θερμότερον. ἓνια δὲ καὶ σῆψις ἐψύχωσεν, ὡς ἔλμινθας μὲν ἢ περὶ τροφήν, φθείρας δ' ἢ ἀπὸ τῶν ἰδρώτων. ὅσα δ' ἐξ οἰκείας ὕλης κατὰ φύσιν σπερματικὴν καὶ προηγουμένην ἔχει
 60 γένεσιν, εἰκότως ἐπιγέγραπται πρόνοιαν. ἤκουσα δὲ καὶ περὶ ἐκείνων διττοὺς λόγους, ὡς ἐπ' ὠφελεία τοῦ ἀνθρώπου γεγονότων, οὓς οὐκ ἂν ἐπικρυψαίμην. ἦν δ' ὁ μὲν ἕτερος, τοιόσδε· πρὸς πολλὰ τῶν ἱατρικῶν ἔφασάν τινες τὰ ἰοβόλα συνεργεῖν, καὶ τοὺς μεθοδεύοντας τὴν τέχνην, εἰς ἃ δεῖ καταχρω-
 μένους αὐτοῖς ἐπιστημόνως, ἀλεξιφαρμάκων εὐ-
 πορεῖν, ἐπὶ τῇ τῶν μάλιστα ἐπισφαλῶς ἐχόντων ἀπροσδοκῆτῳ σωτηρίᾳ· καὶ μέχρι νῦν ἔστιν ἰδεῖν τοὺς μὴ ραθύμως καὶ ἀμελῶς ἱατρεύειν ἐπιχει-
 ροῦντας ἐν ταῖς συνθέσεσι τῶν φαρμάκων κατα-
 61 χρωμένους ἐκάστοις οὐ παρέργως. ὁ δ' ἕτερος λόγος οὐκ ἱατρικός, ἀλλὰ φιλόσοφος ἦν, ὡς ἔοικε. τῷ γὰρ Θεῷ ταῦτ' ἔφασκεν ἡντρεπίσθαι κατὰ τῶν ἁμαρτανόντων κολαστήρια, ὡς στρατηγοῖς καὶ ἡγε-
 μόσι ὕστριχας ἢ σίδηρον· οὐ χάριν, ἡρεμοῦντα τὸν ἄλλον χρόνον ἀνερεθίζεσθαι πρὸς ἀλκὴν ἐπὶ τοῖς κατακριθεῖσιν, ὧν ἡ φύσις ἐν τῷ ἀδωροδοκῆτῳ
 62 δικαστηρίῳ ἑαυτῆς κατέγνω θάνατον. τὸ δ' ἐν ταῖς οἰκείαις πεφωλευκέναι μᾶλλον, ἐστὶ μὲν ψεῦδος·
 398 ἔξω γὰρ ἄστεος ἐν ἀγρῷ καὶ ἐρημίαις θεωρεῖται, |

^a The same phrase is used in *Spec. Leg.* iii. 52 and 121. By ἑαυτῆς he means perhaps the "court which is herself," i.e. Nature is both court and judge. Cf. *De Vit. Cont.* 27, and similar phrases, e.g. *De Ebr.* 165 καθίσας οὖν ὁ νοῦς ἐν τῷ ἑαυτοῦ συνεδρίῳ.

^b Alexander has said (Aucher, p. 103) that the useful animals, i.e. those good to eat, such as roes (capri), deer (cervi) and hares, have been kept far away from mankind,

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a higher temperature. In some cases putrefaction breeds them. For instance putrefaction in food and in perspiration breed respectively worms and lice. But all kinds which are created out of their proper substance by a seminal and primary process of nature are reasonably ascribed to providence. As to them 60 I have heard two theories, which I should be sorry to suppress, to the effect that they are made for the benefit of mankind. One of them was as follows. Some have said that the venomous animals co-operate in many medical processes, and that those who practise the art scientifically by using them with knowledge where suitable are well provided with antidotes for saving unexpectedly the life of patients in a particularly dangerous condition. And even to this day we may see those who take up the medical profession with care and energy making use of every kind of these creatures as an important factor in compounding their remedies. The other theory 61 clearly belongs not to medicine but to philosophy. It declares that these creatures were prepared by God as instruments for the punishment of sinners just as generals and governors have their scourges or weapons of steel, and therefore while quiescent at all other times they are stirred up to do violence to the condemned whom Nature in her incorruptible assize ^a has sentenced to death. But the state- 62 ment that they hide themselves chiefly in houses ^b is false, for they are to be seen in the fields and desolate places outside the town, avoiding man as

while the poisonous snakes lurk in houses. (The argument is surprising from a Jew, as hares at any rate were forbidden.) He uses the same argument about edible birds, as opposed to swallows, and this is dealt with in the sequel.

- [646] φεύγοντα ὡς δεσπότην τὸν ἄνθρωπον. οὐ μὴν ἄλλ', εἰ καὶ ἀληθές ἐστιν, ἔχει τινὰ λόγον. ἐν γὰρ μυχοῖς σεσώρεται φορυτός, καὶ σκυβάλων πλήθος, οἷς εἰσδύεσθαι φιλεῖ, δίχα τοῦ καὶ τὴν κνίσαν ὀλκὸν
- 63 ἔχειν δύναμιν. εἰ δὲ καὶ χελιδόνες ἡμῖν συνδιαιτῶνται, θαυμαστὸν οὐδέν· τῆς γὰρ τούτων θήρας ἀπεχόμεθα. σωτηρίας δὲ πόθος ἐν ταῖς ψυχαῖς οὐ λογικαῖς μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀλόγοις ἐνίδρυται. τῶν δὲ πρὸς ἀπόλαυσιν οὐδὲν ὁμοδιαίτητον διὰ τὰς ἐξ ἡμῶν ἐπιβουλὰς, πλὴν παρ' οἷς ἡ τῶν τοιούτων
- 64 χρῆσις ἀπηγόρευται νόμῳ. τῆς Συρίας ἐπὶ θαλάττῃ πόλις ἐστίν, Ἀσκάλων ὄνομα· γενόμενος ἐν ταύτῃ, καθ' ὃν χρόνον εἰς τὸ πατρῶον ἱερὸν ἐστελλόμεν, εὐξόμενός τε καὶ θύσων, ἀμήχανόν τι πελειάδων πλήθος ἐπὶ τῶν τριόδων καὶ κατ' οἰκίαν ἐκάστην ἐθεασάμεν. πυνθανομένῳ δέ μοι τὴν αἰτίαν, ἔφασαν οὐ θεμιτὸν εἶναι συλλαμβάνειν· ἀπειρησθαι γὰρ ἐκ παλαιοῦ τοῖς οἰκήτορσι τὴν χρῆσιν. οὕτως ἡμέρωται τὸ ζῶον ὑπ' ἀδείας, ὥστ' οὐ μόνον ὑπωρόφιον ἀλλὰ καὶ ὁμοτράπεζον αἰεὶ
- 65 γίνεσθαι, καὶ ταῖς ἐκεχειρίαις ἐντρυφᾶν. ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ δὲ καὶ θαυμασιώτερον ἰδεῖν ἔστιν. τὸ γὰρ ἀνθρωποβόρον καὶ θηρίων ἀργαλεώτατον ὁ κροκόδειλος, γεννώμενος καὶ τρεφόμενος ἐν τῷ ἱερωτάτῳ Νεῖλῳ, τῆς ὠφελείας, καίτοι βύθιος ὢν, ἐπαισθάνεται. παρ' οἷς μὲν γὰρ τιμᾶται πληθύνει μάλιστα· παρὰ δὲ τοῖς λυμαινομένοις οὐδ' ὄναρ φαίνεται, ὡς τῶν πλεόντων ὅπου μὲν καὶ τοὺς

^a Or perhaps somewhat stronger "which we indulge in"; cf. § 69. Philo there, as elsewhere, e.g. *Spec. Leg.* ii. 20, treats all meat-eating as a luxury.

ON PROVIDENCE, 2. 62-65

though he was their master. Not but what if it really is true there is some reason for it. For rubbish and a great quantity of refuse accumulate in the corners of houses, into which the creatures like to creep, and also the smell has a powerful attraction for them. If swallows live with us there is nothing to be 63 wondered at for we do not attempt to catch them, and the instinct of self-preservation is implanted in irrational as well as in rational souls. But birds which we like to eat^a will have nothing to do with us because they fear our designs against them except in cases where the law forbids that their kind should be used as food. There is a city on the sea coast of 64 Syria called Ascalon. While I was there at a time^b when I was on my way to our ancestral temple to offer up prayers and sacrifices I observed a large number of pigeons at the cross roads and in each house, and when I asked the reason I was told that it was not lawful to catch them because they had been from old times forbidden food to the inhabitants. In this way the creature has been so tamed by its security that it not merely lives under their roof but shares their table regularly and takes delight in the immunity which it enjoys. In Egypt you may see a 65 still more wonderful sight, for the man-eating crocodile, the most dangerous of wild animals, which is born and bred in the holiest of rivers the Nile, understands the benefit of this though it is a deep water creature. For among the people who honour it, it is found in great numbers, but where men try to destroy it not a glimpse of it is to be seen, so that in

^b So, rather than "the time" as Gifford. Philo does not imply that this was a solitary or even a rare visit to Jerusalem.

πάνυ θρασεῖς μῆδ' ἄκρον ἐπιτολμᾶν καθιέναι δάκ-
τυλον, ἀγεληδὸν ἐπιφοιτώντων· ὅπου δὲ καὶ τοὺς
ἄγαν δειλοὺς ἐξαλλομένους νήχεσθαι μετὰ παιδιᾶς.

- 66 χώρα¹ δ' ἡ Κυκλώπων, ἐπειδὴ τὸ γένος
αὐτῶν ἐστὶ πλάσμα μύθου, δίχα σπορᾶς καὶ γεω-
πόνων ἀνδρῶν ἡμερος καρπὸς οὐ φύεται, καθάπερ
οὐδ' ἐκ τοῦ μὴ ὄντος τι γεννᾶται. τῆς Ἑλλάδος
οὐ κατηγορητέον, ὥς λυπρᾶς καὶ ἀγόνου· πολὺ γὰρ
κὰν ταύτῃ τὸ βαθύγειον. εἰ δ' ἡ βάρβαρος δια-
φέρει ταῖς εὐκαρπίαῖς, πλεονεκτεῖ μὲν τροφαῖς,
ἐλαττοῦται δὲ τοῖς τρεφομένοις, ὧν χάριν αἱ τροφαί.
μόνη γὰρ ἡ Ἑλλὰς ἀψευδῶς ἀνθρωπογονεῖ, φυτὸν
[647] οὐράνιον καὶ | βλάστημα θεῖον ἡκριβωμένον, λογι-
399 σμὸν ἀποτίκτουσα οἰκειούμενον ἐπιστήμη. τὸ δ'
αἴτιον· λεπτότητι ἀέρος ἡ διάνοια πέφυκεν ἀκονᾶ-
67 σθαι. διὸ καὶ Ἡράκλειτος οὐκ ἄπο σκοποῦ φησίν,
“οὐ γῆ² ξηρή, ψυχὴ σοφωτάτη καὶ ἀρίστη.” τεκ-
μνηρώσαιτο δ' ἂν τις καὶ ἐκ τοῦ τοὺς μὲν νήφοντας
καὶ ὀλιγοδεεῖς συνετωτέρους εἶναι, τοὺς δὲ ποτῶν

¹ The sentence is an anacoluthon. If emendation is required the simplest would be χώρα (=χώρα) δὲ Κυκ.

² mss. αὐγῇ (a form of the saying which is found elsewhere, see App. p. 546). οὐ γῆ is required here by the sense and is supported by the Armenian “in terra sicca animus est sapiens ac virtutem amans.” Gaisford and Dindorf retain αὐγῇ.

^a Alexander (Aucher, p. 105) has quoted *Od.* ix. 106-111 to the effect that the arrogant and lawless Cyclopes neither sow nor plough, “trusting to the immortal gods,” yet everything grows there, wheat and barley and vines. On the contrary “pietatem colentibus nihil fere remanet,” and Greece is thin-soiled and barren and the barbarians have to supply it with everything. The answer has a certain dry humour rare in Philo.

some places people sailing on the Nile do not venture, even the very boldest, to dip the tip of a finger in the water as the crocodiles resort thither in shoals, while in other places quite timid people jump out and swim and play about. As to the land of the 66 Cyclopes,^a since that race is a mythical fiction, it is not the case that cultivated fruit is produced without seed being sown or husbandmen tilling it, on the principle that from what does not exist nothing is generated. Greece must not be accused of being a sour unproductive land. For it too has plenty of deep rich soil, and if the world outside excels in fruitfulness its superiority in foodstuffs is counterbalanced by inferiority in the people to be fed for whose sake the food is produced. For Greece alone can be truly said to produce mankind, she who engenders the heavenly plant,^b the divine shoot, a perfect growth, even reason so closely allied to knowledge, and the cause of this is that the mind is naturally sharpened by the fineness of the air.^c And so Heracleitus aptly says 67 "where the land is dry the soul is best and wisest." One may find evidence for this in the superior intelligence of the sober and frugal, while those who cram

^b From *Timaeus* 90 A, cf. *Quod Det.* 85, *De Plant.* 17. In Plato the heavenly plant is mankind, and in the passages cited Philo recognizes this. I think it may be possible (1) to take both *φυτόν* and *βλάστημα* as governed by *ἀνθρωπογονεῖ* or rather as in apposition with *ἀνθρωπον* implied, and (2) *ἡκριβωμένον* as agreeing with *λογισμόν*. Even if (1) is impossible, (2) seems to me preferable. *ἡκριβ.* is an epithet more suitable to *λογισμόν* than to *βλάστημα*. So the Armenian translator, p. 117 ("certam veramque intelligentiam procreans"), though he goes wrong in taking *φυτόν* and *βλάστημα* in apposition with *Ἑλλάς*.

^c Mangey quotes Cic. *De Fat.* 4 "Athenis tenue caelum, ex quo etiam acutiores putantur Attici."

αἰὲ καὶ σιτίων ἐμπιπλαμένους ἥκιστα φρονίμους,
 68 ἅτε βαπτιζομένοι τοῖς ἐπιούσι τοῦ λογισμοῦ. διὸ
 κατὰ τὴν βάρβαρον ἔρνη μὲν ταῖς εὐτροφίαις καὶ
 στελέχη περιμήκιστα, καὶ ζώων ἀλόγων σφόδρα
 τὰ γονιμώτατα, νοῦν δ' ἥκιστα γεννᾷ, διότι τὸ
 ὑψωθῆναι ἐξ ἀέρος αἰτίου¹ αἱ γῆς καὶ ὕδατος ἐπάλ-
 ληλοι καὶ συνεχεῖς ἀναθυμιάσεις κατεκράτησαν.
 69 ἰχθύων δὲ καὶ ὀρνίθων καὶ χερσαίων
 γένη ζώων οὐκ ἔστιν ἐγκλήματα φύσεως ἐφ'
 ἡδονὴν παρακαλούσης, ἀλλὰ δεινὸς ψόγος τῆς
 ἡμῶν αὐτῶν ἀκρασίας. ἀναγκαῖον μὲν γὰρ ἦν εἰς
 τὴν τοῦ ὅλου συμπλήρωσιν, ἵνα γένηται κόσμος ἐν
 ἐκάστω μέρει, φύναι ζώων ιδέας ἀπάντων· οὐκ
 ἀναγκαῖον δὲ ἐπὶ τὴν τούτων ἀπόλαυσιν ὀρμῆσαι
 τὸ σοφίας συγγενέστατον χρήμα τὸν ἄνθρωπον,
 70 μεταβαλόντα εἰς ἀγριότητα θηρίων. διὸ καὶ μέχρι
 νῦν, οἷς λόγος ἐγκρατείας, ἅπαξ ἀπάντων ἀπ-
 ἔχονται, λαχανώδει χλόη καὶ καρποῖς δένδρων
 προσοψήμασιν ἡδίστη ἀπολαύσει χρώμενοι. τοῖς
 δὲ τὴν τῶν εἰρημένων θοίνην ἡγουμένοις εἶναι
 κατὰ φύσιν ἐπέστησαν διδάσκαλοι, σωφρονισταί,

¹ So apparently all mss. All editors except Gifford αὐτοῦ. If αἰτίου is retained, the sense must be as in the translation. But αἴτιον in this sense is strange without some clearer indication of what it causes. Mangey suggested τὸ μὴ ψυχωθῆναι ἐξ ἀέρος αὐτοῦ, οὗ, and I am inclined to think that ψυχωθῆναι is right. In this case the objection to αἰτίου is removed, for the air is the cause of vitalization. Cf. *De Som.* i. 136 τὰ ἐν ἐκείνοις οὗτος ἐψύχωσεν, where ἐκείνοις is earth and water and οὗτος is air. This is supported by the Armenian "mens nusquam nascitur ob frigefactionem et gelationem." The translator, who often duplicates, may easily have taken ψυχοῦσθαι in the sense which it sometimes bears, though not in Philo, of "being refrigerated." See App. p. 547.

ON PROVIDENCE, 2. 67-70

themselves with food and drink are most wanting in wisdom, because the reason is drowned by the stuff that is brought in. And therefore in the world outside Greece the plants and trunks are so well nourished that they grow to a great height and it is exceedingly productive of the most prolific animals but very unproductive of intelligence, because the continual and unceasing exhalations from the earth and water overpower it and prevent it from rising out of the air which is its source. The various

kinds of fishes, birds and land-animals do not give grounds for charging Nature of inviting us to pleasure, but they constitute a severe censure on our want of restraint.^a For to secure the completeness of the universe and that the cosmic order should exist in every part it was necessary that the different kinds of living animals should arise, but it was not necessary that man the creature most akin to wisdom should be impelled to feast upon them and so change himself into the savagery of wild beasts. And therefore to this day those who have thought for self-restraint abstain from every one of them and take green vegetables and the fruits of trees as a relish to their bread with the utmost enjoyment. And those who hold that feasting on these animals is natural have had placed over them teachers, censors and lawgivers who in

^a Alexander has argued (p. 106) that if self-denial and temperance, as the philosophers say, are acceptable to God and gluttony and the like are not, Providence, if it existed, would not have created animals of this kind to minister to men's appetites. Philo is unkind to his opponent in putting the argument into his mouth, since above he was bringing it against Providence that it kept these animals at a distance from mankind. See on § 62.

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νομοθέται κατὰ πόλεις, οἷς ἐμέλησε τὴν ἀμετρίαν
 τῶν ἐπιθυμιῶν στείλαι, μὴ ἐπιτρέψαι τὴν χρῆσιν
 71 ἀδεᾶ πᾶσι πάντων. ἴα¹ δὲ καὶ ῥόδα καὶ
 κρόκος, καὶ ἡ ἄλλη τῶν ἀνθέων ποικιλία, πρὸς
 ὑγίειαν, οὐ πρὸς ἡδονὴν γέγονεν. ἅπλετοι γὰρ
 τούτων αἱ δυνάμεις, καὶ καθ' αὐτὰς διὰ τῶν ὁσμῶν
 ὠφελοῦσιν, εὐωδίας πάντας ἀναμιμπλᾶσαι, καὶ
 πολὺ μᾶλλον ἐν ταῖς ἱατρικαῖς συνθέσεσι τῶν φαρ-
 μάκων. ἔνια γὰρ ἀναμιχθέντα τὰς ἑαυτῶν δυνάμεις
 ἀριδηλοτέρας παρέχεται, καθάπερ εἰς ζώου γένεσιν
 ἡ ἄρρενος καὶ θήλεος μίξις, ἰδίᾳ ἑκατέρου μὴ
 72 πεφυκότος ποιεῖν ἅπερ ἄμφω συνελθόντα. ταῦτ'
 ἀναγκαίως λέλεκται πρὸς τὰ λοιπὰ τῶν ὑπὸ σου
 400 διαπορηθέντων, ἱκανὴν πίστιν ἐργάσασθαι δυνάμενα
 τοῖς μὴ φιλονείκως ἔχουσι περὶ τοῦ τὸν Θεὸν τῶν
 ἀνθρωπίνων ἐπιμελεῖσθαι πραγμάτων.

¹ MSS. εἰ. See App. p. 547.

^a The same argument had been applied to the scents of flowers, particularly as an accompaniment of banquets. Philo elsewhere does not appear insensible to the beauty of flowers, but neither this nor their fragrance seem to him to come under the head of sensual pleasure, which is what he means by ἡδονή here.

ON PROVIDENCE, 2. 70-72

the different cities make it their business to restrain the intemperance of their appetites by refusing to allow all people to use them all without restriction.

Violets, roses, and crocuses and the 71 other flowers in their manifold variety were made to give health not pleasure.^a For their properties are infinite; they are beneficial in themselves by their scents, impregnating all with their fragrance, and far more beneficial when used by physicians in compounding drugs. For some things show their virtues more clearly when combined with others, just as the union of male and female serves to engender animal life while neither of them is qualified to do separately what they can do when combined.

This is the best answer I can make ^b to the rest of 72 the points raised by you, and it is enough to create in the mind of those who are not contentiously inclined solid grounds for believing that God takes care of human affairs.^c

^b For this sense of ἀναγκαίως cf. *Spec. Leg.* iii. 4, *Quod Det.* 160, and note on the latter, vol. ii. p. 497.

^c This is not actually the end of the treatise. Philo goes on to invite any other questions, but Alexander politely declines further discussion for the present.