

- 1 I. “Καὶ εἶπε κύριος τῷ Ἀβραάμ· ἄπελθε ἐκ τῆς γῆς σου καὶ ἐκ τῆς συγγενείας σου καὶ ἐκ τοῦ οἴκου τοῦ πατρός σου εἰς τὴν γῆν, ἣν σοι δείξω· καὶ ποιήσω σε εἰς ἔθνος μέγα καὶ εὐλογήσω σε καὶ μεγαλυνῶ τὸ ὄνομά σου, καὶ ἔσῃ εὐλογητός. καὶ εὐλογήσω τοὺς εὐλογοῦντάς σε, καὶ τοὺς καταρωμένους σε καταράσομαι, καὶ ἐνευλογηθήσονται ἐν σοὶ
- 2 πᾶσαι αἱ φυλαὶ τῆς γῆς.” βουλευθεὶς ὁ θεὸς τὴν ἀνθρώπου ψυχὴν καθῆραι πρῶτον αὐτῇ δίδωσιν ἀφορμὴν εἰς σωτηρίαν παντελεῖ τὴν ἐκ τριῶν χωρίων μετανάστασιν, σώματος, αἰσθήσεως, λόγου τοῦ κατὰ προφοράν· τὴν μὲν γὰρ γῆν σώματος, τὴν δὲ συγγένειαν αἰσθήσεως, τὸν δὲ τοῦ πατρὸς οἶκον λόγου συμβέβηκεν εἶναι σύμβολον.
- 3 διὰ τί; ὅτι τὸ μὲν σῶμα καὶ ἐκ γῆς ἔλαβε τὴν σύστασιν καὶ ἀναλύεται πάλιν εἰς γῆν—μάρτυς δὲ Μωυσῆς, ὅταν φῇ· “γῆ εἶ, καὶ εἰς γῆν ἀπελεύσῃ.” καὶ γὰρ παγῆναί φησιν αὐτὸ χοῦν εἰς ἀνθρωπείαν μορφήν τοῦ θεοῦ διαπλάσαντος, ἀνάγκη δὲ τὸ λυόμενον εἰς τὰ δεθέντα λύεσθαι—, αἰσθησις δὲ συγγενὲς καὶ ἀδελφόν ἐστι διανοίας, ἄλογον λογικῆς, ἐπειδὴ μιᾶς ἅμφω μέρη ψυχῆς ταῦτα, πατρὸς δὲ
- [437] οἶκος ὁ | λόγος, ὅτι πατὴρ μὲν ἡμῶν ὁ νοῦς σπείρων

ON THE MIGRATION OF ABRAHAM

I. " And the Lord said unto Abraham, Depart out 1
of thy land, and out of thy kindred, and out of thy
father's house, into the land which I shall shew thee ;
and I will make thee a great nation and will bless thee
and will make thy name great, and thou shalt be
blessed. And I will bless them that bless thee, and
them that curse thee I will curse, and in thee shall all
the tribes of the earth be blessed " (Gen. xii. 1-3).

God begins the carrying out of His will 2
to cleanse man's soul by giving it a starting-point for
full salvation in its removal out of three localities,
namely, body, sense-perception, and speech. " Land"
or " country " is a symbol of body, " kindred " of
sense-perception, " father's house " of speech. How
so? Because the body took its substance out of 3
earth (or land) and is again resolved into earth. Moses
is a witness to this, when he says, " Earth thou art
and into earth shalt thou return " (Gen. iii. 19) ; in-
deed he also says that the body was clay formed into
human shape by God's moulding hand, and what
suffers solution must needs be resolved into the
elements which were united to form it. Sense-per-
ception, again, is of one kin and family with under-
standing, the irrational with the rational, for both
these are parts of one soul. And speech is our
" father's house," " father's " because Mind is our

εἰς ἕκαστον τῶν μερῶν τὰς ἀφ' ἑαυτοῦ δυνάμεις
καὶ διανέμων εἰς αὐτὰ τὰς ἐνεργείας ἐπιμέλειαν
τε καὶ ἐπιτροπὴν ἀνημμένος ἀπάντων, οἶκος δέ,
ἐν ᾧ διαιτᾶται, τῆς ἄλλης¹ ὑπεξηρημένος οἰκίας ὁ
λόγος· καθάπερ γὰρ ἀνδρὸς ἐστία, καὶ νοῦ λόγος
4 ἐνδιαίτημα. ἑαυτὸν γοῦν καὶ ὅσα ἂν ἐνθυμήματα
τέκη, ὥσπερ ἐν οἴκῳ τῷ λόγῳ διαθεῖς καὶ δια-
κοσμήσας ἐπιδείκνυται. μὴ θαυμάσης
δέ, εἰ νοῦ τὸν λόγον ἐν ἀνθρώπῳ κέκληκεν οἶκον·
καὶ γὰρ τὸν τῶν ὄλων νοῦν, τὸν θεόν, οἶκον ἔχειν
5 φησὶ τὸν ἑαυτοῦ λόγον. οὐ τὴν φαντασίαν ὁ
ἀσκητὴς λαβὼν ἀντικρυς ὁμολογεῖ ὅτι “οὐκ ἔστι
τοῦτο ἄλλ' ἢ οἶκος θεοῦ,” ἴσον τῷ ὁ τοῦ θεοῦ οἶκος
οὐκ ἔστι τοῦτο τῶν εἰς δεῖξιν ἐρχομένων ἢ συνόλως
πιπτόντων ὑπ' αἴσθησιν, οὐκ ἔστιν, ἀλλ' ἀόρατος,
ἀειδὴς, ψυχῇ μόνον ὡς ψυχῇ καταλαμβανόμενος.
6 τίς ἂν οὖν εἴη πλὴν ὁ λόγος ὁ πρεσβύτερος τῶν
γέ εἰν εἰληφόντων, οὐ καθάπερ οἶκος ἐνεκλη-
μένος ὁ τῶν ὄλων κυβερνήτης πηδαλιουχεὶ τὰ
σύμπαντα, καὶ ὅτε ἐκοσμοπλάσσει χρησάμενος
ὀργάνῳ τούτῳ πρὸς τὴν ἀνυπαίτιον τῶν ἀποτελου-
μένων σύστασιν ;

¹ mss. ὅλης, which perhaps might be retained in the sense of the “homestead as a whole.”

^a Or “chamber,” cf. *Il.* vi. 490 and elsewhere, where *oikos* is clearly the inner part of the house. For the thought that while mind has a wider range, its most intimate home is speech, cf. the explanation of τὸν ἐγγιστά as speech in *De Ebr.* 71.

^b Or “this is not the House of God, only (yet) there is a House of God.” Mr. Whitaker defended his translation by suggesting that Philo is following the occasional use of ἀλλ' ἢ in the LXX for “certainly,” e.g. 2 Chron. xix. 3. But the explanation which follows seems to me to point to the alternative translation given above, and in this case the use

THE MIGRATION OF ABRAHAM, 3-6

father, sowing in each of the parts of the body the faculties that issue from itself, and assigning to them their workings, being in control and charge of them all; house—because mind has speech for its house^a or living-room, secluded from the rest of the homestead. It is Mind's living-place, just as the hearth-side is man's. It is there that Mind displays in 4 orderly form itself and all the conceptions to which it gives birth, treating it as a man treats a house.

And marvel not at Moses having given to speech the title of Mind's house in man; for indeed he says that God, the Mind of the universe, has for His house His own Word. It was the vision of 5 this Word that the Self-trainer received when he emphatically declares "This is assuredly not the House of God"^b (Gen. xxviii. 17), as much as to say "The House of God is not this that is all round me, consisting of things at which we can point or that fall under sense-perception generally, no, not such is God's House, but invisible, withdrawn from sight, and apprehended only by soul as soul.^c Who, then, can 6 that House be, save the Word who is antecedent to all that has come into existence? the Word, which the Helmsman of the Universe grasps as a rudder to guide all things on their course? Even as, when He was fashioning the world, He employed it as His instrument, that the fabric of His handiwork might be without reproach.

of ἀλλ' ἥ would be something like that in Deut. iv. 12 (quoted in 48). In *De Som.* i. 185 we have another way of taking the verse.

^c Or "soul in the true sense of the word." Philo means that he is not using the word in the wider sense of the whole soul or life of the animal, but for the mind or dominant principal. See App. p. 560.

- 7 Π. Ὡς μὲν τοίνυν γῆν μὲν τὸ σῶμα, συγγένειαν
 δὲ τὴν αἴσθησιν, οἶκον δὲ πατὴρ τὸν λόγον αἰνίτ-
 τεται, δεδηλώκαμεν. τὸ δὲ “ ἄπελθε ἐκ τούτων ”
 οὐκ ἔσθ’¹ ὁμοιον τῷ διαζεύχθητι κατὰ τὴν οὐσίαν,
 ἐπεὶ θάνατον ἦν διαγορεύοντος ἢ πρόσταξις, ἀλλ’
 ἴσον τῷ τὴν γνώμην ἀλλοτριώθητι, πρὸς μηδενὸς
 8 περισχεθεὶς αὐτῶν ὑπεράνω στῆθι πάντων· ὑπήκοοί
 σου εἰσι, μηδέποτε ὡς ἡγεμόσι χρῶ· βασιλεὺς
 ὢν ἄρχειν ἀλλὰ μὴ ἄρχεσθαι πεπαιδευσο, πάντα
 τὸν αἰῶνα γίνωσκε σεαυτόν, ὡς καὶ Μωυσῆς
 πολλαχοῦ διδάσκει λέγων “ πρόσσεχε σεαυτῷ ”·
 οὕτως γὰρ ὢν τε ὑπακούειν καὶ οἷς ἐπιτάττειν
 9 προσήκεν αἰσθήσῃ. ἄπελθε οὖν ἐκ τοῦ
 περὶ σεαυτὸν γεώδους, τὸ παμμίαιρον, ᾧ οὗτος,
 ἐκφυγὼν δεσμωτήριον, τὸ σῶμα, καὶ τὰς ὥσπερ
 εἰρκοφύλακας ἡδονὰς καὶ ἐπιθυμίας αὐτοῦ παντὶ
 σθένει καὶ πάσῃ δυνάμει, μηδὲν τῶν εἰς κάκωσιν
 παρεῖς, ἀλλὰ πάντα ἀθρόα συλλήβδην ἐπανατεινά-
 10 μενος. ἄπελθε καὶ τῆς συγγενοῦς αἰσ-
 θήσεως· νυνὶ μὲν γὰρ κέχρηκας ἐκάστη σεαυτὸν
 καὶ γέγονας ἀλλότριον τῶν δεδανεισμένων ἀγαθὸν
 ἀποβεβληκῶς τὸ ἴδιον. οἶδας δέ, καὶ πάντες ἡσυ-
 χάζωσιν, ὡς ὀφθαλμοὶ σε ἄγουσι καὶ ὦτα καὶ ἡ
 ἄλλη τῆς συγγενείας πληθὺς ἅπασα πρὸς τὰ φίλα
 11 ἑαυτοῖς. ἐὰν δὲ ἐθελήσῃς κομίσασθαι | τὰ σαυτοῦ
 [438] δάνεια καὶ τὴν ἰδίαν κτήσιν περιβαλέσθαι μηδὲν

¹ MSS. οὐκέθ’.

THE MIGRATION OF ABRAHAM, 7-11

II. We have now shewn how Moses uses "earth" 7 to represent the body, "kindred" to represent sense-perception, "thy father's house" to represent speech. The words "Depart out of these" are not equivalent to "Sever thyself from them absolutely," since to issue such a command as that would be to prescribe death. No, the words import "Make thyself a stranger to them in judgement and purpose; let none of them cling to thee; rise superior to them all; they are thy subjects, never treat them as 8 sovereign lords; thou art a king, school thyself once and for all to rule, not to be ruled; evermore be coming to know thyself, as Moses teaches thee in many places, saying "Give heed to thyself" (Ex. xxiv. 12), for in this way shalt thou perceive those to whom it befits thee to shew obedience and those to whom it befits thee to give commands. Depart, 9 therefore, out of the earthly matter that encompasses thee: escape, man, from the foul prison-house, thy body, with all thy might and main, and from the pleasures and lusts that act as its jailers; every terror that can vex and hurt them, leave none of them unused; menace the enemy with them all united and combined. Depart also out of sense- 10 perception thy kin. For at present thou hast made a loan of thyself to each sense, and art become the property of others, a portion of the goods of those who have borrowed thee, and hast thrown away the good thing that was thine own. Yes, thou knowest, even though all men should hold their peace, how eyes draw thee, and ears, and the whole crowd of thine other kinsfolk, towards what they themselves love. But if thou desire to recover the self that thou 11 hast lent and to have thine own possessions about

αὐτῆς διαζεύξας ἢ ἀλλοτριώσας μέρος, εὐδαίμονος μεταποιήσῃ βίου, χρήσιν καὶ ἀπόλυσιν οὐκ ὀθνείων ἀλλ' οἰκείων ἀγαθῶν εἰς αἰεὶ καρπούμενος.

- 12 ἀλλὰ μετανάστηθι κακ τοῦ κατὰ προφορὰν λόγου, ὃν πατὴρ οἶκον ὠνόμασεν, ἵνα μὴ ῥημάτων καὶ ὀνομάτων ἀπατηθεὶς κάλλεσι τοῦ πρὸς ἀλήθειαν κάλλους, ὅπερ ἐστὶν ἐν τοῖς δηλούμενοις πράγμασι, διαζευχθῆς. ἄτοπον γὰρ ἢ σκιὰν σωμάτων ἢ μίμημα ἀρχετύπων φέρεσθαι πλεον· σκιᾷ μὲν δὴ καὶ μιμήματι ἔοικεν ἐρμηνεία, σώμασι δὲ καὶ ἀρχετύποις αἱ τῶν διερμηνευομένων φύσεις πραγμάτων, ὧν τὸν ἐφιέμενον τοῦ εἶναι μᾶλλον ἢ τοῦ δοκεῖν χρή περιέχεσθαι διοικιζόμενον ἀπ'

- 13 ἐκείνων. III. ἐπειδὴν γοῦν ὁ νοῦς ἄρξεται γνωρίζειν ἑαυτὸν καὶ τοῖς νοητοῖς ἐνομιλεῖν θεωρήμασιν, ἅπαν τὸ κλινόμενον τῆς ψυχῆς πρὸς τὸ αἰσθητὸν εἶδος ἀπώσεται, ὃ κέκληται παρ' Ἑβραίοις Λώτ. οὗ χάριν ὁ σοφὸς εἰσάγεται λέγων ἄντικρυς· “διαχωρίσθητι ἀπ' ἐμοῦ.” συνοικεῖν γὰρ ἀμήχανον τὸν ἀσωμάτων καὶ ἀφθάρτων ἔρωτι κατεσχημένον τῷ πρὸς τὰ αἰσθητὰ καὶ θνητὰ

- 14 ῥέποντι. παγκάλως οὖν ὁ ἱεροφάντης μίαν τῆς νομοθεσίας ὅλην ἱερὰν βίβλον Ἐξαγωγὴν ἀνέγραψεν οἰκείον ὄνομα εὐράμενος τοῖς περιεχομένοις χρησμοῖς· ἅτε γὰρ παιδευτικὸς ὧν καὶ πρὸς νοουθεσίαν καὶ σωφρονισμόν ἐτοιμότητος τῶν οἴων τε νοουθετεῖσθαι καὶ σωφρονίζεσθαι πάντα τῆς ψυχῆς τὸν

THE MIGRATION OF ABRAHAM, 11-14

thee, letting no portion of them be alienated and fall into other hands, thou shalt claim instead a happy life, enjoying in perpetuity the benefit and pleasure derived from good things not foreign to thee but thine own. Again, quit speech also, " thy 12

father's house," as Moses calls it, for fear thou shouldst be beguiled by beauties of mere phrasing, and be cut off from the real beauty, which lies in the matter expressed. Monstrous it is that shadow should be preferred to substance or a copy to originals. And verbal expression is like a shadow or copy, while the essential bearing of the matters conveyed by words resembles substance and originals; and it behoves the man, whose aim it is to be rather than to seem, to dissociate himself from the former and hold fast to the latter. III. So we find 13

that when the Mind begins to know itself and to hold converse with the things of mind, it will thrust away from it that part of the soul which inclines to the province of sense-perception, the inclining which among the Hebrews is entitled " Lot." Hence the wise man is represented as saying outright, " Separate thyself from me " (Gen. xiii. 9). For it is impossible for one who is possessed by love for all that is incorporeal and incorruptible to dwell together with one who leans towards the objects of sense-perception doomed to die. Right well, then, did the Sacred 14 Guide inscribe one entire sacred book of the Law-giving " Exagoge " or " Leading out," for the name thus found was appropriate to the oracles contained in it. For being well qualified to train men and fully furnished for the admonition and correction of those who were capable of admonition and correction, he contemplates the task of taking out all the population

- λεὼν ἀπὸ τῆς Αἰγυπτίας χώρας, τοῦ σώματος, καὶ τῶν οἰκητόρων αὐτῆς ἐξελεῖν διανοεῖται, χαλεπώτατον καὶ βαρύτατον ἄχθος ἡγούμενος ὁρατικὴν διάνοιαν πρὸς σαρκὸς ἡδονῶν πιεσθῆναι καὶ ἐπιτάγμασιν ὑπηρετεῖν, ἅττ' ἂν αἱ ἀνηλεεῖς προστάττωσιν
- 15 ἐπιθυμίαι. τούτους μὲν οὖν στενάξαντας καὶ πολλὰ ἐκδακρύναντας τὴν σωματικὴν εὐθηνίαν καὶ τὰς τῶν ἐκτὸς ἀφθόνοους περιουσίας—λέγεται γὰρ ὅτι “ἐστέναξαν οἱ υἱοὶ Ἰσραὴλ ἀπὸ τῶν ἔργων”—ὑφηγησαμένου τοῦ Ἰλεω θεοῦ τὰ περὶ τὴν ἐξοδον ὁ προφήτης αὐτοῦ ρύεται.
- 16 Εἰσὶ δ' οἱ μέχρι τῆς τελευτῆς τὰς πρὸς σῶμα σπονδὰς ἔθεντο καὶ ὥσπερ λάρνακι ἢ σορῶ ἢ ὅπως ὀνομάζειν ἑτέρως φίλον τῷδε ἐνετάφησαν. ὦν τὰ μὲν ὅσα φιλοσώματα καὶ φιλοπαθῆ μέρη λήθη παραδοθέντα κατορύττεται· εἰ δέ πού τι φιλάρετον παρανέβλαστε, μνήμαις ἀνασώζεται, δι' ὧν τὰ
- 17 καλὰ ζωπυρεῖσθαι πέφυκε. IV. τὰ γοῦν ὁστὰ Ἰωσήφ, λέγω δὴ τὰ μόνα ὑπολειφθέντα τῆς τοσαύτης ψυχῆς ἀδιάφθορα καὶ ἀξιωμακρόνεντα εἶδη, περιποιεῖται ὁ ἱερὸς λόγος, ἄτοπον ἡγούμενος
- [439] καθαρά | μὴ καθαροῖς συνεξεῦχθαι. τὰ
- 18 δ' ἀξιωμακρόνεντα ταῦτα ἦν· τὸ πιστεῦσαι ὅτι “ἐπισκέπεται ὁ θεὸς” τὸ ὁρατικὸν γένος καὶ οὐ

^a “Things outside the body” (see note on *Quod Det.* 7) interpret the “inhabitants of Egypt” in § 14, as “the things of the body” interpret Egypt.

^b For the interpretation of these “works” or tasks as slavery to the passions and the like cf. *De Conf.* 93.

^c Here begins the digression about Joseph which continues to the end of § 24. The opening words of § 16 are a meditation on Gen. i. 26 “And Joseph died (ἐτελεύτησε, cf. μέχρι τῆς τελευτῆς) and was buried, and they laid him in a coffin (σορῶ), in Egypt.” The lesson deduced is that the compromising

THE MIGRATION OF ABRAHAM, 14-18

of the soul right away from Egypt, the body, and away from its inhabitants ; deeming it a most sore and heavy burden that an understanding endowed with vision should be under the pressure of the pleasures of the flesh, and should submit to such injunctions as its merciless cravings may lay upon it. These, indeed, groaned over and greatly bewailed 15 their bodily well-being, and the lavish abundance of things outside the body,^a which was theirs, for we read that " the children of Israel groaned by reason of their works^b " (Ex. ii. 23). When they do this, the gracious God instructs His prophet regarding their coming out, and His prophet delivers them.

° But some make a truce with the body and main- 16 tain it till their death, and are buried in it as in a coffin or shell or whatever else you like to call it. All the body-loving and passion-loving portions of these are laid in the grave and consigned to oblivion. But if anywhere by the side of these there grows up a virtue-loving tendency, it is saved from extinction by memories, which are a means of keeping alive the flame of noble qualities.

IV. So the Holy 17 Word, deeming it unfitting that pure things should have impure things associated with them, provides for the safe-keeping of Joseph's bones, by which I mean the only relics of such a soul as were left behind untouched by corruption and worthy of perpetual memory (Gen. l. 25).^d Those of the 18 latter kind were these ; Joseph's confidence that " God will visit " the race that has vision (Gen. l. 24),

Joseph-nature is " buried in the body " and forgotten, but it may have higher things or " bones ". These are remembered and serve to kindle excellence in others.

^d See App. p. 560.

- παραδώσει μέχρι παντός αὐτὸ ἀμαθία, τυφλῇ
 δεσποίνῃ, τὸ διακρίναι τὰ τε θνητὰ τῆς ψυχῆς καὶ
 τὰ ἄφθαρτα καὶ τὰ μὲν ὅσα περὶ τὰς σώματος
 ἡδονὰς καὶ τὰς ἄλλας παθῶν ἀμετρίας θνητὰ ὄντα
 Αἰγύπτῳ καταλιπεῖν, περὶ δὲ τῶν ἀφθάρτων
 σπονδὴν¹ ποιήσασθαι, ὅπως μετὰ τῶν ἀναβαινόντων
 εἰς τὰς ἀρετῆς πόλεις διακομισθῇ, καὶ ὅρκῳ τὴν
 19 σπονδὴν ἐμπεδώσασθαι. τίνα οὖν τὰ
 ἄφθαρτα; ἢ πρὸς ἡδονὴν ἀλλοτρίωσις τὴν λέγου-
 σαν· συννευσθῶμεν καὶ τῶν ἀνθρωπείων ἀπο-
 λαύσωμεν ἀγαθῶν, ἢ μετὰ καρτερίας ἀγχίνοια, δι'
 ἧς τὰ τῶν κενῶν δοξῶν νομιζόμενα ἀγαθὰ ὥς
 ἂν ἐνύπνια ὄντα * * *² διακρίνει καὶ διαστέλλει,
 ὁμολογῶν τὰς μὲν ἀληθεῖς καὶ σαφεῖς τῶν πραγ-
 μάτων συγκρίσεις εἶναι κατὰ θεόν, τὰς δὲ ἀδήλους
 καὶ ἀσαφεῖς φαντασίας κατὰ τὸν πλάνητα καὶ
 τύφου μεστὸν μήπω κεκαθαρμένων ἀνθρώπων βίον
 ταῖς διὰ σιτοπόνων καὶ μαγείρων καὶ οἰνοχόων
 20 τέρψεσι χαίροντα, τὸ μὴ ὑπήκοον, ἀλλ' ἄρχοντα
 Αἰγύπτου πάσης, τῆς σωματικῆς χώρας, ἀνα-
 γραφῆναι, τὸ αὐχεῖν ἐπὶ τῷ γένος εἶναι Ἑβραίων,
 οἷς ἔθος ἀπὸ τῶν αἰσθητῶν ἐπὶ τὰ νοητὰ μεταν-
 ἰστασθαι—περάτης γὰρ ὁ Ἑβραῖος ἐρμηνεύεται—,
 τὸ σεμνύνεσθαι ὅτι “ ὦδε οὐκ ἐποίησεν οὐδέν ”—τὸ
 γὰρ μηδὲν τῶν ἐνταῦθα σπουδαζομένων³ παρὰ τοῖς
 φαύλοις ἐργάσασθαι, διαμισῆσαι δὲ καὶ ἀποστραφῆ-

¹ MSS. σπονδὴν.

² Wend. conjectures <τῶν ἀληθῶς ὄντων>. I am not sure that it is necessary to suppose any lacuna.

³ MSS. σπουδαζόντων.

^a See App. p. 560, on § 17.

^b An allusion to the description of Potiphar in the LXX (Gen. xxxix. 1) as chief cook.

THE MIGRATION OF ABRAHAM, 18-20

and will not utterly hand it over to Ignorance, that blind task-mistress ; his discernment between the mortal and the incorruptible portions of the soul and his leaving behind to Egypt those which had to do with bodily pleasures and other forms of unrestrained passion, while concerning the incorruptible parts he made an agreement, that they should accompany those who went up to the cities of virtue, and should be conveyed thither, and had the agreement secured by an oath. What, then, are the un- 19 corrupted parts ?^a His having nothing to do with Pleasure when she says, " Let us lie together " (Gen. xxxix. 7) and enjoy the good things of mankind : the shrewdness coupled with the resoluteness which enabled him to recognize the products of empty fancies which many accounted to be good, and to distinguish them as mere dreams from those which are really so ; and to confess that the true and certain interpretations of things are given under God's guidance (Gen. xl. 8), while the doubtful imaginations that have no certainty follow the rule and line of the erring and deluded life of men who have not undergone purification, a life that finds its joy in the delights provided by bakers and cooks^b and butlers. Other traits of incorruption were these : he was pro- 20 claimed not the subject, but the ruler of all Egypt, the domain of the body (Gen. xli. 41) : he was proud to own himself a member of the Hebrew race (Gen. xl. 15), whose wont it is, as the name " Hebrew " or " Migrant " indicates, to quit the objects of sense-perception and go after those of Mind : he gloried in the fact that " here he had done nothing " (*ibid.*), for to have performed no single act such as the worthless people there admired, but to have utterly

- 21 ναι πάντα οὐ μετρίως ἐπαινετόν—, τὸ ἐμπαίξειν ἐπιθυμιῶν καὶ πάντων παθῶν ἀμετρίαις, τὸ φοβεῖσθαι τὸν θεόν, εἰ καὶ μηδέπω γέγονεν ἀγαπᾶν ἱκανός, τὸ ζωῆς ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ μεταποιεῖσθαι τῆς ἀληθοῦς— (V.) ὁ δὲ θαυμάσας ὁ ὄρων, καὶ γὰρ ἄξιον ἦν καταπλαγῆναι, φησί· “ μέγα μοί ἐστιν, εἰ ἔτι ὁ υἱός μου Ἰωσήφ ζῇ,” ἀλλὰ μὴ κεναῖς δόξαις καὶ τῷ νεκρο-
- 22 φορουμένῳ σώματι συντέθνηκε—, τὸ ὁμολογεῖν ὅτι “ τοῦ θεοῦ ἐστι,” τῶν δ’ εἰς γένεσιν ἐλθόντων οὐδενός, τὸ γνωριζόμενον τοῖς ἀδελφοῖς πάντας τοὺς φιλοσωμάτους κινήσαι καὶ σαλευῖν τρόπους ἐστάναι παγίως ἐπὶ τῶν ἰδίων οἰομένους δογμάτων καὶ ἀνὰ κράτος ἀπώσασθαι, τὸ φάναι μὴ πρὸς ἀνθρώπων ἀπεστάλθαι, ὑπὸ δὲ τοῦ θεοῦ κεχειροτονῆσθαι πρὸς τὴν τοῦ σώματος καὶ τῶν ἐκτὸς
- 23 ἔννομον ἐπιστάσιαν. πολλὰ δὲ καὶ ἄλλα τούτοις ὁμοιότροπα τῆς ἀμείνονος καὶ ἱερωτέρας ὄντα τάξεως, Αἴγυπτον τὸν σωματικὸν οἶκον οἰκεῖν οὐκ ἀνέχεται οὐδ’ ἐνθάπτεται σορῶ τὸ παράπαν,
- [440] ἔξω δὲ παντὸς τοῦ θνητοῦ | κεχωρηκότα παρέπε-
- 24 ται¹ θεσμοθέτῃ λόγῳ Μωυσῇ ποδηγετοῦντι· τροφεὺς γὰρ καὶ τιθηνὸς οὗτος ἀστείων ἔργων, λόγων, βουλευμάτων, ἃ, κἂν τοῖς ἐναντίοις ἀνακραθῇ ποτε διὰ τὴν ὑποσύγχυτον τοῦ θνητοῦ πολυμιγίαν, οὐδὲν ἦττον διακρίνει² παρελθόν, ἵνα μὴ μέχρι παντὸς τὰ

¹ Wend. and Mangey put a comma after ἐπιστάσιαν and correct ἀνέχεται, ἐνθάπτεται, παρέχεται of the mss. to the corresponding infinitives. See App. p. 560.

² mss. διακρίνεται. See App. p. 561.

^a See App. p. 560.

^b The thought of the body as a dead thing from the first, which the soul supports, has been more fully developed in *Leg. All.* iii. 69 f. Cf. also *De Agr.* 25.

THE MIGRATION OF ABRAHAM, 21-24

hated and eschewed them all, was conduct that called 21
 for no slight praise : he derided lusts and all passions
 and their gross excesses (Gen. xxxix. 14, 17) :^a he
 feared God (Gen. xlii. 18) even though he was not
 yet ready to love Him : when in Egypt he claimed
 as his own the life that is real life, (V.) a claim which
 caused Israel to marvel in just amazement, and to
 cry, "It is a great matter in my eyes if my son Joseph
 still *lives*" (Gen. xlv. 28), and has not shared the
 death of vain opinions, and of the body the corpse
 he carries with him :^b he confesses that he is God's 22
 (Gen. i. 19),^c not the property of any created being :
 when making himself known to his brethren he thrust
 perforce from his presence, shaken and tottering, all
 those frames of mind that make the body their
 delight and think that their own doctrines afford them
 a firm standing (Gen. xlv. 1 f.) : he declared that
 he had not received his commission at the hands of
 men, but had been appointed by God (Gen. xlv. 7 f.)
 to be duly constituted controller of the body and of
 things outside the body.^d And these are 23
 but a few of the traits indicative of the better and
 holier standing, which utterly refuse to dwell in
 Egypt the bodily tenement, are never buried in a
 coffin at all, but, having passed out of all that is
 mortal, follow the guiding steps of Moses, the Law-
 giving Word. For Moses is the nursing-father who 24
 rears with fostering care noble deeds, words, designs,
 which, albeit often mingled with their opposites owing
 to the chaos and confusion which besets mortality,
 he none the less comes forward and separates from

^c E.V. "Am I in the place of God?"

^d Again, as in § 15, the two lower goods serve to interpret
 "Lord of all his *house* and ruler of all the *land of Egypt*."

καλοκαγαθίας σπέρματα καὶ φυτὰ ἀφανισθέντα οἷχεται.

- 25 Καὶ προτρέπεται μάλα ἐρρωμένως ἀπολιπεῖν τὴν παντὸς ἀτόπου χρηματίζουσαν μητέρα, μὴ μέλλοντας καὶ βραδύνοντας, ἀλλ' ὑπερβάλλοντι τάχει χρωμένους· φησὶ γὰρ μετὰ σπουδῆς δεῖν θύειν τὸ Πάσχα, τὸ δέ ἐστιν ἐρμηνευθὲν διάβασις, ἣν ἀνενδοιάστω γνώμη καὶ προθυμία συντόνῳ χρώμενος ὁ νοῦς τὴν τε ἀπὸ τῶν παθῶν ἀμεταστρεπτὴ ποιῆται διάβασιν καὶ τὴν πρὸς τὸν σωτήρα θεὸν εὐχαριστίαν, ὃς εἰς ἐλευθερίαν οὐ προσδοκήσαντα αὐτὸν ἐξείλετο.

- VI. καὶ τί θαυμάζομεν, εἰ τὸν ὑπηγμένον κράτει πάθους ἀλόγου προτρέπει μὴ ἐνδιδόναι μηδὲ τῇ ῥύμῃ τῆς ἐκείνου φορᾶς κατασυρῆναι, βιάσασθαι δὲ ἀντισχόντα κἂν, εἰ μὴ δύναιτο, ἀποδρᾶναι; δευτέρα γὰρ ἔφοδος εἰς σωτηρίαν τοῖς ἀμύνεσθαι μὴ δυναμένοις δρασμός ἐστιν· ὁπότε καὶ τὸν ἀγωνιστὴν φύσει καὶ μηδέποτε παθῶν δούλον γεγεννημένον, αἰεὶ δὲ ἀθλοῦντα τοὺς πρὸς ἕκαστον αὐτῶν ἄθλους, οὐκ ἔῃ μέχρι παντὸς τοῖς παλαιίσμασι χρήσασθαι, μὴ ποτε τῷ συνεχεῖ τῆς εἰς ταὐτὸ συνόδου χαλεπὴν ἀπ' ἐκείνων κῆρα ἀναμάξῃται· πολλοὶ γὰρ ἤδη καὶ ἀντιπάλου κακίας
- 27 ἐγένοντο μιμηταί, ὡς ἀρετῆς ἔμπαλιν ἕτεροι. διὸ λόγιον ἐχρήσθη τοιόνδε· “ἀποστρέφου εἰς τὴν γῆν τοῦ πατρὸς σου καὶ εἰς τὴν γενεάν σου, καὶ ἔσομαι

^a The thought of §§ 26-30 seems to be that while ordinary souls, typified by Israel leaving Egypt, must shun outward temptations, because they will prove too strong for them, even the Jacob-souls, who have proved their superiority, will do well to detach themselves and become immersed in that

THE MIGRATION OF ABRAHAM, 24-27

the rest, that the germs and shoots of moral excellence may not permanently be obliterated and lost.

Moses also urges the Israelites to quit right stoutly 25 her who bears the name of mother of every monstrous thing, with no slow or lingering steps, but with exceeding speed ; for he bids them with haste to sacrifice the Passover (Ex. xii. 11), which means " a passing over," to the intent that the Mind with resolute purpose and unfailing eagerness may carry out both its passing away from the passions without turning back, and its thanksgiving to God its Saviour, Who brought it forth into liberty when it looked not for it.

VI. And what is there to wonder at 26 in his urging the mind, that had been brought under the control of irrational passion, not to give in, nor to be swept down by the violence of that passion's current, but to resist with all its might, and, should it fail, even to run away ? For flight remains as an alternative way of reaching safety for those who are not able to repel the danger. See how Moses deals with one who was by nature a sturdy fighter and had never become the slave of passions, but was always engaged in the conflict with each one of them ?^a Even him he forbids to keep up his wrestlings to the end, lest one day, by perpetually meeting them, he should contract from them a pernicious taint : for many before now have proved imitators of an opponent's vice, as others on the other hand have imitated his virtue. For this reason a Divine intimation was 27 vouchsafed to him to this effect : " Turn back to the land of thy father and thy kindred, and I will be with thee " (Gen. xxxi. 3) ; as much as to say " Thou

higher wisdom represented by Isaac, which is beyond all worldly thoughts.

- μετὰ σοῦ," ἴσον τῷ γέγονας μὲν ἀθλητῆς τέλειος καὶ βραβείων καὶ στεφάνων ἡξιότης ἀγωνοθετούσης ἀρετῆς καὶ προτεινούσης ἀθλά σοι τὰ νικητήρια· κατάλυσον δὲ ἤδη τὸ φιλόνεικον, ἵνα μὴ πάντοτε πονῆς, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν πονηθέντων ἀπόνασ-
 28 θαι δυνηθῆς. τοῦτο δὲ ἐνταυθοῖ καταμένων οὐδέποτε εὐρήσεις τοῖς αἰσθητοῖς ἔτι συνοικῶν καὶ ταῖς σωματικαῖς ἐνδιατρίβων ποιότησιν, ὧν Λάβαν ἐστὶν ἑξάρχος—ὄνομα δὲ ποιότητος τοῦτ' ἐστίν—, ἀλλὰ μετανάστην χρὴ γενέσθαι εἰς τὴν πατρίαν γῆν τὴν ἱεροῦ λόγου καὶ τρόπον τινὰ τῶν ἀσκητῶν πατρός· ἢ δ' ἐστὶ σοφία, τῶν φιλαρέτων ψυχῶν
 29 ἄριστον ἐνδιαίτημα. ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ χώρᾳ καὶ γένος ἐστὶ σοι τὸ αὐτομαθές, τὸ αὐτοδίδακτον, τὸ νηπίας καὶ γαλακτώδους τροφῆς ἀμέτοχον, τὸ χρησμῷ θείῳ καταβαίνειν εἰς Αἴγυπτον κεκλυμένον καὶ τῆς σαρκὸς ἐντυγχάνειν δελεαζούσαις ἡδοναῖς,
 30 ἐπὶ κλήσιν Ἰσαάκ. οὐ τὸν κλῆρον παραλαβὼν ἐξ ἀνάγκης ἀποθήσῃ τὸν πόνον· αἱ γὰρ ἀφθονίαι τῶν
 [441] ἐτοίμων καὶ κατὰ χειρὸς ἀγαθῶν | ἀπονίας αἷτιαι. πηγὴ δέ, ἀφ' ἧς ὀμβρεῖ τὰ ἀγαθὰ, ἡ τοῦ φιλοδώρου θεοῦ σύνοδος ἐστίν· οὐ χάριν ἐπισφραγιζόμενος τὰ τῶν εὐεργεσιῶν φησιν· "ἔσομαι μετὰ σοῦ."
 31 VII. Τί οὖν ἂν ἐπιλίποι καλὸν τοῦ τελεσφόρου [παντὸς] παρόντος θεοῦ μετὰ χαρίτων τῶν παρθένων αὐτοῦ θυγατέρων, ὥς ἀδιαφθόρους καὶ ἀμιάντους ὁ γεννήσας πατὴρ κουροτροφεῖ; τότε μελέται μὲν καὶ πόνοι καὶ ἀσκήσεις ἡσυχάζουσιν,

^a Perhaps an allusion to Gen. xxi. 8 "and the child grew and was weaned" (ἀπεγαλακτίσθη).

THE MIGRATION OF ABRAHAM, 27-31

hast proved thyself a perfect athlete, and been awarded prizes and crowns with Virtue presiding and holding forth to thee the meed of victory : but now it is time for thee to have done with strife, lest thou be ever toiling, and have no power to reap the fruits of thy toil. This thou wilt never find while thou remainest where thou art, dwelling still with the objects of sense-perception, and spending thy days surrounded by bodily existence in its varied aspects, whose head and chief is Laban, bearing a name meaning variety of character. Nay, thou must change thine abode and betake thee to thy father's land, the land of the Word that is holy and in some sense father of those who submit to training : and that land is Wisdom, abode most choice of virtue-loving souls. In this country there awaiteth thee the nature which is its own pupil, its own teacher, that needs not to be fed on milk as children are fed,^a that has been stayed by a Divine oracle from going down into Egypt (Gen. xxvi. 2) and from meeting with the ensnaring pleasures of the flesh. That nature is entitled Isaac. When thou hast entered upon his inheritance, thou canst not but lay aside thy toil ; for the perpetual abundance of good things ever ready to the hand gives freedom from toil. And the fountain from which the good things are poured forth is the companionship of the bountiful God. He shews this to be so when to set His seal upon the flow of His kindnesses, He says " I will be with thee." VII. What fair thing, then, could fail when there was present God the Perfecter, with gifts of grace, His virgin daughters, whom the Father that begat them rears up uncorrupted and undefiled ? Then are all forms of studying, toiling, practising at rest ; and without

- ἀναδίδονται δὲ ἄνευ τέχνης φύσεως προμηθείᾳ πάντα
 32 ἀθρόα πᾶσιν ὠφέλιμα. καλεῖται δ' ἡ
 φορὰ τῶν αὐτοματιζομένων ἀγαθῶν ἄφεςις, ἐπειδή-
 περ ὁ νοῦς ἀφείται τῶν κατὰ τὰς ἰδίας ἐπιβολὰς
 ἐνεργειῶν καὶ ὥσπερ τῶν ἐκουσίων ἡλευθέρωται
 διὰ τὴν πληθὺν τῶν ὑομένων καὶ ἀδιαστάτως
 33 ἐπομβρούντων. ἔστι δὲ ταῦτα θαυμασιώτατα φύσει
 καὶ περικαλλέστατα. ὧν μὲν γὰρ ἂν ὠδὴν δι'
 ἑαυτῆς ἡ ψυχὴ, τὰ πολλὰ ἀμβλωθρίδια, ἡλιτόμηναι.
 ὅσα δὲ ἂν ἐπινίφων ὁ θεὸς ἄρδῃ, τέλεια καὶ ὁλόκληρα
 34 καὶ πάντων ἄριστα γεννᾶται. τὸ ἐμ-
 αυτοῦ πάθος, ὃ μυριάκις παθὼν οἶδα, διηγούμενος οὐκ
 αἰσχύνομαι· βουλευθεὶς ἔστιν ὅτε κατὰ τὴν συνήθη
 τῶν κατὰ φιλοσοφίαν δογμάτων γραφὴν ἔλθειν καὶ
 ἂ χρὴ συνθεῖναι ἀκριβῶς εἰδώς,¹ ἄγονον καὶ στεῖραν
 εὐρὼν τὴν διάνοιαν ἄπρακτος ἀπηλλάγην, τὴν μὲν
 κακίσας τῆς οἰήσεως, τὸ δὲ τοῦ ὄντος κράτος
 καταπλαγείς, παρ' ὧν² τὰς τῆς ψυχῆς ἀνοίγνυσθαι
 35 τε καὶ συγκλείεσθαι μήτρας συμβέβηκεν. ἔστι δὲ
 ὅτε κενὸς ἔλθων πλήρης ἐξαίφνης ἐγενόμην ἐπι-
 νιφομένων καὶ σπειρομένων ἄνωθεν ἀφανῶς τῶν
 ἐνθυμημάτων, ὡς ὑπὸ κατοχῆς ἐνθέου κορυβαντιᾶν
 καὶ πάντα ἀγνοεῖν, τὸν τόπον, τοὺς παρόντας,
 ἑμαυτόν, τὰ λεγόμενα, τὰ γραφόμενα. ἔσχον γὰρ
 ἐρμηνείαν,³ εὖρεσιν, φωτὸς ἀπόλαυσιν, ὀξύτερκε-
 στάτην ὄψιν, ἐνάργειαν τῶν πραγμάτων ἀριδηλο-

¹ MSS. ἰδὼν.² MSS. οὔ.³ MSS. σχεδὸν γὰρ ἐρμηνεύει, which Wend. prints, though pronouncing it corrupt: Markland suggested ἔσχον γὰρ ἐρμηνείας ῥεύσιν. See App. p. 561.

THE MIGRATION OF ABRAHAM, 31-35

interference of art by contrivance of Nature there come forth all things in one outburst charged with benefit for all. And the harvest of spontaneous good things is called "Release,"^a inasmuch as the Mind is released from the working out of its own projects, and is, we may say, emancipated from self-chosen tasks, by reason of the abundance of the rain and ceaseless shower of blessings. And these are of a most marvellous nature and passing fair. For the offspring of the soul's own travail are for the most part poor abortions, things untimely born ; but those which God waters with the snows of heaven come to the birth perfect, complete and peerless.

I feel no shame in recording my own experience, a thing I know from its having happened to me a thousand times. On some occasions, after making up my mind to follow the usual course of writing on philosophical tenets, and knowing definitely the substance of what I was to set down, I have found my understanding incapable of giving birth to a single idea, and have given it up without accomplishing anything, reviling my understanding for its self-conceit, and filled with amazement at the might of Him that is to Whom is due the opening and closing of the soul-wombs. On other occasions, I have approached my work empty and suddenly become full, the ideas falling in a shower from above and being sown invisibly, so that under the influence of the Divine possession I have been filled with corybantic frenzy and been unconscious of anything, place, persons present, myself, words spoken, lines written. For I obtained language, ideas, an enjoyment of light, keenest vision, pellucid dis-

^a See App. p. 561.

τάτην, οἷα γένοιτ' ἂν δι' ὀφθαλμῶν ἐκ σαφειστάτης δειξέως.

- 36 VIII. Τὸ μὲν οὖν δεικνύμενον τὸ ἀξιόρατον καὶ ἀξιοθέατον καὶ ἀξιέραστον ἐστὶ, τὸ τέλειον ἀγαθόν, ὃ καὶ τὰς τῆς ψυχῆς πικρίας πέφυκε μεταβάλλον γλυκαίνειν, ἡδυσμάτων συμπάντων παράρτυμα κάλλιστον, δι' οὗ καὶ τὰ μὴ τρέφοντα τροφή γίνεται σωτήριος· λέγεται γὰρ ὅτι “ἔδειξεν αὐτῷ κύριος ξύλον, καὶ ἐνέβαλεν αὐτὸ εἰς τὸ ὕδωρ,” τὸν κεχυμένον καὶ πλαδῶντα καὶ πικρίας γέμοντα νοῦν, ἵνα
- 37 γλυκανθεὶς ἡμερωθῇ. τὸ δὲ ξύλον τοῦτο οὐ μόνον τροφήν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀθανασίαν ἐπαγγέλλεται· τὸ γὰρ ξύλον τῆς ζωῆς ἐν μέσῳ τῷ παραδείσῳ φησὶ πεφυτεῦσθαι, τὴν ἀγαθότητα δορυφορουμένην ὑπὸ τῶν κατὰ μέρος ἀρετῶν¹ καὶ τῶν κατ' αὐτὰς πρά-
[442] ξεων· αὕτη | γὰρ τὸν μεσαίτατον καὶ ἄριστον ἐν
- 38 ψυχῇ κεκλήρωται τόπον. ὁ δὲ ὁρῶν ἐστὶν ὁ σοφός· τυφλοὶ γὰρ ἢ ἀμυδροὶ τὰς ὄψεις οἷ γε ἄφρονες. διὰ τοῦτο καὶ τοὺς προφήτας ἐκάλουν πρότερον τοὺς βλέποντας· καὶ ὁ ἀσκητὴς ἐσπούδασεν ὥτα ὀφθαλμῶν ἀντιδοὺς ἰδεῖν ἃ πρότερον ἤκουε, καὶ τυγχάνει τοῦ καθ' ὅρασιν κλήρου τὸν ἐξ
- 39 ἀκοῆς ὑπερβάς. εἰς γὰρ τὸν ὁρῶντα Ἰσραὴλ μεταχαράττεται τὸ μαθήσεως καὶ διδασκαλίας νόμισμα, οὐπὲρ ἐπώνυμος ἦν Ἰακώβ, δι' οὗ καὶ τὸ ὁρᾶν γίνεται φῶς τὸ θεῖον, ἀδιαφοροῦν ἐπιστήμης, ἢ τὸ τῆς ψυχῆς διοίγνυσιν ὄμμα καὶ πρὸς τὰς ὥτων τηλαυγεστέρας καὶ ἀριδηλοτέρας² ἄγει καταλήψεις.

¹ MSS. ἀγαθῶν.

² MSS. τηλαυγεστάτας καὶ ἀριδηλοτάτας. The alternative (Mangey) is to retain the superlatives and correct ὥτων to νοητῶν or ὄντων.

THE MIGRATION OF ABRAHAM, 35-39

tinctness of objects, such as might be received through the eyes as the result of clearest shewing.^a

VIII. Now the thing shewn is the thing worthy to 36 be seen, contemplated, loved, the perfect good, whose nature it is to change all that is bitter in the soul and make it sweet, fairest seasoning of all spices, turning into salutary nourishment even foods that do not nourish. So we read "The Lord shewed him a tree, and he cast it into the water" (Ex. xv. 25), that is into the flabby, flaccid mind teeming with bitterness, that its savagery might be sweetened away. This 37 tree offers not nourishment only but immortality also, for we are told that the Tree of Life has been planted in the midst of the Garden (Gen. ii. 9), even Goodness with the particular virtues and the doings which accord with them to be its bodyguard. For it is Virtue that has obtained as its own the central and most honourable place in the soul.

Such 38 is that which is shewn, and he that sees it is the wise man, for fools are blind or dim-sighted. That is why in former times they called the prophets seers (1 Sam. ix. 9); and the Trainer of self was eager to exchange ears for eyes, and to see what before he heard, and, going beyond the inheritance which has hearing as its source, he obtains that of which sight is the ruling principle. For the current coin of learning and teach- 39 ing from which Jacob took his title is reminted into the seeing Israel. Hereby comes to pass even the seeing of the Divine light, identical with knowledge, which opens wide the soul's eye, and leads it to apprehensions distinct and brilliant beyond those

^a The concluding word "*shewing*" serves to bridge over transition from this meditation on the Spontaneous Blessings to the discussion of the First Gift to Abraham, *i.e.* "the land which I will *shew* thee."

- ὥσπερ γὰρ διὰ μουσικῆς τὰ κατὰ μουσικὴν καὶ διὰ
 πάσης τέχνης τὰ ἐν ἐκάστη καταλαμβάνεται, οὕτω
 40 καὶ διὰ σοφίας τὸ σοφὸν θεωρεῖται. σοφία δὲ οὐ
 μόνον φωτὸς τρόπον ὄργανον τοῦ ὁρᾶν ἐστίν, ἀλλὰ
 καὶ αὐτὴν ὁρᾷ. αὕτη θεοῦ τὸ ἀρχέτυπον [ἡλίου]
 φέγγος, οὗ μίμημα καὶ εἰκὼν ἥλιος. ὁ
 δὲ δεικνὺς ἕκαστα ὁ μόνος ἐπιστήμων θεός· ἄνθρω-
 ποι μὲν γὰρ τῷ δοκεῖν ἐπίστασθαι λέγονται μόνον
 ἐπιστήμονες· ὁ δὲ θεός τῷ εἶναι ἡττον ἢ πέφυκε
 λέγεται· νικῶνται γὰρ ὑπὸ τῶν τοῦ ὄντος δυνάμεων
 41 οἱ περὶ αὐτὸν ἅπαντες ἅπαξ λόγοι. τὴν δὲ σοφίαν
 αὐτοῦ διασυνίστησιν οὐ μόνον ἐκ τοῦ τὸν κόσμον
 δεδημιουργηκέναι, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐκ τοῦ τὴν ἐπιστήμην
 τῶν γεγονότων ἰδρυκέναι βεβαιότατα παρ' ἑαυτῷ.
 42 λέγεται γὰρ ὅτι “ εἶδεν ὁ θεὸς τὰ πάντα ὅσα
 ἐποίησεν,” οὐκ ἴσον τῷ ὅψιν ἐκάστοις προσέβαλεν,
 ἀλλ' εἶδῃσιν καὶ γνῶσιν καὶ κατάληψιν ὧν ἐποίησεν
 εἶχεν. <οὐ> τοίνυν¹ εὐπρεπὲς ὑφηγείσθαι καὶ
 διδάσκειν καὶ δεικνύναι τὰ καθ' ἕκαστα τοῖς ἀγνοοῦ-
 σιν ὅτι μὴ τῷ ἐπιστήμονι, ὅστις οὐχ ὡς ἄνθρωπος

¹ MSS. ὧν ἐποίησεν. εἶχε τοίνυν, which Mangey retained, changing ὅτι μὴ to ἀλλὰ μὴ. See App. p. 562.

^a i.e. the Israel-soul, the seer, first sees the light, i.e. knowledge, and this in its turn enables the soul's eye to see the objects of knowledge, and so knowledge (or wisdom) is the "instrument" of sight (§ 40). ἀδιαφοροῦν agrees with φῶς, not with τὸ ὁρᾶν.

THE MIGRATION OF ABRAHAM, 39-42

gained by the ears.^a For as the application of the principles of music^b is apprehended through the science of music, and the practice of each science through that science, even so only through wisdom comes discernment of what is wise. But wisdom is 40 not only, after the manner of light, an instrument of sight, but is able to see its own self besides. Wisdom is God's archetypal luminary and the sun is a copy and image of it.

But he that shews each several object is God, who alone is possessed of perfect knowledge. For men are only said to have knowledge because they seem to know ; whereas God is so called because He *is* the possessor of knowledge though the phrase does not adequately express this nature ; for all things whatever that can be said regarding Him that is fall far short of the reality of His powers. He gives clear proof of His wisdom not 41 only from His having been the Artificer of the universe, but also from His having made the knowledge of the things that had been brought into existence His sure possession. For we read " God saw all 42 things that He had made " (Gen. i. 31). This does not just mean that He set His eyes on each of them, but that He had insight^c and knowledge and apprehension of the things which He had made. It follows then that to give teaching and guidance on each several thing, in fact to " shew " them, to the ignorant is proper only for the One who knows, seeing that He has not, as a man has, been profited by

^b That τὰ κατὰ means the " practical application " is brought out more clearly in *Quod Det.* 114, where we have τὰ καθ' ἐκδοσιν (sc. ἀρετῆν) ἐνεργήματα.

^c See App. p. 562.

ὑπὸ τέχνης ὠφέληται, ἀλλ' αὐτὸς ἀρχὴ καὶ πηγὴ
τεχνῶν καὶ ἐπιστημῶν ἀνωμολόγηται.

- 43 IX. Παρατετηρημένως δὲ οὐ τὸν ἐνεστῶτα, ἀλλὰ
τὸν μέλλοντα τῇ ὑποσχέσει χρόνον προδιώρισται,
εἰπὼν οὐχ ἦν δείκνυμι ἀλλ' "ἦν σοι δείξω," εἰς
μαρτυρίαν πίστεως ἣν ἐπίστευσεν ἡ ψυχὴ θεῷ, οὐκ
ἐκ τῶν ἀποτελεσμάτων ἐπιδεικνυμένη τὸ εὐχάρι-
44 στον, ἀλλ' ἐκ προσδοκίας τῶν μελλόντων· ἀρτηθείσα
γὰρ καὶ ἐκκρεμασθεῖσα ἐλπίδος χρηστῆς καὶ ἀνεν-
δοίαστα νομίσασα ἤδη παρῆναι τὰ μὴ παρόντα διὰ
τὴν τοῦ ὑποσχομένου βεβαιότητα¹ πίστιν, ἀγαθὸν |
[443] τέλειον, ἄθλον εὔρηται· καὶ γὰρ αὖθις λέγεται, ὅτι
"ἐπίστευσεν Ἀβραὰμ τῷ θεῷ," καὶ Μωυσεῖ δὲ
ὁμοίως πᾶσαν ἐπιδειξάμενος τὴν γῆν φησιν, ὅτι
"ἔδειξα τοῖς ὀφθαλμοῖς σου, κακεῖ οὐκ εἰσελεύσῃ."
45 μὴ μέντοι νομίσης ἐπὶ καθαιρέσει τοῦ πανσόφου,
ὡς ὑπολαμβάνουσιν ἔνιοι τῶν ἀπερισκέπτων, τοῦτο
εἰρησθαι· καὶ γὰρ εὐθες τοὺς δούλους οἰηθῆναι
πρὸ τῶν φίλων τοῦ θεοῦ τὴν ἀρετῆς χώραν διανέμε-
46 σθαι. ἀλλὰ πρῶτον ἐκεῖνό σοι βούλεται παραστήσαι,
ὅτι ἕτερος νηπίων καὶ ἕτερος τελείων χώρός ἐστιν,
ὁ μὲν ὀνομαζόμενος ἀσκησις, ὁ δὲ καλούμενος σοφία,
ἔπειτα ὅτι τὰ κάλλιστα τῶν ἐν τῇ φύσει ὁρατὰ
μᾶλλον ἐστὶν ἢ κτητά· κτήσασθαι μὲν γὰρ τὰ
θειοτέρας μοίρας λαχόντα πῶς ἔνεστιν ; ἰδεῖν δ'
οὐκ ἀδύνατον, ἀλλ' οὐχ ἅπασιν, ἔστι δ' αὐτὸ μόνον²
τῷ καθαρωτάτῳ καὶ ὀξυωπεστάτῳ γένει, ᾧ τὰ

¹ MSS. βεβαιωτάτην.

² MSS. ἐπὶ δ' αὐτῷ μόνῳ.

^a Or, as Mangey, "referring to the death of."

THE MIGRATION OF ABRAHAM, 42-46

science and its lore, but is acknowledged to be Himself the Source and Fountain-head of science and knowledge in all their forms.

IX. There is a deliberate intention when his words 43 take the form of a promise and define the time of fulfilment not as present but future. He says not " which I am shewing " but " which I will shew thee " (Gen. xii. 1). Thus he testifies to the trust which the soul reposed in God, exhibiting its thankfulness not as called out by accomplished facts, but by expectation of what was to be. For the soul, clinging in 44 utter dependence on a good hope, and deeming that things not present are beyond question already present by reason of the sure steadfastness of Him that promised them, has won as its meed faith, a perfect good ; for we read a little later " Abraham believed God " (Gen. xv. 6). To Moses, too, He says in like manner, when He had shewn to him all the Land, " I shewed it to thine eyes, but thou shalt not enter in " (Deut. xxxiv. 4). You must not think that 45 this was said, as some unconsidering people suppose, to humiliate^a the all-wise leader ; for indeed it is folly to imagine that the servants of God take precedence of His friends in receiving their portion in the land of virtue. No, what he wishes to bring home to you 46 first of all is that children have one place and full-grown men another, the one named training, the other called wisdom : secondly, that the fairest things in nature are objects of sight rather than of possession. For how is it possible to become possessed of things whose allotted place is nearer to the Divine ? Yet to see them is within the bounds of possibility : though not for all. It is exclusively for the purest and most keen-eyed class, on whom the Father of all

- ἴδια ἐπιδεικνύμενος ὁ τῶν ὅλων πατήρ ἔργα μεγί-
 47 στην πασῶν χαρίζεται δωρεάν. θεωρη-
 τικοῦ γὰρ τίς ἀμείνων βίος ἢ μᾶλλον οἰκειούμενος
 λογικῶ; διὰ τοῦτο καὶ τῆς τῶν θνητῶν ζώων
 φωνῆς κριτήριον ἐχούσης ἀκοὴν τοὺς τοῦ θεοῦ
 λόγους οἱ χρησιμοὶ φωτὸς τρόπον ὀρωμένους μη-
 νύουσι· λέγεται γὰρ ὅτι “ πᾶς ὁ λαὸς ἑώρα τὴν
 φωνήν,” οὐκ ἤκουεν, ἐπειδὴ περ οὐκ ἀέρος πληξίς
 ἦν διὰ τῶν στόματος καὶ γλώττης ὀργάνων τὸ
 γινόμενον, ἀλλὰ φέγγος ἀρετῆς τὸ περιαιυγέστατον,
 λογικῆς ἀδιαφοροῦν πηγῆς, ὃ καὶ ἐτέρωθι μηνύεται
 τὸν τρόπον τοῦτον· “ ὑμεῖς ἑωράκατε, ὅτι ἐκ τοῦ
 οὐρανοῦ λελάληκα πρὸς ὑμᾶς,” οὐχὶ ἠκούσατε, διὰ
 48 τὴν αὐτὴν αἰτίαν. ἔστι δ’ ὅπου τὰ ἀκουστὰ τῶν
 ὀρατῶν καὶ ἀκοὴν ὀράσεως διακρίνει λέγων·
 “ φωνὴν ῥημάτων ὑμεῖς ἠκούσατε, καὶ ὁμοίωμα οὐκ
 εἶδετε ἀλλ’ ἢ φωνήν,” ἄγαν περιττῶς· τὴν μὲν γὰρ
 εἰς ὄνομα καὶ ῥῆμα καὶ συνόλως τὰ τοῦ λόγου μέρη
 τεμνομένην ἀκουστὴν εἰκότως εἶπεν—ὑπὸ γὰρ ἀκοῆς
 δοκιμάζεται—, τὴν δὲ μὴ ῥημάτων μὴδ’ ὀνομά-
 των ἀλλὰ θεοῦ φωνήν, ὀρωμένην τῷ τῆς ψυχῆς
 49 ὀμματι, ὀρατὴν δεόντως εἰσάγει. προειπὼν δὲ τὸ
 “ ὁμοίωμα οὐκ εἶδετε” ἐπιφέρει “ ἀλλ’ ἢ φωνήν,”
 ἣν πάντως εἶδετε—τὸ γὰρ προσυπακουόμενον
 τοῦτ’ ἂν εἴη—· ὥσθ’ οἱ μὲν τοῦ θεοῦ λόγοι ὄρασιν
 ἔχουσι τὴν ἐν ψυχῇ κριτήριον, ἀκοὴν δ’ οἱ εἰς
 ὀνομάτων καὶ ῥημάτων ιδέας μεριζόμενοι.
 50 καινὸς δ’ ὢν ἐν ἅπασιν τὴν ἐπιστήμην καὶ τοῦτ’

^a Philo connects the “voice of words” with the gram-
 matical use of ῥήματα for verbs and supposes the verse to
 mean “ordinary human voice you hear, but God’s voice
 you see.”

THE MIGRATION OF ABRAHAM, 46-50

things, by shewing to them His own works, bestows an all-surpassing gift. For what life is 47 better than a contemplative life, or more appropriate to a rational being? For this reason, whereas the voice of mortal beings is judged by hearing, the sacred oracles intimate that the words of God are seen as light is seen; for we are told that "all the people saw the Voice" (Ex. xx. 18), not that they heard it; for what was happening was not an impact on air made by the organs of mouth and tongue, but virtue shining with intense brilliance, wholly resembling a fountain of reason, and this is also indicated elsewhere on this wise: "Ye have seen that I have spoken to you out of Heaven" (Ex. xx. 22), not "ye heard," for the same cause as before. In one 48 place the writer distinguishes things heard from things seen and hearing from sight, saying, "Ye heard a voice of words, and saw no similitude but only a voice" (Deut. iv. 12), making a very subtle distinction, for the voice dividing itself into noun and verb and the parts of speech in general^a he naturally spoke of as "audible," for it comes to the test of hearing: but the voice or sound that was not that of verbs and nouns but of God, seen by the eye of the soul, he rightly represents as "visible." And after first 49 saying "Ye saw no similitude" he adds "but only a Voice," evidently meaning the reader to supply in thought "which you did see." This shews that words spoken by God are interpreted by the power of sight residing in the soul, whereas those which are divided up among the various parts of speech^b appeal to hearing. Fresh and original as is the 50 insight which he shews in all cases, there is a special

^b See App. p. 562.

ιδίως καὶ ξένως κεκαινούργηκεν εἰπὼν ὁρατὴν εἶναι τὴν φωνήν, τὴν μόνην σχεδὸν τῶν ἐν ἡμῖν οὐχ ὁρατὴν ὑπεξηρημένης διανοίας· τὰ μὲν γὰρ [444] κατὰ | τὰς ἄλλας αἰσθήσεις πάνθ' ὁρατά, τὰ χρώματα, οἱ χυλοί, οἱ ἀτμοί, τὰ θερμά, τὰ ψυχρά, τὰ λεία, τὰ τραχέα, τὰ μαλακὰ καὶ σκληρά, ἢ σώματα.

51 τί δέ ἐστι τοῦτο, σαφέστερον ἐρῶ· ὁ χυλὸς ὁρατός ἐστιν, οὐχ ἢ χυλός, ἀλλ' ἢ μόνον σῶμα, τὸ γὰρ ἢ χυλὸς εἴσεται ἢ γεύσιν· καὶ ὁ ἀτμός, ἢ μὲν ἀτμός, ὑπὸ ῥινῶν ἐξετασθήσεται, ἢ δὲ σῶμα, καὶ πρὸς ὀφθαλμῶν· καὶ τὰ ἄλλα ταύτη
52 δοκιμασθήσεται. φωνὴ δὲ οὐθ' ὡς ἀκουστὸν οὐθ' ὡς σῶμα, εἰ δὴ καὶ σῶμά ἐστιν, ὁρατὸν εἶναι πέφυκεν, ἀλλὰ δύο ταῦτα τῶν ἐν ἡμῖν ἀόρατα, νοῦς καὶ λόγος. ἀλλὰ γὰρ οὐχ ὅμοιον τὸ ἡμέτερον ἡχεῖον¹ τῷ θείῳ φωνῆς ὀργάνῳ· τὸ μὲν γὰρ ἡμέτερον ἀέρι κίρναται καὶ πρὸς τὸν συγγενῇ τόπον καταφεύγει, τὰ ὦτα, τὸ δὲ θεῖον ἀκράτου² καὶ ἀμιγυῶς ἐστι λόγου, φθάνοντος μὲν ἀκοὴν διὰ λεπτότητα, ὀρωμένου δὲ ὑπὸ ψυχῆς ἀκραιφνοῦς διὰ τὴν ἐν τῷ βλέπειν ὀξύτητα.

53 X. Οὐκοῦν μετὰ τὴν ἀπόλειψιν τῶν θνητῶν πρώτην ὁ θεὸς χαρίζεται τῇ ψυχῇ δωρεάν, ὡς ἔφην, ἐπίδειξιν καὶ θεωρίαν τῶν ἀθανάτων, δευτέραν <δὲ> τὴν εἰς πλήθος ὁμοῦ καὶ μέγεθος τῶν ἀρετῆς δογμάτων ἐπίδοσιν· λέγει γάρ· “καὶ ποιήσω σε εἰς ἔθνος μέγα,” διὰ μὲν τοῦ ἔθνους τὸ πλήθος, διὰ δὲ

¹ MSS. ἡχεῖ (ἡχη) ἐν or ἡχημα.

² MSS. (and, strange to say, all editions) ἀκρατοῦς, a word impossible in this context.

* The thought seems to be that, while none of our sensa-

THE MIGRATION OF ABRAHAM, 50-53

and unusual originality in this instance in his saying that the voice is visible, practically the only thing in us, if understanding be left out of consideration, which is not visible : for the objects of the senses other than the eyes are all of them, colours, savours, perfumes, things warm, things cold, things smooth, things rough, things soft and hard, visible as bodies.

What this means I will state more ⁵¹ clearly. The savour is visible, not as a savour, but only as a body, for as savour, it is the taste that will know it ; and the odour, as odour, will be assayed by the nostrils, but as body, by the eyes also ; and the rest will be subject to the same double test.^a But it is not the nature of voice to be visible whether we regard it as something audible or as body, if body indeed it is ;^b but of our properties these two are invisible, mind and speech. The truth is that our ⁵² sound-producer is not similar to the Divine organ of voice ; for ours mingles with air and betakes itself to the place akin to it, the ears ; but the Divine is an organ of pure and unalloyed speech, too subtle for the hearing to catch it, but visible to the soul which is single in virtue of its keenness of sight.

X. So then, the first boon which God vouchsafes ⁵³ to the soul after it has relinquished mortal things is, as I have said, the shewing of things immortal and the power to contemplate them ; and the second, progress in the principles of virtue, alike as regards number and "greatness" : for He says, "And I will make thee to become a great nation," implying by the word "nation" their number, and by the tions are visible, those of taste, smell, and touch are produced by visible objects.

^b According to the Stoics *φωνή* is a body, but Philo does not unreservedly accept this.

τοῦ μεγάλου τὴν πρὸς τὸ ἄμεινον αὐξήσιν παραλαμ-
 54 βάνων. τὴν δὲ τοῦ ποσοῦ καθ' ἑκάτερον εἶδος, τό
 τε ἐν μεγέθει καὶ τὸ ἐν πλήθει, παραύξῃσιν διασυν-
 ἰστησι καὶ ὁ τῆς Αἰγύπτου βασιλεὺς· “ἰδοὺ” γάρ
 φησι “τὸ γένος τῶν υἱῶν Ἰσραὴλ μέγα πλῆθος,”
 ἐπειδὴ γε ἀμφοτέρω τῷ ὁρατικῷ τοῦ ὄντος γένει
 προσμαρτυρεῖ, ὡς πληθύν τε καὶ μέγεθος κτησα-
 μένω, τὰ περὶ τὸν βίον καὶ λόγον κατορθώματα.

55 οὐ γάρ, ὅπερ ἂν τις τὸν ἐν τοῖς ὀνόμασιν εἰρμόν
 διαφυλάττων, πολὺ πλῆθος, ἀλλὰ μέγα εἶπεν, εἰδὼς
 τὸ πολὺ καθ' αὐτὸ ἀτελὲς μέγεθος, εἰ μὴ προσλάβοι
 δύναμιν νοήσεως καὶ ἐπιστήμης. τί γάρ ὄφελος
 πολλὰ μὲν θεωρήματα παραλαμβάνειν, ἕκαστον δὲ
 αὐτῶν εἰς τὸ ἀρμόττον μέγεθος μὴ συναυξῆσαι;
 οὐδὲ γὰρ ἀγρὸς τέλειος, ᾧ μυρία μὲν ὅσα ἐνυπάρχει
 φυτὰ χαμαίζηλα, τέλειον δὲ μηδὲν ἔρνος γεωργικῇ
 τέχνῃ συνανέβλασεν ἤδη καρποτοκεῖν δυνάμενον.

56 τοῦ δὲ μεγέθους καὶ πλήθους τῶν
 καλῶν ἀρχὴ καὶ τέλος ἡ ἀδιάστατος περὶ θεοῦ
 μνήμη καὶ ἡ κατάκλησις τῆς ἀπ' αὐτοῦ συμμαχίας
 πρὸς τὸν ἐμφύλιον καὶ συγκεχυμένον καὶ συνεχῇ
 τοῦ βίου πόλεμον· λέγει γάρ· “ἰδοὺ λαὸς σοφὸς καὶ
 ἐπιστήμων τὸ ἔθνος τὸ μέγα τοῦτο· ὅτι ποῖον ἔθνος
 μέγα, ᾧ ἐστὶ θεὸς ἐγγίζων ὡς κύριος ὁ θεὸς ἡμῶν
 ἐν πᾶσιν οἷς ἂν αὐτὸν ἐπικαλεσώμεθα;”

57
 [445] οὐκοῦν ὅτι καὶ πρὸς βοήθειαν δυνάμεις | ἀρωγὸς
 εὐτρεπῆς ἐφεδρεῖε παρὰ θεῷ καὶ αὐτὸς ὁ ἡγεμὼν

^a Lit. “growth to something better.”

^b See App. p. 562.

THE MIGRATION OF ABRAHAM, 54-57

word "great" their improvement in quality.^a How 54
great their advance was in either respect, alike in
"greatness" and in number, is made evident by the
words of the King of Egypt, "Lo the race of the
children of Israel is a great multitude" (Ex. i. 9).
There he bears witness to the race that has eyes to
see Him that is, that it has acquired both multitude
and greatness, high achievement, that is, both in
conduct of life and in principle.^b For he did not say, 55
as a man strictly observing the association of noun
and epithet would say, "much multitude," but "a
great multitude," knowing that "much" is but an
incomplete greatness, if it stands by itself without
the addition of the power to understand and know.
For what advantage is there in receiving (from our
teachers) the results of study in plenty, unless we go
on to develop each of them to its fitting stature?
For a field, too, is but an imperfect one which con-
tains any number of plants only a little above the
ground, but in which no fully formed growth has shot
up aided by skilful tillage and able now to yield fruit.

The greatness and large number of the 56
good and noble has for its beginning and end the
perpetual recollection of God, and the calling down
of the aid that comes from Him, to counter the in-
testine warfare of life, unbroken in its bewildering
irregularity, for it says: "Lo this great nation is a
wise and understanding people: for what kind of
great nation is there, which has God drawing nigh to
it, as the Lord our God in all things in which we call
upon Him?" (Deut. iv. 6 f.). So far it 57
has been shewn that there is waiting ready and
equipped at God's side strong help to come to our
succour, and that the Sovereign Ruler will Himself

- ἐγγυτέρω πρόσσεισιν ἐπ' ὠφελείᾳ τῶν ἀξίων ὠφελίσθαι, δεδῆλωται. XI. τίνες δ' οἱ τούτων ἐπάξιοι τυγχάνειν εἰσίν; ἢ δῆλον ὅτι οἱ σοφίας καὶ ἐπιστήμης ἐρασταὶ πάντες; οὗτοι γάρ εἰσιν ὁ σοφὸς καὶ ἐπιστήμων, ὃν εἶπε, λεώς, ὧν ἕκαστος μέγας εἰκότως ἐστίν, ἐπειδὴ μεγάλων ὀρέγεται, ἐνὸς δὲ καὶ λίαν ὑπερβαλλόντως, τοῦ μὴ διαζευχθῆναι θεοῦ τοῦ μεγίστου, ἀλλὰ τὴν πρόσοδον αὐτοῦ συνεγγίζοντος σταθερῶς ἄνευ καταπλήξεως ὑπομεῖναι.
- 59 οὗτος ὁ ὅρος ἐστὶ τοῦ μεγάλου λεώ,¹ τὸ τῷ θεῷ συνεγγίζειν ἢ “ὦ θεὸς συνεγγίζει.” ὁ μὲν δὴ κόσμος καὶ ὁ κοσμοπολίτης σοφὸς πολλῶν καὶ μεγάλων ἀγαθῶν ἀναπέπλησται, ὁ δὲ ἄλλος ἀνθρώπων ὄμιλος πλείοσι μὲν κέχρηται κακοῖς, ἀγαθοῖς δὲ ἐλάττοσι· σπάνιον γὰρ ἐν πεφυρμένῳ
- 60 καὶ συγκεχυμένῳ βίῳ τὸ καλόν. διόπερ ἐν χρησμοῖς ἄδεται· “οὐχ ὅτι πολυπληθεῖτε παρὰ πάντα τὰ ἔθνη, προεῖλετο κύριος ὑμᾶς καὶ ἐξελέξατο— ὑμεῖς γάρ ἐστε ὀλιγοστοὶ παρὰ πάντα τὰ ἔθνη—, ἀλλὰ παρὰ τὸ ἀγαπᾶν κύριον ὑμᾶς.” εἰ γάρ τις βουλευθείη τὸν ὄχλον μιᾶς ψυχῆς ὥσπερ κατὰ ἔθνη διανεῖμαι, πολλὰς μὲν ἂν εὖροι τάξεις ἀκοσμούσας, ὧν ἡδοναὶ ἢ ἐπιθυμίαι ἢ λῦπαι ἢ φόβοι ἢ πάλιν ἀφροσύναι καὶ ἀδικίαι καὶ αἱ τούτων συγγενεῖς καὶ ἀδελφαὶ² ταξιαρχοῦσι, μίαν δὲ αὐτὸ μόνον εὖ διακεκοσμημένην, ἧς ὁ ὀρθὸς λόγος ἀφηγεῖται.
- 61 παρὰ μὲν οὖν ἀνθρώποις τὸ ἄδικον πλήθος πρὸ ἐνὸς τοῦ δικαίου προτετίμηται, παρὰ δὲ τῷ θεῷ τὸ σπάνιον ἀγαθὸν πρὸ μυρίων ἀδίκων· ὦ καὶ παρ-

¹ MSS. θεοῦ.² Perhaps, as Wend. suggests, ἀδελφαὶ <κακαίαι>.

THE MIGRATION OF ABRAHAM, 57-61

draw near for the benefit of those who are worthy to receive His benefits. XI. But who are they that are worthy to obtain these? Is it not clear that all the lovers of wisdom and knowledge are so? For 58 these are the wise and understanding people which was spoken of, each member of which is with good reason great, since he reaches out after great things; and after one most eagerly, never to be severed from God, the supremely Great, but without dismay steadfastly to abide His approach as He draws near. This 59 is the defining mark of the people that is "great," to draw nigh to God, or to be that "to which God draws nigh."

Now the world and the wise man, the world-citizen,^a is filled full of good things many and great, but the remaining mass of men experiences evil things in greater number, but fewer good things; for in the medley and confusion of human life that which is fair and goodly is rare and scanty. And for this reason the sacred oracles contain 60 this utterance: "Not because ye are numerous beyond all the nations did the Lord prefer and choose you out: for ye surpass all the nations in fewness; but because the Lord loveth you" (Deut. vii. 7 f.). For were a man to desire to distribute, as it were into nations, the crowd contained in a single soul, many disorderly companies would he find, commanded by pleasures or desires or griefs or fears or again by follies and wrongdoings, and the nearest kinsfolk of these, but one only well-ordered, of which right reason is the captain.

Now, in the judge- 61 ment of men the multitude of the unjust is preferred to the single just; but in God's judgement the few good to the myriad unjust; and He charges the just

^a See note on *Dæ Op.* 3.

αγγέλλει μηδέποτε τοιούτῳ συναινέσαι πλήθει· “οὐκ
 ἔση” γάρ φησι “μετὰ πολλῶν ἐπὶ κακίᾳ.” ἄρ’
 οὖν μετ’ ὀλίγων χρή; μετ’ οὐδενὸς μὲν οὖν φαύ-
 λου· εἰς δ’ ὧν ὁ φαῦλος πολὺς ἐστὶ κακίαις, ᾧ
 συντάσσεσθαι μεγίστη ζημία· τὸναντίον γὰρ ἀνθ-
 ίστασθαι καὶ πολεμεῖν ἀκαταπλήκτῳ χρωμένους
 62 δυνάμει προσήκει. “ἐὰν” γάρ φησιν “ἐξέλθης
 εἰς πόλεμον ἐπὶ τοὺς ἐχθροὺς σου καὶ ἴδῃς ἵππον,”
 τὸ ὑπέραυχον καὶ σκιρτητικὸν πάθος ἀφηνιάζον,
 “καὶ ἀναβάτην,” τὸν ἐποχούμενον αὐτῷ φιλοπαθῇ
 νοῦν, “καὶ λαὸν πλείονά σου,” τοὺς ζηλωτὰς τῶν
 εἰρημένων φαλαγγηδὸν ἐπιόντας, “οὐ φοβηθήσῃ
 ἀπ’ αὐτῶν”· εἰς γὰρ ὧν ἐνὶ τῷ πάντων ἡγεμόνι
 χρήσῃ συμμάχῳ, “ὅτι κύριος ὁ θεὸς σου μετὰ
 63 σοῦ.” τούτου γὰρ ἡ σύνοδος καθαιρεῖ πολέμους,
 εἰρήνην ἀνοικοδομεῖ, τὰ πολλὰ καὶ συνήθη κακὰ
 ἀνατρέπει, τὸ σπάνιον καὶ θεοφιλὲς γένος ἀνασώζει,
 ᾧ πᾶς ὁ γενόμενος ὑπήκοος μισεῖ καὶ βδελύττεται
 64 τὰ τῶν γεωδεστέρων στίφη. XII. “ἃ
 γὰρ πολυπληθεῖ” φησί “ποσὶν ἐν πᾶσι τοῖς
 ἔρπετοῖς τοῖς <ἔρπουσιν> ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς, οὐ φάγεσθε,
 [446] ὅτι βδελύγματά ἐστιν.” | ἀλλ’ οὐ μίσους ἐστὶν
 ἐπαξία ψυχὴ μὴ καθ’ ἐν μέρος ἀλλὰ κατὰ πάντα ἢ
 τὰ πλεῖστα βαίνουσα ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν καὶ τὰ σώματος
 περιλιχνεύουσα καὶ συνόλως εἰς τὰς οὐρανοῦ θείας
 85 περιόδους ἀνακῦψαι μὴ δυναμένη; καὶ μὴν ὥσπερ
 τὸ πολύπουν, οὕτως καὶ τὸ ἄπουν ἐν ἔρπετοῖς
 ψεκτόν, τὸ μὲν διὰ τὴν λεχθεῖσαν αἰτίαν, τὸ δ’ ὅτι
 166

THE MIGRATION OF ABRAHAM, 61-65

never to agree with such a multitude : for He says "Thou shalt not be with many to engage in wickedness" (Ex. xxiii. 2). Should we then be so with few? Nay, not with any bad man : and the bad man, one though he be, is made manifold by wickednesses, and to range oneself by his side is a very great disaster : on the contrary it behoves us to shew a vigour free from terror and resist him and be at war with him. For it says "If thou go out to war against 62 thine enemies and see horse and rider," that is passion, the insolent, the restive, the unruly, and the passion-loving mind mounted on it, "and a people more numerous than thou art," even the devoted followers of these leaders advancing in serried mass "thou shalt not be afraid of them." One as thou art thou shalt have One fighting on thy side, even the Ruler of all, as it says, "for the Lord Thy God is with thee" (Deut. xx. 1). This companionship 63 brings wars to an end, builds up peace, overthrows the host of evil things to which we grow accustomed, rescues the scanty band of those beloved of God, every loyal adherent of which loathes and hates the battalions of the earth-bound.

XII. For 64 it says : "Whatsoever hath many feet among all creeping things that creep upon the earth, ye shall not eat, for they are an abomination" (Lev. xi. 42). Now, is not a soul deserving of hatred which moves over the ground not on one part of itself but on all or most parts, even licking with a relish the things of the body, and altogether incapable of lifting its eyes to the holy revolutions of heaven? And further 65 among creeping things just as that which has many feet is disallowed, so too is that which has no feet, the former for the reason just given, the latter be-

PHILO

ὅλον δι' ὅλων πέπτωκεν ἐπὶ γῆν, ὑπ' οὐδενὸς ἀλλ'
 οὐδ' ἐπὶ τὸ βραχύτατον ἐξαιρόμενον· πάντα γὰρ
 τὸν πορευόμενον ἐπὶ κοιλίαν ἀκάθαρτον εἶναί φησι,
 τὸν τὰς τῆς γαστρὸς ἡδονὰς μεταδιώκοντα αἰνιτ-
 66 τόμενος. ἔνιοι δὲ προσυπερβάλλοντες οὐ
 μόνον τῷ τῆς ἐπιθυμίας ἐχρήσαντο γένει, ἀλλὰ
 καὶ τὸ ἀδελφὸν αὐτῇ πάθος, τὸν θυμόν, προσεκτή-
 σαντο, βουλευθέντες ὅλον τὸ τῆς ψυχῆς ἄλογον
 ἐκζωπυρῆσαι μέρος, τὸν δὲ νοῦν διαφθεῖραι· τὸ γὰρ
 εἰρημένον λόγῳ μὲν ἐπὶ ὄψεως, ἔργῳ δὲ ἐπὶ παντὸς
 ἀλόγου καὶ φιλοπαθοῦς ἀνθρώπου χρησμός ὡς
 ἀληθῶς ἐστι θεῖος· “ἐπὶ τῷ στήθει καὶ τῇ κοιλίᾳ
 πορεύσῃ”· περὶ μὲν γὰρ τὰ στέρνα ὁ θυμός, τὸ δὲ
 67 ἐπιθυμίας εἶδος ἐν κοιλίᾳ. πορεύεται δὲ ὁ ἄφρων
 δι' ἀμφοτέρων, θυμοῦ τε καὶ ἐπιθυμίας, αἰεὶ μηδένα
 διαλείπων χρόνον, τὸν ἡνίοχον καὶ βραβευτὴν νοῦν
 ἀποβαλὼν· ὁ δ' ἐναντίος τούτῳ θυμὸν μὲν καὶ
 ἐπιθυμίαν ἐκτέμνεται, κυβερνήτην δὲ ἐπιγέγραπται
 λόγον θεῖον, καθὰ καὶ Μωυσῆς ὁ θεοφιλέστατος, ὅς,
 ὅταν τὰς ὀλοκαύτους τῆς ψυχῆς ἱεουργῇ θυσίας,
 “τὴν μὲν κοιλίαν ἐκπλυνεῖ,”· τουτέστιν ὅλον τὸ
 ἐπιθυμίας εἶδος ἐκνύβεται, τὸ δὲ “στηθύνιον ἀπὸ
 τοῦ κριοῦ τῆς τελειώσεως ἀφελεῖ,”· σύμπαντα
 δήπου τὸν πολεμικὸν θυμόν, ἵνα τὸ λοιπὸν μέρος
 καὶ ἄμεινον τῆς ψυχῆς, τὸ λογικόν, μηδενὸς ἀντι-
 σπῶντος ἔτι καὶ μεθέλκοντος ἐλευθέρους καὶ εὐγε-
 νέσι τῷ ὄντι χρήσῃται πρὸς τὰ καλὰ πάντα ὁρμαῖς.
 68 οὕτως γὰρ εἷς τε πλῆθος καὶ μέγεθος

THE MIGRATION OF ABRAHAM, 65-68

cause it lies its full length sprawling upon the earth, lifted out of it by nothing even to the smallest extent : for it says that all that goeth upon the belly is unclean (*ibid.*), indicating by this figure the man who is in pursuit of the pleasures of the belly.

But some, exceeding all bounds, in their determination to kindle into activity all the irrational portion of the soul, and to destroy the mind, have not only indulged all that comes under the head of desire, but taken to them also its brother passion, fierce spirit. For that which was said, " Upon thy breast and thy belly shalt thou go " (Gen. iii. 14), in the literal sense applies to the serpent, but is really a truly Divine oracle applying to every irrational and passion-loving man ; for the breast is the abode of fierce spirit, and desire dwells in the belly. The fool's whole course 66 through every moment of his journey depends on this pair, fierce spirit and desire ; since he has got rid of mind, who is the charioteer and monitor. The man of the opposite character has excised fierce spirit and desire, and chosen as his patron and controlling guide the Divine Word. Even so Moses, best beloved of God, when offering the whole burnt sacrifices of the soul, will " wash out the belly " (Lev. viii. 21), that is, will cleanse away desire in every shape, but " the breast from the ram of consecration he will take away " (Lev. viii. 29). This means, we may be sure, the warlike spirit in its completeness ; and the object of taking it away is that the better portion of the soul, the rational part, that is left, may exercise its truly free and noble impulses towards all things beautiful, with nothing pulling against it any longer and dragging it in another direction.

In these circumstances it will improve both in number 68

ἐπιδώσει· λέγεται γάρ· “ ἕως τίνος παροξυνούσιν ὁ λαὸς οὗτος ; καὶ ἕως τίνος οὐ πιστεύουσίν μοι ἐν πᾶσι τοῖς σημείοις οἷς ἐποίησα ἐν αὐτοῖς ; πατάξω αὐτοὺς θανάτῳ καὶ ἀπολώ αὐτούς, καὶ ποιήσω σέ καὶ τὸν οἶκον τοῦ πατρός σου εἰς ἔθνος μέγα καὶ πολὺ ἢ τοῦτο.” ἐπειδὴν γὰρ ὁ θυμῷ καὶ ἐπιθυμίᾳ χρώμενος πολὺς ὄμιλος καταλυθῇ τῆς ψυχῆς, πάντως εὐθύς ὁ τῆς λογικῆς φύσεως διεξηρητημένος
69 ἀνίσχει καὶ ἀνατέλλει. ὥσπερ δὲ τὸ

πολύπουν καὶ ἄπουν, ἐναντία ὄντα ἐν τῷ γένει τῶν
[447] ἐρπετῶν, ἀκάθαρτα | ἀναγράφεται, οὕτως καὶ ἡ
ἄθεος καὶ πολύθεος ἀντίπαλοι ἐν ψυχῇ δόξαι
βέβηλοι. σημεῖον δέ· ἀμφοτέρας ὁ νόμος ἐκκλη-
σίας ἱερᾶς ἀπελήλακε, τὴν μὲν ἄθεον θλαδίαν καὶ
ἀποκεκομμένον εἶρξας ἐκκλησιάζειν, τὴν δὲ πολύ-
θεον τὸν ἐκ πόρνῆς ὁμοίως κωλύσας ἀκούειν ἢ
λέγειν· ἄθεος μὲν γὰρ ὁ ἄγονος, πολύθεος δὲ ὁ ἐκ
πόρνῆς τυφλώττων περὶ τὸν ἀληθῆ πατέρα καὶ διὰ
τοῦτο πολλοὺς ἀνθ’ ἑνὸς γονεῖς ἐπιγραφόμενος.¹

70 XIII. Δύο μὲν αὗται δωρεαὶ προεΐρηνται, θεω-
ρητικοῦ τε ἐλπίς βίου καὶ πρὸς πλῆθος καὶ μέγεθος
τῶν καλῶν ἐπίδοσις. τρίτῃ δ’ ἐστὶν εὐλογία, ἥς
ἄνευ βεβαιώσασθαι τὰς προτέρας χάριτας οὐκ ἔστι·
λέγει γάρ· “ καὶ εὐλογήσω σε,” τουτέστιν ἐπ-
αινετὸν λόγον δωρήσομαι· τὸ γὰρ εὖ πάντως ἐπ’

¹ MSS. ἀνιττόμενος. See App. p. 562.

^a Cf. De Ebr. 213.

THE MIGRATION OF ABRAHAM, 68-70

and greatness : for it is said : " How long shall the people provoke ? and how long shall they refuse to trust Me in all the signs which I wrought among them ? I will smite them with death and will destroy them, and I will make thee and thy father's house a nation great and numerous beyond this one " (Num. xiv. 11 f.). For, in the soul when once the great concourse is broken up, in which fierce spirit and desire prevail, there rises and springs up without fail another concourse, even that which wholly depends on the rational nature. Now 69

just as the creature with many feet and that without feet, opposite species in the genus of creeping things, are proclaimed unclean, so also atheism and polytheism, mutually antagonistic doctrines in the soul, are alike profane. Here is the indication of this : the Law has expelled both of these doctrines from the sacred assembly, atheism, by debarring a eunuch from membership of it ;^a polytheism, by likewise forbidding the son of a harlot to be a listener or speaker in it (Deut. xxiii. 1 f.). For the sterile man is godless ; and the son of a whore is a polytheist, being in the dark about his real father, and for this reason ascribing his begetting to many, instead of to one.

XIII. Two gifts have been already spoken of, which 70 are these, a hope held out of a life of contemplation, and progress towards abundance and " greatness " of things fair and beautiful. A third gift is " blessing " or excellence of reason and speech, and apart from this it is not possible to make the former gracious gifts secure. He says " And I will bless thee," i.e. " I will endow thee with excellent reason and speech." " Blessing " or " eulogy " is a word compounded of

- 71 ἀρετῆς· λόγος δὲ ὁ μὲν πηγῇ ἔοικεν, ὁ δὲ ἀπορροῇ, πηγῇ μὲν ὁ ἐν διανοίᾳ, προφορὰ δὲ ἡ διὰ στόματος καὶ γλώττης ἀπορροῇ. ἐκάτερον δὲ εἶδος λόγου βελτιωθῆναι πολὺς πλούτος, διάνοιαν μὲν εὐλογιστίᾳ πρὸς πάντα μικρὰ καὶ μείζω χρωμένην, προφορὰν δὲ ὑπὸ παιδείας ὀρθῆς ἡμιοχουμένην.
- 72 πολλοὶ γὰρ λογίζονται μὲν τὰ βέλτιστα, ὑπὸ δὲ ἑρμηνέως κακοῦ προϋδόθησαν, λόγου, μουσικὴν τὴν ἐγκύκλιον οὐκ ἐκπονήσαντες· οἱ δὲ ἔμπαλιν ἑρμηνεύσαι μὲν ἐγένοντο δυνατώτατοι, βουλευσασθαι δὲ φαυλότατοι, καθάπερ οἱ λεγόμενοι σοφισταί· τούτων γὰρ ἀχόρευτος μὲν καὶ ἄμουσος ἡ διάνοια, πάμμουσοι δὲ αἱ διὰ τῶν φωνητηρίων ὀργάνων
- 73 διέξοδοι. χαρίζεται δὲ ὁ θεὸς τοῖς ὑπηκόοις ἀτελὲς οὐδέν, πλήρη δὲ καὶ τέλεια πάντα· διὸ καὶ νῦν τὴν εὐλογίαν οὐχ ἐνὶ λόγου τμήματι, τοῖς δὲ μέρεσιν ἀμφοτέροις ἐπιπέμπει δικαίων τὸν εὐεργετούμενον καὶ ἐνθυμεῖσθαι τὰ βέλτιστα καὶ ἐξαγγέλλειν τὰ νοηθέντα δυνατῶς· ἡ γὰρ τελειότης δι' ἀμφοῖν, ὡς ἔοικε, τοῦ τε ὑποβάλλοντος τὰ ἐνθυμήματα καθαρῶς καὶ τοῦ διερμηνεύοντος αὐτὰ
- 74 ἀπταιστώσως. ἡ οὐχ ὁρᾷς τὸν Ἀβελ—ὄνομα δέ ἐστι τὰ θνητὰ πενθοῦντος καὶ τὰ ἀθάνατα εὐδαιμονίζοντος—, ὡς ἀνεπιλήπτῳ μὲν κέχρηται διανοία, τῷ δὲ μὴ γεγυμνάσθαι περὶ λόγους ἡττῆται πρὸς δεινοῦ παλαῖσαι Κάιν¹ τέχνην μᾶλλον ἢ ῥώμην περι-

¹ MSS. καὶ.

* For Philo's use of *εὐλογιστία* in connexion with *εὐλογεῖν* see note on *De Sobr.* 18.

THE MIGRATION OF ABRAHAM, 71-74

"well" and "logos." Of these, "well" connotes 71 nothing but excellence: "logos" has two aspects, one resembling a spring, the other its outflow; "logos" in the understanding resembles a spring, and is called "reason," while utterance by mouth and tongue is like its outflow, and is called "speech." That each species of logos should be improved is vast wealth, the understanding having good reasoning^a at its command for all things great and small, and utterance being under the guidance of right training. For many 72 reason excellently, but find speech a bad interpreter of thought and are by it betrayed, through not having had a thorough grounding in the ordinary subjects of culture. Others, again, have shewn great ability in expounding themes, and yet been most evil thinkers, such as the so-called sophists; for the understanding of these men is wholly untrained by the Muses, whose united voice is heard in the output of the vocal organs. But God bestows on those who obey Him no im- 73 perfect boon. All His gifts are full and complete. And so, in this case also, He does not send the blessing or "logos-excellence" in one division of logos, but in both its parts, for He holds it just that the recipient of His bounty should both conceive the noblest conceptions and give masterly expression to his ideas. For perfection depends, as we know, on both divisions of logos, the reason which suggests the ideas with clearness, and the speech which gives unfailing expression to them.

Do you not notice 74 Abel, whose name stands for one to whom things mortal are a grief and things immortal are full of happiness, how, though he has the advantage of a faultless understanding, yet through lack of training in speaking he is worsted by Cain, a clever wrestler

- 75 γενέσθαι δυναμένους; διὸ καὶ θαυμάζων τῆς περὶ τὴν φύσιν εὐμοιρίας τὸν τρόπον αἰτιῶμαι τοσοῦτον, ὅτι προκληθεὶς εἰς ἄμιλλαν λόγων ἤκεν ἀγωνιούμενος, δέον ἐπὶ τῆς συνήθους ἡρεμίας στήναι πολλὰ χαίρειν φράσαντα τῷ φιλονείκῳ, εἰ δ' ἄρα ἐβούλετο πάντως διαγωνίσασθαι, μὴ πρότερον κονίσασθαι ἢ
- [448] τοῖς | τεχνικοῖς παλαίσμασιν ἐνασκηθῆναι· τῶν γὰρ ἀγροικοσόφων οἱ τὰ πολιτικὰ κεκομψευμένοι μάλιστά πως εἰώθασι περιεῖναι. XIV. διὸ καὶ Μωυσῆς ὁ πάνσοφος παραιτεῖται μὲν εἰς τὴν τῶν εὐλόγων καὶ πιθανῶν ἐπίσκεψιν ἔλθεῖν, ἀφ' οὗ τὸ ἀληθείας φέγγος ἤρξατο ὁ θεὸς ἐναστράπτειν αὐτῷ διὰ τῶν ἐπιστήμης καὶ σοφίας αὐτῆς ἀθανάτων λόγων, ἄγεται δὲ οὐδὲν ἥττον πρὸς τὴν θέαν αὐτῶν οὐχ ἕνεκα τοῦ πλειόνων ἔμπειρος γενέσθαι πραγμάτων—ἀποχρῶσι γὰρ αἱ περὶ θεοῦ καὶ τῶν ἱερωτάτων αὐτοῦ δυνάμεων ζητήσεις τῷ φιλοθεάμονι—, ἀλλ' ὑπὲρ τοῦ περιγενέσθαι τῶν ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ σοφιστῶν, οἷς αἱ¹ μυθικαὶ πιθανότητες πρὸ τῆς τῶν
- 77 ἀληθῶν ἐναργείας τετίμηνται. ὅταν μὲν οὖν τοῖς τοῦ πανηγεμόνος ἐμπεριπατῇ πράγμασιν ὁ νοῦς, οὐδενὸς ἐτέρου προσδεῖται πρὸς τὴν θεωρίαν, ἐπειδὴ τῶν νοητῶν μόνη διάνοια ὀφθαλμὸς ὀξυωπέστατος· ὅταν δὲ καὶ τοῖς κατὰ αἴσθησιν ἢ πάθος ἢ σῶμα, ὧν ἔστιν ἡ Αἰγύπτου χώρα σύμβολον, δεήσεται καὶ τῆς περὶ λόγους τέχνης ὁμοῦ καὶ
- 78 δυνάμεως. οὗ χάριν ἐπάγεσθαι τὸν Ἀαρὼν αὐτῷ διείρηται, τὸν προφορικὸν λόγον· “οὐκ ἰδοῦ” φησὶν “Ἀαρὼν ὁ ἀδελφός σου;”

¹ MSS. ὅσαι.

THE MIGRATION OF ABRAHAM, 75-78

able to prevail by skill rather than strength ? Where- 75
fore, admiring as I do his character for its rich natural
endowment, I find fault with him in so far as, when
challenged to a contest of words, he came forward to
engage in it, whereas he ought to have maintained
his wonted quietude, totally disregarding his quarrel-
some brother ; and, if he was quite bent on fighting
it out, not to have entered the lists until he had had
some practice in scientific grips and tricks ; for village
sages usually get the worst of it when they encounter
those who have acquired the cleverness of the town.

XIV. That is why Moses, the man of all 76
wisdom, though he excuses himself from investigating
well-worded and specious arguments, from the time
that God began to flash into him the light of truth by
means of the undying words of the very self of Know-
ledge and Wisdom (Ex. iv. 10), yet is led none the
less to look into them, not for the sake of gaining
acquaintance with a greater number of subjects—for
the lover of contemplation finds researches touching
God and His most holy powers all-sufficing—but with
a view to getting the better of the sophists in Egypt,
for whom specious sounding fables are of more value
than the clear evidence of realities. Yes, whensoever 77
the mind is moving amid matters concerned with the
Ruler of all, it needs no extraneous help in its study,
inasmuch as for objects of intellectual apprehension
unaided mind is an eye of keenest sight : but when it
is occupied besides with matters affected by sense-
perception or passion or the body, of which the land of
Egypt is a symbol, it will need alike the art of speaking
and ability in exercising it. For the sake 78
of this he was enjoined to call to his aid Aaron, the
logos in utterance. “ Lo,” saith He, “ is not Aaron

- μίας γὰρ ἀμφοῖν τῆς λογικῆς φύσεως μητρὸς οὕσης ἀδελφὰ δῆπου τὰ γεννήματα. “ἐπίσταμαι, ὅτι λαλήσει” διανοίας μὲν γὰρ τὸ καταλαμβάνειν, προφορᾶς δὲ τὸ λαλεῖν ἴδιον. “λαλήσει” φησὶν “αὐτός σοι.” τὰ γὰρ ἐν αὐτῷ ταμιευόμενα μὴ δυνάμενος ὁ νοῦς ἀπαγγεῖλαι τῷ πλησίον ἐρμηνεῖ
- 79 χρῆται λόγῳ πρὸς τὴν ὧν πέπονθε δῆλωσιν. εἴτ’ ἐπιλέγει. “ἰδοὺ αὐτὸς ἐξελεύσεται εἰς συνάντησίν σοι,” ἐπειδὴ τῷ ὄντι ὁ λόγος τοῖς ἐνθυμήμασιν ὑπαντῶν, ῥήματα καὶ ὀνόματα προστιθεὶς χαράττει τὰ ἄσσημα, ὡς ἐπίσημα ποιεῖν. καὶ “ἰδὼν σε” φησὶ “χαρήσεται ἐν αὐτῷ.” γήθει γὰρ ὁ λόγος καὶ εὐφραίνεται,¹ ὅταν μὴ ἀμυδρὸν ᾖ τὸ ἐνθύμημα, διότι τηλαυγοῦς ὄντος ἀπταιστω καὶ εὐτρόχῳ διερμηνεύσει χρῆται κυρίων καὶ εὐθυβόλων καὶ γεμόντων πολλῆς ἐμφάσεως εὐπορῶν ὀνομάτων.
- 80 XV. ἐπειδὰν γοῦν ἀδηλότερά πως ᾖ τὰ νοήματα, κατὰ κενοῦ βαίνει καὶ ὀλισθῶν πολλάκις μέγα πτώμα ἔπεσεν, ὡς μηκέτι ἀναστῆναι δύνασθαι. “καὶ ἐρεῖς πρὸς αὐτόν καὶ δώσεις τὰ ῥήματά μου εἰς τὸ στόμα αὐτοῦ,” ἴσον τῷ ὑπηχῆσεις αὐτῷ τὰ ἐνθυμήματα, ἃ ῥημάτων καὶ λόγων ἀδιαφορεῖ
- 81 θείων· ἄνευ γὰρ τοῦ ὑποβολέως οὐ φθέγγεται ὁ λόγος, ὑποβολεὺς δὲ λόγου νοῦς, ὡς νοῦ θεός. “καὶ αὐτός σοι προσλαλήσει πρὸς τὸν λαόν, καὶ αὐτὸς ἔσται σου στόμα· σὺ δὲ αὐτῷ ἔση τὰ πρὸς

¹ MSS. εὐφορεῖ.

^a Or “express.” ἀπαγγελία is often used in rhetoric as a synonym for ἐρμηνεία. See on § 35.

^b See App. p. 563.

^c Or “in himself” (ἐν αὐτῷ). See App. p. 563.

^d The phrase ῥημάτων καὶ λόγων must not be confused with the common collocation ῥ. καὶ ὀνομάτων (“verbs and nouns”)

THE MIGRATION OF ABRAHAM, 78-81

thy brother ? ” For the logical nature being the one mother of them both, its offspring are of course brothers. “ I know that he will speak ” (He continues). For it is the property of understanding to apprehend, and of utterance to speak. “ He,” saith He, “ will speak for thee.” For the mind, unable to report^a the thoughts stored up in it, employs speech which stands hard by as an interpreter, for the making known of its experiences. Then He adds, “ Lo, it is 79 he that shall come out to meet thee ” : for it is indeed a fact that speech meeting the mind’s conceptions, and wedding the parts of speech to them, mints them like uncoined gold, and gives the stamp of expression to what was unstamped and unexpressed before.^b And saith He, “ On seeing thee he will rejoice in it^c ” (Ex. iv. 14) : for speech does exult and is glad, when the conception is not indistinct, because it finds that the wording which issues from its rich store of terms apt and expressive and full of vividness is fluent and unhalting when the thought is luminous. XV. And similarly when the ideas to be expressed are 80 in any way deficient in clearness, speech is stepping on empty air and is apt to slip and have a bad fall and be unable to get up again. “ And thou shalt speak to him and shall put My words into his mouth.” This is equivalent to saying “ Thou shalt suggest to him the thoughts,” for “ thoughts ” are nothing else than God’s “ words ” or speech.^d For without the prompter 81 speech will give forth no utterance, and mind is the prompter of speech, as God is of mind. “ And he shall speak to the people for thee, and he shall be thy mouth, and thou shalt be his Godward things ”

for speech in general. Here the *ρημάτων* echoes the *ρήματα* of the quoted text, and is then interpreted by *λόγων* (speech).

- τὸν θεόν". ἐμφαντικώτατα τό τε " προσλαλήσει σοι " φάναι, οἷον διερμηνεύσει τὰ σά, καὶ ὅτι [449] " ἔσται σου | στόμα". διὰ γὰρ γλώττης καὶ στόματος φερόμενον τὸ τοῦ λόγου νᾶμα συνεκφέρει τὰ νοήματα. ἀλλ' ὁ μὲν λόγος ἐρμηνεύς διανοίας πρὸς ἀνθρώπους, ἡ δὲ διάνοια γίνεται τῷ λόγῳ τὰ πρὸς τὸν θεόν, ταῦτα δέ ἐστιν ἐνθυμήματα, ὧν
- 82 μόνος ὁ θεὸς ἐπίσκοπος. ἀναγκαῖον οὖν ἔστι τῷ μέλλοντι πρὸς ἀγῶνα σοφιστικὸν ἀπαντᾶν ἐπιμεμελησθαι λόγων ἐρρωμένως οὕτως, ὡς μὴ μόνον ἐκφεύγειν τὰ παλαίσματα, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀντεπιτιθέμενον ἀμφοτέροις, τέχνη τε καὶ δυνάμει, περι-
- 83 εῖναι. ἡ οὐχ ὀρᾷς τοὺς ἐπαοιδούς καὶ φαρμακευτὰς ἀντισοφιστεύοντας τῷ θείῳ λόγῳ καὶ τοῖς παραπλησίοις τολμῶντας ἐγχειρεῖν, οὐχ οὕτως ἐπὶ τῷ τὴν ἰδίαν ἐπιστήμην ἀποφῆναι περιβόητον, ὡς ἐπὶ τῷ διασῦραι καὶ χλευάσαι τὰ γινόμενα; καὶ γὰρ τὰς βακτηρίας εἰς δρακόντων μεταστοιχειοῦσι φύσεις, καὶ τὸ ὕδωρ εἰς αἵματος χροῖαν μετατρέπουσι, καὶ τῶν βατράχων τὸ ὑπολειφθὲν ἐπωδαῖς ἀνέλκουσιν ἐπὶ γῆν, καὶ πάντα οἱ κακοδαίμονες τὰ πρὸς τὸν οἰκεῖον ὄλεθρον συναύξοντες ἀπατᾶν δοκοῦντες
- 84 ἀπατῶνται. πρὸς οὓς πῶς ἐνῆν ἀπαντῆσαι μὴ τὸν ἐρμηνέα διανοίας λόγον, Ἀαρὼν ἐπὶ κλήσιν, ἐτοιμασάμενον; ὃς νῦν μὲν εἴρηται στόμα,¹ αὐθις δὲ

¹ MSS. σόφισμα.

^a The sense of the section is that human thoughts being in the charge of or inspired by God may be called God's words, and thus the mind which conceives them is "the Godward things," i.e. stands in the relation of God to the mouth.

THE MIGRATION OF ABRAHAM, 81-84

(Ex. iv. 15 f.). Very vivid are his expressions. Not only does he say "he shall speak to them for thee," as much as to say "he shall put thy thoughts into words"; but he adds "he shall be thy mouth"; for the stream of speech flowing over tongue and mouth carries forth the thoughts with it. But, whereas speech is understanding's interpreter manward, understanding occupies toward speech the position of its Godward things, namely thoughts and intents, which are in God's charge solely.^a It is a 82 vital matter, then, for one about to face a contest with sophists to have paid attention to words with such thoroughness as not only to elude the grips of his adversary but to take the offensive in his turn and prove himself superior both in skill and strength. You must have observed how the aim of those who 83 use charms and enchantments, when they bring their trickery into play against the Divine word and dare to attempt to do things like those which it does, is not so much to win honour for their own skill as to traduce and ridicule the miracles which are taking place. They transform the rods into real snakes, and turn the water to the colour of blood, and by incantations draw up on to land what frogs are still left^b (Ex. vii. 12, 22, viii. 7), and, as they add one thing to another tending to their own destruction, they are cheated, miserable fools, while they think that they are cheating. How would it have been possible for Moses to 84 encounter these men, had he not had in readiness speech the interpreter of thought, who is called Aaron? In this place Aaron or speech is spoken of as a "mouth"; further on he will also bear the

^b *i.e.* after Aaron had called up frogs over the whole land of Egypt.

καὶ προφήτης κεκλήσεται, ὅταν καὶ ὁ νοῦς ἐπιθειά-
σας προσρηθῇ θεός· “δίδωμι γάρ σε” φησί “θεὸν
Φαραώ, καὶ Ἀαρὼν ὁ ἀδελφός σου ἔσται σου
προφήτης.” ὡς ἀκολουθίας ἐναρμονίου· τὸ γὰρ
ἐρμηνεύον τὰ θεοῦ προφητικόν ἐστι γένος ἐνθέω

85 κατοκωχῇ τε καὶ μανία χρώμενον. τοι-
γαροῦν “ἡ ῥάβδος ἡ Ἀαρὼν κατέπιε τὰς ἐκείνων
ῥάβδους,” ὡς δηλοῖ τὸ λόγιον· ἐγκαταπίνονται γὰρ
καὶ ἀφανίζονται πάντες οἱ σοφιστικοὶ λόγοι τῇ τῆς
φύσεως ἐντέχνῳ ποικιλίᾳ, ὡς ὁμολογεῖν ὅτι “δάκ-
τυλος θεοῦ” τὰ γινόμενά ἐστιν, ἴσον τῷ γράμμα
θεῖον διαγορεῦον αἰεὶ σοφιστείαν ὑπὸ σοφίας ἡττᾶ-
σθαι· δακτύλῳ γὰρ θεοῦ καὶ τὰς πλάκας, ἐν αἷς
ἐστηλιτεύθησαν οἱ χρησμοί, φησὶν ὁ ἱερὸς λόγος
γραφῆναι. διόπερ οὐκέτι δύνανται οἱ φαρμακευταὶ
στήναι ἐναντίον Μωυσεῖ, πίπτουσι δ’ ὡς ἐν ἀγῶνι
ῥώμῃ τοῦ ἀντιπάλου νικηθέντες καρτερᾷ.¹

86 XVI. Τίς οὖν ἡ τετάρτη δωρεά; τὸ μεγαλ-
ώνυμον· φησὶ γάρ· “μεγαλυνῶ τὸ ὄνομά σου.” τὸ
δέ ἐστίν, ὥς γ’ ἐμοὶ φαίνεται, τοιόνδε· ὥσπερ τὸ
ἀγαθὸν εἶναι καὶ καλόν, οὕτω καὶ τὸ δοκεῖν εἶναι
λυσιτελές. καὶ ἀμείνων μὲν δόξης ἀλήθεια, εὐδαι-
μον δὲ τὸ ἐξ ἀμφοῖν· μυρίοι γὰρ ἀνόθως καὶ ἀκολα-
κεύτως προσελθόντες ἀρετῇ καὶ τὸ γνήσιον αὐτῆς
ἐναυγασάμενοι κάλλος, τῆς παρὰ τοῖς πολλοῖς
φήμης οὐ φροντίσαντες ἐπεβουλεύθησαν, κακοὶ
87 νομισθέντες οἱ πρὸς ἀλήθειαν ἀγαθοί. καὶ μὴν |
[450] οὐδὲ τοῦ δοκεῖν ὄφελος μὴ πολὺ πρότερον τοῦ εἶναι

¹ Mangey suggests κραταιοτέρᾳ.

THE MIGRATION OF ABRAHAM, 84-87

name of "prophet," when the mind too is inspired and entitled "God." For He says "I give thee as God to Pharaoh, and Aaron thy brother shall be thy prophet" (Ex. vii. 1). How perfect is the harmony shewn in the sequence of thought! For it is the prophet kind, when under the influence of a Divine possession and ecstasy, that interprets the thoughts of God. Accordingly "Aaron's rod swallowed 85 up their rods" (Ex. vii. 12), as the oracle shews. For all the arguments of sophists are devoured and done away with by Nature's many-sided skill, and the acknowledgement is made that these events are the Finger of God (Ex. viii. 19), and the word "Finger" is equivalent to a divine rescript, declaring that sophistry is ever defeated by wisdom; for holy writ, speaking of the tables on which the oracles were engraved, says that they were written by the Finger of God (Ex. xxxii. 16). Wherefore the sorcerers can no longer stand before Moses, but fall as in a wrestling-bout vanquished by the sturdy strength of the opponent (Ex. viii. 18).

XVI. What, then, is the fourth gift? That of a 86 great name; for He says "I will make thy name great" (Gen. xii. 2). The meaning of this appears to me to be as follows. As it is an advantage to be good and morally noble, so is it to be reputed such. And, while the reality is better than the reputation, happiness comes of having both. For very many, after coming to Virtue's feet with no counterfeit or unreal homage and with their eyes open to her genuine loveliness, through paying no regard to the general opinion have become the objects of hostility, just because they were held to be bad, when they were really good. It is true that there is no good in being 87

PHILO

- προσόντος, ὥσπερ ἐπὶ σωμάτων πέφυκεν ἔχειν· εἰ γὰρ πάντες ἄνθρωποι τὸν νοσοῦντα ὑγιαίνειν ἢ τὸν ὑγιαίνοντα νοσεῖν ὑπολάβοιεν, ἢ δόξα καθ' αὐτὴν
- 88 οὔτε νόσον οὔτε ὑγείαν ἐργάσεται. ᾧ δὲ ἀμφότερα δεδωρήται ὁ θεός, καὶ τὸ εἶναι καλῶ καὶ ἀγαθῶ καὶ τὸ δοκεῖν εἶναι, οὗτος πρὸς ἀλήθειαν εὐδαίμων καὶ τῶ ὄντι μεγαλύνυμος. προνοητέον δ' ὡς μεγάλου πράγματος καὶ πολλὰ τὸν μετὰ σώματος βίον ὠφελοῦντος εὐφημίας. περιγίνεται δ' αὕτη σχεδὸν ἅπασιν, ὅσοι χαίροντες σὺν ἀσμενισμῶ μηδὲν κινουσι τῶν καθεστηκότων νομίμων, ἀλλὰ τὴν πατριον πολιτείαν οὐκ ἀμελῶς φυλάττουσιν.
- 89 Εἰσὶ γάρ τινες οἱ τοὺς ῥητοὺς νόμους σύμβολα νοητῶν πραγμάτων ὑπολαμβάνοντες τὰ μὲν ἄγαν ἠκρίβωσαν, τῶν δὲ ῥαθύμως ὠλιγώρησαν· οὓς μεμψαίμην ἂν ἔγωγε τῆς εὐχερείας· ἔδει γὰρ ἀμφοτέρων ἐπιμεληθῆναι, ζητήσεώς τε τῶν ἀφανῶν ἀκριβεστέρας καὶ ταμειίας τῶν φανερῶν ἀνεπι-
- 90 λήπτου. νυνὶ δ' ὥσπερ ἐν ἐρημίᾳ καθ' ἑαυτοὺς μόνοι ζῶντες ἢ ἀσώματοι ψυχαὶ γεγονότες καὶ μήτε πόλιν μήτε κώμην μήτ' οἰκίαν μήτε συνόλως θίασον ἀνθρώπων εἰδότες, τὰ δοκοῦντα τοῖς πολλοῖς ὑπερκύψαντες τὴν ἀλήθειαν γυμνὴν αὐτὴν ἐφ' ἑαυτῆς ἐρευνῶσιν· οὓς ὁ ἱερὸς λόγος διδάσκει χρηστῆς ὑπολήψεως πεφροντικέναι καὶ μηδὲν τῶν ἐν τοῖς ἔθεσι λύειν, ἃ θεσπέσιοι καὶ μείζους ἄνδρες
- 91 ἢ καθ' ἡμᾶς ὥρισαν. μή γὰρ ὅτι ἡ

THE MIGRATION OF ABRAHAM, 87-91

thought to be this or that, unless you are so long before you are thought to be so. It is naturally so in the case of our bodies. Were all the world to suppose the sickly man to be healthy, or the healthy man to be sickly, the general opinion by itself will produce neither sickness nor health. But he on whom God 88 has bestowed both gifts, both to be morally noble and good and to have the reputation of being so, this man is really happy and his name is great in very deed. We should take thought for fair fame as a great matter and one of much advantage to the life which we live in the body. And this fair fame is won as a rule by all who cheerfully take things as they find them and interfere with no established customs, but maintain with care the constitution of their country.

There are some who, regarding laws in their literal 89 sense in the light of symbols of matters belonging to the intellect, are overpunctilious about the latter, while treating the former with easy-going neglect. Such men I for my part should blame for handling the matter in too easy and off-hand a manner: they ought to have given careful attention to both aims, to a more full and exact investigation of what is not seen and in what is seen to be stewards without reproach. As it is, as though they were living alone by them- 90 selves in a wilderness, or as though they had become disembodied souls, and knew neither city nor village nor household nor any company of human beings at all, overlooking all that the mass of men regard, they explore reality in its naked absoluteness. These men are taught by the sacred word to have thought for good repute, and to let go nothing that is part of the customs fixed by divinely empowered men greater than those of our time. It is quite true 91

ἐβδόμη δυνάμει μὲν τῆς περὶ τὸ ἀγένητον, ἀπραξίας δὲ τῆς περὶ τὸ γενητὸν διδαγμὰ ἐστὶ, τὰ ἐπ' αὐτῇ νομοθετηθέντα λύωμεν, ὡς πῦρ ἐναυεῖν ἢ γεωπονεῖν ἢ ἀχθοφορεῖν ἢ ἐγκαλεῖν ἢ δικάζειν ἢ παρακαταθήκας ἀπαιτεῖν ἢ δάνεια ἀναπράττειν ἢ τὰ ἄλλα ποιεῖν, ὅσα καὶ τοῖς μὴ ἑορτώδεσι καιροῖς
 92 ἐφέϊται· μὴδ' ὅτι ἡ ἑορτὴ σύμβολον ψυχικῆς εὐφροσύνης ἐστὶ καὶ τῆς πρὸς θεὸν εὐχαριστίας, ἀποταξώμεθα ταῖς κατὰ τὰς ἐτησίους ὥρας πανηγύρεσι· μὴδ' ὅτι τὸ περιτέμνεσθαι ἡδονῆς καὶ παθῶν πάντων ἐκτομὴν καὶ δόξης ἀναίρεσιν ἀσεβοῦς ἐμφαίνει, καθ' ἣν ὑπέλαβεν ὁ νοῦς ἱκανὸς εἶναι γεννᾶν δι' ἑαυτοῦ, ἀνέλωμεν τὸν ἐπὶ τῇ περιτομῇ τεθέντα νόμον· ἐπεὶ καὶ τῆς περὶ τὸ ἱερὸν ἀγιστείας καὶ μυρίων ἄλλων ἀμελήσομεν, εἰ μόνοις
 93 προσέξομεν τοῖς δι' ὑπονοιῶν δηλουμένοις. ἀλλὰ χρὴ ταῦτα μὲν σώματι εὐοικεῖναι νομίζειν, ψυχῇ δὲ
 [451] ἐκεῖνα· ὥσπερ οὖν σώματος, ἐπειδὴ | ψυχῆς ἐστὶν οἶκος, προνοητέον, οὕτω καὶ τῶν ῥητῶν νόμων ἐπιμελητέον· φυλαττομένων γὰρ τούτων ἀριδηλότερον καὶ ἐκεῖνα γνωρισθήσεται, ὧν εἰσιν οὗτοι σύμβολα, πρὸς τῷ καὶ τὰς ἀπὸ τῶν πολλῶν μέμ-
 94 ψεις καὶ κατηγορίας ἀποδιδράσκειν. οὐχ ὁρᾷς, ὅτι καὶ Ἀβραὰμ τῷ σοφῷ καὶ μεγάλα ἀγαθὰ καὶ μικρὰ προσεῖναι φησι, καὶ καλεῖ τὰ μὲν μεγάλα

“The force of *περὶ* would perhaps be given better by “inherent in.” The thought is that the Sabbatical rest reminds us that all our labouring is ineffectual compared with the eternal activity of God. Cf. *Quis Rerum* 170, and *De Cher.* 87 ff.

^b Or “keeping of festivals (in general).” Cf. *De Spec. Leg.* ii. 41.

THE MIGRATION OF ABRAHAM, 91-94

that the Seventh Day is meant to teach the power of the Unoriginate and the non-action of created beings.^a But let us not for this reason abrogate the laws laid down for its observance, and light fires or till the ground or carry loads or institute proceedings in court or act as jurors or demand the restoration of deposits or recover loans, or do all else that we are permitted to do as well on days that are not festival seasons. It is true also that the Feast^b is a symbol of 92 gladness of soul and of thankfulness to God, but we should not for this reason turn our backs on the general gatherings of the year's seasons. It is true that receiving circumcision does indeed portray the excision of pleasure and all passions, and the putting away of the impious conceit, under which the mind supposed that it was capable of begetting by its own power : but let us not on this account repeal the law laid down for circumcising. Why, we shall be ignoring the sanctity of the Temple and a thousand other things, if we are going to pay heed to nothing except what is shewn us by the inner meaning of things. Nay, we should look on all these outward observances 93 as resembling the body, and their inner meanings as resembling the soul. It follows that, exactly as we have to take thought for the body, because it is the abode of the soul, so we must pay heed to the letter of the laws. If we keep and observe these, we shall gain a clearer conception of those things of which these are the symbols ; and besides that we shall not incur the censure of the many and the charges they are sure to bring against us. Notice that it 94 says that wise Abraham had good things both great and small, and it calls the great ones " property,"

υπάρχοντα καὶ ὑπαρκτά, ἃ τῷ γνησίῳ κληρονομεῖν ἐφέται μόνῳ, τὰ δὲ μικρὰ δόματα, ὧν οἱ νόθοι καὶ ἐκ παλλακῶν ἀξιοῦνται; ἐκεῖνα μὲν οὖν ἔοικε τοῖς φύσει, ταῦτα δὲ τοῖς θέσει νομίμοις.

- 95 XVII. Ἀγαμαι καὶ τῆς παναρέτου Λείας, ἥτις ἐπὶ τῆς Ἀσὴρ γενέσεως, ὅς ἐστι τοῦ αἰσθητοῦ καὶ νόθου σύμβολον πλούτου, φησί· “μακαρία ἐγώ, ὅτι μακαριοῦσί με αἱ γυναῖκες.” στοχάζεται γὰρ ὑπολήψεως ἐπιεικοῦς, δικαιούσα μὴ μόνον ὑπὸ ἀρρένων καὶ ἀνδρείων ὡς ἀληθῶς λόγων ἐπαινέσθαι, παρ’ οἷς ἡ ἀλώβητος φύσις καὶ τὸ ἀληθὲς ἀδέκαστον τετίμηται, ἀλλὰ καὶ πρὸς τῶν θηλυτέρων, οἳ τῶν φαινομένων πάντα τρόπον ἡττηνται μηδὲν ἔξω τούτων θεωρητὸν νοῆσαι δυνάμενοι.
- 96 τελείας δὲ ψυχῆς ἐστι καὶ τοῦ εἶναι καὶ τοῦ δοκεῖν εἶναι μεταποιεῖσθαι, καὶ σπουδάζειν μὴ μόνον παρὰ
- 97 τῇ ἀνδρωνίτιδι εὐδοκιμεῖν, ἀλλὰ καὶ πρὸς τῆς γυναικωνίτιδος ἐστίας ἐπαινέσθαι. διὸ καὶ Μωυσῆς τὴν τῶν ἱερῶν ἔργων κατασκευὴν οὐ μόνον ἀνδράσιν ἀλλὰ καὶ γυναῖξιν ἐπέτρεψε ποιεῖσθαι· τά τε γὰρ νήματα πάντα τῆς ὑακίνθου καὶ πορφύρας καὶ κοκκίνου καὶ βύσσου καὶ τριχῶν αἰγείων ἐπιτελοῦσι, καὶ τὸν ἑαυτῶν κόσμον ἀόκνως εἰσφέρουσι, “σφραγίδας, ἐνώτια, δακτυλίους, περιδέξια, ἐμπλόκια,” πάνθ’ ὅσα χρυσὸν εἶχε τὴν ὕλην, τὸν σώματος κόσμον ἀντικαταλλαττόμενοι τοῦ τῆς
- 98 εὐσεβείας· προσφιλοτιμούμεναι μέντοι καὶ τὰ κάτοπτρα ἑαυτῶν συγκαθιεροῦσιν εἰς τὴν τοῦ λουτήρος κατασκευήν, ἣν οἱ μέλλοντες ἱεουργεῖν

^a Philo interprets the *υπάρχοντα* of the LXX (property), as equivalent to the philosophical term *ὑπαρκτά* (really existing). See App. p. 563.

THE MIGRATION OF ABRAHAM, 94-98

that is, realities,^a which went by entail to his legitimate son alone. The small ones it calls "gifts," and to receive these the base-born sons of the concubines are deemed worthy (Gen. xxv. 5, 6). The former correspond to natural, the latter to positive laws.

XVII. I admire also all-virtuous Leah, because 95 when Asher was born, symbol of counterfeit wealth the outward and visible, she cries "Happy am I, for the women will call me happy" (Gen. xxx. 13). She aims at being favourably regarded, thinking praise due to her not only from thoughts^b masculine and truly manly, by which the nature that has no blemish and truth impervious to bribes is held in honour, but also from those which are more feminine, which are wholly at the mercy of appearances and powerless to understand anything presented to contemplation outside them. It is characteristic of a perfect soul to 96 aspire both to be and to be thought to be, and to take pains not only to have a good reputation in the men's quarters, but to receive the praises of the women's as well.

It was for this reason that Moses 97 gave in charge not to men only but to women also to provide the sacred appointments of the Tabernacle : for it is the women who do all the weavings of blue and scarlet and linen and goat's hair (Ex. xxxv. 22 f.), and they contribute without hesitation their own jewellery, "seals, ear-rings, rings, bracelets, hair-clasps," all that was made of gold, exchanging the adornment of their persons for the adornment of piety. Nay, in their abounding enthusiasm, they 98 dedicate their mirrors for the making of the laver (Ex. xxxviii. 26), to the end that those who are about

^b Or "ways of thinking" "attitudes of mind"; cf. *De Plant.* 61.

ἀπονιπτόμενοι χεῖρας καὶ πόδας, τὰ ἐγχειρήματα
οἷς ἐφορμεῖ καὶ ἐνίδρυται¹ ὁ νοῦς, ἐνοπτριζονται
ἐαυτοὺς κατὰ μνήμην τῶν ἐσόπτρων, ἐξ ὧν ὁ
λουτήρ δεδημιούργηται· οὕτω γὰρ οὐδὲν αἰσχος ἐν
τῷ τῆς ψυχῆς εἶδει περιόψονται γινόμενον, ἥδη δὲ
τὸ νηστείας καὶ καρτερίας ἀνάθημα ἀναθήσουσιν
ἱεροπρεπέστατον καὶ τελεώτατον ἀναθημάτων.

99

ἀλλ' αὗται μὲν ἀσταί τε καὶ ἀστείαι
γυναῖκες [αἰσθήσεις] ὥς ἀληθῶς, παρ' αἷς ἡ ἀρετὴ
Λεῖα τετιμῆσθαι βούλεται, αἱ δὲ προσαναφλέγουσαι
τὸ πῦρ ἐπὶ τὸν ἄθλιον νοῦν ἀπόλιδες· λέγεται γὰρ
ὅτι καὶ “γυναῖκες ἔτι προσεξέκαυσαν πῦρ ἐπὶ
100 Μωάβ.” ἀλλ' οὐχ ἐκάστη | τῶν τοῦ ἄφρονος
[452] αἰσθήσεων ἐξαπτομένη πρὸς τῶν αἰσθητῶν ἐμπί-
πρησι τὸν νοῦν, πολλὴν καὶ ἀπέρατον φλόγα ἐπείσ-
χέουσα μετὰ ῥύμης ἀνηνύτου καὶ φορᾶς; ἄριστον
οὖν ἐξευμενίζεσθαι τὸ γυναικῶν τάγμα ἐν ψυχῇ,
τῶν αἰσθήσεων, καθάπερ καὶ τῶν ἀνδρῶν, τῶν
κατὰ μέρος λογισμῶν· οὕτως γὰρ ἀμείνονι βίου

¹ Perhaps ἐφίδρυται (G.H.W.); cf. ἐφιδρύσεις of feet, *Leg. All.* iii. 138.

^a This point, in which “hands” are clearly interpreted by ἐγχειρήματα, and “feet” by ἐφορμεῖ καὶ ἐνίδρυται, follows in the LXX after the statement that the laver was made out of the mirrors of the women. In the Hebrew this does not appear in this place, but the ordinance that the laver should be so used comes in both Hebrew and LXX in Ex. xxx. 19 f.

^b “Fasting,” in the spiritual sense of course, is interpreted by καρτερίας. The word is used because in the LXX the women who offered the mirrors fasted on the day when the

THE MIGRATION OF ABRAHAM, 98-100

to perform sacred rites, as they are washing hands and feet,^a that is, the purposes which they take in hand and which form the base and support of the mind, may be helped to see themselves reflected by recollecting the mirrors out of which the laver was fashioned : for if they do this they will not overlook any ugly thing shewing itself in the appearance of the soul, and being thus purified will dedicate the most sacred and perfect of offerings, the offering of fasting^b and perseverance.

These, in whose eyes Leah, that is 99 virtue, desires to be honoured are citizen women and worthy of their citizenship ; but there are others without citizenship who kindle a fire to add to the misery of the wretched mind ; for we read that " women further kindled in addition^c a fire against Moab " (Num. xxi. 30). Is it not the case, that each 100 one of the fool's senses, kindled by the objects of sense, sets the mind on fire, pouring upon it a great and impassable flame, in violent and resistless current ? It is best, then, that the array of women, that is of the senses, in the soul, should be propitiated, as well as that of the men, that is of our several thoughts : for in this way shall we feel the journey of

base of the laver was made. The Hebrew word which seems to be obscure is given in A.V. as " assembled," in R.V. " serving." By ἡδὴ Philo seems to mean that only when the " mirror " has been used for self-examination, and the " feet and hands " of the soul cleansed, can the true offering of " fasting " be made.

^c The προσ- in προσαναφλέγουσαι reproduces the προσεξέκαυσαν of the text. How Philo interprets the prefix appears in *Leg. All.* iii. 234. The fire kindled by the senses is an addition to purely mental troubles.

101 διεξόδω χρησόμεθα.

XVIII. παγκάλως¹

διὰ τοῦτο καὶ ὁ αὐτομαθὴς Ἰσαὰκ εὐχεται τῷ σοφίας ἐραστῇ καὶ τὰ νοητὰ καὶ τὰ αἰσθητὰ λαβεῖν ἀγαθὰ· φησὶ γάρ· “ δώῃ σοι ὁ θεὸς ἀπὸ τῆς δρόσου τοῦ οὐρανοῦ καὶ ἀπὸ τῆς πιότητος τῆς γῆς,” ἴσον τῷ πρότερον μὲν συνεχῇ σοι τὸν νοητὸν καὶ οὐράνιον ὑετὸν ἄρδοι, μὴ λάβρως ὥς ἐπικλύσαι, ἀλλ’ ἡρέμα καὶ πρᾶως καθάπερ δρόσον ὥς ὀνῆσαι· δεύτερον δὲ τὸν αἰσθητὸν καὶ γήινον πλοῦτον χαρίσαιτο λιπαρὸν καὶ πίονα, τὴν ἐναντίαν πενίαν ψυχῆς τε καὶ τῶν αὐτῆς μερῶν ἀφανάνας.

- 102 Ἐὰν μέντοι καὶ τὸν ἀρχιερέα λόγον ἐξετάζης, εὐρήσεις συνωδὰ φρονούντα καὶ τὴν ἱερὰν ἐσθῆτα αὐτῷ πεποικιλμένην ἔκ τε νοητῶν καὶ αἰσθητῶν δυνάμεων· ἥς τὰ μὲν ἄλλα μακροτέρων ἢ κατὰ τὸν παρόντα καιρὸν δεῖται λόγων καὶ ὑπερθετέον, τὰ δὲ πρὸς τοῖς πέρασιν ἐξετάσωμεν, κεφαλῇ τε καὶ
- 103 βάσει. οὐκοῦν ἐπὶ μὲν τῆς κεφαλῆς ἐστὶ “ πέταλον χρυσοῦν καθαρὸν, ἔχον ἐκτύπωμα σφραγίδος, ἁγίασμα κυρίῳ,” ἐπὶ δὲ τοῖς ποσὶν ἐπὶ τοῦ τέλους τοῦ ὑποδύτου κώδωνες καὶ ἄνθινα. ἀλλ’ ἐκείνη μὲν ἡ σφραγὶς ἰδέα ἐστὶν ἰδεῶν, καθ’ ἣν ὁ θεὸς ἐτύπωσε

¹ Previous editions print παγκάλως with the preceding sentence as adverb to *χρησόμεθα*. But this seems a little overdone as praise of the more or less compromising life here described. An examination of the other 35 examples of *παγκ.* in the index shows that Philo generally uses it near the beginning of the sentence, in nearly all in praise of some saying or incident in Scripture, and in all in connexion with some verb, expressed or implied, of speaking. The form *παγκάλως διὰ τοῦτο καὶ* is exceptional, but differs very slightly from the common *διὰ τοῦτο παγκάλως*.

THE MIGRATION OF ABRAHAM, 101-103

life better than it else would be.

XVIII.

Admirable therefore also is the prayer of Isaac the 101
self-taught for the lover of wisdom that he may receive
the good things both of mind and of sense : " May
God give thee," he says, " of the dew of heaven and
of the fatness of the earth " (Gen. xxvii. 28), which is
equivalent to saying in the first place " May He pour
down on thee perpetually the heavenly rain apprehended by mind alone, not violently so as to deluge thee, but in gentle stillness like dew so as to do thee good "; and secondly " May He grant thee the earthly, the outward and visible wealth ; may that wealth abound in marrow and fatness and may its opposite, the poverty of the soul and its parts, be withered and dried up by His grace."

If again you examine the High Priest the Logos,^a 102
you will find him to be in agreement with this, and his holy vesture to have a variegated beauty derived from powers belonging some to the realm of pure intellect, some to that of sense-perception. The other parts of that vesture call for a longer treatment than the present occasion allows, and must be deferred. Let us however examine the parts by the extremities, head and feet. On the head, then, there 103
is " a plate of pure gold, bearing as an engraving of a signet, ' a holy thing to the Lord ' " (Ex. xxviii. 32); and at the feet on the end of the skirt, bells and flower patterns (Ex. xxviii. 29 f.). The signet spoken of is the original principle behind all principles, after which God shaped or formed the universe, incorporeal,

^a Or " the Logos as revealed in the High Priest." The thought that the High Priest (in general, not Aaron in particular) represents the Divine Logos is worked out in *De Fug.* 108 ff. In *De Gig.* 52 the phrase is given a less exalted meaning.

τὸν κόσμον, ἀσώματος δήπου καὶ νοητή, τὰ δ' ἄνθινα καὶ οἱ κώδωνες αἰσθητῶν ποιότητων σύμβολα, ὧν ὄρασις καὶ ἀκοή τὰ κριτήρια.

104 ἄγαν δ' ἐξητασμένως ἐπιφέρει ὅτι "ἔσται ἀκουστή φωνή αὐτοῦ εἰσιόντος εἰς τὰ ἅγια," ἵνα πρὸς τὰ νοητὰ καὶ θεῖα καὶ ὄντως ἅγια εἰσιούσης τῆς ψυχῆς καὶ αἱ αἰσθήσεις ὠφελοῦμεναι κατ' ἀρετὴν συνηχῶσι καὶ ὅλον τὸ σύστημα ἡμῶν, ὥσπερ ἐμμελὲς καὶ πολυάνθρωπος χορός, ἐκ διαφερόντων φθόγγων ἀνακεκραμένων ἐν μέλος ἐναρμόνιον συνᾶδῃ, τὰ μὲν ἐνδόσιμα τῶν νοημάτων ἐμπνεόντων—ἡγεμόνες γὰρ τοῦ χοροῦ τούτου τὰ νοητά—, τὰ δ' ἐπόμενα τῶν αἰσθητῶν συναναμελπόντων, ἃ τοῖς κατὰ μέρος

105 χορευταῖς ἀπεικάζεται. συνόλως γάρ, ἥ φησιν ὁ νόμος, "τὰ δέοντα καὶ τὸν ἱματισμὸν καὶ τὴν ὁμιλίαν," τὰ τρία ταῦτα, ἀφαιρεῖσθαι τὴν ψυχὴν οὐκ ἔδει, ἀλλ' ἕκαστον αὐτῶν βεβαίως προσνέμειν. τὰ μὲν οὖν δέοντα <τὰ> νοητά ἐστὶν ἀγαθὰ, ἃ δεῖ καὶ ἃ χρὴ γενέσθαι λόγῳ φύσεως, ὁ δὲ ἱματισμὸς τὰ περὶ τὸν φαινόμενον τοῦ βίου κόσμον, ἡ δ' ὁμιλία ἡ καθ' ἑκάτερον τῶν εἰρημένων εἰδῶν συνέχεια καὶ μελέτη, ἵν' οἷα τὰ ἀφανῆ νοητὰ τοιαῦτα καὶ τὰ αἰσθητὰ φαίνηται.

106 [453] XIX. | Πέμπτη τοίνυν ἐστὶ δωρεὰ ἡ κατὰ ψιλὸν μόνον τὸ εἶναι¹ συνισταμένη· λέλεκται δὲ ἐπὶ ταῖς

¹ Mangey regarded this as corrupt and proposed κατὰ τὸ εὐλογημένον αὐτὸν εἶναι. Possibly we might read τὸ <τι> εἶναι.

^a In R.V. "Her food, her raiment, and her duty of marriage." By "fellowship" or perhaps "intimacy" Philo may mean either that the νοητά are brought into close association with the αἰσθητά, or that the soul is brought into intimate touch with both.

THE MIGRATION OF ABRAHAM, 103-106

we know, and discerned by the intellect alone ; whereas the flower patterns and bells are symbols of qualities recognized by the senses and tested by sight and hearing. And he has well weighed 104 his words when he adds : " His sound shall be audible when he is about to enter into the Holy Place " (Ex. xxviii. 31), to the end that when the soul is about to enter the truly holy place, the divine place which only mind can apprehend, the senses also may be aided to join in the hymn with their best, and that our whole composite being, like a full choir all in tune, may chant together one harmonious strain rising from varied voices blending one with another ; the thoughts of the mind inspiring the keynotes—for the leaders of this choir are the truths perceived by mind alone—while the objects of sense-perception, which resemble the individual members of the choir, chime in with their accordant tuneful notes. For, to say all in a word, 105 we must not, as the Law tells us, take away from the soul these three things, " the necessities, the clothing, the fellowship " ^a (Ex. xxi. 10), but afford each of them steadily. Now, the " necessities " are the good things of the mind, which are necessary, being demanded by the law of nature ; the " clothing," all that belongs to the phenomenal world of human life ; and the " fellowship," persistent study directed to each of these kinds, that so in the world of sense we may come to find the likeness of the invisible world of mind.

XIX. To proceed then ; the fifth gift is that which 106 consists in simple being only,^b and it is mentioned

^b *i.e.* in being (something) as opposed to "seeming," which was the keynote of the Fourth Gift. See critical note.

- προτέραις, οὐχ ὡς εὐτελεστέρα ἐκείνων, ἀλλ' ὡς ὑπερκύπτουσα καὶ ὑπερβάλλουσα πάσας. τί γὰρ ἂν εἴη τοῦ πεφυκέναι καὶ ἀψευδῶς καὶ ἀπλάστως ἀγαθὸν εἶναι καὶ εὐλογίας ἐπάξιον τελεώτερον;
- 107 “ἔση” γάρ φησιν “εὐλογητός,” οὐ μόνον εὐλογημένος· τὸ μὲν γὰρ ταῖς τῶν πολλῶν δόξαις τε καὶ φήμαις παραριθμεῖται, τὸ δὲ τῷ πρὸς ἀλήθειαν
- 108 εὐλογητῷ. ὥσπερ γὰρ τὸ ἐπαινετὸν εἶναι τοῦ ἐπαινεῖσθαι διαφέρει κατὰ τὸ κρεῖττον καὶ τὸ ψεκτὸν εἶναι τοῦ ψέγεσθαι κατὰ τὸ χεῖρον—τὰ μὲν γὰρ τῷ πεφυκέναι, τὰ δὲ τῷ νομίζεσθαι λέγεται μόνον, φύσις δὲ ἢ ἀψευδῆς δοκῆσεως ἐχυρώτερον—, οὕτως καὶ τοῦ εὐλογεῖσθαι πρὸς ἀνθρώπων, ὅπερ ἦν εἰς εὐλογίαν ἄγεσθαι δοξαζόμενον, τὸ πεφυκέναι¹ εὐλογίας ἄξιον, καὶ πάντες ἡσυχάζωσι, κρεῖττον, ὅπερ εὐλογητὸν ἐν τοῖς χρησιμοῖς ἄδεται.
- 109 XX. Ταῦτα μὲν τὰ ἀθλα² τῷ γενησομένῳ δωρεῖται σοφῷ· ἃ δὲ καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἀπονέμει διὰ τὸν σοφόν, ἐξῆς ἴδωμεν· “εὐλογήσω” φησί “τοὺς εὐλογούντάς σε, καὶ τοὺς καταρωμένους σε κατ-
- 110 ἀράσομαι.” τὸ μὲν οὖν ἐπὶ τιμῇ τοῦ σπουδαίου καὶ ταῦτα γίνεσθαι παντί τῳ δῆλον, λέγεται δ' οὐ δι' ἐκεῖνο μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ διὰ τὴν ἐν τοῖς πράγμασιν εὐάρμοστον ἀκολουθίαν· τὸν γὰρ ἀγαθὸν καὶ ὁ ἐπαινῶν ἐγκωμιαστὸς καὶ ὁ ψέγων ἔμπαλιν ψεκτός. ἔπαινον δὲ καὶ ψόγον οὐχ οὕτως ἢ τῶν λεγόντων καὶ γραφόντων πιστοῦνται δύναμις, ὡς ἢ τῶν γινομένων ἀλήθεια· ὥστ' οὔτε ἐπαινεῖν οὔτε ψέγειν ἂν

¹ MSS. τὸ εὐλογεῖσθαι . . . τῷ πεφυκέναι.² MSS. ἐσθλά.

THE MIGRATION OF ABRAHAM, 106-110

after those which precede it not as being of less value than they, but as outtopping and over-passing them all. For what could be more perfect than to be by nature good and free from all feigning and pretence, and worthy of blessing? For he says "Thou shalt 107 be one to be blessed" (Gen. xii. 2), not only "one who has been blessed," for the latter is reckoned by the standard of the opinions and report of the many; but the former by that of Him Who is in reality "blessed." For as being praiseworthy differs for the 108 better from being praised, and being blameworthy for the worse from being blamed, the one pair expressing an inherent character, and the other nothing more than men's opinion of us; and nature that cannot lie is a more sure foundation than opinion; so being blessed by men, which we have found to be an introduction into blessing by the avenue of repute, is inferior to natural worthiness of blessing, even though that finds no expression on human lips; and it is this which is celebrated in the sacred oracles as "blessed."

XX. These are the prizes which He bestows upon 109 him who is to become wise. Let us see next those which He accords to others too for the wise man's sake. "I will bless," He says, "those that bless thee, and those that curse thee I will curse" (Gen. xii. 3). That these promises as well as the others are made to 110 shew honour to the righteous man is clear to everybody, but they are set forth not on that account only, but because they so admirably fit in with and follow the truth of facts, for encomiums are due to him who praises the good man and blame again to him who blames him. Praise and blame are not accredited so much by the ability of speakers and authors, as by the truth of facts; so that we do not feel that either

- δοκοῖεν, ὅσοι τι ψεῦδος ἐν ἑκατέρῳ παραλαμ-
 111 βάνουσιν εἶδει.¹ τοὺς κόλακας οὐχ ὁρᾷς,
 οἱ μεθ' ἡμέραν καὶ νύκτωρ ἀποκναίουσι τῶν κολα-
 κευομένων τὰ ὦτα θρύπτοντες, οὐκ ἐπινεύοντες ἐφ'
 ἑκάστῳ τῶν λεγομένων αὐτὸ μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ ῥήσεις
 μακρὰς συνείροντες καὶ ῥαψωδοῦντες καὶ εὐχόμενοι
 μὲν τῇ φωνῇ πολλάκις, αἰεὶ δὲ τῇ διανοίᾳ κατ-
 112 ἀρώμενοι; τί οὖν ἂν τις εὖ φρονῶν εἴποι; ἄρ' οὐχ
 ὥσπερ ἐχθροὺς μᾶλλον ἢ φίλους τοὺς λέγοντας
 οὕτως² καὶ ψέγειν μᾶλλον ἢ ἐπαινεῖν, καὶ δράματα
 ὅλα συντιθέντες ἐγκωμίων ἐπάδωσι;
 113 τοιγαροῦν ὁ μάταιος Βαλαάμ ὕμνους μὲν εἰς τὸν
 θεὸν ὑπερβάλλοντας ᾄδων, ἐν οἷς καὶ τὸ "οὐχ ὡς
 ἄνθρωπος ὁ θεός," ᾠσμάτων τὸ ἱεροπρεπέστατον,
 ἐγκώμια δ' εἰς τὸν ὀρώντα, Ἰσραήλ, μυρία διεξ-
 114 ερχόμενος ἀσεβῆς μὲν καὶ ἐπάρατος καὶ παρὰ τῷ
 σοφῷ κέκριται νομοθέτῃ, καταρᾶσθαι δέ, οὐκ
 εὐλογεῖν,³ νενόμισται. τοῖς γὰρ πολεμίοις φησὶν
 [454] κακὸν κακῶν, ἀρὰς | μὲν ἐν ψυχῇ θέμενον χαλεπω-
 τάτας γένει τῷ θεοφιλεῖ, εὐχὰς δὲ ἀναγκασθέντα
 διὰ στόματος καὶ γλώττης ὑπερφυεστάτας προφη-
 τεῦσαι· τὰ μὲν γὰρ λεγόμενα καλὰ ὄντα ὁ φιλάρετος
 ὑπῆχει θεός, τὰ δ' ἐννοούμενα—φauλότερα γὰρ ἦν—
 115 ἔτικτεν ἢ μισάρετος διάνοια. μαρτυρεῖ
 δὲ ὁ περὶ τούτων χρησμός· "οὐ γὰρ ἔδωκε" φησὶν
 "ὁ θεὸς τῷ Βαλαάμ καταράσασθαι σοι, ἀλλ'
 ἔστρεψε τὰς καταράς εἰς εὐλογίαν," καίτοι πάντων

¹ MSS. ἴδιον.² So all MSS. (except H²): Wend. *δντας*.³ MSS. εὐλογῶν (-ον).⁴ MSS. μάτην or μηνυτήν.

THE MIGRATION OF ABRAHAM, 110-115

term is applicable to the words of those who give falsehood any place in either. Do you 111
not see the toadies who by day and night batter to pieces and wear out the ears of those on whom they fawn, not content with just assenting to everything they say, but spinning out long speeches and declaiming and many a time uttering prayers with their voice, but never ceasing to curse with their heart? What then would a man of good sense say? Would 112
he not say that those who talk in this way talk as though they were enemies rather than friends, and blame rather than praise, even though they compose and recite whole oratorios of panegyric to charm them? Accordingly, that empty one, 113
Balaam, though he sang loftiest hymns to God, among which is that most Divine of canticles "God is not as man" (Num. xxiii. 19), and poured out a thousand eulogies on him whose eyes were open, even Israel, has been adjudged impious and accursed even by the wise lawgiver, and held to be an utterer not of blessings but of curses. For Moses says that as 114
the hired confederate of Israel's enemies he became an evil prophet of evil things, nursing in his soul direst curses on the race beloved of God, but forced with mouth and tongue to give prophetic utterance to most amazing benedictory prayers: for the words that were spoken were noble words, whose utterance was prompted by God the Lover of Virtue, but the intentions, in all their vileness, were the offspring of a mind that looked on virtue with loathing.
Evidence of this is afforded by the oracles relating to 115
the matter; for it says "God did not give Balaam leave to curse thee, but turned his curses into blessing" (Deut. xxiii. 5), though indeed every word he

- ὅσα εἶπε πολλῆς γεμόντων εὐφημίας. ἀλλ' ὁ τῶν ἐν ψυχῇ ταμειομένων ἐπίσκοπος ἰδὼν, ᾧ κατιδεῖν ἔξεστι μόνῳ, τὰ ἀθέατα γενέσει, τὴν καταδικάζουσιν ἀπὸ τούτων ψῆφον ἤνεγκε, μάρτυς ἀψευδέστατος ὁμοῦ καὶ κριτὴς ἀδέκαστος ὁ αὐτὸς ὢν· ἐπεὶ καὶ τοῦναντίον ἐπαινετὸν βλασφημεῖν καὶ κατηγορεῖν δοκοῦντα τῇ φωνῇ κατὰ
- 116 διάνοιαν εὐλογεῖν τε καὶ εὐφημεῖν. σωφρονιστῶν ὡς ἔοικε τοῦτό ἐστι τὸ ἔθος, παιδαγωγῶν, διδασκάλων, γονέων, πρεσβυτέρων, ἀρχόντων, νόμων· ὀνειδίζοντες γάρ, ἔστι δ' ὅπου καὶ κολάζοντες ἕκαστοι τούτων ἀμείνους τὰς ψυχὰς ἀπεργάζονται τῶν παιδευομένων. καὶ ἐχθρὸς μὲν οὐδεὶς οὐδενί, φίλοι δὲ πᾶσι πάντες· φίλων δὲ ἀνόθῳ καὶ ἀκιβδῆλῳ χρωμένων εὐνοία τοῦτ' ἐστὶν ἔργον ἐλευθερο-
- 117 στομεῖν ἄνευ τοῦ κακονοεῖν. μηδὲν οὖν μήτε τῶν εἰς εὐλογίας καὶ εὐχὰς μήτε τῶν εἰς βλασφημίας καὶ κατάρας ἐπὶ τὰς ἐν προφορᾷ διεξόδους ἀναφερέσθω μᾶλλον ἢ διάνοιαν, ἀφ' ἧς ὥσπερ ἀπὸ πηγῆς ἐκάτερον εἶδος τῶν λεχθέντων δοκιμάζεται.
- 118 XXI. Ταῦτα μὲν δὴ πρῶτον διὰ τὸν ἀστείον ἐτέροις συντυγχάνειν φησὶν, ὅταν ἢ ψόγον ἢ ἔπαινον ἢ εὐχὰς ἢ κατάρας ἐθελήσωσιν αὐτῷ τίθεσθαι· μέγιστον δ' ἐξῆς, ὅταν ἡσυχάζωσιν ἐκεῖνοι, τὸ μηδὲν μέρος φύσεως λογικῆς ἀμέτοχον εὐεργεσίας ἀπολείπεσθαι· λέγει γὰρ ὅτι “ ἐνευλογηθήσονται ἐν

^a i.e. the text speaks of his “curses,” though actually there was no cursing at all.

^b The translation supposes that Philo is alluding to the Athenian office of *σωφρονισταί*, officials appointed to look after the morals of the Ephebi in general and particularly in the gymnasia. Philo certainly often introduces special Attic terms from his reading. But it is at least as probable

THE MIGRATION OF ABRAHAM, 115-118

uttered was charged with fulness of benediction.^a But He Who looks upon what is stored up in the soul, saw, with the Eye that alone has power to discern them, the things that are out of sight of created beings, and on the ground of these passed the sentence of condemnation, being at once an absolutely true Witness, and an incorruptible Judge. For on the same principle praise is due to the converse of this, namely, when one seems to revile and accuse with the voice, and is in intent conveying blessing and benediction. This is obviously the custom of 116 proctors,^b of home tutors, schoolmasters, parents, seniors, magistrates, laws : all of these, by reproaches, and sometimes by punishments, effect improvement in the souls of those whom they are educating. And not one of them is an enemy to a single person, but all are friends of them all : and the business of friends inspired by genuine and unfeigned goodwill is to use plain language without any spite whatever. Let no 117 treatment, then, that is marked by prayers and blessings on the one hand, or by abusing and cursing on the other hand, be referred to the way it finds vent in speech, but rather to the intention ; for from this, as from a spring, is supplied the means of testing each kind of spoken words.

XXI. This is Moses' first lesson ; he tells us what 118 befalls others for the virtuous man's sake, whenever they consent to visit him with blame or praise, with prayers or imprecations : but greatest of all is that which follows ; he tells us that, when these hold their peace, no portion of rational existence is left without its share of benefit bestowed : for He says that " In

that the word here means "moral censors" in general, and sums up the various forms of guardianship which follow.

- 119 σοὶ πᾶσαι αἱ φυλαὶ τῆς γῆς.” ἔστι δὲ τοῦτο
 δογματικώτατον· ἐὰν γὰρ ὁ νοῦς ἄνοσος καὶ ἀπή-
 μων διατελῇ, ταῖς περὶ αὐτὸν ἀπάσαις φυλαῖς
 τε καὶ δυνάμεσιν ὑγιαίνουσais χρῆται, ταῖς τε
 καθ’ ὅραςιν καὶ ἀκοὴν καὶ ὅσαι αἰσθητικαὶ καὶ
 πάλιν ταῖς κατὰ τὰς ἡδονὰς τε καὶ ἐπιθυμίας καὶ
 ὅσαι ἀντὶ παθῶν εἰς εὐπάθειαν¹ μεταχαράττονται.
- 120 ἤδη μέντοι καὶ οἶκος καὶ πόλις καὶ
 χώρα καὶ ἔθνη καὶ κλίματα γῆς ἐνὸς ἀνδρὸς καλο-
 κάγαθίας προμηθευμένου μεγάλης ἀπήλυσαν εὐ-
 δαιμονίας, καὶ μάλισθ’ ὅτῳ μετὰ γνώμης ἀγαθῆς
 ὁ θεὸς καὶ δύναμιν ἔδωκεν ἀνανταγώνιστον, ὡς
 μουσικῶ καὶ παντὶ τεχνίτῃ τὰ κατὰ μουσικὴν καὶ
- 121 πᾶσαν τέχνην ὄργανα ἢ ξύλων ὕλην πυρί. τῷ γὰρ
 ὄντι ἔρεισμα τοῦ γένους τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἐστὶν ὁ
 δίκαιος, καὶ ὅσα μὲν αὐτὸς ἔχει, προφέρων εἰς
- [455] μέσον ἐπ’ ὠφελείᾳ τῶν | χρησομένων ἀφθονα
 δίδωσιν, ὅσα δ’ ἂν μὴ εὕρισκῃ παρ’ ἑαυτῷ, τὸν
 μόνον πάμπλουτον αἰτεῖται θεόν· ὁ δὲ τὸν οὐράνιον
 ἀνοίξας θησαυρὸν ὀμβρεῖ καὶ ἐπινίφει τὰ ἀγαθὰ
 ἀθρόα, ὡς τῶν περιγείων ἀπάντων τὰς δεξαμενὰς
- 122 πλημμυρούσας ἀναχυθῆναι. ταῦτα δὲ τὸν ἰκέτην
 ἑαυτοῦ λόγον οὐκ ἀποστραφεὶς εἴωθε δωρεῖσθαι·
 λέγεται γὰρ ἐτέρωθι Μωυσέως ἰκετεύσαντος·
 “Ἰλεως αὐτοῖς εἰμι κατὰ τὸ ῥῆμά σου”· τοῦτο δέ,
 ὡς ἔοικεν, ἰσοδυναμεῖ τῷ “ἐνευλογηθήσονται ἐν

¹ Perhaps read εὐπαθείας. Elsewhere the plural is used when in contrast with πάθη.

^a λόγος seems to anticipate ῥῆμα. Otherwise we might translate “His suppliant Word,” as Moses is sometimes identified with the Divine Logos.

THE MIGRATION OF ABRAHAM, 118-122

thee shall all the tribes of the earth be blessed " (Gen. xii. 3). This is a pregnant and significant 119 announcement ; for it implies that, if the mind continues free from harm and sickness, it has all its tribes and powers in a healthy condition, those whose province is sight and hearing and all others concerned with sense-perception, and those again that have to do with pleasures and desires, and all that are undergoing transformation from the lower to the higher emotions. Further there have been in- 120 stances of a household or a city or a country or nations and regions of the earth enjoying great prosperity through a single man giving his mind to nobility of character. Most of all has this been so in the case of one on whom God has bestowed, together with a good purpose, irresistible power, just as He gives to the musician and every artist the instruments which his music or his art requires, or as He gives to fire logs as its material. For in truth the righteous man is the 121 foundation on which mankind rests. All that he himself has he brings into the common stock and gives in abundance for the benefit of all who shall use them. What he does not find in his own store, he asks for at the hands of God, the only possessor of unlimited riches ; and He opens his heavenly treasury and sends His good things, as He does the snow and the rain, in ceaseless downpour, so that the channels and cavities of earth's whole face overflow. And it 122 is His wont to bestow these gifts in answer to the word^a of supplication, from which He does not turn His ear away ; for it is said in another place, when Moses had made a petition, " I am gracious to them in accordance with thy word " (Num. xiv. 20) ; and this is evidently equivalent to " In thee shall all the tribes

- σοὶ πᾶσαι αἱ φυλαὶ τῆς γῆς.” οὐδὲ χάριν
καὶ ὁ σοφὸς Ἀβραὰμ πεπειραμένος τῆς ἐν ἅπασιν
τοῦ θεοῦ χρηστότητος πεπίστευκεν ὅτι, καὶ πάντα
τὰ ἄλλα ἀφανισθῇ, μικρὸν δέ τι λείψανον ἀρετῆς
ὥσπερ ἐμπύρευμα διασώζεται, διὰ τὸ βραχὺ τοῦτο
κακεῖνα οἰκτεῖρει, ὡς πεπτωκότα ἐγείρειν καὶ
123 τεθνηκότα ζωπυρεῖν. σπινθὴρ γὰρ καὶ ὁ βραχύ-
τατος ἐντυφόμενος, ὅταν καταπνευσθεὶς ζωπυρηθῇ,
μεγάλην ἐξάπτει πυράν· καὶ τὸ βραχύτατον οὖν
ἀρετῆς, ὅταν ἐλπίσι χρησταῖς ὑποθαλπόμενον
ἀναλάμψῃ, καὶ τὰ τέως μεμυκότα καὶ τυφλὰ ἐξ-
ωμμάτωσε καὶ τὰ ἀφανισθέντα ἀναβλαστῇ ἐποίη-
σε καὶ ὅσα ὑπὸ ἀγωνίας¹ ἐστεῖρωτο εἰς εὐφορίαν εὐ-
τοκίας περιήγαγεν. οὕτω τὸ σπάνιον ἀγαθὸν ἐπι-
φροσύνη θεοῦ πολὺ γίνεται χεόμενον, ἐξομοιοῦν τὰ
124 ἄλλα ἑαυτῷ. XXII. εὐχόμεθα οὖν τὸν
ὡς ἐν οἰκίᾳ στῦλον νοῦν μὲν ἐν ψυχῇ, ἄνθρωπον δὲ
ἐν τῷ γένει τῶν ἀνθρώπων τὸν δίκαιον διαμένειν εἰς
τὴν τῶν νόσων ἄκρην· τούτου γὰρ ὑγιαίνοντος τὰς
εἰς παντελῇ σωτηρίαν οὐκ ἀπογνωστέον ἐλπίδας,
διότι² οἶμαι ὁ σωτὴρ θεὸς τὸ πανακέστατον φάρ-
μακον, τὴν ἴλεω δύναμιν, τῷ ἰκέτῃ καὶ θεραπευτῇ
προτείνας ἑαυτοῦ χρῆσθαι πρὸς τὴν τῶν καμνόντων
σωτηρίαν ἐπιτρέπει, καταπλάττοντι τῶν ψυχῆς
τραυμάτων, ἅπερ ἀφροσύνη καὶ ἀδικίαι καὶ ὁ
ἄλλος τῶν κακιῶν ὄμιλος ἀκονηθεὶς διεῖλεν.
125 ἐναργέστατον δὲ παράδειγμα Νῶε ὁ
δίκαιος, ὃς τῷ μεγάλῳ κατακλυσμῷ τῶν τοσούτων
μερῶν τῆς ψυχῆς ἐγκαταποθέντων ἐρρωμένως

¹ MSS. ἀγνοίας.² MSS. δι' οὗ ἔτι.

THE MIGRATION OF ABRAHAM, 122-125

of the earth be blessed."

And it is by reason of this that Abraham, the wise, when he had made trial of God's unvarying loving-kindness, believed that, even if all else be done away, but some small relic of virtue be preserved as a live coal to kindle with, for the sake of this little piece He looks with pity on the rest also, so as to raise up fallen things and to quicken dead things (Gen. xviii. 24 ff.). For a smouldering spark, even the very smallest, when it is blown up and made to blaze, lights a great pile ; and so the least particle of virtue, when, warmed into life by bright hopes, it has shone out, gives sight to eyes that erst were closed and blind, and causes withered things to bloom again, and recovers to prolific fertility all that were barren by nature and therefore without offspring. Even so scanty goodness by God's favour expands and becomes abundant, assimilating all else to itself. 123

XXII. Let us pray then that, like a central pillar in a house, there may constantly remain for the healing of our maladies the righteous mind in the soul and in the human race the righteous man ; for while he is sound and well, there is no cause to despair of the prospect of complete salvation, for our Saviour God holds out, we may be sure, the most all-healing remedy, His gracious Power, and commits it to His suppliant and worshipper to use for the deliverance of those who are sickly, that he may apply it as an embrocation to those soul-wounds which were left gaping by the sword-edge of follies and injustices and all the rest of the horde of vices. 124

The most patent example is righteous Noah, who, when so many parts of the soul had been swallowed up by the 125

- ἐπικυματίζων καὶ ἐπινηχόμενος ὑπεράνω μὲν ἔσται
 τῶν δεινῶν ἀπάντων, διασωθεὶς δὲ μεγάλας καὶ
 καλὰς ἀφ' αὐτοῦ ρίζας ἐβάλετο, ἐξ ὧν οἶα φυτὸν τὸ
 σοφίας ἀνεβλάστησε γένος· ὅπερ ἡμεροτοκῆσαν τοὺς
 τοῦ ὀρώντος, Ἰσραήλ, τριττοὺς ἤνεγκε καρπούς,
 αἰῶνος μέτρα, τὸν Ἀβραάμ, τὸν Ἰσαάκ, τὸν
 126 Ἰακώβ· καὶ γὰρ ἔστι καὶ ἔσται καὶ γέγονεν ἐν τῷ
 παντὶ ἀρετῇ, ἣν ἀκαιρίαι μὲν ἴσως ἀνθρώπων ἐπι-
 σκιαζουσιν, ὁ δὲ ὁπαδὸς θεοῦ καιρὸς ἀποκαλύπτει
 πάλιν, ἐν ᾧ καὶ ἡ φρόνησις ἀρρενογονεῖ Σάρρα,
 οὐ κατὰ τὰς χρονικὰς τοῦ ἔτους ὥρας, ἀλλὰ κατὰ
 τὰς ἀχρόνους ἀκμὰς καὶ εὐκαιρίας ἐπανθούσα·
 [456] λέγεται γάρ· | “ἐπαναστρέφων ἡξῶ πρὸς σέ κατὰ
 τὸν καιρὸν τοῦτον εἰς ὥρας, καὶ ἔξει υἱὸν Σάρρα ἡ
 γυνή σου.”
- 127 XXIII. Περὶ μὲν οὖν τῶν δωρεῶν, αἷς καὶ τοῖς
 γεννησομένοις τελείοις καὶ δι' αὐτοὺς ὁ θεὸς ἑτέροις
 εἴωθε χαρίζεσθαι, δεδήλωται. λέγεται δὲ ἐξῆς ὅτι
 “ἐπορεύθη Ἀβραάμ καθάπερ ἐλάλησεν αὐτῷ κύ-
 128 ριος.” τοῦτο δὲ ἔστι τὸ παρὰ τοῖς ἄριστα φιλο-
 σοφῆσασιν ἀδόκονον τέλος, τὸ ἀκολουθῶν τῇ φύσει
 ζῆν· γίνεται δέ, ὅταν ὁ νοῦς εἰς τὴν ἀρετῆς ἀτραπὸν
 ἐλθὼν κατ' ἴχνος ὀρθοῦ λόγου βαίνει καὶ ἔπεται
 θεῷ, τῶν προστάξεων αὐτοῦ διαμεμνημένος καὶ
 πάσας αἰεὶ καὶ πανταχοῦ ἔργοις τε καὶ λόγοις
 129 βεβαιούμενος. “ἐπορεύθη γάρ, καθὰ ἐλάλησεν

^a Here for the moment Noah represents the righteous mind in the soul, but in the rest of the section he is rather the righteous man in the race.

^b Possibly, to judge from the similar passage in *De Sobr.* 65, Shem, or perhaps more generally the ancestors of Abraham.

^c See App. p. 563.

THE MIGRATION OF ABRAHAM, 125-129

great Flood,^a valiantly riding upon the waves that buoyed him up, stood firm high above every peril, and, when he had come safe through all, put forth from himself fair roots and great,^b out of which there grew up like a plant wisdom's breed and kind; which, attaining goodly fertility, bore those threefold fruits of the seeing one, even of "Israel," that mark the threefold divisions of eternity,^c Abraham, Isaac, Jacob; for in the All virtue is, shall be, has been: covered 126 with a dark shadow, it may be, by men's missings of the due season but revealed again by due season that ever follows in God's steps. In such due season does "Sarah" who is sound sense, give birth to a man-child, putting forth her fruit not according to the changes of the year measured by lapse of time, but in accordance with a fitness and fulness of season that time does not determine: for it is said "I will certainly return unto thee according to this season when the time comes round; and Sarah thy wife shall have a son" (Gen. xviii. 10).

XXIII. We have now dealt with the subject of the 127 gifts which God is wont to bestow both on those who are to become wise and for their sake on others. We are told next that "Abraham journeyed even as the Lord spoke to him" (Gen. xii. 4). This is the aim extolled 128 by the best philosophers, to live agreeably to nature;^d and it is attained whenever the mind, having entered on virtue's path, walks in the track of right reason and follows God, mindful of His injunctions, and always and in all places recognizing them all as valid both in action and in speech. For "he journeyed just as the 129

^a Cf. *De Op.* 3 and note. Philo here as elsewhere (*e.g.* *Quis Rerum* 214) is suggesting that Greek philosophy is derived from Moses.

- αὐτῷ κύριος.” τοῦτο δέ ἐστι τοιοῦτον· ὡς λαλεῖ ὁ θεὸς—λαλεῖ δὲ παγκάλως καὶ ἐπαινέτῳς—, οὕτως ὁ σπουδαῖος ἕκαστα δρᾷ τὴν ἀτραπὸν εὐθύνων ἀμέμπτως τοῦ βίου, ὥστε τὰ ἔργα τοῦ σοφοῦ λόγων
- 130 ἀδιαφορεῖν θείων. ἐτέρωθι γοῦν φησιν ὅτι ἐποίησεν Ἀβραάμ “ πάντα τὸν νόμον μου ”· νόμος δὲ οὐδὲν ἄρα ἢ λόγος θεῖος προστάττων ἃ δεῖ καὶ ἀπαγορεύων ἃ μὴ χρή, ὡς μαρτυρεῖ φάσκων ὅτι “ ἐδέξατο ἀπὸ τῶν λόγων αὐτοῦ νόμον.” εἰ τοίνυν λόγος μὲν ἐστι θεῖος ὁ νόμος, ποιεῖ δ’ ὁ ἀστείος τὸν νόμον, ποιεῖ πάντως καὶ τὸν λόγον· ὥσθ’, ὅπερ ἔφην, τοὺς
- 131 τοῦ θεοῦ λόγους πράξεις εἶναι τοῦ σοφοῦ. τέλος οὖν ἐστι κατὰ τὸν ἱερώτατον Μωυσῆν τὸ ἔπεσθαι θεῷ, ὡς καὶ ἐν ἐτέροις φησὶν· “ ὀπίσω κυρίου τοῦ θεοῦ σου πορεύσῃ,” κινήσει <μὴ>¹ χρώμενον τῇ διὰ σκελῶν—ἀνθρώπου μὲν γὰρ ὄχημα γῇ, θεοῦ δὲ εἰ καὶ σύμπας ὁ κόσμος, οὐκ οἶδα—, ἀλλ’ ἔοικεν ἀλληγορεῖν τὴν τῆς ψυχῆς πρὸς τὰ θεῖα δόγματα παριστὰς ἀκολουθίαν, ᾧν ἡ ἀναφορὰ πρὸς τὴν τοῦ
- 132 πάντων αἰτίου γίνεται τιμὴν. XXIV. ἐπτείνων δὲ τὸν ἀκάθεκτον πόθον τοῦ καλοῦ παραινεί καὶ κολλᾶσθαι αὐτῷ· “ κύριον ” γάρ φησι “ τὸν θεόν σου φοβηθήσῃ καὶ αὐτῷ λατρεύσεις καὶ πρὸς αὐτὸν κολληθήσῃ.” τίς οὖν ἡ κόλλα; τίς; εὐσέβεια δήπου καὶ πίστις· ἀρμόζουσι γὰρ καὶ ἐνοῦσιν αἱ ἀρεταὶ ἀφθάρτῳ φύσει διάνοιαν· καὶ γὰρ Ἀβραάμ

¹ Some MSS. κινήσει μὲν.

^a In the LXX, however, the verb is ἐφύλαξε, and not ἐποίησε which is demanded by the argument.

THE MIGRATION OF ABRAHAM, 129-132

Lord spake to him ” : the meaning of this is that as God speaks—and He speaks with consummate beauty and excellence—so the good man does everything, blamelessly keeping straight the path of life, so that the actions of the wise man are nothing else than the words of God. So in another place He says, “ Abraham 130 did a ‘ all My law ’ ” (Gen. xxvi. 5) : “ Law ” being evidently nothing else than the Divine word enjoining what we ought to do and forbidding what we should not do, as Moses testifies by saying “ he received a law from His words ” (Deut. xxxiii. 3 f.). If, then, the law is a Divine word, and the man of true worth “ does ” the law, he assuredly “ does ” the word : so that, as I said, God’s words are the wise man’s “ doings.” To follow God is, then, according 131 to Moses, that most holy man, our aim and object, as he says elsewhere too, “ thou shalt go in the steps of the Lord thy God ” (Deut. xiii. 4). He is not speaking of movement by the use of our legs, for, while earth carries man, I do not know whether even the whole universe carries God ; but is evidently employing figurative language to bring out how the soul should comply with those Divine ordinances, the guiding principle of which is the honouring of Him to Whom all things owe their being.

XXIV. Using 132 still loftier language to express the irrepressible craving for moral excellence, he calls on them to *cleave* to Him. His words are : “ Thou shalt fear the Lord thy God, and Him shalt thou serve, and to Him shalt thou cleave ” (Deut. x. 20). What then is the cementing substance ? Do you ask, what ? Piety, surely, and faith : for these virtues adjust and unite the intent of the heart to the incorruptible Being : as Abraham when he believed is said to “ come near

- 133 πιστεύσας “ ἐγγίζειν θεῷ ” λέγεται. εἰ
 μέντοι πορευόμενος μήτε κάμη, ὡς ὑπενδούς
 ὀκλάσαι, μήτε ῥαθυμήσῃ, ὡς παρ’ ἐκάτερα ἐκ-
 τραπόμενος πλανᾶσθαι τῆς μέσης καὶ εὐθυτενοῦς
 διαμαρτῶν ὁδοῦ, μιμησάμενος δὲ τοὺς ἀγαθοὺς
 δρομεῖς τὸ στάδιον ἀπταίστως ἀνύσῃ τοῦ βίου,
 στεφάνων καὶ ἄθλων ἐπαξίων τεύξεται πρὸς τὸ
 134 τέλος ἐλθών. ἡ οὐ τοῦτ’ εἰσὶν οἱ στέφανοι καὶ τὰ
 [457] ἄλλα, μὴ ἀτυχήσαι τοῦ | τέλους τῶν πονηθέντων,
 ἀλλ’ ἐφικέσθαι τῶν δυσεφίκτων φρονήσεως περά-
 των; τί οὖν τοῦ φρονεῖν ὀρθῶς ἐστὶ
 τέλος; ἀφροσύνην ἑαυτοῦ καὶ παντὸς τοῦ γεννητοῦ
 καταψηφίσασθαι· τὸ γὰρ μηδὲν οἶεσθαι εἰδέναι
 πέρας ἐπιστήμης, ἐνὸς ὄντος μόνου σοφοῦ τοῦ καὶ
 135 μόνου θεοῦ. διὸ καὶ παγκάλως Μωυσῆς καὶ
 πατέρα τῶν ὄλων καὶ ἐπίσκοπον τῶν γενομένων
 αὐτὸν εἰσήγαγεν εἰπών· “ εἶδεν ὁ θεὸς τὰ πάντα
 ὅσα ἐποίησε, καὶ ἰδοὺ καλὰ λίαν· ” οὐδενὶ γὰρ ἐξῆν
 τὰ συσταθέντα κατιδεῖν ἄκρως ὅτι μὴ τῷ πεποιη-
 136 κότι. πάριτε νῦν οἱ τύφου καὶ ἀπαι-
 δευσίας καὶ πολλῆς ἀλαζονείας γέμοντες, οἱ δοκη-
 σίσοφοι καὶ μὴ μόνον ὃ ἐστὶν ἕκαστον εἰδέναι
 σαφῶς ἐπιφάσκοντες,¹ ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰς αἰτίας προσ-
 αποδιδόναι διὰ θρασύτητα τολμῶντες, ὥσπερ ἡ τῇ
 τοῦ κόσμου γενέσει παρατυχόντες καὶ ὡς ἕκαστα
 καὶ ἐξ ὧν ἀπετελεῖτο κατιδόντες ἢ σύμβουλοι περὶ
 τῶν κατασκευαζομένων τῷ δημιουργῷ γενόμενοι.
 137 εἶτα τῶν ἄλλων ἅπαξ ἀπάντων μεθέμενοι γνωρί-

¹ MSS. ἔτι φάσκοντες.

THE MIGRATION OF ABRAHAM, 133-137

to God " (Gen. xviii. 23).

If, however, as 133
he goes on his way, he neither becomes weary, so that
he gives in and collapses, nor grows remiss, so that he
turns aside, now in this direction, now in that, and
goes astray missing the central road that never
diverges; but, taking the good runners as his example,
finishes the race of life without stumbling, when he
has reached the end he shall obtain crowns and prizes
as a fitting guerdon. Are not the crowns and prizes 134
just this, not to have missed the end of his labours,
but to have obtained those final aims of good sense
that are so hard of attainment?

What,
then, is the end of right-mindedness? To pronounce
on himself and all created being the verdict of folly;
for the final aim of knowledge is to hold that we know
nothing, He alone being wise, who is also alone God.
Accordingly Moses does right well in representing 135
Him as both the Father of the universe and Overseer
of the things created, where he says: " God saw all
things which He had made, and lo! they were fair
exceedingly " (Gen. i. 31): for it was not possible for
anyone perfectly to see the things which had been
formed save their Maker.

Come forward 136
now, you who are laden with vanity and gross stupidity
and vast pretence, you that are wise in your own
conceit and not only declare (in every case) that you
perfectly know what each object is, but go so far as to
venture in your audacity to add the reasons for its
being what it is, as though you had either been stand-
ing by at the creation of the world, and had observed
how and out of what materials its several parts were
fashioned, or had acted as advisers to the Creator
regarding the things He was forming—come, I say, 137
and then, letting go all other things whatever, take

σατε ἑαυτοὺς καὶ οὔτινές ἐστε σαφῶς εἶπατε, κατὰ τὸ σῶμα, κατὰ τὴν ψυχὴν, κατὰ τὴν αἴσθησιν, κατὰ τὸν λόγον, καθ' ἓν τι καὶ τὸ βραχυτάτον τῶν εἰδῶν. τί ἐστὶν ὁρασίς ἀποφύνασθε καὶ πῶς ὁρᾶτε, τί ἀκοή καὶ πῶς ἀκούετε, τί γεῦσις, τί ἀφή, τί ὄσφρησις καὶ πῶς καθ' ἑκάστην ἐνεργεῖτε ἢ τίνες εἰσὶν αἱ τούτων

- 138 πηγαί, ἀφ' ὧν καὶ τὸ εἶναι ταῦτα συμβέβηκε. μὴ γάρ μοι περὶ σελήνης καὶ ἡλίου καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ὅσα κατ' οὐρανὸν καὶ κόσμον οὕτως μακρὰν διωκισμένων καὶ τὰς φύσεις διαφερόντων ἀερομυθεῖτε, ὧ κενοὶ φρενῶν, πρὶν ἑαυτοὺς ἐρευνῆσαι καὶ γνῶναι. τμηκαῦτα γὰρ ἴσως καὶ περὶ ἐτέρων διεξιούσι πιστευτέον· πρὶν δὲ οὔτινές ἐστε αὐτοὶ παραστήσαι, μὴ νομίζετε κριταὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἢ μάρτυρες ἀψευδέστατοί ποτε γενήσεσθαι.

- 139 XXV. Τούτων δὴ τοῦτον ἐχόντων τὸν τρόπον τελειωθεὶς ὁ νοῦς ἀποδώσει τὸ τέλος τῷ τελεσφόρῳ θεῷ κατὰ τὸ ἱερώτατον γράμμα· νόμος γάρ ἐστι τὸ τέλος εἶναι κυρίου. πότε οὖν ἀποδίδωσιν; ὅταν “ἐπὶ τὸν τόπον ὃν εἶπεν αὐτῷ ὁ θεὸς τῇ ἡμέρᾳ τῇ τρίτῃ” παραγένηται, παρελθὼν τὰς πλείους μοίρας τῶν χρονικῶν διαστημάτων καὶ ἤδη πρὸς 140 τὴν ἄχρονον μεταβαίνων φύσιν· τότε γὰρ καὶ τὸν ἀγαπητὸν υἱὸν ἱεουργήσει, οὐχὶ ἄνθρωπον—οὐ γὰρ τεκνοκτόνος ὁ σοφός—, ἀλλὰ τὸ τῆς ἀρετώσης ψυχῆς γέννημα ἄρρεν, τὸν ἐπανθήσαντα καρπὸν αὐτῇ, ὃν πῶς ἤνεγκεν οὐκ ἔγνω, βλάστημα θεῖον,

^a See App. p. 563.

^b i.e. since God is all and self nothing. But perhaps “when these things are so,” “the mind being now perfected,” i.e. when it has reached the τέλος described in § 133, after which the argument was interrupted to explain what the τέλος is.

THE MIGRATION OF ABRAHAM, 137-140

knowledge of yourselves, and say clearly who you are, in body, in soul, in sense-perception, in reason and speech, in each single one, even the most minute, of the subdivisions of your being. Declare what sight is and how you see, what hearing is and how you hear, what taste, touch, smelling are, and how you act in accordance with each of them, or what are the springs and sources of these, from which is derived their very being. For pray do not, O ye senseless ones, spin 138 your airy fables^a about moon or sun or the other objects in the sky and in the universe so far removed from us and so varied in their natures, until you have scrutinized and come to know yourselves. After that, we may perhaps believe you when you hold forth on other subjects : but before you establish who you yourselves are, do not think that you will ever become capable of acting as judges or trustworthy witnesses in the other matters.

XXV. This being the case,^b the Mind, when he has 139 reached the summit, will render the sum of his tribute to God the consummator, in accordance with the all-holy writ, for there is a law that the sum^c is the Lord's (Num. xxxi. 28 ff.). When, then, does he render it ? When he has arrived " on the third day at the place which God had told him of " (Gen. xxii. 3), having passed the greater number of the divisions of time, and already quitting them for the existence that is timeless : for then too he will sacrifice his only son, 140 no human being (for the wise man is not a slayer of his offspring), but the male progeny of the rich and fertile soul, the fruit that blossomed upon it. How the soul bore it she does not know : it is a Divine growth ; and

^c Or " due." Philo is playing on the double meaning of *τέλος*.

- οὐ φανέντος ἢ δόξασα κυοφορῆσαι τὴν ἄγνοιαν τοῦ συμβάντος ἀγαθοῦ διηγείται φάσκουσα. “ τίς ἀναγγελεῖ Ἀβραὰμ ” ὡς ἀπιστοῦντι¹ δήπου περὶ τὴν τοῦ αὐτομαθοῦς γένους ἀνατολήν, ὅτι “ θηλάζει παιδίον Σάρρα,” οὐχὶ πρὸς Σάρρας θηλάζεται; τὸ γὰρ αὐτοδιδάκτον τρέφεται μὲν ὑπ’ οὐδενός, |
- [458] τροφή δ’ ἐστὶν ἄλλων, ἅτε ἱκανὸν διδάσκειν καὶ
 141 μανθάνειν οὐ δεόμενον. “ ἔτεκον γὰρ υἱόν,” οὐχ ὡς γυναῖκες Αἰγύπτιαι κατὰ τὴν τοῦ σώματος ἀκμήν, ἀλλ’ ὡς αἱ Ἑβραῖαι ψυχαί, “ ἐν τῷ γήρᾳ μου,” ὅτε τὰ μὲν ὅσα αἰσθητὰ καὶ θνητὰ μεμάρανται, τὰ δὲ νοητὰ καὶ ἀθάνατα ἀνήβηκεν, ἃ
 142 γέρως καὶ τιμῆς ἐστὶν ἐπάξια. καὶ ἔτεκον μαιευτικῆς τέχνης οὐ προσδεθειῖσα· τίκτομεν γὰρ καὶ πρὶν εἰσελθεῖν τινος ἐπινοίας καὶ ἐπιστήμας ἀνθρώπων πρὸς ἡμᾶς ἄνευ τῶν ἐξ ἔθους συνεργούντων, σπείροντος καὶ γεννῶντος θεοῦ τὰ ἀστεῖα γεννήματα, ἃ τῷ δόντι προσηκόντως κατὰ τὸν ἐπ’ εὐχαριστία τεθέντα νόμον ἀποδίδονται. “ τὰ γὰρ δῶρά μου, δόματά μου, καρπώματά μου ” φησί “ διατηρήσατε προσφέρειν ἐμοί.”
- 143 XXVI. Τοῦτ’ ἐστὶ τὸ τέλος τῆς ὁδοῦ τῶν ἐπομένων λόγοις καὶ προστάξεσι νομίμοις καὶ ταύτῃ βαδιζόντων, ἣ ἂν ὁ θεὸς ἀφηγηται· ὁ δὲ

¹ MSS. ἀπειθοῦντι.

^a See App. p. 563.

^b “Midwife,” in allusion to Ex. i. 19; “goodly,” to Ex. ii. 2 (LXX. ἀστεῖον: cf. Heb. xi. 23). The connexion of thought in §§ 139-142 is as follows. The idea that Isaac’s sacrifice typifies the offering of the soul’s consummation suggests other thoughts about this soul-birth: (1) that the soul is unconscious of what it is bearing, (2) that it comes in the

THE MIGRATION OF ABRAHAM, 140-143

when it appeared she that seemed to have given birth to it acknowledges her ignorance of the good thing that had occurred in the words "who shall announce to Abraham" (for she assumed that he did not believe in the rising up of the breed that learns without a teacher), "who shall tell Abraham that Sarah is suckling a child" (Gen. xxi. 7)? It does not say "a child is being suckled by Sarah,"^a for the kind that is taught without a teacher is nourished by no one, but is a source of nourishment to others, being capable of teaching and not needing to learn. "For 141

I bare a son," she continues, not as Egyptian women do in their bodily prime (Ex. i. 19), but as the Hebrew souls do, "in my old age" (Gen. xxi. 7), at a time, that is, when all things that are mortal and objects of sense-perception have decayed, while things immortal and intellectually discerned have grown young again, meet recipients of honour and esteem.

Furthermore, "I gave birth" without requiring 142 extraneous aid from the midwife's skill: for we give birth even before there come in to us any imaginations of man's knowledge, without the co-operation that custom supplies, for God begets and sows the seed of those goodly births, which, as is meet and right, are rendered to Him Who gave them, in fulfilment of the law laid down for thanksgiving: "My gifts, My endowments, My fruits" He says, "be careful to offer unto Me" (Num. xxviii. 2).^b

XXVI. This is the end of the way of those who 143 follow the words and injunctions of the law, and march in whatever direction God leads the way: but

ripeness of spiritual "old age"; and this contrast between Sarah and the Egyptians suggests a further contrast, namely that the Hebrew-soul needs no "midwife."

PHILO

- ὑπενδούς ὑπὸ τοῦ πεινῶντος ἡδονῆς καὶ λήχνου
παθῶν, ὄνομα Ἀμαλήκ—ἐρμηνεύεται γὰρ λαὸς
144 ἐκλείχων—, ἐκτετμήσεται. μηνύουσι δὲ οἱ χρησμοὶ
ὅτι λοχῶν ὁ τρόπος οὗτος, ἐπειδὴν τὸ ἐρρωμενέ-
στερον τῆς ψυχικῆς δυνάμεως κατίδη περαιωθέν,
ὑπανιστάμενος τῆς ἐνέδρας τὸ κεκμηκὸς μέρος ὡς
“οὐραγίαν κόπτει.” κάματος δ’ ὁ μὲν
ἐστὶν εὐένδοτος ἀσθένεια λογισμοῦ μὴ δυναμένου
τοὺς ὑπὲρ¹ ἀρετῆς ἀχθοφορῆσαι πόνοους, ἐν ἐσχατιαῖς
οὗτος εὕρισκόμενος εὐαλωτότατος, ὁ δὲ ἐστὶν
ὑπομονὴ τῶν καλῶν, τὰ μὲν καλὰ ἀθρόα ἐρρωμέ-
ως ἀναδεχομένος, μηδὲν δὲ τῶν φαύλων, καὶ εἰ
κουφότατον εἴη, βαστάσαι δικαίων, ἀλλ’ ὡς βαρύ-
145 τατον ἄχθος ἀπορρίπτων. διὸ καὶ τὴν
ἀρετὴν ὁ νόμος εὐθυβόλῳ προσεῖπεν ὀνόματι Λείαν,
ἣτις ἐρμηνευθεῖσα λέγεται κοπιῶσα· τὸν γὰρ τῶν
φαύλων βίον ἐπαχθῇ καὶ βαρὺν ὄντα φύσει κοπῶδη
προσηκόντως αὕτη νεόμικε καὶ οὐδὲ προσιδεῖν
ἀξιοῖ, τὰς ὄψεις πρὸς μόνον τὸ καλὸν ἀποκλίνουσα.
146 σπουδαζέτω δ’ ὁ νοῦς μὴ μόνον
ἀνενδότως καὶ εὐτόνως ἔπεσθαι θεῷ, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὴν
εὐθείαν ἀτραπὸν ἰέναι πρὸς μηδέτερα νεύων, μήτε
τὰ δεξιὰ μήτε τὰ εὐώνυμα, οἷς ὁ γήινος Ἐδῶμ
ἐμπεφώλευκε, τοτὲ μὲν ὑπερβολαῖς καὶ περιουσίαις,
τοτὲ δὲ ἐλλείψεσι καὶ ἐνδείαις χρώμενος. ἄμεινον

¹ MSS. ὑπ’.

^a As Heinemann suggests, there may be a play on λείχων and λοχῶν.

^b For Philo’s treatment of this interpretation of Leah’s name see note on *De Cher.* 41.

THE MIGRATION OF ABRAHAM, 143-146

the man who gives in under the assaults of the foe, who hungers after pleasure and is lickerish for passion, whose name is "Amalek," which means "a people licking up"—this man shall find himself cut off. The oracles signify that the Amalek type of 144 character lies in ambush,^a when it is aware that the more stalwart portion of the soul-army has gone by, rises up from its ambuscade and "smites or 'cuts' the hindmost" (Deut. xxv. 17 f.) or the labouring rear.

"Labouring" may be used of a readiness to give in, a feebleness of reason's functioning, an inability to bear the burdens needed to win virtue. This is a condition which, when found lagging at the extreme rear, falls an easy prey. Or the word may connote brave endurance in a noble cause, a sturdy readiness to undertake all noble tasks together, a refusal to support the weight of any base thing, though it be the very lightest, nay a rejection of it as though it were the heaviest burden.

Hence it comes that the Law gave Virtue the appropriate name "Leah," which when translated is "growing weary"^b; for Virtue has, as she well may do, made up her mind that the way of life of the wicked, so essentially burdensome and heavy, is full of weariness, and she refuses so much as to look at it, turning her gaze away from it and fixing it on the morally beautiful alone. But let the mind be bent 146

not only on following God with alert and unfailing steps, but also on keeping the straight course. Let it not incline to either side, either to what is on the right hand or to what is on the left, where Edom, of the earth earthy, has his lurking holes, and thus be the victim now of excesses and extravagances, now of shortcomings and deficiencies. For better is it to

γὰρ ὁδῶ τῇ μέσῃ βαδίζειν ἐστὶ τῇ πρὸς ἀλήθειαν βασιλικῇ, ἣν ὁ μέγας καὶ μόνος βασιλεὺς θεὸς ταῖς φιλαρέτοις ψυχαῖς ἡῦρυνεν ἐνδιαίτημα κάλλιστον.

147 διὸ καὶ τινες τῶν τὴν ἡμερον καὶ κοινωνικὴν μετιόντων φιλοσοφίαν μεσότητος τὰς ἀρετὰς εἶπον εἶναι, ἐν μεθορίῳ στήσαντες αὐτάς, ἐπειδὴ τό τε [459] ὑπέραυχον ἀλαζονείας γέμον πολλῆς | κακὸν καὶ τὸ¹ ταπεινοῦ καὶ ἀφανοῦς μεταποιεῖσθαι σχήματος εὐεπίβατον, τὸ δὲ μεταξὺ ἀμφοῖν κεκραμένον ἐπεικῶς ὠφέλιμον.

148 XXVII. Τὸ δὲ “ ὥχετο μετ’ αὐτοῦ Λῶτ ” τίνα ἔχει λόγον σκεπτέον. ἔστι μὲν οὖν Λῶτ ἐρμηνευθεὶς ἀπόκλισις· κλίνεται δὲ ὁ νοῦς τοτὲ μὲν τὰγαθόν, τοτὲ δ’ αὖ τὸ κακὸν ἀποστρεφόμενος. ἄμφω δὲ ταῦτα πολλάκις περὶ ἓνα καὶ τὸν αὐτὸν θεωρεῖται· εἰσὶ γὰρ τινες ἐνδοιασταὶ καὶ ἐπαμφοτερισταί, πρὸς ἑκάτερον τοῖχον ὥσπερ σκάφος ὑπ’ ἐναντίων πνευμάτων διαφερόμενον ἀποκλίνοντες ἢ καθάπερ ἐπὶ πλάστιγγος ἀντιρρέποντες, ἐφ’ ἑνὸς στηριχθῆναι βεβαίως ἀδυνατοῦντες, ὧν οὐδὲ τὴν ἐπὶ τὰ ἀμείνω τροπὴν ἐπαινετέον· φορᾷ 149 γάρ, ἀλλ’ οὐ γνώμη γίνεται. τούτων καὶ ὁ Λῶτ ἐστὶ θιασώτης,² ὃν φησιν οἴχεσθαι μετὰ τοῦ σοφίας ἐραστοῦ. καλὸν δ’ ἦν ἀρξάμενον ἐκείνῳ παρακολουθεῖν ἀπομαθεῖν ἀμαθίαν καὶ μηκέτι παλινδρομῆσαι πρὸς αὐτήν. ἀλλὰ γὰρ οὐχ ἔνεκα τοῦ μιμησάμενον τὸν ἀμείνω βελτιωθῆναι συνέρχεται, ἀλλ’ ὑπὲρ τοῦ κακείνῳ παρασχεῖν ἀντισπᾶσματα

¹ MSS. τοῦ.

² MSS. θεατῆς.

^a For the thought of this section see *Quod Deus* 162 ff., where the meaning of “excess” and “deficiency” is fully explained.

THE MIGRATION OF ABRAHAM, 146-149

walk on the central road, the road that is truly "the king's" (Num. xx. 17), seeing that God, the great and only King, laid it out a broad and goodly way for virtue-loving souls to keep to.^a Hence it is that some 147 of those who followed the mild and social form of philosophy,^b have said that the virtues are means, fixing them in a borderland, feeling that the overweening boastfulness of a braggart is bad, and that to adopt a humble and obscure position is to expose yourself to attack and oppression, whereas a fair and reasonable mixture of the two is beneficial.

XXVII. We have to consider what is meant by 148 "Lot went with him" (Gen. xii. 4). "Lot" by interpretation is "turning aside" or "inclining away." The mind "inclines," sometimes turning away from what is good, sometimes from what is bad. Oftentimes both tendencies are observable in one and the same person: for some men are irresolute, facers both ways, inclining to either side like a boat tossed by winds from opposite quarters, or swaying up and down as though on a pair of scales, incapable of becoming firmly settled on one: with such there is nothing praiseworthy even in their taking a turn to the better course; for it is the result not of judgement but of drift. Of this crew Lot is a member, who is 149 said to have left his home with the lover of wisdom. When he had set out to follow his steps, it would have been well for him to unlearn lack of learning and to have retraced his steps to it no more. The fact is, however, that he comes with him, not that he may imitate the man who is better than he and so gain improvement, but actually to create obstacles which pull him back, and drag him elsewhere and

^b Probably a definite reference to the Peripatetic school.

- καὶ μεθολκάς καὶ κατὰ τὴν ἔνθεν <καὶ ἔνθεν>¹
 150 ὀλίσθους. τεκμήριον δέ· ὁ μὲν ἐπὶ τὴν ἀρχαίαν
 ὑποτροπιάσας νόσον οἰχῆσεται ληφθεὶς αἰχμάλωτος
 ὑπὸ τῶν ἐν ψυχῇ πολεμίων, ὁ δὲ τὰς ἐξ ἐνέδρας
 ἐπιβουλὰς αὐτοῦ φυλαξάμενος πάσῃ μηχανῇ δι-
 οικισθήσεται. τὸν δὲ διοικισμὸν αὐθις
 μὲν, οὐπω δὲ ποιήσεται. νῦν μὲν γὰρ τὰ θεωρή-
 ματα αὐτῷ ὡς ἂν ἄρτι ἀρχομένῳ τῆς θείας θεωρίας
 πλαδᾶ καὶ σαλεύει· ὅταν δ' ἤδη παγέντα κραταιό-
 τερον ἰδρυθῇ, δυνήσεται τὸ δελεάζον καὶ κολακεῦον
 ὡς ἐχθρὸν ἀκατάλλακτον καὶ δυσθήρατον φύσει
 151 διαζεύξαι. τοῦτο γὰρ ἔσθ' ὁ δυσσπότριπτον² ὃν
 παρέπεται ψυχῇ κωλῦον αὐτὴν πρὸς ἀρετὴν ὠκυ-
 δρομεῖν· τοῦθ', ἡνίκα καὶ τὴν Αἴγυπτον ἀπελείπομεν,
 τὴν σωματικὴν χώραν ἅπασαν, ἀπομαθεῖν τὰ πάθη
 σπουδάσαντες κατὰ τὰς τοῦ προφήτου λόγους,
 Μωυσέως,³ ὑφηγήσεις, ἡκολούθησεν ἡμῖν, ἐλλαμ-
 βανόμενον τῆς περὶ τὴν ἔξοδον σπουδῆς καὶ τῷ
 τάχει τῆς ἀπολείψεως ὑπὸ φθόνου βραδυτήτας
 152 ἐμποιοῦν· λέγεται γὰρ ὅτι “ καὶ ἐπίμικτος πολὺς
 συνανέβη αὐτοῖς, καὶ πρόβατα καὶ βόες καὶ κτήνη
 πολλὰ σφόδρα,” ὁ δὲ ἐπίμικτος οὗτος ἦν τὰ κτη-
 νώδη καὶ ἄλογα τῆς ψυχῆς, εἰ δεῖ τάληθές εἰπεῖν,
 δόγματα. XXVIII. παγκάλως δὲ καὶ εὐθυβόλως
 τὴν τοῦ φαύλου ψυχὴν ἐπίμικτον καλεῖ· συννηρημένη
 γὰρ καὶ συμπεφορημένη καὶ μιγὰς ὄντως ἐκ

¹ κατὰ τὴν ἔνθεν <καὶ ἔνθεν>, *sc.* ὁδον G.H.W.: Wend. conjectures κατὰ τὴν ὁδον ἐμποιεῖν (or ἐνθεῖναι).

² Mangey δυσσπότριπτον, which suits παρέπεται better.

³ MSS. κατὰ τοὺς τοῦ προφήτου λόγους (one MS. λόγον) Μω.] so Mangey, who inserts (again with one MS.) καὶ after Μω.: Wend.'s correction is certainly right, *cf.* *De Cong.* 170 ὁ προφήτης λόγος ὄνομα Μωυσῆς.

THE MIGRATION OF ABRAHAM, 150-152

make him slip in this direction or that. Here 150 is a proof of it. We shall find Lot having a relapse, suffering from the old complaint, carried off a prisoner of war by the enemies in the soul; and Abraham, resorting to every device to guard against his ambuscades and attacks, setting up separate quarters.^a

This separation he will effect later on, but not as yet. For at present he is but a novice in the contemplation and study of things Divine and his principles are unformed and wavering. By and by they will have gained consistency and rest on a firmer foundation, and he will be able to dissociate from himself the ensnaring and flattering element as an irreconcilable and elusive foe. For it is this from 151 which the soul can so hardly disengage itself as it clings to it and hinders it from making swift progress in reaching virtue. This it was, when we were abandoning Egypt, all the bodily region, and were hastening to unlearn the passions in obedience to the instructions of the word of prophecy,^b even Moses,—it was this, I say, that followed us, checking our zeal to be gone, and moved by envy to retard the speed of our departure: for we read “and a mixed multi- 152 tude went up with them, both^c sheep and oxen and beasts very many” (Ex. xii. 38), and this mixed multitude was, in fact, the soul’s herd of beast-like doctrines. XXVIII. And very well and appropriately does he call the soul of the bad man “mixed”: for it is brought together and collected and a medley in

^a See App. p. 564.

^b A reference to Ex. xii. 11, quoted with the same interpretation above, § 25.

^c “both” better than “and” as the next words show, though later the thought is changed, and the *ἐπίμικτος* becomes human.

- πλειόνων καὶ μαχομένων δοξῶν, μία μὲν οὖσα
 153 ἀριθμῶ, μυριάς δὲ τῷ πολυτρόπῳ. διὸ καὶ τῷ
 ἐπίμικτος πρόσκειται πολὺς· ὁ μὲν γὰρ πρὸς ἓν
 [460] μόνον ἀφορῶν ἀπλοῦς καὶ | ἀμιγῆς καὶ λεῖος ὄντως,
 ὁ δὲ πολλὰ τέλη τοῦ βίου προτιθέμενος πολὺς καὶ
 μιγὰς καὶ δασὺς ἀληθεία. οὗ χάριν οἱ χρησμοὶ τὸν
 μὲν ἀσκητὴν τῶν καλῶν Ἰακώβ λεῖον, τὸν δὲ τῶν
 154 αἰσχίστων Ἡσαῦ δασὺν εἰσάγουσι. διὰ
 τὸν ἐπίμικτον καὶ δασὺν τοῦτον ὄχλον ἐκ μιγάδων
 καὶ συγκλύδων συμπεφυρμένον δοξῶν ὠκυδρομή-
 σαι δυνάμενος ὁ νοῦς, ὅτε τὴν σωματικὴν χώραν
 ἀπεδίδρασκεν Αἴγυπτον, καὶ τρισὶν ἡμέραις δια-
 δέξασθαι τὸν ἀρετῆς κλῆρον φωτὶ τρισσῶ, μνήμη
 τῶν παρεληλυθότων καὶ ἐναργεῖα¹ τῶν παρόντων
 καὶ τῇ τῶν μελλόντων ἐλπίδι, τεσσαράκοντα ἐτῶν
 ἀριθμόν, μῆκος τοσούτου χρόνου, τρίβεται τὴν ἐν
 κύκλῳ περιάγων καὶ ἀλώμενος ἔνεκα τοῦ πολυ-
 τρόπου, τὴν ἐπ' εὐθείας ἀνυσιμωτάτην οὖσαν δέον.
 155 οὗτός ἐστιν ὁ μὴ μόνον ὀλίγοις εἶδουσιν
 ἐπιθυμίας χαίρων, ἀλλὰ μηδὲν τὸ παράπαν ἀπο-
 λιπεῖν δικαίων, ἵνα ὅλον δι' ὅλων τὸ γένος, ᾧ πᾶν
 εἶδος ἐμφέρεται, μετέρχεται· λέγεται γὰρ ὅτι “ὁ
 ἐπίμικτος ὁ ἐν αὐτοῖς ἐπεθύμησεν ἐπιθυμίαν”
 αὐτοῦ τοῦ γένους, οὐχ ἑνός τινος τῶν εἰδῶν, “καὶ
 καθίσαντες ἔκλαιον.” συνήσι γὰρ ὀλιγο-

¹ MSS. ἐνεργεία.

^a Philo takes ἐπιθυμίαν, which in the LXX. is a cognate accusative representing the familiar Hebrew way of intensifying the verb (though that more often employs the dative; cf. *Leg. All.* i. 90), as if it was the direct object of ἐπεθύμησεν. The verb does occasionally take an accusative, though

THE MIGRATION OF ABRAHAM, 152-155

very deed, consisting of many discordant opinions, one in number but myriad in its manifoldness. For 153 this reason it is called a "multitude" or "numerous" as well as "mixed"; for he that has an eye to a single aim only is single and unmixed and truly smooth and level, but he that sets before himself many aims for his life is manifold and mixed and truly rough. It is for this reason that the oracles represent Jacob, the trainer of himself for nobility, as smooth, but Esau, who exercised himself in basest things, as rough with hair (Gen. xxvii. 11).

What befell the Mind, when it escaped from Egypt 154 the country of the body, was due to this mixed and rough multitude, a conglomeration of promiscuous and diverse opinions. It could have made rapid progress and in three days (Gen. xxii. 3) have entered upon the inheritance of virtue by a threefold light, memory of things gone by, clear sight of things present, and the expectation of things to come. Instead of this, for the space of forty years, for all that length of time, it wears itself out wandering and going round circle-wise, in obedience to the "manifold" element with its many twistings, when it behoved it to have taken the straight way which was the speediest.

It is this mixed mul- 155
titude which takes delight not in a few species of lusting only, but claims to leave out nothing at all, that it may follow after lust's entire genus, including all its species. For we read "the mixed people that was among them 'craved after lust,'^a after the genus itself, not some single species, 'and sat down and wept'" (Num. xi. 4).

For the understand-
commonly the genitive, on which he falls back in the next words.

- δρανοῦσα ἢ διάνοια καί, ὅποτε μὴ δύναται τυχεῖν ὧν ὀρέγεται, δακρύει καὶ στενάζει· καίτοι ὥφειλε χαίρειν παθῶν καὶ νοσημάτων ἀτυχοῦσα καὶ μεγάλην εὐπραγίαν νομίζειν τὴν ἔνδειαν καὶ ἀπουσίαν
- 156 αὐτῶν. ἀλλὰ γὰρ καὶ τοῖς χορευταῖς ἀρετῆς σφαδάζειν καὶ δακρύειν ἔθος, ἢ τὰς τῶν ἀφρόνων ὀδυρομένοις συμφορὰς διὰ τὸ φύσει κοινωνικὸν καὶ φιλάνθρωπον ἢ διὰ περιχάρειαν. γίνεται δὲ αὕτη, ὅταν ἀθρόα ἀγαθὰ μὴδὲ προσδοκηθέντα ποτὲ αἰφνίδιον ὀμβρήσαντα πλημμυρῇ· ἀφ' οὗ καὶ τὸ ποιητικὸν εἰρησθαί μοι δοκεῖ “δακρυόεν γελά-
- 157 σασα”· προσπεσοῦσα γὰρ ἐκ τοῦ ἀνελπίστου ἢ εὐπαθειῶν ἀρίστη χαρὰ ψυχῇ μείζονα αὐτὴν ἢ πρότερον ἦν ἐποίησεν, ὥς διὰ τὸν ὄγκον μηκέτι χωρεῖν τὸ σῶμα, θλιβόμενον δὲ καὶ πιεζόμενον ἀποστάζειν λιβάδας, ὥς καλεῖν ἔθος δάκρυα, περὶ ὧν ἐν ὕμνοις εἴρηται· “ψωμιεῖς ἡμᾶς ἄρτον δακρύων” καὶ “ἐγένετο τὰ δάκρυά μοι ἄρτος ἡμέρας καὶ νυκτός.” τροφή γάρ ἐστι διανοίας τὰ τοῦ ἐνδιαθέτου καὶ σπουδαίου γέλωτος ἐμφανῆ δάκρυα, ἐπειδὴν ὁ θεὸς ἐντακεῖς ἡμερος τὸν τοῦ γεννητοῦ θρῆνον ἄσμα εἰς τὸν ἀγέννητον ὕμνον ποιήσῃ.¹
- 158 XXIX. Ἐνιοὶ μὲν οὖν τὸν μιγάδα καὶ δασὺν τοῦτον ἀπορρίπτουσι καὶ διατειχίζουσιν ἀφ' ἐαυ-
- [461] τῶν τῷ θεοφιλεῖ | μόνῳ γένει χαίροντες· ἔνιοι δὲ καὶ πρὸς αὐτὸν ἑταιρίαν τίθενται, μεσιτεύειν τὸν

¹ MSS. ποιήσκειν.

^a Hom. *Il.* vi. 484.

^b E.V. “Thou hast fed us.” The future perhaps makes Philo’s perversion of the meaning a little less unreasonable.

THE MIGRATION OF ABRAHAM, 155-158

ing is conscious of its feebleness, and when it cannot obtain what it is longing for, it weeps and groans ; and yet it had cause to rejoice at missing passions and sicknesses, and to consider the dearth and absence of them great prosperity. And yet indeed it is 156 not unusual for the devotees of virtue themselves to be much moved and to shed tears, either when bemoaning the misfortunes of the unwise owing to their innate fellow-feeling and humaneness, or by reason of being overjoyed. This last occurs when, as is sometimes the case, a sudden shower of unexpected good things falls, and they come all at once like a flood. I fancy that it is to this that we must refer the expression of the poet,

She laughed with glad tears in her eyes.^a

For joy, that best of the good emotions, when it 157 has fallen upon the soul unexpectedly, makes it larger than it was before, so that owing to its size the body has no longer room for it, and as it is squeezed and compressed it distils moist drops, which we are in the habit of calling "tears." Of these it is said in the Psalms, "Thou shalt feed us^b with the bread of tears" (Ps. lxxix. [lxxx.] 6), and "My tears have been my bread by day and by night" (Ps. xli. [xlii.] 4). For tears, that rise to the surface from the inward heart-felt laughter, are food to the understanding, coming when the love of God has sunk deep in and turned the dirge of created being into a canticle of praise to the Uncreate.

XXIX. While some regard this rough and motley 158 type as outcast, and keep it at a distance from themselves, having delight in the God-beloved kind only, others actually form ties of fellowship with it,

- ἑαυτῶν βίον ἀξιοῦντες καὶ μεθόριον ἀνθρωπίνων
 τε καὶ θείων ἀρετῶν τιθέντες, ἢ ἑκατέρων ἐφάπ-
 159 τονται, καὶ τῶν ἀληθεία καὶ τῶν δοκῆσει. τούτου
 τοῦ δόγματος ὁ πολιτευόμενός ἐστι τρόπος, ὃν
 Ἰωσήφ ὀνομάζειν ἔθος, ᾧ συναπέρχονται μέλλοντι
 τὸν πατέρα κηδεύειν “ πάντες οἱ παῖδες Φαραὼ καὶ
 οἱ πρεσβύτεροι τοῦ οἴκου αὐτοῦ καὶ πάντες οἱ
 πρεσβύτεροι τῆς Αἰγύπτου καὶ πᾶσα ἡ πανοικία
 αὐτοῦ, Ἰωσήφ καὶ οἱ ἀδελφοὶ αὐτοῦ καὶ πᾶσα ἡ
 160 οἰκία ἡ πατρικὴ αὐτοῦ.” ὅρᾳς ὅτι μέσος τῆς
 Φαραὼ καὶ τῆς πατρικῆς οἰκίας ὁ πολιτικὸς οὗτος
 τάττεται, ἵνα καὶ τῶν κατὰ σῶμα, τὴν Αἴγυπτον,
 καὶ τῶν κατὰ ψυχὴν, ἅπερ ἐν τῷ πατρικῷ οἴκῳ
 θησαυροφυλακεῖται, κατ’ ἴσον ἐφάπτηται¹; ὅταν
 μὲν γὰρ λέγῃ “ τοῦ θεοῦ εἰμι ” καὶ τὰ ἄλλα ὅσα
 συγγενῇ τούτῳ, τοῖς τῆς πατρῴας οἰκίας ἐμμένει
 νομίμοις· ὅταν δὲ ἐπὶ “ τὸ δευτερεῖον ἄρμα ” τοῦ
 βασιλεύειν νοῦ δοκοῦντος ἀνέρχεται, Φαραῷ, τὸν
 161 Αἰγυπτιακὸν πάλιν ἰδρύεται τύφον. ἀθλιώτερος
 δ’ ὁ νομιζόμενος ἐνδοξότερος εἶναι βασιλεύς, ὃς τῷ
 προηγουμένῳ τῶν ἀρμάτων ἐποχείται· τὸ γὰρ μὴ
 ἐν καλοῖς διαπρέπειν ἐπιφανέστατον αἰσχος, ὡς τὸ
 φέρεσθαι τὰ ἐν τούτοις δευτερεῖα κουφότερον κακόν.
 162 τὸ μέντοι γε ἐπαμφοτερίζον αὐτοῦ
 καταμάθοις ἂν καὶ τῶν ὀρκων οὕς πεποιήται, τοτὲ
 μὲν ὁμνῦς “ νῆ τὴν ὑγείαν Φαραῷ,” τοτὲ δ’ ἔμπαλιν

¹ MSS. ἐφῆται (ἐφείται).

THE MIGRATION OF ABRAHAM, 158-162

holding that their own place in human life should be midway, set as a borderland between virtues human and Divine, and thus they aim at being in touch with both the real and the reputed virtues. To this school 159 belongs the politician's frame of mind, to which it is customary to give the name "Joseph." When he is about to bury his father there go off with him "all the servants of Pharaoh and the elders of his house and all the elders of Egypt and all his whole household,"^a Joseph and his brethren and all his father's house" (Gen. l. 7 f.). Do you notice that this 160 politician takes his position in the midst between the house of Pharaoh and his father's house? that his object is to be equally in touch with the concerns of the body, which is Egypt, and those of the soul which are kept as in a treasury in his father's house? For when he says "I belong to God" (Gen. l. 19) and other things of this kind, he is abiding by the customs of his father's house. But when he mounts "the second chariot" of the mind that fancies itself a king, even Pharaoh (Gen. xli. 43), he again sets up the idol of Egyptian vanity.^b Though indeed more wretched 161 than he is the king who is thought to be more glorious, who rides in the principal chariot: for to win distinction in things that are without moral beauty is a most patent disgrace, just as to carry off the second prize in such things is a less weighty evil. Of his 162 proneness to face both ways you may get an idea from the oaths which he is represented as taking, at one moment swearing "yea by the health of Pharaoh" (Gen. xlii. 16) and then on the contrary, "no, by the

^a The LXX has ἡ πανοικία Ἰωσήφ (evidently genitive), but Philo's comments shew that he took it as in the translation.

^b See App. p. 564. πάλιν perhaps "on the other hand."

- “ οὐ τὴν ὑγίαν Φαραώ.” ἀλλ’ ὁ μὲν περιέχων τὴν ἀπόφασιν ὄρκος τῆς πατρικῆς ἀν’ εἴη διάταγμα οἰκίας ἀεὶ φονώσης κατὰ τοῦ πάθους καὶ βουλομένης αὐτὸ τεθνάναι, ὁ δ’ ἕτερος Αἰγύπτου, ἥ
 163 φίλον ἐστὶ τοῦτο σώζεσθαι. διόπερ καίτοι τοσαύτης πληθύος συνανιούσης ἐπίμικτον ὄχλον οὐκ εἶπεν, ἐπειδὴ τῷ μὲν ἄκρως ὁρατικῶ καὶ φιλαρέτῳ πᾶν ὁ μὴ ἀρετῇ ἢ ἀρετῆς ἔργον ἀναμεμῖχθαι καὶ συγκεχύσθαι δοκεῖ, τῷ δὲ ἔτι χαμαιζήλῳ καθ’ αὐτὰ τὰ γῆς ἄθλα ἀξιέραστα καὶ ἀξιοτίμητα νενόμισται.
- 164 XXX. Τὸν μὲν οὖν ὥς κηφήνα τοὺς μελιττῶν¹ ὠφελίμους πόνους λυμαίνεσθαι διεγνωκότα καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ἐπακολουθοῦντα διατειχιεῖ, καθάπερ ἔφην, ὁ φρονήσεως ἐραστής, τοὺς δὲ ἔνεκα μιμήσεως παρεπομένους κατὰ τὸν τῶν καλῶν ζῆλον ἀποδέξεται μοίρας αὐτοῖς τὰς ἀρμοττοῦσας δασάμενος· “ τῶν ” γάρ φησι “ συμπορευθέντων ἀνδρῶν μετ’ ἐμοῦ Ἑσχῶλ, Αὐνάν, Μαμβρηῇ οὗτοι λήψονται μερίδα ”· λέγει δὲ τοὺς εὐφυεῖς τρόπους καὶ φιλο-
 165 θεάμονας. ὁ μὲν γὰρ Ἑσχῶλ εὐφυΐας σύμβολον

¹ μελιττῶν is my conjecture for the ms. μὲν αὐτῶν. See App. p. 564.

^a The LXX has νῇ (some texts μὰ) τὴν ὑγίαν Φαραώ, οὐ μὴ ἐξέλθῃτε. Philo presumably found οὐ in his copy. It will make the point a little more sensible, if we understand him to take the words “ I will not swear by the health of Pharaoh, (but) you shall not go forth.”

^b The meaning of the section seems to be as follows. To the Israel mind the mixed cavalcade of Ex. xli. is confusion; that of Gen. l. is not so to the Joseph mind. Moses regulates his language in speaking of each multitude by what the two minds would think of them.

THE MIGRATION OF ABRAHAM, 162-165

health of Pharaoh " ^a (Gen. xlii. 15). The oath containing the negative is one that his father's house would prescribe, being always a mortal foe to passion and wishing it dead ; the other oath is one that Egypt might prescribe, for passion's welfare is dear to it. It 163 is for all these reasons that, though so great a number went up with Joseph, Moses does not call them a mixed multitude ; for whereas in the view of the man whose vision is quite perfect and who is a lover of virtue, all that is not virtue and virtue's doing seems to be mixed up and to be in confusion, in the eyes of the man who still cherishes low aims earth's prizes are deemed to be in themselves worthy of love and worthy of honour. ^b

XXX. The lover of sound sense will, therefore, as I 164 said, set a barrier between him and the man who, like a drone, has set himself to make havoc of the useful labours of the bees, and who follows for the sake of doing this, while those who in their enthusiasm for all that is morally excellent accompany them on their journey from a wish to copy them, he will welcome and allot to them such portions as are suitable : for Abraham says " of the men that journeyed with me Eshcol and Aunan, ^c these shall receive Mamre as their portion " (Gen. xiv. 24) ; meaning characters well endowed by nature and lovers of the higher vision. For Eshcol is a symbol of good natural ability, his 165

^c Though Wend.'s punctuation evidently takes Mamre (as no doubt it is) as nom., Philo's language shews clearly that Mamre is, not has, the κληρος. That he should so take it, is not surprising. Except here and perhaps in Gen. xiv. 13, he would find no suggestion that Mamre was a man. It is either a town or occurs in the phrase ἡ δρὺς Μάμβρη. Even in Gen. xiv. 13 the words might without violation of grammar be so taken as to avoid such a suggestion.

[462] πυρὸς ἔχων ὄνομα, ἐπειδὴ καὶ τὸ | εὐφυὲς εὐτολμον καὶ ἔνθερμον καὶ ἐχόμενον ὧν ἂν προσάψῃται, ὁ δὲ Αὐνὰν τοῦ φιλοθεάμενος—ὀφθαλμοὶ γὰρ ἔρμηνεύεται¹—τῷ καὶ τὰ ψυχῆς ὑπ' εὐθυμίας² ὄμματα διοίγνυσθαι. τούτων δ' ἀμφοτέρων ἐστὶν ὁ θεωρητικός βίος κλήρος, προσαγορευόμενος Μαμβρῇ, ὁ μεταληφθὲν ἀπὸ ὀράσεως καλεῖται· τῷ δὲ θεωρητικῷ τὸ ὁρᾶν συνωδόν τε καὶ οἰκειότατον.

166 ἐπειδὴ δὲ τούτοις ἀλείπταις χρησάμενος ὁ νοῦς μηδὲν ἐλλείπει τῶν πρὸς ἀσκησιν, συνομαρτεῖ καὶ συντρέχει τελεία φρονήσει, μήθ' ὑπερέχων μήθ' ὑπερεχόμενος, ἀλλὰ ἰσαίτατα καὶ ἰσοστάσια βαίνων. δηλοῖ δὲ τὸ λόγιον ἐν ᾧ σαφῶς εἴρηται, διότι “πορευθέντες ἀμφοτέροι ἀμ' ἡλλθον³ ἐπὶ τὸν τόπον
167 ὃν εἶπεν ὁ θεός.” ὑπερβάλλουσά γε ἰσότης ἀρετῶν, ἀμιλλησαμένων⁴ πόνου μὲν πρὸς εὐεξίαν, τέχνης δὲ πρὸς τὴν αὐτοδίδακτον φύσιν, καὶ δυνηθέντων ἴσα τὰ ἀθλα τῆς ἀρετῆς ἐνέγκασθαι· ὥσπερ ἂν εἰ ζωγραφία καὶ πλαστική μὴ μόνον ὥς νῦν ἀκίνητα καὶ ἄψυχα ἐδημιούργουν, ἴσχυον δὲ κινούμενά τε καὶ ἔμψυχα τὰ γραφόμενα καὶ πλαττόμενα ποιεῖν· ἐδόκουν γὰρ ἂν φύσεως ἔργων οὔσαι τὸ πάλαι μμητिकाὶ τέχναι φύσεις αὐταὶ γεγενῆσθαι τὰ νῦν.

¹ Wend. prints ὀφθαλμοὶ γὰρ ἔρμηνεύεται τῷ κτλ. without dashes. But clearly the opening of the soul's eye is not the reason why the name Aunan means eyes.

² For ὑπ' εὐθυμίας (most mss. ὑπέρ) see App. p. 565.

³ mss. and Wend. ἀνῆλθον: the correction (Heinemann's) is certain. The reference is to Gen. xxii. 8, not, as W. supposed, Gen. xxii. 3. That they came *together* is the point of both this and the following section.

⁴ mss. ἀμίλλης ἀμεινων.

^a The gist of this and the preceding sections may be summed up thus. When the Abraham soul of Gen. xiv. has

THE MIGRATION OF ABRAHAM, 165-168

name meaning "fire," for natural ability like fire is full of daring, and hot, and fastens on whatever it touches. Aunan represents the vision-lover, for it means "eyes," since the eyes of the soul also are opened by cheerfulness. And of both of these the contemplative life is the inheritance receiving the name of Mamre, which in our language is "from seeing"; and there is an intimate connexion between seeing and contemplation. When 166

the mind, having such trainers as these, omits nothing that will make for its training, it runs by the side of perfect sound sense, neither getting in front nor dropping behind, but taking strides of the same length and strength. This is manifest from the plain statement of the oracle that they "both journeyed and came together to the place of which God had told him" (Gen. xxii. 8). There is indeed an extra- 167 ordinary equality in virtues, when labour has vied with natural fitness, and acquired skill with self-tutored nature, and the pair have proved capable of carrying off virtue's prizes in equal measure. It is just as though painting and sculpture were producing not only as they do now creations destitute of movement and life, but had the power to make the works of brush and chisel living and moving things; it would then be felt, that whereas they were formerly arts copying Nature's works, they had now become themselves embodiments of nature.^a XXXI. One 168

been trained by journeyings with the *εὐφύης* and the *φιλοθεάμων*, it will rise to the stage of the Abraham of Gen. xxii., who went *together* with Isaac, that is *διδακτικὴ ἀρετὴ* side by side with *αὐτομαθὴς ἀρετὴ*. When this higher stage is reached, the old antithesis between labour and natural gifts, between art the imitator and nature the creator, is wiped out. See further App. p. 565.

168

XXXI. ὁ δὲ ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον ἄνω μετέ-
 ωρος ἔξαρθείς οὐδὲν ἔτι τῶν τῆς ψυχῆς μερῶν κάτω
 τοῖς θνητοῖς ἐνδιατρίβειν ἑάσει, πάντα δ' ὥσπερ
 ἐκ σειρᾶς ἐκκρεμασθέντα συνεπισπάσεται. διὸ καὶ
 λόγιον ἐχρήσθη τῷ σοφῷ τοιόνδε· “ἀνάβηθι πρὸς
 κύριόν σου, σὺ καὶ Ἀαρὼν καὶ Ναδὰβ καὶ Ἀβιουὺδ

169 καὶ ἑβδομήκοντα τῆς γερουσίας Ἰσραὴλ.” τοῦτο
 δέ ἐστι τοιοῦτον· ἀνάβηθι, ὦ ψυχή, πρὸς τὴν
 τοῦ ὄντος θεάν εὐαρμόστως, λογικῶς, ἐκουσίως, ἀ-
 φόβως, ἀγαπητικῶς, ἐν ἀριθμοῖς ἁγίοις καὶ τελείοις
 ἑβδομάδος δεκαπλασιασθείσης. Ἀαρὼν μὲν γὰρ
 προφήτης λέγεται Μωυσέως ἐν τοῖς νόμοις, ὁ
 γεγωνὸς¹ λόγος προφητεύων διανοία, Ναδὰβ δὲ
 ἐκούσιος ἐρμηνεύεται, ὁ μὴ ἀνάγκη τιμῶν τὸ θεῖον,
 καὶ Ἀβιουὺδ πατήρ μου· οὗτος ὁ μὴ δι' ἀφροσύνην
 δεσπότου μᾶλλον ἢ πατρὸς διὰ φρόνησιν ἀρχοντος
 170 θεοῦ δεόμενος. αἰδ' εἰσὶν αἱ τοῦ βασιλεύειν ἀξίου
 νοῦ δορυφόροι δυνάμεις, αἷς συνέρχεσθαι τῷ βασιλεῖ
 παραπεμπούσας αὐτὸν θέμις.

ἀλλὰ γὰρ
 δέος ἐστὶν ἀναβαίνειν πρὸς τὴν τοῦ ὄντος θεάν ψυχῇ
 δι' ἑαυτῆς ἀγνοούσῃ τὴν ὁδόν, ὑπὸ ἀμαθίας ἅμα
 καὶ τόλμης ἐπαρθείσῃ—μεγάλα δὲ τὰ ἐξ ἀνεπ-
 ιστημοσύνης καὶ πολλοῦ θράσους παραπτώματα—

171 διόπερ εὐχεται Μωυσῆς αὐτῷ τῷ θεῷ χρῆσθαι
 [463] ἡγεμόνι πρὸς τὴν | πρὸς αὐτὸν ἄγουσαν ὁδόν· λέγει
 γάρ· “εἰ μὴ αὐτὸς σὺ συμπορεύῃ, μὴ με ἀναγάγῃς
 ἐντεῦθεν.” διότι πᾶσα κίνησις ἢ ἄνευ θείας ἐπι-
 φροσύνης ἐπιζήμιον, καὶ ἄμεινον ἐνταυθοῖ κατα-

¹ MSS. γεγωνῶς.

^a Here Moses and Aaron represent λογικῶς (combining understanding and speech), Nadab ἐκουσίως, Abihu ἀφόβως καὶ ἀγαπητικῶς, while εὐαρμόστως embraces all four.

^b See above, § 84.

THE MIGRATION OF ABRAHAM, 168-171

that has been exalted so high above the earth will no longer suffer any parts of his soul to have their converse down below among things mortal, but will draw them all up with him, just like bodies hanging on a rope. So a divine intimation was given to the wise man to this effect : " Come up to thy Lord, thou and Aaron and Nadab and Abihu and seventy of the Senate of Israel " (Ex. xxiv. 1). This means : " Come 169 up, O soul, to behold the Existent One, come with thy being in harmony, that is, with thy speech and reason active, come willingly, fearlessly, affectionately, " come in the holy and perfect measures of seven multiplied tenfold." For " Aaron " is called in the Laws Moses' prophet (Ex. vii. 1),^b speech acting as prophet to understanding, and " Nadab," meaning voluntary, is he that under no constraint does honour to the Deity, while " Abihu " means " my father," and represents the man who stands in need of God to govern him, not as a master owing to his folly, but much rather as a father owing to his good sense. These are the powers that form the bodyguard of the 170 mind that is worthy of sovereignty, and it is meet that they should accompany the King as His escort.

But the soul has reason to fear ascending in its own strength to the sight of Him that is, ignorant as it is of the way, lifted up as it is at once by ignorance and by daring, and grievous are the falls that have been occasioned by lack of knowledge and excess of boldness ; and therefore Moses prays that 171 he may have God Himself, to guide him to the way that leads to Him ; for he says : " If Thou Thyself goest not with me on my journey, lead me not up hence " (Ex. xxxiii. 15) : for loss is entailed by all movement that is not under Divine direction, and it

- μένειν τὸν θνητὸν βίον ἀλητεύοντας, ὡς τὸ πλεῖστον ἀνθρώπων γένος, ἢ πρὸς τὸν οὐρανὸν ἐξάραντας ἑαυτοὺς ὑπὸ ἀλαζονείας ἀνατραπῆναι· καθάπερ μυρίοις συνέβη τῶν σοφιστῶν, οἵτινες ὤήθησαν σοφίαν πιθανὴν εἶναι λόγων εὗρεσιν, ἀλλ' οὐ πραγ-
 172 μάτων ἀληθεστάτην πίστιν. ἴσως δὲ καὶ τοιοῦτόν τι δηλοῦται· μή με ἄνω μετέωρον ἐξάρης, πλοῦτον ἢ δόξαν ἢ τιμὰς ἢ ἀρχὰς ἢ ὅσα ἄλλα τῶν ἐν ταῖς λεγομέναις εὐτυχίαις δωρησάμενος, εἰ μὴ μέλλοις αὐτὸς συνέρχεσθαι. ταῦτα γὰρ καὶ ζημίας καὶ ὠφελείας μεγίστας πολλάκις περιποιεῖται τοῖς ἔχουσιν, ὠφελείας μὲν, ὅταν ἀφηγηται τῆς γνώμης ὁ θεός, βλάβας δέ, ὅταν τὸνναντίον· μυρίοις γὰρ τὰ λεγόμενα ἀγαθὰ πρὸς ἀλήθειαν οὐκ
 173 ὄντα κακῶν ἀνηκέστων γέγονεν αἷτια. ὁ δὲ ἐπόμενος θεῷ κατὰ τὰναγκαῖον συνοδοιπόροις χρήται τοῖς ἀκολουθοῖς αὐτοῦ λόγοις, οὓς ὀνομάζειν ἔθος ἀγγέλους· λέγεται γοῦν ὅτι “ Ἀβραὰμ συνεπορεύετο συμπροπέμπων αὐτούς.” ὡ παγκάλης ἐπανισώσεως, καθ’ ἣν ὁ παραπέμπων παρεπέμπετο, διδούς ὁ ἐλάμβανεν, οὐκ ἀνθ’ ἑτέρου ἑτερον, ἀλλὰ ἐν αὐτὸ μόνον ἐκεῖνο τὸ πρὸς τὰς ἀντιδόσεις
 174 ἔτοιμον. ἔως μὲν γὰρ οὐ τετελειώται, ἡγεμόνι τῆς ὁδοῦ χρήται λόγῳ θείῳ· χρησμὸς γὰρ ἐστίν· “ ἰδοὺ ἀποστέλλω τὸν ἄγγελόν μου πρὸ προσώπου σου, ἵνα φυλάξῃ σε ἐν τῇ ὁδῷ, ὅπως εἰσαγάγῃ σε εἰς τὴν γῆν ἣν ἡτοίμασά σοι. πρόσεχε αὐτῷ καὶ εἰσάκουε αὐτοῦ, μὴ ἀπείθει αὐτῷ· οὐ γὰρ μὴ ὑποστείληται

^a See on *De Conf.* 28.

THE MIGRATION OF ABRAHAM, 171-174

is better to stay where we are, roaming, with the bulk of mankind, through this mortal life, rather than to lift ourselves heavenward and incur shipwreck as imposters. This has been the fate of multitudes of sophists, through their imagining that wisdom consists in finding specious arguments, and not in appealing to the solid evidence of facts. But 172

perhaps the force of the prayer may be such as this : " Raise me not up on high, endowing me with wealth or fame or honours or offices, or aught else that is called good fortune, unless Thou Thyself art about to come with me." For these things often bring upon those who have them very great losses as well as very great advantages, advantages, when the judgment is under God's guidance ; hurts, when this is not so : for to thousands the things I have named, not being really good things, have become the cause of incurable evils. Now he that follows 173

God has of necessity as his fellow-travellers the words and thoughts^a that attend Him, angels as they are often called. What we read is that " Abraham travelled with them, joining with them in escorting them on their way " (Gen. xviii. 16). What a glorious privilege to be put on a level with them ! The escort is escorted ; he gives what he was receiving ; not one thing in return for another, but just one thing only that lies ready to be passed backwards and forwards from one to the other. For as long as he falls short of 174 perfection, he has the Divine Word as his leader : since there is an oracle which says, " Lo, I send My messenger before thy face, to guard thee in thy way, that he may bring thee in into the land which I have prepared for thee : give heed to him, and hearken to him, disobey him not ; for he will by no means with-

- 175 σε· τὸ γὰρ ὄνομά μου ἐστὶν ἐπ' αὐτῷ." ἐπειδὰν δὲ πρὸς ἄκραν ἐπιστήμην ἀφίκηται, συντόνως ἐπιδραμὼν ἰσοταχήσει τῷ πρόσθεν ἡγουμένῳ τῆς ὁδοῦ· ἀμφοτέρω γὰρ οὕτως ὁπαδοὶ γενήσονται τοῦ πανηγεμόνου θεοῦ μηδενὸς ἔτι τῶν ἐτεροδόξων παρακολουθοῦντος, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῦ Λώτ, ὃς ἔκλινε τὴν ψυχὴν ὀρθὴν καὶ ἀκαμπῇ φύεσθαι δυναμένην, διοικισθέντος.
- 176 XXXII. "Ἀβραὰμ δὲ ἦν" φησὶν "ἐτῶν ἑβδομήκοντα πέντε, ὅτε ἐξῆλθεν ἐκ Χαρράν." περὶ μὲν οὖν τοῦ τῶν πέντε καὶ ἑβδομήκοντα ἐτῶν ἀριθμοῦ—λόγον γὰρ ἔχει συνωδὸν τοῖς πρόσθεν εἰρημένοις—αὐτοῖς ἀκριβῶσομεν. τίς δέ ἐστι Χαρράν καὶ τίς ἢ ἐκ ταύτης ἀποικία τῆς χώρας, πρότερον ἐρευνήσωμεν. οὐδένα τοίνυν τῶν ἐντετυχηκότων τοῖς νόμοις ἀγνοεῖν εἰκός, ὅτι πρότερον μὲν ἐκ τῆς Χαλδαϊκῆς ἀναστὰς γῆς Ἀβραὰμ ᾤκησεν εἰς [464] Χαρράν, | τελευτήσαντος δὲ αὐτῷ τοῦ πατρὸς ἐκεῖθι καὶ ταύτης μετανίσταται, ὥς δυεῖν ἤδη
- 178 τόπων ἀπόλειψιν πεποιῆσθαι. τί οὖν λεκτέον; Χαλδαῖοι τῶν ἄλλων ἀνθρώπων ἐκπεπονηκέναι καὶ διαφερόντως δοκοῦσιν ἀστρονομίαν καὶ γενεθλιαλογικὴν, τὰ ἐπίγεια τοῖς μετεώροις καὶ τὰ οὐράνια τοῖς ἐπὶ γῆς ἀρμοζόμενοι καὶ ὥσπερ διὰ μουσικῆς λόγων τὴν ἐμμελεστάτην συμφωνίαν τοῦ παντὸς ἐπιδεικνύμενοι τῇ τῶν μερῶν πρὸς ἀλληλα κοινωνίᾳ καὶ συμπαθείᾳ, τόποις μὲν διεzeugμένων,
- 179 συγγενείᾳ δὲ οὐ διωκισμένων. οὗτοι τὸν φαινό-

^a See App. p. 565.

^b That this is the meaning of διὰ μουσικῆς λόγων, rather than "by a music of λόγοι," in which case λόγοι would be used in the Stoic sense of "nature-forces," is shewn by *De Mut.*

THE MIGRATION OF ABRAHAM, 174-179

draw from thee ;^a for My name is on him " (Ex. xxiii. 20 f.). But when he has arrived at full knowledge, he 175 will run with more vigorous effort, and his pace will be as great as that of him who before led the way ; for so they will both become attendants on the All-leading God, and no holder of strange doctrines will follow after them any more. Nay, even Lot has been severed from their company, for he bent aside his soul which had the capacity to grow up straight and unswerving.

XXXII. " And Abraham was," he says " seventy 176 and five years old when he went out from Haran " (Gen. xii. 4). On the number of the five and seventy years, whose import agrees with what has just been said, we will dwell in detail at a later time. Let us first examine the significance of Haran and of the removal from this country. No one versed in the 177 Laws is likely to be unaware that at an earlier date Abraham migrated from Chaldea and dwelt in Haran, and that after his father's death there, he removes from that country also, so that he has at this point already quitted two places.

What remark 178 does this call for ? The Chaldeans have the reputation of having, in a degree quite beyond that of other peoples, elaborated astronomy and the casting of nativities. They have set up a harmony between things on earth and things on high, between heavenly things and earthly. Following as it were the laws of musical proportion,^b they have exhibited the universe as a perfect concord or symphony produced by a sympathetic affinity between its parts, separated indeed in space, but housemates in kinship. These 179

184 *θείου καὶ θνητοῦ συγκερασθέντων καὶ κατὰ τοὺς τῆς τελείας μουσικῆς λόγους ἀρμολυθέντων.*

μενον τοῦτον κόσμον ἐν τοῖς οὐσιν ὑπετόπησαν εἶναι μόνον, ἢ θεὸν ὄντα αὐτὸν ἢ ἐν αὐτῷ θεὸν περιέχοντα, τὴν τῶν ὅλων ψυχὴν· εἰμαρμένην τε καὶ ἀνάγκην θεοπλαστήσαντες ἀσεβείας πολλῆς κατέπλησαν τὸν ἀνθρώπινον βίον, ἀναδιδάξαντες ὡς δίχα τῶν φαινομένων οὐδενός ἐστιν οὐδὲν αἷτιον τὸ παράπαν, ἀλλ' ἡλίου καὶ σελήνης καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἀστέρων αἱ περίοδοι τά τε ἀγαθὰ καὶ τὰ ἐναντία ἐκάστω τῶν ὄντων ἀπονέμουσι.

- 180 Μωυσῆς μέντοι τῇ μὲν ἐν τοῖς μέρεσι κοινωνία καὶ συμπαθεία τοῦ παντὸς ἔοικε συνεπιγράφεσθαι, ἕνα καὶ γεννητὸν ἀποφηνάμενος τὸν κόσμον εἶναι—γενομένου γὰρ καὶ ἐνὸς ὑπάρχοντος εὐλογον τὰς γε στοιχειώδεις οὐσίας ὑποβεβλήσθαι τοῖς ἀποτελουμένοις τὰς αὐτὰς ἅπασι κατὰ μέρη, καθάπερ ἐπὶ σωμάτων συμβέβηκε τῶν ἡνωμένων ἀλληλουχεῖν—,
- 181 τῇ δὲ περὶ θεοῦ δόξῃ διαφέρεσθαι· μήτε γὰρ τὸν κόσμον μήτε τὴν τοῦ κόσμου ψυχὴν τὸν πρῶτον εἶναι θεὸν μηδὲ τοὺς ἀστέρας ἢ τὰς χορείας αὐτῶν τὰ πρεσβύτατα τῶν συμβαινόντων ἀνθρώποις αἷτια, ἀλλὰ συνέχεσθαι μὲν τόδε τὸ πᾶν ἀοράτοις δυνάμεσιν, ὥς ἀπὸ γῆς ἐσχάτων ἄχρις οὐρανοῦ περάτων ὁ δημιουργὸς ἀπέτεινε, τοῦ μὴ ἀνεθῆναι τὰ δεθέντα καλῶς προμηθούμενος· δεσμοὶ γὰρ αἱ δυνάμεις τοῦ
- 182 παντὸς ἄρρηκτοι. διό, καθ' ὅσον τῆς νομοθεσίας λέγεται “ὁ θεὸς ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ ἄνω καὶ ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς κάτω,” μηδεὶς ὑποτοπησάτω τὸν κατὰ

^a Cf. *Leg. All.* i. 91 and note.

^b See App. p. 565.

^c Or perhaps “taking wise forethought that what was bound,” etc. But I think the passage is probably reminiscent of *Timaeus* 41A τὸ καλῶς ἀρμοσθὲν καὶ ἔχον εἰς λύειν ἐθέλειν κακοῦ. For the position of καλῶς cf. *De Dec.* 27 τὰ γεγονότα καλῶς θεωρεῖν.

THE MIGRATION OF ABRAHAM, 179-182

men imagined that this visible universe was the only thing in existence, either being itself God or containing God in itself as the soul of the whole.^a And they made Fate and Necessity divine, thus filling human life with much impiety, by teaching that apart from phenomena there is no originating cause of anything whatever, but that the circuits of sun and moon and of the other heavenly bodies determine for every being in existence both good things and their opposites.

Moses, however, while he seems 180 to confirm the sympathetic affinity of its parts displayed throughout the universe, is at variance with their opinion concerning God. He endorses the former doctrine by declaring the universe to be one and to have been made ; for if it came into being and is one, it stands to reason that all its completed several parts have the same elementary substances for their substratum, on the principle that interdependence of the parts is a characteristic of bodies which constitute a unity.^b He differs from their opinion about 181 God, holding that neither the universe nor its soul is the primal God, and that the constellations or their revolutions are not the primary causes of the things that happen to men. Nay, he teaches that the complete whole around us is held together by invisible powers, which the Creator has made to reach from the ends of the earth to heaven's furthest bounds, taking forethought that what was well bound ^c should not be loosened : for the powers of the Universe are chains that cannot be broken.

Wherefore, even 182 though it be said somewhere in the Law-book " God in heaven above and on the earth below " (Deut. iv. 39), let no one suppose that He that is is spoken of,

τὸ εἶναι λέγεσθαι—τὸ γὰρ ὃν περιέχειν ἀλλ' οὐ περιέχεσθαι θέμις—, δύναμιν δ' αὐτοῦ, καθ' ἣν
 183 ἔθηκε καὶ διετάξατο καὶ διεκόσμησε τὰ ὅλα. αὕτη
 δὲ κυρίως ἐστὶν ἀγαθότης, φθόνον μὲν τὸν μισ-
 ἀρετον καὶ μισόκαλον ἀπεληλακυῖα ἀφ' ἑαυτῆς,
 χάριτας δὲ γεννώσα αἷς τὰ μὴ ὄντα εἰς γένεσιν
 ἄγουσα ἀνέφηνεν· ἐπεὶ τό γε ὃν φαντασιαζόμενον
 δόξῃ πανταχοῦ πρὸς ἀλήθειαν οὐδαμοῦ φαίνεται, ὡς
 ἀψευδέστατον ἐκείνον εἶναι τὸν χρησμὸν, ἐν ᾧ
 [465] λέλεκται· | “ὦδε ἐγώ,” ἄδεικτος ὡς ἂν δεικνύ-
 μενος, ἀόρατος ὡς ἂν ὁρατὸς ὢν, “πρὸ τοῦ σέ”·
 πρὸ γὰρ παντὸς τοῦ γενητοῦ, ἔξω βαίνων ἐκείνου
 καὶ μηδενὶ τῶν μετ' αὐτὸν ἐμφερόμενος.

184 XXXIII. Τούτων λεγομένων ἐπὶ τῇ τῆς Χαλ-
 δαϊκῆς δόξης ἀνατροπῇ τοὺς ἔτι τὴν γνώμην
 χαλδαϊζοντας μετακλίνειν καὶ μετακαλεῖν οἶεται
 δεῖν ἐπὶ τὴν ἀλήθειαν, τῆς διδασκαλίας ἀρχόμενος
 ὦδε· τί, φησὶν, ᾧ θαυμάσιοι, τοσοῦτον αἰφνίδιον
 ἀρθέντες ἀπὸ γῆς εἰς ὕψος ἐπυνήχεσθε καὶ τὸν ἀέρα
 ὑπερκύψαντες αἰθεροβατεῖτε, ὡς ἡλίου κινήσεις καὶ
 σελήνης περιόδους καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἀστέρων τὰς
 ἐμμελεῖς καὶ ἀοιδίμους ἀκριβοῦν χορείας; ταῦτα
 γὰρ μείζονα ἢ κατὰ τὰς ὑμετέρας ἐστὶν ἐπινοίας
 ἅτε εὐδαιμονεστεράς καὶ θειοτέρας μοίρας λαχόντα.

^a Cf. *De Conf.* 138 and *De Sac.* 67 (with note).

^b The meaning is that while the Pentateuch contains the just-mentioned disproof of astrology, at the same time (note the present λεγομένων) it gives practical advice to those inclined that way. This advice is given in the statement that “Abraham went from Chaldaea to Haran,” it being implied that these persons should do the same. What “going to Haran” means is expanded into the discourse of §§ 184 ff.

THE MIGRATION OF ABRAHAM, 182-184

since the existent Being can contain, but cannot be contained. What is meant is that potency of His by which He established and ordered and marshalled the whole realm of being. This potency is nothing else ¹⁸³ than loving-kindness ; it has driven away from itself envy with its hatred of virtue and of moral beauty ; it is the mother of gracious deeds by which, bringing into created existence things that were not, it displayed them to view ; for that which is, though in opinion it be imagined everywhere, in reality shews itself nowhere, so that that is a most true oracle in which the words " Here am I " which describe Him—Him that cannot be pointed out, as though He were being pointed out, Him that is invisible, as though He were visible—are followed by the words, " before that thou wert made " (Ex. xvii. 6)^a : for He is before all creation ; His goings are outside it ; nor is He present in any of the things that come after Him.

XXXIII. All this is said to refute the Chaldean ¹⁸⁴ opinion, but side by side ^b with this Moses deems it his duty to change the way of thinking of those whose judgement still inclines to Chaldeanism, and to recall them to the truth, and he begins his lesson in this way : " How strange it is, my friends, that you have been suddenly lifted to such a height above the earth and are floating there, and, leaving the lower air beneath you, are treading the ether above, thinking to master every detail respecting the movements of the sun, and of the circuits of the moon, and of the glorious rhythmical dances of the other constellations. These ^c are too high to be reached by your powers of thought, for a lot is theirs happy and divine beyond

^a *i.e.*, the sun, etc., as usual in Philo regarded as divine beings.

- 185 κατάβητε οὖν ἀπ' οὐρανοῦ καὶ καταβάντες μὴ
 πάλιν γῆν καὶ θάλατταν καὶ ποταμούς καὶ φυτῶν
 καὶ ζώων ἰδέας ἐξετάζετε, μόνους δὲ ἑαυτοὺς καὶ
 τὴν ἑαυτῶν φύσιν ἐρευνᾶτε, μὴ ἐτέρωθι μᾶλλον
 οἰκήσαντες ἢ παρ' ἑαυτοῖς· διαθεώμενοι γὰρ τὰ
 κατὰ τὸν ἴδιον οἶκον, τὸ δεσπόζον ἐν αὐτῷ, τὸ
 ὑπήκοον, τὸ ἔμψυχον, τὸ ἄψυχον, τὸ λογικόν, τὸ
 ἄλογον, τὸ ἀθάνατον, τὸ θνητόν, τὸ ἄμεινον, τὸ
 χεῖρον, εὐθὺς ἐπιστήμην θεοῦ καὶ τῶν ἔργων αὐτοῦ
 186 σαφῆ λήψεσθε. λογιεῖσθε γὰρ ὅτι, ὡς ἐν ὑμῖν ἐστι
 νοῦς, καὶ τῷ παντί ἐστι, καὶ ὡς ὁ ὑμέτερος ἀρχὴν
 καὶ δεσποτείαν τῶν περὶ ὑμᾶς ἀναψάμενος ἕκαστον
 τῶν μερῶν ὑπήκοον ἀπέφηνεν ἑαυτῷ, οὕτω καὶ ὁ
 τοῦ παντὸς τὴν ἡγεμονίαν περιβεβλημένος αὐτο-
 κράτορι νόμῳ καὶ δίκῃ τὸν κόσμον ἡνιοχεῖ προμη-
 θούμενος οὐ τῶν ἀξιονικότερων αὐτὸ μόνον ἀλλὰ
 καὶ τῶν ἀφανεστέρων εἶναι δοκούντων.
- 187 XXXIV. μεταναστάντες οὖν ἀπὸ τῆς κατ' οὐρανὸν
 περιεργίας ἑαυτοῦς, ὅπερ εἶπον, οἰκήσατε, τὴν μὲν
 Χαλδαίων γῆν, δόξαν, καταλιπόντες, μετοικισά-
 μενοι δὲ εἰς Χαρράν, τὸ τῆς αἰσθήσεως χωρίον,
 188 ὃ δὴ σωματικός ἐστιν οἶκος διανοίας. Χαρράν γὰρ
 ἐρμηνεύεται τρώγλη, τρώγλαι δὲ σύμβολα αἰσθή-
 σεως ὁπῶν¹ εἰσὶν· ὁπὰς γὰρ καὶ φωλεοὺς τρόπον τινὰ
 ὀφθαλμοὺς μὲν ὁράσεως, ἀκοῆς δὲ ὦτα, ῥίνας δὲ
 ὁσμῶν καὶ γεύσεως φάρυγγα καὶ πᾶσαν τὴν σώ-
 189 ματος κατασκευὴν ἀφῆς εἶναι συμβέβηκε. τούτοις
 οὖν ἔτι διατρίψαντες² ἐνηρεμήσατε καὶ σχολάσατε
 καὶ τὴν ἐκάστου φύσιν ὡς ἐνὶ μάλιστα ἀκριβώσατε,

¹ MSS. τόπων.² ἐπιδιατρίψαντες.

THE MIGRATION OF ABRAHAM, 185-189

the common. Come down therefore from heaven, 185
and, when you have come down, do not begin in turn
to pass in review earth and sea and rivers, and plants
and animals in their various kinds ; but explore your-
selves only and your own nature, and make your
abode with yourselves and not elsewhere : for by
observing the conditions prevailing in your own
individual household, the element that is master in it,
and that which is in subjection, the living and the
lifeless element, the rational and the irrational, the
immortal and the mortal, the better and the worse,
you will gain forthwith a sure knowledge of God and
of His works. Your reason will shew you that, as 186
there is mind in you, so is there in the universe, and
that as your mind has taken upon itself sovereign
control of all that is in you, and brought every part
into subjection to itself, so too He, that is endued with
lordship over all, guides and controls the universe by
the law and right of an absolute sway, taking fore-
thought not only for those which are of greater, but
for those which are of less importance in our eyes.

XXXIV. Quit, then, your meddling with 187
heavenly concerns, and take up your abode, as I have
said, in yourselves ; leave behind you opinion, the
country of the Chaldeans, and migrate to Haran, the
place of sense-perception, which is understanding's
bodily tenement. For the translation of Haran is 188
" hole," and holes are figures of openings used by
sense-perception : for eyes are, in a way, openings
and lairs used by sight, ears by hearing, nostrils to
receive scents, the throat for tasting, and the whole
structure of the body for touch. Gain, therefore, by 189
a further sojourn, a peaceful and unhurried familiarity
with these, and to the utmost of your power get an

PHILO

- καὶ τὸ ἐν ἐκάστοις εὖ τε καὶ χεῖρον καταμαθόντες
τὸ μὲν φύγετε, τὸ δ' ἔμπαλιν ἐλέσθε.
ἐπειδὰν μέντοι σφόδρα ἀκριβῶς πάντα τὸν ἴδιον |
[466] διασκέψησθε οἶκον καὶ ὃν ἔχει λόγον ἕκαστον αὐτοῦ
τῶν μερῶν αὐγάσησθε, διακινήσαντες αὐτοὺς τὴν
ἐνθένδε μετανάστασιν ζητεῖτε, οὐ θάνατον ἀλλ'
190 ἀθανασίαν καταγγέλλουσιν. ἥς δείγματα σαφῆ καὶ
ἐν τοῖς σωματικοῖς καὶ ἐν τοῖς αἰσθητοῖς ἐγκατελιγ-
μένοι φωλεοῖς κατόψεσθε, τοτὲ μὲν ἐν τοῖς βαθέσιν
ὑπνοῖς—ἀναχωρήσας γὰρ ὁ νοῦς καὶ τῶν αἰσθήσεων
καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ὅσα κατὰ τὸ σῶμα ὑπεξελθὼν
ἐαυτῷ προσομιλεῖν ἄρχεται ὡς πρὸς κάτοπτρον
ἀφορῶν ἀλήθειαν, καὶ ἀπορρυψάμενος πάνθ' ὅσα ἐκ
τῶν κατὰ τὰς αἰσθήσεις φαντασιῶν ἀπεμάξατο τὰς
περὶ τῶν μελλόντων ἀψευδεστάτας διὰ τῶν ὀνείρων
μαντείας¹ ἐνθουσιᾷ—, τοτὲ δὲ καὶ ταῖς ἐγρηγόρσεσιν.
191 ὅταν γὰρ ἕκ τινος τῶν κατὰ φιλοσοφίαν κατα-
σχεθεῖς θεωρημάτων ἀχθῇ πρὸς αὐτοῦ, τῷ μὲν
ἔπεται, τῶν δ' ἄλλων ὅσα κατὰ τὸν σωματικὸν
ὄγκον ἀμνημονεῖ δῆπου. καὶ ἐμποδίζωσιν αἱ
αἰσθήσεις πρὸς τὴν ἀκριβῆ θέαν τοῦ νοητοῦ, μέλει
τοῖς φιλοθεάμοσι καθαιρεῖν αὐτῶν τὴν ἐπίθεσιν· τὰς
τε γὰρ ὅψεις καταμύουσι καὶ τὰ ὦτα ἐπιφράττουσι
καὶ τὰς τῶν ἄλλων <αἰσθήσεων> ἐπέχουσιν ὁρμὰς
καὶ ἐν ἐρμηία καὶ σκότῳ διατρίβειν ἀξιοῦσιν, ὡς
μὴ πρὸς τινος αἰσθητοῦ τὸ ψυχῆς ὄμμα, ᾧ νοητὰ
βλέπειν ἔδωκεν ὁ θεός, ἐπισκιασθῇ.
192 XXXV. τοῦτον μέντοι τὸν τρόπον μαθόντες ἀπό-

¹ Mangey (and also H²) ταῖς . . ἀψευδεστάταις . . μαντεῖαις
which perhaps suits the construction better. No example is
given in the Lexica of an accusative in this sense after
ἐνθουσιᾷν.

THE MIGRATION OF ABRAHAM, 189-192

exact knowledge of the nature of each, and, when you have thoroughly learned what is good and bad in each, shun the one, and choose the other.

And when you have surveyed all your individual dwelling with absolute exactitude, and have acquired an insight into the true nature of each of its parts, bestir yourselves and seek for your departure hence, for it is a call not to death but to immortality. You 190 will be able to descry sure indications of this, even while held fast in the dens and caves of the body and of the objects of sense. In deep sleep the mind quits its place, and, withdrawing from the perceptions and all other bodily faculties, begins to hold converse with itself, fixing its gaze on truth as on a mirror, and, having purged away as defilements all the impressions made upon it by the mental pictures presented by the senses, it is filled with Divine frenzy and discerns in dreams absolutely true prophecies concerning things to come. Thus is it at times. Or again it may be in waking hours. For when the 191 mind, possessed by some philosophic principle, is drawn by it, it follows this, and needs must be oblivious of other things, of all the concerns of the cumbersome body. And if the senses are a hindrance to the exact sight of the spiritual object, those who find happiness in beholding are at pains to crush their attack ; they shut their eyes, and stop up their ears, and check the impulses bred by their other senses, and deem it well to spend their days in solitude and darkness, that no object of sense-perception may bedim the eye of the soul, to which God has given the power to see things spiritual. XXXV. If 192 in this way you learn to effect a divorce ^a from what

^a For this legal phrase see note on *De Cher.* 115.

λευψιν τοῦ θνητοῦ χρηματίζειν καὶ τὰς περὶ τοῦ ἀγενήτου παιδευθήσεσθε δόξας· εἰ μὴ νομίζετε τὸν μὲν ὑμέτερον νοῦν ἀποδυσάμενον σῶμα, αἰσθησιν, λόγον, δίχα τούτων γυμνὰ¹ δύνασθαι τὰ ὄντα ὁρᾶν, τὸν δὲ τῶν ὅλων νοῦν, τὸν θεόν, οὐκ ἔξω τῆς ὑλικῆς φύσεως πάσης ἐστάναι περιέχοντα, οὐ περιεχόμενον, καὶ οὐκ ἐπινοία μόνον ἐπεξεληλυθέναι ὥσπερ ἄνθρωπον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῷ οὐσιώδει, οἷα ἀρμόττει θεόν.

193 ὁ μὲν γὰρ ἡμέτερος νοῦς οὐ δεδημιούργηκε τὸ σῶμα, ἀλλ' ἔστιν ἔργον ἐτέρου· διὸ καὶ περιέχεται ὡς ἐν ἀγγείῳ τῷ σώματι. ὁ δὲ τῶν ὅλων νοῦς τὸ πᾶν γεγέννηκε, τὸ πεποιηκὸς δὲ τοῦ γενομένου κρεῖττον· ὥστ' οὐκ ἂν ἐμφέροιτο τῷ χείρονι, δίχα τοῦ μηδὲ ἀρμόττειν πατέρα ἐν νιῷ περιέχεσθαι, υἱὸν δὲ ταῖς τοῦ πατρὸς ἐπιμελείαις συναύξεσθαι.

194 οὕτω κατὰ βραχὺ μεταβαίνων ὁ νοῦς ἐπὶ τὸν εὐσεβείας καὶ ὁσιότητος ἀφίξεται πατέρα, γενεθλιαλογικῆς ἀποστὰς τὸ πρῶτον, ἥτις παρέπεισεν αὐτὸν ὑπολαβεῖν τὸν κόσμον θεὸν τὸν πρῶτον εἶναι, ἀλλὰ μὴ τοῦ πρώτου θεοῦ δημιούργημα, καὶ τὰς τῶν ἀστέρων φοράς τε καὶ κινήσεις αἰτίας ἀνθρώποις κακοπραγίας καὶ τούναντίον

195 εὐδαιμονίας. ἔπειτ' εἰς τὴν ἐπίσκεψιν ἐλθὼν τὴν αὐτὸς ἑαυτοῦ, φιλοσοφήσας τὰ κατὰ τὸν ἴδιον οἶκον, τὰ περὶ σώματος, τὰ περὶ αἰσθήσεως, τὰ περὶ λόγου, καὶ γνούς κατὰ τὸ ποιητικὸν γράμμα

[467] ὅτι τοι ἐν μεγάροισι κακὸν τ' ἀγαθὸν τε τέτυκται,

¹ mss. γυμνόν. this correction of Wendland's, though supported by the run of the sentence, and perhaps by § 90, seems to me doubtful.

THE MIGRATION OF ABRAHAM, 192-195

is mortal, you will go on to receive an education in your conceptions regarding the Uncreate. For you surely do not imagine that, while your mind, having divested itself of body, sense-perception, speech, can, apart from these, see in their nakedness^a the things that are, the Mind of the universe, God, has not His abiding-place outside all material nature, containing, not contained, or doubt that He has gone forth beyond its confines not in thought alone, as man does, but in essential being also, as befits God. For our mind 193 has not created the body, but is the workmanship of Another; and it is therefore contained in the body as in a vessel. But the Mind of all things has brought the universe into existence; and that which has made is superior to the thing made, so that it could not be included in its inferior; nor indeed would it be fitting that a father should be contained in a son, but rather that a son should attain full growth under his father's care.

In this way the mind 194 gradually changing its place will arrive at the Father of piety and holiness. Its first step is to relinquish astrology, which betrayed it into the belief that the universe is the primal God, instead of being the handywork of the primal God, and that the courses and movements of the constellations are the causes of bad and good fortune to mankind.

Next it enters upon the consideration of itself, makes 195 a study of the features of its own abode, those that concern the body and sense-perception, and speech, and comes to know, as the phrase of the poet puts it,

All that existeth of good and of ill in the halls of thy homestead.^b

^a Or "when thus naked"; see critical note.

^b Hom. *Od.* iv. 392.

- ἔπειτ' ἀνατεμὼν ὁδὸν τὴν ἀφ' αὐτοῦ καὶ διὰ ταύτης ἐλπίσας τὸν δυστόπαστον καὶ δυστέκμαρτον πατέρα τῶν ὅλων κατανοῆσαι, μαθὼν ἀκριβῶς ἑαυτὸν εἴσεται τάχα που καὶ θεόν, οὐκέτι μένων ἐν Χαρράν, τοῖς αἰσθήσεως ὀργάνοις, ἀλλ' εἰς ἑαυτὸν ἐπιστραφεῖς· ἀμήχανον γὰρ ἔτι κινούμενον αἰσθητῶς μᾶλλον ἢ νοητῶς πρὸς τὴν τοῦ ὄντος
- 196 ἐλθεῖν ἐπίσκεψιν. XXXVI. οὗ χάριν καὶ ὁ ταχθεὶς τὴν ἀρίστην τάξιν παρὰ θεῷ τρόπος, ὄνομα Σαμουήλ, οὐχ ὑφηγεῖται τὰ τῆς βασιλείας δίκαια τῷ Σαοὺλ [οὐδ'] ἔτι διατρίβοντι ἐν τοῖς σκεύεσιν, ἀλλ' ἐπειδὰν ἐκεῖθεν αὐτὸν ἐξελκύσῃ. πυνθάνεται μὲν γάρ, εἰ ἔτι ἔρχεται ἐνθάδε ὁ ἀνὴρ, ἀποκρίνεται δὲ τὸ λόγιον· “ἰδοὺ αὐτὸς κέκρυπται
- 197 ἐν τοῖς σκεύεσι.” τί οὖν προσήκει τὸν ἀκούσαντα, φύσει παιδευτικὸν ὄντα, ποιῆσαι, ὅτι μὴ μετὰ σπουδῆς αὐτὸν ἐξελκύσαι; “ἐπιδραμὼν” γὰρ φησι “λαμβάνει αὐτὸν ἐκεῖθεν,” διότι τοῖς ἀγγείοις τῆς ψυχῆς, σώματι καὶ αἰσθήσει, <ἐν>διατρίβων οὐκ ἦν ἀξιόχρεως ἀκοῦσαι τῶν τῆς βασιλείας δογμάτων καὶ νόμων—βασιλείαν δὲ σοφίαν εἶναι λέγομεν, ἐπεὶ καὶ τὸν σοφὸν βασιλέα—, μετὰναστὰς δέ, ἡνίκα τῆς ἀχλύος σκεδασθείσης ὀξυδορκήσῃν ἔμελλεν. εἰκότως οὖν καὶ τὴν αἰσθήσεως χώραν, ὄνομα Χαρράν, ἀπολιπεῖν οἴεται δεῖν ὁ ἐπιστήμης ἐταῖρος.
- 198 Ἀπολείπει δὲ ἐτῶν γεγονῶς πέντε καὶ ἑβδομήκοντα· ὁ δὲ ἀριθμὸς οὗτος αἰσθητῆς καὶ νοητῆς,

^a Not so much to examine its own nature, which is not ruled out in Haran, cf. § 185, but to attain the detached and mystical condition described in § 190.

THE MIGRATION OF ABRAHAM, 195-198

The third stage is when, having opened up the road that leads from self, in hope thereby to come to discern the Universal Father, so hard to trace and unriddle, it will crown maybe the accurate self-knowledge it has gained with the knowledge of God Himself. It will stay no longer in Haran, the organs of sense, but withdraw into itself.^a For it is impossible that the mind whose course still lies in the sensible rather than the mental should arrive at the contemplation of Him that is.

XXXVI. This 196 is why the character appointed to the highest post in God's service, who is called "Samuel," does not set forth the duties of kingship to Saul, while still lingering amid the baggage, but when he has drawn him out thence. For he inquires of the Lord whether the man is still on his way hither, and the divine reply is, "Lo, *he* hath hidden himself among the baggage." What, then, does it become the recipient of this 197 answer to do, endowed as he is by nature with power to exercise discipline, save to draw him forth with all haste? So we read, "he ran thither and taketh him thence" (1 Sam. x. 22 f.), because, while lingering amid such vessels of the soul as body and sense-perception, he was not competent to listen to the principles and rules of kingship—and we pronounce wisdom to be kingship, for we pronounce the wise man to be a king. These principles could only be learnt through his changing his place, when the dark mist would disperse and he would have keen vision. No wonder, then, that the associate of knowledge deems it necessary to quit also the country of sense-perception, called Haran.

When he quits the country he is five and seventy 198 years old; and this number represents the border-

πρεσβυτέρας τε καὶ νεωτέρας, ἔτι δὲ φθαρτῆς καὶ
 199 ἀφθάρτου μεθόριος φύσεώς ἐστι. νοητὸς μὲν γὰρ
 καὶ πρεσβύτερος καὶ ἀφθαρτος λόγος ὁ τῶν ἑβδομή-
 κοντα, αἰσθητὸς δὲ καὶ νεώτερος ὁ ταῖς πέντε
 ἰσάριθμος ὧν αἰσθήσεσι. τούτῳ καὶ ὁ ἔτι γυμνα-
 ζόμενος¹ ἀσκητῆς ἐξετάζεται, μηδέπω δεδυνημένος
 ἐνέγκασθαι τὰ τέλεια νικητήρια· λέγεται γὰρ ὅτι
 “ ἦσαν αἱ πᾶσαι ψυχαὶ ἐξ Ἰακώβ πέντε καὶ ἑβδο-
 200 μῆκοντα ”· τοῦ² γὰρ ἀθλοῦντος καὶ τὸν ὑπὲρ κτή-
 σεως ἀρετῆς ἱερὸν ὄντως ἀγῶνα μὴ διαφθείροντος
 ψυχαὶ μὲν πρὸ σωματίων γεννήματα, οὕτω δ’
 ἐκτετμημέναι³ τὸ ἄλογον, ἀλλ’ ἔτι τὸν αἰσθήσεως
 ὄχλον ἐφελκόμεναι. παλαιόντος γὰρ καὶ κονιομένου
 καὶ πτερνίζοντος Ἰακώβ ἐστὶν ὄνομα, οὐ νενικη-
 201 κότος· ὅταν δὲ τὸν θεὸν ὁρᾶν ἱκανὸς εἶναι δόξας
 Ἰσραὴλ μετονομασθῇ, μόνῳ χρήσεται τῷ ἑβδομη-
 [468] κοστῷ λόγῳ, | τὴν πεντάδα τῶν αἰσθήσεων ἐκ-
 τεμών· λέγεται γὰρ ὅτι “ ἐν ἑβδομήκοντα ψυχαῖς
 κατέβησαν οἱ πατέρες σου εἰς Αἴγυπτον.”
 οὗτός ἐστιν ὁ ἀριθμὸς Μωυσέως τοῦ σοφοῦ γνώρι-
 μος· τοὺς γὰρ ἀριστίνδην ἐκ παντὸς τοῦ πλήθους
 ἐπιλελεγμένους ἑβδομήκοντα εἶναι συμβέβηκε καὶ
 πρεσβυτέρους ἅπαντας, οὐχ ἡλικίαις ἀλλὰ φρονήσει
 καὶ βουλαῖς, γνώμαις τε καὶ ἀρχαιοτρόποις ζηλώ-
 202 σεσιν. οὗτος ὁ ἀριθμὸς ἱεουργεῖται τε
 καὶ ἀποδίδοται θεῷ, ὅταν οἱ τέλειοι τῆς ψυχῆς

¹ MSS. ἐπιγυμναζόμενος.

² MSS. τούτου.

³ MSS. δὲ κεκτμημέναι, which Mangey follows, reading τὸν λόγον with H² for τὸ ἄλογον.

^a Or “fail in,” “spoil.” For this rather curious use of διαφθείρω cf. *De Cong.* 165 τὸν ἀγῶνα τοῦ βίου διήθλησαν ἀδιάφθορον καὶ ἀήττητον φυλάξαντες.

THE MIGRATION OF ABRAHAM, 198-202

land between perceptible and intelligible being, between older and younger, between corruptible and incorruptible. For seventy represents the principle 199 of intellectual apprehension, of seniority and of incorruption, while the principle that corresponds numerically to the five senses is that of juniority and sense-perception. Under the head of this principle is classed the Trainer of self still at his exercises, not yet qualified to carry off the prize of complete victory ; for we read, " the full number of souls sprung from Jacob was five and seventy " (Ex. i. 5) : for the 200 offspring of the champion who does not make havoc^a of the truly holy contest for the winning of virtue, are not bodies but souls, souls from which the irrational element has not yet been eliminated, and which still have sense-perception's gang hanging on to them. For " Jacob " is a name belonging to one wrestling, and preparing for the arena, and tripping up his adversary, not of one who has won the victory. But when, now deemed capable of seeing God, he 201 shall have received the new name of " Israel," he will have resort only to the principle of seventy, having cut out the five which pertains to the senses ; for it is written " amounting to seventy souls thy fathers went down into Egypt " (Deut. x. 22).

This is the number intimately associated with the wise Moses ; for the men picked out for their excellence from all the host were seventy, and all of them elders, not in age but in good sense and counsel and judgement and ways of thinking worthy of men of old. Sacrifices and dues paid 202 to God are determined by this number, whenever

συναχθῶσι καὶ συγκομισθῶσι καρποί· τῇ γὰρ τῶν σκηνῶν ἑορτῇ χωρὶς τῶν ἄλλων θυμάτων ἑβδομήκοντα μόσχους ἀνάγειν θυσίαν ὁλόκαυστον διείρηται. κατὰ τὸν ἑβδομηκοστὸν λόγον καὶ αἱ τῶν ἀρχόντων φιάλαι κατασκευάζονται—ἐκάστη γὰρ ἑβδομήκοντα σικλῶν ἐστὶν ὀλκῆς—, ἐπειδὴ τὰ ἔνσπονδα καὶ συμβατήρια καὶ φίλα τῆς ψυχῆς ὡς ἀληθῶς ὀλκὸν ἔχει δύναμιν, τὸν ἑβδομηκοστὸν καὶ ἅγιον λόγον, ὃν Αἴγυπτος, ἡ μισάρετος καὶ φιλοπαθῆς φύσις, πενθοῦσα εἰσάγεται· ἑβδομήκοντα γὰρ ἡμέραις καταριθμεῖται παρ' αὐτοῖς τὸ πένθος.

- 203 XXXVII. Οὗτος μὲν οὖν ὁ ἀριθμὸς, ὡς ἔφην, Μωυσέως γνώριμος, ὁ δὲ τῶν πέντε αἰσθήσεων τοῦ καὶ τὸ σῶμα καὶ τὰ ἐκτὸς ἀσπαζομένου, ὃν ἔθος καλεῖν Ἰωσήφ. τοσαύτην γὰρ αὐτῶν ἐπιμέλειαν πεποιήται, ὥστε τὸν μὲν ὁμογαστριον ἀδελφόν, τὸν αἰσθήσεως ἔκγονον ὄντα—ἡκιστα γὰρ ὁμοπατρίους οἶδε—, πέντε ἐξάλλοις δωρεῖται· στολαῖς, διαπρεπεῖς ἡγούμενος τὰς αἰσθήσεις καὶ κόσμου καὶ τιμῆς
- 204 ἀξίας. ὅλη δὲ Αἰγύπτῳ καὶ νόμους ἀναγράφει, ὅπως τιμῶσιν αὐτὰς καὶ φόρους καὶ δασμοὺς ὡς βασιλεῦσιν ἀνὰ πᾶν ἔτος κομίζωσι· τὸν γὰρ σῖτον ἀποπεμπτοῦν κελεύει, τὸ δὲ ἐστὶν ὕλας καὶ τροφὰς ἀφθόνοους θησαυροφυλακεῖν ταῖς πέντε αἰσθήσεσιν, ὅπως ἐκάστη τῶν οἰκείων ἀνεπισχέτως ἐμπιπλάμενη τρυφᾷ καὶ τὸν νοῦν τοῖς ἐπεισφορουμένοις βαρύνουσα βαπτίζει· ταῖς γὰρ τῶν αἰσθήσεων

* The translation is an attempt to preserve something of the play on words, ὀλκή weight (lit. "drawing down of the scale") suggesting ὀλκός "attracting."

THE MIGRATION OF ABRAHAM, 202-204

the ripe fruits of the soul are gathered in and collected ; for it is prescribed at the Feast of Tabernacles, over and above the other sacrifices, to offer seventy young bullocks as a burnt offering (Num. xxix. 13-36). The bowls of the princes are fashioned in keeping with the principle of seventy—for each of them is of the weight of seventy shekels (Num. vii. 13 ff.)—since everything in the soul that tends to peace and friendship and agreement has a truly weighty power^a of attraction, that sacred principle set forth by seventy, which Egypt, the virtue-hating and passion-loving nature, is represented as mourning over ; for among them mourning is reckoned as lasting seventy days (Gen. l. 3).

XXXVII. This number, then, is, as I have said, 203 intimately associated with Moses ; but the number belonging to the five senses with him who hails as friends the body and the things outside the body, him who is usually called “ Joseph.” So great is his devotion to these, that, while hardly owning the tie of a common fatherhood, he bestows upon his uterine brother, the offspring of sense-perception, five changes of raiment (Gen. xlv. 22), deeming the senses pre-eminent and deserving of adornment and honour. He sets up laws moreover for all Egypt, 204 that honour may be paid to the senses and tribute and contributions rendered to them as sovereigns every year : for he commands the Egyptians to pay a fifth part of the corn, which means that they are to store in treasuries materials and food in abundance for the five senses, that so each of them incessantly glutting itself with its own objects may wanton and drown the mind under the weight of all that it devours. For understanding is starved when the senses feast,

- εὐχαίαις λιμὸν ἄγει διάνοια, ὡς ἔμπαλιν ταῖς
 205 νηστεαῖαις εὐφροσύνας. οὐχ ὁρᾷς ὅτι
 καὶ πέντε Σαλπαὰδ θυγατέρες, ἃς ἀλληγοροῦντες
 αἰσθήσεις εἶναί φαμεν, ἐκ τοῦ δήμου Μανασσῆ
 γεγόνασιν, ὃς υἱὸς Ἰωσήφ ἐστι, χρόνῳ μὲν πρεσβύ-
 τερος ὢν, δυνάμει δὲ νεώτερος; εἰκότως· καλεῖται
 γὰρ ἐκ λήθης, τὸ δὲ ἰσοδυναμοῦν ἐστὶ πρᾶγμα
 ἀναμνήσει.¹ ἀνάμνησις δὲ τὰ δευτερεῖα φέρεται
 μνήμης, ἧς Ἐφραῖμ ἐπώνυμος γέγονεν, ὃς καρπο-
 φορία μεταληφθεὶς προσαγορεύεται· καρπὸς δὲ κάλ-
 λιστος καὶ τροφιμώτατος ψυχῆς τὸ ἄλγιστον ἐν
 206 μνήμαϊς. λέγουσι γοῦν τὰ ἐναρμόνια ἑαυταῖς αἱ
 παρθένοι· “ὁ πατὴρ ἡμῶν ἀπέθανεν”—ἀλλ’ ὁ
 θάνατος ἀναμνήσεώς ἐστι λήθη—“καὶ ἀπέθανεν οὐ
 δι’ ἁμαρτίαν ἑαυτοῦ”—παγκάλως· οὐ γὰρ ἐκούσιον
 [469] ἡ λήθη | πάθος, ἀλλ’ ἔν τι τῶν οὐ παρ’ ἡμῖν, ἐπι-
 γινόμενον ἔξωθεν—, “υἱοὶ δὲ οὐκ ἐγένοντο αὐτῷ,”
 ἀλλὰ θυγατέρες, ἐπειδὴ τὸ μὲν μνημονικὸν ἄτε φύσει
 διανιστάμενον² ἀρρενογονεῖ, τὸ δὲ ἐπιλανθανόμενον
 ὕπνῳ λογισμοῦ χρώμενον θηλυτοκεῖ· ἄλογον γάρ,
 ἀλόγου δὲ μέρους ψυχῆς αἰσθήσεις θυγατέρες.
 207 Εἰ δέ τις τὸν μὲν τάχει παρέδραμε, Μωυσῆ δὲ
 ἠκουλούθησε, μήπω δυνηθεὶς ἰσόδρομος αὐτῷ
 γενέσθαι κεκραμένῳ καὶ μιγάδι ἀριθμῷ χρήσεται,
 τῷ πέμπτῳ καὶ ἑβδομηκοστῷ, ὃς ἐστὶ σύμβολον
 αἰσθητῆς καὶ νοητῆς φύσεως, συγκεκραμένων³
 ἀμφοῖν εἰς εἶδους ἑνὸς ἀνεπιλήπτου⁴ γένεσιν.
 208 XXXVIII. ἄγαμαι σφόδρα καὶ τὴν

¹ mss. αἰσθήσει(s).

² The present can hardly give the required meaning “awake.” I suggest *διανεσταμένον*. See App. p. 565.

³ mss. *συναραμένων*, *συναρομένων*.

⁴ Mangey <οὐκ> *ἀνεπιλήπτου*. See App. p. 565.

THE MIGRATION OF ABRAHAM, 204-207

as on the other hand it makes merry when they are fasting. Do you not notice, that the five ²⁰⁵ daughters of Zelophehad, whom we take to be a figure of the senses, are of the tribe of Manasseh, who is Joseph's son, elder in age, younger in efficiency? Fitly is he younger, for his name means "from forgetfulness," and that is a thing equivalent to "recalling to mind." But the first prize goes to Memory, the second to Recollection, and Ephraim is named after Memory, for his name when translated is "Fruit-bearing," and the fairest and most nourishing fruit of the soul is remembering with no forgetfulness. And so the maidens say what perfectly fits in with ²⁰⁶ what they really are. "Our father died"—yes, the death of recollection is forgetfulness—"and he died by reason of no sin of his own"—quite rightly said, for forgetfulness is no voluntary experience, but one of those things that are not in our power, coming upon us from outside—"and he had no sons" (Num. xxvii. 3), but only daughters, for whereas the faculty of memory, being naturally wide awake, has male progeny, forgetfulness, wrapt in a slumber of reasoning power, has female offspring; for it is irrational, and the senses are daughters of the irrational portion of the soul.

But if anyone has outstripped Joseph in speed and ²⁰⁷ followed Moses, while he still lacks power to keep pace with him, he will live under a mixed and hybrid number, namely seventy-five, which denotes the nature alike of mind and sense-perception, which are both mingled together to produce a single kind, that does not call for our censure.^a XXXVIII.

^a See App. p. 565.

ὑπομονὴν Ῥεβέκκαν, ἐπειδὴν τῷ τελείῳ τὴν ψυχὴν
 καὶ τὰς τῶν παθῶν καὶ κακιῶν τραχύτητας καθ-
 ἡρηκότι παραινῇ τότε εἰς Χαρρὰν ἀποδρᾶναι· λέγει
 γάρ· “ νῦν οὖν, τέκνον, ἄκουσον τῆς φωνῆς μου καὶ
 ἀναστὰς ἀπόδραθι πρὸς Λάβαν τὸν ἀδελφόν μου εἰς
 Χαρρὰν καὶ οἴκησον μετ’ αὐτοῦ ἡμέρας τινάς, ἕως
 τοῦ ἀποστρέφαι τὸν θυμὸν καὶ τὴν ὀργὴν τοῦ
 ἀδελφοῦ σου ἀπὸ σοῦ, καὶ ἐπιλάβηται ἡ πεποίηκας
 209 αὐτῷ.” παγκάλως δὲ τὴν ἐπὶ τὰς αἰσθήσεις ὁδὸν
 δρασμὸν εἶρηκεν· ὥντως γὰρ δραπετῆς ὁ νοῦς τότε
 γίνεται, ὅταν καταλιπὼν τὰ οἰκεῖα ἑαυτῷ νοητὰ
 τράπηται πρὸς τὸ ἐναντίον τάγμα τῶν αἰσθητῶν.
 ἔστι δὲ ὅπου καὶ τὸ δραπετεύειν χρήσιμον, ἐπειδὴν
 τις αὐτὸ ποιῇ μὴ ἔνεκα ἔχθους τοῦ πρὸς τὸν κρείτ-
 τονα, ἀλλὰ τοῦ μὴ ἐπιβουλευθῆναι χάριν πρὸς τοῦ
 210 χείρονος. τίς οὖν ἡ παραίνεσις τῆς
 ὑπομονῆς; θαυμασιωτάτη καὶ περιμάχητος· ἐάν
 ποτε, φησὶν, ὁρᾷς ἀνηρεθισμένον καὶ ἐξηγριωμένον
 τὸ θυμοῦ καὶ ὀργῆς πάθος ἐν σαυτῷ ἢ τινι ἑτέρῳ,
 ὃ ἡ ἄλογος καὶ ἀτίθασος ζωοτροφεῖ¹ φύσις, μὴ
 μᾶλλον αὐτὸ ἀκονήσας ἐκθηριώσης—δήξεται γὰρ
 ἴσως ἀνιάτα—, καταψύχων δὲ τὸ ζέον αὐτοῦ καὶ
 πεπυρωμένον ἄγαν ἡμέρωσον· τιθασὸν γὰρ καὶ
 211 χειρόηθες εἰ γένοιτο, ἥκιστα ἂν βλάψαι. τίς οὖν ὁ
 τρόπος τῆς τιθασείας καὶ ἡμερώσεως αὐτοῦ; μεθ-
 αρμοσάμενος καὶ μετασκευασάμενος, ὅσα τῷ δοκεῖν,
 ἀκολούθησον τὸ πρῶτον οἷς ἂν ἐθέλῃ καὶ πρὸς

¹ Mangey ζωυρεῖ. See App. p. 566.

THE MIGRATION OF ABRAHAM, 208-211

I profoundly admire also Patience or Rebecca, when 208 she exhorts him who is full-grown in soul and has overthrown the harsh tyranny of vice and passion, even then^a to flee away to Haran. She says, "Now therefore, my child, hearken to my voice, and arise and flee away to Laban my brother in Haran, and abide with him some days, until the wrath and anger of thy brother turn away from thee, and he forget what thou hast done to him" (Gen. xxvii. 43-45). Excellently well does she call the journey to the 209 senses a flight or running away; for the mind proves itself indeed a runaway, whenever it forsakes the objects of intellectual apprehension which are proper to it, and turns to the opposite array of the objects of sense-perception. Yet sometimes even running away is serviceable, when a man does it not out of hatred for the better, but that he may not be exposed to the designs of the worse. What, then, is the 210 advice of Patience? A most marvellous and valuable one! If ever, she says, thou seest stirred up to savagery in thyself or some other person the passion of wrath and anger, one of the stock bred and reared by our irrational and untamed nature, beware of whetting its fierceness and yet more rousing the beast in it, when its bites may be incurable, but cool down its excessive heat and perfervid temper and quiet it, for should it become tame and manageable it will inflict but little hurt. What, then, is the method of 211 bringing it to a quiet and subdued state? Adapt and transform yourself in outward appearance and follow for the moment whatever it pleases, and opposing

^a *i.e.* even in the hour of victory over Esau. The "tides of the spirit," he means, often demand a return to common things, after the spirituality has been at its highest.—Wend. who wished to read either *την* or *ποτε*, did not grasp this.

- μηδὲν ἐναντιωθεὶς ὁμολόγησον τὰ αὐτὰ φιλεῖν τε καὶ μισεῖν· οὕτω γὰρ ἐξευμενισθήσεται. πρα-
 ὤνθεντος δὲ ἀποθήσῃ τὴν ὑπόκρισιν, καὶ μηδὲν
 ἔτι προσδοκῶν ἐξ ἐκείνου κακὸν πείσεσθαι μετὰ
 ῥαστώνης ἐπανελεύσῃ πρὸς τὴν τῶν ιδίων ἐπι-
 212 μέλειαν. εἰσάγεται γὰρ διὰ τοῦτο Χα-
 ρὰν θρεμμάτων μὲν ἀνάπλεως, οἰκήτορσι δὲ κεχρη-
 μένη κτηνοτρόφοις· τί γὰρ ἂν εἴη χωρίον ἀλόγῳ
 φύσει καὶ τοῖς τὴν ἐπιμέλειαν καὶ προστασίαν
 αὐτῆς ἀνειληφόσιν ἐπιτηδειότερον τῶν ἐν ἡμῖν
 213 αἰσθήσεων; πυθομένου γοῦν τοῦ ἀσκητοῦ " πόθεν
 [470] | ἔστε " ἀποκρίνονται τάληθες οἱ ποιμένες ὅτι " ἐκ
 'Χαρράν.' " ἐκ γὰρ αἰσθήσεως αἱ ἄλογοι ὥς ἐκ
 διανοίας αἱ λογικαὶ δυνάμεις εἰσὶ. προσπυθομένου
 δέ, εἰ γινώσκουσι Λάβαν, φασὶν εἰκότως εἰδέναι·
 γνωρίζει γὰρ τὸ χρῶμα καὶ πᾶσαν ποιότητα αἰσθη-
 σις, ὥς οἶται, χρωμάτων δὲ καὶ ποιότητων ὁ
 214 Λάβαν σύμβολον. καὶ αὐτὸς δὲ ἐπειδὴν
 ἤδη τελειωθῇ, τὸν μὲν τῶν αἰσθήσεων οἶκον ἀπο-
 λείψει, τὸν δὲ τῆς ψυχῆς ὥς ψυχῆς ἰδρύεται, ὃν ἔτι
 ὦν ἐν τοῖς πόνοις καὶ ταῖς ἀσκήσεσιν¹ ἀναζωγραφεῖ·
 λέγει γάρ· " πότε ποιήσω καὶ γὰρ ἐμαυτῷ οἶκον; "
 πότε τῶν αἰσθητῶν καὶ αἰσθήσεων ὑπεριδὼν νοῦν
 καὶ διάνοιαν οἰκήσω, λόγῳ θεωρητοῖς πράγμασι

¹ MSS. αἰσθήσεσι.

^a I understand these two sections to contain, not so much advice to soothe an angry man by pretending to conform to his views and wishes, as a description of the right attitude of the mind to αἰσθησις and πάθος. It is well, when we feel or see the ebullience of passion in ourselves or others to come down from the contemplation of νοητά and accommodate ourselves to outward things. Afterwards the mind may return to the care of its proper charges (τῶν ἰδίων), the mind

THE MIGRATION OF ABRAHAM, 211-214

no single suggestion of its, profess to share its likes and dislikes. In this way it will be made quite friendly. And when it has been softened, you will drop your feigning, and, free now from the expectation of suffering any evil at its hands, you will comfortably return to the care of your own charges.^a

For this is the reason^b why Haran is 212 represented as full of beasts, and having cattle-rearers as its inhabitants; for what place could be more suitable for irrational nature and those who have taken upon them the charge and patronage of it, than our senses? For instance, when the trainer of self 213 inquires "Whence are ye?" the shepherds answer truly "from Haran" (Gen. xxix. 4); for the irrational faculties come from sense-perception, as do the rational from understanding. When he further inquires whether they know Laban, they naturally say that they know him (Gen. xxix. 5): for sense-perception is familiar, so it imagines, with every colour and every quality, and Laban is the symbol of colours and varieties of quality.

But as 214 for Jacob himself, when at last he has been perfected, he quits, as we shall find, the dwelling-place of the senses, and founds that of the soul in the true sense^c of the word, the dwelling-place which he pictures to himself while still immersed in his toils and exercises; for he says, "When shall I also make for myself a dwelling-place?" (Gen. xxx. 30). When shall I, looking beyond things perceived and the senses which perceive them, inhabit mind and understanding, educated in and associating with matters being thought of as the shepherd of the herd of νοητά; cf. *De Mut.* 114. But see App. p. 566.

^b i.e. because Haran is the place of αἰσθησις.

^c See on § 5 above.

συντρεφόμενος¹ καὶ συνδιαιτώμενος, καθάπερ αἱ
 ζητητικαὶ τῶν ἀφανῶν ψυχαί—μαίας αὐτὰς ἔθος
 215 ὀνομάζειν—; καὶ γὰρ αὐταὶ ποιοῦσι σκεπάσματα
 οἰκεῖα καὶ φυλακτήρια φιλαρέτοις ψυχαῖς· τὸ δὲ
 εὐεργέστατον οἰκοδόμημα ἦν ὁ θεοῦ φόβος τοῖς
 φρουρὰν καὶ τείχος αὐτὸν ἀκαθαίρετον πεποιη-
 μένοις. “ἐπειδὴ” γάρ φησιν “ἐφοβοῦντο αἱ μαῖαι
 τὸν θεόν, ἐποίησαν ἑαυταῖς οἰκίας.”

216 XXXIX. Ἐξελθὼν οὖν ἐκ τῶν κατὰ τὴν Χαρρὰν
 τόπων ὁ νοῦς λέγεται “διοδεῦσαι τὴν γῆν ἕως τοῦ
 τόπου Συχέμ ἐπὶ τὴν δρῦν τὴν ὑψηλήν.” τί δέ
 ἐστι τὸ διοδεῦσαι, σκεψώμεθα· τὸ φιλομαθὲς ζητη-
 τικὸν καὶ περιέργον ἐστι φύσει, πανταχῇ βαδίζον
 ἀόκνως καὶ πανταχόσε διακῦπτον καὶ μηδὲν ἀδι-
 ερεῦνητον τῶν ὄντων μήτε σωμάτων μήτε πραγ-
 μάτων ἀπολιπεῖν δικαιοῦν. λίχνον γὰρ ἐκτόπως
 θαμάτων καὶ ἀκουσμάτων εἶναι πέφυκεν, ὥς μὴ
 μόνον τοῖς ἐπιχωρίοις ἀρκεῖσθαι, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν
 ξενικῶν καὶ πορρωτάτω διωκισμένων ἐφίεσθαι.

217 λέγουσι γοῦν, ὥς ἔστιν ἄτοπον ἐμ-
 πόρους μὲν καὶ καπήλους γλίσχρων ἕνεκα κερδῶν
 διαβαίνειν τὰ πελάγη καὶ τὴν οἰκουμένην ἐν κύκλῳ
 περιεῖναι ἅπασαν, μὴ θέρος, μὴ χειμῶνα, μὴ πνεύ-
 ματα βίαια, μὴ ἐναντία, μὴ νεότητα, μὴ γῆρας, μὴ
 νόσον σώματος, μὴ φίλων συνήθειαν, μὴ τὰς ἐπὶ
 γυναικὶ καὶ τέκνοις καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις οἰκείοις ἀλέκ-
 τους ἡδονάς, μὴ πατρίδος καὶ πολιτικῶν φιλανθρω-
 πῶν ἀπόλαυσιν, μὴ χρημάτων καὶ κτημάτων καὶ

¹ MSS. συστρεφόμενος.

^a Hebrew “He made them houses,” *i.e.* gave them families, to perpetuate their names.—Driver.

THE MIGRATION OF ABRAHAM, 214-217

which form reason's contemplation, even as souls do that are in quest of things out of sight? To such 215 souls it is customary to give the name of "midwives," for, like the midwives in Egypt, these make places of shelter and security fit for virtue-loving souls: and the fear of God is as of old the most sure dwelling-place for those who have made Him their guard and impregnable fastness. For it says, "Since the midwives feared God, they made for themselves houses" ^a (Ex. i. 21).

XXXIX. To resume. The mind, when it has gone 216 forth from the places about Haran, is said to have travelled through the country as far as the place of Shechem, to the lofty oak-tree (Gen. xii. 6). Let us consider what is meant by "travelled through." Love of learning is by nature curious and inquisitive, not hesitating to bend its steps in all directions, prying into everything, reluctant to leave anything that exists unexplored, whether material or immaterial. It has an extraordinary appetite for all that there is to be seen and heard, and, not content with what it finds in its own country, it is bent on seeking what is in foreign parts and separated by great distances.

We are reminded that 217 merchants and traders for the sake of trifling profits cross the seas, and compass the wide world, letting stand in their way no summer heat nor winter cold, no tempestuous or contrary winds, neither youth nor age, no sickness of body, neither the daily intercourse with friends nor the pleasure too great for words which we take in wife and children and in all else that is our own, nor the enjoyment of our fatherland and of all the gracious amenities of civic life, nor the safe use of money and property and abundance of other

- τῆς ἄλλης περιουσίας ἀσφαλῆ χρῆσιν, μὴ τῶν ἄλλων ὅτιοις συνόλως μέγα ἢ μικρὸν ἐμποδῶν
- 218 τιθεμένους, τοῦ δὲ καλλίστου καὶ περιμαχήτου καὶ μόνῳ τῷ γένει τῶν ἀνθρώπων οἰκειοτάτου χάριν, σοφίας, μὴ οὐχὶ θάλατταν μὲν ἅπασαν περαιοῦσθαι, πάντα δὲ γῆς μυχὸν ἐπέρχεσθαι, φιλοπευστοῦντας εἴ ποῦ τι καλὸν ἔστιν ἰδεῖν ἢ ἀκοῦσαι, καὶ μετὰ
- [471] σπουδῆς καὶ προθυμίας τῆς | πάσης ἰχνηλατεῖν, ἄχρισ ἂν ἐγγένηται τῶν ζητουμένων καὶ ποθουμένων
- 219 μένων εἰς ἀπόλαυσιν ἔλθειν. διόδευσον μέντοι, ψυχῇ, καὶ τὸν ἀνθρωπον, εἰ θέλεις, ἕκαστον τῶν περὶ αὐτὸν ἀγαγοῦσα εἰς ἐπίκρισιν, οἷον εὐθέως τί τὸ σῶμα καὶ τί ποιοῦν ἢ πάσχον διανοία συνεργεῖ, τί ἡ αἰσθησις καὶ τίνα τρόπον τὸν ἡγεμόνα νοῦν ὠφελεῖ, τί λόγος καὶ τίνων γινόμενος ἐρμηνεύς πρὸς καλοκάγαθίαν συμβάλλεται, τί ἡδονὴ καὶ τί ἐπιθυμία, τί λύπη καὶ φόβος καὶ τίς ἡ πρὸς ταῦτα ἱατρική, δι' ἧς ἡ ληφθεὶς τις εὐμαρῶς διεκδύσεται ἢ οὐχ ἀλώσεται πρὸς αὐτῶν τὸ παράπαν, τί τὸ ἀφραίνειν, τί τὸ ἀκολασταίνειν, τί τὸ ἀδικεῖν, τίς ἡ τῶν ἄλλων πληθὺς νοσημάτων, ὅσα ἡ φθοροποιὸς ἀποτίκτειν πέφυκε κακία, καὶ τίς ἡ τούτων ἀποστροφή, καὶ κατὰ τὰ ἐναντία τί τὸ δίκαιον ἢ τὸ φρόνιμον ἢ τὸ σῶφρον, τὸ ἀνδρεῖον, τὸ εὐβουλον, ἀρετὴ συνόλως ἅπαντα καὶ εὐπάθεια. καὶ ὃν τρόπον
- 220 ἕκαστον αὐτῶν εἴωθε περιγίνεσθαι διόδευσον μέντοι καὶ τὸν μέγιστον καὶ τελεώτατον

* Philo here seems, as not unfrequently, to use εὐπάθεια in a more general sense, not as in §§ 119 and 157 in the strict Stoic sense of justifiable emotions.

THE MIGRATION OF ABRAHAM, 217-220

good things, nor in a word anything else either great or small. If so, it is monstrous, such speakers urge, 218 when we stand to gain a thing most fair, worth all men's striving for, the special prerogative of the human race, namely wisdom, to refrain from crossing every sea, from exploring earth's every recess, in the joy of finding out whether there is in any place aught that is fair to see or hear, and from following the quest of it with utmost zest and keenness, until we can come to the enjoyment of the things that we are seeking and longing for.

Travel through 219
man also, if thou wilt, O my soul, bringing to examination each component part of him. For instance, to take the first examples that occur, find out what the body is and what it must do or undergo to co-operate with the understanding ; what sense-perception is and in what way it is of service to its ruler, mind ; what speech is, and what thoughts it must express if it would contribute to nobility of character ; what pleasure is, and what desire is ; what pain and fear are, and what the healing art is that can counteract them, by means of which a man shall either, if he falls into their hand, without difficulty make his escape, or avoid capture altogether ; what it is to play the fool, what to be licentious, what to be unjust, what the multitude of other sicknesses to which it is the nature of pestilential wickedness to give birth, and what the preventive of these ; and on the other hand, what righteousness is, or good sense, or self-mastery, courage, discretion, in a word virtue generally and moral welfare,^a and in what way each of them is wont to be won.

Travel again through 220
the greatest and most perfect man, this universe, and

- ἄνθρωπον, τόνδε τὸν κόσμον, καὶ διάσκειναι τὰ μέρη, ὡς τόποις μὲν διέζευκται, δυνάμεσι δὲ ἥνεται, καὶ τίς ὁ ἀόρατος οὗτος τῆς ἁρμονίας καὶ ἐνώσεως πᾶσι δεσμός. ἐὰν μέντοι σκοπούμενος μὴ ῥαδίως καταλαμβάνῃς ἃ ζητεῖς, ἐπίμενε μὴ κάμνων· οὐ γὰρ τῇ ἐτέρᾳ¹ ληπτὰ ταῦτ' ἐστίν, ἀλλὰ μόλις πολλοῖς καὶ μεγάλοις πόνοις ἀνευρισκόμενα.
- 221 οὐ χάριν ὁ φιλομαθὴς τοῦ τόπου Συχέμ ἐνείληπται, μεταληφθὲν δὲ τοῦνομα Συχέμ ὠμίαςις καλεῖται, πόνου σύμβολον, ἐπειδὴ τοῖς μέρεσι τούτοις ἀχθοφορεῖν ἔθος, ὡς καὶ αὐτὸς ἐτέρωθι μέμνηται λέγων ἐπὶ τινος ἀθλητοῦ τοῦτον τὸν τρόπον· “ὑπέθηκε τὸν ὦμον εἰς τὸ πονεῖν, καὶ ἐγένετο ἀνὴρ γεωργός.”
- 222 ὥστε μηδέποτε, ὦ διάνοια, μαλακισθεῖσα ὀκλάσης, ἀλλά, κἂν τι δοκῇ δυσθεώρητον εἶναι, τὸ ἐν σαυτῇ βλέπον διανοίξασα διάκνυσον εἴσω καὶ ἀκριβέστερον τὰ ὄντα ἐναύγασαι καὶ μήτε ἔκουσα μήτε ἄκουσά ποτε μύσης· τυφλὸν γὰρ ὕπνος, ὡς ὀξύωπὲς ἐγρήγορσις. ἀγαπητὸν δὲ τῷ συνεχεῖ τῆς προσβολῆς² εἰλικρινῇ τῶν ζητουμένων
- 223 λαβεῖν φαντασίαν. οὐχ ὁρᾷς ὅτι καὶ δρῶν ὑψηλὴν ἐν Συχέμ πεφυτεῦσθαί φησιν αἰνιττόμενος τὸν ἀνένδοτον καὶ ἀκαμπῇ, στερρόν τε καὶ ἄρραγέστατον παιδείας πόνον; ὦ τὸν μέλλοντα ἔσεσθαι

¹ Wendland and Mangey τῇ ἐκεχειρίᾳ. The reading here printed is, according to Wend., that of all mss. except H². Wend. later (*Rhein. Mus.* liii. p. 34) repudiated ἐκεχ. and was inclined instead to adopt a suggestion of Cohn, *ραστώνη*, based on *De Sacr.* 37. But the phrase οὐ τῇ ἐτέρᾳ ληπτὸν (not to be caught with one hand) is a quotation from Plato, *Soph.* 226 A, where it is said to be a proverbial phrase (τὸ λεγόμενον) and there is no reason to doubt its genuineness here. See further App. p. 566.

² mss. προσβολῆς.

THE MIGRATION OF ABRAHAM, 220-223

scan narrowly its parts, how far asunder they are in the positions which they occupy, how wholly made one by the powers which govern them, and what constitutes for them all this invisible bond of harmony and unity. If, however, in your investigation, you do not easily attain the objects of your quest, keep on without giving in, for these "need both hands to catch them," and only by manifold and painful toil can they be discovered. That is why the lover of 221 learning took possession of the place called Shechem, a name which when translated is "shouldering," a figure of toil, since it is with these parts of the body that we are accustomed to carry loads, as Moses himself calls to mind elsewhere speaking in this wise of one who worked and strove, "he submitted his shoulder to labour, and became a tiller of the soil" (Gen. xlix. 15).

Never, then, O my 222 understanding, do thou shew weakness and slacken, but even if aught seem to be hard to discern, open wide the organ in thyself that sees, and stoop to get a view of the inside, and behold with more accurate gaze the things that *are*, and never either willingly or unwillingly close thine eyes; for sleep is a blind thing, as wakefulness is a thing of keen sight. And it is a sufficient^a reward to obtain by unremitting inspection a clear impression of the things thou art in search of.

Do you not see that he says 223 further that a tall oak had been planted in Shechem, thus shewing in a figure the toil of education as a hard and unbreakable substance that never yields or bends?

^a Or "one with which we must be content." The word is generally used of something we accept in default of something better. What that is in this case has been shewn in § 46. There is a higher realization than seeing, viz. possessing, but that is not given to men.

τέλειον καὶ ἀναγκαῖον κεχρη̃σθαι, ἵνα μὴ¹ τὸ ψυχῆς
δικαστήριον, ὄνομα Δεῖνα—κρίσις γὰρ ἑρμηνεύε-
ται—, συλληφθῇ πρὸς τοῦ τὸν ἐναντίον μοχθοῦντος
224 πόνον, τὸν φρονήσεως ἐπιβούλον.² ὁ γὰρ
[472] ἐπώνυμος τοῦ τόπου τούτου Συχέμ, Ἐμὼρ υἱὸς
ᾧν, ἀλόγου φύσεως—καλεῖται γὰρ Ἐμὼρ ὄνος—,
ἀφροσύνην ἐπιτηδεύων καὶ συντραφεῖς ἀναισχυντία
καὶ θράσει τὰ κριτήρια τῆς διανοίας μαιίνειν ὁ
παμμάρως καὶ φθείρειν ἐπεχείρησεν, εἰ μὴ θάπτον
οἱ φρονήσεως ἀκουσταὶ³ καὶ γνώριμοι, Συμεὼν τε
καὶ Λενί, φραξάμενοι τὰ οἰκεῖα ἀσφαλῶς ἐπεξ-
ῆλθον, ἔτι ὄντας ἐν τῷ φιληδόνῳ καὶ φιλοπαθεῖ καὶ
ἀπεριτμήτῳ πόνῳ καθελόντες· χρησμοῦ γὰρ ὄντος,
ὡς “οὐκ ἂν γένοιτό ποτε πόρνη τῶν τοῦ βλέποντος,
Ἰσραὴλ, θυγατέρων,” οὗτοι τὴν παρθένον ψυχὴν
225 ἐξαρπάσαντες λαθεῖν ἤλπισαν. οὐ γὰρ
ἐρημία γε τῶν βοηθησόντων τοῖς παρασπονδου-
μένοις ἐστίν, ἀλλὰ κἂν οἴωνταί τινες, οἰήσονται
μόνον, ἀπελεγχθήσονται δὲ τῷ ἔργῳ ψευδοδοξοῦν-

¹ MSS. μὴ δέ.

² So all MSS. except H²; this has τοῦ . . . ἐπιβούλου, which Wend. adopts.

³ Wend. suggested and later (*Rhein. Mus.* lviii. 34) accepted *ἐρασταί*. But see *De Ebr.* 94, where Simeon is *φιλήκοος*, “for his name means ἀκοή.”

^a Or “tribunals.”

^b The phrase is apparently an interpretation of the next word, *ἀσφαλῶς*, which itself is taken from the LXX *εἰσῆλθον εἰς τὴν πόλιν ἀσφαλῶς*. This word, which in the E.V. is translated “unawares” (margin, “boldly”), was presumably understood by the LXX translators as “running no risks because the Shechemites were disabled.” Philo reads into it the thought that Virtue must fortify itself against Vice before it can take the offensive.

THE MIGRATION OF ABRAHAM, 223-225

It is a vital matter that he who would be perfect should ply this toil, to the end that the soul's court of justice, called "Dinah," which means "judgement," may not be ravished by him who sinks under the opposite kind of toil, which is the insidious foe of sound sense.

For the man who bears the 224
name of this place, Shechem, being son of Hamor, that is of an irrational being—for "Hamor" means "ass"—practising folly and nursed in shamelessness and effrontery, essayed—foul wretch that he was—to corrupt and defile the judgement faculties^a of the understanding. But the hearers and pupils of sound sense, Symeon and Levi, were too quick for him. They made secure their own quarters^b and went forth against them in safety, and overthrew them when still occupied in the pleasure-loving, passion-loving, toil^c of the uncircumcised: for albeit there was a Divine decree that "of the daughters of Israel, the seeing one, none might ever become a harlot" (Deut. xxiii. 17), these men hoped to carry off unobserved the virgin soul (Gen. xxxiv.).^d

Vain hope, for 225
there is no lack of succourers to victims of a breach of faith; but even if some imagine that there is, they will only imagine, but will be convicted by events of

^a A reference to LXX Gen. xxiv. 25 *ὅτε ἦσαν ἐν τῷ πόνῳ*, where *πόνος* refers to their disablement from circumcision (E.V. "when they were sore"). This strangely-used word comes in happily for Philo's allegory of Shechem as the false *πόνος*.

^d Philo takes great liberties with the story, ignoring the actual seduction of Dinah (*μαλίνειν ἐπεχέλησεν*) and the circumcision of Hamor and Shechem (*ἀπεριτμήτω πόνῳ*). He gives, however, a sort of apology for this in § 225 by suggesting that in the spiritual sphere the defilement of the truly virtuous soul, and the "circumcision" of the truly wicked, are only illusory.

PHILO

τες. ἔστι γάρ, ἔστιν ἡ μισοπόνηρος καὶ ἀμείλικτος καὶ ἀδικουμένων ἀρωγὸς ἀπαραίτητος δίκη, σφάλουσα τὰ τέλη τῶν αἰσχυνόντων ἀρετήν, ὧν πεσόντων εἰς παρθένον πάλιν ἡ δόξασα αἰσχυνθῆναι μεταβάλλει ψυχή· δόξασα δ' εἶπον, ὅτι οὐδέποτε ἐφθείρετο· τῶν γὰρ ἀκουσίων οὐδὲν τοῦ πάσχοντος πρὸς ἀλήθειαν πάθος, ὡς οὐδὲ τοῦ μὴ ἀπὸ γνώμης ἀδικούντος τὸ πραττόμενον ἔργον.

THE MIGRATION OF ABRAHAM, 225

holding a false opinion. For Justice has indeed existence, Justice the abhorrer of wickedness, the relentless one, the inexorable, the befriender of those who are wronged, bringing failure upon the aims of those who shame virtue, upon whose fall the soul, that had seemed to have been shamed, becomes again a virgin. Seemed, I said, because it never was defiled. It is with sufferings which we have not willed, as it is with wrongdoings which we have not intended. As there is no real doing in the second case, so there is no real suffering in the first.