

**Buzási Gábor: Philón a Napról és a
zálogba adott köpenyről**

Olvasásra ajánlott szövegrész: *De Somniis*
I 92-114 (72-119).

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

72 XIII. Τὴν δ’ αἰτίαν ἐπιφέρει, δι’ ἣν τόπω ὑπήνητησεν. “ ἔδυσ” γὰρ φησιν “ ὁ ἥλιος,” οὐχ ὁ φαινόμενος οὗτος, ἀλλὰ τὸ τοῦ ἀοράτου καὶ μεγίστου θεοῦ περιφεγγέστατον καὶ περιανγέστατον φῶς. τοῦθ’ ὅταν μὲν ἐπιλάμψη διανοία, τὰ δεύτερα λόγων δύεται φέγγη, πολὺ δὲ μᾶλλον οἱ αἰσθητοὶ τόποι πάντες ἐπισκιάζονται. ὅταν δ’ ἐτέρωσε χωρήσῃ.

73 πάντ’ εὐθύς ἀνίσχει καὶ ἀνατέλλει. μὴ θαυμάσης 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 ὄρατόν,

74 [632] ψυχὴ μὲν ἀοράτον, ὄρατόν 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 μεμήνηκε. 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

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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' εικόνα θεοῦ* as "made in the likeness of the image," *i.e.* of the Logos. (See *e.g.* *Leg. All.* iii. 96.)

^d 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.

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- πρῶτον μὲν ὁ θεὸς φῶς ἐστὶ—“ 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 ” γὰρ φησὶν “ 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 σκοτούς ”· ἄλλως τε ὡς ἥλιος ἀνατείλας τὰ κεκρυμμένα τῶν σωμάτων ἐπιδείκνυται, οὕτως καὶ ὁ θεὸς τὰ πάντα γεννήσας οὐ μόνον εἰς τοῦμφανές ἤγαγεν, 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 κατασκευάζουσι οἱ γένεσιν πρὸ τοῦ ἀγενήτου θεραπεύειν ἀναγκαζόμενοι, ἐφ' ὧν εἴρηται ὅτι “ ὠκοδόμησαν πόλεις ὀχυρὰς τῷ Φαραῷ, τήν τε Πειθῷ,” 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 ὡςπερ γὰρ ὁ θεὸς παράδειγμα τῆς εἰκόνος . . . οὕτως ἡ εἰκὼν ἄλλων γίνεται παράδειγμα, and *De Op.* 25 εἰκὼν εἰκόνος.

light, for there is a verse in one of the psalms, " the Lord is my illumination and my Saviour " (Ps. xxvii. [xxvi.] 1). And He is not only light, but the archetype of every other light, nay, prior to and high above every archetype, holding the position of the model of a model. For the model or pattern was the Word which contained all His fullness—light, in fact^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.

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τὴν αἴσθησιν, ὑφ' ἧς ὡσπερ ὑπὸ σέων ἡ ψυχὴ
 διεσθίεται—ἐρμηνεύεται γὰρ σεισμὸς σητός,— “καὶ
 τὴν Ὠν,” τὸν νοῦν, ἣν Ἑλίου πόλιν ὠνόμασεν,
 ἐπειδὴ καθάπερ ἥλιος τοῦ παντός ἡμῶν ὄγκου τὴν
 ἡγεμονίαν ἀνῆπται καὶ τὰς αὐτοῦ δυνάμεις ὡσπερ
 78 ἀκτῖνας εἰς ὄλον τείνει. τὸν δὲ ἱερέα καὶ θερα-
 πευτὴν τοῦ νοῦ πενθερὸν ἐπιγράφεται πᾶς ὁ τὴν
 τοῦ σώματος πολιτείαν ἀναψάμενος, ὄνομα Ἰωσήφ.
 “ἔδωκε” γὰρ φησὶν “αὐτῷ τὴν Ἀσενέθ θυγατέρα
 79 Πετεφρῆ ἱερέως Ἑλίου πόλεως.” |
 [633] δεῦτερον δὲ ἥλιον καλεῖ συμβολικῶς τὴν αἴσθησιν,
 ἐπειδὴ τὰ αἰσθητὰ πάντα δείκνυσι διανοίᾳ. περὶ
 ἧς λελάληκεν ὧδε· “ἀνέτειλεν ὁ ἥλιος αὐτῷ, ἡνίκα
 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 ὡσπερ κοιμωμένας ἀνήγειρε, φρόνησιν δὲ¹
 καὶ δικαιοσύνην ἐπιστήμην τε καὶ σοφίαν ἐγρη-
 81 γορυίας εἰς ὕπνον ἔτρεψεν. οὐ χάριν ἀγνεύειν
 οὐδένα πρὸ ἐσπέρας φησὶν ὁ ἱερός λόγος δύνασθαι,
 τῆς διανοίας ὑπὸ τῶν κατ' αἴσθησιν κινήσεων ἔτι
 παρευημερουμένης. 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 Potiphora, 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.

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τίθησιν, ἐπειδὴν λέγει· “ Οὐκ ἔδεται ἀπὸ τῶν
ἀγίων, ἐὰν μὴ λούσῃται τὸ σῶμα ὕδατι καὶ δύῃ
82 ὁ ἥλιος καὶ γένηται καθαρὸς.” δηλοῖ γὰρ σαφέ-
στατα διὰ τούτων, ὅτι εὐαγῆς εἰσάπαν οὐδεὶς ἐστίν,
ὡς ταῖς ἀγίαις 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
δυσμᾶς γένηται, τὰς ἀστεροειδεστάτας καὶ θειο-
τάτας ἀναφαίνεσθαι ἀρετῶν αὐγὰς, ὅτε καὶ καθαρὸς
ὁ νοῦς ὑπὸ μηδενὸς 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 Σηγῶρ, 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

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- 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 ἀνίατον ἐπι-
- 87 πέμπει. λέγεται δὲ κατὰ τέταρτον σημαίνόμενον ἥλιος μὲν αὐτὸς ὁ τῶν ὄλων ἡγεμών, ὡς εἶπον ἦδη, δι' οὗ τὰ ἀνίατα τῶν ἀμαρτημάτων
- [634] ἀνακαλύπτεται συσκιαζέσθαι δοκοῦντα· | πάντα γὰρ ὡς δυνατά, οὕτως καὶ γνώριμα θεῷ.
- 88 παρὸ καὶ τοὺς καταλυθέντας τῶν τόνων τῶν ψυχικῶν, ἀκολάστως καὶ λαγνίστερον ὀμιλοῦντας 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 προστίθησι· “λάβε πάντας τοὺς ἀρχηγοὺς τοῦ λαοῦ καὶ παραδειγματίσον τῷ κυρίῳ ἀπέναντι τοῦ ἡλίου, καὶ ἀποστραφήσεται ὀργὴ κυρίου ἀπὸ Ἰσραήλ.”
- 90 οὐ γὰρ μόνον τὰ κεκρυμμένα τῶν ἀδικημάτων ἐμφανῆ γενέσθαι βουλόμενος ταῖς ἡλιακαῖς περιέλαμβεν 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 ἰλεῷ φησιν ἔσεσθαι τὸν

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

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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 *ἐμφανῆ γενέσθαι*.

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- 91 **μόνον** ἔλεω. 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 ἐπιδειξήται τῷ τῶν ὄλων ἐπισκόπῳ φήσασα μετανοεῖν ἐφ' οἷς πρότερον ἀγνώμονι γνώμη χρωμένη κακῶς ἐδόξαζε—μηδὲν γὰρ ἄδηλον, γνώριμα δὲ καὶ δῆλα πάντα, οὐ τὰ πραχθέντα μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰ ἐλπιζόμενα κατὰ πολλὴν περιουσίαν ὑπάρχειν αὐτῷ,—κεκάθαρται καὶ ὠφέληται καὶ τὸν ἐφεστῶτα κολαστὴν ἔλεγχον ἡμέρων κεν ὄργῃ δικαίᾳ χρώμενον, εἰ τὸ μετανοεῖν ἀδελφὸν νεώτερον ὄν τοῦ μηδ' ὅλως ἀμαρτεῖν ἀποδέχεται.¹
- 92 **XVI.** Φαίνεται μέντοι καὶ ἐτέρωθι κατὰ σύμβολον 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 περιβόλαιον αὐτῷ μόνον, τοῦτο τὸ ἱμάτιον ἀσχημοσύνης αὐτοῦ· ἐν τίνι κοιμηθήσεται; ἐὰν οὖν καταβολήσῃ πρὸς μέ, εἰσακούσομαι αὐτοῦ· ἐλεήμων
- 93 γάρ εἰμι.” ἄρ' οὐκ ἄξιον τοὺς οἰομένους τὴν τοσαύτην σπουδὴν εἶναι τῷ νομοθέτῃ περὶ ἀμπεχόνης, εἰ καὶ μὴ ὄνειδίξειν, ἀλλὰ τοί γε ὑπομιμνή-

¹ Wend. was inclined to insert *μη* either before *δικαία* or *ἀποδέχεται*. I think the text may well stand. The *εἰ* (or possibly *εἰ γέ*) clause serves to repeat in a short summary the long series of *ἐάν* 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,

PHILO

σκειν φάσκοντας· τί λέγετε, ὦ γενναῖοι; ὁ τῶν ὄλων κτίστης καὶ ἡγεμὼν ἐλεήμονα ἑαυτὸν ἐφ' οὕτως εὐτελοῦς πράγματος, ἱματίου μὴ ἀποδοθέντος

94 [635] ⁹⁴ χρεώστη | 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 δανεισταὶ παρ' αὐτοῖς, ἄχρισ ἂν τὰ ἴδια ἀναπράξωνται; πένητες οἱ χρεῶσται, φήσει τις ἴσως, καὶ ἄξιον ἐλεεῖν αὐτούς. εἴτ' οὐκ ἄμεινον ἦν γράφαι νόμον, δι' οὗ τούτους¹ ἐρανοῦσι μᾶλλον ἢ χρεώστας ἀποφανοῦσιν ἢ ἐπ' ἐνεχύροις τοῦ δανεῖζειν κωλύσαι²; ὁ δὲ ἐφείς οὐκ ἂν εἰκότως ἐπὶ τοῖς ἅ ἔλαβον πρὸ καιροῦ μὴ προιεμένοις δυσχεραῖνοι ὡς ἀσεβοῦσι.

96 ⁹⁶ πενίας δ' εἰς αὐτά τις ἐλθὼν, ὡς ἔπος εἰπεῖν, τὰ πέρατα καὶ ράκιον ἐν ἀμπεχόμενος δανειστὰς καινοὺς ἐπάγεται τὸν ἀπὸ τῶν ὀρώντων παρεῖς ἔλεον, ὃς τοῖς κεκρημένοις ταῖς τοιαύταις κακοπραγίαις κατ' οἰκίαν καὶ παρ' ἱεροῖς καὶ ἐν ἀγορᾷ

97 ⁹⁷ καὶ πανταχοῦ προκέχυται; νυνὶ δὲ καὶ ὁ μόνον εἶχε προκάλυμμα αἰδοῦς, ὦ τὰ τῆς φύσεως ἀπόρητα συνεσκίαζε, 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 *κωλύσοισι*, 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 κωλυθήσονται, or preferably κωλύσονται.

PHILO

οὐδεῖς, ἄχρισ ἂν πηγαὶ μὲν ἀναβλύζωσι, ποταμοὶ
 δὲ χεῖμαρροι πλημμυρῶσι,¹ γῆ δὲ τοὺς ἔτησίους
 98 ἀναδιδῶ² καρπούς. οὕτω δὲ ἢ βαθύπλουτός τις ἢ
 λίαν ὠμὸς ὁ δανειστής, ὡς ἢ τετράδραχμον τάχα
 δὲ καὶ ἔλαττον <μῆ>³ ἐθέλειν τῷ συμβαλεῖν ἢ οὕτω
 πενιχρῶ δανείζειν ἀλλὰ μὴ χαρίζεσθαι ἢ ὁ μόνον
 ἦν ἱμάτιον ἐκείνῳ λαμβάνειν ἐνέχυρον, ὅπερ ἑτέρῳ
 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 ἐργηγορότα γυμνὸν ἀσχημονεῖν οὐκέθ'
 ὁμοίως ἐφρόντισεν; ἢ οὐ νυκτὶ μὲν καὶ σκότῳ
 κρύπτεται πάντα, ὡς ἦττον ἢ μηδ' ὄλως αἰδεῖσθαι,
 ἡμέρα δὲ καὶ φωτὶ ἀνακαλύπτεται, ὡς τότε μᾶλλον
 100 ἐρυθριαῶν ἀναγκάζεσθαι; διὰ τί δ' οὐ
 διδόναι τὸ ἱμάτιον, ἀλλ' ἀποδιδόναι προσέταξεν;
 ἀπόδοσις γὰρ ἐπ' ἄλλοτρίοις γίνεται, τὰ δ' ἐνέχυρα
 τῶν δεδανεικῶτων μᾶλλον ἢ τῶν δεδανεισμένων
 ἐστίν. ἐκείνο δὲ οὐκ ἐννοεῖς, ὅτι λαβόντι τῷ
 χρεώσῃ πρόσκοιτον τὸ ἱμάτιον οὐ προσέταξε μεθ'
 ἡμέραν περιελεῖν ἀναστάντι καὶ κομίσει τῷ
 101 δανειστῇ; καὶ μὴν τῷ γε τῆς ἐρμηνείας
 ἰδιοτρόπῳ καὶ ὁ βραδύτατος ἕτερόν τι τοῦ ῥητοῦ
 [636] κατανοεῖν ἂν | προαχθείη· μᾶλλον γὰρ ἀφορισμῶ

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 <μῆ>: 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.

PHILO

ἡ παραινέσει ἔοικε τὸ διάταγμα. παραινῶν μὲν γὰρ εἶπεν ἄν τις· τὸ ἐνεχυρασθὲν ἱμάτιον, ἐὰν τοῦτ' ἦ μόνον τῷ χρεώσῃ, πρὸ ἐσπέρας ἀπόδος, ἵν' ἔχη νύκτωρ ἀμπέχεσθαι, 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 πρόποντα 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 ἡ ἀμπεχόνη. κατὰ τὸ παραπλήσιον μέντοι καὶ ἀνθρώπῳ λόγος δώρημα κάλλιστον ἐδόθη παρὰ θεοῦ, πρῶτον μὲν κατὰ τῶν νεωτεριζόντων εἰς αὐτὸν ὄπλον ἀμυντήριον—ὡς γὰρ τῶν ἄλλων ἕκαστον ζώων ἡ φύσις οἰκείους ἔρκεσιν ὠχύρωσε, δι' ὧν τοὺς ἐπιχειροῦντας ἀδικεῖν ἀποκρούσεται, καὶ ἀνθρώπῳ μέγιστον ἔρυμα καὶ φρουρὰν ἀκαθαίρετον λόγον δέδωκεν, οὐ κραταιῶς οἷα πανοπλίας ἐνειλημμένος οἰκείον καὶ προσφύεστατον 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 102 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.

PHILO

- 104 φερομένας ἀπωθείσθαι ζημίας, δεύτερον δὲ καὶ αἰσχύνῃς καὶ ὀνειδῶν ἀναγκαιότατον περίβλημα—δεινὸς γὰρ συγκρῦψαι καὶ συσκιάσαι τὰς ἀμαρτίας τῶν ἀνθρώπων λόγος—τρίτον δὲ πρὸς ὄλου 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, συναυξήσαι δέον, ὄλον ὑποτέμνονται, καθάπερ οἱ τὰ τῶν πολεμίων δηοῦντες χωρία καὶ τὸν τε σῖτον καὶ τὸν ἄλλον καρπὸν φθείρειν ἐπιχειροῦντες, ὃς ἀφειθεὶς μεγάλη τοῖς χρησαμένοις ἂν ὄνησις ἦν.
- 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 στείραν, ὡς ἔπος εἶπεῖν,
- 107 καλῶν ἐπιτηδευμάτων ἀπεργαζόμενοι. ὀρμῶσαν γὰρ ἔστιν ὅτε πρὸς παιδείαν ἀκατασχέτω ρύμη καὶ πληχθεῖσαν ἔρωτι τῶν φιλοσοφίας θεωρημάτων ὑπὸ βασκανίας καὶ φθόνου δείσαντες, μὴ μεγάλα πνεύσασα καὶ ἐπὶ μήκιστον ἀρθεῖσα τὰς γλισχρολογίας αὐτῶν καὶ πιθανὰς κατὰ τῆς ἀληθείας εὐρέσεις ἐπικλύση χειμάρρου τρόπον, ἐτέρωσε ταῖς ἑαυτῶν κακοτεχνίαις τὴν φορὰν ἔτρεψαν, εἰς
- [637] βαναύσους καὶ | ἀνελευθέρους τέχνας μετοχτευσάμενοι· πολλάκις δὲ καὶ ἀμβλώσαντες καὶ ἐπιφράξαντες ἀργὸν τὸ μεγαλοφυὲς κατέλιπον, ὥσπερ βαθύγειον καὶ εὐδαίμονα γῆν ὀρφανῶν παιδῶν ἐπι-

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—mischievous 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 106 are some who wage an unrelenting war against the rational nature, men who cut down to the ground its first shoots, and squeeze the life out of its earliest growths, so rendering it to all intents and purposes barren and unproductive of noble doings. For there 107 are times when, seeing it bent with irresistible impulse on education and smitten with a passionate love of the truths which philosophy has discovered, they conceive a jealous and malicious fear lest, grandly inspired and highly exalted, it should sweep like a torrent over their hair-splittings and plausible inventions for the overthrow of truth, and by their perversions of art^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.

PHILO

- 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, τεῖχος τὸ ζῶον τὸ θεοφιλέστατον, ὁ ἄν-
 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, ὡς λόγος; ἀμαθία μὲν γὰρ ἀλόγου
 φύσεως συγγενὲς αἴσχος, παιδεία δὲ ἀδελφὸν λόγου,
 110 κόσμος οἰκεῖος. “ 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 αἶ τε τοῦ συνδέτου
 σώματος ἀνάγκαι καὶ αἱ τῶν ἕξωθεν κατα-
 σκηπτόντων ἀπροόρατοι συντυχίαι, μόνος ὁ ἀλεξί-
 111 κακος λόγος ἀπωθεῖται. φίλος γὰρ καὶ γνώριμος
 καὶ συνήθης καὶ ἐταῖρος ἡμῖν ἔστιν, ἐνδεδεμένος,
 μᾶλλον δὲ ἡρμοσμένος καὶ ἠνωμένος κόλλη 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

PHILO

- πάρεστιν αὐτοκέλευστος βοηθήσων, οὐ τὴν ἑτέραν φέρων μόνον ὠφέλειαν, ἣν ὁ μὴ δρῶν σύμβουλος
- 112 ἢ ὁ συναγωνιστῆς ἡσυχος, ἀλλ' ἀμφοτέρας. οὐ γὰρ ἡμίεργον ἐπιτετήδευκε δύναμιν, ἀλλὰ πᾶσι τοῖς μέρεσιν ὀλόκληρον· ὅς γε, κἂν σφαλῆ 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 καταδύναμι περιλαμπεστάτας αὐγὰς, ἃς 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, ἃν' ἐγγένηται τῷ λαβόντι τὸ ἴδιον ἀνθρώπου κτῆμα τὴν τε αἰσχύνην τοῦ βίου περιστέλλαι καὶ τῆς θείας ἀπόνασθαι δωρεᾶς καὶ μετ' ἡρεμίας ἀναπαύσασθαι παρουσίᾳ τοιοῦτου
- [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, ψηλαφητὸν 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

PHILO

Ἰσραήλ, ὃν ἐρρυσίαζες ἀδούλωτον ὄντα φύσει, δουλούμενος ἀνάγκη.

- 115 XIX. Τοῦτον δὴ τὸν δόλιχον ἀπεμηκύναμεν οὐκ ἄλλου του χάριν ἢ τοῦ διδάξαι, ὅτι ἡ ἀσκητικὴ διάνοια κινήσειν ἀνωμάλοις πρὸς τε εὐφορίαν καὶ τούναντίον χρωμένη καὶ τρόπον τινα 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· ἔδου 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 ἀνταρκεστάτη δωρεά, διότι τὴν ψυχὴν ἀφώτιστον εἰσάπαν οὐκ ἔσχον, ἀλλ’ ἐπειδὴ τὸ ἄκρατον ἐκείνο φέγγος ἀπ’ αὐτῶν ἔδου, τὸ κεκραμένον ἐκαρπώσαντο. “τοῖς γὰρ υἱοῖς Ἰσραὴλ φῶς ἦν ἐν πᾶσιν οἷς κατεγίνοντο,” φησὶν ἐν Ἐξαγωγῇ, ὡς νύκτα καὶ σκότος αἰεὶ πεφυγαδεῦσθαι, μεθ’ ὧν οἱ τὰ ψυχῆς ὄμματα πρὸ τῶν σώματος πεπηρωμένοι

^a *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.

PHILO

- 118 ζῶσιν, ἀρετῆς ἀγὰς οὐκ εἰδότες. ἔνιοι
 δὲ ἥλιον μὲν ὑποτοπήσαντες εἰρήσθαι 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 θείῳ δύντος τοῦ θνητοῦ καὶ ἀνθρωπίνου
- 119 φέγγους. ἄχρι μὲν γὰρ ὁ νοῦς τὰ νοητὰ καὶ τὰ
 αἰσθητὰ αἰσθησις οἶεται παγίως καταλαμβάνειν καὶ
 ἄνω περιπολεῖν,¹ μακρὰν ὁ θεῖος λόγος ἀφέστηκεν·
 ἐπειδὴ δ' ἐκάτερον ἀσθένειαν ὁμολογήσῃ τὴν
 ἑαυτοῦ καὶ τρόπον τινὰ καταδύσει χρυσάμενον
 ἀποκρυφθῆ, προὔπαντᾶ δεξιούμενος εὐθύς ὁ ἔφεδρος
- [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 ἐκεῖνῳ.” θαυμάσαι ἂν
 τις οὐ μόνον τὴν ἐν ὑπονοίαις πραγματείαν καὶ
 φυσιολογίαν αὐτοῦ, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὴν ῥητὴν πρὸς πόνου
- 121 καὶ καρτερίας μελέτην ὑφήγησιν. οὐ γὰρ ἀξιοῖ
 τὸν ἀρετῆς ἐπιμελούμενον ἀβροδιαίτῳ βίῳ χρῆσθαι
 καὶ τρυφᾶν 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 οἶεται equates the “position above the horizon” with apprehension. But

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.

Gábor Sámuel: Philón és József

Olvasásra ajánlott szövegrész: De Somniis
II 101–105.

PHILO

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

- 101 εὐξάιμην ἂν οὖν καὶ αὐτὸς δυνηθῆναι τοῖς γνω-
 σθεῖσιν ὑπὸ τούτων ἐμμεῖναι βεβαίως· ὀπτήρες γὰρ
 καὶ κατάσκοποι καὶ ἔφοροι πραγμάτων, οὐ σω-
 μάτων, εἰσὶν ἀκριβοδίκαιοι,¹ πάντα νήφοντες τὸν
 αἰῶνα, ὡς ὑπὸ μηδενὸς ἔτι τῶν εἰωθότων δελεάζειν
 102 ἀπατάσθαι. μεθύω δὲ ἄχρι νῦν ἐγὼ καὶ ἀσαφείᾳ
 πολλῇ κέχρημαι καὶ βάκτρων καὶ τῶν ποδηγετη-
 σόντων ὡσπερ οἱ τυφλοὶ δέομαι· σκηριπτομένῳ²
 γὰρ ἐγγένοιτ’ ἂν ἴσως μήτε προσπταίειν μήτε
 103 ὀλισθαίνειν. εἰ δέ τινες ἀνεξετάστους καὶ ἀπερι-
 σκέπτους εἰδότες ἑαυτοὺς οὐ σπουδάζουσι³ τοῖς
 ἐξητακόσιον ἅ χρῆ πάντα ἀκριβῶς καὶ περισκεμ-
 μένως ἀκολουθεῖν, ἀγνοοῦντες τὴν ὁδὸν ἐπιστα-
 μένοις, ἴστωσαν ὅτι δυσαναπορεύτοις βαράθροις
 περιπαρέντες οὐδ’ ἐπειγόμενοι⁴ προελθεῖν ἔτι δυνή-
 104 σονται. ἐγὼ δ’ ἐκείνοις, ὅταν μικρὸν ἀνεθῶ τῆς
 μέθης, οὕτως εἰμὶ ἔνσπονδος, ὡς τὸν αὐτὸν ἐχθρὸν
 καὶ φίλον εἶναι νομίζειν. καὶ νῦν οὐδὲν ἤττον 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 ἀμείνω βίον

¹ MSS. ἀκριβεῖς, δίκαιοι.

² Α σκ(lacuna of five letters)μένω: Trin. σκίμπονος χρειά
 ἐστίν, ἠρεισμένω γάρ.

³ Α σπου(lacuna of seven letters): Trin. σπουδὴν 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 Α πλείω (Trin. πλείους).

PHILO

μεταβάλη καὶ μηκέτ' ἐνυπνιάζεται μηδὲ ταῖς
 κεναῖς τῶν κενοδόξων φαντασίαις ἰλυσπώμενος
 κακοπαθῆ μηδὲ νύκτα καὶ σκότος καὶ πραγμάτων
 ἀδήλων καὶ ἀτεκμάρτων συντυχίας ὄνειροπολῆ,
 106 περιαναστὰς δὲ ἐκ τοῦ βαθέος ὕπνου διατελῆ μὲν
 ἐργηγορώς, ἐνάργειαν δὲ πρὸ ἀσαφείας καὶ πρὸ
 ψευδοῦς ὑπολήψεως ἀλήθειαν καὶ πρὸ νυκτὸς
 ἡμέραν καὶ φῶς πρὸ σκότους ἀποδέχεται καὶ τὴν
 μὲν γυναικα τοῦ Αἰγυπτίου, σώματος ἡδονήν, εἰς
 αὐτὴν¹ εἰσελθεῖν καὶ τῆς ὁμιλίας αὐτῆς ἀπολαῦσαι
 107 παρακαλοῦσαν ἀποστρέφεται διὰ πόθον ἐγκρατείας
 [673] | καὶ ζῆλον εὐσεβείας ἀλεκτον, ὧν δὲ ἔδοξεν ἀλλο-
 τριωθῆναι συγγενικῶν καὶ πατρῶων ἀγαθῶν μετα-
 ποιῆται πάλιν τὸ ἐπιβάλλον ἀρετῆς ἐαυτῷ μέρος
 δικαίων ἀνακτᾶσθαι καὶ ταῖς κατὰ μικρὸν ἐπανιῶν
 βελτιώσεσιν ὡς ἐπὶ κορυφῆς τοῦ ἑαυτοῦ βίου καὶ
 τέλους ἰδρυθεῖς ἀναφθέγγεται, ὃ παθὼν ἀκριβῶς
 ἔμαθεν, ὅτι “ τοῦ θεοῦ ” ἔστιν, ἀλλ' οὐδενὸς ἔτι
 108 τῶν εἰς γένεσιν ἠκόντων αἰσθητοῦ τὸ παράπαν, οἱ
 μὲν ἀδελφοὶ καταλλακτηρίους ποιήσονται συμ-
 βάσεις, τὸ μῖσος εἰς φιλίαν καὶ τὸ κακόνουν² εἰς
 εὐνοίαν μεταβαλόντες, ἐγὼ δ' ὁ τούτων ὀπαδὸς—
 πείθεσθαι γὰρ ὡς δεσπόταις 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 ὀστέων, ἃ
 κατορωρύχθαι μέχρι τοῦ παντὸς οὐκ ᾤετο δεῖν
 εἶναι (ἐν) Αἰγύπτῳ, παγχάλεπον ἠγούμενος, 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

**Guba Ágoston: Isten és az emberi
értelem viszonya a Legum
Allegoriaeben**

Olvasásra ajánlott szövegrészek: Legum
Allegoriae I 82-84, II 31-34, 44-47, III 28-
31, 100-103; (De Cherubim 113-130).

PHILO

τὸν ὤμον εἰς τὸ πονεῖν καὶ ἐγένετο ἀνὴρ γεωργός ”
 (Gen. xlix. 15), ἐφ’ οὗ φησι Μωυσῆς σπαρέντος
 καὶ φυτευθέντος ἐν ψυχῇ “ ἔστι μισθός ” (Gen.
 xxx. 18), ὅπερ ἦν οὐκ ἀτελής ὁ πόνος ἀλλὰ
 [60] στεφανούμενος ὑπὸ θεοῦ καὶ μισθοδοτούμενος. |
 81 ὅτι δὲ τούτων ποιεῖται μνήμην, δι’ ἐτέρων δηλοῖ,
 ὅταν ἐπὶ τοῦ ποδῆρους φῆ· “ καὶ συνυφανεῖς ἐν
 αὐτῷ λίθον τετράστιχον· στίχος λίθων ἔσται,
 σάρδιον τοπάζιον σμάραγδος ὁ στίχος ὁ εἰς ”—
 ‘Ρουβὴν Συμεὼν Λευί—“ καὶ ὁ στίχος ” φησὶν
 “ ὁ δεύτερος ἄνθραξ καὶ σάπφειρος ” (Exod.
 xxviii. 17, 18)· ὁ δὲ σάπφειρος πράσινος λίθος
 ἐστίν. ἐγγέγλυπται δὲ τῷ μὲν ἄνθρακι ὁ Ἰούδας,
 τέταρτος γάρ, τῷ δὲ σαπφείρῳ ὁ Ἰσάαχαρ.
 82 διὰ τί οὖν οὐχ ὥσπερ λίθον πράσινον
 εἶρηκεν, οὕτως καὶ λίθον ἀνθράκινον; ὅτι ὁ μὲν
 Ἰούδας ὁ ἐξομολογητικὸς τρόπος αὐλός ἐστι καὶ
 ἀσώματος· καὶ γὰρ αὐτὸ τοῦνομα τὸ τῆς ἐξομο-
 λογήσεως ἐμφαίνει τὴν ἐκτὸς ἑαυτοῦ ὁμολογίαν·
 ὅταν γὰρ ἐκβῆ ὁ νοῦς ἑαυτοῦ καὶ ἑαυτὸν ἀνεύγκη
 θεῷ, ὥσπερ ὁ γέλως Ἰσαάκ, τηνικαῦτα ὁμολογίαν
 τὴν πρὸς τὸν ὄντα ποιεῖται· ἕως δὲ ἑαυτὸν ὑπο-
 τίθεται ὡς αἰτίον τινος, μακρὰν ἀφέστηκε τοῦ παρα-
 χωρεῖν θεῷ καὶ ὁμολογεῖν αὐτῷ· καὶ αὐτὸ γὰρ
 τοῦτο τὸ ἐξομολογεῖσθαι νοητέον ὅτι ἔργον ἐστὶν
 οὐχὶ τῆς ψυχῆς, ἀλλὰ τοῦ φαίνοντος αὐτῇ θεοῦ τὸ
 εὐχάριστον. αὐλος μὲν δὴ ὁ ἐξομολογούμενος

^a “Judah” is derived from a verb meaning “to thank”:
 “Issachar” from a noun meaning “reward.” That thankful
 acknowledgement of God’s goodness is the crowning virtue
 is typified by Leah ceasing to bear when she had given
 birth to Judah (Heinemann).

ALLEGORICAL INTERPRETATION, I. 80-82

and became a tiller of the soil " (Gen. xlix. 15). In his case, as Moses says, when he has been sown and planted in the soul " there is a reward " (Gen. xxx. 18),^a that is to say his labour is not in vain, but crowned by God and awarded a recompense. That he is referring to these patriarchs he shows elsewhere when he says of the high-priestly garment, " And thou shalt weave together in it precious stones in fourfold order : there shall be a row of precious stones, sardius, topaz, smaragdus, making the one row "—Reuben, Simeon, Levi—" and the second row " it says " ruby and sapphire " (Exod. xxviii. 17 f.) : but the sapphire is a green stone. Now Judah is engraved in the ruby, for he is fourth in order, and Issachar on the sapphire.

Why then, while saying " a green stone," does he not also say, " a ruby stone " ?^b Because Judah, the disposition prone to make confession of praise, is exempt from body and matter. For indeed the very word denoting confession (of praise) vividly portrays the acknowledgement that takes a man out of himself. For whenever the mind goes out from itself and offers itself up to God, as Isaac or " laughter," does, then does it make confession of acknowledgement towards the Existent One. But so long as the mind supposes itself to be the author of anything, it is far away from making room for God and from confessing or making acknowledgement to Him. For we must take note that the very confession of praise itself is the work not of the soul but of God who gives it thankfulness.^c Incorporeal assuredly is Judah with his confession of praise.

^a *i.e.*, in Gen. ii. 12.

^c *φαίνειν*, " cause to appear " = " give." Cf. *Odyssey*, iv. 12, xv. 26.

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- 83 Ἰούδας. τῷ δὲ ἐκ πόνου προεληλυθότι Ἰσάχαρ δεῖ καὶ ὕλης σωματικῆς· ἐπεὶ πῶς ἀναγνώσεται χωρὶς ὀμμάτων ὁ ἀσκητής; πῶς δὲ ἀκούσεται τῶν προτρεπτικῶν λόγων χωρὶς ἀκοῆς; πῶς δὲ σιτίων καὶ ποτῶν ἐφίξεται δίχα γαστρὸς καὶ τῆς περὶ αὐτὴν τερατουργίας; διὰ τοῦτο λίθῳ ἀπ-
- 84 εικάσθη. καὶ τὰ χρώματα μέντοι διάφορα· τῷ μὲν γὰρ ἐξομολογητικῶ οἰκεία χροιά ἢ τοῦ ἀνθρακος, πεπύρωται γὰρ ἐν εὐχαριστίᾳ θεοῦ καὶ μεθύει τὴν νήφουσαν μέθην, τῷ δὲ ἔτι πονοῦντι ἢ τοῦ πρασίνου λίθου, ὠχροὶ γὰρ οἱ ἐν ἀσκήσει διὰ τε τὸν τρύχοντα πόνον καὶ διὰ δέος τοῦ μὴ τυχεῖν ἂν ἴσως τοῦ κατ' εὐχὴν τέλους.
- 85 XXVII. Ἄξιον δὲ διαπορῆσαι, διὰ τί οἱ μὲν δύο ποταμοὶ ὁ Φεισῶν καὶ ὁ Γηῶν κυκλοῦσι χώρας, ὁ μὲν τὴν Εὐιλιάτ, ὁ δὲ τὴν Αἰθιοπίαν, τῶν δὲ λοιπῶν οὐδέτερος, ἀλλ' ὁ μὲν Τίγρις κατ-έναντι Ἀσσυρίων λέγεται εἶναι, ὁ δὲ Εὐφράτης οὐδενός· καίτοι γε πρὸς τὸ ἀληθές ὁ Εὐφράτης καὶ περιρρεῖ τινὰς χώρας καὶ ἀντικρὺς ἔχει πολλὰς. ἀλλ' οὐκ ἔστι περὶ τοῦ ποταμοῦ ὁ λόγος, ἀλλὰ
- 86 περὶ ἧθους ἐπανορθώσεως. λεκτέον οὖν ὅτι ἢ μὲν φρόνησις καὶ ἡ ἀνδρεία δύνανται κύκλον καὶ τεῖχος βαλέσθαι κατὰ τῶν ἐναντίων κακιῶν, ἀφροσύνης τε καὶ δειλίας, καὶ ἐλεῖν αὐτάς· ἀσθενεῖς γὰρ καὶ εὐάλωτοι ἀμφότεροι, καὶ γὰρ ὁ ἄφρων εὐληπτος τῷ φρονίμῳ καὶ ὁ δειλὸς ὑποπέπτωκε τῷ ἀνδρείῳ·
- [61] ἢ δὲ σωφροσύνη ἀδυνατεῖ κυκλώσασθαι | τὴν ἐπιθυμίαν καὶ ἡδονήν· χαλεπαὶ γὰρ ἀντίπαλοι καὶ δυσκαθαίρετοι· οὐχ ὀραῖς ὅτι καὶ οἱ ἐγκρατέστατοι

But for Issachar who has advanced through labour there is need accordingly of a material body. For how shall the keen endeavourer read without eyes? How shall he hear the words of encouragement without ears? How shall he eat food and drink without a stomach and its wonderful processes? That is why he is likened to a stone. Yes, and the colours differ. To him who makes confession of praise the hue of the ruby belongs, for he is permeated by fire in giving thanks to God, and is drunk with a sober drunkenness. But to him who is still labouring the hue of the green stone is proper, for men in exercise and training are pale, both by reason of the wearing labour and by reason of the fear that they may perchance not obtain the result that accords with their prayer.

XXVII. It is worth inquiring why, while the two rivers Pheison and Geon encompass countries, the one Evilat, the other Ethiopia, neither of the others does so; but of the Tigris it is said that it is over against the Assyrians, and the Euphrates is not said to be over against anything; and yet as a matter of fact the Euphrates both flows round many countries and has many facing it. But the subject of the passage is not the river, but amendment of character. We must observe, then, that prudence and courage are able to construct an enclosing wall against the opposite vices, folly and cowardice, and capture them; for they are both of them weak and easy to take, for the foolish man falls an easy victim to the prudent man, and the coward lies at the mercy of the brave man; self-mastery on the contrary is powerless to encircle desire and pleasure; for they are hard to wrestle with and difficult to overthrow. Mark you not that

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- 29 ἀγόμενος ὑπὸ τῆς σωματικῆς ἀνάγκης. καὶ οὕτως ἔχει· ὅταν ἐν ταῖς ἀβροδιαίτοις συνουσίαις ἐπιλάθῃται ὁ νοῦς ἑαυτοῦ κρατηθεὶς τοῖς ἐπὶ τὰς ἡδονὰς ἄγουσι, δεδουλώμεθα καὶ ἀκατακαλύπτῳ τῇ ἀκαθαρσίᾳ χρώμεθα· ἐὰν δὲ ὁ λόγος ἰσχύσῃ ἀνακαθᾶραι τὸ πάθος, οὔτε πίνοντες μεθυσκόμεθα οὔτε ἐσθιοντες ἐξυβρίζομεν διὰ κόρον, ἀλλὰ δίχα
- 30 τοῦ ληρεῖν νηφάλια σιτούμεθα. οὐκοῦν ἢ τε τῶν αἰσθήσεων ἐγρήγορσις ὕπνος ἐστὶ <τοῦ> νοῦ ἢ τε τοῦ νοῦ ἐγρήγορσις ἀπραξία τῶν αἰσθήσεων, καθάπερ καὶ ἡλίου ἀνατείλαντος μὲν ἀφανεῖς αἱ τῶν ἄλλων ἀστέρων λάμψεις, καταδύντος δὲ ἔκδηλοι· ἡλίου δὲ τρόπον ὁ νοῦς ἐγρηγορῶς μὲν ἐπισκιάζει ταῖς αἰσθήσεσι, κοιμηθεὶς δὲ αὐτὰς ἐξέλαμψε.
- 31 IX. Τούτων εἰρημένων ἐφαρμοστέον τὰς λέξεις. “ἐπέβαλε” φησὶν “ὁ θεὸς ἕκστασιν ἐπὶ τὸν Ἀδάμ, καὶ ὕπνωσεν” (Gen. ii. 21). ὀρθῶς· ἢ γὰρ ἕκστασις καὶ τροπὴ τοῦ νοῦ ὕπνος ἐστὶν αὐτοῦ· ἐξίσταται δέ, ὅταν μὴ πραγματεύηται τὰ ἐπιβάλλοντα αὐτῷ νοητά· ὅτε δ’ οὐκ ἐνεργεῖ ταῦτα, κοιμᾶται. εὖ δὲ τὸ φάναι ὅτι ἐξίσταται, τοῦτο δ’ ἐστὶ τρέπεται, οὐ παρ’ ἑαυτόν, ἀλλὰ παρὰ τὸν ἐπιβάλλοντα καὶ ἐπιφέροντα καὶ ἐπι-
- 32 πέμποντα τὴν τροπὴν θεόν. καὶ γὰρ οὕτως ἔχει· εἰ γοῦν παρ’ ἐμὲ ἦν τὸ τρέπεσθαι, ὁπότε ἐβουλόμην, ἂν ἐχρώμην αὐτῷ, καὶ ὁπότε μὴ ἐπροηροῦμην, ἄτρεπτος διετέλουν· νυνὶ δὲ καὶ ἀντιφλονεικεῖ μοι ἢ τροπή, καὶ πολλάκις βουλόμενος καθῆκόν

ALLEGORICAL INTERPRETATION, II. 29-32

by bodily necessity. And this is how the matter stands. Whenever the mind forgets itself amid the luxuries of a festive gathering and is mastered by all that conduces to pleasure, we are in bondage and we leave our "unseemliness" uncovered. But if the reason prove strong enough to purge the passion, we neither go on drinking till we are drunk, nor eat so greedily as to wax wanton, but we banish folly and take our food soberly. Thus the wakefulness of the senses means sleep for the mind, and the wakefulness of the mind a time of leisure for the senses; just as, when the sun has risen, the lights of the other heavenly bodies are invisible; when it has set, they show themselves. The mind, like the sun, when awake, throws the senses into the shade, but if it goes to sleep, it causes them to shine out.

IX. Having said this, we must show how the terms employed accord with it. "God cast," he says, "a trance upon Adam, and he went to sleep" (Gen. ii. 21). Quite correctly does he use this language. For the mind's trance and change is its sleep, and it falls into a trance when it ceases to be engaged with the objects appropriate to it; and when it is not at work at these, it is sleeping. Rightly also does he say that this change or turning which he undergoes is not of his own motion but of God's; that it is God who "casts it on him," that is, brings and sends it on him. For the case is this. For if the change were in our hands I should have recourse to it, when I wished, and when it was not my deliberate choice I should then continue unturned. But as it is, the change is actually repugnant to me, and many a time when wishing to entertain some fitting thought, I am

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- τι νοῆσαι ἐπαντλοῦμαι ταῖς παρὰ τὸ καθῆκον ἐπιρροίαις, καὶ ἔμπαλιν ἔννοιάν τινος λαμβάνων αἰσχροῦ ποτίμοις ἐννοίαις ἀπερρυψάμην ἐκείνο, θεοῦ τῇ ἑαυτοῦ χάριτι γλυκὺ νᾶμα ἀντὶ ἀλμυροῦ
- 33 ἐπεισχέαντος τῇ ψυχῇ. πᾶν μὲν οὖν τὸ γενητὸν ἀναγκαῖον τρέπεσθαι, ἴδιον γάρ ἐστι τοῦτο αὐτοῦ, ὡσπερ θεοῦ τὸ ἄτρεπτον εἶναι· ἀλλ' οἱ μὲν τραπέντες κατέμειναν ἄχρι παντελοῦς φθορᾶς, οἱ δ' ὅσον μόνον παθεῖν τὸ θνητόν, οὗτοι δ' εὐθὺς
- 34 ἀνεσώθησαν. διὸ καὶ Μωυσῆς φησιν ὅτι “ οὐκ | [73] ἔάσει τὸν ὀλοθρεύοντα εἰσελθεῖν εἰς τὰς οἰκίας ὑμῶν πατάξαι ” (Exod. xii. 23). ἔᾱ μὲν γὰρ τὸν ὀλοθρεύοντα—ὄλεθρος δὲ ψυχῆς ἐστὶν ἢ τροπή—εἰσελθεῖν εἰς τὴν ψυχὴν, ἵνα τὸ ἴδιον ἐνδείξῃται τοῦ γενητοῦ· οὐκ ἀφήσει δὲ ὁ θεὸς τὸν τοῦ ὀρώντος ἔγγονον Ἰσραὴλ οὕτως τραπήναι, ὥστε πληγῆναι ὑπὸ τῆς τροπῆς, ἀλλὰ ἀναδραμεῖν καὶ ἀνακύψαι ὡσπερ ἐκ βυθοῦ καὶ ἀνασωθῆναι βιάσεται.
- 35 X. “ Ἐλαβε μίαν τῶν πλευρῶν αὐτοῦ ” (Gen. ii. 21). τῶν πολλῶν τοῦ νοῦ δυνάμεων μίαν ἔλαβε τὴν αἰσθητικὴν. τὸ δὲ “ ἔλαβεν ” οὐκ ἀντὶ τοῦ ἀφεῖλεν ἀκουστέον, ἀλλ' ἀντὶ τοῦ κατηρίθμησεν, ἐξήτασεν, ὡς ἐν ἑτέροις “ λάβε τὸ κεφάλαιον τῶν σκύλων τῆς αἰχμαλωσίας ” (Num. xxxi. 26).
- 36 τί οὖν ἐστὶν ὃ βούλεται παραστήσαι; διχῶς αἰσθησις λέγεται, ἡ μὲν καθ' ἑξίν, ἥτις καὶ κοιμωμένων ἡμῶν ἐστὶν, ἡ δὲ κατ' ἐνέργειαν. τῆς μὲν

* Philo is adapting Plato, *Phaedrus* 243 D ποτίμω λόγῳ οἶον ἀλμυρὰν ἀκοὴν ἀποκλύσασθαι.

ALLEGORICAL INTERPRETATION, II. 32-36

drenched by a flood of unfitting matters pouring over me ; and conversely when on the point of admitting a conception of something vile, I have washed the vile thing away with wholesome thoughts,^a God having by His grace poured upon my soul a sweet draught in place of the bitter one. Now every created thing must necessarily undergo change, for this is its property, even as unchangeableness is the property of God. But, while some, after being changed, remain so until they are entirely destroyed, others continue so only so far as to experience that to which all flesh is liable, and these forthwith recover. This is why Moses says, " He will not permit the destroyer to come into your houses to smite you " (Exod. xii. 23) : for He does indeed permit the destroyer—" destruction " being the change or turning of the soul)—to enter into the soul, that He may make it evident that what is peculiar to created things is there ; but God will not let the offspring of " the seeing " Israel be in such wise changed as to receive his death-blow by the change, but will force him to rise and emerge as though from deep water and recover.

X. " He took one of his sides " (Gen. ii. 21). Of the many faculties of the mind He took one, the faculty of perception. " Took " must not be understood as equivalent to " removed," but as equivalent to " enrolled," " registered," as we find it elsewhere " take the sum of the spoils of the captivity " (Numb. xxxi. 26). What idea is it, then, that he wants to convey ? The word " perception " is used in two ways, first in that of a condition, in which sense it is ours when we are asleep, secondly in the sense of an activity. From perception in the

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ται νῦν ὑπὸ τοῦ παρόντος λευκοῦ, ὑπὸ δὲ τοῦ μὴ παρόντος οὐδὲν πάσχει. ὁ δὲ νοῦς καὶ ἐπὶ τῷ μὴ παρόντι κινεῖται, παρεληλυθότι μὲν κατὰ μνήμην, μέλλοντι δὲ ἐπελπίζων καὶ προσδοκῶν.

- 44 XIII. “ Ταύτη καὶ κληθήσεται γυνή ” (Gen. ii. 23), ἀντὶ τοῦ, διὰ τοῦτο ἡ αἴσθησις γυνή προσρηθήσεται, “ ὅτι ἐκ τοῦ ἀνδρός ” τοῦ κινουόντος αὐτήν “ λαμβάνεται αὕτη ” φησί. διὰ τί οὖν τὸ “ αὕτη ” πρόσκειται; ὅτι ἐστὶν ἕτερα αἴσθησις, οὐκ ἐκ τοῦ νοῦ λαμβανομένη, ἀλλὰ σὺν αὐτῷ γεγενημένη· δύο γάρ, ὡς εἶπον ἤδη, εἰσὶν αἰσθή-
- 45 σεις, ἡ μὲν καθ’ ἕξιν, ἡ δὲ κατ’ ἐνέργειαν· ἡ μὲν οὖν καθ’ ἕξιν οὐκ ἐκ τοῦ ἀνδρός, τουτέστι τοῦ νοῦ, λαμβάνεται, ἀλλὰ σὺν αὐτῷ φύεται· ὁ γὰρ νοῦς, καθάπερ ἐδήλωσα, ὅτε ἐγενῆτο, σὺν πολλαῖς δυνάμεσι καὶ ἕξεσιν ἐγενῆτο, λογικῇ ψυχικῇ φυτικῇ, ὥστε καὶ αἰσθητικῇ· ἡ δὲ κατ’ ἐνέργειαν ἐκ τοῦ νοῦ· ἐκ γὰρ τῆς ἐν νῷ καθ’ ἕξιν οὔσης αἰσθήσεως ἐτάθη, ἵνα γένηται κατ’ ἐνέργειαν, ὥστε ἐξ αὐτοῦ τοῦ νοῦ γεγενῆσθαι τὴν δευτέραν
- 46 καὶ κατὰ κίνησιν. μάταιος δὲ ὁ νομίζων πρὸς τὸν ἀληθῆ λόγον ἐκ τοῦ νοῦ τι συνόλως γενῆσθαι ἢ ἐξ ἑαυτοῦ. οὐχ ὀραῖς ὅτι καὶ τῇ ἐπὶ τῶν εἰδώλων καθεζομένη αἰσθήσει τῇ Ῥαχήλ νομιζούσῃ ἐκ τοῦ νοῦ τὰ κινήματα εἶναι ἐπιπλήττει ὁ
- [75] βλέπων; ἡ | μὲν γάρ φησι· “ δός μοι τέκνα, εἰ δὲ μὴ, τελευτήσω ἐγώ ” (Gen. xxx. 1)· ὁ δὲ

^a See App. p. 480.

^b I. xx. εἶδωλα, E. V. ‘teraphim.’

ALLEGORICAL INTERPRETATION, II. 43-46

white that is present, but from that which is not present it feels no-effect. The mind, on the contrary, is set in motion by occasion of that which is not present as well, if past, by way of memory, if future, by building hopes and expectations on it.

XIII. "To this one shall be given the title 'woman'" (Gen. ii. 23), as much as to say, for this cause shall perception be called "woman" because out of man that sets it in motion "this one is taken." Why, then is "this one" put in? Because there is another perception, not taken from the mind, but brought into being together with it. For there are, as I have said already, two perceptions, one existing as quiescent condition, the other as activity. The one, then, that exists as quiescent condition, is not taken out of the man, that is to say the mind, but comes into being with it. For the mind, as I have pointed out, when it came into existence, came into existence in association with many potentialities and conditions, those of reason, animal life, and growth, and so with that of perception also. But the one that exists as an activity comes out of the mind. For it was extended out of the perception which is in the mind as a condition, that it might come to be an activity. Thus the second one, the one that is characterized by movement, has been produced out of the mind itself. But he is a shallow thinker who supposes that in strict truth anything whatever derives its birth from the mind or from himself. Do you not see that perception in the person of Rachel^a who sits upon the teraphim,^b is rebuked by "the seeing one," when she imagines that movements have their source in mind? For she says, "Give me children; if you do not, I shall die" (Gen.

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ἀποκρίνεται ὅτι, ὡ ψευδοδοξοῦσα, οὐκ ἔστιν ὁ νοῦς αἴτιον οὐδενός, ἀλλ' ὁ πρὸ τοῦ νοῦ θεός· διὸ καὶ ἐπιφέρει· “μὴ ἀντὶ θεοῦ ἐγὼ εἰμι, ὃς ἐστέρησέ σε καρπὸν κοιλίας” (ib. 2); ὅτι δὲ ὁ γεννῶν ὁ θεός ἐστι, μαρτυρήσει ἐπὶ τῆς Λείας, ὅταν φῆ· “ἰδὼν δὲ κύριος ὅτι μισεῖται Λεία, ἤνοιξε τὴν μήτραν αὐτῆς, ‘Ραχὴλ δὲ ἦν στείρα” (Gen. xxix. 31). ἀνδρὸς δὲ ἴδιον τὸ μήτραν ἀνοιγνύναι. φύσει δὲ μισεῖται παρὰ τῷ θνητῷ <γένει> ἢ ἀρετῇ, διὸ καὶ ὁ θεὸς αὐτὴν τετίμηκε καὶ παρέχει 48 τὰ πρωτοτόκια τῇ μισουμένῃ. λέγει δ' ἐν ἑτέροις· “ἐὰν δὲ γένωνται ἀνθρώπῳ δύο γυναῖκες, μία αὐτῶν ἡγαπημένη καὶ μία αὐτῶν μισουμένη, καὶ τέκωσιν αὐτῷ καὶ γένηται υἱὸς πρωτότοκος τῆς μισουμένης, . . . οὐ δυνήσεται πρωτοτοκεῦσαι τῷ υἱῷ τῆς ἡγαπημένης, ὑπεριδὼν τὸν υἱὸν τῆς μισουμένης τὸν πρωτότοκον” (Deut. xxi. 15, 16)· πρῶτιστα γάρ ἐστι καὶ τελειότατα τὰ τῆς μισουμένης ἀρετῆς γεννήματα, τὰ δὲ τῆς ἀγαπωμένης ἡδονῆς ἔσχατα.

49 XIV. “Ἔνεκα τούτου καταλείπει ἄνθρωπος τὸν πατέρα καὶ τὴν μητέρα, καὶ προσκολληθήσεται πρὸς τὴν γυναῖκα αὐτοῦ, καὶ ἔσονται οἱ δύο εἰς σὰρκα μίαν” (Gen. ii. 24). ἔνεκα τῆς αἰσθήσεως ὁ νοῦς, ὅταν αὐτῇ δουλωθῇ, καταλείπει καὶ τὸν πατέρα τῶν ὄλων θεὸν καὶ τὴν μητέρα τῶν συμπάντων, τὴν ἀρετὴν καὶ σοφίαν τοῦ θεοῦ, καὶ προσκολλᾶται καὶ ἐνοῦται τῇ αἰσθήσει καὶ ἀναλύεται εἰς αἴσθησιν, ἵνα γένωνται μία σὰρξ καὶ 50 ἐν πάθος οἱ δύο. παρατῆρει δ' ὅτι οὐχ ἡ γυνή

ALLEGORICAL INTERPRETATION, II. 46-50

xxx. 1) ; but he answers, " O woman, full of false fancies, the mind is the origin of nothing, but God who is antecedent to the mind is the only cause " ; and so he adds, " Am I in the place of God who deprived thee of the fruit of the womb ? " (*ibid.* 2). But that it is God who brings about birth, Scripture will give evidence in the case of Leah, when it says, " And the Lord seeing that Leah was hated opened her womb, but Rachel was barren " (Gen. xxix. 31). The opening of the womb is man's proper function. But mortal kind is prone of itself to hate virtue, and accordingly God has bestowed honour upon it and vouchsafes to her that is hated to bear the first-born. He says elsewhere, " If a man have two wives, one of them beloved and one of them hated, and they shall bear children to him and the first-born son be the son of the hated wife . . . he shall not be able to give the right of the first-born to the son of the beloved wife, overlooking the son of the hated one who is the first-born " (Deut. xxi. 15, 16) : for first of all and most perfect of all are the offspring of the hated virtue, while the offspring of the well-loved pleasure are last of all.

XIV. " For this cause shall a man leave his father and his mother, and shall cleave unto his wife, and the twain shall be one flesh " (Gen. ii. 24). For the sake of sense-perception the Mind, when it has become her slave, abandons both God the Father of the universe, and God's excellence and wisdom, the Mother of all things, and cleaves to and becomes one with sense-perception and is resolved into sense-perception so that the two become one flesh and one experience. Observe that it is not the woman that cleaves to the man,

PHILO

- σοφῶ, οὐ πρὸς βραχύν τινα χρόνον, ἀλλ' "ἕως τῆς σήμερον ἡμέρας," τουτέστιν αἰεὶ· ὁ γὰρ αἰὼν ἅπας τῷ σήμερον παραμετρεῖται, μέτρον γὰρ τοῦ
- 26 παντὸς χρόνου ὁ ἡμερήσιος κύκλος. διὸ καὶ ἐξαίρετον δίδωσι τῷ Ἰωσήφ τὰ Σίκιμα ὁ Ἰακώβ (Gen. xlviii. 22), τὰ σωματικὰ καὶ αἰσθητικά, μετιόντι τὸν ἐν τούτοις πόνον, τῷ δ' ἐξομολογούμενῳ Ἰούδα οὐχὶ δόσεις, ἀλλὰ αἴνεσιν καὶ ὕμνους καὶ θεοπρεπεῖς ᾠδὰς πρὸς τῶν ἀδελφῶν (Gen. xlix. 8). τὰ δὲ Σίκιμα ὁ Ἰακώβ λαμβάνει οὐ παρὰ θεοῦ, ἀλλ' "ἐν μαχαίρᾳ καὶ τόξοις," λόγοις τμητικοῖς καὶ ἀμυντηρίοις· ὑποτάττει γὰρ καὶ τὰ δεύτερα ἑαυτῷ ὁ σοφός, ὑποτάξας δὲ οὐ φυλάττει,
- 27 ἀλλὰ χαρίζεται τῷ πεφυκότι πρὸς αὐτά. οὐχ ὄρας ὅτι καὶ τοὺς θεοὺς δοκῶν λαμβάνειν οὐκ [93] εἴληφεν, ἀλλὰ ἀπέκρυψε | καὶ ἠφάνισε καὶ διέφθειρε τὸν αἰεὶ χρόνον ἀφ' ἑαυτοῦ; τίνοι οὖν ψυχῇ ἀποκρύπτειν καὶ ἀφανίζειν κακίαν ἐγένετο, εἰ μὴ ἦ ὁ θεὸς ἐνεφανίσθη, ἣν καὶ τῶν ἀπορρήτων μυστηρίων ἠξίωσε; φησὶ γάρ· "μὴ κρύψω ἐγὼ ἀπὸ Ἀβραάμ τοῦ παιδός μου ἃ ἐγὼ ποιῶ;" (Gen. xviii. 17) εὖ, σῶτερ, ὅτι τὰ σεαυτοῦ ἔργα ἐπιδείκνυσαι τῇ ποθούσῃ τὰ καλὰ ψυχῇ καὶ οὐδὲν αὐτὴν τῶν σῶν ἔργων ἐπικέκρυψαι. τούτου χάριν ἰσχύει φεύγειν κακίαν καὶ ἀποκρύπτειν καὶ συσκιαίνειν καὶ ἀπολλύναι αἰεὶ τὸ βλαβερόν πάθος.
- 28 IX. "Ὅν μὲν οὖν τρόπον φυγὰς τέ ἐστιν ὁ φαῦλος καὶ ἀποκρύπτεται θεόν, δεδηλώκαμεν· νυνὶ δὲ

^a LXX. Σίκιμα ἐξαίρετον. R.V. (text) "one portion"; R.V. (margin) "one mountain slope." Heb. "Shechem" = "shoulder."

^b See Gen. xxxv. 4.

some short period but "even to this day," that is, always. For the whole age of the world is made commensurate with to-day, for the daily cycle is the measure of all time. For this reason too Jacob gives as a special portion to Joseph Shechem (Gen. xlviii. 22),^a the things of the body and of the senses, as he is occupied in toiling at these things, but to Judah who openly acknowledges God he gives not presents, but praise and hymns and hallowed songs from his brethren (Gen. xlix. 8). Jacob receives Shechem not from God, but by dint of "sword and bow," words that pierce and parry. For the wise man subjects to himself the secondary as well as the primary objects, but, having subjected them, does not keep them, but bestows them on him to whose nature they are akin. Mark you not that, in the case of the gods also, though apparently receiving them, he has not really done so, but hid them and did away with them and "destroyed" them for ever from himself?^b What soul, then, was it that succeeded in hiding away wickedness and removing it from sight, but the soul to which God manifested Himself, and which He deemed worthy of His secret mysteries? For He says: "Shall I hide from Abraham My servant that which I am doing?" (Gen. xviii. 17). It is meet, O Saviour, that Thou displayest Thine own works to the soul that longs for all beauteous things, and that Thou hast concealed from it none of Thy works. That is why it is strong to shun evil and always to hide and becloud and destroy passion that works cruel havoc.

IX. In what manner, then, the bad man is in banishment and hiding himself from God we have

PHILO

- σκεψώμεθα, ὅπου ἀποκρύπτεται. “ ἐν μέσῳ ”
 φησί “ τοῦ ξύλου τοῦ παραδείσου ” (Gen. iii. 8),
 τουτέστι κατὰ μέσον τὸν νοῦν, ὃς καὶ αὐτὸς μέσος
 ἐστὶν ὡσανεὶ παραδείσου τῆς ὅλης ψυχῆς· ὁ γὰρ
 29 ἀποδιδράσκων θεὸν καταφεύγει εἰς ἑαυτόν. δυοῖν
 γὰρ ὄντων τοῦ τε τῶν ὄλων νοῦ, ὃς ἐστὶ θεός,
 καὶ τοῦ ἰδίου, ὁ μὲν φεύγων ἀπὸ τοῦ καθ’ αὐτὸν
 καταφεύγει ἐπὶ τὸν συμπάντων—ὁ γὰρ νοῦν τὸν
 ἴδιον ἀπολείπων ὁμολογεῖ μηδὲν εἶναι τὰ κατὰ
 τὸν ἀνθρώπινον νοῦν, ἅπαντα δὲ προσάπτει θεῷ—
 ὁ δὲ πάλιν ἀποδιδράσκων θεὸν τὸν μὲν οὐδενὸς
 αἰτιὸν φησιν εἶναι, τῶν δὲ γινομένων ἀπάντων
 30 ἑαυτόν· λέγεται γοῦν παρὰ πολλοῖς, ὅτι τὰ ἐν
 τῷ κόσμῳ πάντα φέρεται χωρὶς ἡγεμόνος ἀπ-
 αυτοματίζοντα, τέχνας δὲ καὶ ἐπιτηδεύματα καὶ
 νόμους καὶ ἔθη καὶ πολιτικὰ καὶ ἴδια καὶ κοινὰ
 δίκαια πρὸς τε ἀνθρώπους καὶ πρὸς τὰ ἄλογα
 31 ζῶα ἔθετο μόνος ὁ ἀνθρώπινος νοῦς. ἀλλ’ ὄρας,
 ὦ ψυχῆ, τῶν δοξῶν τὸ παραλλάττον· ἡ μὲν γὰρ
 τὸν ἐπὶ μέρους τὸν γενητὸν καὶ θνητὸν ἀπολιποῦσα
 τὸν τῶν ὄλων καὶ ἀγένητον καὶ ἄφθαρτον ἐπι-
 γράφεται ὄντως, ἡ δὲ πάλιν θεὸν ἀποδοκιμάζουσα
 τὸν μηδ’ αὐτῷ βοηθῆσαι ἰκανὸν νοῦν σύμμαχον
 ἐπισπᾶται πλημμελῶς.
- 32 X. Τούτου χάριν καὶ Μωυσῆς φησιν ὅτι “ ἐὰν
 <ἐν> τῷ διορύγματι εὐρεθῆ ὁ κλέπτης καὶ πληγείς
 ἀποθάνῃ, οὐκ ἔστιν αὐτῷ φόνος· ἐὰν δὲ καὶ ὁ
 ἥλιος ἀνατείλῃ ἐπ’ αὐτῷ, ἔνοχός ἐστιν, ἀνταπο-

° See App. pp. 482, 483.

ALLEGORICAL INTERPRETATION, III. 28-32

shown; let us consider now where he hides himself. "In the midst," it says, "of the wood of the garden" (Gen. iii. 8), that is in the centre of the mind, which in its turn is the centre of what we may call the garden of the whole soul: for he that runs away from God takes refuge in himself. There are two minds, that of the universe, which is God, and the individual mind. He that flees from his own mind flees for refuge to the Mind of all things. For he that abandons his own mind acknowledges all that makes the human mind its standard to be naught, and he refers all things to God. On the other hand he that runs away from God declares Him to be the cause of nothing, and himself to be the cause of all things that come into being. The view, for instance, is widely current that all things in the world tear along automatically independently of anyone to guide them, and that the human mind by itself established arts, professions, laws, customs, and rules of right treatment both of men and animals on the part of the state and in our conduct whether as individual persons or as members of communities. But thou perceivest, O my soul, the difference of the two opinions; for the one turns its back on the particular being, created and mortal mind, and whole-heartedly puts itself under the patronage of the universal Mind, uncreate and immortal; the other opinion on the contrary, rejects God, and by a grievous error calls in to share its warfare the mind that is insufficient even to help itself.

X. This is the ground for Moses' words, "If the thief be found where he has just broken through and be smitten and die, there is no blood-guiltiness for him^a: but if the sun have risen upon him, (then he)

PHILO

παντὸς δημιουργὸς ὁ θεός. οἱ δὲ οὕτως ἐπι-
 λογιζόμενοι διὰ σκιᾶς τὸν θεὸν καταλαμβάνουσι,
 διὰ τῶν ἔργων τὸν τεχνίτην κατανοοῦντες.

100 XXXIII. Ἔστι δέ τις τελεώτερος καὶ μᾶλλον
 κεκαθαρμένος νοῦς τὰ μεγάλα μυστήρια μνηθεῖς,
 ὅστις οὐκ ἀπὸ τῶν γεγονότων τὸ αἴτιον γνωρίζει,
 ὡς ἂν ἀπὸ σκιᾶς τὸ μένον, ἀλλ' ὑπερκύψας τὸ
 γενητὸν ἔμφασιν ἐναργῆ τοῦ ἀγενήτου λαμβάνει,
 ὡς ἀπ' αὐτοῦ αὐτὸν καταλαμβάνειν καὶ τὴν σκιὰν
 αὐτοῦ, ὅπερ ἦν τὸν τε λόγον καὶ τόνδε τὸν κόσμον.

101 οὗτός ἐστι Μωυσῆς ὁ λέγων “ Ἐμφάνισόν μοι
 σαυτόν, γνωστῶς ἴδω σε ” (Exod. xxxiii. 13). μὴ
 γὰρ ἐμφανισθείης μοι δι' οὐρανοῦ ἢ γῆς ἢ ὕδατος
 ἢ ἀέρος ἢ τινος ἀπλῶς τῶν ἐν γενέσει, μηδὲ
 κατοπτρισαίμην ἐν ἄλλῳ τινὶ τὴν σὴν ἰδέαν ἢ ἐν
 σοὶ τῷ θεῷ, αἱ γὰρ ἐν γενητοῖς ἐμφάσεις δια-
 λύνονται, αἱ δὲ ἐν τῷ ἀγενήτῳ μόνιμοι καὶ βέβαιοι
 καὶ αἰδιοὶ <ἂν> διατελοῖεν. διὰ τοῦτο Μωυσῆν

102 ἀνακέκληκε καὶ ἐλάλησεν αὐτῷ ὁ θεός. καὶ
 Βεσελεὴλ ἀνακέκληκεν, ἀλλ' οὐχ ὁμοίως, ἀλλὰ
 τὸν μὲν τὴν ἔμφασιν τοῦ θεοῦ λαμβάνοντα ἀπ'
 αὐτοῦ τοῦ αἰτίου, τὸν δὲ ὥσπερ ἀπὸ σκιᾶς τῶν
 γενομένων τὸν τεχνίτην ἐξ ἐπιλογισμοῦ κατα-
 νοοῦντα. διὰ τοῦθ' εὐρήσεις τὴν σκηνὴν καὶ τὰ
 σκεύη πάντα αὐτῆς πρότερον μὲν ὑπὸ Μωυσέως,

[108] αὐθις δ' ὑπὸ | Βεσελεὴλ κατασκευαζόμενα·
 Μωυσῆς μὲν γὰρ τὰ ἀρχέτυπα τεχνιτεύει, Βεσελεὴλ
 δὲ τὰ τούτων μιμήματα· χρῆται μὲν γὰρ Μωυσῆς

ALLEGORICAL INTERPRETATION, III. 99-102

whole universe was and is God. Those, who thus base their reasoning on what is before their eyes, apprehend God by means of a shadow cast, discerning the Artificer by means of His works.

XXXIII. There is a mind more perfect and more thoroughly cleansed, which has undergone initiation into the great mysteries, a mind which gains its knowledge of the First Cause not from created things, as one may learn the substance from the shadow, but lifting its eyes above and beyond creation obtains a clear vision of the uncreated One, so as from Him to apprehend both Himself and His shadow. To apprehend that was, we saw, to apprehend both the Word and this world. The mind of which I speak is Moses who says, "Manifest Thyself to me, let me see Thee that I may know Thee" (Exod. xxxiii. 13); 'for I would not that Thou shouldst be manifested to me by means of heaven or earth or water or air or any created thing at all, nor would I find the reflection of Thy being in aught else than in Thee Who art God, for the reflections in created things are dissolved, but those in the Uncreate will continue abiding and sure and eternal.' This is why God hath expressly called Moses and why He spake to Him. Bezalel also He hath expressly called, but not in like manner. One receives the clear vision of God directly from the First Cause Himself. The other discerns the Artificer, as it were from a shadow, from created things by virtue of a process of reasoning. Hence you will find the Tabernacle and all its furniture made in the first instance by Moses but afterwards by Bezalel, for Moses is the artificer of the archetypes, and Bezalel of the copies of these. For Moses has God for

PHILO

- ὑφηγητῇ τῷ θεῷ, ὡς φησι· “κατὰ τὸ παράδειγμα
 τὸ δεδειγμένον σοι ἐν τῷ ὄρει πάντα ποιήσεις”
 103 (Exod. xxv. 40), Βεσελεὴλ δὲ Μωυσεῖ· καὶ εἰ-
 κότης· καὶ γὰρ ὅτε Ἰααρὼν ὁ λόγος καὶ Μαριὰμ
 ἡ αἰσθησις ἐπανίστανται, ῥητῶς ἀκούουσιν ὅτι,
 “ἐὰν γένηται προφήτης κυρίῳ, ἐν ὄραματι αὐτῷ
 γνωσθήσεται” καὶ ἐν σκιᾷ ὁ θεός, οὐκ ἐναργῶς,
 Μωυσεῖ δέ, ὅστις “πιστὸς ἐν ὄλῳ τῷ οἴκῳ,
 στόμα κατὰ στόμα λαλήσει, ἐν εἶδει καὶ οὐ δι’
 αἰνιγμάτων” (Num. xii. 6-8).
- 104 XXXIV. Ἐπειδὴ τοίνυν δύο φύσεις εὔρομεν
 γενομένας καὶ πλαττομένας καὶ ἄκρως τετορευ-
 μένας ὑπὸ θεοῦ, τὴν μὲν ἐξ ἑαυτῆς βλαβερὰν καὶ
 ἐπίληπτον καὶ κατάρατον, τὴν δὲ ὠφέλιμον καὶ
 ἐπαιετήν, καὶ ἔχουσαν τὴν μὲν κίβδηλον, τὴν δὲ
 δόκιμον χαρακτῆρα, καλὴν καὶ ἀρμόπτουσαν εὐχὴν
 εὐξώμεθα, ἣν καὶ Μωυσεῖς, “ἴν’ ἡμῖν ἀνοίξῃ ὁ
 θεὸς τὸν ἑαυτοῦ θησαυρὸν” (Deut. xxviii. 12)
 καὶ τὸν μετάρσιον καὶ ἐγκύμονα θείων φώτων
 λόγον, ὃν δὴ κέκληκεν οὐρανόν, τοὺς δὲ τῶν
 105 κακῶν ἐπισφίγξῃ. εἰσὶ γὰρ ὥσπερ ἀγαθῶν οὕτω
 καὶ κακῶν παρὰ τῷ θεῷ θησαυροί, ὡς ἐν μεγάλῃ
 φησὶν ὠδῇ· “οὐκ ἰδοὺ ταῦτα συνήκται παρ’ ἐμοί,
 καὶ ἐσφράγισται ἐν τοῖς θησαυροῖς μου, ἐν ἡμέρᾳ
 ἐκδικήσεως, ὅταν σφαλῇ ὁ πούς αὐτῶν;” (Deut.
 xxxii. 34, 35) ὁρᾷς ὅτι κακῶν εἰσι θησαυροί·
 καὶ ὁ μὲν τῶν ἀγαθῶν εἰς—ἐπεὶ γὰρ ὁ θεὸς
 εἰς, καὶ ἀγαθῶν θησαυρὸς <εἰς>—πολλοὶ δὲ τῶν
 κακῶν, ὅτι καὶ οἱ ἁμαρτάνοντες ἄπειροι τὸ πλήθος.

^a See App. p. 483.

Instructor, as He says "thou shalt make all things according to the pattern that was shown to thee in the mount" (Exod. xxv. 40), but Bezalel is instructed by Moses. And all this is just as we should expect. For on the occasion likewise of the rebellion of Aaron, Speech, and Miriam, Perception, they are expressly told "If a prophet be raised up unto the Lord, God shall be known unto him in a vision" and in a shadow, not manifestly; but with Moses, the man who is "faithful in all His house, He will speak mouth to mouth in manifest form and not through dark speeches" (Numb. xii. 6-8).

XXXIV. Seeing then that we have found two natures created, undergoing moulding, and chiselled into full relief by God's hands, the one essentially hurtful, blameworthy, and accursed, the other beneficial and praiseworthy, stamped the one with a counterfeit, the other with a genuine impression, let us offer a noble and suitable prayer, which Moses offered before us, "that God may open to us His own treasury" (Deut. xxviii. 12) and that sublime reason pregnant with divine illumination,^a to which He has given the title of "heaven"; and that He may close up the treasuries of evil things. For there are with God treasuries as of good things so also of evil things, as He saith in the great Song,^b "Are not these laid up in store with Me, sealed up in My treasuries in the day of vengeance, when their foot shall have slipped?" (Deut. xxxii. 34 f.). You see that there are treasuries of evil things. And the treasury of good things is one, for since God is One, there is likewise one treasury of good things. But of evil things there are many treasuries, for countless too

^a Philo often refers to Deuteronomy xxxii. under this title.

PHILO

- 110 καὶ ἐκεῖνο τούτῳ καὶ ἀμφοτέρα ἀλλήλοις· οὕτως γὰρ ἐπαλλάττοντα καὶ ἐπιμιγνύμενα λύρας τρόπον ἐξ ἀνομοίων ἡρμοσμένης φθόγγων εἰς κοινωνίαν καὶ συμφωνίαν ἐλθόντα συνηχῆσειν ἔμελλεν, ἀντίδοσιν τινα καὶ ἀντέκτισιν πάντα διὰ πάντων ὑπομένοντα πρὸς τὴν τοῦ κόσμου παντὸς ἐκ-
- 111 πλήρωσιν· ταύτη καὶ ἄψυχα ἐμψύχων καὶ ἄλογα λογικῶν καὶ δένδρα ἀνθρώπων καὶ ἀνθρωποι φυτῶν καὶ ἡμέρων ἀτίθασα καὶ ἀγρίων χειροήθη καὶ ἄρρεν θήλειος καὶ θῆλυ ἄρρενος καὶ συνελόντι φράσαι χερσαία ἐνύδρων καὶ ἔνυδρα ἀεροπόρων καὶ πτηνὰ τῶν προειρημένων καὶ προσέτι γῆς μὲν οὐρανός, οὐρανοῦ δὲ γῆ, ἀῆρ δὲ ὕδατος, ὕδωρ δὲ πνεύματος, καὶ πάλιν αἱ μεταξὺ φύσεις ἀλλήλων τε καὶ τῶν ἄκρων καὶ αἱ ἄκραι τῶν μέσων καὶ
- 112 ἑαυτῶν ἐρώσι· χειμῶν γε μὴν θέρους καὶ θέρος χειμῶνος καὶ ἔαρ ἀμφοῖν καὶ μετόπωρον ἔαρος καὶ ἕκαστον ἐκάστου καὶ ὡς ἔπος εἰπεῖν πάντα πάντων ἐπιδεᾶ τε καὶ χρεῖα, ἵνα τὸ ὄλον, οὐ μέρη ταῦτα, παντελὲς ἔργον ἀξιόν τε εἶη τοῦ δημιουργοῦ, ὅδε ὁ κόσμος.
- 113 XXXII. Οὕτως οὖν αὐτὰ συνθεῖς τὸ μὲν κράτος ἀπάντων ἀνήψεν ἑαυτῷ, τὴν δὲ χρῆσιν καὶ ἀπολαυσιν ἔνειμε τοῖς ὑπηκόοις ἑαυτῶν τε καὶ ἀλλήλων· καὶ γὰρ ἑαυτοὺς καὶ ὅσα περὶ ἡμᾶς χρῆσιν ἔχομεν· ἐγὼ γοῦν ἐκ ψυχῆς καὶ σώματος συνεστῶς, νοῦν λόγον αἴσθησιν ἔχειν δοκῶν, οὐδὲν αὐτῶν ἴδιον
- 114 εὐρίσκω· ποῦ γάρ μου τὸ σῶμα πρὸ γενέσεως ἦν; ποῖ δὲ καὶ χωρήσει μεταστάντος <μου>; ποῦ δὲ καὶ τοῦ δοκοῦντος ὑφεστάναι τῶν ἡλικιῶν αἱ

^a See App. p. 485.

^b Or "all our surroundings."

^c Literally, "as a thing to be used" or "a loan."

ON THE CHERUBIM, 110-114

what it needs, it must perforce approach that which can supply its need, and this approach must be mutual and reciprocal. Thus through reciprocity and combination, even as a lyre is formed of unlike notes, God meant that they should come to fellowship and concord and form a single harmony, and that an universal give and take should govern them, and lead up to the consummation of the whole world. Thus love draws lifeless to living, unreasoning to reasoning, trees to men, men to plants, cultivated to wild, savage to tame, each sex to the other ; so too, in a word, the creatures of the land to the creatures of the water, these to the fowls of the air and those to both : so again heaven to earth, earth to heaven, air to water, and water to air. So natures intermediate yearn for each other and those at either extreme ; these too for their fellows and the intermediate beings. Winter needs summer, summer winter, spring both, and autumn spring. Thus each, we may say, wants and needs each ; all need all, that so this whole, of which each is a part, might be that perfect work worthy of its architect, this world.^a

XXXII. In this way combining all things He claimed the sovereignty of all for Himself ; to His subjects He assigned the use and enjoyment of themselves and each other. For indeed we have ourselves and all that go to make these selves^b for use.^c I am formed of soul and body, I seem to have mind, reason, sense, yet I find that none of them is really mine. Where was my body before birth, and whither will it go when I have departed ? What has become of the changes produced by life's various stages in the seemingly permanent self ? Where is

- διαφοραί; ποῦ τὸ βρέφος, ποῦ ὁ παῖς, ποῦ <ὁ> ἀντίπαις, ποῦ ὁ ἄρτι ἡβῶν, ποῦ τὸ μειράκιον, ὁ πρωτογένειος, ὁ νεανίας, ὁ τέλειος ἀνήρ; πόθεν δὲ ἦλθεν ἡ ψυχὴ, ποῖ δὲ χωρήσει, πόσον δὲ χρόνον ἡμῖν ὁμοδαίτος ἔσται; τίς δὲ ἐστι τὴν οὐσίαν ἔχομεν εἰπεῖν; πότε δὲ καὶ ἐκτησάμεθα αὐτήν; πρὸ γενέσεως; ἀλλ' οὐχ ὑπήρχομεν· μετὰ τὸν θάνατον; ἀλλ' οὐκ ἐσόμεθα οἱ μετὰ σωμάτων σύγκριτοι ποιοί, ἀλλ' εἰς παλιγγενεσίαν ὀρμήσομεν
- 115 οἱ μετὰ ἀσωμάτων ἀσύγκριτοι ἄποιοί.¹ ἀλλὰ νῦν
 [160] ὅτε ζῶμεν κρατούμεθα μᾶλλον ἢ ἄρχομεν καὶ γνωρίζομεθα μᾶλλον ἢ γνωρίζομεν· οἶδε γὰρ ἡμᾶς οὐ γνωριζομένη πρὸς ἡμῶν καὶ ἐπιτάγματα ἐπιτάττει, οἷς ἐξ ἀνάγκης ὑπηρετοῦμεν ὡς οἰκέται δεσποίνῃ· ἀπόλειψίν τε ὅταν ἐθέλῃ πρὸς τὸν ἄρχοντα χρηματίσασα μεταναστήσεται ἔρημον καταλιποῦσα ζωῆς τὸν ἡμέτερον οἶκον, κἂν ἐπιμένειν βιαζώμεθα, διαλύσεται· λεπτομερῆς γὰρ αὐτῆς ἡ φύσις, ὡς μηδεμίαν ἐμπαρέχειν λαβὴν
- 116 σώματι. XXXIII. ὁ δὲ νοῦς ἐμόν ἐστιν ἴδιον κτῆμα²; ὁ ψευδῶν εἰκαστικός, ὁ πλάνης οἰστικός,³ ὁ παρανοῶν, ὁ μωραίων, ὁ εὐρισκόμενος ἄνους ἐν ἐκστάσει καὶ μελαγχολία καὶ μακρῶ γήρα; ἀλλ' ὁ λόγος κτῆμα ἐμόν; ἢ τὰ φωνῆς ὄργανα; μικρὰ νόσου πρόφασις οὐ τὴν γλώτταν ἐπήρωσεν, οὐ τὸ στόμα καὶ τῶν πάνυ λογίων ἀπέρραψεν; οὐχὶ δεινοῦ προσδοκία καταπλήξασα
- 117 μυρίους ἀχανεῖς ἐποίησε; καὶ μὴν οὐδὲ τῆς αἰσθήσεως ἡγεμῶν εὐρίσκομαι, τάχα δὲ που καὶ δοῦλος ἀκολουθῶν ἢ ἂν ἄγῃ, πρὸς χρώματα, πρὸς

¹ MSS. μετὰ (ἀ)σώματα ἀσωμάτων σύγκριτοι ποιοί: Cohn retains σύγκριτοι ποιοί. See App. p. 485.

ON THE CHERUBIM, 114-117

the babe that once I was, the boy and the other gradations^a between boy and full-grown man? Whence came the soul, whither will it go, how long will it be our mate and comrade? Can we tell its essential nature? When did we get it? Before birth? But then there was no "ourselves." What of it after death? But then we who are here joined to the body, creatures of composition and quality, shall be no more, but shall go forward to our rebirth,^a to be with the unbodied, without composition and without quality. Even now in this life, we are the ruled rather than the rulers, known rather than knowing. The soul knows us, though we know it not; it lays on us commands, which we must fain obey, as a servant obeys his mistress. And when it will, it will claim its divorce in court^b and depart, leaving our home desolate of life. Press it as we may to stay, it will escape from our hands. So subtle is it of nature, that it affords no grip or handle to the body.

XXXIII.

Is my mind my own possession? That parent of false conjectures, that purveyor of delusion, the delirious, the fatuous, and in frenzy or melancholy or senility proved to be the very negation of mind. Is my utterance my own possession, or my organs of speech? A little sickness is a cause sufficient to cripple the tongue and sew up the lips of the most eloquent, and the expectation of disaster paralyses multitudes into speechlessness. Not even of my sense-perception do I find myself master, rather, it may well be, its slave, who follows it where it leads,

^a See App. p. 485.

^b See App. p. 486.

² Conj. Cohn : mss. *διαίτημα*.

³ Conj. Mangey : mss. *οιητικός* : Cohn *ὁ πλάνης* <ὁ> *οιητικός*.

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σχήματα, πρὸς φωνάς, πρὸς ὀσμάς, πρὸς χιλοῦς, πρὸς τὰ ἄλλα σώματα.

- Δι' ὧν ἀπάντων δεδηλώσθαι νομίζω, ὅτι τοῖς ἀλλοτρίοις κτήμασι χρώμεθα, καὶ οὔτε δόξαν οὔτε πλοῦτον οὔτε τιμὰς οὔτε ἀρχὰς οὔθ' ὅσα περὶ σῶμα ἢ ψυχὴν ἴδια κεκτήμεθα, ἀλλ' οὐδ' αὐτὸ τὸ
- 118 ζῆν· χρήσιν δὲ ἔχοντες ἐὰν μὲν γινώμεν, ἐπιμελησόμεθα ὡς θεοῦ κτημάτων, προλαβόντες ὅτι τῷ δεσπότῃ νόμος ὅταν θέλῃ τὰ ἑαυτοῦ κομίζεσθαι· οὕτως γὰρ τὰς ἐπὶ ταῖς ἀφαιρέσεσιν ἀνίας ἐπικουφιοῦμεν· νυνὶ δὲ οἱ πολλοὶ νομίζοντες ἑαυτῶν πάντα κτήματα κατὰ τὴν τινας ἀπουσίαν καὶ
- 119 ἔνδειαν εὐθὺς περιπαθοῦσι. γίνεται οὖν
οὐ μόνον ἀληθὲς ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν μάλιστα συντείνοντων εἰς παρηγορίαν τὸν τὸν κόσμον καὶ τὰ ἐν κόσμῳ τοῦ γεννήσαντος ἔργα τε εἶναι καὶ κτήματα.
- τὸ δὲ ἔργον τὸ ἴδιον ὁ κεκτημένος δεδώρηται, ὅτι οὐ δέεται ὁ δὲ χρώμενος οὐχὶ κεκτηται, ὅτι κύριος εἰς ἀπάντων καὶ δεσπότης ἐστίν, ὃς ὀρθότατα ἐρεῖ· “ἐμὴ πᾶσά ἐστιν ἡ γῆ” —ἴσον τῷ, τὸ γενητὸν ἅπαν ἐμόν—, “ὕμεις δὲ προσήλυτοι καὶ παροικοὶ ἐναντίον ἐμοῦ” (Lev.
- 120 xxv. 23). XXXIV. πρὸς μὲν γὰρ ἀλλήλους οἱ γενόμενοι πάντες αὐτοχθόνων καὶ εὐπατριδῶν ἔχουσι λόγον, πάντες ἰσοτιμίαν καὶ ἰσοτέλειαν καρπούμενοι, πρὸς δὲ θεὸν ἐπηλύτων καὶ παροίκων·
- [161] ἕκαστος γὰρ ἡμῶν | ὥσπερ εἰς ξένην πόλιν ἀφίκεται τόνδε τὸν κόσμον, ἧς πρὸ γενέσεως οὐ μετείχε, καὶ ἀφικόμενος παροικεῖ, μέχρις ἂν τὸν ἀπο-
- 121 νεμηθέντα τοῦ βίου χρόνον διαντλήσῃ. ἅμα μέντοι

^a Aborigines and nobles—two well-known terms in Athenian use. See Dictionary.

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to colours, shapes, sounds, scents, flavours, and the other material things.

All this surely makes it plain that what we use are the possessions of another, that nor glory, nor wealth, nor honours, nor offices, nor all that makes up body or soul are our own, not even life itself. And if we recognize that we have but their use, we shall tend them with care as God's possessions, remembering from the first, that it is the master's custom, when he will, to take back his own. The thought will lighten our sorrow when they are taken from us. But as it is, with the mass of men, the belief that all things are their own makes their loss or absence at once a source of grief and trouble.

And so the thought that the world and all that therein is are both the works and the possessions of Him that begat them becomes not only a truth but a doctrine most comfortable.

But this work which is His own He has bestowed freely, for He needs it not. Yet he who has the use does not thereby become possessor, because there is one lord and master of all, who will most rightly say "all the land is mine (which is the same as 'all creation is mine'), but ye are strangers and sojourners before me" (Lev. xxv. 23). XXXIV. In relation to each other all created beings rank as men of longest descent and highest birth^a; all enjoy equal honour and equal rights, but to God they are aliens and sojourners. For each of us has come into this world as into a foreign city, in which before our birth we had no part, and in this city he does but sojourn, until he has exhausted his appointed span of life. And there is another lesson of wisdom

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καὶ δόγμα εἰσηγεῖται πάνσοφον, ὅτι μόνος κυρίως ὁ θεὸς πολίτης ἐστί, πάροικον δὲ καὶ ἐπήλυτον τὸ γενητὸν ἅπαν, οἱ δὲ λεγόμενοι πολῖται καταχρήσει μᾶλλον ὀνόματος ἢ ἀληθεία προσαγορεύονται· δωρεὰ δὲ ἀποχρῶσα σοφοῖς ἀνδράσι πρὸς τὸν μόνον πολίτην θεὸν ἀντεξετασθεῖσιν, ἐπηλύτων καὶ παροίκων λαβεῖν τάξιν, ἐπειδὴ τῶν ἀφρόνων ἔπηλυσ μὲν ἢ πάροικος ἀπλῶς οὐδεὶς ἐν τῇ τοῦ θεοῦ πόλει γίνεται, φυγὰς δὲ πάντως ἀνευρίσκεται.

- οἷον δὴ καὶ προσανεφθέγγετο ὡς δογματικώτατον. “πράσει” φησὶν “οὐ πραθήσεται ἡ γῆ”· καὶ ὑπὸ τίνος ἠσύχασεν, ἢ ἐκ τοῦ παρασιωπηθέντος ὁ μὴ φυσιολογίας ἀμύητος εἰς
- 122 ἐπιστήμην ὠφελῆται. εὐρήσεις τοίνυν σκοπῶν ἅπαντας καὶ τοὺς λεγομένους χαρίζεσθαι πιπράσκοντας μᾶλλον ἢ δωρουμένους καὶ οὖς οἴομεθα λαμβάνειν χάριτας πρὸς ἀλήθειαν ὠνουμένους· οἱ μὲν γὰρ διδόντες, ἀμοιβὴν ἔπαινον ἢ τιμὴν θηρώμενοι, ζητοῦντες χάριτος ἀντίδοσιν, εὐπρεπεῖ δωρεᾶς ὀνόματι κυρίως πρᾶσιν ἐργάζονται, ἐπεὶ καὶ τοῖς πωλοῦσιν ἀνθ’ ὧν ἂν παράσχωσιν ἔθος λαμβάνειν ἐστίν· οἱ δὲ προσιέμενοι τὰς δωρεάς, μελετῶντες ἀποδοῦναι καὶ ἐπὶ καιρὸν ἀποδιδόντες, ἔργον ὠνουμένων δρῶσι, καὶ γὰρ ἐκεῖνοι ὡσπερ
- 123 λαβεῖν ἴσασι καὶ ἀποδοῦναι. ὁ δὲ θεὸς οὐ πωλητῆρ ἐπευωνίζων τὰ ἑαυτοῦ κτήματα, δωρητικὸς δὲ τῶν ἀπάντων, ἀενάους χαρίτων πηγὰς ἀναχέων, ἀμοιβῆς οὐκ ἐφίεμενος· οὔτε γὰρ ἐπίδειξ αὐτὸς οὔτε τις τῶν γεγονότων ἱκανὸς ἀντιδοῦναι δωρεάν.
- 124 XXXV. Πάντων οὖν ἀνωμολογημένων θεοῦ κτημάτων λόγοις τε ἀληθέσι καὶ μαρτυρίαις, ἃς

ON THE CHERUBIM, 121-124

that he teaches in these words, even this—God alone is in the true sense a citizen, and all created being is a sojourner and alien, and those whom we call citizens are so called only by a licence of language.^a But to the wise it is a sufficient bounty, if when ranged beside God, the only citizen, they are counted as aliens and sojourners, since the fool can in no wise hold such a rank in the city of God, but we see him an outcast from it and nothing more.

Such a lesson too He has proclaimed to us in an utterance of deepest meaning. “The land shall not be sold at all.”^a No word of the seller there, that through this very silence he, who has access to the secrets of nature-truth, may profit in the quest of knowledge. Look round you and you shall find that those who are said to bestow benefits sell rather than give, and those who seem to us to receive them in truth buy. The givers are seeking praise or honour as their exchange and look for the repayment of the benefit, and thus, under the specious name of gift, they in real truth carry out a sale; for the seller’s way is to take something for what he offers. The receivers of the gift, too, study to make some return, and do so as opportunity offers, and thus they act as buyers. For buyers know well that receiving and paying go hand in hand. But God is no salesman, hawking his goods^a in the market, but a free giver of all things, pouring forth eternal fountains of free bounties, and seeking no return. For He has no needs Himself and no created being is able to repay His gift.

XXXV. Thus we have agreed that all things are God’s possessions on the strength of true reasonings

^a See App. p. 486.

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οὐ θέμις ψευδομαρτυριῶν ἀλῶναι—χρησιμοὶ γάρ, οὐς ἐν ἱεραῖς βίβλοις Μωυσῆς ἀνέγραψεν, οἱ μαρτυροῦντές εἰσι—, παραιτητέον τοίνυν τὸν νοῦν, ὃς τὸ γεννηθὲν κατὰ τὴν πρὸς αἴσθησιν σύνοδον κτήμα ἴδιον ὤήθη τε καὶ ἐκάλεσε [τὸν] Κáιν καὶ εἶπεν· “ἐκτησάμην ἄνθρωπον διὰ τοῦ θεοῦ,” καὶ

125 κατὰ τοῦτο διαμαρτῶν· τί δήποτε; ὅτι ὁ θεὸς αἴτιον, οὐκ ὄργανον, τὸ δὲ γινόμενον δι’ ὄργάνου μὲν ὑπὸ δὲ αἰτίου πάντως γίνεται. πρὸς γὰρ τὴν

[162] τίνος γένεσιν πολλὰ δεῖ συνελθεῖν, | τὸ ὑφ’ οὗ, τὸ ἐξ οὗ, τὸ δι’ οὗ, τὸ δι’ ὃ· καὶ ἔστι τὸ μὲν ὑφ’ οὗ τὸ αἴτιον, ἐξ οὗ δὲ ἡ ὕλη, δι’ οὗ δὲ τὸ ἐργαλεῖον,

126 δι’ ὃ δὲ ἡ αἰτία. φέρε γάρ, εἴ τις ἀνέροιτο, οἰκία καὶ πόλις πᾶσα ἴνα κατασκευασθῆ, τίνα συνελθεῖν δεῖ; ἄρ’ οὐ δημιουργὸν καὶ λίθους καὶ ξύλα καὶ ὄργανα; τί οὖν ἔστι δημιουργὸς πλὴν τὸ αἴτιον ὑφ’ οὗ; τί δὲ λίθοι καὶ ξύλα πλὴν ἡ ὕλη, ἐξ ἧς ἡ κατασκευή; τί δὲ τὰ ὄργανα πλὴν τὰ δι’ ὧν;

127 τίνος δὲ ἕνεκα πλὴν σκέπης καὶ ἀσφαλείας, τὸ <δὲ>¹ δι’ ὃ τοῦτό ἐστι; μετελθὼν οὖν ἀπὸ τῶν ἐν μέρει κατασκευῶν ἴδε τὴν μεγίστην οἰκίαν ἢ πόλιν, τόνδε τὸν κόσμον· εὐρήσεις γὰρ αἴτιον μὲν αὐτοῦ τὸν θεὸν ὑφ’ οὗ γέγονεν, ὕλην δὲ τὰ τέσσαρα στοιχεῖα ἐξ ὧν συνεκράθη, ὄργανον δὲ λόγον θεοῦ δι’ οὗ κατεσκευάσθη, τῆς δὲ κατασκευῆς αἰτίαν τὴν ἀγαθότητα τοῦ δημιουργοῦ. φιλαλήθων ἦδε διάκρισις ἐπιστήμης ἀληθοῦς καὶ ὑγιоῦς ἐφ-ιεμένων· οἱ δὲ φάσκοντες διὰ τοῦ θεοῦ τι κεκτῆσθαι

¹ <δὲ> ins. Tr.

^a See App. p. 486.

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and testimonies which none may convict of false witness, for our witnesses are the oracles which Moses wrote in the sacred books. And therefore we must make our protest against the Mind, which thought the offspring engendered by union with sense his own possession, called it Cain and said "I have *gotten* a man through God." Even in these last two words he erred. You ask how? Because God is the cause not the instrument, and that which comes into being is brought into being *through* an instrument, but *by* a cause. For to bring anything into being needs all these conjointly, the "by which," the "from which," the "through which," the "for which,"^a and the first of these is the cause, the second the material, the third the tool or instrument, and the fourth the end or object. If we ask what combination is always needed that a house or city should be built, the answer is a builder, stones or timber, and instruments. What is the builder but the cause "by which"? What are the stones and timber but the material "from which"? What are the instruments but the means "through which"? And what is the end or object of the building but shelter and safety, and this constitutes the "for which."

Let us leave these merely particular buildings, and contemplate that greatest of houses or cities, this universe. We shall see that its cause is God, by whom it has come into being, its material the four elements, from which it was compounded, its instrument the word of God, through which it was framed, and the final cause of the building is the goodness of the architect. It is thus that truth-lovers distinguish, who desire true and sound knowledge. But those who say that they

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- τὸ μὲν αἴτιον ὄργανον τὸν δημιουργόν, τὸ δ' ὄργανον αἴτιον τὸν ἀνθρώπινον νοῦν ὑπολαμ-
 128 βάνουσιν. αἰτιάσαιτ' ἂν ὁ ὀρθὸς λόγος
 καὶ Ἰωσήφ εἰπόντα, διὰ τοῦ θεοῦ τὴν σαφήνειαν
 εὐρεθήσεσθαι τῶν ἐνυπνίων (Gen. xl. 8): ἐχρῆν
 γὰρ εἰπεῖν, ὑπ' αὐτοῦ ὡς αἰτίου τὴν τῶν ἀφανῶν
 ἀνάπτυξίν τε καὶ ἀκρίβειαν δεόντως ἔσεσθαι.
 ὄργανα γὰρ ἡμεῖς, δι' ὧν αἱ κατὰ μέρος ἐνέργειαι,
 ἐπιτεινόμενα καὶ ἀνιέμενα, τεχνίτης δὲ ὁ τὴν
 πλήξιν ἐργαζόμενος τῶν σώματός τε καὶ ψυχῆς
 δυνάμειν, ὑφ' οὗ πάντα κινεῖται.
- 129 Τοὺς μὲν οὖν πραγμάτων διαφορὰς ἀδυνατοῦντας
 διαστέλλειν ὡς ἀμαθεῖς ἀναδιδασκτέον, τοὺς δὲ ὑπὸ
 φιλονεικίας τὰς τῶν σημαινομένων τάξεις ἐναλ-
 λάττοντας ὡς ἐριστικούς φευκτέον, τοὺς δὲ μετὰ
 τῆς τῶν ἐμφερομένων ἀκριβοῦς ἐρεύνης ἐκάστω
 τῶν εὐρεθέντων τὴν οἰκείαν χώραν προσνέμοντας
 ὡς ἀψευδῆ φιλοσοφίαν μετιόντας ἐπαινετέον.
- 130 Μωυσῆς γοῦν τοῖς δεδιόσι, μὴ ποτε πρὸς τοῦ
 φαύλου πανστρατιᾶ διώκοντος ἀπόλωνται, φησί·
 “στῆτε καὶ ὀράτε τὴν σωτηρίαν τὴν παρὰ τοῦ
 κυρίου, ἣν ποιήσει ὑμῖν” (Exod. xiv. 13), ἐκ-
 διδάσκων ὅτι οὐ διὰ τοῦ θεοῦ ἀλλὰ παρ' αὐτοῦ ὡς
 αἰτίου τὸ σῶζεσθαι.

* The LXX. has οὐχὶ διὰ τοῦ θεοῦ ἢ διασάφησις αὐτῶν ἐστι ;

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possess something through God, suppose the Cause, that is the Maker, to be the instrument, and the instrument, that is the human mind, they suppose to be the cause.

Right reason too would not hold Joseph free from blame, when he said that *through* God would the true meaning of dreams be found (Gen. xl. 8).^a He should have said that *by* Him as cause the unfolding and right interpretation of things hidden would fitly come to pass. For we are the instruments, wielded in varying degrees of force, through which each particular form of action is produced ; the Craftsman it is who brings to bear on the material the impact of our forces, whether of soul or body, even He by whom all things are moved.

There are those who have not of themselves the capacity to distinguish differences in things ; these we must instruct as ignorant. There are those who through contentiousness reverse and confuse the thoughts which their words express : these we must eschew as mere lovers of strife. But there are also those, who with careful search into what comes before them, assign to each as it is presented its proper place : these we must praise as the followers of a philosophy that cannot lie. And these Moses supports, when he says to those who feared to perish at the hands of the wicked one and his pursuing host, "Stand fast and see the salvation from the Lord, which he will accomplish for you" (Exod. xiv. 13). Thus he showed that not through God, but from Him as cause does salvation come.