

[473] ΠΕΡΙ ΤΟΥ ΤΙΣ Ο ΤΩΝ ΘΕΙΩΝ ΕΣΤΙΝ
ΚΛΗΡΟΝΟΜΟΣ ΚΑΙ ΠΕΡΙ ΤΗΣ ΕΙΣ
ΤΑ ΙΣΑ ΚΑΙ ΕΝΑΝΤΙΑ ΤΟΜΗΣ

- 1 I. Ἐν μὲν τῇ πρὸ ταύτης συντάξει τὰ περὶ
μισθῶν ὡς ἐνῆν ἐπ' ἀκριβείας διεξήλθομεν· νυνὶ δὲ
πρόκειται ζητεῖν, τίς ὁ τῶν θείων πραγμάτων
κληρονόμος ἐστίν. ἐπειδὴ γὰρ θεσπισθέντος ὁ
2 σοφὸς ἤκουσε λογίου τοιούτου· “ὁ μισθός σου
πολὺς ἔσται σφόδρα,” πυνθάνεται φάσκων· “δέσ-
ποτα, τί μοι δώσεις; ἐγὼ δὲ ἀπολύομαι ἄτεκνος.
ὁ δὲ υἱὸς Μασέκ¹ τῆς οἰκογενοῦς μου οὗτος Δα-
μασκὸς Ἐλιέζερ,” καὶ πάλιν “ἐπειδὴ ἐμοὶ οὐκ
ἔδωκας σπέρμα, ὁ δὲ οἰκογενής μου κληρο-
3 νομήσει με.” καίτοι τίς οὐκ ἂν τὸ τοῦ
χρησμοδοῦντος ἀξίωμα καὶ μέγεθος καταπλαγείς
ἄφωνος καὶ ἀχανὴς ἐγένετο, καὶ εἰ μὴ διὰ δέος,
ἀλλὰ τοι τῷ περιχαρεῖ; ἐπιστομίζουσι γὰρ ὡς
αἱ σφοδραὶ λῦπαι καὶ αἱ ὑπερβάλλουσαι χαραί.
4 διὸ καὶ Μωυσῆς ἰσχνόφωνος ὁμολογεῖ καὶ βραδύ-
γλωσσος γενέσθαι, ἀφ' οὗ ἤρξατο ὁ θεὸς αὐτῷ
διαλέγεσθαι. καὶ ἀψευδής ἐστίν ἡ τοῦ προφήτου
μαρτυρία· τότε γὰρ εἰκὸς τὸ μὲν φωνητήριον

¹ So Pap.: MSS. μου ὁ ἐκ.

WHO IS THE HEIR OF DIVINE THINGS

AND ON THE DIVISION INTO EQUALS AND OPPOSITES

I. In the preceding treatise^a we have discussed as 1 carefully as was possible the question of rewards. Now our task is to inquire who is the heir of divine things. When the Sage heard the oracular promise to this purport, "Thy reward shall be exceeding great," 2 he answers with the question, "Master, what wilt thou give me? I go hence childless. The son of Masek, she who was born in my house, is this Damascus Eliezer."^b And again he says "Since thou hast given me no seed, he that was born in my house shall be my heir" (Gen. xv. 1-3). Yet we 3 should have expected that he (for who would not?) would have been struck mute and speechless in amazement at the majesty and greatness of the Giver of the oracle, if not for fear, at any rate for exceeding joy. For men are tongue-tied by overwhelming joy, as well as by violent grief. This it is that led Moses 4 to confess that he has become feeble of voice and slow of tongue, ever since God began to hold converse with him (Ex. iv. 10). And the testimony of the prophet is true indeed. For at such times it is natural that

always used, but a lost treatise on Gen. xv. 1, part of which verse is quoted in the second section.

^b R.V. "He that shall be the possessor of my house is Dammesek Eliezer." (A.V. "The steward of my house is this Eliezer of Damascus.")

ὄργανον ἐπέχεσθαι, τὸν δὲ κατὰ διάνοιαν λόγον
 ἀρθρούμενον ἀνυποτάκτῳ φορᾷ χρῆσθαι, νοημά-
 των οὐ ῥημάτων ἐπάλληλα κάλλη μετ' εὐτρόχου
 5 καὶ ὑψηγόρου δυνάμεως φιλοσοφοῦντα. θαυμάσιοι
 δὲ ἀρεταὶ ἧ τε εὐτολμία καὶ ἡ ἐν τῷ δέοντι
 παρρησία πρὸς τοὺς ἀμείνους, ὥς καὶ τὸ κωμικὸν
 ἀψευδῶς μᾶλλον ἢ κωμικῶς εἰρησθαι δοκεῖν

ἂν πάνθ' ὁ δοῦλος ἡσυχάζειν· μανθάνη,
 πονηρὸς ἔσται· μεταδίδου παρρησίας.

8 II. πότε οὖν ἄγει παρρησίαν οἰκέτης
 πρὸς δεσπότην; ἀρ' οὐχ ὅταν ἡδικηκότι μὲν
 [474] ἑαυτῷ μηδὲν | συνειδῇ, πάντα δ' ὑπὲρ τοῦ κεκτη-
 7 μένου καὶ λέγοντι καὶ πράττοντι; πότε οὖν
 ἄξιον καὶ τὸν τοῦ θεοῦ δοῦλον ἐλευθεροστομεῖν
 πρὸς τὸν ἑαυτοῦ τε καὶ τοῦ παντὸς ἡγεμόνα καὶ
 δεσπότην ἢ ὅταν ἀμαρτημάτων καθαρεύῃ καὶ τὸ
 φιλοδέσποτον ἐκ τοῦ συνειδότος κρίνῃ, πλείονι
 χαρᾷ χρώμενος ἐπὶ τῷ θεράπων θεοῦ γενέσθαι, ἢ
 εἰ τοῦ παντὸς ἀνθρώπων γένους ἐβασίλευσε τὸ
 γῆς ὁμοῦ καὶ θαλάττης ἀναψάμενος ἀκονιτὶ
 8 κράτος; τὰς δὲ φιλοδεσπότους θεραπείας καὶ
 λειτουργίας τοῦ Ἀβραάμ διασυνίστησιν ἀκρο-
 τελεύτιον λογίου τοῦ χρησθέντος αὐτοῦ τῷ υἱεῖ·
 “δώσω σοι καὶ τῷ σπέρματί σου πᾶσαν τὴν
 γῆν ταύτην, καὶ ἐνευλογηθήσονται ἐν τῷ σπέρματί
 σου πάντα τὰ ἔθνη τῆς γῆς, ἀνθ' ὧν ὑπήκουσεν
 Ἀβραάμ ὁ πατήρ σου τῆς ἐμῆς φωνῆς, καὶ
 ἐφύλαξε τὰ προστάγματά μου καὶ τὰς ἐντολάς
 μου καὶ τὰ δικαιώματά μου καὶ τὰ νόμιμά μου.”
 9 μέγιστον δ' ἐγκώμιον οἰκέτου μηδενὸς ὧν ἂν

WHO IS THE HEIR, 4-9

the organ of speech should be held in check, while the language of the understanding becomes articulate and flows in resistless stream, as its wisdom pours forth beauty after beauty, not of words but of thoughts, with a power as easy as it is sublime. Yet courage 5 and well-timed frankness before our superiors are admirable virtues also, so that there seems to be more truth than comedy in the words of the comic poet,^a

The servant, trained to keep a quiet tongue •
Whate'er befalls, is sure to prove a knave.
Grant to thy man some measure of free speech.

II. When, then, is it that the servant 6 speaks frankly to his master? Surely it is when his heart tells him that he has not wronged his owner, but that his words and deeds are all for that owner's benefit. And so when else should the slave of God 7 open his mouth freely to Him Who is the ruler and master both of himself and of the All, save when he is pure from sin and the judgements of his conscience are loyal to his master, when he feels more joy at being the servant of God than if he had been king of all the human race and assumed an uncontested sovereignty over land and sea alike? The loyalty of 8 Abraham's service and ministry is shewn by the concluding words of the oracle addressed to Abraham's son, "I will give to thee and thy seed all this land, and all the nations of the earth shall be blessed in thy seed, because Abraham thy father hearkened to My voice and kept My injunctions, My commands, My ordinances and My statutes" (Gen. xxvi. 3-5). It is 9 the highest praise which can be given to a servant that he neglects none of his master's commands, that never hesitating in his labour of love he employs all

^a Menander.

PHILO

- προστάξῃ ὁ δεσπότης ὀλιγωρεῖν, ἀόκνως δὲ καὶ φιλοπόνως ὑπὲρ δύναμιν πάντα σπουδάζειν αἰσιῶ
- 10 γνῶμῃ κατορθοῦν. III. εἰσὶ μὲν
οὖν, οἷς ἀκούειν ἄλλ' οὐ λέγειν ἐμπρεπές, ἐφ'
ὧν λέγεται "σιῶπα καὶ ἄκουε," πάγκαλον παρ-
άγγελμα. θρασύτατον γὰρ καὶ λαλίστατον ἀμαθία,
ἥς πρῶτον μὲν ἐστὶν ἄκος ἡσυχία, δεύτερον δὲ
προσοχὴ τῶν ἁξίων τι προφερομένων ἀκοῆς.
- 11 μηδεὶς μέντοι νομισάτω τοῦτ' αὐτὸ μόνον ἐμ-
φαίνεσθαι διὰ τοῦ "σιῶπα καὶ ἄκουε," ἀλλὰ καὶ
προτρέψασθαι δυνατώτερον ἕτερον· οὐ γὰρ παραινεῖ
μόνον γλώττῃ σιωπᾶν καὶ ὥσιν ἀκούειν, ἀλλὰ
- 12 καὶ ψυχῇ ταῦτα παθεῖν ἀμφοτέρω. πολλοὶ γὰρ
ἐπ' ἀκροάσιν ἤκοντές τινος οὐκ ἐληλύθασιν ταῖς
διανοαῖς, ἀλλ' ἔξω πλανῶνται καὶ μυρία περὶ
μυρίων ἑαυτοῖς διεξέρχονται, τὰ συγγενικά, τὰ
ὀθνεῖα, τὰ ἴδια, τὰ κοινά,¹ ὧν εἰκὸς ἦν ἐν τῷ
παρόντι μὴ μεμνήσθαι, πάνθ' ὡς ἔπος εἰπεῖν
ἐξῆς συναριθμοῦμενοι, καὶ διὰ τὸν ἐν ἑαυτοῖς
πολὺν θροῦν ἀδυνατοῦσι τοῦ λέγοντος ἀκροᾶσθαι·
λέγει γὰρ ἐκεῖνος ὥσπερ οὐκ ἐν ἀνθρώποις, ἀλλ'
ἐν ἀψύχοις ἀνδριᾶσιν, οἷς ὦτα μὲν ἐστὶν, ἀκοαὶ
- 13 δ' οὐκ ἔνεισιν. ἐὰν οὖν μηδενὶ τῶν
ἔξωθεν ἐπιφοιτῶντων ἢ ἔνδον ταμιευομένων πραγ-
μάτων ὁ νοῦς ἀξιώσῃ προσομιλεῖν, ἀλλ' ἡρεμίαν
ἀγαγὼν καὶ ἡσυχάσας πρὸς τὸν λέγοντα ἑαυτὸν
ἀποτείνῃ, σιωπήσας κατὰ τὸ Μωυσέως παρ-
άγγελμα δυνήσεται μετὰ τῆς πάσης προσοχῆς
ἀκροᾶσασθαι, ἐτέρως δ' οὐκ ἂν ἰσχύσαι.

¹ Wend. δημόσια; Cohn κοινά: the Papyrus according to Wend. has *sex litteras evanidas*: the mss. omit altogether. I prefer κοινά as the regular antithesis to ἴδια in Philo.

WHO IS THE HEIR, 9-13

and more than all his powers as he strives by sound judgement to bring all his business to a successful issue.

III. There are indeed some whom it ¹⁰ befits to hear but not to speak, those to whom the words apply, "Be silent and hear" (Deut. xxvii. 9). An excellent injunction! For ignorance is exceeding bold and glib of tongue; and the first remedy for it is to hold its peace, the second to give ear to those who advance something worth hearing. Yet let no one ¹¹ suppose that this exhausts the significance of the words "be silent and hear." No, they enjoin something else of greater weight. They bid us not only be silent with the tongue and hear with the ears, but be silent and hear with the soul also. For many ¹² who come to hear a discourse have not come with their minds, but wander abroad rehearsing inwardly numberless thoughts on numberless subjects, thoughts on their families, on outsiders, on things private and things public, which properly should be forgotten for the moment. All these, we may say,^a form a series of successions in the mind, and the inward uproar makes it impossible for them to listen to the speaker, who discourses as in an audience not of human beings, but of lifeless statues who have ears, but no hearing is in those ears. If then the mind deter- ¹³ mines to have no dealing with any of the matters which visit it from abroad or are stored within it, but maintaining peace and tranquillity addresses itself to hear the speaker, it will be "silent," as Moses commands, and thus be able to listen with complete attention. Otherwise it will have no such power.

IV. For the ignorant then it is well to ¹⁴

^a Or "All or practically all," ὡς ἔπος εἰπεῖν serving, as usual, to qualify a round statement.

PHILO

- IV. τοῖς μὲν οὖν ἀμαθέσι συμφέρον ἡσυχία, τοῖς δὲ ἐπιστήμης ἐφιεμένοις καὶ ἅμα φιλοδεσπότοις ἀναγκαιότατον ἡ παρρησία κτῆμα. λέγεται γοῦν ἐν Ἑξαγωγῇ· “κύριος πολεμήσει ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν, καὶ ὑμεῖς σιγήσετε,” καὶ χρησμός εὐθὺς ὑπόκειται
- [475] τοιόσδε· “καὶ εἶπε | κύριος πρὸς Μωυσῆν· τί βοᾷς πρὸς μέ;” ὥς δέον καὶ σιωπᾶν τοὺς μηδὲν ἄξιον ἀκοῆς ἐροῦντας καὶ λέγειν τοὺς ἔρωτι σοφίας θείῳ πεπιστευκότας καὶ μὴ μόνον λέγειν σὺν ἡρεμίᾳ, ἀλλὰ καὶ μετὰ κραυγῆς μείζονος ἐκβοᾶν, οὐ στόματι καὶ γλώττῃ, δι’ ὧν ἀέρα λόγος ἔχει σφαιρούμενον αἰσθητὸν ἀκοῇ γίνεσθαι, ἀλλὰ τῷ παμμούσῳ καὶ μεγαλοφωνοτάτῳ ψυχῆς ὀργάνῳ, οὗ θνητὸς μὲν ἀκροατῆς οὐδὲ εἷς, ὁ δὲ
- 15 ἀγέννητος καὶ ἀφθαρτος μόνος. τὸ γὰρ νοητῆς ἁρμονίας εὐᾶρμοστον καὶ σύμφωνον μέλος ὁ νοητὸς μουσικὸς μόνος καταλαβεῖν ἱκανός, τῶν δὲ ἐν αἰσθήσει φυρομένων οὐδὲ εἷς. ὅλου δὲ τοῦ διανοίας ὀργάνου κατὰ τὴν διὰ πασῶν ἢ δις διὰ πασῶν συμφωνίαν ἐξηχοῦντος ὁ ἀκροατῆς ὥσανεὶ πυνθάνεται πρὸς ἀλήθειαν οὐ πυνθανόμενος— πάντα γὰρ γνώριμα θεῷ— “τί βοᾷς πρὸς μέ;” καθ’ ἡκεσίαν κακῶν ἀποτροπῆς ἢ κατ’ εὐχαριστίαν
- 16 μετουσίᾳς ἀγαθῶν ἢ κατὰ ἀμφοτέρα; V. ἄλλος δὲ οὕτως ὁ ἰσχυρόφωνος καὶ βραδύγλωσσος καὶ ἄλογος εἶναι δοκῶν ἀνευρίσκεται, ὥστε πῇ μὲν οὐ μόνον λέγων ἀλλὰ καὶ βοῶν εἰσάγεται, ἐτέρωθι δὲ ἀπαύστῳ καὶ ἀδιαστάτῳ χρώμενος λόγων
- 17 ῥύμη. “Μωυσῆς” γάρ φησιν “ἐλάλει, καὶ ὁ

^a Or “Why dost thou shout?” But the other is more probably Philo’s interpretation, since he implies that God does not disapprove of Moses’ speaking.

WHO IS THE HEIR, 14-17

keep silence, but for those who desire knowledge and also love their master, frank speech is a most essential possession. Thus we read in Exodus, "The Lord will war for you and ye shall be silent," and at once there follows a divine oracle in these words, "What is it that thou shoutest to me?"^a (Ex. xiv. 14, 15). The meaning is that those should keep silent who have nothing worth hearing to say, and those should speak who have put their faith in the God-sent love of wisdom, and not only speak with ordinary gentleness but shout with a louder cry. That cry is not made with mouth and tongue, through which, as we are told, the air assumes a spherical^b shape and thus is rendered perceptible by the sense of hearing, but by the organ of the soul, uniting all music in its mighty tones, heard by no mortal whatsoever, but only by Him Who is uncreated and imperishable. For the 15 sweet and harmonious melody of the mind's music can only be apprehended by the mind's musician, not by any of those who are entangled in sense. But when the full organ of the understanding sounds forth its symphony of the single or double octave, the Hearer asks—asks we may call it, though He does not really ask, since all things are known to God—"What is it that thou criest so loud to me?" Is it in supplication for ills to be averted, or is in thanksgiving for blessings imparted, or in both? V. And he that 16 seemed to be feeble of speech and slow of tongue and wordless is found to be so loquacious, that in one place he is represented as not only speaking, but shouting, and in another as pouring forth a stream of words without cessation or pause. For "Moses," we read, 17 "was talking to God, and God was answering him

^b See App. p. 567.

- θεὸς ἀπεκρίνετο αὐτῷ φωνῇ," οὐ κατὰ συντέλειαν ἐλάλησεν, ἀλλὰ κατὰ μηχανομένην παράτασιν ἐλάλει, καὶ ὁ θεὸς οὐ κατὰ συντέλειαν
- 18 ἐδίδαξεν, ἀλλ' αἰεὶ καὶ συνεχῶς ἀπεκρίνετο. ὅπου δὲ ἀποκρίσις, ἐκεῖ πάντως ἐρώτησις. ἐρωτᾷ δὲ ἕκαστος ὃ μὴ ἐπίσταται, μαθεῖν ἀξιῶν γνούς τε τῶν εἰς ἐπιστήμην ὠφελιμώτατον ἔργον εἶναι ζητεῖν, ἐρωτᾷ, πυνθάνεσθαι, μηδὲν δοκεῖν εἰδέναι
- 19 μὴδὲ τι οἶεσθαι παγίως κατειληφέναι. σοφοὶ μὲν οὖν ὑφηγητῇ καὶ διδασκάλῳ χρῶνται θεῷ, οἱ δ' ἀτελέστεροι τῷ σοφῷ. διὸ καὶ λέγουσι· "λάλησον σὺ ἡμῖν, καὶ μὴ λαλείτω πρὸς ἡμᾶς ὁ θεός, μή ποτε ἀποθάνωμεν." τοσαύτη δ' ἄρα χρήται παρρησία ὁ ἄστειος, ὥστε οὐ μόνον λέγειν καὶ βοᾷν, ἀλλ' ἤδη καὶ καταβοᾷν ἐξ ἀληθοῦς πίστεως
- 20 καὶ ἀπὸ γνησίου τοῦ πάθους θαρρεῖ. τὸ γὰρ "εἰ μὲν ἀφείς αὐτοῖς τὴν ἁμαρτίαν, ἄφες· εἰ δὲ μή, ἐξάλειψόν με ἐκ τῆς βίβλου σου ἧς ἔγραψας" καὶ τὸ "μὴ ἐγὼ ἐν γαστρὶ ἔλαβον πάντα τὸν λαὸν τοῦτον, ἢ ἐγὼ ἔτεκον αὐτόν, ὅτι λέγεις μοι· λάβε αὐτόν εἰς τὸν κόλπον σου, ὥσει ἄραι τιθηνὸς τὸν θηλάζοντα;" καὶ τὸ "πόθεν μοι κρέα δοῦναι παντὶ τῷ λαῷ τούτῳ, ὅτι κλαίουσιν ἐπ' ἐμοί; μὴ πρόβατα καὶ βόες σφαγήσονται ἢ πᾶν τὸ ὄψος τῆς θαλάσσης συναχθήσεται καὶ ἀρκέσει;" καὶ
- [476] τὸ "κύριε, διὰ τί | ἐκάκωσας τὸν λαὸν τοῦτον; καὶ ἵνα τί ἀπέσταλκάς με; καὶ ἀφ' οὗ πεπόρευμαι πρὸς Φαραὼ λαλῆσαι ἐπὶ τῷ σῷ ὀνόματι, ἐκάκωσε

^a παρατατικός is the technical term in the Greek grammarians for the imperfect tense. On κατὰ συντέλειαν or συντελικός see App. p. 567.

WHO IS THE HEIR, 17-20

with a voice " (Ex. xix. 19). We do not have the tense of completed action " he talked," but the tense of prolonged and continuous action " he was talking " ; and similarly God did not teach him (as a complete action) but was answering him always and uninterruptedly. Now an answer always pre- 18
supposes a question ; and everyone asks what he does not know, because he thinks it good to learn and is aware that of all the steps which he can take to get knowledge, the most profitable is to seek, to ask questions, to think that he has no knowledge, and not to imagine that he has a firm apprehension of anything. Now wise men take God for their guide and 19
teacher, but the less perfect take the wise man ; and therefore the Children of Israel say " Talk thou to us, and let not God talk to us lest we die " (Ex. xx. 19).

But the man of worth has such courage of speech, that he is bold not only to speak and cry aloud, but actually to make an outcry of reproach, wrung from him by real conviction, and expressing true emotion. Take the words " if Thou wilt forgive them their sin, 20
forgive them ; but if not, blot me out of the book which Thou hast written " (Ex. xxxii. 32) ; and " Did I conceive all this people in the womb, or did I bring them forth, because Thou sayest unto me, ' take them to thy bosom, as a nurse lifts the suckling ' ? " (Num. xi. 12) ; or again " Whence shall I get flesh to give to this people, because they weep against me ? Shall sheep and oxen be slaughtered, or all the meat that is in the sea be collected and suffice ? " (Num. xi. 13, 22). Or " Lord, why hast Thou afflicted this people and why hast Thou sent me ? And ever since I went to Pharaoh to speak in Thy name, he has afflicted the people, and Thou hast not saved

- τὸν λαόν, καὶ οὐκ ἐρρύσω τὸν λαόν σου,” ταῦτα γὰρ καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα ἔδεισεν ἄν τις καὶ πρὸς ἓνα τῶν ἐν μέρει βασιλέων εἰπεῖν· ὁ δ’ ἀποφαίνεσθαι
- 21 καὶ πρὸς θεὸν ἐθάρρησεν. τοῦτο δ’ ἄρα πέρας ἦν οὐ τόλμης ἀπλῶς, ἀλλ’ εὐτολμίας αὐτῷ, διότι οἱ σοφοὶ πάντες φίλοι θεοῦ, καὶ μάλιστα κατὰ τὸν ἱερώτατον νομοθέτην. παρρησία δὲ φιλίας συγγενές· ἐπεὶ πρὸς τίνα ἄν τις ἢ πρὸς τὸν ἑαυτοῦ φίλον παρρησιάσαιτο; παγκάλως οὖν ἐν τοῖς χρησιμοῖς φίλος ἄδεται Μωυσῆς, ἢν’ ὅσα ἐπὶ θάρσει παρακεκινδυνευμένα διεξέρχεται φιλία μάλλον ἢ αὐθαδεία προφέρεσθαι δοκῇ. θρασύτης μὲν γὰρ αὐθάδους, φίλου δὲ θαρραλεότης οἰκεῖον.
- 22 VI. Ἀλλὰ σκόπει πάλιν, ὅτι εὐλαβεία τὸ θαρρεῖν ἀνακέκραται. τὸ μὲν γὰρ “τί μοι δώσεις;” θάρσος ἐμφαίνει, τὸ δὲ “δέσποτα” εὐλάβειαν. εἰωθὼς δὲ χρῆσθαι μάλιστα διτταῖς ἐπὶ τοῦ αἰτίου προσρήσει, τῇ θεὸς καὶ τῇ κύριος, οὐδετέραν νῦν παρείληφεν, ἀλλὰ τὴν δεσπότου, λίαν εὐλαβῶς καὶ σφόδρα κυρίως· καίτοι συνώνυμα ταῦτ’ εἶναι
- 23 λέγεται, κύριος καὶ δεσπότης. ἀλλ’ εἰ καὶ τὸ ὑποκείμενον ἐν καὶ ταῦτόν ἐστιν, ἐπινοίαις αἱ κλήσεις διαφέρουσι· κύριος μὲν γὰρ παρὰ τὸ κῦρος, ὁ δὲ βέβαιόν ἐστιν, εἴρηται, κατ’ ἐναντιότητα ἀβεβαίου καὶ ἀκύρου, δεσπότης δὲ παρὰ τὸν δεσμόν, ἀφ’ οὗ τὸ δέος οἶμαι—ὥστε τὸν δεσπότην κύριον εἶναι καὶ ἔτι ὥσανεὶ φοβερὸν κύριον, οὐ μόνον τὸ κῦρος καὶ τὸ κράτος ἀνημμένον ἀπάντων, ἀλλὰ καὶ δέος καὶ φόβον ἱκανὸν ἐμποιεῖσαι—,

Thy people" (Ex. v. 22, 23). Anyone would have feared to say these or like words, even to one of the kings of particular kingdoms; yet he had the courage to utter these thoughts to God. He reached this ²¹ limit, I will not say of daring in general but of good daring, because all the wise are friends of God, and particularly so in the judgement of the most holy law-giver. Frankness of speech is akin to friendship. For to whom should a man speak with frankness but to his friend? And so most excellent is it, that in the oracles Moses is proclaimed the friend of God (Ex. xxxiii. 11), to shew that all the audacities of his bold discourse were uttered in friendship, rather than in presumption. For the audacity of rashness belongs to the presumptuous, the audacity of courage or confidence to a friend.

VI. But observe on the other hand that confidence ²² is blended with caution. For while the words "What wilt thou give me" (Gen. xv. 2) shew confidence, "Master," shews caution. While Moses usually employs two titles in speaking of the Cause, namely God and Lord, here he uses neither, but substitutes "Master." In this he shews great caution and exactness in the use of terms. It is true that "Lord" and "Master" are said to be synonyms. But though one and the same thing is ²³ denoted by both, the connotations of the two titles are different. *Κύριος* (Lord) is derived from *κῆρος* (power) which is a thing secure and is the opposite of insecure and invalid (*ἄκυρος*), while *δεσπότης* (master) is from *δεσμός* (bond) from which I believe comes *δέος* (fear). Thus *δεσπότης* is a lord and something more, a terrible lord so to speak, one who is not only invested with the lordship and sovereignty of all things, but is also capable of inspiring fear and

- τάχα μέντοι καὶ ἐπειδὴ τῶν ὅλων δεσμός¹ ἐστὶ
 συνέχων αὐτὰ ἅλута καὶ σφίγγων διαλυτὰ ὄντα²
 24 ἐξ ἑαυτῶν. ὁ δὲ δὴ φάσκων “δέσποτα,
 τί μοι δώσεις” δυνάμει ταῦτα διεξέρχεται· οὐκ
 ἄγνωῶ σου τὸ ὑπερβάλλον κράτος, ἐπίσταμαι τὸ
 φοβερόν τῆς δυναστείας, δεδιώς καὶ τρέμων
 25 ἐντυγχάνω καὶ πάλιν θαρρῶ· σὺ γὰρ ἐθέσπισάς
 μοι μὴ φοβεῖσθαι, σύ μοι γλῶσσαν παιδείας
 ἔδωκας τοῦ γινῶναι ἡνίκα δεῖ φθέγγασθαι, σὺ τὸ
 στόμα ἀπερραμμένον ἐξέλυσας, σὺ διοίξας ἐπὶ
 πλεόν ἡρθωσας, σὺ τὰ λεκτέα συνεβίβασας
 εἰπεῖν τὸν χρησμὸν βεβαιούμενος ἐκείνον· “ἐγὼ
 ἀνοίξω τὸ στόμα σου, καὶ συμβιβάσω σε ἃ μέλλεις
 [477] | λαλήσειν.” τίς γὰρ ἐγενόμην, ἵνα σύ μοι
 26 λόγου μεταδῷς, ἵνα μισθὸν ὁμολογῆς, χάριτος καὶ
 δωρεᾶς ἀγαθὸν τελεώτερον; οὐ τῆς πατρίδος
 εἰμὶ μετανάστης; οὐ τῆς συγγενείας ἀπελήλαμαι;
 οὐ τῆς πατρῴας οἰκίας ἡλλοτριῶμαι; οὐκ ἀπο-
 κήρυκτον καὶ φυγάδα πάντες ἔρημον καὶ ἄτιμον
 27 ὀνομάζουσιν; ἀλλὰ σύ μοι, δέσποτα, ἡ πατρίς,
 σὺ ἡ συγγένεια, σὺ ἡ πατρῴα ἐστία, σὺ ἡ ἐπιτιμία,
 ἡ παρρησία, ὁ μέγας καὶ ἀοίδιμος καὶ ἀναφ-
 28 αῖρετος πλοῦτος. διὰ τί οὖν οὐχὶ θαρρήσω λέγειν
 φρονῶ; διὰ τί δ’ οὐ πεύσομαι μαθεῖν τι πλεόν
 ἃ ἀξιῶν; ἀλλ’ ὁ λέγων ἐγὼ θαρρεῖν πάλιν ὁμο-
 λογῶ δεδιέναι καὶ καταπεπλήχθαι, καὶ οὐκ ἔχει
 τὴν ἄμικτον ἐν ἐμοὶ μάχην φόβος τε καὶ θάρσος,
 ὥς ἴσως ὑπολήψεται τις, ἀλλὰ τὴν ἀνακεκρα-
 29 μένην συμφωνίαν. ἀπλήστως οὖν εὐωχοῦμαι τοῦ

¹ MSS. δεσπότης; Pap. δεσμων.

² MSS. (and Pap.) διαλύοντα.

^a See App. p. 567.

WHO IS THE HEIR, 23-29

terror ; perhaps too, since he is the bond of all things, one who holds them together indissolubly and binds them fast, when in themselves they are dissoluble.

He who says, " Master, what wilt thou 24 give me ? " virtually says no less than this, " I am not ignorant of Thy transcendent sovereignty ; I know the terrors of Thy power ; I come before Thee in fear and trembling, and yet again I am confident. For Thou hast vouchsafed to bid me fear not ; Thou 25 hast given me a tongue of instruction that I should know when I should speak (Isaiah l. 4),^a my mouth that was knitted up Thou hast unsewn, and when Thou hadst opened it, Thou didst strengthen its nerves for speech ; Thou hast taught me to say what should be said, confirming the oracle ' I will open thy mouth and teach thee what thou shalt speak ' (Ex. iv. 12). For who was I, that Thou shouldst impart speech to 26 me, that Thou shouldst promise me something which stood higher in the scale of goods than ' gift ' or grace, even a ' reward '. Am I not a wanderer from my country, an outcast from my kinsfolk, an alien from my father's house ? Do not all men call me excommunicate, exile, desolate, disfranchised ? But 27 Thou, Master, art my country, my kinsfolk, my paternal hearth, my franchise, my free speech, my great and glorious and inalienable wealth. Why 28 then shall I not take courage to say what I feel ? Why shall I not inquire of Thee and claim to learn something more ? Yet I, who proclaim my confidence, confess in turn my fear and consternation, and still the fear and the confidence are not at war within me in separate camps, as one might suppose, but are blended in a harmony. I find then a feast 29 which does not cloy in this blending, which has

κράματος, ὃ με ἀναπέπεικε μήτε ἄνευ εὐλαβείας παρρησιάζεσθαι μήτε ἀπαρρησιάστως εὐλαβεῖσθαι. τὴν γὰρ οὐδένειαν τὴν ἑμαυτοῦ μετρεῖν ἔμαθον καὶ τὰς ἐν ὑπερβολαῖς ἀκρότητας τῶν σῶν εὐεργεσιῶν περιβλέπεσθαι· καὶ ἐπειδὴν “γῆν καὶ τέφραν” καὶ εἴ τι ἐκβλητότερον ἑμαυτὸν αἰσθωμαι, τηνικαῦτα ἐντυγχάνειν σοι θαρρῶ, ταπεινὸς γεγονώς, καταβεβλημένος εἰς χοῦν, ὅσα εἰς γε τὸ μηδ’ ὑφεστάναι δοκεῖν ἀνεστοιχειωμένος.

- 30 VII. καὶ τοῦτό μου τὸ πάθος τῆς ψυχῆς ἐστηλογράφησεν ἐν τῷ ἑμῷ μνημείῳ ὁ ἐπίσκοπος Μωυσῆς. “ἐγγίσας” γὰρ φησιν “Ἀβραὰμ εἶπε· νῦν ἡρξάμην λαλῆσαι πρὸς τὸν κύριον, ἐγὼ δὲ εἰμι γῆ καὶ σποδός,” ἐπειδὴ τότε καιρὸς ἐντυγχάνειν γενέσιν τῷ πεποιηκότι, ὅτε τὴν ἑαυτῆς
- 31 οὐδένειαν ἔγνωκεν. τὸ δὲ “τί μοι δώσεις;” οὐκ ἀποροῦντός ἐστι φωνὴ μᾶλλον ἢ ἐπὶ τῷ πλήθει καὶ μεγέθει ὧν ἀπήλαυκεν ἀγαθῶν εὐχαριστοῦντος. “τί μοι δώσεις;” ἔτι γὰρ ἀπολείπεται τι πλεον προσδοκῆσαι; ἄφθονοι μὲν, ὧ φιλόδωρε, αἱ σαὶ χάριτες καὶ ἀπερίγραφοι καὶ ὄρον ἢ τελευτὴν οὐκ ἔχουσai, πηγῶν τρόπον πλείω¹
- 32 τῶν ἀπαντλουμένων ἀνομβροῦσαι. σκοπεῖν δὲ ἄξιον οὐ μόνον τὸν αἰεὶ πλημμυροῦντα χειμάρρουν τῶν σῶν εὐεργεσιῶν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰς ἀρδομένας ἡμῶν ἀρούρας· εἰ γὰρ περιττὸν ἀναχυθεῖν τὸ ρεῦμα, λιμνῶδες καὶ τελματῶδες ἀντὶ καρποφόρου γῆς ἔσται τὸ πεδίον. πρὸς εὐφορίαν οὖν² μεμετρημένης, ἀλλ’ οὐκ ἀμέτρου δεῖ τῆς ἐπιρ-

¹ MSS. τελείων (Pap.?).

² MSS. γὰρ (some with Pap. οὐ).

WHO IS THE HEIR, 29-32

schooled my speech to be neither bold without caution, nor cautious without boldness. For I have learnt to measure my own nothingness, and to gaze with wonder on the transcendent heights of Thy loving-kindnesses. And when I perceive that I am earth and cinders or whatever is still more worthless, it is just then that I have confidence to come before Thee, when I am humbled, cast down to the clay, reduced to such an elemental state,^a as seems not even to exist.

VII. And the watchful 30
pen of Moses has recorded this my soul's condition in his memorial of me. For Abraham, he says, drew near and said, ' Now I have begun to speak to the Lord, and I am earth and ashes ' (Gen. xviii. 27), since it is just when he knows his own nothingness that the creature should come into the presence of his Maker. The words ' What wilt Thou give me ? ' 31
are the cry not so much of uncertainty as of thankfulness for the multitude and greatness of the blessings which one has enjoyed. ' What wilt Thou give me ? ' he says. Is there aught still left for me to expect ? Lavish indeed, Thou bounteous God, are Thy gifts of grace, illimitable without boundary or end, welling up like fountains to replace and more than replace what we draw. But we should look not only 32
to the ever-flowing torrent of Thy loving-kindnesses but also to the fields—they are ourselves—which are watered by them. For if the stream pour forth in over-abundance, the plain will be marshy and fenny, instead of fruitful soil. I need then that the inflow on me should be in due measure for fertility, not un-

^a See App. p. 567.

- 33 ροῆς ἐμοί. διὸ πεύσομαι "τί μοι δώσεις" ἀ-
μύθητα δοὺς καὶ σχεδὸν πάντα ὅσα θνητὴν φύσιν
[478] χωρῆσαι | δυνατὸν ἦν; ὁ γὰρ λοιπὸν ἐπιζητῶ
μαθεῖν τε καὶ κτήσασθαι,¹ τοῦτ' ἐστίν, τίς ἂν
γένοιτο ἄξιος τῶν σῶν εὐεργεσιῶν [καὶ] κληρο-
34 νόμος. ἢ "ἐγὼ ἀπολυθήσομαι ἄτεκνος,"
ὀλιγοχρόνιον καὶ ἐφήμερον καὶ ὠκύμορον λαβὼν
ἀγαθόν, εὐχόμενος τούναντίον, πολυήμερον καὶ
μακροχρόνιον καὶ ἀκήρατον καὶ ἀθάνατον, ὥς
δυνηθῆναι καὶ σπέρματα βαλέσθαι καὶ ῥίζας
ἐχυρότητος ἕνεκα ἀποτεῖναι καὶ ἄνω πρὸς οὐρανὸν
35 τὸ στέλεχος ἀνεγείρον μετεωρίσαι; τὴν γὰρ
ἀνθρωπίνην ἀρετὴν βαίνειν μὲν ἐπὶ γῆς, φθάνειν
δὲ πρὸς οὐρανὸν ἀναγκαῖον, ἵν' ἐκεῖ τῆς ἀφθαρσίας
36 ἐστιαθεῖσα τὸν αἰεὶ χρόνον ἀπήμων διαμένῃ. ἄ-
τεκνον γὰρ καὶ στείραν οἶδ' ὅτι ψυχὴν ὁ τὰ μὴ
ὄντα φέρων καὶ τὰ πάντα γεννῶν μεμίσηκας, ἐπεὶ
καὶ χάριν ἔδωκας ἐξαίρετον τῷ διορατικῷ γένει τὸ
μηδέποτε στειωθῆναι καὶ ἀτοκῆσαι, ὧ καὶ αὐτὸς
προσνεμηθεὶς ἐφίεμαι κληρονόμου δικαίως. ἄ-
σβεστον γὰρ αὐτὸ καταθεώμενος αἰσχιστον εἶναι
νομίζω τὴν ἐμαυτοῦ ἔφεσιν² τοῦ καλοῦ περιδεῖν
37 καταλυθεῖσαν. ἱκέτης οὖν γίνομαι καὶ ποτινῶμαι,
ἵνα σπερμάτων καὶ ἐμπυρευμάτων ὑποτυφομένων
τὸ ἀρετῆς ἀνακαίηται καὶ ἀναφλέγηται σωτήριον
φέγγος, ὃ λαμπαδεύομενον ἐπαλλήλοις διαδοχαῖς
38 ἰσοχρόνιον γενήσεται κόσμῳ. ζῆλον καὶ τοῖς
ἀσκητικοῖς ἔδωκας τέκνων τῶν ψυχῆς σποράς

¹ MSS. ἐπιζητῶ τέκνον κτήσασθαι (Pap. μαρευν τε και?).

² My correction for MSS. and Pap. φύσιν; see App. p. 567.
But another, and possibly preferable, solution would be τοῦ
<φιλο>κάλου agreeing with ἐμαυτοῦ.

WHO IS THE HEIR, 33-38

measured. Therefore I will ask 'What wilt Thou 33
 give me?' Thou whose gifts have been countless,
 almost to the very sum of what human nature can
 contain. For all that I still seek to learn and to
 gain is but this 'Who should be a worthy heir of
 thy benefits?' Or shall I go hence child- 34
 less (Gen. xv. 2), the recipient of a boon shortlived,
 dying with the day, passing swiftly to its doom; I,
 who pray for the opposite, a boon of many days and
 years, proof against decay or death, so that it can lay
 the seed and extend the roots, which shall make the
 growth secure, and raise and uplift the stalk heaven-
 wards. For man's excellence must not tread the 35
 earth, but press upwards to heaven, that it may
 banquet there on incorruption and remain unscathed
 for ever. For I know that Thou, who givest^a being 36
 to what is not and generatest all things, hast hated
 the childless and barren soul, since Thou hast given
 as a special grace to the race of them that see that
 they should never be without children or sterile.
 And I myself having been made a member of that
 race justly desire an heir. For when I contemplate
 the race's security from extinction, I hold it a deep
 disgrace to leave my own desire of excellence to
 come to naught. Therefore I beseech and suppli- 37
 cate that out of the smouldering tinder and embers
 the saving light of virtue may burn up with full flame
 and carried on as in the torch-race by unfailing suc-
 cession may be coeval with the world. Also in the 38
 votaries of practice Thou hast implanted a zeal to sow
 and beget the children of the soul, and when they

^a A curious use of *φέρω*, but paralleled by *De Mut.* 192
τῷ τῆς ψυχῆς φέροντι καὶ αὔξοντι καὶ πληροῦντι καρποῦς θεῷ;
cf. ibid. 256.

- καὶ γενέσεως, καὶ μοιραθέντες ὑφ' ἡδονῆς ἐξελάλησαν εἰπόντες· “ τὰ παιδία οἷς ἡλέησεν ὁ θεὸς τὸν παῖδά σου,” ὧν ἀκακία καὶ τροφὸς καὶ τιθήνη, ὧν ἄβατοι καὶ ἀπαλαὶ καὶ εὐφυνεῖς ψυχαί, τῶν ἀρετῆς παγκάλων καὶ θεοειδεστάτων εὐπαρά-
 39 δεκτοὶ χαρακτήρων. δίδαξον δέ με κακέينو, εἰ “ ὁ υἱὸς Μασέκ τῆς οἰκογενοῦς μου ” τῶν σῶν χαρίτων ἱκανὸς γενέσθαι κληρονόμος ἐστίν. ἐγὼ γὰρ ἄχρι νῦν τὸν μὲν ἐλπίζόμενον οὐκ ἔλαβον, ὃν δ' ἔλαβον, οὐκ ἐλπίζω.
- 40 VIII. Τίς δὲ ἡ Μασέκ καὶ τίς αὐτῆς ὁ υἱός, οὐ παρέργως ἐπισκεπτέον. ἐρμηνεύεται τοίνυν Μασέκ ἐκ φιλήματος. φιλημα δὲ διαφέρει τοῦ φιλεῖν· τὸ μὲν γὰρ ψυχῶν ἔνωσιν ἀρμοζομένων εὐνοία, τὸ δὲ ἐπιπόλαιον καὶ ψιλὴν δεξιῶσιν χρείας τινὸς εἰς
 41 ταῦτ' οὐ συναγαγούσης ἔοικεν ἐμφαίνειν. ὥσπερ γὰρ ἐν τῷ ἀνακύπτειν οὐκ ἔστι τὸ κύπτειν οὐδ' ἐν τῷ καταπίνειν ἢ πάντως τὸ πίνειν οὐδ' ἐν μαρσίππῳ ὁ ἵππος, οὕτως οὐδ' ἐν τῷ καταφιλεῖν τὸ φιλεῖν, ἐπεὶ καὶ τῶν ἐχθρῶν μυρίους εἰκοντές τινες ταῖς
 42 τοῦ βίου χαλεπαῖς ἀνάγκαις δεξιοῦνται. τίς οὖν ἐστὶν ἡ ἐκ φιλήματος ἀλλὰ μὴ ἐξ ἀψευδοῦς φιλίας ἡμῖν συσταθεῖσα, φράσω μηδὲν ὑποστειλάμενος· ἡ
 [479] ζωὴ ἡ σὺν αἰσθήσει, ἡ πᾶσιν ὠχυρωμένη, | ἥς ἀνέραστος οὐδεὶς, ἣν δέσποιναν μὲν οἱ πολλοί, θεράπωναν δὲ οἱ ἀστείοι νομίζουσιν, οὐκ ἀλλόφυλον ἢ ἀργυρώνητον, ἀλλ' οἰκογενῆ καὶ τρόπον

^a A reminiscence of Plato, *Phaedrus* 245 A. See note on 249.

^b Philo curiously ignores the quite common use of φιλεῖν = to kiss. Possibly it may have carried with it the idea of a kiss given in true affection, which was absent in the compound.

are thus endowed they have cried out in their pleasure, 'The children, wherewith Thou hast shewn mercy to Thy servant' (Gen. xxxiii. 5). Of such children innocence is the nurse and fostermother; their souls are virgin and tender and rich in nature's gifts,^a ready to receive the glorious and divine impressions of virtue's graving. Tell me this too, 39 whether the son of Masek, she who was born in my house, is fit to become the heir of thy gifts of grace. For till now I have not received him whom I hope for, and he, whom I have received, is not the heir of my hopes."

VIII. Who Masek and her son are is a matter for 40 careful consideration. Well, the name Masek is interpreted "From a kiss." Now "kiss" is not the same as "loving." The latter appears to signify the uniting of souls which goodwill joins together, the former merely the bare superficial salutation, which passes when some occasion has caused a meeting. For just as in ἀνακύπτειν (rising up) there 41 is no idea of κύπτειν (stooping) nor in καταπίνειν (swallowing) the whole idea of πίνειν (drinking), nor in μάρσιππος (pouch) that of ἵππος (horse), so neither in καταφιλεῖν (kissing) do we have φιλεῖν (loving).^b For people bowing to the hard necessities of life in hundreds of cases greet their enemies thus. Who then she is, with whom we are brought into 42 contact "from" or "in consequence of a kiss," and not from true friendship, I will shew without disguise. It is the life of the senses, the assured possession of us all, for which all have a feeling of affection. The multitude regard her as a mistress, the good as their servant, not a servant of alien race or purchased with money, but homeborn and in a

- τινὰ ὁμόφυλον. οὗτοι καὶ πεπαίδευνται καταφι-
 λεῖν αὐτήν, οὐ φιλεῖν, ἐκείνοι δὲ ὑπερφυῶς ἀγαπᾶν
 43 καὶ τριπόθητον ἡγεῖσθαι. Λάβαν δ' ὁ
 μισάρετος οὐδὲ καταφιλήσαι δυνήσεται τὰς προσ-
 κεκληρωμένας τῷ ἀσκητικῷ δυνάμεις, ἀλλ' ὑπο-
 κρίσεως καὶ ψευδῶν πλασμάτων ἀνηρτηκῶς τὸν
 ἑαυτοῦ βίον, ὥσανεὶ δυσχεραίνων, οὐ πρὸς ἀλήθειαν
 ἀλγῶν, φησὶν· “οὐκ ἡξιώθην καταφιλήσαι τὰ
 παῖδιά μου καὶ τὰς θυγατέρας.” εἰκότως γε καὶ
 προσηκόντως· εἰρωνεῖαν γὰρ μισεῖν ἀκαταλλάκτως
 44 ἐπαιδεύθημεν. ἀγάπησον οὖν ἀρετὰς καὶ ἄσπασαι
 ψυχῇ τῇ σεαυτοῦ καὶ φίλησον ὄντως, καὶ ἥκιστα
 βουλήσῃ τὸ φιλίας παράκομμα ποιεῖν, καταφιλεῖν.
 “μὴ γάρ ἐστιν αὐταῖς ἔτι μερὶς ἢ κληρονομία ἐν
 τῷ σῷ οἴκῳ; οὐχ ὥς αἱ ἀλλότριαι ἐλογίσθησαν
 παρὰ σοί; ἢ οὐ πέπρακας αὐτάς, καὶ κατέφαγες
 τὸ ἀργύριον,” ἵνα μὴδὲ εἰσαυθις ἀνακομίσασθαι
 δυνηθῇς τὰ σώστρα, καὶ τὰ λύτρα κατεδηδοκῶς;
 προσποιῶν νῦν βούλεσθαι καταφιλεῖν ὃ πᾶσι τοῖς
 κριταῖς ἄσπονδος. ἀλλ' οὐ γαμβρόν¹
 καταφιλήσει Μωυσῆς, ἀλλ' ἀπὸ γνησίου τοῦ
 ψυχῆς πάθους φιλήσει· “ἐφίλησε” γάρ φησιν
 “αὐτόν, καὶ ἡσπάσαντο ἀλλήλους.”
- 45 IX. ζωῆς δὲ τριττὸν γένος, τὸ μὲν πρὸς θεόν, τὸ
 δὲ πρὸς γένεσιν, τὸ δὲ μεθόριον, μικτὸν ἀμφοῖν.
 τὸ μὲν οὖν πρὸς θεὸν οὐ κατέβη πρὸς ἡμᾶς οὐδὲ
 ἦλθεν εἰς τὰς σώματος ἀνάγκας. τὸ δὲ πρὸς

¹ So Mangey and Wend.: mss. and Pap. Ἀαρὼν. It may be questioned whether this is not what Philo wrote, by confusing Ex. xviii. 7 with iv. 27, where Moses meets Aaron (συνήντησεν αὐτῷ . . . καὶ κατεφίλησαν ἀλλήλους).

WHO IS THE HEIR, 42-45

sense a kinswoman. The wise have been trained to greet her with a kiss, but not to love her, the others to love her deeply and regard her worthy of a triple measure of their affection. Now 43

Laban the virtue-hater will not be able even to kiss the qualities which are allotted to the Man of Practice. Still since he has made hypocrisy and false inventions the cardinal principle of his life, he says, as though in dudgeon, though he has no real grief, "I was not held worthy to kiss my children and my daughters" (Gen. xxxi. 28). The refusal of the kiss is natural and proper. For we the children have been trained to hate dissimulation, with a hatred that refuses all dealing. Hold then the virtues dear, 44 embrace them with thy soul and love them truly, and thou wilt never desire to be the maker of that travesty of friendship, the kiss. "Have they, we shall say, any part or inheritance in your home? Were they not counted as aliens in your sight, or have you not sold them and devoured the money?" (Gen. xxxi. 14, 15). You devoured the price of their redemption, lest you should ever again be able to buy them back. And now you pretend to wish to kiss them, you in the judgement of all their deadly foe.

Moses on the other hand will not kiss his father-in-law, but loves him with genuine heart-felt affection. For "he loved him" we read "and they greeted each other" (Ex. xviii. 7).

IX. Now there are three kinds of life, 45 one looking Godwards, another looking to created things, another on the border-line, a mixture of the other two. The God-regarding life has never come down to us, nor submitted to the constraints of the body. The life that looks to creation has never risen

- γένεσιν οὐδ' ὅλως ἀνέβη οὐδ' ἐζήτησεν ἀναβῆναι,
 φωλεῦον δὲ ἐν μυχοῖς Ἰδίου τῷ ἀβιώτῳ βίῳ
 46 χαίρει. τὸ δὲ μικτόν ἐστιν, ὃ πολλάκις μὲν ὑπὸ
 τῆς ἀμείνονος ἀγόμενον τάξεως θειάζει καὶ θεο-
 φορεῖται, πολλάκις δ' ὑπὸ τῆς χείρονος ἀντι-
 σπώμενον ἐπιστρέφει. τοῦθ', ὅταν ὥσπερ ἐπὶ πλά-
 στιγγος ἢ τῆς κρείττονος ζωῆς μοῖρα τοῖς ὅλοις
 βρίσῃ, συνεπισπασθὲν τὸ τῆς ἐναντίας ζωῆς¹ βάρος
 47 κουφότατον ἄχθος ἀπέφηνε. Μωυσῆς δὲ τὸ τῆς
 πρὸς θεὸν ζωῆς γένος ἀκονιτὶ στεφανώσας εἰς
 ἐπὶ κρισιν τὰ λοιπὰ ἄγει δυσὶν ἀπεικάζων γυναιξίν,
 ὧν τὴν μὲν ἀγαπωμένην, τὴν δὲ μισουμένην καλεῖ
 48 προσφυέστατα θεῖς ὀνόματα. τίς γὰρ οὐ τὰς δι'
 ὀφθαλμῶν, τίς δ' οὐ τὰς δι' ὠτῶν, τίς δ' οὐ τὰς
 διὰ γεύσεως ὀσφρήσεώς τε καὶ ἀφῆς ἡδονὰς καὶ
 τέρψεις ἀποδέχεται; τίς δ' οὐ τὰ ἐναντία με-
 μίσηκεν, ὀλιγοδεῖαν, ἐγκράτειαν, αὐστηρόν καὶ ἐπι-
 στημονικὸν βίον, γέλωτος καὶ παιδιᾶς ἀμέτοχον,
 [480] συννοίας καὶ | φροντίδων καὶ πόνων μεστόν, φίλον
 τοῦ θεωρεῖν, ἀμαθίας ἐχθρόν, χρημάτων μὲν καὶ
 δόξης καὶ ἡδονῶν κρείττω, ἥττω δὲ σωφροσύνης
 καὶ εὐκλείας καὶ βλέποντος οὐ τυφλοῦ πλούτου;
 πρεσβύτερα μὲν οὖν αἰεὶ τὰ γεννήματα
 49 τῆς μισουμένης ἀρετῆς. X. ὁ δὲ Μωυσῆς, εἰ καὶ
 νεώτερα χρόνῳ, [καὶ] ταῦτα φύσει πρεσβεῖων ἀξιοῖ

¹ Pap. between ζωῆς and βάρος inserts *αντην*. May this perhaps stand for Ἀνταίειον? The myth of Antaeus, who became helpless when lifted by Heracles from the ground, would suit the parable well. Cf. Σισύφειος *De Cher.* 78, Ταντάλειος below, § 269. It is true of course that these stories were far better known than that of Antaeus.

* This description of the "mixed life" closely resembles
 306

WHO IS THE HEIR, 45-49

at all nor sought to rise, but makes its lair in the recesses of Hades and rejoices in a form of living, which is not worth the pains. It is the mixed life,^a which 46 often drawn on by those of the higher line is possessed and inspired by God, though often pulled back by the worse it reverses its course. And when the better life placed as a weight on the scales completely preponderates, the mixed life carried with it makes the opposite life seem light as air in the balance. Now 47 Moses while he gives the crown of undisputed victory to the Godward kind of life, brings the other two into comparison by likening them to two women, one of whom he calls the beloved and the other the hated. These names are very suitable, for who does not look 48 with favour on the pleasures and delights that come through the eyes, or the ears, or through taste and smell and touch? Who has not hated the opposites of these?—frugality, temperance, the life of austerity and knowledge, which has no part in laughter and sport, which is full of anxiety and cares and toils, the friend of contemplation, the enemy of ignorance, which puts under its feet money and mere reputation and pleasure, but is mastered by self-restraint and true glory and the wealth which is not blind but sees.

Now the children of virtue, the hated one, are always the senior. X. And Moses holds them 49 to be by their nature worthy of the rights of the senior, even though they be younger in point of

that of the ἀσκητής in *De Som.* i. 151, who is midway between the wise who live in the Olympian region and the bad who live in the recesses of Hades. In fact the "mixed" seems to represent the ordinary virtuous man (ὁ προκόπτων), and in the sequel is equated to the Hated Wife and to Leah, both of whom regularly represent Virtue. For the last part of the sentence see App. p. 568.

PHILO

τὰ διπλᾶ διδούς, τῶν δὲ ἀφαιρῶν τὴν ἡμίσειαν. ἔαν γὰρ γένωνται, φησίν, ἀνθρώπῳ δύο γυναῖκες, ἡγαπημένη καὶ μισουμένη, καὶ τέκωσιν ἀμφοτέραι, μέλλων τὰ ἑαυτοῦ διανέμειν οὐ δυνήσεται πρεσβείων ἀξιῶσαι τὸν υἱὸν τῆς ἡγαπημένης, ἡδονῆς, — νέος γὰρ οὗτος, εἰ καὶ χρόνῳ πολὺς¹ γένοιτο, — ἀλλὰ τὸν τῆς μισουμένης, φρονήσεως, πρεσβύτερον ἐκ παίδων εὐθὺς ὄντα, ὡς διμοιρίαν ἀπονεῖμαι.

50 τὴν δὲ τροπικωτέραν τούτων ἀπόδοσιν ἐν ἑτέροις εἰρηκότες ἐπὶ τὰ ἀκόλουθα τῶν ἐν χερσὶ τρεψώμεθα ἐκείνο προϋποδείξαντες, ὅτι τῆς μισουμένης ὁ θεὸς λέγεται τὴν μήτραν διοίξας γένεσιν ἀστέων ἐπιτηδευμάτων καὶ καλῶν ἔργων ἀνατεῖλαι, τῆς φιλεῖ-

51 σθαι νομιζομένης αὐτίκα στερουμένης. “ἰδὼν” γάρ φησι “κύριος ὅτι μισεῖται Λεῖα, ἤνοιξε τὴν μήτραν αὐτῆς· Ῥαχὴλ δὲ ἦν στεῖρα.” ἄρ’ οὐχ ὅταν ἡ ψυχὴ κυοφορῇ καὶ τίκτειν ἄρχηται τὰ ψυχῇ πρέποντα, τῆνικαῦτα ὅσα αἰσθητὰ στερούμενα ἀτοκεῖ, οἷς πρόσσεστιν ἢ ἐκ φιλήματος ἀλλ’ οὐχ ἢ διὰ γνησίου φιλίας ἀποδοχῇ; XI.

52 ταύτης οὖν τῆς κατ’ αἰσθησιν ζωῆς, ἣν καλεῖ Μασέκ, υἱὸς ἕκαστος ἡμῶν ἐστι τιμῶν καὶ θαυμάζων τὴν τροφὸν καὶ τιθήνην τοῦ θνητοῦ γένους, αἰσθησιν, ἣν καὶ ὁ γήινος νοῦς, ὄνομα Ἀδάμ, ἰδὼν διαπλασθεῖσαν τὸν ἑαυτοῦ θάνατον

¹ MSS. παλαιὸς (Pap. παλιος).

^a Or, if the καί, is retained, “And if any be younger in point of years, even them too in virtue of their nature does Moses hold worthy,” etc. In this case ταῦτα, and consequently the text quoted from Deuteronomy, is restricted to the νεώτερα χρόνῳ. Philo implies, what he actually argues

WHO IS THE HEIR, 49-52

years,^a for he gives them the double portion, and takes from the others their half-share. "For if a man," he says, "has two wives, one beloved and one hated, and both bear him children, when he purposes to divide his possessions, he shall not be able to adjudge the elder's rights to the son of the beloved (that is, of Pleasure) for he is but 'young,' even if years have made him grey-headed, but to the son of Prudence, the hated wife, the son who from earliest childhood is an 'elder,' he must give these rights and thus assign to him a double portion" (Deut. xxi. 15-17). Now we have given the allegorical inter- 50
pretation of this more closely elsewhere^b and therefore let us turn to the next part of our theme. One thing however we must first point out, namely that we are told that God by opening the womb of the hated wife brought to its rising the birth of worthy practices and excellent deeds, while she, who was thought to be beloved, immediately became barren. For "the Lord" it runs "seeing that Leah is hated 51
opened her womb, but Rachel was barren" (Gen. xxix. 31). Is it not just then, when the soul is pregnant and begins to bear what befits a soul, that all objects of sense become barren and incapable of child-bearing, those objects which find acceptance with us "from the kiss" and not through genuine friendship. XI. This life of the senses, then, which he calls 52
Masek, has for her son each one among us who honours and admires the nurse and foster-mother of our mortal race, that is Sense, on whose just-fashioned form the earthly mind, called Adam, looked and gave

in *De Sobr.* 22, that the words of Deut. make the son of the Beloved to be, in the literal sense, the elder.

^b In *Leg. All.* ii. 48, *De Sac.* 19 ff., *De Sobr.* 21 ff.

- 53 ζωὴν ἐκείνης¹ ὠνόμασεν. “ἐκάλεσε” γάρ φησιν
 “Ἀδὰμ τὸ ὄνομα τῆς γυναικὸς αὐτοῦ ζωή, ὅτι
 αὕτη μήτηρ πάντων τῶν ζώντων,” τῶν πρὸς
 ἀλήθειαν τὸν ψυχῆς τεθνηκότων δήπου βίον. οἱ
 δὲ ζῶντες ὄντως μητέρα μὲν ἔχουσι σοφίαν,
 αἰσθησὶν δὲ δούλην πρὸς ὑπηρεσίαν ἐπιστήμης ὑπὸ
 φύσεως δημιουργηθεῖσαν.
- 54 Ὅνομα δὲ τοῦ γεννηθέντος ἐκ ζωῆς, ἦν ἐκ φιλή-
 ματος ἐγνωρίσαμεν, διασυνίστησι Δαμασκόν²—τὸ δὲ
 μεταληφθέν ἐστὶν αἷμα σάκκου,—σφόδρα δυνατῶς
 καὶ εὐθυβόλως σάκκον μὲν τὸ σῶμα αἰνιξάμενος,
 55 αἷμα δὲ ζωὴν τὴν ἔναιμον. ἐπειδὴ γὰρ ψυχὴ διχῶς
 λέγεται, ἥ τε ὅλη καὶ τὸ ἡγεμονικὸν αὐτῆς μέρος, ὃ
 κυρίως εἰπεῖν ψυχὴ ψυχῆς ἐστὶ, καθάπερ ὀφθαλμὸς
 ὃ τε κύκλος σύμπας καὶ τὸ κυριώτατον μέρος τὸ
 ὧ βλέπομεν, ἔδοξε τῷ νομοθέτῃ διττὴν καὶ τὴν
 [481] οὐσίαν εἶναι ψυχῆς, αἷμα μὲν τῆς ὅλης, τοῦ | δ’
 ἡγεμονικωτάτου πνεῦμα θεῖον. φησὶ γοῦν ἀντι-
 56 κρυς· “ψυχὴ πάσης σαρκὸς αἷμά ἐστιν.” εὖ
 γε τὸ προσενεῖμαι τῷ σαρκῶν ὅχλῳ τὴν αἵματος
 ἐπιρροήν, οἰκείον οἰκείῳ· τοῦ δὲ νοῦ τὴν οὐσίαν
 ἐξ οὐδενὸς ἤρτησε γενητοῦ, ἀλλ’ ὑπὸ θεοῦ κατα-
 πνευσθεῖσαν εἰσήγαγεν· “ἐνεφύσησε” γάρ φησιν “ὁ
 ποιητὴς τῶν ὅλων εἰς τὸ πρόσωπον αὐτοῦ πνοὴν
 ζωῆς, καὶ ἐγένετο ὁ ἄνθρωπος εἰς ψυχὴν ζῶσαν,”
 ἥ καὶ κατὰ τὴν εἰκόνα τοῦ ποιητοῦ λόγος ἔχει
 57 τυπωθῆναι. XII. ὥστε διττὸν εἶδος ἀνθρώπων,

¹ ? ἐκείνην with Pap. and some mss. See App. p. 568.

² So mss.: Wend. from Pap. Δαμασκός. But would not Philo have written τὸ Δαμασκός if he used the nominative?

* See note on the phrase “soul as soul,” *De Mig.* 5.

WHO IS THE HEIR, 52-57

the name of what was his own death to her life. "For Adam," it says, "called the name of his wife 53 'Life,' because she is the mother of all things living" (Gen. iii. 20), that is doubtless of those who are in truth dead to the life of the soul. But those who are really living have Wisdom for their mother, but Sense they take for a bond-woman, the handiwork of nature made to minister to knowledge.

The name of the child born of the life which we 54 have explained as the "life from a kiss" he puts before us as Damascus, which is interpreted as "the blood of a sackcloth robe." By sackcloth robe he intimates the body, and by blood the "blood-life," and the symbolism is very powerful and apt. We use "soul" in two senses, both for the whole 55 soul and also for its dominant part, which properly speaking is the soul's soul,^a just as the eye can mean either the whole orb, or the most important part, by which we see. And therefore the lawgiver held that the substance of the soul is twofold, blood being that of the soul as a whole, and the divine breath or spirit that of its most dominant part. Thus he says plainly "the soul of every flesh is the blood" (Lev. xvii. 11). He does well in assigning the blood with its 56 flowing stream to the riot^b of the manifold flesh, for each is akin to the other. On the other hand he did not make the substance of the mind depend on anything created, but represented it as breathed upon by God. For the Maker of all, he says, "blew into his face the breath of life, and man became a living soul" (Gen. ii. 7); just as we are also told that he was fashioned after the image of his Maker (Gen. i. 27). XII. So we have two kinds of men, one 57

^b Or "horde." See note on *Quod Deus* 2.

- τὸ μὲν θείῳ πνεύματι λογισμῷ βιούντων, τὸ δὲ αἵματι καὶ σαρκὸς ἡδονῇ ζώντων. τοῦτο τὸ εἶδος ἐστὶ πλάσμα γῆς, ἐκεῖνο δὲ θείας εἰκόνος ἐμφερὲς
- 58 ἐκμαγεῖον. χρεῖος δ' ἐστὶν οὐ μετρίως
 ὁ πεπλασμένος ἡμῶν χοῦς καὶ ἀναδεδευμένος αἵματι βοηθείας τῆς ἐκ θεοῦ· διὸ λέγεται “οὗτος Δαμασκὸς Ἐλιέζερ”—ἐρμηνευθεὶς δέ ἐστιν Ἐλιέζερ θεὸς μου βοηθός,—ἐπειδὴ ὁ ἔναιμος ὄγκος ἐξ ἑαυτοῦ διαλυτὸς ὢν καὶ νεκρὸς συνέστηκε καὶ ζωπυρεῖται προνοίᾳ θεοῦ τοῦ τὴν χεῖρα ὑπερέχοντος καὶ ὑπερασπίζοντος, μηδεμίαν ἡμέραν ἰδρυθῆναι παγίως δυνηθέντος ἐξ ἑαυτοῦ τοῦ γένους ἡμῶν.
- 59 οὐχ ὁρᾷς ὅτι καὶ Μωυσέως ὁ δεύτερος τῶν υἱῶν ὁμωνυμεῖ τούτῳ; “τὸ γὰρ ὄνομα” φησί “τοῦ δευτέρου Ἐλιέζερ,” καὶ τὴν αἰτίαν ἐπιφέρει. “ὁ γὰρ θεὸς τοῦ πατρὸς μου βοηθός μου, καὶ ἐξείλατό
- 60 με ἐκ χειρὸς Φαραώ.” τοῖς δ' ἔτι τῆς ἐναίμου καὶ αἰσθητῆς ζωῆς ἐταίροις ἐπιτίθεται ὁ σκεδάσαι τὰς θεοσεβείας δεινὸς τρόπος, ὄνομα Φαραώ, οὗ τὴν παρανομίας καὶ ὠμότητος μεστήν δυναστείαν ἀμήχανον ἐκφυγεῖν ἄνευ τοῦ γεννηθῆναι τὸν Ἐλιέζερ ἐν ψυχῇ καὶ ἐπελπίσαι τὴν παρὰ τοῦ
- 61 μόνου σωτῆρος θεοῦ βοήθειαν. παγκάλως δὲ τὸν Δαμασκὸν οὐκ ἀπὸ πατρὸς, ἀλλ' ἀπὸ μητρὸς τῆς Μασέκ διασυνέστησεν, ἵνα διδάξῃ ὅτι ἡ ἔναιμος ψυχὴ, καθ' ἣν ζῇ καὶ τὰ ἄλογα, τοῦ πρὸς γυναικῶν μητρώου γένους οἰκεῖόν ἐστιν,
- 62 ἄρρενος γενεᾶς ἀμέτοχον. ἀλλ' οὐχ ἡ ἀρετὴ Σάρρα· μόνου γὰρ τοῦ πρὸς ἀνδρῶν μεταποιεῖται,

WHO IS THE HEIR, 57-62

that of those who live by reason, the divine inbreathing, the other of those who live by blood and the pleasure of the flesh. This last is a moulded clod of earth, the other is the faithful impress of the divine image.

Yet this our piece of moulded clay, 58
tempered with blood for water, has imperative need of God's help, and thus we read "this Damascus Eliezer." Now Eliezer interpreted is "God is my helper," for this mass of clay and blood, which in itself is dissoluble and dead, holds together and is quickened as into flame by the providence of God, who is its protecting arm and shield, since our race cannot of itself stand firmly established for a single day. Observe, too, that the second son of Moses 59 bears the same name. "The name of the second," he says, "was Eliezer," and then he adds the reason: "for the God of my father is my helper and delivered me from the hand of Pharoah" (Ex. xviii. 4). But those who still consort with the life of sense and 60 blood suffer the attacks of the spirit so expert in scattering^a pious thoughts and deeds, the spirit called Pharoah, whose tyranny rife with lawlessness and cruelty it is impossible to escape, unless Eliezer be born in the soul and looks with hope to the help which God the only Saviour can give.

Right well, too, does Moses describe Damascus as the 61 son not of his father but of his mother, Masek, to shew us that the blood-soul, by which irrational animals also live, has kinship with the maternal and female line, but has no part in male descent. Not 62 so was it with Virtue or Sarah, for male descent is the sole claim of her, who is the motherless ruling

^a Cf. the regular epithet of Pharoah, ὁ σκεδαστής τῶν καλῶν, e.g. *De Sac.* 48.

ἐκ πατρὸς τοῦ πάντων θεοῦ μόνου γεννηθεῖσα ἡ ἀμήτωρ ἀρχή· “ἀληθῶς” γάρ φησιν “ἀδελφή μου ἔστιν ἐκ πατρός, ἀλλ’ οὐκ ἐκ μητρός.”

- 63 XIII. “Α μὲν οὖν ἦν ἀναγκαῖον προακοῦσαι, διεπτύξαμεν· καὶ γὰρ εἶχεν ἀσάφειαν ἡ πρότασις αἰνιγματώδη. τί δὲ ὁ φιλομαθὴς ζητεῖ, διερμηνεύτεον ἀκριβέστερον· μήποτ’ οὖν ἔστι τοιοῦτον, [482] εἰ δύναται | τις ἐφιέμενος τῆς ἐναίμου ζωῆς καὶ μεταποιούμενος ἔτι τῶν κατ’ αἴσθησιν γενέσθαι τῶν ἀσωμάτων καὶ θείων πραγμάτων κληρονόμος.
- 64 τούτων μόνος ἀξιοῦται ὁ καταπνευσθεὶς ἄνωθεν, οὐρανοῦ τε καὶ θείας μοίρας ἐπιλαχών, ὁ καθαρώτατος νοῦς, ἀλογῶν οὐ μόνον σώματος ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῦ ἐτέρου ψυχῆς τμήματος, ὅπερ ἄλογον ὑπάρχον αἵματι πέφυρται, θυμοὺς ζέοντας καὶ πεπυρω-
- 65 μένας ἐπιθυμίας ἀναφλέγον. πυνθάνεται γοῦν τὸν τρόπον τοῦτον· ἐπειδὴ ἐμοὶ οὐκ ἔδωκας σπέρμα τὸ νοητὸν ἐκεῖνο, τὸ αὐτοδίδακτον, τὸ θεοειδές, ἀρά γε “ὁ οἰκογενὴς μου κληρονομήσει με,” ὁ
- 66 τῆς ἐναίμου ζωῆς ἔγγονος; τότε καὶ ἐπισπεύσας ὁ θεὸς ἔφθασε τὸν λαλοῦντα, τῆς ῥήσεως προαποστείλας ὡς ἔπος εἰπεῖν διδασκαλίαν. “εὐθύς” γάρ φησι “φωνὴ θεοῦ ἐγένετο πρὸς αὐτὸν τῷ λέγειν· οὐ κληρονομήσει σε οὗτος,” τῶν εἰς τὴν δι’ αἰσθήσεως δεῖξιν ἐρχομένων οὐδὲ εἰς ἀσώματοι γὰρ φύσεις νοητῶν πραγμάτων εἰσὶ
- 67 κληρονόμοι. παρατετήρηται δὲ ἄκρως τὸ μὴ

^a ἀρχή no doubt carries with it, in addition to the sense of “beginning” or “first principle,” the thought of sovereignty

WHO IS THE HEIR, 62-67

principle^a of things, begotten of her father alone, even God the Father of all. For "indeed," it runs, "she is my sister from the father, not from the mother" (Gen. xx. 12).

XIII. So much for the elucidation needed as a preliminary; for the problem was seen to involve 63 obscurities and difficulties. We must now explain more exactly what it is that the lover of learning seeks to know. Surely it is something of this kind: "Can he who desires the life of the blood and still claims for his own the things of the senses become the heir of divine and incorporeal things?" No; one 64 alone is held worthy of these, the recipient of inspiration from above, of a portion heavenly and divine, the wholly purified mind which disregards not only the body, but that other section of the soul which is devoid of reason and steeped in blood, aflame with seething passions and burning lusts. His question, we see, takes this form: "Since thou 65 hast not given me that other seed, the mentally perceived, the self-taught, the divine of form, shall the child of my household be my heir, he who is the offspring of the blood-life?" At that point 66 God in His turn hastens to forestall the questioner, with a message of instruction, which we may almost say anticipates his speaking. For "straightway," we are told, "a voice of God came to him with the words 'He shall not be thy heir'" (Gen. xv. 4). No, none of those who fall under the evidence which the senses give. For it is incorporeal natures that inherit intellectual things. The wording is chosen 67 very carefully. Moses does not say "God said"

which Philo regularly connects with the name of Sarah, *e.g. De Cher. 7.*

“ εἶπεν ” ἢ “ ἐλάλησεν ” φάναι, ἀλλὰ τὸ “ φωνή θεοῦ ἐγένετο πρὸς αὐτὸν ” ὥσπερ εὐτόνως ἐμβοήσαντος καὶ ἀρρήκτως ἐνηχήσαντος, ἵν’ εἰς πᾶσαν τὴν ψυχὴν διαδοθεῖσα ἡ φωνὴ μηδὲν ἔρημον ἔαση καὶ κενὸν ὑψηγῆσεως ὀρθῆς μέρος, ἀλλὰ πάντα διὰ πάντων ὑγιαίνουσης μαθήσεως ἀναπλησθῇ.

68 XIV. τίς οὖν γενήσεται κληρονόμος; οὐχ ὁ μένων ἐν τῇ τοῦ σώματος εἰρκτῇ λογισμὸς καθ’ ἐκούσιον γνώμην, ἀλλ’ ὁ λυθείς τῶν δεσμῶν καὶ ἐλευθερωθείς καὶ ἔξω τειχῶν προεληλυθὼς καὶ καταλελοιπῶς, εἰ οἷόν τε τοῦτο εἰπεῖν, αὐτὸς ἑαυτόν. “ ὅς γὰρ ἐξελεύσεται ἐκ σοῦ ” φησὶν,
69 “ οὗτος κληρονομήσει σε.” πόθος οὖν

εἴ τις εἰσέρχεται σε, ψυχῇ, τῶν θείων ἀγαθῶν κληρονομήσαι, μὴ μόνον “ γῆν,” τὸ σῶμα, καὶ “ συγγένειαν,” <τὴν> αἰσθησιν, καὶ “ οἶκον πατρός,” τὸν λόγον, καταλίπης, ἀλλὰ καὶ σαυτὴν ἀπόδραθι καὶ ἔκστηθι σεαυτῆς, ὥσπερ οἱ κατεχόμενοι καὶ κορυβαντιῶντες βακχευθεῖσα καὶ θεοφορηθεῖσα κατὰ τινα προφητικὸν ἐπιθειασμόν.
70 ἐνθουσιώσης γὰρ καὶ οὐκέτ’ οὔσης ἐν ἑαυτῇ διανοίας, ἀλλ’ ἔρωτι οὐρανίῳ σεσοβημένης κακμεμηνυίας καὶ ὑπὸ τοῦ ὄντως ὄντος ἡγμένης καὶ ἄνω πρὸς αὐτὸ¹ εἰλκυσμένης, προϊούσης ἀληθείας καὶ τὰν ποσὶν ἀναστελλούσης, ἵνα κατὰ λεωφόρου
71 βαῖνοι τῆς ὁδοῦ, κλῆρος οὗτος. πῶς

οὖν μετανίστασο τῶν προτέρων ἐκείνων, λέγε θαρροῦσα ἡμῖν, ὦ διάνοια, ἡ τοῖς ἀκούειν τὰ νοητὰ δεδιδραγμένοις ἐνηχεῖς, αἰεὶ φάσκουσα ὅτι μετωκισάμην τοῦ σώματος, ἡνίκα τῆς σαρκὸς ἡλόγουν ἤδη, καὶ τῆς αἰσθήσεως, ὅποτε τὰ αἰσθητὰ

¹ Or αὐτὸν as some mss.

WHQ IS THE HEIR, 67-71

or " God spake," but " a voice of God came to him." It suggests a loud, sonorous, continuous appeal, pitched so as to spread abroad throughout the soul, whereby no part shall be left to which its right instruction has not penetrated, but all are filled from end to end with sound learning. XIV.

Who then shall be the heir? Not that way of thinking which abides in the prison of the body of its own free will, but that which released from its fetters into liberty has come forth outside the prison walls, and if we may so say, left behind its own self. For " he who shall come out of thee," it says, " shall be thy heir " (Gen. xv. 4).

Therefore, my soul, 69 if thou feelest any yearning to inherit the good things of God, leave not only thy land, that is the body, thy kinsfolk, that is the senses, thy father's house (Gen. xii. 1), that is speech, but be a fugitive from thyself also and issue forth from thyself. Like persons possessed and corybants, be filled with inspired frenzy, even as the prophets are inspired. For it is the mind which is under the divine afflatus, 70 and no longer in its own keeping, but is stirred to its depths and maddened by heavenward yearning, drawn by the truly existent and pulled upward thereto, with truth to lead the way and remove all obstacles before its feet, that its path may be smooth to tread—such is the mind, which has this inheritance.

To that mind I say, " Fear not to 71 tell us the story of thy departure from the first three. For to those who have been taught to give ear to the things of the mind, thou ever repeatest the tale." " I migrated from the body," she answers, " when I had ceased to regard the flesh ; from sense, when I came to view all the objects of sense as having

- πάντα ὡς μὴ πρὸς ἀλήθειαν ὄντα ἐφантаσιώθη
 [483] καταγνοῦσα μὲν αὐτῆς τῶν | κριτηρίων ὡς νενοθυ-
 μένων καὶ δεδεκασμένων καὶ ψευδοῦς ὑποπεπλη-
 σμένων δόξης, καταγνοῦσα δὲ καὶ τῶν κρινομένων,
 ὡς δελεάσαι καὶ ἀπατῆσαι καὶ ἐκ μέσης τῆς
 φύσεως ἀρπάσαι τὴν ἀλήθειαν εὐτρεπισμένων·
 μετανέστην καὶ τοῦ λόγου, ἥνικα πολλὴν ἀλογίαν
 αὐτοῦ κατέγνων καίτοι μετεωρίζοντος καὶ φυσῶν-
 72 τος ἑαυτόν. ἐτόλμα γὰρ τόλμημα οὐ μικρόν, διὰ
 σκιῶν μοι σώματα, διὰ ῥημάτων πράγματα, ἅπερ
 ἀμήχανον ἦν, δεικνύναι· καίτοι σφαλλόμενος περι-
 ελάλει καὶ περιέρρει κοινότητι τῶν ὀνομάτων τὰς
 ιδιότητας τῶν ὑποκειμένων ἀδυνατῶν ἐμφάσει
 73 τρανῇ παραστήσαι. παθοῦσα δ' ὡς ἄφρων καὶ
 νήπιος παῖς ἔμαθον, ὡς ἄμεινον ἦν ἅρα πάντων
 μὲν τούτων ὑπεξελεῖν, ἐκάστου δὲ τὰς δυνάμεις
 ἀναθεῖναι θεῷ τῷ καὶ τὸ σῶμα σωματοῦντι καὶ
 πηγνύντι καὶ τὴν αἴσθησιν αἰσθάνεσθαι παρα-
 σκευάζοντι καὶ τῷ λόγῳ τὸ λέγειν ὀρέγοντι.
 74 τὸν αὐτὸν δὴ τρόπον ὅνπερ τῶν ἄλλων
 ὑπεξελέλυθας, ὑπέξελθε καὶ μετανάστηθι σεαυτῆς.
 τί δὲ τοῦτό ἐστιν; μὴ ταμιεύσῃ τὸ νοεῖν καὶ
 διανοεῖσθαι καὶ καταλαμβάνειν σεαυτῇ, φέρουσα
 δὲ καὶ ταῦτα ἀνάθες τῷ τοῦ νοεῖν ἀκριβῶς καὶ
 καταλαμβάνειν ἀνεξαπατήτως αἰτίῳ.
 75 XV. Τὴν δὲ ἀνάθεςιν δέξεται τῶν πανιέρων
 τεμενῶν τὸ ἀγιώτερον· δύο γὰρ ἔοικε συστήναι, τὸ
 μὲν νοητόν, τὸ δ' αἰσθητόν. αἰσθητῶν μὲν οὖν
 φύσεων ὁ κόσμος οὗτος, ἀοράτων δ' ὡς ἀληθῶς ὁ
 76 νοητὸς τὸ πάνθειόν ἐστιν. ὅτι δ' ὁ

* The translation takes κοινότητι as dative of cause after

WHO IS THE HEIR, 71-76

no true existence, when I denounced its standards of judgement as spurious and corrupt and steeped in false opinion, and its judgements as equipped to ensnare and deceive and ravish truth away from its place in the heart of nature ; from speech, when I sentenced it to long speechlessness, in spite of all its self-exaltation and self-pride. Great indeed was its 72 audacity, that it should attempt the impossible task to use shadows to point me to substances, words to point me to facts. And, amid all its blunders, it chattered and gushed about, unable to present with clear expression those distinctions in things which baffled its vague and general vocabulary.^a Thus 73 through experience, as a foolish child learns, I learnt that the better course was to quit all these three, yet dedicate and attribute the faculties of each to God, who compacts the body in its bodily form, who equips the senses to perceive, and extends to speech the power of speaking." Such is the mind's 74 confession, and to it I reply, "even as thou hast quitted the others, quit thyself, depart from thyself." And what does this "departing" mean? It means "do not lay up as treasure for thyself, thy gifts of thinking, purposing, apprehending, but bring them and dedicate them to Him Who is the source of accurate thinking and unerring apprehension."

XV. This dedication will be enshrined in the holier 75 of the great sanctuaries. For two such sanctuaries, we feel, exist, one sensible, one mental. This world is the cathedral^b of the sense-perceived order, the world which the mind discovers of the truly invisible order. Now that he who has gone forth 76

ἀδυνατῶν. It may be, however, dative of means after *παρὰσρήσαι*.^b See App. p. 568.

ὑπεξελθὼν ἐξ ἡμῶν¹ καὶ γλιχόμενος ὁπαδὸς εἶναι
 θεοῦ τοῦ φύσεως αἰοδίμου πλούτου κληρονόμος
 ἐστί, μαρτυρεῖ λέγων· “ἐξήγαγεν δὲ αὐτὸν ἔξω
 καὶ εἶπεν· ἀνάβλεψον εἰς τὸν οὐρανόν,” ἐπειδήπερ
 οὗτος ὁ τῶν θείων θησαυρὸς ἀγαθῶν—“ἀνοίξαι
 γάρ σοι” φησί “κύριος τὸν θησαυρὸν αὐτοῦ τὸν
 ἀγαθόν, τὸν οὐρανόν,” ἐξ οὗ δὴ τὰς τελεωτάτας
 εὐφροσύνας ὁ χορηγὸς ἀδιαστάτως ὕει— “ἀνά-
 βλεψον” δὲ εἰς ἔλεγχον τοῦ τυφλοῦ τῶν ἀγελαίων
 ἀνθρώπων γένους, ὃ βλέπειν δοκοῦν πεπήρωται.

- 77 πῶς γὰρ οὐ πεπήρωται, ὅτε κακὰ μὲν ἀντ’ ἀγαθῶν,
 αἰσχρὰ ἀντὶ καλῶν, ἄδικα ἀντὶ δικαίων καὶ πάθη
 μὲν ἀντ’ εὐπαθειῶν, θνητὰ δὲ ἀντ’ ἀθανάτων
 ἡρῆται, καὶ νοθετητὰς μὲν καὶ σωφρονιστάς, ἔτι
 δὲ ἔλεγχον καὶ παιδείαν ἀποδιδράσκει, κόλακας δὲ
 καὶ τοὺς πρὸς ἡδονὴν λόγους ἀργίας καὶ ἀμαθίας
 78 καὶ θρύψεως δημιουργοὺς ἀποδέχεται; μόνος οὖν
 βλέπει ὁ ἀστείος, οὗ χάριν καὶ τοὺς προφήτας
 ὠνόμασαν οἱ παλαιοὶ ὀρώντας. ὁ δὲ ἔξω προ-
 εληλυθὼς οὐ μόνον ὀρώων, ἀλλὰ καὶ θεὸν ὀρώων προσ-
 ερρήθη, Ἰσραὴλ [ὅς ἐστι θεὸν ὀρώων].

[484] οἱ δέ, κἄν ποτε | τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς διοίξωσι, πρὸς
 γῆν ἀπονενεύκασιν τὰ γήινα μετιόντες καὶ τοῖς ἐν

- 79 Αἰδη συντρεφόμενοι. ὁ μὲν γὰρ ἀνατείνει τὰς
 ὄψεις πρὸς αἰθέρα καὶ τὰς οὐρανοῦ περιόδους,
 πεπαιδευταὶ δὲ καὶ εἰς τὸ μάννα ἀφορᾶν, τὸν
 θεῖον λόγον, τὴν οὐράνιον ψυχῆς φιλοθεάμονος
 ἀφθαρτον τροφήν, οἱ δὲ πρὸς τὰ κρόμμυα καὶ τὰ
 σκόρδα, τὰ περιοδυνῶντα τὰς κόρας καὶ κακοῦντα²

¹ Wend. from Pap. ἐξ ἡμῶν νοητῶν καὶ κτλ. See App.
 p. 568.

² MSS. κυκῶντα.

WHO IS THE HEIR, 76-79

from us and desires to be God's attendant is the heir of the glorious wealth that nature has to give is testified by Moses in the words "He led him out outside and said 'Look up into heaven'" (Gen. xv. 5). For heaven is the treasury of divine blessings. "May the Lord," he says, "open to thee His good treasure, the heaven" (Deut. xxviii. 12)—that heaven from which the bountiful Giver rains down continually His most perfect joys. Yes, look up, and thus convict of their errors the multitude of common men, the blind race, which has lost the sight which it thinks it possesses. How could it be other than 77 blind, when it prefers bad to good, base to honourable, unjust to just, and again lower passions to higher emotions, the mortal to the immortal; when once more it shuns the voice of the warner and the censor, and with them conviction and instruction, while it welcomes flatterers and the words that lead to pleasure, the makers of idleness and ignorance and luxury? And so it is only the man of worth 78 who sees, and therefore they of old called prophets "seers" (1 Sam. ix. 9). He who advances "outside" is called not only the seer, but the seer of God, that is Israel.

But the others even if they do ever open their eyes have bent them earthwards; they pursue the things of earth and their conversation is with the dwellers in Hades. The one ex- 79 tends his vision to the ether and the revolutions of the heaven; he has been trained also to look steadfastly for the manna, which is the word of God, the heavenly incorruptible food of the soul which delights in the vision. But the others see but the onions and the garlic, which give great pain and trouble to their eyes and make them close, or the

- καὶ καταμύειν ποιοῦντα, καὶ τὰς ἄλλας πράσων
καὶ νεκρῶν ἰχθύων δυσοσμίας, οἰκείας Αἰγύπτου
80 τροφάς. “ἐμνήσθημεν” γάρ φασι “τοὺς ἰχθύας,
οὓς ἡσθίομεν ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ δωρεάν, καὶ σικύας,
πέπονας, πράσα, κρόμμνα, σκόρδα· νυνὶ δὲ ἡ
ψυχὴ ἡμῶν κατάξηρος, οὐδὲν πλὴν εἰς τὸ μάννα
οἱ ὀφθαλμοὶ ἡμῶν.”
- 81 XVI. Συντείνει δὲ πρὸς ἡθοποιίαν καὶ τὸ
“ἐξήγαγεν αὐτὸν ἔξω,” ὃ τινες εἰώθασιν ὑπ’
ἀμουσίας ἡθους γελᾶν φάσκοντες· εἴσω γάρ τις
ἐξάγεται, ἢ ἔμπαλιν εἰσέρχεται ἔξω; ναί, φαίην
ἂν, ὧ καταγέλαστοι καὶ λίαν εὐχερεῖς· ψυχῆς γὰρ
τρόπους ἰχνηλατεῖν οὐκ ἐμάθετε ἀλλὰ σωμάτων,
<καὶ>¹ τὰς ἐν τούτοις μεταβατικὰς κινήσεις μόνας
ἐρευνᾶτε. διὸ καὶ παράδοξον ὑμῖν φαίνεται εἴ τις
ἐξέρχεται εἴσω ἢ εἰσέρχεται ἔξω· τοῖς δὲ Μωυ-
σέως γνωρίμοις ἡμῖν οὐδὲν τῶν τοιούτων ἀπωδόν
82 ἐστίν. ἢ οὐκ ἂν εἵποιτε, τὸν μὴ τέλειον ἀρχιερέα,
ὁπότε ἐν τοῖς ἀδύτοις τὰς πατρώους ἀγιστείας
ἐπιτελεῖ, ἔνδον εἶναί τε καὶ ἔξω, ἔνδον μὲν τῷ
φανερῷ σώματι, ἔξω δὲ ψυχῇ τῇ περιφοίτῳ καὶ
πεπλανημένῃ, καὶ ἔμπαλιν τινα μηδὲ γένους ὄντα
τοῦ ἱερωμένου θεοφιλεῖ καὶ φιλόθεον ἔξω τῶν
περιρραντηρίων ἐστῶτα ἐσωτάτῳ διατρίβειν, ἀπο-
δημίαν ἡγούμενον ὅλον τὸν μετὰ σώματος βίον,
ὁπότε δὲ δύναιτο τῇ ψυχῇ μόνη ζῆν, ἐν πατρίδι
83 καταμένειν ὑπολαμβάνοντα²; καὶ γὰρ φλιᾶς μὲν
ἐστίν ἔξω πᾶς ἄφρων, καὶ συνημερεύων μηδ’
ἀκαρὲς ἀπολείπεται, εἴσω δὲ πᾶς σοφός, καὶ μὴ

¹ <καὶ> ins. W.H.D.R.: Wend. places the comma after ἐμάθετε. See App. p. 568.

² mss. and Par. ὑπολαμβάνει(ν).

WHO IS THE HEIR, 79-83

other ill-smelling things, the leeks and dead fishes, which are food proper to Egypt ; " we remember," 80 they say, " the fishes which we used to eat in Egypt freely, the cucumbers and the gourds, the leeks, the onions, the garlic. But now our soul is dried up, our eyes have nothing to look to, save the manna " (Num. xi. 5, 6).

XVI. There is a moral bearing too in the phrase 81 " He led him out outside," which some, because of the grossness of their moral sense, are in the habit of holding up to ridicule. " Can any be led out inside," they ask, " or conversely go in outside ? " " Indeed they can," I would reply. In your ludicrous, thoughtless folly you have never learnt to trace the ways of the soul, but only of bodies, and all you look for is their movements from place to place. Therefore it seems to you a contradiction in terms that one should go out inside or go in outside. But we the disciples of Moses find nothing conflicting in such phrases. Would you not agree that the 82 high priest whose heart is not perfect is both inside and outside, when he is performing the ancestral rites in the inmost shrine ; inside in his visible body, outside in his wandering vagrant, soul ; and on the contrary that one who loves and is loved by God, even if he is not of the consecrated line, though he stands outside the sacred limits^a abides right inside them ? For he holds all his life in the body to be a sojourning in a foreign land, but when he can live in the soul alone, he feels that he is a dweller in his fatherland. Every fool is outside the threshold, 83 even if he spend the livelong day within, nor leave it for a moment ; and every wise man is inside it

^a Cf. *Quod Deus* 2.

- μόνον χώραις ἀλλὰ καὶ μεγάλοις κλίμασι γῆς διωκισμένος τυγχάνη· κατὰ δὲ Μωυσῆν οὕτως ὁ φίλος ἐγγύς ἐστιν, ὥστε ἀδιαφορεῖ ψυχῆς· λέγει γάρ· “ὁ φίλος, ὁ ἴσος τῇ ψυχῇ σου.”
- 84 καὶ ὁ ἱερεὺς μέντοι “ἄνθρωπος οὐκ ἔσται” κατ’ αὐτὸν ὅταν εἰσὶν εἰς τὰ ἅγια τῶν ἁγίων, “ἕως ἂν ἐξέλθῃ,” οὐ σωματικῶς, ἀλλὰ ταῖς κατὰ ψυχὴν κινήσεσιν. ὁ γὰρ νοῦς, ὅτε μὲν καθαρῶς λειτουργεῖ θεῷ, οὐκ ἔστιν ἀνθρώπινος, ἀλλὰ θεῖος· ὅτε δὲ ἀνθρωπίνῳ τινί, τέτραπται καταβάς ἀπ’ οὐρα-
- [485] νοῦ, μᾶλλον δὲ πεσὼν ἐπὶ γῆν ἐξέρχεται, | κἂν
- 85 ἔτι μένῃ τὸ σῶμα ἔνδον αὐτῷ. ὀρθότατα οὖν εἴρηται· “ἐξήγαγεν αὐτὸν ἔξω” τῶν κατὰ τὸ σῶμα δεσμωτηρίων, τῶν κατὰ τὰς αἰσθήσεις φωλεῶν, τῶν κατὰ τὸν ἀπατεῶνα λόγον σοφιστειῶν, ἐπὶ πᾶσιν αὐτὸν ἐξ ἑαυτοῦ καὶ τοῦ δοκεῖν αὐτ-
εξουσίου καὶ αὐτοκράτορι γνώμῃ νοεῖν τε καὶ κατα-
λαμβάνειν.
- 86 XVII. Προαγαγὼν δὲ αὐτὸν ἔξω φησὶν· “ἀνά-
βλεψον εἰς τὸν οὐρανὸν καὶ ἀρίθμησον τοὺς
ἀστέρας, ἔὰν δυνηθῇς ἐξαριθμῆσαι αὐτούς. οὕτως
ἔσται τὸ σπέρμα σου.” παγκάλως εἶπεν “οὕτως
ἔσται,” ἀλλ’ οὐ τοσοῦτον, τοῖς ἀστροῖς ἰσάριθμον.
οὐ γὰρ τὸ πλῆθος αὐτὸ μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ μυρία
ἄλλα τῶν εἰς εὐδαιμονίαν ὁλόκληρον καὶ παντελεῇ
- 87 βούλεται παρεμφῆναι. οὕτως οὖν ἔσται, φησὶν, ὥς
ἔχει τὸ ὁρώμενον αἰθέριον, οὕτως οὐράνιον, οὕτως
αὐγῆς γέμον ἀσκίου καὶ καθαρᾶς—οὐρανοῦ γὰρ
ἀπελήλαται νύξ καὶ αἰθέρος τὸ σκότος,—ἀστερο-

^a The real meaning of the text is, of course, “there shall not be another man in the temple till the priest comes out.”

WHO IS THE HEIR, 83-87

though he be separated from it not merely by countries but even by vast latitudes. And in Moses' view a friend is so near that he differs not a whit from one's own soul, for he says, "the friend, who is equal to thy soul" (Deut. xiii. 6). Again, according to Moses, the priest when he goes into the holy of holies "will not be a man until he comes out"^a (Lev. xvi. 17); no man, that is, in the movements of his soul though in the bodily sense he is still a man. For when the mind is ministering to God in purity, it is not human, but divine. But when it ministers to aught that is human, it turns its course and descending from heaven, or rather falling to earth, comes forth, even though his body still remains within. Most rightly, then, is it said, "He led him out outside,"⁸⁵ outside of the prison-houses of the body, of the lairs where the senses lurk, of the sophistries of deceitful word and thought; above all He led him out of himself, out of the belief that he thought and apprehended through an intelligence which acknowledged no other authority and owed no allegiance to any other than itself.

XVII. When the Lord led him outside He said⁸⁶ "Look up into heaven and count the stars, if thou canst count their sum. So shall be thy seed" (Gen. xv. 5). Well does the text say "so" not "so many," that is, "of equal number to the stars." For He wishes to suggest not number merely, but a multitude of other things, such as tend to happiness perfect and complete. The seed shall be, He says, as⁸⁷ the ethereal sight spread out before him, celestial as that is, full of light unshadowed and pure as that is, for night is banished from heaven and darkness from ether. It shall be the very likeness of the stars,

- ειδέστατον, εὖ διακεκοσμημένον, τάξει χρώμενον ἀκλινεῖ τῇ κατὰ ταῦτά καὶ ὡσαύτως ἐχούσῃ.
- 88 βούλεται γὰρ ἀντίμιμον οὐρανοῦ, εἰ δὲ χρή καὶ προσυπερβάλλοντα εἰπεῖν, οὐρανὸν ἐπίγειον ἀποφῆναι τὴν τοῦ σοφοῦ ψυχὴν ἔχουσιν <ἐν ἑαυτῇ καθάπερ>¹ ἐν αἰθέρι καθαρὰς φύσεις, τεταγμένας κινήσεις, χορείας ἐμμελεῖς, θείας περιόδους, ἀρετῶν ἀστεροειδεστάτας καὶ περιλαμπεστάτας αὐγὰς. εἰ δ' ἀμήχανον αἰσθητῶν ἀστέρων ἀριθμὸν εὑρεῖν,
- 89 πῶς οὐχὶ μᾶλλον νοητῶν; ἐφ' ὅσον γὰρ οἶμαι τὸ κρῖνον τοῦ κρίνοντος² ἄμεινον ἢ χειρόν—νοῦς μὲν γὰρ ἄμεινον αἰσθήσεως, διανοίας δὲ ἀμβλύτερον αἰσθησις,—ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον καὶ τὰ κρινόμενα διενήνοχεν· ὥστε μυρίῳ πλήθει τὰ νοητὰ τῶν αἰσθητῶν ὑπερβάλλειν. τοῦ γὰρ ψυχῆς ὄμματος βραχυτάτῃ μοῖρα οἱ κατὰ τὸ σῶμα ὀφθαλμοί· τὸ μὲν γὰρ ἔοικεν ἡλίῳ, λυχνούχοις δὲ οὗτοι μελετώσιν³ ἐξάπτεσθαι τε καὶ σβέννυσθαι.
- 90 XVIII. Ἀναγκαίως οὖν ἐπιλέγεται “ ἐπίστευσεν Ἀβραὰμ τῷ θεῷ ” πρὸς ἔπαινον τοῦ πεπιστευκότος. καίτοι, τάχα ἂν τις εἴποι, τοῦτ' ἄξιον ἐπαίνου κρίνετε; τίς δὲ οὐκ ἂν τι λέγοντι καὶ ὑπισχνουμένῳ θεῷ προσέχοι τὸν νοῦν, κἂν εἰ πάντων ἀδικώτατος καὶ ἀσεβέστατος ὢν τυγ-
- 91 χάνοι; πρὸς ὃν ἐρουῦμεν ὧ γενναίῃ, μὴ ἀνεξετάστως ἢ τὸν σοφὸν ἀφέλῃ τὰ πρόποντα ἐγκώμια ἢ τοῖς ἀναξίοις τὴν τελειοτάτην ἀρετῶν, πίστιν, μαρ-

¹ The insertion by Wend. corresponds in length nearly with some illegible words in Pap. It is omitted altogether in mss.

² mss. and Pap. κρινόμενον.

³ Perhaps, as Wend. conjectures, μέλλουσι.

marshalled in goodly array, following an unswerving order which never varies or changes. For He 88 wished to picture the soul of the Sage as the counterpart of heaven, or rather, if we may so say, transcending it, a heaven on earth having within it, as the ether has, pure forms of being, movements ordered, rhythmic, harmonious, revolving as God directs, rays of virtues, supremely starlike and dazzling.^a And if it be beyond our powers to count the stars which are visible to the senses, how much more truly can that be said of those which are visible to the mind. For I hold that even as of the two 89 faculties of judgement one is better and one worse, since mind is better than sense and sense duller than understanding, even so do the objects which these two faculties judge differ ; and thus things intelligible vastly exceed in number the things perceptible by sense. The eyes of the body are but the tiniest part of the eye of the soul. That is like the sun ; the others are like candles, whose business is to be lighted and extinguished.

XVIII. The words " Abraham believed God " (Gen. 90 xv. 6) are a necessary addition to speak the praise due to him who has believed. Yet, perhaps it may be asked, do you consider this worthy of praise ? When it is God who speaks and promises, who would not pay heed, even though he were the most unjust and impious of mankind ? To such a questioner we will 91 answer, " Good sir, do not without due scrutiny rob the Sage of his fitting tribute, or aver that the unworthy possess the most perfect of virtues, faith,

^a For the general sense of this section *cf.* *Timaeus* 47 B-E, though there is not much likeness of phraseology, except in *περιόδους*, on which see note on § 185

- τυρήσης ἢ τὴν ἡμετέραν περὶ τούτων γνώσιν
 92 αἰτίαση. βαθυτέραν γὰρ εἰ βουλευθείης ἔρευναν καὶ
 μὴ σφόδρ' ἐπιπόλαιον ποιήσασθαι, σαφῶς γνώσῃ,
 ὅτι μόνῳ θεῷ χωρὶς ἑτέρου προσπαράληψεως
 οὐ ῥάδιον πιστεῦσαι διὰ τὴν πρὸς τὸ θνητὸν ᾧ
 συνεζεύγμεθα συγγένειαν· ὅπερ ἡμᾶς καὶ χρήμασι
 καὶ δόξῃ καὶ ἀρχῇ καὶ φίλοις ὑγείᾳ τε καὶ ῥώμῃ
 93 σώματος καὶ ἄλλοις πολλοῖς ἀναπείθει πεπι-
 [486] στευκέναι. τὸ δὲ ἐκνύψασθαι τούτων ἕκαστον
 καὶ ἀπιστῆσαι γενέσει τῇ πάντα ἐξ ἑαυτῆς ἀπίστῳ,
 μόνῳ δὲ πιστεῦσαι θεῷ τῷ καὶ πρὸς ἀλήθειαν μόνῳ
 πιστῷ μεγάλης καὶ Ὀλυμπίου ἔργον διανοίας ἐστί,
 οὐκέτι πρὸς οὐδενὸς δελεαζομένης τῶν παρ' ἡμῖν.
 94 XIX. εὖ δὲ τὸ φάναι “λογισθῆναι τὴν
 πίστιν εἰς δικαιοσύνην αὐτῷ”· δίκαιον γὰρ οὐδέν
 οὕτως, ὡς ἀκράτῳ καὶ ἀμιγεί τῇ πρὸς θεὸν μόνον
 95 πίστει κεχρηῆσθαι. τὸ δὲ δίκαιον καὶ ἀκόλουθον
 τοῦτο τῇ φύσει παράδοξον ἐνομίσθη διὰ τὴν τῶν
 πολλῶν ἀπιστίαν ἡμῶν, οὓς ἐλέγχων ὁ ἱερὸς λόγος
 φησὶν, ὅτι τὸ ἐπὶ μόνῳ τῷ ὄντι βεβαίως καὶ ἀκλινῶς
 ὀρμεῖν θαυμαστὸν μὲν παρ' ἀνθρώποις, οἷς ἀγαθῶν
 ἀδόλων κτήσις οὐκ ἔστιν, οὐ θαυμαστὸν δὲ παρ'
 ἀληθείᾳ βραβευσούῃ, δικαιοσύνης δ' αὐτὸ μόνον
 ἔργον.
 96 XX. “Εἶπε δὲ” φησί “πρὸς αὐτόν· ἐγὼ ὁ
 θεὸς ὁ ἐξαγαγὼν σε ἐκ χώρας Χαλδαίων, ὥστε
 δοῦναί σοι τὴν γῆν ταύτην κληρονομήσαι.” τοῦτ'
 οὐχ ὑπόσχεσιν μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ παλαιᾶς ὑποσχέσεως
 97 βεβαίωσιν ἐμφαίνει. τὸ μὲν οὖν πάλαι δωρηθὲν
 ἀγαθὸν ἐξοδος ἦν ἀπὸ τῆς Χαλδαϊκῆς μετεωρο-

WHO IS THE HEIR, 91-97

or censure our claim to knowledge of this matter. For if you should be willing to search more deeply 92 and not confine yourself to the mere surface, you will clearly understand that to trust in God alone and join no other with Him is no easy matter, by reason of our kinship with our yokefellow, mortality, which works upon us to keep our trust placed in riches and repute and office and friends and health and strength and many other things. To purge away each of 93 these, to distrust created being, which in itself is wholly unworthy of trust, to trust in God, and in Him alone, even as He alone is truly worthy of trust—this is a task for a great and celestial understanding which has ceased to be ensnared by aught of the things that surround us.”

XIX. And it is 94 well said “his faith was counted to him for justice” (Gen. xv. 6), for nothing is so just or righteous as to put in God alone a trust which is pure and unalloyed. Yet this act of justice and conformity with 95 nature has been held to be a marvel because of the untrustfulness of most of us. And it is in reproof of us that the holy text tells us, that to rest on the Existent only, firmly and without wavering, though it is a marvel in the sight of men who have no hold of good things unsullied, is deemed no marvel at the judgement-bar of truth, but just an act of justice and nothing more.

XX. The text continues “He said to him, I am 96 the God who brought thee out of the land of the Chaldaeans, to give thee this land to inherit” (Gen. xv. 7). These words indicate not only a promise, but also the confirmation of an old promise. The good bestowed in the past was his departure 97 from Chaldaean sky-lore, which taught the creed

- λογίας, ἥτις ἀνεδίδασκεν οὐ θεοῦ ἔργον, ἀλλὰ θεὸν ὑπολαμβάνειν τὸν κόσμον εἶναι καὶ τό τε εὖ καὶ τὸ χεῖρον ἅπασι τοῖς οὐσι φοραῖς καὶ τεταγμέναις περιόδοις ἀστέρων ἀριθμείσθαι καὶ ἐνθὲνδε τὴν ἀγαθοῦ καὶ κακοῦ γένεσιν ἡρτῆσθαι—ταῦτα δ' ἡ τῶν κατ' οὐρανὸν ὁμαλὴ καὶ τεταγμένη κίνησις τοὺς εὐχερεστέρους ἀνέπεισε τερατεύεσθαι· καὶ γὰρ τὸ Χαλδαίων ὄνομα μεταληφθὲν ὁμαλότητι
- 98 παρωνυμεί,—τὸ δὲ νέον ἀγαθὸν κληρονομῆσαι σοφίαν τὴν ἀδεκτον μὲν αἰσθήσει, νῶ δ' εἰλικρινεστάτῳ καταλαμβανομένην, δι' ἥς ἀποικιῶν ἡ ἀρίστη βεβαιοῦται μετανισταμένης τῆς ψυχῆς ἀπὸ ἀστρονομίας ἐπὶ φυσιολογίαν καὶ ἀπὸ ἀβεβαίου εἰκασίας ἐπὶ πάγιον κατάληψιν καὶ κυρίως εἰπεῖν ἀπὸ τοῦ γεγονότος πρὸς τὸ ἀγένητον, ἀπὸ τοῦ
- 99 κόσμου πρὸς τὸν ποιητὴν καὶ πατέρα αὐτοῦ. τοὺς μὲν γὰρ τὰς γνώμας χαλδαῖζοντας οὐρανῷ πεπιστευκέναι, τὸν δ' ἐνθὲνδε μεταναστάντα τῷ ἐπόχῳ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ καὶ ἡνιόχῳ τοῦ παντὸς κόσμου, θεῶ, φασὶν οἱ χρησμοί. καλὸς γε ὁ κληρὸς, μείζων ἴσως τῆς δυνάμεως τοῦ λαμβάνοντος, ἐπάξιος δὲ τοῦ μεγέθους τοῦ διδόντος.
- 100 XXI. Ἄλλ' οὐκ ἐξαρκεῖ χρηστὰ ἐλπίζειν καὶ θαυμάσια ἡλίκᾳ προσδοκῆσαι τῷ σοφίας ἐραστῇ διὰ τῶν θεσπισθέντων· ἀλλ' εἰ μὴ καὶ τρόπον γινώσεται καθ' ὃν ἐφίξεται τῆς τοῦ κλήρου διαδοχῆς,
- [487] παγχάλεπον | ἡγεῖται, ἅτε διψῶν ἐπιστήμης καὶ ἀπλήστως ἔχων αὐτῆς· διὸ πυνθάνεται φάσκων· “δέσποτα, κατὰ τί γινώσομαι, ὅτι κληρονομήσω
- 101 αὐτήν;” ἴσως ἂν τις εἴποι μάχεσθαι τοῦτο τῷ

WHO IS THE HEIR, 97-101

that the world was not God's work, but itself God, and that to all existing things the vicissitudes of better and worse are reckoned by the courses and ordered revolutions of the stars, and that on these depends the birth of good and ill. The even tenour, the uniformly ordered motion of the heavenly bodies have induced weak-minded people to adopt this fantastic creed. Indeed, the name Chaldaean when interpreted corresponds to even tenour or levelness. The new good gift is inheritance of the 98 wisdom which cannot be received by sense, but is apprehended by a wholly pure and clear mind. Through this wisdom the best of all migrations becomes an established fact, the migration of the soul which passes from astrology to real nature study, from insecure conjecture to firm apprehension, and to give it its truest expression, from the created to the uncreated, from the world to its Maker and Father. Thus the oracles tell us that 99 those whose views are of the Chaldaean type have put their trust in heaven, while he who has migrated from this home has given his trust to Him who rides on the heaven and guides the chariot of the whole world, even God. Excellent indeed is this heritage, too great it may be for the powers of the recipient, but worthy of the greatness of the Giver.

XXI. But it is not enough for the lover of wisdom 100 to have high hopes and vast expectations through the oracular promises. If he does not know in what way he will attain the succession of the heritage, it irks him greatly ; so thirsty is he for knowledge and insatiate of it. And therefore he asks, " Master, by what shall I know that I shall inherit it ? " (Gen. xv. 8). Now perhaps it may be said that this ques- 101

- πεπιστευκέναι· τὸ μὲν γὰρ ἀπορεῖν ἐνδοιάζοντος, τὸ δὲ μηκέτι ζητεῖν ἔργον εἶναι πεπιστευκότος. λεκτέον οὖν, ὅτι καὶ ἀπορεῖ καὶ πεπίστευκεν, οὐ μὴν περὶ τοῦ αὐτοῦ, πολλοῦ γε καὶ δεῖ. πεπίστευκε μὲν γὰρ ὅτι κληρονόμος ἔσται σοφίας, τὸν δὲ τρόπον αὐτὸ μόνον ζητεῖ καθ' ὃν ἂν γένοιτο· τὸ δ' ὅτι γενήσεται, πάντως κατὰ τὰς θείας
- 102 ὑποσχέσεις βεβαίως κατεῖληφεν. τὸν πόθον οὖν, ᾧ κέχρηται πρὸς τὸ μαθεῖν, ἐπαινέσας ὁ διδάσκαλος ἄρχεται τῆς ὑφηγήσεως ἀπὸ στοιχειώδους εἰσαγωγῆς, ἐν ᾗ πρῶτον καὶ ἀναγκαιότατον γέγραπται “λάβε μοι”. βραχεῖα μὲν ἢ λέξεις, πολλή δὲ ἡ δύναμις· ἐμφαίνει γὰρ οὐκ ὀλίγα.
- 103 πρῶτον μὲν, ἴδιον, φησίν, οὐδὲν ἔχεις ἀγαθόν, ἀλλ' ὃ τι ἂν νομίσης ἔχειν, ἕτερος παρέσχηκεν. ἐξ οὗ συνάγεται ὅτι θεοῦ τοῦ διδόντος κτήματα πάντα, ἀλλ' οὐ τῆς μεταίτου¹ καὶ τὰς χεῖρας εἰς τὸ λαβεῖν
- 104 προτεινούσης γενέσεως. δεύτερον δέ, καὶ λάβης, λάβε μὴ σεαυτῷ, δάνειον δὲ ἢ παρακαταθήκην νομίσας τὸ δοθὲν τῷ παρακαταθεμένῳ καὶ συμβαλόντι ἀπόδος, πρεσβυτέραν χάριν χάριτι νεωτέρᾳ, προκατάρχουσιν ἀντεκτινούσῃ δικαίως
- 105 καὶ προσηκόντως ἀμειψάμενος. XXII. μυριοὶ γὰρ ἕξαρνοι παρακαταθηκῶν ἐγένοντο ἱερῶν, τοῖς ἄλλοτρίοις ὡς ἰδίοις ὑπ' ἀμέτρου τῆς πλεονεξίας καταχρησάμενοι. σὺ δέ, ᾧ γενναίᾳ, παντὶ σθένει πειρῷ μὴ μόνον ἀσινῇ καὶ ἀκιβδηλέυτα φυλάττειν ἀ ἔλαβες, ἀλλὰ καὶ πάσης ἐπιμελείας ἀξιοῦν, ἵν' ὁ παρακαταθέμενος μηδὲν ἔχη τῆς παρὰ σοῦ

¹ So Pap., evidently rightly: the mss. have μετ' αὐτὸν or μετ' αὐτοῦ.

WHO IS THE HEIR, 101-105

tion is inconsistent with the belief ascribed to him. It is the doubter, we may be told, who feels difficulties ; what the believer does is to cease from further questioning. We must say, then, that the difficulties and the fact of belief are both there, but do not apply to the same subject. Far from it ! He has believed that he will be the inheritor of wisdom ; he merely asks how this shall come to pass. That it will come to pass is a fact that he has completely and firmly grasped in virtue of the divine promises. And so his Teacher praising the desire 102 for learning which he shews, begins His instruction with a rudimentary lesson, in which the first and most vital words are " take for me " (Gen. xv. 9). A short phrase, but with a wide meaning, for it suggests not a few thoughts.

First it says to us 103 " you have no good thing of your own, but whatever you think you have, Another has provided." Hence we infer that all things are the possession of Him who gives, not of creation the beggar, who ever holds out her hands to take.

The second is " even 104 if you take, take not for yourself, but count that which is given a loan or trust and render it back to Him who entrusted and leased it to you, thus as is fit and just requiting goodwill with goodwill." His was the earlier, yours is the later ; His made the advance, yours shall repay. XXII. For vast is 105 the number of those who repudiate the sacred trusts and in their unmeasured greed use up what belongs to Another as though it was their own. But thou, my friend, try with all thy might, not merely to keep unharmed and unalloyed what thou hast taken, but also deem it worthy of all carefulness, that He who entrusted it to thee may find nothing to blame

- 106 φυλακῆς αἰτιάσασθαι. παρακατέθετο δέ σοι αὐτῷ
 ψυχὴν, λόγον, αἴσθησιν ὁ ζωοπλάστης, ἃ συμ-
 βολικῶς δάμαλις, κριός, αἶξ ἐν ἱεραῖς γραφαῖς
 ὠνομάσθησαν. ταῦτα δ' οἱ μὲν εὐθύς ὑπὸ
 φιλαυτίας ἐνοσφίσαντο, οἱ δὲ ἐταμιεύσαντο πρὸς
 107 καιριωτάτην ἀπόδοσιν. τῶν μὲν οὖν νοσφίζο-
 μένων οὐκ ἔστιν ἀριθμὸν εὐρεῖν· τίς γὰρ ἡμῶν
 ψυχὴν καὶ αἴσθησιν καὶ λόγον, πάνθ' ὁμοῦ ταῦτ'
 οὐ φησιν ἑαυτοῦ κτήματ' εἶναι, τὸ αἰσθάνεσθαι,
 τὸ λέγειν, τὸ καταλαμβάνειν οἰόμενος ἐφ' ἑαυτῷ
 108 μόνῳ κεῖσθαι; τῶν δὲ τὴν πίστιν ἱερὰν καὶ ἄσυλον
 ὄντως διαφυλαττόντων ὀλίγος ἐστὶν ἀριθμός.
 οὗτοι ταῦτα τὰ τρία ἀνατεθείκασι θεῷ, ψυχὴν,
 αἴσθησιν, λόγον· ἔλαβον γὰρ οὐχ ἑαυτοῖς, ἀλλ'
 ἐκείνῳ πάντα ταῦτα, ὥστε εἰκότως ὠμολόγησαν
 κατ' αὐτὸν εἶναι τὰς ἐκάστων ἐνεργείας, τοῦ νοῦ
 τὰς διανοήσεις, τοῦ λόγου τὰς ἐρμηνείας, τῆς
 109 αἰσθήσεως τὰς φαντασίας. οἱ μὲν οὖν
 ἑαυτοῖς ταῦτα ἐπιγράφοντες ἄξια τῆς ἑαυτῶν
 [488] βαρυδαιμονίας | ἐκληρώσαντο, ψυχὴν μὲν ἐπί-
 βουλον, ἀλόγοις πάθεσι πεφυρμένην καὶ πλήθει
 κακιῶν κατειλημμένην, τοτὲ μὲν ὑπὸ λαιμαργίας
 καὶ λαγνείας ὥσπερ ἐν χαμαιτυπείῳ περιυβρι-
 ζομένην, τοτὲ δὲ ὑπὸ πλήθους ἀδικημάτων ὥσπερ
 ἐν δεσμωτηρίῳ καθειργμένην μετὰ κακούργων,
 οὐκ ἀνθρώπων, ἀλλ' ἐπιτηδευμάτων, ἃ πᾶσι τοῖς
 κριταῖς [ἢ τιμωρηταῖς] ἀγώγιμα γέγονε, λόγον δὲ
 στόμαργον, ἡκονημένον κατὰ τῆς ἀληθείας, βλα-
 βερὸν μὲν τοῖς ἐντυγχάνουσιν, αἰσχύνην δὲ τοῖς
 κεκτημένοις ἐπιφέροντα, αἴσθησιν δὲ ἀκόρεστον,
 ἐμφορουμένην μὲν αἰεὶ τῶν αἰσθητῶν, ὑπὸ δὲ
 ἀκράτορος τῆς ἐπιθυμίας μηδέποτε ἐμπλησθῆναι

WHO IS THE HEIR, 106-109

in thy guardianship of it. Now the Maker of all that 106
lives has given into thy trust soul, speech, and sense,
which the sacred scripture calls in its parable heifer,
ram, and goat (Gen. xv. 9). Some in their selfishness
at once annex these, others store them up, to repay
when the moment for repayment has come. Those 107
who appropriate the trust are countless in number.
For which of us does not assert that soul and sense
and speech, each and all are his own possession,
thinking that to perceive, to speak, to apprehend,
rest with himself alone. But small is the number of 108
those who guard the trust as something holy and
inviolable. These have dedicated these three, soul,
sense, and speech, to God, for they "took" them all
for God, not for themselves; so that they naturally
acknowledge that through Him come the activities
of each, the reflections of the mind, the language in
which speech expresses itself, the pictures pre-
sented to sense.

Those, then, who assert 109
their ownership of the three, receive the heritage
which their miserable state deserves; a soul male-
volent, a chaos of unreasoning passions, held down
by a multitude of vices; sometimes mauled by greed
and lust, like a strumpet in the stews, sometimes fast
bound as in a prison by a multitude of ill deeds,
herded with malefactors, not of human kind, but
habits which an unanimous judgement has declared
worthy of arrest; speech brow-beating, keen-
edged against truth, working harm to its victims and
shame to its employers; sense insatiable, ever
imbibing the objects of sense, yet through its un-

- δυναμένην, ἀλογοῦσαν τῶν σωφρονιστῶν, ὡς παρορᾶν καὶ παρακούειν καὶ ὅσα ἂν ἐπ' ὠφελείᾳ
- 110 διεξέρχωνται παραπτύειν. οἱ δὲ λαβόντες μὴ ἑαυτοῖς, ἀλλὰ θεῷ τούτων ἕκαστον αὐτῷ ἀνέθεσαν, ἱεροπρεπὲς καὶ ἅγιον ὄντως φυλάξαντες τῷ κτησαμένῳ, τὴν μὲν διάνοιαν, ἵνα μηδὲν ἄλλο ἢ περὶ θεοῦ καὶ τῶν ἀρετῶν αὐτοῦ διανοῇται, τὸν δὲ λόγον, ἵν' ἀχαλίνῳ στόματι ἐγκωμίῳις καὶ ὕμνοις καὶ εὐδαιμονισμοῖς γεραίρῃ τὸν τῶν ὅλων πατέρα, τὰς πρὸς ἐρμηνείαν ἀπάσας ἀρετὰς εἰς ἓν τοῦτο μόνον ἔργον συγκροτῶν καὶ ἐπιδεικνύμενος, τὴν δὲ αἰσθησιν, ἵνα φαντασιουμένη τὸν αἰσθητὸν ἅπαντα κόσμον οὐρανὸν καὶ γῆν καὶ τὰς μεταξὺ φύσεις, ζῶά τε καὶ φυτά, ἐνεργείας τε καὶ δυνάμεις αὐτῶν καὶ ὅσαι κινήσεις καὶ σχέσεις,
- 111 ἀδόλως καὶ καθαρῶς ψυχῇ διαγγέλλῃ. νῶ γὰρ ὁ θεὸς καταλαμβάνειν τὸν μὲν νοητὸν κόσμον δι' ἑαυτοῦ, τὸν δὲ ὁρατὸν δι' αἰσθήσεως ἐφῆκεν. εἰ δὴ δύναιτό τις πᾶσι τοῖς μέρεσι ζῆσαι θεῷ μᾶλλον ἢ ἑαυτῷ, διὰ μὲν τῶν αἰσθήσεων εἰς τὰ αἰσθητὰ διακύψας ἕνεκα τοῦ τάληθές εὐρεῖν, διὰ δὲ τῆς ψυχῆς τὰ νοητὰ καὶ ὄντα ὄντως φιλοσοφήσας, διὰ δὲ τοῦ κατὰ τὴν φωνὴν ὀργάνου καὶ τὸν κόσμον καὶ τὸν δημιουργὸν ὑμνήσας, εὐδαίμονι καὶ μακαρίῳ βίῳ χρήσεται.
- 112 XXIII. Ταῦτα ἐκ τοῦ “ λάβε μοι ” παρεμφαίνεσθαι νομίζω. βουληθεὶς μέντοι καὶ τῆς θείας ἀρετῆς ἀπ' οὐρανοῦ τὴν εἰκόνα ἐπὶ γῆν κατὰπέμψαι δι' ἔλεον τοῦ γένους ἡμῶν, ἵνα μὴ ἀτυχήσῃ τῆς ἀμείνονος μοίρας, συμβολικῶς τὴν ἱερὰν σκηνὴν καὶ τὰ ἐν αὐτῇ κατασκευάζει, σοφίας

WHO IS THE HEIR, 109-112

controlled avidity incapable of reaching satisfaction, regardless of its monitors, blind, deaf and derisive to all that they preach for its benefit. But 110 those who have "taken," not for themselves but for God, have dedicated each of the three to Him, guarding them for the Owner, as in truth sanctified and holy : the thinking faculty, that it should think of nothing else but God and His excellences ; speech, that with unbridled mouth it should honour the Father of all with laud and hymn and benediction, that it should concentrate all the graces of expression to be exhibited in this task only ; sense, that it should report faithfully and honestly to the soul the pictures presented to it by the whole world within its ken, heaven and earth and the intermediate forms of nature, both living creatures and plants, their activities, their faculties, their conditions whether in motion or rest. For God has per- 111 mitted the mind to comprehend of itself the world of the mind, but the visible world only through sense. Oh ! if one can live with all the parts of his being to God rather than to himself, using the eye of sense to penetrate into the objects of sense and thus discover the truth, using the soul to study the higher verities of mental things and real existences, using the organ of his voice to laud both the world and its Maker, he will live a happy and blessed life.

XXIII. This is what I hold the words "take for 112 me" to suggest. Here is another illustration. When God willed to send down the image of divine excellence from heaven to earth in pity for our race, that it should not lose its share in the better lot, he constructs as a symbol of the truth the holy tabernacle and its contents to be a representation

- 113 ἀπεικόνισμα καὶ μίμημα. τῆς γὰρ ἀκαθαρσίας ἡμῶν ἐν μέσῳ φησὶ τὴν σκηνὴν ἰδρῦσθαι τὸ λόγιον, ἢ ἔχωμεν ᾧ καθαρθησόμεθα ἐκνιψάμενοι καὶ ἀπολουσάμενοι τὰ καταρρυπαίνοντα ἡμῶν τὸν
 [489] ἄθλιον καὶ | δυσκλείας γέμοντα βίον. τὰ συντείνοντα οὖν πρὸς τὴν κατασκευὴν ἴδωμεν ὃν τρόπον εἰσφέρειν προσέταξεν. “ἐλάλησε” φησὶ “κύριος πρὸς Μωυσὴν λέγων· εἰπὸν τοῖς υἱοῖς Ἰσραὴλ, καὶ λάβετε μοι ἀπαρχάς, παρὰ πάντων οἷς ἂν δόξῃ τῇ καρδίᾳ, λήψεσθε τὰς ἀπαρχάς μου.”
- 114 οὐκοῦν κἀνταῦθα παραίνεσις μὴ ἑαυτοῖς ἀλλὰ θεῷ λαβεῖν, τίς τε ὁ διδούς ἐστὶν ἐξετάζοντας καὶ τὰ δοθέντα μὴ σινομένους, ἀσινῇ δὲ καὶ ἄμωμα τέλειά τε αὐτῷ καὶ ὀλόκληρα διαφυλάττοντας. τὰς δ’ ἀρχὰς δογματικώτατα ἀνέθηκεν αὐτῷ· τῷ γὰρ ὄντι καὶ σωματῶν καὶ πραγμάτων αἱ ἀρχαὶ κατὰ θεὸν
- 115 ἐξετάζονται μόνον. ἐρευνήσον δέ, εἰ θέλεις γινῶναι, ἕκαστα, φυτά, ζῶα, τέχναι, ἐπιστήμας. ἅρ’ οὖν αἱ πρῶται τῶν φυτῶν ἀρχαὶ σπέρματα καὶ καταβολαὶ¹ γεωργίας ἢ τῆς ἀοράτου φύσεως εἰσιν ἀόρατα ἔργα; τί δ’ αἱ ἀνθρώπων καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ζώων γενέσεις; οὐχ ὥσανεὶ μὲν συναιτίους ἔχουσι τοὺς τοκέας, τὴν δ’ ἀνωτάτω καὶ πρεσβυτάτην
- 116 καὶ ὡς ἀληθῶς αἰτίαν τὴν φύσιν; τέχναις δὲ καὶ ἐπιστήμαις οὐ πηγὴ καὶ ρίζα καὶ θεμέλιος² καὶ εἴ

¹ So some mss.: Mangey and Wend. adopt the reading of others (and Pap.?), τῶν φυτῶν σπερματικαὶ καταβολαί. See App. p. 569.

² So mss.; Wend. (from Pap.) θεμέλιοι; but the evidence of the index shows that Philo regularly uses the singular

WHO IS THE HEIR, 113-116

and copy of wisdom. For the oracle tells us that the 113
 tabernacle "was set up in the midst of our uncleanness" (Lev. xvi. 16) that we may have wherewith to scour and wash away all that defiles our life, miserable and laden with ill fame as it is. Let us consider, then, how he bade them contribute the ways and means needed for the building of the tabernacle. "The Lord spake unto Moses," it says, saying: "Speak to the sons of Israel and take ye for me first beginnings; from all who are so minded in their heart, ye shall take my first beginnings" (Ex. xxv. 1, 2). Here then also we have an exhortation not to 114
 take for ourselves but for God, closely considering who the Giver is and doing no damage to the gifts, but preserving them undamaged and faultless, aye perfect and complete. In this dedication of the beginnings to God Moses teaches us a high truth. For indeed the beginnings of things both material and immaterial are found to be by God only. Look 115
 well, if you would have knowledge, at each several kind, plants, living creatures, arts, sciences. What of the first beginnings of plants? Do they consist in the dropping of the seed by the farmer, or are they the invisible works of invisible nature?^a What of the generation of men and the other animals? Are not the parents as it were the accessories, while nature is the original, the earliest and the real cause? So again with the arts and sciences. Is not nature 116
 the underlying fact, the fountain or root or foundation, or whatever name you give to the beginning

^a For the identification of Nature with the Divine Agency in things *cf.* *De Sac.* 98 and note.

when speaking of a single thing, *e.g.* *Leg. All.* iii. 138
 ὡς περ τις ἀρχὴ καὶ θεμέλιος.

τι ἄλλο πρεσβυτέρας ὄνομα ἀρχῆς ὑπόκειται ἢ φύσις, ἥ πάντ' ἐποικοδομεῖται τὰ καθ' ἐκάστην θεωρήματα; φύσεως δὲ μὴ προϋποκειμένης ἀτελῆ τὰ πάντα. ἐνθένδε μοι δοκεῖ τις ὀρμηθεὶς εὐστόχως εἰπεῖν

ἀρχὴ δέ τοι ἡμῖσιν παντός,

- ἀρχὴν αἰνιζάμενος τὴν φύσιν, ἥτις ὥσανεὶ ρίζα καταβέβληται πρὸς τὴν ἐκάστου συναύξησιν, ἥ καὶ τὸ ἡμῖσιν τοῦ παντός ἀπένειμεν. XXIV.
- 117 εἰκότως οὖν τὸ λόγιον ἀνέθηκε τὰς ἀρχὰς τῷ ἡγεμόνι θεῷ. καὶ ἐν ἑτέροις "εἶπεν" φησὶν "κύριος πρὸς Μωυσῆν λέγων· ἀγιάσόν μοι πᾶν πρωτότοκον, πρωτογενές, διανοῖγον πᾶσαν μήτραν ἐν υἱοῖς Ἰσραὴλ ἀπὸ ἀνθρώπου ἕως κτήνους· ἐμοὶ
- 118 ἔστιν". ὥστε ἀνωμολογήσθαι καὶ διὰ τούτων, ὅτι τὰ πρῶτα καὶ χρόνῳ καὶ δυνάμει κτήματα θεοῦ, καὶ διαφερόντως τὰ πρωτογενῆ. ἐπειδὴ γὰρ πᾶν γένος ἀφθαρτον, δικαίως τῷ ἀφθάρτῳ προσνεμηθήσεται, καὶ εἴ τι καὶ συνόλως μήτραν δι-
 119 οἰγνύει¹ ἀπὸ ἀνθρώπου, τοῦ λογισμοῦ καὶ λόγου, ἕως κτήνους, αἰσθήσεώς τε καὶ σώματος. ὁ γὰρ διοιγνύς τὴν μήτραν ἐκάστων, τοῦ μὲν νοῦ πρὸς τὰς νοητὰς καταλήψεις, τοῦ δὲ λόγου πρὸς τὰς διὰ φωνῆς ἐνεργείας, τῶν δὲ αἰσθήσεων πρὸς τὰς ἀπὸ τῶν ὑποκειμένων ἐγγινομένας φαντασίας, τοῦ δὲ σώματος πρὸς τὰς οἰκείους αὐτῷ σχέσεις τε καὶ κινήσεις ἀόρατος καὶ σπερματικὸς καὶ τεχνικὸς

¹ Wend. prints εἰ τις (Pap.) διοιγνύειν (Pap. and some mss.). He suggests δὲ οἷός τε καὶ for εἰ τις καὶ to preserve the infinitive.

* Apparently a proverbial saying already quoted in *Quod*

WHO IS THE HEIR, 116-119

which precedes all else, and is not the lore of each science a superstructure built on nature, whereas if we do not start with this as a groundwork, all that lore is imperfect? It was this, I take it, which led someone to say so aptly

The beginning is half the whole.^a

In these words the hidden meaning of "beginning" is nature, the underlying root as it were, the setting needed for growth in each case, to whose credit the writer assigned half the whole. XXIV. Not without reason then did the oracle dedicate "beginnings" to the great Leader, God. And elsewhere he says "The Lord spake unto Moses saying 'sanctify to me every first born, first in generation, which openeth every womb among the sons of Israel from man to beast. It is to Me'" (Ex. xiii. 1, 2). Thus it is admitted here also that the first in time and value are God's possessions and especially the first in generation.^b For since genus in every case is indestructible, to the indestructible God will it be justly assigned. And that is true too of one who opens the womb of all from man, that is reason and speech, to beast, that is sense and body. For he that opens the womb of each of these, of mind, to mental apprehensions, of speech, to the activities of the voice, of the senses, to receive the pictures presented to it by objects, of the body, to the movements and postures proper to it, is the invisible, seminal artificer, the divine Word,

Det. 64. Cf. Plato, Leg. vi. 753 E, and the ὅσῳ πλέον ἡμῶν παντός of Hesiod, Op. 40.

^b The -γενῇ in πρωτογενῇ is equated by Philo with γένος in its philosophical sense. The play cannot be well brought out in translation.

- θεῖός ἐστι λόγος, ὃς προσηκόντως ἀνακείσεται τῷ
 120 πατρί. καὶ μὴν ὥσπερ αἱ ἀρχαὶ θεοῦ,
 οὕτως καὶ τὰ τέλη θεοῦ. μάρτυς δὲ Μωυσῆς
 προστάττων ἀφαιρεῖν καὶ ὁμολογεῖν τὸ τέλος τῷ
 121 κυρίῳ. μαρτυρεῖ δὲ καὶ τὰ ἐν κόσμῳ. πῶς; φυτοῦ
 μὲν ἀρχὴ σπέρμα, τέλος δ' ὁ καρπός, ἐκάτερον οὐ
 γεωργίας, ἀλλὰ φύσεως ἔργον. πάλιν ἐπιστήμης
 [490] ἀρχὴ μὲν ἡ φύσις, | ὡς ἐδείχθη, πέρας δ' οὐδ'
 ἦλθεν εἰς ἀνθρώπους. τέλειος γὰρ οὐδεὶς ἐν οὐδενὶ
 τῶν ἐπιτηδευμάτων, ἀλλ' ἀψευδῶς αἱ τελειότητες
 καὶ ἀκρότητες ἐνός εἰσι μόνου. φορούμεθ' οὖν
 λοιπὸν ἡμεῖς ἐν τῷ τέλους καὶ ἀρχῆς μεθορίῳ,
 μανθάνοντες, διδάσκοντες, γεωπονοῦντες, ἐργαζό-
 μενοι τῶν ἄλλων ἕκαστον ὡς ἂν ἰδρῶντες,¹ ἵνα τι
 122 καὶ γένεσις πράττειν δοκῇ. γνωριμώτερον μέντοι
 τὰς ἀρχὰς καὶ τὰ τέλη κατὰ θεὸν ὡμολόγησεν ἐπὶ
 τῆς τοῦ κόσμου γενέσεως εἰπών. “ἐν ἀρχῇ
 ἐποίησε” καὶ πάλιν “συνετέλεσεν ὁ θεὸς τὸν
 123 οὐρανὸν καὶ τὴν γῆν.” νυνὶ μὲν οὖν
 “λάβετε μοι” φησὶ διδοὺς τὰ πρέπονθ' ἑαυτῷ
 καὶ προτρέπων τὰ δοθέντα μὴ κιβδηλεύειν, ἀλλ'
 ἀξίως τοῦ δόντος φυλάττειν, αὐτῷ δ' ἐν ἑτέροις ὁ
 μηδενὸς χρεῖος ὢν καὶ διὰ τοῦτο λαμβάνων μηδὲν
 ὁμολογήσει λαμβάνειν, ἕνεκα τοῦ πρὸς εὐσέβειαν
 ἀλείψαι καὶ προθυμίαν ὁσιότητος ἐμποιῆσαι καὶ
 πρὸς θεραπείαν ἀκονῆσαι τὴν ἑαυτοῦ, ὡς ἀπο-
 δεχομένου καὶ δεχομένου τὰς ψυχῆς ἐκουσίους
 124 ἀρεσκείας καὶ γνησίους θεραπείας. “ἰδοὺ” γάρ

¹ MSS. ὡσανεὶ δρῶντες (but Pap. ὡσαν ἰδρουντες).

WHO IS THE HEIR, 119-124

which will be fitly dedicated to its Father.

And as the beginnings are God's, so also are the ends. 120

Moses testifies to this when he bids set apart and accord the end to the Lord (Num. xxxi. 28 ff.). And what happens in the world testifies to it also. How 121

so ? you ask. In the plant the seed is the beginning and the fruit the end, and both are the work of nature, not of husbandry. Again in science, the beginning, as has been shewn, is nature, but its limit is actually outside the range of human possibilities. For no

one reaches perfection in any of his pursuits, but undoubtedly all perfection and finality belong to One alone. And so we are fain^a to range in the border-

land between beginning and end, learning, teaching, tilling, and whatever work we carry on, labouring

with the sweat of our brow, as it were, that the mere creature may seem to accomplish something. Still 122

more clearly indeed does Moses acknowledge that beginnings and ends are willed by God, when he says in the creation-story, "In the beginning He made" (Gen. i. 1), and afterwards, "God finished the heavens and the earth" (Gen. ii. 1, 2).

And so in the text we are treating, He says "take 123

ye for Me," thus giving to Himself what is His due and bidding us not to adulterate the gifts, but guard them in a way worthy of the Giver. And

again elsewhere, He that has no need of aught and therefore takes nothing will acknowledge that He "takes," in order to train us to piety, and to implant

a zeal for holiness, and to spur us to His service, as one who welcomes and accepts the free-will homage

and genuine service of the soul. For He says "be- 124

^a This is an idiomatic use of *λοιπόν*, "it is left to us," "we have to." Thus it almost = "therefore."

φησιν “ εἴληφα τοὺς Λευίτας ἀντὶ παντὸς πρωτοτόκου διανοίγοντος μήτραν παρὰ τῶν υἱῶν Ἰσραήλ· λύτρα αὐτῶν ἔσονται.” οὐκοῦν λαμβάνομεν καὶ δίδομεν, ἀλλὰ κυρίως μὲν λαμβάνομεν, καταχρηστικῶς δὲ δίδοναι λεγόμεθα δι’ ἧς αἰτίας εἶπον. εὐθυβόλως δὲ λύτρα ὠνόμασε τοὺς Λευίτας· εἰς ἐλευθερίαν γὰρ οὐδὲν οὕτως ἐξαιρεῖται τὴν διάνοιαν ὥς τὸ πρόσφυγα καὶ ἰκέτην γενέσθαι θεοῦ. τοῦτο δ’ ἡ ἱερωμένη φυλὴ Λευιτῶν ἐπαγγέλλεται.

- 125 XXV. Λελαληκότες οὖν τὰ πρέποντα περὶ τούτων ἀναδράμωμεν ἐπὶ τὰ ἐξ ἀρχῆς ὑπερεθέμεθα γὰρ πολλὰ τῶν ὀφειλόντων ἀκριβωθῆναι. “ λάβε μοι ” φησί “ δάμαλιν ” ἄζυγα καὶ ἀκάκωτον, ἀπαλὴν ἔτι καὶ νέαν καὶ σφριγῶσαν, ἡνιόχησιν καὶ παιδεῖαν καὶ ἐπιστάσιαν εὐμαρῶς δέξασθαι δυναμένην ψυχῇ. “ λάβε μοι κριόν,” λόγον ἀγωνιστὴν καὶ τέλειον, ἱκανὸν μὲν τὰ σοφίσματα τῶν ἀντιδοξούντων ἀνατεμεῖν τε καὶ λύσαι, ἱκανὸν δὲ καὶ ἀσφάλειαν ὁμοῦ καὶ εὐκοσμίαν τῷ χρωμένῳ
- 126 περιποιῆσαι. “ λάβε μοι ” καὶ τὴν ἄπτουσαν¹ αἰσθησιν ἐπὶ τὸν αἰσθητὸν κόσμον, “ αἶγα,” πάντα “ τριετίζοντα,” κατ’ ἀριθμὸν τέλειον παγέντα, ἀρχὴν μεσότητα τελευτὴν ἔχοντα. πρὸς

¹ mss. διάγουσαν (but Pap. διττουσαν). Why not διᾶπτουσαν, as Mangey before the discovery of Pap. suggested? This would still preserve the derivation of αἶξ from ἄττ· which Philo obviously intends.

^a “ Ransom ” (cf. *De Sac.* 118) does not appear in the Hebrew (E.V. “ The Levites shall be mine ”).

^b Clearly, to suit the heifer, ψυχῇ must here be used in the limited sense of the mind or reasonable soul; yet in § 122 it is divided into reasonable and unreasonable. So, too, with

WHO IS THE HEIR, 124-126

hold, I have taken the Levites in place of everyone who opens the womb from among the sons of Israel ; they shall be their ransom " (Num. iii. 12). So then we take and give, but in the full sense of the word we take only ; it is by a license of language that we are said to give, for the reasons which I have mentioned. Note that He gives the Levites a correct name in calling them "ransom."^a For nothing so well redeems the mind to freedom, as to take refuge with God and become His suppliant. And such is the profession of the consecrated tribe of Levi.

XXV. We have said what was fitting on these points. 125
Let us now return to the original subject, for we postponed much of what requires precise discussion. Take for me, it says, a "heifer" unyoked, undamaged, tender, young and fresh in spirit, a soul,^b that is, which can easily receive guidance and instruction and ruling ; "take for me a ram," that is speech active in argument and fully developed, competent to analyse and refute the sophisms of controversialists and to provide its possessor with a safe and well-ordered life ;^c take for me also the sense that dashes and darts on 126 to the sensible world, the she-goat that is ; and take them all three years old, that is, formed according to the perfect number with beginning, middle and end. And further take for

the ram and the goat. By definition they correspond to the good side of λόγος and αἴσθησις, but in § 132 are divided into good and bad. See also on § 225.

^c Rhetoric is here conceived of as a means of defending the innocent, and therefore a safeguard against injustice. But there is also an allusion to the thought developed in *De Mut.* 246, that the sheep is the best of animals because its wool provides man with protection from the weather and decent covering (ἀσφάλειαν καὶ κόσμον).

- δὲ τούτοις “ τρυγὸνα καὶ περιστερὰν;” τὴν τε
 θείαν καὶ τὴν ἀνθρωπίνην σοφίαν, πτηνὰς μὲν
 ἀμφοτέρας καὶ ἄνω πηδᾶν μεμελετηκυίας, δια-
 φερούσας δ’ ἀλλήλων, ἣ διαφέρει γένος εἰδους ἢ
 127 μίμημα ἀρχετύπου. φιλήρημος μὲν γὰρ ἡ θεία
 [491] σοφία, διὰ τὸν μόνον θεόν, | οὐ κτήμᾳ ἐστι, τὴν
 μόνωσιν ἀγαπῶσα—συμβολικῶς αὕτη τρυγὸν
 καλεῖται—, ἡμερος δὲ καὶ τιθασὸς καὶ ἀγελαῖος ἡ
 ἑτέρα, τὰ ἀνθρώπων ἄσθη περιπολοῦσα καὶ διαίτη
 τῇ μετὰ θνητῶν ἀσμενίζουσα· περιστερᾷ ταύτην
 128 ἀπεικάζουσιν. XXVI. ταύτας μοι δοκεῖ τὰς
 ἀρετὰς Μωυσῆς αἰνιξάμενος μαίας Ἑβραίων
 ὀνομάσαι Σεπφώραν τε καὶ Φουάν· ἡ μὲν γὰρ
 ὀρνίθιον, Φουὰ δὲ ἐρυθρόν ἐρμηνεύεται. τῆς μὲν
 οὖν θείας ἐπιστήμης ὀρνίθος τρόπον τὸ αἰεὶ με-
 τεωροπολεῖν ἴδιον, τῆς δὲ ἀνθρωπίνης αἰδῶ καὶ
 σωφροσύνην ἐμποιεῖν, ὧν τὸ ἐρυθριᾶν ἐφ’ οἷς ἄξιον
 129 δεῖγμα ἐναργέστατον. “ ἔλαβεν δὲ ”
 φησὶν “ αὐτῷ πάντα ταῦτα.” τοῦτ’ ἔπαινός ἐστι
 τοῦ σπουδαίου, τὴν ἱερὰν ὧν ἔλαβε παρακατα-
 θήκην, ψυχῆς, αἰσθήσεως, λόγου, θείας σοφίας,
 ἀνθρωπίνης ἐπιστήμης, καθαρῶς καὶ ἀδόλως μὴ
 ἑαυτῷ, μόνῳ δὲ τῷ πεπιστευκότι φυλάξαντος.
 130 εἰτ’ ἐπιλέγει· “ διεῖλεν αὐτὰ μέσα,”
 τὸ τίς μὴ προστιθείς, ἵνα τὸν ἄδεικτον ἐννοῆς θεὸν
 τέμνοντα τὰς τῶν σωμάτων καὶ τὰς τῶν πραγ-
 μάτων ἐξῆς ἀπάσας ἡρμόσθαι καὶ ἡνώσθαι δο-
 κούσας φύσεις τῷ τομεῖ τῶν συμπάντων ἑαυτοῦ
 λόγῳ, ὃς εἰς τὴν ὀξυτάτην ἀκονηθεὶς ἀκμὴν διαιρῶν

WHO IS THE HEIR, 126-130

me a turtle-dove and a pigeon, that is divine and human reason, both of them winged creatures, skilled by practice to speed upwards, yet differing from each other, as the genus differs from the species, or the copy from the archetype. For Divine wisdom 127 is a lover of solitudes, since loneliness is dear to her because of the solitary God who is her owner, and thus in parable she is called the turtle-dove. The other is gentle and tame and sociable, frequenting the cities of men and pleased to dwell with mortals. Men liken her to a pigeon. XXVI. These virtues 128 Moses, I think, spoke of in allegory when he named the midwives of the Hebrews, Zipporah and Phuah (Ex. i. 15), for Zipporah is by interpretation "bird" and Phuah "ruddy." It is a special property of divine wisdom that it ever soars aloft like a bird, of human wisdom that it implants modesty and discretion; and a blush, where the matter calls for blushing, is the clearest proof of the presence of these qualities. "Abraham took all 129 these for Him" (Gen. xv. 10) says the text. These words speak the praise of the man of worth who faithfully and honestly guards the sacred trust, which he has received of soul, sense, and speech, of divine wisdom and human knowledge, but guards it not for himself, but solely for Him who gave the trust. Then he continues, "he divided 130 them in the middle," but he does not add who this "he" is. He wishes you to think of God who cannot be shewn, as severing through the Severer of all things, that is his Word, the whole succession of things material and immaterial whose natures appear to us to be knitted together and united. That severing Word whetted to an edge of utmost

- 131 οὐδέποτε λήγει. τὰ γὰρ αἰσθητὰ πάντα ἐπειδὴν
 μέχρι τῶν ἀτόμων καὶ λεγομένων ἡμερῶν διεξέλεθ, ^α
 πάλιν ἀπὸ τούτων τὰ λόγῳ θεωρητὰ εἰς ἀμυθήτους
 καὶ ἀπεριγράφους μοίρας ἄρχεται διαιρεῖν οὗτος ὁ
 τομεύς, καὶ "τὰ πέταλα τοῦ χρυσοῦ τέμνει
 τρίχας," ὥς φησι Μωσῆς, εἰς μῆκος ἀπλατῆς
 132 ἀσωμάτοις γραμμαῖς ἐμφερές. ἕκαστον
 οὖν τῶν τριῶν διεῖλε μέσον, τὴν μὲν ψυχὴν εἰς
 λογικὸν καὶ ἄλογον, τὸν δὲ λόγον εἰς ἀληθές τε
 καὶ ψεῦδος, τὴν δὲ αἰσθησιν εἰς καταληπτικὴν
 φαντασίαν καὶ ἀκατάληπτον· ἅπερ εὐθὺς τμήματα
 "ἀντιπρόσωπα τίθησιν ἀλλήλοις," λογικὸν ἄλογον,
 ἀληθές ψεῦδος, καταληπτὸν ἀκατάληπτον, ἀπο-
 λιπὼν τὰ πτηνὰ ἀδιαίρετα· τὰς γὰρ ἀσωμάτους
 καὶ θείας ἐπιστήμας εἰς μαχομένας ἐναντιότητας
 ἀδύνατον τέμνεσθαι.
- 133 XXVII. Πολὺν δὲ καὶ ἀναγκαῖον ὄντα λόγον
 τὸν περὶ τῆς εἰς ἴσα τομῆς καὶ περὶ ἐναντιοτήτων
 οὔτε παρήσομεν οὔτε μηκυνούμεν, ἀλλ' ὥς ἔστιν
 ἐπιτέμνοντες ἀρκεσθῆσόμεθα μόνοις τοῖς καιρίοις.
- [492] καθάπερ | γὰρ ἡμῶν τὴν ψυχὴν καὶ τὰ μέλη μέσα
 διεῖλεν ὁ τεχνίτης, οὕτως καὶ τὴν τοῦ παντὸς
 134 οὐσίαν, ἥνικα τὸν κόσμον ἐδημιούργει. λαβὼν
 γὰρ αὐτὴν ἥρξατο διαιρεῖν ὧδε· δύο τὸ πρῶτον
 ἐποίει τμήματα, τό τε βαρὺ καὶ κοῦφον, τὸ παχυ-
 μερές ἀπὸ τοῦ λεπτομεροῦς διακρίνων· εἰθ' ^α
 ἑκάτερον πάλιν διαιρεῖ, τὸ μὲν λεπτομερές εἰς
 αἶρα καὶ πῦρ, τὸ δὲ παχυμερές εἰς ὕδωρ καὶ γῆν,
 ἃ καὶ στοιχεῖα αἰσθητὰ αἰσθητοῦ κόσμου, ὥσανει
 135 θεμελίους, προκατεβάλετο. πάλιν δὲ τὸ βαρὺ καὶ

^a καταληπτικός and καταληπτός seem to be convertible

WHO IS THE HEIR, 131-135

sharpness never ceases to divide. For when it has 131 dealt with all sensible objects down to the atoms and what we call "indivisibles," it passes on from them to the realm of reason's observation and proceeds to divide it into a vast and infinite number of parts. It divides the "plates of gold," as Moses tells us, "into hairs" (Ex. xxxvii. 10), that is into length without breadth, like immaterial lines. So it 132

divided each of the three in the middle, the soul into rational and irrational, speech into true and false, sense into presentations, where the object is real and apprehended, and presentations where it is not.^a These sections He at once placed "opposite to each other," rational to irrational, true to false, apprehending to non-apprehending. The birds He left undivided, for incorporeal and divine forms of knowledge cannot be divided into conflicting opposites.

XXVII. The subject of division into equal parts 133 and of opposites is a wide one, and discussion of it essential. We will neither omit nor protract it, but abridge it as far as possible and content ourselves with the vital points only. Just as the great Artificer divided our soul and limbs in the middle, so too, when He wrought the world, did He deal with the being of all that is. This He took and began to 134 divide as follows. First He made two sections, heavy and light, thus distinguishing the element of dense from that of rare particles. Then again He divided each of these two, the rare into air and fire, the dense into water and land, and these four He laid down as first foundations, to be the sensible elements of the sensible world. Again He made 135

terms, since the mind may be conceived of as grasping the *παρτασία* or *vice versa*. See further App. p. 569.

- κοῦφον καθ' ἑτέρας ἔτεμνεν ἰδέας, τὸ μὲν κοῦφον εἰς ψυχρόν τε καὶ θερμόν—ἐπεφήμισε δὲ τὸ μὲν ψυχρόν ἀέρα, τὸ δὲ θερμόν φύσει πῦρ—, τὸ δὲ βαρὺ εἰς ὑγρόν τε αὖ καὶ ξηρόν· ἐκάλεσε δὲ τὸ μὲν ξηρόν
- 136 γῆν, τὸ δὲ ὑγρόν ὕδωρ. ἕκαστον δὲ τούτων ἄλλας τομὰς ἐδέχετο· γῆ μὲν γὰρ εἰς ἡπείρους καὶ νήσους διηρεῖτο, ὕδωρ δὲ εἰς θάλασσαν καὶ ποταμούς καὶ ὅσον πότιμον <καὶ οὐ πότιμον>¹, αἷρ δὲ εἰς τὰς θέρους καὶ χειμῶνος τροπὰς, πῦρ δὲ εἰς τὸ χρειῶδες—ἁπλῆστον δ' ἔστι καὶ φθαρτικὸν τοῦτο—καὶ κατὰ τοῦναντίον εἰς τὸ σωτήριον, ὅπερ εἰς τὴν οὐρανοῦ
- 137 σύστασιν ἀπεκληροῦτο. ὥσπερ δὲ τὰ ὀλοσχερῇ, οὕτω καὶ τὰ κατὰ μέρος ἔτεμνεν, ὧν τὰ μὲν ἄψυχα, τὰ δ' ἔμψυχα ἦν· καὶ τῶν ἀψύχων τὰ μὲν ἐν ταύτῳ μένοντα, ὧν δεσμὸς ἔξισ, τὰ δ' οὐ μεταβατικῶς, ἀλλ' αὐξητικῶς κινούμενα, ἃ φύσις ἢ ἀφάνταστος ἐξῶν· καὶ τούτων τὰ μὲν τῆς ἀγρίας ὕλης οἰστικά ἀγρίων καρπῶν, οἱ τροφή θηρίοις εἰσίν, τὰ δὲ τῆς ἡμέρου, ὧν γεωργία τὴν προστασίαν καὶ ἐπιμέλειαν ἔλαχε· τίκτει δὲ καρπούς τῷ πάντων ἡμερωτάτῳ ζώων πρὸς ἀπόλαυσιν,
- 138 ἀνθρώπῳ. καὶ μὴν ὃν τρόπον τὰ ἄψυχα, καὶ τὰ ψυχῆς μεμοιραμένα διήρει—τούτων γὰρ ἐν μὲν ἀλόγων, ἐν δὲ λογικῶν ἀπέκρινεν εἶδος—καὶ λαβὼν ἐκάτερον πάλιν ἔτεμνεν τὸ μὲν ἄλογον εἰς ἀτίθασόν

¹ <καὶ οὐ πότιμον> is my insertion. Cf. *De Som.* i. 18 in a similar discussion, καὶ τὸ μὲν πότιμον, τὸ δ' οὐ πότιμον. A triple division into sea, rivers, and drinkable is not very reasonable.

WHO IS THE HEIR, 135-138

a second division of heavy and light on different principles. He divided the light into cold and hot, giving to the cold the name of air and to the naturally hot the name of fire. The heavy He divided into wet and dry, and He called the dry "land" and the wet "water." Each of these was subjected to 136 further dissections. Land was divided into continents and islands, water into sea and rivers and into drinkable and undrinkable, air into the changes which mark summer and winter, and fire into the merely useful variety, which is also voracious and destructive, and on the other hand the preservative variety which was set apart to form the heaven.^a

Just as He divided the main con- 137
stituents of the universe, so did He also with their subdivisions. These are partly living and partly lifeless. Among the lifeless some remain in the same place, held together by the tie of "cohesion"^b; others move by expansion, without changing their position, vitalized by a natural and unconscious^c growth, and among them, those which are of wild stuff produce wild fruits, which serve for food to the beasts of the field. Others are of a stuff which admits of cultivation, the management of which is a charge allotted to husbandry, and these produce fruits for the enjoyment of the animal most removed from the wild, that is man. Further, as He had divided the 138
lifeless, so did He with those which participate in life, distinguishing one species as rational, the other as irrational. Then again He split up each of these. The irrational He divided into the domesticated

^a See note on *Leg. All.* ii. 22, and the fuller explanation both of *ἔξις* and *φύσις* in this sense in *Quod Deus* 35 ff.

^c Or "incapable of receiving impressions"; cf. *De Op.* 13, *De Plant.* 13.

- τε καὶ χειρόηθες εἶδος, τὸ δὲ λογικὸν εἰς ἄφθαρτόν
 139 τε καὶ θνητόν. καὶ τοῦ θνητοῦ δύο μοίρας εἰργά-
 ζετο, ὧν τὴν μὲν ἀνδρῶν, τὴν δὲ γυναικῶν ἐπ-
 εφήμισε. καὶ κατ' ἄλλον μὲν[τοι]¹ τρόπον τὸ ζῶον
 εἰς ἄρρεν ἔτεμνε καὶ θῆλυ, ἐδέχετο δὲ καὶ ἄλλας
 ἀναγκαίας τομάς, αἱ διέστελλον πτηνὰ μὲν χερ-
 σαίων, χερσαῖα δὲ ἐνύδρων, ἐνυδρα δὲ ἀμφοῖν τῶν
 140 ἄκρων. οὕτως ὁ θεὸς ἀκονησάμενος τὸν τομέα
 τῶν συμπάντων αὐτοῦ λόγον διήρει τὴν τε ἄμορφον
 καὶ ἄποιον τῶν ὅλων οὐσίαν καὶ τὰ ἐξ αὐτῆς ἀπο-
 κριθέντα τέτταρα τοῦ κόσμου στοιχεῖα καὶ τὰ διὰ
 τούτων παγέντα ζῶα τε αὐτὰ καὶ φυτά.
 141 XXVIII. Ἐπεὶ δ' οὐ μόνον φησὶ “διεῖλεν,”
 ἀλλὰ καὶ “μέσα διεῖλεν,” ἀναγκαῖον κἄν ὀλίγα
 περὶ τῶν ἴσων τμημάτων ὑπομνήσαι. τὸ μὲν
 [493] γὰρ ἄκρως κατὰ μέσον | διαιρεθὲν ἴσα ἀποτελεῖ
 142 τμήματα. ἄνθρωπος μὲν οὖν οὐδεὶς δύναται
 ἀκριβῶς ἂν ποτε εἰς ἴσα διελεῖν οὐδέν, ἀλλ' ἀνάγκη
 τῶν τμημάτων τὸ ἕτερον ἐνδεῖν ἢ περιττεῖν, καὶ
 εἰ μὴ μείζονι, ἀλλὰ τοι βραχεῖ μέρει πάντως, ὃ
 τάχα τὴν αἴσθησιν ἐκφεύγει τοῖς ἀδρομερεστέροις
 ἐκ φύσεως καὶ ἔθους προσβάλλουσιν ὄγκοις, τοὺς
 δὲ ἀτόμους καὶ ἀμερεῖς καταλαβεῖν ἀδυνατοῦσαν.
 143 ἰσότητος δὲ οὐδέν γενητόν² αἴτιον ἀδεκάστῳ λόγῳ
 τῆς ἀληθείας εὐρίσκεται. ἔοικεν οὖν ὁ θεὸς μόνος
 ἀκριβοδίκαιος εἶναι καὶ μέσα μόνος δύνασθαι
 διαιρεῖν τὰ τε σώματα καὶ πράγματα, ὥς μηδὲν

¹ Wend.'s text retains μέντοι and places a colon after θῆλυ, thus making an antithesis between the sex-division of mankind and that of animals as a whole, which seems not very reasonable. Possibly also ἐτέμνε(το).

² mss. ἴσον (Pap. ηττον).

WHO IS THE HEIR, 138-143

and undomesticated, and the rational into immortal and mortal. Of the mortal He made two portions, 139 one of which He named men, the other women. And while following one principle^a He split up the animal kingdom as a whole into male and female, it was also subjected to other necessary partitions, which distinguished the winged from land animals, these from the aquatic, the last named being intermediate to the other two. Thus God sharpened the 140 edge of his all-cutting Word, and divided universal being, which before was without form or quality, and the four elements of the world which were formed by segregation from it, and the animals and plants which were framed with them as materials.

XXVIII. But the text not only says "He divided" 141 but also "He divided them in the middle"; and it is therefore necessary to make a few remarks on the subject of equal sections, for when anything is divided exactly in the middle it produces equal sections. Now no man can divide anything into 142 equal sections with exactitude, but one of the sections is sure to be either less or greater than the other. Even if there is no great difference, there must always be a small one which easily eludes our perception, which by nature and habit establishes contact with masses of greater volume, but is unable to grasp those which do not admit of partition or division. No created thing is found to produce equality 143 if tested by the unprejudiced standard of truth. It seems, then, that God alone is exact in judgement and alone is able to "divide in the middle" things material and immaterial, in such a way that no

^a Or "on another principle," if Wend.'s text and punctuation is followed. See critical note.

τῶν τμημάτων μηδ' ἀκαρεῖ καὶ ἀμερεῖ τινι πλεόν
 ἢ ἔλαττον γενέσθαι, τῆς δ' ἀνωτάτω καὶ ἄκρας
 144 ἰσότητος μεταλαχεῖν ἰσχύσαι. εἰ μὲν οὖν τὸ ἴσον
 μίαν εἶχεν ἰδέαν, ἱκανῶς ἂν τὰ λεχθέντα εἴρητο,
 πλείονων δ' οὐσῶν οὐκ ἀποκνητέον τὰ ἀρμόττοντα
 προσθεῖναι. λέγεται γὰρ ἴσον καθ' ἓνα
 μὲν τρόπον ἐν ἀριθμοῖς, ὡς δύο δυσὶ καὶ τρία τρισὶ
 καὶ τὰ ἄλλα ταύτῃ, καθ' ἕτερον δὲ ἐν μεγέθεσιν,
 ὧν μήκη, πλάτη, βάθη, διαστάσεις εἰσὶν, παλαιστῆς
 γὰρ παλαιστῇ καὶ πῆχει πῆχυς ἴσα μεγέθει·
 δυνάμει δέ ἐστιν ἄλλα, ὡς τὰ ἐν σταθμοῖς καὶ
 145 μέτροις. ἀναγκαῖα δέ ἐστιν ἰσότητος
 ἰδέα καὶ ἡ διὰ ἀναλογίας, καθ' ἣν καὶ τὰ ὀλίγα
 τοῖς πολλοῖς καὶ τὰ βραχέα τοῖς μείζουσιν ἴσα
 νενόμισται· ἡ καὶ πόλεις ἐπὶ καιρῶν εἰώθασι
 χρῆσθαι κελεύουσai τὸ ἴσον ἕκαστον τῶν πολιτῶν
 ἀπὸ τῆς οὐσίας εἰσφέρειν, οὐ δήπου ἐν ἀριθμῷ,
 ἀλλ' ἀναλογία τοῦ περὶ τὸν κλῆρον¹ τιμήματος,
 ὥστ' ὁ δραχμὰς ἑκατὸν εἰσενεγκὼν τῷ τὸ τάλαντον
 εἰσενεγκόντι δόξαι ἂν ἐπιδεδωκέναι τὸ ἴσον.

146 XXIX. τούτων προϋποτυπωθέντων
 ἴδε πῶς μέσα διελὼν ἴσα διεῖλε κατὰ πάσας τὰς
 ἰσότητος ἰδέας ἐν τῇ τοῦ παντὸς οὐρανοῦ γενέσει.
 ἀριθμῷ μὲν οὖν ἴσα τὰ βαρέα τοῖς κούφοις ἔτεμνε,
 δύο δυσὶ, γῆν καὶ ὕδωρ, τὰ βάρος ἔχοντα, τοῖς
 φύσει κούφοις, ἀέρι καὶ πυρί, καὶ πάλιν ἐν ἐνί, τὸ
 μὲν ξηρότατον τῷ ὑγροτάτῳ, γῆν ὕδατι, τὸ δὲ

¹ mss. and Pap. καιρὸν.

^a See App. p. 569.

^b See App. p. 570.

WHO IS THE HEIR, 143-146

section is greater or less than another by even an infinitesimal difference, and each can partake of the equality which is absolute and plenary. Now if 144 equality had only one form, what has been said would be enough ; but as it has several forms we must not shrink from adding what is fitting.

The term " equal " is applied in one way to numbers, as when we say that two is equal to two, and three to three, and the same with other numbers. It is applied in another way to magnitudes, the dimensions of which are lengths, breadths and depths. For one handbreadth is equal to another handbreadth and one cubit to another cubit in magnitude. Other things again are equal in capacity or force, as is the case with weights and measures of content.^a

One essential form of equality is the proportional, in 145 which the few are regarded as equal to the many, and the small to the greater.^b This is often employed by states on special occasions when they order each citizen to make an equal contribution from his property, not of course numerically equal, but equal in the sense that it is proportionate to the valuation of his estate, so that one who had paid 100 drachmas might be considered to have given a sum equal to one who paid a talent.

XXIX. In 146 the light of this preliminary sketch, observe how God in " dividing in the middle," actually did divide equally according to all the forms of equality, when he created the universe. First, as to equality of number he made the light parts equal in number to the heavy parts, earth and water which are heavy being two, and fire and air which are naturally light being two also. Again by this division we have one and one in the driest and the wettest, that is earth

- ψυχρότατον τῷ θερμοτάτῳ, πυρὶ ἀέρα, τὸν αὐτὸν
 δὲ τρόπον καὶ σκότος φῶτι καὶ ἡμέραν νυκτὶ καὶ
 χειμῶνι θέρος καὶ ἔαρι μετόπωρον καὶ ὅσα τούτων
 147 συγγενῇ· μεγέθει δ' ἴσα ἐν οὐρανῷ μὲν τοὺς
 παραλλήλους κύκλους, τοὺς τε ἱσημερινούς, ἑαρινὸν
 καὶ μετοπωρινόν, καὶ τοὺς τροπικούς, θερινόν τε
 καὶ χειμερινόν, ἐπὶ γῆς δὲ ζώνας, δύο μὲν ἴσας
 ἀλλήλαις, αἱ πρὸς τοῖς πόλοις εἰσὶ κατεψυγμέναι
 καὶ διὰ τοῦτ' ἀοίκητοι, δύο δὲ τὰς μεθορίους
 τούτων τε καὶ τῆς διακεκαυμένης, ἃς δι' εὐκρασίαν
 φασὶν οἰκεῖσθαι, τὴν μὲν πρὸς τοῖς νοτίοις, τὴν
 148 δὲ πρὸς τοῖς βορείοις κειμένην. μήκει
 δ' ἴσα ἐστὶ καὶ τὰ χρόνου διαστήματα, ἡ μεγίστη
 [494] ἡμέρα τῇ μεγίστῃ νυκτὶ καὶ πάλιν ἡ | βραχυτάτῃ
 τῇ βραχυτάτῃ καὶ ἡ μέση τῇ μέσῃ. τὰ δὲ τῶν
 ἄλλων ἡμερῶν τε καὶ νυκτῶν ἴσα μεγέθη μάλιστα
 149 μηνύειν αἱ ἱσημερίαι δοκοῦσιν. ἀπὸ μὲν γὰρ τῆς
 ἑαρινῆς ἄχρι θερινῶν τροπῶν ἡ μὲν ἡμέρα πρόσθεσιν,
 ἡ δὲ νύξ ἀφαίρεσιν δέχεται, ἕως ἂν ἡ τε μεγίστη
 ἡμέρα καὶ βραχυτάτῃ νύξ ἀποτελεσθῶσιν· ἀπὸ δὲ
 θερινῶν τροπῶν ἀνακάμπτων ὁ ἥλιος τὴν αὐτὴν
 ὁδὸν οὔτε θάττον οὔτε βραδύτερον, ἀλλὰ κατὰ τὰ
 αὐτὰ καὶ ὡσαύτως ἔχοντα διαστήματα, τάχουσιν
 ἴσοις χρώμενος μέχρι τῆς μετοπωρινῆς ἱσημερίας
 ἔρχεται, καὶ ἴσην ἀποτελέσας ἡμέραν νυκτὶ παρ-
 αὔξειν ἀρχεται τὴν νύκτα μειῶν τὴν ἡμέραν ἄχρι
 150 χειμερινῆς τροπῆς· καὶ ὅταν ἀποτελέσῃ νύκτα μὲν
 μεγίστην, ἡμέραν δὲ βραχυτάτην, κατὰ τὰ αὐτὰ
 πάλιν διαστήματα ἀνακάμπτων ἐπὶ τὴν ἑαρινὴν
 ἱσημερίαν ἀφικνεῖται. οὕτως τὰ χρόνων διαστή-

WHO IS THE HEIR, 146-150

and water, and in the coldest and the hottest, that is air and fire. In the same way we have one and one in darkness and light, in day and night, in winter and summer, in spring and autumn, and in the other examples of the same nature. For equality of magnitude, He gave us the parallel circles in heaven, those of the equinox in spring and autumn, and those of the solstice in summer and winter, while on earth there are the zones, two of which are equal to each other, namely those which adjoin the poles, frigid and therefore uninhabited, and two which are bordered by the last named and the torrid zone, these two habitable, as we are told, because of their temperate climate, one of them on the south side and the other on the north.

The time intervals, too, are equal in length, the longest day to the longest day and the shortest to the shortest and the two which come half-way to each other. And equality in magnitude in the other days and nights is shewn particularly well in the equinoxes. For from the spring equinox to the summer solstice something is continually taken from the night and added to the day, until the longest day and shortest night are finally reached. And after the summer solstice the sun turns back along the same course, moving neither quicker nor slower, but with the same unchanging intervals, and thus maintaining equal speed it reaches the autumn equinox, and after completing the equality of day and night begins to increase the night and diminish the day until the winter solstice. And when it has brought the night to its longest and the day to its shortest, it turns back again observing the same intervals and arrives at the spring equinox. In this way the time intervals, though they seem to

ματα ἄνισα εἶναι δοκοῦντα ἰσότητος τῆς κατὰ τὸ μέγεθος ἐν οὐχὶ ταῖς αὐταῖς ἀλλ' ἐν διαφορούσαις τοῦ ἔτους ὥραις μεταποιεῖται. XXX.

- 151 τὸ παραπλήσιον μέντοι καὶ ἐν τοῖς μέρεσι τῶν ζώων καὶ μάλιστα ἀνθρώπων θεωρεῖται. ποὺς γὰρ ποδὶ καὶ χεὶρ χεὶρὶ καὶ τὰ ἄλλα σχεδὸν ἅπαντα ἴσα μεγέθει, τὰ ἐπὶ δεξιὰ τοῖς κατ' εὐώνυμα.

τὰ δ' ἴσα δυνάμει πάμπολλά ἐστὶν ἐν τε ξηροῖς καὶ ὑγροῖς, ὧν ἡ ἐπὶ κρισις ἐν μέτροις καὶ πλάστιγξι καὶ τοῖς παραπλησίοις θεωρεῖται.

- 152 Ἀναλογία δὲ σχεδὸν τὰ πάντα ἐστὶν ἴσα, μικρά τε αὖ καὶ μεγάλα ὅσα ἐν τῷ παντὶ κόσμῳ. λέγουσι γὰρ οἱ ἀκριβέστατα περὶ τῶν τῆς φύσεως ἐξητακότες, ὅτι ἀναλογία μὲν ἴσα τὰ τέτταρα στοιχεῖα ἐστὶν, ἀναλογία δὲ καὶ ὁ κόσμος ἅπας κραθεὶς τὸ ἴσον ἐκάστω τῶν μερῶν ἀπονεμούσῃ συνέστη τε

- 153 καὶ συσταθεὶς εἰς ἅπαν διαμένει· καὶ τὰ περὶ ἡμᾶς μέντοι τέτταρα, ξηρόν, ὑγρόν, ψυχρόν τε αὖ καὶ θερμόν, τὴν δι' ἀναλογίας ἰσότητα κερασαμένην ἀρμόσασθαι, καὶ μηδὲν ἄλλο <ἡμᾶς>¹ ἢ κρᾶσιν εἶναι τῶν τεσσάρων δυνάμεων ἀναλογίας ἰσότητι κρα-

- 154 θεισῶν. XXXI. ἐπιὼν δέ τις ἕκαστα μῆκος ἂν ἄπειρον τῷ λόγῳ δύναιτ' ἂν περιθεῖναι. τὰ <γὰρ> βραχύτατα ζῶα τοῖς μεγίστοις ἀναλογία σκοπῶν ἴσα ἂν εὖροι, ὥς χελιδόνα ἀετῷ καὶ τρίγλαν κήτει καὶ μύρμηκα ἐλέφαντι. καὶ γὰρ σῶμα καὶ ψυχὴ καὶ πάθη, ἀλγηδόνες τε καὶ ἡδοναί, πρὸς δὲ καὶ οἰκειώσεις καὶ ἀλλοτριώσεις καὶ ὅσα ζώων

¹ ἡμᾶς is absent from the mss., but Pap. has *ἡτιαιαν*.

WHO IS THE HEIR, 150-154

be unequal, may lay claim to equality of magnitude, not indeed at the same, but at different seasons of the year.

XXX. Much the same may 151
be observed in the parts of living animals, particularly of men. For one foot or one hand is equal in magnitude to the other and in almost all cases the same holds that the right side is equal to the left.

As for equality in force or capacity there is a host of examples in both wet and dry substances, of which we form our estimate by means of measures of content, balances and the like.

As for proportional equality, we find it practically 152
in everything great or small, throughout the whole world. Those who have most carefully examined the facts of nature say that the four elements are proportionally equal, and that the whole world received and retains for ever its frame, through being compounded according to this same proportion, which assigned an equal measure to each of the parts. They tell us, too, that our four constituents, dry, wet, 153
cold and hot, have been mixed and harmonized by proportional equality and that we are nothing more than a compound of the four factors mixed on this principle. XXXI. If we went into each case, we 154
could prolong the consideration of the subject to infinity. For we should find on observation that the smallest animals are proportionally equal to the largest, as the swallow to the eagle, the mullet to the whale, and the ant to the elephant. For their body, soul^a and feelings, whether of pain or pleasure, and also their affinities and their aversions and every other sensation of which animal nature is capable,

^a i.e. their *φαντασία* and *όρμη*; see *Leg. All.* ii. 23. Perhaps "consciousness" or "animal nature."

- φύσις χωρεῖ, πάντα σχεδόν ἐστὶν ὁμοιότροπα τῷ
 155 τῆς ἀναλογίας ἰσούμενα κανόνι. οὕτως ἐθάρρησαν
 ἔνιοι καὶ τῷ παντὶ κόσμῳ τὸ βραχύτατον ζῶον,
 ἄνθρωπον, ἴσον ἀποφῆναι κατιδόντες ὅτι ἐκάτερον
 ἐκ σώματος καὶ ψυχῆς καθέστηκε λογικῆς, ὥστε
 καὶ ἐναλλάττοντες βραχὺν μὲν κόσμον τὸν ἄν-
 156 θρωπον, μέγαν δὲ ἄνθρωπον ἔφασαν τὸν κόσμον
 εἶναι. ταῦτα δ' οὐκ ἀπὸ σκοποῦ δι-
 δάσκουσιν, ἀλλ' ἐγνώσαν ὅτι ἡ τοῦ θεοῦ τέχνη,
 [195] καθ' ἣν | ἐδημιούργει τὰ σύμπαντα, οὔτε ἐπίτασιν
 οὔτε ἄνεσιν δεχομένη, μένουσα δὲ ἡ αὐτὴ κατὰ
 τὴν ἐν ὑπερβολαῖς ἀκρότητα τελείως ἕκαστον τῶν
 ὄντων δεδημιούργηκε, πᾶσιν ἀριθμοῖς καὶ πάσαις
 ταῖς πρὸς τελειότητα ιδέαις καταχρησαμένου τοῦ
 157 πεποιηκότος. XXXII. "κατὰ γὰρ τὸν μικρὸν
 καὶ κατὰ τὸν μέγαν," ὥς φησι Μωυσῆς, ἔκρινε
 γεννῶν καὶ σχηματίζων ἕκαστα, μήτε δι' ἀφάνειαν
 ὕλης ὑφελὼν τι τοῦ τεχνικοῦ μήτε διὰ λαμπρότητα
 158 προσθείς· ἐπεὶ καὶ ὅσοι τῶν τεχνιτῶν εἰσι δόκιμοι,
 ὥς ἂν παραλάβωσιν ὕλας, εἴτε πολυτελεῖς εἶεν
 εἴτε καὶ εὐτελεστάται, δημιουργεῖν ἐθέλουσιν
 ἐπαινετῶς. ἤδη δέ τινες καὶ προσφιλοκαλοῦντες
 τὰ ἐν ταῖς εὐτελεστέραις οὐσίαις τεχνικώτερα τῶν
 ἐν ταῖς πολυτελέσιν εἰργάσαντο βουλευθέντες προσ-
 159 θήκη τοῦ ἐπιστημονικοῦ τὸ κατὰ τὴν ὕλην ἐνδέον
 ἐπανισῶσαι. τίμιον δ' οὐδὲν τῶν ἐν ὕλαις παρὰ θεῷ·
 διὸ τῆς αὐτῆς μετέδωκε πᾶσι τέχνης ἐξ ἴσου. παρὸ
 καὶ ἐν ἱεραῖς γραφαῖς λέγεται· "εἶδεν ὁ θεὸς τὰ
 πάντα ὅσα ἐποίησεν, καὶ ἰδοὺ καλὰ λίαν," τὰ δὲ τοῦ

^a See App. p. 570.

WHO IS THE HEIR, 154-159

are with hardly an exception alike when equalized by the rule of proportion. On this principle some 155 have ventured to affirm that the tiny animal man is equal to the whole world, because each consists of body and reasonable soul, and thus they declare that man is a small world and alternatively the world a great man.

This pronouncement of theirs 156 is not wide of the mark. They judge that the master art of God by which He wrought all things is one that admits of no heightening or lowering of intensity^a but always remains the same and that through its transcendent excellence it has wrought in perfection each thing that is, every number and every form that tends to perfectness being used to the full by the Maker. XXXII. For He judged equally about the 157 little and the great, to use Moses' words (Deut. i. 17), when He generated and shaped each thing, nor was He led by the insignificance of the material to diminish, or by its splendour to increase, the art which He applied. For all craftsmen of repute, whatever 158 materials they use, whether they be costly or of the cheapest, wish so to use them, that their work shall be worthy of praise. In fact people have been known to produce a higher class of work with the cheaper than with the more costly substances; their feeling for beauty was enhanced^b and by additional science they wished to compensate for inferiority of material. But with God no kind of material is held in honour, 159 and therefore He bestowed upon them all the same art, and in equal measure. And so in the holy Scriptures we read, "God saw all things which He had made and behold, they were very good" (Gen. i.

^b Probably a reminiscence of the *φιλοκαλούμεν μετ' εὐτελείας* of Thuc. ii. 40.

- αὐτοῦ τυγχάνοντα ἐπαίνου παρὰ τῷ ἐπαινοῦντι
 160 πάντως ἐστὶν ἰσότημα. ἐπήνεσε δὲ ὁ θεὸς οὐ τὴν
 δημιουργηθεῖσαν ὕλην, τὴν αἰψυχον καὶ πλημμελῆ
 καὶ διαλυτὴν, ἔτι δὲ φθαρτὴν ἐξ ἑαυτῆς ἀνώμαλόν
 τε καὶ ἄνισον, ἀλλὰ τὰ ἑαυτοῦ τεχνικὰ ἔργα κατὰ
 μίαν ἴσιν καὶ ὁμαλὴν δύναμιν καὶ ἐπιστήμην
 ὁμοίαν καὶ τὴν αὐτὴν ἀποτελεσθέντα. παρὸ καὶ
 τοῖς τῆς ἀναλογίας κανόσιν ἴσα καὶ ὅμοια πάντα
 πᾶσιν ἐνομήσθη κατὰ τὸν τῆς τέχνης καὶ ἐπιστήμης
 λόγον.
- 161 XXXIII. Ἰσότητος δὲ εἰ καὶ τις ἄλλος ἐπαινέτης
 γέγονε Μωυσῆς, πρῶτον μὲν ὕμνων ἀεὶ καὶ παντα-
 χοῦ καὶ δικαιοσύνης, ἥς ἴδιον, ὡς καὶ αὐτό που
 δηλοῖ τοῦνομα, τὸ δίχα τέμνειν εἰς μοίρας τὰ τε
 σώματα καὶ τὰ πράγματα ἴσας, εἴτα ψέγων
 ἀδικίαν, τὴν ἀνισότητος τῆς ἐχθίστης δημιουργόν.
- 162 ἀνισότης δὲ τοὺς διδύμους πολέμους ἔτεκε, τὸν
 τε ξενικὸν καὶ τὸν ἐμφύλιον, ὡς ἔμπαλιν εἰρήνην
 ἰσότης. τὰ δ' ἐγκώμια δικαιοσύνης καὶ τοὺς
 ψόγους ἀδικίας ἐναργέστατα διασυνίστησιν, ὅταν
 λέγῃ· “οὐ ποιήσετε ἄδικον ἐν κρίσει, ἐν μέτροις,
 ἐν σταθμοῖς, ἐν ζυγοῖς· ζυγὰ δίκαια καὶ στάθμια
 δίκαια καὶ μέτρα δίκαια καὶ χοῦς δίκαιος ἔσται
 ὑμῖν,” καὶ ἐν Ἐπινομίδι “οὐκ ἔσται ἐν μαρσίππῳ
 σου στάθμιον καὶ στάθμιον, μέγα ἢ μικρόν· οὐκ
 ἔσται ἐν τῇ οἰκίᾳ σου μέτρον καὶ μέτρον, μέγα
 ἢ μικρόν· στάθμιον ἀληθινὸν καὶ δίκαιον ἔσται σοι,
 ἵνα πολυήμερος γένη ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς, ἥς κύριος ὁ
 θεός σου δίδωσί σοι ἐν κλήρῳ, ὅτι βδέλυγμα κυρίῳ

^a δίκη being supposed to be derived from δίχα.

31), and things which receive the same praise must be of equal honour in the eyes of the praiser. Now 160 God praised not the material which He had used for His work, material soul-less, discordant and dissoluble, and indeed in itself perishable, irregular, unequal, but He praised the works of His own art, which were consummated through a single exercise of power equal and uniform, and through knowledge ever one and the same. And thus by the rules of proportion everything was accounted similar and equal to everything else, according to the principle which His art and His knowledge followed.

XXXIII. Moses too above all others shews him- 161 self a eulogist of equality ; first by always and everywhere lauding justice too whose special property it is, as the name itself seems to shew,^a to divide into two equal parts things material and immaterial ; secondly by censuring injustice, the creator of inequality in its most hateful form. Inequality is the mother 162 of the twins, foreign war and civil war, just as its opposite, equality, is the mother of peace. Moses presents most clearly his glorification of justice and his censure of injustice, when he says " ye shall do nothing unjust in judgement, in measures, in weights, in balances ; your balances shall be just, your weights just and your measures just and your quart just " (Lev. xix. 35, 36) and in Deuteronomy, " There shall not be in thy bag divers weights, great and small : there shall not be in thy house divers measures, great and small. A true and a just weight thou shalt have, that thy days may be long in the land, which the Lord thy God gives thee in inheritance, because every one who doeth these things is an abomination to the Lord, every one who doeth injustice

- 163 πᾶς ποιῶν ταῦτα, πᾶς ποιῶν ἄδικα.” οὐκοῦν ὁ φιλοδίκαιος θεὸς ἀδικίαν βδελύττεται καὶ μεμίσηκε, στάσεως καὶ κακῶν ἀρχήν. ποῦ δ’ ἰσότητα τὴν δικαιοσύνης τροφὸν ὁ νομοθέτης οὐκ
 [496] ἀποδέχεται ἀρξάμενος | ἀπὸ τῆς τοῦ παντός οὐρανοῦ γενέσεως; “διεχώρισε” γάρ φησιν “ὁ θεὸς ἀνὰ μέσον τοῦ φωτός καὶ ἀνὰ μέσον τοῦ σκότους· καὶ ἐκάλεσεν ὁ θεὸς τὸ φῶς ἡμέραν καὶ τὸ σκότος νύκτα.” ἡμέραν γὰρ καὶ νύκτα καὶ
 164 φῶς καὶ σκότος ἰσότης ἔταξε¹ τοῖς οὐσι. διείλεν ἰσότης καὶ τὸν ἄνθρωπον εἰς ἄνδρα καὶ γυναῖκα, δύο τμήματα, ἄνισα μὲν ταῖς ῥώμας, πρὸς δὲ ἐσπευσεν ἢ φύσις, τρίτου τινὸς ὁμοίου γένεσιν, ἰσαίτατα. “ἐποίησε” γάρ φησιν “ὁ θεὸς τὸν ἄνθρωπον, κατ’ εἰκόνα θεοῦ ἐποίησεν αὐτόν, ἄρσεν καὶ θῆλυ ἐποίησεν” οὐκέτ’ αὐτόν, ἀλλ’ “αὐτοὺς” ἐπιφέρει πληθυντικῶς, ἐφαρμόττων τὰ εἶδη τῷ γένει διαιρεθέντα, ὡς εἶπον, ἰσότητι. XXXIV.
 165 ψυχὸς γε μὴν καὶ καῦμα καὶ θέρος καὶ ἔαρ ἀνέγραψε, τὰς ἐτησίους ὥρας πάλιν τῷ αὐτῷ τομεῖ διαιρουμένας. αἱ γε μὴν πρὸ ἡλίου τρεῖς ἡμέραι ταῖς μεθ’ ἡλίου ἰσάριθμοι γεγονάσιν, ἐξάδος τμηθείσης ἰσότητι πρὸς αἰῶνος καὶ χρόνου δήλωσιν· αἰῶνι μὲν γὰρ τὰς πρὸ ἡλίου τρεῖς ἀνατίθεικε, χρόνῳ δὲ τὰς μεθ’ ἡλίου, ὅς ἐστι μίμημα αἰῶνος.

¹ Perhaps, as Wend. suggests, ἔταξεν (so Pap.) <έν> τοῖς οὐσι.

^a The point of the sentence is not clear. Perhaps he means that, as we have already shewn (§ 99) that day and night are essentially equal, Moses, by putting them at the outset of the creation story, praises equality. Or the stress may lie on ἀνὰ μέσον as in itself indicating equality (so in § 166). But in this case γάρ is unintelligible. Perhaps correct to ἄρα.

WHO IS THE HEIR, 163-166

(Deut. xxv. 13-16). So then the God who loves 163 justice hates and abominates injustice, the source of faction and evil. As for equality, the nurse of justice, where does the Lawgiver fail to shew his approval? We find it first in the story of the creation of the whole heaven. "God separated," he says, "between the light and between the darkness, and God called the light day and the darkness night" (Gen. i. 4, 5). For equality gave day and 164 night, light and darkness, their place among the things which are.^a Equality too divided the human being into man and woman, two sections unequal indeed in strength, but quite equal as regards what was nature's urgent purpose, the reproduction of themselves in a third person. "God made man," he says, "made him after the image of God. Male and female He made"—not now "him" but "them" (Gen. i. 27). He concludes with the plural, thus connecting with the genus mankind the species which had been divided, as I said, by equality. XXXIV. Then he mentions cold and heat, summer 165 and spring, the seasons of the year, as being separated by the same divider, equality (Gen. viii. 22). Again the three days before the sun's creation are equal in number to the three which followed it (Gen. i. 5 ff.), the whole six being divided by equality to express time and eternity.^b For God dedicated the three before the sun to eternity, and the three after it to time, which is a copy of eternity.^c And the 166

^b See App. p. 570.

^c A reminiscence of *Timaeus* 37 D. See *Quod Deus* 32 and note. The analogy to the *Timaeus* shews that χρόνος and not ἡλιον is the antecedent of ὅς, as otherwise it might have been thought to be by comparison with *De Mig.* 40.

- 166 τὰς δὲ τοῦ ὄντος πρώτας δυνάμεις, τὴν τε χαριστικήν, καθ' ἣν ἐκοσμοπλάσται, ἢ προσαγορεύεται θεός, καὶ τὴν κολαστικήν, καθ' ἣν ἄρχει καὶ ἐπιστατεῖ τοῦ γενομένου, ἢ προσονομάζεται κύριος, ὑπ' αὐτοῦ φησιν ἔστῶτος ἐπάνω μέσου διαστέλλεσθαι. "λαλήσω γάρ σοι" φησὶν "ἄνωθεν τοῦ ἱλαστηρίου ἀνὰ μέσον τῶν δυεῖν Χερουβίμ," ἵν' ἐπιδείξῃ ὅτι αἱ πρεσβύταται τοῦ ὄντος δυνάμεις ἰσάζουσιν, ἢ τε δωρητικὴ καὶ κολαστήριος, αὐτῷ
- 167 τομεῖ χρώμεναι. XXXV. τί δ'; αἱ στήλαι τῶν γενικῶν δέκα νόμων, ἃς ὀνομάζει πλάκας, οὐ δύο εἰσὶν ἰσάριθμοι τοῖς τῆς ψυχῆς μέρεσι, λογικῶ καὶ ἀλόγῳ, ἃ παιδευθῆναί τε καὶ σωφρονισθῆναι χρή, τεμνόμεναι πάλιν ὑπὸ τοῦ θεσμοθέτου¹ μόνου; "αἱ γὰρ πλάκες ἔργον θεοῦ ἦσαν, καὶ ἡ γραφὴ γραφὴ θεοῦ κεκολαμμένη ἐν
- 168 ταῖς πλαξί." καὶ μὴν τῶν ἐν αὐταῖς δέκα λόγων, οἳ κυρίως εἰσὶ θεσμοί, διαίρεσις ἴση γέγονεν εἰς πεντάδας, ὧν ἡ μὲν προτέρα τὰ πρὸς θεὸν δίκαια,
- 169 ἡ δὲ ἑτέρα τὰ πρὸς ἀνθρώπους περιέχει. τῶν μὲν οὖν πρὸς θεὸν δικαίων πρῶτός ἐστι θεσμός ὁ ἐναντιούμενος τῇ πολυθέῳ δόξῃ, διδάσκων ὅτι μοναρχεῖται ὁ κόσμος· δεύτερος δὲ ὁ περὶ τοῦ μὴ θεοπλαστεῖν τὰ μὴ αἷτια γραφῶν καὶ πλαστῶν ἐπιβούλοις τέχναις, ἃς² Μωυσῆς ἐξήλασε τῆς καθ'

¹ Perhaps read θεσμοθέτου <θεοῦ>. The absolute use of θεσμοθέτης for God as legislator does not seem to have a parallel.

² Wend. *als* from Pap. This is undue subservience to the Papyrus. The relative attraction is confined in Greek to defining relative clauses, *i.e.* those without which the antecedent is unintelligible. See Madvig, *Greek Syntax*, 103 R. 1.

WHO IS THE HEIR, 166-169

primary Potencies of the Existent, namely that through which He wrought the world, the beneficent, which is called God, and that by which He rules and commands what He made, that is the punitive, which bears the name of Lord, are as Moses tells us, separated by God Himself standing above and in the midst of them. "I will speak to thee," it says, "above the mercy-seat in the midst of the two Cherubim" (Ex. xxv. 21).^a He means to shew that the primal and highest Potencies of the Existent, the beneficent and the punitive, are equal, having Him to divide them.

XXXV. Again, 167 are not the slabs of the ten general laws, which he calls tables, two, thus equal in number to the parts of the soul, the rational and irrational, which must be trained and chastened? These tables too were cut^b by the Divine Legislator and by Him only. For "the tables were the work of God and the writing on them was the writing of God, graven on the tables" (Ex. xxxii. 16). Further, the ten words 168 on them, divine ordinances in the proper sense of the word, are divided equally into two sets of five, the former comprising duties to God, and the other duties to men. The first commandment among the duties 169 to God, is that which opposes the creed of polytheism, and its lesson is that the world has one sole ruler. The second forbids us to make gods of things which are not the causes of existence, employing for that purpose the mischievous arts of the painter and sculptor which Moses expelled from his common-

^a The same interpretation of the Cherubim is given in *De Fuga* 100, and (of the Cherubim in Gen. iii.) *De Cher.* 27 ff.

^b "Cut" covers both the cutting out and the graving of the tables, but also suggests the thought of God as the *τομεύς*.

- αὐτὸν πολιτείας αἰδίων φυγὴν ἐπ' αὐταῖς ψηφι-
 [497] σάμενος, ἢν' ὁ μόνος καὶ | πρὸς ἀλήθειαν τιμᾶται
 170 θεός· τρίτος δὲ ὁ περὶ ὀνόματος κυρίου,¹ <οὐ τοῦ>
 ὁ οὐδ' ἦλθεν εἰς γένεσιν—ἄρρητον γὰρ τὸ ὄν—,
 ἀλλὰ τοῦ ταῖς δυνάμεσιν ἐπιφημισθέντος, διείρηται
 γὰρ αὐτὸ μὴ λαμβάνειν ἐπὶ ματαίῳ· τέταρτος δὲ
 ὁ περὶ τῆς ἀειπαρθένου καὶ ἀμήτορος ἑβδομάδος,
 ἵνα τὴν ἀπραξίαν αὐτῆς μελετῶσα γένεσις εἰς
 μνήμην τοῦ ἀοράτως πάντα δρῶντος ἔρχηται·
 171 πέμπτος δὲ ὁ περὶ γονέων τιμῆς· καὶ γὰρ οὗτος
 ἱερὸς ἔχων τὴν ἀναφορὰν οὐκ ἐπ' ἀνθρώπους, ἀλλ'
 ἐπὶ τὸν σποράς καὶ γενέσεως τοῖς ὅλοις αἵτιον,
 παρ' ὃν μήτηρ τε καὶ πατήρ γεννᾶν ἔδοξαν, οὐ
 172 γεννῶντες, ἀλλ' ὄργανα γενέσεως ὄντες. μεθόριος
 δ' ὁ θεσμός οὗτος ἐγράφη² τῆς τε πρὸς εὐσέβειαν
 τεινούσης πεντάδος καὶ τῆς ἀποτροπᾶς τῶν πρὸς
 τοὺς ὁμοίους ἀδικημάτων περιεχούσης, ἐπειδήπερ
 οἱ θνητοὶ γονεῖς τέλος εἰσὶν ἀθανάτων δυνάμεων,
 αἱ πάντα γεννῶσαι κατὰ φύσιν ἐπέτρεψαν ὑστάτῳ
 καὶ τῷ θνητῷ γένει μιμησαμένῳ τὴν περὶ τὸ
 γεννᾶν τέχνην σπεῖρειν· ἀρχὴ μὲν γὰρ γενέσεως
 ὁ θεός, τὸ δ' ἔσχατον καὶ ἀτιμότατον, τὸ θνητὸν
 173 εἶδος, τέλος. ἡ δ' ἑτέρα πεντάς ἐστιν ἀπαγό-
 ρευσις μοιχείας, ἀνδροφονίας, κλοπῆς, ψευδομαρ-
 τυρίας, ἐπιθυμίας. οὗτοι γενικοὶ σχεδὸν πάντων
 ἀμαρτημάτων εἰσὶ κανόνες, ἐφ' οὓς ἕκαστον

¹ I suggest κυρίου <τοῦ θεοῦ> in accordance with the LXX.; κύριος alone is not the name given to both Potencies, as the sequel implies. See App. p. 570.

² So Wend. from Pap.: mss. ἐτάγη.

^a See App. p. 570.

^b Or "seventh day." See App. p. 570.

WHO IS THE HEIR, 169-173

wealth^a and sentenced to perpetual banishment. The purpose of this law is that the sole and true god may be duly honoured. The third is concerned with 170 the name of the Lord, not that name the knowledge of which has never even reached the world of mere becoming—He that is cannot be named in words—but the name which is given to His Potencies. We are commanded not to take this name in vain. The fourth is concerned with the number Seven,^b the ever-virgin, the motherless. Its purpose is that creation, observing the inaction which it brings, should call to mind Him who does all things invisibly.^c The fifth is about honouring parents. This is of the 171 sacred kind, since its reference is not to men, but to Him who causes all things to be sown and come into being, through whom it is that the father and mother appear to generate, though they do not really do so, but are the instruments of generation. This commandment was graven on the borderline 172 between the set of five which makes for piety to God and the set which comprises the prohibitions against acts of injustice to our fellows. The mortal parentage is but the final form which immortal powers take. They in virtue of their nature generate all things, but have permitted mortality also at the final stage to copy their creative art and to beget. For God is the primary cause of generation, but the nethermost and least honoured kind, the mortal-kind, is the ultimate. The other set of five forbids 173 adultery, murder, theft, false witness, covetousness. These are general rules forbidding practically all sins,

^a See note on *De Mig.* 91. The sense needed here is rather "who ever works." Perhaps αἰ has fallen out before ἀοράτως.

PHILO

- ἀναφέρεσθαι τῶν ἐν εἶδει συμβέβηκεν.
- 174 XXXVI. ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰς ἐνδελεχεῖς θυσίας ὁρᾷς εἰς ἴσα διηρημένας, ἣν τε ὑπὲρ ἑαυτῶν οἱ ἱερεῖς προσφέρουσι τῆς σεμιδάλεως καὶ τὴν ὑπὲρ τοῦ ἔθνους τῶν δυεῖν ἀμνῶν, οὓς ἀναφέρειν διείρηται. πρῶτῳ γὰρ τὰ ἡμίση τῶν λεχθέντων καὶ τὰ ἕτερα δειλινῆς ἐκέλευσεν ἱεουργεῖν ὁ νόμος, ἵνα καὶ ὑπὲρ τῶν μεθ' ἡμέραν καὶ ὑπὲρ τῶν νύκτωρ ἀρδομένων ἅπασιν ἀγαθῶν ὁ θεὸς εὐχαριστῇται.
- 175 ὁρᾷς καὶ τοὺς προτιθεμένους ἄρτους ἐπὶ τῆς ἱερᾶς τραπέζης, ὡς <εἰς> ἴσα μέρη διανεμηθέντες οἱ δώδεκα ἀριθμῷ καθ' ἑξάδα τίθενται μνημεῖα τῶν ἰσαρίθμων φυλῶν, ὧν τὴν ἡμίσειαν ἢ ἀρετὴ Λεῖα κεκλήρωται ἐξ τεκοῦσα φυλάρχας, τὴν δ' ἑτέραν ἡμίσειαν οἱ τε Ῥαχὴλ
- 176 καὶ οἱ τῶν παλλακῶν νόθοι. ὁρᾷς καὶ τοὺς ἐπὶ τοῦ ποδῆρους δύο λίθους τῆς σμαράγδου πρὸς τε τοῖς δεξιοῖς καὶ πρὸς τοῖς εὐωνύμοις ἰσότητι διηρημένους, οἷς καθ' ἑξάδα ἐγγέγλυπται τὰ τῶν δώδεκα φυλαρχῶν ὀνόματα, θεία γράμματα ἐστηλιτευμένα, θείων φύσεων ὑπομνήματα.
- 177 τί δ'; οὐχὶ δύο ὄρη συμβολικῶς δύο γένη λαβὼν καὶ πάλιν ἰσότητι διακρίνας ἀναλογούσῃ τὸ μὲν ἀπένειμε τοῖς εὐλογοῦσι, τὸ δ' αὖ τοῖς κατ-
- [498] αρωμένοις ἐξ ἑφ' ἑκατέρου | στήσας φυλάρχας, ἵνα τοῖς χρείοις νοουθεσίας οὖσιν ἐπιδείξῃ, ὅτι καὶ ἰσάριθμοι <ταῖς> εὐλογίαις αἱ ἀραὶ καὶ σχεδόν, εἰ

^a i.e. the twelve signs of the Zodiac. See *Quaest. in Ex.* ii. 109, where this is definitely stated, the two emeralds being supposed to represent the two hemispheres, to each of which six of the twelve signs at different parts of the year belong.

WHO IS THE HEIR, 173-177

and to them the specific sins may in each case be referred.

XXXVI. To pass to a different 174
matter, you find the same division into equal parts in the permanent sacrifices, both in the oblation of fine flour, which the priests offer for themselves, and in that offered on behalf of the nation, consisting of the two lambs which they are ordered to bring. In both these the law prescribes that half of the offerings named shall be sacrificed in the morning and half in the evening (Lev. vi. 20; Ex. xxix. 38, 39), that God may be thanked both for the day-time and the night-time blessings which He showers upon all.

Observe also the loaves set forth upon 175
the holy table, how the twelve are divided into equal parts and placed in sets of six each, as memorials of the twelve tribes, half of them belonging to Leah or Virtue the mother of six patriarchs, and half to the children of Rachel and the base-born sons of the concubines. You see, too, how the two emeralds on 176
the long robe, one on the right and one on the left, are divided equally, on which are cut the names of the twelve patriarchs, six on each, inscribed by divine graving, to remind us of divine beings (Ex. xxviii. 9-12).^a

Once more, does not Moses 177
take two mountains, that is symbolically two kinds, and again distinguishes between them according to proportional equality, assign one to those who bless, the other to those who curse? Then he places upon them the twelve patriarchs (Deut. xxvii. 11-13) to shew to those who need warning, that curses are equal in number to blessings and (if we may say so

So also *De Spec. Leg.* i. 87, though there it is said of the twelve stones on the breastplate in Ex. xxviii. 21. For divine natures = heavenly bodies *cf. De Conf.* 133.

178 θέμις εἰπεῖν, ἰσότημοι; ὁμοίως γὰρ οἱ τε ἔπαινοι
τῶν ἀγαθῶν καὶ οἱ ψόγοι τῶν μοχθηρῶν ὠφελοῦσιν,
ἐπεὶ καὶ τὸ φυγεῖν τὸ κακὸν τῷ τὰγαθὸν ἐλέσθαι
παρὰ τοῖς εἰς φρονουσιν ὅμοιον καὶ ταῦτόν ἐνομίσθη.

179 XXXVII. καταπλήττει με καὶ ἡ τῶν
προσαγομένων τῷ ἰλασμῷ δυεῖν τράγων ἐπὶ κρίσις
ὁμοῦ καὶ διανομὴ τεμνομένων ἀδήλῳ καὶ ἀτεκμάρτῳ
τομεῖ, κλήρῳ· λόγων γὰρ δυεῖν ὁ μὲν τὰ τῆς θείας
ἀρετῆς πραγματευόμενος ἀνιεροῦται καὶ ἀνατίθε-
ται θεῷ, ὁ δὲ τὰ τῆς ἀνθρωπίνης κακοδαιμονίας
ἐξηλωκῶς γενέσει τῇ φυγᾷ· καὶ γὰρ ὃν ἔλαχεν
αὕτη κλήρον, ἀποπομπᾶν καλοῦσιν οἱ χρησμοί,
ἐπειδὴ μετανίσταται καὶ διώκισται καὶ μακρὰν
180 ἀπελήλαται σοφίας. ἐπισήμων γε μὴν καὶ ἀσήμων
ὥσπερ νομισμάτων, οὕτως καὶ πραγμάτων ὄντων ἐν
τῇ φύσει πολλῶν ὁ ἀόρατος τομεὺς οὐ δοκεῖ σοι
διελεῖν πάντ' εἰς μοίρας ἴσας καὶ τὰ μὲν ἐπίσημα
καὶ δόκιμα τῷ παιδείας ἐραστῇ, τῷ δὲ ἀμαθαίνοντι
τὰ ἀτύπωτα καὶ ἄσημα προσνεῖμαι; “ ἐγένετο ”
γάρ φησι “ τὰ μὲν ἄσημα τοῦ Λάβαν, τὰ δὲ
181 ἐπίσημα τοῦ Ἰακώβ.” καὶ γὰρ ἡ ψυχὴ, τὸ
κῆρινον, ὡς εἶπέ τις τῶν ἀρχαίων, ἐκμαγεῖον,
σκληρὰ μὲν οὔσα καὶ ἀντίτυπος ἀπωθεῖ καὶ
ἀποσειέται τοὺς ἐπιφερομένους χαρακτηῖρας καὶ
ἀσχημάτιστος ἐξ ἀνάγκης διαμένει, πειθήνιος δ'
ὑπάρχουσα καὶ μετρίως ὑπέικουσα βαθεῖς τοὺς
τύπους δέχεται καὶ ἀναμαξαμένη τὰς σφραγίδας
ἄκρως διαφυλάττει τὰ ἐνσημανθέντα ἀνεξάλειπτα
182 εἶδη. XXXVIII. θαυμαστὴ μέντοι καὶ

^a Cf. *De Plant.* 61 and note.

WHO IS THE HEIR, 178-182

without offence) of equal value. For praises given 178
to the good and censure given to the bad are equally
beneficial, since, in the judgement of men of sense,
avoiding evil and choosing good are one and the
same.

XXXVII. I am deeply impressed, 179
too, by the contrast made between the two he-goats
offered for atonement, and the difference of fate
assigned to them even when the division is effected
by that uncertain and fortuitous divider, the lot.
We see two ways of thinking ; one whose concern is
with things of divine virtue is consecrated and dedi-
cated to God ; the other whose aspirations turn to
poor miserable humanity is assigned to creation the
exile. For the lot which fell to creation is called by
the oracles the lot of dismissal^a (Lev. xvi. 8), because
creation is a homeless wanderer, banished far away
from wisdom. Further, nature abounds in things 180
which bear some shape or stamp and others which
do not, even as it is with coins, and you may note
how the invisible Severer divides them all into equal
parts and awards those that are approved by their
stamp to the lover of instruction, but those that have
no stamp or mark to the man of ignorance. For we
are told " the unmarked fell to Laban, but the
marked to Jacob " (Gen. xxx. 42). For the soul is a 181
block of wax, as one of the ancients said,^b and if it is
hard and resistant it rejects and shakes off the
attempted impressions and inevitably remains an
unformed mass, whereas if it is docile and reasonably
submissive it allows the imprints to sink deep into it,
and thus reproducing the shape of the seal preserves
the forms stamped upon it, beyond any possibility
of effacement.

XXXVIII. Marvellous too 182

^b *Theaetetus* 191 c; cf. *Quod Deus* 43.

- ἡ τοῦ τῶν θυσιῶν αἵματος ἴση διανομή, ἣν ὁ ἀρχιερεὺς Μωυσῆς φύσει διδασκάλῳ χρησάμενος διένειμε. “λαβὼν” γάρ φησι “τὸ ἥμισυ τοῦ αἵματος ἐνέχεεν εἰς κρατῆρας· τὸ δὲ ἥμισυ προσέχεε πρὸς τὸ θυσιαστήριον,” ὅπως ἀναδιδάξῃ, ὅτι τὸ σοφίας ἱερὸν γένος διττὸν ἐστὶ, τὸ μὲν θεῖον, τὸ δὲ ἀν-
- 183 θρώπινον· καὶ τὸ μὲν θεῖον ἀμιγὲς καὶ ἄκρατον, οὗ ἕνεκα τῷ ἀμιγεί καὶ ἀκράτῳ καὶ κατὰ τὴν μόνωσιν μονάδι ὄντι σπένδεται θεῷ, τὸ δὲ ἀνθρώπινον μικτὸν καὶ κεκραμένον, ὃ τοῦ μικτοῦ καὶ συνθέτου καὶ κεκραμένου γένους κατασκεδάννυται ἡμῶν, ὁμόνοιαν καὶ κοινωνίαν καὶ τί γὰρ ἄλλο ἢ κρᾶσιν μερῶν τε καὶ ἡθῶν ἐργασόμενον.
- 184 ἀλλὰ γὰρ καὶ τῆς ψυχῆς τὸ μὲν ἀμιγὲς καὶ ἄκρατον μέρος ὃ ἀκραιφνέστατος νοῦς ἐστίν, ὃς ἀπ’ οὐρανοῦ καταπνευσθεὶς ἄνωθεν ὅταν ἄνοσος καὶ ἀπήμων διαφυλαχθῇ, τῷ καταπνεύσαντι καὶ ἀπαθῇ παντὸς κακοῦ διαφυλάξαντι προσηκόντως ὅλος εἰς ἱερὰν
- [499] σπονδὴν ἀναστοιχειωθείς ἀνταποδίδοται· | τὸ δ’ αὖ μικτὸν γένος τὸ αἰσθήσεών ἐστίν, ᾧ κρατῆρας
- 185 οἰκείους ἡ φύσις ἐδημιούργησε. κρατῆρες δὲ ὁράσεως μὲν ὀφθαλμοί, ἀκοῆς δὲ ὦτα καὶ μυκτῆρες ὁσφρήσεως καὶ τῶν ἄλλων αἱ ἀρμόττουσαι δεξαμεναί. τούτοις ἐπιχει τοῖς κρατήρσιν ὁ ἱερὸς λόγος τοῦ αἵματος ἀξιῶν τὸ ἄλογον ἡμῶν μέρος ψυχωθῆναι καὶ τρόπον τινὰ λογικὸν γενέσθαι, ταῖς μὲν νοῦ θεαῖς περιόδοις¹ ἀκολουθήσαν, ἀγνεύσαν δὲ τῶν ὀλκὸν ἀπατεῶνα προτεινόντων δύναμιν αἰσθητῶν.

¹ MSS. and Pap. *νουθεσῆαις* (-as). The text here printed is according to Wend. 's conjecture, though he does not actually adopt it. See App. p. 571.

^a See App. p. 571.

WHO IS THE HEIR, 182-186

is the equal distribution of the sacrificial blood which the high priest Moses,^a following Nature's guidance, made. He took, we read, the half of the blood and poured it into mixing-bowls and the half he poured upon the altar (Ex. xxiv. 6), to shew us that sacred wisdom is of a twofold kind, divine and human. The divine kind is without mixture or 183 infusion and therefore is poured as an offering to God, who knows no mixture or infusion and is in His isolation a unity. But the human is mixed with infusion and thus is scattered abroad upon us, who are a mixed compounded product of infusion, to create in us oneness of mind and fellowship, and in fact a "mixing" of our various parts and ways of conduct. But the part of the soul which is free from mixture and infusion is the mind in its perfect purity. This mind filled with the breath of inspira- 184 tion from heaven above is guarded from malady and injury, and then reduced to a single element is fitly rendered in its entirety as a holy libation to Him who inspired it and guarded it from all evil that could harm it. The mixed kind is the senses, and for this nature has created the proper mixing-bowls. The eyes are the "bowls" of sight, the 185 ears of hearing, the nostrils of the sense of smell, and each of the others has its fitting vessel. On these bowls the holy Word^b pours of the blood, desiring that our irrational part should be quickened and become in some sense rational, following the divine courses of the mind, and purified from the objects of sense, which lure it with all their deceitful and seductive force. And was 186

^b The High Priest as often is identified with the Logos. Cf. *De Mig.* 102.

- ἀρά γε οὐχὶ τοῦτον τὸν τρόπον καὶ τὸ δίδραχμον διενεμήθη τὸ ἅγιον, ἵνα τὸ μὲν ἡμισυ αὐτοῦ, τὴν δραχμὴν, καθιερώμεν λύτρα τῆς ἐαυτῶν ψυχῆς κατατιθέντες, ἣν ὁ μόνος ἀψευδῶς ἐλεύθερος καὶ ἐλευθεροποιὸς θεὸς ὤμῃς καὶ πικρᾶς παθῶν καὶ ἀδικημάτων δεσποτείας ἰκετευθεῖς, ἔστι δ' ὅτε καὶ χωρὶς ἰκεσίας, ἀνὰ κράτος ἐκλύει, τὸ δ' ἕτερον μέρος τῷ ἀνελευθέρῳ καὶ δουλοπρεπεῖ γένει καταλίπωμεν, οὗ κεκοινώνηκεν ὁ λέγων· “ ἡγάπηκα τὸν κύριόν μου,” τὸν ἡγεμόνα ἐν ἑμοὶ νοῦν, “ καὶ τὴν γυναῖκά μου,” τὴν φίλην καὶ οἰκουρὸν παθῶν αἰσθησιν, “ καὶ τὰ παιδία,” τὰ κακὰ τούτων
- 187 ἔγγονα, “ οὐκ ἄπειμι ἐλεύθερος.” ἀνάγκη γὰρ καὶ τῷ τοιούτῳ γένει κλῆρον ἄκληρον καὶ ἀποπομπαῖον ἐκ τοῦ διδράχμου δοθῆναι, ἐναντίον τῇ ἀνατεθειμένῃ δραχμῇ τε καὶ μονάδι· μονὰς δὲ οὔτε προσθήκην οὔτε ἀφαίρεσιν δέχεσθαι πέφυκεν, εἰκὼν οὔσα τοῦ
- 188 μόνου πλήρους θεοῦ. χαῖνα γὰρ τά γε¹ ἄλλα ἐξ ἐαυτῶν, εἰ δέ που καὶ πυκνωθείη, λόγῳ σφίγγεται θείῳ. κόλλα γὰρ καὶ δεσμὸς οὗτος πάντα τῆς οὐσίας ἐκπεπληρωκώς· ὁ δ' εἷρας καὶ συνυφήνας ἕκαστα πλήρης αὐτὸς ἐαυτοῦ κυρίως ἐστίν, οὐ
- 189 δεηθεὶς ἑτέρου τὸ παράπαν. XXXIX. εἰκότως οὖν ἐρεῖ Μωυσῆς· “ ὁ πλουτῶν οὐ προσθήσει, καὶ ὁ πενόμενος οὐκ ἐλαττώσει ἀπὸ τοῦ ἡμίσεος τοῦ διδράχμου,” ὅπερ ἐστίν, ὡς ἔφην, δραχμὴ τε καὶ

¹ My correction for τε in Wend.'s and Mangey's texts.

^a Or, if we follow the parallel passage in *De Cher.* 73 where the children of mind are the various mental activities, 376

WHO IS THE HEIR, 186-189

not the consecrated didrachmon portioned out on the same principle? We are meant to consecrate one half of it, the drachma, and pay it as ransom for our own soul (Ex. xxx. 12, 13), which God who alone is truly free and a giver of freedom releases with a mighty hand from the cruel and bitter tyranny of passions and wrongdoings, if we supplicate him, sometimes too without our supplication. The other half we are to leave to the unfree and slavish kind of which he is a member who says "I have come to love my master," that is "the mind which rules within me," and my wife, that is "sense" the friend and keeper of the passion's household, "and the children," that is the evil offspring of the passions.^a "I will not go out free" (Ex. xxi. 5). For 187 to such a kind, as its share in the didrachmon, must needs be given the lot which is no lot, the lot of dismissal which is the opposite of the dedicated drachma. The drachma is a unit, and a unit admits neither of addition nor subtraction, being the image of God who is alone in His unity and yet has fullness. Other things are in themselves without coherence, 188 and if they be condensed, it is because they are held tight by the divine Word, which is a glue and bond, filling up all things with His being.^b He who fastens and weaves together each separate thing is in literal truth full of His own self, and needs nothing else at all. XXXIX. With reason then will Moses say, 189 "He that is rich shall not add, and he that is poor shall not diminish, from the half of the didrachmon" (Ex. xxx. 15). That half, as I said, is both a drachma

and those of sense. the various sense processes, *τούτων* will refer to *νοῦς* and *αἰσθησις*. But *κακά* points rather to *πάθης* as the parents.

^b See App. p. 571.

PHILO

μονάς· ἢ πᾶς ἂν ἀριθμὸς εἴποι τὸ ποιητικὸν
ἐκεῖνο

ἐν σοὶ μὲν λήξω, σέο δ' ἄρξομαι.

- 190 λήγει τε γὰρ ἀναλυόμενος ὁ κατὰ σύνθεσιν ἀπει-
ράκεις ἄπειρος ἀριθμὸς εἰς μονάδα, ἄρχεται τε αὖ
πάλιν ἀπὸ μονάδος εἰς ἀπερίγραφον συντιθέμενος
πλήθος. διόπερ οὐδ' ἀριθμόν, ἀλλὰ στοιχείον καὶ
ἀρχὴν ἀριθμοῦ ταύτην ἔφασαν, οἷς ζητεῖν ἐπι-
191 μελές. ἔτι τοίνυν τὴν οὐράνιον τροφήν—
σοφία δέ ἐστιν—τῆς ψυχῆς, ἣν καλεῖ μάνα,
διανέμει πᾶσι τοῖς χρησομένοις θεῖος λόγος ἐξ
[500] ἴσου, πεφροντικῶς | διαφερόντως ἰσότητος. μαρ-
τυρεῖ δὲ Μωυσῆς λέγων· “οὐκ ἐπλεόνασεν ὁ τὸ
πολύ, καὶ ὁ τὸ ἔλαττον οὐκ ἡλαττόνησεν,” ἡνίκα
τῷ τῆς ἀναλογίας ἐχρήσαντο θαυμασῶ καὶ περι-
μαχῆτῳ μέτρῳ· δι' οὗ συνέβη μαθεῖν, ὅτι ἕκαστος
“εἰς τοὺς καθήκοντας” παρ' ἑαυτῷ συνέλεξεν οὐκ
ἀνθρώπους μᾶλλον ἢ λογισμοὺς καὶ τρόπους· ὁ
γὰρ ἐπέβαλεν ἐκάστῳ τοῦτ' ἀπεκληρώθη προ-
νοητικῶς, ὥς μήθ' ὑστερῆσαι μήτ' αὖ περιττεῦσαι.
- 192 XL. τὸ δὲ παραπλήσιον τῆς κατ'
ἀναλογίαν ἰσότητος ἐστὶν εὐρεῖν καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ λεγο-
μένου Πάσχα. Πάσχα δέ ἐστιν, ὅταν ἡ ψυχὴ τὸ
μὲν ἄλογον πάθος ἀπομαθεῖν μελετᾷ, τὴν δ'
193 εὐλογον εὐπάθειαν ἐκουσίως πάσχη· διείρηται γάρ,
“ἐὰν ὀλίγοι ὦσιν οἱ ἐν τῇ οἰκίᾳ, ὥστε μὴ ἱκανοὺς
εἶναι εἰς τὸ πρόβατον, τὸν πλησίον γείτονα προσ-

^a Hom. *Iliad* ix. 97.

^b i.e. all numbers are after all only so many units.

^c See App. p. 571.

^d Or, as Philo seems to understand the phrase, “those

WHO IS THE HEIR, 189-193

and a unit, to which every number might well address the words of the poet,

With thee I'll cease, with thee I will begin.^a

For the whole series of numbers to infinity multiplied by infinity ends when resolved in the unit^b and begins with the unit when arranged in an unlimited series. And therefore those who study such questions declare that the unit is not a number at all, but the element and source from which number springs.^c

Further, the heavenly food of 191 the soul, wisdom, which Moses calls "manna," is distributed to all who will use it in equal portions by the divine Word, careful above all things to maintain equality. Moses testifies to this in the words, "He that had much, had not too much, and he that had less did not lack" (Ex. xvi. 18), when they measured by the admirable and precious standard of proportion. And through this we come to understand how when each collected in his own store for his "belongings,"^d these belongings are not human beings so much as thoughts and dispositions. For what fell to each was of set purpose so allotted, that there was neither short-coming nor superabundance.

XL. We may find a similar example of this proportioned equality in what is called the Passover, 192 which is held when the soul studies to unlearn irrational passion and of its own free will experiences the higher form of passion which reason sanctions. For it is laid down that "if there be few in the house, 193 so that they are not enough for the sheep, they shall

which were meet and right for him," connecting it no doubt with the Stoics' *τὰ καθήκοντα*. The E.V. is different — "They gathered every man according to his eating."

λαβεῖν, κατ' ἀριθμὸν ψυχῶν, ἵν' ἕκαστος τὸ ἀρκοῦν αὐτῷ συναριθμῆται," μοῖραν, ἧς ἐστὶν ἐπάξιός τε καὶ χρεῖος, εὕρισκόμενος.

- 194 ἐπειδὴν δὲ καὶ τρόπον χώρας τὴν ἀρετὴν εἰς τοὺς οἰκήτορας αὐτῆς ἐβελήσῃ διανέμειν, τοῖς πλείοσι πλεονάζειν καὶ τοῖς ἐλάττοσιν ἐλαττοῦν τὴν κατά-
 σχεσιν προστάττει, δικαίων μῆτε τοὺς μείζους ἐλαττόνων ἀξιούν—κενοὶ γὰρ ἐπιστήμης ἔσονται—
 μῆτε τοὺς ἐλάττους μειζόνων· χωρῆσαι γὰρ τὸ
 195 μέγεθος αὐτῶν οὐ δυνήσονται. XLI.

τῆς δὲ κατ' ἀριθμὸν ἰσότητος ἐναργέστατον δεῖγμά ἐστι τὰ τε τῶν δώδεκα ἀρχόντων ἱερὰ δῶρα καὶ ἔτι τὰ ἀπὸ τῶν δώρων διανεμόμενα τοῖς ἱερεῦσιν·
 “ ἐκάστῳ ” γάρ φησι “ τῶν υἱῶν Ἀαρὼν ἔσται τὸ
 196 ἴσον.” παγκάλῃ δὲ καὶ ἡ περὶ τὴν

σύνθεσιν τῶν ἐκθυμιωμένων ἐστὶν ἰσότης· λέγεται γάρ· “ λάβε σεαυτῷ ἡδύσματα, στακτὴν, ὄνυχα καὶ χαλβάνην ἡδυσμοῦ καὶ λίβανον διαφανῆ, ἴσον ἴσω, καὶ ποιήσουσιν αὐτὸ θυμίαμα, μύρον μυρεψοῦ ἔργον συνθέσεως καθαρᾶς, ἔργον ἁγιον.” ἕκαστον γὰρ τῶν μερῶν ἐκάστῳ φησὶ δεῖν ἴσον συνέρχεσθαι

- 197 πρὸς τὴν τοῦ ὄλου κρᾶσιν. ἔστι δ' οἶμαι τὰ τέτταρα ταῦτα, ἐξ ὧν τὸ θυμίαμα συντίθεται, σύμβολα τῶν στοιχείων, ἐξ ὧν ἀπετελέσθη σύμπας ὁ κόσμος. στακτὴν μὲν γὰρ ὕδατι, γῇ δὲ ὄνυχα, χαλβάνην δὲ ἀέρι, τὸν δὲ διαφανῆ λιβανωτὸν πυρὶ ἀπεικάζει· στακτὴ μὲν γὰρ παρὰ τὰς σταγόνας ὕδατῶδες, ξηρὸν δὲ ὄνυξ καὶ γεῶδες, τῇ δὲ χαλβάνῃ τὸ ἡδυσμοῦ πρὸς τὴν ἀέρος ἔμφασιν

WHO IS THE HEIR, 193-197

take in the next neighbour, according to the number of souls, that each may reckon what is sufficient for him" (Ex. xii. 4), thus gaining the portion which he deserves and needs. On the other hand, 194

when Moses would portion out virtue, like a country, to virtue's inhabitants he bids the more have more and the less to lessen their possession (Num. xxxv. 8), for he holds it right not to adjudge smaller shares to the greater, since then they will be devoid of knowledge, nor greater to the less, since they will not be able to contain the greatness of their shares.

XLI. Of numerical equality we have 195 the clearest example in the sacred gifts of the twelve rulers (Num. vii. 10 ff.) and further in the distributions made to the priests from the gifts. Each of the sons of Aaron, it says, shall have what is equal (Lev. vi. 40).

We have also a splendid 196 example of equality in the composition of the frankincense offering. For we read "take to thyself sweet spices, oil drop of cinnamon, cloves and galbanum of sweetening and clear gum of frankincense, each in equal parts and they shall make of it incense, a perfume work of the perfumer of pure composition, a holy work" (Ex. xxx. 34, 35). Each of the parts, we see from his words, must be brought in equal measure, to make the combination of the whole. Now these 197 four, of which the incense is composed, are, I hold, a symbol of the elements, out of which the whole world was brought to its completion. Moses is likening the oil drop to water, the cloves to earth, the galbanum to air, and the clear gum to fire. For oil drop is watery because of its dripping, cloves are dry and earthy, and the words "of sweetening" are added to galbanum, to bring out the idea of air

- προσετέθη—τὸ γὰρ εὐῶδες ἐν ἀέρι,—τῷ δὲ λιβα-
 198 νωτῷ τὸ διαφανὲς πρὸς φωτὸς ἐνδειξιν. διὸ
 καὶ τὰ βάρος ἔχοντα τῶν κούφων διεχώρισε, τὰ
 μὲν τῷ συμπλεκτικῷ συνδέσμῳ ἐνώσας, τὰ δὲ
 [501] διαλελυμένως ἐξενεγκών· | ἔφη γάρ· “ λάβε σεαυτῷ
 ἡδύσματα, στακτὴν, ὄνυχας,” ταῦτα ἀσύνδετα, τῶν
 βάρος ἐχόντων, ὕδατός τε καὶ γῆς, σύμβολα, εἴτα
 ἀφ’ ἐτέρας ἀρχῆς μετὰ συμπλοκῆς “ καὶ χαλβάνην
 ἡδυσμοῦ καὶ λίβανον διαφανῆ,” ταῦτα πάλιν καθ’
 ἑαυτά, τῶν κούφων, ἀέρος καὶ πυρός, [τὰ] σημεῖα.
 199 τὴν δὲ τούτων ἐμμελῆ σύνθεσιν τε καὶ κράσιν τὸ
 πρεσβύτατον καὶ τελειότατον ἔργον ἁγιον ὡς
 ἀληθῶς εἶναι συμβέβηκε, τὸν κόσμον, ὃν διὰ
 συμβόλου τοῦ θυμιάματος οἴεται δεῖν εὐχαριστεῖν
 τῷ πεποιηκότι, ἵνα λόγῳ μὲν ἡ μυρεψικῇ τέχνῃ
 κατασκευασθεῖσα σύνθεσις ἐκθυμιᾶται, ἔργῳ δὲ
 ὁ θεία σοφία δημιουργηθεὶς κόσμος ἅπας ἀνα-
 200 φέρεται πρῶι καὶ δειλινῆς ὀλοκαυτούμενος. βίος
 γὰρ ἐμπρεπῆς κόσμῳ τῷ πατρὶ καὶ ποιητῇ
 συνεχῶς καὶ ἀδιαστάτως εὐχαριστεῖν, μονονοῦκ
 ἐκθυμιῶντι καὶ ἀναστοιχειοῦντι ἑαυτὸν πρὸς ἐν-
 δειξιν τοῦ μηδὲν θησαυρίζεσθαι, ἀλλ’ ὅλον ἑαυτὸν
 ἀνάθημα ἀνατιθέναι τῷ γεγεννηκότι θεῷ.
 201 XLII. θαυμάζω καὶ τὸν μετὰ σπουδῆς ἀ-
 πνευστὶ δραμόντα συντόνως ἱερὸν λόγον, “ ἵνα
 στῇ μέσος τῶν τεθνηκότων καὶ τῶν ζώντων·
 εὐθὺς” γάρ φησι Μωυσῆς “ ἐκόπασεν ἡ θραῦ-
 σις.” ἀλλ’ οὐκ ἔμελλε κοπάσαι καὶ ἐπικουφίσαι
 τὰ περιθρύπτοντα καὶ καταγνύντα καὶ συντρί-
 382

WHO IS THE HEIR, 197-201

since air has fragrance, and the word "clear" to gum to indicate light. For the same reason he set 198 the heavy substances apart from the light, connecting the latter in a single phrase by means of the conjunction "and," but stating the heavy in the unconnected form. First he said "take to thyself sweet spices, oil drop of cinnamon, cloves, both these with the asyndeton, symbols of the heavy substances earth and water." Then he makes a fresh beginning using the conjunction, "and galbanum of sweetness and clear gum of frankincense," and these two, which indicate the light elements, air and fire, are also joined by an "and." And the mixture thus harmoniously 199 compounded proves to be that most venerable and perfect work, a work in very truth holy, even the world, which he holds should under the symbol of the incense offering give thanks to its Maker, so that while in outward speech it is the compound formed by the perfumer's art which is burnt as incense, in real fact it is the whole world, wrought by divine wisdom, which is offered and consumed morning and evening in the sacrificial fire. Surely it is a 200 fitting life-work for the world, that it should give thanks to its Maker continuously and without ceasing, wellnigh evaporating itself into a single elemental form, to shew that it hoards nothing as treasure, but dedicates its whole being at the shrine of God its Begetter.

XLII. I marvel 201 too when I read of that sacred Word, which ran in impetuous breathless haste "to stand between the living and the dead." For at once, says Moses, "the breaking was abated" (Num. xvi. 47, 48). And indeed how could all that shatters and crushes and ruptures our soul fail to be abated and lightened,

βοντα τὴν ἡμετέραν ψυχὴν, διακρίναντος καὶ δια-
 τειχίσαντος τοῦ θεοφιλοῦς τοὺς ὁσίους, οἱ ζῶσιν
 ἀψευδῶς, ἀπὸ τῶν ἀνοσιῶν, οἱ τεθνήκασιν πρὸς
 202 ἀλήθειαν, λογισμῶν; τῷ γὰρ ἐγγὺς εἶναι πολλάκις
 νοσοῦντων καὶ οἱ σφόδρα ὑγιαίνοντες ἐνδεξάμενοι
 τὴν ἐκείνων νόσον ἐμέλλησαν τελευτῆσαι. τοῦτο
 δ' ἀμήχανον ἔτι παθεῖν ἦν διαζευχθέντας ὄρω
 μέσῳ παγέντι δυνατωτάτῳ, ὃς τὰς ἐφόδους καὶ
 ἐπιδρομὰς τοῦ χείρονος μέρους ἀπὸ τοῦ βελτίονος
 203 ἀπώσσει. τεθαύμακα δὲ ἔτι μᾶλλον, ἐπειδὰν κατ-
 ακούων τῶν λογίων ἀναδιδάσκωμαι, ὃν τρόπον
 εἰσῆλθεν ἡ νεφέλη μέση τῆς τε Αἰγυπτιακῆς καὶ
 τῆς Ἰσραηλιτικῆς στρατιᾶς· ὑπὸ γὰρ τοῦ φιλο-
 παθοῦς καὶ ἀθέου τὸ ἐγκρατὲς καὶ θεοφιλὲς γένος
 οὐκέτ' εἴασε διώκεσθαι τὸ σκεπαστήριον καὶ
 σωτήριον τῶν φίλων, ἀμυντήριον δὲ καὶ κολαστή-
 204 ριον τῶν ἐχθρῶν ὄπλον, ἡ νεφέλη. διανοίαις μὲν
 γὰρ ἀρετώσας ἡρέμα σοφίαν ἐπιβεκάζει, τὴν ἀπαθῆ
 φύσει παντὸς κακοῦ, λυπραῖς δὲ καὶ ἀγόνοις ἐπι-
 στήμης ἀθρόας κατανίφει τιμωρίας, κατακλυσμὸν
 205 φθορὰν οἰκτίστην ἐπιφέρουσα. τῷ δὲ
 ἀρχαγγέλῳ καὶ πρεσβυτάτῳ λόγῳ δωρεὰν ἔδωκεν
 ἐξαίρετον ὃ τὰ ὅλα γεννήσας πατήρ, ἵνα μεθόριος
 στὰς τὸ γενόμενον διακρίνη τοῦ πεποιηκότος. ὃ
 δ' αὐτὸς ἰκέτης μὲν ἐστὶ τοῦ θνητοῦ κηραίνοντος
 αἰεὶ πρὸς τὸ ἀφθαρτον, πρεσβευτῆς δὲ τοῦ ἡγεμόνος
 206 πρὸς τὸ ὑπήκοον. ἀγάλλεται δὲ ἐπὶ τῇ δωρεᾷ καὶ
 [502] σεμνυνόμενος αὐτὴν | ἐκδιηγείται φάσκων· “ καὶ γὰρ
 εἰστήκειν ἀνὰ μέσον κυρίου καὶ ὑμῶν,” οὔτε
 ἀγένητος ὡς ὁ θεὸς ὢν οὔτε γενητὸς ὡς ὑμεῖς,
 ἀλλὰ μέσος τῶν ἄκρων, ἀμφοτέροις ὁμηρεύων,
 παρὰ μὲν τῷ φυτεύσαντι πρὸς πίστιν τοῦ μὴ

WHO IS THE HEIR, 201-206

when the God-beloved separates and walls off the consecrated thoughts, which veritably live, from the unholy which are truly dead? For often proximity 202 to the sick brings to the very healthiest the infection of their sickness and sure death in its train. But this fate was no longer possible to the consecrated, hedged in by the mightiest of pales, fixed in the midst to repel from the better sort the onslaught and inroads of the worse. Still more am I lost in admira- 203 tion, when I listen to the oracles and learn how the cloud entered in the midst between the hosts of Egypt and Israel (Ex. xiv. 20). For the further pursuit of the sober and God-beloved race by the passion-loving and godless was forbidden by that cloud, which was a weapon of shelter and salvation to its friends, and of offence and chastisement to its enemies. For on minds of rich soil that cloud sends 204 in gentle showers the drops of wisdom, whose very nature exempts it from all harm, but on the sour of soil, that are barren of knowledge, it pours the blizzards of vengeance, flooding them with a deluge of destruction most miserable. To His 205 Word, His chief messenger, highest in age and honour, the Father of all has given the special prerogative, to stand on the border and separate the creature from the Creator. This same Word both pleads with the immortal as suppliant for afflicted mortality and acts as ambassador of the ruler to the subject. He glories in this prerogative and proudly 206 describes it in these words 'and I stood between the Lord and you' (Deut. v. 5), that is neither uncreated as God, nor created as you, but midway between the two extremes, a surety to both sides; to the parent, pledging the creature that it should never altogether

σύμπαν ἀφηνιάσαι ποτὲ καὶ ἀποστῆναι τὸ γεγονὸς ἀκοσμίαν ἀντὶ κόσμου ἐλόμενον, παρὰ δὲ τῷ φύντι πρὸς εὐελπιστίαν τοῦ μήποτε τὸν Ἰλεω θεὸν περιιδεῖν τὸ ἴδιον ἔργον. ἐγὼ γὰρ ἐπικηρυκεύομαι τὰ εἰρηναῖα γενέσκει παρὰ τοῦ καθαιρεῖν πολέμους ἐγνωκότος εἰρηνοφύλακος αἰεὶ θεοῦ.

- 207 XLIII. Διδάξας οὖν ἡμᾶς περὶ τῆς εἰς ἴσα τομῆς ὁ ἱερὸς λόγος καὶ πρὸς τὴν τῶν ἐναντίων ἐπιστήμην ἄγει φάσκων ὅτι τὰ τμήματα “ ἔθηκεν ἀντιπρόσωπα ἀλλήλοις.” τῷ γὰρ ὄντι πάνθ’ ὅσα ἐν κόσμῳ σχεδὸν ἐναντία εἶναι πέφυκεν, ἀρκτέον
- 208 δὲ ἀπὸ τῶν πρώτων· θερμὸν ἐναντίον ψυχρῷ καὶ ξηρὸν ὑγρῷ καὶ κοῦφον βαρεῖ καὶ σκότος φωτὶ καὶ νύξ ἡμέρᾳ, καὶ ἐν οὐρανῷ μὲν ἡ ἀπλανὴς τῇ πεπλανημένῃ φορᾷ, κατὰ δὲ τὸν αἶρα αἰθρία νεφώσει, νηνεμία πνεύμασι, θέρει χειμῶν, ἔαρι μετόπωρον—τῷ μὲν γὰρ ἀνθεῖ, τῷ δὲ φθίνει τὰ [δ’] ἔγγεια,—πάλιν ὕδατος τὸ γλυκὺ τῷ πικρῷ καὶ
- 209 γῆς ἡ στεῖρα τῇ γονίμῳ. καὶ τᾶλλα δὲ ἐναντία προὔπτα, σώματα ἀσώματα, ἔμψυχα ἄψυχα, λογικὰ ἄλογα, θνητὰ ἀθάνατα, αἰσθητὰ νοητά, καταληπτὰ ἀκατάληπτα, στοιχεῖα ἀποτελέσματα, ἀρχὴ τελευτῇ, γένεσις φθορά, ζωὴ θάνατος, νόσος ὑγεία, λευκὸν μέλαν, δεξιὰ εὐώνυμα, δικαιοσύνη ἀδικία, φρόνησις ἀφροσύνη, ἀνδρεία δειλία, σωφροσύνη ἀκολασία, ἀρετὴ κακία, καὶ τὰ τῆς ἐτέρας πάντα
- 210 εἶδη τοῖς τῆς ἐτέρας εἶδεσι πᾶσι· πάλιν γραμματικὴ ἀγραμματία, μουσικὴ ἀμουσία, παιδεία ἀπαιδευσία, συνόλως τέχνη ἀτεχνία· καὶ τὰ ἐν ταῖς τέχναις, φωνήεντα στοιχεῖα καὶ ἄφωνα, ὅξεῖς καὶ

WHO IS THE HEIR, 206-210

rebel against the rein and choose disorder rather than order ; to the child, warranting his hopes that the merciful God will never forget His own work. For I am the harbinger of peace to creation from that God whose will is to bring wars to an end, who is ever the guardian of peace."

XLIII. Having taught us the lesson of equal 207
division the Scripture leads us on to the knowledge
of opposites, by telling us that "He placed the
sections facing opposite each other" (Gen. xv. 10).
For in truth we may take it that everything in the
world is by nature opposite to something else. Let
us begin with what comes first. Hot is opposite to 208
cold, dry to wet, light to heavy, darkness to light,
night to day. In heaven we have the course of the
fixed stars opposite to the course of the planets, in
the air cloudless to cloudy, calm to wind, summer to
winter, spring when earth's growths bloom to autumn
when they decay, again in water, sweet to bitter,
and in land, barren to fruitful. And the other op- 209
posites are obvious: corporeal, incorporeal; living,
lifeless; mortal, immortal; sensible, intelligible;
comprehensible, incomprehensible; elementary,
completed; beginning, end; becoming, extinction;
life, death; disease, health; white, black; right,
left; justice, injustice; prudence, folly; courage,
cowardice; continence, incontinence; virtue, vice;
and all the species of virtue are opposite to all the
species of vice. Again we have the opposite con- 210
ditions of the literary and the illiterate, the cultured
and the uncultured, the educated and the un-
educated, and in general the scientific and the un-
scientific, and in the subject matter of the arts or
sciences there are vocal sounds or vowels and non-

- βαρεῖς φθόγγοι, εὐθεῖαι καὶ περιφερεῖς γραμμαί·
 211 καὶ ἐν ζώοις καὶ φυτοῖς ἄγωνα γόνιμα, πολυτόκα
 ὀλιγοτόκα, ὠτοτόκα ζωοτόκα, ³μαλάκια¹ ὀστρακό-
 212 δερμα, ἄγρια ἡμερα, μονωτικά ἀγελαῖα· καὶ πάλιν
 πενία πλοῦτος, δόξα ἀδοξία, δυσγένεια εὐγένεια,
 ἔνδεια περιουσία, πόλεμος εἰρήνη, νόμος ἀνομία, εὐ-
 φυῖα ἀφυῖα, ἀπονία πόνος, νεότης γῆρας, ἀδυναμία
 δύναμις, ἀσθένεια ῥώμη. καὶ τί δεῖ τὰ καθ' ἕκα-
 στον ἀναλέγεσθαι ἀπερίγραφα καὶ ἀπέρατ'² ὄντα
 213 τῷ πλήθει; παγκάλως οὖν ὁ τῶν τῆς
 φύσεως ἐρμηνεύς πραγμάτων, τῆς ἀργίας καὶ
 ἀμελετησίας ἡμῶν λαμβάνων οἶκτον ἐκάστοτ'
 ἀφθόνως³ ἀναδιδάσκει, καθὰ καὶ νῦν, "τὴν ἀντι-
 πρόσωπον" ἐκάστων θέσιν οὐχ ὀλοκλήρων, ἀλλὰ
 [503] τμημάτων ὑπαρχόντων· | ἐν γὰρ τὸ ἐξ ἀμφοῖν τῶν
 214 ἐναντίων, οὗ τμηθέντος γνῶριμα τὰ ἐναντία. οὐ
 τοῦτ' ἐστίν, ὃ φασιν Ἕλληνες τὸν μέγαν καὶ
 αἰοίδιμον παρ' αὐτοῖς Ἡράκλειτον κεφάλαιον τῆς
 αὐτοῦ προστησάμενον φιλοσοφίας αὐχεῖν ὡς ἐφ'
 εὐρέσει καινῇ; παλαιὸν γὰρ εὖρεμα Μωυσέως
 ἐστὶ τὸ ἐκ τοῦ αὐτοῦ τὰ ἐναντία τμημάτων λόγον
 ἔχοντα ἀποτελεῖσθαι, καθάπερ ἐναργῶς ἐδείχθη.
 215 XLIV. Ταῦτα μὲν οὖν καὶ ἐν ἐτέροις ἀκριβώ-
 σομεν. ἄξιον δὲ καὶ ἐκεῖνο μὴ παρησυχασθῆναι·
 τὰ γὰρ λεγόμενα διχοτομήματα τριῶν ζώων δίχα
 διαιρεθέντων⁴ ἐξ ἐγένετο, ὡς ἔβδομον τὸν τομέα

¹ Or *μαλακά* as mss. Wend prints *μαλάκεια* (presumably from Pap.), but *μαλάκια* is the ordinary form.

² mss. *ἀπέραν(σ)τα* : Pap. *απορατ*. See App. p. 572.

³ mss. *ἐκαστον ἀφανῶς* (Pap. *αφονως*).

⁴ mss. *διαιρεθέντων* : Pap. *διχα αἰρεθεντων*.

^a Probably Moses rather than God.

WHO IS THE HEIR, 210-215

vocal sounds or consonants, high notes and low notes, straight lines and curved lines. In animals 211 and plants there are barren and productive, prolific and unprolific, viviparous and oviparous, soft-skinned and shell-skinned, wild and tame, solitary and gregarious. In another class there are poverty and 212 riches ; eminence and obscurity ; high birth and low birth ; want and abundance ; war, peace ; law, lawlessness ; gifted nature, ungifted nature ; labour, inaction ; youth, age ; impotence, power ; weakness, strength. Why attempt to enumerate all and each of them, when their number is infinite and illimitable ?

How excellent then is 213 this lesson, which the interpreter^a of Nature's facts in his pity for our sluggishness and carelessness lavishes on us always and everywhere, as he does in this passage, that in every case it is not where things exist as wholes, but where they exist as divisions or sections, that they must be "set facing opposite each other." For the two opposites together form a single whole, by the division of which the opposites are known. Is not this the truth which 214 according to the Greeks Heracleitus, whose greatness they celebrate so loudly, put in the fore front of his philosophy and vaunted it as a new discovery ? Actually, as has been clearly shewn, it was Moses who long ago discovered the truth that opposites are formed from the same whole, to which they stand in the relation of sections or divisions.

XLIV. This point will be discussed in detail else- 215 where. But there is another matter which should not be passed over in silence. What are called the half-pieces of the three animals when they are divided into two made six altogether and thus the

- εἶναι λόγον, διαστέλλοντα τὰς τριάδας, μέσον
 216 αὐτὸν ἰδρυμένον. τὸ παραπλήσιόν μοι δοκεῖ σαφέ-
 στατα μεμνηῦσθαι καὶ ἐπὶ τῆς ἱερᾶς λυχνίας· δε-
 δημιούργηται γὰρ ἐξ καλαμίσκους ἔχουσα, τρεῖς
 ἐκατέρωθεν, ἐβδόμη δὲ αὐτὴ μέση, διαιρούσα καὶ
 διακρίνουσα τὰς τριάδας. “τορευτὴ” γάρ ἐστι,
 τεχνικὸν καὶ δόκιμον θεῖον ἔργον, “ἐξ ἑνὸς
 χρυσίου καθαροῦ”. τὸ γὰρ ἓν καὶ μόνον καὶ
 καθαρὸν ὄντως ἐβδομάδα τὴν ἀμήτορα γεγέννηκεν
 ἐξ ἑαυτοῦ μόνου, μὴ προσχρησάμενον ὕλῃ τὸ
 217 παράπαν. χρυσὸν δ’ οἱ ἐγκωμιάζοντες
 πολλὰ μὲν καὶ ἄλλα λέγουσι τῶν εἰς ἔπαινον, δύο
 δὲ τὰ ἀνωτάτω, ἓν μὲν, ὅτι ἰὼν οὐ παραδέχεται,
 ἕτερον δέ, ὅτι εἰς ὑμένας λεπτοτάτους ἀρραγῆς
 διαμένων ἐλαύνεται τε καὶ χεῖται. σύμβολον οὖν
 εἰκότως μείζονος φύσεως γέγονε, ἣ ταθείσα καὶ
 κεχυμένη καὶ φθάσασα πάντῃ πλήρης ὅλη δι’
 ὅλων ἐστίν, εὐαρμόστως καὶ τὰ ἄλλα συνυφήνασα.
 218 περὶ τῆς προειρημένης λυχνίας ὁ
 τεχνίτης διαλεγόμενος πάλιν φησὶν, ὅτι “ἐκ τῶν
 καλαμίσκων εἰσὶν οἱ βλαστοὶ ἐξέχοντες, τρεῖς
 ἐκατέρωθεν, ἐξισούμενοι ἀλλήλοις· καὶ τὰ λαμπάδια
 αὐτῶν, ἃ ἐστὶν ἐπὶ τῶν ἄκρων, καρυωτὰ ἐξ
 αὐτῶν· καὶ τὰ ἀνθέμια ἐν αὐτοῖς, ἵν’ ὥσιν ἐπ’
 αὐτῶν οἱ λύχνοι καὶ τὸ ἀνθέμιον τὸ ἑβδομον ἐπ’
 ἄκρου τοῦ λαμπαδίου ἐπὶ τῆς κορυφῆς ἄνωθεν,
 στερεὸν ὅλον χρυσοῦν· καὶ ἑπτὰ λύχνους ἐπ’
 219 αὐτῆς¹ χρυσοῦς”. ὥστε διὰ πολλῶν ἤδη κατα-
 σκευάζεσθαι, ὅτι ἐξὰς εἰς δύο τριάδας ὑπὸ μέσου
 τοῦ ἐβδόμου λόγου διήρηται, καθάπερ ἔχει νυνί·

¹ mss. and Pap. αὐτοῖς: Wend. supports his correction by
 § 221 (LXX. αὐτῆς, i.e. λυχνίας).

WHO IS THE HEIR, 215-219

Severer, the Word, who separates the two sets of three and stationed himself in their midst, was the seventh. The same is clearly shewn, I think, in 216 the holy candlestick also, which is wrought with six branches, three on each side, and itself in the middle makes the seventh, dividing and separating the threes. It is "chased," a work of art, approved and divine, made "of one piece of pure gold" (Ex. xxv. 36). For the One, alone and absolutely pure, has begotten the Seven, whom no mother bore, begotten her by himself alone, and employing no other medium whatsoever.

Now those who sound the praises 217 of gold, among its many laudable qualities, place these two highest, first that it is proof against rust, secondly that when it is beaten and fused into the thinnest possible sheets, it remains unbroken. Thus it naturally becomes the symbol of a higher nature, which when stretched and fused and reaching out on every side, is still complete in its fullness throughout and weaves everything else into a harmonious whole.

Again, of the aforesaid 218 candlestick the Master-craftsman says in his discourse that "there are branchlets jutting out from the branches, three on each side, equal to each other, and their lamps at the end of them come out from them in nut shape, and the flower-patterns in them, that the candle-bearers may be on them, and the seventh flower-pattern at the end of the lamp, on the top above, all of solid gold, and seven golden candle-bearers on it" ^a (Ex. xxxviii. 15-17). Thus 219 by many proofs it is now established that the Six is divided into two Threes by the Word, the Seventh in their midst, just as we find in the present passage.

^a See App. p. 572.

- πᾶσα γὰρ ἡ λυχνία σὺν τοῖς ὀλοσχερεστάτοις
 μέρεσιν αὐτῆς, ἃ ἔξ ἐστίν, <ἔξ ἐπτὰ>¹ ἐπάγη,
 λαμπαδίων ἐπτὰ, ἀνθεμίων ἐπτὰ, λύχνων ἐπτὰ.
 220 διαιροῦνται δὲ οἱ μὲν ἔξ λύχνοι τῷ ἐβδόμῳ, τὰ δὲ
 ἀνθέμια ὁμοίως τῷ μέσῳ καὶ τὰ λαμπάδια τὸν
 αὐτὸν τρόπον ὑπὸ τοῦ ἐβδόμου καὶ μέσου, οἱ δὲ
 ἔξ καλαμίσκοι καὶ οἱ ἐκπεφυκότες ἴσοι βλαστοὶ
 [504] ὑπ' αὐτοῦ τοῦ | στελέχους τῆς <λυχνίας οὔσης>²
 221 ἐβδόμης. XLV. πολὺν δ' ὄντα τὸν
 περὶ ἐκάστου λόγον ὑπερθετέον εἰσαυθίς. τοσοῦτο
 δὲ αὐτὸ μόνον ὑπομνηστέον, ὅτι τῆς κατ' οὐρανὸν
 τῶν ἐπτὰ πλανήτων χορείας μίμημά ἐστιν ἡ ἱερὰ
 222 λυχνία καὶ οἱ ἐπ' αὐτῆς ἐπτὰ λύχνοι. πῶς;
 ἐρήσεται τις ἴσως· ὅτι, φήσομεν, ὅνπερ τρόπον οἱ
 λύχνοι, οὕτως καὶ τῶν πλανήτων ἕκαστος φωσ-
 φορεῖ· λαμπρότατοι γὰρ ὄντες αὐγοειδεστάτας ἄχρι
 γῆς ἀποστέλλουσιν ἀκτῖνας, διαφερόντως δ' ὁ
 223 μέσος τῶν ἐπτὰ, ἥλιος. μέσον δ' αὐτὸν οὐ μόνον
 ἐπεὶ μέσῃν ἐπέχει χώραν, ὡς ἡξίωσάν τινες, καλῶ,
 ἀλλ' ὅτι καὶ θεραπεύεσθαι καὶ δορυφορεῖσθαι πρὸς
 ὑπασπιζόντων ἑκατέρωθεν ἀξιώματος ἕνεκα καὶ
 μεγέθους καὶ ὠφελειῶν, ἃς τοῖς ἐπιγείοις ἅπασιν
 224 παρέχει, δίκαιος ἄλλως ἐστί. τὴν δὲ τῶν πλα-
 νήτων τάξιν ἄνθρωποι παγίως μὴ κατειληφότες—τί
 δ' ἄλλο τῶν κατ' οὐρανὸν ἴσχυσαν κατανοῆσαι
 βεβαίως;—εἰκοτολογοῦσιν, ἄριστα δ' ἐμοὶ στοχάζε-
 σθαι δοκοῦσιν οἱ τὴν μέσῃν ἀπονενεμηκότες ἡλίῳ

¹ <ἔξ ἐπτὰ> is my insertion: Wend. notes the corruption in the mss., since the genitives λαμπαδίων etc. have no construction.

² My insertion; τῆς ἐβδόμης clearly needs a noun. Mangey

WHO IS THE HEIR, 219-224

For the whole candlestick with its principal parts, six in number, consists of sevens, seven lamps, seven flower-patterns, seven candle-bearers. The six 220 candle-bearers are divided by the seventh, and so also the flower-patterns by the middle one, and the lamps in the same way by their seventh in the middle, and the six branches and the six branchlets which grow out of them by the main-stalk of the candlestick, which is seventh to them. XLV. On 221

each of these there is much to say, but it must be postponed to another occasion. Only thus much should be noted. The holy candlestick and the seven candle-bearers on it are a copy of the march of the choir of the seven planets.^a How so? perhaps we 222 shall be asked. Because, we shall reply, each of the planets is a light-bringer, as the candle-bearers are. For they are supremely bright and transmit the great lustre of their rays to the earth, especially the central among the seven, the sun. I call it central, 223 not merely because it holds the central position, which some give as the reason, but because apart from this it has the right to be served and attended by its squires on either side, in virtue of its dignity and magnitude and the benefits which it provides for all that are on the earth. Now the order of the planets 224 is a matter of which men have no sure apprehension—indeed is there any other celestial phenomenon which can be known with real certainty?—and therefore they fall back on probabilities. But the best conjecture, in my opinion, is that of those who

^a This explanation of the candlestick is also given by Josephus, *Ant.* iii. 6, 7.

proposed τῆς ἐβδόμης <λυχνίας>. I suggest that the similarity of οὐσης to οὐς τῆς caused the omission.

τάξιν, τρεῖς μὲν ὑπὲρ αὐτὸν καὶ μετ' αὐτὸν τοὺς
 ἴσους εἶναι λέγοντες, ὑπὲρ αὐτὸν μὲν φαίνοντα,
 φαέθοντα, πυρόεντα, εἰθ' ἥλιον, μετ' αὐτὸν δὲ
 στίλβοντα, φωσφόρον, τὴν ἀέρος γείτονα σελήνην.
 225 ἐπίγειον οὖν βουληθεὶς ἀρχετύπου τῆς κατ'
 οὐρανὸν σφαίρας ἐπαφεγγοῦς μίμημα παρ' ἡμῖν
 ὁ τεχνίτης γενέσθαι πάγκαλον ἔργον προσέταξε,
 τὴν λυχνίαν, δημιουργηθῆναι. δέδεικται δὲ καὶ ἡ
 πρὸς ψυχὴν ἐμφύεια αὐτῆς· ψυχὴ γὰρ τριμερὴς
 μὲν ἐστὶ, δίχα δὲ ἕκαστον τῶν μερῶν, ὡς ἐδείχθη,
 τέμνεται, μοιρῶν δὲ γενομένων ἐξ ἑβδομος εἰκότως
 226 τομεὺς ἦν ἀπάντων ὁ ἱερός καὶ θεῖος λόγος.

XLVI. ἄξιον δὲ μὴδ' ἐκείνο παρ-
 ησυχασθῆναι· τριῶν ὄντων ἐν τοῖς ἀγίοις σκευῶν,
 λυχνίας, τραπέζης, θυμιατηρίου, τὸ μὲν θυμιατήριον
 εἰς τὴν ὑπὲρ τῶν στοιχείων εὐχαριστίαν ἀνάγεται,
 ὡς ἐδείχθη πρότερον, ἐπεὶ καὶ αὐτὸ μοίρας ἔχει
 τῶν τεττάρων, γῆς μὲν τὰ ξύλα, ὕδατος δὲ τὰ
 ἐπιθυμιώμενα—πρότερον γὰρ τηκόμενα εἰς λιβάδας
 αὐθις ἀναλύεται,—τὸν δὲ ἀτμὸν ἀέρος, πυρὸς δὲ τὸ
 ἐξαπτόμενον—καὶ ἡ σύνθεσις δὲ λιβανωτοῦ καὶ
 χαλβάνης ὄνυχός τε καὶ στακτῆς τῶν στοιχείων
 σύμβολον,—ἡ δὲ τράπεζα εἰς τὴν ὑπὲρ τῶν θνητῶν
 ἀποτελεσμάτων εὐχαριστίαν—ἄρτοι γὰρ καὶ σπονδεῖα
 ἐπιτίθενται αὐτῇ, οἷς ἀνάγκη χρῆσθαι τὰ τῆς
 τροφῆς δεόμενα,—ἡ δὲ λυχνία εἰς τὴν ὑπὲρ τῶν

^a Elsewhere (e.g. *De Conf.* 21) this tripartite division is into νοῦς, θυμός and ἐπιθυμία. But we nowhere have any suggestion of these being subdivided, and the ὡς ἐδείχθη leaves no doubt that the reference is to the classification given in § 132, where the three parts were ψυχὴ, λόγος (as speech) and αἴσθησις. The best we can make of it is that

WHO IS THE HEIR, 224-226

assign the middle place to the sun and hold that there are three above him and the same number below him. The three above are Saturn, Jupiter and Mars, and the three below are Mercury, Venus and the Moon, which borders on the lower region of air. So the Master-craftsman, wishing that we should 225 possess a copy of the archetypal celestial sphere with its seven lights, commanded this splendid work, the candlestick, to be wrought. We have shewn, too, its resemblance to the soul. For the soul is tripartite, and each of its parts, as has been shewn, is divided into two,^a making six parts in all, to which the holy and divine Word, the All-severer, makes a fitting seventh.

XLVI. Another point too 226

should not be passed over in silence. The furniture of the sanctuary is threefold, candlestick, table and altar of incense. In the altar, as was shewn above,^b we have the thought of thanksgiving for the elements, for the altar itself contains parts of the four elements. Its wood is of earth, the incense offered on it of water, since it is first melted and then resolved into drops, while the perfume is of air and the part which is ignited of fire; moreover the compound made of frankincense, galbanum, cloves and oil of cinnamon (Ex. xxx. 34) is a symbol of the elements. In the table we have thanksgiving for the mortal creatures framed from these elements, since loaves and libations, which creatures needing food must use, are placed on it. In the candlestick we have thanksgiving for all the celestial world, here $\psi\upsilon\chi\eta$ is the whole $\psi\upsilon\chi\eta$ in its wider sense, there in the sense of the mind or $\psi\upsilon\chi\eta$ $\psi\upsilon\chi\eta\varsigma$ (cf. § 55). But even so we shall not get consistency. See note on § 125.

^b i.e. in § 199, though there it is the *θυμιαμα* only and not the *θύμιαθήριον* which gives thanks.

- κατ' οὐρανὸν ἀπάντων, ἵνα μηδὲν μέρος τοῦ
 [505] κόσμου | δίκην ἀχαριστίας ὄφλη, ἀλλ' εἰδῶμεν ὅτι
 πάντα τὰ μέρη τὰ κατ' αὐτὸν εὐχαριστεῖ, τὰ
 στοιχεῖα, τὰ ἀποτελέσματα, οὐ τὰ ἐπὶ γῆς μόνον,
 227 ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰ ἐν οὐρανῷ. XLVII. ἄξιον
 δὲ σκέψασθαι, διὰ τί τῆς τραπέζης καὶ τοῦ θυμια-
 τηρίου τὰ μέτρα δηλώσας τῆς λυχνίας οὐδὲν
 ἀνέγραψε· μήποτε δι' ἐκεῖνο, ὅτι τὰ μὲν στοιχεῖα
 καὶ τὰ θνητὰ ἀποτελέσματα, ὧν ἡ τράπεζα καὶ τὸ
 θυμιατήριον σύμβολα, μεμέτρηται περατωθέντα
 ὑπ' οὐρανοῦ—αἰεὶ γὰρ τὸ περιέχον τοῦ περιεχομένου
 μέτρον,—ὁ δ' οὐρανός, οὗ σύμβολόν ἐστιν ἡ
 228 λυχνία, ἀπειρομεγέθης ἐστί. περιέχεται γὰρ ὑπ'
 οὐδενὸς σώματος, οὔτε ἰσομεγέθους αὐτῷ οὔτε
 ἀπείρου, ἀλλ' οὐδ' ὑπὸ κενοῦ κατὰ Μωυσῆν¹ διὰ τὴν
 ἐν τῇ ἐκπυρώσει² μυθευομένην τερατολογίαν· ἔστι
 δὲ ὁρος αὐτοῦ ὁ θεός, ἡνίοχος καὶ κυβερνήτης
 229 αὐτοῦ. ὥσπερ οὖν ἀπερίληπτον τὸ ὄν, οὕτως καὶ
 τὸ ὀριζόμενον ὑπ' αὐτοῦ μέτροις τοῖς εἰς τὴν
 ἡμετέραν ἐπίνοιαν ἤκουσιν οὐ μεμέτρηται, καὶ
 τάχα ἐπεὶ κυκλοτερὴς ὦν καὶ ἄκρως εἰς σφαῖραν
 ἀποτετορνευμένος μήκους καὶ πλάτους οὐ μετέχει.
 230 XLVIII. Εἰπὼν οὖν τὰ πρόποντα περὶ τούτων
 ἐπιλέγει· “ τὰ δὲ ὄρνεα οὐ διείλεν,” ὄρνεα καλῶν
 τοὺς πτηνοὺς καὶ πεφυκότας μετεωροπολεῖν δύο

¹ ἀλλ' . . . Μωυσῆν comes in Pap. after σώματος in the previous line, and in the mss. which do not omit it after περιέχεται γάρ. But see App. p. 572.

² Some mss. and Pap. πυρώσει, others πυργώσει, which Mangey adopted, rejecting ἀλλ' . . . Μωυσῆν and supposing a reference to the tower of Babel.

WHO IS THE HEIR, 226-230

that so no part of the universe may be guilty of unthankfulness and we may know that all its parts give thanks, the elements and the creatures framed from them, not only those on earth, but those in heaven.

XLVII. A question worth con- 227
sideration is why the writer states the measurements of the table and the altar but says nothing about the measurements of the candlestick. Probably the reason is that the four elements and the mortal creatures framed from them, which are symbolized by the table and the altar, are measured and defined within limits by heaven, since that which contains is the measurement of that which is contained. On the other hand heaven, which is symbolized by the candlestick, is of infinite magnitude, not compre- 228
hended by any material substance either equal in size to it or infinite, nor again, as Moses shews, by a void, the existence of which is implied in the marvelmongers' fable of the general conflagration.^a God is its boundary, God who guides and steers it. 229
And so just as the Existent is incomprehensible, so also that which is bounded by Him is not measured by any standards which come within our powers of conception. Perhaps too it is immeasurable in the sense that being circular and rounded off into a perfect sphere it possesses neither length nor breadth.

XLVIII. Having said what was fitting on these 230
matters, Moses continues, "the birds He did not divide" (Gen. xv. 10). He gives the name of birds to the two words or forms of reason, both of which are flagration, *ἐκπύρωσις*, with that of the void is explained in *De Aet.* 102. Fire implies expansion, and so when the world is thus immensely expanded it must expand into a void. In the same sense *S.V.F.* li. 537. There still remain, however, difficulties in the passage. See App. p. 572.

- λόγους, ἓνα μὲν ἀρχέτυπον <τὸν> ὑπὲρ ἡμᾶς,
 231 ἕτερον δὲ μίμημα τὸν καθ' ἡμᾶς ὑπάρχοντα. καλεῖ
 δὲ Μωυσῆς τὸν μὲν ὑπὲρ ἡμᾶς εἰκόνα θεοῦ, τὸν δὲ
 καθ' ἡμᾶς τῆς εἰκόνης ἐκμαγεῖον. "ἐποίησε"
 γάρ φησιν "ὁ θεὸς τὸν ἄνθρωπον" οὐχὶ εἰκόνα
 θεοῦ, ἀλλὰ "κατ' εἰκόνα". ὥστε τὸν καθ' ἕκαστον
 ἡμῶν νοῦν, ὃς δὴ κυρίως καὶ πρὸς ἀλήθειαν
 ἀνθρωπὸς ἐστι, τρίτον εἶναι τύπον ἀπὸ τοῦ πε-
 ποιηκότος, τὸν δὲ μέσον παράδειγμα μὲν τούτου,
 232 ἀπεικόνισμα δὲ ἐκείνου. φύσει δὲ ἄτμη-
 τος ὁ ἡμέτερος γέγενε νοῦς. τὸ μὲν γὰρ ἄλογον
 ψυχῆς μέρος ἐξαχῇ διελὼν ὁ δημιουργὸς ἐπτὰ
 μοίρας εἰργάζετο, ὄρασιν, ἀκοήν, γεῦσιν, ὄσφρησιν,
 ἀφήν, φωνήν, γόνιμον, τὸ δὲ λογικόν, ὃ δὴ νοῦς
 ὠνομάσθη, ἄσχιστον εἶασε κατὰ τὴν τοῦ παντός
 233 ὁμοιότητα οὐρανοῦ. καὶ γὰρ ἐν τούτῳ λόγος ἔχει
 τὴν μὲν ἐξωτάτῳ¹ καὶ ἀπλανῇ σφαῖραν ἄτμητον
 φυλαχθῆναι, τὴν δ' ἐντὸς ἐξαχῇ τμηθεῖσαν ἐπτὰ
 κύκλους τῶν λεγομένων πλανήτων ἀποτελέσαι.
 ὁ γάρ, οἶμαι, ἐν ἀνθρώπῳ ψυχῇ, (τοῦτο οὐρανοῦ ἐν
 κόσμῳ. τὰς οὖν νοερὰς καὶ λογικὰς δύο φύσεις,
 τὴν τε ἐν ἀνθρώπῳ καὶ τὴν ἐν τῷ παντί, συμβέβη-
 καν ὁλοκλήρους καὶ ἀδιαιρέτους εἶναι. διὸ λέγεται
 [506] 234 "τὰ δὲ ὄρνεα οὐ | διεΐλε." περιστερᾶ
 μὲν <οὖν> ὁ ἡμέτερος νοῦς, ἐπειδὴ τιθασὸν καὶ
 σύντροφον ἡμῖν ἐστι τὸ ζῶον, εἰκάζεται, τῷ δὲ
 τούτου παραδείγματι ἢ τρυγῶν· ὁ γὰρ θεοῦ λόγος
 φιλήρημος καὶ μονωτικός, ἐν ὅχλῳ τῷ τῶν γεγο-
 νότων καὶ φθαρησομένων οὐχὶ φυρόμενος, ἀλλ'

¹ MSS. ἐξωτάτην: Pap. ανωτατω (ἐξωτάτω in *De Cher.* 22).

^a See *De Op.* 117 and note.

WHO IS THE HEIR, 230-234

winged and of a soaring nature. One is the archetypal reason above us, the other the copy of it which we possess. Moses calls the first the "image of 231 God," the second the cast of that image. For God, he says, made man not "the image of God" but "after the image" (Gen. i. 27). And thus the mind in each of us, which in the true and full sense is the "man," is an expression at third hand from the Maker, while between them is the Reason which serves as model for our reason, but itself is the effigies or presentment of God. Our 232

mind is indivisible in its nature. For the irrational part of the soul received a sixfold division from its Maker who thus formed seven parts, sight, hearing, taste, smell, touch, voice and reproductive faculty.^a But the rational part, which was named mind, He left undivided. In this he followed the analogy of the heaven taken as a whole. For we are told that 233 there the outermost sphere of the fixed stars is kept unsevered, while the inner sphere by a sixfold division produces the seven circles of what we call the wandering stars.^b In fact I regard the soul as being in man what the heaven is in the universe. So then the two reasoning and intellectual natures, one in man and the other in the all, prove to be integral and undivided and that is why we read "He did not divide the birds." Our mind is 234

likened to a pigeon, since the pigeon is a tame and domesticated creature, while the turtle-dove stands as the figure of the mind which is the pattern of ours. For the Word, or Reason of God, is a lover of the wild and solitary, never mixing with the medley of things that have come into being only to perish,

^b Cf. *Timaeus* 36 D and *De Cher.* 22 f.

- ἄνω φοιτᾶν εἰθισμένους αἰεὶ καὶ ἐνὶ ὁπαδὸς εἶναι
 μόνῳ μεμελετηκώς. ἄτμητοι μὲν οὖν αἱ δύο
 φύσεις, ἣ τε ἐν ἡμῖν τοῦ λογισμοῦ καὶ ἣ ὑπὲρ
 ἡμᾶς τοῦ θείου λόγου, ἄτμητοι δὲ οὖσαι μυρία
 235 ἄλλα τέμνουσιν. ὃ τε γὰρ θεῖος λόγος τὰ ἐν τῇ
 φύσει διεΐλε καὶ διένειμε πάντα, ὃ τε ἡμέτερος
 νοῦς, ἅττ' ἂν παραλάβῃ νοητῶς πράγματά τε καὶ
 σώματα, εἰς ἀπειράκις ἄπειρα διαιρεῖ μέρη καὶ
 236 τέμνων οὐδέποτε λήγει. τοῦτο δὲ συμβαίνει διὰ
 τὴν πρὸς τὸν ποιητὴν καὶ πατέρα τῶν ὄλων
 ἐμφέρειαν. τὸ γὰρ θεῖον ἀμιγές, ἄκρατον, ἀμερέ-
 στατον ὑπάρχον ἅπαντι τῷ κόσμῳ γέγονεν αἷτιον
 μίξεως, κράσεως, διαιρέσεως, πολυμερείας· ὥστε
 εἰκότως καὶ τὰ ὁμοιωθέντα, νοῦς τε ὁ ἐν ἡμῖν καὶ
 ὁ ὑπὲρ ἡμᾶς, ἀμερεῖς καὶ ἄτμητοι ὑπάρχοντες
 διαιρεῖν καὶ διακρίνειν ἕκαστα τῶν ὄντων ἐρρω-
 μένως δυνήσονται.
- 237 XLIX. Λαλήσας οὖν περὶ τῶν ἀτμήτων καὶ
 ἀδιαιρέτων ὄρνέων φησὶν ἐξῆς· “κατέβη δὲ ὄρνεα
 ἐπὶ τὰ σώματα, τὰ διχοτομήματα,” ὁμωνυμία
 μὲν χρησάμενος, τὴν δὲ πραγματικὴν διαμάχην
 ἐναργέστατα τοῖς ὄραν δυναμένοις διασυνιστάς·
 παρὰ φύσιν γὰρ ἐστὶ τὸ καταβαίνειν ὄρνεα,
 238 τοῦ μετεωροπολεῖν ἕνεκα πετρωθέντα. καθάπερ
 γὰρ τοῖς χερσαίοις οἰκειότατον χωρίον γῆ καὶ
 μάλιστα τοῖς ἐρπετοῖς, ἃ μὴδ' ὑπὲρ αὐτῆς ἰλυ-
 σπώμενα ἀνέχεται, φωλεοὺς δὲ καὶ καταδύσεις
 ζητεῖ τὸν ἄνω χῶρον ἀποδιδράσκοντα διὰ τὴν
 πρὸς τὰ κάτω συγγένειαν, τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον καὶ

^a The Hebrew has a different word for these birds, which

WHO IS THE HEIR, 234-238

but its wonted resort is ever above and its study is to wait on One and One only. So then the two natures, the reasoning power within us and the divine Word or Reason above us, are indivisible, yet indivisible as they are they divide other things without number. The divine Word separated and apportioned all that 235 is in nature. Our mind deals with all the things material and immaterial which the mental process brings within its grasp, divides them into an infinity of infinities and never ceases to cleave them. This is 236 the result of its likeness to the Father and Maker of all. For the Godhead is without mixture or infusion or parts and yet has become to the whole world the cause of mixture, infusion, division and multiplicity of parts. And thus it will be natural that these two which are in the likeness of God, the mind within us and the mind above us, should subsist without parts or severance and yet be strong and potent to divide and distinguish everything that is.

XLIX. After speaking of the birds which were 237 left unsevered and undivided, he continues "and the birds came down to the carcasses, the half-pieces" (Gen. xv. 11). He employs the same word "birds,"^a but shews very clearly to those who have eyes to see the contrast in fact between the two kinds of birds. For it is against nature that birds whose wings were given them to soar on high should come down. Just as earth is the most suitable place for creatures 238 of the land, particularly reptiles, which in their wriggling course cannot even bear to be above ground, but make for holes and crannies and, since their natural place is below, avoid what is above, the A.V. translates by "fowls," the R.V. by "birds of prey."

τοῖς πτηνοῖς ὁ ἀήρ ἐνδιαίτημα οἰκεῖον, κούφοις
 διὰ τὴν πτέρωσιν ὁ φύσει κούφος. ὅταν οὖν τὰ
 ἀεροπόρα αἰθεροβατεῖν ὀφείλοντα καταβαίῃ, πρὸς
 χέρσον ἀφικνούμενα τῷ κατὰ φύσιν ἀδυνατεῖ
 239 χρῆσθαι βίῳ. τοῦναντίον δὲ Μωυσῆς
 καὶ ὅσα τῶν ἐρπετῶν ἄνω δύναται πηδᾶν οὐ
 μετρίως ἀποδέχεται· φησὶ γοῦν· “ταῦτα φάγεσθε
 ἀπὸ τῶν ἐρπετῶν τῶν πετεινῶν, ἃ πορεύεται ἐπὶ
 τεσσάρων, ἃ ἔχει σκέλη ἀνωτέρω τῶν ποδῶν,
 ὥστε πηδᾶν ἐν αὐτοῖς ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς.” ταῦτα
 δ’ ἐστὶ σύμβολα ψυχῶν, ὅσαι τρόπον ἐρπετῶν
 προσερριζωμέναι τῷ γήινῳ σώματι καθαρθεῖσαι
 μετεωροπολεῖν ἰσχύουσιν, οὐρανὸν ἀντικαταλλάξά-
 240 μεναι γῆς καὶ φθορᾶς ἀθανασίαν. πάσης οὖν
 βαρυδαιμονίας ἀναπεπλήσθαι νομιστέον ἐκείνας,
 αἵτινες ἐν ἀέρι καὶ αἰθέρι τῷ καθαρωτάτῳ τρα-
 φεῖσαι μετανέστησαν τὸν θείων ἀγαθῶν κόρον οὐ |
 [507] δυνηθεῖσαι φέρειν ἐπὶ τὸ θνητῶν καὶ κακῶν χωρίον
 γῆν. ἐπιφοιτῶσι δ’ ἔννοιαι μυρίαὶ περὶ μυρίων
 πραγμάτων ὅσων, αἱ μὲν ἐκούσιοι, αἱ δὲ κατ’
 ἄγνοιαν, οὐδὲν διαφέρουσαι πτηνῶν, αἷς τὰ κατιόντα
 241 ἐξωμοίωσεν ὄρνεα. τῶν δὲ ἐννοιῶν ἡ
 μὲν ἄνω φορὰ τὴν ἀμείνω τάξιν ἔλαχε συνοδοι-
 πορούσης ἀρετῆς τῆς πρὸς τὸν οὐράνιον¹ καὶ θεῖον
 χώρον² ἀγούσης, τὴν χεῖρω δὲ ἡ κάτω κακίας
 ἀφηγουμένης καὶ ἀντισπώσης βία. δηλοῖ δὲ καὶ

¹ MSS. οὐρανὸν : Pap. θείων ουρανίων.

² So MSS. : Wend. from Pap. χορὸν. While χορὸς θεῖος is common in Philo (cf. *Phaedrus* 247 A), we have in a passage similar to this, *De Som.* i. 151, σοφοὶ μὲν γὰρ τὸν δλύμπιον καὶ

WHO IS THE HEIR, 238-241

so too the air is the suitable habitat for the birds, its natural lightness matching with the lightness which the wings give them. So when the denizens of the air, who should rather be explorers of the realm of ether, "descend," it is to the land that they come and there they cannot live their natural life.

Conversely Moses gives high approval 239 to those reptiles which can leap upwards. Thus he says, "These shall ye eat of the flying reptiles which go on four legs, which have legs above their feet, so as to leap with them from the earth" (Lev. xi. 21). These are symbols of the souls which though rooted like reptiles to the earthly body have been purified and have strength to soar on high, exchanging earth for heaven, and corruption for immortality. Surely 240 then we must suppose that misery wholesale and all-pervading must be the lot of those souls which reared in air and ether at its purest have left that home for earth the region of things mortal and evil, because the good things of God bred in them an intolerable satiety. And here they become the resort of thoughts and notions, numberless as the subjects with which they are concerned, some willingly admitted, some in mere ignorance. These thoughts are just like winged creatures and it is to them that he likens "the birds which come down."

Some of our thoughts fly up, others 241 down. To the upward flight falls the better lot, for it has for its fellow-traveller virtue leading it to the divine and heavenly region; to the downward flight the worse lot falls, since vice goes in front and pulls it with might and main if it resists. How

οὐράνιον χώρον ἔλαχον οἰκεῖν, where χορὸν is impossible, and χώρον suits τόπων better.

- τὰ ὀνόματα οὐχ ἤκιστα τὴν τῶν τόπων ἐναντιό-
τητα· ἀρετὴ μὲν γὰρ οὐ μόνον παρὰ τὴν αἵρεσιν
ὠνομάσθη, ἀλλὰ καὶ παρὰ τὴν ἄρσιν—αἵρεται γὰρ
καὶ μετεωρίζεται διὰ τὸ αἰεὶ τῶν ὀλυμπίων ἐρᾶν,—
κακία δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦ κάτω κεχωρηκέναι καὶ κατα-
242 πίπτειν τοὺς χρωμένους αὐτῇ βιάζεσθαι. τὰ γοῦν
πολέμια τῆς ψυχῆς ἐννοήματα ἐπιποτώμενα καὶ
ἐπιφοιτῶντα κάτεισι μὲν αὐτά, καταβάλλει δὲ καὶ
τὴν διάνοιαν αἰσχροῦς ἐπιφερόμενα σώμασιν οὐ
πράγμασιν,¹ αἰσθητοῖς οὐ νοητοῖς, ἀτελέσιν οὐχ
ὀλοκλήροις, ἐφθαρμένοις οὐχὶ τοῖς ζῶσιν. οὐ γὰρ
μόνον σώμασιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ σωμάτων δίχα διαιρε-
θέντων τμήμασιν ἐπιφοιτᾷ· τὰ δ' οὕτως διαιρε-
θέντα ἀμήχανον ἁρμονίαν δέξασθαι καὶ ἔνωσιν,
τῶν πνευματικῶν τόνων, οἳ συμφυέστατος δεσμός
243 ἦσαν, διακοπέντων. L. εἰσηγείται δὲ
γνώμην ἀληθεστάτην διδάσκων, ὅτι δικαιοσύνη
μὲν καὶ πᾶσα ἀρετὴ ψυχῆς, ἀδικία δὲ καὶ πᾶσα
κακία σώματος ἐρῶσι, καὶ ὅτι τὰ τῷ ἐτέρῳ φίλα
τῷ ἐτέρῳ πάντως ἐχθρά ἐστι, καθὰ καὶ νῦν·
αἰνιττόμενος γὰρ τοὺς ψυχῆς πολεμίους ὄρνεα
εἰσῆγαγε γλιχόμενα ἐμπλέκεσθαι καὶ ἐμφύεσθαι
σώμασι καὶ σαρκῶν ἐμφορεῖσθαι, ὧν τὰς ἐφόδους
καὶ ἐπιδρομὰς ἐπισχεῖν βουλευθεῖς ὁ ἀστεῖος λέγεται
αὐτοῖς συγκαθίσαι,² οἷα πρόεδρος τις ἢ πρόβουλος

¹ So MSS. and Pap.: Wend. σώμασι καὶ πράγμασι. See App. p. 573.

² So LXX.: MSS. and Pap. ἐγκαθίσαι.

^a i.e. κακία is derived from the two words κάτω κεχωρηκέναι, the consonants in the second word being supposed to supply the second κ in κακία.

^b For this use of πνεῦμα cf. πνεύματος ἐνωτικοῦ δυνάμει De Op. 131, and the definition of ἔξις in Quod Deus 35 as

WHO IS THE HEIR, 241-243

opposite are the climes to which these two belong is shewn most clearly by their names. Virtue is so named not only because we choose it (*αἵρεσις*) but also from its uplifting (*ἄρσις*), for it is lifted up and soars on high, because it ever yearns for the celestial. Vice is so called because it has "gone down"^a and compels those who have to do with it to fall down likewise. Thus thoughts hostile to the soul, 242 when they hover over it or perch upon it, not only come down themselves, but also bring downfall to the understanding, when in hideous fashion they pounce upon things material, not immaterial; which are of the senses, not of the intelligence; of imperfection, not of soundness; of corruption not of life. For they perch not only on bodies, but on sections of bodies divided in two. And it is impossible that bodies so divided should admit of joining or unifying, since the currents of spirit force,^b which were their congenital ligament, have been broken into.

243

L. Moses also brings before us a thought of profound truth in teaching us that justice and every virtue love the soul, while injustice and every vice love the body; that what is friendly to the one is utterly hostile to the other—a lesson given in this passage as elsewhere. For in a figure he pictures the enemies of the soul as birds, eager to intertwine and ingraft themselves in bodies and to glut themselves with flesh, and it is to restrain the onsets and inroads of such that the man of worth is said to sit down in their company (Gen. xv. 11), like a chairman or president of a council.

πνεῦμα ἀναστρέφον ἐφ' ἐαυτό. In fact the three terms *πνεῦμα*, *ἔξις*, *τόνος* for a permeating and binding force seem more or less convertible. See the sections headed *πνεῦμα*, *ἔξις*, *τόνος* in *S. V. F.* ii. 439-462.

244 ὧν. ἐπειδὴ γὰρ καὶ τὰ οἰκεῖα ὑπὸ ἐμφυλίου
στάσεως διεισθῆκε καὶ τὰ ἐχθρὰ στίφη διεφέρετο,
βουλὴν ἀπάντων συναγαγὼν ἐσκόπει περὶ τῶν
διαφόρων, ἵν', εἰ δύναίτο, πειθοῖ χρώμενος καὶ τὸν
ξενικὸν πόλεμον καταλύσαι καὶ τὴν ἐμφύλιον
ταραχὴν ἀνέλοι. τοὺς μὲν γὰρ ὥσπερ νέφος ἐπιρ-
ράξαντας ἀκαταλλάκτως ἔχοντας λυσιτελὲς ἦν ἀπο-
σκεδάσαι, τοῖς δὲ τὴν παλαιὰν συγγένειαν οἰκειώσα-

245 σθαι. δυσμενεῖς μὲν οὖν ἄσπονδοι καὶ
ἀκατάλλακτοι γράφονται ψυχῆς ἀφροσύναι καὶ
ἀκολασίαι δειλῖαι τε καὶ ἀδικίαι καὶ ὅσαι ἄλλαι
ἐκ πλεοναζούσης ὀρμῆς εἰώθασιν φύεσθαι ἄλογοι
ἐπιθυμῖαι, σκιρτῶσαι καὶ ἀπαυχενίζουσαι καὶ τὸν
εὐθὺν δρόμον τῆς διανοίας ἐπέχουσαι, πολλάκις
[509] | δὲ καὶ τὸ σύμπαν αὐτῆς σχῆμα σπαράττουσαι

246 τε καὶ καταβάλλουσαι. τὰ δὲ τῶν
ἐνσπόνδων εἶναι δυναμένων προσκρούσματα τοιαυτὰ
ἐστίν, ὁποίας εἶναι συμβέβηκε τὰς σοφιστῶν
δῶγματικὰς ἔριδας· ἥ μὲν γὰρ πρὸς ἓν ἀπονέουσι
τέλος, θεωρίαν τῶν τῆς φύσεως πραγμάτων,
λέγουσι ἂν εἶναι φίλοι, ἥ δ' οὐχ ὁμογνωμονοῦσιν
ἐν ταῖς κατὰ μέρος ζητήσεσιν, ἐμφυλίῳ στάσει
χρησθαι, ὥσπερ οἱ ἀγέννητον εἶναι λέγοντες τὸ
πᾶν τοῖς γένεσιν εἰσηγουμένοις αὐτοῦ, καὶ πάλιν
οἱ φθαρῆσθαι τοῖς φθαρτὸν μὲν εἶναι φύσει,
μηδέποτε δὲ φθαρησόμενον διὰ τὸ κραταιότερῳ
δεσμῷ, τῇ τοῦ πεποιηκότος βουλήσει, συνέχεσθαι,
καὶ οἱ μηδὲν εἶναι ὁμολογοῦντες ἀλλὰ πάντα

^a This seems to be the force of the imperfects. Philo is falling back upon his reading and no doubt the conditions described in the following sections belong rather to a past time than to his own.

WHO IS THE HEIR, 244-246

History tells us ^a how when discord reigned at home 244 through civil faction, or hostile bands were at variance, such a one would summon a council of all concerned and investigate the points of difference, that if possible he might by his powers of persuasion make an end of the external war or put down the civil commotion. In the one case he would scatter abroad the foes who rushed in irreconcilable hatred like a storm cloud, in the other he would restore the old feeling of intimate kinship—each a useful work.

Now the list of deadly and irreconcilable 245 enemies of the soul comprises its follies, its acts of cowardice and injustice and all the other irrational lusts so constantly born of over-abundant appetite,^b which prance and struggle against the yoke and hinder the straight onward course of the understanding, and often rend and overthrow its whole frame.

But with those who might be 246 allies the causes of offence are such as we find in the wranglings of the sophists on questions of dogma. In so far as their minds are fixed on one end to discover the facts of nature, they may be said to be friends, but in that they do not agree in their solutions of particular problems they may be said to be engaged in civil strife. Thus those who declare the universe to be uncreated are at strife with those who maintain its creation; those who say that it will be destroyed with those who declare that though by nature destructible it will never be destroyed, being held together by a bond of superior strength, namely the will of its Maker; those who maintain that nothing is, but all things become, with those who hold the opposite opinion; those who argue at

^b Cf. *De Conf.* 90 and note.

- γίνεσθαι τοῖς ὑπολαμβάνουσι τάναντία, καὶ οἱ πάντων χρημάτων ἄνθρωπον μέτρον εἶναι διεξιόντες τοῖς τὰ αἰσθήσεως καὶ τὰ διανοίας κριτήρια συγχέουσι, καὶ συνόλως οἱ πάντα ἀκατάληπτα εἰσηγούμενοι τοῖς γνωρίζεσθαι πάμπολλα φάσκουσιν. καὶ ἥλιος μέντοι καὶ σελήνη καὶ ὁ σύμπας οὐρανός, γῆ τε καὶ ἄηρ καὶ ὕδωρ, τά τε ἐξ αὐτῶν σχεδὸν πάντα τοῖς σκεπτικοῖς ἔριδας καὶ φιλο-
 247 νεικίας παρεσχήκασιν, οὐσίας καὶ ποιότητας, μεταβολάς τε αὐ καὶ τροπὰς καὶ γενέσεις, ἔτι δὲ φθορὰς αὐτῶν ἀναζητοῦσιν· μεγέθους τε πέρι καὶ κινήσεως τῶν κατ' οὐρανὸν οὐ πάρεργον ποιούμενοι τὴν ἔρευναν ἑτεροδοξοῦσιν οὐ συμφερόμενοι, μέχρις ἂν ὁ μαιευτικὸς ὁμοῦ καὶ δικαστικὸς ἀνὴρ συγκαθίσας θεάσεται τὰ τῆς ἐκάστου γεννήματα ψυχῆς καὶ τὰ μὲν οὐκ ἄξια τροφῆς ἀπορρίψει, τὰ δ' ἐπιτήδεια διασώσῃ καὶ προνοίας τῆς ἀρμοτ-
 248 τούσης ἀξιώσῃ. τὰ δὲ κατὰ τὴν φιλοσοφίαν μεστὰ διαφωνίας γέγονε τὸν πιθανὸν καὶ στοχαστικὸν νοῦν τῆς ἀληθείας ἀποδιδρασκούσης· τὸ γὰρ δυσ-
 εύρετον καὶ δυσθῆρατον αὐτῆς τὰς λογικάς, ὥς οἶμαι, στάσεις ἐγέννησε.
- 249 LI. “Περὶ δὲ ἡλίου” φησί “δυσμὰς ἔκστασις ἐπέπεσεν¹ τῷ Ἀβραάμ, καὶ ἰδοὺ φόβος σκοτεινὸς μέγας ἐπιπίπτει αὐτῷ.” ἔκστασις ἢ μὲν ἐστὶ λύττα μανιώδης παράνοϊαν ἐμποιοῦσα κατὰ γῆρας ἢ μελαγχολίαν ἢ τινα ὁμοιότροπον ἄλλην αἰτίαν, ἢ δὲ σφοδρὰ κατάπληξις ἐπὶ τοῖς ἐξαπινάϊως καὶ

¹ So LXX: MSS. ἐπεσε: Pap. ἐπεστήσε.

^a For the philosophical opinions mentioned in this section see App. p. 574.

length that man is the measure of all things with those who make havoc of the judgement-faculty of both sense and mind; and, to put it generally, those who maintain that everything is beyond our apprehension with those who assert that a great number of things are cognizable.^a And indeed sun 247 and moon and the whole heaven, also earth and air and water and practically all that they produce, have been the cause of strife and contention to the inquirers when they probe into their essential natures and qualities, their changes and phases, the processes by which they come into being and finally cease to be. For as to the magnitude and movement of the heavenly bodies with all their absorbing research they come to different and conflicting opinions, until the man-midwife^b who is also the judge takes his seat in their midst and observes the brood of each disputant's soul, throws away all that is not worth rearing, but saves what is worth saving and approves it for such careful treatment as is required. The history of philosophy is full of 248 discordance, because truth flees from the credulous mind which deals in conjecture. It is her nature to elude discovery and pursuit, and it is this which in my opinion produces these scientific quarrellings.

LI. "About sunset" it continues, "an 'ecstasy' 249 fell upon Abraham and lo a great dark terror falls upon him" (Gen. xv. 12). Now "ecstasy" or "standing out" takes different forms. Sometimes it is a mad fury producing mental delusion due to old age or melancholy or other similar cause. Sometimes it is extreme amazement at the events which

^b Cf. Socrates' use of the figure in *Theaetetus* 151 c and elsewhere.

[509] ἀπροσδοκῆτως | συμβαίνειν εἰωθόσιν, ἡ δὲ ἡρεμία
 διανοίας, εἰ δὴ πέφυκέ ποτε ἡσυχάζειν, ἡ δὲ
 πασῶν ἀρίστη ἔνθεος κατοκωχή τε καὶ μανία, ἥ
 250 τὸ προφητικὸν γένος χρῆται. τῆς μὲν

οὖν πρώτης ἐν ταῖς <ἐν> Ἐπινομίδι γραφείσαις
 ἀραῖς διαμέμνηται—παραπληξίαν γάρ φησι καὶ
 ἀορασίαν καὶ ἔκστασιν διανοίας καταλήψεσθαι τοὺς
 ἀσεβοῦντας, ὡς μηδὲν διοίσειν τυφλῶν ἐν μεσημ-
 βρία καθάπερ ἐν βαθεῖ σκότῳ ψηλαφώντων,—

251 τῆς δὲ δευτέρας πολλαχοῦ—“ἐξέστη”
 γάρ φησιν “Ἰσαὰκ ἔκστασιν μεγάλην, καὶ εἶπε·
 τίς οὖν ὁ θηρεύσας μοι θήραν καὶ ἐνεγκὼν
 μοι, καὶ ἔφαγον ἀπὸ πάντων πρὸ τοῦ σέ ἐλθεῖν,
 καὶ εὐλόγησα αὐτόν; καὶ εὐλογημένος ἔστω,”
 καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ Ἰακώβ ἀπιστοῦντος τοῖς λέγουσιν, ὅτι
 “ζῇ Ἰωσήφ καὶ ἄρχει πάσης γῆς Αἰγύπτου”.
 “ἐξέστη” γάρ φησι “τῇ διανοίᾳ, οὐ γὰρ ἐπίστευ-
 σεν αὐτοῖς,” καὶ ἐν Ἐξαγωγῇ κατὰ τὴν ἐκκλη-
 σίαν “τὸ γὰρ ὄρος” φησί “τὸ Σινὰ ἐκαπνίζετο
 ὅλον διὰ τὸ καταβεβηκέναι τὸν θεὸν ἐπ’ αὐτὸ ἐν
 πυρί, καὶ ἀνέβαινεν ὁ καπνὸς ὥσεί ἀτμὶς καμίνου·
 καὶ ἐξέστη πᾶς ὁ λαὸς σφόδρα,” καὶ ἐν τῷ Λευι-
 τικῷ κατὰ τὴν τῶν ἱερῶν τελείωσιν ἡμέρα τῇ
 ὀγδόῃ, ὅποτε “ἐξῆλθε πῦρ ἀπ’ οὐρανοῦ καὶ κατ-
 ἔφαγε τὰ ἐπὶ τοῦ θυσιαστηρίου, τὰ τε ὀλοκαυτώ-
 ματα καὶ τὰ στέατα”. λέγεται γὰρ εὐθύς· “καὶ
 εἶδε πᾶς ὁ λαὸς καὶ ἐξέστη, καὶ ἔπεσαν ἐπὶ πρόσω-
 πον.” ἡ γὰρ τοιαύτη ἔκστασις πτόησιν καὶ
 δεινὴν κατάπληξιν ἐμποιεῖ—

252 Ἄλλ’ οὐκ ἄξιον θαυμάσαι καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ Ἡσαῦ,

so often happen suddenly and unexpectedly. Sometimes it is passivity of mind, if indeed the mind can ever be at rest ; and the best form of all is the divine possession or frenzy^a to which the prophets as a class are subject.

The first form is mentioned 250 in the curses described in Deuteronomy, where he says that madness and loss of sight and "ecstasy" of mind will overtake the impious, so that they shall differ in nought from blind men groping at noonday as in deep darkness (Deut. xxviii. 28, 29).

The second we have in several places. Isaac was 251 astonished with a great ecstasy and said, "who is it then who has made a hunting and brought to me, and I have eaten of all before thou camest and I blessed him, and let him be blessed" (Gen. xxvii. 33). And again when Jacob disbelieved those who told him that "Joseph lives and is ruler over all Egypt," he was in an "ecstasy," we are told, "in his mind, for he did not believe them" (Gen. xlv. 26). Also in Exodus, in the account of the congregation, it says, "for Mount Sinai was all covered with smoke, because God came down to it in fire and the smoke rose up like vapour of a furnace, and all the people were in a great 'ecstasy'" (Ex. xix. 18). Also in Leviticus at the completion of the sacrifices on the eighth day, when "fire came out from heaven and devoured what was on the altar, both the whole burnt offerings and the fats"; for the next words are, "and all the people saw it and were in an 'ecstasy,' and fell upon their faces" (Lev. ix. 24): a natural consequence, for an "ecstasy" in this sense produces great agitation and terrible consternation.

Incidentally in the story of Jacob and Esau there 252

^a See App. p. 574.

PHILO

- ὅτι εἰδὼς κυνηγεῖν αἰὲν θηρεύεται καὶ πτερνίζεται
τὴν τέχνην ἐπὶ βλάβῃ κτησάμενος, οὐκ ὠφελεία,
θηρεύειν δὲ οὐδέποτε ἐσπούδασε, καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ
Ἰακώβ, ὅτι θηρεύει μὴ μάθων, ἀλλὰ φύσει κινού-
μενος, τὸ πάθος, καὶ φέρει τῷ δοκιμαστῇ, ὃς εἰ
δοκιμὸν ἐστὶ διαγνώσεται, διὸ ἀπὸ πάντων φάγε-
253 ται;¹ πάντα γὰρ τὰ τῆς ἀσκήσεως ἐδώδιμα καθ-
έστηκεν, ἡ ζήτησις, ἡ σκέψις, ἡ ἀνάγνωσις, ἡ ἀκρόα-
σις, ἡ προσοχή, ἡ ἐγκράτεια, ἡ ἐξαδιαφόρησις τῶν
ἀδιαφόρων. ἀπὸ πάντων δὲ τὰς ἀπαρχὰς δῆπου-
θεν ἔφαγεν, ἀλλ' οὐ πάντα· ἔδει γὰρ ὑπολείπε-
σθαι καὶ τῷ ἀσκητῇ τροφὰς οἰκείας ὡς ἄθλα.
254 “πρὸ τοῦ σέ ἐλθεῖν” φυσικῶς· ἐὰν
γὰρ ἔλθῃ τὸ πάθος εἰς τὴν ψυχὴν, οὐκ ἀπο-
λαύσομεν ἐγκρατείας· ἐλέγχει δὲ καὶ τὸν φαῦλον
ὡς βραδὺν καὶ ὀκνηρὸν καὶ μελλητὴν πρὸς τὰ
παιδείας ἔργα, ἀλλ' οὐ πρὸς τὰ ἀκολασίας.
255 ἐργοδιώκτας οὖν Αἴγυπτος ἔχει πρὸς τὴν τῶν
παθῶν ἐπισπεύδοντας ἀπόλαυσιν, Μωυσῆς δ'

¹ Wend. does not put a mark of interrogation. If this is not a mere misprint, he must have understood οὐκ ἄξιον θαυμάσαι as “there is no need to wonder.”

^a The irrelevance of these five sections to the disquisition on “ecstasy” led Mangey to consider them an interpolation from another treatise. But the irrelevance does not differ in kind from Philo’s other ramblings, and we have a sort of apology for it in § 256. The remarks are based on the texts quoted to illustrate the second sense of “ecstasy” in § 251. He feels that though they were quoted for that purpose, they each have their moral which he does not wish to omit.

^b See App. p. 574.

^c The allegory of §§ 252-254 is very confused. Jacob

are thoughts well worthy of our admiration.^a Esau, though he has the knowledge needed for the chase, is ever hunted and supplanted, because he has acquired his skill not to do good but harm, and moreover is never quick or zealous in his hunting. Jacob hunts passion not through teaching, but moved to it by nature, and brings the game to the tester who will decide whether it will stand the test. For this purpose the tester will eat of all that he brings. For all the elements of practice are food fit for eating, 253 inquiry, examination, reading, listening to instruction, concentration, perseverance, self-mastery, and power to treat things indifferent as indeed indifferent.^b Of all these the tester naturally eats samples^b only, not the whole. For the Practiser must have his proper food left to him, like prizes for his efforts.

Another lesson. The words "before 254 thou camest" are true to nature. For if passion has entered the soul we shall not get enjoyment from self-mastery. Secondly, they convict the bad of sloth and slackness and backwardness to the tasks of instruction, though not to those of incontinence.^c And so it is Egypt which has its "task-drivers" 255 (Ex. v. 6) who urge others to the enjoyment of the

"hunts," i.e. supplants, *πάθος* symbolized by Esau (though elsewhere Esau is rather folly). But the game he brings so quickly (a sign as in *De Sac.* 64 and elsewhere of gifts sent direct from nature and God) turns out to be the qualities of the "Practiser." These qualities are submitted to the testing soul before *πάθος* can enter it, otherwise their flavour would be lost. Here Esau is still *πάθος*, but the next moment he is rather the worthless man hunting in a sense for the good, but failing through procrastination and slackness, and thus a contrast to the zeal of the man of worth. This zeal for the good implies an equal zeal to flee from evil, and the texts in § 255 illustrate this.

ἔμπαλιν μετὰ σπουδῆς παραγγέλλει τὸ Πάσχα
 ἐσθίειν, τὴν ἀπὸ τούτων διάβασιν εὐωχεῖσθαι.
 καὶ ὁ Ἰούδας φησὶν· “ εἰ μὴ γὰρ ἐβραδύναμεν, |
 [510] ἤδη ἂν ὑπεστρέψαμεν δὲς,” οὗ φησι κατέβημεν εἰς
 Αἴγυπτον, ἀλλ’ ἐκεῖθεν ἐπανεσώθημεν.

256 εἰκότως καὶ Ἰακώβ τεθαύμακεν, εἰ ἔτι ὁ ἐν
 σώματι νοῦς, Ἰωσήφ, ζῇ πρὸς ἀρετὴν καὶ ἄρχει
 τοῦ σώματος, ἀλλ’ οὐκ ἄρχεται πρὸς αὐτοῦ.

Καὶ τᾶλλα ἐπιὼν ἂν τις ὑποδείγματα τᾶληθές
 ἱχνεύειν δυνηθείη. πρόκειται δ’ οὐ περὶ τούτων
 νῦν ἀκριβολογεῖσθαι, διὸ ἐπὶ τὰ ἐξῆς τρεπτέον,
 257 τῆς δὲ τρίτης ἐν οἷς τὰ περὶ τὴν τῆς γυναικὸς
 γένεσιν/φιλοσοφεῖ—“ ἐπέβαλε γὰρ ὁ θεὸς ” φησὶν
 “ ἕκστασιν ἐπὶ τὸν Ἀδάμ, καὶ ὑπνωσεν,” ἕκ-
 στασιν τὴν ἡσυχίαν καὶ ἡρεμίαν τοῦ νοῦ παραλαμ-
 βάνων· ὕπνος γὰρ νοῦ ἐγρήγορσις ἐστὶν αἰσθήσεως,
 καὶ γὰρ ἐγρήγορσις διανοίας αἰσθήσεως ἀπραξία,—

258 LII. τῆς δὲ τετάρτης ὁ νῦν σκο-
 ποῦμεν· “ περὶ δὲ ἡλίου δυσμὰς ἕκστασις ἐπ-
 ἔπεσεν τῷ Ἀβραάμ.” ἐνθουσιῶντος καὶ θεοφορήτου
 τὸ πάθος. ἀλλ’ οὐχὶ τοῦτο μόνον διασυνίστησιν¹
 αὐτὸν προφήτην, ἀλλὰ καὶ γράμμα ρήτὸν ἐστηλι-
 τευμένον <ἐν> ἱεραῖς βίβλοις, ἥνικα τις ἐπεχει-
 ρησε τὴν ἐκ φύσεως ἄρχουσαν ἀρετὴν, Σάρραν,
 αὐτοῦ διοικίζειν, ὥς οὐκ ἴδιον σοφοῦ καὶ μόνου
 κτῆμα, ἀλλὰ παντὸς τοῦ φρόνησιν ἐπιμορφάζοντος.

¹ MSS. ἀλλὰ συνίστησι: Pap. (?) συνίστησι.

^a For the interpretation of the tasks as lower pleasures cf. *De Conf.* 93.

^b Of course the first is what the Judah of the story did

WHO IS THE HEIR, 255-258

passions ;^a it is Moses who bids eat the Passover and celebrate the crossing from passion "with haste" (Ex. xii. 11). So too Judah, "for if we had not delayed, we should already have returned twice over" (Gen. xliii. 10). He does not mean "we should have gone down twice to Egypt," but "we should have come up thence in safety."^b Natural too 256 is the wonder of Jacob that the mind within the body still lives to virtue and rules that body (Gen. xlv. 26), instead of being ruled by it.

In the same way if we went through the other examples we should be able to trace the truth they teach, but the task before us now is not to work these out in detail, and therefore we must turn to the next point. We have the third sort of ecstasy when 257 Moses finds a lesson of wisdom in the story of the creation of woman. God "cast," he says, "an ecstasy on Adam and he slept" (Gen. ii. 21). Here by ecstasy he means passivity and tranquillity of mind. For sleep of mind is waking of sense, since waking of the understanding is inaction of sense.

LII. The fourth kind of ecstasy we 258 find in the passage we are now examining. "About sunset there fell upon Abraham an ecstasy," that is, what the inspired and God-possessed experience. Yet it is not merely this experience which proves him a prophet, but we have also the actual word written and recorded in the holy Scriptures, when another tried to take Sarah from his home, Sarah the virtue whose nature is to rule, as though that virtue was not the peculiar possession of the wise and of him alone, but belonged to any who counterfeits good

mean, but the delay which the Judah-mind, as Philo sees it, regrets can only be delay in escaping from Egypt.

- “ ἀπόδος ” γάρ φησι “ τὴν γυναῖκα τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ, ὅτι προφήτης ἐστὶ καὶ προσεύξεται περὶ σοῦ, καὶ
 259 ζήσεις.” παντὶ δὲ ἀστείῳ προφητείαν ὁ
 ἱερὸς λόγος μαρτυρεῖ· προφήτης γὰρ ἴδιον μὲν
 οὐδὲν ἀποφθέγγεται, ἀλλότρια δὲ πάντα ὑπ-
 ηχοῦντος ἐτέρου· φαύλῳ δ’ οὐ θέμις ἐρμηνεῖ γενέ-
 σθαι θεοῦ, ὥστε κυρίως μοχθηρὸς οὐδεὶς ἐνθουσιᾷ,
 μόνῳ δὲ σοφῷ ταῦτ’ ἐφαρμόττει, ἐπεὶ καὶ μόνος
 ὄργανον θεοῦ ἐστὶν ἡχεῖον, κρουόμενον καὶ πλητ-
 260 τόμενον ἀοράτως ὑπ’ αὐτοῦ. πάντας γοῦν ὁπό-
 σους ἀνέγραψε δικαίους κατεχομένους καὶ προ-
 φητεύοντας εἰσήγαγεν. ὁ Νῶε δίκαιος·
 ἀρ’ οὐ καὶ εὐθὺς προφήτης; ἢ τὰς εὐχὰς καὶ
 κατάρas ἅς ἐπὶ ταῖς αὐθις γενεαῖς ἐποιήσατο
 ἔργων ἀληθείᾳ βεβαιωθείσας οὐ κατεχόμενος
 261 ἐθέσπισε; τί δὲ Ἰσαάκ; τί δὲ Ἰακώβ;
 καὶ γὰρ οὗτοι διὰ τε ἄλλων πολλῶν καὶ μάλιστα
 διὰ τῶν εἰς τοὺς ἐκγόνους προσρήσεων ὁμο-
 λογοῦνται προφητεῦσαι. τὸ γὰρ “ συνάχθητε, ἵνα
 ἀπαγγείλω τί ἀπαντήσεται ὑμῖν ἐπ’ ἐσχάτῳ τῶν
 ἡμερῶν ” ἐνθουσιῶντος ἦν· ἢ γὰρ τῶν μελλόντων
 262 κατὰληψις ἀνοίκειος ἀνθρώπῳ. τί δὲ |
 [511] Μωυσῆς; οὐ προφήτης ἄδεται πανταχοῦ; λέγει
 γάρ· “ ἐὰν γένηται ὑμῶν προφήτης κυρίου, ἐν
 ὁράματι αὐτῷ γνωσθήσομαι, Μωυσῆ δὲ ἐν εἶδει,
 καὶ οὐ δι’ αἰνιγμάτων,” καὶ πάλιν “ οὐκ ἀνέστη
 ἔτι προφήτης ὡς Μωυσῆς, ὃν ἔγνω κύριος αὐτὸν
 263 πρόσωπον πρὸς πρόσωπον.” παγκάλως

WHO IS THE HEIR, 258-263

sense. For the text runs, "restore the woman to the man, because he is a prophet and shall pray for thee, and thou shalt live" (Gen. xx. 7). Now 259
with every good man it is the holy Word which assures him his gift of prophecy. For a prophet (being a spokesman) has no utterance of his own, but all his utterance came from elsewhere, the echoes of another's voice. The wicked may never be the interpreter of God, so that no worthless person is "God-inspired" in the proper sense. The name only befits the wise, since he alone is the vocal instrument of God, smitten and played by His invisible hand. Thus, all whom Moses describes as just are 260
pictured as possessed and prophesying.

Noah was just. Is he not in the same breath shewn as a prophet? Were not the curses which he called down on subsequent generations, the prayers which he made on their behalf, all of which the actual event confirmed, uttered by him under divine possession? What of Isaac? What of Jacob? 261

They too are confessed as prophets by many other evidences, but particularly by their speeches addressed to their children. For "Gather ye together that I may proclaim what shall happen to you at the end of the days" (Gen. xlix. 1) were the words of one inspired. For apprehension of the future does not belong to man. What of Moses? Is he 262

not everywhere celebrated as a prophet? For it says, "if a prophet of the Lord arise among you, I will be known to him in vision, but to Moses in actual appearance and not through riddles" (Num. xii. 6, 8), and again "there no more rose up a prophet like Moses, whom the Lord knew face to face" (Deut. xxxiv. 10). Admirably then 263

- οὖν τὸν ἐνθουσιῶντα μηνύει φάσκων “περὶ ἡλίου
 δυσμᾶς ἔκστασις ἐπέπεσεν.” LIII. ἡλίον διὰ
 συμβόλου τὸν ἡμέτερον καλῶν νοῦν· ὅπερ γὰρ ἐν
 ἡμῖν λογισμός, τοῦτο ἐν κόσμῳ ἡλίος, ἐπειδὴ
 φωσφορεῖ ἑκάτερος, ὁ μὲν τῷ παντὶ φέγγος
 αἰσθητὸν ἐκπέμπων, ὁ δὲ ἡμῖν αὐτοῖς τὰς νοητὰς
 264 διὰ τῶν καταλήψεων αὐγᾶς. ἕως μὲν οὖν ἔτι
 περιλάμπει καὶ περιπολεῖ ἡμῶν ὁ νοῦς μεσημ-
 βρινὸν οἷα φέγγος εἰς πᾶσαν τὴν ψυχὴν ἀναχέων,
 ἐν ἑαυτοῖς ὄντες οὐ κατεχόμεθα· ἐπειδὰν δὲ πρὸς
 δυσμᾶς γένηται, κατὰ τὸ εἰκὸς ἔκστασις καὶ ἡ
 ἔνθεος ἐπιπίπτει κατοκωχή τε καὶ μανία. ὅταν
 μὲν γὰρ φῶς τὸ θεῖον ἐπιλάμψῃ, δύεται τὸ ἀν-
 θρώπινον, ὅταν δ’ ἐκείνο δύηται, τοῦτ’ ἀνίσχει
 265 καὶ ἀνατέλλει. τῷ δὲ προφητικῷ γένει φιλεῖ τοῦτο
 συμβαίνειν· ἐξοικίζεται μὲν γὰρ ἐν ἡμῖν ὁ νοῦς
 κατὰ τὴν τοῦ θεοῦ πνεύματος ἀφίξιν, κατὰ δὲ
 τὴν μετανάστασιν αὐτοῦ πάλιν ἐξοικίζεται· θέμις
 γὰρ οὐκ ἔστι θνητὸν ἀθανάτῳ συνοικῆσαι. διὰ
 τοῦτο ἡ δύσις τοῦ λογισμοῦ καὶ τὸ περὶ αὐτὸν
 σκότος ἔκστασιν καὶ θεοφόρητον μανίαν ἐγέννησε.
 266 τὸ δὲ ἀκόλουθον προσυφαίνει τῇ γραφῇ
 φάσκων “ἐρρέθη πρὸς Ἀβραάμ”· ὄντως γὰρ
 ὁ προφήτης, καὶ ὁπότε λέγειν δοκεῖ, πρὸς ἀλή-
 θειαν ἡσυχάζει, καταχρῆται δὲ ἕτερος αὐτοῦ τοῖς
 φωνητηρίοις ὀργάνοις, στόματι καὶ γλώττῃ, πρὸς
 μῆνυσιν ὧν αὖ θέλῃ· τέχνη δὲ ἀοράτῳ καὶ παμ-
 μούσῳ ταῦτα κρούων εὐήχα καὶ παναρμόνια καὶ
 γέμοντα συμφωνίας τῆς πάσης ἀποτελεῖ.
- 267 LIV. Τίνα δ’ ἐστὶν ἃ ἐρρέθη προθεσπισθέντα,

^a Philo apparently finds in the impersonal ἐρρέθη a sug-

WHO IS THE HEIR, 263-267

does he describe the inspired when he says "about sunset there fell on him an ecstasy." LIII. "Sun" is his name under a figure for our mind. For what the reasoning faculty is in us, the sun is in the world, since both of them are light-bringers, one sending forth to the whole world the light which our senses perceive, the other shedding mental rays upon ourselves through the medium of apprehension. So 264 while the radiance of the mind is still all around us, when it pours as it were a noonday beam into the whole soul, we are self-contained, not possessed. But when it comes to its setting, naturally ecstasy and divine possession and madness fall upon us. For when the light of God shines, the human light sets; when the divine light sets, the human dawns and rises. This is what regularly befalls the fellowship of 265 the prophets. The mind is evicted at the arrival of the divine Spirit, but when that departs the mind returns to its tenancy. Mortal and immortal may not share the same home. And therefore the setting of reason and the darkness which surrounds it produce ecstasy and inspired frenzy. To connect 266 what is coming with what is here written he says "it was said to Abraham"^a (Gen. xv. 3). For indeed the prophet, even when he seems to be speaking, really holds his peace, and his organs of speech, mouth and tongue, are wholly in the employ of Another, to shew forth what He wills. Unseen by us that Other beats on the chords with the skill of a master-hand and makes them instruments of sweet music, laden with every harmony.

LIV. It is well to hear what these predictions 267

gestion that the prophetic inspiration comes to the prophet in a mysterious way, which he does not understand.

PHILO

καλὸν ἀκοῦσαι· πρῶτον μὲν, ὅτι τῷ φιλαρέτῳ κατοικεῖν οὐ δίδωσιν ὁ θεὸς ὡς ἐν οἰκείᾳ γῇ τῷ σώματι, ἀλλὰ παροικεῖν ὡς ἐν ἀλλοδαπῇ μόνον ἐπιτρέπει χώρα. “γινώσκων” γὰρ φησι “γνώση, ὅτι πάροικον ἔσται τὸ σπέρμα σου ἐν γῇ οὐκ ἰδία.” παντὸς δὲ φαύλου συγγενὲς τὸ σώματος χωρίον, ἐν ᾧ μελετᾷ κατοικεῖν, οὐ παροικεῖν.

268 ἐν μὲν δὴ παιδεύματι τοῦτο· ἕτερον δέ, ὅτι τὰ δουλείαν καὶ κάκωσιν καὶ δεινὴν, ὡς αὐτὸς ἔφη, ταπεινῶσιν ἐπάγοντα τῇ ψυχῇ τὰ κατὰ γῆν ἔστιν “οὐκ ἰδία¹”. νόθα γὰρ καὶ ξένα διανοίας τὰ σώματος ὡς ἀληθῶς πάθη, σαρκὸς ἐκπεφυκότες, ἣ προσ-

269 ἐρρίζωται. τετρακόσια δὲ ἔτη γίνεται ἡ δουλεία κατὰ τὰς τῶν τεττάρων παθῶν δυνάμεις. ἀρχούσης μὲν γὰρ ἡδονῆς μετεωρίζεται καὶ φυσᾶται [512] τὸ φρόνημα, χαύνῳ | κουφότητι ἐξαιρόμενον· ὅταν δὲ ἐπιθυμία κρατήσῃ, ἔρως ἐγγίνεται τῶν ἀπόντων καὶ τὴν ψυχὴν ὥσπερ ἀπ’ ἀγχόνης ἐλπίδος ἀτελοῦς ἐκρέμασε· διψῇ μὲν γὰρ αἰεὶ, πιεῖν δὲ ἀδυνατεῖ

270 ταντάλειον τιμωρίαν ὑπομένουσα. κατὰ δὲ τὴν τῆς λύπης δυναστείαν συνάγεται καὶ συστέλλεται φυλλορροούντων καὶ ἀφαινομένων τρόπον δένδρων· τὸ γὰρ εὐθαλὲς αὐτῆς καὶ πῖον ἰσχυαίνεται. φόβου γε μὴν τυραννήσαντος οὐδεὶς ἔτι μένειν ἀξιοῖ, δρασμῷ δὲ καὶ φυγῇ χρῆται, μόνως ἂν οὕτως σωθῆσεσθαι προσδοκῶν· ἐπιθυμία μὲν γὰρ ὀλκὸν ἔχουσα

¹ οὐκ ἰδία] so two mss.; Pap. apparently doubtful, for Wend. gives “Pap. (οικιδ)ια.” The other mss. have οἰκίδια, which Mangey, Wend., and apparently all editors and translators read. But apart from οἰκίδιον not occurring elsewhere in Philo, οὐκ ἰδία is wanted as a lesson on the last two words of the text, the former lesson being on πάροικον, and this second lesson is further emphasized by νόθα καὶ ξένα.

were, which were thus said to him. First that God does not grant as a gift to the lover of virtue that he should dwell in the body as in homeland, but only permits him to sojourn there, as in a foreign country. For "knowing thou shalt know," he says, "that thy seed shall be sojourners in a land^a which is not their own" (Gen. xv. 3). But every fool takes the body for the place of his nativity and studies to dwell there, not to sojourn.

This is one lesson. 268

Another is that the things of earth which bring slavery and ill-treatment and dire humiliation,^b to use his own words, are "not our own." For the passions of the body are truly bastards, outlanders to the understanding, growths of the flesh in which they have their roots.

"And the slavery is for 269 four hundred years"; thus he shews the powers exercised by the four passions. When pleasure rules, the temper is high flown and inflated, uplifted with empty levity. When desire is master, a yearning for what is not arises and suspends the soul on unfulfilled hope as on a noose. For the soul is ever athirst yet never able to drink, suffering the torments of a Tantalus. Under the sovereignty of grief it is 270 pinched and shrinks, like trees which shed their leaves and wither; for its bloom and richness turn into leanness. Finally when fear has made itself lord no one thinks it good to stand his ground, but abandons himself to flight, expecting that in this alone will safety be found. For while desire has a power of attraction and forces us to the pursuit of the

^a Or "earth," as Philo interprets it below.

^b An allusion to the unquoted part of the text *καὶ δουλώσουσιν αὐτοὺς καὶ κακώσουσιν αὐτοὺς καὶ ταπεινώσουσιν αὐτούς*.

PHILO

δύναμιν, κἄν φεύγῃ τὸ ποθούμενον, διώκειν ἀναγκάζει, φόβος δ' ἔμπαλιν ἀλλοτριότητα ἐμποιῶν διοικίζει καὶ μακρὰν τοῦ φαινομένου διίστησιν.

- 271 LV. αἱ δὲ τῶν λεχθέντων ἡγεμονίαι παθῶν βαρεῖαν τοῖς ἀρχομένοις ἐπάγουσι δουλείαν, ἄχρις ἂν ὁ βραβευτῆς καὶ δικαστῆς θεὸς διακρίνῃ τὸ κακούμενον ἀπὸ τοῦ κακοῦντος καὶ τὸ μὲν εἰς ἐλευθερίαν ἐξέλθῃ παντελῆ, τῷ δὲ τᾶπίχειρα ὦν
- 272 ἐξήμαρτεν ἀποδῶ. λέγεται γάρ· “τὸ δὲ ἔθνος ᾧ ἂν δουλεύσωσι κρινῶ ἐγώ· μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα ἐξελεύσονται ὧδε μετὰ ἀποσκευῆς πολλῆς.” ἀνάγκη γὰρ θνητὸν ὄντα τῷ τῶν παθῶν ἔθνει πιεσθῆναι καὶ τὰς οἰκείους τῷ γενομένῳ κῆρας ἀναδέξασθαι, βούλημα δὲ θεοῦ τὰ σύμφυτα κακὰ τοῦ γένους
- 273 ἡμῶν ἐπικουφίζει· ὥστε καὶ ἡμεῖς ἐν ἀρχῇ τὰ οἰκεῖα πεισόμεθα ὡμῶν γενόμενοι δεσποτῶν δούλοι, καὶ ὁ θεὸς τὸ οἰκεῖον ἐργάσεται ἑαυτῷ, ἄφεςιν καὶ ἐλευθερίαν ταῖς ἰκέτισιν αὐτοῦ ψυχαῖς προκηρύξας, οὐ μόνον λύσιν δεσμῶν καὶ ἔξοδον ἐκ τῆς περιπεφρουρημένης εἰρκτῆς παρασχόμενος, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐφόδια δούς, ἅπερ ἀποσκευὴν ἐκάλεσε. τί δὲ τοῦτ’
- 274 ἐστίν; ἐπειδὰν ἄνωθεν ἀπ’ οὐρανοῦ καταβὰς ὁ νοῦς ἐνδεθῇ ταῖς σώματος ἀνάγκαις, εἴτα ὑπὸ μηδεμιᾶς δελεασθεὶς οἶα ἀνδρόγυνος ἢ γύνανδρος τὰ ἡδέα ἀσπάσῃται κακὰ, μείνας δὲ ἐπὶ τῆς ἑαυτοῦ φύσεως ἀνὴρ ὄντως τραχηλίζει μᾶλλον ἢ τραχηλίζεσθαι δύνηται, τοῖς τῆς ἐγκυκλίου μουσικῆς

^a ἀνάγκαις echoes the δουλώσουσι of the text just quoted, as κακὰ echoes the κακώσουσι.

desired object even though it flee from our grasp, fear on the other hand creates a sense of estrangement and sunders and removes us far from the sight we dread.

LV. The sovereignties of the 271
passions here named entail a grievous slavery on their subjects, until God the arbiter and judge makes a separation between the ill-treater and the ill-treated, brings forth the one to full liberty and renders to the other the recompense for his misdeeds. For we read, "the nation whom they shall 272
serve I will judge, and after this they shall come out hither with much stock" (Gen. xv. 14). It must needs be that mortal man shall be oppressed by the nation of the passions and receive the calamities which are proper to created being, but it is God's will to lighten the evils which are inherent in our race. So while we shall suffer at first such things as 273
are proper to ourselves, enslaved as we are to cruel masters, God will accomplish the work which is proper to Himself in proclaiming redemption and liberty to the souls which are His suppliants, and not only will He provide release from bonds and an issue from the closely-guarded prison, but give us also the viaticum which he here calls "stock." What is the meaning of this? It is when the mind 274
which has come down from heaven, though it be fast bound in the constraints^a of the body, nevertheless is not lured by any of them to embrace like some hybrid, man-woman or woman-man,^b the pleasant-seeming evils, but holding to its own nature of true manhood has the strength to be victor instead of victim in the wrestling-bout. Reared in all the lore of the schools, it acquires therefrom

^b See App. p. 574.

ἐντραφεῖς¹ ἅπασιν,² ἐξ ὧν θεωρίας λαβὼν ἡμερον
ἐγκράτειαν καὶ καρτερίαν, ἐρρωμένας ἀρετάς,
ἐκτήσατο, μετανιστάμενος καὶ κάθοδον τὴν εἰς
τὴν πατρίδα εὕρισκόμενος πάντ' ἐπάγεται τὰ
παιδεῖας, ἅπερ ἀποσκευὴ καλεῖται.

- 275 LVI. Τοσαῦτα καὶ περὶ τούτων εἰπὼν ἐπιλέγει·
“ σὺ δὲ ἀπελεύσῃ πρὸς τοὺς πατέρας σου μετ’
εἰρήνης τραφεῖς ἐν γῆρᾳ καλῶ.” οὐκοῦν οἱ μὲν |
[513] ἀτελεῖς καὶ πολεμούμεθα καὶ δουλεύομεν καὶ μόλις
ἀπαλλαγὴν τῶν ἐπικρεμασθέντων φοβερῶν εὕρισκόμεθα,
τὸ δὲ τέλειον γένος ἀδούλωτον, ἀπολέμητον,
εἰρήνη καὶ ἐλευθερίᾳ βεβαιοτάτῃ ἐντρέφόμενον.
276 δογματικῶς δὲ τὸν ἀστεῖον οὐκ ἀπο-
θνήσκοντα, ἀλλ’ ἀπερχόμενον εἰσήγαγεν, ἵν’ ἄσβε-
στον καὶ ἀθάνατον τὸ τῆς κεκαθαρμένης ἄκρως
ψυχῆς ἀποφανῇ γένος, ἀποδημία τῇ ἐνθύνδε πρὸς
οὐρανὸν χρησόμενον, οὐ διαλύσει καὶ φθορᾷ, ἣν
277 ἐπάγειν θάνατος δοκεῖ. μετὰ δὲ τὸ
“ ἀπελεύσῃ ” γέγραπται τὸ “ πρὸς τοὺς πατέρας
σου ”· ποίους πατέρας, ἄξιον σκέψασθαι. τοὺς
μὲν γὰρ ἐν τῇ Χαλδαίων χώρᾳ βεβιωκότας, οἷς
μόνοις ἐχρήσατο συγγενέσιν, οὐκ ἂν λέγοι, διὰ
τὸ χρησιμῶ τῶν ἀφ’ αἵματος ἀπάντων διωκίσθαι.
“ εἶπε ” γάρ φησι “ κύριος τῷ Ἀβραάμ· ἀπελθε
ἐκ τῆς γῆς σου καὶ ἐκ τῆς συγγενείας σου καὶ ἐκ
τοῦ οἴκου τοῦ πατρός σου εἰς τὴν γῆν ἣν σοι δεῖξω·
278 καὶ ποιήσω σε εἰς ἔθνος μέγα.” τὸν γὰρ ἄλλο-

¹ mss. and Pap. ἐγγραφεῖς.

² A noun seems to be wanted either as a substitute for or in addition to ἅπασι. Wend. suggests προπαιδεύμασι or παιδεύμασι (or perhaps μαθήμασι).

WHO IS THE HEIR, 274-278

a longing for the higher contemplation, and wins the sturdy virtues of self-mastery and perseverance ; and thus when the pilgrim wins his return to his native land, he takes with him all these fruits of instruction, which are here called " stock." ^a

LVI. Having said thus much on these points also ²⁷⁵ he continues, " but thou shalt depart to thy fathers nourished with peace, in a goodly old age " ^b (Gen. xv. 15). So then we who are imperfect are victims both of war and slavery, and hard-won is our release from the terrors which menace us. But the perfect are a race subject neither to war nor slavery, but nourished in peace and freedom sure and secure.

And when he represents the good man as not dying ²⁷⁶ but departing, there is sound doctrine in the words. He would have the nature of the fully purified soul shewn as unquenchable and immortal, destined to journey from hence to heaven, not to meet with dissolution and corruption, which death appears to bring.

After " thou shalt depart " come ²⁷⁷ the words " to thy fathers." What fathers ? This is worth inquiring. For Moses could not mean those who had lived in the land of the Chaldeans, who were the only kinsfolk Abraham had, seeing that the oracle had set his dwelling away from all those of his blood. For we read, " the Lord said unto Abraham ' depart from thy land and from thy kinsfolk and from the house of thy father unto the land which I shall shew thee, and I will make thee into a great nation ' " (Gen. xii. 1, 2). Was it ²⁷⁸ reasonable that he should again have affinity with the

^a See App. p. 575.

^b The μετ' ελρήνης or ἐν ελρήνῃ of the LXX is of course intended to go with ἀπελεύσῃ.

τριωθέντα ἐπιφροσύνη θεία πῶς ἦν τοῖς αὐτοῖς
 εὐλογον οἰκειοῦσθαι πάλιν; πῶς δὲ τὸν ἔθνους
 καὶ γένους ἐτέρου μέλλοντα ἡγεμόνα ἔσεσθαι
 προσκληροῦσθαι τῷ παλαιῷ; οὐ γὰρ ἂν ἐχαρίζετο
 καινὸν τρόπον τινὰ καὶ νέον ἔθνος καὶ γένος αὐτῷ
 ὁ θεός, εἰ μὴ τοῦ ἀρχαίου κατὰ τὸ παντελές
 279 ἀπεσχοίνιζεν. ἐθνάρχης γὰρ καὶ γενάρχης ὡς
 ἀληθῶς ἐστὶν οὗτος, ἀφ' οὗ καθάπερ ἀπὸ ρίζης
 τὸ σκεπτικὸν καὶ θεωρητικὸν τῶν τῆς φύσεως
 πραγμάτων ἀνέβλασθεν ἔρνος, ὄνομα Ἰσραήλ.
 ἐπεὶ καὶ “ τὰ παλαιὰ ἐκ προσώπου νέων ἐκφέρειν ”
 διείρηται. ποῦ γὰρ ἀρχαιολογίας ἔτι καὶ παλαιῶν
 καὶ κατημαξευμένων ἐθῶν ὄφελος, οἷς ἐξαπιναίως
 οὐ προσδοκήσασιν ἀθρόα καὶ νέα ὥμβρησεν ἀγαθὰ;

280 LVII. πατέρας οὖν οὐχ ὧν μετ-
 ἀνάστατος ἐγένετο ἡ ψυχὴ καλεῖ τοὺς ἐν τοῖς
 Χαλδαϊκοῖς κατορωρυγμένους μνήμασιν, ἀλλ' ὡς
 μὲν ἐνιοί φασιν, ἡλιον καὶ σελήνην καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους
 ἀστέρας—τὴν γὰρ τῶν κατὰ γῆν ἀπάντων γένεσιν
 διὰ τούτων λόγος ἔχει συνίστασθαι,—ὡς δέ τινες
 νομίζουσι, τὰς ἀρχετύπους ἰδέας, τὰ νοητὰ καὶ
 ἀόρατα ἐκείνα τῶν αἰσθητῶν καὶ ὁρωμένων τούτων
 παραδείγματα, πρὸς ἃ τὴν τοῦ σοφοῦ διάνοιαν

281 μετοικίζεσθαι. τινὲς δὲ πατέρας ὑπ-
 ετόπασαν εἰρῆσθαι τὰς τέτταρας ἀρχάς τε καὶ
 δυνάμεις, ἐξ ὧν συνέστηκεν ὁ κόσμος, γῆν ὕδωρ
 αἶρα καὶ πῦρ· εἰς γὰρ ταύτας ἕκαστον τῶν γενο-
 282 μένων φασὶν ἀναλύεσθαι δεόντως. καθάπερ γὰρ

^a See note on *De Sac.* 79.

^b Mangey took this to mean “ whose souls have departed,”
 “ quorum animae demigrarunt,” and he might have alleged
 in support *De Sac.* 10 τὴν πρὸς τὸν ὄντα μετανάστασιν ψυχῆς of

WHO IS THE HEIR, 278-282

very persons from whom he had been alienated by the forethought of God? Or that he who was to be the captain of another race and nation should be associated with that of a former age? God would not bestow on him a fresh and in a sense a novel race and nation, if he were not cutting him right adrift from the old. Surely he is indeed the founder of the nation 279 and the race, since from him as root sprang the young plant called Israel, which observes and contemplates all the things of nature. So we are told to bear out the old from the face of the new (Lev. xxvi. 10).^a Rightly, for how shall they on whom the rain of new blessings has fallen in all its abundance, sudden and unlooked for, still find profit in old-world lore and the ruts of ancient customs?

LVII. No; by 280 "fathers" he does not mean those whom the pilgrim soul has left behind,^b those who lie buried in the sepulchres of Chaldaea, but possibly, as some say, the sun, moon and other stars to which it is held that all things on earth owe their birth and framing, or, as others think, the archetypal ideas which, invisible and intelligible *there*, are the patterns of things visible and sensible *here*—the ideas in which, as they say, the mind of the Sage finds its new home.

Others again have surmised that by "fathers" are 281 meant the four first principles and potentialities, from which the world has been framed, earth, water, air and fire. For into these, they say, each thing that has come into being is duly resolved. Just as nouns and 282

Moses' death. But apart from the singular *ψυχή*, such a description of the death of the "fathers" would be pointless here, and the allegorical use of *μεταβίβασθαι* and kindred words throughout this meditation (*e.g.* § 274) leaves no doubt that the words are to be taken as in the translation.

ὀνόματα καὶ ῥήματα καὶ τὰ λόγου μέρη πάντα
 συνέστηκε μὲν ἐκ τῶν τῆς γραμματικῆς στοιχείων,
 ἀναλύεται δὲ πάλιν εἰς ἔσχατα ἐκεῖνα, τὸν αὐτὸν
 τρόπον ἕκαστος ἡμῶν συγκριθεὶς ἐκ τῶν τεττάρων
 καὶ δανεισάμενος ἀφ' ἐκάστης οὐσίας μικρὰ
 [514] μόρια, | καθ' ὠρισμένας περιόδους καιρῶν ἐκτίνει
 τὸ δάνειον, εἰ μὲν τι ξηρὸν εἴη, ἀποδιδούς γῇ, εἰ
 δέ τι ὑγρὸν, ὕδατι, εἰ δέ ψυχρὸν, ἀέρι, εἰ δ' ἔν-
 283 θερμον, πυρί. τὰ μὲν σωματικὰ ταῦτα, τὸ δὲ
 νοερὸν καὶ οὐράνιον τῆς ψυχῆς γένος πρὸς αἰθέρα
 τὸν καθαρώτατον ὡς πατέρα ἀφίξεται. πέμπτη
 γάρ, ὡς ὁ τῶν ἀρχαίων λόγος, ἔστω τις οὐσία
 κυκλοφορητική, τῶν τεττάρων κατὰ τὸ κρεῖττον
 διαφέρουσα, ἐξ ἧς οἱ τε ἀστέρες καὶ ὁ σύμπας
 οὐρανὸς ἔδοξε γεγενῆσθαι, ἧς κατ' ἀκόλουθον
 θετέον καὶ τὴν ἀνθρωπίνην ψυχὴν ἀπόσπασμα.
 284 LVIII. Τὸ δὲ “ μετ' εἰρήνης τραφεῖς ” οὐκ
 ἀπὸ σκοποῦ προσδιώρισται, ἀλλ' ὅτι σχεδὸν τὸ
 πλεῖστον ἀνθρώπων γένος ἐπὶ πολέμῳ καὶ τοῖς
 ἐκ πολέμου κακοῖς πᾶσι τρέφεται. πόλεμος δ' ὁ
 μὲν ἀπὸ τῶν ἐκτός ἐστιν, ὃν ἀδοξία καὶ πενία καὶ
 δυσγένεια καὶ τὰ ὁμοιότροπα ἐπάγουσιν, ὁ δ' ἀπὸ
 τῶν ἐμφυλίων, κατὰ μὲν τὸ σῶμα ἀσθένειαι, λῶβαι,
 πηρώσεις παντελεῖς καὶ κηρῶν σωρὸς ἄλλων
 ἀμυνήτων, κατὰ δὲ τὴν ψυχὴν πάθη, νοσήματα,
 ἀρρωστήματα, αἱ ἀφροσύνης καὶ ἀδικίας καὶ τῶν
 ὁμοτυράνων χαλεπαὶ καὶ βαρύταται ἐπαναστάσεις
 285 καὶ ἀκαθαίρετοι δυναστεῖαι. “ μετ' εἰρήνης οὖν

¹ My correction for ms. and Pap.? δι': Wend. proposed
 ἐτι δ'.

^a στοιχεῖα being the regular term for the letters of the
 alphabet.

^b See App. p. 575.

WHO IS THE HEIR, 282-285

verbs and all parts of speech which are composed of the "elements" in the grammatical sense^a are finally resolved into the same, so too each of us is composed of the four mundane elements, borrowing small fragments from the substance of each, and this debt he repays when the appointed time-cycles are completed, rendering the dry in him to earth, the wet to water, the cold to air, and the warm to fire.^b These all 283 belong to the body, but the soul whose nature is intellectual and celestial will depart to find a father in ether, the purest of the substances.^c For we may suppose that, as the men of old declared, there is a fifth substance, moving in a circle,^b differing by its superior quality from the four. Out of this they thought the stars and the whole of heaven had been made and deduced as a natural consequence that the human soul also was a fragment thereof.

LVIII. The words "nourished with peace" are 284 not a pointless addition, but mean that the greater part of the human race are with little exception "nourished" for war and all its attendant evils. Now war sometimes arises from things outside us, waged against us by ill-repute and poverty and mean birth and the like. Sometimes it arises from intestine enemies—in the body, sicknesses, maimings, complete disablements of the senses and numberless other calamities piled on each other; in the soul, passions, diseases and infirmities of mind, the fierce and bitter insurrections, the inexpugnable despotisms of folly and injustice and their fellow usurpers. So, then, if a man be "nourished with peace" he 285

^a *i.e.* Philo is willing to accept this explanation of "fathers," if with the four elements for the body is coupled the fifth for the soul.

τραφείς" γαληνὸν καὶ εὖδιον κτησάμενος βίον, εὐδαίμον' ὡς ἀληθῶς καὶ μακάριον . . .¹.

- πότε οὖν τοῦτο συμβήσεται; ὅταν εὐδοῇ μὲν τὰ ἔκτος πρὸς εὐπορίαν καὶ εὐδοξίαν, εὐδοῇ δὲ τὰ σώματος πρὸς ὑγίειάν τε καὶ ἰσχύν, εὐδοῇ δὲ τὰ
 286 ψυχῆς πρὸς ἀπόλαυσιν ἀρετῶν. χρήζει γὰρ ἕκαστον οἰκείων δορυφόρων· δορυφορεῖται δὲ σῶμα μὲν εὐδοξία καὶ περιουσία καὶ ἀφθονία πλούτου, ψυχὴ δὲ τῷ τοῦ σώματος ὀλοκλήρῳ καὶ κατὰ πάντα ὑγιεινῷ, ὃ δὲ νοῦς ὑπὸ τῶν ἐν ταῖς ἐπιστήμας θεωρημάτων· ἐπεὶ ὅτι γε εἰρήνης οὐχ ἦν αἱ πόλεις ἄγουσι μέμνηται, σαφές ἐστι τοῖς ἐντυγχάνουσι ταῖς ἱεραῖς γραφαῖς· μεγάλους <γὰρ> καὶ βαρεῖς πολέμους Ἀβραὰμ ἀνεδέξατο, οὗς καθηρηκῶς
 287 φαίνεται. καὶ ἡ τῆς πατρῴας μέντοι γῆς ἀπόλεψις μετανισταμένῳ καὶ πάλιν οἰκῆσαι μὴ δυναμένῳ, φορουμένῳ δὲ ὧδε κάκεῖσε καὶ ἐρήμους καὶ ἀτριβεῖς ὁδοὺς ἀλωμένῳ τῷ μὴ θεοπροπίοις καὶ τισι θεσφότοις πεπιστευκότι βαρὺς ἦν πόλεμος. ἀλλ' ἔδει γὰρ καὶ τρίτον τι τῶν φοβερῶν προσ-
 288 ἐπιδεικνύσασθαι, λιμόν, μεταναστάσεως καὶ πολέμου κακὸν χεῖρον. ποίαν οὖν εἰρήνην ἤγαγεν; τὸ γάρ, οἶμαι, μετανίστασθαι καὶ ἀνίδρυτον εἶναι καὶ βασιλέων ἀμάχοις ἐναντιοῦσθαι δυνάμεσι² καὶ λιμῷ πιέζεσθαι πόλεμον οὐχ ἓνα, πολλοὺς δὲ καὶ
 289 πολυτρόπους ἔοικε μνηνύειν. ἀλλ' ἐν γε ταῖς δι' ὑπονοιῶν ἀποδόσεσιν εἰρήνης ἀκράτου δείγμα ἕκαστον αὐτῶν εἶναι συμβέβηκε· παθῶν γὰρ |

¹ The sentence seems imperfect as it stands; either read as Mangey <ὁ> γαληνὸν κτλ. sc. ἐστι or more likely a verb has been lost: Wend. ἀπελεύσεται (or perhaps ἀπεισι after τραφεῖς).

² mss. and Pap. δυνάμενον or μὴ δυνάμενον: Mangey's text has βασιλεύσιν . . . μὴ δυνάμενον.

WHO IS THE HEIR, 285-289

will depart, having gained a calm, unclouded life, a life of true bliss and happiness. When will this be found? When there is welfare outside us, welfare in the body, welfare in the soul, the first bringing ease of circumstance and good repute, the second health and strength, the third delight in virtues. For each part needs its own proper guards.^a 286 The body is guarded by good repute and unstinted abundance of wealth, the soul by the complete health and soundness of the body, the mind by the acquired lore of the various forms of knowledge. Such is the meaning of the text. For that he is thinking of a peace other than that which states enjoy is clear to those who are versed in the holy Scriptures. For Abraham underwent great and severe wars, which he is shewn to have fought to the finish. And 287 further, the mere leaving of his fatherland, to emigrate without any possibility of dwelling there again, to be borne hither and thither and to wander over desolate and untrodden roads were in itself a grievous war for one who had no divine message or promise wherein to trust. Still more he had, to crown this profusion of terrors, a third, famine (Gen. xii. 10), an evil worse than migration and war. What kind 288 of peace, then, was his? For surely to be a homeless emigrant, to be confronted by kings with overwhelming forces and to feel the stress of famine would seem to indicate not one war only, but many and manifold. But if we turn to the allegorical exposi- 289 tion of the words, each of these three proves to be an evidence of peace pure and simple. For dearth and

^a Cf. *De Conf.* 18 f.

[515] ἔνδεια καὶ λιμὸς καὶ καθαίρεσις ἐχθρῶν ἀδικημάτων καὶ μετανάστασις ἀπὸ Χαλδαικῆς δόξης πρὸς τὴν φιλόθεον, τουτέστιν ἀπὸ τοῦ γεγονότος αἰσθητοῦ πρὸς τὸ νοητὸν καὶ πεποιηκὸς αἵτιον, εὐνομίαν καὶ εὐστάθειαν κατασκευάζουσιν.

- 290 Ὑπischneῖται δὲ τῷ τοιαύτην ἄγοντι εἰρήνην καλὸν γῆρας, οὐ δῆπου τὴν πολυχρόνιον ἀλλὰ τὴν μετὰ φρονήσεως ζωήν· τὸ γὰρ εὐήμερον πολυετίας κρεῖττον, ὅσω καὶ βραχύτερον φῶς σκότους αἰωνίου. μίαν γὰρ ἡμέραν ὑγιῶς εἶπέ τις προφητικὸς ἀνὴρ βούλεσθαι βιώναι μετ' ἀρετῆς ἢ μυρία ἔτη ἐν σκιᾷ θανάτου, θάνατον¹ μέντοι τῶν φαύλων αἰνιττόμενος
- 291 βίον. τὸ δὲ αὐτὸ καὶ νῦν ἔργοις μᾶλλον ἢ ῥήμασι² διασυνίστησι Μωυσῆς· ὃν γὰρ ἀναγράφει γῆρα χρυσόμενον καλῶ, τῶν πρὸ αὐτοῦ σχεδὸν ἀπάντων ὀλιγοχροניώτατον εἰσήγαγε, φιλοσοφῶν καὶ διδάσκων ἡμᾶς, τίς ὁ πρὸς ἀλήθειαν εὐγῆρως ἐστίν, ἵνα μὴ πολὺν³ τύφον ἐπὶ τοῦ φανεροῦ σώματός ποτε ἀποδεξώμεθα γέμοντα αἰσχύνης καὶ πολλῶν ὄνειδῶν, ἀλλ' εὐβουλίαν καὶ σταθερότητα ψυχῆς ἰδόντες τὸ γέρως ἀδελφὸν καὶ παρώνυμον καλὸν
- 292 γῆρας ἐπιφημίσωμέν τε καὶ μαρτυρήσωμεν. δογματικῶς οὖν ἄκουε κατὰ τὸν νομοθέτην μόνον τὸν ἀστείον εὐγῆρων καὶ μακροβιώτατον, ὀλιγοχρονιῶ-

¹ Pap. θανατον: mss. σκιάν: perhaps θανάτου σκιάν.

² Pap. εν τοις . . ρημασι: mss. ἔργον . . ῥήμα.

³ Pap. πολυ: mss. παλαιὸν (πολιόν). See App. p. 575.

WHO IS THE HEIR, 289-292

famine of passions, the rout of enemies in the shape of wrongdoings, the migration from the creed of the Chaldeans to the creed of the lovers of God, that is, from the created and sensible to the intelligible and creative Cause—these build up the fabric of good order and stability.

To him who enjoys a peace like this Moses 290 promises a goodly old age, not meaning, we may be sure, the life of long duration, but the life lived wisely. For the welfare of a day ranks as far above multitude of years, as the briefer daylight above an eternity of darkness. It was a wholesome saying of a man of prophetic gifts that he would rather live a single day with virtue than ten thousand years in the shadow of death (Ps. lxxxiv. [lxxxiii.] 11)^a where under the figure of death he indicates the life of the wicked. And Moses in the present instance shews 291 the same by the facts he records rather than by words. For this Abraham, whom he here describes as destined to a goodly old age, is represented by him as more short-lived than practically all who went before him. Thus he shews to us, who are his scholars in wisdom, who it is whose old age is happy, to the end that we should not look with favour on all the abounding vanity of the outward body, a vanity full of shame and rich in reproaches, but recognizing in right judgement and stability of soul that goodly old age, which both in name and nature is twin brother of "reward,"^b give it its rightful title and testify to its truth. Learn then thy lesson and hear 292 how the lawgiver tells us that happy old age and longest span of life is only for the good, but briefest

^a See App. p. 575.

^b For the play on γῆρας and γέρας cf. *De Sobr.* 16.

- τατον δὲ τὸν φαῦλον, ἀποθνήσκειν αἰὲ μανθάνοντα, μᾶλλον δὲ τὴν ἀρετῆς ζῶν ἤδη τετελευτηκότα.
- 293 LIX. Λέγεται δ' ἐξῆς· "τετάρτη δὲ γενεᾷ ἀποστραφήσονται ὧδε," οὐχ ἵνα αὐτὸ μόνον μνησθῇ χρόνος, ἐν ᾧ τὴν ἱερὰν οἰκήσουσι γῆν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὑπὲρ τοῦ τελείαν ἀποκατάστασιν ψυχῆς παραστήσαι. γίνεται δὲ ὥσανεὶ τετάρτη γενεᾷ· ὃν
- 294 δὲ τρόπον, ἄξιον συνδιασκέψασθαι. ἀποκηθὲν τὸ βρέφος ἄχρι τῆς πρώτης ἑπταετίας ἐν ἡλικίᾳ τῇ παιδικῇ ψυχῆς ἀκραιφνοῦς μεμοίραται, λείψω μάλιστα ἐμφεροῦς κηρῶ, τοῖς ἀγαθῶν καὶ κακῶν χαρακτήρσι μήπω τετυπωμένης· καὶ γὰρ ὅσα γράφεσθαι δοκεῖ, ὑγρότητι ἐπαλειφόμενα συγχεῖται.
- 295 πρώτη μὲν ἦδε ὥσανεὶ γενεὰ ψυχῆς· δευτέρα δέ, ἣτις μετὰ τὴν παιδικὴν ἡλικίαν κακοῖς ἄρχεται συζῆν, ἃ τε ἐξ ἑαυτῆς εἴωθε γεννᾶν ψυχὴ καὶ ὅσα παρὰ τῶν ἄλλων ἀσμένη δέχεται. διδάσκαλοί τε γὰρ ἁμαρτημάτων μυρίοι, τίτθαι καὶ παιδαγωγοὶ καὶ γονεῖς καὶ οἱ κατὰ πόλεις γεγραμμένοι καὶ ἄγραφοι νόμοι θαυμάζοντες ἃ χρὴ γελάσθαι, καὶ ἄνευ τῶν διδασκόντων αὐτομαθῆς ἐστὶν αὕτη πρὸς τὰ ὑπαίτια, ὥς ὑπ' εὐφορίας αἰὲ κακῶν βρίθειν.
- 296 "ἔγκειται" γάρ φησι Μωυσῆς "ἡ διάνοια τοῦ
- [516] ἀνθρώπου | ἐπιμελῶς ἐπὶ τὰ πονηρὰ ἐκ νεότητος." ἥδ' ἐστὶν ἡ ἐπαρατοτάτη γενεὰ μὲν συμβολικῶς, κυρίως δὲ ἡλικία, καθ' ἣν τό τε σῶμα ἡβᾷ καὶ ἡ ψυχὴ πεφύσσηται, τῶν ἐντυφομένων ἀναρριπιζο-

* The phrase is apparently intended to be the converse of the Platonic thought of the wise man studying to die to the body, cf. *De Gig.* 14. But it seems strange, and Mangey suggested *λανθάνοντα*. Possibly *φθάνοντα*, which would carry on the thought of *ὀλιγοχρονιώτατον*.

WHO IS THE HEIR, 292-296

is the life of the wicked, since he is ever studying to die^a or rather has died already to the life of virtue.

LIX. Next we have "but in the fourth generation 293 they shall come back hither" (Gen. xv. 16). These words are meant not only to state the date at which they should inhabit the holy land, but to bring before us the thought of the complete restoration of the soul. That restoration may be said to come in the fourth generation. How it comes deserves our careful consideration. The infant from the day of its 294 birth for the first seven years, that is through the age of childhood, possesses only the simplest elements of soul, a soul which closely resembles smooth wax and has not yet received any impression of good or evil, for such marks as it appears to receive are smoothed over and confused by its fluidity. This is 295 what we may call the first generation of the soul. The second is that which follows childhood and begins to associate with evils, both these engendered by the soul of its own motion, and those which are willingly accepted at the hands of others. For the instructors to sin are legion, nurses and "pedagogues"^b and parents and the laws of cities, written and unwritten, which extol what should be derided; and apart from and before such instruction, the soul is its own pupil in the school of guilt, so that it is throughout weighed down by its capacity for producing ills. "The mind 296 of man," says Moses, "is carefully intent upon wickedness from youth" (Gen. viii. 21). The curse is heaviest on this "generation," to use the figurative term for the literal "age," in which the body is in its bloom and the soul inflated, when the smouldering passions are being fanned into a flame, consuming

^b Or "home-tutors."

- μένων παθῶν, “ ἄλως τε καὶ ἀστάχους καὶ πεδία ”
 297 καὶ ὅσα ἂν τύχῃ καταπιμπράντων. ταύτην τὴν ἐπίνοσον γενεὰν ἢ ἡλικίαν ὑπὸ τινος τρίτης οἶα ὑπὸ ἱατρικῆς φιλοσοφίας νοσηλευθῆναι χρή, κατεπασθεῖσαν λόγοις ὑγιεινοῖς καὶ σωτηρίοις, δι’ ὧν κένωσιν μὲν ἐνδέξεται τῆς ἀμέτρου τῶν ἀμαρτημάτων πλησμονῆς, πλήρωσιν δὲ λιμηρᾶς κενώσεως τῶν κατορθωμάτων καὶ ἐρημίας δεινῆς.
- 298 μετὰ τὴν θεραπείαν οὖν ταύτην γενεᾷ τετάρτῃ φύεται ψυχῇ δυνάμεις τε καὶ ῥώμη κατὰ τὴν τῆς φρονήσεως βεβαιωτάτην ἀνάληψιν καὶ τὸ ἐν ἀπάσαις ἀρεταῖς ἀκλινές τε καὶ πάγιον. τοῦτ’ ἐστὶ τὸ λεγόμενον· “ τετάρτῃ δὲ γενεᾷ ἀποστραφήσονται ὧδε.” κατὰ γὰρ τὸν δειχθέντα τέταρτον ἀριθμὸν ἀποστραφείσα τοῦ διαμαρτάνειν ἡ ψυχὴ κληρονόμος
- 299 ἀποδείκνυται σοφίας. πρῶτος μὲν γὰρ ἀριθμὸς, καθ’ ὃν οὔτε ἀγαθῶν οὔτε κακῶν λαβεῖν ἔννοιαν ἔστιν, ἀτυπώτου τῆς ψυχῆς ὑπαρχούσης· δεύτερος δέ, καθ’ ὃν φορᾷ τῶν ἀμαρτημάτων χρώμεθα· τρίτος δέ, ἐν ᾧ θεραπευόμεθα, τὰ νοσερὰ διωθούμενοι καὶ τὴν ἀκμὴν τῶν παθῶν ἀφηβῶντες· τέταρτος δέ, ἐν ᾧ παντελοῦς ὑγείας καὶ ῥώσεως μεταποιούμεθα, ὅποτε ἀποστρεφόμενοι τὰ φαῦλα τοῖς καλοῖς ἐγχειρεῖν δοκοῦμεν, πρότερον δὲ οὐκ ἔξεστι.
- 300 LX. Τὸ δὲ ἄχρι τίνος, αὐτὸς μηνύσει λέγων· “ οὐπω γὰρ ἀναπεπλήρωνται αἱ ἀνομίαι τῶν Ἀμορραίων.” δίδωσι δὲ ἀφορμὴν τοῖς ἀσθενεστέροις τὰ τοιαῦτα, ὡς ὑπολαμβάνειν, ὅτι Μωυσῆς εἰμαρμένην καὶ ἀνάγκην ὡς αἰτίας τῶν γινομένων

"threshing-floor and standing corn and fields" (Ex. xxii. 6) and whatever lies in their path. This 297 stricken generation or age must be tended on its sickbed by a third, taking the form of philosophy with its healing art, and put under the spell of sound and salutary reasonings. Through these it will be able to void the vast overload of sins and to fill its void, its starvation, its fearful emptiness of right actions.

So after this healing treatment 298 there grows in the fourth generation within the soul power and vigour, because it has fully and firmly apprehended good sense and is immovably established in all virtues. This is what is meant by the saying "in the fourth generation they shall turn back hither." For under that fourth number, to which he points, the soul turns back from sinning and is declared the heir of wisdom. The first number is 299 that under which it is impossible to form any conception of good or ill and the soul receives no impressions. Under the second we experience the onrush of sin. The third is that in which we receive the healing treatment, when we cast off the elements of sickness and the crisis of passion is reached and passed. The fourth is that in which we make good our claim to complete health and strength, when we feel that we are turning back from wickedness and laying our hands to the good. Till then we may not do so.^a

LX. How that "until" is fixed he will himself 300 shew us, when he says "for the iniquities of the Amorites are not yet fulfilled" (Gen. xv. 16). Such words as these give weaker minds a handle for supposing that Moses represents fate and necessity as

^a For the thought of §§ 293-299 cf. *De Sacr.* 18 f. and note.

- 301 ἀπάντων εισάγει. χρή δὲ μὴ ἀγνοεῖν, ὅτι ἀκολουθίαν μὲν καὶ εἰρμὸν καὶ ἐπιπλοκὰς αἰτιῶν ἅτε φιλόσοφος καὶ θεοφράδμων ἀνὴρ οἶδεν, τούτοις δ' οὐκ ἀνάπτει τὰς τῶν γινομένων αἰτίας. ἐφантаσιώθη γὰρ πρεσβύτερον ἄλλο ἐποχούμενον τοῖς ὅλοις ἡνίοχου τρόπον ἢ κυβερνήτου· πη-
δαλιουχεῖ γὰρ τὸ κοινὸν τοῦ κόσμου σκάφος, ᾧ τὰ πάντα ἐμπλεῖ, καὶ τὸ πτηνὸν ἄρμα, τὸν σύμπαντα οὐρανόν, ἡνιοχεῖ χρώμενον αὐτεξουσίῳ καὶ αὐτο-
302 κράτορι βασιλείᾳ. τί οὖν καὶ περὶ τούτων λεκτέον; ἐρμηνεύονται Ἀμορραῖοι λα-
λοῦντες, τὸ δὲ μέγιστον ἀγαθὸν ἀνθρώπῳ δωρηθὲν ὑπὸ φύσεως, τὸν λόγον, μυρίοι τῶν λαβόντων διέφθειραν ἀχαρίστως καὶ ἀπίστως τῇ δούσῃ προσενεχθέντες. οὗτοι δὲ εἰσιν οἱ γόητες, οἱ κόλακες, οἱ πιθανῶν σοφισμάτων εὔρεται, ἢ
[517] φενακίσαι καὶ παρακρούσασθαι μόνον εὖ εἰδότες, τοῦ ἀψευδεῖν οὐ πεφροντικότες. ἐπιτηδεύουσι μέντοι καὶ ἀσάφειαν, ἀσάφεια δὲ βαθὺ σκότος ἐν
303 λόγῳ, κλέπταις δὲ συνεργὸν τὸ σκότος. οὗ χάριν Μωυσῆς τὸν ἀρχιερέα δηλώσει καὶ ἀληθείᾳ δια-
κεκόσμηκεν, ἀρίδην ἀξιῶν εἶναι καὶ ἀληθῆ τὸν τοῦ σπουδαίου λόγον. οἱ δὲ πολλοὶ τὸν ἄδην καὶ ψευδῇ μεταδιώκουσιν, ᾧ συνεπιγράφεται πᾶς ὁ τῶν ἀγελαίων καὶ ἡμελημένων ἀνθρώπων ἀπατώ-
304 μενος ὄχλος. ἕως μὲν οὖν “οὐκ ἀναπεπλήρωται τὰ ἁμαρτήματα τῶν Ἀμορραίων,” τουτέστι τῶν σοφιστικῶν λόγων διὰ τὸ ἀνεξέλεγκτον, ἀλλ’ ἐτι

* Presumably the critics meant that the text represented God as wishing to bring the people to the Holy Land earlier, but unable to do so till some other event had taken place.

WHO IS THE HEIR, 301-304

the cause of all events.^a But we should recognize 301 that while as a philosopher and interpreter of God he understood that causes have their sequence, connexion and interplay, he did not ascribe the causation of events to these subsidiary factors. He envisaged something else higher than and antecedent to these, a Someone who is borne on the universe like a charioteer or pilot. He steers the common bark of the world, in which all things sail; He guides that winged chariot, the whole heaven, exerting an absolute sovereignty which knows no authority but its own. What then must be our 302 explanation of these particular words? This.—The name Amorites is by interpretation “talkers.” Now speech is the greatest boon given by nature to mankind, but the gift has been marred by thousands of the recipients who have dealt ungratefully and faithlessly with the power which gave it. Such are impostors, flatterers, inventors of cunning plausibilities, who know well how to cheat and mislead, but that only, and have no thought for honest truth. And further, they practise a lack of clearness, which in speech is profound darkness, and darkness is the fellow-worker of thieves. It is for this reason that 303 Moses adorned the high priest with Manifestation and Truth^b (Ex. xxviii. 26), judging that the speech of the man of worth should be transparent and true. But the speech which most aim at is obscure and false, and this is accepted by all the deluded multitude of common and unmeritable men. So long then as 304 “the sins of the Amorites,” that is of sophistical arguments, “are not fulfilled,” because they have

^b The Urim and Thummim of the E.V. (Ex. xxviii. 30), *cf.* *Leg. All.* iii. 123 f.

- ὀλκὸν¹ ἔχοντα δύναμιν ταῖς πιθανότησιν ἡμᾶς
 ἐπάγεται, [καὶ] ἀποστραφῆναι καὶ καταλιπεῖν
 αὐτὰ οὐ δυνάμενοι τῷ δελεάζεσθαι καταμένονεν.
 305 εἰάν δὲ πᾶσαι αἱ ψευδεῖς πιθανότητες
 διελεγχθῶσιν ὑπὸ τῶν ἀληθῶν πίστεων καὶ πλήρεις
 αὐτῶν καὶ ἐπιχειλεῖς αἱ ἁμαρτίαι περιφανῶσιν,
 ἀποδρασόμεθα ἀμεταστρεπτί καὶ μονονοῦ τὰ
 ἀπόγαια ἀράμενοι τῆς τῶν ψευσμάτων καὶ σοφι-
 σμάτων χώρας ἐξαναχθησόμεθα, τοῖς ἀληθείας
 ναυλοχωτάτοις ὑποδρόμοις καὶ λιμέσιν ἐνορμί-
 306 σασθαι ἐπειγόμενοι. τοιοῦτον δὴ τὸ δηλούμενον
 ὑπὸ τῆς προτάσεως· ἀμήχανον γὰρ ἀποστραφῆναι
 καὶ μισῆσαι καὶ καταλιπεῖν τὸ πιθανὸν ψεῦδος, εἰ
 μὴ τὸ περὶ αὐτὸ ἁμάρτημα πλήρες ἀναφανείη καὶ
 τέλειον· ἀναφανεῖται δὲ ἐκ τοῦ μὴ περιέργως²
 διελεγχθῆναι κατὰ τὴν τοῦ ἀληθοῦς ἀντίταξιν καὶ
 βεβαίωσιν.
 307 LXI. Λέγει δὲ ἐξῆς· “ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐγένετο ὁ ἥλιος
 πρὸς δυσμαῖς, φλόξ ἐγένετο,” δηλῶν ὅτι ἀρετὴ
 πρᾶγμα ἐστὶν ὀψίγονον καὶ μὴν, ὥς ἔφασάν τινες,
 πρὸς αὐταῖς ταῖς τοῦ βίου δυσμαῖς βεβαιούμενον.
 ἀρετὴν δὲ ἀπεικάζει φλογί· καθάπερ γὰρ ἡ φλόξ
 καίει μὲν τὴν παραβληθεῖσαν ὕλην, φωτίζει δὲ τὸν
 γείτονα ἀέρα, τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον ἐμπύπρησι μὲν τὰ
 ἁμαρτήματα ἢ ἀρετῇ, φέγγους δὲ τὴν ὅλην ἀνα-
 308 πίμπλησι διάνοιαν. ἀλλὰ γὰρ ἔτι τῶν
 ἀδιαιρέτων καὶ ἀμερίστων λόγων ἐπικρατούντων
 ταῖς πιθανότησιν, οὓς Ἀμορραίους ἀνακαλεῖ,
 περιφανεστάτην καὶ ἄσκιον αὐγὴν ἰδεῖν οὐ δυνά-

¹ mss. and Pap. ἔτι ἐνδίολκον, a word otherwise unknown, though retained in the lexica. It is difficult to see on what principles it is formed.

WHO IS THE HEIR, 304-308

not been refuted, but still in virtue of their powers of attraction seduce us with their plausibilities, while their enticements make us powerless to turn from and leave them, we remain where we are.^a

But if ever all the plausible fallacies are refuted by 305 true beliefs, and thus the cup is filled to the brim and their sins appear in their true light, we shall run for our lives without a backward glance, or (shall we say ?) slip our cable and sail clean away from the land of falsehood and sophistry, eager to find an anchorage in the most secure of all roadsteads, the haven of truth. Such is the lesson expressed in the 306 problem here presented. For it is impossible to turn back from, to hate, to leave the plausible falsehood, unless the sin involved in it be revealed complete and consummated. And this revelation will be made when, confronted by the firm evidence of truth, it receives the much-needed ^b refutation.

LXI. He continues, "but when the sun was at its 307 setting a flame arose" (Gen. xv. 17). Thus he shews that virtue is a late birth and indeed, as some have said, established firmly only at the very close of life's day. He likens virtue to a flame, for just as the flame consumes the fuel which lies at hand but gives light to the air in its neighbourhood, so virtue burns up the sins but fills the whole mind with its beam.

But while those unanalysed and un- 308 classified ways of thinking, which he calls Amorites, govern us with their plausibilities, we cannot see the

^a Or "remain unable," etc.

^b Lit. "not unnecessarily." Or, if we read *παρέργως* (see crit. note), "thoroughly and carefully."

² So Pap. and some mss.: others *μὴ παρέργως*, a very common collocation in Philo, cf. (e.g.) § 40. So Mangey.

μεθα· κλιβάνου δ' εἰλικρινές πῦρ οὐκ ἔχοντος, ἀλλ'
 ὡς αὐτὸς ἔφη καπνιζομένου τρόπον διακείμεθα,
 σπινθήρσι μὲν τῆς ἐπιστήμης ὑποτυφόμενοι, μήπω
 δὲ καθαρῶ πυρὶ δοκιμασθῆναι καὶ κραταιωθῆναι
 309 δυνάμενοι. πολλή δὲ τῷ σπείραντι τοὺς σπινθήρας
 χάρις, ἵνα μὴ νεκρῶν τρόπον σωμάτων ὁ νοῦς ὑπὸ
 παθῶν καταψυχθῇ, ἀλλ' ἔνθερμος ὢν καὶ χλιαινό-
 μενος ὑπεκκαύμασιν ἀρετῆς ζωπυρῆται μέχρι τοῦ
 τὴν εἰς πῦρ ἱερόν, ὡς ὁ Ναδάβ καὶ Ἀβιούδ,
 310 δέξασθαι μεταβολήν. καπνὸς δὲ γίνεται
 [518] μὲν πρὸ πυρός, | δακρύνει δὲ βιάζεται τοὺς
 πλησιάζοντας. ἀμφοτέρω δὲ φιλεῖ συμβαίνειν·
 τοῖς τε γὰρ ἀρετῆς ἀγγελοῖς προσχωροῦντες¹
 τελειότητα ἐλπίζομεν, καὶ εἰ μήπω δυναίμεθα
 τυχεῖν αὐτῆς, οὐκ ἀδακρυτὶ διάγομεν ἀνιῶμενοι.
 πολὺς γὰρ ὅταν ἡμερος ἐντακῇ, πρὸς τὴν τοῦ
 ποθουμένου θήραν ἐπισπεύδει καὶ ἄχρι τοῦ συλ-
 311 λαβεῖν κατηφεῖν ἀναγκάζει. κλιβάνῳ
 δὲ νῦν ἐξωμοίωσε τὴν ψυχὴν τοῦ φιλομαθοῦς καὶ
 ἐλπίδα τελειώσεως ἔχοντος, ἐπειδὴ τροφῆς πεττο-
 μένης² ἐκάτερον ἀγγεῖον ἐστίν, ὁ μὲν τῆς διὰ σιτίων
 φθαρτῶν, ἡ δὲ τῆς δι' ἀφθάρτων ἀρετῶν.
 αἱ δὲ λαμπάδες τοῦ πυρὸς αἱ δαδουχούμεναι τοῦ

¹ τοῖς . . ἀγγέλοις mss. and Pap.: Wend. corrects to ταῖς . . . αὐγαῖς. For προσχωροῦντος (so Wend.) the mss. have προσχορεύοντες or προχορεύοντες (Pap.?): Mangey ἐγχορεύοντες. See App. p. 575.

² Wend. inserts συγκραταιοῦν from Pap. which apparently has κραταιοῦν preceded by a space, or illegibility, of some kind, which he regards as representing three letters. But συγκραταιῶν is unknown to the lexica, and if it exists must be transitive, and we should expect τροφὴν rather than τροφῆς. If Pap. is to be followed, I should suggest ὡσεὶ (or
 442

rays in their full unshadowed brightness. We are in the same plight as the furnace which has no clear fire, but to use his own word (Gen. xv. 17) is "smoking." The flickerings of knowledge are smouldering within us, but we cannot as yet bear the strengthening test of pure fire. Yet great thanks are due to 309 Him who sowed these flickering sparks, to the end that the mind should not be chilled by passion like dead bodies, but, warmed and heated by the glowing coals of virtue, be quickened into flame, till it finds its full conversion into sacred fire, like Nadab and Abihu^a (Lev. x. 2).

Now smoke comes 310 before fire and forces those who approach it to shed tears. Both these, in the moral sphere, are a common experience. When we draw near to the forerunners of virtue we hope for its consummation, and if we cannot yet attain it our days are spent in sorrow and tears. For when some strong absorbing yearning has sunk into us, it urges us on to the quest of the desired object and forces us to be heavy of heart, until it is within our grasp.

Again in this 311 passage he compares the soul of him who loves learning and hopes for its consummation to a furnace or oven, because each serves as a vessel wherein is prepared nourishing food, in the one case the food of corruptible meats, in the other that of incorruptible virtues.

Again the torches of fire borne as in the mystic torch-rite are the judgements of

^a For the construing of the fate of Nadab and Abihu as an exaltation by fire to heaven *cf. Leg. All. ii. 58.*

οἷα) παραίων. But, as in § 76, I have thought it better to omit it.

- δαδούχου θεοῦ κρίσεις¹ εἰσίν, αἱ λαμπραὶ καὶ διανγεῖς, αἷς ἔθος μέσον τῶν διχοτομημάτων, λέγω δὲ τῶν ἐναντιοτήτων, ἐξ ὧν ἅπας ὁ κόσμος συνέστηκεν,
- 312 διάγειν. λέγεται γάρ· “λαμπάδες πυρός, αἱ διήλθον μέσον τῶν διχοτομημάτων,” ἵνα γνῶς, ὅτι αἱ θεαῖαι δυνάμεις διὰ μέσων καὶ πραγμάτων καὶ σωμάτων ἰοῦσαι φθείρουσι μὲν οὐδέν—μένει γὰρ ἀπαθῇ τὰ διχοτομήματα,—διαιροῦσι δὲ καὶ διαστελλουσι σφόδρα καλῶς τὰς ἐκάστων φύσεις.
- 313 LXII. Τῆς οὖν τῶν εἰρημένων ἐπιστήμης κληρονόμος δεόντως ἀποδείκνυται ὁ σοφός· “ἐν γὰρ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ” φησὶν “ἐκείνῃ διέθετο κύριος τῷ Ἀβραάμ διαθήκην λέγων· τῷ σπέρματί σου δώσω τὴν γῆν
- 314 ταύτην.” ποίαν γῆν δηλοῖ, εἰ μὴ τὴν προειρημένην, ἐφ’ ἣν ποιεῖται τὴν ἀναφοράν; ἥς ἐστὶν ὁ καρπὸς κατάληψις ἀσφαλῆς καὶ βεβαία τῆς τοῦ θεοῦ σοφίας, καθ’ ἣν τὰ σύμπαντα τοῖς τομεῦσιν ἑαυτοῦ διαφυλάττει ἀπαθῇ τὰ ἀγαθὰ κακοῦ κατὰ
- 315 τὰ ἐπὶ τοῖς τὴν γένεσιν ἀφθάρτοις.² εἰτ’ ἐπιλέγει· “ἀπὸ τοῦ ποταμοῦ Αἰγύπτου ἕως τοῦ ποταμοῦ τοῦ μεγάλου [ποταμοῦ] Εὐφράτου,” δηλῶν ὅτι οἱ τέλειοι τὰς μὲν ἀρχὰς ἔχουσιν ἀπὸ σώματος καὶ αἰσθήσεως καὶ τῶν ὀργανικῶν μερῶν, ὧν ἄνευ ζῆν οὐκ ἔνεστι—χρήσιμα γὰρ πρὸς τὴν ἐν τῷ μετὰ σώματος βίῳ παιδεῖαν,—τὰ δὲ τέλη ἐπὶ τὴν τοῦ θεοῦ σοφίαν, τὸν μέγαν ὡς ἀληθῶς

¹ κρίσεις is the reading of the mss. (Pap. not stated): Wend. unreasonably, as it seems to me, even if he finds it in Pap., corrects to κρίσις.

² The last part of this sentence is noted by Wend. as corrupt. I suggest and have translated καθ’ ἣν τὰ σύμπαντα τοῖς τομεῦσιν ἑαυτοῦ δια<κρίνας> φυλάττει ἀπαθῇ τὰ ἀγαθὰ κακοῦ καθὰ πρέπει τοῖς τὴν γένεσιν ἀφθάρτοις. See App. p. 576.

WHO IS THE HEIR, 311-315

God the torch-bearer, judgements bright and radiant, whose wont it is to range between the half-pieces, that is between the opposites of which the whole world is composed. For we read " torches of fire 312 which passed through between the half-pieces " (Gen. xv. 17). Thus you may know how highly excellent is the work of the Potencies of God as they pass through the midst of material and immaterial things. They destroy nothing—for the half-pieces remain unharmed—but divide and distinguish the nature of each.

LXII. Rightly then is the Sage declared to be the 313 heir of the knowledge of the truths here mentioned. For " on that day," says Moses, " God made a covenant with Abraham, saying, " to thy seed will I give this land " (Gen. xv. 18). What land does he 314 mean, but that which was mentioned before to which he now refers,^a the land whose fruit is the sure and stedfast apprehension of the wisdom of God, by which through His dividing powers He separates all things and keeps untouched by evil those that are good, as it is meet they should be kept for those who are born to life imperishable?^b Then 315 he continues, " from the river of Egypt to the great river Euphrates " (Gen. xv. 18). Here he shews how it stands with the perfected. Their perfecting begins with the body and sense and the parts which serve as organs, without which we cannot live, since they are needed for our training while in the life of the body. It ends in the attainment of the wisdom of God, that truly great river, brimming over with

^a *i.e.* in Gen. xv. 17, which was interpreted as wisdom in §§ 98 and 99.

^b See App. p. 576. •

PHILO

ποταμόν, χαρᾶς καὶ εὐφροσύνης καὶ τῶν ἄλλων
316 πλημμυροῦντα ἀγαθῶν. οὐ γὰρ ἀπὸ τοῦ ποταμοῦ
Εὐφράτου ἕως τοῦ Αἰγύπτου ποταμοῦ τὴν χώραν
περιέγραψεν—οὐ¹ γὰρ ἂν ἀρετὴν εἰς τὰ σωματικά
πάθη κατεβίβασεν,—ἀλλ' ἔμπαλιν “ ἀπὸ τοῦ
Αἰγύπτου ἕως τοῦ μεγάλου Εὐφράτου.” ἀπὸ γὰρ
τῶν θνητῶν αἱ βελτιώσεις γίνονται πρὸς τὰ
ἄφθαρτα.

¹ Perhaps, as Mangey, οὕτως, “for that would have been to” etc.

WHO IS THE HEIR, 316

joy and gladness^a and all other blessings. For note 316 that he does not fix the limits of the land as stretching from the river Euphrates to the river of Egypt^b—he would never have made virtue take a downward course into the bodily passions—but in the opposite order, from the river of Egypt to the great Euphrates. For all progress in good begins with the mortal and proceeds to the imperishable.

^a There is evidently a play on the resemblance of *Εὐφράτης* and *εὐφροσύνη*; cf. its description as *εὐφραίνοντα τὴν διανοίαν* *Leg. All.* i. 72.

^b Or “the river Aegyptus.” In the *Quaestiones* (Gen. iii. 5) Philo, commenting on this passage, quotes *Odyssey* xiv. 255 to shew that the old name for the Nile was Egyptus.