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PHILO
V

275
PHILO
IN TEN VOLUMES
(AND TWO SUPPLEMENTARY VOLUMES)

V

WITH AN ENGLISH TRANSLATION BY

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PREFACE TO VOLUME V

In this volume we reach the end of the third of Cohn and Wendland’s six volumes, and with it the end also of what is perhaps the most important part of Philo’s work, in which, to repeat the words used by us in the General Introduction, he expounds what he considers to be the inner and spiritual meaning of various incidents and texts in Genesis.\(^a\)

Mr. Whitaker remains a substantial contributor to this volume, even more so than in Vol. IV. At his death in 1930 he left in ms. the whole of *De Fuga* and *De Somniis*, i., and about a fifth of *De Somniis*, ii. They had not been revised, but though I have made considerable alterations and corrections, especially in *De Somniis*, i., and though the introductions entirely, and the notes almost entirely, are my unassisted work, the translation of this part is fundamentally his. Still, as I said in the Preface to Vol. IV., both in what I have left unchanged and in what I have altered or corrected I must take the final responsibility.

\(^a\) For some account of the nature of the work which still remains to be done see General Introduction, Vol. I. p. x.
PREFACE

I wish to call the attention of such readers as are interested in the minutiae of the text of this and the preceding volumes to the supplementary list printed on pp. 613 ff., where also I have modified somewhat the remarks I made on this subject in the Preface to Vol. IV.

F. H. C.

February 1934.
LIST OF PHILO’S WORKS

SHOWING THEIR DIVISION INTO VOLUMES
IN THIS EDITION

VOLUME

I. On the Creation (De Opificio Mundi)
   Allegorical Interpretation (Legum Allegoriae)

II. On the Cherubim (De Cherubim)
   On the Sacrifices of Abel and Cain (De Sacrificiis
   Abelis et Caini)
   The Worse attacks the Better (Quod Deterius Potiori
   insidiari solet)
   On the Posterity and Exile of Cain (De Posteritate
   Caini)

III. On the Unchangeableness of God (Quod Deus im-
   mutabilis sit)
   On Husbandry (De Agricultura)
   On Noah’s Work as a Planter (De Plantatione)
   On Drunkenness (De Ebrietate)
   On Sobriety (De Sobrietate)

IV. On the Confusion of Tongues (De Confusione Lin-
   guarum)
   On the Migration of Abraham (De Migratione
   Abrahami)
   Who is the Heir (Quis Rerum Divinarum Heres)
   On the Preliminary Studies (De Congressu quaerendae
   Eruditionis gratia)

V. On Flight and Finding (De Fuga et Inventione)
   On the Change of Names (De Mutatione Nominum)
   On Dreams (De Somniis)

VI. On Abraham (De Abrahamo)
   On Joseph (De Iosepho)
   Moses (De Vita Mosis)
LIST OF PHILO'S WORKS

VOLUME

VII. On the Decalogue (De Decalogo)
   On the Special Laws Books I-III (De Specialibus Legibus)

VIII. On the Special Laws Book IV (De Specialibus Legibus)
   On the Virtues (De Virtutibus)
   On Rewards and Punishments (De Praemiis et Poenis)

IX. Every Good Man is Free (Quod Omnis Probus Liber sit)
   On the Contemplative Life (De Vita Contemplativa)
   On the Eternity of the World (De Aeternitate Mundi)
   Flaccus (In Flaccum)
   Hypothetica¹ (Apologia pro Iudaeis)
   On Providence¹ (De Providentia)

X. On the Embassy to Gaius (De Legatione ad Gaium)

GENERAL INDEX TO VOLUMES I-X

SUPPLEMENT

I. Questions and Answers on Genesis² (Quaestiones et Solutiones in Genesin)

II. Questions and Answers on Exodus² (Quaestiones et Solutiones in Exodum)

GENERAL INDEX TO SUPPLEMENTS I-II

¹ Only two fragments extant.
² Extant only in an Armenian version.
ON FLIGHT AND FINDING
(DE FUGA ET INVENTIONE)

* In Mangey's and earlier editions the Latin title is given as De Profugis.
ANALYTICAL INTRODUCTION

This treatise, which follows at once on the preceding, continues the exposition of Genesis xvi. from the middle of vs. 6 to vs. 12, omitting vs. 10. These verses are quoted in full in § 1, but the discussion is chiefly confined to a few words or phrases, namely "fled," "found," and "fountain." The first point to be noted is that Hagar fled. Flight may be due to three different causes: hatred, fear, and shame (2-3). Hagar is an example of the third, and the story shows that the inward monitor or Elenchus, which is typified by the angel, taught her that this shame must be tempered by courage (4-6).

But we must first say something about the other two causes of flight. Hatred was the cause of Jacob's flight from Laban. Here the two may stand from one point of view for the materialistic and the theistic creed respectively, and from another for the fool and the wise (7-13). On either interpretation the Jacob soul, finding itself unable to correct the Laban soul, will flee from association with it and repudiate it. Jacob's wives, that is his powers, joined in this repudiation, and that part of their speech in which they say that God has taken from Laban his wealth and glory and given them to themselves lead to a short meditation on true wealth and glory (15-19).

A further proof of the need of flight is drawn from
Laban's expostulation that he would have sent Jacob forth with mirth and music, which the Practiser knows to be mere enticement to return to the lower life (20-22).

For flight caused by fear we have the flight of Jacob to Laban and Haran before the wrath of Esau. Here Laban represents the brilliancy of secular life, and the lesson to be drawn is that the right way to answer the unjust, when they claim that the good things of the world fall to them, is to shew how these good things can be justly used (23-27). Let us not therefore shrink from wealth, from power, or from the banquet. Our liberality will convict the spendthrift and the miser, our just administration the tyrant, and our abstemiousness the glutton (28-32). Indeed those who affect the ascetic life are for the most part hypocrites, and to function in the outer world is the best preparation for the higher life of contemplation (33-37). The ministry to men must precede the ministry to God (38).

Again, Jacob's flight to Haran will signify the proper attitude of the soul in the practising and progressive stage. It must fly the hard ignorance of Esau, but also it is not as yet fit to share the higher life of Isaac (39-43). And Laban to whom it is sent is after all called the brother of Rebecca or persistence, while Haran where he lives represents, as elsewhere, the world of sense, the knowledge of which is necessary to the progressing, and after some days he will be recalled thence to the higher life (44-47). Similarly Isaac bids him go to Mesopotamia, that is to the mid-torrent of life's river, and to the house of Bethuel or daughter of God, wisdom, that is, who, though a daughter, is also a father (48-52).
ON FLIGHT AND FINDING

Other thoughts on flight are suggested by the cities of refuge. The law states that the intentional murderer shall be put to death, but that the unintentional homicide may find refuge in an appointed place (53). Before, however, considering this latter point, he notes that the first clause of the law runs: "If a man strikes another and he dies, let him be put to death with death." Philo, as so often, fails to understand that the last words of this are the Greek translation of the common Hebrew idiom for "surely be put to death," and infers that "dying with death" indicates the real, the spiritual death (54-55). Other texts are quoted to shew that, as virtue is the true life, vice is the true death (56-59), though, in another sense, vice can never die, as shewn by the sign given to Cain (60-64). Another part of the same text, where it is said of the involuntary homicide that God delivered the victim to his hands, suggests that God employs subordinate ministers for the lower, though beneficial and necessary, work of punishment, and this he supports, as elsewhere, by the use of "we" in the first chapter of Genesis, and the entrustment of cursing to the less worthy and of blessing to the worthier tribes (65-74). Again, the words "I will give thee a place" may be understood to mean that God Himself is the place where the innocent can take refuge (75-76). When we read that the wilful murderer who takes refuge in a sanctuary shall be dragged from it and put to death, it means that the voluntary evil-doer, who takes refuge with God, that is, ascribes to Him the responsibility for his sins, blasphemes (77-82); and how deadly a sin blasphemy against the Divine Parent is, is shown by the very next words where the
death penalty is assigned to those who speak ill of their earthly parents (83-84). The cities of refuge are only for those who truly understand the difference between the voluntary and involuntary (85-86).

As to the cities of refuge, four questions arise: (1) why they are in Levitical territory; (2) why they are six in number; (3) why three are beyond Jordan and three in Canaan; (4) why the refugee must remain till the death of the High Priest (87). The answer to the first is that the Levites themselves are fugitives from human ties, and also, as in the story of Exodus xxxii., the slayers of their kinsfolk, interpreted as the body, the unreasoning nature, and speech (88-93). To the second and the third questions the answer is that, of the six potencies of God where the guiltless may take refuge, three stand far above humanity, while three are closer to our nature (95-105). To answer the fourth point, which he thinks can hardly be understood literally without absurdity, Philo identifies the High Priest with the Logos and points out various analogies between the two. He thus explains the ordinance as meaning that, while this High Priest lives in the soul, the sins which have been banished cannot return (106-118).

The second part of the treatise (119-175) is concerned with finding, which naturally calls up the idea of seeking. We have four variants of this: not seeking and not finding, seeking and finding, not seeking and finding, seeking and not finding (119-120). The first of these is dismissed very rapidly with one or two illustrations of which Pharaoh's obstinacy is the chief (121-125). Seeking and finding is shewn in the case of Joseph who, prompted by a "man," that is the inward monitor, "found" his
ON FLIGHT AND FINDING

brethren in Dothan, the place of those who have abandoned delusion (126-131); of Isaac who asked "where is the victim?" and "found" that God would provide it (132-135); of the Israelites who asked about the manna, and "found" that it was the Word of God (137-139); of Moses who, when questioning his mission, "found" the answer in "I will be with you" (140-142). For seeking and not finding we have the examples of Laban seeking the images, the Sodomites seeking the door, Korah seeking the priesthood, and Pharaoh seeking Moses to kill him (143-148). Then follows a more elaborate allegorizing of the story of Judah’s intercourse with Tamar into a picture of the earnest soul wooing piety, to which he first gives as pledges the ring of trustworthiness, the chain of consistency, and the staff of discipline, and afterwards, to test her fidelity, sends the kid which represents the good things of secular life. The connexion of this story with the subject lies in the phrase "the messenger did not 'find' her" (149-156). Then, after a shorter spiritualizing of the incident of the goat of the sin-offering in Leviticus x. (157-160),a the story of the Burning Bush is interpreted as the fruitless desire of the soul to know the causes of phenomena which are ever perishing and yet are ever renewed (161-165).

The fourth head of finding without seeking suggests many points which have been noted elsewhere; primarily, of course, the self-taught nature, Isaac, and then the delivery of the Hebrew women before the midwives come, the speed with which Jacob found the meat which God delivered into his hand, and the automatic growth on the fallow land in the

a See note ad loc.
PHILO

Sabbatical year (166-172). This last naturally leads to some thought on the Sabbatical gift of peace (173-174), but to Philo's mind the best example is the promise to the Israelites in Deuteronomy of cities, houses, cisterns, vineyards, oliveyards, for which they have not laboured, all of them really types of spiritual blessings (175-176).

The next phrase in the text which calls for discussion is "spring of water." "Spring" is used as the symbol for five different things: first for the mind, which in the Creation story is described as the spring which waters the whole face of the earth, i.e. of the body (177-182); secondly it is used for education, and thus the twelve springs of Elim or "gateway" signify the Encyclia, the gateway to knowledge; and, since beside these springs there grew up seventy palm-trees, we have a short digression on the virtues of the two numbers (183-187). Thirdly there are the springs of folly, and this is illustrated by the phrase "uncovering the fount of the woman," where the woman is sense and her husband mind, and uncovering the fount comes when the sleeping mind allows each of the senses to have free play (188-193). Fourthly there are the springs of wisdom, from which Rebecca drew (194-196); and fifthly God Himself, Who is called by Jeremiah the fountain of life. And since Jeremiah adds that the wicked dig for themselves broken cisterns which hold no water, we see the contrast with the wise who, like Abraham and Isaac, dig real wells (197-201).

The fountain by which Hagar was found was the fountain of wisdom, but hers was not yet a soul which could draw from it (202). The treatise concludes with shorter notes on a few other phrases
in the passage. When the angel asked, "Whence comest thou, and whither goest thou?" it was not because he did not know the answer, since his omniscience is shewn by his knowing that the child would be a boy. The first part of the question was a rebuke for her flight, the second an indication of the uncertainty of the future (205-206). Something is added about the description given in the angel's words of the Ishmael or sophist nature (207-211). And finally we note that Hagar acknowledges the angel as God, for to one in her lower stage of servitude God's servants are as God Himself (211-end).
ΠΕΡΙ ΦΥΓΗΣ ΚΑΙ ΕΥΡΕΣΕΩΣ

[546] 1 Ι. "Καὶ ἐκάκωσεν αὐτὴν Σάρα, καὶ ἀπέδρα ἀπὸ προσώπου αὐτῆς. εὖρε δὲ αὐτὴν ἄγγελος κυρίου ἐπὶ τῆς πηγῆς τοῦ ὕδατος ἐν τῇ ἐρήμῳ, ἐπὶ τῆς πηγῆς ἐν τῇ ὀδῷ Σουρ. καὶ εἶπεν αὐτῇ ὁ ἄγγελος κυρίου· παιδίσκη Σάρας, πόθεν ἔρχης, καὶ ποῦ πορεύῃ; καὶ εἶπεν· ἀπὸ προσώπου Σάρας τῆς κυρίας μου ἐγὼ ἀποδιδράσκω. εἶπε δὲ αὐτῇ ὁ ἄγγελος κυρίου· ἀποστράφηθι πρὸς τὴν κυρίαν σου καὶ ταπεινώθητι ὑπὸ τὰς χεῖρας αὐτῆς. καὶ εἶπεν αὐτῇ ὁ ἄγγελος κυρίου· ἕξεχεις, καὶ τέξη νῦν, καὶ καλέσεις τὸ ὄνομα αὐτοῦ Ἰσμαήλ, ὅτι ἐπήκουσε κύριος τὴν ὑπάκουσίν του. οὕτως ἔσται ἄγροικος ἄνθρωπος· αἱ χεῖρες αὐτοῦ ἐπὶ πάντας καὶ αἱ χεῖρες πάντων ἐπὶ αὐτόν."

2 εἴρηκότες ἐν τῷ προτέρῳ τὰ πρέποντα περὶ τῶν προπαιδευμάτων καὶ περὶ κακώσεως, ἔξης τὸν περὶ φυγάδων ἀναγράψομεν τόπον. μέμνηται γὰρ πολλαχοῦ τῶν ἀποδιδρασκόντων, καθάπερ καὶ νῦν φάσκων ἐπὶ τῆς "Ἀγαρ, οὐτὶ κακωθεῖσα "ἀπέδρα ἀπὸ προσώπου τῆς κυρίας."

3 Αἰτίας οὖν ἔγνωκε τρεῖς εἶναι νομίζω φυγῆς, μῦσας, φόβον, αἰδῶ. μίσει μὲν οὖν καὶ γυναῖκες
ON FLIGHT AND FINDING

I. "And Sarai evil-entreated her, and she fled from her face. And an angel of the Lord found her at the fountain of water in the wilderness, at the fountain in the way to Shur. And the angel of the Lord said unto her, 'Handmaid of Sarai, whence comest thou? and whither goest thou?' And she said, 'From the face of Sarai my mistress I am fleeing.' And the angel of the Lord said unto her, 'Return to thy mistress, and humble thyself under her hands' (Gen. xvi. 6-9). And the angel of the Lord said unto her, 'Behold, thou art with child, and shalt bear a son; and thou shalt call his name Ishmael, because the Lord hath hearkened to thy humiliation. He shall be a dweller in the fields; his hands shall be against all men, and all men's hands shall be against him'" (ibid. 11, 12).

Having in the preceding treatise said what was fitting about the courses of preliminary training and about evil-entreatment, we will next proceed to set forth the subject of fugitives. For the Lawgiver has in several places made mention of those who run away, as he does here, saying of Hagar that upon being evil-entreated "she ran away from the face of her mistress."

There are, I think, three motives for flight: hatred, fear, and shame. From hatred wives leave husbands
PHILO

ἀνδρας καὶ ἄνδρες γυναῖκας ἀπολείπουσι, φόβῳ δὲ τοὺς γονεῖς παίδες καὶ δεσπότας οἰκέται, αἰδοῖ δὲ τοὺς ἐταῖρους, ὅποτε μὴ καθ ἢδονήν τι πράξειν αὐτοῖς, οἱ φίλοι· ἢδον πειρατερας οἶδα διὰ τὸ ἀβροδίαιτον αὐστήρος καὶ φιλόσοφον βίον παῖδων ἐκτραπομένους καὶ δι᾽ αἰδώ τὸν ἄγρον πρὸ τῆς πόλεως σικεῖν ἐλομένους. τῶν τριῶν τούτων αἰτίων ἐστὶν εὑρεῖν ἐν ταῖς ίεραῖς γραφαῖς ὑπομνήματα. ὁ γοῦν ἀσκητὴς Ἰακώβ μίσει μὲν τὸν πενθερὸν Ἀάβαν, φόβῳ δὲ τὸν ἀδελφὸν Ἡσαῦ ἀποδιδράσκει, ως αὐτίκα παραστήσομεν.

1. Τους μὲν οὖν ἀκριβέστερους χαρακτῆρας ὁ...
and husbands wives; from fear children leave their parents and servants their masters; from shame friends leave their fellows when something they have done displeases them. I know fathers whose effeminacy has made them unwilling to face the strict and philosophic life of their sons, and who out of shame have chosen to live in the country instead of in the city. Instances of the working of these three motives are to be found in the sacred writings. Jacob, the Practiser, as we shall presently shew, flies from his father-in-law Laban out of hatred, from his brother Esau out of fear. Hagar’s motive for departing is shame. A sign of this is the fact that an angel, a Divine Word, meets her to advise the right course, and to suggest return to the house of her mistress. This angel addresses her in the encouraging words, “The Lord hath hearkened to thy humiliation” (Gen. xvi. 11), a humiliation prompted neither by fear nor by hatred, the one the feeling of an ignoble, the other of a quarrelsome soul, but by shame, the outward expression of inward modesty. Had she run away owing to fear, the angel would probably have moved her who had inspired the fear to a gentler frame of mind; for then, and not till then, would it have been safe for the fugitive to go back. But no angel first approached Sarai, seeing that she is favourably disposed of her own accord. But it is Hagar who is taught by the angel monitor, whose goodwill to her makes him at once her friend and counsellor, not to feel only shame, but to be of good courage as well; pointing out that shame apart from confidence is but a half virtue.

II. The ensuing argument will bring to light the
εξής μηνύσει λόγος. ἐπανυτέον δ' ἐπὶ τὰ προταθέντα1 κεφάλαια καὶ ἀρκτέον ἀπὸ τῶν μίσους χάριν ἀποδιδρασκόντων. "ἐκρυψε" γάρ φησιν "Ἰακώβ
Λάβαν τὸν Σύρον, τοῦ μὴ ἀπαγγείλα αὐτῷ ὅτι ἀποδιδράσκει, καὶ ἀπέδρα αὐτὸς καὶ τὰ αὐτοῦ
8 πάντα." τίς οὖν αἰτία τοῦ μίσους; ποθεῖς γὰρ ἵσως δὴ τοῦτο 2 μαθεῖν. εἰσὶ τίνες οἱ τὴν ἀποιον καὶ ἀνείδους καὶ ἀσχημάτιστον οὐσίαν θεοπλαστοῦντες, τὸ κινοῦν αὐτίον οὔτε εἴδότες οὔτε παρὰ τῶν εἴδότων μαθείν σπουδάσαντες, ἀγνοίᾳ δὲ καὶ ἀμαθίᾳ κεχρημενού τοι καλλίστον μαθήματος, οὗ πρώτου καὶ μόνου τὴν ἐπιστήμην ἐκπονεῖν ήν
9 ἀναγκαίον. δ' Λάβαν τοῦ γένους ἐστὶ τούτου τὴν γὰρ ἄσημον αὐτῶ ποιίμην οἱ 3 χρησμοὶ προσνέμουσιν. ἄσημος δὲ ἐν μὲν τοῖς ὅλοις ἡ ἀποιον ύλη, ἐν ἀνθρώποις δὲ ἡ ἀμαθής ψυχή καὶ ἀπαίδη
10 ἀγώγητος. ἔτεροι δ' εἰσὶ τῆς ἀμείνονος μοίρας, οἱ νοῦν ἐφασαν ἔλθοντα πάντα διακοσμήσαι, τὴν εξ ὀχλοκρατίας ἐν τοῖς ὅλοις ἀταξίαν εἰς ἀρχὴς νομίμου, βασιλείας, τάξιν ἀγαγόντα. τοῦ θιάσου τοῦ τούτου χορευτῆς Ἰακώβ ἐστιν, ὁς ἐπιστατεῖ τῆς ἐπισήμου ποικίλης ἀγέλης· ἐπίσημον δὲ πάλιν καὶ ποικίλον ἐν μὲν τοῖς ὅλοις τὸ εἴδος, ἐν δὲ ἀνθρώποις ἡ εὐπαίδευτος καὶ φιλομαθής διάνοια.
11 πολλοῦ δὴ τοῦ φύσει κοινωνικοῦ σπάσας ὁ ἐπίσημος καὶ μοναρχίας ἀληθοῦς ἔταιρος ἔρχεται πρὸς τὸν ἄσημον, ύλικὰς μὲν, ὡς εἶπον ὡδη, θεοπλαστοῦντα

1 mss. προτεθέντα. 2 mss. τι τοῦ. 3 mss. οὗ.

a The allusion to Anaxagoras in § 10 perhaps suggests that some definite persons or school is meant, possibly his predecessors the Ionic philosophers. See App. p. 581.

b See Diog. Laert. ii. 6 (the opening words of Anaxagoras’s
more subtle traits of shame. I must now go back to the heads suggested, and must begin with those who run away because of hatred. We are told that "Jacob kept Laban the Syrian in the dark, so as not to tell him that he is fleeing, and he fled, himself and all that belonged to him" (Gen. xxxi. 20 f.). What, then, was the cause of the hatred? You would like perhaps to be told this. There are people who fashion their God out of substance devoid of quality or form or shape; but the moving Cause they neither know, nor have taken any trouble to learn from those who do know Him. They have neither mastered nor do they study the fairest subject of all, the first, nay the only one, whose knowledge it was a vital matter for them to acquire. Laban is of this class; for the sacred oracles assign to him the flock that is without mark (Gen. xxx. 42); and in the universe it is the matter devoid of quality and in men the ignorant and untutored soul that is without mark. Others there are of the better part, who said that Mind came and ordered all things, bringing the disorder that prevailed in existing things as the result of mob-rule into the order of regular government under a king. Of this company Jacob is a votary, who is in charge of the variegated flock, marked and distinguished; and in the universe it is form that has variety and distinction, while among men it is the understanding, well-trained and loving to learn.

The man of mark, associate of true monarchy, has imbibed in full measure the inbred spirit of fellowship, and comes to the man of no mark, when he fashions, as I said before, material sovereignties as
ηγεμονίας, έξω δὲ τούτων δραστήριον μηδεμίαν
νομίζοντα, διδάξων ὡς οὐκ ὀρθογνωμονεῖ. γέγονε
tε γὰρ ὁ κόσμος καὶ πάντως υπ’ αὐτίου τινὸς
gέγονεν· ὁ δὲ τοῦ ποιοῦντος λόγος αὐτὸς ἐστὶν ἡ
σφαγίς, ἢ τῶν ὄντων ἐκαστὸν μεμόρφωται· παρὸ
καὶ τέλειον | τοῖς γινομένοις ἐξ ἀρχῆς παρακο-
λουθεῖ τὸ εἴδος, ἀτε ἐκμαγεῖον καὶ εἰκὼν τελείου
λόγου. τὸ γὰρ γενόμενον ζῷον ἀτέλες μὲν ἐστὶ
tῶν ποσῶ—μάρτυρες δὲ αἱ καθ’ ἡλικίαν ἐκάστην
παραυξήσεως,—τέλειον δὲ τῶν ποιῶν· μένει γὰρ ἡ
αὐτὴ ποιήσις ἀτε ἀπὸ μένοντος ἐκμαγείσα καὶ
μηδαμῇ τρεπομένου θείου λόγου. III.
όρὼν δ’ ὁτι πρὸς μάθησιν καὶ νόμιμον1 ἔπιστασίαν
ekεκώφωται, δρασμὸν εἰκότως βουλεύεται· δέδιε
gὰρ, μὴ πρὸς τῶ ἡμῆν ἱσχύσαι ὁνῆσαι ἔτι καὶ
ξημωθῇ. βλαβεραῖ γὰρ αἱ μετὰ ἀνοήτων συνοισία,
καὶ ἂκουσα πολλάκις ἡ φυχὴ τῆς εκείνων φρένο-
βλαβείας ἀπομάττεται τὰ εἴδωλα· καὶ ὄντως ἐστὶν
ἐξθροντὸς ἐν παιδείᾳ ἀπαιδευσία καὶ κληρονομία
ἀμελετησία. παρὸ καὶ φωνήν αἱ ἀσκη-
τικαὶ δυνάμεις ἀφείσαι φείσαι κεκράγασι τὰς αἰτίας τοῦ
μίσους παραδιηγούμεναι· "μὴ ἐστὶν ἡμῶν ἔτι μερὶς
ἡ κληρονομία ἐν τῷ οἶκῳ τοῦ πατρὸς ἡμῶν; οὐχ
ὡς ἀλλότριαι λεογνύσμεθα αὐτῷ· πέρακε γὰρ
ἡμᾶς καὶ κατέφαγε καταβρώσει τὸ ἀργύριον ἡμῶν.
πᾶς ὁ πλοῦτος καὶ ἡ δόξα, ἢν ἀφείλετο ὁ θεὸς
tοῦ πατρὸς ἡμῶν, ἡμῶν ἐσται καὶ τοῖς τέκνοις ἡμῶν."
ἐλεύθεραι γὰρ καὶ τοῖς ὀνόμασι καὶ τοῖς ἐνθυμη-

1 mss. μόνιμον.

a See App. p. 581.

b Or "giving in addition."
Divine, and holds no sovereignty outside of these to be efficient,—comes to him to teach him that he is mistaken. For the world has come into being, and assuredly it has done so under the hand of some Cause; and the Word of Him who makes it is Himself the seal, by which each thing that exists has received its shape. Accordingly from the outset form in perfection accompanies the things that come into being, for it is an impress and image of the perfect Word. For the living creature that has come into being is imperfect in quantity, as is shewn by its constant growth as its age advances, but perfect in quality; for the same quality continues, inasmuch as it is the impress of a Divine Word ever continuing and free from every kind of change.

III. Jacob, seeing that Laban has grown deaf to instruction or lawful authority, naturally plans to run away, fearing lest, besides being unable to help, he should suffer harm at his hands. For association with men devoid of sense is hurtful, and the soul often involuntarily takes the impressions of their mad folly; and in the nature of things culture feels a repugnance towards lack of culture, and painstaking towards carelessness. And so the faculties of the Practiser lift their voice aloud, proclaiming their grounds for hatred: "Is there yet any portion or inheritance for us in our father's house? Are we not counted of him strangers? For he hath sold us, and hath also quite devoured our money. All the riches and the glory, which God took away from our father, shall be for us and for our children" (Gen. xxxi. 14-16). For being free both in names and in senti-

* I can give no satisfactory explanation of "names." See App. pp. 581 f.
μασιν οὐδένα τῶν ἀφρόνων νομίζουσι πλούσιον ἢ ἐνδοξόν εἶναι, πάντας δ’, ὡς ἔπος εἰπεῖν, ἀδόξους καὶ πένητας, καὶ βασιλεῶν πολυχρύσων τύχας ὑπερβάλλωσιν. οὐ γάρ φασι τὸν πλοῦτον τοῦ πατρός, ἀλλὰ τὸν ἀφαιρεθέντα πλοῦτον, οὐδὲ τήν ἐκείνου δόξαν, ἀλλὰ τήν ἀφαιρεθέσαν αὐτοῦ δόξαν 17 σχῆσειν. ἐστέρηται δ’ ὁ φαύλος τοῦ ἀληθινοῦ πλοῦτον καὶ τῆς ἀψευδούς εὐδοξίας· τὰ γάρ ἀγαθὰ ταῦτα φρόνησι καὶ σωφροσύνη καὶ αἱ συγγενεῖς περιποιοῦσι διαθέσεις, δὲν αἱ φιλάρετοι ψυχαὶ κληρο- 18 νομοῦσιν. οὐκοῦν οὐ τὰ προσόντα τῷ μοχθηρῷ, τὰ δ’ ὅν ἐκείνος ἐστέρηται περιουσία καὶ εὐκλεία τοῖς ἀστείοις ἑστίν· ἐστέρηται δὲ ἄρετῶν, αἱ δὴ κτήματα τῶν δε γεγόνασι, ἵνα καὶ τὸ ἐτέρωθι λεχθὲν συνάδη· “τὰ βδελύγματα Αἰγυπτίων θύσομεν κυρίῳ τῷ θεῷ”· τέλεια γάρ καὶ ἀμωμα ἰερείᾳ αἱ ἀρεταὶ καὶ αἱ κατὰ ἀρετὰς πράξεις, ὡς τὸ φιλο- 19 παθὲς Αἰγυπτίων βδελύττεται σώμα. καθάπερ γάρ ἐνταῦθα φυσικῶς τὰ βέβηλα παρ’ Αἰγυπτίως ἕρα παρὰ τοῖς ἰξὺ καθορώσι λέγεται καὶ πάντα θύεται, τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον καὶ ὅν ἐστέρηται καὶ ἀφέρηται πᾶς ἀφρῶν, τούτων κληρονόμος ἔσται ὁ καλο- 18

[a] The meaning seems to be that while the three Aristotelian ἀγαθά, viz. τὰ περὶ ψυχῆς, τὰ περὶ σώμα and τὰ ἔκτος may be δόκιμα in a sense, for even the Stoics admitted “preferable indifferents” among the two latter, only the first is acceptable to the true Practiser. See Quod Det. 7 and note, also De Gig. 38.
ments, they deem no senseless man to be rich or glorious, but all such, speaking broadly, to be poor and inglorious, even if they surpass in fortune wealthy kings. For they do not say that they will have their father’s wealth, but that which was taken away from their father, nor his glory, but the glory that was taken away from him. The worthless man is destitute of the real riches and the true gloriousness; for these good things are won by sound sense and self-mastery and the dispositions akin to these, which are the inheritance of virtue-loving souls. Accordingly it is not the things that pertain to the good-for-nothing man, but those of which he has been stripped, that are affluence and renown to the worthy. Virtues are what has been stripped from him, and has become the property of the worthy, thus bringing into harmony what is said elsewhere: “we will sacrifice the abominations of Egypt to the Lord our God” (Exod. viii. 26); for victims perfect and free from blemish are the virtues and virtuous conduct, and these the Egyptian body, in its devotion to the passions, abominates. For even as in this passage, understood in accordance with reality, things which Egyptians reckon profane are called sacred in the estimation of the keen-sighted, and are all offered in sacrifice; exactly in the same way, the things of which every foolish man has been deprived and stripped, these the comrade of nobility of character will inherit. And these are real glory, indistinguishable from knowledge, and wealth, not the blind wealth, but that which has the keenest sight for the things that actually are, which accepts no counterfeit coinage, nay nothing whatever that is soulless, even though it be approved coin."
20 Προσηκόντως οὖν ἀποδράσεται τῶν τῶν θείων ἀγαθῶν ἀμέτοχον, ὥς καὶ ἐν οἷς ἔτερον αἰτιάται διαβάλλων ἐαυτὸν λέλθθεν, ἑπείδαν φη Ἰ ἀνήγγειλάς μοι, ἐξαπέστειλα ἄν σε." αὕτῳ γὰρ τούτῳ φυγῆς ἤν ἄξιον, ἐμφανῶς δειπτὸν δούλος ἦν, ἑπιμορφάζων ἁρχὴν καὶ ἁγεμονίαν, ἐλευθερίαν ἄλλως ἐκήρυττε. ἐγὼ δὲ, φησί, τῆς ἐπί ἄρετὴν ἀγούσης οἰκὸν συνεργοῦν ἀνθρωπὸν οὐκ ἔλαβον, ἀλλ' ὑπήκουσα χρήσιμῶν θείων κελευόντων ἐνθέντε ἀπαίρετας, οὐ καὶ μέχρι νῦν με ποδηγετοῦσι. πῶς δ' ἂν με ἐξαπέστειλας; ἦ, ὡς σεμνολογούμενος διεξῆς, μετ' "ἐυφροσύνης" τῆς ἐμοὶ λυπηρᾶς καὶ "μονακῶν" ἀμοῦσκα καὶ "τυμπάνων" [καὶ] κτύπων ἀνάρθρων καὶ ἀλόγων πληγὰς ἑμφορούντων ψυχῆς δ' ὄτων καὶ μετὰ "κιθάρας," ἀλύρων καὶ ἀναρμόστων οὐκ ὀργάων μᾶλλον ἦ τῶν κατὰ τὸν βίον πράξεων; ἀλλὰ γὰρ ταύτ' ἐστὶν οὖν ἔνεκα φυγῆς ἐβούλευσα, σοῦ δ', ὡς ἔοικεν, ἀντισπάσματα μου τῆς φυγῆς ἐπενόεις, ἵνα παλινδρομήσω διὰ τὸ ἀπατηλὸν καὶ ἐυπαράγωγον φύσει τῶν αἰσθήσεων, αἷς μόλις ὑψίστασα ἐπιβίβαιναι.

21 IV. Μῖσος μὲν δὴ τοῦ λεχθέντος δραμάτος γέγονεν αἰτίων, φόβος δὲ τοῦ λεχθησομένου. "εἶπε" γὰρ φησι Ῥεβέκκα πρὸς Ἰακώβ. Ἡσαυ ὁ ἄδελφός σου ἀπειλεῖ (σοι) ἀποκτεῖναι σε. νῦν οὖν, τέκνον, ἀκουσόν μου τῆς φωνῆς καὶ ἀναστὰς ἀπόδραθι πρὸς Λάβαν τὸν ἄδελφόν μου εἰς Χαρράν καὶ οἰκήσον μετ' αὐτοῦ ἡμέρας τινάς, ἐως τοῦ 22

1 I have bracketed καὶ as disturbing the symmetry of the sentence. The LXX has μετ' εὐφροσύνης καὶ μετὰ μοισικῶν καὶ τυμπάνων καὶ κιθάρας. Each of the four terms receives in turn its negative qualification.
ON FLIGHT AND FINDING, 20–23

Right fitly, therefore, will Jacob run away from the man who has no part in the good things of God, the man who, even in finding fault with another, impugns himself without knowing it when he says, “If thou hadst told me, I would have sent thee forth” (Gen. xxxi. 27). For this alone would have been a sufficient ground for flight, if, when you were the slave of ten thousand masters, you assumed the style of dominion and lordship and proclaimed liberty to others. I however, says Jacob, took no man to help me to find the way that leads to virtue, but paid heed to Divine oracles bidding me depart hence, and to this moment they guide my steps. And how wouldst thou have sent me forth? Would it have been, as thou didst grandiloquently recount, “with merriment” that caused me pain, and “music” all unmusical, and “drums” noises inarticulate and meaningless, inflicting blows on the soul through the ears, “and with cithara” (ibid.), not instruments but modes of conduct void of melody or harmony? Nay, these are the very things that made me plan flight; but you, it seems, devised them as means of diverting me back from flight, to induce me to retrace my steps for the sake of the power to cheat and mislead inbred in those senses which I had with difficulty gained strength to tread underfoot.

IV. Hatred, then, was the cause of the flight that has been spoken of, but fear of that of which I am about to speak. For we read as follows: “Rebecca said to Jacob, ‘Lo, Esau thy brother threatens to kill thee. Now therefore, child, listen to my voice and arise and flee to Laban my brother to Haran, and live with him for some days, until the wrath and
άποστρέφαι τὸν θυμὸν καὶ τὴν ὀργὴν τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ σου, καὶ ἐπιλάθηται ἃ πεποίηκας αὐτῷ· καὶ ἀπο-
στείλασα μεταπέμψομαι σε ἐκεῖθεν." ἂξιον γὰρ
dεδιέναι, μὴ τὸ χείρον τῆς ψυχῆς μέρος εἰς ἐνέδρας
λοχῆσαι ἢ καὶ ἐκ τοῦ φανεροῦ κοινόσαμου ἀνα-
τρέψῃ καὶ καταβάλῃ τὸ κρεῖττον. συμβουλὴ δ'
ἀρίστη τῆς ὀρθογνώμονος ἐπιμονῆς, Ἄρεβέκκας ἦδε·
25 ἐπειδὰν ὲδῆς, φησὶ, τὸν φαῦλον πολύν) ῥέοντα κατὰ
ἀρετῆς καὶ διὰ ἀλογεῖν προσῆκε πολὺν λόγον ἔχοντα,
πλούτου, δόξης, ἡδονῆς, καὶ τάδικεῖν ἐπικοινώντα
ὡς αὐτῶν ἐκάστων τῶν εἰρημένων—πολυαργύρους
gὰρ καὶ πολυχρύσους καὶ ἐνδοξοὺς τοὺς ἀδικοῦντας
μάλιστα γίνεσθαι,—μὴ τὴν ἐναντίαν ὄδὸν τραπό-
μενος εὐθὺς ἀχρηματίαν καὶ ἀτυφίαν αὐτοῦν τε
cαὶ μονωτικὸν βίον ἐπιτηδεύον· ἀνερεθίσον γὰρ
tὸν ἀντίπαλον καὶ βαρύτερον ἔχεσθαι ἄλειψις κατά
26 σεαυτοῦ.

τι ἂν οὖν ἐργασάμενος ἐκφύγῃς
tὰ παλαιόματ' αὐτοῦ, σκόπει. συνενέχθητι τοῖς
αὐτοῖς, οὐκ ἐπιτηδεύμασι λέγω, τοῖς δὲ τῶν εἰρη-
μένων ποιητικῶς, τιμαῖς, ἀρχαῖς, ἀργύρῳ, χρυσῷ,
κτήμασι, χρώμασι, σχήμασι διαφόρως, κάλλεσι,
καὶ ἄντυχης ὁμοῦργος ἄγαθος εἴδος
27 νετὸν ἀποτέλεσον ἔργον. ἢ οὐκ οἶδας, ὅτι ναῦν
ἰδιώτης μὲν παραλαμβάνει σωζόμενον δυναμένην ἀνα-
τρέπει, κυβερνητικὸς δὲ ἀνήρ καὶ τὴν ἀπολλυμένην

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a For a comparison of this interpretation of fleeing from Esau's wrath with that given in De Mig. 210, 211 see App. p. 582.
b Or “prepare,” “give strength to,” a definite reference to the gymnastic school. So below παλαιόματα = wrestling-grips.
anger of thy brother turn away, and he forget the things which thou hast done to him: and I will send and fetch thee thence' (Gen. xxvii. 42-45). For there is reason to fear lest the worse part of the soul set an ambush and lie in wait, or even openly arm, and then overthrow and cast down the better part. And this is excellent advice given by Rebecca, that is, by judicious Patience. Whenever, she says, you see the base one flowing in full current against virtue, and taking much account of things which it ought to disregard, of wealth, fame, pleasure, when he extols injustice as the author of each of these, and points out that it is mostly wrongdoers who attain to fame and to abundance of gold and silver, do not take at once the opposite direction, and practise penury and humility and a strict and un-social mode of life; for in this way you will rouse your adversary's spirit and stimulate a more dangerous foe to the contest against you. Consider, then, by what course of action you are to escape his machinations. Adapt yourself, not to his pursuits and practices, but to the objects which serve to create them—honours, offices, silver, gold, possessions, different forms and colours, beautiful objects. And whenever you meet with these, do as a good artist does, and engrave upon the material substances a form as good as possible, and thus accomplish a work which may win men's praise. You know well how, when an unskilled man takes charge of a vessel that is quite capable of making a safe voyage, he upsets it, whereas a skilled helmsman often saves one which

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* a Or τῶν εἰρημένων may refer to wealth, fame, and pleasure, § 25. See App. pp. 582 f.
PHILO

πολλάκις ἔσωσε, καὶ τῶν καμνόντων οἱ μὲν ἀπειρία τῶν θεραπεύοντων χρησάμενοι σφαλερῶς τὰ σώματα ἔσχον, οἱ δὲ ἐμπειρία καὶ τὰς σφαλερὰς νόσους ἀπέφυγον; καὶ τί δὲι μηκύνειν; ἀεὶ γὰρ τὰ μετὰ τέχνης ἐλεγχός ἐστὶ τῶν σὺν ἀτεχνίας γινομένων, καὶ ὁ τούτων ἀληθῆς ἔπαινος ἁψευδής 28 ἐκείνων ἔστι κατηγορία. Β. ἕναν οὖν θέλης διελέγξαι τῶν πολυχρήματον φαύλον, μὴ ἀποστραφῆς τὴν ἐν χρήμασι περιουσίαν. οὐ μὲν γὰρ ἡ ἀνελεύθερος καὶ δουλοπρεπῆς ὑβολοστάτης καὶ τοκογλύφος, βαρυδαίμων ἀνήρ, ἀναφανεῖται ἡ ἐμπαλιν ἀσωτος πεφορημένος, λαφύττει καὶ σπαθὰν ἐτοιμότατος, ἕταιρῶν καὶ πορνοτρόφων καὶ μαστροπῶν καὶ παντὸς ἀκολάστου θιάσου χορηγὸς 29 φιλοτιμότατος. οὐ δὲ ἔρανον παρέξεις πένησι φιλῶν, χαριεὶ δωρεὰς τῇ πατρίδι, συνεκδώσεις τυγατέρας ἀπόροις γονεύσιν αὐταρκεστάτην προίκα ἐπιδούσι, μονονοῦκ εἰς μέσον προθείς τὰ ἱδια καλέσεις ἐπὶ μετουσίαν ἀπαντάς τοὺς ἀξίους χάρι- 30 τὸν αὐτὸν μέντοι τρόπον καὶ δοξομανοῦντα καὶ ἐπικομπάζοντα βουληθεῖς ὑνειδίσαι μοχθηρὸν, δυνηθεῖς ἐντιμοσ εἶναι μὴ ἀποστραφῆς τὸν παρὰ τοῖς πολλοῖς ἔπαινον οὔτως γὰρ τὸν μακρὰ βαῖνοντα καὶ φρυαττόμενον ἀθλίου ὑποσκελείς. οὐ μὲν γε τῷ ἐπιφανεὶ καταχρῆσται πρὸς ὑβριν καὶ ἀτιμῶν ἁμειῶν ἐτέρων, αὐξῶν τοὺς χεῖρος ἐπ' αὐτοῖς. οὐ δὲ ἐμπαλιν τοῖς ἀξίοις

1 MSS. χάριτο(α)ς.
ON FLIGHT AND FINDING, 27–30

is sinking; and how sick folk, under the care of inexperienced attendants, fall into a dangerous condition of body, while those who meet with experienced attendants recover even from dangerous diseases. I need not labour the point. It is invariably the case that what is done with skill shews up and convicts what is done without it, and true praise accorded to the one is sure condemnation of the other. 

V. If, then, you desire thoroughly to expose the worthless man of wealth, do not refuse abundance of wealth. He, miserable creature, will be seen in his true colours, either with the instincts of a slave rather than a gentleman, a skinflint and a splitpenny; or on the other hand as living in a whirl of prodigality, ever ready to fling away money and to guzzle—an ever-active patron of courtesans, pimps, panders, and every licentious crew. You will contribute freely to needy friends, will make bountiful gifts to serve your country's wants, you will help parents without means to marry their daughters, and provide them with an ample dowry; you will all but throw your private property into the common stock and invite all deserving of kindness to take a share. In exactly the same way, when someone is crazy after fame and full of boastfulness, if you wish to cast reproach on the sorry fellow, do not turn your back upon popular applause if you have an opportunity of winning honour, and then, while the poor braggart strides conceitedly along, you will send him tumbling. While he will misuse his distinguished position to insult and disgrace others better than himself, and will exalt worse men above them, you on the other hand will make all worthy men sharers in the ad-
ἀπασι μεταδώσεις τῆς εὐκλείας, ἀσφάλειαν μὲν περιποιῶν τοῖς ἀγαθοῖς, βελτιῶν δὲ τοὺς χείρους
31 νουθεσία. καὶ ἐπὶ ἀκρατον μέντοι καὶ πολυτελεῖς τραπέζας ἢς, θαρρῶν ἤθι· τὸν γὰρ ἀκράτορα αὐχυνεῖς διὰ τῆς σεαυτοῦ δεξιότητος. ὁ μὲν γὰρ πεσὼν ἐπὶ γαστέρα καὶ πρὸ τοῦ στόματος τὰς ἀπλῆστοις διοίξας ἐπιθυμίας ἀκόσμως ἐμφορήσεται καὶ τὰ τοῦ πλησίον ἐπιστάσεται καὶ πάντ' ἐπιλυχμώμενος οὐκ ἐρυθριάσει· καὶ διακορής ἐδωδῆς ἐπειδὰν γένηται, χανδόν, ὡς οἱ ποιηταὶ λέγουσιν, "πίνων" γέλωτα καὶ χλεύην παρέξει τοῖς ὀρῶσι.
32 οὐ δὲ ἀνευ μὲν ἀνάγκης χρήση τοῖς μετρίοις, ἐὰν δὲ ποιμόντος ἐἰς πλειόνων ἀπόλαυσιν ἔλθεῖν, λογισμοῦν τῆς ἀνάγκης ἐπιστήσεις ἡγεμόνα τὴν ἡδονήν εἰς ἀγάδιαν οὐδέποτε ἐκτρέψεις, ἀλλ', εἰ χρὴ τὸν τρόπον εἰπεῖν τοῦτον, γνωρία καὶ θυσία
33 VI. μέμψαι' ἢν οὖν δεόντως ἡ ἀλήθεια τοῖς ἀν- [551] εξετάστως ἀπολείπουσι τᾶς ἐν τῷ πολιτικῷ βίῳ πραγματείας καὶ πορισμοὺς καὶ δόξαν καὶ ἡδονῆς καταπεφρονηκέναι λέγουσιν. ἀλαζονεύονται γὰρ, οὐ καταφρονοῦσι, τὸ ῥυπάν καὶ σκυθρωπάζειν αὐστηρῶς τε καὶ αὐχμηρῶς ἀποζην δελέατα προτιθέντες, ὡς δὴ κοσμιότητος καὶ σωφροσύνης καὶ 34 καρτερίας ἐρασταῖ. τοὺς δὲ ἀκριβεστέρους ἀπατάν οὐ δύνανται διακύπτοντας εἰςω καὶ μὴ τοῖς ἐν ἐμφανεῖ παραγομένους. ταῦτα γὰρ προκαλύμματα

α Or "good behaviour." See App. p. 583.

b Odyssey xxi. 294:

οἶνος σε τρώει μελιηδής, ὡς τε καὶ ἄλλους
βλάπτει, ὡς ἄν μὴν χανδόν ἔλη μηδ' αἰσιμα πίνῃ.
vantages of your good name, securing the position of the better kind, and improving the worse by your counsel. Again, if you go to a luxurious repast where the wine flows freely, go without hesitation; for you will put the intemperate man to shame by having yourself well in hand. He will fall upon his belly and open his insatiable appetites before he opens his mouth, cram himself in unseemly fashion, grab at his next neighbour's food, and gobble up everything without a blush; and when he is thoroughly sated with eating, he will as the poets say "drink with a yawning maw," and incur the mocking and ridicule of all who see him. But you, when there is no compulsion, will drink in moderation; and should you be forced in any case to indulge more freely, you will place the compulsion under the charge of reason, and never debase pleasure to the displeasure of others, but, if we may so speak, get soberly drunken.

VI. Truth would therefore rightly find fault with those who without full consideration give up the business and financial side of a citizen's life, and say that they have conceived a contempt for fame and pleasure. For they do not despise these things, they are practising an imposture. Their dirty bodies and gloomy faces, the rigour and squalour of their pinched life, are so many baits to lead others to regard them as lovers of orderliness and temperance and endurance. But they are unable to deceive the more sharp-sighted, who peer inside and refuse to be taken in by what meets the eye. For they thrust this back as mere screening

* For the milder sense carried by μεθυευν see Introduction to De Plant. Vol. III. p. 209, where St. John ii. 10 ὑταν μεθυσθῶσι (R.V. "have drunk freely") was quoted.
ΦΙΛΟ

οντα ἐτέρων ἀναστείλαντες, τὰ ἐναποκείμενα ἐνδον,
όποῖα ἂττα τὴν φύσιν ἐστίν, ἐθεάσαντο καὶ, εἰ μὲν
εἰς καλὰ, ἔθαύμασαν, εἰ δὲ αἰσχρά, ἔχλεύασαν καὶ
35 τῆς ὑποκρίσεως ἐμίσησαν. λέγωμεν οὖν
tοῖς τοιούτοις· τὸν ἁμίκτον καὶ ἀκοινώνητον μονό-
tροπόν τε καὶ μονωτικόν βίον ζηλοῦτε; τί γὰρ
tῶν ἐν κοινωνίᾳ καλῶν προεπεδείξασθε; ἀργυ-
ρισμὸν ἀποστρέφεσθε; γενόμενοι γὰρ χρηματισταί
δικαιοπραγεῖν ὑθελῆσατε; τῶν γαστρῶν καὶ μετὰ
γαστέρα ἡδονῶν ἐπιμορφάζοντες ἀλογεῖν, ἥνικα
τὰς εἰς ταῦτα ἀφθόνους ὠλας εἴχετε, ἐμετράσατε;
δόξης καταφρονεῖτε; γενόμενοι γὰρ ἐν τιμαῖς
ἀτυφίαν ἤσκήσατε; πολιτείαν ἐγελάσατε ὑμεῖς,
ὕσως ὁς χρῆσιμόν ἔστι τὸ πράγμα οὐ κατανοή-
36 σαντες. πρῶτον οὖν ἐγγυμνάσασθε καὶ
προεμμελετήσατε τοῖς τοῦ βίου πράγμασιν ἰδίως
tε καὶ κοινῶς καὶ γενόμενοι πολιτικοὶ τε καὶ
οἰκονομικοὶ δι’ ἄδελφῶν ἄρετῶν, οἰκονομικῆς τε,
kαὶ πολιτικῆς, κατὰ πολλὴν περιουσίαν τὴν εἰς
ἐτερον καὶ ἀμείνω βίον ἀποικίαν στείλασθε· τὸν
γὰρ πρακτικὸν τοῦ θεωρητικοῦ βίου, προάγωνα
τυν ἁγώνος τελειοτέρου, καλὸν πρῶτον διαθλῆσαι.
οὕτως τὴν ὄκνου καὶ ἀργίας κατηγορίαν ἀποδρά-
37 σεσθε. οὕτως καὶ τοῖς Λευίταις τὰ μὲν
ἔργα ἐπιτελεῖν ἀχρὶ πεντηκοσιτεῖς διείρηται,
ἀπαλλαγεῖσι δὲ τῆς πρακτικῆς υπηρεσίας σκοπεῖν

28
of quite different things, and get a view of the true nature of the things concealed within, which, if they are beautiful, they admire, but if ugly, ridicule and loathe them for their hypocrisy. To such men, then, let us say: Do you affect the life that eschews social intercourse with others, and courts solitary loneliness? Well, what proof did you ever give before this of noble social qualities? Do you renounce money-making? When engaged in business, were you determined to be just in your dealings? Would you make a show of paying no regard to the pleasures of the belly and the parts below it—say, when you had abundant material for indulging in these, did you exercise moderation? Do you despise popular esteem? Well, when you held posts of honour, did you practise simplicity? State business is an object of ridicule to you people. Perhaps you have never discovered how serviceable a thing it is. Begin, then, by getting some exercise and practice in the business of life both private and public; and when by means of the sister virtues, household-management and statesmanship, you have become masters in each domain, enter now, as more than qualified to do so, on your migration to a different and more excellent way of life. For the practical comes before the contemplative life; it is a sort of prelude to a more advanced contest; and it is well to have fought it out first. By taking this course you will avoid the imputation of shrinking from it through sheer laziness. It was on this principle too that the Levites were charged to perform their active service until the age of fifty (Numb. iv. 3 ff.), but, when released from their practical ministry, to make everything an object of
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έκαστα καὶ θεωρεῖν, τῆς ἐν τῷ πρακτικῷ βίῳ κατορθώσεως γέρας λαβόντας ἐτερον βίον, ὡς ἐπιστήμη καὶ θεωρία μόνη χαίρει.

38 καὶ ἄλλως ἀναγκαῖον, τοὺς τῶν θείων άξιούντας μεταποιεῖσθαι δικαίων τὰ ἀνθρώπεια πρότερον ἐκπληρῶσαι: πολλή γὰρ εὐθεία τῶν μειζόνων ὑπολαμβάνειν ἐφίξεσθαι ἄδυνατον περιγίνεσθαι. γνωρίσθετε οὖν πρότερον τῇ κατ' ἀνθρώπους ἁρετῇ, ἵνα καὶ τῇ πρὸς θεον συνυπαρξίᾳ.

39 VII. Τοιαύτα ύφηγείται τῷ ἀσκητικῷ ἡ ὑπομονή, τὰς λέξεις ἀκράσωτον. ἢ διὸ φησίν ὡς Ἔσαῦ ὁ ἄδελφός σου ἀπειλεῖ σοι,—καὶ ὁ δρύνος ἀμαθίας ἀπειθής τρόπος, ὅνομα Ἔσαῦ, ἐγκότως ἔχει καὶ τὰ τῆς θυντῆς ζωῆς προτείνων ἐπὶ ὀλέθρῳ δελέατα, χρήματα, δόξαν, ἡδονάς, τὰ συγγενῆ τούτων, κατὰ σοῦ φονᾶ;—“σὺ δὲ, ὁ τέκνον, ἀπόδραθι τὸν ἐν τῷ παρόντι ἀγώνα. [552] ὁ πάντως γὰρ εἰς τὸ παντελῆς ἐπίδειδωκέ σοι τὰ τῆς ρώμης, ἀλλ’ ἐτι οἶδα παιδὸς οἱ ψυχικοὶ τόνοι μαλθακῶτεροι.” διὸ καὶ τέκνον αὐτῶν προσεῖπε, τὸ δ’ ἐστὶν εὐνοίας καὶ ἡλικίας ὁνομα ἐν ταύτῃ τῶν γὰρ ἀσκητικῶν τρόπων καὶ νέον παρὰ τὸν τέλειον καὶ φιλίας ἄξιον εἶναι τίθεμεν. διὸ τοιοῦτος ἰκανός μὲν ἐστὶ τὰ προτιθέμενα παισίν ἅθλα ἀρασθαι, τὰ δὲ ἀνδράσιν οὐδέτερο δυνατός· ἀνδρῶν δὲ ἀριστον 41 ἄθλον ἡ θεοῦ μόνου θεραπεία. τοιγαροῦν ἐπειδὰν μήπω τελείως καθαρθέντες, δόξαντες δὲ αὐτὸν μόνον

1 mss. φησίν. 2 mss. τούτο.
observation and contemplation; receiving as a prize for duty well done in the active life a quite different way of life whose delight is in knowledge and study of principles alone. And apart from this, it is a vital matter that those who venture to make the claims of God their aim and study should first have fully met those of men; for it is sheer folly to suppose that you will reach the greater while you are incapable of mastering the lesser. Therefore first make yourselves familiar with virtue as exercised in our dealings with men, to the end that you may be introduced to that also which has to do with our relation to God.

VII. Such is the substance of the advice which Patience gives to the Man of Practice, but the actual words need detailed treatment. "Behold," she says, "Esau thy brother is threatening thee." Is it not the case that the character which is hard and wooden, whose ignorance makes it disobedient, the character called "Esau," nurses a grudge, and, offering the baits of this mortal life to destroy thee, money, fame, pleasures, and the like, is bent on killing thee? "But do thou, my child, flee from the present contest: for not yet has thy strength reached its full development, but, as is natural in a boy, the sinews of thy soul lack firmness." This is why she addressed him as "child," a title at the same time expressive of kindly feeling and suited to a tender age; for we regard the character of the Practiser both as young compared with the fully developed and as lovable. Such a one is quite capable of winning the prizes that are offered to boys, but is not as yet able to carry off those offered to men; and the best prize that men can obtain, is to minister to the only God. So, when we present ourselves at the courts in which we are
ἀκάματον πόνον οὐκ ἔνεγκόντες. ἀποφεύγετε οὖν ἐν τῷ παρόντι καὶ τὸ κάκιστον καὶ τὸ ἁριστόν, κάκιστον μὲν τὸ μυθικὸν πλάσμα, τὸ ἁμετρον καὶ ἐκμελέσ ποίημα, τὸ ὑπ' ἀμαθίας σκληρὸν καὶ δρύινον ὄντως νόμα καὶ πείσμα, ὄν Ἡσαῦ ἐπώνυμος, ἁριστὸν δὲ τὸ ἀνάθημα· τὸ γὰρ θεραπευτικὸν γένος ἀνάθημα ἐστι θεοῦ, ιερόμενον τὴν μεγάλην ἀρχιερωσύνην αὐτῷ μόνῳ. τὸ μὲν γὰρ συνδιατρίβειν κακῷ βλαβερώτατον, τὸ δὲ ἁγαθῷ τελείῳ σφαλερώτατον. ὁ γοῦν Ιακωβ καὶ τὸν Ἡσαῦ ἀποδιδόσκει καὶ τῶν γονέων διοικεῖ· ἀσκητικὸς γὰρ ὄν καὶ ἕτε διαθλῶν φεύγει μὲν κακίαν, ἀρετὴ δὲ τελείᾳ καὶ αὐτομαθεί συζήν ἄδυνατει. VIII. διόπερ ἀποδημήσει πρὸς Λάβαν, οὐ τὸν Σύρων, ἀλλὰ τὸν ἀδελφὸν τῆς μητρός, τὸ δὲ ἐστὶν εἰς τὰς τοῦ βίου λαμπρότητας ἀφίκεται· λευκὸς γὰρ ἔμμηνεσταν Λάβαν. ἀφικόμενος δὲ οὖν ὑψαυχήσει, φυσώμενος ταῖς τυχηραῖς εὐπραγίαις· μεταληθεῖσα γὰρ ὁ Σύρος ἐστὶ μετέωρος. νυνὶ δὲ τοῦ Σύρου Λάβαν οὖχι μέμνηται, τοῦ δὲ Ρεβέκκας ἀδελφοῦ. αἱ γὰρ κατὰ τὸν βίον ἄλλα φαινόμενον παραδοθεῖσαι μετέωρον ἐξαίρουσι τὸν κενὸν φρονήσεως νοῦν, ὡστε ἰδιομαστὶ Σύρος, ἑραστὴ δὲ παιδείας ἐπιμένοντι τοῖς καλοκαγαθίασις

1 MSS. ἀρέσκειαν.

*Cf. De Cong. 61, 62 and note.*
to minister not yet thoroughly purified, but having just washed off, as we think, the spots which smirch our life, we hurry away from that ministry more quickly than we came to it, not brooking its severe way of living, and the unsleeping observance and the continuous and unflagging toil which it demands.

Flee, then, at present both that which is worst, and that which is best. Worst is the fabulous fiction,\(^a\) the poem without metre or melody, the conception and persuasion\(^b\) which ignorance has rendered hard and wooden in very deed. From this Esau derives his name. Best is the dedicated offering; for the ministering kind is a sacred offering to God, consecrated for the great high priesthood to Him alone. To spend one’s days with evil is most hurtful: to do so with perfect goodness most dangerous. So Jacob both flees from Esau and moves away from his parents; for being bent on practice and still engaged in a contest, he flies from evil, but is incapable of sharing the life of perfect virtue that learns untaught.

VIII. Consequently he will go abroad to Laban, not the Syrian, but his mother’s brother. This means that he will arrive amid the splendours of life, for “Laban” signifies “bright.” And when he has arrived, he will not be elated by his good fortune and have a lofty mien; for, though “aloft” is the translation of “Syrian,” there is no mention here of the Syrian Laban, but only of the brother of Rebecca. For the ways and means of life placed at the disposal of a worthless man carry his mind up into the height, empty as it is of sound sense, and such a mind is called “Syrian,” but for the man enamoured of discipline, steadfastly and firmly persisting in the prin-

\(^a\) Or perhaps “confidence.” See App. p. 583.
σταθερῶς καὶ παγίως δόγμασιν · · · 1 οὗτός ἐστιν ὁ Ὀρέβεκκας ἀδελφός, τῆς ἐπιμονῆς· οίκεί δὲ τὴν Χαρράν, ἢ μεταληφθείσα εἰσὶ τρώγλαι, σύμβολον τῶν αἰσθήσεων· ὁ γὰρ ἔτι χορεύων ἐν τῷ θνητῷ βίῳ χρείος τῶν αἰσθήσεων ὄργανον ἐστίν.

46 "οὐκήσον" οὖν φησών " ὃ τέκνον, μετ' αὐτοῦ" μὴ τὸν ἀπαντά τιώνα, ἄλλ' " ἡμέρας τινάς," τούτο  

[553] δ' ἐστὶ τὴν τῶν αἰσθήσεων | χωραν κατάμαθε, γνώθι σαυτόν καὶ τὰ σαυτοῦ μέρη, τί τε ἐκαστὸν καὶ πρὸς τί γέγονε καὶ πῶς ἐνέργειν πέφυκε καὶ τίς ὁ τὰ θαυμάτα κινῶν καὶ νευροπαστῶν ἀόρατος ἀοράτως εὗτε ὁ ἐν σοι νοῦς εὗτε ὁ τῶν συμπάντων.

47 ἐπειδὰν δὲ σαυτὸν ἐξετάσῃς, καὶ τὰ ἱδια τοῦ Λάβαν ἀκρίβωσον, τὰς τῆς κενῆς δόξης λαμπρὰς νομίζουμενα εὐπραγίαις, ὧν ὁ ἡμείμας ἄλως, τάσας δ' οία ἄγαθος δημιουργὸς τεχνικῶς ταῖς οἰκείαις ἐφαρμοσον χρείαις. ἐάν γὰρ ἐπιδείξῃ γενόμενος ἐν τῷ πολιτικῷ καὶ πεφυρμένῳ τούτῳ βίῳ σταθερὸν καὶ εὐπαίδευτον ἔθος, μεταπέμφομαί σε ἐκεῖθεν, ἵνα τύχης οὔπερ καὶ οἱ σοὶ γονεῖς ἄθλον· τὸ δ' ἄθλον ἐστιν ἡ ἀκλίνης καὶ ἀνένδοτος 3 τοῦ μόνου θεραπεία σοφοῦ.

48 IX. Τὰ δ' ὁμοία καὶ ὁ πατὴρ ὑφηγεῖται, μικρὰ προσθεῖς· λέγει γὰρ· " ἀναστὰς ἀπόδραθι εἰς τὴν Μεσοποταμίαν εἰς τὸν οἶκον Βαθοῦν, τοῦ πατρὸς τῆς μητρός σου, καὶ λάβε ἐκεῖθεν σαυτῷ γυναῖκα ἐκ τῶν θυγατέρων Λάβαν τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ τῆς μητρός σου." πάλιν καὶ οὕτως οὖν Σύρον εἶπε τὸν Λάβαν, ἀλλὰ Ὀρέβεκκας ἀδελφόν, μέλλοντα κατ' ἐπιγαμίαν

1 For the lacuna real or supposed see App. p. 583.
2 Mangey τῶν <ὁπῶν τῶν> αἰσθήσεων; cf. De Mig. 188.
3 mss. ἀνενδο(ῦ)αστος.
ciples of nobility of character . . . this is the brother of Rebecca, or "Persistence"; and he dwells in "Haran," which in our language is "cavities," a symbol of the senses; for the man who is still moving upon the stage of this mortal life cannot dispense with the organs of sense. This mother therefore says, "child, make thine abode with him," not for ever, but "for a few days" (Gen. xxvii. 44). This means "Learn well the country of the senses; know thyself, and the parts of which thou dost consist, what each is, and for what it was made, and how it is meant to work, and who it is that, all invisible, invisibly sets the puppets\(^a\) in motion and pulls their strings, whether it be the Mind that is in thee or the Mind of the Universe. And when thou hast examined thyself, make too a precise scrutiny of all that is peculiar to Laban, even the triumphs of vainglory which are accounted so brilliant. Be not caught by any of these, but, like a good craftsman, skilfully adapt them all to thine own requirements. For if, when placed in this turbid scene of state and city life, thou shalt have displayed a steadfast and well-disciplined character, I will fetch thee thence (Gen. xxvii. 45), that thou mayest obtain the very prize obtained by thy parents: and the prize is the unfaltering and untiring ministry to the only wise Being."

IX. Similar instructions are given him by his father, with slight additions; for he says, "Rise up and flee away into Mesopotamia, to the house of Bethuel thy mother's father, and take to thee thence a wife from the daughters of Laban thy mother's brother" (Gen. xxviii. 2). Notice here again how he too, when speaking of Laban as intended to become a con-

\(^a\) Cf. De Op. 117.
τῷ ἀσκητῇ κήδος συνάπτειν. "ἀπόδραθι οὖν εἰς τὴν Μεσοποταμίαν," τούτεστι τῶν μέσων τοῦ χειμάρρου ποταμῶν τοῦ βίου, καὶ μη ἐπικλυσθεῖς ἐγκαταποθῆς, στηριχθεῖς δὲ βιαιοτάτην ἀνωθεν καὶ ἐκατέρωθεν καὶ πανταχόθεν ἐπικυματίζουσαν φορὰν τῶν πραγμάτων σθεναρώς ἀπώθει. τὸν γὰρ σοφίας οἴκον εὐδιόν καὶ γαληνὸν λιμένα εὐρήσεις, ὃς ἐνορμιζόμενον σε ῥάδιως ὑποδέξεται· σοφίας δὲ ὄνομα Βαθουήλ ἐν χρησμοῖς ἔδει, τοῦτο δὲ μεταληψάνθηθαν θυγάτηρ θεοῦ προσαγορεύεται, καὶ γνησία γε θυγάτηρ καὶ αἰειπάρθενος, ἀψωμοῦ καὶ ἀμιάντου φύσεως ἐπιλαχοῦσα διὰ τῇ εαυτῆς κοσμιότητα καὶ διὰ τὸ ἄξωμα τοῦ γεννήσαντος. πατέρα δὲ τῆς Ἡρεβέκκας Βαθουήλ ἐίπε. καὶ πῶς ἡ γε θυγάτηρ τοῦ θεοῦ, σοφία, λέγοιτ᾿ ἂν ἐνδίκως εἶναι πατήρ; ἡ διότι ὄνομα μὲν θήλυ σοφίας ἐστίν, ἀρρεν ἀρρεν δὲ ἡ φύσις; καὶ γὰρ αἱ ἀρέταὶ πᾶσαι προσρήσεις μὲν ἔχουσι γυναικῶν, δυνάμεις δὲ καὶ πράξεις ἀνδρῶν τελειοτάτων· ἐπειδὴ τὸ μετὰ τὸν θεόν, καὶ ἐν τῶν ἄλλων ἀπάντων πρεσβύτατον εἰς, δευτέραν ἔχουσα χώραν θηλυ ὡς ἂν παρὰ ἀρρεν τὸ ἔλεγξικατὰ τὴν πρὸς τὰλλα ὑμοιόμορφη ἀεὶ γὰρ προνομίας καὶ τὴν αὐτής καὶ ὑστερίζει τὸ θηλυ. λέγωμεν οὖν μηδὲν τῆς ἐν τοῖς ὂνομασί διαφορᾶς φροντίσαντες τὴν θυγατέρα τοῦ θεοῦ σοφίαν ἀρρενά τε καὶ πατέρα ἔστατα καὶ γεννώντα ἐν ψυχαῖς μάθησιν, παιδείαν, ἐπιστήμην, φρόνησιν,
nexion by marriage with the Practiser, called him not "Syrian" but "brother of Rebecca." "Flee away," he says, "into Mesopotamia," into the midst, that is, of the torrent of life’s river, and take care that thou be not overwhelmed by it and drowned, but set thyself firmly, and beat back with vigour the current of affairs as it comes dashing upon thee with utmost violence, from above and from either side and from all directions. For thou shalt find the house of wisdom a calm and fair haven, which will welcome thee kindly as thou comest to thy moorings in it; and it is wisdom’s name that the holy oracles proclaim by "Bethuel," a name meaning in our speech "Daughter of God"; yea, a true-born and ever-virgin daughter, who, by reason alike of her own modesty and of the glory of Him that begot her, hath obtained a nature free from every defiling touch.

He called Bethuel Rebecca’s father. How, pray, can Wisdom, the daughter of God, be rightly spoken of as a father? Is it because, while Wisdom’s name is feminine, her nature is manly? As indeed all the virtues have women’s titles, but powers and activities of consummate men. For that which comes after God, even though it were chiefest of all other things, occupies a second place, and therefore was termed feminine to express its contrast with the Maker of the Universe who is masculine, and its affinity to everything else. For pre-eminence always pertains to the masculine, and the feminine always comes short of and is lesser than it.

Let us, then, pay no heed to the discrepancy in the gender of the words, and say that the daughter of God, even Wisdom, is not only masculine but father, sowing and begetting in souls aptness to learn, dis-
καλὰς καὶ ἐπανετῶς πράξεις. ἐνθένδε ὁ ἀσκητὴς

[554] Ἰακώβ μνάται γάμον ἑαυτῷ πόθεν γὰρ ἂλλοθεν ἢ ἐκ τοῦ σοφίας οἶκου κοινωνῶν εὑρήσει γνώμην ἀνεπίληπτων, ἢ πάντα συνδιατρίψει τὸν αἰῶνα;

53 Χ. Δελάληκε δ' ἀκριβεστερον περὶ φυγῆς, ἣνικα τὸν ἔπι τοῖς ἀνδροφόνοις ἐτίθει νόμον, ἐν οὔ παντ' ἐπεξῆλθε τὰ εἶδη, τὸ ἐκουσίου φόνου, τὸ ἀκουσίου, τὸ ἐπιθέσεως τε καὶ βουλήσεως. λέγε τὸν νόμον: “ἐὰν πατάξῃ τῆς τινα καὶ ἀποθάνῃ, θανάτῳ θανατοῦσθω. ὁ δὲ οὐχ ἐκών, ἀλλ' ὁ θεὸς παρέδωκεν αὐτὸν εἰς τὰς χεῖρας αὐτοῦ, δῶσοι σοι τόπον, οὐ φεύξεται ὁ φονεύσας. εὰν δὲ τις ἐπιθῆται τῷ πλησίον ἀποκτέναι αὐτὸν δόλῳ καὶ καταφύγῃ, ἀπὸ τοῦ θυσιαστηρίου λήψῃ αὐτὸν θανατῶσαι.”

54 σαφῶς εἰδὼς, ὅτι περιττὸν ὄνομα οὐδὲν τίθησιν ὑπὸ τῆς τοῦ πραγματολογεῖν ἀμύθητου φορᾶς, ἢπόρουν κατ' ἐμαυτόν, διὰ τὸ τὸν ἐκουσίως κτείναντα οὐκ εἶπε θανατοῦσθαι μόνον, ἀλλὰ θανάτῳ τοναυτοῦσθαι τίνα γὰρ ἄλλω ὁ ἀποθνήσκων ἡ θανατῶ τελευτᾷ; φοιτήσαν πάντα γυναῖκα σόφην, ἢ σκέψις ὄνομα, τοῦ ζητεῖν ἀπηλλάγην ἐδίδαξε γὰρ με, ὅτι καὶ ἱωντες ἐνοί τεθνηκασι καὶ τεθνηκότες ζῶσι. τοὺς μὲν γε φαύλους ἀχρί γῆς ὡστάτου παρατείνοντας νεκροὺς ἑλεγεν εἰναὶ τὸν μετ' ἀρετῆς βίον ἀφήγημενος, τοὺς δὲ ἀστείους, καὶ τῆς πρὸς σῶμα κοινωνίας διαζευχώσι, ζῆν εἰσαεί, ἀθανάτου μοίρας ἐπιλαχόντας.

1 mss. τὸ ἐπιθέσεως, τὸ βουλήσεως, but see § 78, where assault and premeditation form a single head.

— So Mangey; Wendland places the comma before υπό, perhaps taking it “through my perpetual tendency to argue I began” etc. See on De Som. i. 230.
cipline, knowledge, sound sense, good and laudable actions. It is from this household that Jacob the Practiser seeks to win a bride. To what other place than to the house of wisdom shall he go to find a partner, a faultless judgement, with whom to spend his days for ever?

X. The lawgiver has spoken in greater detail on the subject of flight when laying down the law respecting manslayers, in which he goes into all the different forms, that of intentional slaying, that of unintentional, that of deliberate assault. Read the Law: “If a man smite another and he die, let him die the death. But he that did not intend it, but God delivered him into his hands, I will give thee a place to which the slayer shall flee. And if a man attack his neighbour to slay him by guile and he take refuge, from the altar shalt thou take him to put him to death” (Exod. xxi. 12-14).

Well knowing that he never puts in a superfluous word, so vast is his a desire to speak plainly and clearly, I began debating with myself why he said that the intentional slayer is not to be put to death only but “by death to be put to death.” “In what other way,” I asked myself, “does a man who dies come to his end save by death?” So I attended the lectures of a wise woman, whose name is “Consideration,” and was rid of my questioning; for she taught me that some people are dead while living, and some alive while dead. She told me that bad people, prolonging their days to extreme old age, are dead men, deprived of the life in association with virtue, while good people, even if cut off from their partnership with the body, live for ever, and are granted immortality.

XI. She confirmed what
56 XI. ἐπιστοϋτο μέντοι καὶ χρησμοὶ τὸν έαυτής λόγον, ενὶ μὲν τούφδε· "οἱ προσκείμενοι κυρίῳ τῷ θεῷ, ζήτε πάντες ἐν τῇ σήμερον"· τοὺς γὰρ πρόσ-φυγας καὶ έκέτας τοῦ θεοῦ μόνους ζώντας οἶδε, νεκροὺς δὲ τοὺς ἀλλους· ἐκεῖνος δ', ὥς έοικε, καὶ ἀφθαρσίαν μαρτυρεῖ διὰ τοῦ προσθείναι "ζήτε ἐν τῇ σήμερον." σήμερον δ' ἐστὶν ὁ ἀπέρατος1 καὶ άδιεξήτητος οператорίνην γὰρ καὶ ἐναυτῶν καὶ συνόλως χρόνων περίοδοι δόγματα ἀνθρώπων εἰσὶν ἀριθμὸν ἐκτετμηκότων· τὸ δ' ἀμβευθὲς οἴνομα αἰῶνος ή σήμερον. ήλιος γὰρ οὐκ ἀλλαττόμενος ο αὐτός ἐστιν αἰεί, ποτὲ μὲν ὑπὲρ γῆς ποτὲ δὲ ἐπὶ γῆν ἰών, παρ' ὅν ήμερα καὶ νύξ, τα αἰῶνοι μέτρα, διεκριθησαν· ἐτέρῳ δ' ἐπιστοϋτο τούφδε χρησμῷ· "идον δέδωκα πρὸ προσώπου σου τὴν ζωὴν καὶ τὸν θάνατον, τὸ ἀγαθὸν καὶ τὸ κακὸν"—οὐκοδί, ὃ πάνσοφε, τὸ μὲν ἀγαθὸν καὶ ή ἀρετή ἐστιν ή ζωή, τὸ δὲ κακὸν καὶ ή κακία ή θάνατος· καὶ ἐν ἐτέροις· "αὕτη ή ζωή σου καὶ ή μακρότης τῶν ήμερῶν, ἀγαπᾶν κύριον τὸν θεόν σου." ὅροις ἀθανάτου βίου κάλλιστος οὐτος, ἔρωτι καὶ φιλία θεου άσάρκω καὶ άσωμάτω κατεσχήσθαι.

57 XI. ἐπιστοϋτο μέντοι καὶ χρησμοὶ τὸν έαυτής λόγον, ενὶ μὲν τούφδε· "οἱ προσκείμενοι κυρίῳ τῷ θεῷ, ζήτε πάντες ἐν τῇ σήμερον"· τοὺς γὰρ πρόσ-φυγας καὶ έκέτας τοῦ θεοῦ μόνους ζώντας οἶδε, νεκροὺς δὲ τοὺς ἀλλους· ἐκεῖνος δ', ὥς έοικε, καὶ ἀφθαρσίαν μαρτυρεῖ διὰ τοῦ προσθείναι "ζήτε ἐν τῇ σήμερον." σήμερον δ' ἐστὶν ὁ ἀπέρατος1 καὶ άδιεξήτητος οператорίνην γὰρ καὶ ἐναυτῶν καὶ συνόλως χρόνων περίοδοι δόγματα ἀνθρώπων εἰσὶν ἀριθμὸν ἐκτετμηκότων· τὸ δ' ἀμβευθὲς οἴνομα αἰῶνος ή σήμερον. ήλιος γὰρ οὐκ ἀλλαττόμενος ο αὐτός ἐστιν αἰεί, ποτὲ μὲν ὑπὲρ γῆς ποτὲ δὲ ἐπὶ γῆν ἰών, παρ’ ὅν ήμερα καὶ νύξ, τα αἰῶνοι μέτρα, διεκριθησαν· ἐτέρῳ δ' ἐπιστοϋτο τούφδε χρησμῷ· "идον δέδωκα πρὸ προσώπου σου τὴν ζωὴν καὶ τὸν θάνατον, τὸ ἀγαθὸν καὶ τὸ κακὸν"—οὐκοδί, ὃ πάνσοφε, τὸ μὲν ἀγαθὸν καὶ ή ἀρετή ἐστιν ή ζωή, τὸ δὲ κακὸν καὶ ή κακία ή θάνατος· καὶ ἐν ἐτέροις· "αὕτη ή ζωή σου καὶ ή μακρότης τῶν ήμερῶν, ἀγαπᾶν κύριον τὸν θεόν σου." ὅροις ἀθανάτου βίου κάλλιστος οὐτος, ἔρωτι καὶ φιλία θεου άσάρκω καὶ άσωμάτω κατεσχήσθαι.

58 θησαν·

59 Οὕτως | οἱ μὲν ἱερεῖς Ναδὰβ καὶ Άβιουδ, ἵνα

1 Perhaps ἀπέρατος. See note on Quis Rerum 212.

a Or "eternity," but there is not here that opposition between time and eternity which we sometimes have in Philo, e.g. Quod Deus 32. Perhaps "the ages" is the best English equivalent.

b The thought is not very clear. Perhaps "the sun measures time by its presence and absence. Thus it is always some day and therefore at each moment 'to-day.'"
she said by holy oracles also, one of them to this effect: “Ye that did cleave unto the Lord your God are alive all of you at this day” (Deut. iv. 4). For only those who have taken refuge in God and become His suppliants does Moses recognize as living, accounting the rest to be dead men. Indeed he evidently ascribes immortality to the former by adding “ye are alive ‘to-day.’” Now “to-day” is the limitless age that never comes to an end; for periods of months and years, and of lengths of time generally, are notions of men arising from the high importance which they have attached to number. But the absolutely correct name for “endless age” is “to-day.” For the sun never changes, but is always the same, going now above, now below, the earth; and through it day and night, the measures of endless age, are distinguished. Another oracle by which she verified her statement was this: “Behold, I have given before thy face life and death, good and evil” (Deut. xxx. 15). Accordingly, thou wisest of teachers, goodness and virtue is life, evil and wickedness is death. Again, elsewhere: “This is thy life and length of days, to love the Lord thy God” (Deut. xxx. 20). This is a most noble definition of deathless life, to be possessed by a love of God and a friendship for God with which flesh and body have no concern.

It is thus that the priests Nadab and Abihu die It might be given more clearly by translating in a different order; “For the sun, though its course is sometimes above sometimes below the earth, and thus creates the distinction between daytime and night-time, which serves as a measure of the ages, is always the same sun.” Perhaps read $\pi\alpha\rho\nu$ for $\pi\alpha\rho\nu\,\delta$. The same thought appears in Leg. All. iii. 25.

Cf. Leg. All. ii. 58, Quis Rerum 309.
PHILO

ζήσωσιν, ἀποθνῄσκουσιν θυμήσῃ ἑως ἀφθαρτὸν ἀντικαταλλαττόμενοι βίον καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ γενομένου πρὸς τὸ ἀγέννητον μετανιστάμενοι· ἐφ᾽ ὃν ἡ σύμβολα τῆς ἀφθαρσίας ἀδεται, ὥστε ἐτελεύτησαν ἐνώπιον κυρίου, τούτεστιν ἐξήσαν νεκρὸν γὰρ οὐ θέμις εἰς ὃψιν ἔλθεῖν τοῦ θεοῦ. καὶ πάλιν "τοῦτο ἐστὶν ὃ εἰπεν κύριος· 'ἐν τοῖς ἐγγίζουσι μοι ἀγιασθήσομαι," "νεκρὸν δὲ," ὡς καὶ ἐν ὑμνοι λέγεται, "οὐκ αἰνέσουσιν κύριον". ἵπτων γὰρ τὸ ἐργον. 60

Κάιν δὲ ὁ ἐναγής καὶ ἀδελφοκτόνος οὐδαμοῦ τῆς νομοθεσίας ἀποθνῄσκων εὑρίσκεται, ἀλλὰ καὶ λόγιον ἐστὶν ἐπὶ αὐτῷ χρησθέν τοιοῦτον· "ἐθετο κύριος ὁ θεὸς τῷ Κάιν σημεῖον, τῷ μὴ ἀνελεῖν αὐτὸν πάντα τοῦ εὑρίσκοντα." διὰ τί; ὅτι, οἶμαι, ἡ ἁσέβεια κακὸν ἐστὶν ἀτελεύτητον, ἐξαπτόμενον καὶ μηδέποτε οὐ βλέπον ἄναλητον διαφέρουσι πράγμασι διαφέρουσι, οὐρανόν μὲν ἀγαθά, τὰ δὲ περίγεια κακῶ. τὸ μὲν οὐν ἀγαθὸν ἀνώφοιτον ἐστιν,

1 MSS. ἵ. 2 MSS. ὅτε (τότε). 3 MSS. μηδέποι.

a In E.V. Ps. cxv. 17.

b The real meaning of the text no doubt is "He set a sign upon Cain, in order that no one should kill him." But the fuller discussion of the text in Quod Det. 177 shows that Philo, with little respect for grammar, takes it as in the translation, viz. that the distinctive mark of the Cain-soul is that it can never be killed.
in order that they may live, receiving an incorruptible life in exchange for mortal existence, and being translated from the created to the uncreate. Over them a proclamation is uttered betokening immortality, "They died before the Lord" (Lev. x. 2), that is "They came to life," for a corpse may not come into God's presence. And again, "This is that which the Lord hath said, 'I will be sanctified in them that draw nigh unto me'" (Lev. x. 3), "But dead men," as we hear in the Psalms, "shall not praise the Lord" (Psalm cxiii. 25): for that is the work of living men. On the other hand, of Cain the accursed fratricide's death no mention is found anywhere in the Books of the Law—nay, there is an oracle uttered concerning him which says, "The Lord God set a sign on Cain, even this, that no man that found him should kill him" (Gen. iv. 15). Why so? Because, I suppose, impiety is an evil that cannot come to an end, being ever set alight and never able to be quenched, so that we may fitly apply to wickedness the poet's words:

No mortal is she, but a deathless ill.

It is in life as we know it that it is "deathless," for in relation to the life in God it is a lifeless corpse, "more utter refuse than dung," as one has said. XII. Now, it was quite fitting that different regions should be allotted to different things, heaven to a good thing, the earthly parts to an evil thing. That which is good is a thing upward-soaring; and should

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"Odyssey" xii. 118.

*Heracleitus.* The phrase νέκυες κοπρίων ἐκβλητότεροι is quoted as from him by several writers. See Bywater, *Heracliti Ephesii reliquiae* 85.
κἂν εἴ ποτε ἐλθοι πρὸς ἡμᾶς—φιλόδωρος γὰρ ὁ πατὴρ αὐτοῦ,—σπουδάζει παλαιοδομῆσαι δικαῖως· τὸ δὲ κἂκὼν ἐνταυθὸς καταμένει, πορρωτάτῳ θείῳ χορῷ διωκισμένον, περιπολοῦν τὸν θνητὸν βίον καὶ μὴ δυνάμενον ἐκ τοῦ ἀνθρωπίνου γένους

63 ἀποθανεῖν. τούτῳ τίς καὶ τῶν ἐπὶ σοφίᾳ θαυμασθέντων ἀνὴρ δόκιμος ἐφώνησε μεγαλειότερον ἐν Θεατήτῳ φάσκων. "ἀλλ' οὔτ' ἀπολέσθαι τὰ κακὰ δυνατὸν—ὑπεναντίον γάρ τι τῷ ἁγαθῷ οἱ εἰναι ἀνάγκη—οὔτε ἐν θεοῖς ἁυτὰ ἱδρύσθαι, τὴν δὲ θυσίαν φύσιν καὶ τόν όλον τὸν τόπον περιπολεῖ. διὸ καὶ πειράσθαι χρὴ ἑνδέβενο ἐκείσε φεύγειν ὅτι τάχυστα. φυγῇ δὲ ὁμοίωσις θεῷ κατὰ τὸ δυνατὸν ὁμοίωσις δὲ δίκαιον καὶ δικαιοντι καὶ ὅσιον μετὰ φρονήσεως

64 γενέσθαι." εἰκότως οὖν ὁ Καίν οὐκ ἀποθανεῖται, τὸ κἂκιας σύμβολον, ἢν ἀεὶ δεῖ ζῆν ἐν τῷ θνητῷ γένει παρ' ἀνθρώπωις. ὥστε οὔκ ἀπὸ σκοποῦ τὸ "θανάτῳ θανατοῦσθαι" λέλεκται τὸν ἀνδροφόνον διὰ τὰς δεδηλωμένας αἰτίας.

65 XIII. Τὸ δὲ "οὐχ ἱκών, ἀλλ' ὁ θεὸς παρέδωκεν" ἐπὶ τῶν τὸν ἀκούσιον φόνον δρώντων πάνω καλῶς εἰρητεῖ. δοκεῖ γὰρ αὐτῷ τὰ μὲν ἐκούσια γνώμης τῆς ἡμετέρας ἑργα εἶναι, τὰ δὲ ἁκούσια θεοῦ λέγω δὲ οὐ τὰ ἀμαρτήματα, ἀλλὰ τούνιστιν ὡσα

1 So Plato: mss. γὰρ τῷ θεῷ.
2 So Plato: mss. θείοις, which Wendland retains. Philo may have deliberately wished to avoid the thought of "gods."
3 So Plato: mss. περιπολεῖν, which Wendland retains.
4 Wendland puts a colon before ὅστε. But the following clause does not belong to the Cain meditation, which is a digression, but refers to the whole argument begun in § 54 and broken off in § 60.

a See App. pp. 583 f.
it ever come to us, in the bounty of its Father, it hastens, as is meet and right, to retrace its steps; but that which is evil stays here, removed as far as possible from the Divine Company, making our mortal life its haunt, and incapable of quitting the human race by dying. This truth found noble utterance in the Theaetetus, where a man highly esteemed, one of those admired for their wisdom, says: "Evils can never pass away; for there must always remain something which is antagonistic to good. Having no place among the gods in heaven, of necessity they hover around the mortal nature and this earthly sphere. Wherefore we ought to fly away from earth to heaven as quickly as we can; and to fly away is to become like God, as far as this is possible; and to become like Him is to become holy, just, and wise." Naturally, therefore, Cain will not die, being the symbol of wickedness, which must of necessity ever live among men in the race that is mortal.

There is, then, for the reasons that have been pointed out, definite point in the direction that the manslayer "be put by death to death."

XIII. The words, "not intentionally, but God delivered him into his hands," are admirably employed of those who commit an unintentional homicide. The writer feels that intentional acts are acts of our own determination, and that unintentional acts are God's acts: I mean not the sins, but, on the contrary, all acts that are a punishment for sins.

b Theaetetus 176 A, B (Jowett's translation).

c i.e. Philo distinguishes between the ordinary sense of ἀκούσια meaning our involuntary and unavoidable slips and that in which it indicates the acts in which we are unconsciously God's ministers. In § 76 he seems to drop this distinction.
κολάζειν δέ <δι'> υπηρετούντων ἐτέρων, οὐ δι' ἑαυτοῦ. τὰς μὲν γὰρ χάριτας καὶ δωρεὰς καὶ εὐεργεσίας αὐτῶν ἀρμόττει προτείνειν ἀτε ἀγαθὸν καὶ φιλόδωρον ὃντα φύσει, τὰς δὲ τιμωρίας οὐκ ἀνευ μὲν ἐπικελεύσεως τῆς ἑαυτοῦ βασιλέως ἀτε υπάρχοντος, δι' ἄλλων δὲ, οἱ πρὸς τοιαῦτας χρέας εὐτρεπεῖσ εἰσιν.

διὰ τοῦτ', οἷμαι, καὶ ἦν ικα τὰ τῆς κοσμοποιίας ἐφιλοσόφει, πάντα τἀλλα εἰπὼν ὑπὸ θεοῦ γενέσθαι μόνον τὸν ἀνθρωπὸν ὡς ἄν μετὰ συνεργῶν ἐτέρων ἐδήλωσε διαπλασθέντα. " εἴπε" γάρ φησιν "ο θεὸς· ποιῆσομεν ἀνθρωπὸν κατ' εἰκόνα ἡμετέραν," πλῆθος διὰ τοῦ "ποιῆσομεν”

διαλέγεται μὲν οὖν ὁ τῶν ὅλων πατὴρ ταῖς ἑαυτοῦ δυνάμεσιν, αἷς τὸ θνητὸν ἡμῶν τῆς ψυχῆς μέρος ἐδωκε διαπλάττει τῆς αὐτοῦ τέχνην, ἦν ημὸν ἐμόρφου, δικαιών ὑπὸ μὲν ἡγεμόνως τὸ ἡγεμονεῖόν ἐν ψυχῇ, τὸ δ' ὑπήκουν πρὸς ὑπηκόων δημοφιλεῖσθαι. κατεχρήσατο <δὲ> καὶ ταῖς μεθ' ἑαυτοῦ δυνάμεσιν οὐ διὰ τὸ λεχθὲν μόνον, ἄλλῳ ὧτι ἐμελλεν

1 MSS. κολάζειν, which perhaps might be retained. To understand ἐμπρεπὲς from ἀπρεπὲς might be paralleled in Philo.
ON FLIGHT AND FINDING, 66–70

For it is unbecoming to God to punish, seeing that He is the original and perfect Lawgiver: He punishes not by His own hands but by those of others who act as His ministers. Boons, gifts, benefits it is fitting that He should extend, since He is by nature good and bountiful, but punishments by the agency of others who are ready to perform such services, though not without his command given in virtue of his sovereignty.

The Practiser testifies to what I say in the words, "God who nourishes me from youth, the Angel who delivers me out of all my evils" (Gen. xlviii. 15 f.). He ascribes to God the more important good things, by which the soul is nourished, and the less important, which come about by escape from sins, to God's minister.a

It is for this reason, I imagine, that Moses, when treating in his lessons of wisdom of the Creation of the world, after having said of all other things that they were made by God, described man alone as having been fashioned with the co-operation of others. His words are: "God said, let us make man after our image" (Gen. i. 26), "let us make" indicating more than one.b So the Father of all things is holding parley with His powers, whom He allowed to fashion the mortal portion of our soul by imitating the skill shewn by Him when He was forming that in us which is rational, since He deemed it right that by the Sovereign should be wrought the sovereign faculty in the soul, the subject part being wrought by subjects. And He employed the powers that are associated with Him not only for the reason mentioned, but because, alone among created

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a Cf. Leg. All. iii. 177, De Conf. 181.
b Cf. De Conf. 169.
η ἀνθρώπου ψυχή μόνη κακῶν καὶ ἀγαθῶν ἐννοιας λαμβάνειν καὶ χρήσθαι ταῖς ἐτέραις, εἰ μὴ δυνατὸν ἀμφοτέρας. ἀναγκαῖον οὖν ἡγέσατο τὴν κακῶν γένεσιν ἐτέροις ἀπονεῖμαι δημουργοῖς, τὴν δὲ τῶν ἀγαθῶν εαυτῶ μόνω.

XIV. διὸ καὶ λεχθέντος πρότερον “ποιῆσωμεν ἄνθρωπον” ὅσ ἤν ἐπὶ πλῆθος, ἐπιφέρεται τὸ ὅσ ἤν ἐφ’ ἐνὸς· “ἐποίησεν ο θεὸς τὸν ἄνθρωπον.” τοῦ μὲν γὰρ πρὸς ἀλήθειαν ἀνθρώπον, ὅς δὲ νοῦς ἐστὶ καθαρῶτατος, εἰς ὁ μόνος θεὸς δημουργός, τοῦ δὲ λεγομένου καὶ κεκραμένου μετ’ αἰσθήσεως τὸ πλῆθος.

72 οὐ χάρων δὲ μὲν κατ’ ἐξοχὴν ἀνθρωπος συν τῷ ἀρθρῳ μεμήνυται—λέγεται γάρ· “ἐποίησεν ο θεὸς τὸν ἄνθρωπον,” τὸν ἀειδὴ καὶ ἀκρατὸν εκεῖνον λογισμόν,—ό δὲ ἀνευ τῆς τοῦθεν προσθήκης· τὸ γὰρ “ποιῆσωμεν ἄνθρωπον” ἐμφαίνει τὸν ἐξ ἀλόγου καὶ λογικῆς συνυφανθέντα φύσεως.

73 ἐπόμενος τούτως τὸ τε εὐλογεῖν τοὺς ἀγαθοὺς καὶ τὸ καταράσθαι τοὺς ὑπαιτίους ἀνέθηκεν οὐχὶ τοῖς αὐτοῖς, καίτοι γε ἀμφοτέρων ἑχόντων ἐπαίνων, ἀλλ’ ἐπειδὴ τὸ μὲν εὐλογεῖν τοὺς ἄξιοις ἠγεμονιάν ἔχει τὴν ἐν ἐγκωμίων, τὸ δ’ ἀρὰς τοῖς φαύλοις τίθεσθαι δευτέραν τάξιν, τῶν ἐπὶ ταῦτα χειρο-

[557]ηθέντων— | εἰσὶ δὲ οἱ τοῦ γένους ἄρχηγεται δώδεκα ἀριθμῷ, φυλάρχας αὐτοὺς ὄνομάζειν ἔθος—ἐξ μὲν τοὺς ἀμείνους ἔταξεν ἐπὶ τῆς εὐλογίας, Συμεών, Λεων, Ἰούδαν, Ἰσσάχαρ, Ἰωσήφ καὶ Βενιαμίν, τοὺς δ’ ἐτέρους ἐπὶ τῆς κατάρας, τόν τε πρῶτον καὶ τόν ύστατον τῶν Λεὶας, Ῥουβήν καὶ Ζαβουλὼν, καὶ τοὺς ἐκ τῶν θεραπαινίδων νόθους

a Literally, “unless it is possible,” which of course it is not, εἰ μὴ, as often, indicating a reductio ad absurdum.
beings, the soul of man was to be susceptible of conceptions of evil things and good things, and to use one sort or the other, since it is impossible for him to use both.\(^a\) Therefore God deemed it necessary to assign the creation of evil things to other makers, reserving that of good things to Himself alone.

XIV. Wherefore also, while in the former 71 case the expression used was “let us make man,” as though more than one were to do it, there is used afterwards an expression pointing to One, “God made the man” (Gen. i. 27). For of the real man, who is absolutely pure Mind, One, even the only God, is the Maker; but a plurality of makers produce man so-called, one that has an admixture of sense-perception. That is why he who is man in 72 the special sense is mentioned with the article. The words run “God made the man,” that invisible reasoning faculty free from admixture. The other has no article added; for the words “let us make man” point to him in whom an irrational and rational nature are woven together. In 73 adherence to the same principle he ascribes the blessing of the good and the cursing of the guilty to different persons. Both, it is true, receive praise, but blessing those worthy of blessing enjoys the prerogative which belongs to eulogies, while the laying of curses on the evil occupies but a second place. Therefore of those appointed for this purpose, the chiefs of the race, twelve in number, whom we are accustomed to call tribe-leaders, he set the six best over the blessing, Symeon, Levi, Judah, Issachar, Joseph and Benjamin; and the other six over the cursing, the first and the last of the sons of Leah, Reuben and Zabulon, and the four bastard-born of
74 τέτταρας τῆς γὰρ βασιλείου καὶ τῆς οἰερωμένης φυλῆς οἱ ἡγεμόνες ἐν τῇ προτέρᾳ τάξει χορεύουσιν, Ἰουδαίας τε καὶ Λευ. εἰκότως οὖν καὶ τοὺς ἄξια θανάτον δρώντας ἐτέρων χερσὶν ἐκδίδωσιν ἐπὶ τιμωρία, βουλόμενος ἡμᾶς ἀναδιδάσκειν, ὅτι ἡ κακοῦ φύσις μακρὰν ἀπελήλαται χοροῦ θείου, ὡστε καὶ τὸ μυθηλάζον ἀγαθὸν κακῷ, ἡ τιμωρία, δι᾽ ἐτέρων βεβαιοῦται.

75 Τὸ δὲ "δώσω σοι τὸπον, οὗ φεύξεται ὁ φονεύσας" ἀκουσίως, πάνω καλῶς εἰρήσθαι μοι δοκεῖ· τόπον γὰρ καλεῖ νῦν ὁ χώραν ἐκπεπληρωμένην ὑπὸ σώματος, ἀλλὰ δι᾽ ὑπονοιῶν αὐτὸν τὸν θεὸν ἐπειδὴ περιέχωσιν οὗ περιέχεται καὶ ὁτι καταφυγῆ ὑπὸ σώματος,

76 τῶν ὅλων ἐστὶ. θέμις οὖν τῷ δόξαντι τροπὴ χρήσασθαι ἀκουσίω φάναι κατὰ θεὸν συμβῆναι τὴν τροπὴν, ὅπερ οὐθὸ θέμις τῷ έκουσίως ἀμαρτόντι. "δώσων" δὲ φησιν οὐ τῷ κτήματι, ἀλλ᾽ ὁ διαλέγεται, ὥσθ᾽ ἐτερον μὲν εἶναι τὸν οἰκήτορα, ἐτερον δὲ τὸν φεύγοντα. τῷ μὲν γὰρ έαυτοῦ λόγῳ ὁ θεὸς πατρίδα οἰκεῖν τὴν ἐπιστήμην έαυτοῦ, ὥς ἂν αὐτόχθοι, δεδύρηται, τῷ δ᾽ ἐν ἀκουσίοις γενομένῳ σφάλμασι καταφυγῆν, ὡς θυνεῖον ξένην, οὐχ ὡς πατρίδα ἅστῳ.

77 XV. Ταύτα καὶ περὶ τῶν ἀκουσίων φιλοσοφήσας περὶ τῆς ἐπαναστάσεως καὶ βουλεύσεως εξῆς νομοθετεῖ φάσκων. "ἐάν δὲ τις ἐπιθήται τῷ θείῳ τῷ πλησίον

1 mss. ὅσπερ.

a The point of the sentence is not quite clear. Perhaps the meaning is that by placing the two clearly superior tribes in the first list, Moses indicates that this list is as a whole superior.

b See App. p. 584.
ON FLIGHT AND FINDING, 74–77

the handmaids (Deut. xxvii. 12 f.). For the leaders 74 of the royal and of the priestly tribe hold a position in the former list, Judah and Levi. \(^a\) Quite naturally, then, does He give up for punishment into the hands of others those who commit acts deserving death. He wishes to teach us that the nature of evil is far removed from the Divine Company, inasmuch as even the good thing which imitates evil, punishment, is ratified by means of others.

The terms in which the announcement “I will 75 give thee a place where the” unintentional “slayer shall take refuge” is made, seem to me to be excellently chosen. For here He uses the word “place,” not of a space entirely filled by a body, \(^b\) but symbolically of God Himself, since He contains and is not contained, and because He is the Refuge for the whole universe. It is lawful, therefore, for one 76 who feels that he has fallen into an unintentional offence, to say that the offence came about as God ordained, a statement which the deliberate wrong-doer may not make. Further He says that He “will give” not to the slayer but to him whom He is addressing, \(^c\) which shews that the dweller in the place is a different person from him who escapes thither. For to His Word, as to one indigenous, God has given His knowledge as a fatherland to dwell in, but to one who has fallen into unintentional offences He has given it as a place of refuge, as a strange land to an alien, not as a fatherland to one with a citizen’s rights.

XV. After treating in this way of unintentional 77 acts he goes on to legislate concerning assault and premeditation, saying, “If a man set upon his

\(^a\) i.e. Philo takes the “thee” of the text to be the Logos.
ἀποκτεῖναι αὐτὸν δόλῳ καὶ καταφύγῃ ἕπὶ τὸν θεόν, τὸν προειρημένων συμβολικῶς τόπον, παρ’ ὅν ξην συμβέβηκε τοῖς πᾶσι καὶ γὰρ ἐτέρωθι 78 φήσουν. "Ως ἂν φύγῃ ἐκεί, καὶ ζήσεται." ἀλλ’ οὐ ξωὴ μὲν ἐστὶν αἰώνιος ἡ πρὸς τὸ ὄν καταφυγή, θάνατος δ’ ὁ ἀπὸ τούτου δρασμὸς; εἰ δὲ τις ἐπιτίθεται, πάντως ἐκ προνοίας ἀδικεῖ, καὶ τὸ σὺν δόλῳ πραττόμενον ἐκουσίως ἔνοχον, ὡς τὸ ἀδόλως 79 ἐμπαλιν ὑπάρχειτο. οὐδὲν οὐν τῶν ὑπούλως καὶ δολερῶς καὶ ἐκ προνοίας πραττομένων ἀδικημάτων ἄξιον λέγειν γίνεσθαι κατὰ θεόν, ἀλλὰ καθ’ ἡμᾶς αὐτούς. ἐν ἡμῖν γὰρ αὐτοῖς, ὡς ἐφη, οἱ τῶν κακῶν ἐστὶν θησαυροί, παρὰ θεῷ δὲ οἱ μόνων 80 ἀγαθῶν. ὅς ἂν οὖν καταφύγῃ, τὸ δ’ ἐστὶν ὃ ἂν τῶν ἁμαρτημάτων μὴ ἐαυτὸν ἀλλὰ θεόν αἰτιᾶται, κολαξέσθω, τῆς μόνοις ἵκεται πρὸς σωτηρίαν καὶ ἀσφάλειαν καταφυγῆς, τοῦ βωμοῦ, στεροῦμενος, καὶ μήτοτ’ εἰκότως. ἀμώμων γὰρ ἰερεῖων, λέγω [558] δὲ ψυχῶν ἁσυνῶν καὶ κεκαθαρμένων, τὸ | θυσιαστήριον ἀνάπλεων ἐστὶν. δυσίστατος δὲ ἡ παντελῶς ἀνιάτος μῶμος τὸ φάσκειν καὶ κακῶν αἴτιων εἶναι 81 τὸ θεῖον. φίλαντοι δὴ μᾶλλον ἡ φιλόθεοι σπουδάσαντες οἱ τοιοῦτο τρόποι πάντες εἶναι βανετωσαν ἐξω περιρραντηρίων, ἵν’ ὡς μιαρὸς καὶ ἀκάθαρτος μήδ’ εξ ἀπότομου τὴν ἱερὰν φλόγα τῆς ἀνακαιομένης ἀσβέστου ψυχῆς καὶ θεῷ καθαγνιζομένης ὀλοκλήρω 82 καὶ παντελεὶ δυνάμει θεᾶσωνται. παγκάλως τις τῶν πάλαι σοφῶν εἰς ταύτῳ τοῦτῳ συν-

1 So according to Mangey in the New College ms.: Wend.’s mss. have καταφύγῃ ποιεῖ, from which Cohn suggests, I think with great probability, καταφύγῃ ποί; 2 mss. κακῶν.
neighbour to slay him by guile and flee for refuge” (Exod. xxi. 14) to God, even to Him Who has been already symbolically called a place, Who is the occasion of life to all; for in another place likewise it says, “Whosoever shall flee there shall live” (Deut. xix. 5). And is it not life eternal to take refuge with Him that is, and death to flee away from Him? But if a man sets upon another he certainly deliberately commits a wrong, and that which is done intentionally with guile incurs guilt, even as, on the other hand, no blame attaches to the act in which there is no guile. Accordingly it is not right to say that any wrongs committed with secret hostility and with guile and as the result of premeditation are done as God ordains; they are done as we ordain. For as I have said, the treasuries of evil things are in ourselves; with God are those of good things only. Whosoever, therefore, takes refuge, that is, whosoever blames not himself but God for his sins, let him be punished, by being deprived of the refuge which is a place of deliverance and safety for suppliants only, namely the altar. Is not this meet and right? For the place of sacrifice is wholly occupied by victims free from blemish, that is by innocent and purified souls; and it is a blemish that can hardly, if at all, be remedied, to assert that the Deity is the cause of evil things as of all others. All such characters have made self-love their aim rather than love of God. Let them go forth outside the hallowed precincts, that in their foulness and uncleanness they may not behold even from afar the sacred flame of the soul ascending in unquenchable fire, and with power entire and unimpaired being sacrificed to God. In daring and noble language one of the wise men of old has
οραμων εσαρρησεν ειπείν, οτι "θεος ουδαμη ουδαμως αδικος, αλλ' ως οιον τε δικαιοτατος, και ουκ έστιν αυτω όμοιοτερον ουδεν ή δε άν ήμων αδικηται οτι δικαιοτατος. περι τουτον και η ως αληθως δεινοτης άνδρος και ουδενια τε και άναιμρια. η μεν γαρ τουτου γνωσια σοφια και αρετη αληθινη, η δε άγνωσα αμαθια τε και κακια εναργης. αι δε άλλαι δεινοτητες δοκουσαι και σοφιαι εν μεν πολιτικαις δυναστειαις γιγνομεναι φορτικαι, εν δε τεχναις βαναυσοι." ΧΧΙ. προσταξασ ουν απαγεσθαι των ανιερων και κακηγορων των θειων απο των ιερωτατων και εκδιδοσθαι επι τιμωρια φησιν εξης: "δς τυπτει πατερα η μητερα, τελευτατω και ομοιως "δ κακηγορων πατερα και μητερα τελευτατω." μονονου γαρ βοαι και κεκραγεν, οτι των εις το θειον βλασφημοντων ουδενι συγγνωμης μεταδοτεον. ει γαρ οι τους θνητους κακηγορησαντες γονεις απαγονται την επι θανατω, τως αξιους χρη νομιζεις τιμωρια ποιηναι του των ολων πατερα και ποιητην βλασφημειν υπομενοντας; τοις δ' αν γενωτοι αισχων κακηγορια η το φασκειν μη παρ' ήμας, άλλα παρα θεον γενεσιν ειναι των κακων; ελαυνετε ουν, ελαυνετε, ο μυσται και ιεροφανει θειων οργιων, τας μυγαδας και συγκλυδας και πεφυμενας, δυσκαθαρτως και δυσεκπλυτως ψυχας, αι άκλειστα μεν ατα, αθυρων δε γλωτταν, οργανα της εαυτων βαρυδαιμονιας ευτρεπη, περιφερουσιν, ίνα και παντων και ον μη

1 So Plato: mss. εδ.
2 Plato τουτου (presumably neuter): Wend. does not note this: I retain τουτου with doubt.

a Theaetetus 176 c. See App. p. 584.
brought out the truth which I am enforcing. "In no case and in no way," he says, "is God unrighteous: He is absolute righteousness; and nothing exists more like Him than whoso of us in his turn attains to the greatest possible righteousness. It is by his relation to Him that a man's real attainment is determined, as well as his worthlessness and failure to attain real manhood. For to know Him is true wisdom and virtue, and ignorance of Him is manifest stupidity and wickedness. All other seeming attainments and proofs of wisdom so called, if displayed in gaining political power, are merely vulgar; if in practising handicrafts, merely mechanical." XVI. After directing, then, that the man who is profane and reviles things sacred be led away from the most holy spots and given up to punishment, he goes on to say, "He that smiteth father or mother, let him die," and likewise "he that revileth father or mother, let him die" (Exod. xxi. 15 f.). He as good as proclaims in a loud voice that no pardon must be granted to a blasphemer against God. For if those who have reviled mortal parents are led away for execution, what penalty must we consider that those have merited who take upon them to blaspheme the Father and Maker of the universe? And what more foul reviling could be uttered than the statement, that the origination of evil lies not at our door but at God's? Drive off, then, ye initiates and hierophants of holy mysteries, drive off the motley crowd, flotsam and jetsam, souls hardly capable of cleansing and purifying, carrying about wherever they go ears ever unclosed, and tongue ever unconfined, ready instruments of their miserable condition in their longing to hear all that heaven forbids us to hear, and to tell out such things
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θέμις άκούωσι καὶ πάντα¹ καὶ ὅσα μὴ χρεὼν ἐκλα-
λῶσιν. ὅσοι δὲ διαφορὰν ἐκουσίων καὶ ἀκούσιων ἐπαιδεύθησαν καὶ εὐφημον στόμα ἀντὶ κακηγοροῦ
gλώττης ἐλαχον, κατορθοῦντες μὲν ἑπανετοί, σφαλλόμενοι δὲ μὴ κατὰ γνώμην οὐ πάνω ψεκτοὶ· διὸ καὶ πόλεις αὐτοῖς εἰς καταφυγὴν ἀπεκρίθησαν.

87 XVII. Ἀξιον δὲ τῶν περὶ τὸν τόπον αὐτὰ τὰ ἀναγκαῖα μάλιστα ἀκριβῶσαι. ἕστι δ' ἀριθμῷ τέταρα· ἐν μὲν, διὰ τι οὐκ ἐξ ὅν αἱ ἄλλαι φυλαὶ πόλεων ἐλαχον, ἄλλ' ἐξ ὧν ἡ Δευτικὴ μόνη, φυγάσι πόλεις ἀπεκρίθησαν· δεύτερον δὲ, διὰ τι ἐξ ἀριθμῶν καὶ οὕτε πλείους οὔτε ἐλάττους· τρίτον, τί δὴ ποιήσατε τρεῖς μὲν πέραν τοῦ 'Ιορδάνου, αἱ δ' ἐτεραι ἐν τῇ Χαναάλων γῇ· τέταρτον, διὰ τὶ προθεσμία τοῖς φυγάσιν ἱοι ἄσται τοῦ κατέλθειν ὁ τοῦ ἀρχηρεῶς 88 θάνατος. ἔλεξεν οὖν περὶ ἐκάστου τὰ ἀρμόττοντα, ἀρχήν ἀπὸ τοῦ πρῶτου λαβόντας. εἰς τὰς ἀπονεμηθεῖσας Δευτικὰς μόνοις πόλεις φεύγειν διείρηται πάνυ προσηκόντως· καὶ γὰρ οἱ Δευτικοὶ τρόπον τινὰ φυγάδες εἰσίν, ἐνεκα ἀρεσκείας θεοῦ γονεῖς καὶ τέκνα καὶ ἄδελφοι καὶ πᾶσαν τὴν 89 θυντήν συγγένειαν ἀπολελοίπτες. ὁ γοῦν ἀρχιηγήτης τοῦ θιάσου τοῦτον λέγειν εἰσάγεται τῷ πατρὶ καὶ τῇ μητρὶ· "οὐχ ἐώρακα ὑμᾶς, καὶ τοὺς ἄδελφος σὺ γινώσκω, καὶ τοὺς νίους ἀπογιμώσκω"

¹ mss. καὶ πάντων or omit.
² mss. τὰς ἐτέρας: perhaps retain and add e.g. λέγει.

a Or "achieve (full) righteousness" (in something of the Stoic sense), i.e. are free from the ἀκούσια as well as the ἐκούσια; cf. De Agr. 177 ff.

b The connexion of thought seems to be as follows: the blasphemer who ascribes ἐκούσια ἀμαρτήματα to God and not only he but all the profane and irreverent must be avoided,
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as should never find utterance. But all who have been trained to discriminate between intentional and unintentional actions, and have been given lips that can keep a holy silence in place of a reviling tongue, are praiseworthy when they go aright, and are not much to blame when they fail without meaning it: that is why cities of refuge were set apart for them (Num. xxxv.).

XVII. It is worth while to treat with particular detail those aspects of the subject which are of vital importance. They are four in number: first, why cities set apart for fugitives were chosen, not from the cities allotted to the other tribes, but from those assigned to the tribe of Levi only; secondly, for what reason they were six in number, and neither more nor less; thirdly, why three were beyond the Jordan, and the others in the land of Canaan; fourthly, why the time appointed beforehand for the return of the fugitives was the death of the High Priest.

On each of these points we must say what is pertinent, beginning with the first. The direction to fly to the cities allotted to Levites only is wholly appropriate, for the Levites too are in a certain sense fugitives, having, for the sake of being well-pleasing to God, forsaken parents and children and brothers and all their mortal kindred. So the original founder of this company is represented as saying to his father and mother, “I have not seen you, my brethren I know not, and my sons I know no more” (Deut. xxxiii. 9), while those who know better than to be guilty of this particular blasphemy and of profanity in general will find in God a refuge for their unintentional errors.

The translation ignores αὐτά. Perhaps it is used like the frequent αὐτὸ μόνον for “just these,” in which case ἀναγκαῖα may be taken as “absolutely necessary.”
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υπέρ τοῦ δίκαια μεθολκής θεραπεύειν τὸ ὄν. ἦ δὲ ἀφευδὴς φυγὴ στέρησις τῶν οἰκειοτάτων καὶ φιλτάτων ἐστίν. φυγάδας οὖν φυγάσι παρακατατιθεται πρὸς τὴν ὧν εἰργάσαντο ἀμνηστίαν, δι’ ὅμοιο-90 τητα ἔργων. ἀρ’ οὖν διὰ τοῦτο μόνον ἦ καὶ δι’ ἐκεῖνο, (ὅτι) ἡ τῶν νεωκόρων Λευκτική φυλή τοὺς θεοπλαστήσαντας τὸν χρυσοῦν μόσχον, τὸν Αἰγυπτιακὸν τύφον, ἰβηδὸν εἶ ἐπιδρομῆς κατέκευα, ὅργῃ δικαίᾳ σὺν ἐνθουσιασμῷ καὶ τῶν κατοκωχῆθεντω ἑφορήτω χρησάμενοι; "καὶ κτείνει ἐκαστὸς ἀδελφὸν καὶ πλησίον καὶ τὸν ἐγγιστα,” ἀδελφὸν μὲν ψυχῆς τὸ σῶμα, τὸ δὲ λογικῷ πλησίον τὸ ἄλογον, τὸν ἐγγιστα νοῦ τὸν προ-91 φορικὸν λόγον. οὕτως γὰρ ἂν μόνως θεραπευτικὸν γένοιτο τοῦ τῶν ὄντων ἄριστον τὸ ἐν ἡμῖν αὐτοῖς ἄριστον, πρῶτον μὲν εἰ ἀναλυθεὶ ὁ ἄνθρωπος εἰς ψυχῆν, διαζευχθέντος καὶ διακοπέντος αὐτῶ τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ σώματος καὶ τῶν ἀνηνύτων ἐπιθυμιῶν· εἰτα τῆς ψυχῆς ἀποβαλοῦσης, ὡς ἔφην, τὸ πλησίον τοῦ λογικοῦ, τὸ ἄλογον—καὶ γὰρ αὐτὸν χειμάρρου τρόπον πενταχή σχιζόμενον διὰ πασῶν τῶν αἰσθήσεων οὶ δεξαμενῶν τὴν τῶν παθῶν 92 ἀνεγείρει φοράν—· εἰθ’ ἐξῆς τοῦ λογισμοῦ διοικε-σαντος καὶ διαζεύξαντος τὸν ἐγγυτάτω δοκοῦντα εἶναι, τὸν προφορικὸν λόγον, ἵν’ ὁ κατὰ διάνοιαν ἀπολείψῃ μόνος, ἔρημος σώματος, ἔρημος αἰσθη-

1 Unless Philo uses the nominative for the demonstrative, αὐτό seems pointless: perhaps τοῦτο.

a So L. & S. render the word; perhaps rather “all those of military age,” = Latin pubes.

b In the parallel passage De Ebr. 69 ff. the “neighbour” is the senses themselves.
that I may without distraction minister to Him that is. And a flight that is real exile is loss of our nearest and dearest. It is on the ground, then, of a similarity in their doings that the Lawgiver commits fugitives to the keeping of fugitives, that they may obtain an amnesty for what they had done.  

Was this, then, the only reason, or was it also because the Tribe of Levi, consisting of those who had the care of the Tabernacle, rushed upon and slew from the young upwards those who fashioned into a god the golden calf, the Egyptian folly? They did this under the impulse of righteous anger accompanied by an inspiration from above and a God-sent possession: “And each man slays brother and neighbour and his nearest” (Exod. xxxii. 27), for the body is “brother” of the soul, the irrational part of us neighbour of the rational, and the word of utterance “next of kin” to mind. For in this way only could that which is best in ourselves become capable of ministering before Him Who is Best of all Existences, if in the first place the man were resolved into soul, his brother body and its interminable cravings being broken off and cut in twain; if in the next place the soul rid itself, as I have said, of that neighbour of our rational element, the irrational, which like a torrent in five divisions pours through the channels of all the senses and rouses the violence of the passions; if in the next place the reasoning faculty sever and banish from itself that which has the appearance of being closest to it, the word of utterance. All this is to the end that the word or thought within the mind may be left behind by itself alone, destitute of body,

\[\text{With } \delta \text{ katà diánoia } \text{sc. } \lambda \gamma os = \epsilon ν \delta \iota \alpha \theta \epsilon \tau os, \text{ the regular antithesis to } \pi ρ ϕ ρ ϕ ρ i k ω s.\]
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σεως, ἔρημος γεγωνού λόγου προφορᾶς· ἀπολειφθεὶς γάρ, τῇ κατὰ τὴν μόνωσιν διαίτη χρώμενος, τὸ μόνον (ὅν) καθαρῶς καὶ ἀμεθέλκτως ἀσπάσεται. | πρὸς γε μὴν τοῖς εἰρημένοις κάκεινο υπομνηστέον, ὅτι ἡ Δευτερικὴ φυλὴ νεωκόρων καὶ ἱερέων ἔστιν, ὅς ἡ τῶν ἁγίων ἀνάκειται λειτουργία· λειτουργοῦσι δὲ καὶ οἱ τὸν ἄκούσιον φόνον δρώντες, εἰ γε κατὰ Μωυσῆν ἃνθεὸς παραδίδωσιν εἰς τὰς χεῖρας αὐτῶν” τοὺς θανάτου ἄξια εἰργασμένους πρὸς ἀναίρεσιν. ἀλλ' οἱ μὲν ἐτάχθησαν ἐπὶ τῷ τούς ἁγαθοὺς σεμνύνειν, οἱ δ' ἐπὶ τῷ τούς ὑπαιτίους κολάζειν.

94 XVIII. Αὕται μὲν εἰσιν αἱ αἰτίαι, ὅπως ἐνεκα οἱ τὸν ἄκούσιον φόνον δράσαντες εἰς μόνας τὰς τῶν νεωκόρων φεύγουσι πόλεις. τίνες δὲ εἰσὶ καὶ διὰ τὴν ἁριθμοῦ ἢς, ἐπομένως λειτέον. μὴποτ' οὐν ἡ μὲν πρεσβυτάτη καὶ ἐχύρωτάτη καὶ ἀριστή μητρόπολις, οὐκ αὐτὸ μόνον πόλις, ὁ θείος ἔστι λόγος, ἐφ' οὖν πρῶτον καταφεύγειν ὡφελιμώτατον. αἱ δ' ἀλλ' πέντε, ὡς ἃν ἀποικίαι, δυνάμεις εἰσὶ τοῦ λέγοντος, ὃν ἄρχει ἡ ποιητική, καθ' ἢν ὁ ποιῶν λόγῳ τὸν κόσμον ἐθημούργησε· δευτέρα δ' ἡ βασιλική, καθ' ἢν ὁ πεποιηκὼς ἄρχει τοῦ γενομένου· τρίτη δ' ἡ ἠλεώς, δι' ἃς ὁ τεχνίτης οἰκτείρει

95 ἐφ' οὖν πρῶτον καταφεύγειν ὡφελιμώτατον. αἱ δ' ἀλλ' πέντε, ὡς ἃν ἀποικίαι, δυνάμεις εἰσὶ τοῦ λέγοντος, ὃν ἄρχει ἡ ποιητική, καθ' ἢν ὁ ποιῶν λόγῳ τὸν κόσμον ἐθημούργησε· δευτέρα δ' ἡ βασιλική, καθ' ἢν ὁ πεποιηκὼς ἄρχει τοῦ γενομένου· τρίτη δ' ἡ ἠλεώς, δι' ἃς ὁ τεχνίτης οἰκτείρει

— Mangey and Wend. suspected τοῦ λέγοντος and suggested δυτός or ἡγεμόνος. But Philo sometimes thinks of the Logos as in the literal sense the "word" which God speaks. It is particularly natural here in connexion with creation, where every creative act is preceded by "God said." Cf. De Som. i. 75.
destitute of sense-perception, destitute of utterance in audible speech; for when it has been thus left, it will live a life in harmony with such solitude, and will render, with nothing to mar or to disturb it, its glad homage to the Sole Existence.

Another point to be called to mind, in addition to those which have been mentioned, is that the Tribe of Levi is that of ministers of the Tabernacle and priests, on whom rests the service of the Sanctuary, and those who commit unintentional homicide are also engaged in a service, since, as Moses tells us, "God delivers into their hands" (Exod. xxi. 13) for destruction those that have done deeds worthy of death. But, while the Levites were appointed for the exaltation of the good, these others were appointed for the chastisement of the guilty.

XVIII. Such are the reasons for the perpetrators of unintentional homicide taking refuge only in the cities of the Tabernacle attendants. We must next say what those cities are, and why they are six in number. It would seem, then, that the chiefest and surest and best mother-city something more than just a city, is the Divine Word, and that to take refuge first in it is supremely advantageous. The other five, colonies as it were, are powers of Him who speaks that Word, their leader being creative power, in the exercise of which the Creator produced the universe by a word; second in order is the royal power, in virtue of which He that has made it governs that which has come into being; third stands the gracious power, in the exercise of which the Great Artificer takes pity and compassion on his own work;

\[b\] Or "He who created the world through the Word wrought His work," etc.
καὶ ἐλεεῖ τὸ ἴδιον ἑργὸν· τετάρτῃ δὲ ἡ ἡ * * * ¹ νομοθετικῆς μοῦρα, δι’ ἡς ἂμη χρῆ γίνεσθαι ἀπαγορεύει.

πάγκαλοι δὲ καὶ εὐερκέσταται πόλεις, αξίων σφίζοντος φυσικῶν τοῦ ἀιῶνα ἁριστάς γε κατα-

φυγαῖ. χρηστῇ δὲ καὶ φιλάνθρωπος ἡ διάταξις, ἀλεύραι καὶ βῶσαι πρὸς εὐελπιστίαν (ἰκανή. ἡ) τῆς ἀν ἐδυνήθη μᾶλλον τοσαύτην τῶν δυναμένων εὐεργετεῖν ἀναδείξαι ἀφθονίαν διὰ τὰς διαφορὰς τῶν ἐν τροπαῖς ἀκουσίοις γενομένων, ὅσον οὔτε ἴσχυς

97 οὔτε [ἡ] ἀσθενεία ἡ αὐτῆ; προτρέπει δὴ τὸν μὲν ὠκυδρομεῖν ἢκανον συντεῖνεις ἀπνευστὶ πρὸς τὸν ἀνωτάτως λόγων θείον, ὅσοι σοφίας ἐστὶ πηγῆ, ἡν ἀρυσάμενος τοῦ νάματος ἀντὶ θανάτου ζωῆς ἄδιδον ἀθλον εὑρηται. τὸν δὲ ημι ὀὔτως ταχυν ἐπὶ τὴν ποιητικὴν καταφεύγειν δύναμιν, ἡν Μωυσῆς ὄνο-

μάζει θεον, ἑπειδὴ δ’ αὐτῆς ἑτέθη καὶ διεκοσμῆθη τὰ σύμπαντα—τῶ γὰρ ὅτι γέγονε τὸ πᾶν κατα-

βόντι μεγάλου κτῆσις ἀγαθοῦ περιγίνεται, ἢ τοῦ πεποιηκότος ἐπιστήμη, ἡ δ’ εὐθὺς ἀναπελθεῖ τὸ

98 γενόμενον ἔραθεν τοῦ φυτεύσαντος—. τὸν δὲ ἡμί ὀὔτως ἐτοιμὸν ἐπὶ τὴν βασιλικὴν—φόβω γὰρ ἀρχοντος τὸ ὑπήκοον, εἰ καὶ μὴ εὐνοία πατρὸς τὸ ἔκγονον, ἀνάγκη σωφρονιζούσῃ νουθετεῖται—. τὸ δὲ μὴ φθάνοντι πρὸς τοὺς λεχθέντας ὄρους ὡς μακρὰν διεστῶτας ἀφικνεῖσθαι καμπτήρες εἰσώ πεπήγασιν ἐτεροι δυνάμεων ἀναγκαίων, τῆς ἴλεω, τῆς προσ-

ταττούσης ἄ δει, τῆς ἀπαγορευούσης ἂ μὴ δεῖ.

1 Wend. proposes, to fill up the lacuna, νομοθετικῆς, δι’ ἡς προστάττει ἄ δει, πέμπτῃ δ’ ἡ. See below, §§ 98, 100, 104.

2 MSS. μεγάλη.

α An allusion as often to the derivation of θεός from τίθημι.
fourth (is the legislative power, by which He prescribes duties incumbent on us; and fifth) that division of legislation, by which He prohibits those things which should not be done.

Right goodly cities are they, and exceeding strong in their ramparts, noblest refuges for souls meet to be in safety for ever: kind and beneficent is the ordinance, with power to stimulate and brace to hopefulness. What ordinance could better shew the rich abundance of these beneficicial powers adapted to the differences in the victims of involuntary lapses, so various both in their strength and in their weakness? The man who is capable of running swiftly it bids stay not to draw breath but pass forward to the supreme Divine Word, Who is the fountain of Wisdom, in order that he may draw from the stream and, released from death, gain life eternal as his prize. One less swift-footed it directs to the power to which Moses gives the name “God,” since by it the Universe was established and ordered. It urges him to flee for refuge to the creative power, knowing that to one who has grasped the fact that the whole world was brought into being a vast good accrues, even the knowledge of its Maker, which straightway wins the thing created to love Him to whom it owes its being. One who is less ready it urges to betake himself to the kingly power, for fear of the sovereign has a force of correction to admonish the subject, where a father’s kindness has none such for the child. For him who fails to reach the posts just mentioned, because he thinks them too far distant, another set of goals have been set up nearer the starting-point—the gracious power, the power which enjoins duties, and that which forbids offences; those in fact which are indispensable. For he that
ο τε γὰρ προλαβὼν, ὥς οὐκ ἀπαραίτητον ἀλλ’ εὑμνεῖς δι’ ἡμερότητα φύσεώς ἐστὶ τὸ θείον, κἂν ἀμάρτη πρότερον, αὕθις μετενόησεν ἀμνήστιας ἐλπίδι, ὁ τε ἐννοιαν λαβὼν, ὅτι νομοθέτης ὁ θεὸς ἐστιν, πειθαρχῷς οἳ ἀν προστάτη τάσιν εὐδαιμονήσει, ὁ δ’ ὅστατος ὅστατὴν εὐρήσεται καταφυγήν, ἀποτροπὴν κακῶν, εἰ καὶ μὴ μετουσίαν προηγουμένων ἀγαθῶν.

XIX. αἰῶν εἰσὶν (αἰ) ἐξ πόλεως, ὡς καλεῖ φυγαδευτήρια, ὅν αἱ μὲν πέντε ἀπεικονίσθησαν καὶ ἐστὶν αὐτῶν ἐν τοῖς ἀγίοις τὰ μημήματα, προστάξεις μὲν καὶ ἀπαγορεύσεις οἱ ἐν τῇ κιβωτῷ νόμοι, τῆς δ’ ἰλεος δυνάμεως τὸ ἐπίθημα τῆς κιβωτοῦ—καλεῖ δὲ αὐτὸ ἠλαστήριον,—ποιητικής δὲ καὶ βασιλικῆς τὰ ὑπόπτερα καὶ ἐφιδρυμένα Χερουβίμ. ὁ δ’ ὑπέρανων τούτων λόγως θείος εἰς ὀρατὴν οὐκ ἠλθεν ἰδέαν, ἀτε μηδενὶ τῶν κατ’ αὐσθησιν ἐμφερῆς οὖν, ἀλλ’ αὐτῶς εἰκὼν ὑπάρχον θεοῦ, τῶν νοητῶν ἀπαξ ἀπαντῶν ὁ πρεσβύτατος, ὁ ἐγγυτάτω, μηδενὸς ὄντος μεθορίου διαστήματος, τοῦ μόνου, ὁ ἐστὶν ἀψευδῶς, ἀφιδρυμένος. λέγεται γὰρ “λαλήσω σοι ἀνωθέν τοῦ ἠλαστήριου, ἀνά μέσον τῶν δυνάμεων τοῦ λόγων, ἐποχον δὲ τὸν ἤλοντα, ἐπικελεύομενον τῷ ἠνόχῳ τὰ πρὸς ὀρθὴν τοῦ παντὸς ἠνόχησιν. ὁ μὲν οὖν ἀνευ τροπῆς, ἐκουσάιοι μὲν ἀπαγε, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῆς ἀκουσίου γεγονός, αὐτὸν τὸν θεὸν κλήρον ἔχων, ἐν αὐτῷ μόνῳ κατακλήσει, οἱ δ’ οὐκ ἐκ

1 MSS. τὸ (τῶ) μόνον.
2 So MSS.: Wendland ἐφιδρυμένος.
has made sure that the Godhead is not inexorable, but kindly, owing to gentleness of nature, even if he have first sinned, afterwards repents in hope of forgiveness; and he that has taken in the thought that God is Lawgiver, will by obeying all His injunctions attain happiness; while the last of the three will gain a third and last refuge, the averting of ills, even if he fail to obtain a share of God's principal good gifts.

XIX. Such are the six cities, which Moses calls "places of refuge" (Num. xxxv. 12), five of which were represented by symbolic figures which are in the sanctuary, the Laws laid up in the ark being symbols of injunction and prohibition; the lid of the ark, which he calls the Mercy-seat, representing the gracious power; while the creative and kingly powers are represented by the winged Cherubim that rest upon it. The Divine Word, Who is high above all these, has not been visibly portrayed, being like to no one of the objects of sense. Nay, He is Himself the Image of God, chiefest of all Beings intellectually perceived, placed nearest, with no intervening distance, to the Alone truly existent One. For we read: "I will talk with thee from above the Mercy-seat, between the two Cherubim" (Ex. xxv. 21), words which shew that while the Word is the charioteer of the Powers, He Who talks is seated in the chariot, giving directions to the charioteer for the right wielding of the reins of the Universe.

He, then, that has shewn himself free from even unintentional offence—intentional is not to be thought of—having God Himself as his portion (Deut. x. 9), will have his abode in Him alone; while those who

§ 76. See also note on § 95, though here the Logos is spoken to, not the word spoken.
PHILO

προνοίας ἀλλ' ἀβουλήτους χρησάμενοι σφάλμασι
καταφυγάς ἐξουσι τὰς εἰρημένας ἀφθόνους καὶ
πλουοῖας οὕτως. 1

103 Τῶν δὲ πρὸς καταφυγὴν πόλεων τρεῖς μὲν εἰσὶ
πέραν, αἰ μακρὰν ἡμῶν τοῦ γένους ἀφεστάσι.
tίνες αὕται; ὁ τοῦ ἱγεμόνος λόγος καὶ ἡ ποιητικὴ
cαὶ βασιλικὴ δύναμις αὐτοῦ· τοῦτων γὰρ ὁ τε
104 οὐρανὸς καὶ σύμπας ὁ κόσμος ἐπικοινωνεῖ. αἰ δὲ
προσχεῖς ἡμῖν καὶ ἐφαπτόμεναι τοῦ τῶν ἀνθρώπων
ἐπικήρου γένους, ὦ μόνῳ συμβέβηκε διαμαρτάνειν,
αἰ ἐντὸς εἰσὶ τρεῖς, ἡ ἱλεως, ἡ προστακτικὴ τῶν
ποιητέων, ἡ ἀπαγορευτικὴ τῶν μὴ ποιητέων· αὕται
105 γὰρ ἤδη ἡμῶν ἐφάπτονται. τὸς γὰρ ἀπαγορεύσεως
χρεία τοῖς μὴ μέλλουσιν ἀδικήσειν, τὸς δὲ προσ-
τάξεως τοῖς μὴ πεφυκόσι σφάλλεσθαι, τὸς δὲ τῆς
ἵλεω τοῖς μηδ' ὅλως ἀμαρτησομένοις; ἀλλὰ τὸ γε
ἡμέτερον γένος ἐργασάτοι καὶ ἐπικλινώς ἔχειν πρὸς τε
tὰ ἐκούσια καὶ ἀκούσια ἀκοῦσαν.

106 XX. Τέταρτον καὶ λοιπὸν ὣν τῶν προταθέντων
ἡ προθεσμία τῆς τῶν πεφευγότων καθόδου, τοῦ
ἀρχιερέως ὁ θάνατος, πολλὴν ἐν τῷ ῥήτῳ μοι
παρέχουσα δυσκολίαν. ἄνυσος γὰρ ἡ τιμωρία κατὰ
tῶν τὰ αὐτὰ δρασάντων νομοθετεῖται, εἰ γε οἱ
107 μὲν | πλεῖω χρόνον ἀποδράσονται, οἱ δὲ ἐλάττω·
μακροβιόταται γὰρ (οἱ μὲν), οἱ δὲ ὀλυγχρονοῖ·
tοῖς τῶν ἀρχιερέως εἰσὶ καὶ οἱ μὲν νέοι, οἱ δὲ
πρεσβύται καθίστανται· καὶ τῶν ἐαλωκότων ἐπ'
ἀκοουῶς φόνω οἱ μὲν ἐν ἀρχῇ τῆς ἱερωσύνης

1 πόλεις perhaps (as Wendland) is needed. For the strange οὕτως Wendland suggests οὕσας: perhaps rather ὄντως.
have fallen, not of set purpose but against their will, will have the refuges which have been mentioned, so freely and richly provided.

Now of the cities of refuge three are beyond the 103 River, far removed from our race. Which are these? The Word of the Sovereign Ruler, and His creative and His kingly power: for in fellowship with these are heaven and all the universe. But those which are 104 close to us and in actual contact with perishable mankind, the only race which sin has befallen, are the three within—the gracious power, the power which enjoins things that are to be done, and that which prohibits those which are not to be done; for these touch us closely. For what need is there of 105 prohibition in the case of those who are sure to do no wrong? What need of injunction for those whose nature exempts them from failure? And what need of recourse to the Gracious Power for those who will commit no sin at all? But our race stands in need of these powers by reason of its natural proneness both to intentional and unintentional sins.

XX. The fourth and only remaining point of those 106 proposed for consideration was the time prescribed for the return of the fugitives, namely, that of the death of the High Priest. If taken literally, this point presents, I feel, great difficulty. The penalty inflicted by law on those whose offences are identical is unequal, if some are to be fugitives for a longer, some for a shorter, period; for of the High Priests some are very long-lived, some the reverse; some are 107 appointed in youth, some in old age; and of those guilty of unintentional homicide some went into exile

2 mss. ἐπικοίνων(ι)αὶ δὲ προσεχεῖς: Mangey ἐστὶ· κοινωναὶ δὲ καὶ προσεχεῖς.
PHILO

ἔφυγαδύθησαν, οί δ' ἡδη μέλλοντος τελευτᾶν τοῦ ἱερωμένου, ὡς τοὺς μὲν αἰώνα μακρὸν τινα τῆς πατριδος ἐστερήθαι, τοὺς δ' αὐτὸ μόνον ἠμέραν, εἰ τύχοι, μεθ' ἦν τὸν αὐχένα ἐπαίροντες καὶ φρυατ-τόμενοι καὶ γελώντες τοὺς ἅγιοντα γένους τῶν ἀνηριμένων ἀφιέρωτοι. τὸ ἀπορον οὖν καὶ δυσαπολόγητον ἀποδρασάμεθα τῆς δι' ὑπονοιών φυσικής ἀποδόσεως ἐφιέμενοι. λέγομεν γὰρ τὸν ἀρχερέα οὐκ ἀνθρωπον ἀλλὰ λόγον θείον εἶναι πάντας οὐκ ἐκουσίων μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀκουσίων ἀδικημάτων ἀμέτοχον. οὔτε γὰρ ἐπὶ πατρί, τῷ νῷ, οὔτε ἐπὶ μητρί, τῇ αἰσθήσει, φησὶν αυτὸν Ἡσυχίας δύνασθαι μαίνεσθαι, διότι, οἴμαι, γονέων ἀφθάρτων καὶ καθαρωτάτων ἔλαχεν, πατρὸς μὲν θεοῦ, δὲ καὶ τῶν συμπάντων ἑστὶ πατήρ, μητρὸς δὲ σοφίας, δι' ἦς τὰ ὅλα ἤλθεν εἰς γένεσιν· καὶ διότι τὴν κεφαλήν κέχρισται ἐλαίῳ, λέγω δὲ τὸ ἤγεμονικόν φωτὶ αὐγοειδεὶ περιλάμπεται, ὡς ἀξιόχρεως ἐνδύεται τὰ ἱματία—ενδύσαραι τῷ ἀνδρῷ καὶ τῷ βαθὺ τοῦ κόσμου (γῆς γάρ καὶ ύδους καὶ ἀείρα καὶ πῦρ καὶ τὰ ἐκ τούτων ἐπαρπάσχεται), ἡ δ' ἐπὶ μέρους ψυχῆ τὸ σώμα, ἡ δ' τῷ σοφῷ διάνοια τὰς ἀρετὰς—καὶ ὅτι τὴν κεφαλὴν ὡς ὑδεύσητε ἀπομιτρώσει,” τὸ

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a Or “with,” “through,” as Philo understands the preposition. The meaning of the original is that as contact with a corpse entails defilement, the priests are only to touch the bodies of their nearest of kin (Lev. xxi. 2), but the High Priest not even these. Philo’s allegory understands it to mean that with the ordinary man both father mind and mother sense may cause defilement, but the Logos is of other parentage.

b Or “the soul in the partial sense,” i.e. excluding the
at the outset of the High Priest’s priesthood, some when the holder of the sacred office was nearing his end. Thus some have been cut off from their native place for a very long time indeed, others merely for a day, it may be, after which they will arrive with their heads in the air, insolently laughing at the nearest relatives of those whom they have slain.

Let us, then, have recourse to the scientific mode of interpretation which looks for the hidden meaning of the literal words, and we shall escape from the difficulty and be able to give a reasonable account of the matter. We say, then, that the High Priest is not a man, but a Divine Word and immune from all unrighteousness whether intentional or unintentional. For Moses says that he cannot defile himself either for the father, the mind, nor for the mother, sense-perception (Lev. xxi. 11), because, methinks, he is the child of parents incorruptible and wholly free from stain, his father being God, who is likewise Father of all, and his mother Wisdom, through whom the universe came into existence; because, moreover, his head has been anointed with oil, and by this I mean that his ruling faculty is illumined with a brilliant light, in such wise that he is deemed worthy "to put on the garments." Now the garments which the supreme Word of Him that is puts on as raiment are the world, for He arrays Himself in earth and air and water and fire and all that comes forth from these; while the body is the clothing of the soul considered as the principle of physical life, and the virtues of the wise man’s understanding. Moses also says that "he shall never remove the mitre"
PHILO

βασίλειον οὐκ ἀποθήσεται διάδημα, τὸ σύμβολον τῆς οὐκ αὐτοκράτορος μέν, ὑπάρχου δὲ καὶ θαυματής ἡγεμονίας, "οὐδ’ αὖ τὰ ἱμάτια διαρρήξει"·

ο τε γὰρ τοῦ ὄντος λόγος δεσμὸς ὡν τῶν ἀπάντων, ὡς εἰρηταί, καὶ συνέχει τὰ μέρη πάντα καὶ σφίγγει κωλύων αὐτὰ διαλύεσθαι καὶ διαρτάσθαι· η τ’ ἐπὶ μέρους ψυχῆ, καθόσον δυνάμεως μεμοίραται, τῶν τοῦ σώματος οὐδὲν ἀποσχίζεσθαι καὶ ἀποτέμνεσθαι μερῶν παρὰ φύσιν ἐὰ, τὸ δ’ ἐπὶ αὐτή πάντα ὀλοκληρωτα ὄντα ἀρμονίαν καὶ ἐνωσιν ἀδιάλυτον ἄγει τὴν πρός ἀλλήλα· ο τε κεκαθαρμένος τοῦ σοφοῦ νοῦς ἀρρηκτοὺς καὶ ἀπήμονας διαφυλάττει τὰς ἀρετὰς, τὴν φυσικὴν αὐτῶν συγγένειάν τε καὶ κοινωνίαν ἀρμοσάμενος εὐνοία παγιωτέρα.

XXI. οὗτος "ἐπὶ πᾶσαν ψυχὴν τετελευτηκυῖαν," ἢ φησι Μωυσῆς, "οὐκ εἰσελεύσεται"· θάνατος δὲ [563] ψυχῆς ὁ μετὰ κακίας | ἐστὶ βίος, ὥστε οὐδὲ τῶν ἀγωνίας ἢν προσβάλλειν ἀφροσύνη φιλεῖ, ποτὲ προσ-114 ἀφεται. τοῦτῳ καὶ παρθένοις ἐκ τοῦ ἑροῦ γένους ἀρμοζεται, καθαρὰ καὶ ἀμίαντος καὶ ἀδιάφθορος εἰς ἃ εἰ γνώμη· χήρας γὰρ καὶ ἐκβεβλημένης καὶ βεβηλοῦ καὶ πόρνης ἀνὴρ οὐδέποτε γίνεται, πόλεμον ἀσπονδὸν καὶ ἀκήρυκτον πρὸς αὐτὰς ἢ εἰ συγκροτῶν. ἔχθρον γὰρ αὐτῷ τὸ χρεῦειν ἀρετῆς καὶ ἐκβεβλη-σθαι καὶ πεφυγαδεύσθαι πρὸς αὐτῆς καὶ πᾶν ὁ τι ἂν ἢ βεβηλοῦ πείσμα καὶ ἀνίερον· τὸ δὲ πολυμιγῆς

* So G.H.W. This translation assumes that προσβάλλειν is used idiomatically, sc. ὁμῆ. See examples in L. & S., e.g. κρέα ἰχθύων προσβάλλει, “the flesh smells like fish.” But the 70
from his head; he shall not, that is to say, lay aside the kingly diadem, the symbol not of absolute sovereignty, but of an admirable viceroyalty; "nor" again "shall he rend his clothes" (Lev. xxi. 10); for the Word of Him that is is, as has been stated, the bond of all existence, and holds and knits together all the parts, preventing them from being dissolved and separated; just as the principle of physical life, in so far as it has been endowed with power, suffers none of the parts of the body to be split or cut off contrary to nature, but, so far as in it lies, all the parts are complete, and maintain unbroken a mutual harmony and oneness; and, in like manner, the purified mind of the wise man preserves the virtues free from breach or hurt, linking in a yet firmer concord the affinity and fellowship which is theirs by nature.

XXI. The High Priest, so Moses says, "shall not go in to any dead soul" (Lev. xxi. 11). Death of soul is a life in the company of vice, so that what is meant is that he is never to come in contact with any polluting object, and of these folly always stinks. To him there is betrothed moreover a maiden of the hallowed people, pure and undefiled and of ever inviolate intention; for never is he wedded to a widow or one divorced or to a profane woman or to a harlot (ibid. 13 f.), but against them he ever wages a truceless and unrelenting warfare. For hateful to him is widowhood from virtue, and the plight of one cast out and driven from her doors, and any conviction that is profane and unholy. But the promiscuous, use of such a phrase here seems to me rather strange, and I should prefer to remove the comma, take ὅν ΆΆ = τών ΆΆ and translate "of those which folly is wont to send in its way." Cf. Quod Det. 98. Or perhaps with Mangey read ὃν and translate "which folly loves to approach."
καὶ πολύανδρον καὶ πολύθεον, ἄθεον ἡμέν ὁν κακῶν, πόρνην, οὐδὲ προσιδεῖν ἅξιοίν, τὴν ἄνα ἄνδρα καὶ πατέρα τὸν ἑγεμόνα θεὸν ἐπιγεγραμμένην ἑγα-115 πηκὼς. ὑπερβολὴ τις περὶ τὸν τρόπον τούτον τελειότητος ἐνορᾶται. τὸν μὲν γε τὴν μεγάλην εὐξάμενον εὐχὴν οἴδε ποι καὶ ἀκουσίως σφαλλόμενον, εἰ καὶ μὴ ἐκουσίων γνώμη ἥγει γάρ· "ἐὰν δέ τις ἀποθάνη ἐπ' αὐτῷ ἐξάπυνα, παρα-χρήμα μανθήσεται"· τὰ γὰρ ἄβουλητα ἔξωθεν αἰφνίδιον κατασκήπτοντα παραχρήμα τὴν ψυχὴν οὐ πρὸς αἰώνα μὴ κιςτον μιαίνει, ἀτέ ὄντα ἀκουσία. τούτων δ' ὁ ἀρχιερεὺς καθάπερ καὶ τῶν ἐκουσίων 116 ὑπεράνω στὰς ἀλογεί. ταῦτα δ' οὐκ ἀπὸ σκοποῦ μοι λέεκται, ἀλλ' ὑπὲρ τοῦ διδάξαι, ὃτι φυσικωτάτη προθεσμία καθόδου φυγάδων ὁ τοῦ 117 ἀρχιερέως ἐστὶ θάνατος. ἦσως μὲν γὰρ ὁ ἱερώτατος οὕτος λόγος ζῇ καὶ περίεστιν ἐν ψυχῇ, ἀμήχανου τροπην ἀκουσίου εἰς αὐτὴν κατελθεῖν ἀμέτοχος γὰρ καὶ ἀπαράδεκτος παντὸς εἶναι πέφυκεν ἀμαρτήματος. εἰ δὲ ἀποθάνῃ, οὐκ αὐτὸς διαφθαρεῖ, ἀλλ' ἐκ τῆς ἕμετέρας ψυχῆς διαζευγθήσεις, κάθοδος εὐθὺς δίδοται τοῖς ἐκουσίοις σφάλμασι· εἰ γὰρ μένοντος καὶ υμνιαύνοντος ἐν ἑμῖν ἐξοικίζετο, μετ-

1 Mangey and Cohn would omit ἄθεον as inappropriate here, in which case surely καὶ should also be omitted before πολύθεον or ἄθεον μὲν ὁν entirely (as Cohn). But see App. p. 584.
2 mss. τὰ (τῶν) γὰρ ἄβουλων (λῃ) τῶν: perhaps, as Wendland suggests, τῶν γὰρ ἄβουλητων (τινὰ).
3 So mss.: Wendland ἐκουσίουs following Ambrose, De fuga saeculi 2. 13, who in a paraphrase of the passage has "incipit anima peccatis patere voluntarioris." If this is right, presumably the thought is that while the offences when expelled were involuntary, if they return it will be as voluntary sins. The transition would be less abrupt if καὶ 72
polyandrous cause of polytheism, or rather atheism, the harlot, he deigns not even to look at, having learned to love her who had adopted, as her one Husband and Father, God the All-sovereign. In this character we see perfection in something like its highest form. On the other hand, as to the man who has vowed the Great Vow, the lawgiver seems to recognize that he does stumble unintentionally, even if not with deliberate intent; for he says, "If one die by him suddenly, he shall at once be defiled" (Num. vi. 9): for that which suddenly swoops down upon us from without, apart from any wish of our own, defiles the soul at once, though not for an interminable period, owing to its being unintentional. But with such involuntary defilements, even as with those that are voluntary, the High Priest has no concern, but stands far up beyond their reach. The observations which I have been making are not beside the mark, but are meant to shew that the fixing of the High Priest's death as the term for the return of the exiles is in perfect accordance with the natural fitness of things (Num. xxxv. 25). For so long as this holiest Word is alive and is still present in the soul, it is out of the question that an unintentional offence should come back into it; for this holy Word is by nature incapable of taking part in and of admitting to itself any sin whatever. But if the Word die, not by being itself destroyed, but by being withdrawn out of our soul, the way is at once open for the return of unintentional errors; for if it was abiding within us alive and well when they were left.

\[\textit{a} \quad \text{Cf. Quod Deus 89, De Agr. 175 and note.} \]

was inserted after διδοται, or we might read ἀκουσίος <καὶ ἐκουσίος>, cf. the end of § 115.
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118 ανισταμένου πάντως εἰςοικουσθήσεται. γέρας γὰρ ἔξαίρετον ὁ ἀμίαντος ἀρχιερεύς, ἔλεγχος, ἐκ φύσεως κεκάρπωται τὸ μηδέποτ' ἐις αὐτὸν παραδεξασθοῦν τόπον γνώμης ὀλισθοῦν.1 διόπερ ἄξιον εὐχεσθαι ζην ἐν ψυχῇ τὸν ἀρχιερέα ὁμοί καὶ βασιλεά, δικαστὴν ἔλεγχον, ὅς ὄλων ἡμῶν τὸ διανοίας ἀποκεκληρωμένος δικαστήριον ὑπ' οὐδενος τῶν ἀγομένων εἰς κρίσιν δυσώπεται.

119 XXII. Δελαληκότες οὖν τὰ ἄρμόττοντα περὶ φυγάδων τὴν κατὰ τὸν εἰρμὸν ἀκολουθίαν συνυφανοῦμεν. λέγεται γὰρ ἐξῆς2, "εὕρεν αὐτὴν ἀγγέλος κυρίου," κάθοδον ψηφισάμενος ὑπ' αἰδοῖς κινδυνεύσοντες φυχῆ πλανάσθαι καὶ μονοῦ προπομπὸς γνώμονος τῆς εἰς τὴν ἀπλανή γνώμην ἐπανόδου. χρήσιμον δὲ καὶ τὰ περὶ εὐρέσεως καὶ ζητήσεως φιλοσοφηθέντα τῷ νομοθέτῃ μὴ ἱσοχασθήναι. τοὺς μὲν γὰρ εἰσάγει μηδὲν μήτε ζητοῦντας μήτε εὐρίσκοντας, τοὺς δὲ ἐν ἐκατέρω κατορθοῦντας, ἐνίους δὲ θάτερον περιπεποιημένους, ὁνὶς μὲν ζητοῦντες οὐχ εὐρίσκοουσιν, οἱ δ' εὐρίσκουσιν οὐ ζητήσαντες.

120 οἱ μὲν οὖν μὴτε εὐρέσεως μήτε ζητήσεως ἐφιέμενοι τὸν λογισμὸν ἀπαθευτεύοντα καὶ ἀμελητεύοντα χαλεπῶς ἡκίσαντο καὶ δυνάμενοι ὁξὺ καθοραν ἐπηρώθησαν. οὕτως φησί "τὴν

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1 The text as it stands is untranslatable: Mangey suggests τὸ παράπαν for τὸν: I suggest ὀλισθοῦν, "any room for lapse of purpose," i.e. for any ἐκούσιον ἀμάρτημα.

2 MSS. εξ ἀρχῆς.

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a The interpretation of §§ 116-118 does not seem to be in keeping with what has gone before. Hitherto it was the
ON FLIGHT AND FINDING, 117–121

removed, assuredly when it departs and goes elsewhere they will be reinstated. For the Monitor, the 118 undefiled High Priest, enjoys as the fruit of his nature the special prerogative of never admitting into himself any uncertainty of judgement. Wherefore it is meet that we should pray that He who is at once High Priest and King may live in our soul as Monitor on the seat of justice, seeing that he has received for his proper sphere the entire court of our understanding, and faces unabashed all who are brought up for judgement there. a

XXII. Having now said all that was called for on 119 the subject of fugitives, we will go on to treat of what comes next in natural sequence. The next words are “An angel of the Lord found her” (Gen. xvi. 7)—the angel who decreed a return home to a soul whose shame was like to lead into wandering, and well-nigh was its escort back to the frame of mind which wanders not. It will be an advantage 120 that the lawgiver’s reflections about finding and seeking should not be passed over. He represents some as neither seeking nor finding anything, others as succeeding in both, some as having mastered one but not the other, either seeking and not finding, or finding without having sought. Those with 121 no desire either to find or to seek grievously impair their faculty of reason, by refusing to train and exercise it, and, though capable of being keen-sighted, become blind. This is his meaning when he says that

“involuntary offenders” themselves who found a refuge in the Powers of which the Logos himself was the chief. Here the thought is that the offences have been banished and will not return so long as we retain the Logos. He has in fact passed from the sense of φευγω = “to take refuge” to that of φευγω = “be banished.”
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γυναικα Δωτ στραφείςαν εις τούτισω γενέσθαι στήλην,“ ου μυθοπλαστών, άλλα πράγματος ιδιώ-
122 τητα μηνών. ος γαρ άν ολιγωρήσας τοι διδά-
σκοντος ύπο ραθυμίας εμφύτου τε όμοι και συν-
ήθους τα μεν πρόσω καταλίπη, δι’ ουν όραν και
άκοιεω και τας άλλας δυνάμεων έστι χρήσθαι
προς την των φύσεως πραγμάτων ἐπίκρισιν, έκτρα-
χηλίας δ’ αυτόν εις τούτισω περιαγάγη, τα τυφλά
των εν τω βιω πραγμάτων μάλλον ή των τού
σώματος μεριν ἐξηλωκός, ἀψύχο και κωφης
123 λίθον τρόπον στηλίτευεται. ου γαρ
έσχον, ή φησι Μωυσής, οι τοιούτωι τρόποι “καρ-
δίαν συνιέναι και ὀφθαλμοὺς βλέπειν και ώτα
άκοιεω,” άλλα τυφλον και κωφον και ἀνόητο 
καὶ ταϊς άλλαις δυνάμεις εκτραχήλιας 
δ’ αυτόν είς τούπισω περιαγάγη, τα τυφλα 
των εν τω βιω πραγματων μαλλον ή των του 
σωματων μεροι εξηλωκως, αψυχο και κωφης 
124 ουδει των δεοντων εφισταντες. XXIII. ήγεμων
δ’ έστι του χορου τουτου ο της σωματικης χωρας 
βασιλειους. “επιστραφεις” γαρ φησι “Φαραω
εισηλθεν εις του οικου αυτου, και ουκ 
επεστησε τον νουν ουδ’ επτουτω,” έισον τω 
επ’ ουδεν το 
125 αφαινεσθαι και στειρομενον αγωνια χρησθαι. οι 
μεν γε βουλευομενοι και σκοπουμενοι και παντι 
επιμελως εξεταζοντες ακονωσι και παραθηγουσι 
αυτων ο δε γυμνομενος τους οικειους χερει 
καρπως, αγχινωνι τε και συνεσιν, δι’ ουν 
το 
αφαινεσθαι και στειραζεις τος αγωνιας ακμας. 
126 Τον μεν ουν αλογον και αψυχον ος αληθοω των 
τουτων θιασων εατεον, των1 δε των οικειων και 
ευρεσι χρωμενων επικριτων. αυτικα τοινυν δ

1 MSS. των.
"Lot's wife turned backwards and became a pillar" (Gen. xix. 26), and here he is not inventing a fable but indicating precisely a real fact. For a man who is led by innate and habitual laziness to pay no attention to his teacher neglects what lies in front of him, which would enable him to see and hear and use his other faculties for the observation of nature's facts. Instead he twists his neck and turns his face backwards, and his thoughts are all for the dark and hidden side—of life, that is, not of the body and its parts, and so he turns into a pillar and becomes like a deaf and lifeless stone. Speaking of such characters as these Moses says that they did not get "a heart to understand, and eyes to see, and ears to hear" (Deut. xxix. 4), but wrought out for themselves a life that was no life, blind and deaf and unintelligent and in every way maimed, setting themselves to nothing that demands their thoughts.

XXIII. As leader of this company we see the king of the country which symbolizes the body; for we read that "Pharaoh turned and went into his house, and did not set his heart even to this" (Ex. vii. 23, R.V. mg.), as much as to say that he set it to nothing at all, but allowed it like an untilled plant to wither away and become barren and bear nothing. It is whetted and made keen by those who consider and observe and examine all things carefully; and when it is in exercise it bears its proper fruits, shrewdness and insight, which save it from being duped; but the unobservant man blunts and crushes the edges of intelligence.

We must, then, let alone the irrational and truly lifeless company of such men as these, and scan well that of those who practise looking and finding. Our

* Or "(almost) dislocates."
πολιτικός μὲν ἥκιστα δὲ δοξομανῆς τρόπος, ἐφ-κεκληρωμένος τῆς ἀμείνονος γενεάς, ὡν ἀρεταὶ κεκλη-ρωμέναι, ζητῶν τε καὶ ἀνευρίσκων αὐτὴν εἰσάγεται. 127 "εὕρε" γάρ φησιν "ἀνθρωπὸς τὸν Ἰωσήφ πλανώ-μενον ἐν τῷ πεδίῳ, καὶ ἠρώτησεν αὐτὸν τί ζητεῖς; ὁ δὲ εἶπεν τοὺς ἀδελφοὺς μου ἕγε τις ἤτω, ἀνάγ-γειλόν μοι, ποῦ βόσκουσιν. εἶπε δὲ αὐτῷ ὁ ἀνθρωπὸς ἀπήρκασιν ἐντεῦθεν ἤκουσα γὰρ αὐτῶν λεγόντων πορευθῶμεν εἰς Δωθαίν. καὶ ἐπορεύθη [565] Ἰωσήφ κατόπιν τῶν ἀδελφῶν αὐτοῦ, καὶ ἐῳ ἐδρεν αὐτοὺς ἐν Δωθαίν." ἐρμηνεύεται Δωθαίν ἐκλείπων ἐκανθή, σύμβολον ψυχῆς οὐ μέσως ἀλλὰ τελείως ἀποδεδρακίας τὰς κενὰς δόξας, αἱ γυναικῶν καὶ ἄνδρων ἔπιτηδεύσασιν ἐστί. διὸ πάνω καλῶς ἡ ἀρετή Σάρρα "τὰ γυναικεῖα ἐκλείπει," περὶ αὐτοῦ ἢ πονοῦμεθα οἱ τὸν ἀνανδρὸν καὶ θηλὺν ὄντως βίων μεταδιώκοντες. ὁ δὲ ἀγαθός καὶ ἐκλείπων προστίθεται κατὰ Μωυσῆν, φυσικῶτα τῆν γὰρ τῆς κενῆς δόξης ἀφαίρεσιν πρόσθεσιν ἀληθείας εἶναι συμβέβηκεν. εἰ δὴ τις ἐτε ἐν θνητῷ καὶ πολυμνημερικὴς καὶ πολυμόρφως βίω διατριβῶν καὶ κεχρημενῶς ἀφθόνοις ταῖς πρὸς περιουσίαν ὑλαις σκέπτεται καὶ ζητεῖ περὶ τῆς ἀμείνονος καὶ πρὸς τὸ καλὸν μόνον ἀφορώσης γενεάς, ἐξίους ἀποδοχῆς ἐστίν, ἃν μὴ πάλιν τὰ όνείρατα καὶ φαντάσματα τῶν νομιζόμενῶν καὶ φαινομένων ἀγαθῶν ὑπάνα-130 πλεύσαντα παρενεμρήσῃ. μένων γὰρ ἐν ἀκυβδη-λεύτῳ τῇ ψυχικῇ σκέψει, κατ᾽ έχθνος τῶν ζητου-
first example shall be the man who takes part indeed in public life, but is very far from having a mad thirst for fame: his ambition is for that better family, which the virtues have taken as their heritage, and he is represented as both seeking and finding it. For we are told that "a man found Joseph wandering in the plain, and asked him, 'What art thou seeking?' and he said 'I am seeking my brethren; tell me, where are they feeding their flocks?' And the man said to him, 'They have departed hence, for I heard them saying, Let us go to Dothan.' And Joseph went his way after his brethren, and found them in Dothan" (Gen. xxxvii. 15-17). Dothan means "a thorough forsaking," and is the symbol of a soul that has in no half measure but completely run away from those empty notions which resemble the practices of women rather than those of men. Accordingly it is finely said that Sarah, who is Virtue, "forsakes the ways of women" (Gen. xviii. 11), those ways on which we toil who follow after the unmanly and really feminine life. But the wise man too "forsaking is added" (Gen. xxv. 8), as Moses says in perfect accord with the nature of things: for the subtraction of vainglory is the addition of reality. If a man, while spending his days in this mortal life full of such diverse elements and assuming so many phases, and while he has at his disposal abundant material for a life of luxury, makes that better family, which has an eye only for what is morally excellent, his study and quest, he is worthy of approbation, if the dreams and phantoms of things that have the name and appearance of good things do not rise to the surface again and get the better of him. For if he continues in that soul inquiry and keeps it free from alloy, he will not give
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μένων βαίνων καὶ ἐπακολουθῶν οὐκ ἀνήσει πρὸ- 
131 τερον ἣ τοὺς ποθουμένους ἐντυχεῖν. ἀλλ' οὐδέν' 
αὐτῶν' παρὰ μοχθηροῖς ἀνευρίσει. διὰ τί; "ἀπ-
ήρκασι γὰρ ἐντεῦθεν," τὰς μὲν ἡμετέρας σπουδὰς 
ἐκλιπόντες, μετοικισάμενοι δ' εἰς τὸν ἔρημον κακῶν 
eὐσεβῶν χῶρον. λέγει δὲ ταῦτα ὁ ἀληθινὸς ἀν-
θρωπος, ὃ ἐπὶ ψυχῆς ἐλεγχὸς, δς ἀποροῦσαν καὶ 
σκεπτομένην καὶ ζητοῦσαν αὐτὴν ἰδὼν εὐλαβέται,
μὴ πλανηθείσα διαμάρτη τῆς ὀρθῆς ὁδοῦ.

132 XXIV. Πάνω τεθαύμακα κάκεινος, τὸν μὲν 
ϕιλοπευστοῦντα περὶ τοῦ μέσου τῶν ἄκρων καὶ 
λέγοντα· "ἴδον τὸ πῦρ καὶ τὰ ξύλα, ποῦ τὸ πρό-
βατον τὸ εἰς ὅλοκάρπωσιν," τὸν δ' ἀποκριόμενον· 
"ὁ θεὸς ὃς ἦσει ἐαυτῷ πρόβατον εἰς ὅλοκάρπωσιν,
tέκνον" καὶ ὑπερον τὸ ἀντιδοθέν εὐρίσκοντα. 
"ἴδον γὰρ κρίδος εἰς κατεχόμενος τῶν κεράτων ἐν 
133 φυτῷ Σαβέκ." ἰδωμεν οὖν, τὶ δ' μὲν ζητῶν ἀπορεῖ,
ὁ δ' ἀποκρινόμενος ἀποφαίνεται, καὶ τρίτον τὶ τὸ 
eὐρίσκομεν ἦν. δ' μὲν οὖν πυρθὴθεται τοιούτοιν ἐστών· ἰδοὺ τὸ δρῶν ἀτίον, τὸ πῦρ· ἰδοὺ καὶ τὸ 
πάσχον, ἡ ὕλη, τὰ ξύλα· ποῦ τὸ τρίτον, τὸ ἀπο-
tέλεσμα; οἶνον ἰδοὺ τὸ νοῦς, ἐνθερμον καὶ πεπυρω-
134 μένον πνεῦμα· ἰδοὺ καὶ τὰ νοητά, ὄσα 
καὶ τὰ νοητά, ὄσαν καὶ τὰ νοητά, ποῦ 
τὸ τρίτον, τὸ νοεῖν; πάλιν ἰδοὺ ἡ ὄρασις, ἰδοὺ 
τὸ χρῶμα, ποῦ τὸ ὀράν; καὶ συνόλως ἰδοὺ ἡ ἀισθήσις, 
τὸ κριτήριον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰ αἰσθητά, αἱ ὑλαὶ· τὸ οὖν

1 mss. οὐδενὶ τῶν: Wendland οὐδὲν αὐτῶν.

a For this interpretation of the "man" of Gen. xxxvii. 15
cf. Quod Det. 23.
b E.V. "thicket." "Sabek" is a translation of the
Hebrew word for thicket, which the LXX apparently took
for the name of a plant.
c Or "the thing effected."
d Or "spirit." See App. pp. 584 f.
up walking in the track of the objects of his quest, and following them up until he has reached those for whom he yearns. But none of them will he find among the worthless. Why so? Because "they have departed hence," forsaking all that we care about, and have removed into the abode of the pious where no evil men are found. The speaker is the true "man," the Monitor, set over the soul, who, seeing its perplexity, its inquiring, its searching, is afraid lest it go astray and miss the right road.

XXIV. Another instance is that of those well-known two whom I hold in great admiration. One is full of curiosity about the middle term between two others, and says, "Lo, the fire and the wood; where is the sheep for a whole burnt-offering?" The other replies, "God will see for Himself a sheep for a whole burnt-offering, Child"; and afterwards finds the substitute provided, for "behold a single ram held by the horns in a Sabek shrub" (Gen. xxii. 7, 8, 13). Let us see, then, what the inquirer's difficulty is, and what the answerer declares; and in the third place what the thing found was. Well, the inquiry he makes is of this kind: "Behold, the efficient cause, the fire; behold also, the passive object, the material, the wood; where is the third term, the finished result?" As though he should say, "Behold the mind, breath all warm and on fire; behold also the objects which the mind perceives, materials, as it were; where is the third term, the mind's perception?" Or once more, "Here is sight; here is colour; where is the seeing?" and, quite generally, "Lo, here is sense-perception, the instrument for forming judgements; yes, and the objects of sense-perception, the material for it to work upon; where,
αισθάνεσθαι πού; ταύτα πυνθανομένως δεόντως αποκρίνεται· "ο θεός οἰσται έαυτῷ·". θεοῦ γὰρ ἔργον ἔδω οὐ τοῦ τρίτον. ἐπιφροσύνη γὰρ αὐτοῦ ὁ μὲν νοῦς καταλαμβάνει, ἢ δ' ὦρασις ὅρα καὶ πᾶσα αἰσθησις αἰσθάνεται. "κριῶς δ' εὑρίσκεται κατεχόμενος," τοιύτου λόγου ἡσυχάζων καὶ ἐπέχων. ἀριστον γὰρ ἱερεῖν ἡσυχία καὶ | [566] ἐποχὴ περὶ δν πάντως οὐκ ἐστὶ πίστεις. ῥητὸν γὰρ μόνον τούτο "ο θεός οἰσται," ὃ γνώριμα τὰ πάντα, ὃς λαμπροτάτῳ φωτί, έαυτῷ, τὰ ὅλα αὐγάζει· τὰ δ' ἀλλα οὐ ῥητὰ γενέσει, ἢς πολὺ κατακέχυνται τὸ σκότος· ἢρεμία δ' ἀσφαλὲς ἐν σκότῳ.

136 ζητήσαντες καὶ τί τὸ τρέφον ἐστὶ τὴν ψυχήν—"οὐ γὰρ" ἢ φησὶ Μωυσῆς "ἡδεισαν τί ἢν"—εὐρον μαθόντες ῥήμα θεοῦ καὶ λόγον θείον, ἀφ' οὗ πᾶσαι παιδεῖαι καὶ σοφίαι ῥέουσιν ἄνεναι. ἢδ' ἐστὶν ἡ οὐράνιος τροφή, μηνύεται δ' ἐν ταῖς ιεραῖς ἀναγραφαῖς ἐκ προσώπου τοῦ αἰτίου λέγοντος· "ἳδοὺ ἐγὼ ὑμῖν ἄρτους ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ").

137 τῷ γὰρ οὗ τὴν αἴθεριον σοφίαν ο θεός ταῖς εὐφυέσι καὶ φιλοθεάμοσιν ἀνωθεν ἐπιψεκάζει διανοίας· αἱ δὲ ἱδοὺσαι καὶ γευσάμεναι καὶ σφόδρ' ἦσθεισαι ἐμαθον μὲν ὁ ἔπαθον, τὸ δὲ διαθέν ἄγνοοσι. διὸ πυνθάνονται· "τι ἐστὶ τούτο," ὁ μέλιτος γλυκύτερον, χιόνος δὲ λευκότερον εἶναι πέφυκε; διδαχ—
then, is the act of perceiving?" To these inquiries the other gives the only right answer, "God will see for Himself"; for the third term is God's special work. For it is by His taking thought for them that the mind apprehends, and sight sees, and every sense perceives. As for the words "A ram is found held fast," this is reason keeping quiet and in suspense. For the best offering is quietness and suspense of judgement, in matters that absolutely lack proofs. The only word we may say is this, "God will see." To Him all things are known; He sees all things distinctly, by clearest light, even by Himself. No other word can be spoken by created beings on whom the darkness has been shed in full measure; and in darkness, safety lies in keeping still.

XXV. Another instance. When they sought what it is that nourished the soul (for, as Moses says, "they knew not what it was") (Exod. xvi. 15), they became learners and found it to be a saying of God, that is the Divine Word, from which all kinds of instruction and wisdom flow in perpetual stream. This is the heavenly nourishment, and it is indicated as such in the sacred records, when the First Cause in his own person says, "Lo, it is I that am raining upon you bread out of the heaven" (ibid. 4); for in very deed God drops from above the ethereal wisdom upon minds which are by nature apt and take delight in Contemplation; and they see it and taste it and are filled with pleasure, being fully aware of what they feel, but wholly ignorant of the cause which produced the feeling. So they inquire "What is this" (ibid. 15) which has a nature making it sweeter than honey and whiter than snow? And they will be taught by

Ζητησας και ο προφητης αυτος, τι το του κατορθοουν αιτιουν, άνευρεν οτι η θεον μονου συνοδος. επειδη γαρ ηπορει, τις ειμι και τις ουν το ιδρατικον γενος απο του βασιλευειν δοκουντος αντιθεου τροπου ρυσουμαι, διδασκεται χρησιω, οτι "εσομαι μετα σου." ζητησεις δ ει των κατα μερος έχουσι μεν γλαφυραν θεωριαν και φιλοσοφον—πως γαρ ου;—η δε του των οντων αριστου και ανυγριτου και παντων αιτιου θεου ζητησε ευφραινει μεν ευθυς ιοντας επι την σκεψιν, ατελης δ ου γινεται, προωπαντωντος δια την ιλεω φυσιν έαυτου ταις παρθενοις χαρις και έπιδεικνυμενου έαυτου τοις γλυκομενοις ιδειν, ουχ οιον εστιν—αμηχανον γαρ, έπει και Μωυσης "αιπεστρεφε το προσωπον ευλαβειτο γαρ κατεμβλεψει ενωπιο του θεου,"—αλλ' ως ενεχωρει γενητην φυσιν τη

άπερινοήτων1 δυναμει προσβαλειν. αναγεγραπται και τοοτο εν τοις προτρεπτικοις. "επιστρα-φήσεσθε" γαρ φησι "προς κύριον τον θεον

1 mss. περι νοητα (-ω).

a These words of course really refer to the orders which follow as to the gathering of the manna. Philo takes them to refer to the preceding verse and thus identifies the manna with the "saying" and therefore also with the Logos. So also Leg. All. iii. 173.
the seer that "This is the bread, which the Lord hath given them to eat" (ibid. 15). Tell me, then, of what kind the bread is. "This saying," he says, "which the Lord ordained" (ibid. 16). This Divine ordinance fills the soul that has vision alike with light and sweetness, flashing forth the radiance of truth, and with the honied grace of persuasion imparting sweetness to those who hunger and thirst after nobility of character.

A seeker also was the prophet himself, to know the cause of successful achievement, and he found that it was the presence with him of the only God. For when he asked in doubt, "Who am I, and what is there in me that I should deliver the race of vision from the character which fancies itself king and sets itself up against God?" he is instructed by a message from God, "I will be with thee" (Exod. iii. 11 f.). It is true, of course, that the seeking of partial and subordinate objects calls out in us the exercise of delicate and profound thought; but the seeking of God, best of all existences, incomparable Cause of all things, gladdens us the moment we begin our search, and never turns out fruitless, since by reason of His gracious nature He comes to meet us with His pure and virgin graces, and shews Himself to those who yearn to see Him, not as He is, which is a thing impossible, since even Moses "turned away his face, for he was afraid to look upon God" (Exod. iii. 6), but so far as it was allowable that created nature should direct its gaze towards the Power that is beyond conception. This promise also is included in the Exhortations, where it is said "Ye shall turn

\[b\] See note on § 170.
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[567] ὑμῶν, καὶ εὐφήσετε αὐτόν, ὅταν ἡ ἐκζητήσητε ἀυτόν εἰς ὅλης τῆς καρδίας καὶ εἰς ὅλης τῆς ψυχῆς ὑμῶν."

143 XXVI. Ἀποχρώντως λελαληκότες καὶ περὶ τούτων ἐπὶ τὸ τρίτον ἔχεισ τρειξώμεθα κεφάλαιον, ἐν ὧν τὸ μὲν ἥττειν ἦν, τὸ δὲ εὐφήσκειν ὑμᾶς εἴπετο. Λάβαν γοῦν ἀναζητήσας ὅλον τοῦ ἄσκητοῦ τὸν ψυχικὸν οἶκον "οὐχ ἑὑρεν" ὁ φησὶ Μωυσῆς "τὰ εἶδωλα". πλήρης γὰρ πραγμάτων, ὑμῖν ὑνειράτων 144 καὶ κενῶν φαντασμάτων ἦν. οὐδʼ οἱ τυφλοὶ διάνοιαν Σοδομίται σπουδάσαντες ἐκθύμως αἰσχύνας τοὺς ἱεροὺς καὶ ἁμόρτεις λόγους εὑρον τὴν εἰς τοὺτό ἄγουσαν ὄνομαν, ἀλλʼ ὡς φησὶ τὸ λόγιον, "παρελύθησαν ἥττεις τὴν θύραν," καί τοὺς γενεῖς πᾶσαν τὴν οἰκίαν περιθεόντες καὶ πάντα κινήσας λίθον πρὸς ἔκπληρωσιν τῆς ἐκφύλου 145 καὶ ἀσεβοὺς ἐπιθυμίας. ἣδη τινὲς καὶ ἀντὶ πυλωρίων βασιλείας ἠθελήσαντες γενέσθαι καὶ τὸ κάλλιτον ἐν βίῳ, τάξιν, καταλύσας οὐ μόνον τῆς ἁδίκως ἐλπισιῶσης εὐπραγίας ἐσφάλησαν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἂν ἐν χερσὶν ἑιχὸν ἐκβαλεῖν ἡναγκάσθησαν. ἀρκετὰς τοὺς Κορέ βιασώτας ὑπερθέντας 146 * * * ὁ νόμος διαμαρτεῖται θυμοῦ ἀμφότερον. ὄσπερ γὰρ οὐ τὰ αὐτὰ παῖδες καὶ ἄνδρες μανθάνουσιν, ἀλλʼ ἐκατέρα τῶν ἡλικιῶν εἰσὶν ἐκμόττους διδακτεῖς, οὕτως πεφύκασιν εἰναι τίνες αἰεί παιδικαὶ ἐντὸς καὶ ἐν σώμασι γεγορακόσι καὶ

1 Wend. proposes to fill up the lacuna: μὴ ἄρκουμένου τῷ νεωκόρων τάξει. Perhaps καί τοι ἢδη . . . ἔχοντας would account better for the loss of the words in the mss.

a Or "although" . . . still." ὃσπερ . . . οὕτως seem here
back to the Lord your God, and shall find Him, when
ye shall seek after Him, with all your heart, and with
all your soul” (Deut. iv. 29 f.).

XXVI. Having said enough about those who seek 143
and find, let us turn next to our third head, in which
there is, we said, seeking, but no finding follows.
Laban falls under this head. He searched the whole
of the soul-dwelling of the Practiser, and as Moses
says “found not the idols” (Gen. xxxi. 33); for it
was full of real things, not of dreams and empty
phantoms.

The men of Sodom, too, blind 144
in understanding, when madly bent on bringing shame
upon the sacred and undefiled Words, did not find
the way that leads to this, but, as the sacred passage
says, “wearied themselves in seeking the door” (Gen.
xix. 11), although they ran all round the house and
left no stone unturned to carry out their unnatural
and unholy lust.

It has happened before 145
now, that men having conceived the desire to become
kings instead of gate-keepers and to overthrow order,
the most beautiful thing in human life, have not
only failed of the success which they had unjustly
hoped for, but have been compelled to part with the
advantage which they held in their hands. For the
Law tells us that the men of Korah’s company, when
they aimed at (priesthood and were not satisfied with
the post of Tabernacle attendants), failed of both
(Num. xvi.). For just as boys and men do not learn the 146
same things, but either age has its appropriate teach­
ings, so a it is the nature of some souls to be always
childish even in bodies that have grown old, and, on
the other hand, to be full grown in bodies just reach­
to be used in this adversative sense, as ut and ita often
are in Latin, but I do not know of any parallel.
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εμπαλιν τελειόταται εν ἄρτι ἀκμαζονι καὶ ἡβώσιν. ὁφλοεν ἄν οὖν εὐθειαν, ὃσοι μειζόνων ἢ κατά τὴν ἑαυτῶν φύσιν ἐρῶσιν, ἐπειδὴ πᾶν τὸ ὑπὲρ δύναμιν ἐπιτάσει σφοδρότητος ἀπορρήττεται.

147 καὶ Φαραώ "ζητῶν ἀνελείν Μωυσῆν," τὸ προ-
φητικὸν γένος, οὐδὲποτε εὐρήσει, καίτοι χαλεπῶν ἀκηκοῶς κατ' αὐτοῦ λόγον ὡς ἐπικεχερηκότος καθελείν τὴν σώματος ἀπασαν ἡγεμονίαν δυσι

148 προσβολαῖς. ὅ τι τὴν μὲν προτέραν ἐποιήσατο πρὸς τὸν Αἰγύπτιον τρόπον, ὃς ἐπετείχειζεν ἠδονὴν ψυχῆ—"πατάξας γὰρ αὐτὸν" οὔσια σποράδι "κατέχωσεν, ἀμμω," τοῦ αὐτοῦ νομίσας ἀμφότερα εἶναι τὰ δόγματα, καὶ ἠδονὴν ὡς πρῶτον καὶ μέγιστον ἄγαθον καὶ ἀτόμου ὡς τῶν ὀλων ἀρχάς,

—τὴν δ' ἔτεραν πρὸς τὸν κατακερματίζοντα τὴν ψύσιν τοῦ ἄγαθοῦ καὶ τὸ μὲν ἠδονήν, τὸ δὲ σῶματι, τὸ δὲ τοῖς ἐκτὸς ἀπονέμοντα. Ὀλόκληρον γὰρ αὐτὸ βουλεῖται εἶναι, τῷ ἀρίστῳ τῶν ἐν ἡμῖν, διανοία μόνη, προσκεκληρωμένον καὶ μηδενὶ τῶν ἀψύχων ἐφαρμόττον.

149 XXVII. Οὐδὲ τὴν ἀνίκητον ἀρετὴν καὶ πικραι-
νομένην ἐπὶ ταῖς καταγελάστοις τῶν ἀνθρώπων

σπουδαίς, ὅνομα Θάμαρ, ὃ διαπεμφθείς ἐπὶ τὴν [568] ζητησὶν αὐτῆς ἀνευρίσκει, | φυσικώτατα· λέγεται
gάρ: "ἀπέστειλε δὲ Ἰουδας τὸν ἐριφον ἐν χειρὶ τοῦ ποιμένος τοῦ Ὀδόλλαμίτου κομίσασθαι τὸν ἀρραβώνα παρὰ τῆς γυναικος· καὶ οὐχ εἴρεν αὐτήν. ἐπηρώτησε δὲ τοὺς ἀνδρας τοὺς ἐκ τοῦ τόπου· τοὺ

a Philo evidently interprets the two attacks as directed (1) against the Epicureans, (2) against the Peripatetics. The two schools however are not put on the same footing. The Epicurean is an Egyptian, who is smiting the Hebrew Stoic;
ON FLIGHT AND FINDING, 146–149

ing the prime of youth. All such as are enamoured of things too great for their nature will be convicted of foolishness, since every effort beyond our strength breaks down through over-violent straining. Pharaoh, again, seeking to destroy Moses (Exod. ii. 147 15), that is, the prophetic nature, will never find him, albeit he has heard a grievous charge against him, namely, that he has attempted to overthrow the entire dominion of the body in two attacks. The first of these he made against the Egyptian character, which was assailing the soul from the vantage-ground of pleasure; for “after smiting him he covered him with sand” (Exod. ii. 12), a drifting, disconnected substance. He evidently regarded both doctrines as having the same author, the doctrine that pleasure is the prime and greatest good, and the doctrine that atoms are the elementary principles of the universe. Another attack (ibid. 13) was directed against him who splits up the nature of good into subdivisions, and assigns one to soul, one to body, one to things outside us. For he would have the good to be a complete whole, apportioned to the best element in us, to understanding alone, and in agreement with nothing lifeless.

XXVII. Again, it is in perfect keeping with the nature of things that invincible Virtue, bitterly vexed at men’s absurd aims—Tamar is her name—is not found by the messenger dispatched to seek her; for it is said, “And Judah sent the kid of the goats by the hand of his shepherd the Adullamite, to receive the pledge from the woman’s hand: and he found her not. And he asked the men of the place,
in the second case the wrongdoer whom Moses rebukes is a Hebrew as well as his opponent.
PHILO

έστιν ἡ πόρνη ἡ γενομένη ἐν Αἰνάν ἐπὶ τῆς οδοῦ; καὶ εἶπον· οὐκ ἦν ἐνταῦθα πόρνη. καὶ ἀπεστράφη πρὸς Ἰούδαν καὶ εἶπεν· οὐχ εἴρον, καὶ οἱ ἀνθρώποι οἱ ἐκ τοῦ τόπου λέγουσι μὴ εἶναι ὁδε πόρνην· εἶπε δὲ Ἰούδας· ἐχέτω αὐτά, ἀλλὰ μὴ ποτε καταγελασθῶμεν· ἐγὼ μὲν ἀπέσταλκα τὸν ἐρήφον τοῦτον, σὺ δὲ οὐχ εὐρηκας." ὁ θαυμαστής δοκιμασίας, ἤ πειράματος πείρας. ἄρραβώνα τίς ἔδωκεν ἄνηστικῶς ἔχουσα διάνοια τοῦ καλλίστου κτήματος, θεοσεβείας, διὰ τριῶν ἐνεχύρων ἡ συμβόλων, δακτυλίου, ὀρμίσκου, ράβδου, ἀγαθοτήτης καὶ πίστης, εἰρμον καὶ ἀκολουθίαν λόγου πρὸς βίον καὶ βίου πρὸς λόγον, ὀρθὴν καὶ ἀκλίνην παιδείαν, ἡ λυσιτελεῖ ἐπερείδεσθαι. τὸν ἄρραβώνα τοῦτον εἰ καλῶς ἔδωκε, βασανίζει. τίς οὖν ἡ βάσανος; καθεύναι τι δέλεαρ ὅλκῳ κεχρημένον δυνάμει, δόξαν ἡ πλοῦτον ἠ γυείαν σώματος ἡ τῶν ὁμοιοτρόπων, καὶ γνῶναι πρὸς πότερα καθάπερ ἐπὶ πλάστηγγος ταλαντεύσεται· ὅστη γὰρ εἰ γένοιτο πρὸς τι τοῦτων, ο ἄρραβὼν οὐ βέβαιος. ἀπέστειλεν οὖν τὸν ἐρήφον κομίσασθαι τὸν ἄρραβώνα παρὰ τῆς γυναικὸς, οὐ τοῦτο προηρημένοις πάντως ἀπολαβεῖν, ἀλλ' εἰ ποτε ἀναξία τοῦ κατέχειν ἐκείνη γένοιτο. γενησεται δὲ πότε; ἢνικα ἃν τὰ διαφέροντα ἀδιαφόρων ἀντικαταλάξηται, τῶν γνησίων ἀγαθῶν τὰ νόθα προτιμήσασα· γνήσια μὲν οὖν ἀγαθὰ πίστις, εἰρμὸς καὶ ἀκολουθία λόγων πρὸς ἑργα, παιδείας κανών ὀρθῆς, ὡς ἐμπαλικας ἀνακόλουθοι, ἀπαιδευσίας, τὰ δὲ νόθα, ὡς τῆς ἀλόγου φορᾶς ἀπηλώρηται. ζητῶν οὖν ὃν ἀνευρέν

1 Wend, suggests the insertion of δηλούσα before διά: better, as Cohn, δοῦσα after ράβδου.

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‘Where is the harlot that was at Enaim by the way-side? ’ And they said, ‘There was no harlot here.’ And he returned to Judah and said, ‘I have not found her, and the men of the place say that there is no harlot here.’ And Judah said ‘Let her have them, but let us never be laughed to scorn; I have sent this kid, and thou hast not found her’” (Gen. xxxviii. 20-23). O admirable assay! O sacred test! A mind, bent on purchasing that fairest possession, piety, gave a pledge in the form of three securities or symbols, a signet ring, a cord, a staff (ibid. 18): the first, steadfastness and fidelity; the second, sequence and correspondence of word with life and life with word; the third, straight and unbending discipline, on which it is an advantage to lean. The mind is putting to the test whether it did well to give this pledge. What, then, is the test? To drop some bait possessed of attractive power, fame or riches or health of body, or something of this kind, and to ascertain towards which side it sinks as on a pair of scales; for should there be an inclination towards any of these, the pledge is not safe. So he sent the kid thus to recover the pledge from the woman, not with the purpose of getting it back in any case, but only if she should ever prove unworthy to retain it. When will she be proved such? Whenever she exchanges things that matter for things that do not, preferring counterfeits to genuine goods. Now genuine goods are fidelity, sequence and correspondence of words with acts, a standard of right discipline (as on the other hand evils are faithlessness, inconsistency, lack of discipline); while the counterfeits are all things that depend upon irrational impulse. 

a See App. p. 585.
PHILO

αὐτῆν”· δυσεύρετον γὰρ ἦ καὶ παντελῶς ἀνεύρετον ἐν πεφυμένῳ βίῳ τὸ καλὸν. κἂν διαπύθηται, εἰ ἔστιν περὶ πάντα τὸν τόπον τοῦ καλοῦ πεπορνευμένη ψυχῆ, ῥητῶς ἄκουσται, ὅτι οὔτε ἔστιν οὔτε ἦν πρότερον· ἀκόλαστος γὰρ ἡ μαχλᾶς ἡ τριοδῖτις σοβάς ἡ τὸ τῆς ὀρας ἀνθὸς ἑπευωνίζουσα ἡ καθαρσίως καὶ λουτροῖς τὰ ἐκτὸς φαιδρυσμένη, τὰ δὲ ἐντὸς ρυπώσα, ἡ καθάπερ τὰ πινάκια χρώμασι τὴν ὄψιν ὑπογραφομένη χίτα φυσικῆς εὐμορφίας ἡ τὸ λεγόμενον πολύκομδρον κακόν ὡς ἀγαθὸν μεταδιώκουσα ἡ πολυγαμίας ἐρῶσα ἡ πρὸς μυρία σπειρομένη ἡ ὑπὸ μυρίων σωμάτων ὅμοι καὶ πραγμάτων ἐμπαιζομένη καὶ 154 περιυβριζομένη κεῖθε οὐκ ἔστι· ταῦτα ὅ διαπεμφάμενος ἄκουσας, φθόνον ἡλλοτριωκώς ἀφ' αὐτοῦ καὶ τὴν φύσιν ἰλεως γέγηθεν οὐ μετρίως καὶ φησι· μὴ γὰρ οὐ δι' εὐχῆς ἔστι μοι τὴν διάνοιαν ἀστείαν τε καὶ ἄστην ὡς ἀληθῶς εἶναι, κοσμιότητι καὶ σωφροσύνῃ καὶ ταῖς ἀλλαὶς διαπρέπουσαν ἀρεταῖς, ἐνὶ προσέχουσαν ἀνδρὶ καὶ τὴν ἐνὸς οὐκουριάν ἀγαπῶσαν καὶ μοναρχία χαίρουσαν. εἰ δὴ τοιαύτη τῆς ἔστιν, ἐχέτω τὰ δεδομένα, καὶ τὴν παιδείαν καὶ τὸν εἰρήμον λόγου πρὸς βίον καὶ βίου πρὸς λόγου καὶ τὸ ἀναγκαῖοτατον, βεβαιότητα 155 καὶ πίστιν. ἀλλὰ μὴ ποτε γελασθῶμεν ἀνάξια

1 A difficult phrase which Mangey regarded as spurious: perhaps read μυρίων, “she becomes the seed-plot of thousands.”
sought there and "did not find her"; for that which is morally excellent is hard or even impossible to find in a life of turmoil. And if he make careful inquiries whether there be in all the region of that which is morally excellent a soul that has played the harlot, he will be told definitely that there neither is nor was aforetime, for that there is not there any licentious one, or a wanton, or a street-walker, or one prostituting for gain the flower of her youth, or making bright what is outside by baths and cleansings while she is foul within, or in default of natural beauty painting her face as pictures are coloured, or what is called the "many-husband" pest, following after evil as though it were good, or a lover of polygamy, or dispersing herself upon a thousand different objects material and immaterial alike, or mocked and outraged by that multitude.

He who had sent the messenger, on hearing this, being one who had put envy far from him and was of a gracious disposition, rejoices greatly and says: "Is it not my heart-felt prayer that my understanding should be a true and high-born lady, eminent for chastity and modesty and all other virtues, devoted to one husband and keeping watch with delight over the home of one, and exulting in a sole ruler? If in truth she is such an one, let her keep the things which have been given her, both discipline and the correspondence of word with life and of life with word, and the most vital of all, steadfastness and fidelity. But let us never be laughed to scorn in the belief that we

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\[α\] The allegory seems to get a little confused at this point. Properly the mind is the purchaser of the lady Virtue or Piety.
kecharisthai doxanttes, kaitoi y' upolabontes epitheidiotata t' psiuchh' dedwriosthai. allo gar egw mene, opere eikos h' egrasaosthai ton boulomenon tròpon basanon kai dokimasiaan labeinv, petoikia, delear kathes kai diapemysamenos, o de epeideisato

156 t'hn eavtou fous ouk evalwton. adhlon de emoi to diat tis ouk evalwton: muropous gar eidoiv t'wn agan faulon ta auta drwntas 'esvoste tois lian agathois, all' ouk apto diavoias tis autis, epidei tois mene alithsia, tois de upokriseas askeitaiv: xalepsi oti diayngiosis amfoi' pol lakis gar upo touto dokesin pareunmerithi to einai.

XXVIII. Kai ton chimaron ton peri tis amartias o filareatos zeti mevn, ouk eupriskei de' hodh gar, ws dholi to logion, enepereosto. tis oai vitetatai, skpsteiv to mene mhp den amartevi idion theou, to de metanoeiv sofou' pakhalepon de kai dusevretov touto ge. phoiv ouv o xhrismos, oti 'zhetewn exeizhtese Mouvsis' en tis thn thw bif ton peri amartematon metanoiias logon. espolvdaze gar aneurein apampisichomenen to adikein psiuchh' kai aneiv aisxhns gumnhn prooivsan amartematon. all' omws ouv edre, tis flogos, legw de tis

1 tis is my insertion: Wend. prints dhlon for the ms. adhlon, but this does not agree with the sequel. The test was necessary, because experience shews that without such a test we may easily be deceived. It would be possible to read tis indefinite instead of tis interrogative; but the double interrogative (what makes who?) is idiomatic Greek. Cf. De Som. ii. 296.

a Or "of little value." Philo interprets the LXX "Let her have them (i.e. the pledges), but let us never be laughed to scorn" as meaning that to suppose that the material gift of the kid should be taken in exchange for the spiritual,
thought our gifts unmerited; we did indeed suppose that they were presents perfectly adapted to the soul. But while I, on my part, did what one who wished to test and try a character would naturally do, when I offered a bait, and sent a messenger, that character on its part made it evident that it was by its nature no easy prey. But I could not tell what it is which makes one an easy prey and another not; for I have seen great numbers of the exceedingly wicked sometimes acting exactly like the very good, but not for the same reason, since one set is putting truth into practice, the other set hypocrisy: and it is hard to distinguish these two; for many a time being is outdone by seeming."

XXVIII. Again, the goat of the sin-offering is sought for by the lover of virtue, but he does not find it; for, as the passage of Holy Writ shews, it had already been burnt (Lev. x. 16). We must consider what he means by this figure. To do no sin is peculiar to God; to repent, to the wise man; and this latter is a very difficult thing, and hard to find. So the oracle says that "Moses diligently sought" in this mortal life the secret of repentance for sins; for he was intent on discovering a soul divesting itself of unrighteousness, and going forth without shame, naked of misdeeds. But nevertheless he did not find one, for the flame, in other words the irrational im-

would expose the offerer to the charge that he thought the latter of little value (or perhaps unduly depreciated the soul to which the offer is made). It is not so. The offer is the test which every aspiring soul must put to itself.

It might perhaps be suggested that the scorn is Tamar's, and the gift scorned the kid, and this is supported by the description of her in § 149. But it is difficult to fit this in with the rest of the sentence.
PHILO

The main point of the story of Lev. x. 16-20, some of the details of which seem to be difficult, is that the goat should have been eaten by the priests instead of being burnt. Aaron pleaded in defence “there have befallen me such things as these,” i.e. the death of his sons Nadab and Abihu. “In spite of the sacrifice offered on behalf of Aaron and his house, two of his sons have perished; with such a
pulse exceeding swift in its movements, had overrun and devoured the whole soul. For the fewer are overpowered by the more numerous, and the slower by the more fleet, and things that tarry by things that are present; and repentance is a restricted and slow and tarrying thing, whereas wrongdoing is copious and swift and constantly present in this mortal life. Naturally, then, one who has come into a state of lapse from virtue says that he is "unable to eat of the sin-offering," since his inward feeling does not permit him to be fed by repentance, wherefore it is said "Moses heard it, and it pleased him" (Lev. x. 19 f.). For our relation to other created beings is a very different thing from our relation to God; for to creation only things manifest are known, but to God hidden things also. The man who, lying against the truth, maintains while still doing wrong that he has repented, is a madman. It is just as if the sick man were to act the part of the healthy man: he will clearly get worse through declining to have recourse to any means conducive to health.

XXIX. Again, on one occasion the prophet, led on by his love of acquiring knowledge, was seeking after the causes by which the most essential occurrences in the universe are brought about; for observing all created things wasting away and coming to the birth, perishing and yet remaining, he is smitten with amazement and cries out saying, "Why is it that the bush token of the divine displeasure resting upon him could he, immediately afterwards, feel himself entitled to eat the sacrifice?" (Driver). Philo interprets the goat as Repentance, which is consumed by the fire of unreasoning appetite, and therefore "not found"; and to eat of it and thus to assume a repentance which is not sincere will make the sinner's condition worse.
καίεται καὶ οὐ κατακαίεται"· τὸν γὰρ ἀβατον [οὖ]¹ πολυπραγμονεῖ χῶρον, θείων ἐνδιαίτημα φύσεων, ἀλλ' ἡδη μέλλων ἀνήνυτον καὶ ἀτελὴ πόνον διαθλεῖν ἐπικούριζεται ἐλέω καὶ προμηθεία τοῦ πάντων σωτήρος θεοῦ, δι' ἐξήρησεν ἐκ τῶν ἁδύτων· "μὴ ἐγγίσῃς ὅδε," ἵσον τῷ μή πρόσιθι τοιαύτῃ διασκέψει· περιεργίας γὰρ καὶ φιλοπραγμοσύνης μείζονος ἦ κατὰ ἀνθρωπίνῃ δύναμιν τὸ ἔργον· ἀλλὰ τὰ μὲν γεγονότα θαύμαζε, τὰς δὲ αἰτίας, δὲ ὅτι ἦ 163 γέγονεν ἦ φθείρεται, μὴ πολυπραγμόνει. "ὁ γὰρ τόπος ἐν ὦ σὺ ἐστηκας" φησί "γη ἀγία ἐστὶ." ποῖος τόπος; ἡ δήλων ὅτι ὁ αἰτιολογικός, ἄν μόνον ταῖς θείαις ἀνήφε φύσεσιν, ἀνθρώπων οὐδένα νομίσας ἵκανον εἶναι αἰτιολογίας ἐφάπαξθαι;

ο δ' ἀρα διὰ πόθον ἐπιστήμης ὑπερκύψας ἀπαντά τὸν κόσμον ζητεὶ περὶ τοῦ κοσμοποιου, τὰς ἐστίν ὁ δυσόρατος οὗτος καὶ δυστόπαστος, σῶμα ἢ ἄσωματος ἢ ὑπεράνω τοῦ τούτων ἢ φύσις ἀπλῆ, οἰα μονάς, ἢ σύγκριμα ἢ τί τῶν ὄντων. καὶ τοῦ ὅ ὁμοῦ ὅ ως ἐστὶ δυσθήρατον καὶ δυσπερινότητον, εὐχεται παρ' αὐτοῦ μαθεῖν τὸν θεοῦ, τὰς ἐστίν ὁ θεὸς· οὐ γὰρ ἠλπίσε δυνησθαι γνώναι παρ' ἐτέρου τινὸς τῶν μετ' αὐτοῦ. ἀλλ' ἀμώς ἵσχυσε ἡμὴ ἐν περὶ τῆς τοῦ ὄντος ἐρευνῶν αἰτίας.

¹ [οὖ]: so Mangey: Wend., who retains it, may have thought that the βάτος represented the laws of causation in the visible world while the ἀβατος χῶρος was the supernatural sphere; but this is impossible in view of τὰς δὲ αἰτίας ... μὴ πολυπραγμόνει below. Wend, probably also did not realize that βάτος was supposed by Greek philologists to be derived from ἀβατος. It would however be possible to retain οὖ if a question-mark is placed after φύσεων ("are not his thoughts busy?").
is burning and not being consumed?" (Exod. iii. 2 f.), for his thoughts are busy over the untrodden place, familiar only to Divine natures. But when now on the point of engaging in an endless and futile labour, he is relieved of it by the kindness and providence of God the Saviour of all men, who from out of the hallowed spot warned him "Draw not nigh hither" (ibid. 5), as much as to say "Enter not on such an inquiry"; for the task argues a busy, restless curiosity too great for human ability: marvel at all that has come into being, but as for the reasons for which they have either come into being or are decaying, cease to busy thyself with them. For "the place on which thou standest is holy ground," it says (ibid. 5). What kind of place or topic is meant? Evidently that of causation, a subject which He has assigned to Divine natures only, deeming no human being capable of dealing with the study of causation.

But the prophet owing to desire of knowledge lifts his eyes above the whole universe and becomes a seeker regarding its Creator, asking of what sort this Being is so difficult to see, so difficult to conjecture. Is He a body or incorporeal, or something exalted above these? Is He a single Nature, a Monad as it were? Or a composite Being? What among all that exists? And seeing that this is a problem hard to pursue, hard to take in by thought, he prays that he may learn from God Himself what God is: for he had no hope of being able to ascertain this from another, from one of those that are inferior to Him. Nevertheless he did not succeed in finding anything by search respecting the essence of Him that is. For

2 mss. ἠκούσε.
τα γαρ οπισω μου” φησιν “οψει, το δε προσωπον ου μη ιδης.” αυταρκες γαρ εστι σοφω τα άκολουθα και έπομενα και οσα μετα τον θεον γνωναι, την δ’ ηγεμονικην ουσιαν ο βουλομενος καταθεασασθαι τα περιαγει των άκτινων πριν ιδειν πηρος έσται.

166 XXX. Τοσαυτα και περι του τριτου διειλεγμενου κεφαλαιου μετιμεν επι το τεταρτον και τε-

[571] λευταιον | των προπατοντων, καθ’ δ’ μη γενομενης ζητησεως φιλει προαπαντάν ευρεσις. εν τοιτω ταττεται πας αυτομαθης και αυτοδιδακτος σοφος’ ου γαρ σκεψει και μελετας και πόνοις έβελτυωθη, γενομενος δε ευθυς ευτρεπισμενην ευρε σοφιαν άνωθεν ομβηθεισαν απ’ ουρανοπ, δε άκρατου απάσας ειστιαθη και διετελεσε μεθυων την μετ’ ορθοτητος λογου νηφουσαν μεθην. ουτος εστιν δεν Ισαακ άνομασαν οι χρησμοι, δεν ουχ ετερω μεν

167 χρόνω συνελαβεν, ετερω δε έτεκεν η ψυχη. “συλ-

λαβούσα” γαρ φησιν “έτεκεν” ως άν αχρόνως.

ου γαρ άνθρωπος ήν ο γεννώμενος, άλλα νόμα

καθαρώτατον, φυσει μάλλον ή επιτηδευςει καλόν

ου χαριν και η τικτουσα αυτο λεγεται “τα γυναι-

κεια έκλιπειν,” τα συνηθη και ευλογα και άνθρω-

168 πινα. καινου γαρ και κρειττων λογου και θειων

δεινως το αυτομαθες γενοσ, ουκ άνθρωπιναις επι-

νοιαις, άλλ’ ενθεω μανια συνισταμενον. η αγνοεις

οτι ου δεονται προς των των τοκων μαιων Εβραιων,

“τικτουσι” δ’, ως φησι Μωυσης, “πριν εισελθειν

100
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he is told "What is behind Me thou shalt see, but My face thou shalt by no means see" (Exod. xxxiii. 23). For it amply suffices the wise man to come to a knowledge of all that follows on after God and in His wake, but the man that wishes to set his gaze upon the Supreme Essence, before he sees Him will be blinded by the rays that beam forth all around Him.

XXX. Having said thus much about the third head also, we will go on to the fourth and last of those proposed for consideration, in which there has been no "seeking," and yet "finding" meets us unbidden. Under this head is ranged every wise man who learns directly from no teacher but himself; for he does not by searchings and practisings and toilings gain improvement, but as soon as he comes into existence he finds wisdom placed ready to his hand, shed from heaven above, and of this he drinks undiluted draughts, and sits feasting, and ceases not to be drunken with the sober drunkenness which right reason brings. This is he whom Holy Writ calls "Isaac," whom the soul did not conceive at one time and give birth to at another, for it says "she conceived and gave birth" (Gen. xxi. 2) as though timelessly. For he that was thus born was not a man, but a most pure thought, beautiful not by practice but by nature. And for this reason she that gave birth to it is said "to have forsaken the ways of women" (Gen. xviii. 11), those human ways of custom and mere reasoning. For the nature of the self-taught is new and higher than our reasoning, and in very deed Divine, arising by no human will or purpose but by a God-inspired ecstasy. Do you not know that Hebrew mothers need no midwives for their delivery, but as Moses says "before the mid-
τὰς μαίας,” λέγω δὲ μεθόδους, τέχνας, ἐπιστήμας, 
φύσει μόνη χρώμεναι συνεργῇ; παγ-
kάλους δὲ καὶ προσφυεστάτους ὅρους ἀποδίδωσι 
τοῦ αὐτομαθοῦς, ἕνα μὲν τοιοῦτον, τὸ ταχὺ ἐὑρισκό-

169 μεν, ἐτερον δὲ “ὁ παρέδωκεν θεὸς.” τὸ μὲν 
οὐν διδασκόμενον μακρὸν χρόνον δεῖται, τὸ δὲ 
φύσει ταχὺ τε καὶ τρόπον τινὰ ἄχρονον ἐστὶ· 
κάκεινο μὲν ἀνθρωπον, τοῦτο δὲ θεὸν ὑφηγητήν 
ἐχει. τὸν μὲν δὴ πρότερον ὅρον κατέταξεν ἐν 
πεῦσι· “τί τοῦτο δ ταχὺ εὕρε, ὦ τέκνον,” τὸν 
δὲ ἐτερον ἐν ἀποκρίσει φάσκων· “ὁ παρέδωκε 

170 κύριος θεὸς.” XXXI. ἔστι δὲ καὶ 
τρίτος ὅρος τοῦ αὐτομαθοῦς, τὸ ἀναβαίνον αὐτο-

tον. λέγεται γὰρ ἐν τοῖς προτρεπτικοῖς· “οὐ 
σπερεῖτε, οὐδὲ μὴ ἀμήσητε τὰ αὐτῶματα ἀναβαί-

νοντα αὐτῆς”. τέχνης γὰρ οὐδεμιᾶς χρεία τὰ φύσει, 
τοῦ θεοῦ σπειροντος αὐτὰ καὶ τῇ γεωργικῇ τέχνῃ 
teleσφορούντος ὡς ἀν αὐτῶματα τὰ οὐκ αὐτῶματα, 
πλὴν παρόσον ἐπινοίας ἀνθρωπινῆς οὐκ ἔδειξθη 

171 τὸ παράπαν. οὐ προτρέπει δὲ μᾶλλον ἡ γνώμην 
ἀποφαίνεται· παραγωγὴν μὲν γὰρ εἶπεν ἂν· μὴ 
σπείρητε, μὴ ἀμήσητε, ἀποφαινόμενος δὲ· “οὐ 
σπερεῖτε, οὐδὲ μὴ ἀμήσητε τὰ αὐτῶματα”. οἶς 
γὰρ ἀπαυτοματίζουσιν ἐκ φύσεως ἐπιτυγχάνομεν, 
τούτων οὔτε τὰς ἄρχας οὔτε τὰ τέλη παρ’ ἑαυτοὺς 

[572] ὥς ἀν αἴτιον ἐὑρίσκομεν. ἄρχη μὲν οὖν οὐν ὁ 

1 mss. ἀναίτιον: Mangey ἀναίτιων.

Since in the other six places where Philo uses the phrase 
the quotation comes from Deuteronomy, it is perhaps more 
probable that here also he thinks he is quoting that book.
wives” (Exod. i. 19), that is before systems, arts, sciences, come in, they give birth with the co-operation of nature alone? Admirable and most suitable are the marks which the Lawgiver sets forth to define the direct learner: one, “that which is quickly found,” another, “that which God delivered.” While that which is taught needs a long time, that which comes by nature is rapid, and, we may say, timeless; and, while the one has man as teacher, the other has God. The former mark he sets down in a question: “What is this which thou didst find quickly, Child?” the other in a reply, in the words “that which God the Lord delivered” (Gen. xxvii. 20).

XXXI. There is besides a third mark of the direct learner, namely that which comes up of itself. For it is said in the Exhortations: “Ye shall not sow, nor shall ye reap its growths that come up of themselves” (Lev. xxv. 11): for natural growths require no artificial treatment, since God sows them and by His art of husbandry brings to perfection, as though they were self-grown, plants which are not self-grown, save only so far as they had no need whatever of human attention. His words are not those of exhortation, but of statement: for, in commanding, he would have said “do not sow,” “do not reap”; instead he says in the form of a statement, “Ye shall not sow, nor assuredly shall ye reap that which is self-grown.” For when we observe such growths as spring up spontaneously by nature, we find that we are not responsible either for their beginning or their end. Now the seed is

\[\text{Or, more fully, “statement of what he thinks (will happen).” For this argument from the indicative form of the words cf. De Ebr. 138.}\]
172 σπόρος, τελευτή δέ ὁ άμητος· ἂμεινον δ’ ἐκεῖνο ἐκδέξασθαι· πάσα ἀρχή καὶ πάν τέλος αὐτόματον ἐστιν, ὦσον τῷ φύσεως, οὐχ ἡμέτερον ἔργον· οἶον ἀρχὴ τίς τοῦ μανθάνειν; ἡ δὴ λόγον ὅτι ἡ ἐν τῷ διδασκόμενῳ φύσις εὐπαράδεκτος οὖσα πρὸς τὰ κατὰ μέρος θεωρήματα; τίς δὲ τοῦ τελειοῦσθαί; πάλιν, εἰ δεῖ μηδὲν υποστειλάμενον εἰπέν, ητή φύσις. προκοπᾶς μὲν γὰρ ἐμποίησαι καὶ ὁ διδάσκων έκκανός, τὴν δ’ ἐπ’ άκρον τελειότητα ὁ θεός μόνος, ἡ ἀρίστη φύσις. ὁ τούτως ἐντρεφόμενος τοῖς δόγμασι τὴν ἄδιδον εἰρήνην ἄγει, πόνων ἀφεμένος ἀπράκτων. ἂδιαφορεῖ δ’ ἐβδομάδος εἰρήνη κατὰ τὸν νομοθέτην· ἐν γὰρ αὐτῇ τὸ δοκεῖν ἐνεργεῖν ἀποτιθεμένη γένεσις ἀναπαύεται. προσηκόντως οὖν λέγεται· “καὶ ἔσται τὰ σάββατα τῆς γῆς ὑμῖν βρώματα,” δι’ ὑπονοιῶν τρόφιμον γὰρ καὶ ἀπολαυστὸν μόνον ἢ ἐν θεῷ ἀνάπαυσις, τὸ μέγιστον ἁγαθὸν περιποιοῦσα, τῆν ἀπόλεμον εἰρήνην. ἢ μὲν γὰρ κατὰ πόλεις ἀνακέκραται ἐμφανίως γεγονός, ἡ δ’ ψυχῆς ἀμμιγῆς διαφωτώσεις ἀπάσης ἐστιν. ἐναργέστατα δὲ μοι δοκεῖ τὴν ἄνευ ζητήσεως εὑρεσὶν παριστάνειν διὰ τοῦτων· “ὅταν εἰσαγάγῃ σε κύριος ὁ θεός σου εἰς τὴν γῆν ἥν ὡμοιε τοῖς πατρίσι σου δοῦναι σοι, πόλεις

1 Wendland puts a full stop after αὐτόματα, a colon after εὑρίσκομεν, and a full stop after ἄμητος. The last at any rate seems to me to obscure the connexion of thought. See note a below.

a The connexion of thought seems to be as follows: to say that we shall not sow or reap (in the sense of bringing to the harvest) self-grown plants is a truism. Sowing must mean “beginning” and reaping “ending” and the text is
the beginning and the reaping the end; and the text is better understood in this way: every beginning and every end is "automatic," in the sense that it is not our doing but that of nature. For instance, what is the beginning of the act of learning? Evidently it is the nature residing in the pupil with its receptivity towards the several subjects of study. What again is the beginning of the completion of learning? Undoubtedly it is nature. It is within the power of the teacher to lead us from one stage of progress to another; God only, Nature at its best, can produce in us the full completion.

The man that is nurtured on these doctrines enjoys the peace that never ends, released from unabating toils. Peace and Seven are identical according to the Legislator: for on the seventh day creation puts away its seeming activity and takes rest. So, taken in a symbolic sense, the words "And the sabbath of the land shall be food for you" (Lev. xxv. 6) are to the point; for nothing is nourishing and enjoyable food, save rest in God, securing as it does for us the greatest boon, the peace which is unbroken by war. For the peace which is made by one city with another is mixed with and marred by intestine war; but the peace of the soul has no admixture of discord whatsoever.

But it is by the following that the Lawgiver seems to me most clearly to supply an example of finding without seeking: "When the Lord thy God shall have led thee into the land which He sware unto thy fathers to give thee, cities great intended to teach us that all our actions begin and end from God.

b Or "the seventh (anything)." See note on De Mut. 260. Philo clearly has the sabbatical year in mind as well as the sabbath itself.
μεγάλας καὶ καλάς, ἃς οὐκ ἑκοδόμησας, οἰκίας πλήρεις πάντων ἀγαθῶν, ἃς οὐκ ἐνέπλησας, λάκκους λελατομημένους, οὕς οὐκ ἐξελατόμησας, ἀμπελώνας καὶ ἐλαιώνας, οὕς οὐ κατεφύτευσας.

176 ὅρας τὴν ἀφθονίαν τῶν κεχυμένων μεγάλων καὶ ἔτοιμων πρὸς κτῆσιν καὶ ἀπόλαυσιν ἀγαθῶν; εἰκάζονται δὲ πόλεσι μὲν αἱ γενικαὶ άρεταί, διότι ἐπὶ πλείστον εὐρύνονται, οἰκίας δ' αἱ ἐν εἴδει—στέλλονται γὰρ εἰς βραχύτερον αὐταί κύκλον,—λάκκους δὲ αἱ εὐφυεῖς ψυχαί, αἱ εὐπαράδεκτοι σοφίας ὡς ἐκείνοι ύδατος, ἀμπελώσι δὲ καὶ ἐλαιώσιν αἱ προκοπαί καὶ αὐξήσεις καὶ καρπῶν γενέσεις· καρπὸς δ' ἐπιστήμης ὁ θεωρητικὸς βίος, ἀκρατοῦ εὐφροσύνην περιποιῶν ὡς ἀπ' οἴνου καὶ νοητὸν φέγγος ὡς ἀπὸ φλογός, ἢς ἐλαιων τροφή.

177 XXXII. Ταῦτα καὶ περὶ εὐρέσεως εἰπόντες μετ᾿ ἕζης ἐπὶ τὰ ἀκόλουθα τῆς ἐφόδου. “εὐρεν” οὖν φησιν “αὐτὴν ἁγγελος κυρίου ἐπὶ τῆς πηγῆς τοῦ ύδατος.” λέγεται δὲ πολλαχῶς πηγῆ, ἐνυ πρόπον ὁ ἡμέτερος νους, ἐτερὸν δὲ ἡ λογικὴ ἔξις καὶ παιδεία, τρίτον δ' ἡ φαύλη διάθεσις, τέταρτον ἡ σπουδαία καὶ ἑναντία ταῦτας, πέμπτον αὐτὸς δ' τῶν ὀλῶν | ποιητῆς καὶ πατήρ. τὰς δὲ τῶν ὀλῶν πίστεις οἱ ἀναγραφέντες δηλοῦσι χρησμοὶ τίνες οὖν εἰσιν, ἐπισκεπτέον. ἂδεται τις ἐν ᾧ ἀρχή τῆς νομοθεσίας μετὰ τὴν κοσμοποιίαν εὐθὺς τούσδε· “πηγῇ δὲ ἀνέβαυνεν ἐκ τῆς γῆς καὶ ἐπότιζε πάν τὸ πρόσωπον τῆς γῆς.” οἱ μὲν οὖν ἄλληγορίας καὶ φύσεως τῆς κρύπτεσθαι φιλούσης

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a Cf. Quod Deus 94 ff.

b See App. p. 585.
and fair, which thou buildedst not, houses full of all good things, which thou filledst not, cisterns cut out, which thou cuttedst not, vineyards and olive-yards, which thou plantedst not" (Deut. vi. 10 f.). Seest thou the lavish abundance of the good things showered upon them, great and ready for possession and enjoyment? The generic virtues are likened to cities, because they have the greatest expanse; the special virtues to houses, for these are restricted to a narrower compass; souls endowed with good native ability are likened to cisterns, being ready to receive wisdom as these do water; vineyards and olive-yards represent progress and growth and yield of fruits; and the fruit of knowledge is the life of contemplation, winning for us unmixed gladness as from wine, and intellectual light as from a flame which oil feeds.\(^{a}\)

XXXII. In what preceded we have spoken about finding, having previously dealt with flight. We will now pass on in turn to the points which follow next in our plan of treatment. We read, then, “An angel of the Lord found her at the water-spring” (Gen. xvi. 7). “Spring” is a word used in many senses. In the first place, our mind is so called; secondly, the reasoning habit and education; thirdly, the bad disposition; fourthly, its opposite, the good disposition; fifthly, the Maker and Father of the Universe Himself. The proofs of this statement are supplied by the Oracles of Scripture: let us see what they are. There is one such declaration in the beginning of the Book of the Law, immediately after the record of the Creation of the World, running as follows: “A spring went up out of the earth and watered all the face of the earth” (Gen. ii. 6). Those who are unversed in allegory and the nature-truth which
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άμύητοι τὴν εἰρημένην εἰκάζουσι πηγὴν τῷ Αἴγυπτῷ ποταμῷ, δό κατὰ πᾶν ἐτος ἀναχεόμενος λιμνάζει τὴν πεδιάδα, μονονοῦκ ἀντίμμον οὐρανοῦ δύναμιν ἐπιδείκνυσθαι δοκῶν. δ' γὰρ χειμῶνος ταῖς ἄλλαις χώραις οὐρανός, τῷ Αἴγυπτῳ θέρους ἀκμάζοντος δ' Νεῖλός ἔστιν. δὲ μὲν γὰρ ἀνωθεν ἐπὶ γῆν τὸν υστὸν ἀποστέλλει, δ' δὲ κάτωθεν ἄνω, τὸ παραδοξότατον, ὡς ἀρδεῖ τὰς ἀρούρας. οθὲν ὀρμηθεῖσι καὶ Μωυσῆς ἄθεον ἀνέγραψε τὸν Αἴγυπτιον τρόπον γῆν οὐρανοῦ προκρίνοντα καὶ τῶν ὀλυμπίων τὰ χερσαία καὶ ψυχῆς τὸ σῶμα.

180 ἀλλὰ μὴν περὶ τούτων καὶ αὖθις ποτὲ ἔνεσται λέγειν, ὅταν ἐπιτρέπωσιν οἱ καιροὶ δὲ—στοχαστεύον γὰρ τοῦ μὴ μακρηγορεῖν—ἐπανωτέον ἐπὶ τὴν δι' ὑπονοιῶν ἀπόδοσιν καὶ λεκτέον τὸ "πηγὴν ἀναβαίνειν καὶ ποτίζειν πάν τὸ πρόσωπον τῆς γῆς" τοιοῦτον εἶναι. τὸ ἡγεμονικὸν ἴμμων ἑοίκος πηγῆς δυνάμεις πολλὰς οί διὰ γῆς φλεβῶν ἀνομβροῦν, τὰς δυνάμεις ταῦτας ἄχρι τῶν αἰσθήσεων [ὀργάνων], ὀφθαλμῶν, ὠτων, ῥινῶν, τῶν ἄλλων, ἀποστέλλειν. αἱ δ' εἰσὶ παντὸς ζῶου περὶ κεφαλῆς καὶ πρόσωπον. ποτίζεται οὖν ὀστερὸν ἀπὸ πηγῆς τοῦ κατὰ ψυχὴν ἡγεμονικοῦ τὸ σώματος ἡγεμονικὸν πρόσωπον, τὸ μὲν ὀρατικὸν πνεύμα τείνοντος εἰς ὦματα, τὸ δὲ ἀκουστικὸν εἰς οὖς, εἰς δὲ μυκτῆρας τὸ ὀσφρήσεως, τὸ δ' αὖ

1 mss. τῶν αἰσθήσεως ὀργάνων: I retain Wendland’s text with grave doubt. He bases his correction on the feminine αἰ. But I see no great difficulty in referring this to the “faculties” which if they spring from the mind exhibit themselves in the face. The phrase αἰσθήσεως ὀργάνων as applied to the eyes, etc., is quite common, e.g. De Som. 1. 55, and indeed is more correct than αἰσθήσεις.
loves to conceal its meaning compare the spring mentioned with the River of Egypt, which rises in flood yearly and turns the plain into a lake, seeming to exhibit a power well-nigh rivalling the sky. For what the sky is in winter to other countries, this the Nile is to Egypt in the height of summer: the one sends the rain from above upon the earth, the other, strange to say, rains up from below and waters the fields. This afforded Moses ground for branding the Egyptian character as atheistical in its preference for earth above heaven, for the things that live on the ground above those that dwell on high, and the body above the soul. However, it will be possible to speak of this hereafter, when opportunity permits. At present the need for aiming at brevity compels me to take up the interpretation of the passage allegorically, and to say that "a spring going up and watering all the face of the earth" has the meaning I am about to give. Our dominant faculty resembles a spring: and from it like the spring water through the veins of the earth well up many powers which it sends forth till they reach the senses, eyes, ears, nostrils, and so on. Every animal has those in its head and face. Thus the dominant faculty in the soul waters, as from a spring, the face, which is the dominant part of the body, extending to the eyes the spirit of vision, that of hearing to the ears, to the nostrils that of smelling,

"Literally "starting from which," i.e. this is the original cause of the facts which led Moses to brand, etc. Cf. De Mos. ii. 193 ff., where the blasphemy of the son of an Egyptian father (Lev. xxiv. 10-15) is ascribed to the atheism of Egypt and this to their deification of a mere river.

Or "current."
γεύσεως εἰς στόμα καὶ τὸ ἄφης εἰς σύμπασαν τὴν ἐπιφάνειαν.

183 XXXIII. Εἰσὶ δὲ καὶ τῆς παιδείας πολύτροποι πηγαὶ, αἰς ὀρθοὶ καὶ τροφιμώτατοι λόγοι, καθάπερ στελέχη φοινίκων, παρανέβλαστον. "Ἥλθον" γὰρ φησιν "ἐἰς Αἴλιμ, καὶ ἐν Αἴλιμ ἦσαν δώδεκα πηγαὶ ὕδατων καὶ ἐβδομήκοντα στελέχη φοινίκων παρενέβαλον δὲ ἐκεῖ παρὰ τὰ ὑδάτα." Αἴλιμ πυλῶνες ἐρμηνεύονται, εἰσόδου τῆς πρὸς ἁρετὴν σύμβολον. ὡσπερ γὰρ οἰκίας ἀρχαὶ πυλῶνες, καὶ ἁρετὴς τὰ ἐγκύκλια προπαιδεύματα.

184 τέλειος δ᾽ ἀριθμός ὁ δώδεκα, μάρτυς δ᾽ ὁ ζωδιακὸς ἐν οὐρανῷ κύκλος, τοσοῦτοι κατηστερισμένοι φωσφόροι ἀστροι· μάρτυς καὶ ἡ ἡλίου περίοδος· μησί γὰρ δώδεκα τὸν έαυτοῦ περατοῦ κύκλον, ἱσαρίθμους τε τοῖς ἐνιαυτοῦ μησὶ τὰς ἡμέρας καὶ

185 νυκτὼς ὥρας ἄγουσιν ἄνθρωποι. Μωυσῆς δ᾽ οὐκ ἐν ὄλιγοις ὤμει τὸν ἀριθμόν, δώδεκα φυλὰς τοῦ ἱζουντος ἀναγράφων, ἄρτους δώδεκα τῆς προθέσεως νομοθετῶν, λίθους, ἐν οἷς αἱ γλυφαί, δώδεκα τῇ ἱερᾷ ἐςθήτῃ τοῦ ποδήρου ἐνδύματος ἐπὶ τῶν λογίων συνυφαίνει κελεύων. ὤμει μέντοι καὶ τὴν δεκαδέ πολυπλασιαζομένην ἐβδομάδα, νυνὶ μὲν ἐβδομήκοντα φοινικὰς παρὰ ταῖς πηγαῖς εἶναι λέγων, ἐν ἐτέροις δὲ πρεσβυτέρους μόνους ἐβδομήκοντα, οῖς τὸ θείον ἐπενεμῆθη καὶ προφητικὸν πνεύμα, καὶ πάλιν ἱερεῖα μόσχων ἐβδομήκοντα ἐν διαφέσει καὶ τὰ ἐξ ἐναρμονίας ἐορτῆ τῶν σκηνῶν προσαγομένων βουθυτοῦνται γὰρ οὐκ ἀθρόοι, ἀλλ᾽ ἐν ἡμέραις ἐπτά, τῆς ἁρχῆς ἀπὸ τρισκαίδεκα ταύρων γενομένης. οὕτως γὰρ κατὰ

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that of tasting to the mouth, and that of touch to the whole surface.

XXXIII. There are also a variety of springs of education, by the side of which there grow up, like stems of palm-trees, upright forms of reason rich in nourishing food. For we read that "they came to Elim, and in Elim there were twelve springs of water, and seventy stems of palm-trees; and they encamped there by the waters" (Exod. xv. 27). "Elim" means "gateways," a figure of the entrance to virtue; for just as gateways are the beginnings of a house, so are the preliminary exercises of the schools the beginning of virtue. And twelve is a perfect number. The zodiac circle in the sky is a witness to this, being adorned with that number of luminous constellations: a further instance is the sun's circuit, for it completes its round in twelve months, and men keep the hours of day and night equal in number to the months of the year. And Moses celebrates this number in several places, telling us of twelve tribes in the nation, directing twelve loaves to be set forth on the Table, bidding them weave twelve inscribed stones on the "oracle" in the holy vestment of the high priest's full-length robe (Ex. xxviii. 17 ff.). He also pro-

claims the ten-fold seven, telling in this passage of seventy palm-trees by the springs, and in another of the Divine Spirit of prophecy bestowed on only seventy elders (Num. xi. 16), and again of seventy calves offered as victims at the Feast of Tabernacles arranged in divisions following a regular series: for they are not all sacrificed at once, but on different days, beginning with thirteen bull-calves (Num. xxix. 13 ff.); for in this way, the number being
τὴν ἕνος υφαίρεσιν ἄει μέχρι τῆς ἐβδόμης ἐμελλεν ὁ τῶν ἐβδομήκοντα συντεθεῖς ἀριθμὸς ἐκπληροῦσθαι. 187 
παραγενόμενοι δὲ εἰς τοὺς θυρώνας ἀρετῆς, τὰ προπαιδεύματα, καὶ θεασάμενοι πηγὰς καὶ παρ’ αὐταῖς ἔργη φοινίκων στρατοπεδεύειν οὐ παρὰ τοῖς φυτοῖς ἄλλα παρὰ τοῖς ὠδαι λέγονται. διὰ τί; ὅτι φοινίκη μὲν καὶ ταυτίας οἱ παντελοὺς ἀρετῆς ἐπιφερόμενοι τὰ ἄθλα κοσμοῦνται, οἱ δὲ ἐτί (ἐγ)χορεύοντες τοῖς προπαιδεύμασιν ἀτε μαθήσεως διαφέροντες παρὰ ταῖς δυναμέναις ἀρδεῖν καὶ ποτίζειν τὰς ψυχὰς αὐτῶν ἐπιστήμαις ἱδρύνονται. 188 
XXXIV. Τοιαῦτα μὲν εἰσὶν αἱ παιδείας τῆς μέσης πηγαί, τὴν δ’ ἀφροσύνης ἐπισκεψόμεθα, περὶ ἣς λελαλήκεν ὁ νομοθέτης ὅδε· "ὅς ἂν κομικὴ μετὰ γυναικὸς ἀποκαθημένης, τὴν πηγὴν αὐτῆς ἀπεκάλυψε, καὶ αὐτὴ ἀπεκάλυψε τὴν ῥύσιν τοῦ αἵματος αὐτῆς· ἐξολοθρευθήτωσαν ἀμφότεροι·· γυναῖκα τῇν αἰσθήσιον καλεῖ, νοῦν ἄνδρα αὐτῆς 189 ὑποτιθέμενος. ἀποκάθεται δὲ αἰσθήσιος, ὅπερ ἐστὶν ἀπωτάτῳ καθέζεται, ὅταν νοῦν ἀπολυπόσα, τὸν γνήσιον ἄνδρα, ἐφιδρύται, τοὺς δελεάζουσι καὶ φθείρουσι αἰσθητοῖς καὶ ἐρωτικοῖς ἐκάστοις ἐμπλέκηται· τότ’ ὁνὶ εἰ πρὸς ὑπὸν τράποιτο ὁ νοῦς, ἐγγρηγορέαν δέον, "τὴν πηγὴν" τῆς αἰσθήσιος "ἀπεκάλυψεν" αὐτὸν—αὐτὸς γὰρ ἦν, ὄσπερ ἐφὴν, ἡ αἰσθήσιος πηγῆ,—τοῦτο δὲ ἐστὶν ἀστεγὸν καὶ ἀτείχιστον καὶ εὐπεθυνεύτων κατασκεύασεν 190 ἐαυτὸν. οὐ μὴν ἄλλα κάκειν "ἀπεκάλυψε τὴν ῥύσιν τοῦ αἵματος αὐτῆς"· ἑρεύσα γὰρ πᾶσα αἰσθήσιος πρὸς τὸ ἕκτος αἰσθητῶν ἐπικαλύπτεται μὲν καὶ στέλλεται διακρατούμενη λογισμῷ, κατα- 1 MSS. οὗν.
ON FLIGHT AND FINDING, 186–190

diminished by one every day up to the seventh, the aggregate of seventy would be made up.
When they have arrived at the vestibules of virtue, the subjects of preliminary instruction, and have beheld springs and palms growing by them, they are said to encamp, not by the trees but by the waters. Why is this? Because palm and fillets are the adornment of those who carry off the prizes of consummate virtue, but those whose sphere is still that of the preliminary studies, athirst as they are for learning, settle down beside the springs of knowledge which are able to water their souls and give them drink.

XXXIV. Such are the springs of the lower education. Let us now consider the spring of folly, respecting which the Lawgiver has spoken in these terms: “Whosoever shall have slept with a woman in her separation hath unclosed her spring, and she hath unclosed the flow of her blood; let them both be put to death” (Lev. xx. 18): he gives to sense-perception the name woman, suggesting Mind as her husband. Sense-perception is “in separation,” which is “sitting a long way off,” when, having forsaken Mind, her lawful husband, she plants herself on the objects of sense that ensnare and corrupt, and passionately embraces them one after another. At such a time, then, if Mind go to sleep, when he ought to be awake, “he has unclosed the spring” of sense-perception, himself to wit—for, as I have already said, he himself is the spring of sense-perception—that is, he has exposed himself, without covering or wall of defence, to the plots of his enemies. Moreover, she too “unclosed the flow of her blood”; for every sense, in its flow towards the external object of sense, is covered over and drawn in when con-
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λείπεται δὲ ἕρημος χηρεύσασα ἡγεμόνος ὡρθοῦ: κακὸν δὲ βαρύτατον ὡς πόλει τὸ ἀτείχιστον, καὶ

191 ψυχὴ τὸ ἀφύλακτον. πότ' οὖν ἀφύλακτος γίνεται; ή ὅταν ἀστεγὸς μὲν ὁρασίς κεχυμένη πρὸς τὰ ὀρατά, ἀστεγὸς δὲ ἀκοὴ φωναῖς ἀπάσαις ἐπαντλουμένη, ἀστεγοὶ δὲ οὐσικαὶ καὶ αἱ συγγενεῖς δυνάμεις καταλείφθωσι, ἐπὶ τοῦ ὅτι ὅλοι κατατρέχοντες βούλωνται διαθείναι παθεῖν ἐτοιμόταται, ἀστεγοὶ δὲ καὶ ὁ προφορικὸς λόγος, ὃς μυρία τῶν ἀπορρήτων, ἄτε

[575] μηδενὸς τὴν | φοράν ἀνωθοῦντος, ἀκαίρως ἐξ- 


193 XXXV. Αἰών ἐστίν αἱ τῶν ἀμαρτημάτων πηγαῖ, τήν δὲ φρονήσεως ἐρευνητέον. εἰς ταύτην ἡ ὑπομονὴ κάτεισι, "Ρεβέκκα, καὶ τὸ ψυχῆς ὅλον πληρώ-

1 Has ὁ λόγον fallen out? ὡρθοῦ ἡγεμόνος seems strange.
2 MSS. καταλείφθωσι (ουσι or ουσι).
3 Possibly we should read ρύσι. See App. p. 585.
trolled by reason, but is left destitute when widowed of an upright ruler, and as it is the most grievous evil for a city to be without walls, so is it for a soul to be without a protector. When, then, is it without a protector? Is it not when sight, spread abroad amid objects of sight, is left uncovered; uncovered too the hearing, flooded by every kind of sound; uncovered the powers of smell and others of like kin, full ready for any experience to which marauding foes may wish to subject them; uncovered again the faculty of speech, giving ill-timed utterance to a thousand things that should have been kept quiet, since there is no one to force back the current? In its unhindered flow it has wrecked great life-projects, which were like ships in fair weather sailing on even keel. This is the great deluge in which "the cataracts of heaven," that is of the mind, "were opened," "and the fountains of the abyss," that is of sense-perception, "were unclosed" (Gen. vii. 11). For only in this way is a deluge brought upon the soul, when as though from heaven, that is the mind, wrongdoings burst upon it as in a cataract; and from sense-perception below, as it were from the earth, passions come welling up. That is why Moses pro-
hibits the "disclosing of the shame of father and mother" (Lev. xviii. 7), well knowing how great an evil it is not to keep back and conceal the sins of the mind and of sense-perception, but to make them public as though they were achievements of righteousness.

XXXV. Such are the springs of sinful deeds: let us investigate that of sound sense. To this Patience, called Rebecca, goes down, and, when she has filled

* See De Conf. 23 and note.
σασα ἀγγείον ἀναβάινει, τήν κάθοδον ἀνοδον εἰσόντος τοῦ νομοθέτου φυσικώτατα· πρὸς γάρ ὦψος ἔξαιρεται τὸ ἀρετῆς, ἦτις ἂν ἂν ἀλαζονείας
195 τῆς ὑπεραύχου διανοήται κατέρχεσθαι. λέγει γάρ· "καταβάσα δὲ ἐπὶ τὴν πηγὴν ἐπλήσε τὴν ὕδριαν, καὶ ἀνέβη." ἦδ' ἐστίν ἡ θεία σοφία, ἐξ ἣς αἱ τε κατὰ μέρος ἐπιστήμημα ποτίζονται καὶ ὅσαι ψυχαὶ φιλοθεάμονες ἔρωτι τοῦ ἀριστοῦ κατέσχενται.

196 ταύτη ὁ ἱερὸς λόγος τῇ πηγῇ προσφυέστατα ὅνοματα τίθεται, "κρίσιν" ἀυτὴν καὶ "ἀγίαν" προσαγορεύων. "ἀναστρέψαντες" γάρ φησιν "ἡλθον ἐπὶ τὴν πηγὴν τῆς κρίσεως, αὕτη ἐστὶ Κάδης"· καλεῖται δὲ Κάδης ἀγία. μονονοῦ βοᾷ καὶ κέκραγεν, ὅτι ἡ τοῦ θεοῦ σοφία ἀγία τε ἐστὶν οὐδὲν ἐπιφερομένη γήνων καὶ κρίσις τῶν ὅλων, ἡ πᾶσαι αἱ ἐναντιότητες διαζεύγνυνται.

197 XXXVI. Λεκτέον δ' ἦδη περὶ τῆς ἀνωτάτως καὶ ἀριστής πηγῆς, ἢν ὁ πατήρ τῶν ὅλων διὰ προφητικῶν ἐθέσπισε στομάτων, εἶπε γάρ ποι· "ἐμὲ ἐγκατέλιπον πηγὴν ζωῆς, καὶ ὄρυζαν εαυτοῖς λάκτους συντετριμμένους, οἱ οὐ δυνήσονται συσχεῖν ὕδωρ." οὐκοῦν ὁ θεὸς ἐστὶν ἡ πρεσβυτάτη (πηγή), καὶ μήποτ' εἰκότως· τῶν γὰρ σύμπαντα τοῦτον κόσμον ὃμβρησε. καταπέπληγμαι δ' ἄκοιν, ὅτι ζωῆς ἐστὶν ἦδη ἡ πηγή· μόνος γάρ ὁ θεὸς ψυχῆς καὶ ζωῆς καὶ διαφερόντως λογικῆς ψυχῆς καὶ τῆς μετὰ φρονήσεως ζωῆς αἰτίως. ἡ μὲν γὰρ ἔλθη νεκρόν, δ' ὁ δ' θεὸς πλέον τή ζωῆ, πηγῆ τοῦ ζήν, ὃς αὐτὸς εἶπεν, ἀένναος. οἱ δ' ἀσεβεῖς

* Cf. De Post. 136.
* Or "sifting."
the whole vessel of the soul, goes up; for the lawgiver speaks of the descent as an ascent with perfect truth to the nature of things, for a soul that resolves to come down from over-weening imposture is exalted thereby to virtue's height. For it says: "And having gone down to the spring she filled the water-pot, and came up" (Gen. xxiv. 16). This spring is the Divine Wisdom, from which both the several fields of knowledge are watered, and all contemplation-loving souls which are possessed by a love of that which is best. To this spring the sacred message applies most appropriate names, calling it "judgement" and "holy." For it says: "They returned and came to the Spring of Judgement; this is Kadesh" (Gen. xiv. 7); and "Kadesh" means "holy." One might think that it cries aloud that the wisdom of God is both holy, containing no earthy ingredient, and a sifting of all the universe, whereby all opposites are separated from each other.

XXXVI. And now we have to speak of the supreme and most excellent Spring, which the All-Father declared by the mouth of prophets. For He said in a certain place: "Me they forsook, a spring of Life, and dug for themselves broken cisterns, which shall fail to hold water" (Jer. ii. 13). God, therefore, is the chiefest spring, and well may He be so called, for this whole universe is a rain that fell from Him. But I bow in awe when I hear that this spring is one of Life: for God alone is the Cause of soul and life, and pre-eminently of the rational soul, and of the Life that is united with wisdom. For matter is a dead thing, but God is something more than Life, an ever-flowing Spring of living, as He Himself says.

\[\textit{Cf. Quis rerum 133 f. and 207 f.}\]
άποδράντες, ἄγευστοι τοῦ τῆς ἀθανασίας ποτοῦ διατελέσαντες, ὦρυξαν, οἱ φρενοβλαβεῖς, ἐαυτοῖς ἀλλ' οὗ θεῶ τὸ πρῶτον, τὰς ἱδίας πράξεις τῶν ὦρυνών καὶ ὀλυμπίων προκρίναντες καὶ τὰ ἐκ φροντίδος τῶν αὐτομάτων καὶ ἑτοίμων. ἔπειτα ὀρύττουσιν οὖχ ὡς Ἀβραὰμ καὶ Ἰσαὰκ, οἱ σοφοί, φρέατα, βαθεῖας ἐπιστήμασις ποτίμους λόγους ἀναδιδούσας, ἀλλὰ λάκκους, ἵδιον οὐδὲν ἔξ ἐαυτῶν ἐχοντας τρόφιμον καλόν, τῆς δὲ ἐξωθηθηκας ἐπιρροῆς, ἡ γένουτ' ἂν ἐκ διδασκαλίας ἐπαντλούντων αἰ τῶν υφηγητῶν ἀκοαὶ τῶν μανθανόντων ἀθρόα τὰ ἐπιστήμης δόγματα καὶ θεωρήματα, καὶ φρενὶ κατασχέειν καὶ μνήμη τὰ παραδόθεντα ταμίν εὕςεθαι. 1 νυνὶ δ' εἰσὶν "οἱ λάκκοι συντετριμμένοι," τούτεστι πᾶσι τῆς ἀναγώγου ψυχῆς αἱ δεξαμεναι τεθραυσμέναι καὶ διαρρέουσαι, μὴ δυνάμεναι συσχεέν καὶ φυλάξει τὴν τῶν οἰων τε ὕφελεν ἐπιρροῆν.

202 XXXVII. "Α μὲν οὖν περὶ πηγῶν καιρὸς ἦν εἰπείν λέεκται. πάνυ δ' ἐξητασμένως τὴν Ἀγαρ εἰσάγουσιν οἱ χρησμοὶ εὑρισκομένης μὲν ἐπὶ τῆς πηγῆς, οὐκ ἀρυτομένην δ' ἀπ' αὐτῆς. οὕτω γὰρ ἐστιν ικανῆ ψυχῆ προκόπτουσα τῷ σοφίᾳ ἀκράτῳ ποτῶ χρήσθαι, πλησίον δ' οὐ κεκώλυται ποιείσθαι τὰς διατριβὰς. έστι δὲ καὶ λεωφόρος πᾶσα ἣ κατὰ παιδεῖαν ὁδὸς ἐχυρωτάτῃ καὶ εὐερκεστάτῃ. διὸ φησὶν "ἐν τῇ ὀδῷ Σοῦρ" αὐτὴν εὑρέθναι, τείχος δὲ ἡ εὐθυσμὸς ἐρμηνεύεται Σοῦρ.

1 Something is wrong with this sentence. The translation follows Cohn's suggestion to insert ὡς after θεωρήματα (Mangey κελευσόντων, Wend. παρανύων with much the same effect). None of these seems to me satisfactory. See App. p. 585.
the impious flee from Him, persist in leaving untasted the water of immortality, and dig in their madness for themselves but not for God, putting their own works above the celestial gifts of heaven, and the results of forethought above those which come spontaneously and ready for their use. That is their first folly. In the next place they dig, not as did the wise, Abraham and Isaac, wells (Gen. xxi. 30, xxvi. 18), deep sources of knowledge from which draughts of reason are drawn, but cisterns, having no excellent thing of their own to afford nourishment, but needing the inflow from without, that must come from teaching, as the instructors keep on pumping in unbroken stream into the ears of their pupils the principles and conclusions which constitute knowledge, that they may both grasp what is imparted to them with their intelligence and treasure it in their memory. As it is the "cisterns" are "broken," that is to say, all the receptacles of the ill-conditioned soul are crushed and leaking, unable to hold in and keep the inflow of what might do them good.

XXXVII. On the subject of springs all that the occasion required has now been said. But it is with a most carefully considered meaning that Hagar is represented by the sacred oracles as found by the spring but not drawing water from it (Gen. xvi. 7). For a soul, while making gradual progress, is not yet capable of availing itself of Wisdom's untempered draught, but such a soul is not prevented from staying hard by her. Now the road of discipline is all a highway, thoroughly safe and well guarded. Wherefore it says that she was found in the way to Shur (ibid.), and "Shur" means "wall" or "straighten-

a Or "the way (called) Shur."
ένλαλών οὖν δ’ ἐλεγχός τῇ ψυχῇ φησιν αὐτῇ: "πόθεν ἔρχῃ, καὶ ποῦ πορεύῃ?" τούτο δ’ οὐκ ἐνδοιάζων καὶ οὐ πυνθανόμενος μᾶλλον ἡ δυσωπῶν καὶ οὐειδίζων προφέρεται. θέμις γάρ οὐδὲν ἀγνοεῖν 204 τῶν καθ’ ἡμᾶς ἀγγέλων. σημείον δὲ καὶ τὰ κατὰ γαστρός, ἀπερ ἄδηλα γενέσθαι, σαφῶς οἴδεν ἐν οἷς φησιν. "ιδοὺ σὺ ἐν γαστρὶ ἔχεις, καὶ τέξῃ παιδίον, καὶ καλέσεις τὸ ὄνομα αὐτοῦ Ἰσμαήλ." τὸ γὰρ γνώναι, ὅτε τὸ κυνοφρούμενον ἀρρεν ἐστίν, οὐκ ἀνθρωπίνης δυνάμεως, ἀλλ’ οὐδὲ τὸ τὴν προαίρεσιν ἢ χρήσεται τοῦ βίου ὁ μῆπω γεγενημένος, ὅτι 205 ἀγροίκος, ἀλλ’ οὐ πολιτικὴ καὶ ήμερος.1 τὸ "πόθεν οὖν ἔρχῃ;" πρὸς ἐπίπληξιν2 λέγεται τῆς ἀποδιδρασκούσης φυχής τὴν ἀμείνω καὶ κυρίαν γνώμην, ἢς θεραπαινις οὐ λεγομένη μᾶλλον ἡ ἔργοις υπάρχουσα μέγα κλέος ἐμελλεν [εξ]οίσεσθαι. "ποὶ δὲ καὶ πορεύῃ;" τὰ ἄδηλα μετατρέχεις, τὰ 206 ὀμολογούμενα ἀπορρίφασα. καλὸν οὖν αὐτὴν ἐπαινέσαι χαίρουσαν ἐπὶ νουθεσία.3 δείγματα δὲ τοῦ χαίρειν ἔξεννοχε τὸ τε μὴ κατηγορῆσαί τῆς δεσποίνης καὶ τὸ τὴν αἰτίαν ἀναθείς, τὸ ἐζενήνοχε τὸ τοῦ δρασμοῦ καὶ τὸ μὴ ἀποκρίνασθαι πρὸς τὸ δευτερον πῦσμα τὸ "ποῦ πορεύῃ;" ἄδηλον γάρ, περὶ [577] δὲ τῶν ἄδηλων ἐπέχειν | ἀσφαλές τε καὶ ἀναγκαίον. 207 XXXVIII. ἀποδεξάμενος οὖν τῆς πειθαρχίας αὐτὴν ὃ ἐλεγχός "ἀποστραφῇ πρὸς τὴν κυρίαν σου" φησί: λυσιτελὲς γὰρ τῇ μανθανοῦσῃ ἡ τῆς διδασκούσης ἐπιστασία καὶ τῇ ἁτελεί

1 MSS. ἄγροικοι... πολιτικοὶ... ἡμεροὶ.
2 MSS. ἐπιπλῆξεως.
3 MSS. νουθεσίαν.

a It is difficult to give any sense to οὖν. Perhaps read γοῦν (transitional).

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The inward monitor, then, speaking within the soul, says to it, "Whence comest thou, and whither art thou going?" (ibid. 8). In thus addressing her he does not express doubt or inquiry; rather he is reproaching and putting her to shame; for we may not think that an angel is ignorant of anything affecting us. Here is a proof of it: even the secrets of the womb, which are hidden from created beings, the angel knows with certainty, as his words shew: "Lo, thou art with child, and shalt give birth to a boy, and shalt call his name Ishmael" (ibid. 11). For it is not in the power of man to know that the embryo is a male, nor to know the principle that is to govern the life of one who is not yet born, that it will be the way of the rude country-side, not the refined one of civic life. So the words "Whence comest thou?" are spoken to rebuke the soul that is running away from the better judgement, "the mistress," a mistress whom to serve as handmaiden could not but win her high renown, if the service be one of deeds rather than of name. And the words "Whither goest thou?" mean "Thou hast cast away acknowledged gains, and art running after uncertainties."

We may well praise her for receiving reproof with gladness. Of her gladness she has given plain evidence by not accusing her mistress, and by laying the blame of her flight upon herself, and by making no answer to the second question "Whither art thou going?" for it was uncertain, and regarding uncertainties suspension of judgement is not only safe but requisite.

XXXVIII. Her monitor, then, pleased with her for her compliance, bids her "Go back to thy mistress"; for the teacher's authority is an advantage to the learner, and bond-service
καὶ παρὰ φρονήσει δουλεία. ὡτὲν δὲ υποστρέφῃ, “ταπεινώθητι υπὸ τὰς χεῖρας αὐτῆς” καὶ ἥν ταπεινώσων φρονήματος ἀλόγου καθαίρεσιν περι-208 ἔχουσαν. οὕτως γὰρ πραιτόκους ὑδίσιν ἀρρένα γενεὰν ἀποκυνῆσις, ὄνομα Ἰσμαήλ, ἀκοαῖς θείας σωφρονισθείσα· ἐρμηνεύεται γὰρ Ἰσμαήλ ἀκοή θεοῦ. ἀκοῆ δὲ ὀράσεως τὰ δευτερεῖα φέρεται, ὀρασιὶ δὲ ὁ γνήσιος υἱὸς καὶ πρωτόγονος Ἰσραήλ κεκλήρωται· μεταληφθεὶς γὰρ ἐστιν ὅρων θεοῦν. ἀκοῦειν μὲν γὰρ καὶ ψευδῶν ὡς ἄληθῶν ἐνεστὶν, ὅτι ἀπατηλὸν ἀκοή, ἀψευδῶς δ’ ὀρασὶς, ἣ τὰ ὄντα ὄντως κατανοεῖται.

209 Τὸν δὲ γεννηθέντα τρόπον χαρακτηρίζει διὰ τε τοῦ λέγειν ἀγρόικον ἐσεσθαι, ὡς ἄν ἀγροκόσμοφον, μήπω τῆς τιθασοῦ1 καὶ πολιτικῆς ὄντως μοῖρας ἥξιωμένον—ἀυτῇ δὲ ἐστιν ἀρετή, δι’ ἣς πέφυκεν ἡμεροῦσιν τὸ ἱθός,— καὶ διὰ τοῦ φάσκειν· “αἱ χείρες αὐτοῦ ἐπὶ πάντας καὶ αἱ χείρες πάντων ἐπ’ αὐτόν”. σοφιστοῦ γὰρ βουλήμα τοῦτο τὸ λίαν σκεπτικὸν ἐπιμορφάζοντος καὶ λόγως 210 χαίροντος ἐριστικοῖς. οὕτως καὶ πάντας βάλλει τοὺς ἀπὸ τῶν μαθημάτων, ἵδια τε ἐκάστω καὶ κοινῆ πάσιν ἐναντιούμενος, καὶ βάλλεται πρὸς ἀπάντων, εἰκότως ἀμυνομένων ὡς ὑπὲρ οἰκείων ἐγγόνων ὃν ἐτεκεν αὐτῶν ἡ ψυχή δογμάτων.

211 ἄλλα καὶ τρίτον προσυπογράφει χαρακτήρα φάσκων· “κατὰ πρόσωπον πάντων τῶν ἀδελφῶν κατοικήσει,” μονονοῦκ ἀντικρυς ἐπιδεικνύμενος τὴν ἀντιπρόσωπον διαμάχην καὶ ἀντίστασιν αἰώνιον.

1 MSS. θείας or θιάσου.
under Good Sense a gain to her that is imperfect. “And when thou hast returned humble thyself under her hands” (ibid. 9), with a noble humiliation which carries with it the overthrow of irrational high-mindedness. For so doing thou shalt give birth with easy travail to a male offspring, Ishmael by name (ibid. 11), since thou shalt have been chastened by hearkening to words of God; for “Ishmael” means “hearkening to God.” Hearing takes the second place, yielding the first to sight, and sight is the portion of Israel, the son free-born and first-born; for “seeing God” is the translation of “Israel.” It is possible to hear the false and take it for true, because hearing is deceptive, but sight, by which we discern what really is, is devoid of falseness.

The character thus given birth to is described first by the statement that it will be rude, of rude “mother wit” as it were, not yet admitted to the privilege of the refined and truly civilized lot, virtue, that is, the natural refiner and tamer of character; next by the words “his hands shall be against all men, and all men’s hands against him” (ibid. 12); for this is just the Sophist’s way, with his pretence of excessive open-mindedness, and his love of arguing for arguing’s sake. This character aims its shafts at all representatives of the sciences, opposing each individually and all in common, and is the target of them all since they naturally shew fight, as in defence of offspring of their own, that is of the doctrines to which their soul has given birth. And he adds a third characteristic in the words “he shall dwell face to face with all his brethren” (ibid.), words which are almost a distinct picture of combat face to face and perpetual opposition.
'Η κυοφορούσα οὖν τὸν σοφιστήν λόγον ψυχῆς φησι τῷ λαλοῦντι πρὸς αὐτὴν ἐλέγχω· "σὺ θεὸς ὁ ἐπιδών με," ἵσον τῷ σὺ ποιητὴς εἰ τῶν ἐμῶν βουλημάτων καὶ ἐκγόνων, καὶ μήποτε εἰκότως: 212 ἐλευθέρων μὲν γὰρ καὶ ἀστῶν ὡς ἀληθῶς ψυχῶν ὁ ἐλευθέρος καὶ ἐλευθεροποιὸς δημιουργός, δούλων δὲ δοῦλοι: ἄγγελοι δ᾽ οἰκέται θεοῦ, νομιζόμενοι πρὸς τῶν ἐτ' ἐν πόνοις καὶ δουλείαις ύπαρχόντων θεοῦ. "διὰ τοῦτο" φησίν "ἐκάλεσε 213 τὸ φρέαρ φρέαρ ὦν ἐνώπιον εἰδον." ἀλλ' οὖκ ἐμέλλες, ὦ ψυχῇ προκόπτουσα καὶ τῇ τῶν ἐγκυκλίων ἐπιστήμης προπαιδευμάτων ἐμβαθύνουσα, καθάπερ διὰ κατόπτρου τῆς παιδείας τὸν αἴτιον τῆς ἐπιστήμης ἰδεῖν; οἰκείοτατος δὲ καὶ ὁ τοῦ τοιοῦτον φρέατος τόπος "ἐν μέσῳ Κάδης καὶ Βαράδ" ἐρμηνεύεται δὲ Βαράδ μὲν ἐν κακοῖς, Κάδης δὲ ἅγια· μεθόριος γὰρ ἅγιών καὶ βεβήλων ὁ ἐν προκοπαῖς, ἀποδιδράσκων μὲν τὰ φαῦλα, μήπω δ᾽ ἵκανος ὃν τελεῖος συμβιοῦν ἄγαθοῖς.

1 The combination is somewhat strange, and Mangey suggested ἐργον for ἐκγόνων. I should conjecture as an alternative κυημάτων for βουλημάτων.

a The connexion of thought is obscure. Perhaps: the angel has decreed what the offspring of the Hagar or slave-soul will be. He is therefore its maker, and as making is the attribute of God, she naturally gives that name to God's subordinate minister.
The soul, then, which is pregnant with the sophist-principle says to the monitor who is talking to her: "Thou art God that didst look upon me," which is equivalent to saying "Thou art the Maker of my wishes and offspring"; and well may she say this, for of free and really high-born souls He who is free and sets free is the Creator, while slaves are makers of slaves: and angels are God's household-servants, and are deemed gods by those whose existence is still one of toil and bondage. "For this reason," it says, "she called the well 'Well where I saw Him before me'" (ibid. 14). Nay, how couldst thou fail, thou soul, who in thy progress art dipping deep into the school-lore knowledge, to see reflected in thy training as in a mirror the Author of that knowledge? Most appropriate too is the situation of such a well "between Kadesh and Bered" (ibid. 14): "Bered" means "in evils," and Kadesh "holy," for he that is in gradual progress is on the borderland between the holy and the profane, fleeing from bad things, but not yet competent to share the life of perfect goodness.

b E.V. Beer-lahai-roi, explained in the margin as "the well of the living one who seeth me." Whatever the exact meaning of the LXX was, the next sentence shows that Philo interpreted it as in the translation (ἐνώπιον probably taken as an adjective with αὐτόν understood).
ON THE CHANGE OF NAMES
(DE MUTATIONE NOMINUM)
ANALYTICAL INTRODUCTION

This treatise is an exposition of various points arising in Gen. xvii. 1-5 and 15-22.

1. Abraham became ninety-nine years old, and the Lord was seen by Abraham and said to him, "I am thy God: be well pleasing before Me and become blameless.

2. And I will set my covenant between Me and between thee. . . ."

3. And Abraham fell upon his face and God spake to him, saying:

4. "And I, behold my covenant is with thee. . . .

5. And thy name shall no longer be called Abram, but thy name shall be Abraham. . . ."

15. And God said to Abraham, "Sarai thy wife, her name shall not be called Sarai. Sarah shall be her name.

16. And I will bless her, and give thee a child from her, and I will bless her, and she shall be for nations, and kings of nations shall be from her.""

17. And Abraham fell on his face and laughed,

\[\text{Or "Abram," as the LXX has and the course of the story requires. But the mss. quote the text with } \Lambda\beta\rho\alpha\dot{\iota}.\]

\[\text{So Philo (as also the Hebrew and E.V.). LXX "I will bless } \text{him and he shall be . . . from him."}\]

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and he spake in his mind, saying, "Shall a son be born to one of a hundred years, and shall Sarah being ninety years bear a son?"

18. And Abraham said to God, "Let this Ishmael live before thee!"

19. And God said to Abraham, "Yes, behold Sarah thy wife shall bear thee a son, and thou shalt call his name Isaac. . . .

20. But as for Ishmael, behold I have heard thee, and behold I have blessed him, I will increase him, I will multiply him; he shall beget twelve nations.

21. But my covenant I will establish to Isaac, whom Sarah shall bear to thee at this season in the other year."

"Abraham was ninety-nine years old, and the Lord appeared to him and said, 'I am thy God.'" After a passing remark on the significance of ninety-nine as indicating the approach to the sacred hundred (1-2) we go on to "appeared" or "was seen." Now God cannot be seen by the eye, but only by the mind (3-6), and indeed God in His essence cannot be apprehended by mind, any more than mind can apprehend itself. And so Moses was told that he could only see what was behind God, not His face (7-10). It follows that no proper name can be given to the God Who is, and when in Exodus He calls Himself the Lord God of Abraham, Isaac and Jacob it must be regarded as a κατάχρησις or licence of language (11-14). We must infer then that what appeared to Abraham was not God the Existent but His sovereign potency which in Scripture is called the Lord (15-17), and yet this sovereign potency also
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says "I am thy God." Is not God the God of all men? we may ask. No, He is Lord to the bad, God to the earnest striver, God and Lord to the perfect (18-19). Thus He is spoken of as God to Moses, but Lord to Pharaoh and Lord God to Israel (19-23). But not only is God the good man’s God, but also the good man is God’s man, and we must remember that only by living up to the latter relation can we reach the former (24-26). Now while the Existent is absolute His potencies are relative. Kings, benefactors and makers must rule, benefit and make something (27-28). When God is called man’s God, it implies that God has made him, but God did not make the bad at all, and those between good and bad only through His subordinates, as the "Let us make" in Genesis shews (29-31). Therefore to have God for maker in the full sense is the highest honour. Who then are those who can claim this? Philo at first seems to limit the claim to the detached and ascetic kind who have risen entirely above all that is bodily (32-33). But such, he acknowledges, are rare: a thought which he supports with the phrase, "Enoch was not found," and indeed philosophers have laid down rightly or wrongly that the wise man and wisdom do not actually exist (34-38). We must admit therefore the possibility of a more social form of goodness which can claim God for its maker, and this is indicated in the next words, "Be well pleasing before Me," which have a different meaning from "Be well pleasing to Me," for he who serves men is not only well pleasing to God but well pleasing before God (39-42). This double duty to man and God is symbolized by the two robes of the high priest and other duplicates, and the very fact that God
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existed before creation and only created out of His beneficence shews that we must combine supreme reverence for Him with due regard for the human nature which He has made (43-46).

The next words, "And become blameless," may indicate that an abstinence from sin is a lower stage than the positive virtue which the Stoics called κατόρθωμα. But Philo does not lay stress on this, for he feels that to man subject so constantly to temptation, such abstinence is the most that can be asked (47-51), and indeed it is to the blameless that God promises to set His covenant "between Me and thee," that is, to let nothing but His grace stand between the two (51-53).

When Abraham heard the promise he fell upon his face, where "fell" indicates the acknowledgement that God stands but humanity cannot stand, and "face" means sense, speech and mind, all of which lie prostrate unless God give the power to stand (54-56). Then comes the reassurance, "And I, behold my covenant is with thee," words which to Philo's mind suggest that God is Himself the covenant, and thus some more essentially divine gift is implied than those which God covenants to give to men in general. This special gift is then explained as the bestowal of a new name, and this brings Philo to the subject which occupies the next sixty sections and has somewhat unduly supplied the traditional name of the treatise (57-59).

That the divine blessing should take the form of adding an alpha to the name Abram and subsequently of a rho to that of his wife has, Philo tells us, attracted the jeers of the profane, and he mentions the miserable end of one such scoffer (60-62).
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As a matter of fact he agrees with the criticism if taken literally, and only differs in the inference he draws. That God should add letters to names, and that this should be held a divine benefaction, is absurd (63-64), but this only points to the conclusion that a change of name stands for a change of nature. Philo repeats the explanation given several times elsewhere that Abram which means “uplifted father” stands for the Chaldean, the astrologer, while Abraham is the “elect father of sound,” where father means mind, the father of sound or speech, and the whole therefore stands for the elect or wise mind. The change then is really a moral change from the study of God’s works to the study of God Himself, in fact from astrology to piety, and the text may be taken as a divine instruction that studies of the former kind are of no real value (66-67). So too the change of Sarai’s name to Sarah, that is from “my sovereignty” to “sovereign,” indicates the superiority of generic wisdom to wisdom as shown in the individual (77-80).

From these two cases which belong to the subject of the treatise Philo proceeds to deal with others outside it. Jacob the supplanter or wrestler is naturally renamed as Israel who sees God, because the divine vision is the guerdon which awaits the athlete soul (81-82). But it is a curious fact that while Abraham after the renaming is never called Abram, the names of Jacob and Israel are constantly interchanged in the subsequent narrative. To explain this Philo goes back to the familiar antithesis of Abraham as virtue acquired by teaching and Jacob as virtue acquired by practice. Abraham the scholar who has God Himself as teacher advances to know-
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ledge continuously. The Practiser who has only his own will to urge him has many periods of weariness when he returns to his old nature, and this is supported by the observation that Abraham gets the new name from God, Jacob from the angel (83-87). Again, Isaac has no other name, and this is appropriate to the Self-taught, who by instinct is perfect from the first, and has not, like Abraham, to learn, or Jacob, to practise (88). In Joseph we have a change of another kind. His original name means addition, and describes the superfluities which the conventional mind desires, but Pharaoh renames him Psonthophanech or "mouth which judges in answer," and thus brings out the fact that the man of wealth and prosperity is supposed by the world to be able to pronounce with wisdom on all sorts of questions (89-91). In a somewhat similar way the child who is called by his father Benjamin, "the son of days," or "sunlight," and thus represents the vainglory which seems so brilliant to the world, is recognized by the mother, that is the soul, which dies in giving birth to him, as Benoni, or the son of sorrows (92-96). And here the mention of Joseph and his mother seems to lead Philo into an irrelevant interpolation of the analogy between Reuben and Simeon on the one hand and Ephraim and Manasseh on the other. Ephraim and Manasseh shall be to me, said Jacob, as Reuben and Simeon, which Philo interprets as shewing the similarity of the gifted nature, Reuben, to memory, Ephraim, and again of Simeon, the learner, to Manasseh, recollection (97-102).

We now return to further examples of double names. In Exodus ii. Jethro, the father-in-law of Moses, appears in one place to be called Raguel.
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Jethro the "superfluous" as in other places is taken as the type of the worldling, and there follows a curiously perverted allusion to the meeting with Moses described in Exodus xviii. in which Jethro is made to advise Moses to leave the teaching of the divine ordinances for that of human convention and unequal justice (103-104). Raguel on the other hand is the "shepherding of God," and indicates the better side of the Jethro nature, when it accepts the authority of the good shepherd, Moses. An elaborate justification of this idea follows. Jethro or Raguel is called the priest of Midian, and while Midian which means "from judgement" sometimes stands for the outcasts excluded by judgement, as it does in the story of the Midianite seduction of Israel and the vindication by Phineas (105-109), it may also stand for the rightly judging nature which is akin to the prophetic. When then we read of the seven daughters who were succoured at the well by Moses, we recognize the seven bodily faculties which after the vain attempt of the enemy to seduce them from their proper office return to their father, the mind. That father is rightly called Raguel, not Jethro, and the welcome which this father proposes in the narrative to extend to Moses indicates the same higher nature (110-120).

The next illustration is the change of Joshua's name from Hoshea, the latter, "he is saved," signifying a particular individual or concrete embodiment of a state, the former "salvation of the Lord," and thus a state or condition, which is permanent, while the individual perishes. Philo brings this into comparison with the statement about Caleb, that there

\[\text{See note a on § 104.}\]
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was another spirit in him, inferring that though there is no change of name the man himself was wholly changed (121-125). Finally we have the example of the different titles given to Moses himself. First, the name Moses, the “receiving” or “handling,” fitly given to him who receives the power of legislation; secondly, the man of God, given to him as blessing the people, and finally god to Pharaoh, this godship being especially shown in his willingness to intercede for the sinner (125-129).

Here we leave the change of names and return to the exposition of the text. But the mention of Sarah’s change of name in §§ 77-80 seems to have drawn Philo away from the discussion of the intervening verses 6-14 to those which describe her blessedness. Verse 16 runs, “I will give to thee a son from her” (130). The words “I will give” surely imply that the gift is the giver’s own to give, and thus they assert that the Isaac, whose name means “laughter,” is the spiritual Isaac, inward laughter or joy, of which God is the true parent (131). This thought of the divine parentage is illustrated by the phrase, “The Lord opened Leah’s womb,” and by the story of Tamar and Judah, which Philo allegorizes, though in a shorter form, as he does in De Fuga, and it is actually asserted by Sarah when she says “The Lord has made laughter (that is Isaac) for me” (132-137). But she also adds, “whoever shall hear (i.e. understand it) will rejoice with me,” thus suggesting that this truth is one which the pagan mind may easily misunderstand, and therefore must be reserved for the ears of the wise, and Philo accordingly presses into his service the words of Hosea, “Thy fruit is from me, the wise will under-
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stand,” bringing out the double truth that all is from God and that the wise alone understand this (138-140).

The words “from her,” $e\zeta\, au\nu\nu\zeta$s, have been by some interpreted as “outside her,” i.e. by divine agency, and also as the single word $e\xi a\nu\nu\zeta$s “immediately,” but Philo himself seems to adopt the natural view that, Sarah being assumed to be Virtue or Wisdom, the phrase asserts that none but virtue can be the mother of the good (141-142). And if indeed she has been called barren it is because Virtue is barren of Evil, even as Hannah or Grace was also barren and yet was the mother of the Mystic Seven (143-144). As for “child” the singular brings out that the idea of the good is single in contrast with the many particulars, while the word itself ($\tau\xi\kappa\nu\nu$) coming from $\tau\iota\kappa\tau\omega$ declares the reality of Virtue’s motherhood (145-147). “I will bless her and she shall be for nations” tells us that in the manifold classes or nations of things in general Virtue is the one source of well-being (148-150), and in “kings of nations shall be from her” we can trace the Stoic doctrine that the sage alone is king (151-153).

Abraham hearing this falls and laughs. Philo as always refuses to entertain the idea that Abraham and Sarah’s laughter is one of incredulity. His falling is, as before, an acknowledgement of unworthiness; the laughter is humble joy (154-156). At this point he raises the question that as Isaac, laughter or joy, is not yet born, how could Abraham laugh? (157). This strange idea, however, gives him an opportunity for a fine disquisition on anticipation. He describes how young animals and young plants show a joyous promise of their future maturity, how the dawning of day smiles in expectation of the sunrise, how hope

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gives joy before the fact, just as fear gives grief, and the senses anticipate the feast before it is realized, and so man could laugh while laughter is yet unborn (158-165). Again, the joyous laughter of both Abraham and Sarah teaches us that joy is only for the good. If the wicked seem to smile it has no reality (166-169), and thus the so-called joy of Egypt at the coming of Jacob and his sons was either assumed or at the most a hope that they might seduce them as they had seduced Joseph (170-171); and this supposition leads him to discuss in detail the seeming-kindly promises made to Jacob by Pharaoh, and pronounce them to be nothing more than the temptations of the bodily element which the mind of the wise rejects (172-174).

Philo now has to deal with the words so difficult on his premises, "He said in his heart, shall this happen to one of a hundred years old, and shall Sarah being ninety years old bear a son?" His first explanation stresses the words "in his heart"; they imply that the doubt, so inconsistent with Abraham's faith, was momentary with all the rapidity of thought, and died without reaching the lips (175-180). And if it is argued that it was unworthy of him to doubt even for a moment this is asking too much. The faith of weak mortals cannot be expected to be as the unswerving faith of God (181-187). But Philo would seem himself to incline to a "more courageous" explanation that the words are really a prayer: "Oh, that this perfect birth may take place under the perfect numbers of ninety and a hundred" (188). There follow several examples of a hundred as a special number, though as for ninety he cannot say anything more than that it is the difference between
the sacred ten and the more sacred hundred (189-192). This explanation demands that "said in his heart (or mind)" signifies "sincerely," for sincerity is the mark of the virtuous, whereas the wicked do not speak in or according to their minds. Thus when Shechem, the emblem of foolish labour, is said to have spoken "according to the mind" of Dinah, the emblem of justice, we may understand that he spoke contrary to his own mind (193-195). Thus Shechem stands for the insincere who prate of virtue and deceive the multitude, but are ultimately unmasked by the champions of truth, represented by Simeon and Levi in the story of Shechem's punishment (196-200).

Jacob's next words are "Let this Ishmael live before thee," each part of which has to be examined (200-201). First, since Ishmael = hearing God, this seems to distinguish the right hearing from the hearing which hears only to misuse, as did Balaam's (202-205). This is illustrated by other cases, where Philo supposes that the "this" serves to distinguish outwardly similar but different examples (206-209). Again, "live" points to the true life of the soul, and amounts to a prayer of the same nature as Jacob's prayer that Reuben or natural goodness should live and not die (209-216), and when he adds "before God" he prays that this God-hearing may have the inestimable blessing of realizing the divine omnipotence (216-217). But we must not suppose that the prayer for Ishmael shows despair of the birth of Isaac. It is rather the cry of the soul which feels its inadequacy to sustain God's highest gifts (218-219). But this consciousness of our inadequacy must not prevent us from dedicating thankfully such
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gifts as each of us possesses. If we cannot reach the highest that is no reason why we should not cherish the little we can do (220-227), and we have illustrations of this in Abraham’s plea for Sodom if only a little goodness could be found in it, and Esau’s hope that Isaac might have some blessing yet to give, even if the best was given to Jacob (228-230). Thus the best prayer of the soul is that God should give us what befits our weakness, for “shall not the hand of the Lord suffice” to benefit low as well as high? (231-232).

It is primarily to carry on this thought that Philo here introduces the subject of the three different kinds of sin-offering and purification according to the capacity of the offerer, the sheep, the two birds and the fine flour (233-235). But this soon passes into the very different suggestion that the three are atonements for sins of thought, word and deed, otherwise expressed as mind, mouth and hand. He then goes on to shew that while sins of thought are more venial than sins of speech and these than sins of deeds (and this is recognized in the code of punishments), the first-named are really the most difficult to avoid, for thoughts cannot be controlled as language can (235-244). The appropriateness of the three offerings is explained by saying that the sheep the most useful of animals is suited to our noblest part, the mind, the birds to the winged nature of words, and the fine flour as worked by the hand to deeds which the hand commits (245-251).

To resume the exposition of the text, the divine reply to this prayer for Ishmael is, “Yes, Sarah shall bear thee a son,” where the “yes” (ναι) marks the divine assent or nod (ναινο). Thus God
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answers the one request by two gifts (252-255). The greater gift is the self-taught Isaac nature of which, rare as it is in its highest form, we have a foretaste in the fact that our powers of sense and mental processes are acquired without teaching (256-257). Why wonder, then, that the unlaboured virtue symbolized by Isaac should be given direct from heaven, like the manna and the automatic harvest of the sabbatical year? (258-260). Further, this child is free from womanish passion and will be rightly named "laughter," the natural outcry of the glad (261-262). The next words, "I have blessed Ishmael, but my covenant I will stablish with Isaac," shews that, while God gives the stronger the higher wisdom of the self-taught, he also gives the weaker the lower wisdom of the schools.

The next words are, "whom Sarah shall bear at this season and in the other year." By season (καιρός) we may understand God Himself, the season or opportunity, which forsakes the wicked but dwells in the good, and by the "other year" is meant eternity, the life of the world of thought which was also meant when Isaac "in that year found the hundredfold crop" (264-269). Finally the words "He completed talking with him and God went up from Abraham" indicate that when we have learnt our lesson we must be left to meditate on and practise it, a truth which every good teacher knows (270).

The ms. authority for this treatise seems to be unusually weak. Wendland found only two mss. of any antiquity (A and B), both of them according to him of the same (and inferior) family. Mangey also
used two late mss. in the libraries of New College, Oxford, and Trinity, Cambridge. I have collated the latter of these, but without any results to speak of. Perhaps this lack of ms. support may serve me as some apology for having introduced so many conjectural emendations of my own into the text.
ΠΕΡΙ ΤΩΝ ΜΕΤΟΝΟΜΑΖΟΜΕΝΩΝ ΚΑΙ ΩΝ ΕΝΕΚΑ ΜΕΤΟΝΟΜΑΖΟΝΤΑΙ

[578] 1 Ι. | "'Εγένετο Ἀβραὰμ ἐτῶν ἑννέα, καὶ ὥφθη κύριος τῷ Ἀβραὰμ καὶ εἶπεν αὐτῷ· ἐγώ εἰμι ὁ θεός σου." ὁ ἑννέα πρὸς τοὺς ἑννέαν ἔκατοντάδος γείτων ἐστίν, ὡς τὸ αὐτομαθὲς ἐπέλαμψε γένος, Ἰσαάκ, εὐπαθειῶν ἀρίστης, χαρά; τῷ γὰρ ἐκατονταετεῖ γίνεται. ἔστι δὲ καὶ Λευτικής φυλῆς ἤρειν ἀπαρχῇ διδομένη· δεκάτας γὰρ λαβόντες, ἀπὸ τούτων ώς ἄν ἄπ' οἰκείων καρπῶν ἐτέρας ἀπάρχονται ἐκατοστόν λόγον περιεχοῦσας. προκοπῆς μὲν γὰρ δεκάς, ἐκατοντὰς δὲ τελεῖότητος σύμβολον. σπεύδει δὲ ὁ μέσος οἱ πρὸς ἀκρότητα, φύσεως εὔμοιρία χρώμενος· ὃ φησιν ὁφθήναι τὸν τῶν ὀλων κύριον.

3 ἀλλὰ μὴ νομίσῃς τοῖς σώματι ὁφθαλμοῖς γίνεσθαι τὴν προσβολήν—οἷς μὲν γὰρ τὰ αἰσθήτα μόνα ὀρώση, τὰ δ' αἰσθήτα σύγκριτα, φθορᾶς ἀνάμεστα, τὸ δὲ θείον ἀσύγκριτον, ἀφθαρτοῦν—ἀλλὰ τὸ δεχόμενον τὴν θείαν φαντασίαν τὸ τῆς ψυχῆς ἐστὶν ὁμμα. καὶ γὰρ ἀλλως ὁσα μὲν

1 MSS. ἐκατὸν.

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a Here used in the strict Stoic sense of reasonable forms of πάθος. See note on Quod Det. 120. So also in De Mig. 157, De Cong. 36, and below, §§ 131, 188.

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ABOUT THOSE WHOSE NAMES ARE CHANGED AND WHY THEY HAVE THEIR NAMES CHANGED

I. "Abraham became ninety-nine years old and the Lord was seen by Abraham and said to him, 'I am thy God'" (Gen. xvii. 1). Nine plus ninety is next neighbour to a hundred, the number irradiated by the self-taught nature Isaac who is joy, the best of the good emotions. For Isaac is born to Abraham when a hundred years old. A hundred also represents the first-fruits given to the priests by the Tribe of Levi. For when the Levites receive the tenths they offer from them, just as though they were their own produce, other tenths in which we find the hundred (Num. xviii. 26). For ten is a symbol of progress and a hundred of perfection. Now he who is in the intermediate stage is always pressing forward to the summit, employing the gifts with which nature has blessed him, and it is by such a one that Moses tells us that the Lord of all was seen. Yet do not suppose that the vision was presented to the eyes of the body. They see only the objects of sense and those are composite, brimful of corruptibility, while the divine is uncompounded and incorruptible. It is the eye of the soul which receives the presentation of the divine vision. Moreover what the eyes
οἱ σώματος ὀφθαλμοὶ | θεωροῦσι, συνεργῶ φωτὶ χρώμενοι καταλαμβάνουσιν, ὁ διαφέρει τοῦ ἐφωμένου καὶ τοῦ ὀρῶντος. ὅσα δὲ ἡ ψυχή, αὕτη δι᾽ έαυτῆς ἄνευ τινὸς ἄλλου συμπράξεως· αὕτὰ 5 γὰρ ἐαυτοῖς ἔστι φέγγος τὰ νοοῦμενα. τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον καὶ τὰς ἐπιστήμας διδασκόμεθα· ὁ γὰρ νοῦς τὸ ἀκλειστὸν καὶ ἀκοίμητον προσβαλῶν ὄμμα τοῖς δόγμασι καὶ τοῖς θεωρήμασι εἰδὲν αὐτὰ ὧν νόθω φωτὶ, γνησίῳ δὲ ὑπὲρ αὕτω ἐαυτοῦ ἐξέλαμψεν. 6 ὅταν οὖν ἀκούσῃς ὀφθέντα θεὸν ἀνθρώπῳ, τούτῳ γίνεσθαι νοεῖ χωρὶς φωτὸς αἰσθητοῦ· νοήσει γὰρ τὸ νοητὸν εἰκόνας μόνον καταλαμβάνεσθαι. πηγῇ δὲ τῆς καθαρωτάτης αὐγῆς θέος ἔστιν· ὥστ' ὅταν ἐπιφαίνηται ψυχῇ, τὰς ἀσκίους καὶ περιφανεστάτας ἀκτίνας ἀνίσχει.

Μὴ μέντοι νομίσῃς τὸ ὅν, ὃ ἐστὶ πρὸς ἀλήθειάν ὁν, ὧπ' ἀνθρώπου τινὸς καταλαμβάνεσθαι. ὀργανωσὲ γὰρ οὐδὲν ἐν ἑαυτοῖς ἐχομεν, ὦ δυνησόμεθα ἐκείνο φαντασιωθῆναι, οὔτ' αἰσθητῷ—αἰσθητῷ τὸν γὰρ οὐκ ἔστιν—οὔτε νοοῦν. 7 Μωυσῆς οὖν ὁ τῆς ἀειδοῦς φύσεως θεατής—καὶ θεόπτης—εἰς γὰρ τὸν γνόφον φασὶν αὐτὸν ἢθεῖν [καὶ θεόπτης]—ἑπὶ γὰρ τὸν γνόφον φασὶν αὐτὸν ἢθεῖν χρησιμοὶ εἰσελθείν, τὴν ἀόρατον καὶ ἀσώματον οὐσίαν αἰνιττόμενοι—πάντα διὰ πάντων ἐρευνήσας ἔζητε τὸν τριπόθητον καὶ μόνον ἀγαθὸν τηλαυγῶς ἴδεῖν. ἐπεὶ δ' οὐδὲν

1 MSS. μόνοι.
2 MSS. ὅραν.
3 MSS. ἰσχύν, which Mangey translates by “facultatem.” But a better antithesis to αἰσθητος seems to be required. Perhaps <νοου> ἰσχύν.
4 That θεόπτης is unknown elsewhere, except in quite late writers, is hardly sufficient reason for expunging it, as Wendland following Cohn does. Philo might easily coin it. But it cannot be taken with τῆς ἀειδοῦς φύσεως, and seems...
of the body behold they apprehend through the co-operation of light, and light is something different from either the seer or the thing seen, whereas what the soul beholds it beholds by its own agency without the assistance of any other. For the conceptions of the mind are a light to themselves. Our learning of the sciences follows the same rule. The mind applies its eye which never closes or sleeps to the principles and conclusions set before it and sees them by no borrowed but a genuine light which shines forth from itself. And so when you hear that God was seen by man, you must think that this takes place without the light which the senses know, for what belongs to mind can be apprehended only by the mental powers. And God is the fountain of the purest radiance, and so when He reveals Himself to a soul the rays He puts forth are free from all shadow and of intense brightness.

II. Do not however suppose that the Existent which truly exists is apprehended by any man; for we have in us no organ by which we can envisage it, neither in sense, for it is not perceptible by sense, nor yet in mind. So Moses the explorer of nature which lies beyond our vision, Moses who, as the divine oracles tell us, entered into the darkness (Ex. xx. 21), by which figure they indicate existence invisible and incorporeal, searched everywhere and into every-thing in his desire to see clearly and plainly Him, the object of our much yearning, Who alone is good.

\[a\] See App. p. 586.

pointless if taken by itself. Wend. himself conjectured \(\text{θεοπρόπος}\). I should prefer \(\text{ἐπόπτης}\), a well-known term in the mysteries and differing enough from \(\text{θεάτης}\) to give it some point.
PHILO

eύρισκεν, ἀλλ' οὐδ' ἐμφερῇ τινα ἴδεαν τῷ ἐλπιδομένῳ, τῇ ἀπὸ τῶν ἄλλων διδασκαλίαν ἀπογνώσῃ ἐπὶ αὐτὸ καταφεύγει τὸ ζητούμενον καὶ δεῖται λέγων: "ἐμφάνισόν μοι σεαυτόν, γνωστός ἰδω σε"· καὶ ὁμως ἀμοιρεῖ τῆς προθέσεως, αὐταρκεστάτης διωρεάς τῷ θνητῶν ἀρίστῳ γένει νομισθείσης τῆς (τῶν) μετά τὸ ὅν σωμάτων τε ὁμοῦ καὶ πραγμάτων ἐπιστήμης. λέγεται γάρ: "ὁμοία τὰ ὅπίσω μου, τὸ δὲ πρόσωπόν μου οὐκ ὑφήσεται σοι," ὥς τῶν ὡς μετὰ τὸ ὅν σωμάτων τε ὁμοῦ καὶ πραγμάτων εἰς κατάληψιν ἐρχομένων, εἰ καὶ μὴ πάντα ἦδη καταλαμβάνεται, μόνου δὲ ἐκείνου μὴ πεφυκότος ὀρᾶσθαι. καὶ τὶ ϑαυμαστόν, εἰ τὸ ὅν ἄνθρωπος ἀκατάληπτον, ὅποτε καὶ ὁ ἐν ἐκάστῳ νοῦς ἀγνωστὸς ἢμῖν; τὰ γὰρ ψυχής οὕσιν εἶδεν; ἢς ἡ ἀδηλότης μυρίας ἔριδας σοφισταῖς ἐγέννησεν ἐναντίας εἰςγγυμένους γνώμας ἡ καὶ ὅλως γένεσιν ἀντιστατούσας. ἢν οὖν ἀκόλουθον τὸ μηδ' ὄνομα κύριον ἐπιφημισθῆναι δύνασθαι τῷ ὄντι πρὸς ἀλήθειαν. οὐχ ὁρᾶς ὅτι φιλοσεντοῦντι [580] τῷ προφήτῃ, τὶ τοῖς περὶ τοῦ ὄνοματος αὐτοῦ ζητούσιν ἀποκριτέον, φησὶν ὅτι "ἐγώ εἰμι ο ὁ ὁ ὅν," 12 ἱσον τῷ εἶναι πέφυκα, οὐ λέγεσθαι; τοῦ δὲ μὴ παντάπασιν ἀμοιρήσας τὸ τῶν ἄνθρωπων γένος προσρήσεως τοῦ ἀρίστου, δίδωσι καταχρῆσθαι ὡς
ON THE CHANGE OF NAMES, 8–12

And when there was no sign of finding aught, not even any semblance of what he hoped for, in despair of learning from others, he took refuge with the Object of his search Itself and prayed in these words: "Reveal Thyself to me that I may see Thee with knowledge" (Ex. xxxiii. 13). And yet he fails to gain his object. To know what lies below the Existent, things material and immaterial alike, is a most ample gift even for the best sort among mortals, as God judges, for we read, "Thou shalt see what is behind Me, but My face thou shalt not see" (ibid. 23). It means that all below the Existent, things material and immaterial alike, are available to apprehension even if they are not all actually apprehended as yet, but He alone by His very nature cannot be seen. And why should we wonder that the Existent cannot be apprehended by men when even the mind in each of us is unknown to us? For who knows the essential nature of the soul, that mystery which has bred numberless contentions among the sophists who propound opinions contrary to each other or even totally and generically opposed? It is a logical consequence that no personal name even can be properly assigned to the truly Existent. Note that when the prophet desires to know what he must answer to those who ask about His name He says "I am He that is" (Ex. iii. 14), which is equivalent to "My nature is to be, not to be spoken." Yet that the human race should not totally lack a title to give to the supreme goodness He allows them to use by licence of language, as though it were His proper
ἀν ὄνοματι κυρίῳ τῷ ἐν ονόματι τοῦ κυρίου: Wend, prints following the text as quoted in the Parallela of Joh. Damasc. (D) ὡς ἀν ὃ ὄνοματι τοιούτῳ. At the same time for ὡς ἀν ὃ ὄνοματι τοιούτῳ he conjectures ὃ ἀκατονόμαστος ὃν. I do not indeed see how the text of Joh. Dam. can be construed as it stands, and have followed in the main the ms. text, substituting with J. D. ἂν for ὡς ἀν ὃ ὄνομα τῷ κυρίῳ τῷ κυρίῳ τῷ, a correction perhaps supported by J. D. τοιούτῳ.


3 Perhaps, as Wendland conjectures, ὑπηρετοῦσαι. Any use of the middle seems to be later than Philo.
ON THE CHANGE OF NAMES, 12–14

name, the title of Lord God of the three natural orders, teaching, perfection, practice, which are symbolized in the records as Abraham, Isaac and Jacob. For this He says is “My age-long name,” belonging as it were to the age of human existence, not to that when age as yet was not, “a memorial” too, not set, that is, beyond memory or apprehension, and again “to generations” (ibid. 15), not to beings that were never generated. For those who are born into mortality must needs have some substitute for the divine name, so that they may approach if not the fact at least the name of supreme excellence and be brought into relation with it. And this is shown by the oracle proclaimed as from the mouth of the Ruler of all in which He says that no proper name of Him has been revealed to any. “I was seen,” He says, “of Abraham, Isaac and Jacob, being their God, and My name of ‘Lord’ I did not reveal to them” (Ex. vi. 3). For when the transposition is reset in the proper order it will run thus, “My proper name I did not reveal to thee,” but, He implies, only the substitute, and that for reasons already mentioned. So impossible to name indeed is the Existent that not even the Potencies who serve Him tell us a proper name. Thus after the wrestling-bout in which the Man

a Philo seems to mix in this passage two somewhat different uses of the grammatical term κύριον ὄνομα: (1) a noun used in its literal or strict sense, opposed to metaphorical or loose usage (ἐν καταχρήσει, see note on De Cher. 121); (2) a proper or personal name.

b See App. p. 586.

c Philo seems to mean that while τὸ ὄνομά μου κύριον will naturally mean “my name κύριος,” the text should (or perhaps may also) be regarded as an “hyperbaton” or “unusual order” of ὄνομα μου τὸ κύριον. “My proper name” For the technical use of the term see App. pp. 586 f.
PHILO

ἀρετῆς ὁ ἀσκητὴς ἐπάλαισε, φησὶ τῷ ἀοράτῳ ἐπιστάτῃ. "ἀνάγγειλόν μοι τὸ ὄνομά σου," ὁ δὲ εἶπεν: "Ἢνα τί τούτῳ ἐρωτᾶς τὸ ὄνομά μου;" καὶ οὐ μηνύει τὸ ἰδιόν καὶ κύριον. ἀπόχρη γὰρ σοι, φησὶν, ὠφελεῖσθαι κατὰ τὰς ἐμὰς εὐφημίας, τὰ δὲ γενητῶν σύμβολα, ὀνόματα, μὴ ζήτει παρὰ 15 φύσεσιν ἀφθάρτωσι. III. μηδὲ οὖν διαπόρει, εἰ τὸ τῶν οντῶν πρεσβύτατον ἄρρητον, ὅποτε καὶ ὁ λόγος αὐτοῦ κυρίῳ ὀνόματι οὐ ρητῷ ἡμῖν καὶ μὴν [581] εἰ ἄρρητον, καὶ ἀπερινόητον καὶ ἀκατάλητον: ὥστε τὸ "ὡφθη κύριος τῷ Ἀβραὰμ" λέγεσθαι ὑπονοητέον οὐχ ὡς ἐπιλάμποντος καὶ ἐπιφαινομένου τοῦ παντὸς αἰτίου—τὸς γὰρ ἄνθρωπος νοὺς τὸ μέγεθος τῆς φαντασίας ἵκανός ἐστι χωρῆσαι;—ἀλλ' ὡς μᾶς τῶν περὶ αὐτὸ δυνάμεων, τῆς βασιλικῆς, προφαινομένης ἡ γὰρ 16 κύριος πρόσρησις ἀρχῆς καὶ βασιλείας ἐστὶ. νοὺς δὲ ἡμῶν ἡνίκα ἐχαλθαίξε μετεωρολεσχῶν, τῷ κόσμῳ τὰς δραστηρίους ἦν περιέπων δυνάμεις ὡς αἰτίας· γενόμενος δὲ μετανάστης ἀπὸ τοῦ Χαλδαϊκοῦ δόγματος ἄρτι ἡμοὐχούμενον καὶ κυβερνώμενον αὐτόν ὑπὸ ἠγεμόνος, οὐ τῆς ἀρχῆς φαντασίαν ἔλαβε. διὸ λέγεται "ὡφθη" ὦ τὸ ὄν, ἀλλὰ κύριος· οἶδον ἐφάνη ὅ βασιλεύει, ἐξ ἀρχῆς μὲν

1 mss. μητ.
2 mss. περιπεπεύων. I have left the text as Wend. prints it, but it is not satisfactory: περιέπειν is rather "to honour," and if it is read we should expect τοῦ κόσμου, or as Mangey τὰ κόσμου governed by μετεωρολεσχῶν. Perhaps περιάπτων, cf. De Ebr. 73. But the periphrasis with ἔν is in itself somewhat strange.

a I understand ἀοράτῳ, for which Mangey would substitute ἄρρητῳ, to refer to the wrestling of the story taking
of Practice engaged in his quest of virtue, he says to the unseen master, "Announce to me Thy name," and he said "Why dost thou ask this my name?" (Gen. xxxii. 29), and he refuses to tell his personal and proper name. "It is enough for thee," he means, "to profit through my benediction, but as for names, those symbols which indicate created beings, look not for them in the case of imperishable natures."

III. Think it not then a hard saying that the Highest of all things should be unnamable when His Word has no name of its own which we can speak. And indeed if He is unnamable He is also inconceivable and incomprehensible.

And so the words "The Lord was seen of Abraham" (Gen. xvii. 1) must not be understood in the sense that the Cause of all shone upon him and appeared to him, for what human mind could contain the vastness of that vision? Rather we must think of it as the manifestation of one of the Potencies which attend him, the Potency of kingship, for the title Lord betokens sovereignty and kingship. While our mind pursued the airy speculations of the Chaldeans it ascribed to the world powers of action which it regarded as causes. But when it migrated from the Chaldean creed it recognized that the world had for its charioteer and pilot a Ruler Whose sovereignty was presented to it in vision. And therefore the words are "The Lord (not "The Existent") was seen of him," as though it would say, The king has been manifested, king indeed from the first, but hitherto unrecognized place at night and stopping at dawn. Wendland suspected ἐπιστάτη and proposed παλαιστή, but Philo conceives of the angel rather as a master of the contest (ἀγωνοθέτης) training his pupil by wrestling with him; cf. De Som. i. 129.

* i.e. at the beginning of the speech to which the earlier quotation, “Behold I give thee etc.,” belongs. But as
by the soul, which so long unschooled has not remained in ignorance for ever but has received the vision of the Sovereignty which rules over all that is.

But the Sovereign when manifested confers a still higher gift on him who sees and hears him. He says to him, "I am thy God." Which indeed amongst all this multitude of created things does not have Thee for its god? I might ask. But His interpreting word will shew me that He does not here speak of the world of which doubtless He is Creator and God, but of human souls which do not in His eyes deserve to be cared for all alike. His will is to be called the Lord and Master of the bad, the God of those who are on the way to betterment, but of the best and most perfect both at once God and Lord. For instance, when He has set Pharaoh before us as the crowning example of impiety He never calls Himself his God but gives that name to wise Moses, "Behold I give thee as god to Pharaoh" (Ex. vii. 1). But He often names Himself as Lord in the oracles which He gives. We find such utterances as these, "These things saith the Lord" (Ex. vii. 17), and at the beginning of His speech "The Lord spake unto Moses, saying, 'I am the Lord, speak unto Pharaoh, the king of Egypt, all that I speak unto thee'" (Ex. vi. 29). And Moses says to Pharaoh, "When I go forth from the city I will spread out my hands to the Lord, and the sounds shall cease and the hail and the rain shall not be, that thou mayest know that to the Lord belongs the earth" (that is all the bodily earth-compounded frame), "and thou" (that is the mind which the body

another quotation has intervened, this is rather forced. I should like to read ἐν ἀρχῇ, καὶ Ἰ. ὁ. "as an opening phrase."
μενος νους, ,, καλ οι θεραπουντης σου,, oi κατα μερος δορυφορουντες λογισμοι., , επισταμαι γαρ, οτι ουδεπω πεφοβησθε τον κυριον,, ίσον τυ ου τον λεγομενον άλλως, άλλα τον άντως οντα δεσποτην. κυριος γαρ γενητος προσ | αληθειν ουδεις, καν απο περατων επι περατα ευρυνας την ήγεμονιαν αναφητα μονος δ' ο αγενητος άφενως ήγεμων, ου την άρχην ο δεδως και καταπεπληγμενος άθλον ωφελιμωτατον αιρεται ουθεσιας, τον δε ολιγωρον έκδεχεται παντως οικτρος ολεθρος.

22 ουκου κυριος αφρονων επιδεικται τον άρχοντος επανατειναμενος οικειον φοβου, θεος δε βελτιουμενών γραφεται, καθως και νουν,, ,, έγω ειμι θεος σος,, ,, έγω (ο) θεος σου, αυξανου και πληθυνου,, τελειων δε άμφοτερον, κυριος ομοι και θεος, ως εν δεκα λογους. ,, έγω κυριος ο θεος σου,, και έτερωθι ,, κυριος ο θεος των πατερων

23 ουκου κυριος αφρονων επιδεικται τον άρχοντος επανατειναμενος οικειον φοβου, θεος δε βελτιουμενών γραφεται, καθως και νουν,,,, έγω ειμι θεος σος,, ,, έγω (ο) θεος σου, αυξανου και πληθυνου,, τελειων δε άμφοτερον, κυριος ομοι και θεος, ως εν δεκα λογους. ,, έγω κυριος ο θεος σου,, και έτερωθι ,, κυριος ο θεος των πατερων

24 ύμων. 2 δικαιοι γαρ τον μεν φαιλον ως υπο κυριου δεσποζεσθαι, ιν ευλαβουμενος και στενων επικρεμαμενον έχετ τον δεσποτικον φοβου, τον δε προκοπτοντα ως υπο θεου ευεργετεισθαι, οπως ταις ευποιαις τελειωτης εφικηται, τον δε τελειων και ήγεμονευσθαι ως υπο κυριου και ευεργετεισθαι ως υπο θεου διαμενει γαρ ουτως εισαπαν άτρεπτος, έκεινως δε παντως έστων άνθρωπος θεου.

25 δηλουται δε τουτο μαλισθ ως ζητ Μωυσεως,, ,, αυτη γαρ φησιν ,, η ευλογια ην ευλογησε Μωυσης άνθρωπος θεου., ω παγκαλης και ιεροπρεπος

1 mss. aipeita. 2 mss. ημων.
3 ουτως and έκεινως are my corrections of the ουτως and έκεινως of the mss. and editors. It seems clear to me that

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carries with it) "and thy servants" (that is the several thoughts which form its guard), "for I know that ye have not yet feared the Lord" (Ex. ix. 29), meaning that Lord who is not merely so-called but is Lord in very truth. For none that is created is truly a lord, though he be invested with a rule that spreads from pole to pole. Only the Uncreated is truly ruler, and he who lives in fear and awe under that Ruler's government receives a prize of truest value in His reproofs, while he who despises them has before him nothing but to perish miserably. So then He is shown to be the Lord of the foolish in that He holds over them the terrors that are proper to the sovereign. Of those who are on the way to betterment He is called in scripture God, as in this present passage, "I am thy God," or "I am thy God, increase and multiply" (Gen. xxxv. 11). Of the perfect He is both Lord and God as in the Decalogue "I am thy Lord God" (Ex. xx. 2), and elsewhere "The Lord God of your fathers" (Deut. iv. 1), for it is His will that the wicked man should be under His sway as his Lord, and thus with awe and groaning feel the fear of the Master hanging over him; that the man of progress should be benefited by Him as God and thus through those kindnesses reach perfection; that the perfect should be guided by Him as Lord and benefited by Him as God. For through the one he remains free from lapses, through the other he is most surely God's man. This is best shown in Moses' case. "This is the blessing," we read, "which Moses gave, the man of God" (Deut. xxxiii. 1). To what a glorious, what a
άντιδόσεως ἀξιωθείς, θείας προνοίας ἀντιδούναι
26 ἑαυτόν. ἄλλα μὴ νομίσῃς τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον ἀνθρώπων ἐν〈θεοῦ〉 γίνεσθαι καὶ ἀνθρώπου θεόν. ἀνθρώπων μὲν γὰρ θεοῦ, ὡς κτήμα. ἀνθρώπου δὲ θεοῦ, ὡς αὐχεμα καὶ ὁφέλημα.1 εἰ δὴ βούλει διανοίας κλήρον τὸν θεόν ἔχειν, αὐτὸς πρότερον γενοῦ κλήρος ἀξιόχρεως αὐτοῦ· γενήσῃ δὲ, ἂν τοὺς χειροποιήτους καὶ ἐκουσίους ἀπαντᾶς μῶμος2 έκφύγης.

27 IV. ἄλλα γὰρ οὐδ’ ἐκεῖνο προσήκεν ἀγνοεῖν, ὅτι τὸ „ἐγώ εἰμι θεὸς σος” λέγεται καταχρηστικῶς, οὐ κυρίως. τὸ γὰρ ὄν, ἢ ὄν ἐστιν, οὐχὶ τῶν πρὸς τι· αὐτὸ γὰρ ἑαυτοῦ πλήρες καὶ αὐτὸ ἑαυτῷ ἰκανόν, καὶ πρὸ τῆς τοῦ κόσμου γενέσεως καὶ μετὰ τὴν γένεσιν τοῦ παντὸς ἐν ὁμοίῳ. ἀτρεπτὸν γὰρ καὶ ἀμετάβλητον, χρήζον ετέρου τὸ παράπαν οὐδένος, ὡστε αὐτὸ μὲν εἶναι τὰ πάντα, μηδενὸς δὲ κυρίως αὐτῶ. τῶν δὲ δυνάμεων, ἃς ἔτεινεν εἰς γένεσιν ἐπ’ εὐεργεσία τοῦ συσταθέντος, ἐνιας συμβέβηκε λέγεσθαι ὡςανεὶ πρὸς τι, τὴν βασιλικὴν,

1 The mss. and editors have this sentence as follows: ἄλλα μὴ νομίσῃς τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον ἀνθρώπων ἐν〈θεοῦ〉 γίνεσθαι καὶ ἀνθρώπων θεοῦ· ἀνθρώπων μὲν γὰρ, θεοῦ ὡς κτήμα. ἀνθρώπων δὲ θεοῦ, ὡς αὐχεμα καὶ ὁφέλημα. The changes I have introduced, though involving little textual alteration, viz. the insertion of θεοῦ in one place, and the change of ἀνθρώπων θεοῦ twice over to ἀνθρώπων θεοῦ, make a vital change in the thought. As the text stands in the mss. there is little point in the antithesis between being a man simply and being God’s man, and the next sentence does not carry on the antithesis, but indicates one between man being God’s and God being man’s. Moreover αὐχεμα and ὁφέλημα should be genitives in apposition with θεοῦ. The thought in the corrected text is as follows: The phrase “I am thy God” makes God to be man’s. “Moses the man of God” makes
holy exchange is he promoted that in return for God's protecting care he should give himself to God. But do not suppose that God becomes man's in the same way that man becomes God's, for a man is God's as His possession, God is man's to be his glory and assistance. If thou wouldst have God as thy heart's portion, first become thyself a portion worthy for Him to take, and that thou shalt become if thou escape such faults as are thine own handiwork and come of free will.

IV. We should remember this also that the words "I am thy God" are used by licence of language and not in their proper sense, for the Existent considered as existent is not relative. He is full of Himself and is sufficient for Himself. It was so before the creation of the world, and is equally so after the creation of all that is. He cannot change nor alter and needs nothing else at all, so that all things are His but He Himself in the proper sense belongs to none. But the Potencies which He has projected into creation to benefit what He has framed are in some cases spoken of as in a sense relative, such as

\[ a \text{ See App. p. 587.} \]

man to be God's. But the two relations are different. Man is God's because he is God's possession. God is man's only in the sense that he can glory in Him and gain help from Him. He then continues "if we wish to establish this latter relation we must first establish in the right way the former and thus become not merely God's possession, which we are in any case, but a possession worthy of Him."

\[ ^2 \text{ My correction for ms. and editions' νόμους. I can see no sense in this. For μώμους cf. Leg. All. iii. 141 διὰ τὸ μηδένα ἔχειν μὴ' ἐκούσιον μὴ' ἀκούσιον μώμον. For χειροποιητός cf. its application to shipwrecks or famine caused needlessly by human ignorance or malice (Spec. Leg. iv. 154 and iii. 203).} \]
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thn euergetikhn thesias basilews gar tinos kai euergeth
29
[583] 
tinos, eteron pantos basileuomenein kai euergetoumenon. tootow synegennhs esti kai | h poihtikh
dynamis, h kaloumeni thesos. dia gar tahtis tai
dunamewes ethike ta pantata gevenhsas kai tekhni-
teusas pati, woste to "egw eimi theos sot" ivos
30 esti tis egw eimi poihtis kai demuourgos. megiste
de doryea to auton lachein architektonos, ou kai
symptos o kosmos elaixe. faulon men gar psikhn
ou dieplasev -ethron gar thei kakia, -tun de
meson ou di eautou monou kata ton ierwatan
Mowson, epeidh kerei tropon emelven auti
31 dezasthai kaloud te kai aishrou diaforan. dioste
legei to "poinswmen anbropon kaiteikon theme-
teron," in, ei men dezetan faulon typon, eteron
faunetai demourygema, ei de kalon, to twn kalon
kai agathon monon tekhinon. pantos ouin stound-
daios ekeinon estin, w fison "egw eimi theos sot,"
poihtou monou lachon anev sympraxeos eteron.
32 ama mentoi kai to pollhous kataskewaizeinein
autw dogma synagei didasklon, oti monon agathon
kai sofoin demourygos estin. outhe de pasei the
thiasos twn (twn) ekto to phihiouv2 ktesin eauton
ekw afhritai, alla kai twn sarki filwn
33 olignwreken. evetai men gar kai sofignantes

1 Perhaps read <ten>oitos de pasei the thiasos <ds>. See App.
p. 587.
2 mss. ek tou afhionou.

a theos being derived from tiwm; see note on De Conf. 137.
c Or "indeed here with other lessons" (ama), i.e. those of
§§ 18 and 28.

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the kingly and the beneficial, for a king is a king of someone and a benefactor the benefactor of someone, while the subject of the kingship and the recipient of the benefit is necessarily something different. Akin to these two is the creative Potency called God, because through this the Father who is its begetter and contriver made the universe, so that “I am thy God” is equivalent to “I am the Maker and Artificer.” And the greatest gift we can have is to have Him for our Architect, Who was also the Architect of the whole world, for He did not form the soul of the bad, since wickedness is at enmity with Him, and in framing the soul which is in the intermediate stage He was not the sole agent according to the holiest of men, Moses, since such a soul would surely admit like wax the different qualities of noble and base. And therefore we read, “Let us make man after our image” (Gen. i. 26), so that according as the wax received the bad or the noble impress it should appear to be the handiwork of others or of Him Who is the framer of the noble and the good alone. Surely then he is a man of virtue to whom God says “I am thy God,” for he has God alone for his maker without the co-operation of others. At the same time Moses teaches us here by implication the doctrine which he so often lays down that God is the maker of the wise and good only. And all that company have voluntarily stripped themselves of the external goods which are so abundantly supplied to us, and further have despised what is dear to the flesh. Fine, lusty and athletic

\[a\] In the other texts where God says “We” (see De Conf. 16) and Gen. xlviii. 15, 16 (ibid. 181).

\[b\] See App. p. 587.
άθληται τὸ δοῦλον ἐπιτετειχικότες ψυχῆ τὸ σῶμα, ὥχροι δὲ καὶ διερρυηκότες καὶ κατεσκελετεμένοι τρόπον τινὰ οἱ ἀπὸ παιδείας, ταῖς ψυχικαῖς δυνάμει καὶ τοὺς σωματικοὺς τόνους προσκεκληρικότες καὶ, εἰ δεῖ τάληθες εἰπεῖν, εἰς ἐν εἴδος τὸ τῆς ψυχῆς ἀναλυθέντες καὶ ἀσώμαται διάνοια γεγονότες. φθείρεται οὖν εἰκότως τὸ γεώδες καὶ καταλύεται,1 ὅταν ὄλος δὲ ὄλων ὁ νόος εὐαρεστεῖν προέληται θεῷ. σπάνιον δὲ καὶ τὸ γένος καὶ μόλις εὐρισκόμενον, πλὴν οὐκ ἀδύνατον γενέσθαι. δηλοῖ δὲ τὸ χρησθὲν ἐπὶ τοῦ Ἕνωχ λόγιου τόδε: "εὐηρέστησα δὲ Ἕνωχ τῷ θεῷ, καὶ 35 οὐχ εὐρίσκετο." τοῦ γὰρ ἄν σκεφάμενος τις εὐροὶ τάγαθον τοῦτο; ποία πελάγη διαβαλών; ἐποὺς νῆσους, τίνας ἤπειρους ἐλθὼν; παρὰ 36 βαρβάρους ἦ παρ' Ἕλλησιν; ἦ οὐχὶ καὶ μέχρι νῦν τῶν φιλοσοφῶν τετελεσμένων εἰσὶ τίνες, οἱ λέγουσιν ἀνύπαρκτον εἶναι σοφίαν, ἐπειδὴ καὶ τὸν σοφὸν; μηδὲνα γὰρ ἄπ' ἁρχῆς ἀνθρώπων γενέστως ἄχρι τοῦ παρόντος βίου κατὰ τὸ παντελῆ ἀνυπαίτιον νομισθήναι καὶ γὰρ ἀδύνατον εἶναι θνητῷ σώματι 37 ἐνδεδεμένον εἰσάπαν εὐδαιμονήσασιν. ταῦτα δ' εἰ 

1 mss. κατακλύζεται.
are those who use the body as a menace to the soul. Pale, wasted and withered, so to speak, are the children of discipline. They have made over the bodily muscles to serve the powers of the soul and in fact are resolved into a single form, that of soul, and become unbodied minds. Naturally then the earthly element is destroyed and dissolved when the mind in all its powers has a fixed purpose to be well pleasing to God. But that kind is rare and hardly to be found, though that such should be is not impossible. This is shown by the oracle vouchsafed about Enoch. "Enoch was well pleasing to God and was not found" (Gen. v. 24), for where could one search and find this good thing, what seas should he cross, what islands, what continents should he visit? Shall he look for it among the Greeks or the barbarians? Indeed are there not still among the disciples of philosophy some who say that a wise man is non-existent and therefore wisdom also? None, they say, from the beginning of man's creation up to the life of to-day has been held to be completely free from fault, for absolute happiness is impossible to one who is imprisoned in the mortal body. Whether these statements are true we will inquire at the proper occasion. At present we will accept the text and say that wisdom is indeed something which exists, and so too is the lover of wisdom, the sage, but, though he exists, we who are evil fail to see him, for good cannot keep company with bad. Therefore we are told that "he was not found," this type of character which was well pleasing to God, meaning

\[ a \] E.V. "Enoch walked with God; and he was not; for God took him" (LXX μετέθηκε). For "found" see App. p. 587.

\[ b \] See App. pp. 587 f.
arctos men on, apokrupptomeneos de kai thn eis tauto sasodon hemwôn apodidraskein, epidei kai metatebhnai legetai, to de esti metanasthnaia kai metoikian steilasqhai thn ap to thnetau bliv prot thn abanaton.

39 V. Othoi men de thn entheon manian manentes exergwsthnon, eteroi de eisow oi ths theasou kai hemeron sofias etairoi. toutois kai euusebeia diaferontos askeitaia kai ta anthrwpia oux uperopatai. martoires 6' ois xhrwmoi, en ois legetai tw 'Abraam ek prosopou tou theou: "evarestein enwpon emoiv," touto de esti mi emoi monw, alla kai tois emois ergois par' emoi kriti, ws efwro kai episkopow. timon gar goineis th peneitas elewn th filous evyergetwn th patridos uperastplwn th twon kouwn pros apantasa anthrwpous diokain evmeloimenes evarestheies men pantos tois xrwmenois, theou de enwpon evarestheies akoumhtw gar ophalwmw blepeta pantai kai ta spoudaia xariti ezairetai pros eauton kaley kai apodechetai.

40 toignrtoi kai o askhetis euxomeinos tautwn apodhlelwsei faskwn: "o theos, w eurhresthsan oi pateres mou" kai proosththn: "enwpon autou," charn tov gnwnai thn pragmatikh diaforon tou "theo" evarestein pros to "enwpon autou." to men gar amfortera periexei, 1 to de theteron monon. 42 othtw kai Mouyshe en tois protrepnikois paraivei legwv: "to evaraston pouseis enwpon kuryou tou theou sou," oinon toiauta prattae, a genyseita epaxia tov fanhna theo kai aper idwv apodeixetai.

1 MSS. parexein.

a As E.V. in Hebrews xi. 5.  b Cf. Quis Rerum 127.  c See note on De Fug. 170.
ON THE CHANGE OF NAMES, 38–42

doubtless that though actually existing he was hidden from us and shunned our company. And to confirm this we read that he was "translated" (ibid.), that is, changed his abode and journeyed as an emigrant from the mortal life to the immortal.

V. These are men inspired with heaven-sent madness, men who have gone out into the wild. But there are others who have followed a tame and gentle wisdom, and such are both eminent in the practice of piety and do not despise human things. This is attested by the oracle in which it is said to Abraham, with God as speaker, "Be well pleasing before Me" (Gen. xvii. 1), that is, "be well pleasing not to Me only but to My works, while I as judge watch and survey thee." For if you honour parents or show mercy to the poor or do kindness to your friends or defend your country or observe with care your duties to all men in general, you will surely be well pleasing to all with whom you have to do, but also well pleasing before God. For He with an eye that never sleeps beholds all things, and what is good He summons to Himself and approves with special favour. And therefore the Practiser in his prayer will show us the same truth. "The God," he says, "to whom my fathers were well pleasing," and adds "before Him" (Gen. xlviii. 15) to show us the difference in fact between being pleasing "to Him" and "before Him." The latter embraces both kinds of well pleasing, the former is confined to one only. And so Moses in his Exhortations charges them in these words: "Thou shalt do what is well pleasing before the Lord thy God" (Deut. xii. 28), meaning do such things as shall be worthy to appear before God, and when seen to be approved by Him, and such
ταύτα δὲ καὶ εἷς τοὺς ὀμοίους¹ εἰώθε τυχρεῖν.

43 ἑντεύθεν ὀρμηθεὶς τὴν τε σκηνὴν δυοὶ περιβόλων ὀρίους συνύφαινε, μέσον ἀμφότερον κάλυμμα τε, ὅπως διακρίνηται τῶν εἰσοῦ τὰ ἔξω, καὶ τὴν νομοφυλακίαν ἵεραν κιβωτῶν ἐνδοθέν καὶ ἐξωθὲν ἐχρύσωσε, καὶ τῷ μεγάλῳ ἵερεί διττὰς ἀνέδωκε στολάς, τὴν μὲν λυκῆν ἐνδοῦ, τὴν δὲ πουκίλην ἔξω μετὰ τοῦ ποδήρους. ταύτα γὰρ καὶ τὰ τοιαύτα σύμβολα ψυχῆς ἐστὶ καὶ τοῖς εἰσὶ πρὸς θεόν ἀγνευούσῃ καὶ [ἐν] τοῖς ἔξω πρὸς τὸν αἰσθητὸν κόσμον καὶ βίον καθαρευούσῃ. εὐστόχως οὖν ἐκεῖνο πρὸς τὸν παλαιστὴν νικηφόρον ἔλεγχη μελ- λοντά τοῖς νικητηρίοις ἀναδείσθαι στεφάνωι. τὸ [585] γὰρ ἐπ᾿ αὐτῷ | κήρυγμα τοιούτον ἐστὶν: "ισχυσας μετὰ θεοῦ καὶ μετὰ ἀνθρώπων δυνατός." τὸ γὰρ καθ᾿ ἐκατέραν τάξιν εὐδοκιμήσαι, καὶ τὴν πρὸς τὸ ἀγένητον καὶ τὴν πρὸς τὸ γενόμενον, οὐ μικρὰς ἑστὶ διανοίας, ἀλλ᾿ εἰ δεὶ τάληθες εἰπεῖν, κόσμον καὶ θεοῦ μεθορίου συνόλως τε προσήκει τὸν ἀστείον ὁπαδὸν εἶναι θεοῦ. μέλει γὰρ τῷ πάντων ἡγεμόνι καὶ πατρὶ τοῦ γενόμενον. τίς γὰρ οὐκ οἴδει, ὅτι καὶ πρὸς τῆς τοῦ κόσμου γενέσεως ἰκανὸς ἦν αὐτὸς ἑαυτῷ ἐλευθέρῳ θεῷ καὶ μετὰ τῆς τοῦ κόσμου γένεσιν ἐαυτὸς ἔμενεν, οὐ μεταβαλῶν; διὰ τί οὖν ἐποίει τὰ μὴ ὁντα; ἢ ὅτι ἀγαθὸς καὶ φιλόδωρος ἦν; εἰτ᾿ οὐχ ἐφόμεθα οἱ δούλοι τῷ δεσπότῃ, θαυμάζοντες

¹ The text is questioned by Mangey and Wendland and Cohn, who proposed different emendations, in the first two cases bearing little likeness to the original. Cohn suggested ἐκτὸς ὀμοίως. I see no reason to dispute the text. The use of οἱ ὀμοίως for “our neighbours” in antithesis to God is exactly paralleled in Quis Rerum 172 τῶν πρὸς τοὺς ὀμοίους ἀδικημάτων,
deeds as these commonly extend to our fellow-men.

It was this thought which prompted Moses when he wove the tabernacle, dividing its precincts into two, and set a curtain between the parts to distinguish the inner from the outer (Ex. xxvi. 33); when too he gilded the sacred ark which holds the laws both within and without (Ex. xxv. 10), and gave the high priest two robes, the linen robe to be worn within, the many-coloured one with the long skirt to be worn outside (Ex. xxviii. 4, Lev. vi. 10). These and the like are symbols of a soul which in inward things is undefiled towards God and in outward things is pure towards the world of our senses and human life. And so those were fitting words which were said to the victorious wrestler when he was about to be crowned with garlands of triumph. For “Thou hast been strong with God and mighty with men” (Gen. xxxii. 28) were the words which proclaimed his victory. To win honour in both spheres, in our duty both towards the uncreated and the created, requires no petty mind, but one which stands in very truth midway between the world and God. And in sum the man of worth should follow in the steps of God, for the Ruler and Father of all cares for His creatures. We all know that before the creation of the world God was sufficient unto Himself and that after the creation He remained the same, unchanged. Why then did He make the things which were not? Why, save because He was good and bountiful? Shall not then we His slaves

*a* See App. p. 588.

where no question is raised by the objectors to this passage. For χωρέιν εἰς cf. § 150.
μὲν τὸν αὐτὸν ὑπερφυῶς, τῆς δὲ καθ’ αὐτοῦς
φύσεως μὴ ὑπερορῶντες;

47 VI. Εἶπών δὲ “εὐαρέστει ἐνώπιον ἐμοῦ” προσηπιλέγει, “καὶ γίνου ἁμεμπτὸς,” ἀκολουθία καὶ εἴρμῳ χρώμενος. μᾶλλον μὲν οὖν ἐγχείρει τοῖς καλοῖς, ἢν εὐαρεστής· εἰ δὲ μὴ, τῶν γε ἀμαρτημάτων ἀπέχου, ἢν μὴ τυγχάνῃς μέμψεως. δὲ μὲν γὰρ κατορθῶν ἔπαινετός, δ’ δὲ μὴ ἀδικῶν οὖν

ψεκτός. καὶ τὸ μὲν πρεσβυτικὸν ἀθλὸν κατορθοῦσι πρόκειται, τὸ εὐάρεστον, τὸ δεύτερον δὲ μὴ ἀμαρτάνουσι, τὸ ἁμεμπτὸν. τάχα δὲ καὶ γενέσει τῇ θνητῇ τὸ μὴ διαμαρτάνειν ὦς καὶ τὸ αὕτο γράφεται τῷ κατορθοῦντι. “τίς γάρ,” ὡς ὁ Ἰωβ φησι, “καθαρὸς ἀπὸ ρύπου, κἂν μία ἡμέρα ἐστὶν

ή ἥξω;” ἀπειρα μὲν ἐστὶ τὰ καταρρυπαντόν τὴν ψυχήν, ἄπερ ἐκνίφασθαι καὶ ἀπολούσασθαι παντελῶς οὐκ ἐνεστίν. ἀπολείπονται γὰρ ἐξ ἀνάγκης παντὶ θνητῷ συγγενείς κήρες, ἀς λωφήσαι μὲν εἰκός, ἀναμεθήναι δ’ εἰςάπαν ἀδύνατον.

50 δίκαιου οὖν ἡ φρόνιμον ἡ σωφρονὴ ἡ συνόλως ἅγαθὸν τέλειον ἐν πεφυρμένῳ βίῳ ζητεῖ τις; στέργη, κἂν μὴ ἀδικὸν ἡ μὴ ἁφρονὴ ἡ μὴ ἀκόλαστον ἡ μὴ δειλόν ἡ μὴ παντελῶς φαύλον εὐρής. ἀγαπητὸν γὰρ αἵ τῶν κακῶν ἀνατρέπει, τῶν δ’ ἀρετῶν ἡ ἐντελῆς κτῆσις ἀδύνατος ἀνθρώπων τῶν καθ’ ἡμᾶς. εὐλόγως οὖν ἔφη· “γίνου ἁμεμπτὸς,”

1 So mss., but the adjective seems to be only known in the sense of “senile” or “antiquated.” Probably, as Wend. suggests, read πρεσβύτατον.

2 mss. εὐρήσεις. Or perhaps καὶ ἐτο… εὐρήσεις (W.H.D.R.). The καὶ in any case however seems otiose, and ἐτο... εὐρής would be more natural.

* For the general thought of this passage with the same
follow our Master with profoundest awe and reverence for Him Who is the Cause, yet not forgetting the calls of our common humanity? a

VI. After saying “Be well pleasing before Me” 47 He adds further “and become blameless.” This is in close sequence to the preceding. “Best it is,” He means, “to set your hand to excellence and thus be well pleasing, but failing this at least abstain from sins and thus escape blame.” For positively righteous conduct b brings praise to the doer, but abstention from iniquity saves him from censure. The highest prize of “well pleasing” may be won 48 by positive well-doing, the second, freedom from blame, by avoidance of sin. And yet perhaps for the creature of mortal kind the former is declared by Scripture to coincide with the latter. For who, as Job says, is pure from defilement, even if his life be but for one day? (Job xiv. 4). Infinite indeed are 49 the defilements that soil the soul, which it is impossible to wash and scour away altogether. For there still remain evils which are bound up with the life of every mortal, which may well be abated but cannot be wholly destroyed. Should we then seek to 50 find in the medley of life one who is perfectly just or wise or temperate or good in general? Be satisfied, if you do but find one who is not unjust, is not foolish, is not licentious, is not cowardly, is not altogether evil. We may be content with the overthrow of vices, and the complete acquisition of virtues is impossible for man, as we know him. With good reason then did He say, “Become blame-

illustration from the two robes and the words of Gen. xxxii. 28 cf. the fuller exposition in De Ebr. 80-87. b See App. p. 588.
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[586] μέγα πλεονέκτημα πρὸς εὐδαίμονα | βίον ὑπολαβὼν εἶναι τὸ ἀναμάρτητον καὶ ἀνυπαίτιον.
τῷ δὲ ἤρημένῳ ζῆν τὸν τρόπον τοῦτον καὶ κλήρον κατὰ διαθήκας ἀπολείψεων ὀμολογεῖ τὸν ἀρμόζοντα δοῦναι μὲν θεῷ, λαβεῖν δὲ σοφῶ. φησὶ γάρ.
52 "θῆσω τὴν διαθήκην μου ἀνὰ μέσον ἐμοῦ καὶ ἀνὰ μέσον σοῦ." διαθήκαι δὲ ἔπ' ὀφελείᾳ γράφονται τῶν δωρεᾶς ἁξίων, ὡστε σύμβολον εἶναι διαθήκην χάριτος, ἣν μέσην ἔθηκεν ὁ θεὸς ἐαυτοῦ τε ὀρέ-53 γοντος καὶ ἀνθρώπου λαμβάνοντος. ὑπερβολὴ δὲ εὐεργεσίας τοῦτο ἐστὶ, μὴ εἰναι θεοῦ καὶ ψυχῆς μέσον, ὅτι μὴ τὴν παρθένον χάριτα. τὸν δὲ περὶ διαθηκῶν σύμπαντα λόγον ἐν δυσὶν ἀναγέγραφοι συντάξει καὶ ὑπὲρ τοῦ μῆ παλινωδεὶ' ἐκὼν ὑπερβαίνω καὶ ἁμα μὴ βουλόμενος ἀπαρτάν τὸ συμφυὲς τῆς πραγματείας.
54 VII. Λέγεται δ' ἐξῆς: "ἐπεσεν Ἀβραὰμ ἐπὶ πρόσωπον." ἄρ' οὐκ ἔμελλεν ὑποσχέσει θείαις γνώναί τε ἐαυτὸν καὶ τὴν τοῦ θυτοῦ γένους οὐ-δένειν καὶ πεσεῖν παρὰ τὸν ἐστώτα εἰς ἐνδείξιν τῆς ὑπολήψεως, ἣν περὶ ἐαυτοῦ τε ἐσχε καὶ θεοῦ, ὅτι ὁ μὲν κατὰ τὰ αὐτὰ ἐστὼς κινεῖ τὴν σύμπασαν στάσιν, οὐ διὰ τῶν σκελῶν—οὐ γὰρ ἀνθρωπόμορφος, —ἀλλά τὴν ἀτρεπτὸν καὶ ἀμετάβλητον ἐμφαί-55 νοσαν, ὁ δ' οὐδέποτε ἐν ταύτῳ βεβαιώς ἵδρυμένος

1 κινεί... ἐμφαίνονσαν. Following Wend. I have left this part of the sentence as the mss. have it. But it is clearly corrupt, and Markland, Cohn and Wend. have suggested various emendations. The translation is based on a suggestion of my own that for στάσιν we should read τάσιν (self-extension). Cf. De Sac. 68 ἐστηκα... οὐ μεταβατικῶς κινούμενος... ἀλλά τοικὴ χρώμενος τῇ κινήσει, also De Post 30.
less," for He holds that freedom from sin and guilt is a great furtherance towards a happy life.

And to him who has elected to live in this fashion He promises to leave a covenanted portion such as is fitting for God to give and man to receive, for He says "I will set my covenant between Me and 52 between thee" (Gen. xvii. 2). Now covenants are drawn up for the benefit of those who are worthy of the gift, and thus a covenant is a symbol of the grace which God has set between Himself Who proffers it and man who receives. And this is the 53 crowning benefaction, that there is nothing between God and the soul save the virgin grace. But I have dealt with the whole subject of covenants in two treatises, and I willingly pass it over to avoid repetition, and also because I do not wish to interrupt the continuity of the discussion.

VII. The next words are "Abraham fell on his 54 face." Ah, what else should he do, when he heard the divine promises, but know himself and the nothingness of our mortal race, and fall at the feet of Him Who stands, to show what conception he held of himself and God? He knew that God stands with place unchanged, yet moves the universal frame of creation, His own motion being the motion of self-extension (not the movement of the legs, for He is not of human form), but a motion whereby He shows His unalterable, unchanging nature. He 55 knew that he himself is never firmly set in a stable

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I regard this however as very conjectural. If it were adopted, the rest of the passage might run somewhat as follows: κινεῖ τὴν σύμπασαν <φύσιν or γένεσιν or σύστασιν κατὰ> τάσιν . . . ἀλλὰ <τὸ> ἄπρεπτον καὶ ἀμετάβλητον ἐμφαίνονσαν. (Markland in place of the insertion of τὸ suggested ἐμφαίνων οὐσίαν.)
άλλοτε ἀλλοίας δέχεται μεταβολὰς καὶ υποσκελιζόμενος, ὁ δυστυχής,—ολισθος γὰρ σύμπας ὁ βίος
56 ἐστὶν αὐτῷ—μέγα πτώμα πίπτει; ἀλλ' ὁ μὲν ἀκών ἀμαθῆς, ὁ δὲ ἐκών εὐάγγος. οὐ χάριν καὶ ἐπὶ πρόσωπον πεσεῖν λέγεται, ἐπὶ τᾶς αἰσθήσεις, ἐπὶ τὸν λόγον, ἐπὶ τὸν νοῦν, μονονοῦ βοῶν καὶ κεκραγώς, ὅτι πέπτωκε μὲν αἰσθήσις εἰς αὐτῆς ἀδυνατοῦσα αἰσθάνεσθαι, εἰ μὴ προμηθεία τοῦ σωτηρός ἀνεγερθείν πρὸς τὴν τῶν ὑποκειμένων σωμάτων ἀντιλήψιν, πέπτωκε δὲ καὶ ὁ λόγος ἐρμηνεύσασι τι τῶν ὄντων ἀδυνατῶν, εἰ μὴ διανοίξας τὸ στόμα καὶ τὴν γλῶτταν ἀρθρώσας ὁ τὸ φωνητήριον ὄργανον κατασκευακαὶ καὶ ἀρμοσάμενον πλήξει τοὺς φθόγγους μουσικῶς, πέπτωκε δὲ καὶ ὁ βασιλεὺς νοῦς τᾶς καταλήψεις ἀφηρημένον, εἰ μὴ πάλιν αὐτὸν ἐγείρας ὁ ξωοπλάστης ἰδρύσατο καὶ ἐνομματώσας ἐξυπνείτωσε κόραις ἀγάγοι πρὸς τὴν τῶν ἀσωμάτων θέαν πραγμάτων.

57 VIII. Ἀγάμενος οὖν τὸν αὐτὸν ἀποδιδράσκοντα τρόπον καὶ ἐκουσιόν πτώμα πέπτοντα διὰ τὴν ὁμολογίαν ἦν ὁμολόγησε περὶ τοῦ ὄντος, ὅτι πρὸς ἀλλήλων ἐστῶς ἐν ἦν ἄρα, τῶν μετ' αὐτὸ τροπαὶ καὶ μεταβολὰς παντοίας1 ἐνδεχομένων, ἐνηχεῖ τε καὶ λόγου μεταδίδωσι φάσκων “καγώ, ἵδον ἡ ἰδιαθήκη μου μετα σοῦ.” τούτῳ δὲ τοιοῦτον ὑποβάλλει νοῦν· εἴδη μὲν διαθήκης ἐστὶ πάμπολλα χάριτας καὶ δωρεὰς τοῖς ἄξιοις ἀπονέμοντα, τὸ δ' ἀνώτατον γένος διαθηκῶν αὐτὸς ἐγὼ εἰμι. δείξας

1 MSS. παντοίων.

a Literally “he both speaks with emphasis (or “instucts”) and gives him a share of the speech.” See App. p. 588. 170
position, that he is ever subject to various changes, and that throughout his life, which is one long slipping, he trips and falls, woe to him! and how great is that fall. Sometimes it is through involuntary ignorance, sometimes through voluntary yielding to temptation, and so we read also that it was on his face that he fell. By face is meant his senses and his mind and his speech, and the gesture is little less than a loud insistent utterance. Fallen is sense, it cries, unable of itself to perceive, were it not by a dispensation of God's saving providence set on its feet to the perception of material substances: fallen is speech, because it were unable to express in language anything that is, did not He Who framed and adjusted to harmony the instrument of the voice beat out the music of its notes, opening the mouth and giving strength to the nerves of the tongue: fallen too is the royal mind, robbed of its powers of apprehension, did not the Framer of all that lives raise it up and establish it, and planting in it far-piercing eyes, lead it to the sight of the immaterial world.

VIII. The frame of mind which shrank from Him and fell spontaneously won God's high approval by thus acknowledging of the Existent that it is He alone Who stands and that all below Him are subject to change and mutation of every kind. He addresses him with an insistence which is also a call to partnership. "And I," He says, "—see, My covenant is with thee" (Gen. xvii. 4). The meaning suggested is to this purport—there are very many kinds of covenant, assuring bounties and gifts to the worthy, but the highest form of covenant is "I myself." He shews and
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γάρ εαυτόν, ὡς ἐνήν δειχθῆμαι τῶν ἀδεικτῶν, διὰ τοῦ φάναι "κάγω" ἐπιλέγει· "Ιδοὺ ἡ διαθήκη μου"· ή πασῶν χαρίτων ἀρχή· τακ πηγή· αὐτὸς εἶμι ἐγώ. τοῖς μὲν γὰρ δι᾽ ἐτέρων τὰς εὐεργεσίας εἰσθανοιττοὶ θεός, γῆς, ύδατος, αέρος, ἡλίου, σελήνης, οὐρανοῦ, δυνάμεων ἄλλων ἀσωμάτων, τοῖς δὲ δι᾽ εαυτοῦ μόνου, κλήρον ἀποφήνας τῶν λαμβανόντων εαυτόν, οὐς εὐθέως καὶ προσρήσεως ἐτέρας ἡξίωσε. λέγεται γὰρ ὅτι "οὐ κληθῆσεται τὸ ὄνομά σου Ἀβράμ, ἀλλ’ ἐσται τὸ ὄνομά σου Ἀβραάμ." ἔνιοι μὲν οὖν τῶν φιλ-απεχθημόνων καὶ μώμοις αἰεῖ τοῖς ἀμώμοις προσ-ἀπτεῖν οὐ σώμασι μᾶλλον ἢ πράγμασι καὶ πόλεμον ἀκήρυκτον πολεμοῦντων τοῖς ἰεροῖς πάνθ᾽ ὅσα μὴ τὸ εὐπρεπὲς ἐν λόγῳ διασώζειν δοκεῖ σύμ-βολα φύσεως τῆς αἰεὶ κρύπτεσθαι φιλούσης ὑπ-ἀρχοντα μετ’ ὁυκ1 ἀκριβοὺς ἐρεύνης φαινόσαντες ἐπὶ διαβολῆ ἀποφέρουσι, διαφερόντως δὲ τὰς τῶν ὀνομάτων μεταθέσεις. καὶ πρώην ἡκουσα χλευάζοντος καὶ κατακεραυνοῦντος ἀνδρός ἀθέου καὶ ἁσβεῦσι, ὃς ἐτόλμων λέγειν μεγάλα δὴ2 καὶ ὑπερβάλλοντας δωρεάν, ἂς φησί Μωυσῆς τὸν ἔνακτον τῶν ὅλων ὁρέγειν· στοιχείου γὰρ προσ-θήκη, τοῦ ἐνός ἀλφα, [στοιχείῳ περιττεύει]3 καὶ πάλιν ἐτέρα προσΘείει τοῦ ὅνωθαμαστὴν ἠλίκην ἐδοξεν εὐεργεσίαν παρεσκήναθαι * * τὴν Ἀβραάμ γυναῖκα Σάραν Σάρραν ἡνόμασε δις τὸ ὅ ὅ παρα-

1 This or Wend.’s other suggestion of δίχα is needed to correspond with φιλούσης κρύπτεσθαι, which would be pointless with the ms. reading μετ’ ἀκριβοὺς (“hunting everywhere for examples”).

2 MSS. δὲ.
ON THE CHANGE OF NAMES, 58–61

points to Himself, as far as He can be shewn Who is above all shewing, by the words “And I,” and adds, “behold my covenant,” the beginning and the fountain of all bounties is “I myself.” For to some God 59 is wont to extend His benefactions by other means, earth, water, air, sun, moon, heaven, and other agencies not material, but to others by Himself alone, making Himself the portion of those who receive Him. On these He presently bestows as their due 60 a different name. “Thy name shall not be called Abram (Αβράμ),” we read, “but Abraham (Αβραάμ)” (Gen. xvii. 5).

Some of the quarrelsome and captious type of people who wish to attach blame where it is not due, not so much to material things as to actions and ideas, and wage war to the death against what is holy, when they find anything which seems to them to fall short in propriety if taken literally, while really it is a symbol of the nature-truth which loves concealment, make no careful search for that truth, but disparage it and hold it up to obloquy. And this they do especially with the changes of names. Not long ago I heard the scoffing and railing of a 61 godless and impious fellow who dared to speak thus: “Vast and extraordinary indeed are the gifts which Moses says come from the hand of the Ruler of all. What a boon He is supposed to have provided by adding a single letter, an alpha, and again by another addition of a rho, for He (turned Abram (Αβράμ) into Abraham (Αβραάμ) by doubling the alpha, and) Abraham’s wife Sarai (Σάρα) into Sarah (Σάρρα) by

a See note on Quis Rerum 242.

See App. pp. 588 f.
λαβών1 καὶ ὡσα ὀμοιότροπα συνείρων ἀπνευστὶ καὶ
62 ἐπισαρκάζων ἀμα διεξήγει. τῆς μὲν οὖν φρενο-
βλαβείας οὐκ εἰς μακρὰν ἔδωκε τὴν ἀρμόζουσαν
δίκην. ἀπὸ γὰρ μικρᾶς καὶ τῆς τυχοῦσας προφάσεως
ἐπ’ ἀγχόνην ἤξεν, ἵν’ ὁ μιαρὸς καὶ δυσκάθαρτος
μηδὲ καθαρῷ θανάτῳ τελευτήσῃ.
IX. Δικαίως δὲ ἂν ἡμεῖς ὑπὲρ τοῦ μὴ καὶ ἔτερον
τοῖς αὐτοῖς ἀλώναι τὰς ὑπονοιας ἐκκόψαμεν,
φυσιολογοῦντες καὶ ἀποδεικνύντες τὰ λεγόμενα
63 ταῦτα πάσης ἐπάξια σπουδῆς. οὐ (gambar)
ἀφωνα ἢ φωνήντα ἢ συνόλως ῥήματα καὶ ὄνοματα
[588] χαρίζεται ὁ θεὸς, ὅποτε καὶ ἐγνήσας φυτά τε αὐ
cαὶ ξῶα ἐκάλεσεν ὡς πρὸς ἡγεμόνα τὸν ἄνθρωπον,
ὅν2 εκ πάντων δι’ ἐπιστήμην ἐχώρισεν, ἵν’ ἐκάστους
tὰ οὐκεία ὄνοματα θήται· "πᾶν" γάρ φησιν "δὲ
ἀν ἐκάλεσεν ὁ Ὁδάμ, τούτῳ ὄνομα τοῦ κληθέντος
64 ἦν." εἴθ’ ὅπου οὐδὲ τὰς ὀλοκλήρους θέσεις τῶν
όνομάτων ὁ θεὸς ἠξίωσεν ἐπιφημίζειν, ἐπιτρέψας
ἀνδρὶ σοφῷ, τῷ γένους ἀνθρώπων ἀρχηγήτῃ, τὸ
ἐργον, ὑπονοείν ἄξιον, ὅτι μέρη τῶν ὄνομάτων ἢ
συλλαβὰς ἢ γράμματα, οὐ φωνήντα μόνον, ἀλλὰ
cαὶ ἀφωνα, αὐτὸς προσετίθει καὶ μεθήρμοζε, καὶ
tαὐτ’ ἐπὶ προφάσει δωρεᾶς καὶ ὑπερβαλλοὺσης
65 ἐνεργείας; οὐκ ἐστὶν εἰπεῖν. ἀλλὰ τὰ τοιαῦτα
χαρακτήρες δυνάμεων εἰσὶ, βραχεῖς μεγάλων,
αἰσθητοὶ νοητῶν, φανερὸι ἀδήλων· αἱ δὲ δυνάμεις
ἐν δόγμασιν ἀρίστους, ἐν ἀμενδέσι καὶ καθαραῖς

1 I leave this sentence as Wendland prints it, with the ms.
tὸ ἐνὸς corrected to τοῦ, προσθέσεις to προσθέσει and τὴν ῥῶ to
τὸ ῥῶ, and in the translation have followed what he supplies
for the supposed lacuna after παρεσχήσαι. For other
possibilities see App. pp. 588 f.
2 mss. ὅς (Mangey ὅς καὶ πάντων δι’ ἐπιστήμης ἐχώρησε).

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doubling the rho." And in a sneering way he ran over the list of such cases without a moment's pause. Well, it was not long before he paid the penalty which his wicked folly called for. For a slight and trivial cause he hastened to hang himself, and thus even a clean death was denied to the unclean miscreant.

IX. It is only right that to prevent any other falling a victim to the same errors we should eradicate misgivings of this sort by resorting to the truths of nature and shewing that what we thus read is worthy of our most earnest consideration. Letters, whether vowels or consonants and the parts of speech in general, are not the gifts of God's grace, seeing that when He created the plants and animals He summoned them to man as their ruler, set apart by Him from them all in virtue of his knowledge, that he might give each kind their distinguishing names. "Everything," he says, "which Adam called them, that was their name" (Gen. ii. 19). If God did not think fit to assign names even in their completed form, but committed the task to a man of wisdom, the founder of the human race, is it proper to suppose that parts of names or syllables or single letters, not merely vocal vowels but mute consonants, were added and altered by Himself, and a gift and pre-eminent benefaction alleged to be conferred thereby? It is quite impossible. Such changes of name are signs of moral values, the signs small, sensible, obvious, the values great, intelligible, hidden. And these values are found in noble verities, in unerring and pure notions,

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\[ a \] This use of υπονοιας is strange, though Wend.'s suggestion of τὰς <τοιαύτας> ὑπ. or Mangey's τὰς <κακὰς> ὑπ. would make it more natural. See App. p. 589.

\[ b \] See App. p. 589.
υπολήψεσιν, ἐν ψυχής βελτιώσεσιν εξετάζονται. τὸν δὲ ἐλεγχὸν λαμβάνει εὐμαρές τὴν ἀρχὴν πουησαμένοις ἀπὸ τοῦ νυνὶ μετονομασθέντως.

66 Ἄβραμ γὰρ ἑρμηνεύεται μετέωρος πατήρ, Ἄβραάμ δὲ πατήρ ἐκλεκτὸς ἡχοῦς. ἢ δὲ διαφέρει ταὐτ ἀλλήλων, εἰσόμεθα σαφέστερον, ἐπειδὰν τὸ δηλοῦ-μενον ύφ᾿ ἑκατέρου πρῶτον ἀναγνώσμεν. μετέωρον τοῖνυν ἀληθοῦροντές φαμεν τὸν ἀπὸ γῆς ἑαυτὸν εἰς ψυχὸν αἴροντα καὶ ἐπισκοποῦντα τὰ μετάρσια, μετεωροπόλον τε καὶ μετεωρολογικὸν, ἑρευνῶντα τί ἡλίου μέγεθος, τίνες αὐτοῦ φοραῖ, πῶς τὰς ἑττήσιοι ὡραῖ διανέμει προσώπων καὶ ἐξαναχωρῶν πάλιν ἰσοτάχησι ταῖς ἀνακυκλήσεσι, καὶ σελήνης περὶ φωτισμῶν, σχηματισμῶν, μειώσεως, αὔξησεως, καὶ τῶν ἀλλῶν ἀστερῶν κινήσεως, ἀπλανοῦσε τε καὶ πεπλανυμένης. ἢ γὰρ τούτων ἑξέτασις οὐκ ἀφυός καὶ ἀγόνου ψυχῆς ἐστίν, ἀλλ᾿ ἐν τοῖς μάλιστα εὐφυοῖς καὶ δυναμένης ὀλόκληρα καὶ τέλεια γεννᾶν ἔγγονα. διὸ καὶ τὸν μετεωρολογικὸν "πατέρα" ἐπεν, ὅτι οὐκ ἀγὸνος σοφίας.

68 Ἐν τούτῳ τὸν 'Αβραὰμ σύμβολα οὕτως ἀκριβοῦται, τὰ δὲ τοῦ 'Αβραὰμ, ὡς ὑποδείξομεν· ἢν δὲ τρία, πατήρ καὶ ἐκλεκτὸς καὶ ἡχοῦς. φαμὲν δὴ τὴν μὲν ἡχῶ τὸν προφορικὸν εἶναι λόγον—τοῦ γὰρ ζώου ἡχεῖν ὀργανόν ἐστὶ τὸ φωνητήριον,—τοῦτον δὲ πατέρα τὸν νοῦν—ἀπὸ γὰρ διανοίας ὁσπερ ἀπὸ πηγῆς φέρεται τὸ τοῦ λόγου νᾶμα,—ἐκλεκτὸν δὲ τὸν τοῦ σοφοῦ· ὃ τι γὰρ ἀριστον, ἐν τούτῳ.

1 mss. ψυχαῖς βελτίωσιν. 2 mss. ἀφ᾿.
ON THE CHANGE OF NAMES, 65–69

and in soul-betterments. The proof of
this is easy, starting from the change of name here
before us, for Abram is interpreted as "uplifted father," Abraham as "elect father of sound." How
the two differ we shall understand more clearly if we
first discover the meaning of each. Resorting then to
allegory we say that "uplifted" is one who rising from
earth to the heights surveys the supraterrestrial, con­
versing with and studying the phenomena of the upper
world, investigating the size of the sun and its courses,
how it regulates the seasons of the year by its revolu­
tions as it advances and retreats at the same rate of
speed; one who considers also the different illumina­
tions of the moon, its phases, its waning and waxing,
and the movement of the other stars both in the
fixed and the planetary order. To inquire into such
matters bespeaks a soul not devoid of natural gifts
or unproductive, but highly gifted and capable of
engendering offspring perfect and without blemish;
and therefore he called the student of the upper
world "father" because he is not unproductive of
wisdom.

X. Such is our definition of the
meanings conveyed under the symbol of the name
Abram; those conveyed by "Abraham" are such
as I proceed to describe. They are three in number—
"father," "elect" and "of sound." We say that
sound stands for the uttered word, for in living
creatures the instrument of sound is the vocal power.
Its father is the mind, since the stream of speech
issues from the understanding as its fount. The elect
mind is the mind of the wise, since it contains what

a The interpretation of Abram and Abraham has already
been given in De Cher. 4 f. and De Gig. 62 f. That of
Sarai and Sarah in De Cher. 5 f.

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κατὰ μὲν οὖν τοὺς προτέρους χαρακτήρας ὁ φιλομαθὴς καὶ μετεωρολέσχης ἐσκιαγραφεῖτο, κατὰ δὲ τοὺς ἀρτίως ὑποτυπωθέντας ὁ φιλόσοφος, μᾶλλον δὲ ὁ σοφὸς ἔδηλοῦτο. μηκὲν οὖν ἄνοματων ἀλλαγῆς ὑπολάβης χαρίζεσθαι τὸ θείου, ἀλλὰ διὰ συμβόλων ήθῶν ἐπανόρθωσιν. τὸν γὰρ πραγματεύομεν τὰ περὶ φύσεως οὐρανοῦ πρότερον, ὃν μαθηματικὸν ἐνιοῖς προσαγορεύουσιν, ὕπι τὴν μετουσίαν καλέσας ἀρετῆς σοφὸν καὶ ἀπεδείξε καὶ ἀνόμασεν, ἐπιφημίσας τὸν μεταχαραχθέντα τρόπον, ὃς μὲν Ἐβραῖοι εἶποιεν ἂν, Ἀβραὰμ, ὃς δὲ ἀν Ἑλληνες, πατέρα ἐκλεκτὸν ἡχοῦς. τίνος γὰρ, φησίν, ἕνεκα χορείας καὶ περιόδους αστέρων ἐρευνᾶς καὶ τοσοῦτον ἀπὸ γῆς ἂνω πρὸς αἰθέρα πεπῆδηκας; ἄρ' ἵνα αὐτὸ μόνον τὰ ἐκεῖ περιεργάσῃ; καὶ τὸς ἐκ τῆς τοσαύτης περιεργίας γένοιτ' ἢ φύλετα; τὶς καθαίρεσις ἡδονῆς; τὶς ἐπιθυμίας ἀνατροπῆ; τὶς λύπης ἢ φόβου κατάλυσις; ποία παθών, αὐτῆς ὁ κλονεῖ καὶ συγχεῖ τὴν ψυχήν, ἐκτομή; καθάπερ γὰρ δένδρων οὐδὲν ὄφελος, εἰ μὴ καρπῶν οἰστικὰ γένοιτο, τὸν αὐτὸν δὴ τρόπον οὐδὲ φυσιολογίας, εἰ μὴ μέλλοι κτήσις ἀρετῆς ἐνέγκειν· ὃ γὰρ καρπὸς αὐτῆς ὁ ἡθικὸς ὁμοῖος έστι. διό και τῶν πάλαι τινών θεωροῦντας τὸν κατὰ φιλοσοφίαν ἀπεικάσαντος λόγον φυτοῦς μὲν ἐξωμοίωσαν τὸ φυσικὸν μέρος, αἰμασιαῖς δὲ καὶ περιβόλοις τὸ λογικὸν, καρπῶ δὲ τὸ ἡθικὸν, υπολαβοῦντες καὶ τὰ ἐν κύκλῳ τεῖχη φυλακῆς ἑνεκα τοῦ καρποῦ κατεσκευάσθαι πρὸς τῶν ἐχόντων καὶ τὰ φυτὰ δεδημιουργηθαὶ γενέσεως καρποῦ χάριν. 

οὕτως οὖν ἐφασαν καὶ ἐν φιλοσοφίᾳ δεῖν τὴν τε φυσικήν καὶ λογικήν πραγματείαν ἐπὶ τὴν ἡθικήν ἀναφέρεσθαι, ἤ βελτιωθαὶ τὸ ἡθος κτήσεως ὅμοιον
ON THE CHANGE OF NAMES, 70–75

is best. So then the first set of signs delineated the 70 lover of learning, the meteorologist, while those just sketched reveal the wisdom-lover or rather the wise. Cease then to suppose that the Deity's gift was a change of name, instead of a betterment of character symbolized thereby. Him who was erstwhile busied 71 in the study of the nature of heaven—the astrologer as some call him—He summoned to a partnership in virtue and both made him and named him wise, giving to the spiritual outlook thus recast the title of Abraham, as the Hebrews would call it, and in our language, Elect Father of Sound. For what purpose, 72 He asks, do you investigate the rhythmic movements and revolutions of the stars? Why this great leap from earth up to the realm of ether? Is it just to busy yourself in idle labour with what is there? And what good can result from all that idle busying? How will it serve to subdue the urge of pleasure, to overthrow the power of lust, to suppress fear or grief? What surgery has it for passions which agitate and confound the soul? Just as there is no use for 73 trees, if they are not capable of bearing fruit, so too also with nature-study, if it is not going to bring the acquisition of virtue. For virtue is its fruit, and 74 therefore some of the ancients, comparing the study of philosophy to a field, likened the physical part to plants, the logical to the walls and fences, and the ethical to the fruit. They considered that the walls 75 round the field are built by the owners to guard the fruit and the trees grown to produce it, and that in the same way in philosophy physical and logical research should be brought to bear on ethics by which

1 MSS. δὲ.
2 MSS. ἀπολαβόντες.

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See De Agr. 14 and Leg. All. i. 57, and notes.
καὶ χρήσεως ἁρετῆς ἐφιέμενον. τουαῦτα ἐδιδάχθημεν ἐργῳ δὲ μεταβαλόντος ἀπὸ φυσιολογίας πρὸς τὴν ἡθικὴν φιλοσοφίαν καὶ μεταναστάντος ἀπὸ τῆς περὶ τὸν κόσμον θεωρίας πρὸς τὴν τοῦ πεποιηκότος ἐπιστήμην, ἐξ ἦς εὐσέβειαν, κτημάτων τὸ κάλλιστον, ἐκτήσατο.

XI. Τὰ δὲ περὶ τῆς γυναικὸς αὐτοῦ Σάρας νῦν ἐρούμεν· καὶ γὰρ αὐτὴ μετονομάζεται εἰς Σάρραν κατὰ τὴν τοῦ ἐνὸς στοιχείου πρόσθεσιν τοῦ ῥῶ· τὰ μὲν οὖν ὀνόματα ταῦτα, τὰ δὲ τυγχάνοντα μηνυτέον· ἐρμηνεύεται Σάρα μὲν ἀρχή μου, Σάρρα δὲ ἀρχοῦσα, τὸ μὲν οὖν πρότερον εἰδικῆς σύμβολον ἁρετῆς ἐστὶ, τὸ δ᾽ ὑστέρον γενικῆς. ὃς δὲ γένος εἶδους διαφέρει κατὰ τὸ ἔλαττον, τοσοῦτῳ τὸ δεύτερον ὄνομα τοῦ προτέρου. τὸ μὲν γὰρ εἶδος καὶ βραχὺ καὶ φθαρτόν, τὸ δὲ γένος πολύ τε αὐτῷ ἀφθαρτον. βούλεται δὲ ὁ θεός ἀντὶ μικρῶν καὶ φθαρτῶν μεγάλα καὶ ἀθάνατα χαρίζεσθαι, καὶ ἐμπρεπεῖς αὐτῷ τὸ ἔργον. ἡ μὲν (γὰρ) ἐν τῷ σπουδαῖῳ φρόνησις αὐτοῦ μόνου ἐστὶν ἀρχή, καὶ οὐκ ἂν ἀμάρτοι ο ἐχὼν, εἰ λέγοι· ἀρχὴ μοῦ ἐστιν ἢ ἐν ἐμοὶ φρόνησις. ἡ δὲ ταῦτην τυπώσασα, ἡ γενικὴ φρόνησις, οὐκέτι τοῦ δεινοῦ ἐστιν ἀρχή, ἀλλ’ αὐτὸ τοῦτο ἀρχή. τουγαροῦν ἐκεῖνῃ μὲν ἡ ἐν εἰδεὶ τῷ ἐχοντι συμφθαρῆσεται, ἡ δὲ σφραγίδος τρόπον αὐτὴν τυπώσασα πάντως ἀπηλλαγμένη θυντοῦ διατελέσει πρὸς αἰώνα ἀφθαρτος. οὒτω καὶ τῶν τεχνῶν αἱ μὲν ἐν εἰδεὶ συναπόλλυνται τοῖς κτησαμένοις, γεσμέτραις, γραμματικοῖς, μουσικοῖς· αἱ δὲ γενικαὶ μένουσιν ἀνώλεθροι. προσ-
the character is bettered and yearns to acquire and also to make use of virtue. This is how we have learned to regard the story of Abraham. Literally his name was changed, actually he changed over from nature-study to ethical philosophy and abandoned the study of the world to find a new home in the knowledge of its Maker, and from this he gained piety, the most splendid of possessions.

XI. We will now deal with the case of Sarah his wife. Her name Sarai (Σαραί) is changed to Sarah (Σαρρα) by the addition of one letter, rho. These are the names, now for the facts indicated by them. Sarai means my sovereignty, Sarah sovereign. The former is a symbol of specific virtue, the latter of generic, and in the same measure as the genus is greater than the species is the second name greater than the former. The species is small and perishable, the genus is large and imperishable. And the gifts which God wills to bestow are great and immortal in exchange for small and perishable, and to give such is a work well suited to Him. Wisdom in the good man is a sovereignty vested in himself alone, and its possessor will not err if he says “The wisdom in me is my sovereignty.” But in the wisdom which is its archetype, the generic wisdom, we cease to have the sovereignty of the particular individual, but sovereignty its very self. And therefore that specific wisdom will perish with its possessor, while the other which like a seal gave it its shape, being free from all mortal element, will continue for ever imperishable. So too with the arts: the specific arts perish with their owners, the geometricians, the grammarians, the musicians: the generic arts remain imperishable.

* See App. p. 589.
υπογράφει δε ἀναδιδάσκων ἐν ταύτῳ, ὅτι καὶ πᾶσα ἀρετὴ βασιλίς ἐστὶ καὶ ἄρχουσα καὶ ἡγε-μονεύουσα τῶν κατὰ τὸν βῖον πραγμάτων.

81 XII. Ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸν Ἰακώβ μετονομάζεσθαι συμβέβηκεν εἰς τὸν Ἰσραὴλ, οὐκ ἀπὸ σκοποῦ. διὰ τί; ὅτι ο ὅ μὲν Ἰακώβ πτερνιστής, ο δὲ Ἰσραὴλ ὁρῶν τὸν θεόν καλεῖται. πτερνιστοῦ μὲν οὖν ἔργον ἀσκοῦντος ἀρετὴν τὰς βάσεις τοῦ πάθους, αἰς ἐφίδρυται, καὶ εἰ τι όχυρὸν καὶ ἱδρυμένον ἐν αὐτοῖς κινεῖν καὶ σαλεύειν καὶ ἀνατρέπει—ταῦτα δὲ οὗ διά ἄγωνια ἀκονίτι φιλεῖ γίνεσθαι, ἀλλ' ἐπειδὰν τις τοὺς φρονήσεις ἀθλοὺς αἰσθάλων γυμνάζεται τε τῇ τῆς ψυχῆς γυμνάσματα καὶ πρὸς τοὺς ἀντιπάλους καὶ τραχηλίζοντας αὐτὴν λογισμοὺς πολαῖτ,—τοῦ δὲ τὸν θεόν ὁρῶν τὸ μὴ ἐκ τοῦ ἱεροῦ ἄγωνος ἀστεφάνωτον ἔξελθεῖν, ἀλλὰ 82 τὰ ἐπὶ τῇ νίκῃ βραβεῖα ἅρα σφαιραὶ. τὸς δ' αὐτὸν ἐνανθεστερος καὶ ἑπταδειστερος πλέκοιτο νυκτήρων ψυχῆς στέφανος ή δι' οὗ τὸν ὅντα δυνήσεται θεωρεῖν ὁξυδερκώς; καλὼν γε ἀσκητικὴ ψυχῆ προκείται τὸ ἄθλον, ἐνομματωθῆναι πρὸς τὴν τοῦ μόνου θέας ἀξίου τηλαυγῆ κατανόησιν.

83 XIII. Ἀξίων δὲ ἀπορῆσαι, διὰ τί ο μὲν Ἄβραάμ, ἀφ' οὗ μετονομασθῆ, τῆς αὐτῆς προσρήσεως ἀξιόται µηκέτι καλοῦμενος ὁνόματι τῶ προτέρῳ, ο δὲ Ἰακώβ προσρηθείς Ἰσραὴλ οὐδὲν ἐπρος αὕτως [591] τάλιν Ἰακώβ ἐπὶ πλέον ὄνομαζεται. | λεκτέον οὖν ὅτι καὶ ταῦτα χαρακτηρέσ τιν, οἷς ἢ διδακτική τῆς ἀσκητικῆς ἀρετῆς διαφέρει. ο μὲν γὰρ διδασκαλία βελτιωθεῖς, εὐμοίρου λαχῶν φύσεως, ἢ περιποεὶ τὸ ἄληστον αὐτῶ διὰ συνεργοῦ μνήμης,
ON THE CHANGE OF NAMES, 80–84

Incidentally another lesson suggested at the same time is that every virtue is a queen and a sovereign and a ruler of the course of human life.

XII. We shall also find that the change of Jacob's name to Israel is much to the purpose. Why so? Because Jacob is the supplanter, and Israel he who sees God. It is the task of a supplanter in the practice of virtue to disturb and shake and upset the supports on which passion rests, and all the firmness and stability which they have. That is a work which cannot commonly be done without hard effort and the stains of the arena, but only when one maintains the contests of wisdom to the end, and drilled in the gymnastics of the soul wrestles with the thoughts which oppose and hold it fast in their grip. The task of him who sees God is not to leave the sacred arena uncrowned, but carry off the prizes of victory. And what garland more fitting for its purpose or of richer flowers could be woven for the victorious soul than the power which will enable him to behold the Existent with clear vision? Surely that is a glorious guerdon to offer to the athlete-soul, that it should be endowed with eyes to apprehend in bright light Him Who alone is worthy of our contemplation.

XIII. It is worth inquiring why Abraham, after the change of name, is not called by his old name, but always receives the same title as his right, whereas Jacob, after he is addressed as Israel, is in spite of this called Jacob many and many a time. We must reply that these are signs differing according as virtue acquired by teaching differs from virtue acquired by practice. He who is improved through teaching, being endowed with a happy nature, which with the co-operation of memory assures his retentive-
μονή¹ χρήται, ην ἐμαθεὶν ἀπρίξ ἐπειλημμένος καὶ ἕβεβαἰὼς περιεχόμενος· ὁ δ' ἀσκητὴς ἐπειδὰν γυμνά-
σηται συντόνως, διαπνεῖ πάλιν καὶ ὑπανιέται, συλ-
λεγόμενος καὶ ἀνακτώμενος τὴν ἐκ τοῦ πονεῖν ἐπιθρυμμένην² δύναμιν, καθάπερ καὶ οἱ τὰ σώματα ἁλειφόμενοι· καὶ γὰρ οὕτωι περὶ τὴν ἁσκησιν
cαμόντες, ὡς μὴ κατὰ τὸ παντελῶς αὐτοίς ἀπορρα-
geίειν αἱ δυνάμεις διὰ τὸ σφοδρὸν καὶ σύντονον τῆς
85 ἀθλήσεως, ἐλαιον ἐπιχέουσιν. εἰθ' ὁ μὲν
dιδαχθεὶς ἄθανάτῳ χρόμενος ὑποβολεῖ τὴν ωφελείαν ἐναυλον καὶ ἄθανατων ἱσχει, μὴ τρεπόμενος·
ὁ δ' ἀσκητὴς καὶ τὸ ἐκούσιον ἔχων αὐτῷ μόνον καὶ οὖντω γυμνάζον καὶ συγκροτᾶν, ὦν τὸ ὀικεῖον
πάθος τῷ γενητῷ καταβάλῃ, καὶ τελειωθῇ, καμὼν
86 πρὸς τὸ ἄρχαιον ἐπάνεισι γένος. πληθικώτερος μὲν γὰρ οὕτως, εὐτυχέστερος δ' ἕκεινος· ὁ μὲν γὰρ
χρήται διδασκάλῳ ἐτέρῳ, ὁ δ' ἐς ἐαυτοῦ ζητεῖ τε καὶ σκέπτεται καὶ πολυπραγμονεῖ, μετὰ ὁποιῆς ἑρευνῶν τὰ φύσεως, ἀδιαστάτῳ χρόμενος καὶ
87 συνεχεὶ πόνω. διὰ τοῦτο τὸν μὲν Ἀβραάμ, ἐπειδή
mένειν ἐμελλείν ἐν ὀμοίῳ, μετωνόμασεν ὁ ἀτρεπτος
θεὸς, ἢν ὑπὸ τοῦ ἐστῶτος καὶ κατὰ τὰ αὐτὰ καὶ ὡσαύτως ἔχοντος τὸ μέλλον στήσεθαι παγίως ἱδρυθῇ, τὸν δὲ Ἰακὼβ ἄγγελον ὑπηρέτης τοῦ θεοῦ,
λόγος, ἢν ὀμολογηθῇ μηδὲν εἶναι τῶν μετὰ τὸ ὁν
ἀκλινοῦς καὶ ἀρρεπῶς αὐτιῶν βεβαιότητος, ἀλλ' ἀρμονίας τῆς ὡς ἐν ὀργάνῳ μουσικῷ περιεχόμενης

¹ mss. μόνη. ² mss. τετρυμμένην. ³ mss. μεταβάλῃ.
ON THE CHANGE OF NAMES, 84–87

ness, gets a tight grip and a firm armhold of what he has learned and thus remains constant. The Practiser on the other hand, after strenuous exercise, takes a breathing-space and a relaxation while he collects and recovers the force which has been enfeebled by his labours. In this he resembles the athletes who anoint their bodies. When they are weary with exercise they pour oil upon their limbs to prevent their forces being utterly shattered by the intensity and severity of the contest. Again, the Man of Teaching has to aid him the voice of his monitor ringing in his ears, deathless as that monitor himself, and thus never swerves: the Man of Practice has only his own will which he exercises and drills to aid him to overthrow the passion natural to created being, and, even if he reaches the consummation, yet through weariness he returns to his old kind. He is more patient of toil, the other more blessed by fortune. This last has another for his teacher, while the toiler, self-helped only, is busied in searching and inquiring and zealously exploring the secrets of nature, engaged in labour ceaseless and unremitting. Therefore did Abraham in token of the even tenor of his future life receive his new name from God, the unchangeable, that the stability of his future might be set on a firm foundation by Him Who stands and is ever the same in nature and condition. But Jacob was re-named by an angel, God’s minister, the Word, in acknowledgement that what is below the Existent cannot produce permanence unswerving and unwavering, but only such harmony as is found in a musical instrument wherein the tones now stretched to a
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ἐπιτάσεις καὶ ἀνέσεις φθόγγων πρὸς τὴν τοῦ μέλους ἐντεχνὸν κρᾶσιν.

88 XIV. Ἀλλὰ τριῶν ὄντων του γένους ἀρχηγετῶν, οἱ μὲν ἀκροὶ μετωνομάσθησαν, Ἀβραὰμ τε καὶ Ἰακὼβ, ὁ δὲ μέσος Ἰσαάκ τῆς αὐτῆς ἐλαχεν εἰς ἀεὶ προσρήσεως. διὰ τί; ὅτι ἡ μὲν διδακτικὴ ἀρετὴ καὶ ἀσκητικὴ δέχονται τὰ πρὸς βελτίωσιν—ἐφίεται γὰρ δὴ ὁ μὲν διδασκόμενος ἐπιστήμης ὅν ἀγνοεῖ, ὁ δὲ ἀσκήσει χρώμενος στεφάνων καὶ τῶν προκειμένων ἄθλων φιλοτήμων καὶ φιλοθεάμου ψυχῆς,—τὸ δ’ αὐτοδιδακτὸν καὶ αὐτομαθὲς γένος,

άτε φύσει μᾶλλον ἡ ἐπιτηδεύεις συνιστάμενον, εἰς [592] ἀρχης ἵσον καὶ τέλειον καὶ ἀρτιον ἴνεχθη, μηθενὸς εὐδέουτος τῶν εἰς πλήρωσιν ἀριθμὸι.

89 Ἀλλ’ οὐχ ὁ τῶν του σώματος ἐπιτηδείων προστάτης Ἰωσήφ· ἀλλάττει γὰρ τοῦνομα, Ψονθομ-φανής ὑπὸ τοῦ τῆς χώρας βασιλέως ἐπικληθεὶς. ὃν δὲ λόγον ἔχει καὶ ταῦτα, μηνυτέον. Ἰωσήφ ἐρμηνεύεται πρόσθημα· προσθήκη δ’ ἐστὶ τῶν φύσει τὰ θέσει, χρυσός, ἀργυρός, κτήματα, πρόσοδοι, οἰκείων θεραπεῖαι, κειμηλίων καὶ ἐπίπλων καὶ τῆς ἀλλής περιουσίας ἀφθονοι ύλαι, τῶν ἡδονῆς ποιητικῶν ἀμηχανοί τὸ πλῆθος παρασκευαῖ. ὃν τῶν ποριστήν καὶ ἐπιμελητῆν Ἰωσήφ ὁνόματι εὐθυβόλῳ καλείσθαι συμβέβηκε πρόσθεμα, ἐπεὶ τῶν ἐξωθὲν ἐπεισοδιαζομένων καὶ προστιθεμένων τοῖς κατὰ φύσιν προστάσιαν ἀνήπται. μαρτυροῦσι

1 mss. διδακτή, which might be retained, cf. § 263.

a Literally “as in a musical instrument containing heightenings and lowerings of notes to the artistic blending of melody.”

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ON THE CHANGE OF NAMES, 87–90

high pitch, now relaxed to a low, are blended into melody by the artist’s skill.\(^a\)

XIV. Again, while the race has three founders it is the first and last of these, Abraham and Jacob, whose names were changed, while the middle founder, Isaac, has the same name throughout. Why is this? Because both the scholar’s form of virtue and the practiser’s are open to improving influences, since the former desires to know what he is ignorant of, the latter desires crowns of victory and the prizes offered to a soul which rejoices to toil and seek the vision of the truth. On the other hand the kind which has no teacher or pupil but itself, being made what it is by nature rather than by diligence, goes on its way from the first equal and perfect like an even number\(^b\) with no other needed as complement.

Not so with the controller of bodily necessaries, Joseph. For he changes his name and receives the title of Psonthomphanech\(^c\) (Gen. xli. 45) from the king of the country. The meaning of this also needs explanation. Joseph is by interpretation “addition,” and conventional goods are an adjunct of natural goods. The former are such as gold, silver, chattels, revenues, services of menials, abundant stocks of heirlooms and furniture and all other luxuries, and the instruments of pleasure ready to hand in numberless forms. The provider and superintendent of these, Joseph, is found to have the appropriate name of “Addition,” since he is invested with the direction of the imported adventitious wealth which is an addition to the natural. This is attested by the

\(^{a}\) ἀριθμὸς here combines its ordinary sense of “perfect” or “complete” with its technical use for an “even” number.

\(^{b}\) Hebrew and E.V. Zaphenath-paneah.
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δ' οἱ χρησµοὶ δηλούντες ὧτι τὰς τροφὰς τῆς σωµατικῆς χῶρας ἀπάσης, Αἰγύπτου, θησαυρισά-κενος ἐσιτάρχει. Ὑποθελπάνη ποῖος ἐστὶ, θεασώµεθα. ἐρµηνεύεται οὖν ἐν ἀποκρίσει στόµα κρίνον. οἴεται γὰρ πᾶς ἄφρων τῶν πολυχρήµατων καὶ περιρρεόµενον ταῖς ἕκτος οὐσίας εὐθὺς εἶναι καὶ εὐλόγιστον, ἵκανον µὲν πρὸς ἀν πῦθηταὶ τὶς ἀποκρίνασθαι, ἵκανον δὲ καὶ δι' ἕαυτοῦ γνώµας εἰσηγήσασθαι οὐσιοφήρουσας, καὶ συνόλως τὸ φρόνµην ἐν τῷ τυχήµῳ τίθεται, δέον ἐµπαλιν τὸ τυχήρον ἐν τῷ φρονίµῳ ἄξιον γὰρ τὸ ἀστατὸν ὑπὸ τοῦ ἐστῶτος ἰνοχεῖσθαι. καὶ µὴν τῶν ἁδελφῶν αὐτοῦ τῶν ὁµογάστριων ὁ µὲν πατὴρ Βενιαµῖν, ἡ δὲ µήτηρ υἱὸν ὀδύνης προσαγορεύει, φυσικῶτα µεταληφθεῖς γὰρ ο Βενιαµῖν ἔστω τοῦ ἰµέρῶν, ἰµέρα δὲ τῶν ἀφ' ἴλιου αἰσθητῶ φωτὶ καταλαµµέτεται, τούτω δὲ τὴν κενὴν δόξαν ἐξοµοιοῦµεν. ἔχει γὰρ τῶν λαµ-πρόττητα αἰσθητὴν ἐν τοῖς παρὰ τῶν πολλῶν καὶ ἀγελαίων ἐπάινος, ἐν τοῖς γραφοµένοις ψηφί-σµαις, ἐν ταῖς ἀνδριάντοις καὶ εἰκόνων ἀναθέσεσις, ἐν πορφύραις καὶ στεφάνοις χρυσοῖς, ἐν ἀρµατω ικαὶ τεθρίπτησις καὶ παραποµπαΐς ὀχλων, ὁ τού-των ὅν ξηλωτῆς εἰκότως υἱὸς ἰµερῶν, αἰσθητοῦ φέγγους καὶ τῆς περὶ τὴν ἐκεῖνὴν δόξαν λαµ-πρόττητος, ὀνοµάσθη. τοῦτο ὁ πρεσβύτερος λόγος καὶ πατὴρ ὁντος εὐθυβόλου καὶ κύριου ὄνομα αὐτῷ τίθεται, ἢ δὲ παθοῦσα ψυχή τὸ ὦ πέπονθεν ἀρµότ-του ὀδύνης γὰρ υἱὸν καλεί. διὰ τὶ; ὅτι οἱ ἐν [593] 188
ON THE CHANGE OF NAMES, 90-94

oracles which state that he stored up the food and managed the provisioning of the whole land (ibid. 48) of the body.

XV. Such a character the tokens given lead us to find in Joseph. Let us consider the nature of Psonthomphanech. His name means "mouth which judges in answer." For every fool thinks that the man of wealth who lives surrounded by a sea of outward kinds of substance must of necessity be able to reason aright, be capable of answering questions put to him and capable of originating judgements of value. And in general the fool holds wisdom to be subordinate to chance, instead of chance to wisdom, as he should do, since the unstable ought to be guided on its course by the stable. And also his uterine brother is addressed by his father as Benjamin and by his mother as Son of sorrow, and that is true to facts. For Benjamin by interpretation is Son of days, and the day is illumined by the sunlight visible to our senses, to which we liken vainglory. Such glory has a certain brilliance to the outward sense, in the laudations bestowed by the vulgar multitude, in the decrees which are enacted, in the dedications of statues and images, in purple robes and golden crowns, in chariots and four-horse cars and crowded processions. He who affects these things was with good reason named the Son of days, that is of the visible light and of the brilliance of vainglory. This name which exactly expresses the fact is given him by his father the head of the house, the reason. But the soul gives him the one that agrees with the experience by which she herself has learned. She calls him a son of sorrow. Why? Because those
As noted in the Introduction, §§ 97-102 are obviously irrelevant, as none of the four persons discussed have any

1 Perhaps, as Mangey, φυρόμενοι, cf. De Ebr. 57 τις . . . των ἐτι φυρομένων ἐν κεναῖς δόξαις;
2 Or perhaps <τῷ> εὐφυεῖ.
ON THE CHANGE OF NAMES, 94–99

who are swept along by the current of empty opinion are thought to be happy, but are in reality most unhappy, for many are the counterblasts, envy, jealousies, continuous quarrelling, rancorous enmities unreconciled till death, feuds handed down successively to children's children, an inheritance which cannot be possessed. And so God's interpreter could not but represent the mother of vainglory as dying in the very pangs of childbirth. Rachel died, we read, in hard labour (Gen. xxxv. 16, 19), for the conception and birth of vainglory, the creature of sense, is in reality the death of the soul.

XVI. Again, when the sons of Joseph, Ephraim and Manasseh, were likened to the two elder sons of Jacob, Reuben and Simeon, have we not something perfectly true to nature? Jacob says, "Thy two sons who were born in Egypt before I came to Egypt are mine. Ephraim and Manasseh shall be as Reuben and Simeon to me" (Gen. xlviii. 5). Let us observe how the two pairs tally with each other. Reuben, whose name is by interpretation "Seeing son," is the symbol of natural excellence, because the man who enjoys facility of apprehension and natural excellence is endowed with sight. Ephraim, as we have often said elsewhere, is the symbol of memory. For he is by interpretation "Fruit-bearing," and memory is the best fruit of the soul. And no two things can be so close akin as memory and natural excellence. Again, Simeon is another change of name. The only link is that they show how different names symbolize contrasting qualities. Possibly the thought is partly induced by the proximity of the two sons of Rachel, cf. the digression in Quis Rer. 252-266.

See Leg. All. iii. 91 f., De Sobr. 27 f., De Mig. 205 f., De Cong. 40 f.
όνομα μαθήσεως καὶ διδασκαλίας ἐστὶν—εἰσακοὴ γὰρ ἐρμηνεύεται,—μανθάνοντος δ᾽ ἵδιον ἀκούειν τε καὶ προσέχειν τοῖς λεγομένοις, ὁ δὲ Μανασσῆς ἀναμνήσεως σύμβολον καλεῖται γὰρ ἐκ λήθης.

100 τῷ δὲ ἐκ λήθης ἐξῳ προϊόντι συμβαίνει κατὰ τὸ ἀναγκαῖον ἀναμμηνήσκεσθαι μαθήσεως δὲ ἀνάμνησις οἰκείον. πολλάκις γὰρ τού μανθάνοντος ἀπορρεῖ τὰ θεωρήματα μὴ δυναμένου δὲ ἀσθενείαν κρατεῖν καὶ πάλιν ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἡπαναπλεῖ. τὸ μὲν οὖν τῆς ἀπορροῆς πάθος ὀνομάζεται λήθη, τὸ δὲ τῆς παλιρροιας ἀνάμνησις. ἂρ, οὐ προσφυῶς εὐφυὲς μὲν [ἡ] μνήμη, μαθήσει δὲ ἀνάμνησις ἐφ-αρμόζεται; καὶ μὴν ὅν λόγον ἔχει Συμεὼν πρὸς Ἰοθόρ, τὸ δὲ ἐστὶ μάθησις πρὸς φύσιν, τούτον ἔχει λόγον Μανασσῆς πρὸς Ἔφραιμ, τὸ δὲ ἐστὶ πρὸς μνήμην ἀνάμνησις. ὡς γὰρ τὸ εὐφυὲς ἄμεινον τοῦ μανθάνοντος—τὸ μὲν γὰρ ἐοικεν ὀράσει, τὸ [594] δὲ ἀκοή: ἀκοὴ δὲ ὀράσεως | τὰ δεύτερα φέρεται,—οὕτω τὸ μνημονικὸν τοῦ ἀναμμηνησκομένου πανταχοῦ κρεῖττον, ὅτι τὸ μὲν λήθη κέκραται, τὸ δὲ ἀμιγές καὶ ἀκρατον ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἄχρι τέλους διαμένει.

101 Ἐκεῖ ὁ ἐν τῇ Ἁλεξανδρείᾳ Παύλου ἡμίπροφθων πενθερὸν τοτέ μὲν Ἰοθόρ τοτὲ δὲ Ἰῳθόρ μὲν, ὅταν τύφος εὐημερῆ· μεταλπθεῖσι γὰρ ἐστὶ περισσός, περιττὸν δὲ ἀψευδεῖ βίω τύφος, γέλωτα.μὲν τὰ ἱσα καὶ ἀναγκαία τῷ βίῳ τιθέμενος, τὸ δὲ πλεονεξίας ἰδιοσ ἃ μνήμην ἄνισα σεμνύνων.

102 οὕτως καὶ ἀνθρώπεια θείων καὶ ἔθη νόμων καὶ βέβηλα ἱερῶν καὶ θυητὰ ἄθανάτων καὶ συνόλως τὸ δοκεῖν τοῦ εἶναι προτιμᾷ. καὶ ἐπιτολμήσας αὐτο-
name for learning and teaching, since Simeon is by interpretation "hearing," and it is the peculiar mark of the learner that he hears and attends to what is said, while Manasseh is the symbol of recollection, for his name is "From forgetfulness." The advance from forgetfulness necessarily involves recollection, and recollection is akin to learning. For what he has acquired often floats away from the learner's mind, because in his weakness he is unable to retain it, and then emerges and starts again. When it flows away we say he is in a state of forgetfulness, and when it returns we call it a state of recollection. Surely then memory closely corresponds to natural excellence and recollection to learning. And the same relation which Simeon or learning bears to Reuben or nature is borne by Manasseh or recollection to Ephraim or memory. For just as natural excellence which resembles sight is better than learning which resembles hearing, the inferior of sight, so memory is in every way the superior of recollection, since while that is mixed with forgetfulness memory remains from first to last free from mixture or contamination.

XVII. Again, the chief prophet's father-in-law is sometimes called in the oracles Jethro and sometimes Raguel. He is Jethro when vanity is flourishing, for Jethro is by interpretation "superfluous," and vanity is to the verities of life a superfluous deriding as it does equalities and the mere necessaries of life and glorifying surplusage and inequality. Jethro values the human above the divine, custom above laws, profane above sacred, mortal above immortal, and in general seeming above being. And he ventures

a Or "the inequalities produced by covetousness."
κέλευστος εἰς τὴν τοῦ συμβούλου παρέρχεται τάξιν, ὕφηγομένος τῷ σοφῷ μὴ ἀναδιδάσκειν ὁ μόνα μανθάνειν ἄξιον, "τὰ προστάγματα τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ τὸν νόμον," ἀλλὰ τὰ πρὸς ἄλληλους ἀνθρώπων συμβόλαια, τῆς ἀκοινωνίας διακοινωνίας· καὶ ὁ μέγας πάντα πειθαρχεῖ, νομίσας ἅμα μόνα μανθάνειν άξιον, τὰ πρὸς αὐτὸς· τὸν νόμον, τὸν ἀνθρώπου· τὰ πρὸς τοὺς θρησκεύοντας· τὰ πρὸς τὸν ἄγγελον· τὰ πρὸς τὸν θεοῦ· τὰ πρὸς τὸν ἄνθρωπον· τὰ πρὸς τὸν θεοῦ· τὰ πρὸς τὸν θεοῦ· τὰ πρὸς τὸν θεοῦ· τὰ πρὸς τὸν θεοῦ· τὰ πρὸς τὸν θεοῦ.

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105 τὰ μεγάλα δίκαια τίθεσθαι. μεταβαλὼν δὲ πολλάκις ὁ δοκησίσοφος οὕτως καὶ μεταβάς ἀπὸ τῶν θρημάτων, ὁ δὴ τυφλός ἐλαχεὶς ἁνατίσας τὴν θείαν ἁγέλην μέρος οὐ μεμπτόν αὐτῆς γίνεται, θαυμάσας τῆς φύσεως τὸν ἀγέλαρχην καὶ τῆς ἐπιστασίας ἁγάμενος, ἡ χρήται πρὸς τὴν τῶν ἐαυτοῦ θρημάτων εἰμίλειαι· ἁμηνευτεῖ γάρ Ἐραγούη ποιμασία θεοῦ. XVIII. τὸ μὲν κεφάλαιον εὑρήται, τὰς δὲ πίστεις ὑφηγήσεται. πρῶτον μὲν θεραπευτὴν αὐτὸν κρίσεως καὶ δίκης

1 Wendland [μὴ] ἀναδιδάσκειν . . . <μὴ> τὰ πρὸς ἄλληλους. So also Mangey, more doubtfully. See note α below.

2 mss. σχημάτων.

α The suggestion of Mangey and Wendland to explain away this extraordinary perversion of the story of Jethro’s visit to Moses by transferring the negatives seems to me quite untenable. If it brings the passage into better agreement with the LXX, it does so at the cost of making nonsense of the whole, by representing something which is to Jethro’s credit as being to his discredit. Moreover, the text as it stands substantially agrees with the account of the interview given more shortly in De Ebr. 37. Philo apparently gets his interpretation by stopping short at v. 17 of Ex. xviii. and ignoring the rest. Moses has said that he teaches the people “the ordinances of God and the law,” and Jethro replies οὐκ ὅρθως ποιεῖς. The sequel goes on to shew that Jethro means that Moses should employ subordinates for
ON THE CHANGE OF NAMES, 104–106

to come self-bidden and take the position of an adviser and suggests to the sage that he should not teach the only thing worth learning, the ordinances of God and the law, but the contracts which men make with each other, which as a rule produce dealings where the partners have no real partnership. And the great ones of the earth accept all he says, and think that it is right to give great justice to the great and little justice to the little. Yet often this wiseacre changes round and leaves the flock which had him in his blindness for their leader: he seeks the herd of God and becomes therein a member without reproach, so much does he admire the nature of its herdsman and reverence the skill in governing which he shews in the charge of his flock. For the meaning of Raguel (Ex. ii. 18) is “the shepherding of God.” XVIII. I have stated the sum of the matter, Moses will shew us the proofs. In the first place he describes him as one who honours minor matters, and the last part of § 104 seems to be a vague reproduction of this, but completely twisted, whether through perversity or lapse of memory, so as to describe a policy of injustice called in De Ebr. “playing the demagogue, and laying down laws contrary to the laws of nature.”

Prima facie no doubt we should take ὁ μέγας as meaning Moses, particularly as Moses in the story does accept Jethro’s suggestion. But in view of the impossibility of Philo ascribing to Moses the acceptance of such advice, I take it generically, and this fits in with the evidently intended antithesis to μεγάλοις μεγάλα.

The Greek might mean “assigns important administrations of justice, etc.,” but here again the overwhelming argument of the necessity of discrediting Jethro demands the translation given. Philo is perhaps thinking of Deut. i. 17, and xxiv. 13-16, where the thought suggested in the translation appears.
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eisathetai· h gár prosphoría tís Madiam metala-
lphtheisa ek kríseos onomázei. dítton de touto.
dhlou gár to mév ékkrisi kai apókrisin, h kai
tois ánwncstais kata toús ierous ágwnas lego-
ménous eíwhe symbaínei. muroi gar anepitídei
phánteis ἄνα πρὸς tów áthlesetón ékkríthean.

107 ónroi [te] teletais ánérrou taís Beelphegór telle-
sthentes kai ta toú sómatos stóma1 pánta ev-

108 kai toutou épatein, éews o eirnphikos kai iereus toú
theou tráinos, Phineés, úpérmaçhos autokéleustos
hlthe, fýsei miropónhros ãn kai zhlw tów kalów
katestkhmenos. ò seirhmásthon labónti, to δ' éstí
hkonhménov kai ðzívn lógon, másteuves kai áná-
zhgetín ékastos íkanov, éxegeveto μὴ fevakíothína,
rómy ðe karpera chrhsámewn katákevtísa diá
thís mýtras to páthos, ïna miðdev ëti kakón thélpaton

1 MSS. στόματα.
2 So Wend. for MSS. ἐπήθεσαν: better perhaps as Mangey

a i.e. ek kríseos may be taken as a single word ékkriséws,
or as “belonging to judgement,” though in ek lóthès (§ 100)
the ek is supposed to indicate the opposite of the noun.
b See App. p. 589.
c Or “mouth above skin” (or “leather,” cf. dérmátwn
ðykov Beelphegór, De Conf. 55). I take the application to be

that dérma indicates the body, and, if the form given in the

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judgement and justice. For the word Midian when translated appears as "from judgement or sifting." This has a twofold significance. It means in one sense sifting out and sifting off, which we often see in the case of those who enter for the so-called sacred games. For thousands of these who have been judged to be unfit have been known to be sifted out by the stewards. Midianites, in this sense, initiated in the unholy rites of Baal Peor (Num. xxv. 3), and widening all the orifices of the body to receive the streams which pour in from outside (for the meaning of Baal Peor is "mouth of skin above"), flood the ruling mind and sink it to the lowest depths, so that it cannot float up to the top or rise ever so little. And this was its condition until the Man of Peace, an evident priest of God, Phinehas (ibid. 12, 13), came a self-bidden champion. He is a hater of evil by nature and possessed by zeal for the good. And when he took the lance, that is the sharp-edged word, able to probe and explore each thing, power was granted him, that duped by none and armed with mighty strength he should pierce passion through the womb, that it should henceforth bring to birth no plague of God's sending (ibid. 7, 8). It is against these Midianites that the nation of vision sets on foot the greatest of wars in which none of their translation is right, ανωτέρω suggests that in this case the body has usurped the superiority which belongs to the mind.

A strange use of τρανός. No satisfactory emendation is suggested. Wend.'s τρανός <λόγος> is fairly satisfactory in itself, but the λόγον which follows is an objection.

For σειρομάστην and other points in this sentence see the parallels, Leg. All. iii. 242, De Post. 183, De Ebr. 73, and notes thereon.
διεφώνησεν οὐδείς, ἀλλ' ἀτρωτός καὶ σώος ἐπανῆλθε, τοῖς νικητήριοις ἀναδούμενος στεφάνως. Υπέρτησε δὲ τὸ κριτικὸν καὶ δικαστικὸν εἴδος, δ' καὶ κατ' ἐπιγαμίας οἰκεῖοι γένει τῷ προφητικῷ. "τῷ ἰερεῖ," φησιν οὖν, τῆς κρίσεως καὶ τῆς δίκης "εἰσὶν ἐπτὰ θυγατέρες," συμβολικῶς αἱ τοῦ ἀλόγου δυνάμεις, γονὴ τε καὶ φωνή καὶ πέντε αἰσθήσεις, ποιμαίοις τὰ πρόβατα τοῦ πατρὸς. ὑπὸ γὰρ τὼν ἐπτὰ δυνάμεων τούτων αἱ προβάσεις καὶ παρανεκτίοις τοῦ πατρὸς νοῦ ταῖς ἐγγυνομέναις καταλήψεις συνιστάνται. "παραγενόμεναι" δ' ἐπὶ τὰ οἰκεῖα ἐκάστη, χρώματα μὲν καὶ σχῆμα τὰ ὀρασίς, φωνῶς δὲ ἀκοή, ἀτμοὺς δὲ ὀσφρήσεις, χυλὸς δὲ γεῦσις καὶ αἱ ἀλλ' ἀνθρῆσεις τὰ ἁρμόττοντα ἐναντίοις, "ἀντλοῦσι" τρόπον τινὰ τὰ ἐκτὸς αἰσθητά, "ἐως ἀν πληρώσωσι τὰς τῆς ψυχῆς δεξαμενάς, ἐξ ὑποτίζουσι τὰ πρόβατα τοῦ πατρὸς," τὴν καθαρωτάτην λέγω τοῦ λογισμοῦ ποίμνης, ἀσφάλειαν καὶ κόσμον περιφέρουσαν ἐν τοῖς ἐκτῶ. "παραγενόμενοι" δ' οἱ φθόνον καὶ βασκανίας ἕτατοι, πονηρὰς ἠγέλης ἡγεμόνες, ἑλαύνουσιν αὐτὰς τῆς κατὰ φύσιν χρῆσεις. αἱ μὲν γὰρ τὰ ἐκτῶ ἀγουσι πρὸς οἶα δικαστὴν καὶ βασιλέα τὸν νοῦν, ὡς ἄρχοντι χρωμενα τῷ βελτιστῷ κατορθώσι τον νοῦν καὶ τὸν νοῦν ἐπισπάσθαι καὶ τὸν νοῦν εὑρεσιάν καὶ τοὺς νόμους καὶ τῇ ἀντικαθηητη διώκουσι διώκουσι διώκουσι διώκουσι διώκουσι διώκουσι διώκουσι διώκουσι διώκουσι διώκουσι διώκουσι διώκουσι διώκουσι διώκουσι διώκουσι
combatants was “lost” (Num. xxxi. 49), but returned safe and unwounded, crowned with the garlands of victory. XIX. The above is one of the 110 types indicated by the word Midian; another is the judicial, justice-dispensing type which by marriage is akin to the prophetic sort. “The priest” of judgement and justice, he says, “had seven daughters” (Ex. ii. 16). The daughters stand as a symbol for the seven faculties of the unreasoning element, namely reproductive power, speech, and the five senses. “Daughters,” it adds, “who kept the sheep of their father,” for through these seven faculties come the advances and growths which repeated apprehension produces in the father, the mind. Each of these faculties “arrives at” its own, sight at colours and forms, hearing at sounds, smell at scents, taste at flavours, and the others at the objects appropriate to each in particular. Each “draws up,” so to speak, external objects of sense until they “fill the troughs” of the soul “from which they water the sheep of the father,” and by these I mean the purest of flocks, the flock of reasoning which brings with it at once protection and adornment. But then “arrive” the comrades of envy and malice, the shepherds of an evil herd, and drive them from the uses prescribed by nature (ibid. 17). For whereas the daughters take outside objects inside to the mind, which is as it were their judge and king, hoping thus under the best of rulers to perform their duty aright, the others beset and pursue them and give the opposite orders, namely that they should entice the

derived from προβαίνω, cf. De Sac. 112 προκοπῆς δὲ πρόβατον, ὡς καὶ αὐτὸ δῆλοι τούτων, σύμβολον.

* This is explained later in § 246.
ἀγώγιμα παραδίδοναι τὰ φαινόμενα, μέχρις "ἀνα-

[596] στὰς" | ὅ τέως ἦρμειν τρόπος δοκῶν φιλάρετος καὶ ἐπιθειάσας, ὄνομα Μωυσῆς, ὑπερασπίσει καὶ "ρύσεται αὐτὰς" τῶν κατεχόντων, ποτίμοις λόγοις

θρέψας τὴν τοῦ πατρὸς ποίμνην. ἐκφυγούσαι δὲ τὴν ἐπίθεσιν τῶν διανοιας μὲν ἐχθρῶν, τὰ δὲ περίαπτα ὡσπερ ἐν τραγῳδίᾳ μόνα ἐξηλωκότων οὐκέτι πρὸς Ἰσθόρ, ἀλλὰ πρὸς Ῥαγουηλ ἀφ-

ικνοῦνται. καταλελοίπασι μὲν γὰρ τὴν πρὸς τὺφον συγγένειαν, ὑκείωνται δὲ ἀγωγῇ νομίμῳ, μοῖρα τῆς ἱερᾶς ἀγέλης ἀξιώσασαι γενέσθαι, ᾧ ὁ θεῖος ἀφνηγεῖται λόγος, ὡς δηλοὶ τούνομα· ποιμασίᾳ γάρ

ἐστι θεοῦ. XX. ποίμνης δ' ἐπιμελουμένου τῆς ἰδίας, ἐξ ἐτοίμου ἄγαθα πάρεστιν ἀθρόα τοῖς πειθαρ-

χοῦσι καὶ μὴ ἀφηνιάζουσι τῶν θρεμμάτων. ἔδει τὸ καὶ ἐν ὑμνοῖς ἄσμα τοιούτον, "κύριος ποιμαίνει

με, καὶ οὐδὲν μὲ υστερήσει." πεύσεται· οὐν εἰκότως δ' ποιμένι (καὶ) βασιλεὺς χρώμενος τῷ θείῳ λόγῳ

νοῦς τῶν ἐπτα θυγατέρων αὐτοῦ· διὰ τί συν-

τείνασαι μετὰ πολλοῦ τάχους τίμηρον ἀφίχθε; πρότερον γὰρ ὅτ' ἐνετυγχάνετε τοῖς αἰσθητοῖς,

1 MSS. πευστέον.

α The thought is obscure. Cohn and Wend. proposed ἀγώγιμον παραδίδοναι τοῖς φαινομένοις (or πρὸς τὰ φαινόμενα). If the text is kept, I suggest that the thought may be that while the mind holds its proper seat, it makes the right use of αἰσθητά, but if it is enticed out into the body-loving region, αἰσθητά are used by it as slaves or prisoners. This would be brought out more clearly if we made the easy correction καὶ ἕκει παραδίδοναι. But Mangey’s emendation of ποιμανῶ-

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mind outside and there deliver over phenomena into its hand.\textsuperscript{a} And in this way they will persist until the mind which loves virtue and is inspired by God, called Moses, shall "arise" from his former seeming quietude, protect and "save" the maidens from their subjugators, and nourish the flock of the father with words and thoughts, sweet as water to drink. And 114 when the maidens have escaped the onset of those who are the mind's enemies and have no aspiration but for the superfluities of life as though life were mere play-acting,\textsuperscript{b} they return not now to Jethro but to Raguel. For they have discarded their kinship with vanity, and become affiliated to the guidance and rule of law,\textsuperscript{c} resolved to become a part of the holy herd which is led by God's Word as its name shews, for Raguel means "the shepherding of God." XX. And since God cares for His own flock He has 115 ready at hand a multitude of gifts for those of His charges who obey Him and do not rebel. In the Psalms there is a hymn of this kind, "The Lord is my shepherd, and nothing shall be lacking to me" (Ps. xxiii. (xxii.) 1). So then we shall not be surprised 116 to find the mind which has the Divine Word for its shepherd and king asking of its seven daughters, "Why have ye returned with such speed and so eagerly to-day?" (Ex. ii. 18). For at other times when you visited the objects of sense you spent a μενα for φαινόμενα would greatly simplify the imagery and deserves all consideration. See App. pp. 589 f.

\textsuperscript{b} If this is right περιάπτα is used in a somewhat different sense from § 199 for "appendages"; cf. Aristot. Nic. Eth. x. 8. 12 οὐδὲν δὴ προσδείται τὴς ἡδονῆς ὃ βιος ἀυτῶν, ὡσπερ περιάπτου τινός. For τραγῳδία cf. De Post. 165 οἱ τραγῳδίαι τὸν βιον ... νομίζοντες. But the words may refer to the masks of actors, and if so would be more in line with §§ 198, 199.

\textsuperscript{c} See App. p. 590.
μακρὸν χρὸνὸν ἔξω διατριβοῦσαι μόλις ἐπανήγειτε δελεαζόμεναι πρὸς αὐτῶν· νυνὶ δ’ οὐκ οἶδ’ ὅ τι παθοῦσαι συντόνως1 παρὰ τὸ εἰσθὸς ἐπανήκετε.

117 φήσουσιν οὖν, ὅτι οὐκ αὐταὶ γεγόνασιν αἰτίαι τοῦ τὸν δίαυλον ἐπὶ τὰ αἰσθήτα καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν αἰσθητῶν ἀπνευστὶ καὶ μετὰ πολλῆς ρύμης δραμεῖν, ἄλλ’ ὁ ρυσάμενος αὐτὰς ἄνθρωπος ἀπὸ τῶν τῆς ἀγρίας ἄγελης ποιμένων. Αἰγύπτιον δὲ καλοῦσι Μωυσῆν, τὸν οὐ μόνον Ἑβραῖον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῦ καθαρωτάτου γένους ὀντα Ἑβραίων, δ’ ἰεράται μόνον, οὐ δυνά-μεναι τὴν ἐαυτῶν φύσιν υπερβήναι. μεθόρυμοι γὰρ αἱ αἰσθήσεις οὖναι [τῶν] νοητῶν καὶ αἰσθητῶν ἀγαπητὸν ἕαν ἐκατέρων ἐφιώνται, ἄλλα μη ὑπὸ μόνων τῶν αἰσθητῶν ἄγωνται· τὸ δ’ οἶεσθαι ὅτι μόνος τοῖς κατὰ διάνοιαν ἐπανέζουσι εὐθείᾳ πολλῇ. οὔ χάριν ἀμφότερα τιθέασι, διὰ μὲν τοῦ “ἄνθρωπος” τὰ μόνω λόγῳ θεωρητὰ μηνύουσαι, διὰ δὲ τοῦ “Αἰγύπτιος” παριστάσαι τὰ αἰσθήτα.


1 mss. συντόμως. 2 mss. οἰκείον (Mangey οἰκεί οὖν).
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long time out there and almost refused to return, so greatly were you enticed by them. But now something or other has induced you to come back with this unwonted eagerness. So they will reply that this hasty breathless racing out to the world of sense and back again is not due to themselves but to the man who rescued them from the shepherds of the savage herd, and they call Moses an Egyptian (ibid. 19), Moses who was not only a Hebrew, but of that purest Hebrew blood which alone is consecrated. They cannot, that is, rise above their own nature. For the senses are on the border-line between the intelligible realm and the sensible, and all that we can hope is that they should desire both realms and not be led by the latter only. To suppose that they will ever give their affections to the things of mind only would be the height of folly, and therefore they give both titles. By the word “man” they point out the world which reason alone discerns, by “Egyptian” they represent the world of sense. On hearing this the father will ask again, where is the man? (ibid. 20). In what part of your surroundings does the element of the reason dwell? Why have you left him so easily, and why when you once fell in with him did you not take to your arms that treasure, so beautiful above all, so profitable to yourselves? But if you have not as yet, at least now “invite him that he may eat” (ibid. 20) and feed on your advance to higher stages of goodness and a closer affinity to him. Perhaps he will even dwell among you and wed the winged, inspired and prophetic nature called Zipporah (ibid. 21).

a For “Man” standing for the true man, the mind, cf. De Agr. 9, Quis Rerum 231, De Fug. 71, and elsewhere.
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121 XXI. Ταύτα καὶ περὶ τούτων. ἄλλα καὶ τὸν Ἡσιης μετονομάζει Μωσής εἰς τὸν Ἰησοῦν, τὸν ποιῶν εἰς ἐξιν μεταχαράττων. Ἡσιης μὲν γὰρ ἐρμηνεύεται <σώζεται>1 ποιῶς οὗτος, Ἰησοῦς δὲ 122 σωτηρία κυρίου, ἔξεως ὄνομα τῆς ἀρίστης. ἔξεις γὰρ τῶν καὶ αὐτὰς ποιῶν ἀμείνους, ὁς μονοκεφαλικὸς μουσικὸν καὶ ἱατρικὴ ἱατροῦ καὶ παντὸς τεχνίτου τέχνη πᾶσα,2 καὶ ἀιδιότητι καὶ δυνάμει καὶ τῇ περὶ τὰ θεωρήματα ἀπταίστω ἀκρότητι. ἡ μὲν γὰρ ἐξις ἄδιων, ἐνεργοῦν, τέλειον, δὲ ποιῶς θνητῶν, πάσχον, ἀτελείς· κρείττον δὲ θνητοῦ μὲν τὸ ἁθαρτον, πάσχοντος δὲ τὸ δρῶν αὐτίων, τὸ δὲ τέλειον 123 ἀτελοὺς. οὕτω μετεχαράγη καὶ τὸ τοῦ λεχθέντος νόμοσμα πρὸς ἰδέαν βελτίωνα. δὲ δὲ Χάλεβ καὶ αὐτὸς ὅλος ἀλλάττεται· ἐγένετο γὰρ φησι· "πνεῦμα ἐπερον ἐν αὐτῷ," ὥσπερ οὐ τῶν ἡγεμονικοῦ μεταβαλόντος πρὸς ἀκραν τελεοτητα. καὶ γὰρ ἐρμηνευθεὶς ἐστι Χάλεβ πᾶσα καρδία.

124 τοῦτο δὲ σύμβολον τοῦ μή ἕκ μέρους ἐπαμφοτερίζουσαν καὶ ἀντιρρέουσαν, ἀλλ' ὅλην δὲ ὅλου τὴν ψυχὴν μεταβεβλῆσθαι πρὸς τὸ δόκιμον, κἂν εἰ τι

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1 <σώζεται>: my insertion, which I hope will meet with general acceptance. That Philo should have supposed that "Hoshea" meant "this person of a particular kind" seems to me absurd (for Siegfried's defence of it see App. p. 590). Philo's meaning, as I understand it, is that the finite verb necessarily implies a subject and therefore stands to the abstract noun as the πωδὲς does to the ποιώθης or ἐξὶς. It will be seen that the juxtaposition of two -etai's might easily lead to the omission of one. For the interpretation of a name by a finite verb cf. below, § 189.

2 So Mangey (approved by Wend.): mss. ποιά, which cannot mean "of any kind," and if we take it as "some particular kind" does not balance well with παντὸς.
XXI. So much for this. But Moses also changes the name of Hoshea to Joshua (Num. xiii. 17), thus transforming the individual who embodies a state into the state itself. For Hoshea by interpretation is "he," that is a particular individual, "is saved." But Joshua is "safety of the Lord," a name for the best possible state. For states are better than the individuals who embody them, as music is better than the musician and medicine than the physician, and every art than every artist, better both in everlastingness and in power and in unerring mastery over its subject matter. The state is everlasting, active, perfect; the individual is mortal, acted on, imperfect; and the imperishable is higher and greater than the mortal, the acting cause than that on which it acts, and the perfect than the imperfect. Thus in the above also we see the coin which represents the man re-minted in a better form. But in Caleb we have a total change of the man himself. For we read "there was another spirit in him" (Num. xiv. 24), as though the ruling mind in him was changed to supreme perfection. For Caleb is by interpretation "all heart," and this is a figurative way of shewing that his was no partial change of a soul wavering and oscillating, but a change to proved excellence of the whole and entire soul which dislodged anything that

\[\piο\dot{ι}\d\ (a\ person\ of\ a\ particular\ kind)\ is\ regularly\ used\ in\ antithesis\ to\ other\ \piο\d\i\ or\ \α\piο\d\i\;\ but\ it\ may\ also\ be\ used\ in\ antithesis\ to\ \piο\dot{ι}\d\τ\d\η,\ cf.\ \piο\d\ι\ν\ \τι\ \\α\l\l\i\ \ο\u\ \piο\dot{ι}\d\τ\d\η\a,\ Theaetetus 182 \alpha.\ In\ this\ case\ the\ \piο\d\ι\d\ is\ the\ concrete\ of\ the\ abstract\ \piο\dot{ι}\d\τ\d\η.\ Philo\ has\ used\ it\ in\ exactly\ the\ same\ way\ in\ Leg. All. i. 67, 79, and\ also\ in\ Leg. All. ii. 18,\ where\ \o\ \kα\r\a\ \τ\d\α\ \\α\r\e\r\e\a\s\ \\piο\d\ι\d\ is\ \φ\r\o\n\i\m\o\s\ \or\ \s\o\f\r\r\o\w,\ etc.,\ corresponding\ to\ \φ\r\o\n\i\n\s\i\s,\ \s\o\f\r\r\o\s\u\n\n,\ etc.\]
μὴ πάνυ ἔπαινετον εὖθ',  
λόγοι τοῖς περὶ μετανοιας ἔξοικίσασαν· οὕτω γὰρ ἐκνυσαμένη τὰ καταρρυ-  
παῖνοντα καὶ τοῖς φρονῆσεως λουτροῖς χρησαμένη  
καὶ καθαρσίως ἐμέλλε φαιδρύνεσθαι.

125 XXII. Τὸν δὲ ἀρχιπροφήτην συμβέβηκεν εἶναι 
πολυώνυμον. ὅποτε μὲν γὰρ τοὺς χρησιμωδου- 
μένους χρησμοὺς ἐρμηνεύεται, προσαγο- 
ρεύεται Μωυσῆς· ὅποτε δὲ εὐχόμενος εὐλογεῖ τὸν 
λεών, ἀνθρωπος θεοῦ· ἣνικα δὲ Αἴγυπτος τὰς ὑπὲρ 
tῶν ἀσεβθηντῶν δίκας ἐκτίνει, τοῦ βασιλεύοντος 
126 τῆς χῶρας Φαραώ θεός. διὰ τί δὲ; ὅτι τὸ μὲν 
νόμους μεταγράφεν εἰπ' ὑφελεία τῶν ἐντευξομένων 
ψηλαφώντος ἐστὶ καὶ διὰ χειρὸς ἔχοντος αἰεὶ τὰ 
θεία καὶ ἀνακεκλημένου ὑπὸ τοῦ θεσπιωδοῦ νομο- 
θέτου καὶ εἰληφότος παρ' αὐτοῦ μεγάλην δωρεάν, 
ἐρμηνεύει τοὺς προφητείας νόμων ἰερῶν μετά- 
ληψίτεις γὰρ Μωυσῆς καλεῖται λήμμα, δύναται δὲ 
127 καὶ ψηλάφημα διὰ τὰς εἰρημένας αἰτίας. τὸ δὲ 
γε εὐχοθαί καὶ εὐλογεῖν οὐκ ἔστι τοῦ τυχόντος, 
ἄλλ' ἀνθρώπων τὴν πρὸς γένεσιν μὴ ἐωρακότος 
συγγένειαν, προσκεκληρωκότος δὲ έις τοῦ πάν- 
128 των ἦγεμόνι καὶ πατρί· ἀγαπητὸν γάρ, εἴ τι 
εὔεγενεῖτο εὐλογοστία χρῆσθαι, τὸ δὲ γε καὶ 
ἐτέροις περιποιεῖν τὸ ἀγαθὸν, τοῦτο μείζονος καὶ τελειο-

[598] τέρας ψυχῆς καὶ ὡς ἀληθῶς θειαζούσῃς | ἦν

1 MSS. ἦ.  
2 MSS. καθαρσίω.  
3 Perhaps τὸ δὲ γε <τόδε> καὶ.

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a Or “a thing received,” the natural meaning of the word, i.e. Moses is named after the gift which he has received.

b The meaning is obscure. Perhaps the fact that Moses “handled” the laws shews that his name of “receiving” must also be understood to include the kindred meaning of.
ON THE CHANGE OF NAMES, 124–128

was not entirely laudable by thoughts of repentance; for when it thus washed away its defilements, and made use of the lustrations and purifications of wisdom, it could not but be clean and fair.

XXII. The chief of the prophets proves to have many names. When he interprets and teaches the oracles vouchsafed to him he is called Moses; when he prays and blesses the people, he is a Man of God (Deut. xxxiii. 1); and when Egypt is paying the penalties for its impious deeds he is the god (Ex. vii. 1) of Pharaoh, the king of the country. Why these three? Because to enact fresh laws for the benefit of those to whom they would apply is the task of one whose hands are ever in touch with divine things, one who is called up (Ex. xxiv. 1) by the Lawgiver who speaks in oracles, one who has received from Him a great gift, the power of language to express prophet-like the holy laws. For Moses, if translated, is a "receiving" and it also means a handling, as shewn above. Secondly, to pray and bless is not for any chance person but for a man who has had no eyes for his kinship to created being and has given himself to be the portion of Him who is ruler and father of all. For one must be content if it be granted to him to follow right reasoning himself, but to procure the good gift for others is what only a greater, more perfect, truly God-inspired soul can "handling." The derivation here given applies only to the last part of the name. The common ancient derivation that "Mo" represented the Egyptian μῶν, "water," is given by Philo, De Mos. i. 17. In Leg. All. iii. 231 ψηλάφημα was used for "groping" (in darkness).

Clearly an allusion to the blessing of Levi (Deut. xxxiii. 9), "who said to his father and mother 'I have not seen thee' (οἶχα ἐάρακα)." Cf. De Fug. 89 and elsewhere. Mangey and Wend. needlessly suspect the word.

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επάγγελμα, ἂς ὁ τυχῶν εἰκότως θεοῦ κεκλήσεται. θεὸς δὲ ὁ αὐτὸς οὐτὸς ἀτε σοφὸς ὡν καὶ διὰ τοῦτ ἀρχῶν παντὸς ἀφρονος, κἂν εἰ τοῖς βασιλείων σκήπτρων ἐκεῖνος ἐφιδρύστε μεγαλαυχών. καὶ διὰ τοῦτο οὐχ ἥκιστα. βούλεται γὰρ ὁ τῶν ὅλων ἡγεμῶν, κἂν ἀφόρητα ἀδικοῦντες τῖνες μέλλωσι κολάζεσθαι, παρατητὰς ἐχειν τοὺς ἐντευξομένους ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν, ὁ τὴν τοῦ πατρὸς ὅλων δύναμιν ἀπομομούμενοι μετριώτερον καὶ φιλανθρωπότερον χρήσονται ταῖς τιμωρίαις. θεοῦ δὲ τὸ εὐεργετεῖν ἰδιον. 129 διὰ τοῦτο οὐχ ἥκιστα. βούλεται γὰρ ὁ τῶν ὅλων ἡγεμῶν, κἂν ἀφόρητα ἀδικοῦντες τῖνες μέλλωσι κολάζεσθαι, παρατητὰς ἐχειν τοὺς ἐντευξομένους ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν, ὁ τὴν τοῦ πατρὸς ὅλων δύναμιν ἀπομομούμενοι μετριώτερον καὶ φιλανθρωπότερον χρήσονται ταῖς τιμωρίαις. θεοῦ δὲ τὸ εὐεργετεῖν ἰδιον. 130 XXIII. Ἀποχρώντως οὖν περὶ τῆς τῶν ὅνοματων ἄλλαγῆς τε καὶ μεταθεσεως ἐνεργίας ἐπὶ τὰ ἐξής τῆς ἐφόδου τρεισάσθητα κεφάλαια. εἴπετο δ' εὔθυς ἡ γένεσις Ἰσαὰκ. καλέσας γὰρ τὴν μητέρα αὐτοῦ Σάρραν ἀντὶ Σάρας φησὶ τῷ Ἀβραὰμ. "δώσω σοι ἐξ αὐτῆς τέκνον." ἐν μέρει δ' ἠκαστὸν ἀκριβωτέον. ὁ τοῖνυν κυρίως δίδοὺς ὅτι αὐτὸν ἰδιον τῷ πάντῳ ἑαυτοῦ δίδωσιν. εἰ δὲ τοῦτ' ἀψευδεῖ ἐστι, γένοιτ' ἀν Ἰσαὰκ οὐχ ὁ ἀνθρωπος, ἀλλ' ὁ συνώνυμος τῆς ἁρίστης τῶν εὐπαθειῶν, χαρὰς, γέλως ὁ ἐνδιάθετος, υἱὸς θεοῦ τοῦ διδόντος 1

1 mss. θεὸς, which Wend. prints, though noting that ἀνθρωπὸς θεοῦ seems the right reading. But θεοῦ by itself is a simpler and, I think, quite sufficient correction.

2 Wend. puts no stop at μεγαλαυχών, apparently treating it as "boasting on account of this (what?) in particular." Mangey gives a full stop after μεγαλαυχών, but inserts <εὑχεταῖ> after ἥκιστα. I suggest that θεός ἐστι is to be understood; see note b on opposite page. τοῦτο looks forward, as e.g. De Op. 72, 100, De Som. i. 118.

3 Wend. and Mangey both punctuate γέλως, ὁ ἐνδιάθετος υἱὸς θεοῦ (which Drummond translates "the ideal son of God"). But can ἐνδιάθετος mean this? I understand it in its usual sense of opposition to προφορικὸς, cf. De Mig. 208
promise, and the possessor of such a soul will with
good reason be called God's man.\(^a\) Thirdly, this same
person is a god, because he is wise and therefore the
ruler of every fool, even though that fool boast ever
so loudly in the support of his royal sceptre. And
he is a god for this reason in particular. It is the will 129
of the ruler of all that though there be some doomed
to punishment for their intolerable misdeeds, they
should have mediators to make intercession for them,
who imitating the merciful power of the Father will
dispense punishment with more moderation and in
a kindlier spirit. Beneficence is the peculiar prerogative
of a god.\(^b\)

XXIII. We have now dealt sufficiently with the 130
change and substitution of names and will proceed to
the next points in our inquiry. What followed at
once was the promise of the birth of Isaac. For after
calling his mother Sarah instead of Sarai He says
to Abraham, "I will give thee a child from her" (Gen. xvii. 16).
Each part of this must be severally examined. First, then, the giver of anything in the 131
proper sense of the word must necessarily give some-
thing which belongs to himself, and if this is so Isaac
must be not the man Isaac but the Isaac whose name
is that of the best of the good emotions, joy, the
Isaac who is the laughter of the heart, a son of God,

\(^a\) Philo, as often, connects εὐλογιστία with εὐλογία. See
note on De Sobr. 18.

\(^b\) The thought is: Moses' "godship" to Pharaoh was
particularly shewn in his not punishing him summarily, but
allowing him so many chances of repenting, and in interced-
ing with God for him, e.g. Ex. ix. 29.

157 τοῦ ἐνδιαθέτου καὶ σπουδαλοῦ γέλωτος, and so below § 154
tοῦ ψυχῆς γέλωτα.
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αὐτὸν μείλιγμα καὶ εὐθυμίαν εἰρηνικώτατας ψυχαῖς.

132 ἀτοπον μὲν γὰρ ἑτερον ἄνδρα εἶναι, εξ ἑτέρου δὲ νόθα καὶ μοιχίδια παιδοποιεῖσθαι: καὶ μὴν τὸν γε θεὸν ἄνδρα τῆς φιλαρέτου διανοίας Μωυσῆς ἀναγράφει δι' ὄν φησιν " ἵδιν κύριος, ὅτι μυσεῖται Λεία, ἦνοιξε τὴν μήτραν αὐτῆς." ἐλεον γὰρ καὶ οἴκτον λαβὼν τῆς ὑπὸ τοῦ θυητοῦ γένους μισομένης ἁρετῆς καὶ ψυχῆς τῆς φιλαρέτου στείροι μὲν * * * τὴν φιλόκαλον φύσιν, ἀνοίγνυσι δὲ τῆς εὐπαιδίας πηγήν εὐτοκίαν αὐτῇ χαριζόμενος.¹

134 ἡ δὲ Θάμαρ ἐγκύμων τε γενομένη θείων σπερμάτων καὶ τὸν μὲν σπείραντα οὐκ ἴδοῦσα—λέγεται γὰρ τότε "ἐγκαλύψασθαι τὸ πρόσωπον," ὡς Μωυσῆς, ἤνικα ἀπεστράφη εὐλαβούμενος τὸν θεὸν ἰδεῖν,—τὰ δὲ σύμβολα καὶ τὰ μαρτύρια διαθήσασα καὶ παρ' αὐτῇ δικάσασα, ὅτι θυητὸς ταῦτ' οὐ δίδωσιν, ἀνέκραγεν "ὀντινος ταῦτ' ἐστίν, εξ ἑκείνου ἐν γαστρὶ ἔχω." τίνος ὁ δακτύλιος, ἡ πίστις, ἡ τῶν ὅλων σφραγίς, ἡ ἀρχέτυπος ἱδεῖα, ἢ τὰ πάντα ἀνείδεα ὅντα καὶ ἀποικ σημειωθέντα ἑτυπώθη; τίνος δὲ καὶ ἢ μὶκρός, ὁ κόσμος, ἡ εἰμαρμένη,² ἀκολουθία καὶ ἀναλογία τῶν συμπάντων εἰρμόν ἔχουσα ἀδιάλυτον; τίνος δὲ καὶ ἡ ράβδος, τὸ ἔρημεμένον, τὸ ἀκράδαντον, τὸ ἀτρεπτὸν, ἡ νοοθεσία, ὁ σωφρονισμός, ἡ παιδεία, τὸ

1 An alternative to supposing a lacuna may be obtained by emending φιλόκαλον to φιλόκακον (or better ἀφιλόκαλον, W.H.D.R.), and referring αὐτῇ to εὐπαιδίας.

2 So Mangey suggests: Wend, prints ἢ [ὁ κόσμος] εἰμαρμένη: mss. ἢ ὁ κόσμος εἰμαρμένη. I see no reason to exclude ὁ κόσμος, which naturally suggests "order" as well as "world." Wend. also puts a question at παιδεία, as if σκῆπτρον began an explanation of another of Judah’s gifts. Clearly 210
ON THE CHANGE OF NAMES, 131–135

who gives him as a means to soothe and cheer truly peaceful souls. It were a monstrous thing that one should be a husband, and another the parent, parent therefore of bastards born in adultery, and yet Moses writes of God as the husband of the virtue-loving mind when he says, “The Lord seeing that Leah was hated opened her womb” (Gen. xxix. 31), for moved by pity and compassion for the virtue hated by our mortal race and for the soul that loves virtue he sends barrenness (on the favourite and gives honour) to the nature which loves excellence and opens the fountain of happy parentage by granting her welfare in childbirth. And Tamar too; she bore within her womb the divine seed, but had not seen the sower. For we are told that at that hour she veiled her face (Gen. xxxviii. 15), just as Moses when he turned aside fearing to look upon God (Ex. iii. 6). But she closely scanned the symbols and tokens, and judging in her heart that these were the gifts of no mortal she cried aloud, “To whomsoever these belong, he it is by whom I am with child” (Gen. xxxviii. 25). Whose is the ring, the pledge of faith, the seal of the universe, the archetypal idea by which all things without form or quality before were stamped and shaped? Whose is the cord, that is, the world-order, the chain of destiny, the correspondence and sequence of all things, with their ever-unbroken chain? Whose is the staff, that is the firmly planted, the unshaken, the unbending; the admonition, the chastening, the

\[ a \text{ For §§ 134-136 cf. De Fug. 149 ff.} \\
\[ b \text{ See App. p. 590.} \\

this is not so. The staff suggests (1) immovableness, (2) discipline, (3) royalty. I suggest \( \hat{η} \) \( \dot{α}κολουθία. \)
σκῆπτρον, ἡ βασιλεία, τίνος; ἄρ' οὐχὶ μόνον τοιχαροῦν ὁ ἐξομολογητικὸς | τρόπος, Ἰούδας, ἡσθεὶς αὐτῆς τῷ κατεχομένῳ καὶ θεοφορήτῳ παρρησιάζεται λέγων: "δεδικαίωται, ἂς ἐνεκα αὐτίας ἐγὼ οὐδενι θυντῳ αὐτὴν ἐδωκα," ἀσεβὲς ἤγοιμενος μιαίνειν βεβήλους τὰ θεία.

XXIV. μηνύει δὲ καὶ ἡ τρόπον μητρὸς ἀποκυήσασα φρόνησις τὸ αὐτομαθὲς γένος, ὅτι θεὸς αὐτὸ ἔστειραν τεχθέντος γὰρ ἐπισεμνύνεται φάσκονσα: "γέλωτά μοι ἐποίησεν ὁ κύριος," ἵσον τῷ τὸν Ἰσαὰκ διέπλασεν, ἐδημούργησεν, ἐγένεν, ἐπειδὴ γέλωτι ὁ αὐτὸς ἤν. ἀλλ' οὐ παντὸς ἐστιν ἀκούσαι τὸ ἀκούσμα τούτο, πολλοῦ τοῦ δευσιδαιμονίας ἰμέντος παρ' ἦμιν κακοὶ καὶ τὰς ἀνάπτυξιν καὶ ἀγεννήσις ψυχὰς ἐπικλύσαντος. διὸ προστίθησιν: "ὅς γὰρ ἂν ἀκούσῃ, συγχαρεῖται μοι," ὡς ὅλογων ὄντων, οἷς τὰ ὅτα ἀναπέπταται καὶ ἀνωρθίασται πρὸς τὴν τῶν ἱερῶν τούτων λόγων ὑποδοχήν, ὡς ἄρα μόνον θεοὶ σπείρειν καὶ γεννᾶν τὰ καλὰ ἔργον ἰδιόν πρὸς οὗς οἱ ἀλλοί πάντες κεκώφηνται. στοματί δ' οἶδα ποτε προφητικῷ θεσπισθέντα διάπυνσιν τοίνυν χρησμοῦ· "ἐξ ἐμοῦ ὁ καρπός σου εὐρήται, τίς σοφὸς καὶ συνήσεις ἀνέτα; συνετὸς καὶ γνώσταις αὐτά;" τὸν δ' ὑπερχοῦντα καὶ κρούοντα ἀόρατον ἀοράτως τὸ φωνῆς ὄργανον ἐνενών καὶ ἐθαύμαζεν ἀμα καταπληττόμενος καὶ τὸ εἰρημένον. εἰ γὰρ τι ἁγαθὸν ἐν τοῖς οὐσί * * * ἄλλου δὲ καὶ ὁ σύμπας ὑποτάς τε καὶ κόσμος, εἰ δεῖ τάλθες εἰπεῖν, θεοῦ

1 I see no clear reason for supposing a lacuna here.
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discipline; the sceptre, the kingship! whose are they? Are they not God’s alone? And therefore the temper which makes confession of thankfulness, that is Judah, pleased at the divine inspiration which masters her, says with all boldness, “She is justified since I gave her to no mortal” (ibid. 26), for he holds it impiety to defile the divine with things profane.

XXIV. So, too, the wisdom which as in motherhood brought forth the nature of the self-taught declares that God had begotten it. For when the child is born she says with pride, “The Lord has made laughter for me” (Gen. xxi. 6). That is the same as saying “He formed, He wrought, He begot, Isaac,” since Isaac and laughter are the same. But this saying is not for all to hear, so strongly does the evil tide of superstition flow in our minds and drown unmanly and degenerate souls. And therefore she adds “Whoever shall hear will rejoice with me” (ibid.) as though there were few whose ears are opened and pricked up to receive these holy words, which teach us that to sow and beget the excellent is the peculiar task of God alone. To this lesson all but those few are deaf.

I remember too an oracle given by a prophet’s mouth in words of fire which runs thus: “From Me thy fruit has been found. Who is wise and he shall understand them, who is understanding and he shall know them?” (Hos. xiv. 9, 10). Under the prophet’s words I recognized the voice of the invisible master whose invisible hand plays on the instrument of human speech, and I was lost in admiration at the saying also. For all that is good in the range of existing things or rather the whole heaven and universe is in very truth God’s fruit, the

\[ a \] See App. p. 590.  
\[ b \] Cf. De Plant. 138.
καρπός ἐστιν, ὃφεὶ οἷα δένδρου συνεχόμενος τῆς ἀιδίου καὶ ἀειθαλοῦς φύσεως. συνετῶν δὲ ἐστὶ καὶ σοφῶν ἄνδρῶν τὰ τοιαῦτα γινώσκειν καὶ ὀμολογεῖν, οὐκ ἀσῆμων.

141 XXV. Τι μὲν οὖν ἐστι τὸ "δῶσω σοι" λέγεται, τὸ δ' "ἐξ αὐτῆς" μηνυτέον. οἱ μὲν οὖν τὸ ἐξω γινόμενον αὐτῆς ἐδέξασθαι παρὰ ὀρθῶ λόγω τὸ μηδὲν ἀποφαίνειν τὴν ψυχὴν ὑδίον αὐτῆς καλῶν, ἄλλα προσγινόμενον ἐξωθήνει κατὰ τὴν μεγαλόνοιαν τοῦ χάριτας ὑμβροῦντος θεοῦ. οἱ δὲ τὸ παραντίκα (κατὰ)1 τάχος ἵσον γὰρ ἐναι τὸ ἐξ αὐτῆς τῶν παραχρήμα, εὐθὺς, ἀνυπερθέτως, ἀνευ μελλήσεως. τοῦτον δὲ τὸν τρόπον αἱ θείαι φιλοῦσιν συμβαίνειν δωρεᾶς βάνουσι καὶ τὰ χρόνων διαστήματα. τρίτοι δὲ εἰσὶν οἱ τὴν ἀρετὴν μητέρα τοῦ γενητοῦ εἶναι λέγοντες ἀγαθοῦ, λαμβάνουσιν τὰς γονὰς παρὰ μηδενὸς θυητοῦ.

142 πρὸς δὲ τοὺς ἠτοῦντας, εἰ στείρα τίκτει—Σάρραν γὰρ εἰσάγοντες πάλαι στείραν οἱ χρησμοὶ νῦν ὅτι γενήσεται μήτηρ ὀμολογοῦσι,—λέγεται ἑκεῖνο, ὅτι [600] γυνὴ μὲν στείρα τίκτειν οὐ πέφυκεν, ὡσπερ | οὐδὲ τυφλὸς βλέπειν οὐδὲ κωφὸς άκούειν, ψυχὴ δ' ἡ πρὸς τὰ φαύλα ἀστειρωμένη καὶ παθῶν ἀμετρίας καὶ κακιῶν ἁρκεῖν· ἡ πρὸς τὰ σεξόν τίκτουσα, τὸν ἀριθμὸν ἐπτά κατὰ τὸ ἀδόμενον άσμα ὑπὸ τῆς χάριτος, "Αννης, ἡ φησιν·" στείρα ἐτεκεν ἐπτά, ἢ δὲ πολλὴ ἐν τέκνοις ἡσθενήησε." καλεῖ δὲ πολλὴν μὲν τὴν ἐκ μιγάδων

1 My insertion. That κατὰ would be easily lost between -κα and τα— is obvious. The adverb τάχος appears to be poetical.

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ON THE CHANGE OF NAMES, 140–144

inseparable growth, as it were, of the tree of His eternal and never-fading nature. And to know and confess such things is for the wise and understanding, not for men of no account.

XXV. So much for the phrase “I will give to thee.” We must now explain “from her.” Some understand by it that which comes into being outside her, thinking that in the judgement of right reason the best decision is that the soul should declare that nothing good belongs to herself, but all is an addition from outside, through the high benevolence of God Who showers His gifts of grace. Others take it as “immediate,” “with speed.” They say that ἐκείνη is equivalent to “straightway,” “at once,” “without postponement,” “without delay,” and this is the way in which the gifts of God are wont to be given, outrunning even the moments of time. There is a third class who say that virtue is the mother of any good that has come into being, receiving the seeds of that being from nothing that is mortal. Again, some ask whether the barren can bear children, since the oracles earlier describe Sarah as barren and now admit that she will become a mother. Our answer to this must be that it is not in the nature of a barren woman to bear, any more than of the blind to see or of the deaf to hear. But as for the soul which is sterilized to wickedness and unfruitful of the endless host of passions and vices, scarce any prosper in childbirth as she. For she bears offspring worthy of love, even the number seven according to the hymn of Hannah, that is, grace, who says “The barren hath borne seven, but she that is much in children hath languished” (1 Sam. ii. 5).
καὶ συγκλύδων λογισμῶν συμπεφορημένην διάνοιαν, ἡ διὰ τὸ πλῆθος τῶν περὶ αὕτην ὄχλων καὶ θορύβων ἀνήκεστα κακὰ τίκτει, στείραν δὲ τὴν μὴ παραδεχομένην θυντὸν ὡς γόνιμον σπόρον, ἀλλὰ τὰς τῶν φαύλων ὁμιλίας καὶ συνουσίας ἀμβλίσκονσαν τε καὶ διαφθείρουσαν, περιεχομένην δὲ τῆς ἐβδόμης καὶ τοῦ κατ' αὕτην εἰρημικωτάτου· τούτου γὰρ ἐγκύμων τε εἶναι βούλεται καὶ μήτηρ λέγεσθαι.

145 XXVI. Τοιοῦτον ἢν καὶ τὸ ἐξ αὐτῆς· τὸ δὲ τρίτον, δ ὅθ' "τέκνον" ἐλέγετο, νῦν διασκεψώμεθα. πρῶτον μὲν τούτων ἄξιον θαυμάσαι τὸ μὴ πολλὰ τέκνα φάναι δώσειν, ἐν δὲ χαριεῖσθαι μόνον. διὰ τί δέ; ὅτι τὸ καλὸν οὐκ ἐν πλῆθει μᾶλλον ἦν δυνάμει πέφυκεν ἕξετάζεσθαι. μουσικὰ μὲν γάρ, εἰ τύχοι, καὶ γραμματικὰ καὶ γεωμετρικὰ καὶ δίκαια καὶ φρόνιμα καὶ ἀνδρεία καὶ σώφρονα πάμπολλὰ ἐστὶν· αὐτὸ δὲ τοῦτο (τὸ) μουσικὸν καὶ γραμματικὸν καὶ γεωμετρικὸν, ἐτὶ δὲ δίκαιον καὶ σώφρον φρόνιμον τε καὶ ἀνδρείον ἐν αὐτὸ μόνον τὸ ἀνωτάτω, μηδὲν ἰδέας ἀρχετύπου διαφέρον οὖν τὰ πολλὰ καὶ ἀμύθητα ἐκεῖνα διεπλάσθη.

146 ταῦτα μὲν περὶ τοῦ ἐν φάναι δώσειν νυνὶ δὲ τέκνον εἰρήκεν οὐκ ἀμελῶς οὔτ' ἀπερσικέττως, ἀλλ' ἔνεκα τοῦ παραστῆσαι, ὅτι οὐκ ὀθνεῖον οὖθ' ὕποβολμαῖον οὐδ' αὖθι θετὸν ἦ νόθον, ἀλλὰ γνῆσιον καὶ ἀστείον [ὅτι οὐκ ὀθνεῖον] ὄντως ἁστῆς ψυχῆς

1 My correction for ms. ἀναλίσκονσαν, for which Wend. suggests ἀποδιδράσκονσαν and Mangey ἀναλυσκάζουσαν. Cf. its use in Theaetetus 149 D, which Philo may have in mind. See App. pp. 590 f.

2 For this use of ἐβδόμη see note on § 260.

b See App. p. 591.
ON THE CHANGE OF NAMES, 144–147

She applies the word "much" to the mind which is a medley of mixed and confused thoughts, which, because of the multitude of riots and turmoils that surround it, brings forth evils past all remedy. But the word "barren" she applies to the mind which refuses to accept any mortal sowing as fruitful, the mind which makes away with and brings to abortion all the intimacies and the matings of the wicked, but holds fast to the "seventh" and the supreme peace which it gives. This peace she would fain bear in her womb and be called its mother.

XXVI. Such is the meaning of "from her." Let us now examine the third part of the phrase used, namely "child." First then we may well wonder why He does not say He will give many children, but will grant one only. Why? Because excellence cannot be estimated by number but rather by value. For, to take examples at random, there are ever so many musical, grammatical and geometrical things, and just and prudent and courageous and temperate things, but music and grammar and geometry in the abstract and again justice and temperance and prudence and courage in the abstract are each of them one thing, the original, the same as the archetypal idea, and from this origin the many and indeed infinite particulars have been formed. So much for His saying that He will give one, but the word actually used in this passage, "bairn," is used not without care or consideration. He wishes to shew that the child is not alien or supposititious, nor again adopted or bastard, but the truly genuine and free-natured.

For this play upon ἀστῆς and ἀστείων (for which Mangey needlessly wished to substitute ἀστῶν) cf. De Mig. 99 ἀσταῖ τε καὶ ἀστεῖαι γυναῖκες and note on De Conf. 106.
PHILO

έγγονον. παρὰ γὰρ τὸν τόκον τὸ τέκνον εἰρηται πρὸς ἐμφασιν οἰκεύτητος, ἥ φυσικῶς ἀρμόζεται τέκνα γονεῦσιν.

148 XXVII. "Εὐλογήσω" δὲ φησιν "αὐτὴν, καὶ ἔσται εἰς ἔθνη," δηλῶν ὅτι των μόνων ἡ γενικὴ ἀρετὴ ὡς ἀν εἰς ἔθνη τὰ προσεχέστατα εἰδὴ τέμνεται καὶ τὰ ὑπὸ τοὺς εἰδεσιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὅτι [601] συμβεβηκεν ὡς ζώων οὐτω καὶ πραγμάτων | εἶναι τρόπον τινὰ ἔθνη, οἷς μέγα ὀφελος ἀρετὴν προσ-

149 εἶναι. τὰ γὰρ ἔρημα καὶ χῆρα φρονῆσεως πάντα ἐπιζήμια, καθάπερ οἷς οὐκ ἐπιλάμπει ἥλιος εξ ἀνάγκης ζωφερά. ἀρετὴ μὲν γὰρ γεωπόνοις ἄμεινον φυτῶν ἐπιμελεῖται, ἀρετὴ δὲ καὶ ἴνιοχος ἄρμα ἐν ἱπποδρομίαις ἐπιταυστὸν ἔλαυνε, ἀρετὴ δὲ καὶ κυβερνήτης [οἰκονόμοις] οἰκονομεί κατὰ πλοῦν τὸ σκάφος. ἀρετὴ καὶ οἰκίας καὶ πόλης καὶ χώραν βέλτιον οἰκείσθαι παρεσκεύασεν, οἰκονομικοὺς, πολιτικοὺς, κοινωνικοὺς άνδρας δημιουργοῦσα.

150 ἀρετὴ καὶ νόμους ἀρίστους εἰσηγήσατο καὶ τὰ εἰρήνης κατεβάλετο πανταχοῦ στέρματα: ἐπεὶ καὶ ὑπὸ τῆς ἐναντίας ἐξεσιν πέρυκε γίνεσθαι τάναντι, πόλεμος, ἀνομία, κακοπολιτεία, συγχύσεις, δύσπλοια, περιτροπαί, ἢ ἐν ταῖς ἐπιστήμαις ἄργαλεω- τάτη νόσος, πανουργία, ἀφ' ἦς άντι τεχνῶν κακο- τεχνίαι προσερήθησαν. ἀναγκαῖος οὖν εἰς ἔθνη χωρῆσαι ἡ ἀρετή, ζώων ὀμοιο καὶ πραγμάτων μεγάλα καὶ άθρόα συστήματα, ἐπὶ τῇ τῶν δεχο-μένων ὀφελεία.

151 XXVIII. Δὲ γεται δὲ ἐξῆς, ὅτι "καὶ βασιλεῖς ἔθνων εἰς αὐτῆς ἐσονται." οὖς γὰρ κυοφορεῖ καὶ

1 mss. δηλονότι.
2 mss. πρὸς ἐσχατα τὰ.
offspring of a free-born soul. For "bairn" derived from "bearing" is used to bring out the affinity which is the natural tie between parents and children.

XXVII. "I will bless her," He continues, "and she shall be for nations." He shews hereby that not only is generic virtue divided into its proximate species and their subdivisions, as into nations, but also that actions and ideas have nations in a sense, just as living creatures have, and that to these nations the addition of virtue is most beneficial. For everything that lacks or has lost prudence is a source of mischief, just as all must be in darkness on which the sun does not shine. By virtue the husbandman takes better care of his plants; by virtue the charioteer guides his chariot in the horse-race without a fall; by virtue the helmsman steers his vessel safe through the voyage. Virtue again produces better conditions in households, city and country, by producing men who are good household managers, statesmanlike and neighbourly. Virtue, too, introduces the best laws, and sows everywhere seeds of peace. And in proof of this we see that where the opposite condition prevails the natural result is the opposite of these blessings, namely war, lawlessness, misgovernment, confusion, disasters at sea, revolutions, and in the realm of the sciences that most painful disease knavery, which causes them to be called perversions of art, rather than arts. Virtue then will necessarily extend to nations, that is, large and comprehensive combinations both of living creatures and of actions and ideas, and will thus benefit those who receive her.

XXVIII. Next we read "And kings of nations shall be from her," for those whom she conceives and

\[a\] See App. p. 591.
PHILO

άποτίκτει, πάντες εἰσὶν ἠγεμόνες, οὐ κλήρῳ, πράγματι ἀβεβαίῳ, καὶ χειροτονίᾳ ἐμμίσθων τὰ πολλὰ ἀνθρώπων πρὸς ὅλον χρόνον αἱρεθέντες, ἀλλ’ ὑπὸ φύσεως εἰς ἀεὶ κατασταθέντες αὐτής. οὕτως δ’ οὐκ ἔμοι μῦθος, ἀλλὰ χρησμῶν τῶν ἑρωτάτων ἐστίν, ἐν ὦς εἰσάγονται τινὲς λέγοντες τῷ Ἄβραάμ· "βασιλεύς παρὰ θεοῦ εἰ σὺ ἐν ἡμῖν," οὐ τάς ὠλας ἐξετάσαντες,—τίνες γὰρ ἦσαν ἄνδρὶ μετανάστη καὶ μηδὲ πόλιν οἰκοῦντι, πολλὴν δὲ καὶ ἑρήμην καὶ ἀβατὸν ἀλωμένῳ γῆν;—ἀλλ’ ἡν ἐν τῇ διανοίᾳ βασιλικὴν ἐξιν κατανοήσαντες, ὡστ’ ἄνομολογήσαι κατὰ Μωυσήν μόνον τὸν σοφὸν βασιλέα. καὶ γὰρ ὄντως ὁ μὲν φρόνιμος ἠγεμόνων ἀφρόνων ἐστὶν εἰδὼς ἡ χρὴ ποιεῖν τε καὶ ἡ μή, ὁ δὲ σώφρων ἀκολάστων τὰ περὶ τὰς αἴρεσις καὶ φυγὰς ἦκριβωκῶς οὐκ ἀμελῶς, δειλῶν δὲ ὁ ἀνδρείος ἄ δεὶ ὑπομένειν καὶ ἡ μη σαφῶς ἐκκαθάρισον, ἀδίκων δὲ ὁ δίκαιος ἰσότητος ἐν τοῖς ἀπονεμημένοις ἀρρενώτατοι στοχαζόμενοι, ὁ δ’ ὄσιος ἀνοσίων [ἐν] ἀρίστης ὑπολήψει ταῖς περὶ θεοῦ κατασχημένοις.

153 κατὰ Μωυσήν μόνον τὸν σοφὸν βασιλέα. καὶ γὰρ ὄντως ὁ μὲν φρόνιμος ἠγεμόνων ἀφρόνων ἐστὶν εἰδὼς ἡ χρὴ ποιεῖν τε καὶ ἡ μή, ὁ δὲ σώφρων ἀκολάστων τὰ περὶ τὰς αἴρεσις καὶ φυγὰς ἦκριβωκῶς οὐκ ἀμελῶς, δειλῶν δὲ ὁ ἀνδρείος ἄ δεὶ ὑπομένειν καὶ ἡ μη σαφῶς ἐκκαθάρισον, ἀδίκων δὲ ὁ δίκαιος ἰσότητος ἐν τοῖς ἀπονεμημένοις ἀρρενώτατοι στοχαζόμενοι, ὁ δ’ ὄσιος ἀνοσίων [ἐν] ἀρίστης ὑπολήψει ταῖς περὶ θεοῦ κατασχημένοις.

154 XXIX. Ταῦτας εἰκός ἦν ταῖς ὑποσχέσεσι τὸν νυν ἐκφυσηθέντα μετέωρον ἄρθηναι. ὁ δὲ πρὸς | [602] ἔλεγχον ἡμῶν, οἱ καὶ ἐπὶ τοῖς μικρότατοι εἰώθαμεν υψαυχείν, πίπτει καὶ εὐθὺς γελᾶ τὸν ψυχῆς γέλωτα, σκιθρωπάζον µὲν τῷ προσώπῳ, μειδιῶν δὲ τῇ διανοίᾳ, πολλῆς καὶ ἀκράτου χαρᾶς εἰσοικισμένης. ἀμφότερα δὲ κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν χρόνον συμβαίνει τῷ μείζονα ἐλπίδος ἀγαθὰ κληρονομοῦντι σοφῷ, γελᾶν τε καὶ πίπτειν· τὸ µὲν εἰς πίστιν τοῦ μὴ μεγαλαυχεῖν διὰ κατάγνωσιν τῆς θυντῆς οὔδε-
bears are all rulers, chosen not for a short time by
the uncertainty of lot or by the votes of men for the
most part hirelings, but rulers appointed for ever by
Nature herself. And this is no invention of mine, but a statement made by the most holy oracles,
wherein certain people appear as saying to Abraham
"Thou art a King from God among us" (Gen. xxiii. 6). They did not consider his material re-
sources, for what such were there in an emigrant,
who was not even the inhabitant of a city but a
wanderer over a wide and desolate and trackless
land? Rather they perceived the kingship in his
mind, and thus Moses confesses that the Sage alone
is king. For in truth the prudent man is ruler of the imprudent, for he knows what he should and
should not do, and the temperate of the intemperate,
for he has studied carefully how to choose and how
to avoid: the brave man of the coward because he
has learned with certainty what he should and should
not endure: the just of the unjust, because he aims
at unbiased equality in what he has to award: the holy of the unholy because high and true conceptions
of God prevail with him.

XXIX. These promises might well have puffed up the mind to soar into the heights. But to convict us,
so often proud-necked at the smallest cause, he falls
down and straightway laughs (Gen. xvii. 17) with the
laughter of the soul; mournfulness in his face, but
smiles in his mind, where joy vast and unalloyed has
made its lodging. For the sage who receives an inheritance of good beyond his hope these two things
are simultaneous—to fall and to laugh. He falls as
a pledge that the proved nothingness of mortality

* See App. p. 591.
νείας, τὸ δ' εἰς εὐσεβείας βεβαιῶσιν διὰ τὸ μόνον' χαρίτων καὶ ἀγάθων νομίζειν τὸν θεόν αὐτίων. 156 πιπτέτω μὲν δὴ καὶ σκυθρωπαζέτω γένεσις, φυσικῶς—ἄνιδρυτός τε γὰρ καὶ ἑπίλυτος ἡ εἰς οἰκετικὴς ἐστιν,—ἀνιστάσθω δὲ ὑπὸ θεοῦ καὶ γελάτων' τὸ γὰρ ἑρείσμα αὐτής καὶ ἡ χαρὰ μόνος οὕτως ἐστιν. 157 Εἰκότως δ’ ἂν ἀπορήσει τις, πῶς ἐνδέχεται γελάν τινα, μήπω γέλωτος εἰς τὴν καθ’ ἡμᾶς γένεσιν ἐλθόντος: δ’ γὰρ Ἰσαὰκ ἐστι γέλως, δς κατὰ τὴν παροῦσαν σκέψιν οὕτω γεγένηται. ὥστε γὰρ οὔτε βλέπειν χωρίς ὀφθαλμῶν οὔτε ἀκούειν χωρίς ὀτών οὔτε δίχα μυκτήρων ὀσφραίνεσθαι οὐδ’ αὐτάς οὐδ’ άλλας αἰσθήσεις άνευ τῶν κατ’ αὐτάς ὀργάνων χρήσθαι οὔτε καταλαμβάνειν δίχα λογισμὸν, οὕτως οὐδ’ γελάν εἰκός ἦν, εἰ μὴ γέλως ἐδεδημιούργητο. τί οὖν χρή λέγειν; πολλὰ ή φύσις τῶν μελλόντων γίνεσθαι διὰ τῶν συμβόλων προμηνύει. ἡ τὸν νεοτὸν οὐχ ὀράει, ὅσ, πρὶν ἀέρι ἐπινήχεσθαι, πτερύσσεσθαι καὶ τοὺς ταρσοὺς διασείεις φιλεῖ, τὴν ἐπιτίθεν τοῦ πέτεσθαι δυνήσεσθαι προευαγγελιζόμενοι; ἁμνὸν δ’ ἡ χιμαρον ἡ βοῦν ἐπὶ νεογνὸν οὐκ εἶδε, μήπω τῶν κεράτων ἐκπεφυκότων, ὅποτε διερθῆται τις, ἀντιβεβηκότα καὶ τοῖς μέρεσιν ἐκεῖνα χαλά- σαντες καὶ καταλαμβάνοντο, χαλάσαντες καὶ βάτερον ἐκπλήκτες καὶ ταυρωπόν ὄντως ἀποβλεπόμενοι την καθαύτα ἐπίλασαν, ἔργου ἐξόμενοι. τὸ δὲ γινόμενον ὄρουσιν ἐκάλεσαν, οἷς 1 mss. τοῦ μόνων (τοῦ perhaps rightly).
keeps him from vaunting: he laughs to shew that
the thought that God alone is the cause of good and
gracious gifts makes strong his piety. Let created 156
being fall with mourning in its face; it is only what
nature demands, so feeble in footing is it, so sad of
heart in itself. Then let it be raised up by God and
laugh, for God alone is its support and its joy.

One might reasonably question how it is possible 157
for anyone to laugh, when laughter had not yet
come into being among us. For Isaac is laughter,
which according to the view before us is not yet born.
For as we cannot see without eyes nor hear without
ears, nor smell without nostrils nor use the othersenses
without the corresponding organs, nor apprehend
without the power of thought, so the act of laughing
would be against all probability if laughter had not
yet been created. What shall we say then? Nature 158
often provides signs which shew us beforehand future
happenings. Do you not often see how the fledgling,
before it actually oars its way in the air, likes to flutter
or shake its wings, thus giving a welcome promise of
ability to fly hereafter? Or how the lamb or the he-
goat or the youngling ox, if one provoke it, fronts its
opponent and starts to defend itself with those parts
from which spring the weapons of defence which
Nature provides? Again, in the arena the bulls do 160
not at once gore their antagonists, but set their legs
well apart, bend their necks slightly, and turn them
either way with a truly bull-like glare, and only then
do they attack and shew a mind to set to in earnest.
This kind of thing, one impulse, that is, preluding

\[2 \text{ mss. } \epsilon\pi\lambda\nu\tau\omicron. \]  \[3 \text{ mss. } \epsilon\rho\upsilon\sigma\omicron. \]
όνοματοποιεῖν ἔθος, ὄρμήν τινα πρὸ ὀρμῆς ὑπ-αρχουσαν. XXX. ὁμοιον δὴ τι καὶ ἡ ψυχή τὰ πολλὰ πάσχει· ἐλπιζομένου γὰρ τάγαθον προγήθει, ὥς τρόπον τινὰ χαίρειν πρὸ χαρᾶς καὶ εὐφραίνεσθαι πρὸ εὐφροσύνης. εἰκάσω δ᾿ ἄν τις αὐτὸ καὶ τῷ περὶ τὰ φυτὰ συμβαίνοντι· καὶ γὰρ ταῦτα, ὡς ὑπὸ μέλλον καρποφορεῖν, προβλαστάνει καὶ προανθεῖ καὶ χλοηφορεῖ. τὴν ἡμερίδα ἄμπελον ἠδε, ὡς ὑπὸ φύσεως τεθαυματούργηται, κληματίσει, ἐλιξὶ, μοσ-χεύμασι, πετάλοις, οὐνάροις, αἱ φωνὴν (μονοῦ)οὐκ ἀφιέντα μηνύει τὴν ἐπὶ τῷ μέλλοντι καρπῳ τοῦ δένδρου χαράν. καὶ ἡ ἡμέρα μέντοι προγελάτῳ πρὸς βαθὺν ὄθρον μέλλοντος ἀνίσχειν ἥλιον· αὐγὴ γὰρ αὐγῆς ἀγγελος καὶ φῶς φωτὸς ἀμυδρότερον τηλ-αυγεστέρου προεξέρχεται. ἦκοντι μὲν οὐν ἡ δη τῷ ἀγαθῷ συνομαρτεῖ χαρά, προσδοκομένω δὲ ἐλπίς· ἀφικομένῳ μὲν (γὰρ) χαίρομεν, μέλλοντος4 δὲ ἐλπίζομεν, καθάπερ καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν ἐναντίων ἐχειν συμβεβηκέν· ἡ μὲν γὰρ παρουσία τοῦ κακοῦ λύπην, ἡ δὲ προσδοκία φόβον εγέννησεν. φόβος δὲ ἀρὰ ἦν οὐδὲν ἡ λύπη πρὸς λύπην, ὦσπερ ἐλπίς χαρά πρὸ χαρᾶς· ο γάρ, οἰμαί, πρὸς λύπην φόβος, τοῦτο πρὸς χαρᾶν ἐλπίς. σημεῖα δὲ τοῦ λεγομένου καὶ αἰσθήσεως ἐναργῆς περιφέρουσι· γεύσεως γὰρ ὀσφρησις προκαθημένη τὰ πρὸς ἐδώθην καὶ πόσιν σχεδὸν ἄπαντα προδικάζει· αὖτο οὐ καὶ προ-γευστρίδα αὐτῆς ἐκάλεσαν εἰς τὴν ἐνάργειαν ἀπιδόντες εὐθυβέλως ἐνιοῦ. πέφυκε δὲ καὶ ἡ ἐλπίς ὡςανεί τοῦ μέλλοντος ἀγαθοῦ προγευσθαι καὶ δια-

1 mss. δητα.
2 mss. αὐτὰ.
3 mss. αὐτῆς.
4 mss. μέλλοντι, which perhaps retain, reading with Mangey ημερίδα ἄμπελον ἠδε, ὡς ὑπὸ φύσεως τεθαυματούργηται, κληματίσει, ἐλιξὶ, μοσ-
5 χεύμασι, πετάλοις, οὐνάροις, αἱ φωνὴν (μονοῦ)οὐκ ἀφιέντα μηνύει τὴν ἐπὶ τῷ μέλλοντι καρπῳ τοῦ δένδρου χαράν. καὶ ἡ ἡμέρα μέντοι προγελάτῳ πρὸς βαθὺν ὄθρον μέλλοντος ἀνίσχειν ἥλιον· αὐγὴ γὰρ αὐγῆς ἀγγελος καὶ φῶς φωτὸς ἀμυδρότερον τηλ-
6 αυγεστέρου προεξέρχεται. ἦκοντι μὲν οὖν ἡ δὴ τῷ ἀγαθῷ συνομαρτεῖ χαρά, προσδοκομένῳ δὲ ἐλπίς· ἀφικομένῳ μὲν (γὰρ) χαίρομεν, μέλλοντος δὲ ἐλπίζομεν, καθάπερ καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν ἐναντίων ἐχειν συμβεβηκέν· ἡ μὲν γὰρ παρουσία τοῦ κακοῦ λύπην, ἡ δὲ προσδοκία φόβον εγέννησεν. φόβος δὲ ἀρὰ ἦν οὐδὲν ἡ λύπη πρὸς λύπην, ὦσπερ ἐλπίς χαρά πρὸ χαρᾶς· ο γάρ, οἰμαί, πρὸς λύπην φόβος, τοῦτο πρὸς χαρᾶν ἐλπίς. σημεῖα δὲ τοῦ λεγο-
7 μένου καὶ αἰσθήσεως ἐναργῆς περιφέρουσι· γεύσεως γὰρ ὀσφρησις προκαθημένη τὰ πρὸς ἐδώθην καὶ πόσιν σχεδὸν ἄπαντα προδικάζει· αὖτο οὐ καὶ προ-
8 γευστρίδα αὐτῆς ἐκάλεσαν εἰς τὴν ἐνάργειαν ἀπιδόντες εὐθυβέλως ἐνιοῦ. πέφυκε δὲ καὶ ἡ ἐλπίς ὡςανεί τοῦ μέλλοντος ἀγαθοῦ προγευσθαι καὶ δια-
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another, is called orousis, or “springing,” by those who practise word-coining. XXX. Much the same 161 often befalls the soul. When good is hoped for, it rejoices in anticipation, and thus may be said to feel joy before joy, gladness before gladness. We may find in this a likeness to what happens in the vegetable world. They too, when they are going to bear fruit, put forth shoots, flowers and leaves in anticipation. Observe the cultivated vine, what a wonderful piece 162 of nature’s handiwork it is, with its twigs, tendrils, suckers, petals, leaves, which seem almost to break out into speech and proclaim their joy at the coming fruit of the tree. And the day laughs in forecast while the dawning is still young because the sunrise is coming. For beam heralds beam and the dimmer light leads the way for the clearer. And so the good 163 when it has come is accompanied by joy, and when it is expected, by hope. For we rejoice at its arrival and hope when it is coming. Similarly with their opposites. The presence of evil produces grief, and its expectation fear. And so fear is grief before grief, just as hope is joy before joy. For fear, I think, bears the same relation to grief as hope does to joy. The senses, too, carry with them clear signs of what 164 is here stated. Smell presides over taste and passes judgement in advance on practically all that serves for food or drink. And therefore some looking to the obvious fact have given to smell the apposite name of fore-taster. And so it is natural for hope to taste beforehand as it were the coming good and to recom-

\[ \text{See App. p. 591.} \]

\[ ^5 \text{mss. } \overset{\text{?}}{\text{e}}\nu\rho\gamma\varepsilon\iota\alpha. \text{ The change seems to me very doubtful: } \overset{\text{?}}{\text{e}}\nu\rho\gamma\varepsilon\iota\alpha \text{ is frequently used in connexion with the sense organs, e.g. } \text{De Abr. 154, 158.} \]
συνιστάνειν αυτό φυχή τῇ θεοφαίς κτησομένη. 165 καὶ ταῖς οὐδεπορίαις μέντοι πεινήσας τις καὶ δυσφίςας, πηγάς ξειάφησις ἴδον ἕνδρα παντοῦ ἡμέροις βρίθοντα καρποῖς, μῆτω φαγῶν ἕ πιώ, ἀλλὰ μηδ’ ἀρυσάμενος ἡ δρεψάμενος ἐλπίδι τῆς ἀπολαύσεως προπληροῦται. εἰτ’ οὐμεθα ταῖς μὲν τοῦ σώματος τροφαῖς καὶ πρὸ τῆς χρήσεως ἐστιά-σθαι δύνασθαι, τὰς δὲ τῆς διανοίας οὖχ ἴκανὰς εἶναι καὶ ὅποτε μέλλουν ἔστιν προεφράειν;

166 XXXI. Ἐγέλασεν οὖν εἰκότως μήτω δοκούντος ἐν τῷ θυητῶ γένει σπαρῆναι τοῦ γέλωτος· καὶ οὐ μόνον αὐτός, ἄλλα καὶ ή γυνὴ γελᾶ. λέγεται γὰρ αὐθίς· “ἐγέλασε δ’ Ἐσσάρα ἐν ἑαυτῇ λέγουσα· οὕτω μὲν μοι γέγονεν ἐως τοῦ νῦν” ἀνευ μελέτης ἀπ-αυτοματίζον ἄγαθὸν· ὁ δ’ ὑποσχόμενος “κύριός μου καὶ πρεσβύτερος” πάσης γενέσεως ἐστίν, ὅ πιστευεῖν ἀναγκαίον. ἀμα μέντοι καὶ ἀναδιδάσκει, ὅτι τῇ ἀρετῇ χαρτόν ἐστι φύσει καὶ ὅ ἔχων αὐτὴν αἰεὶ γέγηθε, καὶ τοῦτον ὅτι ἐτῇ κακία λυπηρόν καὶ ὅ ἔχων ὀδυνηρότατον. ἐτῇ νῦν θαυμάζομεν τῶν φιλοσόφων τοὺς λέγοντας τὴν ἀρετὴν εὐπάθειαν.

167 εἶναι; ἵδο γὰρ Μωυσῆς χορηγὸς ἀνεύρηται τοῦ σοφοῦ τοῦτον δόγματος, χαίροντα καὶ γελῶντα παραγαγὼν τὸν ἀστείον· ἀλλαχόθι δὲ οὐκ αὐτῶν μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶς εἰς ταὐτὸν ἀφικνομένους αὐτῷ. “ἵνα γάρ σε” φησὶ “χαρήσεται ἐν [604] αὐτῷ,” ὡς τῆς τοῦ σπουδαίου προσόψεως αὐτὸ

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1 MSS. ἰδρυσάμενος.
2 MSS. ἀπάθειαν.

*a This perversion of the laughter of Abraham and Sarah has some excuse in the case of the latter in the obscurity of the LXX in which the E.V. “After I am waxed old shall I have pleasure, my lord being old also?” appears as here quoted. So also in Leg. All. iii. 217 f.
mend it to the soul which will have it for its solid possession. Again the hungry or thirsty traveller, if he suddenly sees in his journeying springs of water or trees of every kind laden with refreshing fruits, finds a preliminary satisfaction in the hope of future enjoyment, before he eats or drinks and even before he draws the water or plucks the fruit. And if we can find a feast in what feeds the body before we actually eat, can we possibly suppose that what feeds the mind is unable to give us a foretaste of gladness when the feast it provides is still to come?

XXXI. Well then might he laugh even though laughter seems to have been as yet unborn in our mortal race, and not only did he himself laugh but his wife also. For again we find Sarah laughed, saying in herself, “Not yet has this befallen me till now,” this unstudied, self-sprung good. Yet He that promised, she says, is “my Lord” (Gen. xviii. 12) and “older” than all creation, and I needs must believe Him. At the same time Moses teaches us this lesson that virtue is by its very nature a thing for joy, and that he who possesses it ever rejoices, while vice on the contrary is grievous and its possessor most unhappy. After this need we extol those philosophers who declare that virtue is a state of happy feeling? For, see, we find in Moses the primary authority for this wise doctrine, since he pictures the good man as rejoicing and laughing, and elsewhere not the good man only but those also who come into company with him. “Seeing thee,” he says, “he will rejoice at it” (Ex. iv. 14). He suggests that the mere sight

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*See App. p. 591.*

*Or “well-being.”* See App. p. 591.

*See note on De Mig. 79.*
μόνον ἴκανής οὐσίς ἀναπληρῶσαι τὴν διάνοιαν ἐυφροσύνης, ἀποφορτισμένην τὸ ἀπεχθέστατον
169 ψυχῆς κακῶν, λύπην. φαῦλω δὲ οὐδενὶ χαῖρειν ἑβείται, καθάπερ καὶ ἐν προφητικαῖς ἄδεται
ῥήσει: "χαῖρειν οὐκ ἐστὶ τοῖς ἀσεβέσιν, εἰπὲν ὁ θεός." λόγος γὰρ ὄντως καὶ χρησμὸς ἐστὶ θεῖος,
σκυθρωπὸν καὶ ἐπίλυπον καὶ μεστὸν βαρυδαιμονίας εἶναι τὸν παντὸς μοχθηροῦ βίον, κἂν προσ-
ποιῆται τῷ προσώπῳ μειδιάν. οὐ γὰρ τοὺς Ἀιγυπτίους χαῖρειν ἀν ἐποίμη πρὸς ἀλῆθειαν,
ἡνίκα τοὺς ἄδελφους Ἰωσήφ ἦκοντας ἦκουσαν, ἀλλ᾽ ἐπιμορφάζειν καθυποκρινόμενος τὸ δοκεῖν.
οὐδενὶ γὰρ ἐπιστᾶσα ἔλεγχος ἄφρόνων δι᾽ ἡδονῆς ἐστὶν, ὡσπερ οὐδὲ ιατρὸς ἀκρατεῖ νοσοῦντι. πόνος
μὲν γὰρ τοῖς συμφέροντας, ῥαστώνη δὲ τοῖς βλα-
βεροῖς ἐπεται: πόνον δὲ ῥαστώνην προκρίναντες
eἰκότως τοῖς τὰ συμφέροντα εἰσηγούμενοι ἀπεχθά-
171 νονται. ἐπειδὰν οὖν ἀκούσῃς ὅτι "ἐχάρη Φαραὼ
καὶ η ἡθερεία αὐτοῦ" διὰ τὴν τῶν ἄδελφῶν
Ἰωσήφ ἄφιξιν, μὴ νόμιζῃ πρὸς ἀλῆθειαν ἦδεσθαι,
εἰ μὴ κατ᾽ ἐκεῖνο ὕσως, ὅτι προσδοκῶσιν αὐ τὸν
〈νοῦν〉2 μεταβαλεῖν ἀπὸ τῶν ψυχῆς ἄγαθῶν, οἷς
συνετράφη, πρὸς τὰ τοῦ σώματος ἀνηνύτους ἐπι-
θυμίας, τὸ ἀρχαῖον καὶ προγονικὸν ἀρέτης συγ-
172 γενοὺς νόμισμα παρακόπαντα. XXXII. τοιαύτα
δὲ ἐλπίσας ὁ φιλήδονος νοῦς αὐτάρκες οὖχ ὑπο-

1 mss. ὑπομορφάζειν.
2 αὐ τὸν 〈νοῦν〉: my correction for αὐτὸν in mss. and all editions. As the text stands, αὐτὸν can only refer to Joseph and this is hardly sense. How could the arrival of the brethren, always representing the good, cause Joseph already more or less corrupted by Egypt to change for the worse? The sequel clearly shows that it is the brethren and Jacob
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of the worthy is enough to make the mind cast off the soul’s most hateful burden, grief, and to fill it with joy. And to none of the wicked is rejoicing permitted, as indeed the orations of the prophets proclaim: “Rejoicing is not for the impious, said God” (Is. xlviii. 22). It is indeed a divine saying and oracle that the life of every worthless man is one of gloom and sorrow and full of misery, even though he affect to wear a smiling face. I would not say that the Egyptians really rejoiced when they heard that Joseph’s brethren had come. Rather they assumed in hypocrisy the appearance of joy. For no fool when confronted by conviction is pleased with it, any more than the dissolute man on his sick-bed with the physician. For the profitable is followed by toil, the noxious by ease. And fools because they prefer ease to toil are naturally at enmity with those who would advise them to their profit. And so when you hear that “Pharaoh rejoiced and his servants” (Gen. xlv. 16) at the coming of the brothers of Joseph, do not suppose that they were really pleased, except perhaps at one thought: they expected once more to lead away the mind to desert its foster-brethren the goods of the soul for the numberless lusts of the body, and to debase its old ancestral coinage, the coinage of virtue its birth-fellow. XXXII. With such hopes the pleasure-loving mind is not content merely

in particular whom they hope to corrupt. But ανατράφη and παρακόψαντα forbid us to correct to αὐτοῦ. The suggestion of αὐτὸς is not necessary to the sense, but it enriches it, as well as diminishing the departure from the MSS. Egypt hopes to do with the new arrivals what it has already done with Joseph. This is supported by §173, where the ills which will be inflicted on them are those which Joseph has already suffered.

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λαμβάνει τοὺς νεωτέρους καὶ ἄρτι πρὸς τὰ σωφροσύνης γυμνάσια φοιτῶντας ἐπιθυμιῶν δελέασιν ἀγκιστρεύσασθαι, ἀλλὰ δεινὸν ἐνόμισεν εἶναι, εἰ μὴ καὶ τὸν πρεσβύτερον ὑπάξεται λόγον, οὗ τὰ λυτρώντα πάθη παρήβηκε. λέγει γὰρ ἃ ἐὰς θημίας ὡς ὕφελείας προτείνων· "παραλαβόντες τὸν πατέρα καὶ τὰ ὑπάρχοντα ὑμῶν ἥκετε πρὸς μέ" ἐπ' Αἰγύπτου1 καὶ τοῦ φοβεροῦ τούτου βασιλέως, διό καὶ τὰ πατρώα ἢμῶν καὶ τὰ ὄντως ὑπάρχοντα ἁγαθὰ ἔξω προεληλυθότα τοῦ σώματος—φύσει γὰρ ἐστίν ἐλεύθερα· ἀντισπα βιαζόμενος δεσμωτηρίῳ πάνω πικρῷ παραδούναι, καταστήσας εἱρκτοφύλακα, ὡς φησὶ τὸ λόγον, Πεντεφρῆ τὸν σπάδοντα καὶ ἀρχιμάγειρον σπάνει κεχρημενον τῶν καλῶν καὶ τὰ γεννητικά τῆς ψυχῆς ἐκτετμημένον, ἐτὶ δὲ σπείρεσθαι καὶ φυτεύεσθαι τῷ πατρῶν ψυχήν ἐπὶ ἀντισπάντα, μαγειριὰ τρόπον κτείνοντα τὰ ζώντα καὶ κατὰ μέρη καὶ κατὰ μέλη κόπτοντα καὶ διαιροῦντα καὶ ἐν ἡψίχοις καὶ νεκροῖς καλυδουμένον οὐ σώμασι μᾶλλον ἡ πράγμασι καὶ ταῖς περιέργοις παραρτύσεσιν ἀνεγείροντα καὶ ἀνερεθίζοντα τῶν ἀνηνύτων παθῶν δρμάς, διὸ οἶκος ἤν τιθεσεύοντα πραύναι. ὁ δὲ καὶ "δώσω" φησὶν "ὑμῖν πάντων τῶν ἁγαθῶν Αἰγύπτου, καὶ φάγεσθε τὸν μυελὸν (τῆς) γῆς." ἀλλ' ἐροῦμεν αὐτῷ· σώματος ἁγαθὸν οὐ προσιεμέθα οἱ τὰ ψυχῆς ἱδόντες· ἰκανὸς γὰρ ὁ

1 Wend. suggests ἐπ' ἁγαθὰ, and adds "certe corruptela latet." I doubt whether there is anything very unusual in this use of ἐπὶ with the genitive.

α i.e. at present only the brethren representing virtue at its earliest stages have come to Egypt. Egypt hopes also to win over the more perfected virtue of Jacob.

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to angle with the baits of every lust for the younger sort, the novices in the training-schools of temperance, but revolts from the idea that it should be unable to subjugate the older thinking, in which the frenzy of passion has passed its prime.\textsuperscript{a} He makes other offers, offers which mean loss though he speaks of them as profit. “Take your father and your wealth,” he says, “and come to me” (ibid. 18) into Egypt, come, that is, to this King of terror, who when our paternal and our truly real wealth had in virtue of its natural liberty left the body behind in its advance, draws it back and throws it with violence into a prison of exceeding bitterness; and over this prison he sets for keeper, as the oracular text tells us, Potiphar (Gen. xxxix. 1) the eunuch and chief cook\textsuperscript{b}: eunuch, because he has scant store of excellence and has lost by mutilation the soul’s organs of generation, unable further to sow and beget anything that tends to discipline; cook, because in cook-like fashion he slaughters living beings, chops and divides them, piece by piece, limb by limb, and moves in a chaos of lifeless carcasses, immaterial rather than material;\textsuperscript{c} and with his elaborately seasoned dishes arouses and excites the appetites of fruitless passions, appetites which should rather be tamed and calmed. And also,\textsuperscript{174} says the Pleasure-lover, “I will give you of all the good things of Egypt, and ye shall eat the marrow of the land” (Gen. xlv. 18). But we will answer him, “We do not accept the body’s good, for we have seen the things of the soul. For so deeply has our strong

\textsuperscript{a} So lxx. E.V. “an officer of Pharaoh’s, the captain of the guard”; cf. Leg. All. iii. 236.
\textsuperscript{b} See note on Quis Rerum 242.
τριπόθητος ἐκείνων ἵμερος ἐντακεὶς πάντων ὁσα τῇ σαρκὶ φίλα λήθην ἐργάσασθαι.

175 XXXIII. Τουαύτη μὲν τις ἡ ψευδώνυμος χαρὰ τῶν ἀφρόνων, ἡ δὲ ἀληθὴς πρότερον εἰρηται, μόνοις ἀστείοις ἐφαρμόζουσα. "πεσὼν οὖν ἐγέλασεν," οὐκ ἀπὸ θεοῦ πεσὼν, ἀλλ' ἀφ' ἑαυτοῦ ἐστή μὲν γὰρ περὶ τὸν ἄτρεπτον, ἔπεσε δὲ ἀπὸ τῆς ἰδίας oύθεσις. διὸ καὶ τοῦ μὲν δοκησιοφοῦ καταβληθέντος φρονήματος, ἀνεγερθέντος δὲ τοῦ φιλοθέου καὶ περὶ τὸν ἀκλινή μόνον ἢδρυθέντος, γελάσας εὐθὺς "εἶπε τῇ διανοίᾳ. εἰ τῷ ἐκατονταετεῖ γενήσεται, καὶ Ἡ Σάρρα ἐνενήκοντα ετῶν οὖσα τέξεται;"

176 μὴ ἡ μὲν νομίσῃ, ὃ γενναίε, τὸ "εἰπεῖν" οὐχὶ τῷ στόματι, ἀλλὰ "τῇ διανοίᾳ" προσκείσθαι παρέγραψε, ἀλλὰ καὶ πάνυ ἔξητασμένως. διὰ τί; ὅτι ἔσωκε διὰ τοῦ φάσκειν "εἰ τῷ ἐκατονταετεῖ γενήσεται" περὶ τῆς Ἰσαὰκ ἐνδοιάσαι γενέσεως, ἐφ' ἢ πρότερον ἔλεγετο πιστεύσαι, όσ ἐδήλου τὸ χρησθὲν πρὸ μικροῦ τόδε: "οὐ κληρονομήσει σε οὐτός, ἀλλ' ὃς ἐξελεύσεται ἐκ σοῦ". εἶτ' εὐθὺς εἶπεν. "ἐπίστευσε δὲ Ἀβραὰμ τῷ θεῷ, καὶ ἠλογίσθη αὐτῷ εἰς δικαιοσύνην."

177 ἐπειδὴ τοῖς ἄκολουθοι οὐκ ἦν ἐνδοιάσας τῷ πε- πιστευκότι, πεποίηκε τὸν ἐνδοιασμὸν οὐ πολυχρόνιον, μηκυνόμενον μέχρι γλώττῃς καὶ στόματος, ἀλλ' αὐτοῦ περὶ τὴν ὃξυκίνητον διάνοιαν ἱστάμενον. "τῇ γὰρ διανοίᾳ" φησίν "εἰπεν," ἣν τῶν εἰς ποδώκειαν ἐπαινομένων οὐδὲν ἂν ἱσχύσαι παρα-
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yearning for these sunk into us that it can make us forget all that is dear to the flesh.”

XXXIII. Such indeed is the joy falsely so-called of the fool. The true joy has been described above, the joy which befits the virtuous alone. “And so Abraham fell and laughed” (Gen. xvii. 17). He fell not from God but from himself, for in clinging to the immovable Being he stood, but fell from his own conceit. And so when the spirit which is wise in its own conceits had been thrown to the ground and the spirit of love to God raised up and firmly planted round Him who alone never bends, he laughed at once and said in his mind, “Shall this happen to one of a hundred years old, and shall Sarah being ninety years old bear a son?” But do not think, good reader, that when “he said” is followed by “in his mind” instead of “with his mouth,” the addition has little meaning. No, it is made with very careful purpose. Why so? Because in saying “Shall this happen to one of a hundred years,” he seems to doubt the birth of Isaac in which in an earlier place he was said to believe, as was shown by the oracular words delivered a little time before. Those ran, “He shall not be thine heir, but one who shall come from thee,” and then immediately followed the words, “And Abraham believed God and it was accounted to him for righteousness” (Gen. xv. 4, 6). So then, since doubt was not consistent with his past belief, Moses has represented the doubt not as long-lived, or prolonged to reach the mouth and tongue, but staying where it was with the swiftly moving mind. For, says the text, “He said in his mind,” which none of the creatures whose swiftness of foot we admire can outrun, and indeed no form
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δραμεῖν, ἐπεὶ καὶ τὰς πτηνὰς φύσεις ἀπάσας

179 ἐθακέν. ἀφ' οὖ μοι δοκεῖ καὶ τῶν παρ' Ἑλλησι
ποιητῶν ὁ δοκιμωτάτος "ὡς εἰ πτερόν ἤ
φάναι, δηλών τὸ τῆς ὁξύτητος τάχος, κατ' ἐπίτασιν
υστερον τοῦ πτεροῦ τὸ νόημα θεῖς. ἔπι πολλὰ γὰρ
ἡ διάνοια ἐν ταυτῷ πράγματα ὁμοῦ καὶ σώματα
στείχει μετὰ ἀλέκτου φορᾶς, καὶ ἐπὶ τὰ γῆς καὶ
θαλάττης αὐτικὰ πέρατα φθάνει συναιροῦσα καὶ
τέμνουσα τὰ ἀπειρομεγέθη διαστήματα. κατὰ δὲ
tὸν αὐτὸν χρόνον τοσοῦτον ἀπὸ γῆς ἀναπηδᾶ, ὡς
d' ἀέρος εἰς αἰθέρα ἀνέρχεσθαι καὶ μόλις περὶ τὴν

180 ἐσχάτην τῶν ἀπλανῶν ἄψιδα ἱστασθαί. τὸ γὰρ
ἐνθερμόν καὶ διάπυρον ἠρέμων αὐτὴν οὐκ ἔξ: διὸ
πολλὰ ὑπερβάλλουσα καὶ τοῦ παντὸς αἰσθήτου
τούτου ὅρου ἔξω φέρεται πρὸς τὸν ἐκ τῶν ἰδεῶν
παγέντα συγγενικῶς. γέγονεν οὖν περὶ τὸν ἀστέον
ἡ τροπὴ βραχεία, ἁτομος, ἀμερής, οὐκ αἰσθητήν

181 XXXIV. ἀλλ' ἵσως ἂν τις εἴποι: τὶ οὖν γε, ὃτι
πεπιστευκὼς ἰχνὸς ἢ σκιάν ἢ αὐραν ἀπιστίας
δέχεται τὸ παράπαν; οὖτος δὲ οὐδὲν ἐτερὸν μοι
βούλεσθαι δοκεῖ ὡς τὸν γενόμενον ἀποφαίνειν ἀ-
γένητον καὶ τὸν θυητὸν ἀθάνατον καὶ τὸν φθαρτὸν
ἀφθαρτον καὶ τὸν ἀνθρώπον, εἰ θέμις εἴπειν, θεόν.

182 τὴν γὰρ πίστιν, ἵσω ἐλαχεῖν ἀνθρωπός, οὕτω βέβαιὸν
φησι δέιν εἶναι, ὡς μηδὲν διαφέρειν τῆς περὶ τὸ
ὄν, τῆς ἀρτίου καὶ περὶ πάντα πλήρους. λέγει

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1 MSS. ἀπείρα μεγέθη διὰ στόματος.
2 MSS. ὤραν.
of bird nature has such speed. This is, I think, the 179 reason why the poet most highly esteemed among the Greeks says, “like a bird’s wing or a thought.” He is showing the swiftness of the mind’s intensity, and to bring this out more strongly he puts thought after the bird’s wing. For the mind moves at the same moment to many things material and immaterial with indescribable rapidity and reaches at once the boundaries of land and sea, covering and dividing distances of infinite magnitude. At the same time it leaps so high from the earth that it passes through the lower to the upper air and scarcely comes to a stop even when it reaches the furthermost sphere of the fixed stars. For its fiery fervent nature forbids 180 it to rest and its onward journey carries it across wide spaces outside the limits of all this world of sense to the world framed from the ideas to which it feels itself akin. So then in the case of the virtuous man the swerving was short, instantaneous and infinitesimal, not belonging to sense but only to mind, and so to speak timeless. XXXIV. But perhaps it may be said, why did he, when once he had believed, admit any trace or shadow or breath of unbelief whatsoever? It seems to me that this question amounts to a wish to make out the created to be uncreated, the mortal immortal, the perishable imperishable, and if it is not blasphemy to say it, man to be God. Such a person asserts that the faith 182 which man possesses should be so strong as to differ not at all from the faith which belongs to the Existent, a faith sound and complete in every way. For Moses

\[ \text{Odyssey vii. 36, cf. the saying of Thales (Diog. Laert. i. 35) } \text{τάχιστον νοῦς διὰ παντὸς γὰρ τρέχει.} \]

\[ \text{The sense of the word is not clear. Wend. suggests } \text{συντέμνουσα “cutting down,” “making a short cut of.”} \]
PHILO

γάρ Μωυσῆς ἐν ὑδὴ τῇ μείζονι· "θεὸς πιστός,
καὶ οὐκ ἐστὶν ἀδικία ἐν αὐτῷ." πολλὴ δὲ ἄγνοια νομίζειν, τὰς θεοὺς ἀρετὰς τὰς ἀρρεπεῖς καὶ παγιω-
τάτας χωρῆσαι ψυχὴν ἀνθρώπων δύνασθαι· ἀγα-
πητὸν γὰρ εἰκόνας αὐτῶν κτίσασθαι δυνηθήναι, πολλοῖς καὶ μεγάλοις ἄριθμοῖς τῶν ἁρχατόπων
ἔλαττουμένας· καὶ μὴ ποτ' εἰκότως· ἀκράτους μὲν
gὰρ ἀναγκαίον εἶναι τὰς θεοὺς ἀρετὰς, ἐπειδὴ καὶ
ὁ θεὸς οὐ σύγκριμα, φύσις ὃν ἀπλή, κεκραμένας
dὲ τὰς τῶν ἀνθρώπων, ἐπειδὴ καὶ ἡμεῖς γεγόναμεν
cράματα, θείου καὶ θνητοῦ συγκρασθέντων καὶ
κατὰ τοὺς τῆς τελείας μουσικῆς λόγους ἁρμοσθέν-
tων· τὸ δ' ἐκ πλειόνων συνεστώς φυσικάς πρὸς
ἐκαστὸν τῶν μερῶν ἄνθολκάς ἔχει. εὐθαίμων δ' ὅτω
ἐξεγένετο τὸν πλεῖον τοῦ βίου χρόνον πρὸς τὴν
ἀμείνω καὶ θειοτέρας μοίραν ταλαντεύειν· ἀπαντά
γὰρ τὸν αἰώνα ἀμήχανον, ἐπει καὶ τὸ ἀντίπαλον
θυητὸν ἄχθος ἐστὶν ὅτε ἀντέρρεψε καὶ ἐφεδρεῦ-
σαν ἐκαροφυλάκησε τὰς ἁκαρίας τοῦ λογισμοῦ,
ὡς ἀντιβιάσασθαι. XXXV. "πεπίστευκεν οὖν
'Αβραὰμ τῷ θεῷ," ἀλλ' ὡς ἄνθρωπος πεπίστευκεν,
ἐν τῷ ἱδίῳ τοῦ θυητοῦ γνώς καὶ μάθης οὔκ ἄλλως
αὐτῷ γενέσθαι, εἰ μή ἐκ φύσεως, τὴν τροπὴν. ἀλλ' εἰ
βραχεία καὶ ἀκαρής γέγονεν, ἄξιον εὐχαριστεῖν·
pολλοὶ γὰρ ἐτεροὶ τῇ ρύμη καὶ φορᾷ κατα-
κλυσθέντες καὶ τῇ βίᾳ εἰσάπαν ἡφανίσθησαν. οὔκ
ἐστι γὰρ, ὥς γενναῖε, κατὰ τὸν ἑρωτατὸν Μωυσῆν
ἀρτίπους ἢ ἐν θυητῷ σώματι ἀρετῆ, ἀλλ' παρα-
πλησιόν τι πάσχουσα νάρκη, μικρὸν ὅσον ὑπο-

a The common title for Deut. xxxii, in contrast to the song of Ex. xv. 236
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says in the Greater Song, "God is faithful and there is no injustice in Him" (Deut. xxxii. 4), and it argues great ignorance to think that the soul of man can contain the unwavering, absolutely steadfast excellences of God. Enough for man is the power to possess the images of these, images in the scale of number and magnitude far below the archetypes. And surely this is to be expected, for the excellences of God must needs be unmixed since God is not compounded but a single nature, whereas man's excellences are mixed, since we, too, are mixtures, with human and divine blended in us and formed into a harmony in the proportions of perfect music, and a compound of more than one ingredient is subject to natural counter-forces drawing it to each of these ingredients. Happy is he to whom it is granted to incline towards the better and more godlike part through most of his life. For it is impossible that it should be so with him throughout the whole length of life, since sometimes the opposing load of mortality throws its weight into the scales, and biding its time waits to find its chance in the mischances of reason and so prove too strong for him. XXXV. "Abraham then has believed God," but only as a man, so that you may recognize the weakness, the distinctive mark of the mortal, and learn that, if he swerves, his swerving arises only according to nature. But if that swerving is short and momentary, thanks are due, for many others have been overwhelmed by the rushing of the tide and died a violent death in the waters. For, good friend, if you believe the holy Moses, virtue is not sound-footed in our mortal and bodily nature, but limps ever so little and is subject to a sort of stiffness, for we are told that
χωλαίνουσα. "ἐνάρκησε" γάρ φησι "τὸ πλάτος τοῦ μηροῦ, ὦ καὶ ἐπέσκαζεν."

188 Ἰσως δ' ἄν τῶν εὐθαρσεστέρων εἶποι τις παρελθὼν, ὅτι οὐδὲ ἀπιστοῦντός ἐστιν ἡ προφορά, ἀλλ' εὐχομένου, ἵνα εἰ μέλλοι τῶν εὐπαθείων ἡ ἀρίστη γεννᾶσθαι, χαρά, μή ἔτεροι ἀριθμοῖς μᾶλλον ἢ [607] τοῖς ἐνενήκοντα καὶ ἐκατόν τεχθῇ, ὥ στὸ τὸ | τέλειον
189 ἀγαθό τελεοὶ ἀριθμοῖς εἰς γένεσιν ἔλθη. τέλειοι δ' οἱ λεχθέντες ἀριθμοί, καὶ μάλιστα κατὰ τὰς ἱερωτάτας ἀναγραφάς. ἰδωμεν δ' αὐτῶν ἐκάτερον. Σήμε εὐθέως μέν, ὁ νῦς τοῦ δικαίου Νῶε, πρόγονος δὲ τοῦ ὀρατοῦ γένους, "ἐκατόν ἐτῶν εἶναι λέγεται, ἢνικά ἐγέννησε τὸν Ἀρφαξάτ," ὃς ἐρμηνεύεται συνετάραξε ταλαιπωρίαν καλὸν γε ἐγγονον ψυχῆς κλονεῖν καὶ συγχεῖν καὶ διαφθείρειν τὴν ταλαιπωρίαν καὶ γέμουσαν κακῶν ἀδικίαν. 190 ἀλλὰ καὶ "Αβραὰμ ἄρουραν φυτεύει" χρώμενος ἐκατοστῷ λόγῳ πρὸς ἀναμέτρησιν τοῦ χωρίου, καὶ Ἰσαὰκ "ἐκατοστεύουσαν εὐρίσκει κριθήν." καὶ τὴν αὐλὴν τῆς ἱερᾶς σκηνῆς Μωυσῆς κατασκευάζει πήχεσιν ἐκατόν, τὸ πρὸς ἀνατολάς καὶ 191 δύσεις ἐκμετρούμενος διάστημα. ἐστὶ δὲ καὶ ἀπαρχῆς ἀπαρχὴ ὁ ἐκατοστός λόγος, ὃν Λευίται τοῖς ἱερωμένοις ἀπάρχονται λαβοῦσι γὰρ αὐτοῖς τὰς δεκάτας παρὰ τοῦ ἔθνους διείρηται καθάπερ ἀπὸ κτημάτων οἰκείων τοῖς ἐρευσὶ διδόναι ὡς

1 mss. τοῖς ἐνενηκονταέταις οὕσι: Mangey proposed ἐκατοσταέταις. I should suggest τοῖς ἐνενηκονταέταις <καὶ ἐκατοσταέταις> οὕσι. The latter word occurs in the narrative of Gen. xvii. 17, though, as apparently elsewhere, in the third declension. Perhaps here -εσι.
2 mss. ἐκάτερα.
3 mss. χώματος.

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“the width of the thigh was stiffened, and he halted on it” (Gen. xxxii. 25, 31).

But perhaps some more courageous spirits might come forward and say that the utterance does not even indicate any disbelief, but a prayer, that if joy, the best of good emotions, is to be born, its birth should be confined to the numbers ninety and a hundred, that so the perfect good may enter on its existence under perfect numbers. The numbers here named are perfect numbers, particularly according to the sacred writings. Let us consider each of them separately. To begin with Shem, the son of the just Noah, the ancestor of the nation of vision; he is said to have been a hundred years old when he begat Arphaxad (Gen. xi. 10), the meaning of whose name is “he disturbed affliction.” And surely it is excellent that the soul’s offspring should harass and confound and destroy injustice, afflicted and full of evils as it is. Abraham too “plants an acre” and adopts the hundred in measuring out the plot (Gen. xxi. 33), and Isaac “finds barley a hundredfold” (Gen. xxvi. 12); and Moses in building the court of the tabernacle takes a hundred cubits in measuring out the distance from east to west (Ex. xxvii. 9). And a hundred too appears in the firstfruit of firstfruit which the Levites offer to the consecrated priest (Num. xviii. 28), for when they receive the tenths from the nation, they are bidden to treat them as their own possessions and to give to the priest what may be called a holy tenth

\[a \text{ i.e. Philo interprets } \text{ἄρουραν } \text{in the technical sense of a piece of land of 100 square cubits, cf. } \text{ἡ δὲ } \text{ἄροιρα } \text{ἔκατον } \text{πηχέων } \text{ἔστι } \text{Δαγνυπτίων } \text{πάντη, Herodotus ii. 168, cf. De Plant. 75.}\]
δεκάτην (δεκάτων) λόγων ἵπται. πολλὰ δὲ ἂν τις καὶ ἄλλα σκοπῶν εὑροὶ πρὸς ἐπαινοῦν τοῦ λεχθέντος ἀριθμοῦ τοῖς νόμοις ἐμφερόμενα, πρὸς δὲ τὸ παρὸν διεξαρκεῖ τὰ εἰρημένα. ἂλλ’ ἐὰν τῶν ἐκατόν ἀφέλης δεκάτην ἱερὰν ἀπαρχήν τῷ τῆς ψυχῆς φέροντι καὶ αὐξοντι καὶ πληροῦντι καρποὺς θεῷ, ἄτερον ἀριθμὸν (τέλειον) τὸν ἐνενήκοντα ἀπολείψεις. πῶς γὰρ οὐ τέλειος, μεθόριος ὃν πρώτης καὶ δεκάτης (δεκάδος), καθ’ ὃν διακρίνεται τὰ ἀγια τῶν ἄγιων πρὸς καταπέτασμα τοῦ μέσου, ὦ τὰ ὀμογενὴ διαστέλλεται κατὰ τὰς ἐν τοῖς εἴδεσι τομάς.

Ο μὲν οὖν ἀστείος ἐλάλει τῇ διάνοιᾳ τὰ ἀστεία οὖνες, δὲ φαύλος ἐρμηνεύει ἐστιν οτε παγκάλως τὰ καλά, πράττει δὲ αἰσχρῶς τὰ αἰσχρῶς, καθάπερ καὶ Συχέμ ὃ ἐγγονὸς ἀνοίας. Ἐμὼρ γὰρ ἐστὶν πατρός, ὃς μεταληφθῇς ὃνος καλεῖται, αὐτὸς δὲ ἐρμηνευθῆκε ἐστὶν ὃμος, πόνου σύμβολον. ἀθλίος δὲ καὶ ταλαιπωρίας μεστὸς πόνος, ὃν ἀνοια γεννᾷ, ὡσπερ ὀφέλιμος, ὃ συγγενῆς

1 <δεκάτων>: my insertion. Wendland proposes ἐτέρας δεκάτας <έκατοστον> λόγων περιέχουσας ορ δεκάτης ὥς ἀπαρχὴν ἱεράν. Mangey δεκάτην ἐκατόστω λόγῳ ἱεράν. I do not know why they preferred these wide departures from the MSS. to the obvious correction which is printed above. The periphrasis with λόγος for the ordinal is quite common, as their conjectures indeed admit, and I do not think the plural is any objection.

2 <δεκάδος>: again my insertion. Wend. <δευτέρας>, in which I can see no meaning. Ninety is certainly the borderland between ten and a hundred, which is here called the tenth ten to bring out the analogy with the veil which separates the ἀγια.

3 I suggest τὰ ἁγία τῶν ἁγίων τῶν ἁγίων (the holy place from the holy of holies), cf. Leg. All. ii. 55. This will bring
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of tenths. And by observation we might discover 192
contained in the laws many other examples in praise
of the number here mentioned, but the above is quite
sufficient for the present. But if you
separate from the hundred a tenth as the sacred first
offering to God who brings the fruits of the soul to
their beginning, their increase and their fulfilment,
you will leave behind another perfect number, ninety,
for it must needs be perfect, placed as it is in a
debatable land between the first and the tenth ten,
and thus serve to separate sanctities from sanctities
like the veil in the midst of the tabernacle (Ex. xxvi.
33), by which things of the same genus are distin­
guished through division into their respective species.

XXXVI. The virtuous man then spoke truly virtu­
ous words and “with his mind.” 193
b But the wicked
man sometimes gives admirable expression to noble
thoughts, but his actions are most vile and their
method equally so. Such a one is Shechem, the son
of folly, for his father is Hamor whose name is
translated by “ass,” while his own is interpreted as
“shoulder,” the symbol of toil. The toil which is
fathered by unintelligence is miserable and full of
affliction, just as that which has intelligence for its

a For this use of φέρω see note on Quis Rerum 36. So
also in § 256 below. In § 225 the use is somewhat different,
as there φέρειν precedes τίκταν.

b i.e. ἐν τῇ διάνοιᾳ αὐτοῦ must under this second interpreta­
tion be understood not, as in the first interpretation, as
indicating a passing thought, but as “sincerely.” Though
Philo does not state this expressly, it is implied by the an­
tithesis with κατὰ τὴν διάνοιαν τῆς παρθένου below.

out more clearly the correspondence with the first and the
tenth ten. Perhaps also insert διὰ after τρόπον, in which case
the form of the sentence will be the same as τοῦτον (eight
words) τὸν τρόπον De Conf. 69.

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PHILO

194 ἄγχίνοια. φασὶ γοῦν οἱ χρησμοὶ ὁτι “ἐλάλησε κατὰ τὴν διάνοιαν τῆς παρθένου” ταπεινώσας αὐτὴν πρότερον ὁ Συχέμ. ἀρ' οὖν1 ἐξητασμένως ἐλέχθη τὸ “ἐλάλησε κατὰ τὴν διάνοιαν τῆς παρθένου,” μονονοῦκ εἰς δῆλωσιν τοῦ τάναντι οἷς εἴπεν εἰργασμένου; Δείνα γὰρ ἔστιν ἡ ἀδέκαστος κρίσις, ἢ πάρεδρος θεοῦ δίκη, ἢ ἀευπάρθενος· ἐρμηνεύεται γὰρ ἐκάτερον Δείνα, κρίσις ἢ δίκη.

195 ταύτην οἰ ἑπιχειροῦντες ἀφρονεῖς διαφθείρειν διὰ τῶν καθ' ἐκάστην ἡμέραν βουλευμάτων καὶ ἐπι-ηθεματῶν εὐπρεπεία λόγου διαδιδράσκουσι τὸν ἐλεγχὸν. χρὴ γοῦν2 αὐτοὺς ἡ ἀκόλουθα τοῖς λεγομένοις πράττειν ἡ ἀδικοῦντας ἥσυχαξειν ἡμιοῦ γὰρ, φασὶ, κακοῦ ἡσυχία· καθὰ καὶ Μωυσῆς ἐπι-ηθμῶν τῷ πρεσβείας μὲν ἀξιόςαντι γένεσιν, δευτερείων δὲ τῶν ἀφθαρτον θεον φησιν: “ἡμαρτες, ἡσύχασο.” τὸ γὰρ ἐκτραγωδεῖν καὶ ἐπικομπάζειν τὰ κακὰ διπλοῦν ἀμάρτημα. σχεδὸν δ' οἱ πολλοὶ πεπόνθασι τοῦτο: λέγουσι μὲν γὰρ ἀπὸ τῇ παρθένῳ ἀρετῇ τὰ φίλα καὶ δίκαια,3 καὶ ὡς εὐδένα παραήγασιν, ἐν οἷ δυνηθέντες αὐτὴν οὐχ ὑβριοῦσι καὶ κακώσουσιν. ποιά γὰρ πόλις οὐκ ἔστι μεστὴ τῶν τῆν ἀευπάρθενον ὑμνοῦντων ἀρετῆν; οἱ τὰ ὡτὰ τῶν παρατυχανόντων ἀποκναίοντες διεξιόντες τὰ τοιαῦτα: ἢ φρόνησις ἀναγκαῖον, ἡ ἀφροσύνη βλα-βερῶν ἀρετῶν ἡ σωφροσύνη, ἐχθρὸν ἡ ἀκολασία· υπομονῆς ἄξιον ἡ ἀνδρεία, φυγῆς ἡ δείλια· συμ-φέρον ἡ δικαιοσύνη, ἀσύμφορον ἡ ἀδικία· τὸ ὀσιον

1 MSS. οὖν.
2 Wend. suggests ἔχηὴν (rather χρήν) οὖν.
3 MSS. δίκη.
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congener is profitable. Thus the oracles say that 194 Shechem spake "according to the mind of the virgin" after first humiliating her (Gen. xxxiv. 2, 3). Are not these words "according to the mind of the virgin" added with exact thought so as almost to shew that his actions were the opposite of his words? For Dinah is incorruptible judgement, the justice which is the assessor of God, the ever virgin, for the word "Dinah" by interpretation is either judgement or justice. The fools who attempt to seduce her by 195 their plottings and their practices repeated day by day seek by means of specious talking to escape from conviction. Now they should either make their actions conform to their words or if they persist in iniquity keep still. For by keeping still men say evil is halved. And so Moses by rebuking him who adjudges the chief honours to creation and only the second to the imperishable God says, "Thou hast sinned, be still" (Gen. iv. 7).a For to rant and boast 196 of evil doings is a double sin. But what regularly happens with the multitude is this: they are ever addressing words of friendship and fairness to the maiden Virtue, but they let no occasion slip without using it to outrage and maltreat her if they can. What city is not crowded with those who hymn virtue the ever virgin? They tear to pieces the ears of all they meet with such disquisitions as these, prudence is necessary, imprudence is harmful, temperance deserves our choice, intemperance our hatred; courage is worthy of perseveranceb therein, cowardice of avoidance; justice is profitable, injustice unprofitable; holiness is honourable, unholliness disgraceful;

a For Philo's use of this text see note on De Sobr. 50.

b See App. pp. 591 f.
καλόν, τὸ ἄνόσιον αἰσχρόν· τὸ θεοσεβὲς ἐπαυνέτον, τὸ ἁσεβὲς ψεκτὸν· [τὸ] οἰκειότατον ἄνθρωπον φύσει τὸ εὖ καὶ βουλεύσθαι¹ καὶ πράττειν καὶ λέγειν, 198 ἀλλοτριώτατον τὸ κακῶς τούτων ἐκαστον. ταῦτα καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα ἀεὶ συνειροῦτες τὰ δικαστήρια καὶ βουλευτήρια καὶ τὰ θέατρα καὶ πάντα σύλλογον καὶ θίασον ἄνθρωπον² ἀπατώσων, ὥσπερ οἱ προσωπεία καλὰ αἰσχίσταται ὁφεῖ περιτιθέντες προνοία 199 τοῦ μὴ ύπὸ τῶν ὀρώντων ἑλέγχεσθαι. ἀλλ' οὐδὲν ὀφελοῦσα ἀφίσονται γάρ τυν ἐδὲ μᾶλα ἐρρωμένου καὶ τῷ περὶ ἁρέτην ἢ λὼ κατεσχημένον καὶ τὰ περικαλύμματα καὶ περίσποτα ταῦτα, ὅσα λόγω κακοτεχνούντες³ συνύφημαν, ἀπαμφίασαντες καὶ γυμνὴν αὐτὴν ἐφ' αὐτῆς τὴν ψυχὴν αὐγάσαντες εἶσονται καὶ τὰ ἐν μυχοῖς ἀποκείμενα τῆς φύσεως ἀπόφημα: εἰτ' ἐξω προαγαγόντες τὴν αἰσχύνην⁴ καὶ τὰ ὀνείδες πάντα αὐτῆς ἐν ἡλίῳ καθαρῶ πᾶσιν ἐπιδείξονται, οἴα τις φώσα, ὡς αἰσχρὰ καὶ καταγέλαστος, οἷον ἐκ τῶν περιάπτων, ὥσ νόθην ἐπ-200 εμόρφαζεν εὐμορφίαν. οἱ δὲ πρὸς ἄμυναν εὐτρεπεῖς τῶν οὕτως βεβήλων καὶ ἀκαθάρτων τρόπων δύο μὲν εἰσὶν ἀριθμῷ, Συμεὼν καὶ Λευί, γνώμη δὲ εἰς. διὸ καὶ ἐν ταῖς εὐλογίαις ὁ μὲν πατὴρ αὐτοῦ ἐν τάξει ἐνός κατηρίθμητοι, διὰ τὸ σύμφωνον τῆς ὁμονοίας καὶ τῆς πρὸς ἐν καὶ τὸ αὐτὸ μέρος ὀρμής;⁵ δὲ Μωυσῆς οὐδὲ δυάδος ἐτι μέμνηται, ἀλλ' ὅλον τὸν | Συμεὼν εἰς τὸν Λευὶ ἐνεχάραξε⁶ δύο οὐσίας

¹ MSS. βούλεσθαι.
² MSS. ἄνθρωποι.
³ MSS. κατατεχνούντες.
⁴ So MSS.: Wend. prints τὰ αἰσχ. I do not see any sufficient reason for the change.
⁵ I have put a comma after ὀρμής, instead of a full stop as
piety is praiseworthy, impiety blameworthy; right purposing, speaking and acting is most conformable to man's nature, wrong purposing, speaking and acting most alien to the same. With a perpetual string of this or suchlike talk they deceive the law-courts, the theatres, the council-chambers and every gathering and group of men, like people who set handsome masks on the ugliest of faces to prevent the ugliness being detected by the eyes of others. But it is all useless. The vindicators will come strong and doughty, inspired with zeal for virtue. They will strip off all this complication of wraps and bandages which the perverted art of the talkers has put together, and beholding the soul naked in her very self they will know the secrets hidden from sight in the recesses of her nature; and then exposing to every eye in clear sunlight her shame and all her disgraces they will point the contrast between her real character, so hideous, so despicable, and the spurious comeliness which disguised in her wrappings she counterfeited. And the champions who stand ready to repel such profane and impure ways of thinking are two in number, Simeon and Levi, but they are one in will. That is why in the blessings, while their father ranked them under a single head (Gen. xlix. 5), because their minds are in concord and harmony and their purpose set in one and the same direction, Moses ceases even to mention the pair, but compresses the whole of Simeon into Levi (Deut. xxxiii.

Mangey and Wend. The "blessings" refer to the two blessings of Jacob and Moses.

6 Is this word, often used by Philo of impressing a stamp, appropriate to this case where Simeon is wholly absorbed? I suggest ἐνενάξε. The compound is not noted in the lexicon, but νάσσω exactly expresses the idea. Or ἐνιπλασε (W.H.D.R.).
κερασάμενος, ἀφ' ὅν ἐνα εἰργάσατο οἶδ' ἵδεα μὴ τυπωθέντα, τὸ ἀκούειν τῷ πράττειν ἐνώσας.

201 XXXVII. Ἐπείδ' ὁι τοῖς ἐγνῷ τὴν ἐπαγγελίαν, λαλήσας τὰ αἰδοὺς καὶ εὐλαβείας μεστὰ κατὰ τὴν αὐτοῦ διάνοιαν, ὁ σπουδαῖος ἐπαθεν ἀμφότερα, καὶ τὴν πρὸς τὸν θεὸν πίστιν καὶ τὴν πρὸς τὸ γενητὸν ἀπιστίαν. εἰκότως οὖν φησι δεόμενος. "Ἰσμαήλ οὕτος ζήτω ἐνώπιον σου," οὐκ ἀπὸ σκοποῦ τῶν ἐμφερουμένων ἕκαστον τῶν ὄνομάτων τιθείς, τὸ "οὕτος," τὸ "ζήτητο," τὸ "ἐνώπιον σου": ταῖς γὰρ ἐν τοῖς πράγμασιν ὀμώνυμαι ἠπατήθησαν 202 οὖν ὁ λόγοι. τί δ' ἐστίν δ' λέγω, σκεπτέον ἐρμηνευθεὶς Ἰσμαήλ ἐστιν ἀκοή θεοῦ, τῶν δὲ θείων δογμάτων οἱ μὲν ἀκούονταν ἐπ' ωφελεία, οἱ δ' ἐπί βλάβη αὐτῶν τε καὶ ἐτέρων. ἦ τὸν οἰωνοσκόπον Βαλαὰμ οὗ ὄρα; οὕτος εἰσάγεται "ἀκούων λόγων θεοῦ ἐπιστάμενος τε ἐπιστήμην 203 παρὰ ύψιστον." ἄλλα τί ἐκ τῆς τουαύτης ἀκροάσεως, τί δ' ἐκ τῆς τουαύτης ἐπιστήμης ὄντα, γνώμη μὲν ἐπιχειρήσας τὸ ψυχὴς ἀριστον ὁμμα λυμήνασθαι, δ' ἰδ' μόνον τὸν θεόν ὅραν πεπαιδευταί, μὴ δυνηθεὶς δὲ διὰ τὸ σωτήρος κράτος ἀήττητον; τοιαύταρον ὁ μὲν κατακεντούμενος ὑπὸ φρενοβλαβείας τῆς ἔαυτοῦ καὶ τραύματα πολλὰ δεξάμενος ἐν μέσοις τραυματίαις ἀπώλετο, διὸ τὴν ἀφορμὴν προφητείαν 204 παρεχάραξε. δεόντως οὖν εὐχεταὶ ἀστεῖος, ἢν οὕτος μόνος Ἰσμαήλ ὑγιαίνῃ, διὰ τοὺς μὴ γνη-

1 mss. ἐπαγγελίαν.
2 mss. and all editions λαλοῦσαν. I have made this correction, feeling that, though ἐγνω λαλοῦσα is a more natural construction, it is impossible that the divine message should be spoken of as full of εὐλαβεία or even of αἰδώς. I under-
ON THE CHANGE OF NAMES, 200–204

8), and thus blending the two natures he makes them one, bearing the stamp of a single form, and unites hearing with action.

XXXVII. So when he understood the promise and spoke “according to his mind” these words, so full of reverence and pious awe, the man of worth was moved by a twofold feeling, faith towards God, distrust of the creature. It is natural then that he should pray in these words, “Let this Ishmael live before thee” (Gen. xvii. 18), and each of the phrases here included, namely, “this,” “live,” “before Thee,” are applied by him appropriately. I say appropriately because many are deceived by the application of the same terms to denote different things. What I mean by this should be considered. Ishmael by interpretation is “hearing God,” but the divine truths are heard by some to their profit, by some to the harm of themselves and others.

Observe that dealer in augury, Balaam. He is described as “hearing the oracles of God and knowing knowledge from the Most High” (Num. xxiv. 16), but what did he profit from such hearing or such knowledge, he who attempted to bring ruin on the soul’s best eye which alone has been trained to see God? But yet what he willed he could not, so strong was the Saviour’s invincible might. Therefore, stabbed by his own madness, he received many wounds and perished “in the midst of the wounded” (Num. xxxi. 8) because with his soothsayer’s mock wisdom he defaced the stamp of heaven-sent prophecy. Rightly then it is “this Ishmael” for whose health alone the man of virtue prays, because of

stand λαλήσας . . . διάνοιαν to repeat eἰπε τῇ διάνοιᾳ αὐτοῦ as interpreted in §§ 193 ff.

3 mss. προε[(u)χάραξε.
PHILO

σίως ἀκούοντας τῶν ἱερῶν υφηγήσεων· οἷς ἀπείπε Μωυσῆς ἀντικρὺς εἰς ἐκκλησίαν φοιτῶν τοῦ παν-205 ἡγεμόνος· τεθλασμένοι γὰρ τὰ γεννητικὰ τῆς δια-
νοίας ἢ καὶ τελείως ἀποκοπέντες οἱ τῶν ὠνὸν νοῦν 
καὶ τὴν αἰσθήσιν ἀποσεμνύνοντες ὡς μόνα τῶν 
κατ’ ἀνθρώπους αὐτία πραγμάτων ἢ οἱ πολυθείας 
ἔρασται καὶ τὸν πολύθεον ἔκτετμηκότες θίασον, 
οἱ ἐκ πόρνης γεγονότες, τὸν ἕνα ἄνδρα καὶ πατέρα 
φιλαρέτου ἐφυκὴς θεοῖν οὐκ εἰδότες, ὧν οὐκ εἰκότως 
206 ἐλαύνονται τε καὶ φυγαδεύονται· παρα-
πλήσιόν μοι δοκοῦσι ποιεῖν καὶ οἱ κατηγοροῦντες 
τοῦ νιότοι γονεῖς ἐπ’ οἶνοφλυγία· λέγουσι γὰρ· "ὁ 
νῦὸς ἡμῶν οὔτος ἀπειθεῖ," διὰ τῆς προσθήκης τῆς 
"οὔτος" μηνύοντες, ὅτι εἰσὶν ἔτεροι πάτερες καρ-
τερικοὶ καὶ σώφρονες, τοὺς ἐπιτάγμασι τοῦ ὀρθοῦ 
λόγου καὶ παιδείας πειθαρχοῦντες· οὕτοι γὰρ ψυχῆς 
ἀφευδέστατοι γονεῖς, ὧν ἐκ ἐκατηγορηθῆναι μὲν 
[610] | ἐπανεθήναι δ’ εὐκλεέστατον.

207 τὸ (δὲ) "οὔτος ἐστὶν Ἀαρών καὶ Μωυσῆς, οἷς 
ἐπειν ὁ θεὸς ἔξαγαγείν τοὺς νιότοι Ἰσραήλ ἐξ 
Αἰγύπτου" καὶ τὸ "οὔτοι εἰνὶν οἱ διαλεγόμενοι 
Φαραώ βασιλεῖ," ταῦτα μὴ νομίζωμεν εἰρήσθαι 
παρέργως ἢ τὰς δείξεις μὴ πλέον τι τῶν ὀνομάτων 
208 παρεμφαίνειν. ἐπειδὴ γὰρ Μωυσῆς μὲν ἐστὶ νοῦς 
ὁ καθαρῶτατος, Ἀαρών δὲ λόγος αὐτοῦ, πεπαι-
δευται δὲ καὶ ὁ νοῦς θεοπροτέρους ἐφάπτεσθαι καὶ 
ὁ λόγος διός ἐρμηνεύειν τὰ ὀσία, μιμηλάζοντες δὴ

1 mss. τοῦτον for τοῦ νιότο.
2 Should we read θεοπροτέρους <θεοπροτέρων> as the balance of the sentence perhaps suggests?

a Cf. De Mig. 69.
b For the full development of this theme see De Ebr. 13-94.
248
those others who do not hear with honest mind the holy instructions, whom Moses absolutely forbade to resort to the assembly of the Ruler of all. Such as in their pride extol their own mind and senses as the sole causes of all that happens amongst men—these are they who have spiritually lost the organs of generation by crushing or complete mutilation; such again as love the creed which holds that gods are many and pays all honour to that fellowship of deities—these are the children of the harlot who knows not the one husband and father of the virtue-loving soul,—are not all such with good reason expelled and banished? (Deut. xxiii. 1, 2).

The parents too who accuse their son of wine-bibbing seem to make a like use of the pronoun. They say "This son of ours is disobedient" (Deut. xxi. 20), and thus by the addition of "this" they shew that they have other sons, strong-willed and self-controlling, who obey the injunctions of right reason and instruction. For these two are the soul's parents who can never lie, and to be accused by them is the greatest disgrace, as their praise is the highest glory.

To take another instance, "It is this Moses and Aaron whom God bade lead the sons of Israel from Egypt" (Ex. vi. 26), or "These are they who talked with Pharaoh the king" (ibid. 27). In neither of these cases must we suppose that the words are used carelessly and that the demonstrative pronouns served no other purpose than to indicate the names. For since Moses is mind at its purest, and Aaron is its word, and each have been trained to holy things, the mind to grasp them as a God should and the word to express them worthily, the professors of

\* See App. p. 592.
οἱ σοφισταὶ καὶ παρακόπτοντες τὸ δόκιμον νόμισμα
tοῦτὸ φασὶ καὶ νοεῖν ὁρθῶς περὶ τοῦ ἀρίστου καὶ
λέγειν ἐπαινετῶς. ὅπως οὖν μὴ ἀπατώμεθα παρα-
θέσει τῶν κεκβδηλευμένων πρὸς τὰ δόκιμα δι'
ὁμοίότητος τοῦ χαρακτῆρος, βάσανον ἐδωκεν, ἥ
209 διακριθῆσεται. τίς οὖν ἡ βάσανος; τὸ ἐξαγαγεῖν
ἐκ τῆς σωματικῆς χώρας τὸν ὁρατικόν καὶ φιλο-
θεάμον νοῦν καὶ φιλόσοφον. ὁ μὲν γὰρ τοῦτο
δυνηθεῖς Μωυσῆς ἔστιν οὕτος, ὁ δὲ ἀδυνατήσας, ὁ
λεγόμενος μοῦν, μυρίας δὲ σεμνότητας ὀνομάτων
ἐπαμπισχόμενοι, γελάται.

Ζην δὲ εὐχεται τῷ Ἰσμαήλ, οὗ τῆς μετὰ σώματος
ζωῆς ἐπιστρεφόμενος, ἀλλʹ ἵνα τὸ θεῖον ἀκοούσα
ἐπὶ ψυχῆ διαινώνιον ἐγείρῃ τε αὐτὸν καὶ ζωπυρῆ.
210 XXXVIII. καὶ ὁ μὲν ἀκρόασιν λόγων καὶ μάθησιν
δογμάτων ἵερῶν εὐχεται ζῆν, ὡς ἐλέξθη, ὁ δʹ
ἅικητής Ἰακώβ εὑφυιαν λέγει γάρ: "ζήτω
Ῥουβῆν καὶ μὴ ἀποθανέτω". ἀρά γε ἀθανασίαν
καὶ ἀφθαρσίαν εὐχόμενοι, ἀνθρώπω πράγμα ἀ-
211 δύνατον; οὐ δήμου. τί οὖν ἐσθ ο βούλεται
παραστῆσαι, λεκτέον. πάντα τὰ ἀκοούσαμα καὶ
μαθήματα ἐπουκοδομεῖται καθάπερ θεμελίων προ-
καταβεβλημένων φύσει παιδείας δεκτικῆς, φύσεως δὲ
μὴ προϋπαρχούσης ἀνωφελῆ πάντα. ὄρυξ γὰρ ἡ
λίθον κωφῆς οὐδὲν ἂν δόξαειν οἱ ἀφυείς διαφέρειν,
εἶχολον γὰρ ἂν οὐδὲν αὐτοῖς ἀρμόζοιτο, πάντα δʹ
ὡς ἀπὸ στερροῦ τίνος ἄποπαλλεται καὶ ἀποτῃδα.
212 τὰς δὲ τῶν εὐφυῶν ψυχὰς ἔστιν ἰδεῖν κηροῦ τρόπον

1 I should suggest φαίνονται as making better sense.

a Ascribed by inadvertence to the Blessing of Jacob,
instead of to that of Moses.
false wisdom mimic and debase this authentic coin, and say that what they think of the most excellent is just, and what they say of it worthy of praise (Ex. vii. 11). And so that when the spurious is set beside the authentic we may not be deceived by the likeness of the stamp he has given us a touchstone by which they may be distinguished. What is this touchstone? It is that he brought out of the land of the body the mind which could see and which loved wisdom and the vision. For he who could do this is "This Moses," and he who could not, who had but the name and clothed himself with a multitude of grand-sounding titles, is made a laughing-stock.

When he prays that Ishmael may live, he is not concerned with the life of the body, but prays that what he hears from God may abide for ever with the soul and stir him into living flame; XXXVIII. and while Abraham prays, as we have said, that the grace of hearkening to holy words and learning holy truths may live, Jacob, the Man of Practice, prays for the life of natural goodness, for he says "Let Reuben live and not die" (Deut. xxxiii. 6). Is he here praying that he should never know death and corruption, a gift impossible for a man? Surely not. Let us say then what he wishes to shew us. All that is heard or learned is a superstructure, built on the foundation of a nature receptive of instruction, for if nature be not there to begin with all else is useless. For those who are ungifted by nature would seem to differ not at all from an oak or mute stone, for nothing can adhere or fit into them, but all is shaken off and rebounds as from a solid substance. But in the souls of the naturally
λελειασμένου μήτε ἀγαν στέρεον μήτε ἀγαν ἀπαλοῦ 
κεκερασμένως μετρίως, παραδεχομένας τὰ ἄκουσ-
ματα καὶ θεάματα ῥαδίως πάντα καὶ ἐναποματο-
μένας ἀκρως αὐτὰς τὰ ἐytic, μνήμης ἐναργεῖς τινας 
eικόνας. ἢν γοῦν ἀναγκαῖον εὐξασθαι τῷ | λογικῷ 
gένει τὸ εὐφνεῖς ἀνοσὸν καὶ ἀθάνατον παρεῖναι. 
τοῦ μὲν γὰρ κατ’ ἀρετὴν βίου, ὡς ἔστιν ἀμέν-
δεστάτης ζωῆς, μετέχουσιν ὅλγοι, οὐχὶ τῶν ἀγε-
λαίων φημί—τούτων γὰρ οὐδεὶς τῆς ἀληθοῦς ζωῆς 
κεκοινώνηκεν,—ἀλλ’ εἰ τισιν ἔξεγένετο τὰς τῶν 
ἀνθρώπων φυγεῖν σπουδὰς καὶ θεῖο μόνῳ ζῆσαι. 

213

214

215

κενῆς δόξης μὴ ἀναρπασθῆναι. λέγει γοῦν οὐχ ὃ 
Ἰακώβ τῷ Ἰωσήφ μᾶλλον ἢ ὁ ἰερός λόγος παντὶ 
tῶ τὸ μὲν σῶμα εὐεκτοῦντι, ἐν ἀφθόνοις δὲ ταῖς 
eἰς περιουσίαν ὅλαις ἔξεταζομένων καὶ πρὸς μηδε-
μίας ἀλισκομένων: "ἐτι γὰρ σὺ ζῆσ"; θαυμαστὸν 
ἐκφωνήσας λόγον καὶ τὸν ἡμέτερον βίον ὑπερδεδρα-
μηκότα, οἱ μικρὰς πρὸς εὐτυχίαν αὕρας λαβόμενοι, 
pάντα κάλων ἀνασείσαντες, λαμπρά φυσώμεν καὶ 
πνεύσαντες μέγα καὶ σύντονοι πλησίοντοι πρὸς 
tὰς ἀπολαύσεις τῶν παθῶν φερόμεθα καὶ οὐ 
πρότερον στέλλομεν τὰς ἀνειμένας καὶ κεχαλασ-

1 MSS. μετὰ . . . μετὰ. 2 MSS. ἀπ’. 3 MSS. ἀποδεδραμηκότα.
ON THE CHANGE OF NAMES, 212–215

good we see a duly-tempered mixture like smooth wax, neither too solid nor too soft; a mixture which easily receives all that is seen and heard and itself reproduces perfectly the forms impressed upon it in lifelike copies preserved by memory.\(^a\) Thus he was 213 bound to pray that the nation of reason should possess natural goodness free from disease and death. For the life of virtue, which is life in its truest form, is shared by few, and these few are not found among the vulgar herd, none of whom has part or lot in true life, but are only those to whom it is granted to escape the aims which engross humanity and to live to God alone. And therefore the Man 214 of Practice and Courage wondered exceedingly that one who was borne along in the midstream of human life is not swept down by any rush of the swirling waters, but can breast the strong current of riches and stem the tide of pleasure's ceaseless urge and keep his feet against the hurricane of vainglory. And so Jacob says to Joseph, though indeed it is 215 rather the holy Word speaking to every man who in addition to bodily welfare is placed amidst abundance of the gear which makes for luxury, yet is proof against it all, "For thou still livest" (Gen. xlvi. 30). A marvellous utterance, which has travelled beyond the range of the common life which we lead, we who if we but catch a puff of the air of prosperity loosen every reef and let the breeze blow fresh and clear, and then with our strong steady wind to swell our canvas speed on to the enjoyments of the passions, and never do we draw in the loose and slack licence

\(^a\) Cf. Quis Rerum 181 where the simile is definitely referred to Plato (Theaetetus 191 c).
μένας ἀκρατῶς ἐπιθυμίας, ἔως ἃν ἐξοκείλαντες ὅλω τῷ ψυχῆς ναυαγήσωμεν σκάφει.

216 XXXIX. Παγκάλως οὖν τοῦτον τὸν Ἰσμαήλ εὐχομέθα ἡν. προστίθησιν οὖν „ἐνώπιον τοῦ θεοῦ ζήτω,“ τέλος τῆς εὐδαιμονίας τιθέμενος ἐπισκόπου καὶ ἐφόρου τοῦ τῶν ἀντων ἀρίστου τῆν διάνοιαν ἀξιωθῆναι. εἰ γάρ παιδαγωγοῦ μὲν παρόντος οὐκ ἂν ἀμάρτοι ὁ ἀγόμενος, υφηγητῆς δὲ ἐγγὺς ὃν ὥθελε τὸν μανθάνοντα, πρεσβυτέρου δὲ παρατυγχάνοντος αἰδοὶ καὶ σωφροσύνη κοσμεῖται νέος, πατήρ δὲ ἡ μήτηρ υἱὸν μέλλοντα ἀδικεῖν ἐκώλυσαν ἐφ' ἴσως αὐτοῦ μόνου ὀφθέντες, ἴλικαις τισών ὑπερβολαῖς αγαθῶν χρήσεσθαι νομίζομεν τὸν ὑπολαμβάνοντα τε ὑπὸ θεοῦ θεωρεῖσθαι; τὸ γάρ τοῦ παρόντος ἀδίκειν ἀξίωσα τοῦ μαθήματος καὶ τρέμων ἀνά κράτος τὸ ἀδικεῖν ἀποδράσεται.

217 Τὸν δὲ Ἰσμαήλ όταν εὐχηταὶ ἡν, οὐκ ἀπέγνωκε τὴν γένεσιν Ἰσαάκ, ὡς καὶ πρότερον εἰπον, ἀλλὰ πεπίστευκε μὲν τῷ θεῷ * * * οὐδὲ γάρ ἃ δοῦναι θεῷ, ταῦτα καὶ ἀνθρώπῳ λαβῶν δυνατόν, ἐπειδὴ τῷ μὲν πλείστα καὶ μέγιστα χαρίσασθαι ράδιον, ἠμῖν δ' οὐκ εὑμαρές τὰς προτευμονένας δέξασθαι δωρεάς. ἀγαπητὸν γάρ, εἰ τῶν ἐκ πόνου καὶ

1 So mss.: Wendland εὐχηταὶ. I do not think the change is necessary; see note a on opposite page.
2 mss. ἡν.
3 παρόντος ἀδίκειν ἀποδράσεται] this (or perhaps παρόντος εἰ) is my suggestion for ms. παρόντος καὶ περιβλέπεται. Wend. proposes αἰεὶ περιβλέπεται, Mangey καὶ προσβλέπεται.
4 The lacuna might be filled by ἀπιστεὶ δὲ τῷ γενητῷ, cf. § 201 (rather this than § 178 as Wend.).
ON THE CHANGE OF NAMES, 215–219

of our lusts until we strike the rocks and wreck the whole bark of the soul.

XXXIX. We do well indeed then when we pray that this Ishmael may live. And so he adds “before God,” holding that in this lies the crown of happiness—that the mind should be privileged to live under the survey and watchful care of the Supreme Excellence. For when the tutor is present his charge will not go amiss; the teacher at the learner’s side brings profit to him; the company of his senior gives to the youth the grace of modesty and self-control; the mere sight of father or mother can silently prevent the son from some intended wrongdoing. Imagine then the vastness of the blessings which we must suppose will be his who believes that the eye of God is ever upon him, for if he reverences the dignity of Him who is ever present, he will in fear and trembling fly from wrongdoing with all his might.

But when he prays that Ishmael may live he does not despair of the birth of Isaac, as I have said before, but while he has trusted in God (he recognizes the weakness of humanity), for the gifts which God can give are not all such as man in his turn can receive, since for Him it is easy to bestow gifts, ever so many, ever so great, but for us it is no light matter to receive the proffered boons. For it is enough for

a The objection of Cohn and Wendland to the first person ignores the fact that Philo constantly regards the stories and sayings of the Pentateuch as representing the spiritual experiences of every generation. It is “the holy word speaking to everyone,” as just above in § 215. Compare ροις ἡμῶν in § 16. Good examples appear in De Som. i. 143 and 226, ii. 170. Cohn’s εὐχώμεθα does not fit in well with Philo’s use of παγκάλως (see note on De Mig. 101). There would be no objection to εὐξόμεθα, but the change seems unnecessary.

b See App. p. 592.
μελέτης συντρόφων καὶ συνηθεστέρων ἀγαθῶν ἐπι-
[612] λάχομεν, | τῶν δ' ἀνευ τέχνης ἢ συνόλως ἀνθρω-
πίνης ἐπινοίας ἀπαυτοματιζόντων καὶ εἰ ἐτοίμου
γνωμένων οὐδ' ἐλπὶς ἐφικέσθαι· ταῦτα γὰρ ἂτε
θεία ὁντα θειότερας καὶ ἀκηράτως φύσευν ἀπ
ηλλαγμέναις θητοῦ σώματος εὐφρίσκεις ἀναγκαῖον.

220 ἐδίδαξεν δ' Μωυσῆς κατὰ δύναμιν τῶν χειρῶν τὰς
ἐυχαρίστους ὅμοιομενό τοιαυτῶν καὶ τὸ φρόνιμον,
τὸν λόγιον τὸς ἐν λόγῳ πάσας ἀρετὰς ἀνεροῦντα
διὰ τε ὑθὸν καὶ τῶν καταλογάδην τοῦ ὃντος
ἐγκωμίων, καὶ κατ' εἴδος τὸν φυσικὸν φυσιολογίαν,
τὸν ήθικὸν πᾶσαν τὴν ήθικὴν φιλοσοφίαν, τὸν
τεχνικὸν καὶ ἐπιστήμονα τὰ θεωρήματα τῶν τεχνῶν
καὶ ἑπιστημῶν. οὕτως εὐπλοιοις μὲν ναῦτης καὶ
κυβερνήτης, εὐφορίαιν δὲ καρπῶν γεωπόνων, εὐ-
τοκίαιν δὲ ζῶων ἀγελάρχης, ὑγείαν δὲ καμπὸντων
ιατρόν, ὃ δ' αὖ στρατείας ἰησοῦν τό πολέμων
κράτος καὶ ὃ πολιτικὸς ἡ βασιλικὸς τήν νόμῳ
προστασίαν καὶ ἰησοῦν τήν νόμῳ
καὶ συνελόντα
πράσαι πάνων ὅσα ἡ ψυχῆς ἡ σώματος ἡ τῶν
ἐκτὸς ἀγαθὰ ἐστιν ὁ μὴ φίλαυτος αἰτίον ἀποφανεὶ
221 τὸν ἀφευδώς μόνον αἰτίον θεόν. μηδεῖς οὖν τῶν
ἀφευδών καὶ ταπεινότερων εἶναι δοκοῦντων
ἐλπίδος ἀπογνώσει τῆς ἀμείνων ἀποκνήσιων
ἰκέτης εὐχάριστος γενέσθαι θεῷ, ἀλλ' εἰ καὶ μηδὲν
ἐτὶ προσδοκᾶ τῶν μείζων, υπὲρ τούτων δὲν
ἐλαχεν ἦδη κατὰ τὴν εαυτοῦ δύναμιν εὐχάριστατα.

222 μυρίων δ' ἐλαχε, γενέσεως, ζωῆς, τροφῆς, ψυχῆς,
αἰσθήσεως, φαντασίας, ὀρμῆς, λογίμου. λογισμὸς
δὲ βραχὺ μὲν ὄνομα, τελεοτάτον δὲ καὶ θειότατον

1 MSS. ἐδειξε.
us to obtain the good fruits of toil and effort, those
more familiar gifts which grow up with us, but such
as spring up independently without art or any form
of human devising, which come ready-made to the
recipient, we cannot even hope to attain. These are
gifts of God, and therefore to discover them is the
inevitable destiny of natures closer to God and un-
defiled and released from the mortal body. Yet Moses taught us to make our acknowledgements of
thanks according to the power of our hands (Num.
vi. 21), the man of sagacity dedicating his good
sense and prudence, the master of words conse­
crating all the excellences of speech in praises to the
Existent in poem or prose, and from others offerings
after their kind, natural philosophy, ethical philo­
sophy, the lore of the arts and sciences from the
several students of the same. In this way the sailor
will dedicate success of voyage, the husbandman
fruitfulness of crops, the herdsman the teeming
increase of his livestock, the physician the health of
his patients, or again the general his victory in war,
the statesman or crowned head his lawful pre­
eminence or sovereignty, and in short he who is not
self-centred will avow as the cause of all goods of
the soul or body or outside the body Him who in
very truth is the one sole Cause of aught. Let none
then of the lowly or obscure in repute shrink through
despair of the higher hope from thankful supplication
to God, but even if he no longer expects any greater
boon, give thanks according to his power for the gifts
which he has already received. Vast is the number
of such gifts, birth, life, nurture, soul, sense-percep­
tion, mental picturing, impulse, reasoning. Now
"reasoning" as a name is but a little word, but as
PHILO

έργον, τῆς τοῦ παντὸς ψυχῆς ἀπόσπασμα ἢ, ὁπερ ὀσιώτερον εἰπεῖν τοῖς κατὰ Μωυσῆν φιλοσοφοῦσιν, 224 εὐκόνος θείας ἐκμαγείοιν ἐμφερές. XL. ἐπαινεῖν ἄξιον καὶ τῶν κατασκόπων τοὺς ἐπιχειρήσαντας μὲν αὐτόπρεμιν τὸ ἀρετῆς ὅλον ἀνασπάσαι καὶ βαστάσαι στέλεχος, ἐπεὶ δ’ οὐκ ἡδυνήθησαν, κλη-ματίδα γοῦν καὶ ἕνα βότρυν λαβόντας, δείγμα καὶ μέρος τῆς συμπάσης, δ’ φέρειν αὐτὸ μόνον ἴσχυν. 225 εὐκτὸν μὲν ἄθρόῳ τῷ πλήθει τῶν ἀρετῶν ἐγ-χορεύειν· εἰ δὲ τούτῳ μείζον ἢ κατὰ ἀνθρωπίνην φύσιν, ἀγαπώμεν, εἰ τῷ ξεγενέτῳ μιᾷ τινὶ τῶν μέρος | ἐντυχεὶν, σωφροσύνη ἢ ἀνδρεία ἢ δικαιοσύνη ἢ φιλανθρωπία. φερέτω γὰρ ἐν τῷ ἁγαθῶν ἢ ψυχῆ καὶ τικτέτω, μὴ πάντων ἄφορος 226 καὶ στείρα γινέσθω. σοὶ δὲ τοιαῦτα ἐπι-τάγματα ἐπιτάξεις υἱεί τῷ σεαυτῷ; εἰ μὴ τοῖς ὦν κέταις ἣμέρως χρῆ, μηδὲ τοῖς ὀμοτίμως κοινω-νικῶς· εἰ μὴ κοσμίως γυναίκι, μηδὲ γονευόντος ἡμι-τικῶς· εἰ μητρός ὀλυγωρείς καὶ πατρός, ἄσεβει καὶ εἰς τὸ θείον. εἰ χαίρεις ἢδονή, μη(δὲ)· φιλ-αργυρίας ἀποστήσ. ἐφίεσαι πολυχρηματίας; καὶ 227 κενοδόξει. τί γάρ; οὐ μετριάζειν ἐν ἐνίοις ἄξιοῖς, εἰ μὴ ἐν πάσι δύνασαι; οὐκ ἂν οὖν εἴποι δ ὕιος· τί λέγεις, ὦ πάτερ; ἡ τέλειον ἁγαθὸν ἢ τέλειον κακὸν βούλει σοι τὸν υἱόν γενέσθαι καὶ οὐκ

1 MSS. ένός.

* Philo again shews his doubt of the propriety of the
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ON THE CHANGE OF NAMES, 223–227

a fact it is something most perfect and most divine, a piece torn off from the soul of the universe, or, as it might be put more reverently a following the philosophy of Moses, a faithful impress of the divine image. XL. Well may we commend those members 224 of the scouting party who tried to pluck up by the roots the trunk of virtue and carry it away, and when they could not, took at least a branch and a single cluster, which was all they could carry (Num. xiii. 24), as a specimen and part of the whole. We should 225 indeed pray that our course may lie amid the collected body of the many virtues. But if this be too great for human nature, let us be content whenever it be granted to consort with one of the specific virtues, with temperance, or courage, or justice or humanity. Let the soul carry in its womb and bring to the birth one good thing at least and not be unfruitful and barren of them all. Would 226 you lay upon your own son such injunctions as these? If you do not treat your servants kindly, neither must you have neighbourly dealings with your equals. If you do not behave well to your wife, you must not honour your parents either. If you despise your father and mother, you must also shew impiety towards God. If you delight in pleasure, you must not refrain from covetousness. Do you covet great riches? Then also give way to vain conceit. What, 227 I would ask, do you mean that it is wrong to use self-control in some things if you cannot do so in all? The son would surely reply, What do you mean, father? Would you have your son become either completely bad or completely good, and will you not phrase ἡ τοῦ παντὸς ψυχή, cf. De Mig. 179 and note on Leg. All. i. 91.
άγαπήσεις, εἰ πρὸ τῶν ἄκρων τὰ μέσα ἔλοιτο; 228 οὐ διὰ τοῦτο καὶ ὁ Ἀβραὰμ ἐπὶ τῆς ὁν διά τοῦτο καὶ ὁ Ἀβραὰμ ἐπὶ τῆς Σοδομιτῶν ἀπωλείας ἀρξάμενος ἀπὸ πεντηκον- Σοδομιτῶν ἀπώλειας ἀρξάμενος ἀπὸ πεντηκον- τάδος εἰς δεκάδα¹ τελευτᾶ, ποτνιώμενος καὶ ἱκε- τάδος εἰς δεκάδα¹ τελευτᾶ, ποτνιώμενος καὶ ἱκε- τεύων, ἥν, εἰ μὴ εὐρίσκοιτο ἐν γενέσει ἡ παντελής τεύων, ἥν, εἰ μὴ εὐρίσκοιτο ἐν γενέσει ἡ παντελής ἐις ἔλευθερίαν ἁφέσις, ἢς σύμβολον ὁ πεντηκοστὸς λόγος ἱερός, ἡ μέση παιδεία παραλήφη δεκάδι παραριθμομενῇ πρὸς τὴν τῆς καταδικάζεσθαι 229 ψυχῆς μελλοῦσης ἀπόλουσιν; τῶν ἀναγώγων οἱ πεπαιδευμένοι καὶ τῶν ἀλύρων καὶ ἄμουσων οἱ ψυχῆς μελλοῦσης ἀπόλουσιν; τῶν ἀναγώγων οἱ πεπαιδευμένοι καὶ τῶν ἀλύρων καὶ ἄμουσων οἱ (ἐγ)κεχορευκότες τῇ ἐγκυκλίῳ μουσικῇ πλείους (ἐγ)κεχορευκότες τῇ ἐγκυκλίῳ μουσικῇ πλείους ἀφορμάς ἔχουσι πρὸς τὸ αὐξέσθαι,² σχεδὸν ἐκ παίδων τοῖς περὶ καρτερίας³ καὶ ἐγκρατείας καὶ παίδων τοῖς περὶ καρτερίας³ καὶ ἐγκαθάρειας καὶ ἀρετῆς πάσης λόγους ἐπαναληθέντες. διὸ εἰ καὶ ἀρετῆς πάσης λόγους ἐπαναληθέντες. διὸ εἰ καὶ μὴ παντελῶς ἑξερρύψαντο καὶ ἁπελούσαντο τὸ ἀδικεῖν φαιδρυνόμενοι δὲ,⁴ ἀλλὰ μετρίως γοῦν καὶ μέσως ἑρρύψαντο. τὸ παραπλήσιον ο Ἡσαῦ λέγειν ἐοὶκε τῷ πατρί· "μὴ εὐλογία σοι μία ἐστί, πάτερ; εὐλόγησον κάμε, πάτερ." ἀλλαὶ γὰρ ἄλλοις ἀποκεκρίθωσαν, τελείος μὲν τέλειαι, γὰρ ἄλλοις ἀποκεκρίθωσαν, τελείοις μὲν τελείαι, μέσαι δὲ ἀτελέσι, ὡς ἔχει καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν σωμάτων· μέσαι δὲ ἀτελέσι, ὡς ἔχει καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν σωμάτων· ὑγιαινόντων γὰρ καὶ νοσοῦντων ἔτερα μὲν γυμνάσ- ὑγιαινόντων γὰρ καὶ νοσοῦντων ἔτερα μὲν γυμνάσ- ματα, ἐτεραὶ δὲ τροφαί, καὶ ὅσα ἄλλα περὶ δίαιταν, ματα, ἐτεραὶ δὲ τροφαί, καὶ ὅσα ἄλλα περὶ δίαιταν, τοῦ τὰ αὐτά, ἄλλα τοῖς μὲν τὰ πρόσφορα, ἣν μὴ ὅλως νοσήσωσι, τοῖς δὲ τὰ οἰκεῖα, ὡπως πρὸς τοῦ ὑγιεινότερον μεταβάλωσι. πολλῶν οὖν ἅγαθῶν 230 μέσως ἑρρύψαντο. τὸ παραπλήσιον ο 231 τὸ ὑγιεινότερον μεταβάλωσι. πολλῶν οὖν ἅγαθῶν

¹ MSS. πεντάδα. ² MSS. εὐξεσθαί. ³ MSS. ἀρετῆς. ⁴ Clearly corrupt: Mangey proposed δή, Wendland τελείως. The simplest correction would be οίδε, if this can stand so at the end of a clause. (It does so stand in De Conf. 87, but in the sense of "the following.")
be satisfied if he chooses the midway course in preference to the extremes? It was such a feeling that made Abraham, in the case of the destruction of Sodom, begin with fifty and end with ten (Gen. xviii. 24 f.) when he besought and supplicated that if the means of complete release to liberty (Lev. xxv. 10), which is symbolized by fifty, be not forthcoming in created beings, the lower training, which is numerically reckoned as ten, may be accepted to respite the soul which stands on the verge of condemnation. The trained have the advantage over the untrained, and those who are familiar with the culture of the schools over minds untuned to the muse; they start with better opportunities for growth, because as a rule from boyhood they have been bathed in a stream of ideas which deal with endurance and self-control and every virtue. And therefore if these have not entirely scoured and washed away their iniquity in the cleansing process, they are in a moderate and half-way degree purged. Esau’s words to his father seem to have a like meaning: “Hast thou one blessing, my father? bless me also, O my father” (Gen. xxvii. 38). For different blessings should be set apart for different persons: perfect blessings for the perfect, half-way for the imperfect, just as we find with men’s bodies: for the healthy and the sick require different exercises and different diet, and in all other matters which affect their way of living the same treatment is impossible. The healthy need what agrees with them to prevent their falling sick at all, and the sick need what fits their condition to bring them round to better health. Since then the

* Cf. De Sac. 122.
υπαρχόντων ἐν τῇ φύσει τὸ δοκοῦν ἐφαρμόττειν μοι τοῦτο χάρισαι, κἂν μικρότατον ἦ, στοχασά-
μενος ἐκείνου μόνου, εἰ δυνήσομαι τὸ δοθὲν φέρειν εὐμαρῶς, ἄλλα καὶ μὴ πρὸς τοῦτο ἀпеιτῶν ὁ
dυστυχώς ὀκλάσω. τί δ’ οἰόμεθα ἐμφαίνεσθαι διὰ
tοῦ· “μὴ χείρ κυρίον οὐκ ἐξαρκέσει”; ἄρ’ οὐχὶ
tὸ πάντη τὰς τοῦ ὄντος φθάνειν δυνάμεις ἐπ’
εὔεργεσία μὴ μόνον τῶν ἐνδόξων ἄλλα καὶ τῶν
[614] ἀφανεστέρων εἶναι | δοκοῦντων; οἷς τὰ ἀρμό-
tοντα χαρίζεται πρὸς τὰ τῆς ἐκάστου ψυχῆς
σταθμῆματα καὶ μέτρα σταθμώμενοι καὶ διαμετρῶν
ἰσότητι παρ’ έαυτῷ τὸ ἀνάλογον ἐκάστοις.
233 XLI. Καταπλήττει με οὐχ ἢκιστα καὶ ὁ τεθεῖς
νόμος ἐπὶ τοῖς ἐκδυομένοις τὰ ἀμαρτήματα καὶ
μεταγινώσκειν δοκοῦσι. κελεύει γὰρ τὸ μὲν πρῶ-
tον ἱερεῖον προσάγειν θῆλυ πρόβατον ἀμωμον.
“ εὰν δὲ” φησὶ “μὴ ἱσχύῃ ἡ χείρ αὐτοῦ τὸ
İKανὸν εἰς πρόβατον, οἰσεὶ περὶ τῆς ἀμαρτίας ἢς
ημαρτε δῦο τρυγόνως ἢ δύο νεοσσώς περιστερῶν,
234 ἐνα περὶ ἀμαρτίας καὶ ἕνα εἰς ὀλοκάυτωμα. εὰν
δὲ μὴ εὐρύσκῃ ἡ χείρ αὐτοῦ ζεύγος τρυγόνων ἢ
δύο νεοσσώς περιστερῶν, οἰσεὶ τὸ δώρον τὸ δέκατον
οἴφι σεμίδαλιν. οὐκ ἐπιχεεὶ ἐπ’ αὐτῷ ἔλαιον οὐδ’
ἐπιθήσει ἐπ’ αὐτῷ λίβανον, ὅτι περὶ ἀμαρτίας ἑστὶ.
καὶ οἰσεὶ αὐτὸ πρὸς τὸν ἱερέα, καὶ δραξάμενος ὁ
ἱερεὺς ἀπ’ αὐτοῦ πλήρη τῆν δράκα τὸ μνημόσυνον
235 ἐπιθήσει ἐπὶ τὸ θυσιαστήριον.” οὐκοῦν τρισὶ
μετανοιας τρόποις ἡλάσκεται τοῖς εἰρημένοις,
κτήνειαν ἡ πτηνῶς ἡ λευκοπύρως, πρὸς τὴν τοῦ

1 So lxx: mss. ἐπιχρίσει.
ON THE CHANGE OF NAMES, 231–235

goods which nature has to bestow are many, grant me, O Lord, that which befits me in Thy sight, though it be but the smallest, looking to one thing only, that the gift be such as I can bear with ease, not one that slight as it is will bring me, poor weakling, fainting to the ground. And what do we suppose is 232 meant by the words, “Shall not the hand of the Lord suffice?” (Num. xi. 23). Surely this, that the powers of the Existent reach everywhere to benefit not only the highly placed but also those of lowlier reputation. And on these He bestows what befits them, according to the soul-measurements and appraisements of each, measuring and appraising in Himself* by the rule of equality the due proportion to each.

XLI. I am profoundly struck by the law enacted 233 for those who put off their sins and appear to be repentant. It bids them bring first as the victim a ewe without blemish, but “if his hand,” it continues, “have not strength for a sheep, he shall bring for the sin which he has committed two turtledoves or two young pigeons, one for sin and one for a burnt offering. But if his hand does not find a pair of turtledoves 234 or two young pigeons, he shall bring for his gift fine flour the tenth of an ephah. He shall not pour upon it oil, nor put upon it frankincense, because it is a sin offering, and shall bring it to the priest, and the priest shall take from it a complete handful and lay the memorial upon the altar” (Lev. v. 7 ff.). Moses, then, employs for propitiation 235 the three methods of repentance here mentioned, beasts or birds or wheaten flour, adapted doubtless

* Or (reading ἴσοτητι <τὸ> παρ ἑαυτῷ) “the equality inherent in Himself.”
καθαιρομένου καὶ μετανοοῦντος δήπο τοῖς δύναμιν, οὔτε γὰρ μικρὰ μεγάλων οὔτε μεγάλα μικρῶν δεῖται καθαρσίων, τῶν δὲ πρὸς τὸ ἀνάλογον ἱσον 236 καὶ ὁμοίων. τὶ δήποτ’ οὖν διὰ τριῶν ἡ καθαρσίς, ἄξιων ἔρευνησαί. σχέδων τοίνυν καὶ τὰ ἀμαρτήματα καὶ τὰ κατορθώματα συμβέβηκεν ἐν τριὼν ἐξετάζεσθαι, διανοία, λόγοις, πράξεσιν. οὐ χάριν κἂν τοῖς προτρπητικοῖς Μωυσῆς διδάσκων, οἶδ᾽ ἡ ἀγαθὸντες κτήσις οὔτ’ ἀδύνατός ἐστιν οὔτε 237 δυσθήρατος, φησὶν οὐκ εἰς οὐρανῶν ἀναπτῆναι δεῖ οὖν ἀχρί περάτων γῆς καὶ θαλάττης ἐλθεῖν ἐπὶ τὴν σύλληψιν αὐτοῦ. ἄλλ’ ἐστὶν ἡ γένος καὶ σφόδρα ἐγγύς”—ἔτα μόνον οὐκ ὁθαλμοφανῶς δεικνύσ—“πάν ἔργου φησὶν τῷ στόματί σου καὶ τῇ καρδίᾳ καὶ ταῖς χερσί;” συμβολικῶς ἐν λόγοις, ἐν βουλαίς, ἐν ἔργοις ἐκ γάρ εὐβουλίας καὶ εὐλογίας καὶ εὐπραξίας τὴν ἀνθρωπίνην εὐδαιμονίαν συνιστάσθαι, ὡσπερ καὶ τὴν κακοδαιμονίαν ἐκ τῶν 238 ἐναντίων. ἐν γὰρ τοῖς αὐτοῖς τὸ τε κατορθοῦν καὶ ἀμαρτάνειν χωρίος ἐστὶ, καρδία, στόματι, χειρί καὶ γὰρ βουλεύονται τνυς εὐγνωμονέστατα καὶ [615] λέγουσιν άριστα καὶ πράττουσι τὰ πρακτέα ταῖς μέσον δὲ ὅντων κουφότατον ἐστὶ τὸ βουλεύεσθαι ἀ μη χρῆ, βαρύτατον δὲ τὸ χειρουργεῖν τὰ ἄδικα, 239 μέσον δὲ τὸ λέγειν ἀ μη δεἰ. συμβαίνει δὲ τὸ κουφότατον δυσαποτριπτότατον εἶναι χαλεπὸν γὰρ ψυχῆς τροπῆν εἰς ἰρεμίαν ἁγαγεῖν, καὶ θάττον ἀν τὸν ψυχῆς φορὰν ἐπίσχοι ἡ ψυχῆς τροπῆν ρέουσαν ἀκατασχέτως ἀμύθητα γὰρ ἐνθύμια ἄλλα

1 mss. ἀγαθῆ.  
2 mss. δεικνυσι. The correction is mine and I have also
to the capacity of the penitent who is purified, for small things do not need great, nor great things small purifications, but such as are like and equal on the principle of proportion. Why then there should be three ways of repentance is worth inquiry. Practically cases both of sinning and of achieving righteousness fall into three classes, thoughts and words and deeds. And therefore in his Exhortations Moses, when he is shewing that the acquisition of the good is neither impossible nor hard to pursue, says, "You need not fly up to heaven nor go to the ends of earth and sea to lay hold of it, but near and very near (and with the next words he shews the nearness as it were almost visible to the eye) is every work to thy mouth and heart and hands" (Deut. xxx. 12 ff.). In these three words he figures words, thoughts and intentions, deeds. For good thinking and intending, good speaking and good doing make up, he means, human happiness just as their opposites make up unhappiness, since achievement of righteousness and sinning are found in all these three places, heart, mouth and hand. For indeed some think and intend with excellent judgement and speak what is best and do what they should do. Of the three wrong thinking and intending is the least serious, and actually carrying out injustice is the most serious, while saying what we should not stands midway between the two. Yet in practice the least serious proves to be the most difficult to rid ourselves from, for it is a hard matter to bring to a standstill the soul's changing movements. Their irresistible stream is such that we could sooner stem the rush of a torrent, for thoughts

removed the full stop at ἐγγύσ. The quotation, though free, goes on continuously.
έπ’ ἄλλοις τρικυμίας τρόπον ἐπιτρέχει, φοροῦντα καὶ κυκώντα καὶ πάσαν αὐτήν βιαίως ἀνατρέποντα. 240 τὸ μὲν οὖν ἄριστον τῆς καθάρσεως καὶ τελεωτατών τοῦτ’ ἐστί, μηδ’ ἐνθυμεῖσθαι τί τῶν ἀτόπων, ἄλλ’ εἰρήνη καὶ εὐνομία, ὃν ἢγεμόν ἐστι δικαιοσύνη, πολιτεύσοντα· τὸ δὲ δεύτερον, λόγους μὴ διαμαρτάνεις ἰευδόμενον ἢ ἰευδορκούντα ἢ ἀπατώντα ἢ σοφιξόμενον ἢ συκοφαντούντα ἢ συνόλως στόμα καὶ γλῶτταν ἐπ’ ὀλέθρῳ τινῶν ἀνέντα, οἷς χαλυβὸν ἢν ἀμείνον περιθεῖναι καὶ 241 δεσμὸν ἀρρηκτον. XLII. διὰ τί δὲ τὸ λέγειν τοῦ νοεῖν τὰ μὴ προσήκοντα βαρύτερον ἀμάρτημα, γὰρ ἒν οὐ παρ’ ἐαυτὸν ἐστιν διὰ τίνις οὐ παρεαυτῷ εστά, ἀλλ’ ἀβουλῶν ὃν γὰρ οὐ θέλει λαμβάνειν ἐννοίας ἀναγκάζεται, τῶν δ’ ἀκοουσίων 242 οὐδὲν ὑπαίτιον. λέγει δὲ τίς ἐκών, ὡστε, εἰ μὴ εὐθήμον προῖσται φωνήν, ἀδικεῖ κακοδαιμονίων, ὃ μηδ’ ἐκ τύχης έθέλων τι τῶν ἐπιεικεστέρων φθέγξασθαι· ὃς λυσιτελές τὴν ἁσφαλεστάτην ἴσον χίαν δεξιοῦσθαι· καὶ τὰ πολλά μεταβολαῖς κρινόμενοι πέρα έφημον προῖσται φωνήν, ἀδικεῖ κακοδαιμονίων, ὃ μηδ’ ἐκ τύχῆς έθέλων τι τῶν ἐπιεικεστέρων φθέγξασθαι· ὃς λυσιτελές τὴν ἁσφαλεστάτην ἴσον χίαν δεξιοῦσθαι. 243 δήπου βουλθεῖς σιωπᾶν. τὸ δὲ καὶ τοῦ λέγειν βαρύτερον ἀμάρτημα ἢ ἀδικος πράξεις ἐστι “λόγος γὰρ ἔργου” φασί καὶ σκιά, σκιάς δὲ βλαπτοῦσιν πόσο ὁ τὸ ἔργον βλαβερώτερον; διὰ τοῦτο καὶ Μωυσῆς τὴν μὲν γνώμην ἐγκλημάτων καὶ ἐπιτιμίων απήλλαξε, ἀκουσίοις τὰ πολλὰ μεταβολὰς χρωμένης καὶ τροπαῖς καὶ πάσχουσαν μᾶλλον ὑπὸ τῶν ἐπεισοδοτῶν νοημάτων ἐξώθεν

1 mss. ἀνέντα.

b See App. p. 592.
after thoughts in countless numbers pour on like a huge breaker and drive and whirl and upset its whole being with their violence. This then is the best and most perfect form of purification, never even to admit any heinous thoughts, but to live with our fellow-citizens in peace and law observance, that order of which justice is the guiding influence. And the second best is to abstain from sinfulness of word, either by lying or perjury or subtlety or calumny, and in general from aiming at the ruin of others by giving a free rein to the mouth and tongue which it were better to bridle and bind with chains of adamant. XLII. It is easy to see why wrong-speaking is a graver matter than wrong-thinking. A man’s thoughts are sometimes not due to himself, but come without his will. He is compelled to admit ideas on subjects which he has no wish to consider, and where there is no will no blame is due. But speaking is voluntary, so that if a man gives utterance to language which offends, he is wronging others, unhappy in this, that even when there is an opportunity of speaking something of a kinder nature he is not willing to use it. Such a person would do best to court complete freedom from disturbance, and if he has not this freedom he can surely if he wills it keep silence. But the unjust action is a more grievous sin than any speaking, for the word is the shadow of the act, men say, and if the shadow be harmful, the act must be more harmful. And therefore Moses exempts mere intention from accusation and penalty. He knew that it was largely subject to involuntary changes and swervings, and rather the passive victim of the thoughts which flock into it than an active agent.
ἡ δρώσαν τὰ δ’ ὅσα ἂν ἔξέλθη διὰ τοῦ στόματος, ταῦτ’ εἰς ἀπόλογον καὶ εὐθύνας ἀγεῖ, ὅσ ἂν δὴ τοῦ 244 λέγειν ἐφ’ ἦμῖν ὑπάρχοντος. ἀλλ’ αἱ μὲν λόγων εὐθύναι μετριῶτεραι, αἱ δ’ ὑπαιτίων ἐργων ἀργαλεύσανται. μεγάλας γὰρ τάττει τιμωρίας ἐπὶ τοῖς μεγάλα ἀδικοῦσι καὶ ἔργω ἐπεξιοῦσιν ὁ γνώμη μὲν ἀγνώμονε ἐβουλεύσαντο, προσπετεία δὲ γλώττης ἐξελάλησαν. XLIII. τὰ δὲ καθάρσια τῶν τριῶν, διανοίας, λόγου, πράξεως, εὑρηκεν [οὐν] πρόβατον καὶ ζεύγος τρυγόνων ἡ περιστερών καὶ σεμιδάλεως ίερῷ μέτρου δέκατον, ἀξίων προβάτω μὲν διάνοιαν καθαίρεσθαι, λόγον δὲ τόις πτηνοῖς, σεμιδάλευ δὲ 245 πράξεως. διὰ τί; ὅτι, καθάπερ ἐν ἦμῖν ἀριστον ὁ νοῦς, καὶ ἐν ζώων ἀλόγων γένει τὸ πρόβατον ἀτε ἡμερώτατον ὑπάρχον καὶ καρπὸν ἀνατέλλον εἰς ἑαυτοῦ τό πρόβατον ἀριστερόν υπάρχον καὶ καρπόν ἑτήσιον ἀνατέλλον ἐξ ἑαυτοῦ πρὸς ωφέλειαν. ὁμοῦ καὶ κόσμου ἀνθρώπων ἐσθής γὰρ τὰς αὐτὸν κρυμμένα καὶ τὰ ἀπόρρητα τῆς φύσεως ἐπισκιάζουσα πρὸς εὐκοσμίας τοῖς χρωμένοις ἐστὶ. 247 σύμβολον οὖν ἔστω τῆς τοῦ ἀριστοῦ καθάρσεως, διανοίας, τοῦ ζώου ἀριστον, τὸ πρόβατον, λόγου δὲ τὰ πτηνά· κοὐφὸν τε γὰρ ὁ λόγος καὶ πτηνὸν φύσει, βέλους θάττον φερόμενος καὶ πάντη διάτη τοῦ. τὸ γὰρ ἀπαξ λεχθὲν ἀνάδραμεν μὲν οὐκ ἔστων, ἐξω δὲ φερόμενον, τάχει πολλῷ τρέχων, πλήττει τὰ ωτά καὶ διὰ πάσης ἀκοῆς 248 ἐρχόμενον εὐθὺς ἥχει. διδυμος δὲ ὁ λόγος, ὁ μὲν ἀληθής, ὁ δὲ ψευδής· οὐ μοι δοκεῖ χάριν ζεύγις τρυγόνων ἡ περιστερών ἐξομοιωθήναι.

1 mss. ὑπαιτίαι.
2 ὁ ἀσφάλειαν as Mangey; cf. § 111, also ἀσφάλειαν καὶ εὐκοσμίαν Quis Rerum 125.

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ON THE CHANGE OF NAMES, 243–248

But all that issues through the mouth he requires to make its defence and stand its trial on the principle that our speech is in our own power. But in these trials words are judged more leniently, culpable actions more severely, for he appoints great penalties for the authors of great misdeeds, those who carry into actual execution what their ill-intended intentions have planned or their reckless tongues have uttered. XLIII. For the purgation of these three, thought, speech and action, he has named the sheep, the pair of doves or pigeons and the tenth of an ephah, the sacred measure, of fine flour, holding that thought should be purged with the sheep, speech with the birds, action with the fine flour. Why? Because just as the mind is the best element in us, so the sheep takes the same place among the unreasoning animals considered as a whole, in virtue of its superior gentleness and the annual produce which it raises by itself, to benefit men and adorn them at the same time. For raiment averts mischief from frost and heat, and by veiling what nature would have hidden promotes decency in the wearers. Let us take then the best animal, the sheep, as representing in a figure the purging of our best part, the mind, and similarly the birds as representing speech. For speech is light and winged by nature, moving swifter than an arrow, and flashing its way in every direction. For the word once spoken cannot return, but when carried outside races at a high speed, strikes the ears, and passing right through the whole region of hearing straightway turns into sound. Also speech is twofold, partly true and partly false, and thence I think its comparison to a pair of doves or
τῶν δὲ πτηνῶν τὸ μὲν περὶ ἀμαρτίας φησὶ δὲ ἦν εἶναι, τὸ δὲ ὀλοκαύτωμα θύειν, ἐπειδὴ τὸν μὲν ἄλληθή λόγον ὅλον δὴ ὅλου συμβέβηκεν εἶναι ἱερὸν (τε καὶ) τέλειον, τὸν δὲ ψευδῆ διημαρτήσθαι τε καὶ ἐπανορθώσεως δεῖσθαι. πράξεως δὲ, ὡς ἔφην, σύμβολον ἡ σεμίδαλις· καὶ γὰρ ταύτην συμβέβηκεν οὐκ ἀνευ τέχνης καὶ ἐπινοίας καθαίρεθαί, ἀλλὰ χερσὶ συστοπῶν, ἐπιτήδευμα τὸ πράγμα πεποιηκότων, διακρίνεται. διὸ καὶ φησι· "δραξάμενος δ’ ἱερεύς πλήρη τὴν δράκα τὸ μνημόσυνον αὐτῆς ἁνοίσει," διὰ τῆς δρακός τὸ ἐγχείρησα καὶ τὴν πράξιν ἐμφαίνων. ἀγαν δὲ ἐξητασμένοις ἐπὶ μὲν τοῦ κτήνους εἶπεν· "ἐὰν δὲ μὴ ἵσχυ στῆρὶ τὸ ἱκανὸν εἰς πρόβατον," ἐπὶ δὲ τῶν πτηνῶν· "ἐὰν δὲ μὴ εὐρίσκη. διὰ τι; ὅτι μεγάλης μὲν ἱσχύς καὶ ὑπερβαλλούσης δυνάμεως ἐστι καταλῦσαι τάς τῆς διανοιὰς τροπάς, οὐ μεγάλης δὲ ὅρμης τὰ λόγων ἐπισχεῖν ἀμαρτήματα. πάντων γὰρ ἀλεξίκακον τῶν διὰ φωνῆς ἀμαρτανομένων, ὡς καὶ πρότερον εἶπον, ἡσυχία, ἢ παντὶ τῶν ράδιον χρήσθαι. πολλοὶ δὲ διὰ τὸ λάλον καὶ ἀμετροεπές οὐχ εὐρίσκονται πέρας ἐπιθείναι τῷ λόγῳ.

252 XLIV. Ταύταις καὶ ταῖς παραπλησίαις τομαῖς καὶ διαστολαῖς τῶν πραγμάτων ἐντραφεὶς καὶ ἔνασκηθεὶς ο ἀστείος ἀρ' οὐκ εἰκότως εὔχεσθαι ἂν ὁ Ισμαήλ ζήν, εἰ μὴ δύναται κυοφορήσαι πῶ τὸν Ἰσαὰκ; τί οὖν ὁ χρηστὸς θεός; ἐν [617] αἰτημένων δύο δίδωσι καὶ τὸ ἐλαττὸν εὐξαμένων

1 So lxx: mss. αὐτῶν.

α κυοφορήσαι rather strangely used for γεννᾷ. Has ἀρετῆ fallen out?
pigeons. Moses directs that one bird should serve as a sin offering, and that the other should be offered by fire in its entirety, because it is a condition of true speech that it is entirely holy and perfect while false speech is the product of sin and needs reformation.

The fine flour is, as I have said, the symbol of action, for it is a condition of flour that it is not brought into a pure state without art and contrivance but is sifted by the hands of corn-grinders, who have made a practice of this process. It accords with this when he says: “The priest shall take a complete handful and offer its memorial”—by the handful bringing out the thought of handiwork and action. And he makes a very careful contrast in speaking of the beasts and the birds. Of the first he says “If his hand be not strong enough for the sheep,” and of the second “If his hand do not find.” Why is this? Because it needs great strength and a very high degree of power to suppress the changing movements of the mind, but it needs no great might to restrain trespasses of speech. For against trespasses committed with the voice there is a remedy as I have said before in quietude, of which everyone can easily avail himself, though many through their loquacity and measureless chattering do not find any limit to put upon their words.

XLIV. These and similar ways of analysing and distinguishing things become familiar to the man of virtue through breeding and practice, and does it not therefore seem natural that he should pray that Ishmael may live, if he cannot as yet be the parent of Isaac? What then does God in His kindness do? Abraham had asked for one thing, God gives him two.
χαρίζεται τὸ μείζον. "εἶπε" γάρ φησι "τῷ Ἀβραὰμ· ναὶ, ἵδον Σάρρα ἡ γυνὴ σου τέξεται σοι υἱόν". ευθυβόλος γε ἡ συμβολικὴ ἀπόκρισις ἡ ναί. τί γάρ ἐμπρεπέστερον ἡ τάγαθα ἐπινεύειν θεῶν 1 καὶ 254 ταχέως όμολογεῖν; ἀλλ' οἷς ἐπινεύει τὸ θεῖον, ἄπας ἄφρων ἀνανέων, τὴν γοῦν Λείαν μισουμένην εἰςάγουσιν οἱ χρησμοὶ· διὸ καὶ τοιῶτης ἐτυχε προσρήσεως· ἐρμηνευθεῖσα γάρ ἐστὶν ἀνανεομένη καὶ κοπιῶσα διὰ τὸ πάντας ἡμᾶς ἀρετὴν ἀποστρέφεσθαι καὶ κοπώδη νομίζειν ἐπιτάγματα· 255 οὗ ἦδεα πολλάκις ἐπιτάττουσαν. ἀλλὰ τοιαύτης ἀποδοχῆς ἦξενται παρὰ τοῦ πανηγεμόνος, 2 ὥστε τὴν μήτραν ὑπ' αὐτοῦ διουχεῖσαν σπορᾶν θείας 3 γονῆς παραδέξασθαι πρὸς τὴν τῶν καλῶν ἐπιτηδευμάτων καὶ πράξεων γένεσιν· μάθε 4ον, ὅ ψυχή, ὅτι καὶ "Σάρρα," ἡ ἀρετή, "τέξεταί σοι υἱόν," οὐ μόνον "Αγαρ, ἡ μέση παιδεία· ἐκεῖνης μὲν γὰρ τὸ ἔγγον διδακτόν, ταύτης δὲ 256 πάντως αὐτομαθές ἐστιν. μὴ θαυμάσῃς (δ'), εἰ πάντα φέρων σπουδαία δ' θεὸς ἤγεγυκε καὶ τούτῳ τὸ γένος, σπάνιον μὲν ἐπὶ γῆς, πάμπολυ δ' ἐν οὐρανῷ· μάθοις δ' ἄν ἄπό τῶν ἄλλων, εὖ δ' ἄνεστηκεν άνθρωπος. ἀρά γε οἱ φθαλμοὶ διδαχθέντες ὁρῶσι; τί δ'; οἱ μυκτῆρες ὀσφραίνονται μαθήσει; ἀπτονται δ' αἱ χεῖρες ἢ οἱ πόδες προῆκα 257 κατ' ἐπιτάγματα ἡ παρανέσεις ψυχῆς; αἱ δ' ὀρμαί καὶ φαντασίαι—πρῶται δ' εἰσὶν αὐταί κινήσεις καὶ σχέσεις 4 ψυχῆς—διδασκαλία συνέστησαν;

1 MSS. θεοῦ or θεῶν.
2 MSS. τῶν ἡγεμόνων.
3 MSS. θελοῦ.
4 MSS. πείσεις.

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He had prayed for the less, God grants him the greater. He said to him, we read, “Yes, Sarah thy wife shall bear a son” (Gen. xvii. 19). How significant is that answer “Yes,” fraught as it is with inner meaning. For what can be more befitting to God than to grant and promise His blessings in a moment and with a sign of assent? Yet those who receive a sign of assent from God are refused assent by every fool. Thus the oracles represent Leah as hated and for this reason she received such a name. For by interpretation it means “rejected and weary,” because we all turn away from virtue and think her wearisome, so little to our taste are the commands she often lays upon us. But from the Ruler of all she was awarded such acceptance that her womb which He opened received the seed of divine impregnation (Gen. xxix. 31), whence should come the birth of noble practices and deeds.

Learn then, soul of man, that Sarah also, that is virtue, shall bear thee a son, as well as Hagar, the lower instruction. For Hagar’s offspring is the creature of teaching, but Sarah’s learns from none other at all than itself. And wonder not that God, who brings about all good things, has brought into being this kind also, and though there be few such upon earth, in Heaven vast is their number. You may learn this truth from the other elements, out of which man is constituted. Have the eyes been taught to see, do the nostrils learn to smell, do the hands touch or the feet advance in obedience to the orders or exhortations of instructors? As for our impulses and mental pictures, which are the primal conditions of the soul, according as it is in motion or at rest, are they made what they are by

* See note on *De Cher.* 41.
παρὰ δὲ σοφιστὴν φοιτήσας ὁ νοῦς ἡμῶν νοεῖν καὶ καταλαμβάνειν ἐμαθεῖ; πάντα ταῦτ' ἀφεμένα διδασκαλίας ἀπαυτοματιζούση φύσει χρῆται πρὸς τὰς οἰκείας ἐνεργείας. τί οὖν ἔτι θαυμάζεις, εἰ καὶ ἀρετὴν ἀπόνοι τίνα οὗτος αὐτοψάμφων οἰκείαι ἐνεργείαι, ἀλλ' ἐξί αὐτοργός νόμος αὐτοτελεῖ πρὸς τὰς οἰκείας ἐνεργείας, τι οὖν ετι θαυμάζεις, εἰ καὶ ἀρετὴν ἀπόνοι καὶ ἀταλάπωρον ἀπὸ γῆς εἶναι τὰς τροφάς, μόνω δὲ ἀπ' οὐρανοῦ τῷ ὀρατικῷ. 259 τὰς μὲν οὖν ἀπὸ γῆς καὶ ἀνθρωποι γεωπόνοι συνεργούσι, τὰς δ' ἀπ' οὐρανοῦ νίφει χωρίς συμπράξεως ἑτέρων δ' ὁ μόνος αὐτοποίησις ὀραμάτωσι, καὶ μὴν λέγεται: " ἰδοὺ ὑπὸ ἐμοὶ ἄρτων ἀπ' οὐρανοῦ."

260 τίνα οὖν ἀπ' (οὐρανοῦ) τροφήν ενδίκως ἔσθησι λέγει, ὅτι μὴ τὴν οὐράνιον | σοφίαν; ἢν ἀνωθέν ἐπιπέμπει ταῖς ὑμερον ἀρετής ἑχούσαις ψυχαῖς ὁ φρονήσεως ευθυγίαν καὶ εὐετερίαν ἕως καὶ τὰ ἄρδων καὶ μάλιστα ἐν ἱερὰ ἐβδομηγῇ, ἢν σάββατον καλεῖ. τότε γὰρ τὴν τῶν αὐτομάτων ἀγαθῶν φοράν ἐσεσθαί φήσων, οὐκ' ἐξ ὦλης τέχνης ἀνατελλόντων, ἀλλ' αὐτογενεῖ καὶ αὐτοτελεῖ φύσει βλαστανόντων καὶ τοὺς οἰκείους φερόντων καρποὺς.

1 MSS. ἐφιέμενα.
2 MSS. ἀποτροφήν.
3 So Mangey: MSS. and Wend. ἔχων.
4 I should be inclined to correct to οὐδ' and perhaps to ἀνατελλόντων, in which case the phrase, which Mangey and Wend. would emend by substituting respectively υλικῆς (?) and ἀνθρωπίνης for ὦλης, would not, I think, present any difficulty. Another possibility would be ἐκ πολλῆς.

a Wendland gives the reference for this as Ex. xvi. 23 ff. But this can hardly be right, as no manna fell on the
teaching? Does our mind attend the school of the professor of wisdom and there learn to think and to apprehend? All these exempt from teaching make use of self-worked independent nature for their respective activities. Why then need you still wonder that God showers virtue without toil or trouble, needing no controlling hand but perfect and complete from the very first? And if you would have further testimony of this can you find any more trustworthy than Moses, who says that while other men receive their food from earth, the nation of vision alone has it from heaven? The earthly food is produced with the co-operation of husbandmen, but the heavenly is sent like the snow by God the solely self-acting, with none to share his work. And indeed it says "Behold I rain upon you bread from heaven" (Ex. xvi. 4). Of what food can he rightly say that it is rained from heaven, save of heavenly wisdom which is sent from above on souls which yearn for virtue by Him who sheds the gift of prudence in rich abundance, whose grace waters the universe, and chiefly so in the holy seventh (year) which he calls the Sabbath? For then he says there will be a plentiful supply of good things spontaneous and self-grown, which even all the art in the world could never raise, but springing up and bearing their proper fruit through self-originated, self-consummated nature.

Sabbath. The reference is clearly to the Sabbatical year of Lev. xxv. 4, 5, definitely called "Sabbath," on which he has dwelt in De Fug. 170 ff. ἡ ἑβδομάδα seems to be used for ἑβδομᾶς in De Decal. 159 and De Spec. Leg. ii. 40, as well as in § 144 above. Presumably no noun but ἡμέρα can be understood, but by frequent use it has come to be a noun, which Philo can extend to cover any sacred period, day, month, or year.
Τέξεται όση σοι ἡ ἀρετή, υἱὸν γενναίον ἄρρενα, παντὸς ἀπηλλαγμένον θήλεος πάθος, καὶ καλέσεις τοῦ ὄνομα τοῦ υἱοῦ τοῦ πάθος, ὅπερ ἂν ἔν αὐτῷ πάθης, πεῖσῃ δὲ πάντως χαράν· ὡστε καὶ τὸ σύμβολον αὐτῆς ὄνομα θήσεις, γέλωτα. καθάπερ λύπη καὶ φόβος ἰδίας ἀναφέξεις ἔχουσιν, ὅσ ἂν τὸ βιασάμενον καὶ κρατήσαν ὄνομα (<το>ποιήσῃ πάθος, οὐτως εὐβοιλίαι καὶ εὐφροσύναι φυσικαὶς ἐκφυνήςεις ἀναγκάζουσι χρῆσθαι, ὃν οὐκ ἂν εὔροι τις κυριωτέρας καὶ εὐθυβολωτέρας κλήσεις, κἂν τυγχάνῃ περὶ τὰς κλήσεις σοφός. διό φησιν· "εὐλογημένα αὐτῶν, αὐξήσω αὐτῶν, πληθυνῶ, δώδεκα ἐθνη γεννήσει," τὸν κύκλον καὶ τὸν χορὸν ἀπαντὰ τῶν σοφιστικῶν προπαιδευμάτων. "τὴν δὲ διαθήκην μου στήσω πρὸς Ἰσαὰκ," ἣν ἐκαθαρίσθη ἁρκέτα ἀρετῆς τὸ ἀνθρώπων, μεταποιήσεις γένος, διδακτὴς τε καὶ αὐτομαθοῦς, τὸ μὲν ἁσθενέστερον διδασκόμενης, ἐτοίμης δὲ τὸ ἐρρωμένον. "Εἰς δὲ τὸν καιρόν τοῦτον τέξεται σοι," φησί οἱ σοφία χαράν. ποῖον, ὃ θαυμασιώτατε, δεικνύεις καιρόν; ἢ τὸν ὑπὸ γενέσεως ἀδεικτὸν μόνον; ὁ γὰρ ἀληθῆς αὐτὸς ἦν καιρός, ἀνατολὴ τῶν ὀλων, ἡ εὐπραξία καὶ εὐκαιρία γῆς, οὕρανου, τῶν μεταξὺ φύσεων, ζώων ὁμοῦ καὶ φυτῶν ἀπάντων. ὅθεν καὶ Μωυσῆς ἐθάρρησεν εἰπεῖν τοὺς ἀποδεδρακόσι καὶ μὴ θέλουσι τὸν ὑπὲρ ἀρετῆς ἀρασθαι πόλεμον πρὸς τοὺς ἀντιτεταγμένους· "ἀφεστήκεν ὁ καιρὸς ἀπ' αὐτῶν, ὁ δὲ κύριος ἐν ἡμῖν." μόνον γὰρ οὐκ ἀντικρούσι ὁμο—

*a Cf. De Post. 122, where however the καιρὸς is the false god who deserts his votaries.*
XLV. Virtue then shall bear thee a true-born, male child, one free from all womanish feelings, and thou shalt call his name by the feeling which he raises in thee, which feeling is most surely joy. And therefore thou shalt give him a name significant of joy, even laughter. Just as fear and grief have their own special ejaculations, which the overpowering force of emotion coins, so moods of happy planning or of gladness compel us to break out into natural utterances, as aptly and exactly expressing our meaning as any which an adept in the study of names could devise. Therefore he says: "I have blessed him, I will increase and multiply him: he shall beget twelve nations (that is, the whole round and train of the early branches of the professional schools), but my covenant will I establish with Isaac" (Gen. xvii. 20 f.). Thus both forms of virtue, one where the teacher is another, one where teacher and learner are the same, will be open to human kind. And where man is weak he will claim the former, where he is strong the latter which comes ready to his hands.

XLVI. "But at this season," he continues, "she shall bear to thee," that is, wisdom shall bear joy. What is the season you set before us, Master? Wonder of wonders! Is it not the season which is as no other, which no created being can set forth? For the true season, the dayspring of the universe, when all is well and seasonable with earth and heaven, and the intermediate natures, both living creatures and plants, can be no other than Himself. And therefore Moses feared not to say to the fugitives from danger who shrank from waging the war for virtue against their antagonists, "The season hath departed from them, but the Lord is among you" (Num. xiv. 9)." Here he
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λογεῖ τον θεόν καιρόν, ὅσ παντὸς μὲν ἁσβεοῦς μακρὰν ἀφέστηκεν, ἀρετῶσας δ' ἐμπεριπατεῖ 266 ψυχαῖς. "περιπατήσω" γάρ φησιν "ἐν ὑμῖν, καὶ ἔσομαι ὑμῶν θεός." οἱ δὲ τάς ὃρας τοῦ ἐτους καιροὺς εἶναι λέγοντες οὐ κυρίως καταχρῶνται τοῖς [619] ὄνόμασιν, ἀτε κάποιαν ἡμείς τῶν πραγμάτων ἥκριβωκότες, ἀλλὰ πολλοὺ τοῦ εἰκῆ μετέχοντες.

267 XLVII. Ἐπιτείνων δὲ τὸ κάλλος τοῦ γεννωμένου φησιν αὐτὸ "ἐν τῷ ἐνιαυτῷ τῷ ἑτέρῳ" γεννηθήσεσθαι, ἐνιαυτὸν ἔτερον οὐ (τὸ) τοῦ χρόνου μμυυῶν διάστημα, ὅ ταῖς σεληνιακαῖς ἡ ἡλιακαῖς ἀναμετρεῖται περιόδοις, ἀλλὰ τὸ ἐκτοπον καὶ ἔνοικο καὶ καινὸν ὄντως, ἔτερον τῶν ὄρωμένων καὶ αἰσθητῶν, ἐν ἀσωμάτως καὶ νοητοῖς ἐξετάζομεν, ὅπερ τὸ χρόνον παράδειγμα καὶ ἄρχέτυπον ἐιληκχεν, αἰώνα. αἰών δὲ ἀναγράφεται τοῦ νοητοῦ 268 βίος κόσμου, ώς αἰσθητοῦ χρόνου. ἐν ὃ ἐνιαυτῷ καὶ "τὴν ἐκατοστεύουσαν εὔρισκει κριθῆν" ὅ τὰς θεοῦ χάριτας ἐπὶ γενέσει πλειώνων σπειρας ἀγαθῶν, ὡς πλείστοι τῶν ἐπαξίων τυχεῖν μεταλάβωσιν. 269 ἀλλὰ γὰρ τῷ σπείραντι καὶ θερίζειν ἔθος· ὁ δὲ ἐσπείρε μὲν ἐπιδεικνύμενος τὴν ἐχθρὰν φθόνον καὶ κακίας ἀρετὴν, εὑρεῖν δὲ, ἀλλ' οὗ θερίσαι λέγεται· ὁ γὰρ στάχυν ἀδρότερον τῶν ἐνεργεσίων καὶ πλήρη πεποιημένης ἐτερος ἦν, ὅς1 εὐπρεπεύμενος καὶ ἐτομασάμενος ἐλπίδας μείζους καὶ πλείους δωρεὰς προύθηκε τοῖς ζητοῦσιν εἰς εὑρεσιν.

1 MSS. ὅ.
ON THE CHANGE OF NAMES, 265–269

acknowledges with hardly any disguise that God is the Season which departs far away from all the impious, but walks in rich and fertile souls. “For I will walk among you,” he says, “and will be your God” (Lev. xxvi. 12). But they who say that season means the changes of the year strain the terms from their proper meaning, for they have not carefully studied the real natures of things but are deeply tainted with looseness of thought.

XLVII. He goes on to say—thereby heightening the glory of the child to be—that he will be born “in the other year” (Gen. xvii. 21). And by other year he does not mean an interval of time which is measured by the revolutions of sun and moon, but something truly mysterious, strange and new, other than the realm of sight and sense, having its place in the realm of the incorporeal and intelligible, and to it belongs the model and archetype of time, eternity or aeon. The word aeon signifies the life of the world of thought, as time is the life of the perceptible. In this same year, too, is “the hundredfold crop of barley found” (Gen. xxvi. 12) by him who sows the gifts of God to produce an increase of blessings, and thereby increases to the uttermost the number of those who shall deservedly partake of it. But note that the sower generally reaps. Yet he, though he sowed, and thereby displayed the virtue which hates envy and vice, is not said to reap but to find. For He who ripened the ear of His benefits and filled it with corn was Another, even He who prepares and matures higher hopes and more abundant bounties and puts them forth to be found by those who seek.

a From Timaeus 37 d, as also in Quis Rerum 165, Quod Deus 32, where see note.
XLVIII. Τὸ δὲ "συνετέλεσε λαλῶν πρὸς αὐτὸν" ἵσον ἔστι τῷ τῶν ἀκροατὴν αὐτὸν ἐτελείωσε κενὸν ὁντα σοφίας πρότερον καὶ ἀθανάτων λόγων ἐπληρωσεν. ἐπεὶ δὲ τέλεος ὁ μαθητὴς ἐγένετο, "ἀνέβη" (φησὶ) "κύριος ἀπὸ Ἀβραὰμ" δηλῶν, οὐχ ὅτι διεζεύχθη—φύσει γὰρ θεοῦ ὕπαθος οἱ σοφῶν,—ἀλλὰ τὸ ἐκούσιον τοῦ μαθητοῦ βουλόμενος παραστῆσαι, ἵν, ὅπερ ἐμαθε, μηκέτι ἐφεστῶτος τοῦ διδάσκοντος χωρὶς ἀνάγκης αὐτὸς ἐπιδεικνύμενος, ἐθελουργῶ καὶ αὐτοκελευστῶ προθυμίᾳ χρώμενος, ἐνεργῇ δι’ ἑαυτοῦ. δίδωσι γὰρ ὁ διδάσκαλος τῷ μαθόντι τόπον πρὸς τὴν ἀνευ υποβολῆς ἐκούσιον μελέτην, ἀλήστον μνήμης ἐγχαράττων βεβαιότατον εἴδος.

1 Perhaps αὐτοῦ.
2 mss. ὅσπερ.
XLVIII. The words "he completed talking to him" (Gen. xvii. 22) are equivalent to "He perfected the hearer himself," who before was devoid of wisdom, and filled him with thoughts that cannot die. And when the learner had become perfect, "the Lord went up from Abraham," says Moses (ibid.). He does not mean that Abraham was parted from Him, for by his very nature the sage is God's attendant, but he wished to shew the independence of the learner. His purpose is that when the superintendence of the master is withdrawn, and no compulsion is applied, the pupil may make an exhibition of his own powers, and shewing a diligence which is voluntary and self-imposed may work out by his own efforts what he has learnt. For it is the way of a teacher to give his pupil opportunity of independent practice without suggestions from himself, and thus set upon him the stamp of indelible memory in its surest form.
ON DREAMS, THAT THEY ARE GOD-SENT

(QUOD A DEO MITTANTUR SOMNIA
OR MORE BRIEFLY
DE SOMNIIS)
This treatise, as we learn from its opening section is really the second of those which deal with dreams. The first, which is lost, treated of dreams in which the dreamer's own thoughts had no part. This second treatise is concerned with dreams in which the mind is inspired and can thus foresee the future. The two examples of this kind are taken from the history of Jacob. The first is the familiar story of the heavenly ladder at Bethel, and this with introductions and digression occupies §§ 2-188. The second is the dream of Genesis xxxi. in which he sees the different markings of his flock and is bidden to return to his native land. This takes up the rest of the treatise. The first of these dreams is quoted in § 3, the second in § 189.

Philo, after noting the difference of subject between this treatise and the preceding and quoting the substance of the vision (1-3), finds it necessary to discuss the verses which lead up to it. "And Jacob went out from the well of the oath and journeyed to Haran, and he met with a place. For the sun was set, and he took one of the stones of the place and set it at his head and slept in that place" (4-5). The first question is, What is the well? A well is knowledge, which like the well water is hidden and can only be gained by toil (6-8). But from this particular well Isaac did
not find water, and this means that full knowledge is beyond us. The more we learn the more we find remains to be learnt (8-11).

But why the "well of the oath"? Because this impossibility of obtaining full knowledge is a truth which everyone can safely affirm without fear of perjury (12-13). But we observe that while Isaac digs four wells it is only the fourth which receives this name (14). So too in the universe and in the man we find three things which can be known in a sense and a fourth which cannot. The world has four constituents—earth, air, water, heaven. We can give some account of the first three, but on the fourth all sorts of theories are held. And here he takes the occasion to mention various views as to the nature of the sun, moon, and stars, nearly all of which can be illustrated from earlier writers (15-24). So, too, with man. Here the four are body, senses, speech and mind, and our partial knowledge of the first three, compared with our complete ignorance of the fourth, is treated in the same way (25-32). The thought may be illustrated from the phrase in Leviticus that "the fourth year is holy and for praise," for heaven with its music of the spheres and the human mind alike have been created to praise their maker (33-38). This meditation concludes with a censure of those who suppose that the story of the four wells can be taken in its literal sense (39-40).

Haran, as explained already elsewhere, signifies the land of the senses, and it is only right and natural that the soul should sometimes leave the well of boundless knowledge, the world of mind, and take Haran for its refuge, but not for its lasting home (41-45). That is

*a De Mig. 176 ff.*
ON DREAMS, I.

only for the Laban soul, which is contrasted with Jacob as Terah is with Abraham. For while Abraham came out of Haran, Terah died there (45-48). This leads Philo to further thoughts on the subject of Terah. His name means "observer of scent," and the second part of the name suggests the thought of those who like the hound scent the distant virtue but do not win it, a condition inferior to the best, yet not without value (48-51). The other part of the name, "observer," reminds us that Terah dwelt in Chaldea before he came to Haran, i.e. that his observation concerned itself with the vanities of astrology, whereas his migration to Haran shews the conversion of the soul to the Socratic principle of "Know Thyself" (52-58). But Terah goes no further, and it is only Abraham who leaves Haran for the highest quest of all (59-60).

And now what is the place which he "lights upon" or "meets"? "Place" apart from the ordinary sense may indicate either the Logos which God fills and in which He stands, or God Himself (61-64). After a short discussion of the text in the story of Abraham's sacrifice of Isaac, "he came to the place . . . and saw the place from afar," in which he finds an inconsistency requiring explanation (64-67), he lays down with confidence that in the Jacob story the place is the Logos (68-71).

"The sun was set." Here the sun is God Himself, whose setting in the mind leaves room for the inferior influence of "words" a to take the lead, and some illustration of the symbolism in which the sun or at least light stands for God is given (72-76). But we must note, however, in passing that elsewhere the

a See note on § 72.

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sun is a figure for other things. Sometimes it stands for the mind (77-78), even for such inferior light as that of the senses, and he reminds us that the sunlight hides the glory of the stars as sense hides the light of true knowledge (79-84). Again it stands sometimes for the Logos (85-86). Yet on the whole the thought of the sun representing God holds the field, and two illustrations of this follow. In the first of these the phrase "expose" (or "hang") the malefactor "before the sun" is understood to mean that the confession of sin to the all-seeing God is the necessary preliminary to repentance and forgiveness (87-91). The second leads to one of those curious diatribes in which Philo tries to shew that a simple and indeed humane ordinance of the law cannot be accepted literally. The text is that in which the creditor, who has taken the debtor's cloak as security, is bidden to return it at sunset (92). Various objections to a literal interpretation are raised. Is it worthy of God to legislate on such a trivial matter? (93-94). Why should not the creditor keep the cloak, and what is it a security for? (95-98). Why should it not be restored in the daytime also (99), and even the wording of the ordinance is declared to be absurd if taken literally (99-101). We are therefore driven to the allegorical interpretation that the garment stands for speech or reason, and that those who deprive themselves or others of reason must restore it before the divine sun sets in their hearts (102-114). So then, applying this interpretation to the story, we see the Practiser sometimes illumined by the sun-like rays of God Himself, sometimes left to the less brilliant light of the Logos and finding in that a sufficient blessing.

*a Cf. De Agr. 148 ff.*
ON DREAMS, I.

(115-117). Before closing this part of the discussion Philo notes that some, while agreeing that the place is the Logos, take the sun to mean mind and sense together, and construe the setting of these as meaning the humble acknowledgement of the inability of human faculties to attain real truth (118-119).

"He took of the stones of the place and slept." Before we consider the allegorical meaning of this we may note how the story in its literal sense inculcates the duty of simple living, and Philo takes the occasion to deliver one of his frequent commonplaces against luxury (120-126). Allegorically, however, the stones of the place are Logoi, here definitely regarded as spiritual beings, and one stone, apparently the divine Logos itself, serves him for the pillow of his mind, the head of his soul (127-128). From this thought he passes for a moment to compare the story of the same Logos as the instructor and rewarder of Jacob in the wrestling story of Genesis xxxii., and the lesson to be learnt from the incident of his numbed or shrinking thigh. This concludes the commentary on the incidents which lead up to the dream of the ladder (129-132).

We now pass on to the interpretation of the vision itself. The ladder from one point of view symbolizes the air, the habitation of unbodied souls, some of whom descend into human bodies and become engrossed in earthly things, while others rise above all such. And again, there are higher spiritual beings, the angels, who act as intermediaries between God and man (133-145). But in another sense, the ladder is the soul on which the divine words move up and down—up to draw it upwards, down to help it in its abasement (146-149). Or again, the ladder may show
the life of the Practiser, with its perpetual advancing and back-sliding (150-152), or, once more, the oscillations of fortune as we see them in ordinary life (153-156).

“The Lord ‘stood firmly,’ or was established, on the ladder.” These words naturally suggest to Philo his favourite “thought” of the divine “standing” which alone establishes all things (157-159), and he goes on to consider the phrase: “I am the Lord God of Abraham, thy father, and the God of Isaac.” Why “the Lord God” in one case and “God” in the other? Philo, as usual, assuming that Lord represents the sovereign and God the creative and beneficent potency, argues that the Abraham-nature which learns through teaching needs both these, while the Isaac-nature of the self-taught needs only the latter (160-163); and this thought gives him an occasion to extol such allegorical interpretations and to call upon devout souls to seek for them (164-165). Another point in the phrase is that Abraham is called Jacob’s father, while Isaac is not. Again the same principle of the three types, teaching, nature, practice, will help us. While Jacob is still Jacob the supplanter and embodies practice, he is more akin to Abraham. When he becomes Israel who sees God, he will have Isaac for his father (166-172). Other phrases in the divine speech are commented on shortly with devout reflections, of which the most characteristically Philonic are those on the words, “In thee shall all tribes of the earth be blessed,” and “I will turn thee back to this land.” From the first he draws the lesson that the “tribes” in the individual, the senses, are blessed by the virtuous mind within, while the tribes in the wider sense are inevitably influenced for
ON DREAMS, I.

good by the lover of wisdom. On the second he points out that it may refer to the immortality of the soul, which, released from the body, returns to the heaven from which it came.

He now turns to Jacob's waking words and feelings. A difficult and fantastic explanation is given, of which the main points are (1) that his fear is caused by realizing that God is not in any place, (2) that in the words, "This is none other than the House of God," "this" is the visible world of sense which is also the gate of heaven, because it is only through our experience of it that we get our knowledge of the world of mind (182-188).

If Philo's treatment of the ladder dream may seem in parts a feeble perversion of one of the most familiar and beautiful stories in Genesis, his treatment of the dream which follows brings out his gift for extracting striking ideas from the most unpromising material. After quoting the passage Gen. xxxi. 11-13 in full (189), he begins by pointing out that a vision may be granted to men by the ministers of God, as well as by God Himself (190), and that God speaks in different terms, according as He speaks as a sovereign or a teacher or a friend. That Jacob is a friend appears from His addressing him by name, as Moses and Abraham are addressed (191-196). Passing on to the substance of the dream, the rams and he-goats who mount the sheep and goats are two logoi, here no longer spiritual beings but thoughts or ways of thinking which impregnate tender souls inspiring either repentance or a desire for positive well-doing (197-200). These logoi are described as pure white, speckled or varied, ashy-spotted or sprinkled. At the first of these he glances at present only for a
PHILO

moment, and passes on to a consideration of "variegation" as it is shewn in the pageant of the universe and in the world of learning, where the student gathers from each branch of knowledge its various parts and weaves them into a gaily coloured piece of work such as Bezaleel the "variegator" made (201-207). As for the ashy-spotted, while recognizing that literally this means marked with ash-coloured spots, he turns it for the purpose of his allegory into sprinkled with ashes and water, the ritual of purification, thus signifying the abasement of the humble soul (208-210). He notes how all three are symbolized in the high priest, who must first purify himself with ashes and water, who wears both the varied breastplate and the white linen robe, which represents a higher type of detachment from human aims and deceptions (213-218). In contrast with this is the Joseph soul, with its coat of varied colours, which of the three types has only variegation, and even that in a lower sense (219-224). Let us avoid variegation of this kind, and thus frustrate Laban whose wiles are shewn in the next verse of the text, "I have seen all that Laban does to thee," and that he will be frustrated is shewn by the continuation, "I am the God Who appeared to thee in God's place" (224-227). These last words carry Philo away on to the distinction between "the God" and "God" or "a God," the conclusion of which seems to be that, just as in condescension to human weakness God allows Himself to be spoken of in anthropomorphic terms, so He reveals Himself in the form of angels or "gods" (232-236).a

The next words are: "Where thou anointedst Me a pillar." Philo for the moment ignores "anointedst,"

a See note on §230.
and fastens on the word "pillar," taking it in the sense of a monumental slab. Such a slab is erected or made to stand, is inscribed and is dedicated; and he enlarges on these three ideas, particularly on dedication. The dedication must be to God, and those who dedicate a pillar to themselves are blasphemously affirming the stability of human things, and will, like Lot's wife, become themselves lifeless "pillars" of salt (244-248). He now deals with the word "anointedst": since ἀλείφειν means also train for the arena, and the ἀλείπτης is a trainer, he easily gets the thought that to anoint the pillar is spiritually to train in the soul the doctrine which the pillar represents, namely the stability of God. Such a training will also dedicate the soul (249-251), and so also the words "Thou didst vow a vow" is a dedication of the maker of the vow (252-254). The treatise concludes with an exhortation to the soul to learn all these lessons from the Practiser's story, and thus, as is promised in the last words of the text, return to the land of its nativity (255-end).
ΠΕΡΙ ΤΟΥ ΘΕΟΠΕΜΠΤΟΥΣ ΕΙΝΑΙ
ΤΟΥΣ ΟΝΕΙΡΟΥΣ

Α

[620]

I. Ὅ μὲν πρὸ ταύτης γραφὴ περιείχε τῶν θεο-

πέμπτων ὄνειρων τοὺς κατὰ τὸ πρῶτον εἴδος ταττο-

μένους, ἡφ’ οὗ τὸ θείον ἐλέγομεν κατὰ τὴν ἰδίαν

ἐπιβολὴν τὰς ἐν τοῖς ὑπνοῖς ἐπιπέμπετεν φαντασίας.

ἐν ταύτῃ δ’aut, ὡς ἄν οἶον τε ἤ, δηλώσομεν τοὺς

2 ἐφαρμόττοντας τῷ δευτέρῳ. δεύτερον δ’aut εἴδος, ἐν

ὡ ὁ ἡμέτερος νοῦς τῶν ὅλων συγκινούμενος ἐξ

εαυτοῦ κατέχεσθαί τε καὶ θεοφορεῖσθαι δοκεῖ,

ὡς ἰκανὸς εἶναι προλαμβάνειν καὶ προγινώσκειν τι

τῶν μελλόντων. ὅναρ δ’aut ἐστὶ πρῶτον

οἰκεῖον εἶδει τῷ σημαίνομενὸν τὸ φανέν ἐπὶ τῆς

3 οὐρανοῦ κλίμακας τὸδε’ καὶ ἐνυπνίασθη καὶ ἰδοὺ

κλίμαξ ἐστηριγμένη ἐν τῇ γῆ, ἦς ἡ κεφαλὴ ἀφ-

ικεῖτο εἰς τὸν οὐρανόν, καὶ οἱ ἄγγελοι τοῦ θεοῦ

ἀνέβαινον καὶ κατεβαινον ἐπ’ αὐτῆς· ὁ δὲ κύριος

ἐπεστήρικτο ἐπ’ αὐτῆς· καὶ ἐπεν· ἐγὼ εἴμι· ὁ θεὸς

Ἄβραάμ τοῦ πατρὸς σου καὶ ὁ θεὸς Ὁσαίκ· μὴ

φοβοῦ· ἡ γῆ, ἐφ’ ἦς σοὶ καθεύδεις, σοὶ δώσω αὐτὴν

καὶ τῷ σπέρματί σου, καὶ ἔσται τὸ σπέρμα σου

ὡς ἡ ἀμμος τῆς γῆς, καὶ πλατυνθήσεται ἐπὶ

1 So mss., and also lxx. But perhaps ἐγὼ κύριος as in §§ 159, 166, and 173. See the argument based on this in § 160.
ON DREAMS

BOOK I

I. The treatise before this one embraced that first class of heaven-sent dreams, in which, as we said, the Deity of His own motion sends to us the visions which are presented to us in sleep. In the present treatise we shall, to the best of our ability, bring before our readers dreams which find their right place under our second head. The second kind of dreams is that in which our own mind, moving out of itself together with the Mind of the Universe, seems to be possessed and God-inspired, and so capable of receiving some foretaste and foreknowledge of things to come. a

The first dream belonging to the class thus indicated is that which appeared to the dreamer on the stairway of Heaven: "And he dreamed, and behold a stairway set up on the earth, of which the top reached to heaven, and the angels of God were ascending and descending upon it. And the Lord stood firmly on it; and He said, 'I am the God of Abraham thy father and the God of Isaac; fear not; the land whereon thou sleepest, to thee will I give it, and to thy seed; and thy seed shall be as the sand of the earth, and shall spread abroad

a For this classification of dreams see App. pp. 593 f.

2 MSS. πληθυσμησεως(υν)ται. But πλητ. as LXX in § 175.
θάλασσαν καὶ λίβα καὶ βορράν καὶ ἀνατολάς· καὶ ἐνυπνιωθήσονται ἐν σοὶ πᾶσαι αἱ ψυλαὶ τῆς γῆς καὶ ἔνθω ὑπερματί σου. καὶ ἴδον ἐγὼ μετὰ σου, διαφυλάσσω σε ἐν τῇ ὁδῷ τάς, ἢ ἄν πορευθῆς· καὶ ἀποστρέφω σε εἰς τὴν γῆν ταύτην, ὅτι οὐ μὴ σε ἐγκαταλίπω, ἐως τοῦ ποιήσαι με πάντα ὅσα ἐλάλησα σοι.”

καὶ εῦμαρώς ἰσως δυνησόμεθα καὶ τὰ δηλούμενα ὑπὸ τῆς φαντασίας καταλαβεῖν. τὸν τοῖς προκατασκευή; "καὶ ἐξήλθε” φησίν “Ἰακώβ ἀπὸ τοῦ φρέατος τοῦ ὄρκου καὶ ἐπορεύθη εἰς Χαρράν, καὶ ἀπῆλθης τόπῳ ἐδυνάμεθα ἐν τῷ οὐ μή σε εγκαταλιπώ, εἰς τῇ γῆν ταύτῃ, καὶ ἐλαβεν ἀπὸ τῶν λίθων τοῦ τόπου καὶ ἐθήκε πρὸς κεφαλῆς αὐτοῦ, καὶ ἐκοιμήθη ἐν τῷ τόπῳ ἐκείνῳ”. κατείπε εὐθὺς ἐστὶ τὸ ὅναρ.

ὁκικὸν ἄξιον ἐν ἀρχῇ ταύτῃ τρία διαπόρησαί. ἐν μὲν τί τοῦ ὄρκου φρέαρ καὶ διὰ τί οὕτως ὁμομάσθη, δεύτερον δὲ τίς ἡ Χαρράν καὶ διὰ τί ἀπὸ τοῦ λεχθέντος φρέατος ἐξελθὼν εἰς Χαρράν ἔρχεται εὐθὺς, τρίτον τίς τῶν τόπων καὶ διὰ τί, ὅταν γένηται κατ' αὐτόν, ὅ μὲν ἠλιος δύεται, αὐτὸς δὲ κοιμᾶται.

Οὐκόν άξιον εν ἀρχή ταυτί τρία διαπορήσαι· ἐν μὲν τί τοῦ ὄρκου φρέαρ καὶ διὰ τί οὕτως ὁμομάσθη, δεύτερον δὲ τίς Χαρράν καὶ διὰ τί ἀπὸ τοῦ λεχθέντος φρέατος ἐξελθὼν εἰς Χαρράν ἔρχεται εὐθὺς, τρίτον τίς τῶν τόπων καὶ διὰ τί, ὅταν γένηται κατ' αὐτόν, ὅ μὲν ἠλιος δύεται, αὐτὸς δὲ κοιμᾶται.

Εἴκοπώμεν οὖν αὐτίκα τὸ πρῶτον. ἐμοὶ τούνυν δοκεῖ σύμβολον εἶναι τὸ φρέαρ ἐπιστήμης· οὐ γάρ ἐστὶν ἐπιστόλαιοι αὐτὴς ἡ φύσις, ἀλλὰ πάνω βαθείᾳ· οὐδὲ ἐν φανερῷ πρόκειται, ἀλλὰ ἐν αφανεῖ που κρύπτεσθαι φιλεῖ· οὐδὲ ῥαδίως, ἀλλὰ μετὰ πολλῶν πόνων καὶ μόλις ἀνευρισκεῖται. καὶ ταῦτ’

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* Or “the next thing is that he comes to Haran.” Of course in the narrative Jacob does not come at once to Haran, nor is the scene of the vision in Haran. But, since both Well and Haran are to Philo conditions of soul, the
to the west and the south and the north and the east; and in thee shall be blessed all the tribes of the earth, and in thy seed. And, behold, I am with thee, guarding thee in every way by which thou goest, and will bring thee back into this land, for I will by no means forsake thee, until I have done all things whatsoever I have spoken unto thee” (Gen. xxviii. 12-15). The vision is introduced by a prefatory passage necessary for its understanding, and if we study this in detail we shall perhaps be able easily to grasp the meaning of the vision. What then is this prefatory passage? It runs thus: “And Jacob went out from the Well of the Oath, and made his journey to Haran; and he met with a place; for the sun set; and he took one from the stones of the place, and put it under his head, and he slept in that place” (ibid. 10 f.); and then at once follows the dream. It is worth while, then, at the outset to investigate these three points, firstly, what “the Well of the Oath” is and why it was so called; secondly, what “Haran” is, and why it is that on coming out from the Well aforesaid he comes at once to Haran; thirdly, what “the place” is, and why, when he reaches it, the sun sets, and he himself goes to sleep.

II. Let us consider the first to begin with. To me, then, the Well seems to be a symbol of knowledge; for the nature of knowledge is to be very deep, not superficial; it does not display itself openly, but loves to hide itself in secrecy; it is discovered not easily but with difficulty and with much labour. And all statement that he journeys from one to the other with no mention of any intervening place (for the τόπος of the vision is no place in the ordinary sense) implies that the second soul state is the immediate successor to the first.
οὐ μόνον ἐπὶ τῶν μεγάλα καὶ ἀμύθητα ὡςα θεωρή-ματα ἔχουσῶν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν εὐτελεστάτων
7 θεωρεῖται. ἦν γοῦν ἄν ἐθέλησ ἐλοῦ τῶν τεχνῶν, μή μοι τήν ἀρίστην, ἀλλὰ τήν πασῶν ἀφανεστάτην, ἦν ἐλεύθερος μὲν ἵσως οὔδεις ἐν πόλει τραφεῖς ἐκὼν ἐπιτηδεύσειεν ἂν, ἐν ἄγρῳ δὲ μόλις ἄκων οἰκέτης δυσκόλω καὶ δυστρόπω παλαιῶν δευτότη
8 βιαζομένω πολλά δρᾶν τῶν ἀβουλήτων. εὐρεθή-
σεται γάρ οὐκ ἀπλοῦν, ἀλλὰ ποικίλον τὸ πράγμα, οὐ θατέρα ληπτόν, ἀρίστην καὶ ἀφανεστάτην, ἦν εὐφράτην, καὶ ἀμέλεια καὶ ἀθεία, ἀρίστην καὶ φιλοτιμίας ἐν πάσης τε καὶ φροντίδων μεστὸν.

οὐ χάριν οὐδ᾽ ὕδωρ ἐν τῷ φρέατι
tούτῳ φασίν οἱ ὀργύτοντες εὐρέοι, ἐπειδὴ τὰ τέλη
τῶν ἐπιστημόμοιν οὐ δυσεύρετα μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ
9 ἄνευρετα παντελῶς εἶναι συμβέβηκε. γραμματι-
κώτερος δὲ διὰ τοῦτο καὶ γεωμετρικώτερος ἐτερος
ἐτέρου γίνεται τῷ τὰς ἐπιτάσεις καὶ παραυξήσεις
ἀμήχανον εἶναι ὅροις περιγραφήναι· πλεῖω γὰρ ἀεὶ
tῶν εἰς μάθησιν ἱκόντων τὰ ἀπολειπόμενα ἐκδε-
χεται καὶ ἐφεδρεύει, ὡς καὶ τὸν ἀπτεσθαὶ περάτων
ἐπιστήμης ὑπολαμβάνομεν ἁμιτελῆ παρ᾽ ἐτέρῳ
κριτῇ νομίζομεν, παρὰ δὲ ἀληθείᾳ δικαζούσῃ καὶ
10 ἅρτη ἄρχεσθαι δοκεῖν. “βραχὺς μὲν γὰρ ὁ βίος,” ἔφη τις, “ἡ δὲ τέχνη μακρά,” ἂς ἀριστα κατα-

1 mss. θῆρα (some θηρατο) ληπτῶν (some μεμπτῶν). The
correction to θατέρα is mine. See note to De Mig. 220,
where grounds are given for retaining against Wend. the τῆ
ἐτέρα of the mss., and for reading οὐ θατέρα in De Sac. 37, in
accordance with the Papyrus. This proverbial phrase quoted
in Plato, Soph. 226 A seems for some reason to have eluded
both scribes and editors.
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ON DREAMS, I. 6–10

this may be seen not only in branches of knowledge which contain a whole multitude of important problems, but in the simplest studies as well. Just choose any art you please, not the best of them I beg of you, but the most ignoble of them all, which perhaps no free man whatever brought up in a city would voluntarily practise, and even in the country a servant who has to grapple with a harsh and ill-conditioned master, who forces him to many a distasteful task, would only undertake reluctantly. For it will be found to be not a simple but a subtle matter, one "which needs both hands to take it," hard to discover and hard to master, a foe to hesitation and negligence and indifference, demanding abundance of zest and enthusiasm, of hard toil and anxious thought. This is why the diggers of this well say that they found no water in it (Gen. xxvi. 32), inasmuch as the ends pursued in the different branches of knowledge prove to be not only hard to reach, but absolutely beyond finding. That is why one man is a better scholar or geometrician than another, because no limit can be set to the extensions and enlargements of his subject in all directions. For what still remains is always waiting to engage us in fuller force than what we have already learned; so that the man who is supposed to have reached the very end of knowledge, is considered in the judgement of another to have come half way; while if Truth give her verdict, he is pronounced to be just beginning. For "life is short," said one, "and art is long"; and he best apprehends its greatness

a Or "meanest" = ἄφανεστάτην below.

b The well-known opening aphorism of Hippocrates, though there ἡ τέχνη is the art (of medicine).
λαμβάνει τὸ μέγεθος ὁ ἄφενδως ἐμβαθύνων αὐτῇ καὶ ὠσπέρ φρέαρ | αὐτὴν ὁρύττων. διὸ καὶ τελευτῶντα, τινὰ πολιῶν ἕδη καὶ ὑπέργηρων λόγος ἐχει δακρύνειν, οὐ δὲ ἀνανδρίαν φόβῳ θανάτου, ἀλλὰ διὰ παυδείας ἵμερον ὡς νῦν πρώτον εἰς αὐτὴν εἰσιόντα, ὅτε πανύστατ᾽ ἐξεισώ. ἀνθεὶ γάρ ἡ ψυχὴ πρὸς ἐπιστήμην, ὅποτε αἱ τοῦ σῶματος ἀκμαὶ χρόνου μήκει μαραίνονται. πρὶν οὖν ἡβῆσαι καὶ ἐννεάσαι τῇ τῶν πραγμάτων ἀκριβεστέρα καταλήψει, χαλεπῶν ὑποσκελισθῆναι. τὸ δὲ πάθος τοῦτο κοινὸν ἀπάντων ἐστὶ τῶν φιλομαθῶν, οῖς νέα ἐπὶ παλαιῶς ἀνύσχει καὶ ἀνάλαμπει θεωρήματα, πολλὰ μὲν καὶ τῆς ψυχῆς, ὅποτε μὴ στείρα καὶ ἄγονος εἶναι, τικτούσης, πολλὰ δὲ καὶ τῆς φύσεως ἀτεκμάρτως ἐκ ταυτομάτου προφαινούσης τοῖς διάνοιαν ὀξυδορκοῦσιν.

Τὸ μὲν οὖν ἐπιστήμης φρέαρ ὅρον καὶ τελευτὴν οὐκ ἔχον τοιοῦτον ἀπεδείχθη. διὰ τὶ δὲ ὐρκος ἀνομάσθη, λεκτέον· τὰ ἐνδοιαζόμενα τῶν πραγμάτων ὅρκω διακρίνεται καὶ τὰ ἀβέβαια καὶ ἀπιστά λαμβάνει πίστιν· ἐξ ὧν ἔκεινο συνάγεται, ὅτι περὶ οὐδενὸς ἄν τις οὕτως βεβαιώσατο, ως περὶ τοῦ σοφίας γένος ἀπείγραφον καὶ ἀτελεύτητον εἶναι. καλὸν μὲν οὖν καὶ ἀνωμῶτω διεξιόντες περὶ τοῦτων συνεπιγράφεσθαι· οὐ δὲ μὴ λίαν εἰς συναίνεσιν εὐχερῆς ἐνωμῶτω γενομένω συναινεῖτω. μηδεὶς δὲ ὀμνύναι τὸν τοιοῦτον ὀρκον

1 Perhaps τοιοῦτον (ὅν).
2 MSS. ὀρκου.
3 MSS. σύνεσιν.

— The plural ὁν is due to the threefold form of the statement in the preceding clause, but the logic of what follows.
ON DREAMS, I. 10–13

who honestly sounds its depths, and digs it like a well. So there is a story that a grey-haired man of great age shed tears when dying, not in any cowardly fear of death, but by reason of his yearning for education, and the thought that he is now first entering upon it, when he takes his final leave of it. For the soul is just blossoming into knowledge, when the body’s bloom is withering away through the passing of years. So it is a hard fate to be tripped up by the heels before one has attained the prime of youthful strength to apprehend things more accurately. This experience is common to all who love to learn, who see new results of thought and study rise like a shining light in addition to the old. Many of these does the soul, if it be not cursed with barrenness, bring forth; many does Nature of herself shew to those whose understanding is sharp-sighted, without giving any sign beforehand of their coming.

So then the well of knowledge, the well without limit or ending, has been shewn to be such as I have described. Why it was named "Oath" I must now tell you. Matters that are in doubt are decided by an oath, insecure things made secure, assurance given to that which lacked it. From this we conclude that there is nothing which can be asserted with a greater certainty than that wisdom is essentially without end or limit. While then it is well to agree with one who discourses on these truths even if he takes no oath, let anyone who is not very prone to assent do so when the speaker is on his oath. And no one need shrink from taking such an oath, for he may rest assured that is not clear. Presumably the thought is that since the oath creates certainty, the name of oath given to the well gives absolute certainty that the well is such as we have found it to be.
PHILO

ἀναδυέσθω σαφῶς εἰδὼς, ὅτι ἐν εὐρόκων γραφή·

14 III. "Αλίς μὲν δὴ τούτων. ἐπόμενον δ' ἄν εἰς

σκέψασθαι, διὰ τί τεττάρων ὀρυττομένων φρεάτων

ὑπὸ τῶν ἀμφὶ τὸν 'Αβραὰμ καὶ Ἰσαὰκ τὸ τέταρτον

καὶ τελευταῖον "ὁρκὸς" προσερρήθη. μήποτ'

οὖν δι' ὑπονοίαν ἐκεῖνο βούλεται παραστήσαι, ὅτι

καὶ τῷ παντὶ τεττάρων ὄντων, ἐξ ὧν συνεστήκειν

οἰς ὁ κόσμος, καὶ ἐν ἡμῖν αὐτοῖς ἰσαρίθμων, ἐξ ὧν

dιαπλασθέντες εἰς ἀνθρωπόμορφον εἴδος ἐτυπώ-

θημεν, τὰ μὲν [οὖν] τρία πέφυκεν ἀμηγέπτη κατα-

λαμβάνουσι, τὸ δὲ τέταρτον ἀκατάληπτον πᾶσι

tοῖς κριταῖς ἔστων. ἐν μὲν οὖν τῷ κόσμῳ γῆν καὶ

ὕδωρ καὶ ἁέρα καὶ οὐρανὸν τέταρτον τὰ πάντα εἶναι

συμβείκειν· ὁν τὰ μὲν ἄλλα κἂν δυσευρέτου, ἄλλ'

οὐκ εἰσάπαν ἀνευρέτου μοίρας ἥξιωται.

17 καὶ γὰρ γῆν, ὅτι ἐστὶ σώμα βαρὺ καὶ ἀδιάλυτον

καὶ στερεόμυν καὶ τεμνόμενον εἰς ὅρη καὶ πεδιάδας

χῶρας καὶ ποταμοῖς καὶ θαλάτη διαιροῦμεν, ὡς

tὰ μὲν νησιάξειν, τὰ δὲ ἡπειρουθαί, καὶ ὁτι τὸ

μὲν αὐτῆς λεπτόγεων, τὸ δὲ βαθύγειον, καὶ τὸ

μὲν τραχύ καὶ στριφόν καὶ λιθώδες καὶ εἰσάπαν

ἀγονον, τὸ δὲ λεῖον καὶ μαλακὸν καὶ γονιμωτατον, |
his name will appear on the register of those who have sworn truly.  

III. Enough on these points. The next thing to inquire is why, when four wells are dug by Abraham and Isaac and those about them (Gen. xxi. 25, xxvi. 19-23), the fourth and last received as its name "Oath." Probably Moses wishes to show us allegorically that while both the constituents of which the universe is composed, and those from which we ourselves were moulded and so fashioned into human shape, are four in number, three of them are such as can in one way or another be apprehended, but the fourth is universally held to be beyond our powers of apprehension. In the world, then, we find the constituents that make up the whole to be four, earth, water, air, heaven. To three of these properties have been allotted, the discovery of which may be difficult, but is not wholly impossible.

For, as regards earth, we perceive that it is a body, heavy, indissoluble, firm, cut up into mountain-ranges and level plains, divided by rivers and sea, so that parts of it are islands, part continents; that some of it has a light thin soil, some of it a deep soil; some of it rough, stiff, stony, and altogether barren, some level and soft and very fertile. These and a thousand other points we apprehend. As to water again, we perceive that it has several of the properties just enumerated in common with land, and others peculiar to itself; for some of it is sweet, some brackish, other parts marked by other differences; some water is fit to drink, other water unfit. We know too it has not either of these properties alike for all; one kind of water is drinkable by some but not by others, and what is undrinkable by some is

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to ἑτερον,—καὶ τὸ μὲν φύσει ψυχρὸν, τὸ δὲ φύσει
19 θερμὸν—εἰςι γὰρ μυρία πολλαχόθι πηγαὶ ζέον
ὕδωρ ἐκδίδονται, οὐ κατὰ γῆν μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ
κατὰ θάλατταν· ἥδη γούν ἐφάνησαν φλέβες ἀν-
ομβροῦσαν ζέον ὕδωρ ἐν μέσοις πελάγεσιν, ὡς ἥ
τοσαύτη τῶν ἐν κύκλῳ πελαγῶν ἀνάχυσις ἐξ αἰῶνος
ἐπικλύζουσα οὐκ ἰσχυσε σβέσαι, ἀλλ’ οὔδ’ ἐπὶ
20 ποσὸν ἀνείναι—καὶ πάλιν ὅτι ὁ ἀήρ ἔχει φύσιν
εἰκονικοὺς ἀντιπερισταμένους ¹ τοῖς σώμασιν, ὅργανον
ὡν ζωῆς, ἀναπνοῆς, ὀράσεως, ἀκοῆς, τῶν ἄλλων
αισθήσεων, πυκνότητας καὶ μανότητας κινήσεως
τε καὶ ἡρεμίας ἐνδεχόμενης, τροπὰς καὶ μεταβολὰς
παντοῦ ὁμοιομορφῶς τε καὶ μεταβάλλων, κειμένως
καὶ θέρη γεννῶν καὶ τὰς μετοπωρινὰς καὶ ἔαρινὰς
-parse, ἐξ ὥσὶν ὁ ἐνιαυτῷ κύκλος πέφυκε περιποίησαι.

21 IV. Τούτων μὲν δὴ πάντων αἰσθανόμεθα, ὁ δ’
οὐρανὸς ἀκατάληπτον ἔχει τὴν φύσιν, οὐδὲν ἐαυτὸν
σαφῆς γνώρισμα πρὸς ἡμᾶς ἀποστείλας. τί γὰρ
ἂν εἴπομεν; ὅτι πεπηγώς ἐστὶν κρύσταλλος, ὡς
ἡξίωσαν τινες; ἢ ὅτι πῦρ τὸ καθαρῶτατον; ἢ
ὅτι πέμπτον κυκλοφορικὸν σῶμα, μηδὲν τῶν
τεττάρων στοιχείων μετέχον; τί δ’; ἡ ἀπλανῆς
καὶ ἐξωτάτω σφαίρα πρὸς τὸ ἄνω βάθος ἔχει ἡ
αὐτὸ μόνον ἐστὶν ἐπιφάνεια βάθους ἑρῆμη, τοῖς
22 ἐπιπέδους σχήμασιν ἑοικυία; τί δ’; ὁι ἀστέρες
πότερον γῆς εἰσών ὄγκοι πυρὸς πλήρεις—ἀγκαὶ γὰρ

¹ Wend. with most mss. ἀντιπερισταμένοι.
ON DREAMS, I. 18–22

quite drinkable by others; and that some is by nature cold, some by nature hot: for there are a thousand springs, in many places giving forth boiling water, and that not only on land, but in the sea. Yes, there have before now appeared veins emitting boiling water in mid ocean, which all the force of the surrounding seas pouring over them from time immemorial has been powerless to quench or even in any measure to check. Again we perceive that the air has a nature which gives way to the pressure of the objects around it; that it is the instrument of life, of breathing, of sight, hearing and the other senses; that it admits of density and rarity, of motion and stillness, that it undergoes all kinds of change; that it is the source of winter and summer, and of the autumn and spring seasons, that is, of the constituent parts that fix the limits of the year's cycle.

IV. All these we perceive; but heaven has sent to us no sure indication of its nature, but keeps it beyond our comprehension. For what can we say? That it is a fixed mass of crystal, as some have thought? Or that it is absolutely pure fire? Or that it is a fifth substance, circular in movement, with no part in the four elements? Again, we ask, has the fixed and outmost sphere upward-reaching depth, or is it nothing but a superficies, without depth, resembling plane geometrical figures? Again: are the stars lumps of earth full of fire? Some people

\[a\] For these theories about the heavenly bodies see App. p. 594.
καὶ νάπας καὶ μύδρους¹ διαπύρους εἶπον αὐτοὺς ἐιναὶ τινες, αὐτοὶ δεσμωτηρίου καὶ μύλωνος, ἐν οἷς τὰ τοιαῦτα ἐστιν ἐπὶ τιμωρία τῶν ἁσεβῶν, οὖντες ἐπάξιοι—ἡ συνεχῆς καὶ, ὡς εἰπέ τις, πυκνὴ ἀρμονία, πιλήματα ἀδιάλυτα αἴθερος; ἐμψυχοὶ δὲ καὶ νοεροὶ ἡ νοῦ καὶ ψυχῆς ἀμέτοχοι; προαιρετικὰς δὲ ἡ κατηναγκασμένας αὐτὸ μόνον κινήσεις ἐξοντες; τί δὲ; σελήνη πότερον γνήσιον ἢ νόθον ἐπιφέρεται φέγγος ἡλιακάς ἐπιλαμπόμενον ἀκτῖνων ἑκάτερος. ˌ ἡ καθ’ αὐτὸ μὲν ἵδια τούτων οὐδέτερον, | τὸ δ’ ἐξ ἀμφοῖν ὡς ἐν ἕξ οὐκείου καὶ ἀλλοτρίου πυρὸς κράμα; πάντα γὰρ ταῦτα καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα τοῦ ἀριστοῦ τε καὶ τετάρτου τῶν ἐν κόσμῳ σώματος ὑντα, οὐρανοῦ, ἄδηλα καὶ ἀκάταλλα, στοχασμοῖς καὶ εἰκασίαις, οὐ παγίω λόγῳ τῆς ἀληθείας, ἐφορμοῦντα· ὅστε κἂν ὡμόσαι τινὰ θαρρήσαντα, ὅτι θυντὸς οὐδεὶς πώποτε ἐσχύσει τούτων ἐναργῶς καταλαβεῖν οὐδέν. ὁρκος διὰ τοῦτ’ ὠνομάσθη τὸ τέταρτον καὶ ἔτηρον φρέαρ, ή τοῦ τετάρτου τῶν ἐν τῷ κόσμῳ ἔτη τῆς ἀληθείας ατελεύτητος καὶ πάντη δυσεύρετος, οὐρανοῦ.

V. Ἡδωμεν δὲ, ὅν τρόπον καὶ τὸ ἐν ἡμῖν αὐτοῖς τέταρτον διαφέροντας καὶ κατ’ ἐξαίρετον λόγον ἀκατάληπτον εἶναι πέφυκεν. οὐκοῦν τέταρτα τὰ ἀνωτάτω τῶν περὶ ἡμᾶς ἐστι, σῶμα, αἰσθήσεις, λόγος, νοῦς· τούτων μὲν δὴ τὰ τρία οὐ κατὰ πάσας

¹ Several mss. δρυμοῦς, which at first sight may seem to fit ἀγκεα καὶ νάπας better, but see note below and App. p. 594.
² MSS. δυσόρατος.

ᵃ Cf. De Aet. 47, where the theory that the stars are μύδροι is ascribed to ἐνοι τῶν οίᾳ περὶ δεσμωτηρίου φλανροῦντων.
ON DREAMS, I. 22–25

have declared them to be dells and glades and masses of fiery metal, for which they themselves deserve a prison and mill-house, in which such instruments are kept to punish impiety. Or are the stars an unbroken, and, as one has said, "close" harmony, indissoluble compresses of ether? Are they living and intelligent, or devoid of intelligence and conscious life? Are their motions determined by choice or simply by necessity? Does the moon contribute a light of its own or a borrowed light caused by the rays of the sun shining on it? Or is it neither the one nor the other by itself absolutely, but the combined result of both, a mixture such as we might expect from a fire partly its own, partly borrowed? Yes, all these and suchlike points pertaining to heaven, that fourth and best cosmic substance, are obscure and beyond our apprehension, based on guess-work and conjecture, not on the solid reasoning of truth; so much so that one may confidently take one's oath that the day will never come when any mortal shall be competent to arrive at a clear solution of any of these problems. This is why the fourth and waterless well was named "Oath," being the endless and altogether baffling quest of the fourth cosmic region, heaven.

V. Let us see in what way that which occupies the fourth place in ourselves too is of such a nature as to be eminently and peculiarly incomprehensible. The factors in us of highest significance are four, body, sense-perception, speech, mind. Three of these are \( \tauου \ σύμπαντος \ ουρανοι. \) Whether such a form of torture was actually used in prisons in Philo's time I do not know. There is probably some allusion to the story that Anaxagoras was prosecuted for declaring the sun to be \( a \ μυδρος \ διαπυρος, \) Diog. Laert. ii. 12.
Philosophical ideas are, however, included in those things which are in themselves to be grasped. What do I mean? That the body and hair is divisible and moveable, Ismen, having three dimensions, length, breadth, and depth, while the motions are doubled, the upper, the lower, the right hand, the left, the face, the back, and all things, and in addition to this, it is in the nature of a body, we do not know other things, and that the body decays, grows old, perishes, and clearly we say. And towards the senses in particular we are blind, and we have become, not that each of the organs, whether the eyes of vision, ears of hearing, nostrils of the nose, and the others in harmony, and that the agents of thought are speaking, shapes, sounds, airs, and qualities of the substances, all things, and the qualities in these, and that the navigators are bodies, which if they see or hear, or if they are marked, and they are marked, they foresee, and Ismen, that it is a excellence, and that another, and that another, and that another, and that another, and all others, generation, color, shape, disposition, and united, and united,

1 Some mss. τάσει, which Mangey and Wend. adopt. See App. p. 595.
not obscure in all their aspects, but contain in themselves some indications by which they can be understood. What do I mean? We know that the body is threefold in dimensions and sixfold in movements, having three dimensions, length, depth, breadth, and twice as many, namely six, movements, upward, downward, to the right, to the left, forward, backward. Nor are we ignorant that it is a vessel for the soul, and we are perfectly aware that it comes to maturity, wears out, grows old, dies, is dissolved.

With respect to sense-perception, also, we are not wholly dim-sighted, and blind, but we are able to say that it is divided into five parts, and that each part has its special organs fashioned by Nature, eyes for seeing, ears for hearing, nostrils for smelling, and for the others the organs in which they find their fit place, and that they are understanding's messengers, bringing to it reports of colours, forms, sounds, distinct scents and savours, in a word, of material substances and their qualities, and that they are bodyguards of the soul, making known all that they have seen or heard. And should any hurtful thing approach from without, they are aware of it beforehand, and on their guard against it, lest it should stealthily make its way in and cause incurable damage to their mistress.

Sound, too, does not entirely elude our discernment. We know that one sound is shrill, another deep, one tuneful and melodious, another discordant and most unmusical, and again, one louder and another softer. They differ also in countless other respects, in genera, tone colours, intervals, conjunct or disjunct systems, and har-

\[ i.e. \text{the mouth, and for touch “the whole structure of the body,”} \, \text{De Mig. 188.} \]
tais dia tettrarwon, tais dia pente, tais dia pasdon
29 symphwniais. kai mene dh kai tois ev-
athron phonis, yin mouc es ek pantwn zomwn elaxhe anbropos, estin a gnwriqomev oion oti apo
dianois anaepempetai, oti en tw stoymati ar-
broita, oti y glwssa plhttousa' ti tiis phonis
fasei to enathron ensofragizeetai kai logon, all'
[625] ou ylhn | autro mouc phon anrhy kai adiast-
pwtwto yxhov aperegazetai, oti khrkos y eurhneos
exeiv tazin pros ton ypoballononta nous.
30 VI. Ap' oiv kai to tetartan twv en ymin autois,
6 ygemwv nous, katalyptos estin; ou dhpou. ti
yarp auton oimethe kata ti ynovian eviai; pneuma
y alma y swma syvolarw--all' ou swma, aswmaton
de lekteon--y peras y eldos y arithmon y enedelkeian
31 y armoniav y ti twv ontvon; yennwmenon d' evthys
4 yxwthn eiokrinetai y upo tov periexkontos aeros
y elthermos en ymin fvisis ola sidhros en xalkews
pepyromenos ydaii yuxrwp pro to krateiotaton
stomoita; diost kai parata ti yuxiin ynovmasai
yuxh dokei. ti de; teleutwontan sbwntai kai
sympheireta tois swmason y plieoston epitboi
32 xronon y kata to pantelles apharton esti; pou
5 d' empefowleukai o nous autw; ara olkon eekle-
rwta; oin mene yap ti ynakropolin en ymin an-
1 Perhaps read plhttousa. Cf. Quod Deus 84 tupoutai
wpser upo dhmiourgov tinov ylwttis.
2 Perhaps evnedeoken. See App. p. 596.
3 Perhaps read yennwmenon, cf. teleutwontan below.
4 Perhaps y.
5 autw is difficult. To refer it to swma understood from
swmasi as in the translation is possible, but strange. Mangey
autos. Perhaps autwn as one ms., partitive gen. after pou. Or
it may be an insertion from autw below. (So G. H. W.)
ON DREAMS, I. 28–32

monies of the fourth, the fifth, the octave.\(^a\)
In articulate sound, moreover, an advantage possessed \(^{29}\) by man alone of all living creatures, there are particulars of which we are aware; as, for example, that it is sent up from the understanding, that it is in the mouth that it acquires articulation, that it is the beat or stroke of the tongue that imparts articulation and speech to the tension of the voice, but does not produce simply just an idle sound and unshapen noise, since it holds to the suggesting mind the office of its herald and interpreter.

VI. Is, then, the fourth element in ourselves, the \(^{30}\) dominant mind, capable of being comprehended? \(^{b}\)
By no means. For what do we suppose it to be essentially? Breath or blood or body in general? Nay, we must pronounce it no body but incorporeal. Do we regard it as boundary-line, or form, or number, or continuity, or harmony, or what amongst all that exists? At our birth is it at once introduced into us \(^{31}\) from without? Or does the air which envelops it impart intense hardness to the warm nature within us, such as the red-hot iron receives when plunged at the smithy into cold water? The name of "soul" would seem to have been given to it owing to the "cooling" which it thus undergoes. Again: when we die, is it quenched and does it share the decay of our bodies, or live on for a considerable time, or is it wholly imperishable? And where in the body \(^{32}\) has the mind made its lair? Has it had a dwelling assigned to it? Some have regarded the head, our body's citadel, as its hallowed shrine, since it is about

\(^a\) For these terms cf. De Cong. 76 and other ref. there given. For "genera" and "systems" see App. p. 595.
\(^b\) For illustration of these theories about the mind see App. pp. 596 f.
ιέρωσαν αυτῷ κεφαλῆν, περὶ ἡν καὶ αἱ αἰσθήσεις λοχώσων, εἶκος εἶναι νομίσαντες ἐγγὺς οία μεγάλου βασιλέως ἐφεδρεύειν τοὺς δορυφόρους. οἱ δ' ὑπὸ καρδίας αὐτὸν ἄγαλματοφορεῖσθαι διανοηθέντες γνωσιμαχοῦσιν. αἱ δ' ὅ το τέταρτον ἀκατάληπτον, οὐρανὸς μὲν ἐν κόσμῳ παρὰ τὴν ἀέρος καὶ γῆς καὶ ὕδατος φύσιν, νοὺς δὲ ἐν ἀνθρώπῳ παρὰ σώμα καὶ αἴσθησιν καὶ τὸν ἐρμηνεύει λόγον. μήποτε μέντοι καὶ τὸ τέταρτον ἔτος "ἀγιον καὶ αἰνετὸν" ταύτης ἐνεκα τῆς αἰτίας ἐν ταῖς ἱεραῖς ἀναγραφαῖς δηλοῦται: τὸ γὰρ ἐν τοῖς γεγονόσιν ἀγιον οὐρανὸς μὲν ἐστὶν ἐν κόσμῳ, καθ' ὅν αἱ ἀφθαρτοὶ καὶ μακραίωνες φύσεις περιπολοῦσιν, ἐν ἀνθρώπῳ δὲ νοῦς, ἀπόσπασμα θεῶν ὕμνῳ, καὶ μάλιστα κατὰ Μωυσέα λέγοντα: "ἐνεφύσησεν εἰς τὸ πρόσωπον αὐτοῦ πνοὴν ζωῆς, καὶ ἐγένετο ὁ ἄνθρωπος εἰς ψυχὴν ζώσαν." καὶ ἐκάτερον δὲ αἰνετὸν οὐκ ἀπὸ σκοποῦ μοι δοκεῖ προσειρήσθαι: τὰ γὰρ δυνάμενα τοὺς ἐπαίνους καὶ ὑμνοὺς καὶ εὐθαμονισμοὺς ἐκτραγῳδεῖν τοὺς γεγονόσιν πατρὸς ταύτ' ἐστὶν, οὐρανὸς τε καὶ νοῦς. ἀνθρώπος μὲν γὰρ ἐξαιρέτου παρὰ τὰ ἄλλα ζώα γέρως ἐλαχε, θεραπεύειν τὸ ὦν, ὁ δὲ οὐρανὸς ἀεὶ μελῳδεῖ, κατὰ τὰς κινήσεις τῶν ἐν ἑαυτῷ τὴν πάμμουσον ἀρμονίαν ἀποτελῶν. ἦς εἰ συνέβαινε τὴν ἡχὴν εἰς τὰς ἡμετέρας φθάνειν ἡχοὺς, ἐρωτεῖς ἄν ἀκάθεκτοι καὶ λευττηκότες ἤμεροι καὶ ἀπαντοῦν καὶ μανιώδεις | εἴγνωσον οἴστροι, ὡς καὶ τῶν ἀναγκαίων ἀπέχεσθαι a i.e. for giving praise, as the sequel shews that Philo understood the word rather than "praiseworthy." So also in his treatment of the same passage in De Plant. 117 ff., where, however, he quotes the text more correctly, "in the fourth year all its fruit shall be ἄγιος καὶ ἀινετὸς."
ON DREAMS, I. 32–36

the head that the senses have their station, and it, seems natural to them that they should be posted there, like bodyguards to some mighty monarch. Others contend pertinaciously for their conviction that the heart is the shrine in which it is carried. So in every case it is the fourth of the series that is beyond comprehension. In the universe it is the heaven in contrast with the nature of air and earth and water; in man it is mind over against the body, and sense-perception, and the speech which gives expression to thought. It may well be that it is for this reason that the fourth year is designated in the sacred documents "holy and for praise" (Lev. xix. 24); for among created things, that which is holy is, in the universe, the heavens, in which natures imperishable and enduring through long ages have their orbits; in man it is mind, a fragment of the Deity, as the words of Moses in particular bear witness, "He breathed into his face a breath of life, and man became a living soul" (Gen. ii. 7). And each of these appears to me to be correctly spoken of as "for praise." For it is in the heaven and in the mind that capacity resides to set forth in solemn strains hymns of praise and blessing in honour of the Father who is the author of our being. For man is the recipient of a privilege which gives him distinction beyond other living creatures, that, namely, of worshipping Him that is; while the heaven is ever melodious, producing, as the heavenly bodies go through their movements, the full and perfect harmony. If the sound of it ever reached our ears, there would be produced irrepressible yearnings, frantic longings, wild ceaseless passionate desires, compelling to abstain even from necessary food, for no longer.
τρεφομένους μηκέθ' ώς θνητοί σιτίοι καὶ ποτοῖς
dιὰ φάρυγγος, ἀλλ' ώς οἱ μέλλουσι ἀπαθανατί-
ζοσθαι δι' ἄτων μουσικῆς τελείας ἐνθέους ἁδαῖς:
ῶν ἀκροατὴν Μωυσῆν ἀσώματον γενόμενον λόγος
ἐχει τεσσαράκοντα ἡμέρας καὶ τὰς ἰσας νύκτας
μήτε ἄρτου μήτε ὑδατος ψαῦσαι τὸ παράπαν.

37 VII. ο τοῖνυν οὐρανός, τὸ μουσικῆς ἀρχέτυπον
ὀργανον, ἀκρως ἡμρόσθαι δοκεῖ δι' οὐδὲν ἔτερον
ἡ ἰδαν οἱ ἐπὶ τιμή τοῦ τῶν ὅλων πατρὸς ἁδόμενοι
ἂν μουσικῶς ἐπιψάλλουνται. καὶ τὴν
ἀρετὴν μέντοι Λείαν ἀκοῦομεν ἐπί τῆς τοῦ τετάρ-
του γενέσεως ύιὸν μηκέτι τίκτεων δυναμένην, ἀλλ'
ἐπέχουσαν ἡ ἐπεχομένην τὰς γονάς εὔρισκε γάρ,
ὁμια, πάσαν τὴν γένεσιν ἐξ αὐτὴς ἔχετο τε καὶ
στείραν, ἦνικα Ἰουδάν, τὴν ἐξομολογησι, τὸν
38 τέλειον καρπὸν, ἴνθησε. διαφέρει δ' οὐδὲν τὸ
λέγειν "ἰστασθαί τίκτουσαν" τοῦ μὴ εὐρίσκειν
ἐν τῷ τετάρτῳ φρέατι τοὺς παιδιᾶς Ἰσαὰκ ύδωρ,
ἐπειδήπερ ἐξ ἐκατέρου τῶν συμβόλων ἐμφαίνεται
tὸ πάντα διψῆν θεοῦ, παρ' οίναι γενέσεις καὶ
39 τροφαι τοῖς γεγονόσιν ἁρδοῦνται. μικρο-
πολῖται μὲν οὖν τυχε ἱς ὑπολήψονται περὶ
φρεάτων διορυχῆς τὸν τοσοῦτον εἶναι λόγον τῷ
νομοθέτῃ, οἱ δὲ δὴ μείζον εὐγραφέντες πατρίδι,
tῶδε τῷ κόσμῳ, τελειοτέρως φρονημάτων ὀντες,1
ἐνθαυτοῖς σαφῶς, ὅτι περὶ τεττάρων ἔστὶν, οὐ
φρεάτων, ἀλλὰ τῶν τοῦ παντὸς μερῶν ἡ ζήτησις
tοῖς ὀρατικοῖς καὶ φιλοθεάμοσι, γῆς, ὑδατος,

1 This genitive of quality is doubtful Greek. Wend.
suggests ἐπιλαχόντες.

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should we take in nourishment from meat and drink through the throat after the fashion of mortals, but, as beings awaiting immortality, from inspired strains of perfect melody coming to us through our ears. To such strains it is said that Moses was listening, when, having laid aside his body, for forty days and as many nights he touched neither bread nor water at all (Ex. xxiv. 18). VII. It seems, then, that the heaven, the original archetype of all musical instruments, was tuned with consummate skill for no other purpose than that the hymns sung in honour of the Universal Father may have a musical accompaniment.

And further we hear of Leah or Virtue being no longer capable of bearing children after the birth of her fourth son. She stayed, or rather was stayed, from childbirth, for she found, I imagine, all giving birth on her part dried up and unproductive, when she had put forth the bloom of "Judah," or Confession of thankfulness, which is the perfect fruit. To say that she "stood still from bearing" (Gen. 38 xxix. 35) differs not at all from saying that the servants of Isaac found no water in the fourth well (Gen. xxvi. 32), since what is brought out by each of the figures is that all things are athirst for God, through Whom the birth of things, and their food when born, is watered into fruitfulness. It may be that men of narrow citizenship will suppose that the lawgiver delivers this very full discourse about digging wells, but those who are on the roll of a greater country, even this whole world, men of higher thought and feeling, will be quite sure that the four things propounded as a subject of inquiry to the open-eyed lovers of contemplation are not four wells, but the four parts of this universe, land, water, air, heavens.
40. Αέρος, οὐρανοῦ. ὃν ἐκαστὸν ἐπινοίας εἰς ἄκρον πεποιημέναις διεξελθόντες ἐν μὲν τοῖς τρισὶν εἱρόν τινα καταληπτα—διὸ καὶ τρία ὀνόματα ἐπεφήμισαν τοῖς εὐρεθείσιν, ἀδικίαν, ἔχθραν, εὐρυχωρίαν,—ἐν δὲ τῷ τετάρτῳ τὸ παράπαν οὐδὲν, οὐρανῷ, καθάπερ ὀλίγων πρότερον ἐδηλώσαμεν. τὸ γὰρ τέταρτον φρέαρ ἀνυδρον καὶ ἕγρων εὐρίσκεται καὶ ὄρκος διὰ τὴν εἰρημένην αἰτίαν προσαγορεύεται.

41. VIII. Τὰ δὲ ἐπόμενα ζητήσωμεν ἔρευνώντες, τίς ἡ Χαρράν καὶ διὰ τί ὁ ἀπὸ τοῦ φρέατος ἔξελθὼν εἰς αὐτὴν ἔρχεται. ἔστι τοῖς, ὡς ἐμοιγε φαίνεται, Χαρράν μητρόπολις τις αἰσθήσεων. ἐρμηνεύεται γὰρ τότε μὲν ὁρυκτή, τότε δὲ τρώγλαι, δι’ ἀμφοτέρων τῶν ὄνομασίων ἐνὸς δηλομένου πράγματος. τὸ γὰρ σῶμα ἡμῶν εἰς τὰ τῶν αἰσθήσεων ὀργάνα τρόπον τινὰ ἐξορώρυκται, καὶ γέγονεν ἐκαστὸν τῶν ὀργάνων ἐκάστης ὑπὸ τὶς αἰσθήσεως, ἐν ἐν πέφυκε φωλεύειν. ὅταν οὖν τίς ἀπὸ τοῦ φρέατος, δι’ ὁ καλεῖται ὄρκος, ὡσπερ ἀπὸ λιμένος ἐξαναχθή, παραγίνεται εὐθὺς εἰς Χαρρὰν ἀναγκαίως: τὸν γὰρ ἀποδημίαν στελλόμενον ἀπὸ τοῦ ἀρίστου καὶ ἀπειρομεγέθους ἐπιστήμης χωρίου κατ’ ἀναγκαῖον αἰσθήσεως ἄνευ τῶν ὀργάνων ὑποδέχοντα. κινεῖται γὰρ ἢμῶν ἡ ψυχὴ πολλάκις μὲν ἐφ’ ἑαυτῆς, ὁλὸν τὸν σωματικὸν ὀγκὸν ἐκδύσα καὶ τὸν τῶν αἰσθήσεων ὅχλον ἀποδράσα, πολλάκις δὲ καὶ ταῦτα ἐπαμπισχομένη. τὴν μὲν οὖν γυμνὴν κίνησιν

1 So mss. and Wend.: Mangey πεποιημέναις.
2 So Mangey: mss. and Wend. ἀρίστου.

*That Philo takes the trouble to record these three names suggests that he attaches some allegorical meaning to them. Possibly remembering that in the narrative the*
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On each of these they bring to bear powers of thought of finest perfection, and find in three of them certain things within their comprehension, and to these discoveries of theirs they give three names, "injustice," "enmity," "spaciousness" (Gen. xxvi. 20 ff.). In the fourth, the heavens, as we pointed out not long ago, they find nothing whatever comprehensible. For the fourth well is found to be dry and waterless, and is entitled "oath" for the reason which has been mentioned.

VIII. Let us now examine the following context, and inquire what Haran is and why one who goes away from the well comes to it (Gen. xxviii. 10). Haran is, then, as it seems to me, a sort of mother-city of the senses. For it is rendered sometimes "dug," sometimes "holes," one thing being signified by both words. For our body has after a fashion been dug out to make places for the organs of the senses, and each of the organs has been constituted a kind of "dug-out" of each sense, which nature provides for its lair. Whenever, therefore, a man has put out from the well which is called "Oath," as if it were from a port, of necessity he forthwith arrives at Haran. For the man who sets forth on a journey from the place of knowledge, boundless and illimitable in its vastness, needs no escorting guides, but is without fail received by the senses. For our soul moves often by itself, stripping itself of the entire encumbrance of the body and escaping from the noisy pack of the senses, and often again when clad in these wrappings. What is apprehensible first two record the quarrels over the wells, he means that land and sea are the scene of human strife. The name of "spaciousness" fits air quite well.

b See on § 5 above.
αὐτῆς τὰ νοήσει μόνη καταληπτὰ ἔλαχε, τὴν δὲ
44 μετὰ σώματος τὰ αἰσθητά. εἰ τις οὖν ὁμιλεῖ
eἰςάπαν ἀδυνατεῖ διανοία μόνη, δευτέραν κατα-
φυγὴν αἰσθησιν εὑρίσκεται, καὶ οὕτως ἂν σφαλῇ
tῶν νοητῶν, αὐτίκα πρὸς τὰ αἰσθητὰ κατασύρεται:
deύτερος γὰρ ἂεὶ πλοῦς ὁ πρὸς αἰσθησιν τοὺς
μὴ δυνηθείσιν πρὸς τὸν ἡγεμόνα νοῦν εὐπλοῦσαι.

καλὸν δὲ κἂν τούτῳ γενομένου μὴ
καταγηρᾶσαι καὶ διαιωνίσαι, ἀλλ' ὡς ἐν ξένῃ
dιατριβοῦσας παροίκων τρόπον ἀεὶ μετανάσταις
ζητεῖν καὶ ἐπάνων εἰς τὴν πατρῴαν γῆν. Λάβαν
μὲν γὰρ οὐκ εἴδος, οὐ γένος, οὐκ ἰδέαν, οὐκ
ἐννόημα, οὐκ ἀλλὸ τῶν νοήσει μόνῃ καταλαμβανο-
mένων οὐδὲν ἀπλῶς εἴδος, ἡρτημένος δὲ τῶν
ἐμφανῶν, ἀπερ εἰς οἴσεις καὶ ἀκοαῖς καὶ τὰς συγ-
geneῖς δυνάμεις ἔρχεται, πατρίδος ἧξιωταί Χαρράν,
ἡν ὡς ξένην ὁ φιλάρετος Ἰακώβ πρὸς ὅλιγον οίκεῖ
χρόνον, τῆς οἴκαθε ἐπανόδου διαμεμνημένος. φησὶ
γοῦν ἡ μήτηρ, ἡ ὑπομονή, 'Ῥεβέκκα πρὸς αὐτόν·
'ἀναστὰς ἀπόδραθι πρὸς Λάβαν τὸν ἀδελφὸν μου
eἰς Χαρράν, καὶ ὅκησον μετ' αὐτοῦ ἡμέρας τῶν'
ἀρα οὖν κατανοεῖς, ὅτι οὐχ ὑπομείνει ὁ ἄσκητὴς ἐν
tῇ χόρᾳ τῶν αἰσθητῶν καταβιώναι, ἀλλ' ἡμέρας
ὁλίγας καὶ βραχύν τις χρόνον διὰ τάς τοῦ συνδέτου
σώματος ἀνάγκας,1 ὁ δὲ μακρὸς αἰῶν αὐτῷ καὶ
βίος ἐν τῇ νοητῇ πόλει ταμεύεται;

1 Wend. suggests the addition of παροικεῖ, but βιῶναι can easily be understood out of καταβιώναι.

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^ See App. p. 597.
by intellect only is the lot of its unclad movement, while to that accompanied by the body fall the objects of sense-perception. If therefore a man is absolutely incapable of holding intercourse with the understanding by itself, he wins in sense-perception a second-best refuge, and a man who has been balked of the things of the intellect is forthwith swept down to those of sense-perception. For those who have failed to make a good voyage under the sails of the sovereign mind can always fall back upon the oars of sense-perception. But it is an excellent course even when you have fallen into this plight not to grow old and live your life in it, but feeling that you are spending your days in a foreign country as sojourners to be ever seeking for removal and return to the land of your fathers. For it is Laban, a man without knowledge of species or genus or archetypal form, or conception or of any whatever of the objects of solely intellectual apprehension, but dependent wholly on things patent and palpable, which are cognizable by seeing and hearing and the powers akin to them,—he it is that has been deemed worthy of having Haran for his country, in which Jacob the lover of virtue dwells as in a foreign land for a little while, with his mind ever set on the return to his home. We recognize this in the words spoken to him by Rebecca, or Patience, his mother: "Be up and off," she says, "to Haran to my brother Laban, and dwell with him for some days" (Gen. xxvii. 43 f.). Do you mark, then, that the Practiser does not brook to spend a lifetime in the territory of the senses, but a few days and a short time in compliance with the necessities of the body to which he is tied, but that it is in the city discerned by the intellect that a life-long
παρό μοι δοκεῖ καὶ ὁ πάππος αὐτοῦ τῆς ἐπιστήμης, Ἀβραὰμ ὄνομα, μὴ πολὺν χρόνον ὑπομεῖναι τῇ Χαρρᾶν ἐνδιατρῆμαι. λέγεται γὰρ ὅτι "Ἀβραὰμ ἦν ἐτῶν ἑβδομήκοντα πέντε, ὅτε ἐξηλθεὶς ἐκ Χαρρᾶν," καὶ τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτοῦ Θάρρα, ὃς ἐρμηνεύεται κατασκοπὴ ὀσμῆς, μέχρι τελευτῆς ἐν αὐτῇ βιώσαντος. ὅτι γὰρ ἐν ταῖς ἱεραῖς ἀναγραφαῖς ἐ gpioύται, ὅτι "ἀπέθανε Θάρρα ἐν Χαρρᾶν" κατάσκοπος γὰρ ἦν ἀρετῆς, οὐ πολλῆς, καὶ ὀσμαῖς ἀλλ' οὐ τροφῶν ἀπολαύσεων ἔχρητο, μήπω ἰκανὸς ὃν ἐμπίπλασθαί φρονῆσεως, ἀλλὰ μηδὲ γεύσεθαι, τοῦτο δ' αὐτῷ μόνον ὀσφραίνεσθαι.

καθάπερ γὰρ τοὺς θηρατικοὺς τῶν σκυλάκων λόγος ἔχει καὶ τὰ πορρωτάτων τῶν θηρίων πτώματα ὑπηλατοῦντας ἀνευρίσκειν ἡκονθημένους ὑπὸ φύσεως διαφερόντως τὴν περὶ τὰς ὀσμὰς αἴσθησιν, τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον τὴν ἀπὸ δικαιοσύνης καὶ τῆς ἄλλης ἀρετῆς ἀναδιδομένην ἦδειαν αὐτὰν τὸ παιδείας ἐρατησίας ἰχνηλατεί καὶ ποθεῖ μὲν ἐκεῖνας ἐντυχεῖν, εἴ ὧν ἀναδίδοται τὸ βαθαμισώτατον γάνωμα τοῦτο, μὴ δυνάμενος δ' ἐν κύκλῳ κεφαλὴν, ὀσφραίνομεν αὐτῷ μόνον καλοκαγαθίας [καὶ] ἱερτάτης κνίσσης - οὐ γὰρ ἀρνεῖται λίχνος ἐπιστήμης καὶ φρονήσεως εἶναι. μακάριοι μὲν οὖν οἱ ἔξεγεν τῶν σοφίας φίλτρων ἀπόνασθαι καὶ τῶν θεωρημάτων καὶ δογμάτων αὐτῆς ἐστιαθῆναι καὶ ἐνευφρανθείσων ἐτὶ δυνῆν, ἀπληστὸν

1 [καὶ]: so Wend. suggests (or as an alternative ἀρετῶν for σιτίων), though he retains καὶ in the text.
2 mss. ἀνευφρανθείσων.

See notes on Quod Deus 92 and De Sac. 43; see further, App. pp. 597 f.
enduring is in store for him? IX. Owing to this, as it seems to me, the grandfather also of his knowledge, called Abraham, did not brook a prolonged stay in Haran. For we read “Abraham was seventy-five years old when he went forth from Haran” (Gen. xii. 4), although his father lived there until his death. His father’s name was “Terah,” which means “scent-exploring.” Thus it is expressed in plain words in the sacred records that “Terah died in Haran” (Gen. xi. 32): for he was there as a spy or explorer of virtue, not as a holder of its franchise, and he had recourse to scents, not to enjoyment of nourishing foods, not being capable as yet of being filled with sound sense, nay, not even of tasting it, but simply and solely of smelling it. For just as we are told that hounds used in the chase have by nature the sense of smell especially keen, so that by following the scent they can track out and find the dead bodies of wild animals at the greatest distance, in the same way does the man who is enamoured of discipline follow the path of the sweet effluvium given forth by justice and other virtues. Fain would he reach them, so wondrously delicious is the fragrance they give forth, but since he cannot, he turns his baffled head this way and that, and sniffs, for he can do no more, at the exhalation of nobility, the holiest of meats: for he does not deny that he is greedy of knowledge and sound sense. Blessed indeed are those to whom it is granted to have joy of the love-charms of wisdom, and to banquet on the truths she has discovered, and after revelling in these delights still to be athirst, bringing

\[b\] Or “unfed,” i.e. the mouth is empty.
\[c\] Or \(\iota\epsilon\rho\omega\tau\alpha\tau\eta\nu\) may agree with \(\kappa\nu\iota\sigma\sigma\eta\nu\) “the holiest exhalation of the viands of nobility.”
καὶ ἀκόρεστον ἐπιφερομένοις ἵμερον ἐπιστήμης. 51 δεύτερα δ’ οἴς οὖν οὗτοι δὲ τὰς ἔκτων ψυχὰς: αὕρας γὰρ ἁρετῆς οὖν ζωτικήσονται, καθάπερ τῶν καμάντων οἱ παρεμένοι διὰ τὸ μὴ δύνασθαι τροφὴ χρῆσθαι τὰς εἰς ἀνάληψιν προσφέρονται ὡς, ὃς ἱατρῶν παιδεῖς λυποθυμίας ἀκη 52 σωτήρια προευτρεπίζονται.

Χ. καταλιπῶν μὲν τὴν Χαλδαίαν γῆν εἰς Χαρρὰν λέγεται μετανίστασθαι Θάρρα, τὸν τε υἱὸν Ἀβραὰμ καὶ τοὺς ὀμογνίους1 τῆς οἰκίας ἐπαγόμενοι, οὐχ ἵν’ ὡς παρὰ συγγραφέως ἱστορικοῦ μάθωμεν, ὅτι μετανάστει τινὲς ἐγένοντο, τὴν μὲν πατρίδα ἱερὰς εαυτῶν φυχάς, ἀφ’ ἡράς γάρ αρετής οὗτοι ζωοπυρῆσονται, καθάπερ τῶν καμάντων οἱ παρεμένοι διὰ τὸ μὴ δύνασθαι τροφὴ χρῆσθαι τὰς εἰς ἀνάληψιν προσφέρονται ὡς, ὃς ἱατρῶν παιδεῖς λυποθυμίας ἀκη 53 ἀνθρώπω ὡς ἀμεληθῆναι. τί δὲ τούτο ἐστι; Χαλδαίοι μὲν ἀστρονομοῦσιν, οἱ δὲ τῆς Χαρρᾶν πολιτείας περὶ τῶν τῶν αἰσθήσεων τόπων πραγματεύονται. φησίν οὖν ὁ ἱερὸς λόγος τῷ κατασκόπῳ τῶν τῆς φύσεως πράγματων τί περὶ ἡλίου ζητεῖς, εἰ ποδιάσθος ἐστιν, εἰ τῆς γῆς μείζως ἀπάσης, εἰ πολλαπλάσιος αὐτῆς; τί δὲ περὶ φωτισμὸν σελήνης, εἰ νόθον ἔχει φέγγος, εἰ γνησίω μόνω χρήσει; τί δὲ περὶ τῆς τῶν ἄλλων αστέρων φύσεως ἢ περιφορᾶς ἢ συμπαθείας πρὸς τε ἄλληλους καὶ 54 τάπιγειά; τί δὲ βαίνων ἐπὶ γῆς ὑπὲρ νεφέλας πῆδας; τί δ’ ἀπτεσθαί τῶν ἐν αἰθέρι φῆς δύνασθαι

1 mss. ὁμογνώμονας.

* Or "topic." The word probably carries both senses.

* See App. p. 598.
ON DREAMS, I. 50–54

a craving for knowledge which knows no fullness nor satiety. But those will carry off the second prize, to whom it was given not indeed to win enjoyment of the holy table but to fill their souls with the steam of its viands: for these will be quickened and enkindled with breaths of virtue, even as invalids, who are enfeebled because they cannot take nourishment, inhale the reviving preparations which the schools of physicians make up and have ready as effective remedies for faintness.

X. The information that Terah left the land of Chaldaea and migrated to Haran, taking with him his son Abraham and his kindred, is given us not with the object that we may learn as from a writer of history, that certain people became emigrants, leaving the land of their ancestors, and making a foreign land their home and country, but that a lesson well suited to man and of great service to human life may not be neglected. What is this lesson? The Chaldaeans are astronomers, while the citizens of Haran busy themselves with the place of the senses. Accordingly Holy Writ addresses to the explorer of the facts of nature certain questions—"Why do you carry on investigations about the sun, as to whether it is a foot in diameter, whether it is larger than the whole earth, whether it is many times its size? And about the illuminations of the moon, whether it has a borrowed light, or whether it employs one entirely its own? And why do you search into the nature of the other heavenly bodies, or into their revolutions or the ways in which they affect each other and affect earthly things? And why, treading as you do on earth, do you leap over the clouds? And why do you say that you are able to lay hold of what is in the upper air, when
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προσερριζωμένος χέρσω; τί δὲ περὶ τῶν ἀτεκμάρτων τεκμαίρεσθαι τολμᾶς; τί δὲ πολυπραγμονεῖς ἄ μὴ σε δεῖ, τὰ μετέωρα; τί δὲ τὴν ἐν τοῖς μαθήμασιν εὑρεσιλογίαν ἄχρις οὐρανοῦ τείνεις; τί δ’ ἀστρονομεῖς μετεωρολεσχῶν; μὴ τὰ υπέρ σε καὶ ἀνω, ὃ οὕτως, ἀλλὰ τὰ ἐγγὺς σαυτοῦ κατανόησον, μᾶλλον δὲ σαυτὸν ἀκολακεύτως ἐρεύνησον. πῶς οὖν ἐρεύνησεις; ἵδι νοερῶς εἰς Ἑχαρρᾶν τὴν ὀρυκτήν, τὰς τρώγλας καὶ ὅπας τοῦ σώματος, καὶ ἐπίσκεψαί ὁφθαλμούς, ἀτα, βίνας, τὰ ἄλλα ὅσα και αἰσθήσεως ὀργανα, καὶ φιλοσόφησον ἀναγκαιοτάτην καὶ πρεπωδέστάτην φιλοσοφίαν ἀνθρώπων, ζητῶν, τὶ ὀρασις, τὶ ἀκοὴ, τὶ γεύσις, τὶ ὀσφρησις, τὶ ἀφή, τὶ καὶ συνόλως αἰσθησις· κάπετα τὶ τὸ ὄραν καὶ πῶς ὀρασῖς, τὶ τὸ ἀκούειν καὶ πῶς ἀκούεις, τὶ τὸ ὀσφραίνεσθαι ἢ γεύεσθαι ἢ ἀπτεσθαι καὶ πῶς ἐκαστὸν αὐτῶν εἰσθανε γίγνεσθαι. πρὶν δὲ τὸν ἰδίον οἶκον καλῶς ἐπεσκέφθατι, τὸν τοῦ παντὸς ἐξετάζειν οὐχ ὑπερβολὴ μανίας; καὶ οὕτων σοι μεῖζον ἐπίταγμα ἐπιτάττω, τὴν σαυτοῦ ψυχὴν ἱδεῖν καὶ τὸν νοῦν, ἐφ’ ὃ μέγα φρονεῖς· καταλαβεῖν γὰρ αὐτὸν οὕτως ἰδύσῃ. ἀνάβαυνε νῦν εἰς οὐρανον καὶ κατ- αλαξονεύον περὶ τῶν ἐκεῖ, μῆτων δεδυνημένοις γνῶναι κατὰ τὸ ποιητικὸν γράμμα

55 ὡστὶ τοῦ ἐν μεγάροις κακὸν τ’ ἀγαθὸν τε τέτυκται,

[629] δ’ ἀστρονομεῖς μετεωρολεσχῶν; μὴ τὰ υπέρ σε καὶ ἀνω, ὃ οὕτως, ἀλλὰ τὰ ἐγγὺς σαυτοῦ κατανόησον, μᾶλλον δὲ σαυτὸν ἀκολακεύτως ἐρεύνησον.

56 εἰσθανε γίγνεσθαι. πρὶν δὲ τὸν ἰδίον οἶκον καλῶς ἐπεσκέφθατι, τὸν τοῦ παντὸς ἐξετάζειν οὐχ ὑπερβολὴ μανίας; καὶ οὕτων σοι μεῖζον ἐπίταγμα ἐπιτάττω, τὴν σαυτοῦ ψυχὴν ἱδεῖν καὶ τὸν νοῦν, ἐφ’ ὃ μέγα φρονεῖς· καταλαβεῖν γὰρ αὐτὸν οὕτως ἰδύσῃ. ἀνάβαυνε νῦν εἰς οὐρανον καὶ κατ-αλαξονεύον περὶ τῶν ἐκεῖ, μῆτων δεδυνημένοις γνῶναι κατὰ τὸ ποιητικὸν γράμμα

57 δυνήση. ἀνάβαυνε νῦν εἰς οὐρανον καὶ κατ-αλαξονεύον περὶ τῶν ἐκεῖ, μῆτων δεδυνημένοις γνῶναι κατὰ τὸ ποιητικὸν γράμμα

οττὶ τοῦ ἐν μεγάροις κακὸν τ’ ἀγαθὸν τε τέτυκται,

— See App. p. 598.

b i.e. while the Haran-life is primarily the exploration of the senses, it does include the exploration of mind (Terah or Socrates) as opposed to the practising (Abraham), which will lead to the highest spiritual knowledge. It is, however, a later stage, and this is signified by οὐπω. So also in De Mig., particularly § 185.

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you are rooted to the ground? Why do you venture to determine the indeterminate? And why are you so busy with what you ought to leave alone, the things above? And why do you extend even to the heavens your learned ingenuity? Why do you take up astronomy and pay such full and minute attention to the higher regions? Mark, my friend, not what is above and beyond your reach but what is close to yourself, or rather make yourself the object of your impartial scrutiny. What form, then, will your scrutiny take? Go in spirit to Haran, 'excavated' land, the openings and cavities of the body, and hold an inspection of eyes, ears, nostrils, and the other organs of sense, and engage in a course of philosophy most vital and most fitting to a human being. Try to find out what sight is, what hearing is, what taste, smell, touch are: in a word what sense-perception is. Next, ask what it is to see and how you see, what it is to hear and how you hear, what it is to smell or taste or handle, and how each function is habitually performed. But before you have made a thorough investigation into your own tenement, is it not an excess of madness to examine that of the universe? And there is a weightier charge which I do not as yet lay upon you, namely to see your own soul and the mind of which you think so proudly: I say 'see,' for to comprehend it you will never be able. Go to! Mount to heaven and brag of what you see there, you who have not yet attained to the knowledge of that of which the poet speaks in the line

All that existeth of good and of ill in the halls of thy homestead."

* Od. iv. 392. See App. p. 598.
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καταγαγών δ' ἀπ' οὐρανοῦ τὸν κατάσκοπον καὶ ἀντισπάσας ἀπὸ τῆς ἕκει ζητήσεως γνῶθι 1 σαυτόν, εἶτα καὶ τοῦτ' ἐπιμελῶς ἐκπόνησον, ἵνα τῆς ἄν-58 θρωπίνης εὐδαιμονίας ἐπιλάχης. τὸν τρόπον τοῦ-τον Θάρρα μὲν 'Εβραῖοι, Σωκράτην δὲ 'Ελληνες ὀνομάζουσι· καὶ γὰρ ἐκείνων ἐγγηράσας φανή τῇ περὶ τοῦ γνώθι σαυτόν ἀκριβεστάτη σκέψει, μηδὲν ἔξω τῶν καθ' ἑαυτὸν φιλοσοφοῦντα. ἀλλ' ὁ μὲν ἀνθρωπος ἦν, Θάρρα δ' αὐτὸς ὁ λόγος ὁ περὶ τοῦ γνώναι τίνα ἑαυτὸν προκείμενος οἷς δένδρον εὐ-59 θρησκευόμενοι καρπὸν σωτηρίου καὶ ἡδίστης ἐμπλήσασθαί τροφῆς. τοιοῦτοι μὲν ἦμιν οἱ φρονήσεως κατάσκοποι, τῶν δὲ ἀθλητῶν καὶ ἀγωνιστῶν αὐτῆς αἱ φύσεις τελείότεραι· δικαιοῦσι γὰρ οὗτοι τὸν περὶ τῶν αἰσθήσεων σύμπαντα λόγον ἀκριβῶς καταμαθότες ἐπὶ τὶ μείζον ἐτερον χωρεῖν θεώρημα, καταλίποντες τὰς αἰσθήσεως ὁπάς, αἱ 60 Ἰχαράν ὀνομάζομεν. τούτων ἐστὶν ὁ ἑπιδόσεως καὶ βελτιώσεως πρὸς ἐπιστήμης ἄκρας ἀνάλημμα ἐσχήκως Ἄβραάμ· ὅτε γὰρ μάλιστα ἔγνω, τότε μάλιστα ἀπέγνω ἑαυτόν, ἵνα τοῦ πρὸς ἀλήθειαν ὄντος εἰς ἀκριβὴ γνῶσιν ἐλθῇ, καὶ πέφυκεν οὕτως ἔχειν· ὃ λίαν καταλαβὼν ἑαυτὸν λίαν ἀπέγνωκε τὴν

1 Perhaps read <τὸ> γνῶθι.

α Or as Mangey, “drawing away the explorer . . . know thyself.” For further discussion of the whole passage see App. pp. 598 f.

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But bring the explorer down from heaven and away from these researches draw the "Know thyself," and then lavish the same careful toil on this too, in order that you may enjoy the happiness proper to man. This character Hebrews call "Terah," Greeks "Socrates." For they say that "Know thyself" was likewise the theme of life-long pondering to Socrates, and that his philosophy was concerned exclusively with his own self. Socrates, however, was a human being, while Terah was self-knowledge itself, a way of thinking set before us as a tree of great luxuriance, to the end that lovers of virtue might find it easy, as they pluck the fruit of moral knowledge, to take their fill of nourishment saving and most sweet. Such do we find those to be whose part it is to explore good sense: but more perfect than theirs is the nature with which those are endowed who train themselves to engage in the contest for it. These, when they have thoroughly learned in all its details the whole study of the sense-perceptions, claim it as their prerogative to advance to some other greater object of contemplation, leaving behind them those lurking-places of sense-perception, to which the name of Haran is given. Among these is Abraham who gained much progress and improvement towards the acquisition of the highest knowledge: for when most he knew himself, then most did he despair of himself, in order that he might attain to an exact knowledge of Him Who in reality is. And this is nature's law: he who has thoroughly comprehended himself, thoroughly despairs of him-

\[ b \text{ The play on } \varepsilon\gamma\nu\omega ) (\partial\pi\varepsilon\gamma\nu\omega \text{ is unavoidably lost in the English.} \]
[630] ἐν πᾶσι τοῦ γενητοῦ σαφῶς προλαβὼν οὐδένειαν, ὁ δὲ ἀπόγνους ἐαυτὸν γινώσκει τὸν ὄντα.

61 XI. Τίς μὲν οὖν ἐστιν ἡ Χαρρᾶν καὶ διὰ τί ὁ ἀπολείπων τὸ τοῦ ὀρκου φρέαρ εἰς αὐτὴν ἔρχεται, δεδήλωται. σκεπτέον δὲ τὸ τρίτον καὶ ἀκόλουθον, τίς ὁ τόπος, ὃ ὑπαντᾷ· λέγεται γάρ, ὅτι "ἀπ-

62 ἡντησε τόπω." τριχῶς δὲ ἐπινοεῖται τόπος, ἀπαξ μὲν χώρα ὑπὸ σώματος πεπληρωμένη, κατὰ δεύτερον δὲ τρόπον ὁ θείος λόγος, ὅν ἐκπεπλήρωκεν ὅλον δὲ ὅλων ἀσωμάτως δυνάμεσιν αὐτὸς ὁ θεός. "εἴδων" γάρ φησι "τὸν τόπον οὐ εἰστήκει ὁ θεὸς τοῦ Ἰσραήλ," ἐν ὃ μόνῳ καὶ ἔρωτησαν ἐφήκεν ἄλλαξθι κωλύσας. διείρηται γὰρ ἀναβαίνει εἰς τὸν τόπον, ὅν ἂν ἐκλέξηται κύριος ὁ θεός, κάκει θύειν τὰ ὀλοκαυτώματα καὶ τὰ σωτηρία καὶ τὰς ἀλλὰς ἀμώμους τυσίας ἀνάγειν.

63 κατὰ δὲ τρίτον σημαινόμενον αὐτὸς ὁ θεὸς καλεῖται τόπος τῷ περιέχειν μὲν τὰ ὅλα, περιέχεσθαι δὲ πρὸς μηδενὸς ἀπλῶς, καὶ τῷ καταφυγῆν τῶν συμπάντων αὐτὸν εἶναι, καὶ ἐπειδὴπερ αὐτὸς ἔστι χώρα ἑαυτοῦ, κεχωρηκός ἑαυτὸν καὶ ἐμφερόμενος μόνῳ ἑαυτῷ. ἐγὼ μὲν οὖν οὐκ εἴμι τόπος, ἀλλ' ἐν τόπῳ, καὶ ἐκαστὸν τῶν ὄντων ὁμοίως· τὸ γὰρ περιεχόμενον διαφέρει τοῦ περιέχοντος, τὸ δὲ θεῖον ὑπ' οὐδενὸς περιεχόμενον ἀναγκαῖος ἐστὶν αὐτὸ τόπος ἑαυτοῦ. μαρτυρεῖ δὲ μοι λόγιον τὸ χρησθὲν ἐπὶ Ἀβραὰμ τόδε· "ήλθεν εἰς τὸν

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a Cf. De Conf. 96 and note.

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self, having as a step to this ascertained the nothingness in all respects of created being. And the man who has despaired of himself is beginning to know Him that is.

XI. What Haran is and why the man who leaves the Well of the Oath comes to it, has been made evident. We must consider the point which naturally comes next, our third point, namely what the place is which he lights upon or meets, for we read "he met a place" (Gen. xxviii. 11). Now "place" has a threefold meaning, firstly that of a space filled by a material form, secondly that of the Divine Word, which God Himself has completely filled throughout with incorporeal potencies; for "they saw," says Moses, "the place where the God of Israel stood" (Ex. xxiv. 10). Only in this place did he permit them to sacrifice, forbidding them to do so elsewhere: for they were expressly bidden to go up "to the place which the Lord God shall choose" (Deut. xii. 5), and there to sacrifice "the whole burnt offerings and the peace offerings" (Ex. xx. 24) and to offer the other pure sacrifices. There is a third signification, in keeping with which God Himself is called a place, by reason of His containing things, and being contained by nothing whatever, and being a place for all to flee into, and because He is Himself the space which holds Him; for He is that which He Himself has occupied, and naught encloses Him but Himself. I, mark you, am not a place, but in a place; and each thing likewise that exists; for that which is contained is different from that which contains it, and the Deity, being contained by nothing, is of necessity Its own place. Witness is borne to what I am saying by this oracle delivered in Abraham's
τόπον δὲν εἶπεν αὐτῷ ὁ θεὸς· καὶ ἀναβλέψας τοῖς ὀφθαλμοῖς εἶδε τὸν τόπον μακρόθεν." ὁ ἔλθων εἰς τὸν τόπον, εἰπὲ μοι, μακρόθεν αὐτὸν εἶδεν; ἀλλὰ μὴ ποτε δυείν πραγμάτων ἔστιν ὄμωνυμία διαφερόντων, διὸ τὸ μὲν ἔτερον θείος ἐστὶ λόγος, τὸ δὲ ἔτερον ὁ πρὸ τοῦ λόγου θεός. ὁ δὴ ἤκοψθείς ὑπὸ σοφίας εἰς τὸν πρότερον ἄφικνείται τόπον, εὑράμενος τῆς ἄρεσκείας κεφαλῆς καὶ τέλος τὸν θείον λόγον, ἐν δὲ γενόμενος οὗ φθάνει πρὸς τὸν κατὰ τὸ εἶναι θεὸν ἔλθείν, ἀλλ' αὐτὸν ὅρα μακρόθεν· μάλλον δὲ οὔδε πόρρωθεν αὐτὸν ἐκείνου θεωρεῖν ἰκανός ἔστιν, ἀλλ' τὸ μακρὰν τὸν θεὸν εἶναι πάσης γενέσεως αὐτὸ μόνον ὅρα καὶ τὸ πορρωτάτω τὴν κατάληψιν αὐτοῦ πάσης ἀνθρωπίνης διανοίας δι'-
67 ωκίσθαι. μὴ ποτε μέντοι γε οὔδε τὸν νῦν ἄλληγορῶν ἐπὶ τοῦ αὐτοῦ παρεῖληφεν, ἀλλ' ἐστὶ τὸ δηλούμενον τοιοῦτον. "ὁ λεγεὶ εἰς τὸν τόπον, καὶ ἀναβλέψας τοῖς ὀφθαλμοῖς εἶδεν" αὐτὸν τὸν τόπον, εἰς δὲν ἔλθε, μακρὰν ὁμως τοῦ ἀκατονομάστου καὶ ἀρρήτου καὶ κατὰ πάσας ἰδέας ἀκαταλήπτου θεοῦ.

XII. Τούτων προδιωρισμένων, ὅταν εἰς Χαρρᾶν, τὴν αἰσθησιν, ἔλθῃ ὁ ἀσκητής, "ὑπάντα τὸπως," οὔτε τῷ ἐκπεπληρωμένῳ ὑπὸ σώματος θνητοῦ—οὔτε τῷ ἐκπεπληρωμένῳ ὑπὸ σώματος θνητοῦ—μετέχουσι γὰρ αὐτοῦ πάντες οἱ γηγενεῖς ἐκκεπληρωμένοις χῶραν καὶ τόπον των κατὰ τάναγκαίον ἐπι-έχοντες—οὔτε τῷ τρίτῳ καὶ ἀρίστῳ, οὐ μόλις ἐννοιαν λαβεῖν ἣν ἃν ἐπὶ τοῦ φρέατος ποιοῦμεν τᾶς δια-

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<sup><small>a</small></sup> Cf. De Post. 17 f.

<sup><small>b</small></sup> i.e. the second τόπος as well as the first may indicate the Logos, if μακρόθεν be taken as meaning "afar" rather than "from afar."

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case: "He came to the place of which God had told him: and lifting up his eyes he saw the place from afar" (Gen. xxii. 3 f.).

Tell me, pray, did he who had come to the place see it from afar? Nay, it would seem that one and the same word is used of two different things: one of these is a divine Word, the other God Who was before the Word. One who has come from abroad under Wisdom's guidance arrives at the former place, thus attaining in the divine word the sum and consummation of service. But when he has his place in the divine Word he does not actually reach Him Who is in very essence God, but sees Him from afar: or rather, not even from a distance is he capable of contemplating Him; all he sees is the bare fact that God is far away from all Creation, and that the apprehension of Him is removed to a very great distance from all human power of thought. Nay, it may be that neither in this part of the text does the lawgiver use "place" as a figurative description of the First Cause, but that what is signified is something like this: "he came to the place and looked up and saw with his eyes" the place itself to which he had come, that it was a long way off from God for Whom no name nor utterance nor conception of any sort is adequate.

XII. Having laid down these preliminary definitions, we resume our story. When the Practiser comes to Haran, or Sense-perception, he "meets a place." This "place" is not that filled by a mortal body, for of that all earth-born men have their share, for they have filled a space and occupy of necessity some place. Nor is it that best one, the third named above, of which it would hardly have been possible for him to form a conception by dwelling at the well.
τριβάς, δ' προσηγορεύετο ὅρκος, ὦ τὸ αὐτομαθὲς γένος, Ἰσαάκ, ἐνδιατάται μηδέποτε τῆς πρὸς θεὸν πίστεως καὶ ἀφανὸς ὑπολήψεως ἀφιστάμενον, ἀλλὰ τῷ μέσῳ λόγῳ θεῶ, τὰ ἀριστα ὑφηγομένω καὶ ὅσα πρόσφορα τοὺς καιροῖς ἀναδιδάσκοντι. οὗ γὰρ ἄξιων1 ο θεὸς εἰς αἰσθησιν ἔρχεσθαι τοὺς έαυτοῦ λόγους ἐπικουρίας ἐνεκα τῶν φιλαρέτων ἀποστέλλει οἵ δ' ἰατρεύονται καὶ ἐκνοσθελοῦναι τὰς ψυχὰς ἀρρωςτῆσι τιθέντες καὶ ἐπὶ τὰ τούτων γυμνάσια καλοῦντες καὶ τρόπον ἀλειπτῶν ἰσχύν καὶ δύναμιν καὶ ρώμην ἀνανταγώνιστον ἐμφύοντες. δεόντως οὐν εἰς αἰσθησιν ἐλθὼν οὐκέτι θεό, λόγῳ δ' ὑπαντᾷ θεοί, καθὰ καὶ ο πάππος αὐτοῦ τῆς σοφίας Ἀβραὰμ. λέγεται γὰρ ἂν ἑλθείν κύριος, ὡς ἐσάρωστο λαλῶν τῷ Ἀβραὰμ, καὶ Ἀβραὰμ ἁπέστρεφεν εἰς τὸν τόπον αὐτοῦ· δι' οὖν συνάγεται τὸ λόγος τοιούτως ἐντυγχάνειν ἱεροῖς, ὅταν ο πρὸ τῶν ὅλων θεὸς ἀπήλλακται, μηκέτι τὰς ἀφ' αὐτοῦ τεῖνων φαντασίας, ἀλλὰ τὰς ἀπὸ τῶν μεθ' αὐτοῦ δυνάμεως.

71 ὑπερφυέστατα δ' ἔχει τὸ μὴ φάναι ἐλθεὶν εἰς τὸν τόπον, ἀλλ' ἀπαντήσει τόπῳ ἐκουσίον μὲν γὰρ τὸ ἐρχεσθαι, τὸ δ' ἀπαντῶν πολλὰκις ἀκούσιον, ἦν ἐξαπίνως ο θεῶς λόγος ἐπιφανεῖμενος ἀπροσδόκητον χαρὰν ἐλπίδος μείζονα ἐρήμης ψυχῆς συνοδεύ-

1 mss. ἀπαξιών.

a The thought is not very clear. Perhaps “even if he had remained in that higher region, which is the permanent home of the Isaac-soul, he could scarcely (or perhaps “only with difficulty”) have reached the apprehension of the divine, which even Isaac saw only dimly.”

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called "Oath," where Isaac has his abode, the self-taught nature that never desists from faith toward God and dim conception of Him.\(^a\) No: the "place" on which he "lights" is the place in the middle sense, the Word of God, shewing, as it does, the way to the things that are best, teaching, as it does, such lessons as the varying occasions require. For God, not deeming it meet that sense should perceive Him, sends forth His Words to succour the lovers of virtue, and they act as physicians of the soul and completely heal its infirmities, giving holy exhortations with all the force of irreversible enactments, and calling to the exercise and practice of these and like trainers implanting strength and power and vigour that no adversary can withstand. Meet and right then is it that Jacob, having come to Sense-perception, meets not now God but a word of God, even as did Abraham, the grandfather of his wisdom.\(^b\) For we are told that "the Lord departed, when He ceased speaking to Abraham, and Abraham returned to his place" (Gen. xviii. 33). By "returning to his place" is implied the meeting with sacred Words of a kind from which the God Who is prior to all things has withdrawn, ceasing to extend visions that proceed from Himself, but only those that proceed from the potencies inferior to Him. There is an extraordinary fitness in saying not that he came to the place, but that he met with a place; for coming is a matter of choice, but there is often no exercise of choice in meeting. Thus should the divine Word, by manifesting Itself suddenly and offering Itself as a fellow-traveller to a lonely soul, hold out to it an unlooked-for joy—which is greater

\(^b\) See § 47 above.
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72 XIII. Τήν δ' αιτίαν ἐπιφέρει, δι' ἣν τόπω ύπήντησεν· "ἐδυ" γάρ φησιν "ὁ ἥλιος," οὐχ οἱ φανόμενοι οὕτος, ἀλλὰ τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ μεγίστου τοῦ θεοῦ περιφεγγέστατο καὶ περιαυγέστατον φῶς. τοῦθ' ὅταν μὲν ἐπιλάμψῃ διανοίᾳ, τὰ δεύτερα λόγων δύεται φέγγη, πολὺ δὲ μᾶλλον οἱ αἰσθητοὶ τόποι πάντες ἐπισκιάζονται. ὅταν δ' ἐτέρωσε χωρήσῃ,

73 πάντ' εὐθὺς ἀνίσχει καὶ ἀνατέλλει. μὴ θαυμάσῃς δὲ, εἰ ὁ ἥλιος κατὰ τοὺς τῆς ἀλληγορίας κανόνας ἐξομοιοῦται τῷ πατρί καὶ ἡγεμόνι τῶν θεῶν· θεῷ γὰρ ὁμοιοῦσιν ὑπὲρ ἅμα καὶ πρὸς ἁλήθειαν μὲν οὐδέν, ἀ δὲ δόξη νεόμισται, δύο μόνα ἐστὶν, ἀρατόν τε καὶ ὀρατόν,

ψυχή μὲν ἀορατόν, ὀρατόν δὲ ἥλιος. τὴν μὲν οὖν ψυχῆς ἐμφέρειν δεδήλωκεν ἐν ἑτέροις εἰπών· "ἐποίησεν ὁ θεὸς τὸν ἄνθρωπον, κατ' εἰκόνα θεοῦ ἐποίησεν αὐτὸν," καὶ ἐν τῷ κατὰ ἀνδροφόνων τεθέντι νόμῳ πάλιν. "ὁ ἐκχέων αἷμα ἄνθρωπον ἀντὶ τοῦ αἷματος αὐτοῦ ἐκχυθήσεται, ὅτι ἐν εἰκόνι θεοῦ ἐποίησα τὸν ἄνθρωπον," τὴν δὲ ἥλιον διὰ συμβόλων μεμήνυκε.

75 Ράδιον δὲ καὶ ἄλλως εἷς ἐπιλογισμοῦ τοῦτο κατιδεῖν, ἐπειδὴ

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a Or simply “greater than it hoped for.” But see the contrast between χαρά and ἐλπίς in De Mut. 163 f.
b Note how Philo, having already reduced λόγος from the Divine Logos to God’s λόγοι, here reduces it still further to “words” in general.
c Philo here seems to abandon his regular interpretation.
than hope.\textsuperscript{a} For Moses too, when he “leads out the people to meet God” (Ex. xix. 17), knows full well that He comes all unseen to the souls that yearn to come into His presence.

XIII. The lawgiver further states the reason why 72 Jacob “met” a place: “for the sun was set,” it says (Gen. xxviii. 11), not this sun which shews itself to our eyes, but the light of the supreme and invisible God most brilliant and most radiant. When this shines upon the understanding, it causes those lesser luminaries of words \textsuperscript{b} to set, and in a far higher degree casts into shade all the places of sense-perception; but when it has gone elsewhither, all these at once have their dawn and rising. And marvel not if the 73 sun, in accordance with the rules of allegory, is likened to the Father and Ruler of the universe: for although in reality nothing is like God, there have been accounted so in human opinion two things only, one invisible, one visible, the soul invisible, the sun visible. The soul’s likeness to God the lawgiver has 74 shewn elsewhere, by saying “God made man, after the image of God made He him” (Gen. i. 27);\textsuperscript{c} and again, in the law enacted against murderers, “he that sheddeth man’s blood, in requital for his blood shall there blood be shed, because in the image of God made I man” (Gen. ix. 6); while the sun’s likeness to God he has indicated by figures.

In other ways also it is easy to discern this by a 75 process of reasoning.\textsuperscript{d} In the first place: God is of κατ’ εἰκόνα θεοῦ as “made in the likeness of the image,” \textit{i.e.} of the Logos. (See \textit{e.g. Leg. All. iii. 96.})

\textsuperscript{a} This “reasoning,” in which, though the term “sun” is not applied to God, it may be inferred from the context, goes on to the end of § 76. The “figurative” use of the word in this sense is given in §§ 87 ff.
πρώτον μὲν ο θεός φώς ἔστι—“ κύριος γὰρ φωτισμός μου καὶ σωτήρ μου” εἰν ὑμνοῖς ἀδεταί—καὶ οὐ μόνον φῶς, ἀλλὰ καὶ παντὸς ἐτέρου φωτὸς ἀρχέτυπον, μᾶλλον δὲ παντὸς ἀρχέτυπον πρεσβύτερον καὶ ἀνώτερον, λόγον ἔχων παραδείγματος (παραδείγματος). ¹ τὸ μὲν γὰρ παράδειγμα ο πληρέστατος ἢν αὐτοῦ λόγος, φῶς—“ εἶπε” γὰρ φησιν “ ὁ θεὸς· γενέσθω φῶς,”—αὐτὸς δὲ οὐδεὶς τῶν γεγονότων ὅμοιος. ἔπειθ' ὡς ἦλιος ἠμέραν καὶ νύκτα διακρίνει, οὕτως φησὶ Μωυσῆς τὸν θεὸν φῶς καὶ σκότος διατείχίσαι· “ διεχώρισε γὰρ ὁ θεὸς ἀνὰ μέσον τοῦ φωτὸς καὶ ἀνὰ μέσον τοῦ σκότους”. ἀλλωσ τε ὡς ἦλιος ἀνατέλεσα τὰ κεκρυμμένα τῶν σωμάτων ἐπιδείκνυσα, οὕτως καὶ ὁ θεὸς τὰ πάντα γεννήσας οὐ μόνον εἰς τοῦμ-φανὲς ἦγαγεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἃ πρότερον οὐκ ἦν, ἐποίησεν, οὐ δημιουργὸς μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ κτίστης αὐτὸς ὦν.

76 XIV. Λέγεται δὲ πολλαχῶς κατὰ τὸν ἱερὸν λόγον ἐν ὑπονοίαις ἦλιος, ἀπαξ μὲν ὁ ἀνθρώπινος νοῦς, ὡς ἐκοδομοῦσαν ὡς πόλιν καὶ κατασκευάζουσιν ὁ γένεσιν πρὸ τοῦ ἀγενήτου θεραπεύειν ἀναγκαζόμενοι, ἐφ' ὡς οἱ ἔρημοι ὁτι “ ἔκοδομησαν πόλεις ὀχυρὰς τῷ Φαραώ, τῆς τε Πειθώ,” τὸν λόγον ὡς τὸ πείθειν ἀνάκειται, “ καὶ Ραμεσσῆ,”

¹ <παραδείγματος>. This is my own insertion. The text, as it stands in the mss.—(1) God is above all archetypes; (2) He is the “model,” i.e. archetype; (3) the Logos is the archetype and in this is contrasted with God—seems incoherent. For παραδείγματα cf. Leg. All. iii. 96 ὥστε γὰρ ὁ θεὸς παραδείγματα τῆς εἰκόνος... οὕτως ἡ εἰκὼν ἀλλων γίνεται παραδείγμα, and De Op. 25 εἰκών εἰκόνος.
light, for there is a verse in one of the psalms, "the Lord is my illumination and my Saviour." (Ps. xxvii. [xxvi.] 1). And He is not only light, but the archetype of every other light, nay, prior to and high above every archetype, holding the position of the model of a model. For the model or pattern was the Word which contained all His fullness—light, in fact; for, as the lawgiver tells us, "God said, 'let light come into being'" (Gen. i. 3), whereas He Himself resembles none of the things which have come into being. Secondly: as the sun makes day and night distinct, so Moses says that God kept apart light and darkness; for "God," he tells us, "separated between the light and between the darkness" (Gen. i. 4). And above all, as the sun when it rises makes visible objects which had been hidden, so God when He gave birth to all things, not only brought them into sight, but also made things which before were not, not just handling material as an artificer, but being Himself its creator.

XIV. In the course of sacred revelation "Sun" is used in several figurative senses. To begin with, it is used of the human mind, which is erected and set up as a city by those who under compulsion serve creation in preference to the uncreated One. Of them we read that "they built strong cities for Pharaoh, namely Peitho," speech, to which persuading is dedicated, "and Raamses," sense-perception, by

a The word φῶς here puzzled Mangey, who suggested its omission, which would make the quotation pointless. I think the text may stand. The Logos is light, for if God said "let there be light," this was a λόγος in the sense of a saying. Cf. note on De Fug. 95. The straining would be lessened if we suppose that the next three words of the quotation, καὶ ἐγένετο φῶς, have fallen out.
τὴν αἴσθησιν, ύφ᾽ ἢς ὀσπερ ὑπὸ σέων ἡ ψυχὴ
dιεσθίεται—ἐρμηνεύεται γὰρ σεισμὸς στήτος,—“καὶ
tὴν Ὡν,” τὸν νοῦν, ἦν Ὁλίου πόλιν ωὐνόμασεν,
ἐπειδὴ καθάπερ ὦλιος τοῦ παντὸς ὦμῶν ὄγκου τὴν
ὑγεμονίαν ἀνήπται καὶ τὰς αὐτῶν δυνάμεις ὀσπερ
78 ἀκτίνας εἰς ὅλον τείνει. τὸν δὲ ἱερέα καὶ ἑρα-
πευτήν τοῦ νοῦ πενθερὸν ἔπιγράφεται πᾶς ὁ τὴν
tοῦ σώματος πολιτείαν ἀναθάμνει, ὄνομα Ἰωσήφ.
“ἐδώκε” γὰρ φησιν “αὐτῷ τὴν Ἀσενέθθεθθυγατέρα
79 Πετεφρῆ ἱερείως Ὁλίου πόλεως.” |
[633]
[633] δεύτερον δὲ ὦλιον καλεῖ συμβολικῶς τὴν αἴσθησιν,
ἐπειδὴ τὰ αἴσθητα πάντα δείκνυσι διανοίᾳ. περὶ
естественн ὦλιον ὁ δὲ ὦλιος αὐτῷ, ἴνα
παρήλθῃ τὸ εἴδος τοῦ θεοῦ”. τῷ γὰρ ἄνυτι ταῖς
ἱερωτάταις ἱδέαις καὶ ὦς ἄν εἰκόσι ἀσωμάτως
ὅταν μηκέτι δυνώμεθα συνδιατρίβειν, ἀλλ' ἐτέρωσε
τρεπόμενοι μεταχωρήσωμεν, ἀλλω φωτὶ τῷ κατὰ
αἴσθησιν χρώμεθα σκότους πρὸς τὸν ὑγιὴ λόγον
80 οὐδὲν ἀπλῶς διαφέροντι· ὅπερ ἀνατείλον ὅρασιν
μὲν καὶ ἄκοιη, ἔτι δὲ γεύσιν καὶ ὀσφρησιν καὶ
ἄφην ὀσπερ κοιμωμένας ἀνήγειρε, φρόνησιν δὲ
καὶ δικαιοσύνην ἐπιστήμην τε καὶ σοφίαν ἐγρη-
81 γορνίαις εἰς ὑπὸν ἐτρέψιν. οὐ χάριν ἄγνευεν
οὐδένα πρὸ ἐστέρας φησιν ὁ ἱερὸς λόγος δύνασθαι,
tῆς διανοίας ὑπὸ τῶν κατ᾽ αἴσθησιν κινήσεων ἔτι
παρευμερευμένης. ἀφφετὸν δὲ καὶ τοῖς
ἱερεύσι νόμον ἐν ταύτῳ καὶ γοώμην ἀποφαινόμενος

1 mss. τε.

* Because the Senses are Mind's daughters, vide § 88.
*b Or “statement.” See below on § 101. The future indicative instead of the imperative indicates a spiritual fact, viz.
which the soul is eaten through as though by moths: the name means "moth-shock";—"and On," the mind, which Moses called Sun-city (Ex. i. 11), since the mind, like a sun, has assumed the leadership of our entire frame and bulk, and makes its forces reach, like the sun's rays, to every part of it. And everyone who has accepted the citizenship of the body, and the name of such is Joseph, chooses for his father-in-law the priest and devotee of Mind. For Moses says that Pharaoh "gave him Asenath, daughter of Pothiphera, priest of Heliopolis" (Gen. xli. 45).

Secondly, Moses uses "sun" figuratively for sense-perception, inasmuch as it shews all objects of sense to the understanding. It is of sense-perception that Moses has spoken on this wise: "the sun arose upon him when he passed by the appearance of God" (Gen. xxxii. 31); for in truth, when we are no longer able to remain in company with holiest forms, which are as it were incorporeal images, but turn in a different direction and go elsewhere, we are led by another light, even that which answers to sense-perception, a light, as compared with sound reason, differing no whit from darkness. When this sun has risen it wakes up sight and hearing, yea taste and smell and touch, from their seeming sleep, but sound sense and justice and knowledge and wisdom, which it finds awake, it plunges in sleep. This is why the sacred word says that no one can be clean until the even (Lev. xi. passim), the understanding being till then at the mercy of the movements of sense-perception.

For the priests too he lays down an inexorable law, in the form of a prediction, in the that whoever is not cleansed cannot really partake of holy things.
τίθησιν, ἐπειδὰν λέγη· "Ὅτι ἐδεται ἀπὸ τῶν ἀγίων, ἕνω μὴ λούσηται τὸ σώμα ὡδαὶ καὶ δύη ὁ ἥλιος καὶ γένηται καθαρός." δηλοῖ γὰρ σαφεῖστατα διὰ τοῦτων, ὅτι εὐαγής εἰσάπαν οὐδεὶς ἔστων, ὡς ταῖς ἀγίαις καὶ ἱεροπρεπεῖς χρῆσθαι τελεταῖς, ὥς τὰς αἰσθητὰς τοῦ θνητοῦ βίου λαμπρότητας ἔτι τετημῆσθαι συμβέβηκεν. εἰ δὲ τις αὐτὰς οὐκ ἀποδέχεται, τοῦ ἀκόλουθου τῷ φρονήσεως ἐπιλάμπεται φέγγει, δι οὗ δυνηστεται τὰς τῶν κενῶν δοξῶν ἐκνιπτεσθαι καὶ ἀπολυζεσθαι κηλίδας. ἦ τοῦ ἥλιου αὐτὸν οὔχ ὅρᾶς, ὅτι τὰναντία καὶ ἀνατέλλων καὶ δυόμενος ἑργάζεται; ἐπειδαν γὰρ ἀνίσχη, τὰ μὲν κατὰ γην ἀπαντα περιλάμπεται, τὰ δὲ κατ' οὐρανον ἀποκρύπτεται· δύντος δ' ἐμπαλιν οἱ μὲν ἀστέρες προφαίνονται, τὰ δὲ περί
γεια συσκιάζεται. τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον καὶ ἐν ἡμῖν, ὅταν μὲν τὸ τῶν αἰσθήσεων φέγγος ὡς ἥλιος ἀνατείη, τὰς ὀλυμπίους καὶ οὐρανίους ὡς ἀληθῶς ἑπιστήμασι κρύπτεσθαι συμβέβηκεν· ὅταν δὲ πρὸς δυσμᾶς γένηται, τὰς ἀστεροειδεστάτας καὶ θειοτάτας ἀναφαίνεσθαι ἀρετῶν αὐγάς, ὅτε καὶ καθαρὸς ο νους ὑπὸ μηδενὸς κρυπτόμενος αἰσθητοῦ γίνεται. 
κατὰ δὲ τὸ τρίτον σημαινομένον ἥλιον καλεὶ τὸν θείον λόγον, τὸ τοῦ κατ' οὐρανον περιπολούντος, ὡς πρότερον ἔλεχθη, παράδειγμα, ἐφ' οὗ λέγεται. "ὁ ἥλιος ἐξήλθεν ἐπὶ τὴν γην, καὶ Δωτ εἰσῆλθεν εἰς Σηγώρ, καὶ κύριος ἐβρεζεν ἐπὶ Σόδομα καὶ Γόμορρα θείον καὶ πῦρ." ο γὰρ τοῦ θεοῦ λόγος, ὅταν ἐπὶ τὸ γεώδες ἡμῶν σύστημα
words: "He will not eat of the holy things unless he have washed his body with water, and the sun be set, and he have become clean" (Lev. xxii. 6 f.). For he makes it perfectly evident by this declaration that no one is absolutely free from pollution, so as to celebrate the holy and reverend mysteries, by whom the splendours of this mortal life, objects as they are of sense-perception, are still held in honour. But if a man disdains them, the consequence is that he is shone upon by the light of sound sense, and by means of it he will be able completely to purge and wash out of himself the defilements of vain opinions. Or look at the sun itself. Do you not see that the effect of its rising is the reverse of that of its setting? When it has risen, all things on earth are lit up, while those in the heavens are obscured: on the contrary, when it has set the stars appear, and earthly objects are hidden. It is precisely the same with us. When the light of our senses has risen like a sun, the various forms of knowledge, so truly heavenly and celestial, disappear from sight: when it reaches its setting, radiances most divine and most star-like sent forth from virtues come into view: and it is then that the mind also becomes pure because it is darkened by no object of sense.

XV. The third meaning in which he employs the title sun is that of the divine Word, the pattern, as has been already mentioned, of the sun which makes its circuit in the sky. It is of the divine Word that it is said, "The sun went forth upon the earth, and Lot entered into Zoar, and the Lord rained on Sodom and Gomorrah brimstone and fire" (Gen. xix. 23 f.). For the Word of God, when it arrives at our earthy composition, in the case of
άφίκηται, τοῖς μὲν ἀρετῆς συγγενέσι καὶ πρὸς αὐτὴν ἀποκλίνουσιν ἀρήγει καὶ βοηθεῖ, ώς κατα-
φυγῇ καὶ σωτηρίαν αὐτοῖς πορίζειν παντελῇ, τοῖς
dὲ ἀντιπάλοις ὀλεθρον καὶ φθορὰν ἀνιατον ἐπι-
πέμπει. λέγεται δὲ κατὰ τέταρτον σημαινόμενον ἥλιος μὲν αὐτὸς ὁ τῶν ὅλων ἄγει ἡγεμῶν,
ὡς εἶπον ἡδη, δι' οὗ τὰ ἀνίατα τῶν ἀμαρτημάτων
[634] ἀνακαλύπτεται συσκιάζεσθαι δοκοῦντα. | πάντα
gάρ ὡς δυνατά, οὕτως καὶ γνώριμα θεῷ.
88 παρὸ καὶ τοὺς καταλθεύτας τῶν τόνων τῶν ψυχι-
cῶν, ἀκολάστως καὶ λαγνίστερον ὁμιλοῦντας τοῖς
νοῦ θυγατράσι, άισθήσεσιν, ὃς χαμαίτυται καὶ
89 πόρναις, ἐνδειξηθεῖσιν πρὸς ἣλιον ἀγεί. φησὶ
gάρ· "καὶ κατέλυσεν ὁ λαὸς ἐν Σααττίν"—ἀκανθαι
δ' ἐρμηνεύεται, παθῶν κεντούντων καὶ τιτρω-
σκόντων ψυχὴν σύμβολον,—"καὶ ἐβεβηλώθη" φησών
"ἐκπορνεύσαι εἰς τὰς θυγατέρας Μωάβ"—
αἱ δὲ εἰσών αἱ αἰσθήσεις, κεκλημέναι νοῦθυγατέρες.
Μωάβ γάρ ἐκ πατρὸς ἐρμηνεύεται,—καὶ προσ-
tίθησιν. "λάβε πάντας τοὺς ἄρχηγον τοῦ λαοῦ
καὶ παραδειγμάτισον τῷ κυρίῳ ἀπέναντι τοῦ ἥλιου,
καὶ ἀποστραφήσεται ὁργὴ κυρίου ἀπὸ Ἰσραήλ."
90 οὐ γάρ μόνον τὰ κεκρυμμένα τῶν ἀδικημάτων
ἐμφανὴ γενέσθαι βουλόμενος ταῖς ἥλιακαῖς περι-
έλαμψεν ἀκτίσιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ διὰ συμβόλων ἥλιον τὸν
πατέρα τῶν ὅλων ἐκάλεσεν, ὃ πάντα προϋπτι καὶ
ὅσα ἐν μυχοῖς τῆς διανοίας ἀοράτως ἐπιτελεῖται
gενομένων δ' ἐμφανῶν ἅλεω φησίν ἔσεσθαι τὸν

* An allusion to the interpretation of Lot’s name as ἀπόκλισις “sometimes from what is good, sometimes from what is bad,” De Mig. 148. There is a similar allusion below, § 246, but there to the wrong kind of ἀπόκ.
ON DREAMS, I. 86–90

those who are akin to virtue and turn away to her, gives help and succour, thus affording them a refuge and perfect safety, but sends upon her adversaries irreparable ruin. In a fourth sense, as I have already said, the title of “Sun” is applied to the Ruler of the Universe Himself, through Whose agency irremediable sins, when apparently concealed, are disclosed. For to God all things are known, even as all things are possible. In accordance with this we see Him bringing to the sun to be laid bare those energies of the soul that have been unstrung by lewd and licentious intercourse with Mind’s daughters, the senses, as though they were common strumpets. For he says “and the people abode in Shittim”—the meaning of this name is “thorns,” a symbol of passions pricking and wounding the soul—“and was defiled to commit whoredom with the daughters of Moab”—these are the senses, entitled daughters of Mind; for the translation of “Moab” is “from a father.” The lawgiver adds the command given him: “Take all the chiefs of the people and set them up publicly unto the Lord before the sun, and the anger of the Lord shall be turned away from Israel” (Num. xxv. 1, 4). It was not only that, in his desire that the hidden deeds of unrighteousness should be made manifest, he caused the rays of the sun to shine about them. More than this, he gave the figurative title of “Sun” to the universal Father, to Whose sight all things are open, even those which are perpetrated invisibly in the recesses of the understanding. He says that when they have been made manifest, the One gracious Being will be found

* E.V. “hang them up,” which the LXX may have meant. Philo, however, interprets it by ἐμφανή γενέσθαι.
μόνον ἤλεω. διὰ τί; ὦτι, εὰν ὑπολαβοῦσα διάνοια 
λήσεσθαι τὸ θείον ἀδικοῦσα, ὡς μὴ πάντα καθορᾶν 
δυνάμενον, κρύφα καὶ ἐν μυχοῖς διαμαρτάνη καὶ 
μετὰ ταῦτα εἰτ' εξ αὐτῆς εἰτε καὶ ύφηγησαμένου 
τινὸς ἐννοήσῃ, ὦτι ἀμήχανον ἄδηλον εἶναι τῷ τῷ 
θεῷ, καὶ ἐαυτὴν καὶ τὰς ἑαυτῆς πράξεις ἀπάσας 
ἀναπτύξῃ καὶ εἰς μέσου προενεγκόσα καθάπερ 
eἰς ἡλιακὸν φῶς ἐπιδείξηται τῷ τῶν ὅλων ἐπι-
σκόπῳ φήσασα μετανοεῖν ἐφ' οἴς πρότερον ἀγνώ-
μον γνώμη χρωμένη κακῶς ἐδόξαζε—μηδὲν γὰρ 
ἀδηλον, γνώριμα δὲ καὶ δήλα πάντα, οὐ τὰ πραχ-
θέντα μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰ ἐλπιζόμενα κατὰ πολλὴν 
περιουσίαν ὑπάρχειν αὐτῷ,—κεκάθαρται καὶ ὑφέ-
ληται καὶ τὸν ἐφεστώτα κολαστὴν ἔλεγχον ἡμέρω-
κεν ὁργῇ δικαία χρώμενον, εἰ τὸ μετανοεῖν ἀδελφὸν 
νεώτερον ὑν τοῦ μηδ' ὅλως ἀμαρτεῖν ἀποδέχεται.¹

91 XVI. Φαίνεται μέντοι καὶ ἐτέρωθι κατὰ σύμ-
βολον επὶ τοῦ αἰτίου τὸν ἥλιον παραλαμβάνων, 
ὡς ἐν τῷ γραφέντι νόμῳ περὶ τῶν ἐπ' ἐνεχύρους 
δανειζόντων· λέγε τὸν νόμον· "ἐὰν ἐνεχύρασμα 
ἐνεχύραση τὸ ἱμάτιον τοῦ πλησίον, πρὸ δυσμῶν 
ἥλιον ἀποδώσεις αὐτῷ· ἓστι γὰρ τοῦτο περι-
βόλαιον αὐτῷ μόνον, τοῦτο τὸ ἱμάτιον ἀσχή-
μοσύνης αὐτοῦ· ἐν τίνι κομητὴσεται; ἐὰν οὖν 
καταβοήσῃ πρὸς μέ, εἰσακούσομαι αὐτοῦ· ἐλεήμων 
92 γὰρ εἰμι." ἃρ' οὖν ἄξιον τοὺς οἰομένους τὴν 
τοσαύτην σπουδήν εἶναι τῷ νομοθέτη περὶ ἀμπε-
χόνης, εἰ καὶ μὴ ὀνειδίζειν, ἀλλὰ τοὶ γε ὑπομιμή-

¹ Wend. was inclined to insert μὴ either before δικαία or 
ἀποδέχεται. I think the text may well stand. The ei (or 
possibly ei ye) clause serves to repeat in a short summary the 
long series of εὰν clauses which precede.
ON DREAMS, I. 91–93

gracious. Why so? Because, if the understanding, 91 imagining that its wrongdoing will escape the notice of God as though He were not able to see all things, sin secretly in deep recesses; if subsequently, whether of itself or by the leading of another, it come to realize that it is impossible that anything should be otherwise than clear to God; if it unfold itself and all its doings, and bringing them out into the open expose them as it were in the sunlight to Him Whose eye is upon all things; if it say that it repents of the evil opinions which it formerly held in reliance upon an ill-judging judgement; if it acknowledge that nothing is withdrawn from His sight, but that all things are ever known and manifest to Him, not only those which have been done already, but the far greater body of those which are but contemplated in the future;—then has it gained cleansing and benefit and has appeased the just wrath of the convicting wielder of the lash who was standing over it. So is it with the soul if it embraces repentance, younger brother of complete guiltlessness.

XVI. There are other cases in which the lawgiver 92 evidently takes the sun figuratively as applying to the First Cause, as in the Law enacted with reference to those who lend money on security. Read the Law: “If thou take thy neighbour’s garment to pledge thou shalt restore it to him before the setting of the sun; for this is his only covering, it is the garment of his shame. Wherein shall he sleep? If then he cry unto Me, I will hear him, for I am compassionate” (Ex. xxii. 26 f.). Do not those who suppose that the lawgiver feels 93 all this concern about a cloak deserve, if not reproach,
σκειν φάσκοντας· τί λέγετε, ὦ γενναῖοι; ὁ τῶν ἀλών κτίστης καὶ ἧγεμών ἐλεήμονα ἕαυτῶν ἐφ’ οὕτως ἐνετελοῦσ πράγματος, ἱματίῳ μὴ ἀποδοθέντος χρεώστη | πρὸς δανειστοῦ, καλεῖ; τὸ μέγεθος καθάπαξ τῆς ἄρετης τοῦ πάντα μεγάλου θεοῦ μὴ συνεωρακότων τοιαῦτ’ ἐστίν ὑπολαμβάνει καὶ τὴν ἀνθρωπίνην μικρολογίαν τῇ ἄγενήτῳ καὶ ἀφθάρτῳ καὶ πλήρει μακαριστητος καὶ εὐδαιμονίας φύσει

94 [635] παρὰ θέμων καὶ δίκην προσνεμόντων. τί γὰρ ἀτοπὸν ποιοῦσιν οἱ τὰ ρύσια κατέχοντες δανεισταὶ παρ’ αὐτοῦς, ἄγρις ἢν τὰ ἰδία ἀναπράξωνται; πένητες οἱ χρεώσται, φήσει τις ἱσθὼς, καὶ ἄξιον ἐλεεῖν αὐτοὺς. εἰτ’ οὐκ ἄμεινον ἦν γράφαι νόμον, δι’ οὗ τούτους ἐρανιοῦσι μᾶλλον ἡ χρεώστας ἀπο- φανοῦσιν ἢ ἐπ’ ἐνεχύροις τοῦ δανείζειν κωλύσαι; οὗ δὲ ἐθεὶς οὐκ ἦν εἰκότως ἐπὶ τοῖς ἢ ἐλαβον πρὸ καιροῦ μή προιεμένοις δυσχεραῖοι ὡς ἀσεβοῦσι.

95 πενίας δ’ εἰς αὐτὰ τις ἐλθὼν, ὡς ἔπος εἰπεῖν, τὰ πέρατα καὶ ράκιον ἐν ἀμπεχόμενος δανειστάς καινοὺς ἐπάγεται τὸν ἀπὸ τῶν ὀρῶν παρεῖς ἐλεοῦν, ὅς τοῖς κεχρημεῖνοι ταῖς τοιαῦταις κακο- πραγίαις κατ’ οἰκίαν καὶ παρ’ ἱεροὶς καὶ ἐν ἀγορᾶ καὶ πανταχοῦ προκέχυται; νῦν δὲ καὶ ὃ μονὸν εἶχε προκάλυμμα αἰδοῦς, ὡ τὰ τῆς φύσεως ἀπόρ- ρητα συνεσκίαζε, τοῦτο φέρων προὔτευν· ρύσιον ὑπὲρ τίνος, εἰπέ μοι; ἢ ὑπὲρ ἑτέρας ἀμείνονος ἐσθῆτος; τροφῆς μὲν γὰρ ἀναγκαῖας ἀπορος

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1 So mss.: Mangey and earlier editions τοῦτος. The accusative seems only found here and once in Antiphon. See L. & S. 1927.

2 So Mangey with one ms.: Wend. with the rest κωλύσωι, which is ungrammatical. He suggests τὸ δανείζειν κωλύσει

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at least a reminder, in such terms as, "What are you saying, good sirs? Does the Creator and Ruler of the universe speak of Himself as compassionate in regard to so trifling a matter, a garment not returned to a debtor by a lender of money? To entertain such ideas is a mark of men who have utterly failed to see the greatness of the excellence of the infinitely great God, and against every principle human or divine attribute human pettiness to the Being Who is un-originiate and incorruptible and full of all blessedness and happiness. What is there outrageous in money-lenders keeping the securities in their own hands, until they have got back their own? Someone will say perhaps that the debtors are poor men, and deserve pity. In that case would it not be better to make a law for contributing to the needs of such people instead of making them debtors, or for prohibiting lending upon security? But the legislator who has permitted this cannot reasonably be indignant with those who do not give up before the time what they have received, and treat them as devoid of piety. And does a man who has reached practically the extreme limit of poverty, and is clothed with a single rag, endeavour to attract fresh money-lenders, while he lets pass unheeded the compassion, which goes forth abundantly from all beholders, indoors, at temples, in the market-place, everywhere, to those who experience such misfortunes? But in this case he is supposed to bring and offer the sole covering of his shame, with which he veiled nature's secret parts. And security for what? tell me that. Is it for a better garment to take its place? For no one is at

Μωνης, which I do not understand. I suggest κωλυθήσονται, or preferably κωλύσονται.
οὔδείς, ἀχρὶς ἂν πηγαὶ μὲν ἀναβλύζωσι, ποταμοὶ δὲ χείμαρροι πλημμυρώσι,1 γῆ δὲ τοὺς ἐτησίους
98 ἀναδίδω2 καρποὺς. οὕτω δὲ ἡ βαθύπλουτος τις ἡ λίαι ὃ μὸς ὁ δανειστής, ὃς ἡ τετράδραχμον τάχα
dὲ καὶ ἐλαττον ἀναγκαζότας τις χείμαρροι ποταμοῖ πλημμυρώσι, ὃς ὁμώνυμος ἡ ἐνέχυρα, ἕτερον ἐνέχυρα, ὅ ὁμωνύμος ἡν ἵνα ἐπιδέχῃ ταῖς αὐτοῖς ἐνέχυραὶ νύκτας ἐτησίους ἐκάθετο; καὶ γὰρ
λωποδύταις ἐθος ἀπαμπίσχουσι τὰς μὲν ἐσθήτας ἀφαιρεῖσθαι, γυμνοὺς δὲ τοὺς ἐχοντας ἀποφαίνειν.
99 διὰ τὸ δὲ ἕνεκεν 
μὲν καὶ τοὐ μὴ ἀνεί-
μονα τινα κοιμηθῆναι προϊόνοσεν, ἢμέρας δὲ καὶ
tοῦ μὴ ἐγρηγορεῖσθαι γυμνὸν ἀσχημονεῖν οὐκέθε ὑμωίς ἐφούταις; ἡ οὐ 
νυκτὶ μὲν καὶ σκότω
εἶναι πάντα, ὡς ἤττον ἡ μηδὲ ὀλος αἰδεύσαθαι, ἢμέρα δὲ καὶ φωτὶ ἀνακαλύπτεται, ὡς τότε μᾶλλον
100 ἐρυθρίαν ἀναγκαζότας; 
διὰ τὸ δ' οὐ
διδόναι τῷ ἵματιον, ἀλλ' ἀποδίδοναι προσέταξεν;
ἀπόδοσις γὰρ ἐπ' ἄλλοτροῖς γίνεται, τὰ δ' ἐνέχυρα
tῶν δεδανεικότων μᾶλλον ἡ τῶν δεδανεισμένων ἔστιν. 
ἐκεῖνο δὲ οὐκ ἐννοεῖσι, ὅτι λαβόντι τῷ
χρεώσῃ πρόσκοιτον τῷ ἵματιον οὐ προσέταξε μεθ'
ήμεραν περιελεῖν ἀναστάντα καὶ κομίσαι τῷ
101 δανειστῇ; 
καὶ μὴν τῷ γε τῆς ἐρμηνείας ἰδιοτρόπω καὶ ὁ βραδύτατος ἐτερον τι τοῦ ρητοῦ
[636] κατανοεῖν ἂν | προαχθεῖν. μᾶλλον γὰρ ἀφορισμῷ

1 So Wend: the mss. have either ποταμῶν, χείμαρροι δὲ πλημ. (in one case ποταμῶν, χείμαρροι δὲ ποταμῶν πλημ.) or ποταμοὶ δὲ πλημ. I suggest as an alternative to Wend.'s πότιμοι, χείμαρροι δὲ πλημ. 2 mss. ἀναδόδωροι.
3 <μη>: so Mangey: Wend. rejects the insertion, presumably taking the meaning to be "content himself with throwing a farthing to him."
a loss for the bare necessities of food, so long as springs gush forth, and rivers run down in winter, and earth yields her fruits in their season. And is the creditor either so swallowed up in riches or so exceedingly cruel as to be unwilling to afford a tetradrachm (or less it may be) to anybody, or make a loan rather than a free gift to one so poor, or to take as security the man’s only garment, an act which might well be given another name and called coat-snatching? For that is the coat-snatcher’s way; when they remove people’s apparel they carry it off, and leave the owners naked. And why did he take thought for night and that no one should sleep without clothing, but shewed no such care for the day and that a man should not be indecent in his waking hours? Or is it not the case that by night and darkness all things are hidden, so that nakedness causes less shame or none at all, whereas by the light of day all things are uncovered, so that then one is more obliged to blush? And why did he enjoin not the giving but the returning of the garment? For we return what belongs to another, whereas the securities belong to the lenders rather than to the borrowers. And do you not notice that he has given no direction to the debtor, after taking the garment to use as a blanket, when day has come to get up and remove it and carry it to the money-lender? And indeed the peculiarities of the wording might well lead even the slowest-witted reader to perceive the presence of something other than the literal meaning of the passage: for the ordinance bears the

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\[a\] See App. p. 599.
Η παρανέσει ἐστι γὰρ εἰπεν ἂν τις τῷ ἑνεκυρασθὲν ἱμάτιον, εὰν τοῦτο μόνον τῷ χρεώστῃ, πρὸ ἐσπέρας ἀπόδοσις, ἵνα ἐχει νῦκτωρ ἀμπέχεσθαι, ἀφοριζόμενος δὲ οὕτως, ὡς νῦν ἔχει· "(ἀποδώσεις αὐτῷ)· ἔστι γὰρ τούτω περιβόλαιον αὐτῷ μόνον, τοῦτο τὸ ἱμάτιον ἀσχημοσύνης αὐτοῦ· ἐν τίνι κοιμηθῆσεται;"

102 XVII. Ταῦτα μὲν δὴ καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα πρὸς τοὺς τῆς δητῆς πραγματείας σοφιστὰς καὶ λίαν τὰς ὄφρας ἀνεσπακότας εἰρήσθω, λέγωμεν δὲ ἡμεῖς ἐπάθη τοῖς ἄλληχορίας νόμοις τὰ πρέποντα περὶ τούτων. φαμὲν τοῖς λόγῳ λόγῳ σύμβολον ἱμάτιον εἶναι· τὰς τε γὰρ ἀπὸ κρυμοῦ καὶ θάλπου εἰσεθήσεί τῷ σώματι κατασκήπτειν βλάβας ἐσθής ἀπωθεῖται καὶ ἐπισκιάζει τὰ τῆς φύσεως ἀπόρρητα καὶ ἐστὶν ἀρμόττων σώματι κόσμος ἡ ἀμπεχόνη. κατὰ τὸ παραπλῆσιον μέντοι καὶ ἀνθρώπῳ λόγῳ δώρημα κάλλιστον ἐδὸθαι παρὰ θεοῦ, πρῶτον μὲν κατὰ τῶν νεωτεριζόντων εἰς αὐτὸν ὀπλον ἀμυντήριον—ὡς γὰρ τῶν ἀλλῶν ἔκαστον ζῷων ἡ φύσις οἰκείως ἔρκεσιν ὡχύρωσε, δι' ὧν τοὺς ἐπιχειροῦντας ἄδικα ἀποκρούσεται, καὶ ἄνθρωπῳ μέγιστον ἔρμα καὶ φρουράν ἀκαθαίρετον λόγον δέδωκε, οὐ κραταῖς οἷα πανοπλίας ἐνειλημμένος οἰκεῖον καὶ προσφυέστατον ἔξει δορυφόρου· τοῦτῳ δὲ προαγωνιστῇ χρώμενος δυνήσεται τὰς ἀπὸ τῶν ἐχθρῶν ἐπι-

1 The insertion, which seems necessary to the sense (see App. p. 600), is approved by Wend., though not incorporated in the text.

b This, or “rational speech and thought,” seems the best translation here to cover the alternations between thought and speech throughout this interpretation. Speech seems to
ON DREAMS, I. 101–103

marks of an explanatory statement rather than of an exhortation. A man giving an exhortation would have said, "If the garment given as security be the only one the borrower has, return it before evening, that he may have it to wrap round him at night." But if he makes a statement he would put as it stands: "thou shalt give it back to him, for this is the only wrapper he has, this is the garment without which he is not decent; what is he to sleep in?" (Ex. xxii. 27).

XVII. Let what has been said and other considerations of the same kind suffice for the self-satisfied pedantic professors of literalism, and let us in accordance with the rules of allegory make such remarks on this passage as are appropriate. Well, then, we say that a garment is a figure for rational speech. For clothing keeps off the mischiefs that are wont to befall the body from frost and heat; it conceals nature's secret parts; and the raiment is a fitting adornment to the person. In like manner, rational speech was bestowed on man by God as the best of gifts. First of all, it is a weapon of defence against those who threaten him with violence. For as nature has fortified other living creatures each with appropriate means of guarding themselves whereby they may beat off those who attempt to do them an injury, so has she given to man a most strong redoubt and impregnable fort in rational speech. Grasping this with all his might as a soldier does his weapons, he will have a body-guard meeting his every need. Having this to fight before him, he will be able to ward off the hurts which his enemies would fain

be the dominant idea in §§ 103 and 104, thought or reason in most of the rest.
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104 φερομένας ἀπωθεῖσθαι ζημίας, δεύτερον δὲ καὶ
ἀισχύνης καὶ ονειδῶν ἀναγκαίως τοῖς ἀμαρτίας
tῶν ἁνθρώπων λόγος—τρίτον δὲ πρὸς ὅλου τοῦ
βίου κόσμου ὁ γὰρ βελτιών ἐκαστον καὶ πάντα

105 ἄγων ἐπὶ τὸ κρεῖττον οὔτός ἦστιν. ἀλλὰ
gὰρ εἰσὶ λῴβαι τινες καὶ κῆρες ἁνθρώπων, οὐ̣ καὶ
tὸν λόγον ἐνεχυράζουσιν ἀφαιροῦμενοι τοὺς ἔχοντας
καὶ, συναυξήσαι δέον, ὅλου ὑποτέμνονται, καθάπερ
οἱ τὰ τῶν πολεμίων δηούντες χωρία καὶ τὸν τε
σῶτον καὶ τὸν ἀλλὸν καρπὸν φθείρειν ἐπικεφαλύντες,
ὡς ἀφεθεῖς μεγάλη τὸς χρῆσαμένοις ἄν ὄνησις ἦν.

106 πόλεμος οὖν ἔστιν ἐνίοις ἀσπονδὸς καὶ ἀκήρυκτος
πρὸς τὴν λογικὴν φύσιν, οἴτως τὰς βλάστας αὐτῆς
ἀποκείρουσιν ἐν χρῷ καὶ τὰς πρώτας ἐπιφύσεις
ἐκθλίβουσιν, ἄγωνον καὶ στείραν, ὡς ἐπος ἐπεῖν,

107 καλῶν ἐπιτηδευμάτων ἀπεργαζόμενοι. ὁρμῶσαν
gὰρ ἕστιν ὅτε πρὸς παιδείαν ἀκατασχέτω ρύμη
καὶ πληχθεῖσαν ἔρωτι τῶν φιλοσοφίας θεωρημάτων
ὑπὸ βασκανίας καὶ φθόνου δεῖσαντες, μὴ μεγάλα
πνεύσασα καὶ ἔπι μὴκιστον ἀρθείσα τὰς γλυσχρο-
λογίας αὐτῶν καὶ πυθανᾶς κατὰ τῆς ἀληθείας
εὐρέσεις ἐπικλύση χειμάρρῳ τρόπον, ἔτερωσε ταῖς
ἔαυτῶν κακοτεχνίαις τὴν φορὰν ἔτρεψαν, εἰς

[637] βαναύσους καὶ ἀνελευθέρους τέχνας μετοχευτεν-
σάμενοι· πολλάκις δὲ καὶ ἀμβλώσαντες καὶ ἐπι-
φράξαντες ἁργὸν τὸ μεγαλοφυὲς κατέλιπον, ὡσπερ
βαθύγειον καὶ εὐδαιμόνα γῆν ὄρφανον παῖδων ἐπί-

1 Some mss. αὶ and ἀφαιροῦμεναι. See note a below.

a If αἱ and ἀφαιροῦμεναι are read, the enemies of λόγος are
presumably persons who exercise an evil influence on others.
If αἱ and ἀφαιροῦμεναι, they are evil forces within us. The
inflict upon him. In the second place, rational speech is a most necessary covering for matters of shame and reproach; it has great ability to conceal and hide up men's sins. Thirdly, it serves as an adornment of the whole life: for this it is that makes each one of us better and leads every man to something higher.

But there are some men who—mischievous pests that they are—actually hold rational speech in pawn, and rob its possessors of it, and, when they ought to foster its growth, cut it utterly down, like those who ravage the fields of their enemies and endeavour to destroy both the wheat and the other crops, which if left alone would have been a great boon to the consumers. What I mean is that there are some who wage an unrelenting war against the rational nature, men who cut down to the ground its first shoots, and squeeze the life out of its earliest growths, so rendering it to all intents and purposes barren and unproductive of noble doings. For there are times when, seeing it bent with irresistible impulse on education and smitten with a passionate love of the truths which philosophy has discovered, they conceive a jealous and malicious fear lest, grandly inspired and highly exalted, it should sweep like a torrent over their hair-splittings and plausible inventions for the overthrow of truth, and by their perversions of art change the direction of its current, providing a channel leading to low and illiberal arts and sciences. Not infrequently they sterilize and block it up, and leave its natural greatness fallow and unfruitful, like bad guardians of orphans who let a rich former is suggested by §§ 106 and 107. At the end of the meditation, however, we seem to pass into the other thought. See note on § 112.

See note on De Mut. 150.
τροποὶ κακοὶ χέρσον, καὶ οὐκ ἂδεσθησαν οἱ πάντων ἀνθρεπτατοί τὸ μόνον ἰματίων ἀνθρώπου περισυλωντε, λόγον. "ἐστι" γὰρ φησι "τοῦτο περιβόλαιον αὐτῷ μόνον." τί πλὴν ὁ λόγος; ὡσπερ γὰρ ἢππον τὸ χρεμετίζειν ἢδον καὶ τὸ ὕλακτεῖν κυνὸς καὶ βοὸς τὸ μυκᾶσθαι καὶ τὸ ωρύεσθαι λέοντος, οὕτω καὶ ἁνθρώπον τὸ λέγειν καὶ αὐτὸς ὁ λόγος. τοῦτον γὰρ ἔρμα, περὶβλήμα, πανοπλίαν, τεῖχος τὸ ζῷον τὸ θεοφιλεστάτον, ὁ ἁνθρωπος, ἐκ πάντων ἢδον κεκάρπωται.

108 XVIII. διὸ καὶ ἐπιφέρει: "τοῦτο τὸ ἰματίον αὐτὸ μόνον ἀσχημοσύνης αὐτοῦ." τίς ἄλλος γὰρ οὕτως τα ὀνειδη καὶ τα ἀίσχη τοῦ βίου συσκιάζει καὶ συγκρύπτει, ὡς λόγος; ἀμαθία μὲν γὰρ ἁλόγου φύσεως συγγενεῖς ἀίσχος, παιδεία δὲ ἅδελφον λόγου, κόσμος οἰκείος. "ἐν τίνι οὖν κοιμηθήσεται," τοπετέτων ἠρεμήσει καὶ διαναταύσεται ἀνθρώπος, πλὴν ἐν λόγω; λόγος γὰρ τὸ βαρυποτμότατον ἡμῶν γένος ἐπικουφίζει. ὡσπερ οὖν τοὺς λύπαις ἡ φόβος ἢ τισιν ἄλλοις κακοὶς πιεσθέντας εὐμένεια καὶ συνήθεια καὶ δεξιότης φίλων πολλάκις ἐθεραπευσαν, οὕτως οὐ πολλάκις ἀλέξεν καὶ αἰ τῶν ἐξωθέν κατασκηπτότων ἀπροόρατοι συντυχίαι, μόνος οὐκ ἀλέξει·

111 κακοὶ λόγος ἀπωθείται. φίλος γὰρ καὶ γνώριμος καὶ συνήθης καὶ ἔταιρος ἢμῖν ἐστιν, ἐνδεδεμένος, μάλλον δὲ ἡμοσμένος καὶ ἡμωμένος κόλλη τῶν φύσεως ἀλύτω καὶ ἀοράτω. διὰ τοῦτο καὶ προλέγει τὰ συνολοστα καὶ συμβάντος τῶν ἀβουλήτου

1 mss. καλώς. 

2 mss. συνέχεια.
ON DREAMS, I. 107–111

and fertile farm become a wilderness. In fact, void of pity beyond all men, they are not ashamed to strip a man of his only garment, reason; for it says “this is all he has to put round him” (Ex. xxii. 27). What is this save reason? For as neighing is peculiar to a horse, and barking to a dog, and lowing to a cow, and roaring to a lion, so is speech and reason itself to man. For with this has man, the dearest to God of all living creatures, been dowered as specially his own, to be his stronghold, protection, armour, wall. XVIII. This is why he adds “this garment is the only cover of his unseemliness” (Ex. xxii. 27). For who is there that in so fair a fashion removes from sight what might cause shame or entail reproach in man’s life, as does reason? For ignorance, the kin of the irrational nature, is a matter of shame, while culture, near akin to reason, is his proper adornment: “In what, then, shall he sleep?” or, in other words, wherein shall a man find calmness and complete repose, save in reason? For reason brings relief to those of us whose fate is the most grievous. Even, then, as the kindliness and companionship and courtesy of friends has many a time healed and comforted those who were oppressed by sorrows or fears or some other ills, so not often but always is it mischief-averting reason that alone dislodges the overwhelming burden laid upon us by the distresses incident to our yokefellow the body, or by the unforeseen disasters that swoop down on us from without. For reason is our friend, familiar, associate, comrade, bound up with us, or rather cemented and united with us by an invisible and indissoluble natural glue. That is why it both foretells what will be expedient, and, when something undesirable has occurred, is at hand with unsolicited
πάρεστιν αὐτοκέλευστος βοηθήσω, οὐ τὴν ἐτέραν φέρων μόνον ὕφέλειαν, ἢν ὁ μὴ δρῶν σύμβουλος ἡ συναγωνιστὴς ἥσυχος, ἀλλ' ἀμφοτέρας. οὐ γὰρ ἠμείργην ἐπιτετήθεινε δύναμιν, ἀλλὰ πᾶσι τοῖς μέρεσιν ὀλόκληρον· ὡς γε, κἂν σφαλὴ πείρας ἐν οἷς διανοεῖται ἡ ἔργῳ ἐπεξέρχεται [ἡ] ἐπὶ τὸ τρίτον ἀφικνεῖται βοήθημα, παρηγορίαν. φάρμακον γὰρ ὡς τραυμάτων, καὶ ψυχῆς παθῶν ὁ λόγος ἐστὶ σωτήριον, ὁν ἐπὶ δυσμῶν ἡλίου" φησὶ δειν ὁ νομοθέτης ἀποδοῦναι, τούτου πρὶν τὰς τοῦ μεγίστου καὶ ἐπιφανεστάτου θεοῦ καταδύναι περιλαμπεστάτας αὐγάς, ἃς δὲ ἔλεον τοῦ γένους ἡμῶν εἰς νοῦν τὸν ἀνθρώπινον οὐρανόθεν ἀποστέλλει.

παραμένοντος γὰρ ἐν ψυχῇ τοῦ θεοειδεστάτου καὶ ἀσωμάτου φωτός ἀποδώσομεν τὸν ἐνεχυρασθέντα λόγον, ὡς ἡμᾶς, ἵνα ἐγγένηται τῷ λαβόντι τὸ ἱδίον ἀνθρώπου κτῆμα τὴν τε αἰσχύνην τοῦ βίου περιστείλαι καὶ τῆς θείας ἀπόνασθαι δωρεάς καὶ μετ' ἑρεμίας ἀναπαύσασθαι παρουσία τοιούτου συμβούλου | καὶ προασπιστοῦ τάξιν ἦν ἑτάχθη μηδέποτε λείψοντος. ἐως οὖν ἔτι σοι τὸ ἐρῶν φέγγος ὁ θεὸς ἀκτινοβολεῖ, σπούδασον ἐν ἡμέρα τῷ ρύσιον ἀποδοῦναι τῷ κυρίῳ δύντος γὰρ, ὡς πᾶσα Αἰγύπτου, ηλιαφετὸν ἐξεις σκότος τὸν αἰώνα καὶ πληθυνεῖς ἀνασταίνει καὶ ἀγνοια, ὡς ἐδόκεις ἐπικρατεῖν πάντων ἀφαιρεθήσῃ, πρὸς τοῦ ἑλπιστοῦ

a From this point to the end of this discussion the taker of λόγος seems to be the man's evil self who must restore it to the owner or true self before it is too late. He perhaps means to imply that if he does so, the sufficient though inferior light of λόγος may serve him, as it did the Practiser, in place of the true divine illumination. If he does not, he will be plunged into utter darkness.

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aid, bringing not only one or other of the two kinds of help, that of the adviser who does not act, or that of the fellow-combatant who does not speak, but both of these. For the power which reason exercises does not work by half measures, but is thoroughgoing on every side, and if it fails in its plans or in its execution of them, it has recourse to the third mode of help-giving, namely consolation. For as there are healing applications for wounds, so are the disorders of the soul healed by reason, of which the lawgiver says that it must be restored "before the setting of the sun" (Ex. xxii. 26), which means before the going down of those all-illuminating rays of the God who is greatest and most present to help, who by reason of His compassion for our race sends them forth from heaven into the mind of man. For while there is abiding in the soul that most God-like and incorporeal light, we shall restore the reason which had been given in pledge, as a garment is given, in order that he, who has received back the possession which is man's peculiar prerogative, may have opportunity to cover over all that is a shame to human life, to get the full benefit of the divine gift, and to enjoy calm repose through the presence of a counsellor and defender so true, so sure never to abandon the post in which he has been stationed. While, then, God still pours upon you the rays of His sacred light, hasten while it is day to restore to its owner the pledge you have seized. For when that light has set, you, like "all Egypt" (Ex. x. 21), will experience for ever a darkness that may be felt, and smitten with sightlessness and ignorance will be deprived of the possessions of all of which you deemed yourself master, and be perforce enslaved by Israel, the
Ο Ισραήλ, διν ἐρρυσίαζες ἀδούλωτον ὄντα φύσει, δουλούμενοι ἀνάγκη.

115 XIX. Τοῦτον δὴ τὸν δόλιχον ἀπεμηκύναμεν οὐκ ἄλλον τοῦ χάριν ἢ τοῦ διδάξει, ὅτι ἡ ἀσκητικὴ διάνοια κινήσεων ἀνωμάλους πρὸς τε εὐφορίαν καὶ τοῦναντίον χρωμένη καὶ τρόπον τινὰ ἀνιούσα καὶ κατηχοῦσα συνεχῶς, ὅταν μὲν εὐφορῇ καὶ πρὸς τὸ ὕψος αἴρηται, ταῖς ἀρχετύποις καὶ ἀσωμάτως ἀκτίνες λογικῆς πηγῆς τοῦ τελεσφόρου θεοῦ περιλαμπίσται, ὅταν δὲ καταβαίνῃ καὶ ἀφορῇ, ταῖς ἀκτίνεσσι εἰκόσιοι, ἀθανάτους λόγους, οὐς καλεῖν ἔθος ἀγγέλους. Διό καὶ νῦν φησιν· "ἀπήντησε τὸπω' ἐδυ γάρ ὁ ἥλιος," ὅταν γάρ τὴν ψυχήν ἀπολίπωσιν αἰ τοῦ θεοῦ αὐγά, δὴ ὅπως σαφέσταται αἰ τῶν πραγμάτων γίνονται καταλήψεις, ἀνατέλλει τὸ δεύτερον καὶ ἀσθενέστερον λόγων, οὐκέτι πραγμάτων, φέγγος, καθάπερ καὶ ἐν τῶδε τῶ κόσμῳ· σελήνη γὰρ τὰ δευτερεῖα ἦλιον φερομένη καταδύνεσθαι, ὅταν δὲ καταβαίνῃ καὶ ἀφορῇ ταῖς εκείνων εἴκόσι, ἀθανάτους λόγους, οὐς καλεῖν ἔθος ἀγγέλους. 116 οὗτος ἔδους "ἀπήντησε τὸπω' ἐδυ γάρ ὁ ἥλιος." ὅταν γάρ τὴν ψυχὴν ἀπολίπωσιν αἰ τοῦ θεοῦ αὐγά, δὴ ὅπως σαφέσταται αἰ τῶν πραγμάτων γίνονται καταλήψεις, ἀνατέλλει τὸ δεύτερον καὶ ἀσθενέστερον λόγων, οὐκέτι πραγμάτων, φέγγος, καθάπερ καὶ ἐν τῶδε τῶ κόσμῳ· σελήνη γὰρ τὰ δευτερεῖα ἦλιον φερομένη καταδύνεσθαι, ὅταν δὲ καταβαίνῃ καὶ ἀφορῇ ταῖς εκείνων εἴκόσι, ἀθανάτους λόγους, οὐς καλεῖν ἔθος ἀγγέλους. 117 καὶ τὸ ὑπαντῶν μέντοι τὸπω' ἔδυ γάρ ὁ ἥλιος." ὅταν γάρ τὴν ψυχὴν ἀπολίπωσιν αἰ τοῦ θεοῦ αὐγά, δὴ ὅπως σαφέσταται αἰ τῶν πραγμάτων γίνονται καταλήψεις, ἀνατέλλει τὸ δεύτερον καὶ ἀσθενέστερον λόγων, οὐκέτι πραγμάτων, φέγγος, καθάπερ καὶ ἐν τῶδε τῶ κόσμῳ· σελήνη γὰρ τὰ δευτερεῖα ἦλιον φερομένη καταδύνεσθαι, ὅταν δὲ καταβαίνῃ καὶ ἀφορῇ ταῖς εκείνων εἴκόσι, ἀθανάτους λόγους, οὐς καλεῖν ἔθος ἀγγέλους. 118 καὶ τὸ ὑπαντῶν μέντοι τὸπω' ἔδυ γάρ ὁ ἥλιος." ὅταν γάρ τὴν ψυχὴν ἀπολίπωσιν αἰ τοῦ θεοῦ αὐγά, δὴ ὅπως σαφέσταται αἰ τῶν πραγμάτων γίνονται καταλήψεις, ἀνατέλλει τὸ δεύτερον καὶ ἀσθενέστερον λόγων, οὐκέτι πραγμάτων, φέγγος, καθάπερ καὶ ἐν τῶδε τῶ κόσμῳ· σελήνη γὰρ τὰ δευτερεῖα ἦλιον φερομένη καταδύνεσθαι, ὅταν δὲ καταβαίνῃ καὶ ἀφορῇ ταῖς εκείνων εἴκόσι, ἀθανάτους λόγους, οὐς καλεῖν ἔθος ἀγγέλους.

* i.e. §§ 87-114, which have supported the argument that the sun which set was God Himself and thus lead up to the thought that the Practiser must sometimes pass from the greater to the lesser illumination.

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ON DREAMS, I. 114–117

Seeing One, whom, though by nature immune from bondage, you seized as your chattel.

XIX. This long course we have run to no other end than to shew how it fares with the Practiser’s mind. Its movements are uneven, sometimes towards fruitfulness, sometimes to the reverse; it is continually, as it were, ascending and descending. In the time of fruitfulness and uplifting, there shine upon it the archetypal and incorporeal rays of the fountain of reason, God the consummator, but when it sinks low and fails to yield, its light is the images of these rays, immortal “words” which it is customary to call angels. That is why, in this passage, he says “he met a place; for the sun was set” (Gen. xxviii. 11). For when the soul is forsaken by the rays of God, by means of which apprehensions of things are gained in greatest distinctness, there rises the secondary feeble light, not as before of facts but of words, just as is the case in this material world; for the moon, ranking second to the sun when that has set, sends forth upon the earth a dimmer light. And further, to meet a “place” or “word” is an all-sufficient gift to those who are unable to see God Who is prior to “place” and “word,” inasmuch as they did not find their soul entirely bereft of illumination, but when that glorious undiluted light sank out of their sky, they obtained that which has been diluted. For we read in Exodus (x. 23), “For the children of Israel there was light in all their dwellings,” so that night and darkness are for ever banished, with which they live whose blindness is not of the body, but of the soul, who know not

b i.e. they are so called in Scripture.

c λόγοι and λόγος, which in these sections passes so bewilderingly through its many shades of meaning, seems here to be reduced to its lowest value.
ζώσιν, ἀρετής αὐγάς ὡκ εἰδότες. ἕνοι ἐὰν ἕλιον μὲν ὑποτόπησαντες εἰρήθαι νυνὶ συμβολικὸς αἴσθησιν τε καὶ νοῦν, τὰ νεομισμένα καθ’ ἡμᾶς αὐτοὺς εἶναι κριτήρια, τὸ πον ᾑ τὸν θείον λόγον, οὕτως ἐξεδεξαντο· ἀπήντησεν ο ἀσκητής λόγῳ θείῳ ὑντός τοῦ θνητοῦ καὶ ἀνθρωπίνου φέγγου. ἄχρι μὲν γὰρ ὁ νοῦς τὰ νοητὰ καὶ τὰ αἰσθητὰ αἰσθῆσις οἴεται παγίως καταλαμβάνειν καὶ ἀνω περιτόλειν, μακρὰν ὁ θείος λόγος ἀφέστηκεν ἐπεὶδάν δ’ ἐκάτερον ἀσθενεὶς ὁμολογήσῃ τὴν ἑαυτοῦ καὶ τρόπον τινὰ καταδύσει χρησάμενον ἀποκρυφθῇ, προϋπάντα δεξιοῦμεν εὐθὺς ὁ ἔφεδρος λόγος ἐκεῖνος οἰκτικῆς ψυχῆς ὁρθὸς λόγος ἑαυτῆν μὲν ἀπογνώσκουσίς, τὸν δὲ ἐπιφοιτώντα ἐξωθεὶν ἀφανῶς ἀναμονῆσις.

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118 XX. Φησὶ τοῖνυν ἔξης ὅτι “ἐλάβεν ἀπὸ τῶν λίθων τοῦ τόπου καὶ ἔθηκε πρὸς κεφαλῆς αὐτοῦ, καὶ ἐκουμήθη ἐν τῷ τόπῳ ἐκεῖνῳ.” θαυμάσαι ἄν τις οὐ μόνον τὴν ἐν ὑπονοίαις πραγματείᾳ καὶ φυσιολογίᾳ αὐτοῦ, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὴν ρητήν πρὸς πόνου καὶ καρπερίας μελέτην ὑψήλησιν. οὐ γὰρ ἄξιοὶ τὸν ἀρετῆς ἐπιμελουμένον ἀβροδιαίτω βίω χρησάθαι καὶ τριφὰν ζηλοῦντα τὰς τῶν λεγομένων μὲν εὐδαιμόνων πρὸς ἀλήθειαν δὲ κακοδαιμονίας γεμόντων σπουδὰς τε καὶ φιλοτιμίας, οἷς πᾶς ὁ βίος ὑπνός καὶ ἐνύπνιον ἐστὶ κατὰ τὸν ἱερώτατον νομοθέτην. οὐτοὶ μεθ’ ἡμέραν, ὅταν τὰ ἐν δικαστηρίοις καὶ βουλευτηρίοις καὶ θεάτροις καὶ πανταχοῦ πρὸς τοὺς οὐτοὶ μεθ’ ἡμέραν, ὅταν τὰ ἐν δικαστηρίοις καὶ βουλευτηρίοις καὶ θεάτροις καὶ πανταχοῦ πρὸς τοὺς

1 Perhaps περιτόλει. See note a below.

a Or “their path is above the horizon.” I should prefer to read περιτόλει. The infinitive dependent on οἴεται equates the “position above the horizon” with apprehension. But

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virtue’s rays. Some, supposing that in 118 this passage “sun” is a figurative expression for sense and mind, our own accepted standards of judgement, and “place” for the divine word, have understood the passage in this way: “the Practiser met a divine word when the mortal and human light had gone down.” For so long as mind and sense-perception imagine that they get a firm grasp, mind of the objects of mind and sense of the objects of sense, and thus move aloft in the sky, the divine Word is far away. But when each of them acknowledges its weakness, and going through a kind of setting passes out of sight, right reason is forward to meet and greet at once the practising soul, whose willing champion he is when it despairs of itself and waits for him who invisibly comes from without to its succour.

XX. We read next that “he took one of the stones 120 of the place and set it under his head, and slept in that place” (Gen. xxviii. 11). Our admiration is extorted not only by the lawgiver’s allegorical and philosophical teaching, but by the way in which the literal narrative inculcates the practice of toil and endurance. For he does not deem it worthy of one 121 whose heart is set upon virtue to fare sumptuously and live a life of luxury affecting the tastes and ambitions of people who are called fortunate but are in reality laden with ill-fortune, whose whole life in the eyes of the most holy lawgiver is a sleep and a dream. In the daytime these people, when they 122 have got through their outrages upon other men in law-courts, and council-chambers, and theatres, and it is really the thought that it apprehends which constitutes that position, just as the renunciation of the thought constitutes the setting.

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άλλους ἀδικήματα διεξελθοὺσιν, οἵκαθε ἀφικνοῦνται τὸν ἑαυτῶν οἶκον, οἱ δυστυχεῖς, καταστρέψοντες, οὐ τὸν τῶν οἰκοδομημάτων, ἀλλὰ τὸν συμφιά τῆς ψυχῆς οἶκον, τὸ σῶμα, τροφὰς ἀμέτρους καὶ ἐπ’ αλλῆλους εἰσφέροντες καὶ πολὺν ἀκρατὸν ἄρδοντες, ἕως ἄν βύθιος μὲν ὁ λογισμὸς οἴχηται, τὰ δὲ υπὸ γαστέρα πλήμμονῃς ἐκγονὰ πάθη διαναστάντα, λύτη χρώμενα ἀκαθέκτω, προσπεσόντα καὶ ἐμπλα­κέντα τοῖς ἐπιτυχοῦσι, τὸν πολὺν οἴστρον ἀπερ­
123 γόντα λωφήσῃ. νύκτωρ δὲ, ὅποτε καιρὸς εἶη πρὸς κοίτον τραπέσθαι, πολυτελεῖς κλίνας καὶ εὔανθε­
stάτας στρωμνὰς εὐτρεπισάμενοι μαλακῶς σφόδρα κατακλίνονται, τὴν γυναικῶν ἐκμιμούμενοι τρυφήν, αἰς ἡ φύσις ἐπέτρεψεν ἀνεμένη χρήσθαι διαίτη, παρὸ καὶ τὸ σῶμα τοῦ μαλθακωτέρου κόμματος ὁ
124 τεχνίτης καὶ ποιητής αὐταῖς εἰργάζετο. τουιότος οὐδεὶς γνώριμος τοῦ ἑαυτοῦ λόγου, ἀλλ’ οἱ πρὸς ἀλήθειαν ἄνδρες, σωφροσύνης καὶ κοσμίωτητος καὶ εἰδοὺς ἑρασταί, ἐγκράτειαν, οἰκοδείαν, καρπεμίαν ὠσεὶ κρηπίδας τινας ὅλου τοῦ βίου καταβεβλη­
μένοι, ψυχῆς ἀσφάλεις ὑποδρόμους, οῖς ἀκατάκακας καὶ βεβαιῶς ἔνορμεῖται, χρημάτων καὶ ἱδινῆς καὶ δόξης κρείττους, σιτίων καὶ ποτῶν καὶ αὐτὸ μόνον1 τῶν ἀναγκαίων, ἐφ’ ὅσον μὴ νεωτερίζειν ἄρχεται λιμός, ὑπερόπτα, πείναν δέχεσθαι καὶ δύσι βάλπος τε καὶ κρύος καὶ ὃσα ἀλλὰ δυσκαρ­
tέρητα ὑπὲρ ἄρετῆς κτήσεως ἐτοιμότατον, ζηλωταί

1 αὐτὸ μόνον does not make sense. Wend. proposes πλὴν for καὶ, but this hardly agrees with ἐφ’ ὅσον . . . λιμός. Perhaps αὐτῶν, so translation (or αὐτῶν μὲν οὖν, omitting the preceding καὶ as some mss. do).
everywhere, come home, poor wretches, to ruin their own abode, not that which consists of buildings, but the abode which is bound up by nature with the soul, I mean the body. Into it they convey an unlimited supply of eatables one after another, and steep it in quantities of strong drink, until the reasoning faculty is drowned, and the sensual passions born of excess are aroused and raging with a fury that brooks no check, after falling upon and entangling themselves with all whom they meet, have disgorged their great frenzy and have abated. At night, when it is time to retire to bed, they recline exceedingly delicately on costly couches and gaily-coloured bedding with which they have provided themselves, aping the luxury of women to whom nature allows an easier mode of life, agreeable to the body of softer stamp which the Creator Artificer has wrought for them. None such is a disciple of the holy Word, but only those who are really men, enamoured of moderation, propriety, and self-respect: men who have laid down as the foundation, so to speak, of their whole life self-control, abstemiousness, endurance, which are safe roadsteads of the soul, in which it can lie firmly moored and out of danger; men superior to the temptations of money, pleasure, popularity, regardless of meat and drink and of the actual necessaries of life, so long as lack of food does not begin to threaten their health; men perfectly ready for the sake of acquiring virtue to submit to hunger and thirst and heat and cold and all else that is hard to put up with; men keen to get

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a Or "sexual," though that is usually with Philo τὰ μετὰ γαστέρα, but cf. ὑπογαστρίων De Som. ii. 147. Otherwise "born in the depths of the belly."

b A common phrase, cf. έοικε δ' εἶναι τοῦ πονηροῦ κόμματος Aristoph. Plut. 862.
τῶν εὐποριστοτάτων, ὡς μηδ' ἐπ' εὐτελεὶ χλαίνῃ
ποτὲ δυσωπηθῆναι, τοῦναντίον δὲ τὰς πολυτελεῖς
όνειδος καὶ μεγάλην τοῦ βίου ξημέαν νομίσαι.

125 τούτοις πολυτελῆς μὲν ἐστὶ κλίνη μαλακῶν ἔδαφος,
στρωμνὴ δὲ θάμνοι, πόαι, βοτάναι, φύλλων πολλή
χύσις, τὰ δὲ πρὸς κεφαλῆς λίθοι τινὲς ἡ βραχεῖς

[640] γεώλοφοι τοῦ ἰσοπέδου | μικρὸν ἀνέχοντες.
τὸν βίον τούτον οἱ μὲν τρυφώντες σκληροδίαιτον
καλοῦσιν, οἱ δὲ πρὸς καλοκάγαθιαν ξώντες ἡδιστὸν
ὀνομάξουσιν ἀνδράσι γὰρ οὐ λεγομένοις ἀλλ' οὖσιν

126 ὅντως ἐφαρμόζει. οὐχ ὁρᾶς, ὡς καὶ νῦν
βασιλικὰς ὕλαις καὶ παρασκευαῖς περιουσιάζοντα
τὸν ἀθλητὴν τῶν καλῶν ἐπιτηδευμάτων εἰσάγει
χαμενοῦντα καὶ λίθῳ προσκεφαλαίῳ χρώμενον
καὶ μικρὸν ύστερον ἐν ταῖς εὐχαῖς ἀρτὸν καὶ ἵματιον,
τὸν φύσεως πλοῦτον, αἰτούμενον, ἐπειδὴ τὸν ἐν ταῖς
κεναῖς δόξαις ἐχλεύαζεν ἀεὶ καὶ τοὺς θαυμαστικῶς
ἐχοντας αὐτοῦ κατεκερτόμει; οὕτως ἐστὶ παρά-

dειγμα ἁρχήτυπον ἀσκητικῆς ψυχῆς, ἐκτεθηλυσμένω
καὶ ἀνδρογύνῳ παντὶ πολέμῳ.

127 XXI. 'Ο μὲν οὖν (τοῦ) φιλοσόφου καὶ φιλαρέτου
πρόχειρος ἐπαινοῦται, τὸ δὲ κατὰ σύμβολον
μνημόμενον ἐρευνητέον. εἴδεναι δὲ νῦν προσήκει,
ὅτι ο θειὸς τόπος καὶ ἡ ἱερὰ χώρα πλήρης ἀσω-

128 μάτων ἐστὶ λόγων. ψυχαὶ δ' εἰσὶν ἄθανατοι οἱ λόγοι

οὕτω. τούτων δὴ τῶν λόγων ἐνα λαβών, ἀρι-

stίνῃ ἐπιλεγόμενος τὸν ἀνωτάτω καὶ ὅσανει

Mangey ὃμαλὸν. But there is no reason why the hardy
should not select soft ground. Cf. De Som. ii. 56.

2 MSS. τὸν.

See App. p. 600.
things most easily procured, who are never ashamed of an inexpensive cloak, but on the contrary regard those which cost much as matter for reproach and a great waste of their living. To these men a soft bit of ground is a costly couch; bushes, grass, shrubs, a heap of leaves, their bedding; their pillow some stones or mounds rising a little above the general level. Such a mode of life as this the luxurious call hard faring, but those who live for what is good and noble describe it as most pleasant; for it is suited to those who are not merely called but really are men.

Do you not see how, in the passage before us, the lawgiver represents the athlete of noble pursuits, in enjoyment of a princely abundance of materials for comfort, as sleeping on the ground, and using a stone as his pillow, and a little later in his prayers asking for nature's wealth, bread and raiment (Gen. xxviii. 20)? For he ever held up to ridicule the wealth which depends on the vain opinions of men, and scoffed at those who regarded it with reverence. In him we have the original pattern of the practiser's soul, one at war with every man that is effeminate and emasculated.

XXI. So much, then, for the praise of the lover of toil and virtue in the literal sense of the passage. We have still to explore its symbolic teaching. In doing so it is of importance to know that the divine "place" and the holy land is full of incorporeal "words"; and these words are immortal souls. Of these words he takes one, choosing as the best the topmost one,

b Is "he" Moses or Jacob? The ὁδὸς in the next sentence points to the latter. In neither case is it clear what exactly Philo is referring to. If it is Jacob, he may perhaps consider his dealings with Laban as justifying the statement.
σώματος ἕνωμένου κεφαλὴν¹ πλησίον ἱδρύεται
dιανοίας τῆς ἑαυτοῦ· καὶ γὰρ αὕτη τρόπον τινὰ
tῆς ψυχῆς ἐστὶ κεφαλή. οπει ὑπὸ τοῦτο πρόφασιν
μὲν ὡς κοιμησόμενος, τὸ δὲ ἀληθὲς ὡς ἀναπαυ-
σόμενος ἐπὶ λόγῳ θείῳ καὶ σύμπαντα ἑαυτοῦ τὸν
129 βίου κοινότατον ἀχθὸς ἐπαναθήσων ἐκείνῳ. ὁ δὲ
ἀσμενος ἑπακούει καὶ δέχεται τὸν ἀθλητὴν ὡς
φοιτητὴν ἐσόμενον τὸ πρῶτον, ἐὰν δὲν εἶναι αὐτοῦ
τὴν ἐπιτηδείότητα τῆς φύσεως ἀποδείξει, χειρο-
dετεὶ² τρόπον ἀλείπτου καὶ πρὸς τὰ γυμνάσια καλεῖ,
kαὶ διερειδόμενος παλαιῶν ἀναγκαζεῖ, μέχρις ἀν
ἀναταγώνιστον αὐτῶ ῥώμην ἐγκατασκευάζῃ, τὰ
ὡτα θείαι ἐπιπνοιαῖς³ μεταβαλῶν εἰς ὀμματα καὶ
καλέσας αὐτῶν⁴ μεταχαραχθέντα καθὼς τύπον
130 Ἰσραήλ, ὀρῶντα. τότε καὶ τὸν νυκη-
τήριον ἐπιτίθησιν αὐτῷ στέφανον. ὁ δὲ στέφανος
ἐκτοπον ἔχει καὶ ἔχει καὶ ἔχει καὶ ἦσωσ ὦνε εὐφημον
ἄνωμα· καλεῖται γὰρ ὑπὸ τοῦ ἀγωνισμένον νάρκα.
λέγεται γὰρ ὅτι “ἐνάρκησε τὸ πλάτος,” βραβείων
καὶ κηρυγμάτων καὶ τῶν εἰς τιμαίς ἀπάντων θαυ-
131 μασιώτατον ἀριστεῖον· εἰ γὰρ ἡ δυνάμεως ἀκαθ-
αιρέτου ψυχῆς μεταλαβούσα καὶ τελειωθέσα ἐν
ἀθλοις ἀρετῶν καὶ ἐπὶ τὸν ὄρον αὐτῶν ἀφικομένη
tοῦ καλοῦ μὴ πρὸς ύψος ὑπὸ μεγαλαυχίας ἀριστεῖν

¹ mss. κεφαλῆς. All editors from Turnebus have accepted
the correction, but I should prefer to retain κεφαλῆς and
omit καὶ. The mind, not the stone-logos, is to the whole
ψυχῆ what the head is to the whole body.
² mss. χειροδοτεῖ, an impossible word. The correction
χειροδετεῖ, due originally to Wyttendenbach, introduces a word
not known elsewhere, but a very natural formation.
Mangey’s συγκροτεῖ, though favourably regarded by Wend.,
seems arbitrary.

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ON DREAMS, I. 128–131

occupying the place which the head does in the whole body, and sets it up close to his understanding (Gen. xxviii. 11); for the understanding is, we may say, the soul's head. He does so professedly to sleep upon it, but in reality to repose on the divine word, and lay his whole life, lightest of burdens, thereon. The divine word readily listens to and accepts the athlete to be first of all a pupil, then when he has been satisfied of his fitness of nature, he fastens on the gloves as a trainer does and summons him to the exercises, then closes with him and forces him to wrestle until he has developed in him an irresistible strength, and by the breath of divine inspiration he changes ears into eyes, and gives him when remodelled in a new form the name of Israel—He who sees.

It is then too that he confers on him the crown of victory. Now the crown has a strange and outlandish and perhaps ill-sounding name; for the name given it by the president of the contest is “numbness”; for we read that “the broad part grew numb” (Gen. xxxii. 25), a guerdon the most wondrous of all awards ever announced in honour of a victor. For if the soul which had been made partaker of indomitable power, and has attained perfection in contests for the winning of virtues, and has reached the very limit of the good and beautiful, instead of being lifted up in arrogance and stepping high in

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3 MSS. ἐπινοιαίς.
4 The majority of mss. have τὸν, which seems to me to give a clearer construction. Or has κατὰ fallen out between μεταξαραξθέντα and καινὸν?
μηδ’ ἀκροβατοῦσα ἐπικομπάζοι, ὡς ἀρτίοις ποσὶν γένοιτο βαίνειν δυναμένη, ναρκήσεις ἐδε καὶ σταλεῖ τὸ εὐρυνθεὶν οὐ̄σεῖ πλάτος, εἴθ’ ἐκουσίως ὑποσκελίσασα ἐαυτῆν χωλεύοι, τῶν ἀσωμάτων ὅπως ὑστερίζοι φύσεων, ἦττάσθαι δοκοῦσα νυκηφόρησει.

132 τὸ γὰρ προσθῇ γειτωθαὶ γυνώμη μᾶλλον ἂν ἀκροβατός ἄριστος τῶν οὐρανῶν, ἐπεὶ καὶ τὰ δευτερεῖα τῶν ἐν τῷ διὰ τῶν ἀγῶν τιθεμένων ἀθλῶν τὰ πρώτα τῶν ἐν ἑπέροις ἀξιώματος μεγέθει πλεῖστον ὅσον ὑπερβάλλει.

133 XXII. Τὸ μὲν δὴ προοίμιον τῆς θεοπέμπτου φαντασίας ὁδ’ ἔχει, τρέπεσθαι δ’ ἐπ’ αὐτὴν καιρὸς ἡδὴ καὶ τῶν ἐμφερομένων ἀκριβῶς ἐκκαθον. “ἐνυπνάσθη” φησί “καὶ ἰδοὺ κλίμαξ ἐστηριγμένη ἐν τῇ γη, ἡ κεφαλὴ ἀφικνεῖτο εἰς τὸν οὐρανόν, καὶ οἱ ἄγγελοι τοῦ θεοῦ ἀνέβαινον καὶ κατέβαινον ἐπ’ αὐτῆς· ὁ δὲ κύριος ἐπεστήκτο ἐπ’ αὐτῆς.” κλίμαξ τοῖς ἐν μὲν τῷ κόσμῳ συμβολικῶς λέγεται ὁ ἄρη, οὐ βάσις μὲν ἐστὶ γῆ, κορυφὴ δ’ οὐρανός. ἀπὸ γὰρ τῆς σεληνιακῆς σφαίρας, ἦν ἑσχάτην μὲν τῶν κατ’ οὐρανόν κύκλων, πρῶτη δὲ τῶν πρὸς ἡμᾶς ἀναγράφουσι οἱ φροντισταῖ τῶν μετεώρῶν, ἀρχὴ γῆς ἑσχάτης ὁ ἄρη πάντη ταθεῖς ἐφθάκεται. οὔτος δὲ ἐστὶ ψυχῆς ἀσωμάτων οἰκος, ἐπεὶ δὴ πάντα τῷ ποιητῇ τὰ τοῦ κόσμου μέρη καλὸν ἐδοξεῖν εἶναι ζῶων ἀναπληρώσαι. διὰ τοῦτο γῆς μὲν τὰ χερσαία ἐγκατεσκευάζει, θαλάτταις δὲ καὶ ποταμοῖς τὰ ἐνυδρα, οὐρανῷ δὲ τοὺς ἀστέρας—καὶ γὰρ ἐκαθον τούτων οὐ μόνον ζῶων, ἀλλὰ

1 Perhaps read εὐρυνθεὶν ἂν (G.H.W.).
2 mss. ὡς εὐτέλεστατον: Mangey ὡς εὐτελέστατον, with at least equal probability. Or ἐνετέλεστατον alone?
vaunting mood, conscious of power to take long strides on sound feet, should turn numb and shrink in the broad limb enlarged by conceit, and then after thus voluntarily disabling itself go with limping gait, that so it might fall behind the incorporeal beings—though seemingly worsted it will be the victor. For to give up prizes to one’s betters of free choice and not under compulsion is accounted highly profitable, since even the second prizes offered in this contest immeasurably transcend in greatness of honour the first prizes in all other contests.

XXII. Such, then, is the prelude of the God-sent vision, and it is now time to turn to the vision itself, and to examine in detail its several points. “He dreamed,” it runs, “and behold a stairway set up on the earth, and the top of it reached to heaven: and the angels of God were ascending and descending on it; and the Lord stood firmly upon it” (Gen. xxviii. 12). “Stairway” when applied to the universe is a figurative name for the air; whose foot is earth and its head heaven. For the air extends in all directions to the ends of the earth from the sphere of the moon which is described by meteorologists as last of the heavenly zones, and first of those which are related to us. The air is the abode of incorporeal souls, since it seemed good to their Maker to fill all parts of the universe with living beings. He set land-animals on the earth, aquatic creatures in the seas and rivers, and in heaven the stars, each of which is said to be not a living creature only but mind of the purest kind.

For the following sections cf. De Gig. 7 ff. For τῶν πρὸς ἡμᾶς (κύκλων) see App. p. 600.

3 mss. εἰς τὴν γῆν.
4 mss. τοῖς or τῆς. See App. p. 600.
καὶ νοῦς ὅλος δι’ ὅλων ὁ καθαρῶτατος εἶναι λέγεται—ὡστε καὶ ἐν τῷ λοιπῷ τιμήματι τοῦ παντός, ἀέρι, ζώα γέγονεν. εἰ δὲ μὴ αἴσθησει καταληπτά, τί τοῦτο; καὶ ψυχῇ γὰρ ἀόρατον. καὶ μὴν εἰκὸς γε ἀέρα γῆς μᾶλλον καὶ ὑδατὸς ἐικός διότι καὶ τὰ ἐν ἑκείνοις ὁ διότι ἐφύσεσεν· ἐποίει γὰρ αὐτὸν ὁ τεχνίτης ἀκινήτων μὲν σωμάτων ἐξών, κινομένων δὲ ἀφαντάστως φύσιν, ήδη δὲ ὅρμῃ καὶ φαντασία χρήσθαι δυναμένων ψυχῆν. οὐκ ἀτοποποιεῖν δι’ ὅτα ἐναλλὰ ἐφύσεσεν ψυχῆν ἀμοιρεῖν; διὸ μηδεὶς τὴν ἄριστην φύσιν ἔναλλὰ τῶν ἀρίστων τῶν περιγείων, ἀέρος, ἀφαιρεῖσθω· οὐ γὰρ μόνος ἐν πάντων ἔρημος ὁ διότι οὐ ἀλλ’ οἷα πόλεις εὐανδρεῖ πολίτας ἀφθάρτους καὶ ἀδανάτους ψυχὰς ἐξών ἰσαρίθμους ἀστροῖς. τούτων τῶν ψυχῶν αἱ μὲν κατίσσων ἐνδεδειγμέναι σώμασι θνητοῖς, ὥσιν προσγειότατοι καὶ φιλοσώματοι, αἱ δ’ ἀνέρχονται, διακριθεῖσαι πάλιν κατὰ τοὺς ὑπὸ φύσεως ὀρθάντων ἀριθμοὺς καὶ χρόνους.

tούτων ἀἱ μὲν τὰ σύντροφα καὶ συνῆθη τοῦ | [642] θνητοῦ βίου ποθοῦσαι παλινδρομοῦσιν αὖθις, αἱ δὲ πολλῆς φλυαρίαν αὐτοῦ καταγοῦσαι δεσμωτήριον μὲν καὶ τύμβον ἐκάλεσαν τὸ σῶμα, φυγοῦσαι δ’ ὠσπερ ἐξ εἰρκτῆς ἢ μνήματος ἀνω κούφοις πτεροῖς πρὸς αὐθέρα ἐζαρθεῖσαι μετεωροπολοῦσι τὸν αἰῶνα.

* Or better “some are descending... others ascending.”

The latter are not, as the next sentence shews, the higher souls described in § 140, who never come to earth, but those who have come down and return at the fixed period. For this last point cf. De Plant. 14: “some enter into mortal
through and through; and therefore in air also, the
remaining section of the universe, living creatures
exist. If they are not to be apprehended by sense,
what of that? The soul too is a thing invisible. Indeed it is more to be expected that air should be
the nurse of living creatures than that land and water
should, seeing that it is air that has given vitality to
the creatures of land and water, for the Great Artificer
made air the principle of coherence in motionless
bodies, the principle of growth in bodies which move
but receive no sense-impressions, while in bodies that
are susceptible of impulse and sense-impression He
made it the principle of life. Is it not then inconstant that the element through which other things
obtained vitality should be empty of living souls?
Accordingly let no one take away nature at its best,
as it is in living creatures, from the best of earth's
elements, air: for so far is air from being alone of all
things untenanted, that like a city it has a goodly
population, its citizens being imperishable and im-
mortal souls equal in number to the stars.
Of these souls some, such as have earthward tendencies and material tastes, descend to be fast bound in
mortal bodies, while others ascend, being selected
for return according to the numbers and periods
determined by nature. Of these last some, longing for the familiar and accustomed ways
of mortal life, again retrace their steps, while others
pronouncing that life great foolery call the body a
prison and a tomb, and escaping as though from a
dungeon or a grave, are lifted up on light wings to
the upper air and range the heights for ever. Others bodies and quit them again, "κατά τινας ὑπομένας περιόδους.
See further App. p. 600.
140 ἀλλαὶ δ᾽ εἰσὶ καθαρώταται καὶ ἄρισται, μειζόνων φρονημάτων καὶ θειοτέρων ἐπιλαχοῦσαι, μηδενὸς μὲν τῶν περιγείων ποτὲ ὄρεχθείσαι τὸ παράπαν, ὑπάρχοι δὲ τοῦ πανηγεμόνος, ὡσπερ μεγάλου βασιλέως ἄκοι καὶ ὠψεις, ἐφορῶσαι πάντα καὶ ἀκούσαι. ταύτας δαίμονας μὲν οἱ ἄλλοι φιλόσοφοι, ὁ δὲ ἱερὸς λόγος ἄγγελους ἐώθη καὶ θειοτέρων προσφυεστέρων χρώμενος ὀνόματι καὶ γὰρ τᾶς τοῦ πατρὸς ἐπικελεύσεις τοῖς ἐγγόνοις καὶ τᾶς τῶν ἐγγόνων χρείας τῷ πατρὶ διαγγέλλουσι. παρὸ καὶ ἀνερχομένους αὐτοὺς καὶ κατιόντας εἰσήγαγεν, οὐκ ἐπειδὴ τῶν μηνυσόντων ὁ πάντῃ ἐφθάκώς θεός δείται, ἀλλὰ ὅτι τοῖς ἐπικήροις ἦμῖν συνέφερε μεσίταις καὶ διαιτηταῖς λόγους χρήσαντα διὰ τὸ τεθητέναι καὶ πεφρικέναι τὸν παμπρύταν καὶ τὸ μέγιστον ἄρχης αὐτοῦ κράτος. οὐ λαβόντες ἐννοιαν ἐδεήθημεν ποτὲ τῶν μεσιτῶν λέγοντες· "λάλησον οὐ ἦμῖν, καὶ μὴ λαλεῖτω πρὸς ἦμᾶς ὁ θεός, μὴ ποτὲ ἀποθάνωμεν." οὐ γὰρ ὅτι κολάσεις, ἀλλὰ οὐδὲ ὑπερβαλλοῦσας καὶ ἀκράτους εὐεργεσίας χωρήσαι δυνάμεθα, ἃς ἂν αὐτὸς προτείην δὴ ἐαυτοῦ μὴ χρώμενος ὑπηρέταις ἄλλοις.

143 παγκάλως δὲ ἐστηριγμένον ἐν τῇ γῇ διὰ συμβόλου κλίμακος φαντασίοντο τὸν ἀέρα· τὰς γὰρ ἀναδιδομένας ἐκ γῆς ἀναθυμιάσεις λεπτυνομένας ἐξαιροῦσθαι συμβέβηκεν, ὡστε βάσιν μὲν καὶ ῥίζαν ἀέρος εἶναι γῆν, κεφαλῆς δὲ οὐρανοῦ. λέγεται γοῦν, ὅτι σελήνη πύλημα μὲν ἀκράτους αἴθερος οὐκ ἔστιν,

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a Wend. compares Xen. Cyrop. viii. 2. 10 τοὺς βασίλεως καλομένους ὄφθαλμοὺς καὶ τὰ βασίλεως ὄτα.

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there are of perfect purity and excellence, gifted with a higher and diviner temper, that have never felt any craving after the things of earth, but are viceroy of the Ruler of the universe, ears and eyes, so to speak, of the great king, beholding and hearing all things. These are called "demons" by the other philo-

sophers, but the sacred record is wont to call them "angels" or messengers, employing an apter title, for they both convey the biddings of the Father to His children and report the children's need to their Father. In accordance with this they are represented by the lawgiver as ascending and descending: not that God, who is already present in all directions, needs informants, but that it was a boon to us in our sad case to avail ourselves of the services of "words" acting on our behalf as mediators, so great is our awe and shuddering dread of the universal Monarch and the exceeding might of His sovereignty. It was our attainment of a conception of this that once made us address to one of those mediators the entreaty: "Speak thou to us, and let not God speak to us, lest haply we die" (Ex. xx. 19). For should He, without employing ministers, hold out to us with His own hand, I do not say chastisements, but even benefits unmixed and exceeding great, we are incapable of receiving them. It is a fine thought that the dreamer sees the air symbolized by a stairway as firmly set on the earth; for the exhalations given forth out of the earth are rarefied and so turned into air, so that earth is air's foot and root and heaven its head. Do they not tell us that the moon is not an unmixed mass of ether, as each of the other heavenly bodies

b Cf. De Gig. 16, and quotation from Plat. Symposium there given.
PHILO

ὼς ἐκαστὸς τῶν ἄλλων ἀστέρων, κράμα δὲ ἐκ τε αἰθερώδους οὐσίας καὶ ἀερώδους· καὶ τὸ γε ἐμ-
φαινόμενον αὐτῇ μέλαν, ὅ καλούσι τινες πρόσωπον,
οὐδὲν ἄλλο εἶναι ἢ τὸν ἀναμμημένον ἀέρα, ὅς
κατὰ φύσιν μέλας ὃν ἄχρις οὐρανοῦ τείνεται.

146 XXIII. Ἡ μὲν οὖν ἐν κόσμῳ λεγομένη συμ-
βολικῶς κλῆμαξ τοιαύτῃ ἐστί, τὴν δὲ ἐν ἀνθρώποις
σκόποιντες εὐρήσομεν τὴν ψυχήν, ἢς βάσις μὲν τὸ
ὡσανεὶ γεώδες ἐστιν, αἴσθησις, κεφαλή δὲ ὡς ἄν
147 τὸ οὐράνιον, ὁ καθαρώτατος νόος. ἀνω δὲ καὶ
κάτω διὰ πάσης | αὐτῆς οἴ τοῦ θεοῦ λόγοι χωροῦσιν
ἀδιαστάτως, ὅποτε μὲν ἀνέρχομαι, συνανασπώντες
αὐτὴν καὶ τὸν θυντί διαζευγνύντες καὶ τὴν θέαν
ὡν ἄξιον ὅραν δὲντον μόνων ἐπιδεικνύμενον, ὅποτε δὲ
κατέρχομαι, οὐ καταβάλλοντες—οὔτε γὰρ θεὸς
οὔτε λόγος θείος ζημίας αἴτιος,—ἀλλὰ συγκατα-
βαίνοντες διὰ φιλανθρωπίαν καὶ ἔλεον τοῦ γένους
ἡμῶν, ἐπικουρίας ἕνεκα καὶ συμμαχίας, ἵνα καὶ
148 τὴν ἐτι ὅσπερ ἐν ποταμῷ, τῷ σώματι, φορο-
μένην ψυχὴν σωτηρίου πνεύματες ἀναζωόμοι. ταῖς
μὲν δὴ τῶν ἄκρως κεκαθαρμένων διανοίας ἄφοβον
μόνος ἁρπάτως ὅ τῶν ὅλων ἡγεμῶν ἔμπειροτετει—
καὶ γὰρ ἐστὶ χρησθὲν τῷ σοφῷ θεοπρόπιον, ἐν ὦ
λέγεται: “περιπατήσω ἐν ὑμῖν, καὶ ἔσομαι ὑμῶν
θεός,”—ταῖς δὲ τῶν ἐτι ἀπολογομένων, μῆπω δὲ
κατὰ τὸ παντελὲς ἐκνιψαμένων τὴν ῥυπώσαν καὶ
κεκηλιδωμένην ἐν σώματι βαρέσι ζωὴν ἀγγελοῦ,
λόγοι θείοι, φαίνετοντες αὐτὰς τοῖς καλοκάγαθι
149 δόγμασιν.1 ὦ σα δὲ ἐξουκίζεται κακῶν2 οἰκητῶν

2 mss. κατὰ τῶν οἰ κακὰ κάκ (ἐκ) τῶν: Mangey κακὰ κακῶν.
is, but a blend of ethereal and aerial substance; and that the black which appears in it, which some call a face, is nothing else than the commingled air which is naturally black and extends all the way to heaven? XXIII. Such then is that which in the universe is figuratively called stairway. If we consider that which is so called in human beings we shall find it to be soul. Its foot is sense-perception, which is as it were the earthly element in it, and its head, the mind which is wholly unalloyed, the heavenly element, as it may be called. Up and down throughout its whole extent are moving incessantly the "words" of God, drawing it up with them when they ascend and disconnecting it with what is mortal, and exhibiting to it the spectacle of the only objects worthy of our gaze; and when they descend not casting it down, for neither does God nor does a divine Word cause harm, but condescending out of love for man and compassion for our race, to be helpers and comrades, that with the healing of their breath they may quicken into new life the soul which is still borne along in the body as in a river. In the understandings of those who have been purified to the utmost the Ruler of the universe walks noiselessly, alone, invisibly, for verily there is an oracle once vouchsafed to the Sage, in which it is said: "I will walk in you, and will be your God" (Lev. xxvi. 12): but in the understandings of those who are still undergoing cleansing and have not yet fully washed their life defiled and stained by the body's weight there walk angels, divine words, making them bright and clean with the doctrines of all that is good and beautiful. It is quite manifest

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\[a\] See App. p. 600.

\[b\] From Timaeus 43 A. Cf. De Gig. 13.
στίφη, ἵνα εἰς ὁ ἄγαθὸς εἰσοικήσηται, δήλον ἐστίν. ὁποίας σοφίας ἡ σοφία τὸν ἅγιον σπούδαζε οὖν, ὡς ψυχή, θεοῦ οἶκος γενέσθαι, ἵερον ἁγιον, ἔνδικα ἀγιον, 'Ισως γάρ, ἵες ὁ ἄγιον, ἀγιόν, ἀγιόν, ἐνοπλούμενον τῆς ἕδιας οἰκίας, ὡς οὐρανικτάτη καὶ ἀπήμων εἰσαει διαφυλάττουτο.\[1\]

150 'Ισως δέ καὶ τὸν ἐαυτὸν βίον ὁ ἀσκητὴς φαντασοῦται κλίμακι ἔκοκτά: φύσει γάρ ἀνώμαλον πράγμα ἄσκησις, τοτὲ μὲν προϊόντα εἰς υψος, τοτὲ δ’ ύποστρέφουσα πρὸς τοῦναντίον, καὶ τοτὲ μὲν καθάπερ ναός εὐπλοία τῇ τοῦ βίου, τοτὲ δὲ δυσπλοία χρωμένη, ἐτερήμερος γάρ, ὡς ἐφη τις, τῶν ἀσκητῶν ὁ βίος, ἄλλοτε μὲν ζων καὶ ἐγρηγορούσι, ἄλλοτε δὲ τεθνεώς ἢ κοιμώμενος. καὶ τάχα οὐκ ἀπὸ σκοποῦ τοῦτο λέγεται: σοφοὶ μὲν γάρ τὸν ὁλύμπιον καὶ στυράνων χῶρον ἐλαχόν οἰκεῖν, ἀνω φοιτάν ἠ μεμαθηκότες, κακοὶ δὲ τοὺς ἐν Ἀιδοὺς μυχοὺσ, ἐξ ἀρχής ἀχρι τέλους ἀποθησκέων ἐπετετευκότες καὶ εἰς γηρας ἐκ σπαργανῶν φθοράς.

151 ἑθάδες ὅντες. οἱ δ’ ἀσκηται—μεθόριοι γάρ τῶν ἀκρων εἰσιν—ἀνω καὶ κάτω πολλάκις ὡς ἐπὶ κλίμακος βαδίζουσιν, ἢ υπὸ τῆς κρείστονος μοίρας ἀνελκόνειν η ὑπὸ τῆς κρείστονος μοίρας ἀναπαύ món, μέχρι ὃ ν ὁ τῆς ἀμίλλης καὶ διαμάχης ταύτης βραβευτῆς θεὸς ἄναδω τὰ βραβεῖα τῇ βελτίων, τῆν ἐναντίαν εἰσάπαν καθελών.

\[1\] In the mss. the words διαίτημα ... διαφυλάττουτο appear in § 155 after ἐν γίνονται and are replaced by ἰσχυροὶ . . . παραπαίδων, which Wend. has transferred to that section. (Apparently though Mangey prints these adjectives in the fem. sing., the uncorrected mss. have them in the masc. plur., which in itself shews their impossibility here.)
what troops of evil tenants are ejected, in order that One, the good one, may enter and occupy. Be zealous therefore, O soul, to become a house of God, a holy temple, a most beauteous abiding-place; for perchance, perchance the Master of the whole world’s household shall be thine too and keep thee under His care as His special house, to preserve thee evermore strongly guarded and unharmed.

It may be too that the Practiser has his own life presented to him in his vision as resembling a stairway; for practising is by nature an uneven business, at one moment going onward to a height, at another returning in the opposite direction, and at one time like a ship making life’s voyage with fair winds, at another with ill winds. For the life of practisers is, as one has said, a life “of alternate days,” sometimes alive and wakeful, sometimes dead or asleep. And this suggestion is not perhaps wide of the mark. For while it is the portion of the wise to dwell in the heavenly region of Olympus, since they have ever learned to make the heights their resort, and the depths of Hades are the abode allotted to the bad, who from first to last have made dying their occupation, and from the cradle to old age are accustomed to corruption, the practisers—midway between those extremes—are often stepping up and down as upon a stairway, either being drawn upwards by the better portion or dragged in the opposite direction by the worse, until God, the umpire of this strife and conflict, bestows the prizes on the better order, and brings its opposite to perdition.

Εμφαίνεται δ’ έτι καὶ τοίοῦτον εἰδωλον, ὅπερ οὐκ ἄξιον ἦσυχασθήναι. τὰ ἀνθρώπων πράγματα κλίμακε πέφυκεν ἔξομοιοῦσθαι διὰ τὴν ἀνώμαλον | αὐτῶν φοράν. ἦ μία γάρ, ὡς ἐφη τις, ἡμέρα τὸν μὲν καθείλεν ψόθεν, τὸν δὲ ἃρεν ἄνω, μηδενὸς ἐν ὀμοίῳ πεφυκότος μένειν τῶν παρ’ ἡμῖν, ἀλλὰ παντοίας μεταβαλλόντων τροπάς. ἦ οὐκ ἄρχοντες μὲν ἐξ ἰδιωτῶν, ἱδρόται δ’ εἰς ἄρχοντων, πένητες δ’ ἐκ πλουσίων καὶ ἐκ πενήτων πολυχρήματο καὶ ἐνδοξοί μὲν ἐξ ἡμελημένων, ἐπιφανεστάτα τοῦ δὲ ἐξ ἀδόξων αἱ γίνονται καὶ ἰσχυροὶ μὲν ἐξ ἀσθενῶν, ἐκ δὲ ἀδυνάτων δυνατοὶ καὶ συνετοὶ μὲν ἐξ ἀφραντών, εὐλογιστότατοι δὲ ἐκ παραπαιόντων καὶ ὄδος τις ἦδ’ ἡστίν ἄνω καὶ κάτω τῶν ἀνθρωπείων πραγμάτων, ἀστάτος καὶ ἀνιδρύτων χρωμένη συντυχίαις, ὅν τὸ ἀνώμαλον οὐκ ἄδηλοις ἀλλὰ σαφέσι τεκμηρίοις ὁ ἀφευδέστατος ἐλέγχει χρόνοιν.

Ἐμήνυε δὲ τὸ ὄναρ ἔστηγμένον ἐπὶ τῆς κλίμακος τὸν ἀρχάγγελον, κύριον υπεράνω γὰρ ὡς ἀρματος ἡμίχον ἢ ὡς νεώς κυβερνήτην ὑπολήπτου ἵστασθαι τὸ ὅπει σωμάτων, ἐπὶ ψυχῶν, ἐπὶ πραγμάτων, ἐπὶ λόγων, ἐπὶ ἀγγέλων, ἐπὶ γῆς, ἐπὶ ἀέρος, ἐπὶ οὐρανοῦ, ἐπὶ αἰσθητῶν δυνάμεων, ἐπὶ ἀφράτων φύσεων, ὅσπερ θεατὰ καὶ θεάτα τὸν γὰρ κόσμον ἀπαντᾷ ἐξαίψας ἐαυτὸῦ καὶ ἀν

αρτήσας τὴν τοσαύτην ἦμιοχεὶ φύσιν. μηδεὶς δ’ ἄκοιμοι, ὅτι ἐπεστήρικτο, νομίσατω τι συνεργεῖν θεῶ πρὸς τὸ παγίως στῆναι, ἀλλ’ ἐκεῖνο λογισάσθω, ὅτι τὸ δηλούμενον ἵσον ἐστὶ τῷ στήρυγμα καὶ ἔρεισμα καὶ ἀχυρότης καὶ βεβαιότης ἀπάντων ἐστὶν
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XXIV. I must not fail to mention another idea which is present in the vision. The affairs of men are naturally likened to a ladder owing to their uneven course. For one day, as the poet says, brings one man down from on high, and lifts another up, and nothing relating to man is of a nature to remain as it is, but all such things are liable to changes of every kind. Are not private citizens continually becoming officials, and officials private citizens, rich men becoming poor men and poor men men of ample means, nobodies becoming celebrated, obscure people becoming distinguished, weak men strong, insignificant men powerful, foolish men men of understanding, witless men sound reasoners? Such is the road on which human affairs go up and down, a road liable to shifting and unstable happenings, their uneven tenor manifestly laid bare by time's unerring test.

XXV. The dream shewed the Ruler of the angels set fast upon the stairway, even the Lord: for high up like a charioteer high over his chariot or a helmsman high over his ship must we conceive of Him that is standing over bodies, over souls, over doings, over words, over angels, over earth, over air, over sky, over powers descried by our senses, over invisible beings, yea all things seen and unseen: for having made the whole universe to depend on and cling to Himself, He is the Charioteer of all that vast creation. Let nobody, when he hears of His being set fast, think that anything co-operates with God to help Him to stand firmly. Let him account the truth signified by it to be equivalent to the statement that the sure God is the support and stay, the firmness and stability of

a From Euripides, Ino. See Nauck, Frag. trag. 420. Cf. De Mos. i. 31.
ο ἄσφαλής θεός, ἐνοφραγιζόμενος οἰς ἃν έθέλη τὸ ἀσάλευτον· ἐπερείδοντος γὰρ καὶ συστηρίζοντος αὐτοῦ μένει τὰ συσταθέντα ἀνώλεθρα κραταίως. 159 ο τοινυν ἐπιβεβηκὼς τῇ οὐρανοῦ κλίμακι λέγει τῷ φαντασιομένῳ τὸ ὀναρ. "ἔγὼ κύριος ὁ θεὸς Ἀβραὰμ τοῦ πατρὸς σου καὶ ὁ θεὸς Ἰσαὰκ· μὴ φοβοῦ." ὁ χρησμὸς οὗτος τὸ ἔρυμα στὸς ἀσκητικῆς ψυχῆς καὶ βεβαιώτατον ἔρεισμα ἂν, ὅτι ὁ τῶν ὅλων κύριος καὶ θεὸς ἀμφότερα ταῦτα τοῦ γένους ἐστὶν αὐτῷ, πατέρων καὶ πάππων ἐπιγραφεῖς καὶ ἐπικλήθεις ἐκάτερον, ἵνα τὸν αὐτὸν ὁ τε κόσμος ἄπας καὶ ὁ φιλάρετος ἔχῃ κλῆρον· ἐπεὶ καὶ λέλεκται: "κύριος αὐτὸς κλῆρος αὐτῷ." XXVI. μὴ νομίσῃς δὲ παρέργως τοῦ μὲν Ἀβραὰμ νυνὶ λέγεσθαι κύριον καὶ θεὸν, τοῦ δὲ Ἰσαὰκ θεὸν αὐτὸ [645] μόνον. ὁ μὲν γὰρ | αὐτηκόσαν καὶ αὐτοδιδάκτου καὶ αὐτομαθῶς φύσει περιγυμνομένης σύμβολον ἐπιστήμης ἐστὶν, ὁ δὲ Ἀβραὰμ διδασκόμενης καὶ τῷ μὲν αὐτόχθονι καὶ αὐθιγενεῖ συμβέβηκεν εἶναι, 161 τῷ δὲ μετανάστῃ καὶ ἑπτάλυτῳ. τὴν γὰρ χαλδαῖος Ἴουσαν ἀλλογενῆ καὶ ἀλλόφυλον γλώτταν τῶν περὶ ἀστρονομίαν μετεωρολεσχών ἀπολυπων ἐπὶ τὴν ἀρμόττουσιν λογικῆς ζώως παρεγένετο, τὴν τοῦ

1 Mangey ὑπερείδοντος, as also in § 241. See App. p. 601.
2 mss. τέρμα or ὑραμα. Wend. prints the former but conjectures ἔρμα. (Perhaps τῷ τ’ ἐρμα.) Another possibility is ἔρμα: Mangey καὶ ὑραμα.

a The figure is clearly legal. The κλῆρος under Attic law went by lineal descent, and if registered as held by a man’s father and grandfather necessarily passed on to him. God therefore becomes both God and Lord to Jacob (ἐκάτερον
all things, imparting as with the impress of a seal to whom He will the power of remaining unshaken. For it is because He establishes and holds it together that the system of created things remains strongly and mightily free from destruction. He, then, that stands upon the stairway of heaven says to him who beholds the dream-vision, "I am the Lord God of Abraham thy father and the God of Isaac: fear not" (Gen. xxviii. 13). This oracle was the fort and most firm buttress of the practising soul. It clearly taught him that He Who is Lord and God of the universe is both Lord and God of his family, registered under both titles as held by father and grandfather, to the end that the world at large and the lover of virtue may have the same inheritance: for it has been said, "the Lord Himself is his inheritance" (Deut. x. 9).

Do not think that it is without special point that in this passage the divine relationship to Abraham is expressed by the words "Lord and God," that to Isaac by the word "God" only. For Isaac is a figure of knowledge gained by nature, knowledge which listens to and learns from no other teacher but itself, while Abraham is a figure of knowledge gained by instruction; and Isaac is a dweller on his native soil, while Abraham is an emigrant and a stranger in the land. For, abandoning the foreign alien tongue of Chaldaea, the tongue of sky-prating astrology, he betook him to the language that befits a living creature endowed with reason, even the worship of the First Cause of all things.

referring to this double aspect, not to "father and grandfather"). Philo here ignores the point made in the next section, that God is not called "the Lord" of Isaac. The plural πατέρων καὶ πάππων is perhaps used because the truth applies to all φιλάρετοι.
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162 πάντων αἵτιον θεραπεῖαν. οὗτος μὲν δὴ ὁ τρόπος
dυνάμεων τῶν ἐπιμελησομένων ἐστι χρείος,
ήγεμονίας καὶ εὐεργεσίας, ἵνα τῷ μὲν κράτει τοῦ
ήγεμόνος ὑπακούῃ τῶν νομοθετομένων, τῷ δὲ
χαριστικῷ μεγάλα ὁφέληται, ὁ δ' ἐτερος τῆς κατὰ
tὸ χαρίζεσθαι μόνης· οὖ γὰρ ὑπὸ νουθετοῦσις
ἀρχῆς ἐβελτιώθη, φύσει περιπεποιημένος τὸ καλὸν,
ἀλλὰ διὰ τὰς ὁμβρηθέεισας ἀνωθεν δωρεὰς ἀγαθὸς
καὶ τέλειος εἴς ἀρχῆς ἐγένετο. χαριστικῆς μὲν οὖν
dυνάμεως θεός, βασιλικῆς δὲ κύριος όνομα. τί
οὖν ἂν τις εἴποι πρεσβύτερον ἁγαθὸν ἢ τὸ τυχεῖν
ἀκράτου καὶ ἀμυνοῦ εὐεργεσίας, τί δὲ νεώτερον
ἡ τὸ κεκραμένης ἐκ τε ἡγεμονίας καὶ δωρεᾶς; ὁ
μοι δοκεῖ συνιδῶν ὁ ἀσκητὴς εὐξασθαι θαυμασιω-
tάτην εὐχήν, ἵνα αὐτῷ γένηται κύριος εἰς θεόν
ἐβούλετο γὰρ μηκέτι ὡς ἁρχοντα εὐλαβεῖσθαι, ἀλλ' 163
ὡς εὐεργέτην ἀγαπητικῶς τιμῶν. ἀρ'
οὐχὶ τούτοις καὶ τοῖς παραπλησίοις εἴκος ἢν καὶ
tοὺς τυφλοὺς διάνοιαν ὀξυδορκῆσει, πρὸς τῶν
ἱερωτάτων ἐνομματομένους λογίων, ὡς φυσιογνω-
μονεῖν καὶ μὴ μονὸν τῶν ῥητοῖς ἐφορμεῖν; ἀλλὰ
cαὶ ἡμεῖς καμμύσαντες τὸ τῆς ψυχῆς ὀμμα μὴ
σπουδάζωμεν ἢ μὴ δυνώμεθα ἀναβλέπειν, αὐτὸς,
ὧ ἱεροφάντα, ὑπῆκει καὶ ἐπιστάτει καὶ ἐγχρίων μὴ
ποτὲ ἀπείπης, ἐξοι ἐπὶ τὸ κεκρυμμένον ἱερῶν λόγων

See App. p. 601.

b i.e. with eye-salve, cf. Rev. iii. 18.
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This character stands in need of two tending powers, 162 governance and kindness, in order that by the authority of the ruler it may be led to give heed to his ordinances, and by his graciousness be greatly benefited. The other character needs the power of kindness only, for, having obtained by nature goodness and beauty of character, he was not one who had been improved by the admonishments of a governor, but as the result of the gifts showered upon him from above he shewed himself good and perfect from the outset. Now the name denoting the kind and gracious 163 power is "God," and that denoting the kingly ruling power is "Lord." What good thing, then, would a man say was of the first rank, but the meeting with unmixed untempered kindness? And to what would he assign the second place, save to kindness which was a blend of governing and giving? It seems to me that it was by discerning this that the Practiser was led to pray a prayer worthy of the utmost admiration, that the Lord would become to him God (Gen. xxviii. 21): for he wished no longer to be in dread of Him as ruler, but lovingly to honour Him as bestower of kindness. Might it not have been expected, I ask, that these and like lessons would cause even those who were blind in their understanding to grow keen-sighted, receiving from the most sacred oracles the gift of eyesight, enabling them to judge of the real nature of things, and not merely rely on the literal sense? But even if we do close the eye of our soul and either will not take the trouble or have not the power to regain our sight, do thou thyself, O Sacred Guide, be our prompter and preside over our steps and never tire of anointing our eyes, until conducting us to the hidden light of hallowed
φέγγος ἡμᾶς μυσταγωγῶν ἐπιδείξης τὰ κατὰ-κλῆσις καὶ ἀτελέστους ἀόρατα κάλλη. σοι μὲν δὴ ταῦτα ποιεῖν ἐμπρεπές. ψυχαὶ δ' οὖσα θείων ἐρώτων ἐγεύσασθε, καθάπερ ἐκ βαθέως ὑπ' υπὸν διαναστᾶσαι καὶ τὴν ἀχλῆν ἀποσκεδάσασαι πρὸς τὴν περίβλεπτον θέαν ἐπείχθητε μεθέμεναι τὸν βραδὺν καὶ μελλητὴν ὁκνον, ἵνα ὃσα θέαματα καὶ ἀκούσματα τῆς ὑμετέρας ἔνεκα ὑφελείας ὁ ἄγωνο-θέτης εὐτρέπτισε κατανοήσητε.

166 XXVII. Μυρία μὲν ὁν ἔστων ἀοίδιμα τῶν πρὸς ἐπίδειξιν, ἐν δ' ὁν καὶ τὸ λεχθὲν πρὸ μικροῦ· τὸν μὲν γὰρ γένει πάππον τοῦ ἀσκητοῦ πατέρα εἶπε [646] τὸ λόγιον, τῷ δ' ὃς | ἀληθῶς πατρὶ τὸ τοῦ γεννη-σάντος οὐκ ἐπεφήμισεν ὄνομα. λέγει γάρ. "ἐγὼ κύριος ὁ θεὸς Ἄβραάμ τοῦ πατρός σου"—καὶ τοι πάππος οὕτου ἢν—καὶ πάλιν "ὁ θεὸς Ἰσαάκ,",

167 εἰτ' οὖ προστίθησι "τοῦ πατρός σου." οὖκον ἀξιόν τὴν τοῦτων αἰτήσεως ἔρευνήσαι; πάνυ γε. τίς οὖν ἔστι, μὴ παρέργως σκοπήσωμεν. τὴν ἀρετὴν ἢ φύσει ἢ ἀσκήσει ἢ μαθήσει περιγίνεσθαι φησὶν, διὸ καὶ τρεῖς τοὺς γενάρχας τοῦ ἔθους σοφοὺς πάντας ἀνέγραψεν, ἀπὸ μὲν τῆς αὐτῆς οὐχ ὀρμηθέντας ἱδέας, πρὸς δὲ τὸ αὐτὸ τέλος ἐπειχ-θέντας. ὁ μὲν γὰρ πρεσβύτατος αὐτῶν Ἄβραάμ ἑγεμόνι ὁδοῦ τῆς πρὸς τὸ καλὸν ἀγούσης ἐχρήσατο διδασκαλία, ἡς ἐν ἔτεροις, ὡς ᾧν ὁιν τῇ, δείξομεν, ὁ δὲ μέσος Ἰσαάκ αὐτηκός καὶ αὐτομαθεῖ τῇ φύσει, ὁ δὲ τρίτος Ἰακώβ ἀσκητικάς μελέταις,

168 καθ' ἂς οἱ ἐναθλοὶ καὶ ἐναγώνιοι πόνοι. τριῶν οὖν

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*a Cf. De Cong. 35 f.
words thou display to us the fast-locked lovelinesses invisible to the uninitiate. Thee it beseems to do this; but all ye souls which have tasted divine loves, rising up as it were out of a deep sleep and dispelling the mist, hasten towards the sight to which all eyes are drawn; put away the heavy-footed lingering of hesitation, that you may take in all that the Master of the contests has prepared in your behoof, for you to see and hear.

XXVII. The notable examples which may be used to shew these are countless. The text just quoted is one of them. For the oracle spoke of the man, who in kin was the Practiser's grandfather, as his father; but did not, when mentioning his actual father, give him the title of parent. The words are: “I am the Lord God of Abraham thy father”—and yet he was his grandfather—and again, “the God of Isaac” (Gen. xxviii. 13), without the addition of “thy father.” Now, is it not worth while to investigate the cause of this? Assuredly it is. So let us carefully inquire what it is. The lawgiver says that virtue is gained either by nature or by practice or by learning, and has accordingly recorded the patriarchs of the nation as three in number, all wise men. They had not at the start the same form of character, but they were all bent on reaching the same goal. Abraham, the earliest of them, had teaching as his guide on the way that leads to the good and beautiful, as we shall shew to the best of our ability in another treatise. Isaac who comes between him and Jacob had as his guide a nature which listens to and learns from itself alone. Jacob, the third of them, relied on exercises and practisings preparatory for the strenuous toil of the arena. There being, then, three
τρόπων υπαρχόντων, εξ ὧν σοφία περιγίνεται, τοὺς ἀκρους μάλιστα συμβέβηκεν ἢνωσθαι. τὸ γὰρ ἀσκήσει ἐγγονον τοῦ μαθῆσει, τὸ δὲ φύσει συγγενεῖς μὲν—ὑποβεβληται γὰρ ός ρίζα πᾶσιν,—ἀναντα-170 γωνίστου δὲ καὶ ἐτοίμου γέρως ἐλαχεῖν. ὃστε εἰκότως Ἀβραὰμ ὁ βελτιωθεὶς διδασκαλία πατὴρ Ἰακὼβ λέγεται, τοῦ μελέτη συγκροτηθέντος, οὐκ ἀνθρώπος ἀνθρώπου μᾶλλον ἢ δύναμις ἀκουστική πρὸς μάθησιν ἐτοιμοτάτη δυνάμεως ἀσκητικῆς καὶ 171 ἐπιτηδείου πρὸς ἄθλησιν. ἦν μέντοι ὁ ἀσκητής ὁτοσ εὐτόνως δράμῃ πρὸς τὸ τέλος καὶ τηλαγώς ἵδη ἢ πρότερον ἀμυδρὸς ὀνειροπόλει, μετατυπωθεὶς τῷ κρείττον χαρακτήρι καὶ προσ-αγορευθεὶς Ἰσραήλ, ὁ θεὸν ὅρων, ἀντὶ τοῦ πτερνί-ζοντος Ἰακὼβ πατέρα οὐκέτι τὸν μαθόντα Ἀβραὰμ, ἀλλὰ τὸν φύσει γεννηθέντα ἀστεῖον Ἰσαὰκ ἐπι-172 γράφεται. ταῦτα δὲ οὐκ ἐμός ἐστι μῶθος, ἀλλὰ χρησμὸς ἐν ταῖς ἱεραῖς ἀναγεγραμμένος στήλαις. "ἀπάρας" γὰρ φησιν "Ἰσραήλ αὐτὸς καὶ πάντα τὰ αὐτοῦ ἤλθεν ἐπὶ τὸ φρέαρ τοῦ ὀρκοῦ, καὶ ἔθυσε θυσίαν τῷ θεῷ τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτοῦ Ἰσαὰκ." ἃρ' ἦδη κατανοεῖς, ὅτι οὐ περὶ φθαρτῶν ἀνθρώπων, ἀλλ', ὡς ἐλέχθη, περὶ φύσεως πραγμάτων ἐστίν ὁ παρῶν λόγος. ἰδοὺ γὰρ τὸ αὐτὸ ὑποκείμενον τοτὲ μὲν Ἰακὼβ ὀνομάζεται πατρὸς Ἀβραὰμ, τοτὲ δὲ 386
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methods by which virtue accrues, it is the first and third that are most intimately connected; for what comes by practice is the offspring and product of that which comes by learning; whereas that which comes by nature is, to be sure, of kin with them, being like a root at the bottom of all three, but the prerogative allotted to it is one which none contests and which needs no effort. Thus it is quite natural to say that Abraham, who owed his improvement to teaching, was father of Jacob, who was shaped and drilled by exercises, meaning not so much that the man Abraham was father of the man Jacob, as that the faculty of hearing which is a most ready instrument for learning begets and produces the faculty of exercise and practice so serviceable in contest. If, however, our practiser exert himself and run to the end of the course, and come to see clearly what he formerly saw dimly as in a dream, and receives the impress of a nobler character and the name of “Israel,” “he that seeth God,” in place of “Jacob,” “the supplanter,” he no longer claims as his father Abraham, the man who learned, but Isaac the man who was born good by nature. This is not a story invented by me, but an oracle inscribed upon the sacred tables. For we read that “Israel took his journey with all that he had, and came to the well of the oath, and offered a sacrifice to the God of his father Isaac” (Gen. xlvi. 1). Do you by this time perceive that the discourse before us is not about mortal men, but, as already stated, about the facts of nature? For you observe that the same subject is at one time named Jacob, with Abraham as his
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'Ισραήλ πατρός 'Ισαάκ καλείται διὰ τὴν ἕκριβωμένην αἰτίαν.

173 XXVIII. Εἰπὼν τούνυν " ἐγὼ κύριος ὁ θεὸς Ἀβραάμ τοῦ πατρός σου καὶ ὁ θεὸς 'Ισαάκ" ἐπιφέρει: "μὴ φοβοῦ," κατὰ τὸ ἄκόλουθον πῶς γὰρ ἔτι φοβηθησόμεθα, τὸ φόβον καὶ παντὸς πάθους λυτήριον σὲ τὸν ὑπερασπιστὴν ὀπλον ἔχοντες; ὅσ καὶ τοὺς ἀρχετύπους τῆς παιδείας ἠμῶν τύπους ἀδηλουμένους ἐμόρφωσας, ἵν' ἐμφανεῖς ὡς ὅ τόμαμ μὲν διδάξας, Ἦσαάκ δὲ γεννήσας τοῦ μὲν γὰρ ὑφηγητῆς, τοῦ δὲ πατήρ ὑπέμεινας ὄνομασθήναι, τῷ μὲν τὴν γνωρίμου τάξιν, τῷ δὲ τὴν γήν, λέγω δὲ τὴν παμφορωτάτην καὶ εὐκαρποτάτην ἀρετήν, ἐφ' ἣς καθεύδει ὁ ἀσκητής ἀναπανόμενος τῷ τὸν μὲν αἰσθήσεως κοιμᾶσθαι βίον, τὸν δὲ ψυχῆς ἐγγρηγορέμενος, δῶσεις ὁμολογεὶς, ἀποδεξάμενος αὐτοῦ τὴν εἰρηνικὴν ἀνάπαυσιν, ἣν οὐκ ἄνευ πολέμου καὶ τῶν ἐν πολέμῳ ταλαιπωριῶν εἴλετο, οὐχ ὁ πλα βαστάζων καὶ ἀνθρώπους ἀναιρών, ἀπαγε, ἀλλὰ τὸ ἀντίπαλον ἀρετῆς παθῶν καὶ κακιῶν στίφος καθαρῶν. τὸ δὲ σοφίας γένος ἄμμω γῆς ἐξομοιοῦται διὰ τὲ πληθὺν ἀπερίγραφον, καὶ διότι τὰς μὲν τῆς θαλάττης ἐπιδρομὰς ἡ ὑποταίνιος ἄμμος ἀνακρούεται, τὰς δὲ τῶν ἀμαρτιμάτων καὶ ἀδικημάτων ὁ παιδείας λόγος. οὕτως δὲ κατὰ τὰς θείας ὑποσχέσεις ἄχρι τῶν περάτων τοῦ παντὸς εὐρύνεται καὶ τὸν ἔχοντα ἀποφαίνει τῶν τοῦ κόσμου κληρονόμου μερῶν, φθάνοντα πάντη, πρὸς τὰ ἑώρα, πρὸς τὰ ἐσπέρια, τὰ κατὰ μεσημβρίαν, τὰ προσάρκτια. λέγεται γάρ, ὅτι

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*a Cf. Leg. All. iii. 219.*
father, and at another is styled Israel with Isaac as his father, the reason for this being that which has been set forth in detail.

XXVIII. So, after saying "I am the Lord God of Abraham thy father and the God of Isaac," he adds "fear not" (Gen. xxviii. 13). The words come naturally after the others; for how shall we any longer be afraid, when we have Thee our Defender, a weapon that brings deliverance from fear and every passion? Moreover, it was Thou that didst bring out of obscurity into distinctness the original patterns of our education, Abraham whose teacher, and Isaac whose parent Thou wast: for Thou didst condescend to be named instructor of the one and father of the other, giving one the position of pupil, the other that of son. It is because Thou art this that Thou dost promise that Thou wilt give him the land also, virtue I mean abounding in all manner of fruits, whereon the Practiser slumbers, asleep to the life of sense, but awake to that of the soul and therefore at rest. Thou graciously approvest his peaceful repose, which he won not without war and war's hardships, a war in which he bore no arms and destroyed no men (away with the thought!) but overthrew the troop of passions and vices that oppose virtue. Wisdom's race is likened to the sand of the earth (ibid. 14), both because its number is without limit and because the sand-bank forces back the inroads of the sea, as those of sinful and unjust deeds are kept back by trained reason. And this, in accordance with the Divine promises, is broadening out to the very bounds of the universe, and renders its possessor inheritor of the four quarters of the world, reaching to them all, to East, and West, and South and North: for it is said, "It
“πλατυνθήσεται ἐπὶ θάλασσαν καὶ λίβα καὶ βορράν καὶ ἀνατολάς.” ἔστι δ’ ὁ ἀστείος οὐκ ἰδιον μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ κοινὸν ἁγαθὸν ἀπασω, εξ ἐτοίμου τῆν ἀφ’ ἐαυτοῦ προτείνων ὥφελειαν. ὡς γὰρ ἦλιος ἀπάντων ἐστὶ φῶς τῶν ὅψεως ἐχόντων, οὕτω καὶ ὁ σοφὸς τῶν ὅσοι λογικῆς κεκουνωνήκασι φύσεως. XXIX. “ἐνευλογηθήσονται γὰρ ἐν σοὶ” φησὶν "πᾶσαι αἱ φυλαὶ." οὐ δὲ χρησμὸς οὗτος ἐφαρμόττει καὶ αὐτῶ τινι πρὸς ἐαυτὸν καὶ ἐτέρῳ πρὸς ἑτέρῳν. εάν τε γὰρ ὁ ἐν ἑμοὶ νοῦς ἄρετὴ τελεία καθαρθῆ, καὶ αἱ τοῦ περὶ ἐμὲ γεώδους φυλαὶ συγκαθαίρονται, ἄν ἐλαχῶν αἱ αὐθείσεις καὶ ἡ μεγίστη δεξαμενή, τὸ σῶμα. εάν τε τις κατ’ οίκιαν ἢ πόλιν ἢ χώραν ἢ ἔθνος γένεται φρονήσεως ἐραστής, ἀνάγκη τὴν οίκιαν ἐκείνην καὶ τὴν πόλιν καὶ τὴν χώραν καὶ τὸ ἔθνος ἀμένοι βίω χρῆσθαι.

καθάπερ γὰρ τὰ ἐκθυμώμενα τῶν ἀρωμάτων εὐωδίας τοὺς πλησιάζοντας ἀνατιμήσωσι, τὸν αὐτόν τρόπον ὅσοι γείτονες καὶ ὁμοροι σοφοῦ, τῆς ἀπ’ αὐτοῦ σπόντες αὐρας ἐπὶ μήκιστον χεομενής βελτιωνται τᾶς ἱπθῆς.

XXX. Μεγίστη δὲ ἐστὶν εὐεργεσία ψυχῆς πονούση καὶ διαθλούση συνοδοιπόρον ἐχειν τὸν ἐφθακότα πάντη θεόν. “ἰδοὺ” γάρ φησιν “ἐγὼ μετὰ σοῦ.” τίνος οὖν ἄν ἔτι χρείοι γενοῦμεθα πλοῦτον, σὲ τὸν ἀληθεία πλοῦτον ἐχοντες μόνον “διαφυλάσσοντα ἐν ὁδῷ” τῇ πρὸς ἁρετὴν ἁγούσῃ κατὰ πάσας αὕτης τὰς τομάς; οὐ γὰρ ἐν μέρος

[648] ἐστὶ τοῦ λογικοῦ | βίου τὸ πρὸς δικαιοσύνην καὶ

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*a An interpretation of “all the way, wheresoever thou goest.”*
shall spread abroad, to the West and to the South and to the North and to the East?" (ibid. 14). The man of worth is not just a good to himself but a common good to all men. From his ready store he proffers the boon which is his to give. For as the sun is a light to all who have eyes, so is the wise man to such as are partakers of a rational nature, for he says "in thee shall all tribes be blessed" (ibid. 14).

Now this divine utterance has its application to a man both in his relation to his own separate being, and as a social being related to others. For if the mind which is in me have been rendered pure by perfect virtue, then the "tribes" of that which is earthly in me are sharers of its purifying, those I mean which pertain to the senses and to that chiefest container, the body. Again, if one belonging to a household or city or country or nation become a lover of sound sense, it must be that that household and city and country and nation has a better mode of life. For just as the exhalations from aromatic herbs fill those who come near them with a sweet fragrance, in the same way those who belong to the circle and neighbourhood of a wise man, drinking in the atmosphere which spreads far and wide around him, are improved in character.

XXX. It is a vast boon to a toiling and striving soul to have as a Fellow-traveller God whose presence reaches everywhere: for we read, "Behold, I am with thee" (ibid. 15). Of what riches can we any longer stand in need, when we have Thee Who art alone the true riches, "keeping us on the way" which leads to virtue, along all its sections? For there is not one part only of the life according to reason which tends to righteousness and virtue gener-
τὴν ἄλλην τεῖνον ἀρετῆν, ἀλλὰ μυρία ὁσα, εξ ὁν ἔστων ὀρμωμένους φρονήσεως ἐφικνεῖσθαι.

180 XXXI. Παγκάλως δὲ εἰρηταὶ καὶ τὸ "ἀποστρέψοι σε εἰς τὴν γῆν ταύτην." καλὸν μὲν γὰρ ἦν, τὸν λογισμὸν ἐφ᾿ ἐαυτοῦ μείναντα μὴ ἀποδημήσαι πρὸς αἰσθησίαν. δεύτερος δὲ πλοῦς, ἐφ᾿ ἐαυτὸν ὑποστρέψαι πάλιν. ἵσως δὲ καὶ τὸ περὶ ἀφθαρσίας ψυχῆς ὑπανίττεται δόγμα διὰ τοῦτον ἀπολιποῦσα μὲν γὰρ τὸν οὐράνιον τόπον, ὡς καὶ μικρῷ πρότερον ἔλεχθη, καθάπερ εἰς ξένην χώραν ἦλθε τὸ σῶμα. φησὶ δ᾿ οὐ μέχρι τοῦ παντὸς καθειρμηνέα αὐτῆν ἡ γεννήσας περιόφεσθαι πατήρ, ἀλλ᾽ οίκτον λαβὼν λύσει τὰ δεσμά καὶ ἐλευθέραν ἄχρι τῆς μητροπόλεως αὐτῆς περιόφεσθαι πατήρ, ἀλλ᾽ οἰκτον λαβὼν λύσει τὰ δεσμά καὶ ἐλευθέραν ἄχρι τῆς μητροπόλεως αὐτῆς περιόφεσθαι πατήρ,

182 πάντως τὰ γεννήσομεν. καίτοι τί τοῦτὸ φαμεν; ἔργων γὰρ ἀδιαφοροῦσιν αὐτῷ οἱ λόγοι. Διακινθεῖσα οὖν καὶ διαναστάσα πρὸς τὰς περὶ τοῦ ὄντος ζητήσεις ἡ ἀσκητικὴ ψυχὴ τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ὑπετόπησεν εἶναι τὸ ὅν ἐν τοῖς, μικρὸν δὲ ἐπισχοῦσα τῷ ὑποτοπάστῳ τῆς σκέψεως περὶ-183 δεής γίνεται καὶ μετανοεῖν ἄρχεται. "ἐξηγήρθη" γάρ φησιν "Ἰακώβ καὶ εἶπεν, ὦτι ἐστι κύριος ἐν τῷ τόπῳ τούτῳ, ἐγὼ δὲ οὐκ ἥδειν." καὶ ἄμεινον

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*a This explanation of Jacob's waking words, that the soul when it first wakes to awareness of God first localizes Him, then realizing how the subject transcends human thought sees the error of such localizing, yet still finds in the world of place and sense the manifestation of divine goodness and the means by which we can rise to higher conceptions, is obtained (1) by taking τόπος first as "place" and then as "topic"; (2) by treating οὐκ ἔστι τούτο with an
ally, but an infinite number of them, each a fresh starting-point on the road to wisdom.

XXXI. Right good too are the words “I will bring thee again into this land” (ibid.). For excellent would it have been for the reasoning faculty to have remained in its own keeping and not have left its home for that of sense-perception; but, failing that, it is well that it should return to itself again. Perhaps, too, in these words he hints at the doctrine of the immortality of the soul: for, as was said a little before, it forsook its heavenly abode and came into the body as into a foreign land. But the Father who gave it birth says that He will not permanently disregard it in its imprisonment, but will take pity on it and loose its chains, and escort it in freedom and safety to its mother-city, and will not stay his hand until the promises given by words have been made good by actual deeds: for it is the special attribute of God and of Him alone to say what will surely come to pass. And yet what need to say this? For His words are in no way different from deeds.

So, then, the practising soul, now fully roused and ready for the inquiry into what concerns Him that is, at first made the conjecture that He is in a place, but after a little while, it is seized with fear at the unscrutable nature of the quest and begins to change its mind. For we read “Jacob rose up and said, that the Lord is in this place, but I knew it not” (ibid. 16). And it would have been better, I should say, to be audacity surprising even in Philo. He first takes it by itself = “this is not the case,” then coupled with ἐὰν ὦ ὡκός θεοῦ. In this last interpretation he reverses that given in De Mig. 5 where the world of sense was not the house of God, the name of God there indicating the Self-existent, here restricted to the Creative Potency.
Ην, είποιμ' αν, ἀγνοεῖν ἡ ἐν τινι θεον ύπολαμβάνειν εἶναι, τὸν περιέχοντα αὐτὸν ἐν κύκλῳ τὰ πάντα.

184 XXXII. δικαίως οὖν ἐφοβήθη καὶ ἐπε θαυμαστικῶς: "ὡς φοβερός ὁ τόπος οὗτος." οὐνως γὰρ τῶν ἐν φυσιολογίᾳ τόπως ἁγιάζουσιν, ἐν ὧς ἥτειται, ποὺ καὶ εἰ συνόλως ἐν τινι τὸ ὄν, τῶν μὲν λεγόντων, ὃτι πάν τὸ ύφεστώς χώραν τινὰ κατείληφε, καὶ ἀλλων ἄλλην ἀπονεμόντων, ἡ ἐντὸς τοῦ κόσμου ἢ ἐκτὸς αὐτοῦ μετακόσμημα τινα, τῶν δὲ φασκοντῶν, ὃτι οὐδενὶ τῶν ἐν γενέσει τὸ ἀγένητον ὁμοιον, ἄλλα τοῖς ὀλοις ὑπερβάλλον, ὡς καὶ τὴν ἁκοδρομωτάτην διάνοιαν ὑστερίζουσαν μακρῷ τῆς καταλήψεως ὁμολογεὶν ἠττάσβαι.

185 διόπερ εὐθὺς ἀνέκραγεν: "οὐκ ἐστὶ τοῦτο," ὃ ἐδόξασα, "ὁτι ἐστι κύριος ἐν τῷ τόπῳ." περιέχει γὰρ, ἀλλ' οὐ περιέχεται κατὰ τὸν ἁληθῆ λόγον. τοῦτο δὲ τὸ δεικνύμενον καὶ ὀρατόν, ὁ αἰσθητὸς οὔτοι κόσμος, οὐδὲν ἄρα ἀλλο ἐστὶν ἢ οἰκὸς θεοῦ, μᾶς τῶν τοῦ ὄντος δυνάμεως, καθ' ἂν ἄγαθος ἢν.

186 τὸν δὲ κόσμον (δν) οἶκον ὅν ὀνόμασε καὶ πύλην τοῦ πρὸς ἁληθείαν υμρανοῦ προσεέπε. τί δὲ τοῦτ ἐστί; τὸν ἐκ τῶν ἱδεὼν συσταθέντα ἐν τῷ χειροτονηθέντι κατὰ τὰς θείας χορηγίας κόσμον νοητόν | οὐκ ἐνεστὶν ἄλλως καταλαβεῖν ὅτι μὴ κατὰ τὴν τοῦ 187 αἰσθητοῦ καὶ ὄρωμένου τοῦτοι μετάβασιν. οὐδὲ γὰρ ἄλλο τῶν ὄντων οὐδὲν ἁσώματον ἐννοῆσαι δυνατὸν ὅτι μὴ τὴν ἁρχὴν λαβόντας ἀπὸ σωμάτων·

1 <δν> Mr. Whitaker’s insertion.

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a See App. p. 601.
b Perhaps meaning the Logos. But see App. pp. 601 ff. for a full discussion of the whole passage.
ON DREAMS, I. 183-187

ignorant than to suppose that God is in some place
Who Himself contains and encompasses all things.

XXXII. Rightly, therefore, was he afraid and said 184
in an awestruck tone, "How dreadful is this place"
(ibid. 17). For indeed most difficult of the "places"
in the study of nature's verities is that in which men
inquire as to where, and whether at all in any thing
the Existent Being is. Some say that everything
that subsists occupies some space, and of these one
allots to the Existent One this space, another that,
whether inside the world or a space outside it in the
interval between worlds. Others maintain that the
Unoriginate resembles nothing among created things,
but so completely transcends them, that even the
swiftest understanding falls far short of apprehending
Him and acknowledges its failure.

Wherefore he straightway cried aloud "This is not"
(ibid. 17); this that I supposed, "that the Lord is in
some place" (ibid. 16), is not so; for according to the
true reckoning He contains, but is not contained.
But this that we can point out and see, this world
discerned by sense, is, as I now know, nothing but a
house of "God," that is, of one of the Potencies of the
Existent, that is, the Potency which expresses His
goodness. The world which he named a "house," he
also described as "gate of" the real "heaven" (ibid.
17). Now what is this? The world which only
intellect can perceive, framed from the eternal forms
in Him Who was appointed in accordance with Divine
bounties, cannot be apprehended otherwise than by
passing on to it from this world which we see and
perceive by our senses. For neither indeed is it
possible to get an idea of any other incorporeal thing
among existences except by making material objects
Ηρεμούντων μὲν γὰρ ἐνοήθη τόπος, χρόνος δὲ κινουμένων, σημεία δὲ καὶ γραμμαὶ καὶ ἐπιφάνειαι καὶ συνόλως πέρατα ἀπὸ τῆς ἐξωτάτῳ περικείμενης οἷον ἀμπεχόνης. κατὰ τὸ ἀνάλογον οὖν καὶ ὁ νοητὸς ἀπὸ τοῦ αἰσθητοῦ κόσμου ἐνοήθη· πῦλη τις οὖν ἐκεῖνον. ὥς γὰρ οἱ βουλόμενοι τὰς πόλεις θεᾶσαι διὰ πυλῶν εἰσίσαιν, οὕτως οὐσι τὸν ἀειδή κόσμον καταλαβεῖν εὐθέλουσιν, ὑπὸ τῆς τοῦ ὀρατοῦ φαντασίας ἐξαναγοῦνται. ὁ δὲ νοητὸς ὑποτάσσεις κόσμος ἀνεὶ ἡσυχοοὐν σχημάτων ὄψεως, μόνης δὲ διὰ τῆς ἀρχαῖας ἑδάνάστης πρὸς τὸ θεαθέν αὐτῷ ἔδος ἀνεὶ σκιᾶς μετακληθῆσαι, πάντων αὐτῷ πείχων καὶ πάσης πύλης ἀπαρθέντων εἰς τὸ μὴ ἀπὸ τινὰς ἀθρήσκεται, ἀλλ' αὐτὸ καθ' αὐτὸ ἀλέκτῳ τινὶ καὶ δυσερμηνευτῷ θέα διδεῖν κάλλος ἀναλλοίωτον.

189 XXXIII. Περὶ μὲν δὴ τούτων ἀλίς. ἐφαρμόζει δὲ τῷ αὐτῷ εἴδει καὶ ἐτέρος ὅνειρος, ὁ περὶ τῆς ποικίλης ἀγέλης, ὃν περιμαστάς ὁ φαντασιωθεὶς διηγεῖται φάσκων· "εἰπὲ μοι ὁ ἄγγελος τοῦ θεοῦ καθ' ὑπνον. Ἰακώβ, ἐγὼ δὲ εἶπα· τί ἐστι; καὶ εἶπεν· ἀνάβλεφον τοῖς ὀφθαλμοῖς σου καὶ ἤδε τοὺς τράγους καὶ τοὺς κριοὺς ἀναβαίνοντας ἐπὶ τὰ πρόβατα καὶ τὰς αἴγας διαλεύκους καὶ ποικίλους καὶ σποδοειδεῖς παντοῦς. ἔωρακα γὰρ ὃσα σοι Λάβαν ποιεῖ. ἐγὼ εἰμὶ ὁ θεὸς ὁ φθεῖς σοι ἐν τοῖς θεοῖς, οὐ θελεψάς μοι στήλην καὶ ηὗξω μοι εὐχήν. νῦν

1 mss. ὅν. The correction is Mr. Whitaker's and seems to me better than Wend.'s ὅς ... ἢν or Mangey's πῦλης ὄντος.
2 The last part of this section from ὁ δὲ νοητὸς is bracketed by Wend. as a Christian interpolation. See App. pp. 602 f.

a Or "woke up." Cf. De Som. ii. 106.
ON DREAMS, I. 187–189

our starting-point. The conception of place was gained when they were at rest: that of time from their motion, and points and lines and superficies, in a word extremities from the robe-like exterior which covers them. Correspondingly, then, the conception of the intelligible world was gained from the one which our senses perceive: it is therefore a kind of gate into the former. For as those who desire to see our cities go in through gates, so all who wish to apprehend the unseen world are introduced to it by receiving the impression of the visible world. The world whose substance is discernible only by intellect apart from any sight whatever of shapes or figures, but only by means of the archetypal eternal form present in the world which was fashioned in accordance with the image beheld by him with no intervening shadow,—that world shall change its title, when all its walls and every gate has been removed and men may not catch sight of it from some outside point, but behold the unchanging beauty, as it actually is, and that sight no words can tell or express.

XXXIII. On this matter enough has been said. 189 There is another dream of the same type as the one we have been studying. It is the one concerning the flock whose markings varied. When he to whom it appeared has risen up he relates it in these words: "The angel of God said unto me in sleep, 'Jacob,' and I said, 'What is it?' and he said, 'Look up with thine eyes and see the he-goats and the rams leaping upon the sheep and the goats how they are pure white and speckled and ashy-sprinkled. For I have seen all that Laban doeth unto thee. I am God that appeared unto thee in God's Place, where thou anointedst unto Me a pillar and vowedst unto Me
PHILO

οὐν ἀνάστηθι καὶ ἔξελθε ἐκ τῆς γῆς ταύτης καὶ ἀπελθε εἰς τὴν γῆν τῆς γενέσεως σου, καὶ ἔσομαι μετὰ σου.” ὁ δὲ ὑπόγραφεν ὁ θεῖος λόγος οὐ μόνον τοὺς κατὰ τὸ πρεσβύτατον τῶν αἰτίων προφανομένους, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς διὰ τῶν ὑποφητῶν αὐτοῦ καὶ ὑπαδῶν ἀγγέλων, οἱ θείας καὶ εὐδαιμονος μοίρας πρὸς τοῦ γεννήσαντός ἦξίωνται πατρός. σκόπει μέντοι καὶ τὸ ἀκόλουθον. ὁ θεῖος λόγος τοὺς μὲν ὡς βασιλεύς ἠ θρή πράττειν εξ ἐπιτάγματος παραγγέλλει, τοῖς δὲ ὡς γνωρίμοις διδάσκαλος τὰ πρὸς ὁφελεῖν υφηγεῖται, τοῖς δὲ ὡς σύμβουλος γνώμας εἰσηγούμενος τὰς ἀρίστας τὸ συμφέρον εξ ἐαυτῶν οὐκ εἰδότας μεγάλα ὁφελεῖ, τοῖς δὲ ὡς φίλος ἐπεικῶς καὶ μετὰ πειθοῦς πολλὰ καὶ τῶν ἀρρήτων ἀναφέρει, ὅν οὐδένα τῶν ἀτελέστων ἐπακούσαι θέμις. ἔστι | δ' ὅτε καὶ πυνθάνεται τινων, ὡσπερ τοῦ Ἀδάμ: “ποῦ εἶ;” πρὸς ὁ ἀποκρίνατ' ἀν τις οἰκεῖως ἐνδαμοῦ, τῷ τάνθρωπεια πάντα ἐν ὁμοίῳ μὴ μένειν, ἀλλὰ κυνηγᾶται καὶ ἑαυτῇ καὶ σώματι καὶ τοῖς ἐκτός. ἀνίδρυτοι μὲν γὰρ οἱ λογισμοὶ, φαντασίας ἀπὸ τῶν αὐτῶν πραγμάτων οὐχὶ τὰς αὐτὰς ἀλλ' ἐναντίας ἔχοντες, ἀνίδρυτον δὲ καὶ τὸ σῶμα, ὡς μηνύοσιν αἴ ἐκ βρέφους ἀχρι γῆρως τῶν ἥλικιῶν ἀπασῶν τροποῖ. ἀνίδρυτο δὲ καὶ τὰ ἐκτός ἐπηρωμένα φορᾷ τύχης ἀεὶ σαλευ-  

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*a Cf. Leg. All. iii. 53 for a somewhat different view.*

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a vow. Now therefore arise and go forth out of this land and depart into the land of thy nativity, and I will be with thee’ ” (Gen. xxxi. 11-13). You see that the Divine word proclaims as dreams sent from God not only those which appear before the mind under the direct action of the Highest of Causes, but those also which are revealed through the agency of His interpreters and attendant messengers who have been held meet to receive from the Father to Whom they owe their being a divine and happy portion.

Observe also what follows. The sacred word deals with some as a king, enjoining on them authoritatively what they are to do, with some as a teacher indicating to pupils what will be for their good, with some as a counsellor suggesting the best decisions, and greatly benefiting them since of themselves they do not know the advantageous course to take. Towards others it acts as a friend with winning condescension imparting to them even many secret truths which are not allowed to reach the ears of the uninitiated. Sometimes it addresses an inquiry to this or that one, as it does to Adam, asking “Where art thou?” (Gen. iii. 9), an inquiry to which one might with fitness make the reply “Nowhere,” seeing that nothing pertaining to man remains as it is, but all things are in motion, and this is true of soul, and of body, and of things external. For instability characterizes our reasonings, receiving as they do from the same objects not the same but contrary impressions. It characterizes also our body, as is shewn by the changes that occur in every period of life from infancy to old age. It characterizes too matters affecting us from without, tossed about as they are on the current of ever restless chance.
193 ούσης. XXXIV. ἐπειδὰν μέντοι πρὸς
tο τῶν φίλων ἔλθη συνέδριον, οὐ πρότερον ἁρχεῖ
λέγειν ἢ ἐκαστὸν αὐτῶν ἀνακαλέσαι καὶ ὄνομαστὶ
προσευχῆν, ἵνα τὰ ὅτα ἀνορθίασαν, ἦνυχία
καὶ προσοχῆ χρώμενοι, τῶν θεσμωδουμενῶν εἰς
ἀληστὸν μνήμην ἀκοῦσαν· ἐπεὶ καὶ ἐτέρωθι λέγεται.

194 “σιώπα καὶ ἀκοῦε.” τούτων τὸν τρόπον ἐπὶ μὲν τοῦ
βατὸν Μωϋσῆς ἀνακαλεῖται—“ὡς γὰρ εἴδε” φησίν
“ὅτι προσάγει ὦδείν, ἐκάλεσεν αὐτὸν κύριος ἐκ τοῦ
βατὸν λέγων· Μωυσῆ, Μωυσῆ. ὃ δὲ εἶπε· τί ἔστιν;”
Αβραὰμ δὲ ἐπὶ τῆς τοῦ ἀγαπητοῦ
cαι μόνου παιδὸς ἀλοκαυτώσεως, ἦνύκα τε ἐρωτη-
γεών ἦρξετο καὶ ὅποτε δοὺς ἀπόπειραν εὐσέβειας
ἐξ ἀνθρώπων ἀφανίσαι τὸ αὐτομαθές γένος, ἐπὶ-
κλησών Ἰσαὰκ, ἐκωλύθη· ἀρχομένου μὲν γὰρ φησίν,
ὅτι “ὁ θεὸς ἐπείραζε τὸν Ἀβραὰμ καὶ εἶπε πρὸς
αὐτὸν· Ἀβραὰμ, Ἀβραὰμ. ὃ δὲ εἶπεν· ἰδοὺ ἐγὼ.
καὶ εἶπε· λάβε τὸν νῦν σου τὸν ἀγαπητὸν, ὅν
ἡγάπησας, τὸν Ἰσαὰκ, καὶ ἀνένεγκε,” ἦδη δὲ τὸ
ἰερεῖον ἐπὶ τὸν βωμὸν ἄνεστος, τότε “ἐκά-
lεσεν αὐτὸν ἄγγελος κύριον ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ λέγων·
Ἀβραὰμ, Ἀβραὰμ. ὃ δὲ εἶπεν· ἰδοὺ ἐγὼ. καὶ
εἶπε· μὴ ἐπιβάλης τὴν χειρά σου ἐπὶ τὸ παιδάριον,
μηδὲ ποιήσῃς αὐτῷ μηδὲν.”

195 Εἰς δὲ ὅτι τοῦ φιλικοῦ θιάσου καὶ ὁ ἀσκητῆς ὃν
ἐκότως προνομίας τῆς αὐτῆς ἀξιωθεὶς ἀνακαλεῖται·
“εἶπε γὰρ μοι.” φησίν “ὁ ἄγγελος τοῦ θεοῦ καθ’

a Or “it,” i.e. the Sacred Word.
b Lit. “Council.” Though God deals with His friends separately, they may be thought of as forming an intimately
associated body. Cf. φιλικοῦ θιάσου § 196.

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XXXIV. When, however, God has come to the company of His friends, He does not begin to say His say before He has addressed each such friend calling him by name, in order that they may prick up their ears, and with stillness and attention so listen to the sacred precepts as to remember them for ever; for it is also said in another place, "Keep silence, and hearken" (Deut. xxvii. 9). It is on this wise that Moses is addressed at the Bush, for we read "When He saw that he drew nigh to look, the Lord called him from out of the bush saying, 'Moses, Moses.' And he said, 'What is it?'" (Ex. iii. 4). And Abraham, at the offering up of his beloved and only son as a burnt offering, is so addressed, both when he was beginning to offer the sacrifice, and when, after giving proof of his piety, he was prevented from causing to disappear from among men the nature which learns untaught, called Isaac. For when he was at the beginning we are told "God did prove Abraham, and said unto him, 'Abraham, Abraham'; and he said 'Here am I.' And He said, 'Take thy beloved son, whom thou lovedst, even Isaac, and offer him up.'" And when he had now brought the victim to the altar, then "an angel of the Lord called to him out of heaven, saying 'Abraham, Abraham.' And he said, 'Here am I.' And he said, 'Lay not thine hand upon the lad, neither do thou anything unto him.'" (Gen. xxii. 1, 2, 9-12).

The Practiser being one of the band of friends of God is, as we might expect, accorded the same prerogative and addressed by name; for we read "The angel of God said to me in sleep, 'Jacob.' And "

* An odd use for "at the opening of the story of the sacrifice."

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197 ὑπνων· Ἰακώβ, ἐγώ δὲ εἶπα· τί ἐστιν;” ἀνακληθεὶς δὲ προσοχῇ χρῆται, τὰ φανέντα σημεῖα πειρώμενος ἀκριβοῦν, ἔστι δὲ τὰ σημεῖα τῶν λόγων οἷα θρεμμάτων· ὅχειαὶ τε καὶ γενέσεις· “ἀναβλέψας” γάρ φησι· “τοῖς ὀφθαλμοῖς εἴδε τοὺς τράγους καὶ τοὺς κριός ἀναβαίνοντας ἐπὶ τὰ πρόβατα καὶ τὰς αἰγάς.” αὐτολίου μὲν δὴ τράγος, ποίμνης δὲ κριός ἡγεμών ἐστι· τὰ δὲ ζώα ταῦτα δυεῖν λόγων σύμβολα τελείων, διὸ μὲν ἐτερος καθαρῶς καὶ κενοὶ ψυχῆς ἀμαρτημάτων, δὲ ἐτερος τρέφει καὶ πλήρη κατορθωμάτων ἐργάζεται. τουτοῦτοι μὲν οἱ ἡγεμόνες ἐν ἦμῖν ἰδίαις ἀνελάνθη πάνω· αἱ δὲ ἄγελαι προβάτωσι καὶ αἰὲὶ φερωνύμως διατεθείσαι ἀποτελοῦσι καὶ προβαίνοντο μετὰ σπουδῆς πρὸς δικαίωσιν. ἀναβλέψας· ἀναβλέψας ἄνω τὸ τέως μεμυκὸς ὁμма τῆς διανοίας εἰδε τοὺς ἀναλογοῦντας τράγους καὶ κριός τελείους λόγους ἕκονημένους πρὸς τε μεῖωσιν ἀδικημάτων καὶ ἄν χρή πράττειν συναύξεσιν, πῶς ἐπὶ τὰ πρόβατα καὶ τὰς αἰγάς, τὰς ἦτι νέας καὶ ἀπαλᾶς ψυχὰς ἀρτι ἠβώσας καὶ ἀνθεὶ τῷ τῆς ἀκμῆς ὀφθαλμίνας, ἀναβαίνουσιν οὐκ ἄλογον ἢδονὴν διώκοντες, ἄλλ' ἀροτρὶς σπορᾶ

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200 φρονήσεως χρώμενοι δογμάτων. εὐπαίς γὰρ ὁ γάμος οὗτος οὐ σώματα συμπλέκων, ἀλλ' εὐφυέσι ψυχαῖς τελείας ἁρτας ἁρμοζόμενος. ἐπιβαίνετε οὗν οἱ σοφίας ὅρθοι λόγοι πάντες, ἐχευτε, σπείρετε, καὶ ἦν ἂν ἤδη ψυχὴν βαθεῖαν, εὐγείου, παρθένον, μὴ παρέλθητε, καλέσαντες δ' εἰς τὴν ὁμιλίαν καὶ συνομιλοῦσιν ἐαυτῶν τελειώσατε καὶ ἐγκύμονα ἀπερ-

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a i.e. πρόβατον is derived from προβαίνω, αἰὲ from ἀτίσσω.
I said, 'What is it?'" (Gen. xxxi. 11). And having been addressed by name he pays attention, endeavouring to note precisely the signs which appeared: and the signs are the couplings and breedings of thoughts in the guise of animals; for we read: "He lifted up his eyes and saw the he-goats and the rams mounting upon the sheep and the goats" (cf. Gen. xxxi. 12). A he-goat is leader of a herd of goats, a ram of a flock of sheep; and these animals are figures of two perfect ways of thinking, of which the one cleanses and purges a soul from sin, and the other nourishes it and renders it full of high achievements. Such are the leading thoughts at the head of the herds within us; and the herds, possessed of dispositions answering to the names of sheep and goats which represent them, dart and go forward towards righteousness with earnestness. Having therefore opened the hitherto closed eye of the understanding, Jacob saw the perfect thoughts which correspond to he-goats and rams brought to the sharpest edge both for the diminishing of sins and the increase of all that we ought to do,—saw how they mount the sheep and the goats, that is to say the souls that are still young and tender, just fresh and in the very prime and flower of youth,—saw that they do so, not in the pursuit of irrational pleasure, but using the invisible seed of the doctrines of sound sense. For rich in offspring is this wedlock, seeing that it does not bring one body to the embraces of another but mates well-endowed souls with perfect virtues. Mount then, all ye right thoughts and reasonings of wisdom, impregnate, impart seed, and whenever you catch sight of a soul of deep rich virgin soil, pass it not by, but inviting it to union and intercourse with yourselves, render it pregnant and so
γάσασθε· τέξεται γάρ πάντα ἀστεία, γενεὰν ἄρρενα "διαλεύκων, ποικίλων, σποδοειδῶν ῥαντῶν."

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201 XXXV. Ἡν δ’ ἐχει τῶν γεννημάτων τούτων ἐκαστον δύναμιν, ἐρευνητέον. διάλευκοι μὲν τοίνυν εἰών οἱ τηλαυγέστατοι καὶ ἀριδηλότατοι, τοῦ "διὰ" полλάκις ἐπὶ τοῦ μεγάλου τιθεμένου, ἀφ’ οὐ διάδηλου καὶ διάσημου τὸ μεγάλως δήλου καὶ μεγάλως ἐπίσημον ἔθος ὀνομάζειν ἐστί. βουλεῖται οὖν τῆς τὸν ἱερὸν ὁπέρον παραδεξαμένης ψυχής τὰ πρωτότοκα γεννήματα διάλευκα εἶναι, φωτὶ ἐοικότα οὐκ ἁμαρτῶ, φέγγει δὲ τηλαυγεστάτῳ, οὐ γένοιτ' ἀν ἂφ' ἡλιακῶν ἀκτίνων ἁσκιός ἐν αἰθρία κατὰ μεσημβρίαν αὐγή: βουλεῖται δὲ καὶ ποικίλα οὐ πολυμόρφου καὶ πολυτρόπου λέπρας ἀκαθάρτου τρόπων, διὰ γνώμης ἀβεβαιότητα χρησό- μενα ἀστάτω καὶ φόρου μένω βίω, άλλα γράμμασιν ἐπικεκλαμμένα, καὶ σφραγίσι διαφόροις δοκίμησι δὲ πάσαις τετυπωμέναι, ὅπερ αἱ ιδιότητες ἀνα- μιχθεῖσαι καὶ ἀνακραθεῖσαι μουσικὴν συμφωνίαν ἐργάσονται. τὴν γὰρ ποικιλτικὴν τέχνην ἐνομίσαν μὲν τινὲς οὕτως ἦμελημένον καὶ ἀφανεῖς εἶναι πράγμα, ὡστε ὑφάνταὐς αὐτὴν ἀνέθεσαν. ἐγὼ δ’ οὐ μόνον αὐτὴν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῦνομα τέθητα, καὶ μάλιστ’ ὦταν εἰς τὰ γῆς τμήματα καὶ τὰς ἐν

1 mss. πολυμόρφῳ (καὶ ποικίλῳ) καὶ πολυτρόπῳ. I prefer Mangey’s ποικίλα οὐ ποικίλα πολυμόρφῳ καὶ πολυτρόπῳ.
2 mss. ποικίλην.

a See note on § 209.

b The introduction of the idea of “engraved with seals” into the description of ποικίλα is based, I suspect, on Ex. xxxvi. 15 (xxxix. 8) ff., where the λογεῖον described as an ἐργον ύφαντὸν ποικίλα is said to have stones ἐγγεγραμμένας.
ON DREAMS, I. 200–203

effect its consummation; for all that it brings forth shall be goodly, male offspring "consisting of pure white, speckled and ashy-sprinkled" (Gen. xxxi. 10).

XXXV. We must search for the force and meaning of each of these births. Thoroughly-white, then, are the brightest and most conspicuous, "thorough" being often applied to what is great, whence has come the custom of calling what is largely evident and largely notable "thoroughly-evident" and "thoroughly-notable." His wish then is that the firstborn progeny of the soul which has received the holy seed should be "thoroughly-white," resembling not a dim light, but a brilliant shining, such as a cloudless ray coming from the sun's beams would appear in a clear atmosphere at noontide.

It is his wish that they be also variegated, not after the fashion of foul leprosy the changeful disease, which assumes so many different forms, nor destined, owing to lack of firmness of judgement, to lead an unstable agitated life, but engraved with inscriptions, and stamped with seals differing one from another but all of them genuine, the blending and combination of their proper marks producing a harmony like that of music.

For the art of variegation has been looked upon by some as so obscure and paltry a matter that they have relegated it to weavers. I on the contrary regard with awe not only the art itself but its very name, and most of all when I fix my eyes upon the sections of the earth, upon the elc σφραγίδας. "Genuine" I take to be suggested by Gen. xxx. 42, where the ποικίλα of the lambs are called ἐπισήμα contrasted with the ἄσημα which Laban takes. This antithesis of ἐπισήμα ἄσημα naturally suggests coins, and this again δόκιμα ἄδόκιμα. Cf. Quis Rerum 180, De Fuga 9. The thought recurs in §§ 208, 226, 255.
οὐρανῷ σφαῖρας καὶ ζώων καὶ φυτῶν διαφορὰς καὶ τὸ παμποίκιλον ύφασμα, τούτοις τὸν κόσμον,
204 ἀπίδω. τὸν γὰρ τοῦ πλέγματος παντὸς τοῦτον
dημιουργὸν εὔρετὴν τῆς ποικιλτικῆς ἐπινοεῖν εὐθὺς
eπιστήμης ἀναγκάζομαι, καὶ σέβομαι μὲν τὸν
eὐρόντα, τιμῶ δὲ τὴν εὐρεθεῖσαν, τὸ δὲ ἔργον κατα-
πέπληγμι, καίτοι μηδὲ πολλοστὸν μέρος αὐτοῦ
dυνηθεῖς ἱδεῖν, ἀπὸ δὲ τοῦ φανέντος μοι μέρους,
eὶ δὴ καὶ πέφηνεν, ἀκριβῶς τὸ ὄλον εἰκάζων ἀνα-
λογίας ἐλπίδι.

θαυμάζω μέντοι καὶ τὸν
σοφίας ἐραστὴν, ὅτι τὴν αὐτὴν τέχνην ἐπιτετή-
δευκε, πολλὰ καὶ διαφέροντα ἐκ διαφερόντων εἰς
tαυτὸ συνάγειν καὶ συνυφαίνειν ἄξιων. λαβὼν γὰρ
ἀπὸ μὲν τῆς παιδικῆς γραμματικῆς δύο τὰ πρῶτα,
tὸ το γράφειν καὶ τὸ ἀναγινόσκειν, ἀπὸ δὲ τῆς
tελειοτέρας τὴν τε παρὰ ποιηταίς ἐμπειρίαν καὶ
tὴν ἀρχαίας ἱστορίας ἀνάλημν, παρὰ δὲ ἀριθ-
μητικῆς καὶ γεωμετρίας τὸ ἀνεξαπάτητον ἐν οἷς
ἀναλογίας καὶ λογισμῶν ἐστι χρεία, παρὰ δὲ
μουσικῆς ῥυθμίους καὶ μέτρα, τὰ τε ἐναρμόνια καὶ
χρωματικὰ καὶ διατομικὰ συνημμένα τε αὐτεὶ
dιεξεγεγένει LO, μέλη, παρὰ δὲ ῥητορικῆς εὑρεσιν,
φράσιν, τάξιν, oἰκονομίαν, μνήμην, ὑπόκρισιν, παρὰ
dὲ φιλοσοφίας ὁσα τε ἐν ταύταις παραλείπεται
cαὶ ἄλλα ἐξ ὧν ἀπὰς ὁ ἀνθρώπων βίος συνεστῆκεν,
ἐν ἔργον εὐανθέστατον ἤρμοσατο, εὐμάθειαν πολυ-
206 μαθεία μίξας. καὶ τὸν τούτου τοῦ πλέγ-
ματος δημιουργὸν ὁ ἱερὸς λόγος Βεσελεโชค ἐκάλεσεν,
ON DREAMS, I. 203–206

spheres of heaven, the many different kinds of animals and plants, and that vast variegated piece of embroidery, this world of ours. For I am straightway compelled to think of the artificer of all this texture as the inventor of the variegator’s science, and I do homage to the inventor, I prize the invention, I am dumbfounded at the result, and that though I am incapable of seeing even the smallest part of it, but from the part brought within the range of my vision, if indeed it has been brought, I form in detail a conjecture about the whole on the strength of what analogy leads me to expect. Further, I admire the lover of wisdom, for having taken up this same art, in that he sees fit, when he finds a multitude of different things, to bring them together out of difference into oneness and to weave them together. For instance, he takes from the “grammar” taught to children the two first subjects, writing and reading; from the more advanced “grammar” acquaintance with the poets and a learning of ancient history; from arithmetic and geometry absolute accuracy in matters which require a making of calculations and noting of proportion; from music rhythms and metres and melodies enharmonic, chromatic, diatonic, conjunct too and disjunct; from rhetoric, conception, expression, arrangement, treatment, memory, delivery; from philosophy everything that has been omitted in the items given already, and all things else that constitute the whole life of men,—and from these combined he frames a single work gay and bright to a degree, blending wide learning with readiness to learn still more. The artificer of this fabric was called by the holy word Bezaleel (Ex. xxxi. 2 ff.),
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δὲ ἐρμηνευθείς ἐστιν ἐν σκιᾷ θεοῦ. τὰ γὰρ μι-
μήματα οὔτος, τὰ δὲ παραδείγματα ἀρχιτεκτονεῖ
Μωυσῆς· διὰ τοῦθ᾽ ὁ μὲν οἷα σκιὰς ὑπεγράφετο,
ὁ δ’ οὐ σκιὰς, αὐτὰς δὲ τὰς ἀρχετύπους ἐδη-
207 μισοῦργει φύσεις. εἰ δὴ καὶ τὰ ἁγιὰ ποι-
κυλτικῆ τέχνη κατεσκεύασται καὶ ὁ σοφὸς ποικυλτὴς
μόνος ἐν τοῖς ιεροφαντηθεῖσι χρησμοῖς ἀνείρηται
XXXVI. καὶ τὸ τοῦ θεοῦ καλὸν ποικίλα, οὸδὲ ὁ
κόσμος, ἐπιστήμη πανσώφος τετελεσιούργηται, πῶς
οὐκ ἄξιον ὡς ἐργαλεῖον τῆς ἐπιστήμης ἀποδέχει
208 σθαὶ ποικυλτικῆν; ἥς ἀφίδρυμα ἐπιστήμης πᾶς ὁ
σοφίὰς οἶκος ἀγαλματοφορήσει καὶ κατ’ οὐρανὸν
καὶ ἐπὶ γῆς, ἀφ᾽ ὁ ποικίλων λόγων ἰδέας ὁ
ἀσκητὴς ἐκπονεῖ· μετὰ γὰρ τοὺς διαλέυκους εὐθὺς
tῶν ποικίλων εἴδε, παΐδειας κόμματι χαραχθέντας.

Τρίτοι δὲ εἰσὶν οἱ σποδοειδεῖς ζαντοί. καὶ τοῖς
视听 ἂν ἐν οἴσ φρονῶν εἴποι τῶ γένει καὶ τούτους εἴναι
209 ποικίλους; ἀλλὰ γὰρ οὐκ ἔστιν αὐτῶν περὶ θρεμ-
μάτων διαφορὰς ἡ τοσαύτη σπουδή, περὶ μέντοι
tῆς πρὸς καλοκάγαθίαν ἀγούσης ὅδοῦ. βούλεται
γὰρ τὸν ἐπὶ ταύτην ἢ ῥοτα σποδῶ καὶ ὑδατι περιρ-
1 MSS. μεγαλεῖον. 2 MSS. οὐ. 3 MSS. ταύτα ορ ταύτη.

a i.e. Bezaleel is called σοφός (“filled with the spirit of
wisdom” Ex. xxxi. 3), and the work is ἐργὸν ποικιλτοῦ (Ex.
xxvi. 36 and elsewhere).

b The section is obscure, but the meaning perhaps may
be something as follows. Knowledge shaped by the tool of
variegation in divine hands stands like a sacred statue in the
temple of the universe. And this serves as a model to the
Practising Soul (=the lover of wisdom in § 205), when he
creates the varieties of human knowledge described in that
section. The point of the last words is that this agrees with
the order of the vision in which the διάλευκα, here standing
for the higher ideal knowledge, are followed by the ποικίλοι.
ON DREAMS, I. 206–210

which is when interpreted "in the shadow of God." For it is the copies of which he is chief builder, whereas Moses builds the patterns; for this reason the one drew an outline as it were of shadows, while the other fashioned no shadows, but the existences themselves that served as archetypes.

Now if the holy tabernacle was built by the variegator's art, and the name of "variegator" or embroiderer is reserved for the sage in the oracles of revelation, and the beautiful variegated fabric of God, even this world of ours, has been wrought in its completeness by a knowledge full of all wisdom, how can we do otherwise than welcome variegation as a tool for the making of knowledge? Its most holy image shall be enshrined in all the house of Wisdom both in heaven and on earth. And from it are derived the varieties of thinking which the Practiser's labour creates, for after those of thorough-white he straightway saw those that were variegated, bearing the impress of the stamp of training.

Third come the ashy-sprinkled. And yet what man of sound sense would not say that these also are of the variegated kind? The fact is that it is not about the difference between beasts that the lawgiver shews this deep concern, but rather about the way that leads to nobility of life. For he wishes the man who goes in quest of this to besprinkle himself with

\[ \sigmaποδοειδείς \rhoαντοι \]

\( i.e. \) Philo does not deny that the literal meaning of \( \sigmaποδοειδείς \rhoαντοι \) is ash-coloured and spotted (or with ash-coloured spots?) and that this indicates much the same as variegated, but spiritually what is intended is "sprinkled with ashes and water," the allegorical meaning of which is explained in the next section.
ραίνεσθαι, διότι γην καὶ ὕδωρ λόγος ἔχει φυρα-
θέντα καὶ μορφῳδέντα πρὸς τὸν ἀνθρωποπλάστου
εἰς τὸ ἡμέτερον ἀποκριθήναι σῶμα, οὐ χειρόκμητον,
211 ἀλλὰ φύσεως ἔργον ἀοράτον. σοφίας οὖν ἐστὶν
ἀρχὴ μὴ ἐπιλανθάνεσθαι ἐαυτοῦ, τὰ δ’ εἷς ἂν
συνεκρίθη πρὸ ὀφθαλμῶν ἀεὶ λαμβάνειν· οὕτως γὰρ
[653] μεγαλαυχίαιν, τὸ κακῶν | θεομισεστατον, ἐκνύψατ’
ἂν. τίς γὰρ εἰς νοῦν βαλλόμενος, ὅτι τέφρα καὶ
ὕδωρ εἰσὶν αὐτῷ τῆς γενέσεως αἱ ἀρχαί, φυσικῆς
212 ὑπ’ οἰcosity metέwрос ἄρθρεῖται; διὰ τοῦτο καὶ
tοὺς μέλλοντας ιερουργεῖν περιρραίνεσθαι τοῖς λεχ-
θεῖσιν ἐδικαίωσε, οὐδὲνα θυσιῶν άξιον νομίσασ,
ὅς μὴ πρότερον ἐαυτὸν ἔγνωκε καὶ τὴν ἀνθρωπίνην
οὐδένειαν κατελήφθεν, εἰς ἂν συνεκρίθη στοιχείων
τὸ μηδενὸς ἀξιός εἶναι τεκμηράμενος.

213 XXXVII. Τὰ τρία ταύτα σημεῖα, τὸ διάλευκον,
tὸ ποικίλον, τὸ σποδοειδές ῥαντόν, περὶ μὲν τὸν
ἀσκητὴν ἀτὲ μήπω τέλειον ἀτελῆ, περὶ δὲ τὸν
tέλειον φαίνεται καὶ αὐτὰ τέλεια. ὅν δὲ τρόπον,
θεασώμεθα· τὸν μέγαν ἄρχιερέα, ὅποτε μέλλοι τὰς
νόμου προστεταγμένας ἐπιτελεῖν λειτουργίας, ὁ
ἱερὸς ἐδικαίωσε λόγος ὑδατι καὶ τέφρα περιρ-
ραίνεσθαι τὸ πρῶτον εἰς ὑπόμνησιν ἑαυτοῦ—καὶ
gὰρ ὁ σοφὸς Ἀβραὰμ, ὅτε ἐντευξόμενος ἦς τῷ
θεῷ, γῆν καὶ σποδὸν εἴπεν ἑαυτοῦ,—ἐπειτ’ ἐν-
δύσεσθαι τὸν ποδήρη χιτῶνα καὶ τὸ ποικίλον ὁ

a “Ashes,” however, are not mentioned here. See
App. p. 604.

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ashes and lustral water, inasmuch as it is recorded that earth and water mixed together and shaped were by the power of the Moulder of men set apart to form this body of ours, wrought as no handiwork, but a product of nature working all unseen. It is, then, the beginning of wisdom not to be forgetful of one's own self, but ever to set before one's eyes the elements of which one consists; for in this way a man would purge out of himself high vaunting, the most God-abhorred of evil things. For who, when he lays to heart that ashes and water are for him the beginnings of existence, will be puffed up by conceit and raised aloft? That is why the lawgiver required those who were about to sacrifice to besprinkle themselves with the materials I have mentioned. He held no one worthy of offering sacrifices who has not first come to know himself and comprehended human nothingness, inferring from the elements of which he is composed that he is nothing worth.

XXXVII. These three signs, the thorough-white, the variegated, the ashy-sprinkled, are seen to be imperfect in the Practiser inasmuch as he is not yet perfect, whereas in the perfect man they too are perfect. Let us see in what way this is true. When the great High-priest was about to perform the public services enjoined by law, the holy word required that he should in the first place sprinkle himself with water and ashes (Ex. xxix. 4) as a reminder to him of himself—for even that wise one, Abraham, when he was on his way to intercede with God, spoke of himself as earth and ashes (Gen. xviii. 27)—in the next place that he should put on the tunic reaching to the feet, and over it that which he has entitled the
κέκληκεν ἐπ' αὐτῷ περιστήθιον, τῶν κατ' οὐρανὸν
215 φωσφόρων ἀστρῶν ἀπεικόνισμα καὶ μίμημα. δύο γάρ, ὡς ἔοικεν, ἵπτὰ θεοῦ, ἐν μὲν ὢδε ὁ κόσμος, ἐν ὦ καὶ ἄρχιερεύς ὁ πρωτόγονος αὐτοῦ θεῖος λόγος, ἔτερον δὲ λογικὴ ψυχή, ἣς ἴρευς ὁ πρὸς ἀλήθειαν ἄνθρωπος, οὐ μίμημα αἰσθητόν ὁ τὰς πατρίους εὐχὰς καὶ θυσίας ἐπιτελῶν ἔστιν, ὃ τὸν εἰρημένον ἐπιτετραπται χιτῶνα ἐνδύεσθαι, τοῦ παντὸς ἀντί-
μμον ὅντα οὐρανοῦ, ὡν συνιερουργῆ καὶ ὁ κόσμος
216 ἄνθρωπως καὶ τῷ παντὶ ἄνθρωπος.

δύο μὲν οὖν ᾦδη, τὸν τε βαστὸν καὶ τὸν ποικίλον τύπων,
ἐχὼν ἐπιδέδεικται· τὸν δὲ τρίτον καὶ τελειότατον,
ὅς ὀνομάζεται διάλευκος, αὐτίκα σημανοῦμεν.
όταν εἰς τὰ ἑσωτάτῳ τῶν ἁγίων τοῖς καθαρωτάτης
217 πεποιημένην, άναλαμβάνει. ἦ δ' ἐστὶ σύμβολον
εὐτονίας, ἀφθαρσίας, ἀυγοειδεστάτου φέγγους· ἀρ-
ραγής τε γάρ ἡ οθόνη καὶ ἐξ οὐδενὸς τῶν ἄπο-
θηκοκόντων γίνεται καὶ ἐτι λαμπρότατον καὶ
φωτοειδεστάτων ἔχει μὴ ἀμελῶς καθαρθεῖσα χρώμα.
218 διὰ δὲ τούτων ἐκείνο αἰνίττεται, ὅτι τῶν ἀδόλως
καὶ καθαρῶς θεραπευόντων τὸ ὅν οὐδείς ἐστιν ὃς
μὴ πρῶτον μὲν ἰσχυρογνωμοσύνη κέχρηται κατα-
φρονήσας τῶν ἀνθρωπείων πραγμάτων, ἄ δελεα-
[654] ξοντα κηραίνει καὶ ἀσθενείαν ἐργάζεται, ἔπειτα
ἀφθαρσίας ἐφίεται γελάσας ὅσα ὁ θυντὸι τυφο-
πλαστοῦσι, τελευταῖον δὲ ἀλήθειας ἀσκίως φέγγει
καὶ περιανει καταλάμπεται, μηδὲν ἐτι τῶν τῆς

1 Some mss. καθαρά τε, others ἀρραγεστέρα (-έστατον).

α i.e. the twelve signs of the Zodiac, cf. De Spec. Leg. i. 87.

β i.e. not of wool, cf. De Ebr. 86.
embroidered or variegated breastplate (Ex. xxix. 5), a representation and copy of the shining constellations. For there are, as is evident, two temples of God: one of them this universe, in which there is also as High Priest His First-born, the divine Word, and the other the rational soul, whose Priest is the real Man; the outward and visible image of whom is he who offers the prayers and sacrifices handed down from our fathers, to whom it has been committed to wear the aforesaid tunic, which is a copy and replica of the whole heaven, the intention of this being that the universe may join with man in the holy rites and man with the universe. The High Priest has now been exhibited as having two characteristic marks, the sprinkled and the variegated: the third and most perfect, which is styled thorough-white, we will now proceed at once to indicate. When this same High Priest goes into the inmost part of the Holy Place, he divests himself of the variegated robe, and puts on another one of linen made from the purest kind (Lev. xvi. 4), a figure of strong fibre, imperishableness, most radiant light: for fine linen is hard to tear, and is made from no mortal creature, and moreover when carefully cleaned has a very brilliant and luminous colour. What is symbolically intimated by these figures is, that among those who worship Him that is with guileless purity, there is not one that does not, in the first place, exercise strength of will and judgement by a contempt for human interests which ensnare and hurt and enfeeble us; and, in the second place, laugh to scorn all the unsubstantial aims of mortal men, and set his heart on immortality; and, last of all, live irradiated by the cloudless splendour of truth, no longer entertaining
ϕευδούς δόξης, ἀ σκότω φίλα εἶναι συμβέβηκε, προσιέμενος.

219 XXXVIII. Ὅ μὲν δὴ μέγας ἀρχιερεύς τρισὶ ταῖς εἰρημέναις τυπωθεῖς σφραγίσι, τῇ διαλεύκῳ, τῇ ποικίλῃ, τῇ σποδοειδεί βαντῇ, τουύτως ἦμῖν ἀναγεγράφθω τὸν δὲ τῆς ἀνθρωπίνης πολιτείας ἐφιέμενον, Ἰῳσήφ ὄνομα, τῶν μὲν ἄκρων ἰδεῖν ἐστὶ μὴ μεταποιούμενον χαρακτήρων, μόνου δὲ τοῦ μέσου καὶ ποικίλου. λέγεται γὰρ ὅτι χιτῶνα ποικίλον ἔσχεν, οὕτε καθαρσίους περιμπανάμενος ἱεροῖς, ἀφ’ ὃν ἦν αὐτὸν ἀν ἔγνω τέφρας καὶ ὕδατος συμφόρημα, οὕτε τῆς πανεύκου καὶ φωτοειδεστάτης ἕσθητος, ἀρετῆς, ψαύσαι δυνατείς, ἄλλα τὸ τῆς πολιτείας ἐπαμμηνευόμενον ύφασμα παμποίκιλον, ὃ βραχύτατον μέρος ἑλθεν τῆς πανλεύκου καὶ φωτοειδεστάτης ἀρετῆς, φαυσαι δυνηθείς, ἀλλὰ τὸ τῆς πολιτείας ἐπαμμηνευόμενον ύφασμα παμποίκιλον. διὸ καὶ τὸν χιτῶνα τοῦτον εἰσάγει Ἰᾳωὺς φυσικῶς πεφυρμένον, ἐπειδή πᾶσι ὃ τοῦ πολιτευόμενον βίος πέφυρται, πολεμῶν τε καὶ πολεμοῦμενος καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν προσπιταυοῦσών ἀβουλήτων συντυχιών βαλλόμενοι καὶ 220 τοξευόμενοι. ἐρεύνησον οὖν τὸν λίαν δημοτικόν, ὃ τά πόλεως πράγματα ἐφορμεῖ, μή καταπλαγεῖς τοὺς θαιματακώς ἐχοντας αὐτὸν, καὶ πολλὰς μὲν ἐμφυλευούσας νόσους εὑρήσεις, πολλὰς δὲ ἐξημμένον κήρας καὶ βιαίως ἐκάστην τὴν ψυχὴν αὐχενίζουσαν καὶ ἀφανῶς αὐτῇ προσπαλαίουσαν καὶ

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ψευδούς δόξης, ἀ σκότω φίλα εἶναι συμβέβηκε, προσιέμενος.

219 XXXVIII. Ὅ μὲν δὴ μέγας ἀρχιερεύς τρισὶ ταῖς εἰρημέναις τυπωθεῖς σφραγίσι, τῇ διαλεύκῳ, τῇ ποικίλῃ, τῇ σποδοειδεί βαντῇ, τουύτως ἦμῖν ἀναγεγράφθω τὸν δὲ τῆς ἀνθρωπίνης πολιτείας ἐφιέμενον, Ἰaukee ὄνομα, τῶν μὲν ἄκρων ἰδεῖν ἐστὶ μὴ μεταποιούμενον χαρακτήρων, μόνου δὲ τοῦ μέσου καὶ ποικίλου. λέγεται γὰρ ὅτι χιτῶνα ποικίλον ἔσχεν, οὕτε καθαρσίους περιμπανάμενος ἱεροῖς, ἀφ’ ὃν ἦν αὐτὸν ἀν ἔγνω τέφρας καὶ ὕδατος συμφόρημα, οὕτε τῆς πανεύκου καὶ φωτοειδεστάτης ἕσθητος, ἀρετῆς, ψαύσαι δυνατείς, ἄλλα τὸ τῆς πολιτείας ἐπαμμηνευόμενον ύφασμα παμποίκιλον, ὃ βραχύτατον μέρος ἑλθεν τῆς πανλεύκου καὶ φωτοειδεστάτης ἀρετῆς, φαυσαι δυνηθείς, ἀλλὰ τὸ τῆς πολιτείας ἐπαμμηνευόμενον ύφασμα παμποίκιλον. διὸ καὶ τὸν χιτῶνα τοῦτον εἰσάγει Ἰᾳωὺς φυσικῶς πεφυρμένον, ἐπειδή πᾶσι ὃ τοῦ πολιτευόμενον βίος πέφυρται, πολεμῶν τε καὶ πολεμοῦμενος καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν προσπιταυοῦσών ἀβουλήτων συντυχιών βαλλόμενοι καὶ 220 τοξευόμενοι. ἐρεύνησον οὖν τὸν λίαν δημοτικόν, ὃ τά πόλεως πράγματα ἐφορμεῖ, μή καταπλαγεῖς τοὺς θαιματακώς ἐχοντας αὐτὸν, καὶ πολλὰς μὲν ἐμφυλευούσας νόσους εὑρήσεις, πολλὰς δὲ ἐξημμένον κήρας καὶ βιαίως ἐκάστην τὴν ψυχὴν αὐχενίζουσαν καὶ ἀφανῶς αὐτῇ προσπαλαίουσαν καὶ
any of the creations of false opinion so dear to darkness.

XXXVIII. Let this stand as my description of the great High Priest marked with the three seals aforesaid, the thorough-white, the variegated, and the ashy-sprinkled. The man whose desires are set on human statecraft, Joseph by name, lays claim, as we can see, neither to the first nor to the third of these marks, but to the intervening one, the variegated, only. For we are told that he had a coat of varied colours (Gen. xxxvii. 3). He did not besprinkle himself with lustral rites, from which he would have learned that he was an amalgam of ashes and water, and was incapable of touching the all-white and gleaming vestment, which is virtue, but arrayed himself in the woven robe of statecraft, a robe richly variegated, containing but a most meagre admixture of truth, but many large portions of false, probable, plausible, conjectural matter, out of which sprang up all the sophists of Egypt, augurs, ventriloquists, soothsayers, proficients in decoying, charming, and bewitching, whose insidious artifices it is no easy task to escape. So Moses shews the insight of a philosopher in introducing this coat all blood-stained (Gen. xxxvii. 31), since the whole life of the statesman is stained, warring and being warred upon, receiving blows and shots from the mishaps which befall it. Search then the man who is thoroughly immersed in public business, the man on whom the interests of the state depend, and do not be daunted by those who hold him in admiration. You will find many a disease lurking in him, many a baneful thing fastened upon him, each one of them violently gripping his soul and invisibly wrestling with it, striving to overthrow it.
ξητούσαν ἀνατρέψαι καὶ καταβαλεῖν, ἢ τοῦ πλῆθους τῇ προστασίᾳ δυσχεράνατος ἢ κατὰ ἀντεπίθεσιν δυνατώτερον ἄνδρός. ἢ δὲ καὶ ὁ φθόνος βαρύς καὶ δυσαπότριτος ἐχθρός, ἐπιφυόμενος ἀεὶ ταῖς λεγομέναις εὐπραγίαις, ὃν οὐ βάδιον ἕκφυγεῖν.

224 XXXIX. τί οὖν ὦς ἐσθήτα πολυτελῆ τὴν ἐπηθισμένην πολιτείαν ἀναψάμενοι γαυριώμεν, τῷ εὔπρεπεῖ τῆς φανερᾶς ὀψις ἀπατώμενοι, τὸ δ' ἀφανές καὶ κεκρυμμένον ἐπίβουλον καὶ σφάλερον αἰσχοῦσαν αὐτῆς οὐ ράδιον ἔκφυγεῖν.

225 τίνος, κατανοοῦντες; ἀποδυσάμενοι δὴ τὸν ἀνθρώπον τοῦτον χυτῶν τὸν ἕρόν ἐνδυώμεθα ἀρετῶν ποικίλμασιν ἐνυφασμένοι. οὔτως γὰρ καὶ τὰς ἑκάθηρα ἐπιφυόμενοι, ἀς ἀτεχνία καὶ ἀνεπιστημοσύνη καὶ ἀπαιδευσία καθ' ἡμῶν τιθέασιν,

226 ὃν οὔ Λάβαν ἐστὶ θεισώτης. ἐπειδὴ γὰρ ἐκάθηρεν ἡμᾶς ἐντὸς λόγος τοῖς εἰς ἀγιστείαν | [655] εὐπρεπεῖσιν περιφραντηρίοις καὶ τοῖς ἀπορρήτοις φιλοσοφίας ἀληθοὺς κατεποίκιλε λόγοις ἀγαγῶν εἰς τὸ δοκίμων καὶ διασιστοῖς καὶ ἐπιφανεῖς καὶ λαμπροὺς ἐποίησεν, αἰτιάται τὸ ἐπίβουλον ἱθος, πρὸς τὴν τῶν λεχθέντων ἀνηρεθισμένον λώβην. 227 φησὶ γὰρ. "ἐὼρακα ὡς σοι Λάβαν ποιεῖς τάναντία δὴπουσάν οἷς ἐδωρησάμην ἔγω, τὸ δυσκάθαρτον καὶ τὸ ἀδόκιμον, τὸ πάντη σκοταίον. ἀλλὰ γὰρ οὐ χρῆ κατεπτηχέναι τὸν ἐλπίδι θείας συμμαχίας ἐφορμοῦτα, ὃ καὶ λέγεται. "ἐγὼ εἰμι ὁ θεὸς ὁ ὄφθεὶς σοι ἐν τόπῳ θεοῦ." 228 πάγκαλόν γε αὐξήμα πυξῆς, τὸ ἁξίων θεὸν ἐπιφαίνεσθαι καὶ ἐνομιλεῖν αὐτῇ. μὴ παρέλθης δὲ τὸ εἰρημένον, ἀλλὰ ἀκριβῶς ἔξετασον, εἰ τῷ ὄντι δύο
and cast it down, either because the multitude are dissatisfied with his leadership, or because a more powerful rival is attacking him. Envy again is a grievous foe, difficult to shake off, a growth which always settles on what men call “doing well,” and hard it is to escape from. XXXIX. Why then do we invest ourselves with the gauds of political importance, as with some costly garment, and bear ourselves proudly in it, deceived by the fairness of what meets the eye, and not perceiving its insidious and dangerous ugliness which is out of sight and hidden from observation? Come, let us cast off this showy tunic, and put on the sacred one inwoven with the varied embroidery of virtues. So shall we escape also the ambushments, which unskilfulness, ignorance and indiscipline set for our ruin, to which company Laban belongs. For when the holy word had cleansed us with the water of sprinkling made ready for our sanctification, and bringing us to the test had decked us with the varied richness of the secrets of true philosophy, and had made us clear and distinct and bright, it censures the evil-designing character stirred up to spoil the effects of the said treatment. For he says, “I have seen all that Laban doeth unto thee” (Gen. xxxi. 12), the reverse, that is, of all that I bestowed upon thee, even sore foulness and spuriousness and darkness in every part. Yet there can be no cowering fear for the man who relies on the hope of the divine comradeship, to whom are addressed the words “I am the God who appeared to thee in the place of God” (Gen. xxxi. 13). Surely a right noble cause of vaunting it is for a soul, that God deigns to shew Himself to and converse with it. And do not fail to mark the language used, but carefully

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1 The construction is extremely awkward. The majority of MSS. have ἀδύνατον, which coupled with Wend.'s conjecture of τῶν for μὴ would give a more tolerable sentence. Mangey's translation, also reading ἀδύνατον, "that man may believe in the existence of those qualities in God the absence of which is incomprehensible to him," gives a sense which is suited to the argument which follows, but how could such an inference be drawn from ἐγώ εἰμι ὁ ὄν?

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a Philo of course fails to understand that the LXX τόπος θεοῦ is a translation of the Hebrew place-name Bethel.

b If this is the right translation of the passage, Philo would seem to use δεισίδαιμον, as the Latin superstition.
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inquire whether there are two Gods; for we read "I am the God that appeared to thee," not "in my place" but "in the place of God," as though it were another's.a What, then, are we to say? He that is truly God is One, but those that are improperly so called are more than one. Accordingly the holy word in the present instance has indicated Him Who is truly God by means of the articles saying "I am the God," while it omits the article when mentioning him who is improperly so called, saying "Who appeared to thee in the place" not "of the God," but simply "of God." Here it gives the title of "God" to His chief Word, not from any superstitious nicety in applying names, but with one aim before him, to use words to express facts.b Thus in another place, when he had inquired whether He that is has any name, he came to know full well that He has no proper name,c and that whatever name anyone may use of Him he will use by licence of language; for it is not the nature of Him that is to be spoken of, but simply to be.

XL. Testimony to this is afforded also by the divine response made to Moses' question whether He has a name, even "I am He that is" (Ex. iii. 14). It was given in order that, since there are not in God things which man can comprehend, man may recognize His subsistence. To the souls indeed which are incorporeal and are occupied in His worship it is likely that He should reveal Himself as He is, conversing with them as friend with friends; but to souls which are still in a

sometimes is, for over-fine scrupulousness in the use of words. But is this possible? See App. pp. 604 f. for this and the connexion of thought in these sections.

a The reference is to Ex. vi. 3. See De Mut. 13 f.
δὲ ἐτι ἐν σώματι ἁγγελοῖς εἰκαζόμενον, οὐ μεταβάλλοντα τὴν ἐαυτοῦ φύσιν—ἀτρεπτος γὰρ,—ἀλλὰ δόξαν ἐντυθέντα ταῖς φαντασιουμέναις ἐτερόμορφον, ὡς τὴν εἰκόνα οὐ μίμημα, ἀλλ' αὐτὸ τὸ ἀρχέτυπον ἐκείνο εἴδος ὑπολαμβάνει εἴναι. παλαιὸς μὲν οὖν ἂδεται λόγος, ὅτι τὸ θεῖον ἀνθρώπους εἰκαζόμενον ἄλλοτε ἄλλους περινοστεῖ τὰς πόλεις ἐν κύκλῳ, τὰς τε ἀδικίας καὶ παράνομιας ἐξετάζουν καὶ τάχα μὲν οὐκ ἀληθῶς, πάντως δὲ λυσιτελῶς καὶ συμφερόντως ἂδεται.

234 ὁ δὲ λόγος σεμνότερον καὶ ἀγώντερον ταῖς περὶ τοῦ ὄντος ἐννοιαις ἀεὶ χρώμενος, ἀμα δὲ καὶ τὸν τῶν ἀφρόνων βίον παιδβυσαι γλιχόμενος ἀνθρώπω μὲν εἰκασεν, 235 οὐ μέντοι τῶν ἐπὶ μέρους οὔδενι· πρόσωπον διὰ τούτο καὶ χείρας καὶ βάσεις καὶ στόμα καὶ φωνὴν ὀργάς τε καὶ θυμούς, ἐτι δὲ ἀμμυτήρια ὅπλα καὶ εἰσόδους μέντοι καὶ ἐξόδους καὶ τὰς ἄνω καὶ κάτω καὶ πανταχῷ κυνῆςεις περέθηκεν, οὐ πρὸς ἀλῆθειαν τὸ κεφάλαιον τοῦτο τῶν λόγων ἀναφέρων, ἀλλὰ πρὸς τὸ λυσιτελές τῶν μανθανόντων. εἰσὶ γάρ τινες ἄμβλεισ πάνυ τὰς φύσεις, ὡς μὴ δύνασθαι θεον ἂνευ σώματος ἐπινοήσαι τὸ παράταν· οὐς ἀμήχανον ἐτέρως ἡ τρόπον τοῦτον νοοῦτει χέριντας, ὅτι ὡς ἀνθρώπος ὁ θεὸς ἀφικνεῖται καὶ ἐξαναχωρεῖ καὶ κάτεισθαι καὶ ἀνέρχεται καὶ φωνῆ χρῆται καὶ τοῖς ἀμαρτανομένοις διαχεράινει καὶ ἀπαρατήτως πρὸς τὰς ὀργὰς ἔχει καὶ βέλη μέντοι.

1 Perhaps ἵππος λόγος.

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a An obvious allusion to Od. xvii. 485:

καὶ τε θεοὶ ξελοὶς ἔοικότες ἀλλοδαποῖς,
παντοῖοι τελεβοντες, ἐπιστρωφώσι πόλης,
ἀνθρώπων ὑβριν τε καὶ εὐνομίην ἐφορώντες.
body, giving Himself the likeness of angels, not altering His own nature, for He is unchangeable, but conveying to those which receive the impression of His presence a semblance in a different form, such that they take the image to be not a copy, but that original form itself. Indeed an old saying is still current that the deity goes the round of the cities, in the likeness now of this man now of that man, taking note of wrongs and transgressions. The current story may not be a true one, but it is at all events good and profitable for us that it should be current. And the sacred word ever entering holier and more august conceptions of Him that is, yet at the same time longing to provide instruction and teaching for the life of those who lack wisdom, likened God to man, not, however, to any particular man. For this reason it has ascribed to Him face, hands, feet, mouth, voice, wrath and indignation, and, over and beyond these, weapons, entrances and exits, movements up and down and all ways, and in following this general principle in its language it is concerned not with truth, but with the profit accruing to its pupils. For some there are altogether dull in their natures, incapable of forming any conception whatever of God as without a body, people whom it is impossible to instruct otherwise than in this way, saying that as a man does so God arrives and departs, goes down and comes up, makes use of a voice, is displeased at wrongdoings, is inexorable in His anger, and in addition to all this has provided Himself with shafts and swords and all other

\[b\] For the thought in this and the following sections cf. De Sac. 94 f., Quod Deus 53 f. 
\[c\] See note on Quod Deus 53.
καὶ ξίφη καὶ τὰ ἄλλα ὡσα πρὸς τιμωρίας ὀργανά
237 ἐπιτήδεια κατὰ τῶν ἁδίκων προευτρέπισται. ἀγα-
πητῶν γάρ, ἐὰν τῷ διὰ τούτων ἐπικρέμασθέντι
φόβῳ σωφρονισθήναι δυνηθῶσι. καὶ σχεδὸν δύο
eἰσὶν αὐταὶ μόναι αἱ τῆς νομοθεσίας πάσης ὁδοῖ,
mία μὲν ἡ πρὸς τὸ ἀληθὴς ἀπονέυοσα, δι’ ἣς
κατασκευάζεται "οὐχ ὅσ ἄνθρωπος ὁ θεὸς,"
ἐτέρα δὲ ἡ πρὸς τὰς τῶν νωθεστέρων δόξας, ἐφ’
ων λέγεται: "παιδεύσει σε κύριος ὁ θεὸς, ὡς εἶ
τις παιδεύσεσθαι ἄνθρωπος τῶν ὑδὸν αὐτοῦ."
238 XLI. τί οὖν ἐτι θαυμάζομεν, εἰ ἄγγέλωις, ὡστέ
καὶ ἄνθρωποι ἕνεκα τῆς τῶν δεομένων ἐπικουρίας
ἀπεικάζεται; ὡσθ’ ὅταν φη: "ἐγὼ εἰμί ὁ θεὸς
ὁ θεὸς σοι ἐν τῶν θεοῦ," τότε νόησον, ὃτι τὸν
ἀγγέλου τότον ἐπέσχεν ὁσα τῷ δοκεῖν, οὐ μετα-
βάλλων, πρὸς τὴν τοῦ μῆπω δυναμένου τὸν ἀληθὴ;
239 θεὸν ἰδεῖν ὑφελείαν. καθάπερ γὰρ τὴν ἀνθῆλιον
ἀυγήν ὃς ἦλιον οἱ μὴ δυνάμενοι τὸν ἠλιον αὐτὸν
ἰδεῖν ὀρώσι καὶ τὰς σελήνην ἀλως ὃς αὐτὴν
ἐκείνην, οὕτως καὶ τὴν τοῦ θεοῦ εἰκόνα, τὸν
240 ἀγγέλου αὐτοῦ λόγον, ὃς αὐτὸν κατανόουν. οὐχ
ὄρας τὴν ἐγκύκλιον παιδείαν "Αγαρ, ὅτι τῷ ἄγγέλῳ
φησί: "οὐ δ’ θεὸς ὁ ἐπιδώκες με;" οὐ γὰρ ἦν ἴκανη
τὸ προσβύτατον ἰδεῖν αὐτοῦ, γένος οὐσα τῶν ἀπ’
Ἄγιπτου. νυνὶ δὲ ὁ νοῦς ἁρχεῖ αὐτοῦ χειμονίου
τῶν ἷγεμόνα πασῶν τῶν τοιούτων δυναμεὼν ἔφω-
241 τασιοῦθαι. διὸ καὶ αὐτός φησιν: "ἐγὼ εἰμὶ ὁ

a Or perhaps “on the present occasion,” contrasted not only with the Hagar story, but also with the Ladder Vision. The thought seems to be that while the Hagar-mind and even the Jacob-mind, in its lower stage, draw no distinction between the higher and the lower manifestations of the divine and mistake the Angel or the Logos for “the God,”
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instruments of vengeance against the unrighteous. For it is something to be thankful for if they can be taught self-control by the terror held over them by these means. Broadly speaking the lines taken throughout the Law are these two only, one that which keeps truth in view and so provides the thought "God is not as man" (Num. xxiii. 19), the other that which keeps in view the ways of thinking of the duller folk, of whom it is said "the Lord God will chasten thee, as if a man should chasten his son" (Deut. viii. 5).

XLI. Why, then, do we wonder any longer at His assuming the likeness of angels, seeing that for the succour of those that are in need He assumes that of men? Accordingly, when He says "I am the God who was seen of thee in the place of God" (Gen. xxxi. 13), understand that He occupied the place of an angel only so far as appeared, without changing, with a view to the profit of him who was not yet capable of seeing the true God. For just as those who are unable to see the sun itself see the gleam of the parhelion and take it for the sun, and take the halo round the moon for that luminary itself, so some regard the image of God, His angel the Word, as His very self. Do you not see how Hagar, who is the education of the schools, says to the angel "Thou art the God that didst look upon me"? (Gen. xvi. 13); for being Egyptian by descent she was not qualified to see the supreme Cause. But in the passage upon which we are occupied, the mind is beginning, as the result of improvement, to form a mental image of the sovereign Ruler of all such Potencies. Hence it is the Practiser has now reached the point where he can comprehend the highest as really implicit in the lower, and this truth is revealed to him by God Himself.
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theōs,' oú tēn eikōna òs èmē prōteron édeásow kai
stēlēn épigramma égkoλάψas ierōtaton anéthēkas:
to de épigramma émēnyen, òti mónos ēsthēka égy
kai tēn tōn pāntōn phōn idvusamēn, tēn ātazēan
ei akosmiān eis kōsmon kai tāzēn āgagōn kai to
pān ēpereis,1 ña ēsthēthē bebasw tō kraftaiw
[657] kai Ṽpārχω mou | λόγω.

242 XLII. Stēlē gār trīwōn pragmātovn súmbolou,
stásēwōs ēnathēsēwos épigrámmatos. ë mév oûn
stās kai to épigramma deđēlωta, ë de ēnathēsēs
243 ēnagakaiā mnunēthnai: pās ð ouranōs kai ð kōsmos
ēnathēma theōu tōn pēnoukōtōs tō ēnathēma: kai
ōsai mēntoi kosmopolitides ψuchai kai theofileis,
ēantōs anierōthwn ùpō mēdenōs ēntispōmenai θη-
tōu, kathagialōswai de kai kalierōswai tōn ēantōn
244 ēphartiōn bīon ouđēpote kāmnousi. mātaios ð'
ōstis μē theōu stēlēn ēnatiōthnai, ālē ēantē, tā
genēsēwōs ēntas tēs pāntē sālenomēnēs kai ēpi-
grammatōn kai ēpaīwn ēξiōn, ð phōnov kai kath-
gorías meσtē ōnta kalōn ḫn ë mph graφhēnai tō
245 parāpān ñ graφēnta euthōs apaleiōthēnai. diō kai
phēsīn ēntikrōs ð ierōs lōgōs: 'ōu stēsthēs seantō
stēlēn': ēsthēke gār tōn ēnthropinωn2 proσ ālē-
theian ouđēn, kān diaragwōi twnes xenōmenoi.
246 ālla gār ouκ oǜntai mônōn pαγīwos ēρhreiswai,

1 See on § 158.
2 mss. ēnthropinōn.

* There is of course no suggestion of an inscription
either in Gen. xxxi. 13 or in the original story, cf. Gen.
xxviii. 18. But Philo, familiar with inscriptions on dedicatory
slabs, takes the phrase "he set it up as a pillar" to mean
that the soul, firmly convinced of God's stability, records (cf.
yμνους εγχαράξεις, § 256) its conviction and dedicates itself.

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that He Himself says "I am the God," whose image thou didst aforetime behold deeming it to be I Myself, and didst dedicate a pillar engraved with a most holy inscription (Gen. xxxi. 13); and the purport of the inscription was that I alone am standing (Ex. xvii. 6) and that it was I alone that established the being of all things, bringing confusion and disorder into order and array, and sustained the universe to rest firm and sure upon the mighty Word, who is My viceroy.

XLII. For "pillar" is a symbol of three things, of standing, of dedicating, of inscription. The standing and inscription have been made clear, but the dedicating demands explanation. The whole heaven and the whole world is an offering dedicated to God, and He it is who has created the offering; and all God-beloved souls, citizens of the world, consecrate themselves, allowing no mortal attraction to draw them in the opposite direction, and they never grow weary of devoting and sanctifying their own imperishable life. Foolish is the man who dedicates a pillar not to God but to himself, erecting what pertains to creation with its tossing this way and that, and holding worthy of laudatory inscriptions things which, richly deserving to be denounced and reproved, had better never have been made subjects for inscriptions at all, or if once so made have been forthwith erased. This is why the holy word says expressly "Thou shalt not erect a pillar to thyself" (Deut. xvi. 22); for in reality nothing human does stand, even though some falsely say so till they burst. Nay, they do not only think that they are firmly established but also that


\[b\] Cf. De Corona § 21 οὐδ’ ἄν σὺ διαρραγῆς ψευδόμενος and ibid. § 87.
άλλα καὶ τιμῶν άξιοί καὶ ἐπιγραμμάτων εἶναι, τοῦ μόνου τιμῆς άξιοι καὶ ἐστῶτος ὄντως ἐπιλελησμένοι. ἀποκλίναντας γὰρ αὐτοὺς καὶ ἐκτραπομένους τὴν ἐπ' ἄρετὴν ἀγουσαν ὅδον ἔτι μᾶλλον ἐξέτρεψαν αἰσθήσεις, ἡ σύμφωνας αὐτῶν γνινη, καὶ 247 ἤναγκασεν ἐξοκεῖλαι. τοιγάρτοι περικαταχθείσα ὡς ναῦς ἡ ὀλη ψυχή τρόπον στήλης ἀνετέθη. τὴν γάρ Λωτ γυναίκα ἐπιστραφείσαν εἰς τοῦπίσω φασίν οἱ χρησιμοι γενέσθαι στήλην ἄλος, εἰκότως 248 γε καὶ προσηκότως· εἰ γάρ τις μὴ τὰ πρόσω, τὰ θέας καὶ ἄκοης άξια, διορᾶ—ταῦτα δ' εἰσών ἄρεται καὶ τὰ κατὰ ἄρετὰς ἡργα,—περιβλέπεται δὲ τὰ ὁπίσω καὶ τὰ νῦστα, κωφὴν δόξαν καὶ τυφλὸν πλούτον καὶ ἀναίσθητον εὐσαρκίαν καὶ νοῦ κενήν εὐμορφίαν καὶ ὁσα συγγενή τούτως μεταδιώκων, ἄψυχος ἀνακείσται στήλη περὶ ἑαυτὴν καταρρεύσα· οἱ γὰρ ἁλες οὐ βέβαιον.

249 XLIII. Παγκάλως οὖν ὁ ἀσκητής μελέτη συνεχεί μαθῶν, ὅτι γένεσις κινητῶν εὖ ἑαυτῆς, τὸ δὲ ἀγένητον ἀτρεπτὸν τε καὶ ἀκίνητον, ἁνίστησι τῷ θεῷ στήλην καὶ ἀναστήσας ἀλείφει· λέγεται γάρ· 250 "ἡλειψάς μοι στήλην." ἀλλὰ µὴ νοµίσης ἐλαίῳ λίθον ἀλείφεσθαι, ἀλλὰ τὸ περὶ τοῦ µόνου ἑστάναι τῶν θεῶν ἐν ψυχῇ δόγμα γυναίξεισαι καὶ συνασκεῖσαι πρὸς ἀλειπτικής ἐπιστήμης, οὐχ ἢ τὰ σώματα πιαίνεται, ἀλλ' ὑφ' ἡς διάνοια ἱσχύν 251 κτάται καὶ βώμην ἀνανταγώνιστον. φίλαθλος γὰρ

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1 mss. αὐτῶ.
2 Wend. suggests περικαταγείσα. But the form κατεάχθην has sufficient authority.

a See App. p. 605.
b Or "looks round with admiration," as elsewhere in Philo.

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they deserve honours and inscriptions, being oblivious of Him Who is alone deserving of honour and really stands. For when they turn away and stray out of the course which leads to virtue, sense-perception, the woman inherent in their nature, makes them stray still more, and forces them to run aground. Wherefore shattered to pieces like a ship, the whole 247 soul is set up after the fashion of a pillar. For the sacred records say that Lot's wife having turned to what was behind her became a pillar of salt (Gen. xix. 26). And that is fit and natural, for if one has not a clear view of what is farther on, of what is worth seeing and hearing, of virtues, that is to say, and virtuous actions, but turns round to look at what is behind and at his back; if he pursues the deafness of glory, the blindness of wealth, the stupidity of bodily robustness, and the empty-mindedness of external beauty, and all that is akin to these, he will be set up as a soulless pillar, with its substance streaming down from it; for salt has no firmness.

XLIII. Right well, then, does the Practiser, having learned by continuous exercises that creation is of itself a thing of movement, whereas the Unoriginate is free from alteration and from movement, raise a pillar to God, and having raised it anoints it: for we read “Thou anointedst unto Me a pillar” (Gen. xxxi. 13). But imagine not that here we have a stone anointed with oil; rather that the doctrine of God as the only Being that stands is exercised and practised in a soul with the trainer's science, not that by which bodies are made stout and brawny, but that by which understanding acquires a vigour and strength which no opponent can overcome. For he 251
και φιλογυμναστὴς ὁ πρὸς τὴν τῶν καλῶν ἐπι-

255 Τί οὖν ἔτι, ψυχή, ματαιάζεις καὶ κενὰ πονεῖς, ἀλλ' οὐ φοιτάσ πρὸς τὸν ἀσκητήν, τὰ κατὰ τὸν πάθους καὶ τῆς κενῆς δόξης ἀναλαβεῖν ὅπλα καὶ παλαιόματα μαθηματικῆς; τάχα γὰρ μαθοῦσα αγελαρχῆσεις, οὐκ ἄσημου καὶ ἀλόγου καὶ ἀναγώγου, 256 δοκίμου δὲ καὶ λογικῆς καὶ ποικῆς ἀγέλης. ἂς

1 Most mss. have ὁ εὐξάμενος, Wend. with some εὐξάμβνος. The article is needed. The argument is that the vow involves self-dedication, because, though in itself it is merely a dedication of the hair, ἄγιος shews that the man himself is included.
that has set out for the pursuit of noble practices is a lover of contest and a lover of exercises. Hence having thoroughly mastered the sister art to that of the physician, namely that of the trainer, having put all thoughts of virtue and piety through a course of training and drill, he will dedicate to God an offering most beauteous and firmly established.

Accordingly after the dedication of the pillar he goes on to say, "Thou didst vow to me a vow" (ibid.). Now a vow is in the fullest sense a dedication, seeing that a man is said to give a gift to God when he renders to Him not only his possessions but himself the possessor of them. For the lawgiver says, "He shall be holy that letteth the locks of the hair of his head grow long" (Num. vi. 5), that is, the man who has made the vow; and if he is holy, he is nothing else than a dedicated offering, seeing that he no more comes in contact with anything unhallowed and profane. What I say is vouched for by that prophetess and mother of a prophet, Hannah, whose name is in our tongue "Grace." For she says that she is giving as a gift to the Holy One her son Samuel (1 Sam. i. 11), not meaning a human being but rather an inspired temper possessed by a God-sent frenzy. And "Samuel" means "appointed for God."

Why then, O soul, dost thou any longer trifle and engage in profitless labours, and not rather become a pupil of the Practiser, and learn to use weapons and engage in wrestlings against passion and vainglory? For haply, when thou hast learned, thou shalt be a herdsman, not of a herd without mark, without reason, without discipline, but of one bearing the stamp of genuineness, endowed with reason, and with varied

\[a\] See App. p. 605.
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ei γένοιο ἡγεμόνει, τὸ μὲν οἰκτρὸν ἀνθρώπων γένος ὀλοφυρῇ, τὸ δὲ θεόν οὐ παύσῃ προστρεπομένη, τὸν δὲ θεόν οὐκ ἐπιλεύσεις εὐδαιμονίζουσα, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὢμος ἱεροπρεπεῖς στήλαις ἐγχαράξεις, ἵνα μὴ μόνον λέγης εὐτρόχως, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀδής μουσικῶς τὰς τοῦ ὄντος ἀρετὰς. οὕτως γὰρ δυνήσῃ καὶ εἰς τὸν πατρῷον οἶκον ἐπανελθεῖν, τὴν ἐπὶ τῆς καὶ ἀνήνυτον ζάλην ἡκπυγοῦσα.

1 MSS. προστρεπομένῃ.
2 The majority of MSS. have ἀλήτ(θ)ειαν. I suggest ἀλῆν, cf. τὸν νοῦν ἐξ ἀλῆς πολυχρονίου πάντῃ πλανηθέντα De Praem. 117.
markings. Shouldst thou become its leader, thou wilt bewail the pitiable race of men, but wilt never cease to approach the Deity with supplications; thou wilt never tire of proclaiming the blessedness of God, nay, wilt grave on pillars holy hymns, that thou mayest not only tell in eloquent language but also sing in sweet melody the excellences of Him that is. For so shalt thou be able also to return to thy father's house, and be quit of that long endless distress which besets thee in a foreign land.
ANALYTICAL INTRODUCTION TO BOOK II

This long treatise, the conclusion of which has been lost, seems to me to have a poverty of thought which makes it the weakest of the whole series. And though it may be merely a coincidence, it is a curious fact that it is hardly ever quoted or referred to by later writers. Further, it has less manuscript authority than any other, except De Posteritate Caini. Only one ms. used by Wendland contains it, and even this, as the many footnotes to the text will shew, has a quite unusual number of corruptions and lacunas.\(^a\)

The treatise follows at once on the preceding and deals with the third kind of dreams, the characteristic of which is that they contain no direct divine message, but something is seen by the dreamer, obscure in itself but explained by the art of dream interpretation. There are three pairs of dreams, one those of Joseph himself as a boy (1-154), another of the chief baker and chief butler in prison (155-214), another of Pharaoh (215 to the end), the two last pairs being interpreted by Joseph himself.

After the distinction between the three kinds of dreams has been noted (1-4), the subject of Joseph’s

\(^a\) It is also contained in the ms. in Trinity College Library referred to in the Introduction to De Mutatione. I have collated it and found it to be a close representation of the A used by Wendland, with much the same corruptions and lacunas. For such results as I have obtained see App. p. 606.
two dreams is introduced (5-7); but, before they are discussed, we must remember what Joseph represents. Here he is not so much the politician as the representative of the ordinary mixed character in whom the claims of the soul are constantly disputed by those of the body and external things; and in such a character vainglory (κένη δόξα) or vanity (τύφος) is sure to appear (8-16).

The first dream begins, "I thought we were binding sheaves." After noting that "thought" indicates the vagueness of the Joseph-mind (17-20), Philo points out that the dreamer only supposes himself and his brothers to be engaged in the inferior task of binding, not of reaping, which needs, he thinks, the skill to distinguish the good corn from the worthless (21-22). This leads to a further thought on spiritual reaping. We find the phrase, "When you reap your reaping," which he takes to mean that when the harvest of virtue is reaped there is a further stage where this very reaping is reaped away in the consciousness that it is of God and not of ourselves (23-24). Some similar duplicates are adduced, and the double cave of Machpelah and the two kinds of music are taken to indicate a similar sort of distinction between our acceptance of the good in creation and our acknowledgement of its dependence on the divine, and so "Ye shall not consummate the rest of the reaping" implies that the consummation does not belong to man (25-30).

But what are the sheaves? Evidently in some degree drawn by the similarity of sound in δράγματα and πράγματα, Philo interprets them as "doings" used in the sense of chief characteristics. He describes in much the same terms as elsewhere the
leading attributes of the eleven brothers (31-41). The leading attribute of Joseph is vainglory, and this is illustrated by a few incidents in Joseph's life and by the interpretation of his name as "addition," for vainglory adds luxuries to the simple life (41-47). This leads to a long commonplace against luxury as shewn in food and drink (48-51), clothing (52-53), houses (54-55), beds (56-57), unguents (58-59), drinking-cups (60-61), and golden crowns instead of flower garlands (64). Luxury, in fact, is the beast which was supposed to have devoured Joseph and thus made Jacob mourn for him, a contrast to Nahab and Abihu in whose case Moses forbade all mourning (64-67). At this point the connexion of thought gets difficult. Cutting off the hand of the immodest woman is treated as the duty of cutting ourselves off from absorption in lower aims and contrasted with the full handful which the priest takes and offers (68-74), and we then recur to the thought of 23 ff., though stated in a different way, that the spiritual reaping of virtues must be dedicated to God (75-77).

"My sheaf rose up and stood upright and your sheaves turned round and did homage to mine." This example of the arrogance of vainglory suggests to Philo the ascendancy of the tyrant in ordinary life and the need of caution in dealing with him. In such cases frank speaking is no virtue, any more than sailing in the teeth of a storm or than facing wild beasts when unarmed (78-89). Abraham did homage to the children of Heth for the cave of Machpelah, and so must the weak propitiate the mighty (90-92). The brethren, however, do not take this line, for they reply, "Shalt thou indeed be king and lord over us?"

* See note ad loc.
This shews us that their opposition to Joseph represents the resistance of right reason to vainglory in the soul. We may dismiss, therefore, any thoughts of the unbrotherliness of the ten, and see merely the refusal of the better part within us to acknowledge any king but God (93-100). And Philo himself, while confessing his weakness, feels that even when he is most helpless he desires to follow this better judgement (101-104). And perhaps too the Joseph in us will be converted. What else indeed is suggested by the story of Joseph, with its various signs of something higher, crowned by his final acceptance by Moses, when his bones are carried by the liberated people out of Egypt? (105-109).

The second dream was that of the sun, moon and stars bowing down to Joseph. It chiefly differs from the first in being concerned with heavenly instead of earthly phenomena (110-112). Philo, after noting apparently without actual disapprobation the theory that the divine natures of the heavenly bodies do actually contend for pre-eminence (113-114), explains the dream from one point of view as describing the arrogance of those who regard themselves as superior not only to men but to nature (115-116). Thus Xerxes turned land into sea by cutting through Mount Athos and shot his arrows at the sun (117-120). The foolish Germans try to repel the tide with armed forces (121-122), and a little before in Alexandria a tyrannous ruler, when trying to coerce the Jews into Sabbath-breaking, had argued with them that, in the event of a deluge or earthquake or thunderstorm, they would not hesitate to forgo their regular customs, and that he himself was as powerful as any of these natural forces (123-129). Such a person,
Philo thinks, will consider himself aggrieved if the seasons do not conform to his expectations (130-132). But a more general interpretation is possible. We may regard the sun as right reason, the moon as discipline or education, and the stars as the thoughts engendered by these two in the soul, which the lower Joseph-like thoughts would fain bring into subjection (133-135). Thus while Jacob's answer, "What is this dream which thou hast dreamt?" implies that Joseph is describing a spiritual conflict of this nature (135-138), the words that follow, "Shall I and thy mother and thy brethren bow down before thee?" are the refusal of right reason to submit to vanity (139-140). At the same time, we are told that his father kept the saying in his heart; and from this Philo diverges to the need for caution and self-distrust. How constantly do we find examples of long success ended by disaster, of good life followed by moral decay in old age (141-149)! And this thought suggests the image of the fountain of peace which we sometimes taste and then find denied to us—a sad condition, yet better than to drink our fill of the fountain of unreason, when the unreasoning powers master the governing element in the soul and produce that anarchy which the experience both of men and animals shews to be fatal to happiness (149-154).

In the dreams of the chief butler and baker the two men represent drunkenness and gluttony (155-158). The dream of the butler is then quoted in full (159). We note that its opening words, "In my sleep," are appropriate to that deep drunken sleep in which all the wicked are plunged (160-162), and also "the vine was before me" shews the love which the
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wicked feel for the sources of their spiritual drunkenness (162-163). But before going further we must observe that the vine may be also a symbol of gladness of the true kind. Philo describes at some length how convivial meetings shew sometimes good feeling and at other times quarrelsome ness and hatred (164-168). We find this favourable meaning of "vine" in the story of the scouting party of Numbers xiii. Those seekers for virtue who are unable to carry the main stalk of wisdom and joy cut off and carry away at least one great cluster (169-171). And how good a thing is this gladness is shewn by the application of the word to God Who is glad when men do well (172-178), and from which we may deduce that our duty is to make Him glad (179-180). But the vine of the cup-bearer is not of this sort. He will indeed plead that it cannot be, seeing that he is cup-bearer to Pharaoh, not to God Whose cup-bearer is the Logos himself (181-183). How different are these two! Pharaoh's cup-bearer is called an eunuch: the Logos on the other hand is represented by the High Priest: and what is signified spiritually by eunuch and high priest is described at some length in Philo's usual way (184-190). If we need a further description of the vine of folly we shall find it in the text which speaks of the vine of Sodom and the branch of Gomorrah, for Sodom is blindness and Gomorrah (the measure) typifies the human mind which holds itself and not God to be the measure of all things (191-194). A few more phrases in the dream are then dealt with. As πνθμήν may mean not only stalk but root or extremity, Philo finds a figure of the way in which folly brings the soul down to extreme misery (195-199). Again, "Pharaoh's cup was in my hand"
indicates that our own hands or actions are needed to give passion full scope (199-201); and "I squeezed the grapes into the cup" represents how the fool glories in using every drop of the drink of folly (202-204).

The dream of the chief baker is dismissed very shortly. The three baskets which he carries are the pleasures of the past, the present and the future, while the birds which descend and devour the baked meats are the divine retributions which overtake the pleasure-seeker and leave him headless and crucified (205-214).

We now pass on to the two parallel dreams of Pharaoh in which the seven lean devour the seven fat kine, and the seven bad the seven good ears. But in what has been preserved at any rate no notice is taken of the substance of these dreams, and the discussion is confined with digressions to the opening phrases of the first dream: "I thought I stood upon the edge of the river." After quoting the two dreams (215-218), Philo takes the words "I thought I stood." Here we have the Pharaoh-mind profanely claiming the standing which belongs only to God, and this thought is supported by some familiar texts (219-222). Yet God imparts this stability primarily to the Logos which under the name of Covenant is said to be made to stand upon the just Noah, thus shewing that the just man becomes as it were the pedestal (223-225); secondly to the wise man, for Abraham stands before God and Moses stood "between God and you," thus shewing the sage as something intermediate between God and man (226-233); and thirdly to the progresser who stands midway between the full life of virtue and the death of vice.
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(234-236). How vain then is the claim of the Pharaoh-mind to stand (237)!

The river is speech, which may be either good or bad (238-240). In its good sense, which includes reason, we find it in the river of Eden which divides into four heads (ἀρχαί) or virtues; and as ἀρχαί means also rules or sovereignties, we have a hint of the thought of the sage as king (241-244). Also we find in the Psalms the phrase "the river of God," clearly indicating the divine Logos (245), and as we hear also of the river "making glad the city of God," Philo digresses to consider what the city of God is. In one sense it is the world; in another the righteous soul; and its name of Jerusalem, vision of peace, fits this meaning well, for God is peace and dwells in the peace-loving soul (246-258). Also Abraham is given all the land from the river of Egypt to the great river Euphrates where the latter is soul and what soul loves, and the former does not mean that the river of Egypt or body is included in the gift; rather that river is bad and soulless speaking and thinking, and its nature is typified by its producing frogs and bringing death to the fish which represent true thoughts (259-260).

The edge or lip (χεῖλος) reminds us that the closing of the lips gives silence, and their opening speech, and we must remember that each has its proper season (261-263). Various texts enjoining silence are quoted (264-267), but there are also occasions which call for song, like the song of triumph of Exodus xv. or that of the well in Numbers xxi., or for oratory like that enjoined in Deut. xxii. on the bringing of firstfruits, and a short meditation on the details of this passage follows (268-273). With the wicked
wrong speaking is more frequent than wrong silence, and three kinds of such speaking are distinguished (274-275). There are the pleasure-lovers represented by Pharaoh who was met by Moses at the "lip" of the river (276-278); the sophists represented by the people of Egypt, who were seen dead at the "lip" of the sea (279-282); the deniers of divine providence represented by the builders of Babel of whom it is said "the whole earth was of one lip" (283-284). The confusion which overtakes this third class, who are the advocates of anarchy, is enlarged on, and while repentance will bring forgiveness, persistence can only bring the divine punishment (285-295). This point is supported by a text from Leviticus on the soul which "distinguishes with its lips to do ill or well," which Philo understands as a presumptuous claim to knowledge of the nature of good and ill. Yet this too, by proclaiming its sin, may win forgiveness (296-299).

The fragment which follows begins a discussion, why the phrase "lip of the river" is only found in connexion with the river of Egypt. Philo censures the critics who regard such points as hair-splitting, and reiterates his conviction that the Scripture does not mean to teach us geography but the realities of life. The continuation is lost (302-end).
Β'

I. | Τὸ τρίτον εἴδος τῶν θεοπέμπτων ὀνείρων ἀναγράφοντες εἰκότως ἄν ἐπίμαχον Μωυσῆν καλοῖμεν, ὡς ἔμαθεν οὖκ εἰδὼς, ἀγνοοῦντας καὶ ἡμᾶς ἀναδιδάξις περὶ τῶν σημείων, ἐκαστὸν αὐγάζων. συνιστάται δὲ τὸ τρίτον εἴδος, ὅποταν ἐν τοῖς ὕπνοις ἔξ ἐαυτῆς ἡ ψυχὴ κινουμένη καὶ ἀναδονούσα ἐαυτὴν κορυβαντιά καὶ ἐνθουσιώσα δυνάμει προγνωστικῆ

2 ὑπὲρ μέλλοντα θεσπίζῃ. τὸ μὲν γὰρ πρῶτον ἴν ἀρχοντός τῆς κινήσεως θεοῦ καὶ ὑπηχοῦντος ἀορά-

tως τὰ ἡμᾶς μὲν ἄδηλα, γνώριμα δὲ ἐαυτῷ· τὸ

dὲ δεύτερον τῆς ἡμετέρας διανοίας τῇ τῶν ὀλων

3 συγκινουμένης ψυχῆς καὶ θεοφόρητου μανίας ἀνα-

πιμπλαμένης, ἡ θέμις πολλά τῶν ἀποβησόμενων

3 προαγορεύειν. διὸ ὁ ἱεροφάντης τὰς μὲν κατὰ τὸ πρῶτον σημαινόμενον φαντασίας τρανῶς

3 πάντα καὶ ἀριθμὸς ἐμήνυσεν, ἀτε τοῦ θεοῦ χρησμοί

3 σαφέσων ἕοικότα διὰ τῶν ὀνείρων ὑποβάλλοντος,

3 τὰς δὲ κατὰ τὸ δεύτερον οὔτε σφόδρα τηλαυγῶς οὔτε

3 σκοτίως ἄγαν· ὡμέν δὲ ὑπόδειγμα ἢ ἐπὶ τῆς οὐρανοῦ

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1 MSS. καλεῖ μὲν (καλοῖμεν). 2 MSS. el.

3 MSS. σημαινόμενον. 4 MSS. ὀν.

5 MSS. ὑπὸ. 6 See note on De Som. i. 1-2.
I. In setting forth the third kind of God-sent dreams we may fitly summon Moses to our assistance, that, as he learned when he did not know, he may teach us too in our ignorance regarding their tokens, by throwing light on each. This third kind of dreams arises whenever the soul in sleep, setting itself in motion and agitation of its own accord, becomes frenzied, and with the prescient power due to such inspiration foretells the future. The first kind of dreams we saw to be those in which God originates the movement and invisibly suggests things obscure to us but patent to Himself: while the second kind consisted of dreams in which the understanding moves in concert with the soul of the Universe and becomes filled with a divinely induced madness, which is permitted to foretell many coming events.\(^1\)

In accordance with these distinctions, the Sacred Guide gave a perfectly clear and lucid interpretation of the appearances which come under the first description, inasmuch as the intimations given by God through these dreams were of the nature of plain oracles. Those which fall under the second description he interpreted neither with consummate clearness nor with excessive indistinctness. A specimen of these is the Vision that appeared on the heavenly
κλίμακος φανείσα ὀψις. αὕτη γάρ αἰνιγματώδης μὲν ἦν, τὸ δὲ αἰνιγμα οὖ λίαν τοῖς ὡς καθορὰν
dυναμένοις ἀπεκρύπτετο. αἱ δὲ κατὰ τὸ τρίτον εἴδος φαντασίαι μᾶλλον τῶν προτέρων ἀδηλούμεναι
dιὰ τὸ βαθὺ καὶ κατακορὲς ἔχεν τὸ αἰνιγμα ἐδεήθησαν καὶ τῆς ὀνειροκριτικῆς ἐπιστήμης.
pάντες γοῦν οἱ κατ' αὐτὸ ἀναγραφέντες ὀνειρο τῷ νομοθέτῃ διακρίνονται πρὸς σοφῶν τὴν λεχθείσαν |
tέχνην ἀνδρῶν.

[660] τίνος οὖν εἰσιν οἱ ὀνει-

[660] ροι; ἡ παντὶ τῷ δήλου, ὃτι οἱ τοῦ 'Ἰωσήφ, οἱ τοῦ βασιλέως Αἰγύπτου Φαραὼ καὶ οὓς ὁ τε ἀρχιστο-
pοὺς καὶ ἀρχιουχὸς εἶδον αὐτοῖς; πρέποι δ' ἄν ἀπὸ τῶν πρώτων ἀεὶ τῆς διδασκαλίας ἀπάρχεσθαι.
πρῶτοι δ' εἰσὶν οὓς ἔθεασατο 'Ἰωσήφ, ἀπὸ δυεῖν τῶν τοῦ κόσμου μερῶν, οὐρανοῦ τε καὶ γῆς, δυτικὰς
φαντασίας λαβῶν· ἀπὸ μὲν γῆς τὸ περὶ τὸν ἀμητὸν ὄναρ—τοιούτων δ' ἔστιν. " ἡμὴν ἡμᾶς ἐστὶν
dράγματα ἐν μέσῳ τῶν πεδίων, ἀνέστη δὲ τὸ ἐμὸν
dράγμα,"—τὸ δὲ περὶ τὸν ζωδιακὸν κύκλον **

[660] " ὡσπερ ὁ ἕλιος καὶ ἡ σελήνη καὶ ἐνδεκα ἀστέρες
7 προσεκύνουν με." διάκρισις δὲ τοῦ μὲν προτέρου
μετὰ σφοδρᾶς ἐπανατάσεως τοιαύτη· "μὴ βασι-
λεύως βασιλεύσεις ἐφ' ἡμῖν; ἡ κυριεύων κυριεύσεις ἡμῶν;" τοῦ δὲ ὦστερον ὄργη πάλιν δικαία· "ἀρά
γε ἑλευσόμεθα ἐγὼ καὶ ἡ μήτηρ καὶ οἱ ἀδελφοὶ

[660] σου προσκυνήσας σου ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν;" ;

8 ΠΑΟΥΤΑ ΜΕΝ ΔΗ ΘΕΜΕΛΙΩΝ ΤΡΟΠΟΝ ΠΡΟΚΑΤΑ-

[660] ** So mss.: perhaps αὐτοῖ.
[660] 6 Both Mangey and Wend, suppose a lacuna here, e.g. ἀπὸ τοῦ οὐράνου λέγει γὰρ. It does not seem to me absolutely necessary.

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stairway. For this vision was indeed enigmatic, but the riddle was not in very high degree concealed from the quick-sighted. The appearances of the third kind being more obscure than the former, owing to the deep and impenetrable nature of the riddle involved in them, demanded a scientific skill in discerning the meaning of dreams. Accordingly all the dreams of this sort recorded by the lawgiver received their interpretation at the hands of men who were experts in the aforesaid science.

Whose then are the dreams? Does not everybody perceive that they are those of Joseph, those of Pharaoh king of Egypt, and those which the chief baker and chief butler themselves saw? It would seem fitting always to begin our teaching with those which come first; and first to come are those which Joseph saw when from the divisions of the universe, two in number, heaven and earth, two visions were presented to him. From the earth came the dream of the reaping. It runs on this wise: “Methought that we were binding sheaves in the midst of the plain, and my sheaf rose up” (Gen. xxxvii. 7). The other has to do with the zodiac: “As it were the sun and the moon and eleven stars worshipped me” (ibid. 9). On the former dream an interpretative judgement is pronounced in a tone of vehement menace to this effect: “Shalt thou indeed be king over us? or shalt thou indeed be lord over us?” (ibid. 8). The latter dream again incurs well-merited displeasure: “Shall I and thy mother and thy brethren come to bow down to the ground to worship thee?” (ibid. 10).

II. So much by way of a foundation. As we go

* Or “intense blackness.” See note on Leg. All. ii. 67.
PHILO

βεβλήσθω, τὰ δὲ ἄλλα τοῖς σοφῆς ἀρχιτέκτονοι, ἀλληγορίας, ἐπόμενοι παραγγέλμασιν ἔποικοδομῶμεν, ἐκάτερον δὴ τῶν ὀνειράτων ἀκριβοῦντες. ᾧ δὲ χρὴ πρὸ ἀμφοτέρων ἀκοῦσαι, λεκτέον τῇν τάγαθοῦ φύσιν οἱ μὲν ἔτειναν ἐπὶ πολλα, οἱ δὲ τῷ ἀρίστῳ προσεκλήρωσαν μόνῳ καὶ οἱ μὲν ἐκέρασαν, οἱ δὲ 9 καὶ ἄκρατον εἰάσαν. οἱ μὲν οὖν μόνον τὸ καλὸν ἀγαθὸν εἰπόντες, ἄμυγῇ διαφυλάξαντες αὐτήν, ἀπένειμαν τῷ κρατήστῳ τῶν ἐν ἦμῖν, λογισμῷ, οἱ δὲ μίξαντες τρυπὶν ἐφήρμοσαν, ψυχῇ, σώματι, τοῖς ἑκτός. εἰσὶ δὲ οὕτωι μὲν τῆς μαλακωτέρας καὶ τρυφερᾶς διαίτης, τὸν πλεῖον χρόνον ἐν γυναικωνίτιδι καὶ τοῖς γυναικωνίτιδος ἐκτεθηλυμένοις ἔθεσιν 3 απ' αὐτῶν σπαργάνων ἀνατραφέντες· οἱ δ’ ἔτεροι σκληρῶται, πρὸς μὲν ἀνδρῶν κουροτροφηθέντες, ἄνδρες δὲ καὶ αὐτοὶ τὰ φρονήμαta, τὸ συμφέρον πρὸ τοῦ ἱδέου ἀσπαζόμενοι καὶ τροφαῖς ἀθλητικαῖς πρὸς ἰσχύν καὶ ρώμην, οὗ πρὸς ἣδονήν, 10 χρώμενοι. δυεῖν δὴ θιάσων ἡγεμόνας εἰσάγει Μωυσῆς, τοῦ μὲν γενναίου τὸν αὐτομαθῆ καὶ αὐτοδιδάκτον Ἰσαάκ—ἀναγράφει γὰρ αὐτὸν (ἀπὸ)γαλακτιζόμενον, ἀπαλαῖς καὶ γαλακτώδεσι νηπίαις τε καὶ παιδικαῖς τροφαῖς οὐ δικαιοῦντα χρῆσθαι τὸ παράπταν, ἀλλ’ εὐτόνοις καὶ τελείαις, ἀτε ἐκ βρέφους εὖ πρὸς ἀλκὴν πεφυκότα καὶ ἐπακμάζοντα καὶ ἀνηβώντα ἀεὶ,—τού δὲ εἰκονοτοσ

1 mss. διὰ.  
2 mss. ἐθνεσι.
on to build the superstructure let us follow the direc­
tions of Allegory, that wise Master-builder, while we
investigate the details of either dream. There are,
however, in both dreams some prefatory remarks to
be listened to first. Some have given the nature of
that which is good a wide application, making it
extend to many objects; while others have assigned
it only to that which is most excellent: the former
have regarded it as mixed, while the latter have left
it free from admixture. Now, those who have main-
tained that only the morally beautiful is good, pre-
serving it unmixed, have attributed the good to the
reasoning faculty, the noblest part in us; while
those who have regarded it as mixed have associated
it with three things, soul, body, and things external
to us. The latter class belong to the softer and
luxurious way of life, having been reared up for the
greater part of the time from their very cradle in the
women’s quarter and in the effeminate habits of the
women’s quarter. Those others are austere of life,
reared by men, themselves too men in spirit, eager
for what will do them good rather than for what is
pleasant, and taking food suited to an athlete with an
eye to strength and vigour, not to pleasure.
There are two companies as leaders of which Moses
introduces Isaac and Joseph. The noble company
is led by Isaac who learns from no teacher but himself,
for Moses represents him as weaned (Gen. xxi. 8),
absolutely disdaining to make any use of soft and
milky food suited to infants and little children, and
using only strong nourishment fit for grown men,
seeing that from a babe he was naturally stalwart,
and was ever attaining fresh vigour and renewing his
youth. The company which yields and is ready to
καὶ εὐενδότου τὸν Ἰωσήφ. οὕτος γὰρ οὐκ ἀλογεῖ
μὲν τῶν κατὰ ψυχήν ἀρετῶν, προμηθεῖται δὲ καὶ
[661] τῆς τοῦ σώματος εὐσταθείας, | ἐφίεται (δὲ) καὶ
tῆς τῶν ἐκτὸς εὐπορίας· ἀνθέλκεται δὲ εἰκότως
πολλὰ τέλη τοῦ βίου προτεθεμένος, καὶ ἀντι-
σπώμενος ύφ’ ἐκάστου σείεται καὶ κλονεῖται μὴ
dυνάμενος στηριχθῆναι. καὶ γὰρ οὐδ’ ὠσπερ αἱ
ἐνσπονδοὶ πόλεις εἰρήνην ἀγουσι * * * καὶ ἀντι-
επιτίθενται, ὡς ἐν μέρει κρατεῖν τε καὶ ἡττᾶσθαι:
pολλὴ γὰρ ἔστων ὅτε ρνείσα πρὸς πλοῦτον καὶ
dόξαν ὅρμη τὰς περὶ σώμα καὶ ψυχῆς φροντίδος
εξενίκησαν, εἰτὰ ἀντιμαικείσα πάλιν ὑπὸ ἀμφοῖν
12 ὑπὸ τῆς ἐπικήθη. τὸν αὐτὸν δὲ τρόπον
ἀθρόας καὶ αἱ σώματος ἡδοναὶ καταρραγεῦσαι πάντα
ἐξῆς τὰ νοητὰ ἐπέκλυσαν τε καὶ ἡφάνισαν· εἰτ’ οὐκ
εἰς μακρὰν ἀντιμεύσασα σοφία λάβρω καὶ σφοδρῷ
πνεύματι τὸ τε ρεύμα τῶν ἡδονῶν ἐξάλασε καὶ
συνόλως τὰς διὰ τῶν αἰσθήσεων ἀπάσας σπουδάς
13 ὑπὸ τῆς ἐπικήθη. τὸν αὐτὸν δὲ τρόπον
ἀθρόας καὶ αἱ σώματος ἡδοναὶ καταρραγεῦσαι πάντα
ἐξῆς τὰ νοητὰ ἐπέκλυσαν τε καὶ ἡφάνισαν· εἰτ’ οὐκ
εἰς μακρὰν ἀντιμεύσασα σοφία λάβρω καὶ σφοδρῷ
πνεύματι τὸ τε ρεύμα τῶν ἡδονῶν ἐξάλασε καὶ
συνόλως τὰς διὰ τῶν αἰσθήσεων ἀπάσας σπουδάς
14 τε καὶ φιλοτιμίας ἐπράννε. τουσώτου μὲν ὅτι κύκλος
εἴλεται περὶ τὴν πολύτροπον ψυχῆν ἀιδίου πολέμου
καθαρεύθησατο γὰρ ἔνδυσ τοῦ ἐχθροῦ 
φύεται πάντως
δυνατώτερος ἐτέρος, ύδρας τῆς πολυκεφαλοῦ τὸν
τρόπον καὶ γὰρ ἐπ’ ἐκείνης φασίν ἀντὶ τῆς ἐκτμη-
θείσης κεφαλῆς ἀναβλαστάνειν ἄλλην, αἰνητόμενοι
ἐτεροῦ πολύμορφον καὶ πολύγονον τῆς ἀθανάτου κακίας
15 δυσάλωτον γένος. μηδὲν οὖν ἐν ἀπο-

1 mss. iέται.
2 Wend. suggests the insertion of al ἐπιθυμίαι, ἀλλὰ πολε-
μοῦσιν ἀλλήλαισ. But see note on opposite page.
3 mss. περὶ.

a Some more neutral word or phrase is required rather

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give in is led by Joseph, for he is one who does not indeed take no account of the excellences of the soul, but is thoughtful for the well-being of the body also, and has a keen desire to be well off in outward things; and he is naturally drawn in different directions since he has set before him many ends in life, and as he experiences one counter-attraction after another, he is shaken this way and that and can never attain to fixity. For indeed our aims do not rest in peace like cities under a treaty, but engage in war and deliver attacks and counter-attacks, in turn winning victory and suffering defeat. For at times the appetite flows strongly to wealth and reputation and completely masters the interests of body and soul, and then again is met and driven back by an opposing force, and vanquished by both or one of them. In the same way the pleasures of the body descend upon us in gathered force like a cataract deluging and obliterating one after another all the things of the mind; and then, after no long interval, Wisdom with strong and vehement counterblast both slackens the impetus of pleasures and mitigates in general all the appetites and ambitions which the bodily senses kindle in us. Such is the cycle of unceasing warfare ever revolving round the many-sided soul; for, when one foe has been laid low, another yet mightier is sure to spring up, after the fashion of the many-headed Hydra; for we are told that on it another head grew to take the place of that which had been cut off; and this is a figurative way of teaching how hard it is to vanquish undying vice so varied in its form, so varied in its offspring. Do not, then, than Wend.'s έπιθυμίαι, e.g. σπουδαί. The combat is not between the lusts, but between soul, body, and external interests.
κρίνας ποτὲ προς * * * τῷ Ἰωσήφ, ἀλλ’ ἵσθι ὅτι πολυμυγοῦς καὶ κεκραμένης δόξης ἐστὶν εἰκῶν. ἐμφαίνεται γὰρ καὶ τὸ λογικὸν ἐγκρατείας εἶδος, δ' τῆς ἄρρενος γενεᾶς ἐστὶ, κατὰ τὸν πατέρα Ἰακώβ 16 τυπωθέν· ἐμφαίνεται καὶ τὸ ἀλογον 3 αἰσθῆσεως, μητρώω γένει τῷ κατὰ Ἀλεξ. ἐξεικονισθέν· ἐμφαίνεται καὶ τὸ τῆς σωματικῆς ἡδονῆς σπέρμα, δ’ ἀρχισυνθῆσεως ἐνεσφάγμασαν· ἐμφαίνεται καὶ τῷ τῆς κεφαλῆς δόξης, ἐφ’ ἣν ως ἑφ’ ἀρμα διὰ τὸ κοῦφον ἄναβαινε, φυσικοῦς καὶ μετέωρον αἰωρῶν 5 ἑαυτὸν ἐπὶ καθαρέσει ἴσοτητος. 17 III. Ὅ μὲν δὴ τοῦ Ἰωσήφ χαρακτήρ διὰ τῶν εἰρημένων ὑποτυποῦται· τῶν δ’ ὀνειράτων ἐκατερον μὲν ἀκριβωτέον, πρότερον δὲ τὸ περὶ τῶν δραγμάτων ἐρευνητέον. “ὡμην” φησίν “ὁ μας δεσμευειν δράγματα.” τὸ μὲν “ὡμην” εὐθέως ἀδηλοῦντος καὶ ἐνδοιάζοντος καὶ ἀμυδρώς ὑπολαμβανόντος, οὐ παγίως καὶ τηλαυγώς ὀρῶντος, 18 ἀνάφθεγμα 6 ἔστι. τοῖς γὰρ ἐκ βαθέος ὑπνοῦ διανισταμένοι καὶ ἑτὶ ὀνειρώττουσιν ἀρμόττον λέγειν “ὡμην,” οὐχὶ τοῖς ἑγγυαροσι’ παντελῶς καὶ 19 τρανῶς ἐμβλέπουσιν. ἀλλ’ οὐχὶ ὁ ἀσκητὴς Ἰακώβ “ὡμην” ἐρεῖ, ἀλλ’ “ἀδιοῦ κλίμαξ ἐστηριγμενή, ἦς ἱς 662] ή κεφαλή | ἀφικνεῖτο εἰς τὸν οὐρανὸν,” καὶ πάλιν·

1 Here there is a lacuna in A (Wend.’s ms.) of ten to eleven letters, for which he suggests -κλήρου μόνον.
2 MSS. κεκρυμμένης.
3 MSS. λογικών.
4 MSS. καινῆς.
5 MSS. ἐώρων.
6 ἀνάφθεγμα. Wend. suspected this word, which is not noted in Stephanus, nor the old L. & S. But ἀνάφθεγμα is well supported and ἀνάφθεγμα itself is quoted in L. & S. 1927 from Philodemus as well as from here.
7 MSS. ἑγγυαροσι’.
ON DREAMS, II. 15–19

select any single thing (and regard it) as Joseph’s sole portion, but be well assured that he represents Opinion with its vast medley of ingredients. For there is manifest in him, on the one hand, the rational strain of self-control, which is of the masculine family, fashioned after his father Jacob: manifest, again, is the irrational strain of sense-perception, assimilated to what he derives from his mother, the part of him that is of the Rachel type: manifest also is the breed of bodily pleasure, impressed on him by association with chief butlers and chief bakers and chief cooks: manifest too is the element of vanity, on to which as on to a chariot his empty-headedness makes him mount up, when (Gen. xli. 43) puffed with pride he lifts himself aloft to overthrow equality from its seat.

III. In what we have said so far we have been giving a rough sketch of Joseph’s character. We must now consider in detail each of his dreams. And the one which must be examined first is the one concerning the sheaves. “Methought,” says he, “that we were binding sheaves” (Gen. xxxvii. 7). The very first word, “methought,” is the utterance of one at a loss, hesitating, dimly supposing, not seeing steadily and distinctly. For “methought” is a word which becomes those waking up out of deep sleep and still in dreamland, not those who are thoroughly awake and see things clearly. You will not find the Practiser Jacob saying “methought,” but “behold a stairway firmly fixed, whose top reached to heaven” (Gen. xxviii. 12), and again “at
"ήνικα ἐνεκόσσων τὰ πρόβατα, εἶδον τοῖς ὀφθαλμοῖς αὐτὰ ἐν τῷ ὑπνῷ, καὶ ἵνα ὁ τράγος καὶ οἱ κριοὶ ἀνέβαινον ἐπὶ τὰ πρόβατα καὶ τὰς ἁγιας, διάλευκοι καὶ ποικίλοι καὶ σποδοειδεῖς βαντοί."  

20 τῶν γὰρ τὸ καλὸν δ' ἐστιν ὁ πρὸς εἰρήτων νομιζόντων καὶ τὰς ὑπνοὺς φαντασίας εἰλικρινεστέρας καὶ καθαρωτέρας ἡ ἀνάγκη εἶναι συμβέβηκεν, ὡσπερ καὶ τὰς μεθ' ἕμερας δοκιμωτέρας πράξεις.

21 IV. "Αγαμαι δ', ὅταν ἀκοῦω τοῦ διηγουμένου τὸ ὄναρ, ὅτι ὑπέλαβε δράγματα καταδείν, οὐ θερίζειν. ἐκείνο μὲν ἰδιωτῶν καὶ ὑπηρετῶν ἔργον, τοῦτο δ' ἣγεμόνων καὶ γεωργίας ἐμπειροτάτων τὸ ἐπιτήδευμα. τὸ γὰρ δύνασθαι διακρίνειν σκυβάλων ἀναγκαῖα καὶ τρόφιμα μὴ τροφίμων καὶ νόθων γνήσια καὶ ἰσοφέλους δίοις καρπῶν ὑφελιμμάτων, μὴ ἐν οἷς ἡ γῆ ἐπιβαλλόντος μᾶλλον ή' 22 διάνοια φύει, τελειοτάτης ἀρετῆς ἐστιν. ὁ γοῦν ἰέρος λόγου τοὺς ὀρῶνες εἰσάχει θερίζοντας καί, τὸ παραδοξότατον, οὐ κριθάς ή πυροῦς, ἀλλὰ τὸν θερισμὸν αὐτὸν ἐκθερίζοντα: λέγεται οὖν "ὁταν θερίζητε τὸν θερισμὸν ὑμῶν, οὐ συντελέσετε τὸ λοιπὸν τοῦ θερισμοῦ." βούλεται γὰρ τὸν ἀστεῖον οὐ μόνον κρίτην εἶναι τῶν διαφερόντων, <διακρίνοντα> καὶ διαστέλλοντα <τὰ> ἡ ἄνω καὶ τὰ γεννώμενα, ἀλλὰ καὶ αὐτὸ τὸ δύνασθαι διακρίνειν δοκεῖν ἀναφεῖν, ἀμώντα τὸν ἁμητὸν καὶ τὴν ἰδίαν ἐπιβολὴν ἀποτέμνοντα διὰ τὸ καὶ πεποιθέναι καὶ Μωυσεῖ λέγοντι πιστεύειν, ὅτι "μόνον τοῦ θεοῦ ἡ κρίσις ἔστι," παρ' ὅν αἱ συγκρίσεις

1 Perhaps μᾶλλον ἡ <ἀ ἡ> διάνοια.  
2 <τὰ> my insertion.  
3 So Mangey: mss. and Wend. ἐπιβολὴν. For ἰδίᾳ ἐπιβολὴν cf. De Som. i. 1.
the time that the sheep conceived, I saw them with my eyes in my sleep, and behold the he-goats and the rams leaped upon the sheep and the goats wholly white, and streaked, and sprinkled as though with ashes" (Gen. xxxi. 10, 11). For the very visions seen in their sleep are of necessity clearer and purer in the case of those who deem the morally beautiful eligible for its own sake, even as their doings by day are bound to be more worthy of approbation.

IV. Now, when I listen to him who is telling the dreams I marvel at his deeming that they were tying up sheaves, not reaping them. The former is the work of unskilled underlings, the latter the business of masters and of those thoroughly well versed in farm work. For the power to distinguish necessaries of life from refuse, and plants which supply nourishment from those which do not, and genuine from spurious, and a highly profitable fruitage from a root that is devoid of profit, in things yielded by the understanding, not in those which the soil puts forth, is a mark of consummate excellence. So the sacred story represents those whose eyes are open as reaping, and, what is most unexpected, not reaping barley or wheat but reaping out the reaping itself: accordingly it is said "When ye reap your reaping, ye shall not finish that which remains of the reaping" (Lev. xix. 9). For the lawgiver wishes the virtuous man to be not only a judge of things that differ, distinguishing and separating things which produce and their productions, but to do away with the very conceit that he has the power to distinguish, mowing the very mowing and cutting away the workings of his own mind, in obedience to and belief in Moses' saying that "judgement belongs to God only" (Deut. i. 17),
καὶ αἱ διακρίσεις τῶν ἀπάντων. ὡφ' οὖ καλὸν ὠμολογεῖν ἡττᾶσθαι καὶ τῆς ἀοιδῆς νίκης εἰ-25 κλέεστερον. ὁμοιὸν ἔστι τῷ τὸν θερισμὸν θερίζειν τὸ δίς περιτέμνειν, ὅπερ ὄσ ὅτε ἐκκαίνουργήσεν ἐξευρών περιτομῆς περιτομῆν, τὴν "ἄγνειαν ἀφαγνίζεσθαι, 2" τὴν κάθαρον τῆς ψυχῆς αὐτῆς καθαίρεσθαι, παραχωροῦντας τῷ θεῷ τὸ φαινόμενον καὶ μηδέποτε νομίζοντας ἵκανον εἶναι έαυτοὺς ἄνευ θείας ἐπιφροσύνης τὸν κηλίδων ἀνάμεστον ἐκνίψασθαι καὶ ἀπολούσασθαι βίον.
26 ταύτης ἔστι τῆς συγγενείας καὶ τὸ διπλοῦν στῆλαιον, αἱ διπλαὶ καὶ περιμάχητοι μνήμαι, ἤ τε περὶ τοῦ γεγονότος καὶ ἤ περὶ τοῦ πεποιηκότος, αἷς ἐν-τρέφεται ὁ ἀστείος, θεωρών μὲν τὰ ἐν κόσμῳ, φιλο-πευτῶν δὲ καὶ περὶ τοῦ γεγονότος πατρὸς. 27 ἀφ' ὧν οἴμαι καὶ τὴν ἐν μουσική δῖς διὰ πασῶν εὑρεθήναι συμφωνίαν ἐδείγαρ καὶ τὸ ἔργον καὶ τὸν δημιουργόν τελειοτάταις μελωδίαις εὐδαιμονί-28 ξεσθαὶ δυσών, οὐχὶ ταῖς αὐταῖς. ἐπειδὴ γὰρ τὰ [663] ὑμνοῦμεν | διέφερεν, ἀναγκαῖον καὶ τὰς μελωδίας καὶ συμφωνίας διακεκρίσας, τὴν μὲν συνημμένην ἀπονέμοντας, τῷ συνημμένῳ καὶ ἕκ διαφερόντων

1 Wend. suggests ὅπερ ὡσαίτως: perhaps ὅσπερ ποτὲ.
2 mss. ἀφαγνίζεσθαι.
3 mss. ἐκμίμει καὶ ἀπολούσαι.
4 So mss.: Wend. γνώμαι. See note a below.
5 Mangey ἀπονέμοντα: Wend. conjectures ἀπονέμοντος <τοῦ λόγου> or perhaps <τοῦ λόγου>? I can see no construction for either -τα or -τας.

α Memories (μνήμαι), a quite intelligible word, though in itself less natural than judgements or opinions (γνώμαι), is, I believe, right. Cf. De Post. 62, where after speaking of the "double cave" (ixx for Machpelah) he says ἤ Χεβρῶν αὕτη, μνήμας ἐπιστήμης καὶ σοφίας θησαυροφυλακοῦσα. The thought is 454.
ON DREAMS, II. 24–28

with Whom in all matters comparisons and distinctions rest: to acknowledge defeat at whose hands is a noble thing and more glorious than far-famed victory. Like the “reaping the reaping” is the two-fold circumcision, which we meet with in such a case as that of the lawgiver devising as a new practice a circumcision of circumcision (Gen. xvii. 13), or “the consecration of a consecration” (Num. vi. 2), that is, the purification of the very purification of the soul, when we yield to God the prerogative of making bright and clean, and never entertain the thought that we ourselves are sufficient apart from the divine overseeing guidance to cleanse our life and remove from it the defilements with which it abounds. To this class belongs also the “double cave” (Gen. xxiii. 9), that pair of precious memories concerned, one with all that has come into being, the other with Him who has made it. These constitute the nurture of the man of worth, for whom all things in the universe are objects of contemplation, and who loves to inquire also concerning the Father who brought them into being. I imagine that the discovery of the double diapason in music is to be traced to this same pair. For both the work and its Fashioner must needs be celebrated by two quite perfect melodies, not the same in each case. For since the themes of praise were different it was necessary for the corresponding musical harmonies to be distinct also, the conjunct assigned to the conjunct universe, compacted as it is of different perhaps drawn from the word μνημεῖον applied to the cave in Gen. xxiii. 6. For the favourable way in which duality is regarded in these sections, contrasted with that in § 70, see note ad loc., App. p. 608.

See App. pp. 606 f.
PHILO

ἀρμοσθέντι κόσμῳ, τὴν δὲ διεζευγμένην τῶν πάσης
genéseos διεζευγμένω κατὰ τὴν οὐσίαν θεό.

29 γνώμην δὲ ἀποφαίνεται πάλιν ὁ ἱεροφάντης φιλ-
άρετον λέγων: "οὐ συντελέσετε1 τὸ λοιπὸν τοῦ
θερισμοῦ," μεμνημένος τῆς ἐξ ἀρχῆς ὑποθέσεως,
καθ’ ἣν ὤμολόγει "τὸ τέλος εἶναι κυρίου," παρ’
δὲν τὸ2 κύρος καὶ ἡ τούτων βεβαιωσίς ἐστιν.

30 ἀλλὰ γὰρ ὁ τοῦ θερίζειν ἀμύητος
αὐχεὶ λέγων3: "ἐὰν ἡ ἐθέρισα καταδείξω σὺν
έτεροις δράγμαται," καὶ οὐκ ἐλογίσατο παρ’ ἔαντῳ,
ὅτι δουλών καὶ ἀνεπιστημόνων ἢδὲ ἐστὶν ὑπηρεσία,
καθὰ καὶ μικρὸν πρότερον ἔπον.

31 Δράγματα δ’ ἄλληγοροῦντες φάμεν εἶναι πράγ-
ματα, ὃν ἐκατόστοι ὡς οἰκείας τροφῆς ἐπιδράττεται,
ἐν ἣ ἔξησθαι καὶ βιώσεσθαι τὸν αἰώνα ἐλπίζει.

32 Β. μυρίαι μὲν οὖν τῶν δραγμάτων, λέγω δὴ τῶν
ὁσανεὶ τρεφόντων πραγμάτων, διαφορά, μυρίαι
dὲ καὶ τῶν ἐπιδρατομένων καὶ αἱρομένων τὰ
δράγματα, ὡς ἀπάσας οὔτ’ εἰπεῖν οὔτ’ ἐπινοῆσαι
dυνατον’ τινὰς δ’ οὐκ ἀτοπον δείγματος ἐνέκα
ἔρμηνεδαι, ὥν καὶ τὸ ὄνομα δηνοὐμένον ἐπεμενήσθη.

33 φησὶ γὰρ τοῖς ἀδελφοῖς: "ἐὰν ἡμᾶς ἃς δεσμεύεσθε
δράγματα." ἀδελφοὶ δ’ εἰδίν ὀμοπάτριοι μὲν
dέκα, ὀμογάστριος δὲ εἰς· ἐκάστοι τοῦ
tοῦ τοῦνομα σύμβολον ἀναγκαιοτάτον πράγματός ἐστι,

1 mss. συντελέσαι. 2 mss. παρὸντος. 3 mss. λέγειν.

a Or perhaps better "you will not," i.e. Philo, as else-
where, understands the indicative (ἀποφαίνεται), to lay down
a spiritual fact rather than a command. See note on De
Som. i. 101, and references there given. The section has
perhaps no connexion of thought with the preceding. His
456
parts, the disjunct reserved for Him Who is in virtue of His existence disjunct from all creation, even God. There is again a statement breathing love of virtue expressed in the words of the Sacred Guide, "Ye shall not make an end of what remains of the reaping" (Lev. xix. 9), for he does not forget the principle with which he set out, acknowledging that "the end is the Lord's" (Num. xxxi. 28 ff.), with whom rests the lordship and establishment of these things. But in fact the man who has never learned the mysteries of reaping vaunts him saying, "Methought I was in company with others binding sheaves which I had not reaped" (Gen. xxxvii. 7), and failed, as I pointed out a little while ago, to take into account that this is a service performed by unskilled slaves.

When we assign to words their figurative meaning we say that sheaves are "doings" which each of us grasps with the hand as his proper nourishment, hoping that he will find life and occupation therein for ever. V. Now, the varieties of the sheaves, that is to say of the doings which may be called our nourishment, are so countless, so countless also the various sorts of men who lay hold of and make choice of the sheaves, that it is impossible to recount or even to conceive of them all. It may not, however, be out of place to instance some of these varieties which are introduced in his story of his dream. For he says to his brothers, "Methought we were binding sheaves" (l.c.). Brothers he has ten who are sons of the same father as he, one who is son of the same mother; and the name of each of them is the symbol of a most point in quoting the text lay in the first part "reap the reaping," but as usual he is drawn into making some comment on the rest of the verse.
PHILO

Ῥουβήν μὲν εὐφυίας—νίδος γὰρ ὀρῶν καλεῖται, ἂν μὲν νῖδος, οὐ τέλεος, ἂν δὲ ὁρατικὸς καὶ ὦκεν καθορῶν,

34 εὐφυής,—μαθήσεως δὲ Σωμεών—εἰσακοὴ γὰρ ἐρμηνεύεται,—ἐνεργείων δὲ καὶ πράξεων ὀπουδαίων καὶ λειτουργιῶν ἀγίων Δευτ, τῶν δὲ εἰς θεὸν ὄφων τε καὶ ύμνων Ἰουδα, Ἰσσαχαρ δὲ μυσθῶν, οὐ ἐπ’ ἐργοὶς καλοῖς ἀποδιδοῦντα—τάχα δ’ αὐτὰ τὰ ἔργα ὁ τέλεος μυσθὸς Ἰν,—Ζαβουλῶν δὲ φωτός, ἐπειδὴ ρύσις

35 διακρίσεως δὲ καὶ τομῆς3 πραγμάτων Δάν, ἐπιθέσεως δὲ καὶ ἀντεπιθέσεως πειρατικῆς Γάδ, Ἀσῆρ δὲ τοῦ φυσικοῦ4 πλοῦτου—μακαρισμὸς γὰρ ἐρμηνεύεται, ἐπειδὴ μακάριον κτήμα νενόμισται

36 πλοῦτος,—εἰρήνης δὲ Νεφθαλείμ—διανοίγεται (γάρ) καὶ εὐρύνεται πάντα εἰρήνη, ὡς συγκλείεται [664] | πολέμω. τὸ δὲ ὀνόμα μεταληφθὲν πλατυσμὸς ἢ διανεφγεμένον ἐστὶ,—Βενιαμῖν δὲ τοῦ νέου καὶ γέροντος χρόνου. λέγεται γὰρ ἐρμηνευθεῖς νίδος ἡμερῶν5 εἶναι, ἡμέρας δὲ καὶ νυκτὸς ὁ νέος ὁμοῦ καὶ γέρων αἰῶν6 ἀναμετρεῖται.

37 Ἐπιδράττεται γοῦν ἑκαστὸς τῶν οἰκείων καὶ ἐπιδραζόμενος τὰ μέρη πάντα συνδεῖ. ὁ μὲν εὐφυὴς εὐθυξίας, ἐπιμονῆς, μνήμης, ἐν οἷς ἡ εὐφυία: ὁ δὲ εὐμαθὴς ἀκροάσεως, ἡσυχίας, προσοχῆς: ὁ δὲ ἐγχειρητὴς [τῆς] θαρραλεότητος, παρα-

38 κεκυνδυμενής εὐτολμίας: ὁ δὲ εὐχάριστος ἐπαι-

1 ἐπιδιδοῦντα.
2 mss. φύσις.
3 mss. τροπής.
4 mss. ψυχικοῦ.
5 mss. ἡμῶν.
6 mss. αἰῶνα.
essential "doing." "Reuben" is the symbol of good natural endowments, for "seeing son" he is called, in so far as he is a son not perfect, but in so far as he is a man with power to see and keenness of vision, well endowed by nature. Symeon, which means "diligent listening," is the symbol of aptness to learn; Levi of excellent activities and practices and sacred ministries; Judah of songs and hymns addressed to God; Issachar of rewards rendered as recompense for noble deeds, the deeds themselves, it may be, constituting the perfect reward; Zabulon of light, since he is named "night's flowing," and when night fails and flows away, light of necessity dawns; of distinguishing and analysing matters Dan is the symbol; Gad of piratical attack and counter-attack; Asher, whose name signifies "felicitation," symbolizes natural wealth, which has the reputation of being a possession conferring felicity; Naphthali's name denotes a "broadening" or "flung wide open," and so he is a symbol of peace, by which all things are opened out and given width, just as they are shut in by war. Benjamin is a symbol of time, both that of youth and that of old age, for his name is said to mean "son of days," and youth and old age are alike measured by days and nights.

Thus each one of them grasps the sheaves that are proper to him, and when he has grasped them binds all these parts together. The man well endowed by nature grasps quickness of apprehension, persistence, goodness of memory, the qualities in which excellence of natural endowment shows itself; the apt learner grasps listening, silence, attention; the enterprising man, venturesomeness and courage ready to take risks; the man of thanksgiving takes
nων, ἐγκωμίων, ὑμνών, εὐδαιμονισμῶν κατά τε τὸ λέγειν καὶ τὸ ἄδειν· ὃ δὲ μισθῶν ἐφιέμενος ἀόκνου συνεχείας, τλητικωτάτης καρτερίας καὶ ἐπιμελείας σὺν εὐκαταφροντίστῳ ταχυτήτι· ὃ δὲ φώς ἀντὶ σκότους μεταδιώκων ἐγχύργορσεως, ὑπωτίας· ὃ δὲ τομῆς καὶ διακρίσεως πραγμάτων ζηλωτῆς λόγων ἱκονικείων, τοῦ μὴ ύφ᾽ ὦμοιών ὡς τῶν αὐτῶν ἀπατάσθαι, τοῦ μὴ πρὸς χάριν, τοῦ ἀδεκάστου· ὃ δὲ πειρατικώτερον ἐνεδρεύων τοὺς ἀντιλοχῶντας ἀπάτης, φενακισμοῦ, γοητείας, σοφισμάτων, προσποιήσεως, ὕποκρίσεως, ἀπερ εξ έαυτῶν ψεκτὰ ὡντα κατ᾽ ἐχθρῶν γινόμενα ἐπανεῖται· ὃ δὲ πλούτων τὸν φύσεως πλοῦτον ἐπιτυδεύων ἐγκρατείας, ὀλυγοδείας· ὃ δὲ εἰρήνης ἔρων εὐνομίας, εὐδικίας, ἀτυφίας, ἱσότητος. VI. ἐκ τούτων τὰ τῶν ὀμοπατρίων ἀδελφῶν δράγματα καταδείται, τὰ ὃ δὲ τοῦ ὀμογαστρίου εξ ἡμερῶν καὶ χρόνου, τῶν οὐδενῶς αἰτίων ὡς ἀπάντων αἰτίων.

αὐτὸς δὲ ὃ ένυπνιαστὴς καὶ ονειροπόλος—ἡ γὰρ ἀμφότερα—τῆς κενῆς δόξης ὡς μεγίστου καὶ λαμπροστάτου καὶ βιωφελεστάτου κτήματος ἐπι-δράττεται. διὸ πρῶτον μὲν ἀπ᾽ οὐειράτων, ἅνυκτί φίλα, τῷ βασιλεί τῆς σωματικῆς χώρας γνωρίζεται, οὐκ ἀπὸ πραγμάτων τηλαυγῶν ἐναρ-γείας, ὃ πρὸς ἐπίδειξιν ἡμέρας δεῖται.

ἐἰτ' ἐπίτροπος ἡ κηδεμῶν Αἰγύπτου πάσης ἀνα-

1 So mss. Wend. ἀνανταγωνίστω. See App. p. 607.
2 mss. εὐδοκίας.
3 mss. του.
4 mss. ἐνεργείας.

a i.e. everything happens in time, but is not caused by it. Wend.'s proposed emendation τῶν ὃ' οὖδενῶς αἰτίων, ὡν ὃ'
hold of commendations, eulogies, odes, panegyrics both in speech and song; the man who is bent on rewards, lays his hand on unflinching assiduity, fortitude that never gives in, and the carefulness in which speed is combined with caution; he who is in pursuit of light replacing darkness grasps wakefulness and keen-sightedness; the man who aims at analysis and accurate distinctions, lays hold of keen-edged arguments, of power to resist the delusion of confusing likeness and identity, of impartiality, of integrity; he who pirate-like counters ambush by ambush grasps trickery, quackery, sorcery, fallacies, pretence, feigning, practices which are in themselves reprehensible but when resorted to in dealing with enemies are belauded; he that makes it his object to be rich in nature's riches, will lay his hands on self-control and parsimony; the lover of peace on good order, just dealing, freedom from arrogance, equality.

VI. These are the constituent parts of the sheaves bound by the brothers of the dreamer, sons of the same father as he, while the sheaf of his uterine brother is made up of days and time, cause of nothing as cause of everything. a The dreamer himself, interpreter of dreams to boot, lays hold of vainglory, deeming it a possession of highest importance and splendour and advantage to human life. Accordingly it is in the first instance from dreams, things beloved of night, that he becomes known to the sovereign of the land of the body, not from "doings" luminous with the self-evidence of manifest fact, things which need day to exhibit them. The next step is that he is proclaimed procurator or

οὐκ ἄνευ πάντα gives the sense, but is both arbitrary and unnecessary.
κηρύττεται, τοις τιμαῖς τοῦ βασιλέως οἰσόμενος
dευτερεία, ἀπέρ ἦττης καὶ ἀτιμίας ἀφανέστερα
καὶ καταγελαστότερα παρὰ φρονήσει γράφεται
dικαζούσην. "κλοιόν χρυσοῦν,"
ἀγχόνην ἐπιφανῆ, κύκλων καὶ τροχῶν ἀνάγκης
ἀτελευτήτου, περιτίθεται—οὐκ ἀκολουθίαν καὶ τὸ
ἐξῆς ἐν βίῳ καὶ τὸν εἴρμον τῶν τῆς φύσεως πραγ-
[665]μάτων, ὡς ἡ Θάμαρ· οὗ | γὰρ κλοιός, ἄλλα
ὅρμισκος αὐτῆς ὁ κόσμος—καὶ δακτύλιον μέντοι
βασιλικόν, δῶρον <ἀδωρον>, πιστόν ἀπιστον, ἐναν-
tioύμενον τῷ δοθέντι πάλιν τῇ Θάμαρ ὑπὸ τοῦ
45 βασιλέως τοῦ ὀρώντος, Ἰσραήλ, Ἰουδα. δίδωσι
γὰρ οὕτος τῇ ψυχῇ σφραγίδα, πάγκαλον δῶρον,
dικάσκων ότι (ο θεός) ἀσχημάτιστον οὖσαν tήν
τῶν πάνων οὐσίαν ἐσχημάτισε καὶ ἀτύπωτον
ἐπτύπωσε καὶ ἄποιου ἐμόρφωσε καὶ τελειώσας τὸν
οἶλον ἐσφράγισε κόσμον εἰκόνι καὶ ἰδέα, τῷ ἑαυτοῦ
46 λόγῳ.

ἄλλ' ἐκεῖνος γε καὶ ἐπὶ τὸ δευ-
tερείον ἀνεισιν ἀρμά [ἡ] ὑποτυφούμενος ὑπ' αἰώρας
φρενῶν καὶ κενοῦ φυσήματος καὶ σιταρχεί, τῷ
σώματι θησαυροφυλάκων καὶ πανταχόθεν αὐτῷ
πορίζων τὰς τροφὰς· ἐπιτειχισμὸς δὲ κατὰ τῆς
47 ψυχῆς βαρύς οὕτος ἐστὶ. τῇ δὲ προαιρέσει καὶ
ζηλούσε τοῦ βίου μαρτυρεῖ καὶ τούτων οὖν
ήμιστα· πρόσθεσι γὰρ Ἰωσήφ ἐρμηνευέται. κενὴ
dὲ δόξα προστίθησιν ἢ ἐκ τῆς νόσου,

1 mss. περιτιθέναι.
3 mss. αὐτῆς: Mangey αὐ τῇ.
4 mss. τε.

α Or "cord," cf. De Fug. 150, De Mut. 135. The interpretation of the ὅρμισκος given here combines the two different interpretations given in those passages. See note on De Fuga 150.
ON DREAMS, II. 43–47

protector of all Egypt, to stand second only to the sovereign in the signs of honour shewn to him, a position set down as more insignificant and absurd in wisdom's judgement than the infliction of indignity and defeat. In the next place he puts 44 round his neck "a golden collar" (Gen. xli. 41 f.), a manifest halter, a circlet and hoop of unending necessity, not a life of orderly sequence, not the chain which marks Nature's doings: these are properties of Tamar, whose adornment is not a collar but a necklace a (Gen. xxxviii. 18). Yes, and he puts on his finger a royal ring (Gen. xli. 42), a gift and pledge, by which nothing is given, nothing pledged, in sharp contrast once more to that which was given to Tamar by Judah, king of the nation that sees, even Israel. For this king gives the soul a seal (Gen. 45 xxxviii. 18), a gift all-beauteous, by which he teaches it that when the substance of the universe was without shape and figure God gave it these; when it had no definite character God moulded it into definiteness, and, when He had perfected it, stamped the entire universe with His image and an ideal form, even His own Word. b

To go back to Joseph. 46 He mounts the second chariot (Gen. xli. 43), elated by mental dizziness and empty conceit, and becomes the victualler (ibid. 48) and keeper of the body's treasuries, providing food for it from all quarters: and thus threatens serious danger to the soul. Not 47 the least significant testimony to his principle and ambition for life is his name. "Joseph" means an "adding," and vainglory is always making additions. To what is genuine it adds what is counterfeit, to

b Cf. De Mut. 135. For the distinction between εἰκών and ιδέα see App. p. 607.
οἰκεῖος δὲ τὸ ἄλλοτριον, ἀληθείας, αὐτάρκει δὲ τὸ πλεονάζων, ζωῆς δὲ θρύψην, βίω δὲ τύφουν.

48 VII. Τί δ’ ἔστιν ὁ βουλόμαι δηλοῦν, σκόπειν. συνόν καὶ ποτόν τρεφόμεθα, κἂν ἤ εὐτελεστάτη μᾶζα καὶ ὕδωρ ναματιαῖον. τί οὖν ἢ κενὴ δόξα προσεπέθηκεν ἀμήτων καὶ μελιπήκτων πεμμάτων γένη μυρία καὶ οίνων ἀμυθήτων πολυέργους καὶ παμποικίους κράσεις πρὸς ἀπόλαυσιν ἱδωρμή μᾶλλον ἢ πρὸς μετουσίαν τροφῆς παρρητυμένας; πάλιν ἥδυσματα πρὸς ἐδωδὴν ἀναγκαία γῆτεια καὶ λάχανα καὶ πολλὰ τῶν ἀκροδρύων καὶ ἐτι τυρῶς καὶ εἰ τί ἄλλο ὅμοιότροπον· εἰ δὲ θέλεις, εἰπὲ σαρκοβόρων ἀνθρώπων ἵχθὺς ἐτι καὶ κρέας πρὸς τούτους γράφομεν. ἢ ὅτι οὖν οὐκ αὐτάρκεις ήν ἀπανθρακίσαντας καὶ αὐτοσχεδίως ὀπτήσαντας πυρὶ τρόπον ἧρωκῶν οὕτως ἀνθρῶν προσφέρεσθαι; ἀλλ’ οὖν ἐπὶ ταύτα ὁ γαστρίμαρχος μόνον ὅρμα, σύμμαχον δὲ τὴν κενὴν δόξαν λαβὼν καὶ τὸ ἐν αὐτῷ ἰχθὺς πάθος ἑγείρας ὑφαρτύτας καὶ τραπεξοποιοῦσι εὐδοκίμους τὴν τέχνην ἀναζητεῖ καὶ περιβλέπεται. οἱ δὲ τὰ κατὰ τῆς ταλαίνης γαστρὸς ἐκ πολλῶν χρόνων ἀνευρημένα δελέατα ἀνακινήσαντες καὶ χυλῶν ἰδιότητας σκευάσαντες τε καὶ διαθέτες ἐν κόσμῳ προσσαίνουσι καὶ τιθεσύουσι γλώτταν· εἰτ’ εὐθὺς ἀγκιστρεύονται τῶν αἰσθήσεων τὴν ἐπιβάθραν, γεῦσι, δι’ ἥς ἄντ’ ἐλευθέρον δοῦλος ἡ δειπνοθήρας οὐκ εἰς μακρὰν ἀνεφάνη.

52 τίς γε μὴν οὖν οἶδεν, ὅτι ἀμπεχόνῃ πρὸς τὰς [666] ἀπὸ κρυμοῦ | καὶ θάλπους ἐγγυνομένας βλάβας τῷ

1 mss. ἀληθείας.
2 mss. τούτων.
what is appropriate what is alien, to what is true what is false, to what is sufficient what is excessive, to vitality debauchery, to life's maintenance vanity.

VII. Mark what it is that I wish to make clear. 48 Food and drink nourishes us, though it be the plainest barley-cake and water from the spring. Why then has vainglory superadded countless sorts of milk cakes and honied pastry and elaborate and diversified blends of innumerable wines highly seasoned with a view to indulgence in pleasure rather than partaking of nourishment? Again, relishes of the simplest kind are onions, greens, many fruits and cheese, and anything else of that kind as well: if you like, we will put down beside these fish and meat in the case of men who are not vegetarians. Would it not, then, 50 have been quite sufficient, after broiling them on the coals or roasting them in a rough and ready way just as real heroes used to do, to eat them? Nay, this is not all that your epicure craves for. Having procured the alliance of vainglory and stirred up the greediness within him he is on the look-out for and hunts up pastry-cooks to dress their food and serve their table, men who are famous masters of their art. These set at work the baits that have been found out ages ago to tempt our miserable belly, and make up and arrange in proper order decoctions of special flavour with which they coax the tongue into subservience: hereupon they forthwith get on to their hook the sense of taste which gives them access to the senses in general: and by means of taste the glutton is quickly revealed as no freeman but a slave. Clothing, as everybody knows, was produced at first to guard against the harm done to

\[ a \text{ See App. p. 607.} \] \[ b \text{ Cf. e.g. II. ix. 211 ff.} \]
σώματι κατεσκευάσθη τὸ πρῶτον; ἀλεξάνεμος
53 μὲν, ὡς οἱ ποιηταὶ ποὺ φασὶ, χειμώνι * * *. 1 τίς
οὖν τὰς πολυτελεῖς ἀλουργίδας, τίς τὰ διαφανῆ καὶ
λεπτὰ θέριστρα, τίς τὰς ἀραχνούφεις ἀμπεχόνας,
tίς τὰ ἐπηθισμένα ἡ βαφαῖς ἡ πλοκαίς διὰ τῶν
βάπτεων ἡ υφαίνει ποικίλα ἐπισταμένων καὶ τὴν ἐν
ξωγραφίᾳ μύησιν παρευμεροῦντων δαιδαλεύεται;
tίς; οὐχ ἢ κενὴ δόξα;

VIII. ἄλλα μὴν καὶ οἰκίας διὰ τὰς αὐτὰς ἐδέχεσεν
ἡμῖν αἰτίας, καὶ ὅπως μὴ πρὸς θηρίων ἢ θηριωδες-
tάτων2 τὰς φύσεις ἀνθρώπων ἐπιτρέχοντων βλαπτώ-
μεθα. τί σὰν τὰ μὲν ἔδαφον καὶ τοὺς τοῖχους
πολυτελέσι λίθοις διακοσμοῦμεν; τί δὲ Ἀσίαν
καὶ Λιβύην καὶ πάσαν Εὐρώπην καὶ τὰς νῆσους
ἐπερχόμεθα, κίονας ἀριστίνδην ἐπιπελεγμένους καὶ
55 ἐπιστυλίδας ἐρευνώντες; τί δὲ περὶ Δωρίους καὶ
Ἰωνικὰς καὶ Κορινθιακὰς γλυφὰς καὶ οσὰ3 οἱ
ἐντρυφώντες (τοῖς καθεστ)ώσι4 νόμοι προσεξεύρον
σπουδάζομεν τε καὶ φιλοτιμούμεθα, κιονόκρανα
κοσμοῦντες; τί δὲ χρυσορόφους ἀνδρῶνας καὶ
κυναικωνίτιδας κατασκευάζομεν; ἃρ' οὖ διὰ τὴν
56 γενήν δόξαν;
καὶ μὴν πρὸς γε ὑπὸν μαλακὸν μὲν ἔδαφος αὐταρκεὶ ἢν—ἐπεὶ καὶ μέχρι
νῦν τοὺς Γυμνοσοφιστὰς παρ’ Ἰνδοῖς χαμενεῖν ἐκ
παλαιῶν ἑθῶν κατέχει λόγος,—εἰ δὲ μὴ, στιβᾶς
γοῦν (ἡ)5 ἐκ λίθων λογάδων ἡ ξύλων εὐτελῶν
57 πεποιημένη κλίνη. ἄλλα γὰρ ἔλεφαντόποδες τὰ
ἐνήλατα καὶ κλιντήρες ὀστράκων πολυτελέσι καὶ

1 Lacuna of one line: supply e.g. τῷ δὲ θέρει ἀναψύχουσα
as Wend. (or σκιάζουσα?). 2 Perhaps θηριωδεστέρων.
3 mss. δόσου. 4 mss. χώσι. See App. pp. 607 f.
5 (ἡ) my insertion.

a Od. xv. 529.
the body by great cold and heat, "wind-proof," as I think the poets have it, in winter and (cooling in summer). Who, then, is the cunning worker of those costly sea-purples, those light transparent summer gauzes, those spider-web shawls, those costumes dyed or woven into gay colouring by hands expert in producing variety by either art, which outdo the painter's power of imitating nature? Who? I ask. Is it not vainglory? VIII. Once more, we felt the need of a house to live in for the same reasons, and that we may not suffer from the incursions of wild beasts or of men worse than beasts. Why then do we decorate the pavements and walls with costly marbles? Why do we scour Asia and Libya and all Europe and the islands searching for choicest columns and architraves? Why for the adornment of the capitals of our columns do we vie with each other in enthusiasm over Doric and Ionic and Corinthian carvings and other embellishments devised by those who scorn to keep to the established styles? Why do we build men's and women's apartments with golden ceilings? Is it not owing to vainglory?

For sleep, all that was needed was a soft piece of ground (for it is reported that to this very day the Naked Philosophers among the Indians retain their primitive custom of making earth their couch), or, if more was required, a bed of rushes or of unhewn stones or common timber. But in fact beds with ivory legs to their framework are provided, and sofas with costly mother-of-pearl and many-hued

b Or "straw." If ἡ is omitted as in other editions, στιβάς is used as an adjective, for which I have not seen any authority, nor is the meaning clear.
ποικίλαις χελώναις ἐνδεδεμέναις μετὰ πολλῶν πόνων καὶ δαπανημάτων ἐν πολλῷ χρόνῳ κατα-
σκευάζονται, τινὲς δὲ ὀλοάργυροι καὶ ὀλόχρυσοι καὶ
λιθοκόλλητοι στρωμναῖς1 ἀνθηροποικίλοις καὶ χρυ-
σοπάστοις ὡς πρὸς ἐπίδειξιν καὶ πομπῆν, οὔ τιν
καθ' ἡμέραν χρῆσιν, διακεκοσμημένοι,2 ὅν3 δημι-
ουργὸς ἡ κενὴ δόξα. τί δὲ τοῦ ἀπὸ τῆς ἐλαίας
ἐκθλιβομένου καρποῦ πλέον ἔδει ζητεῖν πρὸς ἀλείμ-
ματα; καὶ γὰρ λεαινεὶ καὶ κάματον σώματος λυεὶ
cαὶ εὐσαρκίαν ἐμποιεῖ, κἂν εἰ τι κεχαλασμένον
ἐὕη, σφύγγει πυκνότητι καὶ οὐδενὸς ἠττὸν ἐτέρου
ῥόμην καὶ εὐτοῖον ἔντιθησιν. ἀλλὰ γὰρ ἐπετει-
χίσθη3 τοῖς ὑφελοῦσι τὰ ἡδέα τῆς κενῆς δόξης
ἀλείμματα, εἰς ᾗ καὶ μυρεφώ πονοῦσι καὶ χώ-
ραι μεγάλαι συντελοῦσι, Συρία, Βαβυλών, Ἰνδοὶ,
Σκύθαι, παρ’ οἷς αἱ τῶν ἀρωμάτων γενέσεις εἰσί.
IX. πρὸς γε μὴν τὸ πίνειν τίνος ἔδει
μᾶλλον ἡ τοῦ φύσεως ἐκτύματος ἀκρότητι τέχνης
εἰργασμένον; τὸ δὲ ἐκτύμα αἱ ἡμέτεραι χεῖρες
[667] εἰσιν, ἃς εἰς ταῦτο τις συναγαγὼν καὶ κοιλάνας, εὗ
μάλα τῶν στόματι προσθεῖσ, ἐπιχέοντος ἐτέρου τὸ
ποτὸν οὗ μόνον ἄκος τῆς4 δίψης, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀλεκτον
ἡδονῆν κτάται. εἰ δὲ ἔδει πάντως ἐτέρου, τὸ
γεωργικὸν κισσύβιον οὗ ἰκανὸν ἦν, ἀλλὰ ἄλλων
ἐπιφανῶν τέχνας5 ἀναζητεῖν ἔδει; τὶ δὲ ἀργυρῶν
καὶ χρυσῶν κυλίκων ἀφθόνον πλῆθος κατασκευά-
ζεθαι, εἰ μὴ διὰ τὸν φρυαττόμενον μεγάλα τύφον
καὶ τὴν ἐπ’ αὐώρας φορομένης6 κενῆν δόξαν;

1 mss. στρωμναί and διακεκοσμημέναι: Α άνθηροποικίλοις καὶ
χρυσοπάστοις: Trin. -ois -ois ἔργοις. The text as here printed
is by Mr. Whitaker’s emendation, cf. De Som. i. 123.
2 mss. ὡς.
3 mss. ἀπετειχίσθη.
4 mss. τε.
5 I should prefer to read τέχνας, cf. § 50.
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tortoiseshell inlaid with much toil and outlay of money and expenditure of time. Some are all of silver or all of gold or of mosaic work elaborately furnished with bedding of gold tissue and brocaded with flowers evidently for show and display, not for everyday use. Of these vainglory is the artist.

For unguents what need was there to look for anything more than the fruit-juice pressed from the olive? For indeed it produces smoothness, and counteracts physical exhaustion, and brings about good condition. If a muscle be relaxed it braces it and renders it firm, nor is there anything surpassing it for infusing tone and vigour. But to attack the position of such wholesome kinds vainglory’s delicate unguents were set up. For these great countries where spices grow are laid under contribution, Syria, Babylon, the lands of the Indians and the Scythians; and on these the labour of perfumers is expended.

IX. Again, for drinking what more was needed than Nature’s cup, art’s very masterpiece? Of that cup our hands are the material. Let a man hold them close together and hollow them; then let him carefully lift them to his mouth while someone else pours the water into them. He obtains not only the quenching of his thirst, but pleasure untold. But if a different one must needs have been found, was not the rustic mazer sufficient? Was it necessary to go in search of works of art by other famous artists? Why was it necessary that a lavish quantity of gold and silver goblets should be manufactured save for the sake of vanity, so loud in its insolence, and vainglory swinging so dizzily to and fro?

6 mss. φορουμένης.
οταν καὶ στέφανοῦσθαί τινες ἄξιωσι μὴ δάφνης μηδὲ κιττοῦ, μὴ ᾗων ἡ κρίνων ἡ ῥόδου ἡ θαλλοῦ συνόλως ἡ τινος· ἄνθους ευώδει στεφάνως παρελθόντες τὰ θεοῦ δῶρα, ἀ διὰ τῶν ἐτησίων ὁρῶν ἀναδίδωσι, χρυσοῦς ῥήτορον κεφαλῆς, βαρύτατον ἄχθος, αἰωρωσὶν ἐν ἀγοραί μέση καὶ πληθούσῃ χωρὶς αἵδους, ἀλλὰ τι νομιστέον ἢ ὅτι κενῆς δόξης εἰσὶ δούλοι, φάσκοντες οὐκ ἐλεύθεροι μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ πολλῶν ἀλλων ἠγεμόνες εἶναι;

Ἕπιλείφει μὲ ἡ ἡμέρα τὰς διαφθορὰς τοῦ ἀνθρωπεῖον βίου διεξόντα. καὶ τοῖ δεῖ μακρηγορεῖν; τίς γὰρ αὐτῶν ἄνήκοος ἐστὶ, τίς δὲ οὐ θεατής; τίς μὲν οὖν τι τριβῶν καὶ θάς; ὥστε παγκάλως προσθήκην τὸν ἀτυφίας μὲν ἕχθρόν, τύφων οὔ ἐταίρον ωνόμασεν ὁ ἱερός λόγος. καθάπερ γὰρ τοῖς δένδρεσιν ἐπιφύονται βλάσται περισσαῖ, μεγάλοι τῶν γνησίων λάβαι, ἃς καθαίρουσι καὶ ἀποτέμνουσι προνοία πᾶν ἀναγκαῖοι οἱ γεωργοῦσι, ότω τῷ ἀλήθει καὶ ἀτύφω βίῳ παρανεβλαστεῖ οἱ κατεφευρεσμένοι καὶ τετυφωμένοι, οὐ μέχρι ταύτης τῆς ἡμέρας οὐδεὶς εὑρηταί γεωργὸς δὲ τὴν βλαβερὰν ἐπιφύουσα αὐταῖς βίως ἄπεκοψε. τοιγαροῦν εἰδότες οἱ φρονήσεως ἀσκηταὶ τὸ κατάπλειστον τοῦτον ἀνικρυς ἐκβοώσΐ· "θηρίον πονηρόν ἔρπασε καὶ κατέφαγεν Ἰωσηφ. ὁ θηρίον ἐξηγηρωμένον ὃν ὁ πολυπλοκῶτατος τῶν πεφυρμένων

1 MSS. εἰ τινος. 2 MSS. πλήθους. 3 MSS. ἄτε. 4 MSS. διαφορᾶς. 5 MSS. θάς. 6 MSS. ἐταίρον. 7 MSS. κατάπλειστον.

a The common phrase for the forenoon, e.g. Plat. Gorg. 469 d. 470
When, again, we see people wanting to be crowned not with a garland of laurel or ivy, not with a sweet-smelling wreath of violets or lilies or roses or olive or any flower at all, but passing by God’s gifts, which He distributes as the seasons of the year run their course; when they poise over their head golden wreaths, a grievous weight, without any shame in mid-market at the hour when it is full, what else can we think of them than that they are slaves of vainglory, though they assert that they are not only free, but actually lords and rulers of many others?

The day will pass before I have given the sum of the corruptions of human life, and indeed why need we dwell at length upon them? For who has not heard, who has not seen them? Indeed who is not conversant and familiar with them? And therefore the Holy Word did well in giving the name of Addition to one who was the enemy of simplicity and the friend of vanity. For just as we find on trees, to the great damage of the genuine growth, superfluities which the husbandmen purge and cut away to provide for their necessities, so the true and simple life has for its parasite the life of falsity and vanity, for which no husbandman has hitherto been found to excise the mischievous overgrowth, root and all. And so the practisers of sound sense, perceiving that Joseph first with his senses, and afterwards with his understanding, pursues this way of artificiality, cry out-right, “An evil beast has seized and devoured him” (Gen. xxxvii. 33). And indeed this life of confused mankind, so full of complications, of vain inventions,

—That in the history this statement is a falsehood makes no difference to Philo’s exegesis. Cf. De Mig. 21 and note.
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ἄνθρωπων τυφοπλαστηθεῖς βίος, οὗ πλεονεξία καὶ
πανουργία σοφαὶ δημιουργοῖ, τοὺς προσιόντας
ἀπαντᾶς εὐωχεῖται; τοιγάρτοι καὶ ἐτι
ζῶσιν αὐτοῖς ὡς νεκροῖς προτεθῆσεται1 πένθος,
ἀξία προσαντιον πανουργία καὶ θρήνων καρποῦμένοις ζωῆν,
ἐπεὶ καὶ Ἡλεκῶβ τὸν Ἰωσῆφ ἐτι ζῶντα πενθεῖ.

67 ἀλλ' οὖ Μωυσῆς ἑάσει τοὺς περὶ Ναδὰβ2 ἱεροὺς
λόγους πενθεῖσθαι: οὗ γὰρ ὑπ’ ἀγρίου πονηροῦ
θηροῦ ἀρπασθέντες, ἀλλ’ ὑπὸ μιθῆς ἀσβέστου καὶ
ἀθανάτου φέγγους ἀνελήθησαν, ὅτι τὴν ἐνθερμοῦ
καὶ διάπυρον καὶ σαρκῆς ἀναλωτικὴν καὶ ὀξυ-
κάνητον πρὸς τὴν3 | εὔσεβείαν ἑπείκεια, ἣ γενέσεως
μὲν ἐστὶν ἀλλοτρία, θεοῦ δὲ οἰκεία, τὸν μελλητὴν
ὀκνὸν ἐκποδών ἀνελόντες, εὐαγῶς καθιέρωσαν, οὗ
ἀναβαθμὸς ἐπὶ τῶν βωμῶν ἐλθόντες—ἀπείρητα
γὰρ νόμῳ,—ἀλλὰ δεξιῶ πνεύματι ἐπουρίσαντες5
καὶ ἀχρὶ τῶν οὐρανῶν περιόδων παραπεμφθέντες,
θυσίας ὀλοκαύτου καὶ ὀλοκάρπου τρόπον εἰς αἰθε-
ρίους αὐγὰς ἀναλυθέντες.

68 Χ. Ἀποκοπτεῖον οὖν, ὥς ψυχὴ πειθαρχοῦσα τῷ
διδάσκοντι, τὴν σεαυτῆς χείρα καὶ δύναμιν, ἐπειδὴ
ἀρέχηται τῶν γεννητικῶν ἢ γενέσεως ἢ ἀνθρωπεῶν
69 σπουδασμάτων ἐπιλαμβάνεσθαι. πολλάκις γὰρ ὅφ’
* * *6 προσαψαμένη7 τῶν διδύμων χείρα ἀπο-

1 MSS. προστεθησεται.
2 MSS. Ἀδὰμ.
3 MSS. τε.
4 MSS. μὲν δή.
5 MSS. ἐπουρίσαντες.
6 Perhaps ὅψηγεῖται τὴν. 
7 MSS. προσαψαμένων.

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1 Evidently an allusion to the "strange fire" (πῦρ ἄλλοτρον) which N. and A. offered. Philo gives here a glimpse of the way in which he arrived at the strange perversion of the story which he consistently makes (De Fuga 59 and elsewhere).

2 The connexion of thought seems to be drawn from the fact that δράγματα are things grasped, cf. ἐπιδράττεται § 37, and 472
which has covetousness and knavery for its cunning architects, what is it but a ferocious beast which feasts on all who come near to it? And therefore such as these will be the subject of mourning, as though they were dead, even while they still live, since the life that they obtain is meet to be lamented and bewailed; for Jacob, we are told, mourned for Joseph while still alive. On the other hand Moses will not suffer Nadab and his brother, those holy principles, to be mourned (Lev. x. 6). They were not seized by a savage, evil beast, but were taken up by a rush of fire unquenchable, by an undying splendour, since in sincerity they cast aside sloth and delay, and consecrated their zeal, hot and fiery, flesh-consuming and swiftly moving, to piety, a zeal which was alien to creation, but akin to God. They did not mount by steps to the altar, which the law had forbidden (Ex. xx. 26), but wafted by a favouring breeze and carried even to the revolving heavens were there like the complete and perfect burnt offering resolved into ethereal rays of light.

X. So then, O soul, that art loyal to thy teacher, thou must cut off thy hand, thy faculty, when it begins to lay hold of the genitals, whether they be the created world or the cares and aims of humanity. For he often bids us cut away the hand that has taken we therefore have the contrast between what should and what should not be grasped. The life of luxury described in the preceding sections is here equated with the γεννητικά, and this leads on to the contrast of the true δράγμα or δράξ described in §§ 71 ff.

If πολλάκις is retained, the meaning must be that Moses' frequent injunctions to honour God and virtue rather than man and human things is equivalent to “cutting off the hand.” But I suspect that we should read πολλαχοθέν, “for many reasons.”
κόπτειν, πρῶτον μὲν ὅτι ἐδεξιώσατό ἦν ἐχθαίρειν ἐχρῆν ἔδεξιώσατο ήν ἐχθαίρειν ἔκτος "καπνοῦ καὶ κύματος έκτος" βαίνε καὶ τὰς καταγελάστους τοῦ θνητοῦ βίου σπουδὰς ὡς τὴν φοβερὰν ἐκείνην χάρυβδιν ἀποδρασκε καὶ μηδὲ ἀκρω, τὸ τοῦ λόγου τοῦτο, ποδὸς δακτύλων 2 ψυφησ. ἐπειδὰν δὲ ταῖς ἱεραῖς ἐπαποδύση λειτουργίαις, ὅλην τὴν χεῖρα καὶ δύναμιν εὐφύνασα εὐ μάλα τῶν παιδείας καὶ σοφίας θεωρημάτων ἐπίδρασαί. καὶ γὰρ πρόσταξις ἐστὶ τοιαύτη· "ἐὰν ψυχὴ προσφέρῃ δῶρον ἡ θυσίαν, σεμίδαλις ἐσται τὸ δῶρον," εἰτ ἐπιφέρει· "καὶ δραξάμενος πλήρη τὴν δράκα ἀπὸ τῆς σεμιότατης σὺν τῷ ἑλλαὶ καὶ παντὶ τῷ λιβάνῳ ἐπιθήσει 3 τὸ μνημόσυνον ἐπὶ τὸ θυσιαστήριον." ἀρ' οὖ παγκάλως ψυχὴν εἶπεν ἀσώματον τὴν μέλλουσαν ἱερουργεῖν, ἀλλ' οὖ τὸν δίδυμον ἐκ θνητοῦ καὶ αθανάτου συνεστῶτα ὅγκον; τὸ γὰρ εὐχόμενον, τὸ εὐχάριστον, τὸ θυσίας ἀμώμου 5 ἀληθῶς ἀνάγον ἐν μόνον ἤν ἀρα, ἡ ψυχή. τίς οὖν ἡ ψυχῆς ἀσωμάτου θυσία; τίς ἡ σεμίδαλις, ἐκκεκαθαρμένης 6 ταῖς παιδείαις ὑποθή-

1 ἐνέθηκε.
2 mss. τοῦ λόγου πολὺ τούτο: Wend. δὴ τοῦτο. Perhaps omit πολὺ as a duplicate of δακτύλω.
3 mss. ἐπιτίθησι.
4 mss. ἱερουργείαν.
5 mss. ἀμώμου.
6 mss. ἐκκεκαθαρμένη.
7 mss. παιδείαις.

a So the LXX for the word which E.V. translates "secrets."
hold of the "pair" (Deut. xxv. 11, 12), first because it has thereby given a welcome to the pleasure which it should hate, secondly because it has judged that to beget rests with ourselves, and thirdly because it has ascribed to the created the power of its maker. Observe that Adam, that mass of earth, is doomed to die when he touches the twofold tree (Gen. ii. 9), thus honouring the two before the one, and revering the created rather than the maker. Not so be it with thee. Pass clear away "from the smoke and wave," and flee fast from the silly cares and aims of mortal life as from that dread Charybdis and touch it not, as the saying goes, with the tip of thy toe.

But when thou hast stripped thyself to serve the holy rites, then widen hand and power and take a right good grip of the lessons of instruction and wisdom, for there is an ordinance running thus: "If a soul bring a gift or sacrifice, the gift shall be fine flour," and then it continues, "and taking a full handful from the fine flour, with the oil and all the frankincense, he shall lay the memorial on the altar" (Lev. ii. 1, 2). This is an excellent saying, that the server of the sacrifice should be an unbodied soul, not the twofold gross mass compounded of mortal and immortal. For that which prays, which gives thanks and offers sacrifice truly without blemish, must be as he says a "one" only, the soul. What then is the offering of an unbodied soul? What but the fine flour, the symbol of a will, purified by the councils of

\[ \text{Cf. Gen. iii. 19, "the earth, out of which thou wast taken."} \]

\[ \text{Or better, Gen. iii. 3, see App. p. 608.} \]

\[ \text{Od. xii. 219: } \]

\[ \text{τούτου (i.e. Charybdis) μὲν κατνοὶ καὶ κύματος ἐκτὸς ἐφερεν νῆα.} \]
καὶς γνώμης σύμβολον, τροφὴν ἄνοσον καὶ ξωὴν
74 ἀνυπαίτιον ποιεῖν ἵκανής; ἀφ' ἡς δραξάμενον1 τὸν
ἱερέα ὅλῃ τῇ δρακῇ, τὸ δ' ἐστὶ πᾶσαι ταῖς διανοιαῖς
λαβαίς, πλήρῃ τὴν ὅλην ψυχήν εἰλικρινεστάτων καὶ
καθαρωτάτων δογμάτων γενομένην αὐτὴν ὡς
ἱερεῖν τὸ κάλλιστον ἀνάγειν προστέτακται, πίονα
καὶ λυπῶσαν, θείω φωτὶ χαιρούσαν2 καὶ ταῖς ἀπὸ
dικαιοσύνης καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἀρετῶν ἀναιδομέναις
καταπνεομένην αὕραις, ὡς εὐωδεστατον καὶ πρὸς-
ηνέστατον ἀεὶ καρπούσθαι βίον· τὸ γὰρ ἐλαιον καὶ

[669] ὁ | λιβανωτός, ὃν ἐπιδράττεται σὺν τοῖς λευκο-
75 πύροις ὁ ἱερεύς;3 ταῦτα αὐτότητα.
XI. διὰ
tοῦτο καὶ Μωυσῆς ἔξαίρετον ἐστὶν ἄνεθηκε τῷ
dráγματι, πλὴν οὐ παντὶ, ἀλλὰ τῷ ἀπὸ τῆς ἱερᾶς
gῆς. "ὅταν" γὰρ φησιν "εἰσέλθητε εἰς τὴν γῆν,
ὁ ἔγω δίδωμι ὑμῖν, καὶ θερίζετε τὸν θερισμὸν
αὐτῆς, αἰσθήτη ὅλῃ δράγματα ἀπαρχὴν τοῦ θερισμοῦ
76 ὑμῶν πρὸς τὸν ἱερέα," τὸ δὲ ἐστὶν "ὅταν εἰσέλθησι,
ὁ διάνοια, εἰς τὴν ἀρετής χώραν, ὃς ἐμπρεπὲς μόνω
δωρεῖσθαι θεῷ, τὴν εὐβοίαν, τὴν εὐγείαν, τὴν
καρποφόρον, εἶτα οἰκεία εἰ γ' ἐσπειρασα4 ἀγαθὰ
θερίζης αὐξηθέντα ὑπὸ τοῦ τελεσφόρον, μὴ πρό-
τερον οἰκάδε συγκομίσης, τοῦτέστι μὴ ἀναθήσης μηδ'5
ἐπιγράφης σεαυτή τὴν τῶν περιγινομένων αἰτίαν,
ἢ ἀπάρξασθαι τῷ πλουτάρχῳ καὶ τὰ πλουτιστήρια
77 ἐργα ἐπιτηδεύειν ἀναπέιθοντι, καὶ λέγεται" "τὴν
ἀπαρχὴν τοῦ θερισμοῦ ὑμῶν" αὐτῶν, ἀλλ' οὐχὶ
tῆς γῆς, προσφέρειν, ἵνα ἀμώμεν καὶ θερίζωμεν

1 mss. δραξάμενον. 2 mss. χαίρονσι. 3 mss. ἱερός.
4 mss. εἶ γ' ἐσπειρασ: Wend. [εἶ γ'] ἐσπειρασ'. The form
adopted is my conjecture.
5 mss. ἀναθέεις μή. 6 mss. λέγετε.
instruction, fit to produce nourishment that gives no sickness and life that knows no guilt. From such a sacrifice is the priest bidden to take his handful, take it with his whole hand, that is with all the grips of the mind, to offer the best of sacrifices, even the whole soul, brimful of truths of all sincerity and purity—a soul, too, rich with fatness, gladdened by light divine and perfumed with the breaths exhaled from justice and the other virtues, thus fitted to enjoy for ever a life of all fragrance and sweetness. For this is signified by the oil and the frankincense with which the priest fills his hand as well as with the wheaten flour.

XI. Therefore also Moses dedicated a special feast for the "hand-grip of corn," only not for all but for such as come from the holy land, for "When," he says, "ye come into the land which I give you and ye reap its reaping, ye shall bring hand-grips of corn as a firstfruit unto the priest" (Lev. xxiii. 10). That means, "When, my mind, thou comest to virtue's land, the gift fit for God alone, the land of goodly pasturage and tilth and fruit-bearing, and then if so be that thou hast sown in accordance with it, thou reapest the good when brought to its increase by God the consummator, do not bear the harvest home, that is, do not assign or ascribe to thyself the cause of the produce until thou hast rendered the firstfruit to Him Who is the source of riches and moves thee to practise the husbandry of thy enrichment."

And we are told to bring the "firstfruit of your reaping," that is not of the land but of ourselves, that we may mow and reap ourselves, by con-
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εαυτούς, πάνθ' ὁσα καλὰ καὶ τρόφιμα καὶ σπουδαία βλαστήματα καθιεροῦντες.

78 XII. 'Ἀλλ' ὦ γε τῶν ἐνυπνίων μῦστης ὠμοὶ καὶ μυσταγωγὸς θαρρεῖ λέγειν, ὧν ἀνέστη τὸ αὐτοῦ δράγμα καὶ ὄρθωθη. τῷ γὰρ ὄντι καθάπερ οἱ γαῦροι τῶν ἱππῶν τὸν αὐχένα μετέωρον ἔξαραντες, ὡσοι διασώται τῆς κενῆς δόξης εἰσίν, ἐπάνω πάντων ἐαυτοῖς ἱδρύουσι, πόλεων, νόμων, ἐθῶν πατρίων,

79 τῶν παρ' ἐκάστοις πραγμάτων ἐιτα ἀπὸ δημαγωγιαῖς ἐπὶ δημαρχίαν βαδίζοντες καὶ τὰ μὲν τῶν πλησίον καταβάλλοντες, τὰ δὲ οἰκεία διανιστάντες καὶ παγίως ὀρθοῦντες, ὡσα ἐλεύθερα καὶ ἀδούλωτα φύσει φρονήματα, καὶ ταῦθ' ὑπάγεσθαι μηχανύνται.

80 διὸ προστίθησιν 'περιστραφέντα δὲ τὰ δράγματα ὑμῶν προσεκύνησαν τὸ ἐμὸν δράγμα.' τέθηπε γὰρ ὁ μὲν αἴδος ἐραστῆς τὸν σκληραύχενα, ὅ δὲ εὐλαβὴς τὸν αὐθάδη, ὅ δὲ ἱσότητα τιμῶν τὸν ἐαυτῷ τε καὶ ἄλλους ἀνισον, καὶ μήποτ' εἰκότως.

81 ἀτε γὰρ θεωρῶ τὸν οὐ μόνον τοῦ ἀνθρωπεῖου βίου ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν ἐν κόσμῳ συμπάντων ὁ ἀστείος οἶδεν ὡςον εἰσὶν τῆς ἀνάγκης, τῆς, καιροί, βία, δυναστεία, καὶ ὡςα ὑποθέσεις καὶ ἡλίκια εὐπραγίας ἀπευρεστοί δραμούσας ἀρχις οὐρανοῦ κατέσεισαν καὶ κατέρραξαν. ώστε ἀναγκαῖας εὐλάβειας ἐπισπιδώσεται, τοῦ μηδὲν ἐξ ἐπιδρομῆς δευνὸν παθεῖν συγγενὲς φιλακτήριον. ο γάρ, οίμαι, πρὸς πόλιν τεῖχος, τοῦτ' εὐλάβεια πρὸς ἐκαστον. ἀρ' οὖν οὐ παραπαίτουι καὶ μεμήνασιν ὡςον παρρησίαν ἀκαίρον.

1 MSS. ἐαυτοῖς.  
2 MSS. διαναστάντες.  
3 MSS. ἥσοτα . . . ἀνόησιν.  
4 So Trin.: Α ἐπισπιδώσεται which Wend. retains, conjecturing ἐπισπάσεται, but cf. ἐνασπιδώσομαι Aristophanes, Ἀθ. 368.  
5 MSS. ἄπειρον.
secrating every nourishing, excellent and worthy growth.

XII. But he who was both the initiated and the initiator in the mysteries of dreams boldly said that his sheaf rose and stood upright (Gen. xxxvii. 7). For indeed as skittish horses rear their necks proudly on high, so all the votaries of vainglory set themselves up above everything, above cities and laws and ancestral customs and the affairs of the several citizens. Then they proceed from the leadership of the people to dictatorship over the people, and while they bring low the state of their neighbours they cause their own to rise and stand upright and firm, and thus they bring into subjection even souls whose spirit is naturally free and unenslaved. That is why he adds, “Your sheaves turned round and made obeisance to my sheaf” (ibid.). For the lover of modesty is overawed by the stiff-necked, and the cautious by the self-willed, and the honourer of equality by one who is unequal both in relation to himself and others. And surely that is natural, for the man of worth who surveys, not only human life but all the phenomena of the world, knows how mightily blow the winds of necessity, fortune, opportunity, force, violence and princedom, and how many are the projects, how great the good fortunes which soar to heaven without pausing in their flight and then are shaken about and brought crashing to the ground by these blasts. And therefore he must needs take caution to shield him, as an inseparable safeguard to prevent any grave disaster suddenly befalling him, for caution is to the individual man what a wall is to a city. Surely then they are all lunatics and madmen who take pains to display un-
σπουδάζουσιν ἐπιδείκνυσθαι, βασιλεὺς καὶ τυράννοις ἔστων ὅτε λέγειν τε καὶ ποιεῖν ἐναντία τολμῶντες, οὐκ αἰσθανόμενοι, ὅτι ἄν ἄγανας μόνον ὡσπερ τὰ θρέμματα ὑπεξῆχθησαν, ἀλλ' ὅλα τὰ σώματα καὶ τὰς ψυχὰς γύναια τε καὶ τέκνα καὶ γονεῖς καὶ τὴν ἄλλων ἐταῖρων ὑπεξήλθοντες καὶ τουσὶ τὸν ἴνα ἰδίῳ καὶ ἐπόχῳ μετὰ πᾶσης εὐμαρείας κεντεῖν, ἔλαυνεν, ἔπέχειν, ἀναχαίτιζεν, ἀπτ' ἄν ἠθλήσῃς μικρὰ καὶ μεῖξῳ διατιθέναι; τοιχαροῦν στιζόμενοι καὶ μαστιγούμενοι καὶ ἀκρωτιζόμενοι καὶ ὅσα πρὸ τοῦ θανάτου χαλεπά πάντα ὡμῶς καὶ ἀνθλεῶς ἅθροα ὑπομένοντες, ἀπαχθέντες ἐπὶ πᾶσι θυήσκουσί.  

85 XIII. ταῦτ' ἔστι τῆς ἀκαίρου παρρησίας τὰ ἐπιχειρα, οὐ παρρησίας παρὰ γε εὔ φρονοὺσι κριταῖς, ἀλλ' εὐμυθείας καὶ φρενοβλαβείας καὶ μελαχχολίας ἀνάτοτο γέμοντα. τί λέγεις; χειμώνα τις ὃρῶν ακμάζοντα καὶ βαρύ πνεύμα εναντίον καὶ λαίλαπα καταιγίσουσιν καὶ κυματούμονον πέλαγος, ἐνορμίζεσθαι δέον, ἐξορμίζεται καὶ ἔξ- 86 ανάγεται; τίς ἡ κυβερνήτης ἡ ναύκληρος οὕτω ποτὲ ἐμεθύσθη καὶ παρώνησεν, ἔστιν εἰς κατασκηπάντων ἔθελήσαι πλεῖν, ἐνα ὑπέραντλος ἀνωθεν ἐπιχυθεῖσα τῆς θαλάσσης ἡ ναῦς γενομένη πλωτήρων αὐτοῖς ἐγκαταποθῆκ; τῷ γὰρ βουλομένῳ πλεῖν ἀκυδώνιας εὔδιοι πνεῦμα οὐριόν τε καὶ λεῖον ἀναμένειν εξῆν. τί δέ; ἀρκτον τις (ή σὺν ἄγριον ἡ) λέοντα μετὰ συμμοῦ θεασάμενος ἐπιόντα, πραῦναι καὶ τιθασεῦσαι δέον, ἐξαγριαίνει

1 MSS. αἰσθάνονται.  
2 MSS. ἐτέρων.  
3 MSS. ἐπ’ ὀμω.  
4 MSS. ἐπι.
timely frankness, and sometimes dare to oppose kings and tyrants in words and deeds. They do not perceive that not only like cattle are their necks under the yoke, but that the harness extends to their whole bodies and souls, their wives and children and parents, and the wide circle of friends and kinsfolk united to them by fellowship of feeling, and that the driver can with perfect ease spur, drive on or pull back, and mete out any treatment small or great just as he pleases. And therefore they are branded and scourged and mutilated and undergo a combination of all the sufferings which merciless cruelty can inflict short of death, and finally are led away to death itself.

XIII. These are the rewards of un-timely free-speaking, which in the eyes of sensible judges is not free-speaking at all; rather they are the guerdons of silliness and frenzy and incurable brain-sickness. Why? Who if he sees a storm at its height, a fierce counter-wind, a hurricane swooping down and a tempest-tossed sea, sets sail and puts out to sea when he should remain in harbour? What pilot or skipper was ever so utterly intoxicated as to wish to sail with all these terrors launched upon him, only to find the ship water-logged by the down-rushing sea and swallowed up, crew and all. For he who would have a safe voyage can always wait for the sunny breeze to take him gently and smoothly on his way. Again, would anyone who has seen a bear or a lion or wild boar sweeping along to attack him, instead of soothing and calming them as he should, provoke them to

5 γέμοντα though accepted by editors is quite illogical. The rewards are not full of folly. I suggest γέρα δυτα.
6 mss. ὅλα δοὺν εἰπον κατασκηψάντων ἐθέληση πλύνειν.
7 Lacuna in A eight to nine letters.
καὶ ἀνερεθίζει, ὅπως θοίνω καὶ εὑωχίαν ὦμο-
88 βόροις ἀνηλεεστάτοις ἐντρεπίσῃ ἑαυτόν; εἰ μὴ 
καὶ φαλαγγίως καὶ ἀσπίδω ταῖς Αἰγυπτίαις καὶ 
τοὺς ἄλλους ὁσα τὸν φθοροποιόν ἢν (ἐπιφέρεται) 
οὐδενὶ ἐστι τοῦ τοῖς ἠλειθεῖσιν ἐπάγουσιν· ἀγαπητὸν 
γὰρ κατεπάδοντας καὶ χειροθεία ποιοῦντας μηδὲν 
89 ἀπ’ αὐτῶν δεινὸν παθεῖν. εἰτ’ οὐκ ἔσον ἀνθρώποι 
τῶν συνῶν, φαλαγγίων, ἀστίδων ἀγριώτεροι καὶ 
ἐπιβουλότεροι; ὅν τὸ ἐπιβουλοῦν καὶ δυσμενές 
ἀμήχανον ἐτέρως ἐτιθασίς καὶ μειλίγμασι 
χρωμένοις διεκδύνας 
τογάρτοι ὁ σοφὸς 
Αβραὰμ τοὺς νύν τοῦ Χέτ—ἐρμηνεύονται δὲ 
ἐξιστάντες—προσκυνήσει, τῶν καιρῶν τοῦτος ἀραν 
90 ἀναπεθόντων. οὐ γὰρ τοῦ νεὼν καὶ γένους καὶ ἔθων ἐκ 
ὑποθεῖν ἐκθροὺς λογισμοῦ, οὐ τὸ τῆς 
ψυχῆς νόμισμα, παιδείαν, ἐξιστάντες καὶ κατα-
κερματίζοντες οἰκτρῶς ἀναλίσκουσιν, ἐπὶ τὸ προσ-
kυνεῖν ἤλθεν, ἀλλὰ τὸ παρὸν κράτος αὐτῶν καὶ 
τῆς δυσάλωτον ἱσχύν δεδιώς καὶ φυλαττόμενος 
ἐρεθίζειν, μέγα καὶ ἐχυροῦν κτῆμα καὶ ἀγώνισμα 
ἀρετὴς, σοφῶν ψυχῶν ἀριστοῦ ἐνδιαίτημα, τὸ διπλὸν 
διπλὸν σπῆλαιον, ὃ μαχόμενον μὲν καὶ πολε-
μοῦντα οὐκ ἐνή, ὑπερχόμενον ὃ δὲ καὶ 
91 τῷ λόγῳ κομμεῖται.  ὅ ν δὲ;  οὐχὶ καὶ ἤμεις,
savagery just to offer himself as a banquet to satisfy the cruel appetites of the carnivorous brutes? As well might we think it advisable to fight against the stinging scorpions and asps of Egypt and all other creatures possessed of fatal poison whose single bite carries with it inevitable death—creatures whom we may well be content to tame with charms and ensure that they do us no grievous harm. Then are there not some men more fierce and malicious than boars, scorpions or asps, men whose spite and malice can only be avoided by using some method of taming and soothing them?

And therefore we shall find wise Abraham doing obeisance to the sons of Cheth (Gen. xxiii. 7), whose name means “removing,” when the fitness of the circumstances prompted him to do so. For it was not out of any feeling of respect for those who by nature and race and custom were the enemies of reason, who remove instruction, the true coinage of the soul, and change it into petty coins and waste it miserably, that he brought himself to do obeisance. Rather it was just because he feared their power at the time and their formidable strength and took care to give no provocation, that he will win that great and secure possession, that prize of virtue, the double cave which is the most excellent abiding-place of wise souls: the cave which could not be won by war and fighting, but with reason shewn in subservience and respectful treatment. Again, do not we too, when

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\[a\] In the earlier edition \(\tau\phi\ \lambda\gamma\varphi\) was changed to \(\tau\phi\ \dot{\alpha}\lambda\gamma\varphi\) “paying court to their unreason.” But this is untenable as \(\theta\epsilon\rho\alpha\pi\epsilon\omega\) is not found with a dative.

5 MSS. ὅ.  
7 MSS. ὑπέρμαχομενον.  
8 MSS. κόμεισθαι.
όταν ἐν ἀγορᾷ διατρίβωμεν, εἰώθαμεν ἐξίστασθαι
μὲν τοῖς ἄρχουσιν, ἐξίστασθαι δὲ καὶ τοῖς ὑπο-
ζυγίοις; ἀλλ' ἀπ' ἑναντίας γνώμης καὶ οὐχὶ τῆς
αὐτῆς· τοῖς μὲν γὰρ ἄρχουσιν ἐν τιμῇ, τοῖς δὲ
ὑποζυγίοις διὰ φόβον τοῦ μηδὲν ἀπ' αὐτῶν εἰς
ἡμᾶς νεωτερισθῆναι. καὶ διδόντων μὲν τῶν καιρῶν
ἐπιτιθέμενοι τῇ τῶν ἕχθρῶν βίαιν καλὸν κατα-
λύσαι, μὴ ἐπιτρέποντων δὲ ἀσφαλές ἡσυχάσαι,
βουλομένους δὲ τῷ 1· ὑφέλειαν εὐρίσκεσθαι παρ' αὐτῶν ἀρμόττον τιθασθῆναι.

92 ΧΙ. Διὸ καὶ νῦν ἄξιον ἐπαινεῖν τοὺς μὴ ὑπο-
χωροῦντας τῷ τῆς κενῆς προστάτη δόξης, ἀλλὰ
ἀνθισταμένους καὶ λέγοντας· "μὴ βασιλεύων
βασιλεύσεις· ἐφ' ἡμῖν;" οὔτω γὰρ ἵσχυκότα 3
ὅρων αὐτῶν, οὐχ ὡς φλόγα ἡμένον τε καὶ λάμ-
pοντα ἐν ἀφθόνῳ ὕλῃ νεμόμενον, ἀλλ' ἐθ' ὡς
σπυνθῆρα ἐντυφόμενον, ὁνειρόττεντο τοῖς, οὐκ
94 ἐναργῶς ἦδη μετιόντα. χρηστὰς γὰρ ἐλπίδας
ὑποβάλλουσιν εαυτοῖς, ὥσεὶ καὶ μὴ ἀλώναι δυνη-
σόμενοι. παρὸ λέγουσι· "μὴ ἐφ' ἡμῖν βασιλεύ-
σεις;" ἰσον τῷ ἡμένῳ, ὅτι τῶν ἰσχυρῶν,
ἐμπνεοῦστοι ἠμένοι εἰς δυναστεύεσθαι; ἀσθένησαν-
tων μὲν γὰρ ἰσός ἐπικρατήσεις, ἐρρωμένων δὲ ἐν
95 ὑπηκόου μοίρᾳ τετάξῃ. καὶ πέφυκεν οὕτως ἔχειν
ἐπειδὰν μὲν γὰρ ἐν διανοίᾳ (δ') ὀρθὸς ἱσχύῃ λόγος,
ἡ κενὴ καταλύεται δόξα, ἐσώνυμαι δὲ ἀσθενήσαντος.
εἰς οὖν ἐτί σφῶν ἔχει τῆν εαυτῆς δύναμιν ἡ ψυχὴ
cαι μηδὲν αὐτῆς μέρος ἢκρωτηρίασται, θαρρεῖτω
βάλλει καὶ τοξεύεις τῶν ἐναντιούμενον τύφον καὶ

1 mss. τῆς.
2 mss. βασιλεύσης.
3 mss. ἐσχηκότα.
4 mss. ἐθ' ὡς.
5 Perhaps om. ὅτι or transpose with ἡμένῳ.
6 mss. ὅθ.
we are spending time in the market-place, make a practice of standing out of the path of our rulers and also of beasts of carriage, though our motive in the two cases is entirely different? With the rulers it is done to shew them honour, with the animals from fear and to save us from suffering serious injury from them. And if ever occasions permit it is good to subdue the violence of enemies by attack, but if they do not permit the safe course is to keep quiet, and if we wish to gain any help from them the fitting course is to soften and tame them.

XIV. Praise therefore is due to those also who are here under consideration, because they did not give way to the champion of vainglory but resisted him and said: “Shalt thou indeed reign over us? Not so” (Gen. xxxvii. 8). For they see that he is not yet become strong, that he is not as a flame fully kindled and shining brightly with abundance of fuel to feed it, but is still a mere smouldering spark, one who sees glory but as in a dream and does not yet pursue it with clear waking vision. In their hearts they have a comfortable hope that they may even be able to escape his clutches, and so they say: “Shalt thou indeed be king over us?” that is, “Dost thou think to lord it over us while we still have life, existence, strength, breath? When we have grown weak, thou wilt perhaps have the mastery, but while we are strong thou wilt hold but the rank of a subject.” And that is but natural, for when right reason is strong in the mind, vainglory is brought low, but gains strength when reason is weak. While, then, the soul still preserves its power and no part of it is amputated, let it take courage to ply the opposing vanity with missiles and arrows and use full liberty
PHILO

ἐλευθεροστομεῖτω φάσκουσα: οὔτε βασιλεύσεις
οὔτε κυριεύσεις οὔτε ἡμῶν οὔτε ἔφ' ἡμῶν ἔτέρων.

96 ἀλλὰ σου τὰς ἐπανατάσεις1 καὶ τὰς ἀπειλὰς ἐφόδω
μιὰ καταδραμούμεθα σὺν τοῖς δορυφόροις καὶ
ὑπασπισταῖς, φρονήσεως ἐγγόνοις: ἐφ' ἄν λέγεται
ὅτι “προσέθεντο μισεῖν αὐτὸν ἔνεκα τῶν ἐνυπνίων

97 αὐτοῦ καὶ ἔνεκα τῶν ρημάτων αὐτοῦ.” ἀλλ' οὐ
ρήματα μὲν καὶ ἐνύπνια πάνθ' ὅσα ὁ τύφος ἂν
εἰδωλοποιή, πράγματα δὲ καὶ σαφεῖς ἐνάργειαι2 τὰ
ὅσα ἐπ' ὀρθὸν βίον καὶ λόγον ἀναφέρεται; καὶ
τὰ μὲν μίσους ἄτε κατεφευσμένα, τὰ δὲ φιλίας ἄτε
ἀληθείας τῆς ἐπεράστου γέμοντα ἑπάξια.

98 μηδείς οὖν ἔτι κατηγορεῖν ἐπιτολμάτω3 τῶν το-
σούτων τὰς ἀρετὰς ἀνδρῶν ως μισανθρώπου καὶ
μισαδέλφου δείγμα ἣθους ἐκφερόντων, ἀλλὰ μαθὼν,
ὅτι οὐκ ἀνθρωπός ο νῦν ἐπικρινόμενός ἐστι, ἀλλὰ
tῶν ἐν ἐκάστοτε τῇ ψυχῇ τρόπων4 ο δοξομανής καὶ
φιλότυφος, ἀποδεχέσθω τοὺς ἀσποδόν ἐχθραν καὶ
[672] μίσος ἀκατάλλακτον πρὸς | αὐτὸν αἰρομένους5 καὶ
μηδέποτε τὸν στυγηθέντα πρὸς ἐκεῖνων στερξάτω,

99 γνωστὸς ἀκριβῶς, ὅτι οἱ τοιούτοι6 δικασταὶ γνώμης
οὐκ ἂν ποτὲ ἐσφάλησαν ὑγνοῦσα, ἀλλὰ μαθόντες καὶ
παιδευθέντες ἐξ ἀρχῆς τὸν ὅντως βασιλέα, τὸν
κύριον, προσκυνεῖν τε καὶ τιμᾶν ἀγαλματίζουσαν, εἴ
τις τὴν θεοῦ τιμήν νοσφίζεται καὶ τοὺς ἴκέτας7 αὐτοῦ

100 μετακαλεῖ πρὸς τὴν ἱδίαν θεραπείαν. XV. διὸ
θαρροῦντες ἔρωσιν: “μὴ βασιλεύσεις βασιλεύσεις
ἐφ' ἡμῖν;” ἡ ἀγνοεῖς, ὅτι οὐκ ἐσμὲν αὐτόνομοι,
ἀλλ' ὑπὸ ἀθανάτου βασιλέως, τοῦ μόνου θεοῦ,
of speech. "Thou shalt not lord or king it over us," it will say, "nor over others while we live, but we will with a single onset bear down thy threats and menaces, with the aid of the spear and shield-bearers, the children of sound sense, of whom it is said 'they went on to hate him because of his dreams and because of his words'" (ibid.). And are not all the phantoms created by vanity but dreams and words? while all things which concern right living and thinking are facts and clear realities, and the former because of their falsity deserve our hatred, while the latter because they are filled full of the loveliness of truth deserve our love. Let no one then after this dare to accuse these persons so rich in virtue as though they were displaying the marks of a misanthropic and unbrotherly character, but understanding that it is no man that is here judged but one of the traits or feelings that exist in every man's soul (in this case the mad craving for glory and love of vanity), let him give his approval to those who are moved by implacable loathing and enmity against a mind of this sort, and never tolerate the object of their abhorrence. For he knows for a certainty that such judges could never have failed to give a sound verdict, but as their training from the first has taught them who is the true king, the true lord, they hate the thought of giving homage and honour to one who appropriates the honour due to God and calls away his suppliants to do service to himself. XV. Therefore they will boldly say: "Wilt thou indeed be king and king it over us, or dost thou fail to know that we are not self-ruling but under the kingship of an immortal king, the one and only God? Wilt
βασιλεύομεθα; τι δέ; "κυριεύων κυριεύσεις Ἦμων;" μὴ γὰρ οὐ δεσποζόμεθα καὶ ἔχομεν τε καὶ ἔξομεν εἰς τὸν ἅγιον χρόνον τὸν αὐτὸν κύριον; ὁ δουλεύοντες οὕτω γεγῆθαμεν, ὥς οὐδείς ἐτερος ἐπ' ἐλευθερία. καὶ γὰρ ἐστι τὸ δουλεύειν θεῷ πάντων ἁριστῶν, ὅσα ἐν γενέσει τετύμηται.

101 εὐξαίμην ἂν οὖν καὶ αὐτὸς δυνηθῆναι τοῖς γνωσθεῖσιν ὑπὸ τούτων ἐμμεῖναι βεβαίως. ὅπτηρες γὰρ καὶ κατάσκοποι καὶ ἐφοροὶ πραγμάτων, οὐ σωμάτων, εἰσὶν ἀκριβοδίκαιοι, πάντα νήπιοι τὸν αἰῶνα, ὥς ὑπὸ μηδενὸς ἐτὶ τῶν εἰσόδητων δελεάζειν ἀπατάσθαι. μεθύω δὲ ἄχρι νῦν ἐγὼ καὶ ἀσαφεῖα πολλῆ ἐξήρησαι καὶ βάκτρων καὶ τῶν ποδηγετῶν ἄστασιν ὡσπερ οἱ τυφλοὶ δέομαι· σκηνοποιοῦσιν γὰρ ἐγγένοιται ἂν ἢς μὴτε προσπαίθει μήτε ὅλισθαίνειν. εἰ δὲ τινες ἀνεξέταστοι καὶ ἀπερισκέπτοις εἰδότες ἑαυτοὺς οὐ σπουδάζοντας τοῖς ἐξητάκοσιν ἅ χρή πάντα ἀκριβῶς καὶ περιεσκεμένους ἀκολούθειν, αὐτοῦ χρῆ πάντων διαφέρειν σκηνοποιούσιν τοῖς ἑαυτοῖς ἴσοις μὴτε προσπαίθει μήτε ὅλισθαίνειν. εἰ δὲ τινες ἀνεξέταστοι καὶ ἀπερισκέπτοις εἰδότες ἑαυτοὺς οὐ σπουδάζοντας τοῖς ἐξητάκοσιν ἅ χρή πάντα ἀκριβῶς καὶ περιεσκεμένους ἀκολούθειν, αὐτοῦ χρῆ πάντων διαφέρειν σκηνοποιούσιν τοῖς ἑαυτοῖς ἴσοις μὴτε προσπαίθει μήτε ὅλισθαίνειν. εἰ δὲ τινες ἀνεξέταστοι καὶ ἀπερισκέπτοις εἰδότες ἑαυτοὺς οὐ σπουδάζοντας τοῖς ἐξητάκοσιν ἅ χρή πάντα ἀκριβῶς καὶ περιεσκεμένους ἀκολούθειν, αὐτοῦ χρῆ πάντων διαφέρειν σκηνοποιούσιν τοῖς ἑαυτοῖς ἴσοις μὴτε προσπαίθει μήτε ὅλισθαίνειν.
thou indeed be lord and lord it over us? Are we not under a master, and have we not and shall we not have for ever the same lord, bondage to whom gives us more joy than his freedom does to any other?” For of all things that are held in honour in this world of creation bondage to God is the best. So I myself would pray that I might hold firmly to their judgements, for they are the scouts, the watchers, the overseers of mental facts, not of material things, a strict in censorship, never failing in soberness, thus no more misled by the lures which so commonly deceive. But hitherto I have been as a drunken man beset by constant uncertainty, and like the blind I need staff and guiding hands, for had I a staff to lean on I might perhaps be saved from stumbling or slipping. But those who know themselves to be lacking in self-testing and thoughtfulness and yet do not take pains to follow those who have tested and thought out everything with care, those who know the road of which they themselves are ignorant, may be sure that they are pinned amid impassable ravines and with all their efforts will be unable to advance further. And I, when the drunken fit abates a little, am in such close alliance with them that I take their friends for my friends and their enemies for my enemies. Indeed, even in my present state I will reject and hate the dreamer because they hate him; and no one of sense can blame me for this because the votes and decisions of the majority must always prevail.

But when he changes his life

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\* See note on *Quis Rerum* 242.

4 *mss. ἐπιγιγνόμενοι.* 5 *mss. μετὰ.* 6 Α πλέω (*Trin. πλείου*).
μεταβάλη καὶ μηκέτ’ ἐνυπνάζηται μηδὲ ταῖς κεναῖς τῶν κενοδόξων φαντασίαις ἰλυσσόμενος κακοπαθή μηδὲ νύκτα καὶ σκότος καὶ πραγμάτων ἀδήλων καὶ ἀτεκμάρτων συντυχίας ὀνειροπολῆ,

106 περιαναστάς δὲ ἐκ τοῦ βαθέος ὑπνοῦ διατελῆ μὲν ἐγρηγορώς, ἐνάργειαν δὲ πρὸ ἀσαφείας καὶ πρὸ ἑνύπνου ὑπολήψεως ἀλήθειαν καὶ πρὸ νυκτὸς ἥμεραν καὶ φῶς πρὸ σκότους ἀποδεχὴται καὶ τὴν μὲν γυναίκα τοῦ Αἰγύπτιου, σώματος ἤδονήν, εἰς αὐτὴν εἰσελθεῖν καὶ τῆς ὀμιλίας αὐτῆς ἀπολαῦσαι παρακαλοῦσαν ἀποστρέφηται διὰ πόθον ἐγκρατείας καὶ ζήλον εὐσέβειας ἀλεκτὸν, ὅπος ἐκδοξεῖ ἀλλοτριωθῆναι συγγενικῶν καὶ πατριών ἀγαθῶν μεταποιήσῃ πάλιν τὸ ἐπιβάλλον ἀρετῆς ἐκατέργατο χρόνος ἀκατάσχηται καὶ ταῖς κατὰ μικρὸν ἐπαναλήψεις ὡς ἐπὶ κορυφῆς τοῦ Αἰγύπτιου ἔτους καὶ τέλους ἱδρυθῆναι ἀναφέρονται, ἐπὶ πάθων ἀκριβῶς ἔμαθεν, ὅτι “τοῦ θεοῦ” ἐστι, ἀλλ’ οὔτε ὑπερβάλλει τῶν εἰς γένεσιν ἡκόντων αἰσθητῶν τὸ παράπαν, οἱ μὲν ἀδελφοὶ καταλλακτηρίους ποιῆσονται συμβάσεις, τὸ μίσος εἰς φιλίαν καὶ τὸ κακόν εἰς εὐνοίαν μεταβαλόντες, ἐγὼ δ’ ὁ τῶν ὑπαῖνο ἀναφέροντο καὶ τῶν δικαίων ἀνακτάσθαι καὶ τὰς κατὰ μικρὸν ἐπαναλήψεις, ἕως ὑπερβάλλει ἀναφέρονται ὡς δεσπόται εἰς αὐτῶν ἐκεῖνον εἰς καὶ Μωυσῆς ὁ ἱεροφάντης ἀξιέραστον καὶ ἀξιομηνύμνευτον ὑποδεικνύει αὐτὸ τὴν μετανοίαν ἐκ φθορᾶς ἀνασώζει διὰ συμβόλου τῶν ὅστεων, ἀ κατορμυκτῇ μέχρι τοῦ παντὸς οὐκ ὅτε δεῖν ἐάν ἐστι Αἰγύπτιος, παγχάλεπος ύπνομόνος, εἰ τι ἤνθησεν τῇ ψυχῇ καλῶν, τοῦτ’ ἐάσαι μεριμνᾶν καὶ κατακλυσθὲν ἀφανισθῆναι πλημμύραις, ᾧ ὁ

1 MSS. αὐτῶν.
2 MSS. κακῶν.
for the better and renounces his idle visions, his troubous crawling and cringing amid the vain fantasies of the vainglorious, and the dreams of night and darkness and the chance issues of things vague and obscure; when he rises from his deep slumbering to abiding wakefulness and welcomes clearness before uncertainty, truth before false supposition, day before night, light before darkness; when moved by a yearning for continence and a vast zeal for piety he rejects bodily pleasure, the wife of the Egyptian, as she bids him come in to her and enjoy her embraces (Gen. xxxix. 7); when he claims the goods of his kinsmen and father from which he seemed to have been disinherited and holds it his duty to recover that portion of virtue which falls to his lot; when he passes step by step from betterment to betterment and, established firmly as it were on the crowning heights and consummation of his life, utters aloud the lesson which experience had taught him so fully, "I belong to God" (Gen. 1. 19), and not any longer to any sense object that has been created,—then his brethren will make with him covenants of reconciliation, changing their hatred to friendship, their ill-will to good-will, and I, their follower and their servant, who have learnt to obey them as masters, will not fail to praise him for his repentance. And with good reason too, since Moses the revealer preserves from destruction the story of his repentance, so worthy of love and remembrance, under the symbol of the bones which he held should not be suffered to remain buried for ever in Egypt (Ex. xiii. 19). For he deemed it a grievous shame to suffer any fair blossom of the soul to be withered or flooded and drowned by the streams
τῶν παθῶν Αἰγύπτιος ποταμός, τὸ σῶμα, διὰ πασῶν τῶν αἴσθησεων ῥέων ἐνδελεχῆ ἐκδίδωσιν.

110 XVI. Ἡ μὲν οὖν ἐπὶ τῶν δραγμάτων φανείσα ὑψι απὸ γῆς καὶ διάκρισις εἰρηται· τὴν δὲ ἐτέραν καιρὸς ἦδη σκόπειν, καὶ ως ὀνειροκριτικὴ τέχνη διαστέλλεται. "εἶδεν" οὖν φησιν "ἐνύπνιον ἔτερον καὶ δυνητικὸ τῷ πατρὶ καὶ τοὺς ἀδελφοὺς αὐτοῦ καὶ εἶπε· ὥσπερ (ὁ) ἡλίος καὶ ἡ σελήνη καὶ ἕνδεκα ἀστέρες προσεκύνουν με. καὶ ἐπετίμησεν αὐτῷ ὁ πατήρ καὶ εἶπε· τί τὸ ἐνύπνιον ὁ ἐνυπνιασθης; ἄρα γε ἐλθόντες ἔλευσόμεθα ἐγώ καὶ ἡ μήτηρ σου καὶ οἱ ἀδελφοί σου προσκυνήσας σου ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν; ἐξήλωσαν δὲ αὐτὸν οἱ ἀδελφοί.

111 ο δὲ πατὴρ διετήρησε τὸ ρήμα." φασί τούνων οἱ μετεωρολογοικὸ, τὸν ἡμιακὸν κύκλον μέγιστον ὃντα τῶν κατ οὐρανόν δυοκαίδεκα (ἐκ) ζωδίων, ἀφ᾽ ὃν καὶ τὴν ἐπωνυμίαν ἔσχε, κατηστερίσθαι, ἡλίον δὲ καὶ σελήνην ἄει περί αὐτῶν εἰλομένους ἐκαστον διεξέρχεσθαι τῶν ζωδίων, οὐκ ἵσοταχεῖς, ἀλλ᾽ ἐν ἀριθμοῖς καὶ χρόνοις ἀνίσοις, τὸν μὲν ἐν ἥμεραι τριάκοντα, τὴν δὲ δωδεκατημόρια τῶν μᾶλστα, ὅπερ ἤμερων δυεΐν καὶ ἡμίσους ἐστίν.

112 ἐδοξεῖν οὖν ὁ τὴν θεόπεμπτον φαντασίαν ἰδὼν ὑπ᾽ ἀστέρων ἐνδεκα προσκυνεῖσθαι, δωδεκατον συντάττων ἐαυτὸν εἰς τὴν τοῦ ζωδιακοῦ συμπλήρωσιν κύκλου. μέμνημαι δὲ καὶ πρότερον τίνος ἀκούσας ἄνδρος οὐκ ἀμελῶς οὐδὲ ραθύμως τῷ μαθήματι προσενεχέντος, ὅτι οὐκ ἄνθρωποι μόνοι δοξομανοῦσιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ οἱ ἀστέρες καὶ περὶ πρω-

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1 mss. ἀπὸ τῶν πραγμάτων.
2 (ἐκ) is my insertion: Wend. ζωδίων: Mangey ζωδίων (σημείωσι).
3 mss. ἵσοταχοὶ: perhaps ἵσοταχῶς.
4 mss. μέμνηται.
which the Egyptian river of passion, the body, pours forth unceasingly through the channel of all the senses.  

XVI. So much for the vision drawn from earth— the vision of the sheaves and the interpretation put upon it. It is now fitting to examine the other, and to see how the rules of dream-interpretation explain it. He saw, the text says, another dream and told it to his father and brethren, and said "it was as though the sun and the moon and the eleven stars made obeisance to me." And his father rebuked him and said, "What is this dream that thou hast dreamt? Shall I and thy mother and thy brethren indeed come to do obeisance to thee on the earth?" And his brothers were angry with him, but his father kept the saying in memory (Gen. xxxvii. 9-11). Well, the students of the upper world tell us that the Zodiac, the largest of the circles of heaven, is formed into constellations out of twelve signs, called zodia or "creatures" from which also it takes its name. The sun and the moon, they say, ever revolve along the circle and pass through each of the signs, though the two do not move at the same speed, but at unequal rates as measured in numbers, the sun taking thirty days and the moon about a twelfth of that time, that is two and a half days. He then who saw that heaven-sent vision dreamt that the eleven stars made him obeisance, thus classing himself as the twelfth to complete the circle of the zodiac. Now, I remember once hearing a man who had applied himself to the study in no careless or indolent manner say that it is not only men who have a mad craving for glory, but the stars too have rivalry for precedence

\[\text{For the sense of §§ 105-109 cf. De Mig. 16-25.}\]
τείων ἀμιλλόμενοι δικαιοῦσιν οἱ μείζον | ἂεὶ πρὸς
tῶν ἐλαττόνων δορυφορεῖσθαι. ταῦτα μὲν οὖν,
ὅπως ἂν ἀληθεία ἢ εἰκασίωναι ἔχη, παρετέον
tοῖς μετεωροθήραις σκοπεῖν. λέγομεν
de ἡμεῖς, [ὡς] ὅτι ὁ σπουδῆς ἀκρίτου καὶ φιλονεικίας
ἀλόγου καὶ κενῆς δόξης ἐραστῆς, ἂεὶ φυσώμενος
ὑπ᾿ ἀνοίας, οὐ μόνον ἀνθρώπους ὑπερκύπτειν ἄλλα
καὶ τὴν τῶν ὅντων φύσιν ἄξιοῖ. καὶ νομίζει μὲν
ἐαυτοῦ χάριν τὰ πάντα γεγενηθαί, ἀναγκαῖον δὲ
ἐίναι δασμὸν ἐκαστὸν ὡς βασιλεῖ φέρειν αὐτῷ,
γῆν, θάλασσαν, ἀέρα, οὐρανὸν· καὶ τοσαύτη τῆς εὐ-
ηθείας ὑπερβολὴ χρήται, ὅστε οὐκ ἀχύρει λογι-
σασθαί, δ' ἂν πάντα ἄφρων ἐνοποιηθή, ὅτι τεχνίτης
οὐδεὶς ἐνεκα μέρους τοῖς ἄλλοις, ἄλλ' ἐνεκα τοῦ
ἄνθρωπος ὑπερβολή τῆς συντελείας· οὐ μόνον
καὶ τήν τῶν όντων φύσιν ἄξιοῖ, καὶ νομίζει μὲν
ἐαυτοῦ χάριν τὰ πάντα γεγενηθαί, ἀναγκαῖον δὲ
ἐίναι δασμὸν ἐκαστὸν ὡς βασιλεῖ φέρειν αὐτῷ,
γῆν, θάλασσαν, ἀέρα, οὐρανὸν· καὶ τοσαύτη τῆς εὐ-
ηθείας ὑπερβολὴ χρήται, ὅστε οὐκ ἀχύρει λογι-
σασθαί, δ' ἂν πάντα ἄφρων ἐνοποιηθή, ὅτι τεχνίτης
οὐδεὶς ἐνεκα μέρους τοῖς ἄλλοις, ἄλλ' ἐνεκα τοῦ
ἄνθρωπος ὑπερβολή τῆς συντελείας· οὐ μόνον
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ἐίναι δασμὸν ἐκαστὸν ὡς βασιλεῖ φέρειν αὐτῷ,
γῆν, θάλασσαν, ἀέρα, οὐρανὸν· καὶ τοσαύτη τῆς εὐ-
ηθείας ὑπερβολὴ χρήται, ὅστε οὐκ ἀχύρει λογι-
σασθαί, δ' ἂν πάντα ἄφρων ἐνοποιηθή, ὅτι τεχνίτης
οὐδεὶς ἐνεκα μέρους τοῖς ἄλλοις, ἄλλ' ἐνεκα τοῦ
ἀνθρώπος ὑπερβολή τῆς συντελείας· οὐ μόνον
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γῆν, θάλασσαν, ἀέρα, οὐρανὸν· καὶ τοσαύτη τῆς εὐ-
ηθείας ὑπερβολὴ χρήται, ὅστε οὐκ ἀχύρει λογι-
σασθαί, δ' ἂν πάντα ἄφρων ἐνοποιηθή, ὅτι τεχνίτης
οὐδεὶς ἐνεκα μέρους τοῖς ἄλλοις, ἄλλ' ἐνεκα τοῦ
ἀνθρώπος ὑπερβολή τῆς συντελείας· οὐ μόνον
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γῆν, θάλασσαν, ἀέρα, οὐρανὸν· καὶ τοσαύτη τῆς εὐ-
ηθείας ὑπερβολὴ χρήται, ὅστε οὐκ ἀχύρει λογι-
σασθαί, δ' ἂν πάντα ἄφρων ἐνοποιηθή, ὅτι τεχνίτης
οὐδεὶς ἐνεκα μέρους τοῖς ἄλλοις, ἄλλ' ἐνεκα τοῦ
ἀνθρώπος ὑπερβολή τῆς συντελείας· οὐ μόνον
καὶ τήν τῶν όντων φύσιν ἄξιοῖ, καὶ νομίζει μὲν
ἐαυτοῦ χάριν τὰ πάντα γεγενηθαί, ἀναγκαῖον δὲ
ἐίναι δασμὸν ἐκαστὸν ὡς βασιλεῖ φέρειν αὐτῷ,
γῆν, θάλασσαν, ἀέρα, οὐρανὸν· καὶ τοσαύτη τῆς εὐ-
ηθείας ὑπερβολὴ χρήται, ὅστε οὐκ ἀχύρει λογι-
σασθαί, δ' ἂν πάντα ἄφρων ἐνοποιηθή, ὅτι τεχνίτης
οὐδεὶς ἐνεκα μέρους τοῖς ἄλλοις, ἄλλ' ἐνεκα τοῦ
ἀνθρώπος ὑπερβολή τῆς συντελείας· οὐ μόνον
καὶ τήν τῶν όντων φύσιν ἄξιοῖ, καὶ νομίζει μὲν
ἐαυτοῦ χάριν τὰ πάντα γεγενηθαί, ἀναγκαῖον δὲ
ἐίναι δασμὸν ἐκαστὸν ὡς βασιλεῖ φέρειν αὐτῷ,
and consider it right that the greater should have the lesser for their squires. How far this is true or mere idle talk is a question I must leave to the investigators of the upper world. But we say that the lover of ill-considered aims, irrational contentions and vainglory is always puffed up by folly and claims to exalt himself not only above men but above the world of nature, and thinks that all things have come into being for his sake and that they must each of them, earth, water, air, heaven, pay their tribute to him as king. And so extreme is the stupidity under which he labours that he has not the reasoning power to see what even a brainless child could understand, that no craftsman makes the whole for the sake of the part, but rather the part for the sake of the whole, and that a man is a part of the all, so that as he has come into being to help to complete the universe it would be only right for him to subscribe his contribution to it. XVII. But some people we see are so brimful of folly that they are aggrieved if the whole world does not follow their wishes. Thus Xerxes, the king of the Persians, wishing to strike terror into his enemies, made a display of action on a grand scale by creating a revolution in nature; for he converted two elements, earth into sea, and sea into earth, giving dry land to the ocean and ocean in exchange to the dry land, by bridging over the Hellespont and breaking up Mount Athos into deep hollows, which filled with salt water at once formed a new and artificial sea entirely transformed from its ancient nature. And having played the conjurer, as he thought, with the regions of earth he proceeded in the boldness of his schemes to mount to heaven also,
νοίας συνανάγων ἀσέβειαν ἑαυτῷ καὶ εἰς οὐρανὸν ὁ δύστηνος, ὡς τὰ ἀκάνητα κινήσων καὶ τὸν θείον στρατὸν καθαρήσων, καὶ, τὸ λεγόμενον, ἀφ' ἱερᾶς ἡρχετο: τὸν γὰρ ἀμυντὸν τῶν ἑκεί, τὸν ἑγεμόνα ἡμέρας ἦλιον, ἐτοξευνέν, ὡσπερ οὐκ αὐτὸς ἀφανεῖ βέλει φρενοβλαβεῖας τυπρωσκόμενος οὐ μόνον διὰ τὸ ἀδυνάτων ἀλλὰ καὶ διὰ τὸ ἀνοσιωτάτων ἑργῶν ἑράν, ὅν καὶ θάτερον μεγάλῃ τῷ ἐγχειροῦντι δύσκλεια ἦν. Γερμανῶν δὲ πολυ-
ανθρωποτάτην μοῦραν—ἀμπωτίζει1 δὲ παρ' αὐτῶις ἡ θάλαττα—λόγος ἔχει κατὰ τὰς ἑκεί παλιρροίας ἐπιδρομῶν ὁθομένους μετὰ σπουδῆς, ἐπανατεινω-
μένους γυμνὰ τὰ ξίφη, θέοταν ὡς στίφος πολεμίων τὸ κυματούμενον πέλαγος ήπατίζει· ἵνα άξιον μισεῖ μέν, ὅτι ἐναντία όπλα διά ἀθεότητα κατὰ τῶν ἀδουλῶτων τῆς φύσεως αἱρεῖσθαι τολμῶσι μερῶν, χλευάζειν δὲ, ὅτι ἀδυνάτοις ἐγ-
χειροῦσιν ὡς δυνατοῖς,2 νομίζοντες ὡς ζῶον καὶ ὕδωρ κεντεῖσθαι, τιτρώσκεσθαι, κτείνεσθαι, καὶ πάλιν ἀλγεῖν, δεδιέναι, φόβω τῶν ἐπιοντῶν ἀποδιδράσκειν καὶ ὡς ψυχῆς πάθη κατὰ τε ἡδονᾶς καὶ ἀλγητοῖς ἀναδέχεσθαι.

XVIII. Χθες ἡ δ' οшедш ἄνδρα των ἄγιοτατων καὶ ἀφικνωτάτων τὴς ἐβδομῆς ἐρήμων καὶ ἐπιμέλειαν ἔχειν Αἰγύπτου, τὰ πάτρια κωνῖν ἡμῶν διενόηθη καὶ διαφέροντως τὸν ἀγιώτατον καὶ φρικωδέστατον4 περὶ τῆς ἐβδομῆς ὑπάρχοντα νόμου καταλύει τυρπητεῖν ἡμάκαζεν (ἐν αὐτῇ)5

1 mss. ἀμπωτίζειν.
2 mss. δυνατῶν.
3 mss. have ἐπειδὴ before τὰ πάτρια.
4 mss. ἀγιωδέστατον καὶ φρικωδέστατον (Mangey ἀγιωδέστατον).
taking, unhappy wretch, impiety as his fellow climber. He thought to remove the irremovable and to over­thow the divine host, and, to quote the proverb, he began with the "sacred line."\(^a\) For he aimed his 120 arrows at the best of the heavenly bodies, the sun who rules the day, and little knew that he himself was wounded by the unseen bolt of insanity, not merely because the feats he hoped to do were im­possible, but because they were utterly unholy, either of which reflects great discredit on the attempter.

And the Germans of the most thickly 121 populated part, where the sea ebbs and flows, when the flood-time comes there, try eagerly, we are told, to repel its onsets, brandishing their unsheathed swords and running like a hostile band to meet the oncoming waves.\(^b\) They deserve our detestation in 122 that in their godlessness they dared to take arms to oppose the parts of nature which know no servitude. They deserve our ridicule because they attempt the impossible as though it were possible, and think that water like a living creature can be speared, wounded, killed, or again can feel pain and fear,\(^c\) or, in its terror at the attack, run away, and in fact feel all the sensa­tions of the living soul, both pleasurable and painful.

XVIII. Not long ago I knew one of the ruling class\(^e\) 123 who when he had Egypt in his charge and under his authority purposed to disturb our ancestral customs and especially to do away with the law of the Seventh Day which we regard with most reverence and awe. He tried to compel men to do service to him on it and

\(^a\) With ἵερας, sc. γραμμῆς. See App. p. 608.
\(^b\) See App. pp. 608 f.
\(^c\) See App. p. 609.

\(^e\) <ἐν αὐτῷ> is my insertion: Markland proposed it as substitute for αὐτῷ.
αὐτῷ καὶ τὰ ἄλλα ποιεῖν παρὰ τὸ καθεστῶς ἔθος, νομίζων ἀρχὴν ἑσεσθαι καὶ τῆς περὶ τὰ ἄλλα ἐκδιαίησεως καὶ τῆς τῶν ὅλων παραβάσεως, εἰ
dέπι τῇ ἐβδομῇ πάτριον ἀνελεῖν δυνηθεὶς. καὶ
μήθ' οὔς ἐβιάζετο ὅρων εἰκοντας τοῖς ἐπιτάγμασι
μήτε τὴν ἀλλην πληθὺν ἠρεμοῦσαν, ἄλλα βαρέως
καὶ τραχέως φέρουσαν τὸ πράγμα καὶ ὡς ἐπ'
ἀνδραποδισμῷ καὶ πορθῆσει καὶ κατασκαφῆς πα-
τρίδος πενθοῦντός τε καὶ κατηφοῦντας, ἦξιον λόγῳ
125 διδάσκειν παρανομεῖν, φάσκων· εἰ πολεμίων ἐφοδο
αἰφνίδιον γένοιτο ἡ κατακλυσμοῦ φορὰ τοῦ ποταμοῦ
τὰς πλημμύρας παραρρήζαντος τὸ χῶμα ἡ ρύπη
πυρὸς ἡ κεραυνία φλὸς ἡ λίμος ἡ λοιμὸς ἡ σεισμὸς
ἡ ὄσα ἄλλα κακὰ χειροποίητα καὶ θεῆλατα, μεθ'
126 ἣσυχίας πάσης οὐκοι διατρύπητε; ἡ μετὰ τοῦ
συνήθους σχήματος προελεύσεσθε, τὴν μὲν δεξιὰν
εἴσω χείρα συναγαγόντες, τὴν δὲ ἔτέραν ὑπὸ τῆς
ἀμπεχόνης παρὰ ταῖς λαγόσι πήξαντες, ίνα μηδ'
127 ἄκοντες τὶ τῶν εἰς τὸ σωθῆναι παράσχεσθε; καὶ
καθεδείσθε ἐν τοῖς συναγωγοῖς υμῶν, τὸν εἰσὶν ἥθος
θίασον ἄγείροντες καὶ ἀσφαλῶς τὰς ἱερὰς βίβλους
ἀναγνώσκοντες κἂν εἰ τι μὴ τρανὲς εἶπε διαπτύ-
σοντες καὶ τῇ πατρίῳ φιλοσοφίᾳ διὰ μακρηγορίας
128 ἐνευκαίριοντες τε καὶ ἑνσχολάζοντες; ἀλλὰ γάρ
ἀποσεισάμενοι πάντα ταῦτα πρὸ τὴν ἑαυτῶν καὶ
gονέων καὶ τέκνων καὶ τῶν ἄλλων οἰκειόστατων καὶ
φιλτάτων σωμάτων, εἰ δὲ δεῖ τάληθες εἰπεῖν, καὶ
κτημάτων καὶ χρημάτων, ὡς μηδὲ ταῦτα ἄφα-
129 νισθεῖν, βοήθειαν ἀποδύσεσθε. καὶ μὴν
οὕτως αὐτὸς ἐγὼ τὰ λεχθέντα, ἐφη, πάντα εἰμί,

1 mss. ἀσφαλεῖς τε.
2 mss. διαπτύσσοντες.
3 mss. ἀποδύσεσθαι.
perform other actions which contravene our estab­lished custom, thinking that if he could destroy the ancestral rule of the Sabbath it would lead the way to irregularity in all other matters, and a general backsliding. And when he saw that those on whom he was exercising pressure were not submitting to his orders, and that the rest of the population instead of taking the matter calmly were intensely indignant and shewed themselves as mournful and disconsolate as they would were their native city being sacked and razed, and its citizens being sold into captivity, he thought good to try to argue them into breaking the law. "Suppose," he said, "there was a sudden inroad of the enemy or an inundation caused by the river rising and breaking through the dam, or a blazing conflagration or a thunderbolt or famine, or plague or earthquake, or any other trouble either of human or divine agency, will you stay at home perfectly quiet? Or will you appear in public in your usual guise, with your right hand tucked inside and the left held close to the flank under the cloak lest you should even unconsciously do anything that might help to save you? And will you sit in your conventicles and assemble your regular company and read in security your holy books, expounding any obscure point and in leisurely comfort discussing at length your ancestral philosophy? No, you will throw all these off and gird yourselves up for the assistance of yourselves, your parents and your children, and the other persons who are nearest and dearest to you, and indeed also your chattels and wealth to save them too from annihilation. See then," he went on, "I who stand before you am
τυφώς, πόλεμος, κατακλυσμός, κεραυνός, λυμηρά καὶ λοιμώδης νόσος, ὁ τινάττων καὶ κυκὼν τὰ παγίως ἐστῶτα σεισμός, εἰμαρμένης ἀνάγκης οὐκ ὀνόμα, ἀλλ' ἐμφανῆς ἐνεχύσ ἐστῶσα δύναμις. τῷ ὅποι τὸν ταῦτα λέγοντα ἢ διανοούμενον αὐτῷ μόνῳ εἶναι φῶμεν; ἀρ' οὐκ ἐκτόπιον; ὑπερωκεάνιον μὲν ὅποι ἡ μετακόσμιον τι καὶ νόσον κακόν, εἰ γε τῷ πάντα μακαρίῳ ὁ πάντα βαρυδαίμων ἐαυτὸν ἐξομοιοῦν ὑπερθείτ' ἀν' ὅποι ἦλιον καὶ σελήνην [676] καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ἀστέρας βλασφημεῖν, ὥσπερ τι τῶν ἐλπισθέντων κατὰ τὰς ἐτησίους ὥρας ἡ μὴ συνόλως ἡ μὴ μάδις ἀποβαίνου, φλογμὸν μὲν θέρους, κρυμὸν δὲ [καὶ] κεφαλῶν ἀριθμοὺ κατασκήνωντος, ἔαρος δὲ καὶ μετοπώρου, τοῦ μὲν πρὸς εὔκαρπίαν εὔτοκεῖσθαι, τοῦ δὲ πρὸς νοσημάτων γενέσεις εὐτοκία χρωμένου; πάντα μὲν ὅποι ἀνασελῶν κάλων ἄχαλίνου στόματος καὶ κακηγόρου γλώττης, ὡσπερ τὸν εἰσθότα δασμὸν οὐκ ἐνεκούμενος τοῦ ἀστέρας αἰτίασβται, τιμάσθαι μονού καὶ προσκυνεῖσθαι δίκαιων ὑπὸ τῶν οὐρανίων τάπιγεια καὶ περιττότερον εαυτὸν, ὅσῳ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἀνθρώπων ὁν διεννυχέχειν ζώμων δοκεῖ. Τοιοῦτοι μὲν οἱ κορυφαῖοι τῆς κενής ἡμίν δόξης γράφονται, τοὺς δὲ χειρετάς ἐν μέρει κατ' αὐτοῦς ὑπωμεν. οὗτοι μὲν ἐπιβουλεύουσιν ἀεὶ τοῖς

1 MSS. λομύρα. 2 MSS. ἵην. 3 MSS. ὑπέρθ ... αν. 4 MSS. εἰ. 5 MSS. ἱερό άκαρπίαν. 6 MSS. ἀνασελειν κάλων. 7 MSS. κατηγόρου. 8 MSS. δ' ἐτέρας. 9 MSS. δικαλόν. 10 MSS. οὐρανῶν. 11 MSS. καθ' αὐτοῦς.

a Or “between the worlds.” See on De Som. i. 184.
all the things I have named. I am the whirlwind, the war, the deluge, the lightning, the plague of famine or disease, the earthquake which shakes and confounds what was firm and stable; I am constraining destiny, not its name but its power, visible to your eyes and standing at your side.’’ What shall we say of one who says or even merely thinks these things? Shall we not call him an evil thing hitherto unknown: a creature of a strange land or rather one from beyond the ocean and the universe—a—he who dared to liken to the All-blessed his all-miserable self? Would he delay to utter blasphemies against the sun, moon and the other stars, if what he hoped for at each season of the year did not happen at all or only grudgingly, if the summer visited him with scorching heat or the winter with a terrible frost, if the spring failed in its fruit-bearing or the autumn shewed fertility in breeding diseases? Nay, he will loose every reef of his unbridled mouth and scurrilous tongue and accuse the stars of not paying their regular tribute, and scarce refrain from demanding that honour and homage be paid by the things of heaven to the things of earth, and to himself more abundantly inasmuch as being a man he conceives himself to have been made superior to other living creatures.

XIX. Such is our description of the leaders of vain-glory: let us now consider separately the rank and file which follow them. They are for ever plotting

\[b\] Wend. notes that Cohn wished to transpose “summer” and “winter.” Though this may at first sight seem more likely, I think Wend. is right in following the mss. Railing at extremes of the natural is more impious than railing at the unnatural, and the words about spring and autumn bear this out.
άσκηταις ἀρετής· οὐς ὅταν ἔδωσι σπουδάζοντας τὸν αὐτῶν βίον ἀληθεία ἀδόλω φαιδρύνειν καὶ ὡς πρὸς σεληνικόν ἡ τὸ ἄφ' ἰδών καθαρὸν φέγγος ἀγά-
ζειν, άπαντώντες 1 ή βιαζόμενοι κωλύουσιν, εἰς τὸν ἀσεβῶν ἀνήλιον χώρον εἰσελάυνοντες, ὃν ἐπέχουσιν
νῦξ βαθεία καὶ σκότος ατελεύτητον καὶ εἰδώλων καὶ
φασμάτων καὶ ὀνειρίων έθνη 2 μυρία, κάκει κατα-
134 δύσαντες προσκυνοῦν ὃς δεσπότας ἀναγκάζουσιν. τὸν
μὲν γὰρ φρονήσεως ἀσκητὴν ὑπολαμβάνομεν ἦλιον,
ἐπειδήπερ ὁ μὲν τοῖς σώμασιν, ὁ δὲ τοῖς κατὰ
ψυχὴν πράγμασιν ἐμπαρέχει φῶς, τὴν δὲ παιδείαν,
ἡ κέχρηται—ἐν νυκτὶ γὰρ ἡ ἐκάτερας
eἰλικρινεστάτη καὶ ὑφελιμωτάτη χρήσις ἔστων,
ἀδελφοὺς δὲ τοὺς παιδείας καὶ ἀσκητικῆς ψυχῆς
(ὡς) ἐν ἐγγόνων ἀστείους λόγους, οὕς πάντας
ὁρθὴν ἀτραπόν έμπαρείν τοῦ βίου παλαισμασὶ
πολυτρόποις καὶ πολυμηχάνοις αὐχενίζοντες ἐκ-
τραχηλίζειν καὶ καταρράττειν ὑποσκελίζοντες 4 οἱ
μηδὲν υγιές μὴ λέγειν μήτε φρονεῖν ἐγνωκότες
135 έξιοῦσιν,
διὸ καὶ ἐπιτιμᾷ τῷ τοιούτῳ
τιθάσως 5 ὁ πατὴρ, οὐκ Ἰακώβ, ἀλλ' ὁ καὶ τούτου
πρεσβύτερος ὀρθὸς λόγος φάσκων. “τί τὸ ἐνύπνιον
136 τοῦτο ἐνυπνιάσθης;” ἀλλ' οὐκ ἐνύπνιον εἴδες.
ἡ ύπέλαβες, ὅτι τὰ φύσει ἐλεύθερα ἀνθρωπείων
ἀνάγκη δούλα ἔσται καὶ ὑπήκοα τὰ ἁρχοντα καὶ,
tὸ ἐτὶ παραδοξότερον, οὐκ ἀλλων ὑπήκοα ἄλλα

1 mss. ἀπαντώντες. 2 mss. ἐθνη.
3 mss. ἡ ... ἐπειδήτερ ... μὲν <Trin. οἱ μὲν>.
4 mss. ὑποσκελίζοντας. 5 mss. τιθάσω.

a See note on Quis Rerum 242.
   b Logically this should be "the stars."
mischief and evil against the practisers of virtue, and when they see them zealous to brighten their life with the light of guileless truth and irradiate it with moonbeams as it were and with pure sunlight, they hinder them by deceit or violence and drive them down to the sunless region of the impious where deep night reigns and endless darkness, and innumerable tribes of spectres and phantoms and dream-illusions. And when they have brought them to their setting there they compel them to do obeisance to themselves as masters. For we understand by the sun the practiser of wisdom, since it provides light for material things even as the other does for the immaterial things of the soul. And by the moon we understand the instruction which serves the wise, for both render a service most pure and useful in lightening a night, while the excellent thoughts and reasonings, the children as it were of instruction and the practising soul, are the brethren. These it is who rule aright the straight path of life, but those who purpose to say nothing and think nothing that is wholesome deem well to ply them all with wrestling-grips of manifold turns and twists, with the throat-clutch which dislocates the neck, or the leg-fall which brings the wrestler with a thud to the ground.

And therefore one of this sort is gently rebuked by his father, not Jacob, but by that right reason which is higher and greater than Jacob. "What is this dream which you dreamt?" (Gen. xxxvii. 10), he says. "You did not dream," he means, "or did you suppose that the naturally free would be forced into slavery to the human, the powers which rule into subjection and, more unreasonable still, made subject not to some others but
τῶν ἀρχομένων, οὕτ' ἔτέρων δούλα ἄλλα τῶν
dουλευόντων; εἰ μὴ ἄπρα κράτει1 θεοῦ τοῦ μόνου
πάντα δυνατοῦ, ὥς καὶ τὰ ἀκύνητα κινεῖν καὶ τὰ
φοροῦμενα θέμις ἰδρύσασθαι, μεταβολὴ τῶν καθ-
137 εστῶτων γένοιτο πρὸς τάναντια. ἐπεὶ τίνα ἔξει
[677] λόγον τὸ ὀργίζεσθαι2 καὶ ἐπιτιμᾶν τῷ τῇν καθ'
ὑπνον ναντιόν ἰδόντι; μὴ γὰρ ἐκὼν εἶδον αὐτῆν;
ἐρεῖ, τί μοι τὰ τῶν ἐκ προνοίας ἡδικηκότων ἐπάγεις3
ἔγκληματα; τὸ προσπεσοῦν ἔξωθεν καὶ πλήξαν μου
138 τῇν διάνοιαν αἰφνίδιον ἀκοντος δυγηγησάμην. ἄλλα
gὰρ οὐκ ἔστι περὶ ὀνείρατος ὁ παρῶν λόγος, ἄλλα
περὶ πραγμάτων ἐκόστων ἐνυπνίοις· αὐτὸς μὴ λίαν
κεκαθαρμένος μεγάλα καὶ λαμπρά καὶ περιμάχητα
εἶναι δοκεῖ, μικρὰ ὄντα καὶ ἀμυντρά καὶ χλεύης
ἐπάξια παρ' ἀδεκάστοις4 ἀληθείας βραβευταῖς.

139 XX. Ἀρ' οὖν, φησιν, ἐλεύσομαι μὲν
(ὁ) ὀρθὸς λόγος, ἐγὼ, ἀφίζεσαι δὲ καὶ ἡ τοῦ
φιλομαθοῦς θιάσου ψυχῆ5 μήτηρ ὁμοῦ καὶ τροφός,
ἀρετῶσα παιδεία, συντενοῦσι δὲ καὶ οἱ ἀμφότερων
ἡμῶν ἐγγονοὶ καὶ στάντες ἀντικρύς οὕτω κατὰ
στοῖχον ἐν κόσμῳ τὰς χεῖρας ἐξάραντες προσ-

1 MSS. κρατεῖν.
2 MSS. ὀρίζεσθαι.
3 MSS. ἐπάγεις.
4 MSS. παρὰ δὲ ἐκάστοις.
5 MSS. ψυχῆ which Wend. brackets. Mangey on the other
hand would read ψυχῆς and bracket θιάσου. But the latter
is evidently needed to represent the brothers, and that the
δυνάμεις should be called the θιάσος ψυχῆς seems to me quite
natural.

a The thought seems to be that Jacob’s question means
"it was no dream but a spiritual delusion." If it was a
ON DREAMS, II. 136–139

to those whom they rule, and slaves to none but those who themselves are in slavery?" That could only be if by the power of God who alone can do all things, whose right it is to move the immovable and to make stable the inconstant, the present state of things should be changed to its opposite. Nay, no dream! for what sense would there be in rebuking or showing anger to one who has seen an illusion in his sleep? “Was it of my free will that I saw it?” he would say. “Why charge me as you charge those who have deliberately gone wrong? I did but tell you what came upon me from without and struck my mind suddenly through no action of my own.” But the fact is that we are not concerned here with a dream, but with things that resemble dreams: things which seem great and brilliant and desirable to those who are not very well purified, but are small and dull and ridiculous in the eyes of uncorrupted judges of truth. XX. What he means is this: “Shall I right reason come: shall fruitful instruction the mother and nurse of the soul-company that yearns for knowledge come too, shall the children of us two press forward, and shall we all standing straight opposite ranged in order with lifted hands dream no blame would attach (§ 137). I have therefore put a colon, as Mangey, after eidēs, instead of a mark of interrogation as Wend. The question form, however, in the rest of the sentence does not fit in very well. I suggest ovk eidēs μάλλον ἡ πελάβεις, a favourite form with Philo for ovk . . . ἀλλά.

b The ei μὴ clause is connected with παράδοξότερον. “It would only fail to be paradoxical, if” etc.
140 εὐξώμεθα τύφον; πρότερον ὑφέντες, εἶτα κατα- 
βαλόντες έαυτούς εἰς τὸ ἑδαφὸς ποτνιάσθαι καὶ 
προσκυνεῖν ἐπιχειρήσωμεν; ἀλλὰ μὴ ἐπιλάμψαι 
ποτὲ τούτοις γινομένοις ἦλιος, ἐπεὶ βαθὺ μὲν 
σκότος κακοῖς, τηλαυγὲς δὲ φῶς ἀγαθὸς ἐφαρμόζει. 
τί δὲ ἄν γένοιτο μείζον κακὸν ἢ τὸν πλαστὸν καὶ 
φένακα τύφον ἀντὶ τῆς ἀπλάστου καὶ ἀμενοῦς 
ἄτυφίας ἐπαινεῖσθαι τε καὶ θαυμάζεσθαι;

141 Παγκάλως δὲ προσδιέσταλται τὸ ""διετήρησεν 
ὁ πατὴρ τὸ ῥήμα""· ψυχὴς γὰρ οὐ νεωτέρας οὐδὲ 
ἀγόνου καὶ ἐστειρωμένης, ἀλλὰ τῶν ὄντι πρεσβυ-
τέρας καὶ γεννᾶν ἐπισταμένης ἐργὸν ἑστὶ σωζὴν 
εὐλαβεία καὶ μηδὲνός καταφρονεῖν τὸ παράπαν, 
ἀλλὰ τὸ ἀδραστὸν καὶ ἀνίκητον τοῦ θεοῦ κράτος 
κατεπτηχέναι καὶ περιαθρεῖν ἐν κύκλῳ, τί ἀρα 
142 ἀποβήσεται τὸ τέλος αὐτῆ. διὰ τοῦτο καὶ τὴν 
Μωυσέως ἀδελφὴν—ἐλπίς δὲ παρ’ ἥμιν τοῖς ἀλλη-
γορικοῖς ὀνομάζεται—φασὶν ἀποσκοπεῖν4 μακρόθεν 
καὶ ἐκεῖ πρὸς τὸ τοῦ βίου δῆπον τέλος ἐμβλέπον-
σαν, ἵνα αἰσιόν ἀπαντήσῃ, τοῦ τελεσφόρου κατα-
143 πέμψαντος αὐτὸς ἀνωθεν οὐρανοῦ, πολλοὶ γὰρ 
πολλὰς πλωτὰ μεγάλα διαβαλόντες καὶ μακρὸν

1 mss. ἄφέντες, which Wend. retains. For the punctuation 
and meaning see note a below.
2 mss. ἐπὶ.
3 mss. προσδιέσταλται.
4 mss. ἀποσκοπεῖν.
5 mss. αὐτῶ.
6 So mss.: Mangey and Wend. ἀπλωτὰ πελάγη, cf. § 180. 
The change seems to me unnecessary. It is true that I find 
no example of πλωτᾶ as a substantive, but the sense is better. 
Philo is speaking of what frequently happens.
7 mss. διαλαβόντες.

a Wendland and Mangey punctuate τύφον πρότερον ἄφ-
(Mangey υφέντες, i.e. "casting away our former pride." 
This seems to me impossible in view of the use of τύφος 
506
address our prayers to vanity? Shall we first bow and then cast ourselves to the ground in supplication and obeisance?" No, may the sun never shine on these happenings, since deep darkness befits things evil and bright light the good, and what greater evil could there be than that vanity the fictitious and deceiver should receive praise and admiration, usurping the place of its opposite, simplicity in whom there is no fiction or falsity.

There is a further excellent lesson in the words, "The father retained the saying" (Gen. xxxvii. 11). For surely it is the business of a soul which is no youngster nor barren nor sterile but verily an elder and skilled in parenthood, to take caution for its life-mate, to despise nothing at all but to crouch in awe before the power of God which none can evade or defeat, and to look with circumspection to see what end shall befall it. And so the oracles say that the sister of Moses, to whom we who deal in allegory give the name of "Hope," "spied out from a distance" (Ex. ii. 4), looking doubtless to the consummation of life, that it may meet us with good auspice sent down from high heaven by the Consummator. For many a time and to many has it happened that they have crossed wide spaces of navigable waters throughout. To cast away τυφός in Philo's sense would be a worthy action, not as here unworthy. Moreover in § 140 it is clearly indicated as the recipient of misplaced homage. I feel no doubt that τυφόν is the object of προσευξώμεθα. As I have translated it, there are three stages: (1) standing with uplifted hands, (2) bowing, (3) falling prostrate, the last representing the LXX ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν. But I should like clearer authority for ὑφεῖναι εαυτού = "to bow," and the use of πρότερον for πρῶτον may seem strange, but cf. De Mos. ii. 49 and 184. Still the considerations mentioned above against the other interpretation seem to me overwhelming. See also App. p. 609.
πλοῦν οὐρίων πνεύμασιν ἀκίνδυνοί παραπεμφθέντες ἐν αὐτοῖς λιμέσιν ἐξαίφνης ἐνανάγησαν, μέλλοντες

144 ἤδη προσορμῇσθαι. μυρίοι1 δὲ καὶ βαρεῖς καὶ πολυτεῖς πολέμους ἀνά κράτος ἐλόντες καὶ ἀτρωτοὶ διατελέσαντες, ὡς μηδ' ἐπιφάνειαν ἄκραν νυχθήναι,2 ἀλλ' ὁσπερ εκ πανηγύρεως κοινοθήμου καὶ δημοτολοὺς ἑορτῆς3 τελείν * * * ὄλοκλήροι καὶ παντελόσι, μεθ' ἑλλαρᾶς ἐπιστρέψαντες εὐθυμίας ἐν ταῖς ἴδιαις ψφ' ὃν ἢκιστ' ἐχρήν ἐπεβουλεύθησαν οἰκίαις, τὸ λεγόμενον τοῦτο, "βόες ἐπὶ φάτνη 5"

145 σφαγέντες. ΧΧΙ. ὁσπερ δὴ ταῦτα ἀπροσδόκητοι καὶ ἀτέκμαρτοι συντυχεῖν κατασκάπτειν4 φιλοῦσιν, οὔτω καὶ τὰς περὶ ψυχῆν δυνάμεις ἀντωθοῦσι πρὸς τάναντία καὶ ἀντιμετακλίνουσιν, ἦν οἷα τε όσι, καὶ ἀνατρέψαι βιάζονται. τις γὰρ εἰς τὸν ἄγώνα τοῦ βίου παρελθὼν ἀπτωτος ἐμείνε; τις δ' οὐχ ὑπεσκελίσθη; ευδαίμων δ' οὖ νάπλάκις. τίνι δ' οὐκ ἐφήδρευεν ἢ τύχη, διαπέφυκα καὶ συλλεγομένη δύμη, ἵνα συμπλακεῖσα εὐθὺς ἐξαρπάσῃ,

146 πρὶν φθάσαι τὸν ἀντίπαλον κοίνοισθαι; οὐκ ἤδη5 τινὰς ὡσμὲν ἐκ παίδων εἰς γῆρας ἀφηγμένος, οἱ μηδεμίας ἐπήσθοντο6 ταραχὴς εἰτε δὴ εὐμοιρίαν7 φύσεως εἰτε διὰ τῆς τῶν τρεφόντων καὶ παιδεύοντων ἐπιμέλειαν εἰτε καὶ ἀμφότερα, βαθείας δ' εἰρήνης ἀναπληθέντας τῆς11 ἐκαύτοις, ἢ πρὸς ἀληθείαν ἐστὶ εἰρήνη, τῆς κατὰ τὰς πόλεις ἀρχέτου, καὶ διὰ τοῦτ εὐδαίμονας νομισθέντας, ὅτι τὸν

1 mss. μυρίουs. 2 mss. μιχθήναι. 3 mss. ἑορτᾶs.
4 A lacuna of ten letters. I have translated Mangey's μέλεςαν for τελείν and Wendland’s suggestion of ἐπανελθέαειν for the lacuna. τελείν, however (intransitive), = “end up” may be genuine.
5 mss. φάτνηs.
6 mss. κατασκάπτειν. 7 mss. ὣν ὀνλ τε. 8 mss. εἴ δή.
ON DREAMS, II. 143–147

and passed a long voyage in safety escorted by favourable breezes, and then in the harbour itself have suddenly been shipwrecked just when they were on the point to cast anchor. Multitudes, too, have fought manfully for years in cruel warfare and remained unwounded without even a scratch or a prick: they have returned in mirth and in gladness as though war were a public festival and a civic banquet, without a limb missing or unsound, and then in their own homes have been conspired against by those who should have been the last to do such a deed and slaughtered as the saying goes like “oxen at the stall.”² XXI. And just as sudden and unexpected evils are wont to bring these outward infictions upon us, so too they push the soul’s faculties in the opposite direction or deflect them to a side course if they can, or seek violently to overturn them. For who that has entered the arena of life remains without a fall? Who has never been tripped up and thrown? Happy he who has fallen but seldom. Has there been any for whom fortune was not ever lying in wait, taking breath and collecting her strength, to grip him in her arms and carry him off before he can prepare to meet her? Do we not know by experience of men who have passed from childhood to old age without feeling any disturbance of soul, because nature has so blessed them, or through the care of those who rear and train them or through both—men full of the profound inward peace which is the only true peace of which the peace of cities is but a copy—men who have therefore been held

² Od. iv. 535 (of the death of Agamemnon).

⁹ MSS. ἐπείθοντο. ¹⁰ MSS. εὐμάρειαν. ¹¹ MSS. τὴν.
υπὸ τῶν παθῶν ἀναρριπτῷμενον ἐμφύλιον πόλεμον, ἄργαλεωτάτον ὠντα πολέμων, οὐδ' ὄναρ ἐπήσθοντο, εἰτ' ἐν αὐταῖς τοῦ βίου ταῖς δυσμαῖς ἐξοκείλαντάς τε καὶ ναναγήσαντας ἤ περὶ γλώτταν ἢ ἀθυρον ἢ περὶ γαστέρα ἀπλήσαντας ἤ περὶ τὴν τῶν ὑπογαστρίων ἀκράτορα λεγνείαν; οἱ μὲν γὰρ τὸν μειρακιώδη τῶν ἀσώτων, ἀτιμόν, ἀποκήρυκτον, αἰσχρὸν βίον ἐζήλωσαν “ἐπὶ γῆραος οὐδ’”, οἱ δὲ τὸν πανούργον καὶ συκοφάντην καὶ πανούργον, ἀπαρχόμενοι φιλοπραγμοσύνης, ὅτε εἰκὸς ἦν ἢδη καὶ παλαιὰν οὔσαν καταλύσαν.

148 διὸ χρῆ τὸν θεὸν ποτνιάσθαι καὶ λυπαρῷς ἱκετεύειν, ὅπως τὸ ἔπίκηρον ἦμων γένος μὴ παρέλθῃ, ἀργαλεωτάτον ὠντα πολέμων, ἀποκήρυκτον, ἀτιμόν ἀποκήρυκτον, αἰσχρὸν βίον ἐζήλωσαν “ἐπὶ γῆραος οὐδ’”, οἱ δὲ τὸν πανούργον καὶ συκοφάντην καὶ πανούργον, ἀπαρχόμενοι φιλοπραγμοσύνης, ὅτε εἰκὸς ἦν ἢδη καὶ παλαιὰν οὔσαν. 149 καταλύσαν.

150 γευσαμένους κωλυθήσεις κορεσθῆναι. XXII. ἀλλὰ φέρε, δύψης καυχότερον ἐστι κακὸν ὁ λιμός οὗτος, ἑρωτής καὶ πόθον ἐν τῷ παρελθόντας, ἄρωτα καὶ πόθον ἐν τῷ παρελθόντας, ἑρωτής καὶ πόθον ἐν τῷ παρελθόντας, ἑρωτής καὶ πόθον ἐν τῷ παρελθόντας, ἑρωτής καὶ πόθον ἐν τῷ παρελθόντας, ἑρωτής καὶ πόθον ἐν τῷ παρελθόντας, ἑρωτής καὶ πόθον ἐν τῷ παρελθόντας, ἑρωτής καὶ πόθον ἐν τῷ παρελθόντας, ἑρωτής καὶ πόθον ἐν τῷ παρελθόντας, ἑρωτής καὶ πόθον ἐν τῷ παρελθόντας, ἑρωτής καὶ πόθον ἐν τῷ παρελθόντας, ἑρωτής καὶ πόθον ἐν τῷ παρελθόντας, ἑρωτής καὶ πόθον ἐν τῷ παρελθόντας, ἑρωτής καὶ πόθον ἐν τῷ παρελθόντας, ἑρωτής καὶ πόθον ἐν τῷ παρελθόντας, ἑρωτής καὶ πόθον ἐν τῷ παρελθόντας, ἑρωτής καὶ πόθον ἐν τῷ παρελθόντας, ἑρωτής καὶ πόθον ἐν τῷ παρελθόντας, ἑρωτής καὶ πόθον ἐν τῷ παρελθόντας, ἑρωτής καὶ πόθον ἐν τῷ παρελθόντας, ἑρωτής καὶ πόθον ἐν τῷ παρελθόντας, ἑρωτής καὶ πόθον ἐν τῷ παρελθόντας, ἑρωτής καὶ πόθον ἐν τῷ παρελθόν

[679] ΑφεΤΕΡΑΣ ΠΗΓΗΣ, ΗΣ ΘΟΛΕΡΟΝ ΚΑΙ ΝΟΣΕΡΟΝ ΤΟ ΝΑΜΑ, ΔΙΑ ΤΟΝ (ΤΟΥ) ΠΙΕΙΝ ΗΜΕΡΟΝ ΕΜΦΟΡΕΙΣΘΑΙ ΔΕΠΤΟΤΕ ΑΝΑΓΚΗ ΓΛΥΚΟΠΙΚΡΟΥΝ ΠΛΗΡΟΜΕΝΟΥΣ ΗΔΟΝΗΣ ΕΝ ΑΒΙΩΤΩ ΒΙΩ ΔΙΑΞΗΝ, ΤΟΙΣ ΒΛΑΒΕΡΟΙΣ ΩΣ ΩΦΕΛΙΜΟΙ ΕΠΙΤΡΕΧΟΝΤΑΣ ΑΓΝΟΙΑ ΤΟΥ ΣΥΜΦΕΡΟΝΤΟΣ.

152 ἡ δὲ τῶν κακῶν ἀναροτάτη φορὰ γίνεται τούτων, ἐπειδὰν αἱ ἀλογοι δυνάμεις τῆς ψυχῆς ἐπηδέμεναι ταῖς τοῦ λογισμοῦ κρατῆσωσι. ἐως μὲν γὰρ ἡ ποιμέσι ποιμνα ἡ αἰτόλοις

1 mss. ἀπὸ.

2 mss. πληρομένης.

a I.I. xxii. 60 and elsewhere.
b The thought seems to be that the unsatisfied yearning for the peace which we have lost is a less evil than the desire for pleasure, because the very yearning has something com-
happy because they have never known even in their dreams the intestine war kindled by passion, the cruellest of wars—and then at the very eventide of life they have been wrecked on the rock of an un­locked tongue or insatiate greed of belly, or in uncontrolled lasciviousness of the lower-lying parts. For some “on the threshold of old age”\(^a\) affect the life of prodigal youth, a life dishonoured, abandoned, shamed. Others affect a life of knavery, slander and roguery, starting on their restless course just when, were it an old habit, we should expect them to discard it. And therefore we should earnestly entreat and supplicate God that He should not pass by our perishing race but charge His saving mercy to remain with us to the end, for it is a grievous thing that when we have tasted peace in its purity we should be hindered from taking our fill of it. XXII. And yet this hunger\(^b\) for peace, assuaged as it is by yearning and desire, is a lighter ill than thirst; but when in our eagerness to quench our thirst we have to drink of another fountain whose water is muddy and noisome, we must needs, replete with bitter-sweet pleasure, lead the life which is not worth living, pursuing the harmful as though it were profitable in our ignorance of our own interest. And the stream of these evils becomes most grievous when the un­reasoning forces of the soul attack and overpower the forces of reason. Whilst the herd obeys its herdsman, or the flocks of sheep or goats obey the

forting in it. But it is strange that these two should be put in antithesis as “hunger” and “thirst,” particularly as \(\text{ακράτω} \) in the previous sentence and \(\text{ἐτέρας πήγης} \) in this suggest that the \(\text{λιμός} \) includes thirst as well as hunger, cf. \(\text{De Ebr. 148} \). I suspect that \(\text{δίψης} \) is a gloss or interpolation. If so, translate \(\text{λιμός} \) by “famine.”
αἰπόλια πειθαρχεῖ, τὰ περὶ τὰς ἀγέλας κατορθοῦται· ἐπειδὰν δὲ ἀσθενέστεροι τῶν θρεμμάτων οἱ ἐπι-
στατοῦντες ἀγελάρχαι γίνονται, πλημμειλεῖται τὰ
πάντα καὶ συμβαίνει ἀταξία μὲν ἐκ τάξεως, ἀκόσμια
δ' ε' εὖκοσμία, ταραχὴ δ' ε' εὖσταθεία καὶ
σύγχυσις ἐκ διακρίσεως, ἂτε μηδεμίας ἐτί νομίμου
καθεστώσης ἐπιστασίας· εἰ γὰρ ἦν, ἦδη καθήρητο.
153 τί οὖν; οὐκ οἰόμεθα καὶ εὖ ήμῖν αὐτὸῖς θρεμμάτων
μὲν ἀγέλην εἶναι, παρόσον ἀποτέτμηται ψυχὴν
τὸ ἄλογον στίφος, ἀγελάρχην δὲ τῶν ἡγεμόνα νοῦν;
αλλ' ἐως μὲν ἐρρωταὶ τε καὶ ἰκανὸς ἀγελαρχεῖν
ἐστώ, ἐνδίκως ἀπαντά ὑπὲρ καὶ συμπερεύοντος ἐπιτελεῖται.
154 ὅταν δὲ ἀθλενεῖα τὰς ἐπιγένεται τῷ βασιλεῖ,
συγκάμυνει ἀνάγκη καὶ τὸ ὑπῆκοον· καὶ οὔτε μάλιστα
ἡλευθερώσθαι δοκεῖ, τότε μάλιστα γίνεται ἑπομο-
τατον ἄθλον κείμενον τοῖς βουλομένοις αὐτῷ μόνον
κοινωνίαν. πέφυκε γὰρ ἀναρχία μὲν ἐπιβουλων,
ἀρχὴ δ' εἶναι σωτήριον, καὶ μάλισθ' ἡ νόμος καὶ
δίκη τετίμηται· αὐτὴ δ' ἐστὶν ἡ σύν λόγῳ.
155 XXIII. Τὰ μὲν δὴ τῆς κενῆς δόξης ὁνείρατα
ωδε ἡκριβώσθω· τὰ δὲ τῆς γαστριμαργίας εἴδη
πόσις τε καὶ βρώσις, ἀλλὰ τῇ μὲν οὐκ ἄρχικλην,
τῇ δὲ μυρίων ὡς ἡμεομάτων καὶ παραρτικατῶν
χρεία. ταῦτα μέντοι δυοί φροντισται ἔπανατίθεται,
tα μὲν τῆς περίεργου ποίεσις ἀρχιοικοχώ, τα δὲ
156 τῆς ανθηροτέρας ἐδωδὴς ἀρχιαιτοποιώ· σφόδρα
dε' ἐξητασμένως μιᾷ νυκτὶ φαντασιούμενοι τούς

1 My correction for ms. ψυχῆς. I understand ἀποτέτμηται to be used as in De Cher. 4 ἦν ἀποτέτμηται μαθηματικά, and ψυχή, as so often, in its lower sense. Wend. retains ψυχῆς and suggests ἐκτέτμηται.
2 mss. έχοντα.
3 My correction: Wend. ο' ποικίλων: mss. ο' ποικίλα. This
shepherd or goatherd, all goes well with them; but, when the controlling herdsmen prove weaker than their charges, everything goes awry. Arrangement gives way to disarrangement, order to disorder, steadiness to disturbance, organization to confusion, since the lawful control no longer subsists. For if it ever existed it is now destroyed. What follows? Must we not believe that, since the troop of unreason has made the soul its province, we have within ourselves a herd of brute cattle and a herdsman too, the ruling mind? But while the mind is strong and capable of playing the herdsman, all things are managed with justice and profit; but when weakness befalls the king, the subject element must suffer also, and it is just when the victim thinks he is most at liberty that he becomes the easiest of prizes, which whoso would win needs but little preparation for the contest. For it is the nature of anarchy to plot mischief and of government to bring salvation, and chiefly so where law and justice are honoured, and that means government based on reason.

XXIII. Here we may conclude our close study of the dreams of vainglory. As for gluttony it has two forms—drinking and eating, and the spicings and the flavourings needed are by no means simple in the former, but innumerable in the latter. These are entrusted to two caretakers: the liquor treated with nicety to a chief butler, the more elaborate edibles to a chief baker. There is a carefully considered meaning in describing the dreams as appearing to both

is difficult to reconcile with περιέργου below, and still more inconsistent with οἴνων . . . παμποικίλους κράσεις in § 48.

4 So mss.: Wend. ἀναγκαῖότερας, quite needlessly I think. L. & S. 1927 quote δειπναρίον ἄνθροπον from Diphilus.
όνείρους εἰσάγονται· πρὸς γὰρ τὴν αὐτὴν χρείαν σπεύδουσιν ἀμφότεροι, τροφήν οὐχ ἀπλῆν, ἀλλὰ τὴν μεθ’ ἣδων καὶ τέρψεως εὐτρεπιζόμενοι. καὶ ἐκάτερος μὲν περὶ τροφῆς ἦμισυ ποιεῖται, ἀμφότεροι δὲ περὶ πᾶσαν. ἔστι δὲ καὶ θάτερον μέρος ὅλκὸν θατέρου· καὶ γὰρ οἱ φαγόντες εὐθὺς ὁρέγονται ποτοῦ καὶ αὐτίκα ἐδωδής οἱ πίόντες· ὡςτε οὐχ ἦκιστα καὶ διὰ τούτου χρόνον τὸν αὐτὸν τῆς 158 φαντασίας ἀμφότεροι ἀναγεγράφθαι· οὐ μὲν οὖν ἀρχινοχόοσ οὐνοφλυγίαν, ὃ δὲ ἀρχισιτοποίος λαμμαργίαν ἐλαχε. φαντασινυται δὲ ἐκάτερος τὰ οίκεια, ο μὲν οίνον καὶ τὸ γεννητικόν οἰνον φυτὸν, ἀμπελόν, ὃ δ’ ἐπὶ κανῶν διακειμένους ἐκκεκαθα- 159 αρμένους ἄρτους καὶ κανηφοροῦντα έαυτόν. ἀρμότον δὲ ἄν εἰγ γροτερον τὸ πρότερον ἐξετάζεων ὄνορα, ἔστι δὲ τοιόντε· "ἐν τῷ ὑπνῷ μου ἦν ἀμπελός ἐναντίον μου· ἐν δὲ τῇ ἀμπέλῳ τρεῖς πυθμένες καὶ αὐτὴ θάλλουσα ἀνενηχυχύντα βλαστοῦσ. πέπειροι βότρυνες σταφυλῆς. καὶ τὸ ποτήριον Φαραώ ἐν τῇ 160 χειρὶ μου· καὶ ἔλαβον τὴν σταφυλῆν. καὶ ἐξεθλυψα αὐτὴν εἰς τὸ ποτήριον. καὶ ἐδωκα τὸ ποτήριον εἰς τὸς χειρὸς Φαραώ."] τιθεμασίως γι προανεφθέγξατο καὶ ἀψευδός ἔχει τὸ "ἐν τῷ ὑπνῷ μου." τῷ γὰρ οὐ τὸ μή τὴν δι᾽ οἴνου μέθην μᾶλλον η τὴν δι᾽ ἀφροσύνης ἐπιτηδεύων, ὀρθότητι καὶ ἐγρηγόροςι δυσχεραίνουν, ὡσπερ οἱ κοιμώμενοι καταβέβληται καὶ παρεῖται καὶ καταμέμυκε τὰ τῆς ψυχῆς όμματα, οὐδὲν οὕθ’ ὅραν οὐτ’ ἄκουεν τῶν 161 θέας καὶ ἀκοῆς ἁξίων οἶδος τε ὅν· ἕττημένοι δὲ τυφλῆς καὶ ἄχειραγόγητον, όμο όδόν, ἄλλ’ ἀνοδίαν

1 mss. διὰ σωφροσύνης.
these in a single night. They both aim at serving the same need, for it is not simple nutrition which they prepare but nutrition accompanied with pleasure and delight. And though the labour of each deals with but a half of nutrition they are both concerned with the whole: each half attracts the other, for after eating men at once desire to drink and after drinking no less quickly to eat, and this is one of the chief reasons for assigning the same time to the dreams of both. Now the province of the chief butler is drunkenness and of the chief baker gluttony. Each in his vision sees what fits his trade, wine and the parent plant of wine, the vine, in the first case, in the second loaves of the finest meal disposed on baskets which the baker saw himself carrying (Gen. xl. 16, 17). It would be well to examine the former dream first. It runs as follows: "In my sleep there was a vine over against me, and on the vine were three stalks, and itself was blossoming having put forth shoots. The grapes in the cluster were ripe, and Pharaoh's cup was in my hand, and I took the cluster and squeezed it into the cup and I gave the cup into Pharaoh's hand" (Gen. xl. 9-11). The prefacing with the words "in my sleep" is as striking as the words are true. For indeed he who gives way to the intoxication which is of folly rather than of wine bears a grudge against upright standing and wakefulness, and lies prostrate and sprawling like sleepers with the eyes of his soul closed, unable to see or hear aught that is worth seeing or hearing. And thus brought low, as he passes through life he finds no road but a pathless tract where neither eye nor hand

* Or "roots," as Philo for the purpose of his allegory takes it in § 195.
PHILO

toú βίου διεξέρχεται, βάτοις καὶ τριβόλοις περι-
πειρόμενοι, ἐστὶ δ᾿ ὅτε καὶ κατὰ κρημνῶν κυλιόμενος
καὶ ἄλλοις ἐπιφερόμενος, ὡς ἐκεῖνος τε καὶ ἐαυτὸν
162 οἰκτρῶς διαφθείρειν. ὃ δὲ βαθὺς καὶ διωλύγιος
ὕπνος, ὃ πάς κατέχεται φαύλος, τὰς μὲν ἀληθεῖς
καταλήψεις ἀφαιρεῖται, ψευδῶν δὲ εἰδώλων καὶ
αβεβαιών φαντασμάτων ἀναπίμπλησι τὴν διάνοιαν,
tὰ ὑπαίτια ὡς ἐπαινετὰ ἀναπείθων ἀποδέχεσθαι.
καὶ γὰρ νυνὶ λύπην ὡς χαρὰν ὑμεροπολεῖ καὶ οὕκ
αἰσθάνεται, ὅτι τὸ ἀφροσύνης καὶ τοῦ παραπαίειν
163 * * * φυτὸν, ἀμπελόν, ὁρᾶ. " yyn" γὰρ φησιν
ἀμπελός ἐναντίον μου," τὸ ποδούμενον τῷ
ποθοῦντι, κακία κακῷ. yyn καθ᾿ ἑαυτῶν λελήθαμεν
οἱ ἀνόητοι γεωργοῦντες, ὡς τῶν καρπῶν ἐςθίομέν τε
καὶ πίνομεν εἰς ἑκάτερον τροφῆς κατατάττοντες
εἴδος, ὡς ὡς ἐοικεν οὖν ἐφ᾿ ἡμισείας τῆς βλάβης
ἀλλ᾿ ἀρτίον καὶ ὀλοκλήρου καὶ παντελοῦσ᾿ μετα-
ποιούμεθα.

164 XXIV. Προσήκει δὲ μὴ ἀγνοεῖν, ὅτι τὸ ἀμ-
πελίον μέθυσμα τοὺς χρησομένους ἀπαντᾶς οὐχ
ὀμοίως, ἀλλὰ πολλάκις ἐναντίως διατίθησιν, ὡς
τοὺς μὲν ἀμείνους, τοὺς δὲ χείρον ἑαυτῶν ἑξετά-
165 ἔσθαι. τῶν μὲν γὰρ τὸ σύννοι καὶ σκυθρωπῶν
ἐπανήκε καὶ τὰς φροντίδας ἐχάλασεν ὄργας τε
καὶ λύπας ἐπράνυν τὰ τε ἡθη πρὸς τὸ ἐπιεικὲς
ἐπαιδαγώγησε καὶ τὸς ψυχας ἑαυταῖς ὑλεως
ἐποίησε· τῶν δὲ ἐμπαιλ τοὺς θυμοῦ ἐπήλευσε
καὶ τὰς ὀδύνας ἐπέσφιξε καὶ τοὺς ἐρωτας ἐκίνησε
καὶ τὰς ἁγροικίας ἀνήγειρεν, ἀκλειστὸν στόμα
καὶ γλώτταν ἀχαλίνωτον καὶ αἰσθήσεις ἀθύρους

1 A lacuna of nine to ten letters in A. Perhaps supply
γεννητικῶν.

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can guide him. He is pierced by brambles and thornbushes and sometimes rolls over precipices or charges into others, bringing miserable destruction both to himself and them. And that deep and abysmal sleep which holds fast all the wicked robs the mind of true apprehensions, and fills it with false phantoms and untrustworthy visions and persuades it to approve of the blameworthy as laudable: thus in the present case the dreamer treats sorrow as a joy and does not perceive that the vine of his vision is the plant which produces folly and madness. "There was," he said, "a vine before me" (Gen. xl. 9), the wanted and the wanter, wickedness and the wicked, facing each other. That vine we fools till, little thinking that it is to our own harm, and we eat and drink its fruit, thus ranking it with both kinds of nutriment, a possession which proves to entail no half measure but a wholesale complete totality of mischief.

XXIV. But we should not fail to understand that a strong drink produced by the vine does not affect all who take it in the same way; often it acts in opposite ways so that some may be reckoned as bettered by it and others worsened. With some it relaxes pensiveness and gloom, lightens the stress of cares, softens wrath and fears, tutors the temperament to reasonableness and makes the soul contented with itself. With others it lubricates anger, screws up grief, excites amorousness and rouses discourtesy. It unlocks the mouth and unbridles the tongue, unbars the senses, maddens the passions, and makes the

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2 mss. παντελῶς. Wend. corrects βλάβης to βλάβη, and also the four adjectives to datives. The uses of ἐπί with the genitive are so wide that I do not think so general an alteration is justified.

3 mss. ὀδίνας.
καὶ λελυττηκότα πάθη κάξηγρωμένον καὶ ἐπτοθ-
166 μένον πρὸς πάντα νοῦν ἄποτελοῦν· ὥς δοκεῖν τὴν
μὲν τῶν προτέρων κατάστασιν ἡ τῇ κατὰ τὸν ἀέρα
 νηνέμω αἴθρια ἡ τῇ κατὰ θάλατταν ἄκυμον
γαλήνη ἡ τῇ κατὰ τὰς πόλεις εἰρηνικωτάτῃ
εὐσταθείᾳ ἐοικέναι, τὴν δὲ τῶν υστέρων ἡ βιαίω
καὶ συντόνω πνεύματι ἡ χειμαίνοντι καὶ χυμα-
τομένω πελάγει ἡ στάσει, ἀσπόνδου καὶ ἀκηρύκτου
167 πολέμου δυσωπημωτέρας2 ταραχῆ. δυεῖν γοῦν |
[681] συμποσίων τὸ μὲν πέπλησται γέλωτος, παιδιᾶς,
ἐπαγγελλομένων, ἁγαθά3 ἐλπιζόντων, χαριζομένων,
εὐθυμίας, εὐφημίας, ἱλαρότητος, εὐφροσύνης, ἀδείας.
168 τὸ δὲ συννοίας, κατηφείας, προσκρουμάτων,
λοιδορίων, τραυμάτων, βρυμομένων, ύποβλέπο-
μένων, ὑλακτούντων, ἁγχόντων, καταπαγκρατια-
ζόντων, ἀκρωτηριαζόντων ὡτα καὶ βίναι καὶ ἀπερ
ἀν τύχῃ τοῦ σώματος (μέρη καὶ μέλη),4 τὴν [τοῦ]
παντὸς τοῦ βίου μέθην καὶ παρουσίαν ἐν ἀνιέρῳ
ἀγώνι μετὰ αἰσχρουργίας τῆς πάσης ἐπιδεικνυ-
μένων. XXV. ἀκόλουθον οὖν ἄν εὖσθαι, ὅτι καὶ ἀμπέλος δυεῖν σύμβολον πραγμάτων ἐστίν,
ἀνοίας τε καὶ εὐφροσύνης. ἐκάτερον
dὲ, καίτοι5 μηνυόμενον ἐκ πολλῶν, ἵνα μὴ μακρη-
170 γορῶμεν, δι' ὀλίγων ἐπιδείξομεν. ἣνίκα ἡμάς διὰ
τῆς τῶν παθῶν καὶ ἄδικημάτων ἐρήμης ὀδοῦ,
φιλοσοφίας, ἁγαγών καὶ ὀσπερ εἰς ὀρος6 ἀνα-
βιβάσας τὸν ὅρθον λόγον ἐστησιν ἐπὶ σκοπῆς καὶ
ἐκέλευε περιαθρεῖν τὴν ἀπασαν ἀρετῆς χώραν,
eἰτε εὐγείου καὶ βαθεία καὶ χλοηφόρος καὶ καρπο-

1 MSS. ὅυν.
2 MSS. δυσωπημω.
3 Perhaps transpose to ἁγαθὰ ἐπαγγελλομένων.
4 A lacuna of ten to twelve letters in A.

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mind savage and wild and flustered with everything it meets. Thus the condition in the former case 166 seems to resemble still cloudless weather in the air, or unruffled calm in the sea, or undisturbed peace and tranquillity in the city; while that of the latter resembles a fierce violent blast, a stormy billowy sea or civil faction, the turmoil of which is more hateful than even uncivilized warfare. Thus in one of two 167 convivial gatherings we may find nothing but laughter and sport, guests promising, expecting and conferring kindnesses, pleasant feelings and pleasant talk, cheerful faces, glad hearts and freedom from restraint; in the other nothing but anxiety, depression, quarrellings, revilings, woundings, while the guests snort, scowl and bark, and fight it out with neck-grips, wrestling and fisticuffs, gnawing off ears and noses or any limbs or parts of the body that come handy, and thus exhibiting their life-long inebriation and tipsiness with every kind of misconduct in this far from sacred contest. XXV. The deduction 169 follows that the vine symbolizes two things—folly and gladness. Each of them is shewn by many proofs, but to avoid prolixity I will give only a few. There was a time when he led us along the 170 way of philosophy, the way of the desert, barren of passions and of wrongdoings, and took us as to the high land and there set right reason on a peak of wide view and bade it survey the whole land of virtue, whether it is rich and deep of soil, fertile of grass and

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\( a \) Cf. De Plant. 160.
τόκος ἐστὶ καὶ ἀγαθὴ¹ μὲν καὶ ἡ τὰ σπειρόμενα μαθήματα συναύξησαι, ἀγαθὴ δὲ τὰ φυτεύμενα καὶ δενδρούμενα δόγματα στελεχώσαι, εἰτε καὶ τούναντίον, καὶ περὶ τῶν ἤσανει πόλεων πράξεων, εἰ (ευρεκέσταται)² καὶ ὀχυρώταται ἡ γυμναὶ καὶ ἀπημφιασμέναι οἶα κύκλον³ τὸ βέβαιον, καὶ περὶ οἰκητρώς, εἰ πρὸς τε πλῆθος καὶ πρὸς ἀλκήν ἐπιδεῦκασιν ἡ δὲ ἀσθένεαι οἴα κύκλοι ἢ δι', 171 ὀλγανδρίαν ἀσθενοῦσιν, τότε οὗ δυνηθέντες ὅλον τὸ σοφίας στέλεχος βαστάσαι κληματίδα μίαν καὶ βότρυν σταφύλης τεμόντες ἦραμεν⁴ χαρᾶς σαφέστατον δείγμα, κομφότατον ἄχθος, βλάστημα καὶ καρπὸν ὅμοιοι καλοκαγαθίας ἐπιδείκται συνειδυκοῦσι τῆν εὐκληματοῦσιν καὶ βοτρυφόρον ἄμπελον. XXVI. ταύτην,⁵ ἡς μοιράν τινα λαβεῖν ἐδυνηθήσεις, εὐφροσύνης ἐξομοιοῦσιν εὐφροσύνην. 172 μαρτυρεῖ δὲ μοι τῆς τῶν πάλαι προφητῶν, ὅσ ἐπιθειάσας εἶπεν· ἐμπελῶν ἱερότατος, τὸ θείον βλάστημα καρποφόρων, ἀρετὴν. 173 οὖτω μέντοι τὸ φρονεῖν εὐφροσύνης έτυμον* μέγα καὶ λαμπρὸν, ὅτῳ φησι Μωυσῆς καὶ θεόν αὐτῷ μὴ ἀπαξιώσαι χρῆσθαι,
fruit, and well fitted both to give increase to the lessons there sown and to raise the stalk of tree-like verities there planted, or the opposite of all this; survey, too, the actions which are as cities, whether they are thoroughly well fenced and secure, or uncovered and stripped of the security which is as a wall; survey the inhabitants, too, whether they have increased in number and strength, or whether they are weak through fewness, or few through weakness (Num. xiii. 18-21). And it was then that, unable to carry the whole main-stalk of wisdom, we cut a single branch and cluster of grapes and raised it up, a manifest sign of joy, as the lightest of burdens, meaning by the vine so rich in clustering grapes to shew forth to those of keen mental vision the sprouting and fruit-bearing alike of noble living (Num. xiii. 24).b

XXVI. This vine of which we could take but a part men aptly liken to gladness, and in this I have the witness of one of the ancient prophets who under inspiration said, "The vineyard of the Lord Almighty is the house of Israel" (Is. v. 7). Israel is the mind which contemplates God and the world, for Israel means "seeing God," while the house of the mind is the whole soul, and this is that most holy vineyard which has for its fruit that divine growth, virtue. So great and splendid is happy thinking, for that is the original meaning of gladness or εὐφροσύνη, that Moses tells us that God does not disdain to feel and εἰς ἐν ἑαυτῷ πολλόν. If Philo interprets the inhabitants as qualities in the individual soul, "fewness" may indicate spiritual narrowness, and "strength" want of intensity or depth of such virtue as it possesses, and by this duplication he suggests that the two defects are apt to react upon each other, cf. his treatment of μέγεθος and πλῆθος De Mig. 53 f.

b Cf. De Mut. 224.  

Cf. De Mut. 224.  
  Cf. De Mut. 224.  
  See note on De Conf. 137.
καὶ τότε μάλιστα, ὅποτε τὸ ἀνθρώπων γένος ἐκτρέποιτο μὲν ἀμαρτήματα, ἐπικλίνοι δὲ καὶ ἐπιστρέφοντο πρὸς δικαιοσύνην, ἐκουσών γνώμη

175 φύσεως νόμοις καὶ θεσμοῖς ἐπόμενον. "ἐπιστρέψει" γάρ φησὶν "κύριος ὁ θεός σου εὐφρανθήναι ἐπὶ σὲ εἰς ἀγαθά, καθότι ἡφράνθη ἐπὶ τοῖς πατράσι σου, ἐὰν εἰσακούσῃς τῆς φωνῆς αὐτοῦ, φυλάσσειν πᾶσας τὰς ἐντολὰς καὶ τὰ δικαίωματα καὶ τὰς κρίσεις τὰς γεγραμμένας ἐν τῷ βιβλίῳ τοῦ νόμου τοῦτοῦ." τί τι ἄν δύναιτο μάλλον ἀρετῆς ὢμερον ἢ καλοκαγαθίας ἥηλον ἐμφύσαι; βούλει, φησίν, ὥ διάνοια, εὐφραίνεσθαι θεόν; εὐφράνθητι αὐτῇ καὶ ἀνάλωμα μὲν μὴ εἰσενέγκῃς μηδὲν—τίνος γάρ τῶν σῶν χρείοις ἐστιν;—ἀλλ' ἐμπαλιν

176 οὐσα σοι δίδωσιν ἀγαθὰ χαίροντα δέξαί. δίδοσιν γάρ, ὅταν ἄξιοι χάριτος ὡς ὦι λαμβάνεστε, εὐφραίνεται· εἰ μὴ νομίζεις, ὥτι οἱ μὲν ὑπαίτιως ζώντες παρεσπαραῖνει καὶ παροργίζειν ἐνδίκως λέγοντ' ἀν θεόν, οἱ δ' ἐπανετῶς οὐχὶ εὐφραίνειν.

177 ἄλλα πατέρας μὲν καὶ μητέρας, τοὺς θητοὺς γονεῖς, οὐδὲν οὕτως ὡς τέκνων εὐφραίνουσιν ἀρεταῖ, μυρίων ὦσων ἐνδεεῖς ὡντας· τόν δὲ τῶν ὅλων γεννητῆν καὶ μηδενὸς ἐνδεεὶ τὸ παράπαν οὐχ

178 ἡ καλοκαγαθία τῶν γενομένων; μαθοῦσα οὖν, ὥ διάνοια, ἡλίκον (κακόν) μὲν ἐστὶν ὀργή θεοῦ, ἡλίκον δὲ ἁγιῶν εὐφροσύνη θεοῦ, μηδὲν μὲν τῶν ὀργῆς ἄξιῶν ἐπὶ ὀλέθρῳ κίνει τῷ σεαυτῆς, μόνα δὲ δι' οὖν εὐφρανεῖς θεόν ἐπιτίθευε. ταῦτα δὲ εὐρήσεις οὗ μακρὰς καὶ ἀτριβεῖς διεξίων ὦδους ἡ ἀπλώτα πελάγη περαιούμενος ἡ ἐπὶ τοὺς

1 [mss. ἀμαρτήματος].
2 MSS. ἐπιτρέπου.
3 Or perhaps τί ὦ = mss. τὸς.
4 MSS. οὖν ἐλ.
ON DREAMS, II. 174–180

shew it, particularly when the human race turns away from its sins and inclines and reverts to righteousness, following by a free-will choice the laws and statutes of nature. "For the Lord, thy God," he says, "will turn to be glad over thee for good, as He was glad over thy fathers, if thou shalt hear His voice, to keep all His commandments and ordinances and the judgments which are written in the book of this law" (Deut. xxx. 9, 10). What could be better able to implant the yearning for virtue or an ardour for noble living than this? Dost thou wish, O mind, that God should be glad? Be glad thyself, and bring Him no costly gift (for what does He need of what is thine?), but contrariwise accept rejoicing all the good things which He gives thee. For it gladdens Him to give when the recipients are worthy of His bounty, since you surely must admit that if those who live a life of guilt can be rightly said to provoke and anger God, those whose life is laudable may be equally well said to gladden Him. Mortal parents, fathers and mothers, vast as are their deficiencies, are gladdened by nothing so much as by the virtues of their children. And shall not the Begetter of all, in Whom is no deficiency at all, be gladdened by the noble living of His creatures? So then, my mind, having learned how great an evil is the wrath of God, and how great a good is the gladness of God, stir not up to thine own destruction aught that deserves His anger, but practise those things only by which thou shalt make God glad. And these thou shalt not find by traversing long roads where no foot has trodden, or by crossing seas where no ship has sailed, nor by

5 MSS. λεγομένων, which Wend. prints, though conjecturing γεν-.
γῆς καὶ θαλάττης ἀπνευστὶ συντείνων ὄρους· οὐ γὰρ πορρωτάτω διώκεισαι καὶ τῆς οἰκουμένης ἔξω πεφυγάδευται, ἀλλ', ἢ φησὶ Μωυσῆς, ἡγεῦσαν οὕτωσι τάγαθον παρίδρυται σοι καὶ συμπέφυκε, τρυπὶ τοῖς ἀναγκαιοτάτοις μέρεσιν ἡμοσυμένον, καρδίᾳ, στόματι, χερσὶ, τὸ δ' ἐστὶ διανοίᾳ, λόγῳ, πράξεων, ἐπειδὴ τὰ καλὰ καὶ φρονεῖν καὶ λέγειν καὶ ποιεῖν ἀναγκαῖον, συμπληροῦμενον ἕκ τε εὐβουλίας καὶ εὐπραξίας καὶ εὐλογίας.

181 XXVII. Λέγωμεν οὖν τῷ θάτερον εἶδος γαστριμαργίας, πολυποσίαν, ἐπιτηδεύοντι ἀρχιοιχῶς τί κακοπαθείς, ὦ ἄνοητε; δοκεῖ μὲν γὰρ τὰ ἀγωγὴ πρὸς εὐφροσύνην εὐτρεπίζεσθαι, τὸ δὲ ἀληθὲς ἀφροσύνης καὶ ἀκολασίας ἐξάπτεις φλόγα, πολλὴν αὐτῇ καὶ ἀφθονον ἐπιφέρων ἥλιν. ἀλλ', ἵσως ἢν εἴποι, μὴ με προπετῶς αἰτῶ, πρὶν μὲ σκέψοιται. οὐκοχεῖν ἐτάχθην, οὐ μὴν δὴ σωφροσύνη καὶ εὐσέβειαν καὶ τάς ἀλλὰς ἀρετὰς ἐνεσκευασμένης, ἀλλ' ἀνδρὶ λαϊμάργῳ καὶ ἀκρατεῖ | [683] καὶ ἀδίκώ καὶ ἐπὶ ἀσεβεία μέγα φρονοῦντι, ὡς ἐτόλμησε ποτὲ εἰπεῖν· "οὐκ οὔδα τὸν κύριον"· ὡς εἰκότως ἔγω τὰ ἑκεῖνω δὴ ἱδονῆς ἑπιτετήθευκα.

182 μὴ ϑαυμάσῃς δέ, ὅτι τοῖς ἐναντίοις ὁ θεός καὶ ὁ ἀντίθεος νοὺς εὐφραίνεται, Φαραώ. τις οὖν οἰνοχόος θεοῦ; ὁ σπονδοφόρος, ὃς μέγας οὖτως ἀρχιερεύς, ὃς τὰς τῶν ἁγίων χαρίτων λαβὼν προπόσεις ἀντεκτίνει, πλήρες ὅλον τὸ σπονδεῖον ἀκρατον μεθύσματος ἐπιχεῶν, ἔαυτόν.

1 MSS. συμπληροῦμενα.
2 MSS. μάργω.

a i.e. the Logos; the symbolism is analogous to that in which the Logos is the eikòn of God, but παράδειγμα of creation, cf. on § 45.

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pressing without a pause to the boundaries of land and ocean. For they do not dwell apart in the far distance, nor are they banished from the habitable world, but, as Moses says (Deut. xxx. 12-14), the good is stationed just beside thee and shares thy nature, close bound with the three most essential parts, heart, mouth and hands, that is mind, speech, actions, since to think and speak and do the morally good is the essential thing, a fullness composed of good purposing, good action and good speaking.

XXVII. Let us say then to one whose business is one form of belly-gorging, namely deep-drinking, that is to the chief butler, "Why in this evil plight, thou fool? Thou thinkest that thy preparations conduce to gladness of mind, but in reality thou kindlest the flame of lack of mind and lack of continence and feedest it with fuel in lavish abundance." But he, perhaps, may answer: "Do not upbraid me so rashly, without first considering how I stand. My appointed task is to be cup-bearer, not to one invested with self-control and piety and the other virtues, but to one steeped in greed, licentious, unjust, priding himself on his impiety, he who once dared to say, 'I know not the Lord' (Ex. v. 2). Naturally I, on my side, have busied myself with what gives him pleasure." And wonder not that God and Pharaoh, the mind which usurps the place of God, find gladness in things opposite to each other. Who then is God's cup-bearer? He who pours the libation of peace, the truly great high priest who first receives the loving-cups of God's perennial bounties, then pays them back when he pours that potent undiluted draught, the libation of himself. a

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τῶν ἀνδρωνίτιδων, φυγας δὲ καὶ τῆς γυναικωνίτιδος, οὐτ' ἀρρεν οὔτε θήλη, οὔτε προέσθαι οὐθ' ὑποδέξασθαι σπορὰν δυνάμενον, ἀμφίβολος, οὐδέτερος, ἀνθρωπεῖον παράκομμα νομίσματος, ἀμφιρως ἀθανασίας, ἡ τέκνων ἡ ἐγγόνων διαδοχαίς εἰς ἢ χωπυρέιται, συλλόγοι καὶ ἐκκλησίας ιερᾶς ἀπεσχοινσένον· θλαδίαν γὰρ καὶ ἀποκεκομμένον ἀντικριζαν διείρηται μη εἰσίεναι. XXVIII.

δὲ ἄρχιερευς ἀμωμός ἐστὶν, ὅλοκληρος, ἀνὴρ παρθένον, (τὸ) παραδοτόταν, οὔτεποτε γυναικουμένης, ἀλλ’ ἐμπαλιν τὰ γυναικεῖα κατὰ τὴν πρὸς τὸν ἄνδρα ὀμιλίαν ἐκλίποντα, καὶ οὐκ ἀνήρ μόνον οὗτος, ἀμιάντος καὶ παρθένους γνώμας 186 σπείρειν ἰκανός, ἀλλὰ καὶ πατὴρ λόγων ἐρων· ὃν οἱ μὲν ἐπίσκοποι καὶ ἐφόροι τῶν τῆς φύσεως πραγμάτων, Ἐλεάζαρ καὶ Ἰθάμαρ, οἱ δὲ λειτουργοὶ θεοῦ, τὴν οὐράνιον φλόγα ἀνακαίνει καὶ χωπυρεῖν ἐπευγόμενον· τρίβοντες γὰρ ἀεὶ τοὺς περὶ ὀσίότητος λόγους καθάπερ ἐκ πυρείων τὸ θεοεἰδέστατον εὐ- 187 σεβείας γένος ποιοῦσιν ἐκλάμπειν. ὃ δὲ τούτων ψυγγητής ὁμοῦ καὶ πατὴρ οὗς ἢ τυχοῦσα μοῦρα τῆς ἐερᾶς ἐκκλησίας ἐστίν, ἀλλ’ οὗ χωρίς σύγκλητος οὐκ ἂν ἀθροισθεὶ ποτὲ τῶν τῆς ψυγγητῆς

1 mss. τῶν ἀνδρωνίτιδων.
2 mss. ταῖς.
3 mss. ἀλῶμενος.
4 mss. οὗ χωρεῖ.

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ON DREAMS, II. 183–187

Mark how the differences between the cup-bearers correspond to those whom they serve. Thus I, the servant of that Pharaoh who keeps his stubborn incontinent thinking in an intensity of looseness, am an eunuch (Gen. xl. 7), gelded of the soul’s generating organs, a vagrant from the men’s quarters, an exile from the women’s, a thing neither male nor female, unable either to shed or receive seed, twofold yet neuter, base counterfeit of the human coin, cut off from the immortality which, through the succession of children and children’s children, is kept alight for ever, roped off from the holy assembly and congregation. “For he that hath lost the organs of generation is absolutely forbidden to enter therein” (Deut. xxiii. 1).

XXVIII. But the high priest is blameless, perfect, the husband of a virgin (Lev. xxi. 12, 13) who, strange paradox, never becomes a woman, but rather has forsaken that womanhood through the company of her husband (Gen. xviii. 11). And not only is he a husband, able to sow the seed of undefiled and virgin thoughts, but a father also of holy intelligences. Some of these survey and watch the facts of nature as Eleazer and Ithamar (Ex. xxviii. 1). Others are God’s ministers, hastening to kindle and keep alive the heavenly flame. For rubbing together words and thoughts on holiness they cause piety, that most godlike of qualities, to flash forth as though from tinder. And he who is at once the preceptor and father of these is no ordinary part of the holy congregation but one without whom the solemn council of the soul’s parts could never be convened

* i.e. Nadab and Abihu, cf. § 67.
μερών βουλή το παράπαν, ο πρόεδρος, ο πρύτανις, ο δημιουργός, ο καί χωρίς άλλων μόνος ἐφ’ ἑαυτοῦ 
188 σκοπεῖν τε καὶ πράττειν ἐκαστὰ ἵκανος. οὔτος 
σὺν άλλως μὲν ἐξεταζόμενος ολίγος,1 
πολὺς δὲ, 
ὀταν μονωθῇ, γίνεται, δικαστήριον (δόλον), ολον 
βουλευτήριον, ολος δήμος, ολος οχλος, σύμπαν 
ἄνθρωπων γένος, μᾶλλον δὲ, εἰ τάληθες εἰπεῖν δεῖ, 
μεθορίος τις θεοῦ (καὶ ἄνθρωπον) φύσις, τοῦ μὲν 
189 ἐλάττων, ἄνθρωπου δὲ κρείττων. "ὀταν" γάρ 
[684] φησιν “εἰς ἐις | τὰ άγια τῶν άγιῶν ὁ ἀρχιερεύς, 
ἄνθρωπος οὐκ ἔσται.” τίς οὖν, εἰ μὴ ἄνθρωπος; 
ἁρὰ γε θεὸς, οὐκ ἀν εἴποιμί—τὸν γάρ τοῦ ὁνό− 
ματος τοῦδε κλήρον ὁ ἀρχιπροφήτης ἐλαχε Μωυσῆς 
ἐτι ὠν ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ, προσρηθεὶς Φαραώ θεὸς—οὐδὲν ἄνθρωπος, 
ἀλλ’ ἐκατέρω τῶν ἄκρων, ὡς ἂν 
βάσεως καὶ κεφαλῆς, ἐφαπτόμενος.

190 XXIX. Τὸ μὲν οὖν ἐτερον εἰδος ἀμπέλου, ὅπερ 
eυφροσύνη κεκλήρωται, καὶ τὸ εξ αυτῆς 
ήμητος εὐβουλία, καὶ ὁ ἄρσαμενος ὅνωχος ἐκ 
tοῦ θείου κρατήρος, ον αυτός ὁ θεὸς ἀρετῶν 
191 πεπλήρωκεν ἐπὶ χείλη,3 δεδῆλωται. τὸ δὲ ἀνοίας 
καὶ λύπης καὶ παροινίας ἢδη μὲν τρόπῳ τυπῷ 
δὲ ἐτέρῳ4 ἐκτυποῖται διὰ τῶν ἐτέρωθι5 λεχθέντων 
ἐν ωδῇ τῇ μείζονι. "ἐκ γαρ ἀμπέλου" φησί

1 mss. ὁ λόγος.
2 mss. οὑτε: perhaps, as Wend. suggests, <οὑτε οὖν θεὸς>, οὑτε.
3 Perhaps write ἐπιχειλη.
4 mss. ἐτερον. This emendation of Hoeschel, which however did not satisfy Wend., seems to me quite sufficient (or perhaps etéros). After τρόπῳ τυπῳ οὑτε. δεδῆλωται.
5 mss. ἐτέρων.

a I do not know why Mangey and Cohn should have wished to correct δημιουργός to ἱερούργος or δήμαρχος. The
at all, its chairman, its president, its chief magistrate, who alone, and by himself, and without any other, is capable of considering and executing all things. When he is in line with others he is one of a few, but when he stands alone he is a "many," a whole judgment-court, a whole senate, a whole people, a whole multitude, a whole human race, or rather, to tell the real truth, a being whose nature is midway between man and God, less than God, superior to man. "For when the high priest enters the Holy of Holies he shall not be a man" (Lev. xvi. 17). Who then, if he is not a man? A God? I will not say so, for this name is a prerogative, assigned to the chief prophet, Moses, while he was still in Egypt, where he is entitled the God of Pharaoh (Ex. vii. 1). Yet not a man either, but one contiguous with both extremes, which form, as it were, one his head, the other his feet.

XXIX. We have explained one kind of vine, that which is the property of gladness, and the potent drink which it gives, undiluted wise counsel, and also the cup-bearer who draws it from the divine mixing-bowl which God Himself has filled to the brim with virtues. The other kind, the vine of folly and grief and wine frenzy, has already been explained in a way, but it is represented typically otherwise by the words spoken elsewhere in the Greater Song. term, used in various Greek states, would be quite familiar to Philo through Thucydides and Demosthenes.

b For this use of the text, quoted again below, § 231, see note on Quis Rerum 84.

c i.e. in the narrative Aaron is not called thēōs, though Moses is, and this symbolizes the relation of the Logos to the Existent.

d See note on De Mut. 182.
"Σοδόμων ἡ ἀμπελούς αὐτῶν, καὶ ἡ κληματίς αὐτῶν ἐκ Γομόρρας· ἡ σταφυλή αὐτῶν σταφυλὴ χολῆς, βότρυς πικρίας αὐτοῖς· θυμὸς δρακόντων ὁ οἶνος αὐτῶν, καὶ θυμὸς ἀσπίδων ἀνίατος." ὁ όρας ὑμα τὸ ἀφροσύνης μέθυσμα ἐργάζεται, τὸ πικρόν, τὸ κακόηθες, τὸ ἀκρόχολον, τὸ περίθυμον, τὸ ἄτιθασον, τὸ δηκτικόν, τὸ ἐπίβουλον. ἐμφαν- 
τικώτατα δὲ ἀφροσύνης ἔρνος ἐν Σοδόμοις φησίν εἶναι—τύφλωσις δὲ ἡ στείρωσις ἐρμηνεύεται Σόδομα, —ἐπειδὴ τυφλὸν καὶ ἄγονον καλῶν ἀφροσύνη, ύφ' ἡς ἀναπεισθέντες τινὲς μετρεῖ καὶ σταθμάσθαι καὶ ἀριθμεῖν πάντα καθ' αὐτοὺς ἥξιωσαν· Γομόρρα
193 (γάρ) μεταληφθέν ἔστι μέτρον. Μωυσῆς δὲ στάθμην καὶ μέτρον καὶ ἀριθμὸν τῶν ὄλων ὑπέλαβεν εἶναι τὸν θεόν, ἀλλ' οὐ τὸν ἀνθρώπινον νοῦν. δηλοὶ δὲ διὰ τούτων φάσκων· "οὐκ ἔσται ἐν μαρ-
σίππῳ σου στάθμιον καὶ μέτρον, καὶ στάθμιον, μέγα ἡ μικρόν ὑπέλαβεν εἰς τῇ οἰκίᾳ σου (μέτρον καὶ μέτρον), μέγα ἡ μικρὸν στάθμιον ἀληθινὸν καὶ δίκαιον
194 ἔσται σοι." ἀληθές δὲ καὶ δίκαιον μέτρον τὸ τὸν μόνον δίκαιον θεόν ὑπολαβεῖν πάντα μετρεῖ καὶ σταθμάσθαι καὶ ἀριθμοῖς καὶ πέρασι καὶ ὅρους τὴν τῶν ὄλων περιγράψαι φύσιν, ἄδικον δὲ καὶ ψευδές τὸ νομίσαι κατὰ τὸν ἀνθρώπινον νοῦν ταῦτα συμβαίνειν.
195 ὃ δὲ εὐνοῦχος ἀμα καὶ ἄρχιοινοχὸς τοῦ Φαραώ τὸ ἀφροσύνης γεννητικὸν φυτὸν, ἀμπελοῦ, φαν-
tασιωθεῖς προσαναξωγραφεῖ τρεῖς πυθμένας, ἵνα τὰς ἐν τῷ διαμαρτάνειν κατὰ τοὺς τρεῖς χρόνους

1 mss. αὐτῆς.

* An allusion to the saying of Protagoras, "Man is the
ON DREAMS, II. 191-195

"Their vine," he says, "is of the vine of Sodom and their tendrils of Gomorrah, their grapes are grapes of gall, a cluster of bitterness to them. Their wine is the wrath of dragons and the incurable wrath of asps" (Deut. xxxii. 32, 33). You see what the potent wine-cup of folly produces: bitterness, evil temper, sudden passionateness, deep anger, savageness, stinging spite, maliciousness. Most forcible are his words when he says that the plant of folly is in Sodom, for Sodom means blinding or making barren, since folly is blind and unproductive of excellence, and through its persuasions some have thought good to measure and weigh and count everything by the standard of themselves, for Gomorrah by interpretation is "measure." But Moses held that God, and not the human mind, is the measure and weighing scale and numbering of all things. And he shews it in these words: "There shall not be in thy pouch divers weights, great and small. There shall not be in thy house divers measures great and small. A true and a just weight thou shalt have" (Deut. xxv. 13-15). And the true and just measure is to hold that God Who alone is just measures and weighs all things and marks out the confines of universal nature with numbers and limits and boundaries, while the false and unjust measure is to think that these things come to pass as the human mind directs.

This eunuch and chief cup-bearer in one to Pharaoh, after seeing in his vision the parent plant of folly, the vine, goes on to picture it with three roots, to suggest the extremes which can be reached in sinning through measure of all things." Cf. De Post. 35 and Quis Rerum 246 (and note).
ἐσχατιάς παρεμφήνην· πυθμὴν γάρ τὸ ἔσχατον.  

196 ΞΞΞ. ἔπειδὰν οὖν ἀφροσύνη πᾶσαν ψυχὴν ἐπισκίασῇ καὶ κατασχῆ καὶ μηδὲν αὐτῆς ἀφετοῦν μηδὲ ἔλευθερον μέρος ἑάσῃ, οὐ μόνον ὀσα τῶν ἀμαρτημάτων ἱάσιμα δράν ἀναγκάζει, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὀσα ἀνίατα. τὰ μὲν οὖν θεραπείαν ἐνδεχόμενα ῥᾶστα καὶ πρῶτα γράφεται, τὰ δὲ ἀθεράπευτα παγχάλεπα καὶ ὑστάτα, πυθμέσιν ἀναλογοῦντα.

197 καὶ καθάπερ, οἴμαι, ἡ φρόνησις ἀρχεῖ μὲν ἀπὸ τῶν ἐλαττόνων ὦφελείν, λήγει δὲ εἰς τὰς ύπερ-βολὰς τῶν κατορθωμάτων, τῶν αὐτῶν τρόπων καὶ ἡ ἀφροσύνη καταβιάζουσα τὴν ψυχὴν ἄνωθεν καὶ κατ’ ὀλίγον ἀφιστάσα παιδείας μακρὰν ὅρθον λόγου διοικὲι καὶ μέχρι τῶν ἐσχατιῶν καθαρεῖ.

198 τὸ δ’ οὖν ἐδήλου μετὰ τοὺς πυθ-μένας ἀνθοῦσαν καὶ βλαστάνουσαν καὶ καρποφοροῦσαν τὴν ἄμπελον—“ αὐτῇ” γάρ φησι “θάλλωσα ἀνεννυχία βλαστοῦσ’ πέτειροι βότρυες σταφυλῆς,”—ἡν εἴθε (ἡν) ἀκαρπία χρῆσθαι καὶ μηδέποτε χλοηφορῆσαι καὶ πάντα μεμαράνθαι τὸν αἰῶνα. τὰ γάρ ἀν εἰς μεῖζον κακῶν [ἡ] θαλλούσης καὶ εὐφοροῦσης καὶ εὐφοροῦσης ἀφροσύνης; ἀλλὰ καὶ “τὸ ποτήριον Φαραὼ,” ή δεξαμενή τῆς ἀνοίας καὶ παροινίας καὶ τῆς παρὰ πάντα τὸν βίον ἀπαύ- στον μέθης, “ἐν τῇ χειρί μου,” φησίν, ἐστίν, ἵσον τῷ ἐν ταῖς ἐμαῖς ἐγχειρήσεσι καὶ ἐπιβολαῖς καὶ δυνάμεσιν. οὐ γὰρ ἀνευ ὑπὲρ τῶν ἐμῶν ἐπινοῶν

200 εὐδοκήσει τὸ πάθος εξ’ έαυτοῦ. ὦσπερ γὰρ ἐν μὲν ταῖς τοῦ ἡνίοχος χερσὶ τὰς ἡνίας εἶναι προσήκειν, ἐν δὲ ταῖς τοῦ κυβερνήτου τοὺς οἰκακα—μόνως

1 mss. ἐπὶ ἡν.

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the three divisions of time, for the root is the extreme.

XXX. When then folly overshadows and masters the whole soul and suffers no part of it to go at large and in freedom, it compels him to commit, not only such sins as may be remedied, but also such as are incurable. The sins which admit of healing treatment are described as the lightest and first in the list; those that are beyond treatment as hard indeed and coming last, thus corresponding to roots. And just as wisdom begins its benefits with the lesser of right actions and ends with them at their highest point, so folly, I think, forces the soul down from the height and little by little removes it from instruction and sets its dwelling far apart from right reason and brings it in ruin to the uttermost extremes.

After the roots the dream shewed him the vine blossoming and sprouting and bearing fruit. “It was blossoming itself, having put forth shoots. The grapes of the cluster were ripe” (Gen. xl. 10). Would that fruitlessness might be its lot, that it might never put forth green shoots and remain withered for all time, for what greater evil could there be than that folly should blossom and be fruitful? Again, the cup of Pharaoh, the receptacle of senselessness and wine-frenzy and ceaseless life-long intoxication, is, he says, “in my hand” (Gen. xl. 11), that is, in the enterprises which I take in hand, in my projects and faculties, for without the activities of my mind passion by itself will make little headway. The reins should be in the hands of the driver, and the rudder in the hands of

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2 <ἡν> is my insertion: Wend. notes εἴδε as corrupt, and suggests εὐκτέον or κρείττον or εἰκός. 3 MSS. ἐμφοροῦσης.
γὰρ οὕτως κατορθοῦται δρόμος μὲν ἄρματι, σκάφει δὲ πλοῦς,—οὕτως ἐν τῇ χειρί καὶ δυνάμει τοῦ θάτερον εἴδος τῆς γαστριμαργίας τεχνιτεύοντος, οίνοφλυγίαν, ἢ τοῦ ἀκρατοῦς ἐστὶν ἐκπλήρωσις.  

αλλὰ τὰ παθῶν ὑπέμεινεν αὐχεῖν ἐπ᾽ ἀρνήσεως μᾶλλον ἡ ὀμολογίας ἔπαξίων πράγματι; ἢ οὖν ἀμελεῖ τῇ ὀμολογεῖν διδάσκαλον ἀκρασίας εἶναι, ἀλλὰ τὸ ἀκρατεῖ τὰ ὑπεκκαύματα τοῦ πάθους ἐπαναθεῖναι ὡσ εὑρετῇ καὶ αὐτουργῷ τεθρυμμένῳ καὶ κατεαγόστοι αἰσχώστοι βίοι;  

τοιοῦτον δ᾽ ἐστὶν ἀφροσύνη σεμνύνεται ἐφ᾽ οἷς εἰκὸς ἐγκαλύπτεσθαι γινόμενον ἢ μὲν οὐ μόνον ἐπὶ τῷ τῆς δεξαμενῆς τῆς ἀκράτου ψυχῆς, τοῦ ποτήριου, περιβέρεν ἐν ταῖς χερσί καὶ ἐπιδείκνυσθαι πᾶσιν ἀγάλλειται, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐπὶ τῷ τῆς σταφυλῆς ἔφαντο ἐκθλίβει, τὸ δ᾽ ἐστὶ τὸ ἐκπληρωτικὸν τοῦ πάθους δημουργεῖν καὶ κεκρυμμένον εἰς φῶς ἄγειν.  

ὡς γὰρ τὰ βρέφη γλυκόμενα τροφῆς, ὅποτε μέλλοι σπάν τοῦ γάλακτος, ἐκθλίβει καὶ πιέζει τὸν μαστὸν τῆς τρεφοῦσας, οὕτω τὴν πηγήν, ἀφ᾽ ἢς τὸ οἶνο-  

 phínyias ómbrēi | kakón, δ' ὑδημουργός τῆς ἀκρασίας πιέζει κραταιῶς, ἵνα ταῖς ἐκθλιβομέναις λιβάσων ἡδίστη τροφῆ χρώτο.  

Τοιοῦτος μὲν ἡμῖν ὁ βεβακχευμένος ἀκράτως, παροίνων καὶ παράληπρον κακόν καὶ ἀνίατον, γραφέσθω τὸν ἐπὶ συγγενές τοῦτον γάστρων καὶ αὐτῶν ὀντα, πολυφαγίας καὶ λαμαργίας ἐταίρων, τὰ περὶ ἐδωδὴν ἀκρατῶς τεχνιτέυοντα,  

πάλιν ἐπισκεπτέον. καίτοι οὐ πολλῆς δεὶ πρὸς τὴν θήραν αὐτοῦ φροντίδος· ἐστὶ γὰρ ἐκμαγεῖον ἐμ—  

1 mss. ἀκράτους. 2 mss. η πλήρωσις. 3 mss. ἐπαναθεῖναι. 4 mss. αὐτυγεωργοῦ. 5 mss. ἀγγέλλεται. 6 mss. γάστρων.  

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the pilot, since only so can the chariot go aright in the race or the ship on its voyage. Even so in the hand and power of the craftsman, who produces one form of belly-gorging, namely wine-bibbing, is the task of filling the incontinent man. But what was he thinking of, that he did not shrink from boasting over an action which called for denial rather than confession? Were it not a better course, instead of confessing that he was the teacher of incontinence, to ascribe the incentives to passion to the incontinent one himself as inventor and author of his own base, unmanly, invertebrate life? But the fact is that folly prides herself on matters which should make her hide her face in shame. In this case she not only glories in carrying round the cup, the receptacle of the incontinent soul, and displaying it to all, but in squeezing the grapes into it, and this means manufacturing the stuff which brings passion to its fullness and drawing it out of concealment into the light. For just as babes who want to be fed, when they are going to suck the milk, squeeze and press the nurse’s breast, so the maker of incontinence presses hard on the fountain from which the curse of wine-bibbing pours like rain, to find in the squeezed droppings a nourishment of delicious sweetness.

XXXI. Thus then let us describe that wine-maddened, raving, incurable pest, the man frenzied by strong liquor. But his fellow, himself too a belly-slave, the friend of gross eating and gluttony, the dissolute artificer of viands, must be considered in his turn. Yet we need little thought in our quest of him, for the dreamer’s vision is the closest possible

* Or (ἀκρατοὺς neut.) “filling the cup (i.e. the soul) with incontinence.”
PHILO

"ἐτι τῶν μελλόντων συνεστάναι· ὡστε τὰ τρία κανὰ τοὺς τρισὶ τοῦ χρόνου μέρεσιν ἔξομοιονθῇ, τὰ δὲ ἐπὶ τῶν κανῶν πέμματα τοῖς ἐκάστῳ τῶν μερῶν ἐφαρμόζοντο, παρελθόντων μυήμασι, ἐνεστηκότων μετουσίαις, μελλόντων προσδοκίαις, τὸν δὲ βαστάζοντα ταῦτα πάντα τῷ φιληδόνω, δὲ οὐκ ἁφὲ ἐνὸς γένους ἀκρασίας, ἀλλὰ ἀπὸ πάντων σχεδὸν εἰδῶν καὶ γενών τῇ ἀκολασίᾳ ἀσπονδουν καὶ φιλῶν ἄλων ἐπιδεὰ τράπεζαν ἔκπεπλήρωκεν.

1 Ἡς ἀπολαύει μόνος ὡσπερ ἐν δημοθοινίᾳ ὁ βασιλεὺς Φαραώ, σποράν καὶ σκέδασιν καὶ φθοράν ἐγκρα-

2 MSS. κακὸν.
reproduction of his image, and through careful study of the dream we shall see him reflected as it were in a mirror. "I thought," it says, "that I lifted three baskets of wheaten loaves on my head" (Gen. xl. 16). "Head" we interpret allegorically to mean the ruling part of the soul, the mind on which all things lie, and once indeed that mind cried out loudly and bitterly, "All these things have been upon me" (Gen. xlii. 36). So then he marshals the procession of all the arts which he contrived against the unhappy belly, and bearing the ritual basket himself is not ashamed, poor fool, to be burdened with a triple load of baskets, that is with the three divisions of time. For pleasure is said by her votaries to consist of the memory of past, the enjoyment of present and the hope of future delights. Thus the three baskets are likened to the three divisions of time, and the baked meats in the baskets to the concomitants of each of these divisions, memories of the past, participations of the present, expectations of the future, and he who bears all these to the pleasure-lover, who has loaded the table not with one general kind of incontinence, but with practically every species and genus of licentiousness, and that board has no peace-draughts and lacks the salts of friendship. At this board there is one banqueter only, and yet to him it is as a public feast: that banqueter is King Pharaoh, who has made dispersion and scattering and the undoing of con-

is hardly possible. We should therefore expect ἐφ’ ἑαυτοῦ or ἑαυτόν, but this is still further away from the mss. On the other hand ἑπιτοιχός is very suitable to this peculiarly bitter cry of Jacob.

Philo is evidently connecting the baskets of the dream with the procession of κανηφόροι at Attic festivals.

See App. p. 609.
τείας ἐπιτετηδευκὼς· ἔρμηνεύεται γὰρ σκεδασμὸς· ἐστὶ δὲ τὸ ὑπέροχον καὶ βασιλικὸν αὐτῷ οὐκ ἐφ’ οἷς εἰκὸς σωφροσύνης ἀγαθοῖς ἀγάλλεσθαι, ἀλλ’ ἐν οἷς ἀπεικὸς βδελυρίας ἐπιτηδεύμασι σεμνύνεσθαι, πρὸς ἀπληστίαν καὶ λαμμαργότητα καὶ τὸ ἀβρο-212 δίαιταν ἐξοκείλαντι. τούγαρτοι τὰ πτηνὰ, τὸ δ’ ἐστὶν αἱ ἐπιποτώμεναι ἐξωθεῖν ἀτέκμαρτοι συντυχίαι, πάντα πυρὸς τρόπον ἐπιδραμοῦνται καὶ ἀναφλέξουσι καὶ τῇ παμφάγῳ δυνάμει κατανα-λώσουσιν, ὃς μὴ δε λέψουσιν γοῦν ὑπολείπεσθαι πρὸς ἀπόλαυσιν τῷ κανηφόρῳ, ὃς ἠλπισε τὰς εὐρέσεις καὶ τὰς ἐπινοίας αὐτοῦ2 μέχρι παντὸς αἰῶνος οὐσειν 213 ἀναφαίρετος ἐν | βεβαιῷ. χάρις δὲ τῷ νικηφόρῳ [687] θεῷ, ὃς ἀτελεῖς τὰς εἰς ἀκρὸν πεποημένας3 σπονδᾶς τοῦ φιλοπαθοῦς ἐργάζεται, πτηνὰς φύσεις ἐπι-πέμπτῳς ἀπορᾶτῳ πρὸς ἀναίρεσιν καὶ φθορὰν αὐτῶν. περισυλληφθεῖς4 οὗν οὐδὲν ἐν ἐκδημούργησεν, ὡσπερ τὸν αὐχένα ἀποτμηθέος ἀκέφαλος καὶ νεκρὸς ἀν-ευρεθήσεται, προσηλωμένος ὡσπερ οἱ ἀνασκολο-πισθέντες τῷ5 ξύλῳ τῆς ἀπόρου καὶ πενιχρᾶς 214 ἀπαιδευσιάς. ἐως μὲν γὰρ μηδὲν λυμαίνεται τῶν ἐξαπατών χώρον ἀποράτως ἐπιφοιτάν, εὐοδεῖ τὸν δοκοῦσιν αἱ πρὸς ἀπόλαυσιν ἠδονῆς τέχναι· κατασκηπάς καὶ ὡστε τὸν ἀφανοῦς ἀνατρέποντα, καὶ ὁ δημουργὸς αὐτῶν συνδιαφθείρεται. 215 XXXII. Τὰ μὲν οὖν τῶν διηρημένων τὸ γεύσεως ἐργαστήριον ἐν ἐκατέρῳ τροφῆς εἴδει, πόσεως τε καὶ βρώσεως υἱῷ τῆς ἀναγκαίας ἀλλὰ περιττῆς καὶ ἀκράτορος, ὅνειρα δεδήλωται· τὰ δὲ (τοῦ) 1 MSS. ἐπὶ τοῖς εἰκόσι. 2 MSS. τοῦ. 3 Perhaps as Mangey πεπονημένας. 4 MSS. περισυλληφθεῖς.
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tinence his business, for his name means "scattering." And he shews his great importance and kingship not in delighting in the seemly, the good cheer of temperance, but in glorying in the unseemly, the practices of foulness, wrecked as he is on the rocks of insatiableness and greediness and luxurious living.

And therefore the birds (Gen. xl. 17), that is the unforeseen chance events which swoop upon us from without, will overrun like fire all the contents and set them ablaze and consume them with their devouring force, so that not a fragment is left to be enjoyed by the basket-bearer who had hoped to carry his inventions and projects for ever as a secure and permanent possession never to be taken from him. But thanks be to the victorious God who, however perfect in workmanship are the aims and efforts of the passion-lover, makes them to be of none effect by sending invisibly against them winged beings to undo and destroy them. Thus the mind stripped of the creations of its art will be found as it were a headless corpse, with severed neck nailed like the crucified to the tree of helpless and poverty-stricken indiscipline. For so long as they remain unharmed by the visitors, whose way it is to arrive suddenly and unforeseen, the arts which cater for the enjoyment of pleasure seem to flourish. But when these visitors swoop down out of the unseen, these arts are turned upside-down and the craftsman perishes with them.

XXXII. We have now explained the dreams of the two partners in the workshop of the palate, where both kinds of provender, drink and food, and these not of the necessary, but of the superfluous and intemperate kind, are produced. Our next im-

5 mss. αύτφ (Mangey αυ τφ).
τούτων καὶ τῶν ἄλλων, ὁσα ψυχής δυνάμεις, βασιλευεῖν δοκοῦντος, ὄνομα Φαραώ, κατὰ τὸ ἀκόλουθον αὐτίκα διερευνητέον. "ἐν γὰρ τῷ ὑπνῷ μου" φησίν "ὡς ἔσταναι παρὰ τὸ χείλος τοῦ ποταμοῦ· καὶ ὡσπερ ἐκ τοῦ ποταμοῦ ἀνέβαινον βόες ἐπτά, ἐκλεκτὰ ταῖς σαρξὶ καὶ καλαὶ τῷ εἴδει, καὶ ἐνέμοντο ἐν τῷ ἀχει. καὶ ἵδον ἐτεραὶ ἐπτά βόες ἀνέβαινον ὁπίσω αὐτῶν ἐκ τοῦ ποταμοῦ, πονηραὶ καὶ αἰσχραὶ τῷ εἴδει καὶ λεπταὶ ταῖς σαρξῖν, ὡς οὐκ εἴδον τοιαύτας ἐν ὅλῃ τῇ Ἀἰγύπτῳ καὶ κατέφαγον αἱ βόες αἱ λεπταὶ καὶ αἰσχραὶ τὰ ἐπτά βόες τὰς πρώτας· τὰς καλὰς καὶ ἐκλεκτὰς, καὶ εἰσῆλθον εἰς τὰς κοιλίας αὐτῶν. καὶ οὐ διάδηλοι ἐγένοντο ὅτι εἰσῆλθον εἰς τὰς κοιλίας αὐτῶν, καὶ αἱ ὄψεις αὐτῶν αἰσχραὶ, καθὰ καὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν [εἴπον]. ἔξεγερθεὶς δὲ ἐκομιμήθην, καὶ εἴδον πάλιν ἐν τῷ ὑπνῷ μου, καὶ ὡς ἐπτὰ στάχυες ἀνέβαινον ἐν πυθμένι ἄν, πλήρεις καὶ καλοὶ· ἄλλοι δὲ ἐπτὰ στάχυες λεπτοὶ καὶ ἀνεφύοντο ἐχόμενοι καὶ κατέπιον οἱ ἐπτὰ στάχυες τοὺς καὶ τοὺς πλήρεις." ὁρᾷς μὲν δὴ <τὸ> προοίμιον τοῦ φιλαύτου, ὡς κινητὸς καὶ στρεπτός καὶ μεταβλητὸς ὅν κατὰ τε σῶμα καὶ ψυχήν φησιν: "ὡς ἔσταναι," καὶ οὐκ ἔλογίσατο, ὅτι μόνῳ τεβῳ τὸ ἄκλινες καὶ πάγιον ἐστὶν οἰκεῖον καὶ εἴ τις αὐτῶν φίλος. τῆς μὲν ἄκλινοις περὶ αὐτῶν δυνάμεως σαφεστάτη πίστις ὅτε ὁ κόσμος, ἀεὶ κατὰ τὰ αὐτὰ καὶ ὅσανtera ἄχω—ὅποτε δὲ ὁ κόσμος ἄρρεπης, ὁ δημιουργὸς πῶς οὐ βέβαιος; εἰτα μὲντοι καὶ οἱ ἀφενδόστατοι μάρτυρες ἱεροὶ χρησμοὶ· λέγεται γὰρ ἐκ προσώπου τοῦ θεοῦ· ἔκτων καὶ ... αὐτῶν inserted by Wend. from LXX. Similarly 540
mediate duty is to investigate the dreams of him who believed himself to be the king of these two, and the other faculties of the soul, namely Pharaoh. "In my sleep," he says, "I thought I was standing by the edge of the river, and it was as though from the river came up seven kine of choice flesh and well favoured, and they fed in the reed grass. And, lo, seven other kine came up behind them from the river, evil and ugly to look on, and lean-fleshed, such that I never saw uglier in all Egypt. And the lean and ugly kine ate up the seven first kine, the choice and well favoured, and they passed into their bellies. But it could not be seen that they had passed into their bellies, and their looks remained ugly as at the first. And after I had waked I slept, and saw again in my sleep that seven ears of corn came up on one stalk, full and good, and other seven ears thin and wind-blasted grew up beside them, and the seven ears swallowed up the good and full ears" (Gen. xli. 17-24).

You note the opening words of the self-lover, who, in body and soul alike, is the subject of movement and turning and change. "I thought I stood," he says, and does not reflect that to be unswerving and stable belongs only to God and to such as are the friends of God. God's unswerving power is proved most clearly by this world which ever remains the same unchanged, and, since the world is firmly balanced, its maker must needs be steadfast. We have other infallible witnesses in the sacred oracles, for we have these words with God as speaker: in § 218 perhaps after κατέπων οἱ ἐπτὰ στάχυες insert οἱ λεπτοὶ καὶ ἀνεμοφθόροι τοὺς ἐπτὰ στάχυες.
PHILO

“οδε εγω έστηκα έκει1 προ τοι σε επι της πέτρας [688] εν Χωρηβ,”2 ίσον τω | ουτος3 εγω ο εμφανης και
ενταυθα ων έκει τε ειμι και πανταχου, πεπληρωκος
τα παντα, έστως εν ομοιω και μενων, άτρεπτος ων,
πρω ή σε ή τι4 των οντων εις γενεσι ελθειν, επι
tης άκροτατης και πρεσβυτατης ιδρυμενος5 δυναμεως
αρχης, αφι ής ή των οντων γενεσις άμβρησε και
222 το σοφιας επλημμυρε ναμα. εγω γαρ ειμι “ο
έξαγαγων εκ πέτρας άκροτομου πηγην ύδατος” εν
έτερου ειρηται. μαρτυρει δε και Μωυσης περι του
μη τρεπεσθαι το θειον λαμβανειν, ειδον τον τοπον
οι ειστηκε ο θεος του ισραηλ,” το μη μεταβάλλειν
dia της στασεως και ιδρυσεως αινιτομενος.

XXXIII. άλλα γαρ τοσαυτη περι το
θειον εστιν υπερβολη του βεβαιου, ωστε και ταις
επιλεγμεναις φυσεις ευχροητης, ως άριστου
κτηματος, μεταδιδωσιν. αυτικα γε τα την πληρη
χαριτων διαθηκην εαυτου—νομος δε εστι και λογος
tων οντων ο πρεσβυτατος—ως αν επι βασεως της
tου δικαιου ψυχης άγαλμα θεοειδες ιδρυσεσθαι
παγις φησιν, έπειδαν λεγη τω Νωε· “στησω την
224 διαθηκην μου προς σε.” παρεμβαινει δε και δυο
έτερα, εν μεν οτι το δικαιον αδιαφορει διαθηκης
θεου, ετερον δε οτι οι μεν άλλοι χαριζονται τα
dιαφεροντα των λαμβανοντων, ο δε θεος ου μονον
tαιτα, άλλα αυτους έκεινους έαυτοις· εμε γαρ εμοι
dεδωρηται και έκαστον των οντων έαυτω· το γαρ
“στησου την διαθηκην μου προς σε” ίσον εστι τω

1 mss. έστη και έκεισε. 2 mss. έγχωρειν. See App. p. 609.
3 mss. ουτως. 4 mss. σε επι. 5 mss. ορωμενος.

a For Philo’s interpretation of this text see note on De Sac. 67.
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"Here I stand there before thou wast, on the rock in Horeb" (Ex. xvii. 6), which means, "This I, the manifest, Who am here, am there also, am everywhere, for I have filled all things. I stand ever the same immutable, before thou or aught that exists came into being, established on the topmost and most ancient source of power, whence showers forth the birth of all that is, whence streams the tide of wisdom." For I am He "Who brought the fountain of water from out the steep rock," as it says elsewhere (Deut. viii. 15). And Moses too gives his testimony to the unchangeableness of the deity when he says "they saw the place where the God of Israel stood" (Ex. xxiv. 10), for by the standing or establishment he indicates his immutability.

Indeed so vast in its excess is the stability of the Deity that He imparts to chosen natures a share of His steadfastness to be their richest possession. For instance, He says of His covenant filled with His bounties, the highest law and principle, that is, which rules existent things, that this God-like image shall be firmly planted with the just soul as its pedestal. For so He declares when he says to Noah, "I will establish My covenant on thee" (Gen. ix. 11). And these words have two further meanings. First that justice and God's covenant are identical; secondly that while the gifts bestowed by others are not the same as the recipients', God gives not only the gifts, but in them gives the recipients to themselves. For He has given myself to me and everything that is to itself, since "I will establish my covenant with thee"

The play on ἀκροτάτης and ἀκροτόμον cannot be reproduced in the translation.

Or as E.V. "rock of flint."

543
225 "σοί (σε)\(^1\) δωρήσομαι." σπουδάζουσι δὲ καὶ πάντες οἱ θεοφιλεῖς τὸν φιλοπραγμοσύνης χειμώνα ἀποδιδάσκοντες, ἐν ὧσιν καὶ κλύδων ἀεὶ κυκάται, τοὺς τής ἀρετῆς εὐδίοις καὶ ναυλοχωτάτοις ἐνορμίζεσθαι λιμέσων. οὐχ ὅρασ, οἱ περὶ Ἀβραὰμ λέγεται τοῦ σοφοῦ, ὥσ\(^2\) ἕστως ἔνωπιον κυρίου"; πότε γὰρ ἐκόσι δύνασθαι στῆναι διάνοιαν μηκέθ\(^3\) ὡς ἐπὶ τρυτάνης ταλαντεύουσαν ἡ ὡτε ἀντικύρος ἐστι θεοῦ, ὄρωσα τε καὶ ὄρωμένη; 226 διχόθεν\(^3\) γὰρ αὐτὴ τὸ ἀρρετές, ἐκ μὲν τοῦ ὅραν τὸν ἀσύγκριτον, ὅτι ὑπὸ τῶν ὁμοίων πραγμάτων οὐκ ἀνθέλκεται, ἐκ δὲ τοῦ ὅρασθαι, ὅτι ἣν ἀξίαν ἐκρίνεσθαι εἰς ὃμιν οὐ γεμισθεῖ ἡ ἡγεμόνα τήν ἐαυτοῦ\(^4\) ἐστίν (ἐλθεῖν, τῷ) ἀρίστω μόνῳ προσεκλήρωσεν, αὐτῷ καὶ Μωισεῖ μέντοι θεοπρόπιον ἔχρησθη τοιόνδε: "σοὶ αὐτοῦ στῆθι μετ' ἐμοῖ," δι' οὔ τα λεχθέντα ἀμφω παρίσταται, τὸ τε μὴ κλώνεσθαι τὸν ἀστεῖον καὶ ὡ τοῦ 228 ὅντος περὶ πάντα βεβαιότης. XXXIV. καὶ γὰρ τῷ ὃντι τὸ τῷ θεῷ συνεγγίζον οἰκειοῦται κατὰ τὸ ἀτρεπτὸν αὐτοστατοῦν, καὶ ἡρεμίας ὁ νοῦς, ἡλίκων ἐστὶν ἀγαθὸν ἡρεμία, σαφῶς ἐγνώ καὶ θαυμάσας [689] αὐτῆς | τὸ κάλλος ὑπέλαβεν, ὅτι ἡ θεῶς μόνῳ προσεκλήρωσαι ἢ τῇ μεταξὺ φύσει θνητοῦ καὶ 229 ἀθανάτου γένους. φησὶ γοῦν: "κἀγὼ εἰστήκειν ἀνὰ μέσον κυρίου καὶ ὑμῶν," οὐχὶ τοῦτο δηλῶν,

\(^1\) <σε>. This obvious correction is given by Mangey, but is not accepted by Wend.  
\(^2\) MSS. os.  
\(^3\) MSS. deixèn.  
\(^4\) MSS. eautō.

\* I understand the thought of §§ 224, 225 to be: (1) the words "I will make my covenant to stand to (or on) thee" give Noah the stability of the covenant and make him 544
ON DREAMS, II. 225–229

is the same as "I will give thyself to thee." And it 225 is the earnest desire of all the God-beloved to fly from the stormy waters of engrossing business with its perpetual turmoil of surge and billow, and anchor in the calm safe shelter of virtue's roadsteads.

See what is said of wise Abraham, how 226 he was "standing in front of God" (Gen. xviii. 22), for when should we expect a mind to stand and no longer sway as on the balance save when it is opposite God, seeing and being seen? For it gets its equipoise 227 from these two sources: from seeing, because when it sees the Incomparable it does not yield to the counter-pull of things like itself; from being seen, because the mind which the Ruler judges worthy to come within His sight He claims for the solely best, that is for Himself.

To Moses, too, this divine command was given: "Stand thou here with Me" (Deut. v. 31), and this brings out both the points suggested above, namely the unswerving quality of the man of worth, and the absolute stability of Him that is. XXXIV. For that which draws near to God 228 enters into affinity with what is, and through that immutability becomes self-standing. And when the mind is at rest it recognizes clearly how great a blessing rest is, and, struck with wonder at its beauty, has the thought that it belongs either to God alone or to that form of being which is midway between mortal and immortal kind. Thus he says: "And 229 I stood between the Lord and you" (Deut. v. 5),

part of it as the pedestal of the statue; (2) as Noah is pre-eminently δίκαιος, the covenant is also τὸ δίκαιον; (3) and as by the giving of the covenant τὸ δικαιον is given to ὁ δίκαιος, Noah is given to himself.

b Or "here-standing." Philo has perhaps coined the word to express ἀυτοῦ στήθι.
οτι ἐπὶ τῶν ἑαυτοῦ ποδῶν ἡρήρειστο, ἀλλ' ἐκεῖνο
βουλόμενος ἐμφήναι, ὡς ὁ τοῦ σοφοῦ διάνοια
χεμώνων μὲν καὶ πολέμων ἀπαλλαγεῖσα, νηνέωμ
δὲ γαλήνη καὶ βαθεία εἰρήνη χρωμένη κρείττων μὲν
230 ἑστών ἄνθρωπου, θεοῦ δὲ ἑλάττων. ὁ μὲν γὰρ
ἀγελαίος ἄνθρωπεῖος νοῦς σεῖται καὶ κυκάται πρὸς
τῶν ἐπιτυχόντων, ὁ δὲ ἀτε μακάριος καὶ εὐδαίμων
ἀμέτωχος κακῶν· μεθόριος δὲ ὁ ἄστειος, ὃς κυρίως
εἰπεῖν μήτε θεὸν αὐτὸν εἶναι μήτε ἄνθρωπον, ἀλλὰ
tῶν ἀκρων ἐφαπτόμενον, ἄνθρωπότητι μὲν θυτοῦ
231 γένους, ἀρετῆς δὲ ἀφθάρτου. τούτῳ παραπλήσιων
ἐστὶ καὶ τὸ χρησθὲν λόγιον ἐπὶ τοῦ μεγάλου ιερέως:
"ὁταν" γὰρ φησιν "εἰς ἑαυτῷ ἑι γίνεται, ἐως ἃν ἐξελθῇ."
ei de μή
gίνεται τότε ἄνθρωπος, δήλου ὃτι οὔδε θεός, ἀλλὰ
λειτουργὸς θεοῦ,2 κατὰ μὲν τὸ θυτὸν γενέσει, κατὰ
232 δὲ τὸ ἀθάνατον οἰκειούμενος τῶν ἀγαθῶν.
τὴν δὲ
μέσην τάξιν εἰληχεῖν, ἐως3 ἃν ἐξέλθῃ πάλιν εἰς τὰ
tοῦ σώματος καὶ τῆς σαρκὸς οἰκεία. καὶ πέφυκεν
οὐτῶς ἐχεῖν· ὡς ὁτὲν μὲν ἐξ ἔρωτος θείου κατασχεθεὶς
ἐν ὑπνοῖς, συντείνας ἑαυτὸν ἀχρι τῶν ἁδύτων, ὃρμη
καὶ σπουδὴ πάση χρωμένης προέρχεται, θεοφοροῦ-
μενος ἐπιστήμην στρατηγεῖ τῶν ἀλλων, ἐπιστήμην δὲ
cαι ἑαυτοῦ, μόνου (δὲ) μέμνηται καὶ ἐξήρτηται
tοῦ δορυφορουμένου καὶ θεραπευομένου, ὡ τὰς
233 ἰερὰς καὶ ἀναθέσθαι καθαγιάζων ἀρετὰς ἐκθυμᾶ.

1 MSS. έται.
2 Wend. conjectures δήλον (δ') ὃτι οὔδε θεός, τὶ ἄλλο ἢ
λειτουργός.
3 MSS. εἰληχέναι ὃς.

* The repetition of this text in the same treatise in two

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where he does not mean that he stood firm upon his feet, but wishes to indicate that the mind of the Sage, released from storms and wars, with calm still weather and profound peace around it, is superior to men, but less than God. For the human mind of the common sort shakes and swirls under the force of chance events, while the other, in virtue of its blessedness and felicity, is exempt from evil. The good man indeed is on the border-line, so that we may say, quite properly, that he is neither God nor man, but bounded at either end by the two, by mortality because of his manhood, by incorruption because of his virtue. Similar to this is the oracle given about the high priest: “When he enters,” it says, “into the Holy of Holies, he will not be a man until he comes out” (Lev. xvi. 17). And if he then becomes no man, clearly neither is he God, but God’s minister, through the mortal in him in affinity with creation, through the immortal with the uncreated, and he retains this midway place until he comes out again to the realm of body and flesh. That it should be so is true to nature. When the mind is mastered by the love of the divine, when it strains its powers to reach the inmost shrine, when it puts forth every effort and ardour on its forward march, under the divine impelling force it forgets all else, forgets itself, and fixes its thoughts and memories on Him alone Whose attendant and servant it is, to whom it dedicates not a palpable offering, but incense, the incense of consecrated virtues. But when the inspiration is stayed, and the strong yearning abates, it hastens back from the divine and becomes a man and meets different interpretations, in § 189 of the Logos, here of the Perfect Man, is unusual, if not unprecedented.
PHILO

άνθρωπος γίνεται, τοῖς ἀνθρωπίνοις ἐντυχὼν, ἀπερ ἐν τοῖς προπολαίοις ἐφήδρευν, ἵνα αὐτὸ μόνον ἐκκυψαντα ἐνδοθεν ἐξαρπάσῃ. XXXV.

234 τὸν μὲν οὖν τέλειον οὔτε θεόν οὔτε ἀνθρωπον ἀναγράφει Μωυσῆς, ἀλλ’, ὡς ἐφην,1 μεθόριον τῆς ἀγενήτως καὶ φθαρτής φύσεως τὸν δὲ προκόπτοντα πάλιν ἐν τῇ μεταξὺ χώρᾳ ζώντων καὶ τεθνηκότων τάττει, ζώντας μὲν καλῶν τοὺς συμβιοῦντας φρονήσει, τεθνηκότας δὲ τοὺς ἀφροσύνη χαίροντας.

235 λέγεται γὰρ ἐπὶ Ἄαρὼν ὅτι “ἐστή ἀνὰ μέσον τῶν τεθνηκότων καὶ τῶν ζώντων,” καὶ ἐκόπασεν ἡ θραύσις.” ὁ γὰρ προκόπτων οὔτε ἐν τοῖς τεθνηκόσι τὸν ἀρετής βίον ἐξετάζεται, πόθον καὶ ζήλον ἔχων τοῦ καλοῦ, οὔτε ἐν τοῖς μετὰ τῆς ἀκρας καὶ τελείας ζῶσιν εὐδαιμονίας οὕτω γὰρ πρὸς τὸ πέρας "ἐπὶ " ἀλλ’ ἐκατέρων ἐφάπτεται. διὸ καὶ κυρίως ἐπιλέγεται τὸ “ἐκόπασεν ἡ θραύσις,” ἀλλ’ οὔκ ἐπαύσατο· οὔτε ἐν τοῖς τεθνηκότοις, παύσι τὸν αὐτὸ μόνον ἀνακοπτόμενα καὶ στελλόμενα.

236 ἐνδεῖ,—ἀλλ’ ἐκατέρων ἐφάπτεται. διὸ καὶ κυρίως ἐπιλέγεται τὸ “ἐκόπασεν ἡ θραύσις,” ἀλλ’ οὔκ ἐπαύσατο· παύσι τὸν αὐτὸ μόνον ἀνακοπτόμενα καὶ στελλόμενα.

237 XXXVI. Τής οὖν στάσεως καὶ ἱδρύσεως καὶ τῆς ἐν ταύτῳ κατὰ τὸ ἀμετάβλητον καὶ ἀτρεπτόν εἰς ἀεὶ μονῆς πρῶτον μὲν ὑπαρχοῦσῃ περὶ τὸ ὄν, ἐπείτα δὲ περὶ τὸν τοῦ ὄντος λόγον, ὄν διαθήκην ἐκάλεσε, τρίτον δὲ περὶ τὸν σοφὸν καὶ τέταρτον περὶ τὸν προκόπτοντα, τί παθών ὁ φαύλος καὶ πάσαις ἀράις ἐνοχοι νοὺς ψήθη μόνον ἱστασθαι δύνασθαι, φορούμενος ὡσπερ ἐν κατακλυσμῷ καὶ κατασυρόμενος ταῖς τῶν ἐπιπρεόντων διὰ τοῦ

1 MSS. ἐφη.
the human interests which lay waiting in the vestibule ready to seize upon it, should it but shew its face for a moment from within. XXXV. Moses then describes the perfect man as neither God nor man, but, as I have said already, on the border-line between the uncreated and the perishing form of being. While, on the other hand, the man who is on the path of progress is placed by him in the region between the living and the dead, meaning by the former those who have wisdom for their life-mate and by the latter those who rejoice in folly, for we are told of Aaron that "he stood between the dead and the living, and the breaking abated" (Num. xvi. 48). For the man of progress does not rank either among those dead to the life of virtue, since his desires aspire to moral excellence, nor yet among those who live in supreme and perfect happiness, since he still falls short of the consummation, but is in touch with both. And therefore he quite properly concludes with the phrase "the breaking abated," not "ceased." For in perfection all the influences which break and crush and fracture the soul do cease, but in the stage of progress they diminish, being so to speak cut down and confined, but nothing more.

XXXVI. We find, then, that stability or fixity or permanent immobility, in virtue of its immutable and unchangeable quality, subsists as an attribute primarily to the Existing Being, secondly to His Word which He calls His covenant, thirdly to the Sage, and fourthly to the man of gradual progress. What then could make the wicked mind, fit subject for every manner of curse, think that he could stand alone, when he is carried to and fro as in a flood and swept down by eddy after eddy of the torrent of
νεκροφορουμένου σώματος δίναις ἐπαλλήλους; 238 "ὠμην" γάρ φησιν "ἔστάναι ἐπί το πεῖλος τοῦ ποταμοῦ." λόγον δὲ συμβολικῶς ποταμόν εἶναι φάμεν, ἑπείδη ἐκάτερος ἐξω τε φέρεται καὶ ἰέων συντόνων χρήται τῷ τάχει καὶ τοτὲ μὲν εὐφορεῖ πλημμύραις ὁ μὲν ὕδατος, ὁ δὲ ῥημάτων καὶ ὀνομάτων, τοτὲ δὲ ἀφορεῖ χαλῶμενος καὶ συνίζων. 239 καὶ ὠδελοῦσι μέντοι ὁ μὲν ἀρδῶν τὰς ἀροῦρας, ὁ δὲ τῶν φιληκών ψυχάς, καὶ ἔστων ὅτε βλάπτουσι κυμήνας, ὁ μὲν τὴν ὀμορον γῆν ἐπικλύσας, ὁ δὲ ἀνακυκῆσας καὶ συγχέας τὸν τῶν ὦ προσ- 240 εχόντων λογισμῶν. οὕτω μὲν εἰκάζεται ποταμῷ. διττὴ δὲ λόγου φύσις, ἡ μὲν ἀμείνων, ἡ δὲ χειρῶν, ἀμείνων μὲν ἡ ὠδελοῦσα, χειρῶν δὲ κατὰ τὸ 241 ἀναγκαῖον ἡ βλάπτουσα. παραδείγματα δὲ ἐκάτερας τοῖς δυναμένοις ὅραν ἀνέθηκε Μωϋσῆς ἀριθμηλότατα. "ποταμὸς" γάρ φησι "πορεύεται εἰς Ἐδέμ ποτίζειν τὸν παράδεισον· ἐκεῖθεν ἀφεῖς 242 ὄρεφεται εἰς τέσσαρας ἀρχὰς." καλεῖ δὲ τὴν μὲν τοῦ ὄντος σοφίαν Ἐδέμ, ἦς ἐρμηνεία τρυφῆ, διότι, οἷμαι, ἐντρύφησε καὶ ἥτοι σοφία καὶ σοφίας θεός, ἐπεὶ καὶ ἐν ὕμνοις ἠδεῖα ἢ κατατρύφησον τοῦ κυρίου." κατευθεὶς δὲ ὅρος ἀπὸ πηγῆς τῆς σοφίας ποταμοῦ τρόπον ὁ θεῖος λόγος, ὕν ἀρδῆ καὶ ποτίζη τὰ ὀλύμπια καὶ οὐράνια φιλαρέτων ψυχῶν βλα- 243 στήματα καὶ φυτὰ, ὡσπερ παράδεισι. ὁ δὲ ἱερὸς οὕτως λόγος ἀφορίζεται εἰς τέσσαρας ἀρχὰς, λέγω δὲ εἰς τὰς τέσσαρας ἀρετὰς σχίζεται, ὅτε ἐκάστη βασιλίς ἐστι· τὸ γὰρ ἀφορίζεσθαι εἰς ἀρχὰς οὐ τοπικὸς ὄροις, ἀλλὰ βασιλεία ἐουκεν, ἐν ἐπιδείξας

1 mss. εὔτωνω. 2 mss. ἐμφορεῖ. 3 mss. ὅτε.
ON DREAMS, II. 237–243

which that dead burden the body is the channel? For "I thought," he says, "that I stood on the edge of the river" (Gen. xli. 17). River, I submit, is here a symbol of speech, since both flow outward and with a swift strong current, and both are sometimes fruitful in producing inundations, water in one case, words in the other, sometimes unfruitful when they slacken or subside. And both may be beneficial by irrigating, one the fields, the other the souls of docile hearers; both at times do harm, the river by flooding the adjoining land, speech by reducing the mental powers of the inattentive to chaos and confusion. In this way speech is like a river, but it has a twofold nature better and worse, the better beneficial, the worse necessarily injurious. Moses has provided examples of both, of the plainest kind to those who have the gift of vision. "A river," he says, "goes out of Eden to water the garden; thence it separates into four heads" (Gen. ii. 10), and he gives the name of Eden, which is by interpretation "delight," to the wisdom of the Existent, because no doubt wisdom is a source of delight to God and God to wisdom, and so in the Psalms the singer bids us to "delight in the Lord" (Ps. xxxvii. (xxxvi.) 4). The Divine Word descends from the fountain of wisdom like a river to lave and water the heaven-sent celestial shoots and plants of virtue-loving souls which are as a garden. And this holy Word is "separated into four heads," which means that it is split up into the four virtues, each of which is royal. For separation into heads or rules is not like separation into local regions but into kingdoms, and when he

4 MSS. τοπικοὺς ὅρους. Possibly we might read the more logical οὗ (τῷ  eius) τοπικοὺς ὅρους ἀλλὰ βασιλείας έοικεν.
Perhaps ἀρεταῖς ἀρχαῖς, "declares the virtues to be sovereignties," an easy correction which will bring out the sense more clearly.

2 The lacuna in the mss. here was filled by Hoeschel, whom Mangey and Wend. have followed, with μάλλον. But ὡς εἶπέ τις is regularly used by Philo after some quoted word or phrase. See App. p. 610.
points to virtues he means thereby to declare that the Sage who possesses them is a king, a king appointed not by men but by nature, the infallible, the incorruptible, the only free elector. Thus it was said to Abraham by those who saw his worthiness: "thou art a king from God with us" (Gen. xxiii. 6). And thus they laid down the doctrine for the students of philosophy, that the Sage alone is a ruler and king, and virtue a rule and a kingship whose authority is final.

XXXVII. It is this Word which one of Moses’ company compared to a river, when he said in the Psalms "the river of God is full of water" (Ps. lxxv. (lxiv.) 10); where surely it were senseless to suppose that the words can properly refer to any of the rivers of earth. No, he is representing the Divine Word as full of the stream of wisdom, with no part of it empty or devoid of itself but as it has been called, filled through and through with the influx and lifted up on high by the constant never-failing outflow from that perennial fountain.

And there is another psalm which runs thus: "The strong current of the river makes glad the city of God" (Ps. xlvi. (xlv.) 4). What city? For the existing holy city, where the sacred temple also is, does not stand in the neighbourhood of rivers any more than of the sea. Thus it is clear that he writes to shew us allegorically something different from the obvious. It is perfectly true that the impetuous rush of the divine word borne along (swiftly) and ceaselessly with its strong and

\[\text{\textsuperscript{a}}\text{ Cf. De Abr. 261.}\]
\[\text{\textsuperscript{b}}\text{ See De Mut. 152 and note.}\]

\[\text{\textsuperscript{3} mss. ρύμην, then λ and lacuna of six to eight letters in A.}\]
\[\text{I suggest λαίψηρως. See App. p. 610.}\]
\[\text{\textsuperscript{4} mss. μεθορμίσαι.}\]
τάξει φερομένη πάντα διὰ πάντων ἀναχεῖ τε καὶ εὐφραίνει. πόλιν γὰρ θεοῦ καθ' ἕνα μὲν τρόπον τὸν κόσμον καλεῖ, ὃς ὅλον τὸν κράτηρα τοῦ θείου πόματος δεξάμενος ἕκρατίσατο καὶ γανωθεὶς ἀναφαιρέτου καὶ ἀσβέστου τῆς εἰς ἀπαντα τὸν [ἐπὶ τὸν] αὐῶνα εὐφροσύνης ἐπέλαχε, καθ' ἐτερον δὲ τὴν ψυχὴν τοῦ σοφοῦ, ἢ λέγεται καὶ ἐμπεριπατεῖν ὁ θεὸς ὡς ἐν πόλει. "περιπατήσω" γάρ φησιν "ἐν ὑμῖν, καὶ ἐσομαι [ἐν] ὑμῶν" θεὸς." καὶ ψυχῇ δ' εὐδαιμονί τὸ ἱερῶτατον ἐκτιμά συμποσίας τὸν ἑαυτῆς λογισμὸν τῖς ἐπιμαχάς τοὺς ἱεροὺς κυάθους τῆς πρὸς ἀλήθειαν εὐφροσύνης, ὅτι μὴ ὅκοσος τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ συμποσίαρχος λόγος, οὐ διαφέρων τὸν πόματος, ἀλλ' αὐτὸς ἀκρατος ὡν, τὸ γάνωμα, τὸ ἱδυσμα, ἢ ἀνάχυσι, τὸ χαρᾶ, τὸ εὐφροσύνης ἀμβρόσιον, ἑνα καὶ αὐτοί ποιητικοὶ ὄνομασι χρησάμεθα, φάρμακον;

249 XXVIII. ἡ δὲ θεοῦ πόλις ὑπὸ Ἑβραίων Ἰερουσαλήμ καλεῖται, ἢς μεταληφθὲν τοῦνομα ὀρασίς [692] ἐστὶν εἰρήνης, ἢς μεταληφθὲν τοῦνομα ὀρασίς

250 XXXVIII. ἡ δὲ θεοῦ πόλις ὑπὸ Ἑβραίων Ἰερουσαλήμ καλεῖται, ἢς μεταληφθὲν τοῦνομα ὀρασίς

251 ρητικόν καὶ εἰρηναίον βίον. ἐπεὶ καὶ τίνα σεμνότερον καὶ ἀγιώτερον εὑροι τις ἄν οἶκον ἐν τοῖς οὖσι θεῷ ἡ φιλοθεάμονα διάνοιαν, πάνθ' ὅραν ἐπευγομένην καὶ μηδὲ ὀναρ στάσεως ἡ παραχῆς ἐφιεμένην;
ordered current does overflow and gladden the whole universe through and through. For God's city is the name in one sense for the world which has received the whole bowl, wherein the divine draught is mixed, and feasted thereon and exultingly taken for its possession the gladness which remains for all time never to be removed or quenched. In another sense he uses this name for the soul of the Sage, in which God is said to walk as in a city. For "I will walk in you," he says, "and will be your God" (Lev. xxvi. 12). And, when the happy soul holds out the sacred goblet of its own reason, who is it that pours into it the holy cupfuls of true gladness, but the Word, the Cup-bearer of God and Master of the feast, who is also none other than the draught which he pours—his own self free from all dilution, the delight, the sweetening, the exhilaration, the merriment, the ambrosian drug (to take for our own use the poet's terms) whose medicine gives joy and gladness?

XXXVIII. Now the city of God is called in the Hebrew Jerusalem and its name when translated is "vision of peace." Therefore do not seek for the city of the Existent among the regions of the earth, since it is not wrought of wood or stone, but in a soul, in which there is no warring, whose sight is keen, which has set before it as its aim to live in contemplation and peace. For what grander or holier house could we find for God in the whole range of existence than the vision-seeking mind, the mind which is eager to see all things and never even in its dreams has a wish for faction or turmoil? I hear once more the voice of the invisible spirit, the familiar
πνεῦμα ἀόρατον καὶ φησιν· ὡς οὖτος, ἐοικας ἀνεπιστήμων εἰναι καὶ μεγάλου καὶ περιμαχήτου πράγματος, ὅπερ ἀφθόνως—πολλὰ γὰρ καὶ ἄλλα 253 εὐκαίρως¹ ύφηγησάμην—ἀναδιδάξω. ἵσθι δή, (ὡ) γενναίε, ὅτι θεός μόνος ἡ ἀφευδεστάτη καὶ πρὸς ἀλήθειαν ἄστων εἰρήνη, ἥ δὲ γεννητὴ καὶ φθαρτὴ οὐσία πᾶσα συνεχὴς πόλεμος. καὶ γὰρ ὦ μὲν θεὸς ἐκούσιον, ἀνάγκη δὲ ἡ οὐσία· ὅς ἄν οὖν ἰσχύσῃ πόλεμον μὲν καὶ ἀνάγκην καὶ γένεσιν καὶ φθορὰν καταλιπεῖν, αὐτομολῆσαι δὲ πρὸς τὸ ἀγένητον, πρὸς τὸ ἀφθαρτον, πρὸς τὸ ἐκούσιον, πρὸς εἰρήνην, λέγοιτ' ἄν ἔνδικως ἐνδιαίτημα καὶ πόλις εἶναι θεοῦ. 254 μηδὲν οὖν διαφερέτω σοι ἡ ὁρασιν εἰρήνης ἡ ὁρασιν θεοῦ τὸ αὐτὸ ὑποκείμενον ὅνομάζειν, ὅτι δὲ τῶν πολυωνύμων τοῦ ὄντος δυνάμεων οὐ διασώτις μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἕξαρχος ἄστων εἰρήνη.²

255 XXXIX. Καὶ Ἀβραὰμ μέντοι τῷ σοφῷ δώσειν φησὶ κλήρον γῆς "ἀπὸ τοῦ ποταμοῦ (Ἀιγύπτου ἐως τοῦ ποταμοῦ) τοῦ μεγάλου Εὐφράτου," οὐ χῶρας³ ἀποτομὴν μᾶλλον ἡ τὴν περὶ αὐτοῦ ἠμᾶς ἀμείνων ἑορταμ. Αἰγύπτου μὲν γὰρ ἀπεικάζεται ποταμῷ τὸ ἠμέτερον σῶμα καὶ τὰ ἐν αὐτῷ καὶ δι’ αὐτοῦ⁴ ἐγγυόμενα πάθη, τῷ δὲ Εὐφράτῃ (ψυχῇ) καὶ τὰ φίλα τάφῳ. δόγμα δὴ τίθεται βιωφελέστατον καὶ συνεκτικώτατον, ὅτι ὁ σπουδαῖος κλήρον ἔλαχε ψυχῆ καὶ τὰς ψυχῆς ἀρετάς, ὡσπερ ὁ φαῦλος ἐμπαλὶν σῶμα καὶ τὰς σώματος καὶ διὰ 257 σώματος κακίας. τὸ δὲ ἀπὸ δύο⁵ δηλοῖ, ἐν μὲν

¹ mss. ἀκαίρως.
² mss. θιασώτης and εἰρήνης which Wend. prints, though suggesting the corrections here printed. The second might perhaps be taken without the first, and so Mangey.
556
secret tenant, saying, “Friend, it would seem that there is a matter great and precious of which thou knowest nothing, and this I will ungrudgingly shew thee, for many other well-timed lessons have I given thee. Know then, good friend, that God alone is the real veritable peace, free from all illusion, but the whole substance of things created only to perish is one constant war. For God is a being of free will; the world of things is Fatality. Whosoever then has the strength to forsake war and Fatality, creation and perishing, and cross over to the camp of the uncreated, of the imperishable, of free-will, of peace, may justly be called the dwelling-place and city of God. Let it be then a matter of indifference that you should give to the same object two different names, vision of God and vision of peace. For indeed the Potencies of the Existent have many names, and of that company peace is not only a member but a leader.”

XXXIX. Again God promises wise Abraham a portion of land “from the river of Egypt to the great river Euphrates” (Gen. xv. 18), not meaning a section of country, but rather the better part in ourselves. For our body and the passions engendered in it or by it are likened to the river of Egypt, but the soul and what the soul loves to the Euphrates. Here he lays down a doctrine of the greatest importance and value to life, namely, that the good man has received for his portion soul and the soul’s virtues, even as the bad on the other hand has body and the vices which belong to and arise through the body. Now “from”

\[^a\] Or “our whole existence” . . . “our existence is ruled by necessity.”

\[^3\] mss. οὐχ ὅρας.

\[^4\] mss. αὐτὸ.
τὸ σὺν ἐκείνῳ ἀφ' οὗ λέγεται, ἔτερον δὲ (τὸ) χωρὶς αὐτοῦ. ὡστε καὶ νῦν τὸ "ἀπὸ τοῦ ποταμοῦ Ἀιγύπτου" νομιστεῖν τὸ χωρὶς ἐκείνῳ παραλαμβάνεσθαι· βούλεται γὰρ διοικητὴς ἡμᾶς τῶν σωματικῶν, ἀπευθείας καὶ φορᾶς φθειρομένη καὶ φθειρούση θεωρεῖται, κλήρον φυχὴς λαβεῖν μετὰ τῶν ἀφθάρτων καὶ ἀφθαρσίας ἄξιων ἀρετῶν.

οὔτω μέντοι τὸ εἰκάσθαι ποταμῷ λόγῳ ἐπαινεῖτο ἄλεος ἐν τῷ νομείται· οὕτω μέντοι τὸν πόταμον Ἀιγύπτιον ἀπερίσκετος καὶ άμαθὴς, ώς ἐποιεῖν, ἄφυχος λόγῳ· ὅ χάριν καὶ εἰς αἷμα μεταβάλλει, τρέφειν οὐ δυνάμενος· οὐ χάριν καὶ εἰς αἷμα μεταβάλλει, τρέφειν οὐ δυνάμενος· οὐ χάριν καὶ εἰς αἷμα μεταβάλλει, τρέφειν

1 So Mangey for mss. φθορâ, which Wend. retains.
2 mss. χληλατοῦντες.

a II. ii. 212 Θερσίτης ὁ ἐτι Μουνὸς ἀμετροεπῆς ἔκολοφα.
has two meanings, one where the thing from which what we are describing starts is included, the other where it is excluded. For when we say that there are twelve hours from early morning to evening, or thirty days from the new moon to the end of the month, we take into our reckoning the first hours in the former case and the new moon itself in the latter. But when one says that the field is three or four stades distant from the city, clearly he does not include the city. So in this case we must suppose that in the phrase “from the river of Egypt” “from” is used in this exclusive sense. For Moses would have us remove right away from bodily things, which present themselves amid restless flux and motion, which destroys and is destroyed, and receive the soul as our heritage with the virtues which are indestructible and worthy to be such. Thus our investigation has shewn what was meant when the speech which deserves praise was compared to a river. It follows that speech which calls for censure was none other than the river of Egypt—speech, that is, which is ill-trained, ignorant and practically soulless. And therefore it changes into blood (Ex. vii. 20), since it cannot provide nourishment, for the speech of indiscipline none can drink. And further it is prolific of frogs, bloodless, soulless creatures, whose cry is a strange harsh noise, painful to the hearers. We are told, too, that all the fish in it died (ibid. 21), and by fish thoughts are symbolized. For thoughts swim and are bred in speech as in a river, and like living creatures give vitality to it. But set in undisciplined speech ideas die. For in such speech there is no sense to be found, only “bawling” cries disordered and “unregulated,” as the verse has it.\(^a\)
261 XL. Περὶ μὲν δὴ τούτων ἄλλης. ἔπει δὲ οὐ μόνον στάσιν καὶ ποταμόν, ἀλλὰ καὶ χείλη ποταμοῦ 
φαντασιωθῆναι ὀμολογεῖ φάσκων. "ἀφίην ἐστάναι 
παρὰ τὸ χείλος τοῦ ποταμοῦ," ἀναγκαίον ἂν εἴη 
262 καὶ περὶ χείλους τὰ καίρια ὑπομνῄσαι.¹ φαίνεται 
τῶν ἄνεκα δυεὼν τῶν ἀναγκαιοτάτων ἡ φύσις 
χείλη ζῴου καὶ μάλιστα ἄνθρωπος ἀρμόσασθαι· 
ἐνὸς μὲν ἡσυχίας—ἔρημα γὰρ ταῦτα καὶ φραγμός 
ὄχυρωτάτος φωνῆς,—ἐτέρου δὲ ἐρμηνείας: διὰ 
γὰρ τούτων τὸ τῶν λόγων νάμα φέρεται². συν-
αχθέντων μὲν γὰρ ἐπέχεται, φέρεσθαι δ' ἀμήχανον 
263 μὴ διαστάντων. ἐκ δὲ τούτου γυμνάζει καὶ συγ-
κροτεί πρὸς ἀμφότερα, τὸ λέγειν καὶ ἡσυχάζειν, 
ἐκατέρου τῶν ἀμφότερον καυρόν παραφυλάττοντας. 
οἶν ἄκοψ· ἄξιών τι λέγεται; πρόσεχε μὴ διαστάν
te τῶν ἀρμόττοντος καὶ κυρίως οὔτε λέγεται, φέρεσθαι 
τὸ μὴ διαστάντων. ἐκ δὲ τούτου γυμνάζει καὶ συγ-
κροτεί πρὸς ἀμφότερα, τὸ λέγειν καὶ ἡσυχάζειν, 
ἐκατέρου τῶν ἀμφότερον καυρόν παραφυλάττοντας. 
οἶν ἄκοψ· ἄξιών τι λέγεται; πρόσεχε μὴ διαστάν
tο τὸ νὰμά φέρεται. τὸ λέγειν καὶ ἡσυχάζειν, 
264 ἐν νὰμά φέρεται. τὸ λέγειν καὶ ἡσυχάζειν, 
εἷς τοῖς ἕρωταῖς γνωσιμαχίας ἀφικνουμένων οὐδ' ἂν εἰς 
κυρίως οὔτε λέγεται, φέρεσθαι δ' ἀμήχανον νομισθῇ, τὼ 
265 δὲ μέλλοντι πρὸς ἀλήθειαν * * * ὑφέλιμον. πάλιν 
ὅταν ὑδης ἐν τοῖς τοῦ βίου πολέμοις καὶ κακοῖς 
τὴν Ἵλεω τοῦ θεοῦ κείρα καὶ δύναμιν ὑπερέχουσαν 
καὶ προασπίζουσαν, ήρέμησον οὐ γὰρ δεῖται | [694] 
τὸ συμμαχίας ὃ βοηθὸς οὔτος. ἔστι δὲ καὶ τούτου 
δεῖγμα τὸ ἐν ταῖς ἕραις ἀναγραφαῖς κατακείμενον, 
τὸ "κύριος πολεμήσει ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν, καὶ ὑμεῖς 
266 συγήσεσθε." ἐὰν γε μὴν ὑδης τὰ γνήσια ἔγγονα 
καὶ πρωτότοκα Ἀιγύπτου φθειρόμενα, τὸ ἐπι-

¹ mss. ὑπονοήσαι. ² mss. ἀναφέρεται. ³ The mss. have here a lacuna of, in A, sixteen to eighteen letters, for which Wend. suggests ἄκοψ· ἄξιων τὸ ἡσυχάζειν. Ⅰ
XL. Enough on these points; but since in the words “I thought I stood by the edge of the river” he declares that his dream contained not only a “standing” and a “river,” but also the edges or “lips” of a river, I am bound to make such observations as are suitable on the subject of “lip.” Nature clearly has provided animals and men in particular with lips for two most necessary purposes. One is to keep silence; for the lips form the strongest possible fence and barrier for confining sound. The other is to give expression to thought; for the stream of words flows through the lips. When they are closed that stream is held back, and until they part it cannot take its course. In this way the lips train and exercise us for both purposes, speech and silence, and they teach us to watch for the proper occasion for either. For example: Is something said worth hearing? Oppose it not but pay attention silently according to the command of Moses, “Be still and hear” (Deut. xxvii. 9). None of those who enter upon wordy controversies can be properly held either to speak or to hear; he who would do in the true sense will find useful. Again when amid the wars and ills of life you see the merciful hand and power of God extended over you as a shield, be still. For that Champion needs no ally, and we have a proof of this in the words which Holy Scripture keeps amid its treasures, “The Lord shall war for you and ye shall be silent” (Ex. xiv. 14). Once more, if you see the firstborn of Egypt, true children of their parents, perishing (Ex. xi. 5), even lust, pleasure,

suggest (and have translated) ἐκάτερον rather than ἀκούειν as more pointed. If we wish to say anything sensible, we must listen quietly first. 4 mss. δεῖγματα.
PHILO

θυμεῖν, τὸ ήδεσθαι, τὸ λυπεῖσθαι, τὸ φοβεῖσθαι, τὸ ἄδικεῖν, τὸ ἀφραίνειν, τὸ ἀκολασταίνειν καὶ ὁσα τούτων ἄδειλᾳ καὶ συγγενῆ, καταπλαγεὶς ἰσύχαζε, τὸ φοβερὸν τοῦ θεοῦ κράτος ὑποπτῆξας. “ οὗ γὰρ γρύξει” φησὶ, “κύων τῇ γλώσσῃ, οὐδ’ ἀπ’ ἀνθρώ- 
πον ἔως κτήνους,” ἵσον τῷ οὐτὲ τῇ κυνώδῃ γλώσσαι ὑλακτοῦσάν τε καὶ κράζουσαν οὕτω τὸν ἐν ἡμῖν ἀνθρωπόν, ἤγεμόνα νοῦν, οὔτε τὸ κτηνώδες θρέμμα, τὴν αἰσθήσιν, προσήκει γαυριάν, οὕτων ἀναραθέντος τοῦ παρ’ ἡμᾶς ὁ λοι ἐξωθεὶς τὸ συμ- 
μαχικὸν αὐτοκέλευστον ὑπερασπιόνη ᾴη.

268 XLI. πολλοὶ δὲ συμβαίνουσι καιροὶ μὴ ἐφαρμό- 
ζοντες ἰσυχία, ὡδᾶς δὲ καὶ καταλογάδην ῥήσεις ἐπιζητοῦντες· ἥν πάλιν ἰδεῖν ἐστιν ἀνακείμενα ὑπομνήματα. πῶς; ἄγαθον τις γέγονεν ἀπροσ- 
dόκητος μεταγείσαι; καλὸν οὖν εὐχαριστῆσαι καὶ 
269 τὸν ἐπιπέμβαντα ὑμνῆσαι. τί οὖν τὸ ἄγαθὸν; 
tέθνηκε τὸ ἐπιτιθέμενον ἡμῖν πάθος καὶ πρηνή 
άταφον ἔρριπται; μὴ μέλλωμεν οὖν, ἀλλὰ ᾴ (χορὸν) 
stησάμενοι τὴν ἱεροπρεπεστάτην ἄδωμεν ὡδῆν, 
παρακελεύομενοι λέγειν πάσιν· "ἄσωμεν τῷ κυρίῳ, 
ἐνδόξῳ γὰρ δεδόξασται· ἢππον καὶ ἀναβάτην 
270 ἔρριπεν εἰς θάλασσαν." ἀλλὰ γὰρ ἡ μὲν τοῦ 
πάθους φθορὰ καὶ μετανάστασις ἄγαθον, ἀλλ’ οὖ 
tέλειον ἄγαθόν· ἡ δὲ σοφίας εὐρεσίας ὑπερβάλλω 
καλὸν· ἢς εὑρεθείης ἀπασ ὁ λεώς οὐ καθ’ ἐν μέρος 
μουσικῆς, ἀλλὰ κατὰ πάσας αὐτῆς τὰς ἀρμονίας 

1 mss. εὐφραίνειν. 
2 mss. γρύξει φασί. 
3 mss. ἀράζουσαν (Mangey γρύξουσαν). 
4 ὡδᾶς δὲ καὶ my correction: mss. τὰς δὲ. See note a on 
opposite page. 
5 mss. ὑμῖν: I should prefer (as Cohn) ὑμεῖν. 
6 mss. φόρα.
grief and fear, and injustice, folly, licentiousness with all their brethren and kin, stand in awe and be silent, bending low before the tremendous power of God. "For not a dog shall make a sound," it says, "with his tongue, neither from men to beast" (ibid. 7), which means that neither the dog-like tongue which barks so loud, nor the man in us, the ruling mind, nor the beast-like creature, sense, should vaunt themselves when, upon the downfall of all that is our own, assistance comes self-bidden from without to shield us. XLI. But occasions often arise which ill accord with silence and call for speech in song or prose, and of such, too, we may find instructive examples in the same storehouse. How so? Suppose some portion of good has fallen to us unexpectedly. It is well then to give thanks and hymn the sender. And what is that good? Suppose that the passion which was attacking us is dead and has been flung out headlong without burial. Let us not delay, but setting in order our choir raise the most sacred of anthems, bidding all to say "Let us sing unto the Lord, for He hath triumphed gloriously. Horse and rider he hath cast into the sea" (Ex. xv. 1). But though, no doubt, the destruction and removal of passion is a good, yet it is not a perfect good, but the discovery of wisdom is a thing of transcendent excellence. And when that is discovered, all the people will sing not with one part of music only, but with all its harmonies and melodies.

a I have ventured on this correction, which textually is fairly easy, because (1) of the three examples which follow two are song and one prose; (2) in the other two passages, noted in the index, there is the same contrast: De Mut. 220 δι' ψυχῆς καὶ τῶν κατ. ἐγκωμίων: De Abr. 23 διὰ ποιήματων καὶ τῶν κατ. συγγραμμάτων.
καὶ μελωδίας ἁσταί. "τότε" γὰρ φησιν "ἔσεν Ἰσραήλ τὸ ἀσμα τούτο ἐπὶ τοῦ φρέατος," λέγω δὲ ἐπὶ τῆς πάλαι μὲν κεκρυμμένης, ἀναζητθείσης δὲ αὕθις καὶ ἐπὶ πᾶσιν ἀνευρημένης βαθείας τῆν φύσιν ἐπιστήμης, ἥ νόμος τὰς τῶν φιλοσεβάμων ἂρδευν λογικὰς ἐν ψυχαῖς ἀρούρας. τὸ δὲ; ὅταν συγκομίσωμεν τὸν γνήσιον διανοίας καρπὸν, οὐ παραγγέλλει ἡμῖν ὁ ἱερὸς λόγος ωσπερ ἐν καρτάλῳ τῷ λογισμῷ τὰς ἀπαρχὰς τῆς ευφορίας ἢν ἤνθησε, ἢν ἐβλάστησεν, ἢν ἐκαρποφόρησεν ἡ ψυχὴ καλῶν, ἐπιδεικνυμένους ἀντικρησθὲν οὕτως ῥητορεύειν, τὰ εἰς τὸν τελεσφόρον θεὸν ἐγκόμια λέγοντας. "ἐξεκάθηρα τὰ ἄγια ἀπὸ τῆς οἰκίας μου" καὶ ἐταμευσάμην ἐν τῷ τοῦ θεοῦ οἶκῳ, ταμίας καὶ φύλακας αὐτῶν ἐπιστήμης τους ἀρίστιν ἐπιλειτήμενος πρὸς τὴν ἱερὰν νεωκορίαν. οὗτοι δέ εἰσι Λευιταὶ καὶ προσήλυτοι καὶ ὀρφανοὶ καὶ χήραι· οἱ μὲν ικέται, οἱ δὲ μετανάσται καὶ πρόσφυγες, οἱ δὲ ἀπωρφανισμένοι καὶ κεχηρευκότες γενέσεως, θεὸν δὲ τὴν τῆς ψυχῆς θεραπευτρίδος καὶ πατέρα γνήσιον ἐπιγεγραμμένον.

Τούτον μὲν δὴ τὸν τρόπον καὶ λέγειν καὶ ἰσχύος ἐμπρεσπέστατον. τὸ δὲ ἐναντίον μεμελετήκασιν οἱ φαύλοι· καὶ γὰρ ἰσχύας ἐπιλήπτουν καὶ ἐρμηνείας ὑπαίτιον ἔσπερ γεγόνασιν, ἐκάτερον ἐπὶ ὀλέθρῳ ἐαυτῶν τε καὶ ἐτέρων συγκροτήσαντες. τὸ δὲ πλέον ἐστὶν αὐτοῖς τῆς ἀσκήσεως ἐν τῷ λέγειν ἀ μὴ δεῖ· τὸ γὰρ στόμα διανοίξαντες καὶ ἔσαντες ἀχαλίνωτον, καθάπερ ῥεῦμα ἀκατά-

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1 mss. ὡν. 2 mss. οἰκέται. 3 So mss.: perhaps θερ. ψυχ.
ON DREAMS, II. 271–275

For “then,” says the text, “Israel sang this song 271 upon the well” (Num. xxi. 17), and by the “well” I mean knowledge, which for long has been hidden, but in time is sought for and finally found—knowledge whose nature is so deep, knowledge which ever serves to water the fields of reason in the souls of those who desire to see. Again when we reap the 272 true harvest of the mind, does not the holy Word bid us bring, stored in the basket (Deut. xxvi. 2, 4) of our reasoning faculties, the firstfruits of that rich crop of things excellent, the product of the flowering, the sprouting, the fruit-bearing of ourselves, and as we display them pronounce with words of forthright oratory our laudings of God who gives fulfilment, in such words as these: “I have purged the things hallowed from my home and stored them in the house of God (ibid. 13) under the stewardship and guardianship of those who have been chosen for their high merit to the sacred temple-ministry.” These are the Levites and the proselytes, the orphans and widows (ibid.); the first suppliants, the second those who have left their homes and taken refuge with God, the others those who are as orphans and widows to creation, and have adopted God as the lawful husband and father of the servant-soul.

XLII. Such is the most fitting rule for speaking 274 and keeping silence. But the practice of the wicked is quite the contrary. For they ardently pursue a guilty silence and a reprehensible speech, and they work both as an engine for the ruin of themselves and others. Yet it is in speech—in saying what they ought not—that they exercise themselves the most. For they open their mouths and leave them un-
σχετον, φέρεσθαι τὸν ἀκριτόμυθον, ἥ ὕφασιν οἱ ποιηταὶ, λόγου ἰάσι, ἡ μυρία τῶν ἀλυσιτελῶν προσ-
276 επισύροντα. τοιγαροῦν οἱ μὲν ἐπὶ συνηγορίαν
ηδονῆς καὶ ἐπιθυμίας καὶ πάσης πλεοναζούσης
όρμης ἐτράπωντο, ἄλογον πάθος ἐπιτειχίζοντες
ηγεμόνι λογισμῷ, (οἱ δὲ αὐ)¹ καὶ ταῖς ἐριστικαῖς
φιλονεικίαις (ἐπ)αποδυσάμενοι συνεπλάκησαν, ἐλ-
πίσαντες τὸ ὀρατικὸν πηρώσαί γένος καὶ κατὰ
κρημνῶν καὶ βαράθρων, ἐξ ὧν οὐδὲ ἑτὶ γένοιτο
277 διαναστήναι, δυνῆσεσθαι ρήβαι. ἔνιοι δὲ οὗ μόνον
ἀντιπάλους ἑαυτῶν τῆς ἀνθρωπίνης ἀπεφηνὰν
ἀρετῆς, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῆς θείας· ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον ἀπονοίας
ήλασαν.

Τοῦ μὲν οὖν φιλοπαθοῦς ἐξαρχὸς ἀναγράφεται
θιάσου τῆς Αἰγυπτίας χώρας ο βασιλεὺς, Φαραώ·
λέγεται γὰρ τῷ προφήτῃ· ἂν ὁ τοῦ ήδονῆς καὶ
ἐπιθυμίας λόγος ὑπαντίς τῷ ήδονῆς καὶ
278 χείλος τοῦ ποταμοῦ." τοῦ μὲν γὰρ ἴδιον ἐπὶ τήν
φορὰν καὶ ἀνάχυσιν ἀεὶ τοῦ ἀλόγου πάθους ἑξιέναι·
tοῦ δὲ σοφοῦ πολλῷ ρέοντι τοῖς ὑπὲρ ἡδονῆς καὶ
ἐπιθυμίας λόγους ὑπαντίᾶς τοῖς ποσὶν, ἀλλὰ
tῇ γνώμῃ, βεβαίῳς καὶ ἀκλίνως, ἐπὶ τοῦ ποταμοῦ
χείλους, τοῦτο δὲ ἑστὶν ἐπὶ τοῦ στόματος καὶ τῆς
γλώττης, ἀπερ ἢν ὄργανα λόγου· παγίως γὰρ
ἐπιβὰς αὐτοῖς δυνῆσεται τὰς συνηγοροῦσας τῶν
πάθει πιθανότητας ἀνατρέψαι καὶ καταβαλεῖν.

¹ mss. ἐώσι.
² The lacuna of five to six letters is filled up by Wend.
with ἐπὶ δὲ. For my reasons for preferring οἱ δὲ αὐ (or ἔνιοι
dὲ) see note b below.
³ mss. πληρώσασι.
⁴ mss. βάθρων.

ᵃ II. ii. 246.
ᵇ That we have here the second of three classes, and not a
bridled, and suffer their "promiscuous" speech, to use the poet's term, to take its course like an un­checked torrent whirling along with it vast quantities of unprofitable stuff. And so some betake them­selves to pleading the cause of pleasure and lust and of every superabundant appetite and raise up unreason­ing passion to menace the ruling reason. (Others) disencumber themselves to engage in disputatious controversies, hoping thereby to blind the race of vision and to be able to hurl them over precipices and chasms, from which they can never rise again. Some, too, have set themselves up to oppose the virtue not only of men but of God; to such a pitch of madness have they advanced.

The first of these three, the company of the pleasure­lovers, are described as having for their leader the king of the country of Egypt. For God says to the prophet, "Behold he himself goeth forth to the water, and thou shalt stand meeting him by the edge (lip) of the river" (Ex. vii. 15). It is as characteristic of him, that he should ever go out to the spreading tide of unreasoning passion, as it is of the wise to meet its strong current, whose waters are the advocacy of pleasure and lust—meet it not with his feet, but with his judgement, steadfastly and unswervingly, on the "lip" of the river, that is on the mouth and tongue, the organs of speech. For firmly resting on these supports he will be able to overthrow and lay low the plausibilities which plead the cause of passion.

further denunciation of the first of two, as Wend.'s reading implies, seems clear to me from the sequel. The class here introduced are described further in §§ 279-280.

Each of the three classes is furnished with a χείλος text, in this case Ex. vii. 15. So far as philosophical schools are suggested, these are clearly the Epicureans.

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ο δὲ τού ὅρατικοι γένους ἐχθρὸς ο τοῦ Φαραώ λαὸς ἔστιν, ὃς ἐπιτιθέμενος καὶ διώκων καὶ δουλούμενος ἀρετήν οὐκ ἐπαύσατο, ἐώς κακὰς ὃν1 διέθηκε τὰς ἀμοιβὰς εὐρατο, πελάγει2 τῶν ἀδικημάτων καὶ τρικυμίας, ὡς τῷ λυ(ττῶν πάθος)3 ἀνήγειρε, καταποντωθεῖς, ὃς ὑπερβάλλουσαν θέαν καὶ νίκην ἀναταχώνυστον καὶ χαρᾶν ἔλπιδος μείζονα τὸν καίρον ἐνεγκεῖν ἐκείνων. διὸ λέγεται: ἑíδεν Ἰσραήλ τοὺς Ἀιγυπτίους τεθνηκότας παρὰ τὸ χείλος τῆς θαλάσσης." μεγάλη γε ἡ ὑπέρμαχος χείρ, ἀναγκάζουσα παρὰ στόματι καὶ χείλεσι καὶ λόγῳ πίπτεν τοὺς τὰ ὀργάνα ταῦτα κατὰ τῆς ἀληθείας ἀκονσμένους, ἵνα μὴ θενείοις ἀλλὰ ὑδίοις ὀπλοῖς οἱ καθ' ἐτέρων ἀναλαμβόντες αὐτὰ θνήσκονσι. τρία δ' εὐαγγελίζεται τῇ ψυχῇ τὰ κάλλιστα, ἐν μὲν ἀπώλειαν Ἀιγυπτιακῶν παθῶν, ἐτερον δὲ τὸ μὴ παρ' ἐτέρῳ χωρίῳ,4 ἂλλὰ τῆς ἀλμυρᾶς καὶ πικρᾶς πηγῆς, ὡς ἀν θαλάττης, χείλεσι, δι' ὄν τὸ πολέμιον ἀρετής σοφιστής λόγος ἐξεκέχυτο, τελευταῖον δὲ τὴν θέαν τοῦ πτῶματος.

281 μηδὲν γὰρ ἀόρατον ἐι' καλὸν, ἄλλα πρός * * *5 καὶ λαμπρὸν ἔτη άγουτοι καὶ γὰρ τούναντίον εἰς βαθὺ σκότος καὶ * * *6 άξιόν τὸ κακόν. καὶ τούτο μὲν μηδ' εκ τύχης ἰδεῖν7 ποτε γένοιτο, τὸ δὲ ἀγαθὸν μείζοσιν ὀφθαλμοῖς αἰεὶ περιαθροῦτο. τί δὲ ούτως

1 I suggest κακὰς <κακῶν> ὃν. 2 mss. ἐστρατοπελάγει. 3 mss. lacuna of four to five letters after λυ, which Wend. fills up as above. Why not λυτᾶν or λυτῶν simply? We are not, I think, concerned with πάθος here. 4 mss. ἐτέρων χωρίῳ. 5 The lacuna here is of six to eight letters. Wend. suggests ἄσκιον φῶς.
Secondly, we find the enemy of the race that has vision in the people of Pharaoh who attacked and persecuted and enslaved virtue without ceasing, until they received the requital of evil for the evil they meted out to others, submerged in the sea of their wrongdoings and in the mighty billows, which their raving had called up, and thus that occasion brought a peerless spectacle, an undisputed victory, and a joy which transcended hope. Therefore we read: "Israel saw the Egyptians dead along the lip of the sea" (Ex. xiv. 30). Mighty is that champion arm by whose constraining force mouth and lips and speech became the scene of the fall of those who had whetted them as instruments against the truth, that so their own weapons, not those of strangers, should bring death to those who had taken them against others. Three messages, the best of tidings, does this text proclaim to the soul, one that the passions of Egypt have perished, a second that the scene of their death is none other than the lips of that fountain bitter and briny as the sea, those very lips through which poured forth the sophist-talk which wars against virtue, and finally that their ruin was seen. For we may pray that nothing that is good and beautiful should be unseen, but rather should be brought into clear light and bright sunshine, while its opposite evil deserves only to be brought into night and profound darkness and (night). And never may even a casual glimpse of evil come our way, but may the good be surveyed with ever growing eyesight. And what is so truly good as that

* The second class, whose χεῖλος text is Ex. xiv. 30, are presumably the sophists in general; cf. σοφιστής λόγος § 281.

6 Lacuna of six to eight letters. For various suggestions to fill it see App. p. 610.

7 mss. δείν.
PHILO

άγαθόν, ὡς ζήσαι τὰ καλὰ καὶ ἀποθανεῖν τὰ φαύλα;

283 XLIII. τρίτοι¹ τοίνυν ἦσαν οἱ τῆς τῶν λόγων δεινότητα μέχρις οὐρανοῦ τείνοντες. οὗτοι μελέτην κατὰ τῆς φύσεως, μάλλον δὲ κατὰ τῆς ἐαυτῶν ψυχῆς ἐμελέτησαν φάσκουτες, μόνον εἶναι τὸ αἰσθητὸν καὶ ὀρώμενον τοῦτο, οὕτε γενόμενον ποτε οὔτε αὕτως φθαρησόμενον, ἀγένητον δὲ καὶ ἀφθαρτον, ἀνεπιτρόπευτον, ἀκυβέρνητον, ἀπροστασίαστον. εἰτ' ἐπ' ἄλλοις ἄλλα συνθέντες ἐπιχειρήματα, δόγμα ἀδόκιμον οἰκοδομοῦντες εἰς ύφος οἷα πύργον ἐξήραν. λέγεται γὰρ ὅτι "ἡν πᾶσα ἡ γῆ χεῖλος ἐν," συμφωνία τῶν τῆς ψυχῆς μερῶν πάντων ἀσύμφωνος ἐπὶ τῷ κινῆσαι τὸ συνεκτικώτατον ἐν τοῖς οὖσι, ἀρχὴν τοιγαροῦν ἑλπίσαντας αὐτοὺς εἰς οὐρανὸν ταῖς ἐπινοίαις ἀναδραμεῖσθαι ἐπὶ καθαρέσει τῆς αἰωνίου βασιλείας ή μεγάλη καὶ ἀναβάλλει χεῖρ, καὶ τὸ οἰκοδομηθέν δόγμα συνανατρέψασα. κέκληται δὲ ὁ τόπος "σύγχυςις," οἰκεῖον Ονομα τῶ καινούργηθέντι τολμήματι. τί γάρ ἀναρχίας συγχυτικώτερον; οὔκ οἰκίαι μέν ἀνηγεμόνευτοι προσκρομμένων γέμουσι καὶ ταραχῆς; ἀβασίλευτοι δ' ἐαυτοῦ πόλεις ὑπὸ ὀχλοκρατίας, ἐναντίον καὶ μεγίστου, φθείρονται; καὶ χώραι δὲ καὶ ἕθη καὶ κλίματα γῆς, ὅ χραι κατελύθησαν, οὔ πολαιᾶς καὶ μεγάλας εὐδαιμονίας ἀπεβαλον; καὶ τί δεῖ | τὰ ἀνθρώπων λέγεσθαι;

284 285 286 287 288

[697]

¹ mss. and all editors τρεῖς. See note a below.

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a I have no hesitation in reading τρίτοι for τρεῖς, a corruption very easily produced by the use of the same symbol for the cardinal and ordinal. For Mangey's explanation of τρεῖς see App. p. 610. This third class biblically represented by the Babel-builders, with Gen. xi. 1 for their χεῖλος text, cor-

[570]
the excellent should live and the bad die?

XLIII. Third on the list were those who extended the activities of their word-cleverness to heaven itself, men who gave themselves to studies directed against nature or rather against their own soul. They declared that nothing exists beyond this world of our sight and senses, that it neither was created nor will perish, but is uncreated, imperishable, without guardian, helmsman or protector. Then piling enterprises one upon another they raised on high like a tower their edifice of unedifying doctrine. For we read that “all the earth was one lip” (Gen. xi. 1), a harmony of disharmony, that is a blend of all the parts of the soul, to dislodge from its position the greatest binding force in the universe, government. And therefore when they hoped to soar to heaven in mind and thought, to destroy the eternal kingship, the mighty undestroyable hand cast them down and overturned the edifice of their doctrine. And the place is called “confusion,” a fitting name for wild audacious revolution. For what is more fraught with confusion than want of government? Are not houses that have no ruler full of offences and disturbance? Are not cities left without a king destroyed by the opposite of king-rule, the greatest of evils, mob-rule? Do not countries and nations and regions of the earth lose their old abundant happiness when their governments are dissolved? And why should we appeal to the case of mankind? For the other responds philosophically to the Epicureans and Sceptics, so far as the denial of providence is concerned. For ἀγένητον καὶ ἀφθαρτον see App. pp. 610 ff.

a Lit. “base” or spurious doctrine. The translation given is an attempt to produce something parallel to the untranslatable oxymoron of the Greek.
οὐδὲ γὰρ ἂλλα τῶν ζῴων ἀγέλαι, πτηνῶν, χερσαίων, ἐνυδρῶν, ἄνευ τινὸς ἀγελάρχου συνεστάσω, ἂλλα ποιοῦσι καὶ περιέπουσιν αἰεὶ τὸν οἰκεῖον ἡγεμόνα, ὡς μόνον ἁγαθῶν αἴτιον, οὐ κατὰ τὴν ἀπουσίαν σκεδάννυται καὶ διαφθείρονται. εἴτ' οἴσαμεν ὑμῖν μὲν περιγείοις, ἀ βραχυτάτη μοίρα τοῦ παντὸς ἔστιν, ἀρχὴν μὲν ἁγαθῶν, ἀναρχίαν δὲ κακῶν εἰναι αἴτιαν, τὸν δὲ κόσμον οὐ διὰ τὴν τοῦ βασιλεύοντος θεοῦ προήγησθον εὐδαίμονίας τῆς άκρας πεπληρώσθαι; δίκην οὖν ἁμότουσαν οἰς ἐπὶθεντο1 διδόσας φύραντες γὰρ τὸ ιερὸν (τὸ ἑαυτῶν ἀνίερον) πρὸς2 ἀναρχίας φυρόμενον ἐπείδον, συγχυθέντες οἱ3 συγχέαντες. ἦς δὲ οὕπω τιμωρίαν δεδώκασιν, άρχην μὲν ἀνοσίων λόγωις καθαιροῦσι, αὐτοὺς δὲ ἀρχοντας καὶ βασιλέας ἀναγράφουσι, τὸ ἀκαθαίρετον τοῦ θεοῦ κράτος γενέσει τῇ ἁμορμένη καὶ φθειρομένη περι-291 ἀπτοντες. XLIV. ἐπιτραγωδούντες γοῦν καὶ ἐπικομπάζοντες5 εἰώθασιν οἱ καταγέλαστοι λέγειν ταύτα· ἡμεῖς οἱ δυναστεύοντες· ἡμεῖς οἱ δυναστεύοντες· ἐφ' ἡμῖν ὀρμεῖ6 τὰ πάντα· ἁγαθῶν καὶ τῶν ἐναντίων

1 Probably read <ἐπ>ἐπίθεντο, or as Mangey <dì>ἐπίθεντο, a favourite word of Philo, but not as far as I have seen used by him in this sense in the middle.
2 MSS. περὶ.
3 MSS. and all edd. οὐ. For discussion of the text of the sentence see note a below.
4 So MSS.: Wend. ἁμορμένως without adequate reason, so far as I can see.
5 MSS. ἐπιστομίξόντες.
6 MSS. όρμᾶ.

a Wendland, who prints φύραντες γὰρ τὸ ιερὸν περὶ ... ἀναρχίας φυρόμενοι (so also Mangey for φυρόμενον from Trin.) ἐπείδον, does not make any attempt how to fill up the supposed lacuna. The suggestion I have made gives, I think, a very 572
collections of animals, whether of the air, or the land or the water, do not hold together any more than men without someone to captain them, but they always desire the presence of their proper leader and pay him honour as the sole author of their welfare, and in his absence they scatter and are destroyed. Can we then suppose that, while the creatures of the earth, who are but a tiny portion of the universe, find in government the cause of their well-being and in anarchy the cause of their ills, the world does not owe the supreme blessedness which fills it to the leadership of God its king? So then these aggressors against heaven suffered a penalty befitting their attempts. Having brought disorder into the holy, they saw their own unholiness disordered by anarchy; they had wrought confusion and were confounded. But so long as they remain unpunished, puffed up by their delusion, they deal out destruction to the government of the universe with their unholy words, enroll themselves as rulers and kings, and make over the undestroyable sovereignty of God to creation which passes away and perishes and never continues in one stay.

XLIV. Thus it is their way to talk bombastic, boastful absurdities such as “We are the leaders, we are the potentates; all things are based on us. Who can cause good or its opposite, satisfactory sense, and if it is accepted the second suggestion of οἱ συνχέαντες for οὐ συνχ. producing a similar antithesis will follow almost certainly. περί will require correction, and I have hesitated between παρά and πρός. The former comes more easily from περί, and may perhaps be used in the same sense as πρός, but πρός seems to have been corrupted to περί in § 12.

b The description of the third class, though primarily an attack on philosophical creeds, passes in this and the subsequent sections into a general denunciation of human pride.
τίνες αὕτωι (ὅτι μὴ) ἂμεῖς; τὸ (εὖ καὶ) κακῶς ἐργάσασθαι τίσιν ὧτι μὴ ἡμῖν ἀφευδέστατα ἀνάκειται; φλυαροῦσι δὲ ἀλλὰς οἱ δυνάμεως ἀοράτου τὰ πάντα φάσκοντες ἐξήθθαι, ἧν πρυτανεύειν τῶν κατὰ τὸν κόσμον ἀνθρωπεῖων τε καὶ θείων νομίζουσι.

τοιαύτα καταλαξονευσάμενοι, ἓν μὲν ὦσπερ ἐκ μέθης νήφαντε ἐν ἑαυτοῖς γένωνται καὶ τῆς παρουίας, ἣν παρώνησαν, εἰς αἵθησιν ἐλθόντες αἰδεσθώσι καὶ κακίσωσιν ἑαυτοὺς ἑφ' οἷς ὑπ' ἀγνώμονος γνώμης ἐξαμαρτάνειν προήχθησαν, ἀκολακεύτω καὶ ἀδεκάστω χρησάμενοι συμβούλω μετανοίᾳ, τὴν ἔλεος τοῦ ὅντος δύναμιν ἐξεμενεσάμενοι παλινωδίαις ἀντὶ βεβήλων ἱεραῖς, ἀμνηστίαν εὑρήσονται παντελῆ. ἓν δὲ ἀφηνιαιταὶ καὶ σκληροὺς μέχρι τοῦ παντός γενόμενοι σκιρτῶσιν, ὡς αὐτόνομοι καὶ ἐλεύθεροι καὶ ἐτέρων ἡγεμόνες ἤντες, ἀπαραιτητῆς ἀνάγκη καὶ ἀμελλήκτω τὴν ἑαυτῶν ἐπὶ ἀπασί συμβεβεβηκώς ἂρματι πτηνώ τῷ κόσμῳ χαλίνον ἐμβάλων καὶ τὸ κεχαλασμένον τῶν ἠνίων ὑπὲρ τείνας καὶ τοὺς κήμους ἐπισφίγξας, μάστιξι καὶ κέντροις ἀναμνήσει τῆς δεσποτικῆς ἐξουσίας, ἢ ἐπελάθοντο διὰ τὸ χρηστὸν καὶ ἡμερον τοῦ κρατοῦντος ὦσπερ οἱ κακοὶ δοῦλοι. τὸ γὰρ τῶν δεσποτῶν ἐπιεικέσ εἰς ἀναρχίαν ἐκτρέποντες ἐπιμορφάζουσι τὸ ἀδέσποτον, μέχρις ἂν τὴν ῥοώδη τε καὶ πολλὴν αὐτῶν νόσον, ἀντὶ φαρμακὼν τὰς τιμωρίας προσφέρων, ὁ

1 Lacuna of four to five letters.
2 A παρωνίας ἦν παρηνόμησαν: Trin. παρωνίας ἦν παρηνόμησαν (not παρωνήσαν as Mangey states).
3 mss. προσήχθησαν.
4 mss. metanola.
5 mss. κόσμουs.
save we? With whom does it really and truly rest to benefit or harm, save us? They are but idle babblers who say that all things are linked to an invisible power, and think that this power presides over everything in the world whether human or divine.” Such is their presumptuousness. Yet, if they pass from this intoxication to sobriety, and become themselves again; if realizing the sottishness of their past they feel shame and self-reproach for the sins to which their ill-judging judgement has led them; if they take repentance for their counsellor, a counsellor impervious to flattery and bribery; if they propitiate the merciful power of Him that is by recantations in which holiness replaces profanity, they will obtain full pardon. But if they continue for ever to plunge and prance like stiff-necked horses disobedient to the rein, as though they were free and independent and rulers of others, necessity inexorable and implacable will make them feel that in all things great and small they are as nothing. For the charioteer who has mounted the winged chariot of this world will put his bridle upon them and pull back with force the hitherto slackened reins till they are taut, tighten the muzzles, and with whip and spur recall to them the nature of that imperious authority, which the kindness and gentleness of the ruler had caused them to forget, as bad servants do. For such misconstrue the mildness of the master as failure to govern, and ape the state of those who have no master, until the owner stems the full flood of the disease, by applying punishments.

* See App. p. 611.
κεκτημένος ἐπισχῆ. διὸ λέγεται· "ψυχὴ ἄνομος ἢ διαστέλλουσα τοῖς χείλεσι κακοποιήσαι ἢ καλῶς ποιήσαι," εἰθ’ ὤστερον ἡ ἐξαγορεύσει τὴν ἀμαρτίαν ἑαυτῆς." τί φής, ὃ γέμουσα ἀλαζονείας; οἴδας γάρ, τί ἔστι τὸ πρὸς ἀλήθειαν ἀγαθὸν ἢ καλὸν ἡ δίκαιοι ἢ ὁσιῶν ἢ τίνα τίσιν ἐφαρμόττει; ἢ τούτων ἔπιστήμῃ τε καὶ δύναμις ἀνάκειται μόνω θεῶ, καὶ εἶ τις αὐτῶ φίλος. μάρτυς δὲ καὶ χρησμός, ἐν ὃ λέγεται· "ἐγώ ἀποκτενῶ καὶ ἕχῃ ποιήσω." πατάξω κάγω ἰάσομαι." ἀλλὰ γὰρ οὐδὲ ἐπιπόλαιον ἐσχεν ἡ δοκησίσοφος ψυχὴ τὴν τῶν ὑπὲρ ἑαυτὴν ὀνείρωξεν, ἀλλ’ οὕτως ἡ δυστυχής ἐξηγεύθη, ὡς καὶ ἐνώμοτον γενέσθαι περὶ τοῦ βεβαιῶ καὶ παγίως ταῦθ’ ἐστάναι, ἢ ψευδῶς ὑπέλαβεν. ἐὰν οὖν τὸ παλμῶδες καὶ παθλάζον τοῦ νοσήματος ἀρέσται χαλᾶν, τὰ τῆς υγείας ἐμπυρεύματα κατ’ ὀλίγον ἐκζωπυροῦμενα βιάσεται τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἐξαγορεύσας τὸ ἀμαρτῆμα, τὸ δ’ ἐστὶ κακίσαι ἑαυτήν, εἶτα πρὸς βωμοὶ ικέτιν γενέσθαι, ποτνιωμένην λιταῖς καὶ εὐχαῖς καὶ θυσίαις, <αἴς> ἀμνηστίας μόναις ἔπιλαχειν ἐστίν. "Εξῆς δὲ ἂν τις εἰκότως ἐπαπορήσειε, τί δὴ ποτὲ τὸν ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ ποταμὸν μόνον ἀνέγραψεν ἔχοντα χείλη, τὸν δ’ Εὐφράτην ἢ τινα τῶν ἄλλων οὐρὰν ποταμῶν οὐκέτι. ὅπου μὲν γὰρ φησι· ἢ στήση συναντῶν αὐτῶ παρὰ τὸ χέίλος τοῦ ποταμοῦ" * * *. καίτοι τινὲς ὅσως ἐπικλευά-

1 Wend., evidently mistakenly, prints εἰθ’ ὤστερον as part of the quotation. There are twenty words in Leviticus between ποιήσαι and ἐξαγορεύσει, cf. εἴτ' ἐπιφέρει § 71.

α E.V. “If any one swear rashly with his lips to do evil or to do good,” i.e. to do anything whatever. The real
in the place of remedies. Thus we read 296 "the lawless soul which distinguishes with its lips to do well or do ill," and then later "shall proclaim its sin" (Lev. v. 4, 5). O soul, brimful of presumptuous folly, what is this which thou claimest? Knowest thou what is truly good, or excellent, or just, or holy, or what befits who? No, the knowledge and mastery of these is a gift reserved for God alone, and for whoso is God's friend. And this is testified by the oracle in which we are told "I will kill and make to live: I will smite and I will heal" (Deut. xxxii. 39). But indeed when the soul, wise in its own conceit, entertained this dream of things beyond its ken, it was no fleeting thought, but to its sorrow so puffed up with windy pride was it that it swore an oath that these things stood firm and established, which were but its false imaginations. If then the throbbing fever of its disease begins to abate, the embers of health will gradually kindle into a blaze and force it first to "proclaim its sin," that is reproach itself, then come to the altar as a suppliant, beseeching grace with prayers and vows and sacrifices, by which alone it can obtain forgiveness.

XLV. Next we might reasonably inquire why Moses speaks of the river of Egypt alone as having "lips" and refrains from doing so in the case of the Euphrates and other holy rivers. For while we have in one place "thou shalt stand meeting him on the lip of the river" (Ex. vii. 15). . . . Yet some perhaps meaning is that any rash oath can only obtain remission by admitting the error.

b LXX (following on καλῶς ποιῆσαι) δῶσα ἐὰν διαστήλη ὅ ἄνθρωπος μεθ' ὅρκον.

c Some text or texts must have dropped out, illustrating the point. See App. p. 611.
ΠΗΛΟ

ζοντες έρούσι, μὴ δεῖν τὰ τοιαῦτα εἰς τὰς ζητήσεις εἰσάγειν· γλυσχρολογίαν γὰρ μᾶλλον ἢ ωφέλειάν τινα ἐμφαίνειν. Ἐγώ δὲ τὰ τοιαῦτα ἡδυσμάτων τρόπον παρηρτύσθαι ταῖς ἱεραῖς ἀναγραφαῖς βελτιωθέως ἐνεκα τῶν ἐνυγχανόντων ὑπολαμβάνω· καὶ οὐδεμίαν τῶν ζητοῦντων καταγνωστέον εὑρεσι-λογίαν, ἀλλ' εἰ μὴ ζητοῖεν, ἐμπαλιν ἀργίαν. οὐδὲ γὰρ περὶ ποταμῶν ἐστιν ἱστορίας ἢ παρούσα [699] σπουδή, περὶ δὲ βίων | τῶν εἰκαζόμενων ποταμίων ῥεῦμασιν, ἐναντιομένων ἀλλήλοις. ὁ μὲν γὰρ τοῦ σπουδαίου βίος ἐν ἔργοις, ἐν λόγοις δὲ ὁ τοῦ φαύλου θεωρεῖται. λόγος δὲ γλώττῃ καὶ στόματι καὶ χείλεσι¹ καὶ τοῖς * * *

¹ mss. χεῖλη.
may say scoffingly that such points should not be brought into our inquiries, as savouring of petty trifling rather than any profitable process. But I hold that such matters are like condiments set as seasoning to the Holy Scriptures, for the edification of its readers, and that the inquirers are not to be held guilty of any far-fetched hair-splitting, but on the contrary of dereliction if they fail so to inquire. For the subject which now engages our researches is not the lore of rivers as such, but that of lives which are compared to the currents of rivers and are of opposite kinds. For the lives of the good and the bad are shewn, one in deeds, the other in words, and words belong to the tongue, mouth and lips...
APPENDIX TO DE FUGA ET INVENTIONE

§ 8. There are people who fashion, etc. Has Philo in mind Phædo 96 b ff., where Socrates contrasts, or seems to contrast, the views of earlier philosophers, Anaximander, Anaximenes, Heracleitus, etc., with the higher thought suggested to him by Anaxagoras’s dictum? Certainly there is no close resemblance between these theories, as noted there, and the views mentioned by Philo here, but he might perhaps without much difficulty have regarded the negation of a final cause implied in the former as the deification of some original ὅλη.

§§ 11-13. Jacob’s expostulation with Laban is interpreted as an argument against the earlier philosophers who assumed an evolution in creation. On the contrary, he asserts, everything was made as it was to be, and had its ποιόν from the first. The counterpart of this in the story is the protest of Jacob in Gen. xxx. 25-end, which results in his claiming the marked (ἐπίσημα) animals for himself, and leaving the ἄσημα to Laban. (In E.V. these are respectively the stronger and the feeblest.)

For the Stoic equation of ποιόν with εἴδος and the maintenance of its identity throughout cf. S. V. F. ii. 395.

§ 16. Names. Mangey, who suggested, not very helpfully, γένεσι, pointed out that there is nothing in the actual names of Leah and Rachel which suggests freedom. Possibly the thought may be that ἀσκητικαὶ δυνάμεις, with stress on ἀσκ., are essentially free, but this seems strained. Mr. Whitaker had put “their standing,” probably supposing that the allusion is to the freedom they have gained from Laban’s control, as expressed in their speech. Possibly again “in the terms they use,” or “their language,” ἄνθρωπα being sometimes used for “words” in general as well as for “names,” and this would at least give a good antithesis to ἐνθυμημασί. But both these postulate an unnatural meaning.
for the word. If we suppose a corruption ταῖς ὀρμαῖς would be a possible correction.

§§ 25 ff. Fleeing from Esau.—Philo’s views on this are perplexing. We shall perhaps best understand them by remembering that he keeps passing from the internal to the external danger, from the Esau within us to the Esau without. In §24 Esau is definitely the inward enemy. In §§25 ff. he may be either or both, but the temptation to make this topic an occasion for one of those “diatribes” or “commonplaces” which he enjoys so much, though to us they may seem to be unworthy interruptions of the argument, carries him away till by §28 it is clearly the outward φαύλος. This enemy is to be met by a judicious and benevolent use of the good things of life, and after exhausting this subject Philo returns quite clearly in §39 to the inward conflict. The advice of Patience for this, though given in a very different style, is practically the same. He who is not yet fitted for the highest life must accommodate himself to the lower conditions and make the best possible use of them.

In De Mig. 210-212 the danger is at the start said to be “either in thyself or in another person.” We then pass on to language which if literally taken seems to leave “thyself” out of the question and to inculcate a degrading subservience to another. But as stated in the footnote to that passage, I believe that the thought is really the same as here, and that the principle of accommodation to the facts of life is parabolically compared to the insincere subservience of the worldly-wise. The long diatribe in De Som. ii. 80-92 must no doubt be reckoned with. But here Philo is dealing with a very different subject, εὐλάβεια, and his advice can hardly be said to contain anything degrading, unless it is the description of Abraham’s dealings with the children of Heth, §§89-90. But is not this also a parable of the same kind as I have supposed in De Mig.? Both parables may in a sense be compared to that of the Unjust Judge.

§ 26. τῶν εἰρημένων. The translation suggested in the footnote seems preferable, not only because τῶν εἰρ. more naturally refers to something further back, though it is perhaps sometimes used of something in the immediate neighbourhood, but because Philo frequently uses τὰ ποιητικὰ ἢς ἡδονῆς. See e.g. Leg. All. ii. 107 τὰ ποιητικὰ αὐτῆς (i.e. ἡδονῆς), χρυσὸς ἄργυρος δόξα τιμαὶ αρχαὶ, where, however, δόξα and
τιμαί are ranked as ποιητικά, not as here as products. See also index to S.V.F. on ποιητικά and τελικά.

§ 31. δεξιότης. L. & S. 1927 have added "kindliness, courtesy," to their earlier "cleverness," etc., and refer to Philo ii. 30, i.e. De Abr. 208. There and in the other two of the four passages where I have noted the word this is suitable. But here the usage is somewhat wider. Philo's use of the word seems to extend to gentlemanly behaviour of any kind.

§ 42. πείσμα. Wendland suspects this word. But its use in this sense, though perhaps not common, is well supported. Here Philo is evidently led to it by the desire to accumulate names in μα in antithesis to ἀνάθημα, and having once used it here was perhaps encouraged to use it again in § 114, where it seems to have the same meaning. Elsewhere it has the commoner sense of "cable."

§ 45. δόγμασιν * * * οὗτος. Wendland, after giving Mangey's note in which, reading ἑπιμένοντα for -τι, he suggested the insertion of προτρέποντοι or some similar word to complete the sense, adds "sed plura desunt"; i.e. he considered that not only was something needed to shew what happens to the Lover of Discipline, but also an explanation of the Brother of Rebecca to lead up to οὗτος. This is perhaps the most probable view, but I do not think it is certain that there is any lacuna, or indeed any correction needed at all. If οὗτος is referred to βλος, the statement that while the resources of ordinary life are a danger to the fool, this ordinary life is to the man of discipline the testing-ground and therefore the brother of persistence, makes good enough sense. We have to set against it the distance of βίον from οὗτος, and that we should rather have expected ταύτα. Mangey's suggestion implies that the Lover of Discipline, who presumably is the person sent to the Brother of Persistence, is here identified with that Brother. This also, though confusing, is perhaps not impossible. But if so, the simplest emendation would be οскоп, ὃς for οὗτος, i.e. the resources of life are a danger to the fool, but not so to the Man of Persistence, who is the Brother of Rebecca. Or perhaps οὖ, τῷ οὐ νοῶς, i.e. while the mind of the fool is the Syrian, the mind of the Lover of Discipline is the other Laban, which is not unduly elated.

§ 62. Removed . . . from the Divine Company. Wendland
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notes this and the similar phrase in § 74 as alluding to Phaedrus 247 φθόνος γὰρ ἐξὸς θείου χοροῦ ἴσταται. The same thought has already appeared in Leg. All. i. 61, iii. 7. Philo, however, does not use it here in the sense of the original, which means that the Divine Company cannot feel envy. In Spec. Leg. ii. 249 he definitely quotes it and with the proper meaning. So also Quod Omnis Prob. 13.

§ 75. Space entirely filled by a body. This is in accordance with the Stoic definition. A τόπος must be completely filled by σώμα; if partially filled it remains a χώρα. See S.V.F. ii. 504 f.

§ 82. This quotation from the Theaetetus follows almost immediately on the passage cited in § 68. Each of them is, I think, considerably longer than any citation from Plato to be found elsewhere, and the former is the only passage in this series of treatises in which he gives a reference to the dialogue quoted. The curious way in which in this second passage he disguises the fact that he is practically continuing an earlier quotation might suggest that he took both passages from some collection and did not know the reference for the latter, but probably it may be regarded as merely one of his mannerisms.

§ 101. Placed nearest, etc. Or “set up,” ἀφιδρυμένος, in accordance with the common use of ἀφιδρύμα for an image, carrying on the thought of εἰκών. Drummond translates ἔγγ. ἄφ. by “the nearest model to,” but if by this is meant the “closest reproduction of,” the phraseology of μηδενός διαστήματος seems strange. Wendland’s ἐφιδρυμένος seems to me pointless.

§ 114. ἀθεόν. To expunge this word as inappropriate seems to me rather hypercritical; that polytheism is essentially atheism is a natural remark. In fact Philo has made a very similar if not identical observation in De Ebr. 110, where the mss. have τὸ γὰρ πολύθεον ἐν ταῖς τῶν ἄφρονῶν ψυχαῖς ἀθεότητα, after which Wendland supplies κατασκευάζει, but Mangey’s ἀθεότης is quite possible.

§ 134. “Breath” or “spirit.” It seems impossible to get any satisfactory equivalent for the Stoic πνεύμα, “a stuff or body akin to the element of air, but associated with warmth and elasticity” (Arnold); see note on Quis Rerum 242. For the term as applied to νους cf. De Som. i. 30. I have not seen other examples in Philo or elsewhere, but it is very

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commonly applied to ψυχή, e.g. Diog. Laert. vii. 157, where Zeno is said to define ψυχή as πνεῦμα ἐνθερμον. For the idea that πνεῦμα is ὑγρότερον καὶ ψυχρότερον in plants, ἕηροτερον καὶ θερμότερον in animals, see S.V.F. ii. 787 ff.

§ 150. In the shorter form of the allegory in De Mut. 134 f. the pledges are given a different meaning. This is natural because there Judah is no longer the human soul wooing virtue, but God Himself impregnating the soul. Consequently the pledges are not the attributes which constitute human virtue, but those which belong to God's working in the universe.

§ 177. The reasoning habit. Or "the acquisition of the reasoning faculty." Since in the section where Philo deals with πηγή in the sense of παιδεία this phrase does not recur, it would seem that he regards the two as more or less synonymous. This agrees with his use of λογικὴ εξίς in Leg. All. i. 10 where it is applied to the mental condition of children when they first begin to reason. The use of it in Leg. All. iii. 210 is somewhat similar.

§ 191. ρύσις or ρυεῖς. The chief objection to ρυεῖς is that it involves referring ὅτος in the next sentence to προφορικὸς λόγος, whereas it is clear that the "great deluge" is the ρύσις of all the senses (and the mind). If ρύσις is read, γοῦν would be taken, as not unfrequently, as transitional to the development of the ρύσις of the text, which up to now has only been treated incidentally. It would be better perhaps in this case, though not necessary, to read ἀκώλυτος.

§ 200. This defective sentence seems to need something which will give a forcible contrast to the actual un-retentiveness described in the next sentence. I suggest κεῖ φρενὶ . . . ταμιεύεσθαι ἔστι, i.e. they require the inpouring even if they can hold it (which they can't). Variants of this might be καὶν . . . ὥθ or εἶ ἐλη, in the latter case the εἶ clause being the protasis to ἦ γένοτ' ἃν . . . in the sense of "which would (rather than "must") be the result, if only . . ." Dr. Rouse suggests ἀ δεῖ for καί, which will give much the same sense, but would, I think, require the omission of τά before παραδοθέντα.
APPENDIX TO DE MUTATIONE NOMINUM

§ 7. Into the darkness. Philo treats this text in much the same way in De Post. 14 ff., and follows it up in the same way with Ex. xxxiii. 13. But there he insists on a point which he does not make here, viz. that the search is not altogether fruitless, since to realize that τὸ òν is incomprehensible is in itself a vast boon.

§ 12. The three natural orders, etc. This favourite idea of the “educational trinity” stated by Aristotle in the form παιδεία δεύ τριών, φύσεως, διδασκαλίας, ἀσκήσεως, is several times applied by Philo to Isaac, Abraham, and Jacob respectively. See note on De Sac. 5-7. But the representation of Isaac as τελειότης (Joh. Dam.) or ὀσίότης (mss.) instead of as φύσις or αὐτομαθής does not seem appropriate, and is not, as far as I have seen, paralleled elsewhere. It may be worth consideration whether Philo wrote τῶν τριών, φύσεως, διδασκαλίας, ἀσκήσεως, and when φύσεως had been corrupted to φύσεων the blank thus created for Isaac was variously filled up. That the things symbolized should then be given in their ordinary order and the symbols in their historical order would not, I think, be unnatural. Mangey proposed φύσεως in place of ὀσίότης, which seems somewhat more arbitrary.

§ 13. ðνομά τι. This reading, which, supported as it is by the mss. ὀνόματι, has almost as much authority as Joh. Dam.’s τὸ ðνομα, seems to me decidedly preferable in sense. In the next sentence Philo seems to lay down that τὸ ðνομά μου κύριον is not a natural way of expressing “my proper name,” and it is unlikely that he would himself adopt this order of the words.

Ibid. Transposition. Hyperbaton defined as an “arrangement of words or thoughts changed from the consecutive order” (λέξεων ἢ νοῆσεων ἐκ τοῦ κατ’ ἀκολούθιαν κεκινημένη τάξις) is a wide term of which the grammarians give several subdivisions, including tmesis and parenthesis. Quoted examples
somewhat similar to the hyperbaton here as supposed by Philo are "transtra per et remos" and γέλασε δέ πάσα περὶ χθων (for περιεγέλασε). See Ernesti s.v. and indices to Greek and Latin Grammarians.

§ 28. In a sense relative. On ὥσανει πρὸς τι Drummond writes (Philo Judaeus, vol. ii. pp. 48, 49): "When we ascribe to Him titles which are descriptive of relation, we refer only to certain aspects of His being, certain 'powers' which, because they are directed towards objects, are quasi-relative. The limitation quasi seems to imply that the dependence of the correlative terms is not mutual, but is all on one side, and that not the divine side. The powers of the self-existent are put forth into exercise without experiencing any alteration in their intrinsic character through the reaction of the objects to which they are applied; so that, although their names involve a relation, it would be truer to say that their objects are relative to them than that they are relative to their objects." It is perhaps worth noting that ὃς πρὸς τι (quasi ad aliquid) was an accepted grammatical name for exclusive opposites as "night," "day," and "life," "death," distinguished from πρὸς τι, e.g. "father," "son." See index to Grk. Gramm. Philo, however, cannot be using ὥσανει in this sense, as βασιλεὺς and εὐεργέτης are clearly πρὸς τι.

§ 32. And all that company. Compare the Stoic dogma αὐστηρούς εἶναι πάντας τοὺς σπουδαίους, Diog. Laert. vii. 117, S.V.F. iii. 637-639. At the same time it is strange to find Philo limiting the wise entirely to this kind, in view of what he says in §§ 39 ff., and though his alternations between the Stoic strictness and the τιθασός καὶ ἡμέρος σοφία of the Peripatetics are often startling, I think it may be worth while to consider the textually easy suggestion in the footnote: <τοὶ>οὐτος δὲ πᾶς ὁ θίασος <δς>.

§ 34. Was not found. This wording of the LXX suits Philo's argument admirably, since one phrase of theirs was that the wise man μεχρὶ τοῦ νῦν ἀνέβρετος ἐστι (S.V.F. iii. 32, p. 216).

§ 36. A wise man is non-existent. Other Stoic pronouncements more or less in this sense, though not quite so absolute, are that the wise man like the Phoenix appears once in 500 years, Seneca, Ep. 42. 1; that there have been not more than one or two of them, Eusebius, Pr. Ev. vi. 8. 13; that Hercules or Ulysses may have realized the ideal, Seneca,
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_De Const._ 2. 1, and that Zeno, Cleanthes, and Chrysippus all fell short of it, Quintilian xii. 1.

§ 46. _Because He was good._ Evidently taken from _Timaeus_ 29 D, ε λέγωμεν δὴ δι' ἡν των αἰτιῶν γένεσιν καὶ τὸ πάν τόδε ὁ ξυνιστὰς ξυνεστησεν. ἀγαθὸς ἦν, ἀγαθῷ δὲ οὐδεὶς περὶ οὐδενὸς οὐδέποτε ἐγγίζεται φθόνος. τούτου δ' ἐκτὸς ὡν πάντα ὦ τι μάλιστα γενέσθαι ἐβουλήθη παραπλήσια ἐνυπέ. But by stopping short at ἀγαθὸς and ignoring the last ten words Philo seems rather to miss Plato's point. See note on _De Cher._ 125.

§ 47. _Positively righteous conduct._ Philo here uses κατορθῶν in a sense slightly different from the regular Stoic use. With them the κατορθωματα are actions done from a good motive and part of a generally virtuous course of conduct, and are opposed to καθήκοντα or common duties; here it is opposed to simple abstention from evil-doing. See note on _Quod Deus_ 100.

§ 57. ἐνηχεί. The word is inadequately treated in the Lexica. L. & S. "whisper, prompt," cited from Philo (omitted in later editions) cannot be maintained in face of _Quis Rerum_ 67, where it is coupled with ἐμβοήσα. The six examples quoted from Philo in the index as well as in others from later writers in Stephanus suggest that, as with κατηχεῖν, the main idea is insistent or reiterated address, thus passing easily (again like κατηχεῖν) into "instruction." So perhaps here, where the thought may be that generally the teacher stands superior to the taught, but in this case treats him as an equal. Cf. also _Quis Rerum_ 71.

§ 61. Wendland's expunging of στοιχεῖω περιττεύει is rather arbitrary. Short of this there are three possibilities: (a) read as Markland στοιχείου περιττόν. This seems pointless, unless we might take it as a reference to the cacophony of a repeated a (the combination aa is certainly rare); (b) <στοιχεῖω περιττεύειν> i.e. to be better off by a letter—again somewhat pointless; (c) <τό> στοιχεῖω περιττεύειν and transfer to after παρεσχήσατι—"a fine boon—to be better off by a letter." This would certainly be effective, if the transference is not too drastic.

For τοῦ ἐνός ἄλφα perhaps read ἐνός, τοῦ ἄλφα. Cf. § 77.

Need we suppose with Wendland that a clause has slipped out after παρεσχήσατι? Abraham's case has been dealt with; Sarah's has not. It is possible, I think, to regard τὴν <γάρ>
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Άβραμ . . . παραλαβόν as a parenthetic explanation by Philo himself of the addition of rho.

§ 62. Misgivings of this sort. Or simply “ideas,” i.e. that God actually changes names, cf. υπονοείν, § 64. In this case the insertion of τοιαύτα seems necessary. Possibly, however, υπονοια is used in the regular Philonic sense of underlying or allegorical meanings, and the corruption lies in ἐκκάλυψαιμεν (ἐκκαλυψαιμεν ?). In this case the insertion of τοιαύτα is not needed.

§ 65. Signs. The use of χαρακτήρ here, as compared with 70 and 83, all of which must stand together, is difficult. Ordinarily χαρ., if it does not mean literally a stamp, is not a type or symbol, but a trait or characteristic, and this suits § 83, for the two kinds of virtue. It may with some forcing suit § 70, for though the names are the χαρακτήρες they represent characteristics. But here this is not so, for the χαρ. which are small, sensible, and obscure must be the names and not what they represent. I have tried to evade the difficulty by translating “signs.”

§ 77. Facts. Philo here uses τυγχάνοντα more or less in the sense in which it was used in the Stoic theory of speech. They distinguished between (1) φωνή, the actual word spoken; (2) σημαινόμενον or σημαινόμενον πράγμα, otherwise called λεκτών, the meaning understood by the hearer; (3) τυγχάνων, the actual object spoken of. Cf. S.V.F. ii. 166. Philo seems to make this distinction in Leg. All. ii. 15 τοῦ τυγχάνοντος ἢ τοῦ σημαινομένου. Here he perhaps uses τυγχ. for σημ.., and though in Plutarch Adv. Colotem 1119 Ε the Epicureans are censured by the Stoics for eliminating σημ. and retaining only φωνή and τυγχ., the Stoics themselves are said to do the same in S.V.F. ii. 236.

§ 106. The so-called sacred games. Cf. De Agr. 116 f, where after describing the pentathlum and other contests he says τούτων μὲν δὴ τῶν ἀγώνων πρὸς Ἀλήθειαν ἱερός οὐδείς, κἂν πάντες ἀνθρωποι μαρτυρῶσι . . . ὁ τοῖνυν Ὀλυμπιακὸς ἁγών μόνος ἄν λέγοιτο ἐνδικὸς ἱερός, οὐχ ὁν τιθέασιν οἱ τῆν Ἡλιν οἰκονυτες, ἀλλὰ ὁ περὶ κτήσεως τῶν θεῶν καὶ ὀλυμπιῶν ὡς ἀληθῶς ἀρετῶν.

§ 113. If Mangey’s correction of φαινόμενα to τοιμαινόμενα is adopted the picture becomes clear. The shepherd-mind and its sheep “the flock of reasoning” are naturally inseparable, and if the mind is enticed out into the bodily
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region, the flock will be easily given over by the senses into the hands of the “shepherds of an evil herd.”

§ 114. Guidance and rule of law. In the Stoic sense of law see S. V. F. iii. 613, 614 λόγος ὑπόθεσις προστακτικός μέν ὃν ποιητέον, ἀπαγορευτικόν δὲ ὃν οὐ ποιητέον, and therefore the wise man alone is νόμιμος.

§ 121. ποιητός οὖς. Siegfried in a pamphlet, Die hebräischen Worterklärungen des Philo, pp. 21, 22, has the following note which I transcribe for the benefit of Hebraists: “τὸν Ὁσῆ οὖς μετονομάζει Μιᾶνσης εἰς τὸν Ἰησοῦν, indem er den irgendwie beschaffenen zu einer bestimmten Qualität umprägt. Denn Ὁσῆ ist = ποιητὸς οὖς ‘irgendwie beschaffen ist dieser’ Hebräisch dachte sich Philo Ὁσῆ etwa = τοῦ. Er mochte meinen οὖ bediente an sich ‘irgendwie,’ da οὖ mit νοῦ = τοῦ = ‘wie’ ist.”

However plausible this explanation may be as far as the Hebrew goes, it cannot be fitted into the Greek. ποιητὸς is not “irgendwie beschaffen,” which would rather be ὅποιοσοὺν or even ἀποικοσῦν. And even if ποιητὸς can mean this, it is incompatible with the use in the next sentence and in the references given in the footnote to Leg. All. Mangey makes the same mistake when he translates “salus qualiscumque.”

§ 135. Chain of destiny. Though there is no real philo­logical connexion between εἰμαρμένη and εἴρμος, it seems to have been regularly assumed. See S. V. F. ii. 915-921, e.g. 918 ἡ εἰμαρμένη εἴρμος τις οὖσα αἰτίων ἀπαράβατος* οὖτω γὰρ οἱ Στωικοὶ δίηγονταί.

§ 138. Superstition, etc. It is noticeable that here also as in De Cher. 48 Philo insists on the esoteric character of the doctrine, that God was the father of the child of a human mother, as something which should not be mentioned to profane ears. See also Leg. All. iii. 219. Presumably he felt that it easily lent itself to confusion with pagan myths.

§ 144. ἀμβλέκουσαν for ἀναλάκουσαν. In support of this conjecture and the suggestion that Philo may have in mind Theaetetus 149 ν, it may be noted that Plato in the same passage speaks of the midwives regulating σωσίαι, also that, in the parallel passage in Hannah’s hymn, Quod Deus 14, we saw some reason to suspect a quotation from the Theaetetus. He alludes again to the treatise in § 212 and quotes it at some length in De Fuga 63 and 82.

It may be objected, no doubt, that ἀμβλέκοντα used trans-
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Itively would properly apply to the fruits of the συνουσία, rather than to the συνουσία itself; but this does not come out clearly from the words of the Theaetetus. I do not at any rate think that ἀναλίσκουσαν can be right.

§ 146. Many and indeed infinite particulars. For this “recognized formula of the Platonic school” cf. particularly Philebus 14 c, 15 ff.

§ 150. Perversions of art. Cf. Quintilian ii. 15. 2 “(rhetoricon) quidam pravitatem quandam artis, id est κακοτεχνίαν, nominaverunt.”

§ 152. The Sage alone is king. This Stoic “paradox,” see S.V.F. iii. 617, has already appeared in De Sobr. 57 and De Mig. 197, and appears later in De Som. ii. 244.

§ 153. The definitions of the four virtues are those regularly accepted by the Stoics, see S.V.F. iii. 262. Cf. Leg. All. i. 63.

§ 160. Orousis. See S.V.F. iii. 169, where it is defined as φορά διανοιας ἐπὶ τι μέλλον, but (ibid. 173) the ὀρμή πρὸ ὀρμῆς is called ἐπισβολή.


Ibid. A state of happy feeling. Who are the philosophers alluded to? Hardly the Stoics. I have found no evidence that they identified εὐπάθεια with ἀρετή, and it is prima facie unlikely. Outside Stoicism the word seems to be used rather with the suggestion of bodily welfare, or at least without the higher sense which Philo, who several times couples it with ἀρετή, often gives it. See note on De Mig. 219. I can hardly think, however, that he speaks without authority and should conjecture that there were philosophers who like him used it as = εὐδαιμονία and naturally therefore equated it with ἀρετή, perhaps also like him colouring it with the Stoic insistence on joy as “the best of the higher emotions.”

The mss. reading ἀπάθειαν was retained by Mangey, and has in its favour that the Stoics definitely identified ἀπί with ἀρ. (οἱ Στοικοὶ τὴν ἀρετὴν τίθενται ἐν τῇ ἀπαθείᾳ Ps.-Plut. Hom. 134, cf. S.V.F. iii. 201), but the context clearly makes it impossible.

§ 197. Worthy of perseverance. Though neither Mangey nor Wendland question the reading, this use of ὑπομονή
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seems to me strange, for ἀνδρεία consists of ὑπομονή, or at least of knowledge of δεῖ ὑπομένειν, cf. § 153, and no one could be said ὑπομένειν ἀνδρείαν. I think ἐπιμονής should be read, used by Philo for "persistence," e.g. Quod Det. 118. The phrase then = δεῖ ἐπιμένειν τῇ ἀνδρείᾳ. A tempting emendation would be ἦπομονής ἄξιων ἡ ἀνδρεία, φυγή ἡ δειλία, which would be in exact accordance with the Stoic definition, but definition would be somewhat out of place here.

§ 207. Demonstrative pronouns . . . indicate. Both δείξεις and παρεμφαίνειν are technical terms in Greek grammar, the former, however, being used to describe the function performed by pronouns in general, personal as well as demonstrative. Possibly therefore "pronouns" would be a better translation here than "demonstrative pronouns," see Grk. Gramm. Part II. vol. i. p. 9. The meaning of παρεμφαίνειν is best seen from the use of ἀπαρέμφατος as the regular term for the infinitive, because it does not particularize any gender, number, or person like the "paremphatic" words. See an article by myself in the Journal of Theological Studies, January 1921.

§ 217. His charge. Mangey and Wendland question ὁ ἀγομένος, proposing ὁ εἰσαγόμενος or ὁ παιδαγωγούμενος. I understand Philo to be thinking of the derivation of παιδαγωγός from παῖς and ἁγω, and probably also of the fact that one chief function of the παιδ. was to escort the boy to school.

§ 242. Freedom from disturbance. This translation is put forward as a desperate attempt to give some sense to the text as it stands. If we take ἡσυχία in the natural sense of "silence," as it clearly is used, with reference to this passage, in § 251, the whole becomes absurdly pointless. Even with Wendland's conjecture of ἐπεί τοι for κάπειτα, "if a man does not keep silence he can surely be silent if he wishes" is strangely inept. I believe the passage is corrupt. The sense required is, speaking is voluntary, and therefore abstention from kind words and speaking unkind words are equally wrong. This might be obtained by correcting to ὁ μὴ ἐκ τύχης ἐθέλων τι τῶν ἐπιεικεστέρων φθέγξασθαι, οὐ δὲ (or καὶ οὐ) λυσιτελές τὴν ἁσφαλεστάτην ἡσυχίαν δεξιούσθαι, μὴ ἡσυχάζων ἐπεί τοι τις κτλ. In this case εἰ μὴ . . . φωνήν would mean "if he fails to speak kindly."

§ 243. The word is the shadow of the act. This saying is ascribed to Democritus, Diog. Laert. ix. 37, Ps.-Plut. De Lib. Educandis 14.
APPENDIX TO DE SOMNIIS, I.

§§ 1-2. Wendland calls attention to the resemblance between these sections coupled with De Som. ii. 1-2, and the classification ascribed to Posidonius in Cic. De Div. i. 64: “Tribus modis censet (sc. Posidonius) deorum adpulsum homines somniare, uno, quod provideat animus ipse per sese, quippe qui deorum cognatione teneatur, altero, quod plenus aer sit inmortalium animorum, in quibus tamquam insignitae notae veritatis appareant, tertio, quod ipsi di cum homini- bus colloquantur.” Of these the first agrees fairly well with Philo’s third: “When the soul, setting itself in motion and agitation of its own accord, becomes frenzied, and with the prescient power due to such inspiration foretells the future.”

There are also distinct points of contact between Posidonius’ second kind and the dreams of this book. In the first vision it is the Logos which Jacob “meets,” and the Logoi are described in § 127 in words which recall the “animi immortales” of Posidonius. Also the point is made in § 241 that it was God’s “image,” not God Himself, which the dreamer beheld. In the second vision it is the Angel who speaks, and the point that God uses His ministers for this purpose is stressed in § 190. Whether any such connexion can have been made between Posidonius’s third kind and Philo’s first, i.e. the dreams treated in the lost book, seems to me more doubtful. If, as Wendland supposes, these were the warnings sent to Abimelech (Gen. xx. 3-7), and to Laban (Gen. xxxi. 24), it is true that in both these cases “God” is said to have come and spoken, but would Philo have admitted that these were real visions of the Self-existent? Moreover the main ideas underlying the two classifications are different. With Posidonius it is the distinction between the natures of the divine monitors, with Philo the presence
or absence of human volition. The conclusion seems to be that while he probably had the Stoic classification in mind, he has put it into a very different shape.

§§ 21-23. The illustrations which follow are mostly drawn primarily from Wendland's article in *Sitzungsberichte der Königlich preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften*, 1897, pp. 1074-1079. Wendland refers usually to Diels's *Doxographi*, to which I subjoin the references as well as to the sources from which Diels took them.


*Fifth substance.* Aristotle ἐκ πέμπτου σώματος (οὐρανόν) (Stob. i. 23, p. 502 H., Diels ib.).


*Dells and glades.* Wendland quotes from Diels p. 356 (Stob. i. 26, p. 552 H.) that Anaxagoras and Democritus said that the moon was στερέωμα διά πυρὸν ἐχον ἐν ἑαυτῷ πέδια καὶ ὑδραγγας. But a better illustration would be that Democritus called its face an ἀποσκίασμα τῶν ὑψηλῶν ἐν αὐτῷ μερῶν. ἅγκῃ γὰρ αὐτὴν ἔχειν καὶ νάπασ (Stob. ib. p. 564 H., not in Diels). But apart from both these being said of the moon and not of the stars, the statement that they were "dells and glades" is totally different from saying that they have them. I should suggest that Philo misunderstood Democritus and supposed him to mean that the stars were fiery hollows in the plain of heaven.

*Masses of fiery metal.* Archelaus said that they were μύδρους δια πυρὸν δὲ (Stob. i. 24, p. 508 H., Diels p. 342). The same was said by Anaxagoras and Democritus of the sun (Stob. i. 25, pp. 528 and 532 H., Diels p. 349). See footnote.

*Unbroken and close harmony.* No illustration is forthcoming for this, and I can make no clear suggestion as to the meaning. πυκνὸς (Lat. *spissus*) is a term used in music with compounds ἀ-, βαρυ-, ὀξυ-, μεσό-πυκνὸς, and applied to φθοργας. Whether there can be any connexion with this, I must leave to others. Stephanus also quotes from Pollux, as epithets of a flute-player, εὐστομος, πυκνὸς, ἕκνεχης.
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That the stars produced a harmony is of course a well-known Pythagorean belief.

Indissoluble compresses of ether. Anaximander called them πιλήματα ἁέρος τροχειδῆ, πυρὸς ἐμπλεα (Stob. i. 24, p. 510 H., Diels p. 342). As there seems little connexion between this view and that of the “harmony” one is tempted to insert ἦ before πιλήματα.

Living and intelligent. Zeno said that each of the stars is νοερὸν καὶ φρόνιμον (Stob. i. 25, p. 538 H., Diels p. 467).


§ 28. Genera . . . systems. On this section I have consulted two high musical authorities, Professor Percy Buck and Dr. Rootham, though neither of them must be considered responsible for the choice of words in these two cases. As γένη is the technical term in Greek music for the three “modifications,” enharmonic, diatonic and chromatic (see Aristides Quintilianus i. 9), I have followed the Dictionary of Antiquities in translating it “genera.” Other words suggested are “groupings” or “scales.” Again as to στάσει (or τάσει) as applied to conjunct and disjunct tetrachords the same authorities shew that the regular term is συντόμαι (A. Q. i. 8), and I have sought safety in adhering to this. Professor Buck suggests “relationships (of tetrachords).” As to the reading, while στάσις is certainly not a full equivalent for σύστημα, it seems possible here in the sense of “placing” or “setting.” τάσις is a “pitch.” Professor Buck notes that the word is so far appropriate that conjunct and disjunct tetrachords can be placed at any “pitch” you like, but could we say that the συνημμένον in general is one τάσις and διεξευμένον another? I am inclined to suggest συντάσεις. In σύστασις we have a fairly near synonym for σύστημα, easily corrupted into στάσις or τάσις, and perhaps preferred by Philo as avoiding the jingle with διαστήμασι. (Or again τάξει might be possible, though textually less satisfactory.)

§§ 30-32. Illustrations mostly drawn, as those on §§ 21-23, from Diels are as follows. It should be noted that, properly speaking, they apply to the ψυχή rather than to the νοῦς.


Boundary-line. Or "limit"? Wendland cites Iamblichus quoted in Stob. Ecl. i. 41, p. 858 H. to the effect that Aristotle reduced the properties of the soul to three, thus πέρας τῶν ἀπειρῶν ἀνευρῶν. But does this mean more than that the properties of the soul are really infinite? I should imagine the opinion to be Pythagorean and to embody to some extent the idea of πέρας as it appears in Philolaus’s dictum that all things are composed ἐξ ἀπειρῶν τε καὶ περαινόντων, cf. Plato, *Philebus*, 16 and 23.

Form. "Posidonius ideam (animam dicit)" (Cic. *ibid.*). Perhaps more to the point ὡς δὲ τῶν Ἀριστοτελικῶν τινε πυγγούνται, εἰδός ἐστι τὸ (ἐπί;) περὶ τοῖς σώμασι (Stob. i. 41 from Iamblichus). See also definition of ἐντελέχεια.


Continuity. I have retained ἐνδελέχειαν in the text, as Wendland, with grave doubt. The somewhat slight arguments in its favour are (1) the unanimous authority of the mss., (2) Cic. *Tusc.* i. 22 "Aristoteles . . . animum ἐνδελέχειαν appellat novo nomine quasi quandam continuatam motionem et perennem." Anσι this is as it seems a mistake of Cicero’s it is one which Philo may easily have made. On the other hand Diog. Laert. v. 32 of Aristotle is clear for ἐντελέχεια. The soul is incorporeal, ἐντελέχειαν οὗσαι τὴν πρώτην σώματος φυσικῆν καὶ ὁργανικῆν δυνάμει ξώῆν ἐχόντος. λέγει δ' ἐντελέχειαν, ἂς ἑστὶν εἰδός τι ἄσωματον. And so also Stob. i. 41, p. 796 H., Diels p. 387. If ἐντ- has to be translated I should prefer to keep "entelechy" rather than "realization" (Hicks), or "actuality" (L. & S.).

Harmony. Pythagoras and Philolaus, Cic. *ibid.*, Diels *ibid.*


The air . . . impart hardness, etc. Cf. *S.V.F.* ii. 804-808, where this theory is mentioned with the use of the same
verb στομοῦται and the same derivation of ψυχή from ψύξις (originally given by Plato, Crat. 399 ε).

§ 32. Head... heart. See note on De Sac. 136. “Citadel” from Timaeus 70 ά, where Archer-Hind quotes from Galen, De Plac. Hipp. et Plat. ii. 230 καθάπερ έν άκροτόλει τή κεφαλή δίκην μεγάλου βασιλέως έ γεγεφαλος έδρυται.

§ 44. Sails of the sovereign mind . . . oars of sense-perception. I have retained Mr. Whitaker’s translation which brings out the original meaning of the proverbial δεύτερος πλούς (see L. & S.). Philo’s insistence on the nautical idea, as shewn in ευπλοήσαι, suggests that he is not using the phrase casually, as no doubt it often was used. But since πρός suggests the goal of the sailor rather than the means he employs, it may perhaps be thought better to translate “those voyagers who have failed to reach the sovereign mind can always take the ‘second-best voyage’ to sense.” Philo again uses the phrase, which Plato had made familiar to him, in § 180 below and De Dec. 84, but with no special emphasis on the metaphor.

§ 47. Grandfather . . . of his knowledge. I take this opportunity of making good an omission in earlier volumes. The Oxyrhynchus Papyrus of Philo (P. Oxy. ix. 1173, xi. 1356), to which my attention has been called by a paper by Mr. W. G. Waddell (Études de Papyrologie, tom. i., Le Caire, 1932), had entirely escaped our notice, though published some twenty years ago. Though of about the same date as the Paris Papyrus (see Introductions to De Sac. and Quis Rerum), it appears to be exceedingly fragmentary, and I doubt whether it would have influenced our text, with the possible exception to be now mentioned. One of the pieces (Fr. 3) contains fragments of that part of De Sac. (§ 43) in which the parallel phrase πάππω τής έαυτού παιδείας occurs, and on which, following Cohn, we threw some suspicion. It now appears from Mr. Waddell’s analysis of this Papyrus that in a lacuna between μεμάθηκε δέ τάύτα and έαυτού παιδείας there is room for about seven letters more than what appears in the other authorities, viz. παρά τῷ πάππῳ τῆς, and he suggests παρά τῷ πάππῳ τῆς. The fact is noticeable, and standing by itself would certainly increase the natural suspicion of this odd phrase. But, on the other hand, the recurrence here of an almost identical expression applied to the same two persons, Abraham and Jacob, points to the conclusion

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that "grandfather of his education" (or "knowledge") is right, and that some other explanation is needed for the phenomena of the Papyrus. Cohn himself (Hermes, 1897, p. 140) cast doubt on his own suspicions, basing himself on Quod Deus 92. But the far more conclusive evidence of this phrase in De Som. i. seems still to have escaped his notice; unless indeed, which I can hardly think possible, he took επιστήμης as dependent on ονομα, as Mangey does.

§ 53. Whether it is a foot in diameter. So Heraclitus εΰρος ποδός ἄνθρωπον (Stob. i. 25, p. 526 H., Diels p. 351).

Many times its size. Perhaps referring to Anaximander's opinion that the circle of the sun is 28 times that of the earth, though the visible portion which we call the sun is equal to the earth (Stob. i. 25, p. 524, Diels ibid.). Cf. Cic. Acad. ii. 92 "quem mathematici amplius duodeviginti (? duodetriginta) partibus confirmant maiorem esse quam terram. Mihi quidem pedalis videtur." For other opinions which Philo may have in mind see Reid's note in loc.

§ 54. What is above . . . close to yourself. Wendland compares with this the words ascribed by Tertullian to Epicurus (Usener, Epicurea, p. 229). Other writers assign the saying to Socrates.

§ 57. All that existeth, etc. This quotation, which has already been made by Philo in a similar context, De Mig. 195, has special appropriateness because it was said to have been applied by Socrates himself to his own inquiries (Diog. Laert. ii. 21).

Ibid. The exact meaning of § 57 is not very clear. The thought suggested in the translation is that the meteorologist is ironically told that he may mount to heaven if he will, but the only good he can do by this is to get hold of the "explorer" and bring him down to earth. Philo seems to forget that the whole speech is addressed to the κατάσκοπος, see § 53.

Again, if γνώθι σαυτόν, or, as we should certainly expect, <τὸ> γ. σ., is the object of ἀντισπάσας, the passage has a curious resemblance to the "e caelo descendit γνώθι σεαυτόν" of Juv. xi. 27. This phrase receives no illustration from the commentators on Juvenal, and I suspect may be founded on some proverbial line, which Philo also makes use of. If on the other hand γ. σ. is the principal verb and ἀντισπάσας governs τὸν κατάσκοπον, it will be almost necessary
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to omit εἶτα, as Mangey and indeed the majority of the mss. do.

§ 99. ἀνείμονα. The only quotation given for this word either in Stephanus or the revised L. & S. is Od. iii. 348:

ἀνείμονος ἢ πενιχροῦ, ὃ οὐ τί χλαίναι καὶ ρήγεα πόλλ' ἐνι οἴκῳ, οὔτ' αὐτῷ μαλακῶς οὔτε ξείνωσιν ἐνεῦδειν.

The fact that in both passages the word is used of sleeping with inadequate covering suggests that we have here a distinct reminiscence of Homer. Note also the appearance of πενιχρός, a rare word in Philo, just above. But he also uses the word in De Spec. i. 83 of the priests when clad ἐν μόνοις τῷ χιτωνίσκοις, and perhaps in De Gig. 53, where I have suggested ἀνείμωνι for the mss. ἀνείμην.

§ 101. Explanatory statement. L. & S. 1927 give this passage as an example of ἀφορισμός = "a pithy sentence," "aphorism." I do not see anything pithy in it, or, if there is, how it bears on Philo's view that the form of the passage favours an allegorical rather than a literal interpretation. The argument is clearly very similar to, and I believe identical with, that of 82 above, De Fuga 171 and De Ebr. 138, where stress is laid on the use of the future indicative instead of the imperative. In all these cases the thought was that the words indicated not a personal prohibition but a fact in spiritual life. I suggest that here it is the same, though it is true that it is not a universal fact that the "taker" of "reason" will restore it before the spiritual sunset.

In the other cases the verb used is ἀποφαίνεται or ἀποφαίνεται γνωμήν. That here we have ἀφορισμός and ἀφοριζόμενος will cause little difficulty if it is remembered that ἀποφαντική and ὀριστική are convertible terms for the indicative mood. The latter word is generally used by Apollonius Dyscolus (see index to Grk. Gramm. vol. i.). Thus after mentioning that both terms are used he adds ἰδιὰς μὲντοι ἐννοιας ἔχεται ἡ ὀριστική, διὰ γάρ ταύτης ἀποφαίνομενοι ὀριζόμεθα (Syn. 25 b), i.e. the name ὀριστική carries with it the idea not only of a fact stated, but of a particular fact parted off from others. So too the statement itself is regularly called ὀρισμός. That we have here the prefix ἀφ- cannot weigh, I think, against the otherwise overwhelming evidence that the words are used in this grammatical sense.
I have followed Wendland's suggestion of inserting ἀποδώσας αὐτῷ because it seems almost impossible that Philo would have failed to make the point. But the continuation of the quotation is by no means otiose. The verbs are all in the indicative and (except the last) state facts, while in the hortatory form we have the subjunctive expressing purpose. It is a possible conjecture that in some grammatical terminology, otherwise unknown, a sentence containing several indicatives was called an ἀφορισμός instead of an ὄρισμός.

§ 126. Princely abundance of materials. As the text stands the sense is presumably that the conditions described are as good as those of royal state. But a comparison with Quod Det. 13, where Jacob is spoken of as possessing βασιλέως περιουσίαν, leaves the possibility that Philo is contrasting his simple living with the patriarchal wealth. If this is the meaning we might conjecture that καὶ τοι has fallen out after καὶ νῦν.

§ 134. First of those which are related to us (or near to us?). I do not understand what this expression, which implies two sets of κύκλοι, means, or know of any cosmological theory which would justify them. As τῶν for mss. τοῖς or τῆς is purely conjectural, I should prefer to omit it or substitute τὸ. We should then get the natural statement that the moon-sphere is the last of the Eight, taking them down from the top, but first if they are taken up from the earth.

§ 138. The numbers and periods determined by nature. What is the reference in these words, called in De Plant. 14 "certain fixed periods"? Have we an allusion to the three περίοδοι χιλιετεις of Phaedrus 248 υ ff., assigned to the philosophical souls, while the unjust remain on earth for 10,000 years? Compare also Rep. x. 617, and the proem of Empedocles quoted by Thompson on the Phaedrus passage.

§ 145. Aristotle speaks of the moon as ἐν μεθορίοις ἀέρος τεταγμένην καὶ τῆς πέμπτης οὐσίας μετέχουσαν (Stob. i. 26, p. 564 H., Diels p. 356). Also μὴ εἶναι αὐτῆς ἀκήρατον τὸ σώμα κριμα διὰ τὰ πρόσαγεα ἀερώματα τοῦ αἰθέρος, δὲ προσαγορεύει σῶμα πέμπτον (Stob. 16, Diels p. 361). For the last part compare the Stoic opinion, τοῦ ἀέρος διαμελάτου ἐμφασιν γίνεσθαι μορφοειδῆ <προσώπον> S.V.F. ii. 673.

§ 153. εἰδωλος. This use of the word is very strange. The nearest parallel for its use as an "idea" or "mental conception" is Xen. Symp. 4. 21 οὕτω σαφὲς ἡκὼ εἰδωλον αὐτοῦ ἐν.
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§ 158. ἐπερείδοντος. The mss. have this word in the active here and § 241, and De Plant. 7 in the sense of “support” or “establish.” In each case editors have suggested ὑπερείδω (Mr. Whitaker in De Plant. 7 ἀπ-). The lexica certainly give no evidence for this meaning for ἐπ-, which would naturally mean “to make to rest upon” (something in the dative), and Philo frequently uses it so in the passive. As, however, stability is generally given in this way, it is not unnatural that the word should get this extended meaning, and it seems hardly wise to overrule the repeated evidence of the mss.

§ 164. Prompter. This is perhaps as near as we can get to the meaning of ὑπήχει. But the word, which is frequently used by Philo, seems to carry with it the thought of a voice heard inwardly and not audible in the ordinary sense. Thus it is sometimes coupled with ἐνδοθεν, and several times (e.g. De Mut. 139) applied to the divine voice which speaks to the prophet, to the memories or echoes of the lecturer’s words which the student carries away with him (De Cong. 67), and to the “haunting” voice of enticing pleasure (De Post. 155). Other examples in this volume are De Som. ii. 2 and 252. This usage is entirely ignored in L. & S. Stephanus quotes some of these passages, but inadequately translates by “succinere.”

§ 184. A space outside it in the interval between worlds. An allusion to the Epicurean doctrine that the gods’ habitation was the μετακόσμια (intermundia). Cf. (Ἐπίκουρος φησι) καθήσθαι τὸν θεόν ἐν τοῖς μετακόσμιοι οὐτω καλομένοις ὑπ’ αὐτοῦ, Usener, Epicurea, p. 240 (quoted from Hippolytus); “deos induxit Epicurus . . . habitantes tamquam inter duos lucos sic inter duos mundos propter metum ruinarum,” Cic. De Div. ii. 40.

§§ 186-188. The two chief difficulties are the phrases ἐν τῷ χειροτονηθέντι and ὁ κόσμος μετακληθήσεται. Mr. Whitaker’s
theory as to the first, that the “appointed one” is the Logos, may be tenable in so far as there is good evidence for the thought that the intelligible world is in the Logos or is itself the Logos, see De Op. 17 and 20, and it has the great merit that it takes the text as it stands. But the application of “Him who was appointed in accordance with divine bounties” (or “elections,” reading χειροτονίας for χορτγίας as Mr. Whitaker proposed) to the Logos does not seem to me natural, and at any rate it does not lead up to any explanation of the difficulty in § 188.

My alternative suggestion cannot, of course, claim to be more than a guess, but I think it has the merit that without any great change of the text it provides an explanation of the whole passage which is consistent throughout and is thoroughly after Philo’s manner.

I will take § 188 first. Wendland excludes the whole of the last sentence as a Christian interpolation describing the Celestial City. I see little grounds for this. The New Jerusalem of the Revelation has walls and gates, though it is true that the latter are always open. Possibly Wendland took μετακληθήσεται as meaning “shall receive a new name” in allusion to Rev. ii. 17, and though this sense of the word has little evidence recorded in the lexica it is a quite possible and natural meaning, and has been adopted in the translation. But this carries us but a little way to Wendland’s theory of Christian interpolation.

On the supposition that the passage is genuine, the general sense is clear enough that while ordinarily we can only know the intelligible world through our experience of the sensible world, there are conditions in which, or persons to whom, it is known directly. As I have said, the only difficulty is the phrase ὁ κόσμος μετακληθήσεται. If μετακ. is taken as “shall change its name” I can see no sense that Philo could have meant. If we give the word its usual sense of “summoned” we expect a person instead of ὁ κόσμος for the subject, and presumably that person will be Moses, and the higher type of soul that Moses represents. This will be quite consistent with other passages, e.g. De Mut. 7, where the darkness which Moses enters is the contemplation of the incorporeal and invisible substance, and there is a very close analogy in Leg. All. iii. 100: “There is a mind more perfect and more thoroughly cleansed which has been initiated into the great
mysteries, a mind which gains its knowledge of the first cause not from created things, as one may learn the substance from the shadow, but lifting its eyes above and beyond creation obtains a clear vision of the uncreated. This mind is Moses." Here there is the difference that the thing directly seen is God Himself, not the world of mind, but otherwise the thought is the same. I propose then to correct κόσμος to κοσμολόγος, "the world explorer," whose world is that of intelligible substance or reality. That the word is not given in the lexica matters not at all; it is a perfectly natural formation which anyone might make on the analogy of μετεωρολόγος, etc., and the phrase κοσμολόγος νοητής υποστάσεως is as natural at any rate as κόσμος ν. ν. The only other emendation actually needed is ἐν τῷ μεταχαραχθέντι for ἐν τῷ μεταχαραχθέντι, though it is possible that μακρόθεν may have fallen out before or after θεαθέν, cf. Ex. xx. 21, "the people stood afar off (μακρόθεν), but Moses entered the darkness." I should explain the corruption in the first case by supposing that ν祖父 dropped out and that then -θείσης was altered to -θέντι for grammatical reasons.

The translation of the first half of the sentence will then be: "But the world-explorer whose world is intelligible reality will need no sight of outward shapes, but only the archetypal ‘idea’ engraved in the mind, and by this he will be summoned to the Form (or Vision), which he sees not in shadow but in substance" (or “will be summoned with no intervening shadow to the Form which he has beheld from afar’’). μετακληθήσεται will be an echo of ἐκάλεσε Κύριος τὸν Ιωσήφ, Ex. xxiv. 16, and εἴδος of εἴδος, ibid. 17.

In § 186 the only difficult words are ἐν τῷ χειροτονηθέντι. I suggest that here we have the foreshadowing of the next section, i.e. that they state the exception to the general sense of this section. This can be obtained by correcting ἐν to πλήν, an easy correction in itself, though it is a more serious difficulty that κόσμον νοητόν can hardly stand in that position and some rearrangement is required, the simplest being to transfer the words to after συσταθέντα.

§ 205. ρυθμοῦ καὶ μέτρα κτλ. Wendland puts no comma after μέτρα but one after διατονικά, thus implying that enharmonic, etc., are μέτρα. This, which perhaps is a mere slip, is quite impossible. μέτρα must be used in the sense which it regularly bears in the accepted division of music into
melody, rhythm, metre, viz. what we mean by metre, cf. Aristides Quintilianus i. 4, where we have μελωδία, ρυθμός, λέξις followed at once by περὶ τὴν λέξιν τὸ μέτρον, and later (i. 10) by a full discussion of μετρική. The triple division is given by Philo in De Cher. 105, De Sob. 36, and De Agr. 137, where the enharmonic, etc., are given as subdivisions of μέλος.

Ibid. From rhetoric, etc. Here we have the fundamental divisions of rhetoric which appear in the same form in most of the rhetorical treatises, except that it is perhaps unusual to find both τάξις and οἰκονομία, the latter, which covers the management and organization of the material, either superseding the former, or including it as a subdivision. Synonyms for φράσις are λέξις, ἀπαγγελία, ἐρμηνεία, the last named of which is used by Philo in De Cher. 105, and, I believe, in De Mig. 35. See notes on those two passages.

§ 214. Ashes. As the point is essential to Philo’s illustration, one must suppose that he found, or thought he had found, some authority for the statement that ashes were used in purificatory ritual. The nearest evidence I can find is the use of the “ashes of the heifer” in Num. xix. 9, alluded to in Hebrews ix. 13. Possibly τέφρα, like κονία, may have been a name for some kind of lye or soap, but I know of no evidence for it.

§ 230. Not from any superstitious nicety, etc. The explanation I should prefer to give to this passage is that Philo feels that his distinction between θεός and ὁ θεός might subject him to the charge of giving the name of θεός to inferior beings, which would constitute δεισιδαιμονία in the ordinary sense. What then is the meaning of πραγματολογεῖν? Judging from the sequel it is not so much “to use words to express facts” as “to accommodate language to practical needs.” The course of thought seems to be: (1) any name for God is a κατάχρησις permitted for the needs of men (§ 230), a point further illustrated in § 231 (the spacing should perhaps be placed at the end of that section rather than at the beginning); (2) God allows men to think that He has been really seen by them (§ 234), and this is illustrated by the pagan legend (§ 233), and the anthropomorphic language of the law (§§ 234-237); (3) He in the same way speaks here of the Angel or Logos as God, though it really was God's
image which was seen, and thus πραγματολογεῖ, etc., suits
His words to the capacity of His hearers.

It may be thought that this strains the meaning of πραγ-
ματολογεῖν. The fact is that this word, which has been used
in De Fug. 54, is rare and of uncertain meaning. Besides
these two instances only two others are quoted. In Diog.
Laert. ix. 52 it appears to mean "argue," or make a
business of arguing, and so possibly in De Fug. 54 (see
note). In Anaximenes, Rhet. ad Alex. 32 (31) ἵνα πραγ-
ματολογοῦντες ἀπλοὺς τῶν λόγων καὶ μή ποικίλοις ποιῶμεν, it
seems to mean "speaking plainly and intelligibly," and
this is not far from the sense suggested by the context here.

§ 244. Erecting. It is a pity that the impossibility of
using the phrase "make to stand" prevents the translator
from bringing out fully the insistence with which Philo
harps on the thought of "standing" in connexion with στήλη.
He finds the idea, no doubt, in the word itself, and repeats
it not only in the ἔστηκα of § 241 and στάσις of § 242, but also
in ἱστάς § 244, στάσεις § 245, ἀνίστησι, ἀναστήσας § 249.

§ 247. Set up. Similarly the thought of ἀνάθεσις is re-
peated in ἀνετέθη here, and ἀνακείσεται (κεΐμαι as often being
treated as the passive of τίθημι), though in these cases the
idea of "dedication" seems to be reduced to the literal "set
up," unless, as perhaps is possible, it is used in the sense of
"devoted" under a curse, cf. the common use of ἀνάθεμα, or
(in the first case) unless there is an allusion to models of
wrecked ships or pieces of the actual wreck being dedicated
as votive offerings by the saved. For votive pictures of
this kind see Mayor on Juv. xii. 27.

§ 254. 1 Sam. i. 11.—Wendland erroneously gives the
reference as to v. 28 ("I lend him as a loan"), as also in Quod
Deus 6, on which passage, carelessly following Wendland,
I suggested in a note that Philo in v. 28 had a different version
of the text from the lxx. A German reviewer pointed out
the mistake.
APPENDIX TO DE SOMNIIS, II.

Note on text.—The Trinity ms. which Cohn on a cursory inspection (Cohn on De Op. p. xxx) declared to be worthless as a whole, and which was therefore practically ignored in his and Wendland’s reconstruction of the text, does not seem, in this treatise at least, to deserve such a wholesale condemnation. While it certainly shares with A the great majority of that ms.’s mistakes and adds a fair number of its own, there is a not negligible number of cases where it is more correct. In three cases Wendland has adopted the reading of “Mangey e codice Cantabr. Coll. S. Trin.,” viz. σύγχυσις § 152, πάσαν § 196, ἐκατέρας § 241, as well as φυρδμενοι § 290, which Mangey had given on the authority of ms. Vat., a name apparently unidentified. But besides these there are several examples in which Wendland in correcting the text of A has actually reproduced that of Trin. Such are παρανέβλαστε § 64, ἀγείρωτες § 127, εἰ δὲ δεῖ § 128, φῶς § 140, δυντος § 250, κλίματα § 287.

The lacunas in Trin. are also of some interest. While they occur in the same places, except twice where the text runs on continuously, they do not by any means always occupy the same spaces, being in several cases considerably longer. This rouses a suspicion whether Wendland is justified in basing his conjectures, as he does to some extent, on the length of the spaces in A. Professor Minns indeed tells me that the tendency of scribes is to shorten the gaps, and that the greater length may point to the possibility that though Trin. (fifteenth or sixteenth century) is much later than A (thirteenth century) it may belong to a better tradition. In spite, however, of my doubts on this point, I have thought it wiser to record Wendland’s notes on the length of the spaces in A.

§ 27. Double diapason. Or perhaps “the two ways of completing the scale,” i.e. the conjunct tetrachords symbolize

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the attitude of the soul when it contemplates the universe by itself. In the disjunct tetrachords it is still concerned in the first tetrachord with creation, but breaks off and passes in the second to the contemplation of the Creator, whom it recognizes to be something different and transcending creation.

§ 38. εὐκαταφροντὶστι. This is certainly an odd-looking word, but it is correctly formed, if we assume καταφροντὶζω as an intensive form, like so many κατὰ's, of the simple verb; and though only one instance of the verb in this sense (Polybius xxviii. 11. 10) is quoted, and that is said in L. & S. 1927 to be a doubtful reading, this is not much argument in dealing with Philo. On the whole, though the word is regarded as corrupt in Stephanus, I do not see much reason to doubt its genuineness. Wendland is somewhat rash in printing ἀνανταγωνιστῳ. It is not only far from the mss. but has less point. The seeker after rewards needs not only persistence but care, and though swiftness is requisite his swift actions must be "well thought out." I should say much the same of Mangey's εὐκαταφόρῳ.

§ 45. Image and ideal form, etc. Are εἰκών and ἵδεα merely synonyms? They are combined in much the same way, though without any definite mention of the Logos, in Leg. All. i. 33, 42 and 53. I should suggest that in all these cases the Logos is the εἰκών of God, but the ἵδεα to creation. The usage is thus parallel to the phrases in which man is said to be the εἰκὼν εἰκόνων, and God the παράδειγμα παραδειγμάτως. See on De Som. i. 75.


§ 55. οἱ ἐντρυφῶντες τοῖς καθεστ., mss. ἱδώσαι νήμοις. This emendation of Mangey, accepted by Wendland, implies the use of ἐντρυφάω = "scorn," a sense which the word does bear, but not apparently elsewhere in Philo, with whom it means "delight in." I am inclined to think that ἱδω- at any rate may be right. ἱδὼν, ἱδωτός, ἱδύφιος, ἵδωφόρος are all used of sculptured or painted figures not confined to animals, and cf. ἵδωραφία itself. ἵδωφόροις would suit the context excellently as it is particularly used of friezes. It is, however, rather far from ἱδώσαι νήμοις in form. I would ask for con-
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sideration of the nearer ζωμένοις. Though the dictionaries know nothing of any use of ζωή = to carve figures, it is more or less implied by ζωωτός.

§ 70. Wendland by giving the reference to Gen. ii. 9 implies that the twofold tree combines the tree of life with the tree of knowledge. It is more probable, I think, that the latter only is meant, twofold because it is the knowledge of good and evil. The reference is certainly also to Gen. iii. 3, where we have ου μη ἄψησθε αυτῆς, thus linking up the story of the tree with the prohibition against “taking hold of the pair.” While in De Op. 154 Philo interprets the knowledge of good and evil as φρόνησις, i.e. the power to distinguish the two and choose the good, in Leg. All. i. 101 f. the tree is the cause of good and evil, abstinence from which is abstinence from evil. Cf. also ibid. 61. The thought comes out most clearly in Quaestiones Gen. i. 15, where speaking of the tree he says that when good and evil are mingled together, the combination contains the beginning of death (“ubi vero bonum et malum commixta sint, principium habent mixturae mortis”).

On the other hand, the tree of life may be the “monad” which Adam neglects. Cf. παρελθόντες τὸ ζωῆς ἀθανάτου φυτὸν, De Op. 156.

Observe the condemnation of duality in this section contrasted with the approval of it in §§ 26-28, a contrast which Philo surely has in mind. When the soul couples its contemplation of creation with acknowledgement of the Creator, duality is blessed; when it mingles good with evil, duality is accursed.

§ 119. The “sacred line.” For what little is known of the technical meaning of τὸν ἀφ’ ιερὰς κινέιν in the game of πεσσοί see L. & S. on γραμμή, and Dict. of Ant. s.v. latrun-culi. In the other passages quoted it seems to be a proverbial phrase for “try the last chance.” This does not fit here. Possibly we might suppose that if the piece on the sacred line was the last to be moved in defence, it would also ordinarily be the last to be attacked, whereas Xerxes attacks it first. More probably Philo, seeing an effective play of words on the sacredness of the heavens and the sacred line of the draught-board, strains the phrase to cover something especially rash and desperate.

§ 121. The Germans, etc. Wendland quotes Strabo vii. 2. 1 οὐδ’ ἐδ οὐδ’ ὁ φῆςας δπλα αἱρεθαι πρὸς τὰς πλημμυρίδας τοὺς

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APPENDICES

Κιμβρών. The same is said by Aelian, Hist. ii. 23, of the "Kelts," probably meaning the Germans. It is suggested that this story gave Shakespeare the idea of "taking arms against a sea of troubles."

§ 122. Speared, wounded, etc. So Aelian, ibid. ὠπερῳν ἡ φοβήσαι δυνάμενοι ἢ τρωσαι.

§ 123. One of the ruling class. Mangey positively declared that this person was Flaccus. It is as positively denied by Edersheim (Dict. of Chr. Biog., article on Philo) and by Ewald (Geschichte Volkes Israel, vol. vi. p. 253 n. 1). There is certainly nothing said in the treatise In Flaccum of an attempt to enforce Sabbath-breaking; and if it had been made, it is most unlikely that Philo would have passed it over. In fact the attempt here mentioned seems to have been unsuccessful, and the point lies in the arrogant and (in Philo's eyes) blasphemous language in which the threat was couched. The immediate predecessors of Flaccus were Iberus (not Severus as in Mangey's text, see Reiter's note on In Flaccum 2) and Vitrasius Pollio (Dion Cassius lviii. 19. 6), and either of these may have been the governor here alluded to.

§ 140. Shall we first bow, etc. Assuming, as in the footnote, that ἀφέντες may be corrected to ὑφέντες (or καθέντες, cf. De Plant. 145), and that πρότερον can be used in antithesis to εἰτα, the following alternative is possible, <&$> (i.e. χείρας) ύφ(καθ)έντες, i.e. the hands are first raised in prayer, then lowered as the suppliant prostrates himself.

§ 209. Pleasure is said by her votaries, etc. The Epicurean view that present ills are mitigated by the memory of past good is several times referred to. See Usener, Epicurea 436-439. The closest parallel to this passage is Cic. Tusc. Disp. v. 34. 95 "(praecipit Epicurus) corpus gaudere tamdiu, dum praesentem sentire voluptatem, animum et praesentem percipere pariter cum corpore et prospicere venientem nec praeteritam nec praeterfluere sine: ita perpetuas et contextas voluptates in sapiente fore semper, cum expectatio speratarum voluptatum cum perceptarum memoria iungeretur."

§ 221. Mangey retained ἐγχωρεῖν ("before thou wast dwelling"), supposing that Philo read or thought he read it in the LXX. But the argument here and elsewhere shews that he understood εἶναι.
§ 245. The lacuna.—Mangey in proposing to fill this up with μᾶλλον recognized its inappropriateness to ὡς εἶπε τίς, which he wished to correct to ὡς ἄν εἶποι τίς. This seems to me unnecessary. One would prefer to suppose some single poetic noun which would signify a waterspout, but I do not know of any such. The missing letters, however, may easily be some epithet applied to rushing water in general (e.g. βαθυδίνης) or adverb (e.g. ἀμβολάδην) or some longer phrase. Wendland does not state the length of the lacuna in A. In Trin. it is over twenty letters. It is a fairly likely guess, considering the number of Homeric phrases in this treatise, that this too comes from Homer. For τίς applied to Homer cf. § 260 below, and De Somniis, i. 150.

§ 247. For the lacuna here Wendland suggests ἐπάλληλως or ἀπαύστως, for example. But I do not see why the initial λ, which also appears in Trin. should be ignored in this case.

§ 282. For this lacuna the following suggestions have been proposed: νυκτὸς (Hoeschel), νύκτα πεσεῖν (Cohn), νύκτα αἰώνιον (Wendland), νύκτα ἀκτέον (Mangey), αἰώνιον or ἀκτέον being corrections for ἄξων. Except for the doubtful evidence of space (in Trin. it is about fifteen letters), I see no objection to νύκτα alone. It is easy to supply ἄγεσθαι.

§ 283. Third on the list. Mangey, retaining τρεῖς, suggested as possible that the three Aloeidae are meant, cf. De Conf. 4. But the Aloeidae, Otus and Ephialtes, were two, not three. Apart from this, the explanation seems to me very improbable. In De Conf. 4 the story of the Aloeidae is no doubt compared to that of the Babel-builders, but only by the scoffers. While Philo often illustrates his points from Greek myths, I know of no instance where he accepts them in the way which Mangey’s suggestion involves.

Ibid. Uncreated, imperishable. Cf. De Op. 7, where the belief that the world was ἄγένητος καὶ ἄιδιος is described as an impious falsehood ascribing inactivity (ἀπραξία) to God. On this Cohn quotes the statement that Xenophanes, Parmenides, and Melissus held that it was ἄγένητος καὶ ἄιδιος καὶ ἀφθαρτος (Diels, Doxographi, p. 332), and the somewhat similar words of Epicurus (Diog. Laert. x. 39). τὸ πᾶν ἄεὶ τοιοῦτον ἤν ὁλον νῦν ἔστι, καὶ ἄεὶ τοιοῦτον ἔσται. Philo, however, in the treatise De Aet. maintains that it is ἀφθαρτος, and indeed ascribes this belief to Moses (§ 19). May a recon-
ciliation of these conflicting views be found in the opinion mentioned in *Quis Rerum* 246 φθαρτὸν μὲν εἶναι, μηδέποτε δὲ φθαρησόμενον? The Maker can destroy it, but never will. See note on that passage. Cf. also *De Dec.* 58.

§ 294. Winged chariot. From *Phaedrus* 246 ε ὁ μὲν δὴ μέγας ἡγεμών ἐν οὐρανῷ Ζεὺς ἐλαύνων ἄρμα πρῶτος πορεύεται. So also in *Quis Rerum* 301.

§ 300. *Ex. vii.* 15. It is idle to guess what text or texts followed. Though Euphrates, except in Gen. ii. 15, is only mentioned as a boundary, this and the other three rivers of that passage, as well as the "river of God" in Ps. xlvi., would serve his purpose. His point is that spiritually the "river of Egypt" alone is identified with mere speech. He seems in § 302 to ignore the fact that in §§ 238 f. he has identified all rivers with λόγος. Possibly the sequel went on to shew that in good rivers speech is reasonable speech which is inseparable from action.
SUPPLEMENTARY LIST OF CASES IN VOLS. I.-V.,
NOT RECORDED IN THE FOOTNOTES, WHERE
THE TEXT PRINTED IS NOT VOUCHED
FOR BY ANY MANUSCRIPT OR ANCIENT
AUTHORITY

The following list has been drawn up in order to carry out,
though in a belated and not very convenient manner, the
principle laid down in the preface to Vol. IV., viz. that the
places in which the text printed has no ms. authority should
be recorded. In that preface I stated that while no consistent
attempt had been made to do this in the first two volumes,
it was otherwise with Vols. III. and IV. The reviewer of
Vol. III., to whose criticism I was replying, rejoined in his
review of Vol. IV. that this statement was not quite borne
out by the facts. I am grateful to him, for on re-examination
of the footnotes to these two volumes, and also of those in
Vol. V. which was already in type, I was forced to the
conclusion that to a great extent he was right. Not only had
a few, though I think very few, of the major emendations
been unnoticed in the footnotes, but the fact that while so
many minor examples were recorded several others not
obviously less important were omitted might justly be said
to be misleading.

I hope this catalogue is fairly complete. The only exceptions
which I have deliberately made are that I take no notice of
(1) mistakes in accents and breathings, (2) orthographical
mistakes, using the word in a stricter sense than that which
I gave it in the preface to Vol. IV., i.e. for cases where the
scribe intends the same word as that which is printed but has
spelt it otherwise, (3) changes in the order of words, (4) wrong
division of words, in which the actual letters are correct, e.g.
μέν ei for μένει, (5) grammatical blunders such as ἄταν with
an optative or ei with an infinitive.
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In the heading of the list, by mss. must be stood under besides the codices, not only the Papyrus in the two treatises where it is available, but the excerpts from earlier writers adduced by Cohn and Wendland in their Apparatus Criticus.

VOl. I

De Opificio mundi

§ TEXT mss. § TEXT mss.
15 εὐθυβόλως εὐθυβόλωσ αὐτὴν αὐτὴν
50 τοῦ φύσει τῆς φύσει
54 ἐμπαρείχε (ἐμπαρ- ἐπικρύψεις)
56 ἑναργεῖας ἑναργεῖαι
58 ἀποκρύψεις ἑπικρύψεις
72 ἀφ' ἑαυτοῦ ὑφ' ἑαυτοῦ
78 αἰς ἀπάσασιν (οἰς ἀπάσαι)
80 ἀπαντᾶται ἀπαντᾶται τῆ φύσει νωτικοῦ ἀναρριπτοῦ-
81 παραγαγεῖν παρελθεῖν ἀρότον (ἀροτῶν)
85 ἄροτον ἄροτον
104 ἀμφοτέρων ἀμφότερα καθ' έν καθ' έν
dia τῶν διὰ τῆς
108 ἐκ τῶν τεσ- τοσάρων τοσάρων

Legum Allegoria, I

§ TEXT mss. § TEXT mss.
1 δὴ ἀμφοτέ- δὴ ἀμφοτέ-
ρων ρων
3 διαμετέρων διαμετέρων
6 περαιωθέντα περαιωθέντα 15 μονάδι μονάδος
99 τότε δὲ τὸ δὲ
### SUPPLEMENT TO TEXTUAL FOOTNOTES

#### Legum Allegoria, II

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## SUPPLEMENT TO TEXTUAL FOOTNOTES

### VOL. II

#### De Cherubim

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94 τοσούτων δεῖ τοσούτων δεῖν... ἐπετρέπειν προσέπειν
95 ἐν ἀντικαταλατεσθαί 
98 ποιμένων ποιμνίων
99 ὑπὸ τῶν φασιν ἐπαμφοτερίζειν
100 φοσιν ἐπαμφοτερίζειν
101 παρέρχεσθαι

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117 σκοπὼν σκοτοῦ 
119 οὐδένος ἀλλον ἀλλὰ νομάτων ἀλλ' ὄνομάτων
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135 ἐπομβρήσει ἐτὶ ὄμβρησι
136 πην ἐπαλλήσεως ἐπαλλήλως
142 ἐν ἐτέρων ἐν ἐτέρων 
145 κορεσθέντας κορεσθέν εξυβρίσαι
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150 τῶν τῶν ἡ τίχοι τίχης
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SUPPLEMENT TO TEXTUAL FOOTNOTES
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### VOL. III

#### Quod Deus immutabilis sit

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**VOL. IV**

**De Confusione linguarum**

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## SUPPLEMENT TO TEXTUAL FOOTNOTES

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**De Fuga et inventione**

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