

ΠΕΡΙ ΤΟΥ ΘΕΟΠΕΜΠΤΟΥΣ ΕΙΝΑΙ ΤΟΥΣ ΟΝΕΙΡΟΥΣ

Α

[620] I. | Ἡ μὲν πρὸ ταύτης γραφὴ περιείχε τῶν θεο-
¹ πέμπτων ὀνείρων τοὺς κατὰ τὸ πρῶτον εἶδος ταττο-
 μένους, ἐφ' οὗ τὸ θεῖον ἐλέγομεν κατὰ τὴν ἰδίαν
 ἐπιβολὴν τὰς ἐν τοῖς ὕπνοις ἐπιπέμπειν φαντασίας.
 ἐν ταύτῃ δ', ὡς ἂν οἶόν τε ἦ, δηλώσομεν τοὺς
² ἐφαρμοττοντας τῷ δευτέρῳ. δεύτερον δ' εἶδος, ἐν
 ᾧ ὁ ἡμέτερος νοῦς τῷ τῶν ὄλων συγκινούμενος
 ἐξ ἑαυτοῦ κατέχεσθαι τε καὶ θεοφορεῖσθαι δοκεῖ,
 ὡς ἱκανὸς εἶναι προλαμβάνειν καὶ προγινώσκειν τι
 τῶν μελλόντων. ὄναρ δ' ἐστὶ πρῶτον
 οἰκείον εἶδει τῷ σημαινομένῳ τὸ φανέν ἐπὶ τῆς
³ οὐρανοῦ κλίμακος τόδε· “ καὶ ἐνυπνιάσθη· καὶ ἰδὼν
 κλίμαξ ἐστηριγμένη ἐν τῇ γῇ, ἥς ἡ κεφαλὴ ἀφ-
 ικνεῖτο εἰς τὸν οὐρανόν, καὶ οἱ ἄγγελοι τοῦ θεοῦ
 ἀνέβαινον καὶ κατέβαινον ἐπ' αὐτῆς· ὁ δὲ κύριος
 ἐπεστήρικτο ἐπ' αὐτῆς· καὶ εἶπεν· ἐγὼ εἰμι¹ ὁ θεὸς
 Ἀβραάμ τοῦ πατρός σου καὶ ὁ θεὸς Ἰσαάκ· μὴ
 φοβοῦ· ἡ γῇ, ἐφ' ἥς σὺ καθεύδεις, σοὶ δώσω αὐτὴν
 καὶ τῷ σπέρματί σου, καὶ ἔσται τὸ σπέρμα σου
 ὡς ἡ ἄμμος τῆς γῆς, καὶ πλατυνθήσεται² 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 1
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 2
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 3
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. πληθυνθησέ(ου)ται. But πλατ. as LXX in § 175.

θάλασσαν καὶ λίβα καὶ βορρᾶν καὶ ἀνατολάς· καὶ ἐνευλογηθήσονται ἐν σοὶ πᾶσαι αἱ φυλαὶ τῆς γῆς καὶ <ἐν> τῷ σπέρματί σου· καὶ ἰδοὺ ἐγὼ μετὰ σοῦ, διαφυλάσσω σε ἐν τῇ ὁδῷ πάσῃ, ἣ ἂν πορευθῇς· καὶ ἀποστρέψω σε εἰς τὴν γῆν ταύτην, ὅτι οὐ μὴ σε ἐγκαταλίπω, ἕως τοῦ ποιῆσαί με

[621] πάντα ὅσα ἐλάλησά σοι.” | προκατα-
 4 σκευὴ δ’ ἐστὶ τῆς φαντασίας ἀναγκαία, ἣν ἀκριβώ-
 σαντες εὐμαρῶς ἴσως δυνησόμεθα καὶ τὰ δηλού-
 μενα ὑπὸ τῆς φαντασίας καταλαβεῖν. τίς οὖν
 ἢ προκατασκευή; “καὶ ἐξῆλθε” φησὶν “Ἰακώβ
 ἀπὸ τοῦ φρέατος τοῦ ὄρκου καὶ ἐπορεύθη εἰς
 Χαρράν, καὶ ἀπήντησε τόπῳ· ἔδυν γὰρ ὁ ἥλιος·
 καὶ ἔλαβεν ἀπὸ τῶν λίθων τοῦ τόπου καὶ ἔθηκε
 πρὸς κεφαλῆς αὐτοῦ, καὶ ἐκοιμήθη ἐν τῷ τόπῳ
 ἐκείνῳ”· καῖπειτ’ εὐθύς ἐστι τὸ ὄναρ.

5 οὐκοῦν ἄξιον ἐν ἀρχῇ ταυτὶ τρία διαπορῆσαι· ἐν
 μὲν τί τὸ τοῦ ὄρκου φρέαρ καὶ διὰ τί οὕτως ὠνο-
 μάσθη, δεύτερον δὲ τίς ἢ Χαρράν καὶ διὰ τί ἀπὸ
 τοῦ λεχθέντος φρέατος ἐξελθὼν εἰς Χαρράν ἔρχεται
 εὐθύς, τρίτον τίς ὁ τόπος καὶ διὰ τί, ὅταν γένηται
 κατ’ αὐτόν, ὁ μὲν ἥλιος δύεται, αὐτὸς δὲ κοιμάται.

6· II. Σκοπῶμεν οὖν αὐτίκα τὸ πρῶτον. ἐμοὶ
 τοίνυν δοκεῖ σύμβολον εἶναι τὸ φρέαρ ἐπιστήμης·
 οὐ γάρ ἐστιν ἐπιπόλαιος αὐτῆς ἢ φύσις, ἀλλὰ πάνυ
 βαθεΐα· οὐδ’ ἐν φανερώ πρόκειται, ἀλλ’ ἐν ἀφανεί
 που κρύπτεσθαι φιλεῖ· οὐδὲ ραδίως, ἀλλὰ μετὰ
 πολλῶν πόνων καὶ μόλις ἀνευρίσκεται. καὶ ταῦτ’

* 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

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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 4 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 5 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, 6 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 ὅσα θεωρή-
 ματα ἔχουσῶν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν εὐτελεστάτων
 7 θεωρεῖται. ἦν γοῦν ἂν ἐθέλῃς ἐλοῦ τῶν τεχνῶν,
 μή μοι τὴν ἀρίστην, ἀλλὰ τὴν πασῶν ἀφανεστάτην,
 ἦν ἐλεύθερος μὲν ἴσως οὐδεὶς ἐν πόλει τραφεὶς
 ἐκὼν ἐπιτηδεύσειεν ἄν, ἐν ἀγρῷ δὲ μόλις ἄκων
 οἰκέτης δυσκόλῳ καὶ δυστρόπῳ παλαίων δεσπότῃ
 8 βιαζομένῳ πολλὰ δρᾶν τῶν ἀβουλήτων. εὐρεθή-
 σεται γὰρ οὐχ ἀπλοῦν, ἀλλὰ ποικίλον τὸ πρᾶγμα,
 οὐ θατέρᾳ ληπτόν,¹ δυσεύρετον, δυσπεριγένητον,
 ἐχθρὸν μὲν ὁκνῶ καὶ ἀμελείᾳ καὶ ῥαθυμίᾳ, σπουδῆς
 δὲ καὶ φιλοτιμίας ἰδρώτων τε καὶ φροντίδων μεστόν.

οὗ χάριν οὐδ' ὕδωρ ἐν τῷ φρέατι
 τούτῳ φασὶν οἱ ὀρύττοντες εὐρεῖν, ἐπειδὴ τὰ τέλη
 τῶν ἐπιστημῶν οὐ δυσεύρετα μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ
 9 ἀνεύρετα παντελῶς εἶναι συμβέβηκε. γραμματι-
 κώτερος δὲ διὰ τοῦτο καὶ γεωμετρικώτερος ἕτερος
 ἐτέρου γίνεται τῷ τὰς ἐπιτάσεις καὶ παραυξήσεις
 ἀμήχανον εἶναι ὅροις περιγραφῆναι· πλείω γὰρ αἰὲ
 τῶν εἰς μάθησιν ἡκόντων τὰ ἀπολειπόμενα ἐκδέ-
 χεται καὶ ἐφεδρεύει, ὥς καὶ τὸν ἄπτεσθαι περάτων
 ἐπιστήμης ὑπολαμβάνόμενον ἡμιτελῆ παρ' ἐτέρῳ
 κριτῇ νομίζεσθαι, παρὰ δὲ ἀληθείᾳ δικαζούσῃ καὶ
 10 ἄρτι ἄρχεσθαι δοκεῖν. “βραχὺς μὲν γὰρ ὁ βίος,”
 ἔφη τις, “ἡ δὲ τέχνη μακρά,” ἥς ἄριστα κατα-

¹ MSS. θήρα (some θηρατοῦ) ληπτόν (some μεμπτόν). The correction to θατέρᾳ is mine. See note to *De Mig.* 220, where grounds are given for retaining against Wend. the τῇ ἐτέρᾳ of the mss., and for reading οὐ θατέρᾳ 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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this may be seen not only in branches of knowledge which contain a whole multitude of important problems, but in the simplest^a studies as well. Just 7 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 8 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 9 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 10 is long"^b; and he best apprehends its greatness

^a Or "meanest" = ἀφανεστάτην below.

^b The well-known opening aphorism of Hippocrates, though there ἡ τέχνη is the art (of medicine).

λαμβάνει τὸ μέγεθος ὁ ἀψευδῶς ἐμβαθύνων αὐτῇ
 [622] καὶ ὥσπερ φρέαρ | αὐτὴν ὀρύττων. διὸ

- καὶ τελευτώντά τινα πολὺν ἤδη καὶ ὑπέργηρων
 λόγος ἔχει δακρύνειν, οὐ δι' ἀνανδρίαν φόβῳ θανάτου,
 ἀλλὰ διὰ παιδείας ἡμερον ὡς νῦν πρῶτον εἰς αὐτὴν
 11 εἰσιόντα, ὅτε πανύστατ' ἔξεισιν. ἀνθεὶ γὰρ ἡ ψυχὴ
 πρὸς ἐπιστήμην, ὁπότε αἱ τοῦ σώματος ἀκμαί
 χρόνου μήκει μαραίνονται. πρὶν οὖν ἡβῆσαι καὶ
 ἐννεάσαι τῇ τῶν πραγμάτων ἀκριβεστέρα κατα-
 λήψει, χαλεπὸν ὑποσκελισθῆναι. τὸ δὲ πάθος
 τοῦτο κοινὸν ἀπάντων ἐστὶ τῶν φιλομαθῶν, οἷς
 νέα ἐπὶ παλαιοῖς ἀνίσχει καὶ ἀναλάμπει θεωρή-
 ματα, πολλὰ μὲν καὶ τῆς ψυχῆς, ὁπότε μὴ στεῖρα
 καὶ ἄγονος εἶη, τικτούσης, πολλὰ δὲ καὶ τῆς φύσεως
 ἀτεκμάρτως ἐκ ταυτομάτου προφανούσης τοῖς
 διάνοιαν ὀξύδορκοῦσι.

- Τὸ μὲν οὖν ἐπιστήμης φρέαρ ὅρον καὶ τελευτὴν
 12 οὐκ ἔχον τοιοῦτον¹ ἀπεδείχθη. διὰ τί δὲ ὅρκος²
 ὠνομάσθη, λεκτέον· τὰ ἐνδοιαζόμενα τῶν πραγ-
 μάτων ὅρκῳ διακρίνεται καὶ τὰ ἀβέβαια βεβαιοῦται
 καὶ τὰ ἄπιστα λαμβάνει πίστιν· ἐξ ὧν ἐκεῖνο συν-
 ἄγεται, ὅτι περὶ οὐδενὸς ἂν τις οὕτως βεβαιώσαιτο,
 ὡς περὶ τοῦ τὸ σοφίας γένος ἀπερίγραφον καὶ
 13 ἀτελεύτητον εἶναι. καλὸν μὲν οὖν καὶ ἀνωμότῳ
 διεξιόντι περὶ τούτων συνεπιγράφεσθαι· ὁ δὲ μὴ
 λίαν εἰς συναίνεσιν³ εὐχερῆς ἐνωμότῳ γενομένῳ
 συναινείτω. μηδεὶς δὲ ὀμνύναι τὸν τοιοῦτον ὅρκον

¹ Perhaps τοιοῦτον <δν>.

² MSS. ὅρκον.

³ MSS. σύνεσιν.

^a The plural ὧν is due to the threefold form of the state-
 ment in the preceding clause, but the logic of what follows

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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, 11 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 12 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 13 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.

ἀναδυέσθω σαφῶς εἰδώς, ὅτι ἐν εὐόρκων γραφῇ-
σεται στήλαις.

- 14 III. "Αλις μὲν δὴ τούτων. ἐπόμενον δ' ἂν εἴη
σκέψασθαι, διὰ τί τεττάρων ὀρυττομένων φρεάτων
ὑπὸ τῶν ἀμφὶ τὸν Ἀβραὰμ καὶ Ἰσαὰκ τὸ τέταρτον
15 καὶ τελευταῖον "ὄρκος" προσερρήθη. μήποτ'
οὖν δι' ὑπονοιῶν ἐκεῖνο βούλεται παραστήσαι, ὅτι
κἂν τῷ παντὶ τεττάρων ὄντων, ἐξ ὧν συνέστηκεν
ὁδε ὁ κόσμος, καὶ ἐν ἡμῖν αὐτοῖς ἰσαρίθμων, ἐξ ὧν
διαπλασθέντες εἰς ἀνθρωπόμορφον εἶδος ἐτυπώ-
θημεν, τὰ μὲν [οὖν] τρία πέφυκεν ἀμηγέπη κατα-
λαμβάνεσθαι, τὸ δὲ τέταρτον ἀκατάληπτον πᾶσι
16 τοῖς κριταῖς ἐστίν. ἐν μὲν οὖν τῷ κόσμῳ γῆν καὶ
ὔδωρ καὶ αἶρα καὶ οὐρανὸν τέτταρα τὰ πάντα εἶναι
συμβέβηκεν· ὧν τὰ μὲν ἄλλα κἂν δυσσευρέτου, ἀλλ'
οὐκ εἰσάπαν ἀνευρέτου μοίρας ἡξίωται.
17 καὶ γὰρ γῆν, ὅτι ἐστὶ σῶμα βαρὺ καὶ ἀδιάλυτον
καὶ στερέμνιον καὶ τεμνόμενον εἰς ὄρη καὶ πεδιάδας
χώρας καὶ ποταμοῖς καὶ θαλάττῃ διαιρούμενον, ὥς
τὰ μὲν νησιάζειν, τὰ δὲ ἡπειροῦσθαι, καὶ ὅτι τὸ
μὲν αὐτῆς λεπτόγειον, τὸ δὲ βαθύγειον, καὶ τὸ
μὲν τραχὺ καὶ στρυφνὸν καὶ λιθῶδες καὶ εἰσάπαν
ἄγονον, τὸ δὲ λείον καὶ μαλακὸν καὶ γονιμώτατον, |
18 καὶ μυρία πρὸς τούτοις ἕτερα καταλαμβάνομεν·
[623] καὶ πάλιν ὔδωρ ὅτι πολλά τε τῶν
εἰρημένων ἔχει κοινὰ πρὸς γῆν καὶ ἐξαιρέτα ἕτερα·
τὸ μὲν γὰρ αὐτοῦ γλυκύ, τὸ δ' ἄλμυρόν, τὸ δ'
ἄλλαις διακεκριμένον ἰδέαις· καὶ τὸ μὲν πότιμον,
τὸ δ' οὐ πότιμον—καὶ ἐκάτερον οὐ πᾶσιν, ἀλλ' οἷς
θάτερον, οὐ τὸ ἕτερον, καὶ οἷς μὴ θάτερον, πάντως

^a For the general sense of §§ 12, 13 cf. *De Plant.* 82.

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his name will appear on the register of those who have sworn truly.^a

III. Enough on these points. The next thing to 14 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 shew us alle- 15 gorically 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 16 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 17 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 18 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

- τὸ ἕτερον,—καὶ τὸ μὲν φύσει ψυχρόν, τὸ δὲ φύσει
 19 θερμόν—εἰσὶ γὰρ μυρίαὶ πολλαχόθι πηγαὶ ζέον
 ὕδωρ ἐκδιδοῦσαι, οὐ κατὰ γῆν μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ
 κατὰ θάλατταν· ἥδη γοῦν ἐφάνησαν φλέβες ἀν-
 ομβροῦσαι ζέον ὕδωρ ἐν μέσοις πελάγεσιν, ἃς ἡ
 τοσαύτη τῶν ἐν κύκλῳ πελαγῶν ἀνάχυσις ἐξ αἰῶνος
 ἐπικλύζουσα οὐκ ἴσχυσε σβέσαι, ἀλλ' οὐδ' ἐπὶ
 20 ποσὸν ἀνεῖναι — καὶ πάλιν ὅτι ὁ αἷρ ἔχει φύσιν
 εἴκουσαν ἀντιπερισταμένους¹ τοῖς σώμασιν, ὄργανον
 ὦν ζωῆς, ἀναπνοῆς, ὁράσεως, ἀκοῆς, τῶν ἄλλων
 αἰσθήσεων, πυκνότητος καὶ μανότητος κινήσεις
 τε καὶ ἡρεμίας ἐνδεχόμενος, τροπὰς καὶ μεταβολὰς
 παντοίας τρεπόμενός τε καὶ μεταβάλλων, χειμῶνας
 καὶ θέρη γεννῶν καὶ τὰς μετοπωρινὰς καὶ ἑαρινὰς
 ὥρας, ἐξ ὧν ὁ ἐνιαυτοῦ κύκλος πέφυκε περατοῦσθαι.
 21 IV. Τούτων μὲν δὴ πάντων αἰσθανόμεθα, ὁ δ'
 οὐρανὸς ἀκατάληπτον ἔχει τὴν φύσιν, οὐδὲν ἑαυτοῦ
 σαφὲς γνώρισμα πρὸς ἡμᾶς ἀποστείλας. τί γὰρ
 ἂν εἴποιμεν; ὅτι πεπηγὼς ἐστὶ κρύσταλλος, ὡς
 ἡξιώσαν τινες; ἢ ὅτι πῦρ τὸ καθαρώτατον; ἢ
 ὅτι πέμπτον κυκλοφορικὸν σῶμα, μηδενὸς τῶν
 τεττάρων στοιχείων μετέχον; τί δ'; ἢ ἀπλανὴς
 καὶ ἐξωτάτῳ σφαῖρα πρὸς τὸ ἄνω βάθος ἔχει ἢ
 αὐτὸ μόνον ἐστὶν ἐπιφάνεια βάθους ἐρήμη, τοῖς
 22 ἐπιπέδοις σχήμασιν ἐοικυῖα; τί δ'; οἱ ἀστέρες
 πότερον γῆς εἰσιν ὄγκοι πυρὸς πλήρεις—ἄγκεα γὰρ

¹ Wend. with most mss. ἀντιπεριστάμενος.

ON DREAMS, I. 18-22

quite drinkable by others ; and that some is by nature cold, some by nature hot : for there are a 19 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 20 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 21 to us no sure indication of its nature, but keeps it beyond our comprehension.^a 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 22 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 εἶναι τινες, αὐτοὶ δεσμωτηρίου καὶ μύλωνος, ἐν οἷς τὰ τοιαῦτά ἐστιν ἐπὶ τιμωρία τῶν ἀσεβῶν, ὄντες ἐπάξιοι—ἢ συνεχῆς καί, ὡς εἶπέ τις, πυκνὴ ἀρμονία, πιλήματα ἀδιάλυτα αἰθέρος; ἔμψυχοι δὲ καὶ νοεροὶ ἢ νοῦ καὶ ψυχῆς ἀμέτοχοι; προαιρετικὰς δὲ ἢ κατηναγκασμένας αὐτὸ μόνον κινήσεις
- 23 ἔχοντες; τί δέ; σελήνη πότερον γνήσιον ἢ νόθον ἐπιφέρεται φέγγος ἡλιακαῖς ἐπιλαμπόμενον ἀκτίσιν
- [624] ἢ καθ' αὐτὸ μὲν ἰδίᾳ τούτων οὐδέτερον, | τὸ δ' ἐξ ἀμφοῖν ὡς ἂν ἐξ οἰκείου καὶ ἀλλοτρίου πυρὸς κρᾶμα; πάντα γὰρ ταῦτα καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα τοῦ ἀρίστου τε καὶ τετάρτου τῶν ἐν κόσμῳ σώματος ὄντα, οὐρανοῦ, ἄδηλα καὶ ἀκατάληπτα, στοχασμοῖς καὶ εἰκασίαις, οὐ παγίῳ λόγῳ τῆς ἀληθείας, ἐφορ-
- 24 μούντα· ὥστε καὶ ὁμόσαι τινὰ θαρρήσαντα, ὅτι θνητὸς οὐδεὶς πώποτε ἰσχύσει τούτων ἐναργῶς καταλαβεῖν οὐδέν. ὅρκος διὰ τοῦτ' ὠνομάσθη τὸ τέταρτον καὶ ξηρὸν φρέαρ, ἢ τοῦ τετάρτου τῶν ἐν τῷ κόσμῳ ζήτησις ἀτελεύτητος καὶ πάντῃ δυσεύρετος,² οὐρανοῦ.
- 25 V. Ἰδωμεν δέ, ὃν τρόπον καὶ τὸ ἐν ἡμῖν αὐτοῖς τέταρτον διαφερόντως καὶ κατ' ἐξάίρετον λόγον ἀκατάληπτον εἶναι πέφυκεν. οὐκοῦν τέτταρα τὰ ἀνωτάτω τῶν περὶ ἡμᾶς ἐστι, σῶμα, αἴσθησις, λόγος, νοῦς· τούτων μὲν δὴ τὰ τρία οὐ κατὰ πάσας

¹ Several MSS. *δρυμοὺς*, which at first sight may seem to fit *ἀγκας* 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 *ἐνιοι τῶν οἷα περὶ δεσμωτηρίου φλυαρούντων*
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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.^a 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 ²³ 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 ²⁴ 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 ²⁵ 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 τοῦ σύμπαντος οὐρανοῦ. 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 μύδρος διάπυρος, Diog. Laert. ii. 12.

- ἀδηλα τὰς ἰδέας ἐστίν, ἀλλ' ἔχει τινὰ δείγματα ἐν
 26 ἑαυτοῖς τοῦ καταλαμβάνεσθαι. τί δ' ἔσθ' ὃ φημι;
 ὅτι τὸ σῶμα καὶ τριχῇ διαστατὸν καὶ ἐξαχῇ
 κινητόν, ἴσμεν, διαστάσεις μὲν τρεῖς ἔχον, μῆκος,
 βάθος, πλάτος, κινήσεις δὲ τὰς διπλασίας ἕξ, τὴν
 ἄνω, τὴν κάτω, τὴν ἐπὶ δεξιᾷ, τὴν ἐπὶ εὐώνυμα,
 τὴν πρόσω, τὴν εἰς τὸ κατόπιν· ἀλλὰ καὶ ὅτι
 ψυχῆς ἐστὶν ἀγγεῖον, οὐκ ἀγνοοῦμεν· ἀλλὰ καὶ ὅτι
 ἡβᾶ, φθίνει, γηράσκει, τελευτᾶ, διαλύεται, σαφῶς
 27 ἴσμεν. καὶ πρὸς αἴσθησιν μέντοι γε οὐ
 παντάπασι ἀμβλεῖς καὶ πηροὶ γεγόναμεν, ἀλλ'
 ἔχομεν εἰπεῖν, ὅτι καὶ πενταχῇ σχίζεται καὶ ὄργανα
 ἐκάστης ἐστὶν ὑπὸ φύσεως δημιουργηθέντα οἰκεία,
 ὁράσεως μὲν ὀφθαλμοί, ἀκοῆς δὲ ὦτα, ῥῖνες δὲ
 ὁσφρήσεως καὶ τῶν ἄλλων τὰ οἷς ἐναρμόζεται,
 καὶ ὅτι ἄγγελοι διανοίας εἰσὶ διαγγέλλουσαι χρώ-
 ματα, σχήματα, φωνάς, ἀτμῶν καὶ χυλῶν ιδιότητας,
 συνόλως σώματα καὶ ὅσαι ποιότητες ἐν τούτοις,
 καὶ ὅτι δορυφόροι ψυχῆς εἰσιν, ὅσα ἂν ἴδωσιν ἢ
 ἀκούσωσι δηλοῦσαι καὶ εἴ τι βλαβερόν ἐξωθεν
 ἐπίοι προορώμεναί τε καὶ φυλαττόμεναι, ὥς μὴ
 λάθρα παρεισρευνὲν αἴτιον ζημίας ἀνηκέστου τῇ
 28 δεσποίνῃ γένηται. καὶ φωνὴ δ' οὐκ
 εἰσάπαν ἀποδιδράσκει τὴν ἡμετέραν κρίσιν, ἀλλ'
 ἴσμεν ὅτι ἡ μὲν ὀξεῖα, ἡ δὲ βαρεῖα, καὶ ἡ μὲν
 ἐμμελής καὶ ἐναρμόνιος, ἡ δὲ ἀπωδὸς καὶ λίαν
 ἀνάρμοστος, καὶ πάλιν ἡ μὲν μείζων, ἡ δὲ ἐλάττων·
 διαφέρουσι καὶ ἄλλοις μυρίοις, γένεσι, χρώμασι,
 διαστήμασι, συνημμέναις στάσεσι¹ καὶ διεξευγμέναις,

¹ Some mss. τάσεσι, which Mangey and Wend. adopt.
 See App. p. 595.

ON DREAMS, I. 25-28

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 26 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, 27 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,^a 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 28 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-

^a *i.e.* the mouth, and for touch "the whole structure of the body," *De Mig.* 188.

- ταῖς διὰ τεττάρων, ταῖς διὰ πέντε, ταῖς διὰ πασδν
 29 συμφωνίαις. καὶ μὲν δὴ καὶ τῆς ἐν-
 άρθρου φωνῆς, ἣν μόνος ἐκ πάντων ζῶων ἔλαχεν
 ἄνθρωπος, ἔστιν ἃ γνωρίζομεν· οἶον ὅτι ἀπὸ
 διανοίας ἀναπέμπεται, ὅτι ἐν τῷ στόματι ἀρ-
 θροῦται, ὅτι ἡ γλῶσσα πλήττουσα¹ τῇ τῆς φωνῆς
 τάσει τὸ ἔναρθρον ἐνσφραγίζεται καὶ λόγον, ἀλλ'
 [625] οὐ ψιλὴν | αὐτὸ μόνον φωνὴν ἀργὴν καὶ ἀδιατύ-
 πωτον ἦχον ἀπεργάζεται, ὅτι κήρυκος ἡ ἐρμηνέως
 ἔχει τάξιν πρὸς τὸν ὑποβάλλοντα νοῦν.
- 30 VI. Ἄρ' οὖν καὶ τὸ τέταρτον τῶν ἐν ἡμῖν αὐτοῖς,
 ὁ ἡγεμὼν νοῦς, καταληπτὸς ἔστιν; οὐ δῆπου. τί
 γὰρ αὐτὸν οἰόμεθα κατὰ τὴν οὐσίαν εἶναι; πνεῦμα
 ἢ αἷμα ἢ σῶμα συνόλως—ἀλλ' οὐ σῶμα, ἀσώματον
 δὲ λεκτέον—ἢ πέρας ἢ εἶδος ἢ ἀριθμὸν ἢ ἐνδελέχειαν²
 31 ἢ ἁρμονίαν ἢ τί τῶν ὄντων; γεννώμενον³ δ' εὐθύς
 ἢ⁴ ἔξωθεν εἰσκρίνεται ἢ ὑπὸ τοῦ περιέχοντος ἀέρος
 ἢ ἐνθερμος ἐν ἡμῖν φύσις οἷα σίδηρος ἐν χαλκῆς
 πεπυρωμένος ὕδατι ψυχρῷ πρὸς τὸ κραταιότατον
 στομοῦται; διότι καὶ παρὰ τὴν ψῦξιν ὠνομάσθαι
 ψυχὴν δοκεῖ. τί δέ; τελευτώντων σβέννυται καὶ
 συμβθεῖρεται τοῖς σώμασιν ἢ πλείστον ἐπιβιοῖ
 32 χρόνον ἢ κατὰ τὸ παντελὲς ἄφθαρτόν ἐστι; ποῦ
 δ' ἐμπεφώλευκεν ὁ νοῦς αὐτῷ⁵; ἄρα οἶκον κεκλή-
 ρωται; οἱ μὲν γὰρ τὴν ἀκρόπολιν ἐν ἡμῖν ἀν-

¹ Perhaps read πλάττουσα. Cf. *Quod Deus* 84 τυποῦται ὡσπερ ὑπὸ δημιουργοῦ τινος γλώττης.

² Perhaps ἐντελέχειαν. See App. p. 596.

³ Perhaps read γεννώμενων, cf. τελευτώντων below.

⁴ Perhaps ἦ.

⁵ αὐτῷ is difficult. To refer it to σῶμα understood from σώμασι as in the translation is possible, but strange. Mangey αὐτός. Perhaps αὐτῶν as one ms., partitive gen. after ποῦ. Or it may be an insertion from αὐτῷ below. (So G. H. W.)

ON DREAMS, I. 28-32

monies of the fourth, the fifth, the octave.^a

In articulatesound, 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 reff. there given. For "genera" and "systems" see App. p. 595.

^b For illustration of these theories about the mind see App. pp. 596 f.

- ἰέρωσαν αὐτῷ κεφαλὴν, περὶ ἣν καὶ αἱ αἰσθήσεις
 λοχῶσιν, εἰκὸς εἶναι νομίσαντες ἐγγὺς οἶα μεγάλου
 βασιλέως ἐφεδρεύειν τοὺς δορυφόρους· οἱ δ' ὑπὸ
 καρδίας αὐτὸν ἀγαλματοφορεῖσθαι διανοηθέντες
 33 γνωσιμαχοῦσιν. αἰεὶ δὴ τὸ τέταρτον ἀκατάληπτον,
 οὐρανὸς μὲν ἐν κόσμῳ παρὰ τὴν ἀέρος καὶ γῆς
 καὶ ὕδατος φύσιν, νοῦς δὲ ἐν ἀνθρώπῳ παρὰ σῶμα
 καὶ αἰσθησιν καὶ τὸν ἐρμηνεῖα λόγον.
 μήποτε μέντοι καὶ τὸ τέταρτον ἔτος "ἅγιον καὶ
 αἰνετὸν" ταύτης ἕνεκα τῆς αἰτίας ἐν ταῖς ἱεραῖς
 34 ἀναγραφαῖς δηλοῦται· τὸ γὰρ ἐν τοῖς γεγονόσιν
 ἅγιον οὐρανὸς μὲν ἐστὶν ἐν κόσμῳ, καθ' ὃν αἱ
 ἄφθαρτοι καὶ μακραίωνες φύσεις περιπολοῦσιν, ἐν
 ἀνθρώπῳ δὲ νοῦς, ἀπόσπασμα θεῖον ὢν, καὶ
 μάλιστα κατὰ Μωυσέα λέγοντα· "ἐνεφύσησεν εἰς
 τὸ πρόσωπον αὐτοῦ πνοὴν ζωῆς, καὶ ἐγένετο ὁ
 35 ἄνθρωπος εἰς ψυχὴν ζῶσαν." καὶ ἐκάτερον δὲ
 αἰνετὸν οὐκ ἀπὸ σκοποῦ μοι δοκεῖ προσειρηθῆναι·
 τὰ γὰρ δυνάμενα τοὺς ἐπαίνους καὶ ὕμνους καὶ
 εὐδαιμονισμοὺς ἐκτραγωδεῖν τοῦ γεννήσαντος πα-
 τρὸς ταῦτ' ἐστίν, οὐρανὸς τε καὶ νοῦς. ἄνθρωπος
 μὲν γὰρ ἐξαιρέτου παρὰ τὰ ἄλλα ζῶα γέρως ἔλαχε,
 θεραπεύειν τὸ ὄν, ὁ δὲ οὐρανὸς αἰεὶ μελωδεῖ, κατὰ
 τὰς κινήσεις τῶν ἐν ἑαυτῷ τὴν πάμμουσον ἁρμονίαν
 36 ἀποτελῶν· ἥς εἰ συνέβαινε τὴν ἡχὴν εἰς τὰς
 ἡμετέρας φθάνειν ἀκοάς, ἔρωτες ἂν ἀκάθεκτοι καὶ
 λελυττηκότες ἡμεροὶ καὶ ἅπανστοι καὶ μανιώδεις |
 [626] ἐγίνοντο οἰστροί, ὥς 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 ἅγιος καὶ αἰνετός."

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 33 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-preception, 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 34 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 35 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 36 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' ὡς θνητοὶ σιτίοις καὶ ποτοῖς
διὰ φάρυγγος, ἀλλ' ὡς οἱ μέλλοντες ἀπαθανατί-
ζεσθαι δι' ὧτων μουσικῆς τελείας ἐνθέοις ᾠδαῖς·
ὧν ἀκροατὴν Μωυσὴν ἀσώματον γενόμενον λόγος
ἔχει τεσσαράκοντα ἡμέρας καὶ τὰς ἴσας νύκτας
μήτε ἄρτου μήτε ὕδατος ψαῦσαι τὸ παράπαν.

- 37 VII. ὁ τοίνυν οὐρανός, τὸ μουσικῆς ἀρχέτυπον
ὄργανον, ἄκρως ἡρμόσθαι δοκεῖ δι' οὐδέν ἕτερον
ἢ ἵνα οἱ ἐπὶ τιμῇ τοῦ τῶν ὄλων πατρὸς ᾄδόμενοι
ὕμνοι μουσικῶς ἐπιψάλλωνται. καὶ τὴν
ἀρετὴν μέντοι Λεῖαν ἀκούομεν ἐπὶ τῆς τοῦ τετάρ-
του γενέσεως υἱοῦ μηκέτι τίκτειν δυναμένην, ἀλλ'
ἐπέχουσαν ἢ ἐπεχομένην τὰς γονάς· εὗρισκε γάρ,
οἶμαι, πᾶσαν τὴν γένεσιν ἐξ αὐτῆς ξηράν τε καὶ
στεῖραν, ἥνικα Ἰούδαν, τὴν ἐξομολόγησιν, τὸν
38 τέλειον καρπὸν, ἦνθησε. διαφέρει δ' οὐδέν τὸ
λέγειν "ἴστασθαι τίκτουςαν" τοῦ μὴ εὗρίσκειν
ἐν τῷ τετάρτῳ φρέατι τοὺς παῖδας Ἰσαὰκ ὕδωρ,
ἐπειδὴ περ ἐξ ἑκατέρου τῶν συμβόλων ἐμφαίνεται
τὸ πάντα διψῆν θεοῦ, παρ' ὃν αἱ γενέσεις καὶ
39 τροφαὶ τοῖς γεγονόσιν ἄρδονται. μικρο-
πολῖται μὲν οὖν τινες ἴσως ὑπολήφονται περὶ
φρεάτων διορυχῆς τὸν τοσοῦτον εἶναι λόγον τῷ
νομοθέτῃ, οἱ δὲ δὴ μείζονι ἐγγραφέντες πατρίδι,
τῷδε τῷ κόσμῳ, τελειοτέρων φρονημάτων ὄντες,¹
εἴσονται σαφῶς, ὅτι περὶ τεττάρων ἐστίν, οὐ
φρεάτων, ἀλλὰ τῶν τοῦ παντὸς μερῶν ἢ ζήτησις
τοῖς ὁρατικοῖς καὶ φιλοθεάμοσι, γῆς, ὕδατος,

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

ON DREAMS, I. 36-39

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 37 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 39 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. ὧν ἕκαστον ἐπινοίαις εἰς ἄκρον πεποιημέναις¹ διεξεληθόντες ἐν μὲν τοῖς τρισὶν εὐρόν τινα καταληπτὰ—διὸ καὶ τρία ὀνόματα ἐπεφήμισαν τοῖς εὐρεθεῖσιν, ἀδικίαν, ἔχθραν, εὐρυχωρίαν,—ἐν δὲ τῷ τετάρτῳ τὸ παράπαν οὐδέν, οὐρανῷ, καθάπερ ὀλίγῳ πρότερον ἐδηλώσαμεν· τὸ γὰρ τέταρτον φρέαρ ἄνδρον καὶ ξηρὸν εὐρίσκεται καὶ ὄρκος διὰ τὴν εἰρημένην αἰτίαν προσαγορεύεται.
- 41 VIII. Τὰ δὲ ἐπόμενα ζητήσωμεν ἐρευνῶντες, τίς ἢ Χαρρὰν καὶ διὰ τί ὁ ἀπὸ τοῦ φρέατος ἐξεληθὼν εἰς αὐτὴν ἔρχεται. ἔστι τοίνυν, ὡς ἔμοιγε φαίνεται, Χαρρὰν μητρόπολις τις αἰσθήσεων. ἐρμηνεύεται γὰρ τοτὲ μὲν ὀρυκτὴ, τοτὲ δὲ τρωγλαί, δι' ἀμφοτέρων τῶν ὀνομάτων ἑνὸς δηλουμένου
- 42 πράγματος. τὸ γὰρ σῶμα ἡμῶν εἰς τὰ τῶν αἰσθήσεων ὄργανα τρόπον τινὰ ἐξορώρεται, καὶ γέγονεν ἕκαστον τῶν ὀργάνων ἐκάστης ὁπῇ τις [627] αἰσθήσεως, ἐν ἣ πέφυκε φωλεῦειν. | ὅταν οὖν τις ἀπὸ τοῦ φρέατος, ὃ καλεῖται ὄρκος, ὥσπερ ἀπὸ λιμένος ἐξαναχθῇ, παραγίνεται εὐθὺς εἰς Χαρρὰν ἀναγκαίως· τὸν γὰρ ἀποδημίαν στελλόμενον ἀπὸ τοῦ ἀορίστου² καὶ ἀπειρομεγέθους ἐπιστήμης χωρίου κατ' ἀναγκαῖον αἰσθήσεις ἄνευ ξεναγῶν ὑποδέχονται.
- 43 ταί. κινεῖται γὰρ ἡμῶν ἡ ψυχὴ πολλάκις μὲν ἐφ' ἑαυτῆς, ὅλον τὸν σωματικὸν ὄγκον ἐκδύσα καὶ τὸν τῶν αἰσθήσεων ὄχλον ἀποδρᾶσα, πολλάκις δὲ καὶ ταῦτα ἐπαμπισχομένη. τὴν μὲν οὖν γυμνὴν κίνησιν

¹ So mss. and Wend.: Mangey πεποιημένας.

² So Mangey: mss. and Wend. ἀρίστου.

^a 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

ON DREAMS, I. 40-43

On each of these they bring to bear powers of 40 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"^a (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, 41 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 42 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 it were from a port, of necessity he forthwith arrives^b 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 43 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. εἴ τις οὖν ὁμιλεῖν
 εἰσάπαν ἀδυνατεῖ διανοία μόνη, δευτέραν κατα-
 φυγὴν αἰσθησιν εὐρίσκεται, καὶ ὅστις ἂν σφαλῇ
 τῶν νοητῶν, αὐτίκα πρὸς τὰ αἰσθητά κατασύρεται·
 δεύτερος γὰρ αἰεὶ πλοῦς ὁ πρὸς αἰσθησιν τοῖς
 μὴ δυνηθεῖσι πρὸς τὸν ἡγεμόνα νοῦν εὐπλοῆσαι.
 45 καλὸν δὲ καὶ τούτῳ γενομένους μὴ
 καταγρηρᾶσαι καὶ διαιωνίσαι, ἀλλ' ὡς ἐν ξένῃ
 διατρίβοντας παροίκων τρόπον αἰεὶ μετανάστασιν
 ζητεῖν καὶ ἐπάνοδον εἰς τὴν πατρίαν γῆν. Λάβαν
 μὲν γὰρ οὐκ εἶδος, οὐ γένος, οὐκ ἰδέαν, οὐκ
 ἐννόημα, οὐκ ἄλλο τῶν νοήσει μόνη καταλαμβανο-
 μένων οὐδὲν ἀπλῶς εἰδώς, ἡρτημένος δὲ τῶν
 ἐμφανῶν, ἅπερ εἰς ὅψεις καὶ ἀκοὰς καὶ τὰς συγ-
 γενεῖς δυνάμεις ἔρχεται, πατρίδος ἡξίωται Χαρράν,
 ἣν ὡς ξένην ὁ φιλάρετος Ἰακώβ πρὸς ὀλίγον οἰκεῖ
 46 χρόνον, τῆς οἴκαδε ἐπανόδου διαμεμνημένος. φησὶ
 γοῦν ἢ μήτηρ, ἢ ὑπομονή, Ῥεβέκκα πρὸς αὐτόν·
 “ἀναστὰς ἀπόδραθι πρὸς Λάβαν τὸν ἀδελφόν μου
 εἰς Χαρράν, καὶ οἴκησον μετ' αὐτοῦ ἡμέρας τινάς.”
 ἄρα οὖν κατανοεῖς, ὅτι οὐχ ὑπομένει ὁ ἀσκητὴς ἐν
 τῇ χώρᾳ τῶν αἰσθήσεων καταβιῶναι, ἀλλ' ἡμέρας
 ὀλίγας καὶ βραχύν τινα χρόνον διὰ τὰς τοῦ συνδέτου
 σώματος ἀνάγκας,¹ ὁ δὲ μακρὸς αἰὼν αὐτῷ καὶ
 βίος ἐν τῇ νοητῇ πόλει ταμιεύεται;

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

^a See App. p. 597.

ON DREAMS, I. 43-46

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.^a

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

- 47 IX. παρό μοι δοκεῖ καὶ ὁ πάππος αὐτοῦ τῆς ἐπιστήμης, Ἀβραὰμ ὄνομα, μὴ πολὺν χρόνον ὑπομείναι τῇ Χαρρὰν ἐνδιατρίψαι. λέγεται γὰρ ὅτι “Ἀβραὰμ ἦν ἐτῶν ἑβδομήκοντα πέντε, ὅτε ἐξῆλθεν ἐκ Χαρρὰν,” καίτοι τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτοῦ Θάρρα, ὃς ἐρμηνεύεται κατασκοπὴ ὁσμῆς, μέχρι τελευτῆς
- 48 ἐν αὐτῇ βιώσαντος. ῥητῶς γοῦν ἐν ταῖς ἱεραῖς
[628] ἀναγραφαῖς | δηλοῦται, ὅτι “ἀπέθανε Θάρρα ἐν Χαρρὰν”· κατάσκοπος γὰρ ἦν ἀρετῆς, οὐ πολίτης, καὶ ὁσμαῖς ἀλλ’ οὐ τροφῶν ἀπολαύσεσιν ἐχρήτο, μήπω ἱκανὸς ὢν ἐμπίπλασθαι φρονήσεως, ἀλλὰ μηδὲ γεύεσθαι, τοῦτο δ’ αὐτὸ μόνον ὁσφραίνεσθαι.
- 49 καθάπερ γὰρ τοὺς θηρατικούς τῶν σκυλάκων λόγος ἔχει καὶ τὰ πορρωτάτω τῶν θηρίων πτώματα ῥινηλατοῦντας ἀνευρίσκειν ἡκονημένους ὑπὸ φύσεως διαφερόντως τὴν περὶ τὰς ὁσμάς αἰσθησιν, τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον τὴν ἀπὸ δικαιοσύνης καὶ τῆς ἄλλης ἀρετῆς ἀναδιδομένην ἡδεΐαν αὔραν ὁ παιδείας ἐραστῆς ἰχνηλατεῖ καὶ ποθεῖ μὲν ἐκείναις ἐντυχεῖν, ἐξ ὧν ἀναδίδεται τὸ θαυμασιώτατον γάνωμα τοῦτο, μὴ δυνάμενος δ’ ἐν κύκλῳ κενὴν περιάγει τὴν κεφαλὴν, ὁσφραϊνόμενος αὐτὸ μόνον καλοκάγαθίας [καὶ]¹ σιτίων ἱερωτάτης κνίσσης· οὐ γὰρ ἀρνεῖται
- 50 λίχνος ἐπιστήμης καὶ φρονήσεως εἶναι. μακάριοι μὲν οὖν οἷς ἐξεγένετο τῶν σοφίας φίλτρων ἀπ-όνασθαι καὶ τῶν θεωρημάτων καὶ δογμάτων αὐτῆς ἐστιαθῆναι καὶ ἐνευφρανθεῖσιν² ἔτι διψῆν, ἀπληστον

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

² MSS. ἀνευφρανθεῖσιν.

^a See notes on *Quod Deus* 92 and *De Sac.* 43; see further, App. pp. 597 f.

enduring is in store for him ? IX. Owing 47
 to this, as it seems to me, the grandfather also of his
 knowledge,^a 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 48
 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 nourish-
 ing 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 49
 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^b head this way
 and that, and snuffs, for he can do no more, at the
 exhalation of nobility, the holiest of meats^c : for he
 does not deny that he is greedy of knowledge and sound
 sense. Blessed indeed are those to whom it is granted 50
 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 *ἱερωτάτης* may agree with *κνίσσης* " the holiest exhalation of the viands of nobility."

- καὶ ἀκόρεστον ἐπιφερομένοις ἡμερον ἐπιστήμης.
 51 δεύτερα δ' οἷσονται, οἷς ἀπολαῦσαι μὲν οὐκ ἐξεγένετο τῆς ἱερᾶς τραπέζης, κνισσοῦν δὲ τὰς ἑαυτῶν ψυχὰς· αὖραις γὰρ ἀρετῆς οὗτοι ζωπυρηθήσονται, καθάπερ τῶν καμνόντων οἱ παρειμένοι διὰ τὸ μὴ δύνασθαι τροφῇ χρῆσθαι τὰς εἰς ἀνάληψιν προσφέρονται ὁσμάς, ἃς ἱατρῶν παῖδες λιποθυμίας ἄκη
 52 σωτήρια προευτρεπίζονται. X. καταλιπὼν μέντοι τὴν Χαλδαίαν γῆν εἰς Χαρρὰν λέγεται μετανίστασθαι Θάρρα, τὸν τε υἱὸν Ἀβραὰμ καὶ τοὺς ὁμογνίους¹ τῆς οἰκίας ἐπαγόμενος, οὐχ ἵν' ὥς παρὰ συγγραφέως ἱστορικοῦ μάθωμεν, ὅτι μετὰ ἀνάσται τινὲς ἐγένοντο, τὴν μὲν πατρῶαν γῆν καταλιπόντες, τὴν δὲ ξένην ὥς πατρίδα οἰκήσαντες, ἀλλ' ὑπὲρ τοῦ μᾶθημα βιωφελέστατον καὶ ἀρμόττον
 53 ἀνθρώπῳ μὴ ἀμεληθῆναι. τί δὲ τοῦτό ἐστι; Χαλδαῖοι μὲν ἀστρονομοῦσιν, οἱ δὲ τῆς Χαρρὰν πολῖται περὶ τὸν τῶν αἰσθήσεων τόπον πραγματεύονται. φησὶν οὖν ὁ ἱερὸς λόγος τῷ κατασκόπῳ τῶν τῆς φύσεως πραγμάτων· τί περὶ ἡλίου ζητεῖς, εἰ ποδιαῖός ἐστιν, εἰ τῆς γῆς μείζων ἀπάσης, εἰ πολλαπλάσιος αὐτῆς; τί δὲ περὶ φωτισμῶν σελήνης, εἰ νόθον ἔχει φέγγος, εἰ γνησίῳ μόνῳ χρῆται; τί δὲ περὶ τῆς τῶν ἄλλων ἀστέρων φύσεως ἢ περιφορᾶς ἢ συμπαθείας πρὸς τε ἀλλήλους καὶ
 54 τὰ πύγεια; τί δὲ βαίνων ἐπὶ γῆς ὑπὲρ νεφέλας πηδᾶς; τί δ' ἄπτεσθαι τῶν ἐν αἰθέρι φῆς δύνασθαι

¹ MSS. ὁμογνώμονας.

^a Or "topic." The word probably carries both senses.

^b 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 51 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 informa- 52
tion 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 53
is this lesson? The Chaldaeans are astronomers, while the citizens of Haran busy themselves with the place^a 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,^b whether it is larger than the whole earth, whether it is many times its size^b? 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 54
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

προσερριζωμένος χέρσω; τί δὲ περὶ τῶν ἀτεκμάρ-
των τεκμαίρεσθαι τολμᾷς; τί δὲ πολυπραγμονεῖς
ἂ μή σε δεῖ, τὰ μετέωρα; τί δὲ τὴν ἐν τοῖς
μαθήμασιν εὐρεσιλογίαν ἄχρῃς οὐρανοῦ τείνεις; τί
[629] δ' ἀστρονομεῖς μετεωρολεσχῶν; | μὴ τὰ ὑπὲρ σέ
καὶ ἄνω, ὧ οὗτος, ἀλλὰ τὰ ἐγγὺς σαυτοῦ κατα-
νόησον, μᾶλλον δὲ σαυτὸν ἀκολακεύτως ἐρευνήσον.

55 πῶς οὖν ἐρευνήσεις; ἴθι νοερῶς εἰς
Χαρρὰν τὴν ὀρυκτὴν, τὰς τρώγλας καὶ ὅπας τοῦ
σώματος, καὶ ἐπίσκεψαι ὀφθαλμούς, ὦτα, ῥῖνας,
τὰ ἄλλα ὅσα καὶ αἰσθήσεως ὄργανα, καὶ φιλο-
σόφησον ἀναγκαιοτάτην καὶ πρεπωδεστάτην φιλο-
σοφίαν ἀνθρώπων, ζητῶν, τί ὄρασις, τί ἀκοή, τί
γεῦσις, τί ὄσφρησις, τί ἀφή, τί καὶ συνόλως
αἰσθησις· κἄπειτα τί τὸ ὁρᾶν καὶ πῶς ὁρᾷς, τί
τὸ ἀκούειν καὶ πῶς ἀκούεις, τί τὸ ὀσφραίνεισθαι
ἢ γεύεσθαι ἢ ἄπτεσθαι καὶ πῶς ἕκαστον αὐτῶν
56 εἴωθε γίνεσθαι. πρὶν δὲ τὸν ἴδιον οἶκον καλῶς
ἐπεσκέφθαι, τὸν τοῦ παντὸς ἐξετάζειν οὐχ ὑπερ-
βολὴ μανίας; καὶ οὕτω σοι μείζον ἐπίταγμα ἐπι-
τάττω, τὴν σαυτοῦ ψυχὴν ἰδεῖν καὶ τὸν νοῦν, ἐφ'
ὧ μέγα φρονεῖς· καταλαβεῖν γὰρ αὐτὸν οὐποτε
57 δυνήσῃ. ἀνάβαινε νῦν εἰς οὐρανὸν καὶ κατ-
αλαζονεύου περὶ τῶν ἐκεῖ, μήπω δεδυνημένος
γινῶναι κατὰ τὸ ποιητικὸν γράμμα

ὅττι τοι ἐν μεγάροισι κακόν τ' ἀγαθόν τε τέτυκται,

^a 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 οὕτω. So also in *De Mig.*, particularly § 185.

ON DREAMS, I. 54-57

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,^a or rather make yourself the object of your impartial scrutiny. What form, then, will 55 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 56 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,^b 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 57 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."^c

^a *Od.* iv. 392. See App. p. 598.

PHILO

καταγαγὼν δ' ἀπ' οὐρανοῦ τὸν κατάσκοπον καὶ
 ἀντισπάσας ἀπὸ τῆς ἐκεῖ ζητήσεως γινώθι¹ σαυτὸν,
 εἴτα καὶ τοῦτ' ἐπιμελῶς ἐκπόνησον, ἵνα τῆς ἀν-
 58 θρωπίνης εὐδαιμονίας ἐπιλάβῃς. τὸν τρόπον τοῦ-
 τον Θάρρα μὲν Ἑβραῖοι, Σωκράτην δὲ Ἕλληνες
 ὀνομάζουσι· καὶ γὰρ ἐκείνον ἐγγηράσαι φασὶν τῇ
 περὶ τοῦ γινώθι σαυτὸν ἀκριβεστάτῃ σκέψει, μηδὲν
 ἕξω τῶν καθ' ἑαυτὸν φιλοσοφοῦντα. ἀλλ' ὁ μὲν
 ἄνθρωπος ἦν, Θάρρα δ' αὐτὸς ὁ λόγος ὁ περὶ τοῦ
 γινῶναί τινα ἑαυτὸν προκείμενος οἶα δένδρον εὐ-
 ερνέστατον, ἵν' ἔχοιεν εὐμαρῶς οἱ φιλάρετοι τὸν περὶ
 ἡθοποιίαν δρεπόμενοι καρπὸν σωτηρίου καὶ ἡδίστης
 59 ἐμπίπλασθαι τροφῆς. τοιοῦτοι μὲν ἡμῖν
 οἱ φρονήσεως κατάσκοποι, τῶν δὲ ἀθλητῶν καὶ
 ἀγωνιστῶν αὐτῆς αἱ φύσεις τελειότεραι· δικαιοῦσι
 γὰρ οὗτοι τὸν περὶ τῶν αἰσθήσεων σύμπαντα λόγον
 ἀκριβῶς καταμαθόντες ἐπὶ τι μείζον ἕτερον χωρεῖν
 θεώρημα, καταλιπόντες τὰς αἰσθήσεως ὁπὰς, αἱ
 60 Χαρρὰν ὀνομάζονται. τούτων ἐστὶν ὁ ἐπιδόσεις
 καὶ βελτιώσεις πρὸς ἐπιστήμης ἄκρας ἀνάληψιν
 ἐσχηκῶς Ἀβραάμ· ὅτε γὰρ μάλιστα ἔγνων, τότε
 μάλιστα ἀπέγνων ἑαυτὸν, ἵνα τοῦ πρὸς ἀλήθειαν
 ὄντος εἰς ἀκριβῇ γινῶσιν ἔλθῃ. καὶ πέφυκεν οὕτως
 ἔχειν· ὁ λίαν καταλαβὼν ἑαυτὸν λίαν ἀπέγνωνκε τὴν

¹ Perhaps read <τὸ> γινώθι.

^a Or as Mangey, "drawing away the explorer . . . know thyself." For further discussion of the whole passage see App. pp. 598 f.

But bring the explorer down from heaven and away from these researches draw the "Know thyself,"^a 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,"⁵⁸ 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 find⁵⁹ 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 these⁶⁰ 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^b 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 The play on *ἐγνώ*)(*ἀπέγνώ* is unavoidably lost in the English.

[630] ἐν πᾶσι τοῦ | γεννητοῦ σαφῶς προλαβὼν οὐδένεϊαν,
ὁ δ' ἀπογνοὺς ἑαυτὸν γινώσκει τὸν ὄντα.

61 XI. Τίς μὲν οὖν ἐστὶν ἡ Χαρρὰν καὶ διὰ τί ὁ
ἀπολείπων τὸ τοῦ ὄρκου φρέαρ εἰς αὐτὴν ἔρχεται,
δεδήλωται. σκεπτέον δὲ τὸ τρίτον καὶ ἀκόλουθον,
τίς ὁ τόπος, ᾧ ὑπαντᾷ· λέγεται γάρ, ὅτι “ ἀπ-
62 ἦντησε τόπῳ.” τριχῶς δὲ ἐπινοεῖται τόπος, ἅπαξ
μὲν χώρα ὑπὸ σώματος πεπληρωμένη, κατὰ δεύ-
τερον δὲ τρόπον ὁ θεῖος λόγος, ὃν ἐκπεπλήρωκεν
ὅλον δι’ ὅλων ἀσωμάτοις δυνάμεσιν αὐτὸς ὁ θεός.
“ εἶδον ” γάρ φησι “ τὸν τόπον οὗ εἰστήκει ὁ
θεὸς τοῦ Ἰσραήλ,” ἐν ᾧ μόνῳ καὶ ἱεουργεῖν
ἐφῆκεν ἀλλαχόθι κωλύσας· διείρηται γὰρ ἀνα-
βαίνειν εἰς τὸν τόπον, ὃν ἂν ἐκλέξηται κύριος ὁ
θεός, κακεῖ θύειν τὰ ὀλοκαυτώματα καὶ τὰ σωτήρια
καὶ τὰς ἄλλας ἀμώμους θυσίας ἀνάγειν.

63 κατὰ δὲ τρίτον σημαινόμενον αὐτὸς ὁ θεὸς καλεῖται
τόπος τῷ περιέχειν μὲν τὰ ὅλα, περιέχεσθαι δὲ
πρὸς μηδενὸς ἀπλῶς, καὶ τῷ καταφυγῇ τῶν συμ-
πάντων αὐτὸν εἶναι, καὶ ἐπειδήπερ αὐτὸς ἐστὶ
χώρα ἑαυτοῦ, κεχωρηκῶς ἑαυτὸν καὶ ἐμφερόμενος
64 μόνῳ ἑαυτῷ. ἐγὼ μὲν οὖν οὐκ εἰμι τόπος, ἀλλ’
ἐν τόπῳ, καὶ ἕκαστον τῶν ὄντων ὁμοίως· τὸ γὰρ
περιεχόμενον διαφέρει τοῦ περιέχοντος, τὸ δὲ θεῖον
ὑπ’ οὐδενὸς περιεχόμενον ἀναγκαίως ἐστὶν αὐτὸ
τόπος ἑαυτοῦ. μαρτυρεῖ δέ μοι λόγιον
τὸ χρησθὲν ἐπὶ Ἀβραὰμ τόδε· “ ἦλθεν εἰς τὸν

^a Cf. *De Conf.* 96 and note.

ON DREAMS, I. 60-64

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 61 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 62 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).^a 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 63 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; 64 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 Itself Its own place.

Witness is borne to what I am saying by this oracle delivered in Abraham's

τόπον ὃν εἶπεν αὐτῷ ὁ θεός· καὶ ἀναβλέψας τοῖς
 65 ὀφθαλμοῖς εἶδε τὸν τόπον μακρόθεν.” ὁ ἔλθων εἰς
 τὸν τόπον, εἶπέ μοι, μακρόθεν αὐτὸν εἶδεν; ἀλλὰ
 μήποτε δυεῖν πραγμάτων ἐστὶν ὁμωνυμία δια-
 φερόντων, ὧν τὸ μὲν ἕτερον θεὸς ἐστὶ λόγος, τὸ
 66 δὲ ἕτερον ὁ πρὸ τοῦ λόγου θεός. ὁ δὲ ξεναγηθεὶς
 ὑπὸ σοφίας εἰς τὸν πρότερον ἀφικνεῖται τόπον,
 εὐράμενος τῆς ἀρεσκείας κεφαλὴν καὶ τέλος τὸν
 θεῖον λόγον, ἐν ᾧ γενόμενος οὐ φθάνει πρὸς τὸν
 κατὰ τὸ εἶναι θεὸν ἔλθειν, ἀλλ’ αὐτὸν ὁρᾷ μακρόθεν·
 μᾶλλον δὲ οὐδὲ πόρρωθεν αὐτὸν ἐκείνον θεωρεῖν
 ἱκανός ἐστιν, ἀλλὰ τὸ μακρὰν τὸν θεὸν εἶναι πάσης
 γενέσεως αὐτὸ μόνον ὁρᾷ καὶ τὸ πορρωτάτω τὴν
 κατάληψιν αὐτοῦ πάσης ἀνθρωπίνης διανοίας δι-
 67 ωκίσθαι. μήποτε μέντοι γε οὐδὲ τόπον νῦν ἄλλη-
 γορῶν ἐπὶ τοῦ αἰτίου παρείληφεν, ἀλλ’ ἐστὶ τὸ
 δηλούμενον τοιοῦτον· “ἦλθεν εἰς τὸν τόπον, καὶ
 ἀναβλέψας τοῖς ὀφθαλμοῖς εἶδεν” αὐτὸν τὸν τόπον,
 εἰς ὃν ἦλθε, μακρὰν ὄντα τοῦ ἀκατονομάστου καὶ
 68 ἀρρήτου καὶ κατὰ πάσας ἰδέας ἀκαταλήπτου θεοῦ.
 [631] XII. | Τούτων προδιωρισμένων, ὅταν εἰς Χαρράν,
 τὴν αἰσθησιν, ἔλθῃ ὁ ἀσκητής, “ὑπαντᾷ τόπῳ,”
 οὔτε τῷ ἐκπεπληρωμένῳ ὑπὸ σώματος θνητοῦ—
 μετέχουσι γὰρ αὐτοῦ πάντες οἱ γηγενεῖς ἐκπεπληρω-
 κότες χώραν καὶ τόπον τινὰ κατὰ τὰναγκαῖον ἐπ-
 ἔχοντες—οὔτε τῷ τρίτῳ καὶ ἀρίστῳ, οὗ μόλις ἔννοιαν
 λαβεῖν ἦν ἂν ἐπὶ τοῦ φρέατος ποιούμενον τὰς δια-

^a Cf. *De Post.* 17 f.

^b 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.”

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.).^a Tell me, pray, did he who 65 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 66 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 ^b 67 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 defini- 68 tions, 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

PHILO

τριβάς, ὃ προσηγορεύετο ὄρκος, ᾧ τὸ αὐτομαθὲς
 γένος, Ἰσαάκ, ἐνδιαιτᾶται μηδέποτε τῆς πρὸς θεὸν
 πίστεως καὶ ἀφανοῦς ὑπολήψεως ἀφιστάμενον, ἀλλὰ
 τῷ μέσῳ λόγῳ θείῳ, τὰ ἄριστα ὑφηγουμένῳ καὶ
 69 ὅσα πρόσφορα τοῖς καιροῖς ἀναδιδάσκοντι. οὐ γὰρ
 ἀξιῶν¹ ὁ θεὸς εἰς αἴσθησιν ἔρχεσθαι τοὺς ἑαυτοῦ
 λόγους ἐπικουρίας ἕνεκα τῶν φιλαρέτων ἀποστέλλει·
 οἱ δ' ἰατρεύουσι καὶ ἐκνοσηλεύουσι τὰ ψυχῆς ἁρρω-
 στήματα, παραινέσεις ἱερὰς ὥσπερ νόμους ἀκινή-
 τους τιθέντες καὶ ἐπὶ τὰ τούτων γυμνάσια καλοῦντες
 καὶ τρόπον ἀλειπτῶν ἰσχὺν καὶ δύναμιν καὶ ῥώμην
 70 ἀνανταγώνιστον ἐμφύοντες. δεόντως οὖν εἰς αἴ-
 σθησιν ἔλθων οὐκέτι θεῷ, λόγῳ δ' ὑπαντᾷ θεοῦ,
 καθὰ καὶ ὁ πάππος αὐτοῦ τῆς σοφίας Ἀβραάμ.
 λέγεται γάρ· “ ἀπῆλθε κύριος, ὡς ἐπαύσατο λαλῶν
 τῷ Ἀβραάμ, καὶ Ἀβραάμ ἀπέστρεψεν εἰς τὸν
 τόπον αὐτοῦ”· δι' οὗ συνάγεται τὸ λόγοις τοιούτοις
 ἐντυγχάνειν ἱεροῖς, ὧν ὁ πρὸ τῶν ὄλων θεὸς ἀπ-
 ῆλλακται, μηκέτι τὰς ἀφ' αὐτοῦ τείνων φαντασίας,
 ἀλλὰ τὰς ἀπὸ τῶν μεθ' αὐτὸν δυνάμεων.
 71 ὑπερφυέστατα δ' ἔχει τὸ μὴ φάναι ἐλθεῖν εἰς τὸν
 τόπον, ἀλλ' ἀπαντῆσαι τόπῳ· ἐκούσιον μὲν γὰρ
 τὸ ἔρχεσθαι, τὸ δ' ἀπαντᾶν πολλάκις ἀκούσιον, ἵν'
 ἐξαπναιῶς ὁ θεῖος λόγος ἐπιφαινόμενος ἀπροσ-
 δόκητον χαρὰν ἐλπίδος μείζονα ἐρήμη ψυχῇ συνοδοι-

¹ MSS. ἀπαξιῶν.

^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.”

ON DREAMS, I. 68-71

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 69 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 70 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 71 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.

πορεῖν μέλλων προτείνει. καὶ γὰρ Μωυσῆς “ ἐξάγει τὸν λαὸν εἰς τὴν συνάντησιν τοῦ θεοῦ,” σαφῶς εἰδὼς ἐρχόμενον αὐτὸν ἀοράτως πρὸς τὰς ποθοῦσας ψυχὰς ἐντυχεῖν αὐτῷ.

72 XIII. Τὴν δ’ αἰτίαν ἐπιφέρει, δι’ ἣν τόπῳ ὑπήντησεν. “ ἔδω ” γὰρ φησιν “ ὁ ἥλιος,” οὐχ ὁ φαινόμενος οὗτος, ἀλλὰ τὸ τοῦ ἀοράτου καὶ μεγίστου θεοῦ περιφεγγέστατον καὶ περιανγέστατον φῶς. τοῦθ’ ὅταν μὲν ἐπιλάμψῃ διανοία, 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 δέ, εἰ ὁ ἥλιος κατὰ τοὺς τῆς ἀλληγορίας κανόνας ἐξομοιοῦται τῷ πατρὶ καὶ ἡγεμόνι τῶν συμπάντων· θεῷ γὰρ ὅμοιον πρὸς ἀλήθειαν μὲν οὐδέν, ἃ δὲ δόξῃ νενόμισται, δύο μόνα ἐστίν, ἀοράτον τε καὶ ὁρατόν,

[632] 74 ψυχὴ μὲν ἀοράτον, ὁρατόν δὲ ἥλιος. τὴν | μὲν οὖν ψυχῆς ἐμφέρειαν δεδήλωκεν ἐν ἐτέροις εἰπών· “ ἐποίησεν ὁ θεὸς τὸν ἄνθρωπον, κατ’ εἰκόνα θεοῦ ἐποίησεν αὐτόν,” καὶ ἐν τῷ κατὰ ἀνδροφόνων τεθέντι νόμῳ πάλιν· “ ὁ ἐκχέων αἷμα ἀνθρώπου ἀντὶ τοῦ αἵματος αὐτοῦ ἐκχυθήσεται, ὅτι ἐν εἰκόνι θεοῦ ἐποίησα τὸν ἄνθρωπον,” τὴν δὲ ἡλίου διὰ
75 συμβόλων μεμήνυκε. ῥάδιον δὲ καὶ ἄλλως ἐξ ἐπιλογισμοῦ τοῦτο κατιδεῖν, ἐπειδὴ

^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

ON DREAMS, I. 71-75

than hope.^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^b to set, and in a far higher degree casts into shade all the places of sense-perception; but when it has gone elsewhere, 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),^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.^d In the first place: God is of *κατ' εἰκόνα θεοῦ* as "made in the likeness of the image," i.e. of the Logos. (See e.g. *Leg. All.* iii. 96.)

^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.

πρῶτον μὲν ὁ θεὸς φῶς ἐστι—“ κύριος γὰρ φωτισμός μου καὶ σωτήρ μου ” ἐν ὕμνοις ᾄδεται—καὶ οὐ μόνον φῶς, ἀλλὰ καὶ παντὸς ἐτέρου φωτὸς ἀρχέτυπον, μᾶλλον δὲ παντὸς ἀρχετύπου πρεσβύτερον καὶ ἀνώτερον, λόγον ἔχον παραδείγματος (παραδείγματος).¹ τὸ μὲν γὰρ παράδειγμα ὁ πληρέστατος ἦν αὐτοῦ λόγος, φῶς—“ εἶπε ” γάρ φησιν “ ὁ θεὸς· γενέσθω φῶς,”—αὐτὸς δὲ οὐδενὶ
 76 τῶν γεγονότων ὅμοιος. ἔπειθ’ ὡς ἥλιος ἡμέραν καὶ νύκτα διακρίνει, οὕτως φησὶ Μωυσῆς τὸν θεὸν φῶς καὶ σκότος διατειχίσαι· “ διεχώρισε γὰρ ὁ θεὸς ἀνὰ μέσον τοῦ φωτὸς καὶ ἀνὰ μέσον τοῦ σκότους ”· ἄλλως τε ὡς ἥλιος ἀνατείλας τὰ κεκρυμμένα τῶν σωμάτων ἐπιδείκνυται, οὕτως καὶ ὁ θεὸς τὰ πάντα γεννήσας οὐ μόνον εἰς τοῦμφανές ἡγάγεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἅ πρότερον οὐκ ἦν, ἐποίησεν, οὐ δημιουργὸς μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ κτίστης αὐτὸς ὢν.

77 XIV. Λέγεται δὲ πολλαχῶς κατὰ τὸν ἱερὸν λόγον ἐν ὑπονοίαις ἥλιος, ἅπαξ μὲν ὁ ἀνθρώπινος νοῦς, ὃν οἰκοδομοῦσιν ὡς πόλιν καὶ κατασκευάζουσιν οἱ γένεσιν πρὸ τοῦ ἀγενήτου θεραπεύειν ἀναγκαζόμενοι, ἐφ’ ὧν εἴρηται ὅτι “ ὠκοδόμησαν πόλεις ὀχυράς τῷ Φαραώ, τήν τε Πειθώ,” τὸν λόγον ᾧ τὸ πείθειν ἀνάκειται, “ καὶ Ῥαμεσσή,”

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 παράδειγμα παραδείγματος *cf. Leg. All. iii. 96* ὥσπερ γὰρ ὁ θεὸς παράδειγμα τῆς εἰκόνος . . . οὕτως ἡ εἰκὼν ἄλλων γίνεται παράδειγμα, and *De Op. 25* εἰκὼν εἰκόνος.

ON DREAMS, I. 75-77

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^a; 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 76 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 77 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, ὑφ' ἧς ὥσπερ ὑπὸ σέων ἡ ψυχὴ διεσθίεται—ἐρμηνεύεται γὰρ σεισμὸς σητός,— “καὶ τὴν Ὡν,” τὸν νοῦν, ἣν Ἡλίου πόλιν ὠνόμασεν, ἐπεὶ καθάπερ ἥλιος τοῦ παντὸς ἡμῶν ὄγκου τὴν ἡγεμονίαν ἀνῆπται καὶ τὰς αὐτοῦ δυνάμεις ὥσπερ
- 78 ἀκτῖνας εἰς ὅλον τείνει. τὸν δὲ ἱερέα καὶ θερα-
 πευτὴν τοῦ νοῦ πενθερὸν ἐπιγράφεται πᾶς ὁ τὴν
 τοῦ σώματος πολιτείαν ἀναψάμενος, ὄνομα Ἰωσήφ.
 “ἔδωκε” γάρ φησιν “αὐτῷ τὴν Ἀσενέθ θυγατέρα
- 79 Πετεφρῇ ἱερέως Ἡλίου πόλεως.” |
- [633] δεῦτερον δὲ ἥλιον καλεῖ συμβολικῶς τὴν αἴσθησιν,
 ἐπεὶ τὰ αἰσθητὰ πάντα δείκνυσιν διανοίᾳ. περὶ
 ἧς λελάληκεν ὧδε· “ἀνέτειλεν ὁ ἥλιος αὐτῷ, ἥνικα
 παρῆλθε τὸ εἶδος τοῦ θεοῦ”· τῷ γὰρ ὄντι ταῖς
 ἱερωτάταις ἰδέαις καὶ ὡς ἂν εἰκόσιν ἀσωμάτοις
 ὅταν μηκέτι δυνώμεθα συνδιατρίβειν, ἀλλ' ἐτέρωσε
 τρεπόμενοι μεταχωρήσωμεν, ἀλλῶ φωτὶ τῷ κατὰ
 αἴσθησιν χρώμεθα σκότους πρὸς τὸν ὑγιῆ λόγον
- 80 οὐδὲν ἀπλῶς διαφέροντι· ὅπερ ἀνατείλαν ὄρασιν
 μὲν καὶ ἀκοήν, ἔτι δὲ γεῦσιν καὶ ὄσφρησιν καὶ
 ἀφῆν ὥσπερ κοιμωμένας ἀνήγειρε, φρόνησιν δὲ¹
 καὶ δικαιοσύνην ἐπιστήμην τε καὶ σοφίαν ἐγρη-
- 81 γορύας εἰς ὕπνον ἔτρεψεν. οὐ χάριν ἀγνεύειν
 οὐδένα πρὸ ἐσπέρας φησὶν ὁ ἱερός λόγος δύνασθαι,
 τῆς διανοίας ὑπὸ τῶν κατ' αἴσθησιν κινήσεων ἔτι
 παρενήμερουμένης. ἄφυκτον δὲ καὶ τοῖς
 ἱερεῦσι νόμον ἐν ταύτῳ καὶ γνώμην ἀποφαινόμενος

¹ MSS. τε.^a 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.*

ON DREAMS, I. 77-81

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 78 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.^a For Moses says that Pharaoh " gave him Asenath, daughter of Potiphera, priest of Heliopolis " (Gen. xli. 45).

Secondly, Moses uses " sun " figuratively for sense- 79 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 80 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 81 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,^b in the

that whoever is not cleansed cannot really partake of holy things.

PHILO

τίθῃσιν, ἐπειδὴν λέγει· “ Οὐκ ἔδεται ἀπὸ τῶν
 ἁγίων, ἐὰν μὴ λούσῃται τὸ σῶμα ὕδατι καὶ δύῃ
 82 ὁ ἥλιος καὶ γένηται καθαρός.” δηλοῖ γὰρ σαφέ-
 στατα διὰ τούτων, ὅτι εὐαγῆς εἰσάπαν οὐδεὶς ἐστίν,
 ὡς ταῖς ἁγίαις καὶ ἱεροπρεπέσι χρῆσθαι τελεταῖς,
 ᾧ τὰς αἰσθητὰς τοῦ θνητοῦ βίου λαμπρότητας ἔτι
 τετιμῆσθαι συμβέβηκεν. εἰ δέ τις αὐτὰς οὐκ ἀπο-
 δέχεται, κατὰ τὸ ἀκόλουθον τῷ φρονήσεως ἐπι-
 λάμπεται φέγγει, δι’ οὗ δυνήσεται τὰς τῶν κενῶν
 83 δοξῶν ἐκνίπτεσθαι καὶ ἀπολούεσθαι κηλίδας. ἢ
 τὸν ἥλιον αὐτὸν οὐχ ὁρᾷς, ὅτι τὰναντία καὶ ἀνα-
 τέλλων καὶ δυσόμενος ἐργάζεται; ἐπειδὴν γὰρ
 ἀνίσχη, τὰ μὲν κατὰ γῆν ἅπαντα περιλάμπεται,
 τὰ δὲ κατ’ οὐρανὸν ἀποκρύπτεται· δύντος δ’
 ἔμπαλιν οἱ μὲν ἀστέρες προφαίνονται, τὰ δὲ περί-
 84 γεια συσκιάζεται. τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον καὶ ἐν ἡμῖν,
 ὅταν μὲν τὸ τῶν αἰσθήσεων φέγγος ὡς ἥλιος
 ἀνατείλῃ, τὰς ὀλυμπίους καὶ οὐρανίους ὡς ἀληθῶς
 ἐπιστήμας κρύπτεσθαι συμβέβηκεν· ὅταν δὲ πρὸς
 δυσμὰς γένηται, τὰς ἀστεροειδεστάτας καὶ θειο-
 τάτας ἀναφαίνεσθαι ἀρετῶν αὐγὰς, ὅτε καὶ καθαρὸς
 ὁ νοῦς ὑπὸ μηδενοῦς κρυπτόμενος αἰσθητοῦ γίνεται.
 85 XV. κατὰ δὲ τὸ τρίτον σημαινόμενον
 ἥλιον καλεῖ τὸν θεῖον λόγον, τὸ τοῦ κατ’ οὐρανὸν
 περιπολοῦντος, ὡς πρότερον ἐλέχθη, παράδειγμα,
 ἐφ’ οὗ λέγεται· “ ὁ ἥλιος ἐξῆλθεν ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν,
 καὶ Λῶτ εἰσῆλθεν εἰς Σηγώρ, καὶ κύριος ἔβρεξεν
 86 ἐπὶ Σόδομα καὶ Γόμορρα θεῖον καὶ πῦρ.” ὁ γὰρ
 τοῦ θεοῦ λόγος, ὅταν ἐπὶ τὸ γεῶδες ἡμῶν σύστημα

ON DREAMS, I. 81-86

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 82 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 83 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 84 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 85 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 86 it arrives at our earthy composition, in the case of

- ἀφίκηται, τοῖς μὲν ἀρετῆς συγγενέσι καὶ πρὸς αὐτὴν ἀποκλίνουσιν ἀρήγει καὶ βοηθεῖ, ὡς καταφυγὴν καὶ σωτηρίαν αὐτοῖς πορίζειν παντελεῖ, τοῖς δὲ ἀντιπάλοις ὄλεθρον καὶ φθορὰν ἀνιάτον ἐπι-
- 87 πέμπει. λέγεται δὲ κατὰ τέταρτον σημαίνόμενον ἥλιος μὲν αὐτὸς ὁ τῶν ὄλων ἡγεμὼν, ὡς εἶπον ἤδη, δι' οὗ τὰ ἀνιάτα τῶν ἁμαρτημάτων
- [634] ἀνακαλύπτεται συσκιάζεσθαι δοκοῦντα· | πάντα γὰρ ὡς δυνατά, οὕτως καὶ γνώριμα θεῷ.
- 88 παρὸ καὶ τοὺς καταλυθέντας τῶν τόνων τῶν ψυχικῶν, ἀκολάστως καὶ λαγνίστερον ὁμιλοῦντας ταῖς νοῦ θυγατράσιν, αἰσθήσεσιν, ὡς χαμαιτύπαις καὶ
- 89 πόρναις, ἐνδειχθησομένους πρὸς ἥλιον ἄγει. φησὶ γάρ· “καὶ κατέλυσεν ὁ λαὸς ἐν Σαττὶν”—ἄκανθαι δ' ἐρμηνεύεται, παθῶν κεντούντων καὶ τιτρωσκόντων ψυχὴν σύμβολον,—“καὶ ἐβεβηλώθη” φησὶν “ἐκπορνεῦσαι εἰς τὰς θυγατέρας Μωάβ”—αἱ δὲ εἰσιν αἱ αἰσθήσεις, κεκλημέναι νοῦ θυγατέρες· Μωάβ γὰρ ἐκ πατρὸς ἐρμηνεύεται,—καὶ προστίθῃσι· “λάβε πάντας τοὺς ἀρχηγοὺς τοῦ λαοῦ καὶ παραδειγμάτισον τῷ κυρίῳ ἀπέναντι τοῦ ἡλίου, καὶ ἀποστραφήσεται ὀργὴ κυρίου ἀπὸ Ἰσραήλ.”
- 90 οὐ γὰρ μόνον τὰ κεκρυμμένα τῶν ἀδικημάτων ἐμφανῆ γενέσθαι βουλόμενος ταῖς ἡλιακαῖς περιέλαμψεν ἀκτίσιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ διὰ συμβόλων ἥλιον τὸν πατέρα τῶν ὄλων ἐκάλεσεν, ᾧ πάντα προὔπτα καὶ ὅσα ἐν μυχοῖς τῆς διανοίας ἀοράτως ἐπιτελεῖται· γενομένων δ' ἐμφανῶν ἰλεώ φησιν ἔσεσθαι τὸν

* An allusion to the interpretation of Lot's name as ἀπόκλις “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^a 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 87 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 88 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 89 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^b 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 90 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

^b E.V. "hang them up," which the LXX may have meant. Philo, however, interprets it by *ἐμφανή γενέσθαι*.

- 91 μόνον ἴλεω. διὰ τί; ὅτι, ἐὰν ὑπολαβοῦσα διάνοια
 λήσασθαι τὸ θεῖον ἀδικοῦσα, ὡς μὴ πάντα καθορᾶν
 δυνάμενον, κρύφα καὶ ἐν μυχοῖς διαμαρτάνη καὶ
 μετὰ ταῦτα εἴτ' ἐξ αὐτῆς εἴτε καὶ ὑφηγησαμένου
 τινὸς ἐννοήσῃ, ὅτι ἀμήχανον ἄδηλον εἶναί τι τῷ
 θεῷ, καὶ ἑαυτὴν καὶ τὰς ἑαυτῆς πράξεις ἀπάσας
 ἀναπτύξῃ καὶ εἰς μέσον προενεγκοῦσα καθάπερ
 εἰς ἡλιακὸν φῶς ἐπιδείξῃται τῷ τῶν ὄλων ἐπι-
 σκόπῳ φήσασα μετανοεῖν ἐφ' οἷς πρότερον ἀγνώ-
 μοι γνώμη χρωμένη κακῶς ἐδόξαζε—μηδὲν γὰρ
 ἄδηλον, γνώριμα δὲ καὶ δῆλα πάντα, οὐ τὰ πραχ-
 θέντα μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰ ἐλπιζόμενα κατὰ πολλὴν
 περιουσίαν ὑπάρχειν αὐτῷ,— κεκάθαρται καὶ ὠφέ-
 ληται καὶ τὸν ἐφ'esτῶτα κολαστὴν ἔλεγχον ἡμέρω-
 κεν ὀργῇ δικαίᾳ χρώμενον, εἰ τὸ μετανοεῖν ἀδελφὸν
 νεώτερον ὄν τοῦ μηδ' ὅλως ἀμαρτεῖν ἀποδέχεται.¹
- 92 XVI. Φαίνεται μέντοι καὶ ἐτέρωθι κατὰ σύμ-
 βολον ἐπὶ τοῦ αἰτίου τὸν ἥλιον παραλαμβάνων,
 ὡς ἐν τῷ γραφέντι νόμῳ περὶ τῶν ἐπ' ἐνεχύροις
 δανειζόντων· λέγε τὸν νόμον· “ἐὰν ἐνεχύρασμα
 ἐνεχυράσῃς τὸ ἱμάτιον τοῦ πλησίον, πρὸ δυσμῶν
 ἡλίου ἀποδώσεις αὐτῷ· ἔστι γὰρ τοῦτο περι-
 βόλαιον αὐτῷ μόνον, τοῦτο τὸ ἱμάτιον ἀσχη-
 μοσύνης αὐτοῦ· ἐν τίνι κοιμηθήσεται; ἐὰν οὖν
 καταβολήσῃ πρὸς μέ, εἰσακούσομαι αὐτοῦ· ἐλεῆμων
 93 γάρ εἰμι.” ἄρ' οὐκ ἄξιον τοὺς οἰομένους τὴν
 τοσαύτην σπουδὴν εἶναι τῷ νομοθέτῃ περὶ ἀμπε-
 χόνης, εἰ καὶ μὴ ὀνειδίζειν, ἀλλὰ τοί γε ὑπομιμνή-

¹ Wend. was inclined to insert μὴ either before δικαίᾳ or ἀποδέχεται. I think the text may well stand. The εἰ (or possibly εἰ γὰρ) clause serves to repeat in a short summary the long series of ἐὰν 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 ὅλων κτίστης καὶ ἡγεμὼν ἐλεήμονα ἑαυτὸν ἐφ' οὕτως εὐτελοῦς πράγματος, ἱματίου μὴ ἀποδοθέντος
- 94 [635] ⁹⁴ χρεώσῃ | πρὸς δανειστοῦ, καλεῖ; τὸ μέγεθος
καθάπαξ τῆς ἀρετῆς τοῦ πάντα μεγάλου θεοῦ μὴ
συνεωρακότων τοιαῦτ' ἐστὶν ὑπολαμβάνειν καὶ τὴν
ἀνθρωπίνην μικρολογίαν τῇ ἀγενήτῳ καὶ ἀφθάρτῳ
καὶ πλήρει μακαριότητος καὶ εὐδαιμονίας φύσει
- 95 παρὰ θέμιν καὶ δίκην προσνεμόντων. τί γὰρ
ἄτοπον ποιοῦσιν οἱ τὰ ῥύσια κατέχοντες δανεισθαι
παρ' αὐτοῖς, ἄχρισ ἂν τὰ ἴδια ἀναπράξωνται;
πένητες οἱ χρεώσται, φήσιν τις ἴσως, καὶ ἄξιον
ἐλεεῖν αὐτούς. εἴτ' οὐκ ἄμεινον ἦν γράφαι νόμον,
δι' οὗ τούτους¹ ἐρανιοῦσι μᾶλλον ἢ χρεώστας ἀπο-
φανοῦσιν ἢ ἐπ' ἐνεχύροις τοῦ δανεῖζειν κωλύσαι²;
ὁ δὲ ἐφείς οὐκ ἂν εἰκότως ἐπὶ τοῖς ἁ' ἔλαβον πρὸ
καιροῦ μὴ προιεμένοις δυσχεραῖνοι ὡς ἀσεβοῦσι.
- 96 πενίας δ' εἰς αὐτά τις ἐλθὼν, ὡς ἔπος εἰπεῖν, τὰ
πέρατα καὶ ῥάκιον ἐν ἀμπεχόμενος δανειστὰς
καινοὺς ἐπάγεται τὸν ἀπὸ τῶν ὁρώντων παρεῖς
ἔλεον, ὃς τοῖς κεχρημένοις ταῖς τοιαύταις κακο-
πραγίαις κατ' οἰκίαν καὶ παρ' ἱεροῖς καὶ ἐν ἀγορᾷ
- 97 καὶ πανταχοῦ προκέχυται; νυνὶ δὲ καὶ ὁ μόνον
εἶχε προκάλυμμα αἰδοῦς, ὥς τὰ τῆς φύσεως ἀπόρ-
ρητα συνεσκιάζε, τοῦτο φέρων προὔτεινε· ῥύσιον
ὑπὲρ τίνος, εἰπέ μοι; ἢ ὑπὲρ ἐτέρας ἀμείνονος
ἐσθῆτος; τροφῆς μὲν γὰρ ἀναγκαίας ἄπορος

¹ So mss.: Mangey and earlier editions *τούτοις*. The accusative seems only found here and once in Antiphon. See L. & S. 1927.

² So Mangey with one ms.: Wend. with the rest *κωλύσουσι*, which is ungrammatical. He suggests *τὸ δανεῖζειν κωλύει*

ON DREAMS, I. 93-97

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 unoriginate and incorruptible and full of all blessedness⁹⁵ 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 of⁹⁶ 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 those⁹⁷ 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

Μωυσῆς, which I do not understand. I suggest *καλυθῆσονται*, or preferably *κωλύονται*.

- οὐδεῖς, ἄχρῖς ἂν πηγαὶ μὲν ἀναβλύζωσι, ποταμοὶ
 δὲ χεῖμαρροι πλημμυρῶσι,¹ γῇ δὲ τοὺς ἐτησίους
 98 ἀναδιδῶ² καρπούς. οὕτω δὲ ἢ βαθύπλουτός τις ἢ
 λίαν ὠμὸς ὁ δανειστής, ὥς ἢ τετράδραχμον τάχα
 δὲ καὶ ἔλαττον <μῇ>³ ἐθέλειν τῷ συμβαλεῖν ἢ οὕτω
 πενιχρῶ δανείζειν ἀλλὰ μὴ χαρίζεσθαι ἢ ὁ μόνον
 ἦν ἱμάτιον ἐκείνῳ λαμβάνειν ἐνέχυρον, ὅπερ ἐτέρῳ
 ὀνόματι λωποδυτεῖν εἰκότως ἂν λέγοιτο; καὶ γὰρ
 λωποδύταις ἔθος ἀπαμπίσχουσι τὰς μὲν ἐσθήτας
 ἀφαιρεῖσθαι, γυμνοὺς δὲ τοὺς ἔχοντας ἀποφαίνειν.
 99 διὰ τί δὲ νυκτὸς μὲν καὶ τοῦ μὴ ἀνεί-
 μονά τινα κοιμηθῆναι προϋνόησεν, ἡμέρας δὲ καὶ
 τοῦ μὴ ἐγρηγορότα γυμνὸν ἀσχημονεῖν οὐκέθ'
 ὁμοίως ἐφρόντισεν; ἢ οὐ νυκτὶ μὲν καὶ σκότῳ
 κρύπτεται πάντα, ὥς ἦττον ἢ μῆδ' ὅλως αἰδεῖσθαι,
 ἡμέρᾳ δὲ καὶ φωτὶ ἀνακαλύπτεται, ὥς τότε μᾶλλον
 100 ἐρυθριᾶν ἀναγκάζεσθαι; διὰ τί δ' οὐ
 διδόναι τὸ ἱμάτιον, ἀλλ' ἀποδιδόναι προσέταξεν;
 ἀπόδοσις γὰρ ἐπ' ἄλλοτρίοις γίνεται, τὰ δ' ἐνέχυρα
 τῶν δεδανεικότων μᾶλλον ἢ τῶν δεδανεισμένων
 ἐστίν. ἐκείνο δὲ οὐκ ἐννοεῖς, ὅτι λαβόντι τῷ
 χρεώσῃ πρόσκοιτον τὸ ἱμάτιον οὐ προσέταξε μεθ'
 ἡμέραν περιελεῖν ἀναστάντι καὶ κομίσαι τῷ
 101 δανειστῇ; καὶ μὴν τῷ γε τῆς ἐρμηνείας
 ἰδιοτρόπῳ καὶ ὁ βραδύτατος ἕτερόν τι τοῦ ῥήτου
 [636] κατανοεῖν ἂν | προαχθείη· μᾶλλον γὰρ ἀφορισμῷ

¹ So Wend: the mss. have either ποταμῶν, χεῖμαρροι δὲ πλημ. (in one case ποταμῶν, χεῖμαρροι δὲ ποταμῶν πλημ.) or ποταμοὶ δὲ πλημ. I suggest as an alternative to Wend.'s πότιμοι, χεῖμαρροι δὲ πλημ.

² mss. ἀναδίδωσι.

³ <μῇ>: so Mangey: Wend. rejects the insertion, presumably taking the meaning to be "content himself with throwing a farthing to him."

ON DREAMS, I. 97-101

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 98 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 99 thought for night and that no one should sleep without clothing,^a 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 100 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 101 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

^a See App. p. 599.

ἢ παραινέσει ἔοικε τὸ διάταγμα. παραινῶν μὲν γὰρ εἶπεν ἄν τις· τὸ ἐνεχυρασθὲν ἱμάτιον, ἐὰν τοῦτ' ἢ μόνον τῷ χρεώσῃ, πρὸ ἐσπέρας ἀπόδος, ἢ ἔχη νύκτωρ ἀμπεχέσθαι, ἀφοριζόμενος δὲ οὕτως, ὡς νῦν ἔχει· “(ἀποδώσεις αὐτῷ)¹· ἔστι γὰρ τοῦτο περιβόλαιον αὐτῷ μόνον, τοῦτο τὸ ἱμάτιον ἀσχημοσύνης αὐτοῦ· ἐν τίνι κοιμηθήσεται;”

- 102 XVII. Ταῦτα μὲν δὴ καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα πρὸς τοὺς τῆς ῥητῆς πραγματείας σοφιστὰς καὶ λίαν τὰς ὀφρῦς ἀνεσπακότας εἰρήσθω, λέγωμεν δὲ ἡμεῖς ἐπόμενοι τοῖς ἀλληγορίας νόμοις τὰ πρέποντα περὶ τούτων. φαμὲν τοίνυν λόγου σύμβολον ἱμάτιον εἶναι. τὰς τε γὰρ ἀπὸ κρυμοῦ καὶ θάλπους εἰωθυίας τῷ σώματι κατασκήπτειν βλάβας ἐσθῆς ἀπωθεῖται καὶ ἐπισκιάζει τὰ τῆς φύσεως ἀπόρρητα καὶ ἔστιν
- 103 ἀρμόττων σώματι κόσμος ἢ ἀμπεχόνῃ. κατὰ τὸ παραπλήσιον μέντοι καὶ ἀνθρώπῳ λόγος δώρημα κάλλιστον ἐδόθη παρὰ θεοῦ, πρῶτον μὲν κατὰ τῶν νεωτερίζοντων εἰς αὐτὸν ὄπλον ἀμυντήριον—ὡς γὰρ τῶν ἄλλων ἕκαστον ζώων ἢ φύσις οἰκείοις ἔρκεσιν ὠχύρωσε, δι' ὧν τοὺς ἐπιχειροῦντας ἀδικεῖν ἀποκρούσεται, καὶ ἀνθρώπῳ μέγιστον ἔρυμα καὶ φρουρὰν ἀκαθαίρετον λόγον δέδωκεν, οὐ κραταιῶς οἶα πανοπλίας ἐνειλημμένος οἰκεῖον καὶ προσφυέστατον ἔξει δορυφόρον· τούτῳ 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.

^a Or “explanatory statement.” See App. pp. 599 f.

^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^a 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.^b 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.

- 104 φερομένας ἀπωθεῖσθαι ζημίας, δεύτερον δὲ καὶ αἰσχύνῃς καὶ ὀνειδῶν ἀναγκαιότατον περίβλημα—δεινὸς γὰρ συγκρῖψαι καὶ συσκιᾶσαι τὰς ἁμαρτίας τῶν ἀνθρώπων λόγος—τρίτον δὲ πρὸς ὅλου τοῦ βίου κόσμον· ὁ γὰρ βελτιῶν ἕκαστον καὶ πάντα
- 105 ἄγων ἐπὶ τὸ κρεῖττον οὗτός ἐστιν. ἀλλὰ γὰρ εἰσι λῶβαί τινες καὶ κῆρες ἀνθρώπων, οἳ καὶ τὸν λόγον ἐνεχυράζουσιν ἀφαιρούμενοι¹ τοὺς ἔχοντας καί, συναυξῆσαι δέον, ὅλον ὑποτέμνονται, καθάπερ οἱ τὰ τῶν πολεμίων δηοῦντες χωρία καὶ τὸν τε σῖτον καὶ τὸν ἄλλον καρπὸν φθείρειν ἐπιχειροῦντες, ὃς ἀφειδὲς μεγάλη τοῖς χρησαμένοις ἂν ὄνησις ᾖν.
- 106 πόλεμος οὖν ἐστὶν ἐνίοις ἄσπονδος καὶ ἀκήρυκτος πρὸς τὴν λογικὴν φύσιν, οἷτινες τὰς βλάστας αὐτῆς ἀποκείρουσιν ἐν χρῶ καὶ τὰς πρώτας ἐπιφύσεις ἐκθλίβουσιν, ἄγονον καὶ στεῖραν, ὥς ἔπος εἰπείν,
- 107 καλῶν ἐπιτηδευμάτων ἀπεργαζόμενοι. ὁρμῶσαν γὰρ ἔστιν ὅτε πρὸς παιδείαν ἀκατασχέτω ῥύμη καὶ πληχθεῖσαν ἔρωτι τῶν φιλοσοφίας θεωρημάτων ὑπὸ βασκανίας καὶ φθόνου δείσαντες, μὴ μεγάλη πνεύσασα καὶ ἐπὶ μήκιστον ἀρθεῖσα τὰς γλισχρολογίας αὐτῶν καὶ πιθανὰς κατὰ τῆς ἀληθείας εὐρέσεις ἐπικλύσῃ χειμάρρου τρόπον, ἐτέρωσε ταῖς ἑαυτῶν κακοτεχνίαις τὴν φορὰν ἔτρεψαν, εἰς
- [637] βαναύσους καὶ | ἀνελευθέρους τέχνας μετοχτευσάμενοι· πολλάκις δὲ καὶ ἀμβλῶσαντες καὶ ἐπιφράξαντες ἄργον τὸ μεγαλοφυὲς κατέλιπον, ὥσπερ βαθύγειον καὶ εὐδαίμονα γῆν ὀρφανῶν παίδων ἐπί-

¹ Some mss. αἰ and ἀφαιρούμεναι. See note ^a below.

^a If οἱ and ἀφαιρούμενοι are read, the enemies of λόγος are presumably persons who exercise an evil influence on others. If αἰ and ἀφαιρούμεναι, they are evil forces within us. The

ON DREAMS, I. 104-107

inflict upon him. In the second place, rational speech 104 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—mis- 105chievous pests that they are^a—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 106are 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 107are 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^b 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.

^b See note on *De Mut.* 150.

- τροποι κακοὶ χέρσον, καὶ οὐκ ἠδέσθησαν οἱ πάντων ἀνηλεέστατοι τὸ μόνον ἱμάτιον ἀνθρώπου περι-
 συλῶντες, λόγον· “ἔστι” γάρ φησι “τοῦτο περι-
 108 βόλαιον αὐτῷ μόνον.” τί πλὴν ὁ λόγος; ὥσπερ
 γὰρ ἵππου τὸ χρεμετίζειν ἴδιον καὶ τὸ ὑλακτεῖν
 κυνὸς καὶ βοὸς τὸ μυκᾶσθαι καὶ τὸ ὠρύεσθαι
 λέοντος, οὕτω καὶ ἀνθρώπου τὸ λέγειν καὶ αὐτὸς
 ὁ λόγος. τοῦτον γὰρ ἔρυμα, περίβλημα, παν-
 οπλίαν, τείχος τὸ ζῶον τὸ θεοφιλέστατον, ὁ ἀν-
 θρωπος, ἐκ πάντων ἴδιον κεκάρπωται.
- 109 XVIII. διὸ καὶ ἐπιφέρει· “τοῦτο τὸ ἱμάτιον αὐτὸ
 μόνον ἀσχημοσύνης αὐτοῦ.” τίς ἄλλος¹ γὰρ οὕτως
 τὰ ὀνειδῆ καὶ τὰ αἴσχη τοῦ βίου συσκιάζει καὶ
 συγκρύπτει, ὥς λόγος; ἀμαθία μὲν γὰρ ἀλόγου
 φύσεως συγγενὲς αἰσχος, παιδεία δὲ ἀδελφὸν λόγου,
 110 κόσμος οἰκείος. “ἐν τίνι οὖν κοιμηθήσεται,”
 τουτέστιν ἡρεμήσει καὶ διαναπαύσεται ἄνθρωπος,
 πλὴν ἐν λόγῳ; λόγος γὰρ τὸ βαρυποτμότατον
 ἡμῶν γένος ἐπικουφίζει. ὥσπερ οὖν τοὺς λύπαις
 ἢ φόβοις ἢ τισιν ἄλλοις κακοῖς πιεσθέντας εὐμένεια
 καὶ συνήθεια² καὶ δεξιότης φίλων πολλάκις ἐθερά-
 πευσεν, οὕτως οὐ πολλάκις ἀλλ’ αἰεὶ τὸ βαρύτατον
 ἄχθος, ὅπερ ἐπιτιθέασιν ἡμῖν αἱ τε τοῦ συνδέτου
 σώματος ἀνάγκαι καὶ αἱ τῶν ἔξωθεν κατα-
 σκηπτόντων ἀπροόρατοι συντυχίαι, μόνος ὁ ἀλεξί-
 111 κακος λόγος ἀπωθεῖται. φίλος γὰρ καὶ γνώριμος
 καὶ συνήθης καὶ ἐταῖρος ἡμῖν ἐστίν, ἐνδεδεμένος,
 μᾶλλον δὲ ἡρμωσμένος καὶ ἡνωμένος κόλλῃ τινὶ
 φύσεως ἀλύτῳ καὶ ἀοράτῳ. διὰ τοῦτο καὶ προ-
 λέγει τὰ συνοίσοντα καὶ συμβάντος τινὸς ἀβουλήτου

¹ MSS. καλῶς.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 108 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 109 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 110 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 kindness 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, 111 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 βοηθήσων, οὐ τὴν ἑτέραν φέρων μόνον ὠφέλειαν, ἣν ὁ μὴ δρῶν σύμβουλος
- 112 ἢ ὁ συναγωνιστὴς ἡσυχος, ἀλλ' ἀμφοτέρας. οὐ γὰρ ἡμίεργον ἐπιτετήδευκε δύναμιν, ἀλλὰ πᾶσι τοῖς μέρεσιν ὀλόκληρον· ὅς γε, καὶ σφαλῇ πείρας ἐν οἷς διανοεῖται ἢ ἔργῳ ἐπεξέρχεται [ἢ] ἐπὶ τὸ τρίτον ἀφικνεῖται βοήθημα, παρηγορίαν. φάρμακον γὰρ ὡς τραυμάτων, καὶ ψυχῆς παθῶν ὁ λόγος ἐστὶ σωτήριον, ὃν “πρὸ δυσμῶν ἡλίου” φησὶ δεῖν ὁ νομοθέτης ἀποδοῦναι, τουτέστι πρὶν τὰς τοῦ μεγίστου καὶ ἐπιφανεστάτου θεοῦ καταδύναι περιλαμπεστάτας αὐγὰς, αἷς δι' ἔλεον τοῦ γένους ἡμῶν εἰς νοῦν τὸν ἀνθρώπινον οὐρανόθεν ἀποστέλλει.
- 113 παραμένοντος γὰρ ἐν ψυχῇ τοῦ θεοειδεστάτου καὶ ἀσωμάτου φωτὸς ἀποδώσομεν τὸν ἐνεχυρασθέντα λόγον, ὡς ἱμάτιον, ἵν' ἐγγένηται τῷ λαβόντι τὸ ἴδιον ἀνθρώπου κτῆμα τὴν τε αἰσχύνην τοῦ βίου περιστεῖλαι καὶ τῆς θείας ἀπόνασθαι δωρεᾶς καὶ μετ' ἡρεμίας ἀναπαύσασθαι παρουσίᾳ τοιούτου
- [638] συμβούλου | καὶ προασπιστοῦ τάξιν ἣν ἐτάχθη
- 114 μηδέποτε λείποντος. ἕως οὖν ἔτι σοι τὸ ἱερὸν φέγγος ὁ θεὸς ἀκτινοβολεῖ, σπούδασον ἐν ἡμέρᾳ τὸ ρύσιον ἀποδοῦναι τῷ κυρίῳ· δύντος γάρ, ὡς πᾶσα Αἴγυπτος, ψηλαφῆτὸν ἕξεις σκότος τὸν αἰῶνα καὶ πληχθεὶς ἀορασία καὶ ἀγνοία, ὧν ἐδόκεις ἐπικρατεῖν πάντων ἀφαιρεθήσῃ, πρὸς τοῦ βλέποντος

^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.

ON DREAMS, I. 111-114

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 112 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.^a 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 113 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 114 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

Ἰσραήλ, ὃν ἐρρυσίαζες ἀδούλωτον ὄντα φύσει, δουλούμενος ἀνάγκῃ.

- 115 XIX. Τοῦτον δὴ τὸν δόλιχον ἀπεμηκύναμεν οὐκ ἄλλου του χάριν ἢ τοῦ διδάξαι, ὅτι ἡ ἀσκητικὴ διάνοια κινήσειν ἀνωμάλοις πρὸς τε εὐφορίαν καὶ τοῦναντίον χρωμένη καὶ τρόπον τινὰ ἀνιούσα καὶ κατιούσα συνεχῶς, ὅταν μὲν εὐφορῇ καὶ πρὸς τὸ ὕψος αἴρηται, ταῖς ἀρχετύποις καὶ ἀσωμάτοις ἀκτίσι τῆς λογικῆς πηγῆς τοῦ τελεσφόρου θεοῦ περιλάμπεται, ὅταν δὲ καταβαίνει καὶ ἀφορῇ, ταῖς ἐκείνων εἰκόσιν, ἀθανάτοις λόγοις, οὓς καλεῖν ἔθος
- 116 ἀγγέλους. διὸ καὶ νῦν φησιν· “ἀπήντησε τόπῳ· ἔδῃ γὰρ ὁ ἥλιος.” ὅταν γὰρ τὴν ψυχὴν ἀπολίπωσιν αἱ τοῦ θεοῦ αὐγαί, δι’ ὧν σαφέσταται αἱ τῶν πραγμάτων γίνονται καταλήψεις, ἀνατέλλει τὸ δεύτερον καὶ ἀσθενέστερον λόγων, οὐκέτι πραγμάτων, φέγγος, καθάπερ καὶ ἐν τῷδε τῷ κόσμῳ· σελήνη γὰρ τὰ δευτερεῖα ἡλίου φερομένη καταδύντος ἐκείνου φῶς ἀμυδρότερον ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν ἀποστέλλει.
- 117 καὶ τὸ ὑπαντᾶν μέντοι τόπῳ ἢ λόγῳ τοῖς μὴ δυναμένοις τὸν πρὸ τόπου καὶ λόγου θεὸν ἰδεῖν αὐταρκεστάτῃ δωρεά, διότι τὴν ψυχὴν ἀφώτιστον εἰσάπαν οὐκ ἔσχον, ἀλλ’ ἐπειδὴ τὸ ἄκρατον ἐκείνο φέγγος ἀπ’ αὐτῶν ἔδῃ, τὸ κεκραμένον ἐκαρπώσαντο. “τοῖς γὰρ υἱοῖς Ἰσραὴλ φῶς ἦν ἐν πᾶσιν οἷς κατεγίνοντο,” φησὶν ἐν Ἐξαγωγῇ, ὥς νύκτα καὶ σκότος αἰεὶ πεφυγαδεῦσθαι, μεθ’ ὧν οἱ τὰ ψυχῆς ὄμματα πρὸ τῶν σώματος πεπηρωμένοι

* 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.

ON DREAMS, I. 114-117

Seeing One, whom, though by nature immune from bondage, you seized as your chattel.

XIX. This long course^a we have run to no other end 115
 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.^b That is why, in this passage, he says "he 116
 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 feebler light, not as before of facts but of words,^c 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 117
 "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.

- 118 ζῶσιν, ἀρετῆς αὐγὰς οὐκ εἰδότες. ἔνιοι
 δὲ ἥλιον μὲν ὑποτοπήσαντες εἰρῆσθαι νυνὶ συμ-
 βολικῶς αἰσθησὶν τε καὶ νοῦν, τὰ νενομισμένα
 καθ' ἡμᾶς αὐτοὺς εἶναι κριτήρια, τόπον δὲ τὸν
 θεῖον λόγον, οὕτως ἐξεδέξαντο· ἀπήντησεν ὁ ἀσκη-
 τῆς λόγῳ θεῷ δύντος τοῦ θνητοῦ καὶ ἀνθρωπίνου
 119 φέγγους. ἄχρι μὲν γὰρ ὁ νοῦς τὰ νοητὰ καὶ τὰ
 αἰσθητὰ αἰσθησις οἴεται παγίως καταλαμβάνειν καὶ
 ἄνω περιπολεῖν,¹ μακρὰν ὁ θεῖος λόγος ἀφέστηκεν·
 ἐπειδὴ δ' ἐκάτερον ἀσθένειαν ὁμολογήσῃ τὴν
 ἑαυτοῦ καὶ τρόπον τινὰ καταδύσει χρῆσάμενον
 ἀποκρυφθῇ, προὔπαντ' ἀδεξιούμενος εὐθύς ὁ ἑφεδρος
 [639] ἀσκητικῆς ψυχῆς ὀρθὸς λόγος ἑαυτὴν | μὲν ἀπο-
 γινωσκούσης, τὸν δὲ ἐπιφοιτῶντα ἔξωθεν ἀφανῶς
 ἀναμενούσης.
- 120 XX. Φησὶ τοίνυν ἐξῆς ὅτι “ ἔλαβεν ἀπὸ τῶν
 λίθων τοῦ τόπου καὶ ἔθηκε πρὸς κεφαλῆς αὐτοῦ,
 καὶ ἐκοιμήθη ἐν τῷ τόπῳ ἐκείνῳ.” θαυμάσαι ἂν
 τις οὐ μόνον τὴν ἐν ὑπονοίαις πραγματείαν καὶ
 φυσιολογίαν αὐτοῦ, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὴν ῥητὴν πρὸς πόνου
 121 καὶ καρτερίας μελέτην ὑφῆγησιν. οὐ γὰρ ἀξιοῖ
 τὸν ἀρετῆς ἐπιμελούμενον ἀβροδιαίτῳ βίῳ χρῆσθαι
 καὶ τρυφᾷν ζηλοῦντα τὰς τῶν λεγομένων μὲν εὐδαι-
 μόνων πρὸς ἀλήθειαν δὲ κακοδαιμονίας γεμόντων
 σπουδὰς τε καὶ φιλοτιμίας, οἷς πᾶς ὁ βίος ὕπνος
 καὶ ἐνύπνιον ἐστὶ κατὰ τὸν ἱερώτατον νομοθέτην.
 122 οὗτοι μεθ' ἡμέραν, ὅταν τὰ ἐν δικαστηρίοις καὶ
 βουλευτηρίοις καὶ θεάτροις καὶ πανταχοῦ πρὸς τοὺς

¹ Perhaps περιπολεῖ. See note a below.

^a Or “their path is above the horizon.” I should prefer to read περιπολεῖ. The infinitive dependent on οἴεται equates the “position above the horizon” with apprehension. But
 360

ON DREAMS, I. 118-122

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- 119
 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,^a 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 con-
 stitutes the setting.

- ἄλλους ἀδικήματα διεξέλθωσιν, οἵκαδε ἀφικνοῦνται
 τὸν ἑαυτῶν οἶκον, οἱ δυστυχεῖς, καταστρέφοντες,
 οὐ τὸν τῶν οἰκοδομημάτων, ἀλλὰ τὸν συμφυᾶ τῆς
 ψυχῆς οἶκον, τὸ σῶμα, τροφὰς ἀμέτρους καὶ ἐπ-
 αλλήλους εἰσφέροντες καὶ πολὺν ἄκρατον ἄρδοντες,
 ἕως (ἂν) βύθιος μὲν ὁ λογισμὸς οἷχεται, τὰ δ'
 ὑπὸ γαστέρα πλησμονῆς ἔκγονα πάθη διαναστάντα,
 λύττη χρώμενα ἀκαθέκτω, προσπεσόντα καὶ ἐμπλα-
 κέντα τοῖς ἐπιτυχοῦσι, τὸν πολὺν οἶστρον ἀπερυ-
 123 γόντα λωφήσῃ. νύκτωρ δέ, ὅποτε καιρὸς εἴη πρὸς
 κοῖτον τραπέσθαι, πολυτελεῖς κλίνας καὶ εὐανθε-
 στάτας στρωμνὰς εὐτρεπισάμενοι μαλακῶς σφόδρα
 κατακλίνονται, τὴν γυναικῶν ἐκμιμούμενοι τρυφήν,
 αἷς ἢ φύσις ἐπέτρεψεν ἀνειμένη χρῆσθαι διαίτη,
 παρὸ καὶ τὸ σῶμα τοῦ μαλθακωτέρου κόμματος ὁ
 124 τεχνίτης καὶ ποιητὴς αὐταῖς εἰργάζετο. τοιοῦτος
 οὐδεὶς γνῶριμος τοῦ ἱεροῦ λόγου, ἀλλ' οἱ πρὸς
 ἀλήθειαν ἄνδρες, σωφροσύνης καὶ κοσμιότητος καὶ
 αἰδοῦς ἐρασταί, ἐγκράτειαν, ὀλιγοδείαν, καρτερίαν
 ὥσπερ κρηπιδὰς τινος ὅλου τοῦ βίου καταβεβλη-
 μένοι, ψυχῆς ἀσφαλεῖς ὑποδρόμους, οἷς ἀκινδύνως
 καὶ βεβαίως ἐνορμικεῖται, χρημάτων καὶ ἡδονῆς
 καὶ δόξης κρείττους, σιτίων καὶ ποτῶν καὶ αὐτὸ
 μόνον¹ τῶν ἀναγκαίων, ἐφ' ὅσον μὴ νεωτερίζειν
 ἄρχεται λιμός, ὑπερόπται, πείναν δέχεσθαι καὶ
 δίψαν θάλπος τε καὶ κρύος καὶ ὅσα ἄλλα δυσκαρ-
 τήρητα ὑπὲρ ἀρετῆς κτήσεως ἐτοιμότατοι, ζηλωταί

¹ αὐτὸ μόνον does not make sense. Wend. proposes πλὴν
 for καί, but this hardly agrees with ἐφ' ὅσον . . . λιμός.
 Perhaps αὐτῶν, so translation (or αὐτῶν μὲν οὖν, omitting the
 preceding καὶ as some mss. do).

ON DREAMS, I. 122-124

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 ^a 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 123 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 ^b which the Creator Artificer has wrought for them. None such 124 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 necessities 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

^a Or "sexual," though that is usually with Philo τὰ μετὰ γαστέρα, but cf. ὑπογαστρῶν *De Som.* ii. 147. Otherwise "born in the depths of the belly."

^b A common phrase, cf. εἶκε δ' εἶναι τοῦ πονηροῦ κόμματος *Aristoph. Plut.* 862.

- τῶν εὐποριστοτάτων, ὥς μηδ' ἐπ' εὐτελεῖ χλαίνῃ
 ποτὲ δυσωπηθῆναι, τοῦναντίον δὲ τὰς πολυτελεῖς
 ὄνειδος καὶ μεγάλην τοῦ βίου ζημίαν νομίσαι.
 125 τούτοις πολυτελής μὲν ἐστὶ κλίνη μαλακὸν¹ ἔδαφος,
 στρωμνὴ δὲ θάμνοι, πόαι, βοτάναι, φύλλων πολλή
 χύσις, τὰ δὲ πρὸς κεφαλῆς λίθοι τινὲς ἢ βραχεῖς
 [640] γεώλοφοι τοῦ ἰσοπέδου | μικρὸν ἀνέχοντες. τὸν
 βίον τοῦτον οἱ μὲν τρυφῶντες σκληροδίαιτον
 καλοῦσιν, οἱ δὲ πρὸς καλοκάγαθίαν ζῶντες ἡδιστον
 ὀνομάζουσιν· ἀνδράσι γὰρ οὐ λεγομένοις ἀλλ' οὖσιν
 126 ὄντως ἐφαρμόζει. οὐχ ὁρᾷς, ὅτι καὶ νῦν
 βασιλικαῖς ὕλαις καὶ παρασκευαῖς περιουσιάζοντα
 τὸν ἀθλητὴν τῶν καλῶν ἐπιτηδευμάτων εἰσάγει
 χαμευνοῦντα καὶ λίθῳ προσκεφαλαίῳ χρώμενον
 καὶ μικρὸν ὕστερον ἐν ταῖς εὐχαῖς ἄρτον καὶ ἱμάτιον,
 τὸν φύσεως πλοῦτον, αἰτούμενον, ἐπειδὴ τὸν ἐν ταῖς
 κεναῖς δόξαις ἐχλεύαζεν αἰεὶ καὶ τοὺς θαυμαστικῶς
 ἔχοντας αὐτοῦ κατεκερτόμει; οὗτός ἐστι παρά-
 δειγμα ἀρχέτυπον ἀσκητικῆς ψυχῆς, ἐκτεθλυσμένῳ
 καὶ ἀνδρογύνῳ παντὶ πολέμιος.
 127 XXI. Ὁ μὲν οὖν (τοῦ) φιλοπόνου καὶ φιλαρέτου
 πρόχειρος ἔπαινος εἴρηται, τὸ² δὲ κατὰ σύμβολον
 μηνυόμενον ἐρευνητέον. εἰδέναι δὲ νῦν προσήκει,
 ὅτι ὁ θεῖος τόπος καὶ ἡ ἱερὰ χώρα πλήρης ἀσω-
 μάτων ἐστὶ λόγων· ψυχαὶ δ' εἰσὶν ἀθάνατοι οἱ λόγοι
 128 οὗτοι. τούτων δὴ τῶν λόγων ἓνα λαβὼν, ἀρι-
 στίνδην ἐπιλεγόμενος τὸν ἀνωτάτω καὶ ὡσανεῖ

¹ Mangey ὁμαλόν. But there is no reason why the hardy should not select soft ground. Cf. *De Som.* ii. 56.

² MSS. τὸν.

^a 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 125 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 126 before us, the lawgiver represents the athlete of noble pursuits, in enjoyment of a princely abundance of materials^a 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^b 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 127 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 128 he takes one, choosing as the best the topmost one,

^b Is " he " Moses or Jacob ? The *oûros* 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 ἡνωμένου κεφαλὴν¹ πλησίον ἰδρύεται
 διανοίας τῆς ἑαυτοῦ· καὶ γὰρ αὕτη τρόπον τινὰ
 τῆς ψυχῆς ἐστὶ κεφαλὴ. ποιεῖ δὲ τοῦτο πρόφασιν
 μὲν ὡς κοιμησόμενος, τὸ δ' ἀληθὲς ὡς ἀναπαυ-
 σόμενος ἐπὶ λόγῳ θείῳ καὶ σύμπαντα ἑαυτοῦ τὸν
 129 βίον κουφότατον ἄχθος ἐπαναθήσων ἐκείνῳ. ὁ δὲ
 ἄσμενος ἐπακούει καὶ δέχεται τὸν ἀθλητὴν ὡς
 φοιτητὴν ἐσόμενον τὸ πρῶτον, εἰθ' ὅταν αὐτοῦ
 τὴν ἐπιτηδειότητα τῆς φύσεως ἀποδέξῃται, χειρο-
 δετεῖ² τρόπον ἀλείπτου καὶ πρὸς τὰ γυμνάσια καλεῖ,
 καὶ διεριδόμενος παλαίειν ἀναγκάζει, μέχρις ἂν
 ἀνανταγώνιστον αὐτῷ ῥώμην ἐγκατασκευάσῃ, τὰ
 ὦτα θείαις ἐπιπνοίαις³ μεταβαλὼν εἰς ὄμματα καὶ
 καλέσας αὐτὸν⁴ μεταχαραχθέντα καινὸν τύπον
 130 Ἰσραήλ, ὁρῶντα. τότε καὶ τὸν νικη-
 τήριον ἐπιτίθῃσιν αὐτῷ στέφανον. ὁ δὲ στέφανος
 ἔκτοπον ἔχει καὶ ξένον καὶ ἴσως οὐκ εὐφημον
 ὄνομα· καλεῖται γὰρ ὑπὸ τοῦ ἀγωνοθέτου νάρκα.
 λέγεται γὰρ ὅτι “ἐνάρκησε τὸ πλάτος,” βραβείων
 καὶ κηρυγμάτων καὶ τῶν ἐν τιμαῖς ἀπάντων θαν-
 131 μασιώτατον ἀριστεῖον· εἰ γὰρ ἡ δυνάμειος ἀκαθ-
 αιρέτου ψυχὴ μεταλαβοῦσα καὶ τελειωθεῖσα ἐν
 ἄθλοις ἀρετῶν καὶ ἐπὶ τὸν ὅρον αὐτὸν ἀφικομένη
 τοῦ καλοῦ μὴ πρὸς ὕψος ὑπὸ μεγαλαυχίας ἀρθεῖη

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 ψυχῇ what the head is to the whole body.

² MSS. χειροδοτεῖ, an impossible word. The correction χειροδετεῖ, due originally to Wyttenbach, introduces a word not known elsewhere, but a very natural formation. Mangey's συγκροτεῖ, though favourably regarded by Wend., seems arbitrary.

ON DREAMS, I. 128-131

occupying the place which the head does in the whole^a 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^b to sleep upon it, but in reality to repose on the divine word, and lay his whole life, lightest of burdens, thereon. The 129 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 130 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 131 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

^a Or " the body regarded as a unity." For the Stoic use of the word see notes on *De Mig.* 180 and *Quod Det.* 49.

^b Or according to the surface meaning.

³ MSS. *ἐπιβολαίς*.

⁴ The majority of mss. have τὸν, which seems to me to give a clearer construction. Or has κατὰ fallen out between μεταχαρᾶχθέντα and καινὸν ?

- μηδ' ἀκροβατοῦσα ἐπικομπάζοι, ὥς ἀρτίοις ποσὶ
 [641] μακρὰ βαίνειν δυναμένη, ναρκήσειε δὲ καὶ | σταλείη
 τὸ εὐρυνθὲν¹ οἰήσει πλάτος, εἰθ' ἔκουσίως ὑπο-
 σκελίσασα ἑαυτὴν χωλεύοι, τῶν ἀσωμάτων ὅπως
 ὑστερίζοι φύσεων, ἡττᾶσθαι δοκοῦσα νικηφορήσει.
 132 τὸ γὰρ πρεσβείων ἐξίστασθαι γνώμη μᾶλλον <ἢ>
 ἀνάγκη τοῖς ἀμείνοσιν λυσιτελέστατον² νενόμισται,
 ἐπεὶ καὶ τὰ δευτερεῖα τῶν ἐν τῷδε τῷ ἀγῶνι τιθε-
 μένων ἄθλων τὰ πρῶτα τῶν ἐν ἑτέροις ἀξιώματος
 μεγέθει πλείστον ὅσον ὑπερβάλλει.
 133 XXII. Τὸ μὲν δὴ προοίμιον τῆς θεοπέμπτου
 φαντασίας ᾧδ' ἔχει, τρέπεσθαι δ' ἐπ' αὐτὴν καιρὸς
 ἡδὴ καὶ τῶν ἐμφερομένων ἀκριβοῦν ἕκαστον.
 “ἐνυπνιάσθη” φησί “καὶ ἰδοὺ κλίμαξ ἐστηριγ-
 μένη ἐν τῇ γῇ,³ ἧς ἡ κεφαλὴ ἀφικνέιτο εἰς τὸν
 οὐρανόν, καὶ οἱ ἄγγελοι τοῦ θεοῦ ἀνέβαινον καὶ
 κατέβαινον ἐπ' αὐτῆς· ὁ δὲ κύριος ἐπεστήρικτο ἐπ'
 134 αὐτῆς.” κλίμαξ τοίνυν ἐν μὲν τῷ κόσμῳ συμ-
 βολικῶς λέγεται ὁ ἀήρ, οὗ βάσις μὲν ἐστὶ γῆ,
 κορυφὴ δ' οὐρανός· ἀπὸ γὰρ τῆς σεληνιακῆς
 σφαίρας, ἣν ἐσχάτην μὲν τῶν κατ' οὐρανὸν κύκλων,
 πρῶτην δὲ τῶν⁴ πρὸς ἡμᾶς ἀναγράφουσιν οἱ φροντι-
 σταὶ τῶν μετεώρων, ἄχρι γῆς ἐσχάτης ὁ ἀήρ πάντη
 135 ταθεῖς ἔφθακεν. οὗτος δ' ἐστὶ ψυχῶν ἀσωμάτων
 οἶκος, ἐπειδὴ πάντα τῷ ποιητῇ τὰ τοῦ κόσμου
 μέρη καλὸν ἔδοξεν εἶναι ζώων ἀναπληρῶσαι. διὰ
 τοῦτο γῇ μὲν τὰ χερσαῖα ἐγκατεσκευάζε, θαλάτταις
 δὲ καὶ ποταμοῖς τὰ ἔνυδρα, οὐρανῷ δὲ τοὺς ἀστέρας
 —καὶ γὰρ ἕκαστος τούτων οὐ μόνον ζῶον, ἀλλὰ

¹ Perhaps read εὐρυνθὲν <ἄν> (G.H.W.).

² MSS. οἷς εὐτελέστατον: Mangey ὡς ἐντελέστατον, with at least equal probability. Or ἐντελέστατον alone?

ON DREAMS, I. 131-135

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 132 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 133 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 134 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.^a The air is the abode of incorporeal souls, since 135 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

^a 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 τῇς. See App. p. 600.

PHILO

- καὶ νοῦς ὅλος δι' ὅλων ὁ καθαρώτατος εἶναι λέγεται·
—ὥστε καὶ ἐν τῷ λοιπῷ τμήματι τοῦ παντός,
ἀέρι, ζῶα γέγονεν. εἰ δὲ μὴ αἰσθήσει καταληπτά,
136 τί τοῦτο; καὶ ψυχὴ γὰρ ἀόρατον. καὶ μὴν εἰκός
γε ἀέρα γῆς μᾶλλον καὶ ὕδατος ζωοτροφεῖν, διότι
καὶ τὰ ἐν ἐκείνοις οὗτος ἐψύχωσεν· ἐποίει γὰρ
αὐτὸν ὁ τεχνίτης ἀκινήτων μὲν σωμάτων ἕξιν,
κινουμένων δὲ ἀφαντάστως φύσιν, ἥδη δὲ ὀρμῇ
137 καὶ φαντασίᾳ χρῆσθαι δυναμένων ψυχὴν. οὐκ
ἄτοπον οὖν, δι' οὗ τὰ ἄλλα ἐψυχώθη, ψυχῶν
ἀμοιρεῖν; διὸ μηδεὶς τὴν ἀρίστην φύσιν ζώων τοῦ
ἀρίστου τῶν περιγείων, ἀέρος, ἀφαιρείσθω· οὐ γὰρ
μόνος ἐκ πάντων ἔρημος οὗτος, ἀλλ' οἷα πόλις
εὐανδρεῖ πολίτας ἀφθάρτους καὶ ἀθανάτους ψυχὰς
138 ἔχων ἰσαρίθμους ἄστροις. τούτων τῶν
ψυχῶν αἱ μὲν κατίασιν ἐνδεθησόμεναι σώμασι
θνητοῖς, ὅσαι προσγειότατοι καὶ φιλοσώματοι, αἱ
δ' ἀνέρχονται, διακριθεῖσαι πάλιν κατὰ τοὺς ὑπὸ
φύσεως ὀρισθέντας ἀριθμοὺς καὶ χρόνους.
- 139 τούτων αἱ μὲν τὰ σύντροφα καὶ συνήθη τοῦ |
[642] θνητοῦ βίου ποθοῦσαι παλινδρομοῦσιν αἰθῆς, αἱ δὲ
πολλὴν φλ.αρίαν αὐτοῦ καταγνοῦσαι δεσμωτήριον
μὲν καὶ τύμβον ἐκάλεσαν τὸ σῶμα, φυγοῦσαι δ'
ὥσπερ ἐξ εἰρκτῆς ἢ μνήματος ἄνω κούφοις πτεροῖς
πρὸς αἰθέρα ἐξαρθέσαι μετεωροπολοῦσι τὸν αἰῶνα.

^a 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

ON DREAMS, I. 135-140

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. 136 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 incon- 137 sistent 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 immortal souls equal in number to the stars.

Of these souls some, such as have earthward tendencies 138 and material tastes, descend^a to be fast bound in mortal bodies, while others ascend,^a being selected for return according to the numbers and periods determined by nature.

Of these last 139 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 140

bodies and quit them again," *κατά τινας ὀρισμένas περιόδους*. See further App. p. 600.

PHILO

- 140 ἄλλαι δ' εἰσὶ καθαρώταται καὶ ἄρισται, μειζόνων
φρονημάτων καὶ θειοτέρων ἐπιλαχοῦσαι, μηδενὸς
μὲν τῶν περιγείων ποτὲ ὀρεχθεῖσαι τὸ παράπαν,
ὑπαρχοὶ δὲ τοῦ πανηγεμόνος, ὥσπερ μεγάλου
141 βασιλέως ἀκοαὶ καὶ ὄψεις, ἐφορῶσαι πάντα καὶ
ἀκούουσαι. ταύτας δαίμονας μὲν οἱ ἄλλοι φιλό-
σοφοι, ὁ δὲ ἱερός λόγος ἀγγέλους εἶωθε καλεῖν
προσφυστέρῳ χρώμενος ὀνόματι· καὶ γὰρ τὰς
τοῦ πατρὸς ἐπικελεύσεις τοῖς ἐγγόνοις καὶ τὰς
142 τῶν ἐγγόνων χρείας τῷ πατρὶ διαγγέλλουσι. παρὸ
καὶ ἀνερχομένους αὐτοὺς καὶ κατιόντας εἰσήγαγεν,
οὐκ ἐπειδὴ τῶν μηνυσόντων ὁ πάντῃ¹ ἐφθακὼς
θεὸς δεῖται, ἀλλ' ὅτι τοῖς ἐπικήροις ἡμῖν συνέφερε
μεσίταις καὶ διαιτηταῖς λόγοις χρῆσθαι διὰ τὸ τε-
θηπέναι καὶ πεφρικέναι τὸν παμπρῦτανιν καὶ τὸ
143 μέγιστον ἀρχῆς αὐτοῦ κράτος. οὗ λαβόντες ἔν-
νοιαν ἐδεήθημὲν ποτέ τινος τῶν μεσιτῶν λέγοντες·
“ λάλησον σὺ ἡμῖν, καὶ μὴ λαλείτω πρὸς ἡμᾶς ὁ
θεός, μή ποτε ἀποθάνωμεν.” οὗ γὰρ ὅτι κολάσεις,
ἀλλ' οὐδ' ὑπερβαλλούσας καὶ ἀκράτους εὐεργεσίας
χωρῆσαι δυνάμεθα, ἅς ἂν αὐτὸς προτείνῃ δι'
ἑαυτοῦ μὴ χρώμενος ὑπηρέταις ἄλλοις.
- 144 παγκάλως δὲ ἐστηριγμένον ἐν τῇ γῇ διὰ συμβόλου
κλίμακος φαντασιοῦται τὸν αἶρα· τὰς γὰρ ἀνα-
διδόμενας ἐκ γῆς ἀναθυμιάσεις λεπτυνομένας ἐξ-
αεροῦσθαι συμβέβηκεν, ὥστε βάσιν μὲν καὶ ρίζαν
145 αἶρος εἶναι γῆν, κεφαλὴν δὲ οὐρανόν. λέγεται γοῦν,
ὅτι σελήνην πύλημα μὲν ἄκρατον αἰθέρος οὐκ ἔστιν,

¹ MSS. πάντα.

^a Wend. compares Xen. *Cyrop.* viii. 2. 10 τοὺς βασιλεὺς καλουμένους ὀφθαλμοὺς καὶ τὰ βασιλεὺς ὦτα.

ON DREAMS, I. 140-145

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 viceroys of the Ruler of the universe, ears and eyes, so to speak, of the great king,^a beholding and hearing all things. These are called "demons" by the other philo- 141
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.^b In accordance with this they are represented 142
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 143
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 144
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 145
mass of ether, as each of the other heavenly bodies

^b Cf. *De Gig.* 16, and quotation from *Plat. Symposium* there given.

ὥς ἕκαστος τῶν ἄλλων ἀστέρων, κράμα δὲ ἕκ τε αἰθερώδους οὐσίας καὶ ἀερώδους· καὶ τό γε ἐμφαινόμενον αὐτῇ μέλαν, ὃ καλοῦσί τινες πρόσωπον, οὐδὲν ἄλλο εἶναι ἢ τὸν ἀναμεμιγμένον ἀέρα, ὃς κατὰ φύσιν μέλας ὢν ἄχρις οὐρανοῦ τείνεται.

- 146 XXIII. Ἡ μὲν οὖν ἐν κόσμῳ λεγομένη συμβολικῶς κλίμαξ τοιαύτη ἐστί, τὴν δ' ἐν ἀνθρώποις σκοποῦντες εὐρήσομεν τὴν ψυχὴν, ἥς βάσις μὲν τὸ ὠσανεὶ γεωδὲς ἐστιν, αἴσθησις, κεφαλὴ δ' ὥς ἂν
 147 τὸ οὐράνιον, ὃ καθαρώτατος νοῦς. ἄνω δὲ καὶ
 [643] κάτω διὰ πάσης | αὐτῆς οἱ τοῦ θεοῦ λόγοι χωροῦσιν ἀδιαστάτως, ὅποτε μὲν ἀνέρχονται, συνανασπῶντες αὐτὴν καὶ τοῦ θνητοῦ διαζευγνύντες καὶ τὴν θέαν ὦν' ἄξιον ὁρᾶν μόνων ἐπιδεικνύμενοι, ὅποτε δὲ κατέρχονται, οὐ καταβάλλοντες—οὔτε γὰρ θεὸς οὔτε λόγος θεῖος ζημίας αἰτίας,—ἀλλὰ συγκαταβαίνοντες διὰ φιλανθρωπίαν καὶ ἔλεον τοῦ γένους ἡμῶν, ἐπικουρίας ἕνεκα καὶ συμμαχίας, ἵνα καὶ τὴν ἔτι ὥσπερ ἐν ποταμῷ, τῷ σώματι, φορου-
 148 μένην ψυχὴν σωτήριον πνέοντες ἀναζωῶσι. ταῖς μὲν δὴ τῶν ἄκρως κεκαθαρμένων διανοίαις ἀποφητὶ μόνος ἀοράτως ὁ τῶν ὅλων ἡγεμὼν ἐμπεριπατεῖ—καὶ γὰρ ἐστὶ χρησθὲν τῷ σοφῷ θεοπρόπιον, ἐν ᾧ λέγεται: “ περιπατήσω ἐν ὑμῖν, καὶ ἔσομαι ὑμῶν θεός,”—ταῖς δὲ τῶν ἔτι ἀπολουομένων, μήπω δὲ κατὰ τὸ παντελὲς ἐκνυφασμένων τὴν ῥηπῶσαν καὶ κεκληλιδωμένην (ἐν) σώμασι βαρέσι ζωὴν ἄγγελοι, λόγοι θεῖοι, φαιδρύνοντες αὐτὰς τοῖς καλοκάγαθίας
 149 δόγμασιν.¹ ὅσα δὲ ἐξοικίζεται κακῶν² οἰκητόρων

¹ MSS. ὁμμασιν: Mangey ῥύμμασιν, cf. Plat. *Rep.* 429 E, 430 A.

² MSS. κατὰ τῶν οὐ κακὰ κακ (ἐκ) τῶν: Mangey κακὰ κακῶν.

ON DREAMS, I. 145-149

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^a ?

XXIII. Such then is that which in the universe 146
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 147
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.^b In the understandings of those who have 148
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 149

^a See App. p. 600.

^b From *Timæus* 43 A. Cf. *De Gig.* 13.

στίφη, ἵνα εἰς ὁ ἀγαθὸς εἰσοικίσηται, δῆλόν ἐστι. σπουδαῖζε οὖν, ὦ ψυχή, θεοῦ οἶκος γενέσθαι, ἱερὸν ἅγιον, (ἐν)διαίτημα κάλλιστον· ἴσως γάρ, ἴσως ὃν ὁ κόσμος ἅπας, καὶ σὺ οἰκοδεσπότην σχήσεις ἐπιμελούμενον τῆς ἰδίας οἰκίας, ὡς εὐερκεστάτη καὶ ἀπήμων εἰσαεῖ διαφυλάττοιτο.¹

- 150 Ἴσως δὲ καὶ τὸν ἑαυτοῦ βίον ὁ ἀσκητῆς φαντασιούται κλίμακι ἐοικότα· φύσει γὰρ ἀνώμαλον πρᾶγμα ἄσκησις, τοτὲ μὲν προΐουσα εἰς ὕψος, τοτὲ δ' ὑποστρέφουσα πρὸς τοῦναντίον, καὶ τοτὲ μὲν καθάπερ ναῦς εὐπλοία τῇ τοῦ βίου, τοτὲ δὲ δυσπλοία χρωμένη. ἑτερήμερος γάρ, ὡς ἔφη τις, τῶν ἀσκητῶν ὁ βίος, ἄλλοτε μὲν ζῶν καὶ ἐγρη-
 151 γορώς, ἄλλοτε δὲ τέθνεως ἢ κοιμώμενος. καὶ τάχα οὐκ ἀπὸ σκοποῦ τοῦτο λέγεται· σοφοὶ μὲν γὰρ τὸν ὀλύμπιον καὶ οὐράνιον χῶρον ἔλαχον οἰκεῖν, ἄνω φοιτᾶν αἰεὶ μεμαθηκότες, κακοὶ δὲ τοὺς ἐν Ἀίδου μυχοὺς, ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἄχρι τέλους ἀποθνήσκουν ἐπιτετηδευκότες καὶ εἰς γῆρας ἐκ σπαργάνων φθορᾶς
 152 ἐθάδες ὄντες. οἱ δ' ἀσκηταὶ—μεθόριοι γὰρ τῶν ἄκρων εἰσὶν—ἄνω καὶ κάτω πολλάκις ὡς ἐπὶ κλίμακος βαδίζουσιν, ἢ ὑπὸ τῆς κρείττονος μοίρας ἀνελκόμενοι ἢ ὑπὸ τῆς χειρόνος ἀντισπώμενοι, μέχρις ἂν ὁ τῆς ἀμίλλης καὶ διαμάχης ταύτης βραβευτῆς θεὸς ἀναδῶ τὰ βραβεῖα τάξει τῇ βελτίονι, τὴν ἐναντίαν εἰσάπαν καθελῶν.

¹ In the mss. the words διαίτημα . . . διαφυλάττοιτο appear in § 155 after αἰεὶ γίνονται and are replaced by ἰσχυροὶ . . . παραπαιόντων, 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 troupes 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 150 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,"^a sometimes alive and wakeful, sometimes dead or asleep. And 151 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 152 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.

^a *Od.* xi. 303 (of Castor and Pollux) ἄλλοτε μὲν ζῶουσ' ἑτερήμεροι, ἄλλοτε δ' αὖτε τεθνᾶσιν, *cf. De Decal.* 56.

- 153 XXIV. Ἐμφαίνεται δ' ἔτι καὶ τοιοῦτον εἶδωλον,¹
 ὅπερ οὐκ ἄξιον ἡσυχασθῆναι. τὰ ἀνθρώπων πράγ-
 ματα κλίμακι πέφυκεν ἐξομοιοῦσθαι διὰ τὴν ἀνώ-
 154 μαλον | αὐτῶν φορὰν. ἡ μία γάρ, ὡς ἔφη τις,
 [644] ἡμέρα τὸν μὲν καθεῖλεν ὑψόθεν, τὸν δὲ ἤρεν ἄνω,
 μηδενὸς ἐν ὁμοίῳ πεφυκότος μένειν τῶν παρ' ἡμῖν,
 155 ἀλλὰ παντοίας μεταβαλλόντων τροπὰς. ἡ οὐκ
 ἄρχοντες μὲν ἐξ ἰδιωτῶν, ἰδιῶται δ' ἐξ ἀρχόντων,
 πένητες δ' ἐκ πλουσίων καὶ ἐκ πενήτων πολυχρή-
 ματοι καὶ ἔνδοξοι μὲν ἐξ ἡμελημένων, ἐπιφανέ-
 στατοι δὲ ἐξ ἀδόξων αἰεὶ γίνονται καὶ ἰσχυροὶ μὲν
 ἐξ ἀσθενῶν, ἐκ δὲ ἀδυνάτων δυνατοὶ καὶ συνετοὶ
 μὲν ἐξ ἀφραϊνόντων, εὐλογιστότατοι δὲ ἐκ παρα-
 156 παιόντων· καὶ ὁδὸς τις ἥδ' ἐστὶν ἄνω καὶ κάτω
 τῶν ἀνθρωπείων πραγμάτων, ἀστάτοις καὶ ἀν-
 ἰδρύτοις χρωμένη συντυχίαις, ὣν τὸ ἀνώμαλον οὐκ
 ἀδήλοις ἀλλὰ σαφέσι τεκμηρίοις ὁ ἀψευδέστατος
 ἐλέγχει χρόνος.
- 157 XXV. Ἐμήνυε δὲ τὸ ὄναρ ἐστηριγμένον ἐπὶ τῆς
 κλίμακος τὸν ἀρχάγγελον, κύριον· ὑπεράνω γάρ
 ὡς ἄρματος ἡνίοχον ἢ ὡς νεῶς κυβερνήτην ὑπο-
 ληπτέον ἵστασθαι τὸ ὄν ἐπὶ σωμαμάτων, ἐπὶ ψυχῶν,
 ἐπὶ πραγμάτων, ἐπὶ λόγων, ἐπὶ ἀγγέλων, ἐπὶ γῆς,
 ἐπ' αἶρος, ἐπ' οὐρανοῦ, ἐπ' αἰσθητῶν δυνάμεων,
 ἐπ' ἀοράτων φύσεων, ὅσαπερ θεατὰ καὶ ἀθέατα·
 τὸν γὰρ κόσμον ἅπαντα ἐξάψας ἑαυτοῦ καὶ ἀν-
 158 ἀρτήσας τὴν τοσαύτην ἡνιοχεῖ φύσιν. μηδεὶς δ'
 ἀκούων, ὅτι ἐπεστήρικτο, νομισάτω τι συνεργεῖν
 θεῷ πρὸς τὸ παγίως στῆναι, ἀλλ' ἐκείνο λογισάσθω,
 ὅτι τὸ δηλούμενον ἴσον ἐστὶ τῷ στήριγμα καὶ
 ἔρεισμα καὶ ὀχυρότης καὶ βεβαιότης ἀπάντων ἐστὶν

¹ See App. pp. 600 f.

ON DREAMS, I. 153-158

XXIV. I must not fail to mention another idea 153
 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,^a brings one 154
 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 155
 officials, and officials private citizens, rich men be-
 coming poor men and poor men men of ample means,
 nobodies becoming celebrated, obscure people be-
 coming distinguished, weak men strong, insignificant
 men powerful, foolish men men of understanding,
 witless men sound reasoners? Such is the road on 156
 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 157
 set fast upon the stairway, even the Lord: for high
 up like a charioteer high over his chariot or a helms-
 man 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 158
 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.

ὁ ἀσφαλὴς θεός, ἐνσφραγιζόμενος οἷς ἂν ἐθέλῃ τὸ ἀσάλευτον· ἐπερείδοντος¹ γὰρ καὶ συστηρίζοντος αὐτοῦ μένει τὰ συσταθέντα ἀνώλεθρα κραταιῶς.

- 159 ὁ τοίνυν ἐπιβεβηκὼς τῇ οὐρανοῦ κλίμακι λέγει τῷ φαντασιουμένῳ τὸ ὄναρ· “ἐγὼ κύριος ὁ θεὸς Ἀβραὰμ τοῦ πατρός σου καὶ ὁ θεὸς Ἰσαάκ· μὴ φοβοῦ.” ὁ χρησμὸς οὗτος τὸ ἔρυμα² τῆς ἀσκητικῆς ψυχῆς καὶ βεβαιότατον ἔρεισμα ἦν, ὃς αὐτὴν ἀνεδίδασκεν, ὅτι ὁ τῶν ὅλων κύριος καὶ θεὸς ἀμφοτέρωθεν ταῦτα τοῦ γένους ἐστὶν αὐτῷ, πατέρων καὶ πάππων ἐπιγραφεῖς καὶ ἐπικληθεῖς ἐκάτερον, ἵνα τὸν αὐτὸν ὃ τε κόσμος ἅπας καὶ ὁ φιλάρετος ἔχῃ κλῆρον· ἐπεὶ καὶ λέλεκται· “κύριος
160 αὐτὸς κλῆρος αὐτῷ.” XXVI. μὴ νομίσῃς δὲ παρέργως τοῦ μὲν Ἀβραὰμ νυνὶ λέγεσθαι κύριον καὶ θεόν, τοῦ δὲ Ἰσαάκ θεὸν αὐτὸ

- [645] μόνον. ὁ μὲν γὰρ | αὐτηκόου καὶ αὐτοδιδάκτου καὶ αὐτομαθοῦς φύσει περιγινόμενης σύμβολον ἐπιστήμης ἐστίν, ὁ δὲ Ἀβραὰμ διδασκομένης· καὶ τῷ μὲν αὐτόχθονι καὶ αὐθιγενεῖ συμβέβηκεν εἶναι,
161 τῷ δὲ μετανάστη καὶ ἐπηλύτῳ. τὴν γὰρ χαλδαῖζουσιν ἀλλογενῇ καὶ ἀλλόφυλον γλώτταν τῶν περὶ ἀστρονομίαν μετεωρολεσχῶν ἀπολιπὼν ἐπὶ τὴν ἀρμόττουσαν λογικῷ ζώῳ παρεγένετο, τὴν τοῦ

¹ Mangey ὑπερείδοντος, as also in § 241. See App. p. 601.

² mss. τέρμα or ὄραμα. Wend. prints the former but conjectures ἔρυμα. (Perhaps τὸ τ' ἔρυμα.) Another possibility is ἔρμα: Mangey καὶ ὄραμα.

* 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, 159 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" ^a (Deut. x. 9).

XXVI. Do not think that it 160 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, abandon- 161 ing 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*.

- 162 πάντων αἰτίου θεραπείαν. οὗτος μὲν δὴ ὁ τρόπος
 δεῖν δυνάμεων τῶν ἐπιμελησομένων ἐστὶ χρεῖος,
 ἡγεμονίας καὶ εὐεργεσίας, ἵνα τῷ μὲν κράτει τοῦ
 ἡγεμόνος ὑπακούῃ τῶν νομοθετουμένων, τῷ δὲ
 χαριστικῷ μεγάλα ὠφελῇται, ὁ δ' ἕτερος τῆς κατὰ
 τὸ χαρίζεσθαι μόνης· οὐ γὰρ ὑπὸ νουθετούσης
 ἀρχῆς ἐβελτιώθη, φύσει περιπεποιημένος τὸ καλόν,
 ἀλλὰ διὰ τὰς ὀμβρηθείσας ἄνθρωπον δωρεὰς ἀγαθὸς
- 163 καὶ τέλειος ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἐγένετο. χαριστικῆς μὲν οὖν
 δυνάμεως θεός, βασιλικῆς δὲ κύριος ὄνομα. τί
 οὖν ἂν τις εἴποι πρεσβύτερον ἀγαθὸν ἢ τὸ τυχεῖν
 ἀκράτου καὶ ἀμιγοῦς εὐεργεσίας, τί δὲ νεώτερον
 ἢ τὸ κεκραμένης ἔκ τε ἡγεμονίας καὶ δωρεᾶς; ὁ
 μοι δοκεῖ συνιδῶν ὁ ἀσκητῆς εὐξασθαι θαυμασιω-
 τάτην εὐχὴν, ἵνα αὐτῷ γένηται κύριος εἰς θεόν·
 ἐβούλετο γὰρ μηκέτι ὡς ἄρχοντα εὐλαβεῖσθαι, ἀλλ'
- 164 ὡς εὐεργέτην ἀγαπητικῶς τιμᾶν. ἀρ'
 οὐχὶ τοῦτοις καὶ τοῖς παραπλησίοις εἰκὸς ἦν καὶ
 τοὺς τυφλοὺς διάνοιαν ὀξυδορκῆσειν, πρὸς τῶν
 ἱερωτάτων ἐνομματουμένους λογίων, ὡς φυσιογνω-
 μονεῖν καὶ μὴ μόνον τοῖς ῥητοῖς ἐφορμεῖν; ἀλλὰ
 καὶ ἡμεῖς καμμύσαντες τὸ τῆς ψυχῆς ὄμμα μὴ
 σπουδάζωμεν ἢ μὴ δυνώμεθα ἀναβλέπειν, αὐτός,
 ὃ ἱεροφάντα, ὑπῆχει καὶ ἐπιστάτει καὶ ἐγχρίων μὴ
 ποτε ἀπείτησ, ἕως ἐπὶ τὸ κεκρυμμένον ἱερῶν λόγων

^a See App. p. 601.

^b i.e. with eye-salve, cf. Rev. iii. 18.

ON DREAMS, I. 162-164

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 good-
ness 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 ex- 164
pected, I ask, that these and like lessons would
cause even those who were blind in their understand-
ing 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 thy-
self, O Sacred Guide, be our prompter ^a and preside
over our steps and never tire of anointing ^b our eyes,
until conducting us to the hidden light of hallowed

- φέγγος ἡμᾶς μυσταγωγῶν ἐπιδείξης τὰ κατὰ-
 165 κλειστα καὶ ἀτελέστοις ἀόρατα κάλλη. σοὶ μὲν
 δὴ ταῦτα ποιεῖν ἐμπρεπές· ψυχὰι δ' ὅσαι θείων
 ἐρώτων ἐγεύσασθε, καθάπερ ἐκ βαθέος ὕπνου
 διαναστᾶσαι καὶ τὴν ἀχλὺν ἀποσκεδάσασαι πρὸς
 τὴν περίβλεπτον θέαν ἐπείχθητε μεθέμεναι τὸν
 βραδὺν καὶ μελλητὴν ὄκνον, ἵν' ὅσα θεάματα καὶ
 ἀκούσματα τῆς ὑμετέρας ἔνεκα ὠφελείας ὁ ἀγνο-
 θέτης εὐτρέπισε κατανοήσητε.
- 166 XXVII. Μυρία μὲν οὖν ἐστὶν αἰίδιμα τῶν πρὸς
 ἐπίδειξιν, ἐν δ' οὖν καὶ τὸ λεχθὲν πρὸ μικροῦ· τὸν
 μὲν γὰρ γένει πάππον τοῦ ἀσκητοῦ πατέρα εἶπε
 [646] τὸ λόγιον, τῷ δ' ὡς | ἀληθῶς πατρὶ τὸ τοῦ γεννή-
 σαντος οὐκ ἐπεφήμισεν ὄνομα. λέγει γάρ· “ἐγὼ
 κύριος ὁ θεὸς Ἀβραὰμ τοῦ πατρός σου”—καίτοι
 πάππος οὗτος ἦν—καὶ πάλιν “ὁ θεὸς Ἰσαάκ,”
 167 εἴτ' οὐ προστίθησι “τοῦ πατρός σου.” οὐκ οὖν
 ἄξιον τὴν τούτων αἰτίαν ἐρευνῆσαι; πάνυ γε.
 τίς οὖν ἐστι, μὴ παρέργως σκοπήσωμεν. τὴν
 ἀρετὴν ἢ φύσει ἢ ἀσκήσει ἢ μαθήσει περιγίνεσθαί
 φησι, διὸ καὶ τρεῖς τοὺς γενάρχας τοῦ ἔθνους
 σοφοὺς πάντας ἀνέγραφεν, ἀπὸ μὲν τῆς αὐτῆς οὐχ
 ὀρμηθέντας ἰδέας, πρὸς δὲ τὸ αὐτὸ τέλος ἐπειχ-
 168 θέντας. ὁ μὲν γὰρ πρεσβύτατος αὐτῶν Ἀβραὰμ
 ἡγεμόνι ὁδοῦ τῆς πρὸς τὸ καλὸν ἀγούσης ἐχρήσατο
 διδασκαλία, ὡς ἐν ἑτέροις, ὡς ἂν οἷόν τε ᾗ, δείξομεν,
 ὁ δὲ μέσος Ἰσαὰκ αὐτηκόω καὶ αὐτομαθεῖ τῇ
 φύσει, ὁ δὲ τρίτος Ἰακώβ ἀσκητικαῖς μελέταις,
 169 καθ' ἃς οἱ ἑναθλοὶ καὶ ἐναγώνιοι πόνοι. τριῶν οὖν

^a Cf. *De Cong.* 35 f.

words thou display to us the fast-locked lovelinesses invisible to the uninitiate. Thee it be seems to do 165 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 166 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 167 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.^a They had not at the start the same form of character, but they were all bent on reaching the same goal. Abraham, 168 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 169

- τρόπων ὑπαρχόντων, ἐξ ὧν σοφία περιγίνεται, τοὺς ἄκρους μάλιστα συμβέβηκεν ἡνῶσθαι· τὸ γὰρ ἀσκήσει ἔγγονον τοῦ μαθήσει, τὸ δὲ φύσει συγγενὲς μὲν—ὑποβέβληται γὰρ ὡς ῥίζα πᾶσιν,—ἀναντα-
 170 γωνίστου δὲ καὶ ἐτοίμου γέρως ἔλαχεν. ὥστε εἰκότως Ἀβραὰμ ὁ βελτιωθείς διδασκαλία πατὴρ Ἰακώβ λέγεται, τοῦ μελέτῃ συγκροτηθέντος, οὐκ ἄνθρωπος ἀνθρώπου μᾶλλον ἢ δύναμις ἀκουστικὴ πρὸς μάθησιν ἐτοιμοτάτῃ δυνάμεως ἀσκητικῆς καὶ
 171 ἐπιτηδείου πρὸς ἄθλησιν. ἐὰν μέντοι ὁ ἀσκητῆς οὗτος εὐτόνως δράμῃ πρὸς τὸ τέλος καὶ τηλαυγῶς ἴδῃ ἃ πρότερον ἀμυδρῶς ὠνειροπόλει, μετατυπωθεὶς τῷ κρείττονι χαρακτῆρι καὶ προσ-
 αγορευθεὶς Ἰσραήλ, ὁ θεὸν ὀρώων, ἀντὶ τοῦ πτερνίζοντος Ἰακώβ πατέρα οὐκέτι τὸν μαθόντα Ἀβραάμ, ἀλλὰ τὸν φύσει γεννηθέντα ἀστείον Ἰσαὰκ ἐπι-
 172 γράφεται. ταῦτα δὲ οὐκ ἐμός ἐστι μῦθος, ἀλλὰ χρησμὸς ἐν ταῖς ἱεραῖς ἀναγεγραμμένος στήλαις. “ἀπάρας” γάρ φησιν “Ἰσραήλ αὐτὸς καὶ πάντα τὰ αὐτοῦ ἦλθεν ἐπὶ τὸ φρέαρ τοῦ ὄρκου, καὶ ἔθυσε θυσίαν τῷ θεῷ τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτοῦ Ἰσαάκ.” ἂρ’ ἤδη κατανοεῖς, ὅτι οὐ περὶ φθαρτῶν ἀνθρώπων, ἀλλ’, ὡς ἐλέχθη, περὶ φύσεως πραγμάτων ἐστὶν ὁ παρὼν λόγος; ἰδοὺ γὰρ τὸ αὐτὸ ὑποκείμενον τοτὲ μὲν Ἰακώβ ὀνομάζεται πατὴρ Ἀβραάμ, τοτὲ δὲ
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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 170 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, 171 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 172 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. xlv. 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

Ἰσραὴλ πατὴρ Ἰσαὰκ καλεῖται διὰ τὴν ἡκριβω-
μένην αἰτίαν.

- 173 XXVIII. Εἰπὼν τοίνυν “ ἐγὼ κύριος ὁ θεὸς
Ἀβραὰμ τοῦ πατρός σου καὶ ὁ θεὸς Ἰσαὰκ ”
ἐπιφέρει· “ μὴ φοβοῦ, ” κατὰ τὸ ἀκόλουθον· πῶς
γὰρ ἔτι φοβηθησόμεθα, τὸ φόβου καὶ παντὸς
πάθους λυτήριον σὲ τὸν ὑπερασπιστὴν ὄπλον
[647] ἔχοντες; ὅς καὶ | τοὺς ἀρχετύπους τῆς παιδείας
ἡμῶν τύπους ἀδελουμένους ἐμόρφωσας, ἵν’ ἐμ-
φανεῖς ὧσιν, Ἀβραὰμ μὲν διδάξας, Ἰσαὰκ δὲ
γεννήσας· τοῦ μὲν γὰρ ὑφηγητῆς, τοῦ δὲ πατὴρ
ὑπέμεινας ὀνομασθῆναι, τῷ μὲν τὴν γνωρίμου
174 τάξιν, τῷ δὲ τὴν υἱοῦ παρασχών. διὰ τοῦτο καὶ
τὴν γῆν, λέγω δὲ τὴν παμφορωτάτην καὶ εὐ-
καρποτάτην ἀρετὴν, ἐφ’ ἧς καθεύδει ὁ ἀσκητῆς
ἀναπαυόμενος τῷ τὸν μὲν αἰσθήσεως κοιμᾶσθαι
βίον, τὸν δὲ ψυχῆς ἐγρηγορέναι, δώσειν ὁμολογεῖς,
ἀποδεξάμενος αὐτοῦ τὴν εἰρηνικὴν ἀνάπausιν, ἣν
οὐκ ἄνευ πολέμου καὶ τῶν ἐν πολέμῳ ταλαιπωριῶν
εἴλετο, οὐχ ὅπλα βαστάζων καὶ ἀνθρώπους ἀναιρῶν,
ἅπαγε, ἀλλὰ τὸ ἀντίπαλον ἀρετῆς παθῶν καὶ
175 κακιῶν στίφος καθαιρῶν. τὸ δὲ σοφίας γένος
ἄμμῳ γῆς ἐξομοιοῦται διὰ τε πληθὺν ἀπερίγραφον,
καὶ διότι τὰς μὲν τῆς θαλάττης ἐπιδρομὰς ἢ
ὑποταίνιος ἄμμος ἀνακρούεται, τὰς δὲ τῶν ἀμαρ-
τημάτων καὶ ἀδικημάτων ὁ παιδείας λόγος. οὗτος
δὲ κατὰ τὰς θείας ὑποσχέσεις ἄχρι τῶν περάτων
τοῦ παντὸς εὐρύνεται καὶ τὸν ἔχοντα ἀποφαίνει
τῶν τοῦ κόσμου κληρονόμον μερῶν, φθάνοντα
πάντῃ, πρὸς τὰ ἔωα, πρὸς τὰ ἑσπέρια, τὰ κατὰ
μεσημβρίαν, τὰ προσάρκτια· λέγεται γάρ, ὅτι

* 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 173 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^a 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 174 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 175 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 βορρᾶν
 176 καὶ ἀνατολάς.” ἔστι δ’ ὁ ἄστέιος οὐκ ἴδιον μόνον
 ἀλλὰ καὶ κοινὸν ἀγαθὸν ἅπασιν, ἐξ ἐτοίμου τὴν
 ἀφ’ ἑαυτοῦ προτείνων ὠφέλειαν. ὥς γὰρ ἥλιος
 ἀπάντων ἐστὶ φῶς τῶν ὄψεις ἔχόντων, οὕτω καὶ ὁ
 σοφὸς τῶν ὅσοι λογικῆς κεκοινωνήκασιν φύσεως.
 XXIX. “ ἐνευλογηθήσονται γὰρ ἐν σοὶ ” φησί
 177 “ πᾶσαι αἱ φυλαί.” ὁ δὲ χρησμὸς οὗτος
 ἐφαρμόττει καὶ αὐτῷ τινι πρὸς ἑαυτὸν καὶ ἐτέρῳ
 πρὸς ἕτερον. ἐάν τε γὰρ ὁ ἐν ἐμοὶ νοῦς ἀρετῇ
 τελείᾳ καθαρθῇ, καὶ αἱ τοῦ περὶ ἐμὲ γεώδους
 φυλαὶ συγκαθαίρονται, ἃς ἔλαχον αἱ αἰσθήσεις καὶ
 ἡ μεγίστη δεξαμενὴ, τὸ σῶμα· ἐάν τε τις κατ’
 οἰκίαν ἢ πόλιν ἢ χώραν ἢ ἔθνος γένηται φρονήσεως
 ἐραστής, ἀνάγκη τὴν οἰκίαν ἐκείνην καὶ τὴν πόλιν
 καὶ τὴν χώραν καὶ τὸ ἔθνος ἀμείνوني βίῳ χρῆσθαι.
 178 καθάπερ γὰρ τὰ ἐκθυμιώμενα τῶν ἀρωμάτων
 εὐωδίας τοὺς πλησιάζοντας ἀναπύμπλησι, τὸν αὐτὸν
 τρόπον ὅσοι γείτονες καὶ ὁμοροὶ σοφοῦ, τῆς ἀπ’
 αὐτοῦ σπῶντες αὖρας ἐπὶ μήκιστον χεομένης βελ-
 τιοῦνται τὰ ἥθη.
 179 XXX. Μεγίστη δέ ἐστιν εὐεργεσία ψυχῇ
 πονούσῃ καὶ διαθλούσῃ συνοδοιπόρον ἔχειν τὸν
 ἐφθακότα πάντῃ θεόν· “ ἰδοὺ ” γὰρ φησιν “ ἐγὼ
 μετὰ σοῦ.” τίνος οὖν ἂν ἔτι χρεῖοι γενοίμεθα
 πλούτου, σὲ τὸν ἀληθείᾳ πλοῦτον ἔχοντες μόνον
 “ διαφυλάσσοντα ἐν ὁδῷ ” τῇ πρὸς ἀρετὴν ἀγούσῃ
 κατὰ πάσας αὐτῆς τὰς τομάς; οὐ γὰρ ἐν μέρος
 [648] ἐστὶ τοῦ λογικοῦ | βίου τὸ πρὸς δικαιοσύνην καὶ

^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 176 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, XXIX. for he says "in thee shall all tribes be blessed" (*ibid.* 14).

Now this divine utterance has its applica- 177 tion 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 178 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 179 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? ^a For there is not one part only of the life according to reason which tends to righteousness and virtue gener-

PHILO

τὴν ἄλλην τεῖνον ἀρετὴν, ἀλλὰ μυρία ὅσα, ἐξ ὧν ἔστιν ὁρμωμένους φρονήσεως ἐφικνέσθαι.

- 180 XXXI. Παγκάλως δὲ εἴρηται καὶ τὸ “ἀποστρέψω σε εἰς τὴν γῆν ταύτην.” καλὸν μὲν γὰρ ἦν, τὸν λογισμὸν ἐφ’ ἑαυτοῦ μείναντα μὴ ἀποδημῆσαι πρὸς αἰσθησιν· δεύτερος δὲ πλοῦς, ἐφ’
- 181 ἑαυτὸν ὑποστρέψαι πάλιν. ἴσως δὲ καὶ τὸ περὶ ἀφθαρσίας ψυχῆς ὑπαινίττεται δόγμα διὰ τούτου· ἀπολιποῦσα μὲν γὰρ τὸν οὐράνιον τόπον, ὡς καὶ μικρῷ πρότερον ἐλέχθη, καθάπερ εἰς ξένην χώραν ἦλθε τὸ σῶμα. φησὶ δ’ οὐ μέχρι τοῦ παντὸς καθειργμένην αὐτὴν ὁ γεννήσας περιόψεσθαι πατήρ, ἀλλ’ οἶκτον λαβὼν λύσειν τὰ δεσμὰ καὶ ἐλευθέραν ἄχρι τῆς μητροπόλεως ἀσφαλῶς παραπέμψειν καὶ μὴ πρότερον ἀνήσειν ἢ τὰς διὰ λόγων ὑποσχέσεις ἀληθείας ἔργοις βεβαιωθῆναι· θεοῦ γὰρ ἴδιον λέγειν
- 182 πάντως τὰ γενησόμενα. καίτοι τί τοῦτο φάμεν; ἔργων γὰρ ἀδιαφοροῦσιν αὐτοῦ οἱ λόγοι.

- Διακινηθεῖσα οὖν καὶ διαναστᾶσα πρὸς τὰς περὶ τοῦ ὄντος ζητήσεις ἡ ἀσκητικὴ ψυχὴ τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ὑπετόπησεν εἶναι τὸ ὄν ἐν τόπῳ, μικρὸν δὲ ἐπισχοῦσα τῷ δυστοπάστῳ τῆς σκέψεως περι-
- 183 δεῖς γίνεται καὶ μετανοεῖν ἄρχεται. “ἐξηγέρθη” γάρ φησιν “Ἰακώβ καὶ εἶπεν, ὅτι ἔστι κύριος ἐν τῷ τόπῳ τούτῳ, ἐγὼ δὲ οὐκ ᾔδην.” καὶ ἄμεινον

^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 τοῦτο* 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.^a 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 *ἀλλ' ἡ οἶκος 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.

- ἦν, εἵπομι' ἄν, ἀγνοεῖν ἢ ἔν τινι θεὸν ὑπολαμβάνειν εἶναι, τὸν περιέχοντα αὐτὸν ἐν κύκλῳ τὰ πάντα.
- 184 XXXII. δικαίως οὖν ἐφοβήθη καὶ εἶπε θαυμαστικῶς· “ὡς φοβερός ὁ τόπος οὗτος.” ὄντως γὰρ τῶν ἐν φυσιολογίᾳ τόπος ἀργαλεώτατος, ἐν ᾧ ζητεῖται, ποῦ καὶ εἰ συνόλως ἔν τινι τὸ ὄν, τῶν μὲν λεγόντων, ὅτι πᾶν τὸ ὑφεστὼς χώραν τινὰ κατείληφε, καὶ ἄλλων ἄλλην ἀπονεμόντων, ἢ ἐντὸς τοῦ κόσμου ἢ ἐκτὸς αὐτοῦ μετακόσμιόν τινα, τῶν δὲ φασκόντων, ὅτι οὐδενὶ τῶν ἐν γενέσει τὸ ἀγέννητον ὁμοιον, ἀλλὰ τοῖς ὅλοις ὑπερβάλλον, ὡς καὶ τὴν ὠκυδρομωτάτην διάνοιαν ὑστερίζουσιν μακρῶ τῆς καταλήψεως ὁμολογεῖν ἡττάσθαι.
- 185 διόπερ εὐθὺς ἀνέκραγεν· “οὐκ ἔστι τοῦτο,” ὁ ἐδόξασα, “ὅτι ἔστι κύριος ἐν τῷ τόπῳ”· περιέχει γάρ, ἀλλ' οὐ περιέχεται κατὰ τὸν ἀληθῆ λόγον. τοῦτο δὲ τὸ δεικνύμενον καὶ ὁρατόν, ὁ αἰσθητὸς οὐτοσί κόσμος, οὐδὲν ἄρα ἄλλο ἐστὶν ἢ οἶκος θεοῦ, μιᾶς τῶν τοῦ ὄντος δυνάμεων, καθ' ἣν ἀγαθὸς ἦν.
- 186 τὸν δὲ κόσμον (ὄν)¹ οἶκον ὠνόμασε καὶ πύλην τοῦ πρὸς ἀλήθειαν οὐρανοῦ προσεῖπε. τί δὲ τοῦτ' ἐστί; τὸν ἐκ τῶν ἰδεῶν συσταθέντα ἐν τῷ χειροτονηθέντι
- [649] κατὰ τὰς θείας χορηγίας κόσμον νοητὸν | οὐκ ἔνεστιν ἄλλως καταλαβεῖν ὅτι μὴ κατὰ τὴν τοῦ
- 187 αἰσθητοῦ καὶ ὀρωμένου τούτου μετάβασιν. οὐδὲ γὰρ ἄλλο τῶν ὄντων οὐδὲν ἀσώματον ἐννοῆσαι δυνατόν ὅτι μὴ τὴν ἀρχὴν λαβόντας ἀπὸ σωμάτων·

¹ <δν> Mr. Whitaker's insertion.

^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.^a 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 " 185 (*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 186 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^b 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 187 possible to get an idea of any other incorporeal thing among existences except by making material objects

ἡρεμούντων μὲν γὰρ ἐνοήθη τόπος, χρόνος δὲ
 κινουμένων, σημεῖα δὲ καὶ γραμμαὶ καὶ ἐπιφάνειαι
 καὶ συνόλως πέρατα ἀπὸ τῆς ἐξωτάτω περικει-
 188 μένης οἶον ἀμπεχόνης. κατὰ τὸ ἀνάλογον οὖν καὶ
 ὁ νοητὸς ἀπὸ τοῦ αἰσθητοῦ κόσμος ἐνοήθη· πύλη
 τις οὖν¹ ἐκείνου. ὥς γὰρ οἱ βουλόμενοι τὰς πόλεις
 θεάσασθαι διὰ πυλῶν εἰσίσαι, οὕτως ὅσοι τὸν
 αἰδιῆν κόσμον καταλαβεῖν ἐθέλουσιν, ὑπὸ τῆς τοῦ
 ὁρατοῦ φαντασίας ξεναγοῦνται. ὁ δὲ νοητῆς ὑπο-
 στάσεως κόσμος ἄνευ ἡστινοσοῦν σχημάτων ὅψεως,
 μόνης δὲ διὰ τῆς ἀρχετύπου ιδέας τῆς ἐν τῷ δια-
 χαραχθέντι πρὸς τὸ θεαθὲν αὐτῷ εἶδος ἄνευ σκιᾶς
 μετακληθήσεται, πάντων αὐτῷ τειχῶν καὶ πάσης
 πύλης ἀπαρθέντων εἰς τὸ μὴ ἀπὸ τινος ἀθρῆσαι,
 ἀλλ' αὐτὸ καθ' αὐτὸ ἀλέκτω τινὶ καὶ δυσερμηνεύτῳ
 θέα διυδεῖν κάλλος ἀναλλοιώτων.²

189 XXXIII. Περὶ μὲν δὴ τούτων ἅλως. ἐφαρμόζει
 δὲ τῷ αὐτῷ εἶδει καὶ ἕτερος ὄνειρος, ὁ περὶ τῆς
 ποικίλης ἀγέλης, ὃν περιαναστὰς ὁ φαντασιωθεὶς
 διηγεῖται φάσκων· “εἰπέ μοι ὁ ἄγγελος τοῦ θεοῦ
 καθ' ὕπνον· Ἰακώβ. ἐγὼ δὲ εἶπα· τί ἐστι; καὶ
 εἶπεν· ἀνάβλειψον τοῖς ὀφθαλμοῖς σου καὶ ἴδε τοὺς
 τράγους καὶ τοὺς κριοὺς ἀναβαίνοντας ἐπὶ τὰ πρό-
 βατα καὶ τὰς αἰγας διαλεύκους καὶ ποικίλους καὶ
 σποδοειδεῖς ῥαντούς. ἐώρακα γὰρ ὅσα σοι Λάβαν
 ποιεῖ. ἐγὼ εἰμι ὁ θεὸς ὁ ὀφθεῖς σοι ἐν τόπῳ θεοῦ,
 οὗ ἡλειψάς μοι στήλην καὶ ἠϋζω μοι εὐχήν. νῦν

¹ mss. ὦν. The correction is Mr. Whitaker's and seems to me better than Wend.'s <δς> . . . ἦν or Mangey's πύλης ὄντος.

² The last part of this section from ὁ δὲ νοητῆς is bracketed by Wend. as a Christian interpolation. See App. pp. 602 f.

^a Or “woke up.” Cf. *De Som.* ii. 106.

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 188 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 ^a 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

οὖν ἀνάστηθι καὶ ἔξελθε ἐκ τῆς γῆς ταύτης καὶ
 ἀπελθε εἰς τὴν γῆν τῆς γενέσεώς σου, καὶ ἔσομαι
 190 μετὰ σοῦ.” ὁρᾷς ὅτι θεοπέμπτους ὀνειρούς ἀνα-
 γράφει ὁ θεῖος λόγος οὐ μόνον τοὺς κατὰ τὸ
 πρεσβύτατον τῶν αἰτίων προφαινομένους, ἀλλὰ
 καὶ τοὺς διὰ τῶν ὑποφητῶν αὐτοῦ καὶ ὁπαδῶν
 ἀγγέλων, οἱ θείας καὶ εὐδαίμονος μοίρας πρὸς τοῦ
 191 γεννήσαντος ἡξίζονται πατρός. σκόπει
 μέντοι καὶ τὸ ἀκόλουθον. ὁ ἱερὸς λόγος τοῖς μὲν
 ὡς βασιλεὺς ἃ χρὴ πράττειν ἐξ ἐπιτάγματος παραγ-
 γέλλει, τοῖς δὲ ὡς γνωρίμοις διδάσκαλος τὰ πρὸς
 ὠφέλειαν ὑφηγεῖται, τοῖς δὲ ὡς σύμβουλος γνώμας
 εἰσηγούμενος τὰς ἀρίστας τὸ συμφέρον ἐξ ἑαυτῶν
 οὐκ εἰδότας μεγάλα ὠφελεῖ, τοῖς δὲ ὡς φίλος
 ἐπιεικῶς καὶ μετὰ πειθοῦς πολλὰ καὶ τῶν ἀρρήτων
 ἀναφέρει, ὧν οὐδένα τῶν ἀτελέστων ἐπακουῖσαι
 192 θέμις. ἔστι | δ’ ὅτε καὶ πυνθάνεται τινων, ὥσπερ
 [650] τοῦ Ἀδάμ. “ ποῦ εἶ; ” πρὸς ὃ ἀποκρίναιτ’ ἄν
 τις οἰκείως “ οὐδαμοῦ, ” τῷ τάνθρώπεια πάντα ἐν
 ὁμοίῳ μὴ μένειν, ἀλλὰ κινεῖσθαι καὶ ψυχῇ καὶ
 σώματι καὶ τοῖς ἐκτός. ἀνίδρυτοι μὲν γὰρ οἱ
 λογισμοί, φαντασίας ἀπὸ τῶν αὐτῶν πραγμάτων
 οὐχὶ τὰς αὐτὰς ἀλλ’ ἐναντίας ἔχοντες, ἀνίδρυτον
 δὲ καὶ τὸ σῶμα, ὡς μηνύουσιν αἱ ἐκ βρέφους ἄχρι
 γήρως τῶν ἡλικιῶν ἀπασῶν τροπαί, ἀνίδρυτα δὲ
 καὶ τὰ ἐκτὸς ἐπηρωρημένα φορᾷ τύχης αἰεὶ σαλευ-

^a Cf. *Leg. All.* iii. 53 for a somewhat different view.

ON DREAMS, I. 189-192

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 190 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 191 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 192 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,"^a 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. ἐπειδὴν μέντοι πρὸς τὸ τῶν φίλων ἔλθῃ συνέδριον, οὐ πρότερον ἄρχεται λέγειν ἢ ἕκαστον αὐτῶν ἀνακαλέσαι καὶ ὀνομαστὶ προσεῖπείν, ἵνα τὰ ὦτα ἀνορθιάσαντες, ἡσυχία καὶ προσοχῇ χρώμενοι, τῶν θεσμιωδουμένων εἰς ἄλλῃστον μνήμην ἀκούωσιν· ἐπεὶ καὶ ἐτέρωθι λέγεται·
- 194 “σιώπα καὶ ἄκουε.” τοῦτον τὸν τρόπον ἐπὶ μὲν τοῦ βάτου Μωϋσῆς ἀνακαλεῖται—“ὥς γὰρ εἶδε” φησὶν “ὅτι προσάγει ἰδεῖν, ἐκάλεσεν αὐτὸν κύριος ἐκ τοῦ βάτου λέγων· Μωυσῆ, Μωυσή. ὁ δὲ εἶπε· τί ἐστίν;”
- Ἀβραὰμ δὲ ἐπὶ τῆς τοῦ ἀγαπητοῦ καὶ μόνου παιδὸς ὀλοκαυτώσεως, ἥνικα τε ἱεουργεῖν ἤρχετο καὶ ὁπότε δούς ἀπόπειραν εὐσεβείας ἐξ ἀνθρώπων ἀφανίσαι τὸ αὐτομαθὲς γένος, ἐπί-
- 195 κλησιν Ἰσαάκ, ἐκωλύθη· ἀρχομένου μὲν γάρ φησιν, ὅτι “ὁ θεὸς ἐπείραζε τὸν Ἀβραὰμ καὶ εἶπε πρὸς αὐτόν· Ἀβραάμ, Ἀβραάμ. ὁ δὲ εἶπεν· ἰδοὺ ἐγώ. καὶ εἶπε· λάβε τὸν υἱόν σου τὸν ἀγαπητόν, ὃν ἠγάπησας, τὸν Ἰσαάκ, καὶ ἀνένεγκε,” ἤδη δὲ τὸ ἱερεῖον ἐπὶ τὸν βωμὸν ἀνενηνοχότος, τότε “ἐκάλεσεν αὐτὸν ἄγγελος κυρίου ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ λέγων· Ἀβραάμ, Ἀβραάμ. ὁ δὲ εἶπεν· ἰδοὺ ἐγώ. καὶ εἶπε· μὴ ἐπιβάλης τὴν χειρά σου ἐπὶ τὸ παιδάριον, μηδὲ ποιήσης αὐτῷ μηδέν.”
- 196 Εἰς δὲ δὴ τοῦ φιλικοῦ θιάσου καὶ ὁ ἀσκητὴς ὢν εἰκότως προνομίας τῆς αὐτῆς ἀξιώθεις ἀνακαλεῖται· “εἶπε γάρ μοι” φησὶν “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. φιλικὸν θιάσον § 196.

ON DREAMS, I. 193-196

XXXIV. When, however, God ^a has come 193 to the company ^b 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 194 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 ^c 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 195 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 196 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

^a An odd use for "at the opening of the story of the sacrifice."

- 197 ὕπνον· Ἰακώβ. ἐγὼ δὲ εἶπα· τί ἐστιν;” ἀνα-
κληθεῖς δὲ προσοχῇ χρῆται, τὰ φανέντα σημεῖα
πειρώμενος ἀκριβοῦν, ἐστὶ δὲ τὰ σημεῖα τῶν λόγων
οἷα θρεμμάτων· ὁχεῖαί τε καὶ γενέσεις· “ἀνα-
βλέψας” γάρ φησι “τοῖς ὀφθαλμοῖς εἶδε τοὺς
τράγους καὶ τοὺς κριοὺς ἀναβαίνοντας ἐπὶ τὰ
198 πρόβατα καὶ τὰς αἰγας.” αἰπολίου μὲν δὴ τράγος,
ποιμνῆς δὲ κριὸς ἡγεμών ἐστὶ· τὰ δὲ ζῶα ταῦτα
δυεῖν λόγων σύμβολα τελείων, ὧν ὁ μὲν ἕτερος
καθαίρει καὶ κενοῖ ψυχὴν ἀμαρτημάτων, ὁ δὲ
ἕτερος τρέφει καὶ πλήρη κατορθωμάτων ἐργάζεται.
τοιούτοι μὲν οἱ ἡγεμόνες ἐν ἡμῖν ἀγελάρχαι λόγοι·
αἱ δὲ ἀγέλαι προβάτοις καὶ αἰξὶ φερωνύμως δια-
τεθεῖσαι ἄττουσι καὶ προβαίνουνσι μετὰ σπουδῆς
199 πρὸς δικαιοσύνην. ἀναβλέψας | οὖν τὸ τέως με-
[651] μυκὸς ὄμμα τῆς διανοίας εἶδε τοὺς ἀναλογοῦντας
τράγοις καὶ κριοῖς τελείους λόγους ἡκονημένους
πρὸς τε μείωσιν ἀδικημάτων καὶ ὧν χρή πρᾶττειν
συναύξησιν, πῶς ἐπὶ τὰ πρόβατα καὶ τὰς αἰγας,
τὰς ἔτι νέας καὶ ἀπαλὰς ψυχὰς ἄρτι ἡβώσας καὶ
ἄνθει τῷ τῆς ἀκμῆς ὠραῖζομένας, ἀναβαίνουνσιν
οὐκ ἄλογον ἡδονὴν διώκοντες, ἀλλ’ ἀοράτῳ σπορᾷ
200 φρονήσεως χρώμενοι δογμάτων. εὐπαις γὰρ ὁ
γάμος οὗτος οὐ σώματα συμπλέκων, ἀλλ’ εὐφύεσι
ψυχαῖς τελείας ἀρετὰς ἀρμοζόμενος. ἐπιβαίνετε
οὖν οἱ σοφίας ὀρθοὶ λόγοι πάντες, ὁχεύετε, σπείρετε,
καὶ ἦν ἂν ἴδητε ψυχὴν βαθεῖαν, εὐγειον, παρθένον,
μὴ παρέλθῃτε, καλέσαντες δ’ εἰς τὴν ὁμιλίαν καὶ
συνουσίαν ἑαυτῶν τελειώσατε καὶ ἐγκύμονα ἀπερ-

^a i.e. πρόβατον is derived from προβαίνω, αἰξ from αἰσσω.

ON DREAMS, I. 197-200

I said, 'What is it?' (Gen. xxxi. 11). And having 197
 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 198
 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^a which represent
 them, dart and go forward towards righteousness with
 earnestness. Having therefore opened the hitherto 199
 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, 200
 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 inter-
 course with yourselves, render it pregnant and so

γάσασθε· τέξεται γὰρ πάντα ἀστεία, γενεὰν ἄρρενα
 “διαλεύκων, ποικίλων, σποδοειδῶν ῥαντῶν.”

- 201 XXXV. Ἦν δ' ἔχει τῶν γεννημάτων τούτων
 ἕκαστον δύναμιν, ἐρευνητέον. διάλευκοι μὲν τοίνυν
 εἰσὶν οἱ τηλαυγέστατοι καὶ ἀριδηλότατοι, τοῦ
 “διὰ” πολλάκις ἐπὶ τοῦ μεγάλου τιθεμένου, ἀφ'
 οὗ διάδηλον καὶ διάσημον τὸ μέγας δῆλον καὶ
 202 μέγας ἐπίσημον ἔθος ὀνομάζειν ἐστί. βούλεται
 οὖν τῆς τὸν ἱερὸν σπόρον παραδεξαμένης ψυχῆς
 τὰ πρωτότοκα γεννήματα διάλευκα εἶναι, φωτὶ
 εἰκότα οὐκ ἀμυδρῶ, φέγγει δὲ τηλαυγεστάτῳ, οἷα
 γένοιτ' ἂν ἀφ' ἡλιακῶν ἀκτίνων ἄσκιος ἐν αἰθρίᾳ
 κατὰ μεσημβρίαν αὐγή· βούλεται δὲ καὶ

- ποικίλα οὐ πολυμόρφου καὶ πολυτρόπου¹ λέπρας
 ἀκαθάρτου τρόπον, διὰ γνώμης ἀβεβαιότητα χρησό-
 μενα ἀστάτῳ καὶ φορουμένῳ βίῳ, ἀλλὰ γράμμασιν
 ἐγκεκολαμμένα, καὶ σφραγῖσι διαφόροις δοκίμοις
 δὲ πάσαις τετυπωμένα, ὧν αἱ ιδιότητες ἀνα-
 μιχθεῖσαι καὶ ἀνακραθεῖσαι μουσικὴν συμφωνίαν
 203 ἐργάσονται. τὴν γὰρ ποικιλτικὴν² τέχνην
 ἐνόμισαν μὲν τινες οὕτως ἡμελημένον καὶ ἀφανές
 εἶναι πρᾶγμα, ὥστε ὑφάνταις αὐτὴν ἀνέθεσαν.
 ἐγὼ δ' οὐ μόνον αὐτὴν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῦνομα τέθηπα,
 καὶ μάλισθ' ὅταν εἰς τὰ γῆς τμήματα καὶ τὰς ἐν

¹ MSS. πολυμόρφῳ (καὶ ποικίλῳ) καὶ πολυτρόπῳ. I prefer
 Mangey's ποικίλα οὐ ποικιλία πολυμόρφῳ καὶ πολυτρόπῳ.

² MSS. ποικίλῃν.

^a See note on § 209.

^b The introduction of the idea of “engraved with seals”
 into the description of ποικιλία is based, I suspect, on Ex.
 xxxvi. 15 (xxxix. 8) ff., where the λογεῖον described as an
 ἔργον ὑφαντὸν ποικιλία 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 " ^a (Gen. xxxi. 10).

XXXV. We must search for the force and meaning 201 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 202 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,^b the blending and combination of their proper marks producing a harmony like that of music.

For the art of variegation 203

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

eis σφαγίδας. "Genuine" I take to be suggested by Gen. xxx. 42, where the *ποικίλα* of the lambs are called *ἐπίσημα* contrasted with the *ἄσημα* which Laban takes. This antithesis of *ἐπίσημα*)(*ἄσημα* naturally suggests coins, and this again *δόκιμα*)(*ἀδόκιμα*. Cf. *Quis Rerum* 180, *De Fuga* 9. The thought recurs in §§ 208, 226, 255.

οὐρανῷ σφαίρας καὶ ζώων καὶ φυτῶν διαφορὰς
καὶ τὸ παμποίκιον ὕφασμα, τουτονὶ τὸν κόσμον,
204 ἀπιδῶ. τὸν γὰρ τοῦ πλέγματος παντὸς τούτου
δημιουργὸν εὑρετὴν τῆς ποικιλικῆς ἐπινοεῖν εὐθὺς
ἐπιστήμης ἀναγκάζομαι, καὶ σέβομαι μὲν τὸν
εὐρόντα, τιμῶ δὲ τὴν εὑρεθεῖσαν, τὸ δ' ἔργον κατα-
πέπληγμαι, καίτοι μηδὲ πολλοστὸν μέρος αὐτοῦ
δυνηθεὶς ἰδεῖν, ἀπὸ δὲ τοῦ φανέντος μοι μέρους,
εἰ δὴ καὶ πέφηνεν, ἀκριβῶς τὸ ὅλον εἰκάζων ἀνα-
205 λογίας ἐλπιδι. θαυμάζω μέντοι καὶ | τὸν
[652] σοφίας ἐραστήν, ὅτι τὴν αὐτὴν τέχνην ἐπιτετή-
δευκε, πολλὰ καὶ διαφέροντα ἐκ διαφερόντων εἰς
ταῦτ' ἀσυνάγειν¹ καὶ συνυφαίνειν ἀξιῶν. λαβὼν γὰρ
ἀπὸ μὲν τῆς παιδικῆς γραμματικῆς δύο τὰ πρῶτα,
τό τε γράφειν καὶ τὸ ἀναγινώσκειν, ἀπὸ δὲ τῆς
τελειωτέρας τὴν τε παρὰ ποιηταῖς ἐμπειρίαν καὶ
τὴν ἀρχαίας ἱστορίας ἀνάληψιν, παρὰ δὲ ἀριθ-
μητικῆς καὶ γεωμετρίας τὸ ἀνεξαπάτητον ἐν οἷς
ἀναλογίας καὶ λογισμῶν ἐστὶ χρεία, παρὰ δὲ
μουσικῆς ῥυθμοὺς καὶ μέτρα,² τὰ τε ἐναρμόνια καὶ
χρωματικὰ καὶ διατονικὰ συνημμένα τε αὖ καὶ
διεzeugμένα μέλη, παρὰ δὲ ῥητορικῆς εὗρεσιν,
φράσιν, τάξιν, οἰκονομίαν, μνήμην, ὑπόκρισιν, παρὰ
δὲ φιλοσοφίας ὅσα τε ἐν ταύταις παραλέλειπται
καὶ ἄλλα ἐξ ὧν ἅπας ὁ ἀνθρώπων βίος συνέστηκεν,
ἐν ἔργον εὐανθέστατον ἡρμόσατο, εὐμάθειαν πολυ-
206 μαθείας μίξας. καὶ τὸν τούτου τοῦ πλέγ-
ματος δημιουργὸν ὁ ἱερὸς λόγος Βεσελεὴλ ἐκάλεσεν,

¹ MSS. συνάγων.

* Wend. places the cominas differently. See App. pp. 603 f.

^a See note on *De Cong.* 148.

^b See App. p. 604.

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 204 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- 205

more, 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^a; 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^b; 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 206 called by the holy word Bezaleel (Ex. xxxi. 2 ff.),

- ὅς ἐρμηνευθεὶς ἔστιν ἐν σκιᾷ θεοῦ. τὰ γὰρ μιμήματα οὗτος, τὰ δὲ παραδείγματα ἀρχιτεκτονεῖ Μωυσῆς· διὰ τοῦθ' ὁ μὲν οἷα σκιάς ὑπεγράφετο, ὁ δ' οὐ σκιάς, αὐτὰς δὲ τὰς ἀρχετύπους ἔδη-
 207 μιούργει φύσεις. εἰ δὴ καὶ τὰ ἅγια ποιικιλτικῇ τέχνῃ κατεσκευάσται καὶ ὁ σοφὸς ποικιλτῆς μόνος ἐν τοῖς ἱεροφαντηθεῖσι χρησιμοῖς ἀνείρηται XXXVI. καὶ τὸ τοῦ θεοῦ καλὸν ποίκιλμα, ὅδε ὁ κόσμος, ἐπιστήμῃ πανσόφῳ τετελεσιούργηται, πῶς οὐκ ἄξιον ὡς ἐργαλεῖον¹ τῆς ἐπιστήμης ἀποδέχε-
 208 σθαι ποικιλτικὴν; ἥς² ἀφίδρυμα ἱερώτατον πᾶς ὁ σοφίας οἶκος ἀγαλματοφορήσει καὶ κατ' οὐρανὸν καὶ ἐπὶ γῆς, ἀφ' ἥς ποικίλων λόγων ἰδέας ὁ ἀσκητῆς ἐκπονεῖ· μετὰ γὰρ τοὺς διαλεύκους εὐθὺς τοὺς ποικίλους εἶδε, παιδείας κόμματι χαραχθέντας.
 209 Τρίτοι δ' εἰσὶν οἱ σποδοειδεῖς ῥαντοί. καίτοι τις οὐκ ἂν εὖ φρονῶν εἴποι τῷ γένει καὶ τούτους εἶναι ποικίλους; ἀλλὰ γὰρ οὐκ ἔστιν αὐτῷ περὶ θρεμμάτων διαφορᾶς ἢ τοσαύτη σπουδὴ, περὶ μέντοι
 210 τῆς πρὸς καλοκάγαθίαν ἀγούσης ὁδοῦ. βούλεται γὰρ τὸν ἐπὶ ταύτην³ ἰόντα σποδῶ καὶ ὕδατι περιρ-

¹ MSS. μεγαλεῖον.² MSS. οὐ.³ MSS. ταῦτα or ταύτη.

^a i.e. Bezaleel is called *σοφός* ("filled with the spirit of wisdom" Ex. xxxi. 3), and the work is *ἔργον 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 *διάλευκοι*, here standing for the higher ideal knowledge, are followed by the *ποικίλοι*.

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,^a XXXVI. 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.^b

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.^c For he wishes the man who goes in quest of this to besprinkle himself with

^a *i.e.* Philo does not deny that the literal meaning of *σποδοειδής παντός* 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.

PHILO

- ραίνεσθαι, διότι γῆν καὶ ὕδωρ λόγος ἔχει φυρα-
θέντα καὶ μορφωθέντα πρὸς τοῦ ἀνθρωποπλάστου
εἰς τὸ ἡμέτερον ἀποκριθῆναι σῶμα, οὐ χειρόκμητον,
211 ἀλλὰ φύσεως ἔργον ἀοράτου. σοφίας οὖν ἐστὶν
ἀρχὴ μὴ ἐπιλανθάνεσθαι ἑαυτοῦ, τὰ δ' ἐξ ὧν
συνεκρίθη πρὸ ὀφθαλμῶν αἰεὶ λαμβάνειν· οὕτως γὰρ
[653] μεγαλαυχίαν, τὸ κακῶν | θεομισέστατον, ἐκνίψαιτ'
ἄν. τίς γὰρ εἰς νοῦν βαλλόμενος, ὅτι τέφρα καὶ
ὕδωρ εἰσὶν αὐτῷ τῆς γενέσεως αἱ ἀρχαί, φυσηθεὶς
212 ὑπ' οἰήσεως μετέωρος ἀρθήσεται; διὰ τοῦτο καὶ
τοὺς μέλλοντας ἱεουργεῖν περιρραίνεσθαι τοῖς λεχ-
θεῖσιν ἐδικαίωσεν, οὐδένα θυσιῶν ἄξιον νομίσας,
ὃς μὴ πρότερον ἑαυτὸν ἔγνωκε καὶ τὴν ἀνθρωπίνην
οὐδένειαν κατέληφεν, ἐξ ὧν συνεκρίθη στοιχείων
τὸ μηδενὸς ἄξιος εἶναι τεκμηράμενος.
- 213 XXXVII. Τὰ τρία ταῦτα σημεία, τὸ διάλευκον,
τὸ ποικίλον, τὸ σποδοειδὲς ῥαντόν, περὶ μὲν τὸν
ἀσκητὴν αἶτε μήπω τέλειον ἀτελῆ, περὶ δὲ τὸν
214 τέλειον φαίνεται καὶ αὐτὰ τέλεια. ὃν δὲ τρόπον,
θεασώμεθα· τὸν μέγαν ἀρχιερέα, ὁπότε μέλλοι τὰς
νόμῳ προστεταγμένας ἐπιτελεῖν λειτουργίας, ὁ
ἱερὸς ἐδικαίωσε λόγος ὕδατι καὶ τέφρᾳ περιρ-
ραίνεσθαι τὸ πρῶτον εἰς ὑπόμνησιν ἑαυτοῦ—καὶ
γὰρ ὁ σοφὸς Ἀβραάμ, ὅτε ἐντευξόμενος ἦει τῷ
θεῷ, γῆν καὶ σποδὸν εἶπεν ἑαυτόν,—ἔπειτ' ἐν-
δύεσθαι τὸν ποδήρη χιτῶνα καὶ τὸ ποικίλον ὁ

* "Ashes," however, are not mentioned here. See App. p. 604.

ON DREAMS, I. 210-214

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, 211 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 212 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, 213 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 214 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)^a 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

PHILO

- κέκληκεν ἐπ' αὐτῷ περιστήθιον, τῶν κατ' οὐρανὸν
 215 φωσφόρων ἄστρον ἀπεικόνισμα καὶ μίμημα. δύο
 γάρ, ὡς ἔοικεν, ἱερὰ θεοῦ, ἐν μὲν ὅδε ὁ κόσμος, ἐν
 ᾧ καὶ ἀρχιερεὺς ὁ πρωτόγονος αὐτοῦ θεῖος λόγος,
 ἕτερον δὲ λογικὴ ψυχὴ, ἧς ἱερεὺς ὁ πρὸς ἀλήθειαν
 ἄνθρωπος, οὗ μίμημα αἰσθητὸν ὁ τὰς πατρίους
 εὐχὰς καὶ θυσίας ἐπιτελῶν ἐστίν, ᾧ τὸν εἰρημένον
 ἐπιτέτραπται χιτῶνα ἐνδύεσθαι, τοῦ παντὸς ἀντί-
 216 ἀνθρώπῳ καὶ τῷ παντὶ ἄνθρωπος. δύο
 μὲν οὖν ἦδη, τὸν τε ῥαντὸν καὶ τὸν ποικίλον τύπον,
 ἔχων ἐπιδέδεικται· τὸν δὲ τρίτον καὶ τελειότατον,
 ὃς ὀνομάζεται διάλευκος, αὐτίκα σηματοῦμεν.
 ὅταν εἰς τὰ ἐσωτάτω τῶν ἀγίων ὁ αὐτὸς οὗτος
 ἀρχιερεὺς εἰσῇ, τὴν μὲν ποικίλην ἐσθῆτα ἀπαμπί-
 σχεται, λινῇ δὲ ἐτέραν, βύσσου τῆς καθαρωτάτης
 217 πεποιημένην, ἀναλαμβάνει. ἡ δ' ἐστὶ σύμβολον
 εὐτονίας, ἀφθαρσίας, αὐγοειδεστάτου φέγγους· ἀρ-
 ραγῆς τε¹ γὰρ ἡ ὀθόνη καὶ ἐξ οὐδενὸς τῶν ἀπο-
 θνησκόντων γίνεται καὶ ἔτι λαμπρότατον καὶ
 φωτοειδέστατον ἔχει μὴ ἀμελῶς καθαρθεῖσα χρῶμα.
 218 διὰ δὲ τούτων ἐκείνο αἰνίττεται, ὅτι τῶν ἀδόλως
 καὶ καθαρῶς θεραπευόντων τὸ ὄν οὐδεὶς ἐστίν ὃς
 μὴ πρῶτον μὲν ἰσχυρογνωμοσύνη κέχρηται κατα-
 φρονήσας τῶν ἀνθρωπείων πραγμάτων, ἃ δελεά-
 [654] ζοντα κηραίνει καὶ ἀσθένειαν ἐργάζεται, | ἔπειτα
 ἀφθαρσίας ἐφίεται γελάσας ὅσα οἱ θνητοὶ τυφο-
 πλαστοῦσι, τελευταῖον δὲ ἀληθείας ἀσκίῳ φέγγει
 καὶ περιανγεί καταλάμπεται, μηδὲν ἔτι τῶν τῆς

¹ Some mss. καθαρὰ τε, others ἀρραγεστέρα (-έστατον).

^a i.e. the twelve signs of the Zodiac, cf. *De Spec. Leg.* i. 87.

^b i.e. not of wool, cf. *De Ebr.* 86.

ON DREAMS, I. 214-218

embroidered or variegated breastplate (Ex. xxix. 5), a representation and copy of the shining constellations.^a For there are, as is evident, two temples of God : 215 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 216 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, 217 imperishableness, most radiant light : for fine linen is hard to tear, and is made from no mortal creature,^b and moreover when carefully cleaned has a very brilliant and luminous colour. What is symbolically 218 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

ψευδοῦς δόξης, ἃ σκότῳ φίλα εἶναι συμβέβηκε, προσιέμενος.

- 219 XXXVIII. Ὁ μὲν δὴ μέγας ἀρχιερεὺς τρισὶ ταῖς εἰρημέναις τυπωθεῖς σφραγίσιν, τῇ διαλεύκῳ, τῇ ποικίλῃ, τῇ σποδοειδεῖ ῥαντῇ, τοιοῦτος ἡμῖν ἀναγεγράφθω· τὸν δὲ τῆς ἀνθρωπίνης πολιτείας ἐφιέμενον, Ἰωσήφ ὄνομα, τῶν μὲν ἄκρων ἰδεῖν ἔστι μὴ μεταποιούμενον χαρακτήρων, μόνου δὲ τοῦ
- 220 μέσου καὶ ποικίλου. λέγεται γὰρ ὅτι χιτῶνα ποικίλον ἔσχευ, οὔτε καθαρσίοις περιρρανάμενος ἱεροῖς, ἀφ' ὧν ἑαυτὸν ἂν ἔγνω τέφρας καὶ ὕδατος συμφόρημα, οὔτε τῆς πανλεύκου καὶ φωτοειδεστάτης ἐσθῆτος, ἀρετῆς, ψαῦσαι δυνηθεῖς, ἀλλὰ τὸ τῆς πολιτείας ἐπαμπισχόμενος ὕφασμα παμποίκιλον, ᾧ βραχύτατον μέρος ἀληθείας ἐγκαταμέμικται, πολλὰ δὲ καὶ μεγάλα μοῖραι ψευδῶν εὐλόγων πιθανῶν εἰκότων, ἐξ ὧν οἱ Αἰγύπτου πάντες ἀνέβλαστον σοφισταί, οἰωνομάντεις, ἐγγαστρίμυθοι, τερατοσκόποι, δεινοὶ παλεῦσαι καὶ κατεπαῖσαι καὶ γοητεῦσαι, ὧν τὰς ἐπιβούλους τέχνας
- 221 μέγα ἔργον διεκδῦναι. διὸ καὶ τὸν χιτῶνα τοῦτον εἰσάγει Μωυσῆς φυσικῶς αἵματι πεφυρμένον, ἐπειδὴ πᾶς ὁ τοῦ πολιτευομένου βίος πέφυρται, πολεμῶν τε καὶ πολεμούμενος καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν προσπιπτουσῶν ἀβουλήτων συντυχιῶν βαλλόμενος καὶ
- 222 τοξευόμενος. ἐρεύνησον οὖν τὸν λίαν δημοτικόν, ᾧ τὰ πόλεως πράγματα ἐφορμεῖ, μὴ καταπλαγεῖς τοὺς θαυμαστικῶς ἔχοντας αὐτοῦ, καὶ πολλὰς μὲν ἐμφωλευούσας νόσους εὐρήσεις, πολλὰς δ' ἐξηγμένον κῆρας καὶ βιαίως ἐκάστην τὴν ψυχὴν αὐχενίζουσιν 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 219 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 220 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 221 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 222 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

- ζητοῦσαν ἀνατρέψαι καὶ καταβαλεῖν, ἣ τοῦ πλήθους
 τῇ προστασίᾳ δυσχεράναντος ἢ κατὰ ἀντεπίθεσιν
 223 δυνατωτέρου ἀνδρός. ἔστι δὲ καὶ ὁ φθόνος βαρὺς
 καὶ δυσαπότριπτος ἐχθρός, ἐπιφυόμενος ἀεὶ ταῖς
 λεγομέναις εὐπραγίαις, ὃν οὐ ῥάδιον ἐκφυγεῖν.
- 224 XXXIX. τί οὖν ὥς ἐσθῆτα πολυτελῆ
 τὴν ἐπηνθισμένην πολιτείαν ἀναψάμενοι γαυριῶμεν,
 τῷ εὐπρεπεῖ τῆς φανερᾶς ὄψεως ἀπατώμενοι, τὸ
 δ' ἀφανὲς καὶ κεκρυμμένον ἐπίβουλον καὶ σφαλερὸν
 225 αἰσχος αὐτῆς οὐ κατανοοῦντες; ἀποδυσάμενοι δὴ
 τὸν ἀνθηρόν τοῦτον χιτῶνα τὸν ἱερὸν ἐνδυνάμεθα
 ἀρετῶν ποικίλμασιν ἐνυφασμένον· οὕτως γὰρ καὶ
 τὰς ἐνέδρας ἀποδρασόμεθα, ἃς ἀτεχνία καὶ ἀν-
 επιστημοσύνη καὶ ἀπαιδευσία καθ' ἡμῶν τιθέασιν,
 226 ὣν ὁ Λάβαν ἐστὶ θιασώτης. ἐπειδὴ γὰρ
 ἐκάθηρεν ἡμᾶς ὁ ἱερὸς λόγος τοῖς εἰς ἀγιστείαν |
 [655] εὐτρεπισθεῖσι περιρραντηρίοις καὶ τοῖς ἀπορρήτοις
 φιλοσοφίας ἀληθοῦς κατεποίκιλε λόγοις ἀγαγὼν
 εἰς τὸ δοκίμιον καὶ διασήμους καὶ ἐπιφανεῖς καὶ
 λαμπροὺς ἐποίησεν, αἰτιᾶται τὸ ἐπίβουλον ἦθος,
 πρὸς τὴν τῶν λεχθέντων ἀνηρεθισμένον λώβην.
 227 φησὶ γάρ· “ἐώρακα ὅσα σοι Λάβαν ποιεῖ,”
 τάναντία δῆπουθεν οἷς ἔδωρησάμην ἐγώ, τὸ δυσ-
 κάθαρτον καὶ τὸ ἀδόκιμον, τὸ πάντῃ σκοταῖον.
 ἀλλὰ γὰρ οὐ χρὴ κατεπτηχέναι τὸν
 ἐλπίδι θείας συμμαχίας ἐφορμοῦντα, ᾧ καὶ λέγεται·
 “ἐγὼ εἰμι ὁ θεὸς ὁ ὀφθεῖς σοι ἐν τόπῳ θεοῦ.”
 228 πάγκαλόν γε αὔχημα ψυχῇ, τὸ ἀξιοῦν θεὸν ἐπι-
 φαίνεσθαι καὶ ἐνομιλεῖν αὐτῇ. μὴ παρέλθῃς δὲ τὸ
 εἰρημένον, ἀλλὰ ἀκριβῶς ἐξέτασον, εἰ τῷ ὄντι δύο

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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

εἰσι θεοί· λέγεται γὰρ ὅτι “ ἐγὼ εἰμι ὁ θεὸς ὁ
 ὀφθείς σοι,” οὐκ ἐν τόπῳ ἐμῷ, ἀλλ’ “ ἐν τόπῳ
 229 θεοῦ,” ὡς ἂν ἐτέρου. τί οὖν χρή λέγειν; ὁ μὲν
 ἀληθείᾳ θεὸς εἷς ἐστίν, οἱ δ’ ἐν καταχρήσει λεγόμενοι
 πλείους. διὸ καὶ ὁ ἱερὸς λόγος ἐν τῷ παρόντι
 τὸν μὲν ἀληθείᾳ διὰ τοῦ ἄρθρου μεμήνυκεν εἰπών·
 “ ἐγὼ εἰμι ὁ θεός,” τὸν δ’ ἐν καταχρήσει χωρὶς
 ἄρθρου φάσκων· “ ὁ ὀφθείς σοι ἐν τόπῳ,” οὐ τοῦ
 230 θεοῦ, ἀλλ’ αὐτὸ μόνον “ θεοῦ.” καλεῖ δὲ θεὸν τὸν
 πρεσβύτατον αὐτοῦ νυνὶ λόγον, οὐ δεισιδαιμονῶν
 περὶ τὴν θέσιν τῶν ὀνομάτων, ἀλλ’ ἐν τέλος προ-
 τεθειμένος, πραγματολογῆσαι. καὶ γὰρ ἐν ἐτέροις
 σκεψάμενος, εἰ ἔστι τι τοῦ ὄντος ὄνομα, σαφῶς
 ἔγνω ὅτι κύριον μὲν οὐδέν, ὁ δ’ ἂν εἴπη τις, κατα-
 χρώμενος ἐρεῖ· λέγεσθαι γὰρ οὐ πέφυκεν, ἀλλὰ
 231 μόνον εἶναι τὸ ὄν. XL. μαρτυρεῖ δὲ
 καὶ τὸ θεσπισθὲν λόγιον τῷ πυνθανομένῳ, εἰ ἔστιν
 ὄνομα αὐτῷ, ὅτι “ ἐγὼ εἰμι ὁ ὢν,” ἢ ὢν δυνατόν
 ἀνθρώπῳ καταλαβεῖν μὴ ὄντων περὶ θεόν, ἐπιγινῶ
 232 τὴν ὑπαρξιν.¹ ταῖς μὲν οὖν ἀσωμάτοις καὶ θερα-
 πευτρίσιν αὐτοῦ ψυχαῖς εἰκὸς αὐτὸν οἷός ἐστιν
 ἐπιφαίνεσθαι διαλεγόμενον ὡς φίλον φίλαις, ταῖς

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 ἐγὼ εἰμι ὁ ὢν?

^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 δεισιδαιμονία, as the Latin *superstitio*

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 ἔτι ἐν σώματι ἀγγέλοις εἰκαζόμενον, οὐ μετα-
βάλλοντα τὴν ἑαυτοῦ φύσιν—ἄτρεπτος γάρ,—ἀλλὰ
δόξαν ἐντιθέντα ταῖς φαντασιουμέναις ἑτερόμορφον,
ὡς τὴν εἰκόνα οὐ μίμημα, ἀλλ' αὐτὸ τὸ ἀρχέτυπον
233 ἐκεῖνο εἶδος ὑπολαμβάνειν εἶναι. παλαιὸς
μὲν οὖν ἄδεται λόγος, ὅτι τὸ θεῖον ἀνθρώποις εἰ-
καζόμενον ἄλλοτε ἄλλοις περινοστεῖ τὰς πόλεις ἐν
κύκλῳ, τὰς τε ἀδικίας καὶ παρανομίας ἐξετάζον·
καὶ τάχα μὲν οὐκ ἀληθῶς, πάντως δὲ λυσιτελῶς
234 καὶ συμφερόντως ἄδεται. ὁ δὲ¹ λόγος
σεμνότερον καὶ ἀγιώτερον ταῖς περὶ τοῦ ὄντος
ἐννοίαις αἰεὶ χρώμενος, ἅμα δὲ καὶ τὸν τῶν ἀφρόνων
[656] βίον | παιδεῦσαι γλιχόμενος ἀνθρώπῳ μὲν εἴκασεν,
235 οὐ μέντοι τῶν ἐπὶ μέρους οὐδενί· πρόσωπον διὰ
τοῦτο καὶ χεῖρας καὶ βάσεις καὶ στόμα καὶ φωνὴν
ὀργὰς τε καὶ θυμούς, ἔτι δὲ ἀμυντήρια ὄπλα καὶ
εἰσόδους μέντοι καὶ ἐξόδους καὶ τὰς ἄνω καὶ κάτω
καὶ πανταχῇ κινήσεις περιέθηκεν, οὐ πρὸς ἀλήθειαν
τὸ κεφάλαιον τοῦτο τῶν λόγων ἀναφέρων, ἀλλὰ
236 πρὸς τὸ λυσιτελὲς τῶν μαθανόντων. εἰσὶ γάρ
τινες ἀμβλεῖς πάνυ τὰς φύσεις, ὡς μὴ δύνασθαι
θεὸν ἄνευ σώματος ἐπινοῆσαι τὸ παράπαν· οὐς
ἀμήχανον ἑτέρως ἢ τρόπον τοῦτον νουθετεῖν λέγον-
τας, ὅτι ὡς ἄνθρωπος ὁ θεὸς ἀφικνεῖται καὶ ἐξανα-
χωρεῖ καὶ κάτεισι καὶ ἀνέρχεται καὶ φωνῇ χρῆται
καὶ τοῖς ἁμαρτανομένοις δυσχεραίνει καὶ ἀπαρ-
αιτήτως πρὸς τὰς ὀργὰς ἔχει καὶ βέλη μέντοι.

¹ Perhaps <ἱερὸς> λόγος.

^a An obvious allusion to *Od.* xvii. 485:

καὶ τε θεοὶ ξείνοισιν εἰκότες ἄλλοδαποῖσι,
παντοῖοι τελέθοντες, ἐπιστρωφῶσι πόλῃας,
ἀνθρώπων ὕβριν τε καὶ εὐνομίην ἐφορῶντες.

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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 233 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.^a 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 enter- 234 taining 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.^b For this reason it has ascribed to 235 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^c in its language it is concerned not with truth, but with the profit accruing to its pupils. For some there are 236 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 ὅσα πρὸς τιμωρίας ὄργανα
 237 ἐπιτήδεια κατὰ τῶν ἀδίκων προεντρέπισται. ἀγα-
 πητὸν γάρ, ἐὰν τῷ διὰ τούτων ἐπικρεμασθέντι
 φόβῳ σωφρονισθῆναι δυνηθῶσι. καὶ σχεδὸν δύο
 εἰσὶν αὐταὶ μόναι αἱ τῆς νομοθεσίας πάσης ὁδοί,
 μία μὲν ἢ πρὸς τὸ ἀληθὲς ἀπονεύουσα, δι' ἧς
 κατασκευάζεται "οὐχ ὡς ἄνθρωπος ὁ θεός,"
 ἑτέρα δὲ ἢ πρὸς τὰς τῶν νωθεστέρων δόξας, ἐφ'
 ᾧν λέγεται· "παιδεύσει σε κύριος ὁ θεός, ὡς εἴ τις
 παιδεύσειεν ἄνθρωπος τὸν υἱὸν αὐτοῦ."
 238 XLI. τί οὖν ἔτι θαυμάζομεν, εἰ ἀγγέλοις, ὅποτε
 καὶ ἀνθρώποις ἕνεκα τῆς τῶν δεομένων ἐπικουρίας
 ἀπεικάζεται; ὥσθ' ὅταν φῇ· "ἐγὼ εἰμι ὁ θεὸς
 ὁ ὀφθεῖς σοι ἐν τόπῳ θεοῦ," τότε νόησον, ὅτι τὸν
 ἀγγέλου τόπον ἐπέσχεν ὅσα τῷ δοκεῖν, οὐ μετα-
 βάλλων, πρὸς τὴν τοῦ μήπω δυναμένου τὸν ἀληθῆ
 239 θεὸν ἰδεῖν ὠφέλειαν. καθάπερ γὰρ τὴν ἀνθήλιον
 αὐγὴν ὡς ἥλιον οἱ μὴ δυνάμενοι τὸν ἥλιον αὐτὸν
 ἰδεῖν ὁρῶσι καὶ τὰς περὶ σελήνην ἄλλως ὡς αὐτὴν
 ἐκείνην, οὕτως καὶ τὴν τοῦ θεοῦ εἰκόνα, τὸν
 240 ἀγγελον αὐτοῦ λόγον, ὡς αὐτὸν κατανοοῦσιν. οὐχ
 ὁρᾷ τὴν ἐγκύκλιον παιδείαν Ἀγαρ, ὅτι τῷ ἀγγέλῳ
 φησί· "σὺ ὁ θεὸς ὁ ἐπιδῶν με;" οὐ γὰρ ἦν ἱκανὴ
 τὸ πρεσβύτατον ἰδεῖν αἴτιον, γένος οὕσα τῶν ἀπ'
 Αἰγύπτου. νυνὶ δὲ ὁ νοῦς ἄρχεται βελτιούμενος
 τὸν ἡγεμόνα πασῶν τῶν τοιούτων δυνάμεων φαν-
 241 τασιοῦσθαι. διὸ καὶ αὐτὸς φησιν· "ἐγὼ εἰμι 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,"

instruments of vengeance against the unrighteous. For it is something to be thankful for if they can be 237 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 238 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 239 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 240 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,^a 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 241

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.

PHILO

- θεός," οὐ τὴν εἰκόνα ὡς ἐμὲ πρότερον ἐθεάσω καὶ
 στήλην ἐπίγραμμα ἐγκολάψας ἱερώτατον ἀνέθηκας·
 τὸ δὲ ἐπίγραμμα ἐμήνυνεν, ὅτι μόνος ἔστηκα ἐγὼ
 καὶ τὴν τῶν πάντων φύσιν ἰδρυσάμην, τὴν ἀταξίαν
 καὶ ἀκοσμίαν εἰς κόσμον καὶ τάξιν ἀγαγὼν καὶ τὸ
 πᾶν ἐπερείσας,¹ ἵνα στηριχθῇ βεβαίως τῷ κραταιῷ
 [657] καὶ ὑπάρχω μου | λόγῳ.
- 242 XLII. Στήλη γὰρ τριῶν πραγμάτων σύμβολον,
 στάσεως ἀναθέσεως ἐπιγράμματος. ἡ μὲν οὖν
 στάσις καὶ τὸ ἐπίγραμμα δεδήλωται, ἡ δὲ ἀνάθεσις
 243 ἀναγκαῖα μνησθῆναι· πᾶς ὁ οὐρανὸς καὶ ὁ κόσμος
 ἀνάθημα θεοῦ τοῦ πεποιηκότος τὸ ἀνάθημα· καὶ
 ὅσαι μέντοι κοσμοπολίτιδες ψυχαὶ καὶ θεοφιλεῖς,
 ἑαυτὰς ἀνιεροῦσιν ὑπὸ μηδενὸς ἀντισπώμεναι θνη-
 τοῦ, καθαγιαζοῦσαι δὲ καὶ καλλιεροῦσαι τὸν ἑαυτῶν
 244 ἄφθαρτον βίον οὐδέποτε κάμνουσι. μάταιος δ'
 ὅστις μὴ θεῷ στήλην ἀνατίθῃσιν, ἀλλ' ἑαυτῷ, τὰ
 γενέσεως ἰστάς τῆς πάντῃ σαλευομένης καὶ ἐπι-
 γραμμάτων καὶ ἐπαίνων ἀξιῶν, ἃ ψόγου καὶ κατ-
 ηγορίας μεστὰ ὄντα καλὸν ἦν ἢ μὴ γραφῆναι τὸ
 245 παράπαν ἢ γραφέντα εὐθὺς ἀπαλειφθῆναι. διὸ καὶ
 φῃσιν ἀντικρὺς ὁ ἱερὸς λόγος· "οὐ στήσεις σεαυτῷ
 στήλην". ἔστηκε γὰρ τῶν ἀνθρωπίνων² πρὸς ἀλή-
 θειαν οὐδέν, καὶ διαρραγῶσί τινες ψευδόμενοι.
 246 ἀλλὰ γὰρ οὐκ οἴονται μόνον παγίως ἐρηρεῖσθαι,

¹ See on § 158.

² MSS. ἀνθρώπων.

^a 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. ὑμῶν ἐγχαράξεις, § 256) its conviction and dedicates itself.

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^a (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 242 standing, of dedicating, of inscription. The standing and inscription have been made clear, but the dedicating demands explanation. The whole heaven and 243 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 244 to God but to himself, erecting^b 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 reprov'd, 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 245 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.^c Nay, they do not only 246 think that they are firmly established but also that

^b Lit. "making to stand." See App. p. 605.

^c Cf. *De Corona* § 21 οὐδ' ἂν σὺ διαπαργῆς ψευδόμενος and *ibid.* § 87.

- ἀλλὰ καὶ τιμῶν ἄξιοι καὶ ἐπιγραμμαμάτων εἶναι, τοῦ
 μόνου τιμῆς ἄξιου καὶ ἐστῶτος ὄντως ἐπιλελη-
 σμένοι. ἀποκλίναντας γὰρ αὐτοὺς καὶ ἐκτραπο-
 μένους τὴν ἐπ' ἀρετὴν ἄγουσαν ὁδὸν ἔτι μᾶλλον
 ἐξέτρεψεν αἰσθησις, ἢ σύμφυτος αὐτῶν¹ γυνή, καὶ
 247 ἠνάγκασεν ἐξοκεῖλαι. τοιγάρτοι περικαταχθείσα²
 ὡς ναῦς ἡ ὅλη ψυχὴ τρόπον στήλης ἀνετέθη. τὴν
 γὰρ Λῶτ γυναῖκα ἐπιστραφεῖσαν εἰς τοῦπίσω
 φασὶν οἱ χρησμοὶ γενέσθαι στήλην ἁλός, εἰκότως
 248 γε καὶ προσηκόντως· εἰ γὰρ τις μὴ τὰ πρόσω, τὰ
 θέας καὶ ἀκοῆς ἄξια, διορᾷ—ταῦτα δ' εἰσὶν ἀρεταὶ
 καὶ τὰ κατὰ ἀρετὰς ἔργα,—περιβλέπεται δὲ τὰ
 ὀπίσω καὶ τὰ νώτια, κωφὴν δόξαν καὶ τυφλὸν
 πλοῦτον καὶ ἀναίσθητον εὐσαρκίαν καὶ νοῦ κενὴν
 εὐμορφίαν καὶ ὅσα συγγενῇ τούτοις μεταδιώκων,
 αἴψυχος ἀνακείσεται στήλῃ περὶ ἑαυτὴν καταρ-
 ρυεῖσα· οἱ γὰρ ἅλεις οὐ βέβαιον.
- 249 XLIII. Παγκάλως οὖν ὁ ἀσκητῆς μελέτῃ συνεχεῖ
 μαθῶν, ὅτι γένεσις κινητὸν ἐξ ἑαυτῆς, τὸ δὲ
 ἀγέννητον ἄτρεπτόν τε καὶ ἀκίνητον, ἀνίστησι τῷ
 θεῷ στήλην καὶ ἀναστήσας ἀλείφει· λέγεται γάρ·
 250 “ἠλευψάς μοι στήλην.” ἀλλὰ μὴ νομίσης ἐλαίῳ
 λίθον ἀλείφεσθαι, ἀλλὰ τὸ περὶ τοῦ μόνου ἐστάναι
 τὸν θεὸν ἐν ψυχῇ δόγμα γυμνάζεσθαι καὶ συν-
 ασκεῖσθαι πρὸς ἀλειπτικῆς ἐπιστήμης, οὐχ ἡ τὰ
 σώματα πιαίνεται, ἀλλ' ὑφ' ἧς διάνοια ἰσχὺν
 251 κτᾶται καὶ ῥώμην ἀνανταγώνιστον. φίλαθλος γὰρ

¹ mss. αὐτῷ.

² Wend. suggests περικαταγεῖσα. But the form κατεάχθην has sufficient authority.

^a See App. p. 605.

^b Or “looks round with admiration,” as elsewhere in Philo.

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 ^a 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 248 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 ^b 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 249 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 250 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

PHILO

- καὶ φιλογυμναστῆς ὁ πρὸς τὴν τῶν καλῶν ἐπι-
 [658] τηδευμάτων ὠρμημένος | θήραν· ὥστ' εἰκότως τὴν
 ἀδελφὴν ἱατρικῆς τέχνης ἀλειπτικὴν ἐκπονήσας,
 πάντας τοὺς περὶ ἀρετῆς καὶ εὐσεβείας ἀλείψας
 καὶ συγκροτήσας λόγους, ἀνάθημα κάλλιστον καὶ
 252 ἐχυρώτατον ἀναθήσει θεῷ. διὸ καὶ μετὰ
 τὴν τῆς στήλης ἀνάθεσιν φησιν, ὅτι “ ἡϋῶ μοι
 εὐχὴν.” εὐχὴ δέ ἐστι κυρίως εἰπεῖν ἀνάθεσις,
 ὁπότε μὴ μόνον τὰ ἑαυτοῦ κτήματα, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸν
 κεκτημένον ἑαυτὸν ἀποδιδούς διδόναι λέγεται θεῷ
 253 δῶρον. “ ἅγιος ” γάρ φησιν “ ἐστὶν ὁ τρέφων
 κόμην τρίχα κεφαλῆς ” ὁ εὐξάμενος¹. εἰ δὲ ἅγιος,
 ἀνάθημα πάντως, μηδενὸς ἔτ' ἀνιέρου καὶ βεβήλου
 254 προσαπτόμενος. ἐγγυᾶται δέ μου τὸν λόγον ἡ
 προφήτης καὶ προφητοτόκος Ἄννα, ἥς μεταληφθὲν
 τοῦνομα καλεῖται χάρις. τὸν γὰρ υἱὸν διδόναι φησὶ
 τῷ ἁγίῳ δῶρον Σαμουὴλ, οὐκ ἄνθρωπον μᾶλλον,
 ἀλλὰ τρόπον ἐνθουσιῶντα καὶ κατεχόμενον ἐκ
 μανίας θεοφορήτου. Σαμουὴλ δὲ ἐρμηνεύεται
 τεταγμένος θεῷ.
 255 Τί οὖν ἔτι, ψυχὴ, ματαιαῖζεις καὶ κενὰ πονεῖς,
 ἀλλ' οὐ φοιτᾷς πρὸς τὸν ἀσκητὴν, τὰ κατὰ τοῦ
 πάθους καὶ τῆς κενῆς δόξης ἀναλαβεῖν ὅπλα καὶ
 παλαισμάτα μαθησομένη; τάχα γὰρ μαθοῦσα ἀγέ-
 λαρχήσεις, οὐκ ἀσήμου καὶ ἀλόγου καὶ ἀναγώγου,
 256 δοκίμου δὲ καὶ λογικῆς καὶ ποικίλης ἀγέλης· ἥς

¹ Most mss. have ὁ εὐξάμενος, Wend. with some εὐξάμενος. 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, ἅγιος 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 252 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 253 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 254 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),^a 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 255 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.

PHILO

εἰ γένοιο ἡγεμών, τὸ μὲν οἰκτρὸν ἀνθρώπων γένος
ὀλοφυρῇ, τὸ δὲ θεῖον οὐ παύσῃ προστρεπομένη,¹
τὸν δὲ θεὸν οὐκ ἐπιλείψεις εὐδαιμονίζουσα, ἀλλὰ
καὶ ὕμνους ἱεροπρεπεῖς στήλαις ἐγχαράξεις, ἵνα
μὴ μόνον λέγῃς εὐτρόχως, ἀλλὰ καὶ ᾄδῃς μουσικῶς
τὰς τοῦ ὄντος ἀρετάς. οὕτως γὰρ δυνήσῃ καὶ εἰς
τὸν πατρῶον οἶκον ἐπανελθεῖν, τὴν ἐπὶ τῆς ξένης
μακρὰν καὶ ἀνήνυτον ζάλην² ἐκφυγοῦσα.

¹ MSS. προτρεπομένη.

² The majority of mss. have ἀλήτ(θ)ειαν. I suggest ἄλην,
cf. τὸν νοῦν ἐξ ἄλης πολυχρονίου πάντῃ πλανηθέντα *De*
Praem. 117.

ON DREAMS, I. 256

markings. Shouldst thou become its leader, thou wilt 256
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.

B'

[659]

I. | Τὸ τρίτον εἶδος τῶν θεοπέμπτων ὀνείρων
¹ ἀναγράφοντες εἰκότως ἂν ἐπίμαχον Μωυσῆν καλοῖ-
 μεν,¹ ἵν', ὥς ἔμαθεν οὐκ εἰδώς, ἀγνοοῦντας καὶ ἡμᾶς
 ἀναδιδάξῃ περὶ τῶν σημείων, ἕκαστον αὐγάζων.
 συνίσταται δὲ τὸ τρίτον εἶδος, ὁπόταν ἐν τοῖς ὕπνοις
 ἐξ ἑαυτῆς ἡ ψυχὴ κινουμένη καὶ ἀναδονοῦσα ἑαυτὴν
 κορυβαντιᾷ καὶ ἐνθουσιῶσα δυνάμει προγνωστικῇ
² τὰ μέλλοντα θεσπίζει. τὸ μὲν γὰρ πρῶτον ἦν
 ἄρχοντος τῆς κινήσεως θεοῦ καὶ ὑπηχούντος ἀορά-
 τως τὰ ἡμῖν μὲν ἄδηλα, γνώριμα δὲ ἑαυτῷ· τὸ
 δὲ δεύτερον τῆς ἡμετέρας διανοίας τῇ τῶν ὄλων
 συγκινουμένης ψυχῇ καὶ θεοφορήτου μανίας ἀνα-
 πιμπλαμένης, ἥ³ θέμις πολλὰ τῶν ἀποβησομένων
³ προαγορεύειν. διὸ ὁ ἱεροφάντης τὰς μὲν
 κατὰ τὸ πρῶτον σημαινόμενον⁴ φαντασίας τρανῶς
 πάνυ καὶ ἀριδῆλως ἐμήνυσεν, ἅτε τοῦ θεοῦ χρησμοῖς
 σαφέσιν εἰκότα διὰ τῶν ὀνείρων ὑποβάλλοντος,
 τὰς δὲ κατὰ τὸ δεύτερον οὔτε σφόδρα τηλαυγῶς οὔτε
 σκοτίως ἄγαν· ὧν⁴ ὑπόδειγμα ἡ ἐπὶ⁵ τῆς οὐρανοῦ

¹ MSS. καλεῖ μὲν (καλοῦμεν).

² MSS. εἰ.

³ MSS. σημαινόμενος.

⁴ MSS. ὄν.

⁵ MSS. ὑπὸ.

^a See note on *De Som.* i. 1-2.

BOOK II

I. In setting forth the third kind of God-sent ¹ 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 ² 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.^a

In accordance with these distinctions, the Sacred ³ 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

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κλίμακος φανείσα ὄψις. αὕτη γὰρ αἰνιγματώδης
 μὲν ἦν, τὸ δὲ αἶνιγμα οὐ λίαν τοῖς ὀξύ καθορᾶν
 4 δυναμένοις ἀπεκρύπτετο. αἱ δὲ κατὰ τὸ τρίτον
 εἶδος φαντασίαι μᾶλλον τῶν προτέρων ἀδηλούμεναι¹
 διὰ τὸ βαθὺ καὶ κατακορὲς ἔχειν τὸ αἶνιγμα
 ἐδεήθησαν καὶ τῆς ὄνειροκριτικῆς ἐπιστήμης.
 πάντες γοῦν οἱ κατ' αὐτὸ ἀναγραφέντες² ὄνειροι τῷ
 νομοθέτῃ διακρίνονται πρὸς σοφῶν τὴν λεχθεῖσαν |
 5 τέχνην ἀνδρῶν. τίνος οὖν εἰσιν οἱ ὄνει-
 [660] ροι; ἢ παντὶ τῷ δήλῳ, ὅτι οἱ τοῦ Ἰωσήφ, οἱ τοῦ
 βασιλέως Αἰγύπτου Φαραὼ καὶ οὓς ὁ τε³ ἀρχισιτο-
 6 ποιὸς καὶ ἀρχιοινοχόος εἶδον αὐτοί⁴; πρέποι δ' ἂν
 ἀπὸ τῶν πρώτων αἰεὶ τῆς διδασκαλίας ἀπάρχεσθαι.
 πρῶτοι δ' εἰσιν οὓς ἐθεάσατο Ἰωσήφ, ἀπὸ δυεῖν
 τῶν τοῦ κόσμου μερῶν, οὐρανοῦ τε καὶ γῆς, διττὰς
 φαντασίας λαβὼν· ἀπὸ μὲν γῆς τὸ περὶ τὸν ἀμητὸν
 ὄναρ—τοιούτου δ' ἐστίν· “ ὥμην ἡμᾶς δεσμεύειν
 δράγματα ἐν μέσῳ τῷ πεδίῳ, ἀνέστη δὲ τὸ ἐμὸν
 δράγμα,”—τὸ δὲ περὶ τὸν⁵ ζῶδιακὸν κύκλον * * *⁶
 “ ὥσπερ ὁ ἥλιος καὶ ἡ σελήνη καὶ ἔνδεκα ἀστέρες
 7 προσεκύνουν με.” διάκρισις δὲ τοῦ μὲν προτέρου
 μετὰ σφοδρᾶς ἐπανατάσεως τοιαύτη· “ μὴ βασι-
 λεύων βασιλεύσεις ἐφ' ἡμῖν; ἢ κυριεύων κυριεύσεις
 ἡμῶν; ” τοῦ δὲ ὑστέρου ὀργὴ πάλιν δικαία· “ ἄρα
 γε ἐλευσόμεθα ἐγὼ καὶ ἡ μήτηρ καὶ οἱ ἀδελφοί
 σου προσκυνῆσαι σοι ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν; ”

8 II. Ταῦτα μὲν δὴ θεμελίῳν τρόπον προκατα-

¹ MSS. δηλούμεναι. ² MSS. ἀναγραφόντες. ³ MSS. οὔτε.

⁴ So MSS.: perhaps αὐτοῦ.

⁵ MSS. τὸ.

⁶ Both Mangey and Wend. suppose a lacuna here, e.g. ἀπὸ τοῦ οὐράνου· λέγει γάρ. It does not seem to me absolutely necessary.

ON DREAMS, II. 3-8

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 4 third kind being more obscure than the former, owing to the deep and impenetrable^a 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 5

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 6 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 7 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 8

^a Or "intense blackness." See note on *Leg. All.* ii. 67.

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βεβλήσθω, τὰ δὲ ἄλλα τοῖς σοφῆς ἀρχιτέκτονος,
 ἀλληγορίας, ἐπόμενοι παραγγέλμασιν ἐποικοδομώ-
 μεν, ἐκάτερον δὴ τῶν ὀνειράτων ἀκριβοῦντες. ἃ δὲ
 χρή πρὸ ἀμφοτέρων ἀκοῦσαι, λεκτέον· τὴν τὰγαθοῦ
 φύσιν οἱ μὲν ἔτειναν ἐπὶ πολλά, οἱ δὲ τῷ ἀρίστῳ
 προσεκλήρωσαν μόνω· καὶ οἱ μὲν ἐκέρασαν, οἱ δὲ
 9 καὶ ἄκρατον εἶασαν. οἱ μὲν οὖν μόνον τὸ καλὸν
 ἀγαθὸν εἰπόντες, ἀμιγῇ διαφυλάξαντες αὐτήν, ἀπ-
 ἐνειμαν τῷ κρατίστῳ τῶν ἐν ἡμῖν, λογισμῷ, οἱ
 δὲ μίξαντες τρισὶν ἐφήρμοσαν, ψυχῇ, σώματι, τοῖς
 ἐκτός. εἰσὶ δὲ οὗτοι μὲν τῆς μαλακωτέρας καὶ
 τρυφερᾶς διαίτης, τὸν πλείω χρόνον ἐν γυναι-
 κωνίτιδι καὶ τοῖς γυναικωνίτιδος ἐκτεθηλυμένοις
 ἔθεσιν¹ ἀπ' αὐτῶν σπαργάνων ἀνατραφέντες· οἱ δ'
 ἕτεροι σκληροδίαιτοι, πρὸς μὲν ἀνδρῶν κουροτροφη-
 θέντες, ἄνδρες δὲ καὶ αὐτοὶ τὰ φρονήματα, τὸ
 συμφέρον πρὸ τοῦ ἡδέος ἀσπαζόμενοι καὶ τροφαῖς
 ἀθλητικαῖς πρὸς ἰσχὺν καὶ ῥώμην, οὐ πρὸς ἡδονήν,
 10 χρώμενοι. δυεῖν δὴ θιάσων ἡγεμόνας
 εἰσάγει Μωυσῆς, τοῦ μὲν γενναίου τὸν αὐτομαθῆ
 καὶ αὐτοδίδακτον Ἰσαάκ—ἀναγράφει γὰρ αὐτὸν
 (ἀπο)γαλακτιζόμενον, ἀπαλαῖς καὶ γαλακτώδεσι
 νηπίαῖς τε καὶ παιδικαῖς τροφαῖς οὐ δικαιούντα
 χρῆσθαι τὸ παράπαν, ἀλλ' εὐτόνοις καὶ τελείαις,
 ἅτε ἐκ βρέφους εὖ πρὸς ἀλκὴν πεφυκότα καὶ
 ἐπακμάζοντα καὶ ἀνηβῶντα αἰεί,—τοῦ δὲ εἰκοντος

¹ MSS. διὰ.

² MSS. ἔθρεσι.

ON DREAMS, II. 8-10

on to build the superstructure let us follow the directions 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 maintained that only the morally beautiful is good, preserving 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 10 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

- 11 καὶ εὐενδότου τὸν Ἰωσήφ. οὗτος γὰρ οὐκ ἀλογεῖ
 μὲν τῶν κατὰ ψυχὴν ἀρετῶν, προμηθεύεται δὲ καὶ
 [661] τῆς τοῦ σώματος εὐσταθείας, | ἐφίεται (δὲ) καὶ
 τῆς τῶν ἐκτὸς εὐπορίας· ἀνθέλκεται δὲ εἰκότως
 πολλὰ τέλη τοῦ βίου προτεθειμένος, καὶ ἀντι-
 σπώμενος ὑφ' ἐκάστου σείεται¹ καὶ κλονεῖται μὴ
 12 δυνάμενος στηριχθῆναι. καὶ γὰρ οὐδ' ὥσπερ αἱ
 ἔνσπονδοι πόλεις εἰρήνην ἄγουσι * * *² καὶ ἀντ-
 επιτίθενται, ὡς ἐν μέρει κρατεῖν τε καὶ ἡττᾶσθαι·
 πολλὴ γὰρ ἔστιν ὅτε ῥυεῖσα πρὸς³ πλοῦτον καὶ
 δόξαν ὁρμὴ τὰς περὶ σῶμα καὶ ψυχὴν φροντίδας
 ἐξενίκησεν, εἰτα ἀντιβιασθεῖσα πάλιν ὑπὸ ἀμφοῖν
 13 <ῆ> ὑπὸ τῆς ἐτέρας ἐνικήθη. τὸν αὐτὸν δὲ τρόπον
 ἀθροαὶ καὶ αἱ σώματος ἡδοναὶ καταρραγεῖσαι πάντα
 ἐξῆς τὰ νοητὰ ἐπέκλυσάν τε καὶ ἡφάνισαν· εἰτ' οὐκ
 εἰς μακρὰν ἀντιπνεύσασα σοφία λάβρῳ καὶ σφοδρῷ
 πνεύματι τό τε ῥεῦμα τῶν ἡδονῶν ἐχάλασε καὶ
 συνόλως τὰς διὰ τῶν αἰσθήσεων ἀπάσας σπουδὰς
 14 τε καὶ φιλοτιμίας ἐπράννε. τοιοῦτος μὲν δὴ κύκλος
 εἰλεῖται περὶ τὴν πολύτροπον ψυχὴν αἰδίου πολέμου·
 καθαιρεθέντος γὰρ ἐνὸς ἐχθροῦ φύεται πάντως
 δυνατώτερος ἕτερος, ὕδρας τῆς πολυκεφάλου τὸν
 τρόπον· καὶ γὰρ ἐπ' ἐκείνης φασὶν ἀντὶ τῆς ἐκτμη-
 θείσης κεφαλῆς ἀναβλαστάνειν ἄλλην, αἰνιττόμενοι
 τὸ πολύμορφον καὶ πολύγονον τῆς ἀθανάτου κακίας
 15 δυσάλωτον γένος. μηδὲν οὖν ἐν ἀπο-

¹ MSS. *ιέται*.

² Wend. suggests the insertion of *αἱ ἐπιθυμίαι*, ἀλλὰ πολέ-
 μοῦσιν ἀλλήλαις. But see note on opposite page.

³ MSS. *περὶ*.

^a Some more neutral word or phrase is required rather

ON DREAMS, II. 11-15

give in is led by Joseph, for he is one who does not 11
 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^a do not rest in peace like 12
 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 com-
 pletely 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 13
 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 14
 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, 15

than Wend.'s *ἐπιθυμίας, e.g. σπουδαί*. The combat is not between
 the lusts, but between soul, body, and external interests.

- κρίνας ποτέ προς * * *¹ τῷ Ἰωσήφ, ἀλλ' ἴσθι ὅτι πολυμιγοῦς καὶ κεκραμένης² δόξης ἐστὶν εἰκὼν. ἐμφαίνεται γὰρ καὶ τὸ λογικὸν ἐγκρατείας εἶδος, ὃ τῆς ἄρρενος γενεᾶς ἐστὶ, κατὰ τὸν πατέρα Ἰακώβ
- 16 τυπωθέν· ἐμφαίνεται καὶ τὸ ἄλογον³ αἰσθήσεως, μητρῷω γένει τῷ κατὰ Ῥαχὴλ ἐξεικονισθέν· ἐμφαίνεται καὶ τὸ τῆς σωματικῆς ἡδονῆς σπέρμα, ὃ ἀρχαιονοχῶν καὶ ἀρχισιτοποιῶν καὶ ἀρχιμαγείρων συνδιαιτήσεις ἐνεσφράγισαν· ἐμφαίνεται καὶ τὸ τῆς κενῆς⁴ δόξης, ἐφ' ἣν ὡς ἐφ' ἄρμα διὰ τὸ κοῦφον ἀναβαίνει, φυσώμενος καὶ μετέωρον αἰωρῶν⁵ ἑαυτὸν ἐπὶ καθαιρέσει ἰσότητος.
- 17 III. Ὁ μὲν δὴ τοῦ Ἰωσήφ χαρακτήρ διὰ τῶν εἰρημένων ὑποτυποῦται· τῶν δ' ὀνειράτων ἐκάτερον μὲν ἀκριβωτέον, πρότερον δὲ τὸ περὶ τῶν δραγμάτων ἐρευνητέον. “ὥμην” φησὶν “ἡμᾶς δεσμεύειν δράγματα.” τὸ μὲν “ὥμην” εὐθέως ἀδηλοῦντος καὶ ἐνδοιάζοντος καὶ ἀμυδρῶς ὑπολαμβάνοντος, οὐ παγίως καὶ τηλαυγῶς ὀρώντος,
- 18 ἀνάφθεγμά⁶ ἐστὶ. τοῖς γὰρ ἐκ βαθέος ὕπνου διανισταμένοις καὶ ἔτι ὀνειρώττουσιν ἀρμόττον λέγειν “ὥμην,” οὐχὶ τοῖς ἐγρηγορόσι⁷ παντελῶς καὶ
- 19 τρανῶς ἐμβλέπουσιν. ἀλλ' οὐχ ὁ ἀσκητῆς Ἰακώβ “ὥμην” ἐρεῖ, ἀλλ' “ἰδοὺ κλίμαξ ἐστηριγμένη, ἧς [662] ἡ κεφαλὴ | ἀφικνεῖτο εἰς τὸν οὐρανόν,” καὶ πάλιν·

¹ Here there is a lacuna in A (Wend.'s ms.) of ten to eleven letters, for which he suggests -κλήρον μόνον.

² MSS. κεκραμένης.

³ MSS. λογικόν.

⁴ MSS. καινῆς.

⁵ MSS. ἐώρων.

⁶ ἀνάφθεγμα. Wend. suspected this word, which is not noted in Stephanus, nor the old L. & S. But ἀναφθέγγομαι is well supported and ἀνάφθεγμα itself is quoted in L. & S. 1927 from Philodemus as well as from here.

⁷ MSS. ἐγρηγόρσει.

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, 16 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 vain-glory, 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 17 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" 18 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 19 not find the Practiser Jacob saying "methought," but "behold a stairway firmly fixed, whose top reached to heaven" (Gen. xxviii. 12), and again "at

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PHILO

- “ ἡνίκα ἐνεκίσσων τὰ πρόβατα, εἶδον τοῖς ὀφθαλμοῖς αὐτὰ ἐν τῷ ὕπνῳ, καὶ ἰδὼν οἱ τράγοι καὶ οἱ κριοὶ ἀνέβαινον ἐπὶ τὰ πρόβατα καὶ τὰς αἰγας, διάλευκοι καὶ ποικίλοι καὶ σποδοειδεῖς ῥαντοί.”
- 20 τῶν γὰρ τὸ καλὸν δι’ ἑαυτὸ αἰρετὸν νομιζόντων καὶ τὰς ἐν τοῖς ὕπνοις φαντασίας εἰλικρινεστέρας καὶ καθαρωτέρας ἐξ ἀνάγκης εἶναι συμβέβηκεν, ὥσπερ καὶ τὰς μεθ’ ἡμέραν δοκιμωτέρας πράξεις.
- 21 IV. “ Ἀγαμαι δ’, ὅταν ἀκούω τοῦ διηγουμένου τὸ ὄναρ, ὅτι ὑπέλαβε δράγματα καταδεῖν, οὐ θερίζειν. ἐκείνο μὲν ἰδιωτῶν καὶ ὑπηρετῶν ἔργον, τοῦτο δ’ ἡγεμόνων καὶ γεωργίας ἐμπειροτάτων τὸ
- 22 ἐπιτήδευμα. τὸ γὰρ δύνασθαι διακρίνειν σκυβάλων ἀναγκαῖα καὶ τροφίμα μὴ τροφίμων καὶ νόθων γνήσια καὶ ἀνωφελοῦς ρίζης καρπὸν ὠφελιμώτατον, μὴ ἐν οἷς ἡ γῆ βλαστάνει μᾶλλον ἢ
- 23 διάνοια φύει, τελειοτάτης ἀρετῆς ἐστίν. ὁ γοῦν ἱερὸς λόγος τοὺς ὀρώντας εἰσάγει θερίζοντας καί, τὸ παραδοξότατον, οὐ κριθὰς ἢ πυρούς, ἀλλὰ τὸν θερισμὸν αὐτὸν ἐκθερίζοντας· λέγεται οὖν· “ ὅταν θερίζητε τὸν θερισμὸν ὑμῶν, οὐ συντελέσετε τὸ
- 24 λοιπὸν τοῦ θερισμοῦ.” βούλεται γὰρ τὸν ἀστείον οὐ μόνον κριτὴν εἶναι τῶν διαφερόντων, <διακρίνοντα> καὶ διαστέλλοντα <τὰ>² ἐξ ὧν γίνεται τινα καὶ τὰ γεννώμενα, ἀλλὰ καὶ αὐτὸ τὸ δύνασθαι διακρίνειν δοκεῖν ἀναιρεῖν, ἀμῶντα τὸν ἀμητὸν καὶ τὴν ἰδίαν ἐπιβολὴν³ ἀποτέμνοντα διὰ τὸ καὶ πεποιθῆναι καὶ Μωυσεὶ λέγοντι πιστεύειν, ὅτι “ μόνου τοῦ θεοῦ ἡ κρίσις ἐστίν,” παρ’ ὃν αἱ συγκρίσεις

¹ Perhaps μᾶλλον ἢ <ἢ> διάνοια.

² <τὰ> my insertion.

³ So Mangey: mss. and Wend. ἐπιβουλήν. For ἰδίαν ἐπιβολὴν cf. *De Som.* i. 1.

ON DREAMS, II. 19-24

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 20 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 21 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 necessities of 22 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 23 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 24 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),

PHILO

- καὶ αἱ διακρίσεις τῶν ἀπάντων· ὑφ' οὗ καλὸν
 ὁμολογεῖν ἡττάσθαι καὶ τῆς αἰοιδίου νίκης εὐ-
 25 κλεέστερον. ὁμοίον ἐστὶ τῷ τὸν θερισμόν θερίζειν
 τὸ δις περιτέμνειν, ὅπερ ὡς ὅτε¹ ἐκαινούργησεν
 ἐξευρὼν περιτομῆς περιτομήν, τὴν “ἀγνείαν
 ἀφαγνίζεσθαι,²” τὴν κάθαρσιν τῆς ψυχῆς αὐτὴν
 καθαίρεσθαι, παραχωροῦντας τῷ θεῷ τὸ φαιδρύνειν
 καὶ μηδέποτε νομίσαντας ἱκανοὺς εἶναι ἑαυτοὺς
 ἄνευ θείας ἐπιφροσύνης τὸν κηλίδων ἀνάμεστον
 ἐκνύσασθαι καὶ ἀπολούσασθαι³ βίον.
- 26 ταύτης ἐστὶ τῆς συγγενείας καὶ τὸ διπλοῦν σπῆλαιον,
 αἱ διπλαῖ καὶ περιμάχητοι μνήμαι,⁴ ἥ τε περὶ τοῦ
 γεγονότος καὶ ἡ περὶ τοῦ πεποιηκότος, αἷς ἐν-
 τρέφεται ὁ ἀστείος, θεωρῶν μὲν τὰ ἐν κόσμῳ, φιλο-
 πευστῶν δὲ καὶ περὶ τοῦ γεννήσαντος πατρός.
- 27 ἀφ' ὧν οἶμαι καὶ τὴν ἐν μουσικῇ δις διὰ πασῶν
 εὔρεθῆναι συμφωνίαν· ἔδει γὰρ καὶ τὸ ἔργον καὶ
 τὸν δημιουργὸν τελειοτάταις μελωδίαις εὐδαιμονί-
 28 ζεσθαι δυσὶν, οὐχὶ ταῖς αὐταῖς. ἐπειδὴ γὰρ τὰ
 [663] ὑμνούμενα | διέφερεν, ἀναγκαῖον καὶ τὰς μελωδίας
 καὶ συμφωνίας διακεκρίσθαι, τὴν μὲν συνημμένην
 ἀπονέμοντας⁵ τῷ συνημμένῳ καὶ ἐκ διαφερόντων

¹ Wend. suggests ὅπερ ὡσαύτως: perhaps ὥσπερ ποτέ.

² MSS. ἀφανίζεσθαι.

³ MSS. ἐκνίψαι καὶ ἀπολούσαι.

⁴ So MSS.: Wend. γνώμαι. See note a below.

⁵ Mangey ἀπονέμοντα: Wend. conjectures ἀπονέμοντος <τοῦ λόγου>: or perhaps <τοῦ οντος>? I can see no construction for either -τα or -τας.

^a 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” (LXX for Machpelah) he says ἡ Χεβρῶν αὕτη, μνήμας ἐπιστήμης καὶ σοφίας θησαυροφυλακοῦσα. The thought is

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 25 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 26 "double cave" (Gen. xxiii. 9), that pair of precious memories^a 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 27 that the discovery of the double diapason^b 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 28 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.

^b See App. pp. 606 f.

PHILO

- ἀρμοσθέντι κόσμῳ, τὴν δὲ διεξευγμένην τῷ πάσης
γενέσεως διεξευγμένῳ κατὰ τὴν οὐσίαν θεῷ.
29 γνώμην δὲ ἀποφαίνεται πάλιν ὁ ἱεροφάντης φιλ-
άρετον λέγων· “οὐ συντελέσετε¹ τὸ λοιπὸν τοῦ
θερισμοῦ,” μεμνημένος τῆς ἐξ ἀρχῆς ὑποθέσεως,
καθ’ ἣν ὠμολόγει “τὸ τέλος εἶναι κυρίου,” παρ’
ὃν τὸ² κύρος καὶ ἡ τούτων βεβαίωσις ἐστίν.
30 ἀλλὰ γὰρ ὁ τοῦ θερίζειν ἀμύητος
αὐχεὶ λέγων³. “ὥμην ἃ μὴ ἐθέρισα καταδεῖν σὺν
ἐτέροις δράγματα,” καὶ οὐκ ἐλογίσατο παρ’ ἑαυτῷ,
ὅτι δούλων καὶ ἀνεπιστημόνων ἦδε ἐστὶν ὑπηρεσία,
καθὰ καὶ μικρῷ πρότερον εἶπον.
31 Δράγματα δ’ ἀλληγοροῦντές φαμεν εἶναι πράγ-
ματα, ὧν ἕκαστος ὡς οἰκείας τροφῆς ἐπιδράττεται,
ἐν ἣ ἡ ζῆσεσθαι καὶ βιώσεσθαι τὸν αἰῶνα ἐλπίζει.
32 V. μυρίαὶ μὲν οὖν τῶν δραγμάτων, λέγω δὴ τῶν
ὡσανεὶ τρεφόντων πραγμάτων, διαφοραί, μυρίαὶ
δὲ καὶ τῶν ἐπιδραττομένων καὶ αἵρουμένων τὰ
δράγματα, ὡς ἀπάσας οὐτ’ εἰπεῖν οὐτ’ ἐπινοῆσαι
δυνατόν· τινὰς δ’ οὐκ ἄτοπον δείγματος ἔνεκα
ἐρμηνεύσαι, ὧν καὶ τὸ ὄναρ διηγούμενος ἐπεμνήσθη.
33 φησὶ γὰρ τοῖς ἀδελφοῖς· “ὥμην ἡμᾶς δεσμεύειν
δράγματα.” ἀδελφοὶ δ’ εἰσὶν ὁμοπάτριοι μὲν
δέκα, ὁμογάστριοι δὲ εἰς· ἐκάστου δὲ αὐτῶν τοῦ-
νομα σύμβολον ἀναγκαιοτάτου πράγματός ἐστι,

¹ MSS. συντελέσαι.

² MSS. παρόντος.

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

ON DREAMS, II. 28-33

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 29 expressed in the words of the Sacred Guide, "Ye shall not^a 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 30 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 31 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 32 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 33 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.

- 'Ρουβὴν μὲν εὐφυΐας—υἱὸς γὰρ ὄρων καλεῖται, ἥ
 μὲν υἱός, οὐ τέλειος, ἥ δὲ ὁρατικὸς καὶ ὀξὺ καθορῶν,
 34 εὐφυΐης,—μαθήσεως δὲ Συμεῶν—εἰσακοή γὰρ
 ἐρμηνεύεται,—ἐνεργειῶν δὲ καὶ πράξεων σπου-
 δαίων καὶ λειτουργιῶν ἁγίων Λευί, τῶν δὲ εἰς θεὸν
 ὠδῶν τε καὶ ὕμνων Ἰούδας, Ἰσάχαρ δὲ μισθῶν,
 οἱ ἐπ' ἔργοις καλοῖς ἀποδίδονται¹—τάχα δ' αὐτὰ
 τὰ ἔργα ὁ τέλειος μισθὸς ἦν,—Ζαβουλὼν δὲ φωτός,
 ἐπειδὴ ρύσις² νυκτερίας ὀνομάζεται—ρέουσής δὲ
 καὶ ἀπολιπούσης νυκτὸς ἐξ ἀνάγκης φῶς ἀνίσχει,—
 35 διακρίσεως δὲ καὶ τομῆς³ πραγμάτων Δάν, ἐπι-
 θέσεως δὲ καὶ ἀντεπιθέσεως πειρατικῆς Γάδ,
 Ἀσὴρ δὲ τοῦ φυσικοῦ⁴ πλούτου—μακαρισμὸς γὰρ
 ἐρμηνεύεται, ἐπειδὴ μακάριον κτῆμα νενόμισται
 36 πλοῦτος,—εἰρήνης δὲ Νεφθαλείμ—διανοίγεται
 (γὰρ) καὶ εὐρύνεται πάντα εἰρήνῃ, ὡς συγκλείεται
 [664] | πολέμῳ· τὸ δὲ ὄνομα μεταληφθὲν πλατυσμὸς ἢ
 διανεωγμένον ἐστί,—Βενιαμὴν δὲ τοῦ νέου καὶ
 γέροντος χρόνου· λέγεται γὰρ ἐρμηνευθεὶς υἱὸς
 ἡμερῶν⁵ εἶναι, ἡμέραις δὲ καὶ νυξὶν ὁ νέος ὁμοῦ
 καὶ γέρων αἰὼν⁶ ἀναμετρεῖται.
 37 Ἐπιδράττεται γοῦν ἕκαστος τῶν οἰκείων καὶ
 ἐπιδραξάμενος τὰ μέρη πάντα συνδεῖ· ὁ μὲν
 εὐφυΐης εὐθιξίας, ἐπιμονῆς, μνήμης, ἐν οἷς ἡ
 εὐφυΐα· ὁ δὲ εὐμαθῆς ἀκροάσεως, ἡσυχίας, προσ-
 οχῆς· ὁ δὲ ἐγχειρητῆς [τῆς] θαρραλεότητος, παρα-
 38 κекινδυνευμένης ἐπτολμίας· ὁ δὲ εὐχάριστος ἐπαί-

¹ ἐπιδίδονται.² MSS. φύσις.³ MSS. τροπῆς.⁴ MSS. ψυχικοῦ.⁵ MSS. ἡμῶν.⁶ MSS. αἰῶνα.

ON DREAMS, II. 33-38

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 34 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 35 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 36 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 37 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 38

PHILO

- νων, ἐγκωμίων, ὕμνων, εὐδαιμονισμῶν κατὰ τε τὸ λέγειν καὶ τὸ ᾄδειν· ὁ δὲ μισθῶν ἐφίεμενος ἀόκνου συνεχείας, τλητικωτάτης καρτερίας καὶ
- 39 ἐπιμελείας σὺν εὐκαταφροντίστῳ¹ ταχυτήτι· ὁ δὲ φῶς ἀντὶ σκότους μεταδιώκων ἐργηγόρσεως, ὄξυ-
ωπίας· ὁ δὲ τομῆς καὶ διακρίσεως πραγμάτων ζηλωτῆς λόγων ἡκονημένων, τοῦ μὴ ὑφ' ὁμοίων ὡς τῶν αὐτῶν ἀπατᾶσθαι, τοῦ μὴ πρὸς χάριν,
- 40 τοῦ ἀδεκάστου· ὁ δὲ πειρατικώτερον ἐνεδρεῦν τούς ἀντιλοχῶντας ἀπάτης, φενακισμοῦ, γοητείας, σοφισμάτων, προσποιήσεως, ὑποκρίσεως, ἅπερ ἐξ ἑαυτῶν ψεκτὰ ὄντα κατ' ἐχθρῶν γινόμενα ἐπαινέ-
ται· ὁ δὲ πλουτεῖν τὸν φύσεως πλοῦτον ἐπιτηδεύων ἐγκρατείας, ὀλιγοδεΐας· ὁ δὲ εἰρήνης ἐρῶν εὐνομίας,
- 41 εὐδικίας,² ἀτυφίας, ἰσότητος. VI. ἐκ τούτων τὰ τῶν ὁμοπατρίων ἀδελφῶν δράγματα καταδεΐται, τὰ³ δὲ τοῦ ὁμογαστρίου ἐξ ἡμερῶν καὶ χρόνου, τῶν οὐδενὸς αἰτίων ὡς ἀπάντων αἰτίων.
- 42 αὐτὸς δὲ ὁ ἐνυπνιαστής καὶ ὄνειροπόλος—ἦν γὰρ ἀμφότερα—τῆς κενῆς δόξης ὡς μεγίστου καὶ λαμπροτάτου καὶ βιωφελεστάτου κτήματος ἐπι-
δράττεται. διὸ πρῶτον μὲν ἀπ' ὄνειράτων, ἃ νυκτὶ φίλα, τῷ βασιλεῖ τῆς σωματικῆς χώρας γνωρίζεται, οὐκ ἀπὸ πραγμάτων τηλαυγῶν ἐναρ-
γείας,⁴ ἃ πρὸς ἐπίδειξιν ἡμέρας δεΐται.
- 43 εἴτ' ἐπίτροπος ἢ κηδεμὼν Αἰγύπτου πάσης ἀνα-

¹ So MSS.: Wend. ἀνανταγωνίστῳ. See App. p. 607.

² MSS. εὐδοκίας.

³ MSS. τοῦ.

⁴ MSS. ἐνεργείας.

^a i.e. everything happens in time, but is not caused by it. Wend.'s proposed emendation τῶν δ' οὐδενὸς αἰτίων, ὧν δ'

ON DREAMS, II. 38-43

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 39 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 40 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 41 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 42 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 43

οὐκ ἀνευ πάντων gives the sense, but is both arbitrary and unnecessary.

- κηρύττεται, ταῖς τιμαῖς τοῦ βασιλέως οἰσόμενος
 δευτερεῖα, ἅπερ ἤττης καὶ ἀτιμίας ἀφανέστερα
 καὶ καταγελαστότερα παρὰ φρονήσει γράφεται
 44 δικαζούσῃ. εἶτα “ κλοιὸν χρυσοῦν,”
 ἀγχόνην ἐπιφανῇ, κύκλον καὶ τροχὸν ἀνάγκης
 ἀτελευτήτου, περιτίθεται¹—οὐκ ἀκολουθίαν καὶ τὸ
 [665] ἐξῆς ἐν βίῳ καὶ τὸν εἰρμὸν τῶν τῆς φύσεως πραγ-
 μάτων, ὡς ἡ Θάμαρ· οὐ | γὰρ κλοιός, ἀλλὰ
 ὀρμίσκος αὐτῆς ὁ κόσμος—καὶ δακτύλιον μέντοι
 βασιλικόν, δῶρον (ἄδωρον),² πίστιν ἀπιστον, ἐναν-
 τιούμενον τῷ δοθέντι πάλιν³ τῇ Θάμαρ ὑπὸ τοῦ
 45 βασιλέως τοῦ ὀρώντος, Ἰσραὴλ, Ἰούδα. δίδωσι
 γὰρ οὗτος τῇ ψυχῇ σφραγίδα, πάγκαλον δῶρον,
 διδάσκων ὅτι (ὁ θεὸς) ἀσχημάτιστον οὖσαν τὴν
 τῶν πάντων οὐσίαν ἐσχημάτισε καὶ ἀτύπωτον
 ἐτύπωσε καὶ ἀποιοῦν ἐμόρφωσε καὶ τελειώσας τὸν
 ὅλον ἐσφράγισε κόσμον εἰκόνι καὶ ἰδέᾳ, τῷ ἑαυτοῦ
 46 λόγῳ. ἀλλ’ ἐκεῖνός γε⁴ καὶ ἐπὶ τὸ δευ-
 τερεῖον ἄνεισιν ἄρμα [ἦ] ὑποτυφούμενος ὑπ’ αἰώρας
 φρενῶν καὶ κενοῦ φύσματος καὶ σιταρχεῖ, τῷ
 σώματι θησαυροφυλακῶν καὶ πανταχόθεν αὐτῷ
 πορίζων τὰς τροφάς· ἐπιτειχισμὸς δὲ κατὰ τῆς
 47 ψυχῆς βαρὺς οὗτός ἐστι. τῇ δὲ προαιρέσει καὶ
 ζηλώσει τοῦ βίου μαρτυρεῖ καὶ τοῦνομα οὐχ
 ἡκιστα· πρόσθεσις γὰρ Ἰωσήφ ἐρμηνεύεται. κενὴ
 δὲ δόξα προστίθουσιν αἰὲ γνησίῳ μὲν τὸ νόθον,

¹ MSS. περιτιθέναι.² Cf. Soph. *Ajax*, 665.³ MSS. αὐτῆς: Mangey αὐτῇ.⁴ MSS. γε.

^a Or “cord,” cf. *De Fug.* 150, *De Mut.* 135. The interpretation of the ὀρμίσκος 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 treasures, 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 *εἰκὼν* and *ἰδέα* see App. p. 607.

οἰκείῳ δὲ τὸ ἀλλότριον, ἀληθεῖ¹ δὲ τὸ ψεῦδος, αὐτάρκει δὲ τὸ πλεονάζον, ζωῇ δὲ θρύψιν, βίῳ δὲ τύφον.

- 48 VII. Τί δ' ἐστὶν ὃ βούλομαι δηλοῦν, σκόπει. σιτίοις καὶ ποτοῖς τρεφόμεθα, καὶ ἡ εὐτελεστάτη μᾶζα καὶ ὕδωρ ναματιαῖον. τί οὖν ἡ κενὴ δόξα προσεπέθηκεν ἀμήτων καὶ μελιπήκτων πεμμάτων γένη μυρία καὶ οἴνων ἀμυθήτων πολυέργους καὶ παμποικίλους κράσεις πρὸς ἀπόλαυσιν ἡδονῆς μᾶλλον ἢ πρὸς μετουσίαν τροφῆς παρηρτυμένας;
- 49 πάλιν ἡδύσματα πρὸς ἐδωδὴν ἀναγκαῖα γήτεια καὶ λάχανα καὶ πολλὰ τῶν ἀκροδρύων καὶ ἔτι τυρὸς καὶ εἴ τι ἄλλο ὁμοιότροπον· εἰ δὲ θέλεις, ἐπὶ σαρκοβόρων ἀνθρώπων ἰχθὺς ἔτι καὶ κρέας πρὸς
- 50 τούτοις γράφομεν. ἄρ' οὖν οὐκ αὐταρκες ἦν ἀπανθρακίσαντας καὶ αὐτοσχεδίως ὀπτήσαντας πυρὶ τρόπον ἡρωικῶν ὄντως ἀνδρῶν προσφέρεσθαι; ἀλλ' οὐκ ἐπὶ ταῦτα² ὁ γαστρίμαργος μόνον ὄρμᾶ, σύμμαχον δὲ τὴν κενὴν δόξαν λαβὼν καὶ τὸ ἐν αὐτῷ λίχνον πάθος ἐγείρας ὀψαρτύτας καὶ τραπεζοποιούς εὐδοκίμους τὴν τέχνην ἀναζητεῖ καὶ περι-
- 51 βλέπεται. οἱ δὲ τὰ κατὰ τῆς ταλαίνης γαστρὸς ἐκ πολλῶν χρόνων ἀνευρημένα δελέατα ἀνακινήσαντες καὶ χυλῶν ιδιότητας σκευάσαντές τε καὶ διαθέντες ἐν κόσμῳ προσσαίνουσι καὶ τιθασεύουσι γλῶτταν· εἴτ' εὐθὺς ἀγκιστρεύονται τῶν αἰσθήσεων τὴν ἐπιβάθραν, γεῦσιν, δι' ἧς ἀντ' ἐλευθέρου δοῦλος ὁ δειπνοθήρας οὐκ εἰς μακρὰν ἀνεφάνη.
- 52 τίς γε μὴν οὐκ οἶδεν, ὅτι ἀμπεχόνῃ πρὸς τὰς [666] ἀπὸ κρυμοῦ | καὶ θάλπους ἐγγινομένας βλάβας τῷ

¹ MSS. ἀληθέσι.

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 49 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,^b 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 51 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 52 produced at first to guard against the harm done to

^a See App. p. 607.

^b Cf. *e.g.* *Il.* ix. 211 ff.

σώματι κατεσκευάσθη τὸ πρῶτον; ἀλεξάνεμος
 53 μὲν, ὥς οἱ ποιηταὶ πού φασι, χειμῶνι * * *.¹ τίς
 οὖν τὰς πολυτελεῖς ἀλουργίδας, τίς τὰ διαφανῆ καὶ
 λεπτὰ θέριστρα, τίς τὰς ἀραχνοῦφεις ἀμπεχόνας,
 τίς τὰ ἐπηνθισμένα ἢ βαφαῖς ἢ πλοκαῖς διὰ τῶν
 βάπτειν ἢ ὑφαίνειν ποικίλα ἐπισταμένων καὶ τὴν ἐν
 ζωγραφία μίμησιν παρενημερούντων δαιδαλεύεται;
 τίς; οὐχ ἡ κενὴ δόξα;

54 VIII. ἀλλὰ μὴν καὶ οἰκίας διὰ τὰς αὐτὰς ἐδέησεν
 ἡμῖν αἰτίας, καὶ ὅπως μὴ πρὸς θηρίων ἢ θηριωδεσ-
 τάτων² τὰς φύσεις ἀνθρώπων ἐπιτρεχόντων βλαπτώ-
 μεθα. τί οὖν τὰ μὲν ἐδάφη καὶ τοὺς τοίχους
 πολυτελέσι λίθοις διακοσμοῦμεν; τί δὲ Ἀσίαν
 καὶ Λιβύην καὶ πᾶσαν Εὐρώπην καὶ τὰς νήσους
 ἐπερχόμεθα, κίονας ἀριστίνδην ἐπιλελεγμένους καὶ
 55 ἐπιστυλίδας ἐρευνῶντες; τί δὲ περὶ Δωρίους καὶ
 Ἰωνικὰς καὶ Κορινθιακὰς γλυφὰς καὶ ὅσα³ οἱ
 ἐντρυφῶντες (τοῖς καθεστῶσι⁴ νόμοις προσεξεῦρον
 σπουδάζομέν τε καὶ φιλοτιμούμεθα, κιονόκρανα
 κοσμοῦντες; τί δὲ χρυσορόφους ἀνδρῶνας καὶ
 κυναικωνίδιδας κατασκευάζομεν; ἄρ' οὐ διὰ τὴν
 56 γενὴν δόξαν; καὶ μὴν πρὸς γε ὕπνον
 μαλακὸν μὲν ἔδαφος αὐταρκες ἦν—ἐπεὶ καὶ μέχρι
 νῦν τοὺς Γυμνοσοφιστὰς παρ' Ἰνδοῖς χαμευνεῖν ἐκ
 παλαιῶν ἔθων κατέχει λόγος,—εἰ δὲ μή, στιβὰς
 γοῦν (ἡ)⁵ ἐκ λίθων λογάδων ἢ ξύλων εὐτελῶν

57 πεποιημένη κλίνη. ἀλλὰ γὰρ ἐλεφαντόποδες τὰ
 ἐνήλατα καὶ κλιντῆρες ὀστράκοις πολυτελέσι καὶ

¹ Lacuna of one line: supply e.g. τῷ δὲ θέρει ἀναψύχουσα
 as Wend. (or σκιάζουσα?). ² Perhaps θηριωδεστέρων.

³ mss. ὅσους.

⁴ mss. ἤσσι. See App. pp. 607 f.

⁵ <ἡ> my insertion.

the body by great cold and heat, "wind-proof," as I think the poets have it,^a in winter and (cooling in summer). Who, then, is the cunning worker of those 53 costly sea-purple, 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 54 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 55 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 56 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^b or of unhewn stones or common timber. But in fact 57 beds with ivory legs to their framework are provided, and sofas with costly mother-of-pearl and many-hued

^b Or "straw." If *η* is omitted as in other editions, *στῖβας* 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 πομπήν, οὐ τὴν
 καθ' ἡμέραν χρήσιν, διακεκοσμημένοι,¹ ὧν² δημι-
 58 ουργὸς ἢ κενὴ δόξα. τί δὲ τοῦ ἀπὸ τῆς ἐλαίας
 ἐκθλιβομένου καρποῦ πλέον ἔδει ζητεῖν πρὸς ἀλείμ-
 ματα; καὶ γὰρ λεαίνει καὶ κάματον σώματος λύει
 καὶ εὐσαρκίαν ἐμποιεῖ, καὶ εἴ τι κεχαλασμένον
 εἴη, σφίγγει πυκνότητι καὶ οὐδενὸς ἥττον ἐτέρου
 60 ῥώμην καὶ εὐτονίαν ἐντίθησιν. ἀλλὰ γὰρ ἐπετει-
 χίσθη³ τοῖς ὠφελοῦσι τὰ ἡδέα τῆς κενῆς δόξης
 ἀλείμματα, εἰς ἃ καὶ μυρεψοὶ πονοῦσι καὶ χῶ-
 ραι μεγάλαι συντελοῦσι, Συρία, Βαβυλὼν, Ἰνδοί,
 Σκύθαι, παρ' οἷς αἱ τῶν ἀρωμάτων γενέσεις εἰσὶ.
 60 IX. πρὸς γε μὴν τὸ πίνειν τίνος ἔδει
 μᾶλλον ἢ τοῦ φύσεως ἐκπώματος ἀκρότησι τέχνης
 εἰργασμένου; τὸ δὲ ἔκπωμα αἱ ἡμέτεραι χεῖρές |
 [667] εἰσιν, ἃς εἰς ταυτό τις συναγαγὼν καὶ κοιλάνας, εὖ
 μάλα τῷ στόματι προσθείς, ἐπιχέοντος ἐτέρου τὸ
 ποτὸν οὐ μόνον ἄκος τῆς⁴ δίψης, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἄλεκτον
 61 ἡδονὴν κτᾶται. εἰ δὲ ἔδει πάντως ἐτέρου, τὸ
 γεωργικὸν κισσύβιον οὐχ ἱκανὸν ἦν, ἀλλὰ ἄλλων
 ἐπιφανῶν τέχνας⁵ ἀναζητεῖν ἔδει; τί δὲ ἀργυρῶν
 καὶ χρυσῶν κυλίκων ἄφθονον πλῆθος κατασκευά-
 ζεσθαι, εἰ μὴ διὰ τὸν φρυαττόμενον μέγαρα τυφὸν
 καὶ τὴν ἐπ' αἰώρας φορουμένην⁶ κενὴν δόξαν;

¹ MSS. στρωμναῖ and διακεκοσμημέναι; A ἀνθηροποικίλους καὶ χρυσοπάστους: Trin. -οις -οις ἐργοῖς. The text as here printed is by Mr. Whitaker's emendation, cf. *De Som.* i. 123.

² MSS. ὡς.

⁴ MSS. τε.

³ MSS. ἀπετειχίσθη.

⁵ I should prefer to read τεχνίτας, cf. § 50.

ON DREAMS, II. 57-61

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 58 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 59 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 60 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 61 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.

- 62 ὅταν καὶ στεφανοῦσθαί τινες ἀξιῶσι
 μὴ δάφνης μηδὲ κитτοῦ, μὴ ἴων ἢ κρίνων ἢ ῥόδου
 ἢ θαλλοῦ συνόλως ἢ τινος¹ ἄνθους εὐώδει στεφάνῳ
 παρελθόντες τὰ θεοῦ δῶρα, ἃ διὰ τῶν ἐτησίων
 ὥρων ἀναδίδωσι, χρυσοῦς <δ> ὑπὲρ κεφαλῆς,
 βαρύτατον ἄχθος, αἰωρῶσιν ἐν ἀγορᾷ μέση καὶ
 πληθούσῃ² χωρὶς αἰδοῦς, ἄλλο τι³ νομιστέον ἢ ὅτι
 κενῆς δόξης εἰσὶ δοῦλοι, φάσκοντες οὐκ ἐλεύθεροι
 μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ πολλῶν ἄλλων ἡγεμόνες εἶναι;
- 63 Ἐπιλείψει με ἡ ἡμέρα τὰς διαφθοράς⁴ τοῦ
 ἀνθρωπείου βίου διεξιόντα. καίτοι τί δεῖ μακρη-
 γορεῖν; τίς γὰρ αὐτῶν ἀνήκοός ἐστι, τίς δὲ οὐ
 θεατής; τίς μὲν οὖν οὐ τρίβων καὶ ἐθᾶς⁵; ὥστε
 παγκάλως προσθήκην τὸν ἀτυφίας μὲν ἐχθρόν,
 64 τύφου δ' ἑταῖρον⁶ ὠνόμασεν ὁ ἱερὸς λόγος. καθάπερ
 γὰρ τοῖς δένδρεσιν ἐπιφύονται βλάσται περισσαί,
 μεγάλαι τῶν γνησίων λῶβαι, ἃς καθαίρουσι καὶ
 ἀποτέμνουσι προνοία τῶν ἀναγκαίων οἱ γεωρ-
 γοῦντες, οὕτω τῷ ἀληθεῖ καὶ ἀτύφῳ βίῳ παρανέ-
 βλασθεν ὁ κατεψευσμένος καὶ τετυφωμένος, οὐ μέχρι
 ταύτης τῆς ἡμέρας οὐδεὶς εὐρηται γεωργὸς ὃς τὴν
 65 βλαβερὰν ἐπίφυσιν αὐταῖς ρίζαις ἀπέκοψε. τοιγαρ-
 οὖν εἰδότες οἱ φρονήσεως ἀσκηταὶ τὸ κατάπλαστον⁷
 τοῦτ' αἰσθήσει πρῶτον, <εἰτα> διανοία μεταδιώ-
 κοντα ἄντικρυς ἐκβοῶσι. "θηρίον πονηρὸν ἤρπασε
 66 καὶ κατέφαγεν Ἰωσήφ." ἀλλ' οὐ θηρίον ἐξηγριω-
 μένον ὢν ὁ πολυπλοκώτατος τῶν πεφυρμένων

¹ MSS. εἷ τινος.² MSS. πλήθους.³ MSS. ἄτε.⁴ MSS. διαφθοράς.⁵ MSS. ἔθος.⁶ MSS. ἕτερον.⁷ MSS. κατάπλειστον.

^a The common phrase for the forenoon, e.g. Plat. Gorg. 469 D.

ON DREAMS, II. 62-66

When, again, we see people wanting 62
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,^a 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 63
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 64
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 65
the practisers of sound sense, perceiving that Joseph
first with his senses, and afterwards with his under-
standing, pursues this way of artificiality, cry out-
right, "An evil beast has seized and devoured him"^b
(Gen. xxxvii. 33). And indeed this life of confused 66
mankind, so full of complications, of vain inventions,

^b That in the history this statement is a falsehood makes
no difference to Philo's exegesis. Cf. *De Mig.* 21 and note.

PHILO

- ἀνθρώπων τυφοπλαστηθεὶς βίος, οὐδὲ πλεονεξία καὶ πανουργία σοφαὶ δημιουργοί, τοὺς προσιόντας ἅπαντας εὐωχεῖται; τοιγάρτοι καὶ ἔτι ζῶσιν αὐτοῖς ὡς νεκροῖς προτεθήσεται¹ πένθος, ἀξίαν ὀλοφύρσεως καὶ θρήνων καρπουμένοις ζώην· ἐπεὶ καὶ Ἰακώβ τὸν Ἰωσήφ ἔτι ζῶντα πενθεῖ.
- 67 ἀλλ' οὐ Μωυσῆς ἐάσει τοὺς περὶ Ναδὰβ² ἱεροὺς λόγους πενθεῖσθαι· οὐ γὰρ ὑπ' ἀγρίου πονηροῦ θηρὸς ἀρπασθέντες, ἀλλ' ὑπὸ ρίπης ἀσβέστου καὶ ἀθανάτου φέγγους ἀνελήφθησαν, ὅτι τὴν ἔνθερμον καὶ διάπυρον καὶ σαρκῶν ἀναλωτικὴν καὶ ὄξυ-
[668] κίνητον πρὸς τὴν³ | εὐσέβειαν σπουδὴν, ἣ γενέσεως μὲν ἐστὶν ἀλλοτρία, θεοῦ δὲ οἰκεία, τὸν μελλήτην⁴ ὄκνον ἐκποδὼν ἀνελόντες, εὐαγῶς καθιέρωσαν, οὐ δι' ἀναβαθμῶν ἐπὶ τὸν βωμὸν ἐλθόντες—ἀπειρήται γὰρ νόμῳ,—ἀλλὰ δεξιῶ πνεύματι ἐπουρίσαντες⁵ καὶ ἄχρι τῶν οὐρανοῦ περιόδων παραπεμφθέντες, θυσίας ὀλοκαύτου καὶ ὀλοκάρπου τρόπον εἰς αἰθερίους αὐγὰς ἀναλυθέντες.
- 68 X. Ἀποκοπτέον οὖν, ὧ ψυχὴ πειθαρχοῦσα τῷ διδάσκοντι, τὴν σεαυτῆς χεῖρα καὶ δύναμιν, ἐπειδὴν ἄρξεται τῶν γεννητικῶν ἢ γενέσεως ἢ ἀνθρωπείων
69 σπουδασμάτων ἐπιλαμβάνεσθαι. πολλάκις γὰρ ὑφ'
* * *⁶ προσαψαμένην⁷ τῶν διδύμων χεῖρα ἀπο-
- ¹ MSS. προστεθήσεται. ² MSS. Ἀδὰμ.
³ MSS. τε. ⁴ MSS. μὲν δὲ.
⁵ MSS. ἀπουρίσαντες. ⁶ Perhaps ὑφ' (ηγείται τὴν).
⁷ MSS. προσαψαμένων.

^a Evidently an allusion to the "strange fire" (πῦρ ἀλλότριον) 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).

^b 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 67 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^a 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, 68 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.^b For he often^c bids us cut away the hand that has taken 69

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.

^a 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 *πολλαχόθεν*, "for many reasons."

PHILO

- κόπτειν, πρῶτον μὲν ὅτι ἐδεξιώσατο ἦν ἐχθαίρειν ἐχρῆν ἡδονήν, δεύτερον δὲ ὅτι παρ' ἡμᾶς τὸ σπείρειν ἐνόμισεν, εἰθ' ὅτι τῷ γενομένῳ τὴν τοῦ
- 70 ποιούντος ἀνέθηκε¹ δύναμιν. οὐχ ὁρᾷς, ὅτι ὁ γήινος ὄγκος, Ἀδάμ, ὅταν ᾤσῃται τοῦ διδύμου ξύλου, θνήσκει, δυάδα τιμήσας πρὸ μονάδος καὶ τὸ γενόμενον πρὸ τοῦ πεποιηκότος ἐκθαυμάσας; ἀλλὰ σύ γε τοῦ μὲν “καπνοῦ καὶ κύματος ἐκτὸς” βαῖνε καὶ τὰς καταγελάστους τοῦ θνητοῦ βίου σπουδὰς ὡς τὴν φοβερὰν ἐκείνην χάρυβδιν ἀποδίδρασκε καὶ μηδὲ ἄκρῳ, τὸ τοῦ λόγου τοῦτο, ποδὸς
- 71 δακτύλῳ² ψαύσης. ἐπειδὴν δὲ ταῖς ἱεραῖς ἐπαποδύσει λειτουργίαις, ὅλην τὴν χεῖρα καὶ δύναμιν εὐρύνασα εὖ μάλα τῶν παιδείας καὶ σοφίας θεωρημάτων ἐπίδραξαι. καὶ γὰρ πρόσταξις ἐστὶ τοιαύτη· “ἐὰν ψυχὴ προσφέρῃ δῶρον ἢ θυσίαν, σεμίδαλις ἔσται τὸ δῶρον,” εἴτ' ἐπιφέρει· “καὶ δραξάμενος πλήρη τὴν δράκα ἀπὸ τῆς σεμιδάλεως σὺν τῷ ἐλαίῳ καὶ παντὶ τῷ λιβάνῳ ἐπιθήσει³ τὸ μνημόσυνον
- 72 ἐπὶ τὸ θυσιαστήριον.” ἄρ' οὐ παγκάλως ψυχὴν εἶπεν ἀσώματον τὴν μέλλουσαν ἱερουργεῖν,⁴ ἀλλ' οὐ τὸν διδύμον ἐκ θνητοῦ καὶ ἀθανάτου συνεστῶτα ὄγκον; τὸ γὰρ εὐχόμενον, τὸ εὐχάριστον, τὸ θυσίας ἀμώμους⁵ ἀληθῶς ἀνάγον ἐν μόνον ἦν ἄρα,
- 73 ἡ ψυχὴ. τίς οὖν ἡ ψυχῆς ἀσώματου θυσία; τίς ἡ σεμίδαλις, ἐκκεκαθαρμένης⁶ ταῖς παιδείαις⁷ ὑποθή-

¹ ἐνέθηκε.

² MSS. τῷ τοῦ λόγου ποδὶ τοῦτο: Wend. δὴ τοῦτο. Perhaps omit ποδὶ as a duplicate of δακτύλῳ.

³ MSS. ἐπιτίθησι.

⁴ MSS. ἱερουργίαν.

⁵ MSS. ἀμώμων.

⁶ MSS. ἐκκεκαθαρμένη.

⁷ MSS. παιδείαις.

^a So the LXX for the word which E.V. translates “secrets.”

ON DREAMS, II. 69-73

hold of the "pair" ^a (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, ^c that mass of earth, ^b is doomed to 70 die when he touches the twofold tree (Gen. ii. 9 ^c), 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," ^d 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 71 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 72 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 73 offering of an unbodied soul? What but the fine flour, the symbol of a will, purified by the councils of

^b Cf. Gen. iii. 19, "the earth, out of which thou wast taken."

^c Or better, Gen. iii. 3, see App. p. 608.

^d Od. xii. 219:

τούτου (i.e. Charybdis) μὲν καπνοῦ καὶ κύματος ἔκτος ἔεργε
νῆα.

- καις γνώμης σύμβολον, τροφήν ἄνοσον καὶ ζωὴν
 74 ἀνυπαίτιον ποιεῖν ἱκανῆς; ἀφ' ἧς δραξάμενον¹ τὸν
 ἱερέα ὅλη τῇ δρακί, τὸ δ' ἐστὶ πάσαις ταῖς διανοίαις
 λαβαῖς, πλήρη τὴν ὅλην ψυχὴν εἰλικρινεστάτων καὶ
 καθαρωτάτων δογμάτων γενομένην αὐτὴν ὡς
 ἱερεῖον τὸ κάλλιστον ἀνάγειν προστέτακται, πύονα
 καὶ λιπῶσαν, θείῳ φωτὶ χαίρουσαν² καὶ ταῖς ἀπὸ
 δικαιοσύνης καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἀρετῶν ἀναδιδομέναις
 καταπνεομένην αὖραις, ὡς εὐωδέστατον καὶ προσ-
 ηνέστατον αἰεὶ καρποῦσθαι βίον· τὸ γὰρ ἔλαιον καὶ
 [669] ὁ | λιβανωτός, ὧν ἐπιδράττεται σὺν τοῖς λευκο-
 75 πύροις ὁ ἱερεὺς,³ ταῦτα αἰνίττεται. XI. διὰ
 τοῦτο καὶ Μωυσῆς ἐξαίρετον ἑορτὴν ἀνέθηκε τῷ
 δράγματι, πλὴν οὐ παντί, ἀλλὰ τῷ ἀπὸ τῆς ἱερᾶς
 γῆς. “ὅταν” γάρ φησιν “εἰσέλθῃτε εἰς τὴν γῆν,
 ἣν ἐγὼ δίδωμι ὑμῖν, καὶ θερίζετε τὸν θερισμὸν
 αὐτῆς, οἴσετε δράγματα ἀπαρχῇν τοῦ θερισμοῦ
 76 ὑμῶν πρὸς τὸν ἱερέα,” τὸ δέ ἐστίν· ὅταν εἰσέλθῃς,
 ὦ διάνοια, εἰς τὴν ἀρετῆς χώραν, ἣν ἐμπρεπὲς μόνῳ
 δωρεῖσθαι θεῷ, τὴν εὐβοτον, τὴν εὐγειον, τὴν
 καρποφόρον, εἴτα οἰκεία εἴ γ' ἔσπειρας⁴ ἀγαθὰ
 θερίζῃς αὐξηθέντα ὑπὸ τοῦ τελεσφόρου, μὴ πρό-
 τερον οἴκαδε συγκομίσης, τουτέστι μὴ ἀναθῆς μηδ'⁵
 ἐπιγράψῃς σεαυτῇ τὴν τῶν περιγινομένων αἰτίαν,
 ἣ ἀπάρξασθαι τῷ πλουτάρχῳ καὶ τὰ πλουτιστήρια
 77 ἔργα ἐπιτηδεύειν ἀναπειθόντι. καὶ λέγεται⁶ “τὴν
 ἀπαρχῇν τοῦ θερισμοῦ ὑμῶν” αὐτῶν, ἀλλ' οὐχὶ
 τῆς γῆς, προσφέρειν, ἵνα ἀμώμεν καὶ θερίζωμεν

¹ MSS. δραξάμενος.² MSS. χαίρουσι.³ MSS. ἱερός.⁴ MSS. εἴ γε σπείρας. Wend. [εἴ γε] σπείρασ'. The form adopted is my conjecture.⁵ MSS. ἀναθῆς μὴ.⁶ MSS. λέγετε.

ON DREAMS, II. 73-77

instruction, fit to produce nourishment that gives no sickness and life that knows no guilt. From such a 74 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 75 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 76 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 77 reaping,” that is not of the land but of ourselves, that we may mow and reap ourselves, by con-

ἑαυτοὺς,¹ πάνθ' ὅσα καλὰ καὶ τροφήμα καὶ σπουδαῖα βλαστήματα καθιεροῦντες.

- 78 XII. Ἄλλ' ὃ γε τῶν ἐνυπνίων μύστης ὁμοῦ καὶ μυσταγωγὸς θαρρεῖ λέγειν, ὅτι ἀνέστη τὸ αὐτοῦ δράγμα καὶ ὠρθώθη. τῷ γὰρ ὄντι καθάπερ οἱ γαῦροι τῶν ἵππων τὸν αὐχένα μετέωρον ἐξάραντες, ὅσοι θιασῶται τῆς κενῆς δόξης εἰσὶν, ἐπάνω πάντων ἑαυτοὺς ἰδρύνουσι, πόλεων, νόμων, ἐθῶν πατρίων,
- 79 τῶν παρ' ἐκάστοις πραγμάτων· εἴτα ἀπὸ δημαγωγίας ἐπὶ δημαρχίαν βαδίζοντες καὶ τὰ μὲν τῶν πλησίον καταβάλλοντες, τὰ δὲ οἰκεῖα διανιστάντες² καὶ παγίως ὀρθοῦντες, ὅσα ἐλεύθερα καὶ ἀδούλωτα φύσει φρονήματα, καὶ ταῦθ' ὑπάγεσθαι μηχανῶνται.
- 80 διὸ προστίθῃσι· “περιστραφέντα δὲ τὰ δράγματα ὑμῶν προσεκίνησαν τὸ ἐμὸν δράγμα.” τέθηπε γὰρ ὁ μὲν αἰδοῦς ἐραστὴς τὸν σκληραύχενα, ὁ δὲ εὐλαβὴς τὸν αὐθάδη, ὁ δὲ ἰσότητα³ τιμῶν τὸν ἑαυτῷ τε καὶ ἄλλοις ἄνισον,³ καὶ μήποτ' εἰκότως·
- 81 ἅτε γὰρ θεωρὸς ὢν οὐ μόνον τοῦ ἀνθρωπείου βίου ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν ἐν κόσμῳ συμπάντων ὁ ἀστείος οἶδεν ὅσον εἴωθε πνεῖν ἀνάγκη, τύχη, καιρὸς, βία, δυναστεία, καὶ ὅσας ὑποθέσεις καὶ ἡλικίας εὐπραγίας ἀπνευστὶ δραμούσας ἄχρις οὐρανοῦ κατέσεισαν
- 82 καὶ κατέρραξαν. ὥστε ἀναγκαίως εὐλάβειαν ἐπασπιδώσεται,⁴ τοῦ μηδὲν ἐξ ἐπιδρομῆς δεινὸν παθεῖν συγγενὲς φυλακτῆριον· ὃ γάρ, οἶμαι, πρὸς πόλιν
- 83 τείχος, τοῦτ' εὐλάβεια πρὸς ἕκαστον. ἄρ' οὖν οὐ παραπαίουσι καὶ μεμήνασιν ὅσοι παρρησίαν ἄκαιρον⁵

¹ MSS. ἑαυτοῖς.

² MSS. διαναστάντες.

³ MSS. ὁσιότητα . . . ἀνόσιον.

⁴ So Trin.: A ἐπασπιδήσεται which Wend. retains, conjecturing ἐπισπασέται, but cf. ἐπασπιδώσομαι Aristophanes, *Ach.* 368.

⁵ MSS. ἀπειρον.

ON DREAMS, II. 77-83

secrating every nourishing, excellent and worthy growth.

XII. But he who was both the initiated and the 78 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 79 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 80 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 81 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 82 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 83 lunatics and madmen who take pains to display un-

- σπουδάζουσιν ἐπιδείκνυσθαι, βασιλεῦσι καὶ τυράν-
νοις ἔστιν ὅτε λέγειν τε καὶ ποιεῖν ἐναντία τολ-
μῶντες, οὐκ αἰσθανόμενοι,¹ ὅτι (οὐ) τοὺς αὐχένας
μόνον ὥσπερ τὰ θρέμματα ὑπέζεύχθησαν, ἀλλ'
[670] ὅλα τὰ σώματα καὶ τὰς | ψυχὰς γύναιά τε καὶ
τέκνα καὶ γονεῖς καὶ τὴν ἄλλων ἐταίρων² (καὶ)
συγγενῶν πολυάνθρωπον οἰκειότητα καὶ κοινωνίαν
ἐκδέδενται, καὶ ἔξεστι τῷ ἡνιόχῳ καὶ ἐπόχῳ³ μετὰ
πάσης εὐμαρείας κεντεῖν, ἐλαύνειν, ἐπέχειν, ἀνα-
χαιτίζειν, ἅττ' ἂν ἐθελήσῃ μικρὰ καὶ μείζω δια-
84 τιθεῖναι; τοιγαροῦν στιζόμενοι καὶ μαστιγούμενοι
καὶ ἀκρωτηριαζόμενοι καὶ ὅσα πρὸ τοῦ θανάτου
χαλεπὰ πάντα ὡμῶς καὶ ἀνηλεῶς ἀθρόα ὑπο-
μένοντες, ἀπαχθέντες ἐπὶ πᾶσι θνήσκουσι.
- 85 XIII. ταῦτ' ἐστὶ⁴ τῆς ἀκαίρου παρρησίας τὰ ἐπί-
χειρα, οὐ παρρησίας παρά γε εὖ φρονούσι κριταῖς,
ἀλλ' εὐηθείας καὶ φρενοβλαβείας καὶ μελαγ-
χολίας ἀνιάτου γέμοντα.⁵ τί λέγεις; χειμῶνά
τις ὁρῶν ἀκμάζοντα καὶ βαρὺ πνεῦμα ἐναντίον
καὶ λαίλαπα καταιγίζουσιν καὶ κυματούμενον
πέλαγος, ἐνορμίζεσθαι δέον, ἐξορμίζεται καὶ ἐξ-
86 ανάγεται; τίς ἢ κυβερνήτης ἢ ναύκληρος οὕτω
ποτὲ ἐμεθύσθη καὶ παρώνησεν, (ὥς) ὅσων εἶπον
κατασκηψάντων ἐθελῆσαι πλεῖν, ἵνα⁶ ὑπέραντλος
ἄνωθεν ἐπιχυθείσης τῆς θαλάσσης ἢ ναὺς γενομένη
πλωτῆρσιν αὐτοῖς ἐγκαταποθῇ; τῷ γὰρ βου-
λομένῳ πλεῖν ἀκινδύνως εὐδίων πνεῦμα οὐρίον τε
87 καὶ λείον ἀναμένειν ἐξῆν. τί δέ; ἄρκτον τις (ἢ
σὺν ἄγριον ἢ)⁷ λέοντα μετὰ συρμού θεασάμενος
ἐπιόντα, πρᾶναι καὶ τιθασεῦσαι δέον, ἐξαγριαίνει

¹ MSS. αἰσθάνονται.³ MSS. ἐπ' ὡμῳ.² MSS. ἐτέρων.⁴ MSS. ἐπὶ.

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 84 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- 85 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 86 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, 87 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 δυντα.

⁶ MSS. ἵνα ὅσον εἶπον κατασκευάσαντων ἐθελήσῃ πλύνειν.

⁷ Lacuna in A eight to nine letters.

- καὶ ἀνερεθίζει, ὅπως θοίναν καὶ εὐωχίαν ὤμο-
 88 βόροις ἀνηλεεστάτοις¹ εὐτρεπίσῃ ἑαυτὸν; εἰ μὴ
 καὶ φαλαγγίοις καὶ ἀσπίσι ταῖς Αἰγυπτίαις καὶ
 τοῖς ἄλλοις ὅσα² τὸν φθοροποιὸν ἰὼν (ἐπιφέρεται)
 οὐδενὶ λυσιτελὲς ἀνθίστασθαι,³ θάνατον ἀπαραί-
 τητον τοῖς ἅπαξ δηχθεῖσιν ἐπάγουσιν· ἀγαπητὸν
 γὰρ κατεπάδοντας καὶ χειροήθη ποιούντας μηδὲν
 89 ἀπ' αὐτῶν δεινὸν παθεῖν. εἴτ' οὐκ εἰσιν ἄνθρωποι
 τινες συῶν, φαλαγγίων, ἀσπίδων ἀγριώτεροι καὶ
 ἐπιβουλότεροι; ὦν τὸ ἐπίβουλον καὶ δυσμενὲς
 ἀμήχανον ἑτέρως ἢ τιθασείαις καὶ μειλίγμασι
 χρωμένους διεκδύναι. τοιγάρτοι ὁ σοφὸς
 Ἀβραάμ τοὺς υἱοὺς τοῦ Χέτ—ἐρμηνεύονται δὲ
 ἐξιστάντες—προσκυνήσει, τῶν καιρῶν τοῦτο⁴ δρᾶν
 90 ἀναπειθόντων. οὐ⁵ γὰρ τιμῶν γε τοὺς ἐκ φύσεως
 καὶ γένους καὶ ἔθων ἐχθροὺς λογισμοῦ, οἳ τὸ τῆς
 ψυχῆς νόμισμα, παιδείαν, ἐξιστάντες καὶ κατα-
 κερματίζοντες οἰκτρῶς ἀναλίσκουσιν, ἐπὶ τὸ προσ-
 κυνεῖν ἦλθεν, ἀλλὰ τὸ παρὸν κράτος αὐτῶν καὶ
 τὴν δυσάλωτον ἰσχὺν δεδιὼς καὶ φυλαττόμενος
 ἐρεθίζειν,⁶ μέγα καὶ ἐχυρὸν κτῆμα καὶ ἀγώνισμα
 ἀρετῆς, σοφῶν ψυχῶν ἄριστον ἐνδιαίτημα, τὸ
 [671] διπλοῦν σπήλαιον, | ὃ μαχόμενον μὲν καὶ πολε-
 μοῦντα οὐκ ἐνῆν, ὑπερχόμενον⁷ δὲ καὶ θεραπεύοντα
 91 τῷ λόγῳ κομιέται.⁸ τί δέ; οὐχὶ καὶ ἡμεῖς,

¹ MSS. ἀνηλεεστάτην.

² MSS. ὅσοι.

³ I print Wend.'s text, but it ignores the difficulty of οὐδενί. This negative after εἰ μὴ must be wrong, unless we substitute ἀλυσιτελὲς for λυσιτελὲς or ἐξ(αφ)ίστασθαι for ἀνθίστασθαι. Mangey proposed ἐπιφέρεται ὁδοῦσι, perhaps meaning the second word to replace οὐδενί. If so ὁδόντι would be better. I think Philo is capable of having written ὁδοντοφορεῖ.

⁴ MSS. τοῦ (Trin. τὸν καιρὸν).

ON DREAMS, II. 87-91

savagery just to offer himself as a banquet to satisfy the cruel appetites of the carnivorous brutes? As well 88 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 89 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 90 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.^a Again, do not we too, when 91

^a In the earlier edition τῷ λόγῳ was changed to τῷ <ἀ>λόγῳ “paying court to their unreason.” But this is untenable as θεραπεύω is not found with a dative.

⁵ MSS. ὁ.

⁷ MSS. ὑπερμαχόμενον.

⁶ MSS. ἐρυθρίαζειν.

⁸ MSS. κομίσθαι.

- ὅταν ἐν ἀγορᾷ διατρίβωμεν, εἰώθαμεν ἐξίστασθαι μὲν τοῖς ἄρχουσιν, ἐξίστασθαι δὲ καὶ τοῖς ὑποζυγίοις; ἀλλ' ἀπ' ἐναντίας γνώμης καὶ οὐχὶ τῆς αὐτῆς· τοῖς μὲν γὰρ ἄρχουσιν ἐν τιμῇ, τοῖς δὲ ὑποζυγίοις διὰ φόβον τοῦ μηδὲν ἀπ' αὐτῶν εἰς 92 ἡμᾶς νεωτερισθῆναι. καὶ διδόντων μὲν τῶν καιρῶν ἐπιτιθεμένους τὴν τῶν ἐχθρῶν βίαν καλὸν καταλύσαι, μὴ ἐπιτρεπόντων δὲ ἀσφαλὲς ἡσυχάσαι, βουλομένοις δὲ τιν'¹ ὠφέλειαν εὐρίσκεσθαι παρ' αὐτῶν ἀρμόττον τιθασεῦσαι.
- 93 XIV. Διὸ καὶ νῦν ἄξιον ἐπαινεῖν τοὺς μὴ ὑποχωροῦντας τῷ τῆς κενῆς προστάτῃ δόξῃς, ἀλλὰ ἀνθισταμένους καὶ λέγοντας· “μὴ βασιλεύων βασιλεύσεις² ἐφ' ἡμῖν;” οὕτω γὰρ ἰσχυκότη³ ὀρώσιν αὐτόν, οὐχ ὡς φλόγα ἡμμένον τε καὶ λάμποντα ἐν ἀφθόνῳ ὕλῃ νεμόμενον, ἀλλ' ἔθ' ὡς⁴ σπινθῆρα ἐντυφόμενον, ὀνειρώττοντα δόξαν, οὐκ 94 ἐναργῶς ἤδη μετιόντα. χρηστὰς γὰρ ἐλπίδας ὑποβάλλουσιν ἑαυτοῖς, ὥσει καὶ μὴ ἀλῶναι δυνησόμενοι. παρὸ λέγουσι· “μὴ ἐφ' ἡμῖν βασιλεύσεις;” ἴσον τῷ ζώντων, ὄντων,⁵ ἰσχυόντων, ἐμπνεόντων ἡμῶν οἷι δυναστεύσεις; ἀσθενησάντων μὲν γὰρ ἴσως ἐπικρατήσεις, ἐρρωμένων δὲ ἐν 95 ὑπηκόου μοίρᾳ τετάξῃ. καὶ πέφυκεν οὕτως ἔχειν· ἐπειδὰν μὲν γὰρ ἐν διανοίᾳ (ὁ) ὀρθὸς ἰσχύη λόγος, ἡ κενὴ καταλύεται δόξα, ῥώννυται δὲ ἀσθενήσαντος. ἕως οὖν⁶ ἔτι σῶαν ἔχει τὴν ἑαυτῆς δύναμιν ἢ ψυχὴ καὶ μηδὲν αὐτῆς μέρος ἡκρωτηρίασται, θαρρείτω βάλλειν καὶ τοξεύειν τὸν ἐναντιούμενον τύφον καὶ

¹ MSS. τὴν.² MSS. βασιλεύσης.³ MSS. ἐσχηκότη.⁴ MSS. ἐθ' ὡς.⁵ Perhaps om. ὄντων or transpose with ζώντων.⁶ MSS. οὐδ.

ON DREAMS, II. 91-95

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 92 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 93 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 94 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 95 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

- ἐλευθεροστομείτω φάσκουσα· οὔτε βασιλεύσεις
οὔτε κυριεύσεις οὔτε ἡμῶν οὔτε ἐφ' ἡμῶν ἐτέρων·
96 ἀλλά σου τὰς ἐπανατάσεις¹ καὶ τὰς ἀπειλὰς ἐφόδω
μιᾷ καταδραμούμεθα σὺν τοῖς δορυφόροις καὶ
ὑπασπισταῖς, φρονήσεως ἐγγόνοις· ἐφ' ὧν λέγεται
ὅτι “ προσέθεντο μισεῖν αὐτὸν ἔνεκα τῶν ἐνυπνίων
97 αὐτοῦ καὶ ἔνεκα τῶν ῥημάτων αὐτοῦ.” ἀλλ' οὐ
ῥήματα μὲν καὶ ἐνύπνια πάνθ' ὅσα ὁ τυφὸς ἂν
εἰδωλοποιῇ, πράγματα δὲ καὶ σαφεῖς ἐνάργεια² τὰ
ὅσα ἐπ' ὀρθὸν βίον καὶ λόγον ἀναφέρεται; καὶ
τὰ μὲν μίσους ἅτε κατεψευσμένα, τὰ δὲ φιλίας ἅτε
ἀληθείας τῆς ἐπεράστου γέμοντα ἐπάξια.
98 μῆδεῖς οὖν ἔτι κατηγορεῖν ἐπιτολμάτω³ τῶν το-
σοῦτων τὰς ἀρετὰς ἀνδρῶν ὡς μισανθρώπου καὶ
μισαδέλφου δείγμα ἦθους ἐκφερόντων, ἀλλὰ μαθῶν,
ὅτι οὐκ ἄνθρωπος ὁ νῦν ἐπικρινόμενός ἐστιν, ἀλλὰ
τῶν ἐν ἐκάστου τῇ ψυχῇ τρόπων⁴ ὁ δοξομανὴς καὶ
φιλότυφος, ἀποδεχέσθω τοὺς ἄσπονδον ἔχθραν καὶ
[672] μῖσος ἀκατάλλακτον πρὸς | αὐτὸν αἰρομένους⁵ καὶ
μηδέποτε τὸν στυγηθέντα πρὸς ἐκείνων στερεῶτω,
99 γνοὺς ἀκριβῶς, ὅτι οἱ τοιοῦτοι⁶ δικασταὶ γνώμης
οὐκ ἂν ποτε ἐσφάλησαν ὑγιоῦς, ἀλλὰ μαθόντες καὶ
παιδευθέντες ἐξ ἀρχῆς τὸν ὄντως βασιλέα, τὸν
κύριον, προσκυνεῖν τε καὶ τιμᾶν ἀγανακτοῦσιν, εἴ
τις τὴν θεοῦ τιμὴν νοσφίζειται καὶ τοὺς ἰκέτας⁷ αὐτοῦ
100 μετακαλεῖ πρὸς τὴν ἰδίαν θεραπείαν. XV. διὸ
θαρροῦντες ἐροῦσιν· “ μὴ βασιλεύων βασιλεύσεις
ἐφ' ἡμῖν; ” ἢ ἀγνοεῖς, ὅτι οὐκ ἐσμεν αὐτόνομοι,
ἀλλ' ὑπὸ ἀθανάτου βασιλέως, τοῦ μόνου θεοῦ,

¹ MSS. ἐπαναστάσεις.³ MSS. ἐπὶ τολμοτάτων.⁵ MSS. αὐτοὺς ἐρωμένους.² MSS. ἐνέργεια.⁴ MSS. τρόπος.⁶ MSS. τοσοῦτοι.

ON DREAMS, II. 95-100

of speech. "Thou shalt not lord or king it over us," it will say, "nor over others while we live, but we 98 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 97 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 98 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 99 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 100 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

⁷ MSS. *oikéras*, which I think might be retained.

βασιλευόμεθα; τί δέ; “κυριεύων κυριεύσεις ἡμῶν;” μὴ γὰρ οὐ δεσποζόμεθα καὶ ἔχομέν τε καὶ ἔξομεν εἰς τὸν αἰὲ χρόνον τὸν αὐτὸν κύριον; ὦ δουλεύοντες οὕτω γεγήθαμεν, ὥς οὐδεὶς ἕτερος ἐπ’ ἐλευθερίᾳ· καὶ γὰρ ἐστὶ τὸ δουλεύειν θεῷ πάντων ἄριστον, ὅσα ἐν γενέσει τετίμηται.

- 101 εὐξαίμην ἂν οὖν καὶ αὐτὸς δυνηθῆναι τοῖς γνωσθεῖσιν ὑπὸ τούτων ἐμμεῖναι βεβαίως· ὁπτήρες γὰρ καὶ κατάσκοποι καὶ ἔφοροι πραγμάτων, οὐ σωμάτων, εἰσὶν ἀκριβοδίκαιοι,¹ πάντα νήφοντες τὸν αἰῶνα, ὥς ὑπὸ μηδενὸς ἔτι τῶν εἰωθότων δελεάζειν
- 102 ἀπατᾶσθαι. μεθύω δὲ ἄχρι νῦν ἐγὼ καὶ ἀσαφείᾳ πολλῇ κέχρημαι καὶ βάκτρων καὶ τῶν ποδηγετησόντων ὥσπερ οἱ τυφλοὶ δέομαι· σκηριπτομένῳ² γὰρ ἐγγένοιτ’ ἂν ἴσως μήτε προσπταίειν μήτε
- 103 ὀλισθαίνειν. εἰ δέ τινες ἀνεξετάστους καὶ ἀπερίσκεπτους εἰδότες ἑαυτοὺς οὐ σπουδάζουσι³ τοῖς ἐξητακόσιν ἃ χρὴ πάντα ἀκριβῶς καὶ περιεσκεμμένως ἀκολουθεῖν, ἀγνοοῦντες τὴν ὁδὸν ἐπισταμένοις, ἴστωσαν ὅτι δυσαναπορεύτοις βαράθροις περιπαρέντες οὐδ’ ἐπειγόμενοι⁴ προελθεῖν ἔτι δυνη-
- 104 σονται. ἐγὼ δ’ ἐκείνοις, ὅταν μικρὸν ἀνεθῶ τῆς μέθης, οὕτως εἰμὶ ἔνσπονδος, ὥς τὸν αὐτὸν ἐχθρὸν καὶ φίλον εἶναι νομίζειν. καὶ νῦν οὐδὲν ἡττον τὸν ἐνυπνιαστήν, ὅτι γε καὶ ἐκείνοι, προβαλοῦμαι καὶ στυγήσω· καὶ οὐδεὶς εὖ φρονῶν ἐπὶ τούτῳ μέμψαιτ’ ἂν με τῷ⁵ τὰς πλειόνων⁶ γνώμας τε καὶ ψήφους αἰεὶ
- 105 νικᾶν. ἐπειδὴν δὲ πρὸς ἀμείνῳ βίον

¹ MSS. ἀκριβεῖς, δίκαιοι.

² Α σκ(lacuna of five letters)μένω: Trin. σκίμπος χρεῖά ἐστιν, ἡρεισμένω γὰρ.

³ Α σπου(lacuna of seven letters): Trin. σπουδῇ παρέχοντες.

ON DREAMS, II. 100-105

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 101
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 102
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 103
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, 104
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 105

^a See note on *Quis Rerum* 242.

⁴ MSS. ἐπιγινόμενοι.

⁵ MSS. μετὰ.

⁶ A πλείω (Trin. πλείους).

- μεταβάλλῃ καὶ μηκέτ' ἐνυπνιάζεται μηδὲ ταῖς
κεναῖς τῶν κενοδόξων φαντασίαις ἰλυσπώμενος
κακοπαθῇ μηδὲ νύκτα καὶ σκότος καὶ πραγμάτων
ἀδήλων καὶ ἀτεκμάρτων συντυχίας ὄνειροπολῇ,
106 περιαναστὰς δὲ ἐκ τοῦ βαθέος ὕπνου διατελῇ μὲν
ἐγρηγορώς, ἐνάργειαν δὲ πρὸ ἀσαφείας καὶ πρὸ
ψευδοῦς ὑπολήψεως ἀλήθειαν καὶ πρὸ νυκτὸς
ἡμέραν καὶ φῶς πρὸ σκότους ἀποδέχεται καὶ τὴν
μὲν γυναῖκα τοῦ Αἰγυπτίου, σώματος ἡδονήν, εἰς
αὐτὴν¹ εἰσελθεῖν καὶ τῆς ὁμιλίας αὐτῆς ἀπολαῦσαι
107 παρακαλοῦσαν ἀποστρέφεται διὰ πόθον ἐγκρατείας
[673] καὶ ζῆλον εὐσεβείας ἄλεκτον, ὧν δὲ ἔδοξεν ἄλλο-
τριωθῆναι συγγενικῶν καὶ πατρῶων ἀγαθῶν μετα-
ποιῆται πάλιν τὸ ἐπιβάλλον ἀρετῆς ἑαυτῷ μέρος
δικαιῶν ἀνακτᾶσθαι καὶ ταῖς κατὰ μικρὸν ἐπανιών
βελτιώσεσιν ὡς ἐπὶ κορυφῆς τοῦ ἑαυτοῦ βίου καὶ
τέλους ἰδρυθεὶς ἀναφθέγγεται, ὃ παθὼν ἀκριβῶς
ἔμαθεν, ὅτι “ τοῦ θεοῦ ” ἐστίν, ἀλλ' οὐδενὸς ἔτι
108 τῶν εἰς γένεσιν ἡκόντων αἰσθητοῦ τὸ παράπαν, οἱ
μὲν ἀδελφοὶ καταλλακτηρίους ποιήσονται συμ-
βάσεις, τὸ μῖσος εἰς φιλίαν καὶ τὸ κακόνουν² εἰς
εὐνοίαν μεταβαλόντες, ἐγὼ δ' ὁ τούτων ὁπαδὸς—
πεῖθεσθαι γὰρ ὡς δεσπότηις οἰκέτης ἔμαθον—
109 ἐπαινῶν οὐκ ἐπιλείψω τῆς μετανοίας ἐκείνων· εἴ
γε καὶ Μωυσῆς ὁ ἱεροφάντης ἀξιέραστον καὶ
ἀξιομνημόνευτον οὔσαν αὐτοῦ τὴν μετάνοιαν ἐκ
φθορᾶς ἀνασώζει διὰ συμβόλου τῶν ὁστέων, ἃ
κατορωρύχθαι μέχρι τοῦ παντὸς οὐκ ᾤετο δεῖν
ἔαν (ἐν) Αἰγύπτῳ, παγχάλεπον ἡγούμενος, εἴ τι
ἦνθησεν ἢ ψυχὴ καλόν, τοῦτ' ἑᾶσαι μαρανθῆναι
καὶ κατακλυσθὲν ἀφανισθῆναι πλημμύραις, ἃς ὁ

¹ MSS. αὐτὸν.² MSS. κακὸν.

ON DREAMS, II. 105-109

for the better and renounces his idle visions, his troublous 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 106 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 kins- 107 men 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. l. 19), and not any longer to any sense object that has been created,—then his brethren will 108 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, 109 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 αἰσθήσεων ῥέων ἐνδελεχῶς ἐκδίδωσιν.
- 110 XVI. Ἡ μὲν οὖν ἐπὶ τῶν δραγμάτων¹ φανείσα ὄψις ἀπὸ γῆς καὶ διάκρισις εἴρηται· τὴν δὲ ἐτέραν καιρὸς ἤδη σκοπεῖν, καὶ ὡς ὄνειροκριτικῇ τέχνῃ
- 111 διαστέλλεται. “εἶδεν” οὖν φησιν “ἐνύπνιον ἕτερον καὶ διηγήσατο τῷ πατρὶ καὶ τοῖς ἀδελφοῖς αὐτοῦ καὶ εἶπεν· ὥσπερ <ὁ> ἥλιος καὶ ἡ σελήνη καὶ ἔνδεκα ἀστέρες προσεκύνουν με. καὶ ἐπετίμησεν αὐτῷ ὁ πατὴρ καὶ εἶπε· τί τὸ ἐνύπνιον ὃ ἐνυπνιασθῆς; ἄρα γε ἐλθόντες ἐλευσόμεθα ἐγὼ καὶ ἡ μήτηρ σου καὶ οἱ ἀδελφοί σου προσκυνῆσαι σοι ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν; ἐζήλωσαν δὲ αὐτὸν οἱ ἀδελφοί,
- 112 ὁ δὲ πατὴρ διετήρησε τὸ ῥῆμα.” φασὶ τοίνυν οἱ μετεωρολογικοί, τὸν ζῳδιακὸν κύκλον μέγιστον ὄντα τῶν κατ’ οὐρανὸν δυοκαίδεκα <ἐκ> ζῳδίων,² ἀφ’ ὧν καὶ τὴν ἐπωνυμίαν ἔσχε, κατηστερίσθαι, ἥλιον δὲ καὶ σελήνην αἰεὶ περὶ αὐτὸν εἰλουμένους ἕκαστον διεξέρχεσθαι τῶν ζῳδίων, οὐκ ἰσοταχεῖς,³ ἀλλ’ ἐν ἀριθμοῖς καὶ χρόνοις ἀνίστοις, τὸν μὲν ἐν ἡμέραις τριάκοντα, τὴν δὲ δωδεκατημορίῳ τούτων μάλιστα, ὅπερ ἡμερῶν δυεῖν καὶ ἡμίσεος ἐστίν.
- 113 ἔδοξεν οὖν ὁ τὴν θεόπεμπτον φαντασίαν ἰδὼν ὑπ’ ἀστέρων ἔνδεκα προσκυνεῖσθαι, δωδέκατον συντάττων ἑαυτὸν εἰς τὴν τοῦ ζῳδιακοῦ συμπλήρωσιν
- 114 κύκλου. μέμνημαι⁴ δὲ καὶ πρότερόν τινος ἀκούσας ἀνδρὸς οὐκ ἀμελῶς οὐδὲ ῥαθύμως τῷ μαθήματι προσενεχθέντος, ὅτι οὐκ ἄνθρωποι μόνον δοξομανοῦσιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ οἱ ἀστέρες καὶ περὶ πρῶ-

¹ MSS. ἀπὸ τῶν πραγμάτων.

² <ἐκ> is my insertion: Wend. ζῳδίοις: Mangey ζῳδίων <σημείοις>.

³ MSS. ἰσοταχοῦς: perhaps ἰσοταχῶς.

⁴ MSS. μέμνηται.

ON DREAMS, II. 109-114

which the Egyptian river of passion, the body, pours forth unceasingly through the channel of all the senses.^a

XVI. So much for the vision drawn from earth— 110
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 111
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 112
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- 113
sent vision dreamt that the eleven stars made him obeisance, thus classing himself as the twelfth to complete the circle of the zodiac. Now, 114
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

^a For the sense of §§ 105-109 *cf.* *De Mig.* 16-25.

- 115 τείων ἀμιλλώμενοι δικαιοῦσιν οἱ μείζους | αἰὲν πρὸς
 [674] τῶν ἐλαττόνων δορυφορεῖσθαι. ταῦτα μὲν οὖν,
 ὅπως ἂν ἀληθείας ἢ εἰκαιολογίας ἔχῃ, παρετέον
 τοῖς μετεωροθήραις σκοπεῖν. λέγομεν
 δὲ ἡμεῖς, [ὥς] ὅτι ὁ σπουδῆς ἀκρίτου καὶ φιλονεικίας
 ἀλόγου καὶ κενῆς δόξης ἐραστής, αἰὲν φυσώμενος
 ὑπ' ἀνοίας, οὐ μόνον ἀνθρώπους ὑπερκύπτειν ἀλλὰ
 116 καὶ τὴν τῶν ὄντων φύσιν ἀξιοῖ. καὶ νομίζει μὲν
 ἑαυτοῦ χάριν τὰ πάντα γεγενῆσθαι, ἀναγκαῖον δ'
 εἶναι δασμὸν ἕκαστον ὡς βασιλεῖ φέρειν αὐτῷ,
 γῆν, ὕδωρ, αἶρα, οὐρανόν· καὶ τοσαύτη τῆς εὐ-
 ηθείας ὑπερβολῇ χρήται, ὥστε οὐκ ἰσχύει λογί-
 σασθαι, ὃ καὶ πᾶσι ἄφρων ἐννοηθείη, ὅτι τεχνίτης
 οὐδεὶς ἔνεκα μέρους ποτὲ ὅλον, ἀλλ' ἔνεκα τοῦ
 ὅλου μέρος δημιουργεῖ· μέρος δὲ τοῦ παντὸς
 ἄνθρωπος, ὥστε γεγωνῶς¹ εἰς τὸ συμπλήρωμα τοῦ
 κόσμου δικαίως ἂν αὐτὸς ἐκείνῳ συντελοίη.²
 117 XVII. φλναρίας δὲ ἄρα τοσαύτης γέμουσί τινες,
 ὥστε ἀγανακτοῦσιν, εἰ μὴ ὁ κόσμος τοῖς βουλή-
 μασι αὐτῶν ἔποιτο. διὰ τοῦτο Ξέρξης
 μὲν ὁ Περσῶν βασιλεὺς, βουλόμενος τοὺς ἐχθροὺς
 καταπλῆξαι, μεγαλουργίας ἐπίδειξιν ἐποιεῖτο, και-
 118 νουργῶν τὴν φύσιν· γῆν μὲν γὰρ μετεστοιχείου
 καὶ θάλατταν, ἀντιδιδούς πελάγει μὲν ἡπειρον,
 ἡπείρῳ δὲ πέλαγος, τὸν μὲν Ἑλλήσποντον ζευγνὺς
 γεφύραις,³ ὅρος δὲ τὸν Ἀθω ῥηγνὺς εἰς βαθεῖς
 κόλπους, οἱ πληρούμενοι θαλάττης ὁ νέος καὶ
 χειρόκμητος⁴ εὐθύς πόντος ἦσαν, τὸ παλαιόν⁵ τῆς
 119 φύσεως ἐξαλλοιωθεῖς· τὰ δὲ περίγεια, ὡς ἐδόκει,
 θαυματουργήσας ἀνέβαινε ταῖς τετολμημέναις ἐπι-

¹ MSS. γέγονεν.² MSS. συντελώνη.³ MSS. ζευγνύσθαι φυραῖς.

and consider it right that the greater should have the lesser for their squires. How far this is true or mere 115 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 116 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 117 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 118 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, 119 with the regions of earth he proceeded in the boldness of his schemes to mount to heaven also,

⁴ MSS. χειρότης.

⁵ MSS. τῷ παλαιῷ.

- νοίαις συνανάγων ἀσέβειαν ἑαυτῷ καὶ εἰς οὐρανὸν ὁ δύστηνος, ὡς τὰ ἀκίνητα κινήσων καὶ τὸν θεῖον στρατὸν καθαιρήσων, καί, τὸ λεγόμενον, ἀφ' ἱερᾶς
- 120 ἤρχετο· τὸν γὰρ ἄριστον τῶν ἐκεῖ, τὸν ἡγεμόνα ἡμέρας ἡλίου, ἐτόξευεν, ὥσπερ οὐκ αὐτὸς ἀφανεῖ βέλει φρενοβλαβείας τιτρωσκόμενος οὐ μόνον διὰ τὸ ἀδυνάτων ἀλλὰ καὶ διὰ τὸ ἀνοσιωτάτων ἔργων ἑρᾶν, ὧν καὶ θάτερον μεγάλη τῷ ἐγχειροῦντι
- 121 δύσκειρα ἦν. Γερμανῶν δὲ πολυ-
ανθρωποτάτην μοῖραν—ἀμπωτίζει¹ δὲ παρ' αὐτοῖς ἢ θάλαττα—λόγος ἔχει κατὰ τὰς ἐκεῖ παλιρροίας ἐπιδρομὰς ὠθουμένους μετὰ σπουδῆς, ἐπανατεινομένους γυμνὰ τὰ ξίφη, θέοντας ὡς στῖφος πολεμίων
- 122 τὸ κυματούμενον πέλαγος ὑπαντιάζειν· (οὗς) ἄξιον μισεῖν μὲν, ὅτι ἐναντία ὄπλα δι' ἀθεότητα κατὰ τῶν ἀδουλώτων τῆς φύσεως αἰρεῖσθαι τολμῶσι μερῶν, χλευάζειν δέ, ὅτι ἀδυνάτοις ἐγχειροῦσιν ὡς δυνατοῖς,² νομίζοντες ὡς ζῶον καὶ ὕδωρ κεντεῖσθαι, τιτρώσκεσθαι, κτείνεσθαι δύνασθαι, καὶ πάλιν ἀλγεῖν, δεδιέναι, φόβῳ τῶν ἐπιόντων ἀποδιδράσκειν καὶ ὅσα ψυχῆς πάθη κατὰ τε ἡδονὰς καὶ ἀλγηδónας ἀναδέχεσθαι.
- 123 [675] XVIII. Χθές | δ' οὐ πρῶν ἄνδρα τινὰ οἶδα
τῶν ἡγεμονικῶν, ὅς, ἐπειδὴ³ τὴν προστασίαν καὶ ἐπιμέλειαν εἶχεν Αἰγύπτου, τὰ πάτρια κινεῖν ἡμῶν διενόηθη καὶ διαφερόντως τὸν ἀγιώτατον καὶ φρικωδέστατον⁴ περὶ τῆς ἐβδόμης ὑπάρχοντα νόμον καταλύειν καὶ ὑπηρετεῖν ἡνάγκαζεν (ἐν αὐτῇ)⁵

¹ MSS. ἀμπωτίζειν.² MSS. δυνατόν.³ MSS. have ἐπειδὴ before τὰ πάτρια.⁴ MSS. ἀγιωδέστατα καὶ φρικωδέστατα (Mangey ἀγιωδέστατον).

taking, unhappy wretch, impiety as his fellow climber. He thought to remove the irremovable and to overthrow 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^c 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 *ιεράς*, *sc.* *γραμμῆς*. See App. p. 608.

^b See App. pp. 608 f.

^c See App. p. 609.

⁵ <ἐν αὐτῇ> is my insertion: Markland proposed it as substitute for αὐτῶ.

- αὐτῷ καὶ τὰ ἄλλα ποιεῖν παρὰ τὸ καθεστὼς ἔθος, νομίζων ἀρχὴν ἔσεσθαι καὶ τῆς περὶ τὰ ἄλλα ἐκδιαιτήσεως καὶ τῆς τῶν ὄλων παραβάσεως, εἰ
- 124 τὸ ἐπὶ τῇ ἐβδόμῃ πατριον ἀνελεῖν δυνηθείη. καὶ μήθ' οὖς ἐβιάζετο ὁρῶν εἰκοντας τοῖς ἐπιτάγμασι μήτε τὴν ἄλλην πληθὺν ἡρεμοῦσαν, ἀλλὰ βαρέως καὶ τραχέως φέρουσιν τὸ πρᾶγμα καὶ ὥς ἐπ' ἀνδραποδισμῷ καὶ πορθήσει καὶ κατασκαφῇ πατριδος πενθοῦντάς τε καὶ κατηφoῦντας, ἡξίου λόγῳ
- 125 διδάσκειν παρανομεῖν, φάσκων· εἰ πολεμίων ἔφοδος αἰφνίδιον γένοιτο ἢ κατακλυσμοῦ φορὰ τοῦ ποταμοῦ ταῖς πλημμύραις παραρρήξαντος τὸ χῶμα ἢ ῥιπὴ πυρὸς ἢ κεραυνία φλόξ ἢ λιμός ἢ λοιμός ἢ σεισμός ἢ ὅσα ἄλλα κακὰ χειροποίητα καὶ θεήλατα, μεθ'
- 126 ἡσυχίας πάσης οἴκοι διατρίψετε; ἢ μετὰ τοῦ συνήθους σχήματος προελεύσεσθε, τὴν μὲν δεξιὰν εἴσω χεῖρα συναγαγόντες, τὴν δὲ ἑτέραν ὑπὸ τῆς ἀμπεχόνης παρὰ ταῖς λαγόσι πῆξαντες, ἵνα μηδ'
- 127 ἄκοντές τι τῶν εἰς τὸ σωθῆναι παράσχησθε; καὶ καθεδείσθε ἐν τοῖς συναγωγίοις ὑμῶν, τὸν εἰωθότα θίασον ἀγείροντες καὶ ἀσφαλῶς τὰς¹ ἱερὰς βίβλους ἀναγινώσκοντες κἂν εἴ τι μὴ τρανὲς εἴη διαπτύσσοντες² καὶ τῇ πατρίῳ φιλοσοφίᾳ διὰ μακρηγορίας
- 128 ἐνευκαιροῦντές τε καὶ ἐνσχολάζοντες; ἀλλὰ γὰρ ἀποσεισάμενοι πάντα ταῦτα πρὸς τὴν ἑαυτῶν καὶ γονέων καὶ τέκνων καὶ τῶν ἄλλων οἰκειοτάτων καὶ φιλτάτων σωμάτων, εἰ δὲ δεῖ τάληθές εἰπεῖν, καὶ κτημάτων καὶ χρημάτων, ὥς μηδὲ ταῦτα ἀφα-
- 129 νισθείη, βοήθειαν ἀποδύσεσθε.³ καὶ μὴν οὗτος αὐτὸς ἐγὼ τὰ λεχθέντα, ἔφη, πάντα εἰμί,

¹ MSS. ἀσφαλῆς τε.² MSS. διαπτύοντες.³ MSS. ἀποδύεσθαι.

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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 124 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 125 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 126 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 127 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 128 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 129

PHILO

- τυφώς, πόλεμος, κατακλυσμός, κεραυνός, λιμηρὰ καὶ λοιμώδης νόσος, ὁ τινάττων καὶ κυκῶν τὰ παγίως ἐστώτα σεισμός, εἰμαρμένης ἀνάγκης οὐκ
- 130 ὄνομα, ἀλλ' ἐμφανὲς ἐγγὺς ἐστώσα δύναμις. τί οὖν τὸν² ταῦτα λέγοντα ἢ διανοούμενον αὐτὸ μόνον εἶναι φῶμεν; ἄρ' οὐκ ἐκτόπιον; ὑπερωκεάνιον μὲν οὖν ἢ μετακόσμιόν τι καινὸν κακόν, εἴ γε τῷ πάντα μακαρίῳ ὁ πάντα βαρυδαίμων ἑαυτὸν ἐξομοιοῦν
- 131 ἐτόλμησεν. ὑπερθεῖτ' ἂν³ οὗτος ἥλιον καὶ σελήνην [676] καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ἀστέρας βλασφημεῖν, | ὅποτε τι τῶν ἐλπισθέντων κατὰ τὰς ἐτησίους ὥρας ἢ⁴ μὴ συνόλως ἢ μὴ ῥαδίως ἀποβαῖνοι, φλογμὸν μὲν θέρους, κρυμὸν δὲ [καὶ] χειμῶνος βαρὺν κατασκήπτοντος, ἔαρος δὲ καὶ μετοπώρου, τοῦ μὲν πρὸς εὐκαρπίαν⁵ ἐστεριωμένου, τοῦ δὲ πρὸς νοσημάτων
- 132 γενέσεις εὐτοκίᾳ χρωμένου; πάντα μὲν οὖν ἀνασείων κάλων⁶ ἀχαλίνου στόματος καὶ κακηγόρου⁷ γλώττης, ὥσπερ τὸν εἰωθότα δασμὸν οὐκ ἐνεγκόντας τοὺς ἀστέρας⁸ αἰτιάσεται, τιμᾶσθαι μονονοῦ καὶ προσκυνεῖσθαι δικαίων⁹ ὑπὸ τῶν οὐρανίων¹⁰ τὰπίγεια καὶ περιττότερον ἑαυτόν, ὅσω καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἄνθρωπος ὢν διενηνοχέναι ζώων δοκεῖ.
- 133 XIX. Τοιοῦτοι μὲν οἱ κορυφαῖοι τῆς κενῆς ἡμῖν δόξης γράφονται, τοὺς δὲ χορευτὰς ἐν μέρει κατ' αὐτοὺς¹¹ ἴδωμεν. οὗτοι μὲν ἐπιβουλεύουσιν ἀεὶ τοῖς

¹ MSS. λοιμύρα.

³ MSS. ὑπερθ . . . αν.

⁵ MSS. ἡρος ἀκαρπίαν.

⁷ MSS. κατηγόρου.

⁹ MSS. δικαίου.

² MSS. ἦν.

⁴ MSS. εἰ.

⁶ MSS. ἀνασελεῖν καλὸν.

⁸ MSS. δ' ἐτέρας.

¹⁰ MSS. οὐρανῶν.

¹¹ MSS. καθ' αὐτοὺς.

^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 130 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 131 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^b visited him with scorching heat or the winter^b with a terrible frost, if the spring failed in its fruit-bearing or the autumn shewed fertility in breeding diseases ? Nay, he will loose 132 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- 133 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.

- ἀσκηταῖς ἀρετῆς· οὓς ὅταν ἴδωσι σπουδάζοντας τὸν αὐτῶν βίον ἀληθείᾳ ἀδόλῳ φαιδρύνειν καὶ ὡς πρὸς σεληνιακὸν ἢ τὸ ἀφ' ἡλίου καθαρὸν φέγγος αὐγά-
 ζειν, ἀπατῶντες¹ ἢ βιαζόμενοι κωλύουσιν, εἰς τὸν ἀσεβῶν ὠνήλιον χώρον εἰσελαύνοντες, ὃν ἐπέχουσι
 νύξ βαθεῖα καὶ σκότος ἀτελεύτητον καὶ εἰδώλων καὶ
 φασμάτων καὶ ὀνειράτων ἔθνη² μυρία, κακῆς κατα-
 134 δύσαντες προσκυνεῖν ὡς δεσπότης ἀναγκάζουσι. τὸν
 μὲν γὰρ φρονήσεως ἀσκητὴν ὑπολαμβάνομεν ἡλίον,
 ἐπειδήπερ ὁ μὲν³ τοῖς σώμασιν, ὁ δὲ τοῖς κατὰ
 ψυχὴν πράγμασιν ἐμπαρέχει φῶς, τὴν δὲ παιδείαν,
 ἣ κέχρηται, σελήνην—ἐν νυκτὶ γὰρ ἡ ἑκατέρας
 εἰλικρινεστάτη καὶ ὠφελιμωτάτη χρῆσις ἐστίν,—
 ἀδελφοὺς δὲ τοὺς παιδείας καὶ ἀσκητικῆς ψυχῆς
 (ὡς) ἂν ἐγγόνους ἀστεῖους λόγους, οὓς πάντας
 ὀρθὴν ἀτραπὸν εὐθύνοντας τοῦ βίου παλαίσμασι
 πολυτρόποις καὶ πολυμηχάνοις αὐχενίζοντες ἐκ-
 τραχηλίζειν καὶ καταρράττειν ὑποσκελίζοντες⁴ οἱ
 μὴδὲν ὑγιὲς μήτε λέγειν μήτε φρονεῖν ἐγνωκότες
 135 ἀξιοῦσι. διὸ καὶ ἐπιτιμᾷ τῷ τοιούτῳ
 τιθασῶς⁵ ὁ πατήρ, οὐκ Ἰακώβ, ἀλλ' ὁ καὶ τούτου
 πρεσβύτερος ὀρθὸς λόγος φάσκων· “ τί τὸ ἐνύπνιον
 136 τοῦτο ἐνυπνιασθῆς; ” ἀλλ' οὐκ ἐνύπνιον εἶδες·
 ἢ ὑπέλαβες, ὅτι τὰ φύσει ἐλεύθερα ἀνθρωπεύων
 ἀνάγκη δοῦλα ἔσται καὶ ὑπήκοα τὰ ἄρχοντα καί,
 τὸ ἔτι παραδοξότερον, οὐκ ἄλλων ὑπήκοα ἀλλὰ

¹ MSS. ἀπαντῶντες.² MSS. ἔθνη.³ MSS. ἢ . . . ἐπειδήπερ . . . μὲν <Trin. οἱ μὲν>.⁴ MSS. ὑποσκελίζοντας.⁵ MSS. τιθάσω.^a See note on *Quis Rerum* 242.^b Logically this should be “the stars.”

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mischievous 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 134 practiser of wisdom, since it provides light for material things even as the other does for the immaterial things of the soul.^a 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.^b 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 135 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 136 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, οὐδ' ἐτέρων δοῦλα ἀλλὰ τῶν
 δουλευόντων; εἰ μὴ ἄρα κράτει¹ θεοῦ τοῦ μόνου
 πάντα δυνατοῦ, ᾧ καὶ τὰ ἀκίνητα κινεῖν καὶ τὰ
 φορούμενα θέμις ἰδρύσασθαι, μεταβολὴ τῶν καθ-
 137 εστῶτων γένοιτο πρὸς τάναντία. | ἐπεὶ τίνα ἔξει
 [677] λόγον τὸ ὀργίζεσθαι² καὶ ἐπιτιμᾶν τῷ τὴν καθ'
 ὕπνον φαντασίαν ἰδόντι; μὴ γὰρ ἐκὼν εἶδον αὐτήν;
 ἐρεῖ, τί μοι τὰ τῶν ἐκ προνοίας ἡδικοκώτων ἐπάγεις³
 ἐγκλήματα; τὸ προσπεσὸν ἔξωθεν καὶ πληγῆάν μου
 138 τὴν διάνοιαν αἰφνίδιον ἄκοντος διηγησάμην. ἀλλὰ
 γὰρ οὐκ ἔστι περὶ ὀνείρατος ὁ παρὼν λόγος, ἀλλὰ
 περὶ πραγμάτων ἐοικώτων ἐνυπνίοις· ἃ τοῖς μὴ λῖαν
 κεκαθαρμένοις μεγάλα καὶ λαμπρὰ καὶ περιμάχητα
 εἶναι δοκεῖ, μικρὰ ὄντα καὶ ἀμυδρὰ καὶ χλεύης
 ἐπάξια παρ' ἀδεκάστοις⁴ ἀληθείας βραβευταῖς.
 139 XX. Ἄρ' οὖν, φησὶν, ἐλεύσομαι μὲν
 <ὁ> ὀρθὸς λόγος, ἐγώ, ἀφίξεται δὲ καὶ ἡ τοῦ
 φιλομαθοῦς θιάσου ψυχῆς⁵ μήτηρ ὁμοῦ καὶ τροφός,
 ἀρετῶσα παιδεία, συντενοῦσι δὲ καὶ οἱ ἀμφοτέρων
 ἡμῶν ἔγγονοι καὶ στάντες ἀντικρὺς οὕτω κατὰ
 στοίχον ἐν κόσμῳ τὰς χεῖρας ἐξάραντες προσ-

¹ MSS. κρατεῖν.² MSS. ὀρίζεσθαι.³ MSS. ἐπάγης.⁴ MSS. παρὰ δὲ ἐκάστοις.⁵ MSS. ψύχη which Wend. brackets. Mangey on the other hand would read ψυχῆς and bracket θιάσον. But the latter is evidently needed to represent the brothers, and that the *δυναμεις* should be called the *θιασος* 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

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to those whom they rule, and slaves to none but those who themselves are in slavery? "a That could only be if^b 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 137 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 138 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 139 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 *εἶδες*, 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 *οὐκ εἶδες <μᾶλλον> ἢ ὑπέλαβες*, a favourite form with Philo for *οὐκ . . . ἀλλὰ*.

^b The *εἰ μή* clause is connected with *παράδοξόν εἶναι*. "It would only fail to be paradoxical, if" etc.

- 140 ευξώμεθα τύφον; πρότερον ὑφέντες,¹ εἶτα καταβαλόντες ἑαυτοὺς εἰς τὸ ἔδαφος ποτιῶσθαι καὶ προσκυνεῖν ἐπιχειρήσωμεν; ἀλλὰ μὴ ἐπιλάμψαι ποτὲ τούτοις γινομένοις ἥλιος, ἐπεὶ² βαθὺ μὲν σκότος κακοῖς, τηλαυγὲς δὲ φῶς ἀγαθοῖς ἐφαρμόζει. τί δ' ἂν γένοιτο μείζον κακὸν ἢ τὸν πλαστὸν καὶ φένακα τύφον ἀντὶ τῆς ἀπλάστου καὶ ἀψευδοῦς ἀτυφίας ἐπαινεῖσθαι τε καὶ θαυμάζεσθαι;
- 141 Παγκάλως δὲ προσδιέσταλται³ τὸ “διετήρησεν ὁ πατήρ τὸ ῥῆμα”· ψυχῆς γὰρ οὐ νεωτέρας οὐδὲ ἀγόνου καὶ ἐστερωμένης, ἀλλὰ τῷ ὄντι πρεσβυτέρας καὶ γεννᾶν ἐπισταμένης ἔργον ἐστὶ συζῆν εὐλαβεία καὶ μηδενὸς καταφρονεῖν τὸ παράπαν, ἀλλὰ τὸ ἄδραστον καὶ ἀνίκητον τοῦ θεοῦ κράτος κατεπτηχέναι καὶ περιαθρεῖν ἐν κύκλῳ, τί ἄρα
- 142 ἀποβήσεται τὸ τέλος αὐτῇ. διὰ τοῦτο καὶ τὴν Μωυσέως ἀδελφὴν—ἐλπίς δὲ παρ' ἡμῖν τοῖς ἀλληγορικοῖς ὀνομάζεται—φασὶν ἀποσκοπεῖν⁴ μακρόθεν οἱ χρησμοί, πρὸς τὸ τοῦ βίου δήπου τέλος ἐμβλέπουσαν, ἵνα αἴσιον ἀπαντήσῃ, τοῦ τελεσφόρου κατα-
- 143 πέμψαντος αὐτὸ⁵ ἄνωθεν ἀπ' οὐρανοῦ. πολλοὶ γὰρ πολλάκις πλωτὰ μεγάλα⁶ διαβαλόντες⁷ καὶ μακρόν

¹ MSS. ἀφέντες, which Wend. retains. For the punctuation and meaning see note *a* below.

² MSS. ἐπὶ.

³ MSS. προδιέσταλται.

⁴ MSS. ἀποσκοπεύειν.

⁵ MSS. αὐτῷ.

⁶ So MSS.: Mangey and Wend. ἀπλωτα πελάγη, cf. § 180. The change seems to me unnecessary. It is true that I find no example of πλωτὰ 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 ἀφ- (Mangey ὑφ)έντες, i.e. “casting away our former pride.” This seems to me impossible in view of the use of τύφος

address our prayers to vanity? Shall we first bow ^a 140 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, 141 "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 142 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 143 they have crossed wide spaces of navigable waters

throughout. To cast away *τῦφος* 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 *τῦφον* 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 *ὑφείναι ἑαυτούς* = "to bow," and the use of *πρότερον* for *πρώτον* 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 οὐρίοις πνεύμασιν ἀκίνδυνοι παραπεμφθέντες
 ἐν αὐτοῖς λιμέσιν ἐξαίφνης ἐναυάγησαν, μέλλοντες
 144 ἤδη προσορμίζεσθαι. μυρίοι¹ δὲ καὶ βαρεῖς καὶ
 πολυετεῖς πολέμους ἀνὰ κράτος ἐλόντες καὶ ἄτρωτοι
 διατελέσαντες, ὥς μὴδ' ἐπιφάνειαν ἄκραν νυχθῆναι,²
 [678] ἀλλ' ὥσπερ ἐκ | πανηγύρεως κοινοδήμου καὶ
 δημοτελοῦς ἐορτῆς³ τελεῖν * * *⁴ ὀλοκλήροις καὶ
 παντελέσι, μεθ' ἱλαρᾶς ἐπιστρέφαντες εὐθυμίας ἐν
 ταῖς ἰδίαις ὑφ' ὧν ἦκιστ' ἐχρῆν ἐπεβουλευθήσαν
 οἰκίαις, τὸ λεγόμενον τοῦτο, "βόες ἐπὶ φάτνῃ⁵"
 145 σφαγέντες. XXI. ὥσπερ δὴ ταῦτα ἀπροσδόκητοι
 καὶ ἀτέκμαρτοι συντυχίαι κατασκήπτειν⁶ φιλοῦσιν,
 οὕτω καὶ τὰς περὶ ψυχὴν δυνάμεις ἀντωθοῦσι πρὸς
 τὰναντία καὶ ἀντιμετακλίνουσιν, ἣν οἰαί τε⁷ ὦσι,
 καὶ ἀνατρέψαι βιάζονται. τίς γὰρ εἰς τὸν ἀγῶνα
 146 τοῦ βίου παρελθὼν ἄπτωτος ἔμεινε; τίς δ' οὐχ
 ὑπεσκελίσθη; εὐδαίμων δ' ὁ μὴ πολλάκις. τίνι
 δ' οὐκ ἐφήδρευεν ἡ τύχη, διαπνέουσα καὶ συλ-
 λεγομένη ῥώμην, ἵνα συμπλακεῖσα εὐθὺς ἐξαρπάσῃ,
 147 πρὶν φθάσαι τὸν ἀντίπαλον κονίσασθαι; οὐκ ἤδη⁸
 τινὰς ἴσμεν ἐκ παίδων εἰς γῆρας ἀφίγμένους, οἱ
 μηδεμιᾶς ἐπήσθοντο⁹ ταραχῆς εἴτε δι' εὐμοιρίαν¹⁰
 φύσεως εἴτε διὰ τὴν τῶν τρεφόντων καὶ παιδευ-
 όντων ἐπιμέλειαν εἴτε καὶ ἀμφοτέρω, βαθείας δ'
 εἰρήνης ἀναπλησθέντας τῆς¹¹ (ἐν) ἑαυτοῖς, ἣ πρὸς
 ἀλήθειάν ἐστιν εἰρήνη, τῆς κατὰ τὰς πόλεις ἀρχέτυ-
 πον, καὶ διὰ τοῦτ' εὐδαίμονας νομισθέντας, ὅτι τὸν

¹ MSS. μυρίους.² MSS. μιχθῆναι.³ MSS. ἐορτάς.⁴ A lacuna of ten letters. I have translated Mangey's μέλεσιν for τελεῖν and Wendland's suggestion of ἐπανελεθῆναι for the lacuna. τελεῖν, however (intransitive), = "end up" may be genuine.⁵ MSS. φάτνης.⁶ MSS. κατασκάπτειν.⁷ MSS. ἢν οἰοί τε.⁸ MSS. εἰ δὴ.

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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 144 fought manfully for years in cruel warfare and remained unwounded without even a scratch or a pinprick : 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." ^a XXI. And just as sudden and un- 145 expected evils are wont to bring these outward afflictions 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 146 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 147 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

^a *Od.* iv. 535 (of the death of Agamemnon).

⁹ MSS. ἐπέθοντο.

¹⁰ MSS. εὐμάρειαν.

¹¹ MSS. τὴν.

- ὑπὸ¹ τῶν παθῶν ἀναρριπιζόμενον ἐμφύλιον πόλεμον, ἀργαλεώτατον ὄντα πολέμων, οὐδ' ὄναρ ἐπήσθοντο, εἴτ' ἐν αὐταῖς τοῦ βίου ταῖς δυσμαῖς ἐξοκείλαντάς τε καὶ ναυαγήσαντας ἢ περὶ γλῶτταν ἄθυρον ἢ περὶ γαστέρα ἀπληστον ἢ περὶ τὴν τῶν ὑπογαστρίων
- 148 ἀκράτορα λεγνείαν; οἱ μὲν γὰρ τὸν μεираκιώδη τῶν ἀσώτων, ἄτιμον, ἀποκήρυκτον, αἰσχρὸν βίον ἐζήλωσαν “ ἐπὶ γήραος οὐδῶ,” οἱ δὲ τὸν πανοῦργον καὶ συκοφάντην καὶ ῥαδιουργόν, ἀπαρχόμενοι φιλοπραγμοσύνης, ὅτε εἰκὸς ᾗν ἤδη καὶ παλαιὰν οὔσαν
- 149 καταλῦσαι. διὸ χρὴ τὸν θεὸν ποτνιαῖσθαι καὶ λιπαρῶς ἱκετεύειν, ὅπως τὸ ἐπίκηρον ἡμῶν γένος μὴ παρέλθῃ, κελεύσῃ δὲ διαιωνίζῃ αὐτοῦ τὸν σωτήριον ἔλεον· χαλεπὸν γὰρ εἰρήνης ἀκράτου
- 150 γευσασμένους κωλυθῆναι κορεσθῆναι. XXII. ἀλλὰ φέρε, δΐψης κουφότερόν ἐστι κακὸν ὁ λιμὸς οὗτος, ἔρωτα καὶ πόθον ἔχων παρηγοροῦντας. ὅταν δὲ ἀφ' ἐτέρας πηγῆς, ἥς θολερὸν καὶ νοσερὸν τὸ νᾶμα, διὰ τὸν <τοῦ> πιεῖν ἡμερον ἐμφορεῖσθαι δέῃ, τότε ἀνάγκη γλυκυπίκρου πληρουμένων² ἡδονῆς ἐν ἀβιώτῳ βίῳ διαζῆν, τοῖς βλαβεροῖς ὡς ὠφελίμοις ἐπιτρέχοντας ἀγνοία τοῦ συμφέροντος.
- 151 ἢ δὲ τῶν κακῶν ἀνιαιοτάτῃ φορὰ γίνεται τούτων, ἐπειδὴ αἱ ἄλογοι δυνάμεις τῆς ψυχῆς ἐπιθέμεναι
- 152 ταῖς τοῦ λογισμοῦ κρατήσωσιν. ἕως μὲν γὰρ ἢ [679] βουκόλια | βουκόλοις ἢ ποιμέσι ποίμνια ἢ αἰπόλοις

¹ MSS. ἀπὸ.² MSS. πληρουμένης.^a II. 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 148 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 149 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 150 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 151 these evils becomes most grievous when the unreasoning forces of the soul attack and overpower the forces of reason. Whilst the herd obeys its 152 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 ἀκράτου in the previous sentence and ἐτέρας πηγῆς in this suggest that the λιμός includes thirst as well as hunger, cf. *De Ebr.* 148. I suspect that διψῆς is a gloss or interpolation. If so, translate λιμός by “famine.”

- αἰπόλια πειθαρχεῖ, τὰ περὶ τὰς ἀγέλας κατορθοῦνται· ἐπειδὰν δὲ ἀσθενέστεροι τῶν θρεμμάτων οἱ ἐπιστατοῦντες ἀγελάρχαι γίνωνται, πλημμελεῖται τὰ πάντα καὶ συμβαίνει ἀτάξια μὲν ἐκ τάξεως, ἀκόσμία δ' ἐξ εὐκοσμίας, ταραχὴ δ' ἐξ εὐσταθείας καὶ σύγχυσις ἐκ διακρίσεως, ἅτε μηδεμιᾶς ἔτι νομίμου καθεστῶσης ἐπιστασίας· εἰ γὰρ ἦν, ἤδη καθήρητο.
- 153 τί οὖν; οὐκ οἰόμεθα καὶ ἐν ἡμῖν αὐτοῖς θρεμμάτων μὲν ἀγέλην εἶναι, παρόσον ἀποτέμνεται ψυχὴν¹ τὸ ἄλογον στίφος, ἀγελάρχην δὲ τὸν ἡγεμόνα νοῦν; ἀλλ' ἕως μὲν ἔρρωται τε καὶ ἰκανὸς ἀγελαρχεῖν ἔστιν, ἐνδίκως ἅπαντα² καὶ συμφερόντως ἐπιτελεῖται.
- 154 ὅταν δὲ ἀσθενεία τις ἐπιγένηται τῷ βασιλεῖ, συγκαμνείν ἀνάγκη καὶ τὸ ὑπήκοον· καὶ ὅτε μάλιστα ἡλευθερώσθαι δοκεῖ, τότε μάλιστα γίνεται ἐτοιμότητον ἄθλον κείμενον τοῖς βουλομένοις αὐτὸ μόνον κονίσασθαι. πέφυκε γὰρ ἀναρχία μὲν ἐπίβουλον, ἀρχὴ δ' εἶναι σωτήριον, καὶ μάλισθ' ἡ νόμος καὶ δίκη τετίμηται· αὕτη δ' ἐστὶν ἡ σὺν λόγῳ.
- 155 XXIII. Τὰ μὲν δὴ τῆς κενῆς δόξης ὀνειράτα ὦδε ἡκριβώσθω· τὰ δὲ τῆς γαστριμαργίας εἶδη πόσις τε καὶ βρώσις, ἀλλὰ τῇ μὲν οὐκ ᾠποικίλων,³ τῇ δὲ μυρίων ὅσων ἡδυσμάτων καὶ παραρτυμάτων χρεῖα. ταῦτα μέντοι δυσὶ φροντισταῖς ἐπανατίθεται, τὰ μὲν τῆς περιέργου πόσεως ἀρχαιονοχόῳ, τὰ δὲ
- 156 τῆς ἀνθηροτέρας⁴ ἐδωδῆς ἀρχισιτοποιῷ. σφόδρα δ' ἐξητασμένως μιᾷ νυκτὶ φαντασιούμενοι τοὺς

¹ My correction for ms. ψυχῆς. I understand ἀποτέμνομαι to be used as in *De Cher.* 4 ἦν ἀποτέμνεται μαθηματικὴ, and ψυχὴ, as so often, in its lower sense. Wend. retains ψυχῆς and suggests <λόγον> ἐκτέμνεται.

² MSS. ἔχοντα.

³ My correction: Wend. οὐ ποικίλων: MSS. οὐ ποικίλα. This

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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 ? 153 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 154 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 155 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 mean- 156 ing 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. *ἀναγκαιότερας*, quite needlessly I think. L. & S. 1927 quote *δειπναρίον ἀνθηρόν* from Diphilus.

- ονείρους εισάγονται· πρὸς γὰρ τὴν αὐτὴν χρεῖαν
 σπεύδουσιν ἀμφοτέροι, τροφὴν οὐχ ἀπλὴν, ἀλλὰ
 τὴν μεθ' ἡδονῆς καὶ τέρψεως εὐτρεπιζόμενοι. καὶ
 ἑκάτερος μὲν περὶ τροφῆς ἡμισυ πονεῖται, ἀμφο-
 157 τεροι δὲ περὶ πᾶσαν. ἔστι δὲ καὶ θάτερον μέρος
 ὁλκὸν θατέρου· καὶ γὰρ οἱ φαγόντες εὐθύς ὀρέγον-
 ται ποτοῦ καὶ αὐτίκα ἐδωδῆς οἱ πίνοντες· ὥστε
 οὐχ ἥκιστα καὶ διὰ τοῦτο χρόνον τὸν αὐτὸν τῆς
 158 φαντασίας ἀμφοτέροις ἀναγεγράφθαι. ὁ μὲν οὖν
 ἀρχαιονοχόος οἰνοφλυγίαν, ὁ δὲ ἀρχισιτοποιὸς
 λαιμαργίαν ἔλαχε. φαντασιοῦται δὲ ἑκάτερος τὰ
 οἰκεῖα, ὁ μὲν οἶνον καὶ τὸ γεννητικὸν οἴνου φυτόν,
 ἄμπελον, ὁ δ' ἐπὶ κανῶν διακειμένους ἐκκεκαθ-
 159 αρμένους ἄρτους καὶ κανηφοροῦντα ἑαυτόν. ἀρμότ-
 τον δὲ ἂν εἶη πρότερον τὸ πρότερον ἐξετάζειν ὄναρ,
 ἔστι δὲ τοιόνδε· “ ἐν τῷ ὕπνῳ μου ἦν ἄμπελος
 ἐναντίον μου· ἐν δὲ τῇ ἀμπέλῳ τρεῖς πυθμένες καὶ
 αὐτὴ θάλλουσα ἀνενηνοχυῖα βλαστούς· πέπειροι
 βότρυνες σταφυλῆς. καὶ τὸ ποτήριον Φαραὼ ἐν τῇ
 [680] χειρί μου· | καὶ ἔλαβον τὴν σταφυλὴν καὶ ἐξέθλιψα
 αὐτὴν εἰς τὸ ποτήριον, καὶ ἔδωκα τὸ ποτήριον
 160 εἰς τὰς χεῖρας Φαραώ.” θαυμασίως γε
 προανεφθέγγατο καὶ ἀψευδῶς ἔχει τὸ “ ἐν τῷ ὕπνῳ
 μου.” τῷ γὰρ ὄντι ὁ μὴ τὴν δι' οἴνου μέθην
 μᾶλλον ἢ τὴν δι' ἀφροσύνης¹ ἐπιτηδεύων, ὀρθότητι
 καὶ ἐγρηγόρσει δυσχεραίνων, ὥσπερ οἱ κοιμώμενοι
 καταβέβληται καὶ παρεῖται καὶ καταμέμυκε τὰ τῆς
 ψυχῆς ὅμματα, οὐδὲν οὐθ' ὁρᾶν οὐτ' ἀκούειν τῶν
 161 θεάς καὶ ἀκοῆς ἀξίων οἰός τε ὢν· ἡττημένος δὲ
 τυφλὴν καὶ ἀχειραγώγητον, οὐχ ὁδόν, ἀλλ' ἀνοδίαν

¹ MSS. διὰ σωφροσύνης.

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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 157 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 drunken- 158 ness 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 159 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,^a 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 160 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 161 brought low, as he passes through life he finds no road but a pathless tract where neither eye nor hand

^a Or "roots," as Philo for the purpose of his allegory takes it in § 195.

- τοῦ βίου διεξέρχεται, βάτοις καὶ τριβόλοις περι-
πειρόμενος, ἔστι δ' ὅτε καὶ κατὰ κρημνῶν κυλιόμενος
καὶ ἄλλοις ἐπιφερόμενος, ὡς ἐκείνους τε καὶ ἑαυτὸν
162 οἰκτρῶς διαφθείρειν. ὁ δὲ βαθὺς καὶ διωλύγιος
ὑπνος, ᾧ πᾶς κατέχεται φαῦλος, τὰς μὲν ἀληθεῖς
καταλήψεις ἀφαιρεῖται, ψευδῶν δὲ εἰδώλων καὶ
ἄβεβαίων φαντασμάτων ἀναπίμπλησι τὴν διάνοιαν,
τὰ ὑπαίτια (ὡς) ἐπαινετὰ ἀναπείθων ἀποδέχεσθαι.
καὶ γὰρ νυνὶ λύπην ὡς χαρὰν ὄνειροπολεῖ καὶ οὐκ
αἰσθάνεται, ὅτι τὸ ἀφροσύνης καὶ τοῦ παραπαίειν
163 * * * φυτόν,¹ ἄμπελον, ὁρᾷ. “ ἦν ” γάρ φησιν
“ ἄμπελος ἐναντίον μου,” τὸ ποθοῦμενον τῷ
ποθοῦντι, κακία κακῶ· ἦν καθ' ἑαυτῶν λελήθαμεν
οἱ ἀνόητοι γεωργοῦντες, ἧς τὸν καρπὸν ἐσθίομέν τε
καὶ πίνομεν εἰς ἑκάτερον τροφῆς κατατάπτοντες
εἶδος, ἧς ὡς ἔοικεν οὐκ ἐφ' ἡμισείας τῆς βλάβης
ἄλλ' ἀρτίου καὶ ὀλοκλήρου καὶ παντελοῦς² μετα-
ποιούμεθα.
- 164 XXIV. Προσθήκει δὲ μὴ ἀγνοεῖν, ὅτι τὸ ἀμ-
πέλιον μέθυσμα τοὺς χρησομένους ἅπαντας οὐχ
ὁμοίως, ἀλλὰ πολλάκις ἐναντίως διατίθῃσιν, ὡς
τοὺς μὲν ἀμείνους, τοὺς δὲ χείρους ἑαυτῶν ἐξετά-
165 ζεσθαι. τῶν μὲν γὰρ τὸ σύννουν καὶ σκυθρωπὸν
ἐπανῆκε καὶ τὰς φροντίδας ἐχάλασεν ὀργάς τε
καὶ λύπας ἐπράυνε τά τε ἦθη πρὸς τὸ ἐπιεικὲς
ἐπαιδαγωγήσῃ καὶ τὰς ψυχὰς ἑαυταῖς ἱλεως
ἐποίησεν· τῶν δὲ ἔμπαλιν τοὺς θυμοὺς ἐπήλειψε
καὶ τὰς ὀδύνας³ ἐπέσφιγξε καὶ τοὺς ἔρωτας ἐκίνησε
καὶ τὰς ἀγροικίας ἀνήγειρεν, ἄκλειστον στόμα
καὶ γλῶτταν ἀχαλίνωτον καὶ αἰσθήσεις ἀθύρους

¹ A lacuna of nine to ten letters in A. Perhaps supply
γεννητικόν.

ON DREAMS, II. 161-165

can guide him. He is pierced by brambles and thorn-bushes and sometimes rolls over precipices or charges into others, bringing miserable destruction both to himself and them. And that deep and abysmal sleep 162 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, 163 " 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 164 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 165 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

² MSS. παντελώς. 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. ὠδίνας.

- καὶ λελυττηκότα πάθη κάξηγγριωμένον καὶ ἐπτοη-
 166 μένον πρὸς πάντα νοῦν¹ ἀποτελοῦν· ὥς δοκεῖν τὴν
 μὲν τῶν προτέρων κατάστασιν ἢ τῇ κατὰ τὸν ἄερα
 νηνέμῳ αἰθρία ἢ τῇ κατὰ θάλατταν ἀκύμονι
 γαλήνῃ ἢ τῇ κατὰ τὰς πόλεις εἰρηνικωτάτῃ
 εὐσταθείᾳ εἰκέναι, τὴν δὲ τῶν ὑστέρων ἢ βιαίῳ
 καὶ συντόνῳ πνεύματι ἢ χειμαίνοντι καὶ κυμα-
 τουμένῳ πελάγει ἢ στάσει, ἀσπόνδου καὶ ἀκηρύκτου
 167 πολέμου δυσωνυμωτέρα² ταραχῇ. δυεῖν γοῦν |
 [681] συμποσίῳν τὸ μὲν πέπλησται γέλωτος, παιδιᾶς,
 ἐπαγγελιομένων, ἀγαθὰ³ ἐλπίζόντων, χαριζομένων,
 εὐθυμίας, εὐφημίας, ἰλαρότητος, εὐφροσύνης, ἀδείας·
 168 τὸ δὲ συννοίας, κατηφείας, προσκρουσμάτων,
 λαιδοριῶν, τραυμάτων, βριμουμένων, ὑποβλεπο-
 μένων, ὑλακτούντων, ἀγχόντων, καταπαγκρατια-
 ζόντων, ἀκρωτηριαζόντων ὦτα καὶ ῥίνας καὶ ἄπερ
 ἂν τύχῃ τοῦ σώματος (μέρη καὶ μέλη),⁴ τὴν [τοῦ]
 παντὸς τοῦ βίου μέθην καὶ παροινίαν ἐν ἀνιέρῳ
 ἀγῶνι μετὰ αἰσχροουργίας τῆς πάσης ἐπιδεικνυ-
 169 μένων. XXV. ἀκόλουθον οὖν (ἂν) εἴη λογίζεσθαι,
 ὅτι καὶ ἄμπελος δυεῖν σύμβολον πραγμάτων ἐστίν,
 ἀνοίας τε καὶ εὐφροσύνης. ἐκάτερον
 δέ, καίτοι⁵ μνηνόμενον ἐκ πολλῶν, ἵνα μὴ μακρη-
 170 γορῶμεν, δι' ὀλίγων ἐπιδείξομεν. ἥνικα ἡμᾶς διὰ
 τῆς τῶν παθῶν καὶ ἀδικημάτων ἐρήμης ὁδοῦ,
 φιλοσοφίας, ἀγαγὼν καὶ ὥσπερ εἰς ὄρος⁶ ἀνα-
 βιβάσας τὸν ὀρθὸν λόγον ἔστησεν ἐπὶ σκοπῆς καὶ
 ἐκέλευε περιαθρεῖν τὴν ἅπασαν ἀρετῆς χώραν,
 εἴτε εὐγείος καὶ βαθεῖα καὶ χλοηφόρος καὶ καρπο-

¹ MSS. οὖν.² MSS. δυσωνύμω.³ Perhaps transpose to ἀγαθὰ ἐπαγγελιομένων.⁴ A lacuna of ten to twelve letters in A.

ON DREAMS, II. 165-170

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, depres- 168 sion, 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,^a 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

^a Cf. *De Plant.* 160.

⁵ MSS. καὶ τὸ.

⁶ MSS. ἐμπορος. This admirable correction is Wend.'s conjecture, though not printed in the text. Cf. Num. xiii. 18 καὶ ἀναβήσεσθε εἰς τὸ ὄρος.

- τόκος ἐστὶ καὶ ἀγαθὴ¹ μὲν καὶ τὰ σπειρόμενα
 μαθήματα συναυξῆσαι, ἀγαθὴ δὲ τὰ φυτευόμενα
 καὶ δενδρούμενα δόγματα στελεχῶσαι, εἴτε καὶ
 τούναντίον, καὶ περὶ τῶν ὡσανεὶ πόλεων πράξεων,
 εἰ (εὐερκέσταται)² καὶ ὀχυρώταται ἢ γυμναὶ καὶ
 ἀπημφιασμένοι οἷα κύκλον³ τὸ βέβαιον, καὶ περὶ
 οἰκητόρων, εἰ πρὸς τε πλῆθος καὶ πρὸς ἀλκὴν
 ἐπιδεδώκασιν ἢ δι' ἀσθένειαν ὀλιγανδρούσιν ἢ δι'
 171 ὀλιγανδρίαν ἀσθενούσιν, τότε οὐ δυνηθέντες ὅλον
 τὸ σοφίας στέλεχος βαστάσαι κληματίδα μίαν
 καὶ βότρυν σταφυλῆς τεμόντες ἤραμεν⁴ χαρᾶς
 σαφέστατον δείγμα, κουφότατον ἄχθος, βλάστημα
 καὶ καρπὸν ὁμοῦ καλοκάγαθίας ἐπιδειξόμενοι τοῖς
 διάνοιαν ὀξυδορκοῦσι τὴν εὐκληματοῦσαν καὶ
 172 βοτρυηφόρον ἄμπελον. XXVI. ταύτην,⁵
 ἥς μοῖράν τινα λαβεῖν ἐδυνήθημεν, εὐσκόπως ἐξ-
 ομοιοῦσιν εὐφροσύνη. μαρτυρεῖ δέ μοί τις τῶν
 πάλαι προφητῶν, ὃς ἐπιθειάσας εἶπεν· “ ἄμπελὼν
 173 κυρίου παντοκράτορος οἶκος τοῦ Ἰσραήλ.” ὁ μὲν
 Ἰσραὴλ ἐστὶ νοῦς θεωρητικὸς θεοῦ τε καὶ κόσμου
 —καὶ γὰρ ἐρμηνεύεται θεὸν ὀρών,—οἶκος δὲ
 διανοίας ὅλη ψυχὴ. αὕτη δ' ἐστὶν ἄμπελὼν ἱερώ-
 τatos, τὸ θεῖον βλάστημα καρποφορῶν, ἀρετῆν.
 174 οὕτω μέντοι τὸ φρονεῖν εὔ, τὸ εὐ-
 φροσύνης ἔτυμον,⁶ μέγα καὶ λαμπρόν, ὥστε φησὶ
 Μωυσῆς καὶ θεὸν αὐτῷ μὴ ἀπαξιῶσαι χρῆσθαι,

¹ MSS. ἐπεὶ καὶ ἀπαθεῖ.

² A lacuna of ten to twelve letters in A.

³ MSS. κύκλων: Wend. suggests οἷα <τειχῶν> κύκλον.

⁴ MSS. γέμοντες ἤραν μετὰ.

⁵ MSS. ταύτης.

⁶ MSS. ἔτοιμον.

^a LXX τὸν λαὸν . . . εἰ ἰσχυρὸς ἐστὶν ἢ ἀσθενής, ἢ ὀλίγοι

ON DREAMS, II. 170-174

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^a (Num. xiii. 18-21). And it was then that, unable to carry 171 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 172 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 173 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 174 the original meaning^c of gladness or εὐφροσύνη, that Moses tells us that God does not disdain to feel and

εἶσιν ἢ πολλοί. 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.

^c See note on *De Conf.* 137.

PHILO

- [682] καὶ τότε μάλιστα, ὅποτε τὸ ἀνθρώπων | γένος
ἐκτρέποιο μὲν ἁμαρτήματα,¹ ἐπικλῖνοι δὲ καὶ
ἐπιστρέφοι² πρὸς δικαιοσύνην, ἐκουσίῳ γνώμῃ
175 φύσεως νόμοις καὶ θεσμοῖς ἐπόμενον. “ἐπι-
στρέψει” γάρ φησι “κύριος ὁ θεὸς σου εὐφραν-
θῆναι ἐπὶ σέ εἰς ἀγαθὰ, καθότι ὑψφράνθη ἐπὶ τοῖς
πατράσι σου, ἐὰν εἰσακούσης τῆς φωνῆς αὐτοῦ,
φυλάσσειν πάσας τὰς ἐντολὰς καὶ τὰ δικαιώματα
καὶ τὰς κρίσεις τὰς γεγραμμένας ἐν τῷ βιβλίῳ
176 τοῦ νόμου τούτου.” τί³ ἂν δύναίτο μᾶλλον ἀρετῆς
ἡμερον ἢ καλοκαγαθίας ζῆλον ἐμφῦσαι; βούλει,
φησίν, ὧ διανοία, εὐφραίνεσθαι θεόν; εὐφράνθητι
αὐτῇ καὶ ἀνάλωμα μὲν μὴ εἰσενέγκῃς μηδέν—
τίνος γὰρ τῶν σῶν χρεῖός ἐστιν;—ἀλλ’ ἔμπαλιν
177 ὅσα σοι δίδωσιν ἀγαθὰ χαίρουσα δέξαι. διδούς
γάρ, ὅταν ἄξιοι χάριτος ὦσιν οἱ λαμβάνοντες,
εὐφραίνεται· εἰ μὴ νομίζεις, ὅτι οἱ μὲν ὑπαιτίως
ζῶντες παραπικραίνειν καὶ παροργίζειν ἐνδίκως
λέγουντ’ ἂν θεόν, οἱ δ’ ἐπαινετῶς οὐχὶ εὐφραίνειν.
178 ἀλλὰ πατέρας μὲν καὶ μητέρας, τοὺς θνητοὺς
γονεῖς, οὐδὲν οὕτως ὥς τέκνων εὐφραίνουσιν
ἀρεταί, μυρίων ὅσων ἐνδεεῖς⁴ ὄντας· τὸν δὲ τῶν
ὅλων γεννητὴν καὶ μηδενὸς ἐνδεᾶ τὸ παράπαν οὐχ
179 ἢ καλοκαγαθία τῶν γενομένων⁵; μα-
θοῦσα οὖν, ὧ διανοία, ἡλίκον <κακὸν> μὲν ἐστὶν
ὀργὴ θεοῦ, ἡλίκον δὲ ἀγαθὸν εὐφροσύνη θεοῦ,
μηδέν μὲν τῶν ὀργῆς ἀξίων ἐπ’ ὀλέθρῳ κίνει τῷ
σεαυτῆς, μόνα δὲ δι’ ὧν εὐφρανεῖς θεὸν ἐπιτήδευε.
180 ταῦτα δὲ εὐρήσεις οὐ μακρὰς καὶ ἀτριβεῖς διεξιὼν
ὁδοὺς ἢ ἁπλωτα πελάγη περαιούμενος ἢ ἐπὶ τοὺς

¹ MSS. ἁμαρτημάτων.

³ Or perhaps τί δ’ = MSS. τίς.

² MSS. ἐπιτρέποι.

⁴ MSS. οὐδὲ εἰς.

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 175 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 176 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 177 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 178 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 179 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 180 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 πορρωτάτῳ διώκισται καὶ τῆς οἰκουμένης ἔξω πεφυγάδευται, ἀλλ', ἣ φησι Μωυσῆς, ἐγγὺς οὕτως τὰγαθὸν παρίδρυταί σοι καὶ συμπέφυκε, τρισὶ τοῖς ἀναγκαιοτάτοις μέρεσιν ἡρμοσμένον, καρδία, στόματι, χερσί, τὸ δ' ἐστὶ διανοία, λόγῳ, πράξειςιν, ἐπειδὴ τὰ καλὰ καὶ φρονεῖν καὶ λέγειν καὶ ποιεῖν ἀναγκαῖον, συμπληρούμενον¹ ἔκ τε εὐβουλίας κοὶ εὐπραξίας καὶ εὐλογίας.

- 181 XXVII. Λέγωμεν οὖν τῷ θάτερον εἶδος γαστριμαργίας, πολυποσίαν, ἐπιτηδεύοντι ἀρχιουνοχόῳ· τί κακοπαθεῖς, ὦ ἀνόητε; δοκεῖς μὲν γὰρ τὰ ἀγωγὰ πρὸς εὐφροσύνην εὐτρεπίζεσθαι, τὸ δ' ἀληθὲς ἀφροσύνης καὶ ἀκολασίας ἐξάπτεις φλόγα, 182 πολλὴν αὐτῇ καὶ ἄφθονον ἐπιφέρων ὕλην. ἀλλ', ἴσως ἂν εἴποι, μή με προπετῶς αἰτιῶ, πρὶν με σκέψασθαι. οἰνοχοεῖν ἐτάχθην, οὐ μὴν δὴ σωφροσύνην καὶ εὐσέβειαν καὶ τὰς ἄλλας ἀρετὰς ἐνεσκευασμένῳ, ἀλλ' ἀνδρὶ λαιμάργῳ² καὶ ἀκρατεῖ | [683] καὶ ἀδίκῳ καὶ ἐπὶ ἀσεβείᾳ μέγα φρονοῦντι, ὃς ἐτόλμησέ ποτε εἰπεῖν· “οὐκ οἶδα τὸν κύριον”. ὥς εἰκότως ἐγὼ τὰ ἐκείνῳ δι' ἡδονῆς ἐπιτετήδευκα. 183 μὴ θαυμάσης δέ, ὅτι τοῖς ἐναντίοις ὁ θεὸς καὶ ὁ ἀντίθεος νοῦς εὐφραίνεται, Φαραώ. τίς οὖν οἰνοχόος θεοῦ; ὁ σπονδοφόρος, ὁ μέγας ὄντως ἀρχιερεὺς, ὃς τὰς τῶν αἰενάων χαρίτων λαβὼν προπόσεις ἀντεκτίνει, πλήρες ὅλον τὸ σπονδεῖον ἀκράτου μεθύσματος ἐπιχέων, ἑαυτόν.

¹ MSS. συμπληρούμενα.

² MSS. μάργῳ.

^a i.e. the Logos; the symbolism is analogous to that in which the Logos is the εἰκὼν of God, but παράδειγμα of creation, cf. on § 45.

ON DREAMS, II. 180-183

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 181
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 182
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 183
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

ὁρᾶς οἰνοχόων διαφορὰς τοῖς θεραπευομένοις ἀνα-
 184 λογούσας. διὰ τοῦτο ἐγὼ μὲν ὁ τοῦ Φαραῶ
 κατὰ τὰς ἀνέσεις ἐπιτεινομένου τὸν σκληραύχενα
 καὶ πάντων ἀκράτορα λογισμὸν εὐνοῦχος εἰμι, τὰ
 γεννητικὰ τῆς ψυχῆς ἐκτετμημένος, μετανάστης
 μὲν τῆς ἀνδρωνιτίδος,¹ φυγὰς δὲ καὶ τῆς γυναι-
 κωνιτίδος, οὐτ' ἄρρεν οὔτε θῆλυ, οὔτε προέσθαι
 οὐθ' ὑποδέξασθαι σπορὰν δυνάμενος, ἀμφίβολος,
 οὐδέτερος, ἀνθρωπείου παράκομμα νομίσματος,
 ἄμοιρος ἀθανασίας, ἢ τέκνων ἢ ἐγγόνων διαδοχαῖς
 εἰς² αἰὲ ζωπυρεῖται, συλλόγου καὶ ἐκκλησίας ἱερᾶς
 ἀπεσχοινισμένος· θλαδίαν γὰρ καὶ ἀποκεκομμένον
 ἀντικρυς διείρηται μὴ εἰσιέναι.

XXVIII.

185 ὁ δὲ ἀρχιερεὺς ἄμωμός³ ἐστίν, ὁλόκληρος, ἀνὴρ
 παρθένου, (τὸ) παραδοξότατον, οὐδέποτε γυναι-
 κουμένης, ἀλλ' ἔμπαλιν τὰ γυναικεῖα κατὰ τὴν
 πρὸς τὸν ἄνδρα ὁμιλίαν ἐκλιπούσης, καὶ οὐκ ἀνὴρ
 μόνον οὗτος, ἀμιάντους καὶ παρθένους γνώμας
 186 σπεῖρειν ἱκανός, ἀλλὰ καὶ πατὴρ λόγων ἱερῶν· ὧν
 οἱ μὲν ἐπίσκοποι καὶ ἔφοροι τῶν τῆς φύσεως πραγ-
 μάτων, Ἐλεάζαρ καὶ Ἰθάμαρ, οἱ δὲ λειτουργοὶ
 θεοῦ, τὴν οὐράνιον φλόγα ἀνακαίειν καὶ ζωπυρεῖν
 ἐπειγόμενοι· τρίβοντες γὰρ αἰὲ τοὺς περὶ ὁσιότητος
 λόγους καθάπερ ἐκ πυρείων τὸ θεοειδέστατον εὐ-
 187 σεβείας γένος ποιοῦσιν ἐκλάμπειν. ὁ δὲ τούτων
 ὑψηλῆς ὁμοῦ καὶ πατὴρ οὐχ ἡ τυχοῦσα μοῖρα
 τῆς ἱερᾶς ἐκκλησίας ἐστίν, ἀλλ' οὐ χωρὶς⁴ σύγ-
 κλητος οὐκ ἂν ἀθροισθεῖη ποτὲ τῶν τῆς ψυχῆς

¹ MSS. τῶν ἀνδρωνιτίδων.³ MSS. ἀλώμενος.² MSS. ταῖς.⁴ MSS. οὐ χωρεῖ.

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Mark how the differences between the cup-bearers correspond to those whom they serve. Thus I, the servant of that Pharaoh who 184 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, 185 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 186 facts of nature as Eleazer and Ithamar (Ex. xxviii. 1). Others are God's ministers, hastening to kindle and keep alive the heavenly flame.^a 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 187 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

^a *i.e.* Nadab and Abihu, *cf.* § 67.

- μερῶν βουλή τὸ παράπαν, ὁ πρόεδρος, ὁ πρύτανις, ὁ δημιουργός, ὁ καὶ χωρὶς ἄλλων μόνος ἐφ' ἑαυτοῦ
 188 σκοπεῖν τε καὶ πράττειν ἕκαστα ἱκανός. οὗτος
 σὺν ἄλλοις μὲν ἐξεταζόμενος ὀλίγος,¹ πολὺς δέ,
 ὅταν μονωθῇ, γίνεται, δικαστήριον (ὄλον), ὄλον
 βουλευτήριον, ὄλος δῆμος, ὄλος ὄχλος, σύμπαν
 ἀνθρώπων γένος, μᾶλλον δέ, εἰ τάληθές εἰπεῖν δεῖ,
 μεθόριός τις θεοῦ (καὶ ἀνθρώπου) φύσις, τοῦ μὲν
 189 ἐλάττων, ἀνθρώπου δὲ κρείττων. “ὅταν” γάρ
 [684] φησιν “εἰσὶν εἰς | τὰ ἅγια τῶν ἁγίων ὁ ἀρχιερεὺς,
 ἄνθρωπος οὐκ ἔσται.” τίς οὖν, εἰ μὴ ἄνθρωπος;
 ἄρά γε θεός; οὐκ ἂν εἴποιμι—τὸν γὰρ τοῦ ὀνό-
 ματος τοῦδε κληρὸν ὁ ἀρχιπροφήτης ἔλαχε Μωυσῆς
 ἔτι ὡν ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ, προσρηθείς Φαραὼ θεὸς—οὐδὲ²
 ἄνθρωπος, ἀλλ' ἑκατέρων τῶν ἁκρων, ὡς ἂν
 βάσεως καὶ κεφαλῆς, ἐφαπτόμενος.
 190 XXIX. Τὸ μὲν οὖν ἕτερον εἶδος ἀμπέλου, ὅπερ
 εὐφροσύνη κεκλήρωται, καὶ τὸ ἐξ αὐτῆς μέθυσμα,
 ἡ ἄκρατος εὐβουλία, καὶ ὁ ἀρυσάμενος οἰνοχόος ἐκ
 τοῦ θείου κρατήρος, ὃν αὐτὸς ὁ θεὸς ἀρετῶν
 191 πεπλήρωκεν ἐπὶ χεῖλη,³ δεδήλωται. τὸ δὲ ἀνοίας
 καὶ λύπης καὶ παροινίας ἤδη μὲν τρόπῳ τινὶ τύπῳ
 δὲ ἐτέρῳ⁴ ἐκτυποῦται διὰ τῶν ἐτέρωθι⁵ λεχθέντων
 ἐν ᾧδῇ τῇ μείζονι. “ἐκ γὰρ—ἀμπέλου” φησί

¹ MSS. ὁ λόγος.

² MSS. οὔτε: perhaps, as Wend. suggests, <οὔτε οὖν θεός>, οὔτε.

³ Perhaps write ἐπιχειλῇ.

⁴ MSS. ἕτερον. This emendation of Hoeschel, which however did not satisfy Wend., seems to me quite sufficient (or perhaps ἐτέρως). After τρόπῳ τινὶ sc. δεδήλωται.

⁵ MSS. ἐτέρων.

^a I do not know why Mangey and Cohn should have wished to correct δημιουργός to ἱεροῦργος or δῆμαρχος. The
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ON DREAMS, II. 187-191

at all, its chairman, its president, its chief magistrate,^a 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 188 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 189 he shall not be a man" (Lev. xvi. 17).^b Who then, if he is not a man? A God? I will not say so,^c 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 190 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 191 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.^d

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 *θεός*, though Moses is, and this symbolizes the relation of the Logos to the Existent.

^d See note on *De Mut.* 182.

- “Σοδόμων ἡ ἄμπελος αὐτῶν, καὶ ἡ κληματὶς αὐτῶν ἐκ Γομόρρας· ἡ σταφυλὴ αὐτῶν σταφυλὴ χολῆς, βότρυς πικρίας αὐτοῖς¹. θυμὸς δρακόντων
 192 ὁ οἶνος αὐτῶν, καὶ θυμὸς ἀσπίδων ἀνιάτος.” ὁρᾷς ὅσα τὸ ἀφροσύνης μέθυσμα ἐργάζεται, τὸ πικρὸν, τὸ κακότηες, τὸ ἀκρόχολον, τὸ περίθυμον, τὸ ἀτίθασον, τὸ δηκτικόν, τὸ ἐπίβουλον. ἐμφαντικώτατα δὲ ἀφροσύνης ἔρνος ἐν Σοδόμοις φησὶν εἶναι—τύφλωσις δὲ ἡ στείρωσις ἐρμηνεύεται Σόδομα, —ἐπειδὴ τυφλὸν καὶ ἄγονον καλῶν ἀφροσύνη, ὑφ’ ἧς ἀναπεισθέντες τινὲς μετρεῖν καὶ σταθμᾶσθαι καὶ ἀριθμεῖν πάντα καθ’ αὐτοὺς ἠξίωσαν· Γομόρρα
 193 (γὰρ) μεταληφθέν ἐστὶ μέτρον. Μωυσῆς δὲ στάθμην καὶ μέτρον καὶ ἀριθμὸν τῶν ὅλων ὑπέλαβεν εἶναι τὸν θεόν, ἀλλ’ οὐ τὸν ἀνθρώπινον νοῦν. δηλοῖ δὲ διὰ τούτων φάσκων· “οὐκ ἔσται ἐν μαρσίππῳ σου στάθμιον καὶ στάθμιον, μέγα ἢ μικρόν· οὐκ ἔσται ἐν τῇ οἰκίᾳ σου (μέτρον καὶ μέτρον), μέγα ἢ μικρόν· στάθμιον ἀληθινὸν καὶ δίκαιον
 194 ἔσται σοι.” ἀληθὲς δὲ καὶ δίκαιον μέτρον τὸ τὸν μόνον δίκαιον θεὸν ὑπολαβεῖν πάντα μετρεῖν καὶ σταθμᾶσθαι καὶ ἀριθμοῖς καὶ πέρασιν καὶ ὅροις τὴν τῶν ὅλων περιγράψαι φύσιν, ἄδικον δὲ καὶ ψευδὲς τὸ νομίσαι κατὰ τὸν ἀνθρώπινον νοῦν ταῦτα συμβαίνειν.
 195 Ὁ δὲ εὐνοῦχος ἅμα καὶ ἀρχαιονοχόος τοῦ Φαραὼ τὸ ἀφροσύνης γεννητικὸν φυτόν, ἄμπελον, φαντασιωθεὶς προσαναζωγραφεῖ 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 192 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 193 God, and not the human mind, is the measure and weighing scale and numbering of all things.^a 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 194 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, 195 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).

- ἐσχατιὰς παρεμφήνη· πυθμὴν γὰρ τὸ ἔσχατον.
 196 XXX. | ἐπειδὴν οὖν ἀφροσύνη πᾶσαν ψυχὴν
 [685] ἐπισκιάσῃ καὶ κατασχῇ καὶ μηδὲν αὐτῆς ἀφετον
 μηδὲ ἐλεύθερον μέρος ἔασι, οὐ μόνον ὅσα τῶν
 ἀμαρτημάτων ἰάσιμα δρᾶν ἀναγκάζει, ἀλλὰ καὶ
 197 ὅσα ἀνίατα. τὰ μὲν οὖν θεραπείαν ἐνδεχόμενα
 ῥᾶστα καὶ πρῶτα γράφεται, τὰ δὲ ἀθεράπευτα
 παγχάλεπα καὶ ὕστατα, πυθμέσιν ἀναλογοῦντα.
 198 καὶ καθάπερ, οἶμαι, ἡ φρόνησις ἄρχεται μὲν ἀπὸ
 τῶν ἐλαττόνων ὠφελεῖν, λήγει δὲ εἰς τὰς ὑπερ-
 βολὰς τῶν κατορθωμάτων, τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον καὶ
 ἡ ἀφροσύνη καταβιάζουσα τὴν ψυχὴν ἄνωθεν
 καὶ κατ' ὀλίγον ἀφιστᾶσα παιδείας μακρὰν ὀρθοῦ
 λόγου διοικίζει καὶ μέχρι τῶν ἐσχατιῶν καθαιρεῖ.
 199 τὸ δ' ὄναρ ἐδήλου μετὰ τοὺς πυθ-
 μένας ἀνθοῦσαν καὶ βλαστάνουσαν καὶ καρπο-
 φοροῦσαν τὴν ἄμπελον—"αὐτὴ" γάρ φησι "θάλ-
 λουσα ἀνενηνοχυῖα βλαστούς· πέπειροι¹ βότρυες
 σταφυλῆς,"—ἣν εἶθε <ἦν>³ ἀκαρπία χρῆσθαι καὶ
 μηδέποτε χλοηφορῆσαι καὶ πάντα μεμαράνθαι τὸν
 200 αἰῶνα. τί γὰρ ἂν εἶη μείζον κακὸν [ἢ] θαλλούσης
 καὶ εὐφορούσης³ ἀφροσύνης; ἀλλὰ καὶ
 "τὸ ποτήριον Φαραώ," ἡ δεξαμενὴ τῆς ἀνοίας
 καὶ παροινίας καὶ τῆς παρὰ πάντα τὸν βίον ἀπαύ-
 στου μέθης, "ἐν τῇ χειρὶ μου," φησὶν, ἐστίν, ἴσον
 τῷ ἐν ταῖς ἐμαῖς ἐγχειρήσεσι καὶ ἐπιβολαῖς καὶ
 δυνάμεσιν· οὐ γὰρ ἄνευ γε τῶν ἐμῶν ἐπινοιῶν
 201 εὐδογήσει τὸ πάθος ἐξ ἑαυτοῦ. ὥσπερ γὰρ ἐν μὲν
 ταῖς τοῦ ἡνιόχου χερσὶ τὰς ἡνίας εἶναι προσήκεν,
 ἐν δὲ ταῖς τοῦ κυβερνήτου τοὺς οἰάκας—μόνως

¹ MSS. περὶ ἡν.

ON DREAMS, II. 195-201

the three divisions of time, for the root is the extreme. XXX. When then folly overshadows and masters 196 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 treat- 197 ment 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 198 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 199 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 200 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 201 hands of the driver, and the rudder in the hands of

² <ῥν> is my insertion: Wend. notes εἶθε as corrupt, and suggests εὐκτέον or κρείττον or εἰκός. ³ MSS. ἐμφορούσης.

γὰρ οὕτως κατορθοῦται δρόμος μὲν ἄρματι, σκάφει
 δὲ πλοῦς, — οὕτως ἐν τῇ χειρὶ καὶ δυνάμει τοῦ
 θάτερον εἶδος τῆς γαστριμαργίας τεχνιτεύοντος,
 οἰνοφλυγίαν, ἣ τοῦ ἀκρατοῦς¹ ἐστὶν ἐκπλήρωσις.²

202 ἀλλὰ τί παθὼν ὑπέμεινεν αὐχεῖν ἐπ'
 ἀρνήσεως μᾶλλον ἢ ὁμολογίας ἐπαξίῳ πράγματι;
 ἢ οὐκ ἄμεινον ἦν μὴ οὐχ ὁμολογεῖν διδάσκαλον
 ἀκρασίας εἶναι, ἀλλὰ τῷ ἀκρατεῖ τὰ ὑπεκκαύματα
 τοῦ πάθους ἐπαναθεῖναι³ ὥς εὐρετῇ καὶ αὐτουργῷ⁴
 τεθρυμμένου καὶ κατεαγότος αἰσχίστου βίου;

203 τοιοῦτον δ' ἐστίν· ἀφροσύνη σεμνύνεται ἐφ' οἷς
 εἰκὸς ἐγκαλύπτεσθαι· νυνὶ μὲν οὐ μόνον ἐπὶ τῷ
 τὴν δεξαμενὴν τῆς ἀκράτορος ψυχῆς, τὸ ποτήριον,
 περιφέρειν ἐν ταῖς χερσὶ καὶ ἐπιδείκνυσθαι πᾶσιν
 ἀγάλλεται,⁵ ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐπὶ τῷ τὴν σταφυλὴν εἰς
 αὐτὸ ἐκθλίβειν· τὸ δ' ἐστὶ τὸ ἐκπληρωτικὸν τοῦ
 πάθους δημιουργεῖν καὶ κεκρυμμένον εἰς φῶς ἄγειν.

204 ὥς γὰρ τὰ βρέφη γλιχόμενα τροφῆς, ὅποτε μέλλοι
 σπᾶν τοῦ γάλακτος, ἐκθλίβει καὶ πιέζει τὸν μαστὸν
 τῆς τρεφούσης, οὕτω τὴν πηγὴν, ἀφ' ἧς τὸ οἶνο-
 [686] φλυγίας ὀμβρεῖ | κακόν, ὃ δημιουργὸς τῆς ἀκρασίας
 πιέζει κραταιῶς, ἵνα ταῖς ἐκθλιβομέναις λιβάσιν
 ἡδίστη τροφῇ χρῶτο.

205 XXXI. Τοιοῦτος μὲν ἡμῖν ὁ βεβακχευμένος
 ἀκράτῳ, παροίνιον καὶ παράληρον κακὸν καὶ
 ἀνίατον, γραφέσθω· τὸν δὲ συγγενῇ τούτου γάσ-
 τρωνα⁶ καὶ αὐτὸν ὄντα, πολυφαγίας καὶ λαιμαργίας
 ἐταῖρον, τὰ περὶ ἐδωδὴν ἀκρατῶς τεχνιτεύοντα,

206 πάλιν ἐπισκεπτέον. καίτοι οὐ πολλῆς δεῖ πρὸς τὴν
 θήραν αὐτοῦ φροντίδος· ἔστι γὰρ ἐκμαγεῖον ἐμ-

¹ MSS. ἀκράτου.

² MSS. ἡ πλήρωσις.

³ MSS. ἐπανατεῖναι.

⁴ MSS. αὐτογεωργοῦ.

⁵ MSS. ἀγγέλλεται.

⁶ MSS. γάστρων.

ON DREAMS, II. 201-206

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.^a But 202 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 203 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, 204 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- 205 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 206 him, for the dreamer's vision is the closest possible

^a Or (*ἀκπαροῦς* neut.) "filling the cup (*i.e.* the soul) with incontinence."

- φερέστατον αὐτοῦ τῆς εἰκόνης ὁ φανείς ὄνειρος.
 ἀκριβώσαντες (οὖν) αὐτὸν ἐκείνον ὥσπερ ἔμφασιν
 207 ἐν κατόπτρῳ θεασόμεθα. “ὥμην” γάρ φησι
 “τρία κανᾶ χονδριτῶν αἴρειν ἐπὶ τῆς κεφαλῆς
 μου.” κεφαλὴν μὲν τοίνυν ἀλληγοροῦντές φαμεν
 εἶναι ψυχῆς τὸν ἡγεμόνα νοῦν, ἐπικεῖσθαι δὲ
 τούτῳ πάντα· καὶ γὰρ ἐξεφώνησέ ποτε ἐπιτον(ῶς)¹.
 208 “ἐπ’ ἐμέ ἐγένετο ταῦτα πάντα.” στειλάμενος οὖν
 πομπὴν ὧν ἐτεχνίτευσεν κατὰ γαστρὸς τῆς ταλαίνης
 ἐπιδείκνυται, καὶ κανηφορῶν ὁ ἀνόητος οὐκ αἰδεῖται
 τοσούτῳ βαρυνόμενος τριττῷ κανῶν² ἄχθει, τοῦτο
 209 δ’ ἐστὶ τρισὶ χρόνου μέρεσι. τὴν γὰρ ἡδονὴν οἱ
 θιασῶταί φασιν αὐτῆς ἕκ τε μνήμης τῶν παρεληλυ-
 θότων τερπνῶν καὶ ἐξ ἀπολαύσεως τῶν ἐνεστηκότων
 210 καὶ ἐξ ἐλπίδος τῶν μελλόντων συνεστάναι· ὥστε τὰ
 τρία κανᾶ τοῖς τρισὶ τοῦ χρόνου μέρεσιν ἐξομοιοῦ-
 σθαι, τὰ δ’ ἐπὶ τῶν κανῶν πέμματα τοῖς ἐκάστῳ
 τῶν μερῶν ἐφαρμόζουσι, παρεληλυθότων μνήμαις,
 ἐνεστηκότων μετουσίαις, μελλόντων προσδοκίαις,
 τὸν δὲ βαστάζοντα ταῦτα πάντα τῷ φιληδόνῳ, ὃς
 οὐκ ἀφ’ ἐνὸς γένους ἀκρασίας, ἀλλ’ ἀπὸ πάντων
 σχεδὸν εἰδῶν καὶ γενῶν τῆς ἀκολασίας ἄσπονδον
 καὶ φιλίων ἀλῶν ἐπιδεᾷ τράπεζαν ἐκπεπλήρωκεν.
 211 ἥς ἀπολαύει μόνος ὥσπερ ἐν δημοθινίᾳ ὁ βασιλεὺς
 Φαραῶ, σποράν καὶ σκέδασιν καὶ φθοράν ἐγκρα-

¹ My conjecture: mss. ἐπὶ τὸν. The editors have suggested ἐπ’ αὐτοῦ, περὶ τοῦδε, ἐπὶ τοῦδε or τούτου. See note *a* below.

² mss. κακὸν.

^a The various emendations of ἐπὶ τὸν mentioned in the critical note seem to me all open to the same objection, that the subject of ἐξεφώνησε is the mind itself, identified with Jacob, cf. *De Som.* i. 240 as well as the similar application of the text in *Leg. All.* i. 61. To take Moses as the subject

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 207 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,^a "All these things have been upon me" (Gen. xlii. 36). So then he marshals the procession of all the arts 208 which he contrived against the unhappy belly, and bearing the ritual^b 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 209 said by her votaries to consist of the memory of past, the enjoyment of present and the hope of future delights.^c Thus the three baskets are likened to the 210 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 ban- 211 queter 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' αὐτοῦ or αὐτόν, but this is still further away from the mss. On the other hand ἐπιτρονῶς is very suitable to this peculiarly bitter cry of Jacob.

^b Philo is evidently connecting the baskets of the dream with the procession of *κανηφόροι* at Attic festivals.

^c See App. p. 609.

- τείας ἐπιτετηδευκώς· ἐρμηνεύεται γὰρ σκεδασμός.
 ἔστι δὲ τὸ ὑπέρογκον καὶ βασιλικὸν αὐτῷ οὐκ ἔφ'
 οἷς εἰκὸς¹ σωφροσύνης ἀγαθοῖς ἀγάλλεσθαι, ἀλλ'
 ἐν οἷς ἀπεικὸς βδελυρίας ἐπιτηδεύμασι σεμνύνεσθαι,
 πρὸς ἀπληστίαν καὶ λαιμαργότητα καὶ τὸ ἄβρο-
 212 δίαιτον ἐξοκείλαντι. τοιγάρτοι τὰ πτηνά,
 τὸ δ' ἐστὶν αἱ ἐπιποτώμεναι ἔξωθεν ἀτέκμαρτοι
 συντυχίαι, πάντα πυρὸς τρόπον ἐπιδραμοῦνται καὶ
 ἀναφλέξουσιν καὶ τῇ παμφάγῳ δυνάμει κατανα-
 λώσουσιν, ὥς μηδὲ λείψανον γοῦν ὑπολείπεσθαι πρὸς
 ἀπόλαυσιν τῷ κανηφοροῦντι, ὃς ἤλπισε τὰς εὐρέσεις
 καὶ τὰς ἐπινοίας αὐτοῦ² μέχρι παντὸς αἰῶνος οἷσιν
 213 ἀναφαιρέτους ἐν | βεβαίῳ. χάρις δὲ τῷ νικηφόρῳ
 [687] θεῷ, ὃς ἀτελείς τὰς εἰς ἄκρον πεπονημένας³ σπουδὰς
 τοῦ φιλοπαθοῦς ἐργάζεται, πτηνὰς φύσεις ἐπι-
 πέμπων ἀοράτως πρὸς ἀναίρεσιν καὶ φθορὰν αὐτῶν.
 περισυληθεῖς⁴ οὖν ὁ νοῦς ὧν ἐδημιούργησεν, ὥσπερ
 τὸν αὐχένα ἀποτμηθεῖς ἀκέφαλος καὶ νεκρὸς ἀν-
 ευρεθήσεται, προσηλωμένος ὥσπερ οἱ ἀνασκολο-
 πισθέντες τῷ⁵ ξύλῳ τῆς ἀπόρου καὶ πενιχρᾶς
 214 ἀπαιδευσίας. ἕως μὲν γὰρ μηδὲν λυμαίνεται
 τῶν ἐξαπιναιῶς εἰωθότων ἀπροοράτως ἐπιφοιτᾶν,
 εὐδοεῖν δοκοῦσιν αἱ πρὸς ἀπόλαυσιν ἡδονῆς τέχναι·
 κατασκηψάντων δ' ἐκ τοῦ ἀφανοῦς ἀνατρέπονται,
 καὶ ὁ δημιουργὸς αὐταῖς συνδιαφθείρεται.
 215 XXXII. Τὰ μὲν οὖν τῶν διηρημένων τὸ γεύσεως
 ἐργαστήριον ἐν ἑκατέρῳ τροφῆς εἶδει, πόσεώς τε
 καὶ βρώσεως οὐχὶ τῆς ἀναγκαίας ἀλλὰ περιττῆς
 καὶ ἀκράτορος, ὀνειράτα δεδήλωται· τὰ δὲ (τοῦ)

¹ MSS. ἐπὶ τοῖς εἰκόσι.² MSS. τοῦ.³ Perhaps as Mangey πεπονημένας.⁴ MSS. περισυλληφθεῖς.

ON DREAMS, II. 211-215

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 212 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 213 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, 214 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 215 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-

^δ MSS. αὐτῶ (Mangey αἷ τῶ).

PHILO

- τούτων καὶ τῶν ἄλλων, ὅσαι ψυχῆς δυνάμεις, βασιλεύειν δοκοῦντος, ὄνομα Φαραῶ, κατὰ τὸ
- 216 ἀκόλουθον αὐτίκα διερευνητέον. “ ἐν γὰρ τῷ ὕπνῳ μου ” φησὶν “ ὥμην ἐστάναι παρὰ τὸ χεῖλος τοῦ ποταμοῦ· καὶ ὥσπερ ἐκ τοῦ ποταμοῦ ἀνέβαινον βόες ἐπτά, ἐκλεκταὶ ταῖς σαρκὶ καὶ καλαὶ τῷ εἶδει, καὶ ἐνέμοντο ἐν τῷ ἄχει. καὶ ἰδοὺ ἕτεραι ἐπτά βόες ἀνέβαινον ὀπίσω αὐτῶν ἐκ τοῦ ποταμοῦ, πονηραὶ καὶ αἰσχραὶ τῷ εἶδει καὶ λεπταὶ ταῖς σαρκίν, ἃς οὐκ εἶδον τοιαύτας ἐν ὅλῃ τῇ Αἰγύπτῳ
- 217 αἰσχροτέρας. καὶ κατέφαγον αἱ βόες αἱ λεπταὶ καὶ αἰσχραὶ τὰς ἐπτά βόας τὰς πρώτας· τὰς καλὰς καὶ ἐκλεκτάς, καὶ εἰσῆλθον εἰς τὰς κοιλίας αὐτῶν· (καὶ οὐ διάδηλοι ἐγένοντο ὅτι εἰσῆλθον εἰς τὰς κοιλίας αὐτῶν),¹ καὶ αἱ ὅψεις αὐτῶν αἰσχραὶ, καθὰ καὶ τὴν
- 218 ἀρχὴν [εἶπον]. ἐξεγερθεὶς δὲ ἐκοιμήθην, καὶ εἶδον πάλιν ἐν τῷ ὕπνῳ μου, καὶ ὡς ἐπτά στάχυες ἀνέβαινον ἐν πυθμένι ἐνί, πλήρεις καὶ καλοί· ἄλλοι δὲ ἐπτά στάχυες λεπτοὶ καὶ ἀνεμόφθοροι ἀνεφύοντο ἐχόμενοι· καὶ κατέπιον οἱ ἐπτά στάχυες¹ τοὺς
- 219 καλοὺς καὶ τοὺς πλήρεις.” ὁρᾷς μὲν δὴ <τὸ> προοίμιον τοῦ φιλαύτου, ὃς κινητὸς καὶ στρεπτός καὶ μεταβλητὸς ὢν κατὰ τε σῶμα καὶ ψυχὴν φησιν· “ ὥμην ἐστάναι,” καὶ οὐκ ἐλογίσαστο, ὅτι μόνῳ θεῷ τὸ ἀκλινὲς καὶ πάγιόν ἐστιν οἰκεῖον
- 220 καὶ εἴ τις αὐτῷ φίλος. τῆς μὲν ἀκλινοῦς περὶ αὐτὸν δυνάμειος σαφειστάτη πίστις ὅδε ὁ κόσμος, αἰεὶ κατὰ τὰ αὐτὰ καὶ ὡσαύτως ἔχων—ὅποτε δὲ ὁ κόσμος ἀρρεπής, ὁ δημιουργὸς πῶς οὐ βέβαιος;—εἴτα μέντοι καὶ οἱ ἀψευδέστατοι μάρτυρες ἱεροὶ
- 221 χρησιμοί· λέγεται γὰρ ἐκ προσώπου τοῦ θεοῦ·

¹ καὶ . . . αὐτῶν inserted by Wend. from LXX. Similarly

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 216 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 217 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 218 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 219 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 220 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 : 221

in § 218 perhaps after κατέπιον οἱ ἑπτὰ στάχυνες insert οἱ λεπτοὶ καὶ ἀνεμοφθόροι τοὺς ἑπτὰ στάχυνας.

“ὡδε ἐγὼ ἔστηκα ἐκεῖ¹ πρὸ τοῦ σέ ἐπὶ τῆς πέτρας
 [688] ἐν Χωρήβ,”² ἵσον τῷ | οὗτος³ ἐγὼ ὁ ἐμφανὴς καὶ
 ἐνταῦθα ὡν ἐκεῖ τέ εἰμι καὶ πανταχοῦ, πεπληρωκὺς
 τὰ πάντα, ἐστὼς ἐν ὁμοίῳ καὶ μένων, ἄτρεπτος ὢν,
 πρὶν ἢ σέ ἢ τι⁴ τῶν ὄντων εἰς γένεσιν ἔλθειν, ἐπὶ
 τῆς ἀκροτάτης καὶ πρεσβυτάτης ἰδρυμένος⁵ δυνάμεως
 ἀρχῆς, ἀφ’ ἧς ἡ τῶν ὄντων γένεσις ὤμβρησε καὶ
 222 τὸ σοφίας ἐπλήμμυρε νᾶμα. ἐγὼ γάρ εἰμι “ὁ
 ἐξαγαγὼν ἐκ πέτρας ἀκροτόμου πηγὴν ὕδατος” ἐν
 ἑτέροις εἴρηται. μαρτυρεῖ δὲ καὶ Μωυσῆς περὶ τοῦ
 μὴ τρέπεσθαι τὸ θεῖον φάσκων· “εἶδον τὸν τόπον
 οὗ εἰστήκει ὁ θεὸς τοῦ Ἰσραήλ,” τὸ μὴ μεταβάλλειν
 διὰ τῆς στάσεως καὶ ἰδρύσεως αἰνιττόμενος.

223 XXXIII. ἀλλὰ γὰρ τοσαύτη περὶ τὸ
 θεῖον ἐστὶν ὑπερβολὴ τοῦ βεβαίου, ὥστε καὶ ταῖς
 ἐπιλελεγμέναις φύσεσιν ἐχυρότητος, ὡς ἀρίστου
 κτήματος, μεταδίδωσιν. αὐτίκα γέ τοι τὴν πλήρη
 χαρίτων διαθήκην ἑαυτοῦ—νόμος δ’ ἐστὶ καὶ λόγος
 τῶν ὄντων ὁ πρεσβύτατος—ὡς ἂν ἐπὶ βάσεως τῆς
 τοῦ δικαίου ψυχῆς ἄγαλμα θεοειδὲς ἰδρύσεσθαι
 παγίως φησίν, ἐπειδὴν λέγει τῷ Νῶε· “στήσω τὴν
 224 διαθήκην μου πρὸς σέ.” παρεμφαίνει δὲ καὶ δύο
 ἕτερα, ἐν μὲν ὅτι τὸ δίκαιον ἀδιαφορεῖ διαθήκης
 θεοῦ, ἕτερον δὲ ὅτι οἱ μὲν ἄλλοι χαρίζονται τὰ
 διαφέροντα τῶν λαμβανόντων, ὁ δὲ θεὸς οὐ μόνον
 ταῦτα, ἀλλὰ αὐτοὺς ἐκείνους ἑαυτοῖς· ἐμὲ γὰρ ἐμοὶ
 δεδωρήται καὶ ἕκαστον τῶν ὄντων ἑαυτῷ· τὸ γὰρ
 “στήσω τὴν διαθήκην μου πρὸς σέ” ἵσον ἐστὶ τῷ

¹ MSS. ἔστη καὶ ἐκέισε. ² MSS. ἐγχωρεῖν. See App. p. 609.

³ MSS. οὗτως.

⁴ MSS. σὲ ἐπὶ.

⁵ MSS. ὀρώμενος.

^a For Philo's interpretation of this text see note on *De Sac.* 67.

ON DREAMS, II. 221-224

"Here I stand there before thou wast, on the rock in Horeb" ^a (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 ^b 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 222 water from out the steep rock," ^c 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.

XXXIII. But 223 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 224 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"

^b The play on *ἀκροάτης* and *ἀκροτόμου* cannot be reproduced in the translation.

^c Or as E.V. "rock of flint."

- 225 " σοί <σε>¹ δωρήσομαι." σπουδάζουσι δὲ καὶ πάντες οἱ θεοφιλεῖς τὸν φιλοπραγμοσύνης χειμῶνα ἀποδιδράσκοντες, ἐν ᾧ σάλος καὶ κλύδων ἀεὶ κυκᾶται, τοῖς τῆς ἀρετῆς εὐδίοις καὶ ναυλοχωτάτοις
- 226 ἐνορμίζεσθαι λιμέσιν. οὐχ ὁρᾷς, οἶα περὶ Ἀβραὰμ λέγεται τοῦ σοφοῦ, ὥς² ἔστιν " ἔστως ἐνώπιον κυρίου "; πότε γὰρ εἰκὸς δύνασθαι στήναι διάνοιαν μηκέθ' ὥς ἐπὶ τρυτάνης ταλαντεύουσαν ἢ ὅτε ἀντικρὺς ἔστι θεοῦ, ὁρῶσά τε καὶ ὀρωμένη;
- 227 διχόθεν³ γὰρ αὐτῇ τὸ ἀρρεπές, ἐκ μὲν τοῦ ὁρᾶν τὸν ἀσύγκριτον, ὅτι ὑπὸ τῶν ὁμοίων πραγμάτων οὐκ ἀνθέλκεται, ἐκ δὲ τοῦ ὁρᾶσθαι, ὅτι ἦν ἀξίαν ἔκρινεν εἰς ὅσιν ὁ ἡγεμὼν τὴν ἑαυτοῦ⁴ (ἐλθεῖν, τῷ) ἀρίστῳ μόνῳ προσεκλήρωσεν, αὐτῷ. καὶ Μωυσεῖ μέντοι θεοπρόπιον ἐχρήσθη τοιόνδε· " σὺ αὐτοῦ στήθι μετ' ἐμοῦ," δι' οὗ τὰ λεχθέντα ἄμφω παρίσταται, τό τε μὴ κλίνεσθαι τὸν ἀστείον καὶ ἡ τοῦ
- 228 ὄντος περὶ πάντα βεβαιότης. XXXIV. καὶ γὰρ τῷ ὄντι τὸ τῷ θεῷ συνεγγίζον οἰκειοῦται κατὰ τὸ ἄτρεπτον αὐτοστατοῦν, καὶ ἡρεμήσας ὁ νοῦς, ἡλίκον ἔστιν ἀγαθὸν ἡρεμία, σαφῶς ἔγνω καὶ θαυμάσας
- [689] αὐτῆς | τὸ κάλλος ὑπέλαβεν, ὅτι ἡ θεῷ μόνῳ προσκεκλήρωται ἢ τῇ μεταξὺ φύσει θνητοῦ καὶ
- 229 ἀθανάτου γένους. φησὶ γοῦν· " καγὼ 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. ὅς.

³ MSS. διεχθέν.

⁴ MSS. ἑαυτῷ.

* 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

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ON DREAMS, II. 225-229

is the same as "I will give thyself to thee."^a 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.^b 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 *ὁ δίκαιος*, the covenant is also *τὸ δίκαιον*; (3) and
as by the giving of the covenant *τὸ δίκαιον* is given to *ὁ*
δίκαιος, Noah is given to himself.

^b Or "here-standing." Philo has perhaps coined the word
to express *αὐτοῦ στῆθι*.

- ὅτι ἐπὶ τῶν ἑαυτοῦ ποδῶν ἡρήρειστο, ἀλλ' ἐκεῖνο
 βουλόμενος ἐμφῆναι, ὅτι ἡ τοῦ σοφοῦ διάνοια
 χειμῶνων μὲν καὶ πολέμων ἀπαλλαγείσα, νηνέμω
 δὲ γαλήνῃ καὶ βαθείᾳ εἰρήνῃ χρωμένη κρείττων μὲν
 230 ἔστιν ἀνθρώπου, θεοῦ δὲ ἐλάττων. ὁ μὲν γὰρ
 ἀγελαῖος ἀνθρώπειος νοῦς σείεται¹ καὶ κυκᾶται πρὸς
 τῶν ἐπιτυχόντων, ὁ δ' ἅτε μακάριος καὶ εὐδαίμων
 ἀμέτοχος κακῶν· μεθόριος δὲ ὁ ἀστείος, ὡς κυρίως
 εἰπεῖν μήτε θεὸν αὐτὸν εἶναι μήτε ἄνθρωπον, ἀλλὰ
 τῶν ἄκρων ἐφαπτόμενον, ἀνθρωπότητι μὲν θνητοῦ
 231 γένους, ἀρετῇ δὲ ἀφθάρτου. τούτῳ παραπλήσιόν
 ἔστι καὶ τὸ χρησθὲν λόγιον ἐπὶ τοῦ μεγάλου ἱερέως·
 “ὅταν” γάρ φησιν “εἰσὶν εἰς τὰ ἅγια τῶν ἁγίων,
 ἄνθρωπος οὐκ ἔσται, ἕως ἂν ἐξέλθῃ.” εἰ δὲ μὴ
 γίνεται τότε ἄνθρωπος, δηλὸν ὅτι οὐδὲ θεός, ἀλλὰ
 λειτουργὸς θεοῦ,² κατὰ μὲν τὸ θνητὸν γενέσει, κατὰ
 232 δὲ τὸ ἀθάνατον οἰκειούμενος τῷ ἀγενήτῳ. τὴν δὲ
 μέσσην τάξιν εἴληχεν, ἕως³ ἂν ἐξέλθῃ πάλιν εἰς τὰ
 τοῦ σώματος καὶ τῆς σαρκὸς οἰκεῖα. καὶ πέφυκεν
 οὕτως ἔχειν· ὅταν μὲν ἐξ ἔρωτος θείου κατασχεθεῖς
 ὁ νοῦς, συντείνας ἑαυτὸν ἄχρι τῶν ἀδύτων, ὁρμῇ
 καὶ σπουδῇ πάσῃ χρώμενος προέρχεται, θεοφορού-
 μενος ἐπιλέλησται μὲν τῶν ἄλλων, ἐπιλέλησται δὲ
 καὶ ἑαυτοῦ, μόνου <δὲ> μέμνηται καὶ ἐξήρτηται
 τοῦ δορυφορουμένου καὶ θεραπευομένου, ὧς τὰς
 ἱεράς καὶ ἀναφείς καθαγιαζὼν ἀρετὰς ἐκθυμᾷ.
 233 ἐπειδὴ δὲ στή <τὸ> ἐνθουσιῶδες καὶ ὁ πολὺς
 ἡμερος χαλάσῃ, παλινδρομήσας ἀπὸ τῶν θείων

¹ MSS. ἕεται.

² Wend. conjectures δηλον <δὲ> ὅτι οὐδὲ θεός, τί ἄλλο ἢ
 λειτουργός.

³ MSS. εἰληχέναι ὡς.

ON DREAMS, II. 229-233

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 230 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 231 priest: "When he enters," it says, "into the Holy of Holies, he will not be a man until he comes out" (Lev. xvi. 17).^a 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 232 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 233 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.

ἄνθρωπος γίνεται, τοῖς ἀνθρωπίνοις ἐντυχών, ἅπερ ἐν τοῖς προφυλαίοις ἐφήδρευεν, ἵνα αὐτὸ μόνον ἐκκύψαντα ἐνδοθεν ἐξαρπάσῃ. XXXV.

234 τὸν μὲν οὖν τέλειον οὔτε θεὸν οὔτε ἄνθρωπον ἀναγράφει Μωυσῆς, ἀλλ', ὡς ἔφην,¹ μεθόριον τῆς ἀγενήτου καὶ φθαρτῆς φύσεως· τὸν δὲ προκόπτοντα πάλιν ἐν τῇ μεταξύ χώρα ζώντων καὶ τεθνηκότων τάττει, ζῶντας μὲν καλῶν τοὺς συμβιούοντας φρονήσει, τεθνηκότας δὲ τοὺς ἀφροσύνη χαίροντας.

235 λέγεται γὰρ ἐπὶ Ἀαρὼν ὅτι “ἔστη ἀνὰ μέσον τῶν τεθνηκότων (καὶ τῶν ζώντων), καὶ ἐκόπασεν ἡ θραῦσις.” ὁ γὰρ προκόπτων οὔτε ἐν τοῖς τεθνηκόσι τὸν ἀρετῆς βίον ἐξετάζεται, πόθον καὶ ζῆλον ἔχων

[690] τοῦ καλοῦ, οὔτε ἐν τοῖς | μετὰ τῆς ἄκρας καὶ τελείας ζωῆς εὐδαιμονίας—ἔτι γὰρ πρὸς τὸ πέρασ
236 ἐνδεῖ,—ἀλλ' ἐκατέρων ἐφάπτεται. διὸ καὶ κυρίως ἐπιλέγεται τὸ “ἐκόπασεν ἡ θραῦσις,” ἀλλ' οὐκ ἐπαύσατο· παύεται μὲν γὰρ ἐπὶ τῶν τελείων τὰ περιθραύοντα καὶ κατακλῶντα καὶ καταγνύντα τὴν ψυχὴν, μειοῦται δὲ ἐπὶ τῶν προκοπτόντων ὡς ἂν αὐτὸ μόνον ἀνακοπτόμενα καὶ στελλόμενα.

237 XXXVI. Τῆς οὖν στάσεως καὶ ἰδρύσεως καὶ τῆς ἐν ταύτῳ κατὰ τὸ ἀμετάβλητον καὶ ἄτρεπτον εἰς αἰὲ μνησῆς πρῶτον μὲν ὑπαρχούσης περὶ τὸ ὄν, ἔπειτα δὲ περὶ τὸν τοῦ ὄντος λόγον, ὃν διαθήκην ἐκάλεσε, τρίτον δὲ περὶ τὸν σοφὸν καὶ τέταρτον περὶ τὸν προκόπτοντα, τί παθὼν ὁ φαῦλος καὶ πάσαις ἀραῖς ἔνοχος νοῦς ὠθήθῃ μόνος ἴστασθαι δύνασθαι, φορούμενος ὥσπερ ἐν κατακλυσμῷ καὶ κατασυρόμενος ταῖς τῶν ἐπιρρεόντων διὰ τοῦ

¹ MSS. ἔφην.

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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 234 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 235 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 236 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 237 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 ἐπαλλήλοις;
 238 “ ὡμην ” γάρ φησιν “ ἐστάναι ἐπὶ τὸ χεῖλος τοῦ ποταμοῦ.” λόγον δὲ συμβολικῶς ποταμὸν εἶναι φάμεν, ἐπειδὴ ἐκάτερος ἔξω τε φέρεται καὶ ῥέων συντόνω¹ χρῆται τῷ τάχει καὶ τοτὲ μὲν εὐφορεῖ² πλημμύραις ὁ μὲν ὕδατος, ὁ δὲ ῥημάτων καὶ ὀνομάτων, τοτὲ³ δὲ ἀφορεῖ χαλῶμενος καὶ συνίζων.
 239 καὶ ὠφελοῦσι μέντοι ὁ μὲν ἄρδων τὰς ἀρούρας, ὁ δὲ τὰς τῶν φιληκόων ψυχάς, καὶ ἔστιν ὅτε βλάπτουσι κυμήναντες, ὁ μὲν τὴν ὁμορον γῆν ἐπικλύσας, ὁ δὲ ἀνακυκῆσας καὶ συγχέας τὸν τῶν οὐ προσ-
 240 ἐχόντων λογισμόν. οὗτος μὲν εἰκάζεται ποταμῷ. διττὴ δὲ λόγου φύσις, ἡ μὲν ἀμείνων, ἡ δὲ χείρων, ἀμείνων μὲν ἡ ὠφελοῦσα, χείρων δὲ κατὰ τὸ
 241 ἀναγκαῖον ἢ βλάπτουσα. παραδείγματα δὲ ἐκατέρας τοῖς δυναμένοις ὁρᾶν ἀνέθηκε Μωϋσῆς ἀριδηλότατα. “ ποταμὸς ” γάρ φησι “ πορεύεται ἐξ Ἑδέμ ποτίζειν τὸν παράδεισον· ἐκεῖθεν ἀφ-
 242 ορίζεται εἰς τέσσαρας ἀρχάς.” καλεῖ δὲ τὴν μὲν τοῦ ὄντος σοφίαν Ἑδέμ, ἧς ἐρμηνεία τρυφή, διότι, οἶμαι, ἐντρυφήμα καὶ θεοῦ σοφία καὶ σοφίας θεός, ἐπεὶ καὶ ἐν ὕμνοις ᾄδεται. “ κατατρύφησον τοῦ κυρίου.” κάτεισι δὲ ὥσπερ ἀπὸ πηγῆς τῆς σοφίας ποταμοῦ τρόπον ὁ θεῖος λόγος, ἵνα ἄρδῃ καὶ ποτίξῃ τὰ ὀλύμπια καὶ οὐράνια φιλαρέτων ψυχῶν βλα-
 243 στήματα καὶ φυτά, ὥσανει παράδεισον. ὁ δὲ ἱερός οὗτος λόγος ἀφορίζεται εἰς τέσσαρας ἀρχάς, λέγω δὲ εἰς τὰς τέσσαρας ἀρετὰς σχίζεται, ὧν ἐκάστη βασιλὶς ἐστι· τὸ γὰρ ἀφορίζεσθαι εἰς ἀρχὰς οὐ τοπικοῖς ὁροῖς,⁴ ἀλλὰ βασιλείᾳ ἔοικεν, ἣν ἐπιδείξας

¹ MSS. εὐτόνω.² MSS. ἐμφορεῖ.³ MSS. ὅτε.

which that dead burden the body is the channel? For "I thought," he says, "that I stood on the edge 238 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 239 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 240 nature better and worse, the better beneficial, the worse necessarily injurious. Moses has 241 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 242 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 243 "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. τοπικὸν ὕδρου. Possibly we might read the more logical οὐ <τῷ εἰς> τοπικὸν ὕδρου ἀλλὰ βασιλείας ζοικεν.

- [691] τὰς ἀρετὰς¹ εὐθὺς ἀποφήνη | καὶ τὸν χρώμενον
 αὐταῖς σοφὸν βασιλέα, κεχειροτονημένον οὐ πρὸς
 ἀνθρώπων, ἀλλ' ὑπὸ τῆς ἀψευδοῦς καὶ ἀδεκάστου
 244 καὶ μόνῃς ἐλευθέρας φύσεως. λέγουσι γὰρ τῷ
 Ἀβραάμ οἱ κατιδόντες αὐτοῦ τὸ ἀστεῖον· “ βασι-
 λεὺς παρὰ θεοῦ εἶ σὺ ἐν ἡμῖν,” δόγμα τιθέμενοι.
 τοῖς περὶ φιλοσοφίαν διατρίβουσιν, ὅτι μόνος ὁ
 σοφὸς ἄρχων καὶ βασιλεὺς καὶ ἡ ἀρετὴ ἀνυπεύθυνος
 ἀρχή τε καὶ βασιλεία.
- 245 XXXVII. Τοῦτον τὸν λόγον εἰκάσας ποταμῶ
 τις τῶν ἐταίρων Μωυσέως ἐν ὕμνοις εἶπεν· “ ὁ
 ποταμὸς τοῦ θεοῦ ἐπληρώθη ὑδάτων.” καί(τοι)
 τινὰ τῶν ἐπὶ γῆς ῥεόντων ἄλογον κυριολογεῖσθαι·
 ἀλλ', ὡς ἔοικε, πλήρη τοῦ σοφίας νάματος τὸν
 θεῖον λόγον διασυνίστησι, μηδὲν ἔρημον καὶ κενὸν
 ἑαυτοῦ μέρος ἔχοντα, . . .² δέ, ὡς εἶπέ τις, ὅλον
 δι' ὅλων ἀναχεόμενον καὶ αἰρόμενον εἰς ὕψος διὰ
 τὴν συνεχῇ καὶ ἐπάλληλον τῆς ἀενάου πηγῆς
 246 ἐκείνης φορὰν. ἔστι δὲ καὶ ἕτερον ἄσμα
 τοιοῦτον· “ τὸ ὄρημα τοῦ ποταμοῦ εὐφραίνει
 τὴν πόλιν τοῦ θεοῦ.” ποίαν πόλιν; ἡ γὰρ νῦν
 οὖσα ἱερὰ πόλις, ἐν ᾗ καὶ ἅγιος νεὼς ἔστι, μακρὰν
 ὥσπερ θαλάττης καὶ ποταμῶν συνώκισται· ὡς
 δῆλον εἶναι, ὅτι τοῦ προφανοῦς ἕτερόν τι βούλεται
 247 δι' ὑπονοιῶν παραστήσαι. τῷ γὰρ ὄντι τοῦ θείου
 λόγου ῥύμη * * *³ καὶ συνεχῶς μεθ' ὁρμῆς ἐν⁴

¹ Perhaps ἀρετὰς <ἀρχὰς>, “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 244 said to Abraham by those who saw his worthiness: "thou art a king from God with us" (Gen. xxiii. 6).^a 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.^b

XXXVII. It is this Word which one of Moses' 245 company compared to a river, when he said in the Psalms "the river of God is full of water" (Ps. lxx. (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 a . . . , 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 246 which runs thus: "The strong current of the river makes glad the city of God" (Ps. xlv. (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 247 that the impetuous rush of the divine word borne along (swiftly) and ceaselessly with its strong and

^a Cf. *De Abr.* 261.

^b See *De Mut.* 152 and note.

³ mss. *ρύμην*, then λ and lacuna of six to eight letters in A. I suggest *λαίψηρως*. See App. p. 610. ⁴ mss. *μεθοριμύσαι*.

- τάξει φερομένη πάντα διὰ πάντων ἀναχεῖ τε¹ καὶ
 248 εὐφραίνει. πόλιν γὰρ θεοῦ καθ' ἓνα μὲν τρόπον
 τὸν κόσμον καλεῖ, ὃς ὅλον τὸν κρατῆρα τοῦ θείου
 πόματος² δεξάμενος ἡκρατί)σατο³ καὶ γανωθεὶς
 ἀναφαιρέτου καὶ ἀσβέστου τῆς εἰς ἅπαντα τὸν
 [ἐπὶ τὸν] αἰῶνα εὐφροσύνης ἐπέλαχε, καθ' ἕτερον
 δὲ τὴν ψυχὴν τοῦ σοφοῦ, ἣ λέγεται καὶ ἐμπερι-
 πατεῖν ὁ θεὸς ὡς ἐν πόλει. “ περιπατήσω ” γάρ
 249 φησιν “ ἐν ὑμῖν, καὶ ἔσομαι [ἐν] ὑμῶν⁴ θεός.” καὶ
 ψυχῇ δ' εὐδαίμονι τὸ ἱερώτατον ἔκπωμα προτει-
 νούσῃ⁵ τὸν ἑαυτῆς λογισμὸν τίς ἐπιχεῖ τοὺς ἱερούς
 κυάθους τῆς πρὸς ἀλήθειαν εὐφροσύνης, ὅτι μὴ ὁ
 οἰνοχόος τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ συμποσίαρχος λόγος, οὐ
 διαφέρων τοῦ πόματος, ἀλλ' αὐτὸς ἄκρατος ὢν,
 τὸ γάνωμα, τὸ ἥδυσμα, ἡ ἀνάχυσις, ἡ εὐθυμία,
 τὸ χαρὰς, τὸ εὐφροσύνης ἀμβρόσιον, ἵνα καὶ αὐτοὶ
 ποιητικοῖς ὀνόμασι χρῶμεθα, φάρμακον;
 250 XXXVIII. ἡ δὲ θεοῦ πόλις ὑπὸ Ἑβραίων Ἱερου-
 σαλήμ καλεῖται, ἥς μεταληφθὲν τοῦνομα ὄρασις
 [692] ἐστὶν εἰρήνης. ὥστε μὴ ζήτει τὴν τοῦ | ὄντος
 πόλιν ἐν κλίμασι⁶ γῆς—οὐ γὰρ ἐκ ξύλων ἢ λίθων
 δεδημιούργηται,—ἀλλ' ἐν ψυχῇ ἀπολέμῳ καὶ
 ὀξύδορκούσῃ <τέλος>⁷ προτεθειμένη τὸν [δὲ] θεω-
 251 ρητικὸν καὶ εἰρηναῖον βίον. ἐπεὶ καὶ τίνα σεμνό-
 τερον καὶ ἀγιώτερον εὖροι τις ἂν οἶκον ἐν τοῖς οὐσι
 θεῷ ἢ φιλοθεάμονα διάνοιαν, πάνθ' ὁρᾷ ἐπειγο-
 μένην καὶ μηδὲ ὄναρ στάσεως ἢ ταραχῆς ἐφιεμένην;
 252 ὑπηχεῖ δέ μοι πάλιν τὸ εἰωθὸς ἀφανῶς ἐνομιλεῖν

¹ MSS. ἀναχεῖται.² MSS. ποταμός.³ MSS. σατο preceded by lacuna of three to four letters:
Mangey <ἡρῶ>σατο.⁴ MSS. ἐν ὑμῖν.⁵ MSS. προτείνουσι.⁶ MSS. κλήμασι.⁷ MSS.: lacuna of five to six letters in A.

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· ὦ οὗτος, ἔοικας ἀνεπιστήμων εἶναι καὶ μεγάλου καὶ περιμαχήτου πράγματος, ὅπερ ἀφθόνως—πολλὰ γὰρ καὶ ἄλλα
 253 εὐκαίρως¹ ὑφηγησάμην—ἀναδιδάξω. ἴσθι δὴ, (ὦ) γενναῖε, ὅτι θεὸς μόνος ἡ ἀψευδестаτή καὶ πρὸς ἀλήθειάν ἐστιν εἰρήνη, ἡ δὲ γεννητὴ καὶ φθαρτὴ οὐσία πᾶσα συνεχῆς πόλεμος. καὶ γὰρ ὁ μὲν θεὸς ἐκούσιον, ἀνάγκη δὲ ἡ οὐσία· ὃς ἂν οὖν ἰσχύσῃ πόλεμον μὲν καὶ ἀνάγκην καὶ γένεσιν καὶ φθορὰν καταλιπεῖν, αὐτομολῆσαι δὲ πρὸς τὸ ἀγέννητον, πρὸς τὸ ἀφθαρτον, πρὸς τὸ ἐκούσιον, πρὸς εἰρήνην, λέγοιτ' ἂν ἐνδίκως ἐνδιαίτημα καὶ πόλις εἶναι θεοῦ.
 254 μηδὲν οὖν διαφερέτω σοι ἢ ὅρασιν εἰρήνης ἢ ὅρασιν θεοῦ τὸ αὐτὸ ὑποκείμενον ὀνομάζειν, ὅτι δὲ τῶν πολυνύμων τοῦ ὄντος δυνάμεων οὐ θιασώτης μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἑξαρχός ἐστιν εἰρήνη.²
 255 XXXIX. Καὶ Ἀβραὰμ μέντοι τῷ σοφῷ δώσειν φησὶ κλῆρον γῆς “ἀπὸ τοῦ ποταμοῦ (Αἰγύπτου ἕως τοῦ ποταμοῦ) τοῦ μεγάλου Εὐφράτου,” οὐ χώρας³ ἀποτομὴν μᾶλλον ἢ τὴν περὶ αὐτοὺς ἡμᾶς ἀμείνω μοῖραν. Αἰγύπτου μὲν γὰρ ἀπεικάζεται ποταμῷ τὸ ἡμέτερον σῶμα καὶ τὰ ἐν αὐτῷ καὶ δι' αὐτοῦ⁴ ἐγγινόμενα πάθη, τῷ δὲ Εὐφράτῃ (ψυχῇ)
 256 καὶ τὰ φίλα ταύτῃ. δόγμα δὴ τίθεται βιωφελέστατον καὶ συνεκτικώτατον, ὅτι ὁ σπουδαῖος κλῆρον ἔλαχε ψυχὴν καὶ τὰς ψυχῆς ἀρετάς, ὥσπερ ὁ φαῦλος ἔμπαλιν σῶμα καὶ τὰς σώματος καὶ διὰ
 257 σώματος κακίας. τὸ δὲ ἀπὸ δύο⁴ 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.

ON DREAMS, II. 252-257

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 253 the real veritable peace, free from all illusion, but the whole substance of things^a created only to perish is one constant war. For God is a being of free will ; the world of things is Fatality.^a 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 254 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 255 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 256 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 " 257

^a Or " our whole existence " . . . " our existence is ruled by necessity."

³ MSS. οὐχ ὁράς.

⁴ MSS. αὐτὸ.

τὸ σὺν ἐκείνῳ ἀφ' οὗ λέγεται, ἕτερον δὲ (τὸ) χωρὶς αὐτοῦ. ὅταν μὲν γὰρ λέγωμεν ἀπὸ πρωΐας ἄχρις ἑσπέρας (ὥρας) εἶναι δώδεκα καὶ ἀπὸ νεομηνίας ἄχρι τριακάδος ἡμέρας τριάκοντα, συγκατατάττομεν τήν τε πρώτην ὥραν καὶ τὴν νεομηνίαν·

[693] ὅταν δέ τις ἀπὸ τῆς πόλεως φῇ | τὸν ἀγρὸν ἀπέχειν σταδίους τρεῖς ἢ τέτταρας, δίχα τῆς πόλεως δήπου

258 φησίν. ὥστε καὶ νῦν τὸ “ἀπὸ τοῦ ποταμοῦ Αἰγύπτου” νομιστέον τὸ χωρὶς ἐκείνου παραλαμβάνεσθαι· βούλεται γὰρ διοικήσας ἡμᾶς τῶν σωματικῶν, ἅπερ ἐν ῥύσει καὶ φορᾷ¹ φθειρομένη καὶ φθειρούση θεωρεῖται, κλῆρον ψυχῆς λαβεῖν μετὰ τῶν ἀφθάρτων καὶ ἀφθαρσίας ἀξίων ἀρετῶν.

259 οὕτω μέντοι τὸ εἰκάσθαι ποταμῷ λόγον ἐπαινετὸν ἰχνηλατοῦντες² εὐρήκαμεν. ὁ δὲ ψεκτὸς αὐτὸς ἄρα ἦν ὁ Αἰγύπτιος ποταμός, ἀνὰγωγός τις καὶ ἀμαθής, ὡς ἔπος εἰπεῖν, ἄψυχος λόγος· οὗ χάριν καὶ εἰς αἷμα μεταβάλλει, τρέφειν οὐ δυνάμενος—ὁ γὰρ ἀπαιδευσίας λόγος οὐ πότιμος—καὶ εὐτοκεῖ μέντοι βατράχοις ἀναίμοις καὶ ἀψύχοις, καινὸν καὶ τραχὺν ἦχον, ἄλγημα ἀκοῆς,

260 ἀπηχοῦσι. λέγεται δέ, ὅτι καὶ οἱ ἐν αὐτῷ πάντες ἰχθύες ἐφθάρησαν, οἱ συμβολικῶς εἰσι τὰ νοήματα· ταῦτα γὰρ ἐννήχεται καὶ ἐγγίνεται ὡς ἐν ποταμῷ τῷ λόγῳ, ζῳοῖς εἰκότα καὶ ψυχοῦντα αὐτόν· ἐν δὲ ἀπαιδεύτῳ λόγῳ τέθνηκε τὰ ἐνθυμήματα· συνετὸν γὰρ οὐδέν ἔστιν εὐρεῖν, ἀλλὰ κολωῶν τινὰς ἀκόσμους καὶ ἀμετροεπεῖς, ὡς εἰπέ τις, φωνάς.

¹ So Mangey for mss. φθορᾷ, which Wend. retains.

² mss. ὀχληλατοῦντες.

^a Pl. ii. 212 Θερότης δ' ἐτι μόνος ἀμετροεπῆς ἐκολψα.

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 258 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 259 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 260 (*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 ἅλως. ἐπεὶ δὲ οὐ
μόνον στάσιν καὶ ποταμόν, ἀλλὰ καὶ χεῖλη ποταμοῦ
φαντασιωθῆναι ὁμολογεῖ φάσκων. “ ὥμην ἐστάναι
παρὰ τὸ χεῖλος τοῦ ποταμοῦ,” ἀναγκαῖον ἂν εἴη
262 καὶ περὶ χεῖλους τὰ καίρια ὑπομνῆσαι.¹ φαίνεται
τοίνυν ἔνεκα δυεῖν τῶν ἀναγκαιοτάτων ἢ φύσις
χεῖλη ζώοις καὶ μάλιστα ἀνθρώποις ἀρμόσασθαι.
ἐνὸς μὲν ἡσυχίας—ἔρυμα γὰρ ταῦτα καὶ φραγμὸς
ὀχυρώτατος φωνῆς,—ἐτέρου δὲ ἐρμηνείας. διὰ
γὰρ τούτων τὸ τῶν λόγων νᾶμα φέρεται². συν-
αθθέντων μὲν γὰρ ἐπέχεται, φέρεσθαι δ’ ἀμύχανον
263 μὴ διαστάντων. ἐκ δὲ τούτου γυμνάζει καὶ συγ-
κροτεῖ πρὸς ἄμφω, τὸ λέγειν καὶ ἡσυχάζειν,
ἐκατέρου τὸν ἀρμόττοντα καιρὸν παραφυλάττοντας.
οἷον ἀκοῆς ἄξιόν τι λέγεται; πρόσεχε μηδὲν
ἐναντιούμενος ἐν ἡσυχίᾳ κατὰ τὸ Μωνσέως παρ-
264 ἀγγελμα, τὸ “ σιώπα καὶ ἄκουε.” τῶν γὰρ εἰς
τὰς ἐριστικὰς γνωσιμαχίας ἀφικνουμένων οὐδ’ ἂν εἰς
κυρίως οὔτε λέγειν οὔτ’ ἀκούειν νομισθείη, τῷ
265 δὲ μέλλοντι πρὸς ἀλήθειαν * * *³ ὠφέλιμον. πάλιν
ὅταν ἴδῃς ἐν τοῖς τοῦ βίου πολέμοις καὶ κακοῖς
τὴν ἰλεω τοῦ θεοῦ χεῖρα καὶ δύναμιν ὑπερέχουσιν
καὶ προασπίζουσιν, ἡρέμησον· οὐ γὰρ δεῖται |
[694] συμμαχίας ὁ βοηθὸς οὗτος. ἔστι δὲ καὶ τούτου
δείγμα τὸ⁴ ἐν ταῖς ἱεραῖς ἀναγραφαῖς κατακείμενον,
τὸ “ κύριος πολεμήσει ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν, καὶ ὑμεῖς
266 σιγήσεσθε.” εἰάν γε μὴν ἴδῃς τὰ γνήσια ἔγγωνα
καὶ πρωτότοκα Αἰγύπτου φθειρόμενα, τὸ ἐπι-

¹ MSS. ὑπονοῆσαι.² MSS. ἀναφέρεται.³ The MSS. have here a lacuna of, in A, sixteen to eighteen letters, for which Wend. suggests ἀκούειν τὸ ἡσυχάζειν. I

XL. Enough on these points ; but since in the 261 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 262 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 263 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 264 enter upon wordy controversies can be properly held either to speak or to hear ; he who would do (either) in the true sense will find (silence) useful. Again when 265 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, 266 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. *δέλγματα*.

θυμῆν, τὸ ἡδεσθαι, τὸ λυπεῖσθαι, τὸ φοβεῖσθαι, τὸ ἀδικεῖν, τὸ ἀφραίνειν,¹ τὸ ἀκολασταίνειν καὶ ὅσα τούτων ἀδελφὰ καὶ συγγενῇ, καταπλαγείς ἡσύχαζε, 267 τὸ φοβερὸν τοῦ θεοῦ κράτος ὑποπτήξας. “οὐ γὰρ γρύξει” φησί² “κύων τῇ γλώσση, οὐδ’ ἀπ’ ἀνθρώπου ἕως κτήνους,” ἴσον τῷ οὔτε τὴν κυνώδη γλώσσαν ὑλακτοῦσάν τε καὶ κράζουσας³ οὔτε τὸν ἐν ἡμῖν ἀνθρωπον, ἡγεμόνα νοῦν, οὔτε τὸ κτηνῶδες θρέμμα, τὴν αἴσθησιν, προσήκει γαυριᾶν, ὅταν ἀναιρεθέντος τοῦ παρ’ ἡμᾶς ὅλον ἔξωθεν τὸ συμ-μαχικὸν αὐτοκέλευστον ὑπερασπιοῦν ἦκη.

268 XLI. πολλοὶ δὲ συμβαίνουσι καιροὶ μὴ ἐφαρμόζοντες ἡσυχία, ὥδ’ αὖς δὲ καὶ⁴ καταλογάδην ῥήσεις ἐπιζητοῦντες. ὦν πάλιν ἰδεῖν ἔστιν ἀνακείμενα ὑπομνήματα. πῶς; ἀγαθοῦ τις γέγονεν ἀπροσδόκητος μετουσία; καλὸν οὖν εὐχαριστῆσαι καὶ 269 τὸν ἐπιπέμψαντα ὑμῆσαι. τί οὖν τὸ ἀγαθόν; τέθηγε τὸ ἐπιτιθέμενον ἡμῖν πάθος καὶ πρηνὲς ἄταφον ἔρριπται; μὴ μέλλωμεν οὖν,⁵ ἀλλὰ <χορὸν> στησάμενοι τὴν ἱεροπρεπεστάτην ἄδωμεν ὥδην, παρακελευόμενοι λέγειν πᾶσιν. “ἄσωμεν τῷ κυρίῳ, ἐνδόξως γὰρ δεδόξασται. ἵππον καὶ ἀναβάτην 270 ἔρριψεν εἰς θάλασσαν.” ἀλλὰ γὰρ ἡ μὲν τοῦ πάθους φθορὰ⁶ καὶ μετανάστασις ἀγαθόν, ἀλλ’ οὐ τέλειον ἀγαθόν. ἡ δὲ σοφίας εὑρεσις ὑπερβάλλον καλόν. ἥς εὐρεθείσης ἅπας ὁ λεῶς οὐ καθ’ ἐν μέρος μουσικῆς, ἀλλὰ κατὰ πάσας αὐτῆς τὰς ἀρμονίας

¹ MSS. εὐφραίνειν.

² MSS. γρυξί φασί.

³ MSS. ἀράζουσας (Mangey γρύζουσας).

⁴ ὥδ’ αὖς δὲ καὶ my correction: MSS. τὰς δὲ. See note a on opposite page.

⁵ MSS. ὑμῖν: I should prefer (as Cohn) ὑμνεῖν.

⁶ MSS. φορὰ.

ON DREAMS, II. 266-270

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, 267 "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 268

often arise which ill accord with silence and call for speech in song or prose,^a 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? 269 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 270 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' ὁδῆς καὶ τῶν κατ. ἐγκωμίων: *De Abr.* 23 διὰ ποιήματων καὶ τῶν κατ. συγγραμμάτων.

- 271 καὶ μελωδίας ἄσεται. “ τότε ” γάρ φησιν “ ἦσεν
 Ἰσραὴλ τὸ ἄσμα τοῦτο ἐπὶ τοῦ φρέατος,” λέγω
 δὲ ἐπὶ τῆς πάλαι μὲν κεκρυμμένης, ἀναζητηθείσης
 δὲ αὖθις καὶ ἐπὶ πᾶσιν ἀνευρημένης βαθείας τὴν
 φύσιν ἐπιστήμης, ἥ¹ νόμος τὰς τῶν φιλοθεαμόνων
 272 ἄρδειν λογικὰς ἐν ψυχαῖς ἀρούρας. τί
 δέ; ὅταν συγκομίσωμεν τὸν γνήσιον διανοίας
 καρπὸν, οὐ παραγγέλλει ἡμῖν ὁ ἱερὸς λόγος ὥσπερ
 ἐν καρτάλῳ τῷ λογισμῷ τὰς ἀπαρχὰς τῆς εὐφορίας
 ὧν ἤνθησεν, ὧν ἐβλάστησεν, ὧν ἐκαρποφόρησεν
 ἡ ψυχὴ καλῶν, ἐπιδεικνυμένους ἄντικρυς οὕτω
 ῥητορεύειν, τὰ εἰς τὸν τελεσφόρον θεὸν ἐγκώμια
 λέγοντας· “ ἐξεκάθηρα τὰ ἅγια ἀπὸ τῆς οἰκίας
 [695] μου ” καὶ ἐταμιεύσάμην | ἐν τῷ τοῦ θεοῦ οἴκῳ,
 ταμίας καὶ φύλακας αὐτῶν ἐπιστήσας τοὺς ἀρισ-
 τίνδην ἐπιλελεγμένους πρὸς τὴν ἱερὰν νεωκορίαν.
 273 οὗτοι δὲ εἰσι Λευῖται καὶ προσήλυτοι καὶ ὀρφανοὶ
 καὶ χῆραι· οἱ μὲν ἰκέται,² οἱ δὲ μετανάσται καὶ
 πρόσφυγες, οἱ δὲ ἀπωρφανισμένοι καὶ κεχηρευκότες
 γενέσεως, θεὸν δὲ τὸν τῆς ψυχῆς θεραπευτρίδος³
 ἄνδρα καὶ πατέρα γνήσιον ἐπιγεγραμμένοι.
 274 XLII. Τοῦτον μὲν δὴ τὸν τρόπον καὶ λέγειν καὶ
 ἡσυχάζειν ἐμπρεπέστατον. τὸ δὲ ἐναντίον μεμε-
 λετήκασιν οἱ φαῦλοι· καὶ γὰρ ἡσυχίας ἐπιλήπτου
 καὶ ἐρμηνείας ὑπαιτίου ζηλωταὶ γεγόνασιν, ἐκά-
 τερον ἐπ’ ὀλέθρῳ ἑαυτῶν τε καὶ ἐτέρων συγκρο-
 275 τοῦντες. τὸ δὲ πλέον ἐστὶν αὐτοῖς τῆς ἀσκήσεως
 ἐν τῷ λέγειν ἢ μὴ δεῖ· τὸ γὰρ στόμα διανοίζαντες
 καὶ ἑάσαντες ἀχαλίνωτον, καθάπερ ῥεῦμα ἀκατά-

¹ MSS. ἦν.² MSS. οἰκέται.³ So MSS.: perhaps θερ. ψυχ.

ON DREAMS, II. 271-275

For "then," says the text, "Israel sang this song 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 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 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 φασιν οἱ ποιηταί, λόγον ἰᾷσι,¹ μυρία τῶν ἀλυσιτελῶν προσ-
 276 επισύροντα. τοιγαροῦν οἱ μὲν ἐπὶ συνηγορίαν ἡδονῆς καὶ ἐπιθυμίας καὶ πάσης πλεοναζούσης ὁρμῆς ἐτράποντο, ἄλογον πάθος ἐπιτειχίζοντες ἡγεμόνι λογισμῶ, (οἱ δὲ αὖ)² καὶ ταῖς ἐριστικαῖς φιλονεικίαις (ἐπ') αποδυσάμενοι συνεπλάκησαν, ἐλπίσαντες τὸ ὁρατικὸν πηρῶσαι³ γένος καὶ κατὰ κρημνῶν καὶ βαράθρων,⁴ ἐξ ὧν οὐδ' ἂν ἔτι γένοιτο
 277 διαναστήναι, δυνήσεσθαι ῥῦψαι. ἔνιοι δὲ οὐ μόνον ἀντιπάλους ἑαυτοὺς τῆς ἀνθρωπίνης ἀπέφηναν ἀρετῆς, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῆς θείας· ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον ἀπονοίας ἤλασαν.

Τοῦ μὲν οὖν φιλοπαθοῦς ἑξαρχος ἀναγράφεται θιάσου τῆς Αἰγυπτίας χώρας ὁ βασιλεὺς, Φαραώ· λέγεται γὰρ τῷ προφήτῃ· “ ἰδοὺ αὐτὸς ἐκπορεύεται ἐπὶ τὸ ὕδωρ, καὶ στήσῃ συναντῶν αὐτῷ παρὰ τὸ
 278 χεῖλος τοῦ ποταμοῦ.” τοῦ μὲν γὰρ ἴδιον ἐπὶ τὴν φορὰν καὶ ἀνάχυσιν αἰεὶ τοῦ ἀλόγου πάθους ἐξιέναι· τοῦ δὲ σοφοῦ πολλῶ ῥέοντι τοῖς ὑπὲρ ἡδονῆς καὶ ἐπιθυμίας λόγοις ὑπαντιάσαι οὐ τοῖς ποσίν, ἀλλὰ τῇ γνώμῃ, βεβαίως καὶ ἀκλινῶς, ἐπὶ τοῦ ποταμίου χεῖλους, τοῦτο δὲ ἐστὶν ἐπὶ τοῦ στόματος καὶ τῆς γλώττης, ἅπερ ἦν ὄργανα λόγου· παγίως γὰρ ἐπιβὰς αὐτοῖς δυνήσεται τὰς συνηγορούσας τῷ πάθει πιθανότητας ἀνατρέψαι καὶ καταβαλεῖν.

¹ MSS. ἐῶσι.

² The lacuna of five to six letters is filled up by Wend. with ἔτι δέ. For my reasons for preferring οἱ δὲ αὖ (or ἔνιοι δέ) see note *b* below.

³ MSS. πληρῶσαι.

⁴ MSS. βάθρων.

^a II. ii. 246.

^b That we have here the second of three classes, and not a

ON DREAMS, II. 275-278

bridled, and suffer their "promiscuous"^a speech, to use the poet's term, to take its course like an unchecked torrent whirling along with its 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^b> 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, 276 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. 277

The first of these three, the company of the pleasure-lovers, 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).^c It is as characteristic of 278 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.

^c Each of the three classes is furnished with a *χέλως* text, in this case Ex. vii. 15. So far as philosophical schools are suggested, these are clearly the Epicureans.

279

- ὁ δὲ τοῦ ὁρατικοῦ γένους ἐχθρὸς ὁ τοῦ
 Φαραὼ λαὸς ἐστίν, ὃς ἐπιτιθέμενος καὶ διώκων καὶ
 δουλούμενος ἀρετὴν οὐκ ἐπαύσατο, ἕως κακὰς ὦν¹
 διέθηκε τὰς ἀμοιβὰς εὖρατο, πελάγει² τῶν ἀδικη-
 μάτων καὶ τρικυμίαις, ἃς τὸ λυ(ττων πάθος)³
 [696] ἀνήγειρε, καταποντωθεὶς, | ὥς ὑπερβάλλουσιν θεάν
 καὶ νίκην ἀνανταγώνιστον καὶ χαρὰν ἐλπίδος
 280 μείζονα τὸν καιρὸν ἐνεγκεῖν ἐκείνῳ. διὸ λέγεται·
 “ εἶδεν Ἰσραὴλ τοὺς Αἰγυπτίους τεθνηκότας παρὰ
 τὸ χεῖλος τῆς θαλάσσης.” μεγάλη γε ἡ ὑπέρμαχος
 χεὶρ, ἀναγκάζουσα παρὰ στόματι καὶ χεῖλεσι καὶ
 λόγῳ πίπτειν τοὺς τὰ ὄργανα ταῦτα κατὰ τῆς
 ἀληθείας ἀκονησαμένους, ἵνα μὴ ὀθνεῖοις ἀλλὰ
 ἰδίοις ὅπλοις οἱ καθ’ ἐτέρων ἀναλαβόντες αὐτὰ
 281 θνήσκωσι. τρία δ’ εὐαγγελίζεται τῇ ψυχῇ τὰ
 κάλλιστα, ἐν μὲν ἀπώλειαν Αἰγυπτιακῶν παθῶν,
 ἕτερον δὲ τὸ μὴ παρ’ ἐτέρῳ χωρίῳ,⁴ (ἀλλὰ) τῆς
 ἀλμυρᾶς καὶ πικρᾶς πηγῆς, ὥς ἂν θαλάττης,
 χεῖλεσι, δι’ ὧν ὁ πολέμιος ἀρετῆς σοφιστῆς λόγος
 ἐξεκέχυτο, τελευταῖον δὲ τὴν θεάν τοῦ πτώματος.
 282 μηδὲν γὰρ ἀόρατον εἶη καλόν, ἀλλὰ πρὸς * * *⁵ καὶ
 λαμπρὸν ἥλιον ἄγοιτο· καὶ γὰρ τοῦναντίον εἰς βαθὺ
 σκότος καὶ * * *⁶ ἄξιον τὸ κακόν. καὶ τοῦτο μὲν
 μηδ’ ἐκ τύχης ἰδεῖν⁷ ποτε γένοιτο, τὸ δὲ ἀγαθὸν
 μείζουσιν ὀφθαλμοῖς ἀεὶ περιαθροῖτο. τί δὲ οὕτως

¹ I suggest κακὰς <κακῶν> ὦν. ² MSS. ἐστρατοπελάγει.

³ MSS. lacuna of four to five letters after λυ, which Wend. fills up as above. Why not λυττᾶν or λυττων simply? We are not, I think, concerned with πάθος here.

⁴ MSS. ἐτέρων χωρίων.

⁵ The lacuna here is of six to eight letters. Wend. suggests ἄσκιον φῶς.

ON DREAMS, II. 279-282

Secondly,^a we find the enemy of the race 279 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: 280 "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 281 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 282 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

^a The second class, whose *χείλος* text is Ex. xiv. 30, are presumably the sophists in general; cf. *σοφιστῆς λόγος* § 281.

^b Lacuna of six to eight letters. For various suggestions to fill it see App. p. 610.

^c MSS. *δεῖν*.

- ἀγαθόν, ὡς ζῆσαι τὰ καλὰ καὶ ἀποθανεῖν τὰ φαῦλα;
- 283 XLIII. τρίτοι¹ τοῖνυν ἦσαν οἱ τὴν τῶν
 λόγων δεινότητα μέχρῃς οὐρανοῦ τείναντες. οὗτοι
 μελέτην κατὰ τῆς φύσεως, μᾶλλον δὲ κατὰ τῆς
 ἑαυτῶν ψυχῆς ἐμελέτησαν φάσκοντες, μόνον εἶναι
 τὸ αἰσθητὸν καὶ ὁρώμενον τοῦτο, οὔτε γενόμενον
 ποτε οὔτ' αὖθις φθαρησόμενον, ἀγέννητον δὲ καὶ
 ἀφθαρτον, ἀνεπιτρόπευτον, ἀκυβέρνητον, ἀπροστα-
 284 σίαστον. εἰτ' ἐπ' ἄλλοις ἄλλα συνθέντες ἐπιχειρή-
 ματα, δόγμα ἀδόκιμον οἰκοδομοῦντες εἰς ὕψος οἷα
 πύργον ἐξῆραν. λέγεται γὰρ ὅτι " ἦν πᾶσα ἡ γῆ
 χεῖλος ἓν," συμφωνία τῶν τῆς ψυχῆς μερῶν πάντων
 ἀσύμφωνος ἐπὶ τῷ κινήσει τὸ συνεκτικώτατον ἐν
 285 τοῖς οὖσιν, ἀρχήν. τοιγαροῦν ἐλπίσαντας αὐτοὺς
 εἰς οὐρανὸν ταῖς ἐπινοαῖς ἀναδραμεῖσθαι ἐπὶ καθ-
 αἰρέσει τῆς αἰωνίου βασιλείας ἡ μεγάλη καὶ ἀκαθ-
 αίρετος καταβάλλει χεῖρ, καὶ τὸ οἰκοδομηθὲν δόγμα
 286 συνανατρέψασα. κέκληται δὲ ὁ τόπος " σύγχυσις,"
 οἰκεῖον ὄνομα τῷ καινουργηθέντι τολμήματι. τί
 γὰρ ἀναρχίας συγχυτικώτερον; οὐκ οἰκίαι μὲν
 ἀνηγεμόνευτοι προσκρουσμάτων γέμουσι καὶ ταρα-
 287 χῆς; ἀβασίλευτοι δ' ἐαθεῖσαι πόλεις ὑπὸ ὄχλο-
 κρατίας, ἐναντίου καὶ μεγίστου, φθείρονται; καὶ
 χῶραι δὲ καὶ ἔθνη καὶ κλίματα γῆς, ὧν ἀρχαὶ
 288 κατελύθησαν, οὐ παλαιὰς καὶ μεγάλας εὐδαιμονίας
 [697] ἀπέβαλον; καὶ τί δεῖ | τὰ ἀνθρώπινα λέγεσθαι;

¹ mss. and all editors *τρεῖς*. See note *a* below.

^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 ^a were those who extended 283
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 enter- 284
prises one upon another they raised on high like
a tower their edifice of unedifying doctrine.^b 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 285
mind and thought, to destroy the eternal kingship,
the mighty undestroyable hand cast them down and
overturned the edifice of their doctrine. And the 286
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 disturb-
ance ? Are not cities left without a king destroyed 287
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 288
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 f.

^b Lit. "base" or spurious doctrine. The translation given
is an attempt to produce something parallel to the untrans-
latable oxymoron of the Greek.

οὐδὲ γὰρ αἱ ἄλλαι τῶν ζώων ἀγέλαι, πτηνῶν, χερσαίων, ἐνύδρων, ἄνευ τινὸς ἀγελάρχου συνεστᾶσιν, ἀλλὰ ποθοῦσι καὶ περιέπουσιν αἰεὶ τὸν οἰκεῖον ἡγεμόνα, ὡς μόνον ἀγαθῶν αἴτιον, οὐ κατὰ
 289 τὴν ἀπουσίαν σκεδάννυνται καὶ διαφθείρονται. εἴτ' οἰόμεθα τοῖς μὲν περιγείοις, ἃ βραχυτάτη μοῖρα τοῦ παντός ἐστιν, ἀρχὴν μὲν ἀγαθῶν, ἀναρχίαν δὲ κακῶν εἶναι αἰτίαν, τὸν δὲ κόσμον οὐ διὰ τὴν τοῦ βασιλεύοντος θεοῦ προήγησιν εὐδαιμονίας τῆς
 290 ἄκρας πεπληρῶσθαι; δίκην οὖν ἀρμότουσαν οἷς ἐτίθεντο¹ διδόασιν· φύραντες γὰρ τὸ ἱερὸν (τὸ ἐαυτῶν ἀνίερν) πρὸς² ἀναρχίας φυρόμενον ἐπεῖδον, συγχυθέντες οἱ³ συγχέαντες. ἕως δὲ οὕτω τιμωρίαν δεδώκασιν, ὑπὸ φρενοβλαβείας φυσώμενοι τὴν μὲν τῶν ὄλων ἀρχὴν ἀνοσίοις λόγοις καθαιροῦσιν, αὐτοὺς δὲ ἄρχοντας καὶ βασιλέας ἀναγράφουσι, τὸ ἀκαθαίρετον τοῦ θεοῦ κράτος γενέσει τῇ ἀκαταστάτῳ⁴ ἀπολλυμένῃ καὶ φθειρομένῃ περι-
 291 ἄπτοντες. XLIV. ἐπιτραγωδοῦντες γοῦν καὶ ἐπικομπάζοντες⁵ εἰώθασιν οἱ καταγέλαστοι λέγειν ταῦτα· ἡμεῖς οἱ ἡγεμόνες, ἡμεῖς οἱ δυναστεύοντες· ἐφ' ἡμῖν ὄρμεῖ⁶ τὰ πάντα· ἀγαθῶν καὶ τῶν ἐναντίων

¹ Probably read <ἐπ>ετίθεντο, or as Mangey <δι>ετίθεντο, a favourite word of Philo, but not as far as I have seen used by him in this sense in the middle. ² MSS. *περί*.

³ MSS. and all edd. οὐ. For discussion of the text of the sentence see note *a* below.

⁴ So MSS.: Wend. *ἀδιαστάτῳ* without adequate reason, so far as I can see.

⁵ MSS. *ἐπιστομίζοντες*.

⁶ MSS. *ὀρμᾶ*.

^a Wendland, who prints *φύραντες γὰρ τὸ ἱερὸν περὶ . . . ἀναρχίας φυρόμενοι* (so also Mangey for *φυρόμενον* from Trin.) *ἐπεῖδον*, does not make any attempt how to fill up the supposed lacuna. The suggestion I have made gives, I think, a very

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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?

289

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.^a 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.^b 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 συγγέαντες* for *οὐ συγγ.* 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 αἴτιοι (ὅτι μὴ)¹ ἡμεῖς; τὸ (εὖ καὶ) κακῶς ἐργάσασθαι τίσιν ὅτι μὴ ἡμῖν ἀψευδέστατα ἀνάκειται; φλυαροῦσι δὲ ἄλλως οἱ δυνάμεως ἀοράτου τὰ πάντα φάσκοντες ἐξῆφθαι, ἣν πρυτανεύειν τῶν κατὰ τὸν κόσμον ἀνθρωπείων τε καὶ θείων νομίζουσι.

292 τοιαῦτα καταλαζονευσάμενοι, ἐὰν μὲν ὥσπερ ἐκ μέθης νήψαντες ἐν ἑαυτοῖς γένωνται καὶ τῆς παροινίας, ἣν παρώνησαν,² εἰς αἴσθησιν ἐλθόντες αἰδεσθῶσι καὶ κακίσωσιν ἑαυτοὺς ἐφ' οἷς ὑπ' ἀγνώμονος γνώμης ἐξαμαρτάνειν προήχθησαν,³ ἀκολακέυτω καὶ ἀδεκάστῳ χρυσάμενοι συμβούλῳ μετανοίᾳ,⁴ τὴν ἴλεω τοῦ ὄντος δύναμιν ἐξευμενισάμενοι παλινωδίας ἀντὶ βεβήλων ἱεραῖς, ἀμνηστίαν

293 εὐρήσονται παντελεῖ. ἐὰν δὲ ἀφηνιασταὶ καὶ σκληραύχενες μέχρι τοῦ παντός γενόμενοι σκιρτῶσιν, ὡς αὐτόνομοι καὶ ἐλεύθεροι καὶ ἐτέρων ἡγεμόνες ὄντες, ἀπαραιτήτῳ ἀνάγκῃ καὶ ἀμειλίκτῳ τὴν ἑαυτῶν ἐν ᾧ μὲν μικροῖς τε καὶ μεγάλοις οὐδένειαν

294 αἰσθήσονται. ὁ γὰρ ἐπιβεβηκὼς ἡνίοχος ὡς ἄρματι
[698] πτηνῷ τῷδε τῷ | κόσμῳ χαλινὸν ἐμβαλὼν καὶ τὸ κεχάλασμένον τῶν ἡνίων ὀπίσω βία τείνας καὶ τοὺς κημοὺς⁵ ἐπισφίγγας, μάστιξι καὶ κέντροις ἀναμνήσει τῆς δεσποτικῆς ἐξουσίας, ἧς ἐπελάβοντο διὰ τὸ χρηστὸν καὶ ἡμερον τοῦ κρατοῦντος ὥσπερ
295 οἱ κακοὶ δοῦλοι. τὸ γὰρ τῶν δεσποτῶν ἐπιεικὲς εἰς ἀναρχίαν ἐκτρέποντες ἐπιμορφάζουσι τὸ ἀδέσποτον, μέχρις ἂν τὴν ῥοώδη τε καὶ πολλὴν αὐτῶν νόσον, ἀντὶ φαρμάκων τὰς τιμωρίας προσφέρων, ὅ

¹ Lacuna of four to five letters.

² Ἀ παραινίας ἢν παρηνόμησαν: Trin. παροινίας ἢν παρηνόμησαν (not παρώνησαν as Mangey states).

³ MSS. προσήχθησαν.

⁴ MSS. μετανοίας.

⁵ MSS. κόσμους.

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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. 292 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 293 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 294 winged chariot^a 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 295 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

^a See App. p. 611.

- 296 κεκτημένος ἐπισχῇ. διὸ λέγεται· “ ψυχὴ
 ἄνομος ἢ διαστελλούσα τοῖς χεῖλεσι κακοποιῆσαι ἢ
 καλῶς ποιῆσαι,” εἰθ’ ὕστερον¹ “ ἐξαγορεύσει τὴν
 ἁμαρτίαν ἑαυτῆς.” τί φῆς, ὦ γέμουσα ἀλαζονείας;
 οἶδας γάρ, τί ἐστὶ τὸ πρὸς ἀλήθειαν ἀγαθὸν ἢ καλὸν
 297 ἢ δίκαιον ἢ ὅσιον ἢ τίνα τίσιν ἐφαρμόττει; ἡ
 τούτων ἐπιστήμη τε καὶ δύναμις ἀνάκειται μόνῳ
 θεῷ, καὶ εἴ τις αὐτῷ φίλος. μάρτυς δὲ καὶ χρησμός,
 ἐν ᾧ λέγεται· “ ἐγὼ ἀποκτενῶ καὶ ζῆν ποιήσω.”
 298 πατάξω καὶ γὰρ ἰάσομαι.” ἀλλὰ γὰρ οὐδὲ ἐπι-
 πόλαιον ἔσχευ ἢ δοκησίσοφος ψυχὴ τὴν τῶν ὑπὲρ
 ἑαυτὴν ὀνειρώξιν, ἀλλ’ οὕτως ἢ δυστυχὴς ἐξ-
 ηνεμώθη, ὥς καὶ ἐνώμοτον γενέσθαι περὶ τοῦ
 βεβαίως καὶ παγίως ταῦθ’ ἐστάναι, ἃ ψευδῶς
 299 ὑπέλαβεν. εἰάν οὖν τὸ παλμῶδες καὶ παφλάζον τοῦ
 νοσήματος ἄρξῃται χαλᾶν, τὰ τῆς ὑγείας ἐμπυρεύ-
 ματα κατ’ ὀλίγον ἐκζωπυρούμενα βιάσεται τὸ μὲν
 πρῶτον ἐξαγορεύσαι τὸ ἁμάρτημα, τὸ δ’ ἐστὶ
 κακίσαι ἑαυτήν, εἶτα πρὸς βωμοῖς ἰκέτιν γενέσθαι,
 ποτνιωμένην λιταῖς καὶ εὐχαῖς καὶ θυσίαις, (αἷς)
 ἀμνηστίας μόναῖς ἐπιλαχεῖν ἐστίν.
 300 XLV. Ἐξῆς δ’ ἂν τις εἰκότως ἐπαπορήσειε, τί
 δὴ ποτε τὸν ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ ποταμὸν μόνον ἀνέγραψεν
 ἔχοντα χεῖλη, τὸν δ’ Εὐφράτην ἢ τινα τῶν ἄλλων
 ἱερῶν ποταμῶν οὐκέτι. ὅπου μὲν γὰρ φησι·
 “ στήσῃ συναντῶν αὐτῷ παρὰ τὸ χεῖλος τοῦ
 301 ποταμοῦ ” * * *. καίτοι τινὲς ἴσως ἐπιχλευά-

¹ Wend., evidently mistakenly, prints εἰθ’ ὕστερον as part of the quotation. There are twenty words in Leviticus between ποιῆσαι and ἐξαγορεύσει, cf. εἰτ’ ἐπφέρει § 71.

^a 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 576

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in the place of remedies. Thus we read 296
 "the lawless soul which distinguishes with its lips to
 do well or do ill,"^a 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 297
 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 298
 indeed when the soul, wise in its own conceit, enter-
 tained 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^b that these
 things stood firm and established, which were but its
 false imaginations. If then the throbbing fever of its 299
 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 300
 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). . . .^c Yet some perhaps 301

meaning is that any rash oath can only obtain remission by
 admitting the error.

^b LXX (following on καλῶς ποιῆσαι) ὅσα ἐὰν διαστείλῃ ὁ
 ἀνθρώπος μεθ' ὅρκου.

^c Some text or texts must have dropped out, illustrating
 the point. See App. p. 611.

PHILO

ζοντες ἐροῦσι, μὴ δεῖν τὰ τοιαῦτα εἰς τὰς ζητήσεις
 εἰσάγειν· γλισχρολογίαν γὰρ μᾶλλον ἢ ὠφέλειάν
 τινα ἐμφαίνειν. ἐγὼ δὲ τὰ τοιαῦτα ἡδυσμάτων
 τρόπον παρηρτύσθαι ταῖς ἱεραῖς ἀναγραφαῖς βελ-
 τιώσεως ἔνεκα τῶν ἐντυγχανόντων ὑπολαμβάνω·
 καὶ οὐδεμίαν τῶν ζητούντων καταγνωστέον εὐρεσι-
 302 λογίαν, ἀλλ' εἰ μὴ ζητοῖεν, ἔμπαλιν ἀργίαν. οὐδὲ
 γὰρ περὶ ποταμῶν ἐστὶν ἱστορίας ἢ παρούσα
 [699] σπουδὴ, περὶ δὲ βίων | τῶν εἰκαζομένων ποταμίους
 ρεύμασιν, ἐναντιουμένων ἀλλήλοις. ὁ μὲν γὰρ τοῦ
 σπουδαίου βίος ἐν ἔργοις, ἐν λόγοις δὲ ὁ τοῦ
 φαύλου θεωρεῖται. λόγος δὲ γλώττη καὶ στόματι
 καὶ χεῖλεσι¹ καὶ τοῖς * * *.

¹ MSS. χεῖλη.

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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 302 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 . . .