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ARISTOBULUS

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FRAGMENTS FROM
HELLENISTIC JEWISH AUTHORS

Volume III

Aristobulus

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Fragment Five (Eusebius
P.E. 13.12.9–16)

(12.9) Τούτοις ἐξῆς μεθ' 9

ἕτερα ἐπιλέγει· 667a

“Ἐχομένως δ' 5
ἐστὶν ὡς ὁ θεός, <ὅς>
τὸν ὅλον κόσμον κατε-
σκεύακε, καὶ δέδωκεν
ἀνάπανσιν ἡμῖν, διὰ τὸ
κακόπαθον εἶναι πᾶσι τὴν
βιοτήν, ἐβδόμην ἡμέραν,

10

15

Fragment 5a (Clement,
Stromateis 6.16.137.4–
138.4)

(4) τρίτος δέ ἐστι λόγος ὁ 4
μηνύων γεγονέναι πρὸς
τοῦ θεοῦ τὸν κόσμον καὶ
δεδωκέναι ἀνάπανσιν
ἡμῖν ἐβδόμην ἡμέραν διὰ
τὴν κατὰ τὸν βίον κακο-
πάθειαν· θεὸς γὰρ ἄκμη-
τός τε καὶ ἀπαθής καὶ
ἀπροσδεής, ἀναπαύλης
δὲ ἡμεῖς οἱ σαρκοφο-
ροῦντες δεόμεθα. (138.1) 138.1
ἡ ἐβδόμη τοίνυν ἡμέρα
ἀνάπανσις κηρύσσεται,
ἀποχῇ κακῶν ἐτοιμά-
ζουσα τὴν ἀρχέγονον
ἡμέραν τὴν τῷ ὄντι ἀνά-

Eusebius BION(D)

1–2 Τούτοις — ἐπιλέγει om. B | 3–4 δ' ἐστὶν: γὰρ ἐστὶν B | 4 θεὸς <ὅς>
Valckenaer, *Aristobulo*, 88 (=Gais. 4.419) | 5–6 κατεσκεύακε IN: κατεσκεύασεν
B: κατεσκευασε O | 6 δέδωκα B | 8–9 κακόπ. — βιοτήν: κακοπαθὲς τῆς βιοτῆς
B | 9 τὴν ἐβδόμην B: <τὴν> ἐβδόμην Walter | 9 ἡμέραν om. B |

Clement L

3 τρίτος: τέταρτος Sylburg, Mayor ap. Stählin: γ' L^{1mg} |

Fragment Five¹¹⁹

9 (12.9) Next after these
statements, with other
remarks intervening, he
adds:

“Following on this
is the fact that God, who
made and furnished the
whole universe, also gave
us as a day of rest—
because of the toilsome
life everyone has—the
seventh day,¹²¹

Fragment 5a¹²⁰

4 (137.4) And the third
word is that which
intimates that the world
was created by God, and
that He gave us the
seventh day as a day of
rest because of the toil
and stress there is in life.
For whereas God neither
gets weary, nor experi-
ences suffering and want,
we fleshly creatures need
138.1 rest. (138.1) The seventh
day, therefore, is
proclaimed a rest, as a
means of getting relief
from ills, preparing for
the Primal Day, our true

Fragment Five (cont.)
(*P.E.* 13.12)

ἡ δὲ καὶ πρώτη φυσικῶς 9
20 ἂν λέγοιτο φωτὸς γένε-
σις, ἐν ᾧ τὰ πάντα
συνθεωρεῖται.

25

30

35 (10) μεταφέροιτο δ' ἂν τὸ 10
αὐτὸ καὶ ἐπὶ τῆς σοφίας·
τὸ γὰρ πᾶν φῶς ἐστὶν ἐξ

Fragment 5a (cont.)
(*Strom.* 6.16.138)

παυσιν ἡμῶν, ἡ δὲ καὶ
πρώτη τῷ ὄντι φωτὸς
γένεσις, ἐν ᾧ τὰ πάντα
συνθεωρεῖται καὶ πάντα 2
κληρονομεῖται. (2) ἐκ
ταύτης τῆς ἡμέρας ἡ
πρώτη σοφία καὶ ἡ γνῶ-
σις ἡμῖν ἐλλάμπεται· τὸ
γὰρ φῶς τῆς ἀληθείας
φῶς ἀληθές, ἄσκιον,
ἀμερῶς μεριζόμενον
πνεῦμα κυρίου εἰς τοὺς
διὰ πίστεως ἡγιασμέ-
νους, λαμπτήρος ἐπέχον,
τάξιν εἰς τὴν τῶν ὄντων
ἐπίγνωσιν.

Eusebius BION(D)

19 ἡ δὲ κ.τ.λ. cf. Valckenaer, *Aristobulo*, 89–92 (=Gais. 4.420–22) | 35 *P.E.*
13.12.10–11a=*P.E.* 7.13.7–14=Frg. 5e; see p. 196.

Clement L

19 ἡ L^{ac}: ἡν L³: τὴν Valckenaer, *Aristobulo*, 89 (=Gais. 4.420) | 20–21 πρώτη—
γένεσις Stählin (ex *Aristobulo*): πρώτην — γένεσιν L | 26 ἡμῖν Stählin: ἡμᾶς L
| ἐλλάμπει Valckenaer, *Aristobulo*, 89 (=Gais. 4.420) |

Fragment Five (cont.)

9 but which, in a deeper
sense,¹²² might also be
called first, that is, the
beginning of light through
which all things are seen
together.¹²³

10 (10)¹²⁴ And the same thing
could be applied meta-
phorically to wisdom as
well, for all light issues

Fragment 5a (cont.)

rest; which, in truth, is
also the first, that is, the
beginning of light through
which all things are seen
together and through
which all things are
2 acquired. (2) From this
day the first wisdom and
knowledge illuminate us.
For the light of truth—a
true light, casting no
shadow, indivisibly
apportioned to all—is the
Spirit of the Lord for
those who are sanctified
through faith, occupying
the position of a lamp for
the purpose of obtaining
knowledge of things as
they really are.

Fragment Five (cont.)
(*P.E.* 13.12)

αὐτῆς. καὶ τινες εἰρή- 10
 κασι τῶν ἐκ τῆς αἰρέσεως 667b
 40 ὄντες <τῆς> ἐκ τοῦ
 Περιπάτου λαμπτήρος
 αὐτὴν ἔχειν τάξιν· ἀκο-
 λουθοῦντες γὰρ αὐτῇ
 συνεχῶς ἀτάραχοι κατα-
 45 στήσονται δι' ὅλου τοῦ
 βίου. (11) σαφέστερον δὲ 11
 καὶ κάλλιον τῶν ἡμετέ-
 ρων προγόνων τις εἶπε
 Σολομῶν αὐτὴν πρὸ
 50 οὐρανοῦ καὶ γῆς ὑπάρ-
 χειν· τὸ δὴ σύμφωνόν
 ἐστι τῷ προειρημένῳ.

Fragment 5a (cont.)
(*Strom.* 6.16.138)

(3) ἀκολουθοῦντες οὖν 3
 αὐτῷ δι' ὅλου τοῦ βίου
 ἀπαθεῖς καθιστάμεθα, τὸ
 δὲ ἐστὶν ἀναπαύσασθαι.
 (4) διὸ καὶ Σολομῶν πρὸ 4a
 οὐρανοῦ καὶ γῆς καὶ
 πάντων τῶν ὄντων τῷ
 παντοκράτορι γεγονέναι
 τὴν σοφίαν λέγει, (cont.
 below after *Frg.* 5b, p. 184)

Eusebius BION(D)

38 διὸ καὶ τινες Euseb. *P.E.* 7.14.1 BION. Cf. *Frg.* 5e, lin. 170-171 | 39-40
 ἐκ — ὄντες om. B | 40 <τῆς> Steph., Mras: om. BION et *P.E.* 7.14.1 BION
 (cf. *Frg.* 5e, lin. 172) | ἐκ om. *P.E.* 7.14.1 BION (cf. *Frg.* 5e, lin. 173) |
 42 αὐτὴν: αὐτὸν O | 43 αὐτῇ: αὐτὴν B | 46-74 σαφέστερον — αὐτοῖς: εἴρηκε
 γὰρ Σολομῶν. ἐν ἑξ ἡμέραις φησὶ πεποίκε B | 49-50 αὐτὴν—γῆς: πρὸ οὐρανοῦ
 καὶ γῆς αὐτὴν Euseb. *P.E.* 7.14.1 (cf. *Frg.* 5e, lin. 181-182 | 49 πρὸ: πρὸς I
 | 51 δὴ IN: δὲ, OG |

Fragment Five (cont.)

10 from it. And some mem-
 bers of the Peripatetic
 school have said that it
 occupies the position of a
 lamp;¹²⁵ for, by following
 it continually, they will
 remain undisturbed their
 entire life.¹²⁶ (11) But
 11 Solomon, one of our
 ancestors,¹²⁷ said more
 clearly and more elo-
 quently that it was there
 before heaven and
 earth.¹²⁸ And this is
 actually in harmony with
 what was said above.¹²⁹

Fragment 5a (cont.)

3 (3) By following Him,
 therefore, our entire life,
 we become impassible,
 and this is to rest.
 4a (4) Wherefore Solomon
 also says, that before
 heaven and earth, and all
 existences, Wisdom had
 arisen in the Almighty;
 (cont. below after *Frg.* 5b,
 p. 185)

Fragment Five (cont.)
(P.E. 13.12)

τὸ δὲ διασαφούμενον διὰ 11
55 τῆς νομοθεσίας ἀποπε-
παυκέναι τὸν θεὸν ἐν
αὐτῇ, τοῦτο οὐχ, ὥς τινες
ὑπολαμβάνουσι, μηκέτι
ποιεῖν τι τὸν θεὸν καθε-
60 στηκεν,

ἀλλ' ἐπὶ τῷ καταπε- 667c
παυκέναι τὴν τάξιν
65 αὐτῶν οὕτως εἰς πάντα
τὸν χρόνον τεταχέναι.

70

(12) σημαίνει γὰρ ὡς ἐν 12
ἕξ ἡμέραις ἐποίησε τὸν
τε οὐρανὸν καὶ τὴν γῆν

**Fragment 5b (Clement
Strom. 6.16.141.7b – 142.1)**

(7b) οὐ τοίνυν, ὥσπερ 7b
τινὲς ὑπολαμβάνουσι τὴν
ἀνάπαυσιν τοῦ θεοῦ,
πέπαυται ποιῶν ὁ θεός·
ἀγαθὸς γὰρ ὢν, εἰ παύ-
σεται ποτε ἀγαθοεργῶν,
καὶ τοῦ θεοῦ εἶναι παύ-
σεται, ὅπερ οὐδὲ εἰπεῖν
θέμις. (142.1) ἔστιν δ' 142.1

οὖν καταπεπαυκέναι τὸ
τὴν τάξιν τῶν γενομένων
εἰς πάντα χρόνον ἀπα-
ραβάτως φυλάσσεσθαι
τεταχέναι καὶ τῆς πα-
λαιᾶς ἀταξίας ἕκαστον
τῶν κτισμάτων καταπε-
παυκέναι·

Eusebius BION(D)

64 τὴν ἀταξίαν καὶ ante τὴν τάξιν cj. Stählin (Clem. GCS 2, p. 504, app. crit.,
nn. ad lin. 2-7) | 71 ὡς IO (etiam D): om. N |

Clement L

65 εἰς: <ὡς> εἰς Schwartz ap. Stählin |

Fragment Five (cont.)

11 Now, as for what is
shown plainly¹³¹ in our
code of laws, namely,
that God 'ceased'¹³²
working on the seventh
day,¹³³ this does not, as
some suppose, substan-
tiate the view that God no
longer does anything,

but rather means that once
he had 'ceased' the
arrangement of his
works,¹³⁴ that they were
thus arranged for all
time.¹³⁵

12 (12) For it¹³⁶ signifies that
'in six days he made both
the heaven, the earth, and

Fragment 5b¹³⁰

7b (7b) Thus God's resting
does not imply, as some
suppose, that God ceased
from activity; for, being
good, if He should ever
cease from doing good,
then would He cease
being God, which is
sacrilege even to say.

142.1 (142.1) His having
"ceased" is, therefore,
that he had arranged to
preserve intact for all
time the original arrange-
ment of the created order,
and that each of the
things created had
"ceased" being part of the
primordial chaos.

Fragment Five (cont.)
(P.E. 13.12)

καὶ πάντα τὰ ἐν αὐτοῖς, 12
75 ἵνα τοὺς χρόνους δηλώσῃ
καὶ τὴν τάξιν προείπῃ τί
τίνος προτερεῖ. τάξας
γάρ, οὕτως αὐτὰ συνέχει
καὶ μεταποιεῖ. διασεσά-
80 φηκε δ' ἡμῖν αὐτὴν ἔννο-
μον ἔνεκεν σημείου τοῦ
περὶ ἡμᾶς ἐβδόμου λόγου
καθεστῶτος, ἐν ᾧ γινώσιν
ἔχομεν ἀνθρωπίνων καὶ
85 θείων πραγμάτων.

Fragment 5a (cont.)
Strom. 6.16.138)

(cont. from p. 180)
ἧς ἡ μέθεξις (ἡ κατὰ 4b
δύναμιν, οὐ κατ' οὐσίαν
λέγω) θείων καὶ ἀνθρωπί-
νων καταληπτικῶς ἐπι-
στήμονα εἶναι διδάσκει.

Fragment 5c (Clement
Stromateis 6.16.142.4b
[+144.3])

(13) δι' ἐβδομάδων δὲ καὶ 13 (4b) Ἦδη δὲ καὶ ἐν ἐβδο- 4b
πᾶς ὁ κόσμος κυκλεῖται μάσι πᾶς ὁ κόσμος κυκλεῖ-
τῶν ζωογονουμένων καὶ 667d ται τῶν ζωογονουμένων καὶ
90 τῶν φανομένων ἀπάντων· τῶν φανομένων ἀπάντων.

Eusebius BION(D)

79 ante μεταποιεῖ verbum οὐ add. Steph. et Valckenaer, *Aristobulo*, 95 (=Gais. 4.425); vitiose, cf. Philo, *Leg. All.* 1.5-7 et Mras, *RheinMus.*, n.s. 92 (1944) 221-22 (cf. Mras, GCS 43.2, p. 196, app. crit.) | 79-85 διασεσ. — πραγμάτων om. B | 81 ἔνεκε O | 82 λόγου IN: om. O (cf. Valckenaer, *Aristobulo*, 98-101 [=Gais. 4.427-31]) | 90 (et 102-103) ἀπάντων om. B |

Fragment Five (cont.)

12 and everything in
them,¹³⁷ that he might
show the times and
proclaim the order by
which one thing precedes
another.¹³⁸ For, once he
arranged all things, he
thus holds them together
and presides over their
movements.¹³⁹ Our law
code¹⁴⁰ has clearly shown
us that the seventh day is
an inherent law of
nature¹⁴¹ that serves as a
symbol of the sevenfold
principle established all
around us¹⁴² through
which we have knowledge
of things both human and
divine.¹⁴⁴

13 (13) And indeed all the
world comprising all
animal and plant life as
well revolves through
periods of seven;¹⁴⁷

Fragment 5a (cont.)

(cont. from p. 181)
4b and participation in this
Wisdom—supernatural
wisdom, I mean, not nat-
ural wisdom—¹⁴³teaches
us to know by apprehen-
sion things divine and
human.¹⁴⁵

Fragment 5c¹⁴⁶

4b (4b) Now indeed all the
world comprising all
animal and plant life as
well revolves through
periods of seven.

Fragment Five (cont.)
(P.E. 13.12)

95

Fragment 5c (cont.)
(Strom. 6.16.144.3)

. . . . (144.3) τάς τε τῶν 3
ἡλικιῶν μεταβολὰς κατὰ
ἐβδομάδα γίνεσθαι Σόλω-
νος αἱ ἐλεγείαι δηλοῦσιν
ὧδέ πως·

**Fragment 5d (Clement
Stromateis 5.14.107.1-4
[+108.1]= P.E. 13.13.34 -
35a)**

(1) Ἀλλὰ καὶ τὴν 1
ἐβδόμην ἱερὰν οὐ μόνον οἱ
Ἑβραῖοι, ἀλλὰ καὶ οἱ

(13) [δι' ἐβδομάδων δὲ 13 Ἕλληνες ἴσασι, καθ' ἣν ὁ
100 καὶ πᾶς ὁ κόσμος κυκλεῖ- πᾶς κόσμος κυκλεῖται
ται τῶν ζωογονουμένων 667d τῶν ζωογονουμένων καὶ
καὶ τῶν φυομένων ἀπάν- φυομένων ἀπάντων.
των·] τῷ δὲ σάββατον
αὐτὴν προσαγορεύεσθαι
105 διερμηνεύεται ἀνάπανσις

Eusebius BION(D)

103 τῷ Vig., Valckenaer, *Aristobulo*, 106 (=Gais. 4.434-35): τὸ BION | δὲ: δὴ
Valckenaer, *Aristobulo*, 106 (=Gais. 4.435) | 105 <δ> διερμ. Valckenaer,
Aristobulo, 106 (=Gais. 4.435) |

Clement L

96-155 || Clem. ap. Euseb. P.E. 13.13.34-35a |

Fragment Five (cont.)

13 (13) [And indeed all the
world comprising all
animal and plant life as
well revolves through
periods of seven;] but that
the seventh day is called
the Sabbath means that it is

Fragment 5c (cont.)

3 (144.3) And that the
changes in the periods of
life take place by sevens,
the *Elegies* of Solon so
teach. . . .¹⁴⁸

Fragment 5d¹⁴⁹

1 (1) But not only the
Hebrews but also the
Greeks recognize the
seventh day as sacred, as
the day around which the
whole world of all animal
and plant life revolve.

Fragment Five (cont.)
(*P.E.* 13.12)

οὔσα. διασαφεῖ δὲ καὶ 13
 Ὅμηρος καὶ Ἡσίοδος,
 μετεληφότες ἐκ τῶν
 ἡμετέρων βιβλίων ἱερὰν
 110 εἶναι. Ἡσίοδος μὲν
 οὕτως·
 πρῶτον ἔνη τετράς τε καὶ
 ἐβδόμη ἱερὸν ἡμαρ·
 καὶ πάλιν λέγει·
 115 ἐβδομάτη δ' αὖτις λαμ-
 πρὸν φάος ἡελίοιο.
 (14) Ὅμηρος δὲ οὕτω 14
 λέγει·
 ἐβδομάτη δῆπεια κατή-
 120 λυθεν, ἱερὸν ἡμαρ·

Fragment 5d (cont.)
(*Strom.* 5.14.107)

(2) Ἡσίοδος μὲν <οὖν> 2
 οὕτως περὶ αὐτῆς λέγει·
 πρῶτον ἔνη τετράς τε καὶ
 ἐβδόμη ἱερὸν ἡμαρ.
 καὶ πάλιν·
 ἐβδομάτη δ' αὖθις λαμ-
 πρὸν φάος ἡελίοιο.
 (3) Ὅμηρος δέ· 3
 ἐβδομάτη δῆπεια κατή-
 λυθεν ἱερὸν ἡμαρ.

Eusebius BION(D)

106 δὲ καὶ: δ' B | 108-109 μετειλ. — βιβλ. om. B | 110 εἶναι ταύτην B |
 112 ἔνη N: ἔνη I: ἐν BO | 114 λέγει om. B | 115 ἐβδομάτη Stählin |
 116 ἡελίοιο: ἡέλοιο B | 117-118 Ὅμηρος — λέγει: καὶ Ὅμηρος B |

Clement L

110 <οὖν> Stählin ex Clem. ap. Euseb. *P.E.* 13.13.34 BION (GCS 43.2, p. 210, lin. 9). Cf. Dindorf, Clem. *Strom.* 3.86. | 111 οὕτω ex Clem. ap. Euseb. *P.E.* 13.13.34 BION (GCS 43.2, p. 210, lin. 9). Cf. Dindorf, Clem. *Strom.* 3.86. | 112 ἔνη Stählin (cf. Euseb. *P.E.* 13.13.34): μὲν οὖν L | 113 ἐβδόμη Stählin (cf. Euseb. *P.E.* 13.13.34): ἔβδομον L |

Fragment Five (cont.)

13 a day of rest.¹⁵⁰ Homer
 and Hesiod, who took
 their information from
 our books,¹⁵¹ plainly
 show that the seventh
 day is holy.¹⁵² Hesiod has
 this to say:
 Of old, the first, the
 fourth, and the seventh,
 each a holy day;¹⁵³
 And again he says,
 The seventh day, more-
 over, is the bright light
 of the sun.¹⁵⁴
 14 (14) Homer puts it this
 way,
 Then came the seventh
 day, a holy day.¹⁵⁵

Fragment 5d (cont.)

2 (2) Hesiod thus says of it:
 Of old, the first, the
 fourth, and the seventh,
 each a holy day;
 And again:
 And on the seventh day,
 moreover, is the bright
 light of the sun.
 3 (3) And Homer:
 And on the seventh day,
 then came the holy day.

Fragment Five (cont.)
(*P.E.* 13.12)

Fragment 5d (cont.)
(*Strom.* 5.14.107)

καί·

3

ἐβδόμη ἦν ἱερή.

| καὶ πάλιν·

668a καὶ πάλιν·

ἑβδομον ἡμαρ ἔην καὶ τῷ

ἑβδομον ἡμαρ ἔην, καὶ τῷ

125 τετέλεστο ἅπαντα

τετέλεστο ἅπαντα.

καί·

καὶ αὖθις·

ἑβδομάτῃ δ' ἡοὶ λίπομεν

ἑβδομάτῃ δ' ἡοὶ λίπομεν

ῥόον ἐξ' Ἀχέροντος.

ῥόον ἐξ' Ἀχέροντος.

(15) τοῦτο δὲ σημαίνων, 15

130 ὥς ἀπὸ τῆς κατὰ ψυχὴν

λήθης καὶ κακίας ἐν τῷ

κατὰ ἀλήθειαν ἐβδόμῳ

λόγῳ καταλιμπάνεται τὰ

προειρημένα καὶ γινώσιν

135 ἀληθείας λαμβάνομεν,

καθὼς προεῖρηται.

Eusebius BION(D)

123-136 καὶ — προεῖρηται om. B | 124 ἑβδομον: τέτρατον Hom. *Od.* 5.262 | 127 δ' ἡοὶ Clem.: δὴ (δῆ) οἱ ION (cf. Clem. ap. Euseb. *P.E.* 13.13.34 [Mras, GCS 43.2, p. 210, lin. 20] δῆ οἱ O: δόνα I: om. BND) | 130 κατὰ τὴν O | 132 κατ' O | 133 λόγῳ: λόγῳ <ἀνάγεται ἡ ψυχὴ καὶ> Binde, *Aristobulische Studien*, 2.17 | 134 προειρημένα: προηρημένα Vig.^{mg}, Binde, *Aristobulische Studien*, 2.17 |

Clement L

124 ἔην, Stählin | 127 λίπομεν Stählin ex Clem. ap. Euseb. *P.E.* 13.13.34 (GCS 43.2, p. 210, lin. 20): λείπομεν L |

Fragment Five (cont.)

Fragment 5d (cont.)

3 and:

The seventh day was
holy.¹⁵⁶

and again:

It was the seventh day,
and on it everything was
completed.¹⁵⁷

and again:

And on the seventh
morning, we left the
stream of Acheron.

and again,

It was the seventh day,
and on it everything was
completed.¹⁵⁷

and,

And on the seventh
morning, we left the
stream of Acheron.¹⁵⁸

15 (15) And by this he¹⁵⁹ signifies that from the state in which the soul experiences forgetfulness and wickedness, through the principle of seven by which truth comes, the aforementioned faults are left behind and we receive knowledge of the truth, just as was said before.¹⁶⁰

Fragment Five (cont.)
(P.E. 13.12)

(16) Λίνος δέ φησιν 16
οὕτως·
ἐβδομάτῃ δ' ἡοῖ τετελεσ-
140 μένα πάντα τέτυκται·
καὶ πάλιν·
ἐβδόμη εἰν ἀγαθοῖς καὶ
ἐβδόμη ἐστὶ γενέθλη
καὶ·
145 ἐβδόμη ἐν πρώτοις καὶ
ἐβδόμη ἐστὶ τελείη
<καὶ>
ἐπτα δὲ πάντα τέτυκται
ἐν οὐρανῷ ἀστερόεντι,

Fragment 5d (cont.)
(Strom. 5.14.107)

(4) ναὶ μὴν καὶ Καλλίμα- 4
χος ὁ ποιητῆς γράφει·
ἐβδομάτῃ δ' ἡοῖ καὶ οἱ
668b τετύκοντο ἅπαντα.
καὶ πάλιν·
ἐβδόμη εἰν ἀγαθοῖς <ι>
καὶ ἐβδόμη ἐστὶ γενέθλη.
καὶ·
ἐβδόμη ἐν πρώτοις {ν} καὶ
ἐβδόμη ἐστὶ τελείη.
καὶ·
ἐπτα δὲ πάντα τέτυκτο
ἐν οὐρανῷ ἀστερόεντι

Eusebius BION(D)

137 Λίνος: Καλλίμαχος Clem. ap. Euseb. P.E. 13.13.34 (Mras, GCS 43.2, p. 210, lin. 21) | 139 δ' ἡοῖ Clem.: δὴ (δὴ) οἱ ION: οἱ B (cf. Clem. ap. Euseb. P.E. 13.13.34 [Mras, GCS 43.2, p. 210, lin. 22] δ' ἡν IO: om. BN) | 139-140 τετελ. — τέτυκται: καὶ οἱ ἐτέτυκτο ἅπαντα Clem. ap. Euseb. P.E. 13.13.34 (Mras, GCS 43.2, p. 210, lin. 22) | 140 τέτυκτο Valckenaer, Aristobulo, 118 (=Gais. 4.445) | 142 καὶ om. B | 144-146 καὶ — τελείη om. B | 147 καὶ Clem. ap. Euseb. P.E. 13.13.34 (Mras, GCS 43.2, p. 211, lin 5): hic om. MSS: <καὶ> Walter |

Clement L

139 ἐβδομάτῃ δ <ἡ ἔ>ην, καὶ οἱ Walter, Thoraausleger, 164 n. 2. | 145 πρώτοις {ν} Stählin (ex Aristobulo [P.E. 13.12.16] et Clem. ap. Euseb. P.E. 13.13.34 [GCS 43.2, p. 211, lin. 4]) | 146 τελείη L: τελεία Clem. ap. Euseb. P.E. 13.13.34 (GCS 43.2, p. 211, lin. 4). Cf. Dindorf, Clem. Strom. 3.88. | 149 ἀστερόεντι Stählin |

Fragment Five (cont.)

16 (16) Now Linus¹⁶¹ has this
to say,

And on the seventh
morning all things were
made complete.¹⁶³

and again:

The seventh day is
auspicious, indeed the
seventh is the day of
birth;¹⁶⁵

and:

Seventh is among the
prime numbers, and
seventh is perfect;¹⁶⁶

< and: >

Now all seven heavenly
bodies were made in the
starry heaven,

Fragment 5d (cont.)

4 (4) Yes, and what's more,
Callimachus¹⁶² the poet
also writes:

And on the seventh
morning they had done
all things.¹⁶⁴

and again:

The seventh day is
auspicious, indeed the
seventh is the day of
birth.

and:

Seventh is among the
prime numbers, and
seventh is perfect.

and:

Now all seven heavenly
bodies were made in
the starry heaven,

Fragment Five (cont.)
(*P.E.* 13.12)

150 ἐν κύκλοις φανέντ' ἐπι-
τελλομένοις ἐνιαυτοῖς."

Τὰ μὲν οὖν Ἀριστοβού-
λου τοιαῦτα. ὅποια δὲ
καὶ Κλήμεντι περὶ τῆς
155 αὐτῆς εἴρηται ὑποθέ-
σεως, γνοίης ἂν διὰ
τούτων·

Fragment 5d (cont.)
(*Strom.* 5.14.107.4 – 108.1)

16 ἐν κύκλοις φανέντα ἐπι-
τελλομένοις ἐνιαυτοῖς.

668c (108.1) ἀλλὰ καὶ αἱ 108.1
Σόλωνος ἐλεγείαι σφό-
δρα τὴν ἐβδομάδα ἐκθει-
άζουσιν.

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150–51 ἐπιτελουμένοις B | 152–153 Τὰ — τοιαῦτα om. B | 152 οὖν om. ND
| περὶ Ἀριστ. I | 154 Κλήμης B | 155 εἴρηκεν B | 156–157 γν. —
τούτων: ἴδωμεν B |

Clement L

150–51 ἐπὶ τελλομένοις Schneider ap. Stählin | ἐπιτελλομένοις ἐνιαυτοῖς:
περιπλομένων ἐνιαυτῶν Bentley ap. Stählin. Cf. Dindorf, Clem. *Strom.* 3.88. |

Fragment Five (cont.)

16 Shining in their annually
designated orbits."¹⁶⁷

So much then for these 108.1
statements of Aristobulus.
And what sort of things
were stated by Clement
on this same subject you
might well know through
these quotations.

Fragment 5d (cont.)

Shining in their annually
designated orbits.

108.1 (108.1) But the *Elegies* of
Solon, too, attribute great
divinity to the seventh
day.¹⁶⁸

Fragment Five (Eusebius
P.E. 13.12.10-11a)

160

165

(10) μεταφέροιτο δ' 10
 ἂν τὸ αὐτὸ καὶ ἐπὶ τῆς
 σοφίας· τὸ γὰρ πᾶν φῶς
 170 ἔστιν ἐξ αὐτῆς. καί
 τινες εἰρήκασιν τῶν ἐκ τῆς
 αἰρέσεως ὄντες <τῆς>
 ἐκ τοῦ Περιπάτου λαμπτή-
 ρος αὐτὴν ἔχειν τάξιν·
 175 ἀκολουθοῦντες γὰρ αὐτῇ
 συνεχῶς ἀτάραχοι
 καταστήσονται δι' ὅλου
 τοῦ βίου. (11) σαφέστερον 11
 δὲ καὶ κάλλιον τῶν
 180 ἡμετέρων προγόνων τις
 εἶπε Σολομῶν αὐτὴν πρὸ
 οὐρανοῦ καὶ γῆς
 ὑπάρχειν· τὸ δὲ
 σύμφωνόν ἐστι τῷ
 185 προειρημένῳ.

Fragment 5e (Eusebius
P.E. 7.13.7-14.1)

(13.7) καὶ Ἀριστόβουλος 7
 δὲ ἄλλος Ἑβραίων
 σοφὸς ἀνὴρ, κατὰ τὴν
 τῶν Πτολεμαίων ἀκμά-
 σης ἡγεμονίαν, κυροῖ τὸ
 δόγμα ὡς πάτριον, αὐτῷ
 Πτολεμαίῳ τὴν τῶν ἱερῶν
 νόμων προσφωνῶν ἐρμη-
 νείαν, ἐν ᾗ τάδε φησί·

| (14.1) “Μεταφέροιτο 1
 δ' ἂν τὸ αὐτὸ καὶ ἐπὶ τῆς 324a
 σοφίας· τὸ γὰρ πᾶν φῶς
 ἔστιν ἐξ αὐτῆς. διὸ καί
 τινες εἰρήκασιν τῶν ἐκ τῆς
 αἰρέσεως ὄντες τοῦ
 Περιπάτου λαμπτήρος
 αὐτὴν ἔχειν τάξιν.
 ἀκολουθοῦντες γὰρ αὐτῇ
 συνεχῶς, ἀτάραχοι
 καταστήσονται δι' ὅλου
 τοῦ βίου. σαφέστερον 324b
 δὲ καὶ κάλλιον τῶν
 ἡμετέρων προγόνων τις
 εἶπε Σολομῶν, πρὸ
 οὐρανοῦ καὶ γῆς αὐτὴν
 ὑπάρχειν· τὸ δὲ
 σύμφωνόν ἐστι τῷ
 προειρημένῳ.”

Fragment Five

10

(10) And the same thing
 could be applied meta-
 phorically to wisdom as
 well, for all light issues
 from it. And some members
 of the Peripatetic school¹⁷⁰
 have said that it occupies
 the position of a lamp; for,
 by following it continually,
 they will remain imperturb-
 able their entire life. (11)
 11 But Solomon, one of our
 ancestors, said more clearly
 and more eloquently that it
 was there before heaven and
 earth. And this is actually in
 harmony with what was said
 above.

Fragment 5e¹⁶⁹

7

(13.7) And Aristobulus,
 another wise man of the
 Hebrews, who flourished
 during the reign of the
 Ptolemies, confirms the
 doctrine as ancestral, speak-
 ing to Ptolemy himself con-
 cerning the translation of
 our holy laws; he speaks as
 follows:

1

(14.1) “And the same thing
 could be applied meta-
 phorically to wisdom as
 well, for all light issues
 from it. And some members
 of the Peripatetic school
 have said that it occupies
 the position of a lamp; for,
 by following it continually,
 they will remain imperturb-
 able their entire life. But
 Solomon, one of our
 ancestors, said more clearly
 and more eloquently that it
 was there before heaven and
 earth. And this is actually in
 harmony with what was said
 above.”

On the suggestion that Frg. 5 is a form of commentary on Gen 2:2-3, see Walter, *Thoraausleger*, 30-31.

120. Along with Frgs. 5b and 5c, this fragment is found in *Strom* 6.16.137-144. In none of them does Clement mention Aristobulus as his source, although this is likely. See Valckenaer, 69-73 (=Gaisford 4.402-6); Walter, *Thoraausleger*, 106 n. 4; idem, *JSHRZ* (3,2), 276 n. 9a; though, cf. Joël, *Blicke*, 1.97-99.

Frg. 5a occurs in Clement's discussion of the Decalogue. It is obviously a treatment of the fourth commandment, but it is the "third word" that is discussed. It is preceded by a discussion which appears to combine the second and third commandments. It is followed by a discussion of the fifth commandment, "Honor thy father and mother."

The translation is based on that of Wilson in ANF 2.512.

121. Gen 2:2-3; Exod 20:8-11; 23:12; 31:12-17; Deut 5:12-15. Also, cf. *Jub.* 2:17-20; Philo *Spec. leg.* 2.15-18 §§56-85. Walter, *Thoraausleger*, 65-66.

122. I.e., "according to the true nature of reality"; perhaps, "philosophically," or even "allegorically." Cf. Frg. 2.2 (*P.E.* 8.10.2) and n. 31 above. It should be noted that Clement substitutes τῷ ὄντι for φυσικῶς.

123. With these remarks, Aristobulus links the creation of light (Gen 1:3-5) with the biblical tradition (see n. 121 above) in which the seventh day is established as a day of rest. His remarks appear to presuppose some numerological tradition in which "seven" and "one" are identified (cf. Philo *Post. C.* 18 §64; *Decal.* 21 §102; *Deus immut.* 3 §11; *Leg. alleg.* 1.5 §15 [noting the Pythagorean background]), but here he gives further warrant for this claim: "the 'seventh' is 'first' in the sense that it is a 'beginning.'" (In Philo *Leg. alleg.* 1.7 §§17-18, there occurs a moralizing interpretation of Gen 2:3 in which the seventh day is associated with the beginning of "that most brilliant and truly divine light of virtue.")

φωτὸς γένεσις. The seventh day understood as the "beginning of light through which all things are seen together," i.e. "fully comprehended," perhaps reflects the Pythagorean identification of "seven" with νοῦς and φῶς. Cf. Philolaus 44[32] A 12 D.-K. νοῦν δὲ καὶ ὑγείαν καὶ τὸ ὑπ' αὐτοῦ λεγόμενον φῶς ἐν ἑβδομάδι (on which, see Frank, *Plato*, 324-25). Thus "seven" is the point at which true understanding (of the universe) and the full light (of knowledge) is possible. Similarly, cf. Philo *Opif.* 7-8 §§29-31, for light as the "seventh in order" (of creation) enabling knowledge of the divine Logos.

But there is an additional link between "light" and "knowledge" or "wisdom": even though light was created on the first day, true light, i.e., full knowledge (wisdom), was not possible until the seventh day when it became possible for God to view creation comprehensively. It should be noted, however, that God's seeing is not among the list of anthropomorphisms in Frg. 2 (*P.E.* 8.10.1-17). Walter, *Thoraausleger*, 66 n. 4.

For similar association of light with wisdom and knowledge, cf. Philo *Migr.* 8 §§39-42; *Spec. leg.* 1.52 §288; in Philo *Decal.* 20 §97, God contemplates the whole creation on the seventh day, thus making it a suitable day for the study of wisdom; similarly, in *Spec. leg.* 2.15 §59, seven is the "light of six" (φῶς ἐξ ἁδοῦς), "revealing as completed what six has produced."

On wisdom associated with Primal Light, cf. Wis 7:22-26, esp. v. 26, and Philo *Opif.* 8 §31; see Borgen, "Philo," *Jewish Writings*, 276. Also, cf. LXX Sir 48:1; also, see Klauck, *Allegorie*, 232 n. 227, who notes 2 Pet 1:19.

Although the language of the seventh day as "the birthday of the world" (ἡ γενέθλιος τοῦ κόσμου) is not explicit here, it is possibly implicit in the phrase φωτὸς γένεσις and probably is in view in the quotation attributed to Linus that occurs in Frg. 5.16, lines 142-43 (*P.E.* 13.12.16); see n. 165 below. The tradition frequently occurs in Philo (e.g., *Spec. leg.* 1.35 §170; 2.15 §59; 2.16 §70; *Opif.* 30 §89; *V. Mos.* 1.37 §207; 2.39 §210). See Heinemann, *Bildung*, 112; Walter, *Thoraausleger*, 66.

It may be that the identification of the seventh day with the first day in Aristobulus presupposes the tradition underlying the second verse attributed to Linus, viz., that the seventh day (of the month) is the birthday of Apollo (see n. 165 below). Given the association of Apollo with the sun, it is conceivable that the "seventh," i.e., the "first," could be said to be the "beginning of light."

For "seven" possibly (depending on whether θεός or ἑβδομάς is the subject of the sentence) understood as "the leader and ruler of all things" and identified as "one," cf. Philolaus 44[32] B 20 D.-K. (ἡ ἑβδομάς . . .) ἔστι γὰρ ἡγεμῶν καὶ ἄρχων ἀπάντων, θεός, εἷς, ἀεὶ ὢν, μόνιμος, ἀκίνητος, αὐτὸς ἑαυτῷ ὅμοιος, ἕτερος τῶν ἄλλων. The passage is attributed to the 5th century Pythagorean Philolaus by Philo (*Opif.* 33 §100), but its genuineness is contested (D.-K., "zweifelhaft"). Even so, its association with Pythagorean circles is clear. On its genuineness, see Diels-Kranz, *Vorsokr.* 1.416 n. 23; Frank, *Plato*, 324-35, who defends its genuineness; Burkert, *Lore and Science*, 249 n. 51; Thesleff, *Introduction*, 104 n. 1; idem, *Texts*, Onatas, No. 2 (p. 140, 21-22); idem, *Texts*, 151 n. 8. On whether θεός or ἑβδομάς is the subject, see Diels-Kranz, *Vorsokr.*, 1.416 n. 23 (ἑβδομάς); Thesleff, *Introduction* 104 n. 1 (θεός). See Roscher, 1906, 38-39; Walter, *Thoraausleger*, 161 n. 7.

These numerous points of contact between Philo and Aristobulus are cited by Wendland ap. Elter, *Gnomologiorum*, 232, as evidence of Aristobulus' dependence on Philo, but Walter, *Thoraausleger*, 65–66, convincingly shows that Philo's exposition is consistently more fully elaborated, and therefore later.

On the Pythagorean background, esp. of the Linus quotation, see Walter, *Thoraausleger*, 66 n. 2, 160–62; also, see n. 161 below. On number symbolism in Pythagorean thought, especially “seven,” see Roscher, 1906, 24–43; also, generally, Burkert, *Lore and Science*, 465–82.

Cf. Barn. 15.1–9, and see Windisch, *Der Barnabasbrief*, 381–85; also W. Rordorf, *Der Sonntag. Geschichte des Ruhe-und Gottesdiensttages im ältesten Christentum* (ATANT, 43; Zürich: Zwingli-Verlag, 1962); Martin, “Barnaba,” *Storico-Religiosi* (1982) 176 n. 17.

124. §§10–11a are also quoted in *P.E.* 7.14.1. Cf. Frg. 5e at the end of this section, pp. 196–97.

125. On the Peripatetic origin of the image of wisdom as a lamp, or the source of light, perhaps Aristobulus has in mind passages on the illuminating nature of knowledge, or the proverb “What the eye is to the body, the mind is to the soul.” Cf. Aristotle *Top.* 1.17.108a11 ὡς ὅψις ἐν ὀφθαλμῷ, νοῦς ἐν ψυχῇ; *EN* 1.6.12.1096b28 ὡς γὰρ ἐν σώματι ὅψις, ἐν ψυχῇ νοῦς; *Rhet.* 3.10.7.1411b (in a discussion of metaphors) καὶ ὅτι τὸν νοῦν ὁ θεὸς φῶς ἀνῆψεν ἐν τῇ ψυχῇ· ἄμφω γὰρ δηλοῖ τι. The saying is also referred to in Philo *Deus immut.* 10 §§45–46; *Sobr.* 1 §§4–5; *Opif.* 17 §53; also, cf. Stob. *Flor.* §13 (ed. Meineke). In Aristotle *De anima* 3.5.430a17 νοῦς is compared with φῶς. Possibly in view is Aristotle's discussion of σοφία in *EN* 6.7.1–7.1141a9–1141b24; also, 6.6.1–2.1140b30–1141a9.

Similar sentiments are reflected in Pythagorean sources, specifically passages (probably from the 3d century BCE) attributed to the 4th century Pythagorean Archytas. Cf. Ps.-Archytas, *περὶ σοφίας*, No. 1 (Thesleff, *Texts*, 43, 24–44, 3 = Iamblichus *Protr.* [ed. Pistelli (Teubner)]): τοσοῦτον διαφέρει σοφία ἐν πάντεσσι τοῖς ἀνθρωπίνοις πραγμάτεσσιν, ὅσον ὅψις μὲν αἰσθασίων σώματος, νόος δὲ ψυχᾶς, ἥλιος δὲ ἄστρων. . . . Also, No. 4 (Thesleff, *Texts*, 44, 25–26 = Iamblichus *Protr.* [ed. Pistelli (Teubner)]): οὕτω γὰρ ἔχει σοφία περὶ πάντα τὰ ἐόντα ὡς ὅψις περὶ πάντα τὰ ὁρατά. Also, cf. No. 10 (Thesleff, *Texts*, 13, 26–29 = Stob. *Flor.* §81 [ed. Meineke]); also, the speech attributed to Archytas in Cicero *Sen.* 12.41, in which it is said that too much pleasure renders rational thought impossible and “turns the light of the soul into utter darkness” (omne animi lumen exstingueret).

Cf. Wis 7:26.

See Valckenaer 68 n. 12 (=Gaisford 4.401–402 n. m); Wendland ap. Elter, *Gnomologiorum*, 232–33; Walter, *Thoraausleger*, 32 n. 2, 66–67; also Borgen, “Philo,” *Jewish Writings*, 276 n. 265, noting Hengel, *Judaism and Hellenism*, 1.166–69; S. Aalen, *Die Begriffe ‘Licht’ und ‘Finsternis’ im Alten Testament, im Spätjudentum und im Rabbinismus* (Oslo: Dybwad, 1951) 175–77; Billerbeck, *Kommentar*, 4.960–62.

On Aristobulus as a Peripatetic, see n. 24 above.

126. Ἀταραξία figures prominently in Sceptic, Epicurean, and Stoic ethics. Cf. Epicurus *Ep.* 3.128 (ed. Usener [Teubner]) τὴν <τῆς ψυχῆς> ἀταραξίαν, ἐπεὶ τοῦτο τοῦ μακαρίως ζῆν ἐστι τέλος; also *Ep.* 1.53, 80; also, cf. 1.82; 2.85, 96; Diog. Laert. 10.144 (K.D. 17). For Pyrrhon, cf. Diog. Laert. 9.107; Sext. Emp. *Pyr.* 1.29. It is not ordinarily associated with Peripatetic ethics; though, cf. Aristotle *EN* 3.8.15.1117a19, 9.1.1117a31; 4.5.3.1125b34; also *EN* 2.3.5.1104b24. Also, see Keller, *De Aristobulo*, 56, who notes Epicurus *Ep.* 1.53 (ed. Usener); Diod. Sic. 25.1; Epictetus *Diss.* 4.8.31; 2 Macc 11:23.

See Zeller, *Stoics, Epicureans, Sceptics*, 448, 496; C. Bailey, *The Greek Atomists and Epicurus* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1928) 482–528; A. J. Festugière, *Epicurus and His Gods* (trans. C. W. Chilton; Oxford: Blackwells, 1955), ix, xi, 32–33, 39, 83, esp. 84–87 on the differences in the Sceptic, Epicurean, and Stoic views of ἀταραξία. Also, see P. Wilpert, “Ataraxie,” *RAC* 1 (1950) 844–54, esp. 844–47; Walter, *Thoraausleger*, 11 n.2; idem, *JSHRZ* (3,2), 276 n. 10b.

127. This is one of several indications that Aristobulus is Jewish. See notes to introduction, n. 148; also, Walter, *Thoraausleger*, 13; Schürer, *Geschichte* 3.521.

128. Presumably a reference to Prov 8:22–31, though perhaps Wis 6:22; 9:9. Similarly, Sir 1:1–10; 24:1–7; Philo *Ebr.* 8 §31. See Heinze, *Lehre*, 190–91, against Dähne, *Geschichtliche*, 107, who sees wisdom here as a hypostatized, separate divine power; Walter, *Thoraausleger*, 32 n. 2, 66–67; Schubert, *Judentums*, 16–17; Herzfeld, *Geschichte*, 3.480.

Similarities with Wisdom of Solomon prompt Lutterbeck, *Lehrbegriffe*, 407–8, to propose Aristobulus as its author. While this is doubtful, there are nevertheless some noticeable similarities: wisdom before creation (Wis 6:22; 9:9; cf. 10:1; Frg. 5.11); beginning, middle, and end formula (Wis 7:18; Frg. 4.5, line 65; cf. *FHJA* 4, commentary on Recension B, v. 40; also cf. Wis 14:27); wisdom as source of light (Wis 7:26; Frg. 5.10); astronomical interests (Wis 7:17–22; Frg. 4.5, esp. lines 53–56 [Orphic poem]); pervasive divine power (Wis 7:24; Frg. 4.7); virtues (Wis 8:7;

Frg. 4.8); interpretive (allegorical ?) skill (Wis 8:8; Frg. 2.2–6); creation by God's word(s) (Wis 9:1; cf. 18:15; Frg. 4.3); definition of knowledge (Wis 9:11; Frg. 5.12); Moses as prophet (Wis 11:1; Frg. 2.4); hands as God's power (Wis 11:17; cf. 11:21; 16:16 Frg. 2.8); importance of "number" in God's creation (Wis 11:20; Frg. 5, esp. 5.12); God as source of evil (Wis 12:10; Frg. 4.5, line 41 [Orphic poem; cf. *FHJA* 4, commentary on Recension A, vv. 14 & 16]); God's holding all things together (Wis 1:7; Frg. 4.4). If knowledge of what is "secret and manifest" in Wis 7:21 refers to interpretive skill, i.e., ability to see literal and figurative meaning of a text, this should be compared with Frg. 2.2–5.

129. I.e., the claim that Wisdom is the source of light, which implies its priority to what was created on the first day (§§9b–10a).

130. This fragment is part of Clement's discussion of the fourth commandment. See n. 120 above on the context of Frg. 5a. The translation is based on that of Wilson in ANF 2.513.

131. On τὸ διασαφούμενον as a technical term in allegorical interpretation, see Walter, *Thoraausleger*, 136; also cf. Frg. 2.5 (*P.E.* 8.10.5) and see n. 38 above.

132. In the following translation, "cease" is given in quotation marks because it appears to function as a midrashic lemma that ties the exegetical remarks together.

133. Cf. Gen 2:2. The antecedent of ἐν αὐτῇ is supplied here by the earlier reference to ἐβδόμην ἡμέραν in Frg. 5.9, line 9 (*P.E.* 13.12.9; also line 19). Admittedly, after the intervening material on wisdom, it is a slightly awkward way of resuming the discussion of the "seventh day." The awkwardness is also reflected in the absence of a clear antecedent for αὐτῶν in line 65 (see below n. 134). Conceivably, a sentence roughly resembling *Strom.* 6.16.142.1b has dropped out. So, Walter, *Thoraausleger*, 67–68; JSHRZ (3,2), 276 n. 11c.

134. Literally, "their arrangement" (τὴν τάξιν αὐτῶν), with αὐτῶν having no clear antecedent (see n. 133 above). Instead of αὐτῶν, Clement reads τῶν γενομένων. Mras, GCS (43,2) 196 n. on line 3, proposes "heaven and earth." Cf. Walter, *Thoraausleger*, 67 n. 3, 67–68. Conceivably some intervening material has dropped out; so, Walter, JSHRZ (3,2), 276, n. 11c.

135. Cf. Philo *Opif.* 7 §§27–28; *Leg. alleg.* 1.3 §§5–7. Wendland ap. Elter, *Gnomologiorum*, 233; Stein, *Exegese*, 10; Walter, *Thoraausleger*, 67.

136. I.e., the Mosaic legislation (νομοθεσία); cf. Frg. 5.11, line 55.

137. A partial quotation of LXX Exod 20:11a ἐν γὰρ ἑξ ἡμέραις ἐποίησεν κύριος τὸν οὐρανὸν καὶ τὴν γῆν καὶ τὴν θάλασσαν καὶ πάντα τὰ ἐν αὐτοῖς καὶ κατέπαυσεν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ τῇ ἐβδόμῃ.

138. Gen 1:14–18. The sense seems to be that through the six-day creation, he established (made known) time divisions, such as day and night, and determined the order of the days, or perhaps the order of solar and lunar movements. Borgen, "Philo," *Jewish Writings*, 276: "(established) the course of time." Or perhaps, this is an ambiguous, undeveloped statement of the position more fully elaborated in Philo that "time" did not precede creation. Cf. *Leg. alleg.* 1.8 §20; *Opif.* 7 §26; *Sacr.* 18 §68. See references cited in n. 135 above.

139. Or, "having given orderly arrangement to the universe, he sustains this order and controls the movements of the heavenly bodies."

The addition of οὐ before μεταποιεῖ (lit., "alter," "remodel") in line 79 (by Stephanus, followed by Valckenaer, *Aristobulo*, 95 [=Gaisford 4.425]) attempts to make §12a consistent with §11b. Mras, however, thinks the emendation unnecessary since the reading of the MS tradition can be understood as emphasizing God's continued creative activity even after the initial ordering of things, as, e.g., Philo *Leg. alleg.* 1.2–3 §§5–7; *Cher.* 26 §87. See Stein, *Exegese*, 10. For a similar use of συνέχειν, cf. *Sacr.* 8 §40; *Heres* 6 §23. So, Walter, *Thoraausleger*, 67 n. 2; idem, JSHRZ (3,2) 277 n. 12c; also Mras, "Ein Vorwort," *RheinMus* n.s. 92 (1944) 221–22; Schlatter, *Sirach*, 171–73.

In spite of certain similarities in emphasis between Aristobulus and Philo, important distinctions remain; see Walter, *Thoraausleger*, 68 n. 2, who criticizes Wendland, Bousset, and Schlatter for their tendency to attribute Philonic notions, e.g., the timelessness of creation, to Aristobulus.

Cf. Frg. 2.11 (*P.E.* 8.10.11).

140. The subject may very well be "God," the subject of the verbs immediately preceding. But here, as earlier with σημαίνει (line 71), Aristobulus seems to be making a claim about the law rather than God.

141. Ordinarily, *ἐννομος* is rendered "ordained by law," "lawful," "legal" (LSJ s.v.); Collins, *OTP*, 2.842: "legally binding"; Walter, *JSHRZ* (3,2), 277: "gesetzlich." But rather than emphasizing that the seventh day is legally prescribed in the sense that God ordered its observance, the point rather seems to be that it is a law of nature that was established at the outset of creation; hence, a "custom" inherent in the natural order.

142. This translation follows Walter's suggestion that the passage should be understood within the context of Stoic cosmology rather than Stoic anthropology or psychology; thus *λόγος* as "cosmic law" rather than "reason," one of the eight faculties of the soul. See Walter, *Thoraausleger*, 68–71 (following Binde, *Aristobulische Studien*, 2.14–16); idem, *JSHRZ* (3,2), 277 n. 12d. Wendland ap. Elter, *Gnomologiorum*, 233, sees it as evidence of Aristobulus' dependence on Philo. On *ἐβδομος λόγος*, cf. also *Frg.* 5.15, lines 132–33 (*P.E.* 13.12.15) and n. 160 below.

Alternatively, the passage might be rendered "... has clearly shown us that the seventh day is ... a sign of reason, the seventh (faculty) placed in us, through which we know things human and divine." So, Mras, *GCS* (43,2) 196 n. 7: "zum Zeichen unserer siebenten Fähigkeit (Vermögens), nämlich der Vernunft," noting "stoische Achtheilung der Seele, das ἡγεμονικόν ist unter Weglassung des σπέρματικόν oder γόνιμον der siebente Teil." This interpretation is supported by appealing to a similar understanding in Philo *Abr.* 5 §§28–30; *Heres* 45 §225, and esp. *LXX Sir* 17:5 Ἐλάβον χρήσιν τῶν πέντε τοῦ κυρίου ἐνεργημάτων, ἔκτον δὲ νοῦν αὐτοῖς ἐδωρήσατο μερίζων, καὶ τὸν ἑβδομον λόγον ἐρμηνεῖα τῶν ἐνεργημάτων αὐτοῦ.

For the eight-part (or, seven-part) soul in Philo, cf. *Opif.* 40 §117; *Leg. alleg.* 1.4 §11; *Det.* 46 §168; *Agr.* 7 §30; *Heres* 48 §232; *Qu. Gen.* 1.75; also, cf. *T. Reub.* 2:3–3:8. On the Stoic understanding of the eight-part soul, cf. *Diog. Laert.* 7.110, 157 (= *SVF* 2.828); esp. Porphyry *De anima* ap. *Stob. Ecl.* 1.41.25 (ed. Meineke [Teubner]) (= *SVF* 2.830), where ἡγεμονικόν encompasses the seven other faculties of the soul (corresponding to *λόγος* in Philo); generally, *SVF* 2.827–33; see Zeller, *Stoics, Epicureans, Sceptics*, 201–3, and 74–91 on Stoic epistemology; see generally, Valckenaer, 97–101 (= Gaisford 4.427–31); Walter, *Thoraausleger*, 69 n. 1,

This latter tradition of interpretation, going back as far as Valckenaer, with many later proponents (Schlatter, *Sirach* 163–71, esp. 165–68; idem, *Geschichte* 85 and 86–87; Zeller, *Philosophie*, 3[2].285; Dalbert, *Missionsliteratur*, 105–6), understands the phrase against the background of Stoic psychology (e.g., Mras, mentioned above), thus holding that

ἐβδομος λόγος should be rendered "seventh (faculty of) reason." Gfrörer, *Philo*, 2.99–102, adopts a mediating view: after noting similarities with the Stoic sevenfold division of the soul, he finally decides that *ἐβδομος λόγος* refers not to "human reason," but to "die heilige Weltkraft der Sieben," i.e., wisdom, the "beginning of light" (102).

Walter takes issue with this view, arguing that in spite of similar passages in Philo and *Sir* 17:5, it cannot be supported from the text of Aristobulus itself. Regardless of how this particular phrase is interpreted, Walter insists (against Wendland) that it does not prove Aristobulus' dependence on Philo, but only shows that both could have drawn on Stoic traditions and adapted them to their own use.

In developing the "cosmic" interpretation, Walter examines the uses of *λόγος* in Aristobulus. He observes that it is used by him nowhere else in the sense of "mind" or "reason," but rather in the Stoic sense of "rule," "natural law" in *Frg.* 2.11 (*P.E.* 8.10.11; see H. Kleinknecht, "λόγος, etc." *TDNT* 4 [1967] 84–85). Taking *λόγος* in this sense, Walter understands *ἐβδομος λόγος* as "Siebenergesetzmäßigkeit, hebdomadische Struktur" (*Thoraausleger*, 74), thus renders the phrase "... as a sign relating to the sevenfold regularity ruling over us" ("zum Zeichen für die in Beziehung auf uns [= über uns] waltende Siebenergesetzmäßigkeit"). On the use of *ἐβδομος* instead of *ἐβδομαδικός*, cf. Philo *Leg. alleg.* 1.7 §§17–18; *Hypoth.* 8.7.20; see Walter, *Thoraausleger*, 74–75, esp. 74 n. 3.

Accordingly, the next phrase would be taken to mean that this cosmic principle, not the human faculty of reason (the usual interpretation), is the means by which we gain (ordered, comprehensive) knowledge about (the essence of) things both human and divine. It is thus this sevenfold (cosmic) structure that is the basic principle of all things. Since that which relates human beings to this underlying reality is the number seven, God introduced the sabbath. Perceptive observers who recognize it as a day signifying "the light of wisdom" can thereby gain insight into the underlying principles that actually hold the cosmos together. The sabbath thus becomes the epistemological key by which one gains true knowledge of the cosmos.

Though differing somewhat from Walter's rendering, Binde's translation (*Aristobulische Studien*, 2.16) also reflects the "cosmic" interpretation: "(Gott) hat uns diesen (den 7. Tag) gesetzlich angewiesen zu einem mahnenden Zeichen der in uns vorhandenen, auf das Siebenverhältniss sich gründenden Vernunft, durch welche wir die Erkenntniss menschlicher und göttlicher Dinge haben."

Marcus, "Hellenistic Jewish Literature," 1105: "This He has made clear to us in the Law in order that we may have the principle of the number seven before us, and through this have knowledge of things human and divine."

For detailed treatment of the passage, and the related passage in Frg. 5.15 (P.E. 13.12.15), see Walter, *Thoraausleger*, 68–81. Also, see n. 160 below.

143. The contrast here appears to be between pre-existent Wisdom (§4a) and our ordinary human wisdom. The phrase ἡ κατὰ δύναμιν perhaps suggests “wisdom associated with the divine power,” or even “spiritual wisdom,” if δύναμις has some association with πνεῦμα. Hence our rendering “supernatural.” The phrase κατ’ οὐσίαν suggests wisdom that comes naturally.

144. This definition of wisdom is Stoic. Cf. Sext. Emp. *Math.* 9.125 (=SVF 2.1017) σοφία, ἐπιστήμη οὐσα θείων τε καὶ ἀνθρωπείων πραγμάτων; also, Aëtius *Placita* 1. Prooem. 2 (=SVF 2.35) οἱ μὲν οὖν Στωϊκοὶ ἔφασαν τὴν μὲν σοφίαν εἶναι θείων τε καὶ ἀνθρωπίνων ἐπιστήμην. Similarly, Sext. Emp. *Math.* 9.13 (=SVF 2.36); also, Dio Chrys. *Or.* 69.4 (=SVF 3.584); Diog. Laert. 7.92.

It also occurs in some later Pythagorean sources, esp. the Letter of Lysis to Hipparchus §3 (Thesleff, *Texts*, 112, 14–15=Hercher, *Epistolographi Graeci* 602, 21 and Iamblichus *VP* 76 [ed. Deubner (Teubner)]) ἀλλὰ θείων τε καὶ ἀνθρωπίνων πραγμάτων ἧς ἐπιστάμων. Thesleff, *Introduction*, 115, dates the letter in the late 3d or early 2d century BCE. Burkert, *Philologus* 105 (1961) 23, regards the Stoic definition of wisdom in the letter as a sure sign of its pseudonymity. Accordingly, he assigns it a date in the late 3d century and suggests that it was written to introduce the Pythagorean *Hypomnemata*; also, see Burkert, *Lore and Science*, 459 n. 63; Thesleff, *Texts*, 111 n. 14. This Pythagorean connection possibly reinforces the suggestion by Walter, *Thoraausleger*, 167, that a Pythagorean florilegium served as a source for §12b. Also, cf. Archytas ap. Stob. *Flor.* 1.77 (ed. Meineke [Teubner]).

Also, cf. Cicero, *Off.* 2.2.5 Sapientia autem est . . . rerum divinarum et humanarum causarumque, quibus eae res continentur, scientia; similarly, *Off.* 1.43.153; *Tusc.* 4.26.57; 5.3.7; *Fin.* 2.12.37; also, Seneca *Ep.* 89.5; Quintilian 1.10.5; 12.2.8; Apuleius *De dog. Plat.* 2.6.228 (ed. Thomas [Teubner]); Maximus of Tyre 26.1 (ed. Hobein [Teubner]), 308, 19–309, 3; references in Hobein, who regards it as a Pythagorean definition; Ps.-Plutarch *De Homero* 2.92 (ed. Kindstrand [Teubner]); Galen *Phil. hist.* 5; Alcinoos *Intr. in Platonem* 1 (ed. Hermann, *Plato* [Teubner]) 6.152, 4–5; references in J. Whittaker, *Alcinoos* [Budé] 73–74 n. 5). Also, cf. Plato *Resp.* 6.486A and 10.598E; *Leg.* 1.631B; *Symp.* 186B.

In Jewish sources, cf. 4 Macc 1:16; Philo *Congr.* 14 §79; *Qu. Gen.* 1.6; 3.43.

In Christian sources, cf. Clement of Alexandria *Paed.* 2.2.25.3 (references in Stählin and Treu, GCS, 171 n. on 17); *Strom.* 1.5.30.1, 6.35.3, 28.177.1–2; 4.6.40.3, 26.163.4; 6.7.54.1, 16.133.5, 17.160.2; 7.12.70.5; Origen *Cel.* 3.72; *Hom. in Jerem.* 8.2 (Jer 10:12–14). See Hoek, *Clement*, 31 n. 42.

Heinemann, *MGWJ* 73 (1929) 425–43, esp. 432, sees Aristobulus’ adoption of this Stoic definition of philosophy as evidence for dating him in the 1st cent. BCE. Apparently none of the 30+ examples of the definition he collected were dated before the first century BCE. But if Burkert and Thesleff are correct to date the Letter of Lysis to Hipparchus in the late 3d or early 2d century BCE, Heinemann’s argument is thereby weakened. Such a late date is contested by Walter, *Thoraauseger*, 84–85.

The view of natural theology expressed here reflects Stoic influence and anticipates similar understanding in Philo. See Walter, *Thoraausleger*, 232 n. 1; also 11 n. 4. Cf. Wis 13:1–9; Rom 1:20.

145. In Aristobulus the Wisdom motif is introduced as a minor digression in the discussion of the seventh day. Clement, by contrast, develops the Wisdom motif without reference to the sabbath, and as a result, attributes to Wisdom the epistemological function that Aristobulus assigns the sabbath, or sevenfold principle. Why this shift occurs is not clear. Most likely, Clement, like modern interpreters, found Aristobulus’ statement about the sevenfold principle difficult to comprehend.

146. This fragment is part of Clement’s discussion of the fourth commandment. On the broader context, see n. 120 above on the context of Frg. 5a. On Clement’s dependence on Aristobulus, see Hoek, *Clement*, 203.

The translation is based on that of Wilson in ANF 2.513–14.

147. Or, “series of sevens”; so, Collins, *OTP*, 2.842. §13a serves as a natural extension of §12b: not only does the sevenfold principle of regularity serve as the means through which one gains knowledge about the human and divine realms, but about the natural order (animal and plant life) as well. Its epistemological scope is comprehensive. On the Pythagorean background, see Walter, *Thoraausleger*, 73, esp. nn. 4 & 5, 164, 167, who suggests a Pythagorean florilegium as a source.

Marcus, “Hellenistic Jewish Literature,” 1105: “the whole world of things that are born and grow. . . .”

148. See n. 168 below.

149. For the general context of *Strom.* 5.14, see n. 95 above on Frg. 4a. This fragment occurs in the lengthy section (5.14) where Clement cites numerous examples to show that Greeks plagiarized the Jews. Its immediate context is a treatment of the Greeks' reverence for the seventh day, said to be derived from the Jews. It is preceded by a comparison of Greek and Jewish notions of sleeping and death; it is followed by passages from the Bible and Plato pertaining to the suffering of the righteous (Wis 2:12=Isa 3:10; Plato *Resp.* 2.361E-362A).

Strom. 5.14.107.1-108.1 is later quoted in *P.E.* 13.13.34-35a. On Clement's dependence on Aristobulus, see Hoek, *Clement*, 203.

The translation of Frg. 5d is based on that of Wilson in ANF 2.469-70.

150. Because this sentence interrupts the train of thought and is absent in Clement, it is regarded as a gloss by Walter, *Thoraasleger*, 73-74; also JSHRZ (3,2), 277 n. 13b. Since the "rest" motif is mentioned in Frg. 5.9, line 7 (*P.E.* 13.12.9), Walter, *Thoraasleger*, 74 n. 2, suggests that it might have originally belonged at the beginning of the fragment.

151. Cf. Frg. 2.4 (*P.E.* 8.10.4). See n. 36 above.

152. On the quotations from Homer and Hesiod, see Walter, *Thoraasleger*, 150-66, esp. 151-58; idem, JSHRZ (4,3), 255-56, 271-73.

153. The line is taken from Hesiod *Op.* 770, which refers to the seventh day of the month, the day of Apollo, not the seventh day of the week. The statement occurs within the larger section (765-821) which discusses the significance of various days of the month.

For the seventh day of the month as the birthday of Apollo, cf. Diog. Laert. 3.2; Plutarch *Quaest. conv.* 717D; for "seven" as the number of Apollo, cf. Plutarch *Quaest. conv.* 738D; for the "sacred seven of Apollo," cf. Plutarch *De E ap. Delph.* 391F.

On the use of the number seven in the cult of Apollo, see Roscher, 1901; 1904, pp. 4-19; S. Eitrem, "Hebdome," PW 7 (1912) 2579.

See generally, Valckenaer, 113-16 (=Gaisford 4.441-44); Wesseling, 135 (=Gaisford 4.457-58); Walter, *Thoraasleger*, 155; idem, JSHRZ (3,2), 277 n. 13c.

154. This line is not found in Hesiod. Cf. Hesiod, Frg. 273 (271) in *Hesiodi Carmina* (ed. Rzach [Teubner], 413); also, Hesiod, LCL, Doubtful Fragments, pp. 282-83, Frg. 7, with the notation that this line may originally have been read after *Op.* 771.

The latter half of the verse appears based on Homer *Il.* 1.605 λαμπρὸν φῶς ἡελίοιο, but there are some Hesiodic echoes. The sun is designated φαεσίμβροτος in Hesiod *Thg.* 958 (cf. Homer *Od.* 10.138, 191) and φαέθων in *Thg.* 760 (cf. Homer *Il.* 11.735; *Od.* 5.479 al.).

As before, Pythagorean echoes are heard in the verse. Walter, *Thoraasleger*, 156-58, observes that in neither Homer nor Hesiod is any explicit connection made between the number seven and the light of the sun. He also notes its similarity to the statement attributed to Philolaus, the earliest systematizer of Pythagorean philosophy (5th cent. BCE), who explicitly connects φῶς with the number seven. Cf. Philolaus 44[32] A 12 D.-K. νῦν δὲ καὶ ὑγείαν καὶ τὸ ὑπ' αὐτοῦ λεγόμενον φῶς ἐν ἑβδομάδι. See the discussion in Roscher, 1906, 29-30; Frank, *Plato*, 325; Walter, *Thoraasleger*, 156 n. 3.

As Walter further observes, explicitly making the passage relate to the seventh day need not have occurred (only) within Jewish circles, but could have been done by Greeks seeking to correlate Pythagorean number speculation with the references in Hesiod *Op.* 765-821 relating to the significance of certain days. On the significance of seven-day periods within Greek circles, e.g., in the Apollo cult, and among Orphics and Pythagoreans, see Roscher, 1901; 1903, 4-19; 1906, 18-43; Walter, *Thoraasleger*, 156 n. 4.

As Walter, *Thoraasleger*, 157 n. 1, observes, the use of the nominative ἑβδομάτῃ in the version of the line Aristobulus quotes (as opposed to the dative ἑβδομάτῃ read by Stählin), if anything, makes the connection more explicit, especially since the sentence lacks a verb.

In any case, Walter insists that there is no compelling reason to think that Aristobulus himself composed the verse, nor even that he drew directly on Pythagorean sources. It is rather more likely that he drew on his Jewish predecessors who had already become familiar with Pythagorean teaching and had begun to assimilate certain aspects of it, especially number speculation, into their own system of thought. See note 76 above.

See generally, Walter, *Thoraasleger*, 156-58; idem, JSHRZ (3,2), 277 n. 13d; idem, JSHRZ (4,3), 271 n. g; Valckenaer, 122 (=Gaisford 4.448-49); Attridge, *OTP*, 2.823 n. c.

155. This verse is unattested in Homer, though cf. *Od.* 12.399=15.477. For ἱερὸν ἥμαρ, cf. *Il.* 8.66=*Od.* 9.56.

See Valckenaer, 121-22 (=Gaisford 4.447-49); Wesseling, 135 (=Gaisford 4.457); Walter, *Thoraasleger*, 155. Walter, JSHRZ (3,2), 277 n. 13d, also thinks Aristobulus found the verse in a Pythagorean florilegium that had been reworked by a Jewish editor.

For seven-day periods in Homer, cf. *Od.* 10.81; 14.252; also 12.399=15.477. So, Roscher, 1903, 46–47, 60; 1906, 8–10, 217–19; Walter, *Thoraausleger*, 154 n. 1.

156. This additional verse, which is absent in Frg. 5.14 (*P.E.* 13.12.14), does occur in the section of *Strom.* 5.107 that is quoted in *P.E.* 13.34. It is unattested in Homer. Perhaps it was a marginal gloss in the text used by Clement and served to indicate the overall theme of the section; so, Walter, *Thoraausleger*, 165, who thinks it belongs with the following group of verses attributed to Linus; also, see JSHRZ (4,3), 272 n. k.

Cf. Philo *Mut.* 44 §260 ἐν ἱερᾷ ἐβδόμῃ; Hesiod *Op.* 770 καὶ ἐβδόμῃ ἱερὸν ἥμαρ.

157. This verse, which recalls Gen. 2:2–3, is based on Homer *Od.* 5.262 τέτρατον ἥμαρ ἔην, καὶ τῷ τετέλεστο ἅπαντα. Even though Aristobulus reads ἑβδομον, it is clear from *Od.* 5.263 τῷ δ' ἄρα πέμπτῳ. . . that τέτρατον was the original reading.

See Valckenaer, 122 (=Gaisford 4.448–449); Walter, *Thoraausleger*, 154–55; also, Cobet, *Δόγιος Ἑρμῆς* 1 (1866–67) 176–77. Walter, JSHRZ (3,2), 278 n. 14c, thinks the change in Aristobulus results from an earlier Jewish reworking of the Pythagoras florilegium previously mentioned. See n. 155 above; also n. 163 below.

158. This verse is not found in Homer but probably recalls the passage about Odysseus' journey to Hades in *Od.* 10.513; also 11.636–40 and 12.1–7. It does not appear to be a Jewish composition; so, Walter, *Thoraausleger*, 151–52; idem, JSHRZ (3,2), 278 n. 14d; also, see van der Horst, *JHP*, 83–85.

For discussion of the verse, see Walter, *Thoraausleger*, 75–78, 151–54.

159. I.e., Homer.

160. This translation follows the suggestion of Walter, *Thoraausleger*, 75–78 (detailed treatment of the numerous difficulties of this text); idem, JSHRZ (3,2), 278, that ἑβδομος λόγος (as earlier in Frg. 5.12, line 82) should be understood in a cosmic rather than psychological sense. Accordingly, ἑβδομος λόγος is the sevenfold principle, or as Walter renders it “the sevenfold principle of (cosmic) regularity” (“Siebenergesetzmäßigkeit”), through which one gains true knowledge of God. Thus, Walter, *Thoraausleger*, 77, explains, “. . . Aristobulos habe sagen wollen, daß nur die kosmische Siebenerstruktur als Symbol des gottgesetzten Guten

das Böse der menschlichen Seele überwinden kann (bzw. den Menschen zur Preisgabe des Bösen in seiner Seele befähigt) und daß diese Überwindung mit der Einsicht in das Wesen der göttlichen Hebdomadenordnung alles Seins Hand in Hand geht (vermittelt bzw. offenbart wird diese Einsicht, wie oben gesagt, dadurch, daß Gott jeden Siebenten Tag zum Tag der θεωρία bestimmt hat).” Walter, *Thoraausleger*, 78–81, argues further that this interpretation is supported by Philo *Leg. alleg.* 1.6–8 §§16–19, and notes that the whole section (*Leg. alleg.* 1.2–8 §§2–20) is thematically related to Frg. 5.9–16 (*P.E.* 13.12.9–16).

The alternative rendering would yield something like: “And by this he (Homer) signifies that from the state in which the soul experiences forgetfulness and wickedness, through the seventh (faculty of the soul), reason, by which truth comes, the aforementioned faults (forgetfulness and wickedness) are left behind, and we receive knowledge of the truth, just as was said before.” Collins, *OTP*, 2.842, seems to incline towards the latter: “. . . by means of the sevenfold principle (n. m, “reason”) in accordance with the truth. . . .” Gifford, 3(2).722: “By which he means, that after the soul’s forgetfulness and vice have been left, the things it chose before (προηρημένα; cf. app. crit.) are abandoned on the true seventh which is reason, and we receive the knowledge of truth. . . .”

If προηρημένα is understood to refer to “forgetfulness and wickedness,” Viger’s emendation προηρημένα is unnecessary. So, Walter, *Thoraausleger*, 153–4 n. 4; idem, JSHRZ (3,2), 278, n. 15b.

161. Linus is an obscure figure in Greek antiquity. Apparently the term λίνος originally referred to a dirge (Homer *Il.* 18.570), but a person by this same name was variously identified as the son of Apollo and Psamathe, the son of Amphimarus and Urania, and finally as Heracles’ music teacher. In each version of the story, Linus comes to a bad end. Cf. *OCD*, 611.

In a manner reminiscent of Orphic traditions (cf., e.g., Diog. Laert. 1.4–5, where Linus and Orpheus are mentioned together), attributing verses to the legendary figure Linus doubtless served to underscore their remote origin as well as their association with quasi-philosophical, speculative traditions. The choice of such a name makes it unlikely that the attribution originally occurred in Jewish circles (Susemihl, *Geschichte*, 1.379 n. 9; 2.633 n. 56; Walter, *Thoraausleger*, 159).

According to Walter, *Thoraausleger*, 159, a Pythagorean setting for the verses is more likely because of close similarities with Pythagorean cosmic speculations and the attribution to Linus of thirteen verses from a book entitled Περὶ φύσεως κόσμου (Stob. *Ecl.* 1.10.5 [ed. Meineke (Teubner)]); see Wesseling, 135 [Gaisford 4.457]; Susemihl, *Geschichte*, 1.378–79 n. 9; Walter, *Thoraausleger*, 159 n. 4.

For similar associations of Linus with cosmogonic speculation, cf. Diog. Laert. 1.4, where Linus is said to have composed a poem about the creation of the world and the courses of the sun and moon; Ps.-Iamblichus *Theol. arith.* §50 (eds. de Falco & Klein [Teubner]) διὰ καὶ Λίνος ὁ θεολόγος ἐν τῷ Πρὸς Ὑμέναιον δευτέρῳ θεολογικῷ φαίνεται λέγων “τέσσαρες ἀρχαὶ ἅπασι τρισσοῖς δεσμοῖς κρατοῦνται”; Damascius (Neo-Platonist, 5th–6th cent. CE) *Dub. et solut.* §25, p. 64 (ed. Ruelle, vol. 1, p. 45, 12–13) οὐ γὰρ ἐστὶν ἓν τι, ἀλλὰ πάντα ἓν ὡς Λίνος τε ἔλεγε καὶ Πυθαγόρας (probably recalling the verses attributed to Linus in Stobaeus); also §27, p. 67 (ed. Ruelle, vol. 1, p. 48, 13–14). Also, cf. Origen *Cels.* 1.16, where Celsus mentions Linus first in a list of “ancient and wise men,” followed by Musaeus, Orpheus, Pherecydes, Zoroaster the Persian, and Pythagoras.

On the Linus quotations generally, see Walter, *Thoraausleger*, 150–66, esp. 158–66; idem, JSHRZ (3,2), 278–79; idem, JSHRZ (4,3), 255–56, 272–73. On Linus, see W. Kroll, “Linos,” PW 13 (1927) 715–17.

162. Clement probably attributes the following verses to the more well-known 3d century poet Callimachus because the legendary name Linus would appear less credible to discerning readers (cf. Origen *Cels.* 1.16 and n. 161 above). See Valckenaer, 124–25 (=Gaisford 4.450–51); Christ, *Philologische Studien*, 465 n. 4. Graetz, MGWJ 27 (1878) 58–59 and Schlatter, *Sirach*, 170–71, propose that the verses were also attributed to Callimachus by Aristobulus, but this is unlikely. See Walter, *Thoraausleger*, 158 n. 1; idem, JSHRZ (3,2), 278 n. 16a.

163. This verse is most likely a Jewish composition based on Gen 2:2–3. It appears to be a conflation of the first half of the third Homeric verse (line 127 above) and the second half of the second Homeric verse (line 125 above). Perhaps it was the same editor who altered τέτρατον to ἑβδομον in the second Homeric verse (line 124); see n. 157 above. So, Walter, *Thoraausleger*, 164–65; idem, JSHRZ (3,2), 278 n. 16b; idem, JSHRZ (4,3), 272 nn. o and p; Collins, *OTP*, 2.842 n. p.

164. Walter, *Thoraausleger*, 164 n. 2, proposes, on the basis of the reading in MSS IO (δ' ἦν) in Eusebius' quotation of Clement in *P.E.* 13.13.34 (cf. app. crit.), that Clement's version of the verse be emended to read: ἑβδομάτη δ' < ἡ ἔ > ἦν, καὶ οἱ. . .

For the second part of the verse, cf. the second verse attributed to Homer (lines 124–125 above).

165. εἰν ἀγαθοῖς, literally, “in good things,” but here understood as “for good things,” i.e., “bodes well.” Collins, *OTP*, 2.842: “of good qual-

ity.” In the next phrase, it is possible to take γενέθλη in the sense of “birth,” or “generation” (LSJ s.v.); so, Stählin, *Clemens*, BKV, 210: “Trefflicher Art ist der siebente Tag und das siebte Geschlecht auch”; also, Collins, *OTP*, 2.842 n. q: “the seventh day and the seventh birth are good.”

The translation here follows Walter in understanding γενέθλη as the equivalent of τὰ γενέθλια, “birthday.” In the Pythagorean gnomologion, the reference would most likely be to the seventh day of the month as the birthday of Apollo (see n. 153 above). Various epithets applied to Apollo signify the connection: ἑβδομαγέτης (Aeschylus *Th.* 800); ἑβδομαγενής (Plutarch *Quaest. conv.* 717D); ἑβδόμειος (*IG* 2.1653). See Jessen, “Hebdomeios,” PW 7 (1912) 2579; Walter, *Thoraausleger*, 161 n. 3; Burkert, *Lore and Science*, 474 n. 54.

Accordingly, it would be celebrated as an auspicious day. Thus the verse might be paraphrased: “The seventh day (of the month) is an auspicious day; indeed, the seventh is the (day of) birth (of Apollo).” Given the associations of Apollo with the sun, it could easily be construed allegorically to mean that the seventh day (of the month or week) was the day when light originated (cf. above Frg. 5.9, lines 20–21).

At a later stage of interpretation, when the text was appropriated by Jewish redactors, it could have been (made) compatible with the Jewish tradition that the Sabbath was the “birthday of the world” (γενέθλιος κόσμου). See n. 123 above for references in Philo.

This interpretation follows the analysis in Walter, *Thoraausleger*, 65–66, 160–62; idem, JSHRZ (3,2), 278 n. c.; idem, JSHRZ (4,3), 272 n. q. On the Sabbath as the birthday of the world, cf. Frg. 5.9, lines 19–22 (*P.E.* 13.12.9); see n. 123 above.

Valckenaer, 124 (=Gaisford 4.450–51), posits a Jewish origin for this verse, but Walter's analysis which envisions two separate stages—an earlier Pythagorean stage and a later Jewish appropriation (and re-interpretation) of the verse—is more plausible; also, see Valckenaer, 119–20 (=Gaisford 4.446–47); Walter, *Thoraausleger*, 160 n. 3.

166. The translation follows Collins, *OTP*, 2.842. For “prime numbers” (πρῶτοι ἀριθμοί), cf. Euclid 7 *Def.* 11 & 12 (ed. Stamatis [Teubner]); see LSJ s.v. πρότερος B.I.3.c.

Walter, *Thoraausleger*, 162, who finds no evidence in the verse to suggest that it was a Jewish composition, understands this verse in the context of the day of Apollo (see n. 165 above), hence “der Siebente Tag ist einer der wichtigsten Tage.” So, Walter, JSHRZ (3,2), 278: “Vordersten Rangs ist der siebente Tag—er steht auch am Ende”; idem, JSHRZ (4,3), 272: “Der siebente (Tag) ist unter den ersten—der siebente ist auch vollkommen.”

For ἐν πρώτοις meaning "among the first or foremost," cf. Homer *Il.* 19.424; Isaeus 7.40 (ed. Thalheim [Teubner]); Herodotus 8.69; Plato, *Rsp.* 7.522C (LSJ s.v. πρότερος B.I.1 and 3).

The latter half of the verse is problematic because "seven" appears not to have been regarded as perfect within Pythagorean circles, certainly not in the way "ten" was (contra Valckenaer, 124 [=Gaisford 4.450]). Cf. Philolaus 44[32] A 13 D.-K. ἔστι δὲ τὰ δέκα τέλειος <ἀριθμός>; see C. A. Huffman, *Philolaus of Croton. Pythagorean and Presocratic* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), 359–60. Also, cf. Aristotle *Metaph.* 1.5.3.986a10; also, Philo *Opif.* 37 §107; *Leg. alleg.* 1.7 §18; *Post. C.* 50 §173. See Frank, *Plato*, 314; Burkert, *Lore and Science*, 467–68.

On the significance attached to the number "seven" in Pythagorean thought, see Roscher, 1906, 24–43, 142–56; Walter, *Thoraausleger*, 73 n. 4; 162, esp. n. 2, 166–71; Burkert, *Lore and Science*, 467, 470, 475; Goodman in Schürer, *History* 3(1).670 n. 264.

For the number "seven" in Philo, cf. *Opif.* 30–43 §§90–128, esp. 41 §§120–23; *Leg. alleg.* 1.4–5 §§8–15; *Spec. leg.* 2.15 §57–59.

167. The seven "planets" according to the ancient view were (according to their distance from the earth) the moon, Mercury, Venus, the sun, Mars, Jupiter, and Saturn. Cf. Plato *Tim.* 38C; though, cf. *Rsp.* 10.616D–E (an eighth whorl consisting of the fixed stars).

These two verses exhibit no clear signs of Jewish composition. The term τεύχω is not the usual Hellenistic-Jewish word for God's creative activity (cf. *FHJA* 2.177 n. 86), and it also occurs in non-Jewish Orphic texts, e.g. Kern, *Orphicorum Fragmenta*, Frg. 21 (cf. *FHJA* 4, commentary on Recension A, v. 10; Walter, *Thoraausleger*, 163 n. 4). Nor do the verses explicitly mention the seventh day. They rather reflect Pythagorean teaching about the seven planets and the harmony of the spheres. So, Walter, *Thoraausleger*, 163–64; idem, *JSHRZ* (3,2), 278 n. 16d; idem, *JSHRZ* (4,3), 273 n. r.

On Pythagorean views of the planets and the harmony of the spheres, see Roscher, 1906, 30–31, 156–75; W. Gundel & H. Gundel, "Planeten," *PW* 20 (1950) 2017–2185, esp. 2044–45, 2053–57; Boll, "Hebdomas," *PW* 7 (1912) 2547–78, esp. 2566–70; Burkert, *Lore and Science*, 299–368. On the cult of the seven planets, see Roscher, 1904, 51–53; also, Huffman, *Philolaus*, 231–88, esp. 279–83.

On the correspondence of the menorah to the seven planets, cf. Philo *V. Mos.* 2.21 §§102–3; *Heres* 44–45 §§219–25; Josephus *Ant.* 3.6.7 §146; 3.7.7 §182.

168. Solon Frg. 19 (27) in *Anthologia Lyrica Graeca* (ed. E. Diehl; fasc. 1: Poetae elegiaci; 3d ed., 1949; [Teubner]) pp. 38–39). Since the eighteen verses of Solon are cited in *Strom.* 6.144.4–6, close to where Clement had quoted Aristobulus (6.137–42), Walter suggests the possibility that Aristobulus knew the poem by Solon. They are also cited in Philo *Opif.* 35 §104. See Walter, *Thoraausleger*, 168–69; idem, *JSHRZ* (3,2), 279 n. 16e.

169. In *P.E.* 7.12 Eusebius cites biblical passages to illustrate Jewish belief in the "second Being and power of God," which is variously designated "divine Word" and "divine Wisdom and Power." He provides further support for his claim by citing non-biblical testimony, most notably Philo (7.13) and Aristobulus (7.14).

170. On Aristobulus as a Peripatetic, see n. 24 above.