

ΠΕΡΙ ΤΟΥ ΒΙΟΥ ΜΩΥΣΕΩΣ ΛΟΓΟΣ ΠΡΩΤΟΣ

[80]

¹ **Ι.** Μωυσέως τοῦ κατὰ μέν τινας νομοθέτου τῶν Ἰουδαίων, κατὰ δέ τινας ἑρμηνέως νόμων ἱερῶν, τὸν βίον ἀναγράψαι διενοήθην, ἀνδρὸς τὰ πάντα μεγίστου καὶ τελειοτάτου, καὶ γνώριμον τοῖς ἀξίοις

² μὴ ἀγνοεῖν αὐτὸν ἀποφῆναι. τῶν μὲν γὰρ νόμων τὸ κλέος, οὓς ἀπολέλοιπε, διὰ πάσης τῆς οἰκουμένης πεφοιτηκὸς ἄχρι καὶ τῶν τῆς γῆς τερμάτων ἔφθακεν, αὐτὸν δὲ ὅστις ἦν ἐπ' ἀληθείας ἴσασιν οὐ πολλοί, διὰ φθόνον ἴσως καὶ ἐν οὐκ ὀλίγοις τῶν διατεταγμένων ὑπὸ τῶν κατὰ πόλεις νομοθετῶν ἐναντίωσιν οὐκ ἐβελησάντων αὐτὸν μνήμης ἀξιῶσαι τῶν

³ παρ' Ἑλλησι λογίων· ὧν οἱ πλείους τὰς δυνάμεις αἷς ἔσχον διὰ παιδείας ὕβρισαν ἐν τε ποιήμασι καὶ

[81] τοῖς καταλογάδην | συγγράμμασι κωμωδίας καὶ συβαριτικὰς ἀσελγείας συνθέντες, περιβόητον αἰσχύνην, οὓς ἔδει ταῖς φύσεσι καταχρήσασθαι πρὸς τὴν τῶν ἀγαθῶν ἀνδρῶν τε καὶ βίων ὑφήγησιν, ἵνα μήτε τι καλὸν ἡσυχία παραδοθὲν ἀρχαῖον ἢ νέον ἀφανισθῇ λάμψαι δυνάμενον μήτ' αὖ τὰς ἀμείνους ὑποθέσεις παρελθόντες τὰς ἀναξίους ἀκοῆς προκρῖναι δοκῶσι σπουδάζοντες τὰ κακὰ καλῶς ἀπ-

⁴ αγγέλλειν εἰς ὄνειδῶν ἐπιφάνειαν. ἀλλ' ἔγωγε τὴν

ON THE LIFE OF MOSES, BOOK I

I. I purpose to write the life of Moses, whom some 1 describe as the legislator of the Jews, others as the interpreter of the Holy Laws. I hope to bring the story of this greatest and most perfect of men to the knowledge of such as deserve not to remain in ignorance of it; for, while the fame of the laws 2 which he left behind him has travelled throughout the civilized world and reached the ends of the earth, the man himself as he really was is known to few. Greek men of letters have refused to treat him as worthy of memory, possibly through envy, and also because in many cases the ordinances of the legislators of the different states are opposed to his. Most 3 of these authors have abused the powers which education gave them, by composing in verse or prose comedies and pieces of voluptuous licence, to their widespread disgrace, when they should have used their natural gifts to the full on the lessons taught by good men and their lives. In this way they might have ensured that nothing of excellence, old or new, should be consigned to oblivion and to the extinction of the light which it could give, and also save themselves from seeming to neglect the better themes and prefer others unworthy of attention, in which all their efforts to express bad matter in good language served to confer distinction on shameful

τούτων βασκανίαν ὑπερβάς τὰ περὶ τὸν ἄνδρα
μηνύσω μαθὼν αὐτὰ κακὰ βίβλων τῶν ἱερῶν, ὥς
θαυμάσια μνημεῖα τῆς αὐτοῦ σοφίας ἀπολέλοιπε,
καὶ παρά τινων ἀπὸ τοῦ ἔθνους πρεσβυτέρων·
τὰ γὰρ λεγόμενα τοῖς ἀναγινωσκομένοις αἰεὶ συν-
ύφαινον καὶ διὰ τοῦτ' ἔδοξα μᾶλλον ἑτέρων τὰ περὶ
τὸν βίον ἀκριβῶσαι.

- 5 II. "Ἀρξομαι δ' ἀφ' οὗπερ ἀναγκαῖον ἄρξασθαι.
Μωυσῆς γένος μὲν ἐστὶ Χαλδαῖος, ἐγεννήθη δ' ἐν
Αἰγύπτῳ καὶ ἐτρέφη, τῶν προγόνων αὐτοῦ διὰ
πολυχρόνιον λιμόν, ὃς Βαβυλῶνα καὶ τοὺς πλησιο-
χώρους ἐπίεξε, κατὰ ζήτησιν τροφῆς εἰς Αἴγυπτον
πανοικὶ μεταναστάντων, γῆν πεδιάδα καὶ βαθεῖαν
καὶ πρὸς πάντα γονιμωτάτην, ὣν ἡ ἀνθρωπίνη
φύσις δέεται, καὶ μάλιστα τὸν τοῦ σίτου καρπόν.
6 ὁ γὰρ ταύτης ποταμὸς θέρους ἀκμάζοντος, ἡνίκα
τοὺς ἄλλους φασὶ μειοῦσθαι χειμάρρους τε καὶ
αὐθιγενεῖς, ἐπιβαίνων τε καὶ ἀναχεόμενος πλημ-
μυρεῖ καὶ λιμνάζει τὰς ἀρούρας, αἱ ὕετοῦ μὴ δεό-
μεναι φορᾶς ἀφθονίαν παντοίων ἀγαθῶν ἀνὰ πᾶν
ἔτος χορηγοῦσιν, εἰ μὴ που μεσολαβήσειεν ὀργὴ
θεοῦ δι' ἐπιπολάζουσιν ἀσέβειαν τῶν οἰκητόρων.
7 πατρὸς δὲ καὶ μητρὸς ἔλαχε τῶν καθ' ἑαυτοὺς
ἀρίστων, οὓς φυλέτας ὄντας ἡ ὁμοφροσύνη μᾶλλον
ὠκείωσεν ἢ τὸ γένος. ἐβδόμη γενεὰ (δ') οὗτός
ἐστὶν ἀπὸ τοῦ πρώτου, ὃς ἐπηλύτης ὢν τοῦ σύμ-
παντος Ἰουδαίων ἔθνους ἀρχηγέτης ἐγένετο. III.
8 τροφῆς δ' ἡξιώθη βασιλικῆς ἀπ' αἰτίας τοιαύσδε·

α For §§ 5-17 see Ex. ii. 1-10.

MOSES I. 4-8

subjects. But I will disregard their malice, and tell 4 the story of Moses as I have learned it, both from the sacred books, the wonderful monuments of his wisdom which he has left behind him, and from some of the elders of the nation ; for I always interwove what I was told with what I read, and thus believed myself to have a closer knowledge than others of his life's history.

II. ^a I will begin with what is necessarily the right 5 place to begin. Moses was by race a Chaldean, but was born and reared in Egypt, as his ancestors had migrated thither to seek food with their whole households, in consequence of the long famine under which Babylon and the neighbouring populations were suffering. Egypt is a land rich in plains, with deep soil, and very productive of all that human nature needs, and particularly of corn. For the river 6 of this country, in the height of summer, when other streams, whether winter torrents or spring-fed, are said to dwindle, rises and overflows, and its flood makes a lake of the fields which need no rain but every year bear a plentiful crop of good produce of every kind, if not prevented by some visitation of the wrath of God to punish the prevailing impiety of the inhabitants. He had for his father and 7 mother the best of their contemporaries, members of the same tribe, though with them mutual affection was a stronger tie than family connexions. He was seventh in descent from the first settler, who became the founder of the whole Jewish nation.^b III. He was brought up as a prince, a promotion 8 due to the following cause. As the nation of the

^b See Ex. vi. 16 ff., where Moses is given as fifth from Jacob and therefore seventh from Abraham.

- τῆς χώρας ὁ βασιλεύς, εἰς πολυανθρωπίαν ἐπιδιδόντος αἰὲ τοῦ ἔθνους, δείσας μὴ οἱ ἔποικοι πλείους γενόμενοι δυνατωτέρα χειρὶ τοῖς αὐτόχθοσι περὶ κράτους ἀρχῆς ἀμιλλῶνται, τὴν ἰσχὺν αὐτῶν
- [82] ἀφαιρεῖν ἐπινοίαις ἀνοσιουργοῖς ἐμηχανᾶτο | καὶ κελεύει τῶν γεννωμένων τὰ μὲν θήλεα τρέφειν— ἐπεὶ γυνὴ διὰ φύσεως ἀσθένειαν ὀκνηρὸν εἰς πόλεμον—, τὰ δ' ἄρρενα διαφθείρειν, ἵνα μὴ αὐξηθῇ κατὰ πόλεις· εὐανδροῦσα γὰρ δύναμις δυσάλωτον καὶ
- 9 δυσκαθαίρετον ἐπιτείχισμα. γεννηθεῖς οὖν ὁ παῖς, εὐθύς ὄψιν ἐνέφαινεν ἀστειοτέραν ἢ κατ' ἰδιώτην, ὥς καὶ τῶν τοῦ τυράννου κηρυγμάτων, ἐφ' ὅσον οἷόν τε ἦν, τοὺς γονεῖς ἀλογῆσαι· τρεῖς γοῦν φασὶ μῆνας ἐφεξῆς οἴκοι γαλακτοτροφηθῆναι λανθάνοντα
- 10 τοὺς πολλοὺς. ἐπεὶ δ', οἷα ἐν μοναρχίαις φιλεῖ, καὶ τὰ ἐν μυχοῖς ἔνιοι διηρεύνων σπεύδοντες αἰεὶ τι καινὸν ἄκουσμα προσφέρειν τῷ βασιλεῖ, φοβηθέντες μὴ σωτηρίαν ἐνὶ μνώμενοι πλείους ὄντες αὐτοῖς σὺν ἐκείνῳ παραπόλωνται, δεδακρυμένοι τὸν παῖδα ἐκτιθέασιν παρὰ τὰς ὄχθας τοῦ ποταμοῦ καὶ στένοντες ἀπήεσαν, οἰκτιζόμενοι μὲν αὐτοὺς τῆς ἀνάγκης αὐτόχειράς τε καὶ τεκνοκτόνους ἀποκαλοῦντες, οἰκτιζόμενοι δὲ καὶ τὸν παῖδα τῆς παρα-
- 11 λογωτάτης ἀπωλείας. εἶθ', ὥς εἰκὸς ἐν ἄλλοκότῳ πράγματι, κατηγόρουν αὐτῶν ὥς μείζονος αἰτίων συμφορᾶς· “ τί γὰρ ” ἔφασκον “ εὐθύς γεννώμενον οὐκ ἐξεθήκαμεν; τὸν μὴ φθάσαντα τροφῆς ἡμέρου μεταλαχεῖν οὐδ' ἄνθρωπον οἱ πολλοὶ νομίζουσιν·

^a Ex. ii. 2. The LXX word ἀστεῖος is quoted in Hebrews xi. 23 and Acts vii. 20.

MOSES I. 8-11

newcomers was constantly growing more numerous, the king of the country, fearing that the settlers, thus increasing, might shew their superiority by contesting the chief power with the original inhabitants, contrived a most iniquitous scheme to deprive them of their strength. He gave orders to rear the female infants, since her natural weakness makes a woman inactive in war, but to put the males to death, to prevent their number increasing throughout the cities; for a flourishing male population is a coign of vantage to an aggressor which cannot easily be taken or destroyed. Now, the child from 9 his birth had an appearance of more than ordinary goodness,^a so that his parents as long as they could actually set at nought the proclamations of the despot. In fact we are told that, unknown to all but few, he was kept at home and fed from his mother's breast for three successive months. But, since, as is 10 often the case under a monarch, there were persons prying into holes and corners, ever eager to carry some new report to the king, his parents in their fear that their efforts to save one would but cause a larger number, namely themselves, to perish with him, exposed him with tears on the banks of the river, and departed groaning. They pitied themselves being forced, as they said in their self-reproach, to be the murderers of their own child, and they pitied him too, left to perish in this unnatural way. Then, as was natural in so strangely cruel a 11 situation, they began to accuse themselves of having made bad worse. "Why did we not cast him away," they said, "directly he was born? The child who has not survived to enjoy a kind nurture is not usually reckoned as a human being. But we meddlers

ἡμεῖς δ' οἱ περιττοὶ καὶ τρεῖς μῆνας ὅλους ἀνεθρέψαμεν, δαψιλεστέρας μὲν ἑαυτοῖς ἀνίας, τῷ δὲ τιμωρίας ἐκπορίζοντες, ἵν' ἡδονῶν καὶ ἀλγηδόνων ἐπὶ πλείστον ἀντιλαμβάνεσθαι δυνάμενος ἐν αἰσθήσει κακῶν ἀργαλεωτέρων διαφθείρηται."

- 12 IV. Καὶ οἱ μὲν ἀγνοῖα τοῦ μέλλοντος ἀπήεσαν οἰκτρῷ κατεσχημένοι πένθει, ἀδελφὴ δὲ τοῦ ἐκτεθέντος βρέφους ἔτι παρθένος ὑπὸ φιλοικείου πάθους μικρὸν ἀποθεν ἐκαρადόκει τὸ ἀποβησόμενον· ἃ μοι δοκεῖ πάντα συμβῆναι κατὰ θεὸν προμηθούμενον
- 13 τοῦ παιδός. θυγάτηρ ἦν τῷ βασιλεῖ τῆς χώρας ἀγαπητὴ καὶ μόνη· ταύτην φασὶ γημαμένην ἐκ πολλοῦ χρόνου μὴ κυῖσκειν τέκνων ὥς εἰκὸς ἐπιθυμοῦσαν καὶ μάλιστα γενεᾶς ἄρρενος, ἥ τὸν εὐδαίμονα κλῆρον τῆς πατρώας ἡγεμονίας διαδέξεται κινδυνεύοντα ἐρημία θυγατριδῶν ἀλλοτριωθῆναι.
- 14 κατηφοῦσαν δὲ αἰεὶ καὶ στένουσαν ὥς μάλιστα ἐκείνῃ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ τῷ βάρει τῶν φροντίδων ἀπαγορεῦσαι καὶ δι' ἔθους ἔχουσαν οἶκοι καταμένειν καὶ μηδὲ τὰς κλισιάδας ὑπερβαίνειν ἐξορμῆσαι μετὰ θεραπαινίδων ἐπὶ τὸν ποταμόν, ἔνθα ὁ παῖς ἐξέκειτο· κᾶπειτα λουτροῖς καὶ περιρραντηρίοις χρή-
- [83] σθαι μέλλουσιν ἐν τῷ δασυτάτῳ τῶν ἐλῶν | αὐτὸν
- 15 θεάσασθαι καὶ κελεῦσαι προσφέρειν. εἶτα ἀπὸ κεφαλῆς ἄχρι ποδῶν καταθεωμένην τήν τε εὐμορφίαν καὶ εὐεξίαν ἀποδέχεσθαι καὶ δεδακρυμένον ὀρώσαν ἐλεεῖν, ἥδη τῆς ψυχῆς τετραμμένης αὐτῇ πρὸς μητρῶον πάθος ὥς ἐπὶ γνησίῳ παιδί· γνοῦσαν

^a See App. p. 603.

^b The statements (1) that Pharaoh's daughter was the only child of her father, (2) that she had no child of her own, so

282

MOSES I. 11-15

actually nurtured him for three whole months, thus procuring more abundant affliction for ourselves and torture for him, only that when he was fully capable of feeling pleasure and pain he should perish conscious of the increased misery of his sufferings.”^a

IV. While they departed ignorant of the future, 12 overcome by grief and sorrow, the sister of the infant castaway, a girl still unmarried, moved by family affection, remained at a little distance, waiting to see what would happen, all this being brought about, in my opinion, by the providence of God watching over the child. The king of the country had but 13 one cherished daughter, who, we are told, had been married for a considerable time but had never conceived a child, though she naturally desired one, particularly of the male sex, to succeed to the magnificent inheritance of her father's kingdom, which threatened to go to strangers if his daughter gave him no grandson.^b Depressed and loud in lamenta- 14 tion she always was, but on this particular day she broke down under the weight of cares; and, though her custom was to remain at home and never even cross the threshold, she set off with her maids to the river, where the child was exposed. Then, as she was preparing to make her ablutions in the purifying water, she saw him lying where the marshland growth was thickest, and bade him be brought to her. There- 15 upon, surveying him from head to foot, she approved of his beauty and fine condition, and seeing him weeping took pity on him, for her heart was now moved to feel for him as a mother for her own child.

that Moses was heir presumptive to the throne, are additions to Exodus also either given or implied by Josephus, who adds much other legendary matter, *Ant.* ii. 232 ff.

- δ' ὅτι τῶν Ἑβραίων ἐστὶ καταδεισάντων τοῦ βασι-
λέως τὸ πρόσταγμα βουλεύεσθαι περὶ τῆς τροφῆς
αὐτοῦ· μὴ γὰρ ἀσφαλὲς εὐθὺς εἶναι νομίζειν εἰς τὰ
16 βασιλεία ἄγειν. διαπορούσης δ' ἔτι, τὴν ἀδελφὴν
τοῦ παιδὸς καθάπερ ἀπὸ σκοπῆς τὸν ἐνδοιασμὸν
στοχασαμένην πυνθάνεσθαι προσδραμοῦσαν, εἰ βου-
λήσεται γαλακτοτροφηθῆναι τοῦτον¹ παρὰ γυναιῶ
17 τῶν Ἑβραϊκῶν οὐ πρό πολλοῦ κυήσαντι· τῆς δὲ
βούλεσθαι φαμένης, τὴν αὐτῆς καὶ τοῦ βρέφους
μητέρα παραγαγεῖν ὡς ἀλλοτρίαν, ἣν ἐτοιμότερον
ἀσμένην ὑπισχνεῖσθαι πρόφασιν ὡς ἐπὶ μισθῷ
τροφεύσειν, ἐπινοία θεοῦ τοῦ τὰς πρώτας τροφὰς
τῷ παιδί γνησίας εὐτρεπίζοντος· εἶτα δίδωσιν
ὄνομα θεμένη Μωυσὴν ἐτύμως διὰ τὸ ἐκ τοῦ ὕδατος
αὐτὸν ἀνελέσθαι· τὸ γὰρ ὕδωρ μῶν ὀνομάζουσιν
Αἰγύπτιοι.
- 18 V. Ἐπεὶ δ' ἀθρόας ἐπιδόσεις καὶ παραυξήσεις
λαμβάνων οὐ σὺν λόγῳ τῷ κατὰ χρόνον θάττον δ'
ἀπότιτθος γίνεται, παρῆν ἢ μήτηρ ἅμα καὶ τροφὸς
κομίζουσα τῇ δούσῃ μηκέτι γαλακτοτροφίας δεό-
19 μενον, εὐγενῇ καὶ ἀστεῖον ὀφθῆναι. τελειότερον δὲ
τῆς ἡλικίας ἰδοῦσα κακὴ τῆς ὄψεως ἔτι μᾶλλον ἢ
πρότερον σπάσασα εὐνοίας υἱὸν ποιεῖται τὰ περὶ τὸν
ὄγκον τῆς γαστρὸς τεχνάσασα πρότερον, ἵνα γνή-
σιος ἀλλὰ μὴ ὑποβολιμαῖος νομισθῇ· πάντα δ'
ἐξευμαρίζει θεὸς ὃς ἂν ἐθέλῃ καὶ τὰ δυσκατ-
20 ὀρθωτα. τροφῆς οὖν ἤδη βασιλικῆς καὶ θεραπείας
ἀξιούμενος οὐχ οἷα κομιδῇ νήπιος ἦδετο τωθασμοῖς

¹ MSS. τοῦτο (sc. βρέφος?).

MOSES I. 15-20

And, recognizing that he belonged to the Hebrews, who were intimidated by the king's orders, she considered how to have him nursed, for at present it was not safe to take him to the palace. While 16 she was still thus debating, the child's sister, who guessed her difficulty, ran up from where she stood like a scout, and asked whether she would like to take for his foster-mother a Hebrew woman who had lately been with child. When the princess agreed, 17 she brought her own and the babe's mother in the guise of a stranger, who readily and gladly promised to nurse him, ostensibly for wages. Thus, by God's disposing, it was provided that the child's first nursing should come from the natural source. Since he had been taken up from the water, the princess gave him a name derived from this,^a and called him Moses, for *Möu* is the Egyptian word for water.

V. As he grew and thrived without a break, and 18 was weaned at an earlier date than they had reckoned, his mother and nurse in one brought him to her from whom she had received him, since he had ceased to need an infant's milk. He was noble and goodly to look upon ; and the princess, seeing him so advanced 19 beyond his age, conceived for him an even greater fondness than before, and took him for her son, having at an earlier time artificially enlarged the figure of her womb to make him pass as her real and not a supposititious child. God makes all that He wills easy, however difficult be the accomplishment. So now he received as his right the nurture and 20 service due to a prince. Yet he did not bear himself

^a *ἐτύμως* as regularly in Philo used with reference to the "etymology" of the word, see note on *De Conf.* 137. So again § 130 below.

- καὶ γέλωσι καὶ παιδιαῖς, καίτοι τῶν τὴν ἐπιμέλειαν αὐτοῦ παρειληφότων ἀνέσεις ἔχειν ἐπιτρεπόντων καὶ μηδὲν ἐπιδεικνυμένων σκυθρωπόν, ἀλλ' αἰδῶ καὶ σεμνότητα παραφαίνων ἀκούσμασι καὶ θεάμασιν, ἃ τὴν ψυχὴν ἔμελλεν ὠφελήσειν, προσεῖχε.
- 21 διδάσκαλοι δ' εὐθύς ἀλλαχόθεν ἄλλοι παρήσαν, οἱ μὲν ἀπὸ τῶν πλησιοχώρων καὶ τῶν κατ' Αἴγυπτον νομῶν αὐτοκέλευστοι, οἱ δ' ἀπὸ τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἐπὶ [84] μεγάλας δωρεαῖς μεταπεμφθέντες· ὧν | ἐν οὐ μακρῷ χρόνῳ τὰς δυνάμεις ὑπερέβαλεν εὐμοιρία φύσεως φθάνων τὰς ὑψηλῆς, ὥς ἀνάμνησιν εἶναι δοκεῖν, οὐ μάθῃσιν, ἔτι καὶ προσεπινοῶν αὐτὸς τὰ
- 22 δυσθεώρητα. πολλὰ γὰρ αἱ μεγάλαί φύσεις καινοτομοῦσι τῶν εἰς ἐπιστήμην· καὶ καθάπερ τὰ εὐεκτικὰ τῶν σωμάτων καὶ πᾶσι τοῖς μέρεσιν εὐκίνητα φροντίδων ἀπαλλάττει τοὺς ἀλείπτας οὐδὲν ἢ βραχέα παρέχοντας τῶν εἰς ἐπιμέλειαν, ὥσπερ καὶ γεωργοὺς τὰ εὐβλαστα καὶ εὐγενῆ δένδρα βελτιούμενα δι' ἑαυτῶν, τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον εὐφυῆς ψυχὴν προαπαντῶσα τοῖς λεγομένοις ὑφ' αὐτῆς μᾶλλον ἢ τῶν διδασκόντων ὠφελεῖται καὶ λαβομένη τινὸς ἐπιστημονικῆς ἀρχῆς κατὰ τὴν παροιμίαν "ἵππος
- 23 εἰς πεδίον" ὄρμῃ. ἀριθμοὺς μὲν οὖν καὶ γεωμετρίαν τὴν τε ῥυθμικὴν καὶ ἀρμονικὴν καὶ μετρικὴν θεωρίαν καὶ μουσικὴν τὴν σύμπασαν διὰ τε χρήσεως ὀργάνων καὶ λόγων τῶν ἐν ταῖς τέχναις καὶ διεξόδοις τοπικωτέραις Αἰγυπτίων οἱ λόγιοι

^a Josephus on the other hand makes him shew his superiority in his games, *Ant.* ii. 230.

^b See App. p. 603.

^c Philo may have derived this from his own knowledge of the scope of education in Egypt in the present and past, but perhaps also from Plato, *Laws* 656 D, 799 A, 819 A, where 286

like the mere infant that he was, nor delight in fun and laughter and sport, though those who had the charge of him did not grudge him relaxation or shew him any strictness;^a but with a modest and serious bearing he applied himself to hearing and seeing what was sure to profit the soul. Teachers at once 21 arrived from different parts, some unbidden from the neighbouring countries and the provinces of Egypt, others summoned from Greece under promise of high reward. But in a short time he advanced beyond their capacities; his gifted nature forestalled their instruction, so that his seemed a case rather of recollection than of learning, and indeed he himself devised and propounded problems which they could not easily solve. For great natures carve 22 out much that is new in the way of knowledge; and, just as bodies, robust and agile in every part, free their trainers from care, and receive little or none of their usual attention, and in the same way well-grown and naturally healthy trees, which improve of themselves, give the husbandmen no trouble, so the gifted soul takes the lead in meeting the lessons given by itself rather than the teacher and is profited thereby, and as soon as it has a grasp of some of the first principles of knowledge presses forward like the horse to the meadow,^b as the proverb goes. Arith- 23 metic, geometry, the lore of metre, rhythm and harmony, and the whole subject of music as shown by the use of instruments or in textbooks and treatises of a more special character, were imparted to him by learned Egyptians.^c These further in-mathematics, music, and dancing are said to be the subjects most stressed by Egyptians. *Cf.*, as a summary of all that is said here, Acts vii. 22 "he was instructed in all the wisdom of the Egyptians."

- παρεδίδοσαν καὶ προσέτι τὴν διὰ συμβόλων φιλοσοφίαν, ἣν ἐν τοῖς λεγομένοις ἱεροῖς γράμμασιν ἐπιδείκνυνται καὶ διὰ τῆς τῶν ζώων ἀποδοχῆς, ἃ καὶ θεῶν τιμαῖς γεραίρουσι· τὴν δ' ἄλλην ἐγκύκλιον παιδείαν Ἕλληνες ἐδίδασκον, οἱ δ' ἐκ τῶν πλησιόχωρων τὰ τε Ἀσσύρια γράμματα καὶ τὴν τῶν
- 24 οὐρανίων Χαλδαϊκὴν ἐπιστήμην. ταύτην καὶ παρ' Αἰγυπτίων ἀνελάμβανε μαθηματικὴν ἐν τοῖς μάλιστα ἐπιτηδεύοντων· καὶ τὰ παρ' ἀμφοτέροις ἀκριβῶς ἐν οἷς τε συμφωνοῦσι καὶ διαφέρονται καταμαθὼν, ἀφιλονείκως τὰς ἔριδας ὑπερβάς, τὴν ἀλήθειαν ἐζήτει, μηδὲν ψεῦδος τῆς διανοίας αὐτοῦ παραδέχεσθαι δυναμένης, ὡς ἔθος τοῖς αἰρεσιόμαχοις, οἱ τοῖς προτεθείσι δόγμασιν ὅποια ἂν τύχη βοηθοῦσιν οὐκ ἐξετάζοντες, εἰ δόκιμα, τὸ δ' αὐτὸ δρῶντες τοῖς ἐπὶ μισθῷ συναγορεύουσι καὶ μηδὲν
- 25 τοῦ δικαίου πεφροντικοῖσιν. VI. ἤδη δὲ τοὺς ὄρους τῆς παιδικῆς ἡλικίας ὑπερβαίνων ἐπέτεινε τὴν φρόνησιν, οὐχ ὡς ἔνιοι τὰς μεираκιώδεις ἐπιθυμίας ἀχαλινώτους ἔων καίτοι μυρία ἐχούσας ὑπεκκαύματα διὰ παρασκευὰς ἀφθόνους, ἃς αἱ βασιλεῖαι χορηγοῦσιν, ἀλλὰ σωφροσύνη καὶ καρτερία ὥσπερ τιςὶν ἡνίαῖς ἐνδησάμενος αὐτὰς τὴν εἰς
- 26 τὸ πρόσω φορὰν ἀνεχαίτιζε βία. καὶ τῶν ἄλλων μέντοι παθῶν ἕκαστον ἐξ ἑαυτοῦ μεμνηνὸς καὶ λελυττηκὸς φύσει τιθασεύων κἀξημερῶν ἐπράννεν· εἰ δέ που διακινηθεῖν μόνον ἡσυχῇ καὶ πτερυζαίτο, κολάσεις ἐμβριθεστέρας παρείχετο ἢ διὰ λόγων |

^a This would normally be grammar or literature, rhetoric, logic and perhaps astronomy as distinguished from astrology. See *De Cong.* 11 and note; also *De Som.* i. 205 and note, with other references. Clement, *Strom.* i. 23, adds *ιατρική*.

MOSES I. 23-26

structed him in the philosophy conveyed in symbols, as displayed in the so-called holy inscriptions and in the regard paid to animals, to which they even pay divine honours. He had Greeks to teach him the rest of the regular school course,^a and the inhabitants of the neighbouring countries for Assyrian letters^b and the Chaldean science of the heavenly bodies. This he also acquired from Egyptians,^c who 24 give special attention to astrology. And, when he had mastered the lore of both nations, both where they agree and where they differ, he eschewed all strife and contention and sought only for truth. His mind was incapable of accepting any falsehood, as is the way with the sectarians, who defend the doctrines they have propounded, whatever they may be, without examining whether they can stand scrutiny, and thus put themselves on a par with hired advocates who have no thought nor care for justice.

VI. When he was now passing beyond the term of 25 boyhood, his good sense became more active. He did not, as some, allow the lusts of adolescence to go unbridled, though the abundant resources which palaces provide supply numberless incentives to foster their flame. But he kept a tight hold on them with the reins, as it were, of temperance and self-control, and forcibly pulled them back from their forward course. And each of the other passions, 26 which rage so furiously if left to themselves, he tamed and assuaged and reduced to mildness; and if they did but gently stir or flutter he provided for them heavier chastisement than any rebuke of words

^b See App. p. 603.

^c This seems to suggest that in Philo's time astrology, as taught on Chaldaean (*i.e.* the generally accepted) principles, differed somewhat from the form current in Egypt.

- [85] ἐπιπλήξεις· καὶ συνόλως τὰς πρώτας τῆς ψυχῆς ἐπιβολὰς τε καὶ ὁρμὰς ὡς ἀφηνιαστὴν ἵππον ἐπετήρει δεδιώς, μὴ προεκδραμοῦσαι τοῦ ἡνιοχεῖν ὀφείλοντος λογισμοῦ πάντα διὰ πάντων συγχέωσιν· αὗται γάρ εἰσιν αἱ ἀγαθῶν αἰτίαι καὶ κακῶν, ἀγαθῶν μὲν, ὅταν ἡγεμόνι λόγῳ πειθαρχῶσι, τῶν δ' 27 ἐναντίων, ὅταν εἰς ἀναρχίαν ἐκδιαιτῶνται. κατὰ τὸ εἰκὸς οὖν οἱ τε συνδιατρίβοντες καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι πάντες ἐτεθήπесαν, ὡς ἐπὶ καινῷ θεάματι καταπληττόμενοι καὶ τίς ἄρα ὁ ἐνοικῶν αὐτοῦ τῷ σώματι καὶ ἀγαλματοφορούμενος νοῦς ἐστι, πότερον ἀνθρώπειος ἢ θεῖος ἢ μικτὸς ἐξ ἀμφοῖν, διερευνώμενοι, τῷ μηδὲν ἔχειν τοῖς πολλοῖς ὅμοιον, ἀλλ' ὑπερκύπτειν καὶ πρὸς τὸ μεγαλειότερον ἐξῆρθαι.
- 28 γαστρί τε γὰρ ἔξω τῶν ἀναγκαίων δασμῶν, οὓς ἡ φύσις ἔταξεν, οὐδὲν πλέον ἐχορήγει, τῶν τε ὑπογαστρίων ἡδονῶν εἰ μὴ μέχρι σποράς παίδων 29 γνησίων οὐδὲ ἐμέμνητο. γενόμενός τε διαφερόντως ἀσκητῆς ὀλιγοδεείας καὶ τὸν ἀβροδίατον βίον ὡς οὐδεὶς ἕτερος χλευάσας—ψυχῇ γὰρ ἐπόθει μόνη ζῆν, οὐ σώματι—τὰ φιλοσοφίας δόγματα διὰ τῶν καθ' ἐκάστην ἡμέραν ἔργων ἐπεδείκνυτο, λέγων μὲν οἷα ἐφρόνει, πράττων δὲ ἀκόλουθα τοῖς λεγομένοις εἰς ἀρμονίαν λόγου καὶ βίου, ἢν' οἷος ὁ λόγος τοιοῦτος ὁ βίος καὶ οἷος ὁ βίος τοιοῦτος ὁ λόγος ἐξετάζονται καθάπερ ἐν ὀργάνῳ μουσικῷ συνηχοῦντες. 30 οἱ μὲν οὖν πολλοί, κἂν αὐτὸ μόνον αὔρα βραχεῖα τινος εὐτυχίας προσπέσῃ, φυσῶσι καὶ πνέουσι μεγάλα καὶ καταλαζονευόμενοι τῶν ἀφαντέρων καθάρματα καὶ παρενοχλήματα καὶ γῆς ἄχθη καὶ ὅσα τοιαῦτα ἀποκαλοῦσιν, ὥσπερ τὸ ἀκλινές

MOSES I. 26-30

could give; and in general he watched the first directions and impulses of the soul as one would a restive horse, in fear lest they should run away with the reason which ought to rein them in, and thus cause universal chaos. For it is these impulses which cause both good and bad—good when they obey the guidance of reason, bad when they turn from their regular course into anarchy. Naturally, there- 27 fore, his associates and everyone else, struck with amazement at what they felt was a novel spectacle, considered earnestly what the mind which dwelt in his body like an image in its shrine could be, whether it was human or divine or a mixture of both, so utterly unlike was it to the majority, soaring above them and exalted to a grander height. For on his 28 belly he bestowed no more than the necessary tributes which nature has appointed, and as for the pleasures that have their seat below, save for the lawful begetting of children, they passed altogether even out of his memory. And, in his desire to live 29 to the soul alone and not to the body, he made a special practice of frugal contentment, and had an unparalleled scorn for a life of luxury. He exemplified his philosophical creed by his daily actions. His words expressed his feelings, and his actions accorded with his words, so that speech and life were in harmony, and thus through their mutual agreement were found to make melody together as on a musical instrument.

Now, most men, 30 if they feel a breath of prosperity ever so small upon them, make much ado of puffing and blowing, and boast themselves as bigger than meaner men, and miscall them offscourings and nuisances and cumberers of the earth and other suchlike names, as if

- τῆς εὐπραγίας ἐν βεβαίῳ παρ' ἑαυτοῖς εὖ μάλα σφραγισάμενοι μηδὲ μέχρι τῆς ὑστεραίας ἴσως δια-
 31 μενοῦντες ἐν ὁμοίῳ. τύχης γὰρ ἀσταθμητότερον οὐδὲν ἄνω καὶ κάτω τὰ ἀνθρώπεια πεττενούσης, ἣ μιᾷ πολλάκις ἡμέρα τὸν μὲν ὑψηλὸν καθαιρεῖ, τὸν δὲ ταπεινὸν μετέωρον ἐξαίρει· καὶ ταῦτα ὁρῶντες αἰεὶ γινόμενα καὶ σαφῶς εἰδότες ὅμως ὑπερόπται μὲν οἰκείων καὶ φίλων εἰσὶ, νόμους δὲ παραβαίνουσι, καθ' οὓς ἐγενήθησαν καὶ ἐτράφησαν, ἔθνη δὲ πάτρια, οἷς μέμψις οὐδεμία πρόσεστι δικαία, κινουσιν ἐκδεδιητημένοι καὶ διὰ τὴν τῶν παρόντων ἀποδοχὴν οὐδενὸς ἔτι τῶν ἀρχαίων μνήμην λαμβάνουσιν.
- 32 VII. ὁ δὲ ἐπ' αὐτὸν φθάσας τὸν ὅρον τῆς ἀνθρωπίνης εὐτυχίας καὶ θυγατριδοῦς μὲν τοῦ τοσούτου βασιλέως νομισθεῖς, τῆς δὲ παππῶας ἀρχῆς ὅσον
 [86] οὐδέπω γεγωνῶς ἐλπίσι | ταῖς ἀπάντων διαδόχος καὶ τί γὰρ ἄλλ' ἢ ὁ νέος βασιλεὺς προσαγορευόμενος, τὴν συγγενικὴν καὶ προγονικὴν ἐζήλωσε παιδείαν, τὰ μὲν τῶν εἰσποιησαμένων ἀγαθὰ, καὶ εἰ λαμπρότερα καιροῖς, νόθα εἶναι ὑπολαβὼν, τὰ δὲ τῶν φύσει γονέων, εἰ καὶ πρὸς ὀλίγον ἀφανέστερα,
 33 οἰκεῖα γοῦν καὶ γνήσια· καθάπερ τε κριτῆς ἀδέκαστος τῶν γεννησάντων καὶ τῶν εἰσποιησαμένων τοὺς μὲν εὐνοία καὶ τῷ φιλεῖν ἐκθύμως τοὺς δ' εὐχαριστίαις ἀνθ' ὧν εὖ ἔπαθεν ἡμεῖβετο καὶ μέχρι παντὸς ἡμεῖψατ' ἄν, εἰ μὴ κατείδεν ἐν τῇ χώρᾳ μέγα καινουργηθὲν ὑπὸ τοῦ βασιλέως ἀσέβημα.

^a A paraphrase of the fragment of Euripides quoted *De Som.* i. 154:

ἡ μία γὰρ ἡμέρα
 τὸν μὲν καθεῖλεν ὑψόθεν, τὸν δ' ἥρ' ἄνω.

MOSES I. 30-33

they themselves had the permanence of their prosperity securely sealed in their possession, though even the morrow may find them no longer where they are. For nothing is more unstable than Fortune, 31 who moves human affairs up and down on the draughtboard of life, and in a single day pulls down the lofty and exalts the lowly on high ;^a and though they see and know full well that this is always happening, they nevertheless look down on their relations and friends and set at naught the laws under which they were born and bred, and subvert the ancestral customs to which no blame can justly attach, by adopting different modes of life, and, in their contentment with the present, lose all memory of the past.

VII. But Moses, having 32 reached the very pinnacle of human prosperity, regarded as the son of the king's daughter, and in general expectation almost the successor to his grandfather's sovereignty, and indeed regularly called the young king, was zealous for the discipline and culture of his kinsmen and ancestors. The good fortune of his adopters, he held, was a spurious one, even though the circumstances gave it greater lustre ; that of his natural parents, though less distinguished for the nonce, was at any rate his own and genuine ; and so, 33 estimating the claims of his real and his adopted parents like an impartial judge, he requited the former with good feeling and profound affection, the latter with gratitude for their kind treatment of him. And he would have continued to do so throughout had he not found the king adopting in the country a new and highly impious course of action.

- 34 ξένοι γὰρ ἦσαν, ὡς ἔφην πρότερον, οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι, τῶν τοῦ ἔθνους ἀρχηγῶν διὰ λιμὸν ἀπορία τροφῆς ἐκ Βαβυλῶνος καὶ τῶν ἄνω σατραπειῶν εἰς Αἴγυπτον μεταναστάντων, καὶ τρόπον τινὰ ἰκέται καταπεφευγότες ὡς ἐπ' ἄσυλον ἱερὸν τήν τε βασιλέως πίστιν καὶ τὸν ἀπὸ τῶν οἰκητόρων
- 35 ἔλεον. οἱ γὰρ ξένοι παρ' ἐμοὶ κριτῇ τῶν ὑποδεξαμένων ἰκέται γραφέσθωσαν, μέτοικοι δὲ πρὸς ἰκέταις καὶ φίλοι, σπεύδοντες εἰς ἀστῶν ἰσοτιμίαν καὶ γειτνιῶντες ἤδη πολίταις, ὀλίγῳ τῶν αὐτοχθόνων
- 36 διαφέροντες. τούτους οὖν, οἱ τήν μὲν οἰκείαν ἀπέλιπον, εἰς δ' Αἴγυπτον ἦκον ὡς ἐν δευτέρᾳ πατρίδι μετ' ἀσφαλείας οἰκήσοντες, ὃ τῆς χώρας ἡγεμῶν ἡνδραποδίζετο καὶ ὡς πολέμου νόμῳ λαβὼν αἰχμαλώτους ἢ πριάμενος παρὰ δεσποτῶν, οἷς ἦσαν οἰκότριβες, ὑπήγετο καὶ δούλους ἀπέφαινε τοὺς οὐκ ἐλευθέρους μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ ξένους καὶ ἰκέτας καὶ μετοίκους οὔτε αἰδεσθεῖς οὔτε δείσας τὸν ἐλευθέριον καὶ ξένιον καὶ ἰκέσιον καὶ ἐφέστιον θεόν, ὃς
- 37 τῶν τοιούτων ἐστὶν ἔφορος. εἴτ' ἐπιτάγματα ἐπέταττε βαρύτερα τῆς δυνάμεως ἄλλους ἐπ' ἄλλοις πόνους προστιθείς, καὶ τοῖς ἀπαγορεύουσιν ὑπ' ἀσθενείας ὃ σίδηρος εἶπετο· ἐπιστάτας (γὰρ) τῶν ἔργων ἀνηλεεστάτους καὶ ὠμοθύμους οὐδενὶ συγγνώμης μεταδιδόντας ἡρέϊτο, οὓς “ἐργοδιώκτας”
- 38 ἀπὸ τοῦ συμβεβηκότος ὠνόμαζον. εἰργάζοντο δ' οἱ μὲν πηλὸν εἰς πλίνθον σχηματίζοντες, οἱ δὲ πανταχόθεν ἄχυρα συγκομίζοντες—πλίνθου γὰρ

^a §§ 19-33 cannot be said to have any basis at all in the biblical narrative, though they give a reasonable sketch of what Moses might be expected to have felt and done in such

MOSES I. 34-38

^a The Jews, as I have said before, were 34
strangers, since famine had driven the founders of
the nation, through lack of food, to migrate to Egypt
from Babylon and the inland satrapies. They were,
in a sense, suppliants, who had found a sanctuary
in the pledged faith of the king and the pity felt
for them by the inhabitants. For strangers, in my 35
judgement, must be regarded as suppliants of those
who receive them, and not only suppliants but
settlers and friends who are anxious to obtain equal
rights with the burgesses and are near to being
citizens because they differ little from the original
inhabitants. So, then, these strangers, who had left 36
their own country and come to Egypt hoping to live
there in safety as in a second fatherland, were made
slaves by the ruler of the country and reduced to the
condition of captives taken by the custom of war,
or persons purchased from the masters in whose
household they had been bred. And in thus making
serfs of men who were not only free but guests,
suppliants and settlers, he showed no shame or fear
of the God of liberty and hospitality and of justice
to guests and suppliants, Who watches over such as
these. Then he laid commands upon them, severe 37
beyond their capacity, and added labour to labour ;
and, when they failed through weakness, the iron
hand was upon them ; for he chose as superintendents
of the works men of the most cruel and savage
temper who showed no mercy to anyone, men whose
name of "task-pursuer" well described the facts.
Some of the workers wrought clay into brick, while 38
others fetched from every quarter straw which served

a situation. From §§ 34-59 we have an amplification of Ex.
ii. 14 end.

- ἄχυρα δεσμός—, οἱ δ' ἦσαν ἀποτεταγμένοι πρὸς οἰκιῶν καὶ τειχῶν καὶ πόλεων κατασκευὰς καὶ διωρύχων ἀνατομάς, ὑλοφοροῦντες αὐτοὶ μεθ' ἡμέραν καὶ νύκτωρ ἄνευ διαδοχῆς, οὐδεμίαν ἔχοντες ἀνάπαυλαν, ἀλλ' οὐδ' ὅσον καταδαρθεῖν αὐτὸ μόνον
- [87] ἐώμενοι, | πάντα καὶ τὰ τῶν δημιουργῶν καὶ τὰ τῶν ὑπουργῶν δρᾶν ἀναγκαζόμενοι, ὡς ἐν βραχεῖ τὰ σώματα αὐτοῖς ἀπαγορεύειν, ἅτε καὶ τῆς ψυχῆς
- 39 προαναπιπτούσης. ἄλλοι γοῦν ἐπ' ἄλλοις ἐξέθνησκον ὡς ὑπὸ λοιμώδους φθορᾶς, οὓς ἀτάφους ἔξω τῶν ὀρίων ἀπερρίπτουν οὐδὲ κόνιν ἐπαμήσασθαι τοῖς σώμασιν ἐῶντες ἀλλ' οὐδὲ δακρῦσαι συγγενεῖς ἢ φίλους οὕτως οἰκτρῶς διαφθαρέντας· ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῖς ἀδουλώτοις πάθεσι τῆς ψυχῆς, ἃ μόνᾳ σχεδὸν ἐξ ἀπάντων ἐλεύθερα ἢ φύσις ἀνῆκε, δεσποτείαν ἐπηπείλουν οἱ ἀσεβεῖς ἀνάγκης ἀνυποίστω βάρει δυνατωτέρας πιέζοντες.
- 40 VIII. Ἐπὶ δὴ τούτοις ἀθυμῶν καὶ δυσχεραίνων διετέλει μήτ' ἀμύνασθαι τοὺς ἀδικοῦντας μήτε βοηθεῖν τοῖς ἀδικουμένοις ἱκανὸς ὢν· ἃ δ' οἷός τε ἦν, διὰ λόγων ὠφέλει παραινῶν τοῖς μὲν ἐφ'esτώσι μετριάζειν καὶ τὸ σφοδρὸν τῶν ἐπιταγμάτων ὑπανιέναι καὶ χαλᾶν, τοῖς δ' ἐργαζομένοις φέρειν τὰ παρόντα γενναίως ἄνδρας τε εἶναι τὰ φρονήματα καὶ μὴ συγκάμνειν τὰς ψυχὰς τοῖς σώμασιν, ἀλλὰ
- 41 χρηστὰ προσδοκᾶν ἐκ πονηρῶν· πάντα γὰρ μεταβάλλειν τὰ ἐν κόσμῳ πρὸς τάναντία, νέφωσιν εἰς αἰθρίαν, πνευμάτων βίας εἰς ἀέρα νήνεμον, κλύδωνα θαλάττης εἰς ἡσυχίαν καὶ γαλήνην, τὰ δ'.
- 296

MOSES I. 38-41

to bind the brick. Others were appointed to build houses and walls and cities or to cut canals. They carried the materials themselves day and night, with no shifts to relieve them, no period of rest, not even suffered just to sleep for a bit and then resume their work. In fact, they were compelled to do all the work, both of the artisan and his assistants, so that in a short time loss of heart was followed necessarily by bodily exhaustion. This was shown by the way 39 in which they died one after the other, as though they were the victims of a pestilence, to be flung unburied outside the borders by their masters, who did not allow the survivors even to collect dust to throw upon the corpses or even to shed tears for their kinsfolk or friends thus pitifully done to death. And, though nature has given to the untrammelled feelings of the soul a liberty which she has denied to almost everything else, they impiously threatened to exert their despotism over these also and suppressed them with the intolerable weight of a constraint more powerful than nature.

VIII. All this continued to depress and anger 40 Moses, who had no power either to punish those who did the wrong or help those who suffered it. What he could he did. He assisted with his words, exhorting the overseers to show clemency and relax and alleviate the stringency of their orders, and the workers to bear their present condition bravely, to display a manly spirit and not let their souls share the weariness of their bodies, but look for good to take the place of evil. All things in the world, he told 41 them, change to their opposites : clouds to open sky, violent winds to tranquil weather, stormy seas to calm and peaceful, and human affairs still more so,

- ἀνθρώπεια καὶ μᾶλλον, ὅσω καὶ ἀσταθμητότερα.
- 42 τοιούτοις κατεπάδων ὥσπερ ἀγαθὸς ἰατρὸς ᾤετο
τὰς νόσους καίτοι βαρυτάτας οὕσας ἐπικουφιεῖν·
αἱ δ' ὅποτε λωφήσειαν, αὖθις ἐκ περιτροπῆς ἐπετί-
θεντο φέρουσαί τι πάντως ἐκ τοῦ διαπνεῦσαι καινὸν
- 43 κακὸν ἀργαλεώτερον τῶν προτέρων. ἦσαν γάρ
τινες τῶν ἐφεστηκότων ἀτίθασοι σφόδρα καὶ λελυτ-
τηκότες, μηδὲν εἰς ἀγριότητα τῶν ἰοβόλων καὶ
σαρκοβόρων διαφέροντες, ἀνθρωποειδῆ θηρία, τὴν
τοῦ σώματος μορφήν εἰς δόκησιν ἡμερότητος ἐπὶ
θήρα καὶ ἀπάτῃ προβεβλημένοι, σιδήρου καὶ ἀδά-
44 μαντος ἀπειθέστεροι. τούτων ἓνα τὸν βιαιότατον,
ἐπεὶδὴ πρὸς τῷ μηδὲν ἐνδιδόναι καὶ ταῖς παρακλή-
ασιν ἔτι μᾶλλον ἐξετραχύνετο, τοὺς τὸ προσταχθέν
μὴ ἀπνευστὶ καὶ ὀξυχειρίᾳ δρῶντας τύπτων, προπη-
λακίζων ἄχρι θανάτου, πάσας αἰκίζόμενος αἰκίας,
ἀναιρεῖ δικαίως εὐαγὲς εἶναι τὸ ἔργον· καὶ ἦν
εὐαγὲς τὸν ἐπ' ὀλέθρῳ ζῶντα ἀνθρώπων ἀπόλ-
υσθαι.
- 45 Ταῦτ' ἀκούσας ὁ βασιλεὺς ἠγανάκτει δεινὸν
ἡγούμενος, οὐκ εἴ τις τέθηκεν ἢ ἀνῆρκεν ἀδίκως ἢ
δικαίως, ἀλλ' εἰ ὁ θυγατρίδους αὐτῷ μὴ συμφρονεῖ
μηδὲ τοὺς αὐτοὺς ἐχθροὺς καὶ φίλους ὑπέιληφεν,
ἀλλὰ μισεῖ μὲν οὓς αὐτὸς στέργει, φιλεῖ δὲ οὓς
προβέβληται καὶ ἐλεεῖ πρὸς οὓς ἀτρέπτως καὶ
46 ἀπαραιτήτως ἔχει. IX. | λαβόμενοι δ' ἅπαξ
[88] ἀφορμῆς οἱ ἐν τέλει καὶ τὸν νεανίαν ὑφορώμενοι—
ἤδεσαν γὰρ μνησικακήσοντα τῶν ἀνοσιουργημάτων

even as they are more unstable. With such soothing 42 words, like a good physician, he thought to relieve the sickness of their plight, terrible as it was. But, when it abated, it did but turn and make a fresh attack and gather from the breathing-space some new misery more powerful than its predecessors. For some of the overseers were exceedingly harsh 43 and ferocious, in savageness differing nothing from venomous and carnivorous animals, wild beasts in human shape who assumed in outward form the semblance of civilized beings only to beguile and catch their prey, in reality more unyielding than iron or adamant. One of these, the cruellest of all, was 44 killed by Moses, because he not only made no concession but was rendered harsher than ever by his exhortations, beating those who did not execute his orders with breathless promptness, persecuting them to the point of death and subjecting them to every outrage. Moses considered that his action in killing him was a righteous action. And righteous it was that one who only lived to destroy men should himself be destroyed.

When the king heard this, he was very indignant. 45 What he felt so strongly was not that one man had been killed by another whether justly or unjustly, but that his own daughter's son did not think with him, and had not considered the king's friends and enemies to be his own friends and enemies, but hated those of whom he was fond, and loved those whom he rejected, and pitied those to whom he was relentless and inexorable. IX. When 46 those in authority who suspected the youth's intentions, knowing that he would remember their wicked actions against them and take vengeance

αὐτοῖς καὶ ἐπὶ καιρῶν ἀμυνούμενον—ἀναπεπτα-
 μένοις ὥσὶ τοῦ πάππου μυρίας διαβολὰς ἐπήντλουν,
 οἱ μὲν ἔνθεν, οἱ δ' ἔνθεν, ὥς καὶ περὶ ἀφαιρέσεως
 τῆς ἀρχῆς ἐμποιῆσαι δέος, “ ἐπιθήσεται ” λέγοντες,
 “ οὐδὲν φρονεῖ μικρόν, αἰεὶ τι προσπεριεργάζεται,
 πρὸ καιροῦ βασιλείας ἐρᾷ, θωπεύει τινάς, ἑτέροις
 ἀπειλεῖ, κτείνει χωρὶς δίκης, τοὺς μάλιστ' εὖνους
 σοι προβέβληται. τί δὴ μέλλεις, ἀλλ' οὐχ ἃ δια-
 νοεῖται δρᾶν ὑποτέμνεις; μέγα τοῖς ἐπιθεμένοις αἰ-
 τῶν ἐπιβουλευομένων ἀναβολαί.”

- 47 Τοιαῦτα διεξιόντων, ὑπανεχώρησεν εἰς τὴν ὁμο-
 ρον Ἀραβίαν, ἔνθα διατρίβειν ἦν ἀσφαλές, ἅμα καὶ
 τὸν θεὸν ποτνιόμενος, ἵνα τοὺς μὲν ἐξ ἀμηχάνων
 ῥύσῃται συμφορῶν, τοὺς δὲ μηδὲν παραλιπόντας
 τῶν εἰς ἐπήρειαν ἀξίως τίσῃται, παράσχη δ' αὐτῷ
 ταῦτ' ἐπιδεῖν ἀμφότερα διπλασιάσας τὴν χάριν.
 ὁ δὲ ἐπακούει τῶν εὐχῶν ἀγάμενος αὐτοῦ τὸ φιλό-
 καλον ἦθος καὶ μισοπόννηρον, οὐκ εἰς μακρὰν τὰ
- 48 κατὰ τὴν χώραν, ὥς θεῷ πρόπον, δικάσας. ἐν ᾧ
 δὲ ἔμελλε δικάζειν, τοὺς ἀρετῆς ἄθλους Μωυσῆς
 διήθλει τὸν ἀλείπτῃν ἔχων ἐν ἑαυτῷ λογισμὸν
 ἀστεῖον, ὅφ' οὗ γυμναζόμενος πρὸς τοὺς ἀρίστους
 βίους, τὸν τε θεωρητικὸν καὶ πρακτικόν, ἐπονείτω
 φιλοσοφίας ἀνελίττων αἰεὶ δόγματα καὶ τῇ ψυχῇ
 διαγινώσκων εὐτρόχως καὶ μνήμη παρακατατι-
 θέμενος εἰς τὸ ἀληστον αὐτὰ καὶ τὰς οἰκείας ἀντίκα

when the opportunity came, had thus once got a handle, they poured malicious suggestions by the thousand from every side into the open ears of his grandfather, so as to instil the fear that his sovereignty might be taken from him. "He will attack you," they said, "he is highly ambitious. He is always busy with some further project. He is eager to get the kingship before the time comes. He flatters some, threatens others, slays without trial and treats as outcasts those who are most loyal to you. Why do you hesitate, instead of cutting short his projected undertakings? The aggressor is greatly served by delay on the part of his proposed victim."

While such talk was in circulation, Moses retired 47 into the neighbouring country of Arabia, where it was safe for him to stay, at the same time beseeching God to save the oppressed from their helpless, miserable plight, and to punish as they deserved the oppressors who had left no form of maltreatment untried, and to double the gift by granting to himself that he should see both these accomplished. God, in high approval of his spirit, which loved the good and hated evil, listened to his prayers, and very shortly judged the land and its doings as became His nature. But, while the divine judgement was still waiting, 48 Moses was carrying out the exercises of virtue with an admirable trainer, the reason within him, under whose discipline he laboured to fit himself for life in its highest forms, the theoretical and the practical. He was ever opening the scroll of philosophical doctrines, digested them inwardly with quick understanding, committed them to memory never to be forgotten, and straightway brought his personal conduct,

- πράξεις ἐφαρμοττων ἐπαινετὰς πάσας, ἐφιέμενος οὐ τοῦ δοκεῖν ἀλλὰ τῆς ἀληθείας, διὰ τὸ προκεῖσθαι σκοπὸν ἓνα τὸν ὀρθὸν τῆς φύσεως λόγον, ὃς μόνος
- 49 ἐστὶν ἀρετῶν ἀρχή τε καὶ πηγή. ἕτερος μὲν οὖν ὀργὴν ἀμείλικτον βασιλέως ἀποδιδράσκων καὶ ἄρτι πρῶτον εἰς ἀλλοδαπὴν ἀφίγμενος, μήπω τοῖς τῶν ἐπιχωρίων ἔθεσιν ἐνωμιληκῶς μηδὲ ἀκριβῶς ἐπιστάμενος οἷς χαίρουσιν ἢ ἀλλοτριοῦνται, καὶ ἐσπούδασεν ἡσυχία χρώμενος ἀφανέστερον ζῆν τοὺς πολλοὺς λανθάνων ἢ βουλευθεὶς εἰς μέσον παρέρχεσθαι τοὺς γοῦν δυνατοὺς καὶ τοὺς πλείστον ἰσχύοντας λιπαρέσι θεραπείαις ἐξευμενίζεσθαι, παρ' ὧν τις ὠφέλεια προσεδοκᾶτο καὶ βοήθεια, εἴ τις
- 50 ἐπελθόντες ἀπάγειν πρὸς βίαν ἐπειρῶντο. ὁ δὲ τὴν ἐναντίαν τοῦ εἰκότος ἀτραπὸν ἤλαυνε ταῖς τῆς ψυχῆς ὑγιαίνουσιν ὁρμαῖς ἐπόμενος καὶ μηδεμίαν ἔων ὑποσκελίζεσθαι· διὸ καὶ τῆς ὑπόουσης δυνάμεως
- [89] ἐστὶν ὅτε πλέον ἐνεανιεύετο | δύναμιν ἀκαθαίρετον τὸ δίκαιον ἡγούμενος, ὅφ' οὗ προτραπείας αὐτοκέλευστος ἐπὶ τὴν τῶν ἀσθενεστέρων συμμαχίαν ἵετο.
- 51 X. Λέξω δὲ καὶ τὸ κατ' ἐκείνον αὐτῷ τὸν χρόνον πραχθέν, εἰ καὶ μικρὸν ὅσα γε τῷ δοκεῖν, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἀπὸ φρονήματος μικροῦ. κτηνοτροφοῦσιν Ἀραβες καὶ νέμουσι τὰ θρέμματα οὐκ ἄνδρες μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ γυναῖκες νέοι τε καὶ παρθένοι παρ' αὐτοῖς, οὐχὶ τῶν ἡμελημένων καὶ ἀδόξων μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν
- 52 ἄγαν ἐπιφανῶν. ἑπτὰ δὲ κόραι πατρὸς ἱερέως ποίμνην ἄγουσαι παρήσαν ἐπὶ τινα πηγὴν καὶ τῶν ἱμονίων ἐκδησάμενοι τοὺς καδίσκους ἄλλη διαδεχομένη παρ' ἄλλης ὑπὲρ τῆς ἐν τῷ πονεῖν ἰσομοιρίας

praiseworthy in all respects, into conformity with them; for he desired truth rather than seeming, because the one mark he set before him was nature's right reason, the sole source and fountain of virtues.

Now, any other who was fleeing from 49 the king's relentless wrath, and had just arrived for the first time in a foreign land, who had not yet become familiar with the customs of the natives nor gained exact knowledge of what pleases or offends them, might well have been eager to keep quiet and live in obscurity unnoticed by the multitude; or else he might have wished to come forward in public, and by obsequious persistence court the favour of men of highest authority and power, if none others, men who might be expected to give help and succour should some come and attempt to carry him off by force. But the path which he took was the opposite of what 50 we should expect. He followed the wholesome impulses of his soul, and suffered none of them to be brought to the ground. And, therefore, at times he showed a gallant temper beyond his fund of strength, for he regarded justice as strength invincible, which urged him on his self-appointed task to champion the weaker.

X. I will describe an action of his at this time, 51 which, though it may seem a petty matter, argues a spirit of no petty kind. The Arabs are breeders of cattle, and they employ for tending them not only men but women, youths and maidens alike, and not only those of insignificant and humble families but those of the highest position. Seven maidens, 52 daughters of the priest, had come to a well, and, after attaching the buckets to the ropes, drew water, taking turns with each to share the labour equally. They

- μάλα προθύμως τὰς δεξαμενάς, αἱ πλησίον ἔκειντο,
 53 πληροῦσιν. ἐπιφοιτήσαντες δ' ἕτεροι ποιμένες καὶ
 τῆς τῶν παρθένων ἀσθενείας ὑπεριδόντες τὰς μὲν
 ἐπεχείρουν μετὰ τῆς ποιμένης ἐλαύνειν, τὰ δ' οἰκεία
 θρέμματα προσῆγον ἐπὶ τὸ εὐτρεπισθὲν ποτόν
 54 ἀλλότριον καρπωσόμενοι πόνον. ἰδὼν δὲ Μωυσῆς
 τὸ γενόμενον—οὐ γὰρ ἦν πόρρω—συντείνας ἔθει καὶ
 πλησίον στὰς “ οὐ παύσεσθε ” εἶπεν “ ἀδικοῦντες,
 τὴν ἐρημίαν νομίζοντες εἶναι πλεονεξίαν; βραχίονας
 καὶ πῆχεις ἀργοὺς τρέφοντες οὐκ ἐρυθρίατε;
 χαῖται βαθεῖαι καὶ σάρκες ὑμεῖς ἐστε, οὐκ ἄνδρες·
 αἱ μὲν κόραι νεανιεύονται μηδὲν ὀκνοῦσαι τῶν
 55 πρακτέων, οἱ δὲ νεανῖαι κορικῶς ἤδη τρυφᾶτε. οὐ
 βαδιεῖσθε; οὐχ ὑπεκστήσεσθε ταῖς πρότερον ἠκού-
 σαις, ὧν καὶ τὸ ποτόν ἐστι; δικαίως ἂν αὐταῖς
 ἐπαντλήσαντες, ἢν' ἀφθονώτερον ὕδωρ εἴη, καὶ τὸ
 εὐτρεπισθὲν ἀφελέσθαι σπεύδετε; ἀλλὰ μὰ τὸν
 οὐράνιον τῆς δίκης ὀφθαλμὸν οὐκ ἀφελεῖσθε βλέ-
 56 ποντα καὶ τὰ ἐν τοῖς ἐρημοτάτοις. ἐμὲ γοῦν
 ἐχειροτόνησε βοηθὸν οὐ προσδοκηθέντα· καὶ γὰρ
 εἰμι σύμμαχος ταῖς ἀδικουμέναις μετὰ μεγάλης
 χειρός, ἣν οὐ θέμις πλεονέκταις ὀρᾶν· αἰσθήσεσθε
 δὲ αὐτῆς ἐκ τοῦ ἀφανοῦς τιτρωσκούσης, εἰ μὴ
 57 μεταβάλοιτε.” ταῦτα διεξιόντος, φοβηθέντες, ἐπεὶ
 καὶ λέγων ἅμα ἐνεθουσία μεταμορφούμενος εἰς
 προφήτην, μὴ χρησμοὺς καὶ λόγια θεσπίζει, κατα-
 πειθεῖς τε γίνονται καὶ τὴν ποιμήνην τῶν παρθένων
 ἐπὶ τὰς δεξαμενάς ἄγονται πρότερον μεταστησά-
 58 μενοι τὰς ἑαυτῶν. XI. αἱ δ' ἐπανήσαν
 οὔκαδε σφόδρα γεγηθυῖαι καὶ τὰ συμβάντα παρ'
 ἐλπίδας ἐκδιηγούντο, ὥς πολὺν ἡμέρον ἐνεργάσα-

had with great industry filled the troughs which lay near, when some other shepherds appeared on the spot who, disdaining the weakness of the girls, tried to drive them and their flock away, and proceeded to bring their own animals to the place where the water lay ready, and thus appropriate the labours of others. But Moses, who was not far off, seeing what had happened, quickly ran up and, standing near by, said : "Stop this injustice. You think you can take advantage of the loneliness of the place. Are you not ashamed to let your arms and elbows live an idle life ? You are masses of long hair and lumps of flesh, not men. The girls are working like youths, and shirk none of their duties, while you young men go daintily like girls. Away with you : give place to those who were here before you, to whom the water belongs. Properly, you should have drawn for them, to make the supply more abundant ; instead, you are all agog to take from them what they have provided. Nay, by the heavenly eye of justice, you shall not take it ; for that eye sees even what is done in the greatest solitude. In me at least it has appointed a champion whom you did not expect, for I fight to succour these injured maidens, allied to a mighty arm which the rapacious may not see, but you shall feel its invisible power to wound if you do not change your ways." As he proceeded thus, they were seized with fear that they were listening to some oracular utterance, for as he spoke he grew inspired and was transfigured into a prophet. They became submissive, and led the maidens' flock to the troughs, after removing their own.

XI. The girls went home in high glee, and told the story of the unexpected event to their father, who thence conceived a strong desire to

- σθαι τοῦ ξένου τῷ πατρί. κατεμέμφετο γοῦν αὐτὰς ἐπ' ἀχαριστία τοιαῦτα λέγων· “τί παθοῦσαι μεθ-
 ίετε, δέον ἄγειν εὐθύς καὶ εἴπερ ἀνεδύετο λιπαρεῖν;
 ἢ τινα μισανθρωπίαν μου κατέγνωτε; ἢ δεύτερον
 [90] περιπεσεῖν ἀδίκους οὐ | προσδοκάτε; βοηθῶν ἀπο-
 ρεῖν ἀνάγκη τοὺς ἐπιλήσμονας χαρίτων. ἀλλ' ὅμως
 ἀναδραμοῦσαι (τὸ γὰρ ἁμάρτημα μέχρι νῦν ἐστὶν
 ἰάσιμον) ἴτε μετὰ σπουδῆς καὶ καλεῖτε ξενίων μὲν
 πρότερον αὐθις δὲ καὶ ἀμοιβῆς (ὀφείλεται γὰρ αὐτῷ
 59 χάρις) μεθέξοντα.” συντείνειν δὲ καταλαμβά-
 νουσιν αὐτὸν οὐ πόρρω τῆς πηγῆς καὶ δηλώσασαι
 τὰ ἀπὸ τοῦ πατρὸς οἴκαδε συμπεΐθουσιν ἤκειν. ὁ
 δὲ πατήρ τὴν μὲν ὄψιν εὐθύς τὸ δὲ βούλημα ὀλίγον
 ὕστερον καταπλαγεῖς—ἀρίδηλοι γὰρ αἱ μεγάλαι
 φύσεις καὶ οὐ μήκει χρόνου γνωριζόμεναι—δίδωσι
 τὴν καλλιστεύουσαν αὐτῷ τῶν θυγατέρων γυναῖκα,
 δι' ἐνὸς ἔργου πάνθ' ὅσα τῶν εἰς καλοκάγαθίαν
 μαρτυρήσας καὶ ὡς ἀξιέραστον μόνον τὸ καλόν
 ἐστὶ τῆς ἀφ' ἐτέρου συστάσεως οὐ δεόμενον, ἀλλ'
 ἐν ἑαυτῷ περιφέρειν τὰ γνωρίσματα.
 60 μετὰ δὲ τὸν γάμον παραλαβὼν τὰς ἀγέλας ἐποί-
 μαινε προδιδασκόμενος εἰς ἡγεμονίαν· ποιμενικὴ
 γὰρ μελέτη καὶ προγυμνασία βασιλείας τῷ μέλλοντι
 τῆς ἡμερωτάτης τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἐπιστατεῖν ἀγέλης,
 καθάπερ καὶ τοῖς πολεμικοῖς τὰς φύσεις τὰ κυνη-
 γέσια—θήραις γὰρ ἐμπρομελετῶσιν οἱ πρὸς τὰς
 στραταρχίας ἀλειφόμενοι—¹ τῶν ἀλόγων οἷά τινος
 ὕλης ὑποβεβλημένων πρὸς ἄσκησιν τῆς καθ' ἐκά-

¹ Cohn's punctuation (colon after κυνηγέσια, comma after ἀλειφόμενοι) is faulty here. τῶν ἀλόγων κτλ. is common to both shepherding and hunting.

^a Cf. *De Ios.* 2 f.

MOSES I. 58-60

see the stranger, which he showed by censuring them for their ingratitude. "What possessed you," he said, "to let him depart? You should have brought him straight along, and pressed him if he showed reluctance. Did you ever have to charge me with unsociable ways? Do you not expect that you may again fall in with those who would wrong you? Those who forget kindness are sure to lack defenders. Still, your error is not yet past cure. Run back with all speed, and invite him to receive from me first the entertainment due to him as a stranger, secondly some requital of the favour which we owe to him." They hurried back and found him not far from the 59 well, and, after explaining their father's message, persuaded him to come home with them. Their father was at once struck with admiration of his face, and soon afterwards of his disposition, for great natures are transparent and need no length of time to be recognized. Accordingly, he gave him the fairest of his daughters in marriage, and, by that one action, attested all his noble qualities, and showed that excellence standing alone deserves our love, and needs no commendation from aught else, but carries within itself the tokens by which it is known.

After the marriage, Moses took charge of the 60 sheep and tended them, thus receiving his first lesson in command of others; for the shepherd's business is a training-ground and a preliminary exercise in kingship for one who is destined to command the herd of mankind, the most civilized of herds, just as also hunting is for warlike natures, since those who are trained to generalship practise themselves first in the chase.^a And thus unreasoning animals are made to subserve as material wherewith to gain practice in

- τερον καιρόν ἀρχῆς, τόν τε πολέμου καὶ τὸν εἰρήνης.
- 61 ἡ μὲν γὰρ τῶν ἀγρίων θήρα στρατηγικὸν κατ' ἐχθρῶν ἐστὶ γύμνασμα, ἡ δὲ τῶν ἡμέρων ἐπιμέλεια καὶ προστασία βασιλικὸν πρὸς ὑπηκόους ἀγώνισμα· διὸ καὶ “ποιμένες λαῶν” οἱ βασιλεῖς, οὐχ ὡς ὄνειδος ἀλλ' ὡς ὑπερβάλλουσα τιμή, προσαγορεύονται.
- 62 καὶ μοι δοκεῖ μὴ πρὸς δόξας τῶν πολλῶν ἀλλὰ πρὸς ἀλήθειαν ἐρευνωμένῳ τὸ πρᾶγμα—γελάτω δ' ὁ βουλόμενος—μόνος ἂν γενέσθαι βασιλεὺς τέλειος ὁ τὴν ποιμενικὴν ἐπιστήμην ἀγαθός, ἐν ἐλάττωσι ζῶις παιδευθεὶς τὰ τῶν κρειττόνων· ἀμήχανον γὰρ τὰ μεγάλα πρὸ τῶν μικρῶν τελεσθῆναι.
- 63 XII. Γενόμενος οὖν τῶν καθ' αὐτὸν ἀγελαρχῶν ἄριστος καὶ ποριστὴς <τῶν> ὅσα πρὸς τὴν τῶν θρεμμάτων συνέτεινεν ὠφέλειαν ἱκανὸς ἐκ τοῦ μὴδὲν ἀποκνεῖν ἀλλ' ἐτελοουργῶ καὶ αὐτοκελεύστω προθυμία¹ εἰς δέον τῇ προστασίᾳ χρῆσθαι μετὰ |
- [91] καθαρᾶς² καὶ ἀδόλου πίστεως ἠϋξῆσε τὰς ἀγέλας·
- 64 ὡς ὑπὸ τῶν ἄλλων νομέων ἤδη καὶ φθονεῖσθαι μὴδὲν ὁμοιότροπον ἐν ταῖς ἰδίαις ποίμναις ὁρώντων, αἷς εὐτυχὲς εἶναι ἐδόκει ἢ ἐν ὁμοίῳ μονή, ταῖς δὲ τὸ μὴ βελτιοῦσθαι καθ' ἐκάστην ἡμέραν ἐλάττωσις διὰ τὸ μεγάλας εἰσθῆναι λαμβάνειν ἐπιδόσεις ἐκ μὲν

¹ MSS. προστασία.² MSS. χαρᾶς.

^a Possibly, as the German translation takes it, τελεσθῆναι may mean simply “accomplished,” “consummated.” But *De Sac.* 62 οἱ πρὸ τῶν μεγάλων τούτων τὰ μικρὰ μυστήρια μυηθέντες, cf. *De Cher.* 49, and other allusions to the “great” mysteries seem to make it much more probable that the more picturesque meaning is intended. So Mangey, who on the strength of these two passages, and the adaptation 308

government in the emergencies of both peace and war; for the chase of wild animals is a drilling-⁶¹ ground for the general in fighting the enemy, and the care and supervision of tame animals is a schooling for the king in dealing with his subjects, and therefore kings are called "shepherds of their people," not as a term of reproach but as the highest honour. And my opinion, based not on the opinions of the⁶² multitude but on my own inquiry into the truth of the matter, is that the only perfect king (let him laugh who will) is one who is skilled in the knowledge of shepherding, one who has been trained by management of the inferior creatures to manage the superior. For initiation in the lesser mysteries must precede initiation in the greater.^a

XII. ^b To return to Moses, he became more skilled ⁶³ than any of his time in managing flocks and providing what tended to the benefit of his charges. His capacity was due to his never shirking any duty, but showing an eager and unprompted zeal wherever it was needed, and maintaining a pure and guileless honesty in the conduct of his office. Consequently ⁶⁴ the flocks increased under him, and this roused the envy of the other graziers, who did not see anything of the sort happening in their own flocks. In their case it was felt to be a piece of luck if they remained as they had been, but with the flocks of Moses any failure to make daily improvement was a set-back, so great was the progress regularly made, both in fine quality, through increased fatness and firm-

given of them by Clement, would correct *τελείσθαι* to *μυεῖσθαι*. But this sense of *τελείσθαι* is quite common in Philo, cf. *De Abr.* 122.

^b For §§ 63-84 see Ex. iii. 1-iv. 17.

εὐσαρκίας καὶ πύότητος εἰς κάλλος, εἰς δὲ πλῆθος
ἐξ εὐτοκίας καὶ τῶν περὶ δίαϊταιν ὕγιεινῶν.

- 65 ἄγων δὲ τὴν ποιμένην εἰς τόπον εὐδρόν τε καὶ
εὐχορτον, ἔνθα συνέβαινε καὶ πολλὴν πόαν προ-
βατεύσιμον ἀναδίδοσθαι, γενόμενος πρὸς τινι νάπει
θέαμα ἐκπληκτικώτατον ὄρα. βάτος ἦν, ἀκανθῶδές
τι φυτὸν καὶ ἀσθενέστατον· οὗτος, οὐδενὸς πῦρ
προσενεγκόντος, ἐξαίφνης ἀνακαίεται καὶ περι-
σχεθεὶς ὅλος ἐκ ρίζης εἰς ἀκρέμονα πολλῇ φλογὶ
καθάπερ ἀπὸ τινος πηγῆς ἀνομβρούσης διέμενε
σῶος, οὐ κατακαιόμενος, οἷά τις ἀπαθῆς οὐσία
καὶ οὐχ ὕλη πυρὸς αὐτὸς ὢν, ἀλλὰ τροφῇ χρώμενος
66 τῷ πυρί. κατὰ δὲ μέσσην τὴν φλόγα μορφὴ τις
ἦν περικαλλεστάτη, τῶν ὀρατῶν ἐμφορῆς οὐδενί,
θεοειδέστατον ἄγαλμα, φῶς αὐγοειδέστερον τοῦ
πυρὸς ἀπαστράπτουσα, ἣν ἂν τις ὑπετόπησεν
εἰκόνα τοῦ ὄντος εἶναι· καλείσθω δὲ ἄγγελος, ὅτι
σχεδὸν τὰ μέλλοντα γενήσεσθαι διήγγελλε τρανο-
τέρᾳ φωνῇ ἡσυχία διὰ τῆς μεγαλουργηθείσης
67 ὥσεως. σύμβολον γὰρ ὁ μὲν καιόμενος
βάτος τῶν ἀδικουμένων, τὸ δὲ φλέγον πῦρ τῶν
ἀδικούντων, τὸ δὲ μὴ κατακαίεσθαι τὸ καιόμενον
τοῦ μὴ πρὸς τῶν ἐπιτιθεμένων φθαρῆσεσθαι τοὺς
ἀδικουμένους, ἀλλὰ τοῖς μὲν ἄπρακτον καὶ ἀνωφελῆ
γενέσθαι τὴν ἐπίθεσιν, τοῖς δὲ τὴν ἐπιβουλὴν
ἀζήμιον, ὁ δὲ ἄγγελος προνοίας τῆς ἐκ θεοῦ τὰ
λίαν φοβερά παρὰ τὰς ἀπάντων ἐλπίδας κατὰ
68 πολλὴν ἡσυχίαν ἐξευμαρίζοντος. XIII. τὴν δὲ
εἰκασίαν ἀκριβῶς ἐπισκεπτέον. ὁ βάτος, ὡς ἐλέ-

¹ MSS. τε.

MOSES I. 64-68

ness of flesh, and in number through their fecundity and the wholesomeness of their food.

Now, as he was leading the flock to a place where the 65 water and the grass were abundant, and where there happened to be plentiful growth of herbage for the sheep, he found himself at a glen where he saw a most astonishing sight. There was a bramble-bush, a thorny sort of plant, and of the most weakly kind, which, without anyone's setting it alight, suddenly took fire ; and, though enveloped from root to twigs in a mass of fire, which looked as though it were spouted up from a fountain, yet remained whole, and, instead of being consumed, seemed to be a substance impervious to attack, and, instead of serving as fuel to the fire, actually fed on it. In the midst of the 66 flame was a form of the fairest beauty, unlike any visible object, an image supremely divine in appearance, refulgent with a light brighter than the light of fire. It might be supposed that this was the image of Him that is ; but let us rather call it an angel or herald, since, with a silence that spoke more clearly than speech, it employed as it were the miracle of sight to herald future events.

For the 67 burning bramble was a symbol of those who suffered wrong, as the flaming fire of those who did it. Yet that which burned was not burnt up, and this was a sign that the sufferers would not be destroyed by their aggressors, who would find that the aggression was vain and profitless while the victims of malice escaped unharmed. The angel was a symbol of God's providence, which all silently brings relief to the greatest dangers, exceeding every hope. XIII. But the details of the comparison must be con- 68 sidered. The bramble, as I have said, is a very

- χθῆ, φυτὸν ἀσθενέστατον ἀλλ' οὐδὲ ἄκεντρον, ὥς εἰ καὶ μόνον ἐπιψαύσειέ τις τιτρώσκειν, οὐτ' ἐξαναλώθη τῷ φύσει δαπανηρῷ πυρί, τοῦναντίον δὲ ἐφυλάχθη πρὸς αὐτοῦ καὶ διαμένων ὁποῖος ἦν πρὶν ἀνακαίεσθαι μηδὲν ἀποβαλὼν τὸ παράπαν αὐγὴν
- [92] 69 προσέλαβε. | τοῦθ' ἅπαν ὑπογραφή τίς ἐστι τῆς ἐθνικῆς ὑποθέσεως,¹ ἥ κατ' ἐκείνον τὸν χρόνον ἐπέιχε, μόνον οὐ βοῶσα τοῖς ἐν συμφοραῖς. “μὴ ἀναπίπτετε, τὸ ἀσθενὲς ὑμῶν δύναμις ἐστίν, ἥ καὶ κεντεῖ καὶ κατατρώσει μυρίους. ὑπὸ τῶν ἐξαναλωσάσαι γλιχομένων τὸ γένος ἀκόντων διασωθήσεσθε μᾶλλον ἢ ἀπολεῖσθε, τοῖς κακοῖς οὐ κακωθήσεσθε, ἀλλ' ὅταν μάλιστα πορθεῖν νομίση τις ὑμᾶς, τότε
- 70 μάλιστα πρὸς εὐκλειαν ἐκλάμψετε.” πάλιν τὸ πῦρ φθοροποιὸς² οὐσία διελέγχουσα τοὺς ὠμοθύμους. “μὴ ταῖς ἰδίαις ἀλκαῖς ἐπαίρεσθε, τὰς ἀμάχους ῥώμας ἰδόντες καθαιρουμένας σωφρονίσθητε· ἡ μὲν καυστική δύναμις τῆς φλογὸς ὥς ξύλον καίεται, τὸ δὲ φύσει καυστὸν ξύλον οἷα πῦρ ἐμφανῶς καίει.”
- 71 XIV. Τὸ τεράστιον τοῦτο καὶ τεθαυματουργημένον δείξας ὁ θεὸς τῷ Μωυσεῖ, παραίνεσιν ἐν-αργεστάτην τῶν μελλόντων ἀποτελεῖσθαι, καὶ διὰ χρησμῶν ἄρχεται προτρέπειν αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τὴν τοῦ ἔθνους σπεύδειν ἐπιμέλειαν, ὥς οὐ μόνον ἐλευθερίας παραίτιον ἀλλὰ καὶ ἡγεμόνα τῆς ἐνθένδε ἀποικίας οὐκ εἰς μακρὰν γενησόμενον, ὁμολογῶν ἐν ᾧ πασι
- 72 συλλήψεσθαι. “κακουμένων γὰρ ἐκ πολλοῦ καὶ

¹ A strange use of the word. Cohn suggests διαθέσεως.

² I suggest φθοροποιὸς <φθοροποιείται>. See note a.

^a The absence of a finite verb, for οὐσία can hardly be predicate, is curious. Also the sense is not brought out, for the sequel shows that the point is that the fire ultimately

weakly plant, yet it is prickly and will wound if one do but touch it. Again, though fire is naturally destructive, the bramble was not devoured thereby, but on the contrary was guarded by it, and remained just as it was before it took fire, lost nothing at all but gained an additional brightness. All this is a descrip- 69
tion of the nation's condition as it then stood, and we may think of it as a voice proclaiming to the sufferers: "Do not lose heart; your weakness is your strength, which can prick, and thousands will suffer from its wounds. Those who desire to consume you will be your unwilling saviours instead of your destroyers. Your ills will work you no ill. Nay, just when the enemy is surest of ravaging you, your fame will shine forth most gloriously." Again fire, the element 70
which works destruction, convicts the cruel-hearted.^a "Exult not in your own strength" it says. "Behold your invincible might brought low, and learn wisdom. The property of flame is to consume, yet it is consumed, like wood. The nature of wood is to be consumed yet it is manifested as the consumer, as though it were the fire."

XIV. After showing to Moses this miraculous 71
portent, so clearly warning him of the events that were to be, God begins in oracular speech to urge him to take charge of the nation with all speed, in the capacity not merely of an assistant to their liberation, but of the leader who would shortly take them from Egypt to another home. He promised to help him in everything: "For," he said, "suffering, 72
goes out and leaves the bramble victorious. I strongly suspect that "is destroyed" has been lost and if so *φθοροποιείται* in juxtaposition to *φθοροποιός* would be preferable to *φθίρεται*. No such word is quoted in the lexica, but Philo is quite capable of coining it.

- δυσανασχέτους ὕβρεις ὑπομενόντων, οὐδενὸς ἀν-
 θρώπων οὐτ' ἐπικουφίζοντος οὐτ' ἐλεοῦντος τὰς
 συμφοράς, οἰκτον" φησὶν " αὐτὸς ἔλαβον. καὶ
 γὰρ <οἶδ'> ἰδίᾳ ἕκαστον καὶ πάντας ὁμοθυμαδὸν
 ἐφ' ἱκετείας καὶ λιτὰς τραπομένους ἐλπίζειν τὴν
 73 ἐξ ἐμοῦ βοήθειαν· εἰμὶ δὲ τὴν φύσιν ἡπιος καὶ
 γνησίους ἱκέταις ἴλεως. ἴθι δὴ πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα
 τῆς χώρας μηδὲν εὐλαβηθεὶς τὸ παράπαν—ὁ μὲν
 γὰρ πρότερος τέθνηκεν, ὃν ἀπεδίδρασκες διὰ φόβον
 ἐπιβουλήs, ἕτερος δὲ τὴν χώραν ἐπιτέτραπται μη-
 δενὸς τῶν πραγμάτων σοι μνησικακῶν—καὶ τὴν τοῦ
 ἔθνους γερουσίαν προσπαραλαβὼν εἰπέ χρησμῶ
 προσκεκλησθαι ὑπ' ἐμοῦ τὸ ἔθνος, ἵνα κατὰ τὰ
 74 πάτρια θύσῃ τριῶν ἡμερῶν ὁδὸν ἔξω τῶν ὄρων τῆς
 χώρας προελθόν." ὁ δὲ οὐκ ἀγνοῶν ἐπὶ τοῖς λεγο-
 μένοις ἀπιστήσοντας τοὺς τε ὁμοφύλους καὶ τοὺς
 ἄλλους ἅπαντας " ἐὰν οὖν " φησί " πυνθάνωνται, τί
 τὸ ὄνομα τῷ πέμψαντι, μηδ' αὐτὸς εἰπεῖν ἔχων ἄρ'
 75 οὐ δόξω διαπατᾶν; " ὁ δὲ " τὸ μὲν πρῶτον λέγε "
- φησὶν " αὐτοῖς, ὅτι ἐγὼ εἰμι ὁ ὢν, ἵνα μαθόντες
 διαφορὰν ὄντος τε καὶ μὴ ὄντος προσαναδιδαχθῶσιν,
 ὥς οὐδὲν ὄνομα τὸ παράπαν ἐπ' ἐμοῦ κυριολογεῖται,
 76 ᾧ μόνῳ πρόσεστι τὸ εἶναι. ἐὰν δ' ἀσθενέστεροι
 τὰς φύσεις ὄντες ἐπιζητῶσι πρόσρησιν, δῆλωσον
 [93] αὐτοῖς μὴ μόνον τοῦθ' ὅτι | θεὸς εἰμι, ἀλλ' ὅτι καὶ
 τριῶν τῶν ἐπωνύμων ἀνδρῶν ἀρετῆς, θεὸς Ἀβραάμ
 καὶ θεὸς Ἰσαάκ καὶ θεὸς Ἰακώβ, ὧν ὁ μὲν τῆς
 διδασκῆς, ὁ δὲ τῆς φυσικῆς, ὁ δὲ τῆς ἀσκητικῆς
 σοφίας κανὼν ἐστίν. ἐὰν δὲ ἔτι ἀπιστῶσι, τρισὶ
 σημείοις ἀναδιδαχθέντες μεταβαλοῦσιν, ἃ πρότερον
 77 οὔτε τις εἶδεν οὔτε ἤκουσεν ἀνθρώπων." ἦν δὲ τὰ

as they do, prolonged ill-treatment, and subjected to intolerable outrages, with no relief or pity for their miseries from men, I have taken compassion on them Myself. For I know that each severally, and all unitedly, have betaken themselves to prayers and supplications in hope to gain help from Me, and I am of a kindly nature and gracious to true suppliants. Now go to the king of the land, and fear 73 not at all, for the former king from whom you fled in fear that he meant mischief is dead, and the land is in the hands of another who does not remember any of your actions against you. Take with you also the elders of the nation, and tell him that the people has received a command from Me to make a three-days' journey beyond the bounds of the country, and there sacrifice according to the rites of their fathers." Moses knew well that his own nation 74 and all the others would disbelieve his words, and said: "If they ask the name of him who sent me, and I cannot myself tell them, will they not think me a deceiver?" God replied: "First tell them that 75 I am He Who is, that they may learn the difference between what is and what is not, and also the further lesson that no name at all can properly be used of Me, to Whom alone existence belongs. And, if, 76 in their natural weakness, they seek some title to use, tell them not only that I am God, but also the God of the three men whose names express their virtue, each of them the exemplar of the wisdom they have gained—Abraham by teaching, Isaac by nature, Jacob by practice.^a And, if they still disbelieve, three signs which no man has ever before seen or heard of will be sufficient lesson to convert

^a For §§ 75-76 cf. *De Mut.* 11 ff.

- σημεῖα τοιάδε· ῥάβδον, ἣν εἶχεν, εἰς τοῦδαφος ῥῦψαι κελεύει· ἡ δ' αὐτίκα ψυχωθείσα εἶρπε καὶ τῶν ἀπόδων τὸ ἡγεμονικώτατον ὑπερμεγέθης δράκων γίνεται τελειότατος· ταχέως δ' ἀποχωρήσας ἀπὸ τοῦ ζώου καὶ διὰ δέος ἤδη πρὸς φυγὴν ὀρμῶν μετακαλεῖται καὶ θεοῦ προστάξαντος ἅμα τε θάρσος
- 78 ἐμποιήσαντος ἐπιδράττεται τῆς οὐράς. ὁ δὲ ἰλυσπώμενος ἔτι κατὰ τὴν ἐπαφὴν ἴσταται καὶ πρὸς μῆκος εὖ μάλα ταθεὶς εὐθύς εἰς βακτηρίαν μεταστοιχειοῦτο τὴν αὐτὴν, ὡς θαυμάζειν μὲν τὰς μεταβολὰς ἀμφοτέρας, ποτέρα δὲ καταπληκτικωτέρα, μὴ δύνασθαι διακρίνειν, τῆς ψυχῆς ἰσορρόπῳ
- 79 πληχθείσης φαντασίᾳ. τοῦτο μὲν δὴ πρῶτον, ἕτερον δ' οὐκ εἰς μακρὰν ἐθαυματοργεῖτο· τῶν χειρῶν τὴν ἑτέραν προστάττει τοῖς κόλποις ἐπικρύψαντα μικρὸν ὕστερον προενεγκεῖν· δράσαντος δὲ τὸ κελευσθέν, ἡ χεὶρ λευκοτέρα χιόνος ἑξαπιναίως ἀναφαίνεται· πάλιν δὲ καθέντος εἰς τοὺς κόλπους καὶ ἀνενεγκόντος, εἰς τὴν αὐτὴν χροᾶν
- 80 τρέπεται τὸ οἰκεῖον ἀπολαβοῦσα εἶδος. ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ὑπὸ μόνου μόνος ἐπαιδεύετο, ὡς παρὰ διδασκάλῳ γνώριμος, ἔχων παρ' ἑαυτῷ τὰ τῶν τεράτων ὄργανα, τὴν τε χεῖρα καὶ τὴν βακτηρίαν, οἷς
- 81 προεφωδιάσθη. τρίτον δ' ἐπιφέρεσθαι μὲν οὐκ ἦν οὐδὲ προδιδάσκεσθαι, ἔμελλε δ' ἐκπλήττειν οὐκ ἔλαττον τὴν ἀρχὴν τοῦ γίνεσθαι λαβὼν ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ. ἦν δὲ τοιοῦτο· “ τοῦ ποταμίου ” φησὶν “ ὕδατος ὅσον ἂν ἀρυσάμενος ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν ἐκχέης, αἷμα ξανθότατον ἔσται πρὸς τῇ χροᾷ καὶ τὴν δύναμιν
- 82 ἑτεροιωθὲν εἰς ἀλλαγὴν παντελῇ.” πιστὸν δ' ὡς

them." The signs were such as these. He bade 77 him cast on the ground the rod which he carried, and this at once took life and began to creep, and became that high chief of the reptile kingdom, a huge serpent grown to full strength. Moses quickly leaped away from the creature, and, in his fright, was starting to fly, when he was recalled by God, and, at His bidding and inspired by Him with courage, grasped its tail. It was still wriggling, but stopped 78 at his touch, and, stretching itself to its full length, was metamorphosed at once into the rod which it had been before, so that Moses marvelled at the double change, unable to decide which was the more astonishing, so evenly balanced was the profound impression which each made upon his soul. This 79 was the first miracle, and a second followed soon. God bade him conceal one of his hands in his bosom, and, after a little while, draw it out. And when he did as he was bid, the hand suddenly appeared whiter than snow. He did the same again, put it in his bosom and then brought it out, when it turned to its original colour and recovered its proper appearance. These lessons he received when he and God 80 were alone together, like pupil and master, and while the instruments of the miracles, the hand and the staff, with which he was equipped for his mission were both in his own possession. But the third had its birth- 81 place in Egypt. It was one which he could not carry with him or rehearse beforehand, yet the amazement which it was sure to cause was quite as great. It was this: "The water," God said, "which thou dost draw from the river and pour on the land will be blood quite ruddy, and not only its colour but its properties will be completely changed." Moses evi- 82

ἔοικε καὶ τοῦτ' ἀνεφαίνετο, οὐ μόνον διὰ τὸ τοῦ λέγοντος ἀψευδές, ἀλλὰ καὶ διὰ τὰ ἤδη προεπιδηχθέντα ἐπὶ τε τῆς χειρὸς καὶ τῆς βακτηρίας θανατοουργήματα.

- πιστεύων δ' ὁμῶς παρητέιτο τὴν χειροτονίαν ἰσχνόφωνον καὶ βραδύγλωσσον, οὐκ εὐλογον, αὐτὸν εἶναι φάσκων καὶ μάλιστ' ἅφ' οὗ λέγοντος ἤκουε θεοῦ· νομίσας γὰρ τὴν ἀνθρωπίνην λογιότητα κατὰ σύγκρισιν τῆς θείας¹ ἀφωνίαν εἶναι καὶ ἅμα τὴν φύσιν εὐλαβῆς ὧν [94] ὑπεστέλλετο | τοῖς ὑπερόγκοις, τὰ λίαν μεγάλα κρίνων οὐ καθ' αὐτόν, καὶ παρεκάλει ἕτερον ἐλέσθαι τὸν εὐμαρῶς ἕκαστα τῶν ἐπισταλέντων διαπράξασθαι δυνησόμενον. ὁ δ' ἀποδεξάμενος αὐτὸν τῆς αἰδοῦς “ ἄρά γε ἀγνοεῖς ” εἶπε “ τὸν δόντα ἀνθρώπῳ στόμα καὶ κατασκευάσαντα γλῶτταν καὶ ἄρτηρίαν καὶ τὴν ἅπασαν λογικῆς φωνῆς ὀργανοποιίαν; αὐτός εἰμι ἐγώ. μηδὲν οὖν δείσης· ἐμοῦ γὰρ ἐπινεύσαντος ἀρθρωθήσεται πάντα καὶ μεταβαλεῖ πρὸς τὸ μέτριον, ὥς μηδενὸς ἔτι ἐμποδίζοντος ῥεῖν εὐτροχον καὶ λεῖον ἀπὸ καθαρᾶς πηγῆς τὸ τῶν λόγων νᾶμα. χρεῖα δ' εἰ γένοιτο ἐρμηνέως, ὑποδιακονικὸν στόμα τὸν ἀδελφὸν ἔξεις, ἵν' ὁ μὲν τῷ πλήθει ἀπαγγέλλῃ τὰ ἀπὸ σοῦ, σὺ δ' ἐκείνῳ τὰ θεῖα.”

- 85 XV. Ταῦτ' ἀκούσας—οὐ γὰρ ἦν εἰς ἅπαν ἀντιλέγειν ἀσφαλές οὐδ' ἀκίνδυνον—ἄρας ἐβάδιζε μετὰ γυναικὸς καὶ τέκνων ὁδὸν τὴν ἐπ' Αἴγυπτον, καθ' ἣν ὑπαντήσαντα τὸν ἀδελφὸν πείθει συνακολουθεῖν ὑπαιπὼν τὰ θεῖα λόγια· τῷ δ' ἄρα προὑπείργαστο ἡ

¹ MSS. ἀληθείας.

dently felt that this too was credible, not only because of the infallibility of the Speaker, but through the proofs he had already been shewn in the miracles of the hand and the staff. But, though he 83 believed, he tried to refuse the mission, declaring that he was not eloquent, but feeble of voice and slow of tongue, especially ever since he heard God speaking to him ; for he considered that human eloquence compared with God's was dumbness, and also, cautious as he was by nature, he shrank from things sublime and judged that matters of such magnitude were not for him. And therefore he begged Him to choose another, who would prove able to execute with ease all that was committed to him. But God, 84 though approving his modesty, answered : " Dost thou not know who it is that gave man a mouth, and formed his tongue and throat and all the organism of reasonable speech ? It is I Myself : therefore, fear not, for at a sign from Me all will become articulate and be brought over to method and order, so that none can hinder the stream of words from flowing easily and smoothly from a fountain undefiled. And, if thou shouldst have need of an interpreter, thou wilt have in thy brother a mouth to assist thy service, to report to the people thy words, as thou reportest those of God to him."

XV. ^a Moses, hearing this, and knowing how un- 85 safe and hazardous it was to persist in gainsaying, took his departure, and travelled with his wife and children on the road to Egypt. During the journey he met his brother, to whom he declared the divine message, and persuaded him to accompany him. His brother's soul, in fact, had already, through the

^a For §§ 85-95 see Ex. iv. 27, v. 22, vii. 8-13.

- ψυχὴ κατ' ἐπιφροσύνην θεοῦ πρὸς πειθαρχίαν, ὡς
 ἀνενδοιάστως συναινεῖν καὶ ἐτοιμῶς ἔπεσθαι.
 86 παραγενόμενοι δ' εἰς Αἴγυπτον γνώμη καὶ ψυχῇ
 μιᾷ τὸ μὲν πρῶτον τοὺς δημογέροντας τοῦ ἔθνους
 συναγαγόντες ἐν ἐπορρήτῳ μηνύουσι τοὺς χρησμούς
 καὶ ὡς ἔλεον καὶ οἶκτον λαβὼν αὐτῶν ὁ θεὸς ἔλευ-
 θερίαν καὶ τὴν ἐνθένδε μετανάστασιν εἰς ἀμείνω
 χώραν ὁμολογῶν αὐτὸς ἔσεσθαι τῆς ὁδοῦ ἡγεμῶν
 87 ὑπισχνεῖται. μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα καὶ τῷ βασιλεῖ θαρ-
 ροῦσιν ἤδη διαλέγεσθαι περὶ τοῦ τὸν λεῶν ἱερουρ-
 γήσοντα ἐκπέμψαι τῶν ὄρων· δεῖν γὰρ ἔφασκον ἐν
 ἐρήμῳ τὰς πατρίους θυσίας ἐπιτελεσθῆναι, μὴ κατὰ
 τὰ αὐτὰ ταῖς τῶν ἄλλων ἀνθρώπων γινομένας,
 ἀλλὰ τρόπῳ καὶ νόμῳ διαφεύγοντι τὴν κοινότητα
 88 διὰ τὰς τῶν ἐθνῶν ἐξαιρέτους ιδιότητας. ὁ δ' ἐξ
 ἔτι σπαργάνων προγονικῶ τύφῳ τὴν ψυχὴν πεπιε-
 σμένος καὶ μηδένα τὸ παράπαν νοητὸν θεὸν ἔξω τῶν
 ὁρατῶν νομίζων ἀποκρίνεται πρὸς ὕβριν εἰπών·
 “ τίς ἐστίν οὗ χρή με ὑπακούειν; οὐκ οἶδα τὸν
 λεγόμενον τοῦτον καινὸν κύριον· οὐκ ἐξαποστέλλω
 τὸ ἔθνος ἐπὶ προφάσει ἐορτῆς καὶ θυσιῶν ἀφη-
 89 νιάσον.” εἶθ' ἅτε χαλεπὸς καὶ βαρύμηνις καὶ
 ἀπαραίτητος τὴν ὀργὴν κελεύει τοὺς τοῖς ἔργοις
 ἐφεστῶτας προπηλακίζεσθαι ὡς ἀνέσεις καὶ σχολὴν
 ἐνδιδόντας, ἀνέσεως καὶ σχολῆς εἶναι λέγων τὸ
 βουλεύεσθαι περὶ θυσιῶν καὶ ἐορτῶν· τοὺς γὰρ ἐν
 ἀνάγκαις τούτων οὐδὲ μεμνήσθαι, ἀλλ' οἷς ὁ βίος
 90 ἐν εὐπαθείᾳ πολλῇ καὶ τρυφῇ. βαρυτέρας οὖν ἢ
 πρότερον συμφορὰς ὑπομενόντων καὶ ἐπὶ τοῖς ἀμφὶ

* Or perhaps “shrank from publicity.” Like mysteries
 in general, they had to be performed in secrecy.

watchful working of God, been predisposed to obedience, so that without hesitation he assented and readily followed. When they had arrived in Egypt, 86 one in mind and heart, they first summoned the senators of the nation secretly, and informed them of the oracles, and how God had, in pity and compassion for them, assured them liberty and departure from their present to a better country, and promised to be Himself their leader. After this they were now 87 emboldened to talk to the king, and lay before him their request that he should send the people out of his boundaries to sacrifice. They told him that their ancestral sacrifices must be performed in the desert, as they did not conform with those of the rest of mankind, but so exceptional were the customs peculiar to the Hebrews that their rule and method of sacrifices ran counter to the common course.^a The 88 king, whose soul from his earliest years was weighed down with the pride of many generations, did not accept a God discernible only by the mind, or any at all beyond those whom his eyes beheld; and therefore he answered insolently: "Who is he whom I must obey? I know not this new Lord of whom you speak. I refuse to send the nation forth to run loose under pretext of festival and sacrifices." Then, in the harshness and ferocity and obstinacy 89 of his temper, he bade the overseers of the tasks treat the people with contumely, for showing slackness and laziness. "For just this," he said, "was what was meant by the proposal to hold festival and sacrifice—things the very memory of which was lost by the hard pressed, and retained only by those whose life was spent in much comfort and luxury." Thus they endured woes more grievous than ever, 90

[95] Μωυσὴν δυσχεραινόντων ὡς | ἀπατεῶσι καὶ τὰ μὲν
λάθρα τὰ δὲ φανερώς κακηγορούντων καὶ ἀσεβείας¹
αἰτιωμένων ἐπὶ τῷ δοκεῖν θεοῦ κατεψεῦσθαι, δει-
κνύειν ἄρχεται Μωυσῆς ἃ προὔδιδάχθη τέρατα,
νομίσας τοὺς θεασομένους ἐκ τῆς ἐπεχούσης ἀπί-
στίας εἰς πίστιν τῶν λεγομένων μεταβαλεῖν.

- 91 ἡ δὲ τῶν τεράτων ἐπίδειξις ἐγένετο καὶ τῷ βασιλεῖ
διὰ σπουδῆς καὶ τοῖς ἐν τέλει τῶν Αἰγυπτίων.
XVI. πάντων οὖν τῶν δυνατῶν συρρυνέντων εἰς τὰ
βασιλεία, λαβὼν τὴν βακτηρίαν ὁ Μωυσέως ἀδελ-
φὸς καὶ κατασείσας μάλα ἐπιδεικτικῶς εἰς τοῦδαφος
ρίπτει· καὶ ἡ μὲν δράκων αὐτίκα γίνεται, οἱ δ' ἐν
κύκλῳ κατεθεῶντο καὶ ἅμα θαυμαστικῶς ἔχοντες
92 ὑπὸ δέους ἐξαναχωροῦντες ἀπέφευγον. σοφισταὶ
δ' ὅσοι καὶ μάγοι παρετύγχανον “ τί καταπλήτ-
τεσθε; ” εἶπον· “ οὐδ' ἡμεῖς τῶν τοιούτων ἀμε-
λετήτως ἔχομεν, ἀλλὰ χρώμεθα τέχνῃ δημιουργῶ
τῶν ὁμοίων.” εἶθ' ἐκάστου βακτηρίαν ἣν εἶχε
ρύψαντος, δρακόντων πλήθος ἦν καὶ περὶ ἓνα τὸν
93 πρῶτον εἰλοῦντο. ὁ δ' ἐκ πολλοῦ τοῦ περιόντος
διαναστὰς πρὸς ὕψος τὰ μὲν στέρνα εὐρύνει, τὸ δὲ
στόμα διοίξας ὄλκοῦ πνεύματος ῥύμη βιαιοτάτῃ
καθάπερ βόλον ἰχθύων πάντας ἐν κύκλῳ σαγηνεύσας
ἐπισπᾶται καὶ καταπιὼν εἰς τὴν ἀρχαίαν φύσιν τῆς
94 βακτηρίας μετέβαλεν. ἥδη μὲν οὖν ἐν ἐκάστου τῇ
ψυχῇ τῶν ἐβελokaκούντων τὸ ὑποπτον διήλεγξεν ἡ
μεγαλουργηθεῖσα ὄψις, ὡς μηκέτι νομίζειν ἀν-
θρώπων σοφίσματα καὶ τέχνας εἶναι τὰ γινόμενα
πεπλασμένας πρὸς ἀπάτην, ἀλλὰ δύνάμιν θειοτέραν
95 τὴν τούτων αἰτίαν, ἥ πάντα δρᾶν εὐμαρές. ἐπεὶ δὲ

¹ MSS. ἀσεβειαν.

and were enraged against Moses and his companion as deceivers, abusing them, sometimes secretly, sometimes openly, and accusing them of impiety in that they appeared to have spoken falsely of God. Whereupon Moses began to show the wonders which he had been previously taught to perform, thinking that the sight would convert them from the prevailing unbelief to belief in his words. The exhibi- 91
tion of these wonders to the king and the Egyptian nobles followed very quickly ; (XVI.) so, when all the magnates had collected at the palace, the brother of Moses took his staff, and, after waving it in a very conspicuous manner, flung it on the ground, where it immediately turned into a serpent, while the onlookers standing round were filled with wonder, fell back in fear, and were on the point of running away. But all the wizards and magicians 92
who were present said : " Why are you terrified ? We, too, are practised in such matters, and we use our skill to produce similar results." Then, as each of them threw down the staff which he held, there appeared a multitude of serpents writhing round a single one ; that one, the first, showed its great 93
superiority by rising high, widening its chest and opening its mouth, when with the suction of its breath it swept the others in with irresistible force, like a whole draught of fishes encircled by the net, and, after swallowing them up, changed to its original nature, and became a staff. By this time, the mar- 94
vellous spectacle had refuted the scepticism in every ill-disposed person's soul, and they now regarded these events not as the works of human cunning or artifices fabricated to deceive, but as brought about by some diviner power to which every feat is easy.

καὶ ὁμολογεῖν ἀναγκασθέντες ὑπὸ τῆς τῶν γινο-
μένων ἐμφανοῦς ἐναργείας οὐδὲν ἤττον ἐθρασύνοντο,
τῆς αὐτῆς ἀπανθρωπίας καὶ ἀσεβείας ὥσπερ ἀγαθοῦ
τινος ἐπειλημμένοι βεβαιοτάτου, μήτε τοὺς κατα-
δουλωθέντας ἀδίκως ἐλεοῦντες μήτε τὰ διὰ τῶν
λόγων¹ προσταττόμενα δρῶντες, ἅτε δὴ τοῦ θεοῦ
τρανοτέραις χρησμῶν ἀποδείξεσι ταῖς διὰ σημείων
καὶ τεράτων τὸ βούλημα δεδηλωκότος, ἐμβριθε-
στέρας ἐπανατάσεως² ἐδέησε καὶ πληγῶν ἑσμοῦ, αἷς
οἱ ἄφρονες νοουθετοῦνται, οὓς λόγος οὐκ ἐπαίδευσε.

- 96 Δέκα δὲ ἐπάγονται τῇ χώρᾳ τιμωρίαι, κατὰ τῶν
τέλεια ἡμαρτηκότων τέλειος ἀριθμὸς κολάσεως· ἦν³
δὲ κόλασις παρηλλαχυῖα τὰς ἐν ἔθει. XVII. τὰ
γὰρ στοιχεῖα τοῦ παντός, γῆ καὶ ὕδωρ καὶ ἀήρ καὶ
[96] πῦρ, ἐπιτίθενται, | δικαιώσαντος θεοῦ, οἷς ἀπετε-
λέσθη ὁ κόσμος, τὴν ἀσεβῶν χώραν φθαρῆναι, πρὸς
ἐνδειξιν κράτους ἀρχῆς ἣ κέχρηται, τὰ αὐτὰ καὶ
σωτηρίως ἐπὶ γενέσει τῶν ὅλων σχηματίζοντος καὶ
τρέποντος ὁπότε βουληθείη πρὸς τὴν κατὰ τῶν
97 ἀσεβῶν ἀπώλειαν. διανέμει δὲ τὰς κολάσεις, τρεῖς
μὲν τὰς ἐκ τῶν παχυμερεστέρων στοιχείων γῆς καὶ
ὑδατος, ἐξ ὧν ἀπετελέσθησαν αἱ σωματικαὶ ποιό-
τητες, ἐφεῖς τῷ Μωυσέως ἀδελφῷ, τὰς δ' ἴσας ἐξ
ἀέρος καὶ πυρὸς τῶν ψυχογονιμωτάτων μόνῳ

¹ Perhaps read *λογίων*, as Mangey according to Cohn suggested, though I cannot find it in his foot-notes or addenda. On *λόγου* (?) see note α.

² MSS. *ἐπαναστάσεως*.

³ MSS. *ἦ*.

^α This seems to be the sense required, and so Mangey "divinitus imperata." But it is difficult to extract this from *λόγων*. *λόγου* "reason" will make good sense, correspond-

MOSES I. 95-97

But, though they were compelled by the clear evidence of the facts to admit the truth, they did not abate their audacity, but clung to their old inhumanity and impiety as though it were the surest of blessings. They did not show mercy to those who were unjustly enslaved, nor carry out the orders which had divine authority,^a since God had shown His will by the proofs of signs and wonders, which are clearer than oracles. And therefore a severer visitation was needed, and volley of those blows whereby fools whom reason has not disciplined are brought to their senses.

The punishments inflicted on the land were ten— a perfect number for the chastisement of those who brought sin to perfection. The chastisement was different from the usual kind, (XVII.) for the elements of the universe—earth, fire, air, water—carried out the assault. God's judgement was that the materials which had served to produce the world should serve also to destroy the land of the impious; and to show the mightiness of the sovereignty which He holds, what He shaped in His saving goodness to create the universe He turned into instruments for the perdition of the impious whenever He would. He distributed the punishments in this wise : three belonging to the denser elements, earth and water, which have gone to make our bodily qualities what they are, He committed to the brother of Moses ; another set of three, belonging to air and fire, the two most productive

ing to *ὁ λόγος* below, but in this sense the word does not seem to be used in the plural. If *λογίων* is read, we must suppose that it is contrasted with *χρησμών* as covering all divine intimations, whereas *χρησμών* is confined to the spoken oracle. But this also lacks authority.

- Μωυσεῖ, μίαν δὲ κοινὴν ἀμφοτέροις ἐβδόμην ἐπι-
 τρέπει, τρεῖς δὲ τὰς ἄλλας εἰς συμπλήρωσιν δεκάδος
 98 ἀνατίθουσιν αὐτῷ. καὶ πρῶτας ἐπιφέρειν
 ἄρχεται τὰς ἀφ' ὕδατος· ἐπεὶ γὰρ τὸ ὕδωρ
 Αἰγύπτιοι διαφερόντως ἐκτετιμῆκασιν ἀρχὴν τῆς
 τῶν ὅλων γενέσεως τοῦτ' εἶναι νομίζοντες, αὐτὸ
 πρῶτον ἠξίωσε καλέσαι πρὸς τὴν τῶν ἀποδεχο-
 99 μένων ἐπίπληξιν τε καὶ νοουθεσίαν. τί οὖν οὐκ εἰς
 μακρὰ νουνέβη; τοῦ Μωυσέως ἀδελφοῦ προσ-
 τάξει θείᾳ κατενεγκόντος τὴν βακτηρίαν ἐπὶ τὸν
 ποταμόν, ὁ μὲν εὐθὺς ἀπ' Αἰθιοπίας ἄχρι θαλάσσης
 εἰς αἷμα τρέπεται, συνεξαιματοῦνται δ' αὐτῷ
 λίμναι, διώρυχες, κρήναι, φρέατα, πηγαί, σύμπασα
 ἢ κατ' Αἴγυπτον οὐσία ὕδατος, ὡς ἀπορία ποτοῦ
 τὰ παρὰ ταῖς ὄχθαις ἀναστέλλειν, τὰς δ' ἀνατεμνο-
 μένας φλέβας καθάπερ ἐν ταῖς αἱμορραγίαις κρου-
 νηδὸν αὐλοὺς ἀκοντίζειν αἵματος, μηδεμιᾶς ἐνορω-
 100 μένης διαυγοῦς λιβάδος. ἐναπέβησκει δὲ καὶ τὰ
 γένη τῶν ἰχθύων ἅπαντα, ἅτε τῆς ζωτικῆς δυνά-
 μεως εἰς φθοροποιὸν μεταβαλούσης, ὡς δυσωδίας
 πάντα διὰ πάντων ἀναπεπλήσθαι, τοσούτων σηπο-
 μένων ἀθρόον σωμάτων· πολὺς δὲ καὶ ἀνθρώπων
 ὄχλος ὑπὸ δῖφους διαφθαρεῖς ἔκειτο σωρηδὸν ἐπὶ
 τῶν τριόδων, οὐ σθενόντων ἐπὶ τὰ μνήματα τῶν
 101 οἰκείων τοὺς τετελευτηκότας ἐκκομίζειν. ἐπὶ γὰρ
 ἡμέρας ἑπτὰ τὸ δεινὸν ἐκράτησεν, ἕως οἱ μὲν
 Αἰγύπτιοι τοὺς ἀμφὶ Μωυσὴν, οὗτοι δὲ τὸν θεὸν
 ἰκέτευσαν, οἶκτον λαβεῖν τῶν ἀπολλυμένων· ὁ δὲ
 τὴν φύσιν ἱλεως μεταβάλλει τὸ αἷμα εἰς ὕδωρ
 πότιμον ἀποδοὺς τῷ ποταμῷ καθαρὰ τὰ ἀρχαῖα

^a The above grouping of the ten plagues compels Philo to depart from the order of Exodus, as will appear in the 326

MOSES I. 97-101

of life, He gave to Moses alone ; one, the seventh, He committed to both in common ; and the other three which go to complete the ten He reserved to Himself.^a He began by bringing into 98 play first the plagues of water ; for, since the Egyptians had paid a specially high homage to water, which they believed to be the original source of the creation of the All, He thought well to summon water first to reprove and admonish its votaries. What, then, was the event which so soon came to 99 pass ? The brother of Moses, at the command of God, smote the river with his staff, and at once, from Ethiopia to the sea, it turned into blood, and so did also the lakes, canals, springs, wells and fountains and all the existing water-supply of Egypt. Consequently, having nothing to drink, they dug up the ground along the banks ; but the veins thus opened spouted up squirts of blood, which shot up as in haemorrhages, and not a drop of clear liquid was anywhere to be seen. Every kind of fish died 100 therein, since its life-giving properties had become a means of destruction, so that a general stench pervaded everything from all these bodies rotting together. Also a great multitude of men, killed by thirst, lay in heaps at the cross-roads, since their relatives had not the strength to carry the dead to the tombs. For seven days the terror reigned, until 101 the Egyptians besought Moses and his brother, and they besought God, to take pity on the perishing. And He Whose nature is to show mercy changed the blood into water fit for drinking, and restored to the river its old health-giving flood free from im-

sequel. The first three, however, are in the same order. See Ex. vii. 14-viii. 19.

102 **ρείθρα** καὶ **σωτήρια**. XVIII. **μικρὸν** δὲ ὅσον ἀνεθέντες ἐπὶ τὴν αὐτὴν ὠμότητα καὶ παρανομίαν ἵεντο, | ὡς ἡ τοῦ δικαίου παντάπασιν ἐξ ἀνθρώπων ἀφανισθέντος ἡ τῶν ὑπομεινάντων μίαν τιμωρίαν δεύτερον οὐκ εἰωθότων ἐπιπλήττεσθαι· παθόντες δ' ἀνεδιδάσκοντο νηπίων παίδων τρόπον μὴ καταφρονεῖν· ἡ γὰρ κόλασις ἐπομένη κατ' ἔχνος μελλόντων μὲν ἐβράδυνε, πρὸς δὲ τὰ ἀδικήματα θέοντας ἐπιδραμοῦσα κατελάμβανε.

[97] Πάλιν γὰρ ὁ Μωυσέως | ἀδελφὸς κελευσθεὶς
103 διώρυξι καὶ λίμναις καὶ ἔλεσι τὴν ῥάβδον ἐκτείνας ἐπιφέρει· πρὸς δὲ τὴν ἔκτασιν βατράχων πληθὺς ἀνέρπει τοσαύτη, ὡς μὴ μόνον ἀγορὰς καὶ πᾶσαν τὴν ὑπαιθρον, ἀλλὰ πρὸς τούτοις ἐπαύλεις, οἰκίας, ἱερά, πάντα ἰδιωτικὸν καὶ δημόσιον τόπον πεπληρῶσθαι, καθάπερ εἰς ἀποικίαν ἐν γένος τῶν ἐν ὕδρων τῆς φύσεως ἐκπέμψαι διανοηθείσης πρὸς τὴν
104 ἐναντίαν χώραν· ἐναντία γὰρ χέρσος ὕδατι. μήτ' οὖν ἔξω προελθεῖν ἔνεκα τοῦ προκατέχεσθαι τοὺς στενωποὺς μήτ' ἔνδον δυνάμενοι μένειν—καὶ γὰρ τὰ ἐν μυχοῖς ἤδη προκατειλήφεσαν ἄχρι καὶ τῶν ὑψηλοτάτων ἀνέρποντες—ἐν ἐσχάταις ἦσαν συμ-
105 φοραῖς καὶ σωτηρίας ἀπογνώσει. πάλιν οὖν καταφεύγουσιν ἐπὶ τοὺς αὐτοὺς, ὑποσχομένου τοῦ βασιλέως ἐπιτρέψαι τὴν ἔξοδον Ἑβραίοις· οἱ δὲ λιταῖς τὸν θεὸν ἐξευμενίζονται· καὶ ἐπινεύσαντος, τῶν φρύνων οἱ μὲν εἰς τὸν ποταμὸν ἀναχωροῦσι, τῶν δ' εὐθὺς διαφθαρέντων κατὰ τὰς τριόδους θημῶνες ἦσαν, σωρηδὸν ἐπιφερόντων καὶ τοὺς οἴκοθεν διὰ
328

purity. XVIII. For a very short time they relaxed, 102 but soon betook themselves to the same cruelty and lawlessness as before, and seemed to think that either justice had disappeared utterly from amongst men, or that those who had suffered one punishment could not be expected to receive a second blow. But, like foolish children, they were taught once more by experience not to despise the warning. For chastisement, dogging their steps, slowed down when they tarried, but when they hastened to deeds of wickedness quickened its pace and overtook them.

For once more the brother of Moses, at God's com- 103 mand, stretched forth and brought his rod upon the canals and lakes and fens ; and, as he stretched it, a multitude of frogs crept up, so numerous that not only the market-places and all the open spaces, but all the farm-buildings as well, and houses and temples and every place, public or private, was filled with them, as though it were nature's purpose to send one kind of the aquatic animals to colonize the opposite region, since land is the opposite of water. The people, who 104 could neither go out into the streets, because the passages were occupied by the frogs, nor yet stay indoors, because they had already crept up even to the tops of the houses and taken up the inmost recesses, were in the most unhappy and desperate straits. So, after the king had promised them to 105 permit the Hebrews to leave the land, they fled for refuge to those who had helped them before ; and they made intercession with God, and when their prayer was granted some of the frogs went back into the river, and others died at once and lay in heaps at the cross-roads, to which the Egyptians added the piles of those which they brought out of their houses,

τὰς ἀνυποίστους ὁσμάς, αἱ ἐκ νεκρῶν σωμάτων καὶ τοιούτων ἀνεφέροντο, ἃ καὶ ἔμψυχα ὄντα πολλὴν ἀηδίαν παρέχεται ταῖς αἰσθήσεσι.

- 106 XIX. Διαπνεύσαντες δὲ τῆς τιμωρίας ἐπ' ὀλίγον ὥσπερ ἐν τοῖς ἀγῶσιν ἀθληταὶ συλλεξάμενοι δύναμιν, ἢν' ἀπ' ἐρρωμενεστέρας ἰσχύος ἀδικῶσι, πάλιν εἰς τὴν συνήθη κακίαν ἀνέδραμον ἐκλαθόμενοι ὧν
- 107 τέως ὑπέμειναν κακῶν. ἐπισχὼν δὲ τὰς ἐκ τοῦ ὕδατος τιμωρίας ὁ θεὸς τὰς ἐκ γῆς ἐπέφερε τὸν αὐτὸν ἐπιστήσας κολαστήν, οὗ πάλιν κατὰ τὸ προσταχθὲν τῇ βακτηρίᾳ τοῦδαφος παίσαντος φορὰ σκνιπῶν ἐχύθη καὶ ταθεῖσα καθάπερ νέφος ἅπασαν
- 108 ἐπέσχευεν Αἴγυπτον. τὸ δὲ ζῶον, εἰ καὶ βραχύτατον, ὅμως ἀργαλεώτατον· οὐ γὰρ μόνον λυμαίνεται τὴν ἐπιφάνειαν κνησμοὺς ἐμποιοῦν ἀηδεῖς καὶ βλαβερωτάτους, ἀλλὰ καὶ εἰς τὰντὸς βιάζεται διὰ μυκτῆρων καὶ ὠτων· σίνεται δὲ καὶ κόρας ὀφθαλμῶν εἰσπετόμενον, εἰ μὴ φυλάξαιτό τις· φυλακὴ δὲ τίς ἔμελλε πρὸς τοσαύτην ἔσεσθαι φορὰν, καὶ μάλιστα θεοῦ
- 109 κολάζοντος; ἴσως ἂν τις ἐπιζητήσῃ, διὰ τί τοῖς οὕτως ἀφανέσι καὶ ἡμελημένοις ζώοις ἐτιμωρεῖτο τὴν χώραν παρὲς ἄρκτους καὶ λέοντας καὶ παρδάλεις καὶ τὰ ἄλλα γένη τῶν ἀτιθάσων θηρίων, ἃ σαρκῶν ἀνθρωπειῶν ἄπτεται, καὶ εἰ μὴ ταῦτα, τὰς γοῦν Αἰγυπτίας ἀσπίδας, ὧν τὰ δῆγματα πέφυκεν
- 110 ἀνυπερθέτως ἀναιρεῖν. εἰ δ' ὄντως ἀγνοεῖ, μαθέτω· πρῶτον μὲν ὅτι τοὺς οἰκήτορας τῆς χώρας ὁ θεὸς νουθετῆσαι μᾶλλον ἐβούλετο ἢ διαφθεῖραι· βουλη-

^a Or "hitherto."

^b E.V. "lice"; R.V. in margin "or sand-flies or fleas." Josephus (*Ant.* 300) has φθείρες, "lice." "Most moderns

because of the intolerable stench arising from the dead bodies, and bodies of a kind which, even when alive, is highly displeasing to the senses.

XIX. But, having thus obtained a short breathing- 106
space from punishment, and, like athletes in the arena, rallied their forces, only to gain fresh strength for evil-doing, they quickly returned to their familiar wickedness, forgetful of the evils which they had suffered so long.^a Then God stayed from using water 107
to afflict them, and used the earth instead ; but appointed the same minister of chastisement, who once more, when bidden, struck the ground with his staff, when a stream of gnats ^b poured forth, and spread like a cloud over the whole extent of Egypt. Now the 108
gnat is a very small creature, but exceedingly troublesome, for it not only causes mischief to the surface of the body, and produces an unpleasant and very noxious itching, but it forces its way inside through the nostrils and ears, and also flies into and damages the pupils of the eyes, if one does not take precautions. And what precautions would be possible against such a stream, especially when it is a chastisement sent by God ? Someone perhaps may ask why 109
He punished the land through such petty and insignificant creatures, and refrained from using bears and lions and panthers and the other kinds of savage beasts which feed on human flesh ; and, if not these, at any rate the asps of Egypt, whose bites are such as to cause immediate death. If such a person really 110
does not know the answer, let him learn it : first, God wished to admonish the inhabitants of the land rather than to destroy them, for had He wished to annihilate

agree that *gnats* is the most probable rendering" (of the Hebrew word).—Driver.

- [98] θεῖς γὰρ ἀφανίζουσιν εἰς | ἅπαν οὐκ ἂν ζώοις ἐχρήτο
 πρὸς τὰς ἐπιθέσεις ὥσπερ συνεργοῖς, ἀλλὰ τοῖς
 111 θεηλάτοις κακοῖς, λιμῶ τε καὶ λοιμῶ. μετὰ δὲ
 ταῦτα καὶ κεῖνο προσδιδασκέσθω μάθημα πρὸς
 ἅπαντα τὸν βίον ἀναγκαῖον· τί δὲ τοῦτ' ἐστίν;
 ἄνθρωποι μὲν γὰρ ὅταν πολεμῶσι, τὸ δυνατότατον
 εἰς συμμαχίαν ἐπικουρικὸν ἐξετάζουσιν, ὃ τὴν
 αὐτῶν ἀσθένειαν ἐκπλήσει· θεὸς δ' ἡ ἀνωτάτω καὶ
 μεγίστη δύναμις ὣν οὐδενός ἐστι χρεῖος· ἐὰν δέ που
 βουληθῇ καθάπερ ὄργανοις τισὶ χρῆσασθαι πρὸς
 τὰς τιμωρίας, οὐ τὰ ἐρρωμενέστατα καὶ μέγιστα
 αἰρεῖται, τῆς τούτων ἀλκῆς ἥκιστα φροντίζων, ἀλλὰ
 τοῖς εὐτελέσι καὶ μικροῖς ἀμάχους καὶ ἀηττήτους
 δυνάμεις ἐγκατασκευάσας ἀμύνεται δι' αὐτῶν τοὺς
 112 ἀδικοῦντας, καθὰ καὶ νῦν. τί γὰρ εὐτελέστερον
 σκνιπός; ἀλλ' ὅμως τοσοῦτον ἴσχυσεν, ὥς ἀπ-
 αγορεῦσαι πᾶσαν Αἴγυπτον καὶ ἐκβοᾶν ἀναγκα-
 σθῆναι, ὅτι "δάκτυλος θεοῦ τοῦτ' ἐστὶ". χεῖρα γὰρ
 θεοῦ μηδὲ τὴν σύμπασαν οἰκουμένην ὑποστήναι
 ἂν ἀπὸ περάτων ἐπὶ πέρατα, μᾶλλον δ' οὐδὲ τὸν
 σύμπαντα κόσμον.
- 113 XX. Τοιαῦται μὲν αἱ διὰ τοῦ Μωυσέως ἀδελφοῦ
 τιμωρίαι· ἃς δὲ αὐτὸς Μωυσῆς ὑπηρέτησε καὶ ἐξ
 οἶων τῆς φύσεως συνέστησαν μερῶν, κατὰ τὸ
 ἀκόλουθον ἐπισκεπτέον. ἅηρ μὲν οὖν καὶ οὐρανός,
 αἱ καθαρώταται μοῖραι τῆς τῶν ὄλων οὐσίας, παρ'
 ὕδατος καὶ γῆς διαδέχονται τὴν ἐπ' Αἰγύπτῳ
 νουθεσίαν, ἧς ἐπίτροπος ἐχειροτονήθη Μωυσῆς.
- 114 ἥρξατο δὲ πρότερον τὸν ἀέρα διακινεῖν·
 Αἴγυπτος γὰρ μόνῃ σχεδόν τι παρὰ τὰς ἐν τῷ νοτίῳ

^a i.e. the phrase "finger of God" is interpreted as an intervention in which only a small part of God's power is

them altogether He would not have taken animals to co-operate in His visitation, but calamities sent direct from heaven—pestilence and famine. And ¹¹¹ after this the inquirer should be taught a further lesson, and one that is needed throughout life. What is this? When men make war, they look round to find the most powerful auxiliaries to fight beside them, and so compensate for their own weakness; but God, the highest and greatest power, needs no one. But if, at any time, He wills to use any as instruments for His vengeance, He does not choose the strongest and the greatest, of whose might He takes no account, but provides the slightest and the smallest with irresistible and invincible powers, and through them wreaks vengeance on the evil-doers. So it was in this case. For what is slighter than a ¹¹² gnat? Yet so great was its power that all Egypt lost heart, and was forced to cry aloud: "This is the finger of God"; for as for His hand not all the habitable world from end to end could stand against it, or rather not even the whole universe.^a

XX. Such, then, were the punishments in which ¹¹³ the brother of Moses was the agent. We have now, in due course, to examine those which were administered by Moses himself, and to shew what were the parts of nature which went to their making. We find that air and heaven, the purest portions of the universe, took on the succession to earth and water in that admonition of Egypt which Moses was appointed to superintend.

First, he began ¹¹⁴ to cause disturbance in the air. We must remember that Egypt is almost the only country, apart from

used. For a somewhat different interpretation of the phrase see *De Mig.* 85.

- κλίματι χώρας τῶν ἐτησίων ὥρων μίαν τὴν χειμερινὴν οὐ παραδέχεται, τάχα μὲν, ὡς λόγος, διὰ τὸ μὴ πόρρω ζώνης διακεκαυμένης εἶναι, ρέοντος τοῦ πυρώδους ἐκεῖθεν ἀφανῶς καὶ τὰν κύκλῳ πάντα ἀλεαίνοντος, τάχα δὲ ἐπεὶ καὶ ταῖς θεριναῖς τροπαῖς πλημμυρῶν ὁ ποταμὸς προαναλίσκει τὰς νεφώσεις
- 115 —ἀρχεται μὲν γὰρ ἐπιβαίνειν θέρους ἐνισταμένου, λήγει δὲ λήγοντος, ἐν ᾧ χρόνῳ καὶ οἱ ἐτησίοι καταράττουσιν ἐξ ἐναντίας τῶν τοῦ Νείλου στομάτων, δι' ὧν ἔτι κωλυόμενος ἐκχεῖσθαι, τῆς θαλάσσης ὑπὸ βίας τῶν ἀνέμων πρὸς ὕψος αἰρομένης καὶ τὰς τρικυμίας ὥσπερ μακρὸν τεῖχος ἀποτεινούσης, ἐντὸς εἰλεῖται, κᾶπειτα τῶν ρείθρων ὑπαντιαζόντων τοῦ τε κατιόντος ἄνωθεν ἀπὸ τῶν πηγῶν καὶ τοῦ θύραζε χωρεῖν ὀφείλοντος ταῖς ἀνακοπαῖς ἀνατρέχοντος εὐρύνεσθαι τε μὴ δυναμένων (αἱ γὰρ παρ' ἐκάτερα ἐκθλίβουσιν ὄχθαι), μετεωριζόμενος
- 116 ὡς εἰκὸς ἐπιβαίνει—, τάχα δ' ἐπεὶ καὶ περιττὸν ἦν ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ χειμῶνα γενέσθαι· πρὸς δὲ γὰρ αἱ τῶν ὄμβρων φοραὶ χρήσιμοι, καὶ ὁ ποταμὸς λιμνάζων
- 117 τὰς ἀρούρας εἰς καρπῶν ἐτησίων γένεσιν. ἡ δὲ φύσις οὐ ματαιουργός, ὡς ὑετὸν χορηγεῖν μὴ
- [99] δεομένη γῆ, καὶ | ἅμα χαίρει τῷ πολυτρόπῳ καὶ πολυσχιδεῖ τῶν ἐπιστημονικῶν ἔργων τὴν συμφωνίαν τοῦ παντὸς ἐξ ἐναντιοτήτων ἐναρμοσαμένη· καὶ διὰ τοῦτο τοῖς μὲν ἄνωθεν ἐξ οὐρανοῦ τοῖς δὲ κάτωθεν ἐκ πηγῶν τε καὶ ποταμῶν παρέχει τὴν ἐξ
- 118 ὕδατος ὠφέλειαν. οὕτως οὖν τῆς χώρας διακειμένης καὶ ταῖς χειμεριναῖς ἐαριζούσης τροπαῖς καὶ τῶν μὲν πρὸς θαλάττῃ μόναίς ψεκάσιν

* At this point Philo's order begins to depart from that of

MOSES I. 114-118

those in southern latitudes, which is unvisited by one of the year's seasons—winter. The reason may be, some say, that it is not far from the torrid zone, and that the fiery heat which insensibly emanates thence warms all its surroundings. It may be, again, that the clouds are used up beforehand by the flooding of the river at the summer solstice. The river begins to rise as the summer opens, and ceases when it ceases, and during that time the Etesian winds sweep down opposite to the mouths of the Nile and put a stop to its outflow through them. For, as the sea rises to a great height through the violence of the winds, extending its huge billows like a long wall, it coops the river up within ; and then as the stream which flows from the upland springs, and the other which should find its way out but is driven inland by the obstacles which face it, meet each other, prevented as they are from expanding by the banks which compress them on either side, the river naturally rises aloft. Another possible reason is that winter is unneeded in Egypt. For the river, by making a lake of the fields, and thus producing the yearly crops, serves the purpose of rainfall. And, indeed, nature is no wastrel in her work, to provide rain for a land which does not want it. At the same time she rejoices to employ her science in works of manifold variety, and thus out of contrarieties form the harmony of the universe. And therefore she supplies the benefit of water to some from heaven above, to others from the springs and rivers below. ^a Such was the condition of the land, enjoying springtime at mid-winter, the seaboard enriched by only slight

Exodus. His fourth plague, that of hail, is seventh in Exodus (ix. 22-35).

ἀραιαῖς λιπαινομένων, τῶν δ' ὑπὲρ Μέμφιν, τὸ βασιλείον Αἰγύπτου, μηδὲ νιφομένων τὸ παράπαν, ἐξαίφνης οὕτως ἐνεωτέρισεν ὁ ἀήρ, ὥσθ' ὅσα ἐν τοῖς δυσχειμέροις ἀθρόα κατασκήψαι, φορὰς ὑετῶν, χάλαζαν πολλὴν καὶ βαρεῖαν, ἀνέμων συμπιπτόντων καὶ ἀντιπαταγούντων βίας, νεφῶν ῥήξεις, ἐπαλλήλους ἀστραπὰς καὶ βροντάς, κεραυνοὺς συνεχεῖς, οἱ τερατωδεστάτην ὄψιν παρείχοντο· θέοντες γὰρ διὰ τῆς χαλάζης, μαχομένης οὐσίας, οὔτε ἔτηκον αὐτὴν οὔτε ἐσβέννυντο, μένοντες δ' ἐν ὁμοίῳ καὶ δολιχεύοντες ἄνω καὶ κάτω διετήρουν τὴν χάλαζαν.

119 ἀλλ' οὐ μόνον ἡ ἐξαίσιος φορὰ πάντων τοὺς οἰκήτορας εἰς ὑπερβαλλούσας δυσθυμίας ἤγαγεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸ τοῦ πράγματος ἄηθες· ὑπέλαβον γάρ, ὅπερ καὶ ἦν, ἐκ μηνιμάτων θείων κεκαινουργῆσθαι τὰ συμβάντα, νεωτερίσαντος ὡς οὐπω πρότερον τοῦ ἀέρος ἐπὶ λύμῃ καὶ φθορᾷ δένδρων τε καὶ καρπῶν, οἷς συνεφθάρη ζῶα οὐκ ὀλίγα, τὰ μὲν περιψύξει, τὰ δὲ βάρει τῆς ἐπιπιπτούσης χαλάζης ὥσπερ καταλευσθέντα, τὰ δ' ὑπὸ τοῦ πυρὸς ἐξαναλωθέντα· ἔνια δ' ἡμίφλεκτα διέμενε τοὺς τύπους τῶν κεραυνίων τραυμάτων εἰς νουθεσίαν τῶν ὁρώντων ἐπιφερόμενα.

120 XXI. Λωφῆσαντος δὲ τοῦ κακοῦ καὶ πάλιν τοῦ βασιλέως καὶ τῶν περὶ αὐτὸν θρασυνομένων, εἰς τὸν αέρα Μωυσῆς τὴν ῥάβδον ἐκτείνει, κελεύσαντος τοῦ θεοῦ. κᾶπειτ' ἄνεμος καταράττει, νότος βιαιότατος, ὅλην τὴν ἡμέραν καὶ νύκτα προσεπιτεινόμενος καὶ σφοδρυνόμενος, αὐτὸς καθ' αὐτὸν ὢν

^a Philo's fifth plague, the locusts, is eighth in Exodus (x. 12-10).

showers, while the parts above Memphis, where the royal palace of Egypt was, experienced no rainfall at all, when suddenly a complete change came over the air, and all the visitations which belong to severe winter fell upon it in a body : rainstorms, a great quantity of heavy hail, violent winds, clashing and roaring against each other, cloudbursts, continuous claps of thunder and flashes of lightning and constant thunderbolts. These last provided a most marvellous spectacle, for they ran through the hail, their natural antagonist, and yet did not melt it nor were quenched by it, but unchanged coursed up and down and kept guard over the hail. Intense was the despondency 119 to which the inhabitants were reduced, not only by the disastrous onset of all these things, but by the strangeness of the event. For they thought, as indeed was the case, that divine wrath had brought about these novel happenings ; that the air in a way unknown before had conspired to ruin and destroy the trees and fruits, while at the same time many animals perished, some through excessive cold, others stoned to death, as it were, through the weight of the falling hail, others consumed by the fire, while some survived half-burnt and bore the marks of the wounds inflicted by the thunderbolts as a warning to the beholders.

XXI. When the plague abated, and the king and 120 his surroundings recovered their courage, Moses, at God's command,^a stretched his rod into the air, and then a violent south^b wind swooped down, gaining force and intensity throughout the day and night. This in itself was a source of much mischief, for the

^b E.V. east wind (including winds at least from the south-east.—Driver).

- μεγάλη ζημία· ξηρός τε γάρ ἐστι καὶ κεφαλαλγῆς καὶ βαρυήκοος, ἄσας τε καὶ ἀδημονίας ἐμποιεῖν ἱκανός, καὶ μάλιστ' ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ κειμένη κατὰ τὰ νότια, δι' ὧν αἱ περιπολήσεις τῶν φωσφόρων ἀστέρων, ὡς ἅμα τῷ διακινήθῃναι τὸν ἀφ' ἡλίου
- 121 φλογμὸν συνεπωθεῖσθαι καὶ πάντα καίειν. ἀλλὰ γὰρ ἅμ' αὐτῷ καὶ πληθὸς ἀμήχανον ζώων ἐπεφέρετο φθοροποιὸν φυτῶν, ἀκρίδες, αἱ ῥεύματος τρόπον ἀπαύστως ἐκχεόμεναι καὶ πάντα πληρώσασαι τὸν ἀέρα διέφαγον ὅσα οἱ κεραυνοὶ ὑπ-
- [100] ἐλίποντο καὶ ἡ χάλαζα, ὡς | μηδὲν ἐν τῇ τοσαύ-
- 122 τη χώρᾳ βλαστάνον ἔτι θεωρεῖσθαι. τότε μόλις εἰς ἀκριβεστάτην ἔννοιαν τῶν οἰκείων ἔλθόντες οἱ ἐν τέλει κακῶν προσελθόντες ἔλεγον τῷ βασιλεῖ· “μέχρι τίνος οὐκ ἐπιτρέπεις τὴν ἔξοδον τοῖς ἀνδράσιν; ἢ οὐπω μαρτάνεις ἐκ τῶν γινομένων, ὅτι ἀπόλωλεν Αἴγυπτος;” ὁ δ' ὅσα τῷ δοκεῖν ἐφίεις ὡμολόγει, χαλάσαντος τοῦ δεινοῦ. πάλιν δ' εὐξαμένου Μωυσέως, ὑπολαβὼν ἐκ τῆς θαλάττης ἄνεμος ἀποσκίδνησι τὰς ἀκρίδας.
- 123 Ἀνασκεδασθεισῶν δὲ καὶ τοῦ βασιλέως περὶ τὴν τοῦ ἔθνους ἄφεσιν δυσθανατοῦντος, ἐπιγίνεται τῶν πρότερον κακῶν μείζον· λαμπρᾶς γὰρ ἡμέρας οὕσης, ἑξαπινάϊως ἀναχεῖται σκότος, ἴσως μὲν καὶ ἡλίου γενομένης ἐκλείψεως τῶν ἐν ἔθει τελειοτέρας, ἴσως δὲ καὶ συνεχείαις νεφῶν καὶ πυκνότησιν ἀδιαστάτοις καὶ πιλῇσει βιαιοτάτῃ τῆς τῶν ἀκτίνων φορᾶς ἀνακοπέισης, ὡς ἀδιαφορεῖν ἡμέραν νυκτὸς καὶ τί γὰρ ἄλλ' ἢ μίαν νύκτα νομίζεσθαι μακρο-
- 338

MOSES I. 120-123

south wind is dry and produces headache and makes hearing difficult, and thus is fitted to cause distress and suffering, particularly in Egypt which lies well to the south, where the sun and the planets have their orbits, so that when the wind sets it in motion the scorching of the sun is pushed forward with it, and burns up everything. But it also brought with 121 it a huge multitude of creatures which destroyed the plants, locusts that is, who poured forth ceaselessly like a stream, and filling the whole air devoured whatever the lightnings and hail had left, so that nothing any longer could be seen growing in all that great country. Then those in authority, reluctantly 122 brought to a full realization of their own evil plight, approached the king and said : " How long will you refuse to grant these men leave to depart ? Do you not yet understand that Egypt is destroyed ? " The king yielded, or appeared to do so, and promised to comply if he were relieved from the dire scourge. And when Moses prayed again, a wind from the sea caught and scattered the locusts.

But, when they were scattered, and the king was 123 sick to death at the thought of releasing the people, a plague ^a arose greater than all that had gone before ; for, in bright daylight, darkness was suddenly overspread, possibly because there was an eclipse of the sun more complete than the ordinary, or perhaps because the stream of rays was cut off by continuous clouds, compressed with great force into masses of unbroken density. The result was that night and day were the same, and indeed what else could it seem but a single night of great length, equivalent to three

^a Philo's sixth plague, the darkness, is ninth in Exodus (x. 21-29).

- τάτην τρισὶν ἢ μέραις ἴσῃν καὶ ταῖς ἰσαρίθμοις νυξί.
 124 τότε δὴ φασὶ τοὺς μὲν ἐρριμμένους ἐν ταῖς εὐναῖς
 μὴ τολμᾶν ἐξανίστασθαι, τοὺς δ' ὁπότε κατεπεῖγοι
 τι τῶν τῆς φύσεως ἀναγκαίων ἐπαφωμένους τοίχων
 ἢ τινος ἐτέρου καθάπερ τυφλοὺς μόλις προέρχεσθαι.
 καὶ γὰρ τοῦ χρειώδους πυρὸς τὸ φέγγος τὸ μὲν ὑπὸ
 τῆς κατεχούσης ζάλης ἐσβέννυτο, τὸ δὲ τῷ βάθει
 τοῦ σκότους ἀμαυρούμενον ἐνηφανίζετο, ὥς τὴν
 ἀναγκαιοτάτην ὄψιν τῶν αἰσθήσεων ὑγιαίνουσιν
 πηρὸν εἶναι μηδὲν ὁρᾶν δυναμένην, τετράφθαι δὲ καὶ
 τὰς ἄλλας οἷα ὑπηκόους πεσοῦσης τῆς ἡγεμονίδος.
 125 οὔτε γὰρ λέγειν τις οὔτ' ἀκούειν οὔτε προσενέγκα-
 σθαι τροφὰς ὑπέμενε, ἀλλ' ἡσυχία καὶ λιμῷ παρ-
 έτεινον αὐτοὺς οὐδεμιᾶ τῶν αἰσθήσεων σχολάζοντες,
 ἀλλ' ὑπὸ τοῦ πάθους ὅλοι συνηρπασμένοι, μέχρι
 πάλιν Μωυσῆς λαβὼν οἶκτον ἱκετεύει τὸν θεόν· ὁ
 δὲ φῶς ἀντὶ σκότους καὶ ἡμέραν ἀντὶ νυκτὸς ἐργά-
 ζεται σὺν αἰθρία πολλῇ.
 126 XXII. Τοιαύτας φασὶ γενέσθαι καὶ τὰς διὰ
 μόνου Μωυσέως ἐπιπλήξεις, τὴν διὰ χαλάζης καὶ
 κεραυνῶν, τὴν διὰ τῆς ἀκρίδος, τὴν διὰ σκότους, ὃ
 πᾶσαν ἰδέαν φωτὸς οὐ παρεδέχετο· κοινῇ δ' αὐτός
 τε καὶ ὁ ἀδελφὸς μίαν ἐπετράπησαν, ἣν αὐτίκα
 127 σημανῶ. κελεύσαντος τοῦ θεοῦ, τέφραν ἀπὸ κα-
 μίνου λαμβάνουσι ταῖς χερσίν, ἣν Μωυσῆς κατὰ
 μέρος εἰς τὸν ἀέρα διέπαττεν· ἔπειτα κονιορτὸς
 αἰφνίδιον ἐπενεχθεὶς ἀνθρώποις τε καὶ ἀλόγοις
 ζώοις ἀγρίαν καὶ δυσαγλή κατὰ τῆς δορᾶς ἀπάσης
 [101] ἔλκωσιν εἰργάζετο καὶ τὰ σώματα εὐθύς | συνῶδει

^a Or "fire of common use," cf. *De Abr.* 157, *Quis Rerum* 136.

days and the same number of nights? Then, indeed, as we are told, some who had thrown themselves on their beds did not dare to rise from them, while others, when any of the needs of nature pressed, felt their way along the walls or any other object, proceeding with difficulty as though they were blind. For the light of artificial fire^a was partly quenched by the prevailing storm wind, partly dimmed to the point of disappearance by the depth of the darkness, so that sight, the most indispensable of the senses, though sound in itself, was helpless and unable to see anything; and the other senses were discomfited, like subjects when their queen has fallen. For men could not bring themselves to speak or hear or take food, but lay tortured in silence and famine with no heart to use any of the senses, so entirely overwhelmed were they by the disaster, until Moses again took pity and besought God, Who made light to take the place of darkness, and day of night, with bright open sky all around.

XXII. Such, we are told, were the plagues^b inflicted through the agency of Moses alone, namely the plague of hail and lightning, the plague of the locusts, and that of the darkness which was proof against every form of light. One was committed to him and his brother together, which I will at once proceed to describe. They took in their hands, at God's bidding, ashes from a furnace, which Moses scattered in the air, and then dust suddenly fell upon men and the lower animals alike. It produced an angry, painful ulceration over the whole skin, and, simultaneously with this eruption, their bodies

^b Philo's seventh plague, boils, is sixth in Exodus (ix. 8-12).

- ταῖς ἐξανθήσεσιν ὑποπύους ἔχοντα φλυκταίνας, ἃς ἐτόπασεν ἂν τις ἀφανῶς ὑποκαιομένας ἀναζεῖν.
- 128 ἀλγηδόσι τε καὶ περιωδυνίαις κατὰ τὸ εἶκος ἐκ τῆς ἐλκώσεως καὶ φλογώσεως πιεζόμενοι μᾶλλον ἢ οὐχ ἥττον τῶν σωμάτων τὰς ψυχὰς ἔκαμνον ἐκτετρυχωμένοι ταῖς ἀνίαις—ἐν γὰρ ἂν τις ἀπὸ κεφαλῆς ἄχρι ποδῶν συνεχὲς ἔλκος ἐθεάσατο, τῶν κατὰ μέλος καὶ μέρος διεσπαρμένων εἰς μίαν καὶ τὴν αὐτὴν ἰδέαν ἀποκριθέντων—, ἕως πάλιν ἱκεσίαις τοῦ νομοθέτου, ἃς ὑπὲρ τῶν πασχόντων ἐποιήσατο, ἡ νόσος ῥάων
- 129 ἐγένετο. κοινῇ μέντοι τὴν νουθεσίαν ταύτην ἐπετράπησαν δεόντως, ὁ μὲν ἀδελφὸς διὰ τὸν ἐπενεχθέντα κονιορτόν, ἐπεὶ τῶν ἀπὸ γῆς συμβαινόντων τὴν ἐπιμέλειαν ἔλαχε, Μωυσῆς δὲ διὰ τὸν ἀέρα μεταβαλόντα πρὸς κάκωσιν τῶν οἰκητόρων· ταῖς δ' ἀπ' αἵματος καὶ οὐρανοῦ πληγαῖς οὗτος ὑπηρετεῖ.
- 130 XXIII. Λοιπαὶ δὲ τιμωρίαι τρεῖς εἰσιν αὐτουργηθεῖσαι δίχα τῆς ἀνθρώπων ὑπηρεσίας, ὧν κατὰ μίαν ἐκάστην, ὡς ἂν οἶόν τε ἦ, δηλώσω. πρώτη δ' ἐστὶν ἡ γενομένη διὰ ζώου τῶν ἐν τῇ φύσει πάντων θραυστάτου, κυνομυίας, ἣν ἐτύμως ἐκάλεσαν οἱ θετικοὶ τῶν ὀνομάτων—σοφοὶ γὰρ ἦσαν—ἐκ τῶν ἀναιδεσάτων ζώων συνθέντες τοῦνομα, μυίας καὶ κυνός, τοῦ μὲν τῶν χερσαίων θραυστάτου, τῆς δὲ τῶν πτηνῶν· ἐπιφοιτῶσι γὰρ καὶ ἐπιτρέχουσιν ἀδεῶς, καὶ ἀνείργῃ τις, εἰς τὸ ἀήττητον ἀντιφιλονεικοῦσιν, ἄχρισ ἂν αἵματος καὶ σαρκῶν κορε-
- 131 σθῶσιν. ἡ δὲ κυνόμυια τὴν ἀφ' ἑκατέρου τόλμαν

^a Philo's eighth plague, dog-flies (E.V. flies), is fourth in Exodus (viii. 20-30).

swelled with suppurated blisters, which might be supposed to be extravasations from inflammation lurking beneath. Oppressed as they naturally were 128 by the extreme painfulness and soreness of the ulceration and inflammation, they suffered in spirit more or no less than in body from the exhaustion which their miseries produced. For one continuous ulcer was to be seen stretching from head to foot, the sores scattered over every particular limb and part of the body being concentrated into a single form of the same appearance throughout. So it was until, again by the intercessions which the lawgiver made on behalf of the sufferers, the distemper was lightened. Rightly indeed was this chastisement 129 committed to the two in common : to the brother because the dust which came down upon the people was from the earth, and what was of earth was under his charge ; to Moses because the air was changed to afflict them, and plagues of heaven and air belonged to his ministration.

XXIII. The three remaining chastisements were 130 self-wrought, without any human agent, each of which I will proceed to describe as well as possible. In the first, a creature is employed whose ferocity is unequalled in all nature—the dog-fly.^a This name, which the coiners of words in their wisdom have given it, well expresses its character, for it is a compound formed from the two most shameless animals of the land and the air—the dog and the fly. Both these are persistent and fearless in their assaults, and if one attempts to ward them off meet him with a perseverance which refuses to be beaten, until they have got their fill of flesh and blood. The dog-fly 131 has acquired the audacity of both, and is a creature

- προσειληφύια δηκτικὸν καὶ ἐπίβουλον ζῶόν ἐστι· καὶ γὰρ πόρρωθεν μετὰ ῥοίζου καθάπερ βέλος εἰσακοντίζεται καὶ ἐπεμπύπτουσα βιαίως εὖ μάλα
- 132 ἐγχρίμπτεται. τότε δὲ καὶ θεήλατος ἦν ἡ προσβολή, ὡς δεδιπλασιάσθαι τὴν ἐξ αὐτῆς ἐπιβουλὴν οὐκέτι μόνον τοῖς φυσικοῖς κεχρημένης πλεονεκτήμασιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῖς ἐκ θείας ἐπιφροσύνης, ἡ τὸ ζῶον ὥπλιζε καὶ πρὸς ἀλκὴν ἀνήγειρε κατὰ τῶν
- 133 ἐγχωρίων. μετὰ τὴν κυνόμυϊαν εἶπετο τιμωρία πάλιν ἄνευ συμπράξεως ἀνθρωπίνης, βοσκημάτων θάνατος· βουκόλια γὰρ καὶ αἰπόλια καὶ ποιμνία μεγάλα καὶ ὅσαι ὑποζυγίων καὶ ἄλλων θρεμμάτων ιδέαι πᾶσαι μιᾷ ἡμέρᾳ, ὡς ἀφ' ἐνὸς συνθήματος, ἀγγεληδὸν διεφθείροντο, τὴν ἀνθρώπων
- [102] | ἀπώλειαν, ἡ μικρὸν ὕστερον ἔμελλε γίνεσθαι, προμηνύουσαι καθάπερ ἐν ταῖς λοιμώδεσι νόσοις· λέγεται γὰρ προάγων τις εἶναι λοιμικῶν ἀρρωστημάτων ἡ ζῶων ἀλόγων αἰφνίδιος φθορά.
- 134 XXIV. Μεθ' ἣν ἡ δεκάτη καὶ τελευταία δίκη πάσας ὑπερβάλλουσα τὰς προτέρας ἐπεγένετο, θάνατος Αἰγυπτίων οὔτε πάντων—οὐ γὰρ ἐρημῶσαι τὴν χώραν προηρείτο ὁ θεὸς ἀλλὰ νουθετηῆσαι μόνον—οὔτε τῶν πλείστων ἀνδρῶν ὁμοῦ καὶ γυναικῶν ἐξ ἀπάσης ἡλικίας, ἀλλὰ τοῖς ἄλλοις ζῆν ἐφίεις μόνων τῶν πρωτοτόκων καταψηφίζεται θάνατον ἀρξάμενος ἀπὸ τοῦ πρεσβυτάτου τῶν βασιλέως παίδων καὶ λήξας εἰς τὸν τῆς ἀφανεστάτης ἀλετρίδος.
- 135 περὶ γὰρ μέσας νύκτας οἱ πρῶτοι πατέρας καὶ μητέρας προσειπόντες καὶ ὑπ' ἐκείνων υἱοὶ πάλιν

venomous and vicious, which comes with a whirr from a distance, hurls itself like a javelin, and, with a violent onrush, fastens itself firmly on its victim. On this occasion the assault was also divinely im- 132
pelled, so that its viciousness was doubled, prompted by avidity due not only to nature but to divine providence, which armed the creature and roused it to use its force against the population.

After the dog-fly there followed again a chastise- 133
ment brought about without human co-operation, the death of the live-stock ^a; for great herds of oxen and sheep and goats, and every kind of beast of burden and other cattle, perished as by a single agreed signal in a single day, whole droves at a time, thus presaging the destruction of men which was about to follow, just as we find in epidemics. For pestilential disorders are said to be preluded by a sudden murrain among the lower animals.

XXIV. After this came the tenth and final judge- 134
ment, transcending all its predecessors.^b This was the death of the Egyptians, not of the whole population, since God's purpose was not to make a complete desert of the country, but only to teach them a lesson, nor yet of the great majority of the men and women of every age. Instead, He permitted the rest to live, but sentenced the first-born only to death, beginning with the king and ending with the meanest woman who grinds at the mill, in each case their eldest male child. For, about midnight, those who had been the 135
first to call their parents father and mother, first to

^a Philo's ninth plague, the murrain, is fifth in Exodus (ix. 1-7).

^b For the tenth plague, and its sequel §§ 134-142, see Ex. xii. 29-36.

- πρῶτον ὀνομασθέντες ὑγιαίνοντες καὶ τὰ σώματα ἔρρωμένοι πάντες ἀπ' οὐδεμιᾶς προφάσεως ἡβηδὸν ἐξαπιναιῶς ἀνῆρηντο καὶ οὐδεμίαν οἰκίαν ἀμοιρῆσαι
 136 φασι τότε τῆς συμφορᾶς. ἅμα δὲ τῇ ἔω κατὰ τὸ εἰκὸς ἕκαστοι θεασάμενοι τοὺς φιλτάτους ἀπροσδοκήτως τετελευτηκότας, οἷς ὁμοδίαιτοι καὶ ὁμοτράπεζοι μέχρι τῆς ἐσπέρας ἐγεγέννητο, βαρυτάτῳ πένθει κατασχεθέντες οἰμωγῆς πάντα ἐνέπλησαν, ὥστε συνέβη καὶ διὰ τὴν κοινοπραγίαν τοῦ πάθους ἀπάντων ἀθρόως ὁμοθυμαδὸν ἐκβοησάντων ἓνα θρῆνον ἀπὸ περάτων ἐπὶ πέρατα κατὰ πάσης τῆς
 137 χώρας συνηχῆσαι. καὶ μέχρι μὲν ἐν ταῖς οἰκίαις διέτριβον, ἀγνοῶν ἕκαστος τὸ τοῦ πλησίον κακὸν ἐπὶ τῷ ἑαυτοῦ μόνον ἔστενε, προελθὼν δὲ καὶ γνοὺς τὰ τῶν ἄλλων διπλοῦν πένθος πρὸς τῷ ἰδίῳ καὶ τὸ κοινὸν εὐθύς ἐλάμβανεν, ἐπ' ἐλάττονι καὶ κουφοτέρῳ μείζον καὶ βαρύτερον, ἅτε καὶ τὴν ἐλπίδα τῆς παραμυθίας ἀφηρημένος· τίς γὰρ ἔμελλε παρηγορεῖν
 138 ἕτερον αὐτὸς ὣν τοῦδε χρεῖος; ὅπερ δ' ἐν τοῖς τοιούτοις φιλεῖ, τὰ παρόντα νομίσαντες ἀρχὴν εἶναι μειζόνων καὶ περὶ τῆς τῶν ἔτι ζώντων ἀπωλείας καταδείσαντες συνέδραμον εἰς τὰ βασίλεια δεδακρυμένοι καὶ τὰς ἐσθῆτας περιερρηγμένοι κατεβόων τε τοῦ βασιλέως ὡς πάντων αἰτίου τῶν συμβεβηκότων
 139 δεινῶν. εἰ γάρ, ἔλεγον, εὐθύς ἐν ἀρχῇ Μιυσιέως ἐντυχόντος εἴασεν ἐξελθεῖν τὸ ἔθνος, οὐδενὸς ἂν τῶν γεγονότων πειραθῆναι τὸ παράπαν· εἴξαντος δ' αὐθαδεῖα τῇ συνήθει, τὰ ἐπίχειρα τῆς ἀκαίρου φιλονεικίας ἐξ ἐτοίμου λαβεῖν. εἴτ' ἄλλος ἄλλον παρεκάλει τὸν λεὼν μετὰ πάσης σπουδῆς ἐξ ἀπάσης

^a Cf. πρώτη σ' ἐκάλεσα πατέρα καὶ σὺ παῖδ' ἐμέ, Eur. *Iph. Aut.* 122.

MOSES I. 135-139

be called sons by them,^a all in full health and robust of body, were suddenly cut off wholesale without apparent cause, and no household, as we are told, was spared this calamity. When dawn came, every family, seeing their dearest thus unexpectedly dead, who, up till the evening, had shared their home and board, were naturally struck with profound grief and filled the whole place with their lamentations. And so, since in this general disaster the same emotion drew from all a united outcry, one single dirge of wailing resounded from end to end of the whole land. And, as long as they stayed in their houses, everyone, ignorant of his neighbour's evil plight, bewailed his own only; but, when they came forth and learned what had befallen the rest, their grief was straightway doubled. To the personal sorrow, the lighter and lesser, was added the public, greater and heavier, since they lost even the hope of consolation. For who could be expected to comfort another if he needs consolation himself? And, as so often happens in such circumstances, they thought that their present condition was but the beginning of greater evils, and were filled with fear of the destruction of those who still lived. Consequently, bathed in tears and with garments rent, they rushed together to the palace and cried out against the king as the cause of all the dire events that had befallen them. If, they said, at the very beginning, when Moses first entreated him, he had suffered the people to go forth, they would have experienced none at all of these happenings; but, as he indulged his usual self-will, the rewards of his contentiousness had been promptly reaped by themselves. Then they exhorted each other to use all speed in driving the people from the

- τῆς χώρας ἐξελαύνειν, καὶ τὸ μίαν ἡμέραν μᾶλλον
 140 δέ ὥραν αὐτὸ μόνον κατασχεῖν πρὸς ἀνήκεστον
 [103] τιμωρίαν τιθέμενοι. XXV. | οἱ δ' ἐλαν-
 νόμενοι καὶ διωκόμενοι τῆς αὐτῶν εὐγενείας εἰς
 ἔννοιαν ἐλθόντες τόλμημα τολμῶσιν, ὅποιον εἰκὸς
 ἦν τοὺς ἐλευθέρους καὶ μὴ ἀμνήμονας ὧν ἐπεβου-
 141 λεύθησαν ἀδίκως. πολλὴν γὰρ λείαν ἐκφορήσαντες
 τὴν μὲν αὐτοὶ διεκόμιζον ἐπηχθισμένοι, τὴν δὲ τοῖς
 ὑπόζυγίοις ἐπέθεσαν, οὐ διὰ φιλοχρηματίαν ἢ, ὥς
 ἂν τις κατηγορῶν εἴποι, τὴν τῶν ἀλλοτρίων ἐπι-
 θυμίαν—πόθεν;—ἀλλὰ πρῶτον μὲν ὧν παρὰ πάντα
 τὸν χρόνον ὑπηρέτησαν ἀναγκαῖον μισθὸν κομιζό-
 μενοι, εἶτα δὲ ὑπὲρ ὧν κατεδουλώθησαν ἐν ἐλάττωσι
 καὶ οὐχὶ τοῖς ἴσοις ἀντιλυποῦντες· ποῦ γὰρ ἔσθ'
 ὅμοιον ζημία χρημάτων καὶ στέρησις ἐλευθερίας,
 142 ὑπὲρ ἧς οὐ μόνον προῖεσθαι τὰς οὐσίας οἱ νοῦν
 ἔχοντες ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀποθνήσκειν ἐθέλουσιν; ἐν ἑκα-
 τέρῳ δὴ κατῴρθουν, εἴθ' ὥς ἐν εἰρήνῃ μισθὸν
 λαμβάνοντες, ὃν παρ' ἀκόντων¹ πολὺν χρόνον οὐκ
 ἀποδιδόντων ἀπεστεροῦντο, εἴθ' ὥς ἐν πολέμῳ τὰ
 τῶν ἐχθρῶν φέρειν ἀξιοῦντες νόμῳ τῶν κεκρα-
 τηκότων· οἱ μὲν γὰρ χειρῶν ἤρξαν ἀδίκων, ξένους
 καὶ ἱκέτας, ὥς ἔφην πρότερον, καταδουλωσάμενοι
 τρόπον αἰχμαλώτων, οἱ δὲ καιροῦ παραπεσόντος
 ἡμύναντο δίχα τῆς ἐν ὅπλοις παρασκευῆς, προασπί-
 ζοντος καὶ τὴν χεῖρα ὑπερέχοντος τοῦ δικαίου.
- 143 XXVI. Τοσαύταις μὲν δὴ πληγαῖς καὶ τιμωρίαις
 Αἴγυπτος ἐνουθετεῖτο, ὧν οὐδεμία τῶν Ἑβραίων

¹ The mss. vary here considerably and the construction in the text as here printed is difficult. A simple emendation would be λαμβάνοντες παρ' ἀκόντων ὃν, and so, except that ἀ appears instead of ὃν, it is in the paraphrase of Procopius quoted in Cohn, p. 153.

whole country, and declared that to detain them even for a single day, or rather only for an hour, would bring upon them a deadly vengeance. XXV.

The Hebrews, thus hunted as outcasts from the land, 140 and conscious of their own high lineage, were emboldened to act as was natural to them, as freemen and men who were not oblivious of the injustices which malice had inflicted on them ; for they took 141 out with them much spoil, which they carried partly on their backs, partly laid on their beasts of burden. And they did this not in avarice, or, as their accusers might say, in covetousness of what belonged to others. No, indeed. In the first place, they were but receiving a bare wage for all their time of service ; secondly, they were retaliating, not on an equal but on a lesser scale, for their enslavement. For what resemblance is there between forfeiture of money and deprivation of liberty, for which men of sense are willing to sacrifice not only their substance but their life ? In either case, their action was right, whether 142 one regard it as an act of peace, the acceptance of payment long kept back through reluctance to pay what was due, or as an act of war, the claim under the law of the victors to take their enemies' goods. For the Egyptians began the wrongdoing by reducing guests and suppliants to slavery like captives, as I said before. The Hebrews, when the opportunity came, avenged themselves without warlike preparations, shielded by justice whose arm was extended to defend them.

XXVI. With all these plagues and punishments 143 was Egypt admonished, none of which touched the

- καίτοι γε ἐν ταῖς αὐταῖς πόλεσι καὶ κώμαις καὶ οἰκίαις συνδιατριβόντων ἤψατο, γῆς ὕδατος ἀέρος πυρός, ἃ μέρη τῆς φύσεώς ἐστιν, ἣν ἀμήχανον ἐκφυγεῖν, ἐπιθεμένων· ὃ δὴ καὶ παραδοξότατον ἦν, ὑπὸ τῶν αὐτῶν κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν τόπον καὶ χρόνον
- 144 τοὺς μὲν διαφθείρεσθαι, τοὺς δὲ σώζεσθαι. ὁ ποταμὸς εἰς αἷμα μετέβαλεν, ἀλλ' οὐχ Ἑβραίοις· ἥνίκα γὰρ βουληθεῖεν ἀρύσασθαι, τροπὴν ἐλάμβανεν εἰς πότιμον. βάτραχος ἐκ τῶν ὑδάτων ἐπὶ τὴν χέρσον ἀνερπύσας ἀγορὰς καὶ ἐπαύλεις καὶ οἰκίας ἐπλήρωσεν, ἀλλ' ἀπὸ τῶν Ἑβραίων ἐξανεχώρει μόνων καθάπερ διακρίνειν ἐπιστάμενος, οὓς τε χρή
- 145 κολάζεσθαι καὶ τὸνναντίον· οὐ σκνίπες, οὐ κυνόμυια, οὐκ ἀκρίς, ἥ καὶ φυτὰ καὶ καρπούς καὶ ζῶα καὶ ἀνθρώπους μεγάλα ἔβλαψε, τούτοις προσέπησαν· οὐχ ὑετῶν, οὐ χαλάζης, οὐ κεραυνῶν αἱ
- [104] γεγόμενα | συνεχεῖς φοραὶ μέχρι τούτων ἐφθασαν· ἐλκώσεως τῆς ἀργαλεωτάτης εἰς τὸ παθεῖν οὐδ' ὄναρ ἐπήσθοντο· βαθυτάτου σκότους τοῖς ἄλλοις ἀναχυθέντος, ἐν αὐγῇ καθαρᾷ διήγαγον, τοῦ ἡμερησίου φωτὸς ἐπιλάμποντος· ἀναιρουμένων τῶν παρ' Αἰγυπτίους πρωτοτόκων, ἐτελεύτησεν Ἑβραῖος οὐδεὶς· οὐδὲ γὰρ εἰκὸς ἦν, ὅποτε καὶ ἡ τῶν ἀμυθίτων φθορὰ θρεμμάτων οὐδεμίαν τῶν παρὰ τούτοις
- 146 ἀγέλην συνεπεσπάσατο πρὸς ἀπώλειαν. καὶ μοί τις δοκεῖ παρατυχῶν τοῖς γενομένοις κατ' ἐκείνον τὸν καιρὸν μηδὲν ἂν ἄλλο νομίσαι τοὺς Ἑβραίους ἢ θεατὰς ὧν ἕτεροι κακῶν ὑπέμενον καὶ οὐ μόνον¹

¹ Cohn, following Clem. Al. *Strom.* i. 23 *θεαταὶ δὲ Ἑβραῖοι ἐγένοντο ὧν ἕτεροι κακῶν ὑπέμενον ἀκινδύνως ἐκμανθάνοντες τὴν δύναμιν τοῦ θεοῦ*, proposed to fill the lacuna with the last five

MOSES I. 143-146

Hebrews, though they dwelt in the same cities and villages and houses, and though earth, water, air, fire, the constituent parts of that nature which it is impossible to escape, joined in the attack. And the strangest thing of all was that the same elements in the same place and at the same time brought destruction to one people and safety to the other. The river ¹⁴⁴ changed to blood, but not for the Hebrews; for, when they wished to draw from it, it turned into good drinking-water. The frog tribe crept from the water on to the land, and filled the market-places, the farm buildings and houses, but held aloof from the Hebrews alone, as though it knew how to distinguish who should be punished and who should not. Neither the gnats, nor the dog-flies nor the ¹⁴⁵ locusts, which did so great damage to plants and fruits and animals and men, winged their way to them; neither the rainstorm nor the hail nor the thunderbolts which fell continuously reached as far as them. That most painful ulceration was not felt, or even imagined, by them. When the others were wrapped in profound darkness, they lived in clear radiance with the light of day shining upon them. When the first-born of the Egyptians was slain, no Hebrew died, nor was it likely that they should, when even the murrain, by which numberless cattle perished, did not involve a single herd of theirs in the destruction. Indeed, I think that everyone ¹⁴⁶ who witnessed the events of that time could not but have thought of the Hebrews as spectators of the sufferings of others, and not merely spectators

words of the quotation. Mangey was content with *τοῦτο* only. Perhaps *ἀκινδύνους* alone would be enough, Clement's remaining five words representing *εὐστέβειαν*.

. . . , ἀλλὰ καὶ μαθημάτων τὸ κάλλιστον καὶ ὠφελιμώτατον ἀναδιδασκομένους, εὐσέβειαν· οὐ γάρ ποθ' οὕτως ἢ τῶν ἀγαθῶν καὶ κακῶν κρίσις ἐμφανῶς ἦλθε τοῖς μὲν φθορὰν τοῖς δὲ σωτηρίαν παρασχούσα.

147 XXVII. Τῶν δ' ἐξιόντων καὶ μετανισταμένων οἱ μὲν ἀνδρὸς ἔχοντες ἡλικίαν ὑπὲρ ἐξήκοντα μυριάδας ἦσαν, ὁ δ' ἄλλος ὄμιλος πρεσβυτῶν, παίδων, γυναικῶν οὐ ῥάδιος ἀριθμηθῆναι· μιγάδων δὲ καὶ συγκλύδων καὶ θεραπειᾶς ὄχλος συνεξῆλθεν ὥσανεὶ νόθον μετὰ γνησίου πλήθους· οὗτοι δ' ἦσαν οἱ ἐκ γυναικῶν γεννηθέντες Αἰγυπτίων τοῖς Ἑβραίοις καὶ τῷ πατρίῳ γένει προσνεμηθέντες καὶ ὅσοι τὸ θεοφιλὲς ἀγάμενοι τῶν ἀνδρῶν ἐπηλύται ἐγένοντο καὶ εἰ δὴ τινες τῷ μεγέθει καὶ πλήθει τῶν ἐπαλλήλων κολάσεων μετεβάλλοντο σωφρονισθέντες.

148 τούτων ἀπάντων ἡγεμῶν ἐχειροτονεῖτο Μωυσῆς τὴν ἀρχὴν καὶ βασιλείαν λαβὼν οὐχ ὥσπερ ἔνιοι τῶν ἐπὶ τὰς δυναστείας ὠθουμένων ὄπλοις καὶ μηχανήμασιν ἵππικαῖς τε καὶ πεζικαῖς καὶ ναυτικαῖς δυνάμεσιν, ἀλλ' ἀρετῆς ἕνεκα καὶ καλοκαγαθίας καὶ τῆς πρὸς ἅπαντας εὐνοίας, ἣ χρώμενος ἀεὶ διετέλει, καὶ προσέτι καὶ τοῦ φιλαρέτου καὶ φιλοκάλου θεοῦ
149 γέρας ἄξιον αὐτῷ παρασχόντος. ἐπειδὴ γὰρ τὴν Αἰγύπτου κατέλιπεν ἡγεμονίαν, θυγατριδοῦς τοῦ τότε βασιλεύοντος ὦν, ἕνεκα τῶν κατὰ τὴν χώραν γινομένων ἀδικημάτων πολλὰ χαίρειν φράσας ταῖς ἀπὸ τῶν θεμένων ἐλπίσι διὰ ψυχῆς εὐγένειαν καὶ φρονήματος μέγεθος καὶ τὸ μισοπόνηρον φύσει, τῷ

* See Ex. xii. 27, 37 f.

MOSES I. 146-149

in safety, but learners thereby of the finest and most profitable of lessons—piety. For never was judgement so clearly passed on good and bad, a judgement which brought perdition to the latter and salvation to the former.

XXVII. The departing emigrants had among them 147 over six hundred thousand men of military age, while the rest of the multitude, consisting of old men, women-folk and children, could not easily be counted. They were accompanied by a promiscuous, nondescript and menial crowd, a bastard host, so to speak, associated with the true-born. These were the children of Egyptian women by Hebrew fathers into whose families they had been adopted, also those who, reverencing the divine favour shewn to the people, had come over to them, and such as were converted and brought to a wiser mind by the magnitude and the number of the successive punishments.^a

The appointed leader of all these was Moses, invested 148 with this office and kingship, not like some of those who thrust themselves into positions of power by means of arms and engines of war and strength of infantry, cavalry and navy, but on account of his goodness and his nobility of conduct and the universal benevolence which he never failed to shew. Further, his office was bestowed upon him by God, the lover of virtue and nobility, as the reward due to him. For, when he gave up the lordship of Egypt, which 149 he held as son to the daughter of the then reigning king, because the sight of the iniquities committed in the land and his own nobility of soul and magnanimity of spirit and inborn hatred of evil led him to renounce completely his expected inheritance from the kinsfolk of his adoption, He Who presides

πρυτανεύοντι καὶ ἐπιμελουμένῳ τῶν ὅλων ἔδοξεν
 αὐτὸν ἀμείψασθαι βασιλείᾳ πολυανθρωποτέρου καὶ
 κρείττονος ἔθνους, ὅπερ ἔμελλεν ἐξ ἀπάντων τῶν
 ἄλλων ἱεράσθαι τὰς ὑπὲρ τοῦ γένους τῶν ἀνθρώπων
 αἰεὶ ποιησόμενον εὐχὰς ὑπὲρ τε κακῶν ἀποτροπῆς
 150 καὶ μετουσίᾳς ἀγαθῶν. παραλαβὼν δὲ τὴν ἀρχὴν
 οὐχ ὥσπερ ἔνιοι τὸν ἴδιον αὔξειν οἶκον καὶ τοὺς
 υἱοὺς—δύο γὰρ ἦσαν αὐτῷ—προάγειν ἐπὶ μέγα
 δυνάμειος ἐσπούδασεν, ὥς ἐν μὲν τῷ παρόντι
 κοινωνοὺς αὐθις δὲ καὶ διαδόχους ἀποφῆναι· |
 [105] γνώμῃ γὰρ ἀδόλῳ καὶ καθαρᾷ πρὸς πάντα μικρά
 τε αὐτὸ καὶ μεγάλα χρώμενος τὴν φυσικὴν πρὸς
 τὰ τέκνα φιλοστοργίαν οἷα κριτῆς ἀγαθὸς ἐνίκα τῷ
 151 περὶ τὸν λογισμὸν ἀδεκάστῳ. προὔκειτο γὰρ ἐν
 αὐτῷ τέλος ἀναγκαιότατον, ὀνήσαι τοὺς ἀρχομένους
 καὶ πάνθ' ὑπὲρ τῆς τούτων ὠφελείας ἔργῳ καὶ λόγῳ
 πραγματεύεσθαι, μηδένα παραλιπόντι καιρὸν τῶν
 152 συντεινόντων εἰς κοινὴν κατόρθωσιν. μόνος οὗτος
 τῶν πώποθ' ἡγεμονευσάντων οὐ χρυσὸν οὐκ ἄργυ-
 ρον ἐθησαυρίσατο, οὐ δασμοὺς ἐξέλεξεν, οὐκ οἰκίας,
 οὐ κτήματα, οὐ θρέμματα, οὐ θεραπείαν οἰκετικὴν,
 οὐ προσόδους, οὐκ ἄλλο τῶν εἰς πολυτέλειαν καὶ
 περιουσίαν οὐδὲν ἐκτήσατο, καίτοι πάντων ἔχειν
 153 ἀφθονίαν δυνάμενος· ἀλλ' ὑπολαβὼν πενίας ψυχικῆς
 ἔργον εἶναι τὸν ἐν ταῖς ὕλαις ἀποδέχεσθαι πλοῦτον
 τοῦ μὲν ὡς τυφλοῦ κατεφρόνησε, τὸν δὲ βλέποντα
 τῆς φύσεως ἐξετίμησε καὶ ζηλωτῆς ὡς οὐκ οἶδ' εἴ
 τις ἕτερος αὐτοῦ γενόμενος ἐν μὲν ἐσθῆσι καὶ
 τροφαῖς καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις τοῖς περὶ δίαιταν οὐδὲν
 ἐπιτραγωδῶν πρὸς σεμνότερον ὄγκον εὐτέλειαν καὶ
 εὐκολίαν ἐπετήδευεν ἰδιώτου, πολυτέλειαν δὲ τῷ
 ὄντι βασιλικὴν ἐν οἷς καλὸν ἦν πλεονεκτεῖν τὸν

MOSES I. 149-153

over and takes charge of all things thought good to requite him with the kingship of a nation more populous and mightier, a nation destined to be consecrated above all others to offer prayers for ever on behalf of the human race that it may be delivered from evil and participate in what is good. Having received 150 this office, he did not, like some, take pains to exalt his own house, and promote his sons, of whom he had two, to great power and make them his consorts for the present and his successors for the hereafter. For in all things great and small he followed a pure and guileless policy, and, like a good judge, allowed the incorruptibility of reason to subdue his natural affection for his children. For he had set before him one 151 essential aim, to benefit his subjects ; and, in all that he said or did, to further their interests and neglect no opportunity which would forward the common well-being. In solitary contrast to those who had 152 hitherto held the same authority, he did not treasure up gold and silver, did not levy tributes, did not possess houses or chattels or livestock or a staff of slaves or revenues or any other accompaniment of costly and opulent living, though he might have had all in abundance. He held that to prize material 153 wealth shews poverty of soul, and despised such wealth as blind ; but the wealth of nature which has eyes to see he highly honoured and zealously pursued, more perhaps than any other man. In dress and food and the other sides of life, he made no arrogant parade to increase his pomp and grandeur. But, while in these he practised the economy and unassuming ways of a private citizen, he was liberal in the truly royal expenditure of those treasures which the ruler may well desire to have in abundance.

- 154 ἄρχοντα· ταῦτα δ' ἦσαν ἐγκράτειαι, καρτερίαι, σω-
φροσύναι, ἀγχίνουαι, συνέσεις, ἐπιστήμαι, πόνοι,
κακοπάθειαι, ἡδονῶν ὑπεροψίαι, δικαιοσύναι, προ-
τροπαὶ πρὸς τὰ βέλτιστα, ψόγοι καὶ κολάσεις ἀμαρ-
τανόντων νόμιμοι, ἔπαινοι καὶ τιμαὶ κατορθούντων
- 155 πάλιν σὺν νόμῳ. XXVIII. τοιγαροῦν πολλὰ χαί-
ρειν φράσαντα πολυχρηματία καὶ τῷ παρ' ἀνθρώ-
ποις μέγα πνέοντι πλούτῳ γεραίρει θεὸς τὸν μέγι-
στον καὶ τελεώτατον ἀντιδούς πλούτον αὐτῷ· οὗτος
δ' ἐστὶν ὁ τῆς συμπάσης γῆς καὶ θαλάττης καὶ
ποταμῶν καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ὅσα στοιχεῖα καὶ συγ-
κρίματα· κοινωνὸν γὰρ ἀξιώσας ἀναφανῆναι τῆς
ἑαυτοῦ λήξεως ἀνῆκε πάντα τὸν κόσμον ὡς κληρο-
- 156 νόμῳ κτήσιν ἀρμόζουσιν. τοιγαροῦν ὑπήκουεν ὡς
δεσπότη τῶν στοιχείων ἕκαστον ἀλλάττον ἢν
εἶχε δύναμιν καὶ ταῖς προστάξεσιν ὑπέεικον· καὶ
θαυμαστὸν ἴσως οὐδέν· εἰ γὰρ κατὰ τὴν παροιμίαν
“κοινὰ τὰ φίλων,” φίλος δὲ ὁ προφήτης ἀνεύρηται
θεοῦ, κατὰ τὸ ἀκόλουθον μετέχει ἂν αὐτοῦ καὶ τῆς
- 157 κτήσεως, καθ' ὃν χρειῶδες. ὁ μὲν γὰρ θεὸς πάντα
κεκτημένος οὐδενὸς δεῖται, ὁ δὲ σπουδαῖος ἄνθρωπος
κέκτῃται μὲν οὐδὲν κυρίως ἀλλ' οὐδ' ἑαυτόν, τῶν δὲ
τοῦ θεοῦ κειμηλίων, καθ' ὅσον ἂν οἶός τε ᾗ, μετα-
- [106] λαγχάνει. | καὶ μήποτ' εἰκότως· κοσμοπολίτης
γὰρ ἐστίν, ἥς χάριν αἰτίας οὐδεμιᾶ τῶν κατὰ τὴν
οἰκουμένην πόλεων ἐνεγράφη, δεόντως, οὐ μέρος
- 158 χώρας ἀλλ' ὅλον τὸν κόσμον κλῆρον λαβών. τί δ';
οὐχὶ καὶ μείζονος τῆς πρὸς τὸν πατέρα τῶν ὄλων
καὶ ποιητὴν κοινωνίας ἀπέλαυσε προσρήσεως τῆς
αὐτῆς ἀξιωθεῖς; ὠνομάσθη γὰρ ὅλου τοῦ ἔθνους

^a Cf. *De Abr.* 235.^b Ex. xxxiii. 11.

MOSES I. 154-158

These treasures were the repeated exhibition of self- 154
restraint, continence, temperance, shrewdness, good
sense, knowledge, endurance of toil and hardships,
contempt of pleasures, justice, advocacy of excellence,
censure and chastisement according to law for wrong-
doers, praise and honour for well-doers, again as the
law directs. XXVIII. And so, as he abjured the 155
accumulation of lucre, and the wealth whose in-
fluence is mighty among men, God rewarded him
by giving him instead the greatest and most
perfect wealth. That is the wealth of the whole
earth and sea and rivers, and of all the other
elements and the combinations which they form.
For, since God judged him worthy to appear as a
partner of His own possessions, He gave into his
hands the whole world as a portion well fitted for His
heir. Therefore, each element obeyed him as its 156
master, changed its natural properties and submitted
to his command, and this perhaps is no wonder. For
if, as the proverb says, what belongs to friends is
common,^a and the prophet is called the friend of God,^b
it would follow that he shares also God's possessions,
so far as it is serviceable. For God possesses all 157
things, but needs nothing; while the good man,
though he possesses nothing in the proper sense, not
even himself, partakes of the precious things of God
so far as he is capable. And that is but natural, for
he is a world citizen, and therefore not on the roll of
any city of men's habitation, rightly so because he has
received no mere piece of land but the whole world
as his portion. Again, was not the joy of his partner- 158
ship with the Father and Maker of all magnified
also by the honour of being deemed worthy to
bear the same title? For he was named god and

- θεὸς καὶ βασιλεύς· εἷς τε τὸν γνώφον, ἔνθα ἦν ὁ θεός, εἰσελθεῖν λέγεται, τουτέστιν εἰς τὴν αἰδιὴ καὶ ἀόρατον καὶ ἀσώματον τῶν ὄντων παραδειγματικὴν οὐσίαν, τὰ ἀθέατα φύσει θνητῇ κατανοῶν· καθάπερ τε γραφὴν εὖ δεδημιουργημένην ἑαυτὸν καὶ τὸν ἑαυτοῦ βίον εἰς μέσον προαγαγὼν πάγκαλον καὶ θεοειδὲς ἔργον ἔστησε παράδειγμα τοῖς ἐθέλουσι
- 159 μιμείσθαι. εὐδαίμονες δ' ὅσοι τὸν τύπον ταῖς ἑαυτῶν ψυχαῖς ἐναπεμάξαντο ἢ ἐσπουδάσαν ἑναπομάξασθαι· φερέτω γὰρ ἡ διάνοια μάλιστα μὲν τὸ εἶδος τέλειον ἀρετῆς, εἰ δὲ μή, τὸν γοῦν ὑπὲρ τοῦ κτήσασθαι τὸ εἶδος ἀνευδοίαστον πόθον.
- 160 καὶ μὴν οὐδ' ἐκεῖνό τις ἀγνοεῖ, ὅτι ζηλωταὶ τῶν ἐνδόξων οἱ ἀφανεῖς εἰσι καί, ὧν ἂν ἐκεῖνοι μάλιστ' ὀρέγεσθαι δοκῶσι, πρὸς ταῦτα τὰς αὐτῶν ἀποτείνουσιν ὁρμάς· ἐπειδὴν γοῦν ἡγεμῶν ἀρξῆται καθηδυπαθεῖν καὶ πρὸς τὸν ἀβροδίαστον ἀποκλίνειν βίον, σύμπαν ὀλίγου δεῖν τὸ ὑπήκοον τὰς γαστροὺς καὶ τῶν μετὰ γαστέρα προσαναρρήγγυσιν ἔξω τῶν ἀναγκαίων ἐπιθυμίας, εἰ μή τινες εὐμοιρίᾳ χρῆσαιντο φύσεως ψυχὴν οὐκ ἐπίβουλον ἀλλ' εὐμενῇ
- 161 καὶ ἦεω κτησάμενοι· ἐὰν δ' αὖστηροτέραν καὶ σεμνοτέραν ἔλθῃται προαίρεσιν, καὶ οἱ λίαν αὐτῶν ἀκράτορες μεταβάλλουσι πρὸς ἐγκράτειαν ἢ φόβῳ ἢ αἰδοῖ σπουδάζοντες ὑπόληψιν ἐμποιεῖν, ὅτι ἄρα ζηλωταὶ τῶν ὁμοίων εἰσὶ καὶ οὐκ ἂν ποθ' οἱ χεῖρους τὰ τῶν κρειττόνων ἀλλ' οὐδὲ μανέντες ἀποδοκιμά-
- 162 ζοιεν. τάχα δ', ἐπεὶ καὶ νομοθέτης ἔμελλεν ἔσεσθαι, πολὺ πρότερον αὐτὸς ἐγένετο νόμος ἔμφυχός τε καὶ λογικός θεία προνοία, ἥτις ἀγνοοῦντα αὐτὸν εἰς νομοθέτην ἐχειροτόνησεν αὐθις

king of the whole nation, and entered, we are told, into the darkness where God was,^a that is into the unseen, invisible, incorporeal and archetypal essence of existing things. Thus he beheld what is hidden from the sight of mortal nature, and, in himself and his life displayed for all to see, he has set before us, like some well-wrought picture, a piece of work beautiful and godlike, a model for those who are willing to copy it. Happy are they who imprint, or 159 strive to imprint, that image in their souls. For it were best that the mind should carry the form of virtue in perfection, but, failing this, let it at least have the unflinching desire to possess that form.

And, indeed, we all know this, that 160 meaner men emulate men of distinction, and set their inclinations in the direction of what *they* seem to desire. Thus, when a ruler begins to shew profligacy and turn to a life of luxury, the whole body almost of his subjects gives full vent to the appetites of belly and sex beyond their actual needs, save in the case of some who, blessed by the gifts of nature, possess a soul kindly and propitious and free from viciousness; whereas, if that ruler adopt a more severe 161 and more serious rule of life, even the very licentious are converted to continence and are eager, either through fear or shame, to create the impression that, after all, their aims are like to his. In fact the worse, even in madness, will never be found to condemn the ways of the better. Perhaps, too, since he was 162 destined to be a legislator, the providence of God which afterwards appointed him without his knowledge to that work, caused him long before that day to be the reasonable and living impersonation of law.

^a Ex. xx. 21, *cf. De Mut.* 7.

- 163 XXIX. Ἐπειδὴ τοίνυν παρ' ἐκόντων ἔλαβε τὴν
 ἀρχήν, βραβεύοντας καὶ ἐπινεύοντας θεοῦ, τὴν
 ἀποικίαν ἔστελλεν εἰς Φοινίκην καὶ Συρίαν τὴν
 κοίλην καὶ Παλαιστίνην, ἥ τότε προσηγορεύετο
 164 Χαναναίων, ἥς οἱ ὅροι τριῶν ἡμερῶν ὁδὸν διειστή-
 [107] κεσαν ἀπ' Αἰγύπτου. εἰτ' ἦγεν αὐτοὺς οὐ | τὴν
 ἐπίτομον, ἅμα μὲν εὐλαβηθεῖς, μή ποθ', ὑπαντια-
 σάντων τῶν οἰκητόρων διὰ φόβον ἀναστάσεως καὶ
 ἀνδραποδισμοῦ καὶ γενομένου πολέμου, πάλιν τὴν
 αὐτὴν ὁδὸν ὑποστρέψωσιν εἰς Αἴγυπτον, ἀπ' ἐχ-
 θρῶν ἐπ' ἐχθρούς, νέων ἐπ' ἀρχαίους, γέλως καὶ
 χλεύη γενησόμενοι καὶ χεῖρω καὶ ἀργαλεώτερα τῶν
 προτέρων ὑπομενοῦντες, ἅμα δὲ καὶ βουλόμενος
 αὐτοὺς δι' ἐρήμης ἄγων καὶ μακρᾶς δοκιμάσαι, πῶς
 ἔχουσι πειθαρχίας ἐν οὐκ ἀφθόνοις χορηγίαις ἀλλ'
 165 ἐκ τοῦ κατ' ὀλίγον ὑποσπανιζούσαις. ἐκτραπό-
 μενος οὖν τὴν ἐπ' εὐθείας, ἐγκάρσιον ἀτραπὸν εὐ-
 ρῶν καὶ νομίσας κατατείνειν ἄχρι τῆς ἐρυθρᾶς
 θαλάττης ὁδοιπορεῖν ἤρχετο. τεράστιον δέ φασι
 συμβῆναι κατ' ἐκεῖνον τὸν χρόνον μεγαλοῦργημα
 τῆς φύσεως, ὃ μηδεὶς πω μέμνηται πάλαι γεγονός.
 166 νεφέλη γὰρ εἰς εὐμεγέθη κίονα σχηματισθεῖσα προ-
 ῆει τῆς πληθύος, ἡμέρας μὲν ἡλιοειδὲς ἐκλάμπουσα
 φέγγος, νύκτωρ δὲ φλογοειδὲς, ὑπὲρ τοῦ μὴ
 πλάζεσθαι κατὰ τὴν πορείαν, ἀλλ' ἀπλανεστάτῳ
 ἔπεσθαι ἡγεμόνι ὁδοῦ. τάχα μέντοι καὶ τῶν ὑπ-
 ἀρχων τις ἦν τοῦ μεγάλου βασιλέως, ἀφανὴς ἄγγε-
 λος, ἐγκατεκλημμένος τῇ νεφελῇ προηγητῆρ, ὃν οὐ
 θέμις σώματος ὀφθαλμοῖς ὁρᾶσθαι.
- 167 XXX. Θεασάμενος δ' ὁ τῆς Αἰγύπτου βασιλεὺς
 ἀνοδία χρωμένους, ὥς ᾤετο, καὶ διὰ τραχείας καὶ

^a For §§ 163-180 see Ex. xiii. 17-xv. 21.

MOSES I. 163-167

XXIX. ^a So, having received the authority which 163
they willingly gave him, with the sanction and
assent of God, he proposed to lead them to settle in
Phoenicia and Coelesyria and Palestine, then called
the land of the Canaanites, the boundaries of which
were three days' journey from Egypt. The course by 164
which he then led them was not the straight road.
He avoided this, partly because he was apprehensive
that if the inhabitants, fearing to lose their homes
and personal liberty, offered them opposition, and
war ensued, they might return by the same road to
Egypt, and thus, exchanging one enemy for another,
the new for the old, might be mocked, derided and
subjected to hardships worse and more painful than
what they underwent before. Partly, too, he wished
by leading them through a long stretch of desert
country to test the extent of their loyalty when sup-
plies were not abundant but gradually grew scarcer
and scarcer. Therefore, leaving the straight road, 165
he found one at an angle to it, and, thinking that it
extended to the Red Sea, began the journey. It was
then, we are told, that there occurred a prodigy, a
mighty work of nature, the like of which none can
remember to have been seen in the past. A cloud 166
shaped like a tall pillar, the light of which in the day-
time was as the sun and in night as flame, went before
the host, so that they should not stray in their journey,
but follow in the steps of a guide who could never err.
Perhaps indeed there was enclosed within the cloud
one of the lieutenants of the great King, an unseen
angel, a forerunner on whom the eyes of the body
were not permitted to look.

XXX. But the king of Egypt, seeing, as he thought, 167
that they had lost their way and were traversing a

ἀτριοῦς ἐρήμης βαδίζοντας ἦσθη μὲν ἐπὶ τῷ κατὰ
 τὴν πορείαν σφάλματι, νομίσας συγκεκλεῖσθαι δι-
 ἔξοδον οὐκ ἔχοντας, ἐπὶ δὲ τῷ μεθέσθαι μετανοῶν
 ἐπεχείρει διώκειν, ὡς ἡ φόβῳ τὴν πληθὺν ὑπο-
 στρέψων καὶ δουλωσόμενος αὐθις ἡ ἀποκτενῶν
 168 ἤβηδὸν ἀφηνιάζουσιν. εἴθ' ἅπασαν τὴν ἱππικὴν
 δύναμιν παραλαβὼν ἀκοντιστάς τε καὶ σφενδονήτας
 καὶ ἵπποτοξότας καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ὅσοι τῆς κούφης
 ὀπλίσεως καὶ τὰ κάλλιστα τῶν δρεπανηφόρων ἀρ-
 μάτων ἑξακόσια τοῖς ἐν τέλει δούς, ἵνα μετὰ τοῦ
 πρέποντος ἀξιώματος ἐπακολουθήσωσι καὶ τῆς
 στρατείας μετάσχωσιν, οὐδὲν τάχους ἀνεῖς ἐπεξέθει
 καὶ συντείνων ἔσπευδε βουλόμενος ἑξαπιναιῶς οὐ
 προῖδομένοις ἐπιστῆναι· τὸ γὰρ ἀνέλπιστον κακὸν
 ἀργαλεώτερον αἰεὶ τοῦ προσδοκηθέντος, ὅσω καὶ
 τὸ ὀλιγωρηθὲν εὐεπιχειρητότερον τοῦ σὺν φροντίδι.
 169 καὶ ὁ μὲν ταῦτα διανοηθεὶς ἐπηκολού-
 θει νομίζων αὐτοβοεῖ περιέσεσθαι, οἱ δ' ἔτυχον ἤδη
 παρὰ ταῖς ἡῖόσι τῆς θαλάττης στρατοπεδεύοντες·
 μελλόντων δ' ἀριστοποιεῖσθαι, τὸ μὲν πρῶτον
 πάταγος ἐξηχεῖτο πολὺς, ἅτε τοσούτων ἀνθρώπων
 ὁμοῦ καὶ ὑποζυγίων μετὰ σπουδῆς ἐλαυνόντων, ὡς
 ἐκχυθέντας¹ τῶν σκηνῶν περιβλέπεσθαι καὶ ὠτ-
 [108] ακουστεῖν | ἀκροβατοῦντας· εἴτ' ὀλίγῳ ὕστερον ἐπὶ
 λόφου μετέωρος ἢ ἀντίπαλος καταφαίνεται δύναμις
 170 ἐν τοῖς ὅπλοις ἐκτεταγμένη πρὸς μάχην. XXXI. ἐπὶ
 δὲ τῷ παραλόγῳ καὶ ἀπροσδοκῆτῳ καταπλαγέντες
 καὶ μήτε πρὸς ἄμυναν εὐτρεπεῖς ὄντες διὰ σπάνιν
 ἀμυντηρίων—οὐ γὰρ ἐπὶ πόλεμον ἀλλ' εἰς ἀποικίαν
 ἐξήεσαν—μήτε φυγεῖν δυνάμενοι—κατόπιν μὲν γὰρ
 πέλαγος, ἐχθροὶ δ' ἀντικρὺ, τὰ δὲ παρ' ἐκάτερα

¹ MSS. ἐκλυθέντας et alia.

rough and pathless desert, was pleased to find that disaster had befallen their journey, since he judged them to be shut in without an outlet. And, repenting that he had let them go, he essayed to pursue, expecting that he would make the multitude return in fear to renewed slavery, or massacre them whole-sale if they proved refractory. Then he took with 168 him all his cavalry, javelineers, slingers, mounted archers, and all his other light-armed troops, and gave the six hundred finest of his scythed chariots to the men of rank that they might follow in suitable state and take part in the campaign. With unabated rapidity he rushed to the attack, and pushed on eagerly, wishing to come upon them suddenly and unforeseen. For the unexpected ill is ever more troublesome than the expected, since a negligently, compared with a carefully, guarded force is more liable to be successfully attacked. While he 169 pursued them with these intentions, hoping to win an uncontested victory, they, as it happened, were already encamped on the shores of the sea. And, just as they were preparing to take their early meal, first a mighty din was heard, caused by the host of men and beasts coming on at full speed; and, at the sound, they poured out of their tents, standing on tiptoe to look around and listen with both ears. Then, shortly afterwards, high on the hill, appeared the enemy's forces, armed and drawn up for battle. XXXI. At this strange, unexpected sight, they were 170 panic-stricken. They were not ready to defend themselves, for lack of the necessary weapons, for their expedition was not for war but for colonization. They could not fly, for the sea was behind them, the enemy in front, and on either side the depths of the trackless

- βαθεία καὶ ἀτριβῆς ἐρήμη—σφαδάζοντες καὶ τῷ
 μεγέθει τῶν κακῶν ἀπειρηκότες, οἷα παρὰ τὰς
 τοιαύτας φιλεῖ συμφοράς, τὸν ἄρχοντα ἡτιῶντο
 171 φάσκοντες. “ διὰ τὸ μὴ εἶναι μνήματα ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ,
 οἷς ἀποθανόντες ἐνταφισόμεθα, ἐξήγαγες ἡμᾶς, ἵν’
 ἐνταῦθα κηδεύσης ἀποκτείνας; ἢ οὐ πᾶσα δουλεία
 κουφότερον κακὸν θανάτου; δελεάσας ἐλευθε-
 ρίας ἐλπίδι τὸ πλῆθος τὸν χαλεπώτερον περὶ τοῦ
 172 ζῆν ἐπεκρέμασας κίνδυνον. ἡγνόεις τὴν ἡμετέραν
 ἀ(ο)πλότητα¹ καὶ τὴν Αἰγυπτίων πικρίαν καὶ τὸ
 βαρύμηνι; τὸ μέγεθος τῶν ἀφύκτων κακῶν οὐχ
 ὀρᾷς; τί πρακτέον; πολεμῶμεν ἄσπολοι πρὸς ὥπλι-
 σμένους; ἀλλὰ φεύγωμεν καθάπερ ἄρκυσι κυκλω-
 θέντες ἀνηλεέσιν ἐχθροῖς, ἐρημίαις ἀβάτοις, ἀπλώ-
 τοις πελάγεσιν; εἰ δὲ δὴ καὶ πλωτά, τίς εὐπορία
 173 σκαφῶν εἰς περαίωσιν; ” ὁ δὲ ταῦτα ἀκούων τοῖς
 μὲν συνεγίνωσκε, τῶν δὲ χρησμῶν ἐμέμνητο· καὶ
 διανείμας τὸν νοῦν καὶ τὸν λόγον κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν
 χρόνον τῷ μὲν ἐνετύγχανεν ἀφανῶς τῷ θεῷ, ἵν’ ἐξ
 ἀμηχάνων ῥύσῃται συμφορῶν, δι’ οὗ δ’ ἐθάρσυνε
 καὶ παρηγόρει τοὺς καταβοῶντας “ μὴ ἀνα-
 πίπτετε ” λέγων· “ οὐχ ὁμοίως ἄνθρωπος ἀμύνεται
 174 καὶ θεός. τί μόνοις τοῖς εὐλόγοις καὶ πιθανοῖς προ-
 πιστεύετε; παρασκευῆς οὐδεμιᾶς ἐστι χρεῖος ὁ
 θεὸς βοηθός· ἐν ἀπόροις πόρον εὑρεῖν ἴδιον θεοῦ·
 τὰ ἀδύνατα παντὶ γεννητῷ μόνῳ δυνατὰ καὶ κατὰ
 175 χειρός.” καὶ ταῦτα μὲν ἔτι καθεστῶς διεξήει·

¹ mss. ἀπλότητα, which all editors hitherto appear to have accepted. But what sense has “simplicity,” or any other shade of meaning which the word can bear, in this context? The correction here printed, suggested to me by Dr. Rouse, appears certain. It is true that ἀσπλότης is not found in the lexicon, nor is “unarmedness,” by which I have translated

MOSES I. 170-175

desert. So, in the bitterness of their hearts, broken down by the greatness of their misfortune, they acted as men often act in such troubles, and began to accuse their ruler. "Was it because there were no tombs in 171 Egypt where our dead bodies could be laid that you brought us out to kill and bury us here? Is not any slavery a lighter ill than death? You enticed this multitude with the hope of liberty, and then have saddled it with the greater danger which threatens its life. Did you not know our unarmedness, and 172 the bitterness and savage temper of the Egyptians? Do you not see how great are our troubles, how impossible to escape? What must we do? Can we fight unarmed against the armed? Can we fly, surrounded as in a net by merciless enemies, pathless deserts, seas impassable to ships, or, if indeed they are passable, what supply of boats have we to enable us to cross?" Moses, when he heard these words, 173 pardoned them, but remembered the divine messages, and, using his mind and speech simultaneously for different purposes, with the former silently interceded with God to save them from their desperate afflictions, with the latter encouraged and comforted the loud-voiced malcontents. "Do not lose heart," he said, "God's way of defence is not as that of men. Why are you quick to trust in the specious and plausible and that only? When God gives help He needs 174 no armament. It is His special property to find a way where no way is. What is impossible to all created being is possible to Him only, ready to His hand." Thus he discoursed, still calm and composed; 175

it, found in the abridged *N.E.D.* But both are natural and possible formations.

μικρὸν δ' ἐπισχὼν ἔνθους γίνεται καταπνευσθεὶς ὑπὸ τοῦ εἰωθότος ἐπιφοιτᾶν αὐτῷ πνεύματος καὶ θεσπίζει προφητεύων τάδε· “ ἦν ὁράτε στρατιὰν εὐοπολοῦσαν, οὐκ ἐτ' ἀντιτεταγμένην ὄψεσθε· πεσεῖται γὰρ προτροπάδην πᾶσα καὶ βύθιος ἀφανισθήσεται, ὥς μηδὲ λείψανον αὐτῆς ὑπὲρ γῆς ἔτι φανῆναι, καὶ οὐ μήκει χρόνου, ἀλλὰ τῇ ἐπιούσῃ νυκτί.”

176 XXXII. Καὶ ὁ μὲν ταῦτ' ἀπεφθέγγετο. καταδύντος δ' ἡλίου, νότος εὐθύς ἤρξατο κατασκήπτειν βιαιότατος, ὃν οὐ τὸ πέλαγος ἐξανεχώρησεν, εἰωθὸς μὲν ἀμπωτίζειν, τότε δὲ καὶ μᾶλλον ὠθύ-

[109] μενον τὸ πρὸς | αἰγιαλοῖς ὑπεσύρη καθάπερ εἰς χαράδραν ἢ χάρυβδιν· ἀστήρ τε προῦφαίνεται οὐδεὶς, ἀλλὰ πυκνὸν καὶ μέλαν νέφος ἅπαντα τὸν οὐρανὸν ἐπέιχε, γνοφώδους τῆς νυκτὸς οὕσης εἰς κατάπληξιν

177 τῶν διωκόντων. προσταχθεὶς δὲ Μωυσῆς τῇ βακτηρίᾳ παίει τὴν θάλασσαν· ἡ δὲ ῥαγέισα διίσταται καὶ τῶν τμημάτων τὰ μὲν πρὸς¹ τῷ ῥαγέντι μέρει μετέωρα πρὸς ὕψος ἐξαίρεται καὶ παγέντα τρόπον τείχους κραταιῶς ἡρέμει καὶ ἡσύχαζε, τὰ δ' ὀπίσω σταλέντα καὶ χαλινωθέντα τὴν εἰς τὸ πρόσω φορὰν καθάπερ ἡνίαις ἀφανέσιν ἀνεχαίτιζε, τὸ δὲ μεσαίτατον, καθ' ὃ ἐγένετο ἡ ῥῆξις, ἀναξηρανθὲν ὁδὸς εὐρεία καὶ λεωφόρος γίνεται. τοῦτο ἰδὼν Μωυσῆς καὶ θαυμάσας ἐγεγῆθει καὶ πληρωθεὶς χαρᾶς ἐθάρσυνε τοὺς ἰδίους καὶ ἦ τάχιστα προῦ-

178 τρεπεν ἀναξενγύναι. περαιουῖσθαι δὲ μελλόντων, σημεῖον ἐπιγίνεται τερατωδέστατον· ἡ γὰρ ὁδηγὸς νεφέλη πρωτοστατοῦσα τὸν ἄλλον χρόνον ἀνακάμπτει πρὸς τὰ οὐραῖα τοῦ πλήθους, ὅπως ὀπισθοφυλακῇ, καὶ ταχθεῖσα μεθόριος τῶν διω-

but, after a little, he became possessed, and, filled with the spirit which was wont to visit him, uttered these oracular words of prophecy : " The host which you see armed to the teeth you shall see no more arrayed against you. It shall all fall in utter ruin and disappear in the depths, so that no remnant may be seen above the earth. And this shall be at no distant time, but in the coming night."

XXXII. Such was his prediction. But at sunset 176 a south wind of tremendous violence arose, and, as it rushed down, the sea under it was driven back, and, though regularly tidal, was on this occasion more so than usually, and swept as into a chasm or whirlpool, when driven against the shore. No star appeared, but a thick black cloud covered the whole heaven, and the murkiness of the night struck terror into the pursuers. Moses now, at God's command, smote 177 the sea with his staff, and as he did so it broke and parted into two. Of the waters thus divided, one part rose up to a vast height, where the break was made, and stood quite firmly, motionless and still like a wall ; those behind were held back and bridled in their forward course, and reared as though pulled back by invisible reins ; while the intervening part, which was the scene of the breaking, dried up and became a broad highway. Moses, seeing this, marvelled and was glad, and in the fullness of his joy encouraged his men and bade them move on with all speed. And, when they were about to 178 begin the passage, a most extraordinary sign occurred. The guiding cloud, which at other times stood in front, turned round to the back of the multitude to form its rearguard, and thus posted between the pur-

¹ Perhaps τὰ μὲν <πρόσω> πρὸς.

- κόντων καὶ τῶν διωκομένων τοὺς μὲν ἡνιοχοῦσα σωτηρίως καὶ ἀσφαλῶς ἐπήλαυνε, τοὺς δὲ ἀνείργε καὶ ἀνέκρουεν ἐφορμᾶν ἐπείγομένους· ἅπερ ὁρῶντες οἱ Αἰγύπτιοι θορύβου καὶ ταραχῆς πάντ' ἐπλήρουν τὰς τε τάξεις ὑπὸ δέους συνέχεον ἐπεμπίπτοντες ἀλλήλοις καὶ ζητοῦντες ἤδη φυγεῖν, ὅτ' οὐδὲν ἦν 179 ὄφελος. οἱ μὲν γὰρ Ἑβραῖοι διὰ ξηρᾶς ἀτραποῦ περὶ βαθὺν ὄρθρον μετὰ γυναικῶν καὶ παιδῶν ἔτι κομιδῇ νηπίων περαιοῦνται· τοὺς δὲ τὰ τμήματα τοῦ πελάγους ἐκατέρωθεν ἐπικυλισθέντα καὶ ἐνωθέντα αὐτοῖς ἄρμασι καὶ ἵπποις καταποντοῖ, βορείοις πνεύμασι τῆς παλιρροίας ἀναχυθείσης καὶ μετεώροις τρικυμίαις ἐπιδραμούσης, ὥς μηδὲ πυρφόρον ὑπολειφθῆναι τὸν ἀπαγγελοῦντα τοῖς ἐν 180 Αἰγύπτῳ τὰς αἰφνιδίους συμφοράς. τὸ μέγα τοῦτο καὶ θαυμαστὸν ἔργον Ἑβραῖοι καταπλαγέντες ἀναιμωτὶ νίκην οὐκ ἐλπισθείσαν ἦραντο καὶ κατιδόντες ἐν ἀκαρεῖ φθορὰν ἀθρόαν πολεμίων δύο χορούς, τὸν μὲν ἀνδρῶν, τὸν δὲ γυναικῶν, ἐπὶ τῆς ἡϊόνος στήσαντες εὐχαριστικούς ὕμνους εἰς τὸν θεὸν ᾗδον, ἐξάρχοντος Μωυσέως μὲν τοῖς ἀνδράσιν, ἀδελφῆς δὲ τούτου ταῖς γυναιξίν· ἡγεμόνες γὰρ οὗτοι τῶν χορῶν ἐγεγέννητο.
- 181 XXXIII. Ἄραντες δ' ἀπὸ θαλάττης μέχρι μέντινος ὠδοιπόρουν μηκέτι τὸν ἀπὸ τῶν ἐχθρῶν ὀρρωδοῦντες φόβον. ἐπιλιπόντος δὲ τοῦ ποτοῦ τρισὶν ἡμέραις, αὖθις ἐν ἀθυμίαις ἦσαν ὑπὸ δίψους

^a Or simply a "survivor," the phrase having passed into a proverb without consideration of its origin, of which
368

MOSES I. 178-181

suers and pursued regulated the course of the latter and drove them before it under safe protection, but checked and repelled the former when they strove to advance. When the Egyptians saw this, tumult and confusion prevailed everywhere among them. In their terror their ranks fell into disorder. They tumbled over each other, and sought to escape, but it was of no avail; for, while the Hebrews with their 179 women and children, still mere infants, crossed on a dry road in the early dawn, it was otherwise with the Egyptians. Under the north wind the returning tide was swept back, and hurled its lofty billows upon them. The two sections of the sea rolled upon them from either side, united and submerged them, horses, chariots and all, with not even a torchbearer^a left to announce to the people of Egypt the sudden disaster. This great and marvellous work struck the Hebrews 180 with amazement, and, finding themselves unexpectedly victorious in a bloodless conflict, and seeing their enemies, one and all, destroyed in a moment, they set up two choirs, one of men and one of women, on the beach, and sang hymns of thanksgiving to God. Over these choirs Moses and his sister presided, and led the hymns, the former for the men and the latter for the women.

XXXIII. ^bThey set out from the sea coast, and 181 travelled for some time, no longer in any fear of danger from the enemy. But after three days the water failed, and thirst once more reduced them

indeed there are other accounts besides that given in L. & S., viz. that it properly applied to the priest in the Spartan army who carried the sacred fire, which was not allowed to go out. So apparently even in the LXX Obadiah 18 οὐκ ἔσται πυρφόρος τῷ οἴκῳ Ἡσαΐ.

^b For §§ 181-187 see Ex. xv. 22-26.

- καὶ πάλιν ἤρξαντο μεμψιμοιρεῖν ὥς μηδὲν εὖ
 προπεπονθότες· αἰεὶ γὰρ ἡ τοῦ παρόντος προσβολὴ
 δεινοῦ τὰς ἐπὶ τοῖς προτέροις ἀγαθοῖς ἡδονὰς ἀφ-
 182 αἰρεῖται. θεασάμενοι δὲ πηγὰς ἐπιτρέχουσιν |
 [110] ὥς ἀρυσόμενοι χαρᾶς ὑπόπλεω, δι' ἄγνοιαν τάληθους
 ἀπατηθέντες· πικραὶ γὰρ ἦσαν· εἴτα γευσάμενοι
 γναμφθέντες τῷ παρ' ἐλπίδα τὰ τε σώματα
 παρῆντο καὶ τὰς ψυχὰς ἀναπεπτώκεσαν, οὐχ οὕτως
 ἐφ' ἑαυτοῖς ὥς ἐπὶ τοῖς νηπίοις παισὶ στένοντες,
 οὓς ἀδακρυτὶ ποτὸν αἰτοῦντας ὄραν οὐχ ὑπέμενον.
 183 ἔνιοι δὲ τῶν ὀλιγωροτέρων καὶ πρὸς εὐσέβειαν
 ἀβεβαίων καὶ τὰ προγεγονότα ἡτιῶντο ὥς οὐκ ἐπ'
 εὐεργεσίᾳ συμβάντα μᾶλλον ἢ διὰ μετουσίαν ἀργα-
 λεωτέρων συμφορῶν, ἄμεινον εἶναι λέγοντες τρίς,
 οὐχ ἅπαξ, ὑπ' ἐχθρῶν ἀποθανεῖν ἢ διΐψει παρ-
 ἀπολέσθαι· τὴν μὲν γὰρ ἄπονον καὶ ταχεῖαν τοῦ
 βίου μετάστασιν οὐδὲν ἀθανασίας διαφέρειν τοῖς εὖ
 φρονούσι, θάνατον δ' ὥς ἀληθῶς εἶναι τὸν βραδὺν
 καὶ μετ' ἀλγηδόνων, οὐκ ἐν τῷ τεθνάναι τὸ φοβερόν
 ἀλλ' ἐν μόνῳ τῷ ἀποθνήσκειν ἐπιδεικνύμενον.
 184 τοιαύταις χρωμένων ὀλοφύρσεσι, πάλιν
 ἱκετεύει τὸν θεὸν Μωυσῆς ἐπιστάμενον τὴν ζώων
 καὶ μάλιστα τὴν ἀνθρώπων ἀσθένειαν καὶ τὰς
 τοῦ σώματος ἀνάγκας ἐκ τροφῆς ἡρτημένου καὶ
 δεσποίναις χαλεπαῖς συνεζευγμένου, βρώσει καὶ
 πόσει, συγγνῶναι μὲν τοῖς ἀθυμοῦσι, τὴν δὲ πάν-
 των ἔνδειαν ἐκπλήσαι, μὴ χρόνου μήκει, δωρεᾷ δ'
 ἀνυπερθέτῳ καὶ ταχεῖα, διὰ τὴν τοῦ θνητοῦ φυσικὴν
 ὀλιγωρίαν ὅξυν καιρὸν τῆς βοηθείας ἐπιποθοῦντος.
 370

MOSES I. 181-184

to despondency. Again they began to grumble at their lot, as though nothing good had befallen them hitherto. For, under the onset of the present terror, we always lose sense of the pleasantness of past blessings. Then they saw some springs and 182 ran to draw from them, full of joy, but in their ignorance of the truth were deceived. For the water was bitter, and, when they had tasted it, the disappointment broke them down. Their bodies were exhausted and their souls dejected, not so much for themselves as for their infant children, the sight of whom, as they cried for something to drink, was more than they could face without tears. Some of 183 the more thoughtless, men of feeble piety, even denounced the past events as not having been intended for their benefit, but rather to bring them into worse misfortunes. It were better, they said, to die thrice, not merely once, at the hands of enemies, than to perish, or worse than perish, by thirst. To depart from life swiftly and easily is, in the eyes of the wise, the same thing as never dying, and death in the true sense is that which comes slowly and painfully, whose terrors appear not in the state of death, but only in the process of dying.

While they were 184 engaged in such lamentations, Moses again addressed his supplications to God, that, knowing the weakness of His creatures, and particularly of mankind, and the necessities of the body, which depends on food, and is tied to those stern mistresses, meat and drink, He should pardon the despondent and also satisfy the needs of all, not at some distant time but with a boon bestowed promptly and swiftly, considering the in-born short-sightedness of mortality, which desires that assistance should be rendered quickly and at the

- 185 ὁ δὲ τὴν ἰλεων αὐτοῦ δύναμιν φθάνει προεκπέμψας καὶ διοίξας τὸ τοῦ ἱκέτου τῆς ψυχῆς ἀκοίμητον ὄμμα ξύλον δείκνυσιν, ὃ προσέταξεν ἀράμενον εἰς τὰς πηγὰς καθεῖναι, τάχα μὲν κατεσκευασμένον ἐκ φύσεως ποιοῦν δύναμιν, ἢ τάχα¹ ἠγγνόητο, τάχα δὲ καὶ τότε πρῶτον ποιηθὲν εἰς ἣν ἔμελλεν ὑπηρετεῖν
- 186 χρεῖαν. γενομένου δὲ τοῦ κελευσθέντος, αἱ μὲν πηγαὶ γλυκαίνονται μεταβαλοῦσαι πρὸς τὸ πότιμον, ὡς μηδ' εἰ τὴν ἀρχὴν ἐγένοντό ποτε πικραὶ δύνασθαι διαγινῶναι, διὰ τὸ μηδὲ ἵχνος ἢ ζώπυρον τῆς ἀρχαίας κακίας εἰς μνήμην ὑπολελείφθαι.
- 187 XXXIV. τὸ δὲ δίψος ἀκεσάμενοι μεθ' ἡδονῆς διπλασίας, ἐπειδὴ τῆς ἀπολαύσεως τὸ παρ' ἐλπίδα συμβεβηκὸς ἀγαθὸν εὐφραίνει μᾶλλον, ἔτι καὶ τὰς ὑδρίας πληρώσαντες ἀνεξεύγνυσαν, ὥσπερ ἀπὸ θοίνης καὶ ἱλαρᾶς εὐωχίας ἐστιαθέντες καὶ μεθύοντες οὐ τὴν ἐν οἴνῳ μέθην ἀλλὰ τὴν νηφάλιον, ἣν ἡκρατίσαντο τὰς προπόσεις λαβόντες παρὰ τῆς εὐσεβείας τοῦ προεστῶτος ἄρχοντος.
- 188 Ἀφικνοῦνται δ' εἰς σταθμὸν δεύτερον, εὐνδρόν τε καὶ εὐδενδρον—Αἰλεῖμ ὠνομάζετο—, πηγαῖς καταρρέομενον δώδεκα, παρ' αἷς στελέχη νέα φοινίκων εὐερνέστατα ἦν τὸν ἀριθμὸν ἑβδομήκοντα, τοῖς δὲ ξὺ
- [111] τῇ | διανοίᾳ βλέπειν δυναμένοις ἀγαθῶν τῶν
- 189 ἔθνικῶν ἐναργῆ σημεία καὶ δείγματα· φυλαί τε γάρ εἰσι τοῦ ἔθνους δώδεκα, ὧν ἐκάστη πηγῆς ἔξει λόγον εὐσεβοῦσα, χορηγούσης εὐσεβείας ἀενάους καὶ ἀνελλιπείας καλὰς πράξεις, γενάρχαι δὲ τοῦ σύμπαντος ἔθνους ἑβδομήκοντα γεγόνασι φοίνικι

¹ Clearly a mistake: ? *τέως*.

MOSES I. 185-189

moment. Hardly had he so prayed, when God sent 185
in advance the power of His grace, and, opening the
vigilant eye of the suppliant's soul, bade him lift and
throw into the spring a tree which he shewed him,
possibly formed by nature to exercise a virtue which
had hitherto remained unknown, or possibly created
on this occasion for the service which it was destined
to perform. Moses did as he was bid, whereupon the 186
springs became sweet, and were converted into drink-
able water, so that no one could even guess that they
had originally been bitter, since no trace or tang re-
mained to remind one of its former badness. XXXIV.
When they had relieved their thirst with double 187
pleasure, since the unexpectedness of the event gave
a delight beyond the actual enjoyment, they filled
their water-vessels and then resumed their journey,
feeling as though they had risen from a banquet and
merry-making, and elated, with the intoxication not
of wine, but of the sober carousal which the piety of
the ruler who led them had invited them to enjoy.^a

^b They then arrived at a second halting-place, one 188
well wooded and well watered, called Elim, irrigated
by twelve springs beside which rose young palm-
trees, fine and luxuriant, to the number of seventy.
Anyone who has the gift of keen mental sight may
see in this clear signs and tokens of the national bless-
ings. For the nation has twelve tribes, each of 189
which, in virtue of its piety, will be represented by the
well which supplies piety in perennial streams and
noble actions unceasingly, while the heads of the
whole nation are seventy, who may properly be com-

^a Or more literally "the sober intoxication in which they
indulged having first been pledged" etc.

^b For §§ 188-190 see Ex. xv. 27 and *cf. De Fuga* 183 ff.

- τῷ τῶν δένδρων ἀρίστῳ προσηκόντως παρεια-
σθέντες, ὁ καὶ ὀφθῆναι καὶ καρπὸν ἐνεγκεῖν ἐστὶ
κάλλιστον, ὅπερ καὶ τὴν ζωτικὴν ἔχει δύναμιν οὐκ
ἐν ρίζαις ὥσπερ τὰ ἄλλα κατορωρυγμένην ἀλλ'
ἀνώφοιτον, καρδίας τρόπον ἐν τῷ μεσαιτάτῳ τῶν
ἀκρεμόνων ἰδρυμένην, ὑφ' ᾧν οἶα ἡγεμονίς ὄντως
190 ἐν κύκλῳ δορυφορεῖται. τοιαύτην δ' ἔχει φύσιν καὶ
ἡ διάνοια τῶν γευσαμένων ὁσιότητος· ἄνω γὰρ
μεμάθηκε βλέπειν τε καὶ φοιτᾶν καὶ μετεωροπο-
λοῦσα αἰεὶ καὶ τὰ θεῖα διερευνωμένα κάλλη χλεύην
τίθεται τὰ ἐπίγεια, ταῦτα μὲν παιδιάν, ἐκεῖνα δὲ
σπουδὴν ὡς ἀληθῶς νομίζουσα.
- 191 XXXV. Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτ' οὐ πολὺς διήλθε χρόνος
καὶ ἀπορία σιτίων ἐλίμωττον, ὥσπερ ἐκ διαδοχῆς
ἀντεπιτιθεμένων τῶν ἀναγκαίων· δέσποινα γὰρ
χαλεπαὶ καὶ βαρεῖαι, πείνα καὶ δίψα, διακληρωσά-
μεναι τὰς κακώσεις ἐν μέρει προσέκειντο καὶ
συνέβαινε κατὰ τὴν τῆς ἐτέρας ἀνέσιν ἐπιγίνεσθαι
τὴν ἐτέραν, ὅπερ ἦν τοῖς πάσχουσιν ἀφορητότατον,
εἴ γε πρὸ μικροῦ δόξαντες ἀπαλλαγῆναι δίψους
192 ἐφεδρεῦον κακὸν πείναν εὕρισκον. ἦν δ' οὐ μόνον
ἡ παροῦσα σπάνις χαλεπὸν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἡ πρὸς
τὸν μέλλοντα χρόνον τῶν ἐπιτηδείων ἀπόγνωσις·
ὀρῶντες γὰρ βαθεῖαν καὶ πολλὴν ἔρημον καὶ καρ-
πῶν ἀγονωτάτην σφόδρα ἠθύμουν· πάντα γὰρ ἦσαν
ἢ τραχεῖαι καὶ ἀπορρώγες πέτραι ἢ ἀλμυρόγεως
πεδιάς ἢ ὅρη λιθωδέστατα ἢ ψάμμοι βαθεῖαι πρὸς
ἡλίβατον ὕψος ἀνατείνουσαι, καὶ προσέτι ποταμὸς
οὐδεὶς, οὐκ αὐθιγενής, οὐ χειμάρρους, οὐδεμία
πηγή, σπαρτὸν οὐδὲν οὐδὲ δένδρον, οὐχ ἡμερον, οὐ
τῆς ἀγρίας ὕλης, οὐ ζῶον πτηνὸν ἢ χερσαῖον, ὅτι

MOSES I. 189-192

pared to the palm, the noblest of trees, excellent both in its appearance and in the fruit which it bears. Also it has its life-giving principle, not, like the others, buried in its roots, but mounted aloft, seated like a heart in the very centre of the branches which stand around to guard it as their very queen. Such, too, 190 is the nature of the mind of those who have tasted of holiness. Such a mind has learned to gaze and soar upwards, and, as it ever ranges the heights and searches into divine beauties, it makes a mock of earthly things, counting them to be but child's-play, and those to be truly matters for earnest care.

XXXV. ^a After this no long time had elapsed when 191 they were famished for want of food. It seemed as though the forces of necessity were taking turns to attack them. For those stern mistresses, hunger and thirst, had parcelled out their inflictions and plied them with these successively, with the result that when one was relaxed the other was upon them. This was most intolerable to the victims, since, often when they thought they had got free of thirst, they soon found the scourge of hunger waiting to take its place. And the presence of the dearth was not their 192 only hardship ; there was also the despair of obtaining provisions in the future. The sight of the deep, wide desert, utterly barren of fruits, filled them with despondency. All around there was nothing but rough, broken rocks, or plains where the soil was full of salt, or very stony mountains, or depths of sand stretching upwards steep and high, and again no rivers, spring-fed or winter torrent, no well, no tilth, no woodland of trees, either cultivated or wild, no living creature either of the air or of the land, save reptiles

^a For §§ 191-208 see Ex. xvi.

- μή τῶν ἐρπετῶν τὰ ἰοβόλα πρὸς ὄλεθρον ἀνθρώ-
 193 πων, ὅφεις καὶ σκορπίοι. εἴθ' ὑπομνησκόμενοι τῆς
 κατ' Αἴγυπτον εὐθηνίας καὶ εὐετηρίας καὶ τὴν
 τῶν ἐκεῖ πάντων ἀφθονίαν ἀντιτιθέντες τῇ πάντων
 ἐνταῦθα ἐνδείᾳ χαλεπῶς ἔφερον καὶ πρὸς ἑτέρους
 ἕτεροι τοιαῦτ' ἐλογοποιοῦν. "ἐπ' ἐλευθερίας ἐλπίδι
 μεταναστάντες οὐδὲ τοῦ ζῆν ἄδειαν ἔχομεν οἱ ταῖς
 194 ἔργοις ἀνθρώπων ἀπάντων κακοδαιμονέστατοι. τί
 [112] τέλος ἔσται τῆς | ἀνγνύτου καὶ μακρᾶς οὕτως ὁδοῦ;
 πᾶσι καὶ τοῖς πλέουσι καὶ τοῖς πεζεύουσιν ὅρος
 εἰς ὃν ἀφίξονται πρόκειται, τοῖς μὲν ἐμπόρια καὶ
 λιμένες, τοῖς δὲ πόλεις τις ἢ χώρα, μόνοις δ' ἡμῖν
 ἄβατος ἐρημία καὶ δυσοδία καὶ χαλεπαὶ δυσελ-
 πιστίαι· προϊόντων γάρ, ὥσπερ ἄχανές καὶ βαθὺ
 πέλαγος ἀπόρευτον ἀναφαίνεται καθ' ἐκάστην ἡμέ-
 195 ραν εὐρυνόμενον. μετεωρίσας καὶ φυσήσας ἡμᾶς
 τῷ λόγῳ καὶ κενῶν ἐλπίδων τὰ ὦτα πληρώσας
 παρατείνει λιμῷ τὰς γαστέρας οὐδὲ τὰς ἀναγκαίας
 ἐκπορίζων τροφάς· ἀποικίας ὀνόματι τοσαύτην
 πληθὺν ἠπάτησεν ἐξ οἰκουμένης τὸ πρῶτον εἰς
 ἀοίκητον ἀγαγών, εἴτα καὶ εἰς ἄδου προπέμπων,
 τὴν τοῦ βίου τελευταίαν ὁδόν."
- 196 XXXVI. Τοιαῦτ' ὀνειδιζόμενος οὐχ οὕτως ἐπὶ
 ταῖς εἰς αὐτὸν κακηγορίαις ἐδυσχέραινεν, ὥς ἐπὶ
 τῷ τῆς γνώμης αὐτῶν ἀνιδρύτῳ· πεπειραμένοι
 γὰρ μυρίων ὅσων ἐκ τοῦ παραλόγου συμβεβηκότων
 πραγμάτων παρὰ τὸ καθεστὸς ἔθος ὥφειλον ὑπὸ
 μηδενὸς ἔτι τῶν εὐλόγων καὶ πιθανῶν ἄγεσθαι,
 πεπιστευκέναι δ' αὐτῷ λαβόντες ἀποδείξεις ἐναρ-
 197 γεστάτας τοῦ περὶ ἀπάντων ἀψευδεῖν. πάλιν δ'
 ὅτε εἰς ἔννοιαν ἦλθε τῆς ἐνδείας, ἥς μείζον οὐδὲν

MOSES I. 192-197

that vent poison for the destruction of mankind, such as snakes and scorpions. Then, remembering 193 the teeming fertility of Egypt, and contrasting the abundance of everything there with the lack of everything here, they were roused to anger, and expressed their feelings to each other in such words as these : " We left the country in the hope of freedom, and yet we have no security even of life. Our leader promised us happiness ; in actual fact, we are the most miserable of men. What will be the end of this 194 long, interminable journey ? Every traveller by sea or land has set before him some goal to come to, market or harbour for the one, city or country for the other ; we alone have before us a pathless wilderness, painful journeying, desperate straits. For, as we proceed, there opens out before us, as it were, an ocean, vast, deep, impassable, ever wider day by day. He exhorted and puffed us up with his words, and 195 filled our ears with empty hopes, and then tortures our bellies with hunger, not providing even the barest nourishment. With the name of colonization he has deceived this great multitude, and first carried us from an inhabited to an uninhabited world, then led us on to the grave along the road which brings life to its end."

XXXVI. Moses, when reviled in this way, was 196 indignant not so much at their denunciations of himself as at their instability of judgement. For, after experiencing strange events outside the customary without number, they should have ceased to be guided by anything that is specious and plausible, but should have put their trust in him of whose unfailing truthfulness they had received the clearest proofs. But, 197 on the other hand, when he considered the want of

- κακὸν ἀνθρώποις ἐστί, συνεγίνωσκεν ὄχλον εἰδὼς
 ἀβέβαιον φύσει πρᾶγμα καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν ἐν χερσὶ
 διακινούμενον, ἃ λήθην μὲν τῶν προγεγονότων
 198 ἐργάζεται, δυσελπιστίαν δ' εἰς τὰ μέλλοντα. πάν-
 των οὖν ἐν ἀσκέτοις ὄντων ἀνίαις καὶ τὰς ἀνωτάτω
 προσδοκῶντων συμφοράς, ἃς ἐνόμιζον ἐφεδρεύειν
 καὶ ἐγγυτάτω παρῆναι, τοῦτο μὲν διὰ τὴν σύμφυτον
 ἐπιείκειαν καὶ φιланθρωπίαν, τοῦτο δὲ βουλόμενος
 ὃν ἐχειροτόνησεν ἡγεμόνα τιμῆσαι καὶ ἔτι μᾶλλον
 ὡς εὐσεβείας ἔχει καὶ ὁσιότητος ἔν τε τοῖς φανεροῖς
 καὶ τοῖς ἀδήλοις ἅπασι διασυστῆσαι ὁ θεὸς ἐλεήσας
 199 τὸ πάθος ἰᾶται. ξένας οὖν εὐεργεσίας ἐκαινοτόμει,
 τρανοτέραις ὅπως ἐμφάσεισι παιδευθῶσιν¹ ἥδη μὴ
 δυσανασχετεῖν, εἴ τι μὴ κατὰ γνώμην εὐθὺς ἀπο-
 βαίῃ, τλητικῶς δ' ὑπομένειν χρηστὰ περὶ τῶν
 200 μελλόντων προσδοκῶντες. τί οὖν συνέβη; τῇ
 ὑστεραία περὶ τὴν ἑω δρόσος βαθεῖα καὶ πολλή
 περὶ σύμπαν ἦν ἐν κύκλῳ τὸ στρατόπεδον, ἦν
 ἐπένιφεν ἡσυχῇ, ἀήθη ὑετὸν καὶ παρηλλαγμένον,
 οὐχ ὕδωρ, οὐ χάλαζαν, οὐ χιόνα, οὐ κρύσταλλον—
 ταῦτα γὰρ αἱ τῶν νεφῶν ἀπεργάζονται μεταβολαὶ
 ταῖς χειμεριναῖς τροπαῖς—, ἀλλὰ κέγχρον βραχυ-
 τάτην καὶ λευκοτάτην, ἣ διὰ τὴν ἐπάλληλον φορὰν
 σωρηδὸν προὔκχυτο τῶν σκηνῶν, ἄπιστος ὄψις·
 ἦν καταπλαγέντες ἐπυνθάνοντο τοῦ ἡγεμόνος, τίς
 τε ὁ ὑετὸς οὗτός ἐστιν, ὃν οὐδεὶς πω πρότερον
 [113] εἶδεν | ἀνθρώπων, καὶ πρὸς τί γέγονεν. ὁ δὲ κατα-
 201 πνευσθεὶς ἔνθους γίνεται καὶ θεσπίζει τάδε· “ θνη-
 τοῖς μὲν ἀνείται πεδιάς ἢ βαθύγειος, ἦν ἀνατεμόντες

¹ MSS. ἐμφάσεσιν αἰδεσθῶσιν.

food, as great a misfortune as any that can befall mankind, he forgave them, knowing that the multitude by its very nature is an unstable thing, shaken by the circumstances of the moment, which produce oblivion of the past and despondency of the future. So, while they were all thus overwhelmed by affliction, 198 and expecting the extreme misfortunes which they believed to be close at hand, ready to attack them, God, moved partly by the clemency and benevolence to man which belongs to His nature, partly too by His wish to honour the ruler whom He had appointed, and still more to bring home to them the greatness of that ruler's piety and holiness as shewn in matters both clear and obscure, took pity on them and healed their sufferings. He, therefore, devised new and strange 199 forms of benefaction, that by clearer manifestations they might now be schooled not to shew bitter resentment if something did not at once turn out as they would have it, but bear it patiently in expectation of good to come. What, then, did happen? On the 200 morrow about daybreak, a great quantity of dew lay deep around the whole camp, showered noiselessly by God; a strange, extraordinary rain, not water, nor hail, nor snow, nor ice, such as are produced by the changes in the clouds at the winter solstice, but of grains exceedingly small and white, which, poured down in a continuous flow, lay in heaps in front of the tents. It was an incredible sight; and, in astonishment thereat, they asked their leader, "What is this rain, which no man ever saw before, and for what purpose has it come?" Moses, in answer, possessed 201 by divine inspiration, spoke these oracular words: "Mortals have the deep-soiled plainland given over to them, which they cut into furrows with the plough,

- εἰς αὐλάκας ἀροῦσι καὶ σπείρουσι καὶ τὰ ἄλλα τὰ κατὰ γεωργίαν δρῶσι καρποὺς ἐτησίους ἐκπορίζοντες εἰς ἀφθονίαν τῶν ἀναγκαίων· θεῶ δ' οὐ μία μοῖρα τοῦ παντός ἀλλ' ὁ σύμπας κόσμος ὑποβέβληται καὶ τὰ τούτου μέρη πρὸς ἅπασαν χρείαν
- 202 ὧν ἂν θέλῃ ὡς δεσπότῃ δοῦλα ὑπηρετήσοντα. νῦν οὖν ἔδοξεν αὐτῷ, τὸν αέρα τροφήν ἐνεγκεῖν ἀνθ' ὕδατος, ἐπεὶ καὶ γῆ πολλάκις ὑετὸν ἤνεγκεν· ὁ γὰρ ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ ποταμὸς καθ' ἕκαστον ἐνιαυτὸν ταῖς ἐπιβάσει πλημμυρῶν ὅταν ἄρδῃ τὰς ἀρούρας, τί ἕτερον ἢ ὑετός ἐστι κάτωθεν ἐπινίφων; ”
- 203 παράδοξον μὲν δὴ τὸ ἔργον, εἰ καὶ ἐνταῦθα ἔστη· νυνὶ δὲ καὶ παραδοξοτέροις ἄλλοις ἐθαυματοουργεῖτο. ἐπενεγκάμενοι γὰρ ἄλλος ἀλλαχόθεν ἀγγεῖα συνεκόμιζον, οἱ μὲν ἐπὶ τῶν ὑποζυγίων, οἱ δὲ κατὰ τῶν ὤμων ἐπηχθισμένοι, προνοίᾳ τοῦ πρὸς πλείω χρόνον
- 204 ταμιεύεσθαι τὰ ἐπιτήδεια. ἦν δ' ἄρα ἀταμίευτα καὶ ἀθησαύριστα, δωρεὰς αἰεὶ νέας ἐγνωκότος τοῦ θεοῦ χαρίζεσθαι· τὰ μὲν γὰρ πρὸς τὴν τότε χρῆσιν αὐτάρκη σκευάσαντες μεθ' ἡδονῆς προσηνέγκαντο, τῶν δ' ἀπολειφθέντων εἰς τὴν ὑστεραίαν οὐδὲν ἔτι σῶον εὗρισκον, ἀλλὰ μεταβεβληκότα καὶ δυσώδη καὶ μεστὰ τοιουτοτρόπων ζώων, ἃ κατὰ σῆψιν εἴωθε γεννᾶσθαι· ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ἀπερρίπτουν κατὰ τὸ εἶκος, ἐτέρας δ' εὐτρεπεῖς τροφὰς ἀνεύρισκον, ἃς ἅμα τῇ δρόσῳ καθ' ἑκάστην ἡμέραν συνέβαινε
- 205 νίφεσθαι. γέρας δ' ἐξαίρετον ἢ ἱερὰ ἐβδομάς εἶχεν· ἐπειδὴ γὰρ οὐδὲν ἐφέϊται δρᾶν ἐν αὐτῇ, πάντων δὲ μικρῶν καὶ μεγάλων ἔργων ἀνέχειν διεύρηται, συγκομίζειν οὐ δυναμένοις τότε τὰ ἐπιτήδεια πρὸ μιᾶς ὁ θεὸς ὕει διπλᾶ καὶ κελεύει

MOSES I. 201-205

and there sow their seed, and perform the other tasks of the husbandman, thus providing the yearly fruits, and through them abundance of the necessities of life. But God has subject to Him not one portion of the universe, but the whole world and its parts, to minister as slaves to their master for every service that He wills. So now it has seemed good to Him 202 that the air should bring food instead of water, for the earth too often brings rain. What is the river of Egypt, when every year it overflows and waters the fields with its inroads, but a rainpour from beneath ? "

This work of God was strange enough 203 even if it had stopped at this point, but actually there were other facts still stronger enhancing its marvels. For the men brought vessels from every quarter, and collected the grains, some on their beasts, others in burdens on their shoulders, thinking thus to store up provisions to last for later use. But, as it turned out, 204 it was impossible to store or hoard them, since it was God's purpose to bestow gifts ever new. For when they took a sufficient stock for their needs at the time, they consumed it with pleasure, but anything they left for the morrow they found did not keep, but changed and stank and was full of such life as is regularly bred in putrescence. This they naturally threw away, but found other food prepared for them, rained upon them with the dew every day.

A special distinction was given to the sacred seventh 205 day,^a for, since it was not permitted to do anything on that day, abstinence from works great or small being expressly enjoined, and therefore they could not then gather what was necessary, God rained a double supply the day before, and bade them bring

^a ἐβδομάς here is used for ἐβδομή; cf. *Quis Rerum* 170 and note.

φέρειν εἰς δύο ἡμέρας αὐτάρκη τροφήν ἐσομένην·
τὰ δὲ συγκομισθέντα σῶα διέμενεν, οὐδενὸς ἢ
πρότερον φθαρέντος τὸ παράπαν.

206 XXXVII. λέξω δὲ καὶ τὸ ἔτι τούτου θαυμασιώ-
τερον· ἐπὶ γὰρ ἔτη τεσσαράκοντα, τοσοῦτον μῆκος
αἰῶνος, ὁδοιποροῦσιν αὐτοῖς αἱ χορηγίαι τῶν ἀναγ-
καίων ἐν τάξεσι ταῖς εἰρημέναις ἐγίνοντο καθάπερ
ἐν σιταρχίαις μεμετρημέναις πρὸς τὰς ἐπιβαλλούσας

207 ἐκάστοις διανομάς. ἅμα μέντοι καὶ τὴν τριπόθητον
ἡμέραν ἀνεδιδάσκοντο—ζητοῦντες γὰρ ἐκ πολλοῦ,
τίς ἄρ' ἐστὶν ἡ τοῦ κόσμου γενέθλιος, ἐν ἣ τὸδε τὸ
πᾶν ἀπετελέσθη, καὶ παρὰ πατέρων καὶ προγόνων
τὴν ζήτησιν ἄλυτον διαδεξάμενοι μόλις ἐδυνήθησαν

[114] εὐρεῖν—οὐ μόνον | χρησιμοῖς ἀναδίδαχθέντες, ἀλλὰ
καὶ τεκμηρίῳ πάνυ σαφεῖ· τοῦ γὰρ πλεονάζοντος ἐν
ταῖς ἄλλαις ἡμέραις, ὡς ἐλέχθη, φθειρομένου, τὸ
πρὸ τῆς ἐβδόμης ὑόμενον οὐ μόνον οὐ μετέβαλεν,

208 ἀλλὰ καὶ μέτρον εἶχε διπλάσιον. ἡ δὲ
χρήσις ἦν τοιάδε· συλλέγοντες ἅμα τῇ ἔω τὸ νιφό-
μενον ἤλουν ἢ ἔτριβον, εἰθ' ἔψοντες ἠδεῖαν πάνυ
τροφήν οἷα μελίπηκτον προσεφέροντο μὴ δεόμενοι

209 σιτοπόνων περιεργίας. ἀλλὰ γὰρ καὶ
τῶν εἰς ἀβροδίατον βίον οὐκ εἰς μακρὰν εὐπόρουν,
ὅσαπερ ἐν οἰκουμένην χώρα καὶ εὐδαίμονι βουλη-
θέντος τοῦ θεοῦ κατὰ πολλὴν περιουσίαν ἄφθονα
χορηγεῖν ἐν ἐρημίᾳ· ταῖς γὰρ ἐσπέραις ὀρυγο-
μητρῶν νέφος συνεχὲς ἐκ θαλάττης ἐπιφερόμε-

^a The meaning is that the seventh day was known to be the birthday of the world (*cf. De Op.* 89), but the people had lost count (see *Mos.* ii. 263). Philo probably noticed that while it was hallowed in *Gen.* ii., no sign of observation of it occurred in the narrative till this point. That the seventh is the "birthday" rather than the sixth, because, though all

in what would be sufficient for two days. And what was thus collected kept sound, nor did any of it decay at all as in the previous case. XXXVII.

There is something still more wonderful to be told. 206 During all that long period of forty years in which they journeyed, the food required was supplied according to the rules just mentioned, like rations measured out to provide the allotment needed for each. At the same time, they learned to date aright 207 the day of which they had dearly longed to have knowledge.^a For, long before, they had asked what was the birthday of the world on which this universe was completed, and to this question, which had been passed down unsolved from generation to generation, they now at long last found the answer, learnt not only through divine pronouncements but by a perfectly certain proof. For, as we have said, while the surplus of the downpour decayed on the other days, on the day before the seventh it not only did not change, but was actually supplied in double measure.

The method they employed with the 208 food was as follows: At dawn they collected what fell, ground or crunched it and then boiled it, when they found it a very pleasant form of food, like a honey-cake, and felt no need of elaborate cookery.

But in fact, not long after, they were 209 well supplied with the means of luxurious living, since God was pleased to provide to them abundantly, and more than abundantly, in the wilderness all the viands which are found in a rich and well-inhabited country. For in the evenings a continuous cloud of quails appeared from the sea and overshadowed the whole

was completed on the sixth, it was seen in its perfection on the seventh, is stated in *De Spec. Leg.* ii. 59.

νον ἅπαν τὸ στρατόπεδον ἐπεσκίαζε τὰς πτήσεις προσγειοτάτας ποιουμένων εἰς τὸ εὖθηρον· συλλαμβάνοντες οὖν καὶ σκευάζοντες ὡς φίλον ἐκάστοις κρεῶν ἀπέλαυον ἡδίστων ἅμα καὶ τὴν τροφήν παρηγοροῦντες ἀναγκαίῳ προσοψήματι.

- 210 XXXVIII. Τούτων μὲν οὖν πολλὴν ἦγον ἀφθονίαν οὐκ ἐπιλειπόντων, ὕδατος δὲ καὶ πάλιν πείσασα δεινὴ σπάνις ἐπιγίνεται· καὶ πρὸς ἀπογνωσιν ἤδη τραπομένων σωτηρίας, λαβὼν Μωυσῆς τὴν ἱερὰν βακτηρίαν ἐκείνην, δι' ἧς τὰ κατ' Αἴγυπτον ἀπετέλεσε σημεῖα, θεοφορηθεὶς τὴν ἀκρό-
- 211 τομον πέτραι παῖει, ἥ δ', εἴτε προϋποκειμένης πηγῆς φλέβα καίριον διακοπεῖσα εἴτε καὶ τότε πρῶτον ὕδατος ἀφανέσιν ὑπονόμοις εἰς αὐτὴν ἀθρόου συρρνέντος καὶ σφόδρα ἐκθλιβέντος, ἀναστομωθείσα τῇ βίᾳ τῆς φορᾶς κρουνηδὸν ἐκχεῖται, ὡς μὴ τότε μόνον παρασχεῖν ἄκος δίψους ἀλλὰ καὶ πρὸς πλείῳ χρόνον τοσαύταις μυριάσιν ἀφθονίαν ποτοῦ· τὰ γὰρ ὕδρια πάντ' ἐπλήρωσαν, ὡς καὶ πρότερον ἐκ τῶν πηγῶν, αἱ πικραὶ μὲν ἦσαν φύσει, μετέβαλον δ' ἐπιφροσύνῃ θείᾳ πρὸς τὸ γλύκιον.
- 212 εἰ δέ τις τούτοις ἀπιστεῖ, θεὸν οὐτ' οἶδεν οὐτ' ἐζήτησέ ποτε· ἔγνω γὰρ ἂν εὐθέως, ἔγνω παγίως καταλαβὼν, ὅτι τὰ παράδοξα δὴ ταῦτα καὶ παράλογα θεοῦ παίγνιά ἐστιν, ἀπιδὼν εἰς τὰ τῷ

^a In § 209 Philo combines the account of the sending of quails in Ex. xvi. 13 with that in Num. xi. 31-33. There, as in Philo, the quails come later than the manna, not, as in Exodus, before. On the other hand he ignores the statement in Numbers, that the demand for flesh was punished with a plague.

^b For §§ 210-211 see Ex. xvii. 1-7 and Num. xx. 1-13.

camp, flying close to the land, so as to be an easy prey.^a So they caught and dressed them, each according to his tastes, and feasted on flesh of the most delicious kind, thus obtaining the relish required to make their food more palatable.

XXXVIII. ^bThough this supply of food never failed 210 and continued to be enjoyed in abundance, a serious scarcity of water again occurred. Sore pressed by this, their mood turned to desperation, whereupon Moses, taking that sacred staff with which he accomplished the signs in Egypt, under inspiration smote the steep ^c rock with it. It may be that the rock con- 211 tained originally a spring and now had its artery clean severed, or perhaps that then for the first time a body of water collected in it through hidden channels was forced out by the impact. Whichever is the case, it opened under the violence of the stream and spouted out its contents, so that not only then did it provide a remedy for their thirst but also abundance of drink for a longer time for all these thousands. For they filled all their water vessels, as they had done on the former occasion, from the springs that were naturally bitter but were changed and sweetened by God's directing care.

If anyone disbelieves these 212 things, he neither knows God nor has ever sought to know Him; for if he did he would at once have perceived—aye, perceived with a firm apprehension—that these extraordinary and seemingly incredible events are but child's-play to God. He has but to turn his eyes to things which are really great and

^a The epithet is taken from the allusion to the story in Deut. viii. 15. Philo has made use of it in *Leg. All.* ii. 84, and *De Som.* ii. 222. It might be translated "flinty" or "hard," as in E.V., but in both these cases Philo stresses its connexion with *ἀκρος*.

- ὄντι μεγάλα καὶ σπουδῆς ἄξια, γένεσιν οὐρανοῦ καὶ πλανήτων καὶ ἀπλανῶν ἀστέρων χορείας καὶ φωτὸς ἀνάλαμψιν, ἡμέρας μὲν ἡλιακοῦ, νύκτωρ δὲ τοῦ διὰ σελήνης, καὶ γῆς ἰδρυσιν ἐν τῷ μεσαιτάτῳ τοῦ παντός, ἡπείρων τε καὶ νήσων ὑπερβάλλοντα μεγέθη καὶ ζώων καὶ φυτῶν ἀμυθήτους ιδέας, ἔτι δὲ πελαγῶν ἀναχύσεις, ποταμῶν αὐθιγενῶν καὶ χειμάρρων φοράς, ἀενάων ρεῖθρα πηγῶν, ὧν αἱ |
- [115] μὲν ψυχρὸν αἱ δὲ θερμὸν ὕδωρ ἀνομβροῦσιν, ἀέρος παντοίας τροπὰς, ἐτησίων ὥρων διακρίσεις, ἄλλα
- 213 κάλλη μυρία. ἐπιλίποι ἂν ὁ βίος τοῦ βουλομένου διηγείσθαι τὰ καθ' ἕκαστα, μᾶλλον δ' ἐν τι τῶν ὁλοσχερεστέρων τοῦ κόσμου μερῶν, κἂν εἰ μέλλοι πάντων ἀνθρώπων ἔσεσθαι μακροβιώτατος. ἀλλὰ ταῦτα μὲν πρὸς ἀλήθειαν ὄντα θαυμάσια καταπεφρόνηται τῷ συνήθει· τὰ δὲ μὴ ἐν ἔθει, κἂν μικρὰ ἦ, ξέναις φαντασίαις ἐνδιδόντες καταπληττόμεθα τῷ φιλοκαίνῳ.
- 214 XXXIX. Ἦδη δὲ πολλὴν καὶ ἀπόρευτον δι-
 ἐξεληλυθότων, ὅροι τινὲς ἀνεφαίνοντο γῆς οἰκου-
 μένης καὶ προάστεια χώρας, εἰς ἣν μεθωρμίζοντο·
 νέμονται δ' αὐτὴν Φοίνικες. ἐλπίσαντες δὲ βίον
 εὖδιον καὶ γαληνὸν αὐτοῖς ἀπαντήσεσθαι γνώμης
- 215 ἐσφάλησαν. ὁ γὰρ προκαθήμενος βασιλεὺς πόρ-
 θησιν εὐλαβηθεῖς, ἀναστήσας τὴν ἐκ τῶν πόλεων
 νεότητα, μάλιστα μὲν ἀνείρξων ὑπηγντίαζεν, εἰ
 δὲ βιάζοντο, διὰ χειρῶν ἀμυνούμενος ἀκμήσι καὶ

^a For §§ 214-219 see Ex. xvii. 8-16 (cf. Deut. xxv. 17-19). Philo ignores the part taken by Aaron and Hur in holding up Moses' hands.

^b Presumably this refers to the inhabitants of Canaan in general, not specially to Amalek, whose defeat is described in the sequel.

worthy of his earnest contemplation, the creation of heaven and the rhythmic movements of the planets and fixed stars, the light that shines upon us from the sun by day and from the moon by night, the establishment of the earth in the very centre of the universe, the vast expanses of continents and islands and the numberless species of animals and plants, and again the widespreading seas, the rushing rivers, spring-fed and winter torrents, the fountains with their perennial streams, some sending forth cold, other warm, water, the air with its changes of every sort, the yearly seasons with their well-marked diversities and other beauties innumerable. He who 213 should wish to describe the several parts, or rather any one of the cardinal parts of the universe, would find life too short, even if his years were prolonged beyond those of all other men. But these things, though truly marvellous, are held in little account because they are familiar. Not so with the unfamiliar; though they be but small matters, we give way before what appears so strange, and, drawn by their novelty, regard them with amazement.

XXXIX. ^aAfter traversing a long and pathless 214 expanse, they came within sight of the confines of habitable land, and the outlying districts of the country in which they proposed to settle. This country was occupied by Phoenicians.^b Here they had thought to find a life of peace and quiet, but their hopes were disappointed. For the king who ruled there, 215 fearing pillage and rapine, called up the youth of his cities and came to meet them, hoping to bar their way, or, if that were not feasible and they attempted violence, to discomfit them by force

- ἄρτι πρῶτον καθισταμένοις εἰς ἀγῶνα κεκμηκότας
 ὁδοιπορίαις καὶ ἐνδείαις σιτίων καὶ ποτῶν, ἃ κατὰ
 216 μέρος ἀντεπετίθετο. Μωυσῆς δὲ παρὰ τῶν σκοπῶν
 γνούς οὐ μακρὰν διεστηκότα τὸν ἐχθρὸν στρατόν,
 καταλέξας τοὺς ἡβῶντας καὶ στρατηγὸν ἐλόμενος
 ἓνα τῶν ὑπάρχων Ἰησοῦν, πρὸς τὴν μείζονα συμ-
 μαχίαν αὐτὸς ἡπείγετο· περιρρανάμενος γὰρ τοῖς
 εἰωθόσι καθαρμοῖς ἐπὶ κολωνόν τὸν πλησίον μετὰ
 σπουδῆς ἀναδραμὼν ἰκέτευε τὸν θεὸν ὑπερασπίσαι
 καὶ νίκην καὶ κράτος περιποιῆσαι τοῖς Ἑβραίοις,
 οὓς ἐκ χαλεπωτέρων πολέμων καὶ κακῶν ἄλλων
 ἐρρύσατο μὴ μόνον τὰς ἐξ ἀνθρώπων ἐπικρεμα-
 σθείσας συμφορὰς ἀποσκεδάσας, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὅσας ὁ
 τε τῶν στοιχείων νεωτερισμὸς ἐκαινούργησε κατ'
 Αἴγυπτον καὶ ὁ ἐν ταῖς ὁδοιπορίαις ἀνήνυτος λιμός.
 217 ἤδη δὲ μελλόντων εἰς μάχην καθίστασθαι, τερατω-
 δέστατόν τι συμβαίνει πάθος περὶ τὰς χεῖρας αὐτοῦ·
 κουφόταται γὰρ ἐγίνοντο ἐν μέρει καὶ βαρύταται·
 εἶθ' ὅποτε μὲν ἐπελαφρίζοντο πρὸς ὕψος αἰρόμεναι,
 τὸ συμμαχικὸν ἐρρώννυτο καὶ ἀνδραγαθιζόμενον
 ἐπικυδέστερον ἐγίνετο, ὅποτε δὲ κάτω βρίσειαν,
 ἰσχυον οἱ ἀντίπαλοι, μηνύοντος διὰ συμβόλων τοῦ
 θεοῦ, ὅτι τῶν μὲν ἐστὶ γῆ καὶ αἱ τοῦ παντὸς ἐσ-
 χατῖαι κληῖρος οἰκείος, τῶν δ' αἰθὴρ ὁ ἱερώτατος,
 καὶ ὥσπερ ἐν τῷ παντὶ βασιλεύει καὶ κρατεῖ γῆς
 οὐρανός, οὕτω καὶ τὸ ἔθνος περιέσται τῶν ἀντι-
 218 πολεμούντων. ἄχρι μὲν οὖν τινος¹ αἱ χεῖρες οἶα

¹ This, though accepted without objection by editors, can hardly be right. A conjunction is clearly required, and ἄχρι τινός should be the adverb, "for a time." Perhaps ἄχρι μὲν οὐτινος (W.H.D.R.). Stephanus cites ἀχρις οὗ from Hippocrates.

MOSES I. 215-218

of arms, seeing that his men were unwearied and fresh for the contest, while the others were exhausted with much journeying and by the famine and drought which had alternately attacked them. Moses, learning from his scouts that the enemy was 216 not far distant, mustered his men of military age, and, choosing as their general one of his lieutenants named Joshua, hastened himself to take a more important part in the fight.^a Having purified himself according to the customary ritual, he ran without delay to the neighbouring hill and besought God to shield the Hebrews and give a triumphant victory to the people whom He had saved from wars and other troubles still more grievous than this, dispersing not only the misfortunes with which men had menaced them but also those so miraculously brought about in Egypt by the upheaval of the elements and by the continual dearth which beset them in their journeying. But, when they were 217 about to engage in the fight, his hands were affected in the most marvellous way. They became very light and very heavy in turns, and, whenever they were in the former condition and rose aloft, his side of the combatants was strong and distinguished itself the more by its valour, but whenever his hands were weighed down the enemy prevailed. Thus, by symbols, God shewed that earth and the lowest regions of the universe were the portion assigned as their own to the one party, and the ethereal, the holiest region, to the other ; and that, just as heaven holds kingship in the universe and is superior to earth, so this nation should be victorious over its opponents in war. While, then, his hands became 218

^a Or perhaps "to gain the mightier alliance," *i.e.* of God.

- [116] πλάστιγγες ἐν μέρει μὲν | ἐπεκουφίζοντο, ἐν μέρει δ' ἐπέρρεπον, τηνικαῦτα καὶ ὁ ἀγὼν ἀμφήριστος ἦν· ἑξαπινάως δ' ἀβαρεῖς γενόμεναι, δακτύλοις ἀντὶ ταρσῶν χρώμεναι, μετέωροι πρὸς ὕψος ἤρθησαν, καθάπερ αἱ πτηναὶ φύσεις ἀεροποροῦσαι, καὶ διέμενον ἀνώφοιτοι μέχρι τοῦ τὴν νίκην Ἑβραίους ἀνανταγώνιστον ἄρασθαι, τῶν ἐχθρῶν ἡβηδὸν ἀναιρεθέντων ἅπερ τε διαθεῖναι παρὰ τὸ προσήκον
- 219 ἐσπούδαζον παθόντων μετὰ δίκης. τότε καὶ Μωυσῆς ἰδρύεται βωμόν, ὃν ἀπὸ τοῦ συμβεβηκότος ὠνόμασε “θεοῦ καταφυγὴν,” ἐφ’ οὗ τὰ ἐπινίκια ἔθνε χαριστηρίους εὐχὰς ἀποδιδούς.
- 220 XL. Μετὰ τὴν μάχην ταύτην ἔγνω δεῖν τὴν χώραν, εἰς ἣν ἀπωκίζετο τὸ ἔθνος, κατασκέψασθαι—δεύτερον δ’ ὁδοιποροῦσιν ἔτος ἐνειστήκει—βουλόμενος μή, οἷα φιλεῖ, γνωσιμαχεῖν οὐκ εἰδότας, ἀλλ’ ἀκοῇ προμαθόντας αὐτήν, ἐπιστήμη τῶν ἐκεῖ βεβαία χρωμένους, τὸ πρακτέον ἐκλογίζεσθαι.
- 221 δώδεκα δ’ ἰσαρίθμους ταῖς φυλαῖς ἄνδρας, ἐξ ἐκάστης ἓνα φύλαρχον, αἰρεῖται τοὺς δοκιμωτάτους ἀριστίνδην προκρίνας, ἵνα μηδεμία μοῖρα πλεον ἢ ἔλαττον ἐνεγκαμένη διαφέρηται, πᾶσαι δ’ ἐξ ἴσου διὰ τῶν ἐν τέλει τὰ παρὰ τοῖς κατοίκοις, εἰ βουλη-
- 222 θείεν οἱ πεμφθέντες ἀψευδεῖν, ἐπιγνώσιν. ἐλόμενος δ’ αὐτοὺς φησι τάδε· “τῶν ἀγώνων καὶ κινδύνων, οὓς ὑπέστημεν καὶ μέχρι νῦν ὑπομένομεν, ἀθλὸν εἰσιν αἱ κληρουχίαι, ὧν τῆς ἐλπίδος μὴ διαμάρτοι-

^a Or “taking refuge in God.” LXX. “the Lord is my refuge.” E.V. Jehovah-Nissi, “the Lord is my banner.”

^b For §§ 220-236 see Num. xiii., xiv.

successively lighter and weightier, like scales in the balance, the fight, too, continued to be doubtful; but, when they suddenly lost all weight, the fingers serving them as pinions, they were lifted on high like the tribe that wings its way through the air, and remained thus soaring until the Hebrews won an undisputed victory and their enemies were slaughtered wholesale, thus justly suffering the punishment which they wrongly strove to deal to others. Then, 219 too, Moses set up an altar, and called it from the event "Refuge of God,"^a and on this, with prayers of thanksgiving, he offered sacrifices in celebration of the victory.

XL. ^bAfter this battle he came to the conclusion 220 that, since it was now the second year of their travels, he ought to inspect the land in which the nation proposed to settle. He wished them, instead of arguing ignorantly in the usual way, to obtain a good idea of the country by first-hand report, and with this solid knowledge of the conditions to calculate the proper course of action. He chose twelve 221 men corresponding to the number of the tribes, one headman from each, selecting the most approved for their high merit, in order that no part of the nation might be set at variance with the others through receiving either more or less than they, but all might get to know through their chieftains the conditions in which the inhabitants lived, as they would do if the emissaries were willing to report the full truth. When he had chosen them, he spoke as 222 follows: "The conflicts and dangers which we have undergone and still endure, have for their prize the lands which we hope to apportion, a hope which we trust may not be disappointed, since the nation

- μεν ἔθνος πολυανθρωπότατον εἰς ἀποικίαν παρα-
πέμποντες. ἔστι δ' ὠφελιμώτατον ἢ τόπων καὶ
ἀνθρώπων καὶ πραγμάτων ἐπιστήμη, ὥσπερ ἡ
223 ἄγνοια βλαβερόν. ὑμᾶς οὖν ἐχειροτονήσαμεν, ἵνα
ταῖς ὑμετέραις ὄψεσί τε καὶ διανοαῖς τὰ κεῖ θεασώ-
μεθα· γίνεσθε δὴ τῶν τοσούτων μυριάδων ὦτα καὶ
ὀφθαλμοὶ πρὸς τὴν ὦν ἀναγκαῖον εἰδέναι σαφῆ κατὰ-
224 ληψιν. ἃ δὲ γινῶναι ποθοῦμεν, τρία ταῦτ' ἐστίν·
οἰκητόρων πλήθος τε καὶ δύναμις, πόλεων τὴν ἐν
εὐκαιρίᾳ θέσιν καὶ ἐν οἰκοδομίαις ἐχυρότητα ἢ
τοῦναντίον, χώραν εἰ βαθύγειός ἐστι καὶ πίων,
ἀγαθὴ παντοίους καρποὺς ἐνεγκεῖν σπαρτῶν τε καὶ
δένδρων, ἢ λεπτόγεως ἔμπαλιν, ἵνα πρὸς μὲν ἰσχυρὴν
καὶ πλήθος οἰκητόρων ἰσορρόποις δυνάμεσι φραξώ-
μεθα, πρὸς δὲ τὴν ἐν τοῖς τόποις ἐρυμνότητα μη-
χανήμασι καὶ ταῖς ἐλεπόλεσιν· ἀναγκαῖον δὲ καὶ τὴν
χώραν εἰδέναι, εἰ ἀρετῶσα ἢ μή· περὶ γὰρ λυπρᾶς
225 ἑκουσίους κινδύνους ὑπομένειν ἡλιθιότητος. τὰ δ'
ὄπλα καὶ μηχανήματα ἡμῶν καὶ πᾶσα ἡ δύναμις ἐν
μόνῳ τῷ πιστεύειν θεῷ κεῖται· ταύτην ἔχοντες τὴν
παρασκευὴν οὐδενὶ τῶν φοβερῶν εἴσομεν· ἱκανὴ
γὰρ ἀμάχους ῥώμας εὐεξίαις, τόλμαις, ἐμπειρίαις,
[117] πλήθεσιν ἐκ πολλοῦ τοῦ | περιόντος κατακρατεῖν,
δι' ἣν καὶ ἐν ἐρήμῃ βαθεῖα χορηγίαι πάντων εἰσὶν
226 ὅσα ἐν εὐετηρίᾳ πόλεων. ὁ δὲ καιρὸς, ἐν ᾧ μάλιστα
χώρας ἀρετὴν δοκιμάζεσθαι συμβέβηκεν, ἔαρ ἐστίν,
ὃ νῦν ἐφέστηκεν· ὥρα γὰρ ἔαρος τὰ μὲν σπαρέντα
τελεσφορεῖται γένῃ, αἱ δὲ τῶν δένδρων φύσεις ἀρ-
χὴν λαμβάνουσιν. ἄμεινον δ' ἂν εἶη καὶ ἐπιμείναι
μέχρι θέρους ἀκμάζοντος καὶ διακομίσαι καρποὺς
οἷονεὶ δείγματα χώρας εὐδαίμονος."

which we are bringing to settle there is so populous. To know the places, the men and their circumstances, is as useful as the ignorance of them is mischievous. So we have appointed you that with 223 the aid of your sight and intelligence we may be able to survey the state of the country. Become, then, the ears and eyes of all this great multitude, to give them a clear apprehension of what they require to know. There are three things which we 224 desire to learn : the size and strength of the population, whether the cities are favourably situated and strongly built, or the contrary, and whether the land has a deep, rich soil, well-adapted to produce every kind of fruits from cornfields and orchards, or on the other hand is thin and poor. Thus shall we counter the number and power of the inhabitants with equal forces, and the strength of their position with machines and siege engines. Knowledge of the fertility or unfertility of the land is also indispensable, for if it is poor it would be folly to court danger to win it. Our arms and engines and all our power 225 consist solely in faith in God. Equipped with this, we shall defy every terror. Faith is able to overpower, and more than overpower, forces the most invincible, in physique, courage, experience and number, and by it we are supplied in the depths of the desert with all that the rich resources of cities can give. Now the season which has been found to be 226 best for testing the goodness of a land is spring, which is now present ; for in springtime the different crops come to their fullness and the fruit-trees begin to shew their natural growth. Yet it might be better to wait till summer is at its height, and bring back fruits as samples of the wealth of the land."

PHILO

- 227 XLI. Ταῦτ' ἀκούσαντες ἐπὶ τὴν κατασκοπὴν
 ἐξήεσαν ὑπὸ παντὸς τοῦ πλήθους προπεμπόμενοι
 δεδιότος, μὴ συλληφθέντες ἀπόλωνται καὶ συμβῇ
 δύο τὰ χαλεπώτατα, ἀνδρῶν τε, οἱ φυλῆς ἐκάστης
 ὄψις ἦσαν, σφαγαὶ καὶ ἄγνοια τῶν παρὰ τοῖς
 ἐφεδρεύουσιν ἐχθροῖς ὧν ὠφέλιμος ἢ ἐπιστήμη.
- 228 παραλαβόντες δ' ὀπτῆρας καὶ ἡγεμόνας τῆς ὁδοῦ
 προερχομένοις ἐφείποντο· καὶ γενόμενοι πλησίον,
 ἐφ' ὑψηλότατον ὄρος τῶν περὶ τὸν τόπον ἀνα-
 δραμόντες, κατεθεῶντο τὴν χώραν, ἥς πεδιάς μὲν
 ἦν πολλὴ κριθοφόρος, πυροφόρος, εὖχορτος, ὀρεινὴ
 δ' οὐκ ἔλαττον ἀμπέλων καὶ στελεχῶν ἄλλων κατὰ-
 πλεως, εὐδενδρος ἅπανα, λάσιος, ποταμοῖς καὶ
 πηγαῖς διεζωσμένη πρὸς ἄφθονον ὑδρείαν, ὡς ἐκ
 τῶν προπόδων ἄχρι τῶν κορυφῶν ὅλα τῶν ὀρῶν
 τὰ κλίματα δένδρεσι κατασκίοις συνυφάνθαι, διαφε-
 ρόντως δὲ τοὺς αὐχένας καὶ ὅσαι βαθεῖαι διαφύσεις.
- 229 κατεθεῶντο δὲ καὶ τὰς πόλεις ἐρυμνοτάτας διχόθεν,
 ἕκ τε τοπικῆς περὶ τὴν θέσιν εὐκαιρίας καὶ περι-
 βόλων ἐχυρότητος. ἐξετάζοντες δὲ καὶ τοὺς οἰκή-
 τορας ἑώρων ἀπείρους τὸ πλῆθος, περιμηκεστάτους
 γίγαντας ἢ γιγαντώδεις τὰς τῶν σωμάτων ὑπερ-
 230 βολὰς ἔν τε μεγέθεσι καὶ ῥώμαις. ταῦτα κατ-
 ιδόντες εἰς ἀκριβεστέραν κατάληψιν ἐπέμενον—
 ὀλισθηρὸν γὰρ αἱ πρῶται φαντασίαι χρόνῳ μόλις
 ἐνσφραγιζόμεναι—καὶ ἅμα σπουδὴν ἐποιοῦντο δρε-
 ψάμενοι τῶν ἀκροδρύων, μὴ ἄρτι πρῶτον στερι-
 φουμένων ἀλλ' ἤδη ὑποπερκαζόντων, ἐπιδείξασθαι

XLI. When the spies heard this, they set out on 227
 their errand, escorted by the whole multitude, who
 feared that they might be taken and slain, thus
 entailing two heavy misfortunes, the death of the
 men who were as eyesight to their particular tribe,
 and concerning the foe that lay ready to attack them
 ignorance of the facts which it would be useful to
 know. The men took with them scouts and guides 228
 to the road, and followed behind them. And, when
 they came near to their destination, they quickly
 ascended the highest of the mountains in the neigh-
 bourhood and surveyed the country. Much of it
 was plainland bearing barley, wheat and grass,
 while the uplands were equally full of vines and
 other trees, all of it well timbered and thickly over-
 grown and intersected with springs and rivers which
 gave it abundance of water, so that from the lowest
 part to the summits the whole of the hill country,
 particularly the ridges and the deep clefts, formed a
 close texture of umbrageous trees. They observed 229
 also that the cities were strongly fortified, in two
 ways, through the favourable nature of their situa-
 tion and the solidity of their walls. And, on scrutin-
 izing the inhabitants, they saw that they were count-
 less in number and giants of huge stature, or at
 least giant-like in their physical superiority both
 in size and strength. Having marked these things, 230
 they stayed on to get a more accurate apprehension,
 for first impressions are treacherous and only slowly
 in time get the seal of reality. And, at the same
 time, they were at pains to pluck some of the fruits
 of the trees, not those in the first stage of hardening,
 but fruits darkening to ripeness, and thus have

παντὶ τῷ πλήθει τὰ μὴ ῥαδίως φθαρησόμενα.
 231 μάλιστα δ' αὐτοὺς κατέπληττεν ὁ τῆς ἀμπέλου
 καρπός· οἱ γὰρ βότρυνες ὑπερμεγέθεις ἦσαν, ἀντι-
 παρεκτεινόμενοι ταῖς κληματίσι καὶ μοσχεύμασιν,
 ἄπιστος θεά· ἓνα γοῦν ἐκτεμόντες καὶ δοκίδος ἐκ
 υἱέων ἀπαιωρήσαντες, ἥς τὰς ἀρχὰς δυσὶ νέοις, τῷ
 μὲν ἔνθεν τῷ δ' ἔνθεν, ἐπετίθεσαν,¹ ἐκ διαδοχῆς,
 πιεζομένων αἰεὶ τῶν προτέρων—βαρύτατον γὰρ ἦν
 ἄχθος—, ἐκόμιζον, περὶ τῶν ἀναγκαίων οὐχ ὁμο-

232 φρονούντες. XLII. ἐγένοντο μὲν οὖν αὐ-

τοῖς ἄμιλλαι μυρίαὶ καὶ πρὶν ἐπανήκειν κατὰ τὴν
 ὁδόν, ἀλλὰ κουφότεραι, ὑπὲρ τοῦ μὴ γνωσιμα-
 [118] χούντων μηδ' | ἄλλα ἄλλων ἀπαγγελλόντων στά-

233 σιν ἐν τῷ πλήθει γενέσθαι, χαλεπώτεραι δὲ μετὰ
 τὴν ἐπάνοδον. οἱ μὲν γὰρ περὶ τῆς τῶν πόλεων
 ἐχυρότητος καὶ ὡς ἐκάστη πολυάνθρωπός ἐστι
 διεξιόντες καὶ πάντα αἴροντες τῷ λόγῳ πρὸς τὸ
 μεγαλεῖον φόβον ἐνειργάζοντο τοῖς ἀκούουσιν, οἱ
 δὲ τὸν ἀπάντων ὦν εἶδον ὑφαιροῦντες ὄγκον παρ-
 εκάλουν μὴ ἀναπίπτειν, ἀλλ' ἔχεσθαι τῆς ἀποικίας
 ὡς αὐτοβοεῖ περιεσομένους· οὐδεμίαν γὰρ ἀνθέξειν
 πόλιν πρὸς τοσαύτης δυνάμεως ἔφοδον ἀθρόως ἐπι-
 στάσης, ἀλλὰ τῷ βάρει πιεσθεῖσαν πίπτειν· προσ-
 ετίθεσαν δὲ καὶ τὰ ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων παθῶν ἐκά-
 234 πιστίας. ἀλλ' οὗτοι μὲν πέμπτη μοῖρα τῶν ἀπο-
 δεδειλιακότων ἦσαν, οἱ δ' ἔμπαλιν τῶν γενναίων

¹ MSS. ἐπιθέντες. The anacoluthon might perhaps be cured more simply by the omission of ἥς.

MOSES I. 230-234

something which would naturally keep in good condition to exhibit to the whole multitude. They 231 were especially amazed by the fruit of the vine, for the bunches were of huge size, stretching right along the branches and shoots and presenting an incredible spectacle. One, indeed, they cut off, and carried it suspended from the middle part of a beam, the ends of which were laid on two youths, one in front and another behind, a fresh pair at intervals relieving its predecessors, as they continually were wearied by the great weight of the burden.

On vital matters, the envoys were not of one mind. XLII. Indeed, there were numberless 232 contentions among them, even during the journey before they arrived back, though of a lighter kind, as they did not wish that their disputes or conflicting reports should produce faction in the mass of the people. But, when they had returned, these contentions became more severe. For, while one party, 233 by dilating upon the fortifications of the cities and the great population of each and by magnifying everything in their description, created fear in their hearers, the others belittled the gravity of all that they had seen, and bade them not be faint-hearted but persist in founding their settlement in the certainty that they would succeed without striking a blow. No city, they said, could resist the combined onset of so great a power, but would fall overwhelmed by its weight. Both parties transmitted the results of their own feelings to the souls of their hearers, the unmanly their cowardice, the undismayed their courage and hopefulness. But these 234 last numbered but a fifth part of the craven-hearted, who were five times as many as the better spirited.

πενταπλάσιοι· τὸ δ' ὀλίγον θάρσος ἀτολμίας ἐν-
αφανίζεται περιουσία, ὃ δὴ καὶ τότε φασὶ συμ-
βῆναι· τῶν γὰρ τὰ βέλτιστα διεξιόντων δυοῖν οἱ
τὰναντία φάσκοντες δέκα περιῆσαν οὕτως, ὥστε
καὶ σύμπασαν ὑπηγάγοντο τὴν πληθύν ἐκείνων μὲν
ἀλλοτριώσαντες, ἑαυτοῖς δ' οἰκειωσάμενοι.

- 235 περὶ δὲ τῆς χώρας ταῦτά πάντες ἀπεφαίνοντο
γνώμη μιᾷ τὸ κάλλος καὶ τῆς πεδιάδος καὶ τῆς
ὄρεινῆς ἐκδιηγούμενοι· “ τί δ' ὄφελος ” εὐθύς
ἀνεβόησαν “ ἡμῖν ἀλλοτριῶν ἀγαθῶν καὶ ταῦτα
πεφρουρημένων κραταιᾷ χειρὶ πρὸς τὸ ἀναφ-
αίρετον; ” καὶ τοῖς δυσὶν ἐπιδραμόντες μικροῦ
καταλεύουσιν αὐτοὺς ἡδονὴν ἀκοῆς τοῦ συμφέρον-
236 τος καὶ ἀπάτην ἀληθείας προκρίναντες. ἐφ' οἷς
ὃ ἡγεμὼν ἡγανάκτει καὶ ἅμα ἠὺλαβεῖτο, μή τι
θεήλατον κατασκήψῃ κακὸν οὕτως ἐκθύμως ἀ-
πιστοῦσι τοῖς χρησμοῖς· ὅπερ καὶ ἐγένετο· τῶν γὰρ
κατασκόπων οἱ μὲν δειλοὶ δέκα λοιμῶδει νόσῳ
διαφθείρονται μετὰ τῶν ἐκ τοῦ πλήθους συναπο-
νοηθέντων, μόνοι δ' οἱ συμβουλευσάντες δύο μὴ
ὀρρωδεῖν ἀλλ' ἐφίεσθαι τῆς ἀποικίας ἐσώθησαν, ὅτι
καταπειθεῖς ἐγένοντο τοῖς λογίοις, γέρας ἐξαίρετον
λαβόντες τὸ μὴ παραπολέσθαι.

- 237 XLIII. Τοῦτ' αἴτιον ἐγένετο τοῦ μὴ θᾶπτον
ἦκειν εἰς ἣν ἀπωκίζοντο γῆν. δυνάμενοι γὰρ ἔτει
δευτέρῳ μετὰ τὴν ἀπ' Αἰγύπτου μετανάστασιν τὰς
ἐν Συρίᾳ πόλεις καὶ τὰς κληρουχίας ἐννέμεσθαι,¹ τὴν
ἄγουσαν καὶ ἐπίτομον ἐκτραπόμενοι ὁδὸν ἐπλά-
ζοντο, δυσαναπορεύτους καὶ μακρὰς ἀνοδίας ἄλλας

¹ MSS. ἐκνέμεσθαι.

Courage confined to few is lost to sight, when timidity has the superiority of numbers : and that, we are told, happened on this occasion ; for the two who gave a highly favourable account were so outweighed by the ten who said the opposite that the latter brought over the whole multitude into dissent from the others and agreement with themselves.

With regard to the country, they all ²³⁵ stated the same, unanimously extolling the beauty of both the plain and hill country. " But of what use to us," at once cried out the people, " are good things which belong to others, and moreover are strongly guarded so that none can take them away ? " And they set upon the two, and nearly stoned them in their preference of the pleasant-sounding to the profitable, and of deceit to truth. This roused their ²³⁶ ruler's indignation, who, at the same time, feared lest some scourge should descend upon them from God for their senseless disbelief in His utterances. This actually happened. For the ten cowardly spies perished in a pestilence with those of the people who had shared their foolish despondency, while the two who alone had advised them not to be terrified, but hold to their plan of settlement, were saved, because they had been obedient to the oracles, and received the special privilege that they did not perish with the others.

XLIII. This event was the reason why they did ²³⁷ not come sooner to the land where they proposed to settle. For, though they could have occupied the cities of Syria and their portions of land in the second year after leaving Egypt, they turned away from the road which led directly thither and wandered about, travelling with difficulty, through long, pathless

- ἐπ' ἄλλαις ἀνευρίσκοντες εἰς ἀνήνυτον ψυχῆς τε
καὶ σώματος κάματον, δίκας ἀναγκαίας τῆς ἄγαν
238 ἀσεβείας ὑπομένοντες. ὁκτῶ γοῦν ἐνιαυτοὺς πρὸς
[119] τοῖς τριάκοντα δίχα τοῦ | παρεληλυθότος χρόνου,
γενεᾶς βίον ἀνθρωπίνης, ἄνω κάτω τριβόμενοι καὶ
τὰς ἀβάτους ἐρημίας ἀναμετροῦντες ἔτει τεσσαρα-
κοστῷ μόλις ἐπὶ τοὺς τῆς χώρας ὄρους παρ-
εγένοντο, ἐφ' οὓς καὶ πρότερον ἦλθον.
- 239 πρὸς δὲ ταῖς εἰσβολαῖς ὥκουν ἕτεροί τε καὶ δὴ
καὶ συγγενεῖς αὐτῶν, οὓς ὥντο μάλιστα μὲν συν-
εκπολεμήσειν τὸν πρὸς τοὺς ἀστυγεῖτονας πόλε-
μον καὶ πρὸς τὴν ἀποικίαν ἅπαντα συμπράξειν,
εἰ δ' ἀποκνοῖεν, μετὰ μηδετέρων γοῦν τετάξεσθαι
- 240 χεῖρας ἀνέχοντας. οἱ γὰρ ἀμφοτέρων τῶν ἔθνων
πρόγονοι, τοῦ τε Ἑβραϊκοῦ καὶ τοῦ τὰ προάστεια
κατοικοῦντος, ἀδελφοὶ δύο ἦσαν ὁμοπάτριοι καὶ
ὁμομήτριοι, πρὸς δὲ καὶ δίδυμοι, ἀφ' ὧν εἰς πολυ-
παιδίαν ἐπιδιδόντων καὶ τῶν ἀπογόνων εὐφορία τινὶ
χρωμένων εἰς μέγα καὶ πολυάνθρωπον ἔθνος ἑκα-
τέρα τῶν οἰκιῶν ἀνεχύθη· ἀλλ' ἡ μὲν ἐφιλοχώρησεν,
ἡ δ', ὡς ἐλέχθη πρότερον, εἰς Αἴγυπτον μετανα-
241 σταῖσα διὰ λιμὸν χρόνοις ὕστερον ἐπανήκει. τὴν δ'
οἰκειότητα ἡ μὲν διεφύλαττε, καίτοι πολλὸν χρόνον
διαζευχθεῖσα, πρὸς τοὺς μηδὲν ἔτι τῶν πατρίων
φυλάττοντας, ἀλλὰ πάντα τὰ τῆς ἀρχαίας πολιτείας
ἐκδεδιητημένους, ὑπολαβοῦσα τοῖς ἡμέροις τὰς
φύσεις ἀρμόττον εἶναι διδόναι τι καὶ χαρίζεσθαι
- 242 συγγενείας ὀνόματι· ἡ δ' ἔμπαλιν τὰ φιλικὰ πάντα
ἔτρεψεν ἥθεσι καὶ λόγοις βουλαῖς τε καὶ πράξεσιν
ἀσπόνδοις καὶ ἀσυμβάτοις χρωμένη, πατρικὴν
ἐχθραν ζωπυροῦσα—ὁ γὰρ τοῦ ἔθνους ἀρχηγέτης

^a For §§ 239-249 see Num. xx. 14-21.

tracts, which appeared one after the other, bringing endless weariness of soul and body, the punishment they needs must endure for their great impiety. For thirty-eight years in addition to the time already 238 spent, the span of a generation of human life, they went wayworn up and down, tracing and retracing the trackless wilds till at last in the fortieth year they succeeded in reaching those boundaries of the country to which they had come before.

“Near the 239 entrances there dwelt, among others, some kinsfolk of their own, who, they quite thought, would join in the war against their neighbours and assist the new settlement in every way, or, if they shrank from this, would at the worst abstain from force and remain neutral. For the ancestors of both nations, the Hebrews and 240 the inhabitants of the outlying districts, were two brothers with the same father and mother, and twins to boot. Both had become the parents of an increasing family, and, as their descendants were by no means unfruitful, both households had spread into great and populous nations. One of these had clung to the homeland, the other, as has been said, migrated to Egypt on account of the famine, and was returning after many years. The latter in spite of its long 241 separation maintained the tie of relationship, and though it had to deal with men who retained none of their ancestral customs, but had abandoned all the old ways of communal life, considered that it was proper for humane natures to pay some tribute of goodwill to the name of kinship. The other, on the contrary, 242 had upset all that made for friendship. In its customs and language, its policy and actions, it shewed implacable enmity and kept alive the fire of an ancestral feud. For the founder of the nation,

αὐτὸς ἀποδόμενος τῷ ἀδελφῷ τὰ πρεσβεῖα μικρὸν ὕστερον ὧν ἐξέστη μετεποιεῖτο παραβαίνων τὰς ὁμολογίας καὶ ἐφόνα θάνατον ἀπειλῶν, εἰ μὴ ἀποδοίη— ταύτην τὴν παλαιὰν ἀνδρὸς ἐνὸς πρὸς ἓνα ἔχθραν ἔθνος τοσαύταις ὕστερον γενεαῖς ἐκαί-

243 νωσεν. ὁ μὲν οὖν ἡγεμὼν τῶν Ἑβραίων

Μωυσῆς, καίτοι γ' αὐτοβοεῖ δυνάμενος ἐλεῖν ἐξ ἐπιδρομῆς, οὐκ ἐδικαίωσε διὰ τὴν εἰρημένην συγγένειαν, ἀλλ' ὁδῶ χρήσασθαι μόνον ἡξίου τῇ διὰ τῆς χώρας πάνθ' ὑπισχνούμενος πράξειν τὰ ἔνσπονδα, μὴ τεμεῖν¹ χωρίον, μὴ θρέμματα, μὴ λείαν ἀπάξειν, ὕδατος, εἰ ποτοῦ γένοιτο σπάνις, τιμὴν παρέξειν καὶ τῶν ἄλλων τοῖς ἀχορηγῆτοις ὠνίων· οἱ δ' εἰρηνικαῖς οὕτω προκλήσεσιν ἀνὰ κράτος ἡγναντιοῦντο πόλεμον ἀπειλοῦντες, εἰ τῶν ὄρων ἐπιβάντας ἢ ψαύσαντας αὐτὸ μόνον αἰσθοῖντο.

244 XLIV. χαλεπῶς δὲ τὰς ἀποκρίσεις ἐνηνοχότων καὶ ἤδη πρὸς ἄμυναν ὀρμώντων, ἐν ἐπηκόῳ στὰς “ἄνδρες” εἶπεν, “ἡ μὲν ἀγανάκτησις ὑμῶν εὐλογος καὶ δικαία· χρηστὰ γὰρ ἀφ' ἡμέρου γνώμης

245 [120] προτειναμένων, πονηρὰ ἀπὸ διανοίας ἀπεκρίναντο κακοήθους. ἀλλ' οὐχ ὅτι | τῆς ὁμότητος ἐκείνοι δίκας ἐπάξιοι τίνειν εἰσὶ, διὰ τοῦθ' ἡμῖν ἐπὶ τὰς κατ' αὐτῶν τιμωρίας ἀρμόττον ἴεσθαι, ἔνεκα τῆς πρὸς τὸ ἔθνος τιμῆς, ἵνα καὶ ταύτῃ μοχθηρῶν ἀγαθοὶ διαφέρωμεν, ἐξετάζοντες οὐ μόνον, εἰ κολαστέοι τινές εἰσιν, ἀλλ' εἰ καὶ ὑφ' ἡμῶν

¹ MSS. μήτε μὴν.

MOSES I. 242-245

after having of his own accord sold his birthright as the elder to his brother, had later reclaimed what he had surrendered, in violation of their agreement, and had sought his blood, threatening him with death if he did not make restitution ; and this old feud between two individual men was renewed by the nation so many generations after. Now the 243 leader of the Hebrews, Moses, though an attack might have won him an uncontested victory, did not feel justified in taking this course because of the above-mentioned kinship. Instead, he merely asked for the right of passage through the country, and promised to carry out all that he agreed to do, not to ravage any estate, not to carry off cattle or spoil of any kind, to pay a price for water if drink were scarce and for anything else which their wants caused them to purchase. But they refused these very peaceful overtures with all their might, and threatened war if they found them overstepping their frontiers, or even merely on the threshold. XLIV. The 244 Hebrews were incensed at the answer, and were now starting to take up arms when Moses, standing where he could be heard, said : " My men, your indignation is just and reasonable. We made friendly proposals in the kindest spirit. In the malice of their hearts, they have answered us with evil. But the 245 fact that they deserve to be punished for their brutality does not make it right for us to proceed to take vengeance on them. The honour of our nation forbids it, and demands that here too we should mark the contrast between our goodness and their unworthiness by inquiring not only whether some particular persons deserve to be punished, but

- 246 ἐπιτήδειοι τοῦτο πάσχειν.” εἶπ’ ἐκτραπόμενος ἦγε δι’ ἐτέρας τὴν πληθύν, ἐπειδὴ τὰς κατὰ τὴν χώραν ὁδοὺς ἀπάσας φρουραῖς διεζωσμένας εἶδεν ὑπὸ τῶν βλάβην μὲν οὐδεμίαν ἐνδεξομένων, φθόνῳ δὲ καὶ βασκανίᾳ τὴν ἐπίτομον οὐκ ἐώντων προέρχεσθαι.
- 247 ταῦτα δὲ σαφεστάτῃ πίστις ἦν ἀνίας, ἣν ἐπὶ τῷ τὸ ἔθνος ἐλευθερίας τυχεῖν ἡνιῶντο, δηλονότι χαίροντες, ἡνίκα τὴν ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ πικρὰν δουλείαν ὑπέμενον· ἀνάγκη γὰρ οἷς φέρει λύπην τὰ γαθὰ τῶν πλησίον ἐπὶ τοῖς τούτων εὐφραίνεσθαι κακοῖς, καὶ
- 248 μὴ ὁμολογῶσιν. ἔτυχον γὰρ ὡς πρὸς ὁμογνώμονας καὶ τὰ αὐτὰ βουλομένους ἀνενεγκόντες τὰ συμβάντα λυπηρά τε αὐ καὶ ὅσα καθ’ ἡδονήν, οὐκ εἰδότες ὅτι πόρρῳ προεληλύθασι μοχθηρίας καὶ ἐβελέχθῃως καὶ φιλαπεχθημόνως ἔχοντες στένειν μὲν ἐπὶ τοῖς ἀγαθοῖς, ἡδεσθαι δὲ ἐπὶ τοῖς ἐναντίοις ἔμελλον.
- 249 τῆς δὲ κακονοίας ἀνακαλυφθείσης ἐκείνων, ἐκωλύθησαν εἰς χεῖρας ἐλθεῖν ὑπὸ τοῦ προεστῶτος ἐπιδειξαμένου δύο τὰ κάλλιστα, φρόνησιν ἐν ταῦτῳ καὶ χρηστότητα· τὸ μὲν γὰρ μηδὲν παθεῖν φυλάσσεσθαι συνέσεως, τὸ δὲ μηδ’ ἀμύνασθαι συγγενεῖς ὄντας ἐβελῆσαι φιλανθρωπίας ἔργον.
- 250 XLV. Τὰς μὲν οὖν τούτων πόλεις παρημεΐψατο. βασιλεὺς δέ τις τῆς ὁμόρου Χανάνης ὄνομα, τῶν σκοπῶν ἀπαγγειλάντων τὸν ὁδοιποροῦντα στρατὸν οὐ πάνυ μακρὰν ἀφεστηκότα, νομίσας ἀσύντακτόν τε εἶναι καὶ ῥαδίως εἰ προεπίθοιτο νικῆσειν, ἄρας

^a For §§ 250-254 see Num. xxi. 1-3.

MOSES I. 245-250

also whether the punishment can properly be carried out by us." He then turned aside and led the 246 multitude by another way, since he saw that all the roads of that country were barricaded by watches set by those who had no cause to expect injury but through envy and malice refused to grant a passage along the direct road. This was the clearest proof 247 of the vexation which these persons felt at the nation's liberation, just as doubtless they rejoiced at the bitter slavery which it endured in Egypt. For those who are grieved at the welfare of their neighbours are sure to enjoy their misfortunes, though they may not confess it. As it happened, the Hebrews, believing 248 that their feelings and wishes were the same as their own, had communicated to them all their experiences, painful and pleasant, and did not know that they were far advanced in depravity and with their spiteful and quarrelsome disposition were sure to mourn their good fortune and take pleasure in the opposite. But, when their malevolence was exposed, the 249 Hebrews were prevented from using force against them by their commander, who displayed two of the finest qualities—good sense, and at the same time good feeling. His sense was shown in guarding against the possibility of disaster, his humanity in that on kinsmen he had not even the will to take his revenge.

XLV. "So, then, he passed by the cities of this 250 nation; but the king of the adjoining country Chananes ^b by name, having received a report from his scouts that the host of wayfarers was at no great distance, supposed that they were disorganized and would be an easy conquest if he attacked them first.

^b LXX The Canaanite king Arad (or of Arad), E.V. the Canaanite, the king of Arad.

μετὰ τῆς οἰκείας νεότητος εὐοπλούσης ἐπεξέθει καὶ τοὺς πρώτους ὑπαντιάσαντας ἅτε μὴ παρεσκευασμένους εἰς μάχην τρέπεται· καὶ λαβὼν αἰχμαλώτους ἐπὶ τῷ παρ' ἐλπίδα εὐημερήματι φυσηθεὶς προήει,
 251 καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ἅπαντας χειρώσεσθαι νομίζων. οἱ δὲ—οὐ γὰρ ἐγνάμφθησαν ἥττη τῆς προερχομένης τάξεως—ἀλλ' ἔτι μᾶλλον ἢ πρότερον σπάσαντες εὐτολμίας καὶ τὴν ἔνδειαν τῶν ἐάλωκότων ἐκπλήσαι ταῖς προθυμίαις ἐπειγόμενοι συνεκρότουν ἄλλος ἄλλον μὴ ἀποκάμνειν “ἀνεγειρώμεθα” λέγοντες, “ἄρτι τῆς χώρας ἐπιβαίνομεν· ἀκατάπληκτοι μετὰ τῆς ἐν τῷ θαρρεῖν ἐχυρότητος γινώμεθα· τὰ τέλη ταῖς ἀρχαῖς πολλάκις κρίνεται· ἐπὶ τῶν εἰσβολῶν ὄντες καταπληξώμεθα τοὺς οἰκήτορας, ὡς ἔχοντες
 [121] μὲν τὴν ἐκ τῶν πόλεων εὐετηρίαν, | ἀντιδεδωκότες δ' ἦν ἐκ τῆς ἐρημίας ἐπαγόμεθα σπάνιν τῶν ἀναγ-
 252 καίων.” καὶ ἅμα διὰ τούτων προτρέποντες αὐτοὺς ἠϋζαντο τῆς χώρας ἀπαρχὰς ἀναθήσειν τῷ θεῷ τὰς πόλεις τοῦ βασιλέως καὶ τοὺς ἐν ἐκάστη πολίτας· ὁ δ' ἐπινεύει ταῖς εὐχαῖς καὶ θάρσος ἐμπνεύσας τοῖς Ἑβραίοις τὴν ἀντίπαλον στρατίαν ἀλῶναι παρ-
 253 ἐσκεύασεν. οἱ δ' ἀνὰ κράτος ἐλόντες τὰς χαριστηρίους ὁμολογίας ἐπετέλουν, οὐδὲν ἐκ τῆς λείας νοσφισάμενοι, τὰς δὲ πόλεις αὐτοῖς ἀνδράσι καὶ κειμηλίοις ἀνιερῶσαντες, καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ συμβεβηκότος
 254 ὅλην τὴν βασιλείαν ὠνόμασαν “ἀνάθεμα.” καθάπερ γὰρ εἰς ἕκαστος τῶν εὐσεβούντων ἀπὸ τῶν ἐτησίων ἀπάρχεται καρπῶν, οὓς ἂν ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων συγκομίζῃ κτημάτων, τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον καὶ ὅλον
 406

MOSES I. 250-254

He, therefore, started with a strongly armed force of such younger men as he had around him, and by a rapid attack routed those who first met him, unprepared as they were for battle; and, having taken them captive, elated at the unexpected success he advanced further, expecting to overpower all the rest. But they, not ²⁵¹ a whit daunted by the defeat of the vanguard, but infused with courage greater even than before, and eager to supply by their zealously the deficiency caused by the capture of their comrades, worked upon each other not to be faint-hearted. "Let us be up and doing," they cried. "We are now setting foot in the country. Let us shew ourselves undismayed and possessed of the security which courage gives. The end is often determined by the beginning. Here, at the entrance of the land, let us strike terror into the inhabitants, and feel that ours is the wealth of their cities, theirs the lack of necessities which we bring with us from the desert and have given them in exchange." While ²⁵² they thus exhorted each other, they vowed to devote to God the cities of the king and the citizens in each as firstfruits of the land, and God, assenting to their prayers, and inspiring courage into the Hebrews, caused the army of the enemy to fall into their hands. Having thus captured them by the might of ²⁵³ their assault, in fulfilment of their vows of thank-offering, they took none of the spoil for themselves, but dedicated the cities, men and treasures alike, and marked the fact by naming the whole kingdom "Devoted." For, just as every pious person gives ²⁵⁴ firstfruits of the year's produce, whatever he reaps from his own possessions, so too the whole nation set

τὸ ἔθνος μεγάλης χώρας, εἰς ἣν μετανίστατο, μέγα τμήμα, τὴν εὐθὺς αἰρεθεῖσαν βασιλείαν, ἀνέθηκεν ἀπαρχὴν τινα τῆς ἀποικίας· οὐ γὰρ ἐνόμιζεν ὅσιον εἶναι διανεῖμασθαι γῆν ἢ πόλεις κατοικῆσαι, πρὶν καὶ τῆς χώρας καὶ τῶν πόλεων ἀπάρξασθαι.

255 XLVI. Μικρὸν δ' ὕστερον καὶ πηγὴν εὐδρον ἀνευρόντες, ἥ παντὶ τῷ πλήθει ποτὸν ἐχορήγησεν— ἐν φρέατι δ' ἦν ἡ πηγὴ καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν τῆς χώρας ὄρων—, ὥσπερ οὐχ ὕδατος ἀλλ' ἀκράτου σπάσαντες τὰς ψυχὰς ἀνεχύθησαν· ὑπὸ τε εὐφροσύνης καὶ χαρᾶς ἄσμα καινὸν οἱ θεοφιλεῖς χοροὺς περὶ τὸ φρέαρ ἐν κύκλῳ στήσαντες ἦδον εἰς τὸν κληρουῆχον θεὸν καὶ τὸν ἀληθῶς ἡγεμόνα τῆς ἀποικίας, ὅτι πρῶτον ἐπιβάντες ἐξ ἐρημίας μακρᾶς τῆς οἰκουμένης καὶ ἦν ἔμελλον καθέξειν ποτὸν ἄφθονον ἀνεῦρον, ἀρμόττον ἡγησάμενοι μὴ ἀσημεῖωτον τὴν

256 πηγὴν παρελθεῖν. καὶ γὰρ ἔτυχεν οὐ χερσὶν ἰδιωτῶν ἀλλὰ βασιλέων ἀνατετμήσθαι φιλοτιμηθέντων, ὡς λόγος, οὐ μόνον περὶ τὴν εὕρεσιν τοῦ ὕδατος ἀλλὰ καὶ περὶ τὴν τοῦ φρέατος κατασκευήν, ἢ ἐκ τῆς πολυτελείας βασιλικὸν φαίνεται τὸ ἔργον καὶ ἡ τῶν κατασκευασάντων ἀρχὴ καὶ μεγαλόνοια.

257 γεγενηὺς δ' ἐπὶ τοῖς αἰεὶ συμβαίνουσιν ἀπροσδοκήτοις ἀγαθοῖς ὁ Μωυσῆς ἐχώρει προσωτέρω, τὴν μὲν νεότητά διανείμας εἰς τε πρωτοστάτας καὶ ὀπισθοφύλακας, γηραιούς δὲ καὶ γύναια καὶ παῖδας ἐν μέσοις τάξας, ἵνα διὰ τῶν παρ' ἐκάτερα φρουρὰν

^a For §§ 255-256 see Num. xxi. 16-18.

^b Or "as we are told" (in the song).

^c Philo interprets the words "the rulers dug it" of the

apart the kingdom which they took at the outset, and thus gave a great slice of the great country into which they were migrating as the firstfruits of their settlement. For they judged it irreligious to distribute the land until they had made a firstfruit offering of the land and the cities.

XLVI. "Shortly afterwards they also found a 255 spring of good water in a well situated on the borders of the land. This supplied the whole multitude with drink, and their spirits were enlivened thereby, as though the draught were strong wine rather than water. In their joy and gladness, the people of God's choice set up choirs around the well, and sang a new song to the Deity, Who gave them the land as their portion and had, in truth, led them in their migration. They did so at this point because here, for the first time, when they passed from the long expanse of desert to set foot in a habitable land, and one which they were to possess, they had found water in abundance, and therefore they judged it fitting not to leave the well uncelebrated. For, as they were told,^b it had 256 been dug by the hands of no common men, but of kings, whose ambition was not only to find the water but so to build the well that the wealth lavished upon it should shew the royal character of the work and the sovereignty and lofty spirit of the builders.^c Moses, rejoicing at the succession of unexpected 257 happinesses, proceeded further, after distributing his younger men into vanguard and rearguard and placing the old men, womenfolk and children in the centre, so as to be protected by those on either side

act of finding the water, and "kings hewed it" (*ἐλατόμησαν*) of building up the sides of the well. Cf. *De Ebr.* 113, where the spiritual meaning of the song is given.

ἔχουσιν, ἐάν τε ἀντικρὺ ἐάν τε κατόπιν ἐχθρὸς
ὄμιλος ἐπὶ.

- 258 XLVII. Ὀλίγαις δ' ὕστερον ἡμέραις εἰς τὴν τῶν
Ἀμορραίων χώραν ἐμβαλὼν πρέσβεις ἐξέπεμπε
πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα—Σηὼν δ' ὠνομάζετο—προτρέπων
ἐφ' ᾧ καὶ τὸν συγγενῇ πρότερον· ὁ δ' οὐ μόνον πρὸς
ὑβριν ἀπεκρίνατο τοῖς ἤκουσι μικροῦ καὶ ἀνελὼν
αὐτούς, εἰ μὴ νόμος ὁ πρεσβευτικὸς ἐμποδῶν
ἐγένετο, ἀλλὰ καὶ πάντα τὸν στρατὸν συναγαγὼν
[122] ἐφώρμα | νομίζων αὐτίκα τῷ πολέμῳ περιέσεσθαι.
259 συμπλακείς δέ οὐ πρὸς ἀμελετήτους καὶ ἀνασκήτους
ἔγνω τὴν μάχην οὔσαν ἀλλ' ἀθλητὰς τῷ ὄντι
πολέμων ἀηττήτους, οἳ πρὸ μικροῦ πολλὰ καὶ
μεγάλα ἠνδραγαθήσαντο σωμάτων ἀλκὴν καὶ φρό-
νημα διανοίας καὶ ἀρετῆς ὕψος ἐπιδειξάμενοι, δι'
ᾧ τούς μὲν ἐναντιωθέντας ἐκ πολλοῦ τοῦ περιόντος
εἶλον, ἔψαυσαν δέ τῶν ἀπὸ τῆς λείας οὐδενὸς τὰ
πρῶτα τῶν ἄθλων ἀναθεῖναι τῷ θεῷ σπουδάσαντες.
260 οἳ καὶ τότε φραξάμενοι καρτερῶς ἀπὸ τῶν αὐτῶν
βουλευμάτων καὶ παρασκευῶν ἀντεφώρμησαν ἅμα
καὶ τῇ ἀκαθαιρέτῳ τοῦ δικαίου χρώμενοι συμμαχία,
δι' ἣν εὐτολμότεροί τε ἦσαν καὶ ἀγωνισταὶ πρόθυ-
261 μοι. σαφὴς δέ πίστις· δευτέρας οὐκ ἐδέησε μάχης,
ἀλλ' ἡ πρώτη καὶ μόνη ἐγένετο, καθ' ἣν πᾶσα ἡ
ἀντίπαλος ἐκλίθη δύναμις καὶ ἀνατραπέῖσα ἡβηδὸν
262 αὐτίκα ἠφανίσθη. αἱ δέ πόλεις ὑπὸ τὸν αὐτὸν
χρόνον κεναὶ τε καὶ πλήρεις ἐγεγέννητο, κεναὶ μὲν
τῶν ἀρχαίων οἰκητόρων, πλήρεις δέ τῶν κεκρατη-
κότων· τὸν αὐτὸν μέντοι τρόπον καὶ αἱ κατ' ἀγροὺς
ἐπαύλεις ἐρημωθείσαι τῶν ἐν αὐταῖς ἀντέλαβον
ἄνδρας βελτίους τὰ πάντα.

* For §§ 258-262 see Num. xxi. 20-25.

if any enemy host should attack either in front or behind.

XLVII. "A few days after, he entered the land of 258 the Amorites, and sent ambassadors to the king, Sihon by name, with the same demands as he had made to his kinsman before. But Sihon not merely answered the envoys insolently, and came nigh to putting them to death, had he not been prevented by the law of embassies, but also mustered his whole army, and went to the attack thinking to win an immediate victory. But, when he engaged, he per- 259 ceived that he had no untrained or unpractised fighters to deal with, but men who were truly masters in warfare and invincible, men who had shortly before performed many great feats of bravery and shown themselves strong in body, mettlesome in spirit, and lofty in virtue, and through these qualities had captured their enemies with abundant ease, while they left the spoil untouched in their eagerness to dedicate the first prizes to God. So, too, on this 260 occasion, mightily fortified by the same resolutions and armoury, they went out to meet the foe, taking with them that irresistible ally, justice, whereby also they became bolder in courage and champions full of zeal. The proof of this was clearly shewn. No 261 second battle was needed, but this first fight was the only one, and in it the whole opposing force was turned to flight, then overthrown and straightway annihilated in wholesale slaughter. Their cities 262 were at once both emptied and filled—emptied of their old inhabitants, filled with the victors. And, in the same way, the farm-houses in the country were deserted by the occupants, but received others superior in every way.

- 263 XLVIII. Οὗτος ὁ πόλεμος ἅπασι μὲν τοῖς Ἀσιανοῖς ἔθνεσι φοβερὸν δέος ἐνειργάσατο, διαφερόντως δὲ τοῖς ὁμόροις, ὅσω καὶ τὰ δεινὰ ἐγγυτέρω προσεδοκᾶτο. εἰς δὲ δὴ ἐκ τῶν ἀστυγειτόνων βασιλέων ὄνομα Βαλάκης, μεγάλην καὶ πολυάνθρωπον τῆς ἐώας μοῖραν ὑπηγμένος, πρὶν εἰς χεῖρας ἔλθειν ἀπειπών, ἀντικρυς μὲν ὑπαντᾶν οὐκ ἐδοκίμαζε τὸν ἐκπορθήσεως δι' ὅπλων ἐλεύθερον πόλεμον διαδιδράσκων, ἐπ' οἰωνοὺς δὲ καὶ μαντείας ἐτράπετο νομίζων ἀραῖς τισι δυνήσεσθαι τὴν ἄμαχον
- 264 ῥώμην τῶν Ἑβραίων καθελεῖν. ἀνὴρ δ' ἦν κατ' ἐκείνον τὸν χρόνον ἐπὶ μαντεία περιβόητος Μεσοποταμίαν οἰκῶν, ὃς ἅπαντα μὲν ἐμεμύητο τὰ μαντικῆς εἶδη, οἰωνοσκοπίαν δ' ἐν τοῖς μάλιστα συγκεκροτηκῶς ἐθαυμάζετο, πολλοῖς καὶ πολλάκις
- 265 ἐπιδειξάμενος ἄπιστα καὶ μεγάλα. προεῖπε γὰρ τοῖς μὲν ἐπομβρίας θέρους ἀκμάζοντος, τοῖς δ' αὐχμὸν τε καὶ φλογμὸν ἐν μέσῳ χειμῶνι, τοῖς δ' ἐξ εὐετηρίας ἀφορίαν καὶ ἔμπαλιν ἐκ λιμοῦ φοράν, ἐνίοις δὲ πλημμύρας ποταμῶν καὶ κενώσεις καὶ θεραπείας λοιμικῶν νοσημάτων καὶ ἄλλων μυρίων, ὧν ἕκαστον ὁ προθεσπίζειν δοκῶν ὀνομαστότατος ἦν ἐπὶ μέγα εὐκλείας προερχόμενος διὰ τὴν ἐπιβαίνουσαι αἰὲ καὶ φθάνουσιν πανταχόσε φήμην.
- 266 ἐπὶ τοῦτον ἐξέπεμπε τῶν ἐταίρων τινὰς παρακαλῶν ἦκειν καὶ δωρεὰς τὰς μὲν ἤδη παρείχε, τὰς δὲ δώσειν ὠμολόγει τὴν χρεῖαν ἧς ἔνεκα μεταπέμποιτο

^a For §§ 263-293, the story of Balaam, see Num. xxii.-xxiv. Philo treats it in a curiously rationalistic way. The divinely sent dreams of Balaam in ch. xxii. are said to be fictions of

XLVIII. "This war caused terrible alarm among all 263 the nations of Asia, particularly among those of the adjoining territories, since the expectation of danger was nearer. But one of the neighbouring kings, named Balak, who had brought under his sway a great and populous portion of the East, lost heart before the contest began. As he had no mind to meet the enemy face to face, and shrank from a war of destruction waged freely and openly with arms, he had recourse to augury and soothsaying, and thought that, if the power of the Hebrews was invincible in battle, he might be able to overthrow it by imprecations of some kind. Now, there was 264 at that time a man living in Mesopotamia far-famed as a soothsayer, who had learned the secrets of that art in its every form, but was particularly admired for his high proficiency in augury, so great and incredible were the things which he had revealed to many persons and on many occasions. To some he had foretold rainstorms in summer, 265 to others drought and great heat in mid-winter, to some barrenness to follow fertility, or again plenty to follow dearth, to some rivers full or empty, ways of dealing with pestilences, and other things without number. In every one of these his reputation for prediction made his name well known and was advancing him to great fame, since the report of him was continually spreading and reaching to every part. To him Balak sent some of his courtiers, and 266 invited him to come, offering him gifts at once and promising others to follow, at the same time explaining the purpose for which his presence was

his, and, though the appearance of the Angel to the ass is admitted, nothing is said of the animal speaking. See App. p. 603.

δηλῶν· ὁ δ' οὐκ ἀπὸ φρονήματος εὐγενοῦς καὶ
 [128] βεβαίου, | ἀλλὰ τὸ πλεον ἄστειζόμενος¹ ὥς δὴ τῶν
 ἔλλογίμων προφητῶν γεγονὼς καὶ μηδὲν ἄνευ
 χρησμῶν εἰσθῶς πράττειν τὸ παράπαν, ὑπανεδύετο
 267 λέγων οὐκ ἐπιτρέπειν αὐτῷ βαδίζειν τὸ θεῖον. καὶ
 οἱ μὲν ἤκοντες ἐπανήεσαν ἄπρακτοι πρὸς τὸν
 βασιλέα, ἕτεροι δ' εὐθὺς ἐπὶ τὴν αὐτὴν χρεῖαν
 ἐχειροτονοῦντο τῶν δοκιμωτέρων, πλείω μὲν ἐπι-
 φερόμενοι χρήματα, περιττοτέρας δὲ δωρεὰς ὑπ-
 268 ισχνούμενοι. δελεασθεὶς δὲ καὶ τοῖς ἤδη προτει-
 νομένοις καὶ ταῖς μελλούσαις ἐλπίσι καὶ τὸ ἀξίωμα
 τῶν παρακαλούντων καταιδεσθεὶς ἐνεδίδου, πάλιν
 προφασιζόμενος τὸ θεῖον οὐκ ἐφ' ὑγιεῖ· τῇ γοῦν
 ὑστεραίᾳ παρεσκευάζετο τὴν ἔξοδον ὀνειράτα
 διηγούμενος, ὑφ' ᾧ ἔλεγε πληχθεὶς ἐναργέσι
 φαντασίαις ἀναγκάζεσθαι μηκέτι μένειν, ἀλλὰ τοῖς
 269 πρέσβεσιν ἀκολουθεῖν.

XLIX. ἤδη δὲ
 αὐτῷ προερχομένῳ γίνεται κατὰ τὴν ὁδὸν σημεῖον
 ἀρίδηνον περὶ τοῦ τὴν χρεῖαν ἐφ' ἣν συνέτεινεν
 εἶναι παλίμφημον· τὸ γὰρ ὑποζύγιον, ᾧ συνέβαινε
 αὐτὸν ἐποχεῖσθαι, προερχόμενον ἐπ' εὐθείας ἐξ-
 270 ἀπιναίως ἴσταται τὸ πρῶτον· εἰθ', ὥσπερ ἐξ ἐναντίας
 βία τινὸς ἀνωθοῦντος ἢ ἀναχαιτίζοντος, ὑπὸ πόδας
 ἐχῶρει καὶ πάλιν ἐπὶ δεξιὰ καὶ εὐώνυμα ἐπιφερό-
 μενον καὶ ᾧδε κἀκεῖσε πλαζόμενον οὐκ ἠρέμει,
 καθάπερ ἐν οἴνῳ καὶ μέθῃ καρῆβαρουν, καὶ πολ-
 λάκις τυπτόμενον ἡλόγει τῶν πληγῶν, ὥστε καὶ

¹ Cohn suggests ἀκκιζόμενος and points out that in § 297, where ἀκκισμός is clearly right, the majority of mss. have ἀστεισμός.

^a Or "cleverly posing." If ἀστειζόμενος is kept we must suppose that the word, which regularly applies to witty or ironical talk, is extended to any kind of dissimulation. But ἀκκιζόμενος, "feigning reluctance," is easier.

required. But the seer, actuated not by any honourable or sincere feelings, but rather by a wish to pose^a as a distinguished prophet whose custom was to do nothing without the sanction of an oracle, declined, saying that the Deity did not permit him to go. The envoys then returned to the king without 267 success, but others, selected from the more highly reputed courtiers, were at once appointed for the same purpose who brought more money and promised more abundant gifts. Enticed by those 268 offers present and prospective, and in deference to the dignity of the ambassadors, he gave way, again dishonestly alleging a divine command. And so on the morrow he made his preparations for the journey, and talked of dreams in which he said he had been beset by visions so clear that they compelled him to stay no longer but follow the envoys.

XLIX. But, as he proceeded 269 there was given to him on the road an unmistakable sign that the purpose which he was so eager to serve was one of evil omen. For the beast on which he happened to be riding, while proceeding along the straight road, first came to a sudden stop, then, as 270 though someone opposite was thrusting it by force or causing it to rear, it fell back^b and then again swerved to right and left and floundered hither and thither unable to keep still, as though heady with wine or drink; and, while repeatedly beaten, it paid no regard to the blows, so that it almost

^b The Greek is odd. L. & S. give *οἱ ὑπὸ πόδα* as "those in the rear" and *ὑπὸ πόδα χωρεῖν*="recede," "decline" (of strength), but these are hardly parallels. On the other hand *ἐπὶ πόδα* (or *πόδας*) *χωρεῖν* is a recognized phrase for "retreat" and should perhaps be read here.

- τὸν ἐποχούμενον μικροῦ καταβαλεῖν καὶ καθεζό-
 271 μενον ὁμως ἀντιλυπῆσαι. τῶν <γὰρ> παρ' ἐκά-
 τερα χωρίων ἦσαν αἵμασιαι καὶ φραγμοὶ πλησίον·
 ὁπότ' οὖν τούτοις προσηράχθη φερόμενον, γόνυ καὶ
 272 κνήμας καὶ πόδας ὁ δεσπότης θλιβόμενος καὶ
 πιεζόμενος ἀπεδρύνετο. ἦν δ', ὡς ἔοικε, θεία τις
 ὄψις, ἣν τὸ μὲν ζῶον ἐπιφοιτῶσαν ἐκ πολλοῦ
 θεασάμενον ὑπέπτηξεν, ὁ δ' ἄνθρωπος οὐκ εἶδεν,
 εἰς ἔλεγχον ἀναισθησίας· ὑπὸ γὰρ ἀλόγου ζώου
 παρενημερεῖτο τὰς ὄψεις ὁ μὴ μόνον τὸν κόσμον
 273 ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸν κοσμοποιὸν αὐχῶν ὁρᾶν. μόλις γοῦν
 τὸν ἀνθεστηκότα ἰδὼν ἄγγελον, οὐκ ἐπειδὴ τοιαύτης
 θεάς ἦν ἄξιος, ἀλλ' ἵνα τὴν ἀτιμίαν καὶ οὐδένειαν
 ἑαυτοῦ καταλάβῃ, πρὸς ἱκεσίας καὶ λιτὰς ἐτράπετο
 συγγνώμην δεόμενος ὑπ' ἀγνοίας ἀλλ' οὐ καθ'
 274 ἐκούσιον γνώμην ἀμαρτόντι. τότε μὲν οὖν ὑπο-
 στρέφειν δέον, ἐπυνθάνετο τῆς φανείσης ὀψεως, εἰ
 ἀνακάμπτει πάλιν τὴν ἐπ' οἶκον· ἡ δὲ συνιδούσα
 τὴν εἰρωνείαν καὶ σχετλιάσασα—τί γὰρ ἔδει πυν-
 θάνεσθαι περὶ πράγματος οὕτως ἐμφανούς, ὃ τὰς
 ἀποδείξεις εἶχεν ἐξ ἑαυτοῦ μὴ δεόμενον τῆς ἐκ
 [124] λόγων πίστεως, εἰ μὴ | ἄρα ὀφθαλμῶν ὥτα ἀλη-
 θέστερα καὶ πραγμάτων ῥήματα;—"βάδιζε" εἶπεν
 "ἐφ' ἣν σπεύδεις ὁδόν· ὀνήσεις γὰρ οὐδέν, ἐμοῦ τὰ
 λεκτέα ὑπηχοῦντος ἄνευ τῆς σῆς διανοίας καὶ τὰ
 φωνῆς ὄργανα τρέποντος, ἢ δίκαιον καὶ συμφέρον·
 ἡνιοχῆσω γὰρ ἐγὼ τὸν λόγον θεσπίζων ἕκαστα διὰ
 τῆς σῆς γλώττης οὐ συνιέντος."
- 275 L. 'Ακούσας δ' ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐγγὺς ἤδη γεγονότα
 μετὰ τῶν δορυφόρων ὑπαντησόμενος ἐξήει, καὶ

threw its rider, and, even though he kept his seat, caused him as much pain as he gave. For the 271 estates on either side had walls and hedges close by, so that when the beast in its movements dashed against these, the feet, knees and shins of its master were crushed and lacerated by the pressure. It was 272 evidently a divine vision, whose haunting presence had for a considerable time been seen by the terrified animal, though invisible to the man, thus proving his insensibility. For the unreasoning animal showed a superior power of sight to him who claimed to see not only the world but the world's Maker. When, 273 at last, he did discern the angel standing in his way, not because he was worthy of such a sight, but that he might perceive his own baseness and nothingness, he betook himself to prayers and supplications, begging pardon for an error committed in ignorance and not through voluntary intention. Yet even 274 then, when he should have returned, he asked of the apparition whether he should retrace his steps homewards. But the angel perceived his dissimulation, for why should he ask about a matter so evident, which in itself provided its own demonstration and needed no confirmation by word, as though ears could be more truthful than eyes or speech than facts? And so in displeasure he answered: "Pursue your journey. Your hurrying will avail you nought. I shall prompt the needful words without your mind's consent, and direct your organs of speech as justice and convenience require. I shall guide the reins of speech, and, though you understand it not, employ your tongue for each prophetic utterance."

L. When the king heard that he was now near 275 at hand, he came forth with his guards to meet him.

- ἐντυχόντων, οἷα εἰκός, τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἦσαν φιλοφροσύναι καὶ δεξιώσεις, εἴτα βραχεῖα κατὰμεμψις περὶ τῆς βραδυτῆτος καὶ τοῦ μὴ ἑτοιμότερον ἦκειν· μετὰ δὲ ταῦτ' εὐωχίαι ἦσαν καὶ πολυτελεῖς ἐστιάσεις καὶ ὅσα ἄλλα πρὸς ὑποδοχὴν ξένων ἔθος εὐτρεπίζεσθαι, φιλοτιμίαις βασιλικαῖς πάντα πρὸς τὸ μεγαλειότερον ἐπιδιδόντα καὶ σεμνότερον ὄγκον.
- 276 τῇ δ' ὑστεραία ἅμα τῇ ἔω τὸν μάντιν ὁ Βαλάκης παραλαβὼν ἐπὶ γεώλοφον ἀνήγαγεν, ἔνθα καὶ στήλην συνέβαινεν ἰδρῦσθαι δαιμονίου τινός, ἣν οἱ ἐγχώριοι προσεκύνουν· μέρος δ' ἐνθένδε καθεωρᾶτο τῆς τῶν Ἑβραίων στρατοπεδείας, ὃ καθάπερ ἀπὸ
- 277 σκοπιᾶς ἐπεδείκνυτο τῷ μάγῳ. ὁ δὲ θεασάμενός φησι· “ σὺ μὲν, ὦ βασιλεῦ, βωμοὺς ἐπτὰ δειμάμενος μόσχον ἐφ' ἐκάστου καὶ κριὸν ἰέρευσον· ἐγὼ δ' ἐκτραπόμενος πεύσομαι τοῦ θεοῦ, τί λεκτέον.” ἔξω δὲ προελθὼν ἔνθους αὐτίκα γίνεται, προφητικοῦ πνεύματος ἐπιφοιτήσαντος, ὃ πᾶσαν αὐτοῦ τὴν ἔντεχνον μαντικὴν ὑπερόριον τῆς ψυχῆς ἤλασε· θέμις γὰρ οὐκ ἦν ἱερωτάτῃ κατοκωχῇ συνδιαιτᾶσθαι μαγικὴν σοφιστείαν. εἴθ' ὑποστρέψας καὶ τὰς τε θυσίας ἰδὼν καὶ τοὺς βωμοὺς φλέγοντας ὥσπερ
- 278 ἑρμηνεὺς ὑποβάλλοντος ἐτέρου θεσπίζει τάδε· “ ἐκ Μεσοποταμίας μετεπέμψατό με Βαλάκης μακρὰν τὴν ἀπ' ἀνατολῶν στειλάμενον ἀποδημίαν, ἵνα τίσηται τοὺς Ἑβραίους ἀραῖς. ἐγὼ δὲ τίνα τρόπον ἀράσομαι τοῖς μὴ καταράτοις ὑπὸ θεοῦ; θεάσομαι μὲν αὐτοὺς ὀφθαλμοῖς ἀφ' ὑψηλοτάτων ὀρῶν καὶ τῇ διανοίᾳ καταλήψομαι, βλάψαι δ' οὐκ ἂν δυναίμην λαόν, ὃς μόνος κατοικήσει, μὴ συναριθμούμενος

MOSES I. 275-278

The interview naturally began with friendly greetings, which were followed by a few words of censure for his slowness and failing to come more readily. Then came high feasting and sumptuous banquets, and the other usual forms of provision for the reception of guests, each through the king's ambition of more magnificence and more imposing pomp than the last. The next day at dawn Balak took the 276 prophet to a hill, where it chanced that in honour of some deity a pillar^a had been set up which the natives worshipped. From thence a part of the Hebrew encampment was visible, which he shewed as a watchman from his tower to the wizard. He 277 looked and said : " King, do you build seven altars, and sacrifice a calf and a ram on each, and I will go aside and inquire of God what I should say." He advanced outside, and straightway became possessed, and there fell upon him the truly prophetic spirit which banished utterly from his soul his art of wizardry. For the craft of the sorcerer and the inspiration of the Holiest might not live together. Then he returned, and, seeing the sacrifices and the altars flaming, he spake these oracles as one repeating the words which another had put into his mouth. " From Mesopotamia hath Balak called me, 278 a far journey from the East, that he may avenge him on the Hebrews through my cursing. But I, how shall I curse them whom God hath not cursed ? I shall behold them with my eyes from the highest mountains, and perceive them with my mind. But I shall not be able to harm the people, which shall dwell alone, not reckoned among other nations ; and

^a So LXX " Pillar of Baal." E.V. " high places of Baal," xxii. 41.

- ἑτέροις ἔθνεσιν, οὐ κατὰ τόπων ἀποκλήρωσιν καὶ
 χώρας ἀποτομήν, ἀλλὰ κατὰ τὴν τῶν ἐξαιρέτων
 ἔθων ιδιότητα, μὴ συναναμιννύμενος¹ ἄλλοις εἰς
 279 τὴν τῶν πατρίων ἐκδιαίτησιν. τίς ἐπ' ἀκριβείας
 εὔρε τὴν πρώτην καταβολὴν τῆς τούτων γενέσεως;
 τὰ μὲν σώματ' αὐτοῖς ἐξ ἀνθρωπίνων διεπλάσθη
 σπερμάτων, ἐκ δὲ θείων ἔφυσαν αἱ ψυχαί· διὸ καὶ
 γεγόνασιν ἀγχίσποροι θεοῦ. ἀποθάνοι μου ἢ ψυχῇ
 [125] τὸν | σωματικὸν βίον, ἵν' ἐν ψυχαῖς δικαίων κατ-
 αριθμηθῇ, οἷας εἶναι συμβέβηκε τὰς τούτων."
 280 LI. Ταῦτ' ἀκούων ὁ Βαλάκης ὠδινεν ἐν ἑαυτῷ.
 παυσασμένου δέ, τὸ πάθος οὐ χωρήσας "ἐπὶ κατά-
 ραις" εἶπεν "ἐχθρῶν μετακληθεὶς εὐχὰς τιθέμενος
 ἐκείνοις οὐκ ἐρυθρίᾳς; ἐλελήθειν ἄρ' ἑμαυτὸν
 ἀπατῶν ὡς ἐπὶ φίλῳ σοι τὴν ὑπὲρ τῶν πολεμίων
 ἀφανῶς τεταγμένῳ τάξιν, ἥ νῦν γέγονε δῆλη.
 μήποτε καὶ τὰς ὑπερθέσεις τῆς ἐνθάθε ἀφίξεως
 ἐποιοῦ διὰ τὴν ὑποικουροῦσαν ἐν τῇ ψυχῇ πρὸς μὲν
 ἐκείνους οἰκειότητα πρὸς δ' ἐμέ καὶ τοὺς ἐμοὺς
 281 ἀδελφῶν τὰ ἐμφανῇ." ὁ δὲ τῆς κατοκωχῆς ἀνεθείς
 "ἀδικωτάτην" εἶπεν "αἰτίαν ὑπομένω συκοφαν-
 τούμενος· λέγω γὰρ ἴδιον οὐδέν, ἀλλ' ἅττ' ἄν

¹ MSS. συναναμιννύμενων.

^a Or "foundation" (?). But both καταβάλλω and καταβολή are frequently used of sowing and this meaning fits better the corresponding verse of LXX (xxiii. 10) τίς ἐξηκριβάσατο τὸ σπέρμα Ἰακώβ;

^b Cf. the fragment of Aeschylus's *Niohe* quoted by Plato, *Rep.* iii. 391E:

οἱ θεῶν ἀγχίσποροι
οἱ Ζηνὸς ἐγγύς,
καὶ οὐ πῶ σφιν ἐξίτηλον αἶμα δαιμόνων.

that, not because their dwelling-place is set apart and their land severed from others, but because in virtue of the distinction of their peculiar customs they do not mix with others to depart from the ways of their fathers. Who has made accurate discovery of how the sowing^a of their generation was first made? Their bodies have been moulded from human seeds, but their souls are sprung from divine seeds, and therefore their stock is akin to God.^b May my soul die to the life of the body^c that it may be reckoned among the souls of the just, even such as are the souls of these men."

LI. Balak suffered tortures inwardly as he listened to these words, and, when the speaker ceased, he could not contain his passion. "Are you not ashamed," he cried, "that, summoned to curse the enemy, you have prayed for them? It seems that all unconsciously I was deceiving myself in treating you as a friend, who were secretly ranged on the side of the enemy, as has now become plain. Doubtless also your delay in coming here was due to your secretly harbouring a feeling of attachment to them and aversion for me and mine. For, as the old saying goes, the certain proves the uncertain." The other, now liberated from the possession, replied: "I suffer under a most unjust charge and calumny, for I say nothing that is

As there is nothing corresponding to this sentence in the LXX, it may be assumed that this is a conscious quotation.

^a The LXX (v. 10) is ἀποθάνοι ἡ ψυχὴ μου ἐν ψυχαῖς δικαίων καὶ γένοιτο τὸ σπέρμα μου ὡς τὸ σπέρμα τούτων. E.V. "Let me die the death of the righteous, and let my last end be like his." Philo's idea presumably is that the souls of the righteous cannot die in the ordinary sense. For the construction cf. *De Gig.* 14 ψυχαι . . . μελετῶσαι τὸν μετὰ σωμάτων ἀποθνήσκειν βίον.

ὑπηχῆσῃ τὸ θεῖον, ὅπερ οὐχὶ νῦν πρῶτον ἐγὼ μὲν
 εἶπον, σὺ δ' ἤκουσας, ἀλλὰ καὶ πρόσθεν, ἥνίκα τοὺς
 282 πρέσβεις ἐπεμψας, οἷς ἀπεκρινάμην ταῦτά." νομί-
 σας δ' ὁ βασιλεὺς ἦ τὸν μάντιν ἀπατᾶν ἢ τὸ θεῖον
 τρέπεσθαι καὶ ταῖς τῶν τόπων μεταβολαῖς τὸ τῆς
 γνώμης ἐχυρὸν ἀλλάττειν, εἰς ἕτερον ἀπαγαγὼν
 χωρίον ἐκ λόφου πάνυ περιμήκους ἐπεδείκνυτο
 μέρος τι τῆς ἀντιπάλου στρατιᾶς· εἶτα πάλιν ἐπὶ τὰ
 βωμοὺς ἰδρυσάμενος καὶ τὰ ἴσα τοῖς πρόσθεν ἱερεῖα
 καταθύσας ἐξέπεμπε τὸν μάντιν ἐπ' οἰωνοὺς καὶ
 283 φήμας αἰσίους. ὁ δὲ μονωθείς ἐξαίφνης θεοφο-
 ρεῖται καὶ μηδὲν συνιείς, ὥσπερ μετανισταμένου
 τοῦ λογισμοῦ, τὰ ὑποβαλλόμενα ἐξελάλει προφη-
 τεύων τάδε· "ἀναστὰς ἄκουε, βασιλεῦ, τὰ ὦτα
 ἐπουρίσας.¹ οὐχ ὡς ἄνθρωπος ὁ θεὸς διαψευσθῆναι
 δύναται οὐδ' ὡς υἱὸς ἀνθρώπου μετανοεῖ καὶ ἅπαξ
 εἰπὼν οὐκ ἐμμένει. φθέγγεται τὸ παράπαν οὐδέν,
 ὃ μὴ τελειωθήσεται βεβαίως, ἐπεὶ ὁ λόγος ἔργον
 ἐστὶν αὐτῷ. παρελήφθην δ' ἐπ' εὐλογίαις, οὐ
 284 κατάραις, ἐγώ. οὐκ ἔσται πόνος ἢ μόχθος ἐν
 Ἑβραίοις. ὁ θεὸς αὐτῶν προασπίζει περιφανῶς,
 ὃς καὶ τὴν τῶν Αἰγυπτιακῶν ρύμην κακῶν ἀπεσκέ-
 δασεν ὡς ἓνα ἄνδρα τὰς τοσαύτας μυριάδας ἀν-
 αγαγών. τοιγαροῦν οἰωνῶν ἀλογοῦσι καὶ πάντων
 τῶν κατὰ μαντικὴν ἐνὶ τῷ τοῦ κόσμου ἡγεμόνι

¹ See on *De Abr.* 20. Here as in *De Decal.* 148, the word
 is fairly well suited to the context. The best mss. have
 ἐπαιωρήσας, which does not seem altogether impossible, for
 though no similar use of the compound verb is quoted, the
 simple verb is found in this sense, e.g. αἰωρεῖν τὰς ὀφρῦς.

* Or "sounds and voices" = κληδόνας § 287. In Numbers
 Balaam goes to "meet the Lord," but the account of his
 422

my own, but only what is prompted by God, and this I do not say or you hear now for the first time, but I said it before when you sent the ambassadors to whom I gave the same answer." But the king, 282 thinking either to deceive the seer or to move the Deity and draw Him from His firm purpose by a change of place, led the way to another spot, and from an exceedingly high hill shewed the seer a part of the enemy's host. Then again he set up seven altars, and, after sacrificing the same number of victims as before, sent him away to seek good omens through birds or voices.^a In this solitude, he was suddenly possessed, 283 and, understanding nothing, his reason as it were roaming, uttered these prophetic words which were put into his mouth.^b "Arise, O King, and listen. Lend me a ready ear. God cannot be deceived ^c as a man, nor as the son of man does He repent ^d or fail to abide by what He has once said. He will utter nothing at all which shall not certainly be performed, for His word is His deed. As for me, I was summoned to bless, not to curse. There shall be no 284 trouble or labour among the Hebrews. Their God is their shield for all to see, He Who also scattered the fierce onset of the ills of Egypt, and brought up all these myriads as a single man. Therefore, they care nothing for omens and all the lore of the soothsayer, because they trust in One Who is the ruler of

purpose given here might be justified from xxiv. 1 "he went not, as at the other times, to meet with enchantments."

^b This is curiously expressed. We expect "returned and uttered" as in Num. xxiii. 17.

^c So LXX (*διαρρηθῆναι*). E.V. "lie" (xxiii. 19).

^d Here Philo whether accidentally or not agrees with the Hebrew against the LXX, which has *ἀπειληθῆναι* ("be threatened").

πιστεύοντες. ὁρῶ λαὸν ὡς σκύμνον ἀνιστάμενον καὶ ὡς λέοντα γαυρούμενον. εὐωχηθήσεται θήρας καὶ ποτῶ χρήσεται τραυματιῶν αἵματι καὶ κορεσθεῖς
 [126] οὐ τρέφεται πρὸς ὕπνον, ἀλλ' | ἐργηγορῶς τὸν ἐπινίκιον ἄσεται ὕμνον."

- 285 LII. Χαλεπῶς δ' ἐνεγκὼν ἐπὶ τῷ παρ' ἐλπίδας αὐτῷ τὰ τῆς μαντικῆς ἀπαντᾶσθαι "ἄνθρωπε" εἶπε, "μήτε ἀρὰς τίθεσο μήτ' εὐχὰς ποιοῦ· βελτίων γὰρ τῶν μὴ καθ' ἡδονὴν λόγων ἡ ἀκίνδυνος ἡσυχία." καὶ ταῦτ' εἰπὼν ὥσπερ ἐκλαθόμενος ὦν εἶπε διὰ τὸ τῆς γνώμης ἀβέβαιον εἰς ἄλλον τόπον ἀπήγε τὸν μάντιν, ἀφ' οὗ δείξας μέρος τι τῆς Ἑβραϊκῆς
 286 στρατιᾶς καταρᾶσθαι παρεκάλει. ὁ δ' ἅτε χείρων ἐκείνου, καίτοι πρὸς τὰς ἐπιφερομένας κατηγορίας ἀπολογία μὴ χρώμενος ἀληθεῖ, ὡς οὐδὲν ἴδιον λέγοι, κατεχόμενος δὲ καὶ ἐνθουσιῶν διερμηνεύοι τὰ ἑτέρου, δέον μηκέτ' ἐπακολουθεῖν ἀλλ' οἴκαδε ἀπαίρειν, ἐτοιμότερον τοῦ παραπέμποντος προσέτρεχεν, ἅμα μὲν οἰήσει, κακῶ μεγάλῳ, πεπιεσμένος, ἅμα δὲ καὶ τῇ διανοίᾳ καταρᾶσθαι γλιχό-
 287 μενος, εἰ καὶ τῇ φωνῇ διεκωλύετο. παραγενόμενος δ' εἰς ὅρος μείζον τῶν προτέρων ἄχρι πολλοῦ κατατεῖνον κελεύει μὲν τὴν αὐτὴν ἐπιτελεῖν θυσίαν βωμοὺς πάλιν ἐπὶ κατασκευάσαντας καὶ ἱερεῖα τεσσαρεσκαίδεκα προσαγαγόντας ἐκάστῳ βωμῷ δύο, μόσχον τε καὶ κριόν. αὐτὸς δὲ οὐκέτι κατὰ τὸ εἶκός ἐπὶ κληδόνας καὶ οἰωνοὺς ἔετο πολλὰ τὴν

^a ἀπαντᾶσθαι is apparently used in the middle here. The usage is found occasionally, but censured by Lucian, *Lexiphanes* 25 as non-Attic.

the world. I see the people rising up as a lion's cub, and exulting as a lion. He shall feast upon the prey, and take for his drink the blood of the wounded, and, when he has had his fill, he shall not betake himself to slumber, but unsleeping sing the song of the victorious."

LII. Highly indignant at finding the soothsayer's powers thus unexpectedly hostile,^a Balak said: "Sirrah, do not either curse or bless, for the silence which avoids danger is better than words which displease." And, having said this, as though in the inconstancy of his judgement he had forgotten what he said, he led the seer away to another place from which he shewed him a part of the Hebrew host and begged him to curse them. Here the seer proved himself to be even worse than the king; for, though he had met the charges brought against him solely by the true plea that nothing which he said was his own but the divinely inspired version of the promptings of another, and therefore ought to have ceased to follow, and departed home, instead, he pressed forward even more readily than his conductor, partly because he was dominated by the worst of vices, conceit, partly because in his heart he longed to curse, even if he were prevented from doing so with his voice. And, having arrived at a mountain higher than those where he had stood before, and of great extent, he bade them perform the same sacrifice after again erecting seven altars, and bringing fourteen victims, two for each altar, a ram and a calf. But he himself did not go again, as was to be expected, to seek for omens from birds or voices, for he had conceived a great contempt for his

- αὐτοῦ τέχνην κακίσας ὡς χρόνῳ καθάπερ γραφὴν
 ἐξίτηλον γενομένην καὶ τοὺς εὐθυβόλους στο-
 χασμοὺς ἐξαμαυρωθεῖσαν· ἄλλως δὲ καὶ μόλις
 ἐνενόησεν, ὅτι οὐ συνάδει τῷ τοῦ θεοῦ βουλήματι
 ἢ τοῦ μισθωσαμένου προαίρεσις αὐτὸν βασιλέως.
 288 τραπόμενος οὖν κατὰ τὴν ἐρήμην ὁρᾷ κατὰ φυλὰς
 ἐστρατοπεδευκότας Ἑβραίους καὶ τό τε πλῆθος καὶ
 τὴν τάξιν ὡς πόλεως ἄλλ' οὐ στρατοπέδου κατα-
 πλαγεῖς ἔνθους γενόμενος ἀναφθέγγεται τάδε·
 289 “ φησὶν ὁ ἄνθρωπος ὁ ἀληθινῶς ὁρῶν, ὅστις καθ’
 ὕπνον ἐναργῆ φαντασίαν εἶδε θεοῦ τοῖς τῆς ψυχῆς
 ἀκοιμήτοις ὄμμασιν. ὡς καλοὶ σου οἱ οἴκοι,
 στρατιὰ Ἑβραίων, αἱ σκηναὶ σου ὡς νάπαι σκιά-
 ζουσαι, ὡς παράδεισος ἐπὶ ποταμοῦ, ὡς κέδρος
 290 παρ’ ὕδατα. ἐξελεύσεται ποτε ἄνθρωπος ἐξ ὑμῶν
 καὶ ἐπικρατήσῃ πολλῶν ἐθνῶν καὶ ἐπιβαίνουσα
 ἢ τοῦδε βασιλεία καθ’ ἐκάστην ἡμέραν πρὸς ὕψος
 ἀρθήσεται. ὁ λαὸς οὗτος ἡγεμόνι τῆς ἀπ’ Αἰγύπτου
 πάσης ὁδοῦ κέχρηται θεῷ καθ’ ἐν κέρας ἄγοντι τὴν
 291 πληθύν. τοιγαροῦν ἔδεται | ἔθνη πολλὰ ἐχθρῶν
 [127] καὶ ὅσον ἐν αὐτοῖς πῖον ἄχρι μυελοῦ λήψεται καὶ
 ταῖς ἐκηβολίαις ἀπολεῖ τοὺς δυσμενεῖς. ἀνα-
 παύσεται κατακλινεῖς ὡς λέων ἢ σκύμνος λέοντος,
 μάλα καταφρονητικῶς δεδιὼς οὐδένα, φόβον τοῖς
 ἄλλοις ἐνειργασμένος· ἄθλιος ὃς ἂν αὐτὸν παρα-
 κινήσας ἐγείρῃ. οἱ μὲν εὐλογοῦντές σε εὐφημίας
 ἄξιοι, κατάρας δ’ οἱ καταρώμενοι.”
 292 LIII. Σφόδρα δ’ ἐπὶ τούτοις ἀγανακτήσας ὁ
 βασιλεὺς “ ἐπ’ ἀραῖς ” εἶπεν “ ἐχθρῶν μετακληθεῖς

^a LXX “The kingdom of Gog shall be exalted (E.V. his king shall be higher than Agag) and his kingdom shall be increased.”

own art, feeling that, as a picture fades in the course of years, its gift of happy conjecture had lost all its brilliance. Besides, he at last realized that the purpose of the king who had hired him was not in harmony with the will of God. So, setting his face 288 to the wilderness, he looked upon the Hebrews encamped in their tribes, and, astounded at their number and order, which resembled a city rather than a camp, he was filled with the spirit, and spoke as follows : " Thus saith the man who truly sees, who 289 in slumber saw the clear vision of God with the unsleeping eyes of the soul. How goodly are thy dwellings, thou host of the Hebrews ! Thy tents are as shady dells, as a garden by the riverside, as a cedar beside the waters. There shall come forth from you 290 one day a man and he shall rule over many nations, and his kingdom spreading every day shall be exalted on high.^a This people, throughout its journey from Egypt, has had God as its guide, Who leads the multitude in a single column.^b Therefore, it shall eat up 291 many nations of its enemies, and take all the fatness of them right up to the marrow, and destroy its foes with its far-reaching bolts. It shall lie down and
 * rest as a lion, or a lion's cub, full of scorn, fearing none but putting fear in all others. Woe to him who stirs up and rouses it. Worthy of benediction are those who bless thee, worthy of cursing those who curse thee."

LIII. Greatly incensed by this, the king said : 292
 "Thou wast summoned to curse the enemy, and hast

^a Philo is evidently interpreting Num. xxiv. 8 ὡς δόξα μονοκέρωτος αὐτῷ, "he has as it were the glory of the unicorn" (R.V. "wild ox"). The mistake is strange, since the word occurs frequently in the LXX, and even in the Pentateuch (Deut. xxxiii. 17).

εὐχὰς ἤδη τρεῖς τὰς ὑπὲρ ἐκείνων πεποιήσαι· φεῦγε
 δὴ θάπτον—ὅξυ πάθος ἐστὶ θυμός—, μή τι καὶ
 293 νεώτερον ἐργάσασθαι βιασθῶ. πόσον πλήθος χρη-
 μάτων, ἀνοητότατε, καὶ δωρεῶν, πόσῃ δ' εὐφημίαν
 καὶ δόξαν ἀφήρησαι σεαυτὸν φρενοβλαβῆς ὢν·
 ἐπανελεύσῃ φέρων ἀπὸ τῆς ξένης εἰς τὴν οἰκίαν
 ἀγαθὸν μὲν οὐδέν, ὀνειδῆ δὲ καὶ πολλὴν ὡς ἔοικεν
 αἰσχύνῃν, οὕτως σοι τῶν κατὰ τὴν ἐπιστήμην, ἐφ'
 294 οἷς πρότερον ἐσεμνύνου, γελασθέντων.” ὁ δὲ “ τὰ
 μὲν πρότερα ” εἶπε “ πάντ' ἐστὶ λόγια καὶ χρησμοί,
 τὰ δὲ μέλλοντα λέγεσθαι γνώμης τῆς ἐμῆς
 εἰκασίαι.” καὶ τῆς δεξιᾶς λαβόμενος μόνος μόνῳ
 συνεβούλευε, δι' ὧν, ὡς ἂν οἶόν τε ἦ, φυλάσσεται
 τὸν ἀντίπαλον στρατόν, ἀσέβημα κατηγορῶν αὐτοῦ
 μέγιστον· τί γάρ, εἴποι τις ἄν, ἰδιάξεις καὶ συμ-
 βουλευεῖς τὰ ἐναντία τοῖς χρησμοῖς ὑποτιθέμενος, εἰ
 μὴ ἄρα τῶν λογίων αἰ σαὶ βουλαὶ δυνατώτεραι;
 295 LIV. φέρε δ' οὖν καὶ τὰς καλὰς αὐτοῦ παραινέσεις
 ἐξετάσωμεν, ὡς τετεχνιτευμένοι πρὸς ὁμολογου-
 μένην ἠτταν τῶν αἰεὶ νικᾶν δυναμένων. εἰδὼς γὰρ
 Ἑβραίοις μίαν ὁδὸν ἀλώσεως παρανομίαν, διὰ
 λαγνείας καὶ ἀκολασίας, μεγάλου κακοῦ, πρὸς
 μείζον κακόν, ἀσέβειαν, ἄγειν αὐτοὺς ἐσπούδασεν
 296 ἡδονὴν δέλεαρ προθεῖς. “ εἰσὶ ” γὰρ εἶπεν “ αἱ
 ἐγχώριοι γυναῖκες, ὧ βασιλεῦ, διαφέρουσιν τὴν
 ὄψιν ἐτέρων· ἀνὴρ δ' οὐδενὶ μᾶλλον εὐάλωτος ἢ
 γυναικὸς εὐμορφία. ταῖς οὖν περικαλλεστάταις ἐὰν

^a §§ 294-299 are based on Num. xxxi. 16, where the sin of Israel is ascribed to the counsels of Balaam.

MOSES I. 292-296

now thrice invoked blessings on them. Flee quickly, for fierce is the passion of wrath, lest I be forced to do thee some mischief. Most foolish of men, of what 293 a store of wealth and presents, of what fame and glory, hast thou robbed thyself by thy madness. Thou wilt return from the stranger's land to thy own with nothing good in thy hand, but with reproaches and deep disgrace, as all may see, having merely brought such ridicule on the lore of the knowledge on which thou didst pride thyself before." "The other 294 replied : " All that has been said hitherto was oracles from above. What I have now to say is suggestions of my own designing." And, taking him by the right hand, he counselled him in strict privacy as to the means by which, as far as might be, he should defend himself against the army of the enemy. Hereby he convicted himself of the utmost impiety ; for, " Why," we might ask him, " do you put forth your own personal counsels in opposition to the oracles of God ? That were to hold that your projects are more powerful than the divine utterances." LIV. Well, then, let us examine these fine injunctions of 295 his, and see how they were contrived to gain an unquestioned victory over the truths which have ever the power to prevail. His advice was this. Knowing that the one way by which the Hebrews could be overthrown was disobedience, he set himself to lead them, through wantonness and licentiousness, to impiety, through a great sin to a still greater, and put before them the bait of pleasure. " You 296 have in your countrywomen, king," he said, " persons of pre-eminent beauty. And there is nothing to which a man more easily falls a captive than women's comeliness. If, then, you permit the fairest among

- ἐπιτρέψῃς μισθαρνεῖν καὶ δημοσιεύειν, ἀγκιστρέ-
 297 σονται τὴν νεότητα τῶν ἀντιπάλων. ὑψηγῆτέον δὲ
 αὐταῖς, μὴ εὐθὺς ἐμπαρέχεσθαι τοῖς ἐθέλουσι τὴν
 ὥραν· ὁ γὰρ ἄκκισμός ἐποκνίζων τὰς ὁρμὰς ἐπ-
 εγείρει μᾶλλον καὶ τοὺς ἔρωτας ἀναφλέγει· τραχηλι-
 ζόμενοι δὲ ταῖς ἐπιθυμίαις πάνθ' ὑπομενοῦσι δρᾶν
 298 τε καὶ πάσχειν. πρὸς δὲ τὸν οὕτω διακείμενον
 [128] ἔραστον λεγέτω | φρυαττομένη τις τῶν ἐπὶ τὴν
 θήραν ἀλειφομένων· 'οὐ θέμις ὁμιλίας σοι τῆς
 ἐμῆς ἀπολαῦσαι, πρὶν ἂν ἐκδικαιτηθῇς μὲν τὰ πάτρια,
 μεταβαλὼν δὲ τιμῆς ἅπερ ἐγώ. πίστις δέ μοι
 τῆς βεβαίου μεταβολῆς γένοιτ' ἂν ἀρίδης, ἣν
 ἐθελήσῃς μετασχεῖν τῶν αὐτῶν σπονδῶν τε καὶ
 θυσιῶν, ἃς ἀγάλμασι καὶ ξοάνοις καὶ τοῖς λοιποῖς
 299 ἀφιδρύμασιν ἐπιτελοῦμεν.' ὁ δ' ἄτε σαγηνευθεὶς
 πάγαις πολυειδέσι, κάλλει καὶ στωμυλίας χειρ-
 αγωγίαις, οὐδὲν ἀντειπὼν, ἐξηγκωνισμένος τὸν
 λογισμόν, ἄθλιος ὑπηρετήσῃ τοῖς προσταττομένοις,
 ἀναγραφεὶς τοῦ πάθους δούλος."
- 300 LV. Ὁ μὲν δὴ τοιαῦτα συνεβούλευεν. ὁ δ' οὐκ
 ἀπὸ σκοποῦ νομίσας εἶναι τὰ λεχθέντα, τὸν κατὰ
 μοιχῶν νόμον παρακαλυψάμενος καὶ τοὺς ἐπὶ φθορᾷ
 καὶ πορνείᾳ κειμένους ἀνελὼν, ὥς εἰ μηδὲ τὴν
 ἀρχὴν ἐγράφησαν, ἀνέδην ἐπιτρέπει ταῖς γυναιξὶ
 301 τὰς ὁμιλίας πρὸς οὓς ἂν ἐθέλωσι ποιεῖσθαι. δο-
 θείσης δὲ ἀδείας, τὴν πληθὺν τῶν μεираκίων
 ἐπήγοντο πολὺ πρότερον τὴν διάνοιαν αὐτῶν
 ἀπατῶσαι καὶ τρέπουσαι ταῖς γοητείαις πρὸς
 ἀσέβειαν, ἕως υἱὸς τοῦ ἀρχιερέως Φινεὲς ἐπὶ τοῖς
 γινομένοις σφόδρα χαλεπήνας—δεινότατον γὰρ αὐτῷ

* For §§ 300-304 see Num. xxv.

them to prostitute themselves for hire, they will en-
 snare the younger of their enemies. But you must 297
 instruct them not to allow their wooers to enjoy
 their charms at once. For coyness titillates, and
 thereby makes the appetites more active, and in-
 flames the passions. And, when their lust has them
 in its grip, there is nothing which they will shrink
 from doing or suffering. Then, when the lover is in 298
 this condition, one of those who are arming to take
 their prey should say, with a saucy air: 'You must
 not be permitted to enjoy my favours until you have
 left the ways of your fathers and become a convert
 to honouring what I honour. That your conversion
 is sincere will be clearly proved to me if you are
 willing to take part in the libations and sacrifices
 which we offer to idols of stone and wood and
 the other images.' Then the lover, caught in the 299
 meshes of her multiform lures, her beauty and the
 enticements of her wheedling talk, will not gainsay
 her, but, with his reason trussed and pinioned, will
 subserve her orders to his sorrow, and be enrolled
 as a slave of passion."

LV. ^a Such was his advice. And the king, thinking 300
 that the proposal was good, ignoring the law against
 adultery, and annulling those which prohibited seduc-
 tion and fornication as though they had never been
 enacted at all, permitted the women, without re-
 striction, to have intercourse with whom they would.
 Having thus received immunity, so greatly did they 301
 mislead the minds of most of the young men, and
 pervert them by their arts to impiety, that they soon ^b
 made a conquest of them. And this continued until
 Phinehas, the son of the high priest, greatly angered

^b Lit. "*First* greatly deceiving . . . they made a conquest."

κατεφαίνετο, εἰ ὑφ' ἓνα καιρὸν ἄμφω τὰ τε σώματα καὶ τὰς ψυχὰς ἐπιδεδώκασιν, τὰ μὲν ἡδοναῖς, τὰς δὲ τῷ παρανομεῖν καὶ ἀνοσιουργεῖν—ἐνεανιεύσατο νεανείαν ἀνδρὶ καλῷ καὶ ἀγαθῷ προσήκουσαν.

302 ἰδὼν γάρ τινα τῶν ἀπὸ τοῦ γένους θύοντα καὶ εἰσιόντα πρὸς πόρνην, μήτε κεκυφότα εἰς τοῦδαφος μήτε λανθάνειν τοὺς πολλοὺς πειρώμενον μήθ' οἷα φιλεῖ κλέπτοντα τὴν εἴσοδον, ἀλλὰ μετ' ἀναισχύντου θράσους τὴν ἀκοσμίαν ἐπιδεικνύμενον καὶ φρυσσάτομον ὡς ἐπὶ σεμνῷ πράγματι τῷ καταγελάστω, πάνυ πικρανθεὶς καὶ πληρωθεὶς ὀργῆς δικαίας ἐπεισδραμὼν ἔτι κατ' εὐνὴν κειμένους ἀμφοτέρους τὸν τ' ἐραστὴν καὶ τὴν ἐταίραν ἀναιρεῖ προσανατεμὼν καὶ τὰ γεννητικά, διότι σποραῖς ὑπὴρέτησαν

303 ἐκθέσμοις. τοῦτο θεασάμενοί τινες τὸ παράδειγμα τῶν τὴν ἐγκράτειαν καὶ θεοσεβείαν ἐξηλωκότων προστάξαντος Μωυσέως ἐμιμήσαντο καὶ πάντας τοὺς τελεσθέντας τοῖς χειροποιήτοις συγγενεῖς καὶ φίλους ἡβηδὸν ἀνελόντες τὸ μὲν μίasma τοῦ ἔθνους ἐκκαθαίρουσι διὰ τῆς τῶν προηδικηκότων ἀπαραιτήτου τιμωρίας, τοὺς δ' ἄλλους παρασχόντας ἀπολογίαν ἐναργεστάτην ὑπὲρ τῆς αὐτῶν εὐσεβείας περιποιήσαντο, μηδένα τῶν ἀφ' αἵματος κατακρίτων οἰκτιστάμενοι μηδ' ἐλέω τὰδικήματα αὐτῶν παρελθόντες, ἀλλὰ καθαρὸς νομίσαντες τοὺς αὐτόχειρας· ὅθεν οὐδενὶ παρεχώρησαν τὴν ἐπέξοδον φέρουσαν τοῖς δρώσιν ἀψευδέστατον ἔπαινον.

304 τετρακισχίλιους δέ φασιν πρὸς τοῖς δισμυρίοις |
[129] ἀναιρεθῆναι μιᾷ ἡμέρᾳ, συναναιρεθέντος εὐθύς τοῦ κοινοῦ μιάσματος, ὃ πᾶσαν τὴν στρατιὰν ἐκῆλιδον.

MOSES I. 301-304

at what he saw, and horrified at the thought that his people had at the same moment surrendered their bodies to pleasure and their souls to lawlessness and unholiness, shewed the young, gallant spirit which befitted a man of true excellence. For, seeing one 302 of his race offering sacrifice and visiting a harlot, not with his head bowed down towards the ground, nor trying in the usual way to make a stealthy entrance unobserved by the public, but flaunting his licentiousness boldly and shamelessly, and pluming himself as though his conduct called for honour instead of scorn,^a he was filled with bitterness and righteous anger, and attacking the pair whilst they still lay together he slew both the lover and his concubine, ripping up also her parts of generation because they had served to receive the illicit seed. This example 303 being observed by some of those who were zealous for continence and godliness they copied it at the command of Moses, and massacred all their friends and kinsfolk who had taken part in the rites of these idols made by men's hands. And thus they purged the defilement of the nation, by relentlessly punishing the actual sinners, while they spared the rest who gave clear proof of their piety. To none of their convicted blood-relations did they shew pity, or mercifully condone their crimes, but held that their slayers were free from guilt. And, therefore, they kept in their own hand the act of vengeance, which in the truest sense was laudable to its executors. Twenty-four thousand, we are told, perished in one 304 day. And with them perished, at the same moment, the common pollution which was defiling the whole

^a Cf. xxv. 6, "in the sight of Moses, and all the congregation."

τῶν δὲ καθαρσίων ἐπιτελεσθέντων, ὡς ἀριστεῖ γέρας ἐπάξιον τῷ υἱῷ τοῦ ἀρχιερέως, ὃς πρῶτος ἐπὶ τὴν ἄμυναν ὤρμησεν, ἐζήτει παρασχεῖν Μωυσῆς. φθάνει δὲ χρησιμοῖς δωρησάμενος ὁ θεὸς Φινεεὶ τὸ μέγιστον ἀγαθόν, εἰρήνην, ὃ μηδεὶς ἱκανὸς ἀνθρώπων παρασχεῖν, πρὸς δὲ τῇ εἰρήνῃ καὶ παγκρατησίαν ἱερωσύνης, αὐτῷ καὶ γένει κληρὸν ἀναφαίρετον.

- 305 LVI. Ἐπεὶ δὲ τῶν ἐμφυλίων οὐδὲν ἔτ' ἦν ὑπόλοιπον κακῶν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὅσοι πρὸς αὐτομολίαν ἢ προδοσίαν ὑπωπτεύοντο πάντες ἀπωλώλεσαν, ἔδοξεν εἶναι καιρὸς ἐπιτηδειότατος τῆς ἐπὶ τὸν Βαλάκην στρατείας, ἄνδρα μυρία καὶ βεβουλευμένον ἐργάσασθαι κακὰ καὶ δεδρακότα, βεβουλευμένον μὲν διὰ τοῦ μάντεως, ὃν ἤλπισεν ἀραῖς τισι δυνήσεσθαι καθελεῖν τὴν δύναμιν τῶν Ἑβραίων, δεδρακότα δὲ διὰ τῆς τῶν γυναικῶν ἀσελγείας καὶ ἀκολασίας, αἱ τὰ μὲν σώματα λαγνείαις τὰς δὲ
306 ψυχὰς ἀσεβείᾳ τῶν χρωμένων διέφθειραν. παντὶ μὲν οὖν τῷ στρατῷ πολεμεῖν οὐκ ἔδοκίμαζεν, εἰδὼς τὰ ὑπέρογκα¹ πλήθη πταίοντα περὶ αὐτοῖς καὶ ἅμα λυσιτελὲς ἡγούμενος ἐφεδρείας εἶναι συμμάχων τοῖς προκαμοῦσι βοηθούς, ἀριστίνδην δὲ τοὺς ἡβῶντας ἐπιλέξας, χιλίους ἐκ φυλῆς ἐκάστης, δώδεκα χιλιάδας—τοσαῦται γὰρ ἦσαν αἱ φυλαί—καὶ στρατηγὸν ἐλόμενος τοῦ πολέμου Φινεὲς πείραν ἤδη δεδω-

¹ MSS. ὑπερόρια.

^a Philo understands the "plague" of xxv. 8, 9, LXX πληγή, to refer not to a pestilence sent by God, but to the slaughter of the guilty. The mistake, if it is a mistake, is not unnatural. Not only has the mention of the "plague" been introduced so abruptly that probably something has been lost, but the coupling of *πεπληγυῖα*, referring to the slain woman,

host.^a When the purging was completed, Moses sought how to give to the high priest's son, who had been the first to rush to the defence, such reward as he deserved for his heroism. But he was forestalled by God, Whose voice granted to Phinehas the highest of blessings, peace—a gift which no human being can bestow—and, besides peace, full possession of the priesthood, a heritage to himself and his family which none should take from them.^b

LVI. ^c Since, now, their internal troubles were entirely at an end, and, further, all those who were suspected of desertion or treachery had perished, it seemed to be a very suitable opportunity for waging war against Balak who had both plotted and executed mischief on so vast a scale. In the plotting he had been served by the soothsayer, who, he hoped, would be able by his curses to destroy the power of the Hebrews; in the execution by the licentiousness and wantonness of the women, who had caused the ruin of their paramours, of their bodies through lust, of their souls through impiety. However, Moses did not think well to employ his whole army, knowing that over-large multitudes fall through their own unwieldiness, and, at the same time, he thought it was an advantage to have reserves to reinforce those who bore the first brunt. He accordingly selected the flower of his men of military age, one thousand from each tribe, twelve thousand, that is, corresponding to the number of the tribes, and chose as commander-in-chief Phinehas, who had already given with *πληγή* in verse 18 (*cf.* also vv. 14, 15), would lend itself to his interpretation. See further App. pp. 603-604.

^b The rewards of Phinehas have been treated in their allegorical sense, *De Ebr.* 75 f., *De Post.* 183 f., *De Conf.* 57.

^c For §§ 305-318 see Num. xxxi.

κότα στρατηγικῆς εὐτολμίας ἐπὶ καλοῖς ἱερείοις
 ἐξέπεμπε τοὺς ὀπλίτας καὶ θαρσύνων τοιαύδε διεξ-
 307 ἦει· “οὐχ ὑπὲρ κράτους ἀρχῆς ὁ παρὼν ἀγὼν
 ἐστὶν οὐδ’ ὑπὲρ τοῦ κτήσασθαι τὰ ἐτέρων, περὶ ὧν
 ἢ μόνων ἢ μάλιστα οἱ πόλεμοι, ἀλλ’ ὑπὲρ εὐσεβείας
 καὶ ὁσιότητος, ὧν τοὺς ἡμετέρους συγγενεῖς καὶ
 φίλους ἡλλοτρίωσαν οἱ ἐχθροὶ παραίτιοι γενόμενοι
 308 τοῖς ὑπαχθεῖσι χαλεπῆς ἀπωλείας. ἔστιν οὖν
 ἄτοπον οἰκείων μὲν αὐτόχειρας γεγενῆσθαι παρα-
 νομησάντων, ἐχθρῶν δὲ χαλεπώτερα ἡδίκηκότων
 ἀποσχέσθαι, καὶ τοὺς μὲν μαθόντας ἀδικεῖν ἀν-
 ἡρηκέναι, τοὺς δὲ βιασαμένους καὶ διδάξαντας ἀ-
 τιμωρήτους καταλιπεῖν, οὓς ἀπάντων αἰτίους εἶναι
 συμβέβηκεν, ὧν ἢ δεδράκασιν ἢ πεπόνθασιν ἐκεῖ-
 309 νοι.” LVII. νευρωθέντες οὖν ταῖς παραινέσεσιν
 ἐκείνοι καὶ ὅσον ἐν ταῖς ψυχαῖς προϋπήρχε γεν-
 ναιότητος ζωπυρήσαντες ὡς ἐφ’ ὁμολογουμένη νίκη
 πρὸς τὸν ἀγῶνα ἵεντο φρονήμασιν ἀηττήτοις· καὶ
 συμπλακέντες τοσαύτη περιουσία ῥώμης καὶ τόλμης
 ἐχρήσαντο, ὡς ἱερεῦσαι μὲν τοὺς ἀντιπάλους, αὐτοὶ
 310 δὲ πάντες σῶοι ἐπανελθεῖν, οὐδενὸς ἀποθανόντος
 [130] ἀλλ’ οὐδὲ τρωθέντος. | ὑπέλαβεν ἂν τις τῶν
 ἀγνοούντων τὸ συμβεβηκὸς ἰδὼν αὐτοὺς ἐπανιόντας
 οὐκ ἀπὸ πολέμου καὶ παρατάξεως ἀφικνεῖσθαι
 μᾶλλον ἢ τῶν ἐν ταῖς ὀπλοσκοπίαις ἐπιδείξεων, ὥς
 ἔθος ἐν εἰρήνῃ ποιεῖσθαι, γυμνάσματα δ’ εἰσὶ καὶ
 μελέται συγκροτουμένων¹ τὰ κατ’ ἐχθρῶν ἐν φίλοις.
 311 τὰς μὲν οὖν πόλεις ἢ κατασκάπτοντες ἢ ἐμπιπράν-
 τες, ἡφάνισαν, ὡς μηδ’ εἰ τὴν ἀρχὴν ὠκίσθησαν

¹ Mangey wished to read *συγκροτούντων*, a very common usage no doubt with *πόλεμον* and the like, cf. e.g. *De Abr.* 29, but in a somewhat different sense. Here the passive =

MOSES I. 306-311

proof of his courage in that capacity ; and after favourable sacrifices he dispatched his armed men, with words of encouragement to the following effect :
“ The contest before you is not to win dominion, nor 307
to appropriate the possessions of others, which is the sole or principal object of other wars, but to defend piety and holiness, from which our kinsfolk and friends have been perverted by the enemies who have indirectly caused their victims to perish miserably. It would be absurd, then, if, after having 308
slain with our own hands those who transgressed the law, we should spare the enemies who committed the graver wrong ; if, after putting to death those who learned the lesson of wrongdoing, we should leave unpunished the teachers who forced them to it, and are responsible for all they did or suffered.”

LVII. So, braced by these exhortations, with the 309
native gallantry of their souls kindled to a flame, they went forth to the contest as to certain victory with indomitable resolution, and in the engagement shewed such a wealth of strength and boldness, that they made a slaughter of their opponents, and returned themselves all safe and sound without a single one killed or even wounded. Indeed, any spectator 310
who did not know the facts would have supposed that they were returning not from a war or pitched battle but from those military reviews and displays of arms so frequently made in peace-time, which serve as drilling and practising grounds, where training for hostilities is carried on among friends. They 311
proceeded to destroy the cities utterly by demolition or fire, so that no one could have told that

“trained in” followed by the acc. of respect is more appropriate.

εἰπεῖν ἔχειν· αἰχμαλώτων δὲ σωμάτων ἀπερίληπτον ἀριθμὸν ἀπαγαγόντες ἄνδρας μὲν καὶ γυναῖκας κτείνειν ἐδικαίωσαν, τοὺς μὲν ὅτι βουλευμάτων καὶ χειρῶν ἠρξαν ἀδίκων, τὰς δ' ἐπεὶ κατεγοήτευσαν τὴν Ἑβραίων νεότητα, παραιτίας γενομένας αὐτοῖς ἀκολασίας καὶ ἀσεβείας καὶ τὰ τελευταῖα θανάτου· νέοις δὲ κομιδῇ παισὶ καὶ παρθένοις συνέγνωσαν, ἀμνηστίαν τῆς ἡλικίας ἐφελκομένης.

- 312 Λείας δὲ πολλῆς ἄγαν εὐπορήσαντες ἔκ τε τῶν βασιλείων καὶ τῶν ἰδιωτικῶν οἰκιῶν, ἔτι δὲ τῶν κατ' ἀγροὺς ἐπαύλεων—ἦν γὰρ ἐν τοῖς χωρίοις οὐκ ἐλάττων τῆς ἐν τοῖς ἄστεσιν—, ἦκον εἰς τὸ στρατόπεδον ἐπηχθισμένοι τὸν παρὰ τῶν ἐχθρῶν πάντα
313 πλοῦτον. ἐπαινέσας δὲ Μωυσῆς τὸν τε στρατηγὸν Φινεὲς καὶ τοὺς παραταξαμένους ἐπὶ τε τοῖς κατορθώμασι καὶ ὅτι ταῖς ὠφελείαις οὐκ ἐπέδραμον τὴν λείαν μόνοι σφετερίσασθαι διανοηθέντες, ἀλλ' εἰς μέσον προὔθεσαν, ἵνα καὶ οἱ καταμείναντες ἐν ταῖς σκηναῖς μετάσχωσι, προστάττει τοὺς μὲν ἔξω τοῦ στρατοπέδου καταμένειν τινὰς ἡμέρας, τῷ δὲ μεγάλῳ ἱερεὶ καθᾶραι τοῦ φόνου τοὺς ἀπὸ τῆς
314 παρατάξεως ἦκοντας τῶν συμμάχων. καὶ γὰρ εἰ νόμιμοι αἱ κατ' ἐχθρῶν σφαγαί, ἀλλ' ὃ γε κτείνων ἄνθρωπον, εἰ καὶ δικαίως καὶ ἀμυνόμενος καὶ βιασθεὶς, ὑπαίτιος εἶναι δοκεῖ διὰ τὴν ἀνωτάτω καὶ κοινὴν συγγένειαν· οὗ χάριν καθαρσίῳν ἐδέησε τοῖς κτείνασι πρὸς ἀπαλλαγὴν τοῦ νομισθέντος ἄγους
315 γεγενῆσθαι. LVIII. μετ' οὐ πολὺν μὲν-

τοι χρόνον καὶ τὴν λείαν διένειμε, τοῖς μὲν στρατευ-
438

MOSES I. 311-315

they had ever been inhabited. And, having carried off prisoners more than they could count, they felt justified in putting the men and women to death, the former because these iniquitous designs and actions had been begun by them, the women because they had bewitched the younger Hebrews and thus led them into licentiousness and impiety and finally to death ; but to the boys who were quite young and the maidens they shewed the mercy which their tender age secured for them.

Having greatly enriched themselves with much 312
booty from the palaces and private houses, and also from the country homesteads, since there was as much to be got from the estates as from the cities, they returned to the camp laden with all the wealth obtained from their enemies. Moses praised the 313
general, Phinehas, and the combatants for their exploits, and also because they had not rushed to gain the prizes, nor thought of taking the spoil for themselves alone, but put it into a common stock, that those who had stayed behind in the tents might have their share. But he gave orders that they should stay outside the camp for some days, and that the high priest should purge from bloodshed those members of the united army who returned after being actually engaged. For, though the 314
slaughter of enemies is lawful, yet one who kills a man, even if he does so justly and in self-defence and under compulsion, has something to answer for, in view of the primal common kinship of mankind. And therefore purification was needed for the slayers, to absolve them from what was held to have been a pollution.

LVIII. However, after 315
a short time, he went on to distribute the spoil,

σαμένοις—ὀλίγος δ' ἀριθμὸς ἦσαν παρὰ τοὺς
 ἡσυχάσαντας—διδούς ἡμῖσι μέρος, θάτερον δὲ τοῖς
 καταμείναςιν ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ· δίκαιον γὰρ
 ὑπέλαβεν εἶναι καὶ τούτοις μεταδοῦναι τῆς ὠφελείας,
 εἰ καὶ μὴ τοῖς σώμασι, ταῖς γοῦν ψυχαῖς δι-
 αγωνισαμένοις· οἱ γὰρ ἔφεδροι τῶν ἀγωνιστῶν οὐκ
 ἐλαττούμενοι ταῖς προθυμίαις χρόνῳ καὶ τῷ φθα-
 316 σθῆναι μόνον ὑστερίζουσι. λαβόντων δὲ τῶν μὲν
 ὀλίγων πλείω διὰ τὸ προκινδυνεύσαι, τῶν δὲ
 [131] πλειόνων ἐλάττω διὰ | τὴν ἔνδον μονήν, ἔδοξεν
 ἀναγκαῖον εἶναι πάσης τῆς λείας τὰς ἀπαρχὰς
 καθιερώσαι· τὸ μὲν οὖν πεντηκοστὸν οἱ ἐφεδρεύ-
 σαντες, πεντακοσιοστὴν δὲ μοῖραν οἱ προπολεμή-
 σαντες εἰσῆνεγκαν· τῶν δ' ἀπαρχῶν τὰς μὲν παρὰ
 τῶν στρατευσαμένων τῷ μεγάλῳ ἱερεῖ προστάττει
 δοθῆναι, τὰς δὲ παρὰ τῶν καταμεινάντων ἐν τῷ
 στρατοπέδῳ τοῖς νεωκόροις, οἷς ὄνομα Λευῖται.
 317 χιλιάρχοι δὲ καὶ ἐκατόνταρχοι καὶ ὁ ἄλλος ὄμιλος
 λοχαγῶν καὶ ταξιαρχῶν ὑπὲρ τε τῆς αὐτῶν σωτη-
 ρίας καὶ τῶν συστρατευσαμένων καὶ τῆς παντὸς
 λόγου κρείττονος νίκης ἐθελονταὶ κομίζουσιν ἐξ-
 αιρέτους ἀπαρχάς, κόσμον τε χρυσοῦν ὅσον ἕκαστος
 ἐκ τῆς λείας ἀνεῦρε καὶ σκεύη πολυτελέστατα, ὧν
 πάλιν ὕλη χρυσὸς ἦν· ἃ Μωσῆς λαβὼν καὶ τὴν
 εὐσέβειαν τῶν φερόντων ἀγάμενος ἀνατίθησιν ἐν τῇ
 καθιερωμένῃ σκηνῇ τῆς εὐχαριστίας τῶν ἀνδρῶν
 318 ὑπόμνημα. παγκάλῃ δὲ ἡ διανομὴ τῶν ἀπαρχῶν·
 τὰς μὲν τῶν μὴ πεπολεμηκότων, ἡμίσειαν ἀρετῆς

MOSES I. 315-318

giving half to the campaigners, who were a small number compared with those who had remained inactive, while the other half he gave to those who had stayed in the camp. For he considered that it was just to give them a part of the prizes, seeing that their souls at least, if not their bodies, had taken part in the conflict. For reserve troops are not inferior in spirit to the actual fighters, but take a second place only in time and because the first place is preoccupied by others. And, now that the 316 few had taken more, because they were in the forefront of danger, and the many less, because they had remained in the camp, he thought it necessary to dedicate the firstfruits of all the spoil. So the reserves contributed a fiftieth, and those who had led the advance a five-hundredth. The offerings of the latter class he ordered to be given to the high priest, and those of the former class to the temple servants, who were called Levites. But the com- 317 manders of hundreds and thousands, and the rest of the company of officers who led the various divisions,^a voluntarily made a special offering of firstfruits in acknowledgement of the preservation of themselves and their fellow-combatants, and of the victory whose glory no words could describe. These offerings were all the golden ornaments which each of them obtained from the spoil, and very costly vessels also made of gold ; all of which Moses took, and, honouring the piety of the donors, laid them up in the consecrated tabernacle as a memorial of their thankfulness. Admirable indeed was the system of distributing the firstfruits. The tribute of the non-combatants, who 318

^a More literally "captain of regiments and brigades." The "taxiarch" is the higher of the two.

τὴν χωρὶς ἔργου προθυμίαν αὐτὸ μόνον ἐπιδειξα-
μένων, τοῖς νεωκόροις ἀπένειμε, τὰς δὲ τῶν ἀγωνι-
σαμένων, οἱ σώμασι καὶ ψυχαῖς ἐκινδύνευσαν ὁλό-
κληρον ἀνδραγαθίαν παρασχόμενοι, τῷ προεστηκότῃ
τῶν νεωκόρων ἱερεῖ τῷ μεγάλῳ, τὰς δὲ τῶν ταξι-
αρχῶν ἅτε ἡγεμονικὰς τῷ συμπάντων ἡγεμόνι θεῷ.

- 319 LIX. Πάντες οὗτοι διεπολεμήθησαν οἱ πόλεμοι,
μήπω διαβεβηκότων Ἰορδάνην τὸν ἐγχώριον ποτα-
μόν, πρὸς τοὺς τῆς ἀντιπέρας γῆς οἰκήτορας εὐ-
δαίμονος καὶ βαθείας, ἐν ᾗ πολλὴ πεδιάς σιτο-
320 φόρος καὶ χιλὸν κτήνεσιν ἐνεγκεῖν ἀγαθὴ. ταύτην
ὡς ἐθεάσαντο τὴν χώραν αἱ κτηνοτρόφοι δύο φυλαί,
μοῖρα τοῦ σύμπαντος ἕκτη στρατοῦ, Μωυσὴν ἰκέ-
τευον ἐπιτρέψαι τὰς κληρουχίας ἐνταυθοῖ λαβεῖν
αὐτὰς ἤδη ποτὲ ἰδρυθείσας¹ ἐπιτηδειότατον γὰρ
ἔφασκον εἶναι τὸν τόπον ἐννέμεσθαί τε καὶ ἐμ-
βόσκεσθαι θρέμμασιν εὐδρον ὄντα καὶ εὐχορτον καὶ
321 προβατευσίμην ἄφθονον πόαν ἀπαυτοματίζοντα. ὁ
δὲ νομίσας αὐτοὺς ἢ προεδρία τὴν διανομὴν τά τε
γέρα πρὸ καιροῦ λαμβάνειν ἀξιοῦν ἢ πρὸς τοὺς
μέλλοντας πολέμους ἀποκνεῖν, ἐφεδρευόντων ἔτι
πλειόνων βασιλέων, οἱ τὴν εἴσω τοῦ ποταμοῦ χώραν
διεκεκλήρωντο, πάνυ δυσχεράνας πρὸς ὀργὴν
322 ἀποκρίνεται καὶ φησιν· “ ὑμεῖς μὲν οὖν ἐνταυθοῖ
καθεδεῖσθε σχολὴν ἐν οὐ δέοντι καὶ ἀργίαν ἔξοντες,
τοὺς δ’ ὑμετέρους συγγενεῖς καὶ φίλους οἱ λειπό-
μενοι τραχηλιοῦσι πόλεμοι, καὶ τὰ μὲν ἄθλα μόνοις
ὑμῖν ὡς ἐπὶ κατωρθωμένοις πᾶσι δοθήσεται, μάχαι
[132] δὲ καὶ πόνοι καὶ | ταλαιπωρίαι καὶ οἱ ἀνωτάτω

¹ The text has not been questioned, but seems to me difficult. Presumably αὐτὰς . . . ἰδρυθείσας refers to φυλαί, not to κληρουχίας, but no example is given of this construction with ἐπιτρέπω. I should like to read αὐταῖς . . . ἰδρυθείσας.

had shewn a half-excellence by a zeal unaccompanied by action, he assigned to the temple servants; that of the fighters, who had hazarded bodies and souls, and thus displayed a complete measure of manly worth, he gave to the high priest, the president of the temple servants, that of the commanders of divisions, being the gift of captains, to the captain all, even God.

LIX. ^a All these wars were fought and won without 319 crossing the river of the land, the Jordan, against the inhabitants of the rich and deep-soiled country on the outer side, where there was much expanse of plain fit for growing corn and providing excellent fodder for cattle. When the two cattle-breeding 320 tribes, who were a sixth part of the whole host, surveyed this country, they besought Moses to let them take their allotments there and settle down at once; for the region, they said, was very well suited to give pasturage and grazing to cattle, being well supplied with water and grassland and producing of itself abundance of herbage for maintaining sheep. Moses, 321 however, considered that they were either claiming to have precedence in the distribution and to take their prizes before they were due, or else were shirking the wars which awaited them, where more kings, whose possessions were situated on the inner side of the river, were still lying ready to resist them. Consequently, he was greatly incensed, and answered them angrily in these words: "Are you, then, to 322 settle down here to enjoy an undeserved leisure and idleness, leaving your kinsfolk and friends to the agony of the wars which still remain? And are the prizes to be given to you alone, as though success was complete, while battles and labours and tribula-

^a For §§ 319-333 see Num. xxxii.

- 323 κίνδυνοι ἑτέρους ἀναμενούσιν; ἀλλ' οὐ δίκαιον
 ὑμᾶς μὲν εἰρήνην καὶ τὰ ἐκ τῆς εἰρήνης ἀγαθὰ
 καρποῦσθαι, τοὺς δ' ἄλλους πολέμοις καὶ κακοῖς
 ἀμυνθήτοις ἐναθλεῖν, οὐδὲ προσθήκην τὸ ὅλον μέρους
 εἶναι· τούναντίον γὰρ ἕνεκα τῶν ὅλων τὰ μέρη
 324 κληρονομίας ἀξιοῦται. πάντες ἐστὲ ἰσότημοι, γένος
 ἓν, οἱ αὐτοὶ πατέρες, οἰκία μία, ἔθνη τὰ αὐτά,
 κοινωνία νόμων, ἄλλα μυρία, ὧν ἕκαστον τὴν
 οἰκειότητα συνδεῖ καὶ πρὸς εὖνοιαν ἀρμόζεται. διὰ
 τί δὴ τῶν ἴσων ἐν τοῖς μεγίστοις καὶ ἀναγκαιοτά-
 τοις ἀξιοθέντες ἐν ταῖς διανομαῖς πλεονεκτήσετε, ὥς
 ἢ ἄρχοντες ὑπηκόων ἢ δεσπόται δούλων κατα-
 325 φρονήσαντες; ἔδει μὲν ὑμᾶς ταῖς ἑτέρων πληγαῖς
 πεπαιδευθῆναι· φρονίμων γὰρ ἀνδρῶν μὴ ἀναμένειν,
 ἄχρισ ἂν ἐπ' αὐτοὺς ἔλθῃ τὰ δεινὰ· νυνὶ δὲ παρα-
 δείγματ' ἔχοντες οἰκεῖα τοὺς πατέρας, οἱ κατ-
 εσκεψάντο τήνδε τὴν χώραν, καὶ τὰς ἐκείνων
 συμφορὰς καὶ τῶν συναπονοηθέντων—ἅπαντες γὰρ
 ἕξω δυοῖν ἀπώλοντο—, δέον μηδενὶ τῶν ὁμοίων
 συνεπιγράφεσθαι, δειλίαν, ὧ κενοὶ φρενῶν, ζηλοῦτε
 ὥς οὐκ εὐαλωτότεροι γενησόμενοι καὶ τὰς προ-
 θυμίας ὑποσκελίζετε τῶν ἀνδραγαθίζεσθαι προ-
 326 φρονήματα. τοιγάρτοι σπεύδοντες ἀμαρτάνειν σπεύ-
 σετε καὶ πρὸς τιμωρίας· ἡ γὰρ δίκη μόλις μὲν
 εἴωθε κινεῖσθαι, κινηθεῖσα δ' ἅπαξ φθάνει προ-
 327 καταλαμβάνουσα τοὺς ἀποδιδράσκοντας. ὅταν οὖν

^a Lit. "and is fitted to goodwill," i.e. fitted to take part in producing goodwill.

^b The thought is taken from v. 23 (in Moses' second

tion and supreme dangers await the others? Nay, 323
 it is not just that you should reap peace and its blessings, while the others are struggling with wars and countless ills, or that the whole should be a mere appendage to the parts, whereas, on the contrary, it is only on the merits of the whole that the parts are held deserving of their portion. You have all equal 324
 rights with us ; one race, the same fathers, one house, the same customs, community of laws, and other things innumerable, each of which strengthens the tie of kinship and the harmony of goodwill.^a Why, then, when you have been adjudged an equal share in the greatest and most vital matters, should you seek an unfair preference in the distribution, with the arrogance which a ruler might shew to his subjects or a master to his slaves? You ought, indeed, 325
 to have learnt a lesson from the blows which others have suffered ; for wise men do not wait till the calamity is upon them. As it is, though your own kin supplies you with examples of warning in your fathers who inspected this land, and in the misfortune of them and those who shared their craven-heartedness, all of whom perished save two, though you should not let your name be associated with any such as these, so senseless are you that you follow after cowardice and forget that it will make you an easier prey. And you upset the ardent resolution of those who are fully disposed to manliness, whose spirits you paralyse and unnerve. Therefore, in hastening to sin, you will be 326
 hastening to punishment also ;^b for it is the way of justice to be slow to move, but, when it is once moved, it overtakes and seizes the fugitives. When all the 327

speech). LXX "you shall know your sin, when evils overtake you." E.V. "and be sure your sin will find you out."

ἅπαντες μὲν οἱ ἐχθροὶ καθαιρεθῶσιν, ἔφεδρος δὲ μηδεὶς ἔτι προσδοκᾶται πόλεμος, ἐν δὲ ταῖς εὐθύναις ἀνεπίληπτοι δοκιμασθῶσιν οἱ σύμμαχοι, μὴ λιποτάξιον, μὴ λιποστράτιον, μηδὲν ἄλλο τῶν ἐφ' ἣττη διαπεπραγμένοι, παραμεμενηκότες δ' ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἄχρι τέλους φαίνονται καὶ τοῖς σώμασι καὶ ταῖς προθυμίαις, ἐρημωθῇ δὲ πᾶσα ἡ χώρα τῶν προενωκηκότων, τηνικαῦτα δοθήσεται τὰ γέρα καὶ τὰ ἀριστεία ταῖς φυλαῖς ἐξ ἴσου."

- 328 LX. Τὴν δὲ νουθεσίαν πράως ἐνεγκόντες ὡς υἱοὶ γνήσιοι σφόδρα εὖνου πατρὸς—ἤδεσαν γὰρ αὐτὸν οὐ καταλαζονεούμενον ἀρχῆς ἐξουσία, προκηδόμενον δὲ πάντων καὶ δικαιοσύνην καὶ ἰσότητα τιμῶντα καὶ τὸ μισοπόνηρον οὐκ ἐπ' ὀνειδὲι σωφρονισμῷ δὲ τῶν βελτιοῦσθαι δυναμένων αἰεὶ ποιούμενον¹—"εἰκότως μὲν" ἔφασαν "ἀγανακτεῖς, εἰ τοῦθ' ὑπέληφας, ὅτι τὴν συμμαχίαν ἀπολιπόντες
- 329 πρὸ καιροῦ τὰς λήξεις λαβεῖν ἐπειγόμεθα. χρὴ δὲ σαφῶς εἰδέναι, ὅτι οὐδὲν ἡμᾶς φοβεῖ τῶν σὺν ἀρετῇ, κἂν ἐπιπονώτατον τυγχάνῃ. κρίνομεν δ'
- [133] ἀρετῆς ἔργα, πειθαρχεῖν τέ | σοι τοιῷδε ἡγεμόνι καὶ τῶν δεινῶν μὴ ὑστερίζειν καὶ ἐν ἀπάσαις ἐξετάζεσθαι ταῖς μελλούσαις στρατείαις, ἄχρις ἂν
- 330 τὰ πράγματα λάβῃ τέλος αἴσιον. ἡμεῖς μὲν οὖν καθὰ καὶ πρότερον συνταξάμενοι διαβησόμεθα τὸν Ἰορδάνην ἐν ταῖς παντευχίαις, οὐδενὶ τῶν ὀπλιτῶν πρόφασιν παρασχόντες μονῆς· υἱοὶ δὲ κομιδῇ νῆπιοι καὶ θυγατέρες καὶ γυναῖκες καὶ τὸ πλήθος τῶν

¹ Cohn and Mangey both question this use of ποιούμενον, but do not propose any satisfactory emendation. Perhaps

MOSES I. 327-330

enemies are destroyed, and there is no prospect of war still awaiting us ; when all the confederates have on scrutiny been found guiltless of desertion from the ranks or from the army, or of any other action which is the sequel of defeat, but have proved their constancy both of body and spirit from first to last ; when finally the whole country has been cleared of its former inhabitants, then will the prizes and rewards for valour be given to the tribes on equal terms."

LX. The two tribes listened to this admonition 328
meekly, as true-born sons to a very kindly father. For they knew that he did not speak with an arrogance founded on official authority, but out of solicitude for them all and respect for justice and equality, and that his detestation of evil was never meant to cast reproach but always to bring those capable of improvement to a better mind. "You are naturally indignant," they replied, "if you have got the idea that we are eager to leave the confederacy and take our portions before they are due. But you must 329
clearly understand that no form of virtuous conduct, however toilsome it may be, alarms us. And by virtuous conduct we understand that we should obey you, great leader as you are, and be backward in no danger, and take our place in all the coming campaigns until the happy consummation is reached. We will, therefore, as before, take our place in the 330
ranks, and cross Jordan with our full equipment, and give none of our armed men any excuse to stay behind ; but our sons who are mere children and our daughters and our wives and our great stock of cattle

τὸ μισοπρόηρον <ὡς ὅν> . . . ποιούμενον ("deeming to be")
would accord with the ordinary usage of the middle.

βοσκημάτων, εἰς ἐπιτρέψης, ὑπολελείφονται, παισὶ μὲν καὶ γυναιξὶν οἰκίας ἐπαύλεις δὲ θρέμμασι κατασκευασάντων ἡμῶν, ἵνα μηδὲν ἐξ ἐπιδρομῆς δεινὸν πάθωσιν ἐν ἀτειχίστοις καὶ ἀφρουρήτοις προκαταληφθέντες.”

- 331 “Ὁ δ’ ἔλεω τῷ βλέμματι καὶ πραοτέρᾳ τῇ φωνῇ “ἄψευδοῦσιν ὑμῖν” ἔφη “βέβαιοι μενοῦσιν ὥς ἡτήσασθε λήξεις. ὑπολείπεσθε μὲν ὡς ἀξιούτε γυναῖκας καὶ παῖδας καὶ βοσκήματα, κατὰ λόχους δ’ αὐτοὶ διαβαίνετε μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων ὥπλισμένοι καὶ ἐκτεταγμένοι πρὸς μάχην ὡς αὐτίκα, ἣν δέη, 332 πολεμήσοντες. αὐθις δ’ ὅταν ἅπαντες οἱ ἐχθροὶ καθαιρεθῶσι καὶ γενομένης εἰρήνης τὴν χώραν οἱ κεκρατηκότες διανείμονται, καὶ ὑμεῖς ἐπανελεύσεσθε πρὸς τοὺς οἰκείους τῶν ἐπιβαλλόντων ἀπολαύσοντας ἀγαθῶν καὶ καρπωσόμενοι ἣν εἴλεσθε 333 μοῖραν.” ταῦτ’ εἰπόντος καὶ ὑποσχομένου, πληρωθέντες εὐθυμίας καὶ χαρᾶς τοὺς μὲν οἰκείους μετὰ τῶν θρεμμάτων ἀσφαλῶς ἐν ἐρύμασι δυσαλώτοις, ὧν τὰ πλείστα χειροποίητα ἦν, ἰδρύονται, τὰ δ’ ὄπλα ἀναλαβόντες ἐξέθεον τῶν ἄλλων συμμάχων προθυμότερον ὥς ἢ μόνοι πολεμήσοντες ἢ προαγωνιούμενοι πάντων¹. ὁ γὰρ προλαβὼν τινα δωρεὰν προθυμότερος εἰς συμμαχίαν, ἀποτίνειν ἀναγκαῖον ὄφλημα νομίζων, οὐ χαρίζεσθαι.
- 334 Τὰ μὲν δὴ κατὰ τὴν βασιλείαν πεπραγμένα αὐτῷ μεμνήνται· λεκτέον δ’ ἐξῆς καὶ ὅσα διὰ τῆς ἀρχιερωσύνης καὶ νομοθετικῆς κατώρθωσε· καὶ γὰρ ταύτας περιεποίησατο τὰς δυνάμεις ὡς ἀρμοστούσας μάλιστα βασιλείᾳ.

¹ MSS. πάντως.

MOSES I. 330-334

will be left behind, if you permit, after we have built houses for the women and children and sheds for the animals, since otherwise, caught before we return, in a position unfortified and unprotected, they might meet with disaster at the hands of raiders."

Moses' face was kindly and his tones milder, as he 331 replied as follows : " If you are true to your words, the apportionments which you have asked shall remain secure to you. Leave your women and children and cattle, as you demand, and cross the river yourselves in your battalions with the rest, fully armed and arrayed for the fight, ready to engage at once if necessary. Later, when all the enemy are destroyed, 332 and, peace having been made, the victors divide the land, you too will return to your people to enjoy the good things that fall to your share and reap the fruits of the lot that you have chosen." When they heard 333 these promises from his lips, filled with joy and courage, they settled their people and cattle safely in positions strongly protected against assault, in most cases by artificial fortifications. Then, taking up their arms, they rushed to the field more eagerly than the other confederates, as though they would wage the war alone or at any rate be the first of all to enter the conflict. For the acceptance of a gift beforehand increases a man's readiness to support his comrades. He feels that he is not a free giver, but is repaying a debt which he cannot escape.

We have now told the story of Moses' actions in his 334 capacity of king. We must next deal with all that he achieved by his powers as high priest and legislator, powers which he possessed as the most fitting accompaniments of kingship.

ΠΕΡΙ ΤΟΥ ΒΙΟΥ ΜΩΥΣΕΩΣ ΛΟΓΟΣ ΔΕΥΤΕΡΟΣ

[134]

- 1 Ἰ. Ἡ μὲν προτέρα σύνταξις ἐστὶ περὶ γενέσεως
τῆς Μωυσέως καὶ τροφῆς, ἔτι δὲ παιδείας καὶ
ἀρχῆς, ἣν οὐ μόνον ἀνεπιλήπτως ἀλλὰ καὶ σφόδρα
ἐπαινετῶς ἤρξε, καὶ τῶν ἐν τε Αἰγύπτῳ καὶ ταῖς
ὁδοιπορίαις ἐπὶ τε τῆς ἐρυθρᾶς θαλάσσης καὶ κατὰ
τὴν ἐρήμην πεπραγμένων, ἃ δύναμιν πᾶσαν λόγων
ὑπερβάλλει, καὶ προσέτι πόνων οὓς κατώρθωσε καὶ
κληρουχιῶν ἃς ἐκ μέρους ἀπένειμε τοῖς στρατευσα-
μένοις· ἦν δὲ νυνὶ συντάττομεν, περὶ τῶν ἐπομένων
2 καὶ ἀκολουθῶν. φασὶ γάρ τινες οὐκ ἀπὸ σκοποῦ,
μόνως ἂν οὕτω τὰς πόλεις ἐπιδοῦναι πρὸς τὸ
βέλτιον, εἰάν <ἦ> οἱ βασιλεῖς φιλοσοφήσωσιν ἢ οἱ
φιλόσοφοι βασιλεύσωσιν. ὁ δ' ἐκ περιττοῦ φανεῖται
μὴ μόνον ταύτας ἐπιδεδειγμένους τὰς δυνάμεις ἐν
ταυτῷ, τὴν τε βασιλικὴν καὶ φιλόσοφον, ἀλλὰ καὶ
τρεῖς ἑτέρας, ὧν ἡ μὲν πραγματεύεται περὶ νομο-
[135] θεσιαν, ἡ | δὲ περὶ ἀρχιερωσύνην, ἡ δὲ τελευταία
3 περὶ προφητείαν. περὶ ὧν νυνὶ λέγειν εἰλόμην
ἀναγκαίως ὑπολαβὼν τῷ αὐτῷ πάντ' ἐφαρμόττειν·
ἐγένετο γὰρ προνοία θεοῦ βασιλεὺς τε καὶ νομο-
θέτης καὶ ἀρχιερεὺς καὶ προφήτης καὶ ἐν ἐκάστῳ

^a Plato, *Rep.* v. 473 D.

ON THE LIFE OF MOSES, BOOK II

I. The former treatise dealt with the birth and 1
nurture of Moses ; also with his education and career
as a ruler, in which capacity his conduct was not
merely blameless but highly praiseworthy ; also
with the works which he performed in Egypt and
during the journeys both at the Red Sea and in the
wilderness—works which no words can adequately
describe ; further, with the troubles which he suc-
cessfully surmounted, and with his partial distribu-
tion of territories to the combatants. The present
treatise is concerned with matters allied and conse-
quent to these. For it has been said, not without 2
good reason, that states can only make progress in
well-being if either kings are philosophers or philo-
sophers are kings.^a But Moses will be found to
have displayed, and more than displayed, com-
bined in his single person, not only these two faculties
—the kingly and the philosophical—but also three
others, one of which is concerned with law-giving,
the second with the high priest's office, and the last
with prophecy. On these three I have now elected 3
to write, being forced to the conviction that it is
fitting that they should be combined in the same
person. For Moses, through God's providence,
became king and lawgiver and high priest and
prophet ; and in each function he won the highest

τὰ πρωτεῖα ἡνέγκατο· διὰ τί δὲ τῷ αὐτῷ πάντ' ἐφ-
 4 αρμόττει, δηλωτέον. βασιλεῖ προσήκει προστάττειν
 ἃ χρὴ καὶ ἀπαγορεύειν ἃ μὴ χρὴ· πρόσταξις δὲ
 τῶν πρακτέων καὶ ἀπαγόρευσις τῶν οὐ πρακτέων
 ἴδιον νόμον, ὥς εὐθὺς εἶναι τὸν μὲν βασιλέα νόμον
 5 ἔμφυχον, τὸν δὲ νόμον βασιλέα δίκαιον. βασιλεὺς
 δὲ καὶ νομοθέτης ὀφείλει μὴ τάνθρωπεια μόνον
 ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰ θεῖα συνεπισκοπεῖν· οὐ γὰρ ἄνευ θείας
 ἐπιφροσύνης κατορθοῦνται τὰ βασιλέων καὶ ὑπηκόων
 πράγματα· δι' ἣν αἰτίαν ἐδέησε τῷ τοιούτῳ τῆς
 πρώτης ἱερωσύνης, ἣν ἐπὶ τελείοις ἱεροῖς καὶ
 ἐπιστήμῃ τελείᾳ τῆς τοῦ θεοῦ θεραπείας ἀποτροπὴν
 μὲν κακῶν μετουσίαν δ' ἀγαθῶν αὐτῷ τε καὶ τοῖς
 ἀρχομένοις αἰτῆται παρὰ τοῦ ἱλεω καὶ ταῖς εὐχαῖς
 συνεπινεύοντος· πῶς γὰρ οὐ τελεσφορήσει τὰς εὐ-
 χὰς ὁ καὶ ἐκ φύσεως εὐμενὴς καὶ τοὺς γνησίως
 θεραπεύοντας αὐτὸν προνομίας ἀξιῶν;
 6 ἀλλ' ἐπειδὴ μυρία καὶ βασιλεῖ καὶ νομοθέτῃ καὶ
 ἀρχιερεῖ τῶν ἀνθρωπείων καὶ θείων ἁδηλα—γε-
 νητὸς γὰρ οὐδὲν ἥττον καὶ θνητὸς ἐστίν, εἰ καὶ
 τοσοῦτον καὶ οὕτως ἄφθονον περιβέβληται κλῆρον
 εὐπραγιῶν—, ἀναγκαίως καὶ προφητείας ἔτυχεν, ἣν
 ὅσα μὴ λογισμῷ δύναται καταλαμβάνειν, ταῦτα
 προνοία θεοῦ εὖροι· ὧν γὰρ ὁ νοῦς ἀπολείπεται,
 7 πρὸς ταῦθ' ἡ προφητεία φθάνει. καλὴ γε ἡ συζυγία
 καὶ παναρμόνιος τῶν τεττάρων δυνάμεων· ἐμ-
 πλεκόμεναι γὰρ καὶ ἀλλήλων ἐχόμεναι συγχορεύουσι
 τὰς ὠφελείας ἀντιλαμβάνουσαί τε καὶ ἀντεκ-
 τίνουσαι, μιμούμεναι τὰς παρθένους Χάριτας, αἷς
 μὴ διαζεύγνυσθαι νόμος φύσεως ἀκίνητος· ἐφ' ὧν

^a Cf. *De Abr.* 5 and note, and see App. p. 605.

MOSES II. 3-7

place. But why it is fitting that they should all be combined in the same person needs explanation. It is a king's duty to command what is right ⁴ and forbid what is wrong. But to command what should be done and to forbid what should not be done is the peculiar function of law; so that it follows at once that the king is a living law, and the law a just king.^a But a king and lawgiver ought to ⁵ have under his purview not only human but divine things; for, without God's directing care, the affairs of kings and subjects cannot go aright. And therefore such as he needs the chief priest-hood, so that, fortified with perfect rites and the perfect knowledge of the service of God, he may ask that he and those whom he rules may receive prevention of evil and participation in good from the gracious Being Who assents to prayers. For surely that Being will grant fulfilment to prayers, seeing that He is kindly by nature and deems worthy of His special favour those ⁶ who give Him genuine service.

But, since ⁶ to this king, lawgiver and high priest who, though possessed of so generous a heritage of fortune's gifts, is after all but a mortal creature, countless things both human and divine are wrapped in obscurity, Moses necessarily obtained prophecy also, in order that through the providence of God he might discover what by reasoning he could not grasp. For prophecy finds its way to what the mind fails to reach. ⁷ Beautiful and all-harmonious is the union of these four faculties; for, intertwined and clinging to each other, they move in rhythmic concord, mutually receiving and repaying benefits, and thus imitate the virgin Graces whom an immutable law of nature forbids to be separated. And of them it may be justly

δεόντως εἴποι τις ἄν, ὃ καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν ἀρετῶν εἴωθε λέγεσθαι, ὅτι ὁ μίαν ἔχων καὶ πάσας ἔχει.

- 8 II. Ῥητέον δὲ πρῶτον περὶ τῶν κατὰ τὴν νομοθετικὴν ἔξιν. οὐκ ἀγνοῶ μὲν οὖν, ὅτι τῷ μέλλοντι ἀρίστῳ γενήσεσθαι νομοθέτῃ προσήκει παντελέσι καὶ ὁλοκλήροις κεχρῆσθαι ταῖς ἀρεταῖς πάσαις· ἐπεὶ δὲ καὶ ταῖς οἰκίαις οἱ μὲν ἐγγυτάτῳ γένους εἰσὶν, οἱ δὲ πόρρω, συγγενεῖς δὲ πάντες ἀλλήλων, καὶ τῶν ἀρετῶν τὰς μὲν προσπεφυκέναι νομιστέον
- 9 μᾶλλον ἐνίοις πράγμασι, τὰς δ' ἥττον ὤκειῶσθαι.
- [136] νομοθετικῇ δ' ἀδελφὰ καὶ συγγενῇ τέτταρα ταυτὶ διαφερόντως ἐστί· τὸ φιλάνθρωπον, τὸ φιλοδίκαιον, τὸ φιλάγαθον, τὸ μισοπόνηρον· ὑπὸ γὰρ τούτων ἐκάστου παρακαλεῖται πᾶς, ὅτῳ ζῆλος εἰσέρχεται τοῦ νομοθετεῖν, φιланθρωπίας μὲν εἰς μέσον προτιθέναι τὰς κοινωφελεῖς γνώμας ἀναδιδασκούσης, δικαιοσύνης δὲ ὡς ἰσότητα τιμητέον καὶ ὡς τὸ κατ' ἀξίαν ἀπονεμητέον ἐκάστοις, φιλαγαθίας δ' ἀποδέχεσθαι τὰ φύσει καλὰ καὶ παρέχειν ἅπασιν τοῖς ἀξίοις ἀταμίευτα πρὸς ἀφθονωτάτην χρῆσιν, μισοπονηρίας δὲ προβεβλήσθαι τοὺς ἀτιμάζοντας ἀρετὴν καὶ ὡς κοινούς δυσμενεῖς τοῦ τῶν ἀνθρώπων
- 10 γένους ὑποβλέπεσθαι. μέγα μὲν οὖν, εἴ τῳ καὶ ἔν τι τῶν λεχθέντων λαβεῖν ἐγένετο, θαυμαστὸν δ' ὡς ἔοικε τούτων ἀθρόων περιδράξασθαι δυνηθῆναι, οὐ μόνος Μωυσῆς ἐφικέσθαι δοκεῖ τρανώσας εἰ μάλᾳ
- 11 τὰς εἰρημένας ἀρετὰς ἐν οἷς διετάξατο. συνίσασι δ' οἱ ταῖς ἱεραῖς βίβλοις ἐντυγχάνοντες, ἃς οὐκ ἄν, εἰ μὴ τοιοῦτος ἐπεφύκει, συνέγραψεν ὑψηγησαμένου θεοῦ καὶ παρέδωκε τοῖς ἀξίοις χρῆσθαι, κτημάτων

^a Cf. Diog. Laert. vii. 125.

MOSES II. 7-11

said, what is often said of the virtues, that to have one is to have all.^a

II. First, we must speak of the legislative condition of mind. I know, indeed, that he who is to obtain excellence as a legislator should possess all the virtues fully and completely. But, since also in households there are some very nearly and others only distantly connected with the family, though all are akin to each other, so too we must suppose that some virtues are more closely associated with some situations, while others have less affinity. The legislative faculty has for its brothers and close kinsfolk these four in particular : love of humanity, of justice, of goodness, and hatred of evil. Each of these has its message of encouragement for everyone who is inspired with a zeal for law-making. By love of humanity he is bidden to produce for public use his thoughts for the common weal ; by justice to honour equality and to render to every man his due ; by love of goodness to approve of things naturally excellent, and to supply them without reserve to all who are worthy of them for their unstinted use ; by hatred of evil to spurn the dishonourers of virtue, and frown upon them as the common enemies of the human race. It is no small thing if it is given to any one to acquire even one of these—a marvel surely that he should be able to grasp them all together. And to this Moses alone appears to have attained, who shews distinctly these aforesaid virtues in his ordinances. They know this well who read the sacred books, which, unless he was such as we have said, he would never have composed under God's guidance and handed on for the use of those who are worthy to use them, to be their fairest pos-

τὸ κάλλιστον, τῶν ἀγαλματοφορουμένων ἐν τῇ ψυχῇ παραδειγμάτων ἀπεικονίσματα καὶ μιμήματα, ἃ καὶ οἱ δηλωθέντες νόμοι γεγόνασι σαφέστατα τὰς λεχθείσας ἐμφαίνοντες ἀρετάς.

- 12 III. "Ὅτι δ' αὐτός τε νομοθετῶν ἄριστος τῶν πανταχοῦ πάντων, ὅσοι παρ' Ἑλλήσιν ἢ βαρβάροις ἐγένοντο, καὶ οἱ νόμοι κάλλιστοι καὶ ὡς ἀληθῶς θεῖοι μηδὲν ὦν χρή παραλιπόντες, ἐναργεστάτη
- 13 πίστις ἦδε· τὰ μὲν τῶν ἄλλων νόμιμα εἴ τις ἐπίοι τῷ λογισμῷ, διὰ μυρίας προφάσεις εὐρήσει κεκινημένα, πολέμοις ἢ τυραννίσιν ἢ τισιν ἄλλοις ἀβουλήτοις, ἃ νεωτερισμῷ τύχης κατασκήπτει· πολλάκις δὲ καὶ τρυφῇ πλεονάσασα χορηγίαις καὶ περιουσίαις ἀφθόνοις καθεῖλε νόμους, "τὰ λίαν ἀγαθὰ" τῶν πολλῶν φέρειν οὐ δυναμένων, ἀλλὰ διὰ κόρον
- 14 ἐξυβριζόντων· ὕβρις δ' ἀντίπαλον νόμῳ. τὰ δὲ τούτου μόνου βέβαια, ἀσάλευτα, ἀκράδαντα, καθάπερ σφραγίσαι φύσεως αὐτῆς σεσημασμένα, μένει παγίως ἀφ' ἧς ἡμέρας ἐγράφη μέχρι νῦν καὶ πρὸς τὸν ἔπειτα πάντα διαμενεῖν ἐλπίς αὐτὰ αἰῶνα ὥσπερ ἀθάνατα, ἕως ἂν ἥλιος καὶ σελήνη καὶ ὁ σύμπας
- 15 οὐρανός τε καὶ κόσμος ᾗ. τοσαύταις γοῦν χρησάμενου τοῦ ἔθνους μεταβολαῖς κατὰ τε εὐπραγίας καὶ τούναντίον, οὐδὲν ἄλλ' οὐδὲ τὸ μικρότατον
- [137] τῶν | διατεταγμένων ἐκινήθη, πάντων ὡς ἔοικε τὸ
- 16 σεμνὸν καὶ θεοπρεπὲς αὐτῶν ἐκτετιμηκότων. ἃ δὲ μὴ λιμός ἢ λοιμός ἢ πόλεμος ἢ βασιλεὺς ἢ τύραννος ἢ ψυχῆς ἢ σώματος ἢ παθῶν ἢ κακιῶν ἐπανάστασις ἢ τι ἄλλο θεήλατον ἢ ἀνθρώπειον κακὸν ἔλυσε, πῶς οὐ περιμάχητα καὶ παντὸς λόγου κρείττονα καθ-

° See *De Abr.* 134 and note.

MOSES II. 11-16

session, likenesses and copies of the patterns enshrined in the soul, as also are the laws set before us in these books, which shew so clearly the said virtues.

III. That Moses himself was the best of all law-givers in all countries, better in fact than any that have ever arisen among either the Greeks or the barbarians, and that his laws are most excellent and truly come from God, since they omit nothing that is needful, is shewn most clearly by the following proof. Anyone who takes a considered view of the institutions of other peoples will find that they have been unsettled by numberless causes—wars, tyrannies or other mishaps—which the revolutions of fortune have launched upon them. Often, too, luxury, growing to excess by lavish supplies of superfluities, has upset the laws; because the mass of people, being unable to bear “good things in excess,”^a becomes surfeited and consequently violent: and violence is the enemy of law. But Moses is alone in this, that his laws, firm, unshaken, immovable, stamped, as it were, with the seals of nature herself, remain secure from the day when they were first enacted to now, and we may hope that they will remain for all future ages as though immortal, so long as the sun and moon and the whole heaven and universe exist. Thus, though the nation has undergone so many changes, both to increased prosperity and the reverse, nothing—not even the smallest part of the ordinances—has been disturbed; because all have clearly paid high honour to their venerable and godlike character. But which no famine nor pestilence nor war nor king nor tyrant, no rebel assault of soul or body or passion or vice, nor any other evil whether of God’s sending or man’s making, could undo, must surely be precious

- 17 ἔστηκεν; IV. ἀλλ' οὐπω τοῦτο θαυμα-
 στόν, καίτοι μέγα καθ' αὐτὸ δεόντως ἂν νομισθέν,
 τὸ ἐξ ἅπαντος τοῦ χρόνου πεφυλάχθαι τοὺς νόμους
 ἐν βεβαίῳ· ἀλλ' ἐκείνο θαυμασιώτερον, ὡς ἔοικε,
 τὸ μὴ μόνον Ἰουδαίους ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους
 σχεδὸν ἅπαντας καὶ μάλιστα οἷς ἀρετῆς πλείων
 λόγος πρὸς τὴν ἀποδοχὴν αὐτῶν καὶ τιμὴν ὠσιῶ-
 σθαι· γέρας γὰρ τοῦτ' ἔλαχον ἐξαίρετον, ὃ μηδενὶ
 18 πρόσσεστιν ἐτέρῳ. σημεῖον δέ· τῶν κατὰ τὴν
 Ἑλλάδα καὶ βάρβαρον, ὡς ἔπος εἰπεῖν, οὐδεμία
 πόλις ἐστίν, ἥ τὰ ἐτέρας νόμιμα τιμᾷ, μόλις δὲ καὶ
 τῶν αὐτῆς εἰς αἰεὶ περιέχεται, πρὸς τὰς τῶν καιρῶν
 καὶ τῶν πραγμάτων μεθαρμοζομένη τροπὰς.
 19 Ἀθηναῖοι τὰ Λακεδαιμονίων ἔθνη καὶ νόμιμα
 προβέβληνται καὶ Λακεδαιμόνιοι τὰ Ἀθηναίων·
 ἀλλ' οὐδὲ κατὰ τὴν βάρβαρον Αἰγύπτιοι τοὺς
 Σκυθῶν νόμους φυλάττουσιν ἢ Σκύθαι τοὺς Αἰγυ-
 πτίων ἢ συνελόντι φράσαι τοὺς τῶν κατ' Εὐρώπην
 οἱ τὴν Ἀσίαν οἰκοῦντες ἢ τοὺς τῶν Ἀσιανῶν
 ἔθνων οἱ ἐν Εὐρώπῃ· ἀλλὰ σχεδὸν οἱ ἀφ' ἡλίου
 ἀνιόντος ἄχρι δυομένου, πᾶσα χώρα καὶ ἔθνος καὶ
 πόλις, τῶν ξενικῶν νομίμων ἀλλοτριοῦνται καὶ
 οἶονται τὴν τῶν οἰκείων ἀποδοχὴν, εἰ τὰ παρὰ τοῖς
 20 ἄλλοις ἀτιμάζοιεν, συναυξήσειν. ἀλλ' οὐχ ὧδ'
 ἔχει τὰ ἡμέτερα· πάντας γὰρ ἐπάγεται καὶ συν-
 επιστρέφει, βαρβάρους, Ἑλληνας, ἡπειρώτας, νησιώ-
 τας, ἔθνη τὰ ἐϋα, τὰ ἐσπέρια, Εὐρώπην, Ἀσίαν,
 ἅπασαν τὴν οἰκουμένην ἀπὸ περάτων ἐπὶ πέρατα.
 21 τίς γὰρ τὴν ἱερὰν ἐκείνην ἐβδόμην οὐκ
 ἐκτετίμηκεν, ἀνεσιν πόνων καὶ ῥαστώνῃν αὐτῷ τε

MOSES II. 17-21

beyond what words can describe. IV.
 Yet, though it may be rightly thought a great 17
 matter in itself that the laws should have been
 guarded securely through all time, we have not
 reached the true marvel. There is something surely
 still more wonderful—even this : not only Jews but
 almost every other people, particularly those which
 take more account of virtue, have so far grown in
 holiness as to value and honour our laws. In this
 they have received a special distinction which belongs
 to no other code. Here is the proof. Throughout 18
 the world of Greeks and barbarians, there is practi-
 cally no state which honours the institutions of any
 other. Indeed, they can scarcely be said to retain
 their own perpetually, as they adapt them to meet
 the vicissitudes of times and circumstances. The 19
 Athenians reject the customs and institutions of the
 Lacedaemonians, and the Lacedaemonians those of
 the Athenians ; nor, in the world of the barbarians,
 do the Egyptians maintain the laws of the Scythians
 nor the Scythians those of the Egyptians—nor, to put
 it generally, Europeans those of Asiatics nor Asiatics
 those of Europeans. We may fairly say that man-
 kind from east to west, every country and nation and
 state, shew aversion to foreign institutions, and think
 that they will enhance the respect for their own by
 shewing disrespect for those of other countries. It 20
 is not so with ours. They attract and win the atten-
 tion of all, of barbarians, of Greeks, of dwellers on the
 mainland and islands, of nations of the east and the
 west, of Europe and Asia, of the whole inhabited
 world from end to end. For, who has not 21
 shewn his high respect for that sacred seventh day,
 by giving rest and relaxation from labour to himself

- καὶ τοῖς πλησιάζουσιν, οὐκ ἐλευθέροις μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ δούλοις, μᾶλλον δὲ καὶ ὑποζυγίοις διδούς;
- 22 φθάνει γὰρ ἡ ἐκεχειρία καὶ πρὸς πᾶσαν ἀγέλην καὶ ὅσα πρὸς ὑπηρεσίαν γέγονεν ἀνθρώπου καθάπερ δούλα θεραπεύοντα τὸν φύσει δεσπότην, φθάνει καὶ πρὸς δένδρων καὶ φυτῶν ἅπασαν ἰδέαν· οὐ γὰρ ἔρνος, οὐ κλάδον, ἀλλ' οὐδὲ πέταλον ἐφέϊται τεμεῖν ἢ καρπὸν ὄντινόν τινος δρέψασθαι, πάντων διαφευγμένων
- [138] κατ' ἐκείνην | τὴν ἡμέραν καὶ ὥσπερ ἐλευθερίαν ἀγόντων, κοινῶ κηρύγματι μηδενὸς ἐπιψαύοντος.
- 23 τίς δὲ τὴν λεγομένην νηστείαν οὐ τέθηπε καὶ προσκυνεῖ δι' ἔτους ἀγομένην τῆς ἱερομηνίας αὐστηρότερον καὶ σεμνότερον τρόπον; ἐν ἧ μὲν γὰρ πολὺς ἄκρατος καὶ τράπεζαι πολυτελεῖς καὶ ὅσα περὶ ἐδωδῆν καὶ πόσιν ἄφθονα πάντα, δι' ὧν αἱ ἀκόρεστοι γαστρὸς ἡδοναὶ συναύξονται προσαναρρηγνύσαι καὶ τὰς ὑπογαστρίους
- 24 ἐπιθυμίας· ἐν ἧ δ' οὐ σιτίον, οὐ ποτὸν ἔξεστι προσενέγκασθαι, καθαραῖς ὅπως διανοαῖς, μηδενὸς ἐνοχλοῦντος μηδ' ἐμποδίζοντος σωματικοῦ πάθους, ὅποια φιλεῖ συμβαίνειν ἐκ πλησμονῆς, ἐορτάζωσιν ἱλασκόμενοι τὸν πατέρα τοῦ παντὸς αἰσίοις εὐχαῖς, δι' ὧν ἀμνηστίαν μὲν παλαιῶν ἀμαρτημάτων, κτήσιν δὲ καὶ ἀπόλαυσιν νέων ἀγαθῶν εἰώθασιν αἰτεῖσθαι.
- 25 V. Τὸ δὲ τῆς νομοθεσίας ἱεροπρεπὲς ὡς οὐ παρ' Ἰουδαίοις μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ παρὰ πᾶσι τοῖς ἄλλοις τεθαύμασται, δῆλον ἔκ τε τῶν εἰρημένων ἤδη καὶ
- 26 τῶν μελλόντων λέγεσθαι. τὸ παλαιὸν ἐγράφησαν

^a i.e. the Day of Atonement. For the term "the fast" cf. Acts xxvii. 9.

^b Or "holy season." A vague term (not indicating necessarily a whole month) for the periods varying with 460

MOSES II. 21-26

and his neighbours, freemen and slaves alike, and beyond these to his beasts? For the holiday extends also to every herd, and to all creatures made to minister to man, who serve like slaves their natural master. It extends also to every kind of trees and plants; for it is not permitted to cut any shoot or branch, or even a leaf, or to pluck any fruit whatsoever. All such are set at liberty on that day, and live as it were in freedom, under the general edict that proclaims that none should touch them.

Again, who does not every year shew awe and reverence for the fast, as it is called,^a which is kept more strictly and solemnly than the "holy month" ^b of the Greeks? For in this last the untempered wine flows freely, and the board is spread sumptuously, and all manner of food and drink are lavishly provided, whereby the insatiable pleasures of the belly are enhanced, and further cause the outburst of the lusts that lie below it. But in our fast men may not put food and drink to their lips, in order that with pure hearts, untroubled and untrammelled by any bodily passion, such as is the common outcome of repletion, they may keep the holy-day, propitiating the Father of All with fitting prayers, in which they are wont to ask that their old sins may be forgiven and new blessings gained and enjoyed.

V. That the sanctity of our legislation has been a source of wonder not only to the Jews but also to all other nations, is clear both from the facts already mentioned and those which I proceed to state.^c In different Greek states, in which hostilities or legal processes were forbidden.

^c For the relation of this remarkable account (§§ 26-44) of the making of the Septuagint to other traditions see App. pp. 605-606.

- οἱ νόμοι γλώσση Χαλδαϊκῇ καὶ μέχρι πολλοῦ
 διέμειναν ἐν ὁμοίῳ τὴν διάλεκτον οὐ μεταβάλ-
 λοντες, ἕως μήπω τὸ κάλλος εἰς τοὺς ἄλλους
 27 ἀνθρώπους ἀνέφεησαν αὐτῶν. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐκ τῆς καθ'
 ἐκάστην ἡμέραν συνεχοῦς μελέτης καὶ ἀσκήσεως
 τῶν χρωμένων αἰσθησις ἐγένετο καὶ ἑτέροις καὶ
 τὸ κλέος ἐφοίτα πανταχόσε—τὰ γὰρ καλὰ κἂν
 φθόνῳ πρὸς ὀλίγον ἐπισκιασθῇ χρόνον, ἐπὶ καιρῶν
 αὖθις ἀναλάμπει φύσεως εὐμενεία—, δεινὸν ἡγήσα-
 μενοί τινες, εἰ οἱ νόμοι παρὰ τῷ ἡμίσει τμήματι
 τοῦ γένους ἀνθρώπων ἐξετασθήσονται μόνῳ τῷ
 βαρβαρικῷ, τὸ δ' Ἑλληνικὸν εἰς ἅπαν ἀμοιρή-
 28 σαι, πρὸς ἔρμηνειαν τὴν τούτων ἐτράποντο. τὸ δ'
 ἔργον ἐπεὶ καὶ μέγα ἦν καὶ κοινωφελές, οὐκ ἰδιώ-
 ταις οὐδ' ἄρχουσιν, ὧν πολὺς ἀριθμός, ἀλλὰ βασι-
 λεῦσι καὶ βασιλέων ἀνετέθη τῷ δοκιμωτάτῳ.
 29 Πτολεμαῖος ὁ Φιλάδελφος ἐπικληθεὶς τρίτος μὲν
 ἦν ἀπ' Ἀλεξάνδρου τοῦ τὴν Αἴγυπτον παραλαβόν-
 τος, ἀρεταῖς δὲ ταῖς ἐν ἡγεμονίᾳ πάντων, οὐχὶ
 [139] τῶν καθ' αὐτὸν μόνον, | ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν πάλαι πώποτε
 γεγεννημένων ἀριστος, οὗ καὶ μέχρι νῦν τοσαύταις
 ὕστερον γενεαῖς ἄδεται τὸ κλέος πολλὰ δείγματα
 καὶ μνημεῖα τῆς μεγαλοφροσύνης κατὰ πόλεις καὶ
 χώρας ἀπολιπόντος, ὥς ἤδη καὶ ἐν παροιμίας εἶδει
 τὰς ὑπερόγκους φιλοτιμίας καὶ μεγάλας κατα-
 σκευὰς Φιλαδελφείους ἀπ' ἐκείνου καλεῖσθαι.
 30 συνόλως μὲν οὖν ἡ τῶν Πτολεμαίων οἰκία δια-
 φερόντως παρὰ τὰς ἄλλας βασιλείας ἤκμασεν,
 ἐν δὲ τοῖς Πτολεμαίοις ὁ Φιλάδελφος—ὅσα γὰρ
 εἰς ἔδρασεν οὗτος ἐπαινετά, μόλις ἐκεῖνοι πάντες

MOSES II. 26-30

ancient times the laws were written in the Chaldean tongue, and remained in that form for many years, without any change of language, so long as they had not yet revealed their beauty to the rest of mankind. But, in course of time, the daily, unbroken regularity 27 of practice exercised by those who observed them brought them to the knowledge of others, and their fame began to spread on every side. For things excellent, even if they are beclouded for a short time through envy, shine out again under the benign operation of nature when their time comes. Then it was that some people, thinking it a shame that the laws should be found in one half only of the human race, the barbarians, and denied altogether to the Greeks, took steps to have them translated. In 28 view of the importance and public utility of the task, it was referred not to private persons or magistrates, who were very numerous, but to kings, and amongst them to the king of highest repute. Ptolemy, sur- 29 named Philadelphus, was the third in succession to Alexander, the conqueror of Egypt. In all the qualities which make a good ruler, he excelled not only his contemporaries, but all who have arisen in the past; and even till to-day, after so many generations, his praises are sung for the many evidences and monuments of his greatness of mind which he left behind him in different cities and countries, so that, even now, acts of more than ordinary munificence or buildings on a specially great scale are proverbially called Philadelphian after him. To put it shortly, 30 as the house of the Ptolemies was highly distinguished, compared with other dynasties, so was Philadelphus among the Ptolemies. The creditable achievements of this one man almost outnumbered

ἄθροοι διεπράξαντο¹—γενόμενος καθάπερ ἐν ζῳῳ
τὸ ἡγεμονεῦον κεφαλὴ τρόπον τινὰ τῶν βασιλέων.

- 31 VI. ὁ δὲ τοιοῦτος ζῆλον καὶ πόθον
λαβὼν τῆς νομοθεσίας ἡμῶν εἰς Ἑλλάδα γλῶτταν
τὴν Χαλδαϊκὴν μεθαρμόζεσθαι διανοεῖτο καὶ πρέ-
σβεις εὐθὺς ἐξέπεμπε πρὸς τὸν τῆς Ἰουδαίας ἀρχ-
ιερέα καὶ βασιλέα—ὁ γὰρ αὐτὸς ἦν—τό τε βούλημα
δηλῶν καὶ προτρέπων ἀριστίνδην ἐλέσθαι τοὺς
32 τὸν νόμον διερμηνεύοντας. ὁ δ' οἶα εἰκὸς ἦσθεις
καὶ νομίσας οὐκ ἄνευ θείας ἐπιφροσύνης περὶ τὸ
τοιοῦτον ἔργον ἐσπουδακέναι τὸν βασιλέα, σκεψά-
μενος τοὺς παρ' αὐτῷ δοκιμωτάτους Ἑβραίων, οἱ
πρὸς τῇ πατρίῳ καὶ τὴν Ἑλληνικὴν ἐπεπαιδεύοντο
33 παιδεῖαν, ἄσμενος ἀποστέλλει. ὥς δ' ἦκον, ἐπὶ
ξενίαν κληθέντες λόγοις ἀστείοις καὶ σπουδαίοις
τὸν ἐστιάτορα εὐώχουν ἀντεφεστιῶντες· ὁ μὲν γὰρ
ἀπεπειράτο τῆς ἐκάστου σοφίας καινὰς ἀλλ' οὐ
τὰς ἐν ἔθει ζητήσεις προτείνων, οἱ δ' εὐστόχως
καὶ εὐθυβόλως, οὐκ ἐπιτρέποντος μακρηγορεῖν τοῦ
καιροῦ καθάπερ ἀποφθεγγόμενοι τὰ προταθέντα δι-
34 ελύοντο. δοκιμασθέντες δ' εὐθὺς ἤρ-
ξαντο τὰ τῆς καλῆς πρεσβείας ἀποτελεῖν καὶ
λογισάμενοι παρ' αὐτοῖς, ὅσον εἴη τὸ πρᾶγμα
θεσπισθέντας νόμους χρησιμοῖς διερμηνεύειν, μήτ'
ἀφελεῖν τι μήτε προσθεῖναι ἢ μεταθεῖναι δυνα-
μένους, ἀλλὰ τὴν ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἰδέαν καὶ τὸν τύπον
αὐτῶν διαφυλάττοντας, ἐσκόπουν τὸ καθαρώτατον
τῶν περὶ τὸν τόπον χωρίων ἔξω πόλεως· τὰ γὰρ
ἐντὸς τείχους ἅτε παντοδαπῶν πεπληθότα ζῳῶν

¹ Cohn punctuates with a colon before ὅσα, and comma before γενόμενος.

MOSES II. 30-34

those of all the others put together, and, as the head takes the highest place in the living body, so he may be said to head the kings. VI. This great 31

man, having conceived an ardent affection for our laws, determined to have the Chaldean translated into Greek, and at once dispatched envoys to the high priest and king of Judaea, both offices being held by the same person, explaining his wishes and urging him to choose by merit persons to make a full rendering of the Law into Greek. The high priest 32 was naturally pleased, and, thinking that God's guiding care must have led the king to busy himself in such an undertaking, sought out such Hebrews as he had of the highest reputation, who had received an education in Greek as well as in their native lore, and joyfully sent them to Ptolemy. When they 33 arrived, they were offered hospitality, and, having been sumptuously entertained, requited their entertainer with a feast of words full of wit and weight. For he tested the wisdom of each by propounding for discussion new instead of the ordinary questions, which problems they solved with happy and well-pointed answers in the form of apophthegms, as the occasion did not allow of lengthy speaking.

After standing this test, they at once began to fulfil 34 the duties of their high errand. Reflecting how great an undertaking it was to make a full version of the laws given by the Voice of God, where they could not add or take away or transfer anything, but must keep the original form and shape, they proceeded to look for the most open and unoccupied^a spot in the neighbourhood outside the city. For, within the walls, it was full of every kind of living creatures, and

^a Or "the most cleanly," but see on § 72.

διὰ νόσους καὶ τελευτὰς καὶ τὰς ὑγαινονόντων οὐκ
 35 εὐαγεῖς πράξεις ἦν ὑποπτα. νῆσος ἡ Φάρος
 πρόκειται τῆς Ἀλεξανδρείας, ἥς αὐχὴν ὑποταίνιος
 [140] τέταται πρὸς τὴν πόλιν περικλειόμενος | οὐκ ἀγχι-
 βαθεῖ τὰ δὲ πολλὰ τεναγώδει θαλάττῃ, ὥς καὶ τῆς
 τῶν κυμάτων φορᾶς τὸν πολὺν ἦχον καὶ πάταγον
 36 ἐκ πάνυ μακροῦ διαστήματος προεκλύεσθαι. τοῦ-
 τον ἐξ ἀπάντων τῶν ἐν κύκλῳ κρίναντες ἐπιτηδειό-
 τατον εἶναι τὸν τόπον ἐνησυχάσαι καὶ ἐνηρεμῆσαι
 καὶ μόνη τῇ ψυχῇ πρὸς μόνους ὁμιλῆσαι τοὺς νό-
 μους, ἐνταυθοὶ κατέμειναν καὶ τὰς ἱερὰς βίβλους
 λαβόντες ἀνατείνουσιν ἅμ' αὐταῖς καὶ τὰς χεῖρας
 εἰς οὐρανόν, αἰτούμενοι τὸν θεὸν μὴ διαμαρτεῖν τῆς
 προθέσεως· ὁ δ' ἐπινεύει ταῖς εὐχαῖς, ἵνα τὸ πλεί-
 στον ἦ καὶ τὸ σύμπαν γένος ἀνθρώπων ὠφελῇ
 χρησόμενον εἰς ἐπανάρθωσιν βίου φιλοσόφοις καὶ
 37 παγκάλοις διατάγμασι. VII. καθίσαντες
 δ' ἐν ἀποκρύφῳ καὶ μηδενὸς παρόντος ὅτι μὴ τῶν
 τῆς φύσεως μερῶν, γῆς ὕδατος ἀέρος οὐρανοῦ, περὶ
 ὧν πρῶτον τῆς γενέσεως ἔμελλον ἱεροφαντήσῃ—
 κοσμοποιία γὰρ ἡ τῶν νόμων ἐστὶν ἀρχή—, καθάπερ
 ἐνθουσιῶντες προεφήτερον οὐκ ἄλλα ἄλλοι, τὰ δ'
 αὐτὰ πάντες ὀνόματα καὶ ῥήματα, ὥσπερ ὑπο-
 38 βολέως ἐκάστοις ἀοράτως ἐνηχοῦντος. καίτοι τίς
 οὐκ οἶδεν, ὅτι πᾶσα μὲν διάλεκτος, ἡ δ' Ἑλληνικὴ
 διαφερόντως, ὀνομάτων πλουτεῖ, καὶ ταῦτόν ἐν-
 θύμημα οἶόν τε μεταφράζοντα καὶ παραφράζοντα
 σχηματῖσαι πολλαχῶς, ἄλλοτε ἄλλας ἐφαρμόζοντα

^a For Philo's use of *ἐνηχεῖν* see note on *De Mut.* 57.

^b Or "by paraphrasing more or less freely." The general distinction between *μετάφρασις* and *παράφρασις* is that the former sticks more closely than the latter to the material on which it is exercised. See Ernesti, *Lex. tech. s.v. μετάφρασις*.
466

MOSES II. 34-38

consequently the prevalence of diseases and deaths, and the impure conduct of the healthy inhabitants, made them suspicious of it. In front of Alexandria 35 lies the island of Pharos, stretching with its narrow strip of land towards the city, and enclosed by a sea not deep but mostly consisting of shoals, so that the loud din and booming of the surging waves grows faint through the long distance before it reaches the land. Judging this to be the most suit- 36 able place in the district, where they might find peace and tranquillity and the soul could commune with the laws with none to disturb its privacy, they fixed their abode there; and, taking the sacred books, stretched them out towards heaven with the hands that held them, asking of God that they might not fail in their purpose. And He assented to their prayers, to the end that the greater part, or even the whole, of the human race might be profited and led to a better life by continuing to observe such wise and truly admirable ordinances.

VII. Sitting here in seclusion with none present save 37 the elements of nature, earth, water, air, heaven, the genesis of which was to be the first theme of their sacred revelation, for the laws begin with the story of the world's creation, they became as it were possessed, and, under inspiration, wrote, not each several scribe something different, but the same word for word, as though dictated^a to each by an invisible prompter. Yet who does not know that 38 every language, and Greek especially, abounds in terms, and that the same thought can be put in many shapes by changing single words and whole phrases^b and suiting the expression to the occasion?

- λέξεις; ὅπερ ἐπὶ ταύτης τῆς νομοθεσίας οὐ φασι συμβῆναι, συνενεχθῆναι δ' εἰς ταῦτόν κύρια κυρίοις ὀνόμασι, τὰ Ἑλληνικὰ τοῖς Χαλδαϊκοῖς, ἐναρμο-
 39 σθέντα εὖ μάλα τοῖς δηλουμένοις πράγμασιν. ὃν γὰρ τρόπον, οἶμαι, ἐν γεωμετρίᾳ καὶ διαλεκτικῇ τὰ σημαινόμενα ποικιλίαν ἑρμηνείας οὐκ ἀνέχεται, μένει δ' ἀμετάβλητος ἡ ἐξ ἀρχῆς τεθεῖσα, τὸν αὐτὸν ὡς ἔοικε τρόπον καὶ οὗτοι συντρέχοντα τοῖς πράγμασιν ὀνόματα ἐξεύρον, ἅπερ δὴ μόνα ἢ μάλιστα τρανώσειν ἔμελλεν ἐμφαντικῶς τὰ δηλούμενα.
 40 σαφεστάτῃ δὲ τοῦδε πίστις· ἐάν τε Χαλδαῖοι τὴν Ἑλληνικὴν γλῶτταν ἐάν τε Ἕλληνες τὴν Χαλδαίων ἀναδιδαχθῶσι καὶ ἀμφοτέραις ταῖς γραφαῖς ἐντύχωσι, τῇ τε Χαλδαϊκῇ καὶ τῇ ἑρμηνευθείσῃ, καθάπερ ἀδελφὰς μᾶλλον δ' ὡς μίαν καὶ τὴν αὐτὴν ἔν τε τοῖς πράγμασι καὶ τοῖς ὀνόμασι τεθήπασι καὶ προσκυνοῦσιν, οὐχ ἑρμηνέας ἐκείνους ἀλλ' ἱεροφάντας καὶ προφῆτας προσαγορεύοντες, οἷς ἐξεγένετο συνδραμεῖν λογισμοῖς εἰλικρινέσι τῷ Μωυ-
 41 σέως καθαρωτάτῳ πνεύματι. διὸ καὶ μέχρι νῦν ἀνὰ πᾶν ἔτος ἑορτὴ καὶ πανήγυρις ἄγεται κατὰ τὴν Φάρον νῆσον, εἰς ἣν οὐκ Ἰουδαῖοι μόνον ἀλλὰ
 [141] καὶ παμπληθεῖς ἕτεροι διαπλέουσι τό τε | χωρίον σεμνυνοῦντες, ἐν ᾧ πρῶτον τὰ τῆς ἑρμηνείας ἐξέλαμψε, καὶ παλαιᾶς ἐνεκεν εὐεργεσίας αἰεὶ νεαζού-
 42 σης εὐχαριστήσοντες τῷ θεῷ. μετὰ δὲ τὰς εὐχὰς καὶ τὰς εὐχαριστίας οἱ μὲν πηξάμενοι σκηναὶ ἐπὶ τῶν αἰγιαλῶν οἱ δ' ἐπὶ τῆς αἰγιαλίτιδος ψάμμου κατακλινέοντες ἐν ὑπαίθρῳ μετ' οἰκείων καὶ φίλων ἐστιῶνται, πολυτελεστέραν τῆς ἐν βασιλείοις κατα-
 43 σκευῆς τότε τὴν ἀκτὴν νομίζοντες. οὕτω μὲν οἱ νόμοι ζηλωτοὶ καὶ περιμάχητοι πᾶσιν ἰδιώταις τε
 468

MOSES II. 38-43

This was not the case, we are told, with this law of ours, but the Greek words used corresponded literally^a with the Chaldean, exactly suited to the things they indicated. For, just as in geometry and logic, 39 so it seems to me, the sense indicated does not admit of variety in the expression which remains unchanged in its original form, so these writers, as it clearly appears, arrived at a wording which corresponded with the matter, and alone, or better than any other, would bring out clearly what was meant. The clearest proof of this is that, if Chaldeans have 40 learned Greek, or Greeks Chaldean, and read both versions, the Chaldean and the translation, they regard them with awe and reverence as sisters, or rather one and the same, both in matter and words, and speak of the authors not as translators but as prophets and priests of the mysteries, whose sincerity and singleness of thought has enabled them to go hand in hand with the purest of spirits, the spirit of Moses. Therefore, even to the 41 present day, there is held every year a feast and general assembly in the island of Pharos, whither not only Jews but multitudes of others cross the water, both to do honour to the place in which the light of that version first shone out, and also to thank God for the good gift so old yet ever young. But, after the prayers and thanksgivings, some 42 fixing tents on the seaside and others reclining on the sandy beach in the open air feast with their relations and friends, counting that shore for the time a more magnificent lodging than the fine mansions in the royal precincts. Thus the laws are 43 shewn to be desirable and precious in the eyes of all,

^a See App. p. 606.

- καὶ ἡγεμόσιν ἐπιδείκνυνται, καὶ ταῦτ' ἐκ πολλῶν
 χρόνων τοῦ ἔθνους οὐκ εὐτυχοῦντος—τὰ δὲ τῶν
 44 μὴ ἐν ἀκμαῖς πέφυκέ πως ἐπισκιάζεσθαι—· εἰ δὲ
 γένοιτό τις ἀφορμὴ πρὸς τὸ λαμπρότερον, πόσῃ
 εἰκὸς ἐπίδοσιν γενήσεσθαι; καταλιπόντας ἂν οἶμαι
 τὰ ἴδια καὶ πολλὰ χαίρειν φράσαντας τοῖς πατρίοις
 ἐκάστους μεταβαλεῖν ἐπὶ τὴν τούτων μόνων τιμὴν·
 εὐτυχία γὰρ τοῦ ἔθνους οἱ νόμοι συναναλάμβαντες
 ἀμαυρώσουσι τοὺς ἄλλους καθάπερ ἀνατείλας ἥλιος
 τοὺς ἀστέρας.
- 45 VIII. Ἀπόχρη μὲν οὖν καὶ τὰ λεχθέντα πολὺς
 ἔπαινος εἶναι τοῦ νομοθέτου. πλείων δ' ἐστὶν
 ἕτερος, ὃν αὐταὶ περιέχουσιν αἱ ἱερώταται βίβλοι,
 πρὸς αἷς ἤδη τρεπτέον, εἰς ἔνδειξιν τῆς τοῦ συγ-
 46 γράψαντος ἀρετῆς. τούτων τοίνυν τὸ μὲν ἐστὶν
 ἱστορικὸν μέρος, τὸ δὲ περὶ τὰς προστάξεις καὶ
 ἀπαγορεύσεις, ὑπὲρ οὗ δεύτερον λέξομεν τὸ πρότερον
 47 τῇ τάξει πρότερον ἀκριβώσαντες. ἔστιν οὖν τοῦ
 ἱστορικοῦ τὸ μὲν περὶ τῆς τοῦ κόσμου γενέσεως, τὸ
 δὲ γενεαλογικόν, τοῦ δὲ γενεαλογικοῦ τὸ μὲν περὶ
 κολάσεως ἀσεβῶν, τὸ δ' αὖ περὶ τιμῆς δικαίων.
 οὗ δὲ χάριν ἐνθένδε τῆς νομοθεσίας ἤρξατο τὰ
 περὶ τὰς προστάξεις καὶ ἀπαγορεύσεις ἐν δευτέρῳ
 48 θεῖς, λεκτέον. οὐ γὰρ οἷά τις συγγραφεὺς ἐπετή-
 δευσε παλαιῶν πράξεων καταλιπεῖν ὑπομνήματα
 τοῖς ἔπειτα τοῦ ψυχαγωγῆσαι χάριν ἀνωφελῶς,
 ἀλλ' ἡρχαιολόγησεν ἄνωθεν ἀρξάμενος ἀπὸ τῆς τοῦ

* Though of course genealogies play a great part in the Pentateuch, γενεαλογικός if used in the strict sense is a very inadequate term to describe the historical part of the books, as distinct from the creation story. The wider sense, as given in the translation, appears to have been in use in the

ordinary citizens and rulers alike, and that too though our nation has not prospered for many a year. It is but natural that when people are not flourishing their belongings to some degree are under a cloud. But, if a fresh start should be made to brighter 44 prospects, how great a change for the better might we expect to see ! I believe that each nation would abandon its peculiar ways, and, throwing overboard their ancestral customs, turn to honouring our laws alone. For, when the brightness of their shining is accompanied by national prosperity, it will darken the light of the others as the risen sun darkens the stars.

VIII. The above is sufficient in itself as a high com- 45 mendation to the lawgiver ; but there is another still greater contained in the sacred books themselves, and to these we must now turn to shew the great qualities of the writer. They consist of two parts : 46 one the historical, the other concerned with commands and prohibitions, and of this we will speak later, after first treating fully what comes first in order. One division of the historical side deals with 47 the creation of the world, the other with particular persons,^a and this last partly with the punishment of the impious, partly with the honouring of the just. We must now give the reason why he began his law-book with the history, and put the commands and prohibitions in the second place. He did not, like 48 any historian, make it his business to leave behind for posterity records of ancient deeds for the pleasant but unimproving entertainment which they give ; but, in relating the history of early times, and going for its beginning right to the creation of the universe,

grammatical schools, whose language Philo often adopts. For the evidence for this see App. p.606.

PHILO

παντὸς γενέσεως, ἵν' ἐπιδείξῃ δύο τὰ ἀναγκαιότατα·
 ἓν μὲν τὸν αὐτὸν πατέρα καὶ ποιητὴν τοῦ κόσμου
 καὶ ἀληθείᾳ νομοθέτην, ἕτερον δὲ τὸν χρησόμενον
 τοῖς νόμοις ἀκολουθίαν φύσεως ἀσπασόμενον καὶ
 βιωσόμενον κατὰ τὴν τοῦ ὄλου διάταξιν ἀρμονίᾳ
 καὶ συμφωνίᾳ πρὸς ἔργα λόγων καὶ πρὸς λόγους
 49 ἔργων. IX. τῶν μὲν οὖν ἄλλων νομοθετῶν οἱ μὲν
 εὐθύς ἃ τε χρή πράττειν καὶ ἃ μὴ διαταξάμενοι
 τιμωρίας κατὰ τῶν παραβαινόντων ὥρισαν, οἱ δ' |
 [142] ἀμείνους δόξαντες εἶναι τὴν ἀρχὴν οὐκ ἐνθένδε
 ἐποίησαντο, πόλιν δὲ τῷ λόγῳ κτίσαντες καὶ
 ἰδρυσάμενοι πρότερον ἢ ἐνόμιζον οἰκιστάτην καὶ
 πρεπωδεστάτην εἶναι τῇ κτισθείσῃ πολιτείᾳ διὰ
 50 τῆς τῶν νόμων θέσεως ἐφήρμοζον. ὁ δὲ τὸ μὲν
 πρότερον ὑπολαβὼν (ὅπερ ἦν) τυραννικὸν τε καὶ
 δεσποτικόν, ἄνευ παραμυθίας προστάττειν ὥς οὐκ
 ἐλευθέροις ἀλλὰ δούλοις, τὸ δ' ὕστερον ἐμμελὲς
 μὲν, οὐ μὴν τελείως ἐπαινετὸν ἅπασιν τοῖς κριταῖς,
 ὥς ἔοικεν, ἐν ἑκατέρῳ τῶν λεχθέντων διήνεγκεν.
 51 ἓν τε γὰρ ταῖς προστάξεσι καὶ ἀπαγορεύσεσιν
 ὑποτίθεται καὶ παρηγορεῖ τὸ πλεόν ἢ κελεύει, μετὰ
 προοιμίων καὶ ἐπιλόγων τὰ πλείστα καὶ ἀναγκαιότατα
 πειρώμενος ὑφηγείσθαι, τοῦ προτρέψασθαι
 χάριν μᾶλλον ἢ βιάσασθαι· πόλεώς τε χειροποιήτου
 κτίσιν ἀρχὴν ποιήσασθαι τῆς γραφῆς
 ταπεινότερον ἢ κατὰ τὴν ἀξίαν τῶν νόμων ὑπολαβὼν
 εἶναι, πρὸς τὸ μέγεθος καὶ κάλλος τῆς ὅλης νομο-

^a Compare the beginning of *De Op.*, especially § 3.

^b The allusion is, of course, primarily to Plato's *Laws* and *Republic*. Perhaps also to Zeno, whose *Πολιτεία* is said to have been written in opposition to Plato's (*S.V.F.* i. 260,

MOSES II. 48-51

he wished to shew two most essential things : first that the Father and Maker of the world was in the truest sense also its Lawgiver, secondly that he who would observe the laws will accept gladly the duty of following nature and live in accordance with the ordering of the universe, so that his deeds are attuned to harmony with his words and his words with his deeds.^a IX. Now, other legislators are divided into 49 those who set out by ordering what should or should not be done, and laying down penalties for disobedience, and those who, thinking themselves superior, did not begin with this, but first founded and established their state as they conceived it, and then, by framing laws, attached to it the constitution which they thought most agreeable and suitable to the form in which they had founded it.^b But Moses, 50 thinking that the former course, namely issuing orders without words of exhortation, as though to slaves instead of free men, savoured of tyranny and despotism, as indeed it did, and that the second, though aptly conceived, was evidently not entirely satisfactory in the judgement of all, took a different line in both departments. In his commands and 51 prohibitions he suggests and admonishes rather than commands, and the very numerous and necessary instructions which he essays to give are accompanied by forewords and after-words, in order to exhort rather than to enforce. Again, he considered that to begin his writings with the foundation of a man-made city was below the dignity of the laws, and, surveying the greatness and beauty of the whole

cf. 262). Aristotle's *Politics* hardly fits the case. Josephus, *Apion* ii. 222, makes the same point, but adds that passing over the other philosophers he will only name Plato.

θεσίας ἀκριβεστάτῃ ὅψει τῇ κατὰ διάνοιαν ἀπιδὼν
καὶ νομίσας αὐτὴν κρείττονα καὶ θειοτέραν ἢ ὥστε
κύκλῳ τινὶ τῶν ἐπὶ γῆς ὀρισθῆναι, τῆς μεγαλο-
πόλεως τὴν γένεσιν εἰσηγήσατο, τοὺς νόμους
ἐμφερεστάτῃν εἰκόνα τῆς τοῦ κόσμου πολιτείας

52 ἡγησάμενος εἶναι. X. τῶν γοῦν ἐν

μέρει διατεταγμένων τὰς δυνάμεις εἴ τις ἀκριβῶς
ἐξετάζειν ἐθελήσειεν, εὐρήσει τῆς τοῦ παντὸς
ἁρμονίας ἐφιεμένας καὶ τῷ λόγῳ τῆς αἰδίου φύσεως
53 συναδούσας. διὸ καὶ τοὺς ἀφθόνων μὲν ἀγαθῶν
ἀξιωθέντας ὅσα κατ' εὐεξίαν σωμάτων καὶ τὰς
περὶ πλοῦτον καὶ δόξαν καὶ τὰ ἄλλα ἐκτὸς εὐτυχίας,
ἀρετῆς δ' ἀφηγιάσαντας καὶ οὐκ ἀνάγκῃ γνώμῃ
δ' ἐκουσίῳ πανουργίαν καὶ ἀδικίαν καὶ τὰς ἄλλας
κακίας, ὡς μέγα ὄφελος τὴν μεγίστην ζημίαν, ἐπι-
τηδεύσαντας καθάπερ οὐκ ἀνθρώπων ἐχθροὺς ἀλλὰ
τοῦ σύμπαντος οὐρανοῦ τε καὶ κόσμου τὰς ἐν ἔθει
τιμωρίας οὐ φησὶν ὑπομεῖναι, ἀλλὰ καινοτάτας καὶ
παρηλλαγμένας, ἃς ἐμεγαλουργήσεν ἡ πάρεδρος τῷ
θεῷ μισοπόνηρος δίκη, τῶν τοῦ παντὸς δραστικω-
τάτων στοιχείων ἐπιθεμένων ὕδατος καὶ πυρός,
ὡς καιρῶν περιόδοις τοὺς μὲν κατακλυσμοῖς
φθαρῆναι, τοὺς δὲ καταφλεχθέντας ἀπολέσθαι.

54 πελάγῃ μὲν ἀρθέντα καὶ ποταμοὶ μετεωρισθέντες
αὐθιγενεῖς τε καὶ χεῖμαρροι τὰς ἐν τῇ πεδιάδι
πόλεις ἀπάσας ἐπέκλυσαν καὶ κατέσυραν, τὰς
δὲ κατὰ τὴν ὄρεινὴν αἱ μεθ' ἡμέραν καὶ νύκτωρ

55 συνεχεῖς καὶ ἀδιάστατοι ὄμβρων φοραί. χρόνῳ δ'
ὑστερον ἐκ τῶν ὑπολειφθέντων πάλιν τοῦ γένους
συναυξηθέντος καὶ εἰς πολυανθρωπίαν ἐπιδόντος,

[143] ἐπειδὴ τὸ περὶ τοὺς προγόνους πάθος οἱ | ἀπόγονοι
μάθημα σωφροσύνης οὐκ ἐποιήσαντο, πρὸς δ'

MOSES II. 51-55

code with the accurate discernment of his mind's eye, and thinking it too good and godlike to be confined within any earthly walls, he inserted the story of the genesis of the "Great City," holding that the laws were the most faithful picture of the world-polity.

X. Thus whoever will care- 52
fully examine the nature of the particular enactments will find that they seek to attain to the harmony of the universe and are in agreement with the principles of eternal nature. Therefore all those to whom God 53
thought fit to grant abundance of the good gifts of bodily well-being and of good fortune in the shape of wealth and other externals—who then rebelled against virtue, and, freely and intentionally under no compulsion, practised knavery, injustice and the other vices, thinking to gain much by losing all, were counted, Moses tells us, as enemies not of men but of the whole heaven and universe, and suffered not the ordinary, but strange and unexampled punishments wrought by the might of justice, the hater of evil and assessor of God. For the most forceful elements of the universe, fire and water, fell upon them, so that, as the times revolved, some perished by deluge, others were consumed by conflagration.^a
The seas lifted up their waters, and the rivers, spring- 54
fed and winter torrents, rose on high and flooded and swept away all the cities of the plain, while the continuous and ceaseless streams of rain by night and day did the same for the cities of the uplands. At a 55
later time, when the race sprung from the remnant had again increased and become very populous, since the descendants did not take the fate of their forefathers as a lesson in wisdom, but turned to deeds

^a See note on *De Abr.* 1.

ἀκολασίας ἐτράποντο ζηλωταὶ χαλεπωτέρων ἐπι-
 τηδευμάτων γενόμενοι, πυρὶ τούτους ἀναλῶσαι δι-
 56 ενοήθη. τότε οὖν, ὡς μηνύει τὰ λόγια, κεραυνοὶ
 ῥύνετες ἐξ οὐρανοῦ τοὺς τε ἀσεβεῖς κατέπρησαν
 καὶ τὰς πόλεις αὐτῶν· καὶ μέχρι τοῦ νῦν μνημεῖα
 τοῦ συμβεβηκότος ἀλέκτου πάθους δείκνυνται κατὰ
 Συρίαν, ἐρείπια καὶ τέφρα καὶ θεῖον καὶ καπνὸς καὶ
 ἡ ἔτι ἀναδιδομένη φλόξ ἀμαυρὰ καθάπερ δια-
 σμυχομένου πυρός.

57 Ἐν δὲ τούτῳ συνέβαινε τοὺς τε ἀσεβεῖς ταῖς
 εἰρημέναις τιμωρίαις κολάζεσθαι καὶ τοὺς καλο-
 κάγαθιά διεννηοχότας εὖ πάσχειν ἀρετῆς ἐπαξίων
 58 ἄθλων τυγχάνοντας. ἐν μὲν γε τῇ φορᾷ τοῦ
 κεραυνίου πυρὸς οἰκήτορσιν αὐτοῖς ὅλης χώρας
 ἐμπιπραμένης, εἰς μόνος ἀνὴρ μέτοικος ἐπιφροσύνη
 θεία σώζεται, διότι τῶν ἐγχωρίων παρανομημάτων
 οὐδὲν ἡσπάσατο, τῶν μετοίκων εἰωθότων ἀσφαλείας
 ἔνεκα τὰ ξενικὰ τιμᾶν, ἐπεὶ τοῖς ἀτιμάζουσι κίν-
 δυνος ἐκ τῶν αὐτοχθόνων ἔπεται· καίτοι γ' οὐκ ἐπ'
 ἄκρον ἦλθε σοφίας, ὡς διὰ τελειότητα τῆς ἐν αὐτῷ
 φύσεως τοσούτου γέρως ἀξιωθῆναι, ἀλλ' ὅτι μόνος¹
 τοῖς πολλοῖς οὐ συνηνέχθη πρὸς τὸ ἀβροδίαιτον
 ἀποκλίνασι καὶ πάσας μὲν ἡδονὰς πάσας δ' ἐπι-
 θυμίας χορηγίαις ἀφθόνοις ἀνάψασιν ὥσπερ φλόγα
 59 λασίῳ ὕλῃ κεχυμένη. XI. κατὰ δὲ τὸν

μέγαν κατακλυσμὸν ὀλίγου δέω φάναι τοῦ σύμπαν-
 τος ἀνθρώπων γένους φθειρομένου, ἓνα οἶκον ἀπαθῇ
 γενέσθαι παντὸς κακοῦ λόγος ἔχει, τὸν πρεσβύτατον
 καὶ ἡγεμόνα τῆς οἰκίας ἐπειδὴ συνέβαινε μηδενὸς
 ἀδικήματος ἐκουσίου προσάψασθαι. τὸν δὲ τρόπον
 τῆς σωτηρίας, ὡς αἱ ἱερὰ βίβλοι περιέχουσιν, ἄξιον

¹ MSS. μόνον.

MOSES II. 55-59

of licence and followed eagerly still more grievous practices, He determined to destroy them with fire. Then, as the oracles declare, the lightnings poured 56 from heaven and consumed the impious and their cities, and to the present day the memorials to the awful disaster are shewn in Syria, ruins and cinders and brimstone and smoke, and the dusky flame still arises as though fire were smouldering within.

But while in these disasters the impious were 57 chastised with the said punishments, it was also the case that those who stood out in excellence of conduct fared well and received the rewards which their virtue deserved. While the rush of the flaming 58 thunderbolts consumed the whole land, and the inhabitants to boot, one man alone, an immigrant, was saved by God's protecting care, because he had shewn no liking for any of the misdeeds of the country, though immigrants, to secure themselves, usually shew respect for the customs of their hosts, knowing that disrespect for these entails danger at the hands of the original inhabitants. Yet he did not reach the summit of wisdom, nor was it because of the perfection of his nature that he was deemed worthy of this great privilege, but because he alone did not fall in with the multitude, when they turned aside to licentious living and fed every pleasure and every lust with lavish supplies of fuel like a flame when the brushwood is piled upon it.

XI. So, too, in the great deluge when 59 all but the whole human race perished, one house, we are told, suffered no harm because the most venerable member and head of the household had committed no deliberate wrong. The manner of his preservation is a story worth recording, both as a

ἱστορηθῆναι διὰ τε μεγαλουργίαν καὶ ἅμα βελτίωσιν
 60 ἡθῶν. νομισθεὶς γὰρ ἐπιτήδειος εἶναι μὴ μόνον
 ἀμοιρῆσαι τῆς κοινῆς συμφορᾶς, ἀλλὰ καὶ δευτέρας
 γενέσεως ἀνθρώπων αὐτὸς ἀρχὴ γενέσθαι, θείαις
 προστάξεσιν, ἃς ὑφηγοῦντο οἱ χρησμοί, ξύλινον
 δημιουργήσας ἔργον μέγιστον εἰς πῆχεις τριακο-
 σίους μῆκος καὶ πεντήκοντα εὖρος καὶ τριάκοντα
 ὕψος καὶ συνεχῇ κατασκευασάμενος ἔνδον οἰκήματα
 ἐπίπεδα καὶ ὑπερῶα, τριώροφα καὶ τετρώροφα, καὶ
 τροφὰς ἐτοιμασάμενος, ἀφ' ἐκάστου γένους ζώων
 ὅσα χερσαῖα καὶ πτηνὰ εἰσήγαγεν ἄρρεν τε καὶ
 θῆλυ σπέρματα ὑπολειπόμενος πρὸς καταλλαγὴν
 61 καιρῶν¹ τῶν αὐθις ποτε γενησομένων· ἦδει γὰρ τὴν
 τοῦ θεοῦ φύσιν ἴλεω, καὶ εἰ τὰ εἶδη φθείροιτο, ἀλλὰ
 τοι τὴν ἐν τοῖς γένεσιν ἀφθαρσίαν ἕνεκα τῆς πρὸς
 [144] αὐτὸν ὁμοιότητος | καὶ τοῦ μηδὲν τῶν κατὰ πρό-
 θεσιν φύντων ποτὲ λυθῆναι διαμένουσιν· XII. οὐ
 χάριν πάντα ἐπειθάρχει καὶ τὰ τέως ἐξηγριωμένα
 ἡμεροῦτο καὶ οἷα νομεῖ καὶ ἀγελάρχη τιθασευθέντα
 62 ἐπηκολούθει. μετὰ δὲ τὴν εἴσοδον ἀπάντων εἴ τις
 ἐθεάσατο τὸ πλήρωμα, οὐκ ἂν διήμαρτεν εἰπών,
 ἀντίμιμον εἶναι γῆς ἀπάσης ἐν ἑαυτῷ φέρον τὰ
 ζώων γένη, ὧν καὶ ἡ σύμπασα γῆ τὰ ἀμύθητα εἶδη
 63 καὶ πρότερον ἦνεγκε καὶ ἴσως αὐθις οἶσει. τὰ δ'
 εἰκασθέντα χρόνοις ὕστερον οὐ μακροῖς ἀπέβαινε·
 τὸ μὲν γὰρ πάθος ἐλώφα καὶ ἡ τοῦ κατακλυσμοῦ
 φορὰ καθ' ἐκάστην ἡμέραν ἐμειοῦτο, τῶν τε ὄμβρων
 ἐπισχεθέντων καὶ τοῦ κατὰ πᾶσαν γῆν ἀναχυθέντος

¹ Cohn somewhat arbitrarily declares καταλλαγὴν καιρῶν corrupt and suggests καταγωγὴν γενῶν. The translation does perhaps require an unusual sense for καταλλαγή. If this is
 478

MOSES II. 60-63

marvel and as a means of edification. Being judged 60 a fit person not only to be exempted from the common fate, but also to be himself the beginner of a second generation of mankind, by God's commands enjoined by the oracular voice, he built a huge structure of wood, three hundred cubits in length, fifty in breadth and thirty in height. Inside this, he framed a series of rooms, on the ground floor and second, third and fourth stories. Then, having laid up provisions, he introduced a male and female specimen of every kind of living creature both of the land and the air, thus reserving seeds in expectation of the better times ^a that were once more to come. For he knew that the nature of God was gracious, 61 and that, though the individuals perished, the race would be preserved indestructible because of its likeness to Himself, and that nothing whose being He had willed would ever be brought to nought. XII. In consequence, all the creatures obeyed him, and the erstwhile savage grew gentle, and in their new tameness followed him as a flock follows its leader. When they had all entered, anyone 62 who surveyed the crew might fairly have said that it was a miniature of earth in its entirety, comprising the races of living creatures, of which the world had carried before innumerable specimens, and perhaps would carry them again. What he had 63 surmised came to pass not long afterwards, for the trouble abated, and the force of the deluge diminished every day, as the rain ceased and the water that had

^a Lit. "for change brought about by (or 'into') the seasons," etc. See note 1.

fatal, I should suggest *πρὸς <καταβολήν> κατ' ἀλλαγὴν καιρῶν*, i.e. "to be sown when the times change."

- ὕδατος τῇ μὲν ἀναλισκομένου τῷ ἀφ' ἡλίου φλογμῷ
 τῇ δὲ ὑπονοστοῦντος εἰς χαράδρας καὶ φάραγγας
 καὶ τὰς ἄλλας τῆς γῆς κοιλότητος· ὥσπερ γὰρ
 θεοῦ προστάξαντος, ἐκάστη φύσις ὅπερ ἔχρησεν οἶα
 δάνειον ἀναγκαῖον ἀπελάμβανε, θάλαττα καὶ πηγαὶ
 καὶ ποταμοί· πρὸς γὰρ τοὺς οἰκείους τόπους ἔκα-
 64 στον ρεῖθρον ὑπενόσται. μετὰ δὲ τὴν κάθαρσιν τῶν
 ὑπὸ σελήνην, ἀπολουσαμένης τῆς γῆς καὶ νέας ἀνα-
 φανείσης καὶ τοιαύτης, οἶαν εἰκὸς εἶναι ὅτε τὴν
 ἀρχὴν μετὰ τοῦ κόσμου παντὸς ἐκτίζετο, πρόεισιν
 ἐκ τοῦ ξυλίνου κατασκευάσματος αὐτὸς καὶ γυνή
 καὶ υἱοὶ καὶ τούτων γυναῖκες καὶ μετὰ τῆς οἰκίας
 ἀγγεληδὸν τὰ συνεληλυθότα τῶν ζώων γένη πρὸς
 τὴν τῶν ὁμοίων σποράν τε καὶ γένεσιν.
- 65 ταῦτα τῶν ἀγαθῶν ἀνδρῶν ἐστὶν ἀριστεία καὶ ἄθλα,
 δι' ὧν οὐ μόνον αὐτοὶ καὶ γένη σωτηρίας ἔτυχον
 τοὺς μεγίστους κινδύνους ἐκφυγόντες, οἱ κατὰ τὸν
 τῶν στοιχείων νεωτερισμὸν τοῖς πανταχοῦ πᾶσιν
 ἐπετειχίσθησαν, ἀλλὰ καὶ παλιγγενεσίας ἐγένοντο
 ἡγεμόνες καὶ δευτέρας ἀρχηγέται περιόδου, καθάπερ
 ἐμπυρεύματα τοῦ ζώων ἀρίστου γένους ἀνθρώπων
 ὑπολειφθέντες, ὃ τὴν ἡγεμονίαν τῶν περιγείων ἅπαξ
 ἀπάντων ἔλαχεν ἀντίμιμον γεγονὸς θεοῦ δυνάμεως,
 εἰκὼν τῆς ἀοράτου φύσεως ἐμφανής, αἰδίου γενητή.

- 66 * * * * *
 [145] XIII. | Δύο μὲν ἤδη μέρη τοῦ βίου Μωυσέως
 διεξεληλύθαμεν, τό τε περὶ βασιλείας καὶ νομο-
 θετικῆς· τρίτον δὲ προσαποδοτέον τὸ περὶ ἱερω-
 σύνης. ὃ τοίνυν μέγιστον καὶ ἀναγκαιότατον
 ἀρχιερεῖ προσεῖναι δεῖ, τὴν εὐσέβειαν, ἐν τοῖς

^a On the question of a considerable lacuna at this point see App. pp. 606-607.

MOSES II. 63-66

covered every land partly disappeared under the heat of the sun, partly subsided into the beds of water torrents and into chasms and the other hollows in the earth. For, as though by God's command, every form of nature, sea, springs and rivers, received back what it had lent as a debt which must be repaid; for each stream subsided into its proper place. But ⁶⁴ when the sublunary world had been purged, when earth rising from its ablutions shewed itself renewed with the likeness which we may suppose it to have worn when originally it was created with the universe, there issued from the wooden structure himself and his wife and his sons and his sons' wives, and with the household, moving like a herd, the various animals which had been assembled there came forth to beget and reproduce their kind.

These are the ⁶⁵ guerduons and the prizes of the good, by which not only they themselves and their families won safety and escaped the greatest dangers, which, with the wild uprising of the elements as their weapon, stood menacingly over all and everywhere, but also became leaders of the regeneration, inaugurators of a second cycle, spared as embers to rekindle mankind, that highest form of life, which has received dominion over everything whatsoever upon earth, born to be the likeness of God's power and image of His nature, the visible of the Invisible, the created of the Eternal.^a

* * * * *

XIII. We have now fully treated of two sides of ⁶⁶ the life of Moses, the royal and the legislative. We must proceed to give account of the third, which concerns his priesthood. The chief and most essential quality required by a priest is piety, and

- μάλιστα οὗτος ἡσκησεν ἅμα καὶ φύσεως εὐμοιρία
 χρησάμενος, ἣν ὥσπερ ἀγαθὴν ἀρουραν φιλοσοφία
 παραλαβοῦσα δογμάτων θεωρία παγκάλων ἐβελ-
 τίσσε καὶ οὐ πρότερον ἀνῆκεν ἢ τελειοποιηθῆναι
 τοὺς ἀρετῆς καρποὺς διὰ τε λόγων καὶ πράξεων.
- 67 τοιγαροῦν μετ' ὀλίγων ἄλλων φιλόθεός τε καὶ
 θεοφιλὴς ἐγένετο, καταπνευσθεὶς ὑπ' ἔρωτος οὐ-
 ρανίου καὶ διαφερόντως τιμήσας τὸν ἡγεμόνα τοῦ
 παντός καὶ ἀντιτιμηθεὶς ὑπ' αὐτοῦ· τιμὴ δ' ἀρ-
 μόττουσα σοφῶ θεραπεύειν τὸ πρὸς ἀλήθειαν ὄν·
 ἱερωσύνη δὲ θεραπείαν ἐπιτετήδευκε θεοῦ. τούτου
 τοῦ γέρως, οὗ μείζον ἀγαθὸν ἐν τοῖς οὖσιν οὐκ
 ἔστιν, ἡξιοῦτο χρησιμοῖς ἕκαστα τῶν εἰς τὰς λει-
 τουργίας καὶ ἱερὰς ὑπηρεσίας ἀναδιδασκόμενος.
- 68 XIV. ἔδει δὲ πρότερον ὥσπερ τὴν ψυχὴν καὶ τὸ
 σῶμα καθαρεῦσαι, μηδενὸς πάθους προσαιψάμενον,
 ἀλλ' ἀγνέυσαντα ἀπὸ πάντων ὅσα τῆς θνητῆς ἐστι
 φύσεως, σιτιῶν καὶ ποτῶν καὶ τῆς πρὸς γυναικάς
- 69 ὁμιλίας. ἀλλὰ ταύτης μὲν ἐκ πολλῶν χρόνων κατ-
 εφρόνησε καὶ σχεδὸν ἀφ' οὗ τὸ πρῶτον ἤρξατο
- [146] | προφητεύειν καὶ θεοφορεῖσθαι, προσῆκον ἡγού-
 μενος ἔτοιμον ἐμπαρέχειν αἰεὶ τοῖς χρησιμοῖς ἑαυτόν·
 σιτιῶν δὲ καὶ ποτῶν ἐπὶ ἡμέρας τεσσαράκοντα ἐξῆς
 ἡλόγησε, δηλονότι τροφὰς ἔχων ἀμείνους τὰς διὰ
 θεωρίας, αἷς ἄνωθεν ἀπ' οὐρανοῦ καταπνεόμενος
 τὴν μὲν διάνοιαν τὸ πρῶτον, ἔπειτα δὲ καὶ τὸ σῶμα
 διὰ τῆς ψυχῆς ἐβελτιοῦτο, καθ' ἑκάτερον πρὸς
 τε ἰσχὺν καὶ εὐεξίαν ἐπιδιδούς, ὥς τοὺς ἰδόντας
- 70 ὕστερον ἀπιστεῖν. εἰς γὰρ ὅρος ὑψηλότατον καὶ
 ἱερώτατον τῶν περὶ τὸν τόπον ἀνελθὼν προστάξει

MOSES II. 66-70

this he practised in a very high degree, and at the same time made use of his great natural gifts. In these, philosophy found a good soil, which she improved still further by the admirable truths which she brought before his eyes, nor did she cease until the fruits of virtue shewn in word and deed were brought to perfection. Thus he came to love God 67 and be loved by Him as have been few others. A heaven-sent rapture inspired him, so markedly did he honour the Ruler of the All and was honoured in return by Him. An honour well-becoming the wise is to serve the Being Who truly is, and the service of God is ever the business of the priesthood. This privilege, a blessing which nothing in the world can surpass, was given to him as his due, and oracles instructed him in all that pertains to rites of worship and the sacred tasks of his ministry. XIV. But first 68 he had to be clean, as in soul so also in body, to have no dealings with any passion, purifying himself from all the calls of mortal nature, food and drink and intercourse with women. This last he had disdained 69 for many a day, almost from the time when, possessed by the spirit, he entered on his work as prophet, since he held it fitting to hold himself always in readiness to receive the oracular messages. As for eating and drinking, he had no thought of them for forty successive days, doubtless because he had the better food of contemplation, through whose inspiration, sent from heaven above, he grew in grace, first of mind, then of body also through the soul, and in both so advanced in strength and well-being that those who saw him afterwards could not believe their eyes. For we read that by God's command 70 he ascended an inaccessible and pathless mountain,

θείαις, ὅπερ ἀπρόσιτον καὶ ἄβατον ἦν, εἰς ἐκεῖνον λέγεται διαμεῖναι τὸν χρόνον οὐδὲν ἐπιφερόμενος τῶν εἰς ἀναγκαίας ἀπόλαυσιν τροφῆς <καὶ>¹ ἡμέραις ὕστερον, ὡς ἐλέχθη, τεσσαράκοντα κατέβαινε πολὺ καλλίων τὴν ὄψιν ἢ ὅτε ἀνῆει, ὡς τοὺς ὀρώντας τεθηπέναι καὶ καταπεπληχθαι καὶ μηδ' ἐπὶ πλέον ἀντέχειν τοῖς ὀφθαλμοῖς δύνασθαι κατὰ τὴν προσβολὴν ἡλιοειδούς φέγγους ἀπαστράπτοντος.

- 71 XV. "Ἐτι δ' ἄνω διατρίβων ἐμυσταγωγεῖτο παι-
δεύόμενος τὰ κατὰ τὴν ἱερωσύνην πάντα καὶ
πρῶτα, ἃ δὴ καὶ πρῶτα τῇ τάξει, τὰ περὶ τὴν τοῦ
72 ἱεροῦ καὶ τῶν ἐν αὐτῷ κατασκευὴν. εἰ μὲν οὖν
τὴν χώραν, εἰς ἣν μετανίσταντο, ἤδη παρειλήφεσαν,
ἀναγκαῖον ἦν ιδρύσασθαι περισημότατον νεῶν ἐν
τῷ καθαρωτάτῳ λίθων πολυτελῶν ὕλης καὶ περὶ
αὐτὸν τείχη μεγάλη δείμασθαι καὶ νεωκόροις
παμπληθεῖς οἰκίας, ὀνομάσαντας ἱερόπολιν τὸν
73 τόπον. ἐπεὶ δ' ἔτι κατὰ τὴν ἐρήμην ἐπλάζοντο,
τοῖς μήπω παγίως ἰδρυθεῖσιν ἤρμοττε φορητὸν
ἔχειν ἱερόν, ἵν' ἐν ταῖς ὁδοιπορίαις καὶ στρατοπε-
δείαις ἀνάγωσι θυσίας καὶ τὰ ἄλλα ὅσα κατὰ τὰς
ἱεουργίας δρῶσι μηδενὸς ἀμοιροῦντες ὦν χρὴ τοὺς
74 ἐν πόλεσιν οἰκοῦντας. σκηνην οὖν, ἔργον ἱερώ-
τατον, δημιουργεῖν ἔδοξεν, ἥς τὴν κατασκευὴν
θεσφάτοις λογίοις ἐπὶ τοῦ ὄρους Μωσῆς ἀν-
εδιδάσκετο, τῶν μελλόντων ἀποτελεῖσθαι σωμάτων
ἀσωμάτων ἰδέας τῇ ψυχῇ θεωρῶν, πρὸς ἃς ἔδει

¹ <καὶ>: so Cohn emends this defective sentence. I suggest as an alternative to insert ἧ (= "where") before εἰς ἐκεῖνον.

^a See Ex. xxiv. 18, xxxiv. 28 ff.

MOSES II. 70-74

the highest and most sacred in the region, and remained for the period named, taking nothing that is needed to satisfy the requirements of bare sustenance. Then, after the said forty days had passed, he descended with a countenance far more beautiful than when he ascended, so that those who saw him were filled with awe and amazement; nor even could their eyes continue to stand the dazzling brightness that flashed from him like the rays of the sun.^a

XV. While he was still staying on the mount, he was 71 being instructed in all the mysteries of his priestly duties: and first in those which stood first in order, namely the building and furnishing of the sanctuary. Now, if they had already occupied the land into which 72 they were removing, they would necessarily have had to erect a magnificent temple on the most open and conspicuous site,^b with costly stones for its material, and build great walls around it, with plenty of houses for the attendants, and call the place the holy city. But, as they were still wandering in the desert and 73 had as yet no settled habitation, it suited them to have a portable sanctuary, so that during their journeys and encampment they might bring their sacrifices to it and perform all their other religious duties, not lacking anything which dwellers in cities should have. It was determined, therefore, to fashion a tabernacle, 74 a work of the highest sanctity, the construction of which was set forth to Moses on the mount by divine pronouncements. He saw with the soul's eye the immaterial forms of the material objects about to be

^b Mangey "augustissima sede," the German translation "geweihter Stätte," but the sense given above seems more probable. Cf. §§ 34 and 214, also *In Flaccum* 122 ἐπὶ τοὺς πλῆσιον αἰγιαλοὺς ἀφικνοῦνται κὰν τῷ καθαρωτάτῳ σπάντες ἀνεβόησαν.

- καθάπερ ἀπ' ἀρχετύπου γραφῆς καὶ νοητῶν παρα-
 δειγμάτων αἰσθητὰ μιμήματα ἀπεικονισθῆναι.
 75 προσῆκον γὰρ ἦν τῷ ὡς ἀληθῶς ἀρχιερεῖ καὶ τὴν
 τοῦ ἱεροῦ κατασκευὴν ἐπιτραπῆναι, ἵν' ἐκ πολλοῦ
 τοῦ περιόντος ἡρμοσμένας καὶ συμφώνους τοῖς
 δημιουργηθεῖσι ποιῇται τὰς ἐν τῷ ἱερᾷσθαι λει-
 76ουργίας. XVI. ὁ μὲν οὖν τύπος τοῦ παραδείγ-
 ματος ἐνεσφραγίζετο τῇ διανοίᾳ τοῦ προφήτου
 διαζωγραφούμενος καὶ προδιαπλαττόμενος ἀφανῶς
 ἄνευ ὕλης ἀοράτοις εἶδεσι· τὸ δ' ἀποτέλεσμα πρὸς
 τὸν τύπον ἐδημιουργεῖτο, ἐναποματτομένου τὰς
 σφραγίδας τοῦ τεχνίτου ταῖς προσφόροις ἐκάστων
 77 ὑλικάς οὐσίαις. ἦν δ' ἡ κατασκευὴ τοιάδε· ὁκτώ
 [147] καὶ τεσσαράκοντα κίονες κέδρου | τῆς ἀσηπτοτάτης
 ἀπὸ στελεχῶν κοπέντες εὐερνεστάτων περιεβάλλον-
 το χρυσῷ βαθεῖ· κᾶπειθ' ἐκάστῳ δύο ἀργυραῖ
 βάσεις ὑπηρείδοντο καὶ κατὰ τὸ ἀκροκίονιον ἐφ-
 78 ἡρμόζετο χρυσῇ κεφαλῇ. εἰς μὲν οὖν τὸ μῆκος
 τεσσαράκοντα κίονας διέταπτεν ὁ τεχνίτης, ἐκατέρω-
 θεν τοὺς ἡμίσεις εἴκοσι, μηδὲν ἐν μέσῳ διάστημα
 ποιούμενος, ἀλλ' ἐξῆς ἐφαρμόζων καὶ συνάπτων,
 ἵν' οἷα τείχους ὄψις μία προφαίνεται· εἰς δὲ τὸ
 πλάτος ἐσώτατον τοὺς λοιποὺς ὁκτώ, ἐξ μὲν κατὰ
 τὴν μέσσην χώραν, δύο δ' ἐν ταῖς παρ' ἐκάτερα τῆς
 μέσης γωνίαις, τὸν μὲν ἐπὶ δεξιᾷ, τὸν δ' ἐπ' εὐ-
 ὤνυμα· κατὰ δὲ τὴν εἴσοδον ἄλλους τέσσaras, τὰ
 μὲν ἄλλα ὁμοίους, μίαν δ' ἀντὶ δυοῖν ἔχοντας βάσιν
 τῶν ἐξ ἀντικρύ, μεθ' οὓς ἐξωτάτω πέντε μόναίς
 79 ταῖς βάσεσι διαφέροντας, χαλκαῖ γὰρ ἦσαν· ὥστε
 τῆς σκηνῆς τοὺς σύμπαντας εἶναι, δίχρα τῶν ἐν ταῖς

^a For §§ 77-83 see Ex. xxvi. 18 ff.

^b LXX στυλοὶ ("posts" ?). E.V. "boards."

MOSES II. 74-79

made, and these forms had to be reproduced in copies perceived by the senses, taken from the original draught, so to speak, and from patterns conceived in the mind. For it was fitting that the construction 75 of the sanctuary should be committed to him who was truly high priest, in order that his performance of the rites belonging to his sacred office might be in more than full accordance and harmony with the fabric. XVI. So the shape of the model was stamped 76 upon the mind of the prophet, a secretly painted or moulded prototype, produced by immaterial and invisible forms ; and then the resulting work was built in accordance with that shape by the artist impressing the stampings upon the material substances required in each case. ^aThe actual construction was as follows. 77 Forty-eight pillars ^b of the most durable cedar wood, hewn out of the finest trunks, were encased in a deep layer of gold, and each of these had two silver bases ^c set to support it and a golden capital fixed on the top. For the length of the building, the craftsman put 78 forty pillars, half of them—that is a row of twenty—on each side, with no interval left between them, but each joined and fitted on to the next, so as to present the appearance of a single wall. For the breadth he set right inside the remaining eight, six in the central space and two in the corners on either side of the centre, one on the right and one on the left ; also four others at the entrance, like the rest in everything else, except that they had one base instead of the two of the pillars opposite, and after these, at the very outside, five, differing only in their bases, which were of brass. Thus the whole number of pillars visible in 79 the tabernacle, leaving out the two in the corners,

^a Or “sockets.”

γωνίαις δυοῖν ἀφανῶν, πέντε καὶ πεντήκοντα
 ἐμφανεῖς, τὸν ἀπὸ μονάδος ἄχρι δεκάδος τῆς
 80 παντελείας συμπληρούμενον ἀριθμόν. εἰ δὲ βου-
 ληθείη τις τοὺς ἐν τῷ προπυλαίῳ πέντε τῷ ὑπαίθρῳ
 συνάπτοντας, ὃ κέκληκεν αὐλήν, τιθέναι χωρίς,
 ἀπολειφθήσεται ὁ ἀγιώτατος πεντηκοντάδος ἀρι-
 θμός, δύναμις ὧν τοῦ ὀρθογωνίου τριγώνου, ὅπερ
 ἐστὶ τῆς τῶν ὅλων γενέσεως ἀρχή, συμπληρωθεὶς
 ἐκ τῶν ἐντὸς κiónων, τεσσαράκοντα μὲν τῶν καθ'
 ἑκατέραν πλευρὰν εἴκοσιν, ἕξ δὲ τῶν ἐν μέσῳ δίχα
 τῶν παρὰ ταῖς γωνίαις ἀποκεκρυμμένων, τεσσάρων
 81 δὲ τῶν ἀντικρύ, ἐφ' ὧν τὸ καταπέτασμα. τὴν δ'
 αἰτίαν, ἧς ἕνεκα¹ τοὺς πέντε τοῖς πεντήκοντα συγ-
 κατατάττω καὶ χωρὶς αὐτῶν τίθημι, δηλώσω. ἡ
 πεντὰς αἰσθήσεων ἀριθμός ἐστίν, αἰσθησις δ' ἐν
 ἀνθρώπῳ τῇ μὲν νεύει πρὸς τὰ ἐκτός, τῇ δὲ ἀνα-
 κάμπτει πρὸς νοῦν ὑπηρέτις οὕσα φύσεως νόμοις
 82 αὐτοῦ. διὸ καὶ τὴν μεθόριον χώραν ἀπένειμε τοῖς
 πέντε· τὰ μὲν γὰρ ἐντὸς αὐτῶν ἐκνέενυκε πρὸς τὰ
 ἄδυστα τῆς σκηνῆς, ἅπερ ἐστὶ συμβολικῶς νοητά,
 τὰ δ' ἐκτός πρὸς τὸ ὑπαιθρον καὶ τὴν αὐλήν, ἅπερ
 ἐστὶν αἰσθητά· παρὸ καὶ ταῖς βάσεσι διήνεγκαν,
 χαλκαὶ γάρ εἰσιν· ἐπεὶ δὲ τῆς ἐν ἡμῖν αἰσθήσεως
 κεφαλὴ μὲν καὶ ἡγεμονικὸν ὁ νοῦς, ἐσχατιὰ δὲ καὶ
 ὡσανεὶ βάσις τὸ αἰσθητόν, εἴκασε δὴ τὸν μὲν νοῦν
 83 χρυσῷ, χαλκῷ δὲ τὸ αἰσθητόν. μέτρα δὲ τῶν
 κiónων ταῦτα· δέκα μὲν πῆχεις τὸ μῆκος, εἰς δὲ

¹ Perhaps καὶ has fallen out after ἕνεκα.

^a See App. pp. 607-608, and for παντελεία note on *De Abr.* 244.

^b i.e. $50 = 3^2 + 4^2 + 5^2$, and 3, 4, 5 are the sides of the primary form of the right-angled triangle, which in *De Op.* 97 488

MOSES II. 79-83

hidden from view, amounted to fifty-five, that is to the sum of successive numbers from one to the supremely perfect ten.^a But if you choose to exclude 80 the five in the propylaeum adjoining the open-air space which he has called the court, there will be left the most sacred number, fifty, the square of the sides of the right-angled triangle, the original source from which the universe springs.^b This fifty is obtained by adding together the inside pillars, namely the forty made up by the twenties on each side, then the six in the middle, leaving out the two hidden away in the corners, and then the four opposite which support the veil. I will now give my reason for first 81 counting the five with the fifty and then separately. Five is the number of the senses, and sense in mankind inclines on one side to things external, while on the other its trend is towards mind, whose handmaiden it is by the laws of nature. And therefore he assigned the position on the border to the five pillars, for what lies inside them verges on the inmost sanctuary of the tabernacle, which symbolically represents the realm of mind, while what lies outside them verges on the open-air space and court which represent the realm of sense. And therefore the five differ from the rest 82 also in their bases which are of brass. Since the mind is head and ruler of the sense-faculty in us, and the world which sense apprehends is the extremity and, as it were, the base of mind, he symbolized the mind by the gold and the sense-objects by the brass. The 83 dimensions of the pillars were as follows : the height,

is said to be the *σχημάτων καὶ ποιότητων ἀρχή*. The virtues of fifty are described more fully in *De Spec. Leg.* ii. 176, when it is said to be *στοιχειωδέστατον καὶ πρεσβύτατον τῶν ἐν οὐσίαις περιλαμβανομένων*.

καὶ ἡμῖς τὸ εὖρος, ἢ ἡ σκηνὴ πᾶσι τοῖς μέρεσιν ἴση προφαίνεται.

- 84 XVII. | Παγκάλους δὲ καὶ ποικίλους ὑφάσματος
 [148] αὐτὴν περιέβαλεν, ὑακίνθῳ καὶ πορφύρᾳ καὶ κοκκίνῳ καὶ βύσσῳ καταχρώμενος εἰς τὴν ὑφήν. δέκα γὰρ ᾧς διὰ τῆς ἱερᾶς γραφῆς ὠνόμασεν αὐλαίας ἐκ τῶν ἀρτίως λεχθέντων γενῶν ἐδημιούργει, μήκει μὲν ὀκτὼ καὶ εἴκοσι πηχῶν ἐκάστην, εἰς δὲ τέσσαρας πῆχεις πρὸς εὖρος ἀποτείνων, ἵνα καὶ δεκάδα ἔχωσι τὴν παντέλειαν καὶ τετράδα τὴν δεκάδος οὐσίαν καὶ τὸν ὀκτὼ καὶ εἴκοσιν ἀριθμὸν τέλειον ἴσον τοῖς ἑαυτοῦ μέρεσι καὶ τεσσαρακοντάδα τὴν ζωογονικωτάτην, ἐν ᾗ διαπλάττεσθαι φασιν ἄνθρωπον ἐν τῷ τῆς φύσεως ἐργαστηρίῳ. οἱ μὲν οὖν ὀκτὼ καὶ εἴκοσι πῆχεις τῶν αὐλαίων τοιαύτην ἔχουσι τὴν διανομήν· δέκα μὲν κατὰ τὸν ὄροφον—τοσοῦτον γὰρ ἐστὶ τῆς σκηνῆς τὸ εὖρος—, οἱ δὲ λοιποὶ κατὰ τὰς πλευράς, ἐκατέρωθεν ἑννέα, πρὸς σκέπην ἀποτείνονται τῶν κιόνων, ὑπολειπομένου πῆχεως ἀπὸ τοῦ ἐδάφους, ἵνα μὴ ἐπισύρηται <τὸ>
 86 πάγκαλον καὶ ἱεροπρεπὲς ὕφασμα. τῶν δὲ τεσσαράκοντα, οἱ συναριθμοῦνται ἐκ τοῦ τῶν δέκα αὐλαίων πλάτους, τριάκοντα μὲν ἀπολαμβάνει τὸ μῆκος—τοσοῦτον γὰρ ἐστὶ καὶ <τὸ> τῆς σκηνῆς¹—, ἑννέα δὲ ὁ ὀπισθόδομος, τὸν δὲ λοιπὸν τὸ κατὰ τὸ προπύλαιον, ἵνα δεσμὸς ᾗ τοῦ ὅλου περιβλήματος.
 87 ἐπὶ δὲ τοῦ προπυλαίου τὸ καταπέτασμα. σχεδὸν δὲ καὶ αἱ αὐλαῖαι καταπετάσματ' εἰσίν, οὐ μόνον τῷ τὸν ὄροφον καὶ τοὺς τοίχους καλύπτειν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῷ συννυφάνθαι γένεσι τοῖς αὐτοῖς, ὑακίνθῳ καὶ

¹ Or perhaps read τὸ μῆκος—τοσοῦτον γὰρ ἐστὶ—τῆς σκηνῆς, i.e. instead of adding τὸ as Cohn and Mangey, omit καὶ.

MOSES II. 83-87

ten cubits, the breadth, one-and-a-half, so that the tabernacle might appear equal in all its parts.

XVII. ^a He also surrounded it with the most beautiful pieces of woven work of various colours, using without stint materials of dark red and purple and scarlet and bright white, for the weaving. For he made ten curtains, as he calls them in the sacred writings, of the four kinds of material just mentioned, twenty-eight cubits in length and extended to four cubits in breadth. Thus we find in them ten, the supremely perfect number, four which contains the essence of ten, twenty-eight, a perfect number, equal to the sum of its factors,^b and forty, the most prolific of life, which gives the time in which, as we are told, the man is fully formed in the laboratory of nature.^c The twenty-eight cubits of the curtains were distributed as follows: ten along the roof, that being the breadth of the tabernacle, the rest extended along the sides, nine on each to cover the pillars, but leaving one cubit free from the floor, that this work so magnificent and worthily held sacred should not trail in the dust. Of the forty cubits which sum up the breadth of the ten curtains, thirty are taken up by the length of the tabernacle itself, that being its extent, nine by the backyard, and the remaining one by the space at the propylaeum, thus forming a bond to make the enclosing complete.^d On the propylaeum was set the veil. But in a sense the curtains also are veils, not only because they cover the roof and the walls, but also because they are woven with the same kinds of

^a For §§ 84-88 see Ex. xxvi. 1-14.

^b *i.e.* $1+2+4+7+14=28$. See note on *De Op.* 101.

^c *i.e.* forty weeks, or about ten months is supposed to be the period of gestation. Cf. *e.g.* Virg. *Ecl.* 4. 61.

^d Lit. "to be a bond of all that was put round."

- πορφύρα καὶ κοκκίνῳ καὶ βύσσῳ. ἐκ δὲ τῶν αὐτῶν τό τε καταπέτασμα καὶ τὸ λεγόμενον κάλυμμα κατεσκευάζετο, τὸ μὲν εἰσω κατὰ τοὺς τέσσαρας κίονας, ἵν' ἐπικρύπτηται τὸ ἄδυτον, τὸ δ' ἔξω κατὰ τοὺς πέντε, ὥς μηδεὶς ἐξ ἀπόπτου δύναιτο τῶν μὴ
- 88 ἱερωμένων καταθεάσασθαι τὰ ἅγια. XVIII. τὰς δὲ τῶν ὑφασμάτων ὕλας ἀριστίνδην ἐπέκρινεν ἐκ μυρίων ὅσων ἐλόμενος τοῖς στοχείοις ἰσαρίθμους, ἐξ ὧν ἀπετελέσθη ὁ κόσμος, καὶ πρὸς αὐτὰ λόγον ἔχουσας, γῆν καὶ ὕδωρ καὶ ἀέρα καὶ πῦρ· ἡ μὲν γὰρ βύσσος ἐκ γῆς, ἐξ ὕδατος δ' ἡ πορφύρα, ἡ δ' ὑάκινθος ἀέρι ὁμοιοῦται—φύσει γὰρ μέλας οὗτος—, τὸ δὲ κόκκινον πυρί, διότι φοινικοῦν ἐκάτερον· ἦν γὰρ ἀναγκαῖον ἱερὸν χειροποίητον κατασκευάζοντας τῷ πατρὶ καὶ ἡγεμόνι τοῦ παντὸς τὰς ὁμοίας |
- [149] λαβεῖν οὐσίας, αἷς τὸ ὅλον ἐδημιούργει.
- 89 Ἡ μὲν οὖν σκηνή, καθάπερ νεὼς ἅγιος, τὸν εἰρημένον τρόπον κατεσκευάσθη. τέμενος δ' αὐτῆς ἐν κύκλῳ περιεβάλετο πηχῶν μῆκος ἑκατὸν καὶ πλάτος πεντήκοντα, κίονας ἔχον ἀφεστῶτας ἴσον ἀλλήλων διάστημα πέντε πήχεις, ὥς τοὺς μὲν σύμπαντας ἐξήκοντα εἶναι, διανεμέσθαι δ' εἰς μὲν τὸ μῆκος τεσσαράκοντα, πρὸς δὲ τὸ εὖρος εἴκοσι,
- 90 καθ' ἑκάτερα μέρη τοὺς ἡμίσεις. ὕλη δὲ τῶν στύλων τὰ μὲν ἐντὸς κέδρος, τὰ δ' ἐκ τῆς ἐπιφανείας ἄργυρος, ἀπάντων δ' αἱ βάσεις χαλκαῖ, καὶ τὸ ὕψος ἴσον πέντε πηχῶν· ἔδοξε γὰρ ἀρμόττον εἶναι τῷ τεχνίτῃ συνελεῖν ὅλῳ ἡμίσει τὸ ὕψος τῆς

^a Philo seems to have made a slip here. The screen for the door of the tent (Ex. xxvi. 36) is in the LXX *ἐπίσπαστρον*, while *κάλυμμα* is the name given (Ex. xxvii. 16) to the

MOSES II. 87-90

material, dark red and purple and scarlet and bright white. And what he calls the "covering"^a was also made with the same materials as the veil, that being placed inside along the four pillars to hide the inmost sanctuary, the "covering" outside along the five pillars, so that no unconsecrated person should get even a distant view of the holy precincts. XVIII. But, in choosing the materials for the woven work, 88 he selected as the best out of a vast number possible four, as equal in number to the elements—earth, water, air, fire—out of which the world was made, and with a definite relation to those elements; the byssus, or bright white, coming from the earth, purple from the water, while dark red is like the air, which is naturally black, and scarlet like fire, since both are bright red. For it was necessary that in framing a temple of man's making, dedicated to the Father and Ruler of All, he should take substances like those with which that Ruler made the All.

^b The tabernacle, then, was constructed to resemble 89 a sacred temple in the way described. Its precincts contained an area of a hundred cubits long by fifty broad, with pillars at equal intervals of five cubits from each other, so that the total number was sixty, with forty arranged on the long sides and twenty on the broad sides, in both cases half to each side. The 90 material of the columns was of cedar wood overlaid by silver. The bases in all cases were of brass, and the height was five cubits. For the master craftsman thought it proper to cut down the height of what he calls the court by a complete half, in order that the

screen at the gate of the court represented in Philo by the *ὕφασμα* of § 93.

^b For §§ 89-93 see Ex. xxvii. 9-18.

PHILO

- λεγομένης αὐλῆς, ἢ ἡ σκηνὴ πρὸς τὸ διπλάσιον μετέωρος ἀρθείσα προφαίνεται. λεπταὶ δ' ὀθόνηαι κατὰ τοῦ μήκους καὶ πλάτους ἦσαν ἐφαρμοζόμεναι τοῖς κίοσιν ἰστίοις ἐμφερεῖς, ὑπὲρ τοῦ μηδένα τῶν
- 91 μὴ καθαρῶν εἰσιέναι. XIX. ἡ δὲ θέσις τοιαύδε ἦν· μέση μὲν ἵδρυτο ἡ σκηνὴ μήκος ἔχουσα τριάκοντα πήχεις καὶ εὖρος δέκα σὺν τῷ βάθει τῶν κιόνων, ἀφειστήκει δὲ τῆς αὐλῆς ἐκ τριῶν μερῶν ἴσῳ διαστήματι, δυοῖν μὲν κατὰ τὰς πλευράς, ἐνὸς δὲ κατὰ τὸν ὀπισθόδομον, τὸ δὲ διάστημα ἐξ εἴκοσι πηχῶν ἀνεμετρεῖτο· κατὰ δὲ τὸ προπύλαιον, ὡς εἰκός, ἔνεκα τοῦ πλήθους τῶν εἰσιόντων μείζον ἐγένετο διάστημα πεντήκοντα πηχῶν· οὕτως γὰρ οἱ ἑκατὸν τῆς αὐλῆς ἔμελλον ἐκπληροῦσθαι, τῶν κατὰ τὸν ὀπισθόδομον εἴκοσι καὶ οὐς ἀπελάμβανεν ἡ σκηνὴ τριάκοντα συντεθέντων τοῖς κατὰ τὰς
- 92 εἰσόδους πεντήκοντα. τὰ γὰρ προπύλαια τῆς σκηνῆς ὥσανει μέσος ὅρος ἵδρυτο διττῆς πεντηκοντάδος, τῆς μὲν κατ' ἀνατολάς, ἔνθα αἱ εἰσοδοί, τῆς δὲ πρὸς δυσμάς, ἔνθα τό τε μήκος τῆς σκηνῆς
- 93 καὶ ὁ κατόπιν περίβολος. κάλλιστον δὲ καὶ μέγιστον ἄλλο προπύλαιον ἐν ἀρχῇ τῆς εἰς τὴν αὐλὴν εἰσόδου κατεσκευάζετο διὰ τεττάρων κιόνων, καθ' ὧν ἐτείνετο ποικίλον ὕφασμα τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον τοῖς εἴσω κατὰ τὴν σκηνὴν καὶ τῆς ὁμοίας ὕλης ἀπειργασμένον.
- 94 Ἄμα δὲ τούτοις ἐδημιουργεῖτο καὶ σκεύη ἱερά, κιβωτός, λυχνία, τράπεζα, θυμιατήριον, βωμός. ὁ μὲν οὖν βωμὸς ἱδρύετο ἐν ὑπαίθρῳ, τῶν εἰσόδων τῆς σκηνῆς ἀντικρὺ, ἀφεστῶς τοσοῦτον ὅσον ἱκανὸν

^a Or "the frontage," the plural, which here as in § 136 is

MOSES II. 90-94

tabernacle should be conspicuous by rising up to double the height. Five linen sheets like sails were attached to the pillars, both on the length and the breadth, so that no impure person could enter the place. XIX. The plan was as follows. The tab- 91
ernacle itself was set in the midst, thirty cubits long and ten broad, including the thickness of the pillars. From three aspects, namely the two long sides and the space at the back, it was the same distance from the boundary of the court, reckoned at twenty cubits. But at the propylaeum there was naturally a greater interval of fifty cubits, on account of the number of people entering. This increase was required to make up the hundred cubits of the court ; the twenty of the back-space and the thirty taken up by the tab- 92
ernacle being added to the fifty at the entrances. For the propylaeum^a of the tabernacle was set as the border-line between the two fifties, namely the fifty on the eastern half, where the entrance is, and the fifty on the western half, consisting of the tabernacle and the area behind it. At the beginning of the 93
entrance to the court was built another very fine and large propylaeum with four pillars, on which was stretched a piece of woven work of various colours, made in the same way as those within the tabernacle and of like materials.

With these were also made the sacred vessels and 94
furniture, the ark, candlestick, table and altars for incense and burnt offerings. The altar for burnt offerings was placed in the open air, opposite the entrance of the tabernacle,^b at a distance sufficient to

applied to what is clearly a single "propylaeum," indicating that the line in which the portico stands is included.

^b See Ex. xl. 6, 29.

λειτουργοῖς εἶναι διάστημα πρὸς τὰς καθ' ἑκάστην
 95 ἡμέραν ἐπιτελουμένας θυσίας. XX. ἡ δὲ κιβωτὸς
 ἐν ἀδύτῳ καὶ ἀβάτῳ τῶν καταπετασμάτων εἶσω,
 [150] κεχυρωμένη πολυτελῶς ἔνδοθεν | τε καὶ ἔξωθεν,
 ἥς ἐπίθεμα ὥσανεὶ πῶμα τὸ λεγόμενον ἐν ἱεραῖς
 96 βίβλοις ἱλαστήριον. τούτου μῆκος μὲν καὶ πλάτος
 μεμήνυται, βάθος δ' οὐδέν, ἐπιφανεία γέωμετρικῇ
 μάλισθ' ὁμοιωμένου, ὅπερ ἔοικεν εἶναι σύμβολον
 φυσικώτερον μὲν τῆς ἰλεω τοῦ θεοῦ δυνάμεως,
 ἠθικώτερον δὲ διανοίας πάλιν, ἰλεω δ' ἑαυτῇ, τὴν
 πρὸς ὕψος ἄλογον αἴρουσαν καὶ φυσῶσαν οἴησιν
 ἀτυφίας ἔρωτι σὺν ἐπιστήμῃ στέλλειν καὶ καθαιρεῖν
 97 ἀξιούσης. ἀλλ' ἡ μὲν κιβωτὸς ἀγγεῖον νόμων
 ἐστίν· εἰς γὰρ ταύτην κατατίθεται τὰ χρησθέντα
 λόγια· τὸ δ' ἐπίθεμα τὸ προσαγορευόμενον ἱλαστή-
 ριον βάσις ἐστὶ πτηνῶν δυοῖν, ἃ πατρίῳ μὲν γλώττῃ
 προσαγορεύεται Χερουβίμ, ὡς δ' ἂν Ἕλληνες
 98 εἴποιεν, ἐπίγνωσις καὶ ἐπιστήμη πολλή. ταῦτα δέ
 τινες μὲν φασιν εἶναι σύμβολα τῶν ἡμισφαιρίων
 ἀμφοῖν κατὰ τὴν ἀντιπρόσωπον θέσιν, τοῦ τε ὑπὸ
 γῆν καὶ ὑπὲρ γῆν· πτηνὸν γὰρ ὁ σύμπας οὐρανός.
 99 ἐγὼ δ' ἂν εἴποιμι δηλοῦσθαι δι' ὑπονοιῶν τὰς
 πρεσβυτάτας καὶ ἀνωτάτω δύο τοῦ ὄντος δυνάμεις,
 τὴν τε ποιητικὴν καὶ βασιλικήν· ὀνομάζεται δ' ἡ
 μὲν ποιητικὴ δύναμις αὐτοῦ θεός, καθ' ἣν ἔθηκε

^a For §§ 95-97 see Ex. xxv. 10-22.

^b Or place of grace.

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

^d Or "full knowledge and much science." These words are not interpretations of the symbolical meaning of the two cherubim, but the supposed meaning of the Hebrew word, of which Philo gives two almost synonymous (and presumably alternative) renderings. The statement is reproduced by

MOSES II. 94-99

give the ministrants room for the daily performance of the sacrifices. XX. ^a The ark was placed on the 95 forbidden ground of the inner sanctuary, within the veils. It was coated with costly gilding within and without, and was covered by a sort of lid, which is called in the sacred books the mercy-seat.^b The 96 length and breadth of this are stated, but no depth, and thus it closely resembles the plane surface of geometry. It appears to be a symbol in a theological sense ^c of the gracious power of God; in the human sense, of a mind which is gracious to itself and feels the duty of repressing and destroying with the aid of knowledge the conceit which in its love of vanity uplifts it in unreasoning exaltation and puffs it with pride. The ark itself is the coffer of the laws, for in 97 it are deposited the oracles which have been delivered. But the cover, which is called the mercy-seat, serves to support the two winged creatures which in the Hebrew are called cherubim, but, as we should term them, recognition and full knowledge.^d Some hold 98 that, since they are set facing each other, they are symbols of the two hemispheres, one above the earth and one under it, for the whole heaven has wings. I 99 should myself say that they are allegorical representations of the two most august and highest potencies of Him that is, the creative and the kingly. His creative potency is called God, because through it He placed ^e Clem. as *ἐπίγνωσις πολλή*, by Jerome as "multitudo scientiae," to which add Augustine's "plenitudo scientiae." All these are presumably dependent on Philo and no explanation of how he got this belief seems to be forthcoming.

The symbolical interpretations mentioned below have been given in *De Cher.* 21 ff, together with a third, that they represent the spheres of the planets and fixed stars. See notes *ad loc.*

^e *θεός* again associated with *τίθηναι*, cf. *De Abr.* 122.

καὶ ἐποίησε καὶ διεκόσμησε τόδε τὸ πᾶν, ἡ δὲ βασιλικὴ κύριος, ἡ τῶν γενομένων ἄρχει καὶ σὺν
 100 δίκη βεβαίως ἐπικρατεῖ. μόνος γὰρ πρὸς ἀλήθειαν ὢν καὶ ποιητὴς ἐστὶν ἀψευδῶς, ἐπειδὴ τὰ μὴ ὄντα ἤγαγεν εἰς τὸ εἶναι, καὶ βασιλεὺς φύσει, διότι τῶν γεγονότων οὐδεὶς ἂν ἄρχοι δικαιότερον τοῦ πεποιηκότος.

- 101 XXI. Ἐν δὲ τῷ μεθορίῳ τῶν τεσσάρων καὶ πέντε κιόνων, ὅπερ ἐστὶ κυρίως εἰπεῖν πρόναον εἰργόμενον δυσὶν ὑφάσμασι, τῷ μὲν ἔνδον ὃ καλεῖται καταπέτασμα, τῷ δ' ἐκτὸς ὃ προσαγορεύεται κάλυμμα, τὰ λοιπὰ τρία σκεύη τῶν προειρημένων ἰδρύετο· μέσον μὲν τὸ θυμιατήριον, γῆς καὶ ὕδατος σύμβολον εὐχαριστίας, ἣν ἔνεκα τῶν γινομένων ἀφ' ἐκατέρου προσῆκε ποιεῖσθαι· τὸν γὰρ μέσον ταῦτα
 102 τοῦ κόσμου τόπον κεκλήρωται· τὴν δὲ λυχνίαν ἐν τοῖς νοτίοις, δι' ἣς αἰνίττεται τὰς τῶν φωσφόρων κινήσεις ἀστέρων· ἥλιος γὰρ καὶ σελήνη καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι πολὺ τῶν βορείων ἀφροστώτες νοτίους ποιοῦνται τὰς περιπολήσεις· ὅθεν ἐξ μὲν κλάδοι, τρεῖς δ' ἐκατέρωθεν, τῆς μέσης λυχνίας ἐκπεφύκασιν εἰς
 103 ἀριθμὸν ἑβδομον· ἐπὶ δὲ πάντων λαμπάδιά τε καὶ λύχνοι ἐπτά, σύμβολα τῶν λεγομένων παρὰ τοῖς
 [151] φυσικοῖς ἀνδράσι πλανήτων· ὁ γὰρ ἥλιος, | ὥσπερ ἡ λυχνία, μέσος τῶν ἐξ τεταγμένος ἐν τετάρτῃ χώρα φωσφορεῖ τοῖς ὑπεράνω τρισὶ καὶ τοῖς ὑπ' αὐτὸν ἴσοις, ἀρμοζόμενος τὸ μουσικὸν καὶ θεῖον
 104 ὡς ἀληθῶς ὄργανον. XXII. ἡ δὲ τράπεζα τίθεται πρὸς τοῖς βορείοις, ἐφ' ἣς ἄρτοι καὶ ἄλεις, ἐπειδὴ
 498

MOSES II. 99-104

and made and ordered this universe, and the kingly is called Lord, being that with which He governs what has come into being and rules it steadfastly with justice. For, as He alone really is, He is undoubtedly also the Maker, since He brought into being what was not, and He is in the nature of things King, since none could more justly govern what has been made than the Maker.

XXI. In the space between the four and the five pillars, which may properly be called the vestibule of the temple, and is shut off by two woven screens, the inner and the outer, called respectively the veil and the covering, he set the remaining three of the equipments mentioned above. ^a The altar of incense he placed in the middle, a symbol of the thankfulness for earth and water which should be rendered for the benefits derived from both these, since the mid-position in the universe has been assigned to them. ^b The candlestick he placed at the south, figuring thereby the movements of the luminaries above; for the sun and the moon and the others run their courses in the south far away from the north. And therefore six branches, three on each side, issue from the central candlestick, bringing up the number to seven, and on all these are set seven lamps and candle-bearers, symbols of what the men of science call planets. For the sun, like the candlestick, has the fourth place in the middle of the six and gives light to the three above and the three below it, so tuning to harmony an instrument of music truly divine. XXII. ^c The table is set at the north and has bread

^a See Ex. xxx. 1 f.

^b See Ex. xxv. 31 ff. Cf. *Quis Rerum*, 221-225.

^c See Ex. xxv. 23 ff.

τῶν πνευμάτων τὰ βόρεια τροφιμώτατα καὶ διότι
 ἐξ οὐρανοῦ καὶ γῆς αἱ τροφαί, τοῦ μὲν οὐontos, τῆς
 δὲ τὰ σπέρματα ταῖς τῶν ὑδάτων ἐπιρροαῖς τελειο-
 105 γονούσης. οὐρανοῦ δὲ¹ καὶ γῆς παρίδρυται τὰ
 σύμβολα, καθάπερ ἔδειξεν ὁ λόγος, τοῦ μὲν οὐρανοῦ
 ἡ λυχνία, τῶν δὲ περιγείων, ἐξ ὧν αἱ ἀναθυμιάσεις,
 106 τὸ ἐτύμως προσαγορευόμενον θυμιατήριον. τὸν δ'
 ἐν ὑπαίθρῳ βωμὸν εἶωθε καλεῖν θυσιαστήριον,
 ὡσανεὶ τηρητικὸν καὶ φυλακτικὸν ὄντα θυσῶν τὸν
 ἀναλωτικὸν τούτων, αἰνιττόμενος οὐ τὰ μέλη καὶ
 τὰ μέρη τῶν ἱερουργουμένων, ἀπερ δαπανᾶσθαι
 πυρὶ πέφυκεν, ἀλλὰ τὴν προαίρεσιν τοῦ προσ-
 107 φέροντος· εἰ μὲν γὰρ ἀγνώμων καὶ ἄδικος, ἄθνητοι
 θυσίαι καὶ ἀνέροισι ἱερουργαί καὶ εὐχαὶ παλίμφημοι
 παντελεῖ φθορὰν ἐνδεχόμεναι· καὶ γὰρ ὅποτε γίνε-
 σθαι δοκοῦσιν, οὐ λύσιν ἀμαρτημάτων, ἀλλ' ὑπό-
 108 μνησιν ἐργάζονται· εἰ δ' ὁσιος καὶ δίκαιος, μένει
 βέβαιος ἡ θυσία, καὶ τὰ κρέα δαπανηθῇ, μᾶλλον
 δὲ καὶ εἰ τὸ παράπαν μηδὲν προσάγοιτο ἱερεῖον·
 ἡ γὰρ ἀληθὴς ἱερουργία τίς ἂν εἴη πλήν ψυχῆς
 θεοφιλοῦς εὐσέβεια; ἥς τὸ εὐχάριστον ἀθανατί-
 ζεται καὶ ἀνάγραφτον στηλιτεύεται παρὰ θεῷ
 συνδιαιωνίζον ἡλίῳ καὶ σελήνῃ καὶ τῷ παντὶ
 κόσμῳ.

¹ Perhaps, as the German translator, omit δὲ, put a full stop after τροφιμώτατα, and a comma after τελειογονούσης. See note b.

^a So LXX Lev. xxiv. 7—not in Hebrew.

^b The punctuation and reading suggested in note 1 certainly make the connexion of thought clearer. If the text is kept, I take the meaning to be that the table with the food upon it represents heaven and earth which send the food, and therefore it is fitting that the other two symbols of heaven and earth should be set beside it.

MOSES II. 104-108

and salt^a on it, as the north winds are those which most provide us with food, and food comes from heaven and earth, the one sending rain, the other bringing the seeds to their fullness when watered by the showers.^b In a line with the table are set 105 the symbols of heaven and earth, as our account has shewn, heaven being signified by the candlestick, earth and its parts, from which rise the vapours, by what is appropriately called the vapour-keeper^c or altar of incense. The great altar in the open court 106 he usually calls by a name which means sacrifice-keeper, and when he thus speaks of the altar which destroys sacrifices as their keeper and guardian he alludes not to the parts and limbs of the victims, whose nature is to be consumed by fire, but to the intention of the offerer. For, if the worshipper is 107 without kindly feeling or justice, the sacrifices are no sacrifices, the consecrated oblation is desecrated, the prayers are words of ill omen with utter destruction waiting upon them. For, when to outward appearance they are offered, it is not a remission but a reminder of past sins which they effect. But, if 108 he is pure of heart and just, the sacrifice stands firm, though the flesh is consumed, or rather, even if no victim at all is brought to the altar. For the true oblation, what else can it be but the devotion of a soul which is dear to God? The thank-offering of such a soul receives immortality, and is inscribed in the records of God, sharing the eternal life of the sun and moon and the whole universe.

^a Philo does not expressly derive the -τήριον of θυματήριον from τηρεῖν. But as ἐτύμως implies etymological derivation, and in the next words he gives this derivation for θυσιαστήριον, it seems probable that he means it to apply to both words.

- 109 XXIII. Τούτοις ἐξῆς ἱερὰν ἐσθήτα κατεσκευάζεν ὁ τεχνίτης τῷ μέλλοντι ἀρχιερεῖ καθίστασθαι παγκάλην καὶ θαυμασιωτάτην ἔχουσιν ἐν τοῖς ὑφάσμασι πλοκήν. τὰ δ' ὕψη διττὰ ἦν, τὸ μὲν
- 110 ὑποδύτης, τὸ δὲ προσαγορευόμενον ἐπωμῖς. ὁ μὲν οὖν ὑποδύτης ἀμιγεστέρας ἰδέας· ὅλος γὰρ ὑακίνθινος, ἔξω τῶν κατωτάτω καὶ πρὸς ἐσχατίας μερῶν, ταῦτα γὰρ ἐποικίλλετο χρυσοῖς ῥοῖσκοις καὶ
- 111 κώδωσι καὶ ἀνθίνους πλέγμασιν. ἡ δ' ἐπωμῖς, ἐκπρεπέστατον ἔργον καὶ τεχνικώτατον, ἐπιστήμη τελειοτάτη κατεσκευάζετο τοῖς προειρημένοις γένεσιν, ὑακίνθω καὶ πορφύρᾳ καὶ βύσσῳ καὶ κοκκίνῳ, συγκαταπλεκομένου χρυσοῦ· πέταλα γὰρ εἰς λεπτὰς τρίχας κατατμηθέντα πᾶσι τοῖς νήμασι συν-
- 112 υφαίνετο. λίθοι δ' ἐπὶ τῶν ἀκρωμίων ἐνηρμόζοντο
- [152] σμαράγδου πολυτελοῦς δύο τιμαλφέστατοι, | οἷς τὰ ὀνόματα τῶν φυλάρχων ἐξ καθ' ἑκάτερον ἐνεχαράττετο, δώδεκα τὰ σύμπαντα· καὶ κατὰ τὸ στήθος ἄλλοι λίθοι πολυτελεῖς δώδεκα διαφέροντες ταῖς χροαῖς, σφραγίσιν ἐοικότες, ἐκ τριῶν τετραστοιχεί· οὗτοι δ' ἐνηρμόζοντο τῷ προσαγορευομένῳ
- 113 λογείῳ. τὸ δὲ λογεῖον τετράγωνον διπλοῦν κατεσκευάζετο ὥσανεὶ βάσις, ἵνα δύο ἀρετὰς ἀγαλματοφορῇ, δῆλωσιν τε καὶ ἀλήθειαν· ὅλον δ' ἀλυσειδίῳ χρυσοῖς ἀνήρτητο πρὸς τὴν ἐπωμίδα, σφιγγόμενον ἐξ αὐτῆς, ὑπὲρ τοῦ μὴ χαλαῶσθαι.
- 114 χρυσοῦν δὲ πέταλον ὥσανεὶ στέφανος ἐδημιουργεῖτο

^a For §§ 109-116 see Ex. xxviii.

^b Lit. "shoulder-covering." I have retained the familiar and neutral word "ephod," by some supposed to be a kind of waistcoat, by others an apron. See note in Driver's *Exodus*, p. 312, or article in *Biblical Encyclopaedia*.

MOSES II. 109-114

XXIII. ^a Next after these, the master prepared for 109 the future high priest a vesture, the fabric of which had a texture of great and marvellous beauty. It consisted of two garments, one of which he calls the robe and the other the ephod.^b The robe was 110 of a comparatively uniform make, for it was all of the dark red colour, except at the lowest extremities, where it was variegated with golden pomegranates and bells and intertwined flowers. The ephod, a 111 work of special magnificence and artistry, was wrought with perfect knowledge in the kinds of materials mentioned above, namely dark red and purple and bright white and scarlet, with gold thread intertwined. For gold leaf cut into fine threads was woven with all the yarn. On the shoulder-tops 112 were fitted two highly precious stones of the costly emerald kind, and on them were graven the names of the patriarchs, six for each shoulder, twelve in all. On the breast were twelve other costly stones of different colours, like seals, in four rows of three each. These were fitted into what he calls the "place of reason."^c This was made four-square and doubled, 113 forming a ground to enshrine the two virtues, clear showing and truth.^d The whole was attached by golden chainlets to the ephod, fastened strongly to it so as not to come loose. A piece of gold plate, 114 too, was wrought into the form of a crown with four

^c Or "oracle" (LXX λογέιον τῶν κρίσεων, Ex. xxviii. 15). But Philo clearly uses the word in the sense given in the translation (see §§ 125 and 128), and the same meaning is given to it *De Spec. Leg.* i. 87. The E.V. has "breastplate of judgement" though the word translated "breastplate" is said to be rather = "pouch."

^d The LXX translation of the mysterious words rendered in E.V. as Urim and Thummim. *Cf. Leg. All.* iii. 142.

- τέτταρας ἔχον γλυφὰς ὀνόματος, ὃ μόνοις τοῖς ὦτα
καὶ γλῶτταν σοφία κεκαθαρμένοις θέμις ἀκούειν
καὶ λέγειν ἐν ἁγίοις, ἄλλω δ' οὐδενὶ τὸ παράπαν
115 οὐδαμοῦ. τετραγράμματον δὲ τοῦνομά φησιν ὁ
θεολόγος εἶναι, τάχα πον σύμβολα τιθεὶς αὐτὰ τῶν
πρώτων ἀριθμῶν, μονάδος καὶ δυάδος καὶ τριάδος
καὶ τετράδος, ἐπειδὴ πάντα ἐν τετράδι, σημεῖον καὶ
γραμμὴ καὶ ἐπιφάνεια καὶ στερεόν, τὰ μέτρα τῶν
συμπάντων, καὶ αἱ κατὰ μουσικὴν ἄρισται συμ-
φωνίαι, ἥ τε διὰ τεσσάρων ἐν ἐπιτρίτῳ λόγῳ καὶ ἡ
διὰ πέντε ἐν ἡμιολίῳ καὶ ἡ διὰ πασῶν ἐν διπλασίῳ
καὶ ἡ δις διὰ πασῶν ἐν τετραπλασίῳ· ἔχει δὲ καὶ
τὰς ἄλλας ἀμυθήτους ἀρετὰς ἢ τετράς, ὧν τὰς
πλείστας ἠκριβώσαμεν ἐν τῇ περὶ ἀριθμῶν πραγ-
116 ματεία. μίτρα δ' ἦν ὑπ' αὐτῷ, τοῦ μὴ ψαύειν τῆς
κεφαλῆς τὸ πέταλον. πρὸς δὲ καὶ κίδαρις κατ-
εσκευάζετο· κιδάρει γὰρ οἱ τῶν ἐώων βασιλεῖς ἀντὶ
διαδήματος εἰώθασιν χρῆσθαι.
- 117 XXIV. Τοιαύτη μὲν ἡ τοῦ ἀρχιερέως ἦν ἐσθῆς.
ὃν δ' ἔχει λόγον οὐ παρασιωπητέον αὐτῇ τε καὶ
τὰ μέρη. ὅλη μὲν δὴ γέγονεν ἀπεικόνισμα καὶ
μίμημα τοῦ κόσμου, τὰ δὲ μέρη τῶν καθ' ἕκαστον
118 μερῶν. ἀρκτέον δ' ἀπὸ τοῦ ποδήρους. οὗτος ὁ |
[153] χιτῶν σύμπας ἐστὶν ὑακίνθινος, ἀέρος ἐκμαγεῖον·
φύσει γὰρ ὁ ἄηρ μέλας καὶ τρόπον τινὰ ποδήρης,
ἄνωθεν ἀπὸ τῶν μετὰ σελήνην ἄχρι τῶν γῆς ταθεὶς
περάτων, πάντῃ κεχυμένος· ὅθεν καὶ ὁ χιτῶν ἀπὸ

^a The apparently traditional idea, which appears again in § 132, that the inscription on the πέταλον was the "tetragrammaton" YHWH is not borne out by the *lxx* ἁγίασμα κυρίου, or the Hebrew and E.V. "Holy (holiness) to the Lord" (Ex. xxviii. 32 (E.V. 36)). Philo has quoted it correctly *De Mig.* 103.

incisions, showing a name which only those whose ears and tongues are purified may hear or speak in the holy place, and no other person, nor in any other place at all. That name has four letters,^a so says 115 that master learned in divine verities, who, it may be, gives them as symbols of the first numbers, one, two, three and four; since the geometrical categories under which all things fall, point, line, superficies, solid, are all embraced in four. So, too, with the best harmonies in music, the fourth, fifth, octave and double octave intervals, where the ratios are respectively four to three, three to two, two to one and four to one. Four, too, has countless other virtues, most of which I have set forth in detail in my treatise on numbers.^b Under the crown, to prevent 116 the plate touching the head, was a headband. A turban also was provided, for the turban is regularly worn by eastern monarchs instead of a diadem.

XXIV. ^c Such was the vesture of the high priest. 117 But I must not leave untold its meaning and that of its parts. We have in it as a whole and in its parts a typical representation of the world and its particular parts. Let us begin with the full-length robe. This 118 gown is all of violet, and is thus an image of the air; for the air is naturally black, and so to speak a robe reaching to the feet, since it stretches down from the region below the moon to the ends of the earth, and spreads out everywhere. And, therefore, the

The statement given here is also made by Josephus *Bell. Jud.* v. 235 (*cf. Ant.* iii. 178). See too App. pp. 608-609.

^b Presumably the same as the "special treatise" mentioned in *De Op.* 52, after enumerating many of the properties of the number. He has also dealt with them in *De Plant.* 117 ff.

^c For some notes on and illustration of the symbolism of §§ 117-135 see App. p. 609.

- στέρνων ἄχρι ποδῶν περὶ ὅλον τὸ σῶμα κέχυται.
- 119 ἐξ αὐτοῦ δὲ κατὰ τὰ σφυρὰ ροῖσκοι καὶ ἄνθηνα καὶ κώδωνές εἰσι· τὰ μὲν ἄνθηνα σύμβολον γῆς, ἀνθεῖ γὰρ καὶ βλαστάνει πάντα ἐκ ταύτης· οἱ δὲ ροῖσκοι ὕδατος, παρὰ τὴν ῥύσιν λεχθέντες εὐθυβόλως· οἱ δὲ κώδωνες τῆς ἁρμονίας καὶ συμφωνίας τούτων, οὔτε γὰρ γῇ χωρὶς ὕδατος οὔθ' ὕδωρ ἄνευ τῆς γεώδους οὐσίας αὐταρκες εἰς γένεσιν, ἀλλ' ἡ
- 120 σύνοδος καὶ κραῖσις ἀμφοῖν. μάρτυς δὲ τοῦ δηλουμένου καὶ ὁ τόπος ἐναργέστατος· ὥς γὰρ ἐν ἐσχάτοις τοῦ ποδήρους οἱ ροῖσκοι καὶ τὰ ἄνθηνα καὶ οἱ κώδωνές εἰσιν, οὕτως καὶ τὰ ὦν ἐστι σύμβολα τὴν κατωτάτῳ χώραν ἔλαχεν ἐν κόσμῳ, γῇ καὶ ὕδωρ, καὶ τῇ τοῦ παντὸς ἁρμονίᾳ συνηχοῦντα τὰς οἰκείας ἐπιδείκνυται δυνάμεις ἐν ὠρισμέναις χρόνων περι-
- 121 ὁδοῖς καὶ τοῖς προσήκουσι καιροῖς. τριῶν μὲν δὴ στοιχείων, ἐξ ὧν τε καὶ ἐν οἷς τὰ θνητὰ καὶ φθαρτὰ γένη πάντα, αἲρος, ὕδατος, γῆς, ὁ ποδήρης σὺν τοῖς ἀπηωρημένοις κατὰ τὰ σφυρὰ σύμβολον ἐδείχθη προσηκόντως· ὥς γὰρ ὁ χιτῶν εἰς, καὶ τὰ λεχθέντα τρία στοιχεῖα μιᾶς ἰδέας ἐστίν, ἐπειδὴ τὰ κατωτέρῳ σελήνης ἅπαντα τροπὰς ἔχει καὶ μεταβολάς· καὶ καθάπερ ἐκ τοῦ χιτῶνος ἤρτηνται οἱ τε ροῖσκοι καὶ τὰ ἄνθηνα, καὶ ἀπ' αἲρος τρόπον τινὰ γῇ καὶ ὕδωρ ἐκκρέμανται, τὸ γὰρ ὄχημα τούτων ἐστὶν ἀήρ.
- 122 Τὴν δ' ἐπωμίδα οὐρανοῦ σύμβολον ὁ λόγος εἰκόσι στοχασμοῖς χρώμενος παραστήσει· πρῶτον μὲν γὰρ οἱ ἐπὶ τῶν ἀκρωμίων σμαράγδου δύο λίθοι περι-

^a The stress lies on *προσηκόντως*; we may see that the
506

gown, too, spreads out from the breast to the feet round the whole body. At the ankles there stand 119 out from it pomegranates and flower trimming and bells. The earth is represented by the flowers, for all that flowers and grows comes from the earth; the water by the pomegranates or flowing fruit, so aptly called from their flowing juice; while the bells represent the harmonious alliance of these two, since life cannot be produced by earth without water or by water without the substance of earth, but only by the union and combination of both. Their 120 position testifies most clearly to this explanation. For, just as the pomegranates, the flower trimming and the bells are at the extremities of the long robe, so too what these symbolize, namely earth and water, occupy the lowest place in the universe, and in unison with the harmony of the All display their several powers at fixed revolutions of time and at their proper seasons. This proof that the three 121 elements, earth, water and air, from which come and in which live all mortal and perishable forms of life, are symbolized by the long robe with the appendages at the ankles, is supported^a by observing that as the gown is one, the three said elements are of a single kind, since all below the moon is alike in its liability to change and alteration, and that, as the pomegranates and flower patterns are fastened to the gown, so too in a sense earth and water are suspended on the air, which acts as their support.

As for the ephod, consideration following what 122 probability suggests will represent it as a symbol of heaven. For first the two circular emerald stones

symbolism described above is suitable by the other resemblances pointed out in the last part of the sentence.

- φερεῖς μηνύουσιν, ὡς μὲν οἶονταί τινες, ἀστέρων
 τοὺς ἡμέρας καὶ νυκτὸς ἡγεμόνας, ἥλιον καὶ
 σελήνην, ὡς δ' ἂν ἐγγυτέρω τις τῆς ἀληθείας
 προσερχόμενος εἴποι, τῶν ἡμισφαιρίων ἑκάτερον·
 ἴσα τε γὰρ ὡς οἱ λίθοι τό τε ὑπὲρ γῆν καὶ ὑπὸ γῆν
 καὶ οὐδέτερον πέφυκε μειοῦσθαι καὶ συναυξεσθαι
 123 καθάπερ σελήνη. συνεπιμαρτυρεῖ δὲ καὶ ἡ χρῶα·
 σμαράγδω γὰρ ὅμοιος ἡ τοῦ παντὸς οὐρανοῦ φαν-
 τασία κατὰ τὴν τῆς ὀψείως προσβολήν. ἀναγκαίως
 δὲ καὶ καθ' ἑκάτερον τῶν λίθων ἕξ ὀνόματα ἐγγλύ-
 φεται, διότι καὶ τῶν ἡμισφαιρίων ἑκάτερον δίχα
 τέμνον τὸν ζωοφόρον ἕξ ἐναπολαμβάνει ζώδια.
 124 ἔπειθ' οἱ κατὰ τὰ στέρνα δώδεκα λίθοι ταῖς χρῶαῖς
 οὐχ ὅμοιοι διανεμηθέντες εἰς τέσσαρας στοίχους
 ἐκ τριῶν τίνος ἑτέρου δείγματ' εἰσὶν ἢ τοῦ ζωδιακοῦ
 [154] κύκλου; καὶ γὰρ | οὗτος τετραχῆ διανεμηθεὶς ἐκ
 τριῶν ζωδίων τὰς ἐτησίους ὥρας ἀποτελεῖ, ἔαρ,
 θέρος, μετόπωρον, χειμῶνα, τροπὰς τέσσαρας, ὧν
 ἑκάστης ὅρος τρία ζώδια, γνωριζόμενος ταῖς τοῦ
 ἡλίου περιφοραῖς κατὰ τὸν ἐν ἀριθμοῖς ἀσάλευτον
 125 καὶ βεβαιότατον καὶ θεῖον ὄντως λόγον. ὅθεν
 ἐνηρμόζοντο καὶ τῷ προσαγορευθέντι δεόντως
 λογείῳ· λόγῳ γὰρ αἱ τροπαὶ καὶ ἐτήσιοι ὥραι
 τεταγμένῳ καὶ παγίῳ συνίστανται, τὸ παραδοξό-
 τατον, διὰ τῆς καιρίου μεταβολῆς ἐπιδεικνύμεναι
 126 τὴν διαιωνίζουσαν αὐτῶν μονήν. εὖ δ' ἔχει καὶ
 πάνυ καλῶς τὸ τοῖς χρώμασι τοὺς δώδεκα λίθους
 διαλλάττειν καὶ μηδένα ὅμοιον εἶναι μηδενί· καὶ
 γὰρ τῶν ἐν τῷ ζωοφόρῳ ἕκαστον ἀποτελεῖ τι
 χρώμα οἰκείον κατὰ τε ἀέρα καὶ γῆν καὶ ὕδωρ καὶ

on the shoulder-pieces indicate, as some think, those heavenly bodies which rule the day and night, namely the sun and moon, or, as may be said with a nearer approach to truth, the two hemispheres of the sky. For, just as the stones are equal to each other, so is the hemisphere above to that below the earth, and neither is so constituted as to increase and diminish as does the moon. A similar testimony is given by 123 their colour, for the appearance of the whole heaven as presented to our sight is like the emerald. Six names, too, had to be engraved on each of the stones, since each of the hemispheres also divides the zodiac into two, and appropriates six of the signs. Secondly, the stones at the breast, which are dis- 124 similar in colour, and are distributed into four rows of threes, what else should they signify but the zodiac circle? For that circle, when divided into four parts, constitutes by three signs in each case the seasons of the year—spring, summer, autumn, winter—those four, the transition in each of which is determined by three signs and made known to us by the revolutions of the sun, according to a mathematical law, unshaken, immutable and truly divine. Therefore also they were fitted into what is rightly 125 called the place of reason, for a rational principle, ordered and firmly established, creates the transitions and seasons of the year. And the strangest thing is that it is this seasonal change which demonstrates their age-long permanence. It is an excellent 126 and indeed a splendid point that the twelve stones are of different colours and none of them like to any other. For each of the signs of the zodiac also produces its own particular colouring in the air and

- τὰ τούτων παθήματα καὶ ἔτι κατὰ τὰ τῶν ζώων
 127 καὶ φυτῶν γένη πάντα. XXV. διπλοῦν
 δὲ τὸ λογεῖον οὐκ ἀπὸ σκοποῦ· διττὸς γὰρ ὁ λόγος
 ἔν τε τῷ παντὶ καὶ ἐν ἀνθρώπου φύσει· κατὰ μὲν
 τὸ πᾶν ὃ τε περὶ τῶν ἀσωμάτων καὶ παραδειγ-
 ματικῶν ἰδεῶν, ἐξ ὧν ὁ νοητὸς ἐπάγη κόσμος, καὶ
 ὁ περὶ τῶν ὁρατῶν, ἃ δὴ μιμήματα καὶ ἀπεικονί-
 σματα τῶν ἰδεῶν ἐκείνων ἐστίν, ἐξ ὧν ὁ αἰσθητὸς
 οὗτος ἀπετελεῖτο· ἐν ἀνθρώπῳ δ' ὁ μὲν ἐστὶν
 ἐνδιάθετος, ὁ δὲ προφορικός, (καὶ ὁ μὲν) οἷά τις
 πηγή, ὁ δὲ γεγωνὸς ἀπ' ἐκείνου ῥέων· καὶ τοῦ μὲν
 ἐστὶ χώρα τὸ ἡγεμονικόν, τοῦ δὲ κατὰ προφορὰν
 γλῶττα καὶ στόμα καὶ ἡ ἄλλη πᾶσα φωνῆς ὀρ-
 128 γανοποιία. σχῆμα δ' ἀπένειμεν ὁ τεχνίτης τετρά-
 γωνον τῷ λογεῖῳ πάνυ καλῶς αἰνιττόμενος, ὡς
 χρὴ καὶ τὸν τῆς φύσεως λόγον καὶ τὸν τοῦ ἀν-
 θρώπου βεβηκέναι πάντῃ καὶ κατὰ μὴδ' ὅτιοῦν
 κραδαίνεσθαι. παρὸ καὶ τὰς εἰρημένας δύο ἀρετὰς
 προσεκλήρωσεν αὐτῷ, δήλωσιν τε καὶ ἀλήθειαν·
 ὃ τε γὰρ τῆς φύσεως λόγος ἀληθὴς καὶ δηλωτικὸς
 πάντων ὃ τε τοῦ σοφοῦ μιμούμενος ἐκείνον ὀφείλει
 προσηκόντως ἀψευδέστατός τε εἶναι τιμῶν ἀλή-
 θειαν καὶ μὴδὲν φθόνῳ συσκιαίνειν, ὧν ἡ μήνυσις
 129 ὠφελήσῃ τοὺς ἀναδιδασκόμενους. οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ καὶ
 δυσὶ λόγοις τοῖς καθ' ἕκαστον ἡμῶν, τῷ τε προφο-
 ρικῷ καὶ ἐνδιαθέτῳ, δύο ἀρετὰς ἀπένειμεν οἰκείας,
 τῷ μὲν προφορικῷ δήλωσιν, τῷ δὲ κατὰ διάνοιαν
 ἀλήθειαν· ἀρμόζει γὰρ διανοία μὲν μὴδὲν παρα-
 510

MOSES II. 126-129

earth and water and their phases, and also in the different kinds of animals and plants. XXV.

There is a point, too, in the reason-seat being doubled, 127 for the rational principle is twofold as well in the universe as in human nature. In the universe we find it in one form dealing with the incorporeal and archetypal ideas from which the intelligible world was framed, and in another with the visible objects which are the copies and likenesses of those ideas and out of which this sensible world was produced. With man, in one form it resides within, in the other it passes out from him in utterance. The former is like a spring, and is the source from which the latter, the spoken, flows. The inward is located in the dominant mind, the outward in the tongue and mouth and the rest of the vocal organism. The 128 master did well also in assigning a four-square shape to the reason-seat, thereby shewing in a figure that the rational principle, both in nature and in man, must everywhere stand firm and never be shaken in any respect at all; and, therefore, he allotted to it the two above-named virtues, clear shewing and truth. For the rational principle in nature is true, and sets forth all things clearly, and, in the wise man, being a copy of the other, has as its bounden duty to honour truth with absolute freedom from falsehood, and not keep dark through jealousy anything the disclosure of which will benefit those who hear its lesson. At the same time, as in each of us, 129 reason has two forms, the outward of utterance and the inward of thought, he gave them each one of the two virtues as its special property; to utterance clear shewing, to the thinking mind truth. For it is the duty of the thinking faculty to admit no false-

δέχεσθαι ψεύδος, ἑρμηνεία δὲ μηδὲν ἐμποδίζειν τῶν
 130 εἰς τὴν ἀκριβεστάτην δῆλωσιν. λόγου δὲ οὐδὲν
 ὄφελος τὰ καλὰ καὶ σπουδαῖα σεμνηγοροῦντος, ᾧ
 μὴ πρόσσεστιν οἰκείων ἀκολουθία πράξεων· ὅθεν τὸ
 λογέιον ἤρτησεν ἐκ τῆς ἐπωμίδος, ἵνα μὴ χαλάται,
 [155] τὸν λόγον οὐ δικαιώσας | ἔργων ἀπεξεῦχθαι· τὸν
 γὰρ ὦμον ἐνεργείας καὶ πράξεως ποιεῖται σύμ-
 βολον.

131 XXVI. Ἄ μὲν οὖν αἰνίττεται διὰ τῆς ἱερᾶς
 ἐσθῆτος, ἐστὶ τοιαῦτα. κίδαριν δὲ ἀντὶ διαδήματος
 ἐπιτίθησι τῇ κεφαλῇ δικαίων τὸν ἱερωμένον τῷ
 θεῷ, καθ' ὃν χρόνον ἱεράται, προφέρειν ἀπάντων

132 καὶ μὴ μόνον ἰδιωτῶν ἀλλὰ καὶ βασιλέων. ὑπεράνω
 δὲ τὸ χρυσοῦν ἐστὶ πέταλον, ᾧ τῶν τεττάρων αἱ
 γλυφαὶ γραμμάτων ἐνεσφραγίσθησαν, ἐξ ὧν ὄνομα
 τοῦ ὄντος φασὶ μνηύεσθαι, ὥς οὐχ οἶόν τε ὃν ἄνευ
 κατακλήσεως θεοῦ συστήναί τι τῶν ὄντων· ἁρμονία
 γὰρ πάντων ἐστὶν ἡ ἀγαθότης καὶ ἵλεως δυνάμεις

133 αὐτοῦ. τοῦτον τὸν τρόπον ὁ ἀρχιερεὺς
 διακοσμηθεὶς στέλλεται πρὸς τὰς ἱερουργίας, ἵν',
 ὅταν εἰσὶν τὰς πατρίους εὐχάς τε καὶ θυσίας ποιη-
 σόμενος, συνεισέρχεται πᾶς ὁ κόσμος αὐτῷ δι' ὧν
 ἐπιφέρεται μιμημάτων¹ ἀέρος τὸν ποδῆρη, ὕδατος
 τὸν ροῖσκον, γῆς τὸ ἄνθινον, πυρὸς τὸ κόκκινον,
 οὐρανοῦ τὴν ἐπωμίδα, καὶ κατ' εἶδος τοῖν δυοῖν
 ἡμισφαιρίοις τοὺς ἐπὶ τῶν ἀκρωμίων σμαράγδους
 περιφερεῖς, ἐφ' ὧν καθ' ἑκάτερον γλυφαὶ ἕξ, τοῦ
 ζωοφόρου τοὺς ἐπὶ τῶν στέρνων δώδεκα λίθους ἐκ

¹ So mss. or *μιμημα*. Cohn corrects to *μιμήματα*, wrongly, I think. The grammatical usage of relative attraction for *διὰ μιμημάτων* & *ἐπιφέρεται* justifies, if it does not require, the attraction of the noun to the case of the relative.

MOSES II. 129-133

hood, and of the language faculty to give free play to all that helps to shew facts clearly with the utmost exactness. Yet reason, as seen in either of these 130 faculties, is of no value, however admirable and excellent are its lofty pronouncements, unless followed by deeds in accordance with it. And, therefore, since in his judgement speech and thought should never be separated from actions, he fastened the reason-seat to the ephod or shoulder-piece so that it should not come loose. For he regards the shoulder as the symbol of deeds and activity.

XXVI. Such are the ideas which he suggests under 131 the figure of the sacred vesture ; but, in setting a turban on the priest's head, instead of a diadem, he expresses his judgement that he who is consecrated to God is superior when he acts as a priest to all others, not only the ordinary laymen, but even kings. Above the turban is the golden plate on which the 132 graven shapes of four letters, indicating, as we are told, the name of the Self-Existent, are impressed, meaning that it is impossible for anything that is to subsist without invocation of Him ; for it is His goodness and gracious power which join and compact all things.

Thus is the high priest 133 arrayed when he sets forth to his holy duties, in order that when he enters to offer the ancestral prayers and sacrifices there may enter with him the whole universe, as signified in the types of it which he brings upon his person, the long robe a copy of the air, the pomegranate of water, the flower trimming of earth, the scarlet of fire, the ephod of heaven, the circular emeralds on the shoulder-tops with the six engravings in each of the two hemispheres which they resemble in form, the twelve stones on the

- τριῶν κατὰ τέτταρας στοίχους, τοῦ συνέχοντος καὶ
 134 διοικούντος τὰ σύμπαντα τὸ λογεῖον. ἀναγκαῖον
 γὰρ ἦν τὸν ἱερωμένον τῷ τοῦ κόσμου πατρὶ παρα-
 κλήτῳ χρῆσθαι τελειοτάτῳ τὴν ἀρετὴν νιῶ πρὸς τε
 135 ἀμνηστίαν ἁμαρτημάτων καὶ χορηγίαν ἀφθονω-
 τῶν ἀγαθῶν. ἴσως μέντοι καὶ προδιδάσκει τὸν
 τοῦ θεοῦ θεραπευτήν, εἰ καὶ μὴ τοῦ κοσμοποιοῦ
 δυνατόν, ἀλλὰ τοῦ γε κόσμου διηνεκῶς ἄξιον εἶναι
 πειρᾶσθαι, οὗ τὸ μίμημα ἐνδυνάμενος ὀφείλει τῇ
 διανοίᾳ τὸ παράδειγμα εὐθὺς ἀγαλματοφορῶν αὐτὸς
 τρόπον τινὰ πρὸς τὴν τοῦ κόσμου φύσιν ἐξ ἀν-
 θρώπου μεθαρμόσθαι καί, εἰ θέμις εἰπεῖν—θέμις δὲ
 ἀψευδεῖν περὶ ἀληθείας λέγοντα—, βραχὺς κόσμος
 εἶναι.
- 136 XXVII. Τῶν δὲ προπυλαίων ἔξω παρὰ ταῖς
 εἰσόδους λουτήρ ἐστι χαλκοῦς, οὐκ ἄργον ὕλην
 λαβόντος τοῦ τεχνίτου πρὸς τὴν κατασκευὴν, ὅπερ
 φιλεῖ γίνεσθαι, σκευὴ δ' ἐπιμελῶς δημιουργηθέντα
 πρὸς ἑτέραν χρεῖαν, ἃ μετὰ σπουδῆς καὶ φιλοτιμίας
 πάσης αἱ γυναῖκες εἰσήμεναι ἀμιλλώμεναι τοῖς
 ἀνδράσι πρὸς εὐσέβειαν, ἀγώνισμα καλὸν ἄρασθαι
 διανοηθεῖσαι καὶ καθ' ὅσον δυνάμει εἶχον σπου-
 137 δάσασθαι μὴ ἀπολειφθῆναι τῆς ἐκείνων ὁσιότητος.
 [156] κάτοπτρα γάρ, οἷς εὐμορφίαν | εἰώθασιν δια-
 κοσμεῖσθαι, μηδενὸς προστάξαντος, αὐτοκελεύστω
 προθυμία, σωφροσύνης καὶ τῆς περὶ γάμον ἀγνείας
 καὶ τί γὰρ ἄλλ' ἢ ψυχικοῦ κάλλους ἀπαρχὴν πρε-
 138 πωδεστάτην ἀπήρξαντο. ταῦτ' ἔδοξε τῷ τεχνίτῃ

* λόγου must be understood with τοῦ συνέχοντος, if indeed it has not fallen out of the text.

MOSES II. 133-138

breast in four rows of threes of the zodiac, the reason-
 seat of that Reason^a which holds together and ad-
 ministers all things. For he who has been con- 134
 secrated to the Father of the world must needs have
 that Father's Son^b with all His fullness of excellence
 to plead his cause, that sins may be remembered no
 more and good gifts showered in rich abundance.
 Perhaps, too, he is preparing the servant of God to 135
 learn the lesson, that, if it be beyond him to be
 worthy of the world's Maker, he should try to be
 throughout worthy of the world. For, as he wears a
 vesture which represents the world, his first duty is
 to carry the pattern enshrined in his heart, and so
 be in a sense transformed from a man into the nature
 of the world; and, if one may dare to say so—and
 in speaking of truth one may well dare to state the
 truth—be himself a little world, a microcosm.

XXVII. ^c Outside the propylaeum, at the entrance, 136
 there was a brazen laver, for the making of which the
 master did not take unworked material, as is usually
 done, but chattels already elaborately wrought for
 another purpose. These the women brought, filled
 with fervent zeal, rivalling the men in piety, resolved
 to win the prize of high excellence, and eager to use
 every power that they had that they might not be
 outstripped by them in holiness. For, with spont- 137
 aneous ardour at no other bidding than their own,
 they gave the mirrors which they used in adorning
 their comely persons, a truly fitting firstfruit offering
 of their modesty and chastity in marriage, and in fact
 of their beauty of soul. These the master thought 138

^b The Son here is of course the World.

^c For §§ 136-140 see Ex. xxxviii. 26, 27 (E.V. 8). The incident has been treated briefly in the same way *De Mig.* 98.

- λαβόντι χωνεύσαι καὶ μηδὲν ἀπ' αὐτῶν ἕτερον ἢ τὸν λουτήρα κατασκευάσασθαι, περιρραντηρίοις ὅπως οἱ μέλλοντες εἰς τὸν νεὼν εἰσιεῖναι ἱερεῖς ἐπὶ τῷ τὰς διατεταγμένας ὑπουργεῖν λειτουργίας χρῶνται πόδας μάλιστα καὶ χεῖρας ἀπονιπτόμενοι —σύμβολον ἀνυπαιτίου ζωῆς καὶ βίου καθαρεύοντος ἐν πράξεσιν ἐπαινεταῖς, οὐ τὴν τραχείαν κακίας ὁδὸν ἢ κυριώτερον εἰπεῖν ἀνοδίαν ἀλλὰ
- 139 τὴν δι' ἀρετῆς λεωφόρον ἀπευθύνοντος—. “ ὑπομιμνησκέσθω μέντοι ” φησί “ καὶ ὁ μέλλων περιρραίνεσθαι, ὅτι τοῦδε τοῦ σκεύους ἡ ὕλη κάτοπτρα ἦν, ἵνα καὶ αὐτὸς οἶα πρὸς κάτοπτρον αὐγάζη τὸν ἴδιον νοῦν καί, εἴ τι ὑποφαίνοιτο αἰσχος ἐξ ἀλόγου πάθους ἢ παρὰ φύσιν ἐπαιρούσης καὶ μετεωρίζουσας ἡδονῆς ἢ στελλούσης ἔμπαλιν λύπης καὶ καθαιρούσης ἢ ἀποστρέφοντος καὶ ἀποκλίνοντος τὴν ἐπ' εὐθείας ὁρμὴν φόβου ἢ τῆς ἐπιθυμίας πρὸς τὰ μὴ παρόντα ἐλκούσης καὶ ἀποτεινούσης βία, τοῦτο θεραπεύη τε καὶ ἰᾶται τοῦ γνησίου καὶ ἀνόθου
- 140 μεταποιούμενος κάλλους· τὸ μὲν γὰρ τοῦ σώματος ἐν συμμετρίᾳ μερῶν εὐχροία τε καὶ εὐσαρκία κείται, βραχὺν τῆς ἀκμῆς ἔχον καιρόν, τὸ δὲ τῆς διανοίας ἐν ἀρμονίᾳ δογμάτων καὶ ἀρετῶν συμφωνία, μὴ χρόνου μήκει μαραινόμενον, ἀλλ' ἐφ' ὅσον ἐγχνονίζει καινούμενον καὶ νεάζον, χρώματι διαπρεπεῖ κεκοσμημένον ἀληθείας καὶ ὁμολογίας ἔργων πρὸς λόγους καὶ πρὸς ἔργα λόγων καὶ ἔτι βουλευμάτων πρὸς ἑκάτερα.”
- 141 XXVIII. Διδαχθέντι δ' αὐτῷ τὰ παραδείγματα τῆς ἱερᾶς σκηνῆς καὶ ἀναδιδάξαντι τοὺς διανοία ὀξεῖς καὶ εὐφυῶς ἔχοντας πρὸς ἀνάληψιν καὶ

MOSES II. 138-141

good to take, and, after melting them down, construct therewith the laver and nothing else, to serve for lustration to priests who should enter the temple to perform the appointed rites, particularly for washing the hands and feet ; a symbol, this, of a blameless life, of years of cleanliness employed in laudable actions, and in straight travelling, not on the rough road or more properly pathless waste of vice, but on the smooth high road through virtue's land. Let him, 139 he means, who shall be purified with water, bethink him that the mirrors were the material of this vessel, to the end that he himself may behold his own mind as in a mirror ; and, if some ugly spot appear of unreasoning passion, either of pleasure, uplifting and raising him to heights which nature forbids, or of its converse pain, making him shrink and pulling him down, or of fear, diverting and distorting the straight course to which his face was set, or of desire, pulling and dragging him perforce to what he has not got, then he may salve and heal the sore and hope to gain the beauty which is genuine and unalloyed. For beauty of body 140 lies in well-proportioned parts, in a fine complexion and good condition of flesh, and short is the season of its bloom. But beauty of mind lies in harmony of creed, in concert of virtues. The passing of time cannot wither it, and, as its years lengthen, it ever renews its youth, adorned with the lustrous hue of truth and of consistency of deeds with words and words with deeds, and further of thoughts and intentions with both.

XXVIII. When he had been taught the patterns 141 of the holy tabernacle, and had passed on the lesson to those who were of quick understanding and happily gifted to undertake and complete the works in which

- τελείωσιν ἔργων, ἅπερ ἀναγκαίως εἶχε δημιουργηθῆναι, κατὰ τὸ εἰκὸς ἱεροῦ κατασκευασθέντος ἔδει καὶ ἱερεῖς τοὺς ἐπιτηδαιοτάτους αἰρεθῆναι τε καὶ προμαθεῖν, ὃν τρόπον τὰς θυσίας ἀνάγειν τε
- 142 καὶ ἱεουργεῖν προσῆκε. τὸν μὲν οὖν ἀδελφὸν ἐξ ἀπάντων ἐπικρίνας ἀριστίνδην ἀρχιερέα, τοὺς δ' ἐκείνου παῖδας ἱερεῖς ἐχειροτόνει, προνομίαν οὐ τῷ οἰκείῳ γένει διδούς, ἀλλ' εὐσεβείᾳ καὶ ὁσιότητι, ἃς ἐνεώρα τοῖς ἀνδράσιν ὑπούσας. σαφῆς δὲ πίστις· οὐδέτερον υἱὸν—δύο γὰρ ἦσαν αὐτῷ—τούτου τοῦ γέρως ἡξίωσεν, ἀναγκαίως ἂν ἀμφοτέρους ἐλό-
- 143 μενος, εἴ τινα τιμὴν ἔνεμε τῷ φιλοικείῳ. καθίστη δὲ μετὰ τῆς ἁπαντος τοῦ ἔθνους γνώμης, ὥς τὰ
- [157] λόγια ὑφηγεῖτο, καινότατον τρόπον καὶ | ἄξιον ἱστορηθῆναι· λούει τὸ πρῶτον αὐτοὺς ὕδατι πηγῆς τῷ καθαρωτάτῳ καὶ ζωτικωτάτῳ κᾶπειτα τὰς ἱερὰς ἀναδίδωσιν ἐσθῆτας, τῷ μὲν ἀδελφῷ τὸν ποδήρη καὶ τὴν ἐπωμίδα οἶονεὶ θώρακα, τὸ παμποιίκilon ὕφασμα καὶ μίμημα τοῦ παντός, τοῖς δ' ἀδελφιδοῖς χιτῶνας λινοὺς, ζῶνας τε καὶ περισκελῇ
- 144 πᾶσι· τὰς μὲν, ὅπως ἀνεμπόδιστοι καὶ ἐτοιμότεροι πρὸς τὰς ἱερὰς ὑπουργίας ᾧσι, σφιγγομένων τοὺς ἀνειμένους κόλπους τῶν χιτῶνων, τὰ δ', ὅπως μηδὲν ὦν κρύπτεσθαι θέμις προφαίνεται, καὶ μάλιστ' ἀνερχομένων ἐπὶ τὸν βωμὸν ἢ κατιόντων ἄνωθεν καὶ πάντα δρώντων μετὰ σπουδῆς καὶ
- 145 τάχους· εἰ γὰρ μὴ οὕτως ἀκριβῆς γεγένητο ἡ στόλισις διὰ τὴν τοῦ μέλλοντος ἀδήλου προφυλακὴν,

^a For §§ 143-152 see Ex. xxix., Lev. viii.

MOSES II. 141-145

their handicraft was necessary, the construction of the sacred fabric followed in natural course. The next step needed was that the most suitable persons should be chosen as priests, and learn in good time how they should proceed to bring the offerings to the altar and perform the holy rites. Accordingly, he selected 142 out of the whole number his brother as high priest on his merits, and appointed that brother's sons as priests, and in this he was not giving precedence to his own family but to the piety and holiness which he observed in their characters. This is clearly shewn by the following fact. Neither of his sons, of whom he had two, did he judge worthy of this distinction, though he would surely have chosen both if he had attributed any value to family affection. "The installation was made with the consent of the 143 whole nation, and, followed the directions laid down by the oracles, in a wholly new manner which deserves to be recorded. First he washed them with the purest and freshest spring water, then he put on them the sacred garments; on his brother the vesture, woven with its manifold workmanship to represent the universe, that is the long robe and the ephod in the shape of a breastplate; on his nephews linen tunics, and on all three girdles and breeches. The object of the girdles was to keep them 144 unhampered and readier for the holy ministry, by tightening the loose folds of the tunics; of the breeches to prevent anything being visible which decency requires to be concealed, particularly when they were going up to the altar or coming down from above and moving quickly and rapidly in all their operations. For, if their dress had not been arranged so carefully, 145 as a precaution against unforeseen events, they would

PHILO

καὶν ἔνεκα τῆς συντόνου περὶ τὰς λειτουργίας
ὀξύτητος ἀπεγυμνοῦτο τὸν προσήκοντα ἱεροῖς καὶ
ἱερωμένοις κόσμον φυλάττειν ἀδυνατοῦντες.

- 146 XXIX. ὥς δὲ ταῖς ἐσθήσεσιν ἥσκησεν αὐτούς,
χρίσματος εὐωδεστάτου λαβών, ὃ μυρεψικῇ τέχνῃ
κατειργάσθη, τὰ ἐν ὑπαίθρῳ πρῶτα, τὸν τε βωμὸν
καὶ τὸν λουτήρα, κατέχριεν ἐπιρραίνων ἐπτάκις,
ἔπειτα τὴν σκηνὴν καὶ τῶν ἱερῶν σκευῶν ἕκαστον,
τὴν κιβωτόν, τὴν λυχνίαν, τὸ θυμιατήριον, τὴν
τράπεζαν, τὰ σπονδεῖα, τὰς φιάλας, τὰ ἄλλα ὅσα
πρὸς θυσίας ἀναγκαῖα καὶ χρήσιμα, καὶ τελευταῖον
προσαγαγὼν τὸν ἀρχιερέα πολλῶ λίπει τὴν κεφαλὴν
147 ἀλείφει. ταῦτ' ἐπιτελέσας εὐαγῶς ἀχθῆναι κελεύει
μόσχον καὶ κριοὺς δύο· τὸν μὲν, ἵνα θύσῃ περὶ
ἀφέσεως ἁμαρτημάτων, αἰνιττόμενος ὅτι παντὶ
γενητῷ, καὶν σπουδαῖον ἦ, παρόσον ἦλθεν εἰς
γένεσιν, συμφυῆς τὸ ἁμαρτάνειν ἐστίν, ὑπὲρ οὗ τὸ
θεῖον εὐχαῖς καὶ θυσίαις ἀναγκαῖον ἐξευμενίζεσθαι,
148 μὴ διακινηθὲν ἐπιθείτο· τῶν δὲ κριῶν τὸν μὲν
ἕτερον εἰς ὀλοκαύτωμα εὐχαριστήριον τῆς τῶν
ὅλων διοικήσεως, ἥς κατὰ τὸ ἐπιβάλλον ἐκάστω
μέρος μέτεστι καρπουμένῳ τὴν ἀπὸ τῶν στοιχείων
ὠφέλειαν, γῆς πρὸς οἴκησιν καὶ τὰς ἐξ αὐτῆς
τροφάς, ὕδατος πρὸς ποτὸν καὶ λουτρά καὶ πλοῦν,
ἀέρος πρὸς ἀναπνοὴν καὶ τὰς διὰ τῶν αἰσθήσεων
ἀντιλήψεις—ἐπειδὴ πασῶν ἀῆρ ὄργανον—καὶ ἔτι
τὰς ἐτησίους ὥρας, πυρὸς τοῦ μὲν χρειώδους πρὸς
τὰ ἐψόμενα καὶ θερμαινόμενα, τοῦ δὲ οὐρανίου πρὸς
149 αὐγὴν καὶ τὰ ὁρατὰ πάντα· τὸν δ' ἕτερον εἰς τὴν

MOSES II. 145-149

in their eagerness to carry out their duties with expedition reveal their nakedness and be unable to preserve the decency befitting consecrated places and persons. XXIX. When he had attired them in these 146 vestments, he took some very fragrant ointment which was compounded by the perfumer's art, and applied it first to what stood in the open court, namely the great altar and the laver, sprinkling it on them seven times, then to the tabernacle and each of the sacred chattels, the ark, the candlestick, the altar of incense, the table, the libation cups or bowls, the vials, and everything else which was necessary or useful in sacrifices ; and finally, coming to the high priest, he anointed him on his head plentifully with the unguent. Having performed all this religiously, he ordered a 147 calf and two rams to be brought. The calf he purposed to offer to gain remission of sins, showing by this figure that sin is congenital to every created being, even the best, just because they are created, and this sin requires prayers and sacrifices to propitiate the Deity, lest His wrath be roused and visited upon them. Of the rams, one he offered as a whole 148 burnt offering in thanksgiving for His ordering of the whole, that gift which each of us shares according to the part allotted through the benefits which he receives from the elements : from earth, for habitation and the food which it affords ; from water, for drinking and cleansing and voyaging ; from air, for breathing and perception through the senses, all of which operate by means of air, which also gives us the seasons of the year ; from the fire of common use, for cooking and heating, and from the heavenly variety for light-giving and all visibility. The other ram he 149

PHILO

τῶν ιερωμένων διὰ καθάρσεως ἀγνευτικῆς παν-
 τέλειαν, ὃν ἐτύμως “τελειώσεως” ἐκάλεσεν, ἐπειδὴ
 τὰς ἀρμοττοῦσας θεραπευταῖς καὶ λειτουργοῖς θεοῦ
 150 τελετὰς ἔμελλον ἱεροφαντεῖσθαι. τοῦ δ’ αἵματος
 αὐτοῦ τὸ μὲν ἐν κύκλῳ τοῦ βωμοῦ σπένδει λαβών,
 τὸ δὲ φιάλην ὑποσχὼν δέχεται καὶ ἀπὸ τούτου τρία
 μέρη τοῦ σώματος χρίει τῶν τελουμένων ἱερέων,
 [158] οὓς ἄκρον, ἄκραν χεῖρα, ποδὸς ἄκρον, | δεξιὰ τὰ
 σύμπαντα, αἰνιττόμενος ὅτι δεῖ τὸν τέλειον καὶ
 λόγῳ καὶ ἔργῳ καὶ βίῳ παντὶ καθαρεύειν· λόγον μὲν
 γὰρ ἀκοὴ δικάζει, χεὶρ δ’ ἔργου σύμβολον, διεξόδου
 151 δὲ τῆς περὶ τὸν βίον πούς. ἐπεὶ δ’ ἕκαστον αὐτῶν
 ἄκρον τε καὶ δεξιόν, ὑπονοητέον δηλοῦσθαι τὴν ἐν
 ἑκάστοις ἐπίδοσιν μετὰ δεξιότητος, ἐφιεμένην τῆς
 ἄκρας εὐδαιμονίας καὶ τοῦ τέλους, ἐφ’ ὃ σπεύδειν
 ἀναγκαῖον καὶ τὰς πράξεις ἀπάσας ἀναφέρειν
 στοχαζομένους ὥσπερ ἐν ταῖς τοξείαις σκοποῦ, τοῦ
 152 περὶ τὸν βίον. XXX. πάλαι μὲν οὖν ἱερείου ἑνός,
 ὃ προσηγορεύετο “τελειώσεως,” ἀκράτῳ αἵματι τὰ
 λεχθέντα τρία μέρη κατέχριε τῶν ἱερέων. αὐθις
 δ’ ἐκ τοῦ παρὰ τῷ βωμῷ λαβών, ὅπερ ἐξ ἀπάν-
 των ἦν τῶν τεθυμένων, καὶ τοῦ λεχθέντος χρίσματος,
 ὃ μυρεψοὶ κατεσκεύασαν, ἀναμίξας τὸ ἔλαιον τῷ
 αἵματι τοῦ κράματος τοῖς ἱερεῦσι καὶ ταῖς ἐσθή-
 σεσιν αὐτῶν ἐπέρραινε, βουλόμενος αὐτοὺς μὴ
 μόνον τῆς ἕξω καὶ ἐν ὑπαίθρῳ μεταλαχεῖν ἀγνείας,
 ἀλλὰ καὶ τῆς ἐν ἀδύτοις, ἐπειδὴ καὶ ἔνδον
 522

offered on behalf of those who were consecrated by the sanctifying purification for their full perfection, and accordingly called it the ram of "fulfilment," from the full rites befitting the servants and ministers of God into which they were to be initiated. He then 150 took its blood and poured part of it round the altar. The rest he received in a vial which he held underneath, and smeared it on three parts of the bodies of those who were being admitted to the priesthood, on the extremity of the ear, the extremity of the hand, the extremity of the foot, in all these on the right side. In this figure, he indicated that the fully-consecrated must be pure in words and actions and in his whole life ; for words are judged by the hearing, the hand is a symbol of action, and the foot of the pilgrimage of life. And, as in each case the part 151 smeared is the extreme end and on the right-hand side, we must suppose the truth indicated to be that improvement in all things needs a dexterous spirit, and seeks to reach the extreme of happiness, and the end to which we must press and refer all our actions, aiming our shafts, like archers, at the target of life. XXX. His first step, then, is to smear the unmixed 152 blood of the single victim called the ram of fulfilment on the three parts of the priests' bodies named above. After this, he took some of the blood at the altar, got from all the victims, and also some of the unguent already mentioned as compounded by the perfumers, and mixed the oil with the blood. He then used the mixture to sprinkle the priests and their garments, wishing to make them partakers not only of the sanctity of the outer and open court but that of the shrine within, since they were going to minister in the

λειτουργεῖν ἔμελλον· τὰ δ' εἴσω πάντα ἐλαίῳ κατεκέχριστο.

- 153 Ουσίας δ' ἐπὶ ταῖς προτέραις ἄλλας ἀναγαγόντων, τοῦτο μὲν τῶν ἱερέων ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν, τοῦτο δὲ τῆς γερουσίας ὑπὲρ ἅπαντος τοῦ ἔθνους, Μωυσῆς μὲν εἰς τὴν σκηνὴν εἰσέρχεται τὸν ἀδελφὸν ἐπαγόμενος — ὁ γδοή δ' ἦν τῆς τελετῆς ἡμέρα καὶ τελευταία, ταῖς γὰρ πρότερον ἑπτὰ ἱεροφαντῶν αὐτόν τε καὶ τοὺς ἀδελφιδοὺς ὠργίαζεν—, εἰσελθὼν δ' ἀνεδίδασκεν οἷα ὑφηγητῆς ἀγαθὸς εὐμαθῇ γνώριμον, ὃν χρὴ τρόπον τὸν ἀρχιερέα τὰς εἴσω ποιεῖσθαι
- 154 λειτουργίας. εἴτ' ἐξελθόντες ἀμφοτέροι καὶ τὰς χεῖρας ἀνατείναντες πρὸ τῆς κεφαλῆς εὐχὰς τίθενται τῷ ἔθνει τὰς προσηκούσας ἀπὸ καθαρᾶς καὶ ὁσιωτάτης γνώμης. ἔτι δ' εὐχομένων, τερατωδέστατόν τι συμβαίνει· ἐκ γὰρ τῶν ἀδύτων, εἴτε αἰθέρος ἀπόσπασμα τοῦ καθαρωτάτου, εἴτε ἀέρος κατὰ τὴν τῶν στοιχείων φύσει μεταβολὴν ἀναλυθέντος εἰς πῦρ, αἰφνίδιον ἄθρόα φλόξ διεκπαίει καὶ συντόνῳ ῥύμῃ φέρεται μὲν ἐπὶ τὸν βωμόν, τὰ δ' ἐπ' αὐτοῦ πάντα ἐξαναλίσκει, πρὸς οἶμαι σαφεστάτην δῆλωσιν, ὅτι οὐδὲν ἄνευ θείας ἐπιφροσύνης ἐπετελεῖτο.
- 155 δωρεὰν γὰρ ἐξαίρετον εἰκὸς ἦν τοῖς ἀγίοις προσνεμηθῆναι, μὴ μόνον ἐν οἷς ἄνθρωποι δημιουργοί, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῷ καθαρωτάτῳ τῆς οὐσίας πυρί, τὸ χρειῶδες καὶ παρ' ἡμῖν ὅπως μὴ προσάψαιτο τοῦ βωμοῦ,
- 156 διὰ τὸ μυρίας ἰσως ἀναμεμίχθαι κῆρας· ἅπτεται γὰρ οὐ μόνον ζώων ἀλόγων ὀπτωμένων ἢ ἐφομένων
- [159] εἰς πλησμονὴν | ἄδικον γαστρὸς τῆς ταλαίνης, ἀλλὰ

^a For §§ 153-158 see Lev. ix. (particularly verse 24).

MOSES II. 152-156

inner part also, all of which had been anointed with oil.

* After other additional sacrifices had been brought, 153 some by the priests on behalf of themselves, and others by the body of elders on behalf of the whole nation, Moses entered the tabernacle, taking his brother with him. This was on the eighth and last day of the celebration, the seven preceding days having been spent by him in initiating his nephews and their father and in acting as their guide to the sacred mysteries. After entering, he gave such instruction as the good teacher gives to an apt pupil on the way in which the high priest should perform the rites of the inner shrine. Then they both came 154 out, and, stretching forth their hands in front of their faces, offered prayers which befitted the needs of the nation in all sincerity and purity of heart. And, while they were still praying, a great marvel happened. There issued suddenly from the shrine a mass of flame. Whether it was a fragment of ether, the purest of substances, or of air resolved into fire by a natural conversion of the elements, it suddenly burst right through, and, with a mighty rush, fell upon the altar and consumed all that was on it, thus giving, I hold, the clearest proof that none of these rites was without divine care and supervision. For it was natural that 155 the holy place should have a special gift attached to it, over and above what human handiwork had given, through the purest of elements, fire, and thus the altar be saved from contact with the familiar fire of common use, perhaps because such a multitude of evils are associated with it. For its activity is applied 156 not only to the lower animals when they are roasted or boiled, to satisfy the cruel cravings of the miserable

- καὶ ἀνθρώπων ἐξ ἐπιβουλῆς ἀναιρουμένων, οὐ
 τριῶν ἢ τεττάρων, ἀλλὰ καὶ πολυανθρώπων ὁμίλων·
 157 ἤδη γοῦν καὶ στόλους μεγάλους ἐπιβατικοῦ πλή-
 ρεις οἷστοι πυρφόροι κατέφλεξαν βληθέντες καὶ ὅλας
 πόλεις ἐξανάλωσαν, αἱ σμυχόμεναι μέχρι θεμελίων
 εἰς τέφραν ἔδαπανήθησαν, ὥς μηδ' ἔχνος ὑπολε-
 158 λείφθαι τοῦ πάλαι συνοικισμοῦ. ταύτης ἕνεκά μοι
 δοκῶ τῆς αἰτίας ὥς μεμιασμένον ἤλασε τοῦ ἱερω-
 τάτου καὶ καθαρωτάτου βωμοῦ πῦρ τὸ χρειώδες,
 ἀνθ' οὗ φλόγα αἰθέριον ὤμβρησεν ἀπὸ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ
 πρὸς διαστολὴν ἀγίων τε καὶ βεβήλων, ἀνθρωπείων
 τε καὶ θείων· ἤρμοττε γὰρ ταῖς θυσίαις ἀφθαρτο-
 τέραν οὐσίαν ἀπονενεμῆσθαι πρὸς τῆς πρὸς τὰς
 βιωτικὰς χρείας ὑπηρετούσης.
 159 XXXI. Πολλῶν δὲ κατὰ τὸ ἀναγκαῖον ἀν-
 αγομένων θυσιῶν καθ' ἑκάστην ἡμέραν καὶ δια-
 φερόντως ἐν πανηγύρεσι καὶ ἑορταῖς ὑπὲρ τε ἰδία
 ἐκάστου καὶ κοινῇ ὑπὲρ ἀπάντων, διὰ μυρίας καὶ
 οὐχὶ τὰς αὐτὰς αἰτίας, ἅτε πολυανθρωποτάτου ἔθ-
 νους εὐσεβοῦντος, ἔδεδῃσε καὶ νεωκόρων πλήθους εἰς
 160 τὰς ἱεράς ὑπηρεσίας. ἡ δ' αἵρεσις ἐγένετο πάλιν
 καινότατον ἄλλ' οὐ τὸν εἰωθότα τρόπον· μίαν τῶν
 δώδεκα φυλῶν ἐπικρίνας ἀριστίνδην ἐχειροτόνει
 161 θεοφιλοῦς ἔργου προθεῖς ἄθλα καὶ ἀριστεία. τὸ
 δ' ἔργον τοιόνδε ἦν· Μωυσέως ἀναβάντος εἰς τὸ
 πλησίον ὄρος καὶ πλείους ἡμέρας ἰδιάζοντος τῷ
 θεῷ, τὴν ἀπουσίαν αὐτοῦ καιρὸν ἐπιτήδειον εἶναι
 νομίσαντες οἱ μὴ βέβαιοι τὰς φύσεις, ὥσπερ ἀναρ-
 χίας γενομένης, ἄφετοι πρὸς ἀσέβειαν ὤρμησαν καὶ
 ἐκλαθόμενοι τῆς πρὸς τὸ ὄν ὁσιότητος ζηλωταὶ τῶν

MOSES II. 156-161

belly, but to the human beings slaughtered by the design of others, and that not in threes or fours but in assembled multitudes. Ere now we have known 157 the impact of fire-carrying arrows burn up great fully-manned fleets, and consume whole cities which have smouldered down to their very foundations and wasted away into ashes, leaving no trace to shew that they were populated in the past. This is the reason, 158 I imagine, why God expelled from His most pure and sacred altar the fire of common use and rained instead an ethereal flame from heaven, to distinguish between the holy and the profane, the human and the divine. For it was fitting that fire of a more incorruptible nature than that which subserves the needs of human life should be assigned to the sacrificial offerings.

XXXI. Many sacrifices were necessarily brought 159 every day, and particularly at general assemblies and feasts, on behalf both of individuals and all in common, and for a multitude of different reasons. This piety shewn by so populous a nation made it needful to have also a number of temple attendants to help in the sacred services. These, again, were 160 chosen in a very novel and unusual manner. He selected and appointed one of the twelve tribes as the most meritorious, giving them the office as the prize and reward of a deed well pleasing to God. ^aThe story of that deed is as follows: When Moses 161 had gone up into the mountain, and was there several days communing privately with God, the men of unstable nature, thinking his absence a suitable opportunity, rushed into impious practices unrestrainedly, as though authority had ceased to be, and, forgetting the reverence they owed to the Self-Existent,

^a For §§ 161-173 see Ex. xxxii.

- 162 Αἰγυπτιακῶν γίνονται πλασμάτων. εἴτα χρυσοῦν ταῦρον κατασκευασάμενοι, μίμημα τοῦ κατὰ τὴν χώραν ἱερωτάτου ζώου δοκοῦντος εἶναι, θυσίας ἀθύτους ἀνήγον καὶ χοροὺς ἀχορεύτους ἵστασαν ὕμνους τε ᾗδον θρήνων οὐδὲν διαφέροντας καὶ ἐμφορηθέντες ἀκράτου διπλῇ μέθῃ κατίσχοντο, τῇ μὲν ἐξ οἴνου, τῇ δὲ καὶ ἀφροσύνης, κωμάζοντές τε καὶ παννυχίζοντες ἀπροόρατοι τοῦ μέλλοντος ἡδέσι κακοῖς συνεβίουν, ἐφεδρευούσης δίκης, ἥ μὴ βλέ-
 163 ποντας ἔβλεπε καὶ ὧν ἄξιοι τιμωριῶν εἰσιν. ἐπεὶ δὲ αἱ ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ συνεχεῖς ἐκβοήσεις κατὰ πολυανθρώπους ὁμίλους ἀθροιζομένων ἄχρι πολλοῦ διαστήματος ἐχώρουν, ὥς καὶ μέχρι τῆς ἀκρωρείας τὴν περιήχησιν ἐλθεῖν, πληχθεὶς τὰ ὦτα Μωυσῆς ἐν ἀμηχάνοις ἦν ἅτε θεοφιλῆς ὁμοῦ καὶ φιλ-
 ἄνθρωπος, μήτ' ἐκλιπεῖν ὑπομένων τὰς πρὸς θεὸν ὁμιλίας, ἃς ἰδιάζων μόνος μόνῳ διελέγετο, μήτ' ὑπεριδεῖν τοῦ πλήθους ἐμπιπλαμένου τῶν ἐξ ἀν-
 164 αρχίας κακοπραγιῶν· ἔγνω γὰρ τὸν θροῦν δεινὸς
 [160] | ὧν ἐκ φωνῆς ἀνάρθρου καὶ ἀσήμου στοχάσασθαι ψυχῆς ἀδήλων καὶ ἀφανῶν τοῖς ἄλλοις παθῶν ιδιότη-
 τας, ὅτι παροιρίας ἐστὶν ἡ κατέχουσα ταραχή, γεννώσης ἀκρασίας μὲν κόρον, κόρον δὲ ὕβριν.
 165 ἀνθελκόμενος δὲ καὶ ἀντισπώμενος πρὸς ἑκατέρου μέρους ὧδε κἀκέισε τί χρὴ δρᾶν ἡπόρει. σκοπου-
 μένῳ δ' αὐτῷ θεσπίζεται τάδε· “βάδιζε ταχέως ἐνθένδε, κατὰβηθι· πρὸς ἀνομίαν ἔσπευσεν ὁ λεώς·
 χειροποίητον κατασκευάσαντες ταυρόμορφον θεὸν

* Here as elsewhere Philo assumes that the making of the golden calf was an imitation of the worship of Apis (though, as Driver points out, the Egyptian bull worship was given to a living animal). See note on *De Ebr.* 95

MOSES II. 162-165

became zealous devotees of Egyptian fables. Then, 162
having fashioned a golden bull, in imitation of the
animal held most sacred in that country,^a they offered
sacrifices which were no sacrifices, set up choirs
which were no choirs, sang hymns which were very
funeral chants, and, filled with strong drink, were
overcome by the twofold intoxication of wine and
folly. And so, revelling and carousing the livelong
night, and unwary of the future, they lived wedded
to their pleasant vices, while justice, the unseen
watcher of them and the punishments they de-
served, stood ready to strike.

But, since 163
the continuous shouting in the camp which arose
from the great masses of men gathered together
carried for a long distance, so that the echoes reached
even to the mountain-top, Moses, as they smote upon
his ear, was in a dilemma between God's love for
him and his love for man. He could not bear to
leave his converse with God, in which he talked with
Him as in private with none other present, nor yet
to disregard the multitude, brimful of the miseries
which anarchy creates. For, skilled as he was to 164
divine in an inarticulate and meaningless noise the
distinguishing marks of inward passions which to
others were obscure and invisible, he recognized the
tumult for what it was, saw that drunkenness caused
the prevailing confusion, since intemperance begets
satiety, and satiety riot. So, drawn backwards and 165
forwards, hither and thither, by the two sides of his
being, he was at a loss what he should do. And,
as he considered, this divine message came. "Go
quickly hence. Descend. The people have run after
lawlessness. They have fashioned a god, the work
of their hands, in the form of a bull, and to this

οὐ θεὸν προσκυνοῦσι καὶ θύουσιν, ὧν εἶδον καὶ ὧν ἤκουσαν ἀπάντων ὅσα συντείνει πρὸς εὐσέβειαν
 166 ἐκλαθόμενοι.” καταπλαγεῖς δὲ καὶ ἀναγκασθεὶς πιστεῦειν ἀπίστοις πράξεσιν οἷα μεσίτης καὶ δι-
 αλλακτῆς οὐκ εὐθὺς ἀπεπήδησεν, ἀλλὰ πρότερον τὰς ὑπὲρ τοῦ ἔθνους ἱκεσίαις καὶ λιτὰς ἐποιεῖτο συγγνώμην τῶν ἡμαρτημένων δεόμενος· εἰτ’ ἐξ-
 ευμενισάμενος ὁ κηδεμὼν καὶ παραιτητῆς τὸν ἡγε-
 μόνα ἐπανήκει χαίρων ἅμα καὶ κατηφῶν· ἐγεγῆθει μὲν γὰρ τὴν ἱκεσίαν τοῦ θεοῦ προσιεμένου, συννοίας δὲ καὶ κατηφείας μεστὸς ἦν οἰδῶν ἐπὶ τῇ τοῦ
 167 πλήθους παρανομίᾳ.

XXXII. γενόμενος δ’ ἐν μέσῳ τοῦ στρατοπέδου καὶ τὴν ἐξαπίναιον ἐκδιαίτησιν τοῦ πλήθους θαυμάσας καὶ ὅσον ψεῦδος ἀνθ’ ὅσης ἀληθείας ὑπελλάξαντο, κατιδὼν οὐκ εἰς ἅπαντας τὴν νόσον ἀφιγμένην, ἀλλὰ τινὰς ὑγι-
 αίνοντας ἔτι καὶ μισοπονήρῳ πάθει χρωμένους, βουλόμενος διαγνῶναι τοὺς τε ἀνιάτως ἔχοντας καὶ τοὺς ἐπὶ τοῖς πεπραγμένοις δυσχεραίνοντας καὶ εἰ δὴ τινες ἁμαρτόντες μετανοοῦσι, κήρυγμα κηρύττει—τὸ δ’ ἦν ἄρα βάσανος ἀκριβῆς τῆς ἐκάστου διανοίας, ὥς ἔχοι πρὸς τε ὁσιότητα καὶ
 168 τοῦναντίον—. “εἴ τις” γὰρ φησι “πρὸς κύριον, ἵτω πρὸς μέ.” βραχὺ μὲν τὸ λεχθέν, μεγάλη δ’ ἡ ἔμφασις, ἔστι γὰρ τοιόνδε τὸ δηλούμενον· εἴ τις μηδὲν τῶν χειροποιήτων μηδ’ ὅσα γενητὰ νομίζει θεοῦς, ἀλλ’ ἓνα τὸν ἡγεμόνα τῶν ὄλων, ἐμοὶ προσ-
 169 ἵτω. τῶν μὲν οὖν ἄλλων οἱ μὲν ἔνεκα τοῦ τὸν Αἰγυπτιακὸν ἐξηλωκέναι τύφον ἀφηνιάζοντες οὐ προσεῖχον τοῖς λεγομένοις, οἱ δὲ φόβῳ κολάσεως

MOSES II. 165-169

god, who is no god, they offer worship and sacrifice, and have forgotten all the influences to piety which they have seen and heard." Struck with dismay, 166 and compelled to believe the incredible tale, he yet took the part of mediator and reconciler and did not hurry away at once, but first made prayers and supplications, begging that their sins might be forgiven. Then, when this protector and intercessor had softened the wrath of the Ruler, he wended his way back in mingled joy and dejection. He rejoiced that God accepted his prayers, yet was ready to burst with the dejection and heaviness that filled him at the transgression of the multitude.

XXXII. When he arrived at the middle of the camp, 167 and marvelled at the sudden apostasy of the multitude and their delusion, so strongly contrasting with the truth which they had bartered for it, he observed that the contagion had not extended to all and that there were still some sound at heart and cherishing a feeling of hatred of evil. Wishing, therefore, to distinguish the incurable from those who were displeased to see such actions and from any who had sinned but repented, he made a proclamation, a touchstone calculated to test exactly the bias of each to godliness or its opposite. "If 168 any is on the Lord's side," he said, "let him come to me." Few words, indeed, but fraught with much meaning, for the purport was as follows: "Whoso holds that none of the works of men's hands, nor any created things, are gods, but that there is one God only, the Ruler of the universe, let him join me." Of the rest, some, whom devotion to the vanity of 169 Egypt had made rebellious, paid no heed to his words, while others, possibly in fear of chastisement,

- ἴσως ἐγγυτέρω προσελθεῖν οὐκ ἐθάρρουν ἢ τὴν ἐκ Μωυσέως τίσιν δεδιότες ἢ τὴν ἐκ τοῦ πλήθους ἐπανάστασιν· αἰὲ γὰρ οἱ πολλοὶ τοῖς μὴ συν-
- 170 απονοούμενοις ἐπιτίθενται. μία δ' ἐξ ἀπάντων ἡ λεγομένη Λευϊτικὴ φυλὴ τοῦ κηρύγματος ἐπακούσασα καθάπερ ἀφ' ἐνὸς συνθήματος ἔθει μετὰ σπουδῆς, τῇ ποδωκείᾳ τὴν προθυμίαν ἐπιδεικνυμένη
- [161] καὶ τὴν ὀξύτητα τῆς εἰς εὐσέβειαν ψυχικῆς | ὁρμῆς.
- 171 οὗς ἰδὼν Μωυσῆς ὥσπερ ἀπὸ βαλβίδος ἀμιλλωμένους “ εἰ μὴ μόνον τοῖς σώμασιν ” εἶπεν “ ἐπισπεύδετε τὴν πρὸς ἡμᾶς ἄφιξιν ἀλλὰ καὶ ταῖς διανοαῖς, αὐτίκα μαρτυρηθήσεται· ξίφος ἀναλαβὼν ἕκαστος τοὺς μυρίων ἄξια θανάτων εἰργασμένους, οἱ τὸν ἀληθῆ θεὸν καταλιπόντες τοὺς ψευδωνύμους ἐδημιούργησαν φθαρταῖς καὶ γενηταῖς οὐσίαις τὴν τοῦ ἀφθάρτου καὶ ἀγενήτου πρόσρησιν ἐπιφημίσαντες, συγγενεῖς καὶ φίλους ἀποκτεινάτω φιλίαν καὶ συγγένειαν ὑπολαβὼν εἶναι μόνην ἀνδρῶν
- 172 ἀγαθῶν ὁσιότητα.” οἱ δὲ τὴν παραίνεσιν ἐτοιμότητι φθάσαντες, ἐπεὶ καὶ τὰς γνώμας ἔτυχον ἡλλοτριωμένοι σχεδὸν ἀφ' οὗ τὸ παρανόμημα γενόμενον εἶδον, ἀναιροῦσιν ἡβηδὸν εἰς τρισχιλίους τῶν πρὸ μικροῦ φιλτάτων. κειμένων δ' ἐν ἀγορᾷ μέσῃ τῶν σωμάτων, ἡ πληθὺς θεασαμένη τοὺς μὲν ὠκτίσατο, τὸ δὲ τῶν κτεινόντων ἔνθερμον ἔτι καὶ μεστὸν ὀργῆς παράστημα καταδείσασα φόβῳ
- 173 νουθετεῖται. Μωυσῆς δὲ τὴν ἀριστείαν ἀποδεξάμενος γέρας ἐπενόησε καὶ ἐβεβαίωσε τῇ πράξει

MOSES II. 169-173

had not the courage to take their place beside him, either because they feared the vengeance they might suffer at the hand of Moses or the onslaught of an insurgent mob. For the multitude always set upon those who refuse to share their madness. Among 170 them all one tribe alone, known as Levites, when they heard the proclamation, came running with all speed, like troops for whom one signal is enough, shewing by their swiftness their zeal and the keenness of the inward feelings which urged them to piety. Moses saw them coming like racers from 171 the starting-point, and cried: "Whether the speed which has brought you here exists not only in your bodies but in your minds shall at once be put to the proof. Take each of you his sword, and slay those whose deeds deserve a thousand deaths, who have left the true God, and wrought gods, falsely so called, from corruptible and created matter, and given them a title which belongs to the Incorruptible and Uncreated. Yea, slay them, though they be kinsmen and friends, believing that between the good there is no kinship and friendship but godliness." Their readiness anticipated his exhorta- 172 tions, for their sentiments had been hostile to the offenders almost from the first moment that they saw their misconduct, and they made a wholesale slaughter to the number of three thousand of those who but now had been their dearest. As their corpses lay in the middle of the market-place, the multitude as they gazed felt pity for them, but, terror-struck at the still heated and wrathful resolution of the slayers, learned wisdom from fear. But 173 Moses, in approval of this heroism, devised and confirmed a reward for the victors well suited to the

τὸ οἰκεῖον· ἔδει γὰρ τοὺς ὑπὲρ θεοῦ τιμῆς ἐκούσιον πόλεμον ἀραμένους καὶ βραχεὶ καιρῷ κατωρθωκότας ἀξιωθῆναι τῆς θεραπείας αὐτοῦ λαχόντας ἱερωσύνην.

- 174 XXXIII. Ἐπεὶ δ' οὐ μία τάξις τῶν ἱερωμένων, ἀλλ' οἷς μὲν ἐπιτέτραπται τὰ περὶ τὰς εὐχὰς καὶ θυσίας καὶ τὰς ἄλλας ἱεουργίας ἄχρι τῶν ἀδύτων ἰοῦσιν, οἷς δὲ τούτων μὲν οὐδέν, ἐπιμέλειαί δὲ καὶ φυλακαὶ μεθ' ἡμέραν καὶ νύκτωρ τοῦ τε ἱεροῦ καὶ τῶν ἐν αὐτῷ, οὓς νεωκόρους ἔνιοι καλοῦσιν, ἢ πολλοῖς πολλαχοῦ μυρίων αἰτία κακῶν γενομένη περὶ πρωτείων στάσις ἐπεπόλασε κἀνταῦθα, τῶν νεωκόρων ἐπιθεμένων τοῖς ἱερεῦσι καὶ τὴν ἐκείνων τιμὴν παρασπάσασθαι διανοηθέντων· καὶ τοῦτ' εὐμαρῶς ἤλπισαν ἔσεσθαι πολλαπλασίους τὸν ἀριθμὸν ὄντες.
- 175 ὑπὲρ δὲ τοῦ μὴ δοκεῖν ἰδίᾳ γνώμῃ νεωτερίζειν καὶ τὴν πρεσβυτάτην τῶν δώδεκα φυλῶν συμφρονεῖν ἀναπειθουσιν, ἥ πολλοὶ τῶν εἰκαιωτέρων ἐπηκολούθησαν ὥς ἔχειν δυναμένην
- 176 πρεσβεῖον ἡγεμονίας. μέγαν τοῦτον ἐπιτειχισμὸν ἔγνω Μωυσῆς φυόμενον καθ' αὐτοῦ· τὸν γὰρ ἀδελφὸν ἀρχιερέα κατὰ τὰ χρησθέντα λόγια ἤρητο, διαβολαὶ δ' ἦσαν ὥς τοὺς μὲν χρησμοὺς ἐπιψευσαμένου, ποιησαμένου δὲ τὴν αἵρεσιν διὰ τὴν
- 177 οἰκειότητα καὶ τὴν πρὸς τὸν ἀδελφὸν εὐνοίαν. ἐφ' οἷς εἰκότως ἀνιαθεῖς, εἰ μὴ μόνον ἀπιστεῖται διὰ τοσούτων ἐλέγχων τὴν ἑαυτοῦ πίστιν ἐπιδειξάμε-
- [162] νος, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐπ' ἔργοις ἅπερ ἀναφέρεται πρὸς

^a For §§ 174-179 see Num. xvi. 1-3 and xvii.

MOSES II. 173-177

deed. For it was right that those who had voluntarily taken up arms for the honour of God, and so quickly achieved success, should receive the priesthood, and thus be worthily promoted to be His ministers.

XXXIII. ^a Now the consecrated persons consisted 174 of more than one order. They included both those who were commissioned to penetrate to the inner shrine and offer the prayers and sacrifices and the other holy rites, and those sometimes called temple attendants who had none of these duties but had the care and guarding of the sacred building and its contents by day and night. Consequently, the strife for precedence, the cause of innumerable troubles to many persons and in many places, gained ground here also. The temple attendants made headway against the priests, and purposed to wrest their privileges from them, and they hoped to accomplish this easily, since they were many times the number of the others. To pre- 175 vent this sedition appearing to be their own particular project, they persuaded the senior tribe of the twelve to make common cause with them, and this tribe had many adherents among the more thoughtless, who supposed it capable of taking the supremacy as its birthright. Moses recognized in this the rise of a 176 grave attack upon himself, for he had chosen his brother as high priest in accordance with the oracles vouchsafed to him. But there were spiteful rumours that he had falsely invented the oracles, and had made his choice through family feeling and affection for his brother. He was naturally pained at this, not 177 merely that he was distrusted when he had shewn his good faith by so many proofs, but that this distrust extended to actions which concerned the honouring

- θεοῦ τιμὴν, δι' ἧ μόνᾳ καὶ τὸν ἐν τοῖς ἄλλοις τὸ ἥθος κατεψευσμένον ἀναγκαῖον ἦν ἀληθεύειν—ἀλήθεια γὰρ ὁπαδὸς θεοῦ—, λόγοις μὲν ἀναδιδάσκειν περὶ τῆς ἑαυτοῦ προαιρέσεως οὐκ ἔδοκίμαζε, τὸ μεταπίθειν ἐπιχειρεῖν τοὺς προκαταληφθέντας ἐναντίας δόξαις ἀργαλέον εἰδώς, ἰκετεύει δὲ τὸν θεὸν ἐμφανεῖς ἀποδείξεις αὐτοῖς παρασχεῖν περὶ τοῦ μηδὲν ἐψεῦσθαι κατὰ τὴν τῆς ἱερωσύνης αἵρεσιν.
- 178 ὁ δὲ κελεύει δώδεκα ῥάβδους λαβεῖν ταῖς φυλαῖς ἰσαριθμούς καὶ τὰ μὲν τῶν ἄλλων ὀνόματα φυλάρχων ἐπιγράψαι ταῖς ἑνδεκα, τῇ δὲ λοιπῇ τὸ τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ καὶ ἀρχιερέως, εἴτ' εἰς τὸν νεῶν ἄχρι τῶν ἀδύτων εἰσενεγκεῖν· ὁ δὲ τὰ προσταχθέντα ποιήσας
- 179 ἐκαрадόκει τὸ ἀποβησόμενον. τῇ δ' ὑστεραία λογίῳ πληχθεῖς, ἅπαντος τοῦ ἔθνους παρεστώτος, εἰσέρχεται καὶ τὰς ῥάβδους ἐκκομίζει, τὰς μὲν ἄλλας οὐδὲν διάφορον ἐχούσας, μίαν δ' ἐφ' ἣ τοῦνομα ἐπεγέγραπτο τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ τεθαυματοουργημένην· οἷα γὰρ φυτὸν εὐγενὲς ἅπαντα νέους βλαστοὺς ἐξέφυσε καὶ ὑπ' εὐφορίας καρπῶν ἔβριθεν.
- 180 XXXIV. οἱ δὲ καρποὶ κάρνα ἦσαν, ἧ φύσιν ἐναντίαν ἔχει τοῖς ἄλλοις· ἐπὶ γὰρ τῶν πλείστων, σταφυλῆς, ἐλαίας, μήλων, διαφέρει τὸ σπέρμα καὶ τὸ ἐδώδιμον, ἧ διαφέροντα τόποις χωρίζεται· τὸ μὲν γὰρ ἐδώδιμον ἔξω, τὸ δὲ σπέρμα εἴσω κατακέκλεισται· τοῦ δὲ καρύου ταῦτόν ἐστι τό τε σπέρμα καὶ τὸ ἐδώδιμον, ἀμφοτέρων εἰς μίαν ἰδέαν ἀποκριθέντων, καὶ τόπος εἰς ὃ ἐντὸς ὠχυρωμένος καὶ περιπεφρουρημένος ἔρκει διπλῶ, τῷ μὲν ἐκ φλοιοῦ πάννυ βαθέος, τῷ δ' οὐδὲν ἀποδέοντι ξυλίνου κατα-

MOSES II. 177-180

of God, actions which by themselves would necessarily ensure truthfulness even in one whose character was false in everything else, for truth is God's attendant. But he did not think good to use words to explain to them his motives, knowing that it is vain labour to try to change the convictions of those of whom the opposite opinions have already taken hold, but besought God to shew them by clear demonstration that there had been no dishonesty in his choice of persons for the priesthood. God commanded him 178 to take twelve rods, corresponding to the number of the tribes, and on eleven of them to inscribe the names of the other patriarchs, but on the twelfth that of his brother who was also high priest, and then to take them into the temple, right into the inner sanctuary. Moses did as he was bidden, and eagerly awaited the result. On the next day, under the impulse of a 179 divine intimation, with all the people standing near, he went in and brought out the rods. The others shewed no difference, but the one on which was inscribed the name of his brother had undergone a wonderful change. Like a goodly plant, it had young sprouts growing all over it, and was laden with abundance of fruits. XXXIV. Now, the fruits were 180 nuts, which in nature are the opposite of other fruits, for in most cases, the grape, the olive, the apple, there is a difference between the seed and the eatable part, and this difference extends to their situation, which is separate, for the edible part is outside, and the seed enclosed within. But, in the nut, seed and edible part are identical, merged in a single form, and their situation is the same inside, shielded and guarded on all sides by a double fence, composed partly of very thick shell and partly of a substance equivalent to a

- 181 σκευάσματος· ἀφ' οὗ τελείαν ἀρετὴν αἰνίττεται. ὥσπερ γὰρ ἐν καρύῳ ταυτόν ἐστιν ἀρχὴ καὶ τέλος, ἀρχὴ μὲν ἢ σπέρμα, τέλος δὲ ἢ καρπός, οὕτως ἔχει καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν ἀρετῶν· ἐκάστη γὰρ συμβέβηκεν εἶναι καὶ ἀρχὴν καὶ τέλος, ἀρχὴν μὲν, ὅτι οὐκ ἐξ ἑτέρας δυνάμεως ἀλλ' ἐξ ἑαυτῆς φύεται, τέλος δέ, ὅτι πρὸς αὐτὴν ὁ κατὰ φύσιν βίος σπεύδει.
- 182 μία μὲν αἰτία ἦδε, λέγεται δὲ καὶ ἑτέρα τῆς προτέρας ἐμφαντικώτερα· καρύου τὸ μὲν φλοιῶδές ἐστι πικρόν, τὸ δ' εἶσω περικείμενον ὥσανει ξύλινον ἔρκος στιφρόν εὖ μάλα καὶ κραταίον, οἷς ἀμφοτέροις ὁ καρπὸς ἐγκατακεκλεισμένος οὐκ ἔστιν εὐληπτος.
- 183 τοῦτο ποιεῖται σύμβολον ἀσκητικῆς ψυχῆς, ἀφ' οὗ προτρέπειν αὐτὴν οἶεται δεῖν ἐπ' ἀρετὴν ἀναδιδάσκων, ὅτι πόνῳ προεντυχεῖν ἀναγκαῖον· πικρόν δὲ καὶ ἀντιτυπές καὶ σκληρόν ὁ πόνος, ἐξ οὗ φύεται
 184 τὰγαθόν, οὗ χάριν οὐ μαλακιστέον. ὁ | μὲν γὰρ
 [163] τὸν πόνον φεύγων φεύγει καὶ τὰ ἀγαθὰ, ὁ δὲ τλητικῶς καὶ ἀνδρείως ὑπομένων τὰ δυσκαρτέρητα σπεύδει πρὸς μακαριότητα· οὐ γὰρ ἀβροδιαίτοις καὶ τὴν ψυχὴν ἐκτεθλυμμένοις καὶ τὸ σῶμα διαρρέουσιν ὑπὸ τῆς καθ' ἐκάστην ἡμέραν ἀδιαστάτου θρύψεως ἀρετὴ πέφυκεν ἐνδαιτυθῆναι, κακουμένη δὲ μετανίσταται πρότερον ἀπόλειψιν χρηματί-
- 185 σασα πρὸς τὸν ἄρχοντα τὸν ὀρθὸν λόγον. ἀλλ' εἰ δεῖ τάληθές εἰπεῖν, ὁ φρονήσεως καὶ σωφροσύνης ἀνδρείας τε καὶ δικαιοσύνης ἱερώτατος θιάσος ἀσκητὰς μετατρέχει καὶ ὅσοι τὸν αὐστηρόν καὶ σκληροδίατον βίον, ἐγκράτειαν καὶ καρτερίαν,

^a Or "before right reason as Archon." See note on *De Cher.* 115, where it is shewn that χρηματίζειν ἀπόλειψιν is a
 538

MOSES II. 181-185

wooden framework. In this way, it signifies perfect 181
virtue ; for, just as in a nut, beginning and end are
identical, beginning represented by seed and end by
fruit, so it is with the virtues. There, too, it is the
case that each is both a beginning and an end ; a
beginning in that it springs from no other power but
itself, an end in that it is the aspiration of the life
which follows nature.

This is one reason 182
why the nut is a type of virtue, but there is another
given which is even clearer than that. The shell-
formed part of the nut is bitter, and the inner layer
which surrounds the fruit like a wooden fence is ex-
ceedingly solid and hard ; and, as the fruit is enclosed
in both these, it is not easy to get at. In this Moses 183
finds the parable of the practising soul, which he
thinks he can rightly use to encourage that soul to
virtue and teach it that it must first encounter toil.
Toil is bitter and stiff and hard, yet from it springs
goodness, and therefore there must be no softening.
For he who flees from toil flees from the good also, 184
but he who patiently and manfully endures what is
hard to bear is pressing on to blessedness. For in
the voluptuous livers, whose souls are emasculated
and whose bodies run to waste with ceaseless luxury
prolonged from day to day, virtue cannot make its
lodging ; but it will first procure its divorce for mis-
usage in the court of right reason,^a and then seek
another home. But in very truth that most holy 185
company, justice, temperance, courage, wisdom,
follow in the train of the practisers and all who devote
themselves to a life of austerity and hardship, that
is to continence and self-restraint, together with

regular phrase in Attic law, used of a wife who appeals to
the Archon for divorce or separation from her husband.

- ζηλοῦσι σὺν εὐτελείᾳ καὶ ὀλιγοδείᾳ, δι' ὧν τὸ κυριώτατον τῶν ἐν ἡμῖν, ὁ λογισμός, εἰς ὑγείαν ἄνοσον καὶ εὐεξίαν ἐπιδίδωσι καθελὼν τὸν βαρὺν τοῦ σώματος ἐπιτειχισμόν, ὃν οἶνοφλυγίαι καὶ ὀψοφαγίαι καὶ λαγνεῖαι καὶ αἱ ἄλλαι ἀπλήρωτοι ἐπιθυμίαι συνεκρότησαν γεννήσασαι τὴν ἀντίπαλον
- 186 ἀγχινοίας πολυσαρκίαν. λέγεται μέντοι καὶ τῶν ἐν ἔαρι βλαστάνειν εἰωθότων δένδρων ἡ ἀμυγδαλῇ καὶ πρῶτον ἀνθεῖν εὐαγγελιζομένη φορὰν ἀκροδρύων καὶ ὕστατον φυλλορροεῖν τὴν ἐπέτειον πρὸς μήκιστον ἀποτείνουσα τῆς χλόης εὐγηρίαν· ὧν ἑκάτερον ποιεῖται σύμβολον τῆς ἱερατικῆς φυλῆς, αἰνιττόμενος ὅτι καὶ πρώτη καὶ ὑστάτη τοῦ σύμπαντος ἀνθρώπων γένους ἀνθήσει, καθ' ὃν ἂν χρόνον δόξῃ τῷ θεῷ ταῖς ἑαριναῖς τροπαῖς ἐξομοιωσαὶ τὸν ἡμέτερον βίον ἀνελόντι τὴν ἐπίβουλον καὶ τοῦ κακοδαιμονεῖν πηγὴν πλεονεξίαν.
- 187 XXXV. Ἐπειδὴ τοίνυν τῷ τελειοτάτῳ ἡγεμόνι τέτταρα δεῖν ἔφαμεν προσεῖναι, βασιλείαν καὶ νομοθετικὴν ἔξιν καὶ ἱερωσύνην καὶ προφητείαν, ἵνα διὰ μὲν τῆς νομοθετικῆς προστάτῃ ἃ δεῖ καὶ ἀπαγορεύῃ ἃ μὴ δεῖ πράττειν, διὰ δὲ τῆς ἱερωσύνης μὴ μόνον τὰνθρώπεια ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰ θεῖα διέτῃ, διὰ δὲ τῆς προφητείας ὅσα μὴ λογισμῷ καταλαμβάνεται θεσπίζῃ, διελεγμένος περὶ τῶν πρώτων τριῶν καὶ ἐπιδεδειχώς Μωυσῆν ἄριστον βασιλέα

* The thought of this sentence seems confused. The permanent triumph of Aaron's family over the lower Levites assisted by Reuben was symbolized by the blossoming of the most permanent of blossoms and so when the *πλεονεξία* ("self-assertion") of mankind as a whole is destroyed, there will be a permanent blossoming. But of whom? We expect of all mankind. Instead we have "the priestly

simplicity and frugal contentment. For by these the highest authority within us, reason, advances to sound health and well-being, and brings to nought the formidable menace to the body, engineered in many a scene of drunkenness and gluttony and lewdness and the other insatiable lusts, the parents of that grossness of flesh which is the enemy of quickness of mind. Further, they say, that of all the trees which regularly bud in the spring the almond-tree is the first to blossom with a welcome promise of a plentiful crop of fruit, and the last to shed its leaves, year by year protracting the hale old age of its verdure to the longest span. Each of these facts he takes as a parable of the priestly tribe, intimating that it will be the first and last of all the human race to blossom, in that day, whenever it shall be, when it shall please God to make our life as a springtime by ridding it of covetousness, that insidious foe which is the source of our misery.^a

XXXV. We said above that there are four adjuncts to the truly perfect ruler. He must have kingship, the faculty of legislation, priesthood and prophecy, so that in his capacity of legislator he may command what should be done and forbid what should not be done, as priest dispose not only things human but things divine, as prophet declare by inspiration what cannot be apprehended by reason. I have discussed the first three, and shewn that Moses was the best of kings, of lawgivers and of

tribe." Is this to be taken literally, or does it stand for Israel, the nation of priests or even for the truly priestly soul? If we could insert *ἡ εὐχὴ ὑπὲρ* after *ὑστέρῃ* the thought would become clear. Philo often insists (*e.g.* *De Spec. Leg.* i. 97), that the prayers of the priests are for the whole human race.

καὶ νομοθέτην καὶ ἀρχιερέα τὸ τελευταῖον ἔρχομαι
 δηλώσω, ὅτι καὶ προφήτης γέγονε δοκιμώτατος.
 188 οὐκ ἄγνοῶ μὲν οὖν, ὥς πάντ' εἰσὶ χρησμοί, ὅσα ἐν
 ταῖς ἱεραῖς βίβλοις ἀναγράφονται, χρησθέντες δι'
 αὐτοῦ· λέξω δὲ τὰ ἰδιαίτερα, πρότερον εἰπὼν ἐκείνο·
 τῶν λογίων τὰ μὲν ἐκ προσώπου τοῦ θεοῦ λέγεται
 δι' ἑρμηνέως τοῦ θείου προφήτου, τὰ δ' ἐκ πεύσεως
 καὶ ἀποκρίσεως ἐθεσπίσθη, τὰ δ' ἐκ προσώπου
 Μωυσέως ἐπιθειάσαντος καὶ ἐξ αὐτοῦ κατασχε-
 189 θέντος. τὰ μὲν οὖν πρῶτα ὅλα δι' ὅλων ἀρετῶν
 [164] θείων δείγματα ἐστι, τῆς τε | ἰλέω καὶ εὐεργέτιδος,
 δι' ὧν ἅπαντας μὲν ἀνθρώπους πρὸς καλοκάγαθίαν
 ἀλείφει, μάλιστα δὲ τὸ θεραπευτικὸν αὐτοῦ γένος,
 ᾧ τὴν πρὸς εὐδαιμονίαν ἄγουσαν ἀνατέμνει ὁδόν·
 190 τὰ δὲ δεύτερα μῖξιν ἔχει καὶ κοινωνίαν, πυνθανο-
 μένου μὲν τοῦ προφήτου περὶ ὧν ἐπεζήτει, ἀπο-
 κρινομένου δὲ τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ διδάσκοντος· τὰ δὲ
 τρίτα ἀνατίθεται τῷ νομοθέτῃ, μεταδόντος αὐτῷ
 τοῦ θεοῦ τῆς προγνωστικῆς δυνάμεως, ἥ θεσπιεῖ
 191 τὰ μέλλοντα. τὰ μὲν οὖν πρῶτα ὑπερθετεῖον, μείζω
 γάρ ἐστιν ἢ ὥς ὑπ' ἀνθρώπου τινὸς ἐπαινεθῆναι,
 μόλις ἂν ὑπ' οὐρανοῦ τε καὶ κόσμου καὶ τῆς τῶν
 ὅλων φύσεως ἀξίως ἐγκωμιασθέντα, καὶ ἄλλως
 λέγεται ὡσανεὶ δι' ἑρμηνέως· ἑρμηνεία δὲ καὶ
 προφητεία διαφέρουσι. περὶ δὲ τῶν δευτέρων αὐ-
 τήκα πειράσομαι δηλοῦν συνυφήνας αὐτοῖς καὶ τὸ
 τρίτον εἶδος, ἐν ᾧ τὸ τοῦ λέγοντος ἐνθουσιῶδες
 ἐμφαίνεται, καθ' ὃ μάλιστα καὶ κυρίως νερόμισται
 προφήτης.

MOSES II. 187-191

high priests, and will now go on to shew in conclusion that he was a prophet of the highest quality. Now I am fully aware that all things written in the 188 sacred books are oracles delivered through Moses ; but I will confine myself to those which are more especially his, with the following preliminary remarks. Of the divine utterances, some are spoken by God in His own Person with His prophet for interpreter, in some the revelation comes through question and answer, and others are spoken by Moses in his own person, when possessed by God and carried away out of himself. The first kind are 189 absolutely and entirely signs of the divine excellences, graciousness and beneficence, by which He incites all men to noble conduct, and particularly the nation of His worshippers, for whom He opens up the road which leads to happiness. In the second 190 kind we find combination and partnership : the prophet asks questions of God about matters on which he has been seeking knowledge, and God replies and instructs him. The third kind are assigned to the lawgiver himself : God has given to him of His own power of foreknowledge and by this he will reveal future events. Now, the first kind must be 191 left out of the discussion. They are too great to be lauded by human lips ; scarcely indeed could heaven and the world and the whole existing universe worthily sing their praises. Besides, they are delivered through an interpreter, and interpretation and prophecy are not the same thing. The second kind I will at once proceed to describe, interweaving with it the third kind, in which the speaker appears under that divine possession in virtue of which he is chiefly and in the strict sense considered a prophet.

- 192 XXXVI. Τῆς δ' ὑποσχέσεως ἀρκτέον ὦδε.
 τέτταρές εἰσι τόποι διὰ πεύσεως καὶ ἀποκρίσεως
 χρησιμοῖς νομοθετηθέντες, μικτὴν ἔχοντες δύναμιν·
 τῇ μὲν γὰρ ὁ προφήτης ἐνθουσιᾷ πυνθανόμενος,
 τῇ δὲ ὁ πατήρ θεσπίζει λόγου καὶ ἀποκρίσεως
 μεταδιδούς. ἔστι δὲ πρῶτος, ὃς οὐχ ὅτι Μωυ-
 σῆν ὀσιώτατον τῶν πώποτε γενομένων ἀλλὰ καὶ
 193 τὸν ἐπὶ βραχὺ γευσάμενον εὐσεβείας ὥργισεν.¹ ἐξ
 ἀνομοίων τις γενόμενος ἄνθρωπος νόθος, Αἰγυπτίου
 μὲν πατρός, μητρός δὲ Ἰουδαίας, τῶν μὲν ταύτης
 πατρίων ἐθῶν ἡλόγησε, πρὸς δὲ τὴν Αἰγυπτιακὴν,
 ὡς λόγος, ἀπέκλινεν ἀσέβειαν τὴν τῶν ἀνδρῶν
 194 ζηλώσας ἀθεότητα. μόνοι γὰρ σχεδὸν πάντων
 ἐθνῶν Αἰγύπτιοι γῆν ἐπετείχισαν οὐρανῷ, τὴν μὲν
 ἰσοθέων τιμῶν ἀξιώσαντες, τῷ δ' οὐδὲν γέρας ἐξ-
 αἶρετον ἀπονείμαντες, ὡς δέον πρὸ τῶν βασιλείων
 τὰς ἐσχατίας περιέπειν—ἐν γὰρ κόσμῳ βασιλείον
 μὲν ἱερώτατον οὐρανός, ἐσχατιὰ δὲ γῆ, καθ' ἑαυτὴν
 μὲν ἀξιοσπούδαστος, εἰς δὲ σύγκρισιν ἰοῦσα αἰθέρος
 ἀπολειπομένη τοσοῦτον ὅσον σκότος μὲν φωτός,
 νύξ δὲ ἡμέρας, φθορὰ δ' ἀφθαρσίας καὶ θνητὸς
 195 θεοῦ—. τῆς γὰρ χώρας οὐχ ὑετῷ καθάπερ αἱ ἄλλαι
 νιφομένης, ἀλλὰ ταῖς τοῦ ποταμοῦ πλημμύραις
 εἰωθυίας ἀνὰ πᾶν ἔτος λιμνάζεσθαι, θεοπλαστοῦσι
 τῷ λόγῳ τὸν Νεῖλον Αἰγύπτιοι ὡς ἀντίμιμον οὐ-

¹ ? ὥργισ' ἄν.

^a Literally "giving him a share of speech and answer."

^b For §§ 193-208 see Lev. xxiv. 10-16.

^c Cf. *De Fuga* 180.

MOSES II. 192-195

XXXVI. In fulfilment of my promise, I must 192
begin with the following examples. There are four
cases upon which the divine voice laid down the
law in the form of question and answer and which
therefore have a mixed character ; for, on the one
hand, the prophet asks a question under divine pos-
session, and on the other hand the Father, in giving
the word of revelation, answers him and talks with
him as with a partner.^a The first case is one which
would have enraged not only Moses, the holiest of
men ever yet born, but even one who knew but a little
of the flavour of godliness. ^b A certain base-born 193
man, the child of an unequal marriage, his father an
Egyptian, his mother a Jewess, had set at naught
the ancestral customs of his mother and turned aside,
as we are told, to the impiety of Egypt and embraced
the atheism of that people. For the Egyptians 194
almost alone among the nations have set up earth
as a power to challenge heaven.^c Earth they held
to be worthy of the honours due to a god, and re-
fused to render to heaven any special tribute of
reverence, acting as though it were right to shew
respect to the outermost regions rather than to the
royal palace. For in the universe heaven is a palace
of the highest sanctity, and earth is the outer region,
estimable indeed in itself, but when it comes into com-
parison with ether, as far inferior to it as darkness is to
light and night to day and corruption to incorruption
and mortal man to God. The Egyptians thought 195
otherwise ; for, since the land is not watered like other
countries by the downpour of rain but regularly every
year becomes a standing water through the flooding of
the river, they speak of the Nile as though it were
the counterpart of heaven and therefore to be deified,

- ρανού γεγονότα καὶ περὶ τῆς χώρας σεμνηγο-
 196 ροῦσιν. XXXVII. ὁ δὲ μικτὸς οὗτος ἐκείνος
 διενεχθεὶς τινι τῶν ἀπὸ τοῦ ὁρατικοῦ καὶ ἐπιστη-
 μονικοῦ γένους, ἀκράτωρ ὑπ' ὀργῆς αὐτὸς αὐτοῦ
 γενόμενος καὶ ἅμα τῆς Αἰγυπτιακῆς ἀθεότητος
 ζηλωτῆς ὢν, ἀπὸ γῆς εἰς οὐρανὸν ἔτεινε τὴν ἀ-
 [165] σέβειαν | ἐπαράτῳ καὶ ἐναγεί καὶ μεμιασμένη ψυχῇ
 τε καὶ γλώττῃ καὶ πάσῃ τῇ φωνῇ ὀργανοποιῶ
 καταρασάμενος δι' ὑπερβολὴν κακιῶν¹ ὃν οὐδ' ὑπὸ
 πάντων ἀλλὰ μόνων τῶν ἀρίστων εὐλογεῖσθαι
 197 θέμις, ὅσοι τὰς τελείας καθάρσεις ἐδέξαντο. διὸ
 καὶ θαυμάσας τὴν φρενοβλάβειαν καὶ τὴν τοῦ
 θράσους ὑπερβολὴν, καίτοι γ' ὑπόπλεως ὢν παρα-
 στήματος εὐγενοῦς καὶ ἰέμενος αὐτοχειρία διαρτῆ-
 σαι τὸν ἄνθρωπον, ἔδεισε μὴ κουφοτέραν ἀναπράξῃ
 τιμωρίαν· ἰσόρροπον γὰρ ἐπινοῆσαι πρὸς τοσαύτην
 198 ἀσέβειαν κόλασιν ἄνθρωπος οὐκ ἂν ἴσχυσεν. ἐπεὶ
 δὲ καὶ τῷ μὴ σέβειν² θεὸν ἔπεται τὸ μήτε γονεῖς
 μήτε πατρίδα μήτ' εὐεργέτας τιμᾶν, ὁ δὲ δὴ
 πρὸς τῷ μὴ σέβειν καὶ κακηγορεῖν τολμῶν τίνα
 μοχθηρίας ὑπερβολὴν ἀπολέλοιπε; καίτοι καὶ
 τὸ κακηγορεῖν ἥττον ἐν συγκρίσει κατάρας· ἀλλὰ
 γλωσσαλγία καὶ ἀχάλιον στόμα ὅταν ἐκνόμοις
 ἀφροσύναις ὑπηρετῶσι, πάντως τι καινουργεῖται
 199 τῶν ἀθέσμων. ὦ ἄνθρωπε, καταρᾶταί τις θεόν;
 τίνα καλῶν ἕτερον θεὸν εἰς τὴν τῆς ἀρᾶς βεβαίω-
 σιν; ἢ δῆλον ὅτι αὐτὸν κατ' αὐτοῦ; ἅπαγε βε-
 βήλων καὶ ἀνοσίων ἐνθυμημάτων. καλὸν ἐκνύβασθαι
 τὴν ἀθλίαν ψυχὴν ἐπηρεασθεῖσαν μὲν ὑπὸ φωνῆς,
διακόνοις δὲ τοῖς ὡς χρησαμένην, αἰσθήσει τυφλῇ.

¹ MSS. κακῶν.² MSS. σέβοντι.

MOSES II. 195-199

and talk about the land in terms of high reverence. XXXVII. And, lo, this half-bred person, 196 having a quarrel with someone of the nation that has vision and knowledge, losing in his anger all control over himself, and also urged by fondness for Egyptian atheism, extended his impiety from earth to heaven, and with his soul and tongue and all the organism of speech alike accursed, foul, abominable, in the superabundance of his manifold wickedness cursed Him, Whom even to bless is a privilege not permitted to all but only to the best, even those who have received full and complete purification. Whereupon Moses, astonished at his madness and 197 the superabundance of his audacity, though the spirit of noble indignation was strong within him and he would fain have cut him off with his own hand, feared lest he might exact too light a penalty ; for to devise an adequate punishment for such impiety was beyond human powers. Refusal to reverence 198 God implies refusal to honour parents and country and benefactors. And, if so, what depths of depravity remain for him to reach who besides refusing reverence dares also to revile Him ? And yet even reviling is a lesser sin compared with cursing. But, when an idle tongue and an unbridled mouth put themselves at the service of lawless follies, some monstrous violation of the moral law is sure to be committed. Answer me, thou man, Does anyone 199 curse God ? Then what other god does he call on to make good the curse, or is it clear that he invokes the help of God against Himself ? Avaunt such profane and unholy thoughts ! Well may the unhappy soul purge itself, which through the ministry of that purblind sense, the ears, has been outraged

- 200 καὶ οὐτε ἡ γλῶττα τοῦ τοσοῦτον ἀσέβημα φθεγξα-
 μένου παρείθη οὐτε τὰ τοῦ μέλλοντος ἀκούειν ὧτα
 ἐπεφράχθη; εἰ μὴ ἄρα κατὰ πρόνοιαν τῆς δίκης,
 ἥτις οὐτ' ἀγαθὸν ὑπερβάλλον οὐτε μέγιστον κακὸν
 οἶεται δεῖν ἐπισκιάζεσθαι, πρὸς ἔλεγχον ἐναργέ-
 στατον ἀρετῆς ἢ κακίας, ἵνα τὴν μὲν ἀποδοχῆς τὴν
 201 δὲ τιμωρίας ἀξιώσῃ. διὰ τοῦτο τὸν μὲν εἰς εἴρκτην
 ἀπαχθέντα κελεύει δεθῆναι, ποτνιαῖται δὲ τὸν θεὸν
 ἱλασάμενος ταῖς ἀνάγκαις τῶν αἰσθήσεων, δι' ὧν
 καὶ βλέπομεν ἃ μὴ θέμις ὁρᾶν καὶ ἀκούομεν ὧν
 μὴ θέμις ἀκούειν, ὃ τι χρὴ παθεῖν τὸν εὐρετὴν
 ἀσεβήματος καὶ ἀνοσιουργήματος ἐκτόπου καὶ
 202 ξένου δηλῶσαι. ὁ δὲ προστάττει καταλευσθῆναι,
 προσήκουσαν οἶμαι δίκην ὑπολαβῶν τὴν διὰ λίθων
 κατ' ἀνδρὸς λιθίνην καὶ ἀπόκροτον ψυχὴν ἔχοντος
 καὶ ἅμα βουλόμενος πάντας τοὺς ἀπὸ τοῦ ἔθνους
 συνεφάσασθαι τῆς κολάσεως, οὓς ἥδει σφόδρα τρα-
 χέως ἐνεγκόντας καὶ φονῶντας· μόνης δ' ὡς ἔοικε
 τῆς διὰ βλημάτων ἔμελλον αἰ τοσαῦται μυριάδες
 ἐφάπτεσθαι.
- 203 Μετὰ δὲ τὴν τοῦ ἀνοσίου καὶ παλαμναίου τίσιν
 ἐγράφη διάταγμα καινόν, οὐκ ἂν ποτε προ-
 ηγουμένης ἀξιωθὲν γραφῆς, ἀλλ' αἱ ἀπροσδόκητοι
 [166] νεωτεροποιῖαι καινοὺς νόμους εἰς ἀνακοπὴν | ἁμαρ-
 τημάτων ἐπιζητοῦσιν. αὐτίκα γοῦν νομοθετεῖται
 ταῖδε· ὃς ἂν καταράσῃται θεόν, ἁμαρτίας ἔνοχος

“ Or “immediately,” as Mangey and others take it. But the use of αὐτίκα=“for example” is common enough and 548

by listening to such words. And was not the tongue 200
of him who uttered such a blasphemy paralysed?
and the ears of him who was to hear it blocked?
Surely they would have been, were it not otherwise
provided by justice, who holds that over nothing
which is extremely good or exceedingly bad should
a veil be thrown, but would have them submitted
to the clearest test of their goodness or badness, that
it may award approval to the one and punishment to
the other. Moses, therefore, ordered the man to be 201
hailed to prison and put in chains, and implored God,
to Whose mercy he appealed, pleading the enforce-
ment of the senses by which we see what by rights
we should not see and hear what we should not
hear, to shew what should be done to the author of
this impious and unholy crime, so monstrous and
unheard-of. God commanded that he should be 202
stoned, holding, I suppose, that stoning was the
fitting punishment for a man of a hard and stony soul,
and also desiring that the work of vengeance should
be shared by all the people, who, as He knew, were
deeply indignant and desired the death of the
offender. And execution by missiles appeared to
be the only mode in which so many thousands could
take part.

When this impious malefactor had paid the penalty, 203
a new ordinance was drawn up. Previous to this, no
such enactment would have seemed to be required.
But unexpected disorders demand new laws as a
check to offences. And so on this occasion^a the
following law was promulgated: Whoever curses
god, let him bear the guilt of his sin, but he that

fits in well with the general statement in the preceding
sentence.

PHILO

- ἔστω, ὃς δ' ἂν ὀνομάσῃ τὸ ὄνομα κυρίου, θνησκέτω.
 204 εἶ γ', ὦ πάνσοφε, μόνος ἀμιγοῦς ἡκρατίσω σοφίας·
 τοῦ καταρᾶσθαι χεῖρον τὸ ὀνομάζειν ὑπέιληφας¹
 οὐ γὰρ ἂν τὸν μὲν βαρύτατον ἀσέβημα εἰργασμένον
 ἐπεκούφιζες διημαρτηκόσιν ἐπιεικέστερον συν-
 τάττων, κατὰ δὲ τοῦ βραχύτερον ἡδίκηκέναι
 δόξαντος τὴν ἀνωτάτω τιμωρίαν, θάνατον, ὥριζες.
 205 XXXVIII. ἀλλ' ὥς ἔοικε "θεοῦ" τὰ νῦν οὐχὶ
 τοῦ πρώτου καὶ γεννητοῦ τῶν ὅλων ἀλλὰ τῶν ἐν
 ταῖς πόλεσι μέμνηται· ψευδώνυμοι δ' εἰσὶ γραφέων
 καὶ πλαστῶν τέχναις δημιουργοῦμενοι· ξοάνων γὰρ
 καὶ ἀγαλμάτων καὶ τοιουτοτρόπων ἀφιδρυμάτων
 ἢ οἰκουμένη μεστή γέγονεν, ὧν τῆς βλασφημίας
 ἀνέχειν ἀναγκαῖον, ἵνα μηδεὶς ἐθίζηται τῶν Μωυ-
 σέως γνωρίμων συνόλως θεοῦ προσρήσεως ἀλογεῖν·
 206 ἀξιονικοτάτη γὰρ καὶ ἀξιέραστος ἡ κλήσις. εἰ δέ
 τις οὐ λέγω βλασφημήσειεν εἰς τὸν ἀνθρώπων καὶ
 θεῶν κύριον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τολμήσειεν ἀκαίρως αὐτοῦ
 φθέγξασθαι τοῦνομα, θάνατον ὑπομεινάτω τὴν δί-
 207 κην. οὐδὲ γὰρ τῶν φυτευσάντων καίτοι θνητῶν
 ὑπαρχόντων οἷς μέλει γονέων τιμῆς τὰ ὀνόματα
 προφέρουσιν, ἀλλὰ τὰ κύρια διὰ τὸν ἐπ' αὐτοῖς
 σεβασμὸν ἡσυχάζοντες τοῖς τῆς φύσεως ἀνακαλοῦσι
 πατέρα καὶ μητέρα προσαγορεύοντες, δι' ὧν εὐθὺς
 αἰνίττονται τὰς ἐξ ἐκείνων ἀνυπερβλήτους εὐερ-

¹ Cohn puts a note of interrogation here, which I do not understand. Better perhaps, as two mss., ὑπειληφώς.

^a So LXX Lev. xxiv. 15, 16. E.V. "Whosoever curseth his
 550

nameth the name of the Lord let him die.^a Well 204
 hast thou said, thou wisest of men, who alone hast
 drunk deep of the untempered wine of wisdom.
 Thou hast held the naming to be worse than the
 cursing, for thou couldst not be treating lightly one
 guilty of the gravest impiety and ranking him with
 the milder offenders while thou didst decree the
 extreme penalty of death to one who was judged to
 have committed the lesser iniquity. XXXVIII. No, 205
 clearly by "god," he is not here alluding to the
 Primal God, the Begetter of the Universe, but to
 the gods of the different cities who are falsely so
 called, being fashioned by the skill of painters and
 sculptors. For the world as we know it is full of
 idols of wood and stone, and suchlike images. We
 must refrain from speaking insultingly of these, lest
 any of Moses' disciples get into the habit of treating
 lightly the name "god" in general, for it is a title
 worthy of the highest respect and love. But if any- 206
 one, I will not say blasphemes the Lord of gods and
 men, but even ventures to utter His Name un-
 seasonably, let him suffer the penalty of death. For, 207
 even in the case of our own parents, though they
 are but mortals, all who have regard for the honour
 due to parentage abstain from using their personal
 names, and, leaving these unsaid, call them instead
 by the terms of natural relationship—father and
 mother—and their so addressing them is seen at once
 to be an indirect acknowledgement of unsurpassed
 benefits conferred by them and an expression of
 God shall bear his sin. And he that blasphemeth the name
 of the Lord shall surely be put to death." Philo's explana-
 tion is repeated by Josephus, *Ant.* iv. 207, *Ap.* ii. 237,
 with reference to Ex. xxii. 28, "Thou shalt not revile God,"
 where the LXX has *θεούς*.

PHILO

208 γεσίας καὶ τὴν αὐτῶν εὐχάριστον διάθεσιν. ἔτι νῦν¹
συγγνώμης ἀξιούσθωσαν οἱ κατ' ἐπισυρμὸν γλώττης
ἀκαιρευόμενοι καὶ λόγων ἀναπλήρωμα ποιούμενοι
τὸ ἀγιώτατον καὶ θεῖον ὄνομα.

209 XXXIX. Μετὰ δὲ τὴν τοῦ γεννητοῦ τῶν ὄλων
τιμὴν τὴν ἱερὰν ἑβδόμην ἐσέμνυνεν ὁ προφήτης
ἰδὼν αὐτῆς ὀξυωπεστέροις ὄμμασι κάλλος ἐξαίσιον
ἐνεσφραγισμένον οὐρανῷ τε καὶ τῷ σύμπαντι
κόσμῳ καὶ ὑπὸ τῆς φύσεως αὐτῆς ἀγαλματοφορού-

210 μενον. εὗρισκε γὰρ αὐτὴν τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἀμήτορα,
γενεᾶς τῆς θήλεος ἀμέτοχον, ἐκ μόνου πατρὸς
σπαρεῖσαν ἄνευ σπορᾶς καὶ γεννηθεῖσαν ἄνευ
κυήσεως· ἔπειτα δ' οὐ ταῦτα μόνον κατείδεν, ὅτι
παγκάλῃ καὶ ἀμήτωρ, ἀλλ' ὅτι καὶ ἀειπάρθετος,

[167] οὐτ' ἐκ μητρὸς οὔτε μήτηρ οὐτ' ἐκ | φθορᾶς οὔτε
φθαρησομένη· εἴτ' ἐκ τρίτου κατενόησεν αὐτὴν ἐξ-
ετάζων καὶ κόσμον γενέθλιον, ἣν ἑορτάζει μὲν
οὐρανός, ἑορτάζει δὲ γῆ καὶ τὰ ἐν γῇ γανύμενα καὶ

211 ἐνευφραινόμενα τῇ παναρμονίῳ ἑβδομάδι. ταύτης
ἕνεκα τῆς αἰτίας ὁ πάντα μέγας Μωυσῆς ἐδικαίωσε
τοὺς ἐγγραφέντας αὐτοῦ τῇ ἱερᾷ πολιτείᾳ θεσμοῖς
φύσεως ἐπομένους πανηγυρίζειν, ἐν ἱλαραῖς δι-
άγοντας εὐθυμίαις, ἀνέχοντας μὲν ἔργων καὶ τεχνῶν
τῶν εἰς πορισμὸν καὶ πραγματειῶν ὅσαι κατὰ βίου
ζήτησιν, ἄγοντας δ' ἐκεχειρίαν καὶ διαφειμένους
πάσης ἐπιπόνου καὶ καματηρᾶς φροντίδος, σχολά-

¹ Cohn would read *ἔτι τοίνυν* comparing *De Abr.* 158. But *ἐπιχειρώμεν* there is the interrogative subjunctive, *ἀξιούσθωσαν* here imperative, i.e. "let them still be thought worthy, if it is possible" (which of course it is not). In this case it seems to be better to retain *νῦν*, and to expunge the mark of interrogation which Cohn places after *ὄνομα*.

MOSES II. 208-211

their own standing gratitude. After this, can we 208 still think worthy of pardon those, who, with a reckless tongue, make unseasonable use of the most holy name of the Deity and treat it as a mere expletive ?

XXXIX. After this honour paid to the Parent 209 of All, the prophet magnified the holy seventh day, seeing with his keener vision its marvellous beauty stamped upon heaven and the whole world and enshrined in nature itself. For he found that she 210 was in the first place motherless, exempt from female parentage, begotten by the Father alone, without begetting, brought to the birth, yet not carried in the womb. Secondly, he saw not only these, that she was all lovely and motherless, but that she was also ever virgin, neither born of a mother nor a mother herself, neither bred from corruption nor doomed to suffer corruption.^a Thirdly, as he scanned her, he recognized in her the birthday of the world,^b a feast celebrated by heaven, celebrated by earth and things on earth as they rejoice and exult in the full harmony of the sacred number. For this cause, Moses, great in everything, determined 211 that all whose names were written on his holy burgess-roll and who followed the laws of nature should hold high festival through hours of cheerful gaiety, abstaining from work and profit-making crafts and professions ^c and business pursued to get a livelihood, and enjoy a respite from labour released from weary and painful care. But this leisure should

^a Cf. *De Op.* 100 and *Leg. All.* i. 15, and further App. p. 609.

^b Cf. *Mos.* i. 207 and note.

^c Both the mental and the manual arts are included under *τέχναι*, cf. § 219.

- ζοντας οὐχ ὡς ἔνιοι γέλωσιν ἢ παιδιαῖς ἢ μίμων
 ἢ ὀρχηστῶν ἐπιδείξεισι, περὶ αἷς κηραίνουσι καὶ
 δυσθανατοῦσιν οἱ θεατρομανοῦντες καὶ διὰ τῶν
 ἡγεμονικωτάτων αἰσθήσεων, ὀράσεως καὶ ἀκοῆς,
 212 δούλην ἀπεργαζόμενοι τὴν φύσει βασιλίδι ψυχῇ,
 ἀλλὰ μόνῳ τῷ φιλοσοφεῖν· οὐχ ὅπερ μεθοδεύουσιν
 οἱ λογοθῆραι καὶ σοφισταὶ πιπράσκοντες ὡς ἄλλο
 τι τῶν ὠνίων ἐπ' ἀγορᾶς δόγματα καὶ λόγους, οἱ
 φιλοσοφία κατὰ φιλοσοφίας (ὧ γῇ καὶ ἡλίε!) χρώ-
 μενοι δι' αἰῶνος οὐκ ἐρυθριῶσιν, ἀλλὰ τῷ τῷ ὄντι
 φιλοσοφεῖν, ὅπερ ἐκ τριῶν συνύφανται, βουλευ-
 μάτων καὶ λόγων καὶ πράξεων, εἰς ἓν εἶδος ἡρμο-
 σμένων πρὸς κτῆσιν καὶ ἀπόλαυσιν εὐδαιμονίας.
- 213 τούτου δὴ τις ἀλογήσας τοῦ διατάγ-
 ματος, ἔτι τοὺς χρησμοὺς ἐναύλους ἔχων τοὺς περὶ
 τῆς ἱερᾶς ἐβδόμης, οὓς ἐθέσπισεν ἄνευ προφήτου
 ὁ θεὸς διὰ φωνῆς—τὸ παραδοξότατον—ὀρατῆς, ἡ
 τῶν παρατυγχανόντων ὀφθαλμοὺς ὥτων ἐπήγειρε
 μᾶλλον, ἐπὶ φρυγανισμόν ἐξήει διὰ μέσου τοῦ
 στρατοπέδου πάντας εἰδὼς ἐν ταῖς σκηναῖς ἡρε-
 μούντας, καὶ δρῶν ἔτι τὰδίκημα καταφανῆς ὑπὲρ
 214 τοῦ μὴ λαθεῖν γίνεται. πυλῶν γὰρ ἔξω προελ-
 θόντες τινὲς εἰς ἐρημίαν, ἢ ἐν τῷ καθαρωτάτῳ καὶ
 ἡσυχάζοντι εὖζωνται, θεῶν ἔκνομον ἰδόντες, ξύλων
 ὕλην συγκομίζοντα, καὶ δυσανασχετήσαντες ἐμέλ-
 λησαν μὲν αὐτὸν ἀνελεῖν, λογισμῷ δὲ τὸ παρα-
 κекινημένον τῆς ὀργῆς ἐπισχόντες, ἵνα μήτε ἰδιῶται

^a For §§ 213-220 see Num. xv. 32-36.

^b Referring to LXX Ex. xx. 18 "all the people saw the voice," cf. *De Mig.* 47.

^c i.e. providence to ensure his conviction caused this certain evidence to be forthcoming.

MOSES II. 211-214

be occupied, not as by some in bursts of laughter or sports or shows of mimes and dancers on which stage-struck fools waste away their strength almost to the point of death, and through the dominant senses of sight and hearing reduce to slavery their natural queen, the soul, but by the pursuit of wisdom only. And the wisdom must not be that of 212 the systems hatched by the word-catchers and sophists who sell their tenets and arguments like any bit of merchandise in the market, men who for ever pit philosophy against philosophy without a blush, O earth and sun, but the true philosophy which is woven from three strands—thoughts, words and deeds—united into a single piece for the attainment and enjoyment of happiness.

^a Now, a certain 213 man, setting at nought this ordinance, though the echoes of the divine commands about the sacredness of the seventh day were ringing in his ears, commands promulgated by God not through His prophet but by a voice which, strange paradox, was visible ^b and aroused the eyes rather than the ears of the bystanders, went forth through the midst of the camp to gather firewood, knowing that all were resting in their tents. But that his crime might not remain hidden, ^c he was observed while still engaged in the wicked deed. For some persons who had gone out of the gates into 214 the wilderness to pray in the quiet open solitude ^d saw this lawless sight, a man gathering sticks for fuel, and, hardly able to control themselves, they were minded to slay him. Reflection, however, caused them to restrain the fierceness of their anger. They

^d LXX (xv. 32). "And the children of Israel were in the wilderness and they found," etc., E.V. "while they were . . . they found."

- πρὸ ἀρχόντων κολάζειν τινὰ δοκῶσι καὶ ταυτ' ἀκριτον, κὰν ἄλλως τὸ παρανόμημα ἢ ἐμφανές, μήτε τοῦ περὶ τὴν ἡμέραν εὐαγοῦς μίasma φόνου, κὰν δικαιοτάτος ἢ, προσάφηται, συλλαβόντες ἄγουσιν αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τὸν ἄρχοντα, ᾧ συνήδρευον μὲν οἱ ἱερεῖς, παρειστήκει δὲ σύμπασα ἢ πληθὺς πρὸς
 215 ἀκρόασιν. ἔθος γὰρ ἦν, αἰεὶ μὲν κατὰ τὸ παρεῖκον, προηγουμένως δὲ ταῖς ἐβδόμαις, ὡς ἐδήλωσα καὶ πρόσθεν, φιλοσοφεῖν, τοῦ μὲν ἡγεμόνος ὑφηγου-
 [168] μένου καὶ διδάσκοντος ἃ τε | χρὴ πράττειν καὶ λέγειν, τῶν δ' εἰς καλοκάγαθίαν ἐπιδιδόντων καὶ
 216 βελτιουμένων τά τε ἦθη καὶ τὸν βίον. ἀφ' οὗ καὶ εἰσέτι νῦν φιλοσοφοῦσι ταῖς ἐβδόμαις Ἰουδαῖοι τὴν πατριον φιλοσοφίαν τὸν χρόνον ἐκείνον ἀναθέντες ἐπιστήμῃ καὶ θεωρίᾳ τῶν περὶ φύσιν· τὰ γὰρ κατὰ πόλεις προσευκτήρια τί ἕτερόν ἐστιν ἢ διδασκαλεία φρονήσεως καὶ ἀνδρείας καὶ σωφροσύνης καὶ δικαιοσύνης εὐσεβείας τε καὶ ὁσιότητος καὶ συμπάσης ἀρετῆς, ἣ κατανοεῖται καὶ κατορθοῦται τά τε ἀνθρώπεια καὶ θεῖα;
- 217 XL. Τότε μὲν οὖν εἰς εἰρκτὴν ὁ τηλικούτον ἀσέβημα δράσας ἀπάγεται. Μωυσῆς δὲ ἀπορῶν ὁ τι χρὴ παθεῖν τὸν ἄνθρωπον—ἦδει γὰρ ἄξια θανάτου διαπεπραγμένον, ἀλλὰ τίς ἂν γένοιτο τρόπος ἀρμόζων τῆς τιμωρίας;—ἀφικνεῖται πρὸς τὸ ἀόρατον ἀοράτῳ ψυχῇ δικαστήριον καὶ ἐπυνθάνετο τοῦ καὶ πρὶν ἀκοῦσαι πάντ' ἐπισταμένου δικα-
 218 στοῦ, τί κέκρικεν. ὁ δ' ἀποφαίνεται τὴν γνώσιν,

^a Or "of theology." See on *De Abr.* 99.

^b According to the narrative as it stands, sabbath-breaking had already been declared a capital crime, Ex. xxxi. 14, xxxv. 2.

MOSES II. 214-218

did not wish to make it appear that they who were but private citizens took upon themselves the ruler's duty of punishment, and that too without a trial, however clear was the offence in other ways, or that the pollution of bloodshed, however justly deserved, should profane the sacredness of the day. Accordingly they arrested him, and took him before the ruler beside whom the priests were seated, while the whole multitude stood around to listen; for it was 215 customary on every day when opportunity offered, and pre-eminently on the seventh day, as I have explained above, to pursue the study of wisdom with the ruler expounding and instructing the people what they should say and do, while they received edification and betterment in moral principles and conduct. Even now this practice is retained, and 216 the Jews every seventh day occupy themselves with the philosophy of their fathers, dedicating that time to the acquiring of knowledge and the study of the truths of nature.^a For what are our places of prayer throughout the cities but schools of prudence and courage and temperance and justice and also of piety, holiness and every virtue by which duties to God and men are discerned and rightly performed?

XL. So, then, the perpetrator of this great sin 217 against God was for the time being taken into custody. But Moses was in doubt as to what should be done to him. He knew that the action deserved death,^b but what would be the proper method of punishment? So, then, in spirit, he approached the judgement-seat, invisible even as the spirit which sought it, and asked of the Judge Who knows all before He hears it what His sentence was. That Judge declared His decision 218

- ὅτι καὶ θνήσκειν ὀφείλει καὶ οὐχ ἑτέρως ἢ κατα-
 λευσθεῖς, ἐπειδὴ καὶ τούτῳ καθάπερ καὶ τῷ προ-
 τέρῳ μετέβαλεν ὁ νοῦς εἰς κωφήν λίθον εἰργα-
 σμένῳ τελεώτατον παρανόμημα, ᾧ σχεδὸν πάντα
 τὰλλα ἐμφέρεται, ὅσα περὶ τοῦ σεβασμοῦ τῆς
 219 ἐβδόμης νενομοθέτηται. διὰ τί; ὅτι οὐχ αἱ βά-
 ναυσοι μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ αἱ ἄλλαι τέχναι καὶ πραγ-
 ματεῖαι καὶ μάλιστα αἱ περὶ πορισμὸν καὶ βίου
 ζήτησιν ἢ διὰ πυρός εἰσιν ἢ οὐκ ἄνευ τῶν διὰ
 πυρός· ὅθεν ἀπαγορεύει πολλάκις ἐν ταῖς ἐβδόμαις
 πῦρ ἐναυεῖν ὡς ἀρχηγικώτατον αἷτιον καὶ πρεσβύ-
 τατον ἔργον, οὗ ἡσυχάσαντος ἐνενοήθη καὶ τὰ κατὰ
 220 μέρος ὡς εἰκὸς συνησυχάσειν. ὕλη δὲ ξύλα πυρός,
 ὡς τὸν ξυλιζόμενον ἀδελφὸν καὶ συγγενὲς ἀμάρτημα
 τῷ καίοντι δρᾶν, τὸ παρανόμημα διπλασιάζοντα,
 τῇ μὲν ὅτι προσταχθὲν ἡρεμεῖν συνεκόμιζε, τῇ δ'
 ὅτι καὶ τοιαῦτα συνεκόμιζεν, ἃ πυρός ἐστὶν ὕλη,
 τῆς τῶν τεχνῶν ἀρχῆς.
- 221 XLI. "Ἀμφω μὲν οὖν τὰ εἰρημένα τιμωρίας
 ἀσεβῶν περιέχει διὰ πεύσεως καὶ ἀποκρίσεως
 βεβαιουμένας. ἕτερα δὲ δύο ἐστὶν οὐχὶ τῆς αὐτῆς
 ἀλλὰ διαφορούσης ἰδέας, ὧν τὸ μὲν περὶ κλήρου
 [169] διαδοχῆς, τὸ δ' ὅσα τῷ δοκεῖν παρὰ καιρὸν | ἐπι-
 τελουμένης ἱερουργίας, περὶ ἧς λεκτέον πρότερον.
- 222 τὴν ἀρχὴν τῆς ἑαρινῆς ἰσημερίας πρῶτον ἀναγράφει
 μῆνα Μωυσῆς ἐν ταῖς τῶν ἐνιαυτῶν περιόδοις ἀνα-
 θεῖς οὐχ ὥσπερ ἔνιοι χρόνῳ τὰ πρεσβεῖα μᾶλλον
 ἢ ταῖς τῆς φύσεως χάρισιν, ἃς ἀνέτειλεν ἀνθρώποις·

^a Only found in Ex. xxxv. 3, though the command to bake or boil the manna before the Sabbath, Ex. xvi. 23, may be taken to imply it. (Driver.)

^b For §§ 222-232 see Num. ix. 1-14.

that the man should die, and by no other death but stoning ; since in him, as in the earlier culprit, the mind had been changed into a senseless stone by a deed which was the perfection of wickedness, and covered practically all the prohibitions enacted for the honouring of the seventh day. How is this ? 219 Because not merely the mechanical but also the other arts and occupations, particularly those which are undertaken for profit and to get a livelihood, are carried on directly or indirectly by the instrumentality of fire. And, therefore, he often ^a forbids the lighting of a fire on the seventh day, regarding it as the cause which lay at the root of all and as the primary activity ; and, if this ceased, he considered that other particular activities would naturally cease also. But 220 sticks are the material for fire, so that by picking them up he committed a sin which was brother to and of the same family as the sin of burning them. And his was a double crime ; it lay first in the mere act of collecting, in defiance of the commandment to rest from work, secondly in the nature of what he collected, being materials for fire which is the basis of the arts.

XLI. Both the incidents mentioned above are con- 221 cerned with the punishment of impious persons, ratified by means of question and answer. There are two others of a different kind : one connected with the succession to an inheritance, the other with a rite performed at apparently a wrong season. It will be better to take the latter example before the other. ^b Moses dates the first month of the year's 222 revolution at the beginning of the spring equinox. And, in doing so, he is not like some giving the place of honour to the actual time but rather to the gifts of nature which she raises up for men. For at the equinox

- κατὰ γὰρ ταύτην τὰ μὲν σπαρτά, ἡ ἀναγκαῖα τροφή, τελειογονεῖται, ὁ δὲ τῶν δένδρων καρπὸς ἡβώντων ἄρτι γεννᾶται δευτέραν ἔχων τάξιν, ὅθεν καὶ ὁψίγονός ἐστιν· αἰὶ γὰρ ἐν τῇ φύσει τὰ μὴ λίαν
- 223 ἀναγκαῖα τῶν σφόδρα ἀναγκαίων δεύτερα. σφόδρα μὲν οὖν ἀναγκαῖα πυροὶ τε καὶ κριθαὶ καὶ ὅσα ἄλλα εἶδη τροφῆς, ὧν ἄνευ ζῆν οὐκ ἔστιν· ἔλαιον δὲ καὶ οἶνος καὶ ἀκρόδρυα οὐχὶ τῶν ἀναγκαίων, ἐπεὶ καὶ δίχα τούτων ἄχρι μακροτάτου γήρως παρα-
- 224 τείνοντες εἰς πολυετίαν βιοῦσιν ἄνθρωποι. τῷ δὲ μηνὶ τούτῳ περὶ τεσσαρεσκαίδεκάτην ἡμέραν, μέλλοντος τοῦ σεληνιακοῦ κύκλου γίνεσθαι πλησι-
 φαοῦς, ἄγεται τὰ διαβατήρια, δημοφανῆς ἐορτή, τὸ Χαλδαῖστί λεγόμενον Πάσχα, ἐν ᾗ οὐχ οἱ μὲν ἰδιῶται προσάγουσι τῷ βωμῷ τὰ ἱερεῖα, θύουσι δ' οἱ ἱερεῖς, ἀλλὰ νόμου προστάξει σύμπαν τὸ ἔθνος ἱερᾶται, τῶν κατὰ μέρος ἐκάστου τὰς ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ
- 225 θυσίας ἀνάγοντός τε καὶ χειρουργοῦντος. ὁ μὲν οὖν ἄλλος ἅπας λεὼς ἐγγεγήθει καὶ παιδρὸς ἦν, ἐκάστου νομίζοντος ἱερωσύνην τιμηθῆναι· δεδακρυ-
 μένοι δ' ἕτεροι καὶ στένοντες διῆγον, οἰκείων αὐτοῖς ἑναγχος τετελευτηκότων, οὓς πενθοῦντες διπλῇ κατείχοντο λύπῃ, προσειληφότες τῇ διὰ τοὺς ἀποθανόντας συγγενεῖς καὶ τὴν ἐκ τοῦ στερηθῆναι τῆς περὶ τὴν ἱεουργίαν ἡδονῆς τε καὶ τιμῆς, οἷς οὐδὲ καθάρασθαι καὶ περιρράναςθαι κατ' ἐκείνην τὴν ἡμέραν ἐξεγένετο, μήπω τοῦ πένθους ὑπερ-
- 226 ἡμέρου καὶ ἐκπροθέσμου γεγονότος. οὗτοι μετὰ τὴν πανήγυριν προσελθόντες τῷ ἄρχοντι συννοίας μεστοὶ καὶ κατηφείας τὰ συμβεβηκότα διηγήσαντο, τὴν ὑπόγυον τῶν συγγενῶν τελευτήν, τὸ πένθος ᾧ κατ' ἀναγκαῖον ἐχρήσαντο, τὸ μὴ δυνηθῆναι διὰ
- 560

MOSES II. 222-226

the corn crops, our necessary food, become ripe, while on the trees, which are in full bloom, the fruit is just beginning to appear. This ranks second to the corn, and therefore is a later growth. For in nature what is a less pressing always comes after a really pressing necessity. Now, wheat and barley and the other 223 kinds of food without which life is impossible are pressing necessities, but wine and olive oil and tree fruits do not come under this head, as men continue their life for many years and reach extreme old age without them. In this month, about the fourteenth 224 day, when the disc of the moon is becoming full, is held the commemoration of the crossing, a public festival called in Hebrew Pasch, on which the victims are not brought to the altar by the laity and sacrificed by the priests, but, as commanded by the law, the whole nation acts as priest, each individual bringing what he offers on his own behalf and dealing with it with his own hands. Now, 225 while all the rest of the people were joyful and cheerful, each feeling that he had the honour of priesthood, there were others passing the time in tears and sorrow. They had lost relations lately by death, and in mourning them they suffered a double sorrow. Added to their grief for their dead kinsfolk was that which they felt at the loss of the pleasure and honour of the sacred rite. For they were not even allowed to purify or besprinkle themselves with holy water on that day, since their mourning had still some days to run and had not passed the appointed term. These 226 persons, after the festival, came to the ruler full of gloom and depression and put the case before him—the still recent death of their kinsfolk, the necessity of performing their duty as mourners and their con-

- 227 τοῦτο μετασχεῖν τῆς τῶν διαβατηρίων θυσίας. εἴτ' ἐδέοντο μὴ ἔλαττον τῶν ἄλλων ἐνέγκασθαι μηδὲ τὸ ἐπὶ τοῖς ἀποθανοῦσιν οἰκείοις ἀτύχημα ἐν ἀδικήματος μέρει καταριθμηθῆναι τιμωρίαν ἐργασάμενον
- [170] πρὸ | ἐλέου· νομίσαι γὰρ ἂν χείρονα παθεῖν τῶν ἀποθανόντων, εἴ γε τοῖς μὲν οὐδενός ἐστιν ἀντίληψις ἔτι τῶν ἀβουλήτων, οἱ δὲ ζῶντες δόξουσι τεθνάναι
- 228 τὸν μετ' αἰσθήσεως θάνατον. XLII. ταῦτ' ἀκούσας ἑώρα μὲν καὶ τὴν δικαιολογίαν οὐκ ἀπωδὸν καὶ τὴν τοῦ μὴ ἱεουργῆσαι πάλιν πρόφασιν ἀναγκαίαν καὶ τὸ συμπαθὲς ἀνακεκραμένον τούτοις, ἐπαμφοτερίζων δὲ τὴν γνώμην καὶ ὥσπερ ἐπὶ πλάστιγγος ἀντιρρέπων—τῇ μὲν γὰρ ἐταλάντευεν ὁ ἔλεος καὶ τὰ δίκαια, τῇ δ' ἀντέβριθεν ὁ νόμος τῆς τῶν διαβατηρίων θυσίας, ἐν ᾧ καὶ πρῶτος μὴν καὶ ἡμέρα τεσσαρεσκαίδεκάτῃ δεδήλωται τῆς ἱεουργίας—, ἀρνήσεως καὶ συγκαταθέσεως μεταξὺ φορούμενος ἰκετεύει τὸν θεὸν δικαστὴν γενέσθαι καὶ χρησμῶ
- 229 τὴν κρίσιν ἀναφῆναι. ὁ δ' ἐπακούσας θεσπίζει λόγιον οὐ περὶ ὧν ἐνετεύχθη μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ περὶ τῶν αὐθὶς ποτε γενησομένων, εἰ ταῖς αὐταῖς χρῆσαιντο συντυχίαις· ἐπιδαψιλευόμενος δὲ καὶ περὶ τῶν κατ' ἄλλας αἰτίας οὐ δυνηθέντων ἱεουργῆσαι
- 230 μετὰ παντὸς τοῦ ἔθνους προσεπιθεσπίζει. τίνα οὖν ἐστι τὰ περὶ τούτων χρησθέντα λόγια, μηνυτέον. “ συγγενικὸν ” φησί “ πένθος ἀναγκαῖα μὲν τοῖς ἀφ' αἵματος ἀνία, γράφεται δ' οὐκ ἐν πλημμελείαις.
- 231 ἕως μὲν οὖν ἐμπρόθεσμόν ἐστιν, ἔξω περιβόλων

MOSES II. 226-231

sequent inability to take part in the sacrifice of the crossing-feast. Then they prayed that they might 227 not fare worse than the others, and that the misfortune which they had sustained in the death of their relations might not be counted as misconduct entailing punishment rather than pity. In that case they considered that their fate would be worse than that of the dead, for they have no longer any perception of their troubles, while they themselves would be suffering a living death, in which they still retained consciousness. XLII. Moses, hearing this, 228 recognized the reasonableness of their claim, and also the cogency of their excuse for absenting themselves from the sacrifice ; and with these was mingled a feeling of sympathy. Yet he wavered in his judgement, and oscillated as on a balance : one scale was weighed down by pity and justice, while in the other lay as a counterpoise the law of the Paschal sacrifices in which both the first month and the fourteenth day were clearly appointed for the rite. So, vacillating between refusal and assent, he besought God to act as judge and to give an oracle declaring his decision. And God hearkened to him and vouchsafed an answer 229 revealing His will, touching not only those for whom the prophet interceded but those of future generations who might find themselves in the same case. And, His grace abounding further, He included in the divine edict those who for other reasons might be unable to join the whole nation in a sacred service. It is right to state what the pronouncements thus 230 given were. " Mourning for kinsfolk," He said, " is an affliction which the family cannot avoid, but it does not count as an offence. While it is still running 231 its appointed course, it should be banished from the

ιερώων ἐλαυνέσθω, οὓς ἀπὸ παντὸς ἀγνεύειν οὐχ ἔκουσίου μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῦ μὴ κατὰ γνώμην μιάσματος δεῖ· γενομένου δ' ἐκπροθέσμου, μὴ στερέσθωσαν ἰσομοιρίας τῆς ἐν ταῖς ἱερουργίαις, ἵνα μὴ προσθήκη τετελευτηκότων οἱ ζῶντες ὦσιν· ἴτωσαν δὲ ἅτε δεύτεροι δευτέρῳ μηνί, πάλιν τεσσαρεσκαίδεκάτῃ ἡμέρᾳ, καὶ θυέτωσαν κατὰ τὰ αὐτὰ τοῖς προτέροις καὶ τῷ θύματι χρήσθωσαν ὡς
 232 ἐκείνοι νόμῳ καὶ τρόπῳ τῷ παραπλησίῳ. τὰ δ' αὐτὰ ἐπιτετράφθω καὶ τοῖς μὴ διὰ πένθος ἀλλὰ μακρᾶς χάριν ἀποδημίας κωλυομένοις ἅμα τῷ παντὶ ἔθνει συνιερουργεῖν· οὐ γὰρ οἱ ξενιτεύοντες ἢ ἐτέρωθι οἰκοῦντες ἀδικοῦσιν, ὡς στέρεσθαι τῆς ἴσης τιμῆς, καὶ ταῦτα μὴ χωρούσης διὰ πολυανθρωπίαν τὸ ἔθνος μιᾶς χώρας, ἀλλ' ἀποικίας πανταχόσε διαπεμψαμένης."

- 233 XLIII. Τοσαῦτα διειλεγμένους περὶ τῶν ὑστερησάντων μὲν ἅμα τῷ πλήθει θῦσαι τὰ διαβατήρια κατὰ συντυχίας ἀβουλήτους, ἐκπλήσαι δ' εἰ καὶ ὅψῃ ἀλλ' οὖν ἀναγκαίως τὸ ἐλλειφθὲν σπουδασάντων, ἐπὶ τελευταῖον μέτειμι διάταγμα τὸ περὶ τῆς τῶν κλήρων διαδοχῆς, ὅπερ ὁμοίως μικτὸν ἦν ἐκ πεύ-
 234 σεως καὶ ἀποκρίσεως λαβὼν τὴν σύστασιν. ἦν τις ὄνομα Σαλπαάδ, ἀνὴρ δόκιμος καὶ φυλῆς οὐκ ἀσήμου· τούτῳ πέντε μὲν γίνονται θυγατέρες, υἱὸς
 [171] δὲ οὐδεὶς· αἱ μετὰ τὴν τελευταίην τοῦ πατρὸς στέρησιν τῆς πατρῴας λήξεως ὑποτοπήσασαι διὰ τὸ τὰς κληρουχίας ἄρρεσι δίδοσθαι προσίασιν τῷ ἡγεμόνι μετὰ τῆς ἀρμοττοῦσης κόραις αἰδοῦς, οὐ θηρώμεναι πλοῦτον, ἀλλὰ τοῦνομα καὶ ἀξίωμα

* For this idiomatic use of ἀναγκαίως see note on *Quod Det.* 160.

MOSES II. 231-234

sacred precincts which must be kept pure from all pollution, not only that which is voluntary but also that which is unintentionally incurred. But when its term is finished let not the mourners be denied an equal share in the sacred services, and thus the living be made an appendage to the dead. Let them form a second set to come on the second month and also on the fourteenth day, and sacrifice just as the first set, and observe a similar rule and method in dealing with the victims. The same permission also must be 232 given to those who are prevented from joining the whole nation in worship not by mourning but by absence in a distant country. For settlers abroad and inhabitants of other regions are not wrongdoers who deserve to be deprived of equal privileges, particularly if the nation has grown so populous that a single country cannot contain it and has sent out colonies in all directions."

XLIII. Having thus discussed the case of those 233 who, through adverse circumstances, failed to make the Paschal sacrifice with the mass of the nation, but were set upon repairing the omission if late yet as best they could,^a I will pass on to the final ordinance, which concerns the succession to an inheritance. This, like the others, originated in a question and answer and was thus of a mixed character. ^b There 234 was a man called Zelophehad, highly reputed and of no mean tribe, who had five daughters and no son. After the death of their father, the daughters, suspecting that they would be deprived of the property he had left, since inheritances went in the male line, approached the ruler in all maidenly modesty, not in pursuit of wealth but from a desire to preserve the

^a For §§ 234-245 see Num. xxvii. 1-11.

- 235 γλιχόμεναι διασωσαι τοῦ πατρὸς καὶ φασιν· “ ὁ μὲν
πατὴρ ἡμῶν ἐτελεύτησεν, ἐτελεύτησε δ' ἐν οὐδεμιᾷ
στάσει γενόμενος, ἐφ' ᾧ συνέβη διαφθαρῆναι μυ-
ρίους, ἀλλ' ἐξήλωσε βίον ἀπράγμονα καὶ ἰδιώτην,
εἰ μὴ ἄρα ἐν ἁμαρτία θετέον τὸ γενεᾶς ἄρρενος
ἀμοιρῆσαι. πάρεσμεν δ' ἡμεῖς ὅσα μὲν τῷ δοκεῖν
ὀρφαναί, τὸ δ' ἀληθὲς σοὶ χρῆσόμεναι πατρί· τοῦ
γὰρ γεννήσαντος ὁ νόμιμος ἄρχων οἰκειότερος
236 ὑπηκόοις.” ὁ δὲ θαυμάσας τὴν φρόνησιν τῶν
παρθένων καὶ τὴν πρὸς τὸν γεινάμενον εὐνοίαν
ἐπέσχεν ὑφ' ἐτέρας ἐλκόμενος φαντασίας, καθ' ἣν
τὰς κληρουχίας ἄνδρες ὤφειλον διανέμεσθαι γέρας
ληψόμενοι στρατείας καὶ πολέμων οὓς διήθλησαν,
γυναικὶ δ' ἡ φύσις ἀσυλίαν τῶν τοιούτων ἀγω-
νισμάτων παρέχουσα δηλονότι καὶ τῶν ἐπ' αὐτοῖς
237 τιθεμένων ἄθλων οὐ μεταδίδωσιν. ὅθεν εἰκότως
τῆς διανοίας ἀμφικλινῶς ἐχούσης καὶ ἀντισπω-
μένης, ἀναφέρει τῷ θεῷ τὴν διαπόρησιν, ὃν ᾗδει
μόνον ἀψευδέσι καὶ ἀπλανεστάτοις κριτηρίοις τὰς
κατὰ μικρὸν διαφορὰς διαστέλλοντα πρὸς ἐπίδειξιν
238 ἀληθείας καὶ δικαιοσύνης. ὁ δὲ ποιητὴς τῶν ὅλων,
ὁ τοῦ κόσμου πατήρ, γῆν καὶ οὐρανὸν ὕδωρ τε καὶ
ἀέρα καὶ ὅσα ἐκ τούτων ἐκάστου συνέχων καὶ
διακρατῶν, ὁ θεῶν καὶ ἀνθρώπων ἡγεμῶν, οὐκ
ἀπηξίωσε χρηματίσαι κόραις ὀρφαναῖς· χρηματίσας
δὲ καὶ πλέον τι παρέσχεν ἢ κατὰ δικαστὴν ὁ
εὐμενὴς καὶ ἰλεως, ὁ πάντα διὰ πάντων πεπληρωκὴς
τῆς εὐεργετίδος ἑαυτοῦ δυνάμεως· ἔπαινον γὰρ δι-
239 ἐξήλθε τῶν παρθένων. ὧ δέσποτα, πῶς ἂν σέ τις

^a Philo is trying to interpret verse 3, E.V. “but he died in his own sin” (i.e. in the ordinary sinfulness of a man). “and

MOSES II. 235-239

name and reputation of their father. "Our father 235 died," they said, "but not in any of the risings in which, as it fell out, multitudes perished, but followed contentedly the quiet life of an ordinary citizen, and surely it is not to be accounted as a sin that he had no male issue.^a We are here outwardly as orphans, but in reality hoping to find a father in you ; for a lawful ruler is closer akin to his subjects than he who begat them." Moses admired the good sense 236 of the maidens and their loyalty to their parent, but suspended his judgement, being influenced by another view, which holds that men should divide inheritances among themselves, to be taken as the reward for military service and the wars of which they have borne the brunt ; while nature, who grants to women exemption from such conflicts, clearly also refuses them a share in the prizes assigned thereto. Natur- 237 ally, therefore, in this wavering and undecided state of mind, he referred the difficulty to God, Who alone, as he knew, can distinguish by infallible and absolutely unerring tests the finest differences and thereby shew His truth and justice. And He, the Maker of 238 All, the Father of the World, Who holds firmly knit together heaven and earth and water and air and all that each of them produces, the Ruler of men and gods, did not disdain to give response to the petition of some orphan girls. And, with that response, He gave something more than a judge would give, so kind and gracious was He, Who has filled the universe through and through with His beneficent power ; for He stated His full approval of the maidens. O 239 Lord and Master, how can one hymn Thee ? What

he had no sons." The LXX is hardly intelligible "because he died on account of his sin, and had no sons."

- ὑμνήσειε, ποίῳ στόματι, τίνι γλώττῃ, ποίᾳ φωνῇ
 ὀργανοποιῶ, ποίῳ ψυχῇς ἡγεμονικῶ; οἱ γὰρ
 ἀστέρες εἰς γενόμενοι χορὸς ἄσονται τι μέλος
 ἐπάξιον; ὁ δ' οὐρανὸς ὅλος εἰς φωνὴν ἀναλυθεὶς
 δυνήσεται τι τῶν σῶν ἀρετῶν διηγήσασθαι μέρος;
 “ὀρθῶς” φησὶν “ἐλάλησαν αἱ θυγατέρες
 240 Σαλπαάδ.” τοῦθ' ἡλίκον ἐστὶν ἐγκώμιον θεοῦ
 μαρτυροῦντος, τίς οὐκ οἶδε; πάρিতে νῦν, οἱ ἀλα-
 ζόνες, οἱ μέγα πνέοντες ἐπὶ ταῖς εὐπραγίαις, οἱ τοὺς
 αὐχένας πλέον τῆς φύσεως ἐπαίροντες καὶ τὰς
 ὀφρῦς ἀνεσπακότες, παρ' οἷς χηρεῖα μὲν γυναικῶν
 γέλως, [καὶ] οἰκτρὸν κακόν, ἐρημία δὲ παίδων
 [172] ὀρφανῶν, | οἰκτρότερον τοῦ προτέρου, χλευάζεται·
 241 καὶ κατιδόντες ὅτι οὕτω ταπεινοὶ καὶ ἀτυχεῖς εἶναι
 δοκοῦντες οὐκ ἐν ἐξουθενημένοις καὶ ἀφανέσι
 τάττονται παρὰ τῷ θεῷ, οὗ τῆς ἀρχῆς τὸ ἀτιμό-
 τατον μέρος εἰσὶν αἱ πανταχοῦ τῆς οἰκουμένης
 βασιλεῖαι, διότι καὶ ὁ τῆς γῆς ἅπας ἐν κύκλῳ
 περίβολος ἐσχατιὰ τῶν ἔργων ἐστὶν αὐτοῦ, δέξασθε
 242 νουθεσίαν ἀναγκαίαν. ἐπαινέσας δ' ὅμως
 τὴν ἔντεξιν τῶν παρθένων οὔτε ταύτας ἀγεράστους
 κατέλιπεν οὐτ' εἰς τὴν ἴσην τιμὴν τοῖς ἀγωνισταῖς
 ἀνδράσι περιήγαγεν, ἀλλὰ τοῖς μὲν ὡς ἄθλα οἰκεῖα
 ἀπένειμε τὰς κληρουχίας ἀνθ' ὧν ἡνδραγαθίσαντο,
 τὰς δὲ χάριτος καὶ φιланθρωπίας, οὐ γέρωσ, ἡξίω-
 σεν· ὁ ἐναργέστατα παρίστησι διὰ τῶν ὀνομάτων
 “δόμα” λέγων καὶ “δώσεις,” ἀλλ' οὐκ “ἀπό-
 δομα” οὐδ' “ἀποδώσεις”· ταῦτα μὲν γὰρ ἴδια τῶν
 568

mouth, what tongue, what else of the instruments of speech, what mind, soul's dominant part, is equal to the task? If the stars become a single choir, will their song be worthy of Thee? If all heaven be resolved into sound, will it be able to recount any part of Thy excellences? "The daughters of Zelophehad have spoken rightly," He said. Who 240 can fail to know how great a commendation is this testimony from God? Come now, you boasters, with your windy pride in your prosperity, and your pose of perked up necks and lifted eyebrows, who treat widowhood, that piteous calamity, as a joke, and the still more piteous desolation of orphanhood as a matter for mockery. Mark how the persons 241 who seem thus lonely and unfortunate are not treated as nothing worth and negligible in the judgement of God, of Whose empire the least honoured parts are the kingdoms found everywhere in the civilized world; for even the whole compass of the round earth is but the outermost fringe of His works—mark this, I say, and learn its much-needed lesson. Still, 242 though he praised the petition of the maidens and refrained from leaving them empty-handed, he did not promote them to equal honour with the men who bore the brunt of conflict. To these he assigned the inheritances as prizes suitable to their feats of valour; the women he judged worthy of charity and kindness, not of reward for services. He shows this clearly by the words He uses. He says: "Gift" and "thou shalt give,"^a not "payment" and "thou shalt pay," for the latter pair are used when we receive what is

^a Or "restore," "return." Cf. *De Som.* i. 100.

λαμβάνοντων,¹ ἐκεῖνα δὲ τῶν χαριζομένων.

- 243 XLIV. θεσπίσας δὲ περὶ ὧν ἐνετύγχανον αἱ ὀρφαναὶ
 παρθένοι καὶ καθολικώτερον τίθησι νόμον περὶ
 κλήρων διαδοχῆς, πρώτους μὲν υἱοὺς ἐπὶ μετουσίαν
 καλῶν τῶν πατρῶν, εἰ δὲ μὴ εἶεν υἱοί, δευτέρας
 θυγατέρας, αἷς φησι δεῖν περιτιθέναι τὸν κλῆρον
 ὥσανεὶ κόσμον ἔξωθεν, ἀλλ' οὐχ ὡς ἴδιον καὶ
 συγγενὲς κτῆμα· τὸ γὰρ περιτιθέμενον οὐδεμίαν
 οἰκείωσιν ἔχει πρὸς τὸ διακοσμούμενον, ἁρμονίας
 244 καὶ ἐνώσεως ἀλλοτριούμενον. μετὰ δὲ θυγατέρας
 τρίτους ἀδελφούς καλεῖ, τετάρτην δὲ θείοις πρὸς
 πατρός ἀπονέμει τάξιν, αἰνιττόμενος ὅτι καὶ
 πατέρες γένοιντ' ἂν υἱῶν κληρονόμοι· πάνν γὰρ
 εὖηθες ὑπολαβεῖν, ὅτι πατρός ἀδελφῷ νέμων κλῆρον
 ἀδελφιδοῦ διὰ τὴν πρὸς πατέρα συγγένειαν αὐτὸν
 245 ἀφείλετο τὸν πατέρα τῆς διαδοχῆς. ἀλλ' ἐπειδὴ
 νόμος φύσεώς ἐστι κληρονομεῖσθαι γονεῖς ὑπὸ
 παίδων ἀλλὰ μὴ τούτους κληρονομεῖν, τὸ μὲν
 ἀπευκτὸν καὶ παλίμφημον ἡσύχασεν, ἵνα μὴ πατήρ
 καὶ μήτηρ προσοδένεσθαι δοκῶσι τὰ ἐπ' ὠκυμόροις
 τέκνοις ἀπαρηγόρητα πένθη, πλαγίως δ' αὐτοὺς
 ἐκάλεσε τοῖς θείοις ἐφιεῖς, ἵν' ἀμφοτέρων στοχά-
 σηται καὶ τοῦ πρέποντος καὶ τοῦ μὴ τὴν οὐσίαν

¹ Corrupt? Perhaps read *ὀφλισκανόντων* = "debtors" or *ἀποτινόντων*. See note a.

* This seems the only way of taking the passage as it stands, but it is most unsatisfactory. For (1) we should expect τὰ ἴδια, and ἴδια in this position strongly suggests that it agrees with ταῦτα, and as often = "specially used of": (2) The substitution of the payee for the payer is extraordinarily awkward. The first difficulty might be surmounted

MOSES II. 242-245

our own,^a the former when we make a free gift.

XLIV. After signifying His will as to 243
the petition of the orphan maids, He lays down also
a more general law about succession to inheritances.
He names sons first for participation in their father's
property, and daughters second, if there are no sons.
In the case of the daughters His phrase is that
the inheritance should be "put round"^b them, as
though it were an external ornament, not a possession
by right of kinship inalienable. For what is put
round does not have an intimate connexion with
what it adorns, and the ideas of close fitting and
union are quite foreign to it. After the daughters, 244
He names the brothers as standing third, and the
fourth place He assigns to uncles on the father's
side, thereby indirectly suggesting that fathers may
become the heirs of sons. For it would be foolish
to suppose that, while He assigns the inheritance
of a nephew to his paternal uncle, because of that
uncle's relation to the father, He withdraws from
the father himself the right of succession. But 245
since, in the natural order of things, sons are the
heirs of their fathers and not fathers of their
sons, He left unmentioned this deplorable and
sinister possibility, to avoid the idea of a father and
mother making profit out of their inconsolable sorrow
at the untimely death of their children. But He
does indirectly mention this by admitting the right
of the uncles; and thus He attains both ends,
the preservation of decency and the rule that the
by reading *ἴδια τῶν <τὰ ἴδια> λαμβανόντων* (W.H.D.R.), but
the second would remain. I believe that *λαμβάνοντων* is
corrupt, though neither Cohn nor Mangey, who translates
"propria recuperantium," seem to have felt difficulty.

^b So LXX; E.V. "cause to pass."

ἀλλοτριωθῆναι. μετὰ δὲ θείους πέμπτη τάξις ἐστὶν οἱ ἔγγιστα γένους, ὧν αἰεὶ τοῖς πρώτοις διδῶσι τοὺς κλήρους.

- 246 XLV. Ταῦτ' ἀναγκαίως διεξεληλυθὼς περὶ τῶν
μικτὴν ἔχόντων κληρουχίαν¹ χρησμῶν, ἐξῆς δηλώσω
[173] | τὰ κατ' ἐνθουσιασμὸν τοῦ προφήτου θεσπισθέντα
λόγια· τοῦτο γὰρ ὑπεσχόμην δείξειν. ἀρχὴ τοίνυν
ἐστὶν αὐτῷ τῆς θεοφορήτου κατοκωχῆς, ἥτις καὶ
τῷ ἔθνει γέγονεν εὐπραγίας ἀρχὴ στεилаμένῳ
τὴν ἀπ' Αἰγύπτου πρὸς τὰς κατὰ Συρίαν πόλεις
247 ἀποικίαν μυριάσι πολλαῖς. ἄνδρες γὰρ ὁμοῦ καὶ
γυναῖκες ἀτριβῇ καὶ μακρὰν ἐρήμην ἅπασαν ἀνύ-
σαντες ἐπὶ θάλατταν ἀφικνοῦνται τὴν Ἐρυθρὰν
προσαγορευομένην· εἶθ' ὥς εἰκὸς ἐν ἀμηχάνοις
ἦσαν οὔτε περαιοῦσθαι δυνάμενοι διὰ σκαφῶν
ἀπορίαν οὐτ' ἐπιστρέφειν τὴν αὐτὴν ὁδὸν ἀσφαλὲς
248 ἡγούμενοι. διακειμένοις δ' οὕτως μείζον ἐπιρ-
ράττει κακόν· ὁ γὰρ τῶν Αἰγυπτίων βασιλεὺς
δύναμιν παραλαβὼν οὐκ εὐκαταφρόνητον, ἱππότην
καὶ πεζὸν στρατόν, ἐπεξέθει διώκων καὶ σπεύδων
καταλαβεῖν, ἵνα τίσηται τῆς ἐξόδου, ἣν θεσφάτοις
ἀριδῆλοις ἐπέτρεψε ποιήσασθαι. ἀλλ' ὥς ἔοικεν
ἀβέβαιος ἢ μοχθηρῶν ἀνθρώπων διάθεσις ὥς ἐπὶ
πλάστιγγος μικρᾶς ἔνεκα προφάσεως ῥέπουσα πρὸς
249 τὰναντία. μέσοι δὲ ληφθέντες ἐχθρῶν καὶ θα-
λάττης ἀπέγνωσαν τὴν ἰδίαν σωτηρίαν, οἱ μὲν
εὐκτόν ἀγαθὸν ἡγούμενοι τὸν οἰκτιστὸν ὄλεθρον, οἱ
δ' ἄμεινον εἶναι νομίζοντες ὑπὸ τῶν τῆς φύσεως
ἀπολέσθαι μερῶν ἢ γέλως ἐχθροῖς γενέσθαι ῥίπτειν

¹ Clearly a mistake, induced by the subject of the preceding sections. δύναμιν from § 192 is suggested. Perhaps τὴν οὐσίαν.

MOSES II. 245-249

property should not go out of the family. After the uncles comes the fifth class, the nearest relations. And in all such cases it is the first in succession to whom He gives the inheritances.

XLV. Having completed this necessary account 246 of the oracles of mixed character, I will proceed next to describe those delivered by the prophet himself under divine inspiration, for this was included in my promise. The examples of his possession by God's spirit begin with one which was also the beginning of the prosperity of the nation, when its many myriads set out as colonists from Egypt to the cities of Syria. ^a Men and women alike, they had traversed 247 a long and pathless wilderness, and arrived at the Red Sea, as it is called. They were then naturally in great difficulties, as they could not cross the sea for want of boats, and did not think it safe to retrace their steps. When they were in this state of mind, 248 a greater misfortune burst upon them. The king of Egypt, accompanied by a very formidable body of infantry and cavalry, came in hot pursuit, eager to overtake them and so chastise them for leaving the country. He had, indeed, permitted them to do so, induced by unmistakable warnings from God. But the disposition of the wicked is, as may be well seen, unstable, suspended as it were on a balance and swayed up and down by the slightest cause in opposite directions. Thus, caught between the enemy and 249 the sea, they despaired each of his own safety. Some thought that the most miserable death would be a welcome blessing, while others, believing it to be better to perish by the elements of nature than to become a laughing-stock to their enemies, purposed

^a For §§ 247-257 see Ex. xiv.

PHILO

ἑαυτοὺς εἰς θάλασσαν διενοοῦντο καὶ τινα τῶν
 βάρος ἐχόντων ἐπαχθισάμενοι παρὰ ταῖς ἡϊόσιν
 ἐφήδρευον, ἢ, ὁπότεν θεάσωνται τοὺς πολεμίους
 ἐγγὺς ὄντας, καθαλλόμενοι ῥᾶον εἰς βυθὸν ἐνε-
 250 χθῶσιν. ἀλλὰ γὰρ οἱ μὲν πρὸς τὸ ἄπορον τῆς
 ἀνάγκης διεπτόηντο δυσθανατοῦντες· XLVI. ὁ δὲ
 προφήτης, ὑπ' ἐκπλήξεως ὁρῶν σεσαγηνευμένον
 ὥσπερ βόλον ἰχθύων τὸ σύμπαν ἔθνος, οὐκέτ' ὦν
 251 ἐν ἑαυτῷ θεοφορεῖται καὶ θεσπίζει τάδε· “ τὸ μὲν
 δέος ἀναγκαῖον, φόβος ἐγγὺς καὶ μέγας ὁ κίνδυνος·
 ἐξ ἐναντίας ἀχανές ἐστι πέλαγος, ὑπόδρομος εἰς
 καταφυγὴν οὐδεῖς, ἀπορία πλοίων, κατόπιν ἔφεδροι
 φάλαγγες ἐχθρῶν, αἱ στείχουσιν ἀπνευστὶ διώ-
 κουσαι. ποῖ τις τράπηται, ποῖ τις ἐκνεύσῃ; πάντα
 πανταχόθεν ἐξαπιναίως ἐπέθετο, γῆ, θάλαττα,
 252 ἄνθρωποι, στοιχεῖα φύσεως. ἀλλὰ θαρρεῖτε, μὴ
 ἀποκάμῃτε, στήτε ταῖς διανοαῖς μὴ κραδαινόμενοι,
 προσδοκᾶτε τὴν ἀήττητον ἐκ θεοῦ βοήθειαν· αὐτ-
 ἐπάγγελτος ἤδη παρέσται, μὴ ὀρωμένη προαγω-
 νιεῖται· πεπείρασθε αὐτῆς ἤδη πολλάκις ἀμυνομένης
 ἀφανῶς· βλέπω μέλλουσαν κονίεσθαι, βρόχους τοῖς
 αὐχέσι περιβάλλουσαν τῶν ἀντιπάλων· ἔλκει κατὰ
 τῆς θαλάττης· μολύβδου τρόπον εἰς βυθὸν χωροῦσιν.
 ὑμεῖς μὲν ἔτι ζώντων αἰσθάνεσθε, τεθνεώτων δ'
 ἐγὼ φαντασίαν λαμβάνω· τήμερον δὲ καὶ ὑμεῖς
 νεκροὺς αὐτοὺς θεάσεσθε.”

[174]

253

| Καὶ ὁ μὲν ταῦτ' ἀπεφθέγγετο μείζονα ὄντα
 πάσης ἐλπίδος, οἱ δ' ἐπειρῶντο ἔργοις τῆς περὶ
 τὸ λόγιον ἀληθείας. ἀπέβαινε γὰρ τὰ χρησθέντα

MOSES II. 249-253

to throw themselves into the sea, and, loaded with some heavy substances, sat waiting by the shore, so that when they saw the foe near at hand they might leap down and easily sink into the depths. But, 250 while in these helpless straits, they were at death's door with consternation (XLVI.) the prophet, seeing the whole nation entangled in the meshes of panic, like a draught of fishes, was taken out of himself by divine possession and uttered these inspired words : "Alarm you needs must feel. Terror is near at 251 hand : the danger is great. In front is a vast expanse of sea ; no haven for a refuge, no boats at hand : behind, the menace of the enemy's troops, which march along in unresting pursuit. Whither can one turn or swim for safety ? Everything has attacked us suddenly from every side—earth, sea, man, the elements of nature. Yet be of good 252 courage, faint not. Stand with unshaken minds, look for the invincible help which God will send. Self-sent it will be with you anon, invisible it will fight before you. Ere now you have often experienced its unseen defence. I see it preparing for the contest and casting a noose round the necks of the enemy. It drags them down through the sea. They sink like lead into the depths.^a You see them still alive : I have a vision of them dead, and to-day you too shall see their corpses."

So he spake with words of promise exceeding any- 253 thing they could hope for. But they began to find by the experience of facts the truth of the heavenly message. For what he prophesied came to pass

^a Taken from the song, Ex. xv. 10 "they sank like lead in the mighty water" and 5, "they sank in the depth like a stone.

- θείαις δυνάμεσι μύθων ἀπιστότερα· ῥῆξις θαλάττης, ἀναχώρησις ἑκατέρου τμήματος, πῆξις τῶν κατὰ τὸ ῥαγὲν μέρος διὰ παντὸς τοῦ βάθους κυμάων, ἢ ἀντὶ τειχῶν ἢ κραταιοτάτων, εὐθυτενῆς ἀνατομῇ τῆς μεγαλουργηθείσης ὁδοῦ, ἢ τῶν κρυσταλλω-
- 254 θέντων μεθόριος ἦν, ὁδοιπορία τοῦ ἔθνους ἀκινδύνως πεζεύοντος διὰ θαλάττης ὡς ἐπὶ ξηρᾶς ἀτραποῦ καὶ λιθώδους ἐδάφους—ἐκραυρώθη γὰρ ἡ ψάμμος καὶ ἡ σπορὰς αὐτῆς οὐσία συμφῦσα ἠνώθη—, ἐχθρῶν ἀπνευστὶ διωκόντων ἐφόρμησις σπευδόντων ἐπ' οἰκεῖον ὄλεθρον, νεφέλης ὀπισθοφυλακούσης ἡνιόχῃσις, ἐν ἣ θεία τις ὄψις πυρὸς αὐγὴν ἀπαστρέπτουσα ἦν, πελαγῶν ἃ τέως ἀνακοπέντα διεισστήκει παλίρροια, τοῦ διακοπέντος καὶ ἀναξηρανθέντος
- 255 μέρους αἰφνίδιος θαλάττωσις, πολεμίων φθορά, οὗς τὰ τε κρυσταλλωθέντα τείχη καὶ ἀνατραπέντα κατεύνασε¹ καὶ αἱ πλήμμυραι τοῦ πελάγους ὥσπερ εἰς φάραγγα τὴν ὁδὸν ἐπενεχθεῖσαι κατέκλυσαν, ἐπίδειξις τῆς φθορᾶς διὰ τῶν ἐπαναπλευσάντων σωμάτων, ἃ τὴν ἐπιφάνειαν τοῦ πελάγους κατεστόρεσε, καὶ σφοδρὰ κυμάτωσις, ὑφ' ἧς ἅπαντες οἱ νεκροὶ σωρηδὸν ἀπεβράσθησαν εἰς τοὺς ἀντιπέραν αἰγιαλοὺς, ἀναγκαῖα θέα γενησόμενοι τοῖς διασωθεῖσιν, οἷς ἐξεγένετο μὴ μόνον τοὺς κινδύνους διαφυγεῖν ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐπιδεῖν τοὺς ἐχθροὺς οὐκ ἀνθρωπίναις ἀλλὰ θείαις δυνάμεσι παντὸς λόγου
- 256 μείζον κολασθέντας. διόπερ εἰκότως εὐχαρίστοις ὕμνοις γεραίρει τὸν εὐεργέτην· εἰς γὰρ δύο χοροὺς διανείμας τὸ ἔθνος, τὸν μὲν ἀνδρῶν, τὸν δὲ γυναικῶν, ἐξάρχει μὲν αὐτὸς τοῖς ἀνδράσιν, ἐξαρχον

¹ MSS. κατένευσε(αν) or κατέκλυσε. Κατευνάζω is a poetical word used in this sense by Soph. *Ant.* 833.

through the might of God, though harder to credit than any fable. Let us picture the scene. The sea breaks in two, and each section retires. The parts around the break, through the whole depth of their waters, congeal to serve as walls of vast strength: a path is drawn straight, a road of miracle between the frozen walls on either side : the nation makes 254 its passage, marching safely through the sea, as on a dry path or a stone-paved causeway ; for the sand is crisped, and its scattered particles grow together into a unity : the enemy advance in unresting pursuit, hastening to their own destruction : the cloud goes behind the travellers' rear to guide them on their way, and within is the vision of the Godhead, flashing rays of fire. Then the waters which had been stayed from their course and parted for a while return to their place : the dried-up cleft between the walls suddenly becomes a sea again : the enemy 255 meet their doom, sent to their last sleep by the fall of the frozen walls, and overwhelmed by the tides, as they rush down upon their path as into a ravine ! that doom is evidenced by the corpses which are floated to the top and strew the surface of the sea : last comes a mighty rushing wave, which flings the corpses in heaps upon the opposite shore, a sight inevitably to be seen by the saved, thus permitted not only to escape their dangers, but also to behold their enemies fallen under a chastisement which no words can express, through the power of God and not of man. After this, what should Moses do but 256 honour the Benefactor with hymns of thanksgiving ? He divides the nation into two choirs, one of men, the other of women, and himself leads the men while

δὲ καὶ τῶν γυναικῶν καθίστησι τὴν ἀδελφὴν, ἵν' ἄδωσιν ὕμνους εἰς τὸν πατέρα καὶ ποιητὴν ἀντι-
φθόγοις ἀρμονίαις συνηχοῦντες, διὰ τε κράσεως
ἡθῶν καὶ μέλους, τῶν μὲν ἐπὶ τὴν αὐτὴν σπευδόντων
ἀμοιβήν, τοῦ δὲ συνισταμένου κατὰ τὴν βαρύτητος
πρὸς ὀξύτητα συμφωνίαν· φθόγγοι γὰρ οἱ μὲν
ἀνδρῶν βαρεῖς, ὀξεῖς δ' οἱ γυναικῶν, ἐξ ὧν, ὅταν
ἡ κρᾶσις γένηται σύμμετρος, ἥδιστον καὶ παν-
257 αρμόνιον ἀποτελεῖται μέλος. τὰς δὲ τοσαύτας
μυριάδας ἔπεισεν ὁμογνωμονῆσαι καὶ τὸν αὐτὸν
ὕμνον ἐν ταυτῷ συνάδειν τὰ τεράστια ἐκείνα μεγα-
λουργήματα, περὶ ὧν ὀλίγω πρότερον διεξῆλθον·
ἐφ' οἷς ὁ προφήτης γεγηθώς, ὁρῶν καὶ τὴν τοῦ
ἔθνους περιχάρειαν, οὐδ' αὐτὸς ἔτι χωρῶν τὴν
ἡδονήν, κατήρχε τῆς ὠδῆς· οἱ δ' ἀκούοντες εἰς
δύο χοροὺς ἀλισθέντες τὰ λεχθέντα συνῆδον.

[175] XLVII. | Τοῦτ' ἐστὶ τῆς κατ' ἐνθουσιασμὸν
258 προφητείας Μωυσέως ἀρχὴ καὶ προοίμιον. ἐξῆς δὲ
θεσπίζει περὶ τοῦ πρώτου καὶ ἀναγκαιοτάτου,
τροφῆς, ἣν γῆ μὲν οὐκ ἤνεγκε — καὶ γὰρ ἦν στεῖρα
καὶ ἄγονος—, ὥμβρησε δ' οὐρανὸς οὐχ ἅπαξ ἀλλ'
ἐπὶ τεσσαρακονταετίαν ἐκάστης ἡμέρας πρὸ τῆς ἔω
καρπὸν αἰθέριον ἐν δρόσῳ κέγχρῳ παραπλήσιον.
259 ὃν ἰδὼν Μωυσῆς συγκομίζειν κελεύει καὶ ἐπι-
θειάσας φησί· “πιστεύειν δεῖ τῷ θεῷ πεπειρα-
μένους αὐτοῦ τῶν εὐεργεσιῶν ἐν μείζοσιν ἐλπίδος
πράγμασιν· ἀθησαύριστα, ἀταμίευτα τὰ τῆς τροφῆς
ἔστω· μηδεὶς ἄχρι πρῶτας ὑπολείπεσθω μηδὲν

° Or “feelings.” The thought is that while men and women have their different characteristics, here for the 578

MOSES II. 256-259

he appoints his sister to lead the women, that the two in concert might sing hymns to the Father and Creator in tuneful response, with a blending both of temperaments^a and melody—temperaments eager to render to each other like for like; melody produced by the concord of treble and bass; for the voices of men are bass and the women's treble, and when they are blended in due proportion the resulting melody is of the fullest and sweetest harmony. All these myriads were persuaded by Moses to sing 257 with hearts in accord the same song, telling of those mighty and marvellous works which I have recorded just above. And the prophet, rejoicing at this, seeing the people also overjoyed, and himself no longer able to contain his delight, led off the song, and his hearers massed in two choirs sang with him the story of these same deeds.^b

XLVII. ^cIt was thus that Moses began and opened 258 his work as a prophet possessed by God's spirit. His next utterance of this sort was concerned with that primary and most necessary matter, food; and this food was not produced by the earth, which was barren and unfruitful, but heaven rained down before day-break, not once only but every day for forty years, a celestial fruit in the form of dew, like millet grain. When Moses saw it, he bade them gather it, and 259 said under inspiration: "We must trust God as we have experienced His kindnesses in deeds greater than we could have hoped for. Do not treasure up or store the food He sends. Let none leave any moment they are entirely united. The phrase is often used by Philo as a synonym for *ὁμόνοια* and the like.

^b *i.e.* "the above-mentioned." Others take it to mean the words which Moses said to them.

^c For §§ 258-269 see Ex. xvi. 4-30.

- 260 αὐτῆς μέρος.” τοῦτ’ ἀκούσαντες ἔνιοι τῶν πρὸς
 εὐσέβειαν ἀνερματίστων, ὑπολαβόντες ἴσως οὐ
 χρησμούς ἀλλὰ παραίνεσιν ἄρχοντος εἶναι τὰ
 λεγόμενα, λείπουσιν εἰς τὴν ὑστεραίαν· τὸ δὲ
 σηπόμενον τὸν κύκλον τοῦ στρατοπέδου δυσοδμίας
 πληροῖ τὸ πρῶτον, εἴτ’ εἰς σκώληκας, ὧν ἡ γένεσις
 261 ἐκ φθορᾶς ἐστὶ, μετέβαλεν. ἅπερ ἰδὼν Μωυσῆς
 εἰκότως ἐπὶ τοῖς ἀπειθέσι πικραίνεται· πῶς γὰρ
 οὐκ ἔμελλεν, εἰ τοσαῦτα καὶ τηλικαῦτα θεασάμενοι,
 πρὸς μὲν τὰς πιθανὰς καὶ εὐλόγους φαντασίας
 ἀδύνατα πραχθῆναι, τελειωθέντα δὲ εὐμαρῶς ἐπι-
 φροσύναις θείαις, οὐκ ἐνδοιάζουσι μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ
 262 ἀπιστοῦσιν οἱ δυσμαθέστατοι πάντων; ἀλλ’ ὁ γε
 πατὴρ δυσὶν ἐναργεστάταις ἀποδείξει τὸ λόγιον
 τοῦ προφήτου διασυνέστησεν, ὧν τὴν μὲν ἑτέραν
 εὐθύς ἀπεδείξατο φθορᾶ τοῦ ὑπολειφθέντος καὶ
 δυσωδία καὶ τῇ πρὸς σκώληκας, τὸ φαυλότατον
 ζῶον, μεταβολῇ, τὴν δ’ ἑτέραν ὕστερον· αἰεὶ γὰρ τὸ
 πλεονάζον τοῦ συγκομισθέντος ὑπὸ τῆς πληθύος
 ταῖς ἡλιακαῖς ἀκτίσι διελύετο καὶ τηκόμενον
 ἐξανηλούτο.
- 263 XLVIII. Δεύτερον οὐκ εἰς μακρὰν ἐπιθειάσας
 ἀποφθέγγεται λόγιον τὸ περὶ τῆς ἱερᾶς ἐβδόμης.
 ἔχουσιν γὰρ αὐτὴν ἐν τῇ φύσει προνομίαν, οὐκ ἀφ’
 οὗ μόνον ἐδημιουργήθη ὁ κόσμος, ἀλλὰ καὶ πρὸ τῆς
 οὐρανοῦ καὶ παντὸς αἰσθητοῦ γενέσεως, ἡγνόησαν
 ἄνθρωποι, τάχα που διὰ τὰς ἐν ὕδασι καὶ πυρὶ
 γενομένας συνεχεῖς καὶ ἐπαλλήλους φθορὰς οὐ
 δυνηθέντων παρὰ τῶν πρότερον διαδέξασθαι μνήμην
 τῶν ἔπειτα τῆς κατὰ τὸν ἐν χρόνοις εἰρμὸν ἀκολου-
 θίας καὶ τάξεως· ὅπερ ἀδηλούμενον ἐπιθειάσας

^a Cf. notes on *Mos.* i. 207, and *De Abr.* 1.

MOSES II. 260-263

part of it over till the morrow." On hearing this, 260
some whose piety had little ballast, thinking perhaps
that the statement was no divine oracle but just the
exhortation of the ruler, left it to the next day ; but
it first rotted and filled the whole extent of the camp
with its stench, and then turned into worms which
are bred from corruption. Moses, seeing this, was 261
naturally and indeed inevitably indignant at their
disobedience—to think that after witnessing wonders
so many and so great, impossibilities no doubt as
judged by what to outward appearance is credible
and reasonable but easily accomplished by the
dispensations of God's providence, they not only
doubted, but in their utter incapacity for learning
actually disbelieved. But the Father confirmed the 262
utterance of the prophet with two most convincing
proofs. One proof He had given at the time, when
what was left over corrupted and stank and then was
changed into worms, the vilest of living creatures.
The other He gave later, for the unneeded surplus
over what was gathered by the multitude was
dissolved by the sun's rays, melted away and
disappeared.

XLVIII. Not long after, Moses delivered a second 263
inspired pronouncement concerning the sacred
seventh day. That day has held the place of honour
in nature, not merely from the time when the world
was framed, but even before the heaven and all that
sense perceives came into being. Yet men knew it
not, perhaps because by reason of the constant and
repeated destructions by water and fire the later
generations did not receive from the former the
memory of the order and sequence of events in the
series of years.^a This hidden truth Moses, under

PHILO

ἀνέφηνε λογίῳ μαρτυρηθέντι διὰ σημείου τινὸς
 264 ἐναργοῦς. τὸ δὲ σημεῖον τοιοῦτον ἦν· ἐλάττων μὲν
 ἀπ' αἰέρος ἐγίνετο ἢ φορὰ ταῖς προτέραις ἡμέραις
 τῆς τροφῆς, τότε δ' αὖ διπλασίῳ· καὶ ταῖς μὲν
 προτέραις εἴ τι κατελείφθη, λειβόμενον ἐτήκετο
 μέχρι τοῦ παντελῶς εἰς νοτίδα μεταβαλὼν ἀναλω-
 θῆναι, τότε δ' οὐδεμίαν ἐνδεχόμενον τροπὴν ἐν
 ὁμοίῳ διέμενεν· ἐφ' οἷς ἀγγελλομένοις ἅμα καὶ
 ὀρωμένοις καταπλαγείς Μωυσῆς οὐκ ἔστοχάσατο
 [176] μᾶλλον ἢ θεοφορηθεὶς ἐθέσπισε τὴν ἐβδόμην. | ἐὼ
 265 λέγειν, ὅτι καὶ αἱ τοιαῦται εἰκασίαι συγγενεῖς
 προφητείας εἰσὶν· ὁ γὰρ νοῦς οὐκ ἂν οὕτως εὐ-
 σκόπως εὐθυβόλησεν, εἰ μὴ καὶ θεῖον ἦν πνεῦμα τὸ
 266 ποδηγετοῦν πρὸς αὐτὴν τὴν ἀλήθειαν. τὸ δὲ
 τεράστιον οὐ μόνον ἐκ τοῦ διπλασιασθῆναι τὴν
 τροφήν ἐδηλοῦτο οὐδ' ἐκ τοῦ διαμεῖναι σῶον παρὰ
 τὸ καθεστὼς ἔθος, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῦ ἀμφοτέρω ταῦτα
 συμβῆναι κατὰ τὴν ἕκτην ἡμέραν, ἀφ' ἧς ἤρξατο
 ἀπ' αἰέρος ἢ τροφὴ χορηγεῖσθαι, μεθ' ἣν ὁ ἱερώ-
 τατος τῆς ἐβδόμης ἀριθμὸς ἔμελλεν ἀνατέλλειν,
 ὥστε λογιζόμενος ἂν τις εὖροι κατὰ τὴν ἀκολουθίαν
 τῆς τοῦ κόσμου γενέσεως τὴν οὐράνιον δοθεῖσαν
 τροφήν· ἤρξατο γὰρ καὶ τὸν κόσμον ἐξάδος τῇ
 πρώτῃ δημιουργεῖν καὶ τὴν λεχθεῖσαν ὕειν τροφήν.
 267 ἢ δ' εἰκὼν ὁμοιοτάτῃ· καθάπερ γὰρ ἐκ τοῦ μὴ
 ὄντος εἰς τὸ εἶναι τὸ τελειότατον ἔργον, τὸν κόσμον,
 ἀνέφηνε, τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον καὶ εὐθηνίαν ἐν ἐρήμῳ
 μεταβαλὼν τὰ στοιχεῖα πρὸς τὸ κατεπεῖγον τῆς
 χρείας, ἵν' ἀντὶ γῆς ὁ ἀῆρ σιτία τροφήν ἄπονον
 582

MOSES II. 263-267

inspiration, revealed in an announcement to which a manifest sign gave testimony. This sign was as follows: the shower of food from the air was less on the first days, but on a later day was doubled; and on those first days anything left melted and was dissolved till, after turning completely into moisture, it disappeared; but on that later day it admitted no change and remained just as it had been. Moses, when he heard of this and also actually saw it, was awestruck and, guided by what was not so much surmise as God-sent inspiration, made announcement of the sabbath. I need hardly say that conjectures of this kind are closely akin to prophecies. For the mind could not have made so straight an aim if there was not also the divine spirit guiding it to the truth itself. Now the greatness of the wonder was shown not only by the double supply of food and its remaining sound contrary to the usual happening, but by the combination of both these occurring on the sixth day, counting from the day on which the food began to be supplied from the air; and that sixth day was to be followed by the dawning of the seventh which is the most sacred of numbers. And therefore consideration will show the inquirer that the food given from heaven followed the analogy of the birth of the world; for both the creating of the world and also the raining of the said food were begun by God on the first day out of six. The copy reproduces the original very exactly: for, as God called up His most perfect work, the world, out of not being into being, so He called up plenty in the desert, changing round the elements to meet the pressing need of the occasion, so that instead of the earth the air bore food for their nourishment, and

φέρη καὶ ἀταλαίπωρον οἷς ἀναχώρησις οὐκ ἦν
εὐτρεπίζεσθαι κατὰ σχολὴν τὰπιτήδεια.

268 μετὰ ταῦτα τρίτον ἀναφθέγγεται χρησμὸν τερα-
τωδέστατον, δηλῶν ὅτι τῇ ἐβδόμῃ τὴν εἰωθυῖαν
ὁ ἀὴρ οὐ παρέξει τροφήν καὶ οὐδὲν ἐπὶ γῆν ἀλλ'
οὐδὲ τὸ βραχύτατον ὥς ἔθος ἐνεχθήσεται. τοῦτ'

269 ἀπέβαινεν ἔργοις· τῇ μὲν γὰρ προτεραίᾳ ταῦτα
θεσπίζει, τινὲς δὲ τῶν ἀβεβαίων τὸ ἦθος ὥρμησαν
ἐπὶ τὴν συγκομιδὴν καὶ σφαλέντες τῆς ἐλπίδος ἐπ-
ανήεσαν ἄπρακτοι, κακίζοντες μὲν ἑαυτοὺς τῆς
ἀπιστίας, ἀληθόμαντιν δὲ καὶ θεοφράδμονα καὶ
μόνον προορατικὸν τῶν ἀδήλων ἀνακαλοῦντες τὸν
προφήτην.

270 XLIX. Τοιαῦτα μὲν ἐστίν, ἃ περὶ τῆς οὐρανίου
τροφῆς κατεχόμενος ἐθέσπισεν. ἕτερα δ' ἐξῆς
ἀναγκαῖα, καίτοι δόξαντα ἂν παραινέσειεν εἰκέναι
μᾶλλον ἢ χρησμοῖς, ὧν ἐστὶ καὶ τὸ χρησθέν κατὰ
τὴν μεγίστην τῶν πατρίων ἐκδιαίτησιν, περὶ ἧς
καὶ πρόσθεν εἶπον, ἡνίκα τεκτηνάμενοι ταῦρον
χρυσοῦν, Αἰγυπτιακοῦ μίμημα τύφου, χοροὺς
ἵστασαν καὶ βωμοὺς κατεσκεύαζον καὶ θυσίας
ἀνῆγον ἐκλαθόμενοι τοῦ πρὸς ἀλήθειαν θεοῦ καὶ
τὴν προγονικὴν εὐγένειαν, ἣ δι' εὐσεβείας καὶ

271 ὁσιότητος ηὐξήθη, καθαιροῦντες. ἐφ' οἷς Μωυσῆς
περιπαθήσας, εἰ πρῶτον μὲν ὁ λαὸς πᾶς ἐξαίφνης
γεγένηται τυφλὸς ὁ ἄχρι πρὸ μικροῦ πάντων ἐθνῶν
[177] ὀξύωπέστατος, ἔπειτα δὲ εἰ πλάσμα | μύθου κατ-
εψευσμένον ἴσχυσε τοσαύτην αὐγὴν σβέσαι τῆς

^a For §§ 270-274 see Ex. xxxii.

^b See note on § 162 above.

MOSES II. 267-271

that without labour or travail for those who had no chance of resorting to any deliberate process of providing sustenance. After this, he uttered 268 a third prophetic saying of truly marvellous import. He declared that on the sabbath the air would not yield the accustomed food, and that nothing would come down to earth as it had done before, not even the smallest morsel. And this proved true in the 269 result, for it was on the day before the sabbath that he prophesied this, but on the morrow some of the weaker-minded set out to gather the food but were disappointed and returned baffled, reproaching themselves for their disbelief and hailing the prophet as a true seer, an interpreter of God, and alone gifted with foreknowledge of the hidden future.

XLIX. "Such was his pronouncement under divine 270 inspiration on the matter of the food which came from heaven, but there are examples to follow which must be noted, though perhaps they may be thought to resemble exhortations rather than oracular sayings. Among these is the command given at their great backsliding from the ways of their fathers, about which I have spoken above. This was when, after fashioning a golden bull in imitation of the vanity of Egypt,^b they set up choirs and built altars and brought victims for sacrifice in forgetfulness of the true God and to the ruin of the high-born qualities inherited from their forefathers and fostered by piety and holiness. At this, Moses was cut to the heart to 271 think that in the first place the whole people had suddenly been blinded who a few hours ago had excelled every nation in clearness of vision, and secondly, that a fable falsely invented could quench the bright radiance of truth—truth on which no

ἀληθείας, ἣν οὐθ' ἥλιος ἐκλιπὼν οὐθ' ὁ σύμπας
 χορὸς τῶν ἀστέρων ἐπισκιάσει—περιλάμπεται γὰρ
 ἰδίῳ φέγγει νοητῷ καὶ ἀσωμάτων, πρὸς ὃ παρα-
 βαλλόμενον τὸ αἰσθητὸν νύξ ἂν πρὸς ἡμέραν εἶναι
 272 νομισθεῖη—, δι' ἣν αἰτίαν οὐκέτι μένων ὁ αὐτὸς
 ἐξαλλάττεται τό τε εἶδος καὶ τὴν διάνοιαν καὶ
 ἐπιθειάσας φησί· “ τίς ἐστὶν ὁ μὴ τῷ πλάνῳ συν-
 ενεχθεὶς μηδὲ τὸ κύρος ἐπιφημίσας τοῖς ἀκύροις;
 273 πᾶς ὁ τοιοῦτος ἐμοὶ προσίτω.” μίᾳ δὲ φυλῆς
 προσελθούσης οὐχ ἡττον ταῖς διανοαῖς ἢ τοῖς
 σώμασιν, οἳ πάλοι μὲν ἐφόνων κατὰ τῶν ἀθέων καὶ
 ἀνοσιουργῶν, ἡγεμόνα δ' ἐζήτουν καὶ στρατάρχην
 ἀνευρεῖν, ὃς ἐνδίκως ὑψηγήσεται καιρὸν καὶ τρόπον
 τῆς ἀμύνης,—οὓς ὀργῶντας εὐρῶν καὶ γέμοντας
 εὐτολμίας καὶ παραστήματος, ἔτι μᾶλλον ἢ πρότερον
 θεοφορηθεῖς, “ ξίφος ἕκαστος ὑμῶν ἀναλαβὼν”
 φησὶν “ ἄττέτω διὰ παντὸς τοῦ στρατοπέδου καὶ
 κτεινέτω μὴ μόνον ἀλλοτρίους ἀλλὰ καὶ φίλων καὶ
 συγγενῶν τοὺς οἰκειοτάτους ἐπιστροφάδην, εὐ-
 αγέστατον κρίνων τὸ ἔργον ὑπὲρ ἀληθείας καὶ θεοῦ
 τιμῆς, ὧν ὑπερμαχεῖν καὶ προαγωνίζεσθαι κουφό-
 274 τατος πόνος.” οἳ δ' αὐτοβοεῖ τρισχιλίους κτεί-
 ναντες τοὺς ἀρχηγέτας μάλιστα τῆς ἀσεβείας
 γενομένους οὐκ ἀπελογήσαντο μόνον περὶ τοῦ μὴ
 συνεφάσθαι τοῦ τολμήματος, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐν ἀρι-
 στέων τοῖς γενναιοτάτοις ἐνεγράφησαν καὶ γέρωσ
 ἡξιώθησαν οἰκειοτάτου ταῖς πράξεσιν, ἱερωσύνης·
 ἔδει γὰρ θεραπευτὰς ὁσιότητος γενέσθαι τοὺς ὑπὲρ
 αὐτῆς ἀνδραγαθισαμένους καὶ προπολεμήσαντας.

MOSES II. 271-274

eclipse of the sun or of all the starry choir can cast a shadow, since it is illumined by its own light, the intelligible, the incorporeal, compared with which the light of the senses would seem to be as night compared with day. He therefore became another ²⁷² man, changed both in outward appearance and mind ; and, filled with the spirit, he cried : " Who is there who has no part with this delusion nor has given to no-lords the name of lordship ? Let all such come to me." One tribe came at the call, bringing with ²⁷³ them their minds no less than their bodies, men who for some time had been breathing slaughter against the godless workers of unholiness, but sought to find a leader and captain who would have the right to tell them when and how to make this attack. When Moses found them hot with rage and brimful of courage and resolution, he was more than ever possessed by the spirit and said : " Let each of you take his sword and rush through the whole camp, and slay not only those who are strangers to you but also the very nearest of your friends and kinsfolk. Mow them down, holding that to be a truly righteous deed which is done for truth and God's honour, a cause which to champion and defend is the lightest of labours." So they slaughtered three thousand of the ²⁷⁴ principal leaders in godlessness, without meeting any resistance, and thereby not only made good their defence against the charge of having been party to the shameless crime, but were accounted as the noblest of heroes and awarded the prize most suitable to their action, that is the priesthood. For it was meet that the duty of ministering to holiness should be given to those who had battled and acquitted themselves bravely in its defence.

- 275 L. Ἐχῶ δέ τι μνηῦσαι σημειωδέστερον λόγιον, περὶ οὗ καὶ πάλαι διεξήλθον, ὅτε τὰ τῆς ἀρχιερωσύνης ἐπήειν τοῦ προφήτου, ὅπερ αὐτὸς πάλιν κατασχεθεὶς ἀνεφθέγγετο, τελειωθὲν οὐ μακροῖς
 276 χρόνοις ὕστερον, ἀλλ' εὐθὺς ὅτ' ἐχρησμοδεῖτο. τῶν περὶ τὸν νεῶν λειτουργῶν δύο τάξεις εἰσὶν, ἡ μὲν κρείσσων ἱερέων, ἡ δ' ἐλάττων νεωκόρων· ἦσαν δὲ κατ' ἐκεῖνον τὸν χρόνον τρεῖς μὲν ἱερεῖς, νεωκόρων
 277 δὲ πολλὰι χιλιάδες. οὗτοι φυσηθέντες ἐπὶ τῇ τοῦ οἰκείου πλήθους περιουσίᾳ τῆς τῶν ἱερέων κατεφρόνουσι ὀλιγότητος καὶ δύο ἐν ταύτῳ παρανομήματα συνύφαινον, ὧν τὸ μὲν ἦν καθαίρεσις τῶν ὑπερεχόντων, τὸ δ' αὖξισις τῶν ἐλαττόνων, οἷα ἡγεμόσιν ὑπηκόων ἐπιτιθεμένων ἐπὶ συγχύσει τοῦ
 278 κρατίστου καὶ δημωφελεστάτου, τῆς τάξεως. εἴτ' ἐπισυνιστάμενοι καὶ ἀθροιζόμενοι κατεβόων τοῦ προφήτου, ὡς δι' οἰκειότητα τῷ τε ἀδελφῷ καὶ
 [178] τοῖς | ἀδελφιδοῖς χαρισαμένου τὴν ἱερωσύνην καὶ ἐπιψευσαμένου τὰ περὶ τὴν αἵρεσιν αὐτῶν, ὡς ἐπιφροσύνη θείᾳ, καθάπερ διεξήειμεν, μὴ γενόμενα.
 279 ἐφ' οἷς ἀνιαθεὶς καὶ περιαλγῆσας, καίτοι πραότατος ὢν καὶ ἡμερώτατος, οὕτως πρὸς δικαίαν ὀργὴν ὑπὸ μισοπονήρου πάθους ἡκονήθη, ὡς ἰκετεῦσαι τὸν θεὸν ἀποστραφῆναι τὴν θυσίαν αὐτῶν, οὐκ ἐπειδήπερ ἔμελλεν ὁ δικαιοτάτος κριτῆς ἱεουργίας ἀσεβῶν παραδέχεσθαι, ἀλλ' ὅτι καὶ ἡ ψυχὴ τοῦ θεοφιλοῦς τὸ κατ' αὐτὴν μέρος οὐχ ὑποσιωπᾷ, σπεύδουσα μὴ εὐδοεῖν ἀνοσίους, ἀλλ' αἰεὶ τῆς

* For §§ 275-287 see Num. xvi.

^b *i.e.* Aaron, Eleazar, and Ithamar. The death, or according to Philo the translation, of Nadab and Abihu is dated before this.

MOSES II. 275-279

L. ^a There is another still more remarkable utter- 275
ance of this kind which I may mention. It is one
which I described some way back when I was speak-
ing of the prophet in his capacity of high priest. This
again came from his own mouth when again under
possession, and it was fulfilled not long afterwards
but at the very time when the prediction was given.
The ministers of the temple are of two ranks, the 276
higher consisting of priests, the lower of temple
attendants; and at that time there were three priests^b
but many thousand attendants. These last, puffed 277
with pride at their own numerical superiority over
the priests, despised their fewness, and combined in
the same deed two trespasses, by attempting on the
one hand to bring low the superior, on the other to
exalt the inferior. This is what happens when sub-
jects attack their rulers to confound that most ex-
cellent promoter of the common weal, order. Then, 278
conspiring with each other, and collecting in great
numbers, they raised an outcry against the prophet,
declaring that he had bestowed the priesthood on his
brother and nephews because of their relation to him,
and had given a false account of their election, which
had not really been made under divine direction, as we
stated it above to be. Moses, greatly hurt and grieved 279
at this, though the mildest and meekest of men, was
so spurred to righteous anger by his passionate hatred
of evil that he besought God to turn His face from
their sacrifice; not that the All-righteous Judge
would ever accept the ministries of the impious, but
because the soul of one whom God loves must also do
its part and not keep silence, so eagerly does it desire
that the unholy may not prosper but ever fail to

- 280 προθέσεως διαμαρτάνειν. ἔτι δὲ ζέων καὶ πεπυρω-
 μένος ὑπὸ τῆς νομίμου διαγανακτήσεως ἐνθουσιᾷ
 μεταβαλὼν εἰς προφήτην καὶ θεσπίζει τάδε· “ χαλε-
 πὸν ἀπιστία πρᾶγμα τοῖς ἀπίστοις μόνοις· τούτους¹
 οὐ λόγος ἀλλ’ ἔργα παιδεύει· παθόντες εἴσονται τὸ
 281 ἔμὸν ἀψευδές, ἐπεὶ μαθόντες οὐκ ἔγνωσαν. ἐπι-
 κριθήσεται δὲ τοῦτο τῇ τοῦ βίου τελευτῇ· εἰ μὲν
 γὰρ θάνατον ἐνδέχονται τὸν κατὰ φύσιν, πέπλασμαι
 τὰ λόγια, εἰ δὲ καινόν τινα καὶ παρηλλαγμένον, τὸ
 φιλάληθές μοι μαρτυρηθήσεται. χάσματα γῆς ὁρῶ
 διηνοιγμένης ἐπὶ μήκιστον εὐρυνόμενα, πολυανθρώ-
 πους ἀπολλυμένας συγγενείας, αὐτάνδρους ὑπο-
 συρομένας καὶ καταπινομένας οἰκίας, ζῶντας ἀν-
 282 θρώπους εἰς ἄδου κατερχομένους.” ἐπεὶ δ’ ἡσύ-
 χασε, ῥήγνυνται μὲν ἡ γῆ σεισμῶ τιναχθεῖσα,
 ῥήγνυνται δὲ καθ’ ὃ μάλιστα μέρος αἱ σκηναὶ τῶν
 ἀσεβῶν ἦσαν, ὡς ὑπενεχθεῖσας ἀθρόας ἐπικρυ-
 φθῆναι· τὰ γὰρ διαστάντα μέρη πάλιν συνῆλθε, τῆς
 283 χρείας ἀποτελεσθείσης, ἧς ἔνεκα διεζεύχθη. μικρὸν
 δ’ ὕστερον τοὺς τῆς στάσεως ἡγεμόνας πεντήκοντα
 πρὸς τοῖς διακοσίοις ἄνδρας κεραυνοὶ κατασκή-
 ψαντες αἰφνίδιον ἀθρόους ἐξανάλωσαν μηδὲν μέρος
 ὑπολειπόμενοι τῶν σωμάτων, ὃ ταφῆς ἐπιμοιρά-
 284 σεται. τὸ δὲ τῶν τιμωριῶν ἐπάλληλον καὶ τὸ
 ἑκατέρας μέγεθος διάσημον καὶ περιβόητον ἀπέφηνε
 τὴν εὐσέβειαν τοῦ προφήτου χρησαμένου θεῷ
 285 μάρτυρι τῆς περὶ τοὺς χρησμοὺς ἀληθείας. ἄξιον
 δὲ κακέينو μὴ παριδεῖν, ὅτι τὰς κατὰ τῶν ἀσεβῶν
 κολάσεις διεκληρώσαντο γῇ καὶ οὐρανός, αἱ τοῦ
 παντὸς ἀρχαί· τὴν γὰρ μοχθηρίαν ἐρρίζωσαν μὲν

¹ Mangey with some mss. reads χαλεπὸν ἀπιστία πρᾶγμα·
 τοὺς ἀπίστους μόνοις τούτους κτλ.

MOSES II. 280-285

attain their purpose. While his heart was still hot 280
 within him, burning with lawful indignation, inspira-
 tion came upon him, and, transformed into a prophet,
 he pronounced these words : “ Disbelief falls hardly
 on the disbelievers only. Such are schooled by facts
 alone, and not by words. Experience will show them
 what teaching has failed to show that I do not lie.
 This matter will be judged by the manner of their 281
 latter end. If the death they meet is in the ordinary
 course of nature, my oracles are a false invention ;
 but, if it be of a new and different kind, my truthful-
 ness will be attested. I see the earth opened and
 vast chasms yawning wide. I see great bands of
 kinsfolk perishing, houses dragged down and swal-
 lowed up with their inmates, and living men descend-
 ing into Hades.” As he ceased speaking, the earth 282
 burst open under the shock of a convulsion, and the
 bursting was just in that part where the tents of
 the impious stood, so that they were borne below in
 a mass and hidden from sight ; for the gaping sides
 closed again when the object was accomplished for
 which they had been split asunder. And, shortly 283
 after, thunderbolts fell suddenly on two hundred and
 fifty men who had led the sedition and destroyed
 them in a mass, leaving no part of their bodies to
 receive the tribute of burial. The quick succession 284
 of these punishments and their magnitude in both
 cases clearly and widely established the fame of the
 prophet’s godliness, to the truth of whose pronounce-
 ments God Himself had testified. This too we 285
 should not fail to note, that the work of chastising
 the impious was shared by earth and heaven, the
 fundamental parts of the universe. For they had
 set the roots of their wickedness on earth, but let it

- ἐπὶ γῆς, ἐξέτειναν δ' εἰς αἰθέρα, τοσοῦτον ὕψος,
 286 αὐτὴν διάραντες. ὅθεν καὶ τῶν στοιχείων ἑκάτερον
 ἐχορήγησε τὰς τιμωρίας, ἡ μὲν ἢν' ὑποσύρη καὶ
 καταπίη τοὺς τότε βαρύνοντας αὐτὴν ῥαγείσα καὶ
 διασταῖσα, ὃ δ' ἵνα καταφλέξῃ καὶ διαφθείρῃ πυρὸς
 287 πολλοῦ φορὰν, καινότατον ὑετόν, ὁμβρήσας. τὸ
 δὲ τέλος καὶ τοῖς καταποθεῖσι καὶ τοῖς ὑπὸ
 [179] τῶν κεραυνῶν | διεφθαρμένοις ταῦτόν ἀπέβαινεν·
 οὐδέτεροι γὰρ ἐφάνησαν, οἱ μὲν ἐπικρυφθέντες
 γῇ τῇ τοῦ χάσματος συνόδῳ πρὸς τὸ ἰσόπεδον
 ἐνωθείσῃ, οἱ δ' ὅλοι δι' ὅλων ἀναλωθέντες ὑπὸ τοῦ
 κεραυνίου πυρός.
- 288 LI. Χρόνοις δ' ὕστερον, ἐπειδὴ τὴν ἐνθὲνδε ἀποι-
 κίαν ἔμελλεν εἰς οὐρανὸν στέλλεσθαι καὶ τὸν θνητὸν
 ἀπολιπὼν βίον ἀπαθανατίζεσθαι μετακληθεὶς ὑπὸ
 τοῦ πατρός, ὃς αὐτὸν δυάδα ὄντα, σῶμα καὶ ψυχὴν,
 εἰς μονάδος ἀνεστοιχείου φύσιν ὅλον δι' ὅλων
 μεθαρμοζόμενος εἰς νοῦν ἡλιοειδέστατον, τότε δὴ
 κατασχεθεὶς οὐκέτι συλλήβδην ἀθρώῳ παντὶ τῷ
 ἔθνει θεσπίζειν ἔοικεν ἀλλὰ καὶ κατὰ μέρος ἐκάστη
 φυλῇ τὰ μέλλοντα γενέσθαι καὶ αὐτὴς ἀποβησόμενα·
 ὧν τὰ μὲν ἤδη συμβέβηκε, τὰ δὲ προσδοκᾶται,
 διότι πίστις τῶν μελλόντων ἢ τῶν προγεγονότων
 289 τελείωσις. ἤρμωτε γὰρ διαφέροντας καὶ ταῖς
 σποραῖς, καὶ μάλιστα ἐν τοῖς μητρώοις γένεσι, καὶ
 βουλευμάτων πολυτρόποις ἰδέαις καὶ τῶν περὶ τὸν
 βίον ἐπιτηδευμάτων ἀμυθήτοις διαφοραῖς ὥσπερ
 τινὰ κλήρου διανομὴν λογίων καὶ χρησμῶν ἀρμό-
 290 ζουσιν εὐρέσθαι. θαυμάσια μὲν οὖν ταῦτα· θαυ-
 μασιώτατον δὲ καὶ τὸ τέλος τῶν ἱερῶν γραμμάτων,
 ὃ καθάπερ ἐν τῷ ζώῳ κεφαλὴ τῆς ὅλης νομοθεσίας

* For §§ 288-291 see Deut. xxxiii. and xxxiv.

MOSES II. 285-290

grow so high that it mounted right up to ether above. Therefore each of the two elements supplied its punishment: earth burst and parted asunder to drag down and swallow up those who had then become a burden to it; heaven poured down the strangest of rainstorms, a great stream of fire to blast them in its flames. Whether they were swallowed up or destroyed by the thunderbolts, the result was the same: neither party was ever seen again, the former hidden in the earth by the closing of the chasm which united to form level ground again, the latter consumed absolutely and entirely by the flame of the thunderbolt.

LI. ^a Afterwards the time came when he had to make his pilgrimage from earth to heaven, and leave this mortal life for immortality, summoned thither by the Father Who resolved his twofold nature of soul and body into a single unity, transforming his whole being into mind, pure as the sunlight. Then, indeed, we find him possessed by the spirit, no longer uttering general truths to the whole nation but prophesying to each tribe in particular the things which were to be and hereafter must come to pass. Some of these have already taken place, others are still looked for, since confidence in the future is assured by fulfilment in the past. It was very fitting that persons so different in the history of their birth, particularly in their descent on the mother's side and in the manifold varieties of their thoughts and aims and the endless diversities of their practices and habits of life, should receive as a sort of legacy a suitable apportionment of oracles and inspired sayings. This was indeed wonderful: but most wonderful of all is the conclusion of the Holy Scriptures, which stands to the whole law-book as the head to the living

- 291 ἐστίν. ἤδη γὰρ ἀναλαμβάνόμενος καὶ ἐπ' αὐτῆς βαλβίδος ἐστώς, ἵνα τὸν εἰς οὐρανὸν δρόμον διυπτάμενος εὐθύνη, καταπνευσθεὶς καὶ ἐπιθειάσας ζῶν ἔτι τὰ ὡς ἐπὶ θανόντι ἑαυτῷ προφητεύει δεξιῶς,¹ ὡς ἐτελεύτησε μήπω τελευτήσας, ὡς ἐτάφη μηδενὸς παρόντος, δηλονότι χερσὶν οὐ θνηταῖς ἀλλ' ἀθανάτοις δυνάμεσιν, ὡς οὐδ' ἐν τάφῳ τῶν προπατόρων ἐκηδεύθη τυχὼν ἐξαιρέτου μνήματος, ὃ μηδεὶς εἶδεν ἀνθρώπων, ὡς σύμπαν τὸ ἔθνος αὐτὸν ὅλον μῆνα δακρυρροοῦν ἐπένθησεν ἴδιον καὶ κοινὸν πένθος ἐπιδειξάμενον ἕνεκα τῆς ἀλέκτου καὶ πρὸς ἓνα ἕκαστον καὶ πρὸς ἅπαντας εὐνοίας καὶ κηδεμονίας.
- 292 Τοιοῦτος μὲν ὁ βίος, τοιαύτη δὲ καὶ ἡ τελευτὴ τοῦ βασιλέως καὶ νομοθέτου καὶ ἀρχιερέως καὶ προφήτου Μωυσέως διὰ τῶν ἱερῶν γραμμάτων μνημονεύεται.

¹ A rather strange use : Mangey διεξιῶν.

MOSES II. 291-292

creature ; for when he was already being exalted and 291 stood at the very barrier, ready at the signal to direct his upward flight to heaven, the divine spirit fell upon him and he prophesied with discernment while still alive the story of his own death ; told ere the end how the end came ; told how he was buried with none present, surely by no mortal hands but by immortal powers ; how also he was not laid to rest in the tomb of his forefathers but was given a monument of special dignity which no man has ever seen ; how all the nation wept and mourned for him a whole month and made open display, private and public, of their sorrow, in memory of his vast benevolence and watchful care for each one of them and for all.

Such, as recorded in the Holy Scriptures, was the 292 life and such the end of Moses, king, lawgiver, high priest, prophet.