

Western Civilization I, Fall 2018

Prof. Edward A. Reno III

Electronic Sourcebook for first half of the semester (up through midterm)

## List of Readings

(NB: selections are hyperlinked, so you can click on the relevant item in the bookmark toolbar and jump straight to the relevant reading, and they are also bookmarked)

SB01. *The Babylonian Epic of Creation (Enuma eliš)* [pp. 1-11]

SB02. *The Egyptian Hymn to Aton* [pp. 12-15]

SB03. *Book of Genesis* 1-4, 6-9, 17-9, 21-2 [pp. 16-38]

SB04. Exodus 2-4, 19-20, 32-4; Isaiah 1, 56; Daniel 2 [pp. 39-64]

SB05. Thucydides, *Peloponnesian War*, Early Greek History (1.1-23); Pericles' Funeral Oration (2.34-46) [pp. 65-78]

SB06. Aristotle, *The Poetics* [pp. 79-82]

SB07. Plato, *The Apology* and “The Allegory of the Cave” from Book VII of *The Republic* [pp. 83-112]

SB08. Plutarch, *Life of Alexander the Great* [pp. 113-29]

SB09. Epicurus, “Letter to Menoeceus” and Epictetus, *Encheiridion* [pp. 130-142]

SB10. Philo of Alexandria, *On the Life of Moses*, chs. 1, 5-6 [pp. 143-150]

SB11. Appian, *Civil Wars*, I.1-3 (On the Gracchian Revolution) [pp. 151-172]

SB12. Augustus, *Res Gestae Divi Augusti* [pp. 173-79]

SB13. Aelius Aristides, *The Roman Oration* [pp. 180-82]

SB14. Eunapius, *Lives of Philosophers*: Lives of Porphyry and Iamblichus [pp. 183-94]

SB15. Ammianus Marcellinus, *History*, XIV.6 (“The Faults of the Roman Senate and People”) [pp. 195-205]

# The Context of Scripture

VOLUME I

## Canonical Compositions from the Biblical World

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### SB01. Babylonian Epic of Creation (Enuma Elish)

The Epic, which was originally composed probably during the time of Hammurabi (18th c. BCE), recounts the primordial genesis of the Babylonian pantheon, followed by a struggle between the older gods (led by Tiamat) and the newer gods (led by Marduk), which ultimately leads to the creation of the earth and human beings. There are some important similarities with the creation account in the Book of Genesis.

BRILL  
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Then Namtar went and gave his report, (saying):  
 “[My mistress, I went and counted] them.  
 The last god [was crouching down].  
 [The god who did not rise to his feet in my presence] was not there.”  
 [Ereshkigal made her voice heard],  
 [And addressed Namtar] her messenger,  
 (40) “[...] month.”  
 [...] Ea, honored lord.  
 “Identify the one,” [...] to the hand of [Ea].<sup>3</sup>  
 “Take (him) to Ereshkigal!” He was weeping  
 Before his father Ea: “He will see me!  
 “He will not let me stay alive!” “Don’t be afraid [...]”  
 I shall give to you seven and seven [demons]  
 To go with you: ..., ..., ..., Flashes-of-Lightning,  
 Bailiff, Croucher, Expulsion, Wind,  
 Fits, Staggers, Stroke, Lord-of-the-Roof,  
 Feverhot, Scab [...]”  
 With you [...] door  
 (50) Ereshkigal will call out: ‘Doorkeeper, [...] your door.’  
 [You must say]  
 ‘Loosen the thong, that I may enter into the presence of your mistress,  
 Ereshkigal. I have been sent!’” The doorkeeper went  
 And said to Namtar: “One god is standing at the entrance of the door,  
 Come, inspect him and let him enter.” Namtar came out  
 And saw him and gladly: “[Wait (?)] here!” He said  
 To his mistress: “My lady, here is the god who in previous  
 Months had vanished (?), and who did not rise to his feet in my presence!”<sup>4</sup>  
 (60) “Bring him in. As soon as he comes, I

shall kill him!”  
 Namtar came out and [...], “Come in, my lord,  
 To your sister’s house and ... ....”  
 Nergal [said], “You should be glad to see me.  
 [...] Nergal [...]”  
 [2 lines missing]  
 ... at the third, Flashes-of-Lightning at the fourth.<sup>5</sup>  
 Bailiff at the fifth, Croucher at the sixth, Expulsion  
 (70) At the seventh, Wind at the eighth, Fits  
 At the ninth, Staggers at the tenth, Stroke  
 At the eleventh, Lord-of-the-Roof at the twelfth,  
 Feverhot at the thirteenth, Scab at the fourteenth  
 Door, he managed to seal her in (?). In the forecourt he cut off<sup>6</sup>  
 Namtar. He gave his troops orders: “Let the doors be opened! Now I shall race past (?) you!”  
 Inside the house, he seized Ereshkigal  
 By her hair, pulled her from the throne  
 To the ground, intending to cut off her head.  
 (80) “Don’t kill me, my brother! Let me tell you something.”  
 Nergal listened to her and relaxed his grip, he wept and was overcome (when she said),  
 “You can be my husband, and I can be your wife.  
 I will let you seize<sup>7</sup>  
 Kingship over the wide Earth! I will put the tablet  
 Of wisdom in your hand! You can be master, I can be mistress.” Nergal listened to this speech of hers,  
 And seized her and kissed her. He wiped away her tears.  
 “What have you asked of me? After so many months,  
 It shall certainly be so!”<sup>8</sup>

<sup>3</sup> “Identify”: reading as imperative of *wussūm*.

<sup>4</sup> Rituals and customs for honoring and placating the dead were carried out on a monthly schedule linked to the phases of the moon.

<sup>5</sup> Ishtar/Inanna has similar shamanistic control of demons in the Sumerian story, *The Descent of Inanna*. In the cult of Ishtar at Nineveh, the goddess controlled demons who formed her entourage (Haas 1979:397-401).

<sup>6</sup> Tentatively reading *huttumasa*, “to seal her in.”

<sup>7</sup> Exactly the same words are used by Ishtar in *Gilgamesh*, VI. i.

<sup>8</sup> Some scholars think this ending is too cryptic and abrupt to be intentional, and that the story would have continued.

#### REFERENCES

Knudtzon 1915; Dalley 1989:178-181.

Read Intro, Tablet I up until line 104, and Tablets IV-VI.

EPIC OF CREATION (1.111)  
*(Enūma Elish)*

*Benjamin R. Foster*

The so-called epic of Creation preserves a relatively late Babylonian conception of the creation of the physical world (including humanity), but its real focus is on the elevation of Marduk to the top of the pantheon in return for taking up the cause of the embattled gods, who build his great temple of Esagila in Babylon in recognition of his leadership.

The composition could therefore be as readily called "The Exaltation of Marduk." As such it provides a parallel of sorts to the exaltation of Yahweh as celebrated by Moses and Miriam in the Song of the Sea (Exodus 15), and the subsequent erection of the Tabernacle in the Wilderness (Hallo and van Dijk 1968 ch. 6; Mann 1977; Hurowitz 1992). Unique to the epic is its denouement, in which Marduk is acclaimed by fifty names and these are given learned explanations or etymologies (Bottéro 1977). [WWH]

*Tablet I*

(1) When on high no name was given to heaven,  
Nor below was the netherworld called by name,  
Primeval Apsu was their progenitor,  
And matrix-Tiamat was she who bore them all,  
(5) They were mingling their waters together,  
No cane brake was intertwined nor thicket matted close.  
When no gods at all had been brought forth,  
None called by names, none destinies ordained,  
Then were the gods formed within the(se two).  
(10) Lahmu and Lahamu were brought forth, were called by name.  
When they had waxed great, had grown up tall,  
Anshar and Kishar were formed, greater than they,  
They grew lengthy of days, added years to years.  
Anu their firstborn was like his forebears,  
(15) Anshar made Anu, his offspring, his equal.  
Then Anu begot his own image Nudimmud,  
Nudimmud was he who dominated(?) his foreheads:  
Profound in wisdom, acute of sense, he was massively strong,  
Much mightier than his grandfather Anshar,  
(20) No rival had he among the gods his brethren.<sup>1</sup>  
The divine brethren banded together,  
Confusing Tiamat as they moved about in their stir,  
Roiling the vitals of Tiamat,  
By their uproar distressing the interior of the Divine Abode.<sup>2</sup>  
(25) Apsu could not reduce their clamor,  
But Tiamat was silent before them.  
Their actions were noisome to her,  
Their behavior was offensive, (but) she was indulgent.  
Thereupon Apsu, begetter of the great gods,  
(30) Summoned Mummu his vizier, saying to him,  
"Mummu, vizier who contents me,  
Come, let us go to Tiamat."  
They went, took their places facing Tiamat,  
They took counsel concerning the gods their offspring.  
(35) Apsu made ready to speak,  
Saying to her, Tiamat, in a loud voice,  
"Their behavior is noisome to me!  
By day I have no rest, at night I do not sleep!  
I wish to put an end to their behavior, to do away

with it!  
(40) Let silence reign that we may sleep."  
When Tiamat had heard this,  
She grew angry and cried out to her spouse,  
She cried out bitterly, outraged that she stood alone,  
(For) he had urged evil upon her,  
(45) "What? Shall we put an end to what we created?  
Their behavior may be most noisome,  
but we should bear it in good part."  
It was Mummu who answered, counselling Apsu,  
Like a dissenting vizier's was the counsel of his Mummu,  
"Put an end here and now, father, to their troublesome ways!  
(50) By day you should have rest, at night you should sleep."  
Apsu was delighted with him, he beamed.  
On account of the evils he plotted against the gods his children,  
He embraced Mummu, around his neck,  
He sat on his knees so he could kiss him.  
(55) Whatever they plotted between them,  
Was repeated to the gods their offspring.  
The gods heard it as they stirred about,  
They were stunned, they sat down in silence.  
Surpassing in wisdom, ingenious, resourceful,  
(60) Ea was aware of all, recognized their stratagēni.  
He fashioned it, he established it, a master plan,  
He made it artful, his superb magic spell.  
He recited it and brought (him)  
to rest in the waters,  
He put him in deep slumber, he was fast asleep,  
(65) He made Apsu sleep, he was drenched with slumber,  
Mummu the advisor was drowsy with languor.  
He untied his sash, he stripped off his tiara,  
He took away his aura, he himself put it on.  
He tied up Apsu, he killed him,  
(70) Mummu he bound, he locked him securely.  
He founded his dwelling upon Apsu,  
He secured Mummu, held (him) firm by a lead-rope.  
After Ea had captured and vanquished his foes,

<sup>1</sup> This elaborate theogony, or genealogy of the gods, builds on Sum. precedent. It finds a parallel in Hesiod's version of Greek mythology, and is perhaps its ultimate source (Walcot 1966), but is absent in the Bible.

<sup>2</sup> For the perennial theme of noise disturbing the gods, cf. the Atra-hasis Epic (below, Text 1.130). But here it is the (younger) deities themselves who make the noise. See Finkelstein 1956:328-331.

Had won the victory over his opponents,  
 (75) In his chamber, in profound quiet, he rested.  
 He called it "Apsu," (meaning) "They Recognize  
 Sanctuaries."  
 He established therein his chamber,  
 Ea and Damkina his wife dwelt there in splendor.  
 In the cella of destinies, the abode of designs,  
 (80) The most capable, the sage of the gods,  
 the Lord was begotten,  
 In the midst of Apsu Marduk was formed,  
 In the midst of holy Apsu was Marduk formed!  
 Ea his father begot him,  
 Damkina his mother was confined with him.  
 (85) He suckled at the breasts of goddesses,  
 The attendant who raised him endowed him well  
 with glories.  
 His body was splendid, fiery his glance,  
 He was a hero at birth, he was a mighty one from  
 the beginning!  
 When Anu his grandfather saw him,  
 (90) He was happy, he beamed, his heart was filled  
 with joy.  
 He perfected him, so that his divinity was strange,  
 He was much greater, he surpassed them in every  
 way.  
 His members were fashioned with cunning beyond  
 comprehension,  
 Impossible to conceive, too difficult to visualize:  
 (95) Fourfold his vision, fourfold his hearing,<sup>3</sup>  
 When he moved his lips a fire broke out.  
 Formidable his fourfold perception,  
 And his eyes, in like number, saw in every direc-  
 tion.  
 He was tallest of the gods, surpassing in form,  
 (100) His limbs enormous, he was surpassing at  
 birth.  
 "The son Utu, the son Utu,  
 The son, the sun, the sunlight of the gods!"  
 He wore (on his body) the auras of ten gods,  
 had (them) wrapped around his head too,  
 Fifty glories were heaped upon him.  
 Stop.  
 Go to  
 Tablet  
 IV.

(105) Anu formed and produced the four winds,  
 He put them in his hand, "Let my son play!"  
 He fashioned dust, he made a storm bear it up,  
 He caused a wave and it roiled Tiamat,  
 Tiamat was roiled, churning day and night,  
 (110) The gods, finding no rest, bore the brunt of  
 each wind.  
 They plotted evil in their hearts,  
 They said to Tiamat their mother,  
 "When he killed Apsu your husband,  
 You did nothing to save him but sat by, silent.  
 (115) Now he has made four terrible winds,

They are roiling your vitals so we cannot sleep.  
 You had no care for Apsu your husband,  
 As for Mummu, who was captured, you remained  
 aloof.  
 Now you churn back and forth, confused.  
 (120) As for us, who cannot lie down to rest, you  
 do not love us!  
 Think of our burden, our eyes are pinched,  
 Lift this unremitting yoke, let us sleep!  
 Battle has begun, give them what they deserve,  
 [Ma]ke a [tempest], turn them into nothingness."  
 (125) When Tiamat [heard] these words, they pleased her,  
 "[As you have counselled, we will make a tem-  
 pest,  
 [We will ] the gods within it,  
 (For) they have been adopting [wicked ways]  
 against the gods [thei]r parents."  
 [They clo]sed ranks and drew up at Tiamat's side,  
 (130) Angry, scheming, never lying down night and  
 day,  
 [Ma]king warfare, rumbling, raging,  
 Convening in assembly, that they might start hosti-  
 lities.  
 Mother Hubur, who can form everything,  
 Added countless invincible weapons, gave birth to  
 monster serpents,  
 (135) Pointed of fang, with merciless incisors(?),  
 She filled their bodies with venom for blood.  
 Fierce dragons she clad with glories,  
 Causing them to bear auras like gods, (saying)  
 "Whoever sees them shall collapse from weakness!  
 (140) Wherever their bodies make onslaught,  
 they shall not turn back!"  
 She deployed serpents, dragons, and hairy hero-  
 men,  
 Lion monsters, lion men, scorpion men,  
 Mighty demons, fish men, bull men,  
 Bearing unsparing arms, fearing no battle.  
 (145) Her commands were absolute, no one opposed  
 them,  
 Eleven indeed on this wise she cre[ated].  
 From among the gods her offspring, who composed  
 her assembly,  
 She raised up Qingu<sup>4</sup> from among them, it was he  
 she made greatest!  
 Leadership of the army, command of the assembly,  
 (150) Arming, contact, advance of the melee,  
 Supreme command in warfare,  
 (All) she entrusted to him, made him sit on the  
 dais.  
 "I cast your spell. I make you the greatest in the  
 assembly of the gods,

<sup>3</sup> See the statue of a god with four heads possibly illustrating this conception in Jacobsen 1976:166.

<sup>4</sup> Others read Kingu, and take it as a pun on the Sum. name of Sumer, i.e., Kengir, and Tiamat (lit., "Sea," cognate with Heb. *sehom*) similarly as standing for the Sealand (Akk. *māt tamāt*). See Jacobsen 1975:76.

Let nothing that I shall bring about be altered,  
Nor what I say be revoked or changed.'

(65) Come quickly to me, straightaway ordain him  
your destinies,  
Let him go and confront your powerful enemy."

Kakka went and made straight his way  
Towards Lahmu and Lahamu the gods his ances-  
tors.

He prostrated, kissed the ground before them.

(70) He stood up straight and said to them,  
"It is Anshar your son who has ordered me to  
come,

He has bade me speak in full the command of his  
heart:

'Tiamat our mother has grown angry with us,  
She has convened an assembly, furious with rage.

(75) All the gods rallied around her,  
Even those you created are going over to her side.  
They are massing around her, ready at Tiamat's  
side.

Angry, scheming, never lying down night and day,  
Making warfare, rumbling, raging.

(80) Convening in assembly, that they might begin  
hostilities.

Mother Hubur, who can form everything,  
Added countless invincible weapons,  
gave birth to monster serpents,  
Pointed of fang, with merciless incisors(?),  
She filled their bodies with venom for blood.

(85) Fierce dragons she clad with glories,  
Causing them to bear auras like gods, (saying)  
"Whoever sees them shall collapse from weakness!  
Wherever their bodies make onslaught  
they shall not turn back!"

She deployed serpents, dragons, and hairy hero-  
men,

(90) Lion monsters, lion men, scorpion men,  
Mighty demons, fish men, bull men,  
Bearing unsparing arms, fearing no battle.  
Her commands were absolute, no one opposed  
them.

Eleven indeed on this wise she created!  
From among the gods her offspring who composed  
her assembly,

She raised up Qingu from among them, it was he  
she made greatest!

Leadership of the army, command of the assembly,  
Arming, contact, advance of the melee,  
Supreme command in warfare:

(100) (All) she entrusted to him, made him sit on  
the dais.  
"I cast your spell and make you the greatest in the  
assembly of the gods,  
Kingship of all the gods I put in your power.  
You shall be the greatest, you are my only spouse,  
Your name shall always be greatest, over all the

Anunna-gods."

(105) 'She gave him the tablet of destinies, had him  
hold it to his chest, (saying)  
"As for you, your command will not be changed,  
your utterance will be eternal.  
Now that Qingu is the highest and has taken over  
[supremacy],  
And has [ordained] destinies for his divine  
children,  
Whatever you (gods) say shall cause fire to [sub-  
side],

(110) Your concentrated venom will make the  
mighty one yield."  
'I sent Anu, he could not confront her,  
Nudimmud was afraid and turned back.  
Marduk came forward, the sage of the gods, your  
son,  
He has resolved to go against Tiamat.

(115) When he spoke, he said to me,  
"If indeed I am to champion you,  
Subdue Tiamat and save your lives,  
Convene the assembly, nominate me for supreme  
destiny!

In the Assembly Place of the Gods take your  
places,  
all of you, in joyful mood.

(120) When I speak, let me ordain destinies instead  
of you.  
Let nothing that I shall bring about be altered,  
Nor what I say be revoked nor changed."

'Hurry to me, straightaway ordain him your  
destinies,  
Let him go and confront your powerful enemy.'

(125) When Lahmu and Lahamu heard, they cried  
aloud,  
All of the Igigi-gods wailed bitterly,  
"What (is our) hostility, that she has taken a[ct]ion  
(against) us?"

We scarcely know what Tiamat might do!"  
They swarmed together and came.

(130) All the great gods, ordainers of [destinies],  
Came before Anshar and were filled with [joy].  
One kissed the other in the assembly [ ].  
They conversed, sat down at a feast,  
On produce of the field they fed, imbibed of the  
vine,

(135) With sweet liquor they made their gullets run,  
They felt good from drinking the beer.  
Most carefree, their spirits rose,  
To Marduk their champion they ordained destiny.

*Tablet IV* Pick up here.

(1) They set out for him a princely dais,  
He took his place before his fathers for sovereignty.  
"You are the most important among the great gods,

Your destiny is unrivalled, your command is supreme.

(5) O Marduk, you are the most important among the great gods,

Your destiny is unrivalled, your command is supreme!

Henceforth your command cannot be changed,  
To raise high, to bring low, this shall be your power.

Your command shall be truth, your word shall not be misleading.

(10) Not one of the gods shall go beyond the limits you set.

Support is wanted for the gods' sanctuaries,  
Wherever their shrines shall be, your own shall be established.

O Marduk, you are our champion,  
We bestow upon you kingship of all and everything.

(15) Take your place in the assembly, your word shall be supreme.

May your weapon never strike wide but dispatch your foes.

O Lord, spare his life who trusts in you,  
But the god who has taken up evil, snuff out his life!"

They set up among them a certain constellation,

(20) To Marduk their firstborn said they (these words),  
"Your destiny, O Lord, shall be foremost of the gods',  
Command destruction or creation, they shall take place.

At your word the constellation shall be destroyed,  
Command again, the constellation shall be intact."

(25) He commanded and at his word the constellation was destroyed,  
He commanded again and the constellation was created anew.<sup>6</sup>

When the gods his fathers saw what he had commanded,  
Joyfully they hailed, "Marduk is king!"  
They bestowed in full measure scepter, throne, and staff,

(30) They gave him unopposable weaponry that vanquishes enemies.

"Go, cut off the life of Tiamat,  
Let the winds bear her blood away as glad tidings!"  
The gods, his fathers, ordained the Lord's destiny,  
On the path to success and authority did they set him marching.

(35) He made the bow, appointed it his weapon,  
He mounted the arrow, set it on the string.  
He took up the mace, held it in his right hand,

<sup>a</sup> Ps 93:1;  
96:10; 97:1;  
99:1; 1 Chr  
16:31

Bow and quiver he slung on his arm.  
Thunderbolts he set before his face,  
(40) With raging fire he covered his body.  
Then he made a net to enclose Tiamat within,  
He deployed the four winds that none of her might escape:  
South Wind, North Wind, East Wind, West Wind,  
Gift of his grandfather Anu;  
he fastened the net at his side.

(45) He made ill wind, whirlwind, cyclone,  
Four-ways wind, seven-ways wind, destructive wind, irresistible wind:  
He released the winds which he had made, the seven of them,  
Mounting in readiness behind him to roil inside Tiamat.

Then the Lord raised the Deluge, his great weapon.

(50) He mounted the terrible chariot, the unopposable Storm Demon,  
He hitched to it the four-steed team, he tied them at his side:  
"Slaughterer," "Merciless," "Overwhelmer," "Soaring."  
Their lips are curled back, their teeth bear venom,  
They know not fatigue, they are trained to trample down.

(55) He stationed at his right gruesome battle and strife,  
At his left the fray that overthrows all formations.  
He was garbed in a ghastly armored garment,  
On his head he was covered with terrifying auras.  
The Lord made straight and pursued his way,

(60) Toward raging Tiamat he set his face.  
He was holding a spell ready upon his lips,  
A plant, antidote to venom, he was grasping in his hand.  
At that moment the gods were stirring, stirring about him,  
The gods his fathers were stirring about him, the gods stirring about him.

(65) The Lord drew near, to see the battle of Tiamat,  
He was looking for the stratagem of Qingu her spouse.  
As he looked, his tactic turned to confusion,  
His reason was overthrown, his actions panicky,  
And as for the gods his allies, who went at his side,

(70) When they saw the valiant vanguard, their sight failed them.  
Tiamat cast her spell pointblank,  
Falsehood, lies she held ready on her lips.  
"..... lord, the gods rise against you,  
They assembled [where] they are,

<sup>6</sup> The ability to destroy or create by fiat is the test of divine supremacy.

(but) are they on your side?"

(75) The Lord [raised] the Deluge, his great weapon,  
To Tiamat, who acted conciliatory, sent he (this word),

"Why outwardly do you assume a friendly attitude,  
While your heart is plotting to open attack?  
Children cried out, they oppress their parents,  
(80) But you, their own mother, spurned all natural feeling.

You named Qingu to be spouse for you,  
Though he had no right to be, you set him up for chief god.

You attempted wicked deeds against Anshar,  
sovereign of the gods,  
And you have perpetrated your evil against the gods my fathers.

(85) Though main force is drawn up,  
though these your weapons are in array,  
Come within range, let us duel, you and I!"

When Tiamat heard this,  
She was beside herself, she turned into a maniac.  
Tiamat shrieked loud, in a passion,

(90) Her frame shook all over, down to the ground.  
He was reciting the incantation, casting his spell,  
While the gods of battle were whetting their blades.  
Tiamat and Marduk, sage of the gods, drew close for battle,

They locked in single combat, joining for the fray.  
(95) The Lord spread out his net, encircled her,  
The ill wind he had held behind him he released in her face.

Tiamat opened her mouth to swallow,  
He thrust in the ill wind so she could not close her lips.

The raging winds bloated her belly,  
(100) Her insides were stopped up, she gaped her mouth wide.

He shot off the arrow, it broke open her belly,  
It cut to her innards, it pierced the heart.<sup>7</sup>  
He subdued her and snuffed out her life,  
He flung down her carcass, he took his stand upon it.

(105) After the vanguard had slain Tiamat,  
He scattered her forces, he dispersed her host.  
As for the gods her allies, who had come to her aid,

They trembled, terrified, they ran in all directions,  
They tried to make a way out(?) to save their lives,  
(110) There was no escaping the grasp that held (them)!

*b Gen 1:1-8*

He drew them in and smashed their weapons.  
They were cast in the net and sat in a heap,  
They were heaped up in the corners, full of woe,  
They were bearing his punishment, to prison confined.

(115) As for the eleven creatures, the ones adorned with glories,  
And the demonic horde(?), which all went at her side,

He put on lead ropes, he bound their arms.  
He trampled them under, together with their belligerence.

As for Qingu, who was trying to be great among them,

(120) He captured him and reckoned him among the doomed.

He took away from him the tablet of destinies that he had no right to,

He sealed it with a seal and affixed it to his chest.  
Having captured his enemies and triumphed,

Having shown the mighty(?) foe subservient(?),  
(125) Having fully achieved Anshar's victory over his enemies,

Valiant Marduk having attained what Nudimmud desired,

He made firm his hold over the captured gods,  
Then turned back to Tiamat whom he had captured.

The Lord trampled upon the frame of Tiamat,  
(130) With his merciless mace he crushed her skull.

He cut open the arteries of her blood,  
He let the North Wind bear (it) away as glad tidings.

When his fathers saw, they rejoiced and were glad,  
They brought him gifts and presents.

(135) He calmed down. Then the Lord was inspecting her carcass,

That he might divide(?) the monstrous lump and fashion artful things.

He split her in two, like a fish for drying.  
Half of her he set up and made as a cover, heaven.  
He stretched out the hide and assigned watchmen,

(140) And ordered them not to let her waters escape.<sup>8</sup>

He crossed heaven and inspected (its) firmament,  
He made a counterpart to Apsu, the dwelling of Nudimmud.

The Lord measured the construction of Apsu,  
He founded the Great Sanctuary, the likeness of Esharra.<sup>8</sup>

(In) the Great Sanctuary, (in) Esharra, which he built, (and in) heaven,

<sup>7</sup> Technically, Marduk conquers Tiamat by forcing her body open with the wind as with a bellows, then shooting an arrow into her innards. Symbolically, there may be here an allusion to the military triumph of Kassite Babylonia over the First Sealand Dynasty in the 15th century BCE; cf. above, n. 4.

<sup>8</sup> The creation of heaven and earth here and in the next tablet (chapter) serves as a way of disposing of the defeated Tiamat rather than as the main focus of the epic.

He made Ea, Enlil, and Anu dwell in their holy places.

*Tablet V*

(1) He made the position(s) for the great gods,  
He established (in) constellations the stars, their likenesses.  
He marked the year, described its boundaries,  
He set up twelve months of three stars each.  
(5) After he had patterned the days of the year,  
He fixed the position of Neberu<sup>9</sup> to mark the (stars') relationships.  
Lest any make an error or go astray,  
He established the position(s) of Enlil and Ea in relation to it.  
He opened up gates on both (sides of her) ribs,  
(10) He made strong bolts to left and right.  
In her liver he established the zenith.  
He made the moon appear, entrusted (to him) the night.  
He assigned to him the crown jewel of nighttime to mark the day (of the month):  
Every month, without ceasing, he exalted him with a crown.  
(15) "At the beginning of the month, waxing over the land,  
You shine with horns to mark six days.  
At the seventh day, the disk as [ha]lf.  
At the fifteenth day, you shall be in opposition, at the midpoint of each [month].<sup>10</sup>  
When the sun f[ac]es you from the horizon of heaven,  
(20) Wane at the same pace and form in reverse.  
At the day of di[sappearan]ce, approach the sun's course,  
On the [ ] of the thirtieth day, you shall be in conjunction with the sun a second time.  
I d[efined]? the celestial signs, proceed on their path,  
[ ] approach each other and render (oracular) judgment.  
(25) To raise the wind, to cause rainfall,  
To make mists steam, to pile up her spittle (as snow?),  
He assigned to himself, put under his control.  
He set down her head and piled [ ] upon it,  
He opened underground springs, a flood was let flow(?).  
(30) From her eyes he undammed the Euphrates] and Tigris.  
He stopped up her nostrils, he left ...  
He heaped up high-peaked mo[unt]ains from(?) her dugs.  
He drilled through her waterholes to carry off the catchwater.

c Gen 2:14

He coiled up her tail and tied it as(?) "The Great Bond."  
(60) [ ] Apsu beneath, at his feet.  
He set her crotch as the brace of heaven, Spreading [half of] her as a cover, he established the netherworld.  
[After he had completed his task inside Tiamat, [He spre]ad his net, let all (within) escape.  
[...]  
After he had designed his prerogatives and devised his responsibilities,  
He put on leadlines, entrusted (those) to Ea.  
[The tablet] of destinies, which he took from Qingu and brought away,  
(70) As the foremost gift he took away, he presented (it) to Anu.  
The [ ] of battle, which he had fastened on and set on his head,  
[ ] he led before his fathers.  
[And as for] the eleven creatures which Tiamat created ...  
He smashed their [wea]pons, he tied them to his feet.  
(75) He made images [of them] and set them up at the [Gate of] Apsu:  
"Lest ever after they be forgotten, let this be the sign."  
When [the gods] saw, they rejoiced and were glad, Lahmu, Lahamu, and all his fathers.  
Anshar [embra]ced him, proclaimed (his) salutation (to be) "king."  
(80) [A]nu, Enlil, and Ea gave him gifts, [ ] Damkina his mother made cries of joy over him,  
She(?) made his face glow with (cries of) "Good ...!"  
To Usmu, who brought (Damkina's) gift at the glad tidings,  
[He en]trusted the ministry of Apsu and care of the sanctuaries.  
(85) All the Igigi-gods together prostrated themselves before him,  
[And] the Anunna-gods, all there are, were doing him homage.  
The whole of them joined together to pay him reverence,  
[Before him] they stood, they prostrated themselves, "This is the king!"  
[After] his fathers had celebrated him in due measure,  
(90) [ ] covered with the dust of battle.  
[ ] ...  
With cedar [oil] and [ ] he anoi[nted] his body, He clothed himself in [his] princely [gar]ment, The kingly aura, the awe-inspiring tiara,

<sup>9</sup> Lit., "the passage," i.e. the Milky Way.

<sup>10</sup> Cf. Atra-hasis (below, Text 1.130) I 206 and n. 5.

(95) He picked up the mace, he held it in his right hand,  
 [ ] he held in his left hand.  
 [ ]  
 [ ] he made firm at his feet.  
 He set over [ ]  
 (100) The staff of success and authority [he hung] at his side.  
 After he [had put on] the aura of [his kingship], His netted sack, the Apsu [ ] awesomeness.  
 He was seated like [ ]  
 In [his] throne room [ ]  
 (105) In his cella [ ]  
 The gods, all there are, [ ]  
 Lahmu and Lahamu [ ]  
 Made ready to speak and [said to] the Igigi-gods:  
 "Formerly [Mar]duk was 'our beloved son,'  
 (110) Now he is your king, pay heed to his command."  
 Next all of them spoke and said:  
 "'Lugaldimmerankia' is his name, trust in him!"  
 When they had given kingship over to Marduk,  
 They said to him expressions of good will and obedience,  
 (115) "Henceforth you shall be provider for our sanctuaries,  
 Whatever you shall command, we will do."  
 Marduk made ready to speak and said  
 (These) words to the gods his fathers,  
 "Above Apsu, the azure dwelling,  
 (120) As counterpart to Esharra, which I built for you,  
 Below the firmament, whose grounding I made firm,  
 A house I shall build, let it be the abode of my pleasure.  
 Within it I shall establish its holy place,  
 I shall appoint my (holy) chambers,  
 I shall establish my kingship.  
 (125) When you go up from Apsu to assembly,  
 Let your stopping places be there to receive you.  
 When you come down from heaven to [assembly],  
 Let your stopping places be there to receive all of you.  
 I shall call [its] name [Babylon], (meaning)  
 "Houses of the Great Gods,"  
 (130) We shall all hold fe[stival]s with[in] it."  
 When the gods his fathers heard what he commanded,  
 They ... [ ]  
 "Over all things which your hands have created,  
 Who has [authority, save for you]?  
 (135) Over the earth that you have created,  
 Who has [authority, save for] you?  
 Babylon, to which you have given name,  
 Make our [stopping place] there forever.

Let them bring us our daily portions,  
 (140) [ ] our [ ].  
 Whosoever shall [ ] our task which we [ ],  
 In his place [ ] his toil [ ]."  
 [...] The gods prostrated themselves before him, saying,  
 (150) To Lugaldimmerankia their lord they [said],  
 "Formerly [we called you] 'The Lord, [our beloved] son,'  
 Now 'Our King' ... [shall be your name],  
 He whose [sacral] sp[ell] saved our lives,"  
 [ ] au[ra], ma[ce], and ne[ti],  
 (155) [Ea(?),] ev[ery] [sk]ill.  
 Let him make the plans, we ... [ ]."

*Tablet VI*

(1) When [Mar]duk heard the speech of the gods,  
 He was resolving to make artful things:  
 He would tell his idea to Ea,  
 What he thought of in his heart he proposes,  
 (5) "I shall compact blood, I shall cause bones to be,  
 I shall make stand a human being, let 'Man' be its name.  
 I shall create humankind,  
 They shall bear the gods' burden that those may rest.  
 I shall artfully double the ways of the gods:  
 (10) Let them be honored as one but divided in twain."  
 Ea answered him, saying these words,  
 He told him a plan to let the gods rest,  
 "Let one, their brother, be given to me,  
 Let him be destroyed so that people can be fashioned.  
 (15) Let the great gods convene in assembly,  
 Let the guilty one be given up that they may abide."  
 Marduk convened the great gods in assembly,  
 He spoke to them magnanimously as he gave the command,  
 The gods heeded his utterance,  
 (20) As the king spoke to the Anunna-gods (these) words,  
 "Let your first reply be the truth!  
 Do you speak with me truthful words!  
 Who was it that made war,  
 Suborned Tiamat and drew up for battle?  
 (25) Let him be given over to me, the one who made war,  
 I shall make him bear his punishment, you shall be released."  
 The Igigi, the great gods answered him,  
 To Lugaldimmerankia, sovereign of all the gods, their lord,  
 "It was Qingu who made war,

(30) Suborned Tiamat and drew up for battle.”  
 They bound and held him before Ea,  
 They imposed the punishment on him and shed his  
 blood.  
 From his blood he made mankind,  
 He imposed the burden of the gods and exempted  
 the gods.  
 (35) After Ea the wise had made mankind,  
 They imposed the burden of the gods on them!<sup>11</sup>  
 That deed is beyond comprehension,  
 By the artifices of Marduk did Nudimmud create!  
 Marduk the king divided the gods,  
 (40) The Anunna-gods, all of them, above and  
 below,  
 He assigned to Anu for duty at his command.  
 He set three hundred in heaven for (their) duty,  
 A like number he designated for the ways of the  
 netherworld:  
 He made six hundred dwell in heaven and nether-  
 world.  
 (45) After he had given all the commands,  
 And had divided the shares of the Anunna-gods of  
 heaven and netherworld,  
 The Anunna-gods made ready to speak,  
 To Marduk their lord they said,  
 “Now, Lord, you who have liberated us,  
 (50) What courtesy may we do you?  
 We will make a shrine, whose name will be a  
 byword,  
 Your chamber that shall be our stopping place, we  
 shall find rest therein.<sup>12</sup>  
 We shall lay out the sbrine, let us set up its  
 emplacement,  
 When we come (to visit you), we shall find rest  
 therein.”  
 (55) When Marduk heard this,  
 His features glowed brightly, like the day,  
 “Then make Babylon the task that you requested,  
 Let its brickwork be formed, build high the  
 shrine.”  
 The Anunna-gods set to with hoes,  
 (60) One (full) year they made its bricks.  
 When the second year came,  
 They raised up Esagila, the counterpart to Apsu,  
 They built the high ziggurat of (counterpart-)Apsu,  
 For Anu-Enlil-Ea they founded his ... and dwelling.  
 (65) Majestically he took his seat before them,  
 Its pinnacles were facing toward the base of Eshar-  
 ra.  
 After they had done the work of Esagila,  
 All the Anunna-gods devised their own shrines.  
 The three hundred Igigi-gods of heaven  
 and the six hundred of Apsu all convened.

(70) The Lord, on the Exalted Dais, which they  
 built as his dwelling,  
 Seated the gods his fathers for a banquet,  
 “This is Babylon, your place of dwelling.  
 Take your pleasure there, seat yourselves in its  
 delights!”  
 The great gods sat down,  
 (75) They set out cups, they sat down at the feast.<sup>13</sup>  
 After they had taken their enjoyment inside it,  
 And in awe-inspiring Esagila had conducted the  
 offering,  
 All the orders and designs had been made perma-  
 nent,  
 All the gods had divided the stations of heaven and  
 netherworld,  
 (80) The fifty great gods took their thrones,  
 The seven gods of destinies were confirmed forever  
 for rendering judgment.  
 The Lord took the bow, his weapon, and set it  
 before them,  
 The gods his fathers looked upon the net he had  
 made.  
 They saw how artfully the bow was fashioned,  
 (85) His fathers were praising what he had brought  
 to pass,  
 Anu raised (it), speaking to the assembly of the  
 gods,  
 He kissed the bow, “This be my daughter!”  
 He named the bow, these are its names:  
 “‘Longwood’ shall be the first, ‘Conqueror’ shall  
 be the second.”  
 (90) The third name, ‘Bow Star,’ he made visible  
 in heaven.  
 He established its position with respect to the gods  
 his brethren.  
 After Anu had ordained the destinies of the bow,  
 He set out the royal throne which stood highest  
 among the gods,  
 Anu had him sit there, in the assembly of the gods.  
 (95) Then the great gods convened,  
 They made Marduk’s destiny highest, they prostrat-  
 ed themselves.  
 They laid upon themselves a curse (if they broke  
 the oath),  
 With water and oil they swore, they touched their  
 throats.  
 They granted him exercise of kingship over the  
 gods,  
 (100) They established him forever for lordship of  
 heaven and earth.  
 Anshar gave him an additional name, Asalluhi,  
 “When he speaks, we shall all do obeisance,  
 At his command the gods shall pay heed.

<sup>11</sup> Though the motivation for the creation of humanity is the same here as in Atra-hasis (below, Text 1.130), i.e., to relieve the gods of their labors, it is stated here much more briefly, the creator is Ea, not the mother-goddess, and his method of creation is quite different.

<sup>12</sup> The physical symbol of Marduk’s exaltation is the construction of his temple in Babylon by all the other deities.

<sup>13</sup> A banquet marks the formal inauguration of the temple (Hurowitz 1992b).

End His word shall be supreme above and below,  
 Here. (105) The son, our champion, shall be the highest.  
 His lordship shall be supreme, he shall have no  
 rival,  
 He shall be the shepherd of the black-headed folk,<sup>14</sup>  
 his creatures.  
 They shall tell of his ways, without forgetting, in  
 the future.  
 He shall establish for his fathers great food offer-  
 ings,  
 (110) He shall provide for them, he shall take care  
 of their sanctuaries.  
 He shall cause incense burners to be savored, he  
 shall make their chambers rejoice.  
 He shall make on earth the counterpart of what he  
 brought to pass in heaven,  
 He shall appoint the black-headed folk to serve  
 him.  
 Let the subject peoples be mindful that their gods  
 should be invoked,  
 (115) At his command let them heed their god-  
 dess(es).  
 Let their gods, their goddesses be brought food  
 offerings;  
 Let (these) not be forgotten, let them sustain their  
 gods.  
 Let their holy places be apparent(?),  
 let them build their sanctuaries.  
 Let the black-headed folk be divided as to gods,  
 (120) (But) by whatever name we call him, let him  
 be our god.<sup>15</sup>

*Tablet VII*

The Igigi-gods pronounced all the names.  
 When Ea heard (them), he was joyful of heart,  
 He said, "He whose name his fathers have glori-

fied,  
 (140) His name, like mine, shall be 'Ea.'  
 He shall provide the procedures for all my offices,  
 He shall take charge of all my commands."  
 With the name "Fifty" the great gods  
 Pronounced his fifty names, they made his position  
 supreme.  
 (145) They must be grasped: the "first one" should  
 reveal (them),  
 The wise and knowledgeable should ponder (them)  
 together,  
 The master should repeat, and make the pupil  
 understand.  
 The "shepherd," the "herdsman" should pay atten-  
 tion,  
 He must not neglect the Enlil of the gods, Marduk,  
 (150) So his land may prosper and he himself be  
 safe.  
 His word is truth, what he says is not changed,  
 Not one god can annul his utterance.  
 If he frowns, he will not relent,  
 If he is angry, no god can face his rage.  
 (155) His heart is remote, his feelings all encom-  
 passing,  
 He before whom crime and sin must appear for  
 judgment.  
 The revelation (of the names) which the "first one"  
 discoursed before him (Marduk),  
 He wrote down and preserved for the future to  
 hear,  
 The [wo]rd of Marduk who created the Igigi-gods,  
 (160) [His/Its ] let them [ ], his name let them  
 invoke.  
 Let them sound abroad the song of Marduk,  
 How he defeated Tiamat and took kingship.

<sup>14</sup> The expression "black-headed folk" is a poetic term for mankind in general. It may also imply contrast with fair-haired people living beyond the bounds of ancient Mesopotamia.

<sup>15</sup> The rest of Tablet VI and the beginning of Tablet VII are given over to the proclamation and elucidation of the fifty names of Marduk (not included here).

## REFERENCES

Text: Lambert and Parker 1966. Translations and studies: ANET 60-72, 501-503; Heidel 1951; Foster BM 1:351-402; FDD 9-51.

## THE THEOGONY OF DUNNU (1.112)

William W. Hallo

The city of Dunnu(m), whose name is a generic term for "fort, fortress," is equated in a lexical text with the "pristine heavenly city" (URU-SAG-AN-NA), and in a date formula with the "ancient capital city" or rather perhaps the "bolt" (URU-SAG-MAH) of the kingdom of Isin. Its fall in 1795 BCE ushered in the fall of Isin to Larsa in the following year. In the present text, it is even called an "eternal city" (*ālu sātu*; line 6), built by Heaven and Earth themselves "in the beginning." It is their third and climactic creation and is followed by a complicated theogony set in the primordial past.

ANCIENT  
NEAR EASTERN TEXTS

*Relating to the Old Testament*

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JAMES B. PRITCHARD

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## THREE-HUNDREDTH STANZA.

All gods are three: Amon, Re, and Ptah, and there is no second to them.<sup>11</sup> "Hidden" is his name as Amon,<sup>12</sup> he is Re in face, and his body is Ptah. Their cities are on earth, abiding forever: Thebes, Heliopolis, and Memphis unto eternity.

A message is sent from heaven, is heard in Heliopolis, and is repeated in Memphis to the Fair of Face.<sup>13</sup> It is composed in a despatch by the writing of Thoth, with regard to the City of Amon *and their (right to) possess* their property. The matter is answered in Thebes, and a statement is issued: "It<sup>14</sup> belongs to the Ennead." Everything that issues from his mouth *is (itself)* Amon. The gods are established according to command *because of him*. (25) A message is sent: "It<sup>15</sup> shall slay or shall let live. Life and death are with it for everybody."

Only he (*is*): Amon, with Re, [and with Ptah]—together three. . . .

(SIX-HUNDREDTH STANZA).<sup>16</sup>

Perception is his heart, Command is his lips.<sup>17</sup> . . . When he enters the two caverns which are under his feet, the Nile comes forth from the grotto under his sandals.<sup>18</sup> His soul is Shu, his heart is [*Tef*]nut. He is Har-akhti who is in (v 20) the heaven; his right eye is day, his left eye is night.<sup>19</sup> (Thus) he is one who leads *people* to every way. His body is Nun, and he who is in it is the Nile, giving birth to whatever is and making to live what exists. The warmth of him is breath for every nostril.

Fate and Fortune are with him for everybody. His wife is the fertile field; he impregnates her, for his seed is the fruit tree, and his fluid is the grain. . . .(vi 1) . . . The faces of everybody are on him among men *and* gods. He is *Perception*.

## The God Amon as Healer and Magician

A Nineteenth Dynasty manuscript contains poetical praise of the Theban god Amon-Re. In one stanza of this composition the god is treated as a divine physician and magical healer.

The bibliography for Leyden Papyrus I 350 was given on p. 8 above.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>11</sup> The text does not say: "There is no fourth to them." This is a statement of trinity, the three chief gods of Egypt subsumed into one of them, Amon.

<sup>12</sup> cf. n.8 above.

<sup>13</sup> Ptah. The two messages state the primacy of Thebes. As various commentators have pointed out, the text has probable relation to the re-sumption of power by Thebes after the Amarna Revolution.

<sup>14</sup> Probably Thebes, possibly the authority claimed by Thebes.

<sup>15</sup> Thebes.

<sup>16</sup> The rubricized heading is lacking in the papyrus.

<sup>17</sup> *Sia* "cognitive perception," and *Hu* "authoritative utterance," were deified as two attributes of rule, through the ability to comprehend a situation and the power to create by command.

<sup>18</sup> The Nile was supposed to flow forth from two subterranean caves, sometimes located at Elephantine. cf. p. 32, n.11.

<sup>19</sup> Sun and moon.

<sup>1</sup> From iii 14-22 of the papyrus.

SEVENTIETH STANZA.<sup>2</sup>

He who dissolves<sup>3</sup> evils and dispels ailments; a physician who heals the eye without having remedies, (iii 15) opening the eyes and driving away the squint; . . . Amon. Rescuing whom he desires, even though he be in the Underworld; who saves (a man) from Fate as his heart directs.<sup>4</sup> To him belong eyes as well as ears wherever he goes, for the benefit of him whom he loves. Hearing the prayers of him who summons him, coming from afar in the completion of a moment for him who calls to him. He makes a lifetime long or shortens it. He gives more than that which is fated to him whom he loves.

Amon is a water-charm when his name is (pronounced) over the flood. The crocodile has no power when his name is pronounced. The breeze *opposing* the rebellious wind *and* turning (*ii*) back. The *sportive* (*wind*) ceases at the (mere) thought (20) of him. Beneficial of mouth at the time of the melee,<sup>4</sup> and a sweet breeze for him who calls to him. Rescuing the faint, the *mild* god, efficient of plans. He belongs to him who bends the back to him when he is in his vicinity. He is more effective than millions for him who sets him in his heart. One (man) is more valiant than hundred-thousands because of his name, the goodly protector in truth, successfully seizing upon his opportunity, without being opposed.

## The Hymn to the Aton

The Pharaoh Amen-hotep IV broke with the established religion of Egypt and instituted the worship of the Aton, the sun disc as the source of life. "The Amarna Revolution" attempted a distinct break with Egypt's traditional and static ways of life in religion, politics, art, and literature. Pharaoh changed his name to Akh-en-Aton (perhaps "He Who Is Serviceable to the Aton") and moved his capital from Thebes to Tell el-Amarna. Pharaoh's own attitude to the god is expressed in the famous hymn which follows. Beyond doubt, the hymn shows the universality and beneficence of the creating and re-creating sun disc. A similarity of spirit and wording to the 104th Psalm has often been noted, and a direct relation between the two has been argued.<sup>1</sup> Because Akh-en-Aton was devoted to this god alone, the Amarna religion has been called monotheistic. This is a debatable question, and a reserved attitude would note that only Akh-en-Aton and his family worshiped the Aton, Akh-en-Aton's courtiers worshiped Akh-en-Aton himself, and the great majority of Egyptians was ignorant of or hostile to the new faith.

This is the "long hymn" to the Aton, from the tomb of Eye at Tell el-Amarna. Akh-en-Aton's reign was about 1380 to 1362 B.C. The best copy of the text is that of N. de G. Davies, *The Rock Tombs of El Amarna*, vi (London, 1908), Pl. xxvii. Translations will be found in Erman, *LAE*, 288-91, and in J. H. Breasted, *The Dawn of Conscience* (New York, 1933), 281-86.\*

<sup>2</sup> The number "seventy," which contained the sounds *safekh* is carried over in a pun to the beginning and end of the stanza, with the words *sefekh* "dissolve," and *khesef* "oppose."

<sup>3</sup> The role of Fate was powerful at this period, but not immutable if the god intervened.

<sup>4</sup> From the context, this continues the idea of Amon as a soothing breeze against more violent winds.

<sup>1</sup> As in Breasted, *op. cit.*, 366-70.

Read into and entire hymn.

Praise of Re Har-akhti, rejoicing on the Horizon, in His Name as Shu Who Is in the Aton-disc,<sup>2</sup> living forever and ever; the living great Aton who is in jubilee, lord of all that the Aton encircles, lord of heaven, lord of earth, lord of the House of Aton in Akhet-Aton;<sup>3</sup> (and praise of) the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, who lives on truth, the Lord of the Two Lands: Nefer-kheperu-Re Wa-en-Re; the Son of Re, who lives on truth, the Lord of Diadems: Akh-en-Aton, long in his lifetime; (and praise of) the Chief Wife of the King, his beloved, the Lady of the Two Lands: Nefer-neferu-Aton Nefert-iti, living, healthy, and youthful forever and ever; (by) the Fan-Bearer on the Right Hand of the King . . . Eye. He says:

Thou appearest beautifully on the horizon of heaven,  
Thou living Aton, the beginning of life!  
When thou art risen on the eastern horizon,  
Thou hast filled every land with thy beauty.  
Thou art gracious, great, glistening, and high over  
every land;  
Thy rays encompass the lands to the limit of all that  
thou hast made:  
As thou art Re, thou reachest to the end of them;<sup>4</sup>  
(Thou) subduest them (for) thy beloved son.<sup>5</sup>  
Though thou art far away, thy rays are on earth;  
Though thou art in their faces, no one knows thy  
going.

When thou settest in the western horizon,  
The land is in darkness, in the manner of death.  
They sleep in a room, with heads wrapped up,  
Nor sees one eye the other.  
All their goods which are under their heads might  
be stolen,  
(But) they would not perceive (it).  
Every lion is come forth from his den;  
All creeping things, they sting.  
Darkness is a shroud, and the earth is in stillness,  
For he who made them rests in his horizon.<sup>6</sup>

At daybreak, when thou arisest on the horizon,  
When thou shinest as the Aton by day,  
Thou drivest away the darkness and givest thy rays.  
The Two Lands are in festivity *every day*,  
Awake and standing upon (their) feet,  
For thou hast raised them up.  
Washing their bodies, taking (their) clothing, (5)  
Their arms are (raised) in praise at thy appearance.  
All the world, they do their work.<sup>7</sup>

All beasts are content with their pasturage;  
Trees and plants are flourishing.  
The birds which fly from their nests,

<sup>2</sup> The Aton had a dogmatic name written within a royal cartouche and including the three old solar deities, Re, Har-of-the-Horizon, and Shu.

<sup>3</sup> Akhet-Aton was the name of the capital at Tell el-Amarna.

<sup>4</sup> Pun: *Ra* "Re," and *er-ra* "to the end."

<sup>5</sup> Akh-en-Aton.

<sup>6</sup> cf. Ps. 104:20-21.

<sup>7</sup> cf. Ps. 104:22-23.

Their wings are (stretched out) in praise to thy *ka*.  
All beasts spring upon (their) feet.  
Whatever flies and alights,  
They live when thou hast risen (for) them.<sup>8</sup>  
The ships are sailing north and south as well,  
For every way is open at thy appearance.  
The fish in the river dart before thy face;  
Thy rays are in the midst of the great green sea.<sup>9</sup>

Creator of seed in women,  
Thou who makest fluid into man,  
Who maintainest the son in the womb of his mother,  
Who soothest him with that which stills his weeping,  
Thou nurse (even) in the womb,  
Who givest breath to sustain all that he has made!  
When he descends from the womb to *breathe*  
On the day when he is born,  
Thou openest his mouth completely,  
Thou suppliest his necessities.  
When the chick in the egg speaks within the shell,  
Thou givest him breath within it to maintain him.  
When thou hast made him his fulfillment within the  
egg, to break it,  
He comes forth from the egg to speak at his completed  
(time);  
He walks upon his legs when he comes forth from it.

How manifold it is, what thou hast made!  
They are hidden from the face (of man).  
O sole god, like whom there is no other!  
Thou didst create the world according to thy desire,  
Whilst thou wert alone.<sup>10</sup>  
All men, cattle, and wild beasts,  
Whatever is on earth, going upon (its) feet,  
And what is on high, flying with its wings.

The countries of Syria and Nubia, the *land* of Egypt,  
Thou settest every man in his place,  
Thou suppliest their necessities:  
Everyone has his food, and his time of life is  
reckoned.<sup>11</sup>  
Their tongues are separate in speech,  
And their natures as well;  
Their skins are distinguished,  
As thou distinguishest the foreign peoples.  
Thou makest a Nile in the underworld,  
Thou bringest it forth as thou desirest  
To maintain the people (of Egypt)<sup>12</sup>  
According as thou madest them for thyself,  
The lord of all of them, wearying (himself) with  
them,  
The lord of every land, rising for them,  
The Aton of the day, great of majesty.

<sup>8</sup> cf. Ps. 104:11-14.

<sup>9</sup> cf. Ps. 104:25-26.

<sup>10</sup> cf. Ps. 104:24.

<sup>11</sup> cf. Ps. 104:27.

<sup>12</sup> The Egyptians believed that their Nile came from the waters under the earth, called by them Nun.

All distant foreign countries, thou makest their life  
(also),  
For thou hast set a Nile in heaven,  
That it may descend for them and make waves upon  
the mountains,<sup>13</sup> (10)  
Like the great green sea,  
To water their fields in their towns.<sup>14</sup>  
How effective they are, thy plans, O lord of eternity!  
The Nile in heaven, it is for the foreign peoples  
And for the beasts of every desert that go upon  
(their) feet;  
(While the true) Nile comes from the underworld  
for Egypt.

Thy rays suckle every meadow.  
When thou risest, they live, they grow for thee.  
Thou makest the seasons in order to rear all that  
thou hast made,  
The winter to cool them,  
And the heat that *they* may taste thee.  
Thou hast made the distant sky in order to rise therein,  
In order to see all that thou dost make.  
Whilst thou wert alone,  
Rising in thy form as the living Aton,  
Appearing, shining, *withdrawing or approaching*,  
Thou madest millions of forms of thyself alone.  
Cities, towns, fields, road, and river—  
Every eye beholds thee over against them,  
For thou art the Aton of the day over *the earth*. . . .

Thou art in my heart,  
And there is no other that knows thee  
Save thy son Nefer-kheperu-Re Wa-en-Re,<sup>15</sup>  
For thou hast made him well-versed in thy plans and  
in thy strength.<sup>16</sup>

The world came into being by thy hand,  
According as thou hast made them.  
When thou hast risen they live,  
When thou settest they die.  
Thou art lifetime thy own self,  
For one lives (only) through thee.  
Eyes are (fixed) on beauty until thou settest.  
All work is laid aside when thou settest in the west.  
(But) when (thou) risest (again),  
[Everything is] made to flourish for the king, . . .  
Since thou didst found the earth  
And raise them up for thy son,  
Who came forth from thy body:  
the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, . . . Akh-en-  
Aton, . . . and the Chief Wife of the King . . . Nefert-iti,  
living and youthful forever and ever.

<sup>13</sup> cf. Ps. 104:6, 10.

<sup>14</sup> The rain of foreign countries is like the Nile of rainless Egypt.

<sup>15</sup> Even though the hymn was recited by the official Eye, he states that Akh-en-Aton alone knows the Aton.

<sup>16</sup> Pharaoh was the official intermediary between the Egyptians and their gods. The Amarna religion did not change this dogma.

## Hymns to the Gods as a Single God

These hymns have been called monotheistic. Whether they are so or not will depend upon the definition of monotheism and whether tendencies toward syncretism and universalism may be sufficient explanations. The hymns present different Egyptian gods of universal or cosmic nature, treated as a conflate personality and addressed in the singular.

Papyrus Chester Beatty IV (now British Museum 10684), recto vii 2 ff. The hieratic manuscript is probably from Thebes and dates to somewhere around 1300 B.C., definitely after the Amarna Revolution. Published in *Hieratic Papyri in the British Museum. Third Series. Chester Beatty Gift*, ed. by A. H. Gardiner (London, 1935), I, 28 ff.; II, Pls. 15-17.

. . . the Outline Draftsman of Amon, Mer-Sekhmet. He says: I sing to thee, intoxicated with thy beauty, with hands upon the minstrel's harp. I cause the children of singers to know how to worship the beauty of thy face. Mayest thou reward (me) with a goodly burial for the singer who gives thee song, that he may go forth (5) upon earth as a good spirit to see the Lord of the Gods!<sup>17</sup>

PRAISE TO THEE, Amon-Re-Atum-Har-akhti, who spoke with his mouth and there came into existence all men, gods, large and small cattle in their entirety, and that which flies and lights totally.

THOU DIDST CREATE the regions of the Hau-nebut,<sup>2</sup> settled in the towns thereof, and the productive meadows, fertilized by Nun<sup>3</sup> and giving birth thereafter—good things without limit to their number, for the provision of the living.

THOU ART VALIANT as a herdsman tending them forever and ever. Bodies are (10) filled with thy beauty; eyes see through (thee). The [fear] of thee is for everybody; their hearts turn about to thee, good at all times. Everybody lives through the sight of thee.

DO (NOT) WIDOWS say: (viii 1) "Our husband art thou," and little ones: "Our father and our mother"? The rich boast of thy beauty, and the poor (worship) thy face. He that is imprisoned turns about to thee, and he that has a sickness calls out to thee. . . . Everybody is turned (5) back to thy presence, so that they may make prayers to thee.

THY EARS ARE open, hearing them and taking care of them, O our Ptah who loves his crafts,<sup>4</sup> herdsman who loves his herds. His reward is a goodly burial for the heart which is satisfied with truth.<sup>5</sup>

HIS LOVE is (to be) the moon, as a child to whom everybody dances. When petitioners are gathered before his face, then he will search out hearts. Green plants turn about in his direction, that they may be beautiful, and lotuses are gay because of him.

<sup>1</sup> These words are actually part of a colophon which belongs to preceding hymns, but seem also to apply to the hymns which follow.

<sup>2</sup> The northern lands, particularly the Mediterranean coast and islands.

This states the universality of the conflate creator-god.

<sup>3</sup> The abyssal waters, out of which life came at the creation and still comes.

<sup>4</sup> The conflate god is also Ptah, the craftsman who fashioned men.

<sup>5</sup> The god rewards the faithful with a proper burial.

**SB03. Genesis 1-4, 6-9, 17-9, 21-2  
New Revised Standard Version (NRSV) of  
the Bible**

# *Genesis*

Genesis, meaning “origin,” covers the time from creation to the Israelite sojourn in Egypt. The book falls naturally into two main sections. The primeval history (chs 1–11), which is universal in scope, tells how the blessing of God enabled humanity to multiply, diversify, and disperse on the face of the earth. The ancestral history (chs 12–50), on the other hand, deals with the limited family history of Israel’s ancestors: Abraham and Sarah (chs 12–25), Isaac and Rebekah and their twin sons Esau and Jacob (chs 26–46), and Jacob’s family, the chief member of which was Joseph (chs 37–50).

The primeval history reflects a “prehistorical” or mythical view of the movement from creation to the return of chaos in a catastrophic flood and the new beginning afterwards, while the ancestral history can be read, at least to some degree, in the context of the history of the Near East in the latter part of the second millennium (1500–1200 B.C.). The primary purpose of the book, however, is not to present straightforward history but to tell the dramatic story of God’s dealings with the world and, in particular, to interpret Israel’s special role in God’s purpose.

Thus the migration of Abram and Abraham’s family in response to God’s promise (12.1–3) is the turning point in the unfolding story. God’s creation had been marred by human violence that, under the judgment of God, threatened the earth with a return to pre-creation chaos. Out of this fallible human material, however, God gradually separated one family line, promising that the descendants of Abraham and Sarah would increase in number, receive a land, and have a relationship with God that would benefit other peoples (12.1–3). The promise in its threefold aspect is threatened by various experiences, such as Sarah’s barrenness or Jacob’s having to flee from the land of Canaan. Despite trials and tribulations, however, the people move toward the horizon of God’s future, and when the book ends, in the time of Joseph’s wise and benevolent administration of Egypt, the promise is pressing toward realization.

## GENESIS 1

**1** In the beginning when God created<sup>a</sup> the heavens and the earth, <sup>2</sup>the earth was a formless void and darkness covered the face of the deep, while a wind from God<sup>b</sup> swept over the face of the waters. <sup>3</sup>Then God said, “Let there be light”; and there was light. <sup>4</sup>And God saw that the light was good; and God separated the light from the darkness. <sup>5</sup>God called the light Day, and the darkness he called Night. And there was evening and there was morning, the first day.

**6** And God said, “Let there be a dome in the midst of the waters, and let it separate the waters from the waters.” <sup>7</sup>So God made the dome and separated the waters that were under the dome from the waters that were above the dome. And it was so. <sup>8</sup>God called the dome Sky. And there was evening and there was morning, the second day.

**9** And God said, “Let the waters under the sky be gathered together into one place, and let the dry land appear.” And it was so. <sup>10</sup>God called the dry land Earth, and the waters that were gathered together he called Seas. And God saw that it was good. <sup>11</sup>Then God said, “Let the earth put forth vegetation: plants yielding seed, and fruit trees of every

kind on earth that bear fruit with the seed in it.” And it was so. <sup>12</sup>The earth brought forth vegetation: plants yielding seed of every kind, and trees of every kind bearing fruit with the seed in it. And God saw that it was good. <sup>13</sup>And there was evening and there was morning, the third day.

**14** And God said, “Let there be lights in the dome of the sky to separate the day from the night; and let them be for signs and for seasons and for days and years, <sup>15</sup>and let them be lights in the dome of the sky to give light upon the earth.” And it was so. <sup>16</sup>God made the two great lights—the greater light to rule the day and the lesser light to rule the night—and the stars. <sup>17</sup>God set them in the dome of the sky to give light upon the earth, <sup>18</sup>to rule over the day and over the night, and to separate the light from the darkness. And God saw that it was good. <sup>19</sup>And there was evening and there was morning, the fourth day.

**20** And God said, “Let the waters bring forth swarms of living creatures, and let birds fly above the earth across

<sup>a</sup> Or when God began to create or In the beginning God created      <sup>b</sup> Or while the spirit of God or while a mighty wind

**1.1–2.3: The story of creation.** Out of original chaos God created an orderly world, assigning a preeminent place to human beings. **1:** The traditional translation as an independent sentence, following the Greek Bible (Septuagint) of the 3rd cent. B.C., is defensible, in which case 1.1 is a thematic sentence, corresponding to the climactic summary of 2.1. Many, however, favor *When God began to create* (note *a*) . . . , taking the verse to be introductory to v. 2 (as above) or possibly to the first act of creation in v. 3 (compare 2.4b–7). The ancients believed the world originated from and was founded upon a watery abyss (*the deep*; compare Ps 24.2; 104.6), portrayed as a sea-monster in various myths (Isa 51.9). **3–5:** Creation by the word of God (Ps 33.6) expresses God’s absolute sovereignty and anticipates the doctrine of creation out of nothing (2 Macc 7.28). *Light* burst forth first (2 Cor 4.6), even before the creation of the sun (vv. 14–18), and was *separated from night*, a remnant of uncreated darkness (v. 2). Since

the Jewish day began with sundown, the order is *evening and morning*.

**1.6–8:** A *dome*, the sky was understood to be a solid expanse capable of separating the upper from the lower waters (Ex 20.4; Ps 148.4). See 7.11 n.

**1.9–10:** The *Seas*, remnants of the watery chaos, were assigned boundaries at the edge of the earth (Ps 139.9; Prov 8.29), where they continue to menace God’s creation (Ps 104.7–9). **11–12:** *Vegetation* was created only indirectly by God, whose creative command empowered mother earth to become fertile. **14–19:** The sun, moon, and stars are not divine powers that control human destiny, as was believed in antiquity, but are only *lights*. Implicitly, worship of the heavenly host is forbidden (Deut 4.19; Zeph 1.5).

**1.20–23:** The creation of birds and fishes marks the first appearance of life on the earth. *Sea monsters*, Pss 74.13; 104.25–26. **24–25:** God’s command for the earth to *bring forth* (a maternal verb, compare v. 20) suggests that

the dome of the sky.”<sup>21</sup> So God created the great sea monsters and every living creature that moves, of every kind, with which the waters swarm, and every winged bird of every kind. And God saw that it was good.<sup>22</sup> God blessed them, saying, “Be fruitful and multiply and fill the waters in the seas, and let birds multiply on the earth.”<sup>23</sup> And there was evening and there was morning, the fifth day.

24 And God said, “Let the earth bring forth living creatures of every kind: cattle and creeping things and wild animals of the earth of every kind.” And it was so.<sup>25</sup> God made the wild animals of the earth of every kind, and the cattle of every kind, and everything that creeps upon the ground of every kind. And God saw that it was good.

26 Then God said, “Let us make humankind<sup>c</sup> in our image, according to our likeness; and let them have dominion over the fish of the sea, and over the birds of the air, and over the cattle, and over all the wild animals of the earth,<sup>d</sup> and over every creeping thing that creeps upon the earth.”

27 So God created humankind<sup>c</sup> in his image,  
in the image of God he created them;<sup>e</sup>  
male and female he created them.

28 God blessed them, and God said to them, “Be fruitful and multiply, and fill the earth and subdue it; and have dominion over the fish of the sea and over the birds of the air and over every living thing that moves upon the earth.”<sup>29</sup> God said, “See, I have given you every plant yielding seed that is upon the face of all the earth, and every tree with seed in its fruit; you shall have them for food.<sup>30</sup> And to every beast of the earth, and to every bird of the air, and to everything that creeps on the earth, everything that has the breath of life, I have given every green plant for food.” And it was so.<sup>31</sup> God saw everything that he had made, and indeed, it was very good. And there was evening and there was morning, the sixth day.

2 Thus the heavens and the earth were finished, and all their multitude.<sup>2</sup> And on the seventh day God finished the work that he had done, and he rested on the seventh day from all the work that he had done.<sup>3</sup> So God blessed the seventh day and hallowed it, because on it God rested from all the work that he had done in creation.

4 These are the generations of the heavens and the earth when they were created.

<sup>c</sup> Heb adam    <sup>d</sup> Syr: Heb *and over all the earth*  
<sup>e</sup> Heb *him*

the animals are immediately bound to *the ground* and only indirectly related to God, in contrast to human beings. 26–27: The solemn divine declaration emphasizes humanity’s supreme place at the climax of God’s creative work.

1.26: The plural *us, our* (3.22; 11.7; Isa 6.8) probably refers to the divine beings who compose God’s heavenly court (1 Kings 22.19; Job 1.6). *Image, likeness*, refer not to physical appearance but to relationship and activity. *Humankind* is commissioned to manifest God’s rule on earth, on the analogy of a child who represents a parent (see 5.3). 27–28: *Them*, literally “him” or “it” (see note e), referring to humankind; however, humanity is differentiated sexually, and to “them,” *male and female*, God gives power to reproduce their kind and to exercise dominion over the

earth. Together men and women, made in the image of God, share the task of being God’s stewards on earth (Ps 8.6–8). 29–30: Human dominion is limited, as shown by the vegetarian requirement; in fact, there is to be no killing, a command that was relaxed in Noah’s time (9.2–3). Human dominion, corresponding to God’s rule, is to be benevolent and peaceful (compare Isa 11.6–8). 31: *Very good* (vv. 4, 10, 12, etc.), corresponding perfectly to God’s creative intention.

2.1–3: The verb *rested* (Hebrew “shabat”) is the basis of the noun *sabbath* (Ex 31.12–17).

2.4a: Not the conclusion of the priestly creation story, but a separate caption introducing the following material, as elsewhere in Gen (e.g. 5.1; 6.9; 10.1).

2.4b–25: **The creation of man and**

## GENESIS 2

In the day that the LORD God made the earth and the heavens,<sup>5</sup> when no plant of the field was yet in the earth and no herb of the field had yet sprung up—for the LORD God had not caused it to rain upon the earth, and there was no one to till the ground;<sup>6</sup> but a stream would rise from the earth, and water the whole face of the ground—<sup>7</sup> then the LORD God formed man from the dust of the ground,<sup>f</sup> and breathed into his nostrils the breath of life; and the man became a living being.<sup>8</sup> And the LORD God planted a garden in Eden, in the east; and there he put the man whom he had formed.<sup>9</sup> Out of the ground the LORD God made to grow every tree that is pleasant to the sight and good for food, the tree of life also in the midst of the garden, and the tree of the knowledge of good and evil.

10 A river flows out of Eden to water the garden, and from there it divides and becomes four branches.<sup>11</sup> The name of the first is Pishon; it is the one that flows around the whole land of Havilah, where there is gold;<sup>12</sup> and the gold of that land is good; bdelium and onyx stone are there.<sup>13</sup> The name of the second river is Gihon; it is the one that flows around the whole land of Cush.<sup>14</sup> The name of the

third river is Tigris, which flows east of Assyria. And the fourth river is the Euphrates.

15 The LORD God took the man and put him in the garden of Eden to till it and keep it.<sup>16</sup> And the LORD God commanded the man, “You may freely eat of every tree of the garden;<sup>17</sup> but of the tree of the knowledge of good and evil you shall not eat, for in the day that you eat of it you shall die.”

18 Then the LORD God said, “It is not good that the man should be alone; I will make him a helper as his partner.”<sup>19</sup> So out of the ground the LORD God formed every animal of the field and every bird of the air, and brought them to the man to see what he would call them; and whatever the man called every living creature, that was its name.<sup>20</sup> The man gave names to all cattle, and to the birds of the air, and to every animal of the field; but for the man<sup>g</sup> there was not found a helper as his partner.<sup>21</sup> So the LORD God caused a deep sleep to fall upon the man, and he slept; then he took one of his ribs and closed up its place

<sup>f</sup> Or formed a man (Heb adam) of dust from the ground (Heb adamah)    <sup>g</sup> Or for Adam

**woman.** This is a different tradition from 1.1–2.3 as evidenced by the flowing style and the different order of events of creation.<sup>6</sup> Stream probably refers to the moisture that welled up from the subterranean ocean, the source of fertility (49.25). 7: The word-play on “adam” (human being; here translated *man*) and “adamah” (ground, soil) introduces a motif characteristic of this early tradition: the relation of humankind to the soil from which it was *formed*, as a potter molds clay (Jer 18.6). Human nature is not a duality of body and soul; rather God’s *breath* animates the dust and it becomes a *living being* or psycho-physical self (Ps 104.29; Job 34.14–15). 8–9: *Eden*, meaning “delight,” is a “garden of God” (Isa 51.3; Ezek 31.8–9; Joel 2.3). 9: Ancients believed that the *tree of life* confers eternal life (3.22; see Prov 3.18; Rev 22.2, 14, 19), as the *tree of the knowledge of good and evil* confers wisdom (see 2 Sam 14.17; Isa 7.15).

2.10–14: The rivers, springing from the subterranean ocean (v. 6), flowed out to the four corners of the known historical world,

particularly the valley of the *Tigris* and *Euphrates* (Mesopotamia). 15–17: The man, here, and often in the story, “adam” is ambiguous. God put *him*, apparently a masculine being, in the garden to cultivate and take care of it; yet the prohibition against eating the forbidden fruit applies to the man and the woman inclusively (3.3). Gender distinction is not emphasized until vv. 21–25 where a different word is used to distinguish man (“ish”) from woman (“ishah”).

2.18–21: To be fully human one needs to be in relation to others who correspond to oneself. *Helper*, not in a relationship of subordination but of mutuality and interdependence (see 1.27–28 n.). 21–23: Creation from the man’s rib shows an affinity between man and woman such as is not possible between humans and animals. The affinity is expressed poetically in the jubilant cry of v. 23, with its word play on “man” (“ish”) and “woman” (“ishah”). 24–25: Sex is not regarded as evil but as a God-given impulse that draws a man and a woman together so that they become one

with flesh. <sup>22</sup>And the rib that the LORD God had taken from the man he made into a woman and brought her to the man. <sup>23</sup>Then the man said,

"This at last is bone of my bones  
and flesh of my flesh;  
this one shall be called Woman,<sup>h</sup>  
for out of Man<sup>i</sup> this one was  
taken."

<sup>24</sup>Therefore a man leaves his father and his mother and clings to his wife, and they become one flesh. <sup>25</sup>And the man and his wife were both naked, and were not ashamed.

**3** Now the serpent was more crafty than any other wild animal that the LORD God had made. He said to the woman, "Did God say, 'You shall not eat from any tree in the garden'?" <sup>2</sup>The woman said to the serpent, "We may eat of the fruit of the trees in the garden; <sup>3</sup>but God said, 'You shall not eat of the fruit of the tree that is in the middle of the garden, nor shall you touch it, or you shall die.'"<sup>j</sup> <sup>4</sup>But the serpent said to the woman, "You will not die; <sup>5</sup>for God knows that when you eat of it your eyes will be opened, and you will be like God,<sup>k</sup> knowing good and evil." <sup>6</sup>So when the woman saw that the tree was good for food, and that it was a delight to the eyes, and that the tree was to be desired to make one wise, she took of its fruit and ate; and she also gave some to her husband, who was with her, and he ate. <sup>7</sup>Then the eyes of both were opened, and they knew that they were naked; and they sewed fig leaves together and made loincloths for themselves.

flesh. The two were unashamedly naked, a symbol of their guiltless relation to God and to one another.

**3:1–24: The temptation story.** **3:1–7:** The temptation begins with an insinuation of doubt (vv. 1–3), increases as suspicion is cast upon God's motive (vv. 4–5), and becomes irresistible when the couple sense the possibilities of freedom (v. 6). **1:** *The serpent*, one of the wild creatures, distinguished by uncanny wisdom (Mt 10:16); there is a hint of an evil power, hostile to God, out in the world. **5:** *Like God*, perhaps "like gods" (Septuagint), the divine beings of the heavenly court

<sup>8</sup> They heard the sound of the LORD God walking in the garden at the time of the evening breeze, and the man and his wife hid themselves from the presence of the LORD God among the trees of the garden. <sup>9</sup>But the LORD God called to the man, and said to him, "Where are you?" <sup>10</sup>He said, "I heard the sound of you in the garden, and I was afraid, because I was naked; and I hid myself." <sup>11</sup>He said, "Who told you that you were naked? Have you eaten from the tree of which I commanded you not to eat?" <sup>12</sup>The man said, "The woman whom you gave to be with me, she gave me fruit from the tree, and I ate." <sup>13</sup>Then the LORD God said to the woman, "What is this that you have done?" The woman said, "The serpent tricked me, and I ate." <sup>14</sup>The LORD God said to the serpent,

"Because you have done this,  
cursed are you among all  
animals  
and among all wild creatures;  
upon your belly you shall go,  
and dust you shall eat  
all the days of your life.

<sup>15</sup> I will put enmity between you and  
the woman,  
and between your offspring and  
hers;  
he will strike your head,  
and you will strike his heel."  
<sup>16</sup> To the woman he said,  
"I will greatly increase your pangs  
in childbearing;

<sup>h</sup> Heb *ishshah*    <sup>i</sup> Heb *ish*    <sup>j</sup> Or *gods*

(v. 22; 1.26 n.). *Knowing good and evil*, the entirety of knowledge; see 2.9 n. **7:** Bodily shame (2.25) symbolizes loss of an innocent, trusting relationship with God.

**3:8–13:** Guilt and anxiety prompt an attempt to hide from God (Ps 139.7–12), who is here picturesquely portrayed as strolling in the garden to enjoy the cool evening breeze. **14–15:** The curse contains an old explanation of why the serpent crawls rather than walks and why people are instinctively hostile to it. **16:** This divine judgment contains an old explanation of woman's pain in childbirth, her sexual desire for her husband (i.e. her motherly

- in pain you shall bring forth  
children,  
yet your desire shall be for your  
husband,  
and he shall rule over you.”
- <sup>17</sup> And to the man<sup>k</sup> he said,  
“Because you have listened to the  
voice of your wife,  
and have eaten of the tree  
about which I commanded you,  
‘You shall not eat of it,’  
cursed is the ground because of  
you;  
in toil you shall eat of it all the  
days of your life;
- <sup>18</sup> thorns and thistles it shall bring  
forth for you;  
and you shall eat the plants of  
the field.
- <sup>19</sup> By the sweat of your face  
you shall eat bread  
until you return to the ground,  
for out of it you were taken;  
you are dust,  
and to dust you shall return.”
- 20 The man named his wife Eve,<sup>l</sup> be-  
cause she was the mother of all living.  
<sup>21</sup> And the LORD God made garments of  
skins for the man<sup>m</sup> and for his wife, and  
clothed them.
- 22 Then the LORD God said, “See, the

impulse, compare 30.1), and her subordinate position to man in ancient society, in contrast with the ideal equality of creation (see 1.27–28 n.; 2.18–21 n.).

**3.17–19:** An explanation of why people (“adam”) have to struggle to eke out an existence from the ground (“adamah”). Work is not intrinsically evil (2.15) but it becomes *toil* when relationship with the Creator is broken. In v. 17 and elsewhere (2.20; 3.21) later editors took the Hebrew word “adam” to be a personal name (see note *k*), as in the genealogy of 5.1ff. The mortal nature of humanity was implicit in the circumstances of its origin from dust (2.7); because of human disobedience, God now makes death an inevitable fate that haunts human beings throughout life until they *return to the ground* (“adamah”). **21: Garments of skins**, a sign of God’s protective care even in the time of judgment (4.15).

**3.22:** Like one of us, see 3.5 n. The *tree of life* (2.9) does not figure in the temptation story, which explicitly speaks of only one tree in the

man has become like one of us, knowing good and evil; and now, he might reach out his hand and take also from the tree of life, and eat, and live forever”—  
<sup>23</sup> therefore the LORD God sent him forth from the garden of Eden, to till the ground from which he was taken. <sup>24</sup> He drove out the man; and at the east of the garden of Eden he placed the cherubim, and a sword flaming and turning to guard the way to the tree of life.

**4** Now the man knew his wife Eve, and she conceived and bore Cain, saying, “I have produced” a man with the help of the LORD.” <sup>2</sup> Next she bore his brother Abel. Now Abel was a keeper of sheep, and Cain a tiller of the ground. <sup>3</sup> In the course of time Cain brought to the LORD an offering of the fruit of the ground, <sup>4</sup> and Abel for his part brought of the firstlings of his flock, their fat portions. And the LORD had regard for Abel and his offering, <sup>5</sup> but for Cain and his offering he had no regard. So Cain was very angry, and his countenance fell. <sup>6</sup> The LORD said to Cain, “Why are you angry, and why has your countenance fallen? <sup>7</sup> If you do well, will you not be

*k* Or to Adam. *l* In Heb Eve resembles the word for living. *m* Or for Adam

*n* The verb in Heb resembles the word for Cain

center of the garden (3.3–6, 11–12, 17). **24:** *The cherubim*, guardians of sacred areas (1 Kings 8.6–7), were represented as winged creatures like the Sphinx of Egypt, half-human and half-lion (Ezek 41.18–19). A divine sword (compare Jer 47.6) was placed near the cherubim to warn banished human beings of the impossibility of overstepping their creaturely bounds (compare Ezek 28.13–16).

**4.1–26: Cain, Abel, and Seth.** **1:** The verb translated *produced* (or “brought into being,” “created”) is a play on the name of Cain. There is a suggestion that Eve’s conception of her first child was something marvellous: God took part in her act of creation. **2–5:** The story reflects the tension between farmers and semi-nomads, two different ways of life that are symbolized in the two types of offerings. No reason is given for the acceptance of Abel’s offering (compare Ex 33.19). **7:** Perhaps the meaning is that Cain himself will be accepted, even though his offering is not, if his deed springs from the right motive. Sin is

accepted? And if you do not do well, sin is lurking at the door; its desire is for you, but you must master it."

8 Cain said to his brother Abel, "Let us go out to the field."<sup>o</sup> And when they were in the field, Cain rose up against his brother Abel, and killed him.<sup>9</sup> Then the LORD said to Cain, "Where is your brother Abel?" He said, "I do not know; am I my brother's keeper?"<sup>10</sup> And the LORD said, "What have you done? Listen; your brother's blood is crying out to me from the ground!<sup>11</sup> And now you are cursed from the ground, which has opened its mouth to receive your brother's blood from your hand.<sup>12</sup> When you till the ground, it will no longer yield to you its strength; you will be a fugitive and a wanderer on the earth."<sup>13</sup> Cain said to the LORD, "My punishment is greater than I can bear!<sup>14</sup> Today you have driven me away from the soil, and I shall be hidden from your face; I shall be a fugitive and a wanderer on the earth, and anyone who meets me may kill me."<sup>15</sup> Then the LORD said to him, "Not so!<sup>p</sup> Whoever kills Cain will suffer a sevenfold vengeance." And the LORD put a mark on Cain, so that no one who came upon him would kill him.<sup>16</sup> Then Cain went away from the presence of the LORD, and settled in the land of Nod,<sup>q</sup> east of Eden.

17 Cain knew his wife, and she conceived and bore Enoch; and he built a city, and named it Enoch after his son Enoch.<sup>18</sup> To Enoch was born Irad; and

Irad was the father of Mehujael, and Mehujael the father of Methushael, and Methushael the father of Lamech.<sup>19</sup> Lamech took two wives; the name of the one was Adah, and the name of the other Zillah.<sup>20</sup> Adah bore Jabal; he was the ancestor of those who live in tents and have livestock.<sup>21</sup> His brother's name was Jubal; he was the ancestor of all those who play the lyre and pipe.<sup>22</sup> Zillah bore Tubal-cain, who made all kinds of bronze and iron tools. The sister of Tubal-cain was Naamah.

23 Lamech said to his wives:  
"Adah and Zillah, hear my voice;  
you wives of Lamech, listen to  
what I say:  
I have killed a man for wounding  
me,  
a young man for striking me.  
24 If Cain is avenged sevenfold,  
truly Lamech  
seventy-sevenfold."

25 Adam knew his wife again, and she bore a son and named him Seth, for she said, "God has appointed<sup>r</sup> for me another child instead of Abel, because Cain killed him."<sup>26</sup> To Seth also a son was born, and he named him Enosh. At that time people began to invoke the name of the LORD.

5 This is the list of the descendants of Adam. When God created human-

<sup>o</sup> Sam Gk Syr Compare Vg; MT lacks *Let us go out to the field* <sup>p</sup> Gk Syr Vg; Heb *Therefore*

<sup>q</sup> That is *Wandering* <sup>r</sup> The verb in Heb resembles the word for *Seth*

pictured as a predatory animal, *lurking at the door*.

**4.10–11:** Blood is sacred to God, for it is the seat of life (Deut 12.23) and cries from the ground for vindication. **13–14:** Cain concludes that exile from the farmland is also exile from the LORD's face, i.e. protective presence, exposing him to blood revenge. **15:** The "mark of Cain" was a protective mark, perhaps a tattoo, signifying divine mercy.

**4.17:** Here Cain is not the ancestor of nomadic tribesmen (vv. 11–16) but the founder of sedentary culture. **19–22:** Cultural advance is evidenced by the three occupations of Lamech's sons: shepherds, musicians, and smiths. **23–24:** An ancient song, probably

once sung in praise of Lamech, is here quoted to illustrate the increase of violence from murder to measureless blood revenge. **25–26:** From Cain's genealogy the narrator returns to the sequel of Cain's banishment (vv. 11–16) and introduces the new line of Seth. **26b:** This tradition traces the worship of the LORD (Yahweh) back to the time of Adam's grandson (5.3), in contrast to other traditions which claim that the sacred name was introduced in Moses' time (Ex 3.13–15; 6.2–3).

**5.1–32: The generations from Adam to Noah.** This priestly tradition bridges the time from creation to the flood. **1:** *The list of descendants*, lit. "the book of generations,"

## GENESIS 5

kind, <sup>5</sup> he made them in the likeness of God. <sup>6</sup> Male and female he created them, and he blessed them and named them "Humankind"; when they were created.

<sup>7</sup> When Adam had lived one hundred thirty years, he became the father of a son in his likeness, according to his image, and named him Seth. <sup>8</sup> The days of Adam after he became the father of Seth were eight hundred years; and he had other sons and daughters. <sup>9</sup> Thus all the days that Adam lived were nine hundred thirty years; and he died.

<sup>10</sup> When Seth had lived one hundred five years, he became the father of Enosh. <sup>11</sup> Seth lived after the birth of Enosh eight hundred seven years, and had other sons and daughters. <sup>12</sup> Thus all the days of Seth were nine hundred twelve years; and he died.

<sup>13</sup> When Enosh had lived ninety years, he became the father of Kenan. <sup>14</sup> Enosh lived after the birth of Kenan eight hundred fifteen years, and had other sons and daughters. <sup>15</sup> Thus all the days of Enosh were nine hundred five years; and he died.

<sup>16</sup> When Kenan had lived seventy years, he became the father of Mahalalel. <sup>17</sup> Kenan lived after the birth of Mahalalel eight hundred and forty years, and had other sons and daughters. <sup>18</sup> Thus all the days of Kenan were nine hundred and ten years; and he died.

<sup>19</sup> When Mahalalel had lived sixty-five years, he became the father of Jared. <sup>20</sup> Mahalalel lived after the birth of Jared eight hundred thirty years, and had other sons and daughters. <sup>21</sup> Thus all the days

of Mahalalel were eight hundred ninety-five years; and he died.

<sup>22</sup> When Jared had lived one hundred sixty-two years he became the father of Enoch. <sup>23</sup> Jared lived after the birth of Enoch eight hundred years, and had other sons and daughters. <sup>24</sup> Thus all the days of Jared were nine hundred sixty-two years; and he died.

<sup>25</sup> When Enoch had lived sixty-five years, he became the father of Methuselah. <sup>26</sup> Enoch walked with God after the birth of Methuselah three hundred years, and had other sons and daughters. <sup>27</sup> Thus all the days of Enoch were three hundred sixty-five years. <sup>28</sup> Enoch walked with God; then he was no more, because God took him.

<sup>29</sup> When Methuselah had lived one hundred eighty-seven years, he became the father of Lamech. <sup>30</sup> Methuselah lived after the birth of Lamech seven hundred eighty-two years, and had other sons and daughters. <sup>31</sup> Thus all the days of Methuselah were nine hundred sixty-nine years; and he died.

<sup>32</sup> When Lamech had lived one hundred eighty-two years, he became the father of a son; <sup>33</sup> he named him Noah, saying, "Out of the ground that the LORD has cursed this one shall bring us relief from our work and from the toil of our hands." <sup>34</sup> Lamech lived after the birth of Noah five hundred ninety-five years, and had other sons and daughters. <sup>35</sup> Thus all the days of Lamech were seven

s Heb adam      t Heb him

was evidently a separate source from which the writer drew genealogical data (6.9; 10.2; 11.10, 27; etc.). **1b-2:** Ambiguously the Hebrew word "adam" refers to *humankind* inclusively, as in 1.26-28, and to a male individual, Adam, as in the succeeding genealogy (see 2.17 n.). **3:** The divine *likeness* (v. 1; see 1.26 n.) was continued in Adam's son Seth, born *in his likeness*, and thus was transmitted to succeeding generations without effacement (9.6). **4-32:** Ancient Babylonian tradition also reckons ten heroes before the flood but ascribes fantastically higher ages. In Hebrew tradition the ages decrease from 900-

1000 (Adam to Noah) to 200-600 (Noah to Abraham), to 100-200 (Israel's ancestors), to the normal lifetime of 70 years (Ps 90.10). This list is somehow related to the genealogy of Cain (4.17-21) as shown by the resemblance of some of the names.

**5.24:** Babylonian tradition also reports that Enmeduranki, the seventh hero prior to the flood, was taken by God, i.e. translated (2 Kings 2.11). **29:** This verse, the only connection with the old epic traditions of Eden (3.17-19) and Cain and Abel, anticipates the new age inaugurated with Noah (9.20).

**6.1-4:** The birth of the Nephilim is re-

hundred seventy-seven years; and he died.

32 After Noah was five hundred years old, Noah became the father of Shem, Ham, and Japheth.

**6** When people began to multiply on the face of the ground, and daughters were born to them,<sup>2</sup> the sons of God saw that they were fair; and they took wives for themselves of all that they chose. <sup>3</sup> Then the LORD said, “My spirit shall not abide<sup>u</sup> in mortals forever, for they are flesh; their days shall be one hundred twenty years.” <sup>4</sup> The Nephilim were on the earth in those days—and also afterward—when the sons of God went in to the daughters of humans, who bore children to them. These were the heroes that were of old, warriors of renown.

5 The LORD saw that the wickedness of humankind was great in the earth, and that every inclination of the thoughts of their hearts was only evil continually. <sup>6</sup> And the LORD was sorry that he had made humankind on the earth, and it grieved him to his heart. <sup>7</sup> So the LORD said, “I will blot out from the earth the human beings I have created—people together with animals and creeping things and birds of the air, for I am sorry that

I have made them.” <sup>8</sup> But Noah found favor in the sight of the LORD.

9 These are the descendants of Noah. Noah was a righteous man, blameless in his generation; Noah walked with God. <sup>10</sup> And Noah had three sons, Shem, Ham, and Japheth.

11 Now the earth was corrupt in God’s sight, and the earth was filled with violence. <sup>12</sup> And God saw that the earth was corrupt; for all flesh had corrupted its ways upon the earth. <sup>13</sup> And God said to Noah, “I have determined to make an end of all flesh, for the earth is filled with violence because of them; now I am going to destroy them along with the earth.

<sup>14</sup> Make yourself an ark of cypress<sup>u</sup> wood; make rooms in the ark, and cover it inside and out with pitch. <sup>15</sup> This is how you are to make it: the length of the ark three hundred cubits, its width fifty cubits, and its height thirty cubits.

<sup>16</sup> Make a roof<sup>v</sup> for the ark, and finish it to a cubit above; and put the door of the ark in its side; make it with lower, second, and third decks. <sup>17</sup> For my part, I am going to bring a flood of waters on the earth, to destroy from under heaven all

*u* Meaning of Heb uncertain    *v* Or window

lated to show the increase of violence (see 6.11), in this instance through the breaching of the boundaries separating heaven and earth. This old fragment of mythology connects immediately with chs 2–4. **1:** The narrator resumes the motif of the connection of people or human beings (“adam”) to the soil (“adamah”), introduced in 2.4b–9. **2:** *The sons of God*, divine beings who belonged to the heavenly court (1.26 n.). **3:** Despite the lustful intrusion of divine beings into the human sphere, human beings did not become semi-divine (compare 3.22–24) but remained mortal creatures in whom the LORD’s spirit dwells temporarily (see 2.7 n.). **4:** Originally the story accounted for the *Nephilim* (Num 13.33; Deut 2.10–11), people of gigantic stature whose superhuman power was thought to result from divine-human marriage.

**5–8.22: The great flood.** God’s judgment took the form of a destructive flood and God’s mercy was shown in saving a remnant, the seed of a new historical beginning. **5–8:** An introduction, belonging to the old literary

tradition found in 2.4b–3.24; 4.1–26; 6.1–4. **5:** The *heart* includes the will and reason, as evidenced by human capacity to decide between good and evil. **7:** The biblical account is superficially similar to the Babylonian Gilgamesh Epic, which also relates the story of a great flood. The biblical perspective, however, is basically different, for the flood was not the expression of polytheistic caprice but of God’s judgment upon the *wickedness of humankind*. **9:** Noah was a *righteous man*, one who stood in right relationship to God (15.6).

**6.11–22:** A parallel version. Apparently an earlier and a later (priestly) tradition have been combined editorially, resulting in some duplications and discrepancies. **11–12:** The keynote of the dominant priestly version of the story: the earth, once described as “good” (1.31), is seen to be *corrupt owing to human violence* or willful, lawless deeds, beginning with rebellion in the garden. **14–16:** In the Babylonian epic too, the hero is commanded to build a houseboat, sealing it with pitch. **15:** The dimensions: about 450 × 75 × 45 feet.

## GENESIS 6, 7

flesh in which is the breath of life; everything that is on the earth shall die.<sup>18</sup> But I will establish my covenant with you; and you shall come into the ark, you, your sons, your wife, and your sons' wives with you.<sup>19</sup> And of every living thing, of all flesh, you shall bring two of every kind into the ark, to keep them alive with you; they shall be male and female.<sup>20</sup> Of the birds according to their kinds, and of the animals according to their kinds, of every creeping thing of the ground according to its kind, two of every kind shall come in to you, to keep them alive.<sup>21</sup> Also take with you every kind of food that is eaten, and store it up; and it shall serve as food for you and for them."<sup>22</sup> Noah did this; he did all that God commanded him.

**7** Then the LORD said to Noah, "Go into the ark, you and all your household, for I have seen that you alone are righteous before me in this generation.<sup>2</sup> Take with you seven pairs of all clean animals, the male and its mate; and a pair of the animals that are not clean, the male and its mate;<sup>3</sup> and seven pairs of the birds of the air also, male and female, to keep their kind alive on the face of all the earth.<sup>4</sup> For in seven days I will send rain on the earth for forty days and forty nights; and every living thing that I have made I will blot out from the face of the ground."<sup>5</sup> And Noah did all that the Lord had commanded him.

6 Noah was six hundred years old when the flood of waters came on the earth.<sup>7</sup> And Noah with his sons and his wife and his sons' wives went into the ark to escape the waters of the flood.<sup>8</sup> Of

clean animals, and of animals that are not clean, and of birds, and of everything that creeps on the ground,<sup>9</sup> two and two, male and female, went into the ark with Noah, as God had commanded Noah.<sup>10</sup> And after seven days the waters of the flood came on the earth.

11 In the six hundredth year of Noah's life, in the second month, on the seventeenth day of the month, on that day all the fountains of the great deep burst forth, and the windows of the heavens were opened.<sup>12</sup> The rain fell on the earth forty days and forty nights.<sup>13</sup> On the very same day Noah with his sons, Shem and Ham and Japheth, and Noah's wife and the three wives of his sons entered the ark,<sup>14</sup> they and every wild animal of every kind, and all domestic animals of every kind, and every creeping thing that creeps on the earth, and every bird of every kind—every bird, every winged creature.<sup>15</sup> They went into the ark with Noah, two and two of all flesh in which there was the breath of life.<sup>16</sup> And those that entered, male and female of all flesh, went in as God had commanded him; and the LORD shut him in.

17 The flood continued forty days on the earth; and the waters increased, and bore up the ark, and it rose high above the earth.<sup>18</sup> The waters swelled and increased greatly on the earth; and the ark floated on the face of the waters.<sup>19</sup> The waters swelled so mightily on the earth that all the high mountains under the whole heaven were covered;<sup>20</sup> the waters swelled above the mountains, covering them fifteen cubits deep.<sup>21</sup> And all flesh

**7.1–10:** Essentially a continuation of the early tradition (6.5–8). **2–3:** On clean and unclean animals, see Lev ch 11. (The priestly version mentions two animals of every sort [v. 9; 6.19], presuming that the clean-unclean distinction was introduced at Sinai.) **4:** The flood was caused by heavy rainfall, lasting *forty days and forty nights* (v. 12; compare the difference in the priestly version, v. 24). **11–24:** Largely from priestly tradition. **11:** Here the flood was not caused by a rain storm but is a cosmic catastrophe resulting from opening the *windows of the heavens* (fixed in the

*firmament*) and the upsurging of the *fountains of the great deep* (or the subterranean watery chaos; see 1.6–8 n.). Thus the earth was threatened with a return to pre-creation chaos (1.2). **15:** The animals went in *two and two* (6.19; see 7.2 n.).

**7.18–20:** The waters covered *all the high mountains*, threatening a confluence of the upper and lower waters (1.6). Archaeological evidence suggests that traditions of a prehistoric flood covering the whole earth are heightened versions of local inundations, e.g. in the Tigris-Euphrates basin.

died that moved on the earth, birds, domestic animals, wild animals, all swarming creatures that swarm on the earth, and all human beings; <sup>22</sup>everything on dry land in whose nostrils was the breath of life died. <sup>23</sup>He blotted out every living thing that was on the face of the ground, human beings and animals and creeping things and birds of the air; they were blotted out from the earth. Only Noah was left, and those that were with him in the ark. <sup>24</sup>And the waters swelled on the earth for one hundred fifty days.

**8** But God remembered Noah and all the wild animals and all the domestic animals that were with him in the ark. And God made a wind blow over the earth, and the waters subsided; <sup>2</sup>the fountains of the deep and the windows of the heavens were closed, the rain from the heavens was restrained, <sup>3</sup>and the waters gradually receded from the earth. At the end of one hundred fifty days the waters had abated; <sup>4</sup>and in the seventh month, on the seventeenth day of the month, the ark came to rest on the mountains of Ararat. <sup>5</sup>The waters continued to abate until the tenth month; in the tenth month, on the first day of the month, the tops of the mountains appeared.

**6** At the end of forty days Noah opened the window of the ark that he had made <sup>7</sup>and sent out the raven; and it went to and fro until the waters were dried up from the earth. <sup>8</sup>Then he sent out the dove from him, to see if the waters had subsided from the face of the ground;

<sup>9</sup>but the dove found no place to set its foot, and it returned to him to the ark, for the waters were still on the face of the whole earth. So he put out his hand and took it and brought it into the ark with him. <sup>10</sup>He waited another seven days, and again he sent out the dove from the ark; <sup>11</sup>and the dove came back to him in the evening, and there in its beak was a freshly plucked olive leaf; so Noah knew that the waters had subsided from the earth. <sup>12</sup>Then he waited another seven days, and sent out the dove; and it did not return to him any more.

**13** In the six hundred first year, in the first month, the first day of the month, the waters were dried up from the earth; and Noah removed the covering of the ark, and looked, and saw that the face of the ground was drying. <sup>14</sup>In the second month, on the twenty-seventh day of the month, the earth was dry. <sup>15</sup>Then God said to Noah, <sup>16</sup>"Go out of the ark, you and your wife, and your sons and your sons' wives with you. <sup>17</sup>Bring out with you every living thing that is with you of all flesh—birds and animals and every creeping thing that creeps on the earth—so that they may abound on the earth, and be fruitful and multiply on the earth." <sup>18</sup>So Noah went out with his sons and his wife and his sons' wives. <sup>19</sup>And every animal, every creeping thing, and every bird, everything that moves on the earth, went out of the ark by families.

**20** Then Noah built an altar to the LORD, and took of every clean animal and of every clean bird, and offered

**8.1–5:** In the main a continuation of the dominant priestly tradition. **1:** The dramatic turning point of the story: *God remembered Noah* and the remnant of humans and animals with him. The waters of chaos, which have peaked, are driven back by a wind (compare the *wind from God* of 1.2) sent by God. **4:** In the Babylonian epic the boat also rested on a mountain. *Ararat* (2 Kings 19.37; Jer 51.27) is the name of a region in Armenia.

**8.6–12:** Essentially from the early tradition. In the Babylonian epic the hero sent out two birds, a dove and a swallow, each of which came back; the third, a raven, did not return.

**8.13–19:** A continuation of the priestly account with its theme of the greening of the earth (1.11–12). A new creation begins in which, as at the first, non-human creatures have their proper place (1.20–24).

**8.20–22:** The early tradition relates that Noah sacrificed *burnt offerings* (Lev ch 1) of clean animals (see 7.2–3 n.). In the Babylonian epic the hero offered sacrifices and "the gods smelled [compare v. 21] the goodly savor." For the curse, compare 3.17. Despite the *evil inclination of the human heart* (6.5), God's covenant faithfulness will be expressed in the regularities of nature, *seedtime and harvest*, etc.

## GENESIS 8, 9

burnt offerings on the altar.<sup>21</sup> And when the LORD smelled the pleasing odor, the LORD said in his heart, "I will never again curse the ground because of humankind, for the inclination of the human heart is evil from youth; nor will I ever again destroy every living creature as I have done."

**22** As long as the earth endures,  
seedtime and harvest, cold and  
heat,  
summer and winter, day and  
night,  
shall not cease."

**9** God blessed Noah and his sons, and said to them, "Be fruitful and multiply, and fill the earth. **2**The fear and dread of you shall rest on every animal of the earth, and on every bird of the air, on everything that creeps on the ground, and on all the fish of the sea; into your hand they are delivered. **3**Every moving thing that lives shall be food for you; and just as I gave you the green plants, I give you everything. **4**Only, you shall not eat flesh with its life, that is, its blood. **5**For your own lifeblood I will surely require a reckoning: from every animal I will require it and from human beings, each one for the blood of another, I will require a reckoning for human life.

**6** Whoever sheds the blood of a  
human,  
by a human shall that person's  
blood be shed;  
for in his own image  
God made humankind.

**7** And you, be fruitful and multiply, abound on the earth and multiply in it."

**8** Then God said to Noah and to his sons with him, **9**"As for me, I am establishing my covenant with you and your descendants after you, **10**and with every living creature that is with you, the birds, the domestic animals, and every animal of the earth with you, as many as came out of the ark." **11**I establish my covenant with you, that never again shall all flesh be cut off by the waters of a flood, and never again shall there be a flood to destroy the earth." **12**God said, "This is the sign of the covenant that I make between me and you and every living creature that is with you, for all future generations: **13**I have set my bow in the clouds, and it shall be a sign of the covenant between me and the earth. **14**When I bring clouds over the earth and the bow is seen in the clouds, **15**I will remember my covenant that is between me and you and every living creature of all flesh; and the waters shall never again become a flood to destroy all flesh. **16**When the bow is in the clouds, I will see it and remember the everlasting covenant between God and every living creature of all flesh that is on the earth."

**17** God said to Noah, "This is the sign of the covenant that I have established between me and all flesh that is on the earth."

w Gk: Heb adds every animal of the earth

**9:1–17:** God's covenant with Noah includes all human and non-human creatures under divine promise and law. **1:** The new age opens with a renewal of the blessing given to human beings, as well as non-human creatures (8.17), at creation (1.22, 28). **3–6:** The command to exercise dominion (1.28–30) is qualified by permission to eat animal flesh, but not with *its life*, i.e. *its blood* (see 4.10–11 n.). The principle is reverence for life, God's gift, symbolized by blood (Lev 17.11). **6:** The violence that had corrupted the earth (6.11) is restrained by a very old law against murder, the validity of which is grounded in the creation: human beings are made in God's *image* (1.26–27). The laws given to

Noah are binding not only on Israel but on all humanity (Acts 15.20; 21.25).

**9:8–11:** The preservation of the natural order from the powers of chaos is guaranteed by a *covenant* (see 17.2 n.). Unlike later covenants (ch 17; Ex ch 24), the covenant with Noah is universal in scope, for Noah's three sons (6.10; 9.18–19) are regarded as the ancestors of all the nations (see ch 10). This is also an ecological covenant, for it is made with *every living creature*, including birds and animals (vv. 10, 12, 15), and with *the earth itself* (v. 13). **13:** Ancients imagined the rainbow as the weapon (bow) of the Divine Warrior from which the lightnings of arrows were shot (Ps 7.12–13; Hab 3.9–11). The place-

18 The sons of Noah who went out of the ark were Shem, Ham, and Japheth. Ham was the father of Canaan. 19 These three were the sons of Noah; and from these the whole earth was peopled.

20 Noah, a man of the soil, was the first to plant a vineyard. 21 He drank some of the wine and became drunk, and he lay uncovered in his tent. 22 And Ham, the father of Canaan, saw the nakedness of his father, and told his two brothers outside. 23 Then Shem and Japheth took a garment, laid it on both their shoulders, and walked backward and covered the nakedness of their father; their faces were turned away, and they did not see their father's nakedness. 24 When Noah awoke from his wine and knew what his youngest son had done to him, 25 he said,

"Cursed be Canaan;  
lowest of slaves shall he be to  
his brothers."

26 He also said,  
"Blessed by the LORD my God be  
Shem;

and let Canaan be his slave.

27 May God make space for  
Japheth,  
and let him live in the tents of  
Shem;

and let Canaan be his slave."

28 After the flood Noah lived three hundred fifty years. 29 All the days of

Noah were nine hundred fifty years; and he died.

10 These are the descendants of Noah's sons, Shem, Ham, and Japheth; children were born to them after the flood.

2 The descendants of Japheth: Gomer, Magog, Madai, Javan, Tubal, Meshech, and Tiras. 3 The descendants of Gomer: Ashkenaz, Riphath, and Togarmah. 4 The descendants of Javan: Eli-shah, Tarshish, Kittim, and Rodanim. 5 From these the coastland peoples spread. These are the descendants of Japheth<sup>x</sup> in their lands, with their own language, by their families, in their nations.

6 The descendants of Ham: Cush, Egypt, Put, and Canaan. 7 The descendants of Cush: Seba, Havilah, Sabtah, Raamah, and Sabteca. The descendants of Raamah: Sheba and Dedan. 8 Cush became the father of Nimrod; he was the first on earth to become a mighty warrior. 9 He was a mighty hunter before the LORD; therefore it is said, "Like Nimrod a mighty hunter before the LORD." 10 The beginning of his kingdom was Babel, Erech, and Accad, all of them in the land of Shinar. 11 From that land he went into

x Heb *yapht*, a play on *Japheth* y Heb MSS Sam Gk See 1 Chr 1.7: MT *Dodanim*

z Compare verses 20, 31. Heb lacks *These are the descendants of Japheth*

ment of this weapon in the heavens is a *sign*, or visible token, that God's wrath has abated.

**9.18–27: Noah's curse upon Canaan.** 20: In the new age, Noah was the first to engage in agriculture. His success fulfilled the prophecy made at his birth (5.29). 22: Since the curse was later put on Canaan rather than on Ham (v. 25), it is likely that Canaan was the actor originally. 24: Here Noah's *youngest son* is clearly Canaan, not Ham as in v. 22. 25: The curse implies that Canaan's subjugation to Israel was the result of Canaanite sexual practices (Lev 18.24–30). 26: *Shem*, 10.21. 27: *Japheth*, 10.2–5. The verse may refer to the Philistines, one of the sea-peoples who dwelt in the tents of *Shem*, i.e. conquered the coast of Canaan.

**9.28–29:** The remainder of Noah's life and his death.

**10.1–32: The table of the nations** provides a background of world history for the

call of Abraham (ch 12). 1: This list, which connects with 5.32, was probably drawn from "the book of generations" (5.1). The original unity of humanity is represented by the view that all the nations originated from Noah's three sons (9.19). Although the various "families" were separated by language and land (vv. 5, 20, 31), the present list is arranged primarily on the basis of political rather than ethnic considerations. 2–5: *The descendants of Japheth* (9.27) had their political center in Asia Minor, the former territory of the Hittites (Heth, v. 15). The spread of the *coastland peoples*, including the Philistines (see 9.27 n.), reflects population movements in the Aegean area about 1200 B.C.

**10.6–20:** *The descendants of Ham* lived in the Egyptian orbit. *Canaan* is included because it was nominally under Egyptian control from 1500–1200 B.C. 8–12: An old fragment of tradition relates how Nimrod, a

## GENESIS 16, 17

Hagar, and she conceived; and when she saw that she had conceived, she looked with contempt on her mistress.<sup>5</sup> Then Sarai said to Abram, "May the wrong done to me be on you! I gave my slave-girl to your embrace, and when she saw that she had conceived, she looked on me with contempt. May the LORD judge between you and me!"<sup>6</sup> But Abram said to Sarai, "Your slave-girl is in your power; do to her as you please." Then Sarai dealt harshly with her, and she ran away from her.

7 The angel of the LORD found her by a spring of water in the wilderness, the spring on the way to Shur.<sup>8</sup> And he said, "Hagar, slave-girl of Sarai, where have you come from and where are you going?" She said, "I am running away from my mistress Sarai."<sup>9</sup> The angel of the LORD said to her, "Return to your mistress, and submit to her."<sup>10</sup> The angel of the LORD also said to her, "I will so greatly multiply your offspring that they cannot be counted for multitude."<sup>11</sup> And the angel of the LORD said to her,

"Now you have conceived and shall bear a son; you shall call him Ishmael,<sup>o</sup> for the LORD has given heed to your affliction.

socially inferior, Hagar felt superior to Sarai and threatened to take her mistress's place (Prov 30.23) as the ancestress of Israel.

**16.7:** Here the *angel of the LORD* is not a heavenly being subordinate to God but the LORD (Yahweh) in earthly manifestation, as is clear from v. 13 (compare 21.17, 19; Ex 14.19). **12:** A *wild ass of a man* describes the bedouin freedom of the Ishmaelites in the southern wilderness (25.16–18). **13:** *God of seeing* (see note *p*) was the name of the deity of the sacred place, now identified with Israel's God. On Hagar's question, compare Ex 33.20; Judg 6.22–23; 13.22.

**17.1–27: The everlasting covenant.** This account from the priestly tradition is a parallel version of the Abrahamic covenant given in the early tradition (15.7–21). **1:** *God Almighty* (*El Shaddai*), meaning "God, the One of the Mountains," was a divine name current in the pre-Mosaic period (Ex 6.2–3), perhaps brought from Mesopotamia into Palestine. **2:** *Covenant* is a term of relationship

**12** He shall be a wild ass of a man, with his hand against everyone, and everyone's hand against him; and he shall live at odds with all his kin.<sup>r</sup>

**13** So she named the LORD who spoke to her, "You are El-roi";<sup>s</sup> for she said, "Have I really seen God and remained alive after seeing him?"<sup>t</sup> **14** Therefore the well was called Beer-lahai-roi;<sup>u</sup> it lies between Kadesh and Bered.

15 Hagar bore Abram a son; and Abram named his son, whom Hagar bore, Ishmael.<sup>v</sup> Abram was eighty-six years old when Hagar bore him<sup>w</sup> Ishmael.

**17** When Abram was ninety-nine years old, the LORD appeared to Abram, and said to him, "I am God Almighty;<sup>x</sup> walk before me, and be blameless.<sup>y</sup> And I will make my covenant between me and you, and will make you exceedingly numerous."<sup>z</sup> Then Abram fell on his face; and God said to him, "As for me, this is my covenant with

*o* That is God hears      *p* Perhaps God of seeing or God who sees      *q* Meaning of Heb uncertain

*r* That is the Well of the Living One who sees me      *s* Heb Abram      *t* Traditional rendering of Heb El Shaddai

between a superior and an inferior party, the former "making" or "establishing" (v. 7) the bond. God's covenant guarantees an *exceedingly numerous* posterity, one of the divine promises (12.2; see below vv. 7–8). **5:** A new name signifies a new relationship or status (see 32.28). *Abraham*, a dialectical variant of *Abram*, means "the [divine] ancestor is exalted"; here the name is explained by its similarity to the Hebrew for *ancestor of a multitude*, referring to the nations whose ancestry was traced to Abraham (v. 16; 28.3; 35.11; 48.4), e.g. Edomites and Ishmaelites. **7:** Like the covenant with Noah (9.8–17), this is an *everlasting covenant* (vv. 13, 19), one that lasts in perpetuity because it is grounded in the sovereign will of God, not in human behavior. **7–8:** *To be God to you*, this covenant not only assures a new relationship with God, to be realized fully in the Exodus and the Sinai revelation (Ex 6.2–8), but unconditionally guarantees the promise of the land of Canaan as a *perpetual holding*.

you: You shall be the ancestor of a multitude of nations.<sup>5</sup> No longer shall your name be Abram,<sup>u</sup> but your name shall be Abraham;<sup>v</sup> for I have made you the ancestor of a multitude of nations.<sup>6</sup> I will make you exceedingly fruitful; and I will make nations of you, and kings shall come from you.<sup>7</sup> I will establish my covenant between me and you, and your offspring after you throughout their generations, for an everlasting covenant, to be God to you and to your offspring<sup>w</sup> after you.<sup>8</sup> And I will give to you, and to your offspring after you, the land where you are now an alien, all the land of Canaan, for a perpetual holding; and I will be their God.”

9 God said to Abraham, “As for you, you shall keep my covenant, you and your offspring after you throughout their generations.<sup>10</sup> This is my covenant, which you shall keep, between me and you and your offspring after you: Every male among you shall be circumcised.<sup>11</sup> You shall circumcise the flesh of your foreskins, and it shall be a sign of the covenant between me and you.<sup>12</sup> Throughout your generations every male among you shall be circumcised when he is eight days old, including the slave born in your house and the one bought with your money from any foreigner who is not of your offspring.<sup>13</sup> Both the slave born in your house and the one bought with your money must be circumcised. So shall my covenant be in your flesh an everlasting covenant.<sup>14</sup> Any uncircumcised male who is not circumcised in the flesh of his foreskin shall be cut off from his people; he has broken my covenant.”

15 God said to Abraham, “As for Sarai your wife, you shall not call her Sarai, but Sarah shall be her name.<sup>16</sup> I will bless

her, and moreover I will give you a son by her. I will bless her, and she shall give rise to nations; kings of peoples shall come from her.”<sup>17</sup> Then Abraham fell on his face and laughed, and said to himself, “Can a child be born to a man who is a hundred years old? Can Sarah, who is ninety years old, bear a child?”<sup>18</sup> And Abraham said to God, “O that Ishmael might live in your sight!”<sup>19</sup> God said, “No, but your wife Sarah shall bear you a son, and you shall name him Isaac.<sup>x</sup> I will establish my covenant with him as an everlasting covenant for his offspring after him.<sup>20</sup> As for Ishmael, I have heard you; I will bless him and make him fruitful and exceedingly numerous; he shall be the father of twelve princes, and I will make him a great nation.<sup>21</sup> But my covenant I will establish with Isaac, whom Sarah shall bear to you at this season next year.”<sup>22</sup> And when he had finished talking with him, God went up from Abraham.

23 Then Abraham took his son Ishmael and all the slaves born in his house or bought with his money, every male among the men of Abraham’s house, and he circumcised the flesh of their foreskins that very day, as God had said to him.<sup>24</sup> Abraham was ninety-nine years old when he was circumcised in the flesh of his foreskin.<sup>25</sup> And his son Ishmael was thirteen years old when he was circumcised in the flesh of his foreskin.<sup>26</sup> That very day Abraham and his son Ishmael were circumcised;<sup>27</sup> and all the men of his house, slaves born in the house and those bought with money from a foreigner, were circumcised with him.

<sup>u</sup> That is exalted ancestor      <sup>v</sup> Here taken to mean ancestor of a multitude      <sup>w</sup> Heb seed  
<sup>x</sup> That is he laughs

**17.9–14:** To keep the covenant involves the practice of circumcision, an ancient rite that was practiced by some of Israel’s neighbors and whose origin is explained by various traditions (Ex 4.24–26; Josh 5.2–9). Binding only on males, circumcision is an external sign (v. 11) of membership in the covenant com-

munity. Unlike the universal Noachic covenant (see 9.1–19 n.), this everlasting covenant pertains only to the descendants of Abraham and Sarah.

**17.15:** *Sarai*, meaning “princess,” is a variant of *Sarah*. See v. 5 n. **17: 18.11–15. 18–20: 16.10–12.**

**18** The LORD appeared to Abraham<sup>y</sup> by the oaks<sup>z</sup> of Mamre, as he sat at the entrance of his tent in the heat of the day. <sup>2</sup>He looked up and saw three men standing near him. When he saw them, he ran from the tent entrance to meet them, and bowed down to the ground. <sup>3</sup>He said, "My lord, if I find favor with you, do not pass by your servant. <sup>4</sup>Let a little water be brought, and wash your feet, and rest yourselves under the tree. <sup>5</sup>Let me bring a little bread, that you may refresh yourselves, and after that you may pass on—since you have come to your servant." So they said, "Do as you have said." <sup>6</sup>And Abraham hastened into the tent to Sarah, and said, "Make ready quickly three measures<sup>a</sup> of choice flour, knead it, and make cakes." <sup>7</sup>Abraham ran to the herd, and took a calf, tender and good, and gave it to the servant, who hastened to prepare it. <sup>8</sup>Then he took curds and milk and the calf that he had prepared, and set it before them; and he stood by them under the tree while they ate.

<sup>9</sup> They said to him, "Where is your wife Sarah?" And he said, "There, in the tent." <sup>10</sup>Then one said, "I will surely return to you in due season, and your wife Sarah shall have a son." And Sarah was listening at the tent entrance behind him. <sup>11</sup>Now Abraham and Sarah were old, advanced in age; it had ceased to be with Sarah after the manner of women. <sup>12</sup>So Sarah laughed to herself, saying, "After I have grown old, and my husband is old, shall I have pleasure?" <sup>13</sup>The LORD

said to Abraham, "Why did Sarah laugh, and say, 'Shall I indeed bear a child, now that I am old?'" <sup>14</sup>Is anything too wonderful for the LORD? At the set time I will return to you, in due season, and Sarah shall have a son." <sup>15</sup>But Sarah denied, saying, "I did not laugh"; for she was afraid. He said, "Oh yes, you did laugh."

<sup>16</sup> Then the men set out from there, and they looked toward Sodom; and Abraham went with them to set them on their way. <sup>17</sup>The LORD said, "Shall I hide from Abraham what I am about to do,<sup>b</sup> seeing that Abraham shall become a great and mighty nation, and all the nations of the earth shall be blessed in him?<sup>b</sup> <sup>19</sup>No, for I have chosen<sup>c</sup> him, that he may charge his children and his household after him to keep the way of the LORD by doing righteousness and justice; so that the LORD may bring about for Abraham what he has promised him." <sup>20</sup>Then the LORD said, "How great is the outcry against Sodom and Gomorrah and how very grave their sin! <sup>21</sup>I must go down and see whether they have done altogether according to the outcry that has come to me; and if not, I will know."

<sup>22</sup> So the men turned from there, and went toward Sodom, while Abraham remained standing before the LORD.<sup>d</sup> <sup>23</sup>Then Abraham came near and said,

<sup>y</sup> Heb him. <sup>z</sup> Or terebinths. <sup>a</sup> Heb seahs

<sup>b</sup> Or and all the nations of the earth shall bless themselves by him. <sup>c</sup> Heb known. <sup>d</sup> Another ancient tradition reads while the LORD remained standing before Abraham

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**18.1–15: The LORD's visit to Abraham and Sarah.** <sup>1</sup>: The oaks of *Mamre*, see 13.18 n. <sup>2–8</sup>: A fine description of oriental courtesy and hospitality. When the visitors appeared at the noontime siesta, Abraham did not recognize them as divine beings (Heb 13.2). The relation of the three visitors to the LORD or Yahweh (v. 1) is difficult. All three *angels* (19.1) may represent the LORD (see 16.7 n.); thus the plurality becomes a single person in vv. 10, 13. On the other hand, v. 22 and 19.1 suggest that the LORD is one of the three, the other two being attendants.

**18.9–15:** The narrator stresses the incredibility of God's promise. <sup>12</sup>: Sarah's laughter

arises from the absurd disproportion between the divine promise and the human possibilities. Other traditions also play upon the name of Isaac, meaning "he laughs" (compare 17.17–19; 21.6).

**18.16–33: Abraham's intercession for Sodom and Gomorrah.** <sup>17–19</sup>: Because Abraham is chosen for a special role (12.13), he is taken into the LORD's counsel, for Sodom will become an example to future generations (Isa 1.9).

**18.23–33:** Abraham diplomatically questions the justice of God in allowing innocent people to be punished with the guilty. The first example in the Bible of expostulation

"Will you indeed sweep away the righteous with the wicked? <sup>24</sup>Suppose there are fifty righteous within the city; will you then sweep away the place and not forgive it for the fifty righteous who are in it? <sup>25</sup>Far be it from you to do such a thing, to slay the righteous with the wicked, so that the righteous fare as the wicked! Far be that from you! Shall not the Judge of all the earth do what is just?" <sup>26</sup>And the LORD said, "If I find at Sodom fifty righteous in the city, I will forgive the whole place for their sake." <sup>27</sup>Abraham answered, "Let me take it upon myself to speak to the Lord, I who am but dust and ashes. <sup>28</sup>Suppose five of the fifty righteous are lacking? Will you destroy the whole city for lack of five?" And he said, "I will not destroy it if I find forty-five there." <sup>29</sup>Again he spoke to him, "Suppose forty are found there." He answered, "For the sake of forty I will not do it." <sup>30</sup>Then he said, "Oh do not let the Lord be angry if I speak. Suppose thirty are found there." He answered, "I will not do it, if I find thirty there." <sup>31</sup>He said, "Let me take it upon myself to speak to the Lord. Suppose twenty are found there." He answered, "For the sake of twenty I will not destroy it." <sup>32</sup>Then he said, "Oh do not let the Lord be angry if I speak just once more. Suppose ten are found there." He answered, "For the sake of ten I will not destroy it." <sup>33</sup>And the LORD went his way, when he had finished speaking to Abraham; and Abraham returned to his place.

**19** The two angels came to Sodom in the evening, and Lot was sitting in the gateway of Sodom. When Lot saw them, he rose to meet them, and bowed down with his face to the ground. <sup>2</sup>He said, "Please, my lords, turn aside to

your servant's house and spend the night, and wash your feet; then you can rise early and go on your way." They said, "No; we will spend the night in the square." <sup>3</sup>But he urged them strongly; so they turned aside to him and entered his house; and he made them a feast, and baked unleavened bread, and they ate. <sup>4</sup>But before they lay down, the men of the city, the men of Sodom, both young and old, all the people to the last man, surrounded the house; <sup>5</sup>and they called to Lot, "Where are the men who came to you tonight? Bring them out to us, so that we may know them." <sup>6</sup>Lot went out of the door to the men, shut the door after him, <sup>7</sup>and said, "I beg you, my brothers, do not act so wickedly. <sup>8</sup>Look, I have two daughters who have not known a man; let me bring them out to you, and do to them as you please; only do nothing to these men, for they have come under the shelter of my roof." <sup>9</sup>But they replied, "Stand back!" And they said, "This fellow came here as an alien, and he would play the judge! Now we will deal worse with you than with them." Then they pressed hard against the man Lot, and came near the door to break it down. <sup>10</sup>But the men inside reached out their hands and brought Lot into the house with them, and shut the door. <sup>11</sup>And they struck with blindness the men who were at the door of the house, both small and great, so that they were unable to find the door.

12 Then the men said to Lot, "Have you anyone else here? Sons-in-law, sons, daughters, or anyone you have in the city—bring them out of the place. <sup>13</sup>For we are about to destroy this place, because the outcry against its people has become great before the LORD, and the

with God; see also Jeremiah's "confessions," the prophecy of Habakkuk, the book of Job.

**19.1–38: The destruction of Sodom and Gomorrah** impressed itself deeply upon later generations as an example of God's total judgment upon appalling wickedness (Deut 29.23; Isa 1.9; Jer 49.18; Am 4.11). 1: *Two angels*, see 18.2–8 n. 4–11: Compare the crime of Gibeah (Judg 19.22–30). The episode is

told to illustrate the sexual excesses of Canaanites. 5: *Know* refers to sexual relations (v. 8), here homosexual ("sodomy"). 8: Once guests had eaten in his house, Lot felt he had to obey the law of oriental hospitality which guaranteed protection. Thus his proposal to hand over his daughters showed his determination to put first his obligation as a host.

## GENESIS 19

LORD has sent us to destroy it.”<sup>14</sup> So Lot went out and said to his sons-in-law, who were to marry his daughters, “Up, get out of this place; for the LORD is about to destroy the city.” But he seemed to his sons-in-law to be jesting.

15 When morning dawned, the angels urged Lot, saying, “Get up, take your wife and your two daughters who are here, or else you will be consumed in the punishment of the city.”<sup>16</sup> But he lingered; so the men seized him and his wife and his two daughters by the hand, the LORD being merciful to him, and they brought him out and left him outside the city.<sup>17</sup> When they had brought them outside, they<sup>e</sup> said, “Flee for your life; do not look back or stop anywhere in the Plain; flee to the hills, or else you will be consumed.”<sup>18</sup> And Lot said to them, “Oh, no, my lords;<sup>19</sup> your servant has found favor with you, and you have shown me great kindness in saving my life; but I cannot flee to the hills, for fear the disaster will overtake me and I die.<sup>20</sup> Look, that city is near enough to flee to, and it is a little one. Let me escape there—is it not a little one?—and my life will be saved!”<sup>21</sup> He said to him, “Very well, I grant you this favor too, and will not overthrow the city of which you have spoken.<sup>22</sup> Hurry, escape there, for I can do nothing until you arrive there.” Therefore the city was called Zoar.<sup>23</sup> The sun had risen on the earth when Lot came to Zoar.

24 Then the LORD rained on Sodom and Gomorrah sulfur and fire from the LORD out of heaven;<sup>25</sup> and he overthrew those cities, and all the Plain, and all the inhabitants of the cities, and what grew on the ground.<sup>26</sup> But Lot’s wife, behind him, looked back, and she became a pillar of salt.

**19.20–22:** Zoar, meaning “small,” was a town at the southern end of the Dead Sea which survived the calamity. **24:** *Sulfur and fire*, a memory of a catastrophe in remote times when seismic activity and the explosion of subterranean gases changed the face of the area, which was formerly fertile (13.10). **26:**

27 Abraham went early in the morning to the place where he had stood before the LORD;<sup>28</sup> and he looked down toward Sodom and Gomorrah and toward all the land of the Plain and saw the smoke of the land going up like the smoke of a furnace.

29 So it was that, when God destroyed the cities of the Plain, God remembered Abraham, and sent Lot out of the midst of the overthrow, when he overthrew the cities in which Lot had settled.

30 Now Lot went up out of Zoar and settled in the hills with his two daughters, for he was afraid to stay in Zoar; so he lived in a cave with his two daughters.<sup>31</sup> And the firstborn said to the younger, “Our father is old, and there is not a man on earth to come in to us after the manner of all the world.<sup>32</sup> Come, let us make our father drink wine, and we will lie with him, so that we may preserve offspring through our father.”<sup>33</sup> So they made their father drink wine that night; and the firstborn went in, and lay with her father; he did not know when she lay down or when she rose.<sup>34</sup> On the next day, the firstborn said to the younger, “Look, I lay last night with my father; let us make him drink wine tonight also; then you go in and lie with him, so that we may preserve offspring through our father.”<sup>35</sup> So they made their father drink wine that night also; and the younger rose, and lay with him; and he did not know when she lay down or when she rose.<sup>36</sup> Thus both the daughters of Lot became pregnant by their father.<sup>37</sup> The firstborn bore a son, and named him Moab; he is the ancestor of the Moabites to this day.<sup>38</sup> The younger also bore a son and named him Ben-

e Gk Syr Vg: Heb *he*      f That is *Little*

An old tradition to account for bizarre salt formations in the area such as may be seen today on Jebel Usdum.

**19.30–38:** A story which explains the origin of the Moabites and Ammonites, neighbors of Israel.

ammi; he is the ancestor of the Ammonites to this day.

**20** From there Abraham journeyed toward the region of the Negeb, and settled between Kadesh and Shur. While residing in Gerar as an alien,<sup>2</sup> Abraham said of his wife Sarah, "She is my sister." And King Abimelech of Gerar sent and took Sarah.<sup>3</sup> But God came to Abimelech in a dream by night, and said to him, "You are about to die because of the woman whom you have taken; for she is a married woman."<sup>4</sup> Now Abimelech had not approached her; so he said, "Lord, will you destroy an innocent people?<sup>5</sup> Did he not himself say to me, 'She is my sister'? And she herself said, 'He is my brother.' I did this in the integrity of my heart and the innocence of my hands."<sup>6</sup> Then God said to him in the dream, "Yes, I know that you did this in the integrity of your heart; furthermore it was I who kept you from sinning against me. Therefore I did not let you touch her.<sup>7</sup> Now then, return the man's wife; for he is a prophet, and he will pray for you and you shall live. But if you do not restore her, know that you shall surely die, you and all that are yours."

**8** So Abimelech rose early in the morning, and called all his servants and told them all these things; and the men were very much afraid.<sup>9</sup> Then Abimelech called Abraham, and said to him, "What have you done to us? How have I sinned against you, that you have brought such great guilt on me and my kingdom? You have done things to me that ought not to be done."<sup>10</sup> And Abimelech said to Abraham, "What were you thinking of, that you did this thing?"

**20.1–18: Abraham and Sarah in Gerar.** This story parallels that of 12.10–20 (compare 26.6–11). Here, however, the narrator is more concerned with the ethical problems involved. **1:** *From there*, i.e. Mamre (18.1). **2:** Compare 12.11–13. **3–7:** Ethically sensitive, the narrator insists that Abimelech was innocent, for he did not go near Sarah. **7:** To Abraham is attributed the intercessory role of a prophet (18.22–33; compare Num 12.13; 21.7; 1 Sam 12.19–23).

**11** Abraham said, "I did it because I thought, There is no fear of God at all in this place, and they will kill me because of my wife.<sup>12</sup> Besides, she is indeed my sister, the daughter of my father but not the daughter of my mother; and she became my wife.<sup>13</sup> And when God caused me to wander from my father's house, I said to her, 'This is the kindness you must do me: at every place to which we come, say of me, He is my brother.'"<sup>14</sup> Then Abimelech took sheep and oxen, and male and female slaves, and gave them to Abraham, and restored his wife Sarah to him.<sup>15</sup> Abimelech said, "My land is before you; settle where it pleases you."<sup>16</sup> To Sarah he said, "Look, I have given your brother a thousand pieces of silver; it is your exoneration before all who are with you; you are completely vindicated."<sup>17</sup> Then Abraham prayed to God; and God healed Abimelech, and also healed his wife and female slaves so that they bore children.<sup>18</sup> For the LORD had closed fast all the wombs of the house of Abimelech because of Sarah, Abraham's wife.

**21** The LORD dealt with Sarah as he had said, and the LORD did for Sarah as he had promised.<sup>1</sup> Sarah conceived and bore Abraham a son in his old age, at the time of which God had spoken to him.<sup>2</sup> Abraham gave the name Isaac to his son whom Sarah bore him.<sup>3</sup> And Abraham circumcised his son Isaac when he was eight days old, as God had commanded him.<sup>4</sup> Abraham was a hundred years old when his son Isaac was born to him.<sup>5</sup> Now Sarah said, "God has brought laughter for me; everyone who hears will laugh with me."<sup>6</sup> And she

**20.11–12:** Abraham's excuses: Marriage with a half-sister was permitted in ancient times (2 Sam 13.13) but later was forbidden (Lev 18.9, 11; 20.17). **16:** Exoneration, i.e. a gift to induce everyone to overlook the injury done to Sarah.

**21.1–21: Isaac and Ishmael.** Although Isaac was designated to continue Abraham's line, Ishmael too was promised a great future.<sup>4</sup> On circumcision, see 17.9–14 n. **6:** See 18.9–15 n.

## GENESIS 21

said, "Who would ever have said to Abraham that Sarah would nurse children? Yet I have borne him a son in his old age."

8 The child grew, and was weaned; and Abraham made a great feast on the day that Isaac was weaned. 9 But Sarah saw the son of Hagar the Egyptian, whom she had borne to Abraham, playing with her son Isaac.<sup>g</sup> 10 So she said to Abraham, "Cast out this slave woman with her son; for the son of this slave woman shall not inherit along with my son Isaac." 11 The matter was very distressing to Abraham on account of his son. 12 But God said to Abraham, "Do not be distressed because of the boy and because of your slave woman; whatever Sarah says to you, do as she tells you, for it is through Isaac that offspring shall be named for you. 13 As for the son of the slave woman, I will make a nation of him also, because he is your offspring." 14 So Abraham rose early in the morning, and took bread and a skin of water, and gave it to Hagar, putting it on her shoulder, along with the child, and sent her away. And she departed, and wandered about in the wilderness of Beer-sheba.

15 When the water in the skin was gone, she cast the child under one of the bushes. 16 Then she went and sat down opposite him a good way off, about the distance of a bowshot; for she said, "Do not let me look on the death of the child." And as she sat opposite him, she lifted up her voice and wept. 17 And God heard the

voice of the boy; and the angel of God called to Hagar from heaven, and said to her, "What troubles you, Hagar? Do not be afraid; for God has heard the voice of the boy where he is. 18 Come, lift up the boy and hold him fast with your hand, for I will make a great nation of him." 19 Then God opened her eyes and she saw a well of water. She went, and filled the skin with water, and gave the boy a drink.

20 God was with the boy, and he grew up; he lived in the wilderness, and became an expert with the bow. 21 He lived in the wilderness of Paran; and his mother got a wife for him from the land of Egypt.

22 At that time Abimelech, with Phicol the commander of his army, said to Abraham, "God is with you in all that you do; 23 now therefore swear to me here by God that you will not deal falsely with me or with my offspring or with my posterity, but as I have dealt loyally with you, you will deal with me and with the land where you have resided as an alien." 24 And Abraham said, "I swear it."

25 When Abraham complained to Abimelech about a well of water that Abimelech's servants had seized, 26 Abimelech said, "I do not know who has done this; you did not tell me, and I have not heard of it until today." 27 So Abraham took sheep and oxen and gave

<sup>g</sup> Gk Vg: Heb lacks with her son Isaac

**21.9–10:** The jealous mother could not stand seeing the two boys on the same level, even at play. **11–14:** Compare Abraham's different attitude in the parallel story (ch 16). **14:** Beer-sheba is the locale of the Isaac stories, just as Abraham is associated primarily with Mamre or Hebron (see 13.18 n.).

**21.17:** *The angel of God*, see 16.7 n. *God has heard*, a play on the name Ishmael, meaning "God hears" (16.11). **20:** Although Ishmael was not the heir of the promise, *God was with the boy*, destinng him to be the ancestor of bedouin tribes of the southern wilderness (16.12). Muslims trace their ancestry to Abraham through Ishmael.

**21.22–34: Abraham's dispute with**

**Abimelech.** This story contains two traditional explanations of the name Beer-sheba. According to one, Abimelech guaranteed Abraham's loyalty by an oath. Hence Beer-sheba means "Well of the oath" (v. 31). According to the other (vv. 25–26, 28–30), a dispute over a well resulted in a covenant, seven ewe-lambs being taken in witness. Thus the alternate meaning, "Well of seven." **33: The Everlasting God** ("El Olam") is an ancient divine name, once associated with the pre-Israelite sanctuary of Beer-sheba, which Israel adopted as a title for the LORD (Isa 40.28). **34: The land of the Philistines** is an anachronism, for the Philistines came into Canaan after 1200 B.C. (see 10.2–5 n.).

them to Abimelech, and the two men made a covenant.<sup>28</sup> Abraham set apart seven ewe lambs of the flock.<sup>29</sup> And Abimelech said to Abraham, "What is the meaning of these seven ewe lambs that you have set apart?"<sup>30</sup> He said, "These seven ewe lambs you shall accept from my hand, in order that you may be a witness for me that I dug this well."<sup>31</sup> Therefore that place was called Beer-sheba;<sup>h</sup> because there both of them swore an oath.<sup>32</sup> When they had made a covenant at Beer-sheba, Abimelech, with Phicol the commander of his army, left and returned to the land of the Philistines.<sup>33</sup> Abraham<sup>i</sup> planted a tamarisk tree in Beer-sheba, and called there on the name of the LORD, the Everlasting God.<sup>j</sup> <sup>34</sup> And Abraham resided as an alien many days in the land of the Philistines.

**22** After these things God tested Abraham. He said to him, "Abraham!" And he said, "Here I am." <sup>2</sup> He said, "Take your son, your only son Isaac, whom you love, and go to the land of Moriah, and offer him there as a burnt offering on one of the mountains that I shall show you."<sup>3</sup> So Abraham rose early in the morning, saddled his donkey, and took two of his young men with him, and his son Isaac; he cut the wood for the burnt offering, and set out and went to the place in the distance that God had shown him.<sup>4</sup> On the third day Abraham looked up and saw the place far away.<sup>5</sup> Then Abraham said to his young men, "Stay here with the donkey; the boy and I will go over there; we will worship, and then we will come back to you."<sup>6</sup> Abraham took the wood of the burnt offering and laid it on his son Isaac, and he himself

carried the fire and the knife. So the two of them walked on together.<sup>7</sup> Isaac said to his father Abraham, "Father!" And he said, "Here I am, my son." He said, "The fire and the wood are here, but where is the lamb for a burnt offering?"<sup>8</sup> Abraham said, "God himself will provide the lamb for a burnt offering, my son." So the two of them walked on together.

9 When they came to the place that God had shown him, Abraham built an altar there and laid the wood in order. He bound his son Isaac, and laid him on the altar, on top of the wood.<sup>10</sup> Then Abraham reached out his hand and took the knife to kill<sup>k</sup> his son.<sup>11</sup> But the angel of the LORD called to him from heaven, and said, "Abraham, Abraham!" And he said, "Here I am."<sup>12</sup> He said, "Do not lay your hand on the boy or do anything to him; for now I know that you fear God, since you have not withheld your son, your only son, from me."<sup>13</sup> And Abraham looked up and saw a ram, caught in a thicket by its horns. Abraham went and took the ram and offered it up as a burnt offering instead of his son.<sup>14</sup> So Abraham called that place "The LORD will provide";<sup>l</sup> as it is said to this day, "On the mount of the LORD it shall be provided."<sup>m</sup>

15 The angel of the LORD called to Abraham a second time from heaven,<sup>16</sup> and said, "By myself I have sworn, says the LORD: Because you have done this, and have not withheld your son,

<sup>h</sup> That is Well of seven or Well of the oath

<sup>i</sup> Heb He <sup>j</sup> Or the LORD, El Olam <sup>k</sup> Or to slaughter <sup>l</sup> Or will see; Heb traditionally transliterated Jehovah Jireh <sup>m</sup> Or he shall be seen

**22.1–19: The testing of Abraham.** In its oldest form this story was told to show that the Deity surrendered a claim upon the life of the firstborn and provided an animal for a substitute (Ex 13.2, 11–16; 22.29; 34.19–20). In its present context the story portrays another threat to the divine promise: God asks Abraham to sacrifice his only heir, the child of the promise, in whom the people's future would be realized. **1:** Tested, i.e. put under

trial to see whether he would obey in faith (12.4; compare Heb 11.17–19). **2:** The mountain in the land of Moriah is unknown. In 2 Chr 3.1 it is identified with Jerusalem. Samaritan tradition locates the scene on Mount Gerizim (Shechem; compare 12.6), three days' journey (22.4) from Beer-sheba (v. 19; 21.33).

**22.14: Provide**, see v. 8. **15–18:** Since Abraham survives the test, God renews the promise to him and his descendants (see 12.1–3).

## GENESIS 22, 23

your only son,<sup>17</sup> I will indeed bless you, and I will make your offspring as numerous as the stars of heaven and as the sand that is on the seashore. And your offspring shall possess the gate of their enemies,<sup>18</sup> and by your offspring shall all the nations of the earth gain blessing for themselves, because you have obeyed my voice.”<sup>19</sup> So Abraham returned to his young men, and they arose and went together to Beer-sheba; and Abraham lived at Beer-sheba.

20 Now after these things it was told Abraham, “Milcah also has borne children, to your brother Nahor: <sup>21</sup> Uz the firstborn, Buz his brother, Kemuel the father of Aram, <sup>22</sup> Chesed, Hazo, Pildash, Jidlaph, and Bethuel.” <sup>23</sup> Bethuel became the father of Rebekah. These eight Milcah bore to Nahor, Abraham’s brother. <sup>24</sup> Moreover, his concubine, whose name was Reumah, bore Tebah, Gaham, Tahash, and Maacah.

**23** Sarah lived one hundred twenty-seven years; this was the length of Sarah’s life. <sup>2</sup> And Sarah died at Kiriath-arba (that is, Hebron) in the land of Canaan; and Abraham went in to mourn for Sarah and to weep for her. <sup>3</sup> Abraham rose up from beside his dead, and said to the Hittites, <sup>4</sup> “I am a stranger and an alien residing among you; give me property among you for a burying place, so that I may bury my dead out of my sight.” <sup>5</sup> The Hittites answered Abraham, <sup>6</sup> “Hear us, my lord; you are a mighty prince among us. Bury your dead in the choicest of our burial places; none of us will withhold from you any burial ground for burying your dead.” <sup>7</sup> Abraham rose and bowed to the Hittites, the people of the land. <sup>8</sup> He said to them, “If you are willing that I should bury my dead out of my sight, hear me,

and entreat for me Ephron son of Zohar,<sup>9</sup> so that he may give me the cave of Machpelah, which he owns; it is at the end of his field. For the full price let him give it to me in your presence as a possession for a burying place.” <sup>10</sup> Now Ephron was sitting among the Hittites; and Ephron the Hittite answered Abraham in the hearing of the Hittites, of all who went in at the gate of his city, <sup>11</sup> “No, my lord, hear me; I give you the field, and I give you the cave that is in it; in the presence of my people I give it to you; bury your dead.” <sup>12</sup> Then Abraham bowed down before the people of the land. <sup>13</sup> He said to Ephron in the hearing of the people of the land, “If you only will listen to me! I will give the price of the field; accept it from me, so that I may bury my dead there.” <sup>14</sup> Ephron answered Abraham, <sup>15</sup> “My lord, listen to me; a piece of land worth four hundred shekels of silver—what is that between you and me? Bury your dead.” <sup>16</sup> Abraham agreed with Ephron; and Abraham weighed out for Ephron the silver that he had named in the hearing of the Hittites, four hundred shekels of silver, according to the weights current among the merchants.

17 So the field of Ephron in Machpelah, which was to the east of Mamre, the field with the cave that was in it and all the trees that were in the field, throughout its whole area, passed <sup>18</sup> to Abraham as a possession in the presence of the Hittites, in the presence of all who went in at the gate of his city. <sup>19</sup> After this, Abraham buried Sarah his wife in the cave of the field of Machpelah facing Mamre (that is, Hebron) in the land of Canaan. <sup>20</sup> The field and the cave that is in it passed from the Hittites into Abraham’s possession as a burying place.

**22.20–24:** The descendants of Abraham’s brother Nahor. See ch 24.

**23.1–20:** Abraham’s purchase of a family burial place. **2:** Kiriath-arba, the older name of Hebron (Josh 14.15; 15.13; Judg 1.10). **3:** The Hittites belonged at that time to the pre-Israelite population, the people of the land (v. 7; see 10.15 n.). **4–16:** Legal transac-

tions were handled by elders at the city gate (v. 10). **9:** Abraham insists on payment of the full price in order to obtain legal title to the land.

**23.19:** The cave of Machpelah was the tomb of Abraham and Sarah (25.9–10), Isaac (35.27–29) and Rebekah (49.31), Jacob (50.13) and Leah (49.31).

**SB04. Hebrew Scriptures readings:**

Exodus 2-4, 19-20, 32-4

Isaiah 1, 56

Daniel 2

Text is that of NRSV (New Revised Standard Version). Included at the head of each selection are the editor's introductions, for each book which you may read at your own discretion.

## *Exodus*

In this history of Israel's religious traditions, the two crucial "root experiences" were the exodus from Egypt and the revelation at Mount Sinai. The book of Exodus bears witness to the meaning of these seminal experiences: God's action to liberate a band of slaves from bondage and to make them a community, bound in covenant with their liberating God.

Although Egyptian records make no reference to the border incident of the flight of slaves into the Sinaitic wilderness, there can be little doubt that the story rests upon actual historical occurrences. Various lines of evidence point to the period of the 19th Dynasty (about 1350–1200 B.C.) as the most probable historical setting (see Ex 1.8 n.). The story unfolds against the background of Egyptian imperialism that motivated ambitious pharaohs to use Hebrew slaves as pawns in their scheme of world politics.

The book of Exodus discloses an editorial interweaving of traditions (Old Epic and Priestly) which preserve both the original Mosaic tradition and the interpretations of subsequent generations (see introduction to "The Pentateuch," pp. xxxv–xxxvi OT). The dramatic presentation falls into two major sections: (1) Israel's deliverance from Egyptian bondage and the pilgrimage to Sinai (chs 1–18) and (2) Israel's sojourn at Sinai, where the covenant was made and laws governing life and worship were promulgated (chs 19–40).

At the center of these memorable experiences stood Moses, in whose name the final edition of the whole account was issued. He was called to be the prophetic interpreter of God's liberating action and the priestly mediator of the covenant between God and people. Across the whole evolving tradition falls his massive shadow. Indeed, it was Moses who laid down the spiritual foundations upon which later generations built. Great religious reforms, such as those that occurred in the time of Elijah (1 Kings 19) or of King Josiah (2 Kings 22–23), were regarded as a return to the Mosaic source of Israel's faith.

**SB04. Selections from NRSV Bible: Exodus (2-4, 25-8, 32-4), Isaiah (1, 56) and Daniel (2)**

## EXODUS 1, 2

**1** These are the names of the sons of Israel who came to Egypt with Jacob, each with his household: <sup>2</sup>Reuben, Simeon, Levi, and Judah, <sup>3</sup>Issachar, Zebulun, and Benjamin, <sup>4</sup>Dan and Naphtali, Gad and Asher. <sup>5</sup>The total number of people born to Jacob was seventy. Joseph was already in Egypt. <sup>6</sup>Then Joseph died, and all his brothers, and that whole generation. <sup>7</sup>But the Israelites were fruitful and prolific; they multiplied and grew exceedingly strong, so that the land was filled with them.

**8** Now a new king arose over Egypt, who did not know Joseph. <sup>9</sup>He said to his people, "Look, the Israelite people are more numerous and more powerful than we. <sup>10</sup>Come, let us deal shrewdly with them, or they will increase and, in the event of war, join our enemies and fight against us and escape from the land." <sup>11</sup>Therefore they set taskmasters over them to oppress them with forced labor. They built supply cities, Pithom and Rameses, for Pharaoh. <sup>12</sup>But the more they were oppressed, the more they multiplied and spread, so that the Egyptians came to dread the Israelites. <sup>13</sup>The Egyptians became ruthless in imposing tasks on the Israelites, <sup>14</sup>and made their lives bitter with hard service in mortar and brick and in every kind of field labor.

**1.1–22: Israel's bondage in Egypt.** In spite of oppression, Abraham and Sarah's descendants multiplied and prospered, in fulfillment of the divine promise (Gen 12.2; 15.5). **1–7:** Gen 35.23–26; 50.26. **5:** Total number of people . . . was seventy, Gen 46.8–27; Deut 10.22. The book of Exodus reflects the memory of decisive events with which Israel as a people identified itself in faith. The tribal confederacy was formed later and embraced tribes that had not been in Egypt (Josh ch 24). **6:** Over four centuries elapsed since Joseph's death (12.40; compare Gen 15.13). **7:** The promise concerning Abraham's numerous posterity was being fulfilled (Gen 17.1–8; see Ex 12.37 n.). *The land*, see Gen 45.10 n.; 47.11 n.

**1.8:** Probably the allusion is to the new regime at the beginning of the 19th Dynasty under Seti I (1308–1290 b.c.) and Rameses II (1290–1224 b.c.). Hoping to regain Egypt's lost Asiatic empire, the pharaohs moved their

They were ruthless in all the tasks that they imposed on them.

**15** The king of Egypt said to the Hebrew midwives, one of whom was named Shiphrah and the other Puah, <sup>16</sup>"When you act as midwives to the Hebrew women, and see them on the birthstool, if it is a boy, kill him; but if it is a girl, she shall live." <sup>17</sup>But the midwives feared God; they did not do as the king of Egypt commanded them, but they let the boys live. <sup>18</sup>So the king of Egypt summoned the midwives and said to them, "Why have you done this, and allowed the boys to live?" <sup>19</sup>The midwives said to Pharaoh, "Because the Hebrew women are not like the Egyptian women; for they are vigorous and give birth before the midwife comes to them." <sup>20</sup>So God dealt well with the midwives; and the people multiplied and became very strong. <sup>21</sup>And because the midwives feared God, he gave them families. <sup>22</sup>Then Pharaoh commanded all his people, "Every boy that is born to the Hebrews<sup>a</sup> you shall throw into the Nile, but you shall let every girl live."

**2** Now a man from the house of Levi went and married a Levite woman. <sup>2</sup>The woman conceived and bore a son;

<sup>a</sup> Sam Gk Tg: Heb lacks to the Hebrews

capital from Thebes, where it had been during the 18th Dynasty, to the Delta. **9–10:** The presence of the Hebrews on Egypt's frontier was regarded as a security risk. **11:** Supply cities, an allusion to the fortification of the area. The new capital, Rameses (Zoan; Ps 78.12), was the former Hyksos capital (Avaris or Tanis) of Joseph's time (see Gen 45.10 n.; Num 13.22). As in the case of the pyramids, the work was carried out with the corvée, or forced labor gangs (compare 1 Kings 5.13).

**1.15:** Hebrew, an older and broader term than Israelite (see Gen 10.21–31 n.), was often used when foreigners spoke to or about Abraham's people (Gen 39.14, 17; 40.15). **19:** See vv. 7, 12.

**2.1–22: The infancy and early career of Moses.** **1:** It was probably the Joseph tribes that took part in the Exodus, although elements of the tribe of Levi were also in Egypt. **2–10:** Aspects of this story are paralleled in

and when she saw that he was a fine baby, she hid him three months.<sup>3</sup> When she could hide him no longer she got a papyrus basket for him, and plastered it with bitumen and pitch; she put the child in it and placed it among the reeds on the bank of the river.<sup>4</sup> His sister stood at a distance, to see what would happen to him.

5 The daughter of Pharaoh came down to bathe at the river, while her attendants walked beside the river. She saw the basket among the reeds and sent her maid to bring it.<sup>6</sup> When she opened it, she saw the child. He was crying, and she took pity on him. "This must be one of the Hebrews' children," she said.<sup>7</sup> Then his sister said to Pharaoh's daughter, "Shall I go and get you a nurse from the Hebrew women to nurse the child for you?"<sup>8</sup> Pharaoh's daughter said to her, "Yes." So the girl went and called the child's mother.<sup>9</sup> Pharaoh's daughter said to her, "Take this child and nurse it for me, and I will give you your wages." So the woman took the child and nursed it.<sup>10</sup> When the child grew up, she brought him to Pharaoh's daughter, and she took him as her son. She named him Moses,<sup>b</sup> "because," she said, "I drew him out<sup>c</sup> of the water."

11 One day, after Moses had grown up, he went out to his people and saw their forced labor. He saw an Egyptian beating a Hebrew, one of his kinsfolk.<sup>12</sup> He looked this way and that, and seeing no one he killed the Egyptian and hid

him in the sand.<sup>13</sup> When he went out the next day, he saw two Hebrews fighting; and he said to the one who was in the wrong, "Why do you strike your fellow Hebrew?"<sup>14</sup> He answered, "Who made you a ruler and judge over us? Do you mean to kill me as you killed the Egyptian?"<sup>15</sup> Then Moses was afraid and thought, "Surely the thing is known."<sup>15</sup> When Pharaoh heard of it, he sought to kill Moses.

But Moses fled from Pharaoh. He settled in the land of Midian, and sat down by a well.<sup>16</sup> The priest of Midian had seven daughters. They came to draw water, and filled the troughs to water their father's flock.<sup>17</sup> But some shepherds came and drove them away. Moses got up and came to their defense and watered their flock.<sup>18</sup> When they returned to their father Reuel, he said, "How is it that you have come back so soon today?"<sup>19</sup> They said, "An Egyptian helped us against the shepherds; he even drew water for us and watered the flock."<sup>20</sup> He said to his daughters, "Where is he? Why did you leave the man? Invite him to break bread."<sup>21</sup> Moses agreed to stay with the man, and he gave Moses his daughter Zipporah in marriage.<sup>22</sup> She bore a son, and he named him Gershom; for he said, "I have been an alien<sup>d</sup> residing in a foreign land."

23 After a long time the king of Egypt died. The Israelites groaned under their

<sup>b</sup> Heb Mosheh    <sup>c</sup> Heb mashah    <sup>d</sup> Heb ger

the legends of other national heroes, e.g. Sargon of Agade (about 2600 B.C.) who in infancy was saved from danger by being put in a basket of rushes sealed with pitch and floated on the river. 4: Moses' sister was Miriam (15.20; Num 26.59). 10: The name *Moses*, from an Egyptian word meaning "to beget a child" and perhaps once joined with the name of an Egyptian deity (compare the name Thut-mose), is here explained by a Hebrew verb meaning "to draw out." The narrator sees divine providence at work, causing the evil design of Pharaoh to serve God's purpose.

2.11-14: In spite of his Egyptian upbringing

ing Moses identified himself with his people (Heb 11.24-25). 15: The Midianites (or Keneites, Judg 1.16) were distant blood relatives of Israel (Gen 25.2). 18: "The priest of Midian" (v. 16) is usually called either Jethro (3.1; 4.18, 18.1) or Hobab (Num 10.29; Judg 4.11). Reuel was apparently his father (Num 10.29).

2.23-417: **The call of Moses.** In Midian the God of Israel's ancestors appeared to Moses and summoned him to take the lead in delivering Israel.

2.23: *The king* was probably Seti I (see 1.8 n.). The Israelites hoped that their condition would improve under the new regime, but Rameses II continued the oppressive

## EXODUS 2, 3

slavery, and cried out. Out of the slavery their cry for help rose up to God. <sup>24</sup>God heard their groaning, and God remembered his covenant with Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob. <sup>25</sup>God looked upon the Israelites, and God took notice of them.

**3** Moses was keeping the flock of his father-in-law Jethro, the priest of Midian; he led his flock beyond the wilderness, and came to Horeb, the mountain of God. <sup>2</sup>There the angel of the LORD appeared to him in a flame of fire out of a bush; he looked, and the bush was blazing, yet it was not consumed. <sup>3</sup>Then Moses said, "I must turn aside and look at this great sight, and see why the bush is not burned up." <sup>4</sup>When the LORD saw that he had turned aside to see, God called to him out of the bush, "Moses, Moses!" And he said, "Here I am." <sup>5</sup>Then he said, "Come no closer! Remove the sandals from your feet, for the place on which you are standing is holy ground." <sup>6</sup>He said further, "I am the God of your father, the God of Abraham, the God of Isaac, and the God of Jacob." And Moses hid his face, for he was afraid to look at God.

building program. **24:** Concerning the covenant with Israel's ancestors, see Gen 12.1–3; 17.1–14; 26.2–5.

**3.1–6:** The theophany of the bush. **1:** *The mountain of God*, called both Horeb and Sinai, was probably a Midianite sacred place (see v. 5 n.). Its location is unknown, but tradition places it in the eastern part of the Sinaitic Peninsula. **2:** *The angel of the LORD*, see Gen 16.7 n. *Fire* was conceived to be the form of the divine appearance (Gen 15.17; Ex 19.18; Ps 104.3–4; Ezek 1.27). **5:** Moses unexpectedly found himself in a holy place (see v. 1 n.; Gen 28.16–17). The removal of sandals before entering a holy place was an ancient custom (Josh 5.15). **6:** *The God of your father*, see Gen 26.24 n. The vision of God veiled in fire aroused dread (33.20), for divine holiness was experienced as a mysterious power that threatened human existence (19.10–13).

**3.7–12:** The divine commission. **8:** Canaan was a *land flowing with milk and honey*, foods that made it a paradise in the eyes of semi-nomads. On the pre-Israelite peoples, see Gen 10.15–20; Num 13.29. **11–12:** The

**7** Then the LORD said, "I have observed the misery of my people who are in Egypt; I have heard their cry on account of their taskmasters. Indeed, I know their sufferings, <sup>8</sup>and I have come down to deliver them from the Egyptians, and to bring them up out of that land to a good and broad land, a land flowing with milk and honey, to the country of the Canaanites, the Hittites, the Amorites, the Perizzites, the Hivites, and the Jebusites. <sup>9</sup>The cry of the Israelites has now come to me; I have also seen how the Egyptians oppress them. <sup>10</sup>So come, I will send you to Pharaoh to bring my people, the Israelites, out of Egypt." <sup>11</sup>But Moses said to God, "Who am I that I should go to Pharaoh, and bring the Israelites out of Egypt?" <sup>12</sup>He said, "I will be with you; and this shall be the sign for you that it is I who sent you: when you have brought the people out of Egypt, you shall worship God on this mountain."

**13** But Moses said to God, "If I come to the Israelites and say to them, 'The God of your ancestors has sent me to you,' and they ask me, 'What is his name?' what shall I say to them?" <sup>14</sup>God

first of Moses' four objections (v. 13; 4.1, 10). God's word will be confirmed by a *sign* (compare Isa 7.10–17), i.e. the return of Israel to Sinai for worship. A sign may be an extraordinary wonder (4.1–9) or an ordinary phenomenon. What makes it significant, and therefore miraculous, is that God's presence and power are disclosed to the eyes of faith.

**3.13–15:** Moses' second question assumes a polytheistic environment; thus he must know the identity of the God who is dealing with him. On the *name*, see Gen 32.27 n. **14:** I AM WHO I AM is an etymology of the cultic name for the God of Israel, YHWH, probably pronounced Yahweh. (The NRSV, following ancient synagogue practice, substitutes "the LORD"; see To the Reader, p. xiii). YHWH is treated as a verbal form derived from "to be" and formulated in the first person because God is the speaker. Actually YHWH is a third person form and may mean "He causes to be." The name does not indicate God's eternal being but God's action and presence in historical affairs. **15:** The name is here introduced for the first time (6.2–3;

**Moses' commission**

said to Moses, "I AM WHO I AM."<sup>e</sup> He said further, "Thus you shall say to the Israelites, 'I AM has sent me to you.'"<sup>f</sup> 15 God also said to Moses, "Thus you shall say to the Israelites, 'The LORD, the God of your ancestors, the God of Abraham, the God of Isaac, and the God of Jacob, has sent me to you':

This is my name forever,  
and this my title for all  
generations.

16 Go and assemble the elders of Israel, and say to them, "The LORD, the God of your ancestors, the God of Abraham, of Isaac, and of Jacob, has appeared to me, saying: I have given heed to you and to what has been done to you in Egypt. 17 I declare that I will bring you up out of the misery of Egypt, to the land of the Canaanites, the Hittites, the Amorites, the Perizzites, the Hivites, and the Jebusites, a land flowing with milk and honey.<sup>g</sup> 18 They will listen to your voice; and you and the elders of Israel shall go to the king of Egypt and say to him, 'The LORD, the God of the Hebrews, has met with us; let us now go a three days' journey into the wilderness, so that we may sacrifice to the LORD our God.'<sup>h</sup> 19 I know, however, that the king of Egypt will not let you go unless compelled by a mighty hand.<sup>i</sup> 20 So I will stretch out my hand and strike Egypt with all my wonders that I will perform in it; after that he will let you go. 21 I will bring this people into such favor with the Egyptians that, when you go, you will not go empty-handed; 22 each woman shall ask her neighbor and any woman living in the neighbor's house for jewelry of silver and of gold, and clothing, and you shall put them on your sons and on your daughters; and so you shall plunder the Egyptians."

**4** Then Moses answered, "But suppose they do not believe me or listen

to me, but say, 'The LORD did not appear to you.'<sup>j</sup> 2 The LORD said to him, "What is that in your hand?" He said, "A staff." 3 And he said, "Throw it on the ground." So he threw the staff on the ground, and it became a snake; and Moses drew back from it. 4 Then the LORD said to Moses, "Reach out your hand, and seize it by the tail"—so he reached out his hand and grasped it, and it became a staff in his hand—<sup>k</sup> 5 so that they may believe that the LORD, the God of their ancestors, the God of Abraham, the God of Isaac, and the God of Jacob, has appeared to you."

6 Again, the LORD said to him, "Put your hand inside your cloak." He put his hand into his cloak; and when he took it out, his hand was leprous,<sup>l</sup> as white as snow. 7 Then God said, "Put your hand back into your cloak"—so he put his hand back into his cloak, and when he took it out, it was restored like the rest of his body—<sup>m</sup> 8 "If they will not believe you or heed the first sign, they may believe the second sign. 9 If they will not believe even these two signs or heed you, you shall take some water from the Nile and pour it on the dry ground; and the water that you shall take from the Nile will become blood on the dry ground."

10 But Moses said to the LORD, "O my Lord, I have never been eloquent, neither in the past nor even now that you have spoken to your servant; but I am slow of speech and slow of tongue." 11 Then the LORD said to him, "Who gives speech to mortals? Who makes them mute or deaf, seeing or

e Or I AM WHAT I AM or I WILL BE WHAT I WILL BE  
f The word "LORD" when spelled with capital letters stands for the divine name, YHWH, which is here connected with the verb *hayah*, "to be".  
g Gk Vg: Heb no, not by a mighty hand  
h A term for several skin diseases; precise meaning uncertain

compare Gen 4.26b n.). 21–22: See 11.2–3; 12.35–36.

**4.1–9:** This narrative reflects superstitious magic which flourished in Egypt and claims that Moses was given power to excel in these "secret arts" (7.11; 8.18–19; 9.11). 3: 7.8–12.

Serpent magic was practiced in Egypt from ancient times. The sign was the reverse of a trick whereby a snake is made rigid by hypnosis, so that it can be picked up by the tail.

**4.10–17:** Aaron is designated as Moses' aide. 11: Jer 1.6. In Hebraic thought human

## EXODUS 4, 5

blind? Is it not I, the LORD?<sup>12</sup> Now go, and I will be with your mouth and teach you what you are to speak." <sup>13</sup> But he said, "O my Lord, please send someone else." <sup>14</sup> Then the anger of the LORD was kindled against Moses and he said, "What of your brother Aaron the Levite? I know that he can speak fluently; even now he is coming out to meet you, and when he sees you his heart will be glad. <sup>15</sup> You shall speak to him and put the words in his mouth; and I will be with your mouth and with his mouth, and will teach you what you shall do. <sup>16</sup> He indeed shall speak for you to the people; he shall serve as a mouth for you, and you shall serve as God for him. <sup>17</sup> Take in your hand this staff, with which you shall perform the signs."

18 Moses went back to his father-in-law Jethro and said to him, "Please let me go back to my kindred in Egypt and see whether they are still living." And Jethro said to Moses, "Go in peace." <sup>19</sup> The LORD said to Moses in Midian, "Go back to Egypt; for all those who were seeking your life are dead." <sup>20</sup> So Moses took his wife and his sons, put them on a donkey, and went back to the land of Egypt; and Moses carried the staff of God in his hand.

21 And the LORD said to Moses, "When you go back to Egypt, see that you perform before Pharaoh all the wonders that I have put in your power; but

conditions were not ascribed to secondary causes but to God whose will is sovereign in all things (Deut 32.39). **16:** The relation between God and God's prophetic spokesperson is analogous to the relation between Moses and Aaron (7.1; compare 16.9).

**4.18-31: Moses returns to Egypt to arouse the faith of his people.** **20:** Only one of Moses' sons has been mentioned so far (2.22); see 18.3-4. **21:** Even Pharaoh's stubbornness, which paradoxically was the expression of his own free will (8.15, 32; 9.34), was foreknown (3.19) and foreordained by God, thus indicating divine sovereignty in historical affairs (compare Isa 6.10). **22:** Israel (the people) is the LORD's firstborn son among the nations, a pre-eminent rank based upon divine adoption or election (Jer 31.9; Hos 11.1). **23:** 11.5; 12.29-34. **24-26:** An archaic

I will harden his heart, so that he will not let the people go. <sup>22</sup> Then you shall say to Pharaoh, "Thus says the LORD: Israel is my firstborn son. <sup>23</sup> I said to you, 'Let my son go that he may worship me.' But you refused to let him go; now I will kill your firstborn son."

24 On the way, at a place where they spent the night, the LORD met him and tried to kill him. <sup>25</sup> But Zipporah took a flint and cut off her son's foreskin, and touched Moses'<sup>i</sup> feet with it, and said, "Truly you are a bridegroom of blood to me!" <sup>26</sup> So he let him alone. It was then she said, "A bridegroom of blood by circumcision."

27 The LORD said to Aaron, "Go into the wilderness to meet Moses." So he went; and he met him at the mountain of God and kissed him. <sup>28</sup> Moses told Aaron all the words of the LORD with which he had sent him, and all the signs with which he had charged him. <sup>29</sup> Then Moses and Aaron went and assembled all the elders of the Israelites. <sup>30</sup> Aaron spoke all the words that the LORD had spoken to Moses, and performed the signs in the sight of the people. <sup>31</sup> The people believed; and when they heard that the LORD had given heed to the Israelites and that he had seen their misery, they bowed down and worshiped.

**5 Afterward Moses and Aaron went to Pharaoh and said, "Thus says the**

<sup>i</sup> Heb his

tradition that traces the origin of circumcision (compare Gen 17.9-14) to the Midianite wife of Moses.

**4.24:** This verse reflects ancient belief in demonic attack (see Gen 38.7 n.), warded off by the timely performance of the rite. Originally circumcision was a puberty or marriage rite; *bridegroom of blood* (v. 26) is perhaps an old expression for a young man who was circumcised before marriage. **25:** Here it is assumed that the circumcision of the infant son was efficacious for Moses, who was evidently uncircumcised. *Feet*, a euphemism for the genitals (Isa 7.20). **27:** The mountain of God (3.1), which Moses had already left (4.20).

**5.1-6.1: The first audience with Pharaoh fails.** **1:** The petition is for a leave of absence to make a pilgrimage to the sacred mountain (v. 3; 3.18). **2:** The contemptuous

law Jethro, am coming to you, with your wife and her two sons.”<sup>7</sup> Moses went out to meet his father-in-law; he bowed down and kissed him; each asked after the other’s welfare, and they went into the tent.<sup>8</sup> Then Moses told his father-in-law all that the LORD had done to Pharaoh and to the Egyptians for Israel’s sake, all the hardship that had beset them on the way, and how the LORD had delivered them.<sup>9</sup> Jethro rejoiced for all the good that the LORD had done to Israel, in delivering them from the Egyptians.

10 Jethro said, “Blessed be the LORD, who has delivered you from the Egyptians and from Pharaoh.<sup>11</sup> Now I know that the LORD is greater than all gods, because he delivered the people from the Egyptians,” when they dealt arrogantly with them.”<sup>12</sup> And Jethro, Moses’ father-in-law, brought a burnt offering and sacrifices to God; and Aaron came with all the elders of Israel to eat bread with Moses’ father-in-law in the presence of God.

13 The next day Moses sat as judge for the people, while the people stood around him from morning until evening.<sup>14</sup> When Moses’ father-in-law saw all that he was doing for the people, he said, “What is this that you are doing for the people? Why do you sit alone, while all the people stand around you from morning until evening?”<sup>15</sup> Moses said to his father-in-law, “Because the people come to me to inquire of God.<sup>16</sup> When they have a dispute, they come to me and I decide between one person and another, and I make known to them the statutes and instructions of God.”<sup>17</sup> Moses’ father-in-law said to him, “What you are doing is not good.<sup>18</sup> You will surely

wear yourself out, both you and these people with you. For the task is too heavy for you; you cannot do it alone.<sup>19</sup> Now listen to me. I will give you counsel, and God be with you! You should represent the people before God, and you should bring their cases before God;<sup>20</sup> teach them the statutes and instructions and make known to them the way they are to go and the things they are to do.<sup>21</sup> You should also look for able men among all the people, men who fear God, are trustworthy, and hate dishonest gain; set such men over them as officers over thousands, hundreds, fifties and tens.<sup>22</sup> Let them sit as judges for the people at all times; let them bring every important case to you, but decide every minor case themselves. So it will be easier for you, and they will bear the burden with you.<sup>23</sup> If you do this, and God so commands you, then you will be able to endure, and all these people will go to their home in peace.”

24 So Moses listened to his father-in-law and did all that he had said.<sup>25</sup> Moses chose able men from all Israel and appointed them as heads over the people, as officers over thousands, hundreds, fifties, and tens.<sup>26</sup> And they judged the people at all times; hard cases they brought to Moses, but any minor case they decided themselves.<sup>27</sup> Then Moses let his father-in-law depart, and he went off to his own country.

**19** On the third new moon after the Israelites had gone out of the land of Egypt, on that very day, they came into the wilderness of Sinai.<sup>2</sup> They had

<sup>n</sup> The clause *because . . . Egyptians* has been transposed from verse 10

celebration. **12:** Eat bread, an allusion to a sacred meal in the presence of God (24.9–11). Moses was not invited, perhaps because he had already been initiated into the cult (3.1–6).

**18.13–27:** Jethro’s plan for the reorganization of legal administration (compare Deut 1.9–18). **13:** Like a bedouin chief, Moses acted as judge in the people’s disputes (2 Sam 15.1–6). **15–16:** Inquire of God, i.e. seek a verdict by

oracle (Judg 4.4–5). **21–22:** Moses was to deal with cases without legal precedent which required a special oracle (compare Deut 17.8–13); ordinary cases were to be handled by lay leaders (Num 11.16–17, 24–25) or appointed judges (compare Deut 16.18–20). Officers over thousands, see Num 1.17–46 n.

**19.1–25:** The theophany at Sinai (20.18–21). At the sacred mountain the LORD offered to make a covenant with Israel. **2:** Sinai, see

## EXODUS 19

journeyed from Rephidim, entered the wilderness of Sinai, and camped in the wilderness; Israel camped there in front of the mountain. <sup>3</sup>Then Moses went up to God; the LORD called to him from the mountain, saying, "Thus you shall say to the house of Jacob, and tell the Israelites: <sup>4</sup>You have seen what I did to the Egyptians, and how I bore you on eagles' wings and brought you to myself. <sup>5</sup>Now therefore, if you obey my voice and keep my covenant, you shall be my treasured possession out of all the peoples. Indeed, the whole earth is mine, <sup>6</sup>but you shall be for me a priestly kingdom and a holy nation. These are the words that you shall speak to the Israelites."

<sup>7</sup> So Moses came, summoned the elders of the people, and set before them all these words that the LORD had commanded him. <sup>8</sup>The people all answered as one: "Everything that the LORD has spoken we will do." Moses reported the words of the people to the LORD. <sup>9</sup>Then the LORD said to Moses, "I am going to come to you in a dense cloud, in order that the people may hear when I speak with you and so trust you ever after."

When Moses had told the words of the people to the LORD, <sup>10</sup>the LORD said to Moses: "Go to the people and consecrate

them today and tomorrow. Have them wash their clothes <sup>11</sup>and prepare for the third day, because on the third day the LORD will come down upon Mount Sinai in the sight of all the people. <sup>12</sup>You shall set limits for the people all around, saying, 'Be careful not to go up the mountain or to touch the edge of it. Any who touch the mountain shall be put to death. <sup>13</sup>No hand shall touch them, but they shall be stoned or shot with arrows;<sup>o</sup> whether animal or human being, they shall not live.' When the trumpet sounds a long blast, they may go up on the mountain." <sup>14</sup>So Moses went down from the mountain to the people. He consecrated the people, and they washed their clothes. <sup>15</sup>And he said to the people, "Prepare for the third day; do not go near a woman."

<sup>16</sup> On the morning of the third day there was thunder and lightning, as well as a thick cloud on the mountain, and a blast of a trumpet so loud that all the people who were in the camp trembled. <sup>17</sup>Moses brought the people out of the camp to meet God. They took their stand at the foot of the mountain. <sup>18</sup>Now Mount Sinai was wrapped in smoke, because the LORD had descended upon it in

<sup>o</sup> Heb lacks with arrows

3.1 n. **3:** The account assumes that the LORD's dwelling-place is in heaven, from which God "descended" to the mountain top for meeting with the people and their representatives (24.9–11). Compare the similar view reflected in the Babylonian temple-tower (Gen 11.1–9). **4–6:** The "eagles' wings" passage is formulated in liturgical style and employs the metaphor of an eagle carrying its young on its powerful wings (Deut 32.11–12). **5:** On Israel's side, the covenant rests upon a condition, *if you obey my voice*—an allusion to the covenant laws to be given. *My treasured possession*: a metaphor for God's special claim upon Israel. The God to whom all the earth belongs (Ex 9.29b; Ps 24.1) chose Israel for a special role as "the people of God" (Deut 7.6; 14.2; 26.18). **6:** That which is holy is set apart as belonging to the holy God; thus Israel is to be a *priestly kingdom*, consecrated for service to God (see Isa 61.6; 1 Pet 2.5, 9).

**19.7–8:** Compare 24.7. **9:** This tradition stresses Moses' role as the covenant mediator

who represents God to the people and the people before God (20.19; 24.1–2, 9–11; Deut 5.2–27). **10–15:** In this tradition all the people are to prepare to take part in the covenant ceremony (24.3–8). **12:** The setting of bounds so that the people do not come near the mountain (v. 21) reflects the ancient view of holiness as a mysterious, threatening power with which the mountain is charged (see 3.6 n.; 2 Sam 6.6–9). No hand may touch the offender who has become affected with the contagion of holiness (Lev 6.27–28). **14–15:** Washing or changing of garments (Gen 35.2) and sexual abstinence (1 Sam 21.4–6) were forms of ceremonial purification.

**19.16–19:** The theophany is portrayed primarily in the imagery of a violent thunderstorm (Judg 5.4–5; Pss 18.7–15; 29.3–9; etc.). This traditional language—"earthquake, wind, and fire" (1 Kings 19.11–13)—depicts the wonder and majesty of God's revelation. **16:** The trumpet (v. 13) was sounded on cultic occasions (2 Sam 6.15).

*The Ten  
Commandments*

fire; the smoke went up like the smoke of a kiln, while the whole mountain shook violently.<sup>19</sup> As the blast of the trumpet grew louder and louder, Moses would speak and God would answer him in thunder.<sup>20</sup> When the LORD descended upon Mount Sinai, to the top of the mountain, the LORD summoned Moses to the top of the mountain, and Moses went up.<sup>21</sup> Then the LORD said to Moses, "Go down and warn the people not to break through to the LORD to look; otherwise many of them will perish.<sup>22</sup> Even the priests who approach the LORD must consecrate themselves or the LORD will break out against them."<sup>23</sup> Moses said to the LORD, "The people are not permitted to come up to Mount Sinai; for you yourself warned us, saying, 'Set limits around the mountain and keep it holy.'"<sup>24</sup> The LORD said to him, "Go down, and come up bringing Aaron with you; but do not let either the priests or the people break through to come up to the LORD; otherwise he will break out against them."<sup>25</sup> So Moses went down to the people and told them.

**20** Then God spoke all these words:  
**2** I am the LORD your God, who brought you out of the land of Egypt, out of the house of slavery;<sup>3</sup> you shall have no other gods before<sup>p</sup> me.

**4** You shall not make for yourself an idol, whether in the form of anything that is in heaven above, or that is on the

earth beneath, or that is in the water under the earth.<sup>5</sup> You shall not bow down to them or worship them; for I the LORD your God am a jealous God, punishing children for the iniquity of parents, to the third and the fourth generation of those who reject me,<sup>6</sup> but showing steadfast love to the thousandth generation<sup>q</sup> of those who love me and keep my commandments.

**7** You shall not make wrongful use of the name of the LORD your God, for the LORD will not acquit anyone who misuses his name.

**8** Remember the sabbath day, and keep it holy.<sup>9</sup> Six days you shall labor and do all your work.<sup>10</sup> But the seventh day is a sabbath to the LORD your God; you shall not do any work—you, your son or your daughter, your male or female slave, your livestock, or the alien resident in your towns.<sup>11</sup> For in six days the LORD made heaven and earth, the sea, and all that is in them, but rested the seventh day; therefore the LORD blessed the sabbath day and consecrated it.

**12** Honor your father and your mother, so that your days may be long in the land that the LORD your God is giving you.

**13** You shall not murder.<sup>r</sup>

**14** You shall not commit adultery.

**15** You shall not steal.

p Or besides    q Or to thousands    r Or kill

**20.1–17:** *The Ten Commandments*, the epitome of duties toward God and neighbor. **1:** These words, i.e. "the ten words" or the Decalogue (34.28; Deut 4.13; 10.4). Originally each commandment was a short utterance (see vv. 13, 14, 15), lacking the explanatory comments found, e.g., in vv. 5, 6, 9–11. **2:** Jewish tradition considers this to be the first commandment. Actually it is a preface that summarizes the meaning of the Exodus, thus setting law within the context of God's redemptive action. **3:** The first commandment asserts that for Israel there shall be no other gods, because the LORD is a jealous God (v. 5; 34.14) who will tolerate no rivals for the people's devotion.

**20.4–6:** Imageless worship of the LORD

made Israel's faith unique in the ancient world where natural powers were personified and statues of them (animal or human) were worshiped. Some interpreters consider vv. 3–6 as one commandment and divide v. 17 into two commandments. **7:** The third commandment prohibits the misuse of the LORD's name in magic, divination, or false swearing (Lev 19.12). It reflects the ancient view that knowledge of the name could be used to exert magical control (see Gen 32.27, 29 n.).

**20.8–11:** Keeping the sabbath *holy* means to observe it as a day separated from others, a segment of time belonging especially to God. **10:** 16.22–30. **11:** Compare Deut 5.15. **12:** 21.15, 17; Deut 27.16. **13:** This commandment forbids murder (see Gen 9.5, 6 n.), not

## EXODUS 20, 21

16 You shall not bear false witness against your neighbor.

17 You shall not covet your neighbor's house; you shall not covet your neighbor's wife, or male or female slave, or ox, or donkey, or anything that belongs to your neighbor.

18 When all the people witnessed the thunder and lightning, the sound of the trumpet, and the mountain smoking, they were afraid<sup>s</sup> and trembled and stood at a distance,<sup>19</sup> and said to Moses, "You speak to us, and we will listen; but do not let God speak to us, or we will die." <sup>20</sup>Moses said to the people, "Do not be afraid; for God has come only to test you and to put the fear of him upon you so that you do not sin." <sup>21</sup>Then the people stood at a distance, while Moses drew near to the thick darkness where God was.

22 The LORD said to Moses: Thus you shall say to the Israelites: "You have seen for yourselves that I spoke with you from heaven. <sup>23</sup>You shall not make gods of silver alongside me, nor shall you make for yourselves gods of gold. <sup>24</sup>You need make for me only an altar of earth and sacrifice on it your burnt offerings and your offerings of well-being, your sheep and your oxen; in every place where I cause my name to be remem-

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the forms of killing authorized for Israel, e.g. war or capital punishment. **16:** This law demands telling the truth in a lawsuit involving the neighbor (23.1; Deut 19.15–21; 1 Kings 21.8–14).

**20.17:** Some regard the first sentence as a separate commandment; however, *neighbor's house* probably includes what is enumerated in the second part of the verse: wife, male or female slave, etc.

**20.18–21: The conclusion to the theophany scene** (ch 19). The people request that Moses be the covenant mediator (see 19.9 n.) so that they need not hear God's law directly (compare Deut 5.4–5).

**20.22–23.33: The Covenant Code.** These laws are largely neutral in regard to Israelite faith and presuppose a settled agricultural society. They reflect a situation after Israel's settlement in Canaan, when prevailing laws were borrowed and adapted to the covenant tradition.

**20.22–26: Cultic regulations.** **23:** See

bered I will come to you and bless you.

**25:** But if you make for me an altar of stone, do not build it of hewn stones; for if you use a chisel upon it you profane it.

**26:** You shall not go up by steps to my altar, so that your nakedness may not be exposed on it."

**21** These are the ordinances that you shall set before them:

2 When you buy a male Hebrew slave, he shall serve six years, but in the seventh he shall go out a free person, without debt. <sup>3</sup>If he comes in single, he shall go out single; if he comes in married, then his wife shall go out with him. <sup>4</sup>If his master gives him a wife and she bears him sons or daughters, the wife and her children shall be her master's and he shall go out alone. <sup>5</sup>But if the slave declares, "I love my master, my wife, and my children; I will not go out a free person," <sup>6</sup>then his master shall bring him before God.<sup>t</sup> He shall be brought to the door or the doorpost; and his master shall pierce his ear with an awl; and he shall serve him for life.

7 When a man sells his daughter as a slave, she shall not go out as the male slaves do. <sup>8</sup>If she does not please her mas-

<sup>s</sup> Sam Gk Syr Vg: MT *they saw*

<sup>t</sup> Or to the judges

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**20.4–6 n. 24–26:** The Israelite altar, in contrast to pagan models, is to be the simplest kind and is to be built wherever the LORD causes his *name to be remembered*, i.e. chooses to be manifest. Contrast the reform demanded in Deut 12.5–14.

**21.1–11:** The rights of a slave (compare Deut 15.12–18). **1:** *Ordinances* refers to laws formulated (usually in the third person) to deal with various cases, in contrast to the apodictic or unconditional law of the Israelite theocracy (e.g. the Decalogue). These case laws, though displaying Israel's peculiar humanitarian concern, reflect the agricultural way of life in Canaan (e.g. 22.5–6) and are similar in style and content to other legal codes of the ancient Near East. **2:** *Hebrew*, see Ex 1.15 n. An Israelite could go into servitude because of debts (Ex 22.1; Lev 25.39; 2 Kings 4.1). **6:** *Before God*, i.e. the legal act had to be performed at the sacred doorpost of the house (see 12.7 n.). **7–11:** The rights of a female slave or concubine (compare Deut 15.12, 17).

## EXODUS 31, 32

in six days the LORD made heaven and earth, and on the seventh day he rested, and was refreshed."

18 When God<sup>z</sup> finished speaking with Moses on Mount Sinai, he gave him the two tablets of the covenant,<sup>a</sup> tablets of stone, written with the finger of God.

**32** When the people saw that Moses delayed to come down from the mountain, the people gathered around Aaron, and said to him, "Come, make gods for us, who shall go before us; as for this Moses, the man who brought us up out of the land of Egypt, we do not know what has become of him."<sup>2</sup> Aaron said to them, "Take off the gold rings that are on the ears of your wives, your sons, and your daughters, and bring them to me."<sup>3</sup> So all the people took off the gold rings from their ears, and brought them to Aaron. <sup>4</sup> He took the gold from them, formed it in a mold,<sup>b</sup> and cast an image of a calf; and they said, "These are your gods, O Israel, who brought you up out of the land of Egypt!" <sup>5</sup> When Aaron saw this, he built an altar before it; and Aaron made proclamation and said, "Tomorrow shall be a festival to the LORD." <sup>6</sup> They rose early the next day, and offered burnt offerings and brought sacrifices of well-being; and the people sat down to eat and drink, and rose up to revel.

7 The LORD said to Moses, "Go down at once! Your people, whom you brought up out of the land of Egypt, have acted perversely; <sup>8</sup> they have been quick to turn aside from the way that I

commanded them; they have cast for themselves an image of a calf, and have worshiped it and sacrificed to it, and said, 'These are your gods, O Israel, who brought you up out of the land of Egypt!'" <sup>9</sup> The LORD said to Moses, "I have seen this people, how stiff-necked they are. <sup>10</sup> Now let me alone, so that my wrath may burn hot against them and I may consume them; and of you I will make a great nation."

11 But Moses implored the LORD his God, and said, "O LORD, why does your wrath burn hot against your people, whom you brought out of the land of Egypt with great power and with a mighty hand?<sup>12</sup> Why should the Egyptians say, 'It was with evil intent that he brought them out to kill them in the mountains, and to consume them from the face of the earth?' Turn from your fierce wrath; change your mind and do not bring disaster on your people.<sup>13</sup> Remember Abraham, Isaac, and Israel, your servants, how you swore to them by your own self, saying to them, 'I will multiply your descendants like the stars of heaven, and all this land that I have promised I will give to your descendants, and they shall inherit it forever.'"<sup>14</sup> And the LORD changed his mind about the disaster that he planned to bring on his people.

15 Then Moses turned and went

<sup>z</sup> Heb *he*    <sup>a</sup> Or *treaty*, or *testimony*; Heb *eduth*

<sup>b</sup> Or *fashioned it with a graving tool*; Meaning of Heb uncertain

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which resumes the narrative from 24.18. The inserted block of priestly tradition (chs 25–31) was supposedly delivered to Moses on Mount Sinai.

**32.1–35: The breaking of the covenant.** During Moses' absence the rebellious people chose Aaron as their leader and worshiped a golden bull. 1: Moses stayed on the mountain top forty days and forty nights, a round number for an indefinitely long time (1 Kings 19.8; Mt 4.2). *Gods who shall go before us*, i.e. visible symbols of the divine presence as in pagan idolatry (see 20.4–6 n.). 2–3: On the golden earrings, see Gen 35.4 n. The *calf*, or young bull, was a symbol of fertility in the

nature-religions of the ancient Near East (compare 1 Kings 12.28; Hos 8.5). 6: The eating and drinking accompanied a *festival to the LORD*, a dedication of the new cultic symbol (2 Sam 6.17–19).

**32.7–14:** Moses' first intercession (Num 14.13–19). 14: *The LORD changed his mind*: God is not bound inflexibly to an announced plan but is free to change a course of action in a manner consistent with the divine purpose (Gen 6.5–6; Am 7.3, 6).

**32.15:** *Tablets of the covenant*, see 25.16 n. 19: The breaking of the tablets symbolized that the covenant relationship had been broken. 20: Moses subjected the people to a trial

down from the mountain, carrying the two tablets of the covenant<sup>c</sup> in his hands, tablets that were written on both sides, written on the front and on the back. <sup>16</sup>The tablets were the work of God, and the writing was the writing of God, engraved upon the tablets. <sup>17</sup>When Joshua heard the noise of the people as they shouted, he said to Moses, "There is a noise of war in the camp." <sup>18</sup>But he said,

"It is not the sound made by  
victors,  
or the sound made by losers;  
it is the sound of revelers that I  
hear."

<sup>19</sup>As soon as he came near the camp and saw the calf and the dancing, Moses' anger burned hot, and he threw the tablets from his hands and broke them at the foot of the mountain. <sup>20</sup>He took the calf that they had made, burned it with fire, ground it to powder, scattered it on the water, and made the Israelites drink it.

<sup>21</sup>Moses said to Aaron, "What did this people do to you that you have brought so great a sin upon them?" <sup>22</sup>And Aaron said, "Do not let the anger of my lord burn hot; you know the people, that they are bent on evil. <sup>23</sup>They said to me, 'Make us gods, who shall go before us; as for this Moses, the man who brought us up out of the land of Egypt, we do not know what has become of him.' <sup>24</sup>So I said to them, 'Whoever has gold, take it off'; so they gave it to me, and I threw it into the fire, and out came this calf!"

<sup>25</sup>When Moses saw that the people were running wild (for Aaron had let them run wild, to the derision of their

enemies), <sup>26</sup>then Moses stood in the gate of the camp, and said, "Who is on the LORD's side? Come to me!" And all the sons of Levi gathered around him. <sup>27</sup>He said to them, "Thus says the LORD, the God of Israel, 'Put your sword on your side, each of you! Go back and forth from gate to gate throughout the camp, and each of you kill your brother, your friend, and your neighbor.' " <sup>28</sup>The sons of Levi did as Moses commanded, and about three thousand of the people fell on that day. <sup>29</sup>Moses said, "Today you have ordained yourselves<sup>d</sup> for the service of the LORD, each one at the cost of a son or a brother, and so have brought a blessing on yourselves this day."

<sup>30</sup>On the next day Moses said to the people, "You have sinned a great sin. But now I will go up to the LORD; perhaps I can make atonement for your sin." <sup>31</sup>So Moses returned to the LORD and said, "Alas, this people has sinned a great sin; they have made for themselves gods of gold. <sup>32</sup>But now, if you will only forgive their sin—but if not, blot me out of the book that you have written." <sup>33</sup>But the LORD said to Moses, "Whoever has sinned against me I will blot out of my book. <sup>34</sup>But now go, lead the people to the place about which I have spoken to you; see, my angel shall go in front of you. Nevertheless, when the day comes for punishment, I will punish them for their sin."

<sup>35</sup>Then the LORD sent a plague on the

<sup>c</sup> Or *treaty*, or *testimony*; Heb *eduth*      <sup>d</sup> Gk Vg  
Compare Tg: Heb *Today ordain yourselves*

by ordeal (Num 5.16–28). Those who suffered ill effects from drinking the water and pulverized metal were regarded as guilty and fell in a plague (v. 35). **21–24:** The rebuke of Aaron (see Num ch 12) stands in contrast to his priestly prestige and intercessory role as described in chs 25–31. **24:** Aaron feebly disclaims responsibility by saying that he did not make the calf: it emerged from the fire by itself.

**32.25–29:** A separate tradition about how the Levites (see 28.1–5 n.) were consecrated

to the priesthood (compare Num 25.10–13). Instead of being consecrated by a ritual ceremony (ch 29), the Levites *ordained* themselves by their zeal, that is, their passionate loyalty to the LORD (1 Kings 19.10; 2 Kings 10.16) despite social or family bonds. **30–35:** Moses' second intercession. **30:** *Make atonement*, i.e. obtain forgiveness (v. 32). **32:** *The book* is the register of the members of the theocratic community (Ps 69.28; Isa 4.3; Dan 12.1; Mal 3.16). **34:** On the *angel*, see Gen 16.7 n.; Ex 23.20.

people, because they made the calf—the one that Aaron made.

**33** The LORD said to Moses, “Go, leave this place, you and the people whom you have brought up out of the land of Egypt, and go to the land of which I swore to Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, saying, ‘To your descendants I will give it.’<sup>2</sup> I will send an angel before you, and I will drive out the Canaanites, the Amorites, the Hittites, the Perizzites, the Hivites, and the Jebusites. <sup>3</sup> Go up to a land flowing with milk and honey; but I will not go up among you, or I would consume you on the way, for you are a stiff-necked people.”

4 When the people heard these harsh words, they mourned, and no one put on ornaments. <sup>5</sup> For the LORD had said to Moses, “Say to the Israelites, ‘You are a stiff-necked people; if for a single moment I should go up among you, I would consume you. So now take off your ornaments, and I will decide what to do to you.’ ”<sup>6</sup> Therefore the Israelites stripped themselves of their ornaments, from Mount Horeb onward.

**33.1–23: The LORD’s guidance.** Moses seeks assurance that God will accompany the people, despite their folly and sin. **1–6:** The accompanying angel is the LORD’s representative or alter ego (32.34), showing that the people will not be God-forsaken. The LORD will not, however, accompany the sinful people directly, lest divine holiness consume them. **4–6:** The people removed their ornaments as a sign of contrition. **7–11:** An old tradition about the tent of meeting.

**33.7:** The tent was portable, like ancient Arabic tent-shrines (see 26.7–14 n.). Unlike the priestly tabernacle, which was centrally located (25.8; Num 2.2), the tent was pitched *far off from the camp*. Originally perhaps the tent was a place of tribal assembly and an oracle-place, both ideas being implied in the term *meeting*. It was, however, chiefly a tent of revelation to Moses (Num 11.16–17, 24–40; 12.1–8; Deut 31.14–15; compare Ex 29.42–46). **Sought the LORD**, i.e. for oracular decisions (18.15–16). **8–9:** While the ark symbolized the nearness and presence of the LORD (see 25.10–22 n.), the tent signified divine distance and transcendence; hence the LORD used to *descend* from time to time to meet with Moses. In priestly tradition the

7 Now Moses used to take the tent and pitch it outside the camp, far off from the camp; he called it the tent of meeting. And everyone who sought the LORD would go out to the tent of meeting, which was outside the camp. <sup>8</sup> Whenever Moses went out to the tent, all the people would rise and stand, each of them, at the entrance of their tents and watch Moses until he had gone into the tent. <sup>9</sup> When Moses entered the tent, the pillar of cloud would descend and stand at the entrance of the tent, and the LORD would speak with Moses. <sup>10</sup> When all the people saw the pillar of cloud standing at the entrance of the tent, all the people would rise and bow down, all of them, at the entrance of their tent. <sup>11</sup> Thus the LORD used to speak to Moses face to face, as one speaks to a friend. Then he would return to the camp; but his young assistant, Joshua son of Nun, would not leave the tent.

12 Moses said to the LORD, “See, you have said to me, ‘Bring up this people; but you have not let me know whom you will send with me. Yet you have

two views are combined by saying that the ark was placed within the “tent of covenant” (30.36; Num 9.15; 17.7–8). **11:** Moses’ mediatorial role (19.9; 20.19) is indicated by the fact that the LORD used to speak to him *face to face, as one speaks to a friend* (Num 12.7–8; Deut 34.10–12). Here Joshua, rather than Aaron the priest, is the custodian of the tent.

**33.12–16:** Moses’ intercession. **14: My presence** (literally, “face”), perhaps a reference to the ark. Enthroned on the ark, the LORD goes before the people and gives them *rest* (Num 10.33). **16:** Israel is a unique people because it undertakes a special historical pilgrimage with the LORD leading them into the future (Num 23.9). **17–23:** These verses anticipate the theophany of 34.5–9. **18:** Having asked for a display of God’s *ways* (v. 13) or manner of action in the world, Moses now asks for more: for a manifestation of God’s *glory*, i.e. the visible radiance and majesty of the God-head (see 16.7 n.). **19:** The proclamation of the divine name, the LORD (Yahweh; see 3.14 n.), was tantamount to a disclosure of the character or identity of God (see Gen 32.27 n.). Divine freedom is emphasized. God is free to act according to God’s will, unbound by external hindrance or necessity

said, ‘I know you by name, and you have also found favor in my sight.’<sup>13</sup> Now if I have found favor in your sight, show me your ways, so that I may know you and find favor in your sight. Consider too that this nation is your people.’<sup>14</sup> He said, ‘My presence will go with you, and I will give you rest.’<sup>15</sup> And he said to him, ‘If your presence will not go, do not carry us up from here.’<sup>16</sup> For how shall it be known that I have found favor in your sight, I and your people, unless you go with us? In this way, we shall be distinct, I and your people, from every people on the face of the earth.’

17 The LORD said to Moses, ‘I will do the very thing that you have asked; for you have found favor in my sight, and I know you by name.’<sup>18</sup> Moses said, ‘Show me your glory, I pray.’<sup>19</sup> And he said, ‘I will make all my goodness pass before you, and will proclaim before you the name, ‘The LORD’;<sup>e</sup> and I will be gracious to whom I will be gracious, and will show mercy on whom I will show mercy.<sup>20</sup> But,’ he said, ‘you cannot see my face; for no one shall see me and live.’<sup>21</sup> And the LORD continued, ‘See, there is a place by me where you shall stand on the rock;<sup>22</sup> and while my glory passes by I will put you in a cleft of the rock, and I will cover you with my hand until I have passed by;<sup>23</sup> then I will take away my hand, and you shall see my back; but my face shall not be seen.’

**34** The LORD said to Moses, ‘Cut two tablets of stone like the former ones, and I will write on the tablets the words that were on the former tab-

lets, which you broke.<sup>2</sup> Be ready in the morning, and come up in the morning to Mount Sinai and present yourself there to me, on the top of the mountain.<sup>3</sup> No one shall come up with you, and do not let anyone be seen throughout all the mountain; and do not let flocks or herds graze in front of that mountain.’<sup>4</sup> So Moses cut two tablets of stone like the former ones; and he rose early in the morning and went up on Mount Sinai, as the LORD had commanded him, and took in his hand the two tablets of stone.<sup>5</sup> The LORD descended in the cloud and stood with him there, and proclaimed the name, ‘The LORD.’<sup>e</sup> <sup>6</sup>The LORD passed before him, and proclaimed,

‘The LORD, the LORD,  
a God merciful and gracious,  
slow to anger,  
and abounding in steadfast love  
and faithfulness,  
<sup>7</sup> keeping steadfast love for the  
thousandth generation,<sup>f</sup>  
forgiving iniquity and  
transgression and sin,  
yet by no means clearing the  
guilty,  
but visiting the iniquity of the  
parents  
upon the children  
and the children’s children,  
to the third and the fourth  
generation.’

8 And Moses quickly bowed his head toward the earth, and worshiped.<sup>9</sup> He said,

<sup>e</sup> Heb YHWH; see note at 3.15      <sup>f</sup> Or for thousands

(compare Rom 9.15); God’s action is not capricious, however, but is the expression of divine goodness (34.6–7; see 32.14 n.). **22:** On the cave or *cleft of the rock*, see 1 Kings 19.9–18. **23:** Although employing bold anthropomorphisms (the LORD’s *hand* and *back*), the narrator stresses that God remains hidden (v. 20), even when most palpably present.

**34.1–35: The renewal of the covenant**, symbolized by the rewriting of the commandments. **1–4:** The second tablets were to contain the words that were on the former tablets (24.12–14; compare Deut 10.1–5). Their reissue, however, provides an opportunity for

the editor to introduce a cultic set of laws (vv. 12–16). **5–9:** The theophany is anticipated in 33.17–23. **6–7:** While the LORD passed before him (see 33.22 n.; compare 1 Kings 19.11–12), Moses heard the self-disclosure of the LORD’s identity: Yahweh is above all the God of *steadfast love* (see Gen 24.12 n.), though covenant loyalty does not exclude divine judgment upon sin. This summary, echoed in various places in the Old Testament (Num 14.18; Neh 9.17, 31; Ps 103.8; Jer 32.18; Jon 4.2), is probably an old cultic confession.

"If now I have found favor in your sight, O Lord, I pray, let the Lord go with us. Although this is a stiff-necked people, pardon our iniquity and our sin, and take us for your inheritance."

10 He said: I hereby make a covenant. Before all your people I will perform marvels, such as have not been performed in all the earth or in any nation; and all the people among whom you live shall see the work of the LORD; for it is an awesome thing that I will do with you.

11 Observe what I command you today. See, I will drive out before you the Amorites, the Canaanites, the Hittites, the Perizzites, the Hivites, and the Jebusites.<sup>12</sup> Take care not to make a covenant with the inhabitants of the land to which you are going, or it will become a snare among you.<sup>13</sup> You shall tear down their altars, break their pillars, and cut down their sacred poles<sup>g</sup> (for you shall worship no other god, because the LORD, whose name is Jealous, is a jealous God).<sup>15</sup> You shall not make a covenant with the inhabitants of the land, for when they prostitute themselves to their gods and sacrifice to their gods, someone among them will invite you, and you will eat of the sacrifice.<sup>16</sup> And you will take wives from among their daughters for your sons, and their daughters who prostitute themselves to their gods will make your sons also prostitute themselves to their gods.

17 You shall not make cast idols.

18 You shall keep the festival of unleavened bread. Seven days you shall eat unleavened bread, as I commanded you, at the time appointed in the month of Abib; for in the month of Abib you came out from Egypt.

19 All that first opens the womb is mine, all your male<sup>h</sup> livestock, the firstborn of cow and sheep.<sup>20</sup> The firstborn of a donkey you shall redeem with a lamb, or if you will not redeem it you shall break its neck. All the firstborn of your sons you shall redeem.

No one shall appear before me empty-handed.

21 Six days you shall work, but on the seventh day you shall rest; even in plowing time and in harvest time you shall rest.<sup>22</sup> You shall observe the festival of weeks, the first fruits of wheat harvest, and the festival of ingathering at the turn of the year.<sup>23</sup> Three times in the year all your males shall appear before the LORD God, the God of Israel.<sup>24</sup> For I will cast out nations before you, and enlarge your borders; no one shall covet your land when you go up to appear before the LORD your God three times in the year.

25 You shall not offer the blood of my sacrifice with leaven, and the sacrifice of the festival of the passover shall not be left until the morning.

<sup>g</sup> Heb *Asherim*    <sup>h</sup> Gk Theodotion Vg Tg:  
Meaning of Heb uncertain

**34.10–28:** This may be another tradition about the making of a covenant (v. 10), parallel to that of chs 19–24. In the present context, however, it is understood as a renewal of the covenant after it was broken by the people (ch 32). **11–16:** Intolerance of pagan forms of worship was motivated by fear of the seductive power of idolatry (see 23.24). **13:** The *pillars* were upright stones which stood near Baal shrines; the *sacred poles* (or "Asherim") symbolized Asherah, the mother goddess of Canaanite religion (Judg 2.13). **14:** Religious exclusivism is derived from the fundamental conviction of Mosaic faith; the total claim of Israel's God upon the people's loyalty (20.3). The LORD's *name* (or character)

is *Jealous*, i.e. the LORD will tolerate no rivals for Israel's devotion (20.5; Deut 4.24).

**34.18–24:** A cultic calendar. The laws concerning the three annual festivals (vv. 18, 22–23) are paralleled in 23.14–17. On the redemption of the firstborn (vv. 19–20), see 13.13 n. **24:** The property will be protected while the pilgrims are on their way to the central sanctuary.

**34.25–26:** 23.18–19. **27–28:** Moses' special role as covenant mediator (see 19.9 n.) is shown by the fact that the covenant is made with him and, through him, with Israel. *These words*, a reference to the preceding cultic laws. Some have attempted to arrange these into a decalogue (compare v. 28b).

26 The best of the first fruits of your ground you shall bring to the house of the LORD your God.

You shall not boil a kid in its mother's milk.

27 The LORD said to Moses: Write these words; in accordance with these words I have made a covenant with you and with Israel. 28 He was there with the LORD forty days and forty nights; he neither ate bread nor drank water. And he wrote on the tablets the words of the covenant, the ten commandments.<sup>i</sup>

29 Moses came down from Mount Sinai. As he came down from the mountain with the two tablets of the covenant<sup>j</sup> in his hand, Moses did not know that the skin of his face shone because he had been talking with God. 30 When Aaron and all the Israelites saw Moses, the skin of his face was shining, and they were afraid to come near him. 31 But Moses called to them; and Aaron and all the leaders of the congregation returned to him, and Moses spoke with them. 32 Afterward all the Israelites came near, and he gave them in commandment all that the LORD had spoken with him on Mount Sinai. 33 When Moses had finished speaking with them, he put a veil on his face; <sup>34</sup>but whenever Moses went in before the LORD to speak with him, he would take the veil off, until he came out; and when he came out, and told the Israelites what he had been commanded, <sup>35</sup>the Israelites would see the face of Moses, that the skin of his face was shining; and Moses would put the veil on his face again, until he went in to speak with him.

**35** Moses assembled all the congregation of the Israelites and said to them: These are the things that the LORD has commanded you to do:

2 Six days shall work be done, but on the seventh day you shall have a holy sabbath of solemn rest to the LORD; whoever does any work on it shall be put to death. <sup>3</sup>You shall kindle no fire in all your dwellings on the sabbath day.

4 Moses said to all the congregation of the Israelites: This is the thing that the LORD has commanded: <sup>5</sup>Take from among you an offering to the LORD; let whoever is of a generous heart bring the LORD's offering: gold, silver, and bronze; <sup>6</sup>blue, purple, and crimson yarns, and fine linen; goats' hair, <sup>7</sup>tanned rams' skins, and fine leather; <sup>k</sup> acacia wood, <sup>8</sup>oil for the light, spices for the anointing oil and for the fragrant incense, <sup>9</sup>and onyx stones and gems to be set in the ephod and the breastpiece.

10 All who are skillful among you shall come and make all that the LORD has commanded: the tabernacle, <sup>11</sup>its tent and its covering, its clasps and its frames, its bars, its pillars, and its bases; <sup>12</sup>the ark with its poles, the mercy seat,<sup>l</sup> and the curtain for the screen; <sup>13</sup>the table with its poles and all its utensils, and the bread of the Presence; <sup>14</sup>the lampstand also for the light, with its utensils and its lamps, and the oil for the light; <sup>15</sup>and the altar of incense, with its poles, and the anointing oil and the fragrant incense, and the screen for the entrance, the entrance of the tabernacle; <sup>16</sup>the altar of burnt offering, with its grating of bronze, its poles, and all its utensils, the basin with its stand; <sup>17</sup>the hangings of the court, its pillars and its bases, and the screen for the gate of the court; <sup>18</sup>the pegs of the tabernacle and the pegs of the court, and their

<sup>i</sup> Heb words    <sup>j</sup> Or treaty, or testimony; Heb eduth    <sup>k</sup> Meaning of Heb uncertain

<sup>l</sup> Or the cover

Probably, however, the editor has blended two covenant traditions: one based on the Decalogue and the other on this set of ritual laws. **29-35:** According to priestly tradition, cut the radiant glory of the LORD so transfigured Moses' face (compare Mt 17:1-7) that he had to wear a veil (2 Cor 3:7-18).

**Chapters 35-40: The establishment of the cult.** This priestly section shows how the instructions given to Moses in chs 25-31 were carried out.

**35.1-3:** See 31:12-17. The sabbath law is placed first so as to restrict work on the tabernacle. **4-29:** An expansion of 25.1-9.

## Isaiah

The prophet Isaiah, the son of Amoz, proclaimed his message to Judah and Jerusalem from 742 until 701 B.C. (some believe until 687 B.C.), that critical period in which the Northern Kingdom was annexed to the Assyrian empire (2 Kings ch 17) while Judah lived uneasily in its shadow as a tributary (2 Chr 28.21). Nothing is known about the early life of the prophet, though it has been conjectured from certain aspects of his message and from Isa 6.1–8 that he may have been a priest.

Only chs 1–39 can be assigned to Isaiah's time, and even they contain later materials (see notes); it is generally accepted that chs 40–66 come from the time of Cyrus of Persia (539 B.C.) and later, as shown by the differences in historical background, literary style, and theological emphases. Chapters 1–39 begin with Isaiah's memoirs (1.1–12.6); they continue with oracles against foreign and domestic enemies (13.1–23.18), followed by the post-exilic "Isaiah Apocalypse" (24.1–27.13). Oracles generally concerned with Judah's intrigue with Egypt, its implications and consequences (28.1–32.20), are followed by a short collection of post-exilic eschatological oracles (33.1–35.10). An historical appendix (36.1–39.8) completes chs 1–39, in which there are other additions and some rearranging of oracles by post-exilic editors.

In the tradition of Amos, Hosea, and Micah, contemporaries whose work he seems to know, Isaiah attacks social injustice as that which is most indicative of Judah's tenuous relationship with God. He exhorts his hearers to place their confidence in their omnipotent God and to lead such public and private lives as manifest this. Thus justice and righteousness, teaching and word, and assurance of divine blessing upon the faithful and punishment upon the faithless are recurrent themes in his message from the Holy One of Israel to a proud and stubborn people.

Chapters 40–66, commonly called Second Isaiah (or Second and Third Isaiah), originated immediately before the fall of Babylon (October 29, 539 B.C.) to the armies of Cyrus, king of Persia, and during the generation following. The anonymous author of the first bipartite section (chs 40–55 [40–48; 49–55]) exults in joyful anticipation of exiled Judah's restoration to Palestine, for which Cyrus is God's precipitating agent (44.28). Second Isaiah emphasizes the significance of historical events in God's plan, a plan that extends from creation to redemption—and beyond. Blindness to God's way is a cardinal sin in Second Isaiah. The author's interest in cosmogony was unique up to his time; it is used to emphasize the concept of God as exclusive creator and lord of all, whose ultimate glorious manifestation will be accompanied by a new creation. A noteworthy feature of his prophecy is the songs of the Servant (see 42.1–4 n.).

This eschatological hope is shared with the author, or authors, of the second bipartite section (chs 56–66 [56–59 and 63–66; 60–62]). The contents of this section (sometimes called Third Isaiah) suggest a date between 530 and 510 B.C., perhaps contemporary with Haggai and Zechariah (520–518); chapters 60–62 may be later. Other concepts are also shared. Jacob and Israel have primarily religious, albeit national, significance. God's concern for the exiles in chs 40–55 is paralleled by the comforting assurance to Zion's afflicted in chs 56–66. But the direct "I—thou" relationship of Second Isaiah gives way to a more transcendent concept. In chs 56–66 one is confronted by the sobering realities of life in the restored community. The Servant-motif vanishes, and there is growing emphasis on cultic matters.

Together these theologically significant sections present a moving vision of the assured hope of God's people in a world whose times are in God's hands.

**1** The vision of Isaiah son of Amoz,  
which he saw concerning Judah and  
Jerusalem in the days of Uzziah, Jotham,  
Ahaz, and Hezekiah, kings of Judah.

**2** Hear, O heavens, and listen,  
O earth;  
for the LORD has spoken:  
I reared children and brought  
them up,  
but they have rebelled against  
me.

**3** The ox knows its owner,  
and the donkey its master's crib;  
but Israel does not know,  
my people do not understand.

**4** Ah, sinful nation,  
people laden with iniquity,  
offspring who do evil,  
children who deal corruptly,  
who have forsaken the LORD,  
who have despised the Holy  
One of Israel,  
who are utterly estranged!

**5** Why do you seek further beatings?  
Why do you continue to rebel?  
The whole head is sick,  
and the whole heart faint.

**6** From the sole of the foot even to  
the head,  
there is no soundness in it,  
but bruises and sores

and bleeding wounds;  
they have not been drained, or  
bound up,  
or softened with oil.

**7** Your country lies desolate,  
your cities are burned with fire;  
in your very presence  
aliens devour your land;  
it is desolate, as overthrown by  
foreigners.

**8** And daughter Zion is left  
like a booth in a vineyard,  
like a shelter in a cucumber field,  
like a besieged city.

**9** If the LORD of hosts  
had not left us a few survivors,  
we would have been like Sodom,  
and become like Gomorrah.

**10** Hear the word of the LORD,  
you rulers of Sodom!  
Listen to the teaching of our God,  
you people of Gomorrah!

**11** What to me is the multitude of  
your sacrifices?  
says the LORD;  
I have had enough of burnt  
offerings of rams  
and the fat of fed beasts;  
I do not delight in the blood  
of bulls,  
or of lambs, or of goats.

**1.1–5.24: Oracles against rebellious Judah.** **1.1: Superscription.** Vision of Isaiah (6.1–13; Jer ch 1; Ezek chs 1–3) identifies Isa chs 1–39 as God's message to Judah through the prophet. The name *Isaiah* means "The LORD [Yahweh] gives salvation." The latter part of the verse beginning with "in the days of" may be an editorial expansion.

**1.2–31: First series of oracles,** serving as a kind of prologue. **2–3:** Poetic exhortation reminiscent of God's address to the heavenly host in 40.1–2. *Children*, compare Jer 3.19–22. The biblical word *know* implies a profound, identifying comprehension of the right relationship with God; it is a recurring prophetic theme (Jer 1.5; Hos 2.20; 4.1, 6; 5.4).

**4.4–9:** An appeal to a people heedless of the significance of Judah's devastation by Tiglath-Pileser III (734–733 B.C.; 7.1–2) or

Sennacherib (701 B.C.; 36.1) and Jerusalem's isolation. **4:** Note the poetic parallelism: *nation, people; offspring, children*. The expression, *Holy One of Israel* (5.19, 24; 10.20; 12.6, 17.7; 29.19; 30.11, 12, 15; 37.23), emphasizes God's unapproachable separateness, which he has bridged by his gracious election of Israel as his people (Hos 8.1; Jer 3.20).

**11.0–20:** God's pronouncement concerning Judah's religious superficiality (Am 5.21–24; Jer 6.20). Judah may repent and return (Jer 7.5–7); the alternative is destruction (Jer 7.22–34). **10:** *Teaching*, the Hebrew word is "torah," which is frequently translated "law." On *Sodom* and *Gomorrah* see Gen 18.16–19.28; Jer 23.14; Ezek 16.46–58. **14:** *My soul*, a Hebrew idiom which in this context means "I" (compare Lev 26.11, 30). **16–17:** Compare Ex 22.21, 22; Am 5.6–7. **18:** *Argue*, as one argues a case before a judge (Job

## ISAIAH 1

- 12 When you come to appear before me,<sup>a</sup>  
    who asked this from your hand?  
    Trample my courts no more;  
13 bringing offerings is futile;  
    incense is an abomination to  
    me.  
    New moon and sabbath and  
        calling of convocation—  
    I cannot endure solemn  
        assemblies with iniquity.
- 14 Your new moons and your  
    appointed festivals  
    my soul hates;  
they have become a burden to me,  
    I am weary of bearing them.
- 15 When you stretch out your hands,  
    I will hide my eyes from you;  
even though you make many  
    prayers,  
    I will not listen;  
    your hands are full of blood.
- 16 Wash yourselves; make yourselves  
    clean;  
remove the evil of your doings  
    from before my eyes;  
cease to do evil,
- 17 learn to do good;  
seek justice,  
    rescue the oppressed,  
defend the orphan,  
    plead for the widow.
- 18 Come now, let us argue it out,  
    says the LORD:  
    though your sins are like scarlet,  
    they shall be like snow;  
    though they are red like crimson,  
    they shall become like wool.
- 19 If you are willing and obedient,  
    you shall eat the good of the  
        land;
- 20 but if you refuse and rebel,  
    you shall be devoured by the  
        sword;

for the mouth of the LORD has  
    spoken.

- 21 How the faithful city  
    has become a whore!  
    She that was full of justice,  
righteousness lodged in her—  
    but now murderers!
- 22 Your silver has become dross,  
    your wine is mixed with water.
- 23 Your princes are rebels  
    and companions of thieves.  
Everyone loves a bribe  
    and runs after gifts.  
They do not defend the orphan,  
    and the widow's cause does not  
    come before them.
- 24 Therefore says the Sovereign, the  
    LORD of hosts, the Mighty  
    One of Israel:  
Ah, I will pour out my wrath on  
    my enemies,  
    and avenge myself on my foes!
- 25 I will turn my hand against you;  
    I will smelt away your dross as  
    with lye  
    and remove all your alloy.
- 26 And I will restore your judges as  
    at the first,  
    and your counselors as at the  
    beginning.  
Afterward you shall be called the  
    city of righteousness,  
the faithful city.
- 27 Zion shall be redeemed by justice,  
    and those in her who repent, by  
righteousness.
- 28 But rebels and sinners shall be  
    destroyed together,  
    and those who forsake the LORD  
    shall be consumed.

<sup>a</sup> Or see my face

23.7). Scarlet for wickedness (garments of Babylon, Rev 17.4); like snow, white for purity (Rev 19.8).

1.21–23: Lamentation over Jerusalem. 21: Whore; Jer 3.6–10; Ezek chs 16 and 23. Justice and righteousness express Isaiah's ideal for the people of God. 24: Mighty One of Israel recalls

Israel's patriarchal traditions (49.26; Gen 49.24; Ps 132.2, 5). 25: As with lye, or "thoroughly." 26: Isaiah frequently uses symbolic names (7.14; 8.1; 9.6; see also Jer 33.16; Ezek 48.35 n.). There will be a new creation; compare Am 9.11; Rev 3.12; 21.1–4.

- 29 For you shall be ashamed of the oaks in which you delighted; and you shall blush for the gardens that you have chosen.
- 30 For you shall be like an oak whose leaf withers, and like a garden without water.
- 31 The strong shall become like tinder, and their work<sup>b</sup> like a spark; they and their work shall burn together, with no one to quench them.

**2** The word that Isaiah son of Amoz saw concerning Judah and Jerusalem.

- 2 In days to come the mountain of the LORD's house shall be established as the highest of the mountains, and shall be raised above the hills; all the nations shall stream to it.
- 3 Many peoples shall come and say, "Come, let us go up to the mountain of the LORD, to the house of the God of Jacob; that he may teach us his ways and that we may walk in his paths."
- For out of Zion shall go forth instruction,

**1.29–31:** Judah is faithless; the comparison is based on one of Isaiah's rare references to pagan religious practices; compare 57.5; Jer 2.27; Ezek 6.1–14.

**2.1: Second superscription**, perhaps for chs 2–4. *Word* connotes "message" (Jer 7.1; 11.1). **2–5: The new age**, involving the elevation of Zion, the acknowledgment of the nations, and the age of peace. This oracle (vv. 2–4) is also found in Mic 4.1–4. **3: Instruction**, i.e. "teaching" (1.10). **4:** The age of peace will follow the judgment of the LORD (compare 5.25; 30.27–28). **5:** Compare v. 3, paraphrased in Mic 4.5.

**2.6–22: The day of the LORD.** This is probably to be taken as three stanzas, vv. 6–11, 12–17, 18–22. The first two have a similar conclusion (compare vv. 11, 17), and it is suggested that the third ended similarly, for the present v. 22 is missing in the Septuagint and is grammatically corrupt. **6–11:** Judgment on idolatry. **6:** *Diviners* were forbidden in Israel (Ex 22.18; Lev. 20.27; Deut 18.10–11; compare 8.19; 1 Sam 28.8–25; Ezek 13.9). The situation fits Uzziah's reign (2 Kings 15.1–7; 2 Chr ch 26). **7:** Judah's prosperity (Deut 17.16–17; 1 Kings 10.14–29). **11:** *In that day*, the day of the LORD, in which God judges

and the word of the LORD from Jerusalem.

- 4 He shall judge between the nations, and shall arbitrate for many peoples; they shall beat their swords into plowshares, and their spears into pruning hooks; nation shall not lift up sword against nation, neither shall they learn war any more.

5 O house of Jacob, come, let us walk in the light of the LORD!

- 6 For you have forsaken the ways of<sup>c</sup> your people, O house of Jacob. Indeed they are full of diviners<sup>d</sup> from the east and of soothsayers like the Philistines, and they clasp hands with foreigners.

7 Their land is filled with silver and gold, and there is no end to their treasures; their land is filled with horses, and there is no end to their chariots.

8 Their land is filled with idols;

<sup>b</sup> Or its makers <sup>c</sup> Heb lacks the ways of  
<sup>d</sup> Cn: Heb lacks of diviners

- For my thoughts are not your thoughts,  
nor are your ways my ways,  
says the LORD.
- 9 For as the heavens are higher than the earth,  
so are my ways higher than your ways  
and my thoughts than your thoughts.
- 10 For as the rain and the snow come down from heaven,  
and do not return there until they have watered the earth,  
making it bring forth and sprout,  
giving seed to the sower and bread to the eater,
- 11 so shall my word be that goes out from my mouth;  
it shall not return to me empty,  
but it shall accomplish that which I purpose,  
and succeed in the thing for which I sent it.
- 12 For you shall go out in joy,  
and be led back in peace;  
the mountains and the hills before you  
shall burst into song,  
and all the trees of the field shall clap their hands.
- 13 Instead of the thorn shall come up the cypress;  
instead of the brier shall come up the myrtle;  
and it shall be to the LORD for a memorial,  
for an everlasting sign that shall not be cut off.

(Ps 103:11; Rom 11:33–36). 10–11: As rain causes germination and ultimately provides sustenance, so does God's word (see 9.8 n.). 12–13: The new Exodus (compare 43:16–21; 49:9–11) into an Eden-like land (see 51:3 n.; 41:18, 19; 44:3–4).

56.1–66.24: **Miscellaneous post-restoration oracles** (after 538 B.C. This section is sometimes called Third Isaiah; see Introduction, p. 866 OT).

- 56 Thus says the LORD:  
Maintain justice, and do what is right,  
for soon my salvation will come,  
and my deliverance be revealed.
- 2 Happy is the mortal who does this,  
the one who holds it fast,  
who keeps the sabbath, not profaning it,  
and refrains from doing any evil.
- 3 Do not let the foreigner joined to the LORD say,  
“The LORD will surely separate me from his people”;  
and do not let the eunuch say,  
“I am just a dry tree.”
- 4 For thus says the LORD:  
To the eunuchs who keep my sabbaths,  
who choose the things that please me  
and hold fast my covenant,
- 5 I will give, in my house and within my walls,  
a monument and a name better than sons and daughters;  
I will give them an everlasting name  
that shall not be cut off.
- 6 And the foreigners who join themselves to the LORD,  
to minister to him, to love the name of the LORD,  
and to be his servants,  
all who keep the sabbath, and do not profane it,  
and hold fast my covenant—

**56:1–8: A blessing on all who keep the sabbath** (compare 58:13–14; Jer 17:19–27). 2: *Happy is the mortal*, compare Ps 1:1; Jer 17:7; Mt 5:2–12. 3: *Foreigner*, the reference is to the proselyte (see v. 6). 4–5: God himself will honor faithful *eunuchs*. 6–7: Faithful proselytes will present acceptable sacrifices; *house of prayer*, Mk 11:17; *for all peoples*, 60:1–14. 8: God's community includes Israel and proselytes.

- 7 these I will bring to my holy mountain,  
and make them joyful in my house of prayer;  
their burnt offerings and their sacrifices  
will be accepted on my altar;  
for my house shall be called a house of prayer  
for all peoples.
- 8 Thus says the Lord God,  
who gathers the outcasts of Israel,  
I will gather others to them  
besides those already gathered.<sup>d</sup>
- 9 All you wild animals,  
all you wild animals in the forest, come to devour!
- 10 Israel's<sup>e</sup> sentinels are blind,  
they are all without knowledge;  
they are all silent dogs  
that cannot bark;  
dreaming, lying down,  
loving to slumber.
- 11 The dogs have a mighty appetite;  
they never have enough.  
The shepherds also have no understanding;  
they have all turned to their own way,  
to their own gain, one and all.
- 12 "Come," they say, "let us<sup>f</sup>  
get wine;  
let us fill ourselves with strong drink.  
And tomorrow will be like today,  
great beyond measure."

**57** The righteous perish,  
and no one takes it to heart;  
the devout are taken away,

- while no one understands.  
For the righteous are taken away  
from calamity,  
2 and they enter into peace;  
those who walk uprightly  
will rest on their couches.  
3 But as for you, come here,  
you children of a sorceress,  
you offspring of an adulterer  
and a whore.<sup>g</sup>
- 4 Whom are you mocking?  
Against whom do you open  
your mouth wide  
and stick out your tongue?  
Are you not children of transgression,  
the offspring of deceit—  
5 you that burn with lust among  
the oaks,  
under every green tree;  
you that slaughter your children in  
the valleys,  
under the clefts of the rocks?
- 6 Among the smooth stones of the valley  
is your portion;  
they, they, are your lot;  
to them you have poured out a drink offering,  
you have brought a grain offering.  
Shall I be appeased for these things?
- 7 Upon a high and lofty mountain  
you have set your bed,  
and there you went up to offer sacrifice.
- 8 Behind the door and the doorpost  
you have set up your symbol;

<sup>d</sup> Heb besides his gathered ones  
<sup>e</sup> Heb His  
<sup>f</sup> Q Ms Syr Vg Tg: MT me  
<sup>g</sup> Heb an adulterer and she plays the whore

**56.9–12: Against corrupt leaders.** 9: *Wild animals*, nations (Jer 12.8–9; Ezek 39.17). 10: *Sentinels*, prophets (Ezek 3.17; 33.7). 11: *Shepherds*, rulers (Ezek 34.1; Zech 11.4–17). **57.1–13: Against idolatry.** 1–2: The righteous die unnoticed by their hedonistic religious leaders. *Couches*, graves. 3–4: You, i.e. Jerusalem's apostates ("illegitimate children") who abuse the righteous ("legitimate children"); (Jer 3.1–20; Ezek 16.1–63). 5–6: The

prophet claims that the old fertility cults persist. *Oaks*, see 6.13 n.; *slaughter your children*, Jer 19.5; *portion, lot*, the gods of the valleys (v. 6), mountains (v. 7), house (v. 8), and other shrines (vv. 9–10), rather than the true God (Jer 10.16). 7–8: Sexual immorality was characteristic of these cults. 9–10: *Molech*, see Jer 7.31 n.; *to Sheol*, to the gods of the underworld (14.9–11). All such practices are futile (Jer 2.25).

## *Daniel*

The six stories and four dream-visions of the book of Daniel make up the only apocalyptic book in the Hebrew Scriptures. Other examples of the genre are 1 Enoch, Syriac Baruch, and the New Testament book of Revelation (see "Apocalyptic Literature," pp. 362–363 *nr*). These apocalypses come from times of national or community tribulation, and are not actual history, but, through symbols and signs, are interpretations of current history with its background and predictions of a future where tribulations and sorrows will give place to triumph and peace. The Apocalypticists usually set forth their messages under the name of some ancient worthy, e.g. Adam, Enoch, Noah, Abraham, or some other figure of note.

This book appears under the name of Daniel, or Danel, a worthy twice referred to in Ezekiel (Ezek 14.14; 28.3), and whose name appears also in the North Canaanite clay-tablet texts found at Ras Shamra. The author was a pious Jew living under the persecution of Antiochus Epiphanes, 167–164 B.C. (see "Survey of . . . Bible Lands," §19). To encourage his suffering fellow-believers he tells six stories, set in earlier days in Babylon just before and just after the Persian conquest, which illustrate how faithful Jews, loyally practicing their religion, were enabled by divine aid to triumph over their enemies. These were traditional tales, which were already written down and collected in the late third or early second century B.C. Then in four visions he ventures to interpret current history and predict the coming consummation when the faithful Jews will have ultimate victory. The section from 2.4b to 7.28 is written in Aramaic, though the remainder is in Hebrew.

kingdom. <sup>21</sup> And Daniel continued there until the first year of King Cyrus.

**2** In the second year of Nebuchadnezzar's reign, Nebuchadnezzar dreamed such dreams that his spirit was troubled and his sleep left him. <sup>2</sup> So the king commanded that the magicians, the enchanters, the sorcerers, and the Chaldeans be summoned to tell the king his dreams. When they came in and stood before the king, <sup>3</sup> he said to them, "I have had such a dream that my spirit is troubled by the desire to understand it." <sup>4</sup> The Chaldeans said to the king (in Aramaic),<sup>b</sup> "O king, live forever! Tell your servants the dream, and we will reveal the interpretation." <sup>5</sup> The king answered the Chaldeans, "This is a public decree: if you do not tell me both the dream and its interpretation, you shall be torn limb from limb, and your houses shall be laid in ruins. <sup>6</sup> But if you do tell me the dream and its interpretation, you shall receive from me gifts and rewards and great honor. Therefore tell me the dream and its interpretation." <sup>7</sup> They answered a second time, "Let the king first tell his servants the dream, then we can give its interpretation." <sup>8</sup> The king answered, "I know with certainty that you are trying to gain time, because you see I have firmly decreed: <sup>9</sup> if you do not tell me the dream, there is but one verdict for you. You have agreed to speak lying and misleading words to me until things take a turn. Therefore, tell me the dream, and I shall know that you can give me its interpretation." <sup>10</sup> The Chaldeans answered the king, "There is no one on earth who can reveal what the king de-

mands! In fact no king, however great and powerful, has ever asked such a thing of any magician or enchanter or Chaldean. <sup>11</sup> The thing that the king is asking is too difficult, and no one can reveal it to the king except the gods, whose dwelling is not with mortals."

**12** Because of this the king flew into a violent rage and commanded that all the wise men of Babylon be destroyed. <sup>13</sup> The decree was issued, and the wise men were about to be executed; and they looked for Daniel and his companions, to execute them. <sup>14</sup> Then Daniel responded with prudence and discretion to Arioch, the king's chief executioner, who had gone out to execute the wise men of Babylon; <sup>15</sup> he asked Arioch, the royal official, "Why is the decree of the king so urgent?" Arioch then explained the matter to Daniel. <sup>16</sup> So Daniel went in and requested that the king give him time and he would tell the king the interpretation.

**17** Then Daniel went to his home and informed his companions, Hananiah, Mishael, and Azariah,<sup>18</sup> and told them to seek mercy from the God of heaven concerning this mystery, so that Daniel and his companions with the rest of the wise men of Babylon might not perish. <sup>19</sup> Then the mystery was revealed to Daniel in a vision of the night, and Daniel blessed the God of heaven.

**20** Daniel said:

"Blessed be the name of God from age to age,

<sup>b</sup> The text from this point to the end of chapter 7 is in Aramaic

**2.1–49: Nebuchadnezzar's dream.** A story to teach the feebleness of human wisdom compared with that conferred by God. **1:** Second year is a slip (Daniel has already been at court for three years, 1.5, 18). **2:** Chaldeans here means not an ethnic group but a caste of wise men. In ancient as in modern times it was believed that important matters were revealed in dreams (Gen 20.3; 41.1–32; Mt 27.19).

**2.4–11:** Cuneiform tablets on divination through dreams are still extant. If the king

would tell the dream they could consult dream-books and find the interpretation, but asking them to tell the dream itself was unheard of and difficult beyond human skill. **11:** The word gods is used, since these Chaldeans were polytheists.

**2.14:** On the ground of 1.20, Daniel and his friends were counted among the court's wise men. In what follows, Daniel represents the ideal sage. **18–19:** This is a mystery, but through prayer even mysteries may be revealed by God's wisdom (v. 30).

- for wisdom and power are his.
- 21 He changes times and seasons,  
deposes kings and sets up kings;  
he gives wisdom to the wise  
and knowledge to those who  
have understanding.
- 22 He reveals deep and hidden things;  
he knows what is in the  
darkness,  
and light dwells with him.
- 23 To you, O God of my ancestors,  
I give thanks and praise,  
for you have given me wisdom  
and power,  
and have now revealed to me  
what we asked of you,  
for you have revealed to us  
what the king ordered."
- 24 Therefore Daniel went to Arioch, whom the king had appointed to destroy the wise men of Babylon, and said to him, "Do not destroy the wise men of Babylon; bring me in before the king, and I will give the king the interpretation."

25 Then Arioch quickly brought Daniel before the king and said to him: "I have found among the exiles from Judah a man who can tell the king the interpretation." 26 The king said to Daniel, whose name was Belteshazzar, "Are you able to tell me the dream that I have seen and its interpretation?" 27 Daniel answered the king, "No wise men, enchanters, magicians, or diviners can show to the king the mystery that the king is asking, 28 but there is a God in heaven who reveals mysteries, and he has disclosed to King Nebuchadnezzar what will happen at the end of days. Your dream and the visions of your head as you lay in bed were these: 29 To you, O king, as you lay in bed, came thoughts of what would be hereafter, and the revealer of mysteries disclosed to you what is to be. 30 But as for me, this mystery has

not been revealed to me because of any wisdom that I have more than any other living being, but in order that the interpretation may be known to the king and that you may understand the thoughts of your mind.

31 "You were looking, O king, and lo! there was a great statue. This statue was huge, its brilliance extraordinary; it was standing before you, and its appearance was frightening. 32 The head of that statue was of fine gold, its chest and arms of silver, its middle and thighs of bronze, 33 its legs of iron, its feet partly of iron and partly of clay. 34 As you looked on, a stone was cut out, not by human hands, and it struck the statue on its feet of iron and clay and broke them in pieces. 35 Then the iron, the clay, the bronze, the silver, and the gold, were all broken in pieces and became like the chaff of the summer threshing floors; and the wind carried them away, so that not a trace of them could be found. But the stone that struck the statue became a great mountain and filled the whole earth.

36 "This was the dream; now we will tell the king its interpretation. 37 You, O king, the king of kings—to whom the God of heaven has given the kingdom, the power, the might, and the glory, 38 into whose hand he has given human beings, wherever they live, the wild animals of the field, and the birds of the air, and whom he has established as ruler over them all—you are the head of gold. 39 After you shall arise another kingdom inferior to yours, and yet a third kingdom of bronze, which shall rule over the whole earth. 40 And there shall be a fourth kingdom, strong as iron; just as iron crushes and smashes everything, it shall crush and shatter all these. 41 As you

<sup>c</sup> Gk Theodotion Syr Vg: Aram adds and like  
iron that crushes

quarried supernaturally. This could become a mountain filling the whole earth because the earth was pictured as a disk beneath the heavenly vault.

2.36–45: For this writer the five kingdoms are the Babylonian, Median, Persian,

2.26: Belteshazzar, as 1.7; 4.8, 9. 28: End of days is an idiomatic expression meaning "a future time."

2.32–33: Legs, i.e. the lower legs, the upper legs being the thighs. 34–35: The image was of human construction, but the stone was

## DANIEL 2, 3

saw the feet and toes partly of potter's clay and partly of iron, it shall be a divided kingdom; but some of the strength of iron shall be in it, as you saw the iron mixed with the clay.<sup>42</sup> As the toes of the feet were part iron and part clay, so the kingdom shall be partly strong and partly brittle.<sup>43</sup> As you saw the iron mixed with clay, so will they mix with one another in marriage,<sup>44</sup> but they will not hold together, just as iron does not mix with clay.<sup>45</sup> And in the days of those kings the God of heaven will set up a kingdom that shall never be destroyed, nor shall this kingdom be left to another people. It shall crush all these kingdoms and bring them to an end, and it shall stand forever;<sup>46</sup> just as you saw that a stone was cut from the mountain not by hands, and that it crushed the iron, the bronze, the clay, the silver, and the gold. The great God has informed the king what shall be hereafter. The dream is certain, and its interpretation trustworthy."

46 Then King Nebuchadnezzar fell on his face, worshiped Daniel, and commanded that a grain offering and incense be offered to him.<sup>47</sup> The king said to Daniel, "Truly, your God is God of gods and Lord of kings and a revealer of mysteries, for you have been able to reveal this mystery!"<sup>48</sup> Then the king promoted Daniel, gave him many great gifts, and made him ruler over the whole province of Babylon and chief prefect over all the wise men of Babylon.<sup>49</sup> Daniel made a request of the king, and he appointed Shadrach, Meshach, and Abednego over the affairs of the province of Babylon. But Daniel remained at the king's court.

**3** King Nebuchadnezzar made a golden statue whose height was sixty cu-

bits and whose width was six cubits; he set it up on the plain of Dura in the province of Babylon.<sup>1</sup> Then King Nebuchadnezzar sent for the satraps, the prefects, and the governors, the counselors, the treasurers, the justices, the magistrates, and all the officials of the provinces, to assemble and come to the dedication of the statue that King Nebuchadnezzar had set up.<sup>2</sup> So the satraps, the prefects, and the governors, the counselors, the treasurers, the justices, the magistrates, and all the officials of the provinces, assembled for the dedication of the statue that King Nebuchadnezzar had set up. When they were standing before the statue that Nebuchadnezzar had set up,<sup>3</sup> the herald proclaimed aloud, "You are commanded, O peoples, nations, and languages,<sup>4</sup> that when you hear the sound of the horn, pipe, lyre, trigon, harp, drum, and entire musical ensemble, you are to fall down and worship the golden statue that King Nebuchadnezzar has set up.<sup>5</sup> Whoever does not fall down and worship shall immediately be thrown into a furnace of blazing fire."<sup>6</sup> Therefore, as soon as all the peoples heard the sound of the horn, pipe, lyre, trigon, harp, drum, and entire musical ensemble, all the peoples, nations, and languages fell down and worshiped the golden statue that King Nebuchadnezzar had set up.

8 Accordingly, at this time certain Chaldeans came forward and denounced the Jews.<sup>9</sup> They said to King Nebuchadnezzar, "O king, live forever!<sup>10</sup> You, O king, have made a decree, that everyone who hears the sound of the horn, pipe, lyre, trigon, harp, drum, and entire

*d Aram by human seed*

Greek, and the coming universal kingdom of God.<sup>41</sup> The declining strength of the fourth kingdom means the divided kingdoms of the Seleucids and Ptolemies (see "Survey of . . . Bible Lands," §19) whose rulers, though they intermarried, did not hold together.

**2.46–49:** That the king *worshiped* Daniel, recognized his God, and *promoted* him and his friends anticipates the future triumph of the God of the Jews.

**3.1–30: The three youths in the fiery furnace.** A story to show how martyrdom is preferable to apostasy. **1:** Huge statues of deities were common in ancient times. This one was gold-plated. *Dura* is unidentifiable. **2–4:** Ceremonies of *dedication* are well attested (1 Kings 8.63; 2 Chr 7.9; Neh 12.27; and title of Ps 30), at which *officials* were expected to appear, for they represented the various *peoples, nations, languages* of the kingdom. **5:** The

# THE LANDMARK THUCYDIDES

A COMPREHENSIVE GUIDE TO  
THE PELOPONNESIAN WAR

**SB05. Thucydides**

See the section in the Perry textbook on Greek History for more information about Thucydides. We are reading the first section on early Greek history and the famous funeral oration delivered by the Athenian statesman Pericles (495-29 BCE).

A Newly Revised Edition of the Richard Crawley Translation  
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**Edited by Robert B. Strassler**

With an Introduction by Victor Davis Hanson

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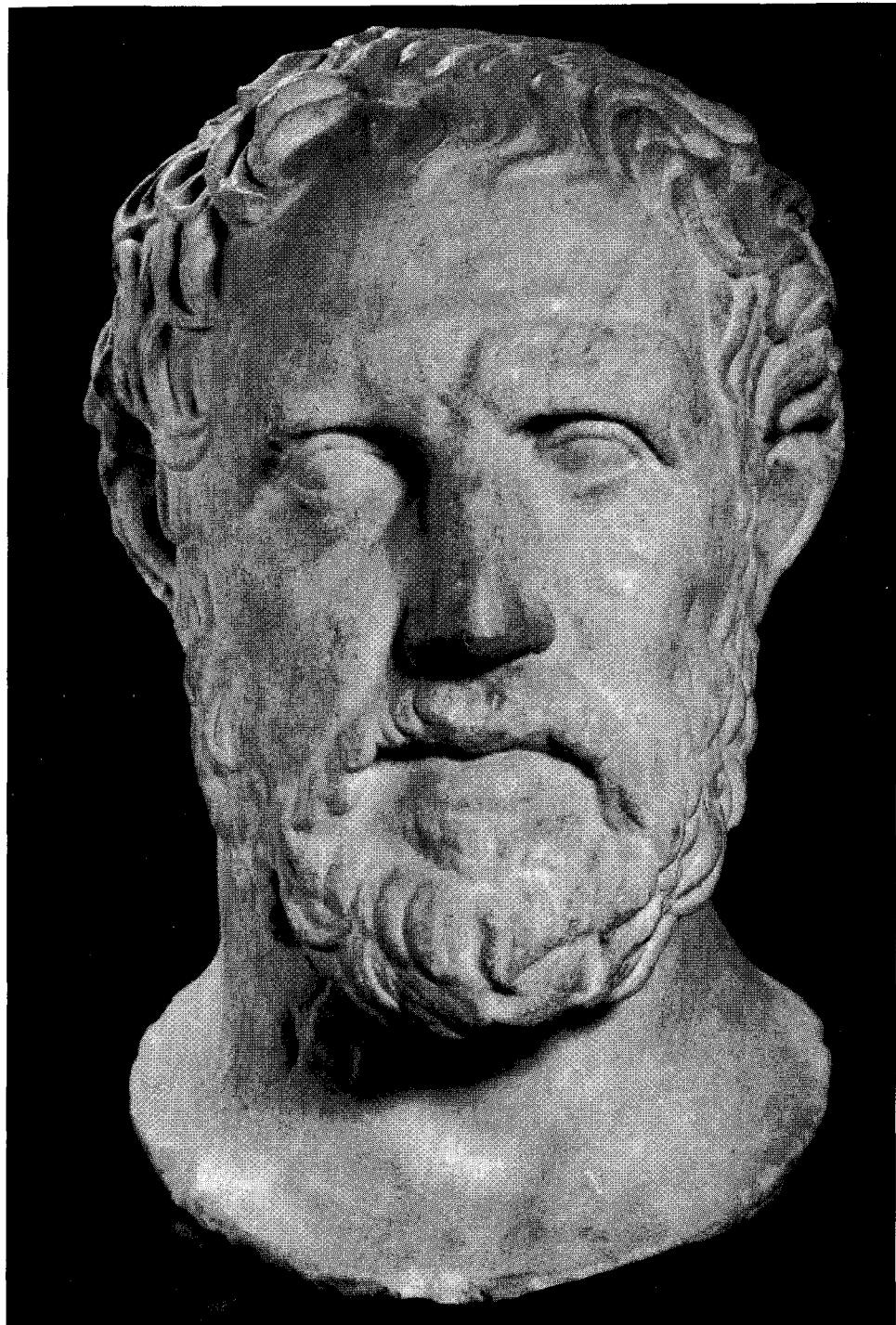


ILLUSTRATION 1.1 BUST OF THUCYDIDES.

## Start Here.

Thucydides,<sup>1a</sup> an Athenian, wrote the history of the war between the Peloponnesians and the Athenians, beginning at the moment that it broke out, and believing that it would be a great war, and more worthy of relation than any that had preceded it. This belief was not without its grounds. The preparations of both the combatants were in every department in the last state of perfection; and he could see the rest of the Hellenic race taking sides in the quarrel; those who delayed doing so at once having it in contemplation. [2] Indeed this was the greatest movement yet known in history, not only of the Hellenes, but of a large part of the barbarian world—I had almost said of mankind. [3] For though the events of remote antiquity, and even those that more immediately precede the war, could not from lapse of time be clearly ascertained, yet the evidences which an inquiry carried as far back as was practicable lead me to trust, all point to the conclusion that there was nothing on a greater scale, either in war or in other matters.

For instance, it is evident that the country now called Hellas had in ancient times no settled population; on the contrary, migrations were of frequent occurrence, the several tribes readily abandoning their homes under the pressure of superior numbers. [2] Without commerce, without freedom of communication either by land or sea, cultivating no more of their territory than the necessities of life required, destitute of capital, never planting their land (for they could not tell when an invader might not come and take it all away, and when he did come they had no walls to stop him), thinking that the necessities of daily sustenance could be supplied at one place as well as another, they cared little about shifting their habitation, and consequently neither built large cities nor attained to any other form of

1.1.1a See the Introduction (sec. I) for a discussion of what is known about the life of Thucydides the historian.

1.2.1a “The Archaeology” is the term commonly used for the opening chapters of

Book 1 (2–23) in which Thucydides seeks to contrast the greatness of the Peloponnesian War with the pettiness of previous history.

1.1  
ATHENS  
Thucydides explains why he decided to write his history.

1.2  
The Archaeology<sup>1a</sup>  
HELLAS  
Thucydides offers an anthropological analysis of primitive life, noting that Attica's poor soil led to overcrowding and the establishment of colonies.

greatness. [3] The richest soils were always most subject to this change of masters; such as the district now called Thessaly,<sup>3a</sup> Boeotia,<sup>3b</sup> most of the Peloponnesus<sup>3c</sup> (Arcadia excepted),<sup>3d</sup> and the most fertile parts of the rest of Hellas. [4] The goodness of the land favored the enrichment of particular individuals, and thus created faction which proved a fertile source of ruin. It also invited invasion. [5] Accordingly Attica,<sup>5a</sup> from the poverty of its soil enjoying from a very remote period freedom from faction, [6] never changed its inhabitants. And here is no minor example of my assertion that the migrations were the cause of there being no correspondent growth in other parts. The most powerful victims of war or faction from the rest of Hellas took refuge with the Athenians as a safe retreat; and at an early period, becoming naturalized, swelled the already large population of the city to such a height that Attica became at last too small to hold them, and they had to send out colonies to Ionia.<sup>6a</sup>

There is also another circumstance that contributes not a little to my conviction of the weakness of ancient times. Before the Trojan war<sup>1a</sup> there is no indication of any common action in Hellas, [2] nor indeed of the universal prevalence of the name; on the contrary, before the time of Hellen son of Deucalion, no such name existed, but the country went by the names of the different tribes, in particular of the Pelasgian. It was not till Hellen and his sons grew strong in Phthiotis,<sup>2a</sup> and were invited as allies into the other cities, that one by one they gradually acquired from the connection the name of Hellenes; though a long time elapsed before that name could fasten itself upon all. [3] The best proof of this is furnished by Homer. Born long after the Trojan war, he nowhere calls all of them by that name, nor indeed any of them except the followers of Achilles from Phthiotis, who were the original Hellenes: in his poems they are called Danaans, Argives, and Achaeans. He does not even use the term barbarian, probably because the Hellenes had not yet been marked off from the rest of the world by one distinctive name. [4] It appears therefore that the several Hellenic communities, comprising not only those who first acquired the name, city by city, as they came to understand each other, but also those who assumed it afterwards as the name of the whole people, were before the Trojan war prevented by their want of strength and the absence of mutual intercourse from displaying any collective action.

Indeed, they could not unite for this expedition till they had gained increased familiarity with the sea.

And the first person known to us by tradition as having established a navy is Minos.<sup>1a</sup> He made himself master of what is now called the Hellenic

1.2.3a Thessaly: Map 1.3, AX.

1.2.3b Boeotia: Map 1.3, AX.

1.2.3c Peloponnesus: Map 1.3, BX.

1.2.3d Arcadia: Map 1.3, BX.

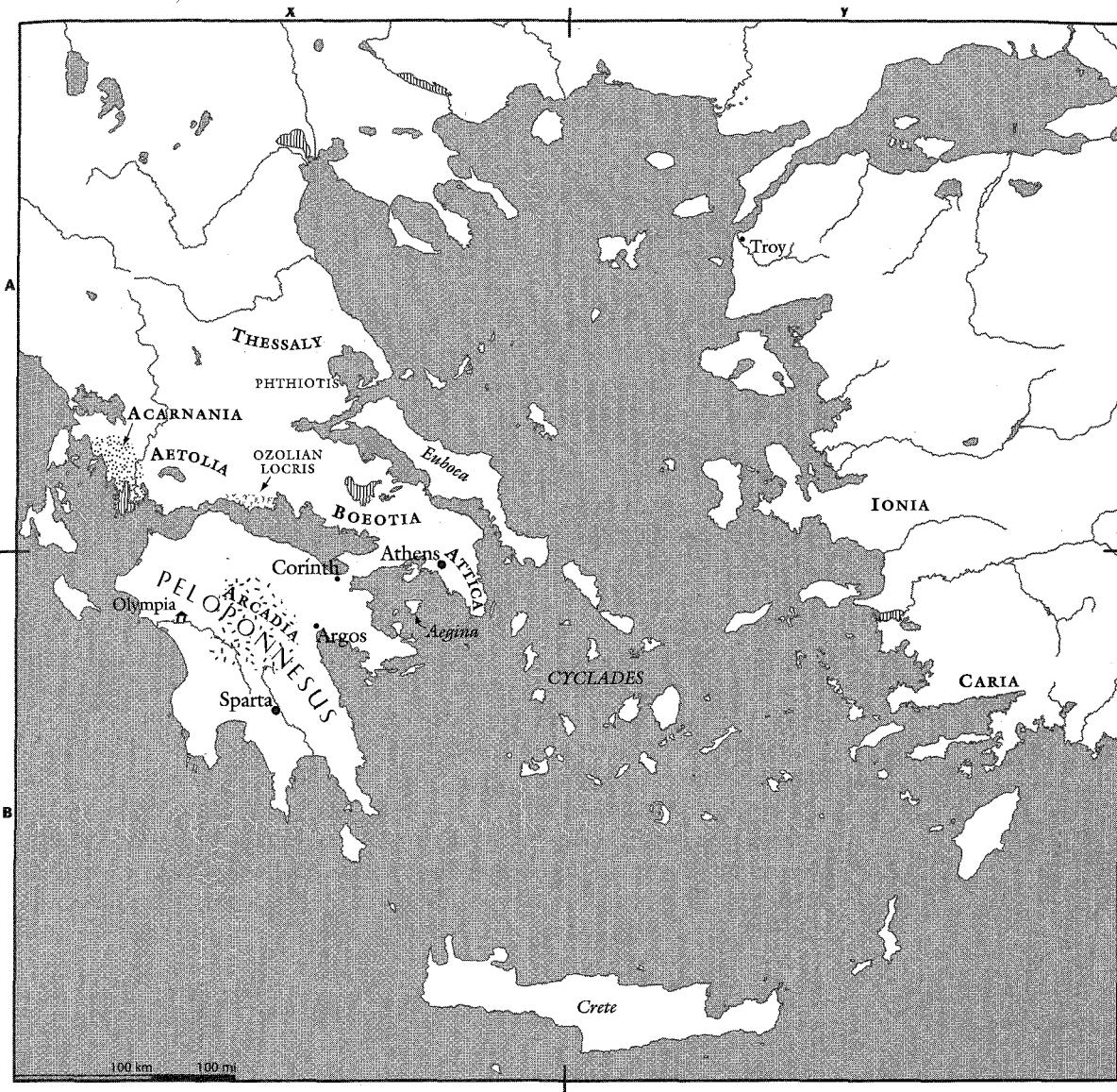
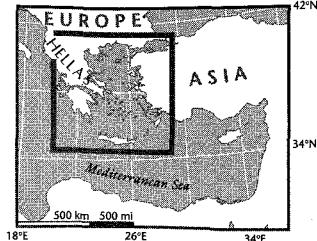
1.2.5a Attica: Map 1.3, BX.

1.2.6a Ionia: Map 1.3, AY. See Appendix H, Dialects and Ethnic Groups, §4-5, 7-8, for information on the Ionians and the colonization of Ionia.

1.3.1a Troy, site of the Trojan war: Map 1.3, AY.

1.3.2a Phthiotis: Map 1.3, AX.

1.4.1a Minos is the probably mythical ruler of Minoa, a legendary seafaring culture based on the island of Crete; see Map 1.3, BY.



MAP 1.3 EARLY HELAS.

sea, and ruled over the Cyclades,<sup>1b</sup> into most of which he sent the first colonies, expelling the Carians<sup>1c</sup> and appointing his own sons governors; and thus did his best to put down piracy in those waters, a necessary step to secure revenues for his own use.

1.5

HELLAS

Piracy was common and not entirely dishonorable in the past.

For in early times the Hellenes and the barbarians of the coast and islands, as communication by sea became more common, were tempted to turn pirates, under the conduct of their most powerful men; the motives being to serve their own greed and to support the needy. They would fall upon a town unprotected by walls, and consisting of a mere collection of villages, and would plunder it; indeed, this came to be the main source of their livelihood, no disgrace being yet attached to such an achievement, but even some glory. [2] An illustration of this is furnished by the honor with which some of the inhabitants of the continent still regard a successful marauder, and by the question we find the old poets everywhere representing the people as asking of voyagers—"Are they pirates?"—as if those who are asked the question would have no idea of disclaiming the imputation, or their interrogators of reproaching them for it. [3] The same pillaging prevailed also on land.

And even at the present day many parts of Hellas still follow the old fashion, amongst the Ozolian Locrians<sup>3a</sup> and the Aetolians,<sup>3b</sup> for instance, and the Acarnanians<sup>3c</sup> and that region of the continent; and the custom of carrying arms is still kept up among these mainland peoples from the old piratical habits.

1.6

HELLAS

Former practices can still be seen in remote parts of Hellas. Athens was the first polis to adopt luxurious habits; Sparta originated modern styles.

The whole of Hellas used once to carry arms, their habitations being unprotected, and their communication with each other unsafe; indeed, to wear arms was as much a part of everyday life with them as with the barbarians. [2] And the fact that the people in these parts of Hellas are still living in the old way points to a time when the same mode of life was once equally common to all. [3] The Athenians<sup>3a</sup> were the first to lay aside their weapons, and to adopt an easier and more luxurious mode of life; indeed, it is only lately that their rich old men left off the luxury of wearing undergarments of linen, and fastening a knot of their hair with a tie of golden grasshoppers, a fashion which spread to their Ionian kindred,<sup>3b</sup> and long prevailed among the old men there. [4] On the contrary a modest style of dressing, more in conformity with modern ideas, was first adopted by the Spartans,<sup>4a</sup> the rich doing their best to assimilate their way of life to that of the common people. [5] They also set the example of contending naked, publicly stripping and anointing themselves with oil in their gymnastic exercises. Formerly, even in the Olympic games,<sup>5a</sup> the athletes who con-

1.4.1b Cyclades, Aegean islands: Map 1.3, BY.  
1.4.1c Caria: Map 1.3, BY.  
1.5.3a Ozolian Locris: Map 1.3, AX.  
1.5.3b Aetolia: Map 1.3, AX.  
1.5.3c Acarnania: Map 1.3, AX.  
1.6.3a Athens: Map 1.3, BX.  
1.6.3b See Appendix H, Dialects and Ethnic Groups, §4-5, 7-8, for more on the Ionians.

1.6.4a Sparta: Map 1.3, BX.

1.6.5a These contests, the ancestor of the modern "Olympic Games," took place at the shrine of Olympia (Map 1.3, BX); see Appendix I, Religious Festivals, §5. Such festivals often included athletic and cultural contests.

tended wore belts across their middles; and it is but a few years since that the practice ceased. To this day among some of the barbarians, especially in Asia, when prizes for boxing and wrestling are offered, belts are worn by the combatants. [6] And there are many other points in which a likeness might be shown between the life of the Hellenic world of old and the barbarian of today.

With respect to their cities, later on, at an era of increased facilities of navigation and a greater supply of capital, we find the shores becoming the site of walled cities, and the isthmuses being occupied for the purposes of commerce and defense against a neighbor. But the old cities, on account of the great prevalence of piracy, were built away from the sea, whether on the islands or the continent, and still remain in their old sites. For the pirates used to plunder one another, and indeed all coast populations, whether seafaring or not.

The islanders, too, were great pirates. These islanders were Carians<sup>1a</sup> and Phoenicians,<sup>1b</sup> by whom most of the islands were colonized, as was proved by the following fact. During the purification of Delos<sup>1c</sup> by Athens in this war all the graves in the island were taken up, and it was found that above half their inmates were Carians: they were identified by the fashion of the arms buried with them, and by the method of interment, which was the same as the Carians still follow. [2] But as soon as Minos had formed his navy, communication by sea became easier, [3] as he colonized most of the islands, and thus expelled the evildoers. The coast populations now began to apply themselves more closely to the acquisition of wealth, and their life became more settled; some even began to build themselves walls on the strength of their newly acquired riches. For the love of gain would reconcile the weaker to the dominion of the stronger, and the possession of capital enabled the more powerful to reduce the smaller cities to subjection. [4] And it was at a somewhat later stage of this development that they went on the expedition against Troy.<sup>4a</sup>

What enabled Agamemnon to raise the armament was more, in my opinion, his superiority in strength, than the oaths of Tyndareus, which bound the Suitors to follow him. [2] Indeed, the account given by those Peloponnesians who have been the recipients of the most credible tradition is this. First of all Pelops, arriving from Asia<sup>2a</sup> with vast wealth among a needy population, acquired such power that, stranger though he was, the country was called after him; and this power fortune saw fit materially to increase in the hands of his descendants. Eurystheus had been killed in

1.8.1a Caria: Map 1.3, BY, and Map 1.11, BY.

1.8.1b Phoenicia: Map 1.14.

1.8.1c Delos: Map 1.11, BY. This purification is described by Thucydides in 3.104.

1.8.4a Troy: Map 1.11, AY.

1.9.2a "Asia" here means Asia Minor, corresponding to the Asian territory of modern Turkey; see Map 1.11, locator.

1.7  
HELLAS  
Because of piracy, cities were first built away from the sea.

1.8  
AEGEAN ISLANDS  
Thucydides cites evidence from graves that early islanders were Carians. After Minos expelled the pirates, cities expanded, accumulated capital, and built walls to protect themselves.

1.9  
PELOPONNESUS  
Thucydides describes how Agamemnon inherited his great power, which included naval power.

Attica<sup>2b</sup> by the Heraclids. When Eurystheus set out on his expedition (to Attica), he committed Mycenae and its government to Atreus, his mother's brother, who had left his father on account of the death of Chrysippus. As time went on and Eurystheus did not return, Atreus complied with the wishes of the Mycenaeans, who were influenced by fear of the Heraclids—besides, his powers seemed considerable and he had not neglected to seek the favor of the populace—and assumed the rule of Mycenae and of the rest of the dominions of Eurystheus. And so the power of the descendants of Pelops came to be greater than that of the descendants of Perseus. [3] To all this Agamemnon succeeded. He had also a navy far stronger than his contemporaries, so that, in my opinion, fear was quite as strong an element as love in the formation of the expedition. [4] The strength of his navy is shown by the fact that his own was the largest contingent, and that of the Arcadians was furnished by him; this at least is what Homer says, if his testimony is deemed sufficient. Besides, in his account of the transmission of the scepter, he calls him

Of many an isle, and of all Argos<sup>4a</sup> king.

Now Agamemnon's was a continental power; and he could not have been master of any except the adjacent islands (and these would not be many), if he had not possessed a fleet.

And from this expedition we may infer the character of earlier enterprises. [1.10.1] Now Mycenae<sup>1a</sup> may have been a small place, and many of the cities of that age may appear comparatively insignificant, but no exact observer would therefore feel justified in rejecting the estimate given by the poets and by tradition of the magnitude of the armament. [2] For I suppose that if Sparta<sup>2a</sup> were to become desolate, and only the temples and the foundations of the public buildings were left, that as time went on there would be a strong disposition with posterity to refuse to accept her fame as a true exponent of her power. And yet they occupy two-fifths of the Peloponnesus<sup>2b</sup> and lead the whole, not to speak of their numerous allies outside. Still, as the city is neither built in a compact form nor adorned with magnificent temples and public edifices, but composed of villages after the old fashion of Hellas, there would be an impression of inadequacy. Whereas, if Athens were to suffer the same misfortune, I suppose that any inference from the appearance presented to the eye would make her power to have been twice as great as it is. [3] We have therefore no right to be skeptical, nor to content ourselves with an inspection of a city without con-

## 1.10

## HELLAS

The size and magnificence of a city's ruins do not necessarily indicate its power: witness Sparta and Athens. Homer's description of the armada against Troy indicates its small size relative to current fleets.

1.9.2b Attica: Map. 1.11, BY.  
1.9.4a Argos: Map 1.11, BX.  
1.10.1a Mycenae: Map 1.11, BX.

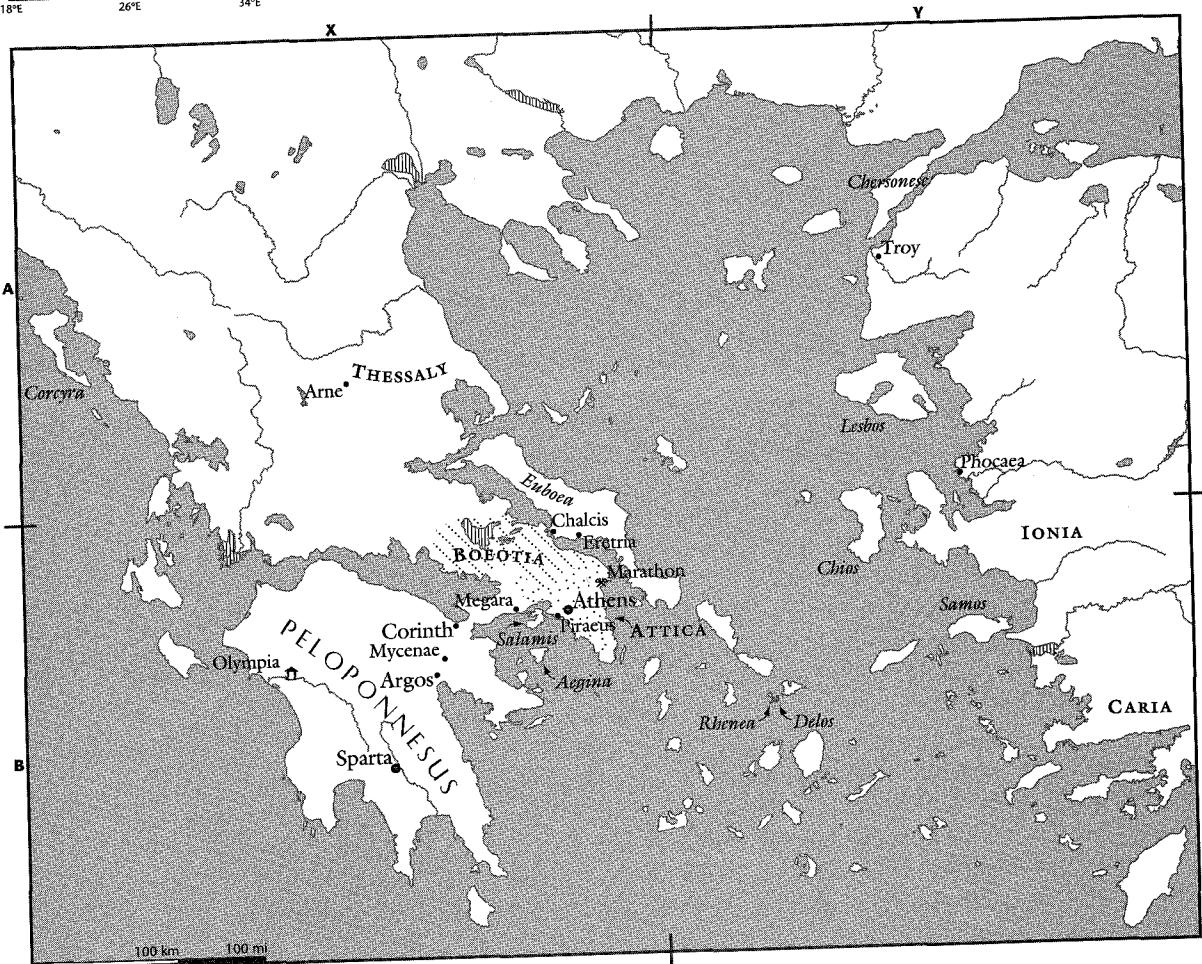
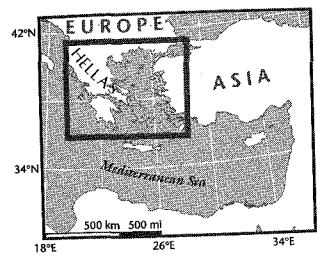
1.10.2a Sparta: Map 1.11, BX.  
1.10.2b Peloponnesus: Map 1.11, BX.

sidering its power; but we may safely conclude that the armament in question surpassed all before it, just as it fell short of modern efforts; if we can here also accept the testimony of Homer's poems in which, without allowing for the exaggeration which a poet would feel himself licensed to employ, we can see that it was far from equaling ours. [4] He has represented it as consisting of twelve hundred vessels; the Boeotian<sup>4a</sup> complement of each ship being a hundred and twenty men, that of the ships of Philoctetes fifty. By this, I conceive, he meant to convey the maximum and the minimum complement: at any rate he does not specify the amount of any others in his catalogue of the ships. That they were all rowers as well as warriors we see from his account of the ships of Philoctetes, in which all the men at the oar are bowmen. Now it is improbable that many who were not members of the crew sailed if we except the kings and high officers; especially as they had to cross the open sea with munitions of war, in ships, moreover, that had no decks, but were equipped in the old piratical fashion. [5] So that if we strike the average of the largest and smallest ships, the number of those who sailed will appear inconsiderable, representing as they did, the whole force of Hellas.

And this was due not so much to scarcity of men as of money. Difficulty of subsistence made the invaders reduce the numbers of the army to a point at which it might live on the country during the prosecution of the war. Even after the victory they obtained on their arrival—and a victory there must have been, or the fortifications of the naval camp could never have been built—there is no indication of their whole force having been employed; on the contrary, they seem to have turned to cultivation of the Chersonese<sup>1a</sup> and to piracy from want of supplies. This was what really enabled the Trojans to keep the field for ten years against them; the dispersion of the enemy making them always a match for the detachment left behind. [2] If they had brought plenty of supplies with them, and had persevered in the war without scattering for piracy and agriculture, they would have easily defeated the Trojans in the field; since they could hold their own against them with the division on service. In short, if they had stuck to the siege, the capture of Troy<sup>2a</sup> would have cost them less time and less trouble. But as want of money proved the weakness of earlier expeditions, so from the same cause even the one in question, more famous than its predecessors, may be pronounced on the evidence of what it accomplished, to have been inferior to its renown and to the current opinion about it formed under the tuition of the poets.

1.11  
TROY  
A lack of money forced the Greeks at Troy to disperse their force, reduce siege efforts, and forego a quick victory.

1.10.4a Boeotia: Map 1.11, BX.  
1.11.1a Chersonese: Map 1.11, AY.  
1.11.2a Troy: Map 1.11, AY.



MAP 1.11 THE AEGEAN BASIN

Even after the Trojan war Hellas was still engaged in removing and settling, and thus could not attain to the quiet which must precede growth. [2] The late return of the Hellenes from Ilium<sup>2a</sup> caused many revolutions, and factions ensued almost everywhere; and it was the citizens thus driven into exile who founded the cities. [3] Sixty years after the capture of Ilium the modern Boeotians<sup>3a</sup> were driven out of Arne<sup>3b</sup> by the Thessalians,<sup>3c</sup> and settled in the present Boeotia, the former Cadmeian land; though there was a division of them there before, some of whom joined the expedition to Ilium. Twenty years later the Dorians and the Heraclids became masters of the Peloponnesus; so that much had to be done [4] and many years had to elapse before Hellas could attain to a durable tranquillity undisturbed by removals, and could begin to send out colonies, as Athens<sup>4a</sup> did to Ionia<sup>4b</sup> and most of the islands, and the Peloponnesians to most of Italy<sup>4c</sup> and Sicily<sup>4d</sup> and some places in the rest of Hellas. All these places were founded subsequently to the war with Troy.

But as the power of Hellas grew, and the acquisition of wealth became more an objective, the revenues of the states increasing, tyrannies were established almost everywhere—the old form of government being hereditary monarchy with definite prerogatives—and Hellas began to fit out fleets and apply herself more closely to the sea. [2] It is said that the Corinthians were the first to approach the modern style of naval architecture, and that Corinth<sup>2a</sup> was the first place in Hellas where *triremes*<sup>2b</sup> were built; [3] and we have Ameinocles, a Corinthian shipwright, making four ships for the Samians. Dating from the end of this war, it is nearly three hundred years ago that Ameinocles went to Samos.<sup>3a</sup> [4] Again, the earliest sea fight in history was between the Corinthians and Corcyraeans;<sup>4a</sup> this was about two hundred and sixty years ago, dating from the same time. [5] Planted on an isthmus, Corinth had always been a commercial emporium; as formerly almost all communication between the Hellenes within and without the Peloponnesus was carried on overland, and the Corinthian territory was the highway through which it traveled. She had consequently great money resources, as is shown by the epithet "wealthy" bestowed by the old poets on the place, and this enabled her, when traffic by sea became more common, to procure her navy and put down piracy; and as she could offer a market for both branches of the trade, she acquired for herself all the power which a large revenue affords. [6] Subsequently the Ionians<sup>6a</sup> attained to great naval strength in the reign of Cyrus, the first king of the Persians, and of his son Cambyses,<sup>6b</sup> and while they were at war with the former com-

1.12.2a "Ilium" is another name for Troy: Map 1.11, AX.

1.12.3a Boeotia: Map 1.11, BX.

1.12.3b Arne in Thessaly: Map 1.11, AX.

1.12.3c Thessaly: Map 1.11, AX.

1.12.4a Athens: Map 1.11, BX.

1.12.4b Ionia: Map 1.11, BY. See Appendix H, Dialects and Ethnic Groups, §5, 7–8, for more on the Dorians and the Ionians.

1.12.4c Italy: Map 1.14.

1.12.4d Sicily: Map 1.14.

1.13.2a Corinth: Map 1.11, BX.

1.13.2b *Triremes* were the standard warships of this period; see Appendix G, §4–7.

1.13.3a Samos: Map 1.11, BY.

1.13.3a Corcyra: Map 1.11, AX.

1.13.6a Ionia: Map 1.11, BY.

1.13.6b Cyrus the Great founded the Persian kingdom and ruled from 550 to 530. Cambyses ruled from 530 till 521. See Appendix E, The Persians, §1–2.

1.12  
HELLAS  
Migration and turmoil occurred in Hellas after the Trojan war. When tranquillity returned, Ionia, the islands, Italy, and Sicily were colonized.

1.13  
HELLAS  
As the cities of Hellas grew in wealth and power, traditional monarchies gave way to tyrannies. Corinth developed triremes.

manded for a while the seas around Ionia. Polycrates also, the tyrant of Samos, had a powerful navy in the reign of Cambyses with which he reduced many of the islands, and among them Rhenea,<sup>6c</sup> which he consecrated to the Delian Apollo. About this time also the Phocaeans,<sup>6d</sup> while they were founding Marseilles,<sup>6e</sup> defeated the Carthaginians<sup>6f</sup> in a sea fight.

These were the most powerful navies. And even these, although so many generations had elapsed since the Trojan war, seem to have been principally composed of the old fifty-oars and long-boats, and to have counted few triremes among their ranks. [2] Indeed it was only shortly before the Persian war and the death of Darius the successor of Cambyses, that the Sicilian tyrants and the Corcyraeans acquired any large number of triremes. For after these there were no navies of any account in Hellas till the expedition of Xerxes; [3] Aegina,<sup>3a</sup> Athens, and others may have possessed a few vessels, but they were principally fifty-oars. It was quite at the end of this period that the war with Aegina and the prospect of the barbarian invasion enabled Themistocles to persuade the Athenians to build the fleet with which they fought at Salamis;<sup>3b</sup> and even these vessels had not complete decks.

The navies, then, of the Hellenes during the period we have traversed were what I have described. All their insignificance did not prevent their being an element of the greatest power to those who cultivated them, alike in revenue and in dominion. They were the means by which the islands were reached and reduced, those of the smallest area falling the easiest prey. [2] Wars by land there were none, none at least by which power was acquired; we have the usual border contests, but of distant expeditions with conquest the object we hear nothing among the Hellenes. There was no union of subject cities round a great state, no spontaneous combination of equals for confederate expeditions; what fighting there was consisted merely of local warfare between rival neighbors. [3] The nearest approach to a coalition took place in the old war between Chalcis<sup>3a</sup> and Eretria;<sup>3b</sup> this was a quarrel in which the rest of the Hellenic world did to some extent take sides.<sup>3c</sup>

Various, too, were the obstacles which the national growth encountered in various localities. The power of the Ionians<sup>1a</sup> was advancing with rapid strides, when it came into collision with Persia, under King Cyrus, who, after having dethroned Croesus<sup>1b</sup> and overrun everything between the Halys<sup>1c</sup> and the sea, stopped not till he had reduced the cities of the coast; the islands only being left to be subdued by Darius and the Phoenician<sup>1d</sup> navy.

1.13.6c Rhenea: Map 1.11, BY.  
1.13.6d Phocaea: Map 1.11, AY.

1.13.6e Marseilles: Map 1.14.

1.13.6f Carthage: Map 1.14.

1.14.3a Aegina: Map 1.11, BX.

1.14.3b Salamis: site of the decisive naval battle between the Greeks and Persians in 480; see Map 1.11, BX, and Appendix E, The Persians, §4.

1.15.3a Chalcis, Euboea: Map 1.11, BX.

1.15.3b Eretria, Euboea: Map 1.11, BX.

1.15.3c Thucydides here refers to the "Lelantine

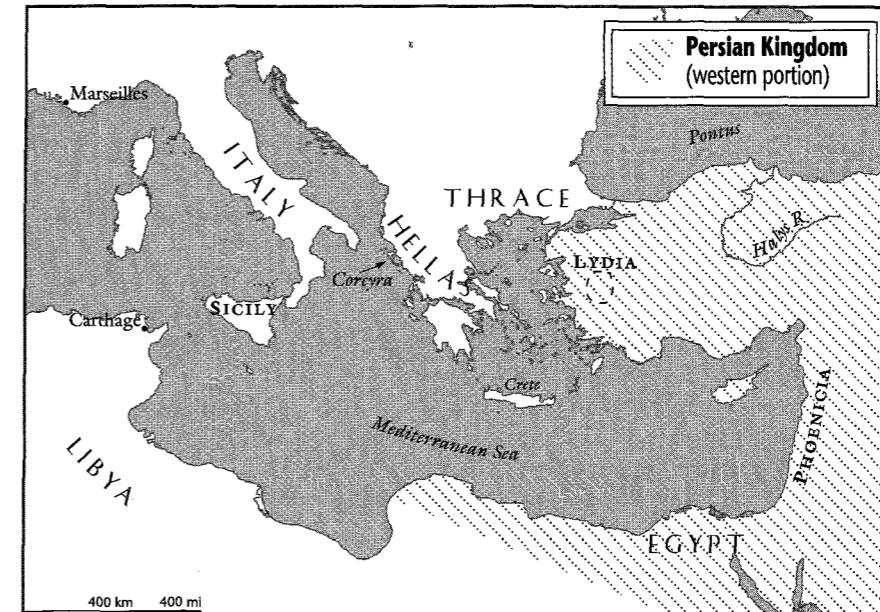
war" of the late eighth century B.C. between Chalcis and Eretria of Euboea (Map 1.11, AX).

1.16.1a Ionia: Map 1.11, BY.

1.16.1b Croesus, king of Lydia (Map 1.14), conquered by the Persians in 546. See Appendix E, The Persians, §2–3.

1.16.1c Halys River: Map 1.14.

1.16.1d Phoenicia: Map 1.14. The Phoenician fleet was a major component of Persian naval power.



MAP 1.14 THE MEDITERRANEAN SEA

Again, wherever there were tyrants, their habit of providing simply for themselves, of looking solely to their personal comfort and family aggrandizement, made safety the great aim of their policy, and prevented anything great proceeding from them; though they would each have their affairs with their immediate neighbors. All this is only true of the mother country, for in Sicily they attained to very great power. Thus for a long time everywhere in Hellas do we find causes which make the states alike incapable of combination for great and national ends, or of any vigorous action of their own.

But at last a time came when the tyrants of Athens and the far older tyrannies of the rest of Hellas were, with the exception of those in Sicily, once and for all put down by Sparta,<sup>1a</sup> for this city, though after the settlement of the Dorians, its present inhabitants, it suffered from factions for an unparalleled length of time, still at a very early period obtained good laws, and enjoyed a freedom from tyrants which was unbroken; it has possessed the same form of government for more than four hundred years, reckoning

1.18.1a Sparta: Map 1.11, BX.

1.17  
HELLAS  
Tyrants in Hellas itself, unlike those in Sicily, did not greatly extend their power.

1.18  
HELLAS  
Sparta put down Hellenic tyrants and led Greek resistance to Persia. After the Persians' defeat Athens and Sparta quarreled.

to the end of the late war, and has thus been in a position to arrange the affairs of the other states.<sup>1b</sup> Not many years after the deposition of the tyrants, the battle of Marathon was fought between the Medes<sup>1c</sup> and the Athenians. [2] Ten years afterwards the barbarian returned with the armada for the subjugation of Hellas. In the face of this great danger the command of the confederate Hellenes was assumed by the Spartans in virtue of their superior power; and the Athenians having made up their minds to abandon their city, broke up their homes, threw themselves into their ships, and became a naval people. This coalition, after repulsing the barbarian, soon afterwards split into two sections, which included the Hellenes who had revolted from the King,<sup>2a</sup> as well as those who had shared in the war. At the head of the one stood Athens, at the head of the other Sparta, one the first naval, the other the first military power in Hellas. [3] For a short time the league held together, till the Spartans and Athenians quarreled, and made war upon each other with their allies, a duel into which all the Hellenes sooner or later were drawn, though some might at first remain neutral. So that the whole period from the Median war to this, with some peaceful intervals, was spent by each power in war, either with its rival, or with its own revolted allies, and consequently afforded them constant practice in military matters, and that experience which is learnt in the school of danger.

**1.19**  
HELLAS  
Thucydides describes the different policies of the Spartan and Athenian alliances.

The policy of Sparta was not to exact tribute from her allies, but merely to secure their subservience to her interests by establishing oligarchies among them;<sup>1a</sup> Athens, on the contrary, had by degrees deprived hers of their ships, and imposed instead contributions in money on all except Chios<sup>1b</sup> and Lesbos.<sup>1c</sup> Both found their resources for this war separately to exceed the sum of their strength when the alliance flourished intact.

**1.20**  
ATHENS  
Thucydides notes that people accept traditions that are clearly in error, for example, the tale about Harmodius and Aristogiton.

Having now given the result of my inquiries into early times, I grant that there will be a difficulty in believing every particular detail. The way that most men deal with traditions, even traditions of their own country, is to receive them all alike as they are delivered, without applying any critical test whatever. [2] The Athenian public generally believe that Hipparchus was tyrant when he fell by the hands of Harmodius and Aristogiton. They do not know that Hippias, the eldest of the sons of Pisistratus, was really supreme; that Hipparchus and Thessalus were his brothers; and that Harmodius and Aristogiton, suspecting on the very day—indeed at the very moment fixed for the deed—that information had been conveyed to Hippias by their accomplices, concluded that he had been warned. They did

1.18.1b See Appendix D, *The Peloponnesian League*, §6.

1.18.1c The battle of Marathon (Map 1.11, BY) was fought in 490. See Appendix E, *The Persians*, §4. The Greeks regularly referred to the Persians as “the Mede,” or “the Medes,” and to the Persian wars as the “Median wars,” although the Medes and Persians were distinct peoples. See Appendix E, *The Persians*, §1.

1.18.2a The term “King” is capitalized throughout this edition when it signifies the great King of Persia to distinguish him from all others carrying that title. See Appendix E, *The Persians*, §2.

1.19.1a See Appendix D, *The Peloponnesian League*, §6.

1.19.1b Chios: Map 1.11, BY. See Appendix B, *The Athenian Empire*, §2, 5.

1.19.1c Lesbos: Map 1.11, AY.

not attack Hippias but, not liking to risk their lives and be apprehended for nothing, they fell upon Hipparchus near the temple of the daughters of Leos and slew him as he was arranging the Panathenaic procession.<sup>2a</sup> [3] There are many other unfounded ideas current among the rest of the Hellenes, even on matters of contemporary history which have not been obscured by time. For instance, there is the notion that the Spartan kings have two votes each, the fact being that they have only one; and that there is a military company of Pitane, there being simply no such thing. So little pains do the vulgar take in the investigation of truth, accepting readily the first story that comes to hand.

On the whole, however, the conclusions I have drawn from the proofs quoted may, I believe, safely be relied upon. Assuredly they will not be disturbed either by the verses of a poet displaying the exaggeration of his craft, or by the compositions of the chroniclers that are attractive at truth’s expense; the subjects they treat of being out of the reach of evidence, and time having robbed most of them of historical value by enthroning them in the region of legend. Turning from these, we can rest satisfied with having proceeded upon the clearest data, and having arrived at conclusions as exact as can be expected in matters of such antiquity. [2] To come to this war; despite the known disposition of the actors in a struggle to overrate its importance, and when it is over to return to their admiration of earlier events, yet an examination of the facts will show that it was much greater than the wars which preceded it.

With reference to the speeches in this history, some were delivered before the war began, others while it was going on; some I heard myself, others I got from various quarters; it was in all cases difficult to carry them word for word in one’s memory, so my habit has been to make the speakers say what was in my opinion demanded of them by the various occasions, of course adhering as closely as possible to the general sense of what they really said.<sup>1a</sup> [2] And with reference to the narrative of events, far from permitting myself to derive it from the first source that came to hand, I did not even trust my own impressions, but it rests partly on what I saw myself, partly on what others saw for me, the accuracy of the report being always tried by the most severe and detailed tests possible. [3] My conclusions have cost me some labor from the want of coincidence between accounts of the same occurrences by different eyewitnesses, arising sometimes from imperfect memory, sometimes from undue partiality for one side or the

1.20.2a The assassination of Hipparchus is described at greater length in 6.54–59.

1.22.1a See the Introduction (sec. II.v) for discussion of the speeches in Thucydides.

1.21  
HELLAS  
Thucydides believes his conclusions to be reliable, and notes that this war was much greater than earlier ones.

1.22  
HELLAS  
Thucydides discusses the speeches in his text. He says it lacks romance because he intends it to be “a possession for all time.”

other. [4] The absence of romance in my history will, I fear, detract somewhat from its interest; but if it be judged useful by those inquirers who desire an exact knowledge of the past as an aid to the understanding of the future, which in the course of human things must resemble if it does not reflect it, I shall be content. In fine, I have written my work, not as an essay which is to win the applause of the moment, but as a possession for all time.

1.23

HELLAS

Thucydides compares the Persian war and the much longer Peloponnesian War, and states that the latter's true cause was Spartan fear of the growth of Athenian power.

The Median war, the greatest achievement of past times, yet found a speedy decision in two actions by sea and two by land. The Peloponnesian War went on for a very long time and there occurred during it disasters of a kind and number that no other similar period of time could match. [2] Never had so many cities been taken and laid desolate, here by the barbarians, here by the parties contending (the old inhabitants being sometimes removed to make room for others); never was there so much banishing and bloodshedding, now on the field of battle, now in political strife. [3] Old stories of occurrences handed down by tradition, but scantily confirmed by experience, suddenly ceased to be incredible; there were earthquakes of unparalleled extent and violence; eclipses of the sun occurred with a frequency unrecorded in previous history; there were great droughts in sundry places and consequent famines, and that most calamitous and awfully fatal visitation, the plague.<sup>3a</sup> All this came upon them with the late war, [4] which was begun by the Athenians and Peloponnesians with the dissolution of the Thirty Years' Peace<sup>4a</sup> made after the conquest of Euboea. [5] To the question why they broke the treaty, I answer by placing first an account of their grounds of complaint and points of difference, that no one may ever have to ask the immediate cause which plunged the Hellenes into a war of such magnitude. [6] The real cause, however, I consider to be the one which was formally most kept out of sight. The growth of the power of Athens, and the alarm which this inspired in Sparta, made war inevitable. Still it is well to give the grounds alleged by either side, which led to the dissolution of the treaty and the breaking out of the war.<sup>6a</sup>

STOP HERE. GO  
TO 2.34.

1.24

435

IONIAN GULF

Beset by civil strife, the colonists of Epidamnus solicit aid from their "mother city," Corcyra, but she refuses them.

1.23.3a This is a much debated passage for what it indicates about Thucydides' attitude toward religion. See the Introduction (sec. IV.i).

1.23.4a The Thirty Years' Peace treaty of 446; see 1.115.1.

1.23.6a It has been argued that section 6 here was written by Thucydides at a substantially later time than section 5, and may

represent a radical change of mind about the causes of the war.

1.24.1a Epidamnus: Map 1.26, AX.

1.24.1b Ionic (Ionian) Gulf (the modern Adriatic Sea): Map 1.26, locator.

1.24.1c Illyria: Map 1.26, locator.

1.24.2a Corcyra: Map 1.26, AX.

1.24.2b Corinth: Map 1.26, BY.

others of the Dorian race. [3] Now, as time went on, the city of Epidamnus became great and populous; [4] but falling a prey to factions arising, it is said, from a war with neighboring barbarians, she became much enfeebled, and lost a considerable amount of her power. [5] The last act before the war was the expulsion of those in power by The People. The exiled party joined the barbarians, and proceeded to plunder those in the city by sea and land; [6] and the Epidamnians finding themselves hard pressed, sent ambassadors to Corcyra beseeching their mother country not to allow them to perish, but to make up matters between them and the exiles, and to rid them of the war with the barbarians. [7] The ambassadors seated themselves in the temple of Hera<sup>7a</sup> as suppliants, and made the above requests to the Corcyraeans. But the Corcyraeans refused to accept their supplication, and they were dismissed without having effected anything.

When the Epidamnians found that no help could be expected from Corcyra, they were in a quandary about what to do next. So they sent to Delphi<sup>1a</sup> and inquired of the god, whether they should deliver their city to the Corinthians, and endeavor to obtain some assistance from their founders. The answer he gave them was to deliver the city, and place themselves under Corinthian protection. [2] So the Epidamnians went to Corinth, and delivered over the colony in obedience to the commands of the oracle. They showed that their founder came from Corinth, and revealed the answer of the god; and they begged them not to allow them to perish, but to assist them. [3] This the Corinthians consented to do. Believing the colony to belong as much to themselves as to the Corcyraeans, they felt it to be a kind of duty to undertake their protection. Besides, they hated the Corcyraeans for their contempt of the mother country. [4] Instead of meeting with the usual honors accorded to the parent city by every other colony at public assemblies, such as precedence at sacrifices, Corinth found herself treated with contempt by a power, which in point of wealth could stand comparison with any state, even the richest in Hellas, which possessed great military strength, and which sometimes could not repress a pride in the high naval position of an island whose nautical renown dated from the days of its old inhabitants, the Phaeacians.<sup>4a</sup> This was one reason for the care that they lavished on their fleet, which became very efficient; indeed they began the war with a force of a hundred and twenty triremes.

All these grievances made Corinth eager to send the promised aid to Epidamnus. Advertisement was made for volunteer settlers, and a force of

1.24.7a Presumably the temple of Hera (Map 3.76, inset) where Corcyraean oligarchs were suppliants. See 3.75.4.

1.25.1a Delphi: Map 1.26, BY.

1.25.4a For the Phaeacians, see Homer's *Odyssey*, Books 6–8.

1.25

435

IONIAN GULF

After consulting the oracle at Delphi, Epidamnus seeks and obtains promises of Corinthian help. Corinth had long resented Corcyra's contempt for her.

1.26

435

IONIAN GULF

When Corinthian settlers arrive at Epidamnus, Corcyra decides to support the Epidamnian exiles and besieges Epidamnus.

icles son of Xanthippus. The Athenians in the hundred ships round the Peloponnesus on their journey home had just reached Aegina, and hearing that the citizens at home were in full force at Megara, now sailed over and joined them. [2] This was without doubt the largest army of Athenians ever assembled, the state being still in the flower of her strength and yet unvisited by the plague. Full ten thousand hoplites were in the field, all Athenian citizens, besides the three thousand before Potidaea. Then the resident aliens who joined in the incursion were at least three thousand strong; besides which there was a multitude of light troops. They ravaged the greater part of the territory, and then retired. [3] Other incursions into the Megarid were afterwards made by the Athenians annually during the war, sometimes only with cavalry, sometimes with all their forces. This went on until the capture of Nisaea.<sup>2b</sup>

Atalanta<sup>1a</sup> also, the deserted island off the Opuntian coast, was toward the end of this summer converted into a fortified post by the Athenians, in order to prevent privateers issuing from Opus<sup>1b</sup> and the rest of Locris<sup>1c</sup> and plundering Euboea.<sup>1d</sup> Such were the events of this summer after the return of the Peloponnesians from Attica.

In the ensuing winter the Acarnanian<sup>1a</sup> Evarchus wishing to return to Astacus,<sup>1b</sup> persuaded the Corinthians to sail over with forty ships and fifteen hundred hoplites and restore him; himself also hiring some mercenaries. In command of the force were Euphamidas son of Aristonymus, Timoxenus son of Timocrates, and Eumachus son of Chrysos, [2] who sailed over and restored him, and after failing in an attempt on some places on the Acarnanian coast which they were desirous of gaining, began their voyage home. [3] Coasting along shore they touched at Cephallenia<sup>3a</sup> and made a descent on the Cranian<sup>3b</sup> territory, and losing some men in a surprise attack by the Cranians, put to sea somewhat hurriedly and returned home.

In the same winter the Athenians gave a funeral at the public cost to those who had first fallen in this war. It was a custom of their ancestors, and the manner of it is as follows. [2] Three days before the ceremony, the bones of the dead<sup>2a</sup> are laid out in a tent which has been erected; and their friends bring to their relatives such offerings as they please. [3] In the funeral procession cypress coffins are borne in carts, one for each tribe; the bones of the deceased being placed in the coffin of their tribe.<sup>3a</sup> Among these is carried one empty bier decked for the missing, that is, for those whose bodies could not be recovered. [4] Any citizen or stranger who pleases joins in the procession; and the female relatives are there to wail at the burial. [5] The dead are laid in the public sepulcher in the most beautiful suburb of the city, in which those who fall in war are always buried; with

2.31.2b Nisaea: Map 2.31, AY. The capture of Nisaea by the Athenians in 424 is described in 4.69.

2.32.1a Atalanta: Map 2.31, AY.

2.32.1b Opus: Map 2.31, AY.

2.32.1c Locris (Opuntian): Map 2.31, AY.

2.32.1d Euboea: Map 2.31, AY.

2.33.1a Acarnania: Map 2.31, AX.

2.33.1b Astacus: Map 2.31, AX.

2.33.3a Cephallenia: Map 2.31, AX.

2.33.3b Cranae on Cephallenia: Map 2.31, AX.

2.34.2a The Greek custom at this time was to burn the bodies of the dead and then to gather up the bones and bury them.

2.34.3a For more on Athenian "tribes," see Appendix A, The Athenian Government, §3-5.

the exception of those slain at Marathon,<sup>5a</sup> who for their singular and extraordinary valor were interred on the spot where they fell. [6] After the bodies have been laid in the earth, a man chosen by the state, of approved wisdom and eminent reputation, pronounces over them an appropriate eulogy; after which all retire. [7] Such is the manner of the burying; and throughout the whole of the war, whenever the occasion arose, the established custom was observed. [8] Meanwhile these were the first that had fallen, and Pericles son of Xanthippus was chosen to pronounce their eulogy. When the proper time arrived, he advanced from the sepulcher to an elevated platform in order to be heard by as many of the crowd as possible, and spoke as follows:

"Most of my predecessors in this place have commended him who made this speech part of the law, telling us that it is well that it should be delivered at the burial of those who fall in battle. For myself, I should have thought that the worth which had displayed itself in deeds would be sufficiently rewarded by honors also shown by deeds; such as you now see in this funeral prepared at the people's cost. And I could have wished that the reputations of many brave men were not to be imperiled in the mouth of a single individual, to stand or fall according as he spoke well or ill. [2] For it is hard to speak properly upon a subject where it is even difficult to convince your hearers that you are speaking the truth. On the one hand, the friend who is familiar with every fact of the story may think that some point has not been set forth with that fullness which he wishes and knows it to deserve; on the other, he who is a stranger to the matter may be led by envy to suspect exaggeration if he hears anything above his own nature. For men can endure to hear others praised only so long as they can severally persuade themselves of their own ability to equal the actions recounted: when this point is passed, envy comes in and with it incredulity. [3] However, since our ancestors have stamped this custom with their approval, it becomes my duty to obey the law and to try to satisfy your several wishes and opinions as best I may."

"I shall begin with our ancestors: it is both just and proper that they should have the honor of the first mention on an occasion like the present. They dwelt in the country without break in the succession from generation to generation, and handed it down free to the present time by their valor. [2] And if our more remote ancestors deserve praise, much more do our own fathers, who added to their in-

2.34.5a Marathon (Map 2.31, AY) is where the Athenians defeated an invading force of Persians in 490.

2.35  
431/0  
1st Year/Winter  
ATHENS  
Pericles begins his Funeral Oration by noting how difficult it is to properly praise the dead, but, since it is the law, offers to do his duty and make the attempt.

2.36  
431/0  
1st Year/Winter  
ATHENS  
After Pericles praises all those who contributed to Athens' acquisition of its empire he describes the form of government under which the city grew great.

heritage the empire which we now possess, and spared no pains to be able to leave their acquisitions to us of the present generation. [3] Lastly, there are few parts of our dominions that have not been augmented by those of us here, who are still more or less in the vigor of life; while the mother country has been furnished by us with everything that can enable her to depend on her own resources whether for war or for peace. [4] That part of our history which tells of the military achievements which gave us our several possessions, or of the ready valor with which either we or our fathers stemmed the tide of Hellenic or foreign aggression, is a theme too familiar to my hearers for me to dwell upon, and I shall therefore pass it by. But what was the road by which we reached our position, what the form of government under which our greatness grew, what the national habits out of which it sprang; these are questions which I may try to solve before I proceed to my eulogy upon these men; since I think this to be a subject upon which on the present occasion a speaker may properly dwell, and to which the whole assemblage, whether citizens or foreigners, may listen with advantage."

"Our constitution does not copy the laws of neighboring states; we are rather a pattern to others than imitators ourselves. Its administration favors the many instead of the few; this is why it is called a democracy. If we look to the laws, they afford equal justice to all in their private differences; if to social standing, advancement in public life falls to reputation for capacity, class considerations not being allowed to interfere with merit; nor again does poverty bar the way, if a man is able to serve the state, he is not hindered by the obscurity of his condition. [2] The freedom which we enjoy in our government extends also to our ordinary life. There, far from exercising a jealous surveillance over each other, we do not feel called upon to be angry with our neighbor for doing what he likes, or even to indulge in those injurious looks which cannot fail to be offensive, although they inflict no real harm. [3] But all this ease in our private relations does not make us lawless as citizens. Against this fear is our chief safeguard, teaching us to obey the magistrates and the laws, particularly such as regard the protection of the injured, whether they are actually on the statute book, or belong to that code which, although unwritten, yet cannot be broken without acknowledged disgrace."

"Further, we provide plenty of means for the mind to refresh itself from business. We celebrate games and sacrifices all the year round, and the elegance of our private establishments forms a daily source of pleasure and helps to distract us from what causes us distress; [2] while the magnitude of our city draws the produce of the

2.37  
431/0  
1st Year/Winter  
ATHENS  
Praising Athens' unique democratic institutions, Pericles says equality before the law leads to rewards based on merit and creates a society both free and law-abiding.

2.38  
431/0  
1st Year/Winter  
ATHENS  
Pericles notes that Athens provides means for pleasure and recreation.

world into our harbor, so that to the Athenian the fruits of other countries are as familiar a luxury as those of his own."

"If we turn to our military policy, there also we differ from our antagonists. We throw open our city to the world, and never by alien acts exclude foreigners from any opportunity of learning or observing,<sup>1a</sup> although the eyes of an enemy may occasionally profit by our liberality; trusting less in system and policy than to the native spirit of our citizens; while in education, where our rivals from their very cradles by a painful discipline seek after manliness, at Athens we live exactly as we please, and yet are just as ready to encounter every legitimate danger. [2] In proof of this it may be noticed that the Spartans do not invade our country alone, but bring with them all their confederates; while we Athenians advance unsupported into the territory of a neighbor, and fighting upon a foreign soil usually vanquish with ease men who are defending their homes. [3] Our united force was never yet encountered by any enemy, because we have at once to attend to our marine and to despatch our citizens by land upon a hundred different services; so that, wherever they engage with some such fraction of our strength, a success against a detachment is magnified into a victory over the nation, and a defeat into a reverse suffered at the hands of our entire people. [4] And yet if with habits not of labor but of ease, and courage not of art but of nature, we are still willing to encounter danger, we have the double advantage of not suffering hardships before we need to, and of facing them in the hour of need as fearlessly as those who are never free from them."

"Nor are these the only points in which our city is worthy of admiration."

"We cultivate refinement without extravagance and knowledge without effeminacy; wealth we employ more for use than for show, and place the real disgrace of poverty not in owning to the fact but in declining the struggle against it. [2] Our public men have, besides politics, their private affairs to attend to, and our ordinary citizens, though occupied with the pursuits of industry, are still fair judges of public matters; for, unlike any other nation, we regard the citizen who takes no part in these duties not as unambitious but as useless, and we are able to judge proposals even if we cannot originate them; instead of looking on discussion as a stumbling-block in the way of action, we think it an indispensable preliminary to any wise action at all. [3] Again, in our enterprises we present the singular spectacle of daring and deliberation, each carried to its highest point, and both united in the same persons; although with the rest of mankind deci-

2.39  
431/0  
1st Year/Winter  
ATHENS  
Pericles says that Athens is open to the world, relying upon its citizens' natural capacity, not special training, to meet any challenge.

2.40  
431/0  
1st Year/Winter  
ATHENS  
Pericles applauds Athens' concern for culture, her sensible use of wealth, her inclusion of all citizens in politics, her combination of daring and deliberation in action, and her liberal generosity.

2.39.1a As was done regularly by Sparta; see 1.144.2, and Appendix C, Spartan Institutions, §1.

sion is the fruit of ignorance, hesitation of reflection. But the prize for courage will surely be awarded most justly to those who best know the difference between hardship and pleasure and yet are never tempted to shrink from danger. [4] In generosity we are equally singular, acquiring our friends by conferring not by receiving favors. Yet, of course, the doer of the favor is the firmer friend of the two, in order by continued kindness to keep the recipient in his debt; while the debtor feels less keenly from the very consciousness that the return he makes will be a payment, not a free gift. [5] And it is only the Athenians who, fearless of consequences, confer their benefits not from calculations of expediency, but in the confidence of liberality."

"In short, I say that as a city we are the school of Hellas; while I doubt if the world can produce a man, who where he has only himself to depend upon, is equal to so many emergencies, and graced by so happy a versatility as the Athenian. [2] And that this is no mere boast thrown out for the occasion, but plain matter of fact, is proved by the power of the state acquired by these habits. [3] For Athens alone of her contemporaries is found when tested to be greater than her reputation, and alone gives no occasion to her assailants to blush at the antagonist by whom they have been worsted, or to her subjects to question her title to rule by merit. [4] Rather, the admiration of the present and succeeding ages will be ours, since we have not left our power without witness, but have shown it by mighty proofs; and far from needing a Homer for our eulogist, or other of his craft whose verses might charm for the moment only for the impression which they gave to melt at the touch of fact, we have forced every sea and land to be the highway of our daring, and everywhere, whether for evil or for good, have left imperishable monuments behind us. [5] Such is the Athens for which these men, in the assertion of their resolve not to lose her, nobly fought and died; and well may every one of their survivors be ready to suffer in her cause."

"Indeed if I have dwelt at some length upon the character of our country, it has been to show that our stake in the struggle is not the same as theirs who have no such blessings to lose, and also that the eulogy of the men over whom I am now speaking might be by definite proofs established. [2] That eulogy is now in a great measure complete; for the Athens that I have celebrated is only what the heroism of these and their like have made her, men whose fame, unlike that of most Hellenes, will be found to be no greater than what they deserve. And if a test of worth be wanted, it is to be found in their closing scene, and this not only in the cases in which it set the final seal upon their merit, but also in those in which it gave the first

2.41  
431/0  
1st Year/Winter

ATHENS  
Pericles says Athens is a model for Hellas, a city worthy to rule others, and worthy of the devotion of the men who died in her cause.

2.42  
431/0  
1st Year/Winter

ATHENS  
Pericles asserts that these men died gloriously, preferring death to submission or dishonor.

intimation of their having any. [3] For there is justice in the claim that steadfastness in his country's battles should be as a cloak to cover a man's other imperfections; since the good action has blotted out the bad, and his merit as a citizen more than outweighed his demerits as an individual. [4] But none of these allowed either wealth with its prospect of future enjoyment to unnerve his spirit, or poverty with its hope of a day of freedom and riches to tempt him to shrink from danger. No, holding that vengeance upon their enemies was more to be desired than any personal blessings, and reckoning this to be the most glorious of hazards, they joyfully determined to accept the risk, to make sure of their vengeance and to let their wishes wait; and while committing to hope the uncertainty of final success, in the business before them they thought fit to act boldly and trust in themselves. Thus choosing to die resisting, rather than to live submitting, they fled only from dishonor, but met danger face to face, and after one brief moment, while at the summit of their fortune, left behind them not their fear, but their glory."

"So died these men as became Athenians. You, their survivors, must determine to have as unaltering a resolution in the field, though you may pray that it may have a happier outcome. And not contented with ideas derived only from words of the advantages which are bound up with the defense of your country, though these would furnish a valuable text to a speaker even before an audience so alive to them as the present, you must yourselves realize the power of Athens, and feed your eyes upon her from day to day, till love of her fills your hearts; and then when all her greatness shall break upon you, you must reflect that it was by courage, sense of duty, and a keen feeling of honor in action that men were enabled to win all this, and that no personal failure in an enterprise could make them consent to deprive their country of their valor, but they laid it at her feet as the most glorious contribution that they could offer. [2] For this offering of their lives, made in common by them all, they each of them individually received that renown which never grows old, and for a tomb, not so much that in which their bones have been deposited, but that noblest of shrines wherein their glory is laid up to be eternally remembered upon every occasion on which deed or story shall be commemorated. [3] For heroes have the whole earth for their tomb; and in lands far from their own, where the column with its epitaph declares it, there is enshrined in every breast a record unwritten with no monument to preserve it, except that of the heart. [4] These take as your model, and judging happiness to be the fruit of freedom and freedom of valor, never decline the dangers of war. [5] For it is not the miserable that would most

2.43  
431/0  
1st Year/Winter  
ATHENS  
Pericles calls upon those who survive to emulate the war dead's valor and patriotism, saying that they risked all and lost their lives, but the renown of their deeds will last forever.



ILLUSTRATION 2.44 ATTIC MARBLE RELIEF OF C. 430 B.C. COMMEMORATING THE ATHENIANS WHO DIED IN THE FIRST YEAR'S FIGHTING OF THE PELOPONNESIAN WAR

justly be unsparing of their lives; these have nothing to hope for: it is rather they to whom continued life may bring reverses as yet unknown, and to whom a fall, if it came, would be most tremendous in its consequences. [6] And surely, to a man of spirit, the degradation of cowardice must be immeasurably more grievous than the unfelt death which strikes him in the midst of his strength and patriotism!"

"Comfort, therefore, not condolence, is what I have to offer to the parents of the dead who may be here. Numberless are the chances to which, as they know, the life of man is subject; but fortunate indeed are they who draw for their lot a death so glorious as that which has caused your mourning, and to whom life has been so exactly measured as to terminate in the happiness in which it has been passed. [2] Still I know that this is a hard saying, especially when you will constantly be reminded by seeing in the homes of others blessings of which once you also enjoyed; for grief is felt not so much for the want of what we have never known, as for the loss of that to which we have been long accustomed. [3] Yet you who are still of an age to beget children must bear up in the hope of having others in their stead; not only will they help you to forget those whom you have lost, but will be to the state at once a reinforcement and a security; for never can a fair or just policy be expected of the citizen who does not, like his fellows, bring to the decision the interests and apprehensions of a father. [4] While those of you who have passed your prime must congratulate yourselves with the thought that the best part of your life was fortunate, and that the brief span that remains will be cheered by the fame of the departed. For it is only the love of honor that never grows old; and honor it is, not gain, as some would have it, that rejoices the heart of age and helplessness."

"Turning to the sons or brothers of the dead, I see an arduous struggle before you. When a man is gone, all are wont to praise him, and should your merit be ever so transcendent, you will still find it difficult not merely to overtake, but even to approach their renown. The living have envy to contend with, while those who are no longer in our path are honored with a goodwill into which rivalry does not enter. [2] On the other hand if I must say anything on the subject of female excellence to those of you who will now be in widowhood, it will be all comprised in this brief exhortation. Great will be your glory in not falling short of your natural character; and greatest will be hers who is least talked of among the men whether for good or for bad."

2.44  
431/0  
1st Year/Winter  
ATHENS  
Pericles comforts the parents of the war dead while acknowledging their grief. He advises those who can to have more children and those past child-bearing age to ease their years with the knowledge that their sons died with honor.

2.45  
431/0  
1st Year/Winter  
ATHENS  
He says that the sons and brothers of the dead may seek to equal their renown, but that their widows should best seek to avoid notice of any sort.

*Funeral Oration of Pericles*

ATHENS

1st Year/Summer 431/0 Book Two

2.46  
431/0  
1st Year/WinterATHENS  
Pericles concludes by  
reminding those present that  
Athens will pay for the  
upbringing of the children of  
the dead.

"My task is now finished. I have performed it to the best of my ability, and in words, at least, the requirements of the law are now satisfied. If deeds be in question, those who are here interred have received part of their honors already, and for the rest, their children will be brought up till manhood at the public expense: the state thus offers a valuable prize, as the garland of victory in this race of valor, for the reward both of those who have fallen and their survivors. And where the rewards for merit are greatest, there are found the best citizens."

[2] "And now that you have brought to a close your lamentations for your relatives, you may depart."<sup>2a</sup>

END HERE

2.47

430  
2nd Year/SummerATHENS  
The Spartans invade Attica  
again. Plague appears in  
Athens.

Such was the funeral that took place during this winter, with which the first year of the war came to an end. [2] In the first days of summer the Spartans and their allies, with two-thirds of their forces as before, invaded Attica, under the command of Archidamus son of Zeuxidamus, king of Sparta, and established themselves and laid waste the country. [3] Not many days after their arrival in Attica the plague first began to show itself among the Athenians. It was said that it had broken out in many places previously in the neighborhood of Lemnos<sup>3a</sup> and elsewhere; but a pestilence of such extent and mortality was nowhere remembered. [4] Neither were the physicians at first of any service, ignorant as they were of the proper way to treat it, but they died themselves the most thickly, as they visited the sick most often; nor did any human art succeed any better. Supplications in the temples, divinations, and so forth were found equally futile, till the overwhelming nature of the disaster at last put a stop to them altogether.

It first began, it is said, in the parts of Ethiopia above Egypt, and thence descended into Egypt and Libya<sup>1a</sup> and into most of the King's country. [2] Suddenly falling upon Athens, it first attacked the population in the Piraeus, which was the occasion of their saying that the Peloponnesians had poisoned the reservoirs, there being as yet no wells there, and afterwards appeared in the upper city, when the deaths became much more frequent. [3] All speculation as to its origin and its causes, if causes can be found adequate to produce so great a disturbance, I leave to other writers, whether lay or professional; for myself, I shall simply set down its nature, and explain the symptoms by which perhaps it may be recognized by the student, if it should ever break out again. This I can the better do, as I had the disease myself, and watched its operation in the case of others.<sup>3a</sup>

That year then is agreed to have been otherwise unprecedentedly free from sickness; and such few cases as occurred, all turned into this. [2] As a

2.46.2a See the Introduction (sec. II.v) for a discussion of speeches in Thucydides.

2.47.3a Lemnos: Map 2.29.

2.48.1a Ethiopia is "above" Egypt—up the Nile River and further away from the sea—from a point of view centered in the

Mediterranean Sea; see Map 2.56, locator.

2.48.3a See the Introduction (sec. I) for a discussion of what is known about Thucydides' life.

## BOOK TWO 430 2nd Year/Summer

ATHENS

*The Plague*

rule, however, there was no ostensible cause; but people in good health were all of a sudden attacked by violent heats in the head, and redness and inflammation in the eyes, the inward parts, such as the throat or tongue, becoming bloody and emitting an unnatural and fetid breath. [3] These symptoms were followed by sneezing and hoarseness, after which the pain soon reached the chest, and produced a hard cough. When it fixed in the stomach, it upset it; and discharges of bile of every kind named by physicians ensued, accompanied by very great distress. [4] In most cases also an ineffectual retching followed, producing violent spasms, which in some cases ceased soon after, in others much later. [5] Externally the body was not very hot to the touch, nor pale in its appearance, but reddish, livid, and breaking out into small pustules and ulcers. But internally it burned so that the patient could not bear to have on him clothing or linen even of the very lightest description; or indeed to be otherwise than stark naked. What they would have liked best would have been to throw themselves into cold water; as indeed was done by some of the neglected sick, who plunged into the rain tanks in their agonies of unquenchable thirst; though it made no difference whether they drank little or much. [6] Besides this, the miserable feeling of not being able to rest or sleep never ceased to torment them. The body meanwhile did not waste away so long as the distemper was at its height, but held out to a marvel against its ravages; so that when they succumbed, as in most cases, on the seventh or eighth day, to the internal inflammation, they had still some strength in them. But if they passed this stage, and the disease descended further into the bowels, inducing a violent ulceration there accompanied by severe diarrhea, this brought on a weakness which was generally fatal. [7] For the disorder first settled in the head, ran its course from thence through the whole of the body, and even where it did not prove mortal, it still left its mark on the extremities; [8] for it settled in the privy parts, the fingers and the toes, and many escaped with the loss of these, some too with that of their eyes. Others again were seized with an entire loss of memory on their first recovery, and did not know either themselves or their friends.<sup>3a</sup>

But while the nature of the distemper was such as to baffle all description, and its attacks almost too grievous for human nature to endure, it was still in the following circumstance that its difference from all ordinary disorders was most clearly shown. All the birds and beasts that prey upon human bodies either abstained from touching them (though there were many lying unburied), or died after tasting them. [2] In proof of this, it was noticed that birds of this kind actually disappeared; they were not about the bodies, or indeed to be seen at all. But of course the effects which I have mentioned could best be studied in a domestic animal like the dog.

2.49.8a Modern medical authorities do not agree on the identification of this pestilence.

2.50  
430  
2nd Year/Summer  
ATHENS  
Birds of prey abstained from  
eating plague victims or were  
poisoned. Such birds actually  
vanished from the area.

THE  
COMPLETE WORKS OF  
ARISTOTLE

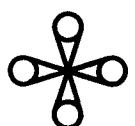
THE REVISED OXFORD TRANSLATION

*Edited by*

JONATHAN BARNES

VOLUME TWO

SB06. Aristotle - Selection from "The Poetics" on Tragedy  
This small selection from the Poetics, which is considered  
the first systematic work on Aesthetics, will help us  
understand what Greek audiences expected from Tragedy.



BOLLINGEN SERIES LXXI • 2

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well-constructed plot, therefore, cannot either begin or end at any point one likes; beginning and end in it must be of the forms just described. Again: to be beautiful, a living creature, and every whole made up of parts, must not only present a certain order in its arrangement of parts, but also be of a certain definite magnitude. Beauty is a matter of size and order, and therefore impossible either in a very minute creature, since our perception becomes indistinct as it approaches instantaneity; or in a creature of vast size—one, say, 1,000 miles long—as in that case, instead of the object being seen all at once, the unity and wholeness of it is lost to the beholder. Just in the same way, then, as a beautiful whole made up of parts, or a beautiful living creature, must be of some size, but a size to be taken in by the eye, so a story or plot must be of some length, but of a length to be taken in by the memory. As for the limit of its length, so far as that is relative to public performances and spectators, it does not fall within the theory of poetry. If they had to perform a hundred tragedies, they would be timed by water-clocks, as they are said to have been at one period.<sup>6</sup> The limit, however, set by the actual nature of the thing is this: the longer the story, consistently with its being comprehensible as a whole, the finer it is by reason of its magnitude. As a rough general formula, a length which allows of the hero passing by a series of probable or necessary stages from bad fortune to good, or from good to bad, may suffice as a limit for the magnitude of the story.

8 . The unity of a plot does not consist, as some suppose, in its having one man as its subject. An infinity of things befall that one man, some of which it is impossible to reduce to unity; and in like manner there are many actions of one man which cannot be made to form one action. One sees, therefore, the mistake of all the poets who have written a *Heracleid*, a *Theseid*, or similar poems; they suppose that, because Heracles was one man, the story also of Heracles must be one story. Homer, however, evidently understood this point quite well, whether by art or instinct, just in the same way as he excels the rest in every other respect. In writing an *Odyssey*, he did not make the poem cover all that ever befell his hero—it befell him, for instance, to get wounded on Parnassus and also to feign madness at the time of the call to arms, but the two incidents had no necessary or probable connexion with one another—instead of doing that, he took as the subject of the *Odyssey*, as also of the *Iliad*, an action with a unity of the kind we are describing. The truth is that, just as in the other imitative arts one imitation is always of one thing, so in poetry the story, as an imitation of action, must represent one action, a complete whole, with its several incidents so closely connected that the transposition or withdrawal of any one of them will disjoin and dislocate the whole. For that which makes no perceptible difference by its presence or absence is no real part of the whole.

START  
HERE .

9 . From what we have said it will be seen that the poet's function is to describe, not the thing that has happened, but a kind of thing that might happen, i.e.

<sup>a</sup>Text uncertain.

what is possible as being probable or necessary. The distinction between historian and poet is not in the one writing prose and the other verse—you might put the work of Herodotus into verse, and it would still be a species of history; it consists really in this, that the one describes the thing that has been, and the other a kind of thing that might be. Hence poetry is something more philosophic and of graver import than history, since its statements are of the nature rather of universals, whereas those of history are singulars. By a universal statement I mean one as to what such or such a kind of man will probably or necessarily say or do—which is the aim of poetry, though it affixes proper names to the characters; by a singular statement, one as to what, say, Alcibiades did or had done to him. In comedy this has become clear by this time; it is only when their plot is already made up of probable incidents that they give it a basis of proper names, choosing for the purpose any names that may occur to them, instead of writing like the old iambic poets about particular persons. In Tragedy, however, they still adhere to the historic names; and for this reason: what convinces is the possible; now whereas we are not yet sure as to the possibility of that which has not happened, that which has happened is manifestly possible, otherwise it would not have happened. Nevertheless even in tragedy there are some plays with but one or two known names in them, the rest being inventions; and there are some without a single known name, e.g. Agathon's *Antheus*, in which both incidents and names are of the poet's invention; and it is no less delightful on that account. So that one must not aim at a rigid adherence to the traditional stories on which tragedies are based. It would be absurd, in fact, to do so, as even the known stories are only known to a few, though they are a delight none the less to all.

It is evident from the above that the poet must be more the poet of his plots than of his verses, inasmuch as he is a poet by virtue of the imitative element in his work, and it is actions that he imitates. And if he should come to take a subject from actual history, he is none the less a poet for that; since some historic occurrences may very well be in the probable order of things; and it is in that aspect of them that he is their poet.

Of simple plots and actions the episodic are the worst. I call a plot episodic when there is neither probability nor necessity in the sequence of its episodes. Actions of this sort bad poets construct through their own fault, and good ones on account of the players. His work being for public performance, a good poet often stretches out a plot beyond its capabilities, and is thus obliged to twist the sequence of incident.

Tragedy, however, is an imitation not only of a complete action, but also of incidents arousing pity and fear. Such incidents have the very greatest effect on the mind when they occur unexpectedly and at the same time in consequence of one another; there is more of the marvellous in them than if they happened of themselves or by mere chance. Even matters of chance seem most marvellous if there is an appearance of design as it were in them; as for instance the statue of Mitys at Argos killed the author of Mitys' death by falling down on him when he was looking at it; for incidents like that we think to be not without a meaning. A plot, therefore, of this sort is necessarily finer than others.

<sup>b1</sup>1451

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1452<sup>a1</sup>

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10 . Plots are either simple or complex, since the actions they represent are naturally of this twofold description. The action, proceeding in the way defined, as  
 15 one continuous whole, I call simple, when the change in the hero's fortunes takes place without reversal or discovery; and complex, when it involves one or the other, or both. These should each of them arise out of the structure of the plot itself, so as to be the consequence, necessary or probable, of the antecedents. There is a great  
 20 difference between a thing happening *propter hoc* and *post hoc*.  
 STOP

HERE. GO

TO 13 . 11 . A reversal of fortune is the change of the kind described from one state of things within the play to its opposite, and that too as we say, in the probable or necessary sequence of events; as it is for instance in *Oedipus*: here the opposite state 25 of things is produced by the Messenger, who, coming to gladden Oedipus and to remove his fears as to his mother, reveals the secret of his birth. And in *Lynceus*: just as he is being led off for execution, with Danaus at his side to put him to death, the incidents preceding this bring it about that he is saved and Danaus put to death.  
 30 A discovery is, as the very word implies, a change from ignorance to knowledge, and thus to either love or hate, in the personages marked for good or evil fortune. The finest form of discovery is one attended by reversal, like that which goes with the discovery in *Oedipus*. There are no doubt other forms of it; what we have said may happen in a way<sup>7</sup> in reference to inanimate things, even things of a very casual kind; and it is also possible to discover whether some one has done or not done something.  
 35 But the form most directly connected with the plot and the action of the piece is the first-mentioned. This, with a reversal, will arouse either pity or fear—actions of that nature being what tragedy is assumed to represent; and it will also serve to bring about the happy or unhappy ending. The discovery, then, being of persons, it may be that of one party only to the other, the latter being already known; or both  
 40 the parties may have to discover each other. Iphigenia, for instance, was discovered to Orestes by sending the letter; and another discovery was required to reveal him to Iphigenia.  
 45 1452<sup>b1</sup> 10 Two parts of the plot, then, reversal and discovery, are on matters of this sort. A third part is suffering; which we may define as an action of a destructive or painful nature, such as murders on the stage, tortures, woundings, and the like. The other two have been already explained.

12 . The parts of tragedy to be treated as formative elements in the whole  
 15 were mentioned in a previous chapter. From the point of view, however, of its quantity, i.e. the separate sections into which it is divided, a tragedy has the following parts: prologue, episode, exode, and a choral portion, distinguished into  
 20 parode and stasimon; these two are common to all tragedies, whereas songs from the stage and *Commoē* are only found in some. The prologue is all that precedes the parode of the chorus; an episode all that comes in between two whole choral songs; the exode all that follows after the last choral song. In the choral portion the parode is the whole first statement of the chorus; a stasimon, a song of the chorus without

<sup>7</sup>Text uncertain.

anapaests or trochees; a *Commos*, a lamentation sung by chorus and actor in concert. The parts of tragedy to be used as formative elements in the whole we have  
 25 already mentioned; the above are its parts from the point of view of its quantity, or the separate sections into which it is divided.

13 . The next points after what we have said above will be these: what is the poet to aim at, and what is he to avoid, in constructing his Plots? and what are the  
 30 conditions on which the tragic effect depends?

We assume that, for the finest form of tragedy, the plot must be not simple but complex; and further, that it must imitate actions arousing fear and pity, since that  
 35 is the distinctive function of this kind of imitation. It follows, therefore, that there are three forms of plot to be avoided. A good man must not be seen passing from good fortune to bad, or a bad man from bad fortune to good. The first situation is  
 40 not fear-inspiring or piteous, but simply odious to us. The second is the most untragic that can be; it has no one of the requisites of tragedy; it does not appeal either to the human feeling in us, or to our pity, or to our fears. Nor, on the other hand, should an extremely bad man be seen falling from good fortune into bad.  
 45 Such a story may arouse the human feeling in us, but it will not move us to either pity or fear; pity is occasioned by undeserved misfortune, and fear by that of one like ourselves; so that there will be nothing either piteous or fear-inspiring in the situation. There remains, then, the intermediate kind of personage, a man not preeminently virtuous and just, whose misfortune, however, is brought upon him  
 50 not by vice and depravity but by some fault, of the number of those in the enjoyment of great reputation and prosperity; e.g. Oedipus, Thyestes, and the men of note of similar families. The perfect plot, accordingly, must have a single, and not (as some tell us) a double issue; the change in the subject's fortunes must be not from bad fortune to good, but on the contrary from good to bad; and the cause of it must lie  
 55 not in any depravity, but in some great fault on his part; the man himself being either such as we have described, or better, not worse, than that. Fact also confirms our theory. Though the poets began by accepting any tragic story that came to hand, in these days the finest tragedies are always on the story of some few houses,  
 60 on that of Alcmeon, Oedipus, Orestes, Meleager, Thyestes, Telephus, or any others that may have been involved, as either agents or sufferers, in some deed of horror. The theoretically best tragedy, then, has a plot of this description. The critics,  
 65 therefore, are wrong who blame Euripides for taking this line in his tragedies, and giving many of them an unhappy ending. It is, as we have said, the right line to take. The best proof is this: on the stage, and in the public performances, such plays,  
 70 properly worked out, are seen to be the most truly tragic; and Euripides, even if his execution be faulty in every other point, is seen to be nevertheless the most tragic certainly of the dramatists. After this comes the construction of plot which some rank first, one with a double story (like the *Odyssey*) and an opposite issue for the  
 75 good and the bad personages. It is ranked as first only through the weakness of the audiences; the poets merely follow their public, writing as its wishes dictate. But the pleasure here is not that of tragedy. It belongs rather to comedy, where the bitterest  
 80 35 30 35

PICK UP  
HERE.

enemies in the piece (e.g. Orestes and Aegisthus) walk off good friends at the end, with no slaying of any one by any one.

1453<sup>b1</sup> 14 . The tragic fear and pity may be aroused by the spectacle; but they may also be aroused by the very structure and incidents of the play—which is the better way and shows the better poet. The plot in fact should be so framed that, even without seeing the things take place, he who simply hears the account of them shall be filled with horror and pity at the incidents; which is just the effect that the mere recital of the story in *Oedipus* would have on one. To produce this same effect by means of the spectacle is less artistic, and requires extraneous aid. Those, however, who make use of the spectacle to put before us that which is merely monstrous and not productive of fear, are wholly out of touch with tragedy; not every kind of pleasure should be required of a tragedy, but only its own proper pleasure.

The tragic pleasure is that of pity and fear, and the poet has to produce it by a work of imitation; it is clear, therefore, that the causes should be included in the incidents of his story. Let us see, then, what kinds of incident strike one as horrible, or rather as piteous. In a deed of this description the parties must necessarily be either friends, or enemies, or indifferent to one another. Now when enemy does it on enemy, there is nothing to move us to pity either in his doing or in his meditating the deed, except so far as the actual pain of the sufferer is concerned; and the same is true when the parties are indifferent to one another. Whenever the tragic deed, however, is done among friends—when murder or the like is done or meditated by brother on brother, by son on father, by mother on son, or son on mother—these are the situations the poet should seek after. The traditional stories, accordingly, must be kept as they are, e.g. the murder of Clytaemnestra by Orestes and of Eriphyle by Alcmeon. At the same time even with these there is something left to the poet himself; it is for him to devise the right way of treating them. Let us explain more clearly what we mean by ‘the right way’. The deed of horror may be done by the doer knowingly and consciously, as in the old poets, and in Medea’s murder of her children in Euripides. Or he may do it, but in ignorance of his relationship, and discover that afterwards, as does the Oedipus in Sophocles. Here the deed is outside the play; but it may be within it, like the act of the Alcmeon in Astydamas, or that of the Teleonus in *Ulysses Wounded*. A third possibility is for one meditating some deadly injury to another, in ignorance of his relationship, to make the discovery in time to draw back. These exhaust the possibilities, since the deed must necessarily be either done or not done, and either knowingly or unknowingly.

The worst situation is when the personage is with full knowledge on the point of doing the deed, and leaves it undone. It is odious and also (through the absence of suffering) untragic; hence it is that no one is made to act thus except in some few instances, e.g. Haemon and Creon in *Antigone*. Next after this comes the actual perpetration of the deed meditated. A better situation than that, however, is for the deed to be done in ignorance, and the relationship discovered afterwards, since there is nothing odious in it, and the discovery will serve to astound us. But the best of all is the last; what we have in *Cresphontes*, for example, where Merope, on the point of slaying her son, recognizes him in time; in *Iphigenia*, where sister and brother are in

a like position; and in *Helle*, where the son recognizes his mother, when on the point of giving her up to her enemy.

This will explain why our tragedies are restricted (as we said just now) to such a small number of families. It was accident rather than art that led the poets in quest of subjects to embody this kind of incident in their plots. They are still obliged, accordingly, to have recourse to the families in which such honours have occurred.

On the construction of the plot, and the kind of plot required for tragedy, enough has now been said.

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END

15 HERE .

15 . In the characters there are four points to aim at. First and foremost, that they shall be good. There will be an element of character in the play, if (as has been observed) what a personage says or does reveals a certain choice; and a good element of character, if the purpose so revealed is good. Such goodness is possible in every type of personage, even in a woman or a slave, though the one is perhaps an inferior, and the other a wholly worthless being. The second point is to make them appropriate. The character before us may be, say, manly; but it is not appropriate in a female character to be manly, or clever. The third is to make them like the reality, which is not the same as their being good and appropriate, in our sense of the term. The fourth is to make them consistent and the same throughout; even if inconsistency be part of the man before one for imitation as presenting that form of character, he should still be consistently inconsistent. We have an instance of baseness of character, not required for the story, in the Menelaus in *Orestes*; of the incongruous and unbefitting in the lamentation of Ulysses in *Scylla*, and in the speech of Melanippe; and of inconsistency in *Iphigenia at Aulis*, where Iphigenia the suppliant is utterly unlike the later Iphigenia. The right thing, however, is in the characters just as in the incidents of the play to seek after the necessary or the probable; so that whenever such-and-such a personage says or does such-and-such a thing, it shall be the necessary or probable outcome of his character; and whenever this incident follows on that, it shall be either the necessary or the probable consequence of it. From this one sees that the dénouement also should arise out of the plot itself, and not depend on a stage-artifice, as in *Medea* or in the story of the departure of the Greeks in the *Iliad*. The artifice must be reserved for matters outside the play—for past events beyond human knowledge, or events yet to come, which require to be foretold or announced; since it is the privilege of the gods to know everything. There should be nothing improbable among the actual incidents. If it be unavoidable, however, it should be outside the tragedy, like the improbability in the *Oedipus* of Sophocles. As tragedy is an imitation of personages better than the ordinary man, we should follow the example of good portrait-painters, who reproduce the distinctive features of a man, and at the same time, without losing the likeness, make him handsomer than he is. The poet in like manner, in portraying men quick or slow to anger, or with similar infirmities of character, must know how to represent them as such, and at the same time as good men . . .<sup>8</sup>

All these rules one must keep in mind throughout, and, further, those also for

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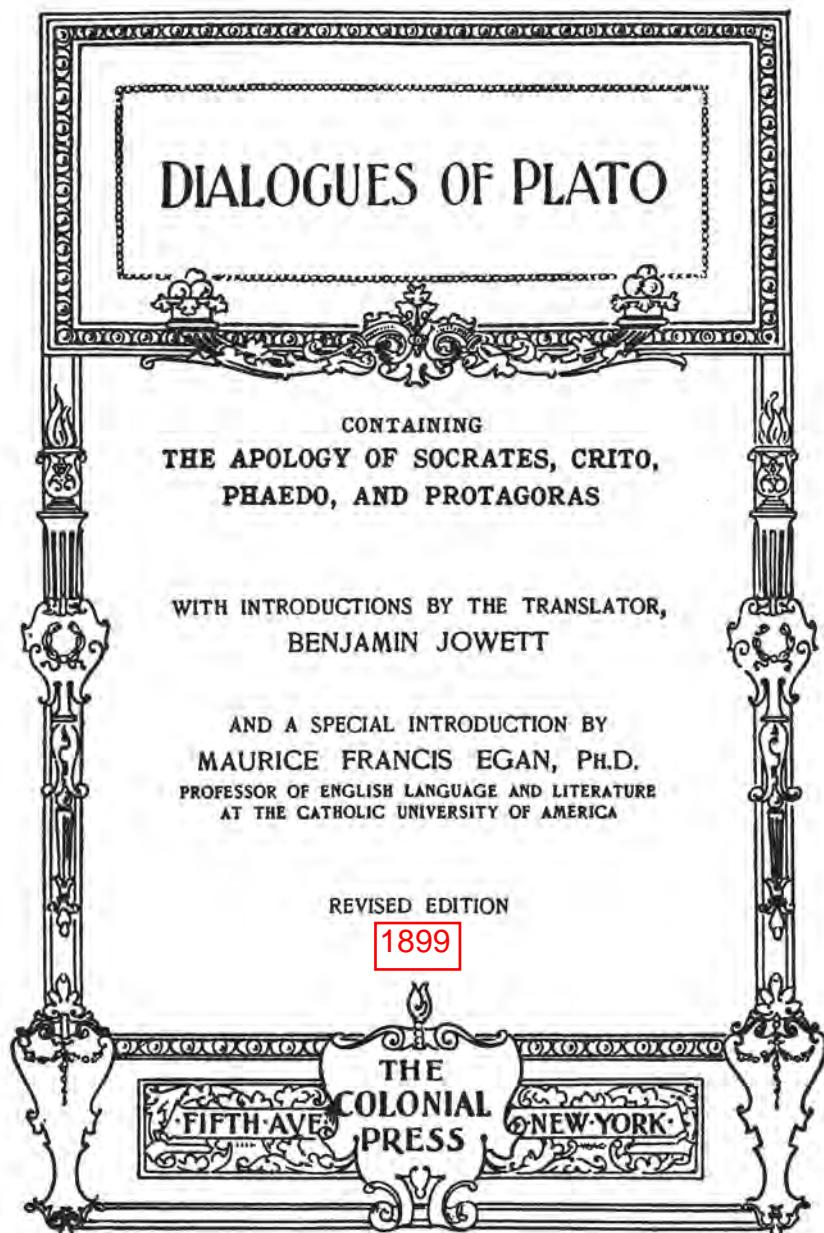
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<sup>8</sup>The text is corrupt here.



SB 07. Plato, *The Apology* and “The Allegory of the Cave”  
from Book VII of *The Republic*

## THE APOLOGY OF SOCRATES

**H**OW you have felt, O men of Athens, at hearing the speeches of my accusers, I cannot tell; but I know that their persuasive words almost made me forget who I was, such was the effect of them; and yet they have hardly spoken a word of truth. But many as their falsehoods were, there was one of them which quite amazed me: I mean when they told you to be upon your guard, and not to let yourself be deceived by the force of my eloquence. They ought to have been ashamed of saying this, because they were sure to be detected as soon as I opened my lips and displayed my deficiency; they certainly did appear to be most shameless in saying this, unless by the force of eloquence they mean the force of truth; for then I do indeed admit that I am eloquent. But in how different a way from theirs! Well, as I was saying, they have hardly uttered a word, or not more than a word, of truth; but you shall hear from me the whole truth: not, however, delivered after their manner, in a set oration duly ornamented with words and phrases. No, indeed! but I shall use the words and arguments which occur to me at the moment; for I am certain that this is right, and that at my time of life I ought not to be appearing before you, O men of Athens, in the character of a juvenile orator: let no one expect this of me. And I must beg of you to grant me one favor, which is this—if you hear me using the same words in my defence which I have been in the habit of using, and which most of you may have heard in the *agora*, and at the tables of the money-changers, or anywhere else, I would ask you not to be surprised at this, and not to interrupt me. For I am more than seventy years of age, and this is the first time that I have ever appeared in a court of law, and I am quite a stranger to the ways of the place; and therefore I would have you regard me as if I were really a stranger, whom you

would excuse if he spoke in his native tongue, and after the fashion of his country: that I think is not an unfair request. Never mind the manner, which may or may not be good; but think only of the justice of my cause, and give heed to that: let the judge decide justly and the speaker speak truly.

And first, I have to reply to the older charges and to my first accusers, and then I will go on to the later ones. For I have had many accusers, who accused me of old, and their false charges have continued during many years; and I am more afraid of them than of Anytus and his associates, who are dangerous, too, in their own way. But far more dangerous are these, who began when you were children, and took possession of your minds with their falsehoods, telling of one Socrates, a wise man, who speculated about the heaven above, and searched into the earth beneath, and made the worse appear the better cause. These are the accusers whom I dread; for they are the circulators of this rumor, and their hearers are too apt to fancy that speculators of this sort do not believe in the gods. And they are many, and their charges against me are of ancient date, and they made them in days when you were impressionable—in childhood, or perhaps in youth—and the cause when heard went by default, for there was none to answer. And hardest of all, their names I do not know and cannot tell; unless in the chance case of a comic poet. But the main body of these slanderers who from envy and malice have wrought upon you—and there are some of them who are convinced themselves, and impart their convictions to others—all these, I say, are most difficult to deal with; for I cannot have them up here, and examine them, and therefore I must simply fight with shadows in my own defence, and examine when there is no one who answers. I will ask you then to assume with me, as I was saying, that my opponents are of two kinds—one recent, the other ancient; and I hope that you will see the propriety of my answering the latter first, for these accusations you heard long before the others, and much oftener.

Well, then, I will make my defence, and I will endeavor in the short time which is allowed to do away with this evil opinion of me which you have held for such a long time; and I hope that I may succeed, if this be well for you and me, and that my words may find favor with you. But I know that

to accomplish this is not easy—I quite see the nature of the task. Let the event be as God wills: in obedience to the law I make my defence.

I will begin at the beginning, and ask what the accusation is which has given rise to this slander of me, and which has encouraged Meletus to proceed against me. What do the slanderers say? They shall be my prosecutors, and I will sum up their words in an affidavit: "Socrates is an evildoer, and a curious person, who searches into things under the earth and in heaven, and he makes the worse appear the better cause; and he teaches the aforesaid doctrines to others." That is the nature of the accusation, and that is what you have seen yourselves in the comedy of Aristophanes, who has introduced a man whom he calls Socrates, going about and saying that he can walk in the air, and talking a deal of nonsense concerning matters of which I do not pretend to know either much or little—not that I mean to say anything disparaging of anyone who is a student of natural philosophy. I should be very sorry if Meletus could lay that to my charge. But the simple truth is, O Athenians, that I have nothing to do with these studies. Very many of those here present are witnesses to the truth of this, and to them I appeal. Speak then, you who have heard me, and tell your neighbors whether any of you have ever known me hold forth in few words or in many upon matters of this sort. . . . You hear their answer. And from what they say of this you will be able to judge of the truth of the rest.

As little foundation is there for the report that I am a teacher, and take money; that is no more true than the other. Although, if a man is able to teach, I honor him for being paid. There is Gorgias of Leontium, and Prodicus of Ceos, and Hippias of Elis, who go the round of the cities, and are able to persuade the young men to leave their own citizens, by whom they might be taught for nothing, and come to them, whom they not only pay, but are thankful if they may be allowed to pay them. There is actually a Parian philosopher residing in Athens, of whom I have heard; and I came to hear of him in this way: I met a man who has spent a world of money on the Sophists, Callias the son of Hipponicus, and knowing that he had sons, I asked him: "Callias," I said, "if your two sons were foals or calves, there would be no difficulty in finding

someone to put over them; we should hire a trainer of horses or a farmer probably who would improve and perfect them in their own proper virtue and excellence; but as they are human beings, whom are you thinking of placing over them? Is there anyone who understands human and political virtue? You must have thought about this as you have sons; is there anyone?" "There is," he said. "Who is he?" said I, "and of what country? and what does he charge?" "Eventus the Parian," he replied; "he is the man, and his charge is five minæ." Happy is Eventus, I said to myself, if he really has this wisdom, and teaches at such a modest charge. Had I the same, I should have been very proud and conceited; but the truth is that I have no knowledge of the kind, O Athenians.

I dare say that someone will ask the question, "Why is this, Socrates, and what is the origin of these accusations of you: for there must have been something strange which you have been doing? All this great fame and talk about you would never have arisen if you had been like other men: tell us, then, why this is, as we should be sorry to judge hastily of you." Now I regard this as a fair challenge, and I will endeavor to explain to you the origin of this name of "wise," and of this evil fame. Please to attend them. And although some of you may think that I am joking, I declare that I will tell you the entire truth. Men of Athens, this reputation of mine has come of a certain sort of wisdom which I possess. If you ask me what kind of wisdom, I reply, such wisdom as is attainable by man, for to that extent I am inclined to believe that I am wise; whereas the persons of whom I was speaking have a superhuman wisdom, which I may fail to describe, because I have it not myself; and he who says that I have, speaks falsely, and is taking away my character. And here, O men of Athens, I must beg you not to interrupt me, even if I seem to say something extravagant. For the word which I will speak is not mine. I will refer you to a witness who is worthy of credit, and will tell you about my wisdom—whether I have any, and of what sort—and that witness shall be the god of Delphi. You must have known Chærephon; he was early a friend of mine, and also a friend of yours, for he shared in the exile of the people, and returned with you. Well, Chærephon, as you know, was very impetuous in all his

doings, and he went to Delphi and boldly asked the oracle to tell him whether—as I was saying, I must beg you not to interrupt—he asked the oracle to tell him whether there was anyone wiser than I was, and the Pythian prophetess answered that there was no man wiser. Chærephon is dead himself, but his brother, who is in court, will confirm the truth of this story.

Why do I mention this? Because I am going to explain to you why I have such an evil name. When I heard the answer, I said to myself, What can the god mean? and what is the interpretation of this riddle? for I know that I have no wisdom, small or great. What can he mean when he says that I am the wisest of men? And yet he is a god and cannot lie; that would be against his nature. After a long consideration, I at last thought of a method of trying the question. I reflected that if I could only find a man wiser than myself, then I might go to the god with a refutation in my hand. I should say to him, "Here is a man who is wiser than I am; but you said that I was the wisest." Accordingly I went to one who had the reputation of wisdom, and observed to him—his name I need not mention; he was a politician whom I selected for examination—and the result was as follows: When I began to talk with him, I could not help thinking that he was not really wise, although he was thought wise by many, and wiser still by himself; and I went and tried to explain to him that he thought himself wise, but was not really wise; and the consequence was that he hated me, and his enmity was shared by several who were present and heard me. So I left him, saying to myself, as I went away: Well, although I do not suppose that either of us knows anything really beautiful and good, I am better off than he is—for he knows nothing, and thinks that he knows. I neither know nor think that I know. In this latter particular, then, I seem to have slightly the advantage of him. Then I went to another, who had still higher philosophical pretensions, and my conclusion was exactly the same. I made another enemy of him, and of many others besides him.

After this I went to one man after another, being not unconscious of the enmity which I provoked, and I lamented and feared this: but necessity was laid upon me—the word of God, I thought, ought to be considered first. And I said to

myself, Go I must to all who appear to know, and find out the meaning of the oracle. And I swear to you, Athenians, by the dog I swear!—for I must tell you the truth—the result of my mission was just this: I found that the men most in repute were all but the most foolish; and that some inferior men were really wiser and better. I will tell you the tale of my wanderings and of the “Herculean” labors, as I may call them, which I endured only to find at last the oracle irrefutable. When I left the politicians, I went to the poets; tragic, dithyrambic, and all sorts. And there, I said to myself, you will be detected; now you will find out that you are more ignorant than they are. Accordingly, I took them some of the most elaborate passages in their own writings, and asked what was the meaning of them—thinking that they would teach me something. Will you believe me? I am almost ashamed to speak of this, but still I must say that there is hardly a person present who would not have talked better about their poetry than they did themselves. That showed me in an instant that not by wisdom do poets write poetry, but by a sort of genius and inspiration; they are like diviners or soothsayers who also say many fine things, but do not understand the meaning of them. And the poets appeared to me to be much in the same case; and I further observed that upon the strength of their poetry they believed themselves to be the wisest of men in other things in which they were not wise. So I departed, conceiving myself to be superior to them for the same reason that I was superior to the politicians.

At last I went to the artisans, for I was conscious that I knew nothing at all, as I may say, and I was sure that they knew many fine things; and in this I was not mistaken, for they did know many things of which I was ignorant, and in this they certainly were wiser than I was. But I observed that even the good artisans fell into the same error as the poets; because they were good workmen they thought that they also knew all sorts of high matters, and this defect in them overshadowed their wisdom—therefore I asked myself on behalf of the oracle, whether I would like to be as I was, neither having their knowledge nor their ignorance, or like them in both; and I made answer to myself and the oracle that I was better off as I was.

This investigation has led to my having many enemies of

the worst and most dangerous kind, and has given occasion also to many calumnies. And I am called wise, for my hearers always imagine that I myself possess the wisdom which I find wanting in others: but the truth is, O men of Athens, that God only is wise; and in this oracle he means to say that the wisdom of men is little or nothing; he is not speaking of Socrates, he is only using my name as an illustration, as if he said, He, O men, is the wisest, who, like Socrates, knows that his wisdom is in truth worth nothing. And so I go my way, obedient to the god, and make inquisition into the wisdom of anyone, whether citizen or stranger, who appears to be wise; and if he is not wise, then in vindication of the oracle I show him that he is not wise; and this occupation quite absorbs me, and I have no time to give either to any public matter of interest or to any concern of my own, but I am in utter poverty by reason of my devotion to the god.

There is another thing:—young men of the richer classes, who have not much to do, come about me of their own accord; they like to hear the pretenders examined, and they often imitate me, and examine others themselves; there are plenty of persons, as they soon enough discover, who think that they know something, but really know little or nothing: and then those who are examined by them instead of being angry with themselves are angry with me: This confounded Socrates, they say; this villainous misleader of youth!—and then if somebody asks them, Why, what evil does he practise or teach? they do not know, and cannot tell; but in order that they may not appear to be at a loss, they repeat the ready-made charges which are used against all philosophers about teaching things up in the clouds and under the earth, and having no gods, and making the worse appear the better cause; for they do not like to confess that their pretence of knowledge has been detected—which is the truth: and as they are numerous and ambitious and energetic, and are all in battle array and have persuasive tongues, they have filled your ears with their loud and inveterate calumnies. And this is the reason why my three accusers, Meletus and Anytus and Lycon, have set upon me: Meletus, who has a quarrel with me on behalf of the poets; Anytus, on behalf of the craftsmen; Lycon, on behalf of the rhetoricians: and as I said at the beginning, I cannot expect to get rid of this mass of calumny

all in a moment. And this, O men of Athens, is the truth and the whole truth; I have concealed nothing, I have dissembled nothing. And yet I know that this plainness of speech makes them hate me, and what is their hatred but a proof that I am speaking the truth?—this is the occasion and reason of their slander of me, as you will find out either in this or in any future inquiry.

I have said enough in my defence against the first class of my accusers; I turn to the second class, who are headed by Meletus, that good and patriotic man, as he calls himself. And now I will try to defend myself against them: these new accusers must also have their affidavit read. What do they say? Something of this sort: That Socrates is a doer of evil, and corrupter of the youth, and he does not believe in the gods of the State, and has other new divinities of his own. That is the sort of charge; and now let us examine the particular counts. He says that I am a doer of evil, who corrupt the youth; but I say, O men of Athens, that Meletus is a doer of evil, and the evil is that he makes a joke of a serious matter, and is too ready at bringing other men to trial from a pretended zeal and interest about matters in which he really never had the smallest interest. And the truth of this I will endeavor to prove.

Come hither, Meletus, and let me ask a question of you. You think a great deal about the improvement of youth?

Yes, I do.

Tell the judges, then, who is their improver; for you must know, as you have taken the pains to discover their corrupter, and are citing and accusing me before them. Speak, then, and tell the judges who their improver is. Observe, Meletus, that you are silent, and have nothing to say. But is not this rather disgraceful, and a very considerable proof of what I was saying, that you have no interest in the matter? Speak up, friend, and tell us who their improver is.

The laws.

But that, my good sir, is not my meaning. I want to know who the person is, who, in the first place, knows the laws.

The judges, Socrates, who are present in court.

What do you mean to say, Meletus, that they are able to instruct and improve youth?

Certainly they are.

What, all of them, or some only and not others?

All of them.

By the goddess Here, that is good news! There are plenty of improvers, then. And what do you say of the audience—do they improve them?

Yes, they do.

And the Senators?

Yes, the Senators improve them.

But perhaps the ecclesiasts corrupt them?—or do they too improve them?

They improve them.

Then every Athenian improves and elevates them; all with the exception of myself; and I alone am their corrupter? Is that what you affirm?

That is what I stoutly affirm.

I am very unfortunate if that is true. But suppose I ask you a question: Would you say that this also holds true in the case of horses? Does one man do them harm and all the world good? Is not the exact opposite of this true? One man is able to do them good, or at least not many; the trainer of horses, that is to say, does them good, and others who have to do with them rather injure them? Is not that true, Meletus, of horses, or any other animals? Yes, certainly. Whether you and Anytus say yes or no, that is no matter. Happy indeed would be the condition of youth if they had one corrupter only, and all the rest of the world were their improvers. And you, Meletus, have sufficiently shown that you never had a thought about the young: your carelessness is seen in your not caring about the matters spoken of in this very indictment.

And now, Meletus, I must ask you another question: Which is better, to live among bad citizens, or among good ones? Answer, friend, I say; for that is a question which may be easily answered. Do not the good do their neighbors good, and the bad do them evil?

Certainly.

And is there anyone who would rather be injured than benefited by those who live with him? Answer, my good friend; the law requires you to answer—does anyone like to be injured?

Certainly not.

And when you accuse me of corrupting and deteriorating the youth, do you allege that I corrupt them intentionally or unintentionally?

Intentionally, I say.

But you have just admitted that the good do their neighbors good, and the evil do them evil. Now is that a truth which your superior wisdom has recognized thus early in life, and am I, at my age, in such darkness and ignorance as not to know that if a man with whom I have to live is corrupted by me, I am very likely to be harmed by him, and yet I corrupt him, and intentionally, too? that is what you are saying, and of that you will never persuade me or any other human being. But either I do not corrupt them, or I corrupt them unintentionally, so that on either view of the case you lie. If my offense is unintentional, the law has no cognizance of unintentional offenses: you ought to have taken me privately, and warned and admonished me; for if I had been better advised, I should have left off doing what I only did unintentionally—no doubt I should; whereas you hated to converse with me or teach me, but you indicted me in this court, which is a place, not of instruction, but of punishment.

I have shown, Athenians, as I was saying, that Meletus has no care at all, great or small, about the matter. But still I should like to know, Meletus, in what I am affirmed to corrupt the young. I suppose you mean, as I infer from your indictment, that I teach them not to acknowledge the gods which the State acknowledges, but some other new divinities or spiritual agencies in their stead. These are the lessons which corrupt the youth, as you say.

Yes, that I say emphatically.

Then, by the gods, Meletus, of whom we are speaking, tell me and the court, in somewhat plainer terms, what you mean! for I do not as yet understand whether you affirm that I teach others to acknowledge some gods, and therefore do believe in gods and am not an entire atheist—this you do not lay to my charge; but only that they are not the same gods which the city recognizes—the charge is that they are different gods. Or, do you mean to say that I am an atheist simply, and a teacher of atheism?

I mean the latter—that you are a complete atheist.

That is an extraordinary statement, Meletus. Why do

you say that? Do you mean that I do not believe in the god-head of the sun or moon, which is the common creed of all men?

I assure you, judges, that he does not believe in them; for he says that the sun is stone, and the moon earth.

Friend Meletus, you think that you are accusing Anaxagoras: and you have but a bad opinion of the judges, if you fancy them ignorant to such a degree as not to know that those doctrines are found in the books of Anaxagoras the Clazomenian, who is full of them. And these are the doctrines which the youth are said to learn of Socrates, when there are not unfrequently exhibitions of them at the theatre\* (price of admission one drachma at the most); and they might cheaply purchase them, and laugh at Socrates if he pretends to father such eccentricities. And so, Meletus, you really think that I do not believe in any god?

I swear by Zeus that you believe absolutely in none at all.

You are a liar, Meletus, not believed even by yourself. For I cannot help thinking, O men of Athens, that Meletus is reckless and impudent, and that he has written this indictment in a spirit of mere wantonness and youthful bravado. Has he not compounded a riddle, thinking to try me? He said to himself: I shall see whether this wise Socrates will discover my ingenious contradiction, or whether I shall be able to deceive him and the rest of them. For he certainly does appear to me to contradict himself in the indictment as much as if he said that Socrates is guilty of not believing in the gods, and yet of believing in them—but this surely is a piece of fun.

I should like you, O men of Athens, to join me in examining what I conceive to be his inconsistency; and do you, Meletus, answer. And I must remind you that you are not to interrupt me if I speak in my accustomed manner.

Did ever man, Meletus, believe in the existence of human things, and not of human beings? . . . I wish, men of Athens, that he would answer, and not be always trying to get up an interruption. Did ever any man believe in horsemanship, and not in horses? or in flute-playing, and not in flute-players? No, my friend; I will answer to you and to

\* Probably in allusion to Aristophanes, who caricatured, and to Euripides, who borrowed, the notions of Anaxagoras, as well as to other dramatic poets.

the court, as you refuse to answer for yourself. There is no man who ever did. But now please to answer the next question: Can a man believe in spiritual and divine agencies, and not in spirits or demigods?

He cannot.

I am glad that I have extracted that answer, by the assistance of the court; nevertheless you swear in the indictment that I teach and believe in divine or spiritual agencies (new or old, no matter for that); at any rate, I believe in spiritual agencies, as you say and swear in the affidavit; but if I believe in divine beings, I must believe in spirits or demigods; is not that true? Yes, that is true, for I may assume that your silence gives assent to that. Now what are spirits or demigods? are they not either gods or the sons of gods? Is that true?

Yes, that is true.

But this is just the ingenious riddle of which I was speaking: the demigods or spirits are gods, and you say first that I don't believe in gods, and then again that I do believe in gods; that is, if I believe in demigods. For if the demigods are the illegitimate sons of gods, whether by the Nymphs or by any other mothers, as is thought, that, as all men will allow, necessarily implies the existence of their parents. You might as well affirm the existence of mules, and deny that of horses and asses. Such nonsense, Meletus, could only have been intended by you as a trial of me. You have put this into the indictment because you had nothing real of which to accuse me. But no one who has a particle of understanding will ever be convinced by you that the same man can believe in divine and superhuman things, and yet not believe that there are gods and demigods and heroes.

I have said enough in answer to the charge of Meletus: any elaborate defence is unnecessary; but as I was saying before, I certainly have many enemies, and this is what will be my destruction if I am destroyed; of that I am certain; not Meletus, nor yet Anytus, but the envy and detraction of the world, which has been the death of many good men, and will probably be the death of many more; there is no danger of my being the last of them.

Someone will say: And are you not ashamed, Socrates, of a course of life which is likely to bring you to an untimely end?

To him I may fairly answer: There you are mistaken: a man who is good for anything ought not to calculate the chance of living or dying; he ought only to consider whether in doing anything he is doing right or wrong—acting the part of a good man or of a bad. Whereas, according to your view, the heroes who fell at Troy were not good for much, and the son of Thetis above all, who altogether despised danger in comparison with disgrace; and when his goddess mother said to him, in his eagerness to slay Hector, that if he avenged his companion Patroclus, and slew Hector, he would die himself—"Fate," as she said, "waits upon you next after Hector"; he, hearing this, utterly despised danger and death, and instead of fearing them, feared rather to live in dishonor, and not to avenge his friend. "Let me die next," he replies, "and be avenged of my enemy, rather than abide here by the beaked ships, a scorn and a burden of the earth." Had Achilles any thought of death and danger? For wherever a man's place is, whether the place which he has chosen or that in which he has been placed by a commander, there he ought to remain in the hour of danger; he should not think of death or of anything, but of disgrace. And this, O men of Athens, is a true saying.

Strange, indeed, would be my conduct, O men of Athens, if I who, when I was ordered by the generals whom you chose to command me at Potidæa and Amphipolis and Delium, remained where they placed me, like any other man, facing death—if, I say, now, when, as I conceive and imagine, God orders me to fulfil the philosopher's mission of searching into myself and other men, I were to desert my post through fear of death, or any other fear; that would indeed be strange, and I might justly be arraigned in court for denying the existence of the gods, if I disobeyed the oracle because I was afraid of death: then I should be fancying that I was wise when I was not wise. For this fear of death is indeed the pretence of wisdom, and not real wisdom, being the appearance of knowing the unknown; since no one knows whether death, which they in their fear apprehend to be the greatest evil, may not be the greatest good. Is there not here conceit of knowledge, which is a disgraceful sort of ignorance? And this is the point in which, as I think, I am superior to men in general, and in which I might perhaps fancy myself wiser than other

men—that whereas I know but little of the world below, I do not suppose that I know: but I do know that injustice and disobedience to a better, whether God or man, is evil and dishonorable, and I will never fear or avoid a possible good rather than a certain evil. And therefore if you let me go now, and reject the counsels of Anytus, who said that if I were not put to death I ought not to have been prosecuted, and that if I escape now, your sons will all be utterly ruined by listening to my words—if you say to me, Socrates, this time we will not mind Anytus, and will let you off, but upon one condition, that you are not to inquire and speculate in this way any more, and that if you are caught doing this again you shall die—if this was the condition on which you let me go, I should reply: Men of Athens, I honor and love you; but I shall obey God rather than you, and while I have life and strength I shall never cease from the practice and teaching of philosophy, exhorting anyone whom I meet after my manner, and convincing him, saying: O my friend, why do you, who are a citizen of the great and mighty and wise city of Athens, care so much about laying up the greatest amount of money and honor and reputation, and so little about wisdom and truth and the greatest improvement of the soul; which you never regard or heed at all? Are you not ashamed of this? And if the person with whom I am arguing says: Yes, but I do care; I do not depart or let him go at once; I interrogate and examine and cross-examine him, and if I think that he has no virtue, but only says that he has, I reproach him with undervaluing the greater, and overvaluing the less. And this I should say to everyone whom I meet, young and old, citizen and alien, but especially to the citizens, inasmuch as they are my brethren. For this is the command of God, as I would have you know; and I believe that to this day no greater good has ever happened in the State than my service to the God. For I do nothing but go about persuading you all, old and young alike, not to take thought for your persons and your properties, but first and chiefly to care about the greatest improvement of the soul. I tell you that virtue is not given by money, but that from virtue come money and every other good of man, public as well as private. This is my teaching, and if this is the doctrine which corrupts the youth, my influence is ruinous indeed. But if

anyone says that this is not my teaching, he is speaking an untruth. Wherefore, O men of Athens, I say to you, do as Anytus bids or not as Anytus bids, and either acquit me or not; but whatever you do, know that I shall never alter my ways, not even if I have to die many times.

Men of Athens, do not interrupt, but hear me; there was an agreement between us that you should hear me out. And I think that what I am going to say will do you good: for I have something more to say, at which you may be inclined to cry out; but I beg that you will not do this. I would have you know that, if you kill such a one as I am, you will injure yourselves more than you will injure me. Meletus and Anytus will not injure me: they cannot; for it is not in the nature of things that a bad man should injure a better than himself. I do not deny that he may, perhaps, kill him, or drive him into exile, or deprive him of civil rights; and he may imagine, and others may imagine, that he is doing him a great injury: but in that I do not agree with him; for the evil of doing as Anytus is doing—of unjustly taking away another man's life—is greater far. And now, Athenians, I am not going to argue for my own sake, as you may think, but for yours, that you may not sin against the God, or lightly reject his boon by condemning me. For if you kill me you will not easily find another like me, who, if I may use such a ludicrous figure of speech, am a sort of gadfly, given to the State by the God; and the State is like a great and noble steed who is tardy in his motions owing to his very size, and requires to be stirred into life. I am that gadfly which God has given the State, and all day long and in all places am always fastening upon you, arousing and persuading and reproaching you. And as you will not easily find another like me, I would advise you to spare me. I dare say that you may feel irritated at being suddenly awakened when you are caught napping; and you may think that if you were to strike me dead, as Anytus advises, which you easily might, then you would sleep on for the remainder of your lives, unless God in his care of you gives you another gadfly. And that I am given to you by God is proved by this: that if I had been like other men, I should not have neglected all my own concerns, or patiently seen the neglect of them during all these years, and have been doing yours, coming to you individually,

like a father or elder brother, exhorting you to regard virtue; this, I say, would not be like human nature. And had I gained anything, or if my exhortations had been paid, there would have been some sense in that; but now, as you will perceive, not even the impudence of my accusers dares to say that I have ever exacted or sought pay of anyone; they have no witness of that. And I have a witness of the truth of what I say; my poverty is a sufficient witness.

Someone may wonder why I go about in private, giving advice and busying myself with the concerns of others, but do not venture to come forward in public and advise the State. I will tell you the reason of this. You have often heard me speak of an oracle or sign which comes to me, and is the divinity which Meletus ridicules in the indictment. This sign I have had ever since I was a child. The sign is a voice which comes to me and always forbids me to do something which I am going to do, but never commands me to do anything, and this is what stands in the way of my being a politician. And rightly, as I think. For I am certain, O men of Athens, that if I had engaged in politics, I should have perished long ago, and done no good either to you or to myself. And don't be offended at my telling you the truth: for the truth is that no man who goes to war with you or any other multitude, honestly struggling against the commission of unrighteousness and wrong in the State, will save his life; he who will really fight for the right, if he would live even for a little while, must have a private station and not a public one.

I can give you as proofs of this, not words only, but deeds, which you value more than words. Let me tell you a passage of my own life, which will prove to you that I should never have yielded to injustice from any fear of death, and that if I had not yielded I should have died at once. I will tell you a story—tasteless, perhaps, and commonplace, but nevertheless true. The only office of State which I ever held, O men of Athens, was that of Senator; the tribe Antiochis, which is my tribe, had the presidency at the trial of the generals who had not taken up the bodies of the slain after the battle of Arginusæ; and you proposed to try them all together, which was illegal, as you all thought afterwards; but at the time I was the only one of the Prytanes who was opposed to the illegality, and I gave my vote against you; and when the

orators threatened to impeach and arrest me, and have me taken away, and you called and shouted, I made up my mind that I would run the risk, having law and justice with me, rather than take part in your injustice because I feared imprisonment and death. This happened in the days of the democracy. But when the oligarchy of the Thirty was in power, they sent for me and four others into the rotunda, and bade us bring Leon the Salaminian from Salamis, as they wanted to execute him. This was a specimen of the sort of commands which they were always giving with the view of implicating as many as possible in their crimes; and then I showed, not in words only, but in deed, that, if I may be allowed to use such an expression, I cared not a straw for death, and that my only fear was the fear of doing an unrighteous or unholy thing. For the strong arm of that oppressive power did not frighten me into doing wrong; and when we came out of the rotunda the other four went to Salamis and fetched Leon, but I went quietly home. For which I might have lost my life, had not the power of the Thirty shortly afterwards come to an end. And to this many will witness.

Now do you really imagine that I could have survived all these years, if I had led a public life, supposing that like a good man I had always supported the right and had made justice, as I ought, the first thing? No, indeed, men of Athens, neither I nor any other. But I have been always the same in all my actions, public as well as private, and never have I yielded any base compliance to those who are slanderously termed my disciples, or to any other. For the truth is that I have no regular disciples: but if anyone likes to come and hear me while I am pursuing my mission, whether he be young or old, he may freely come. Nor do I converse with those who pay only, and not with those who do not pay; but anyone, whether he be rich or poor, may ask and answer me and listen to my words; and whether he turns out to be a bad man or a good one, that cannot be justly laid to my charge, as I never taught him anything. And if anyone says that he has ever learned or heard anything from me in private which all the world has not heard, I should like you to know that he is speaking an untruth.

But I shall be asked, Why do people delight in continually

conversing with you? I have told you already, Athenians, the whole truth about this: they like to hear the cross-examination of the pretenders to wisdom; there is amusement in this. And this is a duty which the God has imposed upon me, as I am assured by oracles, visions, and in every sort of way in which the will of divine power was ever signified to anyone. This is true, O Athenians; or, if not true, would be soon refuted. For if I am really corrupting the youth, and have corrupted some of them already, those of them who have grown up and have become sensible that I gave them bad advice in the days of their youth should come forward as accusers and take their revenge; and if they do not like to come themselves, some of their relatives, fathers, brothers, or other kinsmen, should say what evil their families suffered at my hands. Now is their time. Many of them I see in the court. There is Crito, who is of the same age and of the same *deme* with myself; and there is Critobulus his son, whom I also see. Then again there is Lysanias of Sphettus, who is the father of Æschines—he is present; and also there is Antiphon of Cephisus, who is the father of Epigenes; and there are the brothers of several who have associated with me. There is Nicostratus the son of Theosdotides, and the brother of Theodotus (now Theodotus himself is dead, and therefore he, at any rate, will not seek to stop him); and there is Paralus the son of Demodocus, who had a brother Theages; and Adeimantus the son of Ariston, whose brother Plato is present; and Æantodorus, who is the brother of Apollodorus, whom I also see. I might mention a great many others, any of whom Meletus should have produced as witnesses in the course of his speech; and let him still produce them, if he has forgotten; I will make way for him. And let him say, if he has any testimony of the sort which he can produce. Nay, Athenians, the very opposite is the truth. For all these are ready to witness on behalf of the corrupter, of the destroyer of their kindred, as Meletus and Anytus call me; not the corrupted youth only—there might have been a motive for that—but their uncorrupted elder relatives. Why should they too support me with their testimony? Why, indeed, except for the sake of truth and justice, and because they know that I am speaking the truth, and that Meletus is lying.

Well, Athenians, this and the like of this is nearly all the

defence which I have to offer. Yet a word more. Perhaps there may be someone who is offended at me, when he calls to mind how he himself, on a similar or even a less serious occasion, had recourse to prayers and supplications with many tears, and how he produced his children in court, which was a moving spectacle, together with a posse of his relations and friends; whereas I, who am probably in danger of my life, will do none of these things. Perhaps this may come into his mind, and he may be set against me, and vote in anger because he is displeased at this. Now if there be such a person among you, which I am far from affirming, I may fairly reply to him: My friend, I am a man, and like other men, a creature of flesh and blood, and not of wood or stone, as Homer says; and I have a family, yes, and sons, O Athenians, three in number, one of whom is growing up, and the two others are still young; and yet I will not bring any of them hither in order to petition you for an acquittal. And why not? Not from any self-will or disregard of you. Whether I am or am not afraid of death is another question, of which I will not now speak. But my reason simply is that I feel such conduct to be discreditable to myself, and you, and the whole State. One who has reached my years, and who has a name for wisdom, whether deserved or not, ought not to debase himself. At any rate, the world has decided that Socrates is in some way superior to other men. And if those among you who are said to be superior in wisdom and courage, and any other virtue, demean themselves in this way, how shameful is their conduct! I have seen men of reputation, when they have been condemned, behaving in the strangest manner: they seemed to fancy that they were going to suffer something dreadful if they died, and that they could be immortal if you only allowed them to live; and I think that they were a disonor to the State, and that any stranger coming in would say of them that the most eminent men of Athens, to whom the Athenians themselves give honor and command, are no better than women. And I say that these things ought not to be done by those of us who are of reputation; and if they are done, you ought not to permit them; you ought rather to show that you are more inclined to condemn, not the man who is quiet, but the man who gets up a doleful scene, and makes the city ridiculous.

But, setting aside the question of dishonor, there seems to be something wrong in petitioning a judge, and thus procuring an acquittal instead of informing and convincing him. For his duty is, not to make a present of justice, but to give judgment; and he has sworn that he will judge according to the laws, and not according to his own good pleasure; and neither he nor we should get into the habit of perjuring ourselves—there can be no piety in that. Do not then require me to do what I consider dishonorable and impious and wrong, especially now, when I am being tried for impiety on the indictment of Meletus. For if, O men of Athens, by force of persuasion and entreaty, I could overpower your oaths, then I should be teaching you to believe that there are no gods, and convict myself, in my own defence, of not believing in them. But that is not the case; for I do believe that there are gods, and in a far higher sense than that in which any of my accusers believe in them. And to you and to God I commit my cause, to be determined by you as is best for you and me.

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There are many reasons why I am not grieved, O men of Athens, at the vote of condemnation. I expected this, and am only surprised that the votes are so nearly equal; for I had thought that the majority against me would have been far larger; but now, had thirty votes gone over to the other side, I should have been acquitted. And I may say that I have escaped Meletus. And I may say more; for without the assistance of Anytus and Lycon, he would not have had a fifth part of the votes, as the law requires, in which case he would have incurred a fine of a thousand drachmæ, as is evident.

And so he proposes death as the penalty. And what shall I propose on my part, O men of Athens? Clearly that which is my due. And what is that which I ought to pay or to receive? What shall be done to the man who has never had the wit to be idle during his whole life; but has been careless of what the many care about—wealth and family interests, and military offices, and speaking in the assembly, and magistracies, and plots, and parties. Reflecting that I was really too honest a man to follow in this way and live, I did not go where I could do no good to you or to myself; but

where I could do the greatest good privately to everyone of you, thither I went, and sought to persuade every man among you that he must look to himself, and seek virtue and wisdom before he looks to his private interests, and look to the State before he looks to the interests of the State; and that this should be the order which he observes in all his actions. What shall be done to such a one? Doubtless some good thing, O men of Athens, if he has his reward; and the good should be of a kind suitable to him. What would be a reward suitable to a poor man who is your benefactor, who desires leisure that he may instruct you? There can be no more fitting reward than maintenance in the Prytaneum, O men of Athens, a reward which he deserves far more than the citizen who has won the prize at Olympia in the horse or chariot race, whether the chariots were drawn by two horses or by many. For I am in want, and he has enough; and he only gives you the appearance of happiness, and I give you the reality. And if I am to estimate the penalty justly, I say that maintenance in the Prytaneum is the just return.

Perhaps you may think that I am braving you in saying this, as in what I said before about the tears and prayers. But that is not the case. I speak rather because I am convinced that I never intentionally wronged anyone, although I cannot convince you of that—for we have had a short conversation only; but if there were a law at Athens, such as there is in other cities, that a capital cause should not be decided in one day, then I believe that I should have convinced you; but now the time is too short. I cannot in a moment refute great slanders; and, as I am convinced that I never wronged another, I will assuredly not wrong myself. I will not say of myself that I deserve any evil, or propose any penalty. Why should I? Because I am afraid of the penalty of death which Meletus proposes? When I do not know whether death is a good or an evil, why should I propose a penalty which would certainly be an evil? Shall I say imprisonment? And why should I live in prison, and be the slave of the magistrates of the year—of the Eleven? Or shall the penalty be a fine, and imprisonment until the fine is paid? There is the same objection. I should have to lie in prison, for money I have none, and cannot pay. And if I say exile (and this may possibly be the penalty which you will

affix), I must indeed be blinded by the love of life if I were to consider that when you, who are my own citizens, cannot endure my discourses and words, and have found them so grievous and odious that you would fain have done with them, others are likely to endure me. No, indeed, men of Athens, that is not very likely. And what a life should I lead, at my age, wandering from city to city, living in ever-changing exile, and always being driven out! For I am quite sure that into whatever place I go, as here so also there, the young men will come to me; and if I drive them away, their elders will drive me out at their desire: and if I let them come, their fathers and friends will drive me out for their sakes.

Someone will say: Yes, Socrates, but cannot you hold your tongue, and then you may go into a foreign city, and no one will interfere with you? Now I have great difficulty in making you understand my answer to this. For if I tell you that this would be a disobedience to a divine command, and therefore that I cannot hold my tongue, you will not believe that I am serious; and if I say again that the greatest good of man is daily to converse about virtue, and all that concerning which you hear me examining myself and others, and that the life which is unexamined is not worth living—that you are still less likely to believe. And yet what I say is true, although a thing of which it is hard for me to persuade you. Moreover, I am not accustomed to think that I deserve any punishment. Had I money I might have proposed to give you what I had, and have been none the worse. But you see that I have none, and can only ask you to proportion the fine to my means. However, I think that I could afford a mina, and therefore I propose that penalty: Plato, Crito, Critobulus, and Apollodorus, my friends here, bid me say thirty minæ, and they will be the sureties. Well, then, say thirty minæ, let that be the penalty; for that they will be ample security to you.

Not much time will be gained, O Athenians, in return for the evil name which you will get from the detractors of the city, who will say that you killed Socrates, a wise man; for they will call me wise even although I am not wise when they want to reproach you. If you had waited a little while, your desire would have been fulfilled in the course of nature. For I am far advanced in years, as you may perceive, and not far

from death. I am speaking now only to those of you who have condemned me to death. And I have another thing to say to them: You think that I was convicted through deficiency of words—I mean, that if I had thought fit to leave nothing undone, nothing unsaid, I might have gained an acquittal. Not so; the deficiency which led to my conviction was not of words—certainly not. But I had not the boldness or impudence or inclination to address you as you would have liked me to address you, weeping and wailing and lamenting, and saying and doing many things which you have been accustomed to hear from others, and which, as I say, are unworthy of me. But I thought that I ought not to do anything common or mean in the hour of danger: nor do I now repent of the manner of my defence, and I would rather die having spoken after my manner, than speak in your manner and live. For neither in war nor yet at law ought any man to use every way of escaping death. For often in battle there is no doubt that if a man will throw away his arms, and fall on his knees before his pursuers, he may escape death; and in other dangers there are other ways of escaping death, if a man is willing to say and do anything. The difficulty, my friends, is not in avoiding death, but in avoiding unrighteousness; for that runs faster than death. I am old and move slowly, and the slower runner has overtaken me, and my accusers are keen and quick, and the faster runner, who is unrighteousness, has overtaken them. And now I depart hence condemned by you to suffer the penalty of death, and they, too, go their ways condemned by the truth to suffer the penalty of villany and wrong; and I must abide by my award—let them abide by theirs. I suppose that these things may be regarded as fated—and I think that they are well.

And now, O men who have condemned me, I would fain prophesy to you; for I am about to die, and that is the hour in which men are gifted with prophetic power. And I prophesy to you who are my murderers, that immediately after my death punishment far heavier than you have inflicted on me will surely await you. Me you have killed because you wanted to escape the accuser, and not to give an account of your lives. But that will not be as you suppose: far otherwise. For I say that there will be more accusers of you than there are now; accusers whom hitherto I have restrained: and as

they are younger they will be more severe with you, and you will be more offended at them. For if you think that by killing men you can avoid the accuser censuring your lives, you are mistaken; that is not a way of escape which is either possible or honorable; the easiest and the noblest way is not to be crushing others, but to be improving yourselves. This is the prophecy which I utter before my departure, to the judges who have condemned me.

Friends, who would have acquitted me, I would like also to talk with you about this thing which has happened, while the magistrates are busy, and before I go to the place at which I must die. Stay then awhile, for we may as well talk with one another while there is time. You are my friends, and I should like to show you the meaning of this event which has happened to me. O my judges—for you I may truly call judges—I should like to tell you of a wonderful circumstance. Hitherto the familiar oracle within me has constantly been in the habit of opposing me even about trifles, if I was going to make a slip or error about anything; and now as you see there has come upon me that which may be thought, and is generally believed to be, the last and worst evil. But the oracle made no sign of opposition, either as I was leaving my house and going out in the morning, or when I was going up into this court, or while I was speaking, at anything which I was going to say; and yet I have often been stopped in the middle of a speech; but now in nothing I either said or did touching this matter has the oracle opposed me. What do I take to be the explanation of this? I will tell you. I regard this as a proof that what has happened to me is a good, and that those of us who think that death is an evil are in error. This is a great proof to me of what I am saying, for the customary sign would surely have opposed me had I been going to evil and not to good.

Let us reflect in another way, and we shall see that there is great reason to hope that death is a good, for one of two things: either death is a state of nothingness and utter unconsciousness, or, as men say, there is a change and migration of the soul from this world to another. Now if you suppose that there is no consciousness, but a sleep like the sleep of him who is undisturbed even by the sight of dreams, death will be an unspeakable gain. For if a person were to select

the night in which his sleep was undisturbed even by dreams, and were to compare with this the other days and nights of his life, and then were to tell us how many days and nights he had passed in the course of his life better and more pleasantly than this one, I think that any man, I will not say a private man, but even the great king, will not find many such days or nights, when compared with the others. Now if death is like this, I say that to die is gain; for eternity is then only a single night. But if death is the journey to another place, and there, as men say, all the dead are, what good, O my friends and judges, can be greater than this? If indeed when the pilgrim arrives in the world below, he is delivered from the professors of justice in this world, and finds the true judges who are said to give judgment there, Minos and Rhadamanthus and Æacus and Triptolemus, and other sons of God who were righteous in their own life, that pilgrimage will be worth making. What would not a man give if he might converse with Orpheus and Musæus and Hesiod and Homer? Nay, if this be true, let me die again and again. I, too, shall have a wonderful interest in a place where I can converse with Palamedes, and Ajax the son of Telamon, and other heroes of old, who have suffered death through an unjust judgment; and there will be no small pleasure, as I think, in comparing my own sufferings with theirs. Above all, I shall be able to continue my search into true and false knowledge; as in this world, so also in that; I shall find out who is wise, and who pretends to be wise, and is not. What would not a man give, O judges, to be able to examine the leader of the great Trojan expedition; or Odysseus or Sisyphus, or numberless others, men and women too! What infinite delight would there be in conversing with them and asking them questions! For in that world they do not put a man to death for this; certainly not. For besides being happier in that world than in this, they will be immortal, if what is said is true.

Wherefore, O judges, be of good cheer about death, and know this of a truth—that no evil can happen to a good man, either in life or after death. He and his are not neglected by the gods; nor has my own approaching end happened by mere chance. But I see clearly that to die and be released was better for me; and therefore the oracle gave no sign.

For which reason, also, I am not angry with my accusers, or my condemners; they have done me no harm, although neither of them meant to do me any good; and for this I may gently blame them.

Still I have a favor to ask of them. When my sons are grown up, I would ask you, O my friends, to punish them; and I would have you trouble them, as I have troubled you, if they seem to care about riches, or anything, more than about virtue; or if they pretend to be something when they are really nothing—then reprove them, as I have reproved you, for not caring about that for which they ought to care, and thinking that they are something when they are really nothing. And if you do this, I and my sons will have received justice at your hands.

The hour of departure has arrived, and we go our ways—I to die, and you to live. Which is better God only knows.

772 *The use of hypotheses in either division*

*Republic  
VI*

Socrates,  
Glaucon.

The hy-  
potheses  
of mathe-  
matics.

In both  
spheres  
hy-  
potheses  
are  
used, in  
the lower  
taking  
the form of  
images,  
but in the  
higher

[511]  
the soul  
ascends  
above  
hy-  
potheses to  
the idea  
of good.

Dialectic  
by the  
help of  
hy-  
potheses  
rises  
above hy-  
potheses.

soul passes out of hypotheses, and goes up to a principle which is above hypotheses, making no use of images<sup>1</sup> as in the former case, but proceeding only in and through the ideas themselves.

I do not quite understand your meaning, he said.

Then I will try again; you will understand me better when I have made some preliminary remarks. You are aware that students of geometry, arithmetic, and the kindred sciences assume the odd and the even and the figures and three kinds of angles and the like in their several branches of science; these are their hypotheses, which they and every body are supposed to know, and therefore they do not deign to give any account of them either to themselves or others; but they begin with them, and go on until they arrive at last, and in a consistent manner, at their conclusion?

Yes, he said, I know.

And do you not know also that although they make use of the visible forms and reason about them, they are thinking not of these, but of the ideals which they resemble; not of the figures which they draw, but of the absolute square and the absolute diameter, and so on—the forms which they draw or make, and which have shadows and reflections in water of their own, are converted by them into images, but they are really seeking to behold the things themselves, which can only be seen with the eye of the mind?

That is true.

And of this kind I spoke as the intelligible, although in the search after it the soul is compelled to use hypotheses; not ascending to a first principle, because she is unable to rise above the region of hypothesis, but employing the objects of which the shadows below are resemblances in their turn as images, they having in relation to the shadows and reflections of them a greater distinctness, and therefore a higher value.

I understand, he said, that you are speaking of the province of geometry and the sister arts.

And when I speak of the other division of the intelligible, you will understand me to speak of that other sort of knowledge which reason herself attains by the power of dialectic, using the hypotheses not as first principles, but only as hypotheses—that is to say, as steps and points of departure into a world which is above hypotheses, in order that she may soar beyond them to the first principle of the whole; and clinging to this and then to that which depends on this, by successive steps she descends again without the aid of any sensible object, from ideas, through ideas, and in ideas she ends.

<sup>1</sup> Reading ὅπτερ ἐκεῖνο εἰκόνων.

773 *The four faculties*

*Republic  
VI*

Socrates,  
Glaucon.

Return to  
psychol-  
ogy.

Four fa-  
culties:  
Reason,  
under-  
standing,  
faith,  
percep-  
tion of  
shadows.

I understand you, he replied; not perfectly, for you seem to me to be describing a task which is really tremendous; but, at any rate, I understand you to say that knowledge and being, which the science of dialectic contemplates, are clearer than the notions of the arts, as they are termed, which proceed from hypotheses only: these are also contemplated by the understanding, and not by the senses: yet, because they start from hypotheses and do not ascend to a principle, those who contemplate them appear to you not to exercise the higher reason upon them, although when a first principle is added to them they are cognizable by the higher reason. And the habit which is concerned with geometry and the cognate sciences I suppose that you would term understanding and not reason, as being intermediate between opinion and reason.

You have quite conceived my meaning, I said; and now, corresponding to these four divisions, let there be four faculties in the soul—reason answering to the highest, understanding to the second, faith (or conviction) to the third, and perception of shadows to the last—and let there be a scale of them, and let us suppose that the several faculties have clearness in the same degree that their objects have truth.

I understand, he replied, and give my assent, and accept your arrangement.

Book VII of Plato's Republic, "The Cave Allegory"

Pick up here.

## BOOK VII

Steph.  
514  
Socrates,  
Glaucon.

The den,  
the pris-  
oners:  
the light  
at a dis-  
tance;

AND now, I said, let me show in a figure how far our nature is enlightened or unenlightened:—Behold! human beings living in an underground den, which has a mouth open towards the light and reaching all along the den; here they have been from their childhood, and have their legs and necks chained so that they cannot move, and can only see before them, being prevented by the chains from turning round their heads. Above and behind them a fire is blazing at a distance, and between the fire and the prisoners there is a raised way; and you will see, if you look, a low wall built along the way, like the screen which marionette players have in front of them, over which they show the puppets.

I see.

And do you see, I said, men passing along the wall carrying all sorts of vessels, and statues and figures of animals made of wood

515

The low wall, and the moving figures of which the shadows are seen on the opposite wall of the den.

The prisoners would mistake the shadows for realities.

And when released, they would still persist in maintaining the superior truth of the shadows.

and stone and various materials, which appear over the wall? Some of them are talking, others silent.

You have shown me a strange image, and they are strange prisoners.

Like ourselves, I replied; and they see only their own shadows, or the shadows of one another, which the fire throws on the opposite wall of the cave?

True, he said; how could they see anything but the shadows if they were never allowed to move their heads?

And of the objects which are being carried in like manner they would only see the shadows?

Yes, he said.

And if they were able to converse with one another, would they not suppose that they were naming what was actually before them<sup>1</sup>?

Very true.

And suppose further that the prison had an echo which came from the other side, would they not be sure to fancy when one of the passers-by spoke that the voice which they heard came from the passing shadow?

No question, he replied.

To them, I said, the truth would be literally nothing but the shadows of the images.

That is certain.

And now look again, and see what will naturally follow if the prisoners are released and disabused of their error. At first, when any of them is liberated and compelled suddenly to stand up and turn his neck round and walk and look towards the light, he will suffer sharp pains; the glare will distress him, and he will be unable to see the realities of which in his former state he had seen the shadows; and then conceive some one saying to him, that what he saw before was an illusion, but that now, when he is approaching nearer to being and his eye is turned towards more real existence, he has a clearer vision,—what will be his reply? And you may further imagine that his instructor is pointing to the objects as they pass and requiring him to name them,—will he not be perplexed? Will he not fancy that the shadows which he formerly saw are truer than the objects which are now shown to him?

Far truer.

And if he is compelled to look straight at the light, will he not have a pain in his eyes which will make him turn away to take

<sup>1</sup> Reading *παρόντα*.

refuge in the objects of vision which he can see, and which he will conceive to be in reality clearer than the things which are now being shown to him?

True, he said.

And suppose once more, that he is reluctantly dragged up a steep and rugged ascent, and held fast until he is forced into the presence of the sun himself, is he not likely to be pained and irritated? When he approaches the light his eyes will be dazzled, and he will not be able to see anything at all of what are now called realities.

Not all in a moment, he said.

He will require to grow accustomed to the sight of the upper world. And first he will see the shadows best, next the reflections of men and other objects in the water, and then the objects themselves; then he will gaze upon the light of the moon and the stars and the spangled heaven; and he will see the sky and the stars by night better than the sun or the light of the sun by day?

Certainly.

Last of all he will be able to see the sun, and not mere reflections of him in the water, but he will see him in his own proper place, and not in another; and he will contemplate him as he is.

Certainly.

He will then proceed to argue that this is he who gives the season and the years, and is the guardian of all that is in the visible world, and in a certain way the cause of all things which he and his fellows have been accustomed to behold?

Clearly, he said, he would first see the sun and then reason about him.

And when he remembered his old habitation, and the wisdom of the den and his fellow-prisoners, do you not suppose that he would felicitate himself on the change, and pity them?

Certainly, he would.

And if they were in the habit of conferring honours among themselves on those who were quickest to observe the passing shadows and to remark which of them went before, and which followed after, and which were together; and who were therefore best able to draw conclusions as to the future, do you think that he would care for such honours and glories, or envy the possessors of them? Would he not say with Homer,

‘Better to be the poor servant of a poor master,’  
and to endure anything, rather than think as they do and live after their manner?

Yes, he said, I think that he would rather suffer anything than

When dragged upwards, [516] they would be dazzled by excess of light.

At length they will see the sun and understand his nature.

They would then pity their old companions of the den,

Republic

VII

SOCRATES,  
GLAUCON.

776

*The interpretation of the parable*

entertain these false notions and live in this miserable manner.

Imagine once more, I said, such an one coming suddenly out of the sun to be replaced in his old situation; would he not be certain to have his eyes full of darkness?

To be sure, he said.

And if there were a contest, and he had to compete in measuring the shadows with the prisoners who had never moved out of the den, while his sight was still weak, and before his eyes had become steady (and the time which would be needed to acquire this new habit of sight might be very considerable), would he not be ridiculous? Men would say of him that up he went and down he came without his eyes; and that it was better not even to think of ascending; and if any one tried to loose another and lead him up to the light, let them only catch the offender, and they would put him to death.

No question, he said.

This entire allegory, I said, you may now append, dear Glaucon, to the previous argument; the prison-house is the world of sight, the light of the fire is the sun, and you will not misapprehend me if you interpret the journey upwards to be the ascent of the soul into the intellectual world according to my poor belief, which, at your desire, I have expressed—whether rightly or wrongly God knows. But, whether true or false, my opinion is that in the world of knowledge the idea of good appears last of all, and is seen only with an effort; and, when seen, is also inferred to be the universal author of all things beautiful and right, parent of light and of the lord of light in this visible world, and the immediate source of reason and truth in the intellectual; and that this is the power upon which he who would act rationally either in public or private life must have his eye fixed.

I agree, he said, as far as I am able to understand you.

Moreover, I said, you must not wonder that those who attain to this beatific vision are unwilling to descend to human affairs; for their souls are ever hastening into the upper world where they desire to dwell; which desire of theirs is very natural, if our allegory may be trusted.

Yes, very natural.

And is there anything surprising in one who passes from divine contemplations to the evil state of man, misbehaving himself in a ridiculous manner; if, while his eyes are blinking and before he has become accustomed to the surrounding darkness, he is compelled to fight in courts of law, or in other places, about the images or the shadows of images of justice, and is endeavouring to meet

517  
But when they returned to the den they would see much worse than those who had never left it.

The prison is the world of sight, the light of the fire is the sun.

Nothing extraordinary in the philosopher being unable to

*'The light of the body is the eye'*

777

the conceptions of those who have never yet seen absolute justice?

Anything but surprising, he replied.

Any one who has common sense will remember that the bewilderments of the eyes are of two kinds, and arise from two causes, either from coming out of the light or from going into the light, which is true of the mind's eye, quite as much as of the bodily eye; and he who remembers this when he sees any one whose vision is perplexed and weak, will not be too ready to laugh; he will first ask whether that soul of man has come out of the brighter life, and is unable to see because unaccustomed to the dark, or having turned from darkness to the day is dazzled by excess of light. And he will count the one happy in his condition and state of being, and he will pity the other; or, if he have a mind to laugh at the soul which comes from below into the light, there will be more reason in this than in the laugh which greets him who returns from above out of the light into the den.

That, he said, is a very just distinction.

But then, if I am right, certain professors of education must be wrong when they say that they can put a knowledge into the soul which was not there before, like sight into blind eyes.

They undoubtedly say this, he replied.

Whereas, our argument shows that the power and capacity of learning exists in the soul already; and that just as the eye was unable to turn from darkness to light without the whole body, so too the instrument of knowledge can only by the movement of the whole soul be turned from the world of becoming into that of being, and learn by degrees to endure the sight of being, and of the brightest and best of being, or in other words, of the good.

Very true.

And must there not be some art which will effect conversion in the easiest and quickest manner; not implanting the faculty of sight, for that exists already, but has been turned in the wrong direction, and is looking away from the truth?

Yes, he said, such an art may be presumed.

And whereas the other so-called virtues of the soul seem to be akin to bodily qualities, for even when they are not originally innate they can be implanted later by habit and exercise, the virtue of wisdom more than anything else contains a divine element which always remains, and by this conversion is rendered useful and profitable; or, on the other hand, hurtful and useless. Did you never observe the narrow intelligence flashing from the keen eye of a clever rogue—how eager he is, how clearly his paltry soul sees the way to his end; he is the reverse of blind, but his keen

Republic  
VII

518  
SOCRATES,  
GLAUCON.  
see in the  
dark.

The eyes  
may be  
blinded in  
two ways,  
by excess  
or by de-  
flect of  
light.

The con-  
version  
of the  
soul is  
the turn-  
ing round  
the eye  
from  
darkness  
to light.

END HERE.

The vir-  
tue of  
wisdom  
has a di-  
vine  
power  
which  
[519]  
may be  
turned  
either  
towards

# THE AGE OF ALEXANDER

NINE GREEK LIVES BY  
PLUTARCH

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AGESILAUS · PELOPIDAS

DION · TIMOLEON

DEMOSTHENES

PHOCION · ALEXANDER

DEMETRIUS · PYRRHUS

---

TRANSLATED AND ANNOTATED BY

Ian Scott-Kilvert

INTRODUCTION BY

G. T. Griffith

SB08. Plutarch, *The Life of Alexander the Great*

Plutarch (46-120CE) is one of the most important authors of the period when the Roman was reaching the height of its power. He wrote history, biography and a myriad of essays on various subjects, and is a testament to the fusion of Greek and Roman culture among the Greco-Roman elite. This selection is taken from his biography of Alexander the Great, part of a whole series of "Lives" of famous men he composed, showing the popularity of biography in this era. Although written centuries after the events it describes, it is based upon earlier histories and documentary sources.

1973

PENGUIN BOOKS

## 7

ALEXANDER<sup>1</sup>

[356-23 B.C.]

\* \* \*

Start Here

My subject in this book is the life of Alexander, the king, and of Julius Caesar, the conqueror of Pompey.<sup>2</sup> The careers of these men embrace such a multitude of events that my preamble shall consist of nothing more than this one plea: if I do not record all their most celebrated achievements or describe any of them exhaustively, but merely summarize for the most part what they accomplished, I ask my readers not to regard this as a fault. For I am writing biography, not history, and the truth is that the most brilliant exploits often tell us nothing of the virtues or vices of the men who performed them, while on the other hand a chance remark or a joke may reveal far more of a man's character than the mere feat of winning battles in which thousands fall, or of marshalling great armies, or laying siege to cities. When a portrait painter sets out to create a likeness, he relies above all upon the face and the expression of the eyes and pays less attention to the other parts of the body: in the same way it is my task to dwell upon those actions which illuminate the workings of the soul, and by this means to create a portrait of each man's life. I leave the story of his greatest struggles and achievements to be told by others.

2. On his father's side Alexander was descended from Hercules through Caranus,<sup>3</sup> and on his mother's from Aeacus<sup>4</sup> through Neoptolemus:

1. For places mentioned in this *Life*, see Maps 1, 2 and 4, pp. 433-4, 437.

2. See Introduction, pp. 9-10.

3. Reputedly the founder in the ninth century B.C. of the dynasty to which Alexander belonged. Even in Alexander's day Macedonia still kept some of the characteristics of a Homeric kingdom.

4. The legendary king of Aegina and grandfather of Achilles.

so much is accepted by all authorities without question. It is said that his father Philip fell in love with Olympias, Alexander's mother, at the time when they were both initiated into the mysteries at Samothrace.<sup>1</sup> He was then a young man and she an orphan, and after obtaining the consent of her brother Arybbas, Philip betrothed himself to her. On the night before the marriage was consummated, the bride dreamed that there was a crash of thunder, that her womb was struck by a thunderbolt, and that there followed a blinding flash from which a great sheet of flame blazed up and spread far and wide before it finally died away. Then, some time after their marriage, Philip saw himself in a dream in the act of sealing up his wife's womb, and upon the seal he had used there was engraved, so it seemed to him, the figure of a lion. The soothsayers treated this dream with suspicion, since it seemed to suggest that Philip needed to keep a closer watch on his wife. The only exception was Aristander of Telmessus,<sup>2</sup> who declared that the woman must be pregnant, since men do not seal up what is empty, and that she would bring forth a son whose nature would be bold and lion-like. At another time a serpent was seen stretched out at Olympias' side as she slept, and it was this more than anything else, we are told, which weakened Philip's passion and cooled his affection for her, so that from that time on he seldom came to sleep with her. The reason for this may either have been that he was afraid she would cast some evil spell or charm upon him or else that he recoiled from her embrace because he believed that she was the consort of some higher being.

However there is another version of this story. It appears that from very ancient times all the women of this region have been initiates of the Orphic religion and of the orgiastic rites of Dionysus. For this reason they were known as Kladones and Mimallones<sup>3</sup> and they followed many of the observances of the Edonian and Thracian women who live around Mount Haemus, from whom the word *threskeuein*<sup>4</sup>

1. Between 365 and 361 B.C. when Philip was between seventeen and twenty-one. The mysteries at Samothrace concerned the Cabeiri, earth-gods who promoted fertility and also protected sailors. Although so young, Philip had already been married twice, but still had no son. His first wife died in childbirth in 357, his second a few months later, and he married Olympias in the autumn of the same year.

2. He later accompanied Alexander to Asia as a diviner: see chs. 31 & 33.

3. Macedonian names for Bacchantes.

4. Plutarch derives this word from *Thressai* (Thracian women).

has come to denote the celebration of extravagant and superstitious ceremonies. It was Olympias' habit to enter into these states of possession and surrender herself to the inspiration of the god with even wilder abandon than the others, and she would introduce into the festal procession numbers of large snakes, hand-tamed, which terrified the male spectators as they raised their heads from the wreaths of ivy and the sacred winnowing-baskets, or twined themselves around the wands and garlands of the women.

Stop.  
Go to

no. 11 3. At any rate after Philip had seen this apparition, he dispatched Chaeron of Megalopolis to Delphi to consult the oracle of Apollo. In reply the god commanded him to sacrifice to Zeus Ammon and to revere him above all other deities; but he also warned Philip that he was fated to lose the eye with which he had peered through the chink of the half-open door on the night when he saw the god in the form of a serpent sharing his wife's bed. According to Eratosthenes, Olympias, when she sent Alexander on his way to lead his great expedition to the East, confided to him and to him alone the secret of his conception and urged him to show himself worthy of his divine parentage. But other authors maintain that she repudiated this story and used to say, 'Will Alexander never stop making Hera jealous of me?'

However this may be, Alexander was born on the sixth day of the month Hecatombaion, which the Macedonians call Loüs, the same day on which the temple of Artemis at Ephesus was burned down.<sup>1</sup> It was this coincidence which inspired Hegesias of Magnesia to utter a joke which was flat enough to have put the fire out: he said it was no wonder the temple of Artemis was destroyed, since the goddess was busy attending to the birth of Alexander.<sup>2</sup> But those of the Magi who were then at Ephesus interpreted the destruction of the temple as the portent of a far greater disaster, and they ran through the city beating their faces and crying out that that day had brought forth a great scourge and calamity for Asia.

1. The year was 356 B.C. and the date about 20 July. The exact date is controversial and it seems likely that it was manipulated by historians for the sake of a striking coincidence.

2. The temple of Artemis at Ephesus was one of the wonders of the ancient world, 425 feet in length and supported by columns 60 feet high. Artemis was the goddess not only of hunting but also of childbirth.

At that moment Philip had just captured the city of Potidaea, and he received three messages on the same day. The first was that his general Parmenio had overcome the Illyrians in a great battle, the second that his race-horse had won a victory in the Olympic games, and the third that Alexander had been born. Naturally he was overjoyed at the news, and the soothsayers raised his spirits still higher by assuring him that the son whose birth coincided with three victories would himself prove invincible.

4. The best likeness of Alexander which has been preserved for us is to be found in the statues sculpted by Lysippus, the only artist whom Alexander considered worthy to represent him. Alexander possessed a number of individual features which many of Lysippus' followers later tried to reproduce, for example the poise of the neck which was tilted slightly to the left, or a certain melting look in his eyes, and the artist has exactly caught these peculiarities. On the other hand when Apelles painted Alexander wielding a thunderbolt, he did not reproduce his colouring at all accurately. He made Alexander's complexion appear too dark-skinned and swarthy, whereas we are told that he was fair-skinned, with a ruddy tinge that showed itself especially upon his face and chest. Aristoxenus also tells us in his memoirs that Alexander's skin was fresh and sweet-smelling, and that his breath and the whole of his body gave off a peculiar fragrance<sup>1</sup> which permeated the clothes he wore.

The cause of this may have been the blend of hot and dry elements which were combined in his constitution, for fragrance, if we are to believe Theophrastus,<sup>2</sup> is generated by the action of heat upon moist humours. This is why the hottest and driest regions of the earth produce the finest and most numerous spices, for the sun draws up the moisture which abounds in vegetable bodies and causes them to decay. In Alexander's case it was this same warmth of temperament which made him fond of drinking, and also prone to outbursts of choleric rage.

Even while he was still a boy, he gave plenty of evidence of his powers of self-control. In spite of his vehement and impulsive nature, he showed little interest in the pleasures of the senses and indulged

1. This fragrance was also regarded as a sign of his superhuman nature.

2. A pupil of Aristotle and the author of two treatises on botany: best known for his *Characters* (sketches of contemporary social types).

were at harmony with one another. Demaratus retorted, 'It is all very well for you to show so much concern for the affairs of Greece, Philip. How about the disharmony you have brought about in your own household?' This reply sobered Philip to such an extent that he sent for Alexander, and with Demaratus' help persuaded him to return.<sup>1</sup>

10. In the following year Pixodarus, the satrap of Caria, tried to form a family union with Philip, hoping by this means to insinuate himself into a military alliance. His plan was to offer the hand of his eldest daughter to Philip's son Arrhidaeus,<sup>2</sup> and he sent Aristocritus to Macedonia to try to negotiate the match. Alexander's mother and his friends sent him a distorted account of this manoeuvre, making out that Philip was planning to settle the kingdom upon Arrhidaeus by arranging a brilliant marriage and treating him as a person of great consequence. Alexander was disturbed by these stories and sent Thessalus, the tragic actor, to Caria to tell Pixodarus that he should pay no attention to Arrhidaeus, who was not only an illegitimate son of Philip's but was weak-minded as well: instead, he should offer his daughter's hand to Alexander.

Pixodarus was far more pleased with this suggestion than with his original proposal. When Philip discovered this, he went to Alexander's room, taking with him Philotas the son of Parmenio, one of the prince's companions. There he scolded his son and angrily reproached him for behaving so ignobly and so unworthily of his position as to wish to marry the daughter of a mere Carian, who was no more than the slave of a barbarian king.<sup>3</sup> As for Thessalus, he wrote to the Corinthians ordering them to send him to Macedonia in chains, and at the same time he banished four of Alexander's friends, Harpalus, Nearchus, Erygius and Ptolemy. Later Alexander recalled all of these men and raised them to the highest honours.

Not long afterwards a Macedonian named Pausanias assassinated

1. Late in 337 B.C.

2. An illegitimate son of Philip's by Philinna of Larissa. He later succeeded Alexander, see ch. 77 and Appendix. The fact that Alexander could believe the story suggests how precarious he thought his position had become. Cleopatra had already given birth to a girl early in 336 and was again pregnant by the summer.

3. It also seems probable that such a match would have been embarrassing to Philip in view of his plans to invade Persia.

the king: he did this because he had been humiliated by Attalus and Cleopatra and could get no redress from Philip.<sup>1</sup> It was Olympias who was chiefly blamed for the assassination, because she was believed to have encouraged the young man and incited him to take his revenge. It was said that when Pausanias met the young prince and complained to him of the injustice he had suffered, Alexander quoted the verse from Euripides' *Medea*, in which Medea is said to threaten

The father, bride and bridegroom all at once<sup>2</sup>

However this may be, he took care to track down and punish those who were involved in the plot, and he showed his anger against Olympias for the horrible revenge which she took upon Cleopatra during his absence.<sup>3</sup>

Pick up  
Here.

11. Alexander was only twenty years old when he inherited his kingdom, which at that moment was beset by formidable jealousies and feuds, and external dangers on every side. The neighbouring barbarian tribes were eager to throw off the Macedonian yoke and longed for the rule of their native kings: as for the Greek states, although Philip had defeated them in battle, he had not had time to subdue them or accustom them to his authority. He had swept away the existing governments, and then, having prepared their peoples for drastic changes, had left them in turmoil and confusion, because he had created a situation which was completely unfamiliar to them. Alexander's Macedonian advisers feared that a crisis was at hand and urged the young king to leave the Greek states to their own devices and refrain from using any force against them. As for the barbarian tribes, they considered that he should try to win them back to their allegiance by using milder methods, and forestall the first signs of revolt by offering them concessions. Alexander, however, chose precisely the opposite course, and decided that the only way to make

1. Pausanias had been outraged by Attalus some eight years before.

2. The allusion is to Medea's wish to murder Creon, Creusa and Jason, who in the context are identified with Attalus, Cleopatra and Philip. The murder took place on the day of the wedding of Philip's daughter Cleopatra to Alexander of Epirus in June, 336.

3. According to Pausanias viii, 7, Olympias had Cleopatra (that is, Philip's widow) and her infant son roasted over a brazier. Attalus was executed by Alexander for allegedly treasonable correspondence with Athens. Other accounts suggest that the assassination was organized by Persian initiative.

his kingdom safe was to act with audacity and a lofty spirit, for he was certain that if he were seen to yield even a fraction of his authority, all his enemies would attack him at once. He swiftly crushed the uprisings among the barbarians by advancing with his army as far as the Danube, where he overcame Syrmus, the king of the Triballi, in a great battle. Then when the news reached him that the Thebans had revolted and were being supported by the Athenians, he immediately marched south through the pass of Thermopylae. 'Demos-thenes', he said, 'called me a boy while I was in Illyria and among the Triballi, and a youth when I was marching through Thessaly; I will show him I am a man by the time I reach the walls of Athens.'

When he arrived before Thebes,<sup>1</sup> he wished to give the citizens the opportunity to repent of their actions, and so he merely demanded the surrender of their leaders Phoenix and Prothytes, and offered an amnesty to all the rest if they would come over to his side. The Thebans countered by demanding the surrender of Philotas and Antipater and appealing to all who wished to liberate Greece to range themselves on their side, and at this Alexander ordered his troops to prepare for battle. The Thebans, although greatly outnumbered, fought with a superhuman courage and spirit, but when the Macedonian garrison which had been posted in the citadel of the Cadmeia made a sortie and fell upon them from the rear, the greater part of their army was encircled, they were slaughtered where they stood, and the city was stormed, plundered and razed to the ground. Alexander's principal object in permitting the sack of Thebes was to frighten the rest of the Greeks into submission by making a terrible example. But he also put forward the excuse that he was redressing the wrongs done to his allies, for the Plataeans and Phocians had both complained of the actions of the Thebans against them. As for the population of Thebes, he singled out the priests, a few citizens who had friendly connections with Macedonia, the descendants of the poet Pindar, and those who had opposed the revolt to be spared: all the rest were publicly sold into slavery to the number of twenty thousand. Those who were killed in the battle numbered more than six thousand.

Stop.  
Go to  
no. 14

on p. 266. 12. Among the many outrages and acts of violence which accompanied the sacking of the city, some Thracian troops broke into the

i. September 335 B.C.

house of Timocleia, a woman of noble birth and character. While the soldiers were plundering her property, their leader raped her and then demanded whether she had any gold or silver hidden. She told him that she had, and led him alone into the garden. There she pointed out to him a well, and explained that while the city was being stormed she had thrown into it all her most valuable possessions. Then as the Thracian leaned over and peered down the shaft, she moved behind him, pushed him in, and hurled stone after stone down on him until he was dead. The Thracians seized her, tied her hands, and led her to Alexander, who immediately saw from her expression and from her calm and fearless bearing as she followed her captors that she was a woman of dignity and spirit. When the king asked her who she was, she replied, 'I am the sister of Theagenes who commanded our army against your father, Philip, and fell at Chaeronea fighting for the liberty of Greece.' Alexander was filled with admiration not only at her words but at what she had done, and gave orders that she and her children should be freed and allowed to depart.

13. After this Alexander came to terms with the Athenians, in spite of their open sympathy with the sufferings of the Thebans. They had been on the point of celebrating the Mysteries of Demeter, but abandoned the festival as an act of mourning, and they treated all the fugitives who reached Athens with the greatest kindness. It may be that Alexander's fury had been sated with blood, like a lion's, or perhaps that he wished to efface his cruel and savage treatment of the Thebans by performing an act of clemency. At any rate he not only agreed to overlook the causes of complaint which he had against the Athenians, but advised them to pay the most careful attention to their affairs, since if anything should happen to him, they might once again become the leaders of Greece. In later years Alexander often felt distressed, we are told, at the harsh fate of the Thebans, and the recollection of it made him milder in his treatment of many other peoples. Certainly he believed that the murder of Cleitus, which he committed when he was drunk, and the cowardly refusal of the Macedonians to cross the Ganges and attack the Indians, which cut short his campaign and robbed him of its crowning achievement, were both caused by the anger of the god Dionysus, who wished to avenge the destruction of his favourite city. And of those Thebans who survived, it was remarked that all who came to him with a

request were granted whatever they asked. So much for Alexander's dealings with Thebes.

Pick up 14. In the previous year a congress of the Greek states had been held at the Isthmus of Corinth: here a vote had been passed that the states should join forces with Alexander in invading Persia and that he should be commander-in-chief of the expedition. Many of the Greek statesmen and philosophers visited him to offer their congratulations, and he hoped that Diogenes of Sinope, who was at that time living in Corinth, would do the same. However since he paid no attention whatever to Alexander, but continued to live at leisure in the suburb of Corinth which was known as Craneion, Alexander went in person to see him and found him basking at full length in the sun. When he saw so many people approaching him, Diogenes raised himself a little on his elbow and fixed his gaze upon Alexander. The king greeted him and inquired whether he could do anything for him. 'Yes,' replied the philosopher, 'you can stand a little to one side out of my sun.' Alexander is said to have been greatly impressed by this answer and full of admiration for the hauteur and independence of mind of a man who could look down on him with such condescension. So much so that he remarked to his followers, who were laughing and mocking the philosopher as they went away, 'You may say what you like, but if I were not Alexander, I would be Diogenes.'

Next he visited Delphi, because he wished to consult the oracle of Apollo about the expedition against the Persians. It so happened that he arrived on one of those days which are called inauspicious, when it is forbidden for the oracle to deliver a reply. In spite of this he sent for the prophetess, and when she refused to officiate and explained that the law forbade her to do so, he went up himself and tried to drag her by force to the shrine. At last, as if overcome by his persistence, she exclaimed, 'You are invincible, my son!' and when Alexander heard this, he declared that he wanted no other prophecy, but had obtained from her the oracle he was seeking. When the time came for him to set out,<sup>1</sup> many other prodigies attended the departure of the army: among these was the phenomenon of the statue of Orpheus which was made of cypress wood and was observed to be covered with sweat. Everyone who saw it was alarmed at this omen,

i. The early spring of 334 B.C.

but Aristander urged the king to take courage, for this portent signified that Alexander was destined to perform deeds which would live in song and story and would cause poets and musicians much toil and sweat to celebrate them.

15. As for the size of his army, the lowest estimate puts its strength at 30,000 infantry and 4,000 cavalry and the highest 43,000 infantry and 4,000 cavalry.<sup>1</sup> According to Aristobulus the money available for the army's supplies amounted to no more than seventy talents, Douris says that there were supplies for only thirty days, and Onesicritus that Alexander was already two hundred talents in debt. Yet although he set out with such slender resources, he would not go aboard his ship until he had discovered the circumstances of all his companions and had assigned an estate to one, a village to another, or the revenues of some port or community to a third. When he had shared out or signed away almost all the property of the crown, Perdiccas asked him, 'But your majesty, what are you leaving for yourself?' 'My hopes!' replied Alexander. 'Very well, then,' answered Perdiccas, 'those who serve with you will share those too.' With this, he declined to accept the prize which had been allotted to him, and several of Alexander's other friends did the same. However those who accepted or requested rewards were lavishly provided for, so that in the end Alexander distributed among them most of what he possessed in Macedonia. These were his preparations and this was the adventurous spirit in which he crossed the Hellespont.

Once arrived in Asia, he went up to Troy, sacrificed to Athena and poured libations to the heroes of the Greek army. He anointed with oil the column which marks the grave of Achilles, ran a race by it naked with his companions, as the custom is, and then crowned it with a wreath: he also remarked that Achilles was happy in having found a faithful friend while he lived and a great poet to sing of his deeds after his death. While he was walking about the city and looking at its ancient remains, somebody asked him whether he wished

1. Modern estimates give totals of about 43,000 infantry and 6,000 cavalry: about one quarter of these were the advance guard, which had already crossed to Asia. The cavalry included as many Thessalians as Macedonians, while the other Greek city-states contributed about 7,000 infantry and 600 cavalry. Besides the operational troops, the expedition included reconnaissance staff and many other specialists – geographers, historians, astronomers, zoologists, etc.

to see the lyre which had once belonged to Paris.<sup>1</sup> 'I think nothing of that lyre,' he said, 'but I wish I could see Achilles' lyre, which he played when he sang of the glorious deeds of brave men.'

16. Meanwhile Darius' generals had gathered a large army and posted it at the crossing of the river Granicus, so that Alexander was obliged to fight at the very gates of Asia, if he was to enter and conquer it. Most of the Macedonian officers were alarmed at the depth of the river and of the rough and uneven slopes of the banks on the opposite side, up which they would have to scramble in the face of the enemy. There were others too who thought that Alexander ought to observe the Macedonian tradition concerning the time of year, according to which the kings of Macedonia never made war during the month of Daesius.<sup>2</sup> Alexander swept aside these scruples by giving orders that the month should be called a second Artemisius. And when Parmenio advised him against risking the crossing at such a late hour of the day, Alexander declared that the Hellespont would blush for shame if, once he had crossed it, he should shrink back from the Granicus; then he immediately plunged into the stream with thirteen squadrons of cavalry.<sup>3</sup> It seemed the act of a desperate madman rather than of a prudent commander to charge into a swiftly flowing river, which swept men off their feet and surged about them, and then to advance through a hail of missiles towards a steep bank which was strongly defended by infantry and cavalry. But in spite of this he pressed forward and with a tremendous effort gained the opposite bank, which was a wet treacherous slope covered with mud. There he was immediately forced to engage the enemy in a confused hand to hand struggle, before the troops who were crossing behind him could be organized into any formation. The moment his men set foot on land, the enemy attacked them with loud shouts, matching horse against horse, thrusting with their lances and fighting with the sword when their lances broke. Many of them charged against Alexander himself, for he was easily recognizable by his shield and

1. There is a pun here: Paris was also known as Alexander.

2. May-June: this was the time for the gathering of the harvest.

3. Diodorus gives an account which is more plausible in military terms. According to this Alexander marched downstream under cover of darkness, found a suitable ford, crossed at dawn, and had most of his infantry over before the Persians discovered his new position.

by the tall white plume which was fixed upon either side of his helmet. The joint of his breast-plate was pierced by a javelin, but the blade did not penetrate the flesh. Rhoesaces and Spithridates, two of the Persian commanders then rode at him; he evaded the charge of the one and struck Rhoesaces, who wore a breast-plate, with his spear, but the shaft of the weapon snapped, whereupon he fought with his sword. While he was engaged with Rhoesaces, Spithridates rode up on the other side, and rising in his stirrups brought down a barbarian battle-axe with all his strength upon Alexander's head. The stroke split the crest of his helmet, sheared away one of his plumes, and all but cleft the head-piece, in fact the edge of the axe penetrated it and grazed the hair on the top of Alexander's head. But just as Spithridates raised his arm for another blow, 'Black' Cleitus,<sup>1</sup> as he was called, struck first and ran him through with a spear, and at the same moment Rhoesaces was cut down by Alexander's sword.

While Alexander's cavalry was engaged in this furious and dangerous action, the Macedonian phalanx crossed the river and the infantry of both sides joined battle. The Persians offered little resistance, but quickly broke and fled, and it was only the Greek mercenaries who held their ground. They rallied together, made a stand on the crest of a hill and sent a message to Alexander asking for quarter. In this instance he allowed himself to be guided by passion rather than by reason, led a charge against them and lost his horse (not Bucephalus on this occasion), which was pierced through the ribs by a sword-thrust. It was in this part of the field that the Macedonians suffered greater losses in killed and wounded than in all the rest of the battle, since they were fighting at close quarters with men who were expert soldiers and had been rendered desperate.

The Persians are said to have lost twenty thousand infantry and two thousand five hundred cavalry, whereas on Alexander's side, according to Aristobulus, only thirty four soldiers<sup>2</sup> in all were killed, nine of them belonging to the infantry. Alexander gave orders that each of these men should have his statue set up in bronze and the work was carried out by Lysippus. At the same time he was anxious to give

1. Commander of the Royal Squadron of Companion Cavalry: called 'Black' to distinguish him from Cleitus the White, an infantry commander.

2. According to Arrian, *Anabasis*, I, 16, 4, twenty-five of Alexander's picked cavalry, the Companions, fell in the first charge: it was these men whose statues were carved by Lysippus.

the other Greek states a share in the victory. He therefore sent the Athenians in particular three hundred of the shields captured from the enemy, and over the rest of the spoils he had this proud inscription engraved:

Alexander, the son of Philip, and all the Greeks, with the exception of the Spartans, won these spoils of war from the barbarians who dwell in Asia.

As for the drinking vessels, purple hangings and other such plunder, he sent it all with the exception of a few items to his mother.

17. This battle brought about a great and immediate change in Alexander's situation. Even the city of Sardis, which was the principal seat of Persian power on the Asiatic seaboard, at once surrendered to him and the rest of the region likewise made its submission.<sup>1</sup> Only Halicarnassus<sup>2</sup> and Miletus held out, and these cities were stormed and the surrounding territory subdued. At this point Alexander hesitated as to what his next step should be. Time and again he was impelled to seek out Darius and risk everything upon the issue of a single battle, and then as often he would decide that he must build up his strength by securing the coastal region and its resources and training his army, and only then strike inland against the king. It is said that there was a spring near the city of Xanthus in the province of Lycia, which at this moment overflowed and cast up from its depths a bronze tablet: this was inscribed with ancient characters which foretold that the empire of the Persians would be destroyed by the Greeks. Alexander was encouraged by this prophecy and pressed on to clear the coast of Asia Minor as far as Cilicia and Phoenicia. His advance through Pamphylia inspired various historians to compose a highly wrought and extravagant description of his progress. They imply that through some extraordinary stroke of providence the tide receded to make way for him, although at other times it came flooding in strongly from the open sea, so that the beach of small rocks which lies directly under the steep and broken face of the cliffs was hardly ever left uncovered. Menander alludes to this prodigy in one of his comedies, where he says:

1. At this stage of his campaign Alexander made it his policy to support democratic regimes in the Greek cities of Asia Minor.

2. The principal Persian naval base in the southern Aegean. It was defended by Memnon the Rhodian, a mercenary in Darius' service, and was captured in the autumn of 334.

Like Alexander, if I want to meet  
A man, he's there before me in the street,  
And if I am obliged to cross the sea,  
The waves at once will make a path for me.

Alexander makes no mention in his letters of any such miracle, but says that he started from Phaselis in Lycia, and marched through Pamphylia by the pass known as *Klimax*, or The Ladder. It was for this reason that he spent several days in Phaselis, where he noticed in the market-place a statue which had been erected in honour of Theodectas,<sup>1</sup> a former citizen of the place. One evening after dinner when he had drunk well, he had the impulse to pay a convivial tribute to his association with Aristotle and with philosophy, and so he led a band of revellers to the statue and crowned it with a garland.

18. Next he marched into Pisidia where he subdued any resistance which he encountered, and then made himself master of Phrygia. When he captured Gordium,<sup>2</sup> which is reputed to have been the home of the ancient king Midas, he saw the celebrated chariot which was fastened to its yoke by the bark of the cornel-tree, and heard the legend which was believed by all the barbarians, that the fates had decreed that the man who untied the knot was destined to become the ruler of the whole world. According to most writers the fastenings were so elaborately intertwined and coiled upon one another that their ends were hidden: in consequence Alexander did not know what to do, and in the end loosened the knot by cutting through it with his sword, whereupon the many ends sprang into view. But according to Aristobulus he unfastened it quite easily by removing the pin which secured the yoke to the pole of the chariot, and then pulling out the yoke itself.

After this Alexander marched northward and won over the peoples of Cappadocia and Paphlagonia. He also learned of the death of Memnon,<sup>3</sup> the general to whom Darius had entrusted the defence of

1. The author of some fifty tragedies: he had been a pupil of Aristotle, hence Alexander's interest.

2. In March 333 B.C.

3. A Greek mercenary officer from Rhodes. After escaping from Halicarnassus when Alexander captured it, he had been appointed commander of the Persian fleet. In 333 B.C. he captured Chios, overran most of Lesbos and laid siege to Mitylene where he died. The Persians had hoped that he would threaten Alexander's rear by stirring up revolts in the islands and even in mainland Greece.

the coast of Asia Minor, and who, if he had lived, was likely to have offered the most stubborn resistance to Alexander's advance and caused him the greatest trouble. This news confirmed his resolve to invade the interior. By this time Darius was also marching upon the coast from Susa. He was full of confidence in the strength of his forces, for he was leading an army of six hundred thousand men, and he had been encouraged by a dream which the Magi had interpreted in such a way as to please him rather than to discover the most likely meaning. He had dreamed that he saw the Macedonian phalanx encircled with flames and Alexander waiting upon him as a servant and wearing a cloak which resembled one that Darius himself had once worn when he had been a royal courier, and that after this Alexander had entered the temple of Belos and had disappeared. But what the gods really intended to prophesy through this dream, it would appear, was that the Macedonians would accomplish brilliant and glorious exploits, that Alexander would become the ruler of Asia — just as Darius had become its ruler when he rose to be a king from having been a mere courier — and that he would soon die and leave his glory behind him.

19. Darius was also encouraged by the many months of apparent inactivity which Alexander had spent in Cilicia, for he imagined that this was due to cowardice. In fact the delay had been caused by sickness, which some said had been brought on by exhaustion, and others by bathing in the icy waters of the river Cydnus. At any rate none of his other physicians dared to treat him, for they all believed that his condition was so dangerous that medicine was powerless to help him, and dreaded the accusations that would be brought against them by the Macedonians in the event of their failure. The only exception was Philip, an Acarnanian, who saw that the king was desperately ill, but trusted to their mutual friendship. He thought it shameful not to share his friend's danger by exhausting all the resources of his art even at the risk of his own life, and so he prepared a medicine and persuaded him to drink it without fear, since he was so eager to regain his strength for the campaign. Meanwhile Parmenio had sent Alexander a letter from the camp warning him to beware of Philip, since Darius, he said, had promised him large sums of money and even the hand of his daughter if he would kill Alexander. Alexander read the letter and put it under his pillow without showing it to any of his

friends. Then at the appointed hour, when Philip entered the room with the king's companions carrying the medicine in a cup, Alexander handed him the letter and took the draught from him cheerfully and ~~without the least sign of misgiving~~. It was an astonishing scene, and one well worthy of the stage — the one man reading the letter and the other drinking the physic, and then each gazing into the face of the other, although not with the same expression. The king's serene and open smile clearly displayed his friendly feelings towards Philip and his trust in him, while Philip was filled with surprise and alarm at the accusation, at one moment lifting his hands to heaven and protesting his innocence before the gods, and the next falling upon his knees by the bed and imploring Alexander to take courage and follow his advice. At first the drug completely overpowered him and, as it were, drove all his vital forces out of sight: he became speechless, fell into a swoon, and displayed scarcely any sign of sense or of life. However Philip quickly restored him to consciousness, and when he had regained his strength he showed himself to the Macedonians, who would not be consoled until they had seen their king.

20. There was at this time<sup>1</sup> in Darius' army, a man named Amyntas a refugee from Macedonia, who was acquainted with Alexander's character. When he learned that Darius was eager to advance and attack Alexander as he marched through the mountain passes, he begged the Persian king to remain where he was in the flat open plains, where his immense numbers would have the advantage in fighting the small Macedonian army. Darius said that he was afraid the enemy might run away before he could come to grips with them, and that Alexander might thus escape him, to which Amyntas retorted: 'Your majesty need have no fears on that score. Alexander will march against you, in fact he is probably on his way now.' Darius refused to listen to Amyntas' advice, but broke camp and advanced into Cilicia, while at the same time Alexander marched against him into Syria. During the night they missed one another and both turned back. Alexander, delighted at his good fortune, hastened to catch his enemy in the narrow defile which leads into Cilicia, while Darius was no less eager to extricate his forces from the

1. September 333 B.C. In the late summer and before his illness Alexander had accomplished the difficult march south from Gordium across Anatolia and through the key pass of the Cilician Gates.

mountain passes and regain his former camping-ground in the plains. He already saw the mistake he had made by advancing into country which was hemmed in by the sea on one side and the mountains on the other, and divided by the river Pinarus which ran between them. Here the ground prevented him from using his cavalry, forced him to split up his army into small groups, and favoured his opponent's inferior numbers. Fortune certainly presented Alexander with the ideal terrain for the battle, but it was his own generalship which did most to win the victory. For although he was so heavily outnumbered, he not only gave the enemy no opportunity to encircle him, but leading his own right wing in person, he managed to extend it round the enemy's left, outflanked it, and fighting in the foremost ranks, put the barbarians to flight. In this action he received a sword wound in the thigh: according to Chares this was given him by Darius, with whom he engaged in hand to hand combat. Alexander sent a letter to Antipater describing the battle, but made no mention in it of who had given him the wound: he said no more than that he had been stabbed in the thigh with a dagger and that the wound was not a dangerous one.

The result of this battle<sup>1</sup> was a brilliant victory for Alexander. His men killed one hundred and ten thousand of the enemy, but he could not catch Darius, who had got a start of half a mile or more, although he captured the king's chariot and his bow before he returned from the pursuit. He found the Macedonians busy carrying off the spoils from the enemy's camp, for this contained an immense wealth of possessions, despite the fact that the Persians had marched into battle lightly equipped and had left most of their baggage in Damascus. Darius' tent which was full of many treasures, luxurious furniture, and lavishly dressed servants had been set aside for Alexander himself. As soon as he arrived, he unbuckled his armour and went to the bath, saying 'Let us wash off the sweat of battle in Darius's bath.' 'No, in Alexander's bath, now,' remarked one of his companions. 'The conqueror takes over the possessions of the conquered and they should be called his.' When Alexander entered the bath-room he saw that the basins, the pitchers, the baths themselves and the caskets containing unguents were all made of gold and elaborately carved, and noticed that the whole room was marvellously fragrant with spices and perfumes, and then passing from this into a spacious and

<sup>1</sup>. The battle of Issus: November 333 B.C.

lofty tent, he observed the magnificence of the dining-coaches, the tables and the banquet which had been set out for him. He turned to his companions and remarked. 'So this, it seems, is what it is to be a king.'<sup>1</sup>

21. As he was about to sit down to supper, word was brought to him that the mother, the wife and the two unmarried daughters of Darius were among the prisoners, and that at the sight of the Persian king's bow and chariot they had beaten their breasts and cried out, since they supposed that he must be dead. When he heard this Alexander was silent for some time, for he was evidently more affected by the women's grief than by his own triumph. Then he sent Leonnatus<sup>2</sup> to tell them that Darius was not dead and that they need have no fear of Alexander: he was fighting Darius for the empire of Asia, but they should be provided with everything they had been accustomed to regard as their due when Darius was king. This kindly and reassuring message for Darius' womenfolk was followed by still more generous actions. Alexander gave them leave to bury as many of the Persians as they wished, and to take from the plunder any clothes and ornaments they thought fit and use them for this purpose. He also allowed them to keep the same attendants and privileges that they had previously enjoyed and even increased their revenues. But the most honourable and truly regal service which he rendered to these chaste and noble women was to ensure that they should never hear, suspect nor have cause to fear anything which could disgrace them: they lived out of sight and earshot of the soldiers, as though they were guarded in some inviolable retreat set aside for virgin priestesses rather than in an enemy's camp. This was the more remarkable because the wife of Darius was said to have been the most beautiful princess of her time, just as Darius himself was the tallest and handsomest man in Asia, and their daughters resembled their parents.

At any rate Alexander, so it seems, thought it more worthy of a king to subdue his own passions than to conquer his enemies, and

<sup>1</sup>. A remark intended to express not admiration but pity for Darius, for thinking that royalty consisted of mere wealth and luxury.

<sup>2</sup>. A friend who had grown up with Alexander: he helped to save his life in the battle against the Malli (ch. 63), and was himself killed at Crannon (322 B.C.).

so he never came near these women, nor did he associate with any other before his marriage, with the exception only of Barsine. This woman, the widow of Memnon, the Greek mercenary commander, was captured at Damascus. She had received a Greek education, was of a gentle disposition, and could claim royal descent, since her father was Artabazus who had married one of the Persian king's daughters. These qualities made Alexander the more willing – he was encouraged by Parmenio, so Aristobulus tells us – to form an attachment to a woman of such beauty and noble lineage. As for the other prisoners, when Alexander saw their handsome and stately appearance, he took no more notice of them than to say jokingly, 'These Persian women are a torment for our eyes.'<sup>1</sup> He was determined to make such a show of his chastity and self-control as to eclipse the beauty of their appearance, and so he passed them by as if they had been so many lifeless images cut out of stone.

Stop.  
Go to

no. 26 on

p. 281. 22. When Philoxenus, the commander of his forces on the sea coast, wrote to say that he had with him a slave merchant from Tarentum named Theodorus who was offering exceptionally handsome boys for sale and asked whether Alexander wished to buy them, the king was furious and angrily demanded of his friends what signs of degeneracy Philoxenus had ever noticed in him that he should waste his time procuring such debased creatures. He wrote a letter to Philoxenus telling him what he thought of him and ordering him to send Theodorus and his merchandise to the devil. He also sharply rebuked Hagnon, who had written that he wanted to buy as a present for him a young man named Crobylus, whose good looks were famous in Corinth. And when he discovered that Damon and Timotheus, two Macedonian soldiers who were serving under Parmenio, had seduced the wives of some of the Greek mercenaries, he sent orders to Parmenio that if the two men were found guilty, they should be put to death as wild beasts which are born to prey upon mankind. In the same letter he wrote of himself: 'In my own case it will be found not only that I have never seen nor wished to see Darius' wife, but that I have not even allowed her beauty to be mentioned in my presence.' He also used to say that it was sleep and sexual intercourse which more than anything else, reminded him

1. i.e. because they incite the body to rebel against the discipline of the will.

that he was mortal; by this he meant that both exhaustion and pleasure proceed from the same weakness of human nature.

He was exceptionally temperate in what he ate, as he showed in many different ways, but above all in the answer he gave to Queen Ada,<sup>1</sup> whom he honoured with the official title of Mother and made Queen of Caria. To show her affection for him she had formed the habit of sending him delicacies and sweetmeats every day, and finally offered him bakers and cooks who were supposed to be the most skilful in the country. Alexander's reply was that he did not need them, because his tutor Leonidas had provided him with better cooks than these, that is a night march to prepare him for breakfast, and a light breakfast to give him an appetite for supper. 'This same Leonidas,' he went on, 'would often come and open my chests of bedding and clothes, to see whether my mother had not hidden some luxury inside.'

23. Alexander was also more moderate in his drinking than was generally supposed. The impression that he was a heavy drinker arose because when he had nothing else to do, he liked to linger over each cup, but in fact he was usually talking rather than drinking: he enjoyed holding long conversations, but only when he had plenty of leisure. Whenever there was urgent business to attend to, neither wine, nor sleep, nor sport, nor sex, nor spectacle, could ever distract his attention, as they did for other generals. The proof of this is his life-span, which although so short, was filled to overflowing with the most prodigious achievements. When he was at leisure, his first act after rising was to sacrifice to the gods, after which he took his breakfast sitting down.<sup>2</sup> The rest of the day would be spent in hunting, administering justice, planning military affairs or reading. If he were on a march which required no great haste, he would practise archery as he rode, or mounting and dismounting from a moving chariot, and he often hunted foxes or birds, as he mentions in his journals. When he had chosen his quarters for the night and while he was being refreshed with a bath or rubbed down, he would ask his cooks and bakers whether the arrangements for supper had been suitably made.

His custom was not to begin supper until late, as it was growing dark. He took it reclining on a couch, and he was wonderfully

1. The sister of Pixodarus of Caria.

2. That is, not reclining, as for the evening meal.

offered him no shelter. At last he saw in the distance a number of scattered watch-fires which belonged to the enemy. It was always his habit in a crisis to encourage the Macedonians by sharing in their dangers, and so, trusting to his speed and agility, he dashed to the nearest camp fire, dispatched with his dagger the two barbarians who were sitting by it, and snatching up a firebrand ran back to his own party. His companions quickly built up a huge fire which frightened some of the enemy into flight, while those who ventured to attack were quickly routed and the Macedonians spent the rest of the night in safety. This is the account of the incident which we have from Chares.

25. The siege finally ended as follows. Alexander was resting the greater part of his army, which was exhausted after the hard fighting it had undergone, but in order to give the enemy no respite he led a small party against the walls. At the same time his diviner Aristander offered up a sacrifice, and after inspecting the omens, confidently announced to all those present that the city would be captured in the course of that month: this pronouncement was greeted with laughter and even some derision because by then it was the last day of the month. The king saw that Aristander was at a loss to explain the omens, and as he was always anxious to uphold the credibility of his prophecies, gave orders that that day should be counted not as the thirtieth of the month but as the twenty-eighth. The trumpet then sounded the advance and he launched a fiercer attack against the walls than he had originally intended. The fighting grew hotter, until the troops who had been left in camp could not bear to stay inactive, but came running up to join the attackers, and thereupon the Tyrians gave up the struggle. So it came about that Alexander captured the city on that day.

In the autumn of the same year he laid siege to Gaza,<sup>1</sup> the most important city in Syria. While he was engaged in these operations, a bird flying overhead let fall a clod of earth which struck him on the shoulder. The bird then perched upon one of the siege engines and immediately became entangled in the network of sinews which were used to tighten the ropes. On this occasion too the portent was fulfilled as Aristander had prophesied: the city was taken, and Alexander was wounded in the shoulder. He sent a great part of the spoils

1. September and October, 332 B.C.

captured at Gaza to Olympias, to his sister Cleopatra and to his friends. He also remembered his tutor Leonidas and presented him with five hundred talents' weight of frankincense and one hundred of myrrh: this was in remembrance of the hopes with which his teacher had inspired him in his boyhood. It seems that one day when Alexander was sacrificing and was throwing incense on to the altar by the handful, Leonidas remarked to him, 'Alexander, when you have conquered the countries that produce these spices, you can make as extravagant sacrifices as you like: till then, don't waste it!' On this occasion Alexander wrote to him, 'I have sent you plenty of myrrh and frankincense, so that you need not be stingy towards the gods any longer.'<sup>1</sup>

Pick up  
here.

26. One day a casket was brought to him which was regarded by those who were in charge of Darius' baggage and treasure as the most valuable item of all, and so Alexander asked his friends what he should keep in it as his own most precious possession. Many different suggestions were put forward, and finally Alexander said that he intended to keep his copy of the *Iliad* there. This anecdote is supported by many reliable historians, and if the tradition which has been handed down by the Alexandrians on the authority of Heracleides is true, then certainly the poems of Homer were by no means an irrelevant or an unprofitable possession to accompany him on his campaigns. According to this story, after Alexander had conquered Egypt, he was anxious to found a great and populous Greek city there,<sup>2</sup> to be called after him. He had chosen a certain site on the advice of his architects, and was on the point of measuring and marking it out. Then as he lay asleep he dreamed that a grey-haired man of venerable appearance stood by his side and recited these lines from the *Odyssey*:

Out of the tossing sea where it breaks on the beaches of Egypt  
Rises an isle from the waters: the name that men give it is Pharos<sup>3</sup>

Alexander rose the next morning and immediately visited Pharos: at that time it was still an island near the Canopic mouth of the

1. About thirteen and a half tons of frankincense and two and a half tons of myrrh. Alexander never forgot a slight.

2. In particular a maritime capital which should eclipse Piraeus, Carthage, Syracuse and any other rival.

3. *Odyssey* iv, 354-5.

Nile,<sup>1</sup> but since then it has been joined to the mainland by a causeway. When he saw what wonderful natural advantages the place possessed – for it was a strip of land resembling a broad isthmus, which stretched between the sea and a great lagoon, with a spacious harbour at the end of it – he declared that Homer, besides his other admirable qualities, was also a very far-seeing architect, and he ordered the plan of the city to be designed so that it would conform to this site. There was no chalk to mark the ground plan, so they took barley meal, sprinkled it on the dark earth and marked out a semi-circle, which was divided into equal segments by lines radiating from the inner arc to the circumference: the shape was similar to that of the *chlamys* or military cloak, so that the lines proceeded, as it were, from the skirt, and narrowed the breadth of the area uniformly. While the king was enjoying the symmetry of the design, suddenly huge flocks of birds appeared from the river and the lagoon, descended upon the site and devoured every grain of the barley. Alexander was greatly disturbed by this omen, but the diviners urged him to take heart and interpreted the occurrence as a sign that the city would not only have abundant resources of its own but would be the nurse of men of innumerable nations, and so he ordered those in charge of the work to proceed while he himself set out to visit the temple of Ammon.<sup>2</sup>

This was a long and arduous journey, which was beset by two especial dangers. The first was the lack of water, of which there was none to be found along the route for many days' march. The second arises if a strong south wind should overtake the traveller as he is crossing the vast expanse of deep, soft sand, as is said to have happened to the army of Cambyses long ago: the wind raised great billows of sand and blew them across the plain so that fifty thousand men were swallowed up and perished. These dangers were present in the minds of almost all of Alexander's companions, but it was difficult to dissuade him from any course once he had set his heart on it. Fortune, by giving way to his insistence on every occasion had made his resolve unshakeable, and the proud spirit which he carried into all his undertakings had created in him a passion for surmounting obstacles, so that in the end he was able to overcome not only his enemies but even places and seasons of the year.

1. Later the site of the famous octagonal lighthouse.

2. In the winter of 332 B.C.

27. At any rate during this journey the assistance he received from the gods in his difficulties was more readily believed than the oracles that followed, or rather it was because of this assistance that the oracles were believed. First of all the abundant rain and continual showers which fell from heaven relieved the expedition from any fear of thirst, saturated the dry sand so that it became moist and firm to the tread, and rendered the air pure and refreshing to breathe. Besides this whenever the travellers became separated, lost the track, or wandered about because the landmarks used by their guides had become obliterated, a number of ravens appeared and proceeded to guide their march, flying swiftly ahead of them when they followed, and waiting for them when they marched slowly or lagged behind. And what was most miraculous of all, according to Callisthenes, was that if any of the company went astray in the night, the birds would croak and caw over them, until they had found their way back to the track.

When Alexander had crossed the desert and arrived at the shrine, the high priest of Ammon welcomed him on the god's behalf as a father greeting his son.<sup>1</sup> Alexander's first question was to ask whether any of his father's murderers had escaped punishment. At this the high priest commanded him to speak more guardedly, since his father was not a mortal. Alexander therefore changed the form of his question and asked whether the murderers of Philip had all been punished, and he added another inquiry concerning his own empire, and asked whether he was destined to rule over all mankind. This, the god replied, would be granted to him, and he also assured him that Philip's death had been completely avenged, whereupon Alexander dedicated some magnificent offerings to the god and presented large sums of money to his priests.

This is the account which most writers have given of the oracles pronounced by the god, but Alexander himself in a letter to his mother says that he received certain secret prophecies which he would confide to her, and her alone, after his return. Others say that the priest, who wished as a mark of courtesy to address him with the Greek phrase 'O, paidion' (O, my son) spoke the words because of his

1. The shrine of Zeus Ammon had been regarded for centuries, together with Dodona and Delphi, as one of the three great oracles of the Greek world. The priests of Ammon had contact with those of Zeus in Greece, and since Egypt had become a vassal of Persia, prophecies had begun to look to the kingdoms of the north, Macedonia and Epirus, for the rise of a deliverer and universal ruler.

barbarian origin as 'O, *pai Dios*' (O, son of Zeus), and that Alexander was delighted at this slip of pronunciation, and hence the legend grew up that the god had addressed him as 'O, son of Zeus'. We are also told that while he was in Egypt he listened to the lectures of Psammon the philosopher, and especially approved his saying to the effect that all men are ruled by God, because in every case that element which imposes itself and achieves the mastery is divine. Even more philosophical was Alexander's own opinion and pronouncement on this subject, namely that while God is the father of all mankind, it is the noblest and best whom he makes especially his own.

28. In general Alexander adopted a haughty and majestic bearing towards the barbarians, as a man who was fully convinced of his divine birth and parentage, but towards the Greeks he was more restrained, and it was only on rare occasions that he assumed the manner of divinity. He made an exception when he wrote to the Athenians on the subject of Samos and said, 'I would never have given you that free and glorious city: it was from your master at that time that you received it and now hold it - my so-called father.'<sup>1</sup> By this he was referring to Philip. But some years later, when he had been wounded by an arrow and was in great pain, he remarked, 'What you see flowing, my friends, is blood, and not that

Ichor which flows in the veins of the blessed immortals in heaven.'<sup>2</sup>

Stop.  
Go to  
no. 45  
on  
p. 301.

On another occasion too, when there was a loud crash of thunder, and all those in his company were frightened by it, Anaxarchus the sophist asked him, 'Since you are the son of Zeus, could you make a noise like that?' Alexander laughed and replied, 'I have no wish to terrify my friends as you would have me do. It is you who apparently despise my table, because, so you say, what you see on it is merely fish, and not a row of satraps' heads!' For there is a story that this remark had been made by Anaxarchus when he saw a present of small fish that the king had sent to Hephaestion: he seemed to be disparaging and belittling those who undertake immense enterprises and run great risks in pursuit of their ambitions, which in the end leave them no happier or better able to enjoy themselves than other men. At any rate it is evident from what I have said that Alexander did not allow

1. i.e. he was disowning Philip as his father.

2. *Iliad* v, 340.

~~himself to become vain or foolishly conceited because of his belief in his divinity, but rather used it to assert his authority over others.~~

29. On his return from Egypt to Phoenicia<sup>1</sup> he honoured the gods with sacrifices and solemn processions and arranged contests of dithyrambic choruses and tragedies: these were remarkable not only for the splendour of their presentation but also for the rivalry between those who organized them. Just as at Athens those who present these spectacles are the *choregi*, rich citizens chosen by lot from the tribes, so on this occasion the sponsors were the kings of Cyprus, each of whom vied to outdo his competitors in the most spectacular fashion. The keenest contest of all took place between Nicocreon of Salamis and Pasicles of Soli, who had been given by lot the services of two of the most celebrated actors of the day: Athenodorus was assigned to Pasicles and Thessalus, in whom Alexander was particularly interested, to Nicocreon. Alexander did not reveal his preference until Athenodorus had been proclaimed the victor by a majority of the judges' votes. Then, as he was leaving the theatre, it seems, he remarked that he approved of the verdict of the judges, but would gladly have sacrificed a part of his kingdom rather than see Thessalus defeated. However when Athenodorus, who had been fined by the Athenians for breaking his undertaking to appear at their Dionysiac festival, appealed to the king to write a letter on his behalf, Alexander, although he refused to do this, settled the fine at his own expense. Again when Lycon of Scarpheia, who was giving a successful performance before Alexander, introduced into the comedy he was playing a line asking for a present of ten talents, Alexander laughed and gave him the money.

Darius wrote Alexander a letter<sup>2</sup> and sent it by the hand of some of his friends. He appealed to Alexander to accept ten thousand talents as a ransom for his Persian prisoners: he further offered him all the territory west of the Euphrates and the hand of one of his daughters in marriage, and on these terms proposed that they should become friends and allies. Alexander told his companions of this offer, whereupon Parmenio said, 'I would accept those terms if I were Alexander.'

1. Early in 331 B.C.

2. According to Arrian (*Anabasis*, II, 25, 1) this episode had taken place earlier, at the time of the siege of Tyre, and Alexander's reply was the conclusion of a more arrogantly phrased letter.

king had been arrested by Bessus, the satrap of Bactria, he sent his Thessalian cavalry back to Greece, after first giving them a gratuity of two thousand talents,<sup>1</sup> besides their regular pay. The pursuit of Darius turned out to be long and exhausting. Alexander covered more than four hundred miles in eleven days, and by this time most of his horsemen were on the verge of collapse for lack of water. At this point he met some Macedonians, who were carrying water from a river in skins on the backs of their mules, and when they saw Alexander almost fainting with thirst in the midday heat, they quickly filled a helmet and brought it to him. He asked them for whom they were carrying the water. 'For our own sons,' they told him, but so long as your life is safe, we can have other children, even if we lose these.' At this Alexander took the helmet in his hands. But then he looked up and saw the rest of his troop craning their heads and casting longing glances at the water, and he handed it back without drinking a drop. He thanked the men who had brought it, but said to them, 'If I am the only one to drink, the rest will lose heart.' However no sooner had his companions witnessed this act of self-control and magnanimity than they cried out and shouted for him to lead them on boldly. They spurred on their horses and declared that they could not feel tired or thirsty or even like mortal men, so long as they had such a king.

43. All his horsemen were fired with the same enthusiasm, but only sixty of his men, so the story goes, had kept up with Alexander when he burst into the enemy's camp. They rode over great heaps of gold and silver vessels which had been scattered on the ground, passed waggons full of women and children that were moving aimlessly about without their drivers, and at length caught up with the Persian vanguard, imagining that Darius must be among them. At last they found him lying in a waggon, riddled with javelins and at his last gasp. He asked for a drink, and when he had swallowed some cold water which a Macedonian named Polystratus brought him, he said, 'This is the final stroke of misfortune, that I should accept a service from you, and not be able to return it, but Alexander will reward you for your kindness, and the gods will repay him for his courtesy towards my mother and my wife and my children. And so through you, I give him my hand.' As he said this, he took Poly-

<sup>1</sup>. Each of the 2,000 cavalrymen received one talent.

stratus by the hand, and died. When Alexander came up, he showed his grief and distress at the king's death, and unfastening his own cloak, he threw it over the body and covered it. Later, after he had captured Bessus, who had murdered the king, he had him torn limb from limb. He had the tops of two straight trees bent down so that they met, and part of Bessus' body was tied to each. Then when each tree was let go and sprang back to its upright position, the part of the body attached to it was torn off by the recoil. As for Darius' body, he sent it to his mother to be laid out in royal state, and he enrolled his brother Exathres into the number of the Companions.

44. Meanwhile he himself with the flower of his army pressed on into Hyrcania. Here he came in sight of a bay of the open sea which appeared to be as large as the Black Sea, and was sweeter than the Mediterranean. He could not obtain any certain information about it, but guessed that it was probably a stagnant overflow from Lake Maeotis.<sup>1</sup> However various geographers had already discovered the truth and many years before Alexander's expedition they had recorded their conclusion that this was the most northerly of four gulfs which run inland from the outer Ocean<sup>2</sup> and was called the Hyrcanian or Caspian Sea. In this neighbourhood the barbarians surprised the grooms, who were leading Alexander's horse Bucephalus, and captured him. Alexander was enraged and sent a herald with the threat that unless they gave back his horse, he would exterminate the whole tribe, together with their women and children. However when they returned with the horse and surrendered their cities to him, he treated them all kindly, and even gave a reward to the men who had captured Bucephalus.

Pick up  
here.

45. From this point he advanced into Parthia,<sup>3</sup> and it was here during a pause in the campaign that he first began to wear barbarian dress. He may have done this from a desire to adapt himself to local habits, because he understood that the sharing of race and of customs is a great step towards softening men's hearts. Alternatively, this may

<sup>1</sup>. The Sea of Azov.

<sup>2</sup>. According to the beliefs of Plutarch's time, the outer Ocean encircled the world and the Caspian flowed into it. Alexander planned an expedition to determine whether the Caspian was a lake or a gulf, but did not live to carry it out.

<sup>3</sup>. In the autumn of 330 B.C.

have been an experiment which was aimed at introducing the obeisance among the Macedonians, the first stage being to accustom them to accepting changes in his own dress and way of life. However he did not go so far as to adopt the Median costume, which was altogether barbaric and outlandish, and he wore neither trousers, nor a sleeved vest, nor a tiara.<sup>1</sup> Instead he adopted a style which was a compromise between Persian and Median costume, more modest than the first, and more stately than the second. At first he wore this only when he was in the company of barbarians or with his intimate friends indoors, but later he put it on when he was riding or giving audience in public. The sight greatly displeased the Macedonians, but they admired his other virtues so much that they considered they ought to make concessions to him in some matters which either gave him pleasure or increased his prestige. For besides all his other hardships, he had recently been wounded below the knee by an arrow which splintered the shin-bone so that the fragments had to be taken out, and on another occasion he had received such a violent blow on the neck from a stone that his vision became clouded and remained so for a long time afterwards. In spite of this, he continued to expose himself unsparingly to danger: for example he crossed the river Orexartes, which he believed to be the Tanais, routed the Scythians and pursued them for twelve miles or more, even though all this while he was suffering from an attack of dysentery.

46. It was here that he was visited by the queen of the Amazons, according to the report we have from many writers, among them Cleitarchus, Polycleitus, Onesicritus, Antigenes and Ister. On the other hand Aristobulus, Chares the royal usher, Ptolemy, Anticleides, Philo the Theban and Philip of Theangela, and besides these Hecataeus of Eretria, Philip the Chalcidian and Douris of Samos all maintain that this is a fiction, and this judgement seems to be confirmed by Alexander's own testimony. In a letter to Antipater in which he describes the details of the occasion, he mentions that the king of the Scythians offered him his daughter in marriage, but he makes no reference to an Amazon. There is also a story that many years afterwards, when Lysimachus had become king of Macedonia, Onesicritus was reading aloud the fourth book of his history, which contained the tale of the Amazon, at which Lysimachus smiled and asked

<sup>1</sup>. The conical Persian head-dress which was wound like a turban.

quietly, 'I wonder where I was then.' In any case our admiration for Alexander is not diminished if we reject this story, nor increased if we regard it as true.

47. Alexander was by now becoming anxious that the Macedonians might refuse to follow him any further in his campaigns. He therefore quartered the main body on the country and allowed them to rest, but pressed on with his best troops, consisting of twenty thousand infantry and three thousand cavalry, and marched into Hyrcania. He then addressed this picked force and told them that up to now the barbarians had watched them as if they were in a dream, but that if they merely threw the whole country into disorder and then retired, the Persians would fall upon them as if they were so many women. He went on to say that he would allow any of them who desired it to go back, but he called on them to witness that at the very moment when he was seeking to conquer the whole inhabited world for the Macedonians, he found himself deserted and left only with his friends and those who were willing to continue the expedition. These are almost the exact words which he used in his letter to Antipater, and he says that after he had spoken in this way, the whole of his audience shouted aloud and begged him to lead them to whatever part of the world he chose. Once he had tested the loyalty of these troops, he found no difficulty in winning over the main body, indeed they followed him with a will.

From this point he began to adapt his own style of living more closely to that of the country and tried to reconcile Asiatic and Macedonian customs: he believed that if the two traditions could be blended and assimilated in this way his authority would be more securely established when he was far away, since it would rest on goodwill rather than on force. For this reason he selected thirty thousand boys and gave orders that they should be taught to speak the Greek language and to use Macedonian weapons, and he appointed a large number of instructors to train them. His marriage to Roxane<sup>1</sup> was a love match, which began when he first saw her at the height of her youthful beauty taking part in a dance at a banquet, but it also played a great part in furthering his policy of reconciliation. The barbarians were encouraged by the feeling of partnership which their alliance created, and they were completely won over by Alexander's

<sup>1</sup>. This took place in August 327 B.C.

moderation and courtesy and by the fact that without the sanction of marriage he would not approach the only woman who had ever conquered his heart.

Alexander noticed that among his closest friends it was Hephaestion who approved of these plans and joined him in changing his habits, while Craterus<sup>1</sup> clung to Macedonian customs, and he therefore made use of the first in his dealings with the barbarians and of the second with the Greeks and Macedonians. In general he showed most affection for Hephaestion and most respect for Craterus, for he had formed the opinion and often said that Hephaestion was a friend of Alexander's, while Craterus was a friend of the king's. For this reason a feeling of hostility grew and festered between the two and they often came into open conflict. Once on the expedition to India they actually drew their swords and came to blows, and as their friends appeared and began to join in the quarrel, Alexander rode up and publicly reprimanded Hephaestion: he told him that he must be a fool and a madman if he did not understand that without Alexander's favour he was nothing. Then later in private he sharply rebuked Craterus. Finally he called both men together and made them be friends again. He swore by Zeus Ammon and the rest of the gods that these were the two men he loved best in the world, but that if he ever heard them quarrelling again, he would kill them both, or at least the one who began the quarrel. After this, it is said, neither of them ever did or said anything to offend the other even in jest.

End  
Here.

48. Among the Macedonians at this time<sup>2</sup> few men enjoyed a more prominent position than Philotas, the son of Parmenio:<sup>3</sup> he had a high reputation for courage and for his ability to endure hardship and after Alexander he had no equal for generosity and devotion to his friends. At any rate we are told that when one of his intimate friends asked him for money and his steward replied that he had none

1. Probably the ablest of Alexander's younger officers. He became second in command after Parmenio's death in 330 B.C. He led part of the army back from India and in 324 brought the veterans back to Macedonia. He was killed in battle against Eumenes in 321.

2. The narrative now moves back to the period immediately following the murder of Darius, the autumn of 330 B.C.

3. Philotas was older than Alexander: he commanded the Companion cavalry, eight squadrons strong.

to give, he asked the man, 'What do you mean - have I no plate or furniture to sell?' However, Philotas also displayed an arrogance, an ostentation of wealth, and a degree of luxury in his personal habits and his way of living which could only cause offence in his position as a private subject. At this time in particular his efforts to imitate a lofty and majestic presence carried no conviction, appeared clumsy and uncouth, and succeeded only in provoking envy and mistrust to such a degree that even Parmenio once remarked to him, 'My son, do not make so much of yourself' And indeed Philotas had fallen under suspicion a long while before this. When Darius had been defeated in Cilicia and his treasure captured at Damascus, one of the many prisoners who were brought into Alexander's camp was discovered to be a beautiful Greek girl who had been born in Pydna and was named Antigone. She was handed over to Philotas and he - like many a young man who, when he has drunk well, is apt to talk freely to his mistress in the boastful fashion of a soldier - often confided to her that all the greatest achievements in the campaign had been the work of his father and himself. Then he would speak of Alexander as a mere boy who owed his title of ruler to their efforts. Antigone repeated these remarks to one of her friends, and he naturally enough passed them on until they reached the ears of Craterus, who took the girl and brought her privately to Alexander. When the king heard her story, he ordered her to continue visiting Philotas, but to come and report everything that she learned from him.

49. Philotas had no suspicion of the trap that was being set for him and in his conversations with Antigone he uttered many indiscretions and often spoke slightly of the king, sometimes through anger and sometimes through boastfulness. Even so Alexander, although he now had overwhelming evidence against Philotas, endured these insults in silence and restrained himself either because he had confidence in Parmenio's loyalty, or perhaps because he feared the power and prestige of father and son. But meanwhile a Macedonian from Chalaestra named Dimnos organized a conspiracy against Alexander, and invited a young man named Nicomachus whose lover he was to take part in the plot. Nicomachus refused to be involved, but told his brother Cebalinus of the attempt. Cebalinus then went to Philotas and demanded that he should take them both to Alexander,



Vere dignum

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SB09. Epicurus, "Letter to Menoeceus" and Epictetus,  
*Encheiridion*

*The University of Chicago Press  
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tion should be made, in order to ascertain what is still existing and what is lacking.

The house must be arranged both with a view to one's possessions and for the health and well-being of its inhabitants. By possessions I mean the consideration of what is suitable for produce and clothing, and in the case of produce what is suitable for dry and what for moist produce, and amongst other possessions what is suitable for property whether animate or inanimate, for slaves and freeman, women and men, strangers and citizens. With a view to well-being and health, the house ought to be airy in summer and sunny in winter. This would be best secured if it faces north and is not as wide as it is long. In large establishments a man who is no use for other purposes seems to be usefully employed as a doorkeeper to safeguard what is brought into and out of the house. For the ready use of household appliances the Laconian method is a good one; for everything ought to have its own proper place and so be ready for use and not require to be searched for.

## Epicurus

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Epicurus was born in 341 b.c. (Plato had died six years earlier, and Aristotle, aged about forty-two, was in Pella as Alexander's tutor. The Battle of Chaeronea occurred three years later.) We are informed by Metrodorus, his most distinguished pupil, that he belonged to the old Attic family of the Philaidae. Though an Athenian of good birth, he was born not in Athens but on the island of Samos, where his father had become a kleruch (allotment holder) in 352/351. In contrast with colonists, kleruchs continued to be Athenian citizens; but few Athenian citizens other than the poor are likely to have found the status of a kleruch attractive. That Epicurus' father, Neocles, also taught in an elementary school—an activity not highly esteemed in ancient Greece—is added evidence of the family's poverty.

In 323 b.c. Epicurus traveled to Athens, where Xenocrates was now head of the Academy, Aristotle head of the Lyceum. Epicurus, however, had not come to study philosophy. (The Academy and Lyceum would probably have been too expensive.) He came to perform his military service, as was required of all Athenian citizens on attaining the age of eighteen. 323 b.c. was also the year in which Alexander died. The family of Epicurus was immediately affected: Perdiccas, for the moment not only the most powerful of the generals who were disputing the succession but the closest to Samos, expelled the kleruchs from the island. Neocles moved his family to Colophon on the Asian mainland, where Epicurus soon joined them.

Epicurus, though he claimed to have been self-taught and made only derogatory references to other philosophers, was at some point a pupil of the Democritean (i.e., atomist) Nausiphanes, and he was certainly well acquainted with the philosophies of Plato and Aristotle. In Colophon, however, he seems to have had no teachers at all, and the twelve years that he spent there were crucial to his philosophical development.

In 310 b.c., aged about thirty-two, he attempted to set up his own philosophical school at Mytilene, on the island of Lesbos. At this time, those who taught philosophy in public did so in the gymnasia. (The Academy and Lyceum were gymnasia.) The permission of the appropriate magistrate, the gymnasiarch, was needed. Epicurus successfully applied for permission; but there was already a Peripatetic school, founded by Aristotle himself, on Lesbos, and its members persuaded the gymnasiarch to withdraw his permission. Epicurus moved to Lampsacus, on the Hellespont. There were Platonists in Lampsacus; but since one of them had, for a time, made himself tyrant, they were not popular. Mithras, the Syrian governor, a subordinate of Lysimachus the Macedonian, gave Epicurus admission to the city. Here he prospered and found influential supporters and financial backing, and in 307/306 he was emboldened to move his school to Athens itself.

In Athens he purchased a vegetable garden for eighty minas, or eight thousand drachmas. His prosperous supporters in Lampsacus must have supplied most of the money. Buildings must have been included, for Epicurus and his immediate followers, who included women and slaves, lived there. Epicurus made no attempt to teach in public. He propagated his philosophy by writing, and his works comprised more than three hundred rolls. Little has survived apart from three letters, of which the letter to Menoeceus is printed here, and the *Kuriai Doxai*. All of this material is preserved in the tenth book of Diogenes Laertius' history of philosophy.

Epicurus shunned public life and advised his followers to do so too. Epicureans should try to win the favor of those who had political power but should themselves live in small communities of friends. By the time he established himself as a philosopher in Athens, a generation after Chaeronea, it must have become apparent to most Greeks that the day of the autonomous polis was over. Epicurus himself, three years old when Chaeronea was fought, passed his formative years in a world in which the irresistible Alexander's victories were constantly increasing the size of his empire. The death of Alexander caused a personal disaster to Epicurus' family, and the subsequent wars of Alexander's generals made it clear that the political units of the future, if smaller than Alexander's empire, would be much larger than the polis. The kleruch's son might not have aspired to a political career in Athens; it is hardly surprising that he turned his back on public life in the new and dangerous world of Hellenistic politics.

Many Epicureans must have been of a social and economic status similar to Epicurus' own. From the beginning, however, not all were. His converts in Lampsacus included some prominent and wealthy people. Communities of friends, similar to the one in Athens, developed in other

places in the Aegean during Epicurus' lifetime, and he made two or three journeys to visit them.

Epicurus died in 270 b.c., in his seventy-second year.

## 19. Epicurus, Letter to Menoeceus

Epicurus to Menoeceus, greeting.

Let no one be slow to seek wisdom when he is young nor weary in the search thereof when he is grown old. For no age is too early or too late for the health of the soul. And to say that the season for studying philosophy has not yet come, or that it is past and gone, is like saying that the season for happiness is not yet or that it is now no more. Therefore, both old and young ought to seek wisdom, the former in order that, as age comes over him, he may be young in good things because of the grace of what has been, and the latter in order that, while he is young, he may at the same time be old, because he has no fear of the things which are to come. So we must exercise ourselves in the things which bring happiness, since, if that be present, we have everything, and, if that be absent, all our actions are directed toward attaining it.

Those things which without ceasing I have declared unto thee, those do, and exercise thyself therein, holding them to be the elements of right life. First believe that God is a living being immortal and blessed, according to the notion of a god indicated by the common sense of mankind; and so believing, thou shalt not affirm of him aught that is foreign to this immortality or that agrees not with blessedness, but shalt believe about him whatever may uphold both his blessedness and his immortality. For verily there are gods, and the knowledge of them is manifest; but they are not such as the multitude believe, seeing that men do not steadfastly maintain the notions they form respecting them. Not the man who denies the gods worshipped by the multitude, but he who affirms of the gods what the multitude believes about them is truly impious. For the utterances of the multitude about the gods are not true preconceptions but false assumptions; hence it is that the greatest evils happen to the wicked and the greatest blessings happen to the good from the hand of the gods, seeing that they are always favourable to their own good qualities and take pleasure in men like unto themselves, but reject as alien whatever is not of their kind.

Accustom thyself to believe that death is nothing to us, for good and evil

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imply sentience, and death is the privation of all sentience; therefore a right understanding that death is nothing to us makes the mortality of life enjoyable, not by adding to life an illimitable time, but by taking away the yearning after immortality. For life has no terrors for him who has thoroughly apprehended that there are no terrors for him in ceasing to live. Foolish, therefore, is the man who says that he fears death, not because it will pain when it comes, but because it pains in the prospect. Whatsoever causes no annoyance when it is present, causes only a groundless pain in the expectation. Death, therefore, the most awful of evils, is nothing to us, seeing that, when we are, death is not come, and, when death is come, we are not. It is nothing, then, either to the living or to the dead, for with the living it is not and the dead exist no longer. But in the world, at one time men shun death as the greatest of all evils, and at another time choose it as a respite from the evils in life. The wise man does not deprecate life nor does he fear the cessation of life. The thought of life is no offence to him, nor is the cessation of life regarded as an evil. And even as men choose of food not merely and simply the larger portion, but the more pleasant, so the wise seek to enjoy the time which is most pleasant and not merely that which is longest. And he who admonishes the young to live well and the old to make a good end speaks foolishly, not merely because of the desirableness of life, but because the same exercise at once teaches to live well and to die well. Much worse is he who says that it were good not to be born, but when once one is born to pass with all speed through the gates of Hades. For if he truly believes this, why does he not depart from life? If he speaks were easy for him to do so, if once he were firmly convinced. If he speaks only in mockery, his words are foolishness, for those who hear believe him not.

We must remember that the future is neither wholly ours nor wholly not ours, so that neither must we count upon it as quite certain to come nor despair of it as quite certain not to come.

We must also reflect that of desires some are natural, others are groundless; and that of the natural some are necessary as well as natural, and some natural only. And of the necessary desires some are necessary if we are to be happy, some if the body is to be rid of uneasiness, some if we are even to live. He who has a clear and certain understanding of these things will direct every preference and aversion toward securing health of body and tranquillity of mind, seeing that this is the sum and end of a blessed life. For the end of all our actions is to be free from pain and fear, and, when once we have attained all this, the tempest of the soul is laid; seeing that the living creature has no need to go in search of something that is lacking, nor to look for anything else by which the good of the soul and of the body will be fulfilled. When we are pained because of the absence of

pleasure, then, and then only, do we feel the need of pleasure. Wherefore we call pleasure the alpha and omega of a blessed life. Pleasure is our first and kindred good. It is the starting-point of every choice and of every aversion, and to it we come back, inasmuch as we make feeling the rule by which to judge of every good thing. And since pleasure is our first and native good, for that reason we do not choose every pleasure whatsoever, but oftentimes pass over many pleasures when a greater annoyance ensues from them. And oftentimes we consider pains superior to pleasures when submission to the pains for a long time brings us as a consequence a greater pleasure. While therefore all pleasure because it is naturally akin to us is good, not all pleasure is choiceworthy, just as all pain is an evil and yet not all pain is to be shunned. It is, however, by measuring one against another, and by looking at the conveniences and inconveniences, that all these matters must be judged. Sometimes we treat the good as an evil, and the evil, on the contrary, as a good. Again, we regard independence of outward things as a great good, not so as in all cases to use little, but so as to be contented with little if we have not much, being honestly persuaded that they have the sweetest enjoyment of luxury who stand least in need of it, and that whatever is natural is easily procured and only the vain and worthless hard to win. Plain fare gives as much pleasure as a costly diet, when once the pain of want has been removed, while bread and water confer the highest possible pleasure when they are brought to hungry lips. To habituate one's self, therefore, to simple and inexpensive diet supplies all that is needful for health, and enables a man to meet the necessary requirements of life without shrinking, and it places us in a better condition when we approach at intervals a costly fare and renders us fearless of fortune.

When we say, then, that pleasure is the end and aim, we do not mean the pleasure of the prodigal or the pleasures of sensuality, as we are understood to do by some through ignorance, prejudice, or wilful misrepresentation. By pleasure we mean the absence of pain in the body and of trouble in the soul. It is not an unbroken succession of drinking-bouts and of revelry, not sexual love, not the enjoyment of the fish and other delicacies of a luxurious table, which produce a pleasant life; it is sober reasoning, searching out the grounds of every choice and avoidance, and banishing those beliefs through which the greatest tumults take possession of the soul. Of all this the beginning and the greatest good is prudence. Wherefore prudence is a more precious thing even than philosophy; from it spring all the other virtues, for it teaches that we cannot lead a life of pleasure which is not also a life of prudence, honour, and justice; nor lead a life of prudence, honour, and justice, which is not also a life of pleasure. For the virtues have grown into one with a pleasant life, and a pleasant life is inseparable from them.

Who, then, is superior in thy judgement to such a man? He holds a holy

belief concerning the gods, and is altogether free from the fear of death. He has diligently considered the end fixed by nature, and understands how easily the limit of good things can be reached and attained, and how either the duration or the intensity of evils is but slight. Destiny, which some introduce as sovereign over all things, he laughs to scorn, affirming rather that some things happen of necessity, others by chance, others through our own agency. For he sees that necessity destroys responsibility and that chance or fortune is inconstant; whereas our own actions are free, and it is to them that praise and blame naturally attach. It were better, indeed, to accept the legends of the gods than to bow beneath that yoke of destiny which the natural philosophers have imposed. The one holds out some faint hope that we may escape if we honour the gods, while the necessity of the naturalists is deaf to all entreaties. Nor does he hold chance to be a god, as the world in general does, for in the acts of a god there is no disorder; nor to be a cause, though an uncertain one, for he believes that no good or evil is dispensed by chance to men so as to make life blessed, though it supplies the starting-point of great good and great evil. He believes that the misfortune of the wise is better than the prosperity of the fool. It is better, in short, that what is well judged in action should not owe its successful issue to the aid of chance.

Exercise thyself in these and kindred precepts day and night, both by thyself and with him who is like unto thee; then never, either in waking or in dream, wilt thou be disturbed, but wilt live as a god among men. For man loses all semblance of mortality by living in the midst of immortal blessings.

## Epictetus

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The dates of Epictetus' birth and death are unknown, but a reasonable guess would place his life between approximately 50 and 130 A.D. He was a slave of Epaphroditus, an influential freedman of the Emperor Nero. Presumably Epictetus' intelligence impressed his master, who, for whatever motive, had him educated, sending him to the lectures of Musonius Rufus, the most celebrated Stoic philosopher of the day. (Nothing that we learn of Epaphroditus suggests that he had any leanings toward Stoicism himself.) At some date unknown to us Epictetus must have been given his freedom, and he began to teach in Rome. In 89 A.D. Domitian expelled all philosophers from Rome. Epictetus moved his school to Nicopolis, a city on the east coast of the Adriatic, founded by Augustus to commemorate his victory at Actium. He taught there for the rest of his life.

Epictetus apparently produced no philosophical writings of his own. It is to his pupil Arrian, who later wrote a history of Alexander the Great, that we owe the extant *Discourses*, which give a lively presentation not merely of the matter but also the manner of Epictetus' classroom teaching. The *Encheiridion*—the word means both “handbook” and “dagger” and might have connotations of defense against the buffets of life—is an epitome drawn from the *Discourses*. It was written some three hundred fifty years after the latest of the other documents printed in this volume. It is placed here for several reasons. Though Stoicism had existed for about three hundred fifty years, and many Stoics, some of them very prolific writers, had written works of philosophy during that time, their treatises have come down to us only in fragments. The works of two other Stoic thinkers of the Empire, the younger Seneca and the Emperor Marcus Aurelius, survive; but their writings do not contain as succinct a presentation of Stoic ethical doctrines as is furnished by the *Encheiridion*.

The question of the relationship between the ethical doctrines of Epictetus and those of Zeno of Citium, the founder of Stoicism, is too large to discuss here. Epictetus is certainly more quietist than Zeno, for he attempts to deter his pupils from taking part in public life, while Zeno is reputed to have taken no part in public life himself but to have encouraged his pupils to do so. However, the values expressed in the *Encheiridion*, particularly in its earlier chapters, can readily be pressed into service by those leading an active public life, and they will suffice to convey an idea of the values and attitudes of politically active Greeks and Romans who, while not themselves creative philosophers, sought in Stoicism a world view that would enable them to withstand the buffets of a dangerous and baffling world.

## 20. Epictetus, *Encheiridion*

1. Some things are under our control, while others are not under our control. Under our control are conception, choice, desire, aversion, and, in a word, everything that is our own doing; not under our control are our body, our property, reputation, office, and, in a word, everything that is not our own doing. Furthermore, the things under our control are by nature free, unhindered, and unimpeded; while the things not under our control are weak, servile, subject to hindrance, and not our own. Remember, therefore, that if what is naturally slavish you think to be free, and what is not your own to be your own, you will be hampered, will grieve, will be in turmoil, and will blame both gods and men; while if you think only what is your own to be your own, and what is not your own to be, as it really is, not your own, then no one will ever be able to exert compulsion upon you, no one will hinder you, you will blame no one, will find fault with no one, will do absolutely nothing against your will, you will have no personal enemy, no one will harm you, for neither is there any harm that can touch you.

With such high aims, therefore, remember that you must bestir yourself with no slight effort to lay hold of them, but you will have to give up some things entirely, and defer others for the time being. But if you wish for these things also, and at the same time for both office and wealth, it may be that you will not get even these latter, because you aim also at the former, and certainly you will fail to get the former, which alone bring freedom and happiness.

Make it, therefore, your study at the very outset to say to every harsh

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external impression, "You are an external impression and not at all what you appear to be." After that examine it and test it by these rules which you have, the first and most important of which is this: whether the impression has to do with the things which are under our control, or with those which are not under our control, and, if it has to do with some one of the things not under our control, have ready to hand the answer, "It is nothing to me."

2. Remember that the promise of desire is the attainment of what you desire, that of aversion is not to fall into what is avoided, and that he who fails in his desire is unfortunate, while he who falls into what he would avoid experiences misfortune. If, then, you avoid only what is unnatural among those things which are under your control, you will fall into none of the things which you avoid; but if you try to avoid disease, or death, or poverty, you will experience misfortune. Withdraw, therefore, your aversion from all the matters that are not under our control, and transfer it to what is unnatural among those which are under our control. But for the time being<sup>1</sup> remove utterly your desire; for if you desire some one of the things that are not under our control you are bound to be unfortunate; and, at the same time, not one of the things that are under our control, which it would be excellent for you to desire, is within your grasp. But employ only choice and refusal and these too but lightly, and with reservations, and without straining.

3. With everything which entertains you, is useful, or of which you are fond, remember to say to yourself, beginning with the very least things, "What is its nature?" If you are fond of a jug, say, "I am fond of a jug"; for when it is broken you will not be disturbed. If you kiss your own child or wife, say to yourself that you are kissing a human being; for when it dies you will not be disturbed.

4. When you are on the point of putting your hand to some undertaking, remind yourself what the nature of that undertaking is. If you are going out of the house to bathe, put before your mind what happens at a public bath—those who splash you with water, those who jostle against you, those who vilify you and rob you. And thus you will set about your undertaking more securely if at the outset you say to yourself, "I want to take a bath, and, at the same time, to keep my moral purpose in harmony with nature." And so do in every undertaking. For thus, if anything happens to hinder you in your bathing, you will be ready to say, "Oh, well, this was not the only thing that I wanted, but I wanted also to keep my moral purpose in harmony with nature; and I shall not so keep it if I am vexed at what is going on."

1. The remark, like many others of the admonitions, is addressed to a student or a beginner.

5. It is not the things themselves that disturb men, but their judgements about these things. For example, death is nothing dreadful, or else Socrates too would have thought so, but the judgement that death is dreadful, this is the dreadful thing. When, therefore, we are hindered, or disturbed, or grieved, let us never blame anyone but ourselves, that means, our own judgements. It is the part of an uneducated person to blame others where he himself fares ill; to blame himself is the part of one whose education has begun; to blame neither another nor his own self is the part of one whose education is already complete.

6. Be not elated at any excellence which is not your own. If the horse in his elation were to say, "I am beautiful," it could be endured; but when you say in your elation, "I have a beautiful horse," rest assured that you are elated at something good which belongs to a horse. What, then, is your own? The use of external impressions. Therefore, when you are in harmony with nature in the use of external impressions, then be elated; for then it will be some good of your own at which you will be elated.

7. Just as on a voyage, when your ship has anchored, if you should go on shore to get fresh water, you may pick up a small shell-fish or little [edible] bulb on the way, but you have to keep your attention fixed on the ship, and turn about frequently for fear lest the captain should call; and if he calls, you must give up all these things if you would escape being thrown on board all tied up like the sheep. So it is also in life: If there be given you, instead of a little bulb and a small shell-fish, a little wife and child, there will be no objection to that; only, if the Captain calls, give up all these things and run to the ship, without even turning around to look back. And if you are an old man, never even get very far away from the ship, for fear that when He calls you may be missing.

8. Do not seek to have everything that happens happen as you wish, but wish for everything to happen as it actually does happen, and your life will be serene.

9. Disease is an impediment to the body, but not to the moral purpose, unless that consents. Lameness is an impediment to the leg, but not to the moral purpose. And say this to yourself at each thing that befalls you; for you will find the thing to be an impediment to something else, but not to yourself.

10. In the case of everything that befalls you, remember to turn to yourself and see what faculty you have to deal with it. If you see a handsome lad or woman, you will find continence the faculty to employ here; if hard labour is laid upon you, you will find endurance; if reviling, you will find patience to bear evil. And if you habituate yourself in this fashion, your external impressions will not run away with you.

11. Never say about anything, "I have lost it," but only "I have given

it back." Is your child dead? It has been given back. Is your wife dead? She has been given back. "I have had my farm taken away." Very well, this too has been given back. "Yet it was a rascal who took it away." But what concern is it of yours by whose instrumentality the Giver called for its return? So long as He gives it you, take care of it as of a thing that is not your own, as travellers treat their inn.

12. If you wish to make progress, dismiss all reasoning of this sort: "If I neglect my affairs, I shall have nothing to live on." "If I do not punish my slave-boy, he will turn out bad." For it is better to die of hunger, but in a state of freedom from grief and fear, than to live in plenty, but troubled in mind. And it is better for your slave-boy to be bad than for you to be unhappy. Begin, therefore, with the little things. Your paltry oil gets spilled, your miserable wine stolen; say to yourself, "This is the price paid for a calm spirit, this the price for peace of mind." Nothing is got without a price. And when you call your slave-boy, bear in mind that it is possible he may not heed you, and again, that even if he does heed, he may not do what you want done. But he is not in so happy a condition that your peace of mind depends upon him.<sup>2</sup>

13. If you wish to make progress, then be content to appear senseless and foolish in externals, do not make it your wish to give the appearance of knowing anything; and if some people think you to be an important personage, distrust yourself. For be assured that it is no easy matter to keep your moral purpose in a state of conformity with nature, and, at the same time, to keep externals; but the man who devotes his attention to one of these two things must inevitably neglect the other.

14. If you make it your will that your children and your wife and your friends should live for ever, you are silly; for you are making it your will that things not under your control should be under your control and that what is not your own should be your own. In the same way, too, if you make it your will that your slave-boy be free from faults, you are a fool; for you are making it your will that vice be not vice, but something else. If, however, it is your will not to fail in what you desire, this is in your power. Wherefore, exercise yourself in that which is in your power. Each man's master is the person who has the authority over what the man wishes or does not wish, so as to secure it, or take it away. Whoever, therefore, wants to be free, let him neither wish for anything, nor avoid anything, that is under the control of others; or else he is necessarily a slave.

15. Remember that you ought to behave in life as you would at a banquet. As something is being passed around it comes to you; stretch out your

2. That is, the slave-boy would be in a remarkable position of advantage if his master's peace of mind depended, not upon the master himself, but upon the actions of his slave-boy.

hand and take a portion of it politely. It passes on; do not detain it. Or it has not come to you yet; do not project your desire, to meet it, but wait until it comes in front of you. So act toward children, so toward a wife, so toward office, so toward wealth; and then some day you will be worthy of the banquets of the gods. But if you do not take these things even when they are set before you but despise them, then you will not only share the banquet of the gods, but share also their rule. For it was by so doing that Diogenes and Heraclitus, and men like them, were deservedly divine and deservedly so called.

16. When you see someone weeping in sorrow, either because a child has gone on a journey, or because he has lost his property, beware that you be not carried away by the impression that the man is in the midst of external ills, but straightway keep before you this thought: "It is not what has happened that distresses this man (for it does not distress another), but his judgement about it." Do not, however, hesitate to sympathize with him so far as words go, and, if occasion offers, even to groan with him; but be careful not to groan also in the centre of your being.

17. Remember that you are an actor in a play, the character of which is determined by the Playwright: if He wishes the play to be short, it is short; if long, it is long; if He wishes you to play the part of a beggar, remember to act even this role adroitly; and so if your role be that of a cripple, an official, or a layman. For this is your business, to play admirably the role assigned you; but the selection of that role is Another's.

18. When a raven croaks inauspiciously, let not the external impression carry you away, but straightway draw a distinction in your own mind, and say, "None of these portents are for me, but either for my paltry body, or my paltry estate, or my paltry opinion, or my children, or my wife. But for me every portent is favourable, if I so wish; for whatever be the outcome, it is within my power to derive benefit from it."

19. You can be invincible if you never enter a contest in which victory is not under your control. Beware lest, when you see some person preferred to you in honour, or possessing great power, or otherwise enjoying high repute, you are ever carried away by the external impression, and deem him happy. For if the true nature of the good is one of the things that are under our control, there is no place for either envy or jealousy; and you yourself will not wish to be a praetor, or a senator, or a consul, but a free man. Now there is but one way that leads to this, and that is to despise the things that are not under our control.

20. Bear in mind that it is not the man who reviles or strikes you that insults you, but it is your judgement that these men are insulting you. Therefore, when someone irritates you, be assured that it is your own opinion which has irritated you. And so make it your first endeavour not to be

carried away by the external impression; for if once you gain time and delay, you will more easily become master of yourself.

21. Keep before your eyes day by day death and exile, and everything that seems terrible, but most of all death; and then you will never have any abject thought, nor will you yearn for anything beyond measure.

22. If you yearn for philosophy, prepare at once to be met with ridicule, to have many people jeer at you, and say, "Here he is again, turned philosopher all of a sudden," and "Where do you suppose he got that high brow?" But do you not put on a high brow, and do you so hold fast to the things which to you seem best, as a man who has been assigned by God to this post; and remember that if you abide by the same principles, those who formerly used to laugh at you will later come to admire you, but if you are worsted by them, you will get the laugh on yourself twice.

23. If it should ever happen to you that you turn to externals with a view to pleasing someone, rest assured that you have lost your plan of life. Be content, therefore, in everything to *be* a philosopher, and if you wish also to be taken for one, show to yourself that you are one, and you will be able to accomplish it.

24. Let not these reflections oppress you: "I shall live without honour, and be nobody anywhere." For, if lack of honour is an evil, you cannot be in evil through the instrumentality of some other person, any more than you can be in shame.<sup>3</sup> It is not your business, is it, to get office, or to be invited to a dinner-party? Certainly not. How, then, can this be any longer a lack of honour? And how is it that you will be "nobody anywhere," when you ought to be somebody only in those things which are under your control, wherein you are privileged to be a man of the very greatest honour? But your friends will be without assistance? What do you mean by being "without assistance"? They will not have paltry coin from you, and you will not make them Roman citizens. Well, who told you that these are some of the matters under our control, and not rather things which others do? And who is able to give another what he does not himself have? "Get money, then," says some friend, "in order that we too may have it." If I can get money and at the same time keep myself self-respecting, and faithful, and high-minded, show me the way and I will get it. But if you require me to lose the good things that belong to me, in order that you may acquire the things that are not good, you can see for yourselves how unfair and inconsiderate you are. And which do you really prefer? Money, or a faithful and

3. That is, every man is exclusively responsible for his own good or evil. But honour and the lack of it are things which are obviously not under a man's control, since they depend upon the action of other people. It follows, therefore, that lack of honour cannot be an evil, but must be something indifferent.

self-respecting friend? Help me, therefore, rather to this end, and do not require me to do those things which will make me lose these qualities.

"But my country," says he, "so far as lies in me, will be without assistance." Again I ask, what kind of assistance do you mean? It will not have logias or baths of your providing. And what does that signify? For neither does it have shoes provided by the blacksmith, nor has it arms provided by the cobbler; but it is sufficient if each man fulfil his own proper function. And if you secured for it another faithful and self-respecting citizen, would you not be doing it any good? "Yes." Very well, and then you also would not be useless to it. "What place, then, shall I have in the State?" says he. Whatever place you can have, and at the same time maintain the man of fidelity and self-respect that is in you. But if, through your desire to help the State, you lose these qualities, of what good would you become to it, when in the end you turned out to be shameless and unfaithful?

25. Has someone been honoured above you at a dinner-party, or in salutation, or in being called in to give advice? Now if these matters are good, you ought to be happy that he got them; but if evil, be not distressed because you did not get them; and bear in mind that, if you do not act the same way that others do, with a view to getting things which are not under our control, you cannot be considered worthy to receive an equal share with others. Why, how is it possible for a person who does not haunt some man's door, to have equal shares with the man who does? For the man who does not do escort duty, with the man who does? For the man who does not praise, with the man who does? You will be unjust, therefore, and insatiable, if, while refusing to pay the price for which such things are bought, you want to obtain them for nothing. Well, what is the price for heads of lettuce? An obol, perhaps. If, then, somebody gives up his obol and gets his heads of lettuce, while you do not give your obol, and do not get them, do not imagine that you are worse off than the man who gets his lettuce. For as he has his heads of lettuce, so you have your obol, which you have not given away.

Now it is the same way also in life. You have not been invited to somebody's dinner-party? Of course not; for you didn't give the host the price at which he sells his dinner. He sells it for praise; he sells it for personal attention. Give him the price, then, for which it is sold, if it is to your interest. But if you wish both not to give up the one and yet to get the other, you are insatiable and a simpleton. Have you, then, nothing in place of the dinner? Indeed you have; you have not had to praise the man you did not want to praise; you have not had to put up with the insolence of his doorkeepers.

26. What the will of nature is may be learned from a consideration of the points in which we do not differ from one another. For example, when some other person's slave-boy breaks his drinking-cup, you are instantly ready to say, "That's one of the things which happen." Rest assured, then,

that when your own drinking-cup gets broken, you ought to behave in the same way that you do when the other man's cup is broken. Apply now the same principle to the matters of greater importance. Some other person's child or wife has died; no one but would say, "Such is the fate of man." Yet when a man's own child dies, immediately the cry is, "Alas! Woe is me!" But we ought to remember how we feel when we hear of the same misfortune befalling others.

27. Just as a mark is not set up in order to be missed, so neither does the nature of evil arise in the universe.<sup>4</sup>

28. If someone handed over your body to any person who met you, you would be vexed; but that you hand over your mind to any person that comes along, so that, if he reviles you, it is disturbed and troubled—are you not ashamed of that?

29. In each separate thing that you do, consider the matters which come first and those which follow after, and only then approach the thing itself. Otherwise, at the start you will come to it enthusiastically, because you have never reflected upon any of the subsequent steps, but later on, when some difficulties appear, you will give up disgracefully. Do you wish to win an Olympic victory? So do I, by the gods! for it is a fine thing. But consider the matters which come before that, and those which follow after, and only when you have done that, put your hand to the task. You have to submit to discipline, follow a strict diet, give up sweet cakes, train under compulsion, at a fixed hour, in heat or in cold; you must not drink cold water, nor wine just whenever you feel like it; you must have turned yourself over to your trainer precisely as you would to a physician. Then when the contest comes on, you have to "dig in" beside your opponent, and sometimes dislocate your wrist, sprain your ankle, swallow quantities of sand, sometimes take a scourging, and along with all that get beaten. After you have considered all these points, go on into the games, if you still wish to do so; otherwise, you will be turning back like children. Sometimes they play wrestlers, again gladiators, again they blow trumpets, and then act a play. So you too are now an athlete, now a gladiator, then a rhetorician, then a philosopher, yet with your whole soul nothing; but like an ape you imitate whatever you see, and one thing after another strikes your fancy. For you have never gone out after anything with circumspection, nor after you had examined it all over, but you act at haphazard and half-heartedly.

In the same way, when some people have seen a philosopher and have heard someone speaking like Euphrates (though, indeed, who can speak like him?), they wish to be philosophers themselves. Man, consider first the nature of the business, and then learn your own natural ability, if you

4. That is, it is inconceivable that the universe should exist in order that some things may go wrong; hence, nothing natural is evil, and nothing that is by nature evil can arise.

are able to bear it. Do you wish to be a contender in the pentathlon, or a wrestler? Look to your arms, your thighs, see what your loins are like. For one man has a natural talent for one thing, another for another. Do you suppose that you can eat in the same fashion, drink in the same fashion, give way to anger and to irritation, just as you do now? You must keep vigils, work hard, abandon your own people, be despised by a paltry slave, be laughed to scorn by those who meet you, in everything get the worst of it, in honour, in office, in court, in every paltry affair. Look these drawbacks over carefully, if you are willing at the price of these things to secure tranquillity, freedom, and calm. Otherwise, do not approach philosophy; don't act like a child—now a philosopher, later on a tax-gatherer, then a rhetorician, then a procurator of Caesar. These things do not go together. You must be one person, either good or bad; you must labour to improve either your own governing principle or externals; you must work hard either on the inner man, or on things outside; that is, play either the role of a philosopher or else that of a layman.

30. Our duties are in general measured by our social relationships. He is a father. One is called upon to take care of him, to give way to him in all things, to submit when he reviles or strikes you. "But he is a bad father." Did nature, then, bring you into relationship with a good father? No, but simply with a father. "My brother does me wrong." Very well, then, maintain the relation that you have toward him; and do not consider what he is doing, but what you will have to do, if your moral purpose is to be in harmony with nature. For no one will harm you without your consent; you will have been harmed only when you think you are harmed. In this way, therefore, you will discover what duty to expect of your neighbour, your citizen, your commanding officer, if you acquire the habit of looking at your social relations with them.

31. In piety towards the gods, I would have you know, the chief element is this, to have right opinions about them—as existing and as administering the universe well and justly—and to have set yourself to obey them and to submit to everything that happens, and to follow it voluntarily, in the belief that it is being fulfilled by the highest intelligence. For if you act in this way, you will never blame the gods, nor find fault with them for neglecting you. But this result cannot be secured in any other way than by withdrawing your idea of the good and the evil from the things which are not under our control, and in those alone. Because, if you think any of those former things to be good or evil, then, when you fail to get what you want and fall into what you do not want, it is altogether inevitable that you will blame and hate those who are responsible for these results. For this is the nature of every living creature, to flee from and to turn aside from the things that appear harmful, and all that produces them, and to pursue after and to admire the things that are helpful, and all that produces them.

Therefore, it is impossible for a man who thinks that he is being hurt to take pleasure in that which he thinks is hurting him, just as it is also impossible for him to take pleasure in the hurt itself. Hence it follows that even a father is reviled by a son when he does not give his child some share in the things that seem to be good; and this it was which made Polyneices and Eteocles enemies of one another, the thought that the royal power was a good thing. That is why the farmer reviles the gods, and so also the sailor, and the merchant, and those who have lost their wives and their children. For where a man's interest lies, there is also his piety. Wherefore, whoever is careful to exercise desire and aversion as he should, is at the same time careful also about piety. But it is always appropriate to make libations, and sacrifices, and to give of the firstfruits after the manner of our fathers, and to do all this with purity, and not in a slovenly or careless fashion, nor, indeed, in a niggardly way, nor yet beyond our means.

32. When you have recourse to divination, remember that you do not know what the issue is going to be but that you have come in order to find this out from the diviner; yet if you are indeed a philosopher, you know, when you arrive, what the nature of it is. For if it is one of the things which are not under our control, it is altogether necessary that what is going to take place is neither good nor evil. Do not, therefore, bring to the diviner desire or aversion, and do not approach him with trembling, but having first made up your mind that every issue is indifferent and nothing to you, but that, whatever it may be, it will be possible for you to turn it to good use, and that no one will prevent this. Go, then, with confidence to the gods as counsellors; and after that, when some counsel has been given you, remember whom you have taken as counsellors, and whom you will be disregarding if you disobey. But go to divination as Socrates thought that men should go, that is, in cases where the whole inquiry has reference to the outcome and where neither from reason nor from any other technical art are means vouchsafed for discovering the matter in question. Hence, when it is your duty to share the danger of a friend or of your country, do not ask of the diviner whether you ought to share that danger. For if the diviner forewarns you that the omens of sacrifice have been unfavourable, it is clear that death is portended, or the injury of some member of your body, or exile; yet reason requires that even at this risk you are to stand by your friend, and share the danger with your country. Wherefore, give heed to the greater diviner, the Pythian Apollo, who cast out of his temple the man who had not helped his friend when he was being murdered.<sup>5</sup>

5. The point of the story is that a man does not need to go to a diviner in order to learn whether he should defend his country or his friends. That question was long ago settled by the greatest of diviners, Apollo at Delphi, who ordered to be cast out of his temple an inquirer that had once failed to defend his own friend.

33. Lay down for yourself, at the outset, a certain stamp and type of character for yourself, which you are to maintain whether you are by yourself or are meeting with people. And be silent for the most part, or else make only the most necessary remarks, and express these in few words. But rarely, and when occasion requires you to talk, talk, indeed, but about no ordinary topics. Do not talk about gladiators, or horse races or athletes, or things to eat or drink—topics that arise on all occasions; but above all, do not talk about people, either blaming, or praising, or comparing them. If, then, you can, by your own conversation bring over that of your companions to what is seemly. But if you happen to be left alone in the presence of aliens, keep silence.

Do not laugh much, nor at many things, nor boisterously.

Refuse, if you can, to take an oath at all, but if that is impossible, refuse as far as circumstance allows.

Avoid entertainments given by outsiders and by persons ignorant of philosophy; but if an appropriate occasion arises for you to attend, be on the alert to avoid lapsing into the behaviour of such laymen. For you may rest assured, that, if a man's companion be dirty, the person who keeps close company with him must of necessity get a share of his dirt, even though he himself happens to be clean.

In things that pertain to the body take only as much as your bare need requires, I mean such things as food, drink, clothing, shelter, and household slaves; but cut down everything which is for outward show or luxury.

In your sex-life preserve purity, as far as you can, before marriage, and, if you indulge, take only those privileges which are lawful. However, do not make yourself offensive, or censorious, to those who do indulge, and do not make frequent mention of the fact that you do not yourself indulge.

If someone brings you word that So-and-so is speaking ill of you, do not defend yourself against what has been said, but answer "Yes, indeed, for he did not know the rest of the faults that attach to me; if he had, these would not have been the only ones he mentioned."

It is not necessary, for the most part, to go to the public shows. If, however, a suitable occasion ever arises, show that your principal concern is for none other than yourself, which means, wish only for that to happen which does happen, and for him only to win who does win; for so you will suffer no hindrance. But refrain utterly from shouting, or laughter at anyone, or great excitement. And after you have left, do not talk a great deal about what took place, except in so far as it contributes to your own improvement; for such behaviour indicates that the spectacle has aroused your admiration.

Do not go rashly or readily to people's public readings, but when you do go, maintain your own dignity and gravity, and at the same time be careful not to make yourself disagreeable.

When you are about to meet somebody, in particular when it is one of those men who are held in very high esteem, propose to yourself the question, "What would Socrates or Zeno have done under these circumstances?" and then you will not be at a loss to make proper use of the occasion. When you go to see one of those men who have great power, propose to yourself the thought, that you will not find him at home, that you will be shut out, that the door will be slammed in your face, that he will pay no attention to you. And if, despite all this, it is your duty to go, go and take what comes, and never say to yourself, "It was not worth all the trouble." For this is characteristic of the layman, that is, a man who is vexed at externals.

In your conversation avoid making mention at great length and excessively of your own deeds or dangers, because it is not as pleasant for others to hear about your adventures, as it is for you to call to mind your own dangers.

Avoid also raising a laugh, for this is a kind of behaviour that slips easily into vulgarity, and at the same time is calculated to lessen the respect which your neighbours have of you. It is dangerous also to lapse into foul language. When, therefore, anything of the sort occurs, if the occasion be suitable, go even so far as to reprove the person who has made such a lapse; if, however, the occasion does not arise, at all events show by keeping silence, and blushing, and frowning, that you are displeased by what has been said.

34. When you get an external impression of some pleasure, guard yourself, as with impressions in general, against being carried away by it; nay, let the matter wait upon *your* leisure, and give yourself a little delay. Next think of the two periods of time, first, that in which you will enjoy your pleasure, and second, that in which, after the enjoyment is over, you will later repent and revile your own self; and set over against these two periods of time how much joy and self-satisfaction you will get if you refrain. However, if you feel that a suitable occasion has arisen to do the deed, be careful not to allow its enticement, and sweetness, and attractiveness to overcome you; but set over against all this the thought, how much better is the consciousness of having won a victory over it.

35. When you do a thing which you have made up your mind ought to be done, never try not to be seen doing it, even though most people are likely to think unfavourably about it. If, however, what you are doing is not right, avoid the deed itself altogether; but if it is right, why fear those who are going to rebuke you wrongly?

36. Just as the propositions, "It is day," and "It is night," are full of meaning when separated, but meaningless if united; so also, granted that for you to take the larger share at a dinner is good for your body, still, it is bad for the maintenance of the proper kind of social feeling. When, there-

fore, you are eating with another person, remember to regard, not merely the value for your body of what lies before you, but also to maintain your respect for your host.

37. If you undertake a role which is beyond your powers, you both disgrace yourself in that one, and at the same time neglect the role which you might have filled with success.

38. Just as you are careful, in walking about, not to step on a nail or to sprain your ankle, so be careful also not to hurt your governing principle. And if we observe this rule in every action, we shall be more secure in setting about it.

39. Each man's body is a measure for his property,<sup>6</sup> just as the foot is a measure for his shoe. If, then, you abide by this principle, you will maintain the proper measure, but if you go beyond it, you cannot help but fall headlong over a precipice, as it were, in the end. So also in the case of your shoe; if once you go beyond the foot, you get first a gilded shoe, then a purple one, then an embroidered one. For once you go beyond the measure there is no limit.

40. Immediately after they are fourteen, women are called "ladies" by men. And so when they see that they have nothing else but only to be the bed-fellows of men, they begin to beautify themselves, and put all their hopes in that. It is worth while for us to take pains, therefore, to make them understand that they are honoured for nothing else but only for appearing modest and self-respecting.

41. It is a mark of an ungifted man to spend a great deal of time in what concerns his body, as in much exercise, much eating, much drinking, much evacuating of the bowels, much copulating. But these things are to be done in passing; and let your whole attention be devoted to the mind.

42. When someone treats you ill or speaks ill of you, remember that he acts or speaks thus because he thinks it is incumbent upon him. That being the case, it is impossible for him to follow what appears good to you, but what appears good to himself; whence it follows, that, if he gets a wrong view of things, the man that suffers is the man that has been deceived. For if a person thinks a composite judgement to be false, the composite judgement does not suffer, but the person who has been deceived. If, therefore, you start from this point of view, you will be gentle with the man who reviles you. For you should say on each occasion, "He thought that way about it."

43. Everything has two handles, by one of which it ought to be carried and by the other not. If your brother wrongs you, do not lay hold of the

6. That is, property, which is of use only for the body, should be adjusted to a man's actual bodily needs, just as a shoe is (or at least should be) adjusted to the actual needs of a man's foot.

matter by the handle of the wrong that he is doing, because this is the handle by which the matter ought not to be carried; but rather by the other handle—that he is your brother, that you were brought up together, and then you will be laying hold of the matter by the handle by which it ought to be carried.

44. The following statements constitute a *non sequitur*: "I am richer than you are, therefore I am superior to you"; or, "I am more eloquent than you are, therefore I am superior to you." But the following conclusions are better: "I am richer than you are, therefore my property is superior to yours"; or, "I am more eloquent than you are, therefore my elocution is superior to yours." But you are neither property nor elocution.

45. Somebody is hasty about bathing; do not say that he bathes badly, but that he is hasty about bathing. Somebody drinks a good deal of wine; do not say that he drinks badly, but that he drinks a good deal. For until you have decided what judgement prompts him, how do you know that what he is doing is bad? And thus the final result will not be that you receive convincing sense-impressions of some things, but give your assent to others.

46. On no occasion call yourself a philosopher, and do not, for the most part, talk among laymen about your philosophic principles, but do what follows from your principles. For example, at a banquet do not say how people ought to eat, but eat as a man ought. For remember how Socrates had so completely eliminated the thought of ostentation, that people came to him when they wanted him to introduce them to philosophers, and he used to bring them along. So well did he submit to being overlooked. And if talk about some philosophic principle arises among laymen, keep silence for the most part, for there is great danger that you will spew up immediately what you have not digested. So when a man tells you that you know nothing, and you, like Socrates, are not hurt, then rest assured that you are making a beginning with the business you have undertaken. For sheep, too, do not bring their fodder to the shepherds and show how much they have eaten, but they digest their food within them, and on the outside produce wool and milk. And so do you, therefore, make no display to the laymen of your philosophical principles, but let them see the results which come from these principles when digested.

47. When you have become adjusted to simple living in regard to your bodily wants, do not preen yourself about the accomplishment; and so likewise, if you are a water-drinker, do not on every occasion say that you are a water-drinker. And if ever you want to train to develop physical endurance, do it by yourself and not for outsiders to behold; do not throw your arms around statues, but on occasion, when you are very thirsty, take cold water into your mouth, and then spit it out, without telling anybody.

48. This is the position and character of a layman: He never looks for either help or harm from himself, but only from externals. This is the posi-

tion and character of the philosopher: He looks for all his help or harm from himself.

Signs of one who is making progress are: He censures no one, praises no one, blames no one, finds fault with no one, says nothing about himself as though he were somebody or knew something. When he is hampered or prevented, he blames himself. And if anyone compliments him, he smiles to himself at the person complimenting; while if anyone censures him, he makes no defence. He goes about like an invalid, being careful not to disturb, before it has grown firm, any part which is getting well. He has put away from himself his every desire, and has transferred his aversion to those things only, of what is under our control, which are contrary to nature. He exercises no pronounced choice in regard to anything. If he gives the appearance of being foolish or ignorant, he does not care. In a word, he keeps guard against himself as though he were his own enemy lying in wait.

49. When a person gives himself airs because he can understand and interpret the books of Chrysippus, say to yourself, "If Chrysippus had not written obscurely, this man would have nothing about which to give him-  
self airs."

But what is it I want? To learn nature and to follow her. I seek, therefore, someone to interpret her; and having heard that Chrysippus does so, I go to him. But I do not understand what he has written; I seek, therefore, the person who interprets Chrysippus. And down to this point there is nothing to justify pride. But when I find the interpreter, what remains is to put his precepts into practice; this is the only thing to be proud about. If, however, I admire the mere act of interpretation, what have I done but turned into a grammarian instead of a philosopher? The only difference, indeed, is that I interpret Chrysippus instead of Homer. Far from being proud, therefore, when somebody says to me, "Read me Chrysippus," I blush the rather, when I am unable to show him such deeds as match and harmonize with his words.

50. Whatever principles are set before you, stand fast by these like laws, feeling that it would be impiety for you to transgress them. But pay no attention to what somebody says about you, for this is, at length, not under your control.

51. How long will you still wait to think yourself worthy of the best things, and in nothing to transgress against the distinctions set up by the reason? You have received the philosophical principles which you ought to accept, and you have accepted them. What sort of a teacher, then, do you still wait for, that you should put off reforming yourself until he arrives? You are no longer a lad, but already a full-grown man. If you are now negligent and easy-going, and always making one delay after another, and

fixing first one day and then another, after which you will pay attention to yourself, then without realising it you will make no progress, but living and dying, will continue to be a slave throughout. Make up your mind, therefore, before it is too late, that the fitting thing for you to do is to live as a mature man who is making progress, and let everything which seems to you to be best be for you a law that must not be transgressed. And if you meet anything that is laborious, or sweet, or held in high repute, or in no repute, remember that *now* is the contest, and here before you are the Olympic games, and that it is impossible to delay any longer, and that it depends on a single day and a single action, whether progress is lost or saved. This is the way Socrates became what he was, by paying attention to nothing but his reason in everything that he encountered. And even if you are not yet a Socrates, still you ought to live as one who wishes to be a Socrates.

52. The first and most necessary division in philosophy is that which has to do with the application of the principles, as, for example, Do not lie. The second deals with the demonstrations, as, for example, How comes it that we ought not to lie? The third confirms and discriminates between these processes, as, for example, How does it come that this is a proof? For what is a proof, what is logical consequence, what contradiction, what truth, what falsehood? Therefore, the third division is necessary because of the second, and the second because of the first; while the most necessary of all, and the one in which we ought to rest, is the first. But we do the opposite; for we spend our time in the third division, and all our zeal is devoted to it, while we utterly neglect the first. Wherefore, we lie, indeed, but are ready with the arguments which prove that one ought not to lie.

53. Upon every occasion we ought to have the following thoughts at our command:

"Lead thou me on, O Zeus, and Destiny,  
To that goal long ago to me assigned.  
I'll follow and not falter; if my will  
Prove weak and craven, still I'll follow on."<sup>7</sup>

"Whoso has rightly with necessity complied,  
We count him wise, and skilled in things divine."<sup>8</sup>

"Well, O Crito, if so it is pleasing to the gods, so let it be."<sup>9</sup>

"Anytus and Meletus can kill me, but they cannot hurt me."<sup>10</sup>

7. From Cleanthes, who succeeded Zeno as head of the Stoic school.

8. Euripides, frag. 965 Nauck.

9. Plato, *Crito*, 43d (slightly modified). See p. 207.

10. Plato, *Apology*, 30c-d (somewhat modified). See p. 196.

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SB10. Philo of Alexandria, *On the Life of Moses*.

Philo was a Hellenized Jew who lived in the first century C.E., and along with Josephus, is one of the only Jewish witnesses of that time period to have come down to us. He wrote the *Life of Moses* in part to present Judaism to a non-Jewish, Greek speaking audience.

# PHILO

WITH AN ENGLISH TRANSLATION BY

F. H. COLSON, M.A.

LATE FELLOW OF ST. JOHN'S COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE

IN TEN VOLUMES  
(AND TWO SUPPLEMENTARY VOLUMES)

VI



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Read chapters 1, 5-6

Start here.

### ON THE LIFE OF MOSES, BOOK I

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

[80] **I.** Μωυσέως τοῦ κατὰ μὲν τινας νομοθέτου τῶν  
 1 Ἰουδαίων, κατὰ δέ τινας ἔρμηνέως νόμων ἱερῶν,  
 τὸν βίον ἀναγράψαι διενοήθην, ἀνδρὸς τὰ πάντα  
 μεγίστου καὶ τελειωτάτου, καὶ γνώριμον τοὺς ἀξίους  
 2 μὴ ἀγνοεῖν αὐτὸν ἀποφῆναι. τῶν μὲν γὰρ νόμων  
 τὸ κλέος, οὓς ἀπολέλουπε, διὰ πάσης τῆς οἰκου-  
 μένης πεφοιτηκὸς ἄχρι καὶ τῶν τῆς γῆς τερμάτων  
 ἔφθακεν, αὐτὸν δὲ ὅστις ἦν ἐπ' ἀληθείας ἵσασι οὐ  
 πολλοί, διὰ φθόνον ἴσως καὶ ἐν οὐκ ὀλίγοις τῶν δια-  
 τεταγμένων ὑπὸ τῶν κατὰ πόλεις νομοθετῶν ἐνα-  
 τίωσιν οὐκ ἐθελησάντων αὐτὸν μνήμης ἀξιῶσαι τῶν  
 3 παρ' Ἑλλησι λογίων· ὃν οἱ πλείους τὰς δυνάμεις  
 ἀς ἔσχον διὰ παιδείας ὑβρισαν ἐν τε ποιήμασι καὶ  
 [81] τοὺς καταλογάδην | συγγράμμασι κωμῳδίας καὶ  
 συβαριτικὰς ἀσελγείας συνθέντες, περιβόητον αἰ-  
 σχύνην, οὓς ἔδει ταῖς φύσεσι καταχρήσασθαι πρὸς  
 τὴν τῶν ἀγαθῶν ἀνδρῶν τε καὶ βίων ὑφῆγησον, ἵνα  
 μήτε τι καλὸν ἡσυχίᾳ παραδοθὲν ἀρχαῖον ἢ νέον  
 ἀφανισθῆ λάμψαι δυνάμειν μήτ' αὖτας ἀμείνους  
 ὑποθέσεις παρελθόντες τὰς ἀναξίους ἀκοῆς προ-  
 κρίναι δοκῶσι σπουδάζοντες τὰ κακὰ καλῶς ἀπ-  
 4 αγγέλλειν εἰς ὄνειδῶν ἐπιφάνειαν. ἀλλ' ἔγωγε τὴν

## PHILO

τούτων βασκανίαν ὑπερβὰς τὰ περὶ τὸν ἄνδρα μηνύσω μαθὼν αὐτὰ κάκ βίβλων τῶν ἱερῶν, ἃς θαυμάσια μνημεῖα τῆς αἰτοῦ σοφίας ἀπολέλουται, καὶ παρά τινων ἀπὸ τοῦ ἔθνους πρεσβυτέρων· τὰ γὰρ λεγόμενα τοῖς ἀναγνωσκομένοις ἀεὶ συνύφαινον καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ἔδοξα μᾶλλον ἐτέρων τὰ περὶ τὸν βίον ἀκριβῶσαι.

- 5 II. "Αρξομαι δ' ἀφ' οὐπερ ἀναγκαῖον ἀρξασθαι. Μωυσῆς γένος μέν ἐστι Χαλδαῖος, ἐγενήθη δ' ἐν Αἴγυπτῳ καὶ ἐτράφη, τῶν προγόνων αὐτοῦ διὰ πολυχρόνιον λιμόν, ὃς Βαβυλῶνα καὶ τοὺς πλησιοχώρους ἐπίεζε, κατὰ ζήτησιν τροφῆς εἰς Αἴγυπτον πανοικὶ μεταναστάντων, γῆν πεδιάδα καὶ βαθεῖαν καὶ πρὸς πάντα γονιμωτάτην, ὥν ἡ ἀνθρωπάνη φύσις δεῖται, καὶ μάλιστα τὸν τοῦ σίτου καρπόν. 6 δ' γὰρ ταύτης ποταμὸς θέρους ἀκμάζοντος, ἦνίκα τοὺς ἄλλους φασὶ μειοῦσθαι χειμάρρους τε καὶ αὐθιγενεῖς, ἐπιβαίνων τε καὶ ἀναχεόμενος πλημμυρεῖ καὶ λυμνάζει τὰς ἀρούρας, αἱ ὑετοῦ μὴ δεόμεναι φορᾶς ἀφθονίαν παντοίων ἀγαθῶν ἀνὰ πᾶν ἔτος χορηγοῦσσιν, εἰ μή που μεσολαβήσειεν ὁργὴ θεοῦ δι' ἐπιπολάζουσαν ἀσέβειαν τῶν οἰκητόρων. 7 πατρὸς δὲ καὶ μητρὸς ἔλαχε τῶν καθ' ἑαυτοὺς ἀρίστων, οὓς φυλέτας ὄντας ἡ ὁμοφροσύνη μᾶλλον ὠκείωσεν ἢ τὸ γένος. Ἐβδόμη γενεὰ <δ> οὐτός ἐστιν ἀπὸ τοῦ πρώτου, ὃς ἐπηλύτης ὥν τοῦ σύμπαντος Ἰουδαίων ἔθνους ἀρχηγέτης ἐγένετο. III. 8 τροφῆς δ' ἡξιώθη βασιλικῆς ἀπ' αἰτίας τοιάσδε·

<sup>a</sup> For §§ 5-17 see Ex. ii. 1-10.

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

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

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

δ' ὅτι τῶν Ἐβραίων ἐστὶ καταδεισάντων τοῦ βασιλέως τὸ πρόσταγμα βουλεύεσθαι περὶ τῆς τροφῆς αὐτοῦ· μὴ γάρ ἀσφαλὲς εὐθὺς εἶναι νομίζειν εἰς τὰ 16 βασιλεῖα ἄγειν. διαπορούσης δ' ἔτι, τὴν ἀδελφὴν τοῦ παιδὸς καθάπερ ἀπὸ σκοπῆς τὸν ἐνδοιασμὸν στοχασαμένην πυνθάνεσθαι προσδραμοῦσαν, εἰ βουλήσεται γαλακτοτροφῆναι τοῦτον<sup>1</sup> παρὰ γυναιώ 17 τῶν Ἐβραϊκῶν οὐ πρὸ πολλοῦ κυήσαντι· τῆς δὲ βούλεσθαι φαμένης, τὴν αὐτῆς καὶ τοῦ βρέφους μητέρα παραγαγεῖν ὡς ἀλλοτρίαν, ἦν ἐτοιμότερον ἀσμένην ὑπισχνεῖσθαι πρόφασιν ὡς ἐπὶ μισθῷ τροφεύσειν, ἐπινοίᾳ θεοῦ τοῦ τὰς πρώτας τροφὰς τῷ παιδὶ γυνησίας εὐτρεπίζοντος· εἴτα διδωσιν ὄνομα θεμένη Μωυσῆν ἐτύμως διὰ τὸ ἐκ τοῦ ὕδατος αὐτὸν ἀνελέσθαι· τὸ γάρ ὕδωρ μῶν ὄνομάζουσιν Αἰγύπτιοι.

18 V. Ἐπεὶ δ' ἀθρόας ἐπιδόσεις καὶ παραυξήσεις λαμβάνων οὐ σὺν λόγῳ τῷ κατὰ χρόνον θάττον δ' ἀπότιθος γίνεται, παρῆν ἡ μήτηρ ἀμα καὶ τροφὸς κομίζουσα τῇ δούσῃ μηκέτι γαλακτοτροφίας δεό- 19 μενον, εὐγενῆ καὶ ἀστείον ὄφθηναι. τελειότερον δὲ τῆς ἡλικίας ἴδούσα κάκ τῆς ὄψεως ἔτι μᾶλλον ἡ πρότερον σπάσασα εὐνοίας υἱὸν ποιεῖται τὰ περὶ τὸν ὅγκον τῆς γαστρὸς τεχνάσασα πρότερον, ἵνα γνήσιος ἀλλὰ μὴ ὑποβολμαῖος νομισθῇ· πάντα δ' ἐξευμαρίζει θεὸς ἢ ἀν ἐθελήσῃ καὶ τὰ δυσκατ- 20 ὄρθωτα. τροφῆς οὖν ἥδη βασιλικῆς καὶ θεραπείας ἀξιούμενος οὐχ οἷα κομιδῇ νήπιος ἥδετο τωθασμοῖς

<sup>1</sup> MSS. τοῦτο (sc. βρέφος ?).

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

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

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

Pick up  
here.

καὶ γέλωσι καὶ παιδιάν, καίτοι τῶν τὴν ἐπιμέλειαν αὐτοῦ παρειληφότων ἀνέσεις ἔχειν ἐπιτρεπόντων καὶ μηδὲν ἐπιδεικνυμένων σκυθρωπόν, ἀλλ' αἰδὼ καὶ σεμνότητα παραφαίνων ἀκούσμασι καὶ θεάμασι, ἀ τὴν ψυχὴν ἔμελλεν ὡφελήσειν, προσεῖχε. 21 διδάσκαλοι δ' εὐθὺς ἀλλαχόθεν ἄλλοι παρῆσαν, οἱ μὲν ἀπὸ τῶν πλησιοχώρων καὶ τῶν κατ' Αἴγυπτον νομῶν αὐτοκέλευστοι, οἱ δ' ἀπὸ τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἐπὶ [84] μεγάλαις δωρεαῖς μεταπεμφθέντες· ὅν | ἐν οὐ μακρῷ χρόνῳ τὰς δυνάμεις ὑπερέβαλεν εὐμοιρίᾳ φύσεως φθάνων τὰς ὑφηγήσεις, ὡς ἀνάμνησιν εἶναι δοκεῖν, οὐ μάθησιν, ἔτι καὶ προσεπινοῶν αὐτὸς τὰ 22 δυσθεώρητα. πολλὰ γὰρ αἱ μεγάλαι φύσεις καινοτομοῦσι τῶν εἰς ἐπιστήμην· καὶ καθάπερ τὰ εὐεκτικὰ τῶν σωμάτων καὶ πᾶσι τοῖς μέρεσιν εὐκίνητα φροντίδων ἀπαλλάστει τοὺς ἀλείπτας οὐδὲν ἢ βραχέα παρέχοντας τῶν εἰς ἐπιμέλειαν, ὥσπερ καὶ γεωργοὺς τὰ εὑβλαστα καὶ εὐγενῆ δένδρα βελτιούμενα δι' ἑαυτῶν, τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον ἐνφυής ψυχὴ προαπαντῶσα τοὺς λεγομένους ὑφ' αὐτῆς μᾶλλον ἢ τῶν διδασκόντων ὡφελεῖται καὶ λαβομένη τωὸς ἐπιστημονικῆς ἀρχῆς κατὰ τὴν παροιμιαν “ ἵππος 23 εἰς πεδίον ” ὄρμῃ. ἀριθμοὺς μὲν οὖν καὶ γεωμετρίαν τὴν τε ρύθμικὴν καὶ ἀρμονικὴν καὶ μετρικὴν θεωρίαν καὶ μουσικὴν τὴν σύμπασαν διὰ τε χρήσεως ὄργάνων καὶ λόγων τῶν ἐν ταῖς τέχναις καὶ διεξόδοις τοπικωτέραις Αἴγυπτίων οἱ λόγοι

<sup>a</sup> Josephus on the other hand makes him shew his superiority in his games, *Ant.* ii. 230.

<sup>b</sup> See App. p. 603.

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

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

## PHILO

παρεδίδοσαν καὶ προσέτι τὴν διὰ συμβόλων φιλοσοφίαν, ἦν ἐν τοῖς λεγομένοις ἱεροῖς γράμμασιν ἐπιδείκνυνται καὶ διὰ τῆς τῶν ζώων ἀποδοχῆς, ἃ καὶ θεῶν τιμαῖς γεραίρουσι· τὴν δὲ ἄλλην ἐγκύκλιον παιδείαν "Ἐλληνες ἐδίδασκον, οἱ δὲ ἐκ τῶν πλησιοχώρων τὰ τε Ἀσσύρια γράμματα καὶ τὴν τῶν 24 οὐρανῶν Χαλδαϊκὴν ἐπιστήμην. ταῦτην καὶ παρ' Αἴγυπτίων ἀνελάμβανε μαθηματικὴν ἐν τοῖς μάλιστα ἐπιτηδεύονταν· καὶ τὰ παρ' ἀμφοτέρους ἀκριβῶς ἐν οἷς τε συμφωνοῦσι καὶ διαφέρονται καταμαθών, ἀφιλονείκως τὰς ἔριδας ὑπερβάσ., τὴν ἀλήθειαν ἔζητει, μηδὲν ψεῦδος τῆς διανοίας αὐτοῦ παραδέχεσθαι δυναμένης, ὡς ἔθος τοῖς αἰρεσιομάχοις, οἱ τοῖς προτεθέντι δόγμασι ὅποια ἀν τύχῃ βοηθοῦσιν οὐκ ἔξετάζοντες, εἰ δόκιμα, τὸ δὲ αὐτὸ δρῶντες τοῖς ἐπὶ μισθῷ συναγορεύοντι καὶ μηδὲν 25 τοῦ δικαίου πεφροντικόσιν.

VII. Υδη δὲ τοὺς ὄρους τῆς παιδικῆς ἡλικίας ὑπερβαίνων ἐπέτεινε τὴν φρόνησιν, οὐχ ὡς ἔνιοι τὰς μειρακιώδεις ἐπιθυμίας ἀχαλιώτους ἔδων καίτοι μυρία ἔχουσας ὑπεκκανύματα διὰ παρασκευὰς ἀφθόνους, ἃς αἱ βασιλέαις χορηγοῦσιν, ἀλλὰ σωφροσύνη καὶ καρτερίᾳ ὥσπερ τισὺν ἡνίαις ἐνδησάμενος αὐτὰς τὴν εἰς 26 τὸ πρόσωφον ἀνεχαίτιζε βίᾳ. καὶ τῶν ἀλλων μέντοι παθῶν ἔκαστον ἔξ ἔαντοῦ μεμηνὸς καὶ λελυττηκὸς φύσει τιθασεύων κάξημερῶν ἐπράννεν· εἰ δέ που διακυνηθείη μόνον ἡσυχῇ καὶ πτερύξαιτο, κολάσεις ἐμβριθεστέρας παρείχετο ἢ διὰ λόγων |

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

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

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

<sup>b</sup> See App. p. 603.

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

[85] ἐπιπλήξεις· καὶ συνόλως τὰς πρώτας τῆς ψυχῆς ἐπιβολάς τε καὶ ὅρμὰς ὡς ἀφημαστὴν ἵππον ἐπετήρει δεδίως, μὴ προεκδραμοῦσαι τοῦ ἡνιοχέων ὀφείλοντος λογισμοῦ πάντα διὰ πάντων συγχέωσιν· αὐταὶ γάρ εἰσιν αἱ ἀγαθῶν αἴτιαι καὶ κακῶν, ἀγαθῶν μὲν, ὅταν ἡγεμόνι λόγῳ πειθαρχῶσι, τῶν δ' 27 ἐναντίων, ὅταν εἰς ἀναρχίαν ἐκδιαιτώνται. κατὰ τὸ εἰκός οὖν οἵ τε συνδιαιτρίζοντες καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι πάντες ἐτεθήπεσαν, ὡς ἐπὶ καυνῷ θεάματι καταπληττόμενοι καὶ τίς ἄρα ὁ ἐνοικῶν αὐτοῦ τῷ σώματι καὶ ἀγαλματοφορούμενος νοῦς ἔστι, πότερον ἀνθρώπειος ἢ θεῖος ἢ μικτὸς ἐξ ἀμφού, διερευνώμενοι, τῷ μηδὲν ἔχειν τοῖς πολλοῖς ὅμοιοι, ἀλλ' ὑπερκύπτειν καὶ πρὸς τὸ μεγαλειότερον ἐξηρθαι.

28 γαστρί τε γάρ ἔξω τῶν ἀναγκαίων δασμῶν, οὓς ἡ φύσις ἔταξεν, οὐδὲν πλέον ἔχορήγει, τῶν τε ὑπογαστρίων ἥδονῶν εἰ μὴ μέχρι σπορᾶς παιδῶν 29 γνησίων οὐδὲ ἐμέμυητο. γενόμενός τε διαφερόντως ἀσκητὴς ὀλιγοδεείας καὶ τὸν ἀβροδίαιτον βίον ὡς οὐδεὶς ἕτερος χλευάσας—ψυχῇ γάρ ἐπόθει μόνῃ ζῆν, οὐ σώματι—τὰ φιλοσοφίας δόγματα διὰ τῶν καθ' ἕκαστην ἡμέραν ἔργων ἐπεδείκνυτο, λέγων μὲν οὐδα ἐφρόνει, πράττων δὲ ἀκόλουθα τοῖς λεγομένοις εἰς ἀρμονίαν λόγουν καὶ βίου, ἵν' οἶος ὁ λόγος τοιοῦτος ὁ βίος καὶ οἶος ὁ βίος τοιοῦτος ὁ λόγος ἔξετάζωνται καθάπερ ἐν ὄργανῳ μουσικῷ συνηχοῦντες.

30 οἱ μὲν οὖν πολλοί, κανὸν αὐτὸν μόνον αὐρα βραχεῖά τινος εὐτυχίας προσπέσῃ, φυσῶσι καὶ πιέοντοι μεγάλα καὶ καταλαζονεύμενοι τῶν ἀφανετέρων καθάρματα καὶ παρενοχλήματα καὶ γῆς ἄχθη καὶ ὅσα τοιαῦτα ἀποκαλοῦνται, ὥσπερ τὸ ἀκλινὲς

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

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

## PHILO

τῆς εὐπραγίας ἐν βεβαίῳ παρ' ἑαυτοῖς εὐ μάλα σφραγισάμενοι μηδὲ μέχρι τῆς ὑστεραίας ἵσως δια-  
 31 μενοῦντες ἐν ὄμοιῷ. τύχης γὰρ ἀσταθμητότερον οὐδὲν ἄνω καὶ κάτω τὰ ἀνθρώπεια πεπτενούσης, ἥ μιᾳ πολλάκις ἡμέρᾳ τὸν μὲν ὑψηλὸν καθαιρεῖ, τὸν δὲ ταπείνῳ μετέωρον ἔξαιρει· καὶ ταῦτα ὄρωντες ἀεὶ γνώμενα καὶ σαφῶς εἰδότες ὅμως ὑπερόπται μὲν οἰκείων καὶ φίλων εἰσὶ, νόμους δὲ παραβαίνοντι, καθ' οὓς ἐγενήθησαν καὶ ἐτράφησαν, ἔθη δὲ πάτρια, οὓς μέμφις οὐδεμίᾳ πρόσεστι δικαία, κινδύνων ἐκδεδητημένοι καὶ διὰ τὴν τῶν παρόντων ἀποδοχὴν οὐδενός ἔτι τῶν ἀρχαίων μνήμην λαμβάνοντι.  
 32 VII. ὁ δὲ ἐπ' αὐτὸν φθάσας τὸν ὄρον τῆς ἀνθρω-  
 πίνης εὐτυχίας καὶ θυγατριδοῦς μὲν τοῦ τοσούτου  
 βασιλέως νομισθείς, τῆς δὲ παππάς ἀρχῆς ὅσον  
 [86] οὐδέπω γεγονὼς ἐλπίσι | ταῖς ἀπάντων διδόδοχος  
 καὶ τί γὰρ ἄλλ' ἥ ὁ νέος βασιλεὺς προσαγορεύο-  
 μενος, τὴν συγγενικὴν καὶ προγονικὴν ἔξηλωσε  
 παιδείαν, τὰ μὲν τῶν εἰσποιησαμένων ἀγαθά, καὶ εἰ  
 λαμπρότερα καιροῖς, νόθα εἴναι ὑπολαβών, τὰ δὲ  
 τῶν φύσει γονέων, εἰ καὶ πρὸς ὀλίγουν ἀφανέστερα,  
 33 οἰκεῖα γοῦν καὶ γνήσια· καθάπερ τε κριτῆς ἀδέ-  
 καστος τῶν γεννησάντων καὶ τῶν εἰσποιησαμένων  
 τοὺς μὲν εὐνοίᾳ καὶ τῷ φιλεῖν ἐκθύμως τοὺς δ' εὐχαριστίαις ἀνθ' ὧν εὑ ἐπαθεν ἡμείβετο καὶ μέχρι  
 παντὸς ἡμείνατ' ἄν, εἰ μὴ κατέδεν ἐν τῇ χώρᾳ  
 μέγα καινουργηθέν ὑπὸ τοῦ βασιλέως ἀσέβημα.

End

Here.

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

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

<sup>a</sup> A paraphrase of the fragment of Euripides quoted *De Som.* i. 154:

ἡ μὰ γὰρ ἡμέρα  
 τὸν μὲν καθεῖλεν ὑψόθεν, τὸν δ' ἦρ' ἄνω.

THE  
ROMAN HISTORY  
OF  
APPIAN OF ALEXANDRIA

*TRANSLATED FROM THE GREEK*  
BY  
HORACE WHITE, M.A., LL.D.

*WITH MAPS AND ILLUSTRATIONS*

IN TWO VOLUMES  
VOL. II  
THE CIVIL WARS

New York

Appian chronicles the time between the end of the Punic Wars and the rise of the Empire, when the Roman Republic was beset by a series of increasingly savage civil wars. The episode recounted here is the attempt in the 130s-20s BCE by the Gracchi brothers (both Tribunes of the Plebs) to deal with the growing wealth inequality of the Late Republic by passing laws that would set limits on property ownership and redistribute land to the lower classes.

BOOK I  
THE CIVIL WARS

INTRODUCTION

V.R.      i. THE plebeians<sup>1</sup> and Senate of Rome [in the olden time] were often at strife with each other concerning the enactment of laws, the cancelling of debts, the division of lands, or the election of magistrates. Internal discord did not bring them to blows, however; these were dissensions merely and contests within the law, which they composed by making mutual concessions, and with much respect for each other. Once when the plebeians were going to a war <sup>B.C.</sup> 494 they fell into such a controversy, but they did not use the weapons in their hands, but withdrew to the hill, which from this time on was called the Sacred Mount.<sup>2</sup> Even then no violence was done, but they created a magistrate for their protection and called him the tribune of the plebs, to serve especially as a check upon the consuls, who were chosen by the Senate, so that the political power should not be exclusively in their hands. Whence arose still greater bitterness, and the magistrates were arrayed in stronger animosity to each other after this event, and the Senate and plebeians took sides with them, each believing that it would prevail over the other by augmenting the power of its own magistrates. In the midst of contests of <sup>492</sup> this kind Marcius Coriolanus, having been banished con-

<sup>1</sup> δῆμος. The Greek language uses this word for the whole body of free citizens. In Latin the word *plebs* was used for the commonalty and *populus* for the whole body of commonalty and aristocracy together. In this translation the word "people" will be used in all cases as the equivalent of δῆμος, except where a distinction between *plebs* and *populus* is necessary to a correct understanding of the text.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Livy, ii. 33, 34.

V.R.

B.C.

<sup>262</sup> 2. Try to justice, took refuge with the Volsci and levied war <sup>494</sup> against his country.

2. This is the only case of armed strife that can be found in the ancient seditions, and this was caused by an exile. The sword was never carried into the assembly, <sup>621</sup> and there was no civil butchery until Tiberius Gracchus, <sup>133</sup> while serving as tribune and bringing forward new laws, was the first to fall a victim to internal commotion; and many others besides, who were assembled with him at the Capitol, were slain around the temple. Sedition did not end with this abominable deed. Repeatedly the parties came into open conflict, often carrying daggers; and occasionally in the temples, or the assemblies, or the forum, some one serving as tribune, or prætor, or consul, or a candidate for those offices, or some person otherwise distinguished, would be slain. Unseemly violence prevailed almost constantly, together with shameful contempt for law and justice. As the evil gained in magnitude open insurrections against the government and large warlike expeditions against the country were undertaken by exiles, or criminals, or persons contending against each other for some office or military command. There were chiefs of factions in different places aspiring to supreme power, some of them refusing to disband the troops intrusted to them by the people, others levying forces against each other on their own account, without public authority. Whichever of them first got possession of the city, the others made war nominally against their adversaries, but actually against their country. They assailed it like a foreign enemy. Ruthless and indiscriminate massacres of citizens were perpetrated. Men were proscribed, others banished, property was confiscated, and some were even subjected to excruciating tortures.

<sup>675</sup> 3. No unseemly deed was wanting until, about fifty years <sup>82</sup> after the death of Gracchus, Cornelius Sulla, one of these chiefs of factions, doctoring one evil with another, made himself the absolute master of the state for an indefinite period. Such officials were formerly called dictators—an office created in the most perilous emergencies for six months only, and long since fallen into disuse. Sulla, although nominally elected, became dictator for life by

672 force and compulsion. Nevertheless he became satiated with power and was the first man, so far as I know, holding 675 supreme power, who had the courage to lay it down voluntarily and to declare that he would render an account of his stewardship to any who were dissatisfied with it. And so, for a considerable period, he walked to the forum as a private citizen in the sight of all and returned home unmolested, so great was the awe of his government still remaining in the minds of the onlookers, or their amazement at his laying it down. Perhaps they were ashamed to call for an accounting, or entertained other good feeling toward him, or a belief that his despotism had been beneficial to the state. Thus there was a cessation of factions for a short time while Sulla lived, and a compensation for the evils which Sulla had wrought.

4. After his death the troubles broke out afresh and 705 continued until Gaius Cæsar, who had held the command 49 in Gaul by election for some years, was ordered by the Senate to lay down his command. He charged that it was not the wish of the Senate, but of Pompey, his enemy, who had command of an army in Italy, and was scheming to depose him. So he sent a proposal that both should retain their armies, so that neither need fear the other's enmity, or that Pompey should dismiss his forces also and live as a private citizen under the laws in like manner with himself. Both requests being refused, he marched from Gaul against Pompey in the Roman territory, entered it, put him to flight, pursued him into Thessaly, won a brilliant 706 victory over him in a great battle, and followed him to 48 Egypt. After Pompey had been slain by the Egyptians Cæsar set to work on the affairs of Egypt and remained there until he had settled the dynasty of that country. Then he returned to Rome. Having overpowered by war his principal rival, who had been surnamed the Great on account of his brilliant military exploits, he now ruled without disguise, nobody daring any longer to dispute him about anything, and was chosen, next after Sulla, dictator for life. 710 Again all civil dissensions ceased until Brutus and Cassius, 44 envious of his great power and desiring to restore the government of their fathers, slew in the Senate this most popular man, who was also the one most experienced in the art

V.R. B.C.  
 710 of government. The people mourned for him greatly. <sup>44</sup> They scoured the city in pursuit of his murderers. They buried him in the middle of the forum and built a temple on the place of his funeral pile, and offered sacrifice to him as a god.

711 5. And now civil discord broke out again worse than ever and increased enormously. Massacres, banishments, and proscriptions of both senators and the so-called knights took place straightway, including great numbers of both classes, the chief of factions surrendering their enemies to each other, and for this purpose not sparing even their friends and brothers; so much does animosity toward rivals overpower the love of kindred. So in the course of events the Roman empire was partitioned, as though it had been their private property, by these three men: Antony, Lepidus, and the one who was first called Octavius, but afterward Cæsar from his relationship to the other Cæsar and adoption in his will. Shortly after this division they fell to quarrelling among themselves, as was natural, and Octavius, who was the superior in understanding and skill, first <sup>36</sup> deprived Lepidus of Africa, which had fallen to his lot, and <sup>723</sup> afterward, as the result of the battle of Actium, took from <sup>31</sup> Antony all the provinces lying between Syria and the Adriatic gulf. Thereupon, while all the world was filled with astonishment at these wonderful displays of power, he sailed to Egypt and took that country, which was the oldest and at that time the strongest possession of the successors of Alexander, and the only one wanting to complete the Roman empire as it now stands. In consequence of these <sup>727</sup> exploits he was at once elevated to the rank of a deity while <sup>27</sup> still living, and was the first to be thus distinguished by the Romans, and was called by them Augustus. He assumed to himself an authority like Cæsar's over the country and the subject nations, and even greater than Cæsar's, not needing any form of election, or authorization, or even the pretence of it. His government being strengthened by time and mastery, and himself successful in all things and revered by all, he left a lineage and succession that held the supreme power in like manner after him.

6. Thus, out of multifarious civil commotions, the Roman state passed into solidarity and monarchy. To

B.C.

<sup>V.R.</sup> <sup>727</sup> show how these things came about I have written and com-<sup>27</sup> piled this narrative, which is well worth the study of those who wish to know the measureless ambition of men, their dreadful lust of power, their unwearying perseverance, and the countless forms of evil. It is especially necessary for me to describe these things beforehand since they are the preliminaries of my Egyptian history, and end where that begins, for Egypt was seized in consequence of this last civil commotion, Cleopatra having joined forces with Antony. On account of its magnitude I have divided the work, first taking up the events that occurred from the time of Sempronius Gracchus to that of Cornelius Sulla; next, those that followed to the death of Cæsar. The remaining books of the civil wars treat of those waged by the triumvirs against each other and the Roman people, until the end of these conflicts, and the greatest achievement, the battle of Actium, fought by Octavius Cæsar against Antony and Cleopatra together, which will be the beginning of the Egyptian history.

## CHAPTER I

The Roman Public Domain — The Licinian Law — The Agrarian Law of Tiberius Gracchus — Struggle over its Enactment — Public Harangue of Gracchus — The Tribune Octavius vetoes the Bill — Gracchus deposes him — The Bill passed

7. The Romans, as they subdued the Italian nations successively in war, seized a part of their lands and built towns there, or established their own colonies in those already existing, and used them in place of garrisons. Of the land acquired by war they assigned the cultivated part forthwith to settlers, or leased or sold it. Since they had no leisure as yet to allot the part which then lay desolated by war (this was generally the greater part), they made proclamation that in the meantime those who were willing to work it might do so for a share of the yearly crops — a tenth of the grain and a fifth of the fruit. From those who kept flocks was required a share of the animals, both oxen and small cattle. They did these things in order to multiply the Italian race, which they considered the most

V.E. laborious of peoples, so that they might have plenty of allies at home. But the very opposite thing happened; for the rich, getting possession of the greater part of the undistributed lands, and being emboldened by the lapse of time to believe that they would never be dispossessed, and adding to their holdings the small farms of their poor neighbors, partly by purchase and partly by force, came to cultivate vast tracts instead of single estates, using for this purpose slaves as laborers and herdsmen, lest free laborers should be drawn from agriculture into the army. The ownership of slaves itself brought them great gain from the multitude of their progeny, who increased because they were exempt from military service. Thus the powerful ones became enormously rich and the race of slaves multiplied throughout the country, while the Italian people dwindled in numbers and strength, being oppressed by penury, taxes, and military service. If they had any respite from these evils they passed their time in idleness, because the land was held by the rich, who employed slaves instead of free-men as cultivators.

8. For these reasons the people became troubled lest they should no longer have sufficient allies of the Italian stock, and lest the government itself should be endangered by such a vast number of slaves. Not perceiving any remedy, as it was not easy, nor exactly just, to deprive men of so many possessions they had held so long, including their own trees, buildings, and fixtures, a law was once <sup>387</sup> passed with difficulty at the instance of the tribunes, that <sup>36</sup>, nobody should hold more than 500 jugera of this land,<sup>1</sup> or pasture on it more than 100 cattle or 500 sheep. To ensure the observance of this law it was provided also that

<sup>1</sup> τῆσδε τῆς γῆς. "Of this land," the public land (*ager publicus*), not land in general. There has been much controversy over the question whether the agrarian laws of Rome were sumptuary laws intended to restrict the amount of landed property that one man could hold, or whether they applied only to the public domain, and this passage in Appian has played a large part in the controversy. M. Durceau de la Malle in his *Économie Politique des Romains* (ii. 282 seq.) held that they were true sumptuary laws and he cited numerous authorities in support of the position. The most thorough examination of this question has been made by Mr. Geo. Long in his *Decline of the Roman Republic* (i. 144-159). His argument is convincing to the effect that

<sup>V.B.</sup> <sup>387</sup> there should be a certain number of freemen employed on <sup>367</sup> the farms, whose business it should be to watch and report what was going on.<sup>1</sup> Those who held possession of lands under the law were required to take an oath to obey the law, and penalties were fixed for violating it, and it was supposed that the remaining land would soon be divided among the poor in small parcels. But there was not the smallest consideration shown for the law or the oaths. The few who seemed to pay some respect to them conveyed their lands to their relations fraudulently, but the greater part disregarded it altogether.

<sup>632</sup> 9. At length Tiberius Sempronius Gracchus, an illustri- <sup>133</sup>ous man, eager for glory, a most powerful speaker, and for these reasons well known to all, delivered an eloquent discourse, while serving as tribune, concerning the Italian race, lamenting that a people so valiant in war, and blood relations to the Romans, were declining little by little in pauperism and paucity of numbers without any hope of remedy. He inveighed against the multitude of slaves as useless in war and never faithful to their masters, and adduced the recent calamity brought upon the masters by their slaves in Sicily, where the demands of agriculture had greatly increased the number of the latter; recalling also the war waged against them by the Romans, which was

these laws applied only to the public lands. This is the opinion also of Niebuhr, Mommsen, and Duruy. It may therefore be considered settled that they were not sumptuary laws and did not limit the amount of land a man might acquire by purchase, inheritance, or gift. The word *possessio* in Roman law meant not ownership, but a seizing or sitting upon land. A Possessor was a squatter. The law referred to by Appian as having been formerly passed with difficulty was the Licinian law, B.C. 367. The Roman jugerum was about two-thirds of an acre.

<sup>1</sup> τὰ γεγομένα, "what was going on." Mr. Long in his history (i. 161 and 166) construes this phrase by the word "produce," meaning that it was the duty of the freemen employed on the farms to keep account of the crops and make reports to the public authorities so that the state might receive its due share. This may be the true meaning, but it should be observed that in the preceding section where the author speaks of the yearly produce he uses the words τῶν ἔτησιν καρπῶν. According to the other interpretation it was the duty of the freemen to keep watch and make reports to the masters in order to prevent servile insurrection.

V.R.

B.C.

621 neither easy nor short, but long-protracted and full of vicissitudes and dangers. After speaking thus he again brought forward the law, providing that nobody should hold more than 500 jugera of the public domain. But he added a provision to the former law, that the sons of the present occupiers might each hold one-half of that amount, and that the remainder should be divided among the poor by triumvirs, who should be changed annually.

10. This was extremely disturbing to the rich because, on account of the triumvirs, they could no longer disregard the law as they had done before; nor could they buy the allotments of others, because Gracchus had provided against this by forbidding sales. They collected together in groups, and made lamentation, and accused the poor of appropriating the results of their tillage, their vineyards, and their dwellings. Some said that they had paid the price of the land to their neighbors. Were they to lose the money with the land? Others said that the graves of their ancestors were in the ground, which had been allotted to them in the division of their fathers' estates. Others said that their wives' dowries had been expended on the estates, or that the land had been given to their own daughters as dowry. Money-lenders could show loans made on this security. All kinds of wailing and expressions of indignation were heard at once. On the other side were heard the lamentations of the poor—that they had been reduced from competence to extreme penury, and from that to childlessness, because they were unable to rear their offspring. They recounted the military services they had rendered, by which this very land had been acquired, and were angry that they should be robbed of their share of the common property. They reproached the rich for employing slaves, who were always faithless and ill-tempered and for that reason unserviceable in war, instead of freemen, citizens, and soldiers. While these classes were lamenting and indulging in mutual accusations, a great number of others, composed of colonists, or inhabitants of the free towns, or persons otherwise interested in the lands and who were under like apprehensions, flocked in and took sides with their respective factions. Emboldened by numbers and exasperated against each other they attached them-

133

<sup>V.R.</sup> selves to turbulent crowds, and waited for the voting on the new law, some trying to prevent its enactment by all means, and others supporting it in every possible way. In addition to personal interest the spirit of rivalry spurred both sides in the preparations they were making against each other for the day of the comitia.

11. What Gracchus had in his mind in proposing the measure was not wealth, but an increase of efficient population. Inspired greatly by the usefulness of the work, and believing that nothing more advantageous or admirable could ever happen to Italy, he took no account of the difficulties surrounding it. When the time for voting came he advanced many other arguments at considerable length and also asked them whether it was not just to divide among the common people what belonged to them in common; whether a citizen was not worthy of more consideration at all times than a slave; whether a man who served in the army was not more useful than one who did not; and whether one who had a share in the country was not more likely to be devoted to the public interests. He did not dwell long on this comparison between freemen and slaves, which he considered degrading, but proceeded at once to a review of their hopes and fears for the country, saying that the Romans had acquired most of their territory by conquest, and that they had hopes of occupying the rest of the habitable world, but now the question of greatest hazard was, whether they should gain the rest by having plenty of brave men, or whether, through their weakness and mutual jealousy, their enemies should take away what they already possessed. After exaggerating the glory and riches on the one side and the danger and fear on the other, he admonished the rich to take heed, and said that for the realization of these hopes they ought to bestow this very land as a free gift, if necessary, on men who would rear children, and not, by contending about small things, overlook larger ones; especially since they were receiving an ample compensation for labor expended in the undisputed title to 500 jugera each of free land, in a high state of cultivation, without cost, and half as much more for each son of those who had sons. After saying much more to the same purport and exciting the poor, as well as others who were moved by

V.E.

B.C.

621 reason rather than by the desire for gain, he ordered the scribe to read the proposed law. 133

12. Marcus Octavius, another tribune, who had been induced by those in possession of the lands to interpose his veto (for among the Romans the tribune's veto always prevailed), ordered the scribe to keep silence. Thereupon Gracchus reproached him severely and adjourned the comitia to the following day. Then he stationed a sufficient guard, as if to force Octavius against his will, and ordered the scribe with threats to read the proposed law to the multitude. He began to read, but when Octavius again vetoed he stopped. Then the tribunes fell to wrangling with each other, and a considerable tumult arose among the people. The leading citizens besought the tribunes to submit their controversy to the Senate for decision. Gracchus seized on the suggestion, believing that the law was acceptable to all well-disposed persons, and hastened to the senate-house. There, as he had only a few followers and was upbraided by the rich, he ran back to the forum and said that he would take the vote at the comitia of the following day, both on the law and on the magistracy of Octavius, to determine whether a tribune who was acting contrary to the people's interest could continue to hold his office. And so he did, for when Octavius, nothing daunted, again interposed, Gracchus distributed the pebbles to take a vote on him first. When the first tribe voted to abrogate the magistracy of Octavius, Gracchus turned to him and begged him to desist from this veto. As he would not yield, the votes of the other tribes were taken. There were thirty-five tribes at that time. The seventeen that voted first angrily sustained this motion. If the eighteenth should do the same it would make a majority. Again did Gracchus, in the sight of the people, urgently importune Octavius in his present extreme danger not to prevent this most pious work, so useful to all Italy, and not to frustrate the wishes so earnestly entertained by the people, whose desires he ought rather to share in his character of tribune, and not to risk the loss of his office by public condemnation. After speaking thus he called the gods to witness that he did not willingly do any despite to his colleague. As Octavius was still unyielding he went on taking the vote.

<sup>V.E.</sup> 62: Octavius was forthwith reduced to the rank of a private citizen and slunk away unobserved.<sup>1</sup>

13. Quintus Mummius was chosen tribune in his place, and the agrarian law was enacted. The first triumvirs appointed to divide the land were Gracchus himself, the proposer of the law, his brother of the same name, and his father-in-law, Appius Claudius, since the people still feared that the law might fail of execution unless Gracchus should be put in the lead with his whole family. Gracchus became immensely popular by reason of the law and was escorted home by the multitude as though he were the founder, not of a single city or race, but of all the nations of Italy. After this the victorious party returned to the fields from which they had come to attend to this business. The defeated ones remained in the city and talked the matter over, feeling bitterly, and saying that as soon as Gracchus should become a private citizen he would be sorry that he had done despite to the sacred and inviolable office of tribune, and had opened such a fountain of discord in Italy.

## CHAPTER II

### New Election of Tribunes — Riot on the Capitoline Hill — Death of Gracchus

14. At the advent of summer the notices for the election of tribunes were given, and as the day for voting approached it was very evident that the rich were earnestly promoting the election of those most inimical to Gracchus. The latter, fearing that evil would befall if he should not be re-elected for the following year, summoned his friends from the fields to attend the comitia, but as they were occupied with their harvest he was obliged, when the day fixed for the voting drew near, to have recourse to the plebeians of the city. So he went around asking each one separately to elect him tribune for the ensuing year, on account of the danger he had incurred for them. When the voting took place the first two tribes pronounced for Gracchus. The

<sup>1</sup> This was an unconstitutional proceeding. Under Roman law a tribune could not be deprived of his office during his official term.

V.R.

B.C.

62<sup>1</sup> rich objected that it was not lawful for the same man to hold the office twice in succession. The tribune Rubrius, who had been chosen by lot to preside over the comitia, was in doubt about it, and Mummius, who had been chosen in place of Octavius, urged him to turn over the comitia to his charge. This he did, but the remaining tribunes contended that the presidency should be decided by lot, saying that when Rubrius, who had been chosen in that way, resigned, the casting of lots ought to be done over again for all. As there was much strife over this question, Gracchus, who was getting the worst of it, adjourned the voting to the following day. In utter despair he clothed himself in black, while still in office, and led his son around the forum and introduced him to each man and committed him to their charge, as if he were about to perish at the hands of his enemies.

15. The poor were moved with deep sorrow, and rightly so, both on their own account (for they believed that they were no longer to live in a free state under equal laws, but were reduced to servitude by the rich), and on account of Gracchus himself, who had incurred such danger and suffering in their behalf. So they all accompanied him with tears to his house in the evening, and bade him be of good courage for the morrow. Gracchus cheered up, assembled his partisans before daybreak, and communicated to them a signal to be displayed in case of a fight. He then took possession of the temple on the Capitoline hill, where the voting was to take place, and occupied the middle of the assembly. As he was obstructed by the other tribunes and by the rich, who would not allow the votes to be taken on this question, he gave the signal. There was a sudden shout from those who saw it, and a resort to violence in consequence. Some of the partisans of Gracchus took position around him like body-guards. Others, having girded themselves, seized the fasces and staves in the hands of the lictors and broke them in pieces. They drove the rich out of the assembly with such disorder and wounds that the tribunes fled from their places in terror, and the priests closed the doors of the temple. Many ran away pell-mell and scattered wild rumors. Some said that Gracchus had deposed all the other tribunes, and this was be-

<sup>V.R.</sup> <sup>B.C.</sup> 621 lieved because none of them could be seen. Others said <sup>133</sup> that he had declared himself tribune for the ensuing year without an election.

16. Under these circumstances the Senate assembled at the temple of Fides.<sup>1</sup> It is astonishing to me that they never thought of appointing a dictator in this emergency, although they had often been protected by the government of a single ruler in such times of peril. Although this resource had been found most useful in former times few people remembered it, either then or later. After reaching the decision that they did reach, they marched up to the Capitol, Cornelius Scipio Nasica, the pontifex maximus, leading the way and calling out with a loud voice, "Let those who would save the country follow me." He wound the border of his toga about his head either to induce a greater number to go with him by the singularity of his appearance, or to make for himself, as it were, a helmet as a sign of battle for those who looked on, or in order to conceal from the gods what he was about to do. When he arrived at the temple and advanced against the partisans of Gracchus they yielded to the reputation of a foremost citizen, for they saw the Senate following with him. The latter wrested clubs out of the hands of the Gracchans themselves, or with fragments of broken benches or other apparatus that had been brought for the use of the assembly, began beating them, and pursued them, and drove them over the precipice.<sup>2</sup> In the tumult many of the Gracchans perished, and Gracchus himself was caught<sup>3</sup> near the temple, and was slain at the door close by the statues of the kings. All the bodies were thrown by night into the Tiber.

17. So perished on the Capitol, and while still tribune, Gracchus, the son of the Gracchus who was twice consul, and of Cornelia, daughter of that Scipio who subjugated Carthage. He lost his life in consequence of a most excellent design, which, however, he pursued in too violent a manner. This shocking affair, the first that was perpe-

<sup>1</sup> The temple to the goddess of Public Faith was on the Capitoline hill.

<sup>2</sup> The Capitoline hill was flanked by the Tarpeian Rock.

<sup>3</sup> Reading *ἀλόμενος*, which Mendelssohn prefers instead of *εἰλούμενος*.

V.R. B.C.  
133  
 621 treated in the public assembly, was seldom without parallels thereafter from time to time. On the subject of the murder of Gracchus the city was divided between sorrow and joy. Some mourned for themselves and for him, and deplored the present condition of things, believing that the commonwealth no longer existed, but had been supplanted by force and violence. Others considered that everything had turned out for them exactly as they wished. These things took place at the time when Aristonicus was contending with the Romans for the government of Asia.

### CHAPTER III

Litigation under the Law of Gracchus — Scipio *Æmilianus* employed in it — His Mysterious Death — Gaius Gracchus elected Tribune — He gives the Judicial Power to Knights — Demands Roman Citizenship for Italian Allies — Sails to Africa with Fulvius Flaccus — Rioting in Rome after his Return — Death of Gracchus and Flaccus

622 18. After Gracchus was slain Appius Claudius died, and <sup>132</sup> Fulvius Flaccus and Papirius Carbo were appointed, in conjunction with the younger Gracchus, to divide the land. As the persons in possession neglected to hand in lists of their holdings, a proclamation was issued that informers should furnish testimony against them. Immediately a great number of embarrassing lawsuits sprang up. Wherever a new field had been bought adjoining an old one, or wherever a division of land had been made with allies, the whole district had to be carefully inquired into on account of the measurement of this one field, to discover how it had been sold and how divided. Not all owners had preserved their contracts, or their allotment titles, and even those that were found were often ambiguous. When the land was resurveyed some owners were obliged to give up their fruit-trees and farm-buildings in exchange for naked ground. Others were transferred from cultivated to uncultivated lands, or to swamps, or pools. In fact, the measuring had not been carefully done when the land was first taken from the enemy. As the original proclamation authorized anybody to work the undistributed land who wished to do so, many had been prompted to cultivate the

<sup>v. n.</sup> <sup>b.c.</sup> 622 parts immediately adjoining their own, till the line of demarkation between them had faded from view. The progress of time also made many changes. Thus the injustice done by the rich, although great, was not easy of ascertainment. So there was nothing but a general turn-about, all parties being moved out of their own places and settled down in other people's.

623 19. The Italian allies who complained of these disturbances, and especially of the lawsuits hastily brought against them, chose Cornelius Scipio, the destroyer of Carthage, to defend them against these grievances. As he had availed himself of their very valiant services in war he was reluctant to disregard their request. So he came into the Senate, and although, out of regard for the plebeians, he did not openly find fault with the law of Gracchus, he expatiated on its difficulties and held that these causes ought not to be decided by the triumvirs, because they did not possess the confidence of the litigants, but should be turned over to others. As his view seemed reasonable, they yielded to his persuasion, and the consul Tuditanus was appointed to give judgment in these cases. But when he took hold of the work he saw the difficulties of it, and marched against the Illyrians as a pretext for not acting as judge, and since nobody brought cases for trial before the triumvirs they relapsed into idleness. From this cause hatred and indignation arose among the people against Scipio because they saw him, in whose favor they had often opposed the aristocracy and incurred their enmity, electing him consul twice contrary to law, now taking the side of the Italian allies against them. When Scipio's enemies observed this, they cried out that he was determined to abolish the law of Gracchus utterly and was about to inaugurate armed strife and bloodshed for that purpose.

20. When the people heard these charges they were in a state of alarm until Scipio, after placing near his couch at home one evening a tablet on which he intended to write during the night the speech he intended to deliver before the people, was found dead in his bed without a wound. Whether this was done by Cornelia, the mother of the Gracchi (aided by her daughter, Sempronia, who was married to Scipio, and was unloved and unloving because she

<sup>V.R.</sup> 625 was deformed and childless), lest the law of Gracchus <sup>129</sup> should be abolished, or whether, as some think, he committed suicide because he saw plainly that he could not accomplish what he had promised, is not known. Some say that slaves, who were subjected to torture, testified that unknown persons were introduced through the rear of the house by night who suffocated him, and that those who knew about it hesitated to tell because the people were angry with him still and rejoiced at his death. So died Scipio, and although he had been of immense service to the Roman power he was not honored with a public funeral; so much does the anger of the present moment outweigh gratitude for the past. And this event, sufficiently important in itself, took place as an incident of the sedition of Gracchus.<sup>1</sup>

21. Those who were in possession of the lands even after these events postponed the division on various pretexts for a very long time. Some thought that the Italian allies, who made the greatest resistance to it, ought to be admitted to Roman citizenship so that, out of gratitude for the greater favor, they should no longer quarrel about the land. The Italians were glad to accept this, because they <sup>130</sup> preferred Roman citizenship to possession of the fields. Fulvius Flaccus, who was then both consul and triumvir, exerted himself to the utmost to bring it about, but the Senate was angry at the proposal to make their subjects <sup>131</sup> equal citizens with themselves. For this reason the attempt <sup>132</sup> was abandoned, and the people, who had been so long in the hope of acquiring land, became disheartened. While they were in this mood Gaius Gracchus, who had made himself agreeable to them as a triumvir, offered himself for the tribuneship. He was the younger brother of Tiberius Gracchus, the promoter of the law, and had been silent for some time on the subject of the fate of his brother, but since many of the senators treated him scornfully he an-

<sup>1</sup> It is uncertain whether Scipio was murdered or not. Cicero alludes to the event in one of his letters (*Ad Fam.* ix. 21), in which, speaking of one Gaius Carbo, he says that he was thought to have laid violent hands upon Afranius. Velleius says that marks of strangulation were found on his neck, yet adds in the same paragraph that most people thought he died a natural death.

<sup>V.R.</sup> nounced himself as a candidate for the office of tribune.  
 63<sup>1</sup> As soon as he was elected to this distinguished position he <sup>123</sup> began to lay plots against the Senate, and proposed that a monthly distribution of corn should be made to each citizen at the public expense, which had not been customary before. Thus he got the leadership of the people quickly by one measure of policy, in which he had the coöperation of Fulvius Flaccus. Directly after that he was chosen tribune for the following year, for in cases where there was not a sufficient number of candidates the law authorized the people to choose from the whole number then in office.

63<sup>2</sup> 22. Thus Gaius Gracchus became tribune a second time. <sup>123</sup> Having bought the plebeians, as it were, he began, by another like political manœuvre, to court the equestrian order, who hold the middle place between the Senate and the plebeians. He transferred the courts of justice, which had become discredited by reason of bribery, from the senators to the knights, reproaching the former especially with the recent examples of Aurelius Cotta, Salinator, and, third in the list, Manius Aquilius (the one who subdued Asia), all notorious bribe-takers, who had been acquitted by the judges, although ambassadors sent to complain against them were still present, going around uttering hateful accusations against them. The Senate was extremely ashamed of these things and yielded to the law, and the people ratified it. In this way were the courts of justice transferred from the Senate to the knights. It is said that soon after the passage of this law Gracchus remarked that he had broken the power of the Senate once for all. This saying of Gracchus has been even more confirmed by experience in the course of events. This power of sitting in judgment on all Romans and Italians, including the senators themselves, in all matters as to property, civil rights, and banishment, exalted the knights like rulers over them and put senators on the same level with subjects. Moreover, as the knights voted in the election to sustain the power of the tribunes, and obtained from them whatever they wanted in return, they became more and more formidable to the senators. So it shortly came about that the political mastery was turned upside down, the power being

V.R.

B.C.

63<sup>a</sup> in the hands of the knights, and the honor only remaining with the Senate. The knights went so far that they not only held power over the senators, but they openly flouted them beyond their right. They also became addicted to bribe-taking, and having once tasted these enormous gains, they indulged in them even more basely and immoderately than the senators had done.<sup>1</sup> They suborned accusers against the rich and did away with prosecutions for bribe-taking altogether, partly by concert of action and partly by force and violence, so that the practice of this kind of investigation became entirely obsolete. Thus the judiciary law gave rise to another struggle of factions, which lasted a long time and was not less baneful than the former ones.

23. Gracchus made long roads throughout Italy and thus put a multitude of contractors and artisans under obligations to him and made them ready to do whatever he wished. He proposed the founding of numerous colonies.<sup>2</sup> He also called on the Latin allies to demand the full rights of Roman citizenship, since the Senate could not with decency refuse this privilege to their blood relations. To the other allies, who were not allowed to vote in Roman elections, he sought to give the right of suffrage, in order to have their help in the enactment of laws which he had in contemplation. The Senate was very much alarmed at this, and it ordered the consuls to give the following public notice, "Nobody who does not possess the right of suffrage shall stay in the city or approach within forty stades of it while voting is going on concerning these laws." The Senate also persuaded Livius Drusus, another tribune, to interpose his veto against the laws proposed by Gracchus, but not to tell the people his reasons for doing so; for a tribune was not required to give reasons for his veto. In order to conciliate the people they gave Drusus the privilege of founding twelve colonies, and the plebeians were so much pleased

<sup>1</sup> Cicero in his first oration against Verres (xiii.) says that there was no bribery of judges while the knights held that office, but inasmuch as he was trying to shame the senators against taking Verres' money, it would not be safe to accept the statement as literally true.

<sup>2</sup> The founding of colonies, which was originally a method of guarding the frontier, now became a method of providing for the poorer citizens.

<sup>V.R.</sup> <sup>B.C.</sup> 632 with this that they began to scoff at the laws proposed by 125 Gracchus.

24. Having lost the favor of the rabble, Gracchus sailed for Africa in company with Fulvius Flaccus, who, after his consulship, had been chosen tribune for the same reasons as Gracchus himself. A colony had been voted to Africa on account of its reputed fertility, and these men had been expressly chosen the founders of it in order to get them out of the way for a while, so that the Senate might have a respite from demagogism. They marked out a town for the colony on the place where Carthage had formerly stood, disregarding the fact that Scipio, when he destroyed it, had devoted it with curses to sheep-pasturage forever. They assigned 6000 colonists to this place, instead of the smaller number fixed by law, in order further to curry favor with the people thereby. When they returned to Rome they invited the 6000 from the whole of Italy. The functionaries who were still in Africa laying out the city wrote home that wolves had pulled up and scattered the boundary marks made by Gracchus and Fulvius, and the soothsayers considered this an ill omen for the colony. So the Senate 633 summoned the comitia, in which it was proposed to repeal 125 the law concerning this colony. When Gracchus and Fulvius saw their failure in this matter they were furious, and declared that the Senate had lied about the wolves. The boldest of the plebeians joined them, carrying daggers, and proceeded to the Capitol, where the assembly was to be held in reference to the colony.

25. Now the people were assembled, and Fulvius had begun speaking about the business in hand, when Gracchus arrived at the Capitol attended by a body-guard of his partisans. Disturbed by what he knew about the extraordinary plans on foot he turned aside from the meeting-place of the assembly, passed into the portico, and walked about waiting to see what would happen. Just then a plebeian named Antyllus, who was sacrificing in the portico, saw him in this disturbed state, seized him by the hand, either because he had heard something or suspected something, or was moved to speak to him for some other reason, and asked him to spare his country. Gracchus, still more disturbed, and startled like one detected in a crime, gave the

V.R.

B.C.

633 man a piercing look. Then one of his party, although no signal had been displayed or order given, inferred merely from the very sharp glance that Gracchus cast upon Antyllus that the time for action had come, and thought that he should do a favor to Gracchus by striking the first blow. So he drew his dagger and slew Antyllus. A cry was raised, the dead body was seen in the midst of the crowd, and all who were outside fled from the temple in fear of a like fate. Gracchus went into the assembly desiring to exculpate himself of the deed. Nobody would so much as listen to him. All turned away from him as from one stained with blood. Gracchus and Flaccus were nonplussed and, having lost the chance of accomplishing what they wished, they hastened home, and their partisans with them. The rest of the crowd occupied the forum throughout the night as though some calamity were impending. Opimius, one of the consuls, who was staying in the city, ordered an armed force to be stationed at the Capitol at daybreak, and sent heralds to convoke the Senate. He took his own station in the temple of Castor and Pollux in the centre of the city and there awaited events.

26. When these arrangements had been made the Senate summoned Gracchus and Flaccus from their homes to the senate-house to defend themselves. But they ran out armed toward the Aventine hill, hoping that if they could seize it first the Senate would agree to some terms with them. They ran through the city offering freedom to the slaves, but none listened to them. With such forces as they had, however, they occupied and fortified the temple of Diana, and sent Quintus, the son of Flaccus, to the Senate seeking to come to an arrangement and to live in peace. The Senate replied that they should lay down their arms, come to the senate-house, tell what they wanted, or else send no more messengers. When they sent Quintus a second time the consul Opimius arrested him, as being no longer an ambassador after he had been warned, and at the same time sent an armed force against the Gracchans. Gracchus fled across the river by the Sublilian bridge,<sup>1</sup> with one slave,

<sup>1</sup> This well-known construction is called the "wooden bridge" in Appian's history. The Romans called it "Sublicius pons" because it rested on wooden piles.

V.R.

B.C.

633 to a grove where he presented his throat to the slave, as <sup>121</sup> he was on the point of being arrested. Flaccus took refuge in the workshop of an acquaintance. As his pursuers did not know which house he was in they threatened to burn the whole row. The man who had given shelter to the suppliant hesitated to point him out, but directed another man to do so. Flaccus was seized and put to death. The heads of Gracchus and Flaccus were carried to Opimius, and he gave their weight in gold to those who brought them. The people plundered their houses. Opimius arrested their fellow-conspirators, cast them into prison, and ordered that they should be strangled. He allowed Quintus, the son of Flaccus, to choose his own mode of death. After this a lustration was performed in behalf of the city for the bloodshed, and the Senate ordered the building of a temple to Concord in the forum.

#### CHAPTER IV

**Failure of the Agrarian Law—The Killing of Nonius—Division of Gallic Land—The Sedition of Saturninus—Banishment of Metellus—Murder of Memmius—Punishment of Saturninus—Reign of Terror**

27. So the sedition of the younger Gracchus came to an end. Not long afterward a law was enacted to permit the holders to sell the land about which they had quarrelled; for even this had been forbidden by the law of the elder Gracchus. Presently the rich bought the allotments of the poor, or found pretexts for seizing them by force. So the condition of the poor became even worse than it was before, until Spurius Borius, a tribune of the people, brought in a law providing that the work of distributing the public domain should no longer be continued, but that the land should belong to those in possession of it, who should pay rent for it to the people, and that the money so received should be distributed. This distribution was a kind of solace to the poor, but it did not serve to increase the population. By these devices the law of Gracchus (most excellent and useful if it could have been carried out) was once for all frustrated, and a little later the rent itself was

**SB12. Res Gestae Divi Augusti**  
 The *Res Gestae* was composed by Augustus himself as a record of what he considered his most important accomplishments, and was ordered to be written in stone as a funerary monument.

## *Res Gestae Divi Augusti*

(The Deeds of the Divine Augustus)

By Augustus

Written 14 A.C.E.

Translated by Thomas Bushnell, BSG

A copy below of the deeds of the divine Augustus, by which he subjected the whole wide earth to the rule of the Roman people, and of the money which he spent for the state and Roman people, inscribed on two bronze pillars, which are set up in Rome.

1. In my nineteenth year, on my own initiative and at my own expense, I raised an army with which I set free the state, which was oppressed by the domination of a faction. For that reason, the senate enrolled me in its order by laudatory resolutions, when Gaius Pansa and Aulus Hirtius were consuls (43 B.C.E.), assigning me the place of a consul in the giving of opinions, and gave me the imperium. With me as propraetor, it ordered me, together with the consuls, to take care lest any detriment befall the state. But the people made me consul in the same year, when the consuls each perished in battle, and they made me a triumvir for the settling of the state.
  
2. I drove the men who slaughtered my father into exile with a legal order, punishing their crime, and afterwards, when they waged war on the state, I conquered them in two battles.
  
3. I often waged war, civil and foreign, on the earth and sea, in the whole wide world, and as victor I spared all the citizens who sought pardon. As for foreign nations, those which I was able to safely forgive, I preferred to preserve than to destroy. About five hundred thousand Roman citizens were sworn to me. I led something more than three hundred thousand of them into colonies and I returned them to their cities, after their stipend had been earned, and I assigned all of them fields or gave them money for their military service. I captured six hundred ships in addition to those smaller than triremes.
  
4. Twice I triumphed with an ovation, and three times I enjoyed a curule triumph and twenty one times I was named emperor. When the senate decreed more triumphs for me, I sat out from all of them. I placed the laurel from the fasces in the Capitol, when the vows which I pronounced in each war had been fulfilled. On account of the things successfully done by me and through my officers, under my auspices, on earth and sea, the senate decreed fifty-five times that there be sacrifices to the immortal gods. Moreover there were 890 days on which the senate decreed there would be sacrifices. In my triumphs kings and nine children of kings were led before my chariot. I had been consul thirteen times, when I wrote this, and I was in the thirty-seventh year of tribunician power (14 A.C.E.).

5. When the dictatorship was offered to me, both in my presence and my absence, by the people and senate, when Marcus Marcellus and Lucius Arruntius were consuls (22 B.C.E.), I did not accept it. I did not evade the curatorship of grain in the height of the food shortage, which I so arranged that within a few days I freed the entire city from the present fear and danger by my own expense and administration. When the annual and perpetual consulate was then again offered to me, I did not accept it.

6. When Marcus Vinicius and Quintus Lucretius were consuls (19 B.C.E.), then again when Publius Lentulus and Gnaeus Lentulus were (18 B.C.E.), and third when Paullus Fabius Maximus and Quintus Tubero were (11 B.C.E.), although the senate and Roman people consented that I alone be made curator of the laws and customs with the highest power, I received no magistracy offered contrary to the customs of the ancestors. What the senate then wanted to accomplish through me, I did through tribunician power, and five times on my own accord I both requested and received from the senate a colleague in such power.

7. I was triumvir for the settling of the state for ten continuous years. I was first of the senate up to that day on which I wrote this, for forty years. I was high priest, augur, one of the Fifteen for the performance of rites, one of the Seven of the sacred feasts, brother of Arvis, fellow of Titus, and Fetal.

8. When I was consul the fifth time (29 B.C.E.), I increased the number of patricians by order of the people and senate. I read the roll of the senate three times, and in my sixth consulate (28 B.C.E.) I made a census of the people with Marcus Agrippa as my colleague. I conducted a lustrum, after a forty-one year gap, in which lustrum were counted 4,063,000 heads of Roman citizens. Then again, with consular imperium I conducted a lustrum alone when Gaius Censorinus and Gaius Asinius were consuls (8 B.C.E.), in which lustrum were counted 4,233,000 heads of Roman citizens. And the third time, with consular imperium, I conducted a lustrum with my son Tiberius Caesar as colleague, when Sextus Pompeius and Sextus Appuleius were consuls (14 A.C.E.), in which lustrum were counted 4,937,000 of the heads of Roman citizens. By new laws passed with my sponsorship, I restored many traditions of the ancestors, which were falling into disuse in our age, and myself I handed on precedents of many things to be imitated in later generations.

9. The senate decreed that vows be undertaken for my health by the consuls and priests every fifth year. In fulfillment of these vows they often celebrated games for my life; several times the four highest colleges of priests, several times the consuls. Also both privately and as a city all the citizens unanimously and continuously prayed at all the shrines for my health.

10. By a senate decree my name was included in the Saliar Hymn, and it was sanctified by a law, both that I would be sacrosanct for ever, and that, as long as I would live, the tribunician power would be mine. I was unwilling to be high priest in the place of my living colleague; when the

people offered me that priesthood which my father had, I refused it. And I received that priesthood, after several years, with the death of him who had occupied it since the opportunity of the civil disturbance, with a multitude flocking together out of all Italy to my election, so many as had never before been in Rome, when Publius Sulpicius and Gaius Valgius were consuls (12 B.C.E.).

11. The senate consecrated the altar of Fortune the Bringer-back before the temples of Honor and Virtue at the Campanian gate for my retrn, on which it ordered the priests and Vestal virgins to offer yearly sacrifices on the day when I had returned to the city from Syria (when Quintus Lucretius and Marcus Vinicius were consuls (19 Bc)), and it named that day Augustalia after my cognomen.

12. By the authority of the senate, a part of the praetors and tribunes of the plebs, with consul Quintus Lucretius and the leading men, was sent to meet me in Campania, which honor had been decreed for no one but me until that time. When I returned to Rome from Spain and Gaul, having successfully accomplished matters in those provinces, when Tiberius Nero and Publius Quintilius were consuls (13 B.C.E.), the senate voted to consecrate the altar of August Peace in the field of Mars for my return, on which it ordered the magistrates and priests and Vestal virgins to offer annual sacrifices.

13. Our ancestors wanted Janus Quirinus to be closed when throughout the all the rule of the Roman people, by land and sea, peace had been secured through victory. Although before my birth it had been closed twice in all in recorded memory from the founding of the city, the senate voted three times in my principate that it be closed.

14. When my sons Gaius and Lucius Caesar, whom fortune stole from me as youths, were fourteen, the senate and Roman people made them consuls-designate on behalf of my honor, so that they would enter that magistracy after five years, and the senate decreed that on thatday when they were led into the forum they would be included in public councils. Moreover the Roman knights together named each of them first of the youth and gave them shields and spears.

15. I paid to the Roman plebs, HS 300 per man from my father's will and in my own name gave HS 400 from the spoils of war when I was consul for the fifth time (29 B.C.E.); furthermore I again paid out a public gift of HS 400 per man, in my tenth consulate (24 B.C.E.), from my own patrimony; and, when consul for the eleventh time (23 B.C.E.), twelve doles of grain personally bought were measured out; and in my twelfth year of tribunician power (12-11 B.C.E.) I gave HS 400 per man for the third time. And these public gifts of mine never reached fewer than 250,000 men. In my eighteenth year of tribunician power, as consul for the twelfth time (5 B.C.E.), I gave to 320,000 plebs of the city HS 240 per man. And, when consul the fifth time (29 B.C.E.), I gave from my war-spoils to colonies of my soldiers each HS 1000 per man; about 120,000 men i the colonies received this triumphal public gift. Consul for the thirteenth time (2

B.C.E.), I gave HS 240 to the plebs who then received the public grain; they were a few more than 200,000.

16. I paid the towns money for the fields which I had assigned to soldiers in my fourth consulate (30 B.C.E.) and then when Marcus Crassus and Gnaeus Lentulus Augur were consuls (14 B.C.E.); the sum was about HS 600,000,000 which I paid out for Italian estates, and about HS 260,000,000 which I paid for provincial fields. I was first and alone who did this among all who founded military colonies in Italy or the provinces according to the memory of my age. And afterwards, when Tiberius Nero and Gnaeus Piso were consuls (7 B.C.E.), and likewise when Gaius Antistius and Decius Laelius were consuls (6 B.C.E.), and when Gaius Calvisius and Lucius Passienus were consuls (4 B.C.E.), and when Lucius Lentulus and Marcus Messalla were consuls (3 B.C.E.), and when Lucius Caninius and Quintus Fabricius were consuls (2 B.C.E.) , I paid out rewards in cash to the soldiers whom I had led into their towns when their service was completed, and in this venture I spent about HS 400,000,000.

17. Four times I helped the senatorial treasury with my money, so that I offered HS 150,000,000 to those who were in charge of the treasury. And when Marcus Lepidus and Luciu Arruntius were consuls (6 A.C.E.), I offered HS 170,000,000 from my patrimony to the military treasury, which was founded by my advice and from which rewards were given to soldiers who had served twenty or more times.

18. From that year when Gnaeus and Publius Lentulus were consuls (18 Bc), when the taxes fell short, I gave out contributions of grain and money from my granary and patrimony, sometimes to 100,000 men, sometimes to many more.

19. I built the senate-house and the Chalcidicum which adjoins it and the temple of Apollo on the Palatine with porticos, the temple of divine Julius, the Lupercal, the portico at the Flaminian circus, which I allowed to be called by the name Octavian, after he who had earlier built in the same place, the state box at the great circus, the temple on the Capitoline of Jupiter Subduer and Jupiter Thunderer, the temple of Quirinus, the temples of Minerva and Queen Juno and Jupiter Liberator on the Aventine, the temple of the Lares at the top of the holy street, the temple of the gods of the Penates on the Velian, the temple of Youth, and the temple of the Great Mother on the Palatine.

20. I rebuilt the Capitol and the theater of Pompey, each work at enormous cost, without any inscription of my name. I rebuilt aqueducts in many places that had decayed with age, and I doubled the capacity of the Marcian aqueduct by sending a new spring into its channel. I completed the Forum of Julius and the basilic which he built between the temple of Castor and the temple of Saturn, works begun and almost finished by my father. When the same basilica was burned with fire I expanded its grounds and I began it under an inscription of the name of my sons, and, if I should not complete it alive, I ordered it to be completed by my heirs. Consul for the sixth time (28 B.C.E.), I rebuilt eighty-two temples of the gods in the city by the authority of

the senate, omitting nothing which ought to have been rebuilt at that time. Consul for the seventh time (27 B.C.E.), I rebuilt the Flaminian road from the city to Ariminum and all the bridges except the Mulvian and Minucian.

21. I built the temple of Mars Ultor on private ground and the forum of Augustus from war-spoils. I build the theater at the temple of Apollo on ground largely bought from private owners, under the name of Marcus Marcellus my son-in-law. I consecrated gifts from war-spoils in the Capitol and in the temple of divine Julius, in the temple of Apollo, in the tempe of Vesta, and in the temple of Mars Ultor, which cost me about HS 100,000,000. I sent back gold crowns weighing 35,000 to the towns and colonies of Italy, which had been contributed for my triumphs, and later, however many times I was named emperor, I refused gold crowns from the towns and colonies which they equally kindly decreed, and before they had decreed them.

22. Three times I gave shows of gladiators under my name and five times under the name of my sons and grandsons; in these shows about 10,000 men fought. Twice I furnished under my name spectacles of athletes gathered from everywhere, and three times under my grandson's name. I celebrated games under my name four times, and furthermore in the place of other magistrates twenty-three times. As master of the college I celebrated the secular games for the college of the Fifteen, with my colleague Marcus Agrippa, when Gaius Furnius and Gaius Silanus were consuls (17 B.C.E.). Consul for the thirteenth time (2 B.C.E.), I celebrated the first games of Mas, which after that time thereafter in following years, by a senate decree and a law, the consuls were to celebrate. Twenty-six times, under my name or that of my sons and grandsons, I gave the people hunts of African beasts in the circus, in the open, or in the amphitheater; in them about 3,500 beasts were killed.

23. I gave the people a spectacle of a naval battle, in the place across the Tiber where the grove of the Caesars is now, with the ground excavated in length 1,800 feet, in width 1,200, in which thirty beaked ships, biremes or triremes, but many smaller, fought among themselves; in these ships about 3,000 men fought in addition to the rowers.

24. In the temples of all the cities of the province of Asia, as victor, I replaced the ornaments which he with whom I fought the war had possessed privately after he despoiled the temples. Silver statues of me-on foot, on horseback, and standing in a chariot-were erected in about eighty cities, which I myself removed, and from the money I placed goldn offerings in the temple of Apollo under my name and of those who paid the honor of the statues to me.

25. I restored peace to the sea from pirates. In that slave war I handed over to their masters for the infliction of punishments about 30,000 captured, who had fled their masters and taken up arms against the state. All Italy swore allegiance to me voluntarily, and demanded me as leader of the war which I won at Actium; the provinces of Gaul, Spain, Africa, Sicily, and Sardinia swore the same allegiance. And those who then fought under my standard were more than 700

senators, among whom 83 were made consuls either before or after, up to the day this was written, and about 170 were made priests.

26. I extended the borders of all the provinces of the Roman people which neighbored nations not subject to our rule. I restored peace to the provinces of Gaul and Spain, likewise Germany, which includes the ocean from Cadiz to the mouth of the river Elbe. I brought peace to the Alps from the region which is near the Adriatic Sea to the Tuscan, with no unjust war waged against any nation. I sailed my ships on the ocean from the mouth of the Rhine to the east region up to the borders of the Cimbri, where no Roman had gone before that time by land or sea, and the Cimbri and the Charydes and the Semnones and the other Germans of the same territory sought by envoys the friendship of me and of the Roman people. By my order and auspices two armies were led at about the same time into Ethiopia and into that part of Arabia which is called Happy, and the troops of each nation of enemies were slaughtered in battle and many towns captured. They penetrated into Ethiopia all the way to the town Nabata, which is near to Meroe; and into Arabia all the way to the border of the Sabaei, advancing to the town Mariba.

27. I added Egypt to the rule of the Roman people. When Artaxes, king of Greater Armenia, was killed, though I could have made it a province, I preferred, by the example of our elders, to hand over that kingdom to Tigranes, son of king Artavasdes, and grandson of King Tigranes, through Tiberius Nero, who was then my step-son. And the same nation, after revolting and rebelling, and subdued through my son Gaius, I handed over to be ruled by King Ariobarzanes son of Artabazus, King of the Medes, and after his death, to his son Artavasdes; and when he was killed, I sent Tigranes, who came from the royal clan of the Armenians, into that rule. I recovered all the provinces which lie across the Adriatic to the east and Cyrene, with kings now possessing them in large part, and Sicily and Sardina, which had been occupied earlier in the slave war.

28. I founded colonies of soldiers in Africa, Sicily, Macedonia, each Spain, Greece, Asia, Syria, Narbonian Gaul, and Pisidia, and furthermore had twenty-eight colonies founded in Italy under my authority, which were very populous and crowded while I lived.

29. I recovered from Spain, Gaul, and Dalmatia the many military standards lost through other leaders, after defeating the enemies. I compelled the Parthians to return to me the spoils and standards of three Roman armies, and as suppliants to seek the friendship of the Roman people. Furthermore I placed those standards in the sanctuary of the temple of Mars Ultor.

30. As for the tribes of the Pannonians, before my principate no army of the Roman people had entered their land. When they were conquered through Tiberius Nero, who was then my step-son and emissary, I subjected them to the rule of the Roman people and extended the borders of Illyricum to the shores of the river Danube. On the near side of it the army of the Dacians was conquered and overcome under my auspices, and then my army, led across the Danube, forced the tribes of the Dacians to bear the rule of the Roman people.

31. Emissaries from the Indian kings were often sent to me, which had not been seen before that time by any Roman leader. The Bastarnae, the Scythians, and the Sarmatians, who are on this side of the river Don and the kings further away, an the kings of the Albanians, of the Iberians, and of the Medes, sought our friendship through emissaries.

32. To me were sent supplications by kings: of the Parthians, Tiridates and later Phrates son of king Phrates, of the Medes, Artavasdes, of the Adiabenii, Artaxares, of the Britons, Dumnobellaunus and Tincommius, of the Sugambri, Maelo, of the Marcomanian Suebi (...) (-)rus. King Phrates of the Parthians, son of Orodes, sent all his sons and grandsons into Italy to me, though defeated in no war, but seeking our friendship through the pledges of his children. And in my principate many other peoples experienced the faith of the Roman people, of whom nothing had previously existed of embassies or interchange of friendship with the Roman people.

33. The nations of the Parthians and Medes received from me the first kings of those nations which they sought by emissaries: the Parthians, Vonones son of king Phrates, grandson of king Orodes, the Medes, Ariobarzanes, son of king Artavasdes, grandson of king Aiobarzanes.

34. In my sixth and seventh consulates (28-27 B.C.E.), after putting out the civil war, having obtained all things by universal consent, I handed over the state from my power to the dominion of the senate and Roman people. And for this merit of mine, by a senate decree, I was called Augustus and the doors of my temple were publicly clothed with laurel and a civic crown was fixed over my door and a gold shield placed in the Julian senate-house, and the inscription of that shield testified to the virtue, mercy, justice, and piety, for which the senate and Roman people gave it to me. After that time, I exceeded all in influence, but I had no greater power than the others who were colleagues with me in each magistracy.

35. When I administered my thirteenth consulate (2 B.C.E.), the senate and Equestrian order and Roman people all called me father of the country, and voted that the same be inscribed in the vestibule of my temple, in the Julian senate-house, and in the forum of Augustus under the chario which had been placed there for me by a decision of the senate. When I wrote this I was seventy-six years old.

## Aelius Aristides, *The Roman Oration*

Despite a number of weaknesses within the Roman imperial system, the *Pax Romana* held up rather well for two centuries. During that two-hundred-year period the empire expanded its borders significantly, reaching the apex of its expansion and prosperity in the age of the Antonines, the so-called *Five Good Emperors*. Each of these emperors, beginning with Nerva (r. 96-98 C.E.) and ending with Marcus Aurelius (r. 161-180), displayed a sensitivity to law and good government. Each labored to maintain internal stability and prosperity, and their combined extensive public works projects in both Italy and the provinces beautified the empire and significantly improved its infrastructure. Of the five emperors, the most widely admired was Antoninus Pius (r. 138-161), whose long and peaceful reign, simple life, and even temper won him many friends and few enemies.

In the year 155, Publius Aelius Aristides (117 or 118 - ca. 180), a wealthy landowner from Anatolia whose family had received Roman citizenship in 123, visited the imperial court in Rome, where, in the presence of Emperor Antoninus, he delivered a *panegyric*, or formal public speech of praise, on the glories of the *Pax Romana*. Although this Greek-speaking philosopher and rhetorician presented a highly stylized address that was filled with the cliched phrases and hyperbolic flourishes of the Hellenistic oratorical tradition, he managed nonetheless to capture the spirit of prosperity, cosmopolitanism, and universal mission that characterized the attitude of so many of the Roman Empire's ruling elite during the second century C.E.

"It is an age-old tradition that travelers who journey forth on land or water offer a prayer whereby they pledge to fulfill some vow - something they have on their mind - on reaching their destination safely.... The vow I took as I journeyed here was not the usual stupid and irrelevant sort, nor was it one unrelated to the art I profess. I simply vowed that, if I arrived safely, I would salute your city with a public address....

Some writer referring to Asia asserted that one man ruled as much territory as the sun passed over, but his statement was false, because he placed all of Africa and Europe outside of the area where the sun rises in the east and sets in the west. [This had been written of the King of Kings of Persia. The clear implication is that the Roman Empire is vaster than that of ancient Persia]. Now, however, it has become fact. The land you possess equals what the sun can pass over, and the sun does encompass your land.... You do not reign within fixed boundaries, and another state does not dictate the limits of the land you control; rather, the sea [Mediterranean Sea] extends like a belt, situated in the middle of the civilized world and in the middle of the land over which you rule. Around that sea lie the great continents [Africa, Asia, and Europe] massively sloping down to it, forever offering you in full measure what they possess.... Whatever each culture grows and manufactures cannot fail to be here at all times and in great profusion. Hee merchant vessels arrive carrying these many commodities from every region in every season and even at every equinox [in other words, without any break whatsoever, despite the time of year], so that the city takes on the appearance of a sort of common market for the world. One can see cargoes from India and even, if you will, from southern Arabia in such numbers that one must conclude that the trees in those lands have been stripped bare, [of aromatics from southern Arabia and various spices from India and points east] and if the inhabitants of those lands need anything, they must come here to beg for a share of what they have produced.... Your farmlands are Egypt, Sicily, and all of cultivated Africa. [North Africa, which was much more fertile in Roman times]

than it is today, was a major producer of grain and other agricultural products.] Seaborne arrivals and departures are ceaseless, to the point that the wonder is, not so much that the harbor has insufficient space for all these merchant vessels, but that the sea has enough space (if it really does). Just as ... there is a common channel where all waters of the Ocean [Ancient Greek and Roman geographers believed that the three continents were surrounded by a single great ocean.] have a single source and destination, so that there is a common channel to Rome and all meet here: trade, shipping, agriculture, metallurgy - all the arts and crafts that are or ever were and all things that are produced or spring from the earth. What one does not see here does not exist. So it is not easy to decide which is the greater: the superiority of this city relative to cities that presently exist, or the superiority of this empire relative to all empires that ever existed ....

As vast and comprehensive as its size is, your empire is much greater for its perfection than for the area its borders encircle.... The entire civilized world prays with one voice that this empire endure forever.... For of all who have ever gained an empire, you alone rule over free men.... You, who conduct public business throughout the whole civilized world exactly as if it were one city-state, appoint governors, as if it were by election, to protect and care for the governed, not to act as slave masters over them.... One could say that the people of today are ruled by governors sent out to them only to the degree that they wish to be ruled....

You have divided into two parts all men throughout your empire... everywhere giving citizenship to all those who are more accomplished, noble, and powerful, even as they retain their native-born identities, [Aristides, for example, retained his citizenship in the Anatolian city of Smyrna while simultaneously possessing Roman citizenship] while the rest you have made subjects and the governed. Neither the sea nor the great expanse of intervening land keeps one from being a citizen, and there is no distinction between Europe and Asia.... No one is a foreigner who deserves to hold an office or is worthy of trust. Rather, there is here a common "world democracy" under the rule of one man, the best ruler and director .... You have divided humanity into Romans and non-Romans, ... and because you have divided people in this manner, in every city throughout the empire there are many who share citizenship with you, no less than the share citizenship with their fellow natives. And some of these Roman citizens have not even seen this city [Rome]! There is no need for troops to garrison the strategic high points of these cities, because the most important and powerful people in each region guard their native lands for you.... Yet there is not a residue of resentment among those excluded [from Roman citizenship and a share in the governance of the provinces]. Because your government is both universal and like that of a single city-state, its governors rightly rule not as foreigners but, as it were, their own people.... Additionally, all of the masses of subjects under this government have protection against the more powerful of their native countrymen, by virtue of your anger and vengeance, which would fall upon the more powerful without delay should they dare to break the law. Thus, the present government serves rich and poor alike, and your constitution has developed a single, harmonious, all-embracing union. What in former days seemed impossible has in your time come to pass: You control a vast empire with a rule that is firm but not unkind....

As on a holiday, the entire civilized world lays down the weapons that were its ancient burden and has turned to adornment and all glad thoughts, with the power to realize them.... Cities glisten with radiance and charm, and the entire earth has been made beautiful like a garden.... Like a perpetual sacred flame, the celebration is unending.... You, better than anyone else, have

proved the truth of the proverb: The earth is everyone's mother and our common fatherland. It is now possible for Hellene and non-Hellene [by this time the term *Hellene* did not refer simply to an ethnic Greek. It meant anyone who was a Roman citizen and who shared in the Greco-Roman high culture of the empire. Thus, Aristides, a native of Asia Minor, was a Hellene. A non-Hellene, or barbarian, was either someone from outside the empire or one of the empire's uneducated masses], with or without property, to travel with ease wherever he wishes, as though passing from homeland to homeland..... As far as security is concerned, it suffices to be a Roman citizen, or rather one of those people united under your rule....

Let us pray that all the gods and their children grant that this empire and this city flourish forever and never cease until stones float on water and trees cease to put forth shoots in spring, and that the Great Governor [the emperor] and his sons be preserved and obtain blessings for all."

PHILOSTRATUS  
AND  
EUNAPIUS  
THE LIVES OF THE SOPHISTS

WITH AN ENGLISH TRANSLATION BY  
**WILMER CAVE WRIGHT, PH.D.**

PROFESSOR OF GREEK, BRYN MAWR COLLEGE

SB 14. Eunapius, *Lives of Philosophers* (ca. 400 C.E.)  
 This selection includes the biographies of the Neoplatonist  
 philosophers Porphyry and Iamblichus (3rd-4th c. CE).  
 Eunapius' account shows just how much the idea of  
 philosophy was shifting in the Late Roman World, taking  
 on a much more religious, or even magical cast.

LONDON: WILLIAM HEINEMANN  
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MCMXXII

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## LIVES OF THE PHILOSOPHERS

one take it amiss if I, recording as I do the period for which it was possible for me to obtain evidence, or with which I could make an appropriate beginning, embark on my narrative at this point.

BEGIN HERE .

PLOTINUS was a philosopher of Egyptian birth. But though I just now called him an Egyptian, I will add his native place also ; Lyeo they call it. Yet the divine philosopher Porphyry did not record this, though he said that he was his pupil and studied with him during the whole of his life, or the greater part of it. Altars in honour of Plotinus are still warm, and his books are in the hands of educated men, more so than the dialogues of Plato. Nay, even great numbers of the vulgar herd, though they in part fail to understand his doctrines, nevertheless are swayed by them. Porphyry set forth his whole life so fully that no one could bring forward more evidence. Moreover, he is known to have interpreted many of his books. But a life of Porphyry himself no one has written, so far as I know. However, from what I have gathered in my reading of the evidence that has been handed down, I have learned the following facts concerning him.

Tyre was PORPHYRY's birthplace, the capital city of the ancient Phoenicians, and his ancestors were distinguished men. He was given a liberal education, and advanced so rapidly and made such progress that he became a pupil of Longinus, and in a short time was an ornament to his teacher. At that time Longinus was a living library and a walking museum ; and moreover he had been entrusted with the function of critic of the ancient writers, like many

## LIVES OF THE PHILOSOPHERS

others before him, such as the most famous of them all, Dionysius of Caria. Porphyry's name in the Syrian town was originally Malchus (this word means "king"), but Longinus gave him the name of Porphyry, thus making it indicate the colour of imperial attire.<sup>1</sup> With Longinus he attained to the highest culture, and like him advanced to a perfect knowledge of grammar and rhetoric, though he did not incline to that study exclusively, since he took on the impress from every type of philosophy. For Longinus was in all branches of study by far the most distinguished of the men of his time, and a great number of his books are in circulation and are greatly admired. Whenever any critic condemned some ancient author, his opinion did not win approval until the verdict of Longinus wholly confirmed it. After Porphyry's early education had thus been carried on and he was looked up to by all, he longed to see Rome, the mistress of the world, so that he might enchain the city by his wisdom. But directly he arrived there and became intimate with that great man Plotinus, he forgot all else and devoted himself wholly to him. And since with an insatiable appetite he devoured his teaching and his original and inspired discourses, for some time he was content to be his pupil, as he himself says. Then overcome by the force of his teachings he conceived a hatred of his own body and of being human, and sailed to Sicily across the straits and Charybdis, along the route where Odysseus is said to have sailed;<sup>2</sup> and he would not endure either to see a city or to hear

<sup>1</sup> i.e. purple; for Porphyry's account of this cf. his *Life of Plotinus* xvii.

<sup>2</sup> An echo of Thucydides iv. 24.

## LIVES OF THE PHILOSOPHERS

the voice of man, thus putting away from himself both pain and pleasure, but kept on to Lilybaeum; this is that one of Sicily's three promontories that stretches out and looks towards Libya. There he lay groaning and mortifying the flesh, and he would take no nourishment and "avoided the path of men."<sup>1</sup> But great Plotinus "kept no vain watch"<sup>2</sup> on these things, and either followed in his footsteps or inquired for the youth who had fled, and so found him lying there; then he found abundance of words that recalled to life his soul, as it was just about to speed forth from the body. Moreover he gave strength to his body so that it might contain his soul.<sup>3</sup>

So Porphyry breathed again and arose, but Plotinus in one of the books<sup>4</sup> that he wrote recorded the arguments then uttered by him. And while some philosophers hide their esoteric teachings in obscurity, as poets conceal theirs in myths,<sup>5</sup> Porphyry praised clear knowledge as a sovereign remedy, and since he had tasted it by experience he recorded this in writing and brought it to the light of day.

Now Porphyry returned to Rome and continued to study philosophical disputation, so that he even appeared in public to make a display of his powers; but every forum and every crowd attributed to Plotinus the credit of Porphyry's renown. For

sent him to Sicily to rest; Plotinus did not follow him, and later Porphyry returned to Rome, after the death of Plotinus.

<sup>4</sup> This is not extant. Eunapius may refer to the advice given by Plotinus, *Enneads* iii. 2, against succumbing to adversity, but possibly his source is a commentary on the *Enneads* by Porphyry himself, not now extant.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. Julian, *Orations*, v. 170, vii. 217 c.

## LIVES OF THE PHILOSOPHERS

Plotinus, because of the celestial quality of his soul and the oblique and enigmatic character of his discourses, seemed austere and hard to listen to. But Porphyry, like a chain of Hermes let down to mortals,<sup>1</sup> by reason of his many-sided culture expounded all subjects so as to be clear and easy of comprehension. He himself says (but perhaps as seems likely he wrote this while he was still young), that he was granted an oracle different from the vulgar sort; and in the same book he wrote it down, and then went on to expound at considerable length how men ought to pay attention to these oracles. And he says too that he cast out and expelled some sort of daemon from a certain bath; the inhabitants called this daemon Kausatha.<sup>2</sup>

As he himself records, he had for fellow-disciples certain very famous men, Origen, Amerius, and Aquilinus,<sup>3</sup> whose writings are still preserved, though not one of their discourses; for though their doctrines are admirable, their style is wholly unpleasing, and it pervades their discourses. Nevertheless Porphyry praises these men for their oratorical talent, though he himself runs through the whole scale of charm, and alone advertises and celebrates his teacher, inasmuch as there was no branch of learning that he neglected. One may well be at a loss and wonder within oneself which branch he studied more than another; whether it was that which concerns the subject matter of rhetoric, or that which tends to

"filth"; in any case the incident probably occurred in Syria rather than at Rome.

<sup>3</sup> Porphyry, *Life of Plotinus*, xvi., does not call him a fellow-disciple, but says he was a Christian Gnostic who led others astray by his doctrines. The Origen here mentioned is not the famous Christian teacher.

precise accuracy in grammar, or that which depends on numbers, or inclines to geometry, or leans to music. As for philosophy, I cannot describe in words his genius for discourse, or for moral philosophy. As for natural philosophy and the art of divination, let that be left to sacred rites and mysteries.. So true is it that the man was a being who combined in himself all the talents for every sort of excellence. One who cares most for this would naturally praise the beauty of the style of his discourse more than his doctrines, or again would prefer his doctrines, if one paid closer attention to these than to the force of his oratory. It seems that he entered the married state, and a book of his is extant addressed to his wife Marcella ; he says that he married her, although she was already the mother of five<sup>1</sup> children, and this was not that he might have children by her, but that those she had might be educated ; for the father of his wife's children had been a friend of his own. It seems that he attained to an advanced old age. At any rate he left behind him many speculations that conflict with the books that he had previously published ; with regard to which we can only suppose that he changed his opinions as he grew older. He is said to have departed this life in Rome.

At this time those who were most distinguished for rhetoric at Athens were Paulus and the Syrian Andromachus. But Porphyry actually was at the height of his powers as late as the time of Gallienus,

<sup>1</sup> Marcella had five daughters and two sons.

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\* εἰκάζειν *Laurentianus*, Diels defends; βιβάζειν *Ottobonianus*, Boissonade; ἀκμάζειν Wyttenbach; προβιβάζειν Busse.

## LIVES OF THE PHILOSOPHERS

Claudius, Tacitus, Aurelian, and Probus. In those days there lived also Dexippus,<sup>1</sup> who composed historical annals, a man overflowing with erudition and logical power.

After these men comes a very celebrated philosopher, IAMBЛИCHUS, who was of illustrious ancestry and belonged to an opulent and prosperous family. His birthplace was Chalcis, a city in the region called Coele Syria.<sup>2</sup> As a pupil of Anatolius, who ranks next after Porphyry, he made great progress and attained to the highest distinction in philosophy. Then leaving Anatolius he attached himself to Porphyry, and in no respect was he inferior to Porphyry except in harmonious structure and force of style. For his utterances are not imbued with charm and grace, they are not lucid, and they lack the beauty of simplicity. Nevertheless they are not altogether obscure, nor have they faults of diction, but as Plato used to say of Xenocrates, "he has not sacrificed to the Graces" of Hermes.<sup>3</sup> Therefore he does not hold and enchant the reader into continuing to read, but is more likely to repel him and irritate his ears. But because he practised justice he gained an easy access to the ears of the gods; so much so that he had a multitude of disciples, and those who desired learning flocked to him from all parts. And it is hard to decide who among them

the Goths occupied Athens in 267 collected a small force and inflicted severe losses on the invaders.

<sup>2</sup> The district between Lebanon and Anti-Lebanon was called "Syria in the Hollow."

<sup>3</sup> Quoted from Diogenes Laertius iv. 6, or more probably from Plutarch, *Conjugal Precepts* 141 r. Eunapius adds the words "of Hermes" to the original passage; Hermes was the god of eloquence.

## LIVES OF THE PHILOSOPHERS

was the most distinguished, for Sopater<sup>1</sup> the Syrian was of their number, a man who was most eloquent both in his speeches and writings; and Aedesius and Eustathius from Cappadocia; while from Greece came Theodorus<sup>2</sup> and Euphrasius, men of superlative virtue, and a crowd of other men not inferior in their powers of oratory, so that it seemed marvellous that he could satisfy them all; and indeed in his devotion to them all he never spared himself. Occasionally, however, he did perform certain rites alone, apart from his friends and disciples, when he worshipped the Divine Being. But for the most part he conversed with his pupils and was unexacting in his mode of life and of an ancient simplicity. As they drank their wine he used to charm those present by his conversation and filled them as with nectar. And they never ceased to desire this pleasure and never could have too much of it, so that they never gave him any peace; and they appointed the most eloquent among them to represent them, and asked: "O master, most inspired, why do you thus occupy yourself in solitude, instead of sharing with us your more perfect wisdom? Nevertheless a rumour has reached us through your slaves that when you pray to the gods you soar aloft from the earth more than ten cubits to all appearance;<sup>3</sup> that your body and your garments change to a beautiful golden hue; and presently when your prayer is ended your body becomes as it was before you prayed, and then you come down to earth and associate with us." Iamblichus was not at all inclined Theodorus who in a letter of Julian (Papadopoulos 4\*) is said to have attacked the doctrines of Iamblichus.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Philostratus, *Life of Apollonius* iii. 15, where the same powers of levitation are ascribed to the Brahmans.

## LIVES OF THE PHILOSOPHERS

to laughter, but he laughed at these remarks.<sup>1</sup> And he answered them thus : " He who thus deluded you was a witty fellow ; but the facts are otherwise. For the future however you shall be present at all that goes on." This was the sort of display that he made ; and the report of it reached the author of this work from his teacher Chrysanthius of Sardis. He was a pupil of Aedesius, and Aedesius was one of the leading disciples of Iamblichus, and one of those who spoke to him as I have said. He said that there occurred the following sure manifestations of his divine nature. The sun was travelling towards the limits of the Lion at the time when it rises along with the constellation called the Dog. It was the hour for sacrifice, and this had been made ready in one of the suburban villas belonging to Iamblichus. Presently when the rites had been duly performed and they were returning to the city, walking slowly and at their leisure,—for indeed their conversation was about the gods as was in keeping with the sacrifice—suddenly Iamblichus even while conversing was lost in thought, as though his voice were cut off, and for some moments he fixed his eyes steadily on the ground<sup>2</sup> and then looked up at his friends and called to them in a loud voice : " Let us go by another road, for a dead body has lately been carried along this way." After saying this he turned into another road which seemed to be less impure,<sup>3</sup> and some of them turned aside with him, who thought it was a shame to desert their teacher. But the greater number and the more obstinate of his disciples, among

<sup>1</sup> It was a Pythagorean doctrine that a funeral contaminates the bystander.

## LIVES OF THE PHILOSOPHERS

whom was Aedesius, stayed where they were, ascribing the occurrence to a portent and scenting like hounds for the proof.<sup>1</sup> And very soon those who had buried the dead man came back. But even so the disciples did not desist but inquired whether they had passed along this road. "We had to," they replied, for there was no other road.

But they testified also to a still more marvellous incident. When they kept pestering Iamblichus and saying that this that I have just related was a trifle, and perhaps due to a superior sense of smell, and that they wished to test him in something more important, his reply to them was: "Nay, that does not rest with me, but wait for the appointed hour." Some time after, they decided to go to Gadara, a place which has warm baths in Syria, inferior only to those at Baiae in Italy, with which no other baths can be compared.<sup>2</sup> So they set out in the summer season. Now he happened to be bathing and the others were bathing with him, and they were using the same insistence, whereupon Iamblichus smiled and said: "It is irreverent to the gods to give you this demonstration, but for your sakes it shall be done." There were two hot springs smaller than the others but prettier, and he bade his disciples ask the natives of the place by what names they used to be called in former times. When they had done his bidding they said: "There is no pretence about it, this spring is called Eros, and the name of the one next to it is Anteros." He at once touched the

<sup>1</sup> A favourite Platonic simile, frequently echoed by the sophists.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Horace, *Epistles* i. 1. 85 "nullus in orbe locus Baiis praelucet amoenis."

## LIVES OF THE PHILOSOPHERS ,

water with his hand—he happened to be sitting on the ledge of the spring where the overflow runs off—and uttering a brief summons<sup>1</sup> he called forth a boy from the depth of the spring. He was white-skinned and of medium height, his locks were golden and his back and breast shone; and he exactly resembled one who was bathing or had just bathed. His disciples were overwhelmed with amazement, but Iamblichus said, “Let us go to the next spring,” and he rose and led the way, with a thoughtful air. Then he went through the same performance there also, and summoned another Eros like the first in all respects, except that his hair was darker and fell loose in the sun. Both the boys embraced Iamblichus and clung to him as though he were genuinely their father. He restored them to their proper places and went away after his bath, reverenced by his pupils. After this the crowd of his disciples sought no further evidence, but believed everything from the proofs that had been revealed to them, and hung on to him as though by an unbreakable chain. Even more astonishing and marvellous things were related of him, but I wrote down none of these since I thought it a hazardous and sacrilegious thing to introduce a spurious and fluid tradition into a stable and well-founded narrative. Nay even this I record not without hesitation, as being mere hearsay, except that I follow the lead of men who, though they distrusted other signs, were converted by the experience of the actual revelation. Yet no one of his followers recorded it, as far as I

<sup>1</sup> No doubt a magic formula. Note the use of *δρᾶν* below, a verb regularly used for magic rites. For the fable of Eros and Anteros cf. Themistius 304 n.

## LIVES OF THE PHILOSOPHERS

know. And this I say with good reason, since Aedesius himself asserted that he had not written END about it, nor had any other ventured to do so.

At the same time as Iamblichus, lived ALYPIUS, HERE . who was especially skilled in dialectic. He was of very small stature and his body was very little larger than a pigmy's, but even the body that he seemed to have was really all soul and intelligence ; to such a degree did the corruptible element in him fail to increase, since it was absorbed into his diviner nature. Therefore, just as the great Plato says,<sup>1</sup> that in contradistinction to human bodies, divine bodies dwell within souls, thus also of him one might say that he had migrated into a soul, and that he was confined and dominated there by some supernatural power. Now Alypius had many followers, but his teaching was limited to conversation, and no one ever published a book by him. On this account they very eagerly betook themselves to Iamblichus, to fill themselves full as though from a spring that bubbles over and does not stay within its limits. Now as the renown of both men increased and kept pace they encountered one another by chance or met in their courses like planets, and round them in a circle sat an audience as though in some great seat of the Muses. Now Iamblichus was waiting to have questions put to him rather than to ask them, but Alypius, contrary to all expectation, postponed all questioning about philosophy and giving himself up to making an effect with his audience<sup>2</sup> said to Iamblichus : " Tell me, philosopher, is a rich man either unjust or the heir of the unjust, yes or no ? For there is no middle course."

<sup>2</sup> Perhaps an echo of Plato, *Symposium* 194 B.

Ammianus Marcellinus (330-93 CE) composed his history in the 380s, though the period covered in the selection is the 350s, a few decades after the Roman capital had been shifted to Constantinople.

SB15. Ammianus Marcellinus on the corruption in the city of Rome

# AMMIANUS MARCELLINUS

VOLUME I

WITH AN ENGLISH TRANSLATION BY

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## CONSTANTIUS ET GALLUS

ferro eundem adoritur Paulum. Et quia languente dextera letaliter ferire non potuit, iam destrictum mucronem in proprium latus impegit. Hocque deformi genere mortis, excessit e vita iustissimus rector,<sup>1</sup> ausus miserabiles casus levare multorum. 9. Quibus ita scelestè patratis, Paulus crux perfunsus, reversusque ad principis castra, multos coopteros paene catenis adduxit, in squalorem deiectos atque maestitiam, quorum adventu intendebantur ecclae, uncosque parabat carnifex et tormenta. Et ex his<sup>2</sup> proscripti sunt plures, actique in exsilium alii, non nullos gladii consumpsere poenales. Nec enim quisquam facile meminit sub Constantio, ubi susurro tenus haec movebantur, quemquam absolum.

6. *Senatus populi Romani vitia.*

1. Inter haec Orfitus praefecti potestate regebat urbem aeternam,<sup>3</sup> ultra modum delatae dignitatis sese efferens insolenter, vir quidem prudens, et forensium negotiorum oppido gnarus, sed splendore liberalium doctrinarum minus quam nobilem decuerat institutus. Quo administrante seditiones sunt concitatae graves ob inopiam vini, cuius<sup>4</sup> avidis usibus vulgus intentum, ad motus asperos excitatur et crebros.

<sup>1</sup> rector, H. Ernst, Bentley; remora, V.      <sup>2</sup> et ex his, Eysen. ; tormenta texis, V.      <sup>3</sup> urbem aeternam, E<sup>2</sup>A; ur (lac. of 8 letters) nam, V<sup>1</sup>, urbem estate nam, V<sup>2</sup>.  
<sup>4</sup>cuius, C. F. W. Müller; huius, V.

swift death imminent, drew his sword and attacked that same Paulus. But since the weakness of his hand prevented him from dealing a fatal blow, he plunged the sword which he had already drawn into his own side. And by that ignominious death there passed from life a most just ruler, who had dared to lighten the unhappy lot of many. 9. After perpetrating these atrocious crimes, Paulus, stained with blood, returned to the emperor's camp, bringing with him many men almost covered with chains and in a state of pitiful filth and wretchedness. On their arrival, the racks were made ready and the executioner prepared his hooks and other instruments of torture. Many of the prisoners were proscribed, others driven into exile; to some the sword dealt the penalty of death. For no one easily recalls the acquittal of anyone in the time of Constantius when an accusation against him had even been whispered.

START HERE (ENGLISH TEXT ON ODD PAGES)

6. *The faults of the Roman Senate and People.*

1. Meanwhile Orfitus was governing the eternal city with the rank of Prefect, and with an arrogance beyond the limits of the power that had been conferred upon him. He was a man of wisdom, it is true, and highly skilled in legal practice, but less equipped with the adornment of the liberal arts than became a man of noble rank. During his term of office serious riots broke out because of the scarcity of wine; for the people, eager for an unrestrained use of this commodity, are roused to frequent and violent disturbances.

## CONSTANTIUS ET GALLUS

2. Et quoniam mirari posse quosdam peregrinos existimo, haec lecturos forsitan (si contigerit), quam ob rem cum oratio ad ea monstranda deflexerit quae Romae geruntur, nihil praeter seditiones narratur et tabernas et vilitates harum similis alias, summatis causas perstringam, nusquam a veritate sponte propria digressurus.

3. Tempore quo primis auspiciis in mundanum fulgorem surgeret victura dum erunt homines Roma, ut augeretur sublimibus incrementis, foedere pacis aeternae Virtus convenit atque Fortuna, plerumque dissidentes, quarum si altera defuisse, ad perfectam non venerat summittatem. 4. Eius populus ab incunabulis primis ad usque pueritiae tempus extremum, quod annis circumcluditur fere trecentis, circummurana pertulit bella; deinde aetatem ingressus adultam, post multiplices bellorum aerumnas, Alpes transcendent et fretum; in iuvenem erectus et virum, ex omni plaga quam orbis ambit immensus, reportavit laureas et<sup>1</sup> triumphos; iamque vergens in senium, et nomine solo aliquotiens vincens, ad tranquilliora vitae discessit. 5. Ideo urbs venerabilis, post superbas efferatarum gentium cervices oppressas, latasque leges, fundamenta libertatis et retinacula sempiterna, velut frugi parens et prudens et dives, Caesaribus tamquam liberis suis regenda patrimonii iura permisit. 6. Et olim licet otiosae

<sup>1</sup> laureas et, Kiessling; laureace, V.

<sup>1</sup> Here Ammianus, writing his History at Rome, classes himself as a Roman; see note on 6, 12, below, and Introd., p. xiv.

2. Now I think that some foreigners<sup>1</sup> who will perhaps read this work (if I shall be so fortunate) may wonder why it is that when the narrative turns to the description of what goes on at Rome, I tell of nothing save dissensions, taverns, and other similar vulgarities. Accordingly, I shall briefly touch upon the reasons, intending nowhere to depart intentionally from the truth.

3. At the time when Rome first began to rise into a position of world-wide splendour, destined to live so long as men shall exist, in order that she might grow to a towering stature, Virtue and Fortune, ordinarily at variance, formed a pact of eternal peace; for if either one of them had failed her, Rome had not come to complete supremacy. 4. Her people, from the very cradle to the end of their childhood,<sup>2</sup> a period of about three hundred years, carried on wars about her walls. Then, entering upon adult life, after many toilsome wars, they crossed the Alps and the sea. Grown to youth and manhood, from every region which the vast globe includes, they brought back laurels and triumphs. And now, declining into old age, and often owing victory to its name alone, it has come to a quieter period of life. 5. Thus the venerable city, after humbling the proud necks of savage nations, and making laws, the everlasting foundations and moorings of liberty, like a thrifty parent, wise and wealthy, has entrusted the management of her inheritance to the Caesars, as to her children. 6. And

<sup>2</sup> The same figure is used by Florus, *Introd.* 4 ff. (*L.C.L.*, pp. 6 ff.).

sint tribus, pacataeque centuriae, et nulla suffragiorum certamina, sed Pompiliani redierit securitas temporis, per omnes tamen quot orae sunt partesque<sup>1</sup> terrarum, ut domina suscipitur et regina, et ubique patrum reverenda cum auctoritate canities, populique Romani nomen circumspectum et verecundum.

7. Sed laeditur hic coetuum magnificus splendor, levitate paucorum incondita, ubi nati sunt non reputantium, sed tamquam indulta licentia vitiis, ad errores lapsorum atque<sup>2</sup> lasciviam. Ut enim Simonides lyricus docet, beate perfecta ratione victuro, ante alia patriam esse convenit gloriosam. 8. Ex his quidam aeternitati se commendari posse per statuas aestimantes, eas ardenter affectant, quasi plus praemii de figrantis aereis sensu carentibus adepturi, quam ex conscientia honeste recteque factorum, easque auro curant imbratteari, quod Acilio Glabroni delatum est primo, cum consiliis armisque regem superasset Antiochum. Quam autem sit pulchrum, exigua haec spernentem et minima, ad ascensus verae gloriae tendere longos et arduos, ut memorat vates Ascreaus, Censorius Cato monstravit. Qui interrogatus quam ob rem inter multos ipse<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *quot orae sunt partesque*, Seguine, Clark; *quotque sunt partes quae*, V.      <sup>2</sup> *atque*, Harmon, c.c., Clark; *ac*, Eyssen.; *ad*, V.      <sup>3</sup> *ipse*, Novák, Pet.; *solus*, Traube in lac. 3 lett.

<sup>1</sup> The thirty-five tribes into which the Roman citizens were divided.

<sup>2</sup> The *comitia centuriata*.

<sup>3</sup> The passage does not occur in the surviving fragments. Plutarch, *Demosthenes*, 1, attributes the same saying to Euripides, "or whoever it was."

<sup>4</sup> See Livy, xl. 34, 5.

although for some time the tribes<sup>1</sup> have been inactive and the centuries<sup>2</sup> at peace, and there are no contests for votes but the tranquillity of Numa's time has returned, yet throughout all regions and parts of the earth she is accepted as mistress and queen; everywhere the white hair of the senators and their authority are revered and the name of the Roman people is respected and honoured.

7. But this magnificence and splendour of the assemblies is marred by the rude worthlessness of a few, who do not consider where they were born, but, as if licence were granted to vice, descend to sin and wantonness. For as the lyric poet Simonides tells us,<sup>3</sup> one who is going to live happy and in accord with perfect reason ought above all else to have a glorious fatherland. 8. Some of these men eagerly strive for statues, thinking that by them they can be made immortal, as if they would gain a greater reward from senseless brazen images than from the consciousness of honourable and virtuous conduct. And they take pains to have them overlaid with gold, a fashion first introduced by Acilius Glabrio,<sup>4</sup> after his skill and his arms had overcome King Antiochus.<sup>5</sup> But how noble it is, scorning these slight and trivial honours, to aim to tread the long and steep ascent to true glory, as the bard of Ascrea expresses it,<sup>6</sup> is made clear by Cato the Censor. For when he was asked why he alone among many did not have a

<sup>5</sup> At Thermopylae in 191 B.C.

<sup>6</sup> Hesiod, *Works and Days*, 289 ff. οἵσ δ' ἀρετῆς ὕδρῶτα θεοὶ προπάροιθεν ζηγκαν | Ἀθάνατοι· μακρὸς δὲ καὶ ὄρθιος οἵμος ἐπ' αὐτὴν, | καὶ τριχύς τὸ πρώτον· ἐπήν δ' εἰς ἄκρον ἰκνηται, | Πηδὴ δὴ ἔπειτα πέλει, χαλεπή περ' ἔσσα.

## CONSTANTIUS ET GALLUS

statuam non haberet, "Malo" inquit "ambigere bonos, quam ob rem id non meruerim, quam (quod est gravius) cur impetraverim mussitare."

9. Alii summum decus in carruchis solito altioribus, et ambitioso vestium cultu ponentes, sudant sub ponderibus lacernarum, quas in collis insertas iugulis<sup>1</sup> ipsis annexunt, nimia subtegminum tenuitate perflabilis, exceptantes eas manu utraque et vexantes<sup>2</sup> crebris agitationibus, maximeque sinistra, ut longiores fimbriae tunicaeque perspicue luceant, varietate liciorum effigiatae in species animalium multiformes. 10. Alii nullo quaerente, vultus severitate assimulata, patrimonia sua in immensum extollunt, cultorum (ut putant) feracium multiplicantes annuos fructus, quae a primo ad ultimum solem se abunde iactitant possidere, ignorantes profecto maiores suos per quos ita magnitudo Romana porrigitur, non divitiis eluxisse, sed per bella saevissima, nec opibus nec victu nec indumentorum vilitate gregarii militibus discrepantes, opposita cuncta superasse virtute. 11. Hac<sup>3</sup> ex causa collaticia stipe Valerius humatur ille Publicola, et subsidiis amicorum mariti, inops cum liberis uxoris alitur Reguli, et

<sup>1</sup> *insertas iugulis*, W<sup>2</sup>, Gronov; *inserta singulis*, V.  
<sup>2</sup> *exceptantes eas* (*expendentes eas*, Val.) *manu utraque et vexantes*, Novák; *explicantes eas*, Bentley, Traube; *per pia uilia expectantes*, V<sup>2</sup> in lac. 24 letters.      <sup>3</sup> *hic*, Eyssen; *hic*, V.

## XIV., 6, 8-11

statue, he replied : "I would rather that good men should wonder why I did not deserve one than (which is much worse) should mutter 'Why was he given one ?'"

9. Other men, taking great pride in coaches higher than common and in ostentatious finery of apparel, sweat under heavy cloaks, which they fasten about their necks and bind around their very throats, while the air blows through them because of the excessive lightness of the material; and they lift them up with both hands and wave them with many gestures, especially with their left hands,<sup>1</sup> in order that the over-long fringes and the tunics embroidered with party-coloured threads in multiform figures of animals may be conspicuous. 10. Others, though no one questions them, assume a grave expression and greatly exaggerate their wealth, doubling the annual yield of their fields, well cultivated (as they think), of which they assert that they possess a great number from the rising to the setting sun; they are clearly unaware that their forefathers, through whom the greatness of Rome was so far flung, gained renown, not by riches, but by fierce wars, and not differing from the common soldiers in wealth, mode of life, or simplicity of attire, overcame all obstacles by valour. 11. For that reason the eminent Valerius Publicola was buried by a contribution of money,<sup>2</sup> and through the aid of her husband's friends<sup>3</sup> the needy wife of

<sup>1</sup> Probably to display their rings; cf. Pliny, *N.H.* xxxiii. 9, *manus et prorsus sinistrai maximam auctoritatem conciliavere auro.*      <sup>2</sup> In 503 B.C.; see Livy, ii. 16, 7.

<sup>3</sup> Valerius Maximus, iv. 4, 6, says that it was the senate that came to their aid.

## CONSTANTIUS ET GALLUS

dotatur ex aerario filia Scipionis, cum nobilitas florem adultae virginis diuturnum absentia pauperis erubesceret patris.

12. At nunc si ad aliquem bene nummatum tumen-temque ideo, honestus advena salutatum introieris primitus, tamquam exoptatus suspicieris, et interro-gatus multa coactusque mentiri, miraberis numquam antea visus, summatem virum tenuem te sic enixius observantem, ut paeniteat ob<sup>1</sup> haec bona tamquam praecipua non vidisse ante decennium Romam. 13. Hacque affabilitate confisus, cum eadem postridie feceris, ut incognitus haerebis et repentinus, hor-tatore illo hesterno suos enumerando,<sup>2</sup> qui sis vel unde venias diutius ambigente. Agnitus vero tan-dem et asscitus in amicitiam, si te salutandi assid-uitati dederis triennio indiscretus, et per totidem dierum<sup>3</sup> defueris tempus, reverteris ad paria per-ferranda, nec ubi essemus interrogatus, et ni inde miser<sup>4</sup> discesseris, aetatem omnem frustra in stipite conteres

<sup>1</sup> *ob*, Val.; *ut*, V.      <sup>2</sup> *suo*s, scripsi; *varia* or *foenera* *enumerando*, Wagner; *clientes* *n.*, suggested by Clark; *te non* *n.*, Pet.; *inter miracula* *n.*, Novák; *numerando*, preceded by lac. of 5 letters, V.      <sup>3</sup> *dierum*, added by Val.; V omits.      <sup>4</sup> *ni inde miser*, Novák; *et non temiserō*, in lac. of 10 letters, V<sup>2</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Cn. Cornelius Scipio, who wrote from Spain in the second Punic war, asking to be recalled, that he might provide a dowry for his daughter; see Valerius Maximus, iv. 4, 10.

Regulus and her children were supported. And the daughter of Scipio<sup>1</sup> received her dowry from the public treasury, since the nobles blushed to look upon the beauty of this marriageable maiden long unsought because of the absence of a father of modest means.

12. But now-a-days, if as a stranger<sup>2</sup> of good position you enter for the first time to pay your respects to some man who is well-to-do<sup>3</sup> and there-fore puffed up, at first you will be greeted as if you were an eagerly expected friend, and after being asked many questions and forced to lie, you will wonder, since the man never saw you before, that a great personage should pay such marked attention to your humble self as to make you regret, because of such special kindness, that you did not see Rome ten years earlier. 13. When, encouraged by this affability, you make the same call on the following day, you will hang about unknown and unexpected, while the man who the day before urged you to call again counts up his clients, wondering who you are or whence you came. But when you are at last recognized and admitted to his friendship, if you devote yourself to calling upon him for three years without interruption, then are away for the same number of days, and return to go through with a similar course, you will not be asked where you were, and unless you abandon the quest in sorrow, you will waste your whole life to no purpose in paying court to the blockhead.

<sup>1</sup> Ensslin, p. 7 (see Bibliography), refers this to Ammi-anus; cf. note on 6, 2, above.

<sup>2</sup> For *bene nummatum*, cf. Horace, *Epist.* i. 6, 38.

summittendo. 14. Cum autem commodis<sup>1</sup> intervallata temporibus, convivia longa et noxia coeperint apparari, vel distributio sollemnium sportularum, anxia deliberatione tractatur, an exceptis his quibus vicissitudo debet, peregrinum invitari conveniet, et si digesto plene consilio, id placuerit fieri, is adhibetur qui pro domibus excubat aurigarum, aut artem tesserariam profitetur, aut secretiora quaedam se nosse configit. 15. Homines enim eruditos et sobrios, ut infaustos et inutiles vitant, eo quoque accidente, quod et nomenclatores, assueti haec et talia venditare, mercede accepta, lucris quosdam et prandii inserunt subditios ignobiles et obscuros.

16. Mensarum enim voragini et varias voluptatum illecebras, ne longius progrediar, praetermitto, illuc transiturus, quod quidam per ampla spatia urbis, subversasque silices, sine periculi metu properantes equos velut publicos, ignitis<sup>2</sup> quod dicitur calcibus<sup>3</sup> agitant, familiarium agmina tamquam praedatorios globos post terga trahentes, ne Sannione quidem (ut ait comicus) domi relicto. Quos imitatae matronae complures, opertis capitibus et basternis, per latera civitatis cuncta discurrunt. 17. Utque proeliorum periti rectores primo catervas densas opponunt et fortes, deinde leves armaturas,

<sup>1</sup> *commodis*, Val.; *cum autem commotus*, in lac. of 15 letters, V<sup>2</sup>.   <sup>2</sup> *ignitis*, Pet.; *signatis*, V.   <sup>3</sup> *calcibus*, Bentley, Traube; *calcis*, V.

<sup>1</sup> Referring to a plebeian (cf. xxviii. 4, 29), a partisan of one of the colours. Cf. also Suet., *Calig.* 55, 3.

14. And when, after a sufficient interval of time, the preparation of those tedious and unwholesome banquets begins, or the distribution of the customary doles, it is debated with anxious deliberation whether it will be suitable to invite a stranger, with the exception of those to whom a return of hospitality is due; and if, after full and mature deliberation, the decision is in the affirmative, the man who is invited is one who watches all night before the house of the charioteers,<sup>1</sup> or who is a professional dicer, or who pretends to the knowledge of certain secrets. 15. For they avoid learned and serious people as unlucky and useless, in addition to which the announcers of names, who are wont to traffic in these and similar favours, on receiving a bribe, admit to the doles and the dinners obscure and low-born intruders.

16. But I pass over the gluttonous banquets and the various allurements of pleasures, lest I should go too far, and I shall pass to the fact that certain persons hasten without fear of danger through the broad streets of the city and over the upturned stones of the pavements as if they were driving post-horses with hoofs of fire (as the saying is), dragging after them armies of slaves like bands of brigands and not leaving even Sannio at home, as the comic writer says.<sup>2</sup> And many matrons, imitating them, rush about through all quarters of the city with covered heads and in closed litters. 17. And as skilful directors of battles place in the van dense throngs of brave soldiers, then light-armed troops, after them the javelin-throwers, and

<sup>1</sup> Terence, *Eun.*, 780, *solus Sannio servat domi*.

post iaculatores ultimasque subsidiales acies (si fors adegerit) iuvaturas, ita praepositis urbanae familiae suspense digerentibus atque<sup>1</sup> sollicite, quos insignes faciunt virgæ dexteris aptatae, velut tessera data castrensi, iuxta vehiculi frontem omne textrinum incedit: huic atratum coquinae iungitur ministerium, dein totum promise servitum, cum otiosis plebeis de vicinitate coniunctis; postrema multitudo spadonum a senibus in pueros desinens, obluridi distortaque lineamentorum compage deformes, ut quaqua incesserit quisquam, cernens mutilorum hominum agmina, detestetur memoriam Samiramidis reginae illius veteris, quae teneros mares castravit omnium prima, velut vim iniectans naturae, eandemque ab instituto cursu retorquens, quae inter ipsa oriundi crepundia, per primigenios seminis fontes, tacita quodam modo lege vias propagandæ posteritatis ostendit.

18. Quod cum ita sit, paucae domus studiorum seriis cultibus antea celebratae, nunc ludibriis ignaviae torpentis<sup>2</sup> exundant, vocabili sonu, perflabili tinnitu fidum resultantes. Denique pro philosopho cantor, et in locum oratoris doctor artium ludicrarum accitur, et bibliothecis sepulcrorum ritu in perpetuum clausis, organa fabricantur hydraulica, et lyrae ad speciem<sup>3</sup> carpentorum ingentes, tibiaeque et histrionici gestus instrumenta non levia.

<sup>1</sup> *atque*, added by Novák, cf. Livy, xxii. 59, 16; xxvii. 50, 6; V omits. <sup>2</sup> *torpentis*, vulgo; *torrentes*, V. <sup>3</sup> *ad*, BG in E<sup>3</sup>; *de specie*, Eysson.; *de speciem*, V.

last of all the reserve forces, to enter the action in case chance makes it needful, just so those who have charge of a city household, made conspicuous by wands grasped in their right hands, carefully and diligently draw up the array; then, as if the signal had been given in camp, close to the front of the carriage all the weavers march; next to these the blackened service of the kitchen, then all the rest of the slaves without distinction, accompanied by the idle plebeians of the neighbourhood; finally, the throng of eunuchs, beginning with the old men and ending with the boys, sallow and disfigured by the distorted form of their members; so that, wherever anyone goes, beholding the troops of mutilated men, he would curse the memory of that Queen Samiramis of old, who was the first of all to castrate young males, thus doing violence, as it were, to Nature and wresting her from her intended course, since she at the very beginning of life, through the primitive founts of the seed, by a kind of secret law, shows the ways to propagate posterity.

18. In consequence of this state of things, the few houses that were formerly famed for devotion to serious pursuits now teem with the sports of sluggish indolence, re-echoing to the sound of singing and the tinkling of flutes and lyres. In short, in place of the philosopher the singer is called in, and in place of the orator the teacher of stagecraft, and while the libraries are shut up forever like tombs, water-organs are manufactured and lyres as large as carriages, and flutes and instruments heavy for gesticulating actors.

## CONSTANTIUS ET GALLUS

19. Postremo ad id indignitatis est ventum, ut cum peregrini ob formidatam haud ita dudum alimentorum inopiam pellerentur ab urbe praecipites, sectatoribus disciplinarum liberalium, impendio paucis, sine respiratione ulla extrusis, tenerentur mimarum asseculae<sup>1</sup> veri, quique id simularunt ad tempus, et tria milia saltaticum, ne interpellata quidem, cum choris totidemque remanerent magistris. 20. Et licet, quocumque oculos flexeris, feminas affatim multas spectare cirtatas, quibus (si nupsissent) per aetatem ter iam nixus poterat suppeteri liberorum, ad usque taedium pedibus pavimenta tergentis, iactari volucriter<sup>2</sup> gyris, dum exprimunt innumera simulacula, quae finxere fabulae theatrales.

21. Illud autem non dubitatur, quod cum esset aliquando virtutum omnium domicilium Roma, ingenuos advenas plerique nobilium, ut Homerici bacarum suavitate Lotophagi, humanitatis multiformibus officiis retentabant. 22. Nunc vero inanes flatus quorundam, vile esse quicquid extra urbis pomerium nascitur aestimant praeter orbos et caelibus, nec credi potest qua obsequiorum diversitate coluntur homines sine liberis Romae.

<sup>1</sup> *adsaeculae*, V.

<sup>2</sup> *volucriter*, Gronov; *uoluetur*, V.

<sup>1</sup> This happened in 383; see Introd., p. xiii.

<sup>2</sup> I.e. dancing on the mosaic pavements of great houses.

<sup>3</sup> *Odyssey*, ix. 84 ff.

<sup>4</sup> Originally, the line within the city wall, marking the

19. At last we have reached such a state of baseness, that whereas not so very long ago, when there was fear of a scarcity of food, foreigners were driven neck and crop from the city,<sup>1</sup> and those who practised the liberal arts (very few in number) were thrust out without a breathing space, yet the genuine attendants upon actresses of the mimes, and those who for the time pretended to be such, were kept with us, while three thousand dancing girls, without even being questioned, remained here with their choruses, and an equal number of dancing masters. 20. And, wherever you turn your eyes, you may see a throng of women with curled hair, who might, if they had married, by this time, so far as age goes, have already produced three children, sweeping the pavements<sup>2</sup> with their feet to the point of weariness and whirling in rapid gyrations, while they represent the innumerable figures that the stage-plays have devised.

21. Furthermore, there is no doubt that when once upon a time Rome was the abode of all the virtues, many of the nobles detained here foreigners of free birth by various kindly attentions, as the Lotus-eaters of Homer<sup>3</sup> did by the sweetness of their fruits. 22. But now the vain arrogance of some men regards everything born outside the pomerium<sup>4</sup> of our city as worthless, except the childless and unwedded; and it is beyond belief with what various kinds of obsequiousness men without children are courted at

limit within which the auspices could be taken; the term *pomerium* was soon transferred to the strip of land between this line and the actual city wall. Here it means merely the wall of the city.

23. Et quoniam apud eos, ut in capite mundi, morborum acerbitates celsius dominantur, ad quos vel sedandos omnis professio medendi torpescit, excogitatum est adminiculum sospitale, ne qui amicum perferentem similia videat, additumque est cautoribus<sup>1</sup> paucis remedium aliud satis validum, ut<sup>2</sup> famulos percontatum missos quem ad modum valeant noti hac<sup>3</sup> aegritudine colligati, non ante recipient domum, quam lavacro purgaverint corpus. Ita etiam alienis oculis visa metuitur labes. 24. Sed tamen haec cum ita tutius observentur, quidam vigore artuum imminuto, rogati ad nuptias, ubi aurum dextris manibus cavatis offertur, impigre vel usque Spoletium pergunt. Haec nobilium sunt<sup>4</sup> instituta.

25. Ex turba vero imae sortis et paupertinae, in tabernis aliqui pernoctant vinariis, non nulli sub velabris<sup>5</sup> umbraculorum theatralium latent, quae, Campanam imitatus lasciviam, Catulus in aedilitate sua suspendit omnium primus; aut pugnaciter aleis certant, turpi sono fragosis naribus introrsum reducto spiritu concrepantes; aut quod est studiorum omnium maximum ab ortu lucis ad vesperam sole faticunt vel pluviis, per minutias<sup>6</sup> aurigarum

<sup>1</sup> cautoribus, Bentley, cautionibus, V.      <sup>2</sup> ut, added by Lind.; V omits.      <sup>3</sup> noti hac, G; non hac, EB; non haec, V.

<sup>4</sup> sunt, Kiessling; est, V.      <sup>5</sup> nonnulli sub velabris (nonnulli, G; velariis, Gardt.), Her.; [u]lariis non nullis velabris, V.      <sup>6</sup> per minutias, Lind.; perminusas, V.

<sup>1</sup> This "legacy hunting," by paying court to childless men and women, is satirized by Horace (*Sat.* ii. 5). The "art" was in vogue as early as Plautus' time (see *Miles*, 705 ff.), but became a "profession" at the end of the

Rome.<sup>1</sup> 23. And since among them, as is natural in the capital of the world, cruel disorders gain such heights that all the healing art is powerless even to mitigate them, it has been provided, as a means of safety, that no one shall visit a friend suffering from such a disease, and by a few who are more cautious another sufficiently effective remedy has been added, namely, that servants sent to inquire after the condition of a man's acquaintances who have been attacked by that disorder should not be readmitted to their masters' house until they have purified their persons by a bath. So fearful are they of a contagion seen only by the eyes of others. 24. But yet, although these precautions are so strictly observed, some men, when invited to a wedding, where gold is put into their cupped right hands, although the strength of their limbs is impaired, will run even all the way to Spoletium.<sup>2</sup> Such are the habits of the nobles.

25. But of the multitude of lowest condition and greatest poverty some spend the entire night in wineshops, some lurk in the shade of the awnings of the theatres, which Catulus<sup>3</sup> in his aedileship, imitating Campanian wantonness, was the first to spread, or they quarrel with one another in their games at dice, making a disgusting sound by drawing back the breath into their resounding nostrils; or, which is the favourite among all amusements, from sunrise until evening, in sunshine and in rain, they stand open-mouthed, examining minutely the good

Republic (cf. Cic., *Paradoxa*, v. 39) and under the Empire, followed even by some of the emperors (see Suet., *Calig.* 38, 2; *Nero*, 32, 2).

<sup>2</sup> In Umbria. On aurum see Pliny, *Epist.* x. 116.

<sup>3</sup> See Index, and Val. Max. ii. 4. 6. Q. Catulus primus spectantium concessum velorum umbraculis texit.

equorumque praecipua vel delicta scrutantes. 26. Et est admodum mirum videre plebem innumeram, mentibus ardore quodam infuso, e dimicationum curulum eventu pendentem. Haec similiaque memorabile nihil vel serum agi Romae permittunt. Ergo redeundum ad textum.

*7. Galli Caesaris immanitas et saevitia.*

1. Latius iam disseminata licentia, onerosus bonis omnibus Caesar, nullum post haec adhibens modum, orientis latera cuncta vexabat, nec honoratis parcens nec urbium primatibus nec plebeis. 2. Denique Antiochensis<sup>1</sup> ordinis vertices sub uno elogio iussit occidi, ideo efferatus, quod ei celerari<sup>2</sup> vilitatem intempestivam urgenti, cum impenderet inopia, gravius rationabili responderunt; et perissent ad unum, ni comes orientis tunc Honoratus fixa constantia restitisset. 3. Erat autem diritatis eius hoc quoque indicium nec obscurum nec latens, quod ludicris cruentis delectabatur, et in circo sex vel septem aliquotiens deditus<sup>3</sup> certaminibus, pugilum vicissim se concidentium, perfusorumque sanguine specie, ut lucratus ingentia, laetabatur. 4. Accenderat super his incitatum propositum ad nocendum aliqua mulier vilis, quae ad palatium (ut poposcerat)

<sup>1</sup> *Antiochensis*, Lind.; *antichisis*, V.      <sup>2</sup> *celerari*, Wagner; *celebrari*, V.      <sup>3</sup> *deditus*, Pet.; *vetitus*, V.

<sup>1</sup> The great Syrian city; see Index.

<sup>2</sup> See Introd., pp. xviii f.

points or the defects of charioteers and their horses. 26. And it is most remarkable to see an innumerable crowd of plebeians, their minds filled with a kind of eagerness, hanging on the outcome of the chariot races. These and similar things prevent anything memorable or serious from being done in Rome. Accordingly, I must return to my subject.

END HERE.

*7. Atrocities and savagery of Gallus Caesar.*

1. His lawlessness now more widely extended, Caesar became offensive to all good men, and henceforth showing no restraint, he harassed all parts of the East, sparing neither ex-magistrates nor the chief men of the cities, nor even the plebeians. 2. Finally, he ordered the death of the leaders of the senate of Antioch<sup>1</sup> in a single writ, enraged because when he urged a prompt introduction of cheap prices at an unseasonable time, since scarcity threatened, they had made a more vigorous reply than was fitting. And they would have perished to a man, had not Honoratus, then count-governor<sup>2</sup> of the East, opposed him with firm resolution. 3. This also was a sign of his savage nature which was neither obscure nor hidden, that he delighted in cruel sports; and sometimes in the Circus, absorbed in six or seven contests, he exulted in the sight of boxers pounding each other to death and drenched with blood, as if he had made some great gain. 4. Besides this, his propensity for doing harm was inflamed and incited by a worthless woman, who, on being admitted to the palace (as she had demanded) had betrayed a plot that was secretly