

ΟΤΙ ΑΤΡΕΠΤΟΝ ΤΟ ΘΕΙΟΝ

- 1 I. "Καὶ μετ' ἐκείνο" φησὶν "ὡς ἂν εἰσπορεύοντο οἱ ἄγγελοι τοῦ θεοῦ πρὸς τὰς θυγατέρας τῶν ἀνθρώπων, καὶ ἐγέννων αὐτοῖς.¹" οὐκοῦν ἄξιον σκέψασθαι, τίνα ἔχει λόγον τὸ "μετ' ἐκείνο." ἔστι τοίνυν ἀναφορὰ δεικνύουσά τι τῶν προ-
- 2 εἰρημένων ἐναργέστερον. προεῖρηται δὲ περὶ θείου πνεύματος, ὃ καταμεῖναι μέχρι τοῦ παντὸς αἰῶνος ἐν πολυσχιδεῖ καὶ πολυμόρφῳ ψυχῇ σαρκῶν ὄχλον βαρύτατον ἄχθος ἀνημμένη δυσεργότατον εἶπεν
- [273] εἶναι. μετ' ἐκείνο δὴ | τὸ πνεῦμα οἱ ἄγγελοι πρὸς
- 3 τὰς θυγατέρας τῶν ἀνθρώπων εἰσίασιν. ἕως μὲν γὰρ ἐλλάμπουσι τῇ ψυχῇ καθαυτὰ φρονήσεως αὐγαί, δι' ὧν τὸν θεὸν καὶ τὰς αὐτοῦ δυνάμεις ὄρᾳ ὁ σοφός, οὐδεὶς τῶν ψευδαγγελούντων ἐπεισέρχεται τῷ λογισμῷ, ἀλλ' ἔξω περιρραντηρίων ἅπαντες εἰργονται· ὅταν δὲ ἀμυδρωθὲν ἐπισκιασθῇ τὸ διανοίας φῶς, οἱ τοῦ σκότους ἐταῖροι παρενημερήσαντες πάθει τοῖς κατεαγόσι καὶ τεθηλυμμένοις, ὥς θυγατέρας εἴρηκεν ἀνθρώπων, συν-

¹ Most mss. αὐτοῖς, but Philo's argument shows that in accordance with the generally received text of the LXX he wrote ἐαυτοῖς or αὐτοῖς.

^a E.V. "and they bare children to them."

^b or "horde." ὄχλος carries with it the idea both of a

ON THE UNCHANGEABLENESS OF GOD

I. "And after that," says Moses, "when the angels 1
of God went in unto the daughters of men and begat
for themselves " ^a (Gen. vi. 4). It is worth our while
to consider what is meant by the word "after that."
The answer is that it is a reference back, bringing
out more clearly something of what has been already
stated. That something is his words about the divine 2
spirit, that nothing is harder than that it should abide
for ever in the soul with its manifold forms and
divisions—the soul which has fastened on it the
grievous burden of this fleshly coil.^b It is after that
spirit ^c that the angels or messengers go in to the
daughters of men. For while the soul is illumined 3
by the bright and pure rays of wisdom, through which
the sage sees God and His potencies, none of the
messengers of falsehood has access to the reason, but
all are barred from passing the bounds which the
lustral water has consecrated.^d But when the light
of the understanding is dimmed and clouded, they
who are of the fellowship of darkness win the day,
and mating with the nerveless and emasculated
passions, which he has called the daughters of men,
mob and the trouble and confusion caused by it. The flesh
(plural) is here and elsewhere conceived of as manifold.

^c *i.e.* after the spirit has gone.

^d See App. p. 483.

4 ἔρχονται καὶ γεννῶσιν ἑαυτοῖς, οὐ τῷ θεῷ. τὰ μὲν γὰρ οἰκεῖα τοῦ θεοῦ γεννήματα αἱ δολόκληροι ἀρεταί, τὰ δὲ συγγενῇ φαύλων αἱ ἀνάρμοστοι κακίαι. μάθε δ', εἰ θέλεις, ὦ διάνοια,

τὸ μὴ ἑαυτῇ γεννᾶν οἶόν ἐστι παρὰ Ἀβραάμ τοῦ τελείου, ὃς τὸ ἀγαπητὸν καὶ μόνον τῆς ψυχῆς ἔγγονον γνήσιον, τῆς αὐτομαθοῦς σοφίας εἰκόνα ἐναργεστάτην, ἐπὶ κλήσιν Ἰσαάκ, ἀνάγει θεῷ καὶ ἀποδίδωσι μετὰ πάσης εὐθυμίας ἀναγκαῖον καὶ ἀρμόττον χαριστήριον συμποδίσας, ὥς φησιν ὁ νόμος, τὸ καινουργηθὲν ἱερεῖον, ἥτοι παρόσον ἐπ' οὐδενὸς θνητοῦ βαίνειν ἅπαξ ἐπιθειάσας ἡξίου, ἢ παρόσον ἀνίδρυτον καὶ ἄστατον κατείδε τὴν γένεσιν, ὅτε τὴν περὶ τὸ ὄν ἀνενδοίαστον ἔγνω βεβαίωτητα, ἣ λέγεται πεπιστευκέναι.

5 Π. τούτου γίνεται μαθητρὶς καὶ διάδοχος Ἄννα, τῆς τοῦ θεοῦ δώρημα σοφίας· ἐρμηνεύεται γὰρ χάρις αὐτῆς. ἐπειδὴ γὰρ ἐγκύμων ἐγένετο παραδεξαμένη θείας γονὰς καὶ τελεσφόροις ἐχρήσατο ὠδίσι, τὸν τεταγμένον ἐν τῇ τοῦ θεοῦ τάξει τρόπον ἀποκυνήσασα, ὃν <ἐπ>εφήμισε Σαμουήλ—καλεῖται δ' ἐρμηνευθεὶς τεταγμένος θεῷ—, λαβοῦσα ἀνταποδίδωσι τῷ δόντι μηδὲν ἴδιον ἑαυτῆς κρίνουσα ἀγαθόν,
6 ὃ μὴ χάρις ἐστὶ θεία. λέγει γὰρ ἐν τῇ πρώτῃ τῶν βασιλειῶν αὕτη τὸν τρόπον τούτον· “δίδωμί σοι αὐτὸν δοτόν,” ἐν ἴσῳ τῷ δοτόν ὄντα, ὥστ' εἶναι “τὸν δεδομένον δίδωμι.” κατὰ τὸ ἱερῶτα-

* See App. p. 483.

THE UNCHANGEABLENESS OF GOD, 4-6

beget offspring[†] for themselves and not for God. For the offspring of God's parentage are the perfect 4 virtues, but the family of evil are the vices, whose note is discord.

If thou wilt know, my mind, what it is to beget not for thyself, learn the lesson from the perfect Abraham. He brings to God the dearly loved, the only trueborn offspring of the soul, that clearest image of self-learned wisdom, named Isaac, and without a murmur renders, as in duty bound, this fitting thank-offering. But first he bound, as the law tells us, the feet of the new strange victim (Gen. xxii. 9), either because having once received God's inspiration he judged it right to tread no more on aught that was mortal, or it may be that he was taught to see how changeable and inconstant was creation, through his knowledge of the unwavering stedfastness that belongs to the Existent; for in this we are told he had put his trust (Gen. xv. 6).

II. He finds a disciple and 5 successor in Hannah, the gift of the wisdom of God, for the name Hannah interpreted is "her grace." She received the divine seed and became pregnant. And when she had reached the consummation of her travail, and had brought forth the type of character which has its appointed place in God's order, which she named Samuel, a name which being interpreted means "appointed to God," she took him and rendered him in due payment to the Giver, judging that no good thing was her own peculiar property, nothing, which was not a grace and bounty from God. For she speaks in the first book of Kings in this wise, 6 "I give to Thee him, a gift^a" (1 Sam. i. 28), that is "who is a gift," and so "I give him who has been given."

This agrees with the most sacred

- τον Μωυσέως γράμμα τοῦτο· “ τὰ δῶρά μου, δόματά μου, καρπώματά μου διατηρήσετε προσ-
 7 φέρειν ἐμοί.” τίνι γὰρ εὐχαριστητέον ἄλλῳ πλὴν θεῷ; διὰ τίνων δὲ ὅτι μὴ διὰ τῶν ὑπ’ αὐτοῦ δοθέντων; οὐδὲ γὰρ ἄλλων εὐπορήσαι δυνατόν. χρεῖος δ’ οὐδενὸς ὧν κελεύει προσφέρειν αὐτῷ τὰ ἑαυτοῦ δι’ ὑπερβολὴν τῆς πρὸς τὸ γένος ἡμῶν εὐεργεσίας· μελετήσαντες γὰρ εὐχαριστητικῶς ἔχειν καὶ τιμητικῶς αὐτοῦ καθ-
 αρεύσομεν ἀδικημάτων ἐκνιψάμενοι τὰ καταρρυ-
 [274] 8 ἔργοις. καὶ γὰρ εὐήθες εἰς μὲν τὰ ἱερὰ | μὴ ἐξεῖναι βαδίζειν, ὅς ἂν μὴ πρότερον λουσάμενος φαιδρύνηται τὸ σῶμα, εὐχεσθαι δὲ καὶ θύειν ἐπιχειρεῖν ἔτι κεκληλιδωμένη καὶ πεφυρμένη διανοίᾳ. καίτοι τὰ μὲν ἱερὰ λίθων καὶ ξύλων ἀψύχου τῆς ὕλης πεποιήται, καθ’ αὐτὸ δὲ καὶ τὸ σῶμα ἄψυχον· ἀλλ’ ὅμως ὃν ἄψυχον ἀψύχων οὐ προσάφεται μὴ περιρραντηρίοις καὶ καθαρσίοις ἀγνευτικοῖς χρησά-
 μενον, ὑπομενεῖ δέ τις τῷ θεῷ προσελθεῖν ἀκάθ-
 αρτος ὧν ψυχὴν τὴν ἑαυτοῦ τῷ καθαρωτάτῳ, καὶ
 9 ταῦτα μὴ μέλλων μετανοήσῃ; ὁ μὲν γὰρ πρὸς τῷ μηδὲν ἐπεξεργάσασθαι κακὸν καὶ τὰ παλαιὰ ἐκνίψασθαι δικαίως γεγενθῶς προσίτω, ὁ δ’ ἄνευ τούτων δυσκάθαρτος ὧν ἀφιστάσθω· λήσεται γὰρ οὐδέποτε τὸν τὰ ἐν μυχοῖς τῆς διανοίας ὀρώντα καὶ τοῖς ἀδύτοις αὐτῆς ἐμπεριπατοῦντα.
- 10 III. τῆς μέντοι θεοφιλοῦς ψυχῆς δείγμα ἐν-
 αργέστατόν ἐστι καὶ τὸ ἄσμα, ἐν ᾧ περιέχεται τὸ
 “ στεῖρα ἔτεκεν ἑπτὰ, ἡ δὲ πολλὴ ἐν τέκνοις
 11 ἡσθένησε.” καίτοι γε ἑνὸς ἐστι μήτηρ τοῦ

¹ Conj. Cohn for MS. οὐκ εἶδεσι or εἶδεσι; Wend. ἐννοίαις.

THE UNCHANGEABLENESS OF GOD, 6-11

ordinance of Moses, " My gifts, My offerings, My fruits ye shall observe to bring to Me " (Num. xxviii. 2). For to whom should we make thank-offering save to 7 God ? and wherewithal save by what He has given us ? for there is nothing else whereof we can have sufficiency. God needs nothing, yet in the exceeding greatness of His beneficence to our race He bids us bring what is His own. For if we cultivate the spirit of rendering thanks and honour to Him, we shall be pure from wrongdoing and wash away the filthiness which defiles our lives in thought and word and deed. For it is absurd that a man should be forbidden to 8 enter the temples save after bathing and cleansing his body, and yet should attempt to pray and sacrifice with a heart still soiled and spotted. The temples are made of stones and timber, that is of soulless matter, and soulless too is the body in itself. And can it be that while it is forbidden to this soulless body to touch the soulless stones, except it have first been subjected to lustral and purificatory consecration, a man will not shrink from approaching with his soul impure the absolute purity of God and that too when there is no thought of repentance in his heart ? He who is resolved not only to commit 9 no further sin, but also to wash away the past, may approach with gladness : let him who lacks this resolve keep far away, since hardly shall he be purified. For he shall never escape the eye of Him who sees into the recesses of the mind and treads its inmost shrine.

III. Indeed of the nature of the soul 10 beloved of God no clearer evidence can we have than that psalm of Hannah which contains the words " the barren hath borne seven, but she that had many children hath languished " (1 Sam. ii. 5). And yet it 11

PHILO

- Σαμουήλ ἢ λέγουσα. πῶς οὖν ἐπὶ τετοκέσαι φησίν, εἰ μὴ τι μονάδα ἐβδομάδι τὴν αὐτὴν φυσικώτατα νομίζει, οὐ μόνον ἐν ἀριθμοῖς, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐν τῇ τοῦ παντός ἀρμονίᾳ καὶ ἐν τοῖς τῆς ἐναρέτου λόγοις ψυχῆς; ὁ γὰρ τεταγμένος μόνῳ θεῷ Σαμουήλ, ἄλλῳ δὲ τὸ παράπαν συνιῶν μηδενί, κατὰ τὸ ἐν καὶ τὴν μονάδα, τὸ ὄντως ὄν, κεκό-
- 12 σμηται. αὕτη δ' ἡ κατάστασις ἐστὶν ἐβδομάδος, ἀναπαυομένης ἐν θεῷ ψυχῆς καὶ περὶ μηδὲν τῶν θνητῶν ἔργων ἔτι πονουμένης, κατὰ ἀπόλειψιν ἐξάδος, ἣν ἀπένειμε τοῖς τὰ πρωτεῖα λαβεῖν μὴ δυνηθεῖσι, δευτερείων δ' ἐξ ἀνάγκης μεταποιου-
- 13 μένοισι. τὴν μὲν οὖν στεῖραν, οὐ τὴν ἄγονον, ἀλλὰ τὴν στερρὰν καὶ ἔτι σφριγῶσαν, τοὺς διὰ καρτερίας καὶ ἀνδρείας καὶ ὑπομονῆς ἐπὶ κτήσει τοῦ ἀρίστου διαθλοῦσαν ἄθλους, ἐβδομάδι τὴν ἰσότιμον μονάδα τίκτειν εἰκὸς ἦν· εὐτοκος γὰρ καὶ εὐπαις ἡ φύσις.
- 14 τὴν δὲ πολλὴν ἀσθενεῖν ἐν τέκνοισι εἶπεν ἀψευδῶς καὶ σφόδρα ἐναργῶς· ὅταν γὰρ μία οὖσα ψυχὴ πολλὰ ὠδίνῃ τοῦ ἐνὸς ἀποστᾶσα, μυρία κατὰ τὸ εἰκὸς γίνεται, κάπειτα πλήθει τέκνων ἐξηρητημένων βαρυνομένη καὶ πιεζομένη—ἔστι δὲ ἡλιτόμηνα καὶ
- 15 ἀμβλωθρίδια τὰ πλείστα αὐτῶν—ἐξασθενεῖ. τίκτει μὲν γὰρ τὰς πρὸς σχήματα καὶ χρώματα δι' ὀφθαλμῶν ἐπιθυμίας, τίκτει δὲ τὰς πρὸς φωνὰς δι'

^a Cf. *De Post.* 64.

^b Or "since his soul rests."

^c For Philo's ideas about Six and Seven cf. *Leg. All.* i. 2-16.

^d In identifying στεῖραν, "barren," with στερρὰν, "firm," Philo is not so far out as in most of his philological vagaries. The two words may be the same in origin, "hard ground" being "barren ground."

THE UNCHANGEABLENESS OF GOD, 11-15

is the mother of one child—Samuel—who is speaking. How then can she say that she has borne seven? It can only be that in full accordance with the truth of things, she holds the One to be the same as the Seven,^a not only in the lore of numbers, but also in the harmony of the universe and in the thoughts of the virtuous soul. For Samuel who is appointed to God alone and holds no company with any other has his being ordered in accordance with the One and the Monad, the truly existent. But this condition ¹² of his implies the Seven, that is a soul which rests ^b in God and toils no more at any mortal task, and has thus left behind the Six, which God has assigned to those who could not win the first place, but must needs limit their claims to the second.^c We might well ¹³ expect, then, that the barren woman, not meaning the childless, but the “firm” or solid ^d who still abounds in power, who with endurance and courage perseveres to the finish in the contest, where the prize is the acquisition of the Best, should bring forth the Monad which is of equal value with the Seven; for her nature is that of a happy and goodly motherhood. And when she says that she who had many children ¹⁴ languishes, her words are as clear as they are true. For when the soul that is one departs from the one and is in travail with many, she naturally is multiplied a thousand-fold,^e and then weighed down and sore pressed by the multitude of children that cling to her—most of them abortions born out of due time—she languishes utterly. She brings forth the desires ¹⁵ of which the eyes and the ears are the channels, these for shapes and colours, those for sounds; she

^a Or “vast is the number of children born to her.” See App. p. 483.

ῶτων, ἐγκύμων δ' ἐστὶ καὶ τῶν γαστρὸς καὶ τῶν ὑπ' αὐτήν, ὥστε πολλῶν ἐκκρεμαμένων ἐγγόνων βαρύτατον ἄχθος φέρουσα παρίεται καὶ χεῖρας ὑπ' ἀσθενείας καθεῖσα ἀπολέγεται. τοῦτον μὲν δὴ τὸν τρόπον ἡττηθῆναι συμβαίνει πᾶσιν, ὅσοι φθαρτοῖς [275] ἑαυτοῖς φθαρτὰ γεννώσιν.

16 IV. "Ἐνιοι δ' | οὐχ ἡτταν μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ θάνατον ὑπὸ φιλαυτίας ἀνεδέξαντο. ὁ γοῦν Αὐνάν, "αἰσθόμενος ὅτι οὐκ αὐτῷ ἔσται τὸ σπέρμα," οὐ πρότερον ἐπαύσατο τὸ λογικόν, ὅπερ ἄριστον τῶν ὄντων γένος ἐστί, διαφθεύρων ἢ καὶ αὐτὸς ἀνεδέξατο φθορὰν παντελῇ, σφόδρα ὀρθῶς καὶ προσηκόντως·

17 εἰ γὰρ ἅπαντα πράξουσιν τινες αὐτῶν ἕνεκα, μὴ γονέων τιμῆς, μὴ παίδων εὐκοσμίας, μὴ σωτηρίας πατρίδος, μὴ νόμων φυλακῆς, μὴ ἐθῶν βεβαιότητος, μὴ ἰδίων μὴ κοινῶν ἐπανορθώσεως, μὴ ἱερῶν ἀγιστείας, μὴ τῆς πρὸς θεὸν εὐσεβείας ἐπιστρεφόμενοι,

18 κακοδαιμονήσουσιν. ἐνὸς γὰρ ὧν εἶπον χάριν ἀντικαταλλάξασθαι καὶ αὐτὸ τὸ ζῆν εὐκλεές, οἱ δ' ἄρα καὶ ἀθρόων τῶν οὕτω περιμαχήτων φασίν, εἰ μὴ τινα ἡδονὴν μέλλοι περιποιεῖν, κατολιγωρήσειν. τοιγάρτοι πονηρὰν εἰσῆγησιν ὁ ἀδέκαστος θεὸς ἐκφύλου δόγματος, ἐπὶ κλήσιν Αὐνάν, ἐκποδῶν ἀν-

19 ἐλεί. παραιτητέοι δὴ πάντες οἱ γεννῶντες αὐτοῖς, τὸ δ' ἐστὶν ὅσοι τὸ ἴδιον λυσιτελές μόνον θηρώμενοι τῶν ἄλλων ὑπερορῶσιν, ὥσπερ αὐτοῖς μόνοις φύντες, οὐχὶ δὲ μυρίοις ἄλλοις, πατρί,

^a Or "gives up the fight."

^b The sections 16-19 largely repeat *De Post.* 180, 181.

^c See App. p. 483.

THE UNCHANGEABLENESS OF GOD, 15-19

is pregnant with the lusts of the belly and those which have their seat below it, and thus, under the crushing load of the many children that hang upon her, she grows faint and dropping her hands in weakness sinks in prostration.^a This manner of defeat is the lot of all who engender things corruptible for their corruptible selves.

IV. Some ^b there are who through self-love have 16 brought upon themselves not only defeat but death. Thus Onan "perceiving that the seed will not be his" (Gen. xxxviii. 9), ceased not to destroy the reasoning principle, which in kind is the best of all existing things, till he himself underwent utter destruction. And right just and fitting was his fate. For if there 17 shall be any whose every deed is self-seeking, who have no regard for the honouring of their parents, for the ordering of their children aright, for the safety of their country, for the maintenance of the laws, for the security of good customs, for the better conduct of things private and public, for the sanctity of temples, for piety towards God, miserable shall be their fate. To sacrifice life itself for any single one 18 of these that I have named is honour and glory. But these self-lovers—they say that if these blessings, desirable as they are, were all put together, they would utterly despise them, if they should not procure them some future pleasure.^c And therefore God in His impartial justice will cast out to destruction that evil suggestion of an unnatural creed, called Onan.

We must indeed reject all those 19 who "beget for themselves," that is all those who pursue only their own profit and think not of others. For they think themselves born for themselves only and not for the innumerable others, for father, for

μητρί, γυναικί, τέκνοις, πατρίδι, ἀνθρώπων γένει, εἰ δὲ δεῖ προελθόντας τι περαιτέρω φάναι, οὐρανῷ, γῇ, τῷ παντὶ κόσμῳ, ἐπιστήμαις, ἀρεταῖς, τῷ πατρὶ καὶ ἡγεμόνι τῶν συμπάντων· ὧν ἐκάστω κατὰ δύναμιν ἀπονεμητέον τὸ ἀρμόττον μὴ τὰ πάντα προσθήκην ἑαυτοῦ, ἑαυτὸν δὲ τῶν πάντων νομίζοντα.

- 20 V. Τούτων μὲν δὴ ἅλεις, τὰ δ' ἀκόλουθα τῷ λόγῳ συνυφήνωμεν. “ιδὼν” οὖν φησι “κύριος ὁ θεὸς ὅτι ἐπληθύνθησαν αἱ κακίαι τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς, καὶ πᾶς τις διανοεῖται ἐν τῇ καρδίᾳ ἐπιμελῶς τὰ πονηρὰ πάσας τὰς ἡμέρας, ἐνεθυμήθη ὁ θεός, ὅτι ἐποίησε τὸν ἄνθρωπον ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς, καὶ διενόηθη. καὶ εἶπεν ὁ θεός· ἀπαλείψω τὸν ἄνθρωπον ὃν ἐποίησα ἀπὸ προσώπου τῆς γῆς.”

- 21 ἴσως τινὲς τῶν ἀνεξετάστων ὑποτοπήσουσι τὸν νομοθέτην αἰνίττεσθαι, ὅτι ἐπὶ τῇ γενέσει τῶν ἀνθρώπων ὁ δημιουργὸς μετέγνω κατιδὼν τὴν ἀσέβειαν αὐτῶν, ἥς χάριν αἰτίας ἐβουλήθη σύμπαν διαφθεῖραι τὸ γένος. ἀλλ' ἴστωσαν ὅτι ταῦτα δοξάζοντες ἐπελαφρίζουσι καὶ ἐπικουφίζουν τὰ τῶν παλαιῶν ἐκείνων ἁμαρτήματα

- 22 δι' ὑπερβολὴν τῆς περὶ αὐτοὺς ἀθεότητος. τί γὰρ ἂν ἀσέβημα μείζον γένοιτο τοῦ ὑπολαμβάνειν τὸν
[276] ἄτρεπτον τρέπεσθαι; καίτοι | τινῶν ἀξιούντων μὴδὲ πάντας ἀνθρώπους ταῖς γνώμαις ἐπαμφοτερίζειν· τοὺς γὰρ ἀδόλως καὶ καθαρῶς φιλοσοφήσαντας μέγιστον ἐκ τῆς ἐπιστήμης ἀγαθὸν εὔρασθαι τὸ μὴ τοῖς πράγμασι συμμεταβάλλειν, ἀλλὰ μετὰ στερότητος ἀκλινούς καὶ παγίου βεβαιότητος ἀπασι
23 τοῖς ἀρμόττουσιν ἐγχειρεῖν. VI. ἀρέσκει

^a Lit. “unexamined,” i.e. by themselves.

^b See App. p. 483.

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mother, for wife, for children, for country, for the human race, and if we must extend the list, for heaven, for earth, for the universe, for knowledge, for virtues, for the Father and Captain of all; to each of whom we are bound according to our powers to render what is due, not holding all things to be an adjunct of ourselves, but rather ourselves an adjunct of all.

V. Enough on this point. Let us extend our discussion to embrace the words that follow. "The Lord God," says Moses, "seeing that the wickednesses of men were multiplied upon the earth and that every man intended evil in his heart diligently all his days, God had it in His mind that He had made man upon the earth, and He bethought Him. And God said, I will blot out man, whom I made, from the face of the earth" (Gen. vi. 5-7).

Perhaps some of those who are careless inquirers^a will suppose that the Lawgiver is hinting that the Creator repented of the creation of men when He beheld their impiety, and that this was the reason why He wished to destroy the whole race. Those who think thus may be sure that they make the sins of these men of old time seem light and trivial through the vastness of their own godlessness. For what greater impiety could there be than to suppose that the Unchangeable changes? Indeed some maintain^b that even among men vacillation of mind and judgement is not universal; for those who study philosophy in guilelessness and purity, it is held, gain from their knowledge this as their chief reward, that they do not change with changing circumstances, but with unbending steadfastness and firm constancy take in hand all that it behoves them to do.

VI. It is a tenet of the lawgiver also that the perfect man seeks for

- δὲ καὶ τῷ νομοθέτῃ τὸν τέλειον ἡρεμίας ἐφίεσθαι· τὸ γὰρ εἰρημένον τῷ σοφῷ ἐκ προσώπου τοῦ θεοῦ “ σὺ δὲ αὐτοῦ στήθι μετ’ ἐμοῦ ” τὸ ἀκλινὲς καὶ ἀρρεπὲς τῆς γνώμης καὶ ἰδρυμένον
- 24 πάντα σαφέστατα παρίστησι. τῷ γὰρ ὄντι θαυμάσιον, ὥσπερ τινὰ λύραν τὴν ψυχὴν μουσικῶς ἀρμολογούμενον οὐκ ὀξέσει καὶ βαρέσει τοῖς φθόγγοις, ἀλλ’ ἐπιστήμη μὲν τῶν ἐναντίων,¹ χρήσει δὲ τῶν ἀμεινόνων, μήτε ἐπιτείνειν προσυπερβάλλοντα μήτε ἀνεῖναι μαλθάξαντα τὴν ἀρετῶν καὶ τῶν φύσει καλῶν ἀρμονίαν, δι’ ἴσον δ’ αὐτὴν φυλάξαντα
- 25 κροτεῖν καὶ ἐπιψάλλειν ἐμμελῶς. ὄργανον γὰρ τελεώτατον ὑπὸ φύσεως δημιουργηθὲν ἀρχέτυπον τῶν χειροκμητῶν τοῦτό γε· ὅπερ εἰ καλῶς ἀρμολογή, τὴν πασῶν ἀρίστην συμφωνίαν ἀπεργάσεται, ἥτις οὐκ ἐν κλάσει καὶ τόνοις ἐμμελοῦς φωνῆς, ἀλλ’ ἐν ὁμολογίᾳ τῶν κατὰ τὸν βίον πράξεων ἔχει
- 26 τὸ τέλος. ὅπου γοῦν ἀνθρώπων ψυχὴ τὸν πολὺν κλύδωνα καὶ σάλον, ὃν καταρραγὲν σφοδρὸν πνεῦμα τὸ κακίας αἰφνίδιον ἡγείρεν, ἐπιστήμης καὶ σοφίας αὔραις ἀποτίθεται καὶ τὸ κυμαῖνον καὶ παρωδηκὸς ὑφέϊσα νηνέμῳ εὐδία χρωμένη γαληνιάζει, εἰτ’ ἐνδοιάζει, ὅτι ὁ ἄφθαρτος καὶ μακάριος καὶ τῶν ἀρετῶν καὶ αὐτῆς τελειότητος καὶ εὐδαιμονίας ἀνημμένος τὸ κράτος οὐ χρήται γνώμης μεταβολῇ, μένει δὲ ἐφ’ ὧν ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἐβουλεύσατο οὐδὲν αὐτῶν
- 27 μετατιθεῖς; ἀνθρώποις μὲν οὖν τὸ εὐμετάβολον ἢ διὰ τὴν ἐν αὐτοῖς ἢ διὰ τὴν ἐκτὸς ἀβεβαιότητα συμβαίνειν ἀνάγκη· οἷον οὕτως φίλους ἐλόμενοι πολλάκις καὶ βραχύν τινα αὐτοῖς συν-

¹ Wend. approves of Mangey's τῶν <ἀγαθῶν καὶ τῶν> ἐναντίων (cf. 49). But see App. p. 483.

THE UNCHANGEABLENESS OF GOD, 23-27

quietude. For the words addressed to the Sage with God as the speaker, "stand thou here with Me" (Deut. v. 31), shew most plainly how unbending, unwavering and broad-based is his will. Wonderful indeed is the soul of the Sage, how he sets it, like a lyre,^a to harmony not with a scale of notes low and high, but with the knowledge of moral opposites, and the practice of such of them as are better; how he does not strain it to excessive heights, nor yet relax it and weaken the concord of virtues and things naturally beautiful, but keeps it ever at an equal tension and plays it with hand or bow in melody. Such a soul is the most perfect instrument fashioned by nature, the pattern of those which are the work of our hands. And if it be well adjusted, it will produce a symphony the most beautiful in the world, one which has its consummation not in the cadences and tones of melodious sound, but in the consistencies of our life's actions. Oh! if the soul of man, when it feels the soft breeze of wisdom and knowledge, can dismiss the stormy surge which the fierce burst of the gale of wickedness has suddenly stirred, and levelling the billowy swell can rest in unruffled calm under a bright clear sky, can you doubt that He, the Imperishable Blessed One, who has taken as His own the sovereignty of the virtues, of perfection itself and beatitude, knows no change of will, but ever holds fast to what He purposed from the first without any alteration? With men then it must needs be that they are ready to change, through instability whether it be in themselves or outside them. So for example^b often when we have chosen our friends and been familiar with them for

^a See App. p. 483.

^b See App. p. 484.

διατρίψαντες χρόνον, οὐδὲν ἐγκαλεῖν ἔχοντες ἀπ-
 εστράφημεν, ὡς εἰς ἐχθρῶν ἢ ἀγνοουμένων γοῦν
 28 τάξιν ἐμβιβάσαι. τοῦτο τὸ ἔργον κούφην εὐχέρειαν
 ἡμῶν αὐτῶν ἐλέγχει τὰς ἐξ ἀρχῆς ὑποθέσεις ἀδυ-
 νατούντων κραταιῶς διαφυλάττειν· ὁ δὲ θεὸς οὐχ
 ἀψίκορος. καὶ μὴν ἔστιν ὅτε διανοούμεθα μὲν
 ἐπιμένειν κριτηρίοις τοῖς αὐτοῖς, οἱ δὲ προσελθόντες
 οὐκ ἔμειναν ἐν ὁμοίῳ, ὥστ' ἐξ ἀνάγκης καὶ αἱ
 29 ἡμέτεραι γινώμαι συμμετέβαλον. προῖδέσθαι γὰρ
 ἢ μελλόντων πραγμάτων συντυχίας ἢ γνώμας
 ἐτέρων ἀνθρωπῶν ὄντα ἀμήχανον, τῷ δὲ θεῷ ὡς
 ἐν αὐγῇ καθαρᾷ πάντα ἀρίδηλα. καὶ γὰρ ἄχρι
 [277] τῶν ψυχῆς μυχῶν | φθάσας, ἃ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἐστὶν
 ἀόρατα τηλαυγῶς πέφυκε καθορᾶν, καὶ προμηθεῖα
 καὶ προνοία χρώμενος, οἰκείαις ἀρεταῖς, οὐδὲν
 ἀπελευθεριάζειν καὶ ἔξω τῆς ἑαυτοῦ καταλήψεως
 βαίνειν ἔα· ἐπειδήπερ οὐδ' ἡ τῶν μελλόντων ἀδη-
 λότης αὐτῷ συμβατή· οὔτε γὰρ ἄδηλον οὔτε
 30 μέλλον οὐδὲν θεῷ. δῆλον μὲν οὖν, ὅτι καὶ τῶν
 γεννηθέντων τὸν φυτεύσαντα καὶ τῶν δημιουρ-
 γηθέντων τὸν τεχνίτην καὶ τὸν ἐπίτροπον τῶν
 ἐπιτροπευομένων ἐπιστήμονα [ἀναγκαῖον] εἶναι δεῖ.
 ὁ δὲ θεὸς πατὴρ καὶ τεχνίτης καὶ ἐπίτροπος τῶν
 ἐν οὐρανῷ τε καὶ κόσμῳ πρὸς ἀλήθειάν ἐστι. καὶ
 μὴν τά γε μέλλοντα συσκιάζεται ὑπὸ τοῦ αὖθις
 χρόνου, τοτὲ μὲν βραχεῖ, τοτὲ δὲ μακρῷ δια-
 31 στήματι. δημιουργὸς δὲ καὶ χρόνου
 θεός· καὶ γὰρ τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτοῦ πατὴρ—πατὴρ
 δὲ χρόνου κόσμος—τὴν κίνησιν αὐτοῦ γένεσιν
 ἀποφύνας ἐκείνου· ὥστε νύωνοῦ τάξιν ἔχει πρὸς
 θεὸν τὸν χρόνον. ὁ μὲν γὰρ κόσμος οὗτος νεώτερος

^a See App. p. 484.

THE UNCHANGEABLENESS OF GOD, 27-31

a short time, we turn from them, though we have no charge to bring against them, and count them amongst our enemies, or at best as strangers. Such 28 action proves the facile levity of ourselves, how little capacity we have for stoutly holding to our original judgements. But God has no such fickleness. Or again, sometimes we are minded to hold to the standards we have taken but we find ourselves with others who have not remained constant, and thus our judgements perforce change with theirs. For a 29 mere man cannot foresee the course of future events, or the judgements of others, but to God as in pure sunlight all things are manifest. For already He has pierced into the recesses of our soul, and what is invisible to others is clear as daylight to His eyes. He employs the forethought and foreknowledge which are virtues peculiarly His own, and suffers nothing to escape His control or pass outside His comprehension. For not even about the future can uncertainty be found with Him, since nothing is uncertain or future to God. No one doubts that the 30 parent must have knowledge of his offspring, the craftsman of his handiwork, the steward of things entrusted to his stewardship. But God is in very truth the father and craftsman and steward of the heaven and the universe and all that is therein. Future events lie shrouded in the darkness of the time that is yet to be at different distances, some near, some far.

But God is the maker of 31 time ^a also, for He is the father of time's father, that is of the universe, and has caused the movements of the one to be the source of the generation of the other. Thus time stands to God in the relation of a grandson. For this universe, since we perceive it by our senses,

- υἱὸς θεοῦ, ἅτε αἰσθητὸς ὢν· τὸν γὰρ πρεσβύτερον [οὐδένα εἶπε]¹—νοητὸς δ' ἐκείνος—πρεσβείων ἀξιώ-
 32 σας παρ' ἑαυτῷ καταμένειν διανοήθη. οὗτος οὖν ὁ νεώτερος υἱὸς ὁ αἰσθητὸς κινηθεὶς τὴν χρόνου φύσιν ἀναλάμβαι καὶ ἀνασχεῖν ἐποίησεν. ὥστε οὐδὲν παρὰ θεῷ μέλλον τῷ καὶ τὰ τῶν χρόνων ὑπηγμένῳ πέρατα· καὶ γὰρ οὐ χρόνος, ἀλλὰ τὸ ἀρχέτυπον τοῦ χρόνου καὶ παράδειγμα αἰῶν² ὁ βίος ἐστὶν αὐτοῦ³. ἐν αἰῶνι δέ οὔτε παρελήλυθεν οὐδὲν οὔτε μέλλει, ἀλλὰ μόνον ὑφέστηκεν.
- 33 VII. Ἰκανῶς οὖν διειλεγμένοι περὶ τοῦ μὴ χρῆσθαι μετανοία τὸ ὄν ἀκολουθῶς ἀποδώσομεν, τί ἐστὶ τὸ “ἐνεθυμήθη ὁ θεὸς ὅτι ἐποίησε τὸν
 34 ἄνθρωπον ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς καὶ διανοήθη.” ἔννοιαν καὶ διανόησιν, τὴν μὲν ἐναποκειμένην οὖσαν νόησιν, τὴν δὲ νοήσεως διέξοδον, βεβαιωτάτας δυνάμεις ὁ ποιητὴς τῶν ὅλων κληρωσάμενος καὶ χρώμενος αἰεὶ ταύταις τὰ ἔργα ἑαυτοῦ καταθεᾷται. τὰ μὲν δὴ μὴ λείποντα τὴν τάξιν τῆς πειθαρχίας ἔνεκα ἐπαινεί, τὰ δὲ μεθιστάμενα τῇ κατὰ λιπο-
 35 τaktῶν ὠρισμένη μετέρχεται δίκη.
- τῶν γὰρ σωμάτων τὰ μὲν ἐνεδήσατο ἕξει, τὰ δὲ φύσει, τὰ δὲ ψυχῇ, τὰ δὲ λογικῇ ψυχῇ. λίθων μὲν οὖν καὶ ξύλων, ἃ δὴ τῆς συμφυΐας ἀπέσπασται,
 [278] δεσμὸν κραταιότατον ἕξιν | εἰργάζετο· ἡ δὲ ἐστὶ πνεῦμα ἀναστρέφον ἐφ' ἑαυτό· ἄρχεται μὲν γὰρ

¹ Wend. regards οὐδένα εἶπε as a Christian interpolation. The Translator suggests ὃν γὰρ πρεσβύτερον τοῦδ' ἕνα εἶχε, which with the transference of τ and the substitution of χ for π is the same as the MS. ² MSS. δι' ὧν. ³ MSS. αὐτῶν.

^a See App. p. 484.

^b The fourfold classification which follows has been already given shortly in *Leg. All.* ii. 22-23.

THE UNCHANGEABLENESS OF GOD, 31-35

is the younger son of God. To the elder son, I mean the intelligible universe, He assigned the place of firstborn, and purposed that it should remain in His own keeping. So this younger son, the world of our 32 senses, when set in motion, brought that entity we call time to the brightness of its rising. And thus with God there is no future, since He has made the boundaries of the ages subject to Himself. For God's life is not a time, but eternity, which is the archetype and pattern of time ^a; and in eternity there is no past nor future, but only present existence.

VII. Having now discoursed sufficiently on the 33 theme that the Existent does not experience repentance, we will explain in due sequence the words "God had it in His mind that He had made men upon the earth and He bethought Him" (Gen. vi. 6). "Having 34 in one's mind" and "bethinking," the former being the thought quiescent in the mind,^a the latter the thought brought to an issue, are two most constant powers, which the Maker of all things has taken as His own and ever employs them when He contemplates His own works. Those of His creatures who do not leave their appointed places, He praises for their obedience. Those who depart from it He visits with the punishment which is the doom of deserters.

This is explained by consideration of the 35 different conditions, which He has made inseparable from the various bodies.^b These are in some cases cohesion, in others growth, in others life, in others a reasoning soul. Thus, in stones and bits of wood which have been severed from their organism, He wrought cohesion, which acts as the most rigid of bonds. Cohesion ^c is a breath or current ever re-

^a See note in App. on *Leg. All.* ii. 22.

- ἀπὸ τῶν μέσων ἐπὶ τὰ πέρατα τείνεσθαι, ψαύσαν
 δὲ ἄκρας ἐπιφανείας ἀνακάμπτει πάλιν, ἄχρις ἂν
 ἐπὶ τὸν αὐτὸν ἀφίκηται τόπον, ἀφ' οὗ τὸ πρῶτον
 36 ὥρμήθη· ἕξως ὁ συνεχῆς οὗτος διάυλος ἀφθαρτος,
 ὃν οἱ δρομεῖς ἀπομιμούμενοι ταῖς τριετηρίσιν ἐν
 τοῖς ἀνθρώπων ἀπάντων κοινοῖς θεάτροις ὡς
 μέγα δὴ καὶ λαμπρὸν καὶ περιμάχητον ἔργον ἐπι-
 δείκνυνται.
- 37 VIII. Τὴν δὲ φύσιν ἀπένειμε τοῖς φυτοῖς κερα-
 σάμενος αὐτὴν ἐκ πλείστων δυνάμεων, θρεπτικῆς
 τε καὶ μεταβλητικῆς καὶ αὐξητικῆς. καὶ γὰρ
 τρέφεται τροφῆς ὄντα χρεῖα, τεκμήριον δέ· τὰ μὴ
 ἀρδόμενα φθίνει καὶ ἀφαναίνεται, ὥσπερ αὖ τὰ
 ποτιζόμενα ἐμφανῶς αὖξεται· τὰ γὰρ τέως διὰ
 βραχύτητα χαμαίζηλα ἐξαίφνης ἀναδραμόντα ἔρρη-
 γίνεται περιμηκέστατα. τί χρή λέγειν περὶ μετα-
 38βολῆς αὐτῶν; ταῖς μὲν γὰρ χειμεριναῖς τροπαῖς
 τὰ πέταλα μαρανθέντα εἰς τοῦδαφος χεῖται, οἱ τε
 ἐν ταῖς κληματίσι λεγόμενοι πρὸς τῶν γεωπόνων
 ὀφθαλμοὶ καθάπερ ἐν τοῖς ζώοις καταμύουσι, τά
 τε πρὸς τὰς ἐκφύσεις στόμια πάντα ἔσφιγκται τῆς
 φύσεως εἴσω τότε συνειλημμένης καὶ ἡσυχάζουσας,
 ἵνα διαπνεύσασα οἶά τις ἀθλητῆς προηγώνισμένος
 καὶ συλλεξαμένη τὴν ἰδίαν ἰσχὺν πρὸς τοὺς ἐθάδας
 ἀθλους ἐξ ὑπαρχῆς ἀπαντᾷ. γίνεται δὲ τοῦτο ταῖς
 39 ἄριναῖς καὶ κατὰ θέρος ὥραις· ὥσπερ γὰρ ἐκ
 βαθέος ὕπνου περιαναστᾷσα τοὺς τε ὀφθαλμοὺς
 διοίγνυσι τά τε μεμυκότες τῶν στομίων ἀναστείλασα
 εὐρύνει, ὧν δ' ἐστὶν ἐγκύμων πάντα ἀποτίκτει,
 πέταλα καὶ κληματίδας, ἑλικας, οἴναρα,¹ καρπὸν
 ἐπὶ πᾶσιν· εἰθ' ὅταν τελεσθῇ, παρέχεται τὰς τροφὰς

¹ MSS. οἶον ἄρα.

THE UNCHANGEABLENESS OF GOD, 35-39

turning to itself. It begins to extend itself from the centre of the body in question to its extremes, and when it has reached the outermost surface it reverses its course, till it arrives at the place from which it first set out. This regular double course of cohesion 36 is indestructible ; and it is this which the runners imitate at the triennial festivals in the places of spectacle universal among men, and exhibit as a great and splendid feat, well worthy of their efforts.

VIII. Growth God assigned to plants. It is a com- 37 pound of many capacities, that of taking nourishment, that of undergoing change and that of increasing. Nourishment plants receive as they need it, as the following proof shews. When they are not watered they decay and wither, just as their increase when watered is plain to see, for sprouts heretofore too tiny to rise above the ground suddenly shoot up and become quite tall. It is hardly necessary to speak of their function of change. When the winter solstice arrives, 38 the leaves wither and shed themselves to the ground, and the " eyes," as the husbandmen call them, on the twigs close like eyes in animals, and all the outlets which serve to put forth life are bound tight, for Nature ^a within them compresses herself and hibernates, to get a breathing-space, like an athlete after his first contest, and thus having regained her fund of strength, comes forth to resume the familiar conflict. And this comes to pass in the spring and summer seasons. For she arises as though from a 39 deep sleep and unseals the eyes, opens wide the closed outlets, and brings forth all that is in her womb, shoots, twigs, tendrils, leaves and, to crown all, fruit. Then when the fruit is fully formed, she

^a Or "power of growth."

οἷα μήτηρ τῷ γενομένῳ διὰ τινων ἀφανῶν πόρων,
οἷ τοῖς ἐν γυναιξὶ μαστοῖς ἀναλογουσι, καὶ οὐ
πρότερον παύεται τρέφουσα ἢ τὸν καρπὸν τελε-
40 σφορηθῆναι· τελεσφορεῖται δὲ ὁ πεπανθεὶς ἄκρως,
ἡνίκα, καὶ μηδεὶς δρέπεται, τῆς συμφυΐας αὐτὸς
ἐπείγεται διαζεύγνυσθαι ἅτε μηκέτι τροφῶν τῶν
ἀπὸ τῆς τεκούσης δεόμενος, ἱκανὸς δ' ὢν, εἰ χώρας
ἀγαθῆς ἐπιλάχοι, σπείρειν καὶ γεννᾶν ὅμοια τοῖς
φυτεύσασι.

- 41 IX. Ψυχὴν δὲ φύσεως τρισὶ διαλλάττουσαν ὁ
ποιῶν ἐποίει, αἰσθήσει, φαντασίᾳ, ὄρμῃ· τὰ μὲν
γὰρ φυτὰ ἀόρμητα, ἀφάνταστα, αἰσθήσεως ἀμέτοχα,
τῶν δὲ ζώων ἕκαστον ἀθρόων μετέχει τῶν εἰρη-
42 μένων. αἰσθησις μὲν οὖν, ὡς αὐτό που δηλοῖ
τοῦνομα, εἰσθεσίς τις οὖσα τὰ φανέντα ἐπεισφέρει
τῷ νῷ· τούτῳ γάρ, ἐπειδὴ μέγιστόν ἐστι ταμείον
καὶ πανδεχές, πάνθ' ὅσα δι' ὀράσεως καὶ ἀκοῆς
καὶ τῶν ἄλλων αἰσθητικῶν ὀργάνων ἐντίθεται καὶ
43 ἐναποθησαυρίζεται. φαντασία δέ ἐστι τύπωσις |
[279] ἐν ψυχῇ· ὧν¹ γὰρ εἰσήγαγεν ἐκάστη τῶν αἰσθήσεων,
ὥσπερ δακτύλιός τις ἢ σφραγὶς ἐναπεμάξατο τὸν
οἰκείον χαρακτῆρα· κηρῷ δὲ ὅμοιως ὁ νοῦς τὸ
ἐκμαγεῖον δεξάμενος ἄκρως παρ' ἑαυτῷ φυλάττει,
μέχρις ἂν ἡ ἀντίπαλος μνήμη τὸν τύπον λεάνασα
44 λήθῃ ἀμυδρὸν ἐργάσῃται ἢ παντελῶς ἀφανίσῃ. τὸ
δὲ φανέν καὶ τυπῶσαν τοτὲ μὲν οἰκείως τοτὲ δὲ
ὡς ἑτέρως διέθηκε τὴν ψυχὴν. τοῦτο δὲ αὐτῆς τὸ

¹ MSS. ἢν or εἰ or αἰ.

“The word *φαντασία*, ‘appearance’ or ‘appearing,’ is a technical term in Stoic logic for which no one English equivalent is as yet unanimously adopted. It denotes the immediate datum of consciousness or experience, whether presented to the sense or in certain cases to the mind. Hence
30

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provides nourishment, like the mother to the infant, through some hidden channels, which correspond to the breasts in women, and she ceases not to minister this nourishment till the fruit is brought to its consummation. That consummation comes to the fully 40 ripened fruit, when, if none pluck it, it automatically seeks to disengage itself from its organism, since it needs no longer the nurture which its parent supplies, and is capable, if it chance to drop on good soil, of sowing and producing other plants similar to those which gave it its existence.

IX. Life was made by its creator different from 41 growth in three ways. It has sensation, "presentation,"^a impulse. For plants have no impulse, no "presentation," no gift of sense-perception, while each living creature participates in all three combined. Sensation or sense, as the name itself shews, 42 is "a putting in," and introduces what has appeared to it to the mind. For mind is a vast and receptive storehouse in which all that comes through sight or hearing and the other organs of sense is placed and treasured.

"Presentation" is an imprint 43 made on the soul. For, like a ring or seal, it stamps^b on the soul the image corresponding to everything which each of the senses has introduced. And the mind like wax receives the impress and retains it vividly, until forgetfulness the opponent of memory levels out the imprint, and makes it indistinct, or entirely effaces it. But the object which has pre- 44 sented itself and made the impression has an effect upon the soul sometimes of an appropriate kind,^b sometimes the reverse. And this condition or state 'presentation' is nearer than 'perception' or 'impression' (Hicks on Diog. Laert. vii. 43; Loeb translation, vol. ii. p. 152).

^b See App. p. 484.

πάθος ὁρμὴ καλεῖται, ἣν ὀριζόμενοι πρῶτην ἔφασαν εἶναι ψυχῆς κίνησιν.

- 45 Τοσούτοις μὲν δὴ ζῶα προὔχει φυτῶν· ἴδωμεν δὲ τίνι τῶν ἄλλων ζώων ὑπερβέβληκεν ἄνθρωπος. X. ἐξαιρετον οὗτος τοίνυν γέρας ἔλαχε διάνοιαν, ἥ τὰς ἀπάντων φύσεις σωμάτων τε ὁμοῦ καὶ πραγμάτων εἴωθε καταλαμβάνειν. καθάπερ γὰρ ἐν μὲν τῷ σώματι τὸ ἡγεμονικὸν ὄψις ἐστίν, ἐν δὲ τῷ παντὶ ἡ τοῦ φωτὸς φύσις, τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον
- 46 καὶ τῶν ἐν ἡμῖν τὸ κρατιστεῦον ὁ νοῦς· ψυχῆς γὰρ ὄψις οὗτος οἰκείαις περιλαμπόμενος αὐγαῖς, δι' ὧν ὁ πολὺς καὶ βαθὺς ζόφος, ὃν κατέχεεν ἄγνοια τῶν πραγμάτων, ἀνασκίδνεται. τοῦτο τῆς ψυχῆς τὸ εἶδος οὐκ ἐκ τῶν αὐτῶν στοιχείων, ἐξ ὧν τὰ ἄλλα ἀπετελεῖτο, διεπλάσθη, καθαρωτέρας δὲ καὶ ἀμείνονος ἔλαχε τῆς οὐσίας, ἐξ ἧς αἱ θεῖαι φύσεις ἐδημιουργοῦντο· παρὸ καὶ μόνον τῶν ἐν ἡμῖν εἰ-
- 47 κότως ἄφθαρτον ἔδοξεν εἶναι διάνοια. μόνην γὰρ αὐτὴν ὁ γεννήσας πατὴρ ἐλευθερίας ἡξίωσε, καὶ τὰ τῆς ἀνάγκης ἀνεῖς δεσμὰ ἄφρετον εἶασε, δωρησάμενος αὐτῇ τοῦ πρεπωδεστάτου καὶ οἰκείου κτήματος αὐτῷ, τοῦ ἐκουσίου, μοῖραν, ἣν ἡδύνατο δέξασθαι· τὰ μὲν γὰρ ἄλλα ζῶα, ὧν ἐν ταῖς ψυχαῖς τὸ ἐξαιρούμενον εἰς ἐλευθερίαν, νοῦς, οὐκ ἔστι, καταζευχθέντα καὶ ἐγχαλινωθέντα πρὸς ὑπηρεσίαν ἀνθρώποις παραδέδοται ὥσπερ οἰκέται δεσπόταις, ὁ δὲ ἄνθρωπος ἐθελουργοῦ καὶ αὐτοκελεύστου γνώμης λαχὼν καὶ προαιρετικαῖς χρώμενος τὰ πολλὰ ταῖς ἐνεργείαις εἰκότως ψόγον μὲν ἔσχεν ἐφ' οἷς ἐκ προνοίας ἀδικεῖ, ἔπαινον δὲ ἐφ' οἷς ἐκὼν

^a See App. p. 484.

^b See App. p. 485.

^c i.e. the stars, cf. *De Gig.* 7. See App. Vol. II. p. 502.

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of the soul is called impulse or appetite, which has been defined as the first movement of the soul.^a

In all these ways living creatures excel plants. 45
Let us now see where man has been made superior to other animals. X. We find that the special prerogative he has received is mind, habituated to apprehend the natures both of all material objects and of things in general. For as sight holds the leading place in the body, and the quality of light holds the leading place in the universe, so too in us the dominant element is the mind. For mind is the sight of the 46 soul,^a illuminated by rays peculiar to itself, whereby the vast and profound darkness, poured upon it by ignorance of things, is dispersed. This branch of the soul was not formed of the same elements, out of which the other branches were brought to completion, but it was allotted something better and purer,^b the substance in fact out of which^c divine natures were wrought. And therefore it is reasonably held that the mind alone in all that makes us what we are is indestructible. For it is mind alone which the 47 Father who begat it judged worthy of freedom, and loosening the fetters of necessity, suffered it to range as it listed, and of that free-will which is His most peculiar possession and most worthy of His majesty gave it such portion as it was capable of receiving. For the other living creatures in whose souls the mind, the element set apart for liberty, has no place, have been committed under yoke and bridle to the service of men, as slaves to a master. But man, possessed of a spontaneous and self-determined will, whose activities for the most part rest on deliberate choice, is with reason blamed for what he does wrong with intent, praised when he acts rightly of

- 48 κατορθοῖ. τῶν μὲν γὰρ ἄλλων φυτῶν τε καὶ ζώων οὔτε αἱ εὐφορίαι ἐπαινεταὶ οὔθ' αἱ κακοπραγίαι ψεκταί—τὰς γὰρ ἐφ' ἐκάτερα κινήσεις καὶ μεταβολὰς ἀπροαιρέτους καὶ ἀκουσίους ἔλαβον—, μόνη δὲ ἡ ἀνθρώπου ψυχὴ δεξαμένη παρὰ θεοῦ τὴν ἐκούσιον κίνησιν καὶ κατὰ τοῦτο μάλιστα ὁμοιωθεῖσα αὐτῷ, χαλεπῆς καὶ ἀργαλεωτάτης δεσποίνης,
- [280] τῆς ἀνάγκης, ὡς οἶόν τε ἦν ἐλευθερωθεῖσα | κατηγορίας ἂν δεόντως τυγχάνοι, ὅτι τὸν ἐλευθερώσαντα οὐ περιέπει· τοιγάρτοι τὴν κατ' ἀπελευθέρων ἀχαρίστων ἀπαραίτητον δίκην ὀρθότατα τίσει.
- 49 “Ὡστε “ ἐνεθυμήθη καὶ διενόηθη ὁ θεὸς ” οὐχὶ νῦν πρῶτον, ἀλλ' ἐξέτι πάλαι παγίως καὶ βεβαίως, “ ὅτι ἐποίησε τὸν ἄνθρωπον,” τουτέστιν ὁποῖον αὐτὸν εἰργάσατο· εἰργάσατο γὰρ αὐτὸν ἄφετον καὶ ἐλεύθερον, ἐκουσίους καὶ προαιρετικαῖς χρησόμενον ταῖς ἐνεργείαις πρὸς τήνδε τὴν χρεῖαν, ἵνα ἐπιστάμενος ἀγαθὰ τε αὖ καὶ κακὰ καὶ καλῶν καὶ αἰσχυρῶν λαμβάνων ἔννοιαν καὶ δικαίοις καὶ ἀδίκους καὶ ὅλως τοῖς ἀπ' ἀρετῆς καὶ κακίας καθαρῶς ἐπιβάλλων αἰρέσει μὲν τῶν ἀμεινόνων, φυγῇ δὲ τῶν
- 50 ἐναντίων χρήται. παρὸ καὶ λόγιόν ἐστι τοιοῦτον ἀναγεγραμμένον ἐν Δευτερονομίῳ· “ ἰδοὺ δέδωκα πρὸ προσώπου σου τὴν ζωὴν καὶ τὸν θάνατον, τὸ ἀγαθὸν καὶ τὸ κακόν, ἔκλεξαι τὴν ζωήν.” οὐκοῦν ἀμφότερα διὰ τούτου παρίσταται, ὅτι καὶ ἐπιστήμονες τῶν ἀγαθῶν καὶ τῶν ἐναντίων γεγόνασιν ἄνθρωποι καὶ ὀφείλουσι πρὸ τῶν χειρόνων αἰρεῖσθαι τὰ κρείττω λογισμὸν ἔχοντες ἐν ἑαυτοῖς ὥσπερ τινὰ δικαστὴν ἀδωροδόκην, οἷς ἂν

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his own will. In the others, the plants and animals, 48
no praise is due if they bear well, nor blame if they
fare ill : for their movements and changes in either
direction come to them from no deliberate choice or
volition of their own. But the soul of man alone has
received from God the faculty of voluntary move-
ment, and in this way especially is made like to Him,
and thus being liberated, as far as might be, from
that hard and ruthless mistress, necessity, may justly
be charged with guilt, in that it does not honour its
Liberator. And therefore it will rightly pay the in-
exorable penalty which is meted to ungrateful freed-
men.

Thus God " had it in His mind and bethought 49
Him " not now for the first time, but ever from of
old—a thought that was fixed and stedfast—" that
He had made man," that is He thought of what
nature He had made him. He had made him free
and unfettered, to employ his powers of action with
voluntary and deliberate choice for this purpose,
that, knowing good and ill and receiving the con-
ception of the noble and the base, and setting him-
self in sincerity to apprehend just and unjust and in
general what belongs to virtue and what to vice, he
might practise to choose the better and eschew the
opposite.

And therefore we have an 50
oracle of this kind recorded in Deuteronomy. " Be-
hold, I have set before thy face life and death, good
and evil ; choose life " (Deut. xxx. 15, 19). So then
in this way He puts before us both truths ; first that
men have been made with a knowledge both of good
and evil, its opposite ; secondly, that it is their duty
to choose the better rather than the worse, because
they have, as it were, within them an incorruptible

ὁ ὀρθὸς ὑποβάλλη λόγος πεισθησόμενον, οἷς δ' ἂν
ὁ ἐναντίος ἀπειθήσονται.

- 51 XI. Δεδηλωκότες οὖν ἀποχρώντως περὶ τούτων
τὰ ἐξῆς ἴδωμεν. ἔστι δὲ ταῦτα· “ἀπαλείψω τὸν
ἄνθρωπον ὃν ἐποίησα ἀπὸ προσώπου τῆς γῆς, ἀπὸ
ἀνθρώπου ἕως κτήνους, ἀπὸ ἐρπετῶν ἕως πετεινῶν
τοῦ οὐρανοῦ, ὅτι ἐθυμώθη, ὅτι ἐποίησα αὐτόν.”
- 52 πάλιν τινὲς τῶν εἰρημένων ἀκούσαντες ὑπολαμβά-
νουσι θυμοῖς καὶ ὀργαῖς χρῆσθαι τὸ ὄν. ἔστι δ' οὐ-
δενὶ ληπτὸν πάθει τὸ παράπαν· ἀσθενείας γὰρ ἀνθρω-
πίνης τὸ κηραίνειν ἴδιον, θεῷ δὲ οὔτε τὰ ψυχῆς
ἄλογα πάθη οὔτε τὰ σώματος μέρη καὶ μέλη συν-
όλως ἔστιν οἰκεία. λέγεται δὲ
οὐδὲν ἦττον παρὰ τῷ νομοθέτῃ μέχρι τινὸς εἰσ-
αγωγῆς τὰ τοιαῦτα, τοῦ νουθετῆσαι χάριν τοὺς
- 53 ἐτέρως μὴ δυναμένους σωφρονίζεσθαι. τῶν γὰρ
ἐν ταῖς προστάξεσι καὶ ἀπαγορεύσεσι νόμων, οἱ
δὴ κυρίως εἰσὶ νόμοι, δύο τὰ ἀνωτάτω πρόκειται
κεφάλαια περὶ τοῦ αἰτίου, ἐν μὲν ὅτι “οὐχ ὡς
ἄνθρωπος ὁ θεός,” ἕτερον δὲ ὅτι ὡς ἄνθρωπος.
- 54 ἀλλὰ τὸ μὲν πρότερον ἀληθείᾳ βεβαιωτάτῃ πεπίστω-
ται, τὸ δ' ὕστερον πρὸς τὴν τῶν πολλῶν διδασκα-
[281] λίαν εἰσάγεται· παρὸ καὶ | λέγεται ἐπ' αὐτοῦ· “ὡς
ἄνθρωπος παιδεύσει τὸν υἱὸν αὐτοῦ”· ὥστε παιδείας
ἐνεκα καὶ νουθεσίας, ἀλλ' οὐχὶ τῷ πεφυκέναι τοι-
55 οὔτον εἶναι λέλεκται. τῶν γὰρ ἀνθρώπων οἱ μὲν
ψυχῆς, οἱ δὲ σώματος γεγόνاسι φίλοι· οἱ μὲν οὖν
ψυχῆς ἐταῖροι νοηταῖς καὶ ἀσωμάτοις φύσεσιν ἐν-
ομιλεῖν δυνάμενοι οὐδεμιᾷ τῶν γεγονότων ἰδέα
παραβάλλουσι τὸ ὄν, ἀλλ' ἐκβιβάσαντες αὐτὸ πάσης

^a See App. p. 485.

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judge in the reasoning faculty, which will accept all that right reason suggests and reject the promptings of its opposite.

XI. Having made this point sufficiently clear let 51 us consider the next words, which are as follows, "I will blot out man whom I made from the face of the earth, from man to beast, from creeping things to fowls of heaven, because I was wroth in that I made him" (Gen. vi. 7). Again, some on hearing these 52 words suppose that the Existent feels wrath and anger, whereas He is not susceptible to any passion at all. For disquiet is peculiar to human weakness, but neither the unreasoning passions of the soul, nor the parts and members of the body in general, have any relation to God.

All the same the Law-giver uses such expressions, just so far as they serve for a kind of elementary lesson, to admonish those who could not otherwise be brought to their senses. Thus, in the laws which deal with commands and 53 prohibitions (laws, that is, in the proper sense of the word),^a there stand forth above others two leading statements^a about the Cause, one that "God is not as a man" (Num. xxiii. 19); the other that He is as a man. But while the former is warranted by grounds 54 of surest truth, the latter is introduced for the instruction of the many. And therefore also it is said of Him "like a man He shall train His son" (Deut. viii. 5). And thus it is for training and admonition, not because God's nature is such, that these words are used. Among men some are soul lovers, some 55 body lovers. The comrades of the soul, who can hold converse with intelligible incorporeal natures, do not compare the Existent to any form of created things. They have dissociated Him from every cate-

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ποιότητος—ἐν γάρ τι τῶν εἰς τὴν μακαριότητα αὐτοῦ καὶ τὴν ἄκραν εὐδαιμονίαν ἦν τὸ ψιλὴν ἄνευ χιρακτῆρος τὴν ὑπαρξίν καταλαμβάνεσθαι—τὴν κατὰ τὸ εἶναι φαντασίαν μόνην ἐνεδέξαντο μὴ μορ-
56 φώσαντες αὐτό. οἱ δὲ συμβάσεις καὶ σπονδὰς πρὸς σῶμα θέμενοι, ἀδυνατοῦντες ἀπαμφιάσασθαι τὸ σαρκῶν περίβλημα καὶ μόνην καὶ καθ' ἑαυτὴν ἀπροσδεᾶ καὶ ἀπλὴν φύσιν ἰδεῖν ἀμιγῆ καὶ ἀσύγκριτον, οἷα περὶ ἑαυτῶν τοιαῦτα καὶ περὶ τοῦ πάντων αἰτίου διανοήθησαν, οὐ λογιζάμενοι ὅτι τῷ μὲν ἐκ πλειόνων συνόδου δυνάμεων γενομένῳ πλειόνων ἔδει μερῶν πρὸς τὴν τῶν καθ' ἕκαστον χρεῶν ὑπηρεσίαν, XII. ὁ δὲ θεὸς ἅτε ἀγέννητος ὢν καὶ τὰ ἄλλα ἀγαγὼν εἰς γένεσιν οὐδενὸς ἐδέηθη
57 τῶν τοῖς γεννήμασι προσόντων· ἐπεὶ καὶ τί φῶμεν; εἰ κέχρηται τοῖς ὀργανικοῖς μέρεσι, βάσεις μὲν ἔχει τοῦ προέρχεσθαι χάριν—βαδιεῖται δὲ ποῖ πεπληρωκῶς τὰ πάντα; καὶ πρὸς τίνα μηδενὸς ὄντος ἰσοτίμου; καὶ ἕνεκα τοῦ; οὐ γὰρ ὑγείας φροντίζων ὥσπερ καὶ ἡμεῖς—καὶ χεῖρας μέντοι πρὸς τὸ λαβεῖν τε καὶ δοῦναι· λαμβάνει μὲν δὴ παρ' οὐδενὸς οὐδέν—πρὸς γὰρ τῷ ἀνεπιδεεῖ καὶ τὰ σύμπαντα ἔχει κτήματα—, δίδωσι δὲ λόγῳ χρώμενος ὑπηρέτῃ δωρεῶν, ᾧ καὶ τὸν κόσμον
58 εἰργάζετο. ὀφθαλμῶν γε μὴν οὐκ ἐδεῖτο, οἷς ἄνευ φωτὸς αἰσθητοῦ κατάληψις οὐ γίνεται· τὸ δὲ αἰσθητὸν φῶς γενητόν, ἑώρα δὲ ὁ θεὸς καὶ πρὸ γενέ-
59 σεως φωτὶ χρώμενος ἑαυτῷ. τί δὲ δεῖ λέγειν περὶ

^a See App. p. 485.

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gory or quality, for it is one of the facts which go to make His blessedness and supreme felicity that His being is apprehended as simple being, without other definite characteristic ; and thus they do not picture it with form, but admit to their minds the conception of existence only. But those who have 56 made a compact and a truce with the body are unable to cast off from them the garment of flesh, and to descry existence needing nothing in its unique solitariness, and free from all admixture and composition in its absolute simplicity. And therefore they think of the Cause of all in the same terms as of themselves, and do not reflect that while a being which is formed through the union of several faculties needs several parts to minister to the need of each, XII. God being uncreated and the Author of the creation of the others needs none of the properties which belong to the creatures which He has brought into being.

For consider, if He uses our 57 bodily parts or organs He has feet to move from one place to another. But whither will He go or walk since His presence fills everything ? To whom will He go, when none is His equal ? And for what purpose will He walk ? For it cannot be out of care for health as it is with us.^a Hands He must have to receive and give. Yet He receives nothing from anyone, for, besides that He has no needs, all things are His possessions, and when He gives, He employs as minister of His gifts the Reason wherewith also He made the world. Nor did He need eyes, which 58 have no power of perception without the light which meets our sense. But that light is created, whereas God saw before creation, being Himself His own light. Why need we speak of the organs of nourish- 59

- τῶν τῆς τροφῆς ὀργάνων; εἰ γὰρ ταῦτ' ἔχει, καὶ τρέφεται καὶ πληρωθεὶς μὲν ἀποπαύεται,¹ παυσάμενος δὲ δεῖται πάλιν, καὶ τᾶλλα ὅσα τούτοις ἀκόλουθα οὐκ ἂν εἴποιμι· ἀσεβῶν αὐται μυθοποιαὶ λόγῳ μὲν ἀνθρωπόμορφον ἔργῳ δὲ ἀνθρωποπαθεῖς
- 60 εἰσαγόντων τὸ θεῖον. XIII. τίνος οὖν
 [232] ἔνεκα Μωυσῆς βάσεις, χεῖρας, εἰσόδους, | ἐξόδους φησὶν εἶναι περὶ τὸ ἀγέννητον, τίνος δὲ χάριν ὅπλισιν τὴν πρὸς ἐχθρῶν ἀμυναν; ξιφηφοροῦντα γὰρ <εἰσάγει> καὶ βέλεσι χρώμενον καὶ πνεύμασι καὶ φθοροποιῶ πυρί—καταιγίδα καὶ κεραυνὸν ἑτέροις ὀνόμασι ταῦτα ποιηταὶ προσαγορεύοντες ὅπλα τοῦ αἰτίου φασὶν εἶναι—, πρὸς δὲ ἔτι ζῆλον, θυμόν, ὀργάς, ὅσα τούτοις ὅμοια ἀνθρωπολογῶν διεξέρχεται; ἀλλὰ τοῖς πυνθανομένοις ἀποκρίνεται·
- 61 ὦ οὗτοι, τῷ ἄριστα νομοθετήσονται τέλος ἐν δεῖ προκεῖσθαι, πάντας ὠφελῆσαι τοὺς ἐντυγχάνοντας. οἱ μὲν οὖν εὐμοίρου φύσεως λαχόντες καὶ ἀγωγῆς ἐν πᾶσιν ἀνυπαιτίου, τὴν μετὰ ταῦθ' ὁδὸν τοῦ βίου λεωφόρον καὶ εὐθείαν εὐρίσκοντες, ἀληθείᾳ συν-
 οδοιπόρῳ χρώνται, παρ' ἧς μυηθέντες τὰ περὶ τοῦ ὄντος ἀψευδῆ μυστήρια τῶν γενέσεως οὐδὲν προσ-
 62 ἀναπλάττουσιν αὐτῷ. τούτοις οἰκειότατον πρό-
 κείται κεφάλαιον ἐν τοῖς ἱεροφαντηθεῖσι χρησιμοῖς, ὅτι “οὐχ ὥς ἄνθρωπος ὁ θεός,” ἀλλ' οὐδ' ὥς οὐρανὸς οὐδ' ὥς κόσμος· ποιά γὰρ εἶδη ταῦτά γε καὶ εἰς αἴσθησιν ἐρχόμενα, ὁ δ' ἄρα οὐδὲ τῷ νῷ καταληπτὸς ὅτι μὴ κατὰ τὸ εἶναι μόνον· ὕπαρξις

¹ Wend. with some mss. ἀποπατεῖ, but see App. p. 485.

^a See App. p. 485.

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ment? If He has them, He eats and is filled, rests awhile and after the rest has need again, and the accompaniments of this I will not dwell upon. These are the mythical fictions of the impious, who, professing to represent the deity as of human form, in reality represent Him as having human passions.

XIII. Why then does Moses speak of feet and hands, 60 goings in and goings out in connexion with the Uncreated, or of His arming to defend Himself against His enemies? For he describes Him as bearing a sword, and using as His weapons winds and death-dealing fire (thunderbolt and storm blast the poets call them, using different words, and say they are the weapons of the Cause). Why again does he speak of His jealousy, His wrath, His moods of anger, and the other emotions similar to them, which he describes in terms of human nature? But to those who ask these questions Moses answers thus: "Sirs, 61 the lawgiver who aims at the best must have one end only before him—to benefit all whom his work reaches. Those to whose lot has fallen a generously gifted nature and a training blameless throughout, and who thus find that their later course through life lies in a straight and even highway, have truth for their fellow-traveller, and being admitted by her into the infallible mysteries of the Existent do not overlay the conception of God with any of the attributes of created being. These find 62 a moral most pertinent in the oracles of revelation, that "God is not as a man" nor yet is He as the heaven or the universe.^a These last are forms of a particular kind which present themselves to our senses. But He is not apprehensible even by the mind, save in the fact that He is. For it is His

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- γὰρ ἔσθ' ἣν καταλαμβάνομεν αὐτοῦ, τῶν δέ γε
63 χωρὶς ὑπάρξεως οὐδέν. XIV. οἱ δέ γε
νωθεστέρα μὲν καὶ ἀμβλεία κεκρημένοι τῇ φύσει,
περὶ δὲ τὰς ἐν παισὶ τροφὰς πλημμεληθέντες, ὅξυν
καθορᾶν ἀδυνατοῦντες ἰατρῶν δέονται νουθετη-
τῶν,¹ οἱ πρὸς τὸ παρὸν πάθος τὴν οἰκείαν ἐπι-
64 νοήσουσι θεραπείαν· ἐπεὶ καὶ ἀναγώγοις καὶ
ἄφροσιν οἰκέταις φοβερὸς δεσπότης ὠφέλιμος, τὰς
γὰρ ἐπανατάσεις καὶ ἀπειλὰς αὐτοῦ δεδιότες
ἄκοντες φόβῳ νουθετοῦνται. μανθανέτωσαν οὖν
πάντες οἱ τοιοῦτοι τὰ ψευδῆ, δι' ὧν ὠφελήθησον-
ται, εἰ μὴ δύνανται δι' ἀληθείας σωφρονίζεσθαι.
65 καὶ γὰρ τοῖς τὰ σώματα κάμνουσιν
ἐπισφαλῶς οἱ δοκιμώτατοι² τῶν ἰατρῶν τάληθῇ
λαλεῖν οὐχ ὑπομένουσιν εἰδότες ἀθυμοτέρους μὲν
ἐκ τούτου γενησομένους καὶ οὐ ῥωσθησομένην³
τὴν νόσον, ἐκ δὲ τῆς τῶν ἐναντίων παρηγορίας
πραότερον τὰ ἐν χερσὶν οἷοντας καὶ τὸ ἀρρώστημα
66 λωφῆσον. τίς γὰρ ἂν τῶν εὖ φρονούντων εἴποι
τῷ θεραπευομένῳ ὦ οὗτος, τετμήσῃ, κεκαύσῃ,
ἀκρωτηριασθήσῃ, κἂν εἰ μέλλοι ταῦτ' ἐξ ἀνάγκης
ὑπομένειν; οὐδεὶς ἔρεῖ. προαναπεσὼν γὰρ τὴν
γνώμην ἐκεῖνος καὶ νόσον ἑτέραν τῆς ψυχῆς ἀρ-
γαλεωτέραν τῆς προϋπούσης τοῦ σώματος προσ-
[283] λαβὼν ἀπερεῖ πρὸς τὴν θεραπείαν, ἄσμενος | δὲ
ἐκ⁴ τοῦ τὰ ἐναντία ἀπάτῃ τοῦ θεραπεύοντος προσ-
δοκῆσαι τλητικῶς πάνθ' ὑποστήσεται, κἂν ἀλ-
67 γυνότατα ἢ τὰ σώζοντα. γενόμενος οὖν τῶν τῆς

¹ MSS. νομοθετῶν, which Adler would retain.

² MSS. νομιμώτατοι.

³ Perhaps, as Cohn suggests, omit οὐ—"the disease will gain strength."

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existence which we apprehend, and of what lies outside that existence nothing. XIV. But 63 they whose natural wit is more dense and dull, or whose early training has been mishandled, since they have no power of clear vision, need physicians in the shape of admonishers, who will devise the treatment proper to their present condition. Thus ill-disciplined 64 and foolish slaves receive profit from a master who frightens them, for they fear his threats and menaces and thus involuntarily are schooled by fear. All such may well learn the untruth, which will benefit them, if they cannot be brought to wisdom by truth.

Thus too in dealing with dangerous 65 sicknesses of the body,^a the most approved physicians do not allow themselves to tell the truth to their patients, since they know that this will but increase their disheartenment, and bring no recovery from the malady, whereas under the encouragement, which the opposite course of treatment gives, they will bear more contentedly their present trouble, and at the same time the disease will be relieved.

For what sensible physician would say to his patient, 66 "Sir, you will be subjected to the knife, the cautery or amputation" even if it will be necessary that he should submit to such operations. No one. For the patient will lose heart beforehand, and add to the existing malady of the body a still more painful malady of the soul and break down when faced with the treatment. Whereas if through the physician's deceit he expects the opposite, he will gladly endure^b everything with patience, however painful the methods of saving him may be. So then the lawgiver, 67

^a See App. p. 485.

^b See App. p. 486.

^a Conj. Tr.: MSS. ἀσμενος ἐκ δὲ. See App. p. 486.

- ψυχῆς παθῶν καὶ νοσημάτων ἄριστος ἰατρὸς ὁ
 νομοθέτης ἐν ἔργον καὶ τέλος προϋθετο, αὐταῖς
 ρίζαις τὰς τῆς διανοίας νόσους ἐκτεμεῖν, ἵνα μὴ τις
 ὑπολειφθεῖσα βλάβστην ἀρρωστήματος ἐνέγκῃ δυσ-
 68 ἰάτου. τοῦτον δὴ τὸν τρόπον ἤλπισεν ἐκκόψαι
 δυνήσεσθαι, εἰ χρώμενον ἀπειλαῖς καὶ ἀγανακτήσεσι
 καὶ ἀπαραιτήτοις ὀργαῖς, ἔτι δὲ ἀμυντηρίοις ὄπλοις
 πρὸς τὰς κατὰ τῶν ἀδικούντων ἐπεξόδους εἰσαγάγοι
 τὸ αἷτιον· μόνως γὰρ οὕτως ὁ ἄφρων νοουθετεῖται.
 69 παρὸ μοι δοκεῖ τοῖς προειρημένοις δυσὶ κεφαλαίοις,
 τῷ τε “ὡς ἄνθρωπος” καὶ τῷ “οὐχ ὡς ἄνθρωπος
 ὁ θεὸς” ἕτερα δύο συνυφῆναι ἀκόλουθα καὶ συγγενῇ,
 φόβον τε καὶ ἀγάπην· τὰς γὰρ διὰ τῶν νόμων εἰς εὐ-
 σέβειαν ὁρῶ παρακελεύσεις ἀπάσας ἀναφερομένας
 ἢ πρὸς τὸ ἀγαπᾶν ἢ πρὸς τὸ φοβεῖσθαι τὸν ὄντα.
 τοῖς μὲν οὖν μῆτε μέρος μῆτε πάθος ἀνθρώπου
 περὶ τὸ ὄν νομίζουσιν, ἀλλὰ θεοπρεπῶς αὐτὸ δι’
 αὐτὸ μόνον τιμῶσι τὸ ἀγαπᾶν οἰκειότατον, φοβεῖσθαι
 δὲ τοῖς ἑτέροις.
 70 XV. Ἄ μὲν οὖν προκαταστήσασθαι τῆς ζητή-
 σεως ἀρμόττον ἦν, τοιαῦτά ἐστιν. ἐπανιτέον δὲ
 ἐπὶ τὴν ἐξ ἀρχῆς σκέψιν, καθ’ ἣν ἠποροῦμεν,
 τίνα ὑπογράφει νοῦν τὸ “ἐθυμώθην ὅτι ἐποίησα
 αὐτούς.” ἴσως οὖν τοιοῦτόν τι βούλεται παραστή-
 σαι, ὅτι οἱ μὲν φαῦλοι θυμῷ γεγόνασι θεοῦ, οἱ
 δ’ ἀγαθοὶ χάριτι. καὶ γὰρ ἐξῆς φησι· “Νῶε δὲ
 71 εὗρε χάριν.” τὸ δὲ κυριολογούμενον ἐπ’ ἀνθρώπων
 πάθος ὁ θυμὸς εὐθυβόλως¹ εἴρηται τροπικώτερον

¹ εὐθυβόλως is omitted in some mss. It may be merely an addition to explain κυριολογούμενον.

* See App. p. 486.

THE UNCHANGEABLENESS OF GOD, 67-71

thereby being now approved as the best of physicians for the distempers and maladies of the soul, set before himself one task and purpose, to make a radical excision of the diseases of the mind and leave no root to sprout again into sickness which defies cure. In this way he hoped to be able to eradicate the 68 evil, namely by representing the supreme Cause as dealing in threats and oftentimes shewing indignation and implacable anger, or again as using weapons of war for His onslaughts on the unrighteous. For this is the only way in which the fool can be admonished. And therefore it seems to me that with the two aforesaid maxims, "God is as a man," and "God is not as a man," he has linked two other principles closely connected and consequent on them, namely fear and love. For I observe that all the exhortations to piety in the law refer either to our loving or our fearing the Existent. And thus to love Him is the most suitable for those into whose conception of the Existent no thought of human parts or passions enters, who pay Him the honour meet for God for His own sake only. To fear is most suitable to the others.

XV. Such are the points which needed to be 70 established as preliminaries to our inquiry. We must return to the original question which caused us difficulty, namely, what thought is suggested by the words "I was wroth in that I made them."^a Perhaps then he wishes to shew us that the bad have become what they are through the wrath of God and the good through His grace. For the next words are "but Noah found grace with Him" (Gen. vi. 8). Now the passion of wrath, which is properly speaking 71 an attribute of men, is here used in a more meta-

ἐπὶ τοῦ ὄντος εἰς τὴν ἀναγκαιοτάτου¹ πράγματος
δήλωσιν, ὅτι πάνθ' ὅσα δι' ὀργὴν ἢ φόβον ἢ λύπην
ἢ ἡδονὴν ἢ τι τῶν ἄλλων παθῶν πράττομεν,
ὑπαίτια καὶ ἐπίληπτα ὁμολογουμένως ἐστίν, ὅσα
δὲ μετ' ὀρθότητος λόγου καὶ ἐπιστήμης, ἐπαινετά.

72 ὁρᾷς ὅση καὶ περὶ τὴν προφορὰν κέχρηται προ-
φυλακῇ, ὅτι “ ἐθυμώθην, ὅτι ἐποίησα αὐτούς ”
εἰπὼν, ἀλλ' οὐ κατ' ἀναστροφὴν· διότι ἐποίησα
αὐτούς, ἐθυμώθην. τοῦτο μὲν γὰρ μετανοοῦντος
ἦν, ὅπερ ἢ τὰ πάντα προμηθουμένη θεοῦ φύσις
οὐκ ἀνέχεται, ἐκεῖνο δὲ δόγμα συνεκτικώτατον
εἰσηγουμένου, ὅτι πηγὴ μὲν ἁμαρτημάτων θυμός,

73 λογισμὸς δὲ κατορθωμάτων. μεμνημένος δὲ τῆς
περὶ πάντα τελείας ἀγαθότητος ἑαυτοῦ ὁ θεός, κἂν
τὸ σύμπαν ἀνθρώπων πλήθος ἐξ ἑαυτοῦ δι' ὑπερ-
βολὰς ἁμαρτημάτων περιπίπτῃ,² τὴν δεξιὰν καὶ
[284] σωτήριον χεῖρα ὀρέγων ὑπολαμβάνει | καὶ ἐξαν-
ίστησιν οὐκ ἔων εἰσάπαν φθαρῆναι καὶ ἀφανισθῆναι

74 τὸ γένος. XVI. διὸ νῦν φησι τὸν Νῶε
χάριν εὐρεῖν παρ' αὐτῷ, ὅτε οἱ ἄλλοι φανέντες
ἀχάριστοι τίνειν μέλλουσι δίκας, ἵνα τὸν σωτήριον
ἔλεον ἀνακεράσῃται τῇ κατὰ ἁμαρτανόντων κρίσει·
καθάπερ καὶ ὁ ὑμνωδὸς εἶπέ που· “ ἔλεον καὶ

75 κρίσιν ἄσομαί σοι ”· εἰ γὰρ βουληθείῃ ὁ θεὸς
δικάσαι τῷ θνητῷ γένει χωρὶς ἐλέου, τὴν κατα-
δικάζουσαν ψῆφον οἴσει μηδενὸς ἀνθρώπων τὸν
ἀπὸ γενέσεως ἄχρι τελευτῆς βίον ἄπταιστον ἐξ
ἑαυτοῦ δραμόντος, ἀλλὰ τὸ μὲν ἐκουσίους, τὸ δὲ

¹ MSS. ἀναγκαιοτάτην τοῦ.

² περιπίπτῃ suspectum: fortasse πίπτῃ (Wend.), but cf. Thuc. ii. 65 αὐτοὶ ἐν σφίσι . . . περιπεσόντες ἐσφάλησαν.

^a Or “ (I will destroy him) because I was wroth in that I

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phorical sense, yet still correctly, of the Existent, to bring out a vital truth, that all our actions by general consent are worthy of blame and censure, if done through fear or anger, or grief or pleasure, or any other passion, but worthy of praise if done with rectitude of reason and knowledge. Mark what 72 caution he shows in his form of statement. He says "I was wroth in that I made them,"^a not in the reverse order, "because I made them, I was wroth." The latter would show change of mind or repentance, a thing impossible to the all-foreseeing nature of God. In the former he brings before us a doctrine of great importance that wrath is the source of misdeeds, but the reasoning faculty of right actions. But God, 73 remembering His perfect and universal goodness, even though the whole vast body of mankind should through its exceeding sinfulness accomplish its own ruin, stretches forth the right hand of salvation, takes them under His protection and raises them up, and suffers not the race to be brought to utter destruction and annihilation.

XVI. And therefore 74 it now says that when the others who had proved ungrateful were doomed to pay the penalty, Noah found grace with Him, that so He might mingle His saving mercy with the judgement pronounced on sinners. And so the Psalmist said somewhere (Ps. c. [ci.] 1), "I will sing to thee of mercy and judgement." For if God should will to judge the 75 race of mortals without mercy, His sentence will be one of condemnation, since there is no man who self-sustained has run the course of life from birth to death without stumbling, but in every case his foot-

made him," *i.e.* the first ὅτι may (1) introduce the quotation, or (2) be part of the quotation.

- ἀκουσίοις χρησαμένου τοῖς ἐν ποσὶν ὀλισθήμασιν.
 76 ἴν' οὖν ὑπάρχῃ τὸ γένος, καὶ πολλὰ τῶν εἰδικῶν
 βύθια χωρῇ, τὸν ἔλεον ἀνακίρνησιν, ᾧ πρὸς εὐ-
 εργεσίας καὶ τῶν ἀναξίων χρῆται, καὶ οὐ μόνον
 δικάσας ἐλεεῖ, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐλεήσας δικάζει· πρεσβύ-
 τερος γὰρ δίκης ὁ ἔλεος παρ' αὐτῷ ἐστίν ἅτε
 τὸν κολάσεως ἄξιον οὐ μετὰ τὴν δίκην, ἀλλὰ πρὸ
 77 δίκης εἰδότη. XVII. διὰ τοῦτο ἐν
 ἐτέροις εἴρηται· “ ποτήριον ἐν χειρὶ κυρίου, οἴνου
 ἀκράτου πλήρες κεράσματος”· καίτοι τό γε κεκρα-
 μένον οὐκ ἄκρατον. ἀλλ' ἔχει λόγον ταῦτα φυσι-
 κώτατον καὶ τοῖς προειρημένοις ἀκόλουθον· ὁ γὰρ
 θεὸς ταῖς δυνάμεσι πρὸς μὲν ἑαυτὸν ἀκράτοις
 χρῆται, κεκραμέναις δὲ πρὸς γένεσιν· τὰς γὰρ
 ἀμιγεῖς θνητὴν ἀμήχανον φύσιν χωρῆσαι. ἡ νομί-
 78 ζεις ἄκρατον μὲν τὴν ἡλίου φλόγα μὴ δύνασθαι
 θεαθῆναι—σβεσθήσεται γὰρ πρότερον ἢ ὄψις μαρ-
 μαρυγαῖς τῶν ἀκτίνων ἀμυδρωθεῖσα ἢ προσβάλ-
 λουσα καταλήψεται· καίτοι καὶ ἡλῖος ἐν ἡν ἔργον
 θεοῦ, μοῖρα οὐρανοῦ, πῖλημα αἰθέριον—, τὰς δὲ
 ἀγενήτους ἄρα δυνάμεις ἐκείνας, αἱ περὶ αὐτὸν
 οὔσαι λαμπρότατον φῶς ἀπαστράπτουσιν, ἀκράτους
 79 περινοῆσαι δύνασθαι; ὥσπερ οὖν τὰς ἡλιακὰς
 ἀκτῖνας ἔτεινε μὲν ἀπ' οὐρανοῦ μέχρι τερμάτων
 γῆς τὸ σφοδρὸν τῆς ἐν αὐταῖς θερμότητος ἀνείς
 καὶ χαλάσας ἀέρι ψυχρῷ—τοῦτο γὰρ αὐταῖς
 ἀνεκεράσατο, ὅπως τὸ αὐγοειδὲς ἀπὸ τοῦ φλογώ-
 δους πυρὸς ἀνασταλέν, τὴν μὲν τοῦ καίειν μεθ-

* See App. p. 486.

THE UNCHANGEABLENESS OF GOD, 75-79

steps have slipped through errors, some voluntary, some involuntary. So then that the race may sub- 76
sist, though many of those which go to form it are
swallowed up by the deep, He tempers His judgement with the mercy which He shews in doing kindness even to the unworthy. And not only does this mercy follow His judgement but it also precedes it. For mercy with Him is older than justice, since He knows who is worthy of punishment, not only after judgement is given, but before it. XVII. And 77

therefore it is said in another place, "there is a cup in the hand of the Lord of unmixed wine, full of mixture" (Ps. lxxiv. [lxxv.] 8). But surely the mixed is not unmixed, and yet there is a meaning in these words most true to nature, and in agreement with what I have said before. For the powers which God employs are unmixed in respect of Himself, but mixed to created beings. For it cannot be that mortal nature should have room for the unmixed. We cannot look even upon the sun's flame un- 78
tempered, or unmixed, for our sight will be quenched and blasted by the bright flashing of its rays, ere it reach and apprehend them, though the sun is but one of God's works in the past, a portion of heaven, a condensed mass of ether.^a And can you think it possible that your understanding should be able to grasp in their unmixed purity those uncreated potencies, which stand around Him and flash forth light of surpassing splendour? When God extended the 79
sun's rays from heaven to the boundaries of earth, He mitigated and abated with cool air the fierceness of their heat. He tempered them in this way, that the radiance drawn off from the blazing flame, surrendering its power of burning but retaining that

- ειμένον δύναμιν, τὴν δὲ τοῦ φωτίζειν περιέχον τῷ ταμιευομένῳ ἐν ταῖς ὥψεσι συγγενεῖ αὐτοῦ καὶ φίλῳ ὑπαντιάσαν ἀσπάσεται· ἡ γὰρ τούτων ἐξ ἐναντίας εἰς ταὐτὸ σύνοδος τε καὶ δεξιῶσις τὴν δι' ὁράσεως ἀντίληψιν ἐργάζεται—, οὕτως ἐπιστήμην θεοῦ καὶ σοφίαν καὶ φρόνησιν καὶ δικαιοσύνην καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἐκάστην ἀρετῶν τίς ἂν ἀκραιφνῇ δέξασθαι δύναιτο θνητὸς ὢν; ἀλλ' οὐδ' ὁ σύμπας
- 80 οὐρανός τε καὶ κόσμος. εἰδὼς τοίνυν ὁ δημιουργὸς τὰς περὶ αὐτὸν ἐν ἅπασιν τοῖς ἀρίστοις ὑπερβολὰς καὶ τὴν τῶν γεγονότων, εἰ καὶ σφόδρα μεγα-
- [285] αυχοῖεν, φυσικὴν ἀσθένειαν οὔτε | εὐεργετεῖν οὔτε κολάζειν ὥς δύναται βούλεται, ἀλλ' ὥς ἔχοντας
- 81 ὁρᾷ δυνάμεως τοὺς ἐκατέρου μεθέξοντας. εἰ δὴ τοῦ ἀνειμένου καὶ μεσότητος ἔχοντος τῶν δυνάμεων αὐτοῦ κράματος ἐμπιεῖν καὶ ἀπολαῦσαι δυνηθείημεν, ἀποχρῶσαν ἂν εὐφροσύνην καρπωσαίμεθα, ἧς τελειοτέραν μὴ ζητείτω λαβεῖν τὸ ἀνθρώπων γένος· ἐδείχθησαν γὰρ αἱ ἀμιγεῖς καὶ ἄκρατοι καὶ τῷ ὄντι ἀκρότητες περὶ τὸ ὄν μόνον ὑπάρχουσαι.
- 82 XVIII. τοῖς δ' εἰρημένοις ὁμοίον ἐστι καὶ τὸ ἐτέρωθι λεχθὲν “ἅπαξ κύριος ἐλάλησε, δύο ταῦτα ἤκουσα.” τὸ μὲν γὰρ ἅπαξ ἔοικε τῷ ἀκράτῳ—καὶ γὰρ τὸ ἄκρατον μόνας καὶ ἡ μόνας ἄκρατον—, τὸ δὲ δις τῷ κεκραμένῳ· τὸ γὰρ κεκραμένον¹ οὐχ ἀπλοῦν ἄτε καὶ σύγκρισιν καὶ διάκρισιν ἐπιδεχόμε-
- 83 νον. μονάδας μὲν οὖν ἀκράτους ὁ θεὸς λαλεῖ· οὐ γὰρ ἐστὶν ὁ λόγος αὐτῷ γεγωνός² ἀέρος πληξίς ἀναμινγνύμενος ἄλλῳ τὸ παράπαν οὐδενί, ἀλλὰ ἀσώματός

¹ MSS. ἐκάτερον γὰρ.² MSS. γεγωνῶς.^a See App. p. 486.^b E.V. “God hath spoken once, twice have I heard this,”

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of giving light, might meet and hail its friend and kinsman,^a the light which is stored in the treasury of our eyes ; for it is when these converge to meet and greet each other that the apprehension through vision is produced. Just in the same way if God's knowledge and wisdom and prudence and justice and each of His other excellences were not tempered, no mortal could receive them, nay not even the whole heaven and universe. The Creator then, 80 knowing His own surpassing excellence in all that is best and the natural weakness of His creatures, however loud they boast, wills not to dispense benefit or punishment according to His power, but according to the measure of capacity which He sees in those who are to participate in either of those dispensations. If indeed we could drink and enjoy this diluted 81 draught, wherein is a moderate measure of His powers, we should reap sufficient gladness, and let not the human race seek a more perfect joy. For we have shewn that these powers at their full height unmixed and untempered subsist only in the Existent.

XVIII. We have something similar to 82 the above-mentioned words in another passage, " The Lord spake once, I have heard these two things " ^b (Ps. lxi. [lxii.] 11). For " once " is like the unmixed, for the unmixed is a monad and the monad is unmixed, whereas twice is like the mixed, for the mixed is not single, since it admits both combination and separation. God then speaks in unmixed 83 monads or unities. For His word is not a sonant impact of voice upon air, or mixed with anything else at all, but it is unbodied and unclothed and in

where " once, twice " = repeatedly. The LXX probably meant the same.

- τε καὶ γυμνός, ἀδιαφορῶν μονάδος. ἀκούομεν δ'
 84 ἡμεῖς δυάδι· τὸ γὰρ ἀφ' ἡγεμονικοῦ πνεῦμα διὰ τρα-
 χείας ἀναπεμπόμενον ἀρτηρίας τυποῦται μὲν ἐν στό-
 ματι ὥσπερ ὑπὸ δημιουργοῦ τινος γλώττης, φερό-
 μενον δ' ἔξω καὶ ἀναμιχθὲν ἀέρι συγγενεῖ καὶ πλήξαν
 αὐτὸν τὴν δυάδος κρᾶσιν ἀρμονίως ἀποτελεῖ· τὸ γὰρ
 συνηχοῦν ἐκ φθόγγων διαφερόντων δυάδι μεριστῇ τὸ
 πρῶτον ἀρμόζεται ὁξὺν καὶ βαρὺν τόνον ἐχούσῃ.
 85 παγκάλως οὖν τῷ πλήθει τῶν ἀδίκων
 λογισμῶν ἀντέθηκεν ἓνα τὸν δίκαιον, ἀριθμῷ μὲν
 ἐλάττωνα δυνάμει δὲ πλείονα, ἵνα μὴ ταλαντεῦσαν
 ὥσπερ ἐπὶ πλάστιγγος βρίσῃ τὸ χεῖρον, ἀλλὰ κράτει
 τῆς ἐναντίας πρὸς τὸ βέλτιον ῥοπῆς ἀνακουφισθὲν
 ἀσθενήσῃ.
 86 XIX. Τί δέ ἐστι τὸ “ Νῶε εὗρε χάριν ἐναντίον
 κυρίου τοῦ θεοῦ,” συνεπισκεψώμεθα· τῶν εὐρι-
 σκόντων οἱ μὲν ἂν πρότερον ἔχοντες ἀπέβαλον
 αὐθις εὐρίσκουσιν, οἱ δὲ ἂν μὴ πάλαι νῦν δὲ πρῶτον
 περιποιήσαντο. τουτὶ μὲν οὖν τὸ ἔργον εὖρεσιν,
 ἐκεῖνο δὲ ἀνεύρεσιν οἱ ζητητικοὶ τῶν κυρίων
 87 ὀνομάτων καλεῖν εἰώθασιν. τοῦ μὲν οὖν
 προτέρου παράδειγμα ἐναργέστατον τὰ περὶ τῆς
 μεγάλης εὐχῆς διατεταγμένα. ἔστι δὲ εὐχὴ μὲν
 αἰτησις ἀγαθῶν παρὰ θεοῦ, μέγαλη δὲ εὐχὴ
 τὸν θεὸν αἷτιον ἀγαθῶν αὐτὸν ἀφ' ἑαυτοῦ
 νομίζειν μηδενὸς ἑτέρου [τῶν] εἰς τὸ δοκεῖν
 ὠφελεῖν συνεργούντος, μὴ γῆς ὡς καρποτόκου, μὴ
 ὑετῶν ὡς σπέρματα καὶ φυτὰ συναυξόντων, μὴ

^a See App. p. 487.

THE UNCHANGEABLENESS OF GOD, 83-87

no way different from unity. But our hearing is the product of two factors, of a dyad. For the breath 84 from the seat of the master-principle driven up through the windpipe is shaped in the mouth by the workmanship, as it were, of the tongue, and rushing out it mixes with its congener the air, and impinging on it produces in a harmonious union the mixture which constitutes the dyad.^a For the consonance^a caused by different sounds is harmonized in a dyad originally divided which contains a high and a low pitch.

Right well then did the lawgiver 85 act when he opposed to the multitude of unjust thoughts the just man as one—numerically less, but greater in value. His purpose is that the worse should not prove the weightier when tested as in the scales, but by the victorious force of the opposite tendency to the better cause should kick the beam and prove powerless.

XIX. Now let us consider what is meant by “Noah 86 found grace before the Lord God” (Gen. vi. 8). Finders sometimes find again what they possessed and have lost, sometimes what they did not own in the past and now gain for the first time. People who seek exactitude in the use of words are wont to call the process in the second case “finding” or “discovery” and in the first “refinding” or “recovery.”

We have a very clear example 87 of the former in the commandment of the Great Vow (Num. vi. 2). Now a vow is a request for good things from God, while a “great vow” is to hold that God Himself and by Himself is the cause of good things, that though the earth may seem to be the mother of fruits, rain to give increase to seeds and plants, air to have the power of fostering them,

αἶρος ὡς τρέφειν ἱκανοῦ, μὴ γεωργίας ὡς φορᾶς
 αἰτίας, μὴ ἱατρικῆς ὡς ὑγείας, μὴ γάμου ὡς γε-
 88 νέσεως παίδων. πάντα γὰρ ταῦτα δυνάμει θεοῦ
 [286] μεταβολᾶς | δέχεται καὶ τροπᾶς, ὡς τὰναντία πολ-
 λάκις τοῖς ἐξ ἔθους ἀποτελεῖν. τοῦτον οὖν φησι
 Μωυσῆς “ ἅγιον ” εἶναι, “ τρέφοντα κόμην τρίχα
 κεφαλῆς,” ὅπερ ἦν τὰς ἐν τῷ ἡγεμονικῷ τῶν ἀρετῆς
 δογμάτων κεφαλαιώδεις ἀνατολὰς συναύξοντα καὶ
 89 τὸν τρόπον τινὰ κομῶντα καὶ σεμνυνόμενον ἐπ’ αὐ-
 ταῖς. ἀλλ’ ἔστιν ὅτε ἀπέβαλεν αὐτὰς αἰφνίδιον
 κατασκήψαντος οἷά τινος τυφῶνος εἰς τὴν ψυχὴν
 καὶ τὰ καλὰ πάντα αὐτῆς ἐξαρπάσαντος· ὁ δὲ
 τυφὼν οὗτος τροπὴ τίς ἐστιν ἀκούσιος παραχρήμα
 90 τὸν νοῦν μαιίνουσα, ἣν καλεῖ θάνατον. ἀλλ’ ὅμως
 ἀποβαλὼν αὐθις καὶ καθαρθεὶς ἀναλαμβάνει καὶ ἀνα-
 μιμνήσκεται ὧν τέως ἐπελέληστο, καὶ ἅπερ ἀπ-
 έβαλεν εὐρίσκει, ὡς τὰς προτέρας τῆς τροπῆς ἡμέ-
 ρας ἀλόγους ἐξετάζεσθαι, ἥ διότι παράλογον ἡ
 τροπὴ πρᾶγμα, ἀπᾶδον ὀρθοῦ λόγου καὶ φρονήσεως
 ἀμέτοχον, ἥ παρόσον οὐκ ἔστιν ἀξία καταριθμεί-
 σθαι· “ τῶν γὰρ τοιούτων ” ἔφη τις “ οὐ λόγος οὐδ’
 91 ἀριθμός.” XX. πολλάκις δὲ ἐνετύχομεν

* The translation follows Mangey in omitting τῶν before
 εἰς τὸ δοκεῖν ὠφελεῖν. This, however, is not quite satisfactory,
 as εἰς τὸ δοκεῖν would naturally mean “ as regards semblance.”
 Perhaps retain τῶν and for ὠφελεῖν substitute ὠφελίμων.

* Literally “ fostering the head’s hair as long locks.”
 In the allegory the “ head’s hair ” becomes the “ growths of
 truths,” which are of the nature of heads or leading prin-
 ciples, and since κομᾶν, “ to wear long hair,” also means “ to
 be proud,” κόμη is interpreted as the pride which we should
 feel in virtue. For further elucidation see App. p. 487.

* In the original no doubt this means that as contact with

THE UNCHANGEABLENESS OF GOD, 87-91

husbandry to be the cause of the harvest, medicine the cause of health, marriage of childbirth, yet nothing else is His fellow-worker that we may think of them as bringing us benefit.^a For all these things, 83 through the power of God, admit of change and transition, so as often to produce effects quite the reverse of the ordinary. He who makes this vow then, says Moses, must be "holy, suffering the hair of his head to grow^b" (Num. vi. 5). This means that he must foster the young growths of virtue's truths in the mind which rules his being; these growths must be to him as it were heads, and he must take pride in them as in the glory of the hair. But sometimes he 89 loses these early growths, when as it were a whirlwind swoops suddenly down upon the soul and tears from it all that was beautiful in it. This whirlwind is a kind of involuntary defection straightway defiling the soul, and this he calls death (Num. vi. 9). He 90 has lost, yet in time, when purified, he makes good the loss, remembers what he had forgotten for a while, and finds what he has lost, so that the "former days," the days of defection, are regarded as not to be counted^c (Num. vi. 12), either because defection is a thing beyond all calculation, discordant with right reason and having no partnership with prudence, or because they are not worthy to be counted. For of such as these there is, as has been said,^d no count or number.

XX. On the other hand, it 91

the corpse cancels the vow, the days before the defilement must not be reckoned as part of the necessary period, and indeed Philo's Greek might be translated as "the days before the defection"; but the argument requires that the words should be taken as in the translation.

^a A proverbial expression. Cf. Theocritus, *Id.* xiv. 48
ἀμμες δ' οὔτε λόγῳ τίνος ἀξιοὶ οὔτ' ἀριθματοί.

- τούτοις, ἃ μὴδ' ὄναρ πρότερον εἶδομεν· ὥσπερ γεωπόνον φασί τινες ὑπὲρ τοῦ τι τῶν ἡμέρων δένδρων φυτεῦσαι σκάπτοντα χωρίον θησαυρῷ
- 92 περιτυχεῖν ἀνελπίστῳ χρησάμενον εὐτυχία. ὁ γοῦν ἀσκητῆς πυθόμενου τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτοῦ τῆς ἐπιστήμης τὸν τρόπον τοῦτον· “τί τοῦτο ὁ ταχὺ εὗρες, τέκνον;” ἀποκρίνεται καὶ φησιν· “ὁ παρέδωκε κύριος ὁ θεὸς ἐναντίον μου.” ὅταν γὰρ ὁ θεὸς παραδιδῷ τὰ τῆς αἰδίου¹ σοφίας θεωρήματα καμάτου χωρὶς καὶ πόνου, ταῦτα ἐξαίφνης οὐ προσδοκήσαντες θησαυρὸν εὐδαιμονίας τελείας εὐρίσκομεν.
- 93 συμβαίνει δὲ πολλάκις τοῖς μὲν ἐπιπόνως ζητοῦσιν ἀποτυγχάνειν τοῦ ζητουμένου, τοῖς δ' ἄνευ φροντίδος ῥᾶστα καὶ ἃ μὴ διενόηθησαν εὐρίσκειν· οἱ μὲν γὰρ νωθέστεροι καὶ βραδεῖς τὰς ψυχὰς ὥσπερ οἱ τὰ ὄμματα πεπηρωμένοι τὸν εἰς τὸ θεωρῆσαι τι τῶν κατ' ἐπιστήμην πόνον ἴσχουσιν ἀτελῇ, οἱ δὲ φύσεως εὐμοιρία δίχα ζητήσεως μυρίοις ἐνέτυχον εὐθυβόλῳ καὶ εὐθίκτῳ χρησάμενοι προσβολῇ, ὡς δοκεῖν αὐτοὺς μὲν μὴ σπουδάσαι τοῖς πράγμασιν ἐντυχεῖν, ἐκεῖνα δὲ μεθ' ὁρμῆς προαπαντήσαντα εἰς ὅψιν ἔλθειν ἐπειχθῆναι καὶ τὴν ἀπ' αὐτῶν ἀκριβεστάτην ἐμποιῆσαι κατάληψιν.
- 94 XXI. τούτοις ὁ νομοθέτης φησὶ δίδοσθαι “πόλεις μεγάλας καὶ καλὰς, ἃς οὐκ ὠκοδόμησαν, οἰκίας πλήρεις τῶν ἀγαθῶν, ἃς [287] οὐκ ἐνέπλησαν, λάκκους λελατομημένους, | οὓς οὐκ ἐξελατόμησαν, ἀμπελῶνας καὶ ἐλαιῶνας, οὓς οὐκ 95 ἐφύτευσαν.” πόλεις μὲν οὖν καὶ οἰκίας συμβολικῶς τὰς τε γενικὰς καὶ τὰς εἰδικὰς ἀρετὰς ὑπογράφει·

¹ MSS. ἰδίου.

THE UNCHANGEABLENESS OF GOD, 91-95

is a common experience that things befall us of which we have not even dreamt, like the story of the husbandman who, digging his orchard to plant some fruit-trees, lighted on a treasure, and thus met with prosperity beyond his hopes. Thus the Practiser, 92 when his father asked him in this manner of the source of his knowledge,^a "What is this that thou hast found so quickly, my son?" answered and said, "It is what the Lord God delivered before me" (Gen. xxvii. 20). For when God delivers to us the lore of His eternal wisdom without our toil or labour we find in it suddenly and unexpectedly a treasure of perfect happiness. It often happens that those 93 who seek with toil fail to find the object of their search, while others without thought and with the utmost ease find what had never crossed their minds. The slow-souled dullards, like men who have lost their eyesight, labour fruitlessly in the study of any branch of knowledge, while to others richly blessed by nature it comes unsought in myriad forms; theirs is a ready and unfailing grasp; it seems as though they trouble not to come in contact with the objects of their study, rather that these are impelled to take the lead and hurry to present themselves before the student's vision, and create in him the unerring apprehension which they have to give.

XXI. It is to these men that are given, in the law- 94 giver's words, "cities great and beautiful which they built not, houses full of good things which they did not fill, pits hewn out which they did not hew, vineyards and olive-gardens which they did not plant" (Deut. vi. 10, 11). Under the symbol of cities and 95 houses he speaks of the generic and specific virtues.

* Or "the father of his knowledge." See App. p. 487.

- πόλει μὲν γὰρ ἔοικε τὸ γένος, ὅτι κὰν μείζουσιν ἐξετάζεται περιγραφαῖς καὶ πλειόνων κοινόν ἐστιν, εἶδος δὲ οἰκία τῷ συνήχθαι τε μᾶλλον καὶ πεφευγῆναι τὴν
- 96 κοινότητα. προητοιμασμένοι δὲ λάκκοι τὰ χωρὶς¹ τῶν πόνων τούτοις πρόχειρα ἄθλα, οὐρανίων καὶ ποτίμων δεξαμεναὶ ναμάτων, πρὸς φυλακὴν τῶν προειρημένων ἀρετῶν εὐτρεπεῖς θησαυροί, ἐξ ὧν εὐφροσύνη περιγίνεται ψυχῇ τελεία φῶς τὸ ἀληθείας ἀπαστράπτουσα. τοὺς μὲν οὖν ἀμπελώνας εὐφροσύνης, τοὺς δ' ἐλαιῶνας φωτὸς πεποιήται σύμβολον.
- 97 εὐδαίμονες μὲν οὖν οὗτοι, παραπλήσιόν τι πάσχοντες τοῖς ἐκ βαθέος ὕπνου διανισταμένοις καὶ τὸν κόσμον ἐξαίφνης ἀπόνως καὶ χωρὶς πραγματείας ὁρώσιν, ἄθλιοι δὲ οἷς πρὸς ἃ μὴ πεφύκασιν ἀντιφιλονεικεῖν συμβαίνει, ἔριδι, ἀργαλεωτάτῃ νόσῳ,
- 98 ἐπαιρόμενοι. πρὸς γὰρ τῷ τοῦ τέλους ἀποτυγχάνειν ἔτι μετ' οὐ μικρᾶς βλάβης μεγάλην αἰσχύνην ὑπομένουσιν, ὥσπερ αἱ πρὸς ἐναντία πνεύματα νῆες ἐνθαλαττεύουσιν· πρὸς γὰρ τῷ μὴ τυγχάνειν ὑποδρόμων ἐφ' οὓς ἐπείγονται, πολλάκις αὐτοῖς πλωτῆρσι καὶ φορτίοις ἀνατραπεῖσαι λύπην μὲν φίλοις, ἡδονὴν δὲ ἐχθροῖς ἐμπαρέσχον.
- 99 XXII. λέγει οὖν ὁ νόμος, ὅτι “ παραβιασάμενοί τινες ἀνέβησαν ἐπὶ τὸ ὄρος, καὶ ἐξῆλθεν ὁ Ἀμορραῖος ὁ κατοικῶν ἐν τῷ ὄρει ἐκείνῳ, καὶ ἐτίτρωσκεν αὐτούς, ὡς ἂν ποιήσειαν αἱ μέλισσαι, καὶ
- 100 ἐδίωξεν αὐτοὺς ἀπὸ Σηεῖρ ἕως Ἑρμᾶ,” ἀνάγκη γὰρ καὶ τοὺς ἀφυῶς ἔχοντας πρὸς τὰς τῶν

¹ MSS. ἐτέροις.

^a For the symbolism of oil = light cf. *Quod Det.* 118.

^b See App. p. 487.

^c E.V. “were presumptuous.” The LXX may have in-

THE UNCHANGEABLENESS OF GOD, 95-100

For the genus resembles the city, because its limits are marked out by wider circuits and it embraces a larger number. The species on the other hand resembles the house, because it is more concentrated and avoids the idea of community. The pits which 96 they find provided are the prizes ready to be won without toil, cisterns of waters heavenly and sweet to drink, treasure-cells fitly prepared to guard the afore-mentioned virtues, from which is secured to the soul perfect gladness shedding with its beams the light of truth. And for that gladness and light he gives us a symbol in the vineyards for the former, in 97 the olive-gardens ^a for the latter.

Happy then are these, and their case is as the state of those who waken from deep sleep, and suddenly without toil or active effort open their eyes upon the world. Miserable are those ^b whose lot it is to compete earnestly for ends for which they were not born, urged on by the grievous poison of contentiousness. 98 Not only do they fail to gain their end, but they incur great shame and no small damage to boot. They are like ships ploughing the seas in the face of contrary winds; for not only do they fail to reach the roadsteads to which they press, but often they capsize, vessel, crew and cargo, and are a source of grief to their friends and joy to their foes. 99

XXII. So the law says that "some went up with violence ^c into the mountain, and the Amorite who dwelt in that mountain came out and wounded them, as bees might do, and chased them from Seir to Hormah" (Deut. i. 43, 44). For it must needs be that 100 if those, who have no aptness for the acquisition of

tended the same by *πάρα*-. But Philo's argument turns entirely on "force" or "violence."

- τεχνῶν ἀναλήψεις, εἴ τι βιαζόμενοι πονοῦντο περὶ αὐτάς, μὴ μόνον σφάλλεσθαι τοῦ τέλους, ἀλλὰ καὶ αἰσχύνην ὀφλεῖν, καὶ τοὺς ἄλλοι τι τῶν δεόντων ἀσυγκαταθέτω γνώμῃ πράττοντας <μὴ> ἐθελουσίως βιαζομένους δὲ τὸ παρ' αὐτοῖς ἐκούσιον μὴ κατα-
 101 τε καὶ διώκεσθαι. καὶ τοὺς τὰς ὀλιγοχρημάτους παρακαταθήκας ἀποδιδόντας ἐπὶ θήρᾳ στερήσεως μειζόνων εἴποις ἂν πίσκει διαφέρειν <τῶν>¹ οἱ καὶ ὅτε ἀπέδοσαν πολλὰ τὴν ἔμφυτον ἀπιστίαν ἐβιάσαντο, ὑφ' ἧς μήποτε παύσαιντο² κατακεν-
 102 τούμενοι; θεραπείαν δὲ ὅσοι τοῦ μόνου σοφοῦ νόθον ἐπετήδευσαν, ὥσπερ ἐπὶ σκηνῆς ἱερο-
 πρεπεστάτην³ ἄχρι τοῦ μόνον ἐπιδείξασθαι τοῖς συνεληλυθόσι θεαταῖς προαίρεσιν ἐνδύντες βίου, βωμολοχίαν πρὸ εὐσεβείας ἐν τῇ ψυχῇ φέροντες, οὐχ αὐτοὺς ὥσπερ ἐπὶ τροχοῦ κατατείνουσι καὶ
 [288] βασανίζουσιν | ἀναγκάζοντες ἐπιμορφάζειν ψευδῶς,
 103 ἃ πρὸς ἀλήθειαν <μὴ> πεπόνθασι; τοιγάρτοι βραχὺν χρόνον ἐπισκιασθέντες διὰ τῶν δεισιδαι-
 μονίας συμβόλων, ἥ κώλυσις⁴ μὲν ἐστὶν ὁσιότητος, μεγάλη δὲ καὶ τοῖς ἔχουσι καὶ τοῖς συνιοῦσι ζημία, εἴτ' αὖθις ἀπαμφιασάμενοι τὰ περιήπτα γυμνῇ ἐπιδείκνυνται τὴν ὑπόκρισιν καὶ τότε ὥσπερ οἱ ξενίας ἀλόντες νοθεύονται τῇ μεγίστῃ πόλεων ἀρετῇ μηδὲν προσήκοντας ἑαυτοὺς παρεγγράψαντες.

¹ τῶν ins. Tr. See App. p. 488.

² Some mss. παύσονται. The opt. in either tense may be explained as oratio obliqua dependent on εἴποις. But παύσονται which Wend. conjectures would be more usual.

³ So Mangey: mss. and Wend. ἱεροπρεπεστάτης.

⁴ mss. κόλασις: conj. Cohn and Wend. κόλουσις, i.e. mutilation.

THE UNCHANGEABLENESS OF GOD, 100-103

the arts, use force or compel themselves to labour at them, they not only fail in their purpose, but also incur disgrace. Those, too, who perform any other right action without the assent of their judgement or will, but by doing violence to their inclination, do not achieve righteousness,^a but are wounded and chased by their inward feelings. Would you say 101 there was any difference in the matter of honesty between those who repay an insignificant deposit in the hope of securing an opportunity to defraud on a larger scale, and those who actually make a large repayment but in doing so have to do violence to their natural inclination to dishonesty, which never ceases to prick them with the stings of regret? What of those who render an insincere worship to 102 the only wise God, those who as on a stage assume a highly sanctified creed and profession of life, which does no more than make an exhibition to the assembled spectators? Are not these men, whose souls are filled with ribaldry rather than piety, racking and torturing themselves as on the wheel, compelling themselves to counterfeit what they have never felt? And therefore, though for a short time 103 they are disguised by the insignia of superstition, which is a hindrance to holiness, and a source of much harm both to those who are under its sway and those who find themselves in such company, yet in course of time the wrappings are cast aside and their hypocrisy is seen in its nakedness. And then, like convicted aliens, they are marked as bastard citizens, having falsely inscribed their names in the burgess-roll of that greatest of commonwealths, virtue, to which they had no claim. For

^a See App. p. 487.

τὸ γὰρ βίαιον ὀλιγοχρόνιον, ὡς καὶ αὐτό που δηλοῖ τοῦνομα παρὰ τὸ βαιὸν εἰρημένον· βαιὸν δὲ τὸ ὀλιγοχρόνιον ἐκάλουν οἱ παλαιοί.

- 104 XXIII. Τί δέ ἐστι τὸ “Νῶε εὗρε χάριν παρὰ κυρίῳ τῷ θεῷ,” διαπορητέον. ἄρ’ οὖν τοιοῦτόν ἐστι τὸ δηλούμενον, ὅτι χάριτος ἔτυχεν, ἢ ὅτι χάριτος ἄξιος ἐνομίσθη; ἀλλὰ τὸ μὲν πρότερον οὐκ εἰκὸς ὑπονοεῖν· τί γὰρ αὐτῷ πλέον δεδῶρηται πάντων, ὡς ἔπος εἰπεῖν, ὅσα οὐ συγκέκριται μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ στοιχειῶδεις ἀπλαῖ φύσεις εἰσὶ, χάριτος
- 105 ἡξιωμένων θείας; τὸ δ’ ὕστερον ἔχει μὲν τινα οὐκ ἀνάρμοστον λόγον, κρίνοντος τοῦ αἰτίου δωρεῶν ἀξίους τοὺς τὸ θεῖον ἐν ἑαυτοῖς νόμισμα, τὸν ἱερώτατον νοῦν, αἰσχροῖς ἐπιτηδεύμασι μὴ διαφθείροντας, ἴσως δὲ οὐκ ἀληθῆ.
- 106 πηλίκον γάρ τινα εἰκὸς γενέσθαι τὸν ἄξιον χάριτος κριθησόμενον παρὰ θεῷ; ἐγὼ μὲν γὰρ ἡγοῦμαι μόλις ἂν καὶ σύμπαντα τὸν κόσμον τούτου λαχεῖν· καίτοι τό γε πρῶτον καὶ μέγιστον καὶ τελεώτατον
- 107 τῶν θείων ἔργων ἐστὶν οὗτος. μήποτ’ οὖν ἄμεινον ἂν εἴη ἐκδέχεσθαι τοῦτο, ὅτι ζητητικὸς καὶ πολυμαθὴς γενόμενος ὁ ἀστείος ἐν οἷς ἅπασιν ἐζήτησε τοῦθ’ εὗρὲν ἀληθέστατον, χάριν ὄντα θεοῦ τὰ πάντα, γῆν, ὕδωρ, ἀέρα, πῦρ, ἥλιον, ἀστέρας, οὐρανόν, ζῶα καὶ φυτὰ σύμπαντα. κεχαρίσται δὲ ὁ θεὸς αὐτῷ μὲν οὐδέν—οὐδὲ γὰρ δεῖται—, κόσμον δὲ κόσμῳ καὶ τὰ μέρη ἑαυτοῖς τε καὶ
- 108 ἀλλήλοις, ἔτι δὲ τῷ παντί. οὐδέν δὲ κρίνας ἄξιον χάριτος ἄφθονα καὶ τῷ ὅλῳ καὶ τοῖς μέρεσι δεδῶρηται τὰ ἀγαθὰ, ἀλλ’ ἀπιδὼν εἰς τὴν αἰδίον

THE UNCHANGEABLENESS OF GOD, 103-108

violence is short-lived, as the very name (*βίαιον*) seems to shew, since it is derived from *βαιός*; for that was the word used in old times for short-lived.

XXIII. But we must deal fully with the difficulty 104 in the words "Noah found grace with the Lord God." Is the meaning that he obtained grace or that he was thought worthy of grace? The former is not a reasonable supposition. For in that case what more was given to him than to practically all creatures, not only those who are compounded of body and soul, but also simple elementary natures, all accepted as recipients of divine grace?

The second explanation is founded on a not unreason- 105 able idea, that the Cause judges those worthy of His gifts, who do not deface with base practices the coin within them which bears the stamp of God, even the sacred mind. And yet perhaps that explanation is not the true one. For how great must we suppose 106 him to be, who shall be judged worthy of grace with God? Hardly, I think, could the whole world attain to this, and yet the world is the first and the greatest and the most perfect of God's works.

Perhaps then it would be better to accept this ex- 107 planation, that the man of worth, being zealous in inquiring and eager to learn, in all his inquiries found this to be the highest truth, that all things are the grace or gift of God—earth, water, air, fire, sun, stars, heaven, all plants and animals. But God has bestowed no gift of grace on Himself, for He does not need it, but He has given the world to the world, and its parts to themselves and to each other, aye and to the All. But He has given His good things 108 in abundance to the All and its parts, not because He judged anything worthy of grace, but looking to

ἀγαθότητα καὶ νομίσας ἐπιβάλλον τῇ μακαρίᾳ
καὶ εὐδαίμονι φύσει ἑαυτοῦ τὸ εὐεργετεῖν. ὥστε
εἴ τις μ' ἔροιτο, τίς αἰτία γενέσεως κόσμου, μαθὼν
παρὰ Μωυσέως ἀποκρινοῦμαι, ὅτι ἡ τοῦ ὄντος
[289] ἀγαθότης, ἣτις ἐστὶ | πρεσβυτάτη τῶν * * * χαρί-

109 των οὐσα ἑαυτῇ.¹ XXIV. παρατηρητέον
δ' ὅτι τὸν μὲν Νῶέ φησιν εὐαρεστήσασθαι ταῖς τοῦ
ὄντος δυνάμεσι, κυρίῳ τε καὶ θεῷ, Μωυσῆν δὲ τῷ
δορυφορουμένῳ πρὸς τῶν δυνάμεων καὶ δίχα αὐτῶν
κατὰ τὸ εἶναι μόνον νοουμένῳ· λέγεται γὰρ ἐκ προ-
σώπου τοῦ θεοῦ ὅτι “εὗρηκας χάριν παρ' ἐμοί,”
δεικνύντος² ἑαυτὸν τὸν ἄνευ παντὸς ἐτέρου.

110 οὕτως ἄρα τὴν μὲν κατὰ Μωυσῆν ἄκραν σοφίαν
ἀξιοῖ χάριτος ὃ ὢν αὐτὸς δι' ἑαυτοῦ μόνου, τὴν
δὲ ἀπεικονισθεῖσαν ἐκ ταύτης δευτέραν καὶ εἰδι-
κωτέραν οὖσαν διὰ τῶν ὑπηκόων δυνάμεων, καθ'
ἃς καὶ κύριος καὶ θεός, ἄρχων τε καὶ εὐεργέτης
111 ἐστίν. ἕτερος δὲ τις φιλοσώματος καὶ

φιλοπαθῆς νοῦς πραθεὶς τῇ ἀρχιμαγείρῳ τοῦ
συγκρίματος ἡμῶν ἡδονῇ καὶ ἐξευνουχισθεὶς
τὰ ἄρρενα καὶ γεννητικὰ τῆς ψυχῆς μέρη πάντα,
σπάνει κεχρημένος καλῶν ἐπιτηδευμάτων, ἀκοὴν
παραδέξασθαι θείαν ἀδυνατῶν, ἐκκλησίας τῆς ἱερᾶς
ἀπεσχοινισμένος ἐν ἣ [σύλλογοι καὶ]³ λόγοι περὶ
ἀρετῆς αἰεὶ μελετῶνται, εἰς μὲν τὸ δεσμωτήριον τῶν

¹ Wend. suggests for the correction of this passage
πρεσβυτάτη τῶν <θεοῦ δυνάμεων, τῶν> χαρίτων οὐσα πηγὴ. The
translator suggests and has rendered πρεσβυτάτη τῶν <χαρίτων,
πηγὴ> χαρίτων οὐσα αὐτή. See App. p. 488.

² mss. δεικνύς, which Cohn would retain, and correct λέγεται
to λέγει and ἑαυτὸν to αὐτὸν.

THE UNCHANGEABLENESS OF GOD, 108-111

His eternal goodness, and thinking that to be beneficent was incumbent on His blessed and happy nature. So that if anyone should ask me what was the motive for the creation of the world, I will answer what Moses has taught, that it was the goodness of the Existent, that goodness which is the oldest of His bounties and itself the source of others.

XXIV. But we must observe that he says that Noah 109 was well pleasing to the Potencies of the Existent, to the Lord and to God (Gen. vi. 8), but Moses to Him who is attended by the Potencies, and without them is only conceived of as pure being. For it is said with God as speaker, "thou hast found grace with Me" (Exod. xxxiii. 17), in which words He shews Himself as Him who has none other with Him. Thus, then, through His own agency alone does He 110 who IS judge the supreme wisdom shewn in Moses to be worthy of grace, but the wisdom which was but a copy of that, the wisdom which is secondary and of the nature of species, He judges as worthy through His subject Potencies, which present Him to us as Lord and God, Ruler and Benefactor.

But there is a different mind ^a which loves the body 111 and the passions and has been sold in slavery to that chief cateress (Gen. xxxix. 1) of our compound nature, Pleasure. Eunuch-like it has been deprived of all the male and productive organs of the soul, and lives in indigence of noble practices, unable to receive the divine message, debarred from the holy congregation (Deut. xxiii. 1) in which the talk and study is always of virtue. When this mind is cast

^a See App. p. 488.

^b See App. p. 488.

PHILO

- παθῶν εἰσάγεται, χάριν δὲ εὐρίσκει τὴν ἀτιμίας
 112 ἀδοξοτέραν παρὰ τῷ ἀρχιδεσμοφύλακι. δεσμῶται
 μὲν γὰρ κυρίως εἰσὶν οὐχ οὓς ἐν δικαστηρίῳ
 καταδικασθέντας ὑπὸ κλήρῳ ἀρχόντων ἢ καὶ χειρο-
 τονηθέντων δικαστῶν ἀπάγουσιν· τινες εἰς ἀποδεδειγ-
 μένον χώρον κακούργων, ἀλλ' ὧν ἡ φύσις κατ-
 ἐδίκασε ψυχῆς τρόπων, οἵτινες ἀφροσύνης <καὶ>
 ἀκολασίας καὶ δειλίας καὶ ἀδικίας καὶ ἀσεβείας
 113 καὶ ἄλλων ἀμυθήτων κηρῶν γέμουσιν. ὁ δὲ ἐπί-
 τροπος καὶ φύλαξ καὶ ταμίας τούτων, ὁ ἡγεμὼν
 τοῦ δεσμοκτηρίου, σύστημα καὶ συμφόρημα κακιῶν
 ἀθρόων καὶ ποικίλων εἰς ἓν εἶδος συννυφασμένων
 ἐστίν, ᾧ τὸ εὐαρεστῆσαι μεγίστη ζημία· ἦν οὐχ
 ὁρῶντες ἔνιοι, ἀπατῶμενοι δὲ περὶ τὸ βλάπτον ὥς
 ὠφελοῦν, προσίασιν τε αὐτῷ μάλα γεγηθότες καὶ
 δορυφοροῦσιν, ἢ ὅσοι ὑπαρχοὶ καὶ διάδοχοι φυλακῆς
 ἀμαρτημάτων ἀκουσίων τε καὶ ἐκουσίων πιστοὶ
 114 κριθέντες γένωνται. ἀλλὰ σύ γε, ὦ ψυχή, τὴν
 δεσποτείαν καὶ ἡγεμονίαν ταύτην ἀργαλεωτέραν
 τῆς ἐπαχθοῦς δουλείας νομίσασα, μάλιστα μὲν
 ἀδέσμῳ καὶ λελυμένῃ καὶ ἐλευθέρᾳ χρῆσαι προ-
 115 αἰρέσει τοῦ βίου· ἂν δ' ἄρα ἀγκιστρευθῇς ὑπὸ
 πάθους, δεσμῶτις μᾶλλον ἢ εἰρκοφύλαξ ὑπό-
 μεινον γενέσθαι· κακωθεῖσα μὲν γὰρ καὶ στενάξασα
 [290] ἔλεον εὐρήσεις, | σπουδαρχίαις δὲ καὶ λιμοδοξίαις
 ὑποβαλοῦσα σαντὴν ἡδὺ κακὸν τὸ εἰρκοφυλακεῖν
 καὶ μέγιστον ἀναδέξῃ, ὑφ' οὗ γενήσῃ πάντα
 116 ἀγώγιμος τὸν αἰῶνα XXV. τὰς μὲν οὖν παρὰ

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into the prison of the passions, it finds in the eyes of the chief jailer a favour and grace, which is more inglorious than dishonour. For, in the true sense of 112 the word, prisoners are not those who after condemnation by magistrates chosen by lot, or it may be elected jurymen, are haled to the appointed place of malefactors, but those whose character of soul is condemned by nature, as full to the brim of folly and incontinence and cowardice, and injustice and impiety and other innumerable plagues. Now the over- 113 seer and warder and manager of them, the governor of the prison, is the concentration and congeries of all vices multitudinous and manifold, woven together into a single form, and to be pleasing to him is to suffer the greatest of penalties. But some do not see the nature of this penalty, but, being deluded into counting the harmful as beneficial, become right joyfully his courtiers and satellites, in the hope that having judged them to be faithful he may make them his subalterns and lieutenants to keep guard over the sins which are committed with the will or without it. My soul, hold such a mastery and cap- 114 taincy to be a lot more cruel than that slavery, heavy though it be. Follow indeed, if thou canst, a life-purpose which is unchained and liberated and free. But, if it be that thou art snared by the hook 115 of passion, endure rather to become a prisoner than a prison-keeper. For through suffering and groaning thou shalt find mercy ; but if thou put thyself in subjection to the craving for office or the greed of glory, thou shalt receive the charge of the prison, a pleasant task indeed, but an ill one and the greatest of ills, and its thralldom shall be over thee for ever. XXV. Put away then with all thy might what may 116

τοῖς ἀρχιδεσμοφύλαξιν εὐαρεστήσεις ἀνὰ κράτος ἀπόθου, τῶν δὲ παρὰ τῷ αἰτίῳ διαφερόντως μετὰ σπουδῆς τῆς ἀπάσης ἐφίεσο. ἔαν δ' ἄρα ἀδυνατῆς —ὑπερβάλλον γὰρ τὸ τοῦ ἀξιώματος μέγεθος—, ἴθι ἀμεταστρεπτί πρὸς τὰς δυνάμεις αὐτοῦ καὶ τούτων ἰκέτις γενοῦ, μέχρις ἂν ἀποδεξάμεναι τὸ συνεχὲς καὶ γνήσιον τῆς θεραπείας ἐν τῇ τῶν εὐαρεστησάντων αὐταῖς κατατάξωσι χώρα, καθάπερ καὶ τὸν Νῶε, οὗ τῶν ἐγγόνων θαυμαστότατον καὶ καινότατον πεποιῆται τὸν κατάλογον·

- 117 φησὶ γάρ· “ αὐται αἱ γενέσεις Νῶε· Νῶε ἄνθρωπος δίκαιος, τέλειος ὢν ἐν τῇ γενεᾷ αὐτοῦ· τῷ θεῷ εὐηρέστησε Νῶε.” τὰ μὲν γὰρ τοῦ συγκρίματος γεννήματα πέφυκεν εἶναι καὶ αὐτὰ συγκρίματα· ἵπποι γὰρ ἵππους καὶ λέοντες λέοντας καὶ βόες ταύρους, ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ ἄνθρωποι ἀνθρώπους
- 118 ἐξ ἀνάγκης γεννῶσι· διανοίας δὲ ἀγαθῆς οὐ τὰ τοιαῦτα οἰκεῖα ἔγγονα, ἀλλ' αἱ προειρημέναι ἀρεταί, τὸ ἄνθρωπον εἶναι, τὸ δίκαιον εἶναι, τὸ τέλειον εἶναι, τὸ θεῷ εὐαρεστήσαι· ὅπερ ἐπειδὴ καὶ τελεώτατον ἦν καὶ ὅρος τῆς ἄκρας εὐδαιμονίας,
- 119 ἐφ' ἅπασιν εἴρηται. γενέσεις δὲ ἡ μὲν ἀγωγή καὶ ὁδὸς τίς ἐστὶν ἐκ τοῦ μὴ ὄντος εἰς τὸ εἶναι—ταύτη φυτὰ τε καὶ ζῶα ἐξ ἀνάγκης αἰεὶ χρῆσθαι πέφυκεν—ἐτέρα δ' ἐστὶν ἡ ἐκ βελτίονος γένους εἰς ἑλαττον εἶδος μεταβολή, ἥς μέμνηται ὅταν φῇ· “ αὐται δὲ αἱ γενέσεις Ἰακώβ· Ἰωσήφ δέκα ἑπτὰ ἐτῶν ἦν ποιμαίνων μετὰ τῶν ἀδελφῶν τὰ πρόβατα, ὢν νέος, μετὰ τῶν υἱῶν Βαλλᾶς καὶ

^a Or (1) the honour which you seek ; (2) such a purpose or ambition.

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make thee well pleasing to the rulers of the prison, but desire exceedingly and with all zeal what may make thee pleasing to the Cause. But if so be that this is beyond thy powers—so vast is the greatness of His dignity ^a—set thy face and betake thee to His Potencies and make thyself their suppliant, till they accept the constancy and fidelity of thy service, and appoint thee to take thy place amongst those in whom they are well pleased, even as they appointed Noah; of whose descendants Moses has given a genealogy of a truly strange and novel sort.

For he says, “these are the generations of Noah. 117 Noah was a just man, perfect in his generation, Noah was well pleasing to God” (Gen. vi. 9). The offspring indeed of creatures compounded of soul and body, must also themselves be compound; horses necessarily beget horses, lions beget lions, bulls beget bulls, and so too with men. Not such are the offspring 118 proper to a good mind; but they are the virtues mentioned in the text, the fact that he was a man, that he was just, that he was perfect, that he was well pleasing to God. And this last as being the consummation of these virtues, and the definition of supreme happiness, is put at the end of them all.

Now one form of generation is the pro- 119 cess by which things are drawn and journey so to speak from non-existence to existence, and this process is that which is always necessarily followed by plants and animals. But there is also another which consists in the change from the higher genus to the lower species, and this it is which Moses had in mind when he says, “But these are the generations of Jacob. Joseph was seventeen years old, keeping sheep with his brethren, being still young, with the

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μετὰ τῶν υἱῶν Ζελφᾶς τῶν γυναικῶν πατρός
 120 αὐτοῦ·” ὅταν γὰρ ὁ

ἀσκητικὸς καὶ φιλομαθὴς οὗτος λόγος ἀπὸ τῶν
 θειοτέρων ἐννοημάτων εἰς ἀνθρωπίνας καὶ θνητὰς
 δόξας καταβιβασθῇ, ὁ τοῦ σώματος καὶ τῶν περὶ
 αὐτὸ χορευτῆς Ἰωσήφ εὐθὺς ἀπογεννᾶται, νέος
 ὢν ἔτι, κἂν μήκει χρόνου πολὺς γένηται, πρε-
 σβυτέρας οὔτε γνώμης οὔτε ἀκοῆς εἰσάπαν ἐπ-
 ησθημένος, ἦν οἱ Μωυσέως θιασῶται κατασταθέντες
 κτῆμα καὶ ἀπόλαυσμα ὠφελιμώτατον ἑαυτοῖς τε

121 καὶ τοῖς ἐντυγχάνουσιν εὖραντο. διὰ τοῦτό μοι
 δοκεῖ τὸν τύπον αὐτοῦ καὶ τὴν ἀκριβεστάτην τοῦ
 χαρακτῆρος ἰδέαν βουλόμενος ἐκδηλοτέραν ἐγγράψαι
 ποιμαίνοντα εἰσάγειν μετὰ γνησίου μὲν οὐδενός,
 μετὰ δὲ τῶν νόθων ἀδελφῶν, οἱ παλλακίδων ὄντες
 ἀπὸ τοῦ χείρονος γένους, τοῦ πρὸς γυναικῶν, ἀλλ’
 οὐκ ἀπὸ τοῦ κρείττονος, τοῦ πρὸς ἀνδρῶν, χρη-
 ματίζουσιν· υἱοὶ γὰρ τῶν γυναικῶν Βαλλᾶς καὶ
 Ζελφᾶς, ἀλλ’ οὐκ Ἰσραὴλ τοῦ πατρὸς νυνὶ καλοῦν-
 122 ται.

[291] XXVI. Ζητήσαι δ’ ἂν τις προσηκόντως, τίνας
 ἔνεκα μετὰ τὴν ἐν ταῖς ἀρεταῖς τοῦ Νῶε τελείωσιν
 εὐθὺς εἴρηται, ὅτι “ἐφθάρη ἡ γῆ ἐναντίον τοῦ
 θεοῦ καὶ ἐπλήσθη ἀδικίας.” ἀλλ’ ἴσως οὐ χαλε-
 πὸν λύσεως εὐπορῆσαι τῷ μὴ σφόδρα παιδείας
 123 ἀπείρῳ. λεκτέον οὖν ὅτι, ἐπειδὴν ἐν ψυχῇ τὸ
 ἄφθαρτον εἶδος ἀνατεῖλῃ, τὸ θνητὸν εὐθέως φθεί-
 ρεται· γενέσεις γὰρ τῶν καλῶν θάνατος αἰσchrῶν
 ἐπιτηδευμάτων ἐστίν, ἐπεὶ καὶ φωτὸς ἐπιλάμψαντος

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sons of Bilhah and with the sons of Zelpah, his father's wives " (Gen. xxxvii. 2). For when this 120

reason, once so diligent of practice and filled with love of learning, is brought down from diviner concepts to human and mortal opinions, then at once Joseph is born, Joseph who follows in the train of the body and bodily things. He is still young, even though length of years may have made him grey-headed ; for never have there come to his knowledge the thoughts or lessons of riper age, which those who are ranked as members of the company of Moses have learnt, and found in them a treasure and a joy most profitable to themselves and to those who hold converse with them. It is for this reason, I think, 121 because he wished to portray Joseph's image and the exact form of his character in a clearer way, that Moses represents him as keeping sheep, not with any true-born brother, but with the base-born, the sons of the concubines, who are designated by the lower parentage, which is traced to the women, and not by the higher, which is traced to the men. For they are in this instance called the sons of the women Bilhah and Zilpah but not the sons of their father Israel.

XXVI. We may properly ask, why directly after 122 the recital of Noah's perfection in virtues, we are told that " the earth was corrupt before the Lord and filled with iniquity " (Gen. vi. 11). And yet perhaps save for one who is especially uninstructed it is not difficult to obtain a solution. We should 123 say then that when the incorruptible element takes its rise in the soul, the mortal is forthwith corrupted. For the birth of noble practices is the death of the base, for when the light shines, the darkness dis-

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- ἀφανίζεται τὸ σκότος. διὰ τοῦτο
 ἐν τῷ νόμῳ τῆς λέπρας ἀκριβέστατα διείρηται,
 ὅτι “ἐὰν ἀνατείλῃ χρώς ζῶν ἐν τῷ λεπρῷ, μιαν-
 124 θήσεται.” καὶ προσεπισφίγγων αὐτὸ τοῦτο καὶ
 ὥσπερ ἐναποσημαινόμενος ἐπιφέρει “καὶ μιανεῖ
 ὁ χρώς ὁ ὑγιής,” ἀντιταττόμενος τῷ εἰκότι καὶ
 συνήθει· πάντες γὰρ οἱ ἄνθρωποι τὰ νοσοῦντα
 φθορὰς τῶν ὑγιαίνοντων καὶ τὰ νεκρὰ τῶν
 ζώντων, οὐκ ἔμπαλιν τὰ ὑγιαίνοντα καὶ ζῶντα
 125 τῶν ἐναντίων, ἀλλὰ σωτήρια νομίζουσι. καινύ-
 ται δ’ ἐν ἅπασιν τὴν σοφίαν ὁ νομοθέτης ὢν καὶ
 τοῦτο ἴδιον εἰσηγήσατο, διδάσκων ὅτι τὰ ὑγιαί-
 νοντα καὶ ζῶντα τοῦ μὴ καθαρεύειν μiasμάτων
 αἷτια γίνεται· τὸ γὰρ ὑγιαῖνον καὶ ζῶν ἐν ψυχῇ
 χρώμα ὡς ἀληθῶς φαινόμενον ἐπ’ αὐτῆς ἑλεγχός
 126 ἐστίν. οὗτος ὅταν ἀνάσχη, κατάλογον ποιεῖται
 τῶν ἁμαρτημάτων αὐτῆς ἀπάντων, καὶ ὀνειδίζων
 καὶ δυσωπῶν καὶ ἐπιπλήττων μόλις παύεται· ἡ
 δ’ ἐλεγχομένη γνωρίζει τὰ καθ’ ἕκαστα, ὧν παρὰ
 τὸν ὀρθὸν λόγον ἐπετήδευε, καὶ τότε ἄφρονα καὶ
 ἀκόλαστον καὶ ἄδικον καὶ πλήρη μiasμάτων ἑαυτὴν
 127 καταλαμβάνει. XXVII. διὸ καὶ παρα-
 δοξότατον νόμον ἀναγράφει, ἐν ᾧ τὸν μὲν ἐκ
 μέρους ὄντα λεπρὸν ἀκάθαρτον, τὸν δὲ ὅλον δι’
 ὅλων ἀπὸ ἄκρων ποδῶν ἄχρι κεφαλῆς ἐσχάτης
 κατεσχημένον τῇ λέπτρᾳ καθαρὸν φησιν εἶναι,

^a E.V. “raw flesh”; *chrōs* can mean either “flesh” or “colour.” The LXX no doubt meant the former. Philo, who in § 125 equates it with *chrōma*, took it as the latter.

^b Various translated as “Convictor,” “Testing Power,” “Challenger.” It is almost equivalent to “Conscience”; compare the description in *Quod Det.* 23. Compare also

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appears. And therefore in the law of leprosy it is most carefully laid down, that if a living colour ^a arise in the leper, he shall be defiled (Lev. xiii. 14, 15). And by way of clinching this and so to ¹²⁴ speak setting a seal upon it, he adds "and the healthy colour will defile him." This is quite opposed to the natural and ordinary view. For all men hold that things healthy are corrupted by things diseased, and living things by dead things, but they do not hold the converse, that the healthy and living corrupt their opposites, but rather that they save and preserve them. But the lawgiver, original as ever in his ¹²⁵ wisdom, has here laid down something distinctly his own. He teaches us that it is the healthy and living which produce the condition which is tainted with pollution. For the healthy and living colour in the soul, when it makes a genuine appearance upon it, is Conviction.^b When this Conviction comes to the ¹²⁶ surface it makes a record of all the soul's transgressions, and rebukes and reproaches and calls shame upon it almost without ceasing. And the soul thus convicted sees in their true light its practices each and all, which were contrary to right reason, and then perceives that it is foolish and intemperate and unjust and infected with pollution.

XXVII. For the same reason Moses enacts a law, ¹²⁷ which is indeed a paradox, whereby he declares that the leper who is partially a leper is unclean, but that when the leprosy has taken hold of him throughout, from the sole of his foot to the crown of his head, he is clean (Lev. xiii. 11-13). One would

the functions of the Paraclete in John xvi. 8, where the R.V. gives for ἐλέγχει "convict," in the place of the "reprove" of the A.V.

- τάχα ἂν τινος τὸ ἐναντίον, ὅπερ εὐλογον ἦν ὑπολαβεῖν, εἰκάσαντος, τὴν μὲν ἐσταλμένην καὶ περὶ τι βραχὺ τοῦ σώματος λέπραν ἦττον ἀκάθαρτον, τὴν δὲ κεχυμένην, ὡς ἅπαν περιλαβεῖν αὐτό, μᾶλλον.
- 128 δηλοῖ δ', ὡς ἔμοιγε φαίνεται, διὰ συμβόλων τούτων ἀληθέστατον ἐκείνο, ὅτι τὰ μὲν ἀκούσια τῶν ἀδικημάτων κἂν ἐπιμήκιστα ὄντα ἀνυπαίτια καὶ καθαρὰ, τὸ συνειδὸς βαρὺν κατήγορον οὐκ ἔχοντα, τὰ δὲ ἐκούσια, κἂν μὴ ἐπὶ πλείστον ἀναχέηται πρὸς τοῦ κατὰ ψυχὴν ἐλεγχόμενα δικαστοῦ, ἀνίερα
- [292] καὶ μιὰ καὶ ἀκάθαρτα | δοκιμάζεται.
- 129 ἡ μὲν οὖν διφυῆς καὶ δύο ἐξανθούσα χρώματα λέπρα τὴν ἐκούσιον ἐμφαίνει κακίαν· ἔχουσα γὰρ ἡ ψυχὴ τὸν ὑγιαίνοντα καὶ ζωτικὸν καὶ ὀρθὸν ἐν ἑαυτῇ λόγον τῷ μὲν οὐ χρῆται ὡς κυβερνήτῃ πρὸς τὴν τῶν καλῶν σωτηρίαν, ἐκδοῦσα δ' αὐτὴν τοῖς ναυτιλίας ἀπείροις ὅλον τὸ τοῦ βίου δὴ σκάφος ἐν εὐδία καὶ γαλήνῃ δυνάμενον σῶζεσθαι περιέτρεψεν.
- 130 ἡ δ' εἰς ἓν εἶδος λευκὸν μεταβαλοῦσα τὴν ἀκούσιον διασυνίστησι τροπὴν, ἐπειδὴ τὸ λογίζεσθαι ὁ νοῦς ἐκτμηθεὶς ὅλον δι' ὅλων, μηδενὸς τῶν εἰς τὸ συνιέναι σπέρματος ὑπολειφθέντος, ὥσπερ οἱ ἐν ἀχλύϊ καὶ σκότῳ βαθεῖ μηδὲν ὁρᾷ τῶν πρακτέων, ἀλλ' οἷα τυφλὸς ἀπροοράτως πᾶσιν ἐμπίπτων συνεχεῖς ὀλίσθους καὶ πτώματα ἐπάλληλα καὶ
- 131 ἀκούσια ὑπομένει. XXVIII. τούτῳ <δ> ὁμοίον ἐστὶ καὶ τὸ περὶ τῆς οἰκίας διάταγμα, ἐν ᾗ γίνεσθαι συμβαίνει λέπραν πολλάκις· φησὶ γὰρ ὅτι "ἐὰν γένηται ἀφ' ἑλπίδος ἐν οἰκίᾳ, ἀφίξεται ὁ κεκτημένος καὶ ἀναγγελεῖ τῷ ἱερεῖ λέγων· ὥσ-

^a See App. p. 489.

^b Or "symptom."

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probably have conjectured the opposite, as indeed it would be reasonable to suppose that leprosy, if limited and confined to a small part of the body, is less unclean, but if diffused, so as to embrace all the body, is more unclean. But he is shewing, I think, 128 through these symbols (and a very true lesson it is), that such wrongdoings as are involuntary, however wide their extent, are pure and devoid of guilt, for they have no stern accuser in conscience, but voluntary sins, even though the space they cover be not large, are convicted by the judge within the soul and thus are proved to be unholy and foul and impure.

Thus then the leprosy, which is 129 twy-natured and flowers into two colours, shews voluntary wickedness. For the soul has within it the healthy, lively upright reason, and yet it does not use it as its pilot^a to guide it to the safety which things noble give, but abandons itself to those who have no skill of seamanship, and thus swamps utterly the bark of life which might have reached its bourn safely in calm and fair weather. But the leprosy 130 which changes into a single white appearance, represents involuntary error, when the mind is throughout reft of reasoning power, and not a germ is left of what might grow into understanding, and thus, as men in a mist and profound darkness, it sees nothing of what it should do, but, like a blind man tripping over every obstacle since he cannot see before him, it is subject to constant slips and repeated falls in which the will has no part.

XXVIII. Similar 131 again is the enactment about the house in which leprosy is a frequent occurrence. For the law says that "if there is an infection^b of leprosy in a house, the owner shall come and report it to the priest

- περ ἀφῇ λέπρας ἐώραταί μοι ἐν τῇ οἰκίᾳ”· εἶτα ἐπιφέρει· “ καὶ προστάξει ὁ ἱερεὺς ἀποσκευάσαι τὴν οἰκίαν πρὸ τοῦ εἰσελθόντα τὸν ἱερέα εἰς τὴν οἰκίαν ἰδεῖν, καὶ οὐ γενήσεται ἀκάθαρτα ὅσα ἐν τῇ οἰκίᾳ. καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα εἰσελεύσεται ὁ ἱερεὺς
- 132 καταμαθεῖν.” οὐκοῦν πρὶν μὲν εἰσελθεῖν τὸν ἱερέα, καθαρὰ τὰ ἐν τῇ οἰκίᾳ, ἀφ’ οὗ δ’ ἂν εἰσέλθῃ, πάντα ἀκάθαρτα· καίτοι τὸνναντίον εἰκὸς ἦν, ἀνδρὸς κεκαθαρμένον καὶ τελείου, ὃς τὰς ὑπὲρ ἀπάντων εὐχὰς ἀγιστείας ἱερουργίας εἴωθε ποιεῖσθαι, παρελθόντος εἴσω βελτιοῦσθαι τὰ ἔνδον¹ καὶ ἐξ ἀκαθάρτων καθαρὰ γίνεσθαι· νυνὶ δὲ οὐδὲ ἐπὶ τῆς αὐτῆς μένει χώρας, τρέπεται δὲ πρὸς μερίδα τὴν χεῖρω κατὰ τὴν εἴσοδον τὴν τοῦ ἱερέως.
- 133 ἀλλὰ ταῦτα μὲν εἰ συνάδει τῇ ῥητῇ καὶ προχείρῳ διατάξει, σκέψονται οἷς ἔθος καὶ φίλον· ἡμῖν δὲ ἀντικρυς λεκτέον, ὅτι συνωδὸν οὕτως οὐδὲν ἄλλο ἄλλω, ὥς τὸ εἰσελθόντος τοῦ ἱερέως τὰ κατὰ
- 134 τὴν οἰκίαν μαινεσθαι. ἕως μὲν γὰρ ὁ θεῖος λόγος εἰς τὴν ψυχὴν ἡμῶν καθάπερ τινὰ ἐστίαν οὐκ ἀφίκται, πάντα αὐτῆς τὰ ἔργα ἀνυπαίτια· ὁ γὰρ ἐπίτροπος ἢ πατὴρ ἢ διδάσκαλος ἢ ὁ τι ποτὲ χρή καλεῖν τὸν ἱερέα, ὑφ’ οὗ νουθετηθῆναι καὶ σωφρονισθῆναι μόνου δυνατόν, μακρὰν ἀφέστηκε. συγγνώμη δὲ τοῖς δι’ ἀμαθίαν ἀπειρίᾳ τῶν πρακτέων ἀμαρτάνουσιν· οὐδὲ γὰρ ὥς ἀμαρτημάτων αὐτῶν ποιοῦνται κατάληψιν, ἔστι δ’ ὅτε κατορθοῦν ἐν

¹ MSS. ἔντα.

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with the words ' what seems an infection of leprosy has appeared in my house,' " and then it adds " and the priest shall command that they empty the house, before the priest enters the house and sees it, and whatsoever is in the house shall not become unclean, and after that the priest shall go in to observe it " (Lev. xiv. 34-36). So then before the priest goes in, 132 the things in the house are clean, but after he has gone in they are all unclean. And yet we should have expected just the opposite, that when a man who has been purified and fully consecrated, who is wont to offer prayers and litanies and sacrifices for all men, has come within the house, its contents should thereby be bettered and pass from impurity into purity. But here we find that they do not even remain in the same position as before, but actually shift into the inferior region at the entrance of the priest. Now whether in the plain and 133 literal sense of the ordinance these things are consistent with each other is a matter for those who are used to such questions and find pleasure in them. But *we* must say positively that no two things can be more consistent with each other than that, when the priest has entered, the belongings of the house are defiled. For so long as the divine reason has not 134 come into our soul, as to some dwelling-place, all its works are free from guilt, since the priest who is its guardian or father or teacher—or whatever name is fitting for him—the priest, who alone can admonish and bring it to wisdom, is far away. There is pardon for those whose sin is due to ignorance, because they have no experience to tell them what they should do. For they do not even conceive of their deeds as sins, nay often they think that their most grievous

- 135 οἷς πταίουσι μεγάλα νομίζουσιν. ὅταν δὲ εἰσέλθῃ
 ὁ ἱερεὺς ὄντως ἔλεγχος εἰς ἡμᾶς ὥσπερ φωτός
 [293] τις αὐγὴ | καθαρωτάτῃ, τηνικαῦτα γνωρίζομεν τὰ
 ἐναποκείμενα ἡμῶν οὐκ εὐαγὴ τῇ ψυχῇ βουλευματα
 καὶ τὰς ἐπιλήπτους καὶ ὑπαιτίους πράξεις, αἷς
 ἀγνοία τῶν συμφερόντων ἐνεχειροῦμεν. ταῦτ' οὖν
 ἅπαντα ὁ ἱερωμένος ἔλεγχος μιάνας, ἀποσκευα-
 σθῆναι καὶ ἀποσυληθῆναι κελεύει, ὅπως αὐτὴν
 καθαρὰν ἴδῃ τὴν τῆς ψυχῆς οἰκίαν καί, εἴ τινες
 ἐν αὐτῇ νόσοι γεγόνασιν, ἰάσῃται.
- 136 XXIX. μεμίμηται δὲ τοῦτο καὶ ἡ ἐν ταῖς βασι-
 λεύαις ἐντυγχάνουσα τῷ προφῆτῃ γυνὴ <χήρα>
 χήρα δ' ἐστίν, οὐχ ἣν φάμεν ἡμεῖς, ὅταν
 ἀνδρὸς ἐρήμη γένηται, ἀλλὰ τῷ χηρεύειν τῶν
 φθειρόντων καὶ λυμαινομένων παθῶν τὴν διάνοιαν,
 137 ὥσπερ καὶ ἡ παρὰ Μωυσῆ Θάμαρ· καὶ γὰρ ταύτῃ
 προστέτακται χηρευοῦσθαι καθέζεσθαι ἐν τῷ τοῦ
 μόνου καὶ σωτῆρος οἴκῳ πατρός, δι' ὃν <εἰς>
 αἰὲ καταλιποῦσα τὰς τῶν θνητῶν συνουσίας καὶ
 ὁμιλίας ἡρήμωται μὲν καὶ κεχήρευκεν ἀνθρωπίνων
 ἡδονῶν, παραδέχεται δὲ θείαν γονὴν καὶ πληρουμένη
 τῶν ἀρετῆς σπερμάτων κυοφορεῖ καὶ ὠδίνει καλὰς
 πράξεις· ὥς ὅταν ἀποτέκῃ, τὰ κατὰ τῶν ἀντι-
 πάλων αἴρεται βραβεῖα καὶ νικηφόρος ἀναγράφεται
 σύμβολον ἐπιφερομένη φοῖνικα τῆς νίκης· Θάμαρ
 γὰρ ἐρμηνεύεται φοῖνιξ.
- 138 λέγει δὲ πρὸς τὸν προφῆτην πᾶσα διάνοια χήρα
 καὶ ἐρήμη κακῶν μέλλουσα γίνεσθαι· “ἄνθρωπε
 τοῦ θεοῦ, εἰσῆλθες πρὸς μὲ ἀναμνήσαι τὸ ἀδίκημά
 μου καὶ τὸ ἀμάρτημά μου.” εἰσελθὼν γὰρ εἰς τὴν
 ψυχὴν ὁ ἔνθους οὗτος καὶ κατεσχημένος ἐξ ἔρωτος

^a See App. p. 489.

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stumbings are righteous actions. But when the true 135 priest, Conviction, enters us, like a pure ray of light, we see in their real value the unholy thoughts that were stored within our soul, and the guilty and blameworthy actions to which we laid our hands in ignorance of our true interests. So Conviction, discharging his priest-like task, defiles all these ^a and bids them all be cleared out and carried away, that he may see the soul's house in its natural bare condition, and heal whatever sicknesses have arisen in it.

XXIX. We have a parallel to this in the widow in 136 the Book of Kings who discourses with the prophet (1 Kings xvii. 10). She is a widow, not in our sense of the word, when the wife has lost her husband, but because she is widowed of the passions which corrupt and maltreat the mind, like Tamar in the books of Moses. Tamar was bidden to remain a 137 widow in the house of her father, her one and only saviour (Gen. xxxviii. 11), for whose sake she has left for ever the intercourse and society of mortals, and remained desolate and widowed of human pleasures. Thus she receives the divine impregnation, and, being filled with the seeds of virtue, bears them in her womb and is in travail with noble actions. And when she has brought them to the birth, she wins the meed of conquest over her adversaries, and is enrolled as victor with the palm as the symbol of her victory. For Tamar is by interpretation a palm.

To return to the Book of Kings. Every 138 mind that is on the way to be widowed and empty of evil says to the prophet, "O man of God, thou hast come in to remind me of my iniquity and my sin" (1 Kings xvii. 18). For when he, the God-inspired, has entered the soul—he who is mastered

- ὀλυμπίου καὶ διηρεθισμένος τοῖς τῆς θεοφορήτου
 μανίας ἀκατασχέτοις οἷστοις μνήμην ἀδικημάτων
 καὶ ἁμαρτημάτων ἀρχαίων ἐργάζεται, οὐχ ἵνα πάλιν
 αὐτοῖς χρήσεται, ἀλλ' ἵνα μέγα στενάξασα καὶ μέγα
 κλαύσασα τὴν παλαιὰν τροπὴν τὰ μὲν ἐκείνης
 ἔγγονα μισήσασα ἀποστραφῇ, οἷς δ' ὑφηγεῖται ὁ
 ἑρμηνεύς τοῦ θεοῦ λόγος καὶ προφήτης ἔπεται·
 139 τοὺς γὰρ προφήτας ἐκάλουν οἱ πρότερον τοτὲ μὲν
 ἀνθρώπους θεοῦ, τοτὲ δὲ ὀρώντας, κύρια ὀνόματα
 καὶ ἐμπρεπὴ τῷ ἐπιθειασμῷ καὶ τῇ περιαθρήσει τῶν
 πραγμάτων ἣ ἐκέχρητο τιθέμενοι.
 140 XXX. Προσηκόντως οὖν ὁ ἱερώτατος Μωυσῆς
 τότε φθείρεσθαι τὴν γῆν εἶπεν, ὅτε αἱ τοῦ δικαίου
 Νῶε ἀρεταὶ διεφάνησαν· “ἦν δὲ” φησί “κατεφθαρ-
 μένη, ὅτι κατέφθειρε πᾶσα σὰρξ τὴν ὁδὸν αὐτοῦ
 141 ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς.” δόξει μὲν τισιν ἡ λέξις ἡμαρτηθῆναι
 καὶ τὸ ἀκόλουθον τοῦ λόγου καὶ τὸ ἄπταιστον
 οὕτως ἔχειν· ὅτι κατέφθειρε πᾶσα σὰρξ τὴν |
 [294] ὁδὸν αὐτῆς· ἀνοίκειον γάρ ἐστι θηλυκῷ ὀνόματι,
 τῇ σαρκί, ἀρρενικὴν ἐπιφέρεισθαι πτώσιν, τὴν
 142 αὐτοῦ. μήποτε δὲ οὐ περὶ μόνης σαρκὸς ἐστὶν ὁ
 λόγος τὴν αὐτῆς φθειρούσης ὁδόν, ἵνα εἰκότως
 ἡμαρτηθῆναι τὰ περὶ τὴν λέξιν δοκῇ, ἀλλὰ περὶ
 δυεῖν, σαρκὸς τε τῆς φθειρομένης καὶ ἐτέρου, οὗ
 τὴν ὁδὸν λυμαίνεσθαι τε καὶ φθείρειν ἐπιχειρεῖ.
 ὥσθ' οὕτως ἀποδοτέον· κατέφθειρε πᾶσα σὰρξ τὴν
 τοῦ αἰωνίου καὶ ἀφθάρτου τελείαν ὁδὸν τὴν πρὸς
 143 θεὸν ἄγουσαν. ταύτην ἴσθι σοφίαν· διὰ γὰρ ταύτης
 ὁ νοῦς ποδηγετούμενος εὐθείας καὶ λεωφόρου

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by celestial yearning, stirred to his very depth by the irresistible goads of god-sent frenzy, he creates a memory of past iniquities and sins, and this not to the end that the soul should return to them, but that, with deep groaning and many tears for its old error, it should turn therefrom with loathing for all that it has engendered, and follow instead the guidance of that reason which is the interpreter and prophet of God. For the men of old days called the prophets sometimes "men of God" and sometimes "seers" (1 Sam. ix. 9). And the names they gave were names of literal truth and well suited, the former to their inspiration, the latter to the wide vision of reality which they possessed.

XXX. Thus apt indeed are these words of Moses, 140 the holiest of men, when he tells us that the earth was being corrupted at the time when the virtues of just Noah shone forth. But he goes on, "it was destroyed because all flesh destroyed his way upon the earth" (Gen. vi. 12). Some will think that we 141 have here a mistake in diction and that the correct phrase in grammatical sequence is as follows, "all flesh destroyed its way." For a masculine form like "his" (*αὐτοῦ*) cannot be properly used with reference to the feminine noun "flesh" (*σάρξ*). But perhaps 142 the writer is not speaking merely of the flesh which corrupts its own way, thus giving reasonable grounds for the idea of a grammatical error, but of two things, the flesh which is being corrupted, and Another, whose way that flesh seeks to mar and corrupt. And so the passage must be explained thus, "all flesh destroyed the perfect way of the Eternal and Indestructible, the way which leads to God." This way, 143 you must know, is wisdom. For wisdom is a straight

- ὑπαρχούσης ἄχρι τῶν τερμάτων ἀφικνεῖται· τὸ δὲ
 τέρμα τῆς ὁδοῦ γινώσις ἐστι καὶ ἐπιστήμη θεοῦ.
 ταύτην τὴν ἀτραπὸν μισεῖ καὶ προβέβληται καὶ
 φθείρειν ἐπιχειρεῖ πᾶς ὁ σαρκῶν ἑταῖρος· οὐδενὶ
 γὰρ οὕτως οὐδὲν ἀντίπαλον ὡς ἐπιστήμη σαρκὸς
 144 ἡδονή.¹ βουλομένοις γοῦν ταύτην πορεύεσθαι τὴν
 ὁδὸν βασιλικὴν οὖσαν τοῖς τοῦ ὁρατικοῦ γένους
 μετέχουσιν, ὅπερ Ἰσραὴλ κέκληται, διαμάχεται ὁ
 γήινος Ἐδῶμ—τοῦτο γὰρ διερμηνευθεὶς ὀνομάζεται
 —μετὰ σπουδῆς καὶ παρασκευῆς τῆς πάσης εἵρξειν
 ἀπειλῶν τῆς ὁδοῦ καὶ ἀτριβῆ καὶ ἀπόρευτον
 145 αὐτὴν κατασκευάσειν εἰσάπαν. XXXI.
 οἱ μὲν οὖν πεμφθέντες πρέσβεις λέγουσι ταῦτα·
 “ παρελευσόμεθα διὰ τῆς γῆς σου· οὐ διελευσόμεθα
 δι’ ἀγρῶν, οὐ δι’ ἀμπελώνων, οὐ πτόμεθα ὕδωρ
 λάκκου σου. ὁδῶ βασιλικῇ πορευσόμεθα· οὐκ
 ἐκκλινοῦμεν δεξιὰ οὐδὲ εὐώνυμα, ἕως ἂν παρέλθω-
 μέν σου τὰ ὅρια.” ὁ δὲ Ἐδῶμ ἀποκρίνεται φάσκων·
 “ οὐ διελεύση² δι’ ἐμοῦ· εἰ δὲ μή, ἐν πολέμῳ ἐξελεύ-
 σομαί σοι εἰς συνάντησιν.” καὶ λέγουσιν αὐτῷ οἱ
 υἱοὶ Ἰσραὴλ· “ παρὰ τὸ ὅρος παρελευσόμεθα.³ εἰ
 δὲ τοῦ ὕδατός σου πῖω ἐγώ τε καὶ τὰ κτήνη, δώσω
 σοι τιμὴν· ἀλλὰ τὸ πρᾶγμα οὐδὲν ἐστι, παρὰ τὸ
 ὅρος παρελευσόμεθα.” ὁ δὲ εἶπεν· “ οὐ διελεύση δι’
 146 ἐμοῦ.” τῶν παλαιῶν τινα λόγος ἔχει
 θεασάμενον ἐσταλμένην πολυτελῆ πομπὴν πρὸς

¹ Conj. Mangey: mss. and Wend. ἐπιστήμη . . . ἡδονή.

² MSS. παρελεύση.

³ MSS. διελευσόμεθα.

^a E.V. “Let me, *without doing anything else*, pass through

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high road, and it is when the mind's course is guided along that road that it reaches the goal which is the recognition and knowledge of God. Every comrade of the flesh hates and rejects this path and seeks to corrupt it. For there are no two things so utterly opposed as knowledge and pleasure of the flesh. Thus those who are members of that race endowed with vision, which is called Israel, when they wish to journey along that royal road, find their way contested by Edom the earthly one—for such is the interpretation of his name—who, all alert and prepared at every point, threatens to bar them from the road and to render it such that none at all shall tread or travel on it.

XXXI. The envoys then who are dispatched to him speak thus, "We will pass by through thy land. We will not go through the cornfields nor through the vineyards. We will not drink water of any well of thine. We will journey by the king's way. We will not turn aside to the right or the left, till we have passed thy boundaries." But Edom answers, saying, "Thou shalt not pass through me, else I will come out in war to meet thee." And the sons of Israel say to him, "We will pass along the mountain country. But if I and my cattle drink of thy water, I will give thee value. But the matter is nothing, we will pass along the mountain country" (Num. xx. 17-20).^a But he said, "Thou shalt not go through me."

There is a story that one of the ancients beholding a gaily decked and costly pageant turned to some of his on my feet." The LXX presumably meant "the thing which I ask is a trifle." Philo's interpretation of the words is given in § 171.

^b Socrates. The story is told with some variations by Cic. *Tusc.* v. 91, and Diog. Laert. ii. 25.

τινας τῶν γνωρίμων ἀπιδόντα εἰπεῖν· “ὦ ἐταῖροι,
 ἴδετε ὅσων χρεῖαν οὐκ ἔχω,” διὰ βραχείας φωνῆς
 μέγιστον καὶ οὐράνιον ὡς ἀληθῶς ἐπάγγελμα αὐχὴ-
 147 σαντα. τί λέγεις; τὸν Ὀλυμπιακὸν ἀγῶνα κατὰ
 τοῦ πλούτου παντὸς ἐστεφάνωσαι καὶ τῶν ἐν αὐτῷ
 κεκράτηκας οὕτως, ὡς μηδὲν εἰς ἀπόλαυσίν τε καὶ
 χρῆσιν τῶν ἀπ’ αὐτοῦ παραδέχεσθαι; θαυμάσιος μὲν
 ὁ λόγος, πολὺ δ’ ἡ γνώμη θαυμασιωτέρα τοσοῦτον
 πρὸς ἰσχὺν ἐπιδεδωκυῖα, ὡς ἤδη καὶ ἀκονιτὶ δύνα-
 148 σθαι νικᾶν ἀνὰ κράτος. XXXII. ἀλλ’ οὐχ ἐνὶ
 ἀνδρὶ ἔξεστι μόνον αὐχῆσαι παρὰ Μωυσῆ τὰ προ-
 [295] τέλεια τῆς σοφίας ἀναδιδασκέντι, ἀλλὰ | καὶ ὅλω
 ἔθνει πολυανθρωποτάτῳ. τεκμήριον δέ· τεθάρρηκε
 καὶ ἐπιτετόλμηκεν ἡ ἐκάστου ψυχὴ τῶν γνωρίμων
 αὐτοῦ πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα τῶν φαινομένων ἀπάντων
 ἀγαθῶν τὸν γήινον Ἐδῶμ—ὄντως γὰρ τὰ τῷ δοκεῖν
 ἀγαθὰ πάντα γήινα—λέγειν· “ἤδη παρελεύσομαι διὰ
 149 τῆς γῆς σου.” ὦ ὑπερφυστάτης καὶ μεγαλοπρεποῦς
 ὑποσχέσεως. πάντα, εἴπατέ μοι, ὑπερβῆναι παρ-
 ελθεῖν παραδραμεῖν τὰ φαινόμενα καὶ νομιζόμενα
 γῆς [ὄντα] ἀγαθὰ δυνήσεσθε; καὶ οὐδὲν ἄρα τὴν
 εἰς τὸ πρόσω ὑμῶν ὁρμὴν ἀντιβιασάμενον ἐφέξει
 150 καὶ στήσει; ἀλλὰ τοὺς μὲν τοῦ πλούτου θησαυροὺς
 ἅπαντας ἐξῆς πλήρεις ἰδόντες ἀποστραφήσεσθε καὶ
 ἀποκλινεῖτε τὰς ὀψεις, τὰ δὲ τῶν προγόνων ἀξιώ-
 ματα τῶν πρὸς πατρός καὶ μητρός καὶ τὰς ἀδομένας
 παρὰ τοῖς πολλοῖς εὐγενείας ὑπερκύψετε; δόξαν
 δέ, ἥς ἀντικαταλλάττονται πάντα ἄνθρωποι, κατ-
 όπιν ὥσπερ τι τῶν ἀτιμοτάτων ἀπολείψετε; τί

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disciples and said to them, "My friends, observe how many things there are I do not need." And the vaunt conveyed in this short utterance is a great and truly heaven-sent profession. "What is it you say?" we ask him. "Have you won the Olympic crown 147 of victory over all wealth, and so risen superior to all that wealth involves, that you accept nothing of what it brings for your use and enjoyment?" A wonderful saying! And yet far more wonderful is the resolution which has grown so strong, that now it need exert no effort to win its complete victory. XXXII. But in the school of Moses it is not one 148 man only who may boast that he has learnt the first elements of wisdom, but a whole nation, a mighty people. And we have a proof thereof in these words of the envoys. The soul of every one of his disciples has taken heart and courage to say to the king of all that is good in outward appearance, the earthly Edom (for indeed all things whose goodness lies in mere seeming are of earth), "I will now pass by through thy land" (or "earth"). What a stupendous, 149 what a magnificent promise! Will you indeed be able, tell me, to step, to travel, to speed past and over those things of earth which appear and are reckoned good? And will nothing, then, that opposes your onward march stay or arrest its course? Will 150 you see all the treasures of wealth, one after the other, full to the brim, yet turn aside from them and avert your eyes? Will you take no heed of the honours of high ancestry on either side, or the pride of noble birth, which the multitude so extol? Will you leave glory behind you, glory, for which men barter their all, and treat it as though it were a worthless trifle? Will you pass unregarded the

- δέ; ὑγείαν σώματος καὶ αἰσθήσεων ἀκρίβειαν καὶ κάλλος περιμάχητον καὶ ῥώμην ἀνανταγώνιστον καὶ τᾶλλα ὅσοις ὁ τῆς ψυχῆς οἶκος ἢ τύμβος ἢ ὁτιοῦν χρὴ καλεῖν κεκόσμηται παραδραμεῖσθε, ὥς μὴδὲν αὐτῶν κατατάξαι ἐν τῇ τῶν ἀγαθῶν μερίδι;
- 151 Ὀλυμπίου καὶ οὐρανίου ταῦτα ψυχῆς τὰ μεγάλα τολμήματα τὸν μὲν περίγειον χῶρον ἀπολελοιπυίας, ἀνειλκυσμένης δὲ καὶ μετὰ τῶν θείων φύσεων διαιτωμένης· θέας γὰρ ἐμπιπλαμένη τῶν γνησίων καὶ ἀφθάρτων ἀγαθῶν εἰκότως τοῖς ἐφημέροις καὶ
- 152 νόοις ἀποτάττεται. XXXIII. τί οὖν ὄφελος παρελθεῖν πάντα τὰ θνητῶν θνητὰ ἀγαθὰ, παρελθεῖν δὲ μὴ σὺν ὀρθῷ λόγῳ, ἀλλ' ὥς ἔνιοι δι' ὄκνον ἢ ῥαθυμίαν ἢ ἀπειρίαν ἐκείνων; οὐ γὰρ πανταχοῦ πάντα, ἀλλὰ δὲ παρ' ἄλλοις τετίμηται.
- 153 τούτου χάριν βουλόμενος τὸ μετ' ὀρθότητος λόγου καταφρονητικούς τῶν εἰρημένων γενέσθαι παραστήσαι τῷ "παρελεύσομαι" προστίθῃσι τὸ "διὰ τῆς γῆς σου". τοῦτο γὰρ τὸ ἀναγκαιότατον ἦν, γενομένους ἐν ἀφθόνοις τῶν φαινομένων ἀγαθῶν ὕλαις ἀπάσαις ὑπὸ μηδενὸς τῶν προβληθέντων ὑφ' ἐκάστης δικτύων ἀλῶναι, πυρὸς μέντοι τὸν τρόπον ἰσχυῖσαι ῥύμη μιᾷ τὰς ἐπαλλήλους καὶ
- 154 συνεχεῖς φορὰς διακλάσαι. διὰ μὲν δὴ τούτων φασὶ "παρελεύσεσθαι," διὰ δὲ "ἀγρῶν καὶ ἀμπελώνων" οὐκέτι· τὰ γὰρ ἡμερα ἐν ψυχῇ φυτὰ ἡμέρους ἀποτίκτοντα καρπούς, ἀστείους μὲν

^a i.e. they use *διελευσόμεθα*, which Philo takes to mean "to travel through" (at leisure) in contrast to *παρελευσόμεθα* "to pass through" (without stopping).

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health of the body, the keenness of the senses, the coveted gift of beauty, the strength which defies opponents, and whatever else serves to adorn our soul's house, or tomb, or what other name it may be given, and rank none of them as belonging to the province of the good? Great ventures such 151 as these betoken a celestial and heavenly soul, which has left the region of the earth, has been drawn upwards, and dwells with divine natures. For when it takes its fill of the vision of good incorruptible and genuine, it bids farewell to the good which is transient and spurious.

XXXIII. Now 152 what can it profit us to pass by all the good things which are mortal as their possessors are mortal, if we pass them by not under the guidance of right reason, but as some do through faint-heartedness or indolence or inexperience of them? For they are not all held in honour everywhere, but some value these, others those. And therefore to bring home to 153 us that it is under the guidance of right reason that we should grow to despise these things which I have named, he adds to the words "I will pass by" these others "through thy land." For this he knew was the most vital thing of all, that we should see ourselves surrounded by a rich abundance of all that goes to provide these seeming forms of good, and yet be caught by none of the snares which each flings before us, but be nerved to break like fire with a single rush through their successive and ceaseless onslaughts.

Through these then, 154 they say, they will pass by. But they do not use the phrase "pass by" ^a of the fields and vineyards. For it would be monstrous folly to pass by the plants within the soul, whose fruit is kindly as themselves,

λόγους, ἐπαινετὰς δὲ πράξεις, ὡγύγιος¹ εὐήθεια
παρέρχεσθαι· μένειν γὰρ ἔδει καὶ δρέπεσθαι καὶ
ἀπλήστως ἐμφορεῖσθαι· κάλλιστον γὰρ ἢ ἐν
ἀρεταῖς τελείαις ἀκόρεστος εὐφροσύνη, ἧς οἱ
λεχθέντες ἀμπελῶνες σύμβολα.

- 155 | Οἷς δ' ὁ θεὸς ἐπινίφει καὶ ἐπομβρεῖ τὰς ἀγαθῶν
[296] πηγὰς ἄνωθεν, ἐκ λάκκου πίνομεν καὶ βραχείας
[καὶ] κατὰ γῆς λιβάδας ἀναζητοῦμεν, ὕψους ἡμῖν
ἀνεπισχέτως οὐρανοῦ τὴν νέκταρος καὶ ἀμβροσίας
156 τῶν μεμυθενμένων ἀμείνω τροφήν; XXXIV.
ἔτι δὲ ποτὸν τεθησαυρισμένον ἐξ ἐπιτεχνήσεως
ἀνθρώπων ἐξανιμῶντες ὑπόδρομον καὶ καταφυγὴν
δυσελπιστίας ἔργον προσιέμεθα, οἷς τὸν ὀλύμπιον
θησαυρὸν εἰς χρήσιν καὶ ἀπόλαυσιν ὁ σωτὴρ τοῦ
παντὸς ἡνοιξεν; εὐχεται γὰρ Μωυσῆς ὁ ἱερο-
φάντης, ἵνα “ ἀνοίξῃ κύριος ἡμῖν τὸν θησαυρὸν
αὐτοῦ τὸν ἀγαθόν, τὸν οὐρανόν, δοῦναι ὑετόν.”
157 ἐπήκοοι δὲ αἱ τοῦ θεοφιλοῦς εὐχαί. τί δ'; ὁ
μηδ' οὐρανὸν ἢ ὑετόν ἢ λάκκον^a ἢ συνόλως τι τῶν
ἐν γενέσει νομίσας ἱκανὸν εἶναι τρέφειν ἑαυτόν,
ὑπερβὰς δὲ ταῦτα πάντα καὶ ὁ ἔπαθεν εἰπὼν “ ὁ
θεὸς ὁ τρέφων με ἐκ νεότητος ” ἄρα οὐ δοκεῖ σοι
πάντα ὅσα κατὰ γῆς ὕδατος συστήματα μηδ' ἂν
158 ἀξιῶσαι προσιδεῖν; οὐκ ἂν οὖν ἐκ λάκκου πίοι,
ὧ δίδωσιν ὁ θεὸς τὰς ἀκράτους μεθύσματος πόσεις,
τοτὲ μὲν διὰ τινος ὑπηρετοῦντος τῶν ἀγγέλων, ὃν
οἶνοχοεῖν ἡξίωσε, τοτὲ δὲ καὶ δι' ἑαυτοῦ, μηδένα
τοῦ διδόντος καὶ τοῦ λαμβάνοντος μεταξὺ τιθείς.

¹ The transference of the meaning of ὡγύγιος from “primal” or “venerable” to “vast” (also found in *De Post.* 168) is difficult. Mangey suggested in both *διωλύγιος*, cf. *διωλύγιος* *φλυαρία*, Plato, *Theaet.* 161 D.

² MSS. λόγον.

THE UNCHANGEABLENESS OF GOD, 154-158

even worthy sayings and laudable actions. Rather it were well to stay and pluck them and feast upon them with the hunger that is never filled. For truly beautiful is that insatiable joy which the perfect virtues give, and of this the vineyards here mentioned are symbolic.

Again, shall we on whom God pours as in snow or rain-shower the fountains of His blessings from above, 155 drink of a well and seek for the scanty springs that lie beneath the earth, when heaven rains upon us ceaselessly the nourishment which is better than the nectar and ambrosia of the myths? XXXIV. Or shall we draw up with ropes the drink which has 156 been stored by the devices of men and accept as our haven and refuge a task which argues our lack of true hope; we to whom the Saviour of all has opened His celestial treasure for our use and enjoyment? ^a For Moses the revealer prays that the Lord may open to us His good treasure, the heaven, to give us rain (Deut. xxviii. 12), and the prayers of him whom God loves are always heard. Or again, what of that Israel who thought that neither heaven 157 nor rainfall or well, or any created thing at all, was able to nourish him, but passed over all these and told his experience in the words "God who doth nourish me from my youth up"? (Gen. xlviii. 15). Think you that all the waters which are gathered beneath the earth would seem to him worthy even of a glance? Nay, he will not drink of a well on whom God bestows the undiluted rapture-giving draughts, 158 sometimes through the ministry of some angel whom He has held worthy to act as cupbearer, sometimes by His own agency, setting none to intervene between Him who gives and him who takes.

^a See App. p. 489.

- 159 Ἀνυπερθέτως οὖν τῇ βασιλικῇ πειρώμεθα βαδίζειν ὁδῶ, οἱ τὰ γήινα παρέρχεσθαι δικαιούντες· βασιλική δ' ἐστὶν ὁδός, ἧς δεσπότης ἰδιώτης μὲν οὐδὲ εἷς, μόνος δὲ ὁ καὶ μόνος βασιλεὺς ἀληθεία.
- 160 αὕτη δ' ἐστὶ, καθὰ καὶ μικρῶ πρότερον εἶπον, σοφία, δι' ἧς μόνῃς ἰκέτισι ψυχαῖς ἢ ἐπὶ τὸν ἀγέννητον καταφυγὴ γίνεται· εἰκὸς γὰρ τὸν δι' ὁδοῦ τῆς βασιλικῆς ἀκωλύτως ἰόντα μὴ πρότερον
- 161 καμεῖν ἢ ἐντυχεῖν τῷ βασιλεῖ. τότε δὲ τήν τε ἐκείνου μακαριότητα καὶ τὴν ἰδίαν εὐτέλειαν γνωρίζουσιν οἱ προσελθόντες· καὶ γὰρ Ἀβραὰμ ἐγγίσας τῷ θεῷ ἑαυτὸν εὐθὺς ἔγνω γῆν καὶ τέφραν
- 162 ὄντα. μήτε δὲ ἐπὶ δεξιὰ μήτε ἐπὶ θάτερα τῆς βασιλικῆς ἀποκλινέτωσαν ὁδοῦ, ἀλλ' αὐτῇ τῇ μέσῃ προῖτωσαν. αἱ γὰρ ἐφ' ἑκάτερα ἐκτροπαὶ τῇ μὲν ὑπερβολὰς εἰς ἐπίτασιν τῇ δὲ ἐλλείψεις πρὸς ἄνεσιν ἔχουσιν ὑπαίτιοι· οὐ γὰρ ἦττον τοῦ εὐωνύμου τὸ δεξιὸν ψεκτὸν ἐνταῦθα·
- 163 παρὰ μὲν γε τοῖς προπετῶς ζῶσι τὸ μὲν θράσος δεξιόν, ἀριστερὸν δὲ ἡ δειλία, παρὰ δὲ τοῖς ἀν-
- [297] ελευθέροις περὶ χρημάτων | διοίκησιν δεξιὸν μὲν ἡ φειδωλία, εὐώνυμον δὲ αἱ ἀνειμέναι δαπάναι· καὶ ὅσοι μέντοι ἐν τῷ λογίζεσθαι περιττοί, κρίνουνσι τὸ μὲν πανοῦργον αἰρετόν, τὸ δὲ εὐθητικὸν φευκτόν· καὶ δεισδαιμονίαν μὲν ὡς δεξιὸν ἄλλοι μεταδιώκουσιν, ἀποδιδράσκουσι δ' ὡς φευκτὸν ἀσέβειαν.
- 164 XXXV. ἵνα οὖν μὴ ταῖς μαχομέναις κακίαις ἀναγκασθῶμεν ἐκτρεπόμενοι χρῆσθαι, τὴν μέσῃ ὁδὸν εὐθύνειν βουλώμεθά τε καὶ εὐχώμεθα· μέσῃ δὲ θράσους μὲν καὶ δειλίας ἀνδρεία, ῥαθυμίας δὲ

^a See App. p. 469.

THE UNCHANGEABLENESS OF GOD, 159-164

So then brooking no delay should we essay to 159
march by the king's high road, we who hold it our
duty to pass by earthly things. And that is the king's
road of which the lordship rests with no common
citizen, but with Him alone who alone is king in real
truth. This road is, as I said but now, wisdom, by 160
which alone suppliant souls can make their escape
to the Uncreated. For we may well believe that he
who walks unimpeded along the king's way will
never flag or faint, till he comes into the presence of
the king. And then they that have come to Him 161
recognize His blessedness and their own meanness ;
for Abraham when he drew nigh to God straightway
knew himself to be earth and ashes (Gen. xviii. 27).

And let them not turn aside to the 162
right or to the left of the king's way, but advance
along the midmost line. For deviations in either
direction whether of excess or of deficiency, whether
they tend to strain or to laxity, are in fault, for in
this matter the right is no less blameworthy than
the left. In the case of those who lead a reckless 163
life, rashness is the right and cowardice the left. To
those who are churlish in money matters, parsimony
is the right and extravagance the left. And all who
are oversharpe and calculating in business count the
knave's qualities worthy of their choice, but the
simpleton's of their avoidance. And others pursue
superstition as their right-hand path, but flee from
impiety as a thing to be shunned. XXXV. There- 164
fore, that we may not be forced to turn aside and
have dealings with the vices that war against us, let
us wish and pray that we may walk straightly along
the middle path or mean.^a Courage is the mean
between rashness and cowardice, economy between

- ἐκκεχυμένης καὶ φειδωλίας ἀνελευθέρου σωφροσύνης,
 πανουργίας τε αὖ καὶ μωρίας φρόνησις, καὶ μὴν
 165 δεισιδαιμονίας καὶ ἀσεβείας εὐσέβεια. αὐται μέσαι
 τῶν παρ' ἐκάτερα ἐκτροπῶν εἰσι, βάσιμοι καὶ
 λεωφόροι ὁδοὶ πᾶσαι, αἷς οὐ θέμις ὀργάνοις σω-
 ματικοῖς ἀλλὰ ψυχῆς κινήσειν ἐφιεμένης τοῦ
 ἀρίστου συνεχῶς ἐμπεριπατεῖν.
- 166 Ἐπὶ τούτῳ μάλιστα δυσχεράνας ὁ γήινος Ἐδῶμ
 —δέδιδε γὰρ περὶ τῆς τῶν ἑαυτοῦ δογμάτων ἀνα-
 τροπῆς τε καὶ συγχύσεως—ἀπειλήσει πόλεμον
 ἀκήρυκτον, εἰ βιαζοίμεθα διέρχεσθαι τέμνοντες καὶ
 κείροντες αἰεὶ τὸν τῆς ψυχῆς αὐτοῦ καρπὸν, ὃν ἐπ'
 ὀλέθρῳ φρονήσεως σπείρας οὐκ ἐθέρισε· φησὶ γάρ·
 “οὐ διελεύσῃ δι' ἐμοῦ· εἰ δὲ μή γε, ἐν πολέμῳ
 167 ἐξελεύσομαί σοι εἰς ἀπάντησιν.” ἀλλὰ μὴδὲν
 αὐτοῦ τῶν ἐπανατάσεων φροντίσαντες ἀποκρινώ-
 μεθα, ὅτι “παρὰ τὸ ὅρος πορευσόμεθα,” τουτέστιν
 ὑψηλαῖς καὶ μετεώροις ἔθος ἔχοντες ἐνομιλεῖν
 δυνάμεσι καὶ ὀρικῶς ἕκαστα σκοπεῖν, τὸν παντὸς
 οὐτήνοσοῦν λόγον ἐρευνῶντες, δι' οὗ τὸ τί ἦν εἶναι
 γνωρίζεται, καταφρονητικῶς ἔχομεν πάντων ὅσα
 ἐκτός τε καὶ περὶ σῶμα· ταπεινὰ γὰρ ταῦτά γε καὶ
 λίαν χαμαίῃζηλα, σοὶ μὲν φίλα, ἐχθρὰ δὲ ἡμῖν
 αὐτοῖς, οὗ χάριν οὐδενὸς αὐτῶν προσαιφόμεθα.
- 168 εἰ γὰρ ἄκρῳ δακτύλῳ τὸ τοῦ λόγου δὴ
 τοῦτο μόνον ψαύσομεν, γέρας καὶ τιμὴν σοι παρ-
 ἔξομεν· φρυαττόμενος γὰρ αὐχήσεις, ὥς καὶ ἡμῶν
 τῶν φιλαρέτων δελέασιν ἡδονῆς ὑπαχθέντων.
- 169 XXXVI. “ἐὰν γὰρ τοῦ ὕδατος σου” φησὶ “πίω

* We should expect θέμις οὐκ. Perhaps, however, θέμις is reduced in meaning, “in which we may walk with soul though not with body.”

THE UNCHANGEABLENESS OF GOD, 164-169

careless extravagance and illiberal parsimony, prudence between knavery and folly, and finally piety between superstition and impiety. These lie in the 165 middle between the deviations to either side, all of them high roads meet for the traveller's use, wherein we are bound in duty^a to walk continually, not with the mechanism of the body, but with the motions of the soul which seeks the best.

Angered greatly at this, Edom, the earthly one, 166 since he fears lest the principles of his creed be confounded and overthrown, will threaten to wage war to the bitter end, if we should force our way through his land, tearing and ravaging ever, as we go, the fruits of his soul which he has sown for the destruction of wisdom, though he has not reaped them. For he says, "Thou shalt not go through me, else I will come out in war to meet thee." But let 167 us take no heed of his menaces, but make answer, "We will go along the mountain country." That is, "It is our wont to hold converse with powers that are lofty and sublime, and to examine each point by analysis and definition, and to search out in everything whatsoever its rationale, by which its essential nature^b is known. Thus we feel contempt for all that is external or of the body; for these are low-lying and grovelling exceedingly. You love them, but we hate them, and therefore we will handle none of them. For if we do but touch them 168 with our finger-tips, as the saying is, we shall provide honour and 'value' to you. You will plume yourself and boast that we too, the virtue-lovers, have yielded to the snares of pleasure." XXXVI. "For 169 if I or my cattle drink of your water," it runs, "I

^b See App. p. 489.

PHILO

- ἐγὼ τε καὶ τὰ κτήνη μου, δώσω τιμὴν σοι," οὐ τὸν λεγόμενον ὦνον παρὰ ποιηταῖς, ἀργύριον ἢ χρυσίον ἢ ἄλλα ὅσα πρὸς τοὺς πιπράσκοντας ἔθος τοῖς ὠνούμενοις ἀντικαταλλάττεσθαι, ἀλλὰ τιμὴν τὸ
- 170 γέρας νυνὶ παραλαμβάνει. τῷ γὰρ ὄντι πᾶς ἀκόλαστος ἢ ἄδικος ἢ δειλός, ὅταν ἴδῃ τινὰ τῶν αὐστηροτέρων ἢ πόνον φεύγοντα ἢ λήμματος ἡττώμενον ἢ πρὸς τι τῶν ἡδονῆς φίλτρων ἐκνενευ-
- [298] κότα, χαίρει καὶ γέγηθε καὶ τετιμῆσθαι | δοκεῖ, καὶ πρὸς τοὺς πολλοὺς ἐπινεανιεύμενος¹ καὶ ἐπιχειρονομῶν ἄρχεται περὶ τῶν ἰδίων κακῶν ὡς σφόδρα ἀναγκαίων καὶ χρησίμων φιλοσοφεῖν, οὐκ ἂν, εἰ μὴ τοιαῦτα ἦν, φάσκων ὑπομεῖναι ἂν τὸν
- 171 δῶνα εὐδόκιμον ἄνδρα χρῆσθαι. λέγωμεν οὖν πιντὶ μοχθηρῷ· ἐὰν τοῦ ὕδατός σου πίνωμεν, ἐάν τ' νόσ σου τῶν κατὰ τὴν ἄκριτον φορὰν ψεύσωμεν, τιμὴν καὶ ἀποδοχὴν ἀντὶ δυσκλείας καὶ ἀτιμίας—τούτων γὰρ ἄξιος ὢν τυγχάνεις—παρεξόμεθα·
- 172 καὶ γὰρ ἀμέλει τὸ πρᾶγμα περὶ ὃ ἐσπούδακας συνόλως οὐδέν ἐστιν. ἢ νομίζεις τι τῶν θνητῶν πραγμάτων ὄντως πρὸς ἀλήθειαν εἶναι καὶ ὑφεστάναι, ἀλλ' οὐχ ὥσπερ ἐπ' αἰώρας τινὸς ψευδοῦς καὶ ἀβεβαίου δόξης φορεῖσθαι κατὰ κενοῦ βαίνοντα, μηδὲν ψευδῶν ὀνειράτων διαφέροντα;
- 173 εἰ δὲ μὴ θέλεις τὰς τῶν κατὰ μέρος ἀνθρώπων ἐξετάζειν τύχας, τὰς χωρῶν ὅλων καὶ ἐθνῶν πρὸς τε τὸ εὖ καὶ τὸ χεῖρον μεταβολάς· ἥκμασέ ποτε ἡ Ἑλλάς, ἀλλὰ Μακεδόνες αὐτῆς τὴν

¹ MSS. ἔτι νεανιεύμενος.

^a i.e. the ambiguous word *τιμή* is here used in the sense

THE UNCHANGEABLENESS OF GOD, 169-173

shall give you value." The writer does not mean the pelf, to use the poet's word, silver or gold or aught else which the purchaser is wont to give in exchange to the vendor, but by "value" he here means honour.^a For in very truth everyone that is 170 profligate or cowardly or unjust, when he sees any of the stricter folk shrinking from toil or mastered by gain or swerving aside to any of the love-lures of pleasure, rejoices and is glad and thinks that he has received honour. And then with swaggering airs and gestures of pride he begins to hold forth sagely to the multitude about his own vices, how necessary and profitable they are, "for," says he, "were they not so, would So-and-so, that much respected gentleman, be willing to indulge in them?" Let us say, 171 then, to everyone of this sorry sort, "If we drink of thy water, if we touch aught that thy confused and turbid current carries, we shall provide thee with honour and acceptance, instead of the ill-repute and dishonour that are thy true deserts."

For in very truth "the matter" which has so en- 172 gaged thy zeal is absolutely "nothing." Or dost thou think that aught of mortal matters has real being or subsistence, and that they do not rather swing suspended as it were on fallacious and unstable opinion, treading the void and differing not a whit from false dreams? If thou carest 173

not to test the fortunes of individual men, scan the vicissitudes, for better and worse, of whole regions and nations. Greece was once at its zenith, but the of an honour conferred (*γέρας*). The position of the *τό*, however, in the predicate is strange. Perhaps read *τὸ "τιμὴν" γέρας*. A scribe failing to understand this use of *τό* before a quoted word or phrase might easily transfer it to before the neuter noun *γέρας*.

- ἰσχὺν ἀφείλοντο. Μακεδονία πάλιν ἤνθησεν, ἀλλὰ
 διαιρεθεῖσα κατὰ μοίρας ἡσθένησεν, ἕως εἰς τὸ
 174 παντελὲς ἀπεσβέσθη. πρὸ Μακεδόνων τὰ Περσῶν
 ἐν εὐτυχίᾳ ἦν, ἀλλὰ μία ἡμέρα τὴν πολλὴν καὶ
 μεγάλην βασιλείαν αὐτῶν καθεῖλε, καὶ νῦν Παρ-
 θυηνοὶ Περσῶν τῶν πρὸ μικροῦ ἡγεμόνων ἐπι-
 κρατοῦσιν οἱ τότε ὑπήκοοι. ἔπνευσέ ποτε λαμπρὸν
 καὶ ἐπὶ μήκιστον Αἴγυπτος, ἀλλ' ὡς νέφος αὐτῆς
 ἡ μεγάλη παρήλθεν εὐπραγία. τί δὲ Αἰθίοπες, τί
 δὲ καὶ Καρχηδῶν καὶ τὰ πρὸς Λιβύην; τί δ' οἱ
 175 Πόντου βασιλεῖς; τί δ' Εὐρώπῃ καὶ Ἀσία καὶ
 συνελόντι φράσαι πᾶσα ἡ οἰκουμένη; οὐκ ἄνω
 καὶ κάτω κλονουμένη καὶ τινασσομένη ὥσπερ ναῦς
 θαλαττεύουσα τοτὲ μὲν δεξιοῖς τοτὲ δὲ καὶ ἐναν-
 176 τίοις πνεύμασι χρήται; χορεύει γὰρ ἐν
 κύκλῳ λόγος ὁ θεῖος, ὃν οἱ πολλοὶ τῶν ἀνθρώπων
 ὀνομάζουσι τύχην· εἶτα αἰεὶ ῥέων κατὰ πόλεις καὶ
 ἔθνη καὶ χώρας τὰ ἄλλων ἄλλοις καὶ πᾶσι τὰ
 πάντων ἐπινέμει, χρόνοις αὐτὸ μόνον ἀλλάττων τὰ
 παρ' ἐκάστοις, ἵνα ὡς μία πόλις ἡ οἰκουμένη πᾶσα
 τὴν ἀρίστην πολιτειῶν ἄγῃ δημοκρατίαν.
 177 XXXVII. Οὐδὲν οὖν ἔστι τῶν ἀνθρωπίνων σπου-
 δασμάτων ἔργον καὶ πρᾶγμα οὐδέν, ἀλλὰ σκιά τις
 ἢ αὖρα πρὶν ὑποστῆναι παρατρέχουσα. ἔρχεται γὰρ
 καὶ πάλιν ἄπεισιν ὥσπερ ἐν ταῖς παλιρροίαις· τὰ
 γὰρ ἀμπωτίζοντα πελάγη ποτὲ μὲν μετὰ συρμοῦ
 καὶ πατάγου βία φέρεται καὶ ἀναχεόμενα λιμ-
 νάζει τὴν τέως χέρσον, ποτὲ δὲ ἐξαναχωροῦντα
 178 πολλὴν τῆς θαλάττης μοῖραν ἡπειροῖ· οὕτως

THE UNCHANGEABLENESS OF GOD, 173-178

Macedonians took away its power. Macedonia flourished in its turn, but when it was divided into portions it weakened till it was utterly extinguished. Before the Macedonians fortune smiled on the 174 Persians, but a single day destroyed their vast and mighty empire, and now Parthians rule over Persians, the former subjects over their masters of yesterday. The breath that blew from Egypt of old was clear and strong for many a long year, yet like a cloud its great prosperity passed away. What of the Ethiopians, what of Carthage, and the parts towards Libya? What of the kings of Pontus? 175 What of Europe and Asia, and in a word the whole civilized world? Is it not tossed up and down and kept in turmoil like ships at sea, subject now to prosperous, now to adverse winds? For 176 circlewise moves the revolution of that divine plan which most call fortune. Presently in its ceaseless flux it makes distribution city by city, nation by nation, country by country. What these had once, those have now. What all had, all have. Only from time to time is the ownership changed by its agency, to the end that the whole of our world should be as a single state, enjoying that best of constitutions, democracy.^a

XXXVII. So then in all wherewith men concern 177 themselves there is no solid work, no "matter," only a shadow or a breath which flits past, before it has real existence. It comes and goes as in the ebb and flow of the sea. For the tides sometimes race violently, roaring as they sweep along, and in their wide-spread rush make a lake of what till now was dry land, and then again they retreat and turn into land what was a great tract of sea. Even so the good 178

^a See App. p. 489.

- [299] οὖν ἔστιν ὅτε | μέγα καὶ πολυάνθρωπον ἔθνος ἐπικλύσασα εὐπραγία ἐτέρωσε τὴν φορὰν τοῦ ρεύματος παρατρέψασα οὐδὲ βραχεῖαν εἶασε λιβάδα, ἵνα μὴδ' ἔχνος ὑπολειφθῇ πύοτης ἀρχαίας.
- 179 τούτων δ' οὐχ ἅπαντες ἀρτίους καὶ πλήρεις λαμβάνουσι λογισμούς, ἀλλ' οἷς ἔθος συνομαρτεῖν ὀρθῶ καὶ πεπηγότι ὄρω καὶ λόγῳ. οἱ γὰρ αὐτοὶ ἄμφω ταῦτα λέγουσι, καὶ τὸ γενέσεως πρᾶγμα ὅλον οὐδὲν ἐστι, καὶ παρὰ τὸ ὅρος πορευ-
- 180 σόμεθα· ἀδύνατον γὰρ τὸν μὴ ταῖς ὑψηλαῖς καὶ ὀρικαῖς χρώμενον ὁδοῖς ἀπογνῶναι μὲν τὰ θνητά, μετακλίνειν δὲ καὶ μεταναστῆναι πρὸς τὰ ἄφθαρτα.
- ‘Ο μὲν οὖν γήινος Ἐδῶμ τὴν οὐράνιον καὶ βασιλικὴν ἀρετῆς ὁδὸν ἐπιφράττειν ἀξιοῖ, ὁ δὲ θεῖος λόγος ἔμπαλιν¹ τὴν ἐκείνου καὶ τῶν ὁμοζήλων·
- 181 ὦν ἓνα καὶ τὸν Βαλαάμ ἀναγραφτέον· γῆς γὰρ θρέμμα καὶ οὗτος, οὐκ οὐρανοῦ βλάστημα. τεκμήριον δέ· οἰωνοῖς καὶ ψευδέσι μαντείαις ἐπόμμενος οὐδ' ὅτε τὸ τῆς ψυχῆς μεμυκὸς ὄμμα ἀναβλέψαν² “ εἶδε τὸν ἄγγελον τοῦ θεοῦ ἀνθεστώτα,” μετατραπόμενος ἐπέσχε τὸ ἀδικεῖν, ἀλλὰ πολλῶ τῷ τῆς ἀφροσύνης χρησάμενος ρεύματι ἐπικλυσθεῖς
- 182 κατεπόθη. τότε γὰρ ὡς ἀληθῶς οὐ δυσθεράπευτα μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ παντελῶς ἀνίατα γίνεται τὰ τῆς ψυχῆς ἀρρωστήματα, ὅταν ἐπιστάντος ἐλέγχου—λόγος δ' ἐστὶ θεῖος, ἄγγελος ποδηγετῶν καὶ τὰ ἐν ποσὶν ἀναστέλλων, ἵνα ἅπταιστοι διὰ λεωφόρου

¹ MSS. ἐν πᾶσι.

² So Mangey and old editions: MSS. and Wend. ἀναβλέψας, presumably taking ὄμμα as acc. of respect. If so, it is of a type unusual in prose.

THE UNCHANGEABLENESS OF GOD, 178-182

fortune which has flooded a great and populous nation sometimes turns the stream of its current elsewhere and leaves not even a tiny trickle behind it, that no trace of the old richness may remain.

But it is not all who can estimate these 179 truths justly and fully. Only they can do so who are wont to follow the rule of definition and reason which is straight and constant. The two sayings, "the matter of creation is all of it nothing" and "we will journey along the mountain country," come from the mouths of the same speakers. For it cannot be 180 that he who does not walk in the upland paths of definition should renounce mortal things and turn aside therefrom and make his new home with things indestructible.

So then the earthly Edom purposes to bar the heavenly and royal road of virtue, but the divine reason on the other hand would bar the road of Edom and his associates. In the list of 181 these associates we must write the name of Balaam. For he too is no heavenly growth, but a creature of earth. And here we have the proof. He followed omens and false soothsayings, and not even when the closed eye of his soul received its sight and "beheld the angel of God standing in his way" (Num. xxii. 31) did he turn aside and refrain from evil-doing, but let the stream of his folly run full course and was overwhelmed by it and swallowed up. For it is then that the ailments of the soul become 182 not only hard to tend, but even utterly beyond healing, when though Conviction fronts us, Conviction, the divine reason, the angel who guides our feet and removes the obstacles before them, that we may walk without stumbling along the high road

PHILO

βαίνωμεν τῆς ὁδοῦ—τὰς ἀκρίτους ἑαυτῶν γνώμας
πρὸ τῶν ὑφηγήσεων τάττωμεν τῶν ἐκείνου,
183 ὥς ἐπὶ νουθεσία καὶ σωφρονισμῷ καὶ τῇ τοῦ παντὸς
ἐπανορθώσει βίου συνεχῶς εἴωθε ποιεῖσθαι. διὰ
τοῦθ' ὁ μὴ πεισθείς, μὴ μετατρεπόμενος τῷ ἀντι-
βαίνουντι ἐλέγχῳ φθορὰν τὴν “μετὰ τῶν τραυμα-
τιῶν” αὐθις ἐνδέξεται, οὓς κατεκέντησε καὶ κατ-
έτρωσε τὰ πάθη. γενήσεται δ' ἡ τούτου συμφορὰ
τοῖς μὴ τελέως δυσκαθάρτοις δίδαγμα αὐταρκέστα-
τον τοῦ πειρᾶσθαι τὸν ἔνδον δικαστὴν ἔχειν εὐμενῇ·
σχήσουσι δέ, εἰ μηδὲν τῶν ὀρθῶς ὑπ' αὐτοῦ
γνωσθέντων ἀναδικάζοιεν.

THE UNCHANGEABLENESS OF GOD, 182-183

(Psalm xc. [xci.] 11, 12), we yet set our ill-judged purposes before those counsels of his which he is wont to give without ceasing for our admonishing and chastening and the reformation of our whole life. Therefore he who listens not, who is not turned from 183 his course by the Conviction which stands in his path, will in time receive destruction "with the wounded" (Num. xxxi. 8) whom their passions stabbed and wounded with a fatal stroke. His fate will be to those who are not hopelessly impure a lesson which heeds no confirmation, that they should seek to have the favour of the inward judge. And have it they shall, if they do not remove or repeal aught of the righteous judgements which he has given.