

ΦΙΛΩΝΟΣ

ΠΕΡΙ ΑΡΕΤΩΝ ΑΣ ΣΥΝ ΑΛΛΑΙΣ ΑΝΕ-
ΓΡΑΨΕ ΜΩΥΣΗΣ ΗΤΟΙ ΠΕΡΙ ΑΝ-
ΔΡΕΙΑΣ ΚΑΙ ΕΥΣΕΒΕΙΑΣ ΚΑΙ ΦΙΛΑΝ-
ΘΡΩΠΙΑΣ ΚΑΙ ΜΕΤΑΝΟΙΑΣ

Περὶ ἀνδρείας

- ¹
[375] I. Περὶ δικαιοσύνης καὶ τῶν κατ' αὐτὴν ὅσα
καίρια πρότερον εἰπὼν μέτειμι τῶν ἐξῆς ἐπ' ἀν-
δρείαν, οὐχ ἦν οἱ πολλοὶ νομίζουσι τὴν ἀρειμάνιον
λύτταν ὀργῇ συμβούλῳ χρωμένην, ἀλλὰ τὴν ἐπι-
²στήμην. θράσει μὲν γὰρ ἐπαιρόμενοί τινες, συμ-
πραττούσης σωματικῆς ἰσχύος, ταχθέντες κατὰ
πόλεμον ἐν ταῖς παντευχίαις ἡβηδὸν μυρίους ὅσους
τῶν ἀντιπάλων κατέβαλον, ἀνοίκειον μὲν εὖφημον
δ' ἀριστείας ὄνομα καρπωσάμενοι, διαφερόντως ὑπὸ
[376] τῶν τὰ τοιαῦτα | κρινόντων εὐκλεεῖς νίκη νομι-
σθέντες, ἄγριοι καὶ θηριώδεις ἐκ φύσεως καὶ
μελέτης γεγονότες, αἵματος ἀνθρωπείου δεδιψη-
³κότες. εἰσὶ δ' οἱ καὶ ἐν οἰκίᾳ διατρί-
βοντες, τῶν σωμάτων αὐτοῖς ἢ μακραῖς νόσοις ἢ
ἐπιπόνῳ γήρᾳ κατεσκελετευμένων, ὑγιαίνοντες καὶ
162

ON THE VIRTUES

ON VIRTUES WHICH TOGETHER WITH OTHERS WERE
DESCRIBED BY MOSES OR ON COURAGE AND PIETY
AND HUMANITY AND REPENTANCE^a

On Courage

I. The subject of justice and all the relevant points 1
which the occasion requires have already been dis-
cussed, and I will take courage next in the sequence.
By courage I mean, not what most people under-
stand, namely the rabid war fever which takes anger
for its counsellor, but the courage which is knowledge.^b
For some under the stimulus of reckless daring, sup- 2
ported by bodily strength and marshalled in full
armour for war, lay low multitudes of antagonists in
a general slaughter and win, the well-sounding but
little deserved name of noble achievement, yet though
their victory makes them exceedingly glorious in the
eyes of those who pass judgement on such matters,
nature and practice have combined to make them
savage and bestial in their thirst for human blood.

But there are others who live on in 3
their homes with their bodies worn to a thread by
long sickness or the burden of old age, yet healthy

^a On this title see App. p. 440.

^b Cf. *Spec. Leg.* iv. 145.

- νεάζοντες τῷ κρείττονι μέρει τῆς ψυχῆς¹ μεστοί τε φρονήματος καὶ θαρραλεωτάτης γέμοντες εὐτολμίας, ἀμυντηρίων ὅπλων μηδ' ὄναρ ψαύοντες, βουλευμάτων ἀγαθῶν κοινωφελεστάταις εἰσηγήσεσι τά τε ἴδια ἐκάστων καὶ τὰ κοινὰ τῶν πατρίδων πεσόντα πολλάκις ἀνώρθωσαν, ἀνενδότοις καὶ ἀκαμπέσι χρησάμενοι τοῖς περὶ τοῦ συμφέροντος
 4 λογισμοῖς. οὗτοι μὲν οὖν τὴν ἀληθῆ διαπονοῦσιν ἀνδρείαν ἀσκηταὶ σοφίας ὄντες, ἐκεῖνοι δὲ τὴν ψευδώνυμον ἀμαθία,² νόσω δυσθεραπεύτῳ, βιοῦντες, ἦν θρασύτητα κυρίως ἂν τις προσαγορεύσειεν, ὥσπερ φασὶν ἐν τοῖς νομίσμασι τὸ παράσημον ἐμφέρειαν τῆς ἀληθοῦς εἰκόνης.³
- 5 II. Οὐκ ὀλίγα μέντοι καὶ ἄλλα δυσυπομόνητα τῶν κατὰ τὸν ἀνθρώπινον βίον ὠμολόγηται, πενία καὶ ἀδοξία καὶ πῆρωσις καὶ νόσων ἰδέαι πολύτροποι, πρὸς αἷς οἱ μὲν ὀλιγόφρονες μαλακίζονται, μηδ' ὅσον ὑπ' ἀτολμίας ἐγερθῆναι δυνάμενοι, ὅσοι δὲ φρονήσεως ὑπόπλεω καὶ γενναιότητος ἐπαποδύονται καρτερῶς καὶ σφόδρα ἐρρωμένως ἀντιφιλονεοῦντες, τὰς ἀπειλὰς καὶ ἐπανατάσεις αὐτῶν πολὺν

¹ Perhaps τῇ ψυχῇ, see note a.

² mss. ἀμαθίαν.

³ I can hardly think that the text of these two lines is right. φασὶν cannot = καλοῦσι, and εἶναι is required. This, which could easily fall out after ἐμφέρειαν, might be supplied, but the question would still remain whether the abstract noun ἐμφέρεια can be used for the corresponding concrete as the English "likeness" is. I should like to read and punctuate ἦν θρασύτητα κυρίως ἂν προσαγορεύσειεν, ὥσπερ φασὶν ἐν τοῖς νομίσμασι, τὸ παράσημον <ἔχον> ἐμφέρειαν τῆς ἀληθοῦς εἰκόνης. See note b.

ON THE VIRTUES, 3-5

and youthful in the better part of the soul,^a brimful of highmindedness and staunchest valour. They never even dream of touching weapons of defence, but render the highest service to the commonwealth by the excellent advice which they put forward, and guided by unflinching and unswerving consideration of what is profitable, restore what had broken down in the personal life of each individual and in the public life of their country. These then ⁴ who train themselves in wisdom cultivate the true courage. The courage of those others, whose life is distempered by an ignorance that resists all treatment, is falsely so named and should properly be called reckless daring, as in the case of coins where we say that the counterfeit is a likeness of the true type.^b

II. Further there are many other conditions in ⁵ human life admittedly hard to bear, poverty and disrepute and disablement and sickness in its manifold forms, in the face of which those of little wit all grow craven-hearted, lacking the valour even to raise themselves. But those who are full of wisdom and highmindedness gallantly gird themselves for the struggle and resist the foe with all their strength, counting his

^a Or if *τῇ ψυχῇ* is read, "the better part, the soul." Cohn in his translation definitely adopts this, *cf.* § 30. The antithesis to *σῶμα* no doubt points to this, but it must be remembered that the idea that the mind or understanding is the better part of the *ψυχή* constantly recurs in Philo, and is emphasized below in § 187, *cf.* also § 85. Here it is particularly appropriate because the courage we are discussing belongs to *ἐπιστήμη*. I am inclined to retain the genitive.

^b Or if the reading and punctuation in note 3 is adopted, "reckless daring," the counterfeit (to use the term which we apply to coins) of the true type whose semblance it bears.

γέλωτα καὶ χλεύην τιθέμενοι, πενία μὲν πλοῦτον ἀντιτάττοντες, οὐ τὸν τυφλὸν ἀλλὰ τὸν ὀξύ καθ-
 ορώωντα, οὐ τὰ ἀγάλματα καὶ κειμήλια ψυχὴ πέφυκε
 6 ταμιεύειν. μυρίους γὰρ πενία κατεπάλαισεν, οἱ
 τρόπον ἀθλητῶν ἀπειρηκότων ὑπ' ἀνανδρίας κατ-
 έπεσον μαλακισθέντες· ἐνδεῆς δὲ παρ' ἀληθεία
 δικαζούσῃ τὸ παράπαν οὐδὲ εἰς ἐστι χορηγὸν ἔχων
 τὸν τῆς φύσεως ἀκαθαίρετον πλοῦτον· ἀέρα μὲν,
 τὴν πρώτην καὶ ἀναγκαιοτάτην καὶ συνεχῇ τροφήν,
 ἀδιαστάτως μεθ' ἡμέραν τε καὶ νύκτωρ ἀναπνεό-
 μενον, ἔπειτα δὲ πηγὰς ἀφθόνους καὶ ποταμῶν οὐ
 χειμάρρων μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ αὐθιγενῶν ῥεῖθρα ἀέναα
 πρὸς ποτοῦ χρήσιν, ἔπειτα εἰς ἔδωδὴν φορὰς
 παντοίων καρπῶν καὶ δένδρων ιδέας, αἱ τὰς ἐτη-
 σίους ὁπώρας αἰεὶ φέρουσι· τούτων γὰρ ἄπορος
 οὐδεὶς, ἀλλὰ πάντες οἱ πανταχοῦ πολλὴν ἄγουσι

7 περιουσίαν. εἰ δέ τινες τὸν τῆς φύσεως
 πλοῦτον παρ' οὐδὲν θέμενοι τὸν τῶν κενῶν δοξῶν
 διώκουσι, τυφλῶ πρὸ βλέποντος σκηριπτόμενοι καὶ
 ἡγεμόνι τῆς ὁδοῦ χρώμενοι πεπηρωμένῳ, πίπτειν
 ἐξ ἀνάγκης ὀφείλουσιν.

8 III. Ὁ μὲν δὴ σώματος δορυφόρος πλοῦτος
 φύσεως εὖρημα καὶ δῶρον ὧν ἤδη λέλεκται. τὸν
 δὲ σεμνότερον, ὃς οὐ πᾶσιν ἀλλὰ τοῖς ἀληθῶς
 σεμνοῖς καὶ θεσπεσίοις ἀνδράσι πρόσσεστι, μηνυτέον.

^a Plato, *Laws* 631 c. See note on *Spec. Leg.* i. 25, vol. vii. p. 615.

^b The "wealth of nature," which is to be distinguished from the spiritual wealth of wisdom (see § 8), is described again in *De Praem.* 99, cf. *De Som.* i. 124 ff., where it is identified with the "bread and raiment" for which Jacob prayed.

ON THE VIRTUES, 5-8

threats and menaces a matter for much scorn and derision. Against poverty they pit riches, not the blind but the keen-sighted riches,^a whose jewels and treasures have their natural store-house in the soul. For under the grip of poverty multitudes have been 6 laid low, and like exhausted athletes have fallen to the ground enfeebled by lack of manliness. Yet in the judgement of truth not a single one is in want, for his needs are supplied by the wealth of nature,^b which cannot be taken from him ; the air, the first, the most vital, the perpetual source of sustenance, which we inhale continually night and day ; then the fountains in their profusion and the rivers spring-fed as well as winter brooks ever flowing to provide us with drink ; then again for our meat, the harvest of crops of every sort, and the different kinds of trees, which never fail to bear their annual autumn fruitage. These no one lacks, but everybody everywhere has an ample and more than ample sufficiency.

But some making no account of the 7 wealth of nature pursue the wealth of vain opinions. They choose to lean on one who lacks rather than one who has the gift of sight, and with this defective guidance to their steps must of necessity fall.

III. So much for the wealth that is the guardsman 8 of the body, the happy gift of nature,^c but we must mention also the higher, nobler wealth, which does not belong to all, but to truly noble and divinely

Here Philo seems to allow it a place in the "seeing wealth" (see § 7), though elsewhere that is an epithet reserved for spiritual wealth. It guards the body against poverty, but not against the other bodily ills enumerated in §§ 10-15.

^c The translation takes *εὐρημα* in the common sense of "godsend" or "prize." Otherwise "the thing which nature discovers and gives."

[377] τοῦτον τὸν πλοῦτον | σοφία χορηγεῖ διὰ λογικῶν καὶ ἠθικῶν καὶ φυσικῶν δογμάτων καὶ θεωρημάτων, ἐξ ὧν φύεσθαι τὰς ἀρετὰς συμβέβηκεν, αἱ τῆς ψυχῆς ὑποτέμνονται τὴν πολυτέλειαν εὐκολίας καὶ ὀλιγοδείας ἔρωτας ἐντίκτουςαι κατὰ τὴν πρὸς
 9 θεὸν ἐξομοίωσιν. ἔστι γὰρ ὁ μὲν θεὸς ἀνεπιδεής, οὐδενὸς χρεῖος ὢν, ἀλλ' αὐτὸς αὐταρκέστατος ἑαυτῷ· ὁ δὲ φαῦλος πολυδεής, αἰ διψῶν τῶν ἀπόντων ἀπλήστου καὶ ἀκορέστου χάριν ἐπιθυμίας, ἣν πυρὸς τρόπον ἀναρριπίζων καὶ ἀναφλέγων ἐπὶ πάντα μικρά τε αὖ καὶ μεγάλα τείνει· ὁ δὲ σπουδαῖος ὀλιγοδεής, ἀθανάτου καὶ θνητῆς φύσεως μεθόριος, τὸ μὲν ἐπιδεές ἔχων διὰ σῶμα θνητόν, τὸ δὲ μὴ πολυδεές διὰ ψυχὴν ἐφιεμένην ἀθανασίας.

10 οὕτως μὲν πενία πλοῦτον ἀντιτάττουσιν· ἀδοξία δὲ εὐκλειαν· ὁ γὰρ ἔπαινος ὀρμητήριον ἔχων καλοκαγαθίαν καὶ ὥσπερ ἀπὸ ἀενάου πηγῆς ἐκείθεν ῥέων ἀνεξετάστων ἀνθρώπων οὐκ ἐνομιλεῖ πλήθεσι τὰς τῆς ψυχῆς ἀνωμαλίας ἀβεβαίοις φωναῖς ἀπογυμνοῦν εἰωθότων, ἃς ἔστιν ὅτε λημμάτων αἰσχυρῶν ἐπεωννίζοντες οὐκ ἐρυθριῶσιν κατὰ τῶν ἀριστίνδην ἐπιλεγομένων. ὀλίγος δὲ τούτων ἀριθμὸς ἐστίν· ἀρετὴ γὰρ οὐ πολύχουν ἐν
 11 θνητῷ γένει. πηρώσει γε μὴν αἰσθήσεων, ἣ συζῶντες ἔτι μυριοὶ προαπέθανον τῷ μηδέν

^a For the triple division of philosophy see note on *Spec. Leg.* i. 336 and the references there given.

^b Or "as befits its assimilation," i.e. it is part of the process which the sage goes through in his endeavour to resemble God. Cf. *Spec. Leg.* iv. 188 and § 168 below.

^c Or perhaps a stronger word as "glory," i.e. in the eyes of the wise, not a glory which implies celebrity. On the contrary, the multitude are more likely to abuse such people.

ON THE VIRTUES, 8-11

gifted men. This wealth is bestowed by wisdom through the doctrines and principles of ethic, logic and physic,^a and from these spring the virtues, which rid the soul of its proneness to extravagance, and engender the love of contentment and frugality, which will assimilate it to God.^b For God has no 9 wants, He needs nothing, being in Himself all-sufficient to Himself, while the fool has many wants, ever thirsting for what is not there, longing to gratify his greedy and insatiable desire, which he fans into a blaze like a fire and brings both great and small within its reach. But the man of worth has few wants, standing midway between mortality and immortality. Some wants he has because his body is mortal, many he has not in virtue of his soul, which desires immortality. This is the way in which the wise 10 pit riches against poverty. Against disrepute they pit good fame,^c for the praise which has its fountain head in noble conduct, flowing thence as from a perennial spring, has no currency among the unthinking masses, whose habit is to expose the inconsistencies of their souls by random talk, often in order to purchase some shameful reward unblushingly directed against these men of choicest merit.^d But the number of these is small, for virtue is not widespread among mortal kind. Again there 11 is disablement of the senses. To live with this has

So in *De Sob.* 57 the sage is not *ἐνδοξος* but *εὐκλεής*, where perhaps the translation "not merely of high report" may have missed the sense.

^a More literally "picked out as the best," an odd phrase here, since usually it refers to actual selection, *cf. e.g.* § 42. That it does not mean this here nor imply that the multitude are apt to speak evil of dignities, but refers to the wise *εὐκλεείς*, is shown by *τούτων κτλ.* in the next sentence.

- ἀλεξίκακον εὐρεῖν δύνασθαι φάρμακον, ἀντικάθηται
φρόνησις, τὸ κρατιστεῦον τῶν ἐν ἡμῖν, ἐνομματοῦσα
διάνοιαν, ἣ πρὸς ὀξυωπίαν τῶν σώματος ὀφθαλμῶν
12 ὄλῳ, φασί, καὶ τῷ παντὶ διενήνοχεν. οἱ μὲν γὰρ
τὰς ἐπιφανείας τῶν ὁρατῶν καταθεῶνται, ἅμα
δεόμενοι φωτὸς ἔξωθεν, ἣ δὲ καὶ διὰ βάθους χωρεῖ
τῶν σωμάτων, ὅλα δι' ὄλων καθ' ἕκαστα τῶν
μερῶν ἀκριβοῦσα καὶ περιαθροῦσα καὶ τὰς τῶν
ἀσωμάτων φύσεις, ὥς ἐπισκοπεῖν αἰσθησις ἀδυ-
νατεῖ· σχεδὸν γὰρ πᾶσαν ὀξυωπίαν ὀφθαλμοῦ
καταλαμβάνει, μὴ προσδεομένη νόθου φωτός, ἀστὴρ
οὖσα αὐτὴ καὶ σχεδὸν τι τῶν ἐπουρανίων ἀπεικό-
13 νισμα καὶ μίμημα. νόσοι γε μὴν σω-
μάτων ὑγιαίνουσας ψυχῆς ἥκιστα βλάπτουσιν· ὑγεία
δὲ ψυχῆς εὐκρασία δυνάμεων ἐστὶ τῆς τε κατὰ τὸν
θυμὸν καὶ τὴν ἐπιθυμίαν καὶ τὸν λόγον, ἐπικρα-
τούσης τῆς λογικῆς καὶ ὥσπερ ἀφηνιαστὰς ἵππους
14 ἡνιοχούσης ἐκατέρας. ὄνομα ταύτης ἴδιον τῆς
[378] ὑγείας ἐστὶ σωφροσύνη, σωτηρίαν τῷ | φρονούντι
τῶν ἐν ἡμῖν ἀπεργαζομένη· κινδυνεῦον γὰρ αὐτὸ
πολλάκις ὑπὸ τῆς τῶν παθῶν φορᾶς κατακλύζεσθαι
ὑποβρύχιον οὐκ ἐᾷ χωρεῖν, ἀλλὰ ἀνέλκει καὶ
μετέωρον ἐξαίρει ψυχοῦσα καὶ ζωογονοῦσα καὶ
τρόπον τινὰ ἀπαθανάτιζουσα.

^a Lit. "excels by the whole and all." The addition of φασί suggests that the phrase is colloquial.

^b For the triple division of the soul cf. *Spec. Leg.* iv. 92 and note. In the "restive horses" there is an allusion to the parable in Plato, *Phaedrus* 253 D, where the charioteer is to be

ON THE VIRTUES, 11-14

been premature death to thousands, because they can find no medicine to protect them against its ills. Its opponent is wisdom, the best quality we have, which plants eyes in the mind, and the mind in keenness of vision excels the eyes of the body so that they, as people say, are a "mere nothing"^a in comparison. The body's eyes observe the surfaces of things visible 12 and need the external help of light, but the mind penetrates through the depth of material things, accurately observing their whole contents and their several parts, surveying also the nature of things immaterial, which sense is unable to descry. For we may say that it achieves all the keenness of vision, which an eye can have, without needing any adventitious light, itself a star and, we may say, a copy and likeness of the heavenly company. Again 13 diseases of the body, if the soul is healthy, do very little harm. And the health of the soul is to have its faculties, reason, high spirit and desire happily tempered, with the reason in command and reining in both the other two, like restive horses.^b The 14 special name of this health is temperance, that is σωφροσύνη or "thought-preserving,"^c for it creates a preservation of one of our powers, namely, that of wise-thinking. For often when that power is in danger of being submerged by the tide of the passions, this spiritual health prevents it from being lost in the depths and pulls it up and lifts it on high, vitalizing and quickening it, and giving it a kind of immortality.

interpreted as reason, and the two horses as high spirit and desire, a parable interpreted in the same sense also by Philo, *Leg. All.* i. 72 f.

^c Cf. Plato, *Cratylus* 411 E σωφροσύνη δὲ σωτηρία . . . φρονήσεως.

- 15 Πάντα δὲ τὰ εἰρημένα ὑφηγήσεις εἰσὶ καὶ διδασκαλῖαι πολλαχοῦ τῆς νομοθεσίας ἐστηλιτευμένοι, τοὺς μὲν εὐπειθεῖς μαλακώτερον ἀναπείθουσαι τοὺς δὲ ἀπειθεστέρους ἐμβριθέστερον καταφρονεῖν τῶν περὶ σῶμα καὶ ἐκτός, ἐν μὲν τέλος ἡγουμένους τὸ κατ' ἀρετὴν βιοῦν, ζηλοῦντας δὲ καὶ
- 16 τᾶλλα ὅσα ἀγωγὰ πρὸς τοῦτο. καὶ εἴ γε μὴ διὰ τῶν προτέρων ἐτύγχανον ἕκαστα διεξεληλυθὼς τῶν εἰς ἀτυφίαν, ἐπειρώμην ἂν ἀπομηκύνειν ἐν τῷ παρόντι συνυφαίνων καὶ συνείρων τὰ δοκοῦντα σποράδην κείσθαι ἐν τόποις διαφέρουσιν· εἰρηκῶς
- 17 δ' ὅσα καιρὸς παλιλλογεῖν οὐ δίκαιῳ.¹ τοὺς μέντοι μὴ ἀποκονοῦντας ἀλλὰ διὰ σπουδῆς τιθεμένους ἐντυγχάνειν ταῖς πρὸ τούτων βίβλοις δεῖ νοῆσαι, ὅτι πάντα τὰ περὶ ἀτυφίας λεχθέντα σχεδόν ἐστι περὶ ἀνδρείας, ἐπειδήπερ εὐτόνου καὶ γενναίας καὶ σφόδρα νενευρωμένης ψυχῆς ἐστι καταφρονῆσαι πάντων ὅσα τύφος εἴωθε σεμνοποιεῖν ἐπὶ διαφθορᾷ τοῦ πρὸς ἀλήθειαν βίου.
- 18 IV. Τοσαύτη δέ τίς ἐστι τῷ νόμῳ σπουδὴ καὶ φιλοτιμία περὶ τοῦ γυμνάσαι καὶ συγκροτῆσαι ψυχὴν πρὸς ἀνδρείαν, ὥστε καὶ περὶ ἐσθημάτων ὅποια ἐχρῆν ἀμπέχεσθαι διετάξατο ἀπειπῶν ἀνὰ κράτος ἀνδρὶ γυναικὸς ἀμπεχόνην ἀναλαμβάνειν, ἔνεκα τοῦ μηδὲν ἵχνος ἢ σκιὰν αὐτὸ μόνον τοῦ θήλεος ἐπὶ λύμῃ τῆς ἄρσενος γενεᾶς προσάψασθαι· βούλεται γὰρ ἐπόμενος αἰεὶ τῇ φύσει τὰ οἰκεία καὶ συνωδὰ ἀλλήλοις ἄχρι τῶν ἐσχάτων καὶ δι' εὐτέλειαν
- 19 ἀφανεστέρων εἶναι δοκούντων νομοθετεῖν. ἐπειδὴ γὰρ τύπους σωμάτων ἐώρα καθάπερ ἐπὶ πλάτους

¹ MSS. δικαίων or δίκαιον.

ON THE VIRTUES, 15-19

All the above are lessons and instructions, which 15 stand recorded in many places of the law, urging the tractable in gentle, the intractable in sterner terms to despise the bodily and external goods, holding the life of virtue to be the one sole end and pursuing after everything else that is conducive to it. And if I 16 had not in my earlier writings dealt fully with each of the rules which promote simplicity, I would attempt to dilate on them at this point, and embrace in a collected list the scattered precepts which appear in different places. But as I have said all that occasion required, I think it better not to repeat myself. Still those who do not shrink from the task but are 17 at pains to study the books which precede these, ought to perceive that practically everything there said about simplicity^a includes the thought of courage, since it is the mark of a soul, vigorous, gallant and full of mettle, that it despises everything which vanity is wont to glorify to the destruction of life in any true sense.

IV. So earnestly and carefully does the law desire 18 to train and exercise the soul to manly courage that it lays down rules even about the kind of garment which should be worn. It strictly forbids a man to assume a woman's garb, in order that no trace, no merest shadow of the female, should attach to him to spoil his masculinity.^b For as it always follows nature, its will is to lay down rules suitable and consistent with each other, even down to the very smallest matters, whose commonplace nature seems to set them in the background. For since it saw as 19 clearly, as if they were outlines on a flat surface,

^a On ἀνυφία and τῦφος see App. p. 440.

^b Deut. xxii. 5.

χαραχθέντας ἀνομοίους ἀνδρός τε αὖ καὶ γυναικὸς καὶ βίον ἑκατέρῳ τῶν εἰδῶν οὐ τὸν αὐτὸν ἀπονεμηθέντα—τῷ μὲν γὰρ ὁ κατοικίδιος, τῷ δ' ὁ πολιτικὸς προσκεκλήρωται—, καὶ¹ τοῖς ἄλλοις ὅσα μὴ φύσεως μὲν ἔργα ἦν, φύσει δὲ ἀκόλουθα γνώμης ἀγαθῆς εὐρήματα, συμφέρον ἔκρινε διατάξασθαι· ταῦτα δ' ἦν τὰ περὶ δίκαιαν καὶ ἀμπεχόνην καὶ εἴ τι ὁμοιό-

20 τροπον. ἡρρενῶσθαι γὰρ τὸν γε πρὸς ἀλήθειαν ἄνδρα καὶ τούτοις ἠξίωσε καὶ μάλιστα ἐν ἐσθήμασιν, ἃ ἐπιφερόμενος αἰεὶ μεθ' ἡμέραν τε καὶ νύκτωρ ὀφείλει μηδὲν ἔχειν ἀνανδρίας ὑπόμνημα.

21 κατὰ τὰ αὐτὰ μέντοι καὶ τὴν γυναῖκα ἀσκήσας τοῖς
379] ἀρμόττουσι κόσμοις | ἐκώλυσεν ἀναλαμβάνειν ἀνδρὸς ἐσθήτα, πόρρωθεν ὡς ἀνδρογύνους οὕτως καὶ γυνάνδρους φυλαζάμενος· ἐνὸς γάρ, καθάπερ ἐν ταῖς οἰκοδομίαις, ὑφαιρεθέντος ἥδει καὶ τᾶλλα μενούντα οὐκ ἐν ὁμοίῳ.

22 V. "Ἐτι τοίνυν τῶν ἀνθρωπείων πραγμάτων δυσὶ καιροῖς ἐμφερομένων, εἰρήνῃ τε καὶ πολέμῳ, τὰς ἀρετὰς ἔστιν ἰδεῖν ἐν ἀμφοτέροις ἐξεταζομένας. περὶ μὲν οὖν τῶν ἄλλων λέλεκται πρότερον καὶ αὖθις, εἰ γένοιτό τις χρεία, λεχθήσεται· τὰ δὲ νῦν ἀνδρείαν οὐ παρέργως ἐξεταστέον, ἥς τὰ μὲν κατ' εἰρήνῃν ἔργα πολλαχοῦ τῆς νομοθεσίας ὑμνησεν αἰεὶ τῶν καιρῶν στοχαζόμενος, περὶ ὧν ἐν τοῖς οἰκείοις

¹ MSS. καί.

^a It is difficult to see to what Philo refers (*cf. De Praem.* 3). Peace is of course the ordinary sphere of all the virtues except ἀνδρεία, and nearly every event or law would come

ON THE VIRTUES, 19-22

how unlike the bodily shapes of man and woman are, and that each of the two has a different life assigned to it, to the one a domestic, to the other a civic life, it judged it well in other matters too to prescribe rules all of which though not directly made by nature were the outcome of wise reflection and in accordance with nature. These were such as dealt with habits of life and dress and any similar matters. It considered that in such matters the true 20 man should maintain his masculinity, particularly in his clothes, which as he always wears them by day and night ought to have nothing to suggest unmanliness. In the same way he trained the woman to 21 decency of adornment and forbade her to assume the dress of a man, with the further object of guarding against the mannish-woman as much as the womanish-man. He knew that as in buildings, if one of the foundation stones is removed, the rest will not remain as they were.

V. To proceed, since the time in which human 22 events occur may be divided into war-time and peacetime, we may observe the place taken by the virtues in both. In regard to the others this has been discussed already^a and will be again if need arise, but courage at this point calls for a close examination. The effects it produces in peace are extolled by him in many places of the law book, and he is always ready to seize opportunity for so doing. These have been

under this head. He has dealt with *δικαιοσύνη* in war in *Spec. Leg.* iv. 219-222, and *εὐσέβεια*, which is quite as prominent as *ἀνδρεία* in the coming story of the Midianite war, might be found in the earlier account of that war in *Mos.* i. 305 ff., or that against Amalek, *ibid.* 215 ff. So too Abraham's conduct of the war against the four kings is ascribed to *φιλανθρωπία*, *De Abr.* 232.

- τόποις ὑπεμνήσαμεν, τῶν δὲ κατὰ πόλεμον ἐνθένδε
 23 ποιησόμεθα τὴν ἀρχήν, ἐκείνο προειπόντες. ὅταν
 ποιῇται τὸν στρατιωτικὸν κατάλογον, οὐχ ἅπασαν
 τὴν νεότητα καλεῖν οἶεται δεῖν, ἀλλ' ἔστιν οὓς
 παραιτεῖται προστιθεὶς αἰτίας εὐλόγους τῆς ἀστρα-
 τείας· αὐτίκα τοὺς κατεπτηχότας καὶ δειλοὺς, μελ-
 λήσοντας ὑπὸ τῆς ἐμφύτου μαλακίας ἀλίσκεσθαι
 24 καὶ δέος τοῖς ἄλλοις συμμάχοις ἐμποιεῖν. τὸ γὰρ
 ἑτέρου κακὸν εὖ πως ὁ πλησίον ἀναμάττεσθαι
 φιλεῖ, καὶ μάλιστ' ἐν πολέμῳ, τοῦ λογισμοῦ διὰ
 τὴν ἀγωνίαν συγκεχυμένου καὶ τὰς τῶν πραγμάτων
 ἀντιλήψεις ἀκριβοῦν ἀδυνατοῦντος· τότε γὰρ εὐλά-
 βειαν μὲν τὴν δειλίαν, τὸ δὲ φοβεῖσθαι προμηθές,
 ἀσφάλειαν δὲ τὴν ἀνανδρίαν εἰώθασι καλεῖν,
 αἰσχιστα ἔργα εὐπρεπέσι καὶ σεμναῖς κλήσεσιν
 25 ἐπαμπίσχοντες. ὅπως οὖν μὴ τὰ μὲν οἰκεῖα
 βλάβπηται διὰ τῆς τῶν εἰς τὸν πόλεμον ἰόντων
 ἀνανδρίας, ἐπικυδέστερα δὲ γίνηται τὰ τῶν ἐχθρῶν
 αἰρούντων καταφρονητικῶς τοὺς ἀγενεῖς, ὅχλον
 ἀργὸν εἰδὼς οὐκ ὠφέλιμον ἀλλ' ἐμπόδιον εἰς κατ-
 ὀρθωμα, ἀνείρξε τοὺς ἀτόλμους καὶ ἀναπίπτοντας
 δειλία, καθάπερ, οἶμαι, καὶ τοῖς τὰ σώματα νοσοῦσι

^a Here again the reference is vague. As ἀνδρεία in peace has just been equated to ἀνυφία, we should expect Philo to say that he has just discussed it, but the reference to Moses' frequent insistence on it suggests something different.

^b Deut. xx. 8 "What man is there who fears and is cowardly in his heart? let him go and return to his house, lest he make the heart of his brother cowardly as is his own." Actually this is spoken on the battlefield by the "officers" (E.V.), for which the LXX has γραμματεῖς ("scribes"), a word which may have influenced Philo in connecting the exemption with drawing up the roll.

ON THE VIRTUES, 22-25

noted in their proper places^a and we will now begin to describe its feats in war. One prefatory remark, however, must be made. He considers that in drawing up the roll of soldiers, the summons should not include all those of military age, but he would have some excluded, reasonable excuses being added for their exemption from service. These are in the first instance the cravens and cowards who are sure to be the victims of their ingrained feebleness and create fear in the other combatants.^b For the evil in one man is often well reproduced^c in his neighbour, particularly in war, where trepidation^d has confused the reasoning faculty and rendered it incapable of nicely estimating facts. People are then accustomed to call cowardice caution and timidity foresight and unmanliness safety-seeking, and so invest the basest actions with grand and fair-sounding titles. And, therefore, unwilling that his own cause should be injured by the cowardice of those who are to take the field and that of the enemy glorified by an easy victory over a contemptible^e body of degenerates and knowing that a crowd of idlers is no help but an impediment to success, he excludes the timid and faint-hearted cowards on the same principle, I think, that a general does not enforce war-service on persons

^a Or "makes a powerful impression on." The metaphor, as in other compounds of *μάττομαι*, is taken from the copy produced by stamping wax. Perhaps "infect," though a different metaphor, will give the sense more vividly in English.

^b A somewhat inadequate translation for *ἀγωνία*, which is defined by Diogenes Laertius as *φόβος ἀδήλου πράγματος*. See note on *De Dec.* 145 (vol. vii. p. 612).

^c *καταφρονητικῶς* here denotes scorn for the feebleness of the enemy. Elsewhere, as in § 43 below, scorn of danger, *cf. Spec. Leg.* iii. 126.

- στρατηγὸς¹ οὐδεὶς ἀνάγκην ἐπιτίθησι πολεμεῖν, ὑπο-
 26 παραιτουμένης ἀσθενείας. νόσος δέ τις καὶ ἡ
 δειλία, βαρυτέρα τῶν κατὰ τὸ σῶμα, τὰς ψυχῆς
 δυνάμεις καθαιροῦσα· τῶν μὲν γὰρ βραχὺν εἶναι
 συμβαίνει τὸν χρόνον τῆς ἀκμῆς, ἡ δ' ἐστὶ κακὸν
 σύντροφον, μᾶλλον ἢ οὐχ ἥττον τῶν ἡνωμένων
 μερῶν προσπεφυκὸς ἐκ πρώτης ἡλικίας ἄχρι παννυ-
 στατοῦ γήρως, εἰ μὴ τύχοι θεὸς ἰώμενος· πάντα γὰρ
 θεῶ δυνατά.
- 27 Καὶ μὴν οὐδ' ἅπαντας τοὺς εὐτολμοτάτους καλεῖ,
 καὶ σφόδρα ἐρρωμένοι καθ' ἑκάτερον σῶμα καὶ
 ψυχὴν προαγωνίζεσθαι καὶ προκινδυνεύειν ἐθέλωσιν.
 ἀλλὰ τῆς γνώμης αὐτοὺς ἐπαινέσας, ὅτι κοινωνικὸν
 καὶ πρόθυμον καὶ ἀκατάπληκτον ἦθος ἐπιδείκ-
 νυνται, διερευνᾷ μὴ τισιν ἀναγκαίαις αἰτίαις ἐνδέ-
 28 δονται, ὧν ὁλκὸς ἡ δύναμις. εἰ γὰρ τις, φησί,
 [380] νεωστὶ δειμάμενος | οἰκίαν οὐκ ἔφθη εἰσοικίσασθαι
 ἢ ἀμπελῶνα φυτεύσας νεόφυτον, αὐτὸς εἰς γῆν τὰ
 κλήματα καθείς, μήπω τῆς ἐπικαρπίας καιρὸν
 ἔσχεν ἢ παρθένον ἐγγνησάμενος οὐκ ἔγνημεν, ἀφεί-
 σθω πάσης στρατείας, φιланθρωπία νόμου² τὴν

¹ MSS. στρατηγοῖς (-οὺς).

² All MSS. φιланθρωπίαν ὁμοῦ except A which has φιλανθρώ-
 πως ὁμοῦ. Cohn, adopting a suggestion of Wendland's, prints
 φιλανθρώπως ὁμοῦ <καὶ στρατηγικῶς>. This is based on the
 paraphrase in Clem. Alex. *Strom.* ii. 18, who after mentioning
 the circumstances which entitle to exemption goes on *τούτους*
ἀφείσθαι τῆς στρατείας ὁ φιλάνθρωπος κελεύει νόμος στρατηγικῶς
μὲν (then follows a précis of the reasons mentioned in § 31),
φιλανθρώπως δὲ (then the reasons mentioned in § 29). The
 text thus emended seems to me in itself unsatisfactory. If
εὐρισκόμενος agrees with the subject of *ἀφείσθω*, the adverbs
 are unnatural. It is the law, not the man, who acts *φιλαν-*
θρώπως καὶ στρατηγικῶς. If with the subject of *φησί*, the
 participle has an unnatural sense. The law does not "win"

ON THE VIRTUES, 25-28

who are diseased in body and are, therefore, excused by their infirmity. But cowardice, too, is a disease, ²⁶ graver than any that affects the body since it destroys the faculties of the soul. Diseases of the body flourish but for a short time, but cowardice is an inbred evil, as closely inherent or more so than any part of the bodily system from the earliest years to extreme old age, unless it is healed by God. For all things are possible to Him.

Furthermore, he does not even enlist all the most ²⁷ courageous, be they ever so robust both in body and soul, and willing to fight and face danger in the forefront. While He praises them for their resolution and for the public-spirited, zealous and undaunted temper which they show, he carefully inquires whether they are in bondage to any cogent considerations, whose force leads them where it will. If, he says, a man has ²⁸ lately built a house, but has not yet had time to occupy it, or just planted a vineyard, setting the shoots in the ground with his own hand, and yet has had no opportunity to enjoy the fruits, or has betrothed himself to a maiden, but has not married her, he is to be exempted from all war service, and so gain security through the humaneness of the law.^a And this for

^a Deut. xx. 5-7. For a comparison of the treatment of these verses here given with that of *De Agr.* 148 ff. see App. p. 441.

or "discover" ἀδεῖα. I think that Cohn and Wendland must have failed to observe that φιλανθρωπίαν ὁμοῦ may be a mis-division of φιλανθρωπία (= α) νόμου, and that it actually is so is strongly supported by *Spec. Leg.* ii. 183, where M, the one existing ms., has τὴν μετουσίαν ἔλαβον φιλανθρωπίαν ὁμοῦ δοθεῖσαν, which editors have corrected as an obvious error to φιλανθρωπία νόμου. I do not think Clement's phrase can outweigh this. See App. p. 442.

- 29 ἄδειαν εὐρισκόμενος,¹ ἔνεκα δυοῖν· ἐνὸς μὲν ἵνα, ἐπειδὴ τὰ κατὰ πολέμους ἄδηλα, μὴ τὰ τῶν πονησάντων ἀταλαιπύρως ἄλλοι λαμβάνωσι· χαλεπὸν γὰρ ἔδοξεν εἶναι, τῶν ἰδίων τινὰ μὴ ἀπόνασθαι δυνηθῆναι, ἀλλ' οἰκοδομεῖν μὲν ἕτερον, ἐνοικεῖν δὲ ἄλλον, καὶ φυτεύειν μὲν τινα, τὸν δὲ μὴ φυτεύσαντα καρποῦσθαι, καὶ μνᾶσθαι μὲν ἄλλον, γαμεῖν δὲ τὸν μὴ μνῶμενον, ὡς οὐ δεῖν² ἀτελεῖς τὰς ἐλπίδας κατασκευάζειν τοῖς χρηστὰ τὰ³ κατὰ τὸν βίον προσ-
- 30 δοκήσασιν· ἐτέρου δὲ ἵνα μὴ σώματι στρατευόμενοι ταῖς ψυχαῖς ὑστερίζωσιν· ἀνάγκη γὰρ αὐτῶν τὴν διάνοιαν ἐκεῖ τετάσθαι πόθῳ τῆς ἀπολαύσεως ὧν ἀφειλκύσθησαν· ὡς γὰρ οἱ πεινῶντες ἢ διψῶντες, ὅταν σιτίον ἢ ποτόν που παραφανῇ, διώκουσι καὶ ἐπιτρέχουσιν ἀμεταστρεπτὶ γλιχόμενοι μεταλαβεῖν, οὕτως οἱ περὶ νομίμου γυναικὸς ἢ οἰκίας ἢ χωρίου κτήσεως πονηθέντες καὶ ὅσον οὕπῳ τῇ ἐλπίδι νομίζοντες εἰς τὸν ἐκάστου τῆς χρήσεως ἀφίχθαι καιρόν, ὅταν ἀφαιρεθῶσι τὴν ἀπολαυσιν, σφαδάζουσιν, ὡς παρόντας μὴ παρῆναι τῷ κρείττονι μέρει, ψυχῇ,⁴ δι' οὗ συμβαίνει κατορθοῦν
- 31 ἢ τούναντίον. VI. τούτους οὖν καὶ τοὺς ὁμοίους οὐκ οἶεται δεῖν εἰς τὸν στρατιωτικὸν ἄγειν κατάλογον, ἀλλ' οἷς οὐδὲν προενηλυθὸς ὑποικουρεῖ⁵ πάθος, ὅπως ἐλευθέροις καὶ ἀφέτοις ὁρμαῖς ἀπρο-

¹ mss. ἀνευρισκόμενος.

² Perhaps, as Mangey, οὐ δέον. See App. p. 442.

³ All mss. except A have τῶν κατὰ. Perhaps, since ἔσεσθαι is to be expected with *χρηστὰ* as predicate, read *χρήσιν τῶν*.

⁴ Cf. § 3. Whereas there the mss. have τῆς ψυχῆς, here they vary between ψυχῆς and ψυχῇ (= -ῇ). See note a.

⁵ mss. οἰκουρεῖ.

^a Or if *ψυχῆς* is read (see note 4), "the better part of the

ON THE VIRTUES, 29-31

two reasons. One is that, since the issues of war 29 are uncertain, others should not take without toil or trouble the property of those who have laboured to get it. For it seems cruel that a man should not be able to enjoy his own, and that one should build a house and another live in it, or should plant a vineyard and another who did not plant it should reap the fruit, or should pledge himself to a maiden and another not so pledged should marry her, and, therefore, it was not right to render futile the hopes of those who expected to find themselves living under happy conditions.

Another object was that when 30 their bodies were fighting their souls should not play the laggard. In such circumstances, their minds must needs be feeling the strain of yearning for the joys from which they have been torn. Just as hungry or thirsty people, when some food or drink presents itself, race in pursuit of it without a backward glance in their eagerness to partake of it, so those who have laboured to gain a lawful wife or a house or a farm, and hopefully think that a time for using it is on the point of arriving, are distressed when they are robbed of its enjoyment, and thus though present in the body, are absent in the better part, the soul,^a which is the determining factor of success or failure. VI. So 31 then he did not think that the military enlistment should include these or others like them, but rather persons into whom no passion has found an entry and there made its home, in order that with free and unfettered alacrity they might gird themselves to

soul." There is certainly a presumption in favour of consistency between § 3 and here, but perhaps it is of some weight that there the quality indicated is *λογισμός*; here it is rather *θυμός*, which is or may be part of the lower soul.

- φασίστως τοῖς δεινοῖς ἐπαποδύονται. καθάπερ γὰρ παντευχίας οὐδὲν ὄφελος ἀσθενεῖ σώματι ἢ λελωβημένῳ, ἣν ἀδυνατοῦν ἀπορρίψει, τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον ἐρρωμένον σῶμα φθερεῖ τι κηραίνουσας
- 32 πάθος ψυχῆς¹ μὴ συνᾶδον τοῖς παροῦσιν. εἰς ἅπερ ἀπιδὼν οὐ μόνον λοχαγοὺς καὶ στρατηγοὺς καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους τῆς στρατιᾶς ἡγεμόνας ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν στρατιωτῶν ἕκαστον ἐπικρίνει, δοκιμάζων πῶς ἔχει πρὸς τε σώματος εὐεξίαν καὶ πρὸς εὐστάθειαν λογισμοῦ, σῶμα μὲν ἐξετάζων, εἰ ὀλόκληρον, εἰ ὑγιαῖνον ὅλον δι' ὅλων, εἰ τοῖς μέρεσι καὶ μέλεσι πᾶσιν εὖ ἡρμοσμένον πρὸς τὰς ἐπιβαλλούσας ἐκάστω σχέσεις τε καὶ κινήσεις, ψυχὴν δέ, εἰ θαρραλεότητος καὶ εὐτολμίας ἀνάπλεως, εἰ ἀκατά-
- [381] πληκτος καὶ μεστή φρονήσεως | εὐγενοῦς, εἰ φιλότιμος καὶ ζωῆς ἀδόξου τὸν σὺν εὐκλείᾳ θάνατον
- 33 προκρίνουσα. τούτων γὰρ ἕκαστον ἰδίᾳ καθ' αὐτό, εἰ δεῖ τάληθές εἰπεῖν, δύναμὶς ἐστίν· ἀθρόα δ' εἰ συνέλθοιεν, ῥώμην ἄμαχόν τινα καὶ ἀνανταγώνιστον ἐκ πολλοῦ τοῦ περιόντος ἐπιδείξονται, κρατοῦντες ἀναιμωτὶ τῶν πολεμίων.

¹ The text here is very uncertain. The majority of mss. have *φέρει τι κηραίνουσα πάθος ψυχῆ* (= -ῆ). Some however have *εἰ φέρεῖ*, or *εἰ φέροι*, or *φέρειν*. While I have printed and translated Cohn's correction of *φθερεῖ* for *φέρει*, and *κηραίνουσας ψυχῆς* for the dative of the mss., I do not think it satisfactory. *φθερεῖ* is not an appropriate word for the effect of the diseased soul upon the body, nor a proper analogy to the preceding clause. I think the key to the sentence may be found in understanding *οὐκ ὄφελος* from the preceding clause. *οὐκ ὄφελος* can be used indifferently with the nominative and genitive, and if the change of cases from *παντευχίας* to *σῶμα* is an objection, *παντευχία* might be read for *παντευχίας*. As-

ON THE VIRTUES, 31-33

face danger without evasion. For just as a body which suffers from sickness or injuries has no use for a full suit of armour and will discard it as beyond its feeble strength, so a robust body will be ruined if the soul is afflicted with a passion which does not accord with the task before it. With these 32 considerations before him he selects not only his captains and generals, and other officers, but also each soldier, by testing him to see how far his body is in good condition, and his thinking sound. Of the body he inquires if it is without defect, healthy through and through, with all its parts and limbs well adjusted for the postures and movements required of each : of the soul, whether it is charged with valour and enterprise, whether it is proof against panic and full of generous sagacity, whether it cherishes honour and prefers death with renown to inglorious life ? Each of these qualities separately in itself is in very 33 truth a power ; if they all meet and combine, those who possess them will display a strength sufficient and more than sufficient to defy all combatants and opponents, and will win a bloodless victory over their enemies.^a

^a These two sections have no reference to the text of Deuteronomy, which does not suggest any such selection, but are based on the selection mentioned below in § 42. For the principles of that selection Philo draws on his imagination.

suming this, I suggest εἰ φέρει τι κηραίνουσα πάθος ψυχῇ or περὶ τι κηραίνουσα πάθος ψυχῇ. This last does not so well account for the persistence of φέρει in the mss., but otherwise fits in admirably with Philo's use of κηραίνω. Cf. *De Praem.* 121 κηραίνοντα περὶ μηδὲν πάθος; *Spec. Leg.* i. 260 ἵνα περὶ μηδὲν πάθος κηραίνωσι, and other examples of κηραίνειν περὶ. In fact with the exception of changing φέρει to περὶ it follows the mss. exactly. On ἣν ἀδυνατοῦν ἀπορρίψει see App. p. 443.

- 34 VII. Τῶν δὲ λεχθέντων σαφεστάτην πίστιν αἱ
 ἱεραὶ βίβλοι περιέχουσιν. ἔθνος πολυανθρωπότατόν
 ἐστὶν Ἑβραῖες, οἷς ὄνομα παλαιὸν ἦν Μαδιηναῖοι.
 οὗτοι πρὸς Ἑβραίους φιλαπεχθημόνως ἔχοντες,
 οὐδενὸς ἕνεκα ἑτέρου μᾶλλον ἢ ὅτι τὸ ἀνωτάτω καὶ
 πρεσβύτατον αἷτιον σέβουσι καὶ τιμῶσι τῷ ποιητῇ
 καὶ πατρὶ τῶν ὅλων προσκεκληρωμένοι, καὶ πάσας
 μὲν μηχανὰς τεχνάζοντες, πάσας δὲ πείρας καθ-
 ιέντες, ἵνα ἀπὸ τῆς τοῦ ἐνὸς καὶ ὄντως ὄντος τιμῆς
 αὐτοὺς ἀποστήσωσι καὶ μεθαρμόσωνται πρὸς ἀσέ-
 βειαν ἐξ ὁσιότητος—οὕτως γὰρ περιέσεσθαι ῥαδίως
 ὑπελάμβανον—, ἐπειδὴ μυρία καὶ λέγοντες καὶ
 δρῶντες ἀπειρήκεσαν, ὥσπερ οἱ θανατῶντες ἐφ' ὧν
 ἀπόγνωσις¹ σωτηρίας, καὶ τι τοιοῦτον ἐπινο-
 35 οῦσι στρατήγημα. γυναικῶν τὰς περικαλλεστάτας
 μεταπεμψάμενοί φασιν αὐταῖς· “ὁρᾶτε, ὡς ἀπερί-
 ληπτὸς ἐστὶν ἡ τῶν Ἑβραίων πληθὺς. τῆς δὲ
 πληθύος ἐστὶν ἀργαλεώτερον ἐπιτείχισμα ἢ ὁμόνοια
 καὶ συμφωνία τούτων· αἷτιον δὲ τῆς ὁμονομίας τὸ
 ἀνωτάτω καὶ μέγιστον ἡ περὶ τοῦ ἐνὸς θεοῦ δόξα,
 ἀφ' ἧς οἷα πηγῆς ἐνωτικῇ καὶ ἀδιαλύτῃ φιλίᾳ
 36 κέχρηται πρὸς ἀλλήλους. ἡδονῇ δ' ἄλωτον ἄν-
 θρωπος, καὶ μάλιστα συνουσίᾳ τῇ πρὸς γυναῖκα.

¹ My correction. Cohn prints ἐφ' ὧν ἀπογνώσις, which is quite impossible. Some mss. have ἐπειδὴν for ἐφ' ὧν, which will give a grammatical construction. But Philo does not seem to use ἀπογινώσκω with the genitive. I see no difficulty in the text as printed above: ἐφ' ὧν = ἐπὶ τούτων ἐφ' ὧν, i.e. in circumstances in which there is no hope of salvation.

^a For the narrative which follows see Num. xxv. 1-18 and xxxi. 1-18 and compare the parallel account in Mos. i. 295-311. There the seduction by the women is equally prominent, but the details are given in the form of advice tendered

184

ON THE VIRTUES, 34-36

VII. A very clear proof of these statements is 34 included in the sacred books.^a The Arabians, whose name in old times was Midianites, are a very populous nation. They were disposed to be hostile to the Hebrews, the main reason being the reverence and honour which that people, dedicated to the Maker and Father of all, pays to the supreme and primal Cause. Accordingly they contrived all possible devices and made all possible attempts^b to turn them away from honouring the One, the truly Existent, and to change their religion to impiety. For if they succeeded in this, they thought they would make an easy conquest. But when after countless efforts of word and deed they were utterly exhausted, like men in peril of death,^c where there is no hope of salvation, they as a last resource devised a scheme of the following kind. They sent for the most 35 exquisitely beautiful among their women and said to them, "You see how unlimited is the number of the Hebrews, but their number is not so dangerous and menacing a weapon as their unanimity and mutual attachment. And the highest and greatest source of this unanimity is their creed of a single God, through which, as from a fountain, they feel a love for each other, uniting them in an indissoluble bond. Now man is easily led captive by pleasure, and par- 36 ticularly by the pleasure of intercourse with women.

by Balaam to Balak, against whom the war is waged, the Midianites not being mentioned. Here Balaam is not mentioned, nor is Phinehas. For the relation of Philo's account to the biblical see App. p. 443.

^b Or "laid down snares." See App. p. 444.

^c For this use of *θανάσιμος*, as against the accepted meaning of "desire to die," see note on *Spec. Leg.* iii. 102 (vol. vii. p. 636).

- διαπρεπέσταται δ' ἐστέ· καὶ φύσει μὲν ἀγωγὸν τὸ
 37 κάλλος, ἣ δὲ νεότης εἰς ἀκρασίαν εὐόλισθον. ἐται-
 ρήσεως ἢ μοιχείας ὀνόματα μὴ δείσητε ὥς αἰσχύνῃ
 ἐποίοντα, τὰς ἐκ τοῦ πράγματος ὠφελείας ἀντι-
 τιθεῖσαι, δι' αἷς τὰς ἐφ' ἡμέραν ἀδοξίας μεθαρμό-
 σεσθε εἰς ἀγῆρω καὶ ἀτελεύτητον εὐκλειαν, τὰ μὲν
 σώματα ὅσα τῷ δοκεῖν προέμεναι, σόφισμα κατ'
 ἐχθρῶν καὶ στρατήγημα, παρθένους δὲ τὰς ψυχὰς
 διαφυλάττουσαι, αἷς καὶ τὴν πρὸς τὸ μέλλον ἀγνείαν
 38 ἐπισφραγιεῖσθε. καὶ καινότατον ὁ πόλεμος οὗτος
 ἔξει κλέος διὰ γυναικῶν ἀλλ' οὐ δι' ἀνδρῶν κατορ-
 θωθείς· τὸ μὲν γὰρ ἡμέτερον, ὁμολογοῦμεν, γένος
 οὐ γενήσεται ἦττα, διὰ τὸ πᾶσι τοῖς εἰς μάχην τοὺς
 ἀντιπάλους ἐπικυδεστέρους εἶναι, τὸ δ' ὑμέτερον
 παντελῶς τὴν νίκην πέρα δ' οἷσι¹ καί, τὸ μέγιστον
 ἀγαθόν, τὰς δίχρα κινδύνων ἀριστείας· ἀναιμωτὶ γάρ,
 μᾶλλον δὲ καὶ ἀκονιτί, κατὰ τὴν πρώτην φαντασίαν
 αὐτὸ μόνον ὀφθεῖσαι περιέσεσθε.”
- 39 Ταῦτ' ἀκούσασαι, καθαροῦ βίου μηδ' ὄναρ ἡσθη-
 μέναι, παιδείας ὀρθῆς ἄγευστοι, συναινουῦσιν, ἅτε
 [382] πεπλασμένον ἦθος σωφροσύνης | τὸν ἄλλον χρόνον
 καθυποκρινάμεναι, καὶ πολυτελέσιν ἐσθῆσι καὶ
 ὄρμοις καὶ οἷς ἄλλοις εἴωθε διακοσμεῖσθαι γυνή
 πᾶσιν ἀσκηθεῖσαι καὶ τὸ ἐκ φύσεως κάλλος εὐ-
 μορφότερον ταῖς ἐπιμελείαις ἀπεργασάμεναι—τὸ

¹ My correction for mss. *περιοῦσαι* or *περαιώσαι*. Cohn, who prints *τὴν νίκην οἷσι*, admits (*Hermes*, 1908, p. 212) that he prints it merely to have an intelligible text, and that neither it nor the suggestions of *περιποιήσει* or *περιοίσει* are satisfactory. I think that, as the point indicated is something over and

ON THE VIRTUES, 36-39

You are exceedingly comely ; beauty is naturally seductive, and youth easily lapses into incontinence. Do not fear the names of harlotry or adultery as 37 likely to bring disgrace, but set against them the benefits arising from your action—benefits which will enable you to convert the transient disrepute into a renown which knows no old age or death. For though in outward appearance you prostitute your bodies, to outwit and out-general our enemies, you will keep your souls virgin, and crown them with a chastity which will last into the future. And this 38 war will have a glory without precedent in that it was brought to a successful conclusion by women and not by men, for it is our sex, we confess, which will suffer defeat, because our opponents are more distinguished in all warlike qualities, while yours will be completely victorious, and in addition to victory will have also the high excellence that your exploits have entailed no dangers. For you have merely to be seen, and at that first appearance, without bloodshed or rather without an effort, the day will be yours."

When they heard these words, the women, who had 39 never dreamt of such a thing as purity of life, nor had a taste of sound education, gave their consent. For their hitherto assumed modesty of character was mere hypocrisy. They decked themselves with costly garments and necklaces, and with everything else with which women are accustomed to bedizen themselves and took great pains to make their natural beauty still more comely. For the prize they aimed

above victory, *πέρα* is very probable, but other arrangements are possible, as *τὴν νίκην <νίκης δὲ> πέρα οἶσαι*. *πέρα* (preposition) often follows its case.

γὰρ ἀγώνισμα οὐ μικρὸν ἦν, θήρα νέων ἀθηρά-
 40 των—εἰς τοῦμφανές προέρχονται. καὶ πλησίον
 γεγόμεναι βλέμμασιν ἑταιρικοῖς καὶ στωμυλία
 λόγων καὶ σχέσεσι καὶ κινήσεσιν ἀκολάστοις δε-
 λεάζουσι τῆς νεότητος τὴν ὀλιγόφρονα μοῖραν,
 ἀνερμάτιστα καὶ ἀνίδρυτα ἦθη· καὶ διὰ τῆς τῶν
 σωμάτων αἰσχύνης ἀγκιστρευσάμεναι τὰς ψυχὰς
 τῶν συνελθόντων, ἐπὶ θυσίας ἀθύτους καὶ σπονδὰς
 ἀσυμβάτους καλέσασαι τῶν χειροκμήτων, ἄλλο-
 τριοῦσι τῆς τοῦ ἐνὸς καὶ ὄντως ὄντος θεραπείας
 41 θεοῦ. τοῦτο διαπραξάμεναι τοῖς ἀνδράσιν εὐαγ-
 γελίζονται· καὶ ἔμελλον ἂν καὶ ἄλλους ἐπισπᾶ-
 σθαι τῶν μὴ σφόδρα βεβαίων, εἰ μὴ τοῦ πάθους
 λαβὼν οἰκτον ὁ εὐεργέτης καὶ Ἰλεως θεὸς ἀνυπερ-
 θέτω κολάσει τῶν ἀπονοηθέντων—ἦσαν δὲ τέσ-
 σαρρες πρὸς ταῖς εἴκοσι χιλιάδες—ὥσπερ ὑπὸ χει-
 μάρρου κατακλυσθῆναι κινδυνεύσαντας ἀνεχαίτισε
 42 φόβῳ νουθετήσας. ὁ δὲ τοῦ ἔθνους ἡγεμῶν ἐπ-
 αντλῶν τοῖς ὡσὶ τὰ ὑπὲρ εὐσεβείας δόγματα καὶ
 τὰς ψυχὰς τῶν ὑπηκόων τούτοις ἐπάγων¹ ἐκ φυλῆς
 ἐκάστης χιλίους ἄνδρας ἀριστίνδην ἐπιλέξας κατα-
 λέγει, δίκας ἀναπράξων τῆς ἐνέδρας, ἣν ἐμηχανή-

¹ So Cohn for mss. ἐπάδων = ἐπάδων. Wendland ἐπαίρων. As all mss. except S omit ἐπαντλῶν, several have ταῖς ψυχαῖς, and some of these omit τούτοις, the simple form of text τοῖς ὡσὶ τὰ ὑπὲρ εὐσεβείας δόγματα καὶ ταῖς ψυχαῖς τῶν ὑπηκόων ἐπάδων may be worth considering. Cf. Plato, *Phaedo* 114 D χρῆ τὰ τοιαῦτα ἐπάδειν ἑαυτῷ.

^a Though here the libations are of a ritual kind, the word is so bound up with the idea of a truce that the antithesis is

ON THE VIRTUES, 39-42

at was of no small magnitude, the capture of the youths who had hitherto been uncaptured. They 40 then openly presented themselves, and when they were near at hand, with meretricious glances and wheedling talk and lewd attitudes and movements, they set their bait before the weaker-minded part of the younger men, whose character had no ballast or stability. And when by the shameful use of their bodies they had got the souls of their lovers on their hook, they summoned them to join in offering to the works of men's hands, sacrifices which were no sacrifices, and libations which brought no peace.^a Thus they estranged them from the service of the One, the truly existing God, and having effected this, reported the good news to the men. And they would have 41 enticed others also of the less stable kind had not God the beneficent and merciful, taking pity for their sad condition, lost no time in punishing the mad folly of the offenders, 24,000^b in number, and restrained those who were like to be overwhelmed as by a torrent, but were brought by Him to their senses through fear. The leader of the nation pouring into the ears 42 of his subjects the truths that uphold piety, and with them persuading their souls,^c selected and enlisted a thousand of the best from each tribe, in order to exact retribution for the snare which the enemy had contrived with the women for their instru-

a natural one. Cf. ἐν σπονδαῖς ἄσπονδα ἔπαθον, *Spec. Leg.* iii. 96 and note.

^b Num. xxv. 9. Philo, who in *Mos.* i. 303 f. took the "plague" of the Hebrew (LXX πλῆγῃ) to be a slaughter, does not commit himself here to either view. See note on *Mos.* i. 304, and in App. (vol. vi. pp. 603 f.).

^c Or perhaps "persuading them to follow these" (if ἐπάγων is read).

σαντο διὰ τῶν γυναικῶν, ἐλπίσαντες μὲν ἅπασαν
 τὴν πληθὺν ἄνωθεν ἐξ ἄκρας ὁσιότητος κατα-
 βαλόντες διαφθεῖραι, μόνους δὲ τοὺς λεχθέντας
 43 δυνηθέντες. VIII. οἱ δὲ πρὸς πολλὰς μυριάδας
 ὀλίγος ἀριθμὸς ἀντιταχθέντες, ἐμπειρίαις ἅμα καὶ
 εὐτολμίαις χρώμενοι, καθάπερ αὐτός τις ἕκαστος
 ὄμιλος ὢν, καταφρονητικῶς πυκναῖς ἐπιτρέχοντες
 ταῖς φάλαγξι καὶ τοὺς ἐν ποσὶν ἀναιροῦντες ἡρή-
 μουν τὰ βύζην συνεστηκότα στίφη καὶ ὅσα ἐφ-
 ἥδρευε πρὸς ἀναπλήρωσιν τῶν κενουμένων τάξεων,
 ὡς αὐτοβοεῖ πολλὰς μυριάδας καταστορέσαι καὶ
 μηδένα τῆς ἀντιταχθείσης νεότητος ἀπολιπέσθαι·
 κτείνουσι δὲ καὶ γυναῖκας τὰς συνεπιγραφάμενας
 ἀνδρῶν γνώμας ἀνοσίους, ζωγρήσαντες παρθένους,
 44 ἄκακον ἡλικίαν οἰκτισάμενοι. καὶ τοσοῦτον πό-
 λεμον κατορθώσαντες οὐδένα τῶν ἰδίων ἀπέβαλον,
 ἀλλ' ὅποσοι καὶ ὅποιοι προῆλθον εἰς τὴν μάχην
 ἐπανήεσαν ἄτρωτοι καὶ ὀλόκληροι, μᾶλλον δέ, εἰ
 χρή τάληθές εἰπεῖν, μετὰ διπλασίου ρώμης· ἡ γὰρ
 ἐκ τοῦ νικῆσαι χαρὰ τῆς προτέρας οὐκ ἐλάττονα τὴν
 45 ἰσχὺν ἀπειργάσατο. αἴτιον δὲ οὐδὲν ἦν τούτων
 [383] ἕτερον ἢ | τὸ σπουδάσαι φιλοκινδύνως τὸν ὑπὲρ
 εὐσεβείας ἀγῶνα ἄρασθαι, ἐν ᾧ¹ καὶ προαγωνίζεται
 θεός, ἀήττητος ἐπικουρία, βουλὰς μὲν ἀγαθὰς ταῖς
 διανοαῖς ὑφηγούμενος, ἀλκὴν δὲ τοῖς σώμασι κρα-

¹ MSS. ἐν ᾧ.

^a In *Mos.* i. 311 the boys also are spared, contrary to Num. xxxi. 17, "slay every male" (though the LXX does not add as the Hebrew "among the little ones"). Philo does not here contradict his statement in the earlier book, nor

ment, and by which they hoped to dash the whole multitude down to destruction from the high pinnacle of holiness, though they were only able to succeed with those mentioned above. VIII. The small army 43 arrayed against many myriads, with skill and daring combined, each man as it were a company in himself, scorning all thoughts of danger, flew at their close-packed ranks, slaughtered all those who stood in their way and made a clean sweep of the solid masses of troops and of all the reserves who came to fill the gaps in the lines, so that by the mere onset they laid low many myriads and left none of the enemy's fighting force alive. They slew also the women, who had been confederates in the unholy designs of the men, but gave quarter to the maidens in pity for their innocent youthfulness.^a And great as was the war 44 thus successfully conducted, they lost none of their own people, but returned in the same numbers and condition as they had gone forth to fight, unwounded and unscathed,^b or rather it may truly be said with redoubled vigour. For the strength produced by the joy of victory was no less than what they had had at the first.

And the sole source of all this 45 was the zeal which met danger bravely and led them to champion the cause of piety in a fight where God was the foremost combatant, an invincible auxiliary, inspiring their minds with wise counsels and enduing

indeed even suggest that the men outside the fighting force were put to death.

^b Cf. *Mos.* i. 309. The statement is based on Num. xxxi. 49 "and there lacketh not one of us," which does not imply that none of them were wounded. He says the same in *De Mut.* 109, where he quotes the LXX οὐ διαπεφώνηκεν ἀπ' αὐτῶν οὐδὲ εἰς, and he may be right in giving this meaning to διαφωνεῖν. See App. p. 444.

PHILO

46 ταιοτάτην ἐντιθείς. πίστις δὲ τῆς ἐκ θεοῦ συμ-
μαχίας τό τε ὑπ' ὀλίγων πολλὰς μυριάδας ἀλῶναι
καὶ τὸ μηδένα μὲν τῶν ἐχθρῶν διαφυγεῖν, μηδένα
δὲ τῶν φίλων ἀναιρεθῆναι μήτε ἀριθμὸν μήτε
47 σώματος δύναμιν ἐλαττωθέντων.¹ ὅθεν ἐν τοῖς προ-
τρεπτικοῖς φησιν· ἐὰν δικαιοσύνην καὶ ὁσιότητα καὶ
τὰς ἄλλας ἀρετὰς ἐπιτηδεύης, βίον ἀπόλεμον βιώσῃ
καὶ εἰς ἅπαν εἰρηνικόν, ἢ ἐνστάτος πολέμου
ῥαδίως τῶν ἐχθρῶν περικρατήσεις, θεοῦ στραταρ-
χοῦντος ἀοράτως, ᾧ δι' ἐπιμελείας ἐστὶ τοὺς ἀγα-
48 θοὺς σώζειν ἀνὰ κράτος. μήτ' οὖν ἐὰν πολλαῖς
μυριάσιν ἐπιτρέχωσιν ὁ πεζὸς ὁμοῦ καὶ ἱππότης
στρατὸς εὐοπλοῦντες μήτε ἐὰν ἐρυμνὰ καὶ ἐπίμαχα
προκαταλαβόμενοι χωρία τοποκρατῶσι μήτε ἐὰν
ἀφθόνοις παρασκευαῖς χορηγῶνται, καταπλαγείς
δείσης, κὰν ἀπάντων ἀπορῆς ὧν ἄγουσι περιουσίαν
ἐκείνοι, συμμάχων, ὅπλων, τόπων εὐκαιρίας, παρα-
49 σκευῶν· ἐκείνα γὰρ ὥσπερ ὀλκάδα πεπληρωμένην
παντοίων ἀγαθῶν πολλάκις ἐπιπесῶν ἄνεμος ἐξ-
αίφνης ἀνέτρεψε καὶ κατέλυσε, τοῖς δ' εὐτελέσι καὶ
λυπροῖς ὥσπερ ἀστάχυσιν ἤδη μεμυκόσιν ἐξ αὐχμοῦ
καὶ ἀνομβρίας ἐπιψεκάζων καὶ ἐπινίφων ὁ θεὸς τὰς
σωτηρίους δυνάμεις ἐμπαρέσχεν ἀνεγερθῆναί τε καὶ
50 τελειογονῆσαι. ἐξ οὗ δῆλον, ὅτι δεῖ τοῦ δικαίου καὶ
ὁσίου περιέχεσθαι². οἷς μὲν γὰρ τὸ θεῖον ἔνσπονδον,

¹ MSS. ἐλαττωθέντες, -θέντος, -θείσαν, -θῆναι. The last is the form accepted by Mangey, but this would perhaps require μηδέ for μήτε, and Cohn's correction best satisfies grammar.

² MSS. αἰί . . . περιέχεται.

^a Presumably intended as a definite name for Deuteronomy, though see *De Fug.* 170. For the variant *παραιέσεις* see 192

ON THE VIRTUES, 46-50

their bodies with irresistible doughtiness. The proof 46
 that God was their ally is that so many myriads were
 routed at the hands of a few and that none of the
 enemy escaped, while none of their friends were slain
 and neither their number nor their bodily force was
 diminished. Therefore, he says in his Exhortations ^a 47
 " If thou pursuest justice and holiness and the other
 virtues, thou shalt live a life free from war and in
 unbroken peace, or if war arises, thou shalt easily
 overcome the foe under the invisible generalship of
 God, who makes it His care mightily to save the
 good. So then if a well-armed host of foot and horse 48
 of many myriads pour in upon thee, or if they seize in
 advance the strong positions and such as are liable to
 be attacked,^b and so become masters of the situation
 or are amply supplied with abundance of equipments,
 be not panic-stricken and fearful, though thou lackest
 all of which they have abundance, allies, arms, suit-
 able positions, equipments." All those, like a mer- 49
 chantman laden with all manner of valuables, are
 often suddenly upset and wrecked by a squall of
 wind ; but where they are mean and poor, God sends
 His saving powers like rain or snow showers on ears
 of corn shrivelled through drought and want of mois-
 ture, and gives them power to awake to fresh life and
 bring their fruit to its fullness. Thence it is clear that 50
 we must cling to what is just and holy. For we are

Spec. Leg. iv. 131. The next two sections are a loose para-
 phrase of Deut. xxviii. 1, 2, and 7, though the promise of
 peace belongs rather to Lev. xxvi. 5. Cf. *De Praem.* 93.

^b *i.e.* and therefore naturally seized by the invader where
 possible—so, I think, rather than the ordinary meaning of
 the word "easily assailed," which Cohn gives. Mangey's
 translation "*nec facile oppugnanda*" cannot of course be got
 out of the word.

PHILO

ἄκρως εὐδαίμονες, οἷς δὲ ἐχθρόν, ἐσχάτως κακο-
δαίμονες. τοσαῦτα καὶ περὶ ἀνδρείας εἰς τὸ παρὸν
ἀποχρώντως λελέχθω.¹

Περὶ φιλανθρωπίας

- 51 IX. Τὴν δ' εὐσεβείας συγγενεστάτην καὶ ἀδελ-
φὴν καὶ δίδυμον ὄντως ἐξῆς ἐπισκεπτέον φιλανθρω-
πίαν, ἥς ἐρασθεὶς ὡς οὐκ οἶδ' εἴ τις ἕτερος ὁ προφήτης
τῶν νόμων—ὁδὸν γὰρ οἶα λεωφόρον ἄγουσαν
ἐφ' ὁσιότητα ταύτην ἡπίστατο—τοὺς ὑπ' αὐτὸν
ἅπαντας ἤλειφε καὶ συνεκρότει πρὸς κοινωνίαν,
παράδειγμα καλὸν ὥσπερ γραφὴν ἀρχέτυπον στη-
52 λιτεύσας τὸν ἴδιον βίον. τὰ μὲν οὖν ἐκ πρώτης
ἡλικίας ἄχρι γήρως εἰς ἐπιμέλειαν καὶ κηδεμονίαν
ἐνὸς ἐκάστου καὶ πάντων ἀνθρώπων πεπραγμένα
[384] αὐτῷ δεδήλωται πρότερον ἐν δυσὶ | συντάξεσιν, ἃς
ἀνέγραψα περὶ τοῦ βίου Μωυσέως. ἐνὸς δὲ ἡ δυοῖν
ᾧ ἐπὶ τελευτῇ κατώρθωσεν ἄξιόν ἐστιν ἐπιμνη-
σθῆναι· δείγματα γάρ ἐστι τῆς συνεχοῦς καὶ ἀδια-
στάτου καλοκαγαθίας, ἣν ἀσύγχυτον ἐνεσφραγίσατο
53 τῇ ψυχῇ χαρακτῆρι θείῳ τυπωθείσῃ. ἐπειδὴ γὰρ ἡ
προθεσμία τῆς θνητῆς ζωῆς ἔμελλεν αὐτῷ περα-
τοῦσθαι² καὶ λογίοις ἀριδύλοις ἔγνω τὴν ἐνθένδε
μετανάστασιν, οὐδένα τῶν ἄλλων ἢ βασιλέων ἢ
ιδιωτῶν ἐμιμήσατο, οἷς μία σπουδὴ τε καὶ εὐχὴ

¹ Cohn at this point prints asterisks to indicate that the treatise *Περὶ εὐσεβείας* originally stood here. See General Introduction p. x.

² MSS. *περαιοῦσθαι*.

^a This seems to be the best word to describe the virtue in general, though there is of course a multitude of cases where

ON THE VIRTUES, 50-53

supremely happy if the Godhead is our friend, utterly miserable if He is our enemy.

We have now said enough on the subject of courage and that too must be left for the present.

On Humanity ^a

IX. The next subject to be examined is humanity, ⁵¹ the virtue closest akin to piety, its sister and its twin.^b The prophetic legislator who perhaps loved her more than anyone else has done, since he knew that she was a high road leading to holiness, used to incite and train all his subjects to fellowship, setting before them the monument of his own life like an original design to be their beautiful model. Now the actions which ⁵² he performed from his earliest years to old age for the care and protection of each single man and of them all have been set forth already in two treatises in which I wrote about the life of Moses.^c But there are one or two achievements at the end of his life, which deserve to be mentioned as proofs of the constant and unbroken nobleness of life which he impressed as a final sealing, clear and distinct, on a soul which had taken shape under the graving of God. When the appointed limit of his mortal life was about ⁵³ to be reached and he knew by unmistakable warnings that he must depart hence, he did not imitate any of the other kings and commoners, whose one eager

the action described would be said to show benevolence or kindness or charity rather than what we should call humanity.

^b For the kinship of *εὐσέβεια* and *φιλανθρωπία* cf. *De Abr.* 208 and § 95 below.

^c On Philo's reason for inserting these sections here see General Introduction p. xiv.

κληρονόμους παῖδας καταλιπεῖν, ἀλλὰ καίτοι πατήρ
γεγονῶς δυοῖν υἱοῖν οὐδετέρῳ τὴν ἀρχὴν ἀπέλιπεν
ἡττηθεὶς εὐνοίας συγγενικῆς¹ καὶ πάθους φιλοικείου·
καίτοι, εἰ καὶ τὰ τῶν τέκνων δι' ὑποψιῶν ἦν, ἀλλ'
ἀδελφιδῶν γοῦν οὐκ ἠπόρει καλῶν καγαθῶν, οἱ
54 γέρας ἀρετῆς ἔσχον τὴν ἀνωτάτῳ ἱερωσύνην. ἀλλ'
ἴσως ἢ μετέλκειν αὐτοὺς ἀπὸ τῆς θείας λειτουργίας
οὐκ ἔδοκίμασεν ἢ καὶ ὅπερ εἰκὸς ἐνενόησεν, ὅτι
ἀμήχανον τοὺς αὐτοὺς δύνασθαι καλῶς ἀμφοῖν ἐπι-
τροπεύειν, ἱερωσύνης τε καὶ βασιλείας, ὧν ἡ μὲν
ἐπαγγέλλεται θεοῦ θεραπείαν, ἡ δ' ἀνθρώπων ἐπι-
μέλειαν. ἴσως δὲ καὶ κριτὴν αὐτὸν οὐκ ἠξίωσε
γενέσθαι πράγματος μεγάλου· μέγιστον δ' ἐστὶ τὸν
εἷ πεφυκότα πρὸς ἀρχὴν δοκιμάσαι καὶ σχεδὸν
θείας δυνάμεως, ἢ μόνη καθορᾶν ἦθος ἀνθρώπου
55 ῥάδιον. X. πίστις δὲ σαφεστάτη τοῦ δη-
λουμένου γένοιτ' ἂν ἡδε. φίλος ἦν αὐτῷ καὶ
γνώριμος σχεδὸν ἐκ πρώτης ἡλικίας γενόμενος,
Ἰησοῦς ὄνομα, οὗ τὴν φιλίαν προὔξενησεν οὐδὲν
τῶν παρὰ τοῖς ἄλλοις εἰωθότων, ἀλλ' ἔρως ὁ
οὐράνιος καὶ ἀκήρατος καὶ θεῖος ὄντως, ἐξ οὗ πᾶσαν
ἀρετὴν φύεσθαι συμβέβηκεν· οὗτος ὁμωρόφιος καὶ
ὁμοδίαιτος ἦν αὐτῷ, πλὴν ὅποτε ἐπιθειάσαντι καὶ
χρησμοφδομένῳ προσταχθεῖ μόνωσις· ὑπηρέτει
μέντοι καὶ τὰς ἄλλας ὑπηρεσίας αἰεὶ διαφερόντως
τῷ πλήθει, μόνον οὐχ ὑπαρχος ὧν καὶ τὰ τῆς
56 ἡγεμονίας συνδιοικῶν. ἀλλὰ καίτοι βάσανον ἀκ-
ριβῆ λαβὼν ἐκ μακρῶν χρόνων τῆς ἐν τε λόγοις καὶ

¹ MSS. εὐνοίας συγγενείας OR εὐνόια (= -α) συγγενικῇ (= -ῃ).

ON THE VIRTUES, 53-56

desire and prayer is to leave behind them sons as heirs ; but although he was the father of two, he did not bequeath the leadership to either. Nor did he let himself be governed by family affection and favouritism to his own connexions, though even if the claims of his sons were under suspicion he had nephews at any rate of great excellence who held the highest priesthood as a reward for their virtue. But ⁵⁴ perhaps he did not think fit to withdraw them from the service of God, or reasonably enough considered that it was impossible for the same persons to do justice to both offices, the priesthood and sovereignty, one of which professes the service of God, the other the guardianship of men. Perhaps, too, he did not think it well to constitute himself the judge of a great matter, and no matter is so great as the task of testing and selecting the person best fitted by nature for command, a task which almost demands the divine power that alone can see with ease into the character of a man.

X. The clearest proof I can give of ⁵⁵ this statement is as follows. He had a friend whom he had known well almost from his earliest years, Joshua by name. This friendship had not been effected in any of the ways that other friends are usually made, but by the rapturous love, which is of heaven, all pure, and truly from God, from which in fact all virtue springs. This Joshua had shared his home and board, except when solitude was prescribed to him, that is when he was under inspiration and receiving the oracles. All other services he rendered him on a different footing from the multitude and was almost his lieutenant, associated with him in the duties of government. Yet although Moses had so long care- ⁵⁶ fully tested his excellence in word and deed, and,

ἔργοις καλοκάγαθίας αὐτοῦ καὶ—τὸ ἀναγκαιότατον
 —εὐνοίας τῆς πρὸς τὸ ἔθνος, οὐδὲ τοῦτον ᾠήθη
 χρῆναι καταλιπεῖν διάδοχον, δεδιὼς μὴ ποτε ψευ-
 δοδοξῇ νομίζων ἀγαθὸν τὸν οὐκ ὄντα πρὸς ἀλή-
 θειαν, ἐπειδὴ τὰ κριτήρια τῆς ἀνθρωπίνης γνώμης
 57 ἀμυδρὰ καὶ ἀβέβαιά πως εἶναι πέφυκεν. ὅθεν οὐ
 προπιστεύων ἑαυτῷ ποτνιαῖται καὶ καθικετεύει τὸν
 ἀοράτου ψυχῆς ἔφορον θεόν, ᾧ μόνῳ διάνοιαν
 [385] ἔξεστιν ἀκριβῶς θεωρεῖν, | ἀριστίνδην ἐλέσθαι τὸν
 ἐπιτηδειότατον εἰς ἡγεμονίαν, ὃς οἷα πατήρ ἐπι-
 μελήσεται τῶν ὑπηκόων· καὶ τὰς καθαρὰς καὶ ὡς
 ἂν εἴποι τις τροπικώτερον παρθένους χεῖρας ἀνα-
 58 τείνας εἰς οὐρανὸν φησιν· “ἐπισκεψάσθω κύριος ὁ
 θεὸς τῶν πνευμάτων καὶ πάσης σαρκὸς ἀνθρωπον
 ἐπὶ τῆς πληθύος, εἰς ἐπιμέλειαν καὶ προστασίαν
 ποιμένα ὃς¹ ἀνυπαίτιως ἀφηγήσεται, ἵνα μὴ γένηται
 σαθρὸν τὸ ἔθνος οἷα ποίμνη σποράδην² ἀγελάρχην
 59 οὐκ ἔχουσα.” καίτοι τίς οὐκ ἂν κατεπλάγη τῶν
 τότε τῆς εὐχῆς ἀκούσας, “τί φῆς” εἰπὼν “ὦ δέ-
 σποτα; οὐκ εἰσὶ μὲν σοι γνήσιοι παῖδες, οὐκ εἰσὶ δ’
 ἀδελφίδοι; μάλιστα μὲν τοῖς υἱοῖς—κληρονόμοι
 γὰρ οὗτοι φύσει πρῶτοι—κατάλιπε τὴν ἀρχήν, εἰ
 60 δ’ ἀποδοκιμάζεις, τοῖς γοῦν ἀδελφίδοις. εἰ δὲ καὶ
 τούτους ἀνεπιτηδεῖους ὑπέιληφας τὸ ἔθνος προ-
 κρίνων τῶν συγγενεστάτων καὶ οἰκειοτάτων, ἀλλ’

¹ mss. ποιμένος or ποιούμενος.

² So all mss. except S, which has ἐπ’ ὄρους. Cohn in his edition corrected to σποράς, considering that ποίμνη σποράδην was an impossible combination and that ἐπ’ ὄρους was a corruption of σποράς. In his translation he declares for σποράς ἐπ’ ὄρους. He observes that “on a mountain” is a reminiscence of 1 Kings xxii. 17 “I saw all Israel scattered

ON THE VIRTUES, 56-60

what was most vital of all, his loyal affection for the nation, he did not think he should leave the succession even to him. He feared that he might be deceived in thinking him a good man when he was not really so, since the standards of human judgement are such as to be vague and uncertain. And therefore, slow 57 to trust in himself, he besought and entreated God, who surveys the invisible soul and to whom alone it is given to discern the secrets of the mind, to choose on his merits the man most fitted to command, who would care for his subjects as a father. And stretching up to heaven his pure, and, as it might be put figuratively, his virgin hands he said, ^a "Let the God 58 of spirits and all flesh ^b look to find a man to set over the multitude to guard and protect it, a shepherd who shall lead it blamelessly that the nation may not decay ^c like a flock scattered about without one to guide it." Yet who of those who heard this prayer 59 would not have been astounded? "Master," he would say, "what do you mean, have you not lawful sons, have you not nephews? Bequeath the sovereignty to your sons as the first choice, for they naturally take precedence as heirs, or if you reject them, at least to your nephews, or if you count them also unsuitable 60 and prefer the people at large to your nearest and

^a Num. xxvii. 16, 17.

^b So LXX. E.V. "spirits of all flesh."

^c Or "waste away."

on the mountains, as a flock which has no shepherd." No doubt this is so, but whether the reminiscence is more likely to be Philo's or of the scribe of S, I do not feel capable of deciding. In any case I see no reason for substituting *σποράς* for *σποράδην*, which as an adverb qualifying *ἀγελάρχην* οὐκ ἔχουσα seems to me quite unobjectionable.

- ἔστι γέ σοι φίλος ἄμεμπτος βάσανον ἀρετῆς
τελείας δεδωκώς σοι τῷ πανσόφῳ· τί δὴ τοῦτον, εἰ
μὴ γένους ἀλλὰ καλοκαγαθίας ἢ αἵρεσίς ἐστιν, οὐκ
61 ἀξιούς δοκιμάζειν;” ἀλλ’ ἀποφανείται ὅτι “πάν-
των μὲν κριτὴν ποιεῖσθαι θέμις θεόν, διαφερόντως
δὲ τῶν μεγάλων, ἐν οἷς τὸ εὖ γε ἢ χεῖρον μυρίους
ὄσους εἰς εὐδαιμονίαν ἤγαγεν ἢ τούναντίον εἰς
κακοδαιμονίαν. μείζον δ’ οὐδὲν ἀρχῆς, ἢ τὰ
πόλεων καὶ χωρῶν ὅσα κατὰ πόλεμον ἢ κατ’
εἰρήνην ἐπιτέτραπται· ὥς γὰρ πρὸς εὐπλοίαν ἀγα-
θοῦ καὶ τὴν γνώμην καὶ τὴν ἐπιστήμην δεῖ κυβερ-
νήτου, τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον καὶ πρὸς εὐνομίαν
ὑπηκόων τῶν ἐκασταχοῦ χρεῖα πανσόφου τινὸς
62 ἡγεμόνος. σοφίαν δὲ πρεσβυτέραν οὐ μόνον τῆς
ἐμῆς γενέσεως ἀλλὰ καὶ τῆς τοῦ κόσμου παντός
οὔσαν οὔτε θέμις οὔτε δυνατόν ἄλλῳ τῷ κρίνειν
ἀλλ’ ἢ τῷ θεῷ καὶ τοῖς ἀδόλως καὶ καθαρῶς καὶ
63 γνησίως αὐτῆς ἐρώσιν. ἐδιδάχθη δ’ ἀπ’ ἐμαυτοῦ
μηδ’ ἄλλον τινὰ τῶν ἐπιτηδείων εἶναι δοκούντων εἰς
ἀρχὴν δοκιμάσαι. τὴν γοῦν ἐπιμέλειαν καὶ προ-
στασίαν τῶν κοινῶν οὔτ’ αὐτὸς ἐθελοντῆς εἰλόμην
οὔθ’ ὑπ’ ἄλλου τινὸς ἀνθρώπων χειροτονηθεὶς ἔλα-
βον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῦ θεοῦ χρησιμοῖς ἐναργέσι καὶ
λογίοις ἀριδύλοις ἐμφανῶς θεσπίζοντος καὶ προσ-
τάττοντος ἄρχειν ἀνεδυόμην ἱκετεύων καὶ πο-
τινῶμένος, εἰς τὸ μέγεθος ἀφορῶν τοῦ πράγματος,
ἕως, ἐπειδὴ πολλάκις ἐκέλευε, δέισας ἐπειθάρχησα.
64 πῶς οὖν οὐκ ἄτοπὸν ἐστὶ μὴ τοῖς αὐτοῖς ἴχνεσιν

^a An allusion to Wisdom's speech in Prov. viii. 22-30
"The Lord . . . established me from eternity (πρὸ τοῦ αἰῶνος),
in the beginning before He made the earth," etc., part of
which Philo has quoted in *De Ebr.* 31.

ON THE VIRTUES, 60-64

closest, you have a blameless friend who has given proof of perfect virtue to your unerring wisdom. Why do you not think fit to approve of him, if the choice is not to rest on birth but on high excellence of life." He will say in reply, "It is very right that we should 61 take God for our Judge in all things and particularly in great matters, where a decision for good or ill brings happiness, or, contrariwise, misery to countless multitudes. No matter is greater than sovereignty, to which is committed the charge of all the affairs of cities and countries in war and peace. For just as successful navigation demands a pilot of good judgement and knowledge, so, too, a governor of all-round wisdom is needed to secure for his subjects in every place a happy and orderly life. Now wisdom's years 62 are from of old, ere not only I, but the whole universe was born,^a and it is not lawful or possible that any other should judge her save God, and those who love her with a love that is guileless and pure and genuine. I have learnt from my own history not to choose any- 63 one else from among those who seem to be suitable and approve him for government. I did not of my own free-will choose to superintend and preside over public affairs, nor did I receive the office through appointment by some other of mankind, but when God by plain oracles and manifest declarations made clear to me His will and bade me take command, considering the greatness of the task I held back with prayers and supplications, until, when He many times repeated the command, I trembled but obeyed. With this example before me,^b surely 64 reason requires that I should follow in the same

^b See γούν in previous section, suggesting that the following words illustrate the general sense of the paragraph.

ἐπακολουθῆσαι καὶ χρησάμενον ὅτ' ἔμελλον ἄρχειν
δοκιμαστῇ θεῷ πάλιν ἐπ' αὐτῷ μόνῳ θέσθαι τὴν
[386] χειροτονίαν τοῦ διαδόχου, μὴ | συνεφαψαμένης
ἀνθρωπίνης γνώμης, ἥ τὸ εἰκὸς συγγενέστερόν ἐστι
τοῦ ἀληθοῦς, ἄλλως τε καὶ τῆς προστασίας οὐκ ἐπὶ
τῷ τυχόντι ἔθνει γενησομένης, ἀλλὰ πολυανθρωπο-
τάτῳ μὲν τῶν ἀπανταχοῦ πάντων, ἐπάγγελμα δὲ
ἐπαγγελλομένῳ μέγιστον, ἱκεσίαν τοῦ ὄντως ὄντος,
65 ὅς ἐστι ποιητῆς τῶν ὅλων καὶ πατῆρ; ὅπερ γὰρ
ἐκ φιλοσοφίας τῆς δοκιμωτάτης περιγίνεται τοῖς
ὁμιληταῖς αὐτῆς, τοῦτο διὰ νόμων καὶ ἐθῶν Ἰου-
δαίοις, ἐπιστήμη τοῦ ἀνωτάτῳ καὶ πρεσβυτάτου
πάντων αἰτίου, τὸν ἐπὶ τοῖς γενητοῖς θεοῖς πλάνον
ἀπωσαμένους· γενητὸς γὰρ οὐδεὶς ἀληθεία θεός,
ἀλλὰ δόξῃ μόνον, τὸ ἀναγκαιότατον ἀφηρημένος,
αἰδιότητα."

66 XI. Τοῦτο μὲν δὴ πρῶτον ἐναργέστατον δεῖγμα
τῆς πρὸς ἅπαν τὸ ὁμόφυλον αὐτοῦ φιланθρωπίας
καὶ πίστεως· ἕτερον δὲ τοῦ λεχθέντος οὐκ ἀποδέον.
ἐπειδὴ γὰρ ἀριστίνδην ὁ φοιτητῆς αὐτοῦ καὶ μι-
μητῆς τῶν ἀξιεράστων ἡθῶν Ἰησοῦς ἄρχων ἐδοκι-
μάσθη κριτηρίοις θείοις, οὐχ ὥσπερ ἂν ἕτερος ἐπὶ
τῷ μὴ τοὺς υἱοὺς ἢ τοὺς ἀδελφιδοὺς αἰρεθῆναι
67 κατήφησεν, ἀλλὰ ὑποπλησθεὶς ἀλέκτου χαρᾶς, ὅτι
μελλήσοι τὸ ἔθνος ἐπιτρόπῳ χρῆσθαι τὰ πάντα
ἀρίστῳ—καλὸν γὰρ καγαθὸν ἐξ ἀνάγκης ἥδει τὸν
εὐάρεστον θεῷ—λαβόμενος τῆς τούτου δεξιᾶς καὶ
παραγαγὼν αὐτὸν εἰς ἡθροισμένον τὸ πλῆθος, μηδὲν
περὶ τῆς αὐτοῦ τελευτῆς εὐλαβηθεὶς, ἀλλὰ ταῖς
ἀρχαίαις εὐφροσύναις νέας ἐτέρας προσειληφὺς οὐ

^a Num. xxvii. 22, 23.

ON THE VIRTUES, 64-67

steps, and, after having had God for my approver when I was about to take command, should give the election of my successor to Him alone without the participation of human judgement, which is nearer akin to the seeming than to the true. It is a special reason for so doing that the person appointed will preside not over some ordinary nation, but over the most populous of all the nations upon earth, one which makes the greatest of all professions that it is a suppliant of Him who truly exists and is the Maker and Father of all. For what the disciples of the most excellent philosophy gain from its teaching, the Jews gain from their customs and laws, that is to know the highest, the most ancient Cause of all things and reject the delusion of created gods. For no created being is God in reality, but only in men's fancies, bereft as it is of the essential attribute of eternity."

XI. Here we have the first proof of the kindness and faithfulness, which he showed to all his compatriots, but there is another not inferior to it. When his disciple, Joshua, who modelled himself on his master's characteristics with the love which they deserved, had been approved by divine judgement as best fitted to command, Moses was not depressed as another might have been because the choice had not fallen on his sons or nephews, but was filled with intense joy, to think that the nation would be in the charge of one excelling in every way, since he knew that one in whom God is well pleased must needs be of a noble character. So taking Joshua by the right hand he brought him forward to where the multitude was congregated.^a He had no tremors at the thought of his own end, but had added other new joys to

PHILO

μόνον διὰ μνήμην τῶν πρότερον εὐπαθειῶν, αἷς κατακόρως διὰ παντός εἶδους ἀρετῆς ἐνετρύφησεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ διὰ τὴν ἐλπίδα τοῦ μέλλειν ἀθανατίζεσθαι μεταβαλὼν ἐκ φθαρτοῦ βίου εἰς ἄφθαρτον, ἰλαραῖς ὤψεσιν ἐκ τῆς κατὰ ψυχὴν εὐθυμίας φαιδρὸς καὶ
68 γεγηθῶς φησιν· “ἐμοὶ μὲν ἀπαλλάττεσθαι καιρὸς ἤδη τῆς ἐν σώματι ζωῆς· ὁ δὲ τῆς ὑμετέρας ἐπιτροπῆς διάδοχος οὗτός ἐστιν αἵρεθεὶς ὑπὸ θεοῦ”· καὶ τὰ χρησθέντα λόγια τῆς δοκιμασίας εὐθὺς
69 ἐπέειπεν, οἷς ἐπίστευσαν. καὶ πρὸς τὸν Ἰησοῦν ἀποβλέψας ἀνδραγαθίζεσθαι παραινεῖ καὶ σφόδρα ἰσχύειν ἐν ταῖς εὐβουλίαις, ἀγαθὰς μὲν γνώμας εἰσηγούμενον, ἀνενδότοις δὲ καὶ ἐρρωμένοις λογισμοῖς τὰ γνωσθέντα καλῶς τελειοῦντα. καὶ ταῦτ’ ἔλεγεν ἴσως οὐ δεομένῳ παραινέσεως, ἀλλὰ τὸ φιλάλληλον καὶ φιλοεθνὲς πάθος οὐ στέγων, ὑφ’ οὗ
τρόπον τινὰ κεντριζόμενος ἃ συνοίσειν ἐνόμιζεν
70 ἀπεγύμνου. ἦν δὲ καὶ χρησμὸς αὐτῷ παρακαλέσαι τὸν διάδοχον καὶ εὐθαρσέστατον ἀπεργάσασθαι πρὸς τὴν τοῦ ἔθνους ἐπιμέλειαν, τὸ βάρος μὴ καταδείσαντα τῆς ἀρχῆς, ἵνα τοῖς ἔπειτα γένηται κανὼν
[387] καὶ νόμος | ἅπασιν ἡγεμόσι πρὸς ἀρχέτυπον παράδειγμα Μωυσῆν ἀποβλέπουσι καὶ μηδεὶς φθονῇ βουλευμάτων ἀγαθῶν τοῖς διαδόχοις, ἀλλ’ ὑποθήκαις καὶ παραινέσεσι τὰς ψυχὰς αὐτῶν ἀλείφωσι

^a Deut. xxxi. 7 and 23.

^b τὸ φιλάλληλον = “mutual affection,” when applied to one person signifies an affection which is strengthened by the knowledge that it is returned.

ON THE VIRTUES, 67-70

the old, for he had not only the memory of earlier felicities, which every kind of virtue had given him, filling him to overflowing with delight, but also the hope of coming immortality as he passed from the corruptible life to the incorruptible. Thus with a face beaming with the gladness of his soul, he said brightly and cheerfully, "The time has come for me to depart 68 from the life of the body, but here is a successor to take charge of you, chosen by God," and he at once proceeded to recite the messages declaring God's approval, to which they gave credence; then turning 69 his eyes on Joshua he bade him^a be of good courage and mighty in wise policy, initiate good plans of action and carry out his decisions with strong and resolute thinking to a happy conclusion. For though he to whom he addressed these words did not perhaps need the exhortation, Moses would not keep hidden the personal friendship^b and patriotism which urged him like a spur to lay bare what he thought would be profitable. Also he had received the divine com- 70 mand^c that he should exhort his successor and create in him the spirit to undertake the charge of the nation with a high courage, and not to fear the burden of sovereignty. Thus all future rulers would find a law to guide them right^d by looking to Moses as their archetype and model, and none would grudge to give good advice to their successors, but all would train and school their souls with admonitions and

^c Num. xxvii. 19 "Thou shalt give him a charge before all the congregation."

^d Cohn takes *κανὼν καὶ νόμος* as predicate, "he should become a law." Who then is "he"? Not Joshua, for Moses, who advises his successor, is the model. Not Moses, for Philo would have said *αὐτὸν ἀποβλέπουσι*. I take the words as subject to *γένηται*.

- 71 καὶ συγκροτῶσι. δύναται γὰρ ἀνδρὸς ἀγαθοῦ παραίνεσις ἀναπεπτωκότας ταῖς γνώμαις ἐγείρειν καὶ διάρασα εἰς ὕψος ἐπάνω τῶν καιρῶν καὶ τῶν πραγμάτων ἰδρῦσασθαι φρόνημα γενναῖον καὶ ἀκατάπληκτον ἐνθείσα.
- 72 Τὰ δὲ ἀρμόττοντα τοῖς τε ὑπηκόοις καὶ τῷ κληρονόμῳ τῆς ἡγεμονίας διαλεχθεὶς ἄρχεται τὸν θεὸν ὑμνεῖν μετ' ὥδῃς, τελευταίαν αὐτῷ βίου τοῦ μετὰ σώματος εὐχαριστίαν ἀποδιδούς, ἀνθ' ὧν ἀπὸ γενέσεως ἄχρι γήρως καιναῖς καὶ οὐ ταῖς ἐν ἔθει
- 73 χάρισιν εὐηργετέϊτο· καὶ συναγαγὼν ἄθροισμα θεῖον, τὰ στοιχεῖα τοῦ παντὸς καὶ τὰ συνεκτικώτατα μέρη τοῦ κόσμου, γῆν τε καὶ οὐρανόν, τὴν μὲν θνητῶν ἐστίαν, τὸν δὲ ἀθανάτων οἶκον, ἐν μέσοις τὰς ὑμνωδίας ἐποιεῖτο διὰ παντὸς ἀρμονίας καὶ συμφωνίας εἶδους, ἵνα κατακούσωσιν ἄνθρωποι τε καὶ
- 74 ἄγγελοι λειτουργοί, οἱ μὲν ὡς γνώριμοι, πρὸς τὴν τῆς ὁμοίας εὐχαρίστου διαθέσεως διδασκαλίαν, οἱ δ' ὡς ἔφοροι θεασάμενοι κατὰ τὴν σφῶν ἐμπειρίαν, μή τι τῆς ὥδῃς ἐκμελές, καὶ ἅμα διαπιστοῦντες, εἴ τις ἄνθρωπος ὢν ἐνδεδεμένος σώματι φθαρτῷ δύναται τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον ἡλίῳ καὶ σελήνῃ καὶ τῷ τῶν ἄλλων ἀστέρων πανιέρῳ χορῷ μεμουσῶσθαι τὴν ψυχὴν πρὸς τὸ θεῖον ὄργανον, τὸν οὐρανὸν καὶ τὸν
- 75 σύμπαντα κόσμον, ἀρμοσάμενος. ταχθεὶς δ' ἐν τοῖς κατὰ τὸν αἰθέρα χορευταῖς ὁ ἱεροφάντης ἀνεκεράσατο ταῖς πρὸς θεὸν εὐχαρίστοις ὑμνωδίαις τὰ γνήσια πάθη τῆς πρὸς τὸ ἔθνος εὐνοίας, ἐν οἷς ᾗσαν ἔλεγχοι¹ παλαιῶν ἀμαρτημάτων, αἱ πρὸς τὸν παρ-

¹ Perhaps ἔλεγχοι <οἱ> to balance the articles with the corresponding nouns that follow.

ON THE VIRTUES, 71-75

exhortations. For a good man's exhortation can 71
raise the disheartened, lift them on high and establish them superior to occasions and circumstances, and inspire them with a gallant and dauntless spirit.

Having discoursed thus suitably to his subjects and 72
the heir of his headship, he proceeded to hymn God in a song^a in which he rendered the final thanksgiving of his bodily life for the rare and extraordinary gifts with which he had been blest from his birth to his old age. He convoked a divine assemblage of the 73
elements of all existence and the chiefest parts of the universe, earth and heaven, one the home of mortals, the other the house of immortals. With these around him he sang his canticles with every kind of harmony and sweet music in the ears of both mankind and ministering angels^b: of men that as disciples they 74
should learn from him the lesson of like thankfulness of heart: of angels as watchers, observing, as themselves masters of melody,^c whether the song had any discordant note, and scarce able to credit that any man imprisoned in a corruptible body could like the sun and moon and the most sacred choir of the other stars attune his soul to harmony with God's instrument, the heaven and the whole universe. Thus in 75
his post amid the ethereal choristers the great Revealer blended with the strains of thankfulness to God his own true feelings of affection to the nation, therein joining with his arraignment of them for past sins his admonitions for the present occasion

^a For the song of Moses see Deut. xxxii. 1-43.

^b Verse 43 (in LXX only) "Rejoice ye heavens with Him, and let all the angels of God worship Him."

^c Lit. "in accordance with their own skill (in music)."

PHILO

όντα καιρὸν νουθεσίαι καὶ σωφρονισμοί, παραινέσεις αἱ πρὸς τὰ μέλλοντα διὰ χρηστῶν ἐλπίδων, αἷς ἐπακολουθεῖν ἀναγκαῖον αἷσια τέλη.

- 76 XII. Ὡς δ' ἐτέλεσε τὰς χορείας ὁσιότητι καὶ φιλανθρωπία τρόπον τινὰ συννυφασμένας, ἥρξατο μεταβάλλειν ἐκ θνητῆς ζωῆς εἰς ἀθάνατον βίον καὶ τοῦ κατ' ὀλίγον συνησθάνετο τῆς τῶν¹ ἐξ ὧν συνεκέκρατο διαζεύξεως, τοῦ μὲν σώματος ὁστρέου [388] | δίκην <περιπεφυκότος>² περιαιρουμένου, τῆς δὲ ψυχῆς ἀπογυμνουμένης καὶ τὴν κατὰ φύσιν ἐν-
77 θένδε ποθοῦσης μετανάστασιν. εἰθ' ἐτοιμασάμενος τὰ πρὸς ἔξοδον οὐ πρότερον ἐστείλατο τὴν ἀποικίαν ἢ τὰς τοῦ ἔθνους φυλὰς ἀπάσας εὐχαῖς ἐναρμονίοις [ἀριθμῶ δώδεκα] γεῖραι διὰ τῆς τῶν φυλαρχῶν κατακλήσεως· ἃς ὅτι τελεσφορηθήσονται πιστευτέον· ὃ τε γὰρ εὐξάμενος θεοφιλῆς ὃ τε θεὸς φιλάνθρωπος ὑπὲρ ὧν τε αἱ αἰτήσεις εὐπατρίδαι καὶ εὐγενεῖς τὴν ἀνωτάτῳ τεταγμένοι τάξιν, ὑπὸ
78 στρατάρχῃ τῷ ποιητῇ πάντων καὶ πατρί. [αἰτήσεις δ' ἦσαν αἱ τῶν ἀληθινῶν ἀγαθῶν, οὐ μόνον ἐν τῷ θνητῷ ὅπως ὑπάρχωσιν αὐτοῖς βίῳ, ἀλλὰ πολὺ μᾶλλον ἐπὶ ἀνέτος τοῦ τῆς σαρκὸς δεσμοῦ
79 γένηται ἡ ψυχή.]³ μόνος γὰρ Μωυσῆς τὴν πρὸς τὰ θεῖα, ὡς ἔοικεν, ἐξ ἀρχῆς τὸ σύμπαν ἔθνος

¹ MSS. τῆς ἐξ or τῶν ἐξ.

² Added by Cohn on the analogy of *De Ios.* 71. A likely but not certain emendation.

³ Cohn considers this section spurious, probably rightly. See App. p. 445.

ON THE VIRTUES, 75-79

and calls to a sounder mind, and his exhortations for the future expressed in hopeful words of comfort which needs must be followed by their happy fulfilment.^a

XII. When he had ended his anthems, a blend we 76
may call them of religion and humanity, he began to pass over from mortal existence to life immortal and gradually became conscious of the disuniting of the elements of which he was composed. The body, the shell-like growth which encased him, was being stripped away and the soul laid bare and yearning for its natural removal hence. Then after accomplishing 77
the preparations for his departure he did not set out for his new home until he had honoured all the tribes of his nation with the concert of his benedictions, mentioning the founders of the tribes by name.^b That these benedictions will be fulfilled we must believe, for he who gave them was beloved of God the lover of men and they for whom he asked were of noble lineage and held the highest rank in the army led by the Maker and Father of all. [The prayers were re- 78
quests for true goods, not only that they should have them in this mortal life but much more when the soul is set free from the bonds of the flesh.] For Moses 79
alone, it is plain, had grasped the thought that the

^a The song, according to Deut. xxxi. 28, was intended to be a witness against Israel, and certainly the "arraignments" are the most prominent feature. On the other hand "the poem strikes its keynote (xxxii. 21) of mercy and hope, and emphatically concludes on this keynote" (34-43)—Adam Smith.

^b For the blessing of Moses see Deut. xxxiii. Philo has before, in *Mos.* ii. 288, expressed his conviction that these blessings, though partially fulfilled already, would be finally completely fulfilled.

ὑπολαβὼν ἔχειν ἀναγκαιοτάτην συγγένειαν, πολὺ γνησιωτέραν τῆς ἀφ' αἵματος, πάντων ἀγαθῶν ὧν δὴ ἀνθρωπίνη φύσις χωρεῖ κληρονόμον ἀπέφηνεν, ἃ μὲν αὐτὸς εἶχεν, ἐξ ἐτοίμου διδούς, ἃ δὲ μὴ κέκτητο, τὸν θεὸν ἱκετεύων παρασχεῖν, εἰδὼς τὰς τῶν χαρίτων αὐτοῦ πηγὰς ἀενάους μὲν οὔσας, οὐ πᾶσι δ' ἀνειμένας, ἀλλὰ μόνοις ἰκέταις· ἰκέται δ' εἰσὶν οἱ καλοκάγαθίας ἐρῶντες, οἷς ἀρύτεσθαι θέμις ἀπὸ τῶν ἱερωτάτων πηγῶν διψῶσι σοφίας.

- 80 XIII. Τὰ μὲν οὖν δείγματα τῆς τοῦ νομοθέτου φιλανθρωπίας καὶ κοινωνίας, ἥ ἐχρήσατο καὶ δι' εὐμοιρίαν φύσεως ἀγαθῆς καὶ τῆς τῶν ἱερῶν λογίων ὑφηγήσεως, μεμήνυται. λεκτέον δὲ ἃ καὶ τοῖς ἔπειτα διετάξατο, εἰ καὶ μὴ πάντα—οὐ γὰρ ῥάδιον—, τὰ γοῦν ἀγχίσπορα καὶ ἐγγυτάτω τῶν
81 ἐκείνου βουλευμάτων. τὸ γὰρ ἐπιεικὲς καὶ ἡμερον οὐκ ἐν ταῖς πρὸς ἀνθρώπους αὐτὸ μόνον ἰδρύεται κοινωνίαις, ἀλλ' ἐπιδαψιλεύομενος ἀναχεῖ πλουσίως αὐτὸ καὶ τείνει πρὸς τε τὰς τῶν ἀλόγων ζώων φύσεις καὶ πρὸς τὰς τῶν ἡμέρων δένδρων ἰδέας. ἃ δὲ περὶ ἐκάστων ἐνομοθέτησε, λεκτέον ἐν μέρει τὴν ἀρχὴν ποιησάμενον ἀπ' ἀνθρώπων.

- 82 XIV. Ἀπαγορεύει τοίνυν ἀδελφῷ δανείζειν, ἀδελφὸν ὀνομάζων οὐ μόνον τὸν ἐκ τῶν αὐτῶν φύντα γονέων, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὃς ἂν ἀστὸς καὶ ὁμόφυλος ᾗ, τόκους ἐπὶ χρήμασιν οὐ δικαίων ἐκλέγειν ὥς

^a Ex. xxii. 25, Lev. xxv. 36, 37, Deut. xxiii. 19. Cf. *Spec. Leg.* ii. 74 ff.

ON THE VIRTUES, 79-82

whole nation from the very first was akin to things divine, a kinship most vital and a far more genuine tie than that of blood, and, therefore, he declared it the heir of all good things that human nature can contain. What he had himself he gave them ready for their use, what he did not possess he supplicated God to grant them, knowing that though the fountains of His grace are perennial they are not free for all, but only to suppliants. And suppliants are all those who love a virtuous life, to whom it is permitted to quench their thirst for wisdom with water drawn from the fountains of true holiness.

XIII. We have stated the proofs of the legislator's 80 humanity and fellow feeling, a quality which he possessed through a happy gift of natural goodness, and also as the outcome of the lessons which he learnt from the holy oracles. But we must also speak of the ordinances which he gave to posterity, if not all of them, which would be difficult, at least those which are closest akin to his way of thinking. He did not 81 set up consideration and gentleness as fundamental to the relations of men to their fellows only, but poured it out richly with a lavish hand on animals of irrational nature and the various kinds of cultivated trees. We must mention the laws which he gave on each of these, taking them in turn and beginning with mankind.

XIV. He forbids anyone to lend money on interest 82 to a brother, meaning by this name not merely a child of the same parents, but anyone of the same citizenship or nation.^a For he does not think it just to amass money bred from money^b as their yeanelings

^b Or simply "interest on money"; but there is obviously an allusion to the original meaning of *τόκος*.

- 83 ἀπὸ θρεμμάτων ἔγγονα. καὶ προτρέπει μὴ διὰ τοῦτ' ἀναδύεσθαι καὶ συμβάλλειν ὀκνηρότερον, ἀλλ' ἀνειμέναις χερσὶ καὶ γνώμαις μάλιστα μὲν χαρίζεσθαι τοῖς δεομένοις, λογιζομένους ὅτι καὶ ἡ χάρις τρόπον τινὰ δάνειόν ἐστιν, ἀποδοθησόμενον
- [389] ἐν καιρῷ βελτίονι <ἄνευ> ἀνάγκης | ἐκουσίῳ διαθέσει τοῦ λαβόντος, εἰ δὲ μὴ βούλονται δωρεῖσθαι, κιχράναι γοῦν ἐτοιμότατα καὶ προθυμότατα, μηδὲν
- 84 ἔξω τῶν ἀρχαίων ἀποληψομένους. οὕτως γὰρ οὐθ' οἱ πένητες ἔμελλον ἀπορώτεροι γίνεσθαι, πλείονα ὦν ἔλαβον εἰσφέρειν ἀναγκαζόμενοι, οὐθ' οἱ συμβάλλοντες ἀδικεῖσθαι, ἃ προήκαντο μόνῃ κομιζόμενοι· καίτοι γε οὐ μόνον· σὺν γὰρ τοῖς ἀρχαίοις ἀντὶ τόκων οὖς λαβεῖν οὐκ ἠξίωσαν ἐπεισφέρονται τὰ κάλλιστα καὶ τιμιώτατα τῶν ἐν ἀνθρώποις, ἡμερότητα, κοινωνίαν, χρηστότητα, μεγαλόνοιαν, εὐφημίαν, εὐκλειαν· οἷς τίς κτήσις ἐφάμιλλος;
- 85 ἀπορώτατος μὲν οὖν καὶ ὁ μέγας βασιλεὺς ἀναφανεῖται κατὰ σύγκρισιν μιᾶς ἀρετῆς· τοῦ μὲν γὰρ ὁ πλοῦτος ἄψυχος ἐν ταμείοις καὶ μυχοῖς γῆς κατορωρυγμένος, ἀρετῆς δ' ἐν ψυχῇ τῇ ἡγεμονικῇ μεταποιεῖται δὲ αὐτοῦ καὶ τὸ καθαρώτατον τῆς οὐσίας, οὐρανός, καὶ ὁ γεννητὴς τῶν συμπάντων θεός. ἔτι τοίνυν τὴν ὀβολοστατῶν καὶ τοκογλύφων εὐπορον ἀπορίαν ἐν λόγῳ θετέον τῶν πολυχρύσων δοκούντων εἶναι βασιλέων οὐδ' ὄναρ ἐωρακόντων

^a Philo may have extracted an injunction to give in preference to lending even without interest from Lev. xxv. 35, 212

ON THE VIRTUES, 83-85

are from cattle. And he bids them not take this as 83
a ground for holding back or showing unwillingness
to contribute, but without restriction of hand and
heart to give free gifts to those who need, reflecting
that a free gift is in a sense a loan that will be repaid
by the recipient, when times are better, without
compulsion and with a willing heart.^a This is the
best course, but, if they are unwilling to give, they
should at least lend with all readiness and alacrity,
not with the prospect of receiving back anything
except the principal. For in this way the poor would 84
not become more helpless, by being forced to pay
more than they received, and the contributors would
not be wronged though they recovered only what
they spent. Yet not "only." For with the capital
in place of the interest which they determine not to
accept they receive a further bonus of the fairest and
most precious things that human life has to give,
mercy, neighbourliness, charity, magnanimity, a good
report and good fame. And what acquisition can rival
these? Nay, even the Great King will appear as the 85
poorest of men if compared with a single virtue. For
his wealth is soulless, buried deep in store-houses and
recesses of the earth, but the wealth of virtue lies
in the sovereign part of the soul, and the purest part
of existence, that is heaven, and God the parent of
all claim it as their own. And can we then hold the
poverty-in-wealth of the money-grubbing usurers to
be of any account? They may seem to be kings
with purses full of gold, but they never even in their
dreams have had a glimpse of the wealth that has

where "thou shalt help" thy poor brother precedes the
prohibition of interest, or Deut. xv. 10 "thou shalt surely
give to him and thou shalt lend."

- 86 τὸν βλέποντα πλοῦτον; εἰσὶ δ' οἱ τοσ-
 αὔτῃ κέχρηται μοχθηρίας ὑπερβολῇ, ὥστε οὐκ
 ἔχοντες ἀργύριον τροφὰς δανείζουσιν ὡς πλείους
 ὧν ἔδοσαν αὐθις κομιζόμενοι. ταχύ γ' ἂν οὗτοι
 μεταιτοῦσιν ἔρανον παράσχοιεν λιμὸν ἐν εὐθηνίᾳ
 καὶ εὐετηρίᾳ κατασκευάζοντες καὶ τὴν ἀθλίων
 ἀνθρώπων γαστρὸς ἔνδειαν προσοδεύόμενοι καὶ
 μόνον οὐκ ἐπὶ τρυτάνης ἰστάντες σιτία καὶ ποτά,
 87 μὴ καθέλκη ῥοπή. τοῖς οὖν μεθέξουσιν τῆς καθ'
 αὐτὸν ἱερᾶς πολιτείας ἀναγκαίως παραγγέλλει τὰς
 ἰδέας τῶν τοιούτων πόρων ἐκτρέπεσθαι. δουλο-
 πρεποῦς γὰρ καὶ σφόδρα ἀνελευθέρου ψυχῆς τὰ
 ἐπιτηδεύματα μεταβεβληκυίας εἰς ἀγριότητα καὶ
 θηρίων φύσιν.
- 88 XV. Ἐν τι τῶν εἰς φιланθρωπίαν τεινόντων
 παράγγελμα κάκεῖνο διατάττεται, μισθὸν πένητος
 αὐθημερὸν ἀποδιδόναι, οὐ μόνον ὅτι τὴν χρεῖαν ἐφ'
 ἣν παρελήφθη παρασχόντα δίκαιον ἦν τὸν ἐπὶ τῇ
 ὑπηρεσίᾳ μισθὸν ἀνυπερθέτως ἀπολαβεῖν, ἀλλ' ὅτι

^a The translation takes τῶν πολυχρύσων . . . βασιλέων in apposition with ὀβολοστατῶν καὶ τοκογλύφων. So also Mangey. Cohn, on the other hand, takes them as dependent on ἐν λόγῳ, and understands the passage "we must regard the usurers as on a par with the kings (such as the Great King), who are no real kings." But this ignores the ironical use of the interrogation *ἔτι τοίνυν* as a triumphant way of stating that something can no longer be held, *e.g.* § 141, and which Cohn himself seems to have recognized by printing the sentence as a question. For the absolute use of ἐν λόγῳ *cf.* οὗτ' ἐν λόγῳ, *De Praem.* 111. A slightly different way of taking the passage would be to treat τῶν . . . βασιλέων as genitive absolute, "can the usurers be of any account, when the richest kings are shown to have no true wealth?"

^b This censure is based on Lev. xxv. 37 "nor give (A.V. lend) him thy victuals for increase." LXX ἐπὶ πλεονασμῷ.

ON THE VIRTUES, 86-88

eyes to see.^a But there are some who 86
 have reached such a pitch of depravity that, when
 they have no money, they supply food on loan on
 condition that they receive in return a greater
 quantity than they gave.^b It would be long before ^c
 these people would give a free meal to beggars if they
 create famine when they have plenty and abundance
 and draw a revenue out of the wretches' empty
 stomachs and as good as measure out food and drink
 on a balance to make sure that they do not overweight
 the scale. So then he absolutely commands those 87
 who shall be members of his holy commonwealth to
 discard such methods of profit-making, for these
 practices show the marks of a slavish and utterly
 illiberal soul transformed into savagery and the
 nature of wild beasts.

XV. The following also is one of the command- 88
 ments promoting humanity.^d The wages of the poor
 man are to be paid on the same day, not only because
 it was felt to be just that one who has rendered the
 service for which he was engaged should receive in
 full and without delay the reward for his employment,

^c Or as we might say colloquially "you won't catch these people giving away to beggars." Cohn, who translates *ταχύ γ'* by "vielleicht," and supposes the words to mean "perhaps they would give to beggars so as to get profit from them," misses the meaning of *ταχύ γ'*. It is here used like *σπουδῇ γε* in an ironical way, which, though ignored by L. & S., is well illustrated in Stephanus, who gives several references to the orators, *e.g.* *Dem.* 798. 20 *ὅς γάρ οἱς ὁ δῆμος ἅπας . . . νοουθετεῖ μηδεπώποθ' ὑπεῖξε . . . ταχύ γ' ἂν φροντίσειε τοῦ παρ' ἐνὸς λόγου.*

^d Lev. xix. 13, Deut. xxiv. 14, 15, *cf. Spec. Leg.* iv. 195. Philo considers that this and other repetitions are covered by the defence given in *ibid.* 204, and it is true that in his earlier notice of the law he did not dwell on the effect on the worker.

καί, ὡς εἰπὸν τινες, ἐφήμερόβιος¹ ὢν ὁ χειροτέχνης ἢ ἀχθοφόρος, ὅλῳ τῷ σώματι κακοπαθῶν ὑποζυγίου τρόπον, ἐπὶ τῷ μισθῷ τέθεται τὴν ἐλπίδα· ὃν εἰ μὲν εὐθὺς κομίσαιτο, γήθει καὶ ῥώννυται πρὸς τὴν ἐπιούσαν προθυμία διπλασίονι ἐργασόμενος, εἰ δὲ μὴ κομίσαιτο, πρὸς τῷ σφόδρα ἀχθεσθαι καὶ τοὺς τόνους ὑπὸ λύπης ἐκλυθεῖς ἀναπέπτωκεν, ὡς

[390] ἀδυνατεῖν πρὸς τὰ ἐν ἔθει τῶν ἔργων ἀπαντᾶν.
89 XVI. | "Ἐτι φησί· δανειστῆς μὴ ἐπεισίτω χρεω-
στῶν οἰκίαις ἐνέχυρόν τι καὶ ῥύσιον ἐπὶ τῷ δανείῳ
μετὰ βίας ληψόμενος, ἀλλ' ἐν προθύροις ἔξω
παρεστῶς ἀναμενέτω κελεύων ἡσυχῇ προφέρειν.
οἱ δέ, ἂν ἔχωσι, μὴ ἀναδυσέσθωσαν, εἴ γε ἀρμόττει
τὸν μὲν μὴ τῷ δύνασθαι καταχρῆσθαι πρὸς τὸ
αὐθαδέστερον ἐφ' ὕβρει τῶν δανεισαμένων, τοὺς
δὲ πρὸς ὑπόμνησιν τῆς τῶν ἀλλοτρίων ἀποδόσεως
ἄξια παρέχειν ἐνέχυρα.

90 XVII. Τίς γε μὴν οὐκ ἂν ἀγάσαιτο τοῦ περὶ τοὺς
θεριστὰς ἢ τρυγητὰς διατάγματος; κελεύει γὰρ
ἐν μὲν τῷ ἀμῆτῳ μήτε τὰ ἀποπίπτοντα τῶν δραγ-
μάτων ἀναιρεῖσθαι μήτε πάντα τὸν σπόρον κείρειν,
ἀλλ' ὑπολείπεσθαι τι τοῦ κλήρου μέρος ἄτμητον,
ἅμα μὲν τοὺς εὐπόρους μεγαλόφρονas καὶ κοινωνι-
κοὺς κατασκευάζων ἐκ τοῦ τι προϊέναι τῶν ἰδίων
καὶ μὴ πᾶσι προσκεχηνέναι καὶ πάντα σύμφορεῖν
καὶ συγκομίζειν οἴκαδε θησαυροφυλακήσοντας, ἅμα

¹ So S. Other mss. ἐφήμερος. See note a.

" Or "as some persons (*i.e.* writers) have said." The singular ὡς εἰπέ τις generally, if not always, in Philo indicates a quotation. Mangey "ut quidem docent," referring it apparently to the view that a manual worker is like a beast of burden. If ἐφήμερος is read instead of the otherwise un-

ON THE VIRTUES, 88-90

but also because the manual worker or load carrier, who toils painfully with his whole body like a beast of burden, "lives from day to day," as the phrase goes,^a and his hopes rest upon his payment. If he gets it at once, he is glad and is braced up for the morrow to work with redoubled willingness. If he does not get it, besides the great trouble that this gives him, his nervous system is unstrung by his sorrow and renders him incapable to meet the routine of his task.

XVI. Again, he says, a creditor must not enter the 89
houses of his debtors, to take with violence a pledge or surety for the loan, but must stand outside in the porch and quietly bid them bring it out.^b They, if they have it, must not hold it back, since the right course is that, while the creditor must not abuse his power to deal inconsiderately and insolently with the borrowers, the latter must render the proper surety as a reminder to repay what belongs to another.

XVII. Again who could fail to admire the ordin- 90
ance about reapers or grape-pickers? ^c He bids them at harvest time not take up what drops from the sheaves, nor put in the sickle to the whole crop, but leave part of the field uncut. In this way he makes the well-to-do high-minded and liberal by sacrificing something of their own property instead of casting greedy eyes on the whole crop, and stacking and carting it all home to be kept like a treasure. At

known ἐφημερόβιος, I should suspect a play on the poetic use of the word (e.g. Aesch. *Prom.* 83) for mankind in general as "creatures of a day." The manual worker is "for a day" in the literal sense.

^b Deut. xxiv. 10, 11.

^c Lev. xix. 9, xxiii. 22. E.V. "Thou shalt not reap the corners of the field." LXX "Ye shall not complete the reaping."

- δὲ τοὺς πένητας εὐθυμοτέρους ἀπεργαζόμενος· ἐπειδὴ γὰρ κτημάτων ἰδίων ἀποροῦσιν, ἐφήσιν αὐτοῖς εἰς τὰ τῶν ὁμοφύλων εἰσιέναι καὶ τῶν
- 91 ὑπολειφθέντων ὡς οἰκεῖν ἀμᾶν. ἐν δὲ καιρῷ τῆς ὀπώρας πάλιν δρεπομένοις κληρούχοις προστάττει μήτε ῥώγας ἀποπιπτούσας συλλέγειν μήτε ἐπανατρυγᾶν ἀμπελῶνας. τὰ δ' αὐτὰ καὶ τοῖς ἐλαιο-
 λογοῦσι διατάττεται, καθάπερ φιλοστοργότατος καὶ δικαιοτάτος πατήρ οὐχὶ ταῖς αὐταῖς εὐπραγίαις κεχρημένων παιδῶν, ἀλλὰ τῶν μὲν ἐν περιουσίᾳ ζώντων, τῶν δ' εἰς ἀπορίαν ἐσχάτην περιηκόντων, οὓς ἐλεῶν καὶ οἰκτεῖρων ἐπὶ τὰ κτήματα τῶν ἀδελφῶν καλεῖ μεθέξοντας ὡς ἰδίων τῶν ἀλλοτρίων, οὐκ ἀναισχύντως ἀλλ' εἰς ἐπανόρθωσιν ἐνδείας, καὶ οὐ μόνον καρποῦ μετουσίας ἀλλὰ καὶ κτημάτων
- 92 ὅσα τῷ δοκεῖν. εἰσὶ δ' οἱ οὕτως ῥυπῶσι τὰς διανοίας προστετηκότες ἀργυρισμῷ καὶ δυσθανα-
 τῶντες περὶ πᾶσαν ἰδέαν κέρδους, τὸ πόθεν ἂν γένοιτο μὴ σκεπτόμενοι, ὥστε ἐπανατρυγῶσι μὲν τοὺς ἀμπελῶνας καὶ ἐλαιῶνας, τὴν δὲ κριθοφόρον καὶ σιτοφόρον γῆν ἀναθερίζουσι, τὴν δουλοπρεπῇ καὶ ἀνελεύθερον μικροψυχίαν αὐτῶν ἐλέγχοντες καὶ
- 93 ἅμα ἀσεβοῦντες. ὀλίγα μὲν γὰρ αὐτοῖ τῶν εἰς γεωργίαν παρέσχον, τὰ δὲ πλεῖστα καὶ ἀναγκαϊό-
 τατα τῶν εἰς καρποφορίαν καὶ εὐγονίαν ἢ φύσις, καιρίους ὑετοὺς, ἀέρος εὐκρασίας, τὰς τιθηνοὺς

^a Lev. xix. 10 (cf. Deut. xxiv. 21) "Thou shalt not glean thy vineyard, neither shalt thou gather the fallen fruit of thy vineyard." The LXX for "fallen fruit" has ῥώγας, which in itself only means "grapes" or "berries." Philo explains it by adding ἀποπιπτούσας. Josephus, *Ant.* iv. 231 gives for it τὰς ἐπιφυλλίδας (small grapes?).

ON THE VIRTUES, 90-93

the same time he gives fresh courage to the poor, for since they themselves own no landed property he permits them to enter the estates of their fellow-countrymen and reap a harvest from what is still left as if it were their own. Again in the autumn when the 91 owners have the fruit picked he forbids them to collect the grapes that fall or to glean the vineyards.^a He gives the same order to the olive pickers,^b acting like a very loving and very just father of children who have not prospered alike, some of them living in abundance, others sunk into the deepest poverty. These last in his pity and compassion he invites into the possession of their brethren to partake of what belongs to others as though it were their own, not in any shameless fashion, but to redress their privations and to make them partners, not only in the fruits but to all appearance in the estates also. But there are 92 some so corrupted in mind, so engrossed in money-getting and every kind of profiteering as though it were a matter of life and death,^c never considering what its source can be, that they glean the olive-yards and vineyards and give a second reaping to the barley fields and wheat fields, thus convicting themselves of a slavish and illiberal meanness and of impiety to boot. For they themselves have contributed but 93 little to the husbandry. The most numerous and most indispensable parts of all that goes to produce fruit-bearing and fertility are due to nature—the seasonable rains, the happily tempered states of

^b Deut. xxiv. 20.

^c Or perhaps "wearing themselves out to death." Philo has used this word which in other writers seems to mean "struggle against death" of the craze for the theatre, *Mos.* ii. 211, and the despair of the Israelites pursued by Pharaoh, *ibid.* 250.

τῶν φυομένων συνεχεῖς καὶ μαλακὰς δρόσους, ζωτικωτάτας αὔρας, ὥρων τῶν ἐτησίων ἀζημίους
 [391] γενέσεις, ὡς | μήτε θέρος περιφλέγοι μήτε κρυμὸς περιψύχοι μήτ' ἔαρος καὶ μετοπώρου τροπαὶ
 94 βλάπτοιεν τὰ γεννώμενα. καὶ ταῦτ' εἰδότες καὶ ὁρῶντες ἀεὶ τὴν φύσιν τελεσιουργοῦσαν καὶ πλουσίοις χάρισι δωρουμένην ὁμῶς τὰς ἐκείνης εὐεργεσίας σφετερίζεσθαι τολμῶσι καὶ ὡς αὐτοὶ πάντων αἴτιοι μεταδιδόασιν οὐδενὸς οὐδενί, μισανθρωπίαν ὁμοῦ καὶ ἀσέβειαν ἀσκοῦντες. οὓς, ἐπειδὴ γνώμας ἐκουσίοις ἀρετὴν οὐ διεπόνησαν, ἄκοντας νουθετεῖ καὶ σωφρονίζει νόμοις ἱεροῖς, οἷς ὁ μὲν σπουδαῖος ἐθελοντής, ὁ δὲ μοχθηρὸς ἄκων πειθαρχεῖ.

95 XVIII. Κελεύουσιν οἱ νόμοι δεκάτας μὲν ἀπὸ τε σίτου καὶ οἴνου καὶ ἐλαίου καὶ θρεμμάτων ἡμέρων καὶ ἐρίων ἀπάρχεσθαι τοῖς ἱερωμένοις, ἀπὸ δὲ τῆς κατ' ἀγροὺς ὁπώρας καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἀκροδρύων κατὰ τὸ ἀνάλογον τῆς κτήσεως ἐν ταλάροις πλήρεσι κομίζειν σὺν ὥδαῖς εἰς τὸν θεὸν πεποιημέναις, ἃς ἀναγράφτους στηλιτεύουσιν αἱ ἱερώταται βίβλοι, καὶ προσέτι βοῶν καὶ προβάτων καὶ αἰγῶν τὰ πρωτότοκα μὴ ὥσπερ ἴδια κατατάττειν ἐν ταῖς ἀγέλαις, ἀλλὰ καὶ ταῦτα νομίζειν ἀπαρχάς, ὅπως ἐξεθιζόμενοι τῇ μὲν τιμᾷ τὸ θεῖον τῇ δὲ μὴ πάντα κερδαίνειν εὐσεβείᾳ καὶ φιλανθρωπία ταῖς ἀρετῶν ἡγεμονίᾳ ἐπικοσμῶνται.

^a The law of first fruits has been given in full in *Spec. Leg.* i. 132 ff. Philo's motive in bringing it in here is that it
 220

ON THE VIRTUES, 93-95

the air, the gentle dews, those constant nurses of the growing plants, the truly life-giving breezes, the seasons benignly brought about so that neither the summer should over-scorch, nor frost over-chill, nor the transitions of spring and autumn injure the produce. And though they know these things and see 94 that it is nature who ever brings the accomplishment and bestows these rich boons upon them, they nevertheless dare to appropriate her benefactions, and, as though they themselves caused everything, refuse to share anything with anybody. Their practice shows inhumanity and impiety as well, and, since they have not of their own free will laboured to get virtue, he deals with them against their will admonishing and calling them to wisdom with holy laws which the good obey voluntarily and the bad unwillingly.

XVIII. The laws bid us give as first fruits to the 95 officiating priests tithes of corn^a and wine and oil and domestic animals and wool and bring from the autumn produce of the fields and the other tree fruits offerings proportional to their gains in full baskets with hymns composed in honour of God. These hymns are preserved in written records in the sacred books.^b Further the first-born of oxen and sheep and goats are not to be ranked among the herds as personal property, but they are to be regarded as first fruits, that thus accustomed on the one hand to honour the Godhead, and on the other to refrain from taking all things as gain, they may have the ornament of those queens of the virtues, piety and humanity.

inculcates *φιλανθρωπία*, whereas there he was enumerating the privileges of the priests. See also *Spec. Leg.* iv. 99, where it is treated as a lesson in self-denial.

^b Deut. xxvi. 1-11. Cf. *Spec. Leg.* ii. 215-220.

- 96 Πάλιν ἐὰν ἴδῃς, φησί, τινὸς τῶν οἰκείων ἢ φίλων ἢ συνόλως ὧν οἶδας ἀνθρώπων ὑποζύγιον ἐν ἐρημίᾳ πλανώμενον, ἀπαγαγὼν ἀπόδος· καὶ ἄρα τύχῃ μακρὰν ἀφεστὼς ὁ δεσπότης, μετὰ τῶν σαυτοῦ διαφύλαξον, ἄχρις ἂν ἐπανελθὼν κομίσηται παρακαταθήκην ἣν οὐκ ἔδωκεν, ἀλλ' ἦν αὐτὸς ἐξευρὼν ἔνεκα φυσικῆς κοινωνίας ἀποδίδως.
- 97 XIX. Τὰ δὲ περὶ τοῦ ἐβδόμου ἔτους νομοθετηθέντα, καθ' ὃ δεῖ τὴν μὲν χώραν ἀνίσθαι πᾶσαν ἀργὴν ἀφιεμένην, τοὺς δὲ πένητας ἀδεῶς τοῖς τῶν πλουσίων χωρίοις ἐπιβατεύειν δρεψομένους τὸν ἀπαυτοματισθέντα καρπὸν, δώρημα φύσεως, ἃρ' οὐ χρηστὰ καὶ φιλόανθρωπα; ἐξαετίαν, φησὶν, ἀπολαύετωσαν οἱ κτήτορες ἀνθ' ὧν ἐκτήσαντο καὶ ἐγεωπόνησαν, ἕνα δὲ ἐνιαυτὸν ἐβδομον οἱ ἀκτήμονες καὶ ἀχρήματοι, μηδενὸς τῶν κατὰ γεωργίαν ἐπιτελεσθέντος· ἄδικον γὰρ ἦν, ἑτέρους μὲν πονεῖν, ἑτέρους δὲ καρποῦσθαι· ἀλλ' ἵνα τρόπον τινὰ τῶν χωρίων ἀδεσπότην ἐαθέντων, μὴ συνεφαψαμένης γεωργίας, ἄρτιαι καὶ πλήρεις αἱ χάριτες ἐκ θεοῦ μόνου γίνωνται προαπαντῶσαι¹ τοῖς δεομένοις.
- 99 τί δ' ὅσα | περὶ τοῦ πεντηκοστοῦ
[392] ἐνιαυτοῦ διατέτακται, οὐχὶ πᾶσαν ὑπερβάλλει φιланθρωπίαν; καὶ τίς οὐκ ἂν εἴποι τῶν μὴ

¹ MSS. προσαπαντῶσαι.

^a Deut. xxii. 1. LXX "When thou seest the calf of thy brother or his sheep wandering in the way, do not overlook them; thou shalt surely turn them back to thy brother and restore them."

^b Ibid. xxii. 2 "And if thy brother do not come nigh to thee and thou dost not know him, thou shalt bring it to thy
222

ON THE VIRTUES, 96-99

Again he says, if you see a beast belonging to one 96 of your relations or friends, or in general to a person you know, straying in the wilderness, take it away and restore it^a; and if the owner is away at a distance, keep it carefully with your own, until on his return he can receive it as a deposit which he did not give, but which you, the finder, yourself restore through natural neighbourly feeling.^b

XIX. Then there is the legislation on the seventh 97 year, which enacts that all the land should be left during that year to stand idle, and that the poor may resort securely to the estates of the rich to gather the gift of nature, the fruit which springs without cultivation.^c Does not this show charity and humanity? For six years, says the law, the owners should have 98 the enjoyment in virtue of their ownership and labour on the land. But during one year, the seventh, when nothing in the way of cultivation has been performed, that enjoyment goes to those who have no landed possessions nor money. For it was felt to be unjust that some persons should labour and others have the produce. What is intended is that since the estates have been left, in a sense, without masters, and husbandry has had no hand in the work, the free gifts which come from God alone should come full and complete anticipating the wants of the needy. Again, in all the rules prescribed for the fiftieth year, 99 do we not find the utmost height of humanity? Who

house, and they shall be with thee until thy brother seek for them and thou shalt restore them to him."

^c Ex. xxiii. 10, 11, Lev. xxv. 3 ff. The subject has been treated very fully in *Spec. Leg.* ii. 86-109, and the last six of these sections dwell on the same aspect of the law, on which he insists here. We can here find less excuse than usual for the repetition.

- χείλεσιν ἄκροις ἀπογευσασμένων τῆς νομοθεσίας, ἄλλ' ἐπὶ πλέον ἐστιαθέντων καὶ ἐντρυφησάντων
- 100 ἡδίστοις ἅμα καὶ καλλίστοις δόγμασιν; ἐπιτελείται μὲν γὰρ αὖ καὶ τῷ ἐβδόμῳ, προσείληφε δὲ ἔτι μείζονα, ἀνάληψιν τῶν ἰδίων κτημάτων, αὖ διὰ καιροὺς ἀβουλήτους παρεχώρησαν ἑτέροις· οὔτε γὰρ παγκτησίαν ἔχειν τῶν ἀλλοτρίων ἐφήσι, τὰς εἰς πλεονεξίαν ἐπιφράττων ὁδοὺς ἕνεκα τοῦ στείλαι τὴν ἐπίβουλον καὶ πάντων κακῶν αἰτίαν ἐπιθυμίαν, οὔτε τοὺς κληρούχους εἰς ἅπαν ὥγήθη χρῆναι τῶν οἰκείων ἀποστερεῖσθαι, πενίας¹ διδόντας δίκας, ἣν κολάζεσθαι μὲν οὐ θέμις, ἐλεεῖσθαι δὲ ἀναγκαῖον.
- 101 ἔστι δὲ καὶ ἄλλα μυρία τῶν ἐν μέρει διατεταγμένων πρὸς τοὺς ὁμοεθνεῖς χρηστὰ καὶ φιλάνθρωπα, ὧν ἀποχρώντως ἐν ταῖς προτέραις συντάξεσιν ἐπιμνησθεῖς ἀρκεσθήσομαι τοῖς ἀρτίως εἰρημένοις, αὖ δείγματος ἕνεκα καιρίως προσπαρέλαβον.
- 102 XX. Νομοθετήσας δὲ περὶ τῶν ὁμοεθνῶν καὶ τοὺς ἐπηλύτας οἶεται δεῖν προνομίας τῆς πάσης ἀξιοῦσθαι, γενεὰν μὲν τὴν ἀφ' αἵματος καὶ πατρίδα καὶ ἔθνη καὶ ἱερὰ καὶ ἀφιδρύματα θεῶν γέρα τε καὶ τιμὰς ἀπολελοιπότας, καλὴν δ' ἀποικίαν στείλαμένους τὴν ἀπὸ τῶν μυθικῶν πλασμάτων πρὸς τὴν ἀληθείας ἐνάργειαν καὶ τὸν σεβασμὸν τοῦ ἑνὸς
- 103 καὶ ὄντως ὄντος θεοῦ. κελεύει δὴ τοῖς ἀπὸ τοῦ ἔθνους ἀγαπᾶν τοὺς ἐπηλύτας, μὴ μόνον ὡς φίλους

¹ So Mangey for mss. πενία. This, though retained by Cohn, is hardly compatible with οὐ θέμις κολάζεσθαι. The punishment cannot be punished. The poverty here spoken of is not that to come if their property is not restored, but that which they have undergone. Cohn while printing πενία would like to add μακρᾶ from the paraphrase of Clement, which I think he misunderstands. See App. p. 445.

ON THE VIRTUES, 99-103

would not agree to this, if he belongs to the company which has not just tasted and sipped the contents of the law, but has feasted abundantly and revelled in its most sweet and lovely principles? The measures 100 taken in the seventh year are repeated, but he adds others even greater, by which possessions ceded to others through untoward circumstances are returned to the original owners.^a He does not allow the purchasers to have absolute possession of what belongs to others, thus barring the roads to covetousness, in order to curb that insidious foe and source of all evils, desire. And also he did not think it right that the original holders should be deprived of their own for ever, and so pay a penalty for their poverty, which cannot justly be visited with punishment, but must on every ground receive compassion. The particular 101 enactments include a host of others bearing on conduct to fellow-countrymen, but as I have sufficiently noted them in my former treatises, I will content myself with those just mentioned, which I have added as examples suitable to prove my point.

XX. Having laid down laws for members of the 102 same nation, he holds that the incomers too should be accorded every favour and consideration as their due, because abandoning their kinsfolk by blood, their country, their customs and the temples and images of their gods, and the tributes and honours paid to them, they have taken the journey to a better home, from idle fables to the clear vision of truth and the worship of the one and truly existing God. ^b He 103 commands all members of the nation to love the incomers, not only as friends and kinsfolk but as them-

^a Lev. xxv. 8 ff. Cf. *Spec. Leg.* ii. 111 ff.

^b See *Spec. Leg.* iv. 178.

καὶ συγγενεῖς ἀλλὰ καὶ ὡς ἑαυτοὺς, κατὰ τε σῶμα καὶ ψυχὴν, <κατὰ μὲν σῶμα> ὡς οἶόν τε κοινοπραγοῦντας, κατὰ δὲ τὴν διάνοιαν τὰ αὐτὰ λυπομένους τε καὶ χαίροντας, ὡς ἐν διαιρετοῖς μέρεσιν ἐν εἶναι ζῶον δοκεῖν, ἀρμοζομένης καὶ συμφυεῖς¹

104 ἀπεργαζομένης τῆς κατ' αὐτὸ κοινωνίας. οὐκέτ' ἂν εἴποιμι περὶ σιτίων καὶ ποτῶν καὶ ἐσθῆτος καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ὅσα περὶ δίαιταν καὶ τὰς ἀναγκαίας χρείας, ἃ τοῖς ἐπηλύτοις δίδωσιν ὁ νόμος παρὰ τῶν αὐτοχθόνων· ἔπεται γὰρ ταῦτα πάντα θεσμοῖς τοῖς τῆς εὐνοίας τοῦ στέργοντος ὁμοίως [ἀγαπῶντος] τὸν ἐπήλυτον ὡς ἑαυτόν.

- 105 XXI. "Ἐτι τοίνυν ἐπιτείνων καὶ ἐπελαύνων ὁλκὸν φύσει πρᾶγμα, φιλανθρωπίαν, διατάττεται καὶ περὶ μετοίκων, ἀξίων τοὺς μετανάστας ἐν καιροῖς γενομένους ἀπονέμειν τινὰ τοῖς ὑποδεξαμένοις τιμὴν, εὖ μὲν πεποιηκόσι καὶ φιλοξένως προσενεχθεῖσι
- [393] πᾶσαν, | εἰ δὲ μηδὲν ἔξω τῆς ὑποδοχῆς παράσχοιεν, μετριωτέραν· τὸ γὰρ ἐνορμίσασθαι πόλει μηδὲν προσηκούση, μᾶλλον δὲ καὶ τὸ ἐπιβῆναι ἐδάφους αὐτὸ μόνον ἀλλοτρίου καθ' αὐτὸ δωρεὰ τίς ἐστιν

¹ Perhaps read *συμφυεῖς*. See note b.

^a Lev. xix. 33, 34. LXX "The stranger (*προσέλυτος*) that comes to you shall be as the native (*αὐτόχθων*) among you, and thou shalt love him as thyself, because you were strangers (*προσέλυτοι*) in the land of Egypt." Philo ignores the obvious fact that the last clause shows that proselytes in his sense are not intended. Cf. Deut. x. 19.

^b The translation accepts the mss. *συμφυεῖς*, but I should prefer to read *συμφυεῖς*, "united in a common nature." It is they, not the ζῶον, which are rendered *συμφυεῖς* by the fellowship.

ON THE VIRTUES, 103-105

selves both in body and soul^a : in bodily matters, by acting as far as may be for their common interest ; in mental by having the same griefs and joys, so that they may seem to be the separate parts of a single living being which is compacted and unified by their fellowship in it.^b I will not go on to speak of the food 104 and drink and raiment and all the rights concerning daily life and necessary needs, which the law assigns to incomers as due from the native born, for all these follow the statutes, which speak of the friendliness shown by him who loves the incomer even as himself.^c

XXI. Again he extends the influence which 105 humanity naturally exerts and carries it farther afield in his instructions about settlers.^d He would have those who have immigrated under stress of circumstances, pay some honour to the people which has accepted them, in every possible way if the admission is accompanied by kind and hospitable treatment, in a more moderate degree if it is confined to mere acceptance. For the grant of a harbour in an alien state, or rather the mere permission to set foot on foreign soil is in itself a sufficient boon for

^c Philo may be alluding to the laws which give the stranger (1) enjoyment of the sabbath (fourth commandment), (2) right to eat the passover if circumcised (Ex. xii. 48), (3) share in the cities of refuge (Num. xxxv. 15), (4) in offering sacrifices (Num. xv. 14-16). They are included in the covenant (Deut. xxix. 11), in reading the law (Deut. xxxi. 12), in the gleaning left to the poor (Lev. xix. 10), and the "meat" provided by the sabbatical year (Lev. xxv. 6).

^d Philo here distinguishes between the "incomers" or "proselytes," and the *μέτοικοι*, who are not at any rate in the first instance co-religionists. Apparently this is based on the different tone in Deut. xxiii., from which he quotes lower down, excluding some races from the congregation altogether and admitting others only in a later generation.

- 106 ἀποchrῶσα τοῖς μὴ δυναμένοις τὴν ἰδίαν οἰκεῖν. ὁ δέ γε προσυπερβάλλων τοὺς ἐπιεικειάς ὄρους αὐτῆς οἶται δεῖν καὶ τοῖς κακῶς πεποηκόσι τῶν ξενοδόχων μὴ μνησικακεῖν, εἰ καὶ μὴ τὰς πράξεις, ὄνομα γοῦν ἔχουσι φιλάνθρωπον. ἄντικρυς γοῦν φησιν· “οὐ βδελύξῃ Αἰγύπτιον, ὅτι πάροικος
- 107 ἐγένου κατ’ Αἴγυπτον.” καίτοι τί κακὸν παρέλιπον οἱ Αἰγύπτιοι, ὃ μὴ τῷ ἔθνει προσετρίψαντο, νέα παλαιοῖς συνυφαίνοντες αἰεὶ κεκαινουργημέναις ἐπινοίαις εἰς ὠμότητα; ἀλλ’ ὅμως ἐπειδὴ τὴν ἀρχὴν ἐδέξαντο τὰς πόλεις οὐκ ἀποκλείσαντες οὐδὲ τὴν χώραν ἄβατον τοῖς ἤκουσι παρασκευάσαντες, ἐχέτωσαν προνομίαν, φησί, τῆς ὑποδοχῆς τὸ ἔνσπονδον·
- 108 καὶ εἴ τις ἐθελήσειαν αὐτῶν μεταλλάξασθαι πρὸς τὴν Ἰουδαίων πολιτείαν, οὐχ ὡς ἐχθρῶν παῖδας ἀσυμβάτως σκορακιστέον, ἀλλ’ οὕτως προσεκτέον, ὡς τρίτην γενεὰν καλεῖν τε εἰς ἐκκλησίαν καὶ μεταδιδόναι λόγων θείων, οἷς θέμις καὶ τοὺς αὐτόχθονας καὶ εὐπατρίδας ἱεροφαντεῖσθαι.
- 109 XXII. Ταῦτα μὲν ὑπὲρ τῶν ὑποδεξαμένων [πρὸς] τοὺς μετοίκους νομοθετεῖ· χρηστὰ δ’ ἕτερα καὶ μεστὰ ἡμερότητος ὑπὲρ πολεμίων. ἀξιοῖ γὰρ αὐτούς, καὶ ἐπὶ θύραις ὧσιν ἤδη τοῖς τείχεσιν ἐφεστῶτες ἐν ταῖς πανοπλίαις καὶ τὰς ἐλεπόλεις ἐφιστάντες, μήπω νομίζεσθαι πολεμίους, ἄχρις ἂν αὐτοὺς ἐπικηρυκευσάμενοι προκαλέσωνται πρὸς εἰρήνην, ἢν’ εἰ μὲν ἐνδοῖεν, τὸ μέγιστον ἀγαθὸν εὐροῖεν, φιλίαν, εἰ δὲ ἀπειθέστερον ἐναντιοῖντο, συμμαχίαν τὴν τοῦ δικαίου προσειληφότες ἐλπίδι

^a Deut. xxiii. 7.

^b Deut. xx. 10 ff. This section merely repeats what has been said in *Spec. Leg.* iv. 219-222.

ON THE VIRTUES, 106-109

those who are unable to dwell in their own. Mere 106
fairness itself demands thus much, but he goes beyond
its limits, when he considers that no malice should
be borne to those whose hospitality to strangers is
followed by maltreatment, for nominally they are
humane though their actions are not. Thus he says
without reservation, "Thou shalt not abhor an
Egyptian because thou wast a sojourner in Egypt"^a;
and yet what maltreatment did the Egyptians spare 107
to inflict on the nation, ever combining old and new
outrages in their ingenious devices for wreaking their
cruelty? Still since originally they received the
nation and did not close their cities against them, nor
make their country inaccessible to the newcomers,
they should, he says, in recognition of this acceptance
be admitted as a privilege to terms of amity. And 108
if any of them should wish to pass over into the Jewish
community, they must not be spurned with an un-
conditional refusal as children of enemies, but be so
far favoured that the third generation is invited to
the congregation and made partakers in the divine
revelations, to which also the native born, whose
lineage is beyond reproach, are rightfully admitted.

XXII. These are the laws which he lays down on 109
the conduct to be observed in accepting settlers, but
there are other charitable and very merciful regula-
tions as to the treatment of enemies in wartime.^b
They must not he declares be yet regarded as enemies,
even if they are at the gates or stationed beside the
walls in full array and planting their engines, until
envoys have been sent with invitations to peace, so
that if they yield they may obtain the supreme boon
of friendship, but if they refuse to listen and continue
their opposition, you may with justice to reinforce

- 110 νίκης ἐπίωσι πρὸς ἄμυναν. ἦν μέντοι καὶ ἐκ προνομῆς εὐμόρφου γυναικὸς εἰς ἐπιθυμίαν ἔλθης, μὴ ὡς αἰχμαλώτῳ, φησὶν, ἐναπερύγῃς τὸ πάθος, ἀλλ' ἡμερώτερον οἰκτισάμενος τῆς μεταβολῆς ἐπικουφισον τὴν συμφορὰν, μεθαρμοσάμενος πάντα πρὸς
- 111 τὸ βέλτιον. ἐπικουφιεῖς δὲ τὰς μὲν τῆς κεφαλῆς τρίχας ἀποκείρας, περιελὼν δὲ ὄνυχας, ἀπαμφιάσας δὲ τὴν ἐσθῆτα ἦν ἔχουσα ἐζωγρήθη, τριάκοντα δὲ ἡμέρας ἀνείς καὶ ἐπιτρέψας αὐτῇ πενθήσαι καὶ ἀποδακρῦσαι μετὰ ἀδείας πατέρα καὶ μητέρα καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους οἰκείους, ὧν ἀπεξεύχθη τεθνεώτων ἢ θανάτου χείρους ὑπομενόντων τὰς ἐν δουλείᾳ συμφοράς· μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα ὡς γαμετῇ νόμῳ συνέρχου.
- 112 [394] τὴν γὰρ μέλ|λουσαν εὐνῆς ἀνδρὸς ἐπιβήσεσθαι, μὴ κατὰ μισθαρνίαν ὡς ἐταίραν τὸ τῆς ὥρας ἄνθος καπηλεύουσιν ἀλλ' ἢ δι' ἔρωτα τοῦ συνιόντος ἢ διὰ τέκνων γένεσιν, ὅσιον θεσμῶν τῶν ἐπὶ τελείοις
- 113 γάμοις ἀξιουῖσθαι. πάννυ καλῶς διαταξάμενος ἕκαστα· πρῶτον μὲν γὰρ οὐκ εἶασεν ἀχάλινον φέρεσθαι τὴν ἐπιθυμίαν ἀπανχενίζουσαν, ἀλλ' ἐστείλατο τὸ σφοδρὸν αὐτῆς ἡμέρας τριάκοντα χαλάσας. δεῦτερον δὲ τὸν ἔρωτα βασανίζει, πότερον ἐπιμανῆς καὶ ἀψίκορος καὶ ὅλος τοῦ πάθους ἐστὶν ἢ μετέχει τῆς καθαρωτέρας ιδέας, ἀνακεκραμένου λογισμοῦ· λογισμὸς γὰρ πεδήσει τὴν ἐπιθυμίαν οὐδὲν ὑβριστικὸν ἐάσας αὐτὴν ἐξεργάσασθαι,
- 114 ἀλλὰ τὴν μηνιαίαν προθεσμίαν ἐπισχεῖν. τρίτον δὲ ἐλεεῖ τὴν αἰχμάλωτον, εἰ μὲν παρθένος ἐστίν, ὅτι γονεῖς οὐκ ἐγγυῶσι τὴν εὐκταιοτάτην ἀρμοζόμενοι σύνοδον, εἰ δὲ χήρα, διότι τοῦ κουριδίου

^a Deut. xxi. 10-13.

ON THE VIRTUES, 109-114

you advance to defend yourselves in the hope of victory. Further,^a he says, if you find among the 110 booty a comely woman for whom you feel a desire, do not treat her as a captive, and vent your passion on her, but in a gentler spirit pity her for her change of lot and alleviate her misfortunes by changing her condition for the better in every way. And you will 111 give this alleviation if you shave the hair of her head and pare her nails^b and take off the garment which she wore when captured, leave her alone for thirty days, and allow her without fear of disturbance to mourn and weep for her father and mother and the rest of her family, from whom she had been parted either through their death or because they are suffering the pains of slavery; which are worse than death. After this, live with her as your lawful wife, 112 because holiness requires that she who is to enter a husband's bed, not as a hired harlot, trafficking her youthful bloom, but either for love of her mate or for the birth of children, should be admitted to the rights of full wedlock as her due. Each of these regulations 113 is quite admirable. First he did not allow rebellious desire to go unbridled, but curbed its violence by the thirty days grant of liberty. Secondly, he tests whether the man's love is wild and giddy and wholly inspired by passion, or contains an element of reason and so has something of the purer kind. For reason will fetter desire and, instead of allowing it to commit an outrage, compel it to wait for the appointed period of a month. Thirdly, he shows pity for the captive, 114 if she is a maiden, because there are no parents to plight her and make fast the union which they have so longed to see, if she is a widow, because bereft of

^b See App. p. 446.

στερομένη πείραν ἑτέρου μελλήσει λαβεῖν, καὶ ταυτ' ἐπανατειναμένου τὸν δεσποτικὸν φόβον, κἂν ἰσότητα ἐπιτηδεύῃ· τὸ γὰρ ὑπακοῦον αἰεὶ τὴν τοῦ κρατοῦντος, κἂν ἡμερώτερον ἦ, δέδιεν ἰσχύν.

- 115 ἐὰν δέ τις τῆς ἐπιθυμίας ἀποπληρωθεὶς καὶ διακορῆς γενόμενος μηκέτι κοινωνεῖν ὁμιλίας ἀξιοὶ τῆς πρὸς τὴν αἰχμάλωτον, οὐ ζημιοὶ μάλλον αὐτὸν ἢ νουθετεῖ καὶ σωφρονίζει πρὸς βελτίωσιν ἡθῶν· κελεύει γὰρ μήτε πιπράσκειν μήτ' ἔτι δούλην ἔχειν, ἀλλὰ χαρίζεσθαι μὲν ἐλευθερίαν αὐτῇ, χαρίζεσθαι δὲ καὶ τὴν ἐκ τῆς οἰκίας ἀπαλλαγὴν ἀδεᾶ, ὥς μὴ γυναικὸς ἑτέρας ἐπεισελθούσης ἐξ ἔριδος, οἷα φιλεῖ, κατὰ ζηλοτυπίαν πάθῃ τι τῶν ἀνηκέστων, ἅμα καὶ τοῦ δεσπότου καινοτέροις φίλτροις ὑπηγμένου καὶ τῶν παλαιότερων ἀλογοῦντος.

- 116 XXIII. Ἔτερα δ' ἐφ' ἑτέροις ἐπαντλῶν ὥσὶ φιληκόοις εἰς ἡμερότητα προστάττει, κἂν ἐχθρῶν ὑποζύγια ἀχθοφοροῦντα τῷ βάρει πιεσθέντα προπέσῃ, μὴ παρελθεῖν, ἀλλὰ συνεπικουφίσαι καὶ συνεγείραι, πόρρωθεν ἀναδιδάσκων τὸ μὴ τοῖς ἀβουλήτοις τῶν ἐχθρανάντων ἐφήδεσθαι, βαρύμηνι πάθος ἐπιχαιρεκακίαν εἰδώς, ἀδελφὸν ὁμοῦ καὶ ἀντίπαλον φθόνου, συγγενὲς μὲν ὅτι ἐκ πάθους ἐκάτερον καὶ γένοιτ' ἂν ἄμφω περὶ τῶν αὐτῶν προσερχόμενα καὶ μόνον οὐ κατακολουθοῦντα ἀλλήλοις, ἀντίπαλον δὲ ὅτι ὁ μὲν ἐπὶ τοῖς τοῦ πέλας

^a Deut. xxi. 14. E.V. "Thou shalt not deal with her as a slave." LXX οὐκ ἀθετήσεις αὐτήν. See App. p. 446.

^b Ex. xxiii. 5. Cf. Deut. xxii. 4.

^c It is to be regretted that English has not a single word for this like the German "Schadenfreude."

^d Lit. "coming upon us about the same things," i.e. the

ON THE VIRTUES, 114-116

her wedded mate, she is about to make trial of another, menaced too by the dread of a master, even if he deals with her as an equal ; for the subject condition always fears the might of the superior even though it be tempered with gentleness.

And if anyone, having satisfied his desire to the full ¹¹⁵ and surfeited therewith, is no longer minded to continue his association with the captive, the law imposes what is not so much a loss of property as an admonition and correction leading him to improve his ways.^a For it bids him not sell her, nor yet keep her as a slave, but grant her freedom, and grant her, too, the right to depart in security from the house, lest if another wife comes in to supersede her, and quarrels ensue as they often do, this jealousy, with the master too under the sway of the charms of a new love and neglectful of the old, may bring her some fatal disaster.

XXIII. In another fresh list of injunctions to kind- ¹¹⁶ness, which he pours into docile ears, he commands that if beasts of burden fall under the oppression of the weight they bear, we should not pass them by, even if they belong to our enemies, but help to relieve and raise them.^b By this he implies a further lesson, that one should not take pleasure in the adversities of those who have shown him hatred. He knew that this malignant joy^c was a savagely rancorous passion, closely akin, and at the same time, opposite to envy ; akin, because each of them comes under the head of passion, and in their action upon us cover the same field,^d and are almost sure to follow each other ; opposites, because grief at our neighbours' fortunes of our neighbours. Cohn takes τῶν αὐτῶν as masculine.

PHILO

- ἀγαθοῖς λύπην, ἣ δὲ ἐπὶ τοῖς τοῦ πλησίον κακοῖς
 117 ἡδονὴν ἀπεργάζεται. καὶ πλανώμενον μέντοι,
 [395] φησὶν, ἐχθροῦ τινος | ἴδης ὑποζύγιον, τὰ τῆς δια-
 φορᾶς παραλιπὼν ὑπεκκαύματα βαρυτέροις ἡθεσιν
 ἀπαγαγὼν ἀπόδος. οὐ γὰρ ἐκείνον μᾶλλον ὀνήσεις
 ἢ σεαυτόν, ἐπειδὴ τῷ μὲν ἄλογον ζῶον καὶ οὐδενὸς
 ἴσως ἄξιον περιγίνεται, σοὶ δὲ τὸ μέγιστον καὶ
 118 τιμιώτατον τῶν ἐν τῇ φύσει, καλοκάγαθία. ἔπεται
 δὲ κατὰ τὸ ἀναγκαῖον ὥσπερ σκιά σώματι καὶ
 <ταύτῃ> τῆς ἐχθρας διάλυσις· ὃ τε γὰρ εὖ πεπονθὼς
 ἄκων ἄγεται πρὸς τὸ ἔνσπονδον χάριτι δουλωθεὶς,
 ὃ τε ὠφελικῶς συμβούλῳ χρώμενος καλῇ πράξει
 σχεδὸν ἤδη πρὸς καταλλαγὰς τὴν διάνοιαν τέτραπ-
 119 ται. τοῦτο δὲ μάλιστα βούλεται διὰ πάσης τῆς
 νομοθεσίας ὁ ἱερώτατος προφήτης κατασκευάζειν,
 ὁμόνοιαν, κοινωνίαν, ὁμοφροσύνην, κρᾶσιν ἡθῶν,
 ἐξ ὧν οἰκίαι καὶ πόλεις ἔθνη τε καὶ χῶραι καὶ τὸ
 σύμπαν ἀνθρώπων γένος εἰς τὴν ἀνωτάτῳ προέλθοιεν
 120 εὐδαιμονίαν. ἀλλ' ἄχρι μὲν τοῦ παρόντος ταῦτ'
 εἰσὶν εὐχαί· γενήσεται δέ, ὥς γε ἑμαυτὸν πείθω,
 καὶ ἔργα ἀψευδέστατα, τοῦ θεοῦ παρασχόντος
 ὥσπερ ἐτησίους καρποὺς εὐφορίαν ἀρεταῖς, ὧν
 μὴ ἀμοιρήσασιν οἱ τὸν πόθον αὐτῶν σχεδὸν ἀπὸ
 πρώτης ἡλικίας περιφέροντες.
- 121 XXIV. Ἄ μὲν οὖν ἐπ' ἐλευθέροις ἔγνω, ταῦτα
 καὶ τὰ τούτοις ἐστὶ παραπλήσια. συνωδὰ δ' ὥς
 ἔοικε καὶ περὶ δούλων νομοθετεῖ, πάλιν τῶν συντει-
 νόντων εἰς ἡμερότητα καὶ φιланθρωπίαν καὶ τούτοις

ON THE VIRTUES, 116-121

bour's good things is the effect of the one, pleasure at his evil things of the other. Again, if you see an enemy's beast straying, leave the points on which you quarrel to serve as incentives for other more vindictive dispositions, and lead the animal away and restore it.^a You will benefit yourself more than him : he gains an irrational and possibly worthless animal, you the greatest and most precious treasure in the whole world, true goodness. And this, as surely as the shadow follows the body, will be followed by a termination of the feud. He, the receiver of a benefit which he has not willed, is drawn towards amity by the kindness which holds him in bondage. You, his helper, with a good action to assist your counsels, are predisposed to thoughts of reconciliation. This is what our most holy prophet through all his regulations especially desires to create, unanimity, neighbourliness, fellowship, reciprocity of feeling, whereby houses and cities and nations and countries and the whole human race may advance to supreme happiness. Hitherto, indeed, these things live only in our prayers, but they will, I am convinced, become facts beyond all dispute, if God, even as He gives us the yearly fruits, grants that the virtues should bear abundantly. And may some share in them be given to us, who from well-nigh our earliest days have carried with us the yearning to possess them.

XXIV. These and others similar to these are his judgements as applied to the free. In the same strain, as is evident, he legislates for slaves as well, and allows them also to benefit by measures conceived in a spirit

^a Ex. xxiii. 4. Philo rightly distinguishes this law from that of Deut. xxii. 1, which is concerned with a "brother's" animal, and has been treated in § 96.

- 122 μεταδιδούς. θήτας μὲν οὖν ἔνεκα χρείας τῶν ἀναγκαίων ὑποβεβληκότας ἑαυτοὺς ἄλλων ὑπηρεσίαις οἶεται δεῖν ἀνάξιον μηδὲν ὑπομένειν τῆς ἐκ γένους ἐλευθερίας, παραινῶν τοῖς τυγχάνουσι τῆς διακονίας εἰς τὸ τῆς τύχης ἀτέκμαρτον ἀφορᾶν καὶ λαμβάνειν αἰδῶ τῆς μεταβολῆς· τοὺς δ' ἐξ ἡμερινῶν δανείων χρεώστας τὸ τῆς προσβολῆς¹ ὄνομα καὶ πάθος ὑποδύντας ἢ καὶ τοὺς ἀνάγκη βιαστικωτέρᾳ γενομένους ἐξ ἐλευθέρων δούλους οὐκ εἰς ἅπαν κακοπραγεῖν ἐὰν διδούς ἐκχειρίαν τούτοις
- 123 τὴν εἰς ἅπαν ἐνιαυτῷ ἐβδόμῳ. τοῖς μὲν γὰρ δανεισταῖς οὐ κομισαμένοις τὸ χρέος ἢ τρόπον² ἕτερον κτησαμένοις τοὺς πρότερον ἐλευθέρους ἐξαρκεῖ, φησί, χρόνος εἰς ὑπηρεσίαν ἐξαετία· οἱ δὲ μὴ γένει δούλοι χρηστῆς ἐλπίδος μὴ εἰς ἅπαν ἀμοιρείωσαν, ἀλλ' ἔτωσαν ἐπὶ τὴν παλαιὰν ἄδειαν, ἥς
- 124 διὰ καιροὺς ἀβουλήτους ἐστέρηντο. καὶ ἐκ τρι-
[396] γονίας μὲν, | φησί, δούλος ἐτέρου φόβῳ δεσποτικῶν

¹ The mss. vary between this and *προβολῆς*, *περιβολῆς*, *παραβολῆς*, and one has *δουλείας*. See note c.

² So Cohn after S. Other mss. *πρὸ τῶν*, *πρὸς τὸν* (in both cases omitting *ἢ*), and *ἢ τοῖς τρόπον*. This last seems to me to be preferable to that of S. The persons who acquired slaves in some other way than as payment of a debt are not creditors.

^a These no doubt are the same as those mentioned in *Spec. Leg.* ii. 79, who according to the command in *Lev.* xxv. 39, 40 (which Philo there has in mind, rather than as stated in the footnote *Deut.* xv. 12) are to be regarded as *μισθωτοί*. But the relations of these to the debtors next mentioned are

236

ON THE VIRTUES, 122-124

of kindness and humanity. The serfs ^a who through ¹²² the lack of the necessities of life have subjected themselves to servitude to others ought not he holds to suffer anything unworthy of the freedom to which they were born, and he exhorts those who obtain their services to consider how incalculable is fortune and to respect their changed condition. As for the debtors, who through temporary loans ^b have sunk into bearing both the name and the painfulness which their cruel situation ^c entails, and those whom a more imperious compulsion has brought from freedom into slavery, he would not allow them to remain for ever in their evil plight, but gave them total remission in the seventh year. For creditors who have not re- ¹²³ covered the debt, or have gained possession in some other way of those who were formerly free should be content, he says, with six years as a time for their service, and those who were not born to slavery should not be altogether deprived of comforting hope, but should pass back to the old independence of which they were deprived through adverse circumstances. And if another man's slave, it may be ¹²⁴ with two generations of slavery behind him, takes

puzzling. For a discussion of this and some other points, or perhaps rather a statement of the questions that arise, see App. p. 446.

^b If this is right, and the reference is to loans which the borrower expects and promises to pay shortly, it is an unusual sense for the word, though it is applied to brief and shortlived men and things.

^c Lit. "the attack" or "visitation," again a strange use. All that can be said is that it is even less possible to give a satisfactory meaning to the variants mentioned in note 1. What the "name" and "painfulness" are that are entailed by it is also obscure. Possibly *δοῦλος* and *δουλεία*. See also App. p. 446.

ἀπειλῶν ἢ συνειδήσει τινῶν ἀμαρτημάτων ἢ μηδὲν ἡδικηκώς, ἀμειλίκτῳ καὶ ὠμοθύμῳ χρώμενος ἄλλως δεσπότῃ, πρὸς <σέ> καταφύγῃ τευξόμενος ἐπικουρίας, μὴ περιύδῃς· ἐκδιδόναι γὰρ ἰκέτας οὐχ ὅσιον, ἰκέτης δὲ καὶ ὁ δοῦλος ὥσπερ εἰς ἱερὸν τὴν σὴν ἐστίαν καταπεφευγώς, ἐν ᾗ δίκαιόν ἐστιν ἀσυλίας τυγχάνειν, μάλιστα μὲν εἰς ἀδόλους ἐλθὼν καταλλαγὰς τὰς χωρὶς ἐνέδρας, εἰ δὲ μή, τὸ γοῦν πανύστατον πραθεῖς· ἀλλαγαὶ γὰρ αἱ τῶν δεσποτῶν ἄδηλον ὅπου τὴν ῥοπὴν ἔξουσι, τοῦ δ' ὁμολογουμένου κουφότερον τὸ ἄδηλον κακόν.

- 125 XXV. Ταῦτα μὲν οὖν περὶ οἰκείων καὶ ἄλλοτρίων καὶ φίλων καὶ ἐχθρῶν καὶ δούλων καὶ ἐλευθέρων καὶ συνόλως ἀνθρώπων νομοθετεῖ. τὸ δὲ ἐπιεικὲς καὶ ἡμερον καὶ ἐπὶ τὴν τῶν ἀλόγων ζώων φύσιν ἄγει μεταδιδούς καὶ τούτοις, ὥσπερ ἀπὸ
126 πηγῆς εὐμενοῦς¹ ἀρύσασθαι τι χρηστόν.² κελεύει γὰρ ἐν ταῖς ἡμέροις ἀγέλαις, κατὰ τε ποιμένας καὶ αἰπόλια καὶ βουκόλια, τῆς παραχρῆμα τῶν γεννωμένων ἀπολαύσεως ἀπέχεσθαι, μήτε πρὸς ἐδωδὴν

¹ Mangey wished to read ἀενάου, and Cohn in his translation approved. But εὐμενής applied to things is common enough, e.g. to air, plants, and even to the water of a river (Aeschylus). See examples in Stephanus.

² So one ms. The others τινος χρηστοῦ, which Cohn retained, but in his translation accepted τι χρηστόν. The genitive of the thing drawn as opposed to the source from which it is drawn seems hardly possible.

^a Deut. xxiii. 15, 16 "Thou shalt not deliver to his master a servant who coming (E.V. which is escaped) from his

ON THE VIRTUES, 124-126

refuge with you to obtain protection in fear of his master's threats or through consciousness of some misdeed, or because without having committed any offence, he has found his master generally cruel and merciless, do not disregard his plea.^a For it is a sacrilegious act to surrender a suppliant and the slave is a suppliant who has fled to your hearth as to a temple, where he has a right to obtain sanctuary, and protected from treachery may preferably come to an honest and open agreement, or if that is not possible, be sold as a last resort. For though in changing masters there is no certainty which way the scale will turn, the uncertain evil is not so grave as the acknowledged.

XXV. This is his legislation about compatriots and 125
foreigners, about friends and enemies, about slaves
and free and mankind in general. But he carries on
the idea of moderation and gentleness to the sphere
of irrational animals, and grants them, too, a draught
of goodness, as from a sweet and grateful spring. He 126
bids them in dealing with the domestic kinds, sheep,
goats and oxen, to abstain from availing themselves
of their young, by taking them at once either for food

master has joined himself to thee. He shall dwell with thee, he shall dwell among you, wherever it pleaseth him. Thou shalt not afflict him." Philo interprets this ordinance, which is supposed to apply to a slave escaping from a foreign master, in accordance with Attic law. See App. p. 447.

By ἐκ τριγωνίας he does not mean, as Heinemann, *Bildung*, p. 344, seems to suppose, to limit this privilege to slaves of the third generation. Hitherto the ordinances he mentions have applied to others who are born free (οἱ μὴ γένει δοῦλοι, § 123). This privilege extends to those who have no such claim. The μέν is in antithesis to a suppressed statement that *a fortiori* those who are not born in slavery would be entitled to the same.

μήτε ἐπὶ προφάσει θυσιῶν λαμβάνοντας. ὥμῃς γὰρ ὑπέλαβεν εἶναι ψυχῆς, ἐφεδρεύειν ἀποκυῖσκο-
 μένοις εἰς ἀνυπέρθετον διάζευξιν ἐγγόνων τε αὖ
 καὶ μητέρων ἔνεκα γαστρὸς ἡδονῆς, μᾶλλον δὲ
 ἀηδίας ἐκτόπου τινὸς ψυχῆς¹ καὶ παρηλλαγμένης.

127 φησὶν οὖν τῷ βιωσομένῳ κατὰ τὴν ἱερωτάτην αὐτοῦ
 πολιτείαν· “ὦ γενναῖε, πολλή τίς ἐστὶν ἀφθονία σοι
 τῶν πρὸς ἀπόλαυσιν, οἷς μέμψις οὐ παρέπεται·
 συγγνωστὸν γὰρ ἂν ᾦν ἴσως, ἐπειδὴ πολλὰ τῶν
 ἀβουλήτων ἢ ἀπορία καὶ σπάνις δρᾶν ἀναγκάζει.
 σὺ δὲ καὶ διαφέρειν εἰς ἐγκράτειαν καὶ τὰς ἄλλας
 ἀρετὰς ὀφείλεις τὴν καλλίστην τεταγμένος τάξιν,
 ὑπὸ ταξιάρχῃ τῷ τῆς φύσεως ὀρθῷ λόγῳ, δι’ ὃν
 ἡμερώσθαι σε δεῖ μηδὲν σκαιὸν τῇ διανοίᾳ παρα-

128 δεχόμενον.” τί δ’ ἂν εἴῃ σκαιότερον ἢ ταῖς περὶ
 τὴν ἀποκύησιν ὠδῖσιν ἐπιφέρειν ἕξωθεν ἐτέρας ἐκ
 τῆς παραχρῆμα τῶν γεννωμένων διαζεύξεως;
 ἀνάγκη γὰρ σφαδάζειν ἀποσπωμένων, διὰ τινα
 φυσικὴν μητέρων πρὸς ἔγγονα φιλοστοργίαν, καὶ
 μάλιστα ὑπὸ τὸν τῆς κινήσεως καιρόν, ἐπειδὴ πη-
 γάζοντες οἱ μαστοὶ σπάνει τοῦ θηλάζοντος, ἀνα-
 κοπὴν τῆς ἐπιρροίας λαμβανούσης, σκιρροῦνταί τε
 καὶ κατατεινόμενοι τῷ βάρει παγέντος εἶσω τοῦ γά-

129 λακτος ἀλγηδόσι πιέζονται. “χάρισαι δὴ,” φησί,
 “τῇ μητρὶ τὸ ἔγγονον, εἰ καὶ μὴ τὸν σύμπαντα
 [397] χρόνον, | ἐπτα γοῦν τὰς πρώτας ἡμέρας γαλακτο-

¹ Cohn following Mangey brackets *ψυχῆς*, but though the double genitives are awkward, it seems wanted as an antithesis to *γαστρὸς*. The expression anyhow is confused, as it is not the *ἀηδία* but the meal which causes it which is *ἐκτοπος* and *παρηλλαγμένη*.

^a Lev. xxii. 27 “A calf or sheep or goat, whenever it is

ON THE VIRTUES, 126-129

or on the grounds of offering them for sacrifice.^a For he considered that it showed a cruel soul to be lying in wait for the newly born in order to separate instantly mothers and offspring, just to please the belly but still more displease and horrify the soul by so unnatural a meal. He says then to him, whose 127 life would conform to his most holy commonwealth, "Good Sir, food for your enjoyment to which no blame can attach you have in abundance. Otherwise such an action might perhaps be pardonable, since poverty and dearth compel us to do many things which we would not. But your duty is to excel in self-restraint and the other virtues, stationed as you are in the most honourable of posts, captained by nature's right reason, for whose sake you must learn gentleness and admit no brutality into your mind." And what could be more brutal than to bring in from 128 outside other pangs to add to the pangs of travail by separating the mothers straightway from their offspring. For if they are snatched away, the mothers are bound to be in great distress, because of the maternal affection natural to them, particularly at the time of motherhood, when the breasts, whose flowing fountain is obstructed through lack of its suckling, grow indurated and strained by the weight of the milk coagulated within them and suffer a painful oppression. "Make a present," he continues, "of 129 the child to its mother, if not for all time, to be suckled, at least, for the seven first days and do not born, it shall be seven days under its dam, and on the eighth day and beyond it shall be accepted for gifts, for a burnt offering unto the Lord." Ex. xxii. 30 is to the same effect, though only of the firstborn. Assuming that it is humanity which excludes from the altar, Philo might fairly argue that still more would it prohibit them for ordinary eating.

- τροφήσαι, καὶ μὴ ἀνωφελεῖς ὥς ἡ φύσις ὤμβρησε
πηγὰς ἐν μαστοῖς ἐργάσῃ, τὰς δευτέρας αὐτῆς
χάριτας ἀνελών, ὥς ἐκ πολλοῦ τοῦ προμηθοῦς
ἡτοιμάσατο τὰκόλουθον μακρόθεν αἰωνίῳ καὶ τε-
130 λείᾳ φρονήσει κατιδοῦσα.¹ προτέρα μὲν γὰρ δω-
ρεὰ γένεσις, δι' ἧς τὸ μὴ ὄν ἄγεται πρὸς τὸ εἶναι,
δευτέρα δὲ γάλακτος ἐπίρροια, τροφή καιρίως
μαλακωτάτη, πᾶν ἀπαλόνυχον ἄρδουσα, ὃ ποτόν
ἐστὶν ὁμοῦ καὶ σιτίον.—ὅσον μὲν γὰρ ὕδατῶδες τοῦ
γάλακτος, ποτόν, ὅσον δ' ὑποπαχύνεται, σιτίον—
προνοία τοῦ μὴ κακοπαθεῖν τὸ ἀρτίγονον, ἐφ-
εδρενύσης αἰεὶ χρόνοις διαφέρουσιν ἐνδείας, ἀλλ'
ὑπὸ μίαν καὶ τὴν αὐτὴν προσφορὰν ἑκατέρας τροφῆς
ἤδη τὰς πικρὰς δεσποίνας, δῖψαν τε καὶ πείναν,
131 ἐκφεύγειν." τοῦτον ἀναγνόντες τὸν νό-
μον, οἱ χρηστοὶ καὶ περιμάχῃτοι γονεῖς, ἐγκαλύ-
ψασθε, οἱ ἐπὶ τοῖς βρέφεσιν αἰεὶ φονῶντες, οἱ κακὴν
ἐφεδρεύνοντες ἐφεδρείαν τοῖς ἀποκνυόμενοις εἰς ἔκ-
θεσιν, οἱ τοῦ σύμπαντος ἀνθρώπων γένους ἄσπονδοι
132 πολέμιοι. τίνι γὰρ δι' εὐνοίας ἀφίξεσθε, γεγόμενοι
τῶν ἰδίων τέκνων αὐτόχειρες; οἱ τὰς πόλεις τό γ'
ἐφ' ὑμῖν ἦκον μέρος ἐρημοῦντες, ἀπὸ τῶν ἐγγυτάτω
γένους ἀρξάμενοι τῆς ἀπωλείας, οἱ τοὺς τῆς φύσεως
θεσμοὺς ἀνατρέποντες καὶ ὅσα ἂν οἰκοδομῇ καθ-
αιροῦντες, δι' ἀνημέρου καὶ ἀτιθάσου ψυχῆς ὠμό-

¹ Cohn punctuates with *προτέρα* to the second *σιτίον* as a parenthesis, thus making *προνοία* follow on *ἡτοιμάσατο*, an unnecessarily unwieldy parenthesis. *προνοία* easily follows on *ἄρδουσα* with equally good sense.

^a Lit. "is always lying in wait at different times," a confused expression which may mean as translated above, or
242

ON THE VIRTUES, 129-132

render useless the fountain which nature has rained into the breasts by destroying the second of the boons which her grace distributes, boons prepared by the profound forethought in which with everlasting and consummate wisdom she looks into the distant sequence of events. Her first gift was birth, through 130 which the non-existent is brought into existence, and the second is the efflux of milk, the happily timed aliment which flows so gently fostering the tender growth of every creature. It is at once food and drink, for the watery part of milk is drink, and its denser part food, both provided that the newly born should not suffer from the need, which, never far off, seizes it at different times,^a but with both kinds of nourishment applied in the same single form should at once escape those bitter mistresses, hunger and thirst."

^b Read this law, you good and 131 highly prized parents, and hide your faces for shame, you who ever breathe slaughter against your infants, who mount your wicked watch over them as they leave the womb, waiting to cast them away, you deadly enemies of the whole human race. For to 132 whom will you have any feeling of kindness, you the murderers of your own children, who do what you can to make a desolation of cities and begin the destruction with your own flesh and blood, who overturn the statutes of nature and demolish all that she builds, who in the cruelty of your savage and ferocious

that it sometimes takes the form of hunger and sometimes of thirst.

^b For these three sections *cf. Spec. Leg.* iii. 108 ff. As there, in the absence of any direct prohibition of infanticide, Philo argues its wickedness from the criminality ascribed to causing a miscarriage, so here from the mercy shown by the law to new-born animals.

τητα γενέσει φθορὰν καὶ ζωῇ θάνατον ἐπιτειχίζοντες.

133 ἢ οὐχ ὀράτε, ὅτι τῷ πάντα ἀρίστῳ νομοθέτῃ δι' ἐπιμελείας ἐγένετο μηδὲ τῶν ἀλόγων τὰ ἔγγονα διαζευχθῆναι τῆς τεκούσης, ἄχρισ ἂν γαλακτοτροφηθῇ; τὸ πλεον, ὧ γενναῖοι, δι' ὑμᾶς, ἵν', εἰ καὶ μὴ τῇ φύσει, μαθήσει γοῦν ἀναδιδάσκησθε τὸ φιλοοῖκειον, εἰς ἄρνας καὶ ἐρίφους ἀποβλέποντες, οἳ ἐν ἀφθόνοις χορηγαίαις τῶν ἀναγκαίων τρυφᾶν οὐ κεκώλυνται, τῆς φύσεως μὲν τοιαῦτα παρασκευασαμένης ἐν ἐπιτηδαιοτάτοις χωρίοις, ἐξ ὧν εὐμαρεῖς τοῖς δεησομένοις αἱ ἀπολαύσεις γενήσονται, νομοθέτου δὲ μετὰ πολλῆς προμηθείας ἐφορῶντος, ἵνα μηδεὶς ἐμποδίξῃ τὰς εὐεργέτιδας καὶ σωτηρίους τοῦ θεοῦ δωρεάς.

134 XXVI. Βουλόμενος δὲ πολυτρόποις ιδέαις τὰ ἡμερότητος καὶ ἐπιεικείας σπέρματα ταῖς διανοαῖαις ἐγκατασπείρειν ἄλλο τίθησι διάταγμα συγγενὲς τοῖς
[398] προτέροις, ἀπαγορεύων ἡμέρα τῇ αὐτῇ | συγκαταθύειν μητέρα καὶ ἔγγονον· καὶ γὰρ εἰ θυτέον, ἀλλ' οὖν ἐν χρόνοις γε διαφέρουσιν· ὑπερβολὴ γὰρ ἀγριότητος τὴν αἰτίαν τῆς γενέσεως μετὰ τοῦ ζωογονηθέντος ἡμέρα μιᾷ κτείνειν. καὶ τοῦτο τοῦ χάριν; ἢ γὰρ ἐπὶ προφάσει θυσιῶν ἢ διὰ γαστρὸς ἀπολαυσιν· εἰ μὲν οὖν ἕνεκα θυσιῶν, ἐπέψυσται καὶ τοῦνομα· τὰ γὰρ τοιαῦτα σφάγια, οὐ θυσία. τίς δὲ δὴ καὶ θεοῦ βωμὸς οὕτως ἀνέρα ἱερεῖα προσδέξεται; ποῖον δὲ πῦρ οὐκ ἂν δίχα τμηθὲν ἐξ ἑαυτοῦ διασταίῃ φεῦγον τὴν ἐξ ἀμίκτου πράγματος ἔνωσην; οἶμαι ἂν αὐτὸ μηδὲ πρὸς βραχύτατον ὑπομῆναι

ON THE VIRTUES, 132-135

souls arm dissolution to fight against generation and death against life? Can you not see that our all- 133 excellent lawgiver was at pains to insure that even in the case of irrational animals, the offspring should not be separated from their mother so long as it is being suckled? Still more for your sake, good sirs, was that order given, that if nature does not, instruction may teach you the duty of family love. Learn it from the sight of lambs and kids, who are not hindered from feasting on abundant supplies of what they need. Nature has provided this abundance in places best suited for the purpose, where those who require it will easily find means of enjoyment, while the lawgiver greatly careful for the future looks to see that none interferes with the gifts of God, which bring welfare and safety.

XXVI. So desirous is he to sow in divers forms the 134 seeds of gentleness and moderation in their minds, that he lays down another enactment of the same nature as the preceding. He forbids them to sacrifice the mother and its offspring on the same day,^a for if they must be sacrificed, at any rate let it be at different times. It is the height of savagery to slay on the same day the generating cause and the living creature generated. And why does anyone do so? It must 135 either be on the ground of sacrificing or to gratify the belly. If sacrifice is the reason, it gives the lie to the name, for such actions are slaughters, not sacrifices. Which of God's altars will accept oblations so unhallowed; what fire would not fly asunder divided into two, shrinking from union with a thing so ill to blend with? Indeed, I think, it could not last for any time, however short, but would straight-

^a Lev. xxii. 28.

- χρόνον, ἀλλ' αὐτίκα σβεσθῆναι προνοία τινὶ τοῦ μὴ
 τὸν ἀέρα καὶ τὴν ἱερωτάτην πνεύματος φύσιν ὑπὸ
 136 τῆς αἰρομένης φλογὸς μιαίνεσθαι. εἰ δὲ μὴ θυσιῶν
 χάριν ἀλλὰ θοίνης, τίς οὐκ ἂν τῆς ὑπερφουοῦς γασ-
 τριμαργίας ὀρέξεις προβάλλοιτο καινὰς καὶ παρ-
 ἡλλαγμένας; ἐκτόπους μὲν γὰρ ἡδονὰς οἱ τοιοῦτοι
 μεταδιώκουσι. τίς δὲ ἡδονὴ κρεωφαγοῦσι, γεύσα-
 σθαι σαρκῶν ἐν ταύτῳ μητέρων καὶ ἐγγόνων; ὧν
 εἰ τὰ μέλη τις ἀναμίξει θελήσειεν ἀναπείρων
 ὀβελοῖς, ἢν' ὀπτῶν ἐμφορήσαιοτο, οὐκ ἂν μοι δοκεῖ
 διατελεῖν ἡσυχᾶ, ῥήξειν δὲ φωνὴν σχετλιάσαντα δι'
 ὑπερβολὴν τοῦ καινουργηθέντος πάθους καὶ μυρία
 λοιδορήσεσθαι τῆς λαιμαργίας τοῖς εὐτρεπίζουσιν
 137 ἄσιτον εὐωχίαν. ἀλλ' ὃ γε νόμος ἔξω τῶν περιρ-
 ραντηρίων ἐλαύνει καὶ ὅσα τῶν ζώων κυοφορεῖ, μὴ
 ἐπιτρέπων ἄχρις ἂν ἀποτέκη σφαγιάζεσθαι, τὰ
 κατὰ γαστρός ἐν ἴσῳ τοῖς ἀποκυηθείσιν ἤδη λογι-
 σάμενος, οὐκ ἐπειδὴ τὴν ἴσιν ἔλαχε τάξιν ἃ μὴδ'
 εἰς φῶς πω προήλθεν, ἀλλ' ὑπὲρ τοῦ μακρόθεν
 ἐπισχεῖν τὴν εὐχέρειαν τῶν εἰωθότων πάντα φύρειν.
 138 εἰ γὰρ τὰ φυτῶν τρόπον ἔτι παραυξανόμενα καὶ
 μέρη νομιζόμενα τῶν κύνων, νυνὶ μὲν ἡνωμένα,
 μηνῶν δὲ περιόδοις αὖθις ἀποσπασθησόμενα τῆς

^a As there is no such prohibition in the law, Philo must mean that it follows logically from the law against killing mother and offspring at the same time. According to Heine-
 mann, *Bildung*, p. 37, the Rabbis had no such rule, but may
 it not have been an accepted or at least a widely acknow-
 ledged principle in Philo's time?

^b The argument in this and the next sections seem to be—
 the unborn child is only potentially a separate creature. This
 is a scientific principle (cf. *Spec. Leg.* iii. 117 f. and note,
 vol. vii. p. 637), but Moses by forbidding it to be killed, as
 246

ON THE VIRTUES, 135-138

way die out, providing as it were that the air and sacred element of breath should not be defiled by the rising flame. If the object is not to sacrifice but to feast thereon, who would not spurn the strange and unnatural craving of this monstrous gluttony? For pleasure in abnormal forms is what such persons pursue, but though they have flesh to eat, what pleasure can they have, when the flesh which they taste is that of mother and offspring together? Indeed, if one should mix the limbs of the two and fix them on the spits to eat of the roast, these limbs, I think, would not remain mute, but break out into speech, indignant at the enormity of the unexampled treatment which they suffer, and hurl a host of invectives against the greediness of those who prepare these meats, fitter for a fast than for a feast. But observe that the law also banishes from the sacred precincts all pregnant animals and does not permit them to be sacrificed until they have been delivered,^a thus counting what is still in the depths of the womb as on the same footing as what has already been brought to the birth, not because creatures not yet advanced into the light rank equally with the others, but by implication to restrain the licence of those whose way is to bring everything to disorder.^b For if the life which is still growing like a plant and reckoned as part of the parent which carries it and now is at one with it, but in the course of months

it would be if animals were killed when pregnant, teaches us that it is still more sacred when born. In this way he is restraining the licence, primarily of those who practise infanticide, but also (§ 140) of all who disregard the rights and interests of others. It is difficult, however, to see the point of the sentence πάντων γὰρ . . . κτείνειν. I should like to think that it is the interpolation of a glossator.

- συμφυίας, διὰ τὴν ἐλπίδα τοῦ γενήσεσθαι ζῶα
 φυλάττεται τῷ περὶ τὰς μητέρας ἀνεπιβουλεύτῳ,
 χάριν τοῦ μὴ τὸ λεχθὲν μίasma συμβῆναι, πῶς οὐχὶ
 μᾶλλον τὰ ἀποτεχθέντα καὶ καθ' αὐτὰ ψυχῆς καὶ
 σώματος μεμοιραμένα; πάντων γὰρ ἀνοσιώτατον
 ἐνὶ καιρῷ καὶ ἡμέρᾳ μιᾷ ἔγγονον ὁμοῦ καὶ μητέρα
 139 κτείνειν. ἐνθὲνδε μοι δοκοῦσιν ὀρμηθέντες ἔνιοι
 τῶν νομοθετῶν τὸν ἐπὶ ταῖς κατακρίτοις γυναιξὶν
 εἰσηγήσασθαι νόμον, ὃς κελεύει τὰς ἐγκύους, εἰ
 ἄξια θανάτου δράσωσιν, φυλάττεσθαι μέχρις ἂν ἀπο-
 τέκωσιν, ἵνα μὴ ἀναιρουμένων συναπόληται τὰ
 140 κατὰ γαστρός. ἀλλ' οὗτοι μὲν ἐπ' ἀνθρώπων |
 [399] ταῦτα ἔγνωσαν· ὁ δὲ καὶ προσυπερβάλλον ἔτι ἄχρι
 καὶ τῶν ἀλόγων ζώων τὸ ἐπιεικὲς ἀπέτεινεν, ἵν' ἐν
 τοῖς ἀνομοιογενέσιν ἀσκήσαντες πολλῇ τινι περιου-
 σίᾳ χρώμεθα φιλανθρωπίας (ἐν τοῖς ὁμογενέσι),¹
 τοῦ μὲν λυπεῖν καὶ ἀντιλυπεῖν ἀλλήλους ἀπεχόμενοι,
 τὰ δ' οἰκεῖα ἀγαθὰ μὴ θησαυροφυλακοῦντες, ἀλλ'
 εἰς μέσον προφέροντες καθάπερ συγγενέσι καὶ ἐκ
 141 φύσεως ἀδελφοῖς τοῖς πανταχοῦ πᾶσιν. ἔτι τοίνυν
 τὸ μὲν ἔθνος ἐπὶ μισανθρωπία διαβαλλέτωσαν, τοὺς
 δὲ νόμους ὡς ἄμικτα καὶ ἀκοινώνητα παραγέλ-
 λοντας αἰτιάσθωσαν οἱ δεινοὶ συκοφάνται, φανερώς
 οὕτως τῶν μὲν νόμων ἐλέου μεταδιδόντων καὶ ταῖς
 τῶν θρεμμάτων ἀγέλαις, τοῦ δὲ ἔθνους ταῖς ἐκ
 πρώτης ἡλικίας νομίμοις ὑφηγήσεσιν ὅσον ἐν ταῖς
 ψυχαῖς ἀπειθὲς μεθαρμοζομένου πρὸς τὸ τιθασόν.
 142 ἐπαποδύεται δὲ αὐτὸς ἑαυτῷ καὶ ἐπ-

¹ Inserted by Cohn from Clement, who repeats this clause almost verbatim. (Possibly, however, an addition by Clement; Philo may have thought that *φιλανθρωπία* in itself expressed the antithesis.)

will be severed from the common organism, is, in the hope that it will become a living animal, safeguarded by the invulnerability of the mother, to prevent the occurrence of the above said defilement, how much more is this the case with the creatures already brought to the birth and endued with a body and soul of their own? For it is the very height of unholiness to kill mother and offspring on the same occasion and on the same day. It was on this principle, I think, that some 139 legislators introduced the law that condemned women who commit deeds worthy of death should, if pregnant, be kept in custody until the child is born, lest their execution should carry with it the destruction of the life within the womb.^a These 140 decrees of theirs apply to human beings, but Moses rising to a further height extended the duty of fair treatment even to irrational animals, so that by practising on creatures of dissimilar kind we may show humanity in a far fuller measure to beings of like kind to ourselves, abstaining from strokes and counter-strokes to vex each other, and not hoarding our personal good things as treasures, but throwing them into the common stock for all in every place, as for kinsmen and brothers by nature. After 141 this let those clever libellers continue, if they can, to accuse the nation of misanthropy and charge the laws with enjoining unsociable and unfriendly practices, when these laws so clearly extend their compassion to flocks and herds, and our people through the instructions of the law learn from their earliest years to correct any wilfulness of souls to gentle behaviour.

But so prolific is he in virtue and 142

^a See App. p. 447.

αγωνίζεται πολύγονος ὢν ἀρετῆς καί τινι εὐτροπία
 χρώμενος πρὸς τὰς καλὰς ὑφηγήσεις· κελεύσας γάρ,
 πρὶν ἀποτίτθον γενέσθαι, μὴ ἀποσπᾶν τῆς τεκούσης
 μήτε ἄρνα μήτε ἔριφον μήτε ἄλλο τι τῶν ἐν ταῖς
 ἀγέλαις, καὶ προσδιαταξάμενος μηδὲ τῇ αὐτῇ ἡμέρᾳ
 κτείνειν μητέρα καὶ ἔγγονον, ἐπιδαιφιλεύεται φά-
 σκων· “οὐχ ἐψήσεις ἄρνα ἐν γάλακτι μητρός.”

- 143 πάνυ γὰρ ἄτοπον ὑπέλαβεν εἶναι τὴν τροφὴν ζῶντος
 ἡδυσμα γενέσθαι καὶ παράρτυσιν ἀναιρεθέντος καὶ
 τὴν μὲν φύσιν ἐπιμεληθεῖσαν αὐτοῦ τῆς διαμονῆς
 ὀμβρῆσαι γάλα, ὃ διὰ μαστῶν τῆς τεκούσης οἶα
 δεξαμενῶν φέρεσθαι διετάξατο, τὴν δὲ τῶν ἀνθρώ-
 πων ἀκρασίαν τοσοῦτον ἐπιβῆναι, ὥς τῷ τῆς ζωῆς
 αἰτίῳ καταχρήσασθαι καὶ πρὸς τὴν τοῦ ὑπολοίπου
 144 σώματος ἀνάλωσιν. εἰ δὴ τις¹ ἐν γάλακτι κρέα
 συνέψιν ἀξιοῖ, μὴ σὺν ὠμότητι, χωρὶς δὲ ἀσεβείας
 ἐψέτω· μυρίαί θρεμμάτων εἰσὶν ἀγέλαι πανταχοῦ
 καὶ καθ’ ἐκάστην ἡμέραν ἀμελγόμεναι διὰ βου-
 κόλων αἰπόλων ποιμένων, οἷς κτηνοτροφοῦσιν ἡ
 μεγίστη πρόσοδός ἐστι γάλα, τῇ μὲν κεχυμένον, τῇ
 δὲ συνεσταλμένον τε καὶ πηγνύμενον εἰς τυρόν·
 ὥστε ἀφθονίας ὑπαρχούσης τὸν² ἀρνῶν ἢ ἐρίφων ἢ
 τινος ἑτέρου γάλακτι μητρῷ κρέα συνέψιντα
 χαλεπὴν ἐπιδείκνυσθαι τρόπων σκαιότητα, τὸ ἀναγ-
 καιότατον καὶ συγγενέστατον λογικῇ ψυχῇ πάθος
 ἐκτετμημένον, τὸν ἔλεον.

- 145 XXVII. Ἀγαμαι δὲ κακεῖνον τὸν νόμον, ὃς
 καθάπερ ἐν χορῷ παναρμονίῳ συνάδων τοῖς προ-

¹ MSS. εἰ δὴ τὰ οἱ ἐπειδὴ τὰ.

² MSS. τῶν.

ON THE VIRTUES, 142-145

versatile in giving admirable lessons, that not content with his own prowess, he challenges it to a further contest. He has forbidden any lamb or kid or other like kind of livestock to be snatched away from its mother before it is weaned. He has also forbidden the killing of the mother and offspring on the same day. He now crowns his bounty with the words "Thou shalt not seethe a lamb in his mother's milk."^a For he held that it was grossly improper that the 143 substance which fed the living animal should be used to season and flavour the same after its death, and that while nature provided for its conservation by creating the stream of milk and ordaining that it should pass through the mother's breasts as through conduits, the licence of man should rise to such a height as to misuse what had sustained its life to destroy also the body which remains in existence. If indeed anyone thinks good to boil flesh in milk, 144 let him do so without cruelty and keeping clear of impiety. Everywhere there are herds of cattle innumerable, which are milked every day by cow-herds, goat-herds and shepherds, whose chief source of income as cattle rearers is milk, sometimes liquid and sometimes condensed and coagulated into cheese ; and since milk is so abundant, the person who boils the flesh of lambs or kids or any other young animal in their mother's milk, shows himself cruelly brutal in character and gelded of compassion, that most vital of emotions and most nearly akin to the rational soul.

XXVII. I also admire another law attuned to the 145 harmonious choir of those above mentioned. This

^a Ex. xxiii. 19, xxxiv. 26, Deut. xiv. 21 ; in LXX "lamb" in every case.

τέροις διαγορεύει, βοῦν ἀλοῶντα μὴ φιμοῦν. οὗτος
 [400] γάρ | ἐστὶν ὁ πρὸ μὲν τῆς σπορᾶς [οὔσης] τῆς
 βαθυγείου πεδιάδος ἀνατέμνων τὰς αὐλακας καὶ
 προετοιμασάμενος οὐρανῶ καὶ γεωπόνῳ τὰς ἀρού-
 ρας, τῷ μὲν ἵνα καιρίως κατασπείρῃ, τῷ δ' ἵνα
 κόλποι βαθεῖς ὑποδεξάμενοι τὰς διὰ τῶν ὑετῶν
 χάριτας ταμιεύσιν καὶ χορηγῶσιν ἐκ τοῦ κατ'
 ὀλίγον τῷ σπόρῳ τροφὰς πίονας, ἄχρισ ἂν σταχυη-
 φορήσας τελειογονήσῃ τὸν ἐτήσιον καρπὸν· μετὰ
 δὲ τὴν τελείωσιν πάλιν βοῦς ἐστὶ πρὸς ἐτέραν
 ὑπηρεσίαν ἀναγκαῖος, κάθαρσιν δραγμάτων καὶ
 διάκρισιν σκυβάλων ἀπὸ τοῦ γνησίου καὶ χρησίμου.

146 Ἄλλ' ἐπειδὴ τὴν <ἐπὶ> τοῖς [γῆν] ἀλοῶσι βουσὶν
 ἡμερον καὶ χρηστὴν πρόσταξιν εἶπον, καὶ τὸν ἐπὶ
 τοῖς <γῆν> ἀροῦσι θρέμμασι τεθέντα νόμον ἐξῆς
 δίδειμι τῆς αὐτῆς ὄντα συγγενείας. ἀπαγορεύει γάρ
 ἐν ταύτῳ καταζευγνύναι πρὸς ἄροτον γῆς βοῦν καὶ
 ὄνον, οὐ μόνον τοῦ περὶ τὰ ζῶα ἀνοικείου στοχασά-
 μενος, διότι τὸ μὲν ἐστὶ καθαρὸν, ὅνος δὲ τῶν οὐ
 καθαρῶν, τὰ δὲ οὕτως ἡλλοτριωμένα συνάγειν οὐ
 πρέπει, ἀλλ' ἐπειδὴ καὶ τὴν ἰσχύν ἐστὶν ἄνισα,
 προμηθεῖται δὲ τῶν ἀσθενεστέρων, ὥς μὴ πρὸς
 δυνατωτέρας βίας θλίβηται καὶ προσπιέζεται· καί-
 τοι τὸ μὲν ἀσθενέστερον, ὄνος, ἕξω περιρραντηρίων
 ἐλαύνεται, τὸ δὲ ἐρρωμενέστερον, βοῦν, ἐν ταῖς
 147 τελειοτάταις θυσίαις νόμος ἱερουργεῖν. ἀλλ' ὅμως
 οὔτε τῆς τῶν ἀκαθάρτων ἀσθενείας ὠλιγώρησεν
 οὔτε τοῖς καθαροῖς ἐφήκεν ἰσχυῖ πρὸ δίκης χρῆσθαι,

^a Deut. xxv. 4.

^b Deut. xxii. 10, cf. *Spec. Leg.* iv. 205, 206. The treatment here is the same and the moral also, with the difference that
 252

ON THE VIRTUES, 145-147

law forbids muzzling the ox when it treads out the corn.^a It is the ox who, before the deep soiled lowlands receive the seed, cleaves the furrows and sets the fields ready for heaven and the husbandman ; for the husbandman that he may sow the seed in due season, for heaven that its kindly gifts of rain may be received in the deep hollows which store them up and deal them out part by part as rich nourishment to the crop, until it brings forth first the ear and then the consummation of the yearly fruit. And after that consummation the ox is again necessary for another service, to purge the sheaves and sift the refuse from the genuine and useful material.

But since I have mentioned the kindly and bene- 146
volent injunction on behalf of the oxen when treading the corn, I will cite next the law enacted in behalf of cattle which plough the land.^b This is a law of the same family. It forbids the yoking together of an ox and an ass for ploughing the land, and has in view not merely the incongruity of the animals, since the ox is clean and the ass belongs to the unclean, and it is not fitting to put together creatures so alien in status, but also their disparity of strength. It takes thought for the weaker, and would not have them suffer discomfort or oppression from superior force, and although the weaker, the ass, is banished from the sacred precincts and the stronger, the ox, is accepted by the law as a victim in sacrifices where perfection is most required, it did not despise the 147
weakness of the unclean, nor permit the clean to

there the judge is admonished to do justice to the low-born, here all are encouraged to show kindness to men of other nations, meaning mainly no doubt the proselytes, consideration for whom figures so much throughout this treatise.

μόνον οὐκ ἄντικρυς βοῶν καὶ κεκραγῶς τοῖς ὦτα ἔχουσιν ἐν ψυχῇ, μηδένα τῶν ἑτεροεθνῶν ἀδικεῖν, οὐδὲν ἔχοντας αἰτιάσασθαι ὅτι μὴ τὸ ἄλλογενές. ὅπερ ἐστὶν ἀναίτιον· ὅσα γὰρ μήτε κακία μήτε ἀπὸ κακιῶν ἔξω παντὸς ἐγκλήματος ἴσταται.

- 148 XXVIII. Ἐπιδαφιλευόμενος δὲ τὸ ἐπιεικὲς πάλιν πλουσίως αὐτῷ καὶ κατακόρως χρῆται, μετιῶν ἀπὸ μὲν τῶν λογικῶν ἐπὶ τὰ ἄλογα, ἀπὸ δὲ τῶν ἀλόγων ἐπὶ τὰ φυτά, περὶ ὧν αὐτίκα λεκτέον, ἐπειδὴ περὶ τῶν προτέρων, ἀνθρώπων τε καὶ τῶν
149 ὅσα ψυχῆς μεμοίραται, λέλεκται. διείρηκε τοίνυν ἄντικρυς μήτε δενδροτομεῖν ὅσα τῆς ἡμέρου ὕλης μήτε κείρειν ἐπὶ λύμῃ πρὸ καιροῦ σταχυηφοροῦσαν πεδιάδα μήτε συνόλως καρπὸν διαφθεῖρειν, ἵνα περιουσία μὲν τροφῶν ἀφθόνων χορηγῇται τὸ ἀνθρώπων γένος, περιουσιάζῃ δὲ¹ μὴμόνον τῶν ἀναγκαίων ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν πρὸς τὸν ἀβροδίατον βίον. ἀναγκαῖον μὲν γὰρ ὁ τοῦ σίτου καρπὸς εἰς τροφήν ἀνθρώπων ἀποκριθεῖς, πρὸς δὲ τὸν ἀβροδίατον βίον αἱ τῶν ἀκροδρύων ἀμύθητοι ποικιλίαι γίνονται δὲ ἐν ἐνδείαις αὐταὶ πολλάκις καὶ τροφαὶ
150 δεύτεραι. XXIX. | καὶ προσυπερβάλλων οὐδὲ τὴν
[401]

¹ Cohn writes περιουσία ζῇ δὲ—a strange position for δὲ. On the other hand περιουσιάζω seems to be constructed with the dative. Most mss. have simply ζῇ. Perhaps read ζῇ δὲ μὴμόνον <ἀπὸ> τῶν ἀναγκαίων.

^a The argument in these sections, 149-154, is very involved. They are all based on Deut. xx. 19, which forbids cutting down the fruit trees in an enemy's country (*cf. Spec. Leg.* iv. 226 f.). The verse "Is the tree a man that it should be besieged by thee?" (*i.e.* trees are innocent things) applies to fruit trees under all circumstances and therefore forbids

ON THE VIRTUES, 147-150

employ strength rather than justice. Those whose souls have ears can almost hear it speaking plainly in a voice loud and insistent that we should do no wrongs to men of other nations, if we can accuse them of nothing save difference of race, which is no matter for accusation, since nothing which is neither vice nor springs from vice is liable to any impeachment.

XXVIII. So generously does he bestow his mercy 148 that he shows it further in all its richness and profusion by passing, first from rational beings to the irrational, and from the irrational to plants and vegetation. I must proceed at once to these last, as we have treated the first two classes, mankind and those who are endued with animal life. ^a On this 149 third subject he gives the plain direction that no trees of the cultivated type are to be cut down, nor the lowland fields mischievously mown in the ear-bearing stage before the proper time, and in general no fruit is to be destroyed, in order that the human race may be well supplied with a rich stock of abundant kinds of food, and that this rich stock may consist, not only of necessities, but also of things which make life comfortable. For the fruit of the corn-field is set apart as a necessary for the sustenance of men, but the numberless varieties of tree-fruits provide the comfortable life, and often in times of dearth a second line of sustenance. XXIX. Rising to a still higher pitch he for- 150

mischievous maltreatment of them (§ 149). This applies *even* to trees in an enemy's country, where if anywhere it might be thought justifiable (§ 150), and here besides the general argument of the innocence of plants (§ 150 and again § 154) there is a further reason, which has nothing to do with the main point, viz. that when peace is restored we shall regret that such a devastation leaves a feeling of resentment (§§ 151-153).

τῶν πολεμίων χώραν τέμνειν ἑᾶ, παραγγέλλει δ' ἀνέχειν δενδροτομιῶν καὶ δηώσεων, ἄτοπον ὑπολαβὼν εἶναι τὴν πρὸς ἀνθρώπους ὀργὴν ἀποσκή-
 151 πτειν εἰς τὰ μηδενὸς αἷτια κακοῦ. ἔπειτα δὲ ἀξιοῖ μὴ μόνον τὸ παρὸν βλέπειν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸ μέλλον ὥσπερ ἀπὸ σκοπῆς μακρόθεν ὀξυωπία λογισμοῦ καθορᾶσθαι, μηδενὸς ἐν ὁμοίῳ μένοντος ἀλλὰ πάντων τροπαῖς καὶ μεταβολαῖς χρωμένων, ὡς εἰκὸς εἶναι τοὺς τέως δυσμενεῖς ἐπικηρυκευσαμένους καὶ συμβατηρίων ἄρξαντας ἐνσπόνδους αὐτίκα γενέ-
 152 σθαι. φίλους δὲ τροφῶν ἀναγκαίων ἀποστερεῖν χαλεπόν, μηδὲν ταμιευσαμένους τῶν ἐπ' ὠφελείᾳ διὰ τὴν τοῦ μέλλοντος ἀδηλόγητα. πάνν γὰρ ἐκείνῳ καλῶς εἴρηται τοῖς παλαιοῖς, ὅτι καὶ φιλίας κοινωνητέον μὴ ἀπογινώσκοντας ἔχθραν καὶ προσκρουστέον ὡς φιλίας ἐσομένης, ἵνα ἕκαστος ἐν τῇ ἑαυτοῦ φύσει ταμιεύηται τι τῶν εἰς ἀσφάλειαν καὶ μὴ ἀπογυμνωθεῖς ἐν ἔργοις καὶ λόγοις μετανοῇ, τῆς ἄγαν εὐχερείας, ὅτ' οὐδὲν ὄφελος, αἰτιώμενος ἑαυ-
 153 τόν. τὸ λόγιον τοῦτο χρή φυλάττειν καὶ τὰς πόλεις, ἐν μὲν εἰρήνῃ προνοουμένας τῶν κατὰ πόλεμον, ἐν δὲ πολέμῳ τῶν κατ' εἰρήνην, καὶ μήτε τοῖς συμ-

“ Or perhaps “a sad pity,” “a painful thing,” i.e. to ourselves, which will agree better with the interpretation of ταμιευσαμένους given in the next note.

^b *Prima facie* the natural way of taking ταμιευσαμένους is in agreement with φίλους, “to deprive our (potential) friends of necessities, who thereby lay nothing by,” etc. So Cohn and Mangey, and no doubt this makes good sense in itself. But it has no bearing on the sequel, which repeating the verb ταμιεύομαι dwells on the need of providing for the time when we should be on friendly terms and regret if we have done anything which could prevent this. Grammatically ταμιευ-

ON THE VIRTUES, 150-153

bids them to devastate the land even of their enemies and enjoins them to abstain from cutting down trees and other forms of ravaging, holding it to be against all reason that indignation against men should be visited on things which are not guilty of any misdeed. But further, he calls upon them to look not only to the 151 present, but, as though from some far-off height, with the keen-sighted vision of reason to consider the future also. For no one continues in the same stay, but all things are subject to vicissitudes and mutations, so that it may be expected that our enemies for the time may send ambassadors to initiate negotiations and straightway come to amicable terms. Now 152 as friends it would be a great hardship ^a to deprive them of the necessities of life and by so doing lay nothing by ^b which may be of service to meet the uncertainty of the future. It is a very admirable saying of the ancients ^c that in joining friendship we should not ignore the possibility of enmity, and conduct our quarrels with future friendship in view, so that everyone in his own nature ^d lays by something to ensure his safety, and does not, through having neither deeds nor words to clothe his nakedness, repent the past and blame himself when it is no use, for his overcarelessness. This maxim should also be observed by states, 153 who in peace should provide for the needs of war and in war for the needs of peace and be slow to trust

σαμένους can agree just as well with the subject of *ἀποστερεῖν* as with *φίλους*. By conducting war humanely we lay up something to serve us in time of peace—a fine and sagacious thought.

^c See App. p. 448.

^d Or “which becomes part of himself.” The meaning as I understand it is that actions of kindness affect a man’s nature and give him something to fall back upon.

μάχοις ἀνέδην προπιστεύειν ὥς οὐ χρησομένοις
 μεταβολῇ πρὸς τὸ ἀντίπαλον μήτε τοῖς πολεμίοις
 εἰς ἅπαν ἀπιστεῖν ὥς οὐ δυνησομένοις ποτέ μεθορ-
 154 μίσασθαι πρὸς τὸ ἔνσπονδον. εἰ μέντοι καὶ μηδὲν
 ὑπὲρ ἐχθροῦ πρακτέον δι' ἐλπίδα καταλλαγῶν, οὐδὲν
 ἐχθρὸν φυτόν, ἀλλ' ἔνσπονδα πάντα καὶ ὠφέλιμα,
 τὰ δ' ἡμερα καὶ διαφερόντως ἀναγκαῖα, ὧν ὁ καρ-
 πὸς ἢ τροφή ἐστίν ἢ ἰσότημον τροφῇ κτήμα. τί δὲ
 δεῖ πεπολεμῶσθαι πρὸς τὰ μὴ πολέμια τέμνοντας
 ἢ καίοντας ἢ ρίζαις αὐταῖς ἀνασπῶντας, ἅπερ αὐτῇ
 ἢ φύσιν ὑδάτων ἐπιρροαῖς καὶ εὐκρασίαις ἀέρων
 ἐτελειογόνησε, δασμοὺς ἐτησίους οἷσοντα ἀνθρώποις
 οἷα βασιλεῦσιν;

155 Ἐμέλησε δ' αὐτῷ καθάπερ ἀγαθῷ προστάτῃ τὴν
 ἀλειπτικὴν¹ μὴ μόνον ζώοις ἀλλὰ καὶ φυτοῖς ἰσχύ-
 τε καὶ ῥώμην ἀπεργάσασθαι, καὶ μάλιστα τοῖς
 ἡμέροις, ἐπειδὴ καὶ πλείονος ἄξια φροντίδος ἐστὶ
 καὶ οὐχ ὁμοίως τοῖς ἀγρίοις εὖτονα, γεωργικῆς
 156 ἐπιστήμης δεόμενα πρὸς κραταιότεραν δύναμιν.
 [402] κελεύει γὰρ τὰ νεόφυτα τῶν δένδρων ἐπὶ | τριετίαν
 ἐξῆς τιθηνεῖσθαι τὰς τε περιττὰς ἐπιφύσεις ἀπο-
 τέμνοντας, ὑπὲρ τοῦ μὴ βαρυνόμενα πιέζεσθαι καὶ
 ὑπὲρ τοῦ μὴ κατακερματιζομένης τῆς τροφῆς δι'
 ἔνδειαν ἐξασθενεῖν, γυροῦν τε καὶ περισκάπτειν, ἵνα

¹ So Cohn from S ἀληπτικὴν. The other mss. ἀληπτον γῆν. Mangey proposed ἀβληπτικὴν.

^a Or "as means of sustenance," meaning presumably as in § 149 that the fruits become necessities in times of dearth, but are delicacies at other times.

^b If the text is right the meaning may be as translated, or perhaps as Cohn "the strength which trains or equips." But it is also possible to take τὴν ἀλειπτικὴν (sc. τέχνην) as accusative of respect after ἀγαθῶ = "good at training."

ON THE VIRTUES, 153-156

their allies too freely, assuming that they will never change and become opponents, nor yet absolutely distrust their enemies as though they could never pass over into amity. But even if we need not do 154 anything to help an enemy in hope of reconciliation, no plant is our enemy, but they are all pacific and serviceable, while the cultivated kind are particularly necessary, as their fruit is either food in the full sense^a or a possession as valuable as food. Why then should we carry on hostilities against trees which are not hostile, by cutting them down or burning them or pulling them up by the roots—these trees, which nature itself has brought to their fullness with the waters which it showers and the breezes which it tempers so happily, that they may pay their yearly tributes to mankind as subjects to a king?

Like a good guardian he was also concerned to 155 produce the strength and robustness which training gives,^b not only in animals but in plants, particularly in the cultivated kind, since they deserve more care and have not the same vigour as the wild species, but need the husbandman's science to give them greater force and power. He bids them nurse the newly 156 planted trees for three successive years,^c both by cutting off their superfluous overgrowths, to save them from being oppressed by the weight and starved into exhaustion through the subdivision of the nutriment, and also by digging rings and trenches around

^a Lev. xix. 23 (for the allegorical treatment *cf.* *De Plant.* 95). E.V. "Ye shall count the fruit thereof as their uncircumcision." But LXX "Ye shall purge away its uncleanness," which vague hint Philo develops into the horticultural operations which follow. His main point, however, that the fruit is not to be plucked till the fourth year, is scriptural.

- μηδὲν τῶν ἐπὶ ζημία παραναβλαστάνη τὴν αὔξησιν κωλύον· τὸν τε καρπὸν οὐκ ἔᾱ δρέπεσθαι κατὰ μετουσίαν ἀπολαύσεως, οὐ μόνον ἐπειδὴ ἀτελὴς ἐξ ἀτελῶν ἔμελλεν ἔσεσθαι—καὶ γὰρ τῶν ζώων ὅσα μὴ τέλεια οὐ τελειογονεῖ—, ἀλλὰ καὶ διότι βλάπτεσθαι τὰ νεόφυτα καὶ τρόπον τινὰ χαμαίζηλα¹ ἔμελλε
 157 κωλυόμενα ἐρνοῦσθαι. πολλοὶ γοῦν τῶν γεωπόνων ἕαρος ὥρας ἐπιτηροῦσι τὰ νέα τῶν δένδρων, ἵνα ὃν ἂν τέκη καρπὸν εὐθὺς ἀποθλίβωσι, πρὶν ἐπίδοσιν καὶ συναύξησιν λαβεῖν, φόβῳ τῆς τῶν τεκόντων ἀσθενείας. συμβαίνει γάρ, εἰ μὴ προφυλάξαιτό τις, ὅτε χρή τελειωθέντα καρπὸν φέρειν, ἀγονεῖν ἢ ἀμβλίσκειν ἐξασθενήσαντα τῷ πρὸ καιροῦ πονηθῆναι φοραῖς, ἃς αἱ πάλαι κληματίδες ἐπηχθισμέναι
 158 ῥίζαις αὐταῖς ἐκτρύχουσι τὰ στελέχη. μετὰ δὲ τριετίαν, ὅταν αἱ μὲν ῥίζαι βαθύνωσι προσεχόμεναι τῷ ἐδάφει κραταιότερον, τὸ δὲ στέλεχος ὥσπερ ἀκλινέσι θεμελίοις ἐπερηρισμένον αὐξήσῃ σὺν εὐτονίᾳ, δυνήσεται τελειογονεῖν ἔτει τετάρτῳ κατὰ
 159 τέλειον ἀριθμὸν τετράδα. τετράδι δὲ κελεύει μὴ δρέπεσθαι τὸν καρπὸν πρὸς ἀπόλαυσιν, ἀλλ' ὅλον

¹ Cohn (in translation) wished to insert ἔσεσθαι. Mangey proposed χθαμαλοῦσθαι for χαμαίζηλα. See note a.

^a Cohn translates "because the young plants injured thereby and prevented from growing up would rise too little above the ground," thus taking βλάπτεσθαι as a participle, and χαμαίζηλα = χαμαίζηλα ἔσεσθαι. Mangey seems also to connect χαμαίζηλα with ἔμελλεν by his χθαμαλοῦσθαι. But the version given above, which takes βλάπτεσθαι with ἔμελλε, seems to present no difficulty. Why picking the fruit should have this result remains unexplained in either version. The next section suggests that he means that the fruit should not be

them, so that nothing mischievous may spring up at their side and hinder their growth. Also he does not permit them to pick the fruit to get enjoyment, not only because from the incomplete plant only incomplete fruit could come, just as animals not fully grown are not fully ripe for breeding, but also because of the damage it would do to the young plants, which are still, so to speak, lying low just above the ground, by preventing them from shooting.^a Thus many 157 farmers during the spring season watch the young trees to squeeze off at once any fruit they bear before they advance in quality and size, for fear of weakening the parent plants. For, if these precautions are not taken, the result is that when they should bear fully ripened fruit they bring forth either nothing at all or abortions nipped in the bud, exhausted as they are by the labour of prematurely bearing the crops which lay such a weight upon the branches that at last they wear out the trunk and roots as well. But 158 after three years when the roots have sunk deep^b in and are more firmly attached to the soil, and the trunk supported as it were on immovable foundations has grown and acquired vigour, it will be able to bear fully in the fourth year in harmony with the perfect number four.^c But in this fourth year he commands 159 them not to pluck the fruit for their own enjoyment

allowed to grow to a stage in which it could be picked for enjoyment.

^b βαθύνω here intransitive as in *De Post.* 118. This use is not noted in Stephanus, and in L. & S. revised quoted only from Philo.

^c Lev. xix. 24 "In the fourth year all this fruit shall be holy for praise (*alverós*) to the Lord." For the perfections of four cf. *De Op.* 47-54. They are connected with this particular text in *De Abr.* 13, *De Plant.* 117.

αὐτὸν καθιεροῦν ἀπαρχὴν τῷ θεῷ, τῇ μὲν τῶν προγεγονότων χαριστήριον, τῇ δὲ ἐλπίδα τῆς εἰς τὸ μέλλον εὐκαρπίας καὶ τοῦ μετὰ τοῦτο προσοδεύ-
 160 εσθαι. ὁρᾷς ὅσον τὸ ἴλεων καὶ χρηστὸν ἐπιδείκνυται καὶ ὥς ἀνακέχυκεν αὐτὸ πρὸς πᾶσαν ἰδέαν ἀνθρώπων τὸ πρῶτον, καὶ ἀλλόφυλός τις ἢ ἐχθρὸς ἦ, εἶτα ζώων ἀλόγων, καὶ μὴ τυγχάνη καθαρὰ, ἐπὶ δὲ πᾶσι σπαρτῶν ὁμοῦ καὶ δένδρων. ὃ τε γὰρ ἐν ταῖς ἀφαντάστοις φύσεσι προμαθὼν ἐπιείκειαν εἰς οὐδὲν ἂν τῶν ψυχῆς μεμοιραμένων ἐξαμάρτοι, ὃ τε μὴ ἐπιχειρῶν νεωτερίζειν περὶ τὰ ἔμψυχα πόρρωθεν ἀναδιδάσκεται τῶν λογικῶν ἐπιμελεῖσθαι.

161 XXX. Τοιαύταις ὑφήγησεν τὰς διανοίας τῶν κατ' αὐτὸν πολιτευομένων ἐξημερώσας ὑπεροψίας καὶ ἀλαζονείας, ἀργαλεωτάτων καὶ ἐπαχθεστάτων κακῶν, διέξευξεν, ὧν ὡς μεγίστων ἀγαθῶν οἱ πολλοὶ περιέχονται, καὶ μάλιστα ὅταν πλοῦτοι καὶ δόξαι καὶ ἡγεμονίαι περιουσίας ἀφθόνους χορη-
 162 γῶσιν. ἀλαζονεῖα γὰρ φύεται καὶ ἐν ἡμελημένοις καὶ ἀφανέσιν ἀνθρώποις, ὡς καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἕκαστον ψυχῆς παθῶν τε καὶ νοσημάτων καὶ ἀρρωστημάτων,
 [403] τὴν δ' ἐπὶ πλέον παραύξησιν οὐ | λαμβάνει, ἀλλ' οἷα πυρὸς οὐσία διὰ σπάνιν ὕλης ἀμαυροῦται· περιφαίνεται δ' ἐν τοῖς μεγάλοις χορηγούς ὡς ἔφην ἔχουσι τούτου τοῦ κακοῦ πλούτους καὶ δόξας καὶ ἡγεμονίας, ὧν ὑποπλησθέντες καθάπερ οἱ πολὺν ἄκρατον ἐμφορησάμενοι μεθύουσι καὶ ἐμ-

^a Or as Cohn "in after years."

^b Incapable of receiving impressions (φαντασίαι). For the conception see particularly *Quod Deus* 43 f.

^c Lit. "the essence of fire." Cohn translates οὐσία by

ON THE VIRTUES, 159-162

but to dedicate the whole of it as a first fruit to God, partly as a thank-offering for the past, partly in hope of fertility to come and the acquisition of wealth to which this will lead.^a You see how great is the kindness and graciousness which he shows, and how liberally he has spread it on every kind, first of men, even though it be an alien or an enemy, then of irrational animals, even though they be unclean, and last of all of sown crops and also trees. For he who has first learnt the lesson of fairness in dealing with the unconscious^b forms of existence will not offend against any that are endued with animal life, and he who does not set himself to molest the animal creation is trained by implication to extend his care to reasonable beings. 160

XXX. With such instructions he tamed and softened the minds of the citizens of his commonwealth and set them out of the reach of pride and arrogance, evil qualities, grievous and noxious in the highest degree, though embraced as most excellent by the majority of men, particularly when riches and distinctions and high offices bestow their gifts in unstinted superabundance. For arrogance springs up in the insignificant and obscure, as does each of the other passions and diseases and distempers of the soul, though it does not increase to any extent and grows dull as fire^c does for want of its essential fuel. But it is conspicuous in the great, who as I have said are amply provided with the evil thing by riches and distinctions and high offices and so charged with these, like men who have drunk deep of strong wine, become intoxicated and vent their sottish rage on 162

“element,” but the idea is rather that it is the essence of fire to require fuel.

- παροινούσι δούλοις ὁμοῦ καὶ ἐλευθέροις, ἔστι δ' ὅτε καὶ ὅλαις πόλεσι. "τίκτει γὰρ κόρος ὕβριν,"
 163 ὡς ὁ τῶν παλαιῶν λόγος. διὸ παγκάλως Μωυσῆς ἱεροφαντῶν παραινεῖ πάντων μὲν ἁμαρτημάτων ἀπέχεσθαι, διαφερόντως δὲ ὑπεροψίας. εἰθ' ὑπόμνησιν ποιεῖται τῶν μὲν ἀναφλέγειν τὸ πάθος εἰωθότων, πλησμονῆς γαστρὸς ἀμέτρου καὶ οἰκιῶν καὶ κτημάτων καὶ θρεμμάτων ἀφθόνου περιουσίας· γίνονται γὰρ εὐθὺς αὐτῶν ἀκράτορες, διαιρόμενοι καὶ φυσώμενοι, οἷς μία θεραπείας ἐλπίς τὸ μη-
 164 δέποτε ἐκλανθάνεσθαι τοῦ θεοῦ. καθάπερ γὰρ ἀνατείλαντος ἡλίου τὸ μὲν σκότος ἀφανίζεται, φωτὸς δὲ πληροῦται τὰ πάντα, τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον ὅταν θεός, ὁ νοητὸς ἥλιος, ἀνάσχη καὶ ἐπιλάμψῃ ψυχῇ, ὁ μὲν τῶν παθῶν καὶ κακιῶν ζόφος ἀνασκιδνάται, τῆς δ' αὐγοειδεστάτης ἀρετῆς τὸ καθαρώτατον καὶ ἀξιέραστον εἶδος ἐπιφαίνεται.
 165 XXXI. στέλλειν δ' ἔτι μᾶλλον καὶ καθαιρεῖν ὑπεροψίαν ἀξιῶν τὰς αἰτίας ἐπιλέγει, δι' αἷς ἄλυστον ἐχρῆν τὴν τοῦ θεοῦ μνήμην ἀγαλματοφορεῖν. "οὗτος γάρ σοι" φησί "δίδωσιν ἰσχὺν ποιῆσαι δύναμιν". ἄγαν παιδευτικῶς· ὁ γὰρ ἀκριβῶς ἀναδιδαχθεὶς, ὅτι δῶρον εἴληφε παρὰ θεοῦ τὸ εὖτονον καὶ ῥωμαλέον, τὴν ἰδίαν ἀσθένειαν ἐκλογιζόμενος, ἣν πρὶν ἀπολαῦσαι τῆς δωρεᾶς εἶχε, τὸ ὑψηλὸν καὶ ὑπέρανυχον φρόνημα διώσεται καὶ εὐχαριστήσῃ τῷ τῆς κρείττονος αἰτίῳ μεταβολῆς.

^a A proverbial phrase often used in slightly different forms by Philo, but here only noted as a quotation. The earliest writers in whom it is found are Solon and Theognis.

^b From this section to the end we have a homily on Deut. viii. 11 ff.

ON THE VIRTUES, 162-165

slave and free alike and sometimes on whole cities. For "satiety begets insolence,"^a as the ancients have said. ^b And therefore Moses in his work as Revealer 163 admirably exhorts them to abstain from all sins, but especially from pride. Then he reminds them of the causes which are wont to inflame this passion, unlimited means of satisfying the belly and unstinted superabundance of houses and land and cattle. For men at once lose their self-mastery, and are elated and puffed up, and the one hope of their cure is that they should never lose the remembrance of God.^c For as when the sun has risen the darkness disappears, 164 and all things are filled with light, so when God, the spiritual sun, rises and shines upon the soul, the gloomy night of passions and vices is scattered, and virtue reveals the peerless brightness of her form in all its purity and loveliness. XXXI. And 165

judging it well still further to repress and destroy pride, he recites the reasons why they should keep the memory of God, as an image enshrined, never to be forgotten. "For He," he says, "gives thee strength to make power"^d—words full of instruction, for he who has been carefully taught that his vigour and robustness is a gift received from God will take account of his own natural weakness, the weakness which was his before he enjoyed the gift of God, and will thrust aside the spirit of lofty arrogance and give thanks to Him who brought about the happy change. And

^c Verses 12-14. "Lest when thou hast eaten . . . thy heart be lifted up, and thou forget the Lord thy God."

^d Verse 18. E.V. "He giveth thee power to make wealth." Philo has elsewhere (*De Sac.* 56, *De Agr.* 172) quoted the LXX form "strength to make power," as meaning the same as E.V. The fine turn he gives to it here is an example of his utilizing any valuable sense of which the words are capable.

- ψυχὴ δὲ εὐχάριστος ἀλαζονείᾳ πολέμιος, ἐπεὶ καὶ
 166 τοῦναντίον ἀχαριστία συγγενὲς ὑπεροψία. ἐὰν
 δέ, φησὶν, εὐρωσθῇ σοι τὰ πράγματα, λαβὼν καὶ
 κτησάμενος ἰσχύν, ἣν ἴσως οὐ προσεδόκησας, ποιεῖ
 δύναμιν. τί δὲ τοῦτ' ἐστίν, ἀκριβωτέον τοῖς μὴ
 πάνυ συννοῶσι τὸ δηλούμενον. πολλοὶ τὰ ἐναντία
 ὧν εὖ πεπόνθασι δρᾶν ἐπιχειροῦσιν· ἡ γὰρ πλουτή-
 σαντες πενίαν ἄλλοις κατασκευάζουσιν ἢ δόξης
 καὶ τιμῆς ἐπὶ μέγα μετασχόντες ἀδοξίας καὶ
 167 ἀτιμίας ἐτέροις αἴτιοι γίνονται. χρὴ δὲ καὶ τὸν
 φρόνιμον ἀγχνίους, ὡς ἐνι μάλιστα, τοὺς πλησιάζ-
 οντας κατασκευάζειν καὶ τὸν σώφρονα ἐγκρατεῖς
 καὶ γενναίους τὸν ἀνδρεῖον καὶ τὸν δίκαιον δικαίους
 καὶ συνόλως ἀγαθοὺς τὸν ἀγαθόν. ταῦτα γὰρ ὡς
 ἔοικε δυνάμεις, ὧν ὁ γε ἀστείος ὡς οἰκειοτάτων
 [404] περιέζεται. ἀδυναμία δὲ καὶ ἀσθένεια, τὰ ἐναντία,
 168 σπουδαίων ἀλλότρια ἡθῶν. ἄλλως τε καὶ μάθημα
 ἀναδιδάσκει τῇ λογικῇ φύσει πρεπωδέστατον,
 μιμῆσθαι θεὸν καθ' ὅσον οἶόν τε, μηδὲν παρα-
 λιπόντα τῶν εἰς τὴν ἐνδεχομένην ἐξομοίωσιν.
 XXXII. ἐπειδὴ τοίνυν, φησὶν, ἔλαβες ἰσχύν παρὰ
 τοῦ δυνατωτάτου, μετάδος ἄλλοις ἰσχύος διαθεῖς ὁ
 ἔπαθες, ἵνα μιμήσῃ θεὸν τῷ παραπλήσια χαρί-
 169 ζεσθαι. κοινωφελεῖς γὰρ αἱ τοῦ πρώτου ἡγεμόνος
 δωρεαί, ὥς δίδωσιν ἐνίοις, οὐχ ἵν' ἐκείνοι λαβόντες
 ἀποκρύψωσιν ἢ καταχρήσωνται πρὸς ζημίαν ἐτέ-
 ρων, ἀλλ' ἵν' εἰς μέσον προενεγκόντες ὥσπερ ἐν

^a i.e. "at producing them in others." περιέχομαι in the sense of "aim at" is found, though not very commonly, and
 266

ON THE VIRTUES, 165-169

the thankful soul is the enemy of arrogance, just as conversely unthankfulness is akin to pride. What 166 he means to say is "if thy fortunes are thriving and lusty, if thou hast received and gained possession of strength, which perhaps thou didst not expect, make power." What this signifies must be clearly explained to those who fail to discern the full meaning. Many persons try to do to others the opposite of the good which they have experienced. They become rich and make others poor, or having received a great measure of glory and honour they bring about ingloriousness and dishonour to others. Rather 167 should the wise man, as far as possible, impart to his neighbours his sagacity, the continent his temperance, the valiant his gallantry, the just his justice, and in general the good his goodness. For these are evidently powers, and the man of worth will aim at^a these as most akin to himself, while impotence and weakness, their opposites, are alien to upright character. Especially does he give this lesson as most 168 suitable to the rational nature that a man should imitate God as much as may be and leave nothing undone that may promote such assimilation as is possible.^b XXXII. "When then," he says, "you have received strength from the most powerful, give of your strength to others and do to them as has been done to you, that you may imitate God by bestowing freely boons of the same kind. For the gifts of the 169 Chief Ruler are of universal benefit, given to some, not to be hidden by them when received, nor misused to harm others, but thrown into the common stock

this best suits the general sense. Otherwise "will cling to them as his most cherished possessions."

^b See note on *Spec. Leg.* iv. 188 (App. p. 436).

- δημοθουινία πάντας ὅσους οἶόν τε καλέσωσιν ἐπὶ
 170 τὴν χρῆσιν καὶ ἀπόλαυσιν αὐτῶν. λέγομεν οὖν
 καὶ τῷ πολυχρημάτῳ καὶ ἐνδόξῳ καὶ εὐέκτῃ καὶ
 ἐπιστήμονι, πλουσίους καὶ ἐνδόξους εὐέκτας τε
 καὶ ἐπιστήμονας καὶ συνόλως ἀγαθοὺς ἀπεργά-
 ζεσθαι τοὺς ἐντυγχάνοντας, ἀλλὰ μὴ φθόνον καὶ
 βασκανίαν ἀρετῆς προτιμήσαντα τοῖς εὖ πράττειν
 171 δυναμένοις ἀντιβαίνειν. τοὺς δὲ μέγα πνέοντας
 ἐπιτάσει¹ τῆς ἀλαζονείας ἀθεραπεύτως εἰς ἅπαν
 ἔχοντας ὁ νόμος παγκάλως οὐκ ἤγαγεν εἰς κρίσιν
 ἀνθρωπίνην, ἀλλὰ μόνῳ τῷ θεῷ παρέδωκε δικα-
 στηρίῳ. φησὶ γάρ· ὃς ἂν ἐγχειρῇ τι πράττειν μεθ'
 172 ὑπερηφανίας, "τὸν θεὸν παροξύνει." διὰ τί; ὅτι
 πρῶτον μὲν ἀλαζονεῖα ψυχῆς ἐστὶ κακία, ψυχὴ δὲ
 ἀόρατος ὅτι μὴ θεῷ, κολαστῆς δὲ ὁ μὲν τυφλὸς
 ἐπίμεμπτος, ἀγνοίαν κατήγορον ἔχων, ὁ δὲ
 βλέπων ἐπαινετός, ἐπιστήμη πάντα δρῶν· ἔπειτα
 δὲ ὅτι φρονήματος ὑπόπλεως ἀλόγου γενόμενος
 πᾶς ἀλαζὼν "οὔτε ἄνδρα οὔτε ἡμίθεον ἀλλ' ὅλον
 δαίμονα" κατὰ τὸν Πίνδαρον ὑπολαμβάνει ἑαυτόν,
 ὑπὲρ τοὺς ὄρους τῆς ἀνθρωπίνης φύσεως βαίνειν
 173 ἀξιώων. ἔστι δ' αὐτῷ καθάπερ ἡ ψυχὴ καὶ τὸ σῶμα
 ἐπίληπτον κατὰ τε τὰς σχέσεις καὶ κινήσεις
 ἀπάσας· ἀκροβατεῖ γὰρ καὶ τὸν αὐχένα μετέωρον

¹ The mss. here are exceedingly confused, and Cohn's reconstruction here given is doubtful. He also inserts *ὡς* before *ἀθεραπεύτως*, necessarily perhaps if *ἐπιτάσει* is to be taken with *πνέοντας*. The translation takes it as causal with *ἀθεραπεύτως ἔχοντας*. *μέγα* or *μέγαρα* *πνεῖν* is often used absolutely, sometimes to express influence, sometimes pride. Cf. *Mos.* i. 30, *Flacc.* 124, 152.

ON THE VIRTUES, 169-173

so that as in a public banquet they may invite as many as they possibly can to use and enjoy them. We say then to him who has much wealth or reputation or soundness of body or knowledge, that he should make those whom he meets rich, highly reputed, well-conditioned in body, and full of knowledge, and in general good, instead of preferring jealousy and envy to virtue and setting himself in opposition to those who might thrive in these ways. But with the men of windy pride, whose intensified arrogance sets them quite beyond cure, the law deals admirably in not bringing them to be judged by men but handing them over to the divine tribunal only, for it says, "Whosoever sets his hand to do anything with presumptuousness provokes God."^a Why is this? First, because arrogance is a vice of the soul and the soul is invisible save only to God. Chastisement is not for the blind to give but for him who can see; in the one it deserves censure, because his ignorance bears witness against him, in the other it is laudable, because he acts throughout with knowledge.^b Secondly, the arrogant man is always filled with the spirit of unreason, holding himself, as Pindar says, to be neither man nor demigod, but wholly divine, and claiming to overstep the limits of human nature. His body like his soul is at fault in every posture and movement. With haughty airs and perked up neck

a high hand (LXX ἐν χειρὶ ὑπερηφανίας), the same blasphemeth (LXX παροξύνει) the Lord."

^b Cohn considers the whole description of the arrogant man to be an obvious allusion to the emperor Gaius. Cf. *Leg. ad Gaium* 75 "he claimed to remain no more within the limits of human nature, but soared above them desiring to be thought a god." It seems to me rather unnecessary even if it can be verified chronologically.

PHILO

ἐξαίρει φρυαττόμενος καὶ πλέον τῆς φύσεως ἐπῆρται καὶ πεφύσῃται καὶ ὁρῶν παραβλέπει πλαγίαις ὄψεσι καὶ ἀκούων παρακούει, κέχρηται δὲ τοῖς μὲν οἰκέταις ὡς θρέμμασι, τοῖς δὲ ἐλευθέροις ὡς οἰκέταις, καὶ τοῖς μὲν συγγενέσιν ὡς ἀλλοτρίοις, τοῖς δὲ φίλοις ὡς κόλαξι, τοῖς δ' ἀστοῖς ὡς ξένοις·

174 πάντων τε οἶεται εἶναι πλουσιώτατος, ἐντιμώτατος, κάλλιστος, ἰσχυρότατος, φρονιμώτατος, σωφρονέστατος, δικαιοτάτος, λογιώτατος, ἐπιστημονικώτατος· εἶτα τοὺς ἄλλους ὑπολαμβάνει πένητας,
[405] | ἀδόξους, ἀτίμους, ἄφρονας, ἀδίκους, ἀνεπιστήμονας, καθάρματα, τὸ μηδέν. εἰκότως οὖν ὁ τοιοῦτος ἀντιδίκῳ καὶ κολαστῇ χρήσαιτ' ἂν, ὥς φησιν ὁ ἱεροφάντης, θεῶ.

Περὶ μετανοίας

175 XXXIII. Φιλάρετος καὶ φιλόκαλος καὶ διαφερόντως φιλάνθρωπος ὢν ὁ ἱερώτατος Μωυσῆς προτρέπει τοὺς πανταχοῦ πάντας εὐσεβείας καὶ δικαιοσύνης εἶναι ζηλωτάς, ἀθλα προτιθεὶς ὡς νικηφόροις μεγάλα τοῖς μετανοοῦσι πολιτείας κοινωνίαν τῆς ἀρίστης καὶ τῶν κατ' αὐτὴν ἀπόλαυσιν μικρῶν
176 τε καὶ μεγάλων. ἀγαθὰ γὰρ προηγούμενα ἐν μὲν σώμασιν ἢ ἄνοσος ὑγεία, ἐν δὲ ναυσὶν ἢ ἀκίνδυνος εὐπλοία, ἐν δὲ ψυχαῖς ἢ ἀλυστος μνήμη τῶν ἀξίων μνημονεύεσθαι· δεύτερα δὲ τὰ κατ' ἐπανόρθωσιν συνιστάμενα, ἧ τε ἐκ νόσων ἀνάληψις καὶ ἡ ἐκ τῶν κατὰ πλοῦν κινδύνων εὐκταισιότατη σωτηρία καὶ ἡ λήθης ἐκγινομένη¹ ἀνάμνησις, ἧς ἀδελφὸν καὶ συγγενέστατον τὸ μετανοεῖν ἐστίν, οὐκ ἐν τῇ πρώτῃ καὶ ἀνωτάτῳ τεταγμένον τάξει τῶν ἀγαθῶν, ἀλλ' ἐν τῇ

ON THE VIRTUES, 173-176

he struts about rising above his natural stature, puffs himself out, sees only by looking out of the side of his eyes, and hears only to misunderstand. Slaves he treats as cattle, the free as slaves, kinsfolk as strangers, friends as parasites, fellow-citizens as foreigners. He considers himself superior to all in riches, 174 estimation, beauty, strength, wisdom, temperance, justice, eloquence, knowledge; while everyone else he regards as poor, disesteemed, unhonoured, foolish, unjust, ignorant, outcast, in fact good-for-nothing. Naturally such a person will, as the Revealer tells us, have God for his accuser and avenger.

On Repentance

XXXIII. Our most holy Moses, who so dearly 175 loved virtue and goodness and especially his fellow-men, exhorts everyone everywhere to pursue piety and justice, and offers to the repentant in honour of their victory the high rewards of membership in the best of commonwealths and of the felicities both great and small which that membership confers. For in 176 the scale of values the primary place is taken in bodies by health free from disease, in ships by travelling happily free from danger and in souls by memory of things worth remembering without lapse into forgetfulness. But second to these stands rectification in its various forms, recovery from disease, deliverance so earnestly desired from the dangers of the voyage, and recollection supervening on forgetfulness. This last has for its brother and close kinsman repentance, which though it does not stand in the first and highest rank of values has its

¹ MSS. ἐγγενομένη or ἐγγινομένη.

177 μετὰ ταύτην φερόμενον δευτερεΐα. τὸ μὲν γὰρ
 μηδὲν συνόλως ἀμαρτεῖν ἴδιον θεοῦ τάχα δὲ καὶ
 θείου ἀνδρός, τὸ δὲ ἀμαρτόντα μεταβαλεῖν πρὸς
 ἀνυπαίτιον ζῶν φρονίμου καὶ τὸ συμφέρον εἰς ἅπαν

178 οὐκ ἀγνοήσαντος. ὅθεν τοὺς τοιούτους συνάγων
 καὶ μυσταγωγῶν προσκαλεῖται τὰς συμβατηρίους
 καὶ φιλικὰς προτείνων ὑψηγήσεις, αἱ παραινοῦσιν
 ἀψεύδειαν ἀσκεῖν καὶ τύφον προβεβλήσθαι καὶ ἀλη-
 θείας καὶ ἀτυφίας ὡς ἀναγκαιοτάτων καὶ εὐδαι-
 μονίας αἰτίων περιέχεσθαι μυθικῶν πλασμάτων
 κατεξαναστάντας, ἅπερ ἐκ πρώτης ἡλικίας ἀπαλαῖς
 ἔτι ψυχαῖς γονεῖς καὶ τίτθαι καὶ παιδαγωγοὶ καὶ
 μυριοὶ ἄλλοι τῶν συνήθων ἐνεχάραξαν πλάνον ἀν-
 ἥνυτον περὶ τῆς τοῦ ἀρίστου γνώσεως ἀπεργασά-

179 μενοι. τί δ' ἂν εἴη τῶν ὄντων ἄριστον ἢ θεός; οὐ
 τὰς τιμὰς προσένειμαν τοῖς οὐ θεοῖς ἐκείνους μὲν
 ἀποσεμνύνοντες πλεόν τοῦ μετρίου, τοῦ δὲ εἰς ἅπαν
 οἱ κενοὶ φρενῶν ἐκλαθόμενοι. πάντας οὖν, ὅσοι
 τὸν κτίστην καὶ πατέρα τοῦ παντὸς εἰ καὶ μὴ ἐξ
 ἀρχῆς σέβειν ἠξίωσαν ἀλλ' ὕστερον μοναρχίαν ἀντὶ
 πολυαρχίας ἀσπασάμενοι, φιλτάτους καὶ συγγενε-
 στάτους ὑποληπτέον, τὸ μέγιστον εἰς φιλίαν καὶ
 [406] οἰκειότητα | παρασχομένους θεοφιλὲς ἦθος, οἷς χρή
 καὶ συνήδεσθαι, καθάπερ ἂν εἰ καὶ τυφλοὶ πρότερον
 ὄντες ἀνέβλεψαν ἐκ βαθυτάτου σκότους αὐγοειδέ-
 στατον φῶς ἰδόντες.

180 XXXIV. Τὸ μὲν οὖν πρῶτον καὶ ἀναγκαιοτάτον
 τῶν εἰς μετάνοιαν εἴρηται. μετανοεῖτω δέ τις μὴ

^a Or "the character which God loves." But here perhaps, as elsewhere, *θεοφιλής*, though primarily distinguished as in 272

ON THE VIRTUES, 176-180

place in the class next to this and takes the second prize. For absolute sinlessness belongs to God alone, 177 or possibly to a divine man ; conversion from sin to a blameless life shows a man of wisdom who has not been utterly ignorant of what is for his good. And, 178 therefore, when Moses convokes such people and would initiate them into his mysteries, he invites them with conciliatory and amicable offers of instruction, exhorting them to practise sincerity and reject vanity, to embrace truth and simplicity as vital necessities and the sources of happiness, and to rise in rebellion against the mythical fables impressed on their yet tender souls from their earliest years by parents and nurses and tutors and the multitude of other familiars, who have caused them to go endlessly astray in their search for the knowledge of the best. And what is the best of all that is but God, whose 179 honours they have assigned to those who were no gods and glorified them beyond measure, while Him in their senseless folly they forgot ? So therefore all these who did not at the first acknowledge their duty to reverence the Founder and Father of all, yet afterwards embraced the creed of one instead of a multiplicity of sovereigns, must be held to be our dearest friends and closest kinsmen. They have shown the godliness of heart ^a which above all leads up to friendship and affinity, and we must rejoice with them, as if, though blind at the first they had recovered their sight and had come from the deepest darkness to behold the most radiant light.

XXXIV. We have described the first and most 180 essential form of repentance, but a man should show

§ 184 from φιλόθεος, carries with it some idea of reciprocation, "friendship with God."

- μόνον ἐφ' οἷς ἡπατήθη πολὺν χρόνον τὰ γενητὰ πρὸ τοῦ ἀγενήτου καὶ ποιητοῦ θαυμάσας, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐν τοῖς ἄλλοις ὅσα περὶ βίον ἀναγκαῖα, μετιὼν ὥσπερ ἐκ τῆς φαυλοτάτης τῶν κακοπολιτειῶν, ὀχλοκρατίας, εἰς τὴν εὐνομωτάτην πολιτείαν, δημοκρατίαν, τοῦτο δ' ἐστὶν ἐξ ἀμαθίας εἰς ἐπιστήμην ὧν ἡ ἄγνοια αἰσχρὸν, ἐξ ἀφροσύνης εἰς φρόνησιν, ἐξ ἀκρατείας εἰς ἐγκράτειαν, ἐξ ἀδικίας εἰς δικαιοσύνην, ἐξ ἀτολμίας εἰς θαρραλεότητα. 181 πάγκαλον γὰρ καὶ συμφέρον αὐτομολεῖν ἀμεταστρεπτί πρὸς ἀρετὴν κακίαν, ἐπίβουλον δέσποιναν, ἀπολιπόντας· ἅμα δ' ἀναγκαῖον ἔπαισθαι, ὡς ἐν ἡλίῳ σκιὰν σώματι, καὶ τῇ τοῦ ὄντος θεοῦ τιμῇ πᾶσαν τὴν τῶν 182 ἄλλων ἀρετῶν κοινωνίαν. γίνονται γὰρ, εὐθύς οἱ ἐπηλύται σώφρονες, ἐγκρατεῖς, αἰδήμονες, ἡμεροί, χρηστοί, φιλάνθρωποι, σεμνοί, δίκαιοι, μεγαλόφρονες, ἀληθείας ἐρασταί, κρείττους χρημάτων καὶ ἡδονῆς· ἐπεὶ καὶ τοῦναντίον τοὺς τῶν ἱερῶν νόμων ἀποστάντας ἰδεῖν ἔστιν ἀκολάστους, ἀναισχύντους, ἀδίκους, ἀσέμνους, ὀλιγόφρονες, φιλαπεχθήμονες, ψευδολογίας ἐταίρους καὶ ψευδορκίας, τὴν ἐλευθερίαν πεπρακότας ὄψου καὶ ἀκράτου καὶ πεμμάτων καὶ εὐμορφίας εἷς τε τὰς γαστρὸς ἀπολαύσεις καὶ τῶν μετὰ γαστέρα, ὧν τὰ τέλη βαρύταται ζημίαι 183 σώματός τε καὶ ψυχῆς εἰσι. παγκάλους μέντοι καὶ τὰς εἰς μετάνοιαν ὑψηγήσεις ποιεῖται, αἷς διδασκόμεθα μεθαρμόζεσθαι τὸν βίον ἐξ ἀναρμοστίας εἰς τὴν ἀμείνω μεταβολήν· φησὶ γάρ, ὅτι τουτὶ τὸ πρᾶγμα οὐχ ὑπέρογκόν ἐστιν οὐδὲ μα-

^a See App. p. 437 (i.e. note on *Spec. Leg.* iv. 237).

^b χρηστός coming here might bear this sense, which it sometimes certainly has. Cohn gives "brav" = "honest" (?).

ON THE VIRTUES, 180-183

repentance not only for the delusions under which he long laboured in revering things created before the Creator and Maker, but also in the other fundamental concerns of life, by passing, as it were, from mob-rule, which is the vilest of misgovernments, into democracy,^a the government in which good order is best observed. This means passing from ignorance to knowledge of things which it is disgraceful not to know, from senselessness to good sense, from incontinence to continence, from injustice to justice, from timidity to boldness. For it is excellent and profitable to desert 181 without a backward glance to the ranks of virtue and abandon vice that malignant mistress; and where honour is rendered to the God who is, the whole company of the other virtues must follow in its train as surely as in the sunshine the shadow follows the body. The proselytes become at once temperate, 182 continent, modest, gentle, kind,^b humane, serious,^c just, high-minded, truth-lovers, superior to the desire for money and pleasure, just as conversely the rebels from the holy laws are seen to be incontinent, shameless, unjust, frivolous, petty-minded, quarrelsome, friends of falsehood and perjury, who have sold their freedom for dainties and strong liquor and cates and the enjoyment of another's beauty,^d thus ministering to the delights of the belly and the organs below it—delights which end in the gravest injuries both to body and soul. Admirable indeed 183 too are the admonitions to repentance, in which we are taught to refit our life from its present misfit into a better and changed condition. He tells us^e that the thing is not overgreat nor very distant, neither in the

^a Perhaps "reverent," in which case ἀσεμνος = "irreverent."

^b See on *Spec. Leg.* iv. 82.

^c Deut. xxx. 11-14.

κρὰν ἀφεστός, οὔτε κατὰ τὸν αἰθέρα ἀνωτάτῳ κὰν¹
 ἐσχατιαῖς <γῆς οὔτε πέραν>² τῆς μεγάλης θαλάττης,
 ὥς ἀδυνατῆσαι λαβεῖν, ἀλλ' ἔστιν ἐγγυτάτῳ,
 τρισὶ μέρεσι τῶν καθ' ἡμᾶς ἐνδιαιωμένων, στό-
 ματι καὶ καρδία καὶ χερσί, διὰ συμβόλων λόγοις
 καὶ βουλαῖς καὶ πράξεσι· λόγου μὲν <γὰρ> στόμα
 σύμβολον, καρδία δὲ βουλευμάτων, πράξεων δὲ
 184 χεῖρες, ἐν οἷς τὸ εὐδαιμονεῖν ἐστιν. ὅταν μὲν γὰρ
 οἷος ὁ λόγος τοιάδε ἡ γνώμη καὶ οἷον τὸ βούλευμα
 τοιάδε ἡ πράξις, ἐπαινετὸς καὶ τέλειος ὁ βίος, ὅταν
 δὲ στασιάζῃ ταῦτα ἐν ἀλλήλοις, ἀτελής τε καὶ
 ψεκτός. εἰ μὴ τις τῆς ἀρμονίας ταύτης ἐπιλάθοιτο,
 εὐαρεστήσει θεῷ γενόμενος ὁμοῦ θεοφιλῆς καὶ
 [407] φιλόθεος. ὅθεν εὖ καὶ | συμφώνως τοῖς εἰρημένους
 ἐχρήσθη τὸ λόγιον ἐκεῖνο· “τὸν θεὸν εἴλου σήμερον
 εἶναί σοι θεόν, καὶ κύριος εἴλατό σε σήμερον γενέ-
 185 σθαι λαὸν αὐτῷ.” παγκάλῃ γε τῆς αἰρέσεως ἡ
 ἀντίδοσις, σπεύδοντος ἀνθρώπου μὲν θεραπεύειν τὸ
 ὄν, θεοῦ δὲ ἀνυπερθέτως ἐξοικειοῦσθαι τὸν ἰκέτην
 καὶ προαπαντᾶν τῷ βουλήματι τοῦ γνησίως καὶ
 ἀνόθως ἰόντος ἐπὶ τὴν θεραπείαν αὐτοῦ. ὁ δ'
 ἀληθὴς θεραπευτὴς τε καὶ ἰκέτης, κὰν εἰς ὧν ἀνὴρ
 ἀριθμῷ τυγχάνῃ, δυνάμει, καθάπερ αὐτὸς αἰρεῖται,³

¹ MSS. καὶ.

² This insertion is borne out by the form in which the same text is quoted in *De Mut.* 237 and *De Praem.* 80. Deuteronomy itself has only “heaven and beyond the sea.”

³ Cohn declares αὐτὸς αἰρεῖται to be corrupt and in his translation follows the correction ἄλλοθι εἴρηται “as has been said elsewhere,” i.e. in *De Dec.* 37, where Philo explains the use of the second person singular in the commandment as intended to show that one good person is equal in worth to a

ON THE VIRTUES, 183-185

ether far above nor at the ends of the earth, nor beyond the great sea, that we should be unable to receive it, but very near, residing in three parts of our being, mouth, heart and hands, thus symbolizing words and thoughts and actions, for the mouth is a symbol of speech, the heart of thoughts and intentions, the hand of action, and in these three lies happiness. For when thoughts correspond to words 184 and actions correspond to intentions, life is praiseworthy and perfect,^a but when they are at strife with each other, it is imperfect and a matter for reproach. If a man does not forget to keep this harmony, he will be well-pleasing to God, thus becoming at once God-loving and God-beloved. And so in full accordance with these words there was given from above the good saying, "Thou hast chosen to-day God to be God to thee, and the Lord has chosen thee to-day to be a people to Him."^b Glorious is this reciprocation of 185 choice, when man hastens to serve the Existent, and God delays not to take the suppliant to Himself and anticipates the will of him who honestly and sincerely comes to do Him service. And that true servant and suppliant, even though in actual number he be but one, is in real value, what God's own choice makes him,^c

^a Philo forgets to say that the correspondence must be one for good. In *De Mut.* 237 f., where he gives the same exposition of the text, he brings this out clearly.

^b Deut. xxvi. 17, 18. E.V. for "chosen" has "avouched."

^c See note 3.

whole nation. But this lesson can equally be drawn from the text he is quoting here "He hath chosen *thee* to be a people," and I believe that *αἰπεῖται* at any rate is right. The phrase as it stands is an obscure, though perhaps not impossible, way of expressing what I have translated it by, but the change of *καθ' ὅπερ* into *καθ' ὅπερ* would make it feasible. For other possible emendations see App. p. 448.

σύμπας ἐστὶν ὁ λεώς, ἰσότημος ὅλῳ ἔθνει γεγονώς.
 186 καὶ πέφυκεν οὕτως ἔχειν· ὥς γὰρ ἐν νηὶ μὲν κυβερνήτης πᾶσι τοῖς ναύταις ἀντίρροπος, ἐν δὲ στρατοπέδῳ στρατηγὸς ἅπασι τοῖς στρατιώταις— διαφθαρέντος γοῦν ἡττᾶσθαι συμβαίνει, καθάπερ ἂν εἰ καὶ πᾶσα δύναμις ἡβηδὸν ἐάλω—, τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον καὶ ὁ σοφὸς ὅλου ἔθνους ἀξιώματι ἀμιλλᾶται τείχει πεφραγμένος ἀκαθαιρέτῳ, θεοσεβείᾳ.

Περὶ εὐγενείας

- 187 | XXXV. Διὸ καὶ¹ τοῖς ὑμνοῦσι τὴν εὐγένειαν ὥς
 [437] μέγιστον ἀγαθὸν καὶ μεγάλων ἀγαθῶν αἴτιον οὐ μετρίως ἐπιτιμητέον, εἰ πρῶτον μὲν οἴονται τοὺς ἐκ παλαιοπλούτων καὶ παλαιενδόξων εὐγενεῖς, μηδὲ τῶν προγόνων, ἀφ' ὧν αὐχοῦσι γενέσθαι, διὰ τὰς ἀφθόλους περιουσίας εὐδαιμονησάντων, ἐπειδὴ τὸ πρὸς ἀλήθειαν ἀγαθὸν οὐδενὶ τῶν ἐκτός, ἀλλ' οὐδὲ τῶν περὶ σῶμα, μᾶλλον δὲ οὐδὲ παντὶ μέρει ψυχῆς, ἀλλὰ μόνῳ τῷ ἡγεμονικῷ πέφυκεν ἐνδαιτᾶσθαι.
 188 βουλευθεῖς γὰρ ὁ θεὸς δι' ἡμερότητα καὶ φιλ-
 ἀνθρωπίαν καὶ παρ' ἡμῖν τοῦθ' ἰδρύσασθαι, νεὼν ἀξιοπρεπέστερον οὐχ εὔρεν ἐπὶ γῆς λογισμοῦ· κρείττων γὰρ <ὧν> μόνος ἀγαλματοφορεῖ τὰγαθόν, καὶ ἀπιστῶσί τινες τῶν ἢ μὴ γευσασμένων σοφίας ἢ χεῖλεσιν ἄκροισ. ἄργυρος γὰρ καὶ χρυσὸς τιμαί
 [438] τε καὶ ἀρχαὶ καὶ σώματος | εὐεξία μετ' εὐμορφίας

¹ So one ms. S has καὶ τοῖς, the others τοῖς δὲ. The point has some bearing on the connexion of these two treatises. See Gen. Introd. p. xvii.

^a εἰ is here used causally, as often with words expressing indignation, etc. Philo does not state what is to come in the
 278

ON THE VIRTUES, 185-188

the whole people, in worth equal to a complete nation. And, indeed, this is true to nature. In a ship the 186 pilot is worth as much as all the crew, and in an army the general as much as all the soldiers, since if he fall, defeat results as certainly as it would if the whole force were annihilated. So, too, against the worth of a whole nation the wise man can hold his own, protected by the impregnable wall of godliness.

On Nobleness of Birth

XXXV. This shows also that those who hymn 187 nobility of birth as the greatest of good gifts and the source too of other great gifts deserve no moderate censure, because in the first place^a they think that those who have many generations of wealth and distinction behind them are noble, though neither did the ancestors from whom they boast descent find happiness in the superabundance of their possessions. For the true good cannot find its home in anything external, nor yet in things of the body, and further not even in every part of the soul, but only in its sovereign part. When in His mercy and loving 188 kindness God willed to establish the good among us also, He found no worthier temple on earth than the reasoning faculty, for in this alone as the more excellent part the good is enshrined, even though some may disbelieve, who have never tasted or only just sipped wisdom. For silver and gold and honour and offices and good condition and beauty of body are like men set in com-

second place. The thought is perhaps that this in itself is sufficient, in which case translate "if only because."

- εοίκασι τοῖς ἐν ταῖς ἡγεμονίαις ἐπὶ χρεῶν τεταγ-
 μένοις πρὸς τὴν οἶα βασιλίδος ἀρετῆς ὑπηρεσίαν
 189 αὐγοειδέστατον φῶς μὴ ἰδόντες.¹ ἐπειδὴ τοίνυν ἡ
 εὐγένεια κεκαθαρμένης διανοίας καθαρσίους τελείους
 κλῆρος οἰκεῖος, χρὴ μόνους λέγειν εὐγενεῖς τοὺς
 σῶφρονας καὶ δικαίους, κἂν τύχωσιν ἐξ οἰκοτρίβων
 ἢ ἀργυρωνήτων γεγονότες· τοῖς δὲ ἐξ ἀγαθῶν
 πονηροῖς γεγονόσιν ἄβατον ἔστω τὸ εὐγενείας
 190 χωρίον. αἰκος γὰρ καὶ ἄπολις ὁ φαῦλος, ἐκ
 πατρίδος ἀρετῆς ἐληλαμένος, ἡ καὶ τῷ ὄντι σοφῶν
 ἀνδρῶν ἐστι πατρίς· τούτῳ κατὰ τὸ ἀναγκαῖον
 ἔπεται δυσγένεια, κἂν εἰ πάππων ἢ προγόνων
 γένοιτο τοὺς βίους ἀνεπιλήπτων, ἄλλοτρίωσιν ἐπι-
 τηδεύοντι καὶ πορρωτάτῳ τῆς εὐγενείας δια-
 191 ζευγνύντι ἑαυτὸν ἐν τε λόγοις καὶ ἔργοις. ἀλλὰ
 γὰρ πρὸς τῷ μὴ πεφυκέναι τοὺς πονηροὺς εὐγενεῖς
 ἔτι καὶ πάντας αὐτοὺς ὁρῶ πολεμίους ἀσυμβάτους
 εὐγενεῖα καθαιροῦντας τὸ προγονικὸν ἀξίωμα καὶ

¹ Cohn regards this sentence as corrupt and inserts *ἐξαρκεῖν* after *εὐμορφίας*. He treats *ἄργυρος . . . ὑπηρεσίαν* as a parenthesis, and marks a lacuna before *αὐγοειδέστατον . . . ἰδόντες*. He translates "Silver and gold, etc. seem to rulers appointed to the service of queenly virtue to be sufficient . . . they do not see the radiant light." In the text the parenthetical arrangement suggests that he takes *ἰδόντες* as agreeing with *τινες*, but there is no sign of this in the translation. In a note to his version he justly remarks that it makes no sense, and the interpolation of *ἐξαρκεῖν*, or, as suggested in the translation, *ζηλωτὰ* (? *ζηλωτὰ εἶναι*), seems pointless. See note *a*.

^a The first part of this sentence down to "virtue" as here translated seems grammatically unimpeachable, and, I believe, gives a perfectly Philonic thought. Though the actual figure by which bodily and external goods are compared to officers 280

ON THE VIRTUES, 188-191

mand for ordinary purposes compared with service to queenly virtue^a and have never seen the light in its full radiance. Since then nobility is the peculiar 189 portion of a mind purged clean of every spot, we must give the name of noble only to the temperate and just,^b even though their parents were slaves, home-bred or purchased; but to the evil children of good parents that portion^c must be closed ground. For 190 the fool has no home and no city; he is expatriated from virtue, and virtue is in very truth the native land of the wise. With the fool inevitably comes ignobleness, even though his grandfather or ancestors be men of blameless life, for he habitually treats nobility as a stranger and sets a wide gulf between himself and her both in words and deeds. But not 191 only do the wicked fail to be noble, but they are actually, I see well, all mortal enemies of nobility, since they destroy ancestral prestige and dim and

serving practical needs as opposed to service in the court of virtue herself does not occur elsewhere, similar ideas are often to be found in Philo. Compare particularly the disquisition in *De Fuga* 25-37, where the proper use of these things as a preliminary to the higher life of contemplation is enjoined. Remarks to the same effect appear in *De Sob.* 61, *De Conf.* 18, *Quis Rerum* 285. There is more to be said for supposing a lacuna before ἀγνοεῖσθαι. The four words may be spurious, as they are omitted in S. Assuming that they are genuine, the abrupt change of metaphor and perhaps their application to the "goods" themselves, instead of their possessors, is strange. It would not be surprising if some words had fallen out explaining that while these were not "blind wealth," they were not "seeing wealth" in the fullest sense. See further for Mangey's version App. p. 449.

^b For Stoic and other illustrations of this thought see App. p. 449.

^c Or simply "place." But the common sense of "estate" corresponds well to κλήρος.

- ὅσον ἐν τῷ γένει λαμπρὸν ἑξαμανροῦντάς τε καὶ
 192 σβεννύντας. XXXVI. διό μοι δοκοῦσι φιλο-
 στοργότατοι πατέρες ἀπορρήσεις χρηματίζειν καθ'
 υἱῶν ἀποσχοινίζοντες αὐτοὺς τῆς οἰκίας καὶ συγ-
 γενείας, ὅταν τὴν ἐκ φύσεως ἐν τοῖς γεννήσασι
 περιττὴν καὶ ὑπερβάλλουσαν εὐνοίαν ἢ ἐν ἐκείνοις
 193 μοχθηρία κατακρατήσῃ. τὸ δ' ἀληθές τοῦ λόγου
 ῥάδιον καὶ ἀφ' ἐτέρων διαγινῶναι. τί τῷ τὰς ὄψεις
 πεπηρωμένῳ γένοιτ' ἂν εἰς τὸ βλέπειν ὄφελος
 ὀξύωπία προγονική; ἢ πρὸς ἐρμηνείαν τῷ παρ-
 ειμένῳ γλῶτταν τὸ γονεῖς ἢ πάππους γενέσθαι
 μεγαλοφώνους; τί δ' ὀνίνησι πρὸς εὐτονίαν τὸν ἐκ
 μακρᾶς καὶ φθινάδος νόσου κατεσκελετευμένον,
 εἰάν οἱ τοῦ γένους ἀρχηγέται δι' ἀθλητικὴν ῥώμην
 ἐν Ὀλυμπιονίκαις ἢ περιοδονίκαις γράφωνται;
 μένουσι γὰρ οὐδὲν ἥττον αἱ τοῦ σώματος κῆρες ἐν
 ὁμοίῳ βελτίωσιν οὐκ ἐνδεχόμεναι διὰ τὰς τῶν
 194 οἰκείων εὐπραγίας. τὸν αὐτὸν δὴ τρόπον οὔτε
 τοῖς ἀδίκους δίκαιοι γονεῖς οὔτε ἀκολάστοις σώ-
 φρονες οὔτε συνόλως ἀγαθοὶ πονηροῖς ὄφελος· οὐδὲ
 γὰρ οἱ νόμοι τοῖς παρανομοῦσιν, ὧν εἰσιν αὐτοὶ
 κολασταί· νόμοι δέ τινες ἄγραφοι καὶ οἱ βίοι τῶν
 195 ζηλωσάντων τὴν ἀρετὴν. ὅθεν οἶμαι τὴν
 εὐγένειαν, εἰ θεὸς αὐτὴν εἰς ἀνθρωπόμορφον ἰδέαν
 ἐτύπωσε, στᾶσαν πρὸς τοὺς ἀφηνιαστάς ἀπογόνους
 ταῦτα ἂν εἰπεῖν· “τὸ συγγενὲς οὐχ αἵματι μετρεῖται
 μόνον, πρυτανευούσης ἀληθείας, ἀλλὰ πράξεων

^a For χρηματίζειν cf. *De Cher.* 115 χρηματίζειν ἀπόλειψιν πρὸς τὸν ἀρχοντα, and note, vol. ii. p. 486. This use is noted in L. & S. revised, referring to this passage under the head 282

ON THE VIRTUES, 191-195

finally quench all the glory which illumines the family. XXXVI. That is the reason, I think, why 192 fathers of the most affectionate kind formally disinherit^a their sons and debar them from their home and kinship, when the depravity which they show overcomes the peculiar and intense affection implanted in parents by nature. The truth of what I 193 say can easily be recognized from other examples. If a man has lost the use of his eyes, will the keen-sightedness of his ancestors help him to see? If his tongue is paralysed, will he express himself better because his parents or grandparents possessed strong voices? If he is worn to a thread by a long and wasting sickness, will it profit for restoring him to vigour that the athletic prowess of the founders of the family has placed them in the list of victors at the Olympic or all the other great games? Their bodily debilities remain just as they were and cannot be improved by the better luck of their relations. In the same way, 194 just parents are no help to the unjust, nor temperate parents to the intemperate, nor, in general, good parents to the wicked, any more than the laws to law-breakers, whom they exist to punish, and the lives of those who have earnestly followed virtue may be called unwritten laws.^b And, there- 195 fore, I think, that if God had so formed nobility as to take a human shape, she would stand to face the rebellious descendants and address them thus. "In the court where truth presides, kinship is not measured only by blood, but by similarity of conduct and pur-

of "issuing ordinances, etc." But the use in Philo points rather to taking proceedings.

^b For this idea, which inspires all the biographies translated in vol. vi., see particularly *De Abr.* 4 ff. and 276.

- ὁμοιότητι καὶ θήρα τῶν αὐτῶν. ὑμεῖς δὲ τὰναντία ἐπετηδεύσατε, τὰ μὲν ἐμοὶ φίλα νομίσαντες ἐχθρά, [439] τὰ δὲ | δυσμενῇ φίλα· παρ' ἐμοὶ μὲν γὰρ αἰδώς καὶ ἀλήθεια μετριοπάθειά τε καὶ ἀτυφία καὶ ἀκακία τίμα, παρ' ὑμῖν δὲ ἄτιμα· κάμοι μὲν ἐχθρὰ τὸ ἀναίσχυντον, τὸ ψεῦδος, ἢ ἀμετρία τῶν παθῶν, 196 ὁ τῦφος, αἱ κακίαι, ὑμῖν δὲ οἰκειότατα. τί δὴ μελετήσαντες ἀλλοτρίωσιν τὴν δι' ἔργων τὴν ἐν λόγῳ συγγένειαν εὐπρεπὲς ὄνομα ὑποδυσόμενοι καθυποκρίνεσθε; παραγωγὰς γὰρ καὶ κεκομφεμένας ἀπάτας οὐκ ἀνέχομαι, διότι ῥάδιον μὲν καὶ τῷ τυχόντι εὐπροσώπους λόγους εὐρεῖν, ἥθη δ' 197 ὑπαλλάξασθαι πονηρὰ χρηστοῖς οὐ ῥάδιον. εἰς ἅπερ ἀφορῶσα καὶ νῦν ἐχθροὺς νομίζω καὶ αὐθις ἡγήσομαι τοὺς τὰ τῆς ἐχθρας ὑπεκκαύματα ζω-
 πυρήσαντας καὶ μᾶλλον τῶν εἰς δυσγένειαν ὀνειδιζομένων ὑποβλέψομαι· τούτοις μὲν γὰρ ἀπολογία τὸ μηδὲν οἰκεῖον ἔχειν (παράδειγμα)¹ καλοκάγαθίας, ὑπόδικοι δ' ὑμεῖς οἱ ἐκ μεγάλων φύντες οἴκων, οἷς αὖχμα καὶ κλέος τὰ λαμπρὰ γένη· παριδρυμένων γὰρ καὶ τρόπον τινὰ συμπεφυκότων ἀρχετύπων ἀγαθῶν οὐδὲν ἀπομάξασθαι καλὸν διανοήθητε."
- 198 "Οτι δὲ ἐν ἀρετῆς κτήσει τίθεται τὸ εὐγενὲς καὶ τὸν ἔχοντα ταύτην εὐγενῇ μόνον ὑπείληφεν, ἀλλ' οὐχ ὅστις ἂν καλῶν καὶ ἀγαθῶν γένηται γονέων, 199 δῆλον ἐκ πολλῶν. XXXVII. αὐτίκα τοὺς ἐκ τοῦ γηγενοῦς φύντας τίς οὐκ ἂν εὐπατρίδας εἴποι καὶ

¹ Added by Cohn on the analogy of *Spec. Leg.* iv. 182. A partitive genitive after *μηδὲν* is doubtful Greek.

^a Lit. "Having practised the estrangement that comes by actions, why by assuming a specious name do you counterfeit the kinship of words?"

ON THE VIRTUES, 195-199

suit of the same objects. But your practice has been the opposite. What I hold dear you regard as hostile and my enemies you love. In my sight, modesty and truth and control of the passions and simplicity and innocence are honourable, in your eyes dishonourable. Shamelessness, falsehood, passion uncontrolled, vanity, vices are my enemies, but to you they are the closest of friends. You have done your best 196 by your actions to make yourselves strangers, why do you hypocritically assume a specious name and call yourselves kinsmen?^a Seductive arts and clever wiles I cannot away with. It is easy for anybody to devise prettily-sounding words, but it is not easy to change bad morals to good. With these things before my 197 eyes, I count now as enemies and hereafter shall hold as such, those who have kindled the fuel of enmity into a flame,^b and I shall frown on them, more than on those whose reproach is their ignoble birth. They may plead in defence that they have no pattern of high excellence for their own, but you stand accused, you who spring from great houses, which boast and glory in the splendour of their race. For though you have good models at your side, almost, indeed, your birth fellows, you have never been minded to reproduce any of their excellence."

That he held nobility to depend on the acquisition 198 of virtue and considered that the possessor of virtue and not anyone born of highly excellent parents is noble can be shown from many examples. XXXVII. 199 For instance, who would deny that the sons of the Earth-born were of high birth and progenitors of

^b These stilted phrases, in keeping with the rest of the speech, apparently mean nothing more than "I shall never forgive you."

- εὐπατριδῶν ἀρχηγέτας; οἱ γένος ἐξαίρετον ἔλαχον
 παρὰ τοὺς ἔπειτα, βλαστήσαντες ἐκ τῶν πρώτων
 νυμφίων ἀνδρός τε καὶ γυναικὸς τότε πρῶτον εἰς
 ὁμιλίαν κοινὴν ἐπὶ σπορᾷ τοῦ ὁμοίου συνελθόντων.
 ἀλλ' ὅμως δυοῖν γενομένων ὁ πρεσβύτερος ὑπέμεινε
 τὸν νεώτερον δολοφονῆσαι καὶ τὸ μέγιστον ἄγος,
 ἀδελφοκτονίαν, ἐργασάμενος πρῶτος αἵματι ἀνθρω-
 200 πίνῳ τὴν γῆν ἐμίανε. τί δὴ τοῦτον ὦνησεν ἡ
 εὐγένεια τὴν ἐν τῇ ψυχῇ δυσγένειαν ἐπιδειξάμενον;
 ἦν καὶ ὁ τῶν ἀνθρωπίνων πραγμάτων ἔφορος θεὸς
 ἰδὼν. ἐστύγησε καὶ προβαλλόμενος ὥρισε τιμωρίας,
 οὐκ εὐθὺς ἀνελών, ὅπως ἀναισθήτως ἔχη συμφορῶν,
 ἀλλὰ μυρίους ἐπικρεμάσας τοὺς ἐν αἰσθήσει θανά-
 τους λύπαις καὶ φόβοις ἐπαλλήλοις εἰς κακῶν
 ὀδυνηροτάτων ἀντίληψιν.
- 201 Ἐγένετο δέ τις τῶν μετὰ ταῦτα σφόδρα δοκίμων
 ἀνὴρ ὀσιώτατος, οὗ τὴν εὐσέβειαν ἀνάγραφτον
 ἠξίωσεν (εἶναι) ἐν ἱεραῖς βίβλοις ὁ τοὺς νόμους
 διαταξάμενος· ὃς ἐν τῷ μεγάλῳ κατακλυσμῷ, τῶν
 πόλεων ἀφανιζομένων πανωλεθρία—καὶ γὰρ τῶν
 [440] ὄρων τὰ ὑψηλότεα | τῇ συναυξήσει καὶ ἐπιτάσει
 τῆς περὶ τὴν φορὰν πλημμύρας κατεπίνετο—,
 μόνος μετὰ τῶν οἰκείων διασώζεται τῆς καλο-
 κάγαθίας ἄθλον ἀράμενος, οὗ μείζον οὐκ ἔστιν
 202 εὐρεῖν. ἀλλὰ καὶ τούτῳ τριῶν γενομένων παίδων
 καὶ συναπολελευκότων τῆς πατρώας δωρεᾶς εἰς
 ἐτόλμησε τὸν αἴτιον τῆς σωτηρίας πατέρα κατα-
 κερτομεῖν γέλωτα καὶ χλεύην, εἴ τι παρεσφάλῃ μὴ
 καθ' ἐκούσιον γνώμην, τιθέμενος καὶ τοῖς μὴ
 εἰδόσιν ἀπογυμνῶν ἃ κρύπτειν θέμις ἐπὶ τῇ τοῦ

^a Cf. *De Praem.* 72 f. and note.

high-born children ? Their lot was to be born under circumstances which distinguished them above their posterity, sprung as they were from the first bridal pair, the man and woman who then first came together in mutual intercourse to procreate their like. Nevertheless, of the sons thus born the elder did not shrink from treacherously murdering the younger, and by committing the most accursed of crimes, fratricide, was the first to pollute the earth with human blood. What profit was noble birth to him, 200 who displayed in his soul an ignobleness, which God, the Overseer of human affairs, saw and abhorred and cast him forth to pay the penalty. And that penalty was this. He did not slay him at once and so make him insensible to his sufferings, but held suspended over him a multitude of deaths—deaths which made themselves felt in a constant succession of griefs and fears, carrying with them full apprehension of the miseries of his most evil plight.^a

Among the worthiest men of later time was one of 201 special holiness, whose piety the framer of the code held worthy to be recorded in the sacred books. In the great deluge when cities were submerged and annihilated, since even the highest mountains were swallowed up by the increasing magnitude and force of the mass of water which the flood produced, he alone was saved with his family, so receiving for his high excellence a reward of unsurpassed value. Yet 202 of the three sons born to him, who shared in the boon bestowed on their father, one ventured to pour reproach upon the author of his preservation. He held up to scorn and laughter some lapse into which his father had fallen involuntarily, and laid bare what should have been hidden to those who knew it

γεννήσαντος αἰσχύνῃ. τοιγαροῦν οὐκ ὦνατο τῆς λαμπρᾶς εὐγενείας ἐπάρατος γενόμενος καὶ τοῖς μετ' αὐτὸν ἀρχὴ κακοδαιμονίας· ὦν ἄξιον ἦν τυγχάνειν τὸν ἡμεληκότα γονέων τιμῆς.

203 Ἀλλὰ τί τούτων μεμνήσθαι προσήκεν ἀφέμενον τοῦ πρώτου καὶ γηγενοῦς; ὃς ἔνεκα εὐγενείας οὐδενὶ θνητῷ σύγκριτος, χερσὶ μὲν θεαῖς <εἰς> ἀνδριάντα τὸν σωματοειδῇ τυπωθεὶς ἀκρότητι τεχνῆς πλαστικῆς, ψυχῆς δὲ ἀξιωθεὶς ἀπ' οὐδενὸς ἔτι τῶν εἰς γένεσιν ἡκόντων, ἐμπνεύσαντος θεοῦ τῆς ἰδίας δυνάμεως ὅσον ἐδύνατο δέξασθαι θνητῇ φύσιν, ἄρ' οὐχ ὑπερβολὴ τις εὐγενείας μηδεμιᾶ τῶν ἄλλων ὅσαι διωνομάσθησαν¹ εἰς σύγκρισιν ἐλθεῖν δυναμένη;

204 τῶν μὲν γὰρ τὸ κλέος ἐκ προγόνων εὐτυχίας—ἄνθρωποι δὲ οἱ πρόγονοι, ζῶα ἐπὶ κῆρα καὶ φθαρτά, καὶ αἱ τούτων ἀβέβαιοι καὶ ἐφήμεροι τὰ πολλὰ εὐπραγίαι—, τοῦ δὲ πατὴρ [μὲν] θνητὸς οὐδεὶς, ὁ δὲ

205 αἰδίδιος θεός· οὗ τρόπον τινὰ γενόμενος εἰκῶν κατὰ τὸν ἡγεμόνα νοῦν ἐν ψυχῇ, δέον ἀκηλίδωτον τὴν εἰκόνα φυλάξαι καθ' ὅσον οἶόν τε ἦν ἐπακολουθήσαντα ταῖς τοῦ γεννήσαντος ἀρεταῖς, προτεθέντων εἰς αἱρέσεις καὶ φυγὰς τῶν ἐναντίων, ἀγαθοῦ καὶ κακοῦ καὶ καλοῦ καὶ αἰσχροῦ καὶ ἀληθοῦς καὶ ψευδοῦς, τὰ μὲν ψευδῇ καὶ αἰσχροῦ καὶ κακὰ προθύμως εἴλετο, τῶν δὲ ἀγαθῶν καὶ καλῶν καὶ ἀληθῶν ἡλόγησεν· ἐφ' οἷς εἰκότως θνητὸν ἀθανάτου βίον ἀνθυπηλλάξατο μακαριότητος καὶ εὐδαιμονίας σφαλεῖς καὶ ῥᾶστα μετέβαλεν εἰς ἐπίπονον καὶ κακοδαίμονα ζωήν.

206 XXXVIII. Ἄλλ' οὗτοι μὲν ἔστωσαν κοινοὶ

¹ MSS. ὅσα διωνομάσθη (S) or αἰδίδιον ὀνομασθεῖσαν.

ON THE VIRTUES, 202-206

not, casting shame on him who begat him. He then had no profit from the glories of his birth, laid under a curse and a source of misery to his successors, a worthy fate for one who had no thought for the honour due to parents.^a

Yet why should we mention these and leave out of sight the first and earth-born man, who for nobility of birth stands beyond comparison with all other mortals, moulded with consummate skill into the figure of the human body by the hand of God, the Master Sculptor, and judged worthy to receive his soul not from any other thing already created, but through the breath of God imparting of His own power such measure as mortal nature could receive? Have we not here a transcendence of noble birth, which cannot be brought into comparison with any of the other examples known to fame? For their renown rests on the good fortune of their ancestors, who were men, creatures which lived only to decay and perish, and their happier experiences are mostly uncertain and short-lived. But his father was no mortal but the eternal God, whose image he was in a sense in virtue of the ruling mind within the soul. Yet though he should have kept that image undefiled and followed as far as he could in the steps of his Parent's virtues, when the opposites were set before him to choose or avoid, good and evil, honourable and base, true and false, he was quick to choose the false, the base and the evil and spurn the good and honourable and true, with the natural consequence that he exchanged mortality for immortality, forfeited his blessedness and happiness and found an easy passage to a life of toil and misery.

XXXVIII. These examples may serve as land-

^a Gen. ix. 20-25.

- πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις ὅροι τοῦ μὴ ἐπὶ μεγάλοις γένεσι
 σεμνύνεσθαι τοὺς καλοκάγαθίας ἀμοιροῦντας· Ἰου-
 δαίοις δὲ καὶ ἕτεροι δίχα τῶν κοινῶν ἐξαίρετοι.
 τῶν γὰρ τοῦ γένους ἀρχηγῶν¹ εἰσιν οὓς αἱ τῶν
 προγόνων ἀρεταὶ συνόλως οὐδὲν ὠνήσαν <ἐπ'> ἐπι-
 [441] λήπτοις καὶ | ὑπαιτίοις πράξεσιν ἀλόντας, εἰ καὶ
 πρὸς ἐτέρου μηδενὸς ἐλεγχθέντας, ἀλλ' οὖν ὑπὸ τοῦ
 συνειδότος, ὃ μόνον ἐξ ἀπάντων δικαστήριον τέχ-
 207 ναις λόγων οὐ παράγεται. πολὺπαις ἦν ὁ πρῶτος
 ἐκ τριῶν παιδοποιησάμενος γυναικῶν, οὐ δι' ἡδονῆς
 ἀπόλαυσιν, ἀλλὰ δι' ἐλπίδα τοῦ πληθύναι τὸ γένος·
 ἀλλ' ἐκ πολλῶν εἰς μόνος ἀπεδείχθη κληρονόμος
 τῶν πατρῶν ἀγαθῶν, οἱ δ' ἄλλοι πάντες γνώμης
 ὑγιоῦς σφαλέντες καὶ μηδὲν τῶν τοῦ γεννήσαντος
 ἀπομαζάμενοι διωκίσθησαν ἀλλοτριωθέντες τῆς
 αἰοιδίμου εὐγενείας.
 208 Πάλιν ἐκ τοῦ δοκιμασθέντος κληρονόμου δύο δί-
 δυμοι γεννῶνται μηδὲν [ὅτι μὴ χεῖρας καὶ ταύτας
 ἔνεκά τινος οἰκονομίας] ὅμοιον ἐπιφερόμενοι, μήτε
 τοῖς σώμασι μήτε ταῖς γνώμασι· ὁ μὲν γὰρ νεώ-
 τερος καταπειθῆς ἀμφοτέροις τοῖς γονεῦσιν ἦν καὶ
 οὕτως εὐάρεστος, ὥς καὶ θεοῦ τυχεῖν ἐπαινέτου, ὁ
 δὲ μείζων ἀπειθής, [ἐκ] τῶν γαστρὸς καὶ τῶν μετὰ

¹ Cohn in translation suggests that παίδων or ἀπογόνων has fallen out after ἀρχηγῶν, since Ishmael, Esau, etc. could not be called the founders of the race. Loosely, I think, he might call them this, as belonging to the family. If not, perhaps τῶν τοῦ γένους <τῶν> ἀρχηγῶν (γένος as often = "family"). For ἀρχηγέτης used absolutely cf. *De Praem.* 60.

^a Founded on Gen. xxv. 5, 6 "Abraham gave all that he had to Isaac. But to the sons of his concubines Abraham

ON THE VIRTUES, 206-208

marks common to all mankind to remind them that those who have no true excellence of character should not pride themselves on the greatness of their race. But besides these common examples, the Jews have others peculiar to themselves. For among the founders of the race, there are some who profited nothing by the virtues of their ancestors, proved to be guilty of highly reprehensible conduct, convicted, if not by any other judge, at any rate by their conscience, the one and only court which is never misled by oratorical artifices. The first was the father of 207 many children, begotten on three wives, not for indulgence in pleasure but in the hope of multiplying the race. But of his many sons, only one was appointed to inherit the patrimony. All the rest failed to show sound judgement and as they reproduced nothing of their father's qualities, were excluded from the home and denied any part in the grandeur of their noble birth.^a

Again, the one who was approved as heir begat 208 two twins, who had no resemblance to each other, either in body or disposition [except in the hands, and in these only for a particular act of policy].^b For the younger was obedient to both his parents and won such favour that God, too, joined in praising him, but the elder was disobedient, indulging without restraint in the pleasures of the belly and the lower

gave gifts, and sent them away from Isaac his son." Cf. *De Mig.* 94 and note, vol. iv. p. 563.

^b I agree with Cohn that this addition is incredibly silly, and probably an interpolation, though it is true that Philo is not at his best throughout this treatise. (The words refer of course to Jacob's disguising his hands with goat-skins, Gen. xxvii. 16 and 23.) But on this and on the meaning of *oikonomia* see App. p. 449.

- γαστέρα ἡδονῶν ἀκρατῶς ἔχων, ὅφ' ὧν ἀνεπίεσθη καὶ πρεσβείων ἐξίστασθαι τῷ μετ' αὐτὸν καὶ μετανοεῖν εὐθὺς ἐφ' οἷς ἐξέστη καὶ φονᾶν κατὰ τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ καὶ μηδὲν ἕτερον ἢ δι' ὧν λυπήσει τοὺς
- 209 γονεῖς πραγματεύεσθαι. τοιγαροῦν τῷ μὲν εὐχὰς τίθενται τὰς ἀνωτάτω, βεβαιούντος ἀπάσας θεοῦ καὶ μηδεμίαν ἀξιώσαντος ἀτελῇ καταλιπεῖν, τῷ δὲ κατ' ἔλεον χαρίζονται τὴν ὑπήκοον τάξιν, ἵνα δουλεύῃ τῷ ἀδελφῷ, νομίζοντες, ὅπερ ἐστίν, ἀγαθὸν
- 210 εἶναι τῷ φαύλῳ τὸ μὴ αὐτεξούσιον. καὶ εἴ γε ὑπέμεινε τὴν δουλείαν ἄσμενος, δευτερείων ἂν ἡξιούτο ὡς ἐν ἄλλοις ἀρετῆς· νυνὶ δὲ ἀπαυθαδισάμενος¹ καὶ δραπετεύσας τῆς καλῆς ἐπιστασίας αὐτῷ τε καὶ τοῖς ἀπογόνους μεγάλων αἴτιος ὄνειδῶν ἐγένετο, ὡς τὸν ἀβίωτον αὐτοῦ βίον ἐστηλιτεῦσθαι πρὸς σαφέστατον ἔλεγχον τοῦ μηδὲν τὴν εὐγένειαν ὠφελεῖν τοὺς ἀναξίους εὐγενείας.
- 211 XXXIX. Οὗτοι μὲν οὖν εἰσι τῆς ἐπιλήπτου τάξεως, οὓς ἐξ ἀγαθῶν πονηροὺς γενομένους ὥνησαν μὲν οὐδὲν αἱ πατέρων ἀρεταί, αἱ δ' ἐν τῇ ψυχῇ κακίαι μυρία ἔβλαψαν. ἔχω δ' εἰπεῖν ἑτέρους τὴν ἐξ ἐναντίας ἀμείνω τεταγμένους τάξιν, οἷς πρόγονοι μὲν ὑπαίτιοι, ζηλωτὸς δὲ καὶ ἀνάπλεως εὐφημίας
- 212 ὁ βίος. τοῦ τῶν Ἰουδαίων ἔθνους ὁ πρεσβύτατος γένος² μὲν ἦν Χαλδαῖος, πατὴρ δὲ ἀστρονομικοῦ τῶν περὶ τὰ μαθήματα διατριβόντων, οἱ τοὺς ἀστέ-

¹ MSS. ἀυθαδησάμενος (S) or ἀπαυθαδίσας.

² MSS. γένει or γένους.

^a Gen. xxvii. 27-29 and 39, 40. Of course to ascribe these prayers to Rebecca as well as Isaac is a complete perversion of the story.

lying parts. Influenced by these he surrendered his birth-right to his junior, then, at once, repenting of the surrender, sought his brother's life, and all his concern was to act in such a way as would cause grief to his parents. Therefore, for the younger they 209 prayed that he should be blessed above all others, all which prayers God confirmed and would not that any of them should be left unfulfilled. But to the elder in compassion they granted an inferior station to serve his brother, rightly thinking that it is not good for the fool to be his own master.^a And if, indeed, he had 210 endured his servitude contentedly, he would have been awarded the second prize for prowess in the arena of virtue. As it was, by his wilfulness, a runaway from the excellent rule set over him, he brought heavy reproaches upon himself and his descendants, so that his life so little worth living stands recorded as the clearest proof that to those who are unworthy of nobility, nobility is of no value.

XXXIX. Now these belong to the erring class, evil 211 children of good parents, who gained no profit from the virtues of their fathers, but suffered countless injuries from the vices of their minds. But I can cite others of the opposite and better class, whose ancestors were men of guilt, but their own lives were worthy of emulation and full of good report. The most 212 ancient member of the Jewish nation was a Chaldaean by birth, the son of an astrologer, one of those who study the lore of that science,^b and think that the

^b *μαθήματα*, though often "mathematics" in Philo, is here definitely restricted to astrology; cf. *De Mut.* 71 "The student of the nature of heaven, whom some call the *μαθηματικός*," a passage which also illustrates Philo's regular assumption that Abraham before his call believed in Chaldaean astrology; cf. *De Abr.* 69 ff.

- [442] *ras* θεοὺς νομίζουσι καὶ τὸν | σύμπαντα οὐρανόν
 τε καὶ κόσμον, παρ' οὓς τό τε εὖ καὶ τὸ χεῖρον
 ἐκάστοις φασὶν ἀποβαίνειν, οὐδὲν ἔξω τῶν αἰσθη-
 213 τῶν αἴτιον ὑπολαμβάνοντες εἶναι. τούτου δὲ τί ἂν
 εἴη χαλεπώτερον ἢ μᾶλλον ἀπελέγξαι τὴν ἐν τῇ
 ψυχῇ δυσγένειαν δυνάμενον δι' ἐπιστήμης τῶν
 πολλῶν καὶ δευτέρων καὶ γενητῶν εἰς ἀνεπιστη-
 μοσύνην ἰούση τοῦ ἐνὸς καὶ πρεσβυτάτου καὶ
 ἀγενήτου καὶ ποιητοῦ τῶν ὅλων καὶ διὰ τε ταῦτα
 ἀρίστου καὶ διὰ μυρία ἄλλα, ἃ διὰ μέγεθος ἀνθρώ-
 214 πινος λογισμὸς οὐ χωρεῖ; ὧν ἔννοιαν λαβὼν καὶ
 ἐπιθειάσας καταλείπει μὲν πατρίδα καὶ γενεάν καὶ
 πατρῶων οἶκον, εἰδὼς ὅτι μένοντος μὲν αἱ τῆς
 πολυθέου δόξης ἐγκαταμενουσιν ἀπάται ἀνήνυτον
 κατασκευάζουσαι τὴν τοῦ ἐνὸς εὕρεσιν, ὅς ἐστιν
 αἰδῖος μόνος καὶ ὅλων πατὴρ νοητῶν τε αὖ καὶ
 αἰσθητῶν, εἰ δὲ μετανασταίῃ, μεταναστήσεται καὶ
 τῆς διανοίας ἡ ἀπάτη μεθαρμوسαμένης τὴν ψευδῇ
 215 δόξαν εἰς ἀλήθειαν. ἅμα δὲ καὶ τὸν πόθον ὃν
 ἐπόθει γινῶναι τὸ ὃν προσανερρίπισε λόγια χρη-
 σθέντα, οἷς ποδηγετούμενος ἐπὶ τὴν τοῦ ἐνὸς
 ἀοκνοτάτη σπουδῇ ζήτησιν ἦει· καὶ οὐ πρότερον
 ἀνῆκεν ἢ τρανοτέρας λαβεῖν φαντασίας, οὐχὶ τῆς
 οὐσίας—τοῦτο γὰρ ἀμήχανον—, ἀλλὰ τῆς ὑπάρξεως
 216 αὐτοῦ καὶ προνοίας. διὸ καὶ πιστεῦσαι λέγεται τῷ
 θεῷ πρῶτος, ἐπειδὴ καὶ πρῶτος ἀκλινῇ καὶ βεβαίαν
 ἔσχεν ὑπόληψιν, ὥς ἔστιν ἐν αἴτιον τὸ ἀνωτάτω καὶ
 προνοεῖ τοῦ τε κόσμου καὶ τῶν ἐν αὐτῷ. κτησά-
 μενος δὲ πίστιν,¹ τὴν τῶν ἀρετῶν βεβαιotáτην,

¹ MSS. ἐπιστήμην.

ON THE VIRTUES, 212-216

stars and the whole heaven and universe are gods, the authors, they say, of the events which befall each man for good or for ill, and hold that there is no originating cause outside the things we perceive by our senses. What could be more grievous or more 213 capable of proving the total absence of nobility in the soul than this, that its knowledge of the many, the secondary, the created, only leads it to ignore the One, the Primal, the Uncreated and Maker of all, whose supreme excellence is established by these and countless other attributes of such magnitude that no human reason can contain them? Percep- 214 tion of these truths and divine inspiration induced him to leave his native country, his race and paternal home, knowing that if he stayed the delusions of the polytheistic creed would stay within him and render it impossible for him to discover the One, who alone is eternal and the Father of all things, conceptual and sensible, whereas if he removed, the delusion would also remove from his mind and its false creed be replaced by the truth. At the same time, also, 215 the fire of yearning, which possessed him to know the Existent, was fanned by the divine warnings vouchsafed to him. With these to guide his steps, he went forth never faltering in his ardour to seek for the One, nor did he pause until he received clearer visions, not of His essence, for that is impossible, but of His existence and providence. And, therefore, he is the first 216 person spoken of as believing in God,^a since he first grasped a firm and unswerving conception of the truth that there is one Cause above all, and that it provides for the world and all that there is therein. And having gained faith, the most sure and certain

^a Gen. xv. 6.

συνεκτᾶτο καὶ τὰς ἄλλας ἀπάσας, ὡς παρὰ τοῖς
 ὑποδεξαμένοις νομίζεσθαι βασιλεύς, οὐχὶ ταῖς παρα-
 σκευαῖς—ιδιότης γὰρ ἦν—, ἀλλὰ τῷ περὶ τὴν ψυχὴν
 217 μεγέθει, φρονήματος ὧν βασιλικοῦ.¹ καὶ δῆτα
 θεραπεύοντες αὐτὸν διετέλουν ὡς ἄρχοντα ὑπήκοοι
 τὸ περὶ πάντα μεγαλείον τῆς φύσεως αὐτοῦ κατα-
 πληττόμενοι τελειότερας οὔσης ἢ κατὰ ἄνθρωπον·
 οὐδὲ γὰρ ὁμιλίαις ἐχρῆτο ταῖς αὐταῖς, ἀλλ' ἐπι-
 θειάζων τὰ πολλὰ σεμνοτέραις· ὁπότε γοῦν κατα-
 σχεθεῖη, μετέβαλλε πάντα πρὸς τὸ βέλτιον, τὰς
 ὄψεις, τὴν χροάν, τὸ μέγεθος, τὰς σχέσεις, τὰς
 κινήσεις, τὴν φωνήν, τοῦ θεοῦ πνεύματος, ὅπερ
 ἄνωθεν καταπνευσθὲν εἰσωκίσατο τῇ ψυχῇ, περι-
 [443] τιθέντος τῷ μὲν | σώματι κάλλος ἐξαιρετον, τοῖς
 218 δὲ λόγοις πειθῶ, τοῖς δ' ἀκούουσι σύνεσιν. ἄρ'
 οὐκ ἂν εἴποις τὸν μετανάστην τουτονί, τὸν πάντων
 ἔρημον οἰκείων καὶ φίλων, εὐγενέστατον εἶναι, τῆς
 πρὸς θεὸν συγγενείας ὀρεχθέντα καὶ σπουδάσαντα
 μηχανῇ πάσῃ γνώριμον αὐτῷ γενέσθαι καὶ ταχ-
 θέντα μὲν τάξιν ἀρίστην τὴν ἐν προφήταις, πιστεύ-
 σαντα δὲ μηδενὶ τῶν ἐν γενέσει πρὸ τοῦ ἀγενήτου
 καὶ πάντων πατρός, καὶ βασιλέα δέ, ὡς ἔφην, παρὰ
 τοῖς ὑποδεξαμένοις νομισθέντα, μήθ' ὅπλοις μήτε
 στρατιωτικαῖς δυνάμεσιν, ὡς ἐνίοις ἔθος, λαβόντα
 τὴν ἀρχήν, ἀλλὰ χειροτονία θεοῦ τοῦ φιλαρέτου
 τοὺς εὐσεβείας ἐραστὰς αὐτοκρατέσιν ἐξουσίαις
 γεραίροντος ἐπ' ὠφελείᾳ τῶν συντυγχανόντων;
 219 οὗτος ἅπασιν ἐπηλύταις εὐγενείας ἐστὶ κανὼν, δυσ-

¹ The genitive of quality is unusual, if not impossible, in Greek. Mangey suggested μεσὸς or ὑπόπλεως ὧν. Perhaps λαχών.

ON THE VIRTUES, 216-219

of the virtues, he gained with it all the other virtues, so that by those among whom he settled he was regarded as a king,^a not because of the outward state which surrounded him, mere commoner that he was, but because of his greatness of soul, for his spirit was the spirit of a king. Indeed, they continued to 217 treat him with a respect which subjects pay to a ruler, being awe-struck at the all-embracing greatness of his nature and its more than human perfection. For the society also which he sought was not the same as they sought, but oftener under inspiration another more august. Thus whenever he was possessed, everything in him changed to something better, eyes, complexion, stature, carriage, movements, voice. For the divine spirit which was breathed upon him from on high made its lodging in his soul, and invested his body with singular beauty, his voice with persuasiveness, and his hearers with understanding. Would you not say that this lone wan- 218 derer without relatives or friends was of the highest nobility, he who craved for kinship with God and strove by every means to live in familiarity with Him, he who while ranked among the prophets, a post of such high excellence, put his trust in nothing created rather than in the Uncreated and Father of all, he who as I have said was regarded as a king by those in whose midst he settled, a sovereignty gained not with weapons, nor with mighty armies, as is the way of some, but by the election of God, the friend of virtue, who rewards the lovers of piety with imperial powers to benefit those around them? He is the stan- 219 dard of nobility for all proselytes, who, abandoning

^a Gen. xxiii. 6. E.V. "Thou art a mighty prince among us." LXX βασιλεύς.

γένειαν μὲν τὴν ἐξ ἀλλοκότων νόμων καὶ ἐκθέσμων ἐθῶν, ἃ λίθοις καὶ ξύλοις καὶ συνόλως ἀψύχοις ἰσοθέους ἀπένειμε τιμὰς, καταλιποῦσι, καλὴν δ' ἀποικίαν στείλαμένοις πρὸς ἔμφυχον τῷ ὄντι καὶ ζῶσαν πολιτείαν, ἧς ἔφορος καὶ ἐπίσκοπος ἀλήθεια.

- 220 XL. Ταύτην τὴν εὐγένειαν οὐ μόνον θεοφιλεῖς ἄνδρες ἀλλὰ καὶ γυναῖκες ἐζήλωσαν, ἀπομαθοῦσαι μὲν ἀμαθίαν τὴν σύντροφον περὶ τιμῆς τῶν χειροκμήτων, παιδευθεῖσαι δὲ τὴν περὶ μοναρχίας ἐπιστήμην, ἣ μοναρχεῖται ὁ κόσμος. Θάμαρ ἦν τῶν ἀπὸ τῆς Παλαιστίνης Συρίας γύναιον, ἐν οἰκίᾳ καὶ πόλει τραφὲν πολυθέῳ γεμούσῃ ξοάνων καὶ ἀγαλμάτων καὶ συνόλως ἀφιδρυμάτων. ἀλλ' ἐπειδὴ καθάπερ ἐκ σκότους βαθέος ἐδυνήθη βραχείαν αὐγὴν ἀληθείας ἰδεῖν, θανάτου κινδύνῳ πρὸς εὐσέβειαν ἠὲ τομολήσεν ὀλίγα φροντίσασα τοῦ ζῆν, εἰ μὴ μέλλοι καλῶς ζῆν· τὸ δὲ καλῶς ἀνέφερεν ἐπ' οὐδὲν ἕτερον ἢ τὴν θεραπείαν καὶ ἱκεσίαν τοῦ ἐνὸς
- 222 αἰτίου. καίτοι δυσὶν ἀδελφοῖς ἀμφοτέροις πονηροῖς ἐν μέρει γημαμένη, κουριδίῳ μὲν τῷ προτέρῳ, τῷ δ' ὑστέρῳ κατ' ἐπιδικασίας νόμον,¹ γενεὰν τοῦ προτέρου μὴ καταλιπόντος, ἀλλ' ὅμως ἀκηλίδωτον

¹ MSS. κατ' ἐπιδικασίαν νόμου (S) *et al.*

^a Unless there is some independent tradition of Tamar's lineage, about which nothing is said in Gen. xxxviii. 6 ff., we must suppose that Philo assumes that, since she is not said like Rebekah and Rachel and Leah to come of the line of the patriarchs, she belonged to the idolatrous people around. On Tamar see App. p. 450.

^b *i.e.* the husband of her youth, him to whom her virginity was given. *κουριδίος*, which in § 114 was used in the ordinary sense of a wedded or lawful mate, cannot mean this here, as 298

the ignobility of strange laws and monstrous customs which assigned divine honours to stocks and stones and soulless things in general, have come to settle in a better land, in a commonwealth full of true life and vitality, with truth as its director and president.

XL. To this nobility not only did men beloved of 220 God aspire, but women also, who unlearnt the errors of their breeding, the ignorance which led them to honour the works of men's hands, and became schooled in the knowledge of the monarchical principle by which the world is governed. Tamar was 221 a woman from Palestinian Syria, bred in a house and city which acknowledged a multitude of gods and was full of images and wooden busts and idols in general.^a But when passing, as it were, from profound darkness she was able to glimpse a little ray of truth, she deserted to the camp of piety at the risk of her life, caring little for its preservation, if it were not to be a good life. This good life she held to mean nothing else than to be the servant and suppliant of the one great Cause. Although she was married 222 to two brothers in turn, both of them wicked, to the elder as her husband in the usual way,^b to the younger under the law of the duties of the next of kin,^c as the elder had left no issue, she nevertheless kept her own

the second marriage was as lawful as the first. The meaning which it appears to have here is also found in *Odyssey* xv. 22, and is noted in Stephanus, though not in L. & S.

^a Gen. xxxviii. 7 f. "At Athens when a woman was left an heiress (*ἐπίκλητος*), without having a male *κύριος*, or guardian, the next of kin might claim her in marriage. This claim was called *ἐπιδικασία*" (*Dict. of Ant.*). Though this law is very different from the Hebrew law that the deceased husband's brother should marry the childless widow, they have this in common, that they deal with the right possessed by the next of kin to the woman's hand.

διαφυλάξασα τὸν ἑαυτῆς βίον ἴσχυσε καὶ τῆς προσ-
ηκούσης τοῖς ἀγαθοῖς εὐφημίας ἐπιλαχεῖν καὶ τοῖς
μετ' αὐτὴν ἅπασιν εὐγενείας ἀφορμὴ γενέσθαι.

ἀλλ' αὕτη μὲν, εἰ καὶ ἀλλόφυλος, ἀλλ'
οὖν γε ἐλευθέρα καὶ ἐξ ἐλευθέρων καὶ οὐκ ἀσήμε-
223 ἴσως. θεράπαινοι δὲ τῶν ὑπὲρ Εὐφράτην ἐν ἐσχα-
τιαῖς τῆς Βαβυλῶνος γεννηθεῖσαι προικίδιαι μὲν
ἐδόθησαν γαμουμέναις ταῖς τροφίμαις, ἄξiai δὲ
[444] κριθεῖσαι | παρελθεῖν εἰς εὐνὴν ἀνδρὸς σοφοῦ τὸ μὲν
πρῶτον ἐκ παλλακίδων εἰς γαμετῶν ὄνομα καὶ
σχῆμα παρῆλθον καὶ ἀντὶ θεραπαινίδων ἰσότητι μοι
ταῖς δεσποίταις ὀλίγου δέω φάναι κατέστησαν
ὑπ' ἐκείνων, ὅπερ ἦν ἀπιστότατον, πρὸς τὸ αὐτὸ
ἀξίωμα παραπεμφθεῖσαι· φθόνος γὰρ οὐκ εἰσοικί-
ζεται σοφῶν ψυχαῖς, οὐ μὴ παρόντος κοινοπραγοῦσι
224 τῶν ἀγαθῶν. οἱ δ' ἐκ τούτων νόθοι παῖδες γνησίων
οὐδὲν διήνεγκαν, οὐ μόνον παρὰ τῷ γεννήσαντι—
θαυμαστὸν γὰρ οὐδέν, εἰ τοῖς μὴ ὁμογαστρίοις ὁ
πάντων κοινὸς πατήρ τὴν αὐτὴν εὐνοίαν παρεῖχεν—,
ἀλλὰ καὶ παρὰ ταῖς μητρυαῖς· αἱ μὲν γὰρ τὸ
〈πρὸς〉 προγονοὺς μῖσος ἀναιρούμεναι εἰς ἄλεκτον
225 μεθηρμόσαντο κηδεμονίαν· οἱ δὲ προγονοὶ τῇ κατ'
ἀντίδοσιν εὐνοίᾳ τὰς μητρυαῖς ὥς φύσει μητέρας
ἐξετίμησαν· ἀδελφοί τε μέρει ἡμίσει¹ τοῦ γένους

¹ MSS. μέρει ἡμισυ (S) or μέρει τῇ μίξει et al.

^a i.e. in the house of Laban, Mesopotamia (Gen. xxiv. 10).

^b Gen. xxix. 24 "Laban gave Zilpah his handmaiden unto

life stainless and was able to win the good report which belongs to the good and to become the original source to which the nobility of all who followed her can be traced. But she, though a foreigner, was, at any rate, a free woman, of free lineage, and that perhaps of no little note. There 223 were women born beyond the Euphrates,^a in the extreme parts of Babylonia, who were handmaids and were given as dowry ^b to the ladies of the house at their marriage. But when they had been judged worthy to pass on to the wise man's bed, the first consequence was that they passed on from mere concubinage to the name and position of wedded wives, and were treated no longer as handmaids, but as almost equal in rank to their mistresses, who, indeed, incredible as it seems, promoted them to the same dignity as themselves.^c For jealousy finds no home in the souls of the wise and free from its presence they share their good things with others. Secondly, the base-born sons of the handmaids re- 224 ceived the same treatment as the legitimate, not only from the father, who might fairly be expected to show the same kindness to the children of different mothers, since his paternity extends to all alike, but also from the stepmothers. They rid themselves of hatred for the step-children and replaced it by an extraordinary regard for their interests, while the 225 step-children returned their goodwill and honoured their stepmothers as fully as if they were their natural mothers. The brothers, though reckoned as half-Leah his daughter for a hand maid to her," and so Bilhah to Rachel, v. 29.

^c Or perhaps "recommended them for promotion," which the ordinary sense of *παραπέμπω* = "escort" rather suggests. See Gen. xxx. 3 and 9.

νομισθέντες οὐκ ἐφ' ἡμισείᾳ στέργειν¹ ἀλλήλους
 ἡξίωσαν, ἀλλ' εἰς τὸ διπλάσιον τὸ τοῦ φιλεῖν καὶ
 ἀντιφιλεῖσθαι πάθος συναυξήσαντες καὶ τὸ δοκοῦν
 ὑστερίζειν προσανεπλήρωσαν τοῖς ἐξ ἀμφοῖν γεγο-
 νόσιν εἰς ἁρμονίαν καὶ κρᾶσιν ἡθῶν συνδραμεῖν
 σπουδάσαντες.

- 226 XLI. "Ἐτι τοίνυν μεταδοτέον αὐτοῦ² τοῖς ὡς ἴδιον
 ἀγαθὸν τὸ ἀλλότριον, εὐγένειαν, ὑποδουμένοις; οἱ
 δίχα τῶν εἰρημένων ἐχθροὶ δικαίως <ἄν> νομισθεῖεν
 καὶ τοῦ τῶν Ἰουδαίων ἔθνους καὶ τῶν πανταχοῦ
 πάντων, τοῦ μὲν ὅτι διδόασι τοῖς ὁμοφύλοις ἐκε-
 χειρίαν ὀλιγωρεῖν ὑγιαίνοντος <βίου καὶ> βεβαίου
 πεποιθήσει προγονικῆς ἀρετῆς, τῶν δ' ὅτι, καὶ ἐπ'
 αὐτὴν φθάσωσιν ἀκρότητα καλοκαγαθίας, οὐδὲν
 ὠφελήθησονται διὰ τὸ μὴ τυχεῖν γονέων καὶ πάπ-
 227 πων ἀνεπιλήπτων. ἥς οὐκ οἶδ' εἴ τις βλαβερωτέρα
 γένοιτ' ἂν εἰσῆγησις, εἰ μήτε τοῖς ἐξ ἀγαθῶν

¹ At this point the important ms. F is mutilated; its reading for the remaining sections are supplied by Cohn from the ms. which he believes to be a copy of it, and indeed its twin (*gemellus*), known as Vaticanus 379.

² So or *μεταδοτέον αὐτοῖς τοῖς* in all mss. except the twin of F just mentioned, which has *τί τοίνυν μεταδοτέον τοῖς*, and this Cohn adopts and translates "what have we to do (or share "teilen") with those who," etc. But apart from the question whether the ms. evidence is weighty, this implies a use of *μεταδίδωμι* which I have never noted in Philo, who regularly follows it with the genitive. Cohn and others seem to have found a difficulty in *αὐτοῦ*, for which *λόγου* has been proposed.

brothers by blood, did not think it enough to give a half affection to each other, but showed a twofold increase of tenderness in the love which they gave and received in return; and the seeming defectiveness in their relationship they made good by the eagerness with which they hastened to unite both families in harmony and reciprocity of feeling.

XLI. Must we not then absolutely reject the 226 claims of those who assume as their own precious possession the nobility which belongs to others, who, different ^a from those just mentioned, might well be considered enemies of the Jewish nation and of every person in every place? Enemies of our nation, because they give their compatriots licence to put their trust in the virtue of their ancestors and despise the thought of living a sound and stedfast life. Enemies of people in general, who even if they reach the very summit of moral excellence, will not benefit thereby, if their parents and grandparents were not beyond reproach. I doubt indeed if any more mischievous 227 doctrine could be propounded than this, that avenging justice will not follow the children of good parents

^a Mangey gives for *δίχα* "his exceptis," and so Cohn. But "Those who claim to be *εὐγενεῖς* because of their descent, when their conduct was not *εὐγενής* except those whose conduct was *εὐγενής*, though their descent was not, are enemies," etc., is not sense. I have not found examples in prose for the sense required here, but Aesch. *Prom.* 927 *ὅσον τό τ' ἄρχειν καὶ τὸ δουλεύειν δίχα* is much the same.

If the sentence had been written as a statement in the reverse form *τοῖς . . . τὸ ἀλλότριον, εὐγένειαν, ὑποδομένοις οὐ μεταδοτέον αὐτοῦ*, it would be perfectly natural, and the form here by which *αὐτοῦ* anticipates instead of follows the noun to which it refers does not create a serious difficulty. *ἔτι τοίνυν* as in § 85 and § 141 = "can we after this?"

PHILO

πονηρευομένοις ἐπακολουθήσει τιμωρὸς δίκη μήτε τοῖς ἐκ πονηρῶν ἀγαθοῖς ἔψεται τιμή, τοῦ νόμου δοκιμάζοντος ἕκαστον αὐτὸν ἐφ' ἑαυτοῦ καὶ μὴ συγγενῶν ἀρεταῖς ἢ κακίαις ἐπαινοῦντος ἢ κολάζοντος.

ON THE VIRTUES, 227

if they turn to wickedness, and that honour will not be the reward of the good children of the wicked, thus contradicting the law, which assesses each person on his own merits and does not take into account the virtues or vices of his kinsmen in awarding praise or punishment.