

- ¹ I. Περὶ μὲν δὴ τούτων ἀρκέσει τὰ εἰρημένα. σκεπτέον δὲ ἐξῆς οὐ παρέργως, ἀ περὶ τῆς τῶν διαλέκτων συγχύσεως φιλοσοφεῖ· λέγει γὰρ ὧδε· “καὶ ἦν πᾶσα ἡ γῆ χεῖλος ἓν, καὶ φωνὴ μία πᾶσι. καὶ ἐγένετο ἐν τῷ κινήσει αὐτοὺς ἀπὸ ἀνατολῶν, εὗρον πεδῖον ἐν τῇ γῇ Σιναὰρ καὶ κατώκησαν ἐκεῖ. καὶ εἶπεν ἄνθρωπος τῷ πλησίον· δεῦτε πλινθεύσωμεν πλίνθους καὶ ὀπτήσωμεν αὐτὰς πυρί. καὶ ἐγένετο αὐτοῖς ἡ πλίνθος εἰς λίθον, καὶ ἄσφαλτος ἦν αὐτοῖς ὁ πηλός.¹ καὶ εἶπον· δεῦτε οἰκοδομήσωμεν ἑαυτοῖς πόλιν καὶ πύργον, οὗ ἡ κεφαλὴ ἔσται ἕως τοῦ οὐρανοῦ, καὶ ποιήσωμεν ἑαυτῶν ὄνομα πρὸ τοῦ διασπαρῆναι ἐπὶ πρόσωπον πάσης τῆς γῆς. καὶ κατέβη κύριος ἰδεῖν τὴν πόλιν καὶ τὸν πύργον ὃν ὠκοδόμησαν οἱ υἱοὶ τῶν ἀνθρώπων. καὶ εἶπε κύριος· ἰδοὺ γένος ἓν καὶ χεῖλος ἓν πάντων· καὶ τοῦτο ἤρξαντο ποιῆσαι, καὶ νῦν οὐκ ἐκλείψει ἐξ αὐτῶν πάντα ὅσα ἂν ἐπιθῶνται ποιεῖν· δεῦτε καὶ καταβάντες συγχέωμεν ἐκεῖ αὐτῶν τὴν γλῶσσαν, ἵνα μὴ ἀκούσωσιν ἕκαστος τὴν φωνὴν τοῦ πλησίον. καὶ διέσπειρεν αὐτοὺς κύριος ἐκεῖθεν ἐπὶ πρόσωπον πάσης τῆς γῆς, καὶ

¹ Wend. conjectures <ἡ> ἄσφαλτος . . [ὁ] πηλός from 103; but see note there (App. p. 555).

ON THE CONFUSION OF TONGUES

I. Enough has been said on these matters. The¹ next question which demands our careful consideration is the confusion of tongues and the lessons of wisdom taught by Moses thereon. For he says as follows.

“ And all the earth was one lip and there was one voice to all. And it came to pass as they moved from the east, they found a plain in the land of Shinar and dwelt there. And a man said to his neighbour, Come, let us make bricks and bake them with fire. And the brick became as stone to them and the clay was asphalt to them. And they said, ‘ Come, let us build for ourselves a city and a tower, whose head shall be unto heaven, and let us make our name before we are scattered abroad, on the face of all the earth.’ And the Lord came down to see the city and the tower which the sons of men built. And the Lord said, ‘ Behold, they have all one race and one lip, and they have begun to do this, and now nothing shall fail from them of all that they attempt to do. Come and let us go down and confuse their tongue there, that they may not understand each the voice of his neighbour.’ And the Lord scattered them abroad thence on the face of all the earth, and they

ἐπαύσαντο οἰκοδομοῦντες τὴν πόλιν καὶ τὸν πύργον.
διὰ τοῦτο ἐκλήθη τὸ ὄνομα αὐτῆς¹ σύγχυσις, ὅτι
ἐκεῖ συνέχεε κύριος τὰ χεῖλη πάσης τῆς γῆς, καὶ
ἐκεῖθεν διέσπειρεν αὐτοὺς κύριος ἐπὶ πρόσωπον
πάσης τῆς γῆς."

[405] ² Π. | Οἱ μὲν δυσχεραίνοντες τῇ πατρίῳ πολιτείᾳ,
ψόγον καὶ κατηγορίαν αἰεὶ τῶν νόμων μελετῶντες,
τούτοις καὶ τοῖς παραπλησίοις ὡς ἂν ἐπιβάθραις
τῆς ἀθεότητος αὐτῶν, οἱ δυσσεβεῖς, χρώνται φάσ-
κοντες· ἔτι νῦν σεμνηγορεῖτε περὶ τῶν διατεταγ-
μένων ὡς τοὺς ἀληθείας κανόνας αὐτῆς περιεχόν-
των; ἰδοὺ γὰρ αἱ ἱεραὶ λεγόμεναι βίβλοι παρ'
ὑμῖν καὶ μύθους περιέχουσιν, ἐφ' οἷς εἰώθατε γελᾶν,
³ ὅταν ἄλλων διεξιόντων ἀκούητε. καίτοι τί δεῖ
τοὺς πολλαχόθι τῆς νομοθεσίας ἐσπαρμένους ἀνα-
λέγεσθαι ὥσπερ σχολὴν ἄγοντας καὶ ἐνευκαιροῦν-
τας διαβολαῖς, ἀλλ' οὐ μόνον τῶν ἐν χερσὶ καὶ
⁴ παρὰ πόδας ὑπομιμνήσκειν; εἰς μὲν οὖν
ἐστὶν ὁ εἰκὼς τῷ συντεθέντι ἐπὶ τῶν Ἀλωειδῶν,
οὓς ὁ μέγιστος καὶ δοκιμώτατος τῶν ποιητῶν
Ὁμηρος διανοηθῆναί φησι τρία τὰ περιμήκιστα
τῶν ὁρῶν ἐπιφορῆσαι καὶ ἐπιχωσαὶ ἐλπίσαντας
τὴν εἰς οὐρανὸν ὁδὸν τοῖς ἀνέρχεσθαι βουλομένοις
εὐμαρῇ διὰ τούτων ἔσεσθαι πρὸς αἰθέριον ὕψος
ἀρθέντων· ἔστι δὲ τὰ περὶ τούτων ἔπη τοιαῦτα·

"Ὅσσαν ἐπ' Οὐλύμπῳ μέμασαν θέμεν, αὐτὰρ ἐπ'

"Ὅσσην

Πήλιον εἰνοσίφυλλον, ἔν' οὐρανὸς ἀμβατὸς εἴη,
Ἄλκυονας δὲ καὶ Ἄλκυονας καὶ Πήλιον ὁρῶν ὀνόματα.

¹ αὐτῆς] so lxx and the majority of mss.: Wend. αὐτοῦ;
but cf. 196 τὴν κακίας πόλιν with 198 κακίας ὄνομα σύγχυσις.

THE CONFUSION OF TONGUES, 1-4

ceased building the city and the tower. Therefore the name of the city was called 'Confusion,' because the Lord confounded there the lips of the whole earth, and the Lord scattered them thence over the face of the whole earth " (Gen. xi. 1-9).

II. Persons who cherish a dislike of the institutions ² of our fathers and make it their constant study to denounce and decry the Laws find in these and similar passages openings ^a as it were for their godlessness. " Can you still," say these impious scoffers, " speak gravely of the ordinances as containing the canons of absolute truth? For see your so-called holy books contain also myths, which you regularly deride when you hear them related by others. And ³ indeed," they continue, " it is needless to collect the numerous examples scattered about the Law-book, as we might had we leisure to spend in exposing its failings. We have but to remind you of the instances which lie at our very feet and ready to our hand."

One of these we have here, which re- ⁴ sembles the fable told of the Aloeidae, who according to Homer the greatest and most reputed of poets planned to pile the three loftiest mountains on each other in one heap, hoping that when these were raised to the height of the upper sky they would furnish an easy road to heaven for those who wished to ascend thither. Homer's lines on this subject run thus :

They on Olympus Ossa fain would pile,
On Ossa Pelion with its quivering leaves,
In hope thereby to climb the heights of heaven.^b

Olympus, Ossa and Pelion are names of mountains.

^a Or, more literally, " means of approach to"; cf. *De Agr.* 56.

^b *Od.* xi. 315, 318.

5 πύργον δὲ ὁ νομοθέτης ἀντὶ τούτων
 εἰσάγει πρὸς τῶν τότε ἀνθρώπων κατασκευαζόμε-
 νον θελησάντων ὑπ' ἀνοίας ἅμα καὶ μεγαλαυχίας¹
 οὐρανοῦ ψαῦσαι. πῶς γὰρ οὐ² φρενοβλάβεια δεινὴ;
 καὶ γὰρ εἰ τὰ τῆς συμπάσης μέρη γῆς ἐποικο-
 δομηθεῖη προκαταβληθέντι βραχεὶ θεμελίῳ καὶ
 ἀνεγερθεῖη τρόπον κίονος ἑνός, μυρίοις τῆς αἰ-
 θερίου σφαίρας ἀπολειφθήσεται διαστήμασι, καὶ μά-
 λιστα κατὰ τοὺς ζητητικούς τῶν φιλοσόφων, οἱ
 τοῦ παντὸς κέντρον εἶναι τὴν γῆν ἀνωμολόγησαν.

6 III. ἕτερος δέ τις συγγενὴς τούτῳ
 περὶ τῆς τῶν ζώων ὁμοφωνίας πρὸς μυθοπλαστῶν
 ἀναγράφεται· λέγεται γάρ, ὡς ἄρα πάνθ' ὅσα ζῶα
 χερσαῖα καὶ ἔνδρα καὶ πτηνὰ τὸ παλαιὸν ὁμόφωνα
 ἦν, καὶ ὅνπερ τρόπον ἀνθρώπων Ἕλληνες μὲν
 Ἕλλησι, βαρβάροις δὲ βάρβαροι νῦν οἱ ὁμόγλωττοι
 διαλέγονται, τοῦτον τὸν τρόπον καὶ πάντα πᾶσι
 περὶ ὧν ἡ δρᾶν ἡ πάσχειν τι συνέβαινεν ὠμίλει,
 ὡς καὶ ἐπὶ ταῖς κακοπραγίαις συνάχθεσθαι³ κἄν,
 εἴ ποὺ τι λυσιτελὲς ἀπαντῶν, συνευφραίνεσθαι.

7 τὰς τε γὰρ ἡδονὰς καὶ ἀηδίας ἀλλήλοις ἀνα-
 φέροντα διὰ τοῦ ὁμοφώνου συνήδετο καὶ συναηδί-
 [406] ζετο, | καὶ τούτου τὸ ὁμοιότροπον καὶ ὁμοιοπαθὲς
 εὐρίσκετο, μέχρι περ κορεσθέντα τῆς τῶν παρόν-
 των ἀγαθῶν ἀφθονίας, ὃ πολλάκις γίνεσθαι φιλεῖ,
 πρὸς τὸν τῶν ἀνεφίκτων ἔρωτα ἐξώκειλε καὶ περὶ
 ἀθανασίας ἐπρεσβεύετο γήρως ἔκλυσιν καὶ τὴν εἰς

¹ MSS. μεγαλουργίας.

² MSS. πάσα γὰρ οὖν.

³ MSS. συνέχεσθαι.

THE CONFUSION OF TONGUES, 5-7

For these the lawgiver substitutes a 5 tower which he represents as being built by the men of that day who wished in their folly and insolent pride to touch the heaven. Folly indeed ; surely dreadful madness ! For if one should lay a small foundation and build up upon it the different parts of the whole earth, rising in the form of a single pillar, it would still be divided by vast distances from the sphere of ether, particularly if we accept the view of the philosophers who inquire into such problems, all of whom are agreed that the earth is the centre of the universe.^a

III. Another 6 similar story is to be found in the writings of the mythologists, telling of the days when all animals had a common language. The tale is that in old days all animals, whether on land or in water or winged, had the same language, and just as among men to-day Greeks talk with Greeks and barbarians with barbarians if they have the same tongue, so too every creature conversed with every other, about all that happened to be done to them or by them, and in this way they mourned together at misfortunes, and rejoiced together when anything of advantage came their way. For since community 7 of language led them to impart to each other their pleasures and discomforts, both emotions were shared by them in common. As a result they gained a similarity of temperament and feeling until surfeited with the abundance of their present blessings they desired the unattainable, as so often happens, and wrecked their happiness thereon. They sent an embassy to demand immortality, asking that they might be exempted from old age and allowed to

^a See App. p. 553.

- αἰεὶ νεότητος ἀκμὴν αἰτούμενα, φάσκοντα καὶ τῶν παρ' αὐτοῖς ἐν ἤδη ζώων τὸ ἐρπετόν, ὅφιν, τετυ-
 χηκέναι ταύτης τῆς δωρεᾶς· ἀποδύόμενον γὰρ τὸ
 γῆρας πάλιν ἐξ ὑπαρχῆς ἀνηβᾶν· ἄτοπον δ' εἶναι
 ἢ τὰ κρείττω τοῦ χείρονος ἢ ἐνὸς τὰ πάντα
 8 λειφθῆναι. δίκην μέντοι τοῦ τολμήματος ἔδωκε τὴν
 προσήκουσαν· ἑτερόγλωττα γὰρ εὐθὺς ἐγένετο, ὥς
 ἐξ ἐκείνου μηκέτ' ἀλλήλων ἐπακοῦσαι δυνηθῆναι
 χάριν τῆς ἐν ταῖς διαλέκτοις εἰς ἁς ἡ μία καὶ
 κοινὴ πάντων ἐτμήθη, διαφορᾶς.
- 9 IV. 'Ο δ' ἐγγυτέρω τάληθοῦς προσάγων τὸν
 λόγον τὰ ἄλογα τῶν λογικῶν διέξευξεν, ὥς ἀν-
 θρώποις μόνοις μαρτυρῆσαι τὸ ὁμόφωνον. ἔστι
 δέ, ὥς γέ φασι, καὶ τοῦτο μυθῶδες. καὶ μὴν τήν'
 γε φωνῆς εἰς μυρίας διαλέκτων ιδέας τομήν, ἣν
 καλεῖ γλώττης σύγχυσιν, ἐπὶ θεραπείᾳ λέγουσιν
 ἁμαρτημάτων συμβῆναι, ὥς μηκέτ' ἀλλήλων ἀκροώ-
 μενοι κοινῇ συναδικῶσιν, ἀλλὰ τρόπον τινὰ [ἄλλοι]
 ἀλλήλοις κεκωφωμένοι * * *² κατὰ συμπράξεις
 10 ἐγχειρῶσι τοῖς αὐτοῖς. τὸ δὲ οὐκ ἐπ' ὠφελείᾳ
 φαίνεται συμβῆναι· καὶ γὰρ αὐθις οὐδὲν ἦττον
 κατὰ ἔθνη διωκισμένων καὶ μὴ μιᾷ διαλέκτῳ
 χρωμένων γῇ καὶ θάλαττα πολλάκις ἀμυθῆτων
 κακῶν ἐπληρώθη. οὐ γὰρ αἱ φωναί, ἀλλὰ αἱ
 ὁμότροποι τῆς ψυχῆς πρὸς τὸ ἁμαρτάνειν ζηλώσεις
 11 τοῦ συναδικεῖν αἵτιαι· καὶ γὰρ οἱ ἐκτετμημένοι

¹ mss. τῆς.

² The translation follows Mangey in assuming that *μη* alone has been omitted in the mss. Wend. (*Rhein. Mus.* liii. p. 18) thought that this made the last part of the sentence too much a mere repetition of the first part. He suggested καθ' ἑαυτὸν ἕκαστος ἐργάζεται, ἀλλὰ *μη*).

THE CONFUSION OF TONGUES, 7-11

enjoy the vigour of youth for ever. They pleaded that one of their fellow-creatures, that mere reptile the serpent, had already obtained this boon, since he shed his old age and renewed his youth afresh, and it was absurd that the superior beings should fare worse than the inferior, or all than the one. How- 8
ever, for this audacity they were punished as they deserved. For their speech at once became different, so that from that day forward they could no longer understand each other, because of the difference of the languages into which the single language which they all shared had been divided.

IV. Now Moses, say the objectors, brings his 9
story nearer to reality and makes a distinction between reasoning and unreasoning creatures, so that the unity of language for which he vouches applies to men only. Still even this, they say, is mythical. They point out that the division of speech into a multitude of different kinds of language, which Moses calls " Confusion of tongues," is in the story brought about as a remedy for sin, to the end that men should no longer through mutual understanding be partners in iniquity, but be deaf in a sense to each other and thus cease to act together to effect the same purposes. But no good result appears to have 10
been attained by it. For all the same after they had been separated into different nations and no longer spoke the same tongue, land and sea were constantly full of innumerable evil deeds. For it is not the utterances of men but the presence of the same cravings for sin in the soul which causes combination in wrongdoing. Indeed men who have lost their 11

- γλῶτταν νεύμασι καὶ βλέμμασι καὶ ταῖς ἄλλαις τοῦ σώματος σχέσεσι καὶ κινήσειν οὐχ ἦπτον τῆς διὰ λόγων προφορᾶς ἃ ἂν θελήσωσιν ὑποσημαίνουσι· χωρὶς τοῦ καὶ ἔθνος ἐν πολλάκις οὐχ ὁμόφωνον μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ ὁμόνομον καὶ ὁμοδίαιτον τοσοῦτον ἐπιβῆναι κακίας, ὥστε τοῖς ἀνθρώπων ἀπάντων ἀμαρτήμασιν ἰσοστάσια δύνασθαι πλημ-
- 12 μελεῖν· ἀπειρία τε διαλέκτων μυριοὶ πρὸς τῶν ἐπιτιθεμένων οὐ προῖδόμενοι τὸ μέλλον προκατελήφθησαν, ὥς ἔμπαλιν ἐπιστήμη τοὺς ἐπικρεμασθέντας ἰσχυσαν φόβους τε καὶ κινδύνους ἀπώσασθαι· ὥστε λυσιτελὲς μᾶλλον ἢ βλαβερὸν εἶναι τὴν ἐν διαλέκτοις κοινωνίαν, ἐπεὶ καὶ μέχρι νῦν οἱ καθ' ἐκάστην χώραν, καὶ μάλιστα τῶν¹ αὐτοχθόνων, δι' οὐδὲν οὕτως ὥς διὰ τὸ ὁμόγλωσσον ἀπαθεῖς κακῶν
- 13 διατελοῦσι. κἂν εἰ μέντοι τις ἀνὴρ πλείους ἀναμάθοι διαλέκτους, εὐδόκιμος εὐθύς παρὰ τοῖς ἐπισταμένοις ἐστὶν ὥς ἤδη φίλιος ὢν, οὐ βραχὺ γνῶρισμα κοινωνίας ἐπιφερόμενος τὴν ἐν τοῖς
- [407] ὀνόμασι | συνήθειαν, ἀφ' ἧς τὸ ἀδεὲς εἰς τὸ μηδὲν ἀνῆκεστον παθεῖν ἔοικε πεπορίσθαι. τί οὖν ὥς κακῶν αἴτιον τὸ ὁμόγλωττον ἐξ ἀνθρώπων ἠφάνιζε, δέον ὥς ὠφελιμώτατον ἰδρῦσθαι;
- 14 V. Τοὺς δὴ ταῦτα συντιθέντας καὶ κακοτεχνοῦντας ἰδίᾳ μὲν διελέγξουσιν οἱ τὰς προχείρους ἀποδόσεις τῶν αἰεὶ ζητουμένων ἐκ τῆς φανεράς

¹ Perhaps, as Wend. conjectures, <τὴν> τῶν.

* The thought seems to be that the confusion of languages did but divide nation from nation, and a single evil nation can do all the mischief.

THE CONFUSION OF TONGUES, 11-14

tongue by mutilation do by means of nods and glances and the other attitudes and movements of the body indicate their wishes as well as the uttered word can do it. Besides a single nation in which not only language but laws and modes of life are identical often reaches such a pitch of wickedness that its misdeeds can balance the sins of the whole of mankind.^a Again multitudes through ignorance of other 12 languages have failed to foresee the impending danger, and thus been caught unawares by the attacking force, while on the contrary such a knowledge has enabled them to repel the alarms and dangers which menaced them. The conclusion is that the possession of a common language does more good than harm—a conclusion confirmed by all past experience which shews that in every country, particularly where the population is indigenous, nothing has kept the inhabitants so free from disaster as uniformity of language. Further the acquisition of 13 languages other than his own at once gives a man a high standing with those who know and speak them. They now consider him a friendly person, who brings no small evidence of fellow-feeling in his familiarity with their vocabulary, since that familiarity seems to render them secure against the chance of meeting any disastrous injury at his hands. Why then, they ask, did God wish to deprive mankind of its universal language as though it were a source of evil, when He should rather have established it firmly as a source of the utmost profit?

V. Those who take the letter of the law in its 14 outward sense and provide for each question as it arises the explanation which lies on the surface, will no doubt refute on their own principles the authors

τῶν νόμων γραφῆς¹ * * * ἀφιλονείκως, οὐκ ἀντισοφίζόμενοι ποθεν, ἀλλ' ἐπόμενοι τῷ τῆς ἀκολουθίας εἰρμῷ προσπταίειν οὐκ ἔωντι, ἀλλὰ κἄν, εἴ τινα ἐμποδὼν εἴη, ῥαδίως ἀναστέλλοντι, ὅπως αἱ τῶν λόγων διέξοδοι γίνωνται ἄπταιστοι.

15 φαμέν τοίνυν ἐκ τοῦ "τὴν γῆν εἶναι πᾶσαν χεῖλος ἐν καὶ φωνὴν μίαν" κακῶν ἀμυθῆτων καὶ μεγάλων συμφωνίαν δηλοῦσθαι, ὅσα τε πόλεις πόλεσι καὶ ἔθνεσιν ἔθνη καὶ χώραις χώραι ἀντεπιφέρουσι, καὶ ὅσα μὴ μόνον εἰς ἑαυτοὺς ἀλλὰ καὶ εἰς τὸ θεῖον ἀσεβοῦσιν ἀνθρωποι· καίτοι ταῦτα πληθῶν ἐστὶν ἀδικήματα. σκεπτόμεθα δ' ἡμεῖς καὶ ἐφ' ἐνὸς ἀνδρὸς τὸ ἀδιεξήγητον τῶν κακῶν πληθος, καὶ μάλισθ' ὅταν τὴν ἀνάρμοστον καὶ ἐκμελῇ καὶ

16 ἄμουσον ἰσχυρ² συμφωνίαν. VI. τὰ μὲν δὴ τυχηρὰ τίς οὐκ οἶδεν, ὅταν πενία καὶ ἀδοξία σώματος νόσοις ἢ πηρώσεσι συνενεχθῶσι, καὶ πάλιν ταῦτα ψυχῆς ἀρρωστήμασιν ἐκφρονος ὑπὸ μελαγχολίας ἢ μακροῦ γήρως ἢ τινος βαρείας

¹ The sentence as it stands cannot be translated. Wend., who places the lacuna after ἀφιλονείκως and inserts <ταμεινόμενοι>, is no doubt right in assuming that a participle must be supplied. But if one word has been lost, it is not improbable that others have been lost. With his reading the whole sentence is an elaborate compliment to the literalists, which is not paralleled elsewhere, though occasionally, as in § 190, a certain amount of respect for them is shown. But the overwhelming argument against his view is φαμέν τοίνυν, which cannot make an antithesis to ἰδίᾳ μὲν but presupposes a δέ clause. Cf. *De Somn.* i. 102 ταῦτα μὲν δὴ καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα πρὸς τοὺς τῆς ῥητῆς πραγματείας σοφιστὰς . . . εἰρήσθω, λέγωμεν δὲ ἡμεῖς ἐπόμενοι τοῖς ἀλληγορίας νόμοις τὰ πρέποντα περὶ τούτων. φαμέν τοίνυν λόγον σύμβολον ἱμάτιον εἶναι. Philo in my view is describing his own method and says that he will not

THE CONFUSION OF TONGUES, 14-16

of these insidious criticisms. But we shall take the line of allegorical interpretation not in any contentious spirit, nor seeking some means of meeting sophistry with sophistry. Rather we shall follow the chain of logical sequence,^a which does not admit of stumbling but easily removes any obstructions and thus allows the argument to march to its conclusion with unfaltering steps. We suggest then 15 that by the words "the earth was all one lip and one voice" is meant a consonance of evil deeds great and innumerable, and these include the injuries which cities and nations and countries inflict and retaliate, as well as the impious deeds which men commit, not only against each other, but against the Deity. These indeed are the wrongdoings of multitudes. But we consider also the vast multitude of ills which are found in the individual man, especially when the unison of voices within him is a disharmony tuneless and unmusical. VI. Who does 16 not know the calamities of fortune when poverty and disrepute combine with disease or disablement in the body, and these again are mixed with the infirmities of a soul rendered distracted by melancholy or

^a The words which follow suggest that he means that each deduction from the text is logical, rather than that he takes each point of the narrative successively.

enter into direct conflict with the unbelievers, but show that the passage, if logically treated on the allegorical method, makes a reasonable whole. What the words lost are, one can only conjecture. It would be enough perhaps to insert <ἀκριβοῦντες, ἡμεῖς δὲ>, *sc.* διελέγομεν. But perhaps it is more likely that there were some words describing the allegorical method, ending with an homoioteleuton to γραφῆς, *e.g.* <ἀκριβοῦντες, ἡμεῖς δὲ ἀλληγοροῦντες διερμηνεύσομεν τὸ ἐγκείμενον ἐν τῇ γραφῇ>. Cf. *De Sobr.* 23. ² MSS. σχοιή.

- ἄλλης κακοδαιμονίας γεγεννημένης ἀνακραθῶσι;
 17 καὶ γὰρ ἐν μόνον τῶν εἰρημένων βιαίως ἀντιστατήσαν ἱκανὸν ἀνατρέψαι καὶ καταβαλεῖν καὶ τὸν λίαν ὑπέρογκόν ἐστιν· ὅταν δὲ ἄθροα ὥσπερ προστάξει μιᾷ κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν χρόνον ἐνὶ πάντα σωρηδὸν ἐπιθῇται¹ τὰ σώματος, τὰ ψυχῆς, τὰ ἐκτός, τίνα οὐχ ὑπερβάλλει σχετλιότητα; πεσόντων γὰρ δορυφόρων ἀνάγκη καὶ τὸ δορυφορούμενον
 18 πίπτειν. δορυφόροι μὲν οὖν σώματος πλοῦτος, εὐδοξία, τιμαί, ὀρθοῦντες αὐτὸ καὶ εἰς ὕψος αἵροντες καὶ γαῦρον ἀποδεικνύντες, ὡς τάναντία, ἀτιμία, ἀδοξία, πενία, πολεμίων τρόπον καταράττουσι.
 19 πάλιν τε δορυφόροι ψυχῆς ἀκοαὶ καὶ ὄψεις ὁσφρησίς τε καὶ γεῦσις καὶ ξύμπαν τὸ αἰσθήσεως στίφος, ἔτι μέντοι ὑγίεια καὶ ἰσχύς δύναμις τε καὶ ῥώμη· τούτοις γὰρ ὥσπερ ἐστῶσι καὶ κραταιῶς ἔρηρσιμένοις εὐερκέσιν οἴκοις ὁ νοῦς ἐμπεριπατῶν καὶ ἐνδιδαιτῶμενος ἀγάλλεται πρὸς μηδενὸς ταῖς ἰδίαις ὀρμαῖς χρῆσθαι κωλυόμενος, ἀλλ' εὐμαρεῖς καὶ λεωφόρους ἀναπεπταμένας ἔχων τὰς διὰ πάντων ὁδοὺς. τὰ δὲ | τοῖς δορυφόροις τούτοις ἐχθρὰ
 20 [408] ἀντικάθεται, πῆρωσις αἰσθητηρίων καὶ νόσος, ὡς ἔφην, οἷς ἡ διάνοια συγκατακρημνισθῆναι πολλάκις ἐμέλλησε. καὶ τὰ μὲν τυχηρὰ ταῦτα ἀργαλέα σφόδρα καὶ σχέτλια ἐξ ἑαυτῶν, πρὸς δὲ τὴν <τῶν> ἐκ προνοίας σύγκρισιν κουφό-
 21 τερα πολλῶ. VII. τίς οὖν ἡ τῶν ἐκουσίων κακῶν συμφωνία, πάλιν ἐν μέρει σκοπῶμεν· τριμεροῦς ἡμῶν τῆς ψυχῆς ὑπαρχούσης τὸ μὲν νοῦς καὶ λόγος,

¹ MSS. ἐπιθεῖναι.^a Cf. De Ebr. 201 ff.

THE CONFUSION OF TONGUES, 17-21

senility, or any other grievous misfortune? For 17 indeed a single item of this list is enough to upset and overthrow even the very stoutest, if it brings its force to bear upon him. But when the ill of body and soul and the external world unite and in serried mass, as though obedient to a single commanding voice, bear down at the same moment upon their lone victim, what misery is not insignificant beside them? When the guards fall, that which they guard must fall too. Now the guards^a of the body 18 are wealth and reputation and honours, who keep it erect and lift it on high and give it a sense of pride, just as their opposites, dishonour, disrepute and poverty are like foes who bring it crashing to the ground. Again the guards of the soul are the powers 19 of hearing and sight and smell and taste, and the whole company of the senses and besides them health and strength of body and limb and muscle. For these serve as fortresses well-walled and stayed on firm foundations, houses within which the mind can range and dwell rejoicing, with none to hinder it from following the urges of its personality, but with free passage everywhere as on easy and open high roads. But against these guards also are posted hostile 20 forces, disablement of the sense-organs and disease, as I have said, which often bid fair to carry the understanding over the precipice in their arms.

While these calamities of fortune which work independently of us are full of pain and misery, they are far outweighed in comparison with those which spring from our deliberate volition. VII. Let 21 us turn, then, to where the voice of unison is the voice of our self-caused ill and consider it in its turn. Our soul, we are told, is tripartite, having one part assigned

- τὸ δὲ θυμός, τὸ δὲ ἐπιθυμία κεκληρῶσθαι λέγεται. κηραίνει δὲ καθ' αὐτό τε ἕκαστον ἰδίᾳ καὶ πρὸς ἄλληλα πάντα κοινῇ, ἐπειδὴν ὁ μὲν νοῦς ὅσα ἀφροσύναι καὶ δειλίας ἀκολασίας τε καὶ ἀδικίας σπείρουσι θερίσῃ, ὁ δὲ θυμός τὰς ἐκμανεῖς καὶ παραφόρους λύττας καὶ ὅσα ἄλλα ὠδίνει κακὰ τέκη, ἡ δὲ ἐπιθυμία τοὺς ὑπὸ νηπιότητος αἰεὶ κούφους ἔρωτας καὶ τοῖς ἐπιτυχοῦσι σώμασί τε καὶ πράγμασι προσιπταμένους ἐπιπέμψῃ παντα-
- 22 χόσε· τότε γὰρ ὥσπερ ἐν σκάφει ναυτῶν, ἐπιβατῶν, κυβερνητῶν κατὰ τινα φρενοβλάβειαν ἐπ' ἀπωλείᾳ τούτου συμφρονησάντων καὶ οἱ ἐπιβουλεύσαντες αὐτῇ νηὶ οὐχ ἡκιστα συναπώλοντο. βαρύτατον γὰρ κακῶν καὶ σχεδὸν ἀνίατον μόνον ἡ πάντων τῶν ψυχῆς μερῶν πρὸς τὸ ἁμαρτάνειν συνεργία, μηδενὸς οἷα ἐν πανδήμῳ συμφορᾷ δυνηθέντος ὑγιαίνειν, ἵνα τοὺς πάσχοντας ἰᾶται, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν ἰατρῶν ἅμα τοῖς ἰδιώταις καμνόντων, οὓς ἡ λοιμώδης νόσος ἐφ' ὁμολογουμένη συμφορᾷ πῖσσασα κατέχει.
- 23 τοῦ παθήματος τούτου <σύμβολον> ὁ μέγας ἀναγραφεῖς παρὰ τῷ νομοθέτῃ κατακλυσμός ἐστι, “τῶν τε ἀπ' οὐρανοῦ καταρρακτῶν” τοὺς κακίας αὐτῆς λάβρῳ φορᾷ χειμάρρους ἐπομβρούντων καὶ “τῶν ἀπὸ γῆς,” λέγω δὲ τοῦ σώματος, “πηγῶν” ἀναχεουσῶν τὰ πάθους ἐκάστου ρεύματα πολλὰ ὄντα καὶ μεγάλα, ἅπερ εἰς ταὐτὸν τοῖς προτέροις συνιόντα καὶ ἀναμιγνύμενα κυκᾶται τε καὶ τὸ δεδεγμένον ἅπαν τῆς ψυχῆς στροβεῖ χωρίον

^a Or “a succession of desires” (ἀεὶ meaning “from time to time”).

^b For this translation of the frequently recurring phrase σώματα καὶ πράγματα, various versions of which have been

THE CONFUSION OF TONGUES, 21-23

to the mind and reason, one to the spirited element and one to the appetites. There is mischief working in them all, in each in relation to itself, in all in relation to each other, when the mind reaps what is sown by its follies and acts of cowardice and intemperance and injustice, and the spirited part brings to the birth its fierce and raging furies and the other evil children of its womb, and the appetite sends forth on every side desires ever ^a winged by childish fancy, desires which light as chance directs on things material and immaterial.^b For then, as though on 22 a ship crew, passengers and steersmen had conspired through some madness to sink it, the first to perish with the boat are those who planned its destruction. It stands alone as the most grievous of mischiefs and one almost past all cure—this co-operation of all the parts of the soul in sin, where, as when a nation is plague-stricken, none can have the health to heal the sufferers, but the physicians share the sickness of the common herd who lie crushed by the pestilential scourge, victims of a calamity which none can ignore.

We have a symbol of this dire 23 happening in the great deluge described in the words of the lawgiver, when the "cataracts of heaven"^c poured forth the torrents of absolute wickedness in impetuous downfall and the "fountains from the earth,"^d that is from the body (Gen. vii. 11), spouted forth the streams of each passion, streams many and great, and these, uniting and commingling with the rainpour, in wild commotion eddied and swirled continually through the whole region of the soul given in previous volumes, see note on *Quis Rerum* 242 (App.).

^c E.V. "windows of heaven."

^d LXX. ἀπὸ τῆς ἀβύσσου. E.V. "from the great deep."

- 24 δίναις ἐπαλλήλοις. “ ἰδὼν ” γάρ φησι “ κύριος ὁ θεός, ὅτι ἐπληθύνθησαν αἱ κακίαι τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς, καὶ πᾶς τις διανοεῖται ἐν τῇ καρδίᾳ ἐπιμελῶς τὰ πονηρὰ πάσας τὰς ἡμέρας ” ἔγνω τὸν ἄνθρωπον, λέγω δὲ τὸν νοῦν, μετὰ τῶν περὶ αὐτὸν ἐρπετῶν τε καὶ πτηνῶν καὶ τῆς ἄλλης ἀλόγου τῶν ἀτιθάσων θηρίων πληθύνος ἐφ’ οἷς ἀνιάτα ἡδίκηκει τίσασθαι· ἡ δὲ τιμωρία κατακλυσμός.
- 25 ἦν γὰρ ἔφεσις ἁμαρτημάτων καὶ πολλή τοῦ ἀδικεῖν μηδενὸς κωλύοντος φορὰ, ἀλλὰ προσαναρρηγνυμένων ἀδεῶς ἀπάντων εἰς χορηγίας ἀφθόνους τοῖς πρὸς τὰς ἀπολαύσεις ἐτοιμοτάτοις, καὶ μήποτ’ εἰκότως· οὐ γὰρ ἐν τι μέρος διέφθαρτο τῆς ψυχῆς, ἵνα τοῖς ἄλλοις ὑγιαίνουσι σῶζεσθαι δύναίτο, ἀλλ’ οὐδὲν ἄνοσον οὐδὲ ἀδιάφθαρτον αὐτῆς κατελείπετο·
- [409] ἰδὼν γὰρ ὅτι πᾶς τις, φησί, διανοεῖται [πᾶς] λογισμός, οὐχὶ μόνος εἰς, τὴν ἀρμόττουσαν ὁ ἀδέκαστος δικαστὴς ἐπήγαγε τιμωρίαν.
- 26 VIII. Οὗτοί εἰσιν οἱ ἐπὶ τῆς ἀλμυρᾶς φάραγγος ὁμαιχμίαν πρὸς ἀλλήλους θέμενοι¹—κοῖλον γὰρ καὶ τραχὺ καὶ φαραγγῶδες τὸ κακιῶν <καὶ> παθῶν χωρίον, ἀλμυρὸν τῷ ὄντι καὶ πικρὰς φέρον ὠδῖνας—ὧν ὁ σοφὸς Ἀβραάμ τὸ ἐνώμοτον καὶ ἐνσπονδον οὗθ’ ὅρκων οὔτε σπονδῶν ἐπάξιον εἰδὼς καθαιρεῖ· λέγεται γὰρ ὅτι “ πάντες οὗτοι συνεφώνησαν ἐπὶ τὴν φάραγγα τὴν ἀλυκὴν· αὕτη ἡ θάλασσα τῶν
- 27 ἀλῶν.” ἡ οὐχ ὁρᾶς τοὺς ἐστειωμένους σοφίαν καὶ τυφλοὺς διάνοιαν, ἣν ὀξυδερκεῖν εἰκὸς

¹ Wend. and Mangey punctuate with a full stop before κοῖλον, thus apparently making ὠδῖνας to be the antecedent of ὧν.

THE CONFUSION OF TONGUES, 24-27

which formed their meeting-place. "For the Lord 24 God," it runs, "seeing that the wickednesses of men were multiplied on the earth, and that every man carefully purposed in his heart evil things every day," determined to punish man, that is the mind, for his deadly misdeeds, together with the creeping and flying creatures around him and the other unreasoning multitude of untamed beasts" (Gen. vi. 5-6). This punishment was the deluge. For the deluge 25 was a letting loose of sins, a rushing torrent of iniquity where there was naught to hinder, but all things burst forth without restraint to supply abundant opportunities to those who were all readiness to take pleasure therein. And surely this punishment was suitable. For not one part only of the soul had been corrupted, so that it might be saved through the soundness of others, but nothing in it was left free from disease and corruption. For "seeing," as the scripture says, that "everyone," that is every thought and not one only, "purposed," the upright judge awarded the penalty which the fault deserved.

VIII. These are they who made a confederacy at 26 the salt ravine. For the place of vices and passions is hollow and rough and ravine-like; salt indeed, and bitter are the pangs which it brings. The covenant of alliance which they swore was destroyed by wise Abraham, for he knew that it had not the sanctity of oaths or covenant-rites. Thus we read "all these joined their voices to come to the salt-ravine; this is the salt sea" (Gen. xiv. 3).

Observe further those who were barren of wisdom 27 and blind in the understanding which should naturally be sharp of sight, their qualities veiled under

* See App. p. 553.

ἦν, Σοδομίτας κατὰ γλῶτταν, ἀπὸ νεανίσκου ἕως
 πρεσβυτέρου πάνθ' ὁμοῦ τὸν λεῶν ἐν κύκλῳ τὴν
 οἰκίαν τῆς ψυχῆς περιθέοντας, ἵνα τοὺς ξενωθέντας
 ἱεροὺς καὶ ὁσίους λόγους αὐτῇ, φρουροὺς καὶ
 φύλακας ὄντας, αἰσχύνωσι καὶ διαφθείρωσι, καὶ
 μηδένα τὸ παράπαν μήτε τοῖς ἀδικοῦσιν ἐναν-
 τιουῖσθαι μήτε τοῦ τι ποιεῖν ἄδικον ἀποδιδράσκειν
 28 ἐγνωκότα; οὐ γὰρ οἱ μὲν, οἱ δ' οὐ, "πᾶς δ'," ὥς
 φησιν, "ὁ λαὸς περιεκύκλωσαν ἅμα τὴν οἰκίαν,
 νέοι τε καὶ πρεσβῦται" κατὰ τῶν θείων καὶ ἱερῶν
 λόγων¹ συνομοσάμενοι, οὓς καλεῖν ἔθος ἀγγέλους.

29 IX. ἀλλ' ὃ γε θεοπρόπος Μωυσῆς
 θράσει πολλῷ ῥέοντας αὐτοὺς ὑπαντιάσας ἐφέξει,
 καὶ τὸν θρασύτατον καὶ δεινότατον εἰπεῖν ἐν
 ἑαυτοῖς βασιλέα λόγον προστησάμενοι μιᾷ ῥύμῃ
 κατατρέχωσι, συναύξοντες τὰ οἰκεία καὶ ποταμοῦ
 τρόπον πλημμύροντες· "ἰδοὺ" γάρ φησιν "ὁ τῆς
 Αἰγύπτου βασιλεὺς ἐπὶ τὸ ὕδωρ ἀφικνεῖται. σὺ
 δὲ στήσῃ συναντῶν αὐτῷ ἐπὶ τὸ χεῖλος τοῦ ποτα-
 30 μοῦ." οὐκοῦν ὁ μὲν φαῦλος ἔξεισιν ἐπὶ τὴν τῶν
 ἀδικημάτων καὶ παθῶν ἀθρόων φοράν, ἅπερ ὕδατι
 ἀπεικάζεται· ὁ δὲ σοφὸς πρῶτον μὲν κτᾶται γέρας
 παρὰ τοῦ ἐστῶτος αἰεὶ θεοῦ συγγενὲς αὐτοῦ τῇ
 ἀκλινεῖ καὶ ἀρρεπεῖ πρὸς πάντα δυνάμει λαβών·
 31 εἴρηται γὰρ "σὺ δὲ αὐτοῦ στήθι μετ' ἐμοῦ," ἵνα
 ἐνδοιασμόν καὶ ἐπαμφοτερισμόν, ἀβεβαίου ψυχῆς
 διαθέσεις, ἀποδυσάμενος τὴν ὀχυρωτάτην καὶ βε-
 βαιοτάτην διάθεσιν, πίστιν, ἐνδύσῃται. ἔπειτα δὲ

¹ MSS. θείων ἔργων καὶ λόγων (the correction seems to me somewhat conjectural).

THE CONFUSION OF TONGUES, 27-31

their name of Sodomite ^a—how the whole people from the young men to the eldest ran round and round the house of the soul to bring dishonour and ruin on those sacred and holy Thoughts which were its guests, its guardians and sentinels; how not a single one is minded to oppose the unjust or shrink from doing injustice himself. For we read that not merely some ²⁸ but the “ whole people surrounded the house, both young and old ” (Gen. xix. 4), conspiring against the divine and holy Thoughts,^b who are often called angels.^c

IX. But Moses the prophet of God ²⁹ shall meet and stem the strong current of their boldness, though, setting before them as their king their boldest and most cunning eloquence, they come rushing with united onset, though they mass their wealth of water and their tide is as the tide of a river. “ Behold,” he says, “ the King of Egypt comes to the water, but thou shalt stand meeting him at the edge of the river ” (Ex. vii. 15). The fool, then, will ³⁰ go forth to the rushing flood of the iniquities and passions, which Moses likens to a river. But the wise man in the first place gains a privilege vouchsafed to him from God, who ever stands fast, a privilege which is the congener of His power which never swerves and never wavers. For it was said to ³¹ him “ Stand thou here with me ” (Deut. v. 31), to the end that he should put off doubt and hesitation, the qualities ^d of the unstable mind, and put on that surest and most stable quality, faith. This is his

^b This translation is given in despair. In this particular allegory of the soul, the λόγοι no doubt take the form of thoughts, but the use is far wider. As manifestations of the Divine Logos the angels suggest not only spiritual influences, as in *De Sobr.* 65, but also spiritual beings, as in § 174.

^c i.e. in scripture, cf. § 174.

^d Or “ dispositions.”

- ἐστὼς, τὸ παραδοξότατον, ὑπαντᾷ· “στήση” γάρ
 <φησιν> “ὑπαντιάζων”· καίτοι τὸ μὲν ὑπαντᾶν ἐν
 κινήσει, κατὰ δ’ ἡρεμίαν τὸ ἴστασθαι θεωρεῖται.
- 32 λέγει δὲ οὐ τὰ μαχόμενα, τὰ δὲ τῇ φύσει μάλιστα
 ἀκολουθοῦντα· ὅτω γὰρ ἡρεμεῖν πέφυκεν ἡ γνώμη
 καὶ ἀρρεπῶς ἰδρῦσθαι, συμβαίνει πᾶσιν ἀνθίστασ-
 θαι τοῖς σάλω καὶ κλύδωνι χαίρουσι καὶ τὸν γαληνιά-
 33 σαι δυνάμενον χειροποιήτῳ χειμῶνι κυμαίνουσιν.
- [410] X. εὖ μέντοι γε ἔχει παρὰ | τὸ χεῖλος
 τοῦ ποταμοῦ τὴν ἐναντίωσιν συνίστασθαι· χεῖλη
 δὲ στόματος μὲν ἐστὶ πέρατα, φραγμὸς δὲ τις
 γλώττης, δι’ ᾧν φέρεται τὸ τοῦ λόγου ῥεῦμα, ὅταν
 34 ἄρξῃται κατέρχεσθαι. λόγῳ δὲ καὶ οἱ μισάρετοι
 καὶ φιλοπαθεῖς¹ συμμάχῳ χρώνται πρὸς τὴν τῶν
 ἀδοκίμων δογμάτων εἰσήγησιν καὶ πάλιν οἱ σπου-
 δαῖοι πρὸς τε τὴν τούτων ἀναίρεσιν καὶ πρὸς τὸ
 τῶν ἀμεινόνων καὶ ἀψεудῶς ἀγαθῶν κράτος ἀναντ-
 35 ἀγώνιστον. ὅταν μέντοι πάντα κάλων ἀνασείσαν-
 τες ἐριστικῶν δογμάτων ὑπ’ ἐναντίας ῥύμης λόγων
 ἀνατραπέντες ἀπόλωνται, τὸ ἐπινίκιον δικαίως καὶ
 36 στησάμενος ἐμμελῶς ᾄσεται· “εἶδε” γάρ φησιν
 “Ἰσραὴλ τοὺς Αἰγυπτίους” οὐχ ἐτέρωθι “τεθνεῶ-
 τας” ἀλλὰ παρὰ “τὸ χεῖλος τοῦ ποταμοῦ,²”
 θάνατον λέγων οὐ τὴν ἀπὸ σώματος ψυχῆς διά-
 κρισιν, ἀλλὰ τὴν ἀνοσίῳν δογμάτων καὶ λόγων
 φθοράν, οἷς ἐχρῶντο διὰ στόματος καὶ γλώττης
 καὶ τῶν ἄλλων φωνητηρίων ὀργάνων.

¹ mss. φιλομαθεῖς.² Presumably a slip for τῆς θαλάσσης.

THE CONFUSION OF TONGUES, 31-37

first privilege—to stand; but secondly—strange paradox—he “meets.” For “thou shalt stand meeting” says the text, though “meet” involves the idea of motion and “stand” calls up the thought of rest. Yet the two things here spoken of are not 32 really in conflict, but in most natural sequence to each other. For he whose constitution of mind and judgement is tranquil and firmly established will be found to oppose all those who rejoice in surge and tumult and manufacture the storm to disturb his natural capacity for calmness.

X. It is 33 well indeed that the opponents should meet on the lip or edge of the river. The lips are the boundaries of the mouth and a kind of hedge to the tongue and through them the stream of speech passes, when it begins its downward flow. Now speech is an ally 34 employed by those who hate virtue and love the passions to inculcate their untenable tenets, and also by men of worth for the destruction of such doctrines and to set up beyond resistance the sovereignty of those that are better, those in whose goodness there is no deceit. When, indeed, after they have let out 35 every reef of contentious sophistry, the opposing onset of the sage’s speech has overturned their bark and sent them to perdition, he will, as is just and fit, set in order his holy choir to sing the anthem of victory, and sweet is the melody of that song. For 36 Israel, it says, saw the Egyptians dead on the edge of the sea (Ex. xiv. 30)—not elsewhere. And when he says “dead” he does not mean the death which is the separation of soul and body, but the destruction of unholy doctrines and of the words which their mouth and tongue and the other vocal organs gave them to use. Now the death of 37

- 37 λόγου δὲ θάνατός ἐστιν ἡσυχία, οὐχ ἦν οἱ ἐπιεικέ-
στεροι ποιούμενοι σύμβολον αἰδοῦς μετέρχονται—
δύναμις γὰρ καὶ ἥδε ἐστὶν ἀδελφὴ τῆς ἐν τῷ λέγειν
ταμιευομένη μέχρι καιροῦ τὰ λεκτέα—, ἀλλ' ἦν
οἱ ἐξησθενηκότες καὶ ἀπειρηκότες διὰ τὴν τῶν
ἐναντίων ἰσχὺν ὑπομένουσιν ἄκοντες λαβὴν¹ οὐδεμίαν
38 ἔθ' εὐρίσκοντες. ὧν τε γὰρ ἂν ἐφάψωνται, διαρρεῖ,
καὶ οἷς ἂν ἐπιβῶσιν, οὐχ ὑπομένει, ὥς πρὶν ἢ
στήναι πίπτειν ἀναγκάζεσθαι, ὥσπερ ἡ ἔλιξ, τὸ
ὕδρηρὸν ὄργανον, ἔχει· κατὰ γὰρ μέσον αὐτὸ γεγό-
νασι βαθμοὶ τινες, ὧν ὁ γεωπόνος, ὅταν ἐθελήσῃ
ποτίσαι τὰς ἀρούρας, ἐπιβαίνει μὲν, περιολισθαίνει
δ' ἀναγκαίως· ὑπὲρ δὲ τοῦ μὴ πίπτειν συνεχῶς
πλησίον ἐχυροῦ τινος ταῖς χερσὶ περιδράττεται, οὐ
ἐνείλημμένος τὸ ὅλον σῶμα ἀπηώρηκεν αὐτοῦ·
<ὥστε> ἀντὶ μὲν ποδῶν χερσίν, ἀντὶ δὲ χειρῶν
ποσὶ χρῆσθαι· ἴσταται μὲν γὰρ ἐπὶ χειρῶν, δι' ὧν
εἰσιν αἱ πράξεις, πράττει δ' ἐν ποσίν, ἐφ' ὧν εἰκὸς
39 ἴστασθαι. XI. πολλοὶ δ' οὐ δυνάμενοι
τὰς πιθανὰς τῶν σοφιστῶν εὐρέσεις ἀνὰ κράτος
ἐλεῖν τῷ μὴ σφόδρα περὶ λόγους διὰ τὴν ἐν τοῖς
ἔργοις συνεχῇ μελέτην γεγυμνάσθαι κατέφυγον ἐπὶ
τὴν τοῦ μόνου σοφοῦ συμμαχίαν καὶ βοηθὸν αὐτὸν
ικέτευσαν γενέσθαι· καθὰ καὶ τῶν Μωυσέως γνω-
ρίμων τις ἐν ὕμνοις εὐχόμενος εἶπεν· “ἀλαλα
γενέσθω τὰ χεῖλη τὰ δόλια.” πῶς δ' ἂν ἡσυχάσαι,
εἰ μὴ πρὸς μόνου τοῦ καὶ τὸν λόγον αὐτὸν ἔχοντος
ὑπήκοον ἐπιστομισθεῖ;

¹ MSS. βλάβην.

* Or “arguments,” *eûreisis* being the technical term in rhetoric for collecting material for speech. See on *De Mig.* 35.

THE CONFUSION OF TONGUES, 37-39

words is silence, not the silence which well-behaved people cultivate, regarding it as a sign of modesty, for that silence is actually a power, sister to the power of speech, husbanding the fitting words till the moment for utterance comes. No, it is the undesired silence to which those whom the strength of their opponent has reduced to exhaustion and prostration must submit, when they find no longer any argument ready to their hand. For what they 38 handle dissolves in their hands, and what they stand on gives way beneath them, so that they must needs fall before they stand. You might compare the treadmill which is used for drawing water. In the middle are some steps and on these the labourer, when he wants to water the fields, sets his feet but cannot help slipping off, and to save himself from continually falling he grasps with his hands some firm object nearby and holding tight to it uses it as a suspender for his whole body. And so his feet serve him for hands and his hands for feet, for he keeps himself standing with the hands which we use for work, and works with his feet, on which he would naturally stand.

XI. Now there are many who 39 though they have not the capacity to demolish by sheer force the plausible inventions^a of the sophists, because their occupation has lain continuously in active life and thus they are not trained in any high degree to deal with words, find refuge in the support of the solely Wise Being and beseech Him to become their helper. Such a one is the disciple of Moses who prays thus in the Psalms: "Let their cunning lips become speechless" (Ps. xxx. [xxxi.] 19). And how should such lips be silent, unless they were bridled by Him who alone holds speech itself as His vassal?

PHILO

- 40 Τὰς μὲν οὖν εἰς τὸ ἁμαρτάνειν συνόδους ἀμετα-
στρεπτί φευκτέον, τὸ δὲ ἔνσπονδον πρὸς τοὺς
[411] φρονήσεως καὶ | ἐπιστήμης ἐταῖρους βεβαιωτέον.
- 41 παρὸ καὶ τοὺς λέγοντας “ πάντες ἐσμέν υἱοὶ ἐνὸς
ἀνθρώπου, εἰρηνικοὶ ἐσμεν ” τεθαύμακα τῆς εὐαρ-
μόστου συμφωνίας· ἐπεὶ καὶ πῶς οὐκ ἐμέλλετε,
φήσαιμ’ ἂν, ὦ γενναῖοι, πολέμῳ μὲν δυσχεραίνειν,
εἰρήνῃν δὲ ἀγαπᾶν, ἓνα καὶ τὸν αὐτὸν ἐπιγεγραμ-
μένοι πατέρα οὐ θνητὸν ἀλλ’ ἀθάνατον, ἄνθρωπον
θεοῦ, ὃς τοῦ αἰδίου λόγος ὢν ἐξ ἀνάγκης καὶ αὐτός
- 42 ἐστὶν ἄφθαρτος; οἱ μὲν γὰρ πολλὰς ἀρχὰς τοῦ
κατὰ ψυχὴν γένους συστησάμενοι, τῷ πολυθέῳ
λεγομένῳ κακῷ προσνείμαντες ἑαυτοὺς, ἄλλοι πρὸς
ἄλλων τιμὰς τραπόμενοι ταραχὰς καὶ στάσεις
ἐμφυλίου τε καὶ ξενικὰς ἐδημιούργησαν¹ τὸν ἀπ’
ἀρχῆς γενέσεως ἄχρι τελευτῆς βίον πολέμων ἀκη-
- 43 ρύκτων καταπλήσαντες. οἱ δὲ ἐνὶ γένει
χαίροντες καὶ ἓνα πατέρα τὸν ὀρθὸν τιμῶντες
λόγον, τὴν εὐάρμοστον καὶ πάμμουσον συμφωνίαν
ἀρετῶν τεθουμακότες, εὖδιον καὶ γαληνὸν βίον
ζῶσιν, οὐ μὴν ἀργὸν καὶ ἀγενῆ τινα, ὥς ἔνιοι
νομίζουσιν, ἀλλὰ σφόδρα ἀνδρεῖον καὶ λίαν ἡκονη-
μένον κατὰ τῶν σπονδὰς λύειν ἐπιχειρούντων καὶ
σύγχυσιν ὀρκίων αἰεὶ μελετώντων· τοὺς γὰρ εἰρη-
ναίους φύσει πολεμικοὺς εἶναι συμβέβηκεν ἀντι-
καθημένους καὶ ἀνθεστῶτας τοῖς τὸ εὐσταθὲς τῆς
- 44 ψυχῆς ἀνατρέπουσι. XII. μαρτυρεῖ δέ
μου τῷ λόγῳ πρῶτον μὲν ἡ ἐκάστου τῶν φιλαρέτων
διάνοια διακειμένη τὸν τρόπον τοῦτον, ἔπειτα δὲ

¹ MSS. ἐδημιουργήσαντο.

^a This conception of the Logos recurs in §§ 62 and 146.

THE CONFUSION OF TONGUES, 40-44

Let us flee, then, without a backward glance from 40 the unions which are unions for sin, but hold fast to our alliance with the comrades of good sense and knowledge. And therefore when I hear those who 41 say "We are all sons of one man, we are peaceful" (Gen. xlii. 11), I am filled with admiration for the harmonious concert which their words reveal. "Ah! my friends," I would say, "how should you not hate war and love peace—you who have enrolled yourselves as children of one and the same Father, who is not mortal but immortal—God's Man,^a who being the Word of the Eternal must needs himself be imperishable?" Those whose system includes many 42 origins for the family of the soul, who affiliate themselves to that evil thing called polytheism, who take in hand to render homage some to this deity, some to that, are the authors of tumult and strife at home and abroad, and fill the whole of life from birth to death with internecine wars. But those 43 who rejoice in the oneness of their blood and honour one father, right reason, reverence that concert of virtues, which is full of harmony and melody, and live a life of calmness and fair weather. And yet that life is not, as some suppose, an idle and ignoble life, but one of high courage, and the edge of its spirit is exceeding sharp to fight against those who attempt to break treaties and ever practise the violation of the vows they have sworn. For it is the nature of men of peace that they prove to be men of war, when they take the field and resist those who would subvert the stability of the soul.

XII. The truth of my words is attested first by the 44 consciousness of every virtue-lover, which feels what I have described, and secondly by a chorister of the

καὶ τοῦ προφητικοῦ θιασώτης χοροῦ, ὃς κατα-
 πνευσθεὶς ἐνθουσιῶν ἀνεφθέγγετο· “ὦ μήτερ,
 ἡλίκον με ἔτεκες, ἄνθρωπον μάχης καὶ ἄνθρωπον
 ἀηθρίας πάσης τῆς γῆς; οὐκ ὠφείλησα,¹ οὐδὲ
 ὠφείλησάν μοι, οὐδὲ ἡ ἰσχύς μου ἐξέλιπεν ἀπὸ
 45 καταρῶν αὐτῶν.” ἀλλ’ οὐ πᾶς σοφὸς πᾶσι φαύλοις
 ἐχθρὸς ἐστὶν ἄσπονδος, οὐ τριηρῶν ἢ μηχανημάτων
 ἢ ὅπλων ἢ στρατιωτῶν παρασκευῇ πρὸς ἄμυναν
 46 χρώμενος, ἀλλὰ λογισμοῖς²; ὅταν γὰρ
 τὸν ἐν τῇ ἀπολέμῳ εἰρήνῃ συνεχῇ καὶ ἐπάλληλον
 ἀνθρώπων ἀπάντων ἴδιον καὶ κοινόν, μὴ κατὰ ἔθνη
 καὶ χώρας ἢ πόλεις καὶ κώμας αὐτὸ μόνον, ἀλλὰ
 καὶ κατ’ οἰκίαν καὶ ἓνα ἕκαστον τῶν ἐν μέρει
 συγκροτούμενον πόλεμον θεάσῃται, τίς ἐστὶν ὃ γε
 μὴ παραινῶν,³ κακίζων, νουθετῶν, σωφρονίζων, οὐ
 μεθ’ ἡμέραν μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ νύκτωρ, τῆς ψυχῆς
 αὐτῷ ἡρεμεῖν μὴ δυναμένης διὰ τὸ μισοπόνηρον
 47 φύσει; πάντα γὰρ ὅσα ἐν πολέμῳ δρᾶται κατ’
 εἰρήνην· συλῶσιν, ἀρπάζουσιν, ἀνδραποδίζονται,
 [412] λεηλατοῦσι, | πορθοῦσιν, ὑβρίζουσιν, αἰκίζονται,
 φθείρουσιν, αἰσχύνουσι, δολοφονοῦσιν, ἀντικρυς, ἣν
 48 ὦσι δυνατώτεροι, κτείνουσι. πλοῦτον γὰρ ἢ δόξαν
 ἕκαστος αὐτῶν σκοπὸν προτεθειμένος ἐπὶ τοῦτον
 ὥσπερ βέλη τὰς τοῦ βίου πράξεις ἀπάσας ἀφιεῖς
 ἰσότητος ἀλογεῖ, τὸ ἄνισον διώκει, κοινωνίαν ἀπο-
 στρέφεται, μόνος τὰ πάντων ἔχειν ἀθρόα ἐσπούδακε,
 μισάνθρωπος καὶ μισάλληλός ἐστιν, ὑποκρινόμενος

¹ For the question between ὠφείλησα . . . ὠφείλησάν μοι and ὠφέλησα . . . ὠφέλησάν με here and in § 50 see App. p. 553.

² MSS. χρώμενος ἐπιλογισμοῖς.

³ MSS. παροῦσι.

^a See App. p. 553.

^b Or “is organized.” See on *De Agr.* 35.

THE CONFUSION OF TONGUES, 44-48

prophetic company, who possessed by divine inspiration spoke thus: "O my mother, how great didst thou bear me, a man of combat and a man of displeasure in all the earth! I did not owe, nor did they owe to me, nor did my strength fail from their curses" (Jer. xv. 10^a). Yes, is not every wise man 45 the mortal foe of every fool, a foe who is equipped not with triremes or engines, or body-armour or soldiers for his defence, but with reasonings only?

For who, when he sees that war, which 46 amid the fullest peace^a is waged^b among all men continuously, phase ever succeeding phase, in private and public life, a war in which the combatants are not just nations and countries, or cities and villages, but also house against house and each particular man against himself, who, I say, does not exhort, reproach, admonish, correct by day and night alike, since his soul cannot rest, because its nature is to hate evil? For all the deeds of war are done in peace. Men 47 plunder, rob, kidnap, spoil, sack, outrage, maltreat, violate, dishonour and commit murder sometimes by treachery, or if they be stronger without disguise. Every man sets before him money or reputation as 48 his aim, and at this he directs all the actions of his life like arrows against a target. He takes no heed of equity, but pursues the inequitable.^c He eschews thoughts of fellowship, and his eager desire is that the wealth of all should be gathered in his single purse. He hates others, whether his hate be returned or not.^d His benevolence is hypocrisy. He is hand

^c Or "equality . . . inequality."

^d Or "hates both mankind and his neighbour." That is to say, Philo perhaps uses *μισόλληλος*, which, properly speaking, can only be used, and indeed seems elsewhere to be only used, in the plural, somewhat loosely.

εὐνοϊαν, κολακείας νόθης ἑταῖρος ὢν, φιλίας γνησίου πολέμιος, ἀληθείας ἐχθρός, ὑπέρμαχος ψεύδους, βραδὺς ὠφελῆσαι, ταχὺς βλάψαι, διαβαλεῖν προχειρότατος, ὑπερασπίσαι μελλητῆς, δεινὸς φενακίσαι, ψευδορκότατος, ἀπιστότατος, δοῦλος ὀργῆς, εἴκων ἡδονῇ, φύλαξ κακῶν, φθορεὺς ἀγαθῶν.

- 49 XIII. ταῦτα καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα τῆς ἀδομένης καὶ θαυματομένης εἰρήνης περιμάχητα κειμήλια, ἅπερ ἡ ἐκάστου τῶν ἀφρόνων ἀγαλματοφοροῦσα διάνοια τέθηπε καὶ προσκυνεῖ. ἐφ' οἷς εἰκότως καὶ πᾶς σοφὸς ἄχθεται, καὶ πρὸς γε τὴν μητέρα καὶ τιθήνην ἑαυτοῦ, σοφίαν, εἴωθε λέγειν. “ὦ μήτερ, ἡλίκον με ἔτεκες,” οὐ δυνάμει σώματος, ἀλλὰ τῇ πρὸς <τὸ> μισοπόνηρον ἀλκῇ, ἀνθρωπον ἀηδίας καὶ μάχης, φύσει μὲν εἰρηνικόν, διὰ δὲ τοῦτο καὶ πολεμικόν κατὰ τῶν αἰσχυρόντων τὸ
- 50 περιμάχητον κάλλος εἰρήνης. “οὐκ ὠφείλησα, οὐδὲ ὠφείλησάν μοι.” οὔτε γὰρ αὐτοὶ τοῖς ἐμοῖς ἀγαθοῖς ποτε ἐχρήσαντο, οὔτε ἐγὼ τοῖς ἐκείνων κακοῖς, ἀλλὰ κατὰ τὸ Μωυσέως γράμμα “ἐπιθύμημα οὐδενὸς αὐτῶν ἔλαβον,” σύμπαν τὸ τῆς ἐπιθυμίας αὐτῶν γένος θησαυρισαμένων παρ' ἑαυτοῖς ὡς
- 51 μέγιστον ὄφελος ὑπερβάλλον βλάβος. “οὐδὲ ἡ ἰσχὺς μου ἐξέλιπεν ἀπὸ τῶν ἀρῶν ἃς ἐτίθεντό μοι,” δυνάμει δὲ κραταιοτάτῃ τῶν θείων ἐνείλημμένος δογματῶν οὐδὲ¹ κακούμενος² ἐκάμφθην, ἀλλὰ ἔρρω-

¹ MSS. οὔτε, which is quite impossible. Wend., who retains it in the text, notes “write οὐ, or place a lacuna after ἐκάμφθην.” It seems to me that, as the words are a paraphrase of οὐδὲ ἡ ἰσχὺς κτλ. of the quotation, the easier correction to οὐδὲ is reasonable.

² MSS. ἐκκακούμενος.

THE CONFUSION OF TONGUES, 48-51

and glove with canting flattery, at open war with genuine friendship ; an enemy to truth, a defender of falsehood, slow to help, quick to harm, ever forward to slander, backward to champion the accused, skilful to cozen, false to his oath, faithless to his promise, a slave to anger, a thrall to pleasure, protector of the bad, corrupter of the good.

XIII. These and the like are the much-coveted 49 treasures of the peace which men admire and praise so loudly—treasures enshrined in the mind of every fool with wonder and veneration. But to every wise man they are, as they should be, a source of pain, and often will he say to his mother and nurse, wisdom, “ O mother, how great didst thou bear me ! ” Great, not in power of body, but in strength to hate evil, a man of displeasure and combat, by nature a man of peace, but for this very cause also a man of war against those who dishonour the much-prized loveliness of peace. “ I did not owe nor did they owe to 50 me,” for neither did they use the good I had to give, nor I their evil, but, as Moses wrote, “ I received from none of them what they desired ”^a (Num. xvi. 15). For all that comes under the head of their desire they kept as treasure to themselves, believing that to be the greatest blessing which was the supreme mischief. “ Nor did my strength fail from the curses 51 which they laid upon me,” but with all my might and main I clung to the divine truths ; I did not bend under their ill-treatment, but used my strength

^a E.V. “ I have not taken one ass from them.” The verse in the LXX. goes on οὐδὲ ἐκάκωσα οὐδένα αὐτῶν, which shows that οὐδενός is, as it is taken in the translation, masculine. Philo’s interpretation, however (σύμπαν τὸ τῆς ἐπιθυμίας γένος), suggests, perhaps, that he took it as neuter, “ I did not receive their desire for anything.”

μένως ὠνεΐδισα τοῖς ἐξ ἑαυτῶν μὴ καθαιρομένοις·

52 “ἔθετο” γὰρ “ἡμᾶς ὁ θεὸς εἰς ἀντιλογίαν τοῖς γείτοσιν ἡμῶν,” ὡς καὶ ἐν ὕμνοις που λέλεκται, πάντας τοὺς ὀρθῆς γνώμης ἐφιεμένους. ἀλλ’ οὐκ ἀντιλογικοὶ φύσει γεγόνασιν, ὅσοι τὸν ἐπιστήμης καὶ ἀρετῆς ζῆλον ἔσχον αἰεὶ, τοῖς γείτοσι ψυχῆς ἀντιφιλονεικοῦντες, ἐλέγχοντες μὲν τὰς συνοίκους ἡδονάς, ἐλέγχοντες δὲ τὰς ὁμοδιαίτους ἐπιθυμίας, δειλίας τε καὶ φόβους, τὸ παθῶν καὶ κακιῶν στίφος δυσωποῦντες, ἐλέγχοντες μέντοι καὶ πᾶσαν αἴσθησιν, περὶ μὲν ὧν εἶδον ὀφθαλμούς, περὶ ὧν δὲ ἤκουσαν ἀκοάς, ὁσμάς τε περὶ ἀτμῶν καὶ γεύσεις περὶ χυμῶν, ἔτι δὲ ἀφὰς περὶ τῶν κατὰ τὰς προσπιπτούσας τῶν ἐν τοῖς σώμασι δυνάμεων ιδιότη-
[413] τας, καὶ μὲν δὴ¹ τὸν προφορικὸν λόγον περὶ ὧν διεξελεθῆναι | ἔδοξε; τίνα γὰρ ἢ πῶς ἢ

53 διὰ τί ἢ αἰσθησις ἦσθετο ἢ ὁ λόγος διηρμήνευσεν ἢ τὸ πάθος διέθηκεν, ἄξιον ἐρευνᾶν μὴ παρέργως

54 καὶ τῶν σφαλμάτων διελέγχειν ἕκαστον. ὁ δὲ μηδενὶ τούτων ἀντιλέγων, ἅπασιν δὲ ἐξῆς συνεπι-
νεύων ἑαυτὸν λέληθεν ἀπατῶν καὶ ἐπιτειχίζων ψυχῇ βαρεῖς γείτονας, οἷς ἄμεινον ὑπηκόοις ἢ ἄρχουσι χρῆσθαι· ἡγεμονεύοντες μὲν γὰρ πολλὰ πημανοῦσι καὶ μεγάλα βασιλευούσης παρ’ αὐτοῖς ἀνοίας, ὑπακούοντες δὲ τὰ δέονθ’ ὑπηρετήσουσι πειθηνίως οὐκέθ’ ὁμοίως ἀπαυχενίζοντες.

55 οὕτως μέντοι τῶν μὲν ὑπακούειν μαθόντων, τῶν

¹ καὶ μὲν δὴ] so mss. and Wend., but this combination of particles seems to me hardly possible.

^a Cf. *De Gig.* 46 τοὺς ἐξ ἑαυτῶν μὴ πεφυκότας νοθετεῖσθαι.
Lit. “the things belonging to the peculiarities of the

THE CONFUSION OF TONGUES, 51-55

to reproach those who refused to effect their own purification.^a For "God has set us up for a contradiction to our neighbours," as is said in a verse of the Psalms (Ps. lxxix. [lxxx.] 7); us, that is all who desire right judgement. Yes, surely they are by nature men of contradiction, all who have ever been zealous for knowledge and virtue, who contend jealously with the "neighbours" of the soul; who test the pleasures which share our home, the desires which live at our side, our fears and faintings of heart, and put to shame the tribe of passions and vices. Further, they test also every sense, the eyes on what they see, the ears on what they hear, the sense of smell on its perfumes, the taste on its flavours, the touch on the characteristics which mark the qualities of substances as they come in contact with it.^b And lastly they test the utterance on the statements which it has been led to make.

For what our senses perceive, or our speech expresses, or our emotion causes us to feel, and how or why each result is attained, are matters which we should scrutinize carefully and expose every error that we find. He who contradicts none of these, but assents to all as they come before him, is unconsciously deceiving himself and raising up a stronghold of dangerous neighbours to menace the soul, neighbours who should be dealt with as subjects, not as rulers. For if they have the mastery, since folly is their king, the mischief they work will be great and manifold; but as subjects they will render due service and obey the rein, and chafe no more against the yoke.

And, when these have thus learnt the

powers in bodies" (*τῶν κατὰ τὰς ιδιότητας* being practically equivalent to *τῶν ιδιοτήτων*). See further App. p. 554.

δ' οὐκ ἐπιστήμη μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ δυνάμει τὴν ἀρχὴν λαβόντων πάντες οἱ δορυφόροι καὶ ὑπέρμαχοι ψυχῆς συμφρονήσουσι λογισμοὶ καὶ τῷ πρεσβυτάτῳ τῶν ἐν αὐτοῖς προσελθόντες ἐροῦσιν· “οἱ παῖδες σου εἰλήφασι τὸ κεφάλαιον τῶν ἀνδρῶν τῶν πολεμιστῶν τῶν μεθ' ἡμῶν, οὐ διαπεφώνηκεν αὐτῶν οὐδὲ εἰς,” ἀλλ' ὥσπερ τὰ μουσικῆς ὄργανα ἄκρως ἡρμωσμένα πᾶσι τοῖς φθόγγοις, οὕτως ἡμεῖς πάσαις ταῖς ὑψηλήσεσι συνηχήσαμεν, ἐκμελὲς ἢ ἀπῳδὸν οὐδὲν οὔτε¹ ῥήμα εἰπόντες οὔτ' ἔργον διαπραξάμενοι, ὡς τὸν ἕτερον τῶν ἀμούσων χορὸν πάντα ἄφωνον καὶ νεκρὸν ἀποδείξαι γελασθέντα τὴν τῶν σωματικῶν τροφὸν² Μαδιάμ καὶ τὸν ἔκγονον αὐτῆς δερμάτινον 56 ὄγκον Βεελφεγὼρ ὄνομα ὑμνοῦντα.³ γένος γάρ ἐσμεν “τῶν ἐπιλέκτων τοῦ” τὸν θεὸν ὀρώντος “Ἰσραήλ,” ὧν “διεφώνησεν οὐδὲ εἰς,” ἵνα τὸ τοῦ παντὸς ὄργανον, ὁ κόσμος πᾶς, ταῖς ἀρμονίαις 57 μουσικῶς μελωδῇται. διὰ τοῦτο καὶ Μωυσῆς τῷ πολεμικωτάτῳ λόγῳ, ὃς καλεῖται Φινεές, γέρας εἰρήνην φησὶ δεδόσθαι, ὅτι ζῆλον τὸν ἀρετῆς λαβὼν καὶ πόλεμον πρὸς κακίαν ἀρά-

¹ mss. οὐδὲ.

² τροφὸν Mangey: mss. and Wend. τροφήν. See App. p. 554.

³ I have adopted ὑμνοῦντα (originally suggested by G. H. W.) for the ὑπνοῦντα of mss. and Wend., who defends it as an antithesis to ὀρώντος in the next sentence. For a discussion of the text of the whole sentence see App. p. 554.

THE CONFUSION OF TONGUES, 55-57

lesson of obedience, and those have assumed the command which not only knowledge but power has given them, all the thoughts that attend and guard the soul will be one in purpose and approaching Him that ranks highest among them will speak thus: "Thy servants have taken the sum of the men of war who were with us, and there is no discordant voice" (Num. xxxi. 49).^a "We," they will continue, "like instruments of music where all the notes are in perfect tune, echo with our voices all the lessons we have received. We speak no word and do no deed that is harsh or grating, and thus we have made a laughing-stock of all that other dead and voiceless choir, the choir of those who know not the muse, the choir which hymns Midian, the nurse of things bodily, and her offspring, the heavy leathern weight whose name is Baal-Peor. For we are the 'race of 56 the Chosen ones of that Israel' who sees God, 'and there is none amongst us of discordant voice'" (Ex. xxiv. 11),^b that so the whole world, which is the instrument of the All, may be filled with the sweet melody of its undiscording harmonies. And 57 therefore too Moses tells us how peace was assigned as the prize of that most warlike reason, called Phinehas (Num. xxv. 12), because, inspired with zeal for virtue and waging war against vice, he ripped

^a For Philo's treatment of this text see *De Ebr.* 114 ff. and note.

^b LXX. LXX. καὶ τῶν ἐπιλέκτων τοῦ Ἰσραὴλ οὐ διεφώνησεν οὐδὲ εἰς, E.V. "and on the elders of Israel he laid not his hand." Here clearly *διαφωνεῖν* means "to perish," and so perhaps in Num. xxxi. 49. rather than "failed to answer his name." Philo probably understood this, but for the purpose of his musical allegory gives the word its literal meaning.

μενος ὅλην ἀνέτεμε γένεσιν, ἐξῆς¹ τοῖς βουλομένοις, διακύψασι καὶ διερευνησαμένοις ἀκριβῶς ὅψει πρὸ ἀκοῆς σαφεστέρῳ χρησαμένοις μάρτυρι, πιστεῦσαι, ὅτι γέμει τὸ θνητὸν ἀπιστίας, ἐκ μόνου τοῦ

58 δοκεῖν ἡρτημένον. θαυμάσιος μὲν οὖν ἡ λεχθεῖσα συμφωνία, θαυμασιωτάτῃ δὲ καὶ πάσας τὰς ἀρμονίας ὑπερβάλλουσα ἡ κοινὴ πάντων, καθ' ἣν ὁ λαὸς ἅπας ὁμοθυμαδὸν εἰσάγεται λέγων·

“ πάντα ὅσα εἶπεν ὁ θεός, ποιήσομεν καὶ ἀκουσό-

59 μεθα.” οὗτοι γὰρ οὐκέτι ἐξάρχοντι πείθονται λόγῳ, ἀλλὰ τῷ τοῦ παντὸς ἡγεμόνι θεῷ, δι' ὃν πρὸς τὰ

[414] ἔργα φθάνουσι μᾶλλον ἢ τοὺς | λόγους ἀπαντῶν-
τες· τῶν γὰρ ἄλλων ἐπειδὰν ἀκούσωσι πραττόντων οὗτοι, τὸ παραδοξότατον, ὑπὸ κατοκωχῆς ἐνθέου πράξειν φασὶ πρότερον, εἶτα ἀκούσεσθαι, ἵνα μὴ διδασκαλία καὶ ὑφηγήσει δοκῶσιν, ἀλλὰ ἐθελουργῶ καὶ αὐτοκελεύστω διανοίᾳ πρὸς τὰ καλὰ τῶν ἔργων ὑπαντᾶν· ἐργασάμενοι δὲ ἀκούσεσθαι φασιν, ὅπως ἐπικρίνωσι τὰ πραχθέντα, εἰ λόγοις θείοις καὶ ἱεραῖς παραινέσεσι συνάδει.

60 XIV. Τοὺς δὲ συνομοσαμένους ἐπ' ἀδικήμασιν “ ἀπὸ ἀνατολῶν ” φησι “ κινήσαντας εὐρεῖν πεδῖον ἐν τῇ γῇ Σενάαρ κακεὶ κατοικῆσαι,” φυσικώτατα·

¹ Perhaps ἐξῆς <δὲ>. Wend. places a lacuna before ἐξῆς, Cohn after it, corrected to ἐξ ἧς. Neither gives any suggestion as to what this lacuna contained. My reasons for thinking that there is no such lacuna are given in note a below.

* The course of the thought, as I understand, is this. By close examination, particularly of the senses (§§ 52, 53), we obtain a mastery of them, and thus reach the harmony of which the Captains of Num. xxxi. spoke (§ 55). This involves

THE CONFUSION OF TONGUES, 57-60

open all created being ; how in their turn ^a that prize is given to those who, after diligent and careful scrutiny, following the more certain testimony of sight, rather than hearing, have the will to accept the faith that mortality is full of unfaith and clings only to the seeming. Wonderful then ⁵⁸ indeed is the symphony of voices here described, but most wonderful of all, exceeding every harmony, is that united universal symphony in which we find the whole people declaring with one heart, " All that God hath said we will do and hear " (Ex. xix. 8). Here the precentor whom they follow is no longer ⁵⁹ the Word, but God the Sovereign of all, for whose sake ^b they become quicker to meet the call to action than the call of words. For other men act after they have heard, but these under the divine inspiration say—strange inversion—that they will act first and hear afterwards, that so they may be seen to go forward to deeds of excellence, not led by teaching or instruction, but through the self-acting, self-dictated instinct of their own hearts. And when they have *done*, then, as they say, they will *hear*, that so they may judge their actions, whether they chime with the divine words and the sacred admonitions.

XIV. Now those who conspired for iniquities, ⁶⁰ " moved," we are told, " from the ' east ' (or ' rising ') and found a plain in the land of Shinar and dwelt

the conviction of the untrustworthiness of all created things, and thus brings the Captains into line with Phinehas, whose ripping up of the " woman " *γένησις* meant the same thing. Thus the prize of true peace goes first to Phinehas, but also in their turn (*ἐξῆς*) to the Captains. Historically, of course, they are linked with Phinehas, who was their leader in the war against Midian.

^b Or " through whom." See note on § 127.

- διπλὸν γὰρ εἶδος τῆς κατὰ τὴν ψυχὴν ἀνατολῆς, τὸ μὲν ἄμεινον, τὸ δὲ χεῖρον, ἄμεινον μὲν, ὅταν ἡλιακῶν ἀκτίνων τρόπον ἀνάσχη τὸ ἀρετῶν φέγγος, χεῖρον δ', ὅταν αἱ μὲν ἐπισκιασθῶσι, κακίαι
- 61 δὲ ἀνάσχωσι. παράδειγμα τοῦ μὲν προτέρου τόδε· “καὶ ἐφύτευσεν ὁ θεὸς παράδεισον ἐν Ἐδέμ κατὰ ἀνατολάς,” οὐ χερσαίων φυτῶν, ἀλλ' οὐρανίων ἀρετῶν, ὥς ἐξ ἀσωμάτου τοῦ παρ' ἑαυτῷ φωτὸς ἀσβέστους εἰσαεὶ γενησομένας ὁ φυτουργὸς ἀν-
- 62 ἔτειλεν. ἤκουσα μέντοι καὶ τῶν Μωυσέως ἐταίρων τινὸς ἀποφθεγξαμένου τοιούτῳ λόγιον· “ἴδου ἄνθρωπος ᾧ ὄνομα ἀνατολή·” καινοτάτῃ γε πρόσρησις, εἴαν γε τὸν ἐκ σώματος καὶ ψυχῆς συνεστῶτα λέγεσθαι νομίσης· εἴαν δὲ τὸν ἀσώματον ἐκείνον, θείας ἀδιαφοροῦντα εἰκόνας, ὁμολογήσεις ὅτι εὐθυβολώτατον ὄνομα ἐπεφημίσθη
- 63 τὸ ἀνατολῆς¹ αὐτῷ· τοῦτον μὲν γὰρ πρεσβύτατον υἱὸν ὁ τῶν ὄλων ἀνέτειλε πατήρ, ὃν ἐτέρωθι πρωτόγονον ὠνόμασε, καὶ ὁ γεννηθεὶς μέντοι, μιμούμενος τὰς τοῦ πατρὸς ὁδοὺς, πρὸς παραδείγματα ἀρχέτυπα ἐκείνου βλέπων ἐμόρφου τὰ εἶδη.
- 64 XV. Τοῦ δὲ χείρονος ἀνατολῆς εἶδους ὑπόδειγμα τὸ λεχθὲν ἐπὶ τοῦ βουλομένου τὸν ἐπαινούμενον ὑπὸ θεοῦ καταράσασθαι· πρὸς γὰρ ἀνατολαῖς εἰσάγεται κακὲκείνος οἰκῶν, αἵτινες ὁμωνυμοῦσαι ταῖς προτέραις ἐναντιότητα καὶ μάχην πρὸς αὐτὰς
- 65 ἔχουσιν· “ἐκ Μεσοποταμίας” γὰρ φησι “μετεπέμψατό με Βαλάκ, ἐξ ὁρέων ἀπὸ ἀνατολῶν, λέγων·

¹ Or perhaps ἀνατολή.

^a E.V. “branch” (margin, “bud”).

THE CONFUSION OF TONGUES, 60-65

there " (Gen. xi. 2). How true to nature ! For there are two kinds of " rising " in the soul, the better and the worse. The better is when the beam of the virtues rises like the rays of the sun ; the worse when virtues pass into the shadow and vices rise above the horizon. We have an example of the former in these 61 words : " And God planted a pleasaunce in Eden towards the sun-rise " (Gen. ii. 8). That garden was not a garden of the plants of the soil, but of heavenly virtues, which out of His own incorporeal light the Planter brought to their rising, never to be extinguished.

I have heard also an oracle 62 from the lips of one of the disciples of Moses, which runs thus : " Behold a man whose name is the rising " ^a (Zech. vi. 12), strangest of titles, surely, if you suppose that a being composed of soul and body is here described. But if you suppose that it is that Incorporeal one, who differs not a whit from the divine image, you will agree that the name of " rising " assigned to him quite truly describes him. For that man is the eldest son, whom the Father of 63 all raised up, and elsewhere calls him His first-born, and indeed the Son thus begotten followed the ways of his Father, and shaped the different kinds, looking to the archetypal patterns which that Father supplied.

XV. Of the worse kind of rising we have an 64 example in the description of him who wished to curse one who was praised by God. For he too is represented as dwelling at the " rising," and this rising though it bears the same name as the other is in direct conflict with it. " Balak," we read, 65 " sent for me from Mesopotamia from the mountains from the rising saying, ' Come hither, curse for me

δεῦρο ἄρασαί μοι ὄν μὴ ἀράται ὁ θεός." ἔρμη-
 [415] νεύεται δὲ Βαλὰκ ἄνους, εὐθυβολώτατα· πῶς | γὰρ
 οὐκ ἄνοια δεινὴ τὸ ὄν ἐλπίσαι ἀπατάσθαι καὶ
 γνώμην αὐτοῦ τὴν βεβαιοτάτην ἀνθρώπων σοφί-
 66 σμασι παρατρέπεσθαι; διὰ τοῦτο καὶ Μεσοποταμίαν
 οἰκεῖ καταπεποντωμένης ὥσπερ ἐν μεσαιτάτῳ
 ποταμοῦ βυθῷ τῆς διανοίας αὐτοῦ καὶ μὴ δυνα-
 μένης ἀνανήξασθαι καὶ ἀνακῦσαι· τοῦτο δὲ τὸ
 πάθος ἀνατολὴ μὲν ἀφροσύνης, κατάδυσις δὲ
 67 εὐλογιστίας ἐστίν. οἱ τὴν ἀσύμφωνον
 οὖν ἀρμοζόμενοι συμφωνίαν ἀπὸ ἀνατολῶν κινεῖσθαι
 λέγονται. πότερον ἄρα γε τῶν <κατ' ἀρετὴν ἢ
 τῶν> κατὰ κακίαν; ἀλλ' εἰ μὲν τῶν κατ' ἀρετὴν,
 παντελὴς ὑπογράφεται διάζευξις· εἰ δὲ τῶν κατὰ
 κακίαν, ἡνωμένη τις κίνησις, καθάπερ ἐπὶ χειρῶν
 ἔχει, οὐκ ἰδίᾳ κατὰ ἀπάρτησιν, ἀλλ' ἐν ἀρμονίᾳ
 68 τινὶ τῷ ὅλῳ σώματι συγκινουμένων. ἀρχὴ γὰρ
 καὶ ἀφορμὴ φαύλῳ πρὸς τὰς παρὰ φύσιν ἐνεργείας
 τὸ κακίας χωρίον· ὅσοι δὲ μετανάσται
 μὲν ἀρετῆς ἐγένοντο, ταῖς δ' ἀφροσύνης ἐχρήσαντο
 ἀφορμαῖς, οἰκειότατον εὐρόντες οἰκοῦσι τόπον, ὃς
 Ἑβραίων μὲν γλώττῃ Σεναάρ, Ἑλλήνων δὲ ἐκ-
 69 τιναγμός καλεῖται· σπαράττεται γὰρ καὶ κλονεῖται
 καὶ τινάττεται πᾶς ὁ τῶν φαύλων βίος, κυκλόμενος
 αἰεὶ καὶ παραττόμενος καὶ μηδὲν ἔχνος ἀγαθοῦ
 γνησίου θησαυριζόμενος ἐν ἑαυτῷ. καθάπερ γὰρ
 τῶν ἀποτιναπτομένων ὅσα μὴ ἐνώσει διακρατεῖται
 πάντα ἐκπίπτει, τοῦτόν μοι δοκεῖ καὶ ἡ τοῦ
 συμπεπνευκότος ἐπὶ τῷ ἀδικεῖν ἐκτετινάχθαι τὸν

^a Lit. "the things of virtue . . . of vice."

THE CONFUSION OF TONGUES, 65-69

him whom God does not curse' " (Num. xxiii. 7, 8). Now Balak is by interpretation "foolish," and the interpretation is most true. For surely it were the pitch of folly to hope that the Existent should be deceived, and that His surest purpose should be upset by the devices of men? And this is the reason 66 why Balaam also dwells in "Mid-river-land," for his understanding is submerged in the midmost depths of a river, unable to swim its way upward and lift its head above the surface. This condition is the rising of folly and the setting of reasonableness.

Now these makers of a music whose harmony is dis- 67 harmony, moved, we are told, "from the rising." Is it the rising of virtue that is meant, or the rising of vice? ^a If the former, the movement suggested is one of complete severance. But if it is the latter, it is what we may call an united movement, as when we move our hands, not apart or in isolation, but in connexion and accordance with the whole body. For 68 the place where vice is located serves as the initial starting-point to the fool for those activities which defy nature.

Now all who have wandered away from virtue and accepted the starting-points of folly, find and dwell in a most suitable place, a place which in the Hebrew tongue is called Shinar and in our own "shaking out." For all the life of 69 the fools is torn and hustled and shaken, ever in chaos and disturbance, and keeping no trace of genuine good treasured within it. For just as things which are shaken off all fall out, if not held fast through being part of a unified body,^b so too I think, when a man has conspired for wrongdoing, his soul

^b For the Stoic conception of *ἐνωσις* see note on *Quod Det.* 49.

- τρόπον ψυχῇ· πᾶσαν γὰρ ἰδέαν ἀρετῆς ἀπορρίπτει, ὥς μήτε σκιὰν μήτε εἶδωλον αὐτῆς¹ ἐμφαίνεσθαι τὸ
- 70 παράπαν. XVI. τὸ γοῦν φιλοσώματον γένος τῶν Αἰγυπτίων οὐκ ἀπὸ τοῦ ὕδατος, ἀλλ' "ὑπὸ τὸ ὕδωρ" φεύγον, τουτέστιν ὑπὸ τὴν τῶν παθῶν φοράν, εἰσάγεται, καὶ ἐπειδὰν ὑποδράμῃ τὰ πάθη, τινάττεται καὶ κυκᾶται, τὸ μὲν εὐσταθὲς καὶ εἰρηναῖον ἀποβάλλον ἀρετῆς, τὸ δὲ παραχῶδες ἐπαναιρούμενον κακίας· λέγεται γὰρ ὅτι "ἐξετίναξε τοὺς Αἰγυπτίους κατὰ μέσον τῆς θαλάσσης φεύγον-
71 τας ὑπὸ τὸ ὕδωρ." οὗτοί εἰσιν οἱ μὴδὲ τὸν Ἰωσήφ εἰδότες, τὸν ποικίλον τοῦ βίου τύφον, ἀλλ' ἀποκεκαλυμμένοις χρώμενοι τοῖς ἀμαρτήμασιν, οὐδὲ ἵχνος ἢ σκιὰν καὶ εἶδωλον καλοκαγαθίας
72 ταμιευσάμενοι· "ἀνέστη" γὰρ φησι "βασιλεὺς ἕτερος ἐπ' Αἴγυπτον," ὃς οὐδὲ τὸ πανύστατον καὶ νεώτατον αἰσθητὸν ἀγαθὸν "ἤδει τὸν Ἰωσήφ," ὅστις οὐ μόνον τελειότητος ἀλλὰ καὶ προκοπᾶς, οὐδὲ ἐνάργειαν τὴν οἶαν δι' ὀράσεως ἀλλὰ καὶ διδασκαλίαν τὴν δι' ἀκοῆς ἐγγινομένην ἀνῆρει λέγων· "δεῦρο ἄρασαί μοι τὸν Ἰακώβ, καὶ δεῦρο ἐπικατάρασαί μοι τὸν Ἰσραήλ," ἴσον τῷ ἐλθέ, ἀμφοτέρα κατάλυσον, ὄρασίν τε καὶ ἀκοήν ψυχῆς, ἵνα μὴδὲν ἀληθὲς καὶ γνήσιον καλὸν μήτε ἴδῃ μήτε ἀκούσῃ· ὀράσεως μὲν γὰρ Ἰσραήλ, Ἰακώβ δὲ
73 ἀκοῆς σύμβολον. ὁ μὲν δὴ τῶν τοιούτων
[416] νοὺς ἀπορρίπτει πᾶσαν τὴν ἀγαθοῦ | φύσιν τρόπον τινὰ τιναττόμενος, ἔμπαλιν δ' ὁ τῶν ἀστείων, ἀμιγούς καὶ ἀκράτου μεταποιούμενος τῆς τῶν

¹ MSS. αὐτῇ.

• See App. p. 554.

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is subject to a " shaking out," for it casts away every form of good so that no shadow or semblance of it can be seen at all.

XVI. We have example 70 in the Egyptians, the representatives of those who love the body, who are shewn to us as flying not from the water, but " under the water," that is under the stream of the passions, and when they are submerged^a therein they are shaken and wildly disordered ; they cast away the stability and peacefulness of virtue and take upon them the confusion of vice. For we are told, " that he shook off the Egyptians in the midst of the sea, fleeing under the water " (Ex. xiv. 27).

These are they who know not even 71 Joseph, the many-sided pride of worldly life, and give way to their sins without veil or disguise, husbanding no vestige or shadow or semblance of honourable living. For there rose up, we are told, another King 72 over Egypt, who " knew not " even " Joseph " (Ex. i. 8)—the good that is, which is given by the senses, the last and latest in the scale of goods. It is this same King who would destroy not only all perfection but all progress ; not only the clear vision such as comes of sight, but the instruction also that comes of hearing. He says, " Come hither, curse me Jacob, and come hither, send thy curses upon Israel " (Num. xxiii. 7), and that is equivalent to " Put an end to them both, the soul's sight and the soul's hearing, that it may neither see nor hear any true and genuine excellence." For Israel is the type of seeing, and Jacob of hearing.

The 73 mind of such as these is in a sense shaken and casts forth the whole nature of good, while the mind of the virtuous in contrast claims as its own the Idea of the good, an Idea pure and unalloyed, and shakes and

- ἀγαθῶν ἰδέας, ἀπρτινάττει καὶ ἀποβάλλει τὰ φαῦλα¹.
- 74 θέασαι γοῦν² τὸν ἀσκητὴν οἷά φησιν· “ ἄρατε τοὺς θεοὺς τοὺς ἀλλοτρίους τοὺς μεθ’ ὑμῶν ἐκ μέσου ὑμῶν, καὶ καθαρίσασθε καὶ ἀλλάξατε τὰς στολὰς ὑμῶν, καὶ ἀναστάντες ἀναβῶμεν εἰς Βαιθήλ,” ἵνα, κὰν Λάβαν ἔρευναν αἰτῇται, ἐν ὧ τῷ οἴκῳ μὴ εὔρεθῇ τὰ εἶδωλα, <ἀλλὰ> πράγματα ὑφ’ ἐστῆκότα καὶ ὄντως ὑπαρκτά, ἐστηλιτευμένα ἐν τῇ τοῦ σοφοῦ διανοίᾳ, ὧν καὶ τὸ αὐτομαθὲς γένος Ἰσαὰκ κληρονομεῖ· τὰ γὰρ ὑπαρκτά μόνος οὗτος παρὰ τοῦ πατρὸς λαμβάνει.
- 75 XVII. Παρατήρει δ’ ὅτι οὗ φησιν ἐλθεῖν αὐτοὺς εἰς τὸ πεδῖον ἐν ᾧ κατέμειναν, ἀλλὰ εὔρεῖν ἀναζητήσαντας πάντως καὶ σκεψαμένους τὸ ἐπιτηδειότατον ἀφροσύνη³ χωρίον· τῷ γὰρ ὄντι πᾶς ἄφρων οὐ παρ’ ἐτέρου λαμβάνει ἑαυτῷ τὰ δὲ κακὰ ζητῶν ἀνευρίσκει, μὴ μόνοις⁴ ἀρκούμενος τούτοις ἐφ’ ἅπερ ἡ μοχθηρὰ φύσις δι’ ἑαυτῆς βαδίζει, ἀλλὰ καὶ προστιθεῖς τὰ ἐκ τοῦ κακοτεχνεῖν τέλεια γυμνάσματα. καὶ εἴθε μέντοι πρὸς ὀλίγον ἐνδιατρίψας αὐτοῖς χρόνον μετανίστατο. νυνὶ δὲ καὶ καταμένειν ἀξιοῖ· λέγεται γὰρ ὅτι εὐρόντες τὸ πεδῖον κατώκησαν ὡς ἐν πατρίδι, οὐχ ὡς ἐπὶ ξένης παρώκησαν. ἦττον γὰρ ἦν δεινὸν συντυχόντας ἀμαρτήμασιν ὀθνεῖα αὐτὰ καὶ ὥσπερ ἄλλοδαπά νομίσαι, ἀλλὰ μὴ οἰκεῖα καὶ συγγενῇ ὑπολαβεῖν εἶναι· παρεπιδημήσαντες γὰρ κὰν ἀπέστησαν αὐθις, κατοικήσαντες δὲ βεβαίως καταμένειν εἰσάπαν ἔμελλον.
- 77 διὰ τοῦτο οἱ κατὰ Μωυσῆν σοφοὶ πάντες εἰσάγονται

¹ MSS. φύλλα.² MSS. οὖν.³ MSS. ἀφροσύνης, which perhaps retain in the sense of “the folly-spot best suited to them.”⁴ μόνον MSS.

THE CONFUSION OF TONGUES, 73-77

casts off what is worthless. Thus mark how the Man 74 of Practice speaks : " Take away the alien gods who are with you from the midst of you, and purify yourselves and change your raiment and let us rise up and go up to Bethel " (Gen. xxxv. 2, 3), so that, even though Laban demand a search, no idols may be found in all the house (Gen. xxxi. 35) but veritable substantial realities^a graven, as though on stone, on the heart of the wise, realities which are the heritage of the self-taught nature, Isaac. For Isaac alone receives from his father the " real substance " (Gen. xxv. 5).

XVII. Again observe that he does not say that 75 they *came* to the plain in which they stayed, but that only after full search and exploration they *found* the spot which was the fittest for folly. For indeed every fool does not just take to him what another gives, but he seeks for evil and discovers it. He is not content with the evils only to which depravity proceeds in its natural course, but adds the perfected efforts of the artist in wickedness. And would that 76 he might only stay for a while among them and then change his habitation, but as it is he determines to abide there. For they " found," we are told, " the plain and dwelt there," as though it were their fatherland. They did not sojourn there as on a foreign soil. For it were a less grievous thing if when they fell in with sins, they should count them strangers and outlanders as it were, instead of holding them to be of their own household and kin. For were it a passing visit they would have departed in course of time ; their dwelling there was a sure evidence of a permanent stay. This is why all whom 77 Moses calls wise are represented as sojourners.

^a See note on *De Mig.* 94.

παροικούντες· αἱ γὰρ τούτων ψυχαὶ στέλλονται
 μὲν ἀποικίαν οὐδέποτε¹ τὴν ἐξ οὐρανοῦ, εἰώθασι
 δὲ ἔνεκα τοῦ φιλοθεάμονος καὶ φιλομαθοῦς εἰς τὴν
 78 περίγειον φύσιν ἀποδημεῖν. ἐπειδὴν οὖν ἐνδια-
 τρίψασαι σώμασι τὰ αἰσθητὰ καὶ θνητὰ δι' αὐτῶν
 πάντα κατίδωσι, ἐπανέρχονται ἐκεῖσε πάλιν, ὅθεν
 ὠρμήθησαν τὸ πρῶτον, πατρίδα μὲν τὸν οὐράνιον
 χώρον ἐν ᾧ πολιτεύονται, ξένην δὲ τὸν περίγειον
 ἐν ᾧ παρώκησαν νομίζουσai· τοῖς μὲν γὰρ ἀποικίαν
 στειλαμένοις ἀντὶ τῆς μητροπόλεως ἡ ὑποδεξαμένη
 δήπου πατρίς, ἡ δ' ἐκπέμψασα μένει τοῖς ἀπο-
 79 δεδημηκόσιν, εἰς ἣν καὶ ποθοῦσιν ἐπανέρχεσθαι. |
 [417] τοιγαροῦν εἰκότως Ἀβραὰμ ἐρεῖ τοῖς νεκροφύλαξι
 καὶ ταμίαις τῶν θνητῶν, ἀναστὰς ἀπὸ τοῦ νεκροῦ
 βίου καὶ τύφου· “πάροικος καὶ παρεπίδημός εἰμι
 ἐγὼ μεθ' ὑμῶν,” αὐτόχθονες δὲ ὑμεῖς, κόνιν καὶ
 χοῦν ψυχῆς προτιμήσαντες, προεδρίας ἀξιώσαντες
 80 ὄνομα² Ἐφρών, ὃς ἐρμηνεύεται χοῦς. εἰκότως δὲ
 καὶ ὁ ἀσκητῆς Ἰακώβ τὴν ἐν σώματι παροικίαν
 ὀλοφύρεται λέγων· “αἱ ἡμέραι τῶν ἐτῶν τῆς ζωῆς
 μου, ὥς παροικῶ, μικραὶ καὶ πονηραὶ γεγόνασιν·
 οὐκ ἐξέικοντο εἰς ἡμέρας τῶν πατέρων μου ὥς
 81 παρώκησαν.” τῷ δ' αὐτοδιδάκτῳ καὶ λόγιον
 ἐχρήσθη τοιόνδε· “μὴ καταβῆς εἰς” τὸ πάθος
 “Αἴγυπτον, κατοίκησον δ' ἐν τῇ γῇ ἣν ἄν σοι
 εἴπω,” τῇ ἀδείκτῳ καὶ ἀσωμάτῳ φρονήσει, “καὶ
 παροίκει ἐν τῇ γῇ ταύτῃ,” τῇ δεικνυμένῃ καὶ

¹ MSS. δὴ (δέ) ποτε.

² Perhaps as Mangey <τὸν> ὄνομα.

^a The LXX of course intended no such distinction between κατοίκει and παροίκει, or between the land of the first half and that of the second half of the verse.

THE CONFUSION OF TONGUES, 77-81

Their souls are never colonists leaving heaven for a new home. Their way is to visit earthly nature as men who travel abroad to see and learn. So when 78 they have stayed awhile in their bodies, and beheld through them all that sense and mortality has to shew, they make their way back to the place from which they set out at the first. To them the heavenly region, where their citizenship lies, is their native land; the earthly region in which they became sojourners is a foreign country. For surely, when men found a colony, the land which receives them becomes their native land instead of the mother city, but to the traveller abroad the land which sent him forth is still the mother to whom also he yearns to return. We shall not be surprised, then, to find 79 Abraham, when he rose from the life of death and vanity, saying to the guardians of the dead and stewards of mortality, "I am a stranger and sojourner with you" (Gen. xxiii. 4). "You," he means, "are children of the soil who honour the dust and clay before the soul and have adjudged the precedence to the man named Ephron, which being interpreted is 'clay.'" And just as natural are the 80 words of the Practiser Jacob, when he laments his sojourn in the body. "The days of the years of my life, the days which I sojourn, have been few and evil, they have not reached to the days of my fathers which they sojourned" (Gen. xlvii. 9). Isaac, too, 81 the self-taught had an oracle vouchsafed to him thus, "Go not down into Egypt," that is passion, "but dwell in the land which I say to thee" (that is in the wisdom which has no material body, and none can shew it to another), "and sojourn in this land" ^a

- αἰσθητῇ οὐσίᾳ, πρὸς τὸ δεῖξαι ὅτι παροικεῖ μὲν ὁ σοφὸς ὡς ἐν ξένῃ σώματι αἰσθητῶ, κατοικεῖ δ' ὡς ἐν πατρίδι νοηταῖς ἀρεταῖς, ἃς λαλεῖ ὁ θεὸς
- 82 ἀδιαφορούσας λόγων θείων. Μωυσῆς δὲ "γειώρας" φησὶν "εἰμὶ ἐν γῇ ἀλλοτρίᾳ," διαφερόντως οὐ μόνον ξένῃ τὴν ἐν σώματι μονὴν ὡς οἱ μέτοικοι νομίζων, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀλλοτριώσεως ἀξίαν οὐκ ἔμπαλιν οἰκειώσεως ὑπολαμβάνων.
- 83 XVIII. Τὸ δ' ὁμόφωνον καὶ ὁμόγλωττον οὐκ ἐν τοῖς ὀνόμασι καὶ ῥήμασι μᾶλλον ἢ ἐν τῇ τῶν ἀδίκων πράξεων κοινωνίᾳ βουλόμενος ὁ φαῦλος ἐπιδείξασθαι πόλιν ἄρχεται καὶ πύργον, ὡς ἀκρόπολιν τυράννῳ, κακία κατασκευάζειν, καὶ τοὺς θιασώτας πάντας παρακαλεῖ τοῦ ἔργου μετασχεῖν τὴν ἀρμότ-
- 84 τουσαν προευντρεπισαμένους ὕλην. "ἴτε" γάρ φησι "πλινθεύσωμεν πλίνθους καὶ ὀπτήσωμεν αὐτὰς πυρί," ἴσον τῷ νῦν ἐστὶν ἡμῖν συμπεφορημένα καὶ συγκεχυμένα τὰ πάντα τῆς ψυχῆς, ὡς ἐναργῆ
- 85 τύπον μηδένα μηδενὸς εἶδους προφαίνεσθαι. ἀρμόττει δ' ὥσπερ ἀνείδεόν τινα καὶ ἄποιον οὐσίαν τό τε πάθος καὶ τὴν κακίαν παραλαβόντας εἰς τὰς ἀρμοττοῦσας ποιότητας καὶ τὰ προσεχέςτατα μέχρι τῶν ἐσχάτων αἰεὶ τεμεῖν εἶδη πρὸς τε ἐναργεστέραν κατάληψιν αὐτῶν καὶ τὴν σὺν ἐμπειρίᾳ χρῆσιν τε καὶ ἀπόλαυσιν, ἣ πλείους ἡδονὰς καὶ τέρψεις ἔοικεν

* The fanciful thought is as follows: What we speak is words not things. Therefore when God "speaks a land" (meaning virtues), those virtues are God's words. He has this much excuse that εἶπω followed by the things spoken of is doubtful Greek.

^b προσεχής (next) frequently means (the species) next to the genus, i.e. primary. Here each εἶδος is προσεχές to the next above it.

THE CONFUSION OF TONGUES, 81-85

(Gen. xxvi. 2, 3), that is in that form of existence which may be shewn and is perceived by the senses. The purpose of this is to shew him that the wise man does but sojourn in this body which our senses know, as in a strange land, but dwells in and has for his fatherland the virtues known through the mind, which God "speaks" and which thus are identical with divine words.^a But Moses says, "I am an out- 82
lander in the alien land" (Ex. ii. 22). Thus he uses stronger terms. His tenancy of the body is not to him merely that of the foreigner as immigrant settlers count it. To alienate himself from it, never to count it as his own, is, he holds, to give it its due.

XVIII. Now the wicked man wishes to display 83
his unity of voice and speech through fellowship in unjust deeds rather than in actual words, and therefore begins to build a city and a tower which will serve for the hold of vice, as a citadel for a despot. He exhorts all those who form his company to take their share in the work, but first to prepare the suitable material. "Come," he says, "let us make bricks 84
and bake them with fire" (Gen. xi. 3). The meaning of this is as follows. At present we have all the contents of the soul in inextricable confusion, so that no clear form of any particular kind is discernible. Our right course is to take the passion and vice, 85
which at present is a substance devoid of form and quality, and divide it by continuous analysis into the proper categories and the subdivisions in regular descending order^b till we reach the ultimate; thus we shall obtain both a clearer apprehension of them and that experienced use and enjoyment which is calculated to multiply our pleasure and delight.

- 86 ἐντίκτειν. πάριτε οὖν οἱ λογισμοὶ πάν-
 τες βουλευτῶν τινα τρόπον εἰς τὸ ψυχῆς συνέδριον,
 ὅσοι <πρὸς> τὸν δικαιοσύνης καὶ πάσης ἀρετῆς
 συγκατατάττεσθε ὄλεθρον, καὶ πεφροντισμένως δια-
 87 σκεψώμεθα, ὥς ἐπιθέμενοι κατορθώσωμεν· τῆς
 μέντοι κατορθώσεως ἔσονται θεμέλιοι κραταιότατοι
 οἶδε, ἄμορφα μορφῶσαι τύποις καὶ σχήμασι καὶ
 περιγραφαῖς ἕκαστον ἰδίᾳ διακρίναι, μὴ κραδαι-
 [418] νόμενα¹ καὶ χωλαίνοντα, ἀλλὰ | πεπηγότα βεβαίως,
 τῇ τοῦ τετραγώνου σχήματος οἰκειούμενα φύσει—
 ἀκράδαντον γὰρ τοῦτό γε—, ἵνα πλίνθου τινὰ
 τρόπον ἀκλινῶς ἐρηρυσμένα βεβαίως καὶ τὰ ἐπ-
 88 οικοδομούμενα δέχεται. XIX. τούτων πᾶς
 ὁ ἀντίθεος νοῦς, ὃν φάμεν Αἰγύπτου, τοῦ σώμα-
 τος, εἶναι βασιλέα, δημιουργὸς ἀνευρίσκεται· καὶ
 γὰρ τοῦτον εἰσάγει Μωυσῆς τοῖς ἐκ πλίνθου κατα-
 89 σκευαζομένοις χαίροντα οἰκοδομήμασιν. ἐπειδὴν
 γὰρ τις τὴν ὕδατος καὶ γῆς τὴν μὲν ὑγρὰν, τὴν
 δ' αὖ στερεὰν οὐσίαν, διαλυόμενας καὶ φθειρο-
 μένας, ἀνακερασάμενος τρίτον μεθόριον ἀμφοῖν
 ἀπεργάσεται, ὃ καλεῖται πηλός, τέμνων κατὰ
 μοίρας τοῦτον οὐ παύεται σχήματα περιτιθεὶς
 ἐκάστω τῶν τμημάτων τὰ οἰκεῖα, ὅπως εὐ-
 παγέστερά τε καὶ εὐφορώτερα γένηται· ῥαδίως γὰρ
 οὕτως ἔμελλε τὰ κατασκευαζόμενα τελειοῦσθαι.
 90 τοῦτ' ἀπομιμούμενοι τὸ ἔργον οἱ μοχθηροὶ τὰς
 φύσεις, ὅταν τὰς ἀλόγους καὶ πλεοναζούσας τῶν
 παθῶν ὁρμὰς ταῖς ἀργαλεωτάταις κακίαις ἀνα-
 κεράσωνται, τέμνουσι τὸ κραθὲν εἰς εἶδη καὶ

¹ MSS. κραδαίνοντα.

THE CONFUSION OF TONGUES, 86-90

Forward then, come as senators to the 86
council-hall^a of the soul, all you reasonings which are
ranged together for the destruction of righteousness
and every virtue, and let us carefully consider how
our attack may succeed. The firmest foundations 87
for such success will be to give form to the formless
by assigning them definite shapes and figures and to
distinguish them in each case by separate limitations,
not with the uncertain equilibrium of the halting,
but firmly planted, assimilated to the nature of the
square—that most stable of figures—and thus rooted
brick-like in unwavering equilibrium they will form
a secure support for the superstructure.

XIX. Every mind that sets itself up against God, the 88
mind which we call “King of Egypt,” that is of the
body, proves to be a maker of such structures. For
Moses describes Pharoah as rejoicing in buildings
constructed of brick. This is natural, for when the 89
workman has taken the two substances of earth and
water, one solid and the other liquid, but both in
the process of dissolution or destruction, and by
mixing them has produced a third on the boundary
line between the two, called clay, he divides it up
into portions and without interruption gives each of
the sections its proper shape. He wishes thus to
make them firmer and more manageable^b since this,
he knows, is the easiest way to secure the completion
of the building. This process is copied by the natur- 90
ally depraved, when they first mix the unreasoning
and exuberant impulses of passion with the gravest
vices, and then divide the mixture into its kinds,

^a Or “council,” the soul being looked upon as a collective body; cf. *De Mig.* 60.

^b Or “more capable of sustaining the structure.”

διαπλάττουσι καὶ σχηματίζουσιν οἱ βαρυδαίμονες, δι' ὧν ὁ τῆς ψυχῆς ἐπιτειχισμὸς μετέωρος ἀρθήσεται, τὴν αἴσθησιν εἰς ὄρασιν καὶ ἀκοήν, ἔτι δὲ γεῦσιν ὁσφρησίῃ τε καὶ ἀφήν, τὸ δὲ πάθος εἰς ἡδονὴν καὶ ἐπιθυμίαν φόβον τε καὶ λύπην, τό τε κακιῶν γένος εἰς ἀφροσύνην, ἀκολασίαν, δειλίαν, ἀδικίαν καὶ ὅσα ἄλλα ἀδελφὰ καὶ συγγενῇ τούτοις.

- 91 XX. ἤδη δὲ καὶ προσυπερβάλλοντές τινες οὐ μόνον τὰς αὐτῶν ψυχὰς ἐπὶ ταῦτα ἤλπιον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς ἀμείνους καὶ γένους ὄντας ὁρατικοῦ βιασάμενοι κατηνάγκασαν πλινθουργεῖν καὶ πόλεις οἰκοδομεῖν ὀχυρὰς τῷ βασιλεύειν δοκοῦντι νῷ, βουλόμενοι τοῦτο ἐνδείξασθαι, ὅτι δοῦλον μὲν τὸ ἀγαθὸν κακοῦ πάθος τ' εὐπαθείας δυνατώτερον, φρόνησις δὲ καὶ πᾶσα ἀρετὴ ἀφροσύνης καὶ κακίας ἀπάσης ὑπήκοον, ὡς ὑπηρετεῖν ἐξ ἀνάγκης ἅττ' ἂν
- 92 προστάτῃ τὸ δεσπότην. ἰδοὺ, γὰρ φησι, καὶ ὁ ψυχῆς ὀφθαλμὸς ὁ διανγέστατος καὶ καθαρώτατος καὶ πάντων ὀξυωπέστατος, ὃ μόνῳ τὸν θεὸν ἔξεστι καθορᾶν, ὄνομα Ἰσραήλ, ἐνδεθεὶς ποτε τοῖς σωματικοῖς Αἰγύπτου δικτύοις ἐπιταγμάτων βαρυτάτων ἀνέχεται, ὡς πλίνθον καὶ πᾶν τὸ γεῶδες ἐργάζεσθαι μετὰ ἀργαλεωτάτων καὶ ἀτρυτοτάτων πόνων· ἐφ' οἷς εἰκότως ὀδυνᾶται καὶ στένει, τοῦτο μόνον ὡς ἐν κακοῖς τεθησαυρισμένος κειμήλιον,
- 93 ἐκδακρῦσαι τὰ παρόντα· λέγεται γὰρ ὑγιῶς ὅτι “κατεστέναξαν οἱ υἱοὶ Ἰσραὴλ ἀπὸ τῶν ἔργων.” τίς δ' οὐκ ἂν τῶν εὐφρονούντων τὰ τῶν πολλῶν ἀνθρώπων ἰδὼν ἔργα καὶ τὰς ὑπερβαλλούσας σπουδὰς, αἷς ἢ πρὸς ἀργυρισμὸν ἢ δόξαν ἢ τὴν ἐν

* See App. p. 554.

THE CONFUSION OF TONGUES, 90-93

sense into sight and hearing, and again into taste and smell and touch ; passion into pleasure and lust, and fear and grief ; vices in general into folly, profligacy, cowardice, injustice, and the other members of that fraternity and family^a—the materials which moulded and shaped, to the misery and sorrow of their builders, will form the fort which towers aloft to menace the soul.

XX. Ere now, 91
too, there have been those who went to a further extreme, and not only worked up their own souls to do thus, but have violently forced their betters, the children of the race that has vision, to make bricks under duress and build strong cities (Ex. i. 11) for the mind which thinks itself their sovereign. They wished in this way to shew that good is the slave of evil and passion stronger than the higher emotions, that prudence and every virtue are subject to folly and all vice, and thus must render obedience to every command of the despotic power. "Behold," says the 92
enemy, "the eye of the soul so translucent, so pure, so keen of vision, the eye which alone is permitted to look on God, the eye whose name is Israel, is imprisoned after all in the gross material nets of Egypt and submits to do the bidding of an iron tyranny, to work at brick and every earthly substance with labour painful and unremitting." It is but natural that Israel should sorrow and groan because of them ; for the one solitary thing which he still treasures as a jewel amid his sufferings is that he can weep sore for his present state. There is sound wis- 93
dom in the words, "The children of Israel groaned because of their tasks" (Ex. ii. 23). Which of the wisely-minded, when he sees the tasks which many men endure and the extravagance of the zeal which

ἡδοναῖς ἀπόλυσιν εἰώθασι χρῆσθαι, σφόδρα κατη-
 γφήσαι καὶ πρὸς τὸν μόνον σωτήρα θεὸν ἐκβοῆσαι,
 [419] ἵνα τὰ | μὲν ἐπικουφίσῃ, λύτρα δὲ καὶ σῶστρα
 καταθεῖς τῆς ψυχῆς εἰς ἐλευθερίαν αὐτὴν ἐξέλῃται;
 94 τίς οὖν ἐλευθερία βεβαιωτάτη; τίς; ἡ τοῦ μόνου
 θεραπείας σοφοῦ, καθάπερ μαρτυροῦσιν οἱ χρησμοί,
 ἐν οἷς εἴρηται “ἐξαπόστειλον τὸν λαόν, ἵνα με
 95 θεραπεύῃ.” ἴδιον δὲ τῶν τὸ ὄν θερα-
 πεύοντων οἰνοχόων μὲν ἢ σιτοποιῶν ἢ μαγεύων
 ἔργα ἢ ὅσα ἄλλα γεώδη¹ μήτε διαπλάττειν μήτε
 συντιθέναι σώματα πλίνθου τρόπον, ἀναβαίνειν δὲ
 τοῖς λογισμοῖς πρὸς αἰθέριον ὕψος, Μωυσῆν, τὸ
 θεοφιλὲς γένος, προστησαμένους ἡγεμόνα τῆς ὁδοῦ.
 96 τότε γὰρ τὸν μὲν τόπον, ὃς δὴ λόγος ἐστί,² θεά-
 σονται, ᾧ ὁ ἀκλινὴς καὶ ἄτρεπτος θεὸς ἐφέστηκε,
 “τὰ δ’³ ὑπὸ τοὺς πόδας αὐτοῦ, τὸ ὡσεὶ ἔργον
 πλίνθου⁴ σαφείρου καὶ ὡς ἂν εἶδος στερεώματος
 τοῦ οὐρανοῦ,” τὸν αἰσθητὸν κόσμον, ὃν αἰνίττεται

¹ Mangey suggests inserting after γεώδη: <ἐπιτηδεύειν> (rather μήτε ἐπιτηδεύειν). This would avoid the zeugma of associating διαπλάττειν with the ἔργα οἰνοχόων.

² ὃς δὴ λόγος ἐστί] this is my conjecture for the ὃς δὴ λόγος ἐστὶ of all mss. and editions. It is based (1) on *De Som.* i. 62, where Philo discussing the three senses in which τόπος is used declares that one of these is the Divine Logos and that this is the sense in which it is used in this passage, *Ex.* xxiv. 10 (the same idea that τόπος=λόγος appears in *De Op.* 20 and *De Som.* i. 117): (2) on the sequel in § 97, where the identification of the τόπος ᾧ ὁ θεὸς ἐφέστηκε with the λόγος is clearly implied. The simple alteration of the somewhat pointless δῆλος to δὴ λόγος makes this identification, which otherwise comes in very abruptly, perfectly clear. The use of δὴ with the relative constantly recurs in Philo.

³ Wend. τὰ θ’—evidently wrongly. The δέ is required to balance the μὲν and to mark the antithesis between the Logos and the Sensible World.

THE CONFUSION OF TONGUES, 93-97

they commonly put forth to win money or glory or the enjoyment which pleasure give, would not in the exceeding bitterness of his heart cry aloud to God the only Saviour to lighten their tasks and provide a price of the soul's salvation to redeem it into liberty? What then is the liberty which is really 94 sure and stable? Aye, what? It is the service of the only wise Being, as the oracles testify, in which it is said, "Send forth the people that they may serve me" (Ex. viii. 1). But it is the 95 special mark of those who serve the Existent, that theirs are not the tasks of cupbearers or bakers or cooks, or any other tasks of the earth earthy, nor do they mould or fashion material forms like the brick-makers, but in their thoughts ascend to the heavenly height, setting before them Moses, the nature beloved of God, to lead them on the way. For then 96 they shall behold the place ^a which in fact is the Word, where stands God ^b the never changing, never swerving, and also what lies under his feet like "the work of a brick of sapphire, like the form of the firmament of the heaven" ^c (Ex. xxiv. 10), even the world of our senses, which he indicates in this mystery. For it 97

^a LXX. εἶδον τὸν τόπον οὗ εἰσθήκει ὁ θεὸς τοῦ Ἰσραήλ. E.V.
 "They saw the God of Israel."

^b So, as the sequel shows, rather than "the place on which He stands." This use of ἐφέστηκεν with the dative may be paralleled, e.g. ἐπέστη τοῖς κατὰ τὸ Ῥηγίον τόποις, Polybius ix. 7. 10. Perhaps, however, read ἐνέστηκεν. In *De Som.* i. 62 we have the οὗ εἰσθήκει of the LXX.

^c Or perhaps Philo may have taken the words to mean "like a kind of basis for the heaven." Though in *De Op.* 36 he makes στερέωμα = the heaven, his identification of it here with the αἰσθητὸς κόσμος points to the latter interpretation.

^d πλινθου] SO LXX. : MSS. λίθου.

97 διὰ τούτων. εὐπρεπὲς γὰρ τοῖς ἑταιρείαν πρὸς ἐπιστήμην θεμένοις ἐφίεσθαι μὲν τοῦ τὸ ὄν ἰδεῖν, εἰ δὲ μὴ δύναιτο, τὴν γοῦν εἰκόνα αὐτοῦ, τὸν ἱερώτατον λόγον, μεθ' ὃν καὶ τὸ ἐν αἰσθητοῖς τελειότατον ἔργον, τόνδε τὸν κόσμον· τὸ γὰρ φιλοσοφεῖν οὐδὲν ἦν ἄλλο ἢ ταῦτα σπουδάζειν
98 ἀκριβῶς ἰδεῖν.

XXI. τὸν δὲ αἰσθητὸν κόσμον ὡς ἂν ὑποπόδιον θεοῦ φησιν εἶναι διὰ τάδε· πρῶτον μὲν ἵν' ἐπιδείξῃ, ὅτι οὐκ ἐν τῷ γεγονότι τὸ πεποιηκὸς αἴτιον, ἔπειτα δ' ὑπὲρ τοῦ παραστήσαι, ὅτι οὐδ' ὁ κόσμος ἅπας ἀφέτω καὶ ἀπελευθεριαζούσῃ κινήσει κέχρηται, ἀλλ' ἐπιβέβηκεν ὁ κυβερνήτης θεὸς τῶν ὅλων οἰακονομῶν¹ καὶ πηδαιλουχῶν σωτηρίως τὰ σύμπαντα, οὔτε ποσὶν οὔτε χερσὶν οὔτε ἄλλῳ τῶν ἐν γενέσει κεχρημένος μέρει τὸ παράπαν οὐδενὶ κατὰ τὸν ἀληθῆ λόγον—“οὐ γὰρ ὡς ἄνθρωπος ὁ θεός”—, ἀλλὰ τὸν ἕνεκα αὐτὸ μόνον διδασκαλίας εἰσαγόμενον ἡμῶν τῶν ἑαυτοὺς ἐκβῆναι μὴ δυναμένων, ἀλλ' ἀπὸ τῶν ἡμῖν αὐτοῖς συμβεβηκότων τὰς περὶ τοῦ ἀγενήτου καταλήψεις
99 λαμβανόντων.

παγκάλως δ' ἔχει τὸ ἐν παραβολῇ εἶδει φάναι τὸν κόσμον ὡς εἶδος πλίνθου· δοκεῖ μὲν γὰρ ἐστάναι καὶ βεβηκέναι ὡς ἐκείνη κατὰ τὰς τῆς αἰσθητῆς ὅψεως προσβολάς, κέχρηται
[420] δὲ ὡκυτάτῃ | κινήσει καὶ τὰς ἐν μέρει πάσας παρα-
100 θεούσῃ. καὶ γὰρ μεθ' ἡμέραν ἡλίου καὶ νύκτωρ σελήνης φαντασίαν ὡς ἐστῶτων οἱ σώματος ὀφθαλμοὶ λαμβάνουσι· καίτοι τίς οὐκ οἶδεν, ὅτι <τὸ> τῆς περὶ αὐτοὺς φορᾶς τάχος ἀναντογώνιστόν ἐστιν, εἴ γε τὸν σύμπαντα οὐρανὸν μιᾷ περιπολοῦσιν

¹ MSS. οἰκονομῶν.

THE CONFUSION OF TONGUES, 97-100

well befits those who have entered into comradeship with knowledge to desire to see the Existent if they may, but, if they cannot, to see at any rate his image, the most holy Word, and after the Word its most perfect work of all that our senses know, even this world. For by philosophy nothing else has ever been meant, than the earnest desire to see these things exactly as they are. XXI. But 98

when he speaks of the world of our senses as God's footstool, it is for these reasons. First to shew that not in creation is to be found the cause which made it; secondly to make it plain that even the whole world does not move at its own free unshackled will, but is the standing-ground of God who steers and pilots in safety all that is. And yet to say that He uses hands or feet or any created part at all is not the true account. For God is not as man (Num. xxiii. 19). It is but the form employed merely for our instruction because we cannot get outside ourselves, but frame our conceptions of the Uncreated from our own experience. It is a fine saying 99

when by way of illustration he speaks of the world as an appearance of brick.^a It does seem to stand fast and firm like a brick as we judge it when our outward sight comes in contact with it,^b but its actual movement is exceeding swift, outstripping all particular movements. To our bodily eyes the sun by day and 100 the moon by night present the appearance of standing still. Yet we all know that the rapidity of the course on which they are carried is unapproached, since they traverse the whole heaven in a single day.

^a See App. p. 555.

^b So rather than the "impression produced upon our sight."
Cf. ἡ δψις προσβάλλουσα, Quod Deus 78.

ἡμέρα; οὕτως μέντοι καὶ αὐτὸς ὁ σύμπας οὐρανὸς
 ἐστάναι δοκῶν περιδινεῖται κύκλῳ, τῆς κινήσεως
 τῷ ἀειδεῖ καὶ θειοτέρῳ καταλαμβανομένης¹ τῷ κατὰ
 διάνοιαν ὀφθαλμῷ.

101 XXII. Πυροῦντες δὲ τὰς πλίνθους εἰσάγονται
 συμβολικῶς, τὰ πάθη καὶ τὰς κακίας θερμῷ καὶ
 κινητικωτάτῳ λόγῳ κραταιούμενοι, ὥς μὴ πρὸς
 τῶν σοφίας δορυφόρων ποτὲ καθαιρεθεῖεν, οἷς τὰ
 πρὸς ἀνατροπὴν αὐτῶν αἰεὶ μηχανήματα συγ-

102 κροτεῖται. διὸ καὶ ἐπιλέγεται “ἐγένετο αὐτοῖς ἡ
 πλίνθος εἰς λίθον.” τὸ γὰρ μανὸν καὶ κεχυμένον
 τῆς μὴ σὺν λόγῳ φορᾶς εἰς ἀντίτυπον καὶ στερεὰν²
 φύσιν πιληθὲν καὶ πυκνωθὲν λόγοις δυνατοῖς καὶ
 ἀποδείξεσιν ἐχυρωτάταις μετέβαλεν, ἀνδρωθείσης
 τρόπον τινὰ τῆς τῶν θεωρημάτων καταλήψεως,
 ἥτις ἐν ἡλικίᾳ διαρρεῖ παιδικῇ διὰ τὴν τῆς ψυχῆς
 ὑγρότητα μήπω δυναμένης τοὺς ἐνσφραγιζομένους
 πῆττειν καὶ διαφυλάττειν χαρακτῆρας.

103 “³Καὶ ἡ ἄσφαλτος ἦν αὐτοῖς πηλός,” οὐκ ἔμπαλιν
 ὁ πηλὸς ἄσφαλτος· δοκοῦσι μὲν γὰρ οἱ φαῦλοι τὰ
 ἀσθενῆ κραταιοῦσθαι κατὰ τῶν ἀμεινόνων καὶ τὰ
 διαλυόμενα καὶ ῥέοντα ἐξ αὐτῶν πῆττειν, ἢ ἐπ’
 ἐχυροῦ βάλῳσι καὶ τοξεύσωσιν ἀρετὴν· ὁ δ’ ἰλεως
 καὶ πατῆρ τῶν καλῶν οὐκ ἐφήσει τὸ δεδμημένον⁴

¹ MSS. καταλαμβανόμενος.

² MSS. ἀντίτυπου καὶ στερεᾶς.

³ Wend. prints τὸ γὰρ μανὸν . . . χαρακτῆρας as a parenthesis, and treats καὶ ἡ ἄσφαλτος ἦν αὐτοῖς πηλός as a continuation of the text introduced by διὸ καὶ ἐπιλέγεται. But the words introduce a totally different thought from that which is given in §§ 101 and 102. Philo, as often, cites the text without any λέγεται or φησί.

THE CONFUSION OF TONGUES, 100-103

So too also the whole heaven itself appears to stand still but actually revolves, and this motion is apprehended by the eye which is itself invisible and closer akin to the divine—the eye of the understanding.

XXII. When they are described as using fire with 101 their bricks, it is a symbolical way of saying that they hardened and strengthened their passions and vices by the heat and high pressure of argument, to prevent their ever being demolished by the guards of wisdom, who are ever forging engines to subvert them. And therefore we have the addition, “their 102 brick became stone to them” (Gen. xi. 3). For the looseness and incoherence of the talk which streams along unsupported by reason turns into a solid and resisting substance, when it gains density and compactness through powerful reasonings and convincing demonstrations. The power of apprehending conclusions grows, so to speak, to manhood, whereas in its childhood it is fluid through the humidity of the soul, which is unable as yet to harden and thus retain the impressions which are stamped upon it.

“And the asphalt was clay^a to them” (*ibid.*). Not 103 the reverse, their clay was asphalt. The wicked may seem to make the weak cause strong against the better, and to harden the loose stuff which exudes from the weak, to obtain a firm footing from which to shoot their bolts against virtue. But the Father of excellence in His loving-kindness will not suffer the

^a See App. p. 555.

⁴ MSS. and all editions δεδεμένον. But “bound” is hardly sense. Mangey translates “substructiones,” Stein “Gebilde,” Yonge “buildings,” which suggest that they all took it from δέμω. But this is surely impossible. Possibly we might read δεμόμενον or τόδε τὸ μανόν.

- ἐκνικᾶν¹ εἰς ἀδιάλυτον ἀσφάλειαν, ρεούσης σπουδῆς
 μὴ ὑφεστῶς ἔργον ὡς πλαδῶντα πηλὸν ἀναδείξας.²
 104 εἰ μὲν γὰρ ὁ πηλὸς ἐγένετο³ ἀσφαλτος, μέχρι
 παντὸς ἂν ἴσως τὸ ἐν συνεχεῖ ρύσει γεῶδες
 αἰσθητὸν εἰς ἀσφαλῆ καὶ ἀμετάβλητον δύναμιν
 ἐξενίκησεν· ἐπεὶ δὲ τοῦναντίον ἡ ἀσφαλτος εἰς
 πηλὸν μετέβαλεν, οὐκ ἀθυμητέον· ἐλπίς γάρ, ἐλπίς
 τὰ βέβαια τῆς κακίας ἐρείσματα κράτει θεοῦ
 105 διακοπῇ. τοιγαροῦν ὁ δίκαιος καὶ ἐν
 τῷ μεγάλῳ καὶ ἐπαλήλῳ τοῦ βίου κατακλυσμῷ,
 μήπω δυνάμενος δίχα αἰσθήσεως ψυχῇ μόνη τὰ
 ὄντα ὄντως ὁρᾶν, “τὴν κιβωτόν,” λέγω δὲ τὸ
 σῶμα, “ἐνδοθέν τε καὶ ἔξωθεν ἀσφάλτῳ” κατα-
 χρίσει βεβαιούμενος τὰς δι’ αὐτοῦ φαντασίας καὶ
 ἐνεργείας· λωφήσαντος δὲ τοῦ κακοῦ καὶ τῆς φορᾶς
 ἐπισχούσης ἐξελεύσεται χρησάμενος ἀσωμάτῳ
 106 διανοίᾳ πρὸς τὴν ἀληθείας ἀντίληψιν. ὁ
 μὲν γὰρ ἀστείος ἀπὸ γενέσεως ἀρχῆς φυτευθεὶς
 καὶ προσαγορευθεὶς τρόπος, ὄνομα Μωυσῆς, ὁ τὸν
 κόσμον ὡς ἄστῳ καὶ πατρίδα οἰκήσας ἅτε κοσμο-
 πολίτης γενόμενος, ἐνδεθεὶς ποτε τῷ ἐπαλημι-
 μένῳ ὡς ἂν⁴ “ἀσφαλτοπίσση” σώματι καὶ δοκοῦντι
 [421] τὰς πάντων <τῶν> | ὑποκειμένων ἐν αἰσθήσει φαν-
 τασίας ἀσφαλῶς δέχεσθαί τε καὶ κεχωρηκένας,

¹ MSS. ἐκείνων.² MSS. ἀναδείξαι.³ MSS. γίνεται.⁴ MSS. ἐν.

^a The word is used here and in § 106 to preserve the obvious play between ἀσφαλῆς and ἀσφαλτος.

^b The antithesis intended is that while the Noah-mind in its lower stages, when the sensible world is so absorbing, finds in the ark of the body a source of strength, which it will discard when the stress is past, the higher Moses-mind, which receives the Stoic name of ἀστείος from the first, never

THE CONFUSION OF TONGUES, 103-106

platform to reach the condition of cement which defies dissolution, but makes the unsubstantial result of their fluid industry to be but as sloppy clay. For 104 if the clay had become asphalt, what is now a piece of earth in constant flux and perceived only by the outward sense might have won its way in complete triumph to power fast-cemented^a and irremovable. But since the reverse has come to pass and the asphalt has changed to clay, we must not lose heart, for there is hope, aye hope, that the stout supports of vice may fall beneath the axe of God's might.

So it was with just Noah. In 105 the great ceaseless deluge of life, while he is as yet unable to behold existences as they really are through the soul alone apart from sense, he will "coat the ark," I mean the body, "with asphalt within and without" (Gen. vi. 14), thus strengthening the impressions and activities of which the body is the medium. But when the trouble has abated and the rush of the waters stayed, he will come forth and employ his understanding, free from the body, for the apprehension of truth.

^b On the other 106 hand the mind called Moses, that goodly plant, given the name of goodly at his very birth (Ex. ii. 2), who in virtue of his larger citizenship took the world for his township and country, weeps bitterly (Ex. ii. 6) in the days when he is imprisoned in the ark of the body bedaubed as with "asphalt-pitch" (Ex. ii. 3), which thinks to receive and contain, as with cement, impressions of all that is presented through sense. He rests contented with it, but recognizes from the first, that the "asphalt" which serves the body, can never give the real "safety." See further, App. p. 555.

κατακλαίει μὲν τὴν ἔνδεσιν ἀσωμάτου φύσεως
 πιεσθεὶς ἔρωτι, κατακλαίει δὲ καὶ τὸν πλάνητα καὶ
 τετυφωμένον τῶν πολλῶν ἄθλιον νοῦν, ὃς ψευδοῦς
 δόξης ἐκκρεμασθεὶς ᾤήθη τι παρ' ἑαυτῷ βέβαιον
 καὶ ἀσφαλὲς ἢ συνόλως παρά τινι τῶν γενομένων
 ἄτρεπτον ἰδρῦσθαι, τοῦ παγίως καὶ κατὰ τὰ αὐτὰ
 καὶ ὡσαύτως ἔχοντος ἐστηλιτευμένου παρὰ μόνῳ
 τῷ θεῷ.

- 107 XXIII. Τὸ δὲ “δεῦτε καὶ οἰκοδομήσωμεν
 ἑαυτοῖς πόλιν καὶ πύργον, οὗ ἡ κεφαλὴ ἔσται ἕως
 τοῦ οὐρανοῦ” τοιοῦτον ὑποβάλλει νοῦν· πόλεις ὁ
 νομοθέτης οὐχὶ ταύτας μόνον οἶεται εἶναι τὰς ἐπὶ
 γῆς δημιουργηθείσας, ὧν εἰσιν ὕλαι λίθοι καὶ ξύλα,
 ἀλλὰ καὶ ἅς ἀνθρώποι περιφέρουσι ταῖς ψυχαῖς
 108 ἑαυτῶν ἐνιδρυμένας. εἰσὶ δ' αὐταὶ μὲν, ὡς εἰκός,
 ἀρχέτυποι ἅτε θειοτέρας κατασκευῆς λαχοῦσαι,
 ἐκεῖναι δὲ μιμήματα ὡς ἂν ἐκ φθαρτῆς οὐσίας
 συνεστῶσαι. διττὸν δὲ πόλεως εἶδος, τὸ μὲν
 ἄμεινον, τὸ δὲ χεῖρον, ἄμεινον μὲν τὸ δημοκρατία
 χρώμενον ἰσότητι τιμῶσι πολιτεία, ἥς ἄρχοντές
 εἰσι νόμος καὶ δίκη—θεοῦ δὲ ὕμνος ἢ τοιάδε—,¹
 χεῖρον δὲ τὸ κιβδηλεῦον αὐτήν, ὡς τὸ παράσημον
 καὶ παρακεκομμένον ἐν νομίσμασιν, ὀχλοκρατία,
 ἣ θαυμάζει τὸ ἄνισον, ἐν ἣ ἀδικία καὶ ἀνομία
 109 καταδυναστεύουσιν. ἐγγράφονται δ' οἱ μὲν ἀστείοι

¹ I cannot think that the phrase θεοῦ δὲ ὕμνος ἢ τοιάδε is right. And Cohn's and Wend.'s suggestions of (1) εὐνομοτάτη δ', (2) θεοῦ δ' ὑπαδος, (3) εὐδόκιμος seem to me quite wild. The only variants in the mss. are ἦτοι ᾄδεται and ἡ τοιαυδέτε for ἡ τοιάδε. From this I conjecture θεοῦ δ' <ἐν> ὕμνο<ι>ς ἢ τοιάδε ᾄδεται, i.e. such a soul-city or such a πολιτεία is called in the Psalms God's (city). I understand Philo to be alluding to the use of the phrase “the city of God” in Ps. xlv. 4 and

THE CONFUSION OF TONGUES, 106-109

weeps for his captivity, pressed sore by his yearning for a nature that knows no body. He weeps also for the mind of the multitude, so erring, so vanity-ridden, so miserable—the mind which clings to false opinion and thinks that itself, or any created being at all, possesses aught that is firm, fast-cemented and immutably established, whereas all that is fixed and permanent in circumstances and condition is graven as on stone in the keeping of God alone.

XXIII. The words, "Come, let us build for ourselves a city and a tower whose head shall be unto heaven," suggest such thoughts as these. The law-giver thinks that besides those cities which are built by men's hands upon the earth, of which the materials are stones and timber, there are others, even those which men carry about established in their souls. Naturally these last are models or archetypes, for the workmanship bestowed upon them is of a more divine kind, while the former are copies composed of perishing material. Of the soul-city there are two kinds, one better, the other worse. The better adopts as its constitution democracy,^a which honours equality and has law and justice for its rulers—such a one is as a melody which sings God's praises. The worse, which corrupts and adulterates the better, as the false counterfeit coin corrupts the currency, is mob-rule, which takes inequality for its ideal, and in it injustice and lawlessness are paramount. The

^a For Philo's conception of democracy see note on *Quod Deus* 176.

lxxxvii. 3. To interpret the phrase as meaning a just soul or a just condition of civic life is as natural for him as for a Christian to apply it to the Church. Philo regularly quotes the Psalms with the words *ἐν ὑμῖν*, as e.g. above 52, *De Som.* ii. 242 *ἐπεὶ καὶ ἐν ὑμῖν ᾄδεται*. See also App. p. 555.

- τῷ τῆς προτέρας πολιτεύματι, τῶν δὲ φαύλων ἢ
 πληθὺς τὴν ἑτέραν καὶ χεῖρῳ διέζωσται, πρὸ
 εὐκοσμίας ἀκοσμίαν καὶ σύγχυσιν πρὸ εὐσταθοῦς
 110 καταστάσεως ἀγαπῶσα. συνεργοῖς δὲ ὁ
 ἄφρων ἀξιοῖ πρὸς τὸ ἀμαρτάνειν οὐκ ἀρκούμενος
 αὐτῷ μόνῳ χρῆσθαι, καὶ προτρέπει μὲν ὄρασιν,
 προτρέπει δὲ ἀκοήν, παρακαλεῖ δὲ πᾶσαν αἴσθησιν
 ἀνυπερθέτως αὐτῷ συντετάχθαι, φερούσης ἐκάστης
 τὰ πρὸς ὑπηρεσίαν ἐπιτήδεια πάντα· ἐπαίρει μέντοι
 καὶ παραθίγει καὶ τὸ ἄλλο ἀτίθασον ἐκ φύσεως
 τῶν παθῶν στίφος, ἵνα ἄσκησιν καὶ μελέτην προσ-
 111 λαβὸν ἀνύποιστον γένηται. τούτους οὖν καλέσας
 τοὺς συμμάχους ὁ νοῦς¹ φησιν· “οἰκοδομήσωμεν
 ἑαυτοῖς πόλιν,” ἴσον τῷ ὀχυρωσώμεθα τὰ οἰκεῖα
 καὶ φραξώμεθα δυνατῶς, ὥς μὴ πρὸς τῶν κατα-
 τρεχόντων εὐμαρῶς ἀλίσκώμεθα²· διέλωμεν καὶ δια-
 νείμωμεν ὥσπερ κατὰ φυλὰς καὶ δήμους ἐκάστας
 τῶν ἐν ψυχῇ δυνάμεων προσκληρώσαντες τὰς μὲν
 112 λογικῇ, τὰς δὲ ἀλόγῳ μερίδι· ἄρχοντας ἐλώμεθα
 τοὺς ἱκανοὺς πλοῦτον, δόξαν, τιμὰς, ἡδονὰς ἀφ’
 ὧν ἂν δύνωνται περιποιεῖν ἀπάντων· τὴν πενίαν
 καὶ ἀδοξίαν αἰτίαν δικαιοσύνην τιθεμένους ἐκποδῶν
 γράφωμεν νόμους, οἳ τὸ τοῦ κρείττονος συμφέρον
 βεβαιώσουσι τοῖς πλέον ἑτέρων αἰεὶ φέρεσθαι δυνα-
 113 μένοις. “πύργος” δ’ ὥς ἂν ἀκρόπολις κατ-
 [422] ἐσκευάσθω τῇ | τυράννῳ κακίᾳ βασιλείῳ ὀχυρώ-
 τατον, ἧς οἱ μὲν πόδες ἐπὶ γῆς βαινέτωσαν, ἡ δὲ
 κεφαλὴ πρὸς οὐρανὸν φθανέτω τοσοῦτον ὑπὸ
 114 μεγαλαυχίας ὕψος ἐπιβᾶσα. τῷ γὰρ

¹ I conjecture ὁ ἄνους. See App. p. 555.

² MSS. ἀλίσκοίμεθα.

^a Lit. “have girded themselves with.”

THE CONFUSION OF TONGUES, 109-114

good have their names entered on the burgess-roll of the former type of state, but the multitude of the wicked are embraced under^a the second and baser type, for they love disorder rather than order, confusion rather than fixedness and stability.

The fool not content with using himself alone thinks 110 fit to use fellow-workers in sin. He calls upon the sight and the hearing and invokes every sense to range itself beside him without delay, each bringing all the instruments that are needed for the service. And further he spurs and incites that other company, the company of the passions, to put their untutored nature under training and practice and thus render themselves resistless. These allies, then, the 111 mind summons, saying, "Let us build ourselves a city," which means, "Let us fortify our resources and fence them in with strength, that we may not fall easy victims to the onset of the foe. Let us mete out and distribute the several powers of the soul as by wards and tithings, allotting some to the reasoning and some to the unreasoning portion. Let us 112 choose for our magistrates such as are able to provide wealth, reputation, honours, pleasures, from every source available to them. Let us enact laws which shall eject from our community the justice whose product is poverty and disrepute—laws which shall assure the emoluments of the stronger to the succession of those whose powers of acquisition are greater than others. And let a tower be built^b as a 113 citadel, as a royal and impregnable castle for the despot vice. Let its feet walk upon the earth and its head reach to heaven, carried by our vaulting ambition to that vast height." For in fact 114

^b Or (if the perfect is to be emphasized) "stand complete."

- ὄντι οὐ μόνον ἐπὶ τῶν ἀνθρωπείων ἀδικημάτων ἵσταται, μετατρέχει δὲ καὶ τὰ ὀλύμπια τοὺς ἀσεβείας καὶ ἀθεότητος λόγους προτείνουσα, ἐπειδὴ ἢ ὥς οὐκ ἔστι τὸ θεῖον διεξίη, ἢ ὥς ὃν οὐ προνοεῖ, ἢ ὥς ὁ κόσμος οὐποτε γενέσεως ἔλαβεν ἀρχήν, ἢ ὥς γενόμενος ἀστάτοις αἰτίαις ὥς ἂν τύχῃ φέρεται, ποτὲ μὲν πλημμελῶς, ποτὲ δὲ οὐχ ὑπαιτίως, καθάπερ ἐπὶ πλοίων καὶ τεθρίππων εἴωθε
- 115 γίνεσθαι· φιλεῖ γὰρ ἔστιν ὅτε χωρὶς ἡνιόχων τε καὶ κυβερνητῶν ὁ τε πλοῦς καὶ ὁ δρόμος εὐθύνεσθαι· προνοίας δ' οὐ τὸ ὀλιγάκις, ἀλλὰ τῆς μὲν ἀνθρωπίνης πολλάκις, τῆς δὲ θείας ἀδιαστάτως αἰεὶ κατορθοῦν, ἐπεὶ τὸ διαμαρτάνειν ἀλλότριον ἀνωμολόγηται θείας δυνάμεως. κατασκευάζουσι μέντοι συμβολικῶς ὥσανεὶ πύργον τὸν περὶ κακίας λόγον οἱ φρενοβλαβεῖς, τί βουλόμενοι ἢ ὄνομα αὐτῶν ὑπολείπεσθαι τὸ δυσώνυμον; XXIV.
- 116 λέγουσι γάρ· “ποιήσωμεν ἑαυτῶν ὄνομα.” ὦ περιττῆς καὶ κεχυμένης ἀναισχυντίας. τί φατε; νυκτὶ καὶ βαθεῖ σκότῳ τὰ ἑαυτῶν ἀδικήματα συγκρύπτειν ὀφείλοντες καὶ προκάλυμμα αὐτῶν, εἰ καὶ μὴ τὴν ἀληθῆ, τὴν γοῦν προσποιήτον αἰδῶ πεποιῆσθαι ἢ χάριτος ἕνεκα τῆς πρὸς τοὺς ἐπιεικεστέρους ἢ διαδύσεως τῶν ἐφ' ὁμολογουμένοις ἀμαρτήμασι τιμωριῶν, τοσοῦτον τῆς τόλμης ἐπιβαίνετε, ὥστε οὐ μόνον¹ πρὸς φῶς καὶ λαμπρότατον ἥλιον ἐναυγά-ζεσθε² μήτε τὰς ἀνθρώπων τῶν ἀμεινόνων ἀπειλὰς μήτε τὰς ἀπαραιτήτους ἐκ θεοῦ δίκας τοῖς οὕτως

¹ MSS. μόνον οὐ.

² MSS. ἐναυγάζεσθαι, which might be kept as depending on ἀξιούτε.

^a See note on *De Ebr.* 199.

THE CONFUSION OF TONGUES, 114-116

that tower not only has human misdeeds for its base, but it seeks to rise to the region of celestial things, with the arguments of impiety and godlessness in its van. Such are its pronouncements,^a either that the Deity does not exist, or that it exists but does not exert providence, or that the world had no beginning in which it was created, or that though created its course is under the sway of varying and random causation, sometimes leading it amiss, though sometimes no fault can be found. For this last an analogy is often seen in ships and chariots. For the course of 115 the one on the water and of the other on land often goes straight without helmsman or charioteer. But providence demands, they say, more than a rare and occasional success. Human providence frequently achieves its purpose, the divine should do so always and without exception, since error is admitted to be inconsistent with divine power.^b

Further, when these victims of delusion build up under the symbol of a tower their argument of vice, what is their object but to leave a record of their ill-savoured name? XXIV. For they say, "let us make 116 our name." What monstrous and extravagant shamelessness! What is this you say? You ought to be hiding your misdeeds in night and profound darkness, and to have taken, if not true shame, at least the simulation of it to veil them, whether to keep the goodwill of the more decent sort, or to escape the punishments which wait on open sins. Instead, to such a pitch of impudent hardihood have you come, that you not only let the full sunlight shine upon you and fear neither the threats of better men, nor the inexorable judgements of God, which

^b See App. p. 556.

ανοσιουργοῖς ἀπαντωμένας καταδείσαντες, ἀλλὰ καὶ πανταχόσε φήμας ἀγγέλους τῶν οἰκείων ἀδικημάτων περιπέμπειν ἀξιούτε, ὥς μηδεὶς ἀμύητος μηδ' ἀνήκοος γένοιτο τῶν ὑμετέρων, ᾧ σχέτλιοι

117 καὶ παμμίαροι, τολμημάτων. ὀνόματος

οὖν ποίου γλίχεσθε; ἢ τοῦ τοῖς πραττομένοις οἰκειοτάτου; ἄρ' οὖν ἔν ἐστι μόνον; γένει μὲν ἴσως ἔν, μυρία δὲ τοῖς εἶδεσιν, ἃ, κὰν ἡσυχάζητε, ἐτέρων λεγόντων ἀκούσεσθε· προπέτεια τοίνυν ἐστὶ μετὰ ἀναισχυντίας, ὕβρις μετὰ βίας, βία μετὰ ἀνδροφονίας, σὺν μοιχείαις φθοραί, σὺν ἀμέτροις ἡδοναῖς ἀόριστος ἐπιθυμία, μετὰ θράσους ἀπόνοια, μετὰ πανουργίας ἀδικία, κλοπαὶ μετὰ ἀρπαγῆς, σὺν ψευδολογίαις ψευδορκίαι, μετὰ παρανομιῶν ἀσέβειαι. ταῦτα καὶ τὰ παραπλήσια τῶν τοιούτων

118 ἔστ' ὀνόματα. καλὸν γ' ἐναυχήσai κάπισεμνύεσθαι δόξαν θηρωμένους τὴν ἀπὸ τούτων, ἐφ' οἷς εἰκὸς ἦν ἐγκαλύπτεσθαι. καὶ μὴν ἔνιοι

μέγα φρονούσιν ἐπὶ τούτοις, ὡς ἄμαχόν τινα ἰσχὺν [423] ἐκ τοῦ τοιούτοι¹ | νομισθῆναι παρὰ πᾶσι καρπωσάμενοι, οὓς τοῦ πολλοῦ θράσους ἢ ὀπαδὸς τοῦ θεοῦ δίκη τίσεται καίτοι τάχα τὸν οἰκεῖον οὐ μαντευόμενους μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ προορωμένους ὀλεθρον· φασὶ γάρ· “πρὶν διασπαρῆναι,” φροντίσωμεν ὀνό-

119 ματός τε καὶ δόξης. οὐκοῦν, εἵπομ' ἂν αὐτοῖς, ὅτι σκεδασθήσεσθε γινώσκετε; τί οὖν ἀμαρτάνετε; ἀλλὰ μήποτε τὸν τρόπον τῶν ἀφρόνων διασυνίστησιν, οἱ καίτοι μεγίστων ἐπικρεμαμένων οὐκ

¹ MSS. τοιούτον. Mangey and Wend. τοιούτους. But the ordinary usage of Greek demands the nominative when referring to the subject of the main verb, and this is usually, if not always, followed by Philo, e.g. ἀδικοῦντες 120.

THE CONFUSION OF TONGUES, 116-119

confront the authors of such unholy deeds, but you also deliberately send to every part rumours to report the misdeeds of which you yourselves are guilty, that none may fail to learn and hear the story of your shameless crimes. O wretched, utter miscreants !

What sort of name, then, do you desire ? Is it the 117 name that best befits your deeds ? Is it one name only ? One general name perhaps, but a thousand specific ones, which you will hear from the lips of others even if your own are silent. Recklessness with shamelessness, insolence with violence, violence with murder, seductions with adulteries, unbridled lust with unmeasured pleasures, desperation with foolhardiness, injustice with knavery, thefts with robbery, perjuries with falsehoods, impieties with law-breakings, these and the like are the names for such deeds as yours. It is indeed a fine cause for pride 118 and boasting, when you pursue so eagerly the repute which these names give, names at which you should in all reason hide your heads for shame.

With some indeed their pride in these names comes from the belief that they have gained invincible strength by the fact that all men think them such, and these God's minister Justice will punish for their great audacity. Though perhaps they have not merely a presentiment, but a clear foresight of their own destruction. For they say, "before we are dispersed" (Gen. xi. 4) let us take thought for our name and glory. Do you then know, I would say to 119 them, that you will be scattered ? Why then do you sin ? But surely it bespeaks the mind of fools that they do not shrink from iniquity, though the gravest

PHILO

- ἀδήλως ἄλλ' ἐκ τοῦ φανεροῦ πολλάκις τιμωριῶν
 ἀδικεῖν ὅμως οὐκ ὀκνοῦσι· γνωριμώταται δ' εἶσιν
 αἱ τιμωρίαι ἀδηλοῦσθαι νομισθεῖσαι, ἃς ἐκ θεοῦ
- 120 κατασκήπτειν συμβέβηκε. πάντες γὰρ οἱ φαυλό-
 τατοι λαμβάνουσιν ἐννοίας περὶ τοῦ μὴ λήσειν τὸ
 θεῖον ἀδικοῦντες μηδὲ τὸ δίκην ὑφέξειν εἰσάπαν
- 121 ἰσχυῖσαι διακρούσασθαι· ἐπεὶ πόθεν ἴσασιν, ὅτι
 σκεδασθήσονται; καὶ μὴν λέγουσι “ πρὶν ἡμᾶς
 διασπαρῆναι”. ἀλλὰ τὸ συνειδὸς ἔνδοθεν ἐλέγχει
 καὶ σφόδρα ἐπιτηδεύοντας ἀθεότητες κεντεῖ, ὥς
 ἄκοντας εἰς συναίνεσιν ἐπισπάσασθαι περὶ τοῦ
 τὰ κατ' ἀνθρώπους πάντα πρὸς ἀμείνονος φύσεως
 ἐφορᾶσθαι καὶ δίκην ἐφεστάναι τιμωρὸν ἀδέκαστον,
 ἀσεβῶν πράξεις ἐχθραίνουσιν ἀδίκους καὶ λόγους
- 122 τοὺς συνηγόρους αὐταῖς. XXV. ἀλλ'
 εἰσὶν ἀπόγονοι πάντες οὗτοι τῆς αἰεὶ μὲν ἀπο-
 θνησκούσης, μηδέποτε δὲ τεθνηκυίας μοχθηρίας,
 ἥς Κάιν ἐστὶν ὄνομα. ἢ οὐχὶ καὶ ὁ Κάιν υἱὸν
 γεννήσας, ὃν Ἐνῶχ ἐκάλεσεν, ὁμώνυμον αὐτῷ
 [καὶ] κτίζων εἰσάγεται πόλιν καὶ τρόπον τινὰ τὰ
 γενητὰ καὶ θνητὰ οἰκοδομῶν ἐπὶ τῇ τῶν θειοτέρας
- 123 κατασκευῆς λαχόντων ἀνατροπῇ; ὁ γὰρ Ἐνῶχ
 ἐρμηνεύεται χάρις σου· τῶν δ' ἀνοσίων ἕκαστος
 διάνοιαν μὲν ἡγεῖται χαρίζεσθαι ἑαυτῷ τὰς τε
 καταλήψεις καὶ διανοήσεις, ὀφθαλμοὺς δὲ τὸ
 βλέπειν καὶ ἀκούειν ὦτα καὶ μυκτῆρας ὀσφραίνε-
 σθαι, καὶ τὰς ἄλλας αἰσθήσεις τὰ οἰκεία ἑαυταῖς,
 ἔτι μέντοι καὶ τὰ φωνῆς ὄργανα τὸ λέγειν, θεὸν δὲ

* This conception of wickedness as being in one sense immortal, though at the same time a perpetual process of dying to the true life, is Philo's interpretation of the sign given to Cain that no one should kill him (Gen. iv. 15),

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penalties often menace them, openly and not obscurely. The punishments of God's visitation may be thought to be hidden from our sight, but they are really well known. For all, however wicked, receive 120 some general notions to the effect that their iniquity will not pass unseen by God, and that they cannot altogether evade the necessity of being brought to judgement. Otherwise how do they know that they 121 will be scattered? They certainly do say, "before we are dispersed." But it is the conscience within which convicts them and pricks them in spite of the exceeding godlessness of their lives, thus drawing them on reluctantly to assent to the truth that all human doings are surveyed by a superior being and that there awaits them an incorruptible avenger, even justice, who hates the unjust deeds of the impious and the arguments which advocate those deeds.

XXV. But all these are descended from the depravity 122 which is ever dying and never dead, whose name is Cain.^a Is not Cain, when he had begotten a son whom he called Enoch, described as founding a city to bear his son's name (Gen. iv. 17), and thus in a sense raising a building of created and mortal things to subvert those to which has fallen the honour to be the work of a diviner architect? For Enoch is by 123 interpretation "thy gift," and each of the unholy thinks that his understanding gives him his apprehension and reflections, that his eyes give him sight, his ears hearing, his nostrils smell, and the other senses the functions that belong to themselves severally, and again that the vocal organs give him speech, but God, he thinks, is either not the cause in any sense

coupled with the absence of any mention of his death in Genesis. Cf. *Quod Det.* 177, *De Fuga* 60.

PHILO

- ἢ μὴ συνόλως ἢ μὴ ὡς πρῶτον αἴτιον [ὄν].¹
- 124 διὰ τοῦτο καὶ ὦν ἐγεωπόνησε τὰς ἀπαρχὰς² ἑαυτῷ ταμιεύεται, καρποὺς δὲ αὐτὸ μόνον αὐθις προσ-
 ενεγκεῖν θεῷ λέγεται καίτοι παραδείγματος ὑγιоῦς ἐγγὺς ἐστῶτος· ὁ γὰρ ἀδελφὸς αὐτοῦ τὰ πρωτό-
 τοκα, οὐ τὰ δεύτερα τῆς ποιμένης ἔκγονα ἱεουργεῖ, τὰς τῶν γινομένων πρεσβυτέρας αἰτίας κατὰ τὸ πρεσβύτατον τῶν αἰτίων ὁμολογῶν συνίστασθαι.
- 125 τῷ δ' ἀσεβεῖ τὸναντίον δοκεῖ, αὐτοκράτορα μὲν εἶναι τὸν νοῦν ὦν βουλεύεται, αὐτοκράτορα δὲ καὶ τὴν αἴσθησιν ὦν αἰσθάνεται· δικάζειν γὰρ ἀνυπ-
 αιτίως καὶ ἀψευδῶς τὴν μὲν τὰ σώματα, τὸν δὲ
- 126 πάντα. τούτων δὲ τί | ἂν γένοιτο ἐπιληπτότερον
 [424] ἢ μᾶλλον ὑπὸ τῆς ἀληθείας ἐλεγχόμενον; ἢ οὐχὶ καὶ ὁ νοῦς πολλάκις ἐπὶ μυρίων ὅσων ἡλέγχθη παρανοῶν, καὶ αἱ αἰσθήσεις ἀπασαι ψευδομαρ-
 τυριῶν ἐάλωσαν οὐ παρ' ἀλόγοις δικασταῖς, οὓς εἰκὸς ἀπατᾶσθαι, ἀλλ' ἐν τῷ τῆς φύσεως αὐτῆς
- 127 δικαστηρίῳ, ἣν οὐ θέμις δεκάζεσθαι; καὶ μὴν σφαλλομένων γε τῶν καθ' ἡμᾶς αὐτοὺς περὶ τε νοῦν καὶ αἴσθησιν κριτηρίων ἀνάγκη τὰκόλουθον ὁμολογεῖν, ὅτι ὁ θεὸς τῷ μὲν τὰς ἐννοίας, τῇ δὲ τὰς ἀντιλήψεις ἐπομβρεῖ, καὶ ἔστιν οὐ τῶν καθ' ἡμᾶς μερῶν χάρις τὰ γινόμενα, ἀλλὰ τοῦ δι' ὃν καὶ ἡμεῖς γεγόναμεν δωρεαὶ πᾶσαι.
- 128 XXVI. τὸν φιλαυτίας κλῆρον παραλαβόντες παῖδες παρὰ πατρὸς συναυξῆσαι γλίσχονται μέχρις οὐρανοῦ, ἕως ἂν ἡ φιλάρετός τε καὶ μισοπόνηρος δίκη

¹ Or perhaps *ὄντα*.

² MSS. *ἀρχὰς*.

^a See App. p. 556.

^b Or "to whom also we owe our very being." δι' ὃν seems

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or not the first cause. And therefore 124
Cain retained in his own keeping the firstlings of the
fruits of his husbandry and offered, as we are told,
merely the fruits at a later time, although he had
beside him a wholesome example. For his brother
brought to the altar the first-born younglings of the
flock, not the after-born, thus confessing that even
the causes which come higher in the chain of causation^a owe their existence to the Cause which is highest
and first of all. The impious man thinks the opposite, 125
that the mind has sovereign power over what it
plans, and sense over what it perceives. He holds
that the latter judges material things and the former
all things, and that both are free from fault or error.
And yet what could be more blameworthy or more 126
clearly convicted of falsehood by the truth than these
beliefs? Is not the mind constantly convicted of
delusion on numberless points, and all the senses
judged guilty of false witness, not before unreasoning
judges who may easily be deceived, but at the bar
of nature herself whom it is fundamentally impossible
to corrupt? And surely if the means of judgement 127
within us, supplied by mind and sense, are capable
of error, we must admit the logical consequence,
that it is God who showers conceptions on the mind
and perceptions on sense, and that what comes into
being is no gift of any part of ourselves, but all are
bestowed by Him, through whom we too have been
made.^b XXVI. Having received from 128
their father self-love as their portion, his children
desire to add to it and raise it heaven high, until
Justice who loves virtue and hates evil comes to the

here to differ little from *δὲ οὖν*. It thinks of God as the
cause rather than as the maker.

- παρελθοῦσα καθέλη τὰς πόλεις, ἃς ἐπετείχισαν
 ψυχῇ τῇ ταλαίνῃ, καὶ τὸν πύργον, οὗ τοῦνομα ἐν
 τῇ τῶν κριμάτων¹ ἀναγραφομένη βίβλῳ δεδήλωται.
 129 ἔστι δὲ ὡς μὲν Ἑβραῖοι λέγουσι Φανουήλ, ὡς δὲ
 ἡμεῖς ἀποστροφὴ θεοῦ· τὸ γὰρ κατεσκευασμένον
 ὀχύρωμα διὰ τῆς τῶν λόγων πιθανότητος οὐδενὸς
 ἔνεκα ἐτέρου κατεσκευάζετο ἢ τοῦ μετατραπῆναι
 καὶ μετακλιθῆναι διάνοιαν ἀπὸ τῆς τοῦ θεοῦ τιμῆς·
 130 οὐ τί ἂν γένοιτο ἀδικώτερον; ἀλλὰ πρὸς γε τὴν
 τοῦ ὀχυρώματος τούτου καθαίρεσιν ὁ πειρατῆς τῆς
 ἀδικίας καὶ φονῶν² αἰεὶ κατ' αὐτῆς εὐτρέπισται, ὃν
 Ἑβραῖοι καλοῦσι Γεδεών, ὃς ἐρμηνεύεται πειρα-
 τήριον· “ ὦμοσε ” γάρ φησι “ Γεδεών τοῖς ἀνδράσι
 Φανουήλ λέγων· ἐν τῷ με ἐπιστρέφειν μετ' εἰρήνης
 131 τὸν πύργον τούτον κατασκάψω.” πάγκαλον καὶ
 πρεπωδέστατον αὔχημα μισοπονήρῳ ψυχῇ κατὰ
 ἀσεβῶν ἡκονημένη τὸ βεβαιουῖσθαι καθαιρήσειν
 πάντα λόγον ἀποστρέφειν διάνοιαν ὁσιότητος ἀνα-
 πείθοντα. καὶ πέφυκεν οὕτως ἔχειν· ὅταν γὰρ ὁ
 νοῦς ἐπιστρέψῃ, τὸ ἀποκλῖνον καὶ ἀποστρεφόμενον
 132 αὐτοῦ πᾶν³ λύεται. τούτου δὲ καιρὸς ἔστι τῆς
 καθαιρέσεως, τὸ παραδοξότατον, ἣ φησιν, οὐ
 πόλεμος, ἀλλ' εἰρήνη· διανοίας γὰρ εὐσταθεία καὶ
 ἡρεμία, ἣν εὐσέβεια γεννᾷν πέφυκεν, ἀνατρέπεται
 πᾶς λόγος, ὃν ἐδημιούργησεν ἀσέβεια.
 133 πολλοὶ καὶ τὰς αἰσθήσεις πύργου τινὰ τρόπον ἐπὶ
 τοσοῦτον ἡγειραν, ὡς ἄψασθαι τῶν οὐρανοῦ περά-
 των· οὐρανὸς δὲ συμβολικῶς ὁ νοῦς ἡμῶν ἔστι,

¹ Perhaps a slip for κριτῶν.

² MSS. φρονῶν.

³ MSS. πάλιν.

^a This is of course what the LXX. means by ἐπιστρέφειν.

THE CONFUSION OF TONGUES, 128-133

aid. She razes to the ground the cities which they fortified to menace the unhappy soul, and the tower whose name is explained in the book of Judges. That name is in the Hebrew tongue Penue!l, but in our own "turning from God." For the stronghold which was built through persuasiveness of argument was built solely for the purpose of diverting and deflecting the mind from honouring God. And what greater sin against justice could there be than this? But there stands ready armed for the destruction of this stronghold the robber who despoils injustice and ever breathes slaughter against her, whom the Hebrews call Gideon, which is interpreted the "Robbers' Hold." Gideon swore, we read, to the men of Penue!l saying, "When I return with peace I will demolish this tower" (Jud. viii. 9). A grand boast, most fitting to the evil-hating soul whose edge has been made sharp against the impious, that it receives the strength to pull down every argument which would persuade the mind to turn away from holiness. And the words are true to nature, for when the mind "returns,"^a all in it that was starting aside or turning away is brought to nothing. And the fit time for destruction of this, though clean contrary to expectation, is, as Gideon says, not war but peace. For it is through that stability and tranquillity of understanding, which it is the nature of piety to engender, that every argument is overturned which impiety has wrought. Many too have exalted their senses, as though they were a tower, so that they touch the boundaries of heaven, that is symbolically our mind, wherein range and dwell

Philo perhaps gives it the sense of "turns round," "is converted."

καθ' ὃν αἱ ἄριστα καὶ θεῖαι φύσεις περιπολοῦσιν. οἱ δὲ ταῦτα τολμῶντες αἰσθησιν μὲν διανοίας προκρίνουσιν, ἀξιοῦσι δὲ καὶ διὰ τῶν αἰσθητῶν τὰ νοητὰ πάντα ἐλεῖν ἀνὰ κράτος, εἰς μὲν δούλων τάξιν τὰ δεσπόζοντα, εἰς δὲ ἡγεμόνων τὰ φύσει δοῦλα μεθαρμόσασθαι βιαζόμενοι.

- 134 [425] XXVII. | Τὸ δέ, “ κατέβη κύριος ἰδεῖν τὴν πόλιν καὶ τὸν πύργον ” τροπικώτερον πάντως ἀκουστέον· προσιέναι γὰρ ἢ ἀπιέναι ἢ κατιέναι ἢ τούναντίον <ἀν>έρχεσθαι ἢ συνόλως τὰς αὐτὰς τοῖς κατὰ μέρος ζώοις σχέσεις καὶ κινήσεις ἴσχεσθαι καὶ κινεῖσθαι τὸ θεῖον ὑπολαμβάνειν ὑπερωκεάνιος καὶ μετα-
135 κόσμος, ὡς ἔπος εἰπεῖν, ἐστὶν ἀσέβεια. ταῦτα δὲ ἀνθρωπολογεῖται παρὰ τῷ νομοθέτῃ περὶ τοῦ μὴ ἀνθρωπομόρφου θεοῦ διὰ τὰς τῶν παιδευομένων ἡμῶν, ὡς πολλάκις ἐν ἑτέροις εἶπον, ὠφελείας. ἐπεὶ τίς οὐκ οἶδεν ὅτι τῷ κατιόντι τὸν μὲν ἀπολεί-
136 πειν, τὸν δὲ ἐπιλαμβάνειν τόπον ἀναγκαῖον; ὑπὸ δὲ τοῦ θεοῦ πεπλήρωται τὰ πάντα, περιέχοντος, οὐ περιεχομένου, ᾧ πανταχοῦ τε καὶ οὐδαμοῦ συμβέβηκεν εἶναι μόνῳ· οὐδαμοῦ μὲν, ὅτι καὶ χώραν καὶ τόπον αὐτὸς τοῖς σώμασι συγγεγέννηκε, τὸ δὲ πεποιηκὸς ἐν οὐδενὶ τῶν γεγονότων θέμις εἰπεῖν περιέχεσθαι, πανταχοῦ δέ, ὅτι τὰς δυνάμεις αὐτοῦ διὰ γῆς καὶ ὕδατος ἀέρος τε καὶ οὐρανοῦ τείνας μέρος οὐδὲν ἔρημον ἀπολέλοιπε τοῦ κόσμου, πάντα δὲ συναγαγὼν διὰ πάντων ἀοράτοις ἔσφιγξε δεσ-

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those divine forms of being which excel all others. They who do not shrink from this give the preference to sense rather than understanding. They would use perceptible things to subdue and capture the world of things intelligible, thus forcing the two to change places, the one to pass from mastery to slavery, the other from its natural servitude to dominance.

XXVII. The words, "the Lord came down to see 134 the city and the tower" (Gen. xi. 5), must certainly be understood in a figurative sense. For to suppose that the Deity approaches or departs, goes down or goes up, or in general remains stationary or puts Himself in motion, as particular living creatures do, is an impiety which may be said to transcend the bounds of ocean or of the universe itself. No, as I 135 have often said elsewhere, the lawgiver is applying human terms to the superhuman God, to help us, his pupils, to learn our lesson. For we all know that when a person comes down he must leave one place and occupy another. But God fills all things; He 136 contains but is not contained. To be everywhere and nowhere is His property and His alone. He is nowhere, because He Himself created space and place coincidentally with material things, and it is against all right principle to say that the Maker is contained in anything that He has made. He is everywhere, because He has made His powers extend through earth and water, air and heaven, and left no part of the universe without His presence, and uniting all

- μοῖς, ἵνα μή ποτε λυθείη, οὐ χάριν μελετήσας ὦ¹
 137 * * *. τὸ μὲν γὰρ ὑπεράνω τῶν δυνάμεων ὄν
 ἐπινοεῖται περιττεύειν, οὐ * * * κατὰ τὸ εἶναι
 μόνον². τούτου δύναμις δέ, καθ' ἣν ἔθηκε καὶ
 διετάξατο τὰ πάντα, κέκληται μὲν ἐτύμως θεός,
 ἐγκεκόλπισται δὲ τὰ ὅλα καὶ διὰ τῶν τοῦ παντός
 138 μερῶν διελήλυθε. τὸ δὲ θεῖον καὶ ἀόρατον καὶ
 ἀκατάληπτον καὶ πανταχοῦ ὄν ὁρατόν τε καὶ κατα-
 ληπτὸν οὐδαμοῦ πρὸς ἀλήθειάν ἐστιν * * * “ὥδε
 στάς ἐγὼ πρὸ τοῦ σέ,”³ δείκνυσθαι καὶ καταλαμ-
 βάνεσθαι δοκῶν, πρὸ πάσης δείξεως καὶ φαντασίας
 139 ὑπερβαλὼν τὰ γεγονότα. τῶν οὖν μεταβατικῆς
 κινήσεως ὀνομάτων οὐδὲν ἐφαρμόττει τῷ κατὰ
 τὸ εἶναι θεῷ, τὸ ἄνω, τὸ κάτω, τὸ ἐπὶ δεξιᾷ, τὸ
 ἐπ' εὐώνυμα, τὸ πρόσω, τὸ κατόπιν· ἐν οὐδενὶ
 γὰρ τῶν λεχθέντων ἐπινοεῖται, ὡς οὐδ' ἂν μετα-
 140 τρεπόμενος ἐναλλάττοι χωρία. λέγεται δ'
 οὐδὲν ἦττον κατελθὼν ἰδεῖν, ὁ προλήψει πάντα οὐ
 γενόμενα μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ πρὶν γενέσθαι σαφῶς
 κατειληφώς, προτροπῆς ἕνεκα καὶ διδασκαλίας, ἵνα

¹ I have not attempted to translate these corrupt words which appear in Mangey's edition as οὐ χάριν μελίσας ἄσω (“on account of which I will celebrate it in song”!) Wend. suggested θεοῦ χάριν συνημμένα with no lacuna. But this bears little resemblance to the text. I suggest οὐ χάριν <ἐ>μελ<λ>ε τῆς ἀσω<μάτου>, followed by some such words as οὐσίας πληροῦσθαι. This will fit the argument well. God is everywhere, because His binding things with invisible bonds necessarily (ἐμελλε) involves His filling all things with His being.

² Wend. suggests <οὐκ> ἐπινοεῖται περὶ τόπον, οὐ κατα-
 λαμβανόμενον, εἰ μὴ κατὰ τὸ εἶναι μόνον. As an alternative
 I suggest ἐπινοεῖται πέρα τοῦ εἶναι που κατὰ τὸ εἶναι μόνον (“is
 conceived of as transcending the idea of being in any particu-
 lar place and in terms of existence only”). See App. p. 556.

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with all has bound them fast with invisible bonds, that they should never be loosed. . . . That aspect 137 of Him which transcends His Potencies cannot be conceived of at all in terms of place, but only as pure being, but that Potency of His by which He made and ordered all things, while it is called God in accordance with the derivation of that name,^a holds the whole in its embrace and has interfused itself through the parts of the universe. But this divine nature 138 which presents itself to us, as visible and comprehensible and everywhere, is in reality invisible, incomprehensible and nowhere. . . . And so we have the words "Here I stand before thou wast" (Ex. xvii. 6). "I seem," He says, "the object of demonstration and comprehension, yet I transcend created things, preceding all demonstration or presentation to the mind."^b None of the terms, then, which express move- 139 ment from place to place, whether up or down, to right or to left, forward or backward, are applicable to God in His aspect of pure being. For no such term is compatible with our conception of Him, so that He must also be incapable of displacement or change of locality. All the same Moses 140 applies the phrase "came down and saw" to Him, who in His prescience had comprehended all things, not only after but before they came to pass, and he did so to admonish and instruct us, that the absent,

^a See App. p. 556.

^b See note on *De Sac.* 67.

³ This sentence has been completely confused in the mss. Wend. reconstructs it as follows: τὸ δὲ θεῖον ὁρατὸν τε καὶ καταληπτὸν καὶ πανταχοῦ φαντασιαζόμενον ἀόρατον καὶ ἀκατάληπτον καὶ οὐδαμοῦ πρὸς ἀλήθειάν ἐστιν ὡς ἀψευδέστατον ἐκείνον εἶναι τὸν χρησμὸν, ἐν ᾧ λέλεκται (*cf. De Mig.* 183), and this seems to be the general sense. In the next words *στὰς* should probably be *ἐστηκα*.

- μηδεὶς ἀνθρώπων οἷς οὐ πάρεστιν, ἀβεβαίω χρώ-
 μενος εἰκασία, μακρὰν ἀφεστὼς προπιστεύη, ἀλλ'
 ἄχρι τῶν πραγμάτων ἐλθὼν καὶ διακύψας εἰς
 ἕκαστα καὶ ἐπιμελῶς αὐτὰ αὐγασάμενος· ὅψιν γὰρ
 ἀπλανῇ πρὸ ἀκοῆς ἀπατεῶνος ἄξιον μάρτυρα
 141 τίθεσθαι. οὗ χάριν καὶ παρὰ τοῖς ἄριστα πολι-
 [426] τευομένοις ἀναγέγραπται νόμος | ἀκοὴν¹ μὴ μαρ-
 τυρεῖν, ὅτι φύσει τὸ δικαστήριον αὐτῆς πρὸς τὸ
 δεκάζεσθαι ταλαντεύει· καὶ Μωυσῆς μέντοι φησὶν
 ἐν τοῖς <ἀπ>αγορευτικοῖς· “οὐ παραδέξῃ ἀκοὴν
 ματαίαν,” οὐχὶ μόνον τοῦτο λέγων, <μὴ>² παρα-
 δέχεσθαι ψευδῇ λόγῳ ἢ εὐήθη δι’ ἀκοῆς, ἀλλὰ καὶ
 ὅτι πρὸς τὴν σαφῇ τῆς ἀληθείας κατάληψιν μακρὸν
 ὅσον ὅψεως ὑστερίζουσα διελέγχεται γέμουσα
 ματαιότητος ἀκοή.
- 142 XXVIII. Ταύτην φαμέν αἰτίαν εἶναι τοῦ λέγε-
 σθαι “τὸν θεὸν καταβεβηκέναι τὴν πόλιν καὶ τὸν
 πύργον θεάσασθαι.” οὐ παρέργως δὲ πρόσκειται
 “ὃν ὠκοδόμησαν οἱ υἱοὶ τῶν ἀνθρώπων.” ἴσως
 γὰρ ἂν τις εἴποι τῶν οὐκ εὐαγῶν ἐπιχλευάζων
 ἅμα· καινὸν³ ἡμᾶς ἀναδιδάσκει μάθημα ὁ νομο-
 θέτης, ὅτι πύργους καὶ πόλεις οὐχ ἕτεροὶ τινες,
 ἀλλὰ παῖδες ἀνθρώπων ἀνοικοδομοῦνται. τίς γὰρ
 τά γ’ οὕτως ἐμφανῇ καὶ περίοπτα καὶ τῶν λίαν
 143 ἑξεστηκότων ἀγνοεῖ; ἀλλὰ μὴ τὸ πρόχειρον τοῦτο
 καὶ κατημαξευμένον ἐν τοῖς ἱερωτάτοις χρησιμοῖς
 ἀναγεγράφθαι <νομίσης>, ἀλλ’ ὅπερ ἀποκεκρυμ-
 μένον ἰχνηλατεῖται διὰ τῶν ἐμφανῶν ὀνομάτων.

¹ mss. ἀκοή. See App. p. 556.

² Wend. prints a lacuna after λέγων with note that Cohn suggests <ὅτι οὐ θέμις>. Mangey <μὴ>.

³ Heinemann suggests ἀναγκαῖον for ἅμα καινόν.

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who are at a long distance from the facts, should never form conclusions hastily or rely on precarious conjectures, but should come to close quarters with things, inspect them one by one and carefully envisage them. For the certitude of sight must be held as better evidence than the deceitfulness of hearing. And therefore among those who live under 141 the best institutions a law has been enacted against giving as evidence what has been merely heard, because hearing's tribunal has a natural bias towards corrupt judgement. In fact Moses says in his prohibitions, "Thou shalt not accept vain hearing" (Ex. xxiii. 1), by which he does not merely mean that we must not accept a false or foolish story on hearsay, but also that as a means of giving a sure apprehension of the truth, hearing is proved to lag far behind sight and is brimful of vanity.

XXVIII. This is the reason we assign for the 142 words "God came down to see the city and the tower," but the phrase which follows, "which the sons of men built" (Gen. xi. 5), is no idle addition, though perhaps some profane person might say with a sneer, "a novel piece of information this which the lawgiver here imparts to us, namely that it is the sons of men and not some other beings who build cities and towers." "Who," he would continue, "even among those who are far gone in insanity, does not know facts so obvious and conspicuous?" But you must suppose that it is not this obvious and 143 hackneyed fact which is recorded for us in our most holy oracles, but the hidden truth which can be traced under the surface meaning of the words.

144

τί οὖν ἐστὶ τοῦτο; οἱ πολλοὺς ἐπιγραφόμενοι τῶν ὄντων ὥσανεὶ πατέρας καὶ τὸ πολυθεὸν εἰσηγοῦμενοι στίφος ἀπειρίαν ὁμοῦ καὶ πολυμιγίαν τῶν πραγμάτων καταχέαντες καὶ τὸ ψυχῆς τέλος ἡδονῇ παραδόντες δημιουργοὶ τῆς εἰρημένης πόλεως καὶ τῆς κατ' αὐτὴν ἀκροπόλεως, εἰ δεῖ τάληθές εἰπεῖν, γεγόνασι, τὰ ποιητικὰ τοῦ τέλους τρόπον οἰκοδομημάτων συναύξοντες, τῶν ἐκ πόρνῃς ἀποκυθηέντων οὐδέν, ὥς γ' οἶμαι, διαφέροντες, οὓς ὁ νόμος ἐκκλησίας ἀπελήλακε θείας εἰπών· “οὐκ εἰσελεύσεται ἐκ πόρνῃς εἰς ἐκκλησίαν κυρίου,” ὅτι, καθάπερ περὶ πολλὰ τέλη πλανώμενοι τοξόται καὶ μηδενὸς εὐστόχως ἐφ-ιέμενοι σκοποῦ, μυρίας ἀρχὰς καὶ αἰτίας τῆς τῶν ὄντων ὑποθέμενοι γενέσεως ψευδωνύμους πάσας τὸν ἓνα ποιητὴν καὶ πατέρα τῶν ὅλων ἡγνόησαν.

145

οἱ δὲ ἐπιστήμη κεκρημένοι τοῦ ἑνὸς υἱοὶ θεοῦ προσαγορεύονται δεόντως, καθὰ καὶ Μωυσῆς ὁμολογεῖ φάσκων· “υἱοὶ ἐστε κυρίου τοῦ θεοῦ” καὶ “θεὸν τὸν γεννήσαντά σε” καὶ “οὐκ αὐτὸς οὗτός σου πατήρ;” ἔπεται μέντοι τοῖς οὕτω τὴν ψυχὴν διατεθεῖσι μόνον τὸ καλὸν ἀγαθὸν εἶναι νομίζειν, ὅπερ τῷ τέλει τῆς ἡδονῆς πρὸς ἐμπειρο-πολέμων ἀνδρῶν ἀντιτευχίζεται πρὸς ἀνατροπὴν καὶ καθαίρεσιν ἐκείνου. | καὶ μὴδέπω μέντοι τυγ-

146

[427]

χάνῃ τις ἀξίόχρεως ὢν υἱὸς θεοῦ προσαγορευέσθαι, σπουδαζέτω κοσμεῖσθαι κατὰ τὸν πρωτόγονον αὐτοῦ λόγον, τὸν ἀγγέλων πρεσβύτατον, ὡς ἂν ἀρχάγγελον, πολυώνυμον ὑπάρχοντα· καὶ γὰρ ἀρχὴ καὶ ὄνομα θεοῦ καὶ λόγος καὶ ὁ κατ' εἰκόνα

^a An obvious reference to Stoics and Epicureans.

THE CONFUSION OF TONGUES, 144-146

What then is this truth? Those who 144 ascribe to existing things a multitude of fathers as it were and by introducing their miscellany of deities have flooded everything with ignorance and confusion, or have assigned to pleasure the function of being the aim and end of the soul, have become in very truth builders of the city of our text and of its acropolis. They pile up as in an edifice all that serves to produce that aim or end and thus differ not a whit to my mind from the harlot's offspring, whom the law has banished from God's congregation with the words "he that is born of a harlot shall not enter the congregation of the Lord" (Deut. xxiii. 2). For like bowmen, whose shots roam from mark to mark and who never take a skilful aim at any single point, they assume a multitude of what they falsely call sources and causes to account for the origin of the existing world and have no knowledge of the one Maker and Father of all. But they who 145 live in the knowledge of the One are rightly called "Sons of God," as Moses also acknowledges when he says, "Ye are sons of the Lord God" (Deut. xiv. 1), and "God who begat thee" (*ibid.* xxxii. 18), and "Is not He Himself thy father?" (*ibid.* 6). Indeed with those whose soul is thus disposed it follows that they hold moral beauty to be the only good, and this serves as a counterwork engineered by veteran warriors to fight the cause which makes Pleasure the end and to subvert and overthrow it.^a But if there 146 be any as yet unfit to be called a Son of God, let him press to take his place under God's First-born, the Word, who holds the eldership among the angels, their ruler as it were. And many names are his, for he is called, "the Beginning," and the Name of

- ἄνθρωπος καὶ ὁ ὄρων, Ἰσραήλ, προσαγορεύεται.
- 147 διὸ προήχθην ὀλίγῳ πρότερον ἐπαινέσαι τὰς ἀρετὰς τῶν φασκόντων ὅτι “ πάντες ἐσμέν υἱοὶ ἐνὸς ἀνθρώπου”· καὶ γὰρ εἰ μήπω ἱκανοὶ θεοῦ παῖδες νομίζεσθαι γεγόναμεν, ἀλλὰ τοι τῆς αἰδοῦς εἰκόνης αὐτοῦ, λόγου τοῦ ἱερωτάτου· θεοῦ γὰρ
- 148 εἰκὼν λόγος ὁ πρεσβύτατος. καὶ πολλαχοῦ μέντοι τῆς νομοθεσίας υἱοὶ πάλιν Ἰσραήλ καλοῦνται, τοῦ ὄρωντος οἱ ἀκούοντες, ἐπειδὴ μεθ’ ὅρασιν ἀκοὴ δευτερείοις τετίμηται καὶ τὸ διδασκόμενον τοῦ χωρὶς ὑφηγήσεως ἐναργεῖς τύπους τῶν ὑποκειμέ-
- 149 νων λαμβάνοντος αἰεὶ δεύτερον. ἄγαμαι καὶ τῶν ἐν βασιλικαῖς βίβλοις ἱεροφαντηθέντων, καθ’ ἃς οἱ πολλαῖς γενεαῖς ὕστερον ἀκμάσαντες καὶ βιώσαντες ἀνυπαίτιως υἱοὶ τοῦ τὸν θεὸν ὑμνήσαντος Δαβὶδ ἀναγράφονται, οὗ περιόντος οὐδ’ οἱ πρόπαπποι τούτων ἦσαν ἴσως¹ γεγεννημένοι· ψυχῶν γὰρ ἀπαθανατιζομένων ἀρεταῖς, οὐ φθαρτῶν σωμάτων ἔστι γενέσεις, ἣν ἐπὶ τοὺς καλοκάγαθίας ἡγεμόνας ὥσανεὶ γεννητὰς καὶ πατέρας ἀναφέρεσθαι συμβαίνει.
- 150 XXIX. Κατὰ δὲ τῶν ἐπ’ ἀδικίαις σεμννομένων εἶπε κύριος· “ ἰδοὺ γένος ἐν καὶ χεῖλος ἐν πάντων,” ἴσον τῷ ἰδοὺ μία οἰκειότης καὶ συγγένεια, καὶ πάλιν ἁρμονία καὶ συμφωνία ἢ αὐτὴ πάντων ὁμοῦ, μηδενὸς ἡλλοτριωμένου τὴν γνώμην μηδ’ ἀπ- ἄδοντος, καθάπερ ἔχει καὶ ἐπ’ ἀνθρώπων ἀμούσων· τὸ γὰρ φωνητήριον αὐτοῖς ὄργανον πᾶσι τοῖς φθόγγοις ἔστιν ὅτε δι’ ὧν ἐκμελές καὶ ἀπωδὸν

¹ MSS. πιστῶς.^a i.e. in § 41.^b See App. p. 557.

THE CONFUSION OF TONGUES, 146-150

God, and His Word, and the Man after His image, and "he that sees," that is Israel. And 147

therefore I was moved a few pages above^a to praise the virtues of those who say that "We are all sons of one man" (Gen. xlii. 11). For if we have not yet become fit to be thought sons of God yet we may be sons of His invisible image, the most holy Word. For the Word is the eldest-born image of God. And 148 often indeed in the law-book we find another phrase, "sons of Israel," hearers, that is, sons of him that sees, since hearing stands second in estimation and below sight, and the recipient of teaching is always second to him with whom realities present their forms clear to his vision and not through the medium of instruction.

I bow, too, in admiration 149 before the mysteries revealed in the books of Kings, where it does not offend us to find described as sons of God's psalmist David those who lived and flourished many generations afterwards (1 Kings xv. 11; 2 Kings xviii. 3),^b though in David's lifetime probably not even their great-grandparents had been born. For the paternity we find ascribed to the standard-bearers of noble living, whom we think of as the fathers who begat us, is the paternity of souls raised to immortality by virtues, not of corruptible bodies.

XXIX. But of those who glory in their iniquities, 150 the Lord said "behold there is one race and one lip of them all" (Gen. xi. 5), that is, behold they are one connexion of family and fellowship of race, and again all have the same harmony and fellowship of voice; there is none whose mind is a stranger to the other nor his voice discordant. It is so also with men who have no gift of music. Sometimes their vocal organ, though every note is entirely tuneless and

- οὐ μετρίως καθέστηκε, πρὸς ἀναρμοστίαν ἄκρως
 ἡρμοσμένον καὶ πρὸς τὸ ἀσύμφωνον συμφωνίαν
 151 μόνον ἄγον. καὶ ἐπὶ τῆς πολίτιδος τὸ κατα-
 σκευαστόν¹ τὸ παραπλήσιον ἰδεῖν ἔστιν· αἱ τε² γὰρ
 ἀμφημεριναὶ καὶ διάτριτοι καὶ τεταρταῖζουσαι παρὰ
 παισὶν ἰατρῶν λεγόμεναι περίοδοι μεθ' ἡμέραν τε
 καὶ νύκτωρ περὶ τὰς αὐτὰς ὥρας κατασκήπτουσι
 τὴν εἰς αὐτὰ¹ καὶ τάξιν φυλάττουσαι.
 152 [428] Τὸ δὲ “ καὶ τοῦτο ἤρξαντο | ποιῆσαι ” μετ' οὐ
 μετρίου σχετλιασμοῦ λέλεκται, διότι τοῖς ραδιουργοῖς
 οὐ τὰ πρὸς τοὺς ὁμοφύλους μόνον συγχεῖν
 δίκαια ἐξήρκεσεν, ἀλλ' ἤδη καὶ τῶν ὀλυμπίων ἐπι-
 βαίνειν ἐτόλμησαν, ἀδικίαν μὲν σπείραντες, ἀσέ-
 153 βειαν δὲ θερίσαντες. ὄφελος δὲ τοῖς ἀθλίοις οὐδέν·
 οὐ γὰρ ὥσπερ ἀδικοῦντες ἀλλήλους πολλὰ ὦν
 ἂν ἐθελήσωσιν ἀνύτουσιν ἔργοις βεβαιούμενοι τὰ
 βουλαῖς ἀγνώμοσιν ἐπιλογισθέντα, οὕτως καὶ ἀ-
 σεβοῦντες· ἀζήμια γὰρ καὶ ἀπήμονα τὰ θεῖα, τοῦ
 δὲ πλημμελεῖν εἰς αὐτὰ οἱ δυσκάθαρτοι τὰς ἀρχὰς
 εὐρίσκονται μόνον, πρὸς δὲ τὸ τέλος φθάνουσιν
 154 οὐδέποτε. διὸ καὶ λέγεται τοῦτο· “ ἤρξαντο
 ποιῆσαι ” κορεσθέντες <γὰρ> οἱ τοῦ παρανομεῖν
 ἄπληστοι τῶν πρὸς τὰ ἐν γῇ καὶ θαλάττῃ καὶ ἀέρι,
 ἃ φθαρτῆς φύσεως ἔλαχε, κακῶν ἐπὶ τὰς ἐν
 οὐρανῷ θείας φύσεις μετατάξασθαι διανοήθησαν,
 ἃς τι³ τῶν ὄντων ἔξω τοῦ κακηγορεῖν ἔθος ἐστὶ
 διαθεῖναι τὸ παράπαν οὐδέν· καὶ αὐτὸ μέντοι τὸ
 βλασφημεῖν οὐ τοῖς κακηγορουμένοις ἐπιφέρει τινὰ
 ζημίαν, ἃ τῆς ἰδίου φύσεως οὐποτ' ἐξίσταται, ἀλλὰ
 155 τοῖς κατατιτωμένοις συμφορὰς ἀνηκέστους. οὐκ

¹ See App. p. 557.² MSS. *ἐτι*.

THE CONFUSION OF TONGUES, 150-155

highly unmelodious, is supremely harmonized to produce disharmony, with a consonance which it turns to mere dissonance. And the same studied regularity 151 may be noticed in fever. For the recurrences which are called in the medical schools quotidian, or tertian, or quartan, make their visitation about the same hour of the day or night and maintain their relative order.

The words "And they have begun to do this" 152 (Gen. xi. 6), express strong scorn and indignation. They mean that the miscreants, not content with making havoc of the justice due to their fellows, went further. They dared to attack the rights of heaven, and having sown injustice, they reaped impiety. Yet the wretches had no profit of it. For while in 153 wronging each other they achieved much of what they wished and their deeds confirmed what their senseless scheming had devised, it was not so with their impiety. For the things that are God's cannot be harmed or injured, and when these reprobates turn their transgressions against them, they attain but to the beginning and never arrive at the end. Therefore we have these words, "They have *begun* 154 to do." For when, insatiate in wrongdoing, they had taken their fill of sins against all that is of earth and sea and air whose allotted nature is to perish, they bethought them to turn their forces against the divine natures in heaven. But on them nothing that exists can usually have any effect save evil speech, though indeed even the foul tongue does not work harm to those who are its objects (for they still possess their nature unchanged), but only brings disasters beyond cure on the revilers. Yet that they 155

³ So Mangey: MSS. & ἐστὶ: Wend. conjectures, but does not print, & ἐστὶ τῶν κακῶν. See App. p. 558.

PHILO

ἐπειδὴ μέντοι μόνον ἤρξαντο πρὸς τὸ τέλος ἔλθειν
ἀδυνατήσαντες ἀσεβείας, διὰ τοῦτ' αὐτοὺς οὐχ ὡς
διαπραξαμένους ἕκαστα ὧν διανοήθησαν αἰτιατέον·
οὐ χάριν καὶ τετελειωκέναι φησὶ τὸν πύργον αὐτοὺς
οὐ τελειώσαντας, ἐπειδὴν λέγει· “ κύριος κατέβη
ἰδεῖν τὴν πόλιν καὶ τὸν πύργον,” οὐχ ὅν οἰκο-
δομήσαι μέλλουσιν, ἀλλ' ὅν “ ὠκοδόμησαν ” ἤδη.

- 156 XXX. τίς οὖν πίστις τοῦ μὴ τετε-
λεσιουργῆσθαι τὴν κατασκευὴν; ἡ ἐνάργεια πρώτη·
γῆς γὰρ ὅτιοῦν μέρος ἀμήχανον οὐρανοῦ ψαῦσαι
διὰ τὴν ἔμπροσθεν¹ αἰτίαν, ὅτιπερ οὐδὲ κέντρον
περιφερείας ἄπτεται· δευτέρα² δ', ὅτι ὁ αἰθέρ, ἱερὸν
πῦρ, φλόξ ἐστὶν ἄσβεστος, ὡς καὶ αὐτὸ δηλοῖ
τοῦνομα παρὰ τὸ αἶθειν, ὃ δὴ καίειν ἐστὶ κατὰ
157 γλῶτταν, εἰρημένον. μάρτυς δὲ μία μοῖρα τῆς
οὐρανοῦ πυρᾶς ἥλιος, ὃς τοσοῦτον γῆς ἀφεστὼς
ἄχρι μυχῶν τὰς ἀκτῖνας ἐπιπέμπων αὐτὴν τε καὶ
τὸν ἀπ' αὐτῆς ἀνατείνοντα μέχρι τῆς οὐρανοῦ
σφαίρας ἀέρα φύσει ψυχρὸν ὄντα τῇ μὲν ἀλεαίνει,
τῇ δὲ καταφλέγει· τὰ μὲν γὰρ ὅσα ἡ μακρὰν
ἀφέστηκεν αὐτοῦ τῆς φορᾶς ἡ ἐγκάρσια παρα-
βέβληται ἀλεαίνει μόνον, τὰ δ' ἐγγὺς ἡ ἐπ' εὐθείας
ὄντα καὶ προσανακαίει βίᾳ. εἰ δὲ ταῦθ' οὕτως
ἔχει, τοὺς ἀναβαίνειν τολμῶντας ἀνθρώπους οὐκ
ἀναγκαῖον ἦν ἐμπεπρῆσθαι κεραυνωθέντας, ἀτελοῦς
αὐτοῖς τῆς μεγαλουργηθείσης ἐπινοίας γενομένης;
158 τοῦτ' ἔοικεν αἰνίττεσθαι διὰ τῶν αὐθις λεγομένων·

¹ Wend. suggests τὴν ἔμπροσθεν <λεχθεῖσαν>. The reference is to § 5.

² MSS. δεύτερον.

THE CONFUSION OF TONGUES, 155-158

only began and were unable to reach the end of their impiety is no reason why they should not be denounced as they would had they carried out all their intentions. Therefore he speaks of their having completed the tower, though they had not done so. "The Lord," he says, "came down to see the city and tower which they had built" already, not which they intended to build (Gen. xi. 5).

XXX. What proof then have we that the structure 156 was not already completed? First, self-evident facts. No part of the earth can possibly touch the heaven for the reason already mentioned, namely that it is just as impossible as it is for the centre to touch the circumference. Secondly, because the aether, that holy fire, is an unquenchable flame, as its very name shews, derived as it is from *αἶθερ*, which is a special term^a for "burn." This is attested by a single part 157 of the heavenly expanse of fire, namely the Sun, which, in spite of its great distance, sends its rays to the corners of the earth, and both earth and the naturally cold extent of air, which divides it from the sphere of heaven, is warmed or consumed by it as the case may be. For to all that is at a long distance from its course or lies at an angle to it, it merely gives warmth, but all that is near it or directly under it it actually destroys with the force of its flames. If this is so, the men who ventured on the ascent could not fail to be blasted and consumed by the fire, leaving their vaulting ambition unfulfilled. That it was unfulfilled^b seems to be suggested by 158 Moses in the words which follow. "They ceased,"

^a See note on § 27.

^b τοῦτο can only refer to ἀτελοῦς, not to the curiously literalistic arguments given in the preceding section.

“ἐπαύσαντο” γάρ φησιν “οἰκοδομοῦντες τὴν πόλιν καὶ τὸν πύργον,” οὐ δῆπου τελειώσαντες, |
[429] ἀλλὰ τελεσιουργῆσαι κωλυθέντες διὰ τὴν ἐπιγενομένην σύγχυσιν.

- Οὐ μὴν ἐκπεφεύγασιν τὴν τῶν διαπράξεων αἰτίαν οἱ πρὸς τῷ βουλευσασθαι καὶ ἐγκεχειρηκότες.
- 159 XXXI. τὸν γοῦν οἰωνόμαντιν καὶ τερατοσκόπον περὶ τὰς ἀβεβαίους εἰκασίας ματαιάζοντα—καὶ γὰρ μάταιος¹ ἐρμηνεύεται Βαλαάμ—φησὶν ὁ νόμος τῷ ὁρῶντι καταράσασθαι καίτοι διὰ τῶν λόγων εὐφύμους ποιησάμενον εὐχάς, σκοπῶν οὐ τὰ λεχθέντα ἀ προμηθεῖα θεοῦ μετεχαράττετο οἷα δόκιμον ἀντὶ κιβδήλου νόμισμα, τὴν δὲ διάνοιαν, ἐν ἣ τὰ βλάψοντα πρὸ τῶν ὠφελησόντων² ἀνεπολεῖτο. ἔστι δὲ φύσει πολέμια ταῦτα, στοχασμὸς ἀληθείας καὶ ματαιότης ἐπιστήμη καὶ ἡ δίχα³ ἐνθουσιασμοῦ μαντεία νηφούση σοφία.
- 160 καὶ ἂν ἐξ ἐνέδρας μέντοι τις ἐπιχειρήσας ἀνελεῖν τινα μὴ δυνηθῇ κτείνειν, τῇ τῶν ἀνδροφόνων οὐδὲν ἦττον ὑποχὸς δίκη καθέστηκεν, ὥς ὁ γραφεὶς περὶ τούτων δηλοῖ νόμος. “ἐὰν” γάρ φησι “τίς ἐπιθῇται τῷ πλησίον ἀποκτείνει αὐτὸν δόλω καὶ καταφύγῃ, ἀπὸ⁴ τοῦ θυσιαστηρίου λήψῃ αὐτὸν θανατῶσαι.” καίτοι ἐπιτίθεται μόνον, οὐκ ἀνῆρηκεν, ἀλλ’ ἴσον ἡγήσατο ἀδίκημα τῷ κτείνειν τὸ βουλευσάμενον τὸν φόνον· οὐ χάριν οὐδ’ ἱκέτη γενομένῳ δέδωκεν ἀμνησίαν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐξ ἱεροῦ ἐκέλευσεν ἀπάγειν

¹ Mangey may be right in suggesting μάταιος <λαός>, the interpretation of the name given in *De Cher.* 32.

² mss. βλάψοντα . . . ὠφελησάντων.

³ So mss.: Mangey and Wend. διὰ, quite untenably, I think. The index gives no example where ἐνθουσιασμός is

THE CONFUSION OF TONGUES, 158-160

he says, "building the city and the tower" (Gen. xi. 8), obviously not because they had finished it, but because they were prevented from completing it by the confusion that fell upon them.

Yet as the enterprise was not only planned but undertaken, they have not escaped the guilt which would attend its accomplishment. XXXI. We have 159 a parallel in Balaam, that dealer in auguries and prodigies and in the vanity of unfounded conjectures, for the name Balaam is by interpretation "vain." The law-book declares that he cursed the Man of Vision, though in words he uttered prayers of blessing, for it considers not what he actually said, words restamped under God's providence, like a true coin substituted for the false, but his heart, in which he cherished thoughts of injury rather than of benefit. There is a natural hostility between conjecture and truth, between vanity and knowledge, and between the divination which has no true inspiration and sound sober wisdom.

And indeed if a 160 man makes a treacherous attempt against another's life, but is unable to kill him, he is none the less liable to the penalty of the homicide, as is shewn by the law enacted for such cases. "If," it runs, "a man attacks his neighbour to kill him by guile and flees to refuge, thou shalt take him from the altar to put him to death" (Ex. xxi. 14). And yet he merely "attacks" him and has not killed him, but the law regards the purpose of murder as a crime equal to murder itself, and so, even though he takes sanctuary, it does not grant him the privileges of sanctuary, but bids him be taken even from the

used in this depreciating sense. The *δίχα ἐνθουσιασμοῦ μαντεία* repeat *οἰωνομαντείας*.
⁴ MSS. ἐπὶ.

161 τὸν ἀνιέρῳ γνώμη χρησάμενον. ἀνίερος δὲ οὐ ταύτῃ μόνον, ὅτι κατὰ ψυχῆς τῆς αἰεὶ ζῆν δυναμένης ἀρετῶν κτήσῃ τε καὶ χρήσῃ τὸν διὰ προσβολῆς κακίας φόνον ἐβούλευσεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὅτι θεὸν τῆς ἀνοσιουργοῦ τόλμης αἰτιᾶται· τὸ γὰρ “καταφύγη” τοιοῦτον ὑποβάλλει νοῦν, διότι πολλοὶ τὰ καθ’ ἑαυτῶν ἀποδιδράσκουσιν ἐθέλοντες ἐγκλήματα καὶ ῥύεσθαι τῶν ἐφ’ οἷς ἡδίκησαν ἀξιούντες ἑαυτοὺς τιμωριῶν τὸ οἰκεῖον ἄγος τῷ κακοῦ μὲν μηδενὸς ἀγαθῶν δ’ ἀπάντων αἰτίῳ προσβάλλουσι θεῷ. διὸ καὶ ἀπ’ αὐτῶν βωμῶν τοὺς τοιούτους ἀπάγειν ὅσιον εἶναι ἐνομίσθη.

162 Δίκην δ’ ὑπερβάλλουσιν κατὰ τῶν ἐπ’ ἀθεότητι λόγους οἰκοδομουμένων καὶ συγκροτούντων ὀρίζει, ἣν ἴσως τινὲς τῶν ἀφρόνων οὐ βλάβην, ἀλλ’ ὠφέλειαν ὑποτοπήσουσιν· “οὐ γὰρ ἐκλείψει” φησὶν “ἀπ’ αὐτῶν πάντα ὅσα ἂν ἐπιθῶνται ποιεῖν.” ὡς τῆς ἀπεριγράφου καὶ ἀμέτρου κακοδαιμονίας, πάνθ’ οἷς ἂν ὁ φρενοβλαβέστατος ἐπιθῇται νοῦς, ὑποχείρια εἶναι καὶ ὑπήκοα, καὶ μηδὲν, <μὴ> μέγα μὴ μικρόν, ὑστερίζει τὸ παράπαν, ἀλλ’ ὥσπερ [430] φθάνοντα προαπαντᾶν πρὸς τὰς | χρείας ἐκάστας.

163 XXXII. ψυχῆς ταῦτα φρονήσεως χηρευούσης ἐστὶν ἐπίδειξις μηδὲν τῶν εἰς τὸ ἀμαρτάνειν ἐχούσης ἐμποδῶν. εὖζαιτο γὰρ ἂν ὁ μὴ σφόδρα ἀνιάτως ἔχων τὰ ἐξ ὑποθέσεως τοῦ νοῦ πάντ’ ἐπιλιπεῖν αὐτῷ, ἵνα μὴ τῷ κλέπτειν ἢ μοιχεύειν ἢ ἀνδροφονεῖν ἢ ἱεροσυλεῖν ἢ τινι τῶν ὁμοιοτρόπων ἐπιτιθέμενος εὐδοῇ, μυρία δ’ εὕρισκῃ τὰ κωλυ-

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holy place, because the purpose he has harboured is unholy. Its unholiness does not merely consist in this, that it plans death to be dealt by the arm of wickedness against the soul which might live for ever by the acquisition and practice of virtue, but in that it lays its abominable audacity to the charge of God. For the words "flee to refuge" lead us to the reflexion that there are many who, wishing to shirk all charges to which they are liable and claiming to escape the penalties of their misdeeds, ascribe the guilty responsibility,^a which really belongs to themselves, to God who is the cause of nothing evil, but of all that is good. And therefore it was held no sacrilege to drag such as these from the very altar.

The punishment which he decrees against those who "build" up and weld together arguments for godlessness is indeed extreme, though perhaps some foolish people will imagine it to be beneficial rather than injurious. "Nothing shall fail from them of all that they attempt to do," it says (Gen. xi. 6). What a misery, transcending limitation and measurement, that everything which the mind in its utter infatuation attempts should be its obedient vassal not backward in any service whether great or small, but hastening as it were to anticipate its every need. XXXII. This is a sign of a soul lacking good sense, which finds no obstacle in all that lies between it and its sin. For he who is not far gone in mortal error would pray that all the promptings of his mind's purposes should fail him, so that when he attempts to commit theft or adultery, or murder or sacrilege, or any similar deed, he should not find an easy path,

^a *ἄγος* implies guilt which demands, and is felt to demand, expiation.

PHILO

- σιεργήσονται. κωλυθεῖς¹ μὲν γὰρ τὴν μεγίστην νόσον, ἀδικίαν, ἀποβάλλει, σὺν ἀδείᾳ δ' ἐπεξελθὼν
- 164 ταύτην ἀναδέξεται. τί οὖν ἔτι τὰς τῶν τυράννων τύχας ὡς μακαρίων² ζηλοῦτε καὶ θαυμάζετε, δι' ἃς εὐπετῶς ἕκαστα ἐπεξίασιν, ὧν ἂν ὁ ἐκλελυτ-
τηκῶς κἀκτεθριωμένος τέκη νοῦς, καὶ ἐν ἑαυτοῖς δέον ἐπιστένεν, εἴ γε ἀπορία καὶ [ἡ] ἀσθένεια κακοῖς λυσιτελές, ὡς περιουσία καὶ ἰσχύς ἀγαθοῖς
- 165 ὠφελιμώτατον; εἰς δέ τις τῶν ἀφρόνων ἡσθημένος, εἰς ὅσῃν κακοδαιμονίας ὑπερβολὴν ἄγει ἢ τοῦ διαμαρτάνειν ἐκχειρία, μετὰ παρρησίας εἶπε· “μείζων ἡ αἰτία μου τοῦ ἀφεθῆναι.” παγ-
χάλεπον γὰρ ἀχαλίνωτον ἐαθῆναι ψυχὴν ἀτίθασον οὖσαν ἐξ ἑαυτῆς, ἣν μόλις ἡνίαίς μετ' ἐπανατάσεως
- 166 μαστίγων ἔστι κατασχόντα πρᾶνναι. διόπερ λόγιον τοῦ ἔλεω θεοῦ μεστὸν ἡμερότητος ἐλπίδας χρηστὰς ὑπογράφων τοῖς παιδείας ἐρασταῖς ἀνήρηται τοιόνδε· “οὐ μὴ σε ἀνῶ, οὐδ' οὐ μὴ σε ἐγκαταλίπω.” τῶν γὰρ τῆς ψυχῆς δεσμῶν χαλασθέντων, οἷς δι-
εκρατεῖτο, ἡ μεγίστη παρέπεται συμφορά, κατα-
λειφθῆναι ὑπὸ θεοῦ, ὃς τοῖς ὅλοις δεσμοῦς τὰς ἑαυτοῦ δυνάμεις περιῆψεν ἀρρήκτους, αἷς τὰ πάντα
- 167 σφίγγας ἅλута εἶναι βεβούληται. λέγει μέντοι καὶ ἐτέρωθι, ὅτι “πάνθ' ὅσα δεσμῶ καταδέδεται, καθαρὰ ἔστιν,” ἐπειδὴ τῆς ἀκαθάρτου φθορᾶς

¹ MSS. κώλυσις.

² So Wend.: MSS. ὦ μακάριοι, and so Mangey. I do not feel sure that Wend. is right. Philo is fond of these Platonic forms of address, and ὦ μακάριοι, like ὦ θαυμάσιε, conveys a note of expostulation, which is suitable enough here.

^a See App. p. 558.

^b Or perhaps “punishment,” as Philo understands the

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but rather a host of obstacles to hinder its execution. For if he is prevented, he is rid of that supreme malady, injustice, but if he carries out his purpose in security that malady will be upon him. Why then 164 do you continue to envy and admire the fortunes of tyrants,^a which enable them to achieve with ease all that the madness and brutal savagery of their minds conceive, and hold them blessed, when rather our hearts should bewail them, since poverty and bodily weakness are a positive benefit to the bad, just as abundance of means and strength are most useful to the good?

One of the foolish 165 who saw to what a pitch of misery free licence to sin leads said boldly, "That I should be let free is the greater indictment^b" (Gen. iv. 13). For it is a terrible thing that the soul, so wild as it is by nature, should be suffered to go unbridled, when even under the rein and with the whip in full play it can hardly be controlled and made docile. And therefore the 166 merciful God has delivered an oracle full of loving-kindness which has a message of good hope to the lovers of discipline. It is to this purport. "I will not let thee go nor will I abandon thee" (Josh. i. 5). For when the bonds of the soul which held it fast are loosened, there follows the greatest of disasters, even to be abandoned by God who has encircled all things with the adamant chains of His potencies and willed that thus bound tight and fast they should never be unloosed. Further in another place he says, "All 167 that are bound with a bond are clean" (Num. xix. 15), for unbinding is the cause of destruction which is

word. The text has been expounded in the same sense in *Quod Det.* 141. E.V. "My punishment is greater than I can bear."

αἴτιον ἢ διάλυσιν. μηδέποτ' οὖν ἰδὼν τινα τῶν φαύλων οἷς ἂν ἐπιθῇται πᾶσιν εὐμαρῶς ἐπεξιόντα θαυμάσης ὡς κατορθοῦντα, ἀλλὰ τούναντίον ὡς ἀποτυγχάνοντα οἰκτίζου, ὅτι ἀφορία μὲν ἀρετῆς, κακίας δὲ εὐφορία χρώμενος διατελεῖ.

168 XXXIII. Σκέφασθαι δ' οὐ παρέργως ἄξιον, τίν' ἔχει λόγον τὸ εἰρημένον ἐκ προσώπου τοῦ θεοῦ· “δεῦτε καὶ καταβάντες συγχέωμεν ἐκεῖ αὐτῶν τὴν γλῶτταν.” φαίνεται γὰρ διαλεγόμενός τιςιν ὡς ἂν συνεργοῖς αὐτοῦ, τὸ δ' αὐτὸ καὶ πρότερον ἐπὶ τῆς τάνθρώπου κατασκευῆς ἀναγέγραπται·

169 “εἶπε” γάρ φησι “κύριος ὁ θεός· ποιήσωμεν ἄνθρωπον κατ' εἰκόνα ἡμετέραν καὶ καθ' ὁμοίωσιν” τοῦ “ποιήσωμεν” πλήθος ἐμφαίνοντος· καὶ πάλιν “εἶπεν ὁ θεός· ἰδοὺ, γέγονεν Ἀδὰμ ὡς εἰς [431] ἡμῶν, τῷ γινώσκειν καλὸν καὶ πονηρόν”· | τὸ γὰρ “ὡς εἰς ἡμῶν” οὐκ ἐφ' ενός, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ πλειόνων

170 τίθεται. λεκτέον οὖν ἐκείνο πρῶτον, ὅτι οὐδὲν τῶν ὄντων ἰσότιμον ὑφέστηκε θεῷ, ἀλλ' ἔστιν εἰς ἄρχων καὶ ἡγεμῶν καὶ βασιλεὺς, ᾧ πρυτανεύειν καὶ διοικεῖν μόνῳ θέμις τὰ σύμπαντα. τὸ γὰρ οὐκ ἀγαθὸν πολυκοιρανίη, εἰς κοίρανος ἔστω, εἰς βασιλεὺς

οὐκ ἐπὶ πόλεων καὶ ἀνθρώπων λέγεται· ἂν ἐν δίκῃ μᾶλλον ἢ ἐπὶ κόσμου καὶ θεοῦ· ενός γὰρ ἕνα ποιητὴν τε καὶ πατέρα πάλιν καὶ δεσπότην ἀναγ-

171 καῖον εἶναι.

XXXIV. τούτου δὴ προδιομολογηθέντος ἀκόλουθον ἂν εἴη συνυφαίνειν τὰ ἀρμόζοντα. τίν' οὖν ἔστι, σκοπῶμεν· εἰς ὧν ὁ θεὸς ἀμυθήτους περὶ αὐτὸν ἔχει δυνάμεις ἀρωγούς

^a *Iliad*, ii. 204, 205.

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unclean. Never then, when you see any of the wicked accomplishing with ease whatsoever he attempts, admire him for his success, but contrariwise pity him for his ill-luck, for his is a life of continual barrenness in virtue and fruitfulness in vice.

XXXIII. We should give careful consideration to 168 the question of what is implied by the words which are put into the mouth of God. "Come and let us go down and confuse their tongue there" (Gen. xi. 7). For it is clear that He is conversing with some persons whom He treats as His fellow-workers, and we find the same in an earlier passage of the formation of man. Here we have "The Lord God 169 said 'let us make man in our own image and likeness'" (Gen. i. 26); where the words "let us make" imply plurality. And once more, "God said, 'behold Adam has become as one of us by knowing good and evil'" (Gen. iii. 22); here the "us" in "as one of us" is said not of one, but of more than one. Now we must 170 first lay down that no existing thing is of equal honour to God and that there is only one sovereign and ruler and king, who alone may direct and dispose of all things. For the lines :

It is not well that many lords should rule;
Be there but one, one king,*

could be said with more justice of the world and of God than of cities and men. For being one it must needs have one maker and father and master.

XXXIV. Having reached agreement on 171 this preliminary question our next step will be to gather the relevant considerations into a coherent argument. Let us consider what these are. God is one, but He has around Him numberless Potencies,

- καὶ σωτηρίους τοῦ γενομένου πάσας, αἷς ἐμφέρονται καὶ αἱ κολαστήριοι· ἔστι δὲ καὶ ἡ κόλασις οὐκ ἐπιζήμιον, ἀμαρτημάτων οὕσα κώλυσις καὶ ἐπαν-
 172 ὀρθωσις. διὰ τούτων τῶν δυνάμεων ὁ ἀσώματος καὶ νοητὸς ἐπάγη κόσμος, τὸ τοῦ φαινομένου τοῦδε ἀρχέτυπον, ἰδέαις ἀοράτοις συσταθείς, ὥσπερ οὗτος
 173 σῶμασιν ὁρατοῖς. καταπλαγέντες οὖν τινες τὴν ἐκατέρου τῶν κόσμων φύσιν οὐ μόνον ὅλους ἐξεθείωσαν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰ κάλλιστα τῶν ἐν αὐτοῖς μερῶν, ἥλιον καὶ σελήνην καὶ τὸν σύμπαντα οὐρανόν, ἅπερ οὐδὲν αἰδεσθέντες θεοὺς ἐκάλεσαν. ὧν τὴν ἀπόνοιαν¹ κατιδὼν Μωυσῆς φησι· “ κύριε, κύριε, βασιλεῦ τῶν θεῶν ” <εἰς> ἐνδειξιν τῆς παρ’
 174 ὑπηκόους ἄρχοντος διαφορᾶς. ἔστι δὲ καὶ κατὰ τὸν ἀέρα ψυχῶν ἀσωμάτων ἱερώτατος χορὸς ὁπαδὸς τῶν οὐρανίων· ἀγγέλους τὰς ψυχὰς ταύτας εἴωθε καλεῖν ὁ θεσπιωδὸς λόγος· πάντ’ οὖν τὸν στρατὸν ἐκάστων² ἐν ταῖς ἀρμοττούσαις διακεκοσμημένον τάξεσιν ὑπηρέτην καὶ θεραπευτὴν εἶναι συμβέβηκε τοῦ διακοσμήσαντος ἡγεμόνος, ᾧ ταξιαρχοῦντι κατὰ δίκην καὶ θεσμὸν ἔπεται· λιποταξίου γὰρ οὐ θέμις ἀλῶναί ποτε τὸ θεῖον
 175 στράτευμα. βασιλεῖ δὲ ταῖς ἐαυτοῦ δυνάμεσιν ἐμπρεπὲς ὁμιλεῖν τε καὶ χρῆσθαι πρὸς τὰς τῶν τοιούτων πραγμάτων ὑπηρεσίας, οἷσπερ ἀρμόττει μὴ ὑπὸ μόνου πῆγνυσθαι θεοῦ. χρεῖος μὲν γὰρ

¹ MSS. ἐπίνοιαν.

² Mangey suggests ἐκατέρων, Wend. ἐκείνων. See App. p. 558.

^a See App. p. 558.

^b Cf. Deut. iv. 19, which Philo probably has in mind.

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which all assist and protect created being, and among them are included the powers of chastisement. Now chastisement is not a thing of harm or mischief, but a preventive and correction of sin. Through these 172 Potencies the incorporeal and intelligible world was framed, the archetype of this phenomenal world, that being a system of invisible ideal forms, as this is of visible material bodies. Now the nature of 173 these two worlds has so struck with awe the minds of some, that they have deified not merely each of them as a whole,^a but also their fairest parts, the sun, the moon and the whole sky,^b and have felt no shame in calling them gods. It was the delusion of such persons that Moses saw, when he says " Lord, Lord, King of the Gods " ^c (Deut. x. 17), to shew the difference between the ruler and the subjects. There is, too, in the air a sacred company of unbodied 174 souls, commonly called angels in the inspired pages, who wait upon these heavenly powers. So the whole army composed of the several contingents, each marshalled in their proper ranks, have as their business to serve and minister to the word of the Captain who thus marshalled them, and to follow His leadership as right and the law of service demand. For it must not be that God's soldiers should ever be guilty of desertion from the ranks.^d Now the King may fitly 175 hold converse with his powers and employ them to serve in matters which should not be consummated by God alone. It is true indeed that the Father of

^a Very inaccurately quoted for ὁ κύριος ὁ θεὸς ὑμῶν, οὗτος θεὸς τῶν θεῶν.

^d For the leading ideas of the following sections, viz. God as the cause of good alone and His employment of subordinates, see notes on *De Op.* 72, and *De Agr.* 128, with the references to Plato there given.

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All has no need of aught, so that He should require the co-operation of others, if He wills some creative work, yet seeing what was fitting to Himself and the world which was coming into being, He allowed His subject powers to have the fashioning of some things, though He did not give them sovereign and independent knowledge for completion of the task, lest aught of what was coming into being should be miscreated.

XXXV. This outline was 178
needed as premisses. Now for the inferences. Living nature was primarily divided into two opposite parts, the unreasoning and reasoning, this last again into the mortal and immortal species, the mortal being that of men, the immortal that of unbodied souls which range through the air and sky. These 177
are immune from wickedness because their lot from the first has been one of unmixed happiness, and they have not been imprisoned in that dwelling-place of endless calamities—the body. And this immunity is shared by unreasoning natures, because, as they have no gift of understanding, they are also not guilty of wrongdoing willed freely as a result of deliberate reflection. Man is practically the only 178
being who having knowledge of good and evil often chooses the worst, and shuns what should be the object of his efforts, and thus he stands apart as convicted of sin deliberate and aforethought.

Thus it was meet and right that when man was 179
formed, God should assign a share in the work to His lieutenants, as He does with the words "let *us* make men," that so man's right actions might be attribut-

³ MSS. *ὡς ταῦτα* or *ὡς ταύτη*.

⁴ So Wend. and Mangey: MSS. *νοῦ*, which might be defended as equivalent to the *ψυχῇ λογικῇ* below.

φέρωνται μόνον, ἐπ' ἄλλους δὲ αἱ ἁμαρτίαι. θεῷ γὰρ τῷ πανηγεμόνι ἐμπρεπὲς οὐκ ἔδοξεν εἶναι τὴν ἐπὶ κακίαν ὁδὸν ἐν ψυχῇ λογικῇ δι' ἑαυτοῦ δημιουργῆσαι· οὐ χάριν τοῖς μετ' αὐτὸν ἐπέτρεψε τὴν τούτου τοῦ μέρους κατασκευήν. ἔδει γὰρ καὶ τὸ ἀντίπαλον τῷ ἀκουσίῳ, τὸ ἐκούσιον, εἰς τὴν τοῦ παντὸς συμπλήρωσιν κατασκευασθὲν ἀναδειχθῆναι.

- 180 XXXVI. τοῦτο μὲν δὴ ταύτῃ λελέχθω. προσήκει δὲ καὶ κεῖνο λελογίσθαι, ὅτι μόνων ἀγαθῶν ἐστὶν ὁ θεὸς αἴτιος, κακοῦ δὲ οὐδενὸς τὸ παράπαν, ἐπειδὴ καὶ τὸ πρεσβύτατον τῶν ὄντων καὶ τελειότατον ἀγαθὸν αὐτὸς ἦν. ἐμπρεπέστατον¹ δὲ τὰ οἰκεῖα τῇ ἑαυτοῦ φύσει δημιουργεῖν ἄριστα τῷ ἀρίστῳ,² τὰς μέντοι κατὰ πονηρῶν κολάσεις διὰ τῶν ὑπ' αὐτὸν βεβαιοῦσθαι. μαρτυρεῖ δέ μου τῷ λόγῳ καὶ τὸ εἰρημένον ὑπὸ τοῦ τελειωθέντος ἐξ ἀσκήσεως τόδε· “ὁ θεὸς ὁ τρέφων με ἐκ νεότητος, ὁ ἄγγελος ὁ ῥυόμενός με ἐκ πάντων τῶν κακῶν.” ὁμολογεῖ γὰρ καὶ οὗτος ἤδη, ὅτι τὰ μὲν γνήσια τῶν ἀγαθῶν, ἃ φιλαρέτους τρέφει ψυχάς, ἐπὶ θεὸν ἀναφέρεται μόνον ὡς αἴτιον, ἡ δὲ τῶν κακῶν μοῖρα ἀγγέλοις ἐπιτέτραπται πάλιν, οὐδὲ ἐκείνοις ἔχουσι τὴν τοῦ κολάζειν αὐτοκράτορα ἐξουσίαν, ἵνα μηδενὸς τῶν εἰς φθορὰν τεινόντων ἢ σωτήριος 182 αὐτοῦ κατάρχη φύσις. διὸ λέγει· “δεῦτε καὶ καταβάντες συγχέωμεν.” οἱ μὲν γὰρ ἀσεβεῖς τοιαύτης ἐπάξιοι δίκης τυγχάνειν, ἱλεως καὶ εὐεργέτιδας καὶ φιλοδώρους αὐτοῦ δυνάμεις οἰκείουσθαι τιμωρίαις. εἰδὼς μέντοι τῷ γένει τῶν ἀνθρώπων ὠφελίμους ὑπαρχούσας δι' ἐτέρων αὐτὰς ὥρισεν·

¹ MSS. ἐμπρεπέστατα.

² MSS. τῶν ἀρίστων οἱ τὸν ἄριστον.

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able to God, but his sins to others. For it seemed to be unfitting to God the All-ruler that the road to wickedness within the reasonable soul should be of His making, and therefore He delegated the forming of this part to His inferiors. For the work of forming the voluntary element to balance the involuntary had to be accomplished to render the whole complete.

XXXVI. So much for this point, but 180
it is well to have considered this truth also, that God is the cause of good things only and of nothing at all that is bad, since He Himself was the most ancient of beings and the good in its most perfect form. And it best becomes Him that the work of His hands should be akin to His nature, surpassing in excellence even as He surpasses, but that the chastisement of the wicked should be assured through His underlings. My thoughts are attested also by the words 181
of him who was made perfect through practice, "the God who nourisheth me from my youth; the angel who saveth me from all evils" (Gen. xlviii. 15, 16). For he, too, hereby confesses that the truly good gifts, which nourish virtue-loving souls, are referred to God alone as their cause, but on the other hand the province of things evil has been committed to angels (though neither have they full and absolute power of punishment), that nothing which tends to destruction should have its origin in Him whose nature is to save. Therefore he says, "Come and 182
let us go down and confound them." The impious indeed deserve to have it as their punishment, that God's beneficent and merciful and bountiful powers should be brought into association with works of vengeance. Yet, though knowing that punishment was salutary for the human race, He decreed that it

- ἔδει γὰρ τὸ μὲν ἐπανορθώσεως ἀξιοθῆναι, τὰς δὲ
πηγὰς τῶν ἀενάων αὐτοῦ χαρίτων ἀμιγεῖς κακῶν
[433] | οὐκ ὄντων μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ νομιζομένων φυλαχθῆναι.
183 XXXVII. Τίς δέ ἐστιν ἡ σύγχυσις, ἐρευνητέον.
πῶς οὖν ἐρευνήσομεν; οὕτως, ὥς γ' ἐμοὶ φαίνεται·
πολλάκις οὖς πρότερον οὐκ ᾔδειμεν, ἀπὸ τῶν συγ-
γενῶν καὶ τινα πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἐχόντων ἐμφέρειαν
ἐγνωρίσαμεν· οὐκοῦν καὶ πράγματα τὸν αὐτὸν
τρόπον, ἃ μὴ ῥάδιον ἐξ ἑαυτῶν καταλαμβάνεσθαι,
δῆλα γένοιτ' ἂν κατὰ τὴν τῶν οἰκείων αὐτοῖς
184 ὁμοιότητα. τίνα οὖν ἐστὶ συγχύσει πράγματα
ὅμοια; ἡ μῖξις, ὥσπερ ὁ παλαιὸς λόγος, καὶ
κρᾶσις· ἀλλ' ἡ μὲν μῖξις ἐν ξηραῖς, ἡ δὲ κρᾶσις ἐν
185 ὑγραῖς οὐσίαις δοκιμάζεται. μῖξις μὲν οὖν σωμά-
των διαφερόντων ἐστὶν οὐκ ἐν κόσμῳ παράθεσις,
ὥσπερ αἱ εἴ τις σωρὸν ποιήσῃ κριθᾶς καὶ πυροῦς
καὶ ὀρόβους καὶ ἄλλ' ἅττα εἶδη τῶν σπαρτῶν εἰς
ταὐτὸ εἰσενεγκών, κρᾶσις δ' οὐ παράθεσις, ἀλλὰ
τῶν ἀνομοίων μερῶν εἰς ἄλληλα εἰσδυομένων δι'
ὅλων ἀντιπαρέκτασις, ἔτι δυναμένων ἐπιτεχνήσει
τινὶ διακρίνεσθαι τῶν ποιότητων, ὥς ἐπὶ οἴνου καὶ
186 ὕδατος φασὶ γίνεσθαι· συνελθούσας μὲν γὰρ τὰς
οὐσίας ἀποτελεῖν κρᾶσιν, τὸ δὲ κραθὲν οὐδὲν ἡττον
ἀναπλοῦσθαι πάλιν εἰς τὰς ἐξ ὧν ἀπετελέσθη
ποιότητας· σπόγγῳ γὰρ ἡλαιωμένῳ τὸ μὲν ὕδωρ
ἀναλαμβάνεσθαι, τὸν δ' οἶνον ὑπολείπεσθαι· μήποτε

* Philo here seems to assign the work of punishment to the lower division of the ministers rather than to the Potencies, though elsewhere he treats it as belonging to the Kingly Potency indicated by the name of ὁ Κύριος, *e.g.* *De Abr.* 144, 145. Here the "angels" have the whole province of evil assigned to them, whether to save from it, as with Jacob, or to inflict it.

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should be exacted by others.^a It was meet that while mankind was judged to deserve correction, the fountains of God's ever-flowing gifts of grace should be kept free not only from all that is, but from all that is deemed to be, evil.

XXXVII. We must now inquire what is meant by 183
"confusion." What should be our method? The following in my opinion. We often obtain a knowledge of persons whom we have not known before from their kinsfolk or those who bear some resemblance to them. And so in the same way things which in themselves are not easy to apprehend may reveal their nature through their likeness to their congeners. ^b What things then resemble confusion? 184
"Mechanical mixture," to use the old philosophical term, and "chemical mixture." The first presents itself for examination in dry substances, the latter in liquid. Mechanical mixture of different bodies 185 occurs when they are juxtaposed in no regular order, as when we collect barley and wheat and pulse or any other kind of grain and pile them together. Chemical mixture is not juxtaposition, but the mutual coextension and complete interpenetration of dissimilar parts, though their various qualities can still be distinguished by artificial means, as is said to be the case with water and wine. These substances 186 if united do produce, we are told, a chemical mixture, but all the same that mixture can be resolved ^c into the different qualities out of which it was composed. A sponge dipped in oil will absorb the water and leave the wine. Probably the explanation is that

^b See App. p. 558 on this and the following sections.

^c See App. p. 558.

- ἐπειδήπερ ἐξ ὕδατος ἢ σπογγίᾳς γενεαίς ἐστι, τὸ μὲν οἰκείον, ὕδωρ, πέφυκεν ἀναλαμβάνεσθαι πρὸς αὐτῆς ἐκ τοῦ κράματος, τὸ δ' ἄλλότριον ὑπολεί-
 187 πεσθαι, ὁ οἶνος. σύγχυσις δέ ἐστι φθορὰ τῶν ἐξ ἀρχῆς ποιότητων πᾶσι τοῖς μέρεσιν ἀντι-
 παρεκτεινομένων εἰς διαφερούσης μιᾶς¹ γενεσιν, ὡς ἐπὶ τῆς ἐν ἰατρικῇ τετραφαρμάκου συντέτευχε·
 κηρὸς γὰρ καὶ στέαρ καὶ πίττα ῥητίνη τε, οἶμαι, συνελθόντα ταύτην ἀποτελεῖ, συντεθείσης δὲ ἀμή-
 χανον ἔτι² τὰς ἐξ ὧν συνετέθη διακριθῆναι δυνάμεις, ἀλλ' ἐκάστη μὲν αὐτῶν ἠφάνισται, πασῶν δ' ἡ
 φθορὰ μίαν ἐξαίρετον ἄλλην ἐγέννησε δύναμιν.
 188 ὅταν δ' ἀπειλῇ σύγχυσιν τοῖς ἀσεβέσι λογισμοῖς ὁ
 θεός, οὐ μόνον ἐκάστης κακίας τό τε εἶδος καὶ τὴν
 δύναμιν ἀφανισθῆναι κελεύει, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸ συν-
 ερανισθὲν ἐξ αὐτῶν, ἵνα μήτε τὰ μέρη καθ' ἑαυτὰ
 μήθ' ἡ πάντων σύνοδος τε καὶ συμφωνία περι-
 βάλληται τινα ἰσχὺν ἐπὶ καθαιρέσει τῆς ἀμείνονος
 189 μοίρας. οὐ χάριν φησί· “συχχέωμεν ἐκεῖ αὐτῶν
 τὴν γλῶτταν, ἵνα μὴ ἀκούσωσιν ἕκαστος τὴν φωνὴν
 τοῦ πλησίον,” ὅπερ ἴσον ἐστὶ τούτῳ· κωφὸν
 ἕκαστον ἐργασώμεθα τῶν κακίας μερῶν, ὡς μήτε
 ἰδίαν ἀφιέν³ <φωνήν> μήτε συνηχοῦν ἐτέρῳ βλάβης
 190 αἷτιον γίνηται. XXXVIII. ταῦτα μὲν
 ἡμεῖς, οἱ δὲ τοῖς ἐμφανέσι καὶ προχείροις μόνον
 [434] ἐπακολουθοῦντες οἴονται νυνὶ γενεσιν | διαλέκτων
 Ἑλληνικῶν τε καὶ βαρβάρων ὑπογράφεσθαι· οὗς

¹ MSS. μιαν.² MSS. ἐπὶ.³ MSS. ἀφιέναι.^a See App. p. 558.^b Lit. “another single special power.” This use of δύναμις which suggests both “nature” and “value” cannot be translated by any single or at least any singular word.

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since the sponge is produced out of water, it tends to absorb out of the mixture the substance which is akin to it, the water, and leave the foreign substance, the wine.

But confusion is the annihilation^a of the original varieties or qualities, which become coextensive through all the parts and thus produce a single and quite different quality. An example of this is the quadruple drug used in medicine. This is produced, I believe, by the combination of wax, tallow, pitch and resin, but, when the compound has been formed, it is impossible to analyse or separate the properties which went to form it. Each of them has been annihilated, and from this loss of identity in each has sprung another single something with properties peculiar to itself.^b But 188 when God threatens impious thoughts with confusion He does not order merely the annihilation of the specific nature and properties of each separate vice. The order applies also to the aggregate to which they have contributed. He means that neither their separate parts, nor yet their united body and voice, shall be invested with strength to destroy the better element. And therefore he says, "Let us confound 189 their tongue there, that each of them may not understand the voice of his neighbour" (Gen. xi. 7), and this is equivalent to "let us make each part of vice mute that it may not by its separate utterance nor yet in unison with the others be the cause of mischief."

XXXVIII. This is our explanation, 190 but those who merely follow the outward and obvious think that we have at this point a reference to the origin of the Greek and barbarian languages. I

For this use of *ἐξάλπερος* cf. *De Op.* 62, where the senses have each their *ἐξάλπερος ὕλη*.

- οὐκ ἂν αἰτιασάμενος—ἴσως γὰρ ἀληθεῖ καὶ αὐτοὶ
 χρῶνται λόγῳ—παρακαλέσαιμ' ἂν μὴ ἐπὶ τούτων
 στήναι, μετελθεῖν δὲ ἐπὶ τὰς τροπικὰς ἀποδόσεις,
 νομίσαντας τὰ μὲν ῥητὰ τῶν χρησμῶν σκιάς τινας
 ὥσανεὶ σωμάτων εἶναι, τὰς δ' ἐμφαινομένας δυνά-
 191 μεις τὰ ὑφ' ἐστῶτα ἀληθεῖα πράγματα. δίδωσι
 μέντοι πρὸς τοῦτ' ἀφορμὰς τὸ εἶδος τοῖς μὴ τυφλοῖς
 διάνοιαν ὁ νομοθέτης αὐτός, ὥσπερ ἀμέλει καὶ ἐφ'
 ὧν νῦν ἐστὶν ὁ λόγος· τὸ γὰρ γινόμενον σύγχυσιν
 προσεῖπε. καίτοι γε εἰ διαλέκτων γένε-
 σιν αὐτὸ μόνον ἐδήλον, καὶ ὄνομα εὐθυβολώτερον
 ἐπεφήμισεν ἀντὶ συγχύσεως διάκρισιν· οὐ γὰρ
 συγχεῖται τὰ τεμνόμενα, διακρίνεται δ' ἔμπαλιν,
 καὶ ἔστιν οὐ μόνον ἐναντίον ὄνομα ὀνόματι, ἀλλ'
 192 ἔργον ἔργῳ. σύγχυσις μὲν γάρ, ὡς ἔφην, ἐστὶ
 φθορὰ τῶν ἀπλῶν δυνάμεων εἰς συμπεφορημένης
 μιᾶς γενέσειν, διάκρισις δὲ ἐνὸς εἰς πλείῳ τομῇ,
 καθάπερ ἐπὶ γένους καὶ τῶν κατ' αὐτὸ εἰδῶν ἔχειν
 συντέτευχεν. ὥστε εἰ μίαν οὖσαν φωνὴν ἐκέλευσε
 τέμνειν ὁ σοφὸς εἰς πλείονων διαλέκτων τμήματα,
 προσεχεστέροις ἂν καὶ κυριωτέροις ἐχρήσατο τοῖς
 ὀνόμασι, τομὴν ἢ διανέμησιν ἢ διάκρισιν ἢ τι
 ὁμοιότροπον εἰπών, οὐ τὸ μαχόμενον αὐτοῖς,
 193 σύγχυσιν. ἀλλ' ἔστιν ἡ σπουδὴ διαλύσαι τὸ κακίας
 στίφος, τὰς ὁμολογίας αὐτῆς ἀκυρῶσαι, τὴν κοινω-
 νίαν ἀνελεῖν, τὰς δυνάμεις ἀφανίσαι καὶ διαφθεῖραι,
 τὸ τῆς ἀρχῆς κράτος, ὃ δειναῖς ὠχυρώσατο παρα-

^a Or more literally "the destruction of the simple uncompounded natures, to produce a single compounded nature."

^b i.e. Moses, not God. Philo often calls God ὁ μόνος σοφός, but not ὁ σοφός. The command is thought of as emanating from Moses, because the language in which it is clothed is his.

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would not censure such persons, for perhaps the truth is with them also. Still I would exhort them not to halt there, but to press on to allegorical interpretations and to recognize that the letter is to the oracle but as the shadow to the substance and that the higher values therein revealed are what really and truly exist. Indeed the lawgiver himself gives 191 openings for this kind of treatment to those whose understanding is not blinded, as he certainly does in the case now under discussion, when he calls what was then taking place a "confusion."

Surely if he had merely meant that different languages then originated, he would have applied a more correct term and called it "separation" rather than "confusion." For when things are divided they are not "confused," but quite the contrary, "separated." And the contradiction is not merely one of name but of fact. Confusion—the process of fusing 192 together—is, as I have said, the annihilation of the individual properties, and the production thereby of a single whole with its own properties,^a whereas separation is the division of one into several, as in the case of genus and the species, which form the genus. And therefore if the Sage's ^b command was to divide speech, the single whole, by section into several languages, he would have used more apposite and exact terms such as dissection or distribution or separation, and not their opposite, confusion. But 193 his purpose and desire is to break up the company of vice, to make her agreements of none effect, to do away with her fellowship, to annihilate and destroy her powers, to overthrow the might of her queenship which by her abominable transgressions she had

- 194 νομίαις, καθελεῖν. οὐχ ὁρᾷς ὅτι καὶ τῶν
 ψυχῆς ὁ πλάστης μερῶν οὐδὲν οὐδενὶ εἰς τὴν τοῦ
 ἑτέρου κοινωνίαν ἤγαγεν; ἀλλ' ὀφθαλμοὶ μὲν οὐκ
 ἂν ἀκούσειαν, ὦτα δὲ οὐκ ἂν θεάσαιοτο, χυλὸς δὲ
 ἐνστόμιος¹ οὐκ ἂν ὁσφροίτο, οὐδ' ἂν γεύσαιτο ῥίνες,
 ὃ τ' αὖ λόγος οὐδὲν ἂν τῶν κατὰ τὰς αἰσθήσεις
 πάθοι, οὐδ' ἔμπαλιν ῥῆξαι φωνὴν δύναται' ἂν
 195 αἰσθησις. ἔγνω γὰρ ὁ τεχνίτης, ὅτι τὸ μὴ ἀκούειν
 ἕκαστον τούτων τῆς τοῦ πλησίον φωνῆς λυσιτελές
 ἐστίν, ἀλλὰ τὰ μὲν τῆς ψυχῆς μέρη ταῖς οἰκείαις
 δυνάμεσιν ἀσυνχύτοις χρῆσθαι πρὸς τὴν τῶν ζώων
 ὠφέλειαν καὶ τὴν πρὸς ἄλληλα κοινωνίαν ἀφ-
 ἠρησθαι,² τὰ δὲ τῆς κακίας εἰς <σύγ>χυσιν καὶ
 φθορὰν ἀχθῆναι παντελῆ, ἵνα μήτε συμφωνήσαντα
 μήτε καθ' ἑαυτὰ ὄντα ζημία τοῖς ἀμείνοσι γένηται.
 196 Παρὸ καὶ λέγει· “διέσπειρεν αὐτοὺς κύριος
 ἐκεῖθεν,” ἐν ἴσῳ τῷ ἐσκέδασεν, ἐφυγάδευσεν,
 ἀφανεῖς ἐποίησε· τὸ γὰρ σπείρειν <ἀγαθῶν, κακῶν
 δὲ αἴτιον τὸ διασπείρειν>, ὅτι τὸ μὲν ἐπιδόσεως
 καὶ αὐξήσεως καὶ γενέσεως ἑτέρων ἔνεκα συμ-
 βαίνει, τὸ δ' ἀπωλείας καὶ φθορᾶς. βούλεται δὲ ὁ
 [435] φυτουργὸς θεὸς σπείρειν μὲν ἐν τῷ παντὶ | καλο-
 κάγαθίαν, διασπείρειν δὲ καὶ ἐλαύνειν ἐκ τῆς τοῦ
 κόσμου πολιτείας τὴν ἐπάρατον ἀσέβειαν, ἣν ἤδη
 ποτὲ παύσωνται τὴν κακίας πόλιν καὶ τὸν ἀθεό-
 τητος πύργον οἰκοδομοῦντες μισάρετοι τρόποι.
 197 τούτων γὰρ σκεδασθέντων οἱ πάλαι πεφευγότες
 τὴν τυραννίδα τῆς ἀφροσύνης ἐνὶ κηρύγματι κάθοδον

¹ So Wend.; cf. *De Ebr.* 190: MSS. ἐνστοματίας or ἐν
 στόματι. The latter does not seem impossible.

² MSS. καὶ εἰ . . . ἀφήρηται.

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made so strong. Observe that he who 194 fashioned the living being, brought none of its parts into fellowship with any other. The eyes cannot hear, nor the ears see ; the palatal juices cannot smell, nor the nostrils taste ; nor again can speech have any of the sensations which the senses produce, just as on the other hand the senses have no power of utterance. For the great Contriver knew that it 195 was well for them that none should hear the voice of his neighbour. He willed rather in the interests of animal life, that each part of the living organism should have the use of its own particular powers without confusion with others, and that fellowship of part with part should be withdrawn from them, while on the other hand the parts of vice should be brought into confusion and complete annihilation, so that neither in unison nor separately by themselves should they become a source of injury to their betters.

That is why he adds—The Lord dispersed them 196 thence (Gen. xi. 8), that is He caused them to be scattered, to be fugitives, to vanish from sight. For while sowing is the cause of good, dispersing or sowing broadcast is the cause of ill. The purpose of the first is to improve, to increase, to create something else ; the purpose of the second is to ruin and destroy. But God the Master-planter wills to sow noble living throughout the All, and to disperse and banish from the Commonwealth of the world the impiety which He holds accursed. Thus the evil ways which hate virtue may at last cease to build the city of vice and the tower of godlessness. For 197 when these are scattered, those who have been living in exile for many a day under the ban of folly's tyranny, shall receive their recall under a single

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εὐρήσουσι, γράψαντός τε καὶ βεβαιώσαντος <θεοῦ>
τὸ κήρυγμα, ὡς δηλοῦσιν οἱ χρησμοί, ἐν οἷς
διείρηται ὅτι " εἰ ἢ ἡ διασπορά σου ἀπ' ἄκρου
τοῦ οὐρανοῦ ἕως ἄκρου τοῦ οὐρανοῦ, ἐκείθεν
198 συνάξει σε". ὥστε τὴν μὲν ἀρετῶν συμφωνίαν
ἐμπρεπὲς ἀρμόζεσθαι θεῷ, τὴν δὲ κακιῶν¹ διαλύειν
τε καὶ φθείρειν. οἰκειότατον δὲ κακίας ὄνομα
σύγχυσις· οὐ πίστις ἐναργῆς πᾶς ἄφρων, λόγοις
καὶ βουλαῖς καὶ πράξεσιν ἀδοκίμοις καὶ πεφορη-
μέναις χρώμενος.

¹ MSS. κακίαν.

^a i.e. the two ideas which have been connected with σύγχυσις are φθορά and διασπορά. The first of these is here

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proclamation, even the proclamation enacted and ratified by God, as the oracles shew, in which it is declared that " if thy dispersion be from one end of heaven to the other he shall gather thee from thence " (Deut. xxx. 4). Thus it is a work well-befitting to 198 God to bring into full harmony the consonance of the virtues, but to dissipate and destroy the consonance of vices. Yes, confusion is indeed a most proper name for vice, and a standing evidence of this is every fool, whose words and purposes and deeds alike are worthless and unstable.^a

expressed by *ἀδόκιμος* which often means something not merely worthless but cast away as such. The second is expressed by *πεφορημένος*. But see App. p. 559.