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## ARISTOBULUS

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*The text and notes here presented should be considered preliminary. There is a considerable amount of work that could (and should) be done on properly 'aligning' the English text with the Greek; also, there may well be critical notes that would be appropriate.*

### INTRODUCTION

*Aristobulus* (circa 181–124 BCE), was a Hellenistic Jewish philosopher of the Peripatetic school, though he also used Platonic and Pythagorean concepts; like his successor, Philo, he attempted to fuse ideas in the Hebrew Scriptures with those in Greek thought. The five fragments of his work, preserved in the writings of the Ante-Nicene Fathers, seem to be part of an extended attempt to equate Jewish tradition to Hellenistic culture.

For the excerpts of *Stromata*, the Greek text is from, "*Clemens Alexandrinus: Stromata*," Stählin, Otto, ed. Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1906-1909; for those of *Quis dives Salvator*, it is from, "*Clemens Alexandrinus, Stromata, Buch VII-VIII, Excerpta ex Theodoto, Eclogae prophetica*," Stählin, Otto, ed. Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1909; and, for that of *Protepticus*, from, "*Clemens Alexandrinus: Protepticus und Paedagogus*," Stählin, Otto, ed. Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1905; the English translations of Clement's works are based on those of William Wilson (1895). For the excerpt of *Historia Ecclesiastica*, the Greek text is from, E. Schwartz, ed., "*Eusebius Kirchengeschichte*" (3 parts; vol. 2 of Eusebius Werke; GCS 9; Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs, 1903-09); and, for those of *Praeparatio Evangelica*, it is from, "*Eusebius: Eusebii Caesariensis Opera*," Volume 1-2. Dindorf, Ludwig, editor. Leipzig: Teubner, 1867; the English text for the works of Eusebius is based on the translations by Edwin H. Gifford (1903).

### AUTHORSHIP AND DATES

There is no indication that the fragments were written originally in a language other than Greek. Although Aristobulus was aware of the allegorical interpretation of Homer and Hesiod practiced by the Stoics, there is little evidence that Aristobulus knew Hebrew or Aramaic.

Eusebius and Clement say that Aristobulus' work was dedicated to Ptolemy the King, and it is evident from other passages that they both believed Ptolemy VI Philometor (181–145 BCE) to be the king in question; but some are sceptical about the reliability of this dating, because of the hypothesis that the fabricator of the letter in 2 Maccabees needed a leader of the Jews in Alexandria to serve as an authoritative addressee for his letter – hence, he arbitrarily chose Aristobulus and placed him in the historical context which suited his purposes. In any case, the fragments should not be dated much before the middle of the 2<sup>nd</sup> Century BCE, because Aristobulus calls Ptolemy I the forefather of the Ptolemy he is addressing; thus, he must be addressing the grandson of Ptolemy I (who was Ptolemy IV Philopator, 221–204 BCE) or a later king.

## FRAGMENT 1

EUSEBIUS, *HISTORIA ECCLESIASTICA* 7.32.13–19

<sup>13</sup>... Ἐκ τῶν περὶ τοῦ πάσχα Ἀνατολίου κανόνων <sup>14</sup>Ἐχει τοίνυν ἐν τῷ πρώτῳ ἔτει τὴν νομηνίαν τοῦ πρώτου μηνός, ἣτις ἀπάσης ἐστὶν ἀρξὴ τῆς ἐννεακαιδεκατηρίδος, τὴν κατ' Αἰγυπτίους μὲν Φαμενώθ κς', κατὰ δὲ τοὺς Μακεδόνων μῆνας Δύστρου κβ', ὡς δ' ἂν εἴποιεν Ῥωμαῖοι, πρὸ ια' Καλενδῶν Ἀπριλίων. <sup>15</sup>εὐρίσκεται δὲ ὁ ἥλιος ἐν τῇ προκειμένη Φαμενώθ κς' οὐ μόνον ἐπιβάς τοῦ πρώτου τμήματος, ἀλλ' ἤδη καὶ τετάρτην ἡμέραν ἐν αὐτῷ διαπορευόμενος. τοῦτο δὲ τὸ τμήμα πρῶτον δωδεκατημόριον καὶ ἰσημερινὸν καὶ μηνῶν ἀρχὴν καὶ κεφαλὴν τοῦ κύκλου καὶ ἄφεσιν τοῦ τῶν πλανητῶν φρόμου καλεῖν εἰώθασιν, τὸ δὲ πρὸ τούτου μηνῶν ἔσχατον καὶ τμήμα δωδέκατον καὶ τελευταῖον δωδεκατημόριον καὶ τέλος τῆς τῶν πλανητῶν περιόδου· δι' ὃ καὶ τοὺς ἐν αὐτῷ τιθεμένους τὸν πρῶτον μῆνα καὶ τὴν τεσσαρεσκαιδεκάτην τοῦ πάσχα κατ' αὐτὴν λαμβάνοντας οὐ μικρῶς οὐδ' ὡς ἔτυχεν ἀμαρτάνειν φαμέν. <sup>16</sup>ἔστιν δ' οὐχ ἡμέτερος οὗτος ὁ λόγος, Ἰουδαίοις δὲ ἐγινώσκετο τοῖς πάλαι καὶ πρὸ Χριστοῦ ἐφυλάττετό τε πρὸς αὐτῶν μάλιστα· μαθεῖν δ' ἔστιν ἐκ τῶν ὑπὸ Φίλωνος Ἰωσήπου Μουσαίου λεγομένων, καὶ οὐ μόνων τούτων, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν ἔτι παλαιότερων ἀμφοτέρων Ἀγαθοβούλων, τῶν ἐπὶ κλην διδασκάλων Ἀριστοβούλου τοῦ πάνυ, ὃς ἐν τοῖς ὁ κατελεγμένος τοῖς τὰς ἱεράς καὶ θείας Ἑβραίων

<sup>13</sup> ... from the Paschal Canons of Anatolius. <sup>14</sup> There is then in the first year the new moon of the first month, which is the beginning of every cycle of nineteen years, on the twenty-sixth day of the Egyptian Phamenoth; but according to the months of the Macedonians, the twenty-second day of Dystrus, or, as the Romans would say, the eleventh before the Kalends of April. <sup>15</sup> On that twenty-sixth of Phamenoth, the sun is found not only in the first segment, but already passing through the fourth day in it. They are accustomed to call this segment the first dodecatomorion, and the equinox, and the beginning of months, and the head of the cycle, and the starting-point of the planetary circuit. But they call the one preceding this the last of months, and the twelfth segment, and the final dodecatomorion, and the end of the planetary circuit. Thus, we maintain that those who place the first month in it, and determine by it the fourteenth of the Passover, commit no slight or common blunder. <sup>16</sup> And this is not an opinion of our own; but it was known to the Jews of old, even before Christ, and was carefully observed by them. This may be learned from what is said by Philo, Josephus, and Musæus; and not only by them, but also by those yet more ancient, the two Agathobuli, surnamed 'Masters', and the famous Aristobulus, who was chosen among the seventy interpreters of the sacred and

ἐρμηνεύσασι γραφὰς Πτολεμαίῳ τῷ Φιλαδέλφῳ καὶ τῷ  
τούτου πατρί, καὶ βίβλους ἐξηγητικὰς τοῦ Μωυσέως νόμου  
τοῖς αὐτοῖς προσεφώνησεν βασιλεῦσιν.<sup>17</sup> οὗτοι τὰ ζητούμενα  
κατὰ τὴν Ἑξοδὸν ἐπιλύοντες, φασὶ δεῖν τὰ διαβατήρια θύειν  
ἐπ' ἰσῆς ἅπαντας μετὰ ἰσημερίαν ἑαρινήν, μεσοῦντος τοῦ  
πρώτου μηνός· τοῦτο δὲ εὐρίσκεσθαι, τὸ πρῶτον τμήμα τοῦ  
ἡλιακοῦ, ἢ ὡς τινες αὐτῶν ὠνόμασαν, ζωοφόρου κύκλου  
διεξιόντος ἡλίου. ὁ δὲ Ἀριστόβουλος προστίθησιν ὡς εἴη ἐξ  
ἀνάγκης τῇ τῶν διαβατηρίων ἑορτῇ μὴ μόνον τὸν ἥλιον  
ἰσημερινὸν διαπορεύεσθαι τμήμα, καὶ τὴν σελήνην δέ.<sup>18</sup> τῶν  
γὰρ ἰσημερινῶν τμημάτων ὄντων δύο, τοῦ μὲν ἑαρινοῦ, τοῦ  
δὲ μετοπωρινοῦ, καὶ διαμετρούντων ἄλληλα δοθείσης τε τῆς  
τῶν διαβατηρίων ἡμέρας τῇ τεσσαρεσκαίδεκάτῃ τοῦ μηνός  
μεθ' ἑσπέραν, ἐνστήζεται μὲν ἡ σελήνη τὴν ἐναντίαν καὶ  
διάμετρον τῷ ἡλίῳ στάσιν, ὥσπερ οὖν ἕξεστιν ἐν ταῖς  
πανσελήνοις ὄραν, ἔσονται δὲ ὁ μὲν κατὰ τὸ ἑαρινὸν  
ἰσημερινόν, ὁ ἥλιος, τμήμα, ἢ δὲ ἐξ ἀνάγκης κατὰ τὸ  
φθινοπωρινὸν ἰσημερινόν, ἢ σελήνη.<sup>19</sup> οἶδα πλεῖστα καὶ  
ἄλλα πρὸς αὐτῶν λεγόμενα, τοῦτο μὲν πιθανά, τοῦτο δὲ κατὰ  
τὰς κυριακὰς ἀποκείξεις προῖόντα, δι' ὧν περιστάνειν  
πειρῶνται τὴν τοῦ πάσχα καὶ τῶν ἀξύμων ἑορτὴν δεῖν  
πάντως μετ' ἰσημερίαν ἄγεσθαι· παρήμι δὲ τὰς τοιαύτας τῶν  
ἀποδείξεων ὕλας ἀπαιτῶν ὧν περιήρηται μὲν τὸ ἐπὶ τῷ  
Μωυσέως νόμῳ κάλυμμα. ...

divine Hebrew Scriptures by Ptolemy Philadelphus and his  
father, and who also dedicated his exegetical books on the law  
of Moses to the same kings.<sup>17</sup> These writers, explaining  
questions in regard to the Exodus, say that all alike should  
sacrifice the Passover offerings after the vernal equinox, in the  
middle of the first month. But this occurs while the sun is  
passing through the first segment of the solar, or as some of  
them have styled it, the zodiacal circle. Aristobulus adds that  
it is necessary for the feast of the Passover, that not only the  
sun should pass through the equinoctial segment, but the  
moon also.<sup>18</sup> For as there are two equinoctial segments, the  
vernal and the autumnal, directly opposite each other, and as  
the day of the Passover was appointed on the fourteenth of the  
month, beginning with the evening, the moon will hold a  
position diametrically opposite the sun, as may be seen in full  
moons; and the sun will be in the segment of the vernal  
equinox, and of necessity the moon in that of the autumnal.<sup>19</sup> I  
know that many other things have been said by them, some of  
them probable, and some approaching absolute demon-  
stration, by which they endeavour to prove that it is altogether  
necessary to keep the Passover and the feast of unleavened  
bread after the equinox. But I refrain from demanding this sort  
of demonstration for matters from which the veil of the Mosaic  
law has been removed, ...

## FRAGMENT 2

EUSEBIUS, PRAEPARATIO EVANGELICA 8.9.38–8.10.18

**9:38** Ταῦτα μὲν ὁ ἀρχιερεὺς τοῖς ἤκουσιν ὡς αὐτὸν Ἑλλήσι περὶ τῆς ἀλληγορουμένης ἐν τοῖς ἱεροῖς νόμοις ἰδέας διεστείλατο, ὡς ἂν μέλλουσι ταῖς ἐκδοθησομέναις περιτεύξεσθαι τῶν γραφῶν ἐρμηνείαις. ὁ δὲ Ἀριστόβουλος καὶ τῆς κατ' Ἀριστοτέλην φιλοσοφίας πρὸς τῇ πατρίῳ μετεिल्χῶς, (ὅποια περὶ τῶν ἐν ταῖς ἱεραῖς βίβλοις φερομένων ὡς περὶ θεοῦ μελῶν διήλθεν ἐπακοῦσαι καιρός· οὗτος δ' αὐτὸς ἐκεῖνος, οὗ καὶ ἡ δευτέρα τῶν Μακκαβαίων ἐν ἀρχῇ τῆς βίβλου μνημονεύει) ἐν τῷ πρὸς Πτολεμαῖον τὸν βασιλέα συγγράμματι τοῦτον καὶ αὐτὸς διασαφεῖ τὸν τρόπον·

ΑΡΙΣΤΟΒΟΥΛΟΥ ΠΕΡΙ ΤΩΝ ΟΝΟΜΑΖΟΜΕΝΩΝ

ΩΣ ΘΕΟΥ ΜΕΛΩΝ

**10:1** Πλὴν ἱκανῶς εἰρημένων πρὸς τὰ προκείμενα ζητήματα ἐπεφώνησας καὶ σύ, βασιλεῦ, διότι σημαίνεται διὰ τοῦ νόμου τοῦ παρ' ἡμῖν καὶ χεῖρες καὶ βραχίον καὶ πρόσωπον καὶ πόδες καὶ περίπατος ἐπὶ τῆς θείας δυνάμεως· ἃ τεύξεται λόγου καθήκοντος καὶ οὐκ ἀντιδοξήσει τοῖς προειρημένοις ὑφ' ἡμῶν οὐδέν. <sup>2</sup> παρακαλέσαι δέ σε βούλομαι πρὸς τὸ φυσικῶς λαμβάνειν τὰς ἐκδοχὰς καὶ τὴν ἀρμόζουσαν ἔννοιαν περὶ θεοῦ κρατεῖν, καὶ μὴ ἐκπίπτειν εἰς τὸ μυθῶδες καὶ ἀνθρώπινον κατάστημα. <sup>3</sup> πολλαχῶς γὰρ ὁ βούλεται λέγειν ὁ νομοθέτης ἡμῶν Μωσῆς, ἐφ' ἐτέρων πραγμάτων λόγους ποιούμενος, λέγω δὲ τῶν κατὰ τὴν ἐπιφάνειαν, φυσικὰς

**9:38** These are the distinctions for the idea set forth allegorically in the sacred laws, which the High Priest gave to those Greeks who had come to him, thinking them likely to meet with the translations of the Scriptures about to be published. But it is time to hear what Aristobulus, who had partaken of Aristotle's philosophy in addition to that of his own country, declared on the passages in the Sacred Books that are currently understood to refer to limbs of God's body. This is the very man mentioned in the beginning of the Second Book of Maccabees; and, in his letter to King Ptolemy, he too explains this principle.

ARISTOBULUS ON THE MENTION OF LIMBS

AS BELONGING TO GOD

**10:1** But when we had said enough to answer the questions put before us, you also, O King, further asked, why by our law there are intimations given of hands, and arms, and face, and feet, and walking, in the case of the Divine Power: which things shall receive an explanation, and will not contradict the opinions we have previously expressed. <sup>2</sup> But I would beg you to take the interpretations naturally and to hold fast the fitting idea of God and not to fall into the idea of a fabulous anthropomorphic constitution. <sup>3</sup> For, our lawgiver Moses, if he wishes to express his meaning in various ways, announces certain plans of nature and designs for mighty deeds, by adopting



διαθέσεις ἀπαγγέλλει καὶ μεγάλων πραγμάτων κατασκευάς. <sup>4</sup>οἷς μὲν οὖν πάρεστι τὸ καλῶς νοεῖν θαυμάζουσι τὴν περὶ αὐτὸν σοφίαν καὶ τὸ θεῖον πνεῦμα, καθ' ὃ καὶ προφήτης ἀνακεκήρυκται· ὧν εἰσιν οἱ προειρημένοι φιλόσοφοι καὶ πλείονες ἕτεροι καὶ ποιηταὶ παρ' αὐτοῦ μεγάλας ἀφορμὰς εἰληφότες, καθὼ καὶ θαυμάζονται. <sup>5</sup>τοῖς δὲ μὴ μετέχουσι δυνάμεως καὶ συνέσεως, ἀλλὰ τῷ γραπτῷ μόνον προσκειμένοις, οὐ φαίνεται μεγαλεῖόν τι διασαφῶν. <sup>6</sup>ἄρξομαι δὲ λαμβάνειν καθ' ἕκαστον σημαινόμενον καθ' ὅσον ἂν ᾧ δυνατός. εἰ δὲ μὴ τεύξομαι τάληθοῦς, μηδὲ πείσω, μὴ τῷ νομοθέτῃ προσάψης τὴν ἀλογίαν, ἀλλ' ἐμοὶ τῷ μὴ δυναμένῳ διαιρεῖσθαι τὰ ἐκείνῳ νενοημένα. <sup>7</sup>χεῖρες μὲν οὖν νοοῦνται προδήλως καὶ ἐφ' ἡμῶν κοινότερον. ὅταν γὰρ δυνάμενις ἐξαποστέλλῃς σὺ βασιλεὺς ὢν, βουλόμενός τι κατεργάσασθαι, λέγομεν, μεγάλην χεῖρα ἔχει ὁ βασιλεὺς, φερομένων τῶν ἀκουόντων ἐπὶ τὴν δύναμιν ἣν ἔχεις. <sup>8</sup>ἐπισημαίνεται δὲ τοῦτο καὶ διὰ τῆς νομοθεσίας ἡμῶν λέγων ὁ Μώσης οὕτως ἐν χειρὶ κραταιᾷ ἐξήγαγεν ὁ θεὸς σε ἐξ Αἰγύπτου. καὶ πάλιν ἀποστελῶ, φησὶν ὁ θεός, τὴν χεῖρά μου, καὶ πατάξω τοὺς Αἰγυπτίους. καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ τῶν κτηνῶν θανάτου φησὶ τῷ Φαραῶ ὁ Μώσης ἰδοὺ χεὶρ κυρίου ἔσται ἐν τοῖς κτήνεσί σου καὶ ἐν πᾶσι τοῖς ἐν τοῖς πεδίοις θάνατος μέγας. ὥστε αἱ χεῖρες ἐπὶ δυνάμεως νοοῦνται θεοῦ. καὶ γὰρ ἔστι νοῆσαι τὴν πᾶσαν ἰσχὺν τῶν ἀνθρώπων καὶ τὰς ἐνεργείας ἐν ταῖς χερσὶν εἶναι. <sup>9</sup>διόπερ καλῶς ὁ νομοθέτης ἐπὶ τὸ μεγαλεῖον μετενήνοχε, λέγων τὰς συντελείας χεῖρας εἶναι θεοῦ. στάσις δὲ θεία καλῶς ἂν λέγοιτο κατὰ τὸ

phrases applicable to other things – outward and visible. <sup>4</sup> So, those who have a good knowledge admire his wisdom, and the divine inspiration for which he has been called a prophet; among them are the aforesaid philosophers and many others, including poets, who have borrowed important ideas from him and are thus admired. <sup>5</sup> But, to those who have no power or intelligence and only cling to the letter, he does not appear to explain any grand idea. <sup>6</sup> So, I shall begin to interpret each sign, as far as I may be able. But if I fail to hit on the truth, and to persuade you, do not impute the inconsistency to the Lawgiver, but my lack of ability to express clearly his thoughts. <sup>7</sup> First, then, the word ‘hands’ evidently has, even in our own case, a more general meaning. For, when you as a king send out forces, wishing to accomplish some purpose, we say, “The king has a mighty hand,” and the hearers’ thoughts are carried to the power that you possess. <sup>8</sup> Now, this is what Moses also signifies in our Law, when he says, “God brought you out of Egypt with a mighty hand;” and again, “I will put forth my hand,” says God, “and will smite the Egyptians.” Again, in the account of the death of the cattle, Moses says to Pharaoh, “Behold, the hand of the Lord shall be on your cattle, and on all that are in the fields a great death.” So that the ‘hands’ are understood as the power of God; for, it is easy to perceive that the whole strength of men and their active powers are in their hands. <sup>9</sup> Therefore, our Lawgiver, in saying that the effects are God’s hands, has made the word a beautiful metaphor of majesty. <sup>10</sup> The constitution, too, of the world may well be

μεγαλεῖον ἢ τοῦ κόσμου κατασκευή. <sup>10</sup> καὶ γὰρ ἐπὶ πάντων ὁ θεός, καὶ πάνθ' ὑποτέτακται, καὶ στάσιν εἴληφεν· ὥστε τοὺς ἀνθρώπους καταλαμβάνειν ἀκίνητα εἶναι ταῦτα. λέγω δὲ τὸ τοιοῦτον, ὡς οὐδέποτε γέγονεν οὐρανὸς γῆ, γῆ δ' οὐρανός, οὐδ' ἥλιος σελήνη λάμπουσα, οὐδὲ σελήνη πάλιν ἥλιος, οὐδὲ ποταμοὶ θάλασσα, οὐδὲ θάλασσα ποταμοί. <sup>11</sup> καὶ πάλιν ἐπὶ τῶν ζώων ὁ αὐτός ἐστι λόγος. οὐ γὰρ ἄνθρωπος ἔσται θηρίον, οὐδὲ θηρίον ἄνθρωπος. καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν λοιπῶν δὲ ταύτων ὑπάρχει φυτῶν τε καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν ἄλλων· ἀμετάβλητα μὲν ἐστί, τὰς αὐτὰς δ' ἐν αὐτοῖς τροπὰς λαμβάνει καὶ φθοράς. <sup>12</sup> ἢ στάσις οὖν ἢ θεία κατὰ ταῦτα ἂν λέγοιτο, πάντων ὑποκειμένων τῷ θεῷ. λέγεται δὲ κατάβασις ἐπὶ τὸ ὄρος θεία γεγονέναι διὰ τῆς γραφῆς τοῦ νόμου, καθ' ὃν ἐνομοθέτει καιρὸν, ἕνα πάντες θεωρήσωσι τὴν ἐνέργειαν τοῦ θεοῦ. κατάβασις γὰρ αὕτη σαφής ἐστι· καὶ περὶ τούτων οὖν οὕτως ἂν τις ἐξηγήσαιο, βουλόμενος συντηρεῖν τὸν περὶ θεοῦ λόγον. <sup>13</sup> δηλοῦται γὰρ ὡς τὸ ὄρος ἐκαίετο πυρί, καθὼς φησιν ἡ νομοθεσία, διὰ τὸ τὸν θεὸν καταβεβηκέναι σαλπίγγων τε φωνὰς καὶ τὸ πῦρ φλεγόμενον ἀνυποστάτως εἶναι. <sup>14</sup> τοῦ γὰρ παντὸς πλήθους μυριάδων οὐκ ἔλαττον ἑκατόν, χωρὶς τῶν ἀφηλίκων, ἐκκλησιαζομένων κυκλόθεν τοῦ ὄρους, οὐκ ἔλασσον ἡμερῶν πέντε οὔσης τῆς περιόδου περὶ αὐτό, κατὰ πάντα τόπον τῆς ὁράσεως πᾶσιν αὐτοῖς κυκλόθεν, ὡς ἦσαν παρεμβεβληκότες, τὸ πῦρ φλεγόμενον ἐθεωρεῖτο. <sup>15</sup> ὥστε τὴν κατάβασιν μὴ τοπικὴν εἶναι· πανταχοῦ γὰρ ὁ θεός ἐστιν. ἀλλὰ τὴν τοῦ πυρὸς δύναμιν παρὰ πάντα θαυμάσιον ὑπάρχουσαν, διὰ τὸ πάντα ἀναλίσκειν, οὐκ ἂν ἔδειξε

called for its majesty God's standing; for, God is over all and all things are subject to him, and have received from him their station, so that men may know that they are immovable. Now my meaning is this: heaven has never become earth, and earth heaven, nor the sun become the shining moon, nor again the moon become the sun, nor rivers seas, nor seas rivers. <sup>11</sup> And, again, in the case of living beings, there is the same principle. For, man will never be beast, nor beast man. In the case of the rest, too, the same rule exists, of plants and all other things: they are not interchangeable but are subject to the same changes in themselves, and to decay. <sup>12</sup> In these ways, God may be spoken of as standing, as all things are set under him. It is said, too, in the book of the Law that there was a descent of God to the mountain, at the time he gave the Law, so all might see the operation of God: for, this is a manifest descent; and so anyone wishing to guard safely the doctrine of God would interpret these circumstances as follows. <sup>13</sup> It is said that the mountain burned with fire, as the Lawgiver says, because God descended on it, and there were the voices of trumpets, and fire blazing so that none could withstand it. <sup>14</sup> For, while the whole multitude, not less than a thousand thousands, besides children, were assembled around the mount, the circuit of it being not less than five days' journey, in every part of the view around them as they were encamped the fire was seen blazing. <sup>15</sup> So, the descent was not local; for, God is everywhere. But whereas the power of fire is beyond all things marvellous, consuming everything, he could not have shown

φλεγόμενην ἀνυποστάτως, μηδὲν ἐξανάλισκousαν, εἰ μὴ τὸ παρὰ τοῦ θεοῦ δυναμικὸν αὐτῇ προσείη. <sup>16</sup> τῶν γὰρ φυομένων ἐν τῷ ὄρει ἐκείνῳ ἀναλίσκομένων σφοδρῶς οὐδὲν ἐξανάλωσεν, ἀλλ' ἔμεινε τῶν ἀπάντων ἡ χλόη πυρὸς ἄθικτος, σαλπίγγων τε φωναὶ σφοδρότερον συνηκούοντο σὺν τῇ τοῦ πυρὸς ἀστραπηδὸν ἐκφάνσει, μὴ προκειμένων ὀργάνων τοιούτων, μηδὲ τοῦ φωνήσοντος, ἀλλὰ θείᾳ κατασκευῇ γινομένων πάντων. <sup>17</sup> ὥστε σαφὲς εἶναι διὰ ταῦτα τὴν κατάβασιν τὴν θείαν γεγονέναι, διὰ τὸ τοὺς συνορῶντας ἐκφαντικῶς ἕκαστα καταλαμβάνειν, μήτε τὸ πῦρ κεκαυκός, ὡς προείρηται, μηδὲν μήτε τὰς τῶν σαλπίγγων φωνὰς δι' ἀνθρωπίνης ἐνεργείας ἢ κατασκευῆς ὀργάνων γίνεσθαι, τὸν δὲ θεὸν ἄνευ τινὸς δεικνύναι τὴν ἑαυτοῦ διὰ πάντων μεγαλειότητα.

<sup>18</sup> Ταῦτα ὁ Ἀριστόβουλος.

CLEMENT OF ALEXANDRIA, STROMATA 6.3.32.3-33.1

<sup>32:3</sup> Πῶς δὲ ἔτι ἀπιστήσουσιν Ἕλληνες τῇ θείᾳ ἐπιφανείᾳ περὶ τὸ ὄρος τὸ Σινᾶ, ὅπηνίκα πῦρ μὲν ἐφλέγετο, μηδὲν καταναλίσκον τῶν φυομένων κατὰ τὸ ὄρος, σαλπίγγων τε ἦχος ἐφέρετο ἄνευ ὀργάνων ἐμπνεόμενος; <sup>4</sup> ἐκείνη γὰρ ἡ λεγομένη κατάβασις ἐπὶ τὸ ὄρος θεοῦ ἐπίφασίς ἐστι θείας δυνάμεως ἐπὶ πάντα τὸν κόσμον διηκούσης καὶ κηρυττούσης τὸ φῶς τὸ ἀπρόσιτον. τοιαύτη γὰρ ἡ κατὰ τὴν γραφὴν ἀλληγορία. <sup>5</sup> πλὴν ἐωράθη τὸ πῦρ, ὡς φησιν Ἀριστόβουλος, παντὸς τοῦ πλήθους μυριάδων οὐκ ἔλασσον ἑκατόν, χωρὶς τῶν ἀφηλίκων, ἐκκλησιαζόντων κύκλῳ τοῦ ὄρους, οὐχ

it blazing irresistibly yet consuming nothing, unless there were the efficacy given to it from God. <sup>16</sup> For, though the places were all ablaze, the fire did not consume any of the things that grew on that mountain; but the leaves of all were untouched by fire, and the voices of trumpets were loudly heard with the lightning-like flashing of the fire, though there were no such instruments present nor any that sounded them, but all things were done by divine arrangement. <sup>17</sup> So, it is plain that the divine descent took place for these reasons, that the spectators might have a manifest comprehension of the several circumstances, that neither the fire that, as I said before, burnt nothing, nor the voices of the trumpets were produced by human action or a supply of instruments, but that God without any aid was exhibiting his own all-pervading majesty.

<sup>18</sup> Thus far Aristobulus.

<sup>32:3</sup> How then shall the Greeks any longer disbelieve the divine appearance on Mount Sinai, when the fire burned, consuming none of the things that grew on the mountain; and the sound of trumpets issued forth, breathed without instruments? <sup>4</sup> For, that which is called the descent on the mountain of God is the advent of divine power, pervading the whole world, and proclaiming the light that is inaccessible. For, such is the allegory, according to the Scripture. <sup>5</sup> But the fire was seen, as Aristobulus says, while the whole multitude, amounting to not less than a thousand thousands, besides those under age, were

ἦττον ἡμερῶν πέντε τῆς περιόδου τυγχανούσης περὶ τὸ ὄρος.  
**33:1** κατὰ πάντα τοίνυν τόπον τῆς ὁράσεως πᾶσιν αὐτοῖς  
κυκλόθεν, ὡς ἂν παρεμβεβληκόσι, τὸ πῦρ φλεγόμενον  
ἐθεωρεῖτο, ὥστε τὴν κατάβασιν μὴ τοπικὴν γεγονέναι·  
πάντη γὰρ ὁ θεός ἐστιν.

congregated around the mountain, the circuit of the mountain  
not being less than five days' journey. **33:1** Over the whole place  
of the vision, the burning fire was seen by all those encamped,  
as it were, around; so that the descent was not local. For God  
is everywhere.



## FRAGMENT 3

EUSEBIUS, PRAEPARATIO EVANGELICA 13.11.3–13.12.2

**11:3** ... παραθήσω δὲ πρώτου Ἀριστοβούλου, τοῦ ἐξ Ἑβραίων φιλοσόφου, τὰς οὕτως ἐχούσας φωνάς·

ιβ'. ΟΠΩΣ ΚΑΙ Ο ΠΡΟ ΗΜΩΝ ΕΞ ΕΒΡΑΙΩΝ ΑΡΙΣΤΟΒΟΥΛΟΣ Ο  
ΠΕΡΙΠΑΤΗΤΙΚΟΣ ΕΚ ΤΗΣ ΠΑΡ' ΕΒΡΑΙΟΙΣ ΦΙΛΟΣΟΦΙΑΣ ΩΜΟΛΟΓΕΙ  
ΤΟΥΣ ΕΛΛΗΝΑΣ ΩΡΜΗΣΘΑΙ· ΕΚ ΤΩΝ ΑΡΙΣΤΟΒΟΥΛΟΥ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΙ  
ΠΤΟΛΕΜΑΙΩΙ ΠΡΟΣΠΕΦΩΝΗΜΕΝΩΝ·

**12:1** Φανερόν ὅτι κατηκολούθησεν ὁ Πλάτων τῇ καθ' ἡμᾶς νομοθεσίᾳ, καὶ φανερός ἐστὶ περιειργασμένος ἕκαστα τῶν ἐν αὐτῇ. διηρμήνευται γὰρ πρὸ Δημητρίου τοῦ Φαληρέως δι' ἐτέρων, πρὸ τῆς Ἀλεξάνδρου καὶ Περσῶν ἐπικρατήσεως, τὰ τε κατὰ τὴν ἐξαγωγήν τὴν ἐξ Αἰγύπτου τῶν Ἑβραίων, ἡμετέρων δὲ πολιτῶν, καὶ ἡ τῶν γεγονότων ἀπάντων αὐτοῖς ἐπιφάνεια, καὶ κράτησις τῆς χώρας, καὶ τῆς ὅλης νομοθεσίας ἐπεξήγησις, ὡς εὐδὴλον εἶναι τὸν προειρημένον φιλόσοφον εἰληφέναι πολλά· γέγονε γὰρ πολυμαθής, καθὼς καὶ Πυθαγόρας πολλά τῶν παρ' ἡμῖν μετενέγκας εἰς τὴν ἑαυτοῦ δογματοποιίαν κατεχώρισεν. <sup>2</sup> ἢ δ' ὅλη ἐρμηνεία τῶν διὰ τοῦ νόμου πάντων ἐπὶ τοῦ προσαγορευθέντος Φιλαδέλφου βασιλέως, σοῦ δὲ προγόνου, προσενεγκαμένου μεῖζονα φιλοτιμίαν, Δημητρίου τοῦ Φαληρέως πραγματευσαμένου τὰ περὶ τούτων.

**11:3** ... And I will quote first the words of the Hebrew philosopher Aristobulus, which are as follows:

XII. HOW ARISTOBULUS THE PERIPATETIC, WHO WAS A HEBREW BEFORE OUR TIME, ACKNOWLEDGES THAT THE GREEKS HAVE STARTED FROM THE PHILOSOPHY OF THE HEBREWS. FROM THE STATEMENTS OF ARISTOBULUS ADDRESSED TO KING PTOLEMY

**12:1** It is evident that Plato closely followed our legislation, and has carefully studied the several precepts contained in it. For others before Demetrius Phalereus, and prior to the supremacy of Alexander and the Persians, have translated both the narrative of the exodus of the Hebrews our fellow countrymen from Egypt, and the fame of all that had happened to them, and the conquest of the land, and the exposition of the whole Law; so that it is manifest that many things have been borrowed by the aforesaid philosopher, for he is very learned: as also Pythagoras transferred many of our precepts and inserted them in his own system of doctrines. <sup>2</sup> But the entire translation of all the contents of our law was made in the time of the king surnamed Philadelphus, thy ancestor, who brought greater zeal to the work, which was managed by Demetrius Phalereus.

CLEMENT OF ALEXANDRIA, STROMATA 1.22.150.1-3

<sup>150:1</sup> Ἀριστόβουλος δὲ ἐν τῷ πρώτῳ τῶν πρὸς τὸν Φιλομήτορα κατὰ λέξιν γράφει· κατηκολούθηκε δὲ καὶ ὁ Πλάτων τῇ καθ' ἡμᾶς νομοθεσίᾳ, καὶ φανερός ἐστι περιειργασμένος ἕκαστα τῶν ἐν αὐτῇ λεγομένων. <sup>2</sup> διηρμήνενται δὲ πρὸ Δημητρίου ὑφ' ἐτέρων, πρὸ τῆς Ἀλεξάνδρου καὶ Περσῶν ἐπικρατήσεως, τὰ τε κατὰ τὴν ἐξ Αἰγύπτου ἐξαγωγήν τῶν Ἑβραίων τῶν ἡμετέρων πολιτῶν καὶ ἡ τῶν γεγονότων ἀπάντων αὐτοῖς ἐπιφάνεια καὶ κράτησις τῆς χώρας καὶ τῆς ὅλης νομοθεσίας ἐπεξήγησις. <sup>3</sup> ὥστε εὐδὴλον εἶναι τὸν προειρημένον φιλόσοφον εἰληφέναι πολλά (γέγονε γὰρ πολυμαθής), καθὼς καὶ Πυθαγόρας πολλὰ τῶν παρ' ἡμῖν μετενέγκας εἰς τὴν ἑαυτοῦ δογματοποιίαν.

<sup>1</sup> Aristobulus, in his first book addressed to Philometor, writes in these words, "And Plato followed the laws given to us, and had manifestly studied all that is said in them." <sup>2</sup> And, before Demetrius, there had been translated by another, previous to the dominion of Alexander and of the Persians, the account of the departure of our countrymen the Hebrews from Egypt, and the fame of all that happened to them, and their taking possession of the land, and the account of the whole code of laws; <sup>3</sup> so that it is perfectly clear that the above-mentioned philosopher derived a great deal from this source; for, he was very learned, as also Pythagoras, who transferred many things from our books to his own system of doctrines.

EUSEBIUS, PRAEPARATIO EVANGELICA 9.6.6-8

<sup>6</sup> Ἐτι πρὸς τούτοις ὁ Κλήμης Ἀριστοβούλου τοῦ περιπατητικοῦ καὶ Νουμηνίου τοῦ Πυθαγορείου μνημονεύει μονεύει λέγων· Ἀριστόβουλος δὲ ἐν τῷ πρώτῳ τῶν πρὸς τὸν Φιλομήτορα κατὰ λέξιν γράφει· Κατηκολούθηκε δὲ ὁ Πλάτων τῇ καθ' ἡμᾶς νομοθεσίᾳ, καὶ φανερός ἐστι περιειργασμένος ἕκαστα τῶν ἐν αὐτῇ λεγομένων. <sup>7</sup> διηρμήνενται δὲ πρὸ Δημητρίου ὑφ' ἐτέρων, πρὸ τῆς Ἀλεξάνδρου καὶ Περσῶν ἐπικρατήσεως, τὰ τε κατὰ τὴν ἐξ Αἰγύπτου ἐξαγωγήν τῶν Ἑβραίων τῶν ἡμετέρων πολιτῶν, καὶ ἡ τῶν γεγονότων ἀπάντων αὐτοῖς ἐπιφάνεια, καὶ κράτησις τῆς χώρας, καὶ τῆς ὅλης νομοθεσίας ἐπεξήγησις. <sup>8</sup> ὥστε εὐδὴλον εἶναι τὸν προειρημένον φιλόσοφον εἰληφέναι πολλά· γέγονε γὰρ πολυμαθής· καθὼς καὶ Πυθαγόρας πολλὰ τῶν παρ' ἡμῖν μετενέγκας εἰς τὴν ἑαυτοῦ δογματοποιίαν.

<sup>6</sup> Besides this, Clement also mentions Aristobulus the Peripatetic and Numenius the Pythagorean, saying, "Aristobulus, in his first book addressed to Philometor, writes in these words: Plato, too, has followed our legislation, and has evidently studied carefully the several precepts contained in it." <sup>7</sup> And others before Demetrius, and prior to the supremacy of Alexander and of the Persians, have translated both the narrative of the Exodus of our fellow countrymen the Hebrews from Egypt, and the fame of all that happened to them, and their conquest of the land, and the exposition of the whole Law. <sup>8</sup> So, it is perfectly clear that the philosopher aforementioned has borrowed much, for he is very learned; as also was Pythagoras, who transferred many of our precepts into his own system of doctrines.

<sup>1</sup> Καὶ τὰ μὲν περὶ τῶν χρόνων διαφόρως πολλοῖς ἱστορηθέντα καὶ πρὸς ἡμῶν ἐκτεθέντα ὧδε ἔχέτω, ἑρμηνευθῆναι δὲ τὰς γραφὰς τὰς τε τοῦ νόμου καὶ τὰς προφητικὰς ἐκ τῆς τῶν Ἑβραίων διαλέκτου εἰς τὴν Ἑλλάδα γλῶττάν φασιν ἐπὶ βασιλέως Πτολεμαίου τοῦ Λάγου ἢ ὥς τινες ἐπὶ τοῦ Φιλαδέλφου ἐπικληθέντος, τὴν μεγίστην φιλοτιμίαν εἰς τοῦτο προσενεγκαμένου, Δημητρίου τοῦ Φαληρέως καὶ τὰ περὶ τὴν ἑρμηνείαν ἀκριβῶς πραγματευσαμένου.

<sup>1</sup> And it is said that the Scriptures both of the Law and of the Prophets were translated from the dialect of the Hebrews into the Greek language in the reign of Ptolemy the son of Lagos; or, according to others, of Ptolemy surnamed Philadelphus; Demetrius Phalereus bringing to this task the greatest earnestness, and employing painstaking accuracy on the materials for the translation.

## FRAGMENT 4

EUSEBIUS, PRAEPARATIO EVANGELICA 13.12.3-8

<sup>3</sup> Εἶτα μεταξύ τινὰ εἰπὼν ἐπιφέρει λέγων· Δεῖ γὰρ λαμβάνειν τὴν θεῖαν φωνὴν οὐ ῥητὸν λόγον, ἀλλ' ἔργων κατασκευάς, καθὼς καὶ διὰ τῆς νομοθεσίας ἡμῖν ὅλην τὴν γένεσιν τοῦ κόσμου θεοῦ λόγους εἶρηκεν ὁ Μώσης. συνεχῶς γὰρ φησιν ἐφ' ἐκάστου καὶ εἶπεν ὁ θεὸς, καὶ ἐγένετο. <sup>4</sup> δοκοῦσι δέ μοι περιειργασμένοι πάντα κατηκολουθηκέναι τούτῳ Πυθαγόρας τε καὶ Σωκράτης καὶ Πλάτων, λέγοντες ἀκούειν φωνῆς θεοῦ, τὴν κατασκευὴν τῶν ὅλων συνθεωροῦντες ἀκριβῶς ὑπὸ θεοῦ γεγονυῖαν καὶ συνεχομένην ἀδιαλείπτως. ἔτι δὲ καὶ Ὀρφεὺς ἐν ποιήμασι τῶν κατὰ τὸν ἱερὸν λόγον αὐτῷ λεγομένων οὕτως ἐκτίθεται περὶ τοῦ διακρατεῖσθαι θεῖα δυνάμει τὰ πάντα καὶ γενητὰ ὑπάρχειν, καὶ ἐπὶ πάντων εἶναι τὸν θεόν. λέγει δ' οὕτως·

<sup>5</sup> φθέγξομαι οἷς θέμις ἐστί, θύρας δ' ἐπίθεσθε βέβηλοι,  
φεύγοντες δικαίων θεσμούς, θεῖοιο τεθέντος  
πᾶσιν ὁμοῦ· σὺ δ' ἄκουε, φαεσφόρου ἔκγονε Μήνης  
Μουσαῖ· ἐξέρέω γὰρ ἀληθέα, μηδέ σε τὰ πρὶν  
ἐν στήθεσσι φανέντα φίλης αἰῶνος ἀμέρῃ,  
εἰς δὲ λόγον θεῖον βλέψας τούτῳ προσέδρευε,  
ἰθύνων κραδίης νοερὸν κύτος· εὖ δ' ἐπίβαινε  
ἄτραπιτοῦ, μῦνον δ' ἐσώρα κόσμοιο τυπωτὴν  
ἀθάνατον. παλαιὸς δὲ λόγος περὶ τοῦδε φαίνει,

<sup>3</sup> Then, after some remarks, he says, "For, we must understand the voice of God not as words spoken but as construction of works, just as Moses in the Law spoke of the whole creation of the world as words of God." For, he constantly says of each work, "And God said, and it was so." <sup>4</sup> Now, it seems to me that he has been very carefully followed in all by Pythagoras, and Socrates, and Plato, who said that they heard the voice of God, when they were contemplating the arrangement of the universe, so accurately made and indissolubly combined by God. And Orpheus, in verses taken from his writings in the Sacred Legend, states the doctrine that all things are governed by divine power, and that they have had a beginning, and that God is over all. And this is what he says:

<sup>5</sup> "I speak to those who lawfully may hear:  
Depart, and close the doors, all you profane,  
Who hate the ordinances of the just,  
The law divine announced to all mankind.  
But you, Musaeus, child of the bright Moon,  
Lend me you ear; for, I have truths to tell.  
Let not the former fancies of your mind  
Amerce you of the dear and blessed life.  
Look to the word divine, keep close to that,



εἷς ἔστ' αὐτοτελής, αὐτοῦ δ' ὕπο πάντα τελεῖται,  
ἐν δ' αὐτοῖς αὐτὸς περινίσσεται, οὐδέ τις αὐτὸν  
εἰσοράα ψυχῶν θνητῶν. νῶ δ' εἰσοράαται.  
αὐτὸς δ' ἐξ ἀγαθῶν θνητοῖς κακὸν οὐκ ἐπιτέλλει  
ἀνθρώποις· αὐτῷ δὲ χάρις καὶ μῖσος ὀπηδεῖ,  
καὶ πόλεμος καὶ λοιμὸς ἰδ' ἄλγεα δακρυόεντα,  
οὐδέ τις ἐσθ' ἕτερος· σὺ δέ κεν ρέα πάντ' ἐσορήσῃς,  
αἶ κεν ἴδῃς αὐτόν· πρὶν δὴ ποτε δεῦρ ἐπὶ γαῖαν,  
τέκνον ἐμόν, δείξω σοι, ὀπηνίκα δέρκομαι αὐτοῦ  
ἵχνια καὶ χεῖρα στιβαρὴν κρατεροῖο θεοῖο.  
αὐτὸν δ' οὐχ ὁρώω· περὶ γὰρ νέφος ἐστήρικται  
λοιπὸν ἐμοί· στᾶσιν δὲ δέκα πτυχαὶ ἀνθρώποισιν·  
οὐ γάρ κέν τις ἔδοι θνητῶν μερόπων κραίνοντα,  
εἰ μὴ μουνογενὴς τις ἀπορρώξ φύλου ἄνωθεν  
Χαλδαίων· ἱδρις γὰρ ἦν ἄστροιο πορείης,  
καὶ σφαίρης κίνημι ἀμφὶ χθόνα ὥς περιτέλλει,  
κυκλοτερές δ' ἐν ἴσῳ, κατὰ δὲ σφέτερον κνώδακα·  
πνεύματα δ' ἠνιοχεῖ περὶ τ' ἡέρα καὶ περὶ χεῦμα  
νάματος· ἐκφαίνει δὲ πυρὸς σέλας ἱφιγενήτου.  
αὐτὸς δὴ μέγαν αὖθις ἐπ' οὐρανὸν ἐστήρικται  
χρυσέῳ εἰνὶ θρόνῳ· γαίῃ δ' ὑπὸ ποσσὶ βέβηκε·  
χεῖρα δὲ δεξιτερὴν ἐπὶ τέρμασιν ὠκεανοῖο  
ἐκτέτακεν· ὁρέων δὲ τρέμει βάσις ἔνδοθι θυμῷ,  
οὐδὲ φέρειν δύναται κρατερόν μένος. ἔστι δὲ πάντως  
αὐτὸς ἐπουράνιος, καὶ ἐπὶ χθονὶ πάντα τελευτᾷ,  
ἀρχὴν αὐτὸς ἔχων καὶ μέσσην ἠδὲ τελευτήν,  
ὥς λόγος ἀρχαίων, ὥς ὑδογενὴς διέταξεν,

And guide thereby the deep thoughts of your heart.  
Walk wisely in the way, and look to none,  
Save to the immortal Framer of the world:  
For thus of him an ancient story speaks:  
One, perfect in himself, all else by him  
Made perfect: ever present in his works,  
By mortal eyes unseen, by mind alone  
Discerned. It is not he that out of good  
Makes evil to spring up for mortal men.  
Both love and hatred wait on his steps,  
And war and pestilence, and sorrow and tears:  
For, there is none but he. All other things  
It were easy to behold, could you but first  
Behold himself here present on earth.  
The footsteps and the mighty hand of God  
Whenever I see, I'll show them to you, my son:  
But him I cannot see, so dense a cloud  
In tenfold darkness wraps our feeble sight.  
Him in his power no mortal could behold,  
Save one, a scion of Chaldaean race:  
For, he was skilled to mark the sun's bright path,  
And how in even circle round the earth  
The starry sphere on its own axis turns,  
And winds their chariot guide over sea and sky;  
And showed where fire's flame its strength displayed.  
But God himself, high above heaven unmoved,  
Sits on his golden throne, and plants his feet

ἐκ θεόθεν γνώμαισι λαβὼν κατὰ δίπλακα θεσμόν.  
ἄλλως οὐ θεμιτὸν δὲ λέγειν· τρομέω δέ γε γυῖα,  
ἐν νόῳ. ἐξ ὑπάτου κραίνει περὶ πάντ' ἐνὶ τάξει.  
ὦ τέκνον, σὺ δὲ τοῖσι νόοισι πελάζεις, γλώσσης  
εὖ μάλ' ἐπικρατέων, στέρνοισι δὲ ἔνθεο φήμην.

<sup>6</sup> καὶ Ἄρατος δὲ περὶ τῶν αὐτῶν φησιν οὕτως·

Ἐκ Διὸς ἀρχώμεσθα, τὸν οὐδέποτε ἄνδρες ἐῷσιν  
ἄρρητον· μεσταὶ δὲ θεοῦ πᾶσαι μὲν ἀγυιαί,  
πᾶσαι δ' ἀνθρώπων ἀγοραί, μεστή δὲ θάλασσα,  
καὶ λιμένες, πάντῃ δὲ θεοῦ κεχρήμεθα πάντες.  
τοῦ γὰρ καὶ γένος ἐσμέν· ὁ δ' ἥπιος ἀνθρώποισι  
δεξιὰ σημαίνει, λαοὺς δ' ἐπὶ ἔργον ἐγείρει,  
μιμνήσκων βιότοιο· λέγει δ' ὅτε βῶλος ἀρίστη  
βουσί τε καὶ μακέλῃσι, λέγει δ' ὅτε δεξιὰ ὦραι  
καὶ φυτὰ γυρῶσαι, καὶ σπέρματα πάντα βαλέσθαι.

<sup>7</sup> σαφῶς οἶμαι δεδειχθαι ὅτι διὰ πάντων ἐστὶν ἡ δύναμις τοῦ  
θεοῦ. καθὼς δὲ δεῖ σεσημάγκαμεν περιαιροῦντες τὸν διὰ τῶν  
ποιημάτων Δία καὶ Ζῆνα· τὸ γὰρ τῆς διανοίας αὐτῶν ἐπὶ θεὸν

On the broad earth; his right hand he extends  
Over Ocean's farthest bound; the eternal hills  
Tremble in their deep heart, nor can endure  
His mighty power. And still above the heavens  
Alone he sits, and governs all on earth,  
Himself first cause, and means, and end of all.  
So, men of old, so tells the Nile-born sage,  
Taught by the twofold tablet of God's law;  
Nor otherwise dare I of him to speak:  
In heart and limbs I tremble at the thought,  
How he from heaven all things in order rules.  
Draw near in thought, my son; but guard your tongue  
With care and store this doctrine in your heart."

<sup>6</sup> Aratus also speaks of the same subject thus:

"From Zeus begin the song, nor ever leave  
His name unsung, whose Godhead fills all streets,  
All thronging marts of men, the boundless sea  
And all its ports: whose aid all mortals need;  
For, we his offspring are; and kindly he  
Reveals to man good omens of success,  
Stirs him to labour by the hope of food,  
Tells when the land best suits the grazing ox,  
Or when the plough; when favouring seasons bid  
Plant the young tree, and sow the various seed."

<sup>7</sup> It is clear, I think, that all things are pervaded by the power  
of God: and this I have represented by taking away the name  
of Zeus that runs through the poems; for, it is to God that their

ἀναπέμπεται· διόπερ οὕτως ἡμῖν εἴρηται. οὐκ ἀπειοικότως οὖν τοῖς ἐπιζητουμένοις προενηνέγεθα ταῦτα. <sup>8</sup> πᾶσι γὰρ τοῖς φιλοσόφοις ὁμολογεῖται ὅτι δεῖ περὶ θεοῦ διαλήψεις ὅσας ἔχειν, ὃ μάλιστα παρακελεύεται καλῶς ἢ καθ' ἡμᾶς αἴρεσις. ἡ δὲ τοῦ νόμου κατασκευὴ πᾶσα τοῦ καθ' ἡμᾶς περὶ εὐσεβείας τέτακται καὶ δικαιοσύνης καὶ ἐγκρατείας καὶ τῶν λοιπῶν ἀγαθῶν τῶν κατὰ ἀλήθειαν.

thought is sent and, so, I have expressed it. So, these quotations that I bring forward are not inappropriate to the questions before us. <sup>8</sup> For, all the philosophers agree, that we ought to hold pious opinions concerning God, and to this especially our system gives excellent exhortation; and the whole constitution of our law is arranged with reference to piety, and justice, and temperance, and all things else that are truly good.

CLEMENT OF ALEXANDRIA, STROMATA 5.14.99.3

<sup>3</sup> καὶ τὸ σύνολον Πυθαγόρας καὶ Σωκράτης καὶ Πλάτων, λέγοντες ἀκούειν φωνῆς θεοῦ, τὴν κατασκευὴν τῶν ὅλων θεωροῦντες ἀκριβῶς ὑπὸ θεοῦ γεγονυῖαν καὶ συνεχομένην ἀδιαλείπτως, ἀκηκόασι {γὰρ} τοῦ Μωυσέως λέγοντος ‘εἶπεν, καὶ ἐγένετο,’ τὸν λόγον τοῦ θεοῦ ἔργον εἶναι διαγράφοντος.

<sup>3</sup> And, in general, Pythagoras, and Socrates, and Plato say that they hear God's voice while closely contemplating the fabric of the universe, made and preserved unceasingly by God. For, they heard Moses say, "He said, and it was done," describing the word of God as an act.

CLEMENT OF ALEXANDRIA, PROTREPTICUS 7.73.2A

<sup>2a</sup> Ἄρατος μὲν οὖν διὰ πάντων τὴν δύναμιν τοῦ θεοῦ διήκειν νοεῖ, ...

<sup>2a</sup> Aratus considers that the power of God pervades all things ...

CLEMENT OF ALEXANDRIA, STROMATA 5.14.101.4B

<sup>4</sup> ... ὁ γὰρ διὰ τῶν ποιημάτων καὶ καταλογάδην συγγραμμάτων ἀδόμενος Ζεὺς τὴν ἔννοιαν ἐπὶ τὸν θεὸν ἀναφέρει.

<sup>4</sup> ... For the Zeus celebrated in poems and prose compositions leads the mind up to God.

## FRAGMENT 5

EUSEBIUS, PRAEPARATIO EVANGELICA 13.12.9–16

<sup>9</sup> Τούτοις ἐξῆς μεθ' ἕτερα ἐπιλέγει· Ἐχομένως δ' ἐστὶν ὡς ὁ  
θὼς τὸν ὅλον κόσμον κατεσκεύακε, καὶ δέδωκεν ἀνάπαυσιν  
ἡμῖν διὰ τὸ κακόπαθον εἶναι πᾶσι τὴν βιοτὴν, ἐβδόμην  
ἡμέραν, ἣ δὴ καὶ πρώτη φυσικῶς ἂν λέγοιτο φωτὸς γένεσις,  
ἐν ᾧ τὰ πάντα συνθεωρεῖται. <sup>10</sup> μεταφέροιτο δ' ἂν τὸ αὐτὸ καὶ  
ἐπὶ τῆς σοφίας· τὸ γὰρ πᾶν φῶς ἐστὶν ἐξ αὐτῆς. καὶ τινες  
εἰρήκασιν τῶν ἐκ τῆς αἰρέσεως ὄντες τῆς ἐκ τοῦ Περιπάτου  
λαμπτήρος αὐτὴν ἔχειν τάξιν· ἀκολουθοῦντες γὰρ αὐτῇ  
συνεχῶς ἀτάραχοι καταστήσονται δι' ὅλου τοῦ βίου.  
<sup>11</sup> σαφέστερον δὲ καὶ κάλλιον τῶν ἡμετέρων προγόνων τις  
εἶκε Σολομῶν αὐτὴν πρὸ οὐρανοῦ καὶ γῆς ὑπάρχειν. τὸ δὲ  
σύμφωνόν ἐστι τῷ προειρημένῳ. τὸ δὲ διασαφούμενον διὰ  
τῆς νομοθεσίας ἀποπεπαυκέναι τὸν θεὸν ἐν αὐτῇ, τοῦτο οὐχ,  
ὥς τινες ὑπολαμβάνουσι, μηκέτι ποιεῖν τι τὸν θεὸν  
καθέστηκεν, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ τῷ καταπεπαυκέναι τὴν τάξιν αὐτῶν  
οὕτως εἰς πάντα τὸν χρόνον τεταχέναι. <sup>12</sup> σημαίνει γὰρ ὡς ἐν  
ἑξ ἡμέραις ἐποίησε τὸν τε οὐρανὸν καὶ τὴν γῆν καὶ πάντα τὰ  
ἐν αὐτοῖς, ἵνα τοὺς χρόνους δηλώσῃ καὶ τὴν τάξιν προείπῃ τί  
τίνας προτερεῖ. τάξας γάρ, οὕτως αὐτὰ συνέχει καὶ [οὐ]  
μεταποιεῖ. διασεσάφηκε δ' ἡμῖν αὐτὴν ἔννομον ἕνεκεν  
σημεῖου τοῦ περὶ ἡμᾶς ἐβδόμου λόγου καθεστῶτος, ἐν ᾧ  
γινώσκουσιν ἔχομεν ἀνθρωπίνων καὶ θείων πραγμάτων. <sup>13</sup> δι'  
ἐβδομάδων δὲ καὶ πᾶς ὁ κόσμος κυκλεῖται τῶν

<sup>9</sup> To this, he adds: It is closely connected that God, the Creator  
of the whole world, has given us the seventh day as a rest;  
because, for all men life is full of troubles: which day indeed  
might naturally be called the first birth of light, whereby all  
things are beheld. <sup>10</sup> The same thought might also be meta-  
phorically applied in the case of wisdom, for from it all light  
proceeds. And some, who were of the Peripatetic School, said  
that wisdom is in place of a beacon; for, by following it  
constantly, men will be free from trouble through their whole  
life. <sup>11</sup> But more clearly and beautifully our father, Solomon,  
said that it existed before heaven and earth, which agrees with  
what has been said above. But what is clearly stated by the  
Law, that God rested on the seventh day, means not, as some  
suppose, that God henceforth ceases to do anything, but it  
refers to the fact that, after he has brought his works to  
completion, he arranged them thus for all time. <sup>12</sup> For, it points  
out that in six days he made heaven and earth and all things in  
them, to distinguish the times and predict the order in which  
one thing precedes another; for, after arranging their order, he  
keeps them so and makes no change. He has also plainly said  
that the seventh day is ordained for us by the Law to be a sign  
of what is our seventh faculty, namely reason, whereby we  
have knowledge of things human and divine. <sup>13</sup> Also the whole



ζωογονουμένων καὶ τῶν φυομένων ἀπάντων· τῷ δὲ  
σάββατον αὐτὴν προσαγορεύεσθαι διερμηνεύεται ἀνάπαυσις  
οὕσα. διασαφεῖ δὲ καὶ Ὅμηρος καὶ Ἡσίοδος, μετεिल्φότες ἐκ  
τῶν ἡμετέρων βιβλίων ἱερὰν εἶναι. Ἡσίοδος μὲν οὕτως·

πρῶτον ἔνη τετράς τε καὶ ἑβδόμη ἱερὸν ἡμᾶρ·

καὶ πάλιν λέγει·

ἑβδομάτῃ δ' αὖτις λαμπρὸν φάος ἡελλίοιο.

<sup>14</sup> Ὅμηρος δὲ οὕτω λέγει·

ἑβδομάτῃ δὴ πειτα κατήλυθεν, ἱερὸν ἡμᾶρ·

καὶ πάλιν·

ἑβδομον ἡμᾶρ ἔην καὶ τῷ τετέλεστο ἅπαντα

καί·

ἑβδομάτῃ δ' ἡοῖ λίπομεν ῥόον ἐξ Ἀχέροντος.

<sup>15</sup> τοῦτο δὴ σημαίνων, ὡς ἀπὸ τῆς κατὰ ψυχὴν λήθης καὶ  
κακίας ἐν τῷ κατὰ ἀλήθειαν ἑβδόμῳ λόγῳ καταλιμπάνεται  
τὰ προειρημένα καὶ γινώσιν ἀληθείας λαμβάνομεν, καθὼς  
προεῖρηται. <sup>16</sup> Λίνος δέ φησιν οὕτως·

ἑβδομάτῃ δ' ἡοῖ τετελεσμένα πάντα τέτυκται·

καὶ πάλιν·

ἑβδόμῃ εἰν ἀγαθοῖς καὶ ἑβδόμῃ ἐστὶ γενέθλη

καί·

ἑβδόμῃ ἐν πρώτοισι καὶ ἑβδόμῃ ἐστὶ τελείῃ.

καί·

ἑπτὰ δὲ πάντα τέτυκται ἐν οὐρανῷ ἀστερόεντι,  
ἐν κύκλοις φανέντ' ἐπιτελλομένοις ἐνιαυτοῖς.

world of living creatures, and of all plants that grow, revolves  
in sevens. And its name 'Sabbath' means 'rest'. Homer also and  
Hesiod declare, what they have borrowed from our books, that  
it is a holy day; Hesiod says thus:

"The first, the fourth, the seventh a holy day."

And again, he says:

"And on the seventh again the sun shines bright."

<sup>14</sup> Homer too speaks as follows:

"And soon the seventh returned, a holy day."

And again:

"It was the seventh day, and all was done."

And:

"On the seventh day, we left the stream of Acheron."

<sup>15</sup> By which he means that, after the soul's forgetfulness and  
vice have gone, the things it chose before are abandoned on the  
true seventh, which is reason, and we receive the knowledge  
of truth, as we said before. <sup>16</sup> Linus too speaks thus:

"All things are finished on the seventh dawn."

And again:

"Good is the seventh day, and seventh birth."

And:

"Among the prime, and perfect is the seventh."

And:

"Seven orbs created in the starlit sky  
Shine in their courses through revolving years."

Τὰ μὲν οὖν Ἀριστοβούλου τοιαῦτα. ὅποια δὲ καὶ Κλήμεντι περὶ τῆς αὐτῆς εἴρηται ὑποθέσεως, γνοίης ἂν διὰ τούτων·

Such are the statements of Aristobulus. And what Clement has said on the same subject, you may learn from the following:

CLEMENT OF ALEXANDRIA, STROMATA 6.16.137.4–138.4

<sup>137:4</sup> τρίτος δέ ἐστι λόγος ὁ μηνύων γεγονέναι πρὸς τοῦ θεοῦ τὸν κόσμον καὶ δεδωκέναι ἀνάπαυσιν ἡμῖν ἐβδόμην ἡμέραν διὰ τὴν κατὰ τὸν βίον κακοπάθειαν· θεὸς γὰρ ἄκμητός τε καὶ ἀπαθὴς καὶ ἀπροσδεής, ἀναπαύλης δὲ ἡμεῖς οἱ σαρκοφοροῦντες δεόμεθα. <sup>138:1</sup> ἡ ἐβδόμη τοίνυν ἡμέρα ἀνάπαυσις κηρύσσεται, ἀποχῇ κακῶν ἐτοιμάζουσα τὴν ἀρχέγονον ἡμέραν τὴν τῷ ὄντι ἀνάπαυσιν ἡμῶν, ἣ δὴ καὶ πρώτη τῷ ὄντι φωτὸς γένεσις, ἐν ᾧ τὰ πάντα συνθεωρεῖται καὶ πάντα κληρονομεῖται. <sup>2</sup> ἐκ ταύτης τῆς ἡμέρας ἡ πρώτη σοφία καὶ ἡ γνῶσις ἡμῖν ἐλλάμπεται· τὸ γὰρ φῶς τῆς ἀληθείας φῶς ἀληθές, ἄσκιον, ἀμερῶς μεριζόμενον πνεῦμα κυρίου εἰς τοὺς διὰ πίστεως ἡγιασμένους, λαμπτήρος ἐπέχον τάξιν εἰς τὴν τῶν ὄντων ἐπίγνωσιν. <sup>3</sup> ἀκολουθοῦντες οὖν αὐτῷ δι' ὅλου τοῦ βίου ἀπαθεῖς καθιστάμεθα, τὸ δέ ἐστίν ἀναπαύσασθαι. <sup>4</sup> διὸ καὶ Σολομὼν πρὸ οὐρανοῦ καὶ γῆς καὶ πάντων τῶν ὄντων τῷ παντοκράτορι γεγονέναι τὴν σοφίαν λέγει, ἥς ἡ μέθεξις (ἡ κατὰ δύναμιν, οὐ κατ' οὐσίαν λέγω) θείων καὶ ἀνθρωπίνων καταληπτικῶς ἐπιστήμονα εἶναι διδάσκει.

<sup>137:4</sup> And the fourth word is that which intimates that the world was created by God, and that He gave us the seventh day as a rest, on account of the trouble that there is in life. For God is incapable of weariness, and suffering, and want. But we who bear flesh need rest. <sup>138:1</sup> The seventh day, therefore, is proclaimed a rest – abstraction from ills – preparing for the Primal Day, our true rest; which, in truth, is the first creation of light, in which all things are viewed and possessed. <sup>2</sup> From this day the first wisdom and knowledge illuminate us. For the light of truth – a light true, casting no shadow, is the Spirit of God indivisibly divided to all, who are sanctified by faith, holding the place of a luminary, in order to the knowledge of real existences. <sup>3</sup> By following him, therefore, through our whole life, we become impassible; and this is to rest. <sup>4</sup> Therefore, Solomon also says that, before heaven, and earth, and all existences, Wisdom had arisen in the Almighty; the participation of which – that which is by power, I mean, not that by essence – teaches a man to know by apprehension things divine and human.

CLEMENT OF ALEXANDRIA, STROMATA 6.16.141.7B–142.1

<sup>141:7b</sup> ... οὐ τοίνυν, ὥσπερ τινὲς ὑπολαμβάνουσι τὴν ἀνάπαυσιν τοῦ θεοῦ, πέπαυται ποιῶν ὁ θεός· ἀγαθὸς γὰρ ὢν, εἰ παύσεται ἢ ποτε ἀγαθοεργῶν, καὶ τοῦ θεοῦ εἶναι παύσεται, ὅπερ οὐδὲ

<sup>141:7b</sup> ... God's resting is not, then, as some conceive, that God ceased from doing. For, being good, if he should ever cease from doing good, then would he cease from being God, which

εἰπεῖν θέμις. <sup>142:1</sup> ἔστιν δ' οὖν καταπεπαυκέναι τὸ τὴν τάξιν τῶν γενομένων εἰς πάντα χρόνον ἀπαραβάτως φυλάσσεσθαι τεταχέναι καὶ τῆς παλαιᾶς ἀταξίας ἕκαστον τῶν κτισμάτων καταπεπαυκέναι·

CLEMENT OF ALEXANDRIA, STROMATA 6.16.142.4B

<sup>4b</sup> ... Ἦδη δὲ καὶ ἐν ἑβδομάσι πᾶς ὁ κόσμος κυκλεῖται τῶν ζωογονουμένων καὶ τῶν φυομένων ἀπάντων.

CLEMENT OF ALEXANDRIA, STROMATA 5.14.107.1-108.1

<sup>107:1</sup> Ἀλλὰ καὶ τὴν ἑβδόμην ἱεράν οὐ μόνον οἱ Ἑβραῖοι, ἀλλὰ καὶ οἱ Ἕλληνες ἴσασι, καθ' ἣν ὁ πᾶς κόσμος κυκλεῖται τῶν ζωογονουμένων καὶ φυομένων ἀπάντων. <sup>2</sup> Ἡσίοδος μὲν οὖν οὕτως περὶ αὐτῆς λέγει·

πρῶτον ἔνη τετράς τε καὶ ἑβδόμη ἱερὸν ἡμαρ.

καὶ πάλιν·

ἑβδομάτῃ δ' αὖθις λαμπρὸν φάος ἡελίοιο.

<sup>3</sup> Ὅμηρος δέ·

ἑβδομάτῃ δῆπαιτα κατήλυθεν ἱερὸν ἡμαρ.

καί·

ἑβδόμη ἦν ἱερή.

καὶ πάλιν·

ἑβδομον ἡμαρ ἔην, καὶ τῷ τετέλεστο ἅπαντα.

καὶ αὖθις·

ἑβδομάτῃ δ' ἡοῖ λίπομεν ῥόον ἐξ Ἀχέροντος.

<sup>4</sup> ναὶ μὴν καὶ Καλλίμαχος ὁ ποιητῆς γράφει·

ἑβδομάτῃ δ' ἡοῖ καὶ οἱ τετύκοντο ἅπαντα.

it is sacrilege even to say. <sup>142:1</sup> The resting is, therefore, the ordering that the order of created things should be preserved inviolate, and that each of the creatures should cease from the ancient disorder.

<sup>4b</sup> ... And now the whole world of creatures born alive, and things that grow, revolves in sevens.

<sup>107:1</sup> But the seventh day is recognised as sacred, not by the Hebrews only, but also by the Greeks; according to which the whole world of all animals and plants revolve. <sup>2</sup> Hesiod says of it:

“The first, and fourth, and seventh day were sacred.

And again:

“And on the seventh the sun’s resplendent orb.”

<sup>3</sup> And Homer:

“And on the seventh then came the sacred day.”

And:

“The seventh was sacred.”

And again:

“It was the seventh day; all things were finished.”

And again:

“On the seventh day we leave the stream of Acheron.”

<sup>4</sup> Callimachus the poet also writes:

“It was the seventh morn and they had all things done.”

καὶ πάλιν·

ἐβδόμη εἰν ἀγαθοῖσι καὶ ἐβδόμη ἐστὶ γενέθλη.

καὶ·

ἐβδόμη ἐν πρώτοισιν καὶ ἐβδόμη ἐστὶ τελείη.

καὶ·

ἐπτὰ δὲ πάντα τέτυκτο ἐν οὐρανῷ ἀστερόεντι  
ἐν κύκλοις φανέντα ἐπιτελλομένοις ἐνιαυτοῖς.

**108:1** ἀλλὰ καὶ αἱ Σόλωνος ἐλεγεῖαι σφόδρα τὴν ἐβδομάδα  
ἐκθειάζουσιν.

And again:

“Among good days is the seventh and the seventh race.”

And:

“The seventh is prime, and the seventh is perfect.”

And:

“Now all the seven were made in starry heaven,  
In circles shining as the years appear.”

**108:1** And the Elegies of Solon, too, intensely deify the seventh day.

*EUSEBIUS, PRAEPARATIO EVANGELICA 7.13.7–14.1*

**13:7** καὶ Ἀριστόβουλος δὲ ἄλλος Ἑβραίων σοφὸς ἀνὴρ, κατὰ  
τὴν τῶν Πτολεμαίων ἀκμάσας ἡγεμονίαν, κυροῖ τὸ δόγμα ὡς  
πάτριον, αὐτῷ Πτολεμαίῳ τὴν τῶν ἱερῶν νόμων  
προσφωνῶν ἐρμηνείαν, ἐν ἧ τάδε φησί· **14:1** Μεταφέροιτο δ’ ἂν  
τὸ αὐτὸ καὶ ἐπὶ τῆς σοφίας· τὸ γὰρ πᾶν φῶς ἐστὶν ἐξ αὐτῆς.  
διὸ καὶ τινες εἰρήκασιν τῶν ἐκ τῆς αἰρέσεως ὄντες τοῦ  
Περιπάτου λαμπτήρος αὐτὴν ἔχειν τάξιν. ἀκολουθοῦντες γὰρ  
αὐτῇ συνεχῶς, ἀτάραχοι καταστήσονται δι’ ὅλου τοῦ βίου.  
σαφέστερον δὲ καὶ κάλλιον τῶν ἡμετέρων προγόνων τις εἶπε  
Σολομῶν, πρὸ οὐρανοῦ καὶ γῆς αὐτὴν ὑπάρχειν· τὸ δὲ  
σύμφωνόν ἐστι τῷ προειρημένῳ.

**13:7** And Aristobulus, another wise man of the Hebrews, who  
flourished under the Ptolemies, says the doctrine as inherited  
from his fathers, addressing Ptolemy himself the Inter-  
pretation of the sacred laws, in which he speaks as follows:  
**14:1** “But the same metaphor can also be used of wisdom; for,  
all light comes from it.” Also, some who were of the Peripatetic  
School have said it holds the place of a torch; for, by following  
it continuously, men will be undisturbed for their whole life.  
But more clearly and beautifully, our father, Solomon, said that  
wisdom subsisted before heaven and earth. This accords with  
what was said before.