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SENIOR THESIS APPROVAL

This Honors thesis entitled

**“The Call of the Sidhe: Poetic and Mythological Influences in
Ireland’s Struggle for Freedom”**

written by

Anna Wakeling

and submitted in partial fulfillment of
the requirements for completion of
the Carl Goodson Honors Program
meets the criteria for acceptance
and has been approved by the undersigned readers.

Dr. Johnny Wink, thesis director

Dr. Hal Bass, second reader

Mr. Ian Cosh, third reader

Dr. Barbara Pemberton, Honors Program director

April 16, 2014

OUACHITA BAPTIST UNIVERSITY

THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN NATURAL LAW AND MOSAIC LAW IN PHILO:
HIS "ON REWARDS AND PUNISHMENTS" AS A CASE STUDY

CARL GOODSON HONORS PROGRAM
SENIOR THESIS

SUPERVISOR: DR. C. MARVIN PATE

BY
CLARK WHITNEY

APRIL 14, 2014

Introduction to Philo

Living from around 20 B.C. to A.D. 50, Philo of Alexandria, Egypt contributed to the fields of philosophy and religion.¹ In fact, Philo is one of the most significant contributors to our understanding of Hellenistic Judaism and Middle Platonism. By extension, our understanding of the New Testament (especially the Pauline epistles) is indebted to Philo, because a plethora of the New Testament writings were composed by Jews into Greek language. According to C.D. Yonge, very little is known about Philo's personal life except that he lived in Alexandria, Egypt and came from a family who was wealthy and prominent among the sizable Alexandrian Jewish community.² Many of his writings focus on expositing the writings of Moses, such as the focus of this paper, *On Rewards and Punishments*.

He was one of the most celebrated examples of the combination of Judaism and Hellenism in antiquity. But debate has raged over a century now as to how Philo's Hellenistic environment in Alexandria, Egypt influenced him as a Jewish theologian.³ Years ago, Samuel Sandmel argued that Philo abandoned his heritage to embrace Hellenistic philosophy.⁴ Three decades earlier, Harry Austryn Wolfson had argued the opposite, namely, Philo's Judaism transformed Hellenism into a great defender of the laws of Moses.⁵ But in the last decade, thanks to the work of Troels Engberg Pederson, scholars no longer feel compelled to choose between

¹ David M. Scholer, "Forward" in *The Works of Philo*, transl. C.D. Yonge (Peabody, MA: Hendrickson, 1993), xi-xiii.

² Ibid.

³ Scholer, xiii.

⁴ See his *Philo's Place in Judaism: A Study of Conceptions of Abraham in Jewish Literature* (New York: Ktav Publishing House, 1971).

⁵ See his *Philo: Foundations of Religious Philosophy in Judaism, Christianity, and Islam* (Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press, 1948).

Judaism and Hellenism in regards to Paul the apostle, Philo the philosopher, or any other great first century Jews living under the shadow of Greco-Roman life.⁶ Thus, since Judaism was greatly influenced by Greek culture during Philo's time period, the two seem to be inseparable and equal in their influence of his work.

The relationship between Natural Law and Mosaic Law in the works of Philo is a microcosm of how the two worlds of Judaism and Hellenism relate to Philo. David M. Scholer writes that "Philo's commitment to and passion for the law of Moses was genuine and controlling. Philo, too, drank deeply at the philosophical well of the Platonic tradition and saw it as strengthening and depending his understanding of the God of Moses."⁷ How these two concepts — Natural Law and Torah — compare to one another is stated by Philo specifically in one place (*The Special Laws* 4.179) and implied in two places (*The Special Laws* 2.13; 1.305-306). We will look at these three passages later under Part I. Yet it is surprising that little attention, if any at all, has been paid to Philo's *On Rewards and Punishments*. This paper argues that such a work is a helpful case study regarding the relationship between Natural Law and Mosaic law in Philo. Our thesis unfolds in three parts: (1) Natural Law and the law of Moses elsewhere in Philo (that is, besides his *On Rewards and Punishments*): seven interrelated statements; (2) the flow of thought in *On Rewards and Punishments* in terms of Natural Law and the law of Moses; (3) the law of Moses as the divine power to obey Natural Law thereby arriving

⁶ See his edited book, *Paul Beyond the Judaism/Hellenism Divide* (Louisville: Westminster John Knox Press, 2001).

⁷ Ibid.

at the cardinal virtues: seven texts in *On Rewards and Punishments* implicitly and explicitly demonstrating such a notion.⁸ We now turn to the first part of our thesis.

I. Natural Law and the Law of Moses Elsewhere in Philo: Seven Interrelated Statements

A. God created the world according to natural, or unwritten law, and this Logos of nature

dictates what one should or should not do. In Philo's discourse "*On Joseph*", there is a passage particularly insightful to Philo's understanding of the natural world. He states that "this world is a sort of large state, and has one constitution, and one law, and the word of nature enjoins what one ought to do, and forbids what one ought not to do" (*On Joseph*, 29). Adam was the first citizen of the world, and since "every well-ordered city has a constitution", the world needed "the right reason of Nature, which is most suitably called...a divine Law (*On Creation* 142-143). To Philo, the vast regions, states, and governments in existence are ultimately unified, because they are a part of a greater jurisdiction that includes the whole world. Thus, everything in creation is governed and regulated by the Laws of Nature, as the Logos pervades and orders everything.⁹ According to Markus Bockmuehl, "Meditated by the Logos, the divinely given universal law of nature stands over against the positive laws of the various human states."¹⁰ Furthermore, Bockmuehl has asserted that Philo closely associates the terms 'nature' and 'God' in his writings: "Nature often means the nature of God; indeed sometimes the two become virtually interchangeable."¹¹

⁸The four cardinal virtues classical philosophy were: prudence, courage, justice, and temperance. Sometimes Philo quotes all four virtues while at other times he only quotes a selection.

⁹ This notion is heavily related to the thought of the Stoic philosophers in general. See Markus Bockmuehl, *Jewish Law in Gentile Churches*, (Grand Rapids, MI: Baker, 2000), 107-108.

¹⁰ Bockmuehl, 108. See also the fine dissertation by Orrey McFarland, "The God Who Gives: Philo and Paul in Conversation (unpublished dissertation : Durham University, 2013), pp. 87-91.

¹¹ Ibid.

B. *The Old Testament patriarchs embodied Natural Law before the giving of the Law of Moses.* Just as Natural Law is universally applicable, it was also historically evident in the lives of the patriarchs. In *On Abraham*, Philo shows that men “lived irreproachably and admirably” as they lived according to the rational laws that Philo shows were completely compatible with nature (*On Abraham*, 4-6). The patriarchs did so even before any specific law was written down, such as the Law of Moses. In Genesis 26:5, Abraham in particular “fulfilled the divine law and all the commandments of God” not by written books but by the “unwritten law of his nature” (*On Abraham*, 275). Abraham was able to walk in accordance to God’s law because Philo believes “law is nothing else but the word of God, enjoining what is right and forbidding what is not right” (*On the Migration of Abraham*, 63).

C. *Moses both embodied the Law of Nature and gave the written law.* To Philo, Moses was able to live out a “living and reasonable law” before his giving the Mosaic Law to Israel (*On the Life of Moses* 1.162). Because he had righteousness based on observing the Natural Law, he was able to hand down a more specific set of commandments (2.11). Philo believes this can be clearly seen by anyone who is familiar with the scriptures. Since Moses both embodied the Law of Nature and received the divine written law, the two are identical in that the latter is the former’s visual representation (2.211). The Mosaic Law consists of “faithful copies and imitations of the original examples which were consecrated and enshrined in the soul” (2.11). Clearly a relationship exists between the written law of Moses and the innate law of nature, and in person of Moses the two are uniquely integrated.

D. *The Ten Commandments direct humanity towards the virtues. Furthermore, the whole of the Laws in the Pentateuch anoints or empowers people for the height of virtue.* Philo believes that “each of these ten laws separately, and all of them together, train men and encourage them to

prudence, and justice, and piety, towards God and all the rest of the company of virtues” (*The Special Laws, IV*, 134). Thus, the Ten Commandments are efficient towards enabling a person to obtain the virtues so closely associated with Natural Law. Indeed, the “strict and rigorous” laws are “intended... to train... to the greatest height of virtue” (134). This is not applicable only to the laws of the Jewish people, it is also a construct Philo believes is applicable to all laws. He believes “the national laws and ancient ordinances of every people are established for the sake of justice and of every virtue” (*The Special Laws, II*, 13).

E. *While most of humanity cannot obey Natural Law in order to live a life of virtue, the Patriarchs did and the Gentile philosophers can.* The discipline of meditation upon the Laws of Nature can lead the pagan philosopher to believe in the one true God behind those laws and live accordingly. Thus, there are ways to obey the Natural Law apart from the Mosaic Law and those outside of the house of Israel can live a virtuous life through their adherence to the Natural Laws, especially the pagan philosophers (of the many examples, see, e.g., *On Creation* 53, 54; *On the Cherubim* 4, *On Husbandry* 14-16; *The Special Laws* 1.322, 336).

F. *Moses is the supreme philosopher because both Natural Law and the written law of God at Sinai coincide in him.* As a result, Moses is king (he ruled over Israel as God’s chosen one to guide that nation into peace; lawgiver (who passed on the divine written law); prophet (the one who accurately interpreted the written law); and priest (who represented the people to God). Philo believed all four of these roles were unified in Moses by Natural Law: “with the providential will of God he was both a king and a lawgiver, and a high priest and prophet, and because in each office he displayed the most eminent wisdom and virtue” (*On the Life of Moses, II*, 3).

G. Thus, the Mosaic Law does not replace Natural Law because the former is rooted in the latter and Natural Law is not superior to the Mosaic Law because the latter is needed to perform the former. Because Moses embodied Natural Law before the giving of the law on Mt. Sinai, the Mosaic Law is seen as enabling Israel to keep the Natural Law. This point will become clearer in Part III of this paper.

II. The Flow of Thought in *On Rewards and Punishments* in Terms of the Relationship Between Natural Law and Mosaic Law

In this section, we will now turn to *On Rewards and Punishments* as a case study as to how Philo's understanding of Mosaic Law and Natural Law are interrelated. Through examining the flow of thought in this particular discourse, we can gain a fresh perspective on the relationship between the two divine laws.

A. Introduction: I:1-2

In this opening passage, Philo puts forth his famous three-fold division of the Pentateuch: the creation of the world, the historical perspective, and the legislative section. According to Philo, the creation account in Genesis is a record of how God brought the world into being based on Natural Law. The historical perspective, Genesis 12 and following, presents the patriarchs as the embodiment of the unwritten or Natural Law. The legislative part, the rest of the Pentateuch, is the written equivalent of Natural Law given by God to Moses, that is, the Mosaic Law.

B. The Thesis: I. 3-7

The thesis of *On Rewards and Punishments* is that of the two ways tradition of Deuteronomy 30:15-16, which is obeying the Mosaic Law brings about covenant blessings on Israel, while disobedience eventuates the covenant curses. The interesting point to be made here is that, on the one hand, terms for the Mosaic tradition abound in this thesis statement

(“constitution”, “laws”, “promulgations of the law”) while, on the other hand, obedience is defined as “virtue” (two times) with its opposite traits labeled “unmanly”, “imbecility of soul” (the opposite of the “rational soul” [II. 10], cowardly). The latter point re-envisions obedience to the Torah as virtue ethics, which goes back in Hellenistic philosophy to Aristotle. So already we see that Philo here intertwines Mosaic Law and Natural Law.

C. Rewards for the Obedient/Virtuous and Punishments for the Disobedient/Non-Virtuous:

II. 7b-XIII.78

In this first of two longs units of *On Rewards and Punishments*, Philo contrasts those deserving of rewards and those deserving of punishments. Regarding the former, Philo describes the patriarchs as embodying Natural Law: Abraham lived by faith; Isaac embodied joy; and Jacob received a vision of God. Here the listener will remember that all of this happens obviously before the advent of the Torah. Conversely, Cain is signaled out as the foil to the patriarchs in that he broke one of the foundational laws of nature—fratricide. Moreover, the followers of Korah went against the natural order of the peace and harmony in the world by usurping God’s appointed order of the Aaronic priesthood. The punishment for Cain was continual death and the punishment for Korah’s rebellion was physical death. But the point to be gleaned in this unit is that only Natural Law is drawn on by Philo and not any of the laws in the Torah. We should also recall here that Philo believed that pagan philosophers fit the same category of the patriarchs in terms of their embodiment of Natural Law through the process of contemplation.

D. Covenant Blessings on Those Obedient to the Mosaic Law/Natural Law: XIV. 79-XXI**126**

Like the thesis statement in I. 3-7, unit XIV. 79-XXI. 126 intertwines Natural Law and Mosaic Law as it illustrates Deuteronomy 30:10-16. Thus Philo uses terminology from the Torah such as “injunctions”, “obedience”, “commandments,” etc., while using terms associated with Natural Law: “wisdom”, “prudence”, “harmony”, “avoidance of passions”, not enslaved to “pleasures.” Moreover, Philo spells out the blessings of following the divine law in terms of Mosaic Law (freedom from Israel’s enemies, bountiful harvest, numerous descendants [alluding to Leviticus 26:3-13] and relative to Natural Law (victorious over passions, participating in the Hellenistic mysteries, being a temple of God, etc.).

E. The Story of Israel in Terms of Mosaic Law and Natural Law: XXI, 127-XXVIII. 172

Drawing on the second half of Leviticus 26, this unit applies the covenant curses on Israel as it unfolds in the story of Israel; that is, the sin-exile-restoration pattern. This pattern is based on Deuteronomy and its projection of the covenant blessings and curses. That is, Israel repeatedly disobeyed the Mosaic Law and rejected God’s prophets who called the nation to repentance. Failing to do so, God sent Israel into Babylonian exile from 587 to 539 B.C. Yet even when Israel returned to her land in 539 B.C., she realized that she was still in exile since one nation after the next ran roughshod over her people and resources. That exile continued into Philo’s day in the first century B.C., who along with the large Jewish population in Alexandria, Egypt, longed for the day when Israel would be restored to her land and once again enjoy the covenant blessings. *On Rewards and Punishments* in this section records the pattern of the story of Israel: Israel neglected the law of Moses and now suffers the covenant curses: ruled over by her enemies; barren and broken; only hope for tomorrow. Yet, Israel will repent of her sin and

renew her commitment to obey the Mosaic Law after which God will restore her to her land victorious over her enemies.

However, the covenant curses are also expressed in terms of breaking Natural Laws: Israel pursues passions and vices and consequently abandons virtues like courage, tranquility, justice, and purity. And so are the covenant blessings proceeding from Israel's repentance (as phrased in terms of Natural Law): she will regain control over her passions and be done with vices, receiving in their place the aforementioned virtues.

III. The Mosaic Law Empowers Israel to Obey Natural Law: Seven Passages in *On Rewards and Punishments*

In this section, we will argue that seven passages in Philo's *On Rewards and Punishments* combine to make the point that the Mosaic Law empowers Israel to obey Natural Law. Three passages are implicit while the final four passages make this point explicitly. We will now summarize these texts which show how the Mosaic Law qualifies Israel's obedience to the innate Natural Law.

Implicit Statements

A. XIV 79-80

In this section of verses, Philo relates how simple it is to be obedient to the laws given by the divine and how obedience to the law will bring about victory, namely victories over Israel's enemies and opponents. He says, quoting Deuteronomy 30:11-14: "but the obedience remained near and very close to men, being fixed separately in three parts of us, in the mouth, and heart, and hands; that is to say, in the speech, and designs, and actions of every one" (80). Thus, following the law is not out of reach for each person. Rather, it is seen as near to us — even appearing in our "designs". This implicitly refers to Natural Law, which is the general law

written innately on the hearts of men. But the Natural Law is closely related to the Mosaic Law; Philo is showing how the Mosaic Laws are written on the hearts of men and not contrary to the laws of nature.

B. XIV 82-84

In these two verses, Philo relates that divine laws must be lived out through virtuous actions or else they will have no force. He states: “as long as the commandments conveyed in the laws are only spoken, they meet with but little or no acceptance; but when words in proper consistency and conformity with them are added to them in all the pursuits of life, then those commandments, being brought forth as it were from deep darkness to light, will shine forth in all respectability and glory” (82). The commandments of God shine forth under the exhibition of virtue. It is necessary that men rise up and “fulfill the words with praiseworthy actions” (83); in essence life must be given to the written law. This corresponds to the Natural Law; unwritten law that is innate within each person can easily be lived out in the sense Philo is describing here. The obedience to the written law leads to the life that comes from obedience to Natural Law.

C. XVII 104-105

In XVII. 104, Philo relates that “true wisdom is stored up” and derived from “constant meditation and practice in wisdom and holiness.” Wisdom can come from an internal virtuous pursuit and does not necessarily depend on written laws. In 105, Philo goes on to describe a class of men which finds the blessing of wisdom elusive because of “impiety” and “unrighteousness.” Thus, wisdom and virtue come from inward meditation and practice; contrarily, internal discord and bad behavior does not bring forth the blessing of wisdom.

Explicit Statements**D. XVII. 117**

Within this statement, Philo relates God's ability to inwardly bring back souls to the right road after their wayward actions of "pleasure and desire" (117). This inward restoration is empowered by an outward one. God is said to be a power who "by one single word of command, could easily collect together men living on the very confines of the earth, bringing them from the extremities of the world to any place which he may choose" (117). By adherence to the written Mosaic Law, God can bring Israel back into restoration and compliance with the law of nature.

E. XVII 120-123

Philo proclaims that "God has thought fit to give as a reward to the virtuous a house thoroughly well built", which is the house of the physical body (120). The mind's meditation of the virtuous law of Moses makes one a temple of God. We further learn that God desires "sovereignty over the passions" (121), which includes purity in one's body. A healthy body is able to "devote all its leisure to the meditations of wisdom, having obtained a happy and fortunate existence" (122). Thus, adherence to the Mosaic Law brings forth a particular blessing in that of a healthy physical body. In turn, this healthy "house" engenders more wisdom and virtue, thus adhering to the laws of nature.

F. XVII 124

In 124, Philo speaks of a mind that "which a little while ago was enslaved to many pleasures and many desires, and to innumerable necessities arising from weaknesses and desires; but it's evils God crushed in slavery, having elected to bring it to freedom." The vehicle by which God brought the mind to the freedom and liberty of Natural Law was by keeping the

Mosaic Law. God effected liberty in the mind by ending the mind's slavery to evil; the Mosaic Law is a useful tool used to bring forth this freedom in accordance with nature.

G. XXI 127-156

In this weighty section, God is said to have brought about Israel's repentance and change by the power of the Mosaic Law. Philo affirms that "the lawgiver of our nation denounces the first curse as the lightest of evils" (127). For this reason exile and punishments are afflicted on Israel: "For then there will be no rain, no showers, no gentle springs, no soft drops of moisture, no dew, nor anything else which can contribute to the growth of plants" (131); "for numerous families will be made desolate, and cities will suddenly become empty of their inhabitants, remaining as monuments of their former prosperity and records of subsequent disaster, for the warning of those who are capable of receiving correction" (133). These, and a wealth of others, are the punishments inflicted on men who "utterly" disregard "the whole of this law" (154). The law is seen as the standard by which the men are judged. If they will not adhere to it, they suffer unspeakable calamity and punishments. However, obedience brings about rewards, virtue, blessings.

Conclusion

In conclusion, *On Rewards and Punishments* can be a helpful case study when seeking to understand the relationship between Mosaic Law and Natural Law in Philo. We first understood the relationship between the two laws by looking at their appearance elsewhere in Philo. By this we learned that Mosaic Law does not replace Natural Law because the former is rooted in the latter. Furthermore, Natural Law is not superior to the Mosaic Law because the latter is needed to perform the former. Secondly, we observed *On Rewards and Punishments* by looking at the flow of thought, finding that obedience to the Mosaic Law brings Israel covenant blessing while

disobedience brings covenant curses. But these covenant blessings and covenant curses correlate with the virtues of following Natural Law and the vices from not following Natural Law. Finally, we examined seven implicit and explicit passages that cumulatively indicate how the Mosaic Law empowers Israel's obedience to the Natural Laws. Thus, *On Rewards and Punishments* is a fruitful case study indicating how Natural Law relates to Mosaic Law in Philo.

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Appendix A

Selected Instances of the Story of Israel Framework in *On Rewards and Punishments*

(textual source: <http://www.earlyjewishwritings.com/text/philo/book32.html>)

Sin	Exile	Restoration
5) "others were found to be unmanly, and effeminate, and cowardly, out of the innate weakness and imbecility of their souls"	2) "the historical part is a record of the lives of different wicked and virtuous men, and of the...punishments"	2) "the historical part is a record of the lives of different wicked and virtuous men, and of the rewards, and honours"
11) "for it is by the hope of gain that the money-changer applies himself to many kinds of traffic"	3) "I will now proceed in regular order to mention the...punishments threatened to the wicked"	3) "I will now proceed in regular order to mention the rewards which have been proposed for virtuous men"
12) "Now some persons have either, like enemies, stifled and destroyed all the seeds of hope by kindling all the vices in the soul"	7) "punishments for the others, as affecting individuals, and houses, and cities, and countries, and nations, and vast regions of the earth"	7) "And our lawgiver announces a very suitable arrangement and appointment of privileges and honours for the one"
12) "but who yet, esteeming self-love above piety, have attributed the causes of their successes to themselves"	(16) For Moses says, with reference to one who fled from the audacious innovations of the body, and who came over to the interest of the soul, "He was not found because God changed his Place;" (17) and by this enigmatical expression the two things are clearly intimated, the migration by the change of place, and the solitude by his not being found.	9) "God supplied all living creatures with necessary food, producing it out of the earth, and, above all things, providing the race of mankind with all that was requisite"
14) "as if it was not right for any one to be considered as a man at all who does not hope in God."	19) "For in consequence of the separation which has taken place,"	13) "and he alone is worthy of being accepted who attributes his hope to God"

Sin	Exile	Restoration
18) "the appearances of which will again rouse up the disgraceful though at present dormant appetites for evil pursuits"	21) "so that there is room to apprehend that the evil passions may return which were wont to be excited in it by a habit of living in the society of inconsiderate men."	27) "Abraham, the first person who passed over from pride to truth, employing that virtue which proceeds from instruction as a means towards perfection, chooses as his reward faith in God. And because he, by the innate goodness of his natural dispositions, had acquired a spontaneous, self-taught, and selfimplanted virtue, joy was given to him as a prize."
21) "so that there is room to apprehend that the evil passions may return which were wont to be excited in it by a habit of living in the society of inconsiderate men."	25) "For having entered into them it establishes itself and dwells in them from the earliest infancy to old age, subduing all those on whom God has not poured the beams of his truth."	27) "Again, to his grandson, the meditator on and practiser of virtue, who attained to what was good by indefatigable and incessant labours, the crown which was given was the sight of God. And what can any one conceive to be either more useful or more respectable than to believe in God and throughout one's whole life to be continually rejoicing and beholding the living God?"
24) "despising all those objects which the generality of men admire; glory, and riches, and pleasure, and laughing at that pride which is continually being put together and set forth with all kinds of fictitious ornaments in order to deceive the spectators."	61) "for in a manner he who learns discards the offspring of ignorance, and repudiates them as inimical and hostile to him."	30) "but the man to whom it has been granted to see and thoroughly examine all corporeal and all incorporeal things, and to lean upon and to found himself upon God alone, with firm and steadfast reason and unalterable and sure confidence, is truly happy and blessed."

Sin	Exile	Restoration
<p>25) "This is that which makes gods of inanimate things, a great and almost impregnable fortification by the sophistries and manoeuvres of whom every city is allured, and since it takes especial hold on the souls of the young."</p>	<p>62) "Now by nature all we who are men, before the reason that is in us is brought to perfection, live on the borders between virtue and vice, without ever inclining as yet to either side:"</p>	<p>(31) "And laughter is an emblem in the body of that unseen joy which exists in the mind. And joy is the most excellent and the most beautiful of all the pleasant affections of the mind, (32) by means of which the whole soul is in every part entirely filled with cheerfulness, rejoicing in the Father and Creator of all men and things, namely, in God, and rejoicing also in those things which are done without wickedness, even though they may not be pleasant, as being done virtuously, and as contributing to the duration of the universe."</p>
<p>29) "And every image is deceitful, exhibiting itself by a certain attractive similarity in lieu of the original thing itself."</p>	<p>68) "this is the first man who ever was under a curse; the first man who imprinted on the pure earth the unprecedented pollution of human blood; the first man who checked the fertility of the earth which was previously blooming, and producing all kinds of animals, and plants, and flourishing with every kind of productiveness; the first man who introduced destruction as a rival against creation, death against life, sorrow against joy, and evil against good."</p>	<p>37) "Accordingly, he who had during the preceding periods of his life had the eyes of his soul closed, now began, though with difficulty, to open them for the continual labours which were before him, and to pierce through and dissipate the mist which had overshadowed him. For an incorporeal ray of light, purer than the atmosphere, suddenly beaming upon him, displayed to him the fact of the world appreciable only by the intellect being guided by a regular governor."</p>

Sin	Exile	Restoration
47) "Now by breadth haughtiness and arrogance are typified"	70) "that he should live continually dying, and that he should in a manner endure an undying and never ending death; for there are two kinds of death; the one that of being dead, which is either good or else a matter of indifference; the other that of dying, which is in every respect an evil; and the more protracted the dying the more intolerable the evil."	43) "But these admirable men, so superior to all others, have, as I said, raised themselves upwards from below, ascending as if by some ladder reaching to heaven, so as, through the contemplation of his works, to form a conjectural conception of the Creator by a probable train of reasoning."
52) "for they are in reality unholy, affixing, as they do, rewards and honours to acts of violence, and insolence, and injustice"	72) "for the scripture Says that God laid a curse upon the fratricide, so that he should be continually groaning and trembling."	58) "Therefore the first man who forsook pride and came over to truth,"
69) "who thus in one single action left no description of violence and impiety unperformed?"	73) "for fear continually supplies sorrowful feelings as from an everlasting spring."	64) "acquires health and acquires power, which are followed by a good complexion, owing to modesty, and also good health and beauty."
74) "These men, being wholly filled with unreasonable pride,"	94) "for as they will be repelled by force equal to their own, or even more powerful still, they will flee in great confusion, a hundred fleeing before five, and a host of ten thousand before a hundred men, and those who had come by one road fleeing by a great number."	84) "This class of men lives not far from God, keeping always before its eyes the beautiful things of heaven, and being guided in all its ways by heavenly love; so that if any one were to inquire of what character a great nation is, one might very properly answer--it is a nation whose most sacred prayers God hears, and to whose invocations, proceeding as they do from a pure conscience, he gladly draws near."

Sin	Exile	Restoration
<p>76) "Therefore, as was natural, a great confusion spread among the whole multitude, in consequence of things being disturbed which never ought to have been moved, and of the laws being openly violated and all the ordinances for the regular service of the temple being thrown into confusion by wicked disobedience,"</p>	<p>117) "As therefore God, by one single word of command, could easily collect together men living on the very confines of the earth, bringing them from the extremities of the world to any place which he may choose, so also the merciful Saviour can bring back the soul after its long wandering, after it has been straying about in every direction, and been ill-treated by pleasure and desire, most imperious mistresses, and guide it easily from a trackless waste into a regular road when it has once determined to flee from evil without ever looking back, a flight not liable to reproach, but the cause of its preservation, which no one will do wrong to pronounce more desirable than any return."</p>	<p>90) "since God honours virtue and has given it immunity from all designs against it as a proper reward."</p>

Sin	Exile	Restoration
<p>134) "And such a complete scarcity of all necessary things will seize the people that, being wholly destitute of and indifferent to them, they will turn even to devouring one another, eating not only the gentiles and those who are no relations to them, but even their nearest and dearest kinsfolk; for the father will take the flesh of his son, and the mother will eat of the life-blood of her daughter, brothers will eat their brothers, and children will devour their parents; and, in fact, the weaker will be continually the prey of the more powerful; and that wicked and accursed food, that of Thyestes, will seem to them like a joke when compared with the excessive and intolerable evils which their necessities bring upon them;"</p>	<p>124) "This is the mind which a little while ago was enslaved to many pleasures and many desires, and to innumerable necessities arising from weaknesses and desires;"</p>	<p>98) "The second thing is wealth, which must of necessity follow peace and authority; (99) but the simple wealth of nature is food and shelter, and food is bread and water from the spring, which are both diffused over every part of the habitable world; but of shelter there are two kinds, first of all clothes, and secondly a house, on account of the injuries which result from exposure to cold and heat; each of which protections, if any one chooses to discard superfluous and excessive extravagance, is very easily provided."</p>

Sin	Exile	Restoration
<p>148) "And if, after all these calamities, they are not chastened, but still proceed by crooked paths, and turn off from the straight roads which lead to truth, then cowardice and fear shall be established in their souls,"</p>	<p>127) "The lawgiver of our nation denounces the first curse as the lightest of evils, namely, poverty and indigence, and a want of all necessary things, and a participation in every kind of destitution;"</p>	<p>101) "on those who observe the sacred commands of God, the heaven will shower down seasonable rains, and the earth will bring forth for them abundance of all kinds of fruits, the champaign country producing crops from seed, and the mountainous country fruit from trees;" and that no period will ever be left entirely destitute of benefits for them, but that they shall without interruption, incessantly receive the favours of God, the time of harvest succeeding the season of gathering the grapes, and the season of gathering the grapes following the seed time,"</p>
<p>169) "who have delighted in the ruined fortunes of the nation, reviling them, and making a mockery of them,"</p>	<p>129) "And, in short, all the seed crops and all the trees will be destroyed, fruit and all, by blight of one kind or another."</p>	<p>116) "For when God is favourable every thing is made easy. And he is favourable to those who display modesty and due reverence, and who seek to pass over from intemperance to temperance, and who reproach themselves for all the blameable actions of their life, and for all the base images which they have stamped upon their polluted souls, and who aim at a tranquil state of the passions, and who keep constantly in view, as the proper object of their pursuit, a calmness and serenity of life."</p>

Sin	Exile	Restoration
	<p>131) "For then there will be no rain, no showers, no gentle springs, no soft drops of moisture, no dew, nor anything else which can contribute to the growth of plants"</p>	<p>(117) "As therefore God, by one single word of command, could easily collect together men living on the very confines of the earth, bringing them from the extremities of the world to any place which he may choose, so also the merciful Saviour can bring back the soul after its long wandering, after it has been straying about in every direction, and been ill-treated by pleasure and desire, most imperious mistresses, and guide it easily from a trackless waste into a regular road when it has once determined to flee from evil without ever looking back, a flight not liable to reproach, but the cause of its preservation, which no one will do wrong to pronounce more desirable than any return."</p>
	<p>136) "for even though cold, and thirst, and want of food may be terrible, still they might at times be objects worth being prayed for, if they only produced instantaneous death without any delay."</p>	<p>119) "And sound health will follow, and a good condition of the outward senses, and a perfectness and completeness in all the parts, conducive to the unimpeded performance of those duties for which each man has been born."</p>

Sin	Exile	Restoration
	138) "Therefore the lawgiver pronounces that those persons who neglect the sacred laws shall have their enemies for their masters, who will treat them unmercifully,"	157) "then it shall recover its youth and former vigour, and shall enjoy tranquillity, and shall have rest at the festive seasons recurring at the sacred numbers of seven, recovering its strength again like an athlete who has been fatigued by his exertions."
	164) "For even though they may be at the very extremities of the earth, acting as slaves to those enemies who have led them away in captivity"	163) "they will then meet with a favourable acceptance from their merciful saviour, God, who bestows on the race of mankind his especial and exceedingly great gift, namely, relationship to his own word; after which, as its archetypal model, the human mind was formed."

Sin	Exile	Restoration
		168) "and when they come cities will be rebuilt which but a short time ago were in complete ruins, and the desert will be filled with inhabitants, and the barren land will change and become fertile, and the good fortune of their fathers and ancestors will be looked upon as a matter of but small importance, on account of the abundance of wealth of all kinds which they will have at the present moment, flowing forth from the graces of God as from ever-running fountains, which will thus confer vast wealth separately on each individual, and also on all the citizens in common, to an amount beyond the reach even of envy."

Selected Instances of Natural Law within *On Rewards and Punishments*

Sin	Exile	Restoration
12) "Now some persons have either, like enemies, stifled and destroyed all the seeds of hope by kindling all the vices in the soul"	7) "punishments for the others, as affecting individuals, and houses, and cities, and countries, and nations, and vast regions of the earth"	9) "God supplied all living creatures with necessary food, producing it out of the earth, and above all things, providing the race of mankind with all that was requisite"
21) "so that there is room to apprehend that the evil passions may return which were wont to be excited in it by a habit of living in the society of inconsiderate	21) "so that there is room to apprehend that the evil passions may return which were wont to be excited in it by a habit of living in the society of inconsiderate	27) "Abraham, the first person who passed over from pride to truth, employing that virtue which proceeds from instruction as a means towards perfection, chooses

Sin	Exile	Restoration
men.”	men.”	as his reward faith in God. And because he, by the innate goodness of his natural dispositions, had acquired a spontaneous, self-taught, and selfimplanted virtue, joy was given to him as a prize.”
24) “despising all those objects which the generality of men admire; glory, and riches, and pleasure, and laughing at that pride which is continually being put together and set forth with all kinds of fictitious ornaments in order to deceive the spectators.”	25) “For having entered into them it establishes itself and dwells in them from the earliest infancy to old age, subduing all those on whom God has not poured the beams of his truth.”	(31) “And laughter is an emblem in the body of that unseen joy which exists in the mind. And joy is the most excellent and the most beautiful of all the pleasant affections of the mind, (32) by means of which the whole soul is in every part entirely filled with cheerfulness, rejoicing in the Father and Creator of all men and things, namely, in God, and rejoicing also in those things which are done without wickedness, even though they may not be pleasant, as being done virtuously, and as contributing to the duration of the universe.”
134) “And such a complete scarcity of all necessary things will seize the people that, being wholly destitute of and indifferent to them, they will turn even to devouring one another, eating not only the gentiles and those who are no relations to them, but even their nearest and dearest kinsfolk; for the father will take the flesh of his son, and the mother will eat of the life-blood of her daughter, brothers will eat their	61) “for in a manner he who learns discards the offspring of ignorance, and repudiates them as inimical and hostile to him.”	43) “But these admirable men, so superior to all others, have, as I said, raised themselves upwards from below, ascending as if by some ladder reaching to heaven, so as, through the contemplation of his works, to form a conjectural conception of the Creator by a probable train of reasoning.”

Sin	Exile	Restoration
<p>brothers, and children will devour their parents; and, in fact, the weaker will be continually the prey of the more powerful; and that wicked and accursed food, that of Thyestes, will seem to them like a joke when compared with the excessive and intolerable evils which their necessities bring upon them;"</p>		
<p>148) "And if, after all these calamities, they are not chastened, but still proceed by crooked paths, and turn off from the straight roads which lead to truth, then cowardice and fear shall be established in their souls,"</p>	<p>62) "Now by nature all we who are men, before the reason that is in us is brought to perfection, live on the borders between virtue and vice, without ever inclining as yet to either side:"</p>	<p>64) "acquires health and acquires power, which are followed by a good complexion, owing to modesty, and also good health and beauty."</p>
	<p>68) "this is the first man who ever was under a curse; the first man who imprinted on the pure earth the unprecedented pollution of human blood; the first man who checked the fertility of the earth which was previously blooming, and producing all kinds of animals, and plants, and flourishing with every kind of productiveness; the first man who introduced destruction as a rival against creation, death against life, sorrow against joy, and evil against good."</p>	

Selected Instances of Mosaic Law within *On Rewards and Punishments*

Sin	Exile	Restoration
5) "others were found to be unmanly, and effeminate, and cowardly, out of the innate weakness and imbecility of their souls"	2) "the historical part is a record of the lives of different wicked and virtuous men, and of the...punishments"	2) "the historical part is a record of the lives of different wicked and virtuous men, and of the rewards, and honours"
76) "Therefore, as was natural, a great confusion spread among the whole multitude, in consequence of things being disturbed which never ought to have been moved, and of the laws being openly violated and all the ordinances for the regular service of the temple being thrown into confusion by wicked disobedience,"	(16) For Moses says, with reference to one who fled from the audacious innovations of the body, and who came over to the interest of the soul, "He was not found because God changed his Place;" (17) and by this enigmatical expression the two things are clearly intimated, the migration by the change of place, and the solitude by his not being found.	101) "on those who observe the sacred commands of God, the heaven will shower down seasonable rains, and the earth will bring forth for them abundance of all kinds of fruits, the champaign country producing crops from seed, and the mountainous country fruit from trees;" and that no period will ever be left entirely destitute of benefits for them, but that they shall without interruption, incessantly receive the favours of God, the time of harvest succeeding the season of gathering the grapes, and the season of gathering the grapes following the seed time,"
134) "And such a complete scarcity of all necessary things will seize the people that, being wholly destitute of and indifferent to them, they will turn even to devouring one another, eating not only the gentiles and those who are no relations to them, but even their nearest and dearest kinsfolk; for the father will take the flesh of his son, and the mother will eat of the life-blood of her daughter,	72) "for the scripture Says that God laid a curse upon the fratricide, so that he should be continually groaning and trembling."	163) "they will then meet with a favourable acceptance from their merciful saviour, God, who bestows on the race of mankind his especial and exceedingly great gift, namely, relationship to his own word; after which, as its archetypal model, the human mind was formed."

Sin	Exile	Restoration
<p>brothers will eat their brothers, and children will devour their parents; and, in fact, the weaker will be continually the prey of the more powerful; and that wicked and accursed food, that of Thyestes, will seem to them like a joke when compared with the excessive and intolerable evils which their necessities bring upon them;”</p>		