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LIST OF PHILO'S WORKS

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SUPPLEMENT

I. Questions and Answers on Genesis² (Quaestiones et Solutiones in Genesin)

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   GENERAL INDEX TO SUPPLEMENTS I-II

¹ Only two fragments extant.
² Extant only in an Armenian version.
*1. (Ex. xii. 2) a "This month (shall be) for you the beginning of months; it is the first in the months of the year." b

(Scripture) thinks it proper to reckon the cycle of months from the vernal equinox. c Moreover, (this month) is said to be the "first" and the "beginning" by synonymy, d since these (terms) are explained by each other, for it is said to be the first both in order and in power e; similarly that time which proceeds from the vernal equinox also appears (as) the beginning both in order and in power, in the same way as the head (is the beginning) of a living creature. And thus those who are learned in astronomy have given this name f to the before-mentioned time. For they call the Ram the head of the zodiac g since in it the sun appears to produce the vernal equinox. h And in addition to this, it was fitting for it to be (the beginning) i

a Philo comments on this verse, without quoting it literally, in De Vita Mosis ii. 222-223 and De Spec. Leg. ii. 151-152.

b ἡμεῖς ὁ μήν οὗτος ὕμων ἀρχή μηνών, πρώτος ἐστιν ὕμων ἐν τοῖς μησίν τοῖς ἐναυτοῖς.

c ἀπὸ τῆς ἐαρινῆς ἱσημερίας. d κατὰ συνωνυμίαν.

d καὶ τάξει καὶ δυνάμει. e i.e. of "head."

e κεφαλὴν τοῦ ζωοφόρου . . . τοῦ κριῶν.


i I follow Aucher in supplying the words "the beginning" (Aucher "exordium"), to which nothing corresponds in the Arm. text.
of the times that come into being during the year. Accordingly, when the fruits of things that are sown become full grown on the trees, then they receive the beginning of bearing, in order that the gracious acts of God may be prolonged perpetually as they replace one another and as they join the ends to the beginnings and the beginnings to the ends.\textsuperscript{a} But in the first creation\textsuperscript{b} of all things, in which He also made the world,\textsuperscript{c} He constituted all things at the same time to be filled with their fruits of mated thoughts.\textsuperscript{d} For it was proper that this be so, since the Father left no appearance \textsuperscript{e} at all of superfluity or deficiency. And this was especially for the sake of man, to whom He was about to entrust the beginning of customs,\textsuperscript{f} that he might immediately find all things perfect and perfectly produced.\textsuperscript{g}

And that (Scripture) presupposes\textsuperscript{h} the vernal equinox to be the beginning of the cycle of months is clear from the notions of time held \textsuperscript{i} in the ordinances \textsuperscript{j} and traditions of various nations. And one may make certain of this \textsuperscript{k} from the sheaves of first-fruits\textsuperscript{l} which (Scripture) commands

\textsuperscript{a} Only slightly different is the wording of the Greek fragment (which contains only this sentence of the section), "Όταν οἱ τῶν σπαρτῶν καρποὶ τελειωθῶσιν, οἱ τῶν δέντρων γενέσεως ἀρχήν λαμβάνουσιν ἑνα δολχεύσωσιν αἱ τοῦ θεοῦ χάριτες τὸν αἰῶνα, παρ' ἄλλων ἄλλαι διαδεχόμεναι καὶ συνάπτουσαι τέλη μὲν ἄρχαῖς, ἄρχας δὲ τέλεαν, ἀτελεύτητοι δειν. The last two words appear to be an addition to the original text of Philo.

\textsuperscript{b} Prob. δημιουργία: Aucher "productione."

\textsuperscript{c} τῶν κόσμων.

\textsuperscript{d} The last phrase is obscure to me: Aucher "plena propriis fructibus connaturalis consilii."

\textsuperscript{e} Aucher "suspicionem."

\textsuperscript{f} θὰν. \textsuperscript{g} τελευγονθέντα.

\textsuperscript{h} ὑποτίθησι.

\textsuperscript{i} ἐκ τῶν χρόνων καταλήψεων vel sim.: Aucher renders more literally, "ex retentis temporibus."

\textsuperscript{j} Aucher "ordinem."

\textsuperscript{k} ἀκριβώσας ἀν τις: Aucher "certius id verificet."

\textsuperscript{l} δραμάτων τῶν ἀπαρχῶν (Lev. xxiii. 10-11), cf. De Spec. Leg. ii. 162, 175.
QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS

(us) to bring on the second day of the festival for the needs of the service, and spring is the season of harvest.

But one may be in doubt why it is that since there are two equinoxes, the vernal and the autumnal, which nature established as the just canons of the equinoxes, it was not from the autumnal one but from that which falls in spring that (Scripture) begins to reckon time. For it is in the spring that every fertile place both in mountain and plain grows and blossoms and bears fruit, but in the autumn, so soon as there is gathered whatever fruit the earth has borne, the plants lose their leaves and dry up. But it is necessary to attribute the beginning to the better and more desirable (season). To me, moreover, it seems that the autumnal equinox is to the vernal as a servant is to a queen. For it ministers to the earth by giving it rest and by making lighter the trees which have been suffering hardship in their nature, and by fighting like a brave athlete, it enables them to gather together their strength and to make a new start from the beginning. Now, if this is so, no one will err in saying that in the same way as heaven (is superior) to (the rest of) the universe, so among the seasons the spring is prior to and more sovereign than the autumn.

But not all (peoples) treat the months and years alike, but some in one way and some in another. Some reckon by the sun, others by the moon. And because of this the initiators of the divine festivals have expressed divergent views about the beginnings of the year, setting divergent

\(^a\) Of Unleavened Bread or Passover.
\(^b\) Aucher “in usum ministrorum.” According to Lev. xxiii. 20 the sheaves are to be given to the priests.
\(^c\) \(\text{i.e.}\) of barley.
\(^d\) \(\text{η} \; \text{φύσις.}\)
\(^e\) \(\text{κανόνας.}\)
\(^f\) See QG ii. 17 notes.
\(^g\) Aucher renders somewhat differently, “hoc enim colit terram, quiete ei data, et arbores levitate donat, quum defatigata fuisset earum natura, luctatoris instar generose certans, qui velut pugil cum adversario optime congressus foret, sinit ut lassus renovetur rursum ex principio.”
\(^h\) \(\text{τῷ} \; \text{δὸλῳ: Aucher “mundo.”}\)
beginnings to the revolutions of the seasons suitable to the beginnings of the cycles. Wherefore (Scripture) has added, "This month (shall be) to you the beginning," making clear a determined and distinct number of seasons, lest they follow the Egyptians, with whom they are mixed, and be seduced by the customs of the land in which they dwell. For He wishes this season to be (the beginning) of creation for the world, and the beginning of months and years for the race. Now the season in which the world was created, as anyone will ascertain in truth who uses a proper method of inquiry (and) deliberation, was the season of spring, since it is at this time that all things in common blossom and grow, and the earth produces its perfected fruits. And, as I have said, nothing was imperfect in the first creation of the universe. For special care was taken that the race should be civilized and receive a special portion of excellence in honour of (its) piety, (namely) this megalopolis, the world, and civilization, by which it manages its economy. Wherefore He thought it proper that the same season (should be) a memorial both of the creation of the world and of that which is kin to it.

Aucher renders slightly more freely, "ne in Aegyptiorum abirent mores, mixtim in regione eorum habitantes consuetudine seducti."

τὸ γένει. Apparently the human race, not merely the Israelite nation, is meant.

οὐδὲν ἀτελὲς ἦν ἐν τῇ πρώτῃ τοῦ ὅλου γενέσει.

The original probably had πολιτεύσθαι, in the sense given above rather than its more usual senses "to behave politically" or "to be governed": Aucher "optime conversaretur in mundo."

τῆς εὐσεβείας.

Cf. De Spec. Leg. i. 34 τὸν οὖν ἄφικόμενον εἰς τὴν ὅσ ἀλήθως μεγαλόπολιν, τόνδε τὸν κόσμον . . . ἔνιοιν λήψεσθαι δεῖ τοῦ ποιητοῦ καὶ πατρὸς καὶ προσέτι ἱγεμόνος.

πολιτείαν: Aucher "urbanitatem."

οἰκονομία χρῆται: Aucher "qua dispensatione bene conversatur."

Apparently time is meant as that which is kin to the world.
QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS

again in order that the spring might be the beginning of every time, for time came into being together with the creation of the world. And the race, a following nature and the whole dispensation of heaven, b reckoned c the seasons similarly and in harmony with the months and years, giving the same priority to the spring as it has in the creation of the world. For at the command of the Lord, d wherever it was arranged e that they should change their dwelling from Egypt, being persuaded by clear words, He prescribed f the first month as the time of migration. g But this is the same as the seventh (month) in the solar period, for the seventh (month) from the autumnal equinox is described as the time of migration, and it is the first (month) according to the solar reckoning. h

2. (Ex. xii. 3, 6) Why does (Moses) command that from the tenth (day of the first month) a sheep be kept for the fourteenth (day), which was to be sacrificed? i

a See note b on p. 5.
b ἀκόλουθον τῇ φύσει καὶ ὅλῃ τῷ οὐρανῷ οἰκονομίᾳ.
c Aucher "aptavit."
d The Arm. reads ἀρν ἀρν ζαίν, lit. "at the voice of the man," but I have ventured to emend ἀρν "man" to τεαρν "Lord."
e Lit. "it was made": Aucher "opertebat."
f Lit. "wrote."
g ἀποκίασ.
h Nisan (March-April) is the first month of the vernal or festival calendar, and the seventh month of the autumnal or civil calendar, which begins with Tishri (Sept.-Oct.). The above passage has a close parallel in De Spec. Leg. ii. 150 ἐβδομος ὁν ὁ μῆν οὔτος (Nisan) ἀριθμῶ τε καὶ τάξει κατὰ τὸν ἡλιακὸν κύκλον δυνάμει πρῶτος ἐστι, διὸ καὶ πρῶτος ἐν ταῖς ἱεραῖς βιβλίοις ἀναγέγραται.
i LXX τῇ δεκάτῃ τοῦ μηνὸς τούτου λαβέτωσαν ἐκαστὸς πρόβατον καὶ οἶκους πατρίων, ἐκαστὸς πρόβατον κατ' οἴκιαν... (vs. 6) καὶ ἔσται ύμῶν διαστηριημένων ἦσος τῆς τεσσαρεσκαδεκάτης τοῦ μηνὸς τούτου, καὶ σφάξουσιν αὐτὸ πάν τὸ πλήθος συναγωγῆς νῦν Ἰσραήλ πρὸς ἐσπέραν. Philo quotes part of vs. 3 and comments on it differently in De Congressu 106-108; he also alludes to vs. 6 in De Vita Mosis ii. 224-225.
In the first place, (this was commanded) in order that he who offered sacrifice might perform the sacrifice not offhandedly and on the spur of the moment and without preparation but with care and thought as if rendering thanks to God, the saviour and benefactor of all (men). In the second place, by this allusion to the sacrifice which was to be prepared beforehand he wishes to teach this first, (namely) that he who was about to offer the sacrifice should first prepare his soul and body—the latter by abstaining from uncleanness in holiness and purity, and the former by quietly giving himself up to God in order that it might be released, even though not altogether, from the passions that disturbed it, for, according to the saying, one should not enter with unwashed feet on the pavement of the temple of God. In the third place, he wishes to test the nation for several days as to just how it stands in respect of faith, since he clearly knew (them to be) of two minds, not having been prepared beforehand for sacrifice and through negligence not having taken thought as was suitable and fitting. In the fourth place, he clearly introduces the defeat of the Egyptians, for though they were not altogether crushed and dismayed by the things which had happened to them, he was referring to the evils which were about to overtake them in five days and which they would have to endure one after another when the enemy would prepare to offer the sacrifices of victory. That is the literal meaning. But as for the deeper meaning, it was fitting that this should be, (namely) that the numbers and the nature of all things should be brought

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*a* The Arm. uses two expressions to render παρέργες.

*b* τῷ σωτηρί καὶ εὐεργετὴ πάντων θεῶ.

*c* αἰτητόμενος.

*d* τὴν ψυχὴν καὶ τὸ σῶμα.

*e* τῷ ἐνθουσάνον or ἐπιθετέλεν.

*f* Cf. De Vita Mosis ii. 138 on Ex. xxx. 19.

*g* Aucher "multis."

*h* πρὸς πίστιν.

*i* Aucher "dubio actos."

*j* Aucher renders slightly differently, "illud quoque futurum eis malum quod post certos quoque dies debuissent perpeti."

*k* τὸ ῥητὸν.

*l* τὸ πρὸς διάνοιαν.
QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS

together.\(^a\) For when souls \(^b\) appear bright and visible, their visions \(^c\) begin to hold festival,\(^d\) hoping for a life without sorrow or fear as their lot and seeing the cosmos \(^e\) with the weight of the understanding \(^f\) as full and perfect, in harmony with the decad.\(^g\) That is to say, what else would its experience \(^h\) be but festive?\(^i\)

3. (Ex. xii. 3b) Why is it that (Moses) commands a sheep to be taken “in accordance with the houses of the clans”?\(^j\)

In the first place, because clans are a kind of great kin-group and a large number of men,\(^k\) but small are those (clans) which in accordance with the houses and by blood are reduced to a small number of men. And so, bringing those (groups) which are small into kinship with the large

\(^a\) Apparently Philo is thinking of the numbers ten and fourteen in relation to the lunar calendar.
\(^b\) \(ψυχαὶ\) (see note \(d\)).
\(^c\) Or “forms” : Aucher “visus.”
\(^d\) One is tempted to restore the apparently corrupted original as, “For when bright and visible visions appear to souls, they (i.e. “the souls”) begin to hold festival.” It seems that the original had \(ψυχαῖς\), not \(ψυχαί\).
\(^e\) Arm. \(zard\), which Aucher renders literally by “ornamentum,” obviously reflects \(κόσμον\) in the sense of “cosmos.”
\(^f\) Slightly emending the Arm. which seems to reflect τοῦ λόγου ὀλκῆς, cf. De Plantatione 21 τὴν πρὸς τὸ ὑπὸ διανοιὰς ὀλκῆν.
\(^g\) This is the best sense which I can get from the obscure clause, which Aucher renders, “vitam tristitia et timore carentem sperantes sortiri certo in decimo plenum, et perfectum cernentes ornamentum rationis perpensionisque.”
\(^h\) \(πάθος\).
\(^i\) \(ἐορτῶδες\).
\(^j\) I.xx λαβέτωσαν ἐκαστὸς πρόβατον κατ’ οἴκους πατριῶν (Heb. “of the fathers”), ἐκαστὸς πρόβατον κατ’ οἴκιαν. In De Congressu 106 Philo quotes part of the verse, δεκάτη τοῦ μινὸς τούτου λαβέτωσαν ἐκαστὸς πρόβατον κατ’ οἴκιαν, and comments in part as here, see below. See also De Vita Mosis ii. 224.
\(^k\) \(μεγάλαι τινὲς συγγένειαι καὶ πολυανθρωπία.\) Philo here anticipates his comments on vs. 4 in § 5 below.
ones, he makes them worthy to be table-companions and to come together in one place for the sharing of salt and offerings and sacrifices, which makes for harmonious affection and binds it more firmly. For law is always a maker of peace and unity, especially as they were about to go on a journey. But on a journey tent-mates are useful, and he thought it right for them to make this after beginning with sacrifice. In the second place, he commands that everyone's sacrifice shall be made “in accordance with the house,” (and also the sacrifices) of defenders and allies, since in every house of their adversaries the death of the first-born was to take place, so that anyone seeing one (death) after another may at the same time praise and fear the beneficence and just acts (of God). For unexpected things happened within a short time: among some there would be the offering of sacrifices, among others the destruction of the first-born; for some there would be festivals and rejoicing, for others mourning and sorrow; for some there would be blessings and hymns, for others wailings and groans and incessant lamentations. That is the literal meaning. But as for the deeper meaning, it is this. The sheep is “progressive,” as the name itself shows, being so called in accordance with the progress of the soul, and it indicates improvement. And he wishes that not in one part but in all their parts, by which I mean their nature, they may progress and grow in virtue in respect of their senses and words and sovereign mind.
QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS

in order that their natural kinship,\(^a\) admitting a stronger likeness,\(^b\) may more firmly bring about a harmony consisting of counsel and justice.\(^c\)

4. (Ex. xii. 11) \(d\) But what is the Pascha,\(^e\) which is interpreted as "Passover"? \(^f\)

They make the Passover sacrifice while changing their dwelling-place in accordance with the commands of the Logos,\(^g\) in return for three beneficent acts (of God), which are the beginning and the middle of the freedom to which they now attain.\(^h\) And the beginning was that they were able to conquer the harsh and insupportable masters of whom they had had experience and who\(^i\) had brought all kinds of evil upon them, and this (came about) in two ways, by having their force\(^j\) and their numbers increase. And the middle was that they saw the divinely sent punishments and disasters which overtook their enemies, (for) it was not the nations which fought against them but the regions of the world and the four elements \(^k\) which came against them with the harmfulness and violence of beasts. That is the literal meaning.\(^l\) But the deeper meaning\(^m\) is this. Not only do men make the Passover sacrifice when they change their places but so also and more properly \(^n\) do

\(^a\) ἡ φυσικὴ συγγένεια. \(^b\) οἰκειότητα.
\(^c\) Aucher "copiam prudentiae et justitiae."
\(^d\) Since the name Pascha does not occur before vs. 11 in Ex. chap. xii, the present section should follow § 18.
\(^e\) Arm. P'esek (Heb. Pesah).
\(^f\) διάβασις or διαβαστήρια as elsewhere in Philo, e.g. Leg. All. iii. 154, De Sacr. Abelis 63, De Migratione 25, De Vita Mosis ii. 224. See also De Spec. Leg. ii. 146-148 for an allegorical explanation of the name.
\(^g\) τὸν λόγον: Aucher "verbi (divini)."
\(^h\) Aucher "quae sunt principium et medium et proxima consecutio libertatis."
\(^i\) Reading Arm. ork' for the meaningless oyk'.
\(^j\) δύναμιν: Aucher "virtutem."
\(^k\) τὰ τοῦ κόσμου μέρη καὶ τὰ τέτταρα στοιχεία.
\(^l\) τὸ ἔρητόν. \(^m\) τὸ πρὸς διάνοιαν. \(^n\) οἰκειότερον.
souls when they begin to give up the pursuits of youth and their terrible disorder and they change to a better and older state. And so our mind should change from ignorance and stupidity to education and wisdom, and from intemperance and dissoluteness to patience and moderation, and from fear and cowardice to courage and confidence, and from avarice and injustice to justice and equality. And there is still another Passover of the soul beside this, which is its making the sacrifice of passing over from the body; and there is one of the mind, (namely, its passing over) from the senses; and as for thoughts, (their passing over consists) in one's not being taken with oneself but in willingly thinking further of desiring and emulating prophetic souls.

5. (Ex. xii. 4a) Why is it that (Moses) commands that "if there are few in the house," they shall take their neighbours "in accordance with the number of souls"? 

a οτάν: Aucher "insipientia."  
b ο νούς. 

c εξ ἀπαίδευσιας καὶ ἀνοίας εἰς παιδείαν καὶ σοφίαν. 

d εξ ἀκρασίας καὶ ἀκόλογας εἰς ὑπομονήν καὶ σωφροσύνην. 

e εκ φόβου καὶ δειλίας εἰς ἀνδρείαν καὶ θάρσος: Aucher renders incompletely, "ex timore in fortitudinem." 

f εκ πλεονεξίας καὶ ἀδικίας εἰς δικαιοσύνην καὶ λογίητα. 

g τῆς ψυχῆς. 

h τῶν αἰσθήσεων. 

i τῶν λογισμῶν. 

j i.e. with one's own importance: Aucher "ut non a se capiatur." 

k προφητικῶν ψυχῶν ορ πνευμάτων: Aucher "spirituum propheticum." 

l LXX δὲ ὑλογοστοὶ ὅσων οἱ ἐν τῇ οἰκίᾳ ὡστε μὴ εἶναι ἰκανοὺς εἰς πρόβατον, συλλημπεται μεθ' ἑαυτοῦ τὸν γείτονα τὸν πλησίον αὐτοῦ κατὰ ἀριθμὸν ψυχῶν κτλ.: the Heb. reads somewhat differently "And if the house (i.e. household) be too small for a sheep, then it and its near neighbour shall take (it) for its house by the number of souls." In Quis Rer. Div. Heres 193 Philo quotes the verse in the following form, εὰν ὁλίγοι ὅσαν οἱ ἐν τῇ οἰκίᾳ ὡστε μὴ ἰκανοὺς εἶναι εἰς τὸ πρόβατον, τὸν πλησίον γείτονα προσλαβεῖν, κατ' ἀριθμὸν ψυχῶν κτλ.
QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS

From the literal text a you see how much love of mankind and common feeling b he shows, since the divine Word gives the command c not only to keep (the festival) d but also to take thought about giving a share in it e to their neighbours and those near by, both in equality and in likeness. For it is about a most honourable thing—and what is more honourable than sacrifice?—and about that which is held in honour and is a matter of sharing in the smallest things that he seems to be legislating f in the present passage. g That is the literal meaning. But as for the deeper meaning, h there are some souls which have a full and complete kinship, i being adapted to the nobility of concord, j their thoughts being in accord with their words, and their words with their deeds. k And there are others which lack the elements l of eternity, being deficient in nobility. Now these elements pour out love, m always n receiving neighbours and those who come near. For as a kind of neighbour and as near to us in respect of desire for virtue o (we may consider) the theories of the so-called school studies. p And one who is nourished by these and keeps in practice, q makes up for his deficiencies by receiving the common discipline of the mind. r And the instruction of the school studies should be not childish and puerile but rational s and

\[ a \text{ ἐν τῷ ῥήτῳ. } \\
 b \text{ φιλανθρωπίαν καὶ κοινωνίαν. } \\
 c \text{ προστάτητος τοῦ θείου (οὐ ἰεροῦ) λόγου. } \\
 d \text{ Aucher renders, “servare,” without supplying an object. } \\
 e \text{ κοινωνίαν. } \\
 f \text{ νομοθετεῖν. } \\
 g \text{ The meaning is not wholly clear. } \\
 h \text{ τὸ πρὸς διάνοιαν. } \\
 i \text{ συγγένειαν. } \\
 j \text{ καλοκάγαθὰ ὁμονοίας vel sim. } \\
 k \text{ τῶν βουλῶν τοῖς λόγοις καὶ τῶν λόγων τοῖς ἔργοις ὀμονοοῦν- } \\
 l \text{ τῶν. } \\
 m \text{ ἔρωτα ἐκχέει: Aucher “amore efluent.” } \\
 n \text{ Aucher renders the adverb freely, “humaniter.” } \\
 o \text{ ἀρετῆς. } \\
 p \text{ τὰ τῶν ἐγκυκλίων λεγομένων θεωρήματα. } \\
 q \text{ Aucher “instructus . . . solido exercitio.” } \\
 r \text{ τὴν κοινὴν τοῦ νοῦ παιδείαν. } \\
 s \text{ λογική.}
\]
accountable \(a\) and spiritual, \(b\) for it adapts the mind to the number of souls.\(^{c}\)

\*6. (Ex. xii. 4b) Why does (Moses) command that everyone shall "number sufficient for himself" for the sacrifice? \(d\)

In the first place, excess and defect of equality \(e\) produce inequality.\(f\) And inequality,\(g\) if I may use rather mythological terms, is the mother of injustice, just as, on the other hand, equality \(h\) is (the mother of) justice.\(i\) But sufficience is midway between excess and defect.\(j\) In this passage Holy Scripture lays down (the rule), "Nothing too much."\(k\) But in the second place, one's own labour in tilling the soil is a measure of moderation \(l\) in the things necessary and useful for bodily life. And it is natural\(m\) for it to have as sisters frugality and contentment.\(n\) and

\(a\) Lit. "taken into account"; Aucher "aestimatione dignum."

\(b\) πνευματική.

\(c\) Aucher "quoniam secundum numerum animarum id conciliat mentem," which does not make much sense.

\(d\) LXX ἐκαστὸς τὸ ἀρκοῦν αὐτῷ συναρθημένης εἰς πρόβατον: Hebrew "everyone according to his eating you shall number for the sheep." In Quis Rer. Div. Heres 192-193 Philo quotes this verse as an illustration of "proportioned equality," the wording of the latter part being ὑπὸ ἐκαστὸς τὸ ἀρκοῦν αὐτῷ συναρθημένης.\(e\) Isότητος, rendered by two Arm. nouns.

\(f\) The Greek frag. reads more briefly ὑπερβολῆ καὶ ἐλλείψεις ἀνισότητα ἐγένησαν.

\(g\) Aucher mistakenly takes this noun as the second object of "produce" in the preceding sentence.

\(h\) Here again ἀστής is rendered by two Arm. nouns.

\(i\) Slightly emending the Arm. on the basis of the Greek frag., ἀνισότης δὲ, ἵνα αὐτὸς μυθικῶτερον χρήσωμαι τοῖς ὀνόμασιν, μήτε ἄδικος ἐστίν, ὅς ἐμπαῖν ἰσότης δικαιοσύνης.

\(j\) So the Greek frag., ὑπερβολῆς δὲ καὶ ἐλλείψεως μέσον τὸ αὐταρκές.

\(k\) Similarly the Greek frag. (which ends here), ἐν ὑπὸ τὸ ἱερὸν γράμμα περιέχεται τὸ "μηδὲν ἄγαν."

\(l\) σωφροσύνης μέτρον.

\(m\) eikός.

\(n\) Prob. ἐφ' ἑφ' ἑφ' ἑφ': Aucher "facilitas."
unexcessive virtue and everything which accepts the task of attacking and overthrowing arrogance.

*7. (Ex. xii. 5a) Why does (Moses) command (them) to take a "perfect male sheep of one year"?

(It is to be) perfect in two physical features, (namely) in the sensitive parts of the body and also in the other organs. For an imperfect (sacrifice) is not worthy to be brought to the altar of God. And (it is to be) male, first, because the male is more perfect than the female. Wherefore it is said by the naturalists that the female is nothing else than an imperfect male. In the second place, since it was commanded by the king of the land that the males should die, he thought it right, in face of this and also for the sake of thanksgiving, to make a sacrifice of male animals. And third, because of the king’s cruelty and wickedness in ordering the proclamation against the Hebrew children, (he thought it right) to nourish the female and to kill the male (sheep). For since the (king’s) command had been annulled by the friendliness and humanness and power of God, it was proper to give thanks for the males unexpectedly kept alive by (making) male sacrifices. And (the sheep is to be) a year old, since the males become perfect in a year. For having added the

\[ \text{So the Greek frag. (which contains only this sentence and the last sentence of this section), ψηφευται υπο φυσικων άνδρων, ουδεν έτερον ειναι θηλυ η άτελες άρσεν. For the thought see Aristotle, De Gener. An. 775 a; cf. Plato, Timaeus 90 a ff.} \]

\[ \text{Aucher inadvertently omits the second noun in his rendering.} \]

\[ \text{τη οικειοτητι και φιλανθρωπία και δυνάμει του θεού: Aucher "per humanissimum beneficium divinae potentiae."} \]

\[ \text{άπροσδοκήτως or παραδόξως: Aucher "subito."} \]

\[ \text{τέλειοι, i.e. full-grown.} \]
perfect as a sort of prime consideration, he further adds those details in which it is perfect, (namely) that it is more perfect than the female, while the "year old" shows the time sufficient for the perfecting of such animals. That is the literal meaning. But as for the deeper meaning, progress toward piety and worthy holiness ought to be both male and of a year's (duration). But what this means must be shown. Some (men) who have progressed in virtue turn back and flee before they have reached the end, for the newly grown power of virtue in the soul is destroyed by ancient error, which after being quiet for a short while again returns to the attack with great power.

8. (Ex. xii. 5b) Why is a sheep chosen? Symbolically, as I have said, it indicates perfect progress, and at the same time the male. For progress is indeed nothing else than the giving up of the female gender by changing into the male, since the female gender

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a Aucher "tamquam principale."
b τό ῥήτον,
c τό πρόσ διάνοιαν.
d The Arm. uses two nouns to render τάς προκοπάς.
e ἐπ' εὐσέβειαν καὶ ἀξίαιν ἀγιότητα.
f So the Greek frag., ένοι προκόψαντες ἐπ' ἀρετήν ὑπενόστησαν πρίν ἐφικέσθαι τοῦ τέλους.
g Slightly different is the reading of the Greek frag., τὴν ἀρτι φυμοέτην ἀριστοκράτειαν ἐν ψυχῇ.
h Here again the Greek frag. differs somewhat, καθελούσης τῆς παλαιᾶς ὀλυγκρατείας (v.l. ὀχλοκρατίας).
i So the Greek frag., ἡ πρὸς ὀλίγου ἡμείασα πάλιν εἰς υπ αρχῆς μετὰ πλείων δυνάμεως ἀντεπέθετο (v.l. ἐναπέθετο).
j LXX (πρόβατον) . . . ἀπὸ τῶν ἄρνων καὶ τῶν ἐρίφων (Heb. "from the sheep and from the goats") λήψεσθε.
k συμβολικώς.
l In the preceding section.
m προκοπῆν τελείαν. Perhaps the original was προκοπῆν τελειότητος, as in De Ebrietate 82. On the word πρόβατον as a symbol of προκοπῆ see Leg. All. iii. 165 and De Sacr. Abelis 112.

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n τοῦ θήλεος γένους.
is material, passive, corporeal and sense-perceptible, while the male is active, rational, incorporeal and more akin to mind and thought. But not ineptly has it added "of a year," since the year is (so) called from the fact that it holds everything contained within itself. But since in two of the four seasons, (namely) in autumn and winter, plants lose their leaves and dry up, and, on the other hand, in two (seasons, namely) spring and summer, they flower and bear fruit, so do the souls of progressive men experience similar things. For when they cast off the causes of life, they become almost entirely dry, being changed by desires and all the other sorts of passion. And then it brings forth new buddings of prudence and moderation, and sometimes bears and brings forth perfect fruits of wisdom. But as for the command to prepare lambs and kids, perhaps (it was given) because the Egyptian considered these animals especially divine, in order that the protector and champion might show the overthrow of their adversaries and by what power they were destroyed who were unable

\[ a \] Aucher "vitiosum," see next note.

\[ b \] ὅλικον καὶ πάσχον καὶ σωματικόν καὶ αἰσθητικόν.

\[ c \] δραστήριον καὶ λογικόν καὶ ἀσώματον καὶ νῦν τε καὶ λογισμῷ οἴκειότερον.

\[ d \] οὐκ ἀπὸ ἄκοποῦ.

\[ e \] ἐναίδιον, see the preceding section on the first half of Ex. xii. 5.

\[ f \] Cf. De Spec. Leg. iv. 235 τὸν ἑναυτὸν, ὃς, καθάπερ αὐτὸ μιμεῖ τούνομα, αὐτὸς ἐν ἑαυτῷ πάντα περιέχει συμπεραιούμενος.

\[ g \] τοῦτοις δόμοι καὶ αἱ τῶν προκοπτόντων ψυχαί πάσχουσι.

\[ h \] i.e. their life-giving qualities or the like: Aucher "vitae rationibus (causis)."

\[ i \] ἐπιθυμίαις.

\[ j \] Lit. "qualities."

\[ k \] παθῶν.

\[ l \] Aucher amplifies in rendering, "post eam vero mutationem."

\[ m \] Apparently the individual soul is meant.

\[ n \] βλαστήματα.

\[ o \] εὐδοκίας (vel sim.) καὶ σωφροσύνης: Aucher "prudentiae et sanae mentis."

\[ p \] σοφίας.

\[ q \] Aucher "oves et haedos."

\[ r \] i.e. God, who is called ὑπερασπιστὴς in De Ebrietate 111.
to help even their ancestral gods. And finally the male (lambs) were chosen and appointed for the daily sacrifices, and the goats for the forgiveness of sins. These, however, are symbols of the virtuous soul which desires perfection. First it was necessary to pluck out sins and then to wash them out and, being resplendent, to complete the daily (tasks) in the practice of virtue.

9. (Ex. xii. 6a) Why does He command (them) to keep the sacrifice until the fourteenth (day of the month)? (Consisting of) two Sabbaths, it has in its nature a (special) honour because in this time the moon is adorned. For when it has become full on the fourteenth (day), it becomes full of light in the perception of the people. And again through (another) fourteen (days) it recedes from its fullness of light to its conjunction, and it wanes as much in comparison with the preceding Sabbath as the second (waxes) in comparison with the first. For this reason the fourteenth (day) is pre-festive, as though (it were) a road leading to festive rejoicings, during which it is incumbent upon us to meditate.

\[\text{a tēlēiōtētos.}\]

\[\text{b ἀρετή.}\]

\[\text{i.e. the Paschal lamb.}\]

\[\text{d IXX καὶ ἐσται ὕμιν διατετηρημένον ἐως τῆς τεσσαρεσκαιδεκάτης (v.l., following Heb., adds ἡμέρας) τοῦ μυρός τουτοῦ.}\]

\[\text{e i.e. weeks. The Greek prob. had ἐβδομάδας, see next note.}\]

\[\text{f Cf. De Spec. Leg. ii. 149 ἀγεῖται γὰρ τεσσαρεσκαιδεκάτη τοῦ μυρός, ἤτοι ἐκ δυνή ἐβδομάδων συνέστηκεν, ἵνα μηδὲν ἀμοιρῇ τῶν ἀξίων τιμῆς ἐβδομάδος ἀλλ’ αὐτὴ κατάρχῃ πᾶσιν ἐπιφανείας καὶ σεμιότητος.}\]

\[\text{g ἀπὸ πλησιφάονς εἰς σύνοδον, cf. De Spec. Leg. i. 178.}\]

\[\text{h Aucher renders obscurely, “diminitur eo magis quam anterius sabbatum crescit, et quantum sc habebat et secundum ad primum (vel, unitatem).”}\]

\[\text{i προεόρτος, as in De Spec. Leg. ii. 176, which supports Aucher’s emendation of Arm. yarajatounak (“progressive”) to yarajatōnai.}\]
QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS

10. (Ex. xii. 6b) "And," He says, "all the multitude shall sacrifice." a

Now at other times the daily priests b (chosen) from the people, being appointed for the slaughtering and taking care of them, performed the sacrifices. But at the Passover, c here spoken of, the whole people together is honoured with the priesthood, for all of them act for themselves d in the performance of the sacrifice. For what reason? Because, in the first place, e it was the beginning of this kind of sacrifice, the Levites not yet having been elected f to the priesthood nor a temple set up. And in the second place, because the Saviour and Liberator, g Who alone leads out all men to freedom, deemed them (all) equally worthy of sharing in the priesthood and in freedom as well, since all who were of the same nation had given evidence of equal piety. h And because, I think, i He judged all the Egyptians to be equally impious, unworthy and unclean, He intended to punish them. For they would not have suffered this if they had not been guilty of the same things before the Father (and) Judge and His justice, i so that this (period of) time brought out the equality of both nations, the Egyptian and the Hebrew—an equality of impiety in one, and of piety in the other. In the third place, because a temple had not yet been built, He showed that the dwelling together of several good persons in the home was a temple and altar, in order that in the first sacrifices of the nation no one might be found to have more than any other. In the fourth place, He thought it just and fitting that before

a lxx καὶ σφάξουσι αὐτὸ πᾶν τὸ πλῆθος συναγωγῆς νῦν Ἰσραήλ (Heb. “all the community of the congregation of Israel”). Philo comments more briefly and somewhat similarly on this half-verse in De Spec. Leg. ii. 145-146.

b οἱ ἐφημερευόντωσιν.

c Πάσχα.

d αὐτοῦργοῦσιν.

e Aucher “nunc primum.”

f χειροποιηθέντωσι.

g ὁ σωτήρ καὶ ἑλευθεροποιῶσ.

h ἐδοξέβιαν.

i Aucher “vecor”—a puzzling rendering.

j Aucher “coram Patre et in tribunali justitiae suae.”

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choosing the particular priests. He should grant priesthood to the whole nation in order that the part might be adorned through the whole, and not the whole through a part—above all the popular element. And He permitted the nation, as the very first thing to be done, to prepare with their own hands and to slaughter the sacrifice of the so-called Passover (as) the beginning of good things. And He decided that there is nothing more beautiful than that the divine cult should be performed by all in harmony. And also that the nation might be an archetypal example to the temple-wardens and priests and those who exercise the high-priesthood in carrying out the sacred rites. In the fifth place, because He wished every household and similarly (every) head of a household to act worthily and not to incur any profanation, (being) like a priest who is purified of all sins in whatever he says or does or thinks. And in now speaking of the multitude as a “congregation” He uses apposite names for a more exact appearance of sobriety in the matters entrusted to them now at the present time. For when the whole multitude came together with harmonious oneness to give thanks for their migration, He no longer called them a multitude or a nation or a people but a “congregation.”

EXODUS, BOOK I

a τούς κατὰ μέρος λειψ.  b χαρίσασθαι.
Jonah “honoriﬁcaretur.”

d τὸ λαϊκόν: Jonah “populares.”

e χειροποιεῖσθαι.

f i.e. the Paschal lamb.

g Apparently the kindesses of God are meant.

h Jonah “certam eam (i.e. “the nation”) reddens.”

i θην θείαν λατρείαν (or διακοινα vel sim.).

j Jonah “unanimiters.”

k παράδειγμα ἀρχέτυπον.

l τοῖς νεωκόροις, i.e. the Levites.

m θην ἀρχιερωσύνη.

n οἰκοδεσπότην.

o Philo here refers to the lxx expression πλῆθος συναγωγῆς.

p Sic (plural): Jonah “nomenclaturam.”

q Or “watchfulness”: Jonah “vigilantiae.”

r Jonah “in rebus suppositis.”
QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS

And so it happened that they congregated and came together not only in body but also in mind as being about to sacrifice with one character and one soul.

11. (Ex. xii. 6c) Why is the Passover sacrificed at evening? 

Perhaps because good things were about to befall at night (and because) it was not the custom to offer a sacrifice in darkness, and for those who were about to experience good things at night it was not (proper) to prepare it before the ninth hour. Therefore it was not at random but knowingly that the prophet set a time between the evenings. That is the literal meaning. But as for the deeper meaning, this should be said. The true sacrifice of God-loving souls consists in abandoning an empty and visible splendour and attempting to change to the un-

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*a* οὐ μόνον σώματι ἄλλα καὶ διάνοια.  
*b* ἐνὶ ἡθεὶ (vel sim.) καὶ μιᾷ ψυχῇ.  
*c* ἡ διάβασις θεοῦ δὲ τὰ διαβατηρία = τὸ πάσχα as in Qvis Rer. Div. Heres 255 and De Spec. Leg. ii. 145.  
*d* 1xx πρὸς ἐσπέραν: Heb. "between the evenings (dual)." In Lev. xxiii. 5 lxx renders more literally, ἀνὰ μέσον τῶν ἐσπερινῶν, but in Num. ix. 3 it has πρὸς ἐσπέραν as here. In De Spec. Leg. ii. 145 Philo sets the time for sacrificing the Paschal lamb "from noon until evening."  
*e* εὐπραγιαί, i.e. the judgment executed on the Egyptians, see below, QE i. 20 on Ex. xii. 12.  
*f* i.e. 3 P.M. In Palestine the Paschal lamb was usually slaughtered at about 3 P.M., although theoretically the slaughtering might be done "between noon and twilight" (see above, note d).  
*g* ὁ προφήτης, i.e. Moses, here represented as speaking for God.  
*h* See note d. Aucher renders more literally, "tempus mediocre ad vesperam vergens."  
*i* τὸ ῥητὸν.  
*j* τὸ πρὸς διάνοιαν.  
*k* ἡ ἀφευδησθεὶς θυσία: Aucher "infallible sacrificium."  
*l* The Arm. par'k' may here reflect δόξαν in the sense of "opinion."
apparent and invisible. Now the time of evening does not have a refulgent brightness, such as occurs at midday, nor is it darkened, although while day is near and close to night, it is dimmed to a certain extent. Such happens to be the state of progressive men. For they do not completely change to virtue nor do they remain unhindered in the affairs of mortal life.

12. (Ex. xii. 7) Why does He command (them) to place some of the blood upon the doorposts and upon the lintel of every house?

That is (because), as I said a little earlier, at that time every house became an altar and a temple of God for the contemplative, wherefore He rightly deemed them worthy of making divine offerings of blood upon the front parts of each (house) that they might at the same time, showing

\[\text{Aucher} \, \text{in invisibilem studere transferri.}\]

\[\text{Aucher} \, \text{habetur ex natura.}\]

\[\text{Aucher} \, \text{prokopptonton.}\]

\[\text{Acher} \, \text{areis.}\]

\[\text{One would expect "nor do they remain completely immersed " or the like. The Arm. anargel renders }\, \text{akolastos}\, \text{and }\, \text{akratēs. Perhaps, therefore, we should here render, "incontinent."}\]

\[\text{In QE i. 10.}\]

\[\text{tois thewophikois (or }\, \text{oratikois) }=\, \text{Israel as elsewhere in Philo, e.g. Quis Rer. Div. Heres 78, De Somniis ii. 173; so, too, Aucher, "contemplativis (Israelitis)."}\]

\[\text{As Acher notes, the meaning is somewhat uncertain because of the ambiguity of two of the Arm. words; he renders, "unde jure divini sacrificii ex sanguine offerendo super postes singulorum dignos eos afficit."}\]
QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS

contempt of their enemies, sacrifice without fear and, as it were, bear testimony to and show confidence in the greatness and abundance of God’s gracious acts. That is the literal meaning. But as for the deeper meaning, it is this. Since our soul is threefold, the heart is likened to the lintel, desire to the house, and reason to the two doorposts. And since each of these parts is destined to move on to righteousness and piety and worthy holiness and to change to other virtues, it is necessary for it to participate in virtue, to which it is kin by blood.

13. (Ex. xii. 8a) Why does He command (them) to eat the flesh of the Paschal lamb at night?

As for the literal meaning, since good things were ordered to take place at night, it was right that the

\[\tau\alpha\nu \tau\omicron \omega \tau\omicron \delta \theta\omicron \omicron \delta \chi\omicron\rho\omicron\iota\omicron\tau\omicron\omicron\omega\nu.\]

Aucher renders the last clause somewhat differently, “sed quasi ostentantes confidenter per magnitudinem copiamque Dei gratiae.”

\[\tau\omicron \rho\eta\tau\omicron\nu.\]

\[\tau\omicron \pi\omicron\omicron\delta \delta\iota\alpha\omicron\nu\eta\omicron\nu.\]

\[\text{Cf. Quis Rer. Div. Heres 225 ψυχή γὰρ τρισμερής μὲν ἔστι.}\]

Philo here follows Plato in assuming that the soul has three faculties or parts, emotion (θυμός), appetite or desire (ἐπιθυμία) and reason (λόγος).

\[\mu\epsilon\lambda\lambda\nu\omicron\tau\omicron\nuos.\]

\[\text{Lit. “to migrate.”}\]

\[\epsilon\iota\zeta \delta\iota\kappa\alpha\omega\sigma\omega\upsilon\eta\nu\kappa \epsilon\iota\sigma\sigma\beta\epsilon\iota\alpha\nu\kappa \kappa \alphaξ\iota\alphaν \delta\iota\sigma\iota\omicron\nu\tau\omicron\nu\alpha\].

\[\delta\rho\epsilon\tau\acute{a}\acute{a}.\]

\[\text{The meaning of the last clause is uncertain. Aucher renders, “necesse habet ut participet sanguinem cognatum virtute,” adding in a footnote, “vel, ut consanguineus participet virtutem.”}\]

Apparently Philo means that blood is in general a symbol of kinship, cf. De Virtutibus 79.

\[\text{Arm. p’esxekei= τοῦ πάσχα.}\]

\[\text{Ixx καὶ φάγονται τὰ κρέα τῇ νυκτὶ ταῦτῃ.}\]

\[\text{Aucher, in disregard of the Arm. word-order, renders, “rectum fuit secundum ordinem.”}\]
victims sacrificed in thanksgiving should be consumed by
the eaters at the same time. But as for the deeper mean-
ing, it was proper for those who wished truly to repent to
effect the purification of their souls invisibly and with-
out making signs and not saying anything more but only
believing (themselves) to stand in night and darkness, in
order that no visible (and) visionary form of imaginary
idols might appear to be seen. And none the less does
 glory follow the humility of the worshippers, for
darkness does not make the stars invisible; rather do they appear
more clearly at night.

14. (Ex. xii. 8b) (Why) does He command that the flesh
of the Passover sacrifice be offered roasted?

First, for the sake of speed, for He was hastening the
exodus. Second, for the sake of simplicity, for that which
is roasted is prepared more simply and without dressing.
In the third place, He does not permit (us) to lead a life

a τὸ πρὸς διάνοιαν.
b μετανοεῖν.
c Cf. De Spec. Leg. ii. 147 “But to those accustomed to
turn literal facts into allegory the Passover (τὰ διαβατήρια)
suggests the purification of the soul (ψυχῆς κάθαρσιν).”
d The text is somewhat obscure. Aucher renders a little
more freely, “equo quod nulla videatur imaginaria visio simu-
lacri idolorum instar.” In De Spec. Leg. i. 319-323 Philo
inveighs against the pagan mysteries celebrated in the dark-
ness of night, while in De Spec. Leg. ii. 155 he points out that
the Passover sacrifice takes place in the clear light of the full
moon.

e Aucher less aptly, I think, renders, “quum non parva
sequitur religiosos humilitas ac gloria.”

f τῶν διαβατηρίων, see QE i. 11, note c.

g ἸΧΧ καὶ φάγοντας τὰ κρέα . . ὀπτὰ πυρί.

h The Arm. lit. = δι’ ἀκρασίαν, which usu. means “in-
temperance” in Philo, but here means more literally “not
being mixed (with spices, etc.).” Possibly, however, the
original was ἀκηρασίαν “purity.”

i ἀπλούστερον.
QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS

filled with luxury, for boiling is an indication of variety and seasoning.

15. (Ex. xii. 8c) (Why) does He say that they shall offer unleavened bread on bitter herbs together with the above-mentioned sacrifice? Unleavened bread is (a sign) of great haste and speed, while the bitter herbs (are a sign) of the life of bitterness and struggle which they endure as slaves. That is the literal meaning. But as for the deeper meaning, this is worth noting, (namely) that that which is leavened and fermented rises, while that which is unleavened is low. Each of these is a symbol of types of soul, one being haughty and swollen with arrogance, the other being unchangeable and prudent, choosing the middle way rather than extremes because of desire and zeal for equality. But the bitter herbs are a manifestation of a psychic migration, through which one removes from passion to impassivity and from wickedness to virtue. For those who naturally and genuinely repent become bitter toward their former way of life and are vexed with their wretched life, weeping, sighing and groaning because they have given over the most necessary part of time to that seductive

\[a\] τρυφῆς vel sim.: Aucher "voluptate."
\[b\] ἐφησις, as opposed to ὅπτησις.
\[c\] ποικίλας καὶ ἀρτύματος.
\[d\] Scripture “eat,” see next note.
\[e\] LXX καὶ ἀξῦμα ἐπὶ πικρίδων ἔδοντα. In commenting briefly on this phrase in De Congressu 162 Philo cites it as ἐπὶ πικρίδων τὰ ἀξῦμα ἐσθένειν.
\[f\] τὸ ῥητόν.
\[g\] τὸ πρὸς διάνοιαν.
\[h\] τὸ ἐξυμωμένον <καὶ> ζέον vel sim.: Aucher "fermentatum pustulis."
\[i\] ταπεινὸν: Aucher "desidet."
\[j\] ὃν ἐκάτερον σύμβολον ἐστὶ τῶν ψυχῶν τρόπων.
\[k\] ιασότητος.
\[l\] ψυχικῆς ἀποκλίας: Aucher "spiritualis emigrationis."
\[m\] ἐκ παθῶν εἰς ἀπάθειαν καὶ ἐκ πονηρίας εἰς ἀρετήν.
\[n\] φύσει καὶ γνησίως μετανοοῦσι.
and deceitful mistress, Desire, and have spent the prime of their youth in being deceived by her when they ought to have renewed themselves and advanced in the contemplation of wisdom toward the goal of a happy, fortunate and immortal life. And so, we who desire repentance eat the unleavened bread with bitter herbs, that is, we first eat bitterness over our old and unendurable life, and then (we eat) the opposite of overboastful arrogance through meditation on humility, which is called reverence. For the memory of former sins causes fear, and by restraining it through recollection brings no little profit to the mind.

16. (Ex. xii. 9a) What is the meaning of the words, “You shall not eat (it) raw”? And who of mankind will eat raw meat? Carnivores among beasts and eaters of raw flesh (alone do so). But man is a tame animal by nature, especially those who are adorned with a character in accordance with the divine law. Accordingly, He appears to allegorize all this, for He says that those who change from wickedness to virtue shall not eat of repentance when it is raw and crude but (shall do so) by heating it, that is, with hot and ignited principles. For many men change unexpectedly to the opposite by an irrational impulse from generosity to

\[ \text{a } \epsilon\pi\theta\nu\mu\alpha. \]
\[ \text{b Aucher amplifies in rendering, “male traduxerunt.”} \]
\[ \text{c Aucher combines the two infinitives in rendering, “jucunde proficere.”} \]
\[ \text{d } \tau\eta\, \sigma\sigma\phi\iota\alpha\, \tau\theta\varepsilon\varpi\rho\iota\alpha. \]
\[ \text{e Aucher renders less literally, “ad felicem immortalis vitae statum.”} \]
\[ \text{f Lit. “oldness” (\pi\alpha\lambda\alpha\upsilon\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\tau\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\delta\omicron\omicron\omicron): Aucher “transactum tempus.”} \]
\[ \text{g } \tau\alpha\pi\epsilon\iota\nu\omicron\omega\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\nu. \]
\[ \text{h Prob. a\upsilon\delta\omicron\omicron: Aucher “pudor.”} \]
\[ \text{i Aucher renders less literally and less intelligibly, “et in se recolligens mentem, non paucam utilitatem fert.”} \]
\[ \text{j LXX: o\upsilon\kappa\, \epsilon\dhat{e}\upsilon\omicron\theta\omicron\beta\acute{e} \acute{a}p\acute{a} \alpha\upsilon\tau\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\upsilon \omega\omicron\omicron\omicron.} \]
\[ \text{k } \eta\mu\epsilon\rho\omicron\omicron\, \zeta\omicron\upsilon\omicron\phi\omicron\omicron\omicron. \]
\[ \text{l Aucher “cunctis moribus.”} \]
\[ \text{m kat\acute{a} \tau\omicron\omicron\, \theta\epsilon\iota\omicron\upsilon \nu\omicron\omicron\omicron.} \]
\[ \text{n } \alpha\lambda\lambda\gamma\omicron\omicron\omicron\epsilon\omicron\nu. \]
\[ \text{o } \acute{a}r\acute{e}t\acute{h}\. \]
\[ \text{p } \mu\epsilon\tau\alpha\omicron\omicron\omicron\upsilon\alpha\omicron\omicron\upsilon, \text{ see the preceding section.} \]
\[ \text{q } \alpha\lambda\omicron\gamma\omicron\, \acute{o}r\mu\iota\iota.} \]
QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS

parsimony, and from a barbarous, a artificial and delicate way of life to a harsh way of life, b and from love of glory they fly to ingloriousness. These men no one will praise. For, as one might say allegorically, their change is raw and crude and unstable, c wherefore they are not aware of changing, not to virtue but to the opposite vices. But those who change by the principle of knowledge d and are hardened e as though by the force of fire have acquired a stable and unmoving usefulness.

17. (Ex. xii. 9b) Why was the head to be offered with the feet and the entrails at the Paschal sacrifice? f

The literal meaning g is, I believe, somewhat as follows. Since He believes that the whole sacrifice should be consumed, He mentions all the parts, indicating h that it is not proper to leave anything at all. But as for the deeper meaning, i the head is the first, highest and principal (part). But the internal (parts) He opposes to the external. For He says that it is fitting for him who is purified to purify his entire soul j with his inner desires, k and the words that go outward and the deeds through serviceable instruments l and through the head (as) chief, as it were.

18. (Ex. xii. 10) (Why) does He command that the remainder of the Paschal sacrifice be burnt at dawn? m

a Aucher "agresti."
b σκληραγωγίαν.
c Aucher renders inaccurately, "quoniam cruda et inconstans est, ut aliquis diceret, summa commutatio eorum."
d λόγω ἐπιστῆμης vel sim.
e Lit. "are fitted together" : Aucher "componuntur."
f ἐκατον τοῖς ποσὶν ὑπηρετούντων ὁργάνων (Heb. "legs") kai τοῖς ἐνδοσθίοις.
g τὸ ῥήτον.
h αἰνεττόμενος : Aucher "declarans."
i τοῖς διάνοιαν.
j The Arm. noun (= ἕνωθι) is strangely in the plural.
k ἐπιθυμίαις.
l διὰ τῶν ὑπηρετούντων ὁργάνων.
m τὰ δὲ καταληπόμενα ἀπ’ αὐτοῦ ἐν τῷ πρώτῳ ὑπῆρχον κατακαύσετε.
He did not think it right that the sun should first shine upon the Passover a because of His completing a good thing b at night, as I have said. c And why this was at night has already been said, where the manifestations of deeds took place and the praises of the deeds. And it was commanded that the sacrifice be prepared at this time in order that all the limbs of the sacrifice might be consumed. For many of the necessary things are wont to be overlooked in an unexpected and hurried exodus, especially by those who are hurrying to make the exodus with great speed. (And) it was not proper for the unworthy and unclean hands of the Egyptians to touch the remains. Wherefore, taking care that they should not be defiled in any way, He handed them over to an undefiled king, the fire. d

*19. (Ex. xii. 11) (Why) does He command (everyone) to eat, having a girdle and shoes and a staff? e All the things mentioned are an indication of the manner of journeying of those who are in haste. For it is the custom of those who are about to travel a long way to wear shoes and to be girt with a girdle and to take a staff for their needs, because shoes protect the feet, while girding oneself makes movement easier for the legs, and a staff is useful to lean on and to drive away poisonous reptiles and other beasts. This, then, suffices for the explanation of the literal meaning. f But as for the deeper meaning, g this must be said. The girdles represent drawing together h

a τῶν διαβατηρίων, cf. QE i. 4.
b εὐπραγίαν, i.e. the judgment executed on the Egyptians.
c In QE i. 11, 13. See also QE i. 20 on Ex. xii. 12.
d Apparently fire is here called “an undefiled king” in implied contrast to the unclean king of Egypt.
e LXX οὗτος δὲ φάγεσθε αὐτῷ· αἱ ὄσφες ύμῶν περιεξωσμέναι καὶ τὰ ὑποδήματα ἐν τοῖς ποσίν ύμῶν καὶ αἱ βακτηρίαι ἐν ταῖς χεραῖς ύμῶν καὶ ἐδεσθε αὐτὸ μετὰ σπουδῆς· πᾶσα ἡστίν κυρίω. Philo briefly allegorizes this verse in Leg. All. iii. 154 and De Sacr. Abeliis 63. f τὸ ῥητὸν. g τὸ πρὸς διάνοιαν.

h The Greek frag. (which begins here) has στάσων, while the Arm. more closely renders οὐσολήν or the like.
and the coming together of the sensual pleasures and other passions,\textsuperscript{a} which, being, as it were, released and let go, overtake all souls.\textsuperscript{b} Wherefore not ineptly does He add that one must have a girdle about the middle, for this place is considered as the manger of the many-headed beast of desire within us.\textsuperscript{c}

And the staves seem to represent a royal, disciplinary\textsuperscript{d} and stable form, for the rod is a symbol of kingship and an instrument of discipline for those who are unable to act prudently\textsuperscript{e} without being scolded.\textsuperscript{f} And it is a figure\textsuperscript{g} of unmoving and stable souls which abandon whatever inclines to either side and in two (directions). And the shoes indicate the covering and protection of one who is engaged in hurrying not on a trackless way but on a well-travelled and worn path which leads to virtue.\textsuperscript{h} Wherefore that which is (here) said is contrary to what (actually) takes place. For, He says, they must have shoes "in their feet"\textsuperscript{i} which is impossible and cannot be done, for the feet of the wearers are different from the shoes. But it seems from this and many other (passages) that He is recalling the mind to the contemplation of natural ideas.\textsuperscript{j} For shoes are inanimate while feet are animate, just as is each of the various other parts of the body. And so, He says, let not the inanimate be a covering for that which

\textsuperscript{a} So the Greek frag., συναγωγὴν ἥδουν καὶ τῶν ἄλλων παθῶν.
\textsuperscript{b} The Greek frag. reads more briefly ἄ τέως ἀνείτο καὶ κεχάλαστο.
\textsuperscript{c} Similarly the Greek frag. (which ends here), οὐκ ἀπὸ δὲ σκοποῦ προσέθηκε τὸ δεῖν ἵππυνοθαὶ κατὰ τὴν ὀσφύν: ὁ γὰρ τόπος ἐκεῖνος εἰς φάτνην ἀποκέκριται πολυκεφάλῳ θρέμματι τῶν ἐν Ἡμῖν ἐπιθυμιῶν.
\textsuperscript{d} Or "admonitory": Aucher "monitivam."
\textsuperscript{e} σωφρονίζεσθαι.
\textsuperscript{f} Cf. De Mut. Nom. 175 ἡ ῥάβδος ... ἡ νουθεσία, ὁ σωφρονισμὸς, ἡ παιδεία.
\textsuperscript{g} τρόπος vel sim.: Aucher "exemplar."
\textsuperscript{h} ἄρετήν.
\textsuperscript{i} For homiletical purposes Philo dwells on the literal meaning of the lxx phrase τὰ υποδήματα ἐν τοῖς ποσίν.
\textsuperscript{j} φυσικῶν ἰδεῶν, i.e. religious-philosophical concepts.
EXODUS, BOOK I

has a soul but, on the contrary, let the animate (be a cover) for the inanimate in order that the better may not be held and contained by the bad but the bad by the better. For the Creator has made the soul queen and mistress of the body, and the body the obedient servant and slave of the soul.

20. (Ex. xii. 12) (Why) does He say, "And on all the gods of the Egyptians I will take vengeance; I (am) the Lord"?^

(This is said) concerning all unstable and unworthy things, for (only) up to a certain point does the pretence of divinized idols succeed by accidentally attaining knowledge in giving oracular responses through persuasive words and parables and still other (devices) which have their source in chance. And these are all of short duration, for they never see the light of sacred truth, by which alone the Creator of all, Who keeps created beings in security and is truly their Lord, can naturally be comprehended. And the comprehension of Him immediately dissolves unstable and unworthy human beliefs and the power by which men are overwhelmed because of the impotence within them. And so, just as are the words of idols, so in all things is the way of life of the foolish man. For he who has a false and erroneous opinion concerning the best, (namely) God, also has an erroneous and false way of life. And as for those who have true knowledge without

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a Philo here comments on only the last part of the verse which reads in full in the lxx text καὶ ἐλεύθεροι ἐν γῆ Λίγυπτω ἐν τῇ γυναικί ταυτῇ καὶ πατάξω πάν πρωτότοκον ἐν γῆ Λίγυπτω ὁπό ἀνθρώπον ἔως κτήνους, καὶ ἐν πᾶσι τοῖς θεοῖς τῶν Λιγυπτίων ποιήσω τὴν ἐκδίκησιν (Heb. "judgments ‘‘): ἐγὼ κύριος.

b τῷφος (vel sim.) τῶν θεοπλαστηθέντων εἰδώλων.

c Lit. "in places of questioning.”

d Aucher, disregarding the Arm. word-order, renders, "sanctum lumen veritatis.”

e δότως: Aucher "solus.”

f καταλαμβάνεσθαι πέφικε.

g ἡ κατάληψις.

h τὴν δύναμιν.

i δόξα.
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error concerning the Existent One, their truthfulness is honoured in every other matter.

*21. (Ex. xii. 17) What is the meaning of the words, "I will bring out your force from Egypt"? Why does He not say "you"?

"Force" is the godly piety of the seeing nation. Now, so long as those who have this force dwell in cities and villages, the cities and villages act well and properly, for they are adorned at least with the virtue of others if not with their own. But when (these inhabitants) depart, the portion of common good fortune is changed. For good men are the pillars of whole communities, and they support cities and city-governments as if they were great houses. That is the literal meaning. But as for the deeper meaning, it is this. Just as, when health leaves the body, illness immediately seizes it, so also, if godly piety, the force of the soul, departs, one must necessarily expect its waiting house-mate, impotence and impiety, for not even a seed of decency remains, but even if there is a small remaining spark, this too is driven out, and there supervenes a great and most severe affliction.

22. (Ex. xii. 22c) What is the meaning of the words,

*a ρερι του 'Οντος: Aucher "de Deo."
b Philo here comments on only part of vs. 17, of which the LXX text reads και φυλάσσετε τὴν ἐντολὴν (Heb. "unleavened bread") ταύτην: ἐν γὰρ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ταύτῃ ἐξάγω (Heb. "I brought out") τὴν δύναμιν υμῶν (Heb. "your hosts") ἐκ γῆς Λιβύητον, καὶ ποιήσετε τὴν ἡμέραν ταύτην εἰς γενεάς υμῶν νόμων αἰώνων.
c i.e. instead of "your force."
d δύναμις ἐστὶ τοῦ ὀρατικοῦ γένους (i.e. Israel) θεοσέβεια.
e ἀρετή.
f ταῖς οἰκείαις.
g So, with one addition, the Greek fragment (which contains only this sentence), ἀνδρεῖς ἀγαθοί, τροπικώτερον εἴπειν, κινέσεις εἰς δήμων ὄλων, ὑπερεῖδοντες, καθάπερ οἰκίας μεγάλας, τὰς πόλεις καὶ τὰς πολιτείας.
h τὸ ρητόν.
i τὸ πρὸς διάνοιαν.
j Aucher "satellitem domesticum."
k καλοκαγαθίας.
EXODUS, BOOK I

"And no one shall go out through the doors of his house until morning"  

As for the literal meaning, this must be said, (namely) that God wishes to accomplish His benefactions solely by His own hand without any human operator both in punishing those who deserve every curse and in helping those to whom unjust and violent things happen. But as for the deeper meaning, "morning" is a figure of sense-perceptible light, for the mind until that time dwells in itself alone, leaving the tumult of the senses. And sometimes, permitting itself to use the senses, it is wont to go about everywhere. Now this going about produces for it error and tracklessness, for the doors, by which I understand the senses, are opened to the streams of sense-perceptible things, into which the mind throws itself down, as if from some high precipice, from the perfect, intelligible and incorporeal ideas. But he who does not go out through the doors of the soul and experiences a good fear, sees only those things worthy to be seen, which shine forth from thoughts stripped of the senses. Wherefore (Scripture) adds, "The Lord will pass over the door," by which I understand both the senses and all sense-perceptible things. For so long as the senses are released

a LXX ὑμεῖς δὲ οὐκ ἐξελύσασθε ἐκαστὸς τὴν θύραν τοῦ οὐκοῦ αὐτοῦ ἐως πρωΐ.  
b τὸ ρητῶν.

c Aucher "cooperatore."

d Aucher amplifies in rendering, "illos vero qui omnem maledictionem merent punire volens aut quibus iniqua quaedam per vim inferenda sint, id mediantibus aliis prosequi."

e τὸ πρὸς διάνοιαν.

f σημείων τροπικῶν (vel sim.) ἐστὶ φωτὸς αἰσθητοῦ.

g ὁ νοῦς.

h The Arm. demonstr. pron. here seems to be used as a reflexive. Aucher boldly renders, "in corpore."

i πλάνην καὶ ἀνοδίαν.  
j τὰς αἰσθήσεις.

k Slightly emending the Arm. which lit. = τῶν αἰσθήσεων instead of τῶν αἰσθητῶν.

l ἀπὸ τῶν τελειῶν καὶ νοητῶν καὶ ἀσωμάτων ἰδεῶν.

m Aucher "oriuntur."

n See lxx of Ex. xii. 23b καὶ παρελεύσεται κύριος τὴν θύραν.
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and apart by themselves, they belong to the mind. But when they descend into the body, they give admittance to a baser idea, imitating, in a way, the nature of irrational creatures.

23. (Ex. xii. 23c) (Why) does (Scripture) say that He will not let "the destroyer enter your houses to strike?"

It weaves into the whole legislation the faithful and worthy sentiment that we are not to make the Deity the cause of any evil. For when it says that He will not suffer the destroyer, it makes plain that corruption and destruction are brought about through certain others as ministers but not through the sovereign King. There you have the literal meaning. But as for the deeper meaning, this must be said. Into every soul at its very birth there enter two powers, the salutary and the destructive. If the salutary one is victorious and prevails, the opposite

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a ὁσον ἀφεται εἰςι καὶ ἵδιαι καθ' ἑαυτὰς αἱ ἱδεῖαι: Aucher "quantum liberi sunt et in se collecti sensus."

b Lit. "they are of the mind": Aucher "mentis sunt."

c ἀλόγων ζωῶν φύσιν.

d LXX καὶ οὐκ ἀφήσει τὸν ὀλθηρεύοντα εἰσελθεῖν εἰς τὸς οίκιας ὑμῶν πατάξαι. Philo quotes this passage and comments on it very briefly in Leg. All. ii. 34.

e νομοθεσία.

f ἡγώμην: Aucher "voluntatem."

g That God is not responsible for any evil is stated by Philo in several places, e.g. De Confus. Ling. 161, 182. Sometimes, however, he admits that God sometimes Himself inflicts evil as a punishment, see Wolfson, Philo, i. 282, 382.

h διὰ τοῦ πρῶτον βασιλεῶς.

i τὸ ῥητὸν.

j τὸ πρός διάνοιαν.

k ἄμα τῇ γενέσει.

l δύναμεις.

m ἡ μὲν σωτηρία, ἡ δὲ φθοροποιός. These powers are not to be identified with the two chief powers or attributes of God, the βασιλική or κολαστήριος δύναμις and the ἐνεργετική or ποιητική δύναμις, on which see QG ii. 51, iv. 2, QE ii. 68 et al. They correspond more closely to the good and evil cosmic powers, identified with good and bad angels (or demons) respectively.

32
one is too weak to see." And if the latter prevails, no profit at all or little is obtained from the salutary one. Through these powers the world $b$ too was created. People call them by other names: the salutary (power) they call powerful and beneficent, and the opposite one (they call) unbounded $c$ and destructive. Thus, the sun and moon and the appropriate positions of the other stars and their ordered functions and the whole heaven together come into being and exist through the two (powers). And they are created $d$ in accordance with the better part of these, $e$ namely when the salutary and beneficent (power) brings to an end $f$ the unbounded and destructive nature. Wherefore also to those who have attained such a state and a nature similar to this is immortality given. But the nation $g$ is a mixture of both (these powers), from which the heavens and the entire world as a whole have received this mixture. Now, sometimes the evil becomes greater in this mixture, and hence (all creatures) live in torment, harm, ignominy, contention, battle and bodily illness together with all the other things in human life, as in the whole world, so in man. And this mixture is in both the wicked man and the wise man $h$ but not in the same way. For the souls of foolish men have the unbounded and

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$a$ The Arm. inf. may be either active or passive, hence we may here render "to be seen." Moreover, the verb $tesanem$ renders $φροντισεως$ as well as $οραω$, hence Aucher here renders, "ad aliquum sibi providendum." I suspect, however, that the original reading was not $οραω$ "to see" but $ορμαω$ "to attack."

$b$ $ο$ κύσμος.

$c$ Prob. $ἀπερανον$, perhaps here used in the sense of the indeterminate, inferior principle of the Pythagoreans.

$d$ Arm. $stanam$ here renders $κτίζεως$ rather than $κτᾶσθαι$, as Aucher supposes, see the next note.

$e$ Aucher renders less accurately, "acquiritur autem melior corum pars."

$f$ Form and meaning of the verb $katarem$, which usually renders $τελειοῦν$, are here not certain: Aucher "subigit."

$g$ It is not clear whether this refers to the nation ($γένος$) of Israel, as the Arm. glossator supposes, or to the human race.

$h$ ἐν τῷ σοφῷ.

SUPPL. II  c  33
destructive rather than the powerful and salutary (power), and it is full of misery when it dwells with earthly creatures. But the prudent and noble (soul) rather receives the powerful and salutary (power) and, on the contrary, possesses in itself good fortune and happiness, being carried around with the heaven because of kinship with it. Most excellently, therefore, does (Scripture) say that He will not let "the destroyer enter your houses to strike," and this is what (actually) happens, for the force which is the cause of destruction strives, as it were, to enter the soul, but is prevented by the divine beneficences from striking (it), for these are salutary. But those from whom the favours and gifts of God are separated and cut off suffer the experience of desertion and widowhood. The meaning is somewhat as follows. Into this soul there extend and enter visible appearances which are mixed in accordance with various kinds of involuntary traits of character, sometimes naked and unarmed, and sometimes armed and in a certain manner threatening death, and they inflict mighty blows upon the thoughts. Now, these blows are the admission of appearances. But perfect good is not obtained from any of these.

a Lit. "which," referring to the destructive power rather than to the salutary one.
b Or "good fame."
c φυλοτιμεῖται vel sim.: Aucher "inhibetur."
d υπὸ τῶν θείων εὐεργεσίων.
e άι τοῦ θεοῦ χάριτες καὶ δωρεά.
f ερημίας καὶ χρείας.
g φαντασίαι: Aucher "imaginationes."
h φαντασίαι: Aucher "imaginationes."
i ακοουσίων τρόπων vel sim.: Aucher "mores involuntarios."

j τρόπον τινά.
k τοὺς λογισμοὺς.
i συγχώρησις vel sim.: Aucher "admissio."
BOOK II

*1. (Ex. xx. 25b) What is the meaning of the words, “If thou strike thy hand-tool against it, then it is defiled”? Those who presume to lay hands upon nature and transform the works of nature by their own undertakings defile the undefiled. For the things of nature are perfect and full and are not in need of any excision or addition or anything at all.

*2. (Ex. xxii. 21) Why does (Scripture) in admonishing, “Thou shalt not oppress a sojourner,” add, “For ye were sojourners in the land of the Egyptians”? Book II of the Quaestiones in Exodum, which is about three times as long as Book I, probably contains most, if not all, of what were, in the original Greek, Books III-V. See the Introduction.

b The whole verse reads in LXX ἐὰν δὲ θυσιαστήριον ἐκ λίθων πούς μοι, οὐκ οἰκοδομήσεις αὐτοῖς τμητούς. τὸ γὰρ ἐγχειρίδιον σου (Heb. “thy knife”) ἐπιβεβληκας ἐπ’ αὐτοῖς (Heb. “if thou lift against it”), καὶ μεμίαναι (Heb. “then thou wilt defile it”). The Greek frag. reads more briefly τί ἐστι “τὸ γὰρ ἐγχειρίδιον σου” καὶ τὰ ἑξῆς;

c So the Greek frag., οἴ τὴν φύσιν παρεγχειρεῖν τολμῶντες καὶ τὰ ἑργα τῆς φύσεως ἐγχειρήμασιν ἰδίους μεταμορφοῦντες τὰ ἀμίαντα μαίνουσι.

d The Greek frag. reads more briefly τελεια γὰρ καὶ πλήρη τὰ τῆς φύσεως, προσθήκης οὐδεμᾶς δεόμενα.

e Heb., Ex. xxii. 20.

f LXX καὶ προσήλυτον (Heb. גֵּר originally meant “sojourner” or “guest,” “client,” etc., later “proselyte” as in the LXX) οὗ κακώσετε οὐδε μὴ θλίψετε αὐτῶν ἢτε γὰρ προσήλυτοι ἐν γῇ Αἰγύπτῳ.
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(Scripture) first makes it clearly apparent and demonstrable that in reality the sojourner is one who circumcises not his uncircumcision but his desires and sensual pleasures and the other passions of the soul. For in Egypt the Hebrew nation was not circumcised but being mistreated with all (kinds of) mistreatment by the inhabitants in their hatred of strangers, it lived with them in self-restraint and endurance, not by necessity but rather of its own free choice, because it took refuge in God the Saviour, Who sent His beneficent power and delivered from their difficult and hopeless situation those who made supplication (to Him). Therefore (Scripture) adds, "Ye yourselves know the soul of the sojourner." But what is the mind of the sojourner if not alienation from belief in many gods and familiarity with honouring the one

a The Greek frag. reads more briefly ἐμφανέστατα παρίστησιν.

b The Greek frag. (see next note but one) has nothing corresponding to the Arm. ἰσκ = "in reality" or the like.

c Here, as usually, Philo takes προσήλυτος in the sense of "proselyte."

d So the Greek frag. (with one change of word-order), ὅτι προσήλυτός ἦστω, οὐχ ὁ περιτιμθεὶς τῆν ἀκροβυστίαν ἀλλ' ὁ τάς ἡδονάς καὶ τὰς ἑπιθυμίας καὶ τὰ ἄλλα πάθη τῆς ψυχῆς.

e So the Greek frag., ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ γὰρ τὸ Ἐβραῖον γένος οὐ περιτέμητο.

f So the Greek frag., κακωθεὶς δὲ πάσιν κακώσει τῆς παρά τῶν ἐγχωρίων περί τοὺς ξένους ωμότητος, ἐγκρατεία καὶ καρτερία συνεβίων οὐκ ἀνάγκη μᾶλλον ἢ ἔθελον ἡγέσις.

g So the Greek frag., διὰ τὴν ἐπὶ τὸν σωτῆρα θεὸν καταφύγῃ, ὅς έξ ἀπόρων καὶ ἀμηχάνων ἐπιπέμψας τὴν ἐνεργείαν δύναμιν ἐργοῦσα τοὺς ἰκέτας.

h In Ex. xxiii. 9, of which the lxx text reads καὶ προσήλυτον οὐ θλίψετε· ὑμεῖς γὰρ οἴδατε τὴν ψυχὴν τοῦ προσήλυτον αὐτοῦ γὰρ προσήλυτοι ἤτε ἐν γῇ Αἰγύπτῳ.

i So the Greek frag., τίς δὲ προσήλυτον διάνοια ἐστιν; Note the shift from lxx's ψυχῆ to Philo's διάνοια.

j The words "if not" are omitted in the Greek frag., see next note but one.

k Aucker amplifies in rendering, "a voluntate serviendi multis Diis."
God and Father of all? In the second place, some call strangers "newcomers." But strangers are also those who by themselves have run to the truth, not in the same way as those who made their sojourn in Egypt. For these are newcomers to the land, while those are (newcomers) to laws and customs. But the common name of "newcomers" is ascribed to both.

*3. (Ex. xxii. 22) Why does (Scripture) prohibit mistreating every widow and orphan? It does not permit doing wrong to anyone, male or female, even among strangers. It does, however, give a better and special share of thoughtfulness to widows and orphans, since they are deprived of closely related helpers and caretakers—the widows of their husbands, and the orphans of their parents. It therefore wishes them to

a The Greek frag. reads ἀλλοτρίωσις τῆς πολυθέου δόξης, οὐκείωσι δὲ τῆς πρῶς τοῦ ἐνα καὶ πατέρα τῶν ὑλῶν τιμῆς.
b So the Greek frag., δεύτερον ἐπήλυπα ἐνοὺ καλοῦσι τῶν ἔνευσ.

c The negative is omitted in the Greek frag., see next note.

d The Greek frag. reads ξένοι δὲ καὶ οἱ πρὸς τὴν ἀλήθειαν αὐτομοληκτές, τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον τοὺς ἐν Λευκύπτῳ ἐξεντισάοιν.
e So the Greek frag., οὐδεὶς μὲν γὰρ ἐπήλυπας χώρας.
f So the Greek frag., ἐκείνοι δὲ νομίσασ καὶ ἐθῶν εἰσί.
g So the Greek frag., τὸ δὲ ὄνομα κοινὸν ἐκατέρων ἑπηλύδων ὑπογράφεται.

h Heb., Ex. xxii. 21.
i The first of the two Greek fragments of the beginning and end of this section reads χήραν καὶ ὀρφανόν ἀπείρηται κακοῦν: ἱ. Χ. πάσαν χήραν καὶ ὀρφανόν οὐ κακώσετε. Philo cites the verse and briefly allegorizes it in different fashion in De Congressu 178-179, see also De Cherubim 50.

k So the Greek frag., οὐδένα μὲν, οὐδὲ τῶν ἄλλων, οὔτε ἄρρενα οὔτε θήλειαν, ἀφίσῃς ἀδικεῖς οὐ νόμος.

l The Greek frag. reads similarly but more smoothly ἐξαιρέτου δὲ προνοίας μεταδίδουσιν χήρας καὶ ὀρφανοῖς.

m So the Greek frag., ἐπείδη τοὺς ἀναγκαίους βοηθούς καὶ κηδεμόνας ἀφήγηται, χήραι μὲν ἄνδρας, ὀρφανοὶ δὲ γυνεῖς.
enjoy their natural partnership and have their deficiencies supplied by those who are in (a state of) abundance. That is the literal meaning. But as for the deeper meaning, such souls as love themselves honour the mind as a husband and as a father,—as a husband perhaps because it sows in them the powers of the senses by which the sense-perceptible object is attained and seized; and (they honour it) as a father because it is thought to be the parent of disciplines and arts. But those who are free of self-love and hasten to God obtain from above His visitations and care as from a father, and as from a husband (they obtain) the sowing of good thoughts and intentions and words and deeds. But it happens customarily among men that the opposite thing comes about, for when a man comes in contact with a woman, he marks the virgin as a woman. But when souls become divinely inspired, women they become virgins, throwing off the womanly corruptions which are (found) in sense-perception and passion. Moreover, they follow after and pursue the

a Arm. *ayk'* is a misprint for *ork*, the plural of the rel. pron.

b So the Greek frag., βουλεῖται γὰρ τῇ φυσικῇ κοινωνίᾳ χρωμένους, τὰς ἐνδείας ὑπὸ τῶν ἐν περιουσίᾳ ἀναπληροῦσα. Here the first Greek frag. ends; the second begins with the sentence reading “But when souls become divinely inspired, etc.”

c τὸ ῥητῶν.  
d τὸ πρὸς διάνοιαν.

e ψυχαί.  
f τὸν νόθον.

g Cf. *De Migratione* 3 πατὴρ μὲν ἡμῶν ὁ νοῦς σπείρων . . . τὰς ἀφ’ ἐνυπο δυνάμεις.  
h τὸ αἰσθητῶν.

i παθεῖκαν καὶ τέχνων.  
j φιλαντρίας.

k ἐπισκοπᾶς vel sim. : Aucher “visitations.”

l Aucher omits the second noun.

m As a woman with sexual experience, cf. *De Cherubim* 50 ἀνθρώπων . . . σύνοδος τὰς παρθένους γυναῖκας ἀποφαίνει.

n The second Greek frag. (which begins with this sentence) has προσκολληθῶσι θεῷ, of which the Arm. *astouacazgesth* (usu. = ἐνθεω or θεοφόροι) seems to be a free rendering.

o So the Greek frag., ἐκ γυναικῶν γίνονται παρθένοι, τὰς μὲν γυναικώδεις ἀποβάλλονται φθόρας τῶν ἐν αἰσθήσει καὶ πάθει.
genuine and unmated virgin, the veritable wisdom of God. And so, rightly do such minds become widows and are orphaned of mortal things and acquire for themselves and have as husband the right law of nature, with which they live. And (they have) the same (as) father to tell them with higher thoughtfulness, as though (they were) his sons, what they ought to do.

*4. (Ex. xxii. 23) What is the meaning of the words, "Ye shall not with badness mistreat the widow and the orphan"?

The word "mistreat" is used properly (in some cases) and is also used improperly in other cases. (It is used) properly in reference to deeds of badness which are peculiar to the soul, and improperly of other cases in which harm is done to possessions and bodies. Accordingly (Scripture) did not mention the latter evils, as not being great mis-

\[\text{a} \quad \text{The Greek frag. reads a little differently τὴν δὲ ἄφαιστον (ἄφαιστον conj. Pitra from the Arm.) καὶ ἄμυγὴ παρθένον, ἀρέσ-κειαν θεοῦ, μεταδιώκοναι.}\]

\[\text{b} \quad \text{One expects "souls" as in the Greek frag., see the next note but one.}\]

\[\text{c} \quad \text{This clause is omitted in the Greek frag.}\]

\[\text{d} \quad \text{The Greek frag. reads more briefly κατὰ λόγον οὖν αἱ τοιαῦται ψυχαὶ χρησάονται, ἀνδρὰ τὸν τῆς φύσεως ορθὸν νόμον προσσυμβιόσαν.}\]

\[\text{e} \quad \text{So the Greek frag., καὶ πατέρα τὸν αὐτὸν, ἃ χρῆ πράττειν παραγγέλλοντα καθάπερ ἐγγόνοις μετὰ τῆς ἀνωτάτω κηδεμονίας.}\]

\[\text{f} \quad \text{Heb., Ex. xxii. 22.}\]

\[\text{g} \quad \text{Philo here paraphrases the lxx text which reads more fully εὰν δὲ κακία κακώσετε αὐτοὺς (Heb. "him") καὶ κεκρά-ξαντες καταβοήσουσι (Heb. "if crying he cries out") πρὸς ἐμὲ, ἀκοῇ εἰσακούσομαι τῆς φωνῆς αὐτῶν (Heb. "his cry").}\]

\[\text{h} \quad \text{Lit. "name" or "noun."}\]

\[\text{i} \quad \text{kυρίως.}\]

\[\text{j} \quad \text{καταχρηστικῶς.}\]

\[\text{k} \quad \text{The fragmentary paraphrase in Procopius reads καὶ κακοῦ ἀπαγορεύει οὐ τοσοῦτον τὴν σωματικὴν κάκωσιν ὅσον τὴν ψυχικὴν.}\]
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fortunes at all.\textsuperscript{a} But knowing that the harm of badness overturns entire lives by their roots from their foundation, it first says that one should not be to anyone a teacher of folly or licentiousness or injustice or anything similar and of a cursed intention but should destroy the devices\textsuperscript{b} of such things.\textsuperscript{c} But one should likemindedly build schools of thoughts of wisdom and justice and the other virtues\textsuperscript{d} for the improvement of children in order that their natures, before they have become hard and tough, may be able easily to receive the shapes and forms of good things.\textsuperscript{e}

5. (Ex. xxii. 28a) \textit{Why does (Scripture) say, “gods thou shalt not revile”} \textsuperscript{g}?

Do they\textsuperscript{h} then still accuse the divine Law of breaking down the customs of others?\textsuperscript{i} For, behold, not only does it offer support to those of different opinion\textsuperscript{j} by accepting and honouring those whom they have from the beginning believed to be gods, but it\textsuperscript{k} also muzzles and restrains\textsuperscript{l}

\textsuperscript{a} Aucher renders less literally, “posterius istud, quia nihil magnum est malum, vix memoravit.”

\textsuperscript{b} Aucher “sedes.”

\textsuperscript{c} Procopius’ paraphrase reads more briefly ὅρφανοις γὰρ γυνέσθω μηδείς ἀφροσύνης ή ἄκολοσίας διδάσκαλος.

\textsuperscript{d} λογισμῶν σοφίας καὶ δικαιοσύνης καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἀρετῶν διδασκαλεία συμφώνως οἰκοδομεῖ.

\textsuperscript{e} Procopius’ paraphrase reads more briefly ἀλλὰ τῶν ἐναντίων (sc. διδάσκαλος γυνέσθω), ἐν ὅσῳ τὰς ψυχὰς ἔχουσιν ἀπαλάς πρὸς τὴν τῶν θείων χαρακτήρων ὑποδοχῆν.

\textsuperscript{f} Heb., Ex. xxii. 27a.

\textsuperscript{g} lxx θεοὺς (Heb. ’elōhim=“God” or “gods” or “judges”) οὐ κακολογήσεις. Philo comments on this half-verse in \textit{De Vita Mosis} ii. 203-205 and \textit{De Spec. Leg.} i. 53, see Colson’s notes on these passages.

\textsuperscript{h} i.e. opponents of the Jews.

\textsuperscript{i} i.e. of the Gentiles.

\textsuperscript{j} τοῖς ἑτεροδόξοις.

\textsuperscript{k} The unexpressed subject may be Moses as well as Scripture, here as elsewhere.

\textsuperscript{l} Aucher renders the two verbs by the single verb “coercet.”

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its own disciples,\(^a\) not permitting them to revile these with a loose tongue, for it believes that well-spoken praise \(^b\) is better. In the second place, those who are in error and are deluded about their own native \(^c\) gods and because of custom believe to be inerrant truth what is a falsely created error, by which even keen and discerning minds are blinded, are not peaceful toward or reconciled with \(^d\) those who do not gladly accept their (opinion). And this is the beginning and origin of wars. But to us the Law has described the source of peace as a beautiful possession. In the third place, he who speaks evil (of others) must of necessity receive the contrary reproach in similar matters. Accordingly, those who have in mind a concern for dignity \(^e\) will refrain from reviling other gods, in order that the power \(^f\) of the truly certain and existent (God) \(^g\) may be well spoken of and praised in the mouths of all. For (thus) we shall seem not to be hearing but to be speaking, as others use our voice.\(^h\) For there is no difference between saying something oneself and inviting others to say it in any way.

*6. (Ex. xxii. 28b)\(^i\) Why, after first saying that one is not to revile gods, does (Scripture) straightway add, “nor rulers” \(^j\)?

\(^{a}\) τοὺς ἑαυτοῦ μαθητάς, i.e. the Jews.
\(^{b}\) εὖφημον ἑπιανον.
\(^{c}\) ἐγχωρίους or πατρίους.
\(^{d}\) Aucher renders more freely, “implacabilem hostilitatem colunt.”
\(^{e}\) Or “holiness”: Aucher “dignitatis.”
\(^{f}\) δύναμις.
\(^{g}\) The Arm. lit.= τοῦ ὄντως σαφῶς καὶ ὄντος. Perhaps the Arm. translator misread σαφῶς as σαφῶς; if so, we should render, “the truly and clearly existent (God”); elsewhere Philo refers to God as ὃ ὄντως ὄν but never as σαφῆς. Aucher renders more briefly, “veri Entis.”
\(^{h}\) i.e. if we cause others to praise God, we shall be praising Him vicariously.
\(^{i}\) Heb., Ex. xxii. 27b.
\(^{j}\) Ι.ΧΧ καὶ ἄρχονται (v.l. ἄρχοντα: Heb. “ruler”) τοῦ λαοῦ σου οὗ κακῶς ἐρεῖς.
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As the poets say, rulers are closely akin and near in lineage to and of the same seed as the gods, for leaders and rulers are, as these a say, able to do good or evil by virtue of their own power. In the second place, it takes thought for all other men in order that they may not incur irremediable punishments. b For when rulers hear evil things said (about themselves), they do not punish the speakers by judicial process but unrestrainedly use their power for utter destruction. c In the third place, (Scripture) does not seem to legislate about every ruler but hints in many ways that he who is (ruler) of the whole people and belongs to the Hebrew nation has been appointed as a virtuous ruler and leader. d For reviling is foreign to a good man while praise is most congenial. e For nothing is so conducive to thoughtful care f as well-spoken praise. g

7. (Ex. xxii. 29, xxiii. 15c) h What is the meaning of the

a Aucher "ipsi."

b Slightly different is the reading of the first Greek frag. of this section, προνοεῖται τῶν ἱδωτῶν ὑς μὴ περιπέτειον ἀνηκέστους τιμωρίας.

c So the Greek frag., οἱ γὰρ κακῶς ἀκούσαντες ἀρχοντες τοὺς εἰπόντας οὐ μετὰ δίκης ἀμυνοῦνται καταχρῆσονται δύναστειας εἰς πανωλθήριαν.


e So the second Greek frag., τῷ ἀγαθῷ ἀνδρὶ βλασφημία μὲν ἀλλότριον, ἐπαινοὶ δὲ οἰκειότατον.

f Lit. "thoughtfulness of care." The Arm. translator apparently read πρόνοιαν instead of εὔνοιαν, which is the reading in the Greek fragments.

g Slightly different is the reading of the third Greek frag., οὔδεν οὔτως εὐάγγελον εἰς εὔνοιαν Ὑς ἡ τῶν εὐεργετημάτων εὐ-

h Philo here combines parts of two separate verses.
words, “Thou shalt not appear with empty hands before Me”?

The literal meaning is this, (namely) that those who approach the shrines of God should come near with full hands, bearing the first-fruits of every living thing in which there is no blemish. But as for the deeper meaning, there is no prohibition, for even though He said, “Thou shalt not appear,” still He did not say it by way of prohibition, as is altogether reasonable. For it is impossible for anyone who comes into the sight of God to be empty but (rather must he be) full of every good. For just as one who comes near the light is straightway illumined, so also is filled the entire soul of him to whom God has appeared. A spiritual light, however, is called by other names, (namely) knowledge and wisdom.

8. (Ex. xxii. 30) Why does He command that the offspring of cattle be left with their mothers for seven days? (This is said) in order that there may not be one and the same time for birth and destruction but that the generation of life may keep its due place for some time. In the second place, because the mercy of love abounds in mothers at

\[a\] LXX (Ex. xxiii. 15c) οὐκ ὀφθῆσῃ ἐνώπιον μου κενὸς (Heb. “And not shall be seen my face empty”).

\[b\] τὸ ῥητόν.

\[c\] Or “altars” : Aucher “aram.”

\[d\] Cf. LXX (Ex. xxii. 29 = Heb. xxii. 28) ἀπαρχάς ἄλωνος καὶ ληφὼν οὐ καθοστήσεις: τὰ πρωτότοκα τῶν νιὼν σου δώσεις ἐμὸι.

\[e\] τὸ πρὸς διάνοιαν.

\[f\] ἀπαγόρευσις.

\[g\] ὡς πάντως εἰκός vel sim. : Aucher “quovis modo.”

\[h\] ἐπιστήμη καὶ σοφία : Aucher “intelligentia et sapientia.”

\[i\] Heb., Ex. xxii. 29 (cf. Lev. xxii. 27).

\[j\] LXX οὕτως ποιήσεις τὸν μόσχον σου καὶ τὸ πρόβατόν σου καὶ τὸ ὑποζύγιόν σου ἐπτά ἡμέρας ἔσται ὑπὸ τὴν μητέρα, τῇ δὲ ὑγίᾳ ἡμέρα ἀποδώσῃ μοι αὐτὸ. Philo comments similarly but more fully on this verse in De Virtutibus 126-130.

\[k\] τὴν τάξιν : Aucher “ordinem.”
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the very beginning of birth, wherefore their breasts, being filled, flow abundantly and pour out in (the form of) milk unlimited nourishment for desire. For in the course of time love, like everything else, diminishes, but at the very beginning of birth it possesses great strength. Accordingly, He considers it very cruel and senseless to separate (the offspring) from its mother immediately upon birth, while it is still naturally attached and united to her.

*9. (Ex. xxiii. 1a) What is the meaning of the words, "Thou shalt not admit a false rumour"? Nothing vain is to be admitted whether through hearing or any other sense, for very great harm follows the deception of falsehood. Therefore it has been ordained by some legislators that one should not testify by hearsay, on the ground that what is believed through the eyes is true but through hearing is false.

*10. (Ex. xxiii. 3) Why does (Scripture) say, "To the poor thou shalt not be merciful in judgment"? Poverty in itself is in want of mercy for the redress of its need, but when it comes to judgment it uses the law of

\[ a \text{ i.e. as much as their young desire.} \]
\[ b \text{ LXX ὄ παραδεξη ἀκοὴν ματαιὰν (Heb. "empty" or "baseless report"). Philo quotes this half-verse and comments on it briefly in De Confus. Ling. 141 and more fully in De Spec. Leg. iv. 59-61.} \]
\[ c \text{ Slightly different is the wording of the Greek frag., ματαιόν φησιν οὔτε ἀκοαὶς οὔτε ἄλλη τινὶ τῶν αἱθήσεων προσιτοῖς ἐπακολουθοῦσα γὰρ ταῖς ἀπάταις αἱ μεγίσται ἥμιλαι.} \]
\[ d \text{ So the Greek frag., διὸ καὶ παρ' ἐνιός νομοθέται ἀπείρηται μαρτυρεῖν ἀκοῆ, ὅσ τὸ μὲν ἄληθες ὀψεῖ πιστεύομεν, τὸ δὲ ψεῦδος ἀκοῆ. In the parallel passage, De Spec. Leg. iv. 61, Philo attributes this view to "some of the Greek legislators who copied it from the most sacred stelae of Moses."} \]
\[ e \text{ LXX καὶ πέντα ὡς ἔλεσες (Heb. "thou shalt not favour") ἐν κρίσει. Philo quotes this verse and comments on it a little more fully in De Spec. Leg. iv. 72-74.} \]
equality as judge. For justice is divine and incorruptible, wherefore it is well said by some "judgments are of God."

*11. (Ex. xxiii. 4) Why does (Scripture) command one who encounters the straying asses of an enemy to bring them back and give them back? It is an excess of gentleness if in addition to not harming an enemy one even tries to be of help. In the second place, it is a prohibition and shaming of greed. For he who is not willing to harm even an enemy, whom else will he wish to harm for his own profit? In the third place, it removes quarrels and fights from (our) midst, being a

a So the Greek frag., πενία καθ' έαυτήν μὲν ἐλέον χρήζει εἰς ἐπανόρθωσιν ἔνδειας, εἰς δὲ κρίσιν οὐδα βραβευτῇ χρήται τῷ τῆς ίσότητος νόμῳ.

b The Greek frag. reads more intelligibly εἰν ἔτεροις, i.e. in Deut. i. 17.

c The Greek frag. reads somewhat differently θείον γὰρ ἡ δικαιοσύνη καὶ ἀδέκαστον οἶθεν καὶ εἰν ἔτεροις εὐ ἐφηται ὧτι “ἡ κρίσις τοῦ θεοῦ δύκαϊ έατίν.” The wording of the last clause is obviously incorrect, see the preceding note.

d The fragment from John of Damascus ap. H. Lewy has ὑποξύγιον, see next note.

e Ixx Ἐὰν δὲ συναντήσῃς τῷ βοῦ τοῦ ἐχθροῦ σου ἡ τῷ ὑποξύγιοι αὐτοῦ (Heb. “his ass”) πλανωμένοις, ἀποστρέψας ἀποδώσεις αὐτῷ. The fragment from Procopius quotes only the first part of the verse, ending with ἔχθροι σου. Philo comments on this verse in De Virtutibus 117-118.

f So the two Greek fragments, ἡμερότητος ὑπερβολή πρὸς τὸ μὴ βλάπτειν τῶν ἐχθρῶν ἐτι καὶ συνωφελεῖν (v.l. ὕφελεῖν) περάσαταί.

g This sentence is missing from both Greek fragments. Lewy reconstructs the Greek, somewhat freely, I think, as δεύτερον δὲ παραίτησις πλεονεξίας.

h So the Greek frag. from John of Damascus (which ends here), ὃ γὰρ μὴ ἔχθρον ζημιῶν ὑπομένων τίνα τῶν ἄλλων ἐθελήσεις ἀν βλάπτειν ἐπ' ὕφελεῖα ᾧ ἰδίᾳ; Procopius reads more briefly τίνα δὲ καὶ ἀδικήσειν ἄν ὁ μηδὲ τὸν ἐχθρὸν ζημιῶν;
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protector of peace, whose possessions it depicts and shows in many ways. Accordingly, it regards the giving back of the asses as the beginning of offerings of peace and reconciliation. For he who gives (something) back, performing a work of love, is in some manner made gentle in soul, while he who receives (it), if he is not completely ungrateful, puts aside the rancour that seeks revenge.

12. (Ex. xxiii. 5) Why, if one sees the ass of an enemy fall under a burden, does (Scripture) command one not to neglect to raise it up with him?

(This is) a confirmatory addition to the preceding, since there is much said on this subject which is to be connected with this, including what was previously said about one who gives back (something lost). But it must be said in addition that it shows an extraordinary abundance of humaneness and gentleness, inasmuch as it exhorts (us) not only to be useful to an enemy but also to lighten the burden of his load. The Greek verb was prob. ἡμεροῦταί. Procopius reads slightly differently ἐτὶ δὲ καὶ στάσιν καθαρεῖ καὶ δυσμένειαν προκατάρχων εἰρήνης. The next two sentences in the Procopius fragment do not correspond closely to the Armenian.

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b Or “friendship,” but cf. De Virtutibus 118.

c Aucher “ex animo familiaris demonstratur.” The Greek verb was prob. ἡμεροῦταί.

d LXX Ἐὰν δὲ ἂσσι τὸ ὑποζύγιον (Heb. “ass”) τοῦ ἕχθρου σου πεπτυκός (Heb. “crouching”) ὑπὸ τὸν γόμον αὐτοῦ, οὐ παρελύσῃ αὐτὸ ἀλλὰ συνεγερεῖς αὐτὸ μεθ’ αὐτοῦ (Heb. “thou shalt desist from abandoning it; thou shalt surely help [?] with him”). In De Virtutibus 116 Philo paraphrases the LXX text as follows, κἂν ἕχθρῶν ὑποζύγια ἀχθοφοροῦτα τῷ βάρει πιεσθέντα προπέσῃ, μη παρελθεῖν ἀλλὰ συνεπικούφθαι καὶ συνεγεῖραι. In the latter passage Philo deals only with the literal meaning and not with the symbolism as here.

e This is the best sense I can extract from the obscure Arm. sentence. Aucher’s rendering is not too clear either, “intensio additamenti anteriorum est, unde et plura quidem dicta est adaptare super hoc, ex iis nimirum quae de reddente sunt dicta.”

f φιλανθρωπία καὶ ᾑμερότητος.
heaviness of the burden of irrational animals, especially when they have already fallen under the pressure of a very heavy weight. For who would disregard any human being, with whom he has a single natural kinship, when he has been taught by the divine Law and is accustomed not to disregard even a beast? That is the literal meaning. But as for the deeper meaning, the ass is symbolically our body, and (this) is altogether errant and roving. For the sake of bringing profit to its kindred sensual pleasure, it loads itself with much unmixed (wine) and various foods and a variety of dishes and still other drinks and foods in immense profusion. Accordingly, it is necessary for one who is smitten by wisdom to lighten (his) heaviness through the related virtues of frugality and contentedness and to lead the errant (man) into inerrant constancy by accustoming him to give up his anxious pursuit of avarice and, instead, to follow the richness of nature, which is ascendant and self-sufficient.

*13. (Ex. xxiii. 20-21) What is the meaning of the words, "Behold, I am sending My angel before thy face, that he may guard thee on the way, in order that he may lead and bring thee to the land which I have prepared for thee. Give heed and listen and do not disobey." For he

\[\text{\textsuperscript{a}} \text{mía syngyénēia φύσεως.} \quad \text{\textsuperscript{b}} \text{tò ῥητόν.} \quad \text{\textsuperscript{c}} \text{tò πρόσ διάνοιαν.} \quad \text{\textsuperscript{d}} \text{συμβολικός.} \quad \text{\textsuperscript{e}} \text{In \textit{De Sacr. Abielis 112} the ass is said to be a symbol of πόνος, in \textit{De Cherubim} 32 of ἡ ἁλόγος προαιρεσις τοῦ βλου, in \textit{De Migratione} 224 of ἡ ἁλόγος φύσις, in \textit{De Mut. Nom.} 193 of ἄνουα.} \quad \text{\textsuperscript{f}} \text{τῇ συγγενικῇ ἡδονῇ.} \quad \text{\textsuperscript{g}} \text{tὸν ὑπὸ τῆς σοφίας πληρεύνα: Aucher "qui amore sapientiae captus sit."} \quad \text{\textsuperscript{h}} \text{taῖς ἀναγκαίας ἀρεταῖς, ὀλυγοδέια καὶ εὐκολία. These two virtues are coupled in several other passages in Philo.} \quad \text{\textsuperscript{i}} \text{ἀνωφερῆς (vel sim.) καὶ αὐτάρκης: Aucher "quœ fercissima est (vel, superiora tendit) et sibi sufficiens."} \quad \text{\textsuperscript{j}} \text{This section should follow § 15, which deals with Ex. xxiii. 18.} \quad \text{\textsuperscript{k}} \text{Lit. "messenger," see next note but one.} \]
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will not show consideration for thee, \( a \) for My name is upon him " \( b \) ?

An angel is an intellectual soul \( c \) or rather wholly mind,\( d \) wholly incorporeal, made (to be) a minister of God,\( e \) and appointed over certain needs and the service of the race of mortals, since it was unable, because of its corruptible nature, to receive the gifts and benefactions extended by God. For it was not capable of bearing the multitude of (His) good (gifts). (Therefore) of necessity was the Logos appointed as judge and mediator,\( f \) who is called "angel." Him He sets " before the face," there where the place of the eyes and the senses is, in order that by seeing and receiving sense(-impressions) it \( g \) may follow the leadership of virtue,\( h \) not unwillingly but willingly. But the entry into the previously prepared land is allegorized \( i \) in the several (details) of the above-mentioned (statements) in respect of the guarding \( j \) of the way, (namely) "giving heed," "listening," "not disobeying," "not showing consideration," "setting His name upon him." This, however, must first be examined. Those who incautiously travel a

\( a \) Aucher " non verebitur te," see next note.

\( b \) Lxx καὶ ἰδοὺ ἐγὼ ἀποστέλλω τὸν ἀγγέλον μου (Heb. "my messenger") πρὸ προσώπου σου ἵνα φυλάξῃ σε ἐν τῇ ὁδῷ ὡς εἰσαγάγῃ σε εἰς τὴν γῆν (Heb. "place") ἵνα ἥτοιμασά σοι (Heb. om. "for thee"). πρόσεχε σεαυτῷ καὶ εἰσάκουε αὐτόν καὶ μὴ ἄπελθει αὐτῷ οὐ γὰρ μὴ ὑποστειληταί σε (Heb. "he will not suffer thy disobedience"), τὸ γὰρ ὅνομά μου ἐστὶν ἐπὶ αὐτῷ (Heb. "within him"). Philo cites the first part of this passage in De Agricultura 51, and the entire passage in De Migratione 174 in verbal agreement with the Lxx but without extended commentary in either place.

\( c \) νοερὰ ψυχή: Aucher "spiritus intellectualis." Philo several times speaks of angels as ψυχαί but never, I think, as πνεύματα. On his doctrine of angels see Wolfson, Philo, i. 366-385.

\( d \) νοῦς: Aucher "intellectus."

\( e \) γενόμενος ὑπηρέτης θεοῦ.

\( f \) μεσίτης.

\( g \) i.e. the human race.

\( h \) ἄρετής.

\( i \) ἀλληγορεῖται: Aucher "allegorice adaptatur."

\( j \) Aucher "observationem."
road go astray from the right and genuinely broad road, and many times turn aside into trackless, impassable and rough places.\(^a\) And similar to this is it when souls experience something juvenile and pious,\(^b\) for when one is without a share of discipline one is borne along like unimpeded streams where it is unprofitable.\(^c\) And the second thing was the entry into the land, (that is) an entry into philosophy,\(^d\) (which is), as it were, a good land and fertile in the production of fruits, which the divine plants, the virtues,\(^e\) bear. Therefore it is proper that he who wishes to enjoy these fruits should receive training in exercising caution; but caution is the supervision of the counselling mind\(^f\) and readiness to listen. For just as a lover puts aside all other things and hastens to his desire, so also does one who hunger and thirsts for the knowledge of the disciplines and for learning what he does not know put away his concern for other things and hasten to listen, and by night and by day he watches the doors of the houses of the wise.\(^g\) Thus, to give heed is (referred to) in these (words). But (next) in order is to listen, and it is naturally mentioned

\(^a\) The first of the two Greek fragments of this section (which begins here) reads only slightly differently \(\text{o} \\text{i} \ \text{\alpha} \text{φυλάκτως} \ \text{δοόσυροντες} \ \text{διαμαρτάνουσιν} \ \text{τής} \ \text{όρθης} \ \text{kai} \ \text{λευψφόρον} \ \text{όως} \ \text{πολλάκις} \ \text{eis} \ \text{ανοδίας} \ \text{kai} \ \text{δυσβάτους} \ \text{kai} \ \text{τραχείας} \ \text{άτραπούς} \ \text{έκτρέψεθαι}.

\(^b\) The text is obviously corrupt, see next note.

\(^c\) The Greek frag. (which ends here) reads more intelligibly \(\text{το} \ \text{παραπλήσιον} \ \text{eστιν} \ \text{οτε} \ \text{kαι} \ \text{αἱ} \ \text{ψυχαι} \ \text{τῶν} \ \text{νέων} \ \text{παιδείας} \ \text{άμοιρωσιν}, \ \text{kαθάπερ} \ \text{μέθυμνα} \ \text{ανεπίσχετον} \ \text{οτη} \ \text{μή} \ \text{λυστελές} \ \text{βεβεβουνται}. \ \text{Possibly} \ \text{the} \ \text{Arm.} \ \text{translator} \ \text{mistook} \ \text{νέων} \ \text{for} \ \text{the} \ \text{gen.} \ \text{plural} \ \text{of} \ \text{νεώς} \ \text{"} \text{temple.} \text{\"}

\(^d\) \text{φιλοσοφίαν}.

\(^e\) \text{αἱ} \ \text{άρεται}.

\(^f\) \text{η} \ \text{τής} \ \text{βουλευτικῆς} \ \text{διανοιάς} \ \text{προστασία} \ \text{vel} \ \text{sim.} : \ \text{Auchter "praesidentia consiliarii (sic) mentis."} \text{\"}

\(^g\) The second Greek fragment (which contains only the second part of this comparison) reads only slightly differently \(\text{ο} \ \text{πενών} \ \text{kai} \ \text{δυφών} \ \text{επιστήμης} \ \text{kai} \ \text{τού} \ \text{μαθείν} \ \text{α} \ \text{μή} \ \text{οίδεν}, \ \text{τὰς} \ \text{άλλας} \ \text{μεθέμενος} \ \text{φροντίδας}, \ \text{ἐπείγεται} \ \text{πρὸς} \ \text{ἀκρόασιν}, \ \text{kai} \ \text{νύκτωρ} \ \text{kai} \ \text{μεθ} \ \text{ἡμέραν} \ \text{θυρωρεῖ} \ \text{tὰς} \ \text{tῶν} \ \text{σοφῶν} \ \text{oίκιας}. \text{\"}
in connexion therewith.\textsuperscript{a} For he who listens with the tips of his ears is able to get (only) a somewhat vague perception of what is said, while to him who listens carefully the words enter more clearly and the things heard travel on all the paths, so that they form his mind\textsuperscript{b} with deep impressions,\textsuperscript{c} as if (it were) wax, lest it easily become stupid and (the impressions) leap away.\textsuperscript{d} After this comes (the statement) that it is not right to disobey. For some men receive within them the appearances of words and, after receiving them, [do not] become disobedient\textsuperscript{e} but display a quarrelsome and rebellious nature. Such men He shames,\textsuperscript{f} wishing to admonish them by preparing lawful and constant declarations of good things.\textsuperscript{g} But whenever the word of God is announced, it is altogether good, beautiful and precious. For to him who does not obey He says, “he\textsuperscript{h} has no respect for thee,” and (this is said) most naturally. For when conviction\textsuperscript{i} is established in the soul and perceives it inclining to wickedness, it reproaches (the soul) and becomes its accuser, and by scolding and threatening,

\textsuperscript{a} i.e. in connexion with giving heed.
\textsuperscript{b} τὸν νοῦν οὐ τὴν διάνοιαν.
\textsuperscript{c} Lit. “forms.”
\textsuperscript{d} Aucher renders, “ne facile insipidum videatur et foras resiliat,” apparently taking “mind” to be the subject of both verbs (in spite of the neuter gender of the pred. adj. “insipidum”).
\textsuperscript{e} Either we must eliminate the negative particle or emend “disobedient” to “obedient.” Aucher renders more freely, “nec tamen revera recipientes, dissentiunt.”
\textsuperscript{f} δινωμεῖ.
\textsuperscript{g} The meaning is obscure, partly because of the diverse meanings of the verb (here a ptc.) \textit{art’el}, which I have rendered “preparing.” Aucher renders, “monere volens, ut sibi concilient bonorum enarrationes legitimas ac constantes.”
\textsuperscript{h} i.e. the angel.
\textsuperscript{i} ἔλεγχος, cf. e.g. Quod Deus Immut. Sit 135, De Decalogo 87, where ἔλεγχος has the force of “conscience” or inward “monitor” (as Colson there renders). It is symbolized by an angel in De Fuga 1-6 and elsewhere.
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puts it to shame. For he within whom it is, is apprehended by his own judgment as being altogether foolish. And in contrast to all the counsellors who are in the various cities it is obliged not to show respect or to admonish with fear but with both wisdom and freedom of speech. And a very clear proof of this is that the divine name is called upon the angel. And this is the most sovereign and principal (being) which the heaven and earth and the whole world knows. And he who has so great a power must necessarily be filled with all-powerful wisdom.

*14. (Ex. xxiii. 18a) What is the meaning of the words, “Thou shalt not sacrifice with leaven the blood of the victim”? In another passage also he has ordained something similar to this, commanding that upon an altar upon which victims are offered in sacrifice leaven is not to be brought. He indicates through two necessary symbols that one

a τοὺς συνέδρους.

b The context obliges us to correct the Arm. text which reads “and by (or “among””) all the counsellors who are outside in the various cities.”

c καὶ σοφία καὶ παρρησία.

d Apparently Philo means that the angel here represents the Logos.

e δύναμιν.

f Variant “all-free.”

Aucher renders more freely, “ut sit sapientia potentissimus (vel, liberrimus).”

h LXX οὐ θύσεις ἐπὶ ζύμη άλμα θυμιάματος μου. Philo allegorizes this half-verse, without quoting it literally, in De Spec. Leg. i. 293-295, cf. ii. 182-185.

i Lev. ii. 11, where honey is also proscribed.

f Somewhat different is the wording of the Greek frag. preserved in three Catena, ἀντὶ τοῦ οὗ δεῖ ζῦμωτον παρεῖναι ἐπὶ τῶν θυσιαζομένων ἀλλὰ πάντα τὰ προσαγόμενα εἰς θυσίαν ἃτι προσφόραν άζυμα δεὶ εἶναι.

k Prob. the original reading is preserved in the Catena, αἰνίττεται δε διὰ συμβόλου δύο τὰ ἀναγκαίτατα. Procopius reads more briefly αἰνίττεται δε διὰ συμβόλου.

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should despise sensual pleasures, for leaven is a sweetener of food but not food (itself). And the other thing (indicated) is that one should not be uplifted in conceit by common belief. For both are impure and hateful, (namely) sensual pleasure and arrogance (or) foolish belief, (both being) the offspring of one mother, illusion. But the blood of the sacrificed victims is a sign of the souls which are consecrated to God. Moreover, it is not right to mix the unmixed.

*15. (Ex. xxiii. 18b) What is the meaning of the words, “The fat of My festival shall not lie until morning.”

The literal text gives the command that the fat shall be consumed the same day, having become material for the divine fire. But as for the deeper meaning, the nature

a So Procopius, καταφρονεῖν ἡδονής. The Catenae read more fully ἐν μὲν τῷ καταφρονεῖν ἡδονής.

b So Procopius and the Catenae, ζύμη γὰρ ἡδύσμα τροφῆς, οὐ τροφῆ.

c The Arm. translator mistakenly read κοινή instead of κενής οἴησεος “empty belief,” see next note.

d Procopius καὶ τὸ μῆ δεῖν ὑπὸ κενής φυσωμένους οἴησεος αἴρεσθαι: the Catenae read ἐτερον δὲ τὸ μῆ δεῖν ἐπαίρεσθαι φυσωμένου διὰ κενής (v.l. καυνής) οἴησεως.

e Procopius lacks this sentence. The Catenae read more briefly ἀνέρον γὰρ ἐκάτερον, ἡδονή τῷ και ὁπησ, μητρὸς μᾶς ἀπάτης ἐγγονα. Philo, like some of the early Christian writers, uses ἀπάτη in the sense of “illusory worldly pleasure.”

f So Procopius and the Catenae, τὸ δὲ αἷμα τῶν θυσιῶν δείγμα ψυχής ἐστὶ σπευδομένης θεῶ. μικρῶν δὲ τὰ ἀμκτα οὐχ ὁσιων.

g Or “sleep,” see next note.

h ἰγγὲς μὴ κοιμηθῇ στέρα τῆς ἐορτῆς μοι ἐως προτ. There seems to be no other direct comment on this half-verse in Philo’s other works but cf. De Spec. Leg. iv. 123-124.

i τὸ ῥητόν.

j The Catenae read similarly but omitting the subject, κελευετά στέρα αὐθήμερον ἁναλίκεσθαι, γινόμενα ὑλὴν ἰερᾶς φλογὸς. Procopius has preserved only the words ὑλὴ τῇ τῆς ἱερᾶς γνήσθω φλογός. k τὸ πρὸς διάνοιαν.
of fat brings oiliness to the entrails and other (parts), and surrounding these with its fatness, prevents them for ever, when dried, from very quickly dissolving and melting away. For one who has the moisture of fatness receives the moisture as most vital nourishment. Accordingly, He wishes to show through a symbol that every soul which piety fattens with its own mystical and divine piety is sleepless and watchful for the vision of things worthy to be seen. Now this experience is the festival of souls and the greatest of festivals, an occasion of true joy, which not unmixed (wine) but sober wisdom produces. For one of these is the cause of drunkenness and delirium, while the other (is the cause) of soberness and of properly accomplishing all things. And so, if it also happens that some mortal seed has passed, (it is) an unfortunate accident, that is, the sleep of the mind, which will not last long.

*16. (Ex. xxiii. 22) What is the meaning of the words, "If hearing thou wilt hear My voice and thou wilt do all
that I say to thee, I shall be an enemy to thine enemies and I will oppose those who oppose thee.”

Because some men do not hearken when hearing or, rather, pretend not to have heard, He has specified in this passage, "If hearing ye will hear My voice," (which), it must be supposed, refers to the angel mentioned a little while ago. For the prophet of Him Who speaks is properly an angel. For it is necessary for him who “hearing hears,” that is, with firmness receives what is said, to carry out in deed also what is said, for the deed is proof of the word. Now he who is obedient to what is said and carries out in deed what has been ordered by declaration, necessarily acquires his teacher as ally and protector, who, as it seems, is helping his disciple but in truth (is helping) his own ruling doctrines, which his opponents and enemies desire to destroy.

* LXX ἐὰν ἀκοή ἀκούσῃ (v.l. ἀκούσης τῆς φωνῆς μου (Heb. “his voice”) καὶ ποιήσῃ πάντα ὑσα ἃν εἴπω σοι, ἐχθροῖς σου καὶ ἀντικείσομαι τοῖς ἀντικειμένοις σοι. Philo paraphrases the verse in De Praemiis 79.

b Sic (change from sing. to plural).

c In § 13. Most of the present section (from “voice” on) is preserved in the Catena and paraphrastically in Procopius. The former read, in this sentence, φωνὴν θεοῦ τὸν πρὸ μικροῦ λεχθέντα ἀγγελοῦ ὑπονοητέον μηνύεσθαι.

d So the Catena, τοῦ γὰρ λέγωντος οἱ προφήτης ἄγγελος κυρίως (v.l. κυρίου) ἐστίν. Procopius paraphrases, τὸν προφήτην φασὶν τινες καὶ τὴν ἐν αὐτῷ τοῦ λαλοῦντος φωνῆν, οὐ παρακελέσει εἰσακούνει. Achter “constanter.”

e So the Catena, ἀνάγκη (l. ἀνάγκη) γὰρ τὸν ἀκοῆ ἀκούσα, τούτεστι τὸν τά λεγόμενα βεβαιῶς παραδεχόμενον ἔργοι ἐπίτελεν τὰ λεχθέντα: λόγου γὰρ πίστις ἔργον. Procopius has preserved only the words λόγου δὲ πίστις ἔργον.

f Achter “voluntate legis.”

g So the Catena, ὁ δὲ καὶ τοῖς εἰρημένοις καταπεθήκε καὶ ἐνεργῶν τὰ ἀκολουθα, σύμμαχοι καὶ ὑπερασπιστὴν ἐξ ἀνάγκης ἔχει τὸν διδάσκαλον, ὅσα μὲν τῷ δοκεῖν, βοηθοῦτα τῷ γνωρίμῳ, τῷ δὲ ἀληθείς τοῖς αὐτοῦ (l. αὐτοῦ) δόγμασι καὶ παραγελόμαι, ἀπέρ οἱ ἐναντίοι καὶ ἐχθροὶ βούλονται καθαρεῖν. Procopius reads more briefly ὁ δὲ καὶ πεισθεῖς καὶ πράξας ἔξει πάντως ὑπερασπιστὴν τὸν διδάσκαλον συμμαχοῦντα δι’ αὐτοῦ τοῖς ἴδιοις δόγμασι, ἀπέρ οἱ ἐναντίοι βούλονται καθαρεῖν.

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17. (Ex. xxiii. 24c) What is the meaning of the words, "Destroying thou shalt destroy and shattering thou shalt shatter their pillars"?  

The "pillars" are symbolically the accepted opinions which seem to have been established and firmly supported. But of (these) pillar-like accepted opinions some are good, and for these it is right to be erect and to have a firm position, while there are others which are reprehensible, and of these it is profitable to cause the destruction. And such are those which folly decrees in opposition to prudence, and intemperance to temperance, and injustice to justice, and in general whatever it is that evil opposes to virtue. But the words "Destroying thou shalt destroy and shattering thou shalt shatter" suggest something like the following sense. There are some things which

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^a lxx καθαρέσει καθελείς (v.l. and Heb. add "them") καὶ συντρίβων συντρίψεις τὰς στῆλας (L.V. "images") αὐτῶν.
^b Aucher "gratae leges," see next note.
^c So the Greek frag. (preserved in the Catenae and Procopius), στήλαι εἰσί (Procopius omits the first two words) τὰ δόγματα συμβολικῶς, ἀπερ ἑστάναι καὶ ἐρρηεῖσθαι δοκεῖ.
^d Or "posted-up": Aucher "statuae instar erectarum." The Arm. translator had difficulty in rendering κατεστηλιτευμένων, see next note.
^e So the Catenae, τῶν δὲ κατεστηλιτευμένων δογμάτων τὰ μὲν ἀστεία ἔστων, ἃ καὶ (Procopius omits ἔστων ἃ καὶ) θέμις ἀνακείσθαι καὶ βεβαιῶν ἔχειν τὴν ἱδρυσιν, τὰ δὲ ἐπιλήπτα ών τὴν καθαίρεσιν ποιεῖσθαι λυσιτελές (Procopius τὰ δὲ ἐπιλήπτα καθαιρεῖσθαι ὡς μὴ πάλιν ἁναστηθόμενα μηδὲ ἀρμοσόμενα—the last words being a paraphrase of the end of the section).

^f The following sentence is missing in the Catenae and Procopius.

^g ἀφροσύνη . . . φρονίσει.
^h ἀκολογία . . . σωφροσύνη.
^i ἀδικία . . . δικαιοσύνη.
^j κακία . . . ἀρετή.

^k So the Catenae, τὸ δὲ "καθαιρῶν καθελείς" καὶ "συντρίβων συντρίψεις" τουούτον ὑποβάλλει νοῦν. Procopius (ending with this sentence) paraphrases, τοιαύτῃ γὰρ ἐμφάσις ἢ τοῦ "καθαιρῶν καθελείς" καὶ "συντρίβων συντρίψεις."
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(people) destroy only to raise them up another time, and shatter as if they would again put them together. But it is His will that those things which are opposed to the good and beautiful, when once they have been destroyed and shattered, shall not again undergo repair but shall always remain destroyed.

*18. (Ex. xxii. 25b) Why does He say, “I will bless thy bread and water, and I will turn away illnesses from thee”?

He indicates food and health—food through “bread and water,” and health through “turn away illnesses.” In the second place, He speaks of the self-control of endurance here in mentioning only the receiving of necessary foods, for bread is a plain food without anything extra, and flowing water is (a similarly plain) drink, and upon these (depends) health. In the third place, He makes mention of both life (in general) and a good life, for bread and water are necessary for living, while freedom from

\[^a\] So the Catenaı, ἐνά τινες καθαροῦσιν ὡς ἀναστήσοντες, καὶ συντριβοῦσιν ὡς αὖθις ἀμμοσάμενοι.

\[^b\] So the Catenaı, βούλεται δὲ τὰ καθαρεθέντα ἀπαξ καὶ συντριβέντα μηκέτι τυχεῖν ἀνορθώσεως ἀλλ᾿ εἰς ἄπαν ἤφανται τὰ ἐναντία τοῖς ἀγαθοῖς καὶ καλοῖς.

\[^c\] Philo agrees with Heb. against lxx in omitting “and wine” after “bread.”

\[^d\] lxx καὶ εὐλογήσω (Heb. “He will bless”) τὸν ἄρτον σου καὶ τὸν οἶνον σου καὶ τὸ ὦδωρ σου καὶ ἀποστρέψω μαλακίαν ἀφ᾿ ὑμῶν.

\[^e\] So Cat. Lips., τροφὴν καὶ ύγίειαν αἰνίττεται τροφὴν μὲν δι᾿ ἄρτον καὶ ὦδαστον ύγίειαν διὰ τοῦ μαλακίαν ἀποστρέφειν. Procopius condenses, τροφήν καὶ ύγίειαν ἐπαγγέλλεται.

\[^f\] So the Catenaı, δεύτερον, ἐγκράτειαν εἰσηγεῖται, τὴν τῶν ἀναγκαίων μετούσιαν μόνον ἐπειπών. Procopius reads more briefly καὶ τῶν ἀναγκαστάτων μόνων μνησθεὶς ἐδίδαξε τὴν ἐγκράτειαν (with this clause the Greek fragments break off, to resume with the sentence beginning “In the fifth place”).

\[^g\] ναματιαῖον ὦδωρ: Aucher “aqua scaturiens.”

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passion\(^a\) and health (are necessary) for living well. In the fourth place, Scripture \(^b\) seems to declare that plain simplicity in food is the cause of health. For wine-drinking and cookery which are done with insatiability and gluttony, because of their being artificial \(^c\) produce illness and the causes of greater illnesses. But simplicity in necessary foods is productive of health.\(^d\) In the fifth place, it teaches us a most worthwhile lesson and one that is in order, showing that neither bread nor water gives nourishment by itself alone,\(^e\) but that there are times when they do more harm than good,\(^f\) (namely) if the divine Logos does not graciously bestow upon them his helpful powers.\(^g\) For this reason, indeed, He says, “I will bless thy bread and thy water,” as if they were not sufficient to give nourishment by themselves alone without the loving friendship and care \(^h\) of God.\(^i\)

\(^a\) ἀπάθεια.

\(^b\) ἡ γραφή. This is one of the very few passages in the Quaestiones in which Philo expressly mentions Scripture rather than God or Moses as authority, although of course the three terms are interchangeable.

\(^c\) Aucher “ob abusum expletionis.”

\(^d\) Aucher inadvertently omits to render this sentence.

\(^e\) Slightly different is the text of Catena Lips., πρὸς δὲ τοὺς, μάθημα ἡμᾶς αἰσιώτατον ἀναδιδάσκει, δηλῶν ὅτι οὐτὲ ἄρτος οὐτὲ υδαρ καθ’ ἑαυτὰ τρέφουσιν. Procopius reads more briefly καὶ μάθημα δὲ παρέδωκεν αἰσιώτατον, ὡς οὐδὲν τοῖς τρέφει καθ’ ἑαυτό.

\(^f\) So Cat. Lips., ἀλλ’ ἐστιν οτὲ καὶ βλάπτουσι μᾶλλον ἢ ωφελόν. Procopius condenses, βλάπτει δὲ μᾶλλον ἢ ωφελεί.\(^g\) So (with the exception of one word) Cat. Lips., εὰν μὴ θείος λόγος καὶ τοῖς χαρίσσει τὰς ἀφελητικάς (ὑ ωφελητικάς) δινάμεις. Procopius paraphrases, μὴ τοῦ θεοῦ δύναμιν ωφελητικήν διὰ τῆς εὐλογίας παρέχοντος.

\(^h\) Emending Arm. ἠγγείον (= “spirit” or “soul”) to ἡγού (≡ “care”): Aucher “sine divina conciliatone cum anima.”

\(^i\) Cat. Lips. is defective, ὡς οὔ χ ἱκανὰ καθ’ ἑαυτὰ τρέφειν ἄνευ θείας [noun missing] καὶ ἐπιφροσύνης. The sentence is missing in Procopius.
19. (Ex. xxiii. 26a) Why does He say, "There shall not be in thee anyone infertile or barren"?*  

He places infertility and barrenness among the curses, (and) says that they shall not be (found) among those who act with justice and lawfulness. For (as) a prize to those who keep the divine writing of the Law He offers the more ancient law of immortal nature, which was laid down for procreation and the begetting of sons for the perpetuity of the race. That is the literal meaning. But as for the deeper meaning, no one will find any evil greater than childlessness and infertility of soul. And this is ignorance and lack of education, which make barren the deliberative mind. But fecundity and abundance of children come about through learning and knowledge, so that those who have an abundance of learning have an abundance of children, and those who are learned in the knowledge of good and excellent things have good children. And

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*a See below, note c.
c The context indicates that God is the subject although the Greek frag. supplies Μωυσῆς.
d So the Greek frag., ἄγονίαν καὶ στείρωσιν ἐν κατάρασιν τάττων Μωυσῆς.
e So the Greek frag., οὗ φήσω ἔσεσθαι παρὰ τοῖς τὰ δίκαια καὶ νόμωμα δρόσων.
f So the Greek frag. (which ends with this sentence), ἄθλον γὰρ τοῖς τῷ ἱερὸν γράμμα τοῦ νόμου φιλάττουσι παρέχει τὸν ἀρχαιότερον νόμον τῆς θανάτου φύσεως, ὅτι ἐπὶ σπορᾶ καὶ γενέσει τέκνων ἐτέθη πρὸς τὴν τοῦ γένους διαμονήν.
g τὸ ῥητὸν.
h τὸ πρὸς διάνοιαν.
i Lit. "of souls"—ψυχῶν.
j ἀμαθία καὶ ἀπαθενία.
k τόν βουλευτικὸν νοῦν νελ σιμ.: Aucher "consiliarium intellectum."
l διὰ μαθήσεως καὶ ἐπιστήμης.
m Aucher renders more freely, "qui bonae optimaeque intelligentiae periti sunt."
childless are they whose natures are sluggish and dull and at the same time unlearned.

*20. (Ex. xxiii. 26b) What is the meaning of the words, "The number of thy days I will fill" a? That it is most excellent and fine that the lives of His worshippers should be reckoned not by months nor by numbers b but by days. c For they are really of equal value with eternity when taken into account and number, d for he who is of no account and has no number is to be altogether condemned. e But it is well that an addition has been made to the passage, (namely) "I will fill," because of the intervals empty of thoughtfulness and virtue in the soul of him who wishes to progress. f For He wishes him who philosophizes in accordance with Him to be a harmony of all sounds like a musical instrument with no discord or dissonance in any part but with one and the

a lxx τῶν ἄρθρων τῶν ἡμερῶν σου ἀναπληρῶσο. In De Praemiis 111 Philo quotes the half-verse as here except for the personal ending of the verb, which there appears as ἀναπληρώσεις (v.l. ἀναπλήσεις).

b The original prob. had "years," as in Procopius, see next note.

c Somewhat different is Procopius' reading, τάγκαλον δὲ φασι τὸ μήτε μηκὶ μήτε ἐνίαυτος καταρθμεῖσθαι τῶν βίων τῶν ἱκετῶν.

d The Arm. is obviously corrupt, see end of note. Procopius reads more intelligibly τὸ γὰρ ὡστε ἐκάστον σοφοῖ ἡμέρα ἴσοτιμός ἐστιν αἰὼν. Similar is the wording in De Praemiis 112: ὁθεν ἴσοτιμον καλὸ (καὶ ὅλω conj. Colson) βίω σοφοῦ καὶ μίαν ἡμέραν ὑπέλαβεν εἶναι καταρθουμένην. I suspect that Arm. ι hamar ankeal εν i t'ῖn " taken into account and number " is a corruption of ἡνάρακανί mi t'ῖn (vel sim.) " one day of the intelligent (man)."

e Cf. De Praemiis 111 ὁ μὲν γὰρ ἀμαθῆς καὶ ἐκνομος " οὐτ' ἐν λόγῳ," φασίν, " οὐτ' ἐν ἀρθμῷ." The sentence is missing in Procopius.

f Slightly briefer is Procopius' text, εὖ δὲ καὶ τὸ "ἀναπληρῶσο" διὰ τὰ κενὰ φρονήσεως καὶ ἄρετῆς ἐν ψυχῇ διαστήματα τοῦ προκόπτοντος.

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same consonance and harmony, of will with word and of word with deed and of deed with both of these.\(^a\)

*21. (Ex. xxiii. 27a) Why does He say, "Fear will I send to go before thee"?\(^b\)?

The literal meaning is clear,\(^c\) for a strong force to\(^d\) terrify the enemy is\(^e\) fear,\(^f\) by which more (easily) the force of adversaries is taken and conquered.\(^g\) But as for the deeper meaning,\(^h\) there are two reasons why men honour the Deity, (namely) love and fear,\(^i\) and love is later, being in the elder ones,\(^j\) while fear comes earlier,\(^k\) so that not ineptly is it said that fear is the leader, for love, which comes after, is also acquired later.\(^l\) And may it not be

\(^a\) Procopius reads more briefly ὃν βουλεταῖ καθάπερ μονουκόν ὀργανὸν διὰ πάντων ἡμιόσθαι πρὸς μίαν συμφωνίαν βουλημάτων καὶ λόγων καὶ πράξεων.

\(^b\) lxx (and the Greek frag. in the Catena) καὶ τὸν φόβον ἀποστέλω ἡγούμενον σου (Heb. "My fear will I send before thee").

\(^c\) τὸ μὲν ῥητὸν ἐμφανές, as in the Catena.

\(^d\) The preposition i "to" or "in" has fallen out of the Arm. text, probably by haplography.

\(^e\) Emending Arm. εἰν "and" to ἐ ἂν is.

\(^f\) So the Catena, εἰς κατάπληξιν εὐθρῶν ἱσχυρὰ δύναμις ὁ φόβος.

\(^g\) The Catena and Procopius (whose excerpt begins here) read somewhat differently; the Catena have υφ' οὗ μᾶλλον ἡ (ἡ Wendland) τῆς τῶν ἀντιπάλων ἐφόδου ρώμη ἀλάκτεια: Procopius υφ' οὗ μᾶλλον ἡ τῆς τῶν ἀντιπάλων ρώμης οἱ πολέμοι ἀλίσκονται.

\(^h\) τὸ δὲ πρὸς διάνοιαν as in the Catena, which add οὕτως.

\(^i\) So the Catena (for Procopius' condensed paraphrase see below), δυνὸν οὐσῶν αἰτιῶν, ὅν ἔνεκα τὸ θείον ἀνθρωποι τιμῶσιν, ἀγάπης καὶ φόβου.

\(^j\) Presumably meaning "in mature persons," cf. Procopius ἐν τοῖς τελείοις. The Catena read more briefly τὸ μὲν ἀγαπᾶν ἔστιν ὄφιγονον (v.l. ὀφεέως).

\(^k\) So the Catena, τὸ δὲ φοβεῖσθαι οὐνάσται πρότερον.

\(^l\) Only slightly different is the reading of the Catena (which end here), ὡστε οὖν ἀπὸ σκοτοῦ λελέχθη τὸ ἥγεσθαι τὸν φόβον, τῆς ἀγάπης ύπερεν καὶ ὅσυ προσγενομένης. Procopius condenses the whole sentence, προηγεῖται δὲ τῆς ἀγάπης ὁ φόβος, ἡ τοῖς τελείοις ἐγγίνεται. δι' ἀμφοῖν γὰρ τιμᾶται θεός.
that one who fears does so rightly and properly? a For just as imprudence is younger than prudence, b so is fear (younger) than love, since fear is born in a worthless man, c while love (is born) in a virtuous one. d

22. (Ex. xxiii. 27b) What is the meaning of the words, “I will terrify all the nations into which thou wilt come” e ?

The (expression) “I will terrify” in the literal sense f is equivalent to “I will strike with fear,” which He earlier spoke of sending down for the destruction of their adversaries’ force, g for fear is the cause of weakness. h In the second place, He seems to bear testimony to the surpassing virtue i of the nation j in that it would convert k not only its own (members) but also its enemies; and by “enemies” I mean not only those who commit acts of war but also those who are heterodox. l But as for the deeper meaning, m this must be said. When there comes into the soul, n as into a land, the prudence o of a keen-eyed and seeing nature, p all the Gentile laws which are in it become mad

a The text is suspect. Aucher renders, “ne forte timere quoque sit jure dignae.”
b ἀφροσύνη... φρόνησις.
c Aucher “in contempto.”
d ἐν σπονδαίῳ.
e LXX καὶ ἐκκότησο (Heb. “I will confuse”) πάντα τὰ ἐθνη εἰς οὗς σὺν ἐλπιστρεφῇ εἰς αὐτούς.
f πρὸς τὸ ἰθητόν.
g See the preceding section.
h ἀσθενείας.
i ἐν ὑπερβαλλουσαν ἀρετήν.
j i.e. the Hebrew nation.
k Arm. ἀργουσανελ sometimes renders ἐπιστρέφειν, which seems to have been the verb used in the Greek, although it is not listed in Leisegang’s Index Philonis. Aucher here renders, “convertat.”
l τοὺς ἐτεροδόκους.
m τὸ πρὸς διάνοιαν.
ν Lit. “souls” — τὰς ψυχᾶς.
o εὐθυνία.
p Philo here, as often elsewhere, alludes to the etymology of “Israel” as “seeing (God).”
and rage and turn aside a from worthy thoughts, for evil things are unable to dwell and live b together with good ones.

23. (Ex. xxiii. 27c) What is the meaning of the words, "I will make c thine enemies fugitives" d? He declares more certainly (and) clearly what was said earlier. e For he who has supervened f makes a beginning of flight. That is the literal meaning. g But as for the deeper meaning, h He speaks of acceptable laws, i which are unknown to youths and (which) He Himself j knows. For every foolish man is without a home or dwelling and is, as it were, a fugitive, driven from the city of virtue, k which must be thought of as the native place of wise and virtuous souls.

a Philo plays on the ἐκτησθὼν of LXX as being the causative of ἔξιστασθαί in the sense of "be beside oneself" and "stand out of the way," i.e. "turn aside."

b Aucher "stare," evidently mistaking keal "to live" for kal "to stand."

c Lit. "give," as in the LXX, which reflects Heb. idiom.

d LXX καὶ δῶσω πάντας (a few MSS. om. πάντας) τοὺς ὑπεναντίους σου φυγαδᾶς (Heb. "And I will give all thine enemies to thee a neck"—an idiom meaning "and I will cause all thine enemies to turn their backs to thee"—i.e. "to flee from thee").

e In the preceding verses.

f The Arm. verb i veray gal may render ἐπιγίνεσθαι (which is, it seems, not used by Philo), but in exactly what sense is not clear. Aucher here renders, "supervenerat."

g τὸ ῥητῶν.

h τὸ πρὸς διάνοιαν.

i νόμος εὐαρέστουs vel sim. : Aucher "leges gratas."

j Arm. inк'н = αὐτός, but this is evidently a corruption or translator's misreading of ἀστεῖος (see below). The original must have meant "and (which) the wise man knows."

k ἐκ πόλεως ἅρετῆς, cf. Leg. All. iii. 1 πόλις οἰκεία τῶν σοφῶν ἡ ἅρετη.

l πατρὶς ψυχῶν ἀστείων καὶ σπουδαίων. Here, as elsewhere, Arm. astи renders ἀστεῖος "wise," not "constant" as Aucher renders.

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**24. (Ex. xxiii. 28) Why does He say, “I will send the wasp before thee and I will drive out thine enemies”? Why does He say, “I will send the wasp before thee and I will drive out thine enemies”?**

Wasps fly upon one from nowhere without first being seen, and after wounding with their stings they withdraw; and they wound the principal parts, the face, the eyes and the head. And the fearful noise made (by them) in the air penetrates the ears. And so, from the very beginning alliance (and) help are not to be cut off, inasmuch as one is to do the enemy much harm through the smallest (animals), especially when God commands, by which even very weak men are innervated and form an army with invincible power. And allegorically it is to be said that the wasp should be considered a symbol of unhoped

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*a* Philo here paraphrases the ἐκδότος τάς αἰχμαλώσεις (Heb. “the wasp,” a collective singular: Λ.Β. “horns”) προτέρας σου καί ἐκβαλέσ (v.l. ἐκβαλέω: Heb. “it will drive out”) τῶν Ἀμωραίους (Heb. omits “the Amorites”) καί Εὐαίους καί Χανααίους καί τῶν Χεταίους (v.l. + καί τῶν Φερειαίους καί τῶς Γερεσαίους καί τῶς Ἰεβου-σαίους) ἀπὸ σου. Procopius cites only the first half of the verse, καί ἐκδότος τάς αἰχμαλώσεις προτέρας σου. In De Praemiis 96 Philo briefly alludes to this verse without quoting ἐκ δοτος or commenting in detail.

*b* ἐξ ἀφανοῦς, as in Procopius.

*c* τὰ κυρτῶτατα (rendered by two Arm. words): Procopius τὰ καιρώτατα.

*d* Procopius condenses the sentence, οἱ σφῆκες ἐξ ἀφανοῦς οὐ προειδομένους πτερόσκουσι τὰ καιρῶτατα, κεφαλήν τε καὶ τὰ ἐν αὐτῇ.

*e* Or “wounds.”

*f* One Arm. ms. omits “not.”

*g* The text seems to be corrupt, especially the phrase “from the very beginning.” The Arm. glossator paraphrases, “one ought not to reject the help of God even though it be small.” Procopius adds, either on his own or some post-Philonic authority, καὶ κατὰ τὸ ῤήτον ὅν ὁ δὲ θεός καὶ διὰ τῶν σμικρῶν καταγνώσθαι ὡς καὶ σκνητῶν τε καὶ βατράχων τοὺς Αἰγυπτίους . . . φίλων γὰρ ἅδε θεῷ διὰ σμικρῶν περιγίνεσθαι.

*h* Or perhaps “through Whom.”

*i* νευρόντας.

*j* There is no Greek parallel to the second half of this sentence.

*k* ἀλληγορητέον.
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for and unexpected power a divinely sent. b And when it inflicts blows with great force from the upper regions, it does not miss its mark with the blows, and after striking, it does not suffer any counter-(blow) at all. c

*25. (Ex. xxiii. 29) Why does He add the reason why not all enemies are to be driven out all together at one time but little by little, (namely) "that the land may not be made desolate and many animals congregate" d?

The literal sense e does not require a long discussion, for beasts flee from man as from their natural lord, wherefore they do not enter cities when these are populous; but if they become small, (the beasts) move about with the inhabitants. f But as for the deeper meaning, g if from one who has just h for the first time been introduced (to know-

a Aucher "inepectatae subitaneaeque virtutis."

b Similar is the text of the Catena (which begins here), σύμβολον δὲ ὑποληπτέον εἶναι τοὺς σφήκας ἀνελπίστω τὰ δύναμες θεία πομπὴ σταλησομένης. Procopius (resuming here) paraphrases, σημαίνοι δ' ἂν καὶ θείαν πομπὴν ἀνελπίστω τὰ δύναμες στελλομένης εἶς οὕρανοθ.

c Slightly different and in part corrupt is the text of the Catena (the sentence is lacking in Procopius), ήπις ἀφ' ὑψηλοτέρων κατ' ἄκρον τὸ οὖς ὑποφέρουσα τὰς πληγάς, εὑστοχέοιει πάις τοῖς βλήμασι, καὶ διαθείαι οὐδὲν ἀντιπεσεῖται τὸ παράπτων. Mangey has emended ἀντιπεσεῖται to ἀντιπεσέσται. We must further (on the basis of the Arm.) emend κατ' ἄκρον τὸ οὖς ὑποφέρουσα to κατὰ κράτος ἐπιφέρουσα.

d Ixx οὐκ ἐκβαλω αὐτοῦς (v.l., with Heb., adds ἀπὸ προσώπου σου) ἐν ἐναυτῳ ἐνι, ἵνα μὴ γένηται ἡ γῆ ἔρημος καὶ πολλα γένηται ἐπὶ σὲ τὰ θηρία τῆς γῆς (Heb. "and the beasts of the field increase against thee"). Procopius quotes only the words οὐκ ἐκβαλω αὐτοῦς ἐν ἐναυτῳ ἐνι.

e τὸ ρήτων.

f Procopius condenses and paraphrases, τὰ γὰρ θηρία φεύγει τὰς τῶν πλειόνων ἀνθρώπων οἰκήσει ως ἡγεμόνων τῇ φύσει καὶ τὰς ἐρήμους πληροῖ. g τὸ πρὸς διάνοιαν.

h The Arm. reads "not then," but we must correct this from the Greek, see next note but one.
ledge) and is learning you take pains to cut away all his errors and to cause disciplined knowledge to dwell in him all at once, you will achieve the opposite of that which is in your mind.\textsuperscript{a} For he will not stand up under the removal (of error), if it is done at one time, nor will he hold the immense stream and flow of teaching,\textsuperscript{c} but in both respects, by the cutting away and by the adding, he will be afflicted and suffer pain and will be carried away.\textsuperscript{d} But (if) one quietly and measuredly and little by little removes ignorance and adds instruction proportionate thereto, it would admittedly become the cause of profit.\textsuperscript{e} For not even a good physician would seek to restore all his health in one day to one who is ill, knowing that (thereby) he would do harm rather than good.\textsuperscript{f} But measuring the

\textsuperscript{a} Here again we must correct the Arm. which read οὗ instead of οὐ.

\textsuperscript{b} The Catenae (which begin here) read similarly (except for the two places mentioned in the preceding two notes) οὗ τοῦ ἄρτι πρῶτον εἰςαγομένου καὶ μανθάνοντος σπουδᾶς, πάσαν τὴν ἀμαθίαν ἐκτεμῶν, ἅθροαν ἐπιστήμην εἰσοικίσαι τούναυτίον οὐ διανοή πράξεις. Procopius condenses, ἀλλ᾽ οὐδὲ τὰς τῶν εἰςαγομένων ψυχὰς ἔστιν υφ᾽ ἐν ἀπαλλάττεις ἁγνοίαι καὶ πληροῦν ἐπιστήμης.

\textsuperscript{c} So the Catenae, οὔτε γὰρ τὴν ἀφαίρεσιν ἑνὶ καρώ γνωμένην ὑπομενεῖ, οὔτε τὴν ἁθροαν ῥύμην καὶ φοράν τῆς διδασκαλίας χαρῆσαι. Again Procopius paraphrases, οὐ φέρουσι γὰρ οὔτε τὴν ἐκείνην ἁφαίρεσιν οὔτε τὴν ἁθροαν τῆς διδασκαλίας φοράν.

\textsuperscript{d} Aucher “resiliet.” In the Catenae the clause reads similarly except for the last verb ἀλλὰ καθ᾽ ἐκάτερον τὸ τε ἐκτεμομένον καὶ προστεθέμενον ὁδυνηθεῖς καὶ περιαληγίας ἀφηναίαι (v.l. ἀπεράσει).

\textsuperscript{e} So the Catenae, τὸ δὲ ἕσυχῳ καὶ μετρίως ἀφαίρεῖν μὲν κατ᾽ ὀλγον (v.l. omits κατ᾽ ὀλγον) τι τῆς ἀπαθειας, προστεθέναι δὲ τῆς παθείας τὸ ἀνάλογον ὕφελειας γένοιτ’ ἀν ὀμολογουμένης αἴτιων.

\textsuperscript{f} So the Catenae, δὲ ἀγαθὸς ἱατρὸς οὐ μᾶ ἡμέρα τῷ νοσοῦντι πάντα ἅθροα τὰ ψυχεῖα προσφέρειν (v.l. ἐπιφέρειν) ἀν ἐθελῆσειν, εἰδῶς βλάβην ἐργαλεῖουν μᾶλλον ἐπερ ὕφελειαν (v.l. ψυχεῖαν).
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times, he administers the cure at intervals, and by applying different things at different times he gently brings about health. But he who is impatient and presumptuous and insists upon cutting away (ignorance) all at once, and insists upon adding instruction all at once, increases rather than lessens the illness.

*26. (Ex. xxiii. 33b) Why does He call the service of heterodox gods "a stumbling-block"?

Just as those who stumble on whole feet because they are unable to walk a long way fall short of the end of the road, having earlier given up, so also the soul, being led to piety, is prevented from completing (its journey) when it has earlier come upon the trackless places of impiety. For these are obstacles and the cause of stumbling, by

a Lit. "managing he apportions the cure"; the Arm. ptc. and verb probably render ἐπιδιανέμει, as in the Greek frag., see next note.

b So the Catena (which end with this sentence), ἀλλὰ διαμετρησάμενος τοὺς καιροὺς ἐπιδιανέμει τὰ σωτηρία καὶ ἀλλοτρία προστίθει πράξεις ὑγίειαν ἐμποιεῖ.

c Lit. "trenchant": Aucher "importunus."

d i.e. of the gods of the Gentiles.

e ἸΧΧ ἐὰν γὰρ δουλεύσῃ τοῖς θεοῖς αὐτῶν, οὕτω ἔσονται σοι πρόσκομμα (Heb. "snare").

f i.e. on even feet, see the Greek text (below), in which this phrase occurs more appropriately in the following clause.

g Here again the order of words in the Arm. is to be corrected from the Greek which places "a long way" in the clause beginning "fall short."

h In the Greek (see next note) it is the road, not the soul, which leads to piety.

i The Greek frag. (from John of Damascus) reads more smoothly ὅσπερ οἱ προσπαίσαντες, ἀρτίοις βαίνειν ποσίν ἀδυνατοῦντες, μακρὰν τοῦ κατὰ τὴν ὅδον τέλος ὑπερίζουσι προσκάμνουσι (i.e. προκάμνουσι?), οὕτω καὶ ἡ ψυχὴ τὴν πρὸς εὐσεβείαν ἀγούσαν ὅδον ἀνύειν καινύεται, προεντυχχάνουσα ταῖς ἀσεβέσις ἀνοδίαις. Procopius (covering only this sentence) condenses and paraphrases, τοῦτο γὰρ παρθὼν ὁδοιτόρος προκάμνει, πρὸς εἰς τὸ τέλος ἐλθεῖν τῆς ὅδος, καὶ ψυχὴ πρὸς θεόν ὁδεύει ἐθέλουσα δυσεΰσιν ἀνοδίαις τῆς εὐθείας ἀπείργεται.
which the mind is lamed and falls short of the natural road.\(^a\) Now this road is that which ends in the Father.\(^b\)

27. (Ex. xxiv. 1a) What is the meaning of the words, "And He said to Moses, Go up, thou and Aaron \(^c\) and Nadab \(^d\) and Abihu \(^e\) " ?

You see indeed that the number of those gathered together for ascending was worthy of God,\(^g\) (namely) the tetrad,\(^h\) which is the essence \(^i\) of the decad,\(^j\) while seventy \(^k\) is produced by multiplying seven by ten or ten by seven.\(^l\) But one should recognize that through the literal meaning\(^m\) this passage is allegorized.\(^n\) For Moses is the most pure and God-loving mind,\(^o\) while Aaron is his word, which is

\(^a\) So the Greek frag., αὐταὶ γὰρ εἰσών ἐμπόδιοι καὶ προσπται-σμάτων αἰτίαι, δι' ὅν κυλλαίνων ὁ νοῦς ύστερίζει τῆς κατὰ φύσιν ὄδυ.

\(^b\) After "the Father" we should prob. add "of all things" as in the Greek frag., which reads ἥ δὲ ὄδος ἐστὶν ἥ ἐπὶ τὸν πατέρα τῶν ὀλῶν τελεύτωσα.

\(^c\) Arm. Aharon (as in Heb.).

\(^d\) Arm. Nabad.

\(^e\) Arm. Abioud (as in lxx).

\(^f\) lxx Καὶ Μωυσῆ ἐπέν, Ἀνάβηθι πρὸς τὸν κύριόν σου, σὺ καὶ Ααρών καὶ Ναδᾶβ καὶ Ἀβιουδ καὶ ἐβδομήκοντα τῶν πρεσβυτέρων Ἰσραήλ. Philo's commentary refers to the seventy elders, of whom there is no mention in the lemma. In De Migratione 168 Philo quotes the lxx text except that for τῶν πρεσβυτέρων he has τῆς γερουσίας.\(^v\)

\(^g\) θεοπρεπή.

\(^h\) i.e. Moses and his three companions.

\(^i\) άσια.

\(^j\) Cf. De Opif. Mundi 47 and De Plantatione 123, where four is said to be the source or potentiality of ten, i.e. the sum of 1, 2, 3, 4 = 10.

\(^k\) i.e. the seventy elders.

\(^l\) Aucker's rendering adds, after the "seventy," the words "mysterium cernis" in parenthesis, though there is nothing corresponding in the Arm.

\(^m\) διὰ τοῦ ῥήτου.

\(^n\) ἀληγορεῖται.

\(^o\) διάνοια or νοῦς. Both terms are used in the parallel, De Migratione 169-170, see notes below.
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the unlying interpreter of the truth.a And Nadab is voluntary vision, for (his name) is to be interpreted as "voluntary." b And Abihu is truth from God,c for it is this to which the name refers.d Thus you see a soul adorned with all the ornaments that lead to virtue e so as to please God, (namely) a worthy mind,f a true word,g one who is voluntarily pious h and one who guards them (like) a barrier and wall, (namely) help from God.i But the power of the number four will be subordinated to a commander consisting of one, j for there are three ornaments of the one prophetic mind which is acquired by you. The powers of the seventy elders are honoured with seniority, not by length of many years but by the ascension of perfect numbers, which are worthy of honour and are privileged.

*a28. (Ex. xxiv. 1b) Why does He say, "they shall worship the Lord from afar" k ?

Just as those who are near a fire are burned, while those

a Cf. De Migratione 169 'Αρα ὅ... ὁ γεγονὼς λόγος προφητεύων διανοίᾳ.

b Cf. De Migratione 169 Ναδὰβ δὲ ἑκοίνους ἐρμηνεύεται ὁ μὴ ἀνάγκη τιμῶν τὸ θεῖον.

c Aucher "divinitus veritas."

d This far-fetched etymology is apparently based on the Arm. translator's reading ἀλήθεα instead of βοήθεα "help," see below. In De Migratione 169 Abihu is more accurately etymologized as πατὴρ μου. Heb. 'abihu lit.= "he is my father."

e ἀρετήν.

f Symbolized by Moses.

g Symbolized by Aaron.

h Symbolized by Nadab.

i Symbolized by Abihu.

j The Arm. text is not altogether clear. Aucher renders, "caeterum cum duce militiae quaterno numero ordinetur virtus unitatis comprehensae." More intelligible is the parallel in De Migratione 170, αἰδ' εἰσίν αἱ τοῦ βασιλείου ἄξιον νοῦ δορυφόροι δύναμεις.

k LXX καὶ προσκυνήσουσιν μακρόθεν τῷ κυρίῳ (Heb. omits "the Lord").
EXODUS, BOOK II

who stand apart at a distance measured by a long interval attain to security, so it is with the soul; whatever soul comes too near in desiring the vision of God, does not perceive when it is being consumed. But as for that (soul) which stands far off at a distance, no longer do the tongues of flame burn it but warming it moderately, they kindle it with vitality. This is said in reference to the dissolution and rapture of the most perfect and prophetic mind, for which it is fitting and lawful to enter the dark cloud and to dwell in the forecourt of the palace of the Father. Wherefore also there are some animals which move and dwell in fire, by which others are destroyed, and they are called “fire-born.”

29. (Ex. xxiv. 2) Why does He say, “Moses alone shall come near to God, and they shall not come near, and the people shall not go up with them”? O most excellent and God-worthy ordinance, that the prophetic mind alone should approach God and that those

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*a* The Greek frag. (which extends only to the end of the sentence) seems to be paraphrastic, ουχ ὧρας ὅτι τῶν πυρὸς ἡ δύναμις τὸις μὲν ἀφεστήκοσι μεμετρημένῳ διάστημα παρέχει φῶς (Ἀτμ. = ἀσφάλειαν), κατακαίει δὲ τοὺς ἐγχύλουντας; ὃρα μῆ τοιοῦτον τι πάθης τῆ διανοία, μη σὲ ὁ πολὺς πόθος ἀδύνατον πράγματος ἀνάλογη.

*b* Lit. “sparks (or “effulgences”) of rays”: Aucher “radiorum splendor.”

*c* ζωτυρωδῶς.

*d* i.e. the statement about souls that draw near to the fire.

*e* κατὰ τὴν κατάλυσιν καὶ ἀφαίρεσιν τὸῦ τελειωτάτου καὶ προφητικοῦ νοῦ: Aucher “secundum dissolutionem et avulsionem perfecti propheticique intellectus.”

*f* τῶν γνώφων, cf. De Vita Mosis i. 158 on Ex. xx. 21.

*g* αὐλῇ vel sim.: Aucher “atrio.”

*h* πυρίγονα, cf. De Gigantibus 7 et al., and also Aelian, De Nat. An. 2. 2. 231 on salamanders.

*i* ΙΧΧ καὶ ἐγγείει Μωυσῆς μόνος πρὸς τὸν θεόν (Heb. "YHWH"), αὐτοὶ δὲ ὄνοι ἐγγίσκονται ὁ δὲ λαὸς οὐ συναναβήσεται μετ’ αὐτῶν (Heb. “with him”).

*j* τὸν προφητικὸν νοῦν.
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in second place \(a\) should go up, making \(b\) a path to heaven, while those in third place and the turbulent characters of the people \(c\) should neither go up above nor go up with them but those worthy of beholding should be holders of the blessed path above. But that "(Moses) alone shall go up" is said most naturally.\(d\) For when the prophetic mind becomes divinely inspired and filled with God,\(e\) it becomes like the monad, not being at all mixed with any of those things associated with duality. But he who is resolved into the nature of unity,\(f\) is said to come near God in a kind of family relation,\(g\) for having given up and left behind all mortal kinds,\(h\) he is changed into the divine, so that such men become kin to God and truly divine.

30. (Ex. xxiv. 4b) Why does Moses, rising early in the morning, build an altar below the mountain and twelve stones for the twelve tribes of Israel? \(i\)

Either the altar was built of only twelve stones in order that all the tribes of the nation together might in some way \(j\) be a sacred altar to God, or the twelve stones were set up separately apart from \(k\) the altar, in order that some, although they might be missing from the daily service,\(l\) might seem to be there, for the absence of some would be

\(a\) τοὺς δευτέρους.  
\(b\) Lit. "cutting."  
\(c\) Aucher "tertios vero populares mores conturbatos."  
\(d\) φυσικώτατα, i.e. "most philosophically."  
\(e\) εἰθουσία καὶ θεοφορεῖται.  
\(f\) Cf. De Vita Mosis ii. 288 (Moses) μετακληθείς ὑπὸ τοῦ πατρὸς, δα αὐτὸν δύνα λογικά, σῶμα καὶ ψυχήν, εἰς μονάδος ἀνεστοιχεῖον φύσιν.  
\(g\) κατά συγγενῆ τινα οἰκείότητα: Aucher "cognativa quaedam familiaritate."  
\(h\) πάντα θυητὰ γένη.  
\(i\) LXX ὀρθρίας δὲ Ὄμωσις τὸ πρῶτ ὁκοδόμησεν θυσιαστήριον ὑπὸ τοῦ ὄρου καὶ δώδεκα λίθους (Heb. "pillars"; v.l. in LXX adds ἐστησαν after λίθους) εἰς τὰς δώδεκα φυλὰς τοῦ Ἰσραήλ.  
\(j\) τρόπον τινά.  
\(k\) χωρίς.  
\(l\) τῆς καθ' ἡμέραν λειτουργίας vel sim.
filled by the permanent setting up\(^a\) of the twelve stones, which would be a suitable memorial of the tribes, which he wishes always to be present as ministers to the Father.

31. (Ex. xxiv. 5a) Why does he send young men, not the elders?\(^b\)

Since the elders, numbering seventy, had brought the nation to the foot of the mountain,\(^c\) performing (this) service at the ascent of the prophet, it would have been unsuitable and strange to summon them again to another work when they had already been summoned earlier to the sight,\(^d\) and if he had commanded their contemporaries to offer sacrifice, he would have been held in low esteem by those who were not offering (sacrifice) with them. In the second place, (it was) because the elder generations were a kind of first-fruits and new (offerings), as if performing a bloodless sacrifice, which is more appropriate to elders of advanced age. But as for those who as young men in the flower of their youth were sent to offer sacrifice, because there was much blood in them by reason of their flourishing youth it was profitable\(^e\) for them to offer every offering of sacrifice with blood, as a thankoffering\(^f\) to God and Father, using their youth to lead their desires to piety\(^g\) and not to the madness of unrestrained desires. That is the literal meaning.\(^h\) But as for the deeper meaning,\(^i\) the allwise and God-beloved soul\(^j\) has in itself both

\(^a\) Aucher "constantii erectione."
\(^b\) Ixx καὶ ἔκαστοςτελευτὸς νεανίσκους τῶν νεών Ἰσραήλ.
\(^c\) Aucher renders less accurately, I think, "quoniam senes numerum gentis septuaginta praeseferentes obtulerunt ad radices montis."
\(^d\) i.e. of what was to take place on the mountain.
\(^e\) λουστελές vel sim. : Aucher "expediebat."
\(^f\) εὐχαριστίαν.
\(^g\) τὰς ἐπιθυμίας πρὸς εὐσεβείαν.
\(^h\) τὸ ῥητόν.
\(^i\) τὸ πρὸς διάνοιαν.
\(^j\) Arm. ogi (= ὅντι) is here exceptionally provided with a plural ending, although it governs a singular verb. Possibly the plural ending here is analogous to that of mitk' (νοῦς), a pluralia tantum. Aucher too renders, "anima."
elderly and youthful principles, a all (of them) holy. Now the elderly ones are used in the contemplation of nature b and of those things which are therein, while those which are vigorous (are used) for the power c of worthy deeds, so that the life of those who are excellent in these ways, in both the contemplative and the practical, is publicly posted and widely famed.d

32. (Ex. xxiv. 5b) Why do the young men who were sent offer whole-burnt-offerings e and sacrifice calves as victims f

Calves of tender years g are offered by the hands of youths of tender years in order that the sacrifices which are offered may preserve a correspondence of age h with those who make the offering. Not lambs and not kids (are offered), for these animals are weaker than calves, whereas he seems to make the sacrifice from more powerful (animals). Therefore the youths i who j perform the sacrifice offer sacrifices of whole-burnt-offerings and salutary offerings k in their prime vigour. The third (kind of offering, namely) the sin-offering is not (made) inasmuch as that place does not admit of any transgression at all because of the visible appearance of the Father. For in that place there was

a λόγους.  b τῆς φύσεως.  c δύναμιν: Aucher "in virili occupatione."  d στηλιτεύεται καὶ διαφημίζεται vel sim.  e The Arm. oljakēs reflects lxx ὀλοκαυτώματα = Heb. 'oilot (A.V. "burnt offerings").  f lxx (abbreviated here) καὶ ἀνήνεγκαν ὀλοκαυτώματα καὶ ἐθυσαν θυσίαν σωτηρίου (Heb. "covenant-offerings"; A.V. "peace offerings") τῷ θεῷ (Heb. "to YHWH") μοσχάρια (Heb. "oxen").  g ἀπαλοί.  h Variant "equality" or "community."  i Lit. "the youth" (collective abstract)—ή νέοτης.  j A different division of words yields the variant "the new youth" for "the youths who."  k τὰ σωτηρία, which is the lxx rendering of Heb. ἰδαμίμ "covenant-offerings," see above, note f.
not anything to oppose (Him). For when the sun rises, darkness disappears and everything becomes filled with light. Moreover, when God appears or is about to appear, is not every form and substance of sin first to be destroyed and removed? Accordingly, the two kinds of sacrifice are here the best that can be performed, (namely) the whole-burnt-offering in honour of the unbribable and unbought Father, which is made for no one else but Him Who is honoured, and the salutary offering, which is made for our sake, in return for the fact that good things have happened to us and that we experience and await them. For it is to God Who gives them to the race of mortals that we render the sacrifices of health and salvation and all good things in general.

33. (Ex. xxiv. 6) Why did Moses take half of the blood and pour it into mixing-bowls, and pour half upon the altar?

He divides the blood in a manner appropriate to its worth, desiring that some of it should be a sacred offering to God and that some should be a sacred unction in place of oil for sanctity and perfect purity, and, if one must speak

A variant omits the negative. Aucher renders, “quae illico ipsi opponebat sese,” and as (a free) alternative, “cui illic illud peccatum non poterat sese opponere.” The Arm. glossator takes the text to mean “there was no sin there, which is opposed to God.”

Aucher renders more freely, “beneficia probavimus.”

Aucher “legitimo ordine.”

Aucher “circa.”

The two Arm. adjectives prob. render the single Greek adjective άδεκάστον: Aucher “dona vix accipientis.”

Aucher more freely, “beneficia probavimus.”

LXX λαβὼν δὲ Μωσῆς τὸ ήμισὺ τοῦ αἰματος ἐνέχειν εἰς κρατῆρας, as in lxx, see note h. Aucher “circa.”

Heb. “upon”) το θυσιαστήριον. Philo cites the lxx text of this verse (omitting Moses’ name) in Quis Rer. Div. Heres 182-185 and allegorizes it in somewhat the same manner as here but without Pythagorean number-mysticism.

Aucher “legitimo ordine.”
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the truth, in order that (men) may be inspired \( a \) to receive the holy spirit.\( b \) But the mixing-bowls are symbols of the mixed and composite nature,\( c \) which is ours. For the divine (nature) is pure and unmixed, whereas all such things as through generation come into existence from contraries are necessarily receptacles, in part of a good, in part of a bad form.\( d \) Accordingly, that which belongs to the better is assigned to the part of God, for He acquires this through His simpler and more lucid essence,\( e \) while that which belongs to the worse (is assigned) to the race of mortals. But one should begin with the incorporeal and intelligible things,\( f \) which are the measures and models of sense-perceptible things.\( g \) Now the principle \( b \) of all things arises from numbers, some of which are odd, having the status of active causes,\( i \) and some even, (having the status) of matter.\( j \) It is therefore necessary to attribute the idea \( k \) of the odd (number) to God because of His connexion\( i \) with activity,\( m \) whereas the even (is to be attributed) to the race of mortals because of its familiarity with suffering and passion.\( n \) The same (distinction holds) for

\( a \) Prob. " in spiritum verti."

\( b \) τὸ ἄγνων πνεῦμα, which is not Philonic usage, though Philo often speaks of a θεῖον πνεῦμα. Possibly the Arm. translator has here substituted “ holy ” for “ divine.”


\( d \) Prob. εἰδόνος rather than ἰδέας: Aucher “ ideae.”

\( e \) Aucher “ qui ergo melioris status est, partum Dei sortitus est per simpliciorem lucidioremque essentiam.” The parallel in Quis Rer. Div. Heres 183 and the present context indicate that it is God’s essence which is meant here.

\( f \) τοῖς ἀσωμάτοις καὶ νοητοῖς.  

\( g \) παραδείγματα τῶν αἰσθητῶν.

\( h \) Or “ origin”—ἀρχή.  

\( i \) δραστηρίων αἰτίων λόγον ἔχοντες.

\( j \) Cf. De Opif. Mundi 13 ἄρρεν μὲν γὰρ ἐν τοῖς οὐσίᾳ τὸ περιττόν, τὸ δ’ ἄρτιον θῆλυ (where “ male” connotes “ active,” and “ female” connotes “ passive” and “ material”).

\( k \) Or “ form.”  

\( l \) συγγενεῖαν.

\( m \) Lit. “ doing” or “ making.”

\( n \) Aucher renders more briefly, “ ob familiaritatem ad patiendum.”

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equality and inequality, similarity and dissimilarity, identity and difference, unity and separation. As for equality, similarity, identity and unity, they are to be ordered under the better class, as it were, with God, while the unequal, the dissimilar, the different and the separate (are to be ordered) in the worse (class), of which mortal (nature) has obtained the greater part. It is (possible), however, to see the equivalent of this (distinction) not only in incorporeal and intelligible things but also in sense-perceptible natures. For even in the cosmos heaven itself and everything in heaven are found worthy of the divine and best essence and come near to God and are consecrated to Him. But that which is sublunary belongs to the more material and denser part and is assigned to the race of mortals. Moreover, in us ourselves the soul consists of the rational and the irrational. And the rational, being the better, is consecrated to the better nature, while the irrational, being worse, (is consecrated) to the inferior, which we, the untaught and incontinent and undisciplined, have received. Nevertheless, one who considers the mortal body with good judgment will say that the sovereign head is consecrated to the holy Creator and Father, while (the part) from the breast to the feet belongs to material substance. This (part), therefore, he reckons to the mixing-bowls symbolically, because it is mixed and composite, while he consecrates the pure and unmixed (part) by making it an offering to God.

34. (Ex. xxiv. 7a) What is the meaning of the words, "Taking the book of the covenant, he read to the ears of all the people"?

a Prob. διαίρεσιν. b Or " substance"—οὖσίας.

c τὸ μετὰ σελήνην. d ἡ ψυχή.

e τοῦ λογικοῦ καὶ τοῦ ἀλόγου.

f Lit. "lesser": Aucher "minor." g i.e. those of us who are untaught, etc. h συμβολικῶς.

i.i.e. tak; and Heb. literally (A.V. "audience"), see next note. j i.xx καὶ λαβὼν τὸ βιβλίον τῆς διαθήκης ἀνέγνω εἰς τὰ ἄτα τοῦ λαοῦ.
QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS

Concerning the divine covenant we have already spoken in detail,\(^a\) so that it is not proper to discuss the subject again at the present time. However, some notice must be taken of (the words) "reading to the ears." Now this takes place without separation and interruption, for the air is not agitated from without as the sound reaches the hearers but (the voice of) the speaker resounds in them without separation or distance \(^b\) like some pure and lucid voice which is extended.\(^c\) And there is no third thing interposed, by the intervention of which the reception \(^d\) becomes less but the sound echoes more surely in an only purer form when the hearers and the word come together without any separation between them. That is the literal meaning.\(^e\) But as for the deeper meaning,\(^f\) since it was impossible for anyone to reach such a multitude of hearers \(^g\) or to come near and speak to their ears,\(^h\) it is necessary to hold the opinion that the teacher and the pupil \(^i\) were there. One of them speaks privately \(^j\) to his disciples \(^k\) without concealing anything, not even things not to be spoken of,\(^l\) and the other is the recipient who offers himself as one worthy of voluntarily being a repository of the divine Law \(^m\) and a guardian of those things which it would not be proper to interpret \(^n\) to the many, whatever may happen.

\(^a\) ήμών ήκριβωταί. Philo here apparently alludes to his (lost) work Περὶ Διαθηκῶν in two books, see Εἰς Μυτ. Νομ. 53.

\(^b\) Aucher renders more freely, "sed dicentis vox immediate in eas sonans."

\(^c\) Aucher "expansa."

\(^d\) Aucher "perceptio."

\(^e\) τὸ ῥήτων.

\(^f\) τὸ πρὸς διάνοιαν.

\(^g\) Aucher renders more freely, "ut vox unius cujusdam in tantae multitudinis aures perveniret."

\(^h\) Aucher "aut ipse ad singulorum accedens aures loquere-tur."

\(^i\) ο γνώριμος: Aucher "auditor."

\(^j\) ἰδίως οὐ κατα ἰδίαν: Aucher "seorsum."

\(^k\) τοῖς μαθηταῖς.

\(^l\) άπόρρητα vel sim.

\(^m\) The meaning of the clause is not quite clear: Aucher "praestans se dignum divina traditio legis voluntariae."

\(^n\) άποδίδοσθαι: Aucher "referre."
35. (Ex. xxiv. 8a) Why did he take that blood which (was) in the mixing-bowls a and sprinkle (it) over the people? b

By indicating that the blood of all (was) the same and that their kinship c (was) the same, he wishes to show that in a certain way d they were animated by one idea and nature, e for on many occasions he puts the blood in the same class as the soul. f Even if they are separated from one another by their bodies, they are nevertheless united by mind and thought, g and they share together the divine sacrifices and victims, being brought from estrangement to community h and to the concord i of distinguished blood.

36. (Ex. xxiv. 8b) Why does he say further, “Behold the blood of the covenant which the Lord commanded you concerning all these words” j?

(He does so) because the blood is a symbol k of family kinship. l And the form m of kinship is twofold n: one is that among men, which has its origin in ancestors, while that among souls o has its origin in wisdom. p Now he did not mention the kinship of ancestors and offspring, because

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a See QE ii. 33 on Ex. xxiv. 6.
b LXX λαβὼν δὲ Μωυσῆς τὸ αἷμα κατεσκέδασεν τοῦ λαοῦ.
c τὴν συγγένειαν. d τρόπον τινά.
d μιᾷ ψυχοθαλα ἰδέα καὶ φύσει.
f ἐν μέρει τῆς ψυχῆς. Cf. Lev. xvii. 14 (et al.) “the blood of it is its life.”
g Lit. “by the mind of thoughts” : Aucher “per consilia mentis.”
h εἰς ἀλλοτριώσεως εἰς κοινωνίαν.
i Or “sincerity” or “singleness” : Aucher “concordiam.”
j LXX καὶ εἶπεν, Ἡδοὺ τὸ αἷμα τῆς διαθήκης ἂς διέθετο (Heb. “cut,” i.e. “made”) κύριος πρὸς ὑμᾶς περὶ πάντων τῶν λόγων τούτων.
k σύμβολον οὐ σημεῖον.
l συγγενεκής οἰκειότητος. m Or “species”—εἶδος.
la Νυκτός.
nc “of two faces” : Aucher “duplex.”
o ψυχῶν.
p σοφίαν.
QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS

it is also common to irrational animals, but from the other (kind of kinship) as from a root grew wisdom. Now wisdom is the font of words and the voluntary laws which the teacher has proclaimed and taught to lovers of learning as being most necessary, (namely) concord and community. But this cannot be acquired by polytheists, because they put forth variant opinions distinguished for difference and diversity, and they become the cause of quarrelling and fighting. But an harmonious adjustment to one (opinion) is the agreement of all who are ministers and servants of the work.

37. (Ex. xxiv. 10) What is the meaning of the words, “They saw the place where the God of Israel was standing, and under His feet (was something) like the work of a plinth of sapphire and like the form of the firmament of heaven in purity”? All this is, in the first place, most suitable to and worthy of the theologian, for no one will boast of seeing the invisible God, (thus) yielding to arrogance. And holy and

a The Arm. translator may have misunderstood the Greek here. One expects “but the other (kind of kinship) grew from wisdom as from a root.”


c οἷς νοικια ὡς κοινωνιαν vel sim. d τῶν πολυθέων.

e The construction is not wholly clear but Aucher is wrong, I think, in rendering, “quia honoratae huic distinctioni disjunctiores opiniones oppositas faciunt.”

f LXX καὶ εἶδον τὸν τόπον οὗ εἶστήκει ὁ θεὸς τοῦ Ἰσραήλ καὶ τὰ ὑπὸ τοὺς πόδας αὐτοῦ ὠσεὶ ἐργον πλάνθου (v.i. λίθου) σαπφείρου καὶ ωσερ εἶδος στερεώματοσ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ (Heb. “and like the very heaven”) τῇ καθαρλότητι. Philo quotes the first clause (to Ἰσραήλ) in De Somnitis i. 62 and ii. 222, and the rest of the verse in De Confus. Ling. 96 ff., where the mss. of Philo read λίθον for πλάνθου but the commentary (as in this section of the Quaestiones) requires πλάνθου (see also notes below).

g τοῦ θεολόγου, i.e. Moses.

h The brief Greek frag. (which contains only this clause) reads similarly οὐδεὶς αὐχήσει τὸν ἄρατον θεὸν ἰδεῖν, εἶξας ἀλαζονεία.
EXODUS, BOOK II

divine is this same place alone in which He is said to appear, for He Himself does not go away or change His position but He sends the powers, which are indicative of His essence. And if it is right (to say so, we may) say that this place is that of His Logos, since He has never given a suspicion of movement but of always standing, for the nature of the Father remains fixed and unchanged and more lucid and simpler than the (number) one which alone is a form of likeness. Now he has represented the unchanged and immutable nature of God (as) the oneness of unity because of His substance. And the whole heaven altogether was under His feet, for its colour indeed was rather like a sapphire. And the "plinth" is a figure of the stars as one group, harmoniously arranged in an order of numbers,

a τὰς δυνάμεις.
b Aucher "essentiam." Although Arm. ἑοτισία renders both ὁὐσία and ὕπαρξις, the context favours the rendering "essence" rather than "existence" in spite of Philo's statement in De Poster. Caini 169 αὐτῷ γὰρ (sc. αἱ δυνάμεις) οὐ τὴν ὁὐσίαν, τὴν δ’ ὕπαρξιν ἐκ τῶν ἀποτελουμένων αὐτῷ παριστάσαι. Philo here (in QE) seems to mean that God's powers merely indicate His essence but do not make this fully known to man. The rendering "essence" seems preferable to "existence" also because of the Heb. ʾesem in this verse (see above, note f on p. 78), which means something like "essence."

c Arm. ἐνανωροτίουν = λογιότης rather than λόγος (Aucher renders, "rationalitatis"), but other passages in Philo, e.g. De Confus. Ling. 96, show that the Logos is meant here.

d βεβαία καὶ ἀτρεπτος.

e ἀπλουστέρα.

f Variant "simpler than (the number) one to which unity is a form of likeness": Aucher "simplicior unitate, quae unica est forma similitudinis."

g The construction and meaning are not wholly clear: Aucher "unam autem unitatis invariabilem immutabilemque naturam Dei propter substantiam indicavit."

h The original was πλυθῖον or πλυθᾶς: Aucher "lateralculus." I have here rendered it by "figure" rather than "small brick" because Philo seems to be playing on the metaphorical meaning of πλυθῖον, "musical scale."

i Lit. "at one time": Aucher "simul."
QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS

proportions and progressions, that is, (as) a constant likeness and image of an incorporeal form. For it is a very holy and lucid sense-perceptible type-form of the intelligible heaven and is a worthy portion of the divine essence, of which I have spoken earlier. Therefore is it said, “Like the form of the firmament in purity,” for incorporeal forms are most lucid and pure inasmuch as they have obtained a share of unmixed essence and of that which is most simple. Accordingly, he says that the sense-perceptible heaven, which he calls “firmament,” is distinct from the intelligible form because of its purity.

*38. (Ex. xxiv. 11a) Why does (Scripture) say, “Of the chosen seeing ones there differed not even one”? The literal text has a clear interpretation, (namely) that

$a$ ἀριθμῶν καὶ λόγων καὶ ἀναλογιῶν: Aucher “numerorum, rationum et collationum.”

$b$ ἀκαταμάτου εἴδους.

$c$ τύπος εἴδῶν.

$d$ Text slightly emended (by removal of superfluous verb $e$ “is”): Aucher “siquidem intelligibilis caeli sensibile hoc typus est purus et lucidus omnino, illius, quam jampridem dixi divinam essentiam ac portionem meruisse.”

$e$ In the quotation from Scripture in the heading of this section we read “of the firmament of heaven.”

$f$ Philo here, as often elsewhere, substitutes “the seeing one(s)” for “Israel.”

$g$ More literally “was separated”: variant (as in Arm. O.T.) “was consumed,” see next note.

$h$ LXX καὶ τῶν ἐπιλέκτων τοῦ Ἰσραὴλ οὐ διεφώνησεν οὐδὲ εἶς (Heb. reads quite differently “and upon the nobles of the Israelites He laid not His hand”). Although the LXX translators meant διεφώνησεν as “perished,” Philo took it to mean “differed” or “was discordant,” as is shown by the rest of this section and also by the parallel in De Confus. Ling. 56 γένος γάρ ἔσμεν τῶν ἐπιλέκτων τοῦ τῶν θεοῦ ὅρων ισραὴλ ἵνα διεφώνησεν οὐδὲ εἶς, ἵνα . . . ὁ κόσμος πᾶς ταῖς ἀρμονίαις μουσικῶς μελωδηται. R. Reitzenstein, Die Vorgeschichte der christlichen Taufe (Leipzig, Berlin, 1929), p. 116, concludes too hastily that Philo here took διεφώνησεν to mean “perished.”
EXODUS, BOOK II

all were preserved whole. But as for the deeper meaning, immortal in soul is the chosen race to which has come wisdom and every virtue and, above all, piety, the queen of the virtues. For dissonance from decency and disharmony are death to the soul. Therefore it is well said that "no one differed," (meaning) that as in an all-musical chorus with the blended voices of all one should play music in harmonious measures of modulation and with skilled fingers, seeking to show (this harmony) not so much in sound as in mind.

39. (Ex. xxiv. 11b) What is the meaning of the words, "They appeared to God in the place and they ate and drank"?

Having attained to the face of the Father, they do not

a So the Greek frag., το μὲν ῥητόν διήγημα φανερὰν ἔχει τὴν ἀπόδοσιν ὡς ἀπάντησιν σύν ἀπαγόρευσεν τοὺς ἀνθρώπους. The Greek frag. summarizes this sentence and the rest of the section very briefly, τὸ δὲ πρὸς διάνοιαν τὸ πάντας περί τὴν εὐεξίαν συμφωνίαν ἑλθαν καὶ ἐν μήδεν τῶν ἀγαθῶν διαφωνείν. See also Reitzenstein, op. cit. p. 117, note 4.

b σοφία.

c τὰσα ἀρετῆ.

d The Greek frag. renders this sentence and the rest of the section very briefly, τὸ δὲ πρὸς διάνοιαν τὸ πάντας περί τὴν εὐεξίαν συμφωνίαν ἑλθαν καὶ ἐν μήδεν τῶν ἀγαθῶν διαφωνείν. See also Reitzenstein, op. cit. p. 117, note 4.

f ἐν παρμοῦσῳ χορείᾳ καὶ πάντων συμφωνίᾳ.

g Aucher "apparuerunt Deo in eo loco." For a possible different rendering see the next note.

h LXX καὶ ὄφθησαν ἐν τῷ τόπῳ τοῦ θεοῦ (so Arm. O.T.: Heb. "and they saw God") καὶ ἔφαγον καὶ ἐπιοῦν. Although the Arm. reflects ὄφθησαν τῷ θεῷ ἐν τῷ τόπῳ (as Aucher and I have rendered), it is possible that, with a change in word-order, it agrees with LXX in reading "they appeared in the place of God," since the Arm. astouacoy may be either genitive or dative. I suspect that the Arm. translator inadvertently wrote "God" after "they appeared," and that Philo originally agreed with the LXX in reading ὄφθησαν ἐν τῷ τόπῳ τοῦ θεοῦ and did not read ὄφθησαν τῷ θεῷ ἐν τῷ τόπῳ, as the Arm. suggests.

i The text is slightly uncertain but the variant (hasanin for hanen) does not change the meaning greatly.
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remain in any mortal place at all, for all such (places) are profane and polluted, but they send and make a migration to a holy and divine place, which is called by another name, Logos. Being in this (place) through the steward they see the Master in a lofty and clear manner, envisioning God with the keen-sighted eyes of the mind. But this vision is the food of the soul, and true partaking is the cause of a life of immortality. Wherefore, indeed, it is said, “they ate and drank.” For those who are indeed very hungry and thirsty did not fail to see God become clearly visible, but like those who, being famished, find an abundance of food, they satisfied their great desire.

*40. (Ex. xxiv. 12a) What is the meaning of the words, “Come up to Me to the mountain and be there”? This signifies that a holy soul is divinized by ascending not to the air or to the ether or to heaven (which is) higher than all but to (a region) above the heavens. And

'a ἀποκιάν.

b A similar idea is expressed in a passage from Procopius cited by R. Reitzenstein, op. cit. (see preceding section), p. 117, note 4, τὸ δὲ φαγεῖν ἐκεῖ καὶ πίεῖν τὴν ἀποκεμένην τοῖς εἰς οὐρανὸν ἀνωθέν ὑποσμαίνει τρυφήν.

c διὰ τοῦ οἰκονόμου (or ἐπιτρόπου or διωκητοῦ): Aucher “per dispensatorem,” cf. Reitzenstein, op. cit. p. 119.

d Lit. “leader” or “chief”: Aucher “principalem.”

e φανταζώμενοι: Aucher “invisentes.” (Incidentally, Aucher’s punctuation in the Arm. text differs from that in his Latin rendering).

f τοῦ νοῦ.

g φαντασία: Aucher “apparentia.”

h Lit. “souls” –ψυχῶν.

i κοινωνία.

j Aucher disregards the word-order in rendering, “et vera participatio vitae causa est immortalitatis” instead of “et vera participatio vitae immortalitatis causa est.”

k Aucher renders more freely, “non fuerunt prohibiti.”

l LXX (καὶ ἐπεν κύριος πρὸς Μωυσῆν) Ἀνάβηθι πρὸς με εἰς τὸ ὅρος καὶ ἵσθι ἐκεί.

m ψυχὴν ἀγιάν.

n Aucher “deificari.” Arm. astouacanal usu. renders θεοφορεῖσθαι, a word that seems not to occur elsewhere in Philo. Perhaps the original here was θεοφορείσθαι.
beyond the world a there is no place but God. And He determines b the stability of the removal c by saying "be there," (thus) demonstrating the placelessness d and the unchanging habitation of the divine place. For those who have a quickly satiated passion for reflexion fly upward for only a short distance under divine inspiration e and then they immediately return. f They do not fly so much as they are drawn downward, I mean, to the depths of Tartarus. g But those who do not return from the holy and divine city, to which they have migrated, have God as their chief leader in the migration. h

41. (Ex. xxiv. 12b) Why are the commandments written on "tablets of stone" i ?

Tablets and written documents are hand-made things, j and what is written in them is easily destroyed, for in tablets there is wax, which is easily rubbed away, and in papyrus-rolls k the writing is sometimes spread out l and

a μετὰ τὸν κόσμον: Aucher "post mundum."

b Lit. "seals": Aucher "decernit."

c Aucher "constantiam transmigrationis."

d Arm. antel lit. = ἀτόπον: Aucher "loco carentem."

e From the reading of the Greek frag. (which begins with this sentence, see next note) it appears that the Arm. phrase "fly upward . . . under divine inspiration" takes the ptc. ἀναπτεροφορηθέντες as a combination of ἀναπτεροῦντες and θεοφορηθέντες.

f The Greek frag. reads ἐνίοις ἀφίκορος ἐγγίνεται λογισμός, οἱ πρὸς ὑλὴν ἀναπτεροφορηθέντες αὐτίκα ὑπενώστησαν.

g So the Greek frag., οὐκ ἀναπτάντες μᾶλλον ἡ ὑποσυρέντες εἰς ταρτάρου, φησίν, ἐσχατίας.

h Aucher "in habitationem constantem." The Greek frag. reads more briefly εὔδαίμονες δὲ οἱ μὴ παλινδρομοῦντες.

i 1xx (καὶ δῶσοι σοι) τὰ πυξία τὰ λίθων, τὸν νόμον καὶ τὰς ἑντολάς (ὡς ἐγραψα νομοθετήσαι αὐτοῖς).

j χειροποίητα.

k ἐν στήλαις . . . ἐν χαρτιδίοις, cf. Quod Omnis Probus 46, De Spec. Leg. iv. 149 et al.

l Aucher "spargitur." Possibly Philo means that the writing is so erratic or cursive as to be illegible.

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sometimes seems obscure.\(^a\) But stones are the work of nature and are easily converted into tablets; and also the forms on polished stone tablets\(^b\) and the writings on them are permanent and fixed because of the strength of the material. In the second place, it was not possible for the divine commandments to remain concealed in any recess and to avoid meeting those who were eager to see and learn (them), but (they had) to be published abroad and to be openly circulated. But those things which were to be proclaimed abroad were in need of hard material because of the burning heat of the sun and the falling of rain, so that later the stone tablets were placed in the ark. In the third place, the tablets were of stone, for stone signifies permanence, while a tablet (signifies) impermanence, for a tablet is written on and erased with ease.\(^c\) And this is a symbol\(^d\) of the preservation\(^e\) and dissolution of the law. What is written (is a symbol) of preservation, what is erased (is a symbol) of dissolution, since for those who transgress commandments, one would truly say that there is no law at all.

42. (Ex. xxiv. 12c) Does God write the Law?\(^f\)

Since God is a legislator\(^g\) in the highest sense of the term,\(^h\) it is necessary that the best law, which is called the true Law,\(^i\) should be laid down by Him and be written in writing, not of hands, for He is not of human form, but at His command and nod. For if at His word\(^j\) the heaven and earth and the entire world were created and the whole of substance received its form from the divine principles

\(^a\) ἄμυδρα vel sim.: Aucher "subobscure."
\(^b\) ἐν πλαγί vel sim.: Aucher "in lapidibus."
\(^c\) Aucher "nam tabula tam facile scribitur quam deletur."
\(^d\) σύμβολον.
\(^e\) Or "observance."
\(^f\) ΙΧΧ τὸν νόμον καὶ τὰς ἐντολὰς ἂς ἔγραψα νομοθέτησαι αὐτοῖς.
\(^g\) νομοθέτης.
\(^h\) κατὰ τὸν ἀνωτάτω λόγον vel sim.: Aucher "secundum supremam rationem."
\(^i\) ὁ ἀφενθών νόμος: Aucher "infallibilis lex."
\(^j\) Lit. "saying."
EXODUS, BOOK II

(as) fashioners, then when God says that the Law should be written, were not the writings immediately to be obeyed? In the second place, this world is a great city and is a legal one. And it is necessary for it to use the best law of state. And it is fitting that it should have a worthy author of law and legislator, since among men He appointed the contemplative race in the same manner (as the Law) for the world. And rightly does He legislate for this race, also prescribing (its Law) as a law for the world, for the chosen race is a likeness of the world, and its Law (is a likeness of the laws) of the world.

43. (Ex. xxiv. 13) Why does Moses, who has been summoned alone, go up not alone but with Joshua?

a ἐκ τῶν θείων λόγων (v.l. = τῶν θείων λόγων) τῶν συμπλεκτικῶν vel ἀμοττότων: Aucher "a verbo divino efficaci."

b I render freely, since the Arm. lit.=" were not the writings immediately obedient " (or "ministering"). Evidently the Arm. translator should have written spasaworesgin instead of spasawor linein. Aucher, too, renders freely, as the context requires, " obsequi debet liber."

c Cf. De Spec. Leg. i. 34 τὴν ὡς ἄληθῶς μεγαλόπολιν, τόνδε τὸν κόσμον.

d νόμιμος.

e πολλεῖας.

f Aucher renders less literally, "atque aequum est et conveniens ut sit ei legislator ac legisdator."

i.e. Israel.

i The syntax and meaning are not clear. Aucher renders, "et cum hominem (sic) genti contemplativae legem daret, daret quoque ipsi mundo," adding in a footnote "Sic explicavimus locum incertum." The Arm. glossator takes it to mean "gentem Dei videntem (sire, Israel) tamquam legem alteram Deus mundo dedit."

j καὶ κοσμικῶν νόμων διαγράφων vel sim.: Aucher "de-lineans etiam legem mundi."

k τὸ ἐκλεκτὸν γένος.

l Aucher "forma."

m See QE ii. 40 on Ex. xxiv. 12a.

n LXX καὶ ἀναστὰσ Μωσῆς καὶ Ἰσαοῦς ὁ παρεστηκὼς αὐτῷ (Heb. "his servant") ἀνέβησαν (Heb. "and Moses went up") eἰς τὸ ὀρος τοῦ θεοῦ.
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The two are potentially a one, since no one would say that those who are of like mind and like sentiments with one another are the same single (person) except in respect of another species. b For "Joshua" c is to be interpreted as "salvation." d But is being saved by God more appropriate e to anyone else than the inspired soul, in which prophecy resounds, f since even in (Moses') lifetime he was over the rulers g and at (Moses') death he was his successor. h Rightly, therefore, does he go up as an assurance i of two most necessary things: one, of the election of the contemplative race, j and the other, that the Law should be considered not as an invention of the human mind but as a divine command and divine words. k But perhaps, according to the unspoken meaning of what is said, l Joshua too was openly summoned (to go) up and was not

a δυνάμει.

b The meaning is not altogether clear: Aucher "et enim nemo est qui eundem solum dixerit sibi invicem unanimes ac concordes, verum etiam secundum aliam speciem."

c Arm. Yisūs (Heb. Yḥōšū’a).


e μᾶλλον οἰκεῖον.

f ἐν ἣ ἐξήκει ἡ προφητεία: Aucher "et inflatae ipsi prophetiae," in his footnote, "flaveritque in eum prophetia." Apparently Philo means that Joshua is the sounding-board of Moses' prophecies.

g i.e. of Israel.

h Cf. De Virtutibus 68 (on Num. xcvii. 18-23) ὁ δὲ τῆς ... ἐπιτροπὴς διάδοχος οὗτος ἐστὶν αἵρεθεις ὑπὸ θεοῦ.

i εἰς πίστιν: Aucher "ad fidem faciandam."

j i.e. Israel.

k Cf. De Decalogo 15 ἐπειδὴ γὰρ ἔδει πίστιν εἰγγενέσθαι ταῖς διανοιαῖς περὶ τοῦ μὴ εὑρήματα ἀνθρώπου τοὺς νόμους ἀλλὰ θεοῦ χρησμοὺς σαφεστάτους εἶναι, πορρωτάτω τῶν πόλεων ἀπῆγαγε τὸ ἔθνος εἰς ἐρήμην κτλ.

l κατὰ τὰ ἱσαχαθέντα τῶν εἰρημένων vel sim.: Aucher "sub silentio intelligendum in dictis."

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thought worthy of being called earlier to go up because (God) deemed the prophet a worthy of this honour and great prerogative. b

44. (Ex. xxiv. 14) Why did he leave Aaron and Hur c below with the elder judges? d

Just as a navy, e if it has no commander, f is in need of commanders from time to time for taking care of and equipping the entire fleet, so also to an infantry force, which has no commander-in-chief, the secondary officers, such as company-commanders and squadron-commanders, g being in second place, h supply necessary and useful things i
And when nations have been reduced to obedience by the great king j he grants them many things for whatever lawful purposes may be fitting, and in the various states appoints those whom it is customary to call satraps. k
And as the prophet, who was about to go on an ethereal and heavenly journey, was well and rightly concerned about such things, he was careful to leave in his place overseers and supervisors. And (as) a sign of victory for those who were in doubt he offered the just man as an arbitrator

a i.e. Moses.
b προνομίας. The text seems not to be in good order, but the general meaning seems to be that God left it to be understood that Joshua was to go up with Moses, although originally He specifically commanded only Moses to go up (in Ex. xxiv. 12).
c Arm. Or.
d LXX καί τοῖς πρεσβυτέροις εἶπεν, Ἡσυχάζετε αὐτοῦ ἔως ἀναστρέψωμεν πρὸς ύμᾶς καὶ ἰδοὺ Ἄαρων καὶ Ὄρ (Heb. Hur) μεθ' ύμων εὰν τινι συμβῇ κρίνεις, προσπορευόμεθαν αὐτοῖς.
e στρατῶ ναυτικῶ vel sim.: Aucher "navi classicae."
f ναύαρχος.
g λοχαγοὶ καί ταξιαρχοί.
h Aucher "praesentes." The text appears to be corrupt.
i For a rather remote parallel to the preceding see Decalogo 14.
j i.e. of Persia.
k σατράπας.
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of the laws.\(^a\) That is the literal meaning.\(^b\) But as for the deeper meaning,\(^c\) there are two brothers in one—the mind and the word.\(^d\) Now Moses, who is called by another name, mind, has obtained the better part, (namely) God, whereas the word, which is called Aaron, (has obtained) the lesser (part, namely) that of man. And the word of an unrighteous and wicked man is very dark, for even if it reaches great men,\(^e\) it is obscured.\(^f\) But (the word) of him who is of the Lord is very lucid,\(^g\) even though there is no very well adapted instrument \(^h\) in his mouth and tongue.

\(^a\) The meaning of this sentence is far from clear, partly because of the plurality of senses of the word \textit{arith}, which renders such diverse Greek terms as \textit{πρόξενος, μεσίτης, πρύτανις, ἐπόθεσις} and \textit{ἀφορμή}. Aucher renders, “\textit{atque victoriae signum adhibens dubio animo haerentibus, conciliat legitime justum}.” Possibly the original of “\textit{those who were in doubt},” \textit{τοῖς ἁμφιβαλλομένοις}, meant “\textit{for matters in dispute}” or was a corruption of \textit{τοῖς ἁμφισβητομένοις}. At any rate the “\textit{victory}” seems to have been a judicial victory, not a military one as the Arm. glossator explains.

\(^b\) \textit{τὸ ἀριθ.}

\(^c\) \textit{τὸ πρὸς διάνοιαν.}

\(^d\) \textit{ὁ νοῦς (οὐ ἡ διάνοια) καὶ ὁ λόγος.}

\(^e\) Lit. “\textit{greatly},” but Arm. \textit{meçapes} seems to reflect \textit{μεγάλους} corrupted to \textit{μεγάλως}.

\(^f\) The text is probably not in order: Aucher “\textit{verbum autem vilioris ac improbi obscurius est, quamvis enim magnifice consequutus fuerit (verbum), obnubilatum est}.” The general sense seems to be that ordinary speech or reason is obscure unless it is illuminated by the light of truth (symbolized by Hur, see the following).

\(^g\) Aucher “\textit{Domini vero (verbum) lucidissimum est}.” But he ignores the word \textit{oroy}, which is the gen. case of the rel. pron. If my rendering is correct, Philo means that in contrast to ordinary or wicked men Aaron, who is the word of Moses, the man of God, is enlightened. See also next note but one.

\(^h\) \textit{ὄργανον ὁ οὐ αφόρμα εὐάρμοστον.}

\(^a\) Aucher, construing wrongly, I think, renders, “\textit{etsi in ore sit atque lingua instrumentis haud nimus coaptatis}.” If my rendering is correct, Philo means that in Aaron Moses had a worthy interpreter, even though he (Moses) had a defect of speech, \textit{cf. Quis Rer. Div. Heres} 4 on Ex. iv. 10.
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Indeed it is because of this that he associates Hur, who is to be interpreted as "light," with the wise man, showing through a symbol that the word of the wise man is luminous, for he reveals his beauty not in words but in deeds performed.

*45. (Ex. xxiv. 16a) What is the meaning of the words, "And the glory of God came down upon Mount Sinai"? (Scripture) clearly puts to shame those who whether through impiety or through foolishness believe that there are movements of place or of change in the Deity. For, behold, what is said to come down is clearly not the essence of God, which is understood only as to its being, but His glory. And the notion of glory (doxa) is twofold. On the one hand, it denotes the existence of the powers, for the armed force of a king is also called "glory." On the other hand, (it denotes) only a belief in and counting on

a Arm. kam = ἴ, which here seems to be a corruption of ἴ.  
b Cf. Leg. All. iii. 45 στηρίζονται ὑπὸ τε 'Αλαρών, τοῦ λόγου, καὶ Ὑψός, ὅ ἐστι φῶς. The etymology is based on Philo's fanciful equation of Ὑψός with Heb. ʿor "light."  
c τῷ σοφῷ.  
d διὰ συμβόλου.  
e φωτοειδή.  
f ἐργοὺς ἐνεργομένους νελ σιμ.: Aucher "in rebus expositis."

g lxh καί κατέβη (Heb. "dwelt") ἦ δόξα τοῦ θεοῦ ἐπὶ τὸ ὅρος τὸ Σινά.  
h So the Greek frag. from the Catena, ἐναργέστατα δύσωπε τοὺς ἐγγὺς [?] ὑπὸ ἀσθενεῖας εἶτε ἡλιβιότητος οἰομένους τοπικάς καὶ μεταβατικάς κυνήσεις εἶναι περὶ τὸ θεῖον. Procopius briefly paraphrases, ἐλέγχει τοὺς οἰομένους μεταβατικάς δύναμεις εἶναι περὶ θεόν.  
i So the Catena and Procopius, ἵδοι γὰρ ἐμφανῶς οὐ (Procopius οὐ γὰρ) τὸν οὐκώδη θεον τὸν κατὰ τὸ εἶναι μόνον ἐπινοούμενον κατεληθυθεῖν φησίν, ἀλλὰ τὴν δόξαν αὐτοῦ.  
j So the Catena (Procopius omits), Διττῇ δὲ ἦ περὶ τὴν δόξαν ἐκδόχη.  
k So the Catena and Procopius, ἦ μὲν παρουσίαν ἐμφαίνουσα τῶν δυνάμεων (Procopius ἦ δυνάμεων παρουσίαν ἐμφαίνων), ἐπεὶ καὶ βασιλέως λέγεται δόξα ἡ στρατιωτικὴ δύναμις (Procopius δύναμις στρατιωτικῆ).
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the divine glory, so as to produce in the minds of those who happen to be there an appearance of the coming of God, Who was not there, as though He were coming for the firmest assurance of things about to be legislated. The mountain, moreover, is most suitable to receive the manifestation of God, as the name “Sinai” shows, for when it is translated into our language, it means “inaccessible.” Now the divine place is truly inaccessible and unapproachable, for not even the holiest mind is able to ascend such a height to it so as merely to approach and touch it.

*46. (Ex. xxiv. 16b) Why is the mountain covered with

a Aucher renders more freely, “altera, quatenus opinionem causat solam putandi videre gloriam divinam.” The Catena read ἦ δὲ τῇ δοκήσει αὐτοῦ μόνον καὶ ὑπολήψει δόξης θείας: Procopius ἦ δόκησιν αὐτὸ μόνον καὶ δόξης θείας ὕποληψιν.

b So the Catena, ὡς ἐνεργάσθαι (sic) ταῖς τῶν παρόντων διανοιαίς φαντασίαν ἀφίξεως θεοῦ. Procopius paraphrases, ἦ τῶν παρόντων ὡς ἐπὶ τοιούτῳ τὴν φαντασίαν ἐτύπωσεν.

c This clause is missing from the Catena and Procopius.

d So the Catena and Procopius (which end here), ὡς ἱκίνησις (Procopius adds θεοῦ) εἰς (Procopius πρὸς) βεβαιοτάτην πλῶτιν τῶν μελλόντων νομοθετεῖσθαι.

e τὴν ἐπιφάνειαν vel sim.: Aucher “apparitionem.”

f Aucher renders freely, “aliam linguam.”

g ἀβατον vel sim. Philo does not elsewhere etymologize the name “Sinai.” I imagine that the present etymology is based upon a fanciful connexion between Sinai and Heb. sēneh (the “burning bush” of Ex. iii. 2), which is translated βάτος in Ixx. In De Fuga 161-162 Philo plays on the words βάτος and ἀβατος (-ov); commenting on the biblical phrase, ὁ βάτος καλέσα, he writes, . . . τὸν γὰρ ἀβατον ὁū πολυπραγμονεῖ χῶρον, θείων ἑνδιάγνωσμα φύσεων.

h Aucher, construing differently (and failing to recognize a genitive absolute construction), renders, “ita ut neque purissimi intellectus tanta celsitudo ad eum ascendere quest.”

i So the Greek frag. from John of Damascus, ἀβατος καὶ ἀπροσπέλαστος οὐτως ἐστὶν ὁ θεῖος χῶρος, οὐδὲ τῆς καθαρωτάτης διανοιάς τοσοῦτον ὑπὸς προσαναβῆναι δυναμένης ὡς θίξαι μόνον ἐπιφανέσθαι.
a cloud for six days, and Moses called above on the seventh day? a

The even b number, six, He apportioned both to the creation of the world and to the election of the contemplative nation, c wishing to show first of all that He had created both the world and the nation elected for virtue. d

And in the second place, because He wishes the nation to be ordered and arrayed in the same manner as the whole world so that, as in the latter, it may have a fitting order in accord with the right law and canon of the unchanging, placeless and unmoving nature of God. e But the calling above of the prophet is a second birth better than the first. f

For the latter is mixed with a body and had corruptible parents, while the former is an unmixed and simple soul of the sovereign, g being changed from a productive to an unproductive h form, i which has no mother but only a

a LXX καὶ ἐκάλυψεν αὐτὸ ἡ νεφέλη ἐξ ἡμέρας καὶ ἐκάλεσεν κύριος (Heb. "He") τὸν Μωυσῆν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ τῇ ἔβδομῃ ἐκ μέσου τῆς νεφέλης.

b Lit. "equal."

c So the Greek frag., τὸν ἵσον ἀριθμὸν ἀπένειμε καὶ τῇ τοῦ κόσμου γενέτει και τῇ τοῦ ὅρατικοῦ γένους ἐκλογῇ, τῇν ἔξάδα. On "the contemplative nation," i.e. Israel, see QE ii. 43 et al.

d Somewhat different is the reading of the Greek frag, βουλόμενος ἐπιδείξαι ὅτι αὐτὸς καὶ τὸν κόσμον ἐθημούργησε καὶ τὸ γένος εἶλετο.

e κατὰ τὸν ὅρθον νόμον καὶ κανόνα τῆς ἀπρέπτου καὶ τόπον μὴ ἔχοσῆς (vel sim.) καὶ ἀκνήτου φύσεως τῆς τοῦ θεοῦ. This sentence is not found in the Greek fragment.

f So the Greek frag., ἡ δὲ ἀνάκλησις τοῦ προφήτου δευτέρα γένεσις ἐστὶ τῆς προτέρας ἀμείνων.

g Aucher "ista vero incommixa simplexque anima principalis (vel, spiritus principis)." The wording of the original Greek (this sentence and the next are missing from the Greek frag.) was probably "the former is an unmixed and simple sovereign part of the soul," i.e. the mind, since Moses symbolizes the pure mind, and is elsewhere called ὁ καθαρότατος νοῦς.

h Prob. ἀγονοῦ rather than ἀγένητον "unproduced": Aucher "ingenitam."

i εἶδος vel sim.: Aucher takes the noun "animam" to be understood.
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father, who is (the Father) of all. Wherefore the calling above or, as we have said, the divine birth happened to come about for him in accordance with the ever-virginal nature of the hebdomad. For he is called on the seventh day, in this (respect) differing from the earth-born first moulded man, for the latter came into being from the earth and with a body, while the former (came) from the ether and without a body. Wherefore the most appropriate number, six, was assigned to the earth-born man, while to the one differently born (was assigned) the higher nature of the hebdomad.

*47. (Ex. xxiv. 17) What is the meaning of the words, "The form of the glory of the Lord (was) like a fire burning before the sons of the seeing one" ?

a On the ἄειπάρθενος ἑβδομάς or ἑβδόμη of the Pythagoreans see Leg. All. i. 15, De Vita Mosis ii. 210 et al.

b Lit. "For he (or " it ") is called the seventh day " (pred. nominative), an obvious error. The Greek frag. reads ἑβδόμη δὲ ἀνακαλεῖται ἡμέρα.

c The Greek frag. reads more briefly ταῦτα διαφέρουν τοῦ πρωτοπλάστου. On the creation of the earth-born "moulded" man on the sixth day, and that of the heavenly man, created in God's image on the seventh day, see Leg. All. i. 5, 31, 88 et al.

d This detail is omitted in the Greek frag., see next note.

e The Greek frag. reads only slightly differently ὅτι ἐκεῖνος μὲν ἐκ τῆς γῆς καὶ μετὰ σώματος συνιστάτοι οὕτος δὲ ἄνευ σώματος.

f Again the Greek frag. differs slightly, διὸ τῶ ἡ γηνεῖ ἀριθμός οἰκεῖος ἀπενεμήθη ἑξάς· τούτω δὲ ἡ ἱερωτάτη φύσις τῆς ἑβδομάδος.

g Philo omits one phrase of the biblical text, Lxx τὸ ἐδο δύσις δόξης κυρίου ὡσεὶ πῦρ φλέγων (Heb. "devouring," or "consuming") ἐπὶ τῆς κορυφῆς τοῦ ὄρους ἐναντίον τῶν νυῶν Ἰσραήλ. On the substitution of "the seeing one" for "Israel" see the preceding sections. Note, too, that below Philo has in mind the Heb. text "fire consuming," although he quotes the Lxx πῦρ φλέγων.

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EXODUS, BOOK II

(This is said) because, as has been said before, the glory of God is the power through which He now appears; the form of this power is like a flame or rather, it is not but appears (to be so) to the spectators, for God showed not that which pertained to His essence but what He wished to seem to be to the amazement of the spectators. And so, (Scripture) adds, "before the sons of the seeing one," indicating most clearly that there was an appearance of flame, not a veritable flame. In the second place, because He showed the mountain (to be) inaccessible and unapproachable to the people, He extended the appearance of a flame-like fire around it in order that no one, even if he wished, might be able to come near in disregard of his own safety. For they are silly and at the same time frivolous in belief who believe that the fire is the essence

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In QE ii. 45.

Slightly different is the wording of the Greek frag. from the Catena, to ἔδε ἔλεος τῆς δόξης κυρίου φησίν ἐμφανέστατον εἶναι φλογῆ, μᾶλλον δὲ οὐκ εἶναι ἀλλὰ φανέρωσθαι τοῖς ὀρῶσι.

The Arm. translator here uses two nouns to render ὄβσιαν: Aucher "virtus."

Here again the wording of the Greek frag. is slightly different, τοῦ θεοῦ δεικνύτως ὅπερ ἔβουλετο δοκεῖν εἶναι πρὸς τὴν τῶν θεωμένων κατάπληξιν, μὴ ὦν τὸ τὸ ὅπερ ἐφαίνετο.

So the Greek frag., ἐπιφέρει γοὺς τὸ "ἐνώπιον τῶν νῦν Ἰσραήλ," ἐνεργεῖστατα μηνύων ὅτι φαντασία φλογὸς ἦν ἄλλ' οὐ φλὸς ἀληθῆς. Procopius briefly paraphrases the preceding two sentences, έδείκνυε δὲ πόρθεος, οὐχ ὅπερ ἦν ἄλλ' ὅπερ ἐβουλετο δοκεῖν̂ ὁ δὴ λάμ ἐπίνευκεν "ἐνώπιον τῶν νῦν Ἰσραήλ."

The following sentences, down to "just as the flame consumes," are missing from the Greek frag. and Procopius.

One expects "in order that He might show."

Aucher condenses the two adjectives into one, "inaccessum."

Aucher, construing a little differently, renders, "flammiformis ignis apparitionem extendebat circa eum."

Lit. "of his taking care": Aucher "visitatione."

Aucher "faciles putandi."

I follow Aucher in reading hawer "fire" with the margin of Cod. A rather than hawer "father" with Codd. A and C.
QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS

of God when (Scripture) clearly proclaims that it is the form of the glory and power of God which appears but not the truly existing One, and that the fire is not His power but only His glory and that in the opinion of the spectators it appeared to their eyes not to be what it was, because of the reasons mentioned. That is the literal meaning. But as for the deeper meaning, just as the flame consumes all the material that comes its way, so, too, when the thought of God clearly reaches the soul, it destroys all the heterodox thoughts of piety, bringing the whole mind into (a state of) holiness.

48. (Ex. xxiv. 18a) Why does Moses enter into the midst of the cloud?

He had been called from its midst and therefore he rightly followed the voice. In the second place, it was

*a toû óntos "Ovta : Aucher "veri Entis."

b Philo seems to mean that God’s power was only like His glory (symbolized by the flame) but not identical with it, and that neither God’s essence nor His power actually appeared.

c The syntax of the last clause is not wholly clear to me: Aucher "at videntibus phantastico apparens sicut non est qui est." d to βητῶν. e to πρὸς διάνοιαν.

f The Arm. translator read ἐνθείασ in place of ἄνεβείασ, which is the reading of the Greek frag., see below. Aucher tacitly corrects the Arm. by rendering, "omnem cogitationem a pietae alienam." g Lit. "mind of thought(s)."

h The Greek frag. from the Catena reads similarly but more smoothly "Ωσπερ δὲ ἡ φλόγα πᾶσαν τὴν παραβληθείσαν ὅλην ἀναλάκει, οὕτως, ὅταν ἐπιφοιτήσῃ εἰλικρινῆς τοῦ θεοῦ ἔννοια τῇ ψυχῇ, πάντας τοὺς ἐτέραθέξους ἄνεβείας λογισμοὺς διαφθέρει, καθοσιούσα τὴν ὅλην διάνοιαν. Procopius, as before, briefly paraphrases the last sentence, τὸ δὲ σύμβολον ὧτι δαπανητικὸν τὸ θεῖον λογισμῶν ἄνεβαν, ὡς καὶ τῆς ὅλης τὸ πῦρ.

i LXX and εἰσέλθειν Μωυσῆς εἰς τὸ μέσον τῆς νεφέλης καὶ ἄνεβη εἰς τὸ ὄρος.

j i.e. God had called him from the midst of the cloud (a detail not commented on by Philo in QE ii. 46 on Ex. xxiv. 16), and therefore it was right for him to follow God’s voice into the midst of the same cloud.

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natural that a division was made in that part of the cloud by the noise of the speech, and when the two sides had been condensed, it was easy to pass through.

*49. (Ex. xxiv. 18b) Why does Moses remain on the mountain forty days and the same number of nights? Concerning the number forty and its place in nature a detailed account was given earlier, so that one need not speak further of this at length. Perhaps, however, it is necessary to add that the migrant generation was about to be condemned and waste away in corruption for forty years in all after receiving many benefactions and showing ingratitude in many ways. And so, he remains there above for the same number of days as these years, reconciling the Father to the nation by prayers and intercessions, especially at the very time when the laws were given by God and there was constructed in words the portable temple, which is called the Tent of Testimony.

a πυκνωθέντων.

b LXX καὶ ἰὴν ἔκει ἐν τῷ ὅρει τεσσαράκοντα ἡμέρας καὶ τεσσαράκοντα νύκτας. In De Somniis i. 36 and De Vita Mosis ii. 70 Philo alludes to this verse and adds the unscriptural detail that Moses was without food and drink during his forty-day stay on the mountain.

c πῶς ἐν τῇ φύσει ἔχει.

d In QG i. 25, ii. 14, iv. 154.

e So (with only slight differences) the Greek frag. from the Catenae, ὅτι ἐμελλε πατάκριτος ἐσεσθαι ἡ ἀποικισθείσα γενεὰ καὶ ἐπὶ τεσσαράκοντα ἔτεα φθείρεσθαι· μυρία μὲν εὐεργετηθείσα, διὰ μυρίων δὲ ἐπιδιδομένη τὸ ἀχάριστον. Procopius paraphrases, τεσσαράκοντα δὲ μένει τὰς πάσας ἡμέρας ἐν ὅρει Μωυσῆς ὅσα ἐμελλεν ἐτη τῶν εὐταβόντων ἡ ἀγνώμον φθείρεσθαι γενεά.

f The phrase “to the nation” is omitted in Luchers rendering.

g Procopius condenses, ὑπὲρ δὲν ἐν ἰσαρίθμοις ἡμέραις ἰκέτευε τὸν πατέρα.

h The original prob. read “at His word.”

i ἡ σκηνὴ τοῦ μαρτυρίου, see Ixx Ex. xxvi-xl. Procopius again condenses, καὶ μάλιστα παρὰ τοιοῦτον καίρον, ἐν ὦ δίδονται νόμοι καὶ φορητὸν ἱερόν, ἡ σκηνὴ.
QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS

For whom, then, were the laws (given)? Was it, indeed, for those who were to perish? And for whose sake were the oracles (given)? Was it for those who were to be destroyed a little later? It seems to me, however, that someone may say, "Is it possible that he had foreknowledge of the judgment that was to come upon it?" But he who says this should bear in mind that every prophet's soul is divinely inspired and prophesies many future things not so much by reflecting as through divine madness and certainty.

*50. (Ex. xxv. 1-2) Why does He command (them) to take first-offerings from all those of willing heart?

In the present passage (Scripture) uses "heart," instead of "sovereign (mind)." Accordingly, it wishes to introduce the first-offerings (as) the willing dispositions of those

a Procopius (see next note) has θυσίαι.
b So (except for the word noted) Procopius, Τίσι γὰρ οἱ νόμοι; ἀρὰ γε τοῖς ἀπολλυμένοις; Ἰπέρ τίνων δὲ αἱ θυσίαι; ἀρα τῶν μικρῶν ὕστερον φθαρσομένων;

c μὴποτε vel sim.: Aucher "ne" (though "num" seems to be required).

d Here the pronoun apparently refers to the nation. Procopius reads more briefly προμάθει γὰρ ὡς προφήτης τὰ ἐσόμενα. (According to Wendland, Procopius does not make use of Philo beyond this point.)

e πᾶσα προφητικὴ ψυχὴ ἐπιθειάζει.
f προθεσπιζεί: Aucher "praescribit."

g Aucher renders less literally, "divino oestro securus."

h ἀπαρχᾶς, as in the lxx, see next note.

i lxx Καὶ ἔλαθεν κύριος πρὸς Μωυσῆν, λέγων, Εἰπὼν τοῖς νιώσις Ἰσααχ καὶ λάβετε (v.l. ἀναλαβέτωσαν μοι) ἀπαρχᾶς πάντων ὅσ ἄν δέξῃ τῇ καρδίᾳ: καὶ (v.l. omits καὶ) λήμβεσθε τὰς ἀπαρχὰς μου. Philo quotes the lxx text verbatim in Quis Rer. Div. Heres 113 and allegorizes it at some length.

j Lit. "now."

k i.e. "in the sense of."

l Similarly the first Greek frag. (from Cod. Vat. 1553), τὴν καρδίαν ἀντὶ τοῦ ἡγεμονικοῦ παρείληφεν ἡ γραφή.

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who bring them,\(^a\) for the Deity is in need of nothing.\(^b\) But he who unwillingly brings an offering is forgotten and deceives himself, for even if he offers silver or something else, he does not bring first-offerings, in the same way as he who unwillingly makes a sacrifice is thought to offer unsacrificed meat to the fire rather than a (real) sacrifice.\(^c\)

51. (Ex. xxv. 7 [Heb. 8]) What is the meaning of the words, "Thou shalt make for Me a sanctuary, and I shall appear among you "\(^d\) ?

Clear indeed is the literal meaning,\(^e\) for the shrine is spoken of (as) the archetype of a sort of shrine, (namely, as) the tent.\(^f\) But as for the deeper meaning,\(^g\) God always appears in His work, which is most sacred; by this I mean the world.\(^h\) For His beneficent powers\(^i\) are seen and move around in all its parts, in heaven, earth, water, air and in

\(^a\) Aucher renders differently, "vult ergo primitias voluntaria indole oblatas introduci." Similar in thought but different in wording is the (misplaced) last sentence of the second Greek frag. (from John Monachus), οὐ γάρ ἐν ὑλαὶς ἄλλ᾿ ἐν εὐσεβείᾳ (Mangey’s correction of εὐσεβείᾳ) διαθέσει τοῦ κομίζοντος ἡ ἀληθὴς ἀπαρχή. (Harris is mistaken in thinking the Greek to be a gloss.)

\(^b\) ἀπροσδέης.

\(^c\) Considerably different is the wording of the Greek frag., ὅ μὴ ἐκ προαιρέσεως ἀπαρχῶν θεῷ, καὶ ἂν τὰ μεγάλα (μέταλλα conij. Harris) πάντα κομίζῃ μετὰ τῶν βασιλικῶν θρησκευόμενων, ἀπαρχάς οὐ φέρει. In favour of the partial genuineness of the Greek is the reference to precious metals, stones, etc., in Ex. xxv. 3-7.

\(^d\) LXX καὶ ποιῆσεις (Heb. "make"—imperative plural) μοι ἄγιασμα καὶ ὄφθωσομαι ἐν υμῖν.

\(^e\) τὸ ῥητόν.

\(^f\) This is a literal rendering of the Arm., which is evidently corrupt: Aucher "quoniam templum (Graecus, sanctuarium vel sacellum, ἱερόν) dicitur templi prototypus quidam tabernaculum." The original may have been "for the tent (of testimony, see above, QE ii. 49) is spoken of in a certain sense as an archetypal shrine," see next note but one.

\(^g\) τὸ πρὸς διάνοιαν.

\(^h\) Cf. De Plantatione 50 τὸ τῶν κόσμων εὐτρεπῆ καὶ ἐτοιμὸν αἰσθητὸν οίκον εἶναι θεῷ... τὸ ἄγιασμα, ὃν ἄγιοι ἀπαύγασμα, μίμημα ἀρχετύπου.

\(^i\) aĩ εὐφρενικαὶ δυνάμεις.
what is in these. For the Saviour \(^a\) is beneficent and kind,\(^b\) and He wishes to except the rational race \(^c\) from all living creatures. He therefore honours them with an even ampler gift, a great benefaction in which all kinds of good things are found, and He graciously grants \(^d\) His appearance, if only there be a suitable place, purified with holiness and every (kind of) purity. For if, O mind,\(^e\) thou dost not prepare thyself of thyself, excising desires, pleasures, griefs, fears, follies,\(^f\) injustices and related evils,\(^g\) and dost (not) change and adapt thyself to the vision of holiness, thou wilt end thy life in blindness, unable to see the intelligible sun.\(^h\) If, however, thou art worthily initiated \(^i\) and canst be consecrated \(^j\) to God and in a certain sense \(^k\) become an animate \(^l\) shrine of the Father, (then) instead of having closed eyes,\(^m\) thou wilt see the First (Cause) \(^n\) and in wakefulness thou wilt cease from the deep sleep in which thou hast been held. Then will appear to thee that manifest One,\(^o\) Who causes incorporeal rays \(^p\) to shine for thee,

\(^a\) ὁ σωτήρ.

\(^b\) Slightly emending the text (in which the second adjective has the article). Aucher renders more literally, “propitius est salvator et benefactor.”

\(^c\) τὸ λογικὸν γένος, ἰ.ε. Israel, or perhaps, pious men in general.

\(^d\) χαριζέται.

\(^e\) οὐ νοῦ or διάνοια: Aucher “O anime.”

\(^f\) Before “follies” the Arm. repeats the participle “excising.”

\(^g\) ἐκτέρνουν ἐπιθυμίας, ἡδονάς, λύπας, φόβους, ἀφροσύνας, ἀδικίας καὶ τὰ συγγενή κακά.

\(^h\) τὸν νουτὸν ἡμῶν, ἰ.ε. the divine light, cf. De Spec. Leg. iv. 231 et al., \(t\) ἕαν δ’ ἀξίας τελεσθῆς τελετᾶς vel sim.

\(^i\) Or “initiated” (bis): Aucher “consecrari.”

\(^j\) τρόπον τινὰ.

\(^k\) Or “spiritual”—ἐμψυχον or πνευματικον: Aucher “anima tum (vel, spirituale).”

\(^l\) \(\text{Or } “

\(^m\) \(\text{Or } “

\(^n\) Variant “the first (things)”; Aucher “primum.”

\(^o\) ὁ ἐπιφανὴς vel sim.: Aucher “visibilis,” adding in a footnote “vel, qui appariturus est aut mirabilis ille.”

\(^p\) ἄσωμάτους αὐγάς.
and grants visions of the unambiguous and indescribable things of nature and the abundant sources of other good things. For the beginning and end of happiness is to be able to see God. But this cannot happen to him who has not made his soul, as I said before, a sanctuary and altogether a shrine of God.

52. (Ex. xxv. 8 [Heb. 9]) What is the meaning of the words, "Thou shalt make, according to all that I shall show thee on the mountain, the patterns of the tent and the vessels"?

That every sense-perceptible likeness has (as) its origin an intelligible pattern in nature (Scripture) has declared in many other passages as well as in the present one. Excellently, moreover, has it presented (as) the teacher of incorporeal and archetypal things not one who is begotten and created but the unbegotten and uncreated God. For it was indeed proper and fitting to reveal to an intelligent man the forms of intelligible things and the measures of all things in accordance with which the world

a Aucher renders more freely, "datis etiam visionibus naturae inexpectatis ac inenarrabilibus."

b LXX καὶ ποιήσεις μου (Heb. omits the first three words) κατὰ πάντα ὅσα (v.l. + ἐγώ) δεικνύω σοι ἐν τῷ οἴρει (Heb. omits “on the mountain”), τὸ παράδειγμα (v.l. hic et infra υπόδειγμα) τῆς σκηνῆς καὶ τὸ παράδειγμα πάντων τῶν σκευῶν αὐτῆς οὕτως ποιήσεις (Heb. “ye shall make”). Philo alludes to this verse in De Vita Mosis ii. 74-75.

c Cf. De Vita Mosis ii. 74 ἔδει καθάπερ ἀπ' ἀρχετύπων γραφῆς καὶ νοητῶν παραδειγμάτων αἰόθητα μιμήματα ἀπεικονισθήναι.

d διδάσκαλον ἀσωμάτων καὶ ἀρχετύπων: Aucher "magistrum incorporeorum et a principio existentium."

e τὸν ἀγέννητον καὶ ἀγέννητον θεόν. Aucher inadvertently writes "patrem" instead of "Deum." The same thought is differently expressed in De Vita Mosis ii. 74 σκηνῆν . . . ὑς τὴν κατασκευὴν θεοφάτους λογίου εἰς τοῦ ὀρόου Μωυσῆς ἀνεδιάδακτο.

f Or “ideas” — eidē or idēis.
was made. For these reasons also the prophet alone was called and taken above, in order not to deprive the race of mortals of an incorruptible vision and not to spread abroad and publish to the multitude these divine and holy essences. And he was taken up to a high mountain, ascent to which was vouchsafed to no others. And a dense and thick cloud covered the whole place, hindering reception through these places, not as if the nature of invisible things could be seen by corporeal eyes but because the multi-symbolism of intelligible things is described through the clear vision of the eyes, (namely) how one who learns by seeing rather figuratively can, by attributing certain forms to certain symbols, achieve a correct apprehension of them.

53. (Ex. xxv. 9 [Heb. 10]) Why is the ark of "undecaying wood" j k l ?

a Aucher, construing differently, renders, "quoniam conveniens utique erat ut intelligens referret ideas intellectualium mensurasque universorum, ad quorum formam mundus factus fuit." In support of the rendering which makes "the intelligent man" (Moses) the indirect object of the infinitive "to reveal," one can cite the parallel in De Vita Mosis ii. 75 προσήκον γὰρ τὸν ὅσος ἀληθῶς ἀρχιερεῖ καὶ τὴν τοῦ ἱεροῦ κατασκευὴν ἐπιτραπέζαι κτλ.
b ὁ προφήτης.
c Aucher "facie."
d οὐδέας.
e Aucher "perceptionem."
f Lit. "much symbol": Aucher "multum signum."
g τροπικῶτερον vel sim.: Aucher "utcumque typice."
h The two Arm. adjectives prob. render the single Greek adjective ἀφθήν.
i Aucher "potest secundum symbolum aliquam formam adaptando, directe et apposite eorum rationem attingere."

j ἸκΧ καὶ ποιήσεις κιβωτὸν μαρτυρίον ἐκ ξύλων ἄσηπτων: Heb. "and make (imperative plural) an ark of sittim ("acacia") wood." Both ἸκΧ and Heb. proceed to give the dimensions of the ark, to which Philo does not refer here, but see De Vita Mosis ii. 96.
EXODUS, BOOK II

In the same manner in which the head is the principal (part) of living creatures is the ark (the principal kind) of divine vessels, wherefore it has merited the best and holiest places, being placed alone and by itself within the inner sanctuary, a wherefore also it was natural that the material of which it was made should by some necessity b be unlikely to decay and be corrupted, c since the Law, of which it was the repository, d was also incorruptible. In the second place, the sanctuary e and all the order of things arranged in it were ordained not for a limited time but for an infinite age. f For this reason the artificer, (namely) the divine Logos, g chose the most lawful h material, especially that which could remain permanently with it. i That is the literal meaning. j But this is the deeper meaning. k In reality nothing terrestrial is undecaying or incorruptible. Accordingly, when (Scripture) says “ undecaying wood,” it alludes symbolically l to the parts of the world attached to one another, of which it consists and is compacted and which hold fast to one another. To me it seems that (this property is found) also in the rational virtues of the soul, m each of which happens to be unwithered and unaging and incorruptible.

a ἐν τῷ ἀντῷ. b ἀνάγκῃ τῳ.

c Both Arm. adjectives are compounded with ἀζωναρ = Gr. δυνατόν: Aucher “ imputridam ac incorruptibilem.”

d ἀποθήκη vel sim.

e τὸ ἱερὸν, i.e. “ the tent of testimony.”

f οὐ πρὸς ὄρθωμένων ἄρχον ἀλλ’ ἀπειρον αἰῶνα vel sim.

g ὁ τεχνίτης, ὁ θεῖος λόγος.

h Aucher “ magis convenientem.” Arm. οἰνωνεῖορ usu. = νόμιμος, but here the context calls for a different adjective in the original.

i i.e. with the Law. j τὸ ῥητόν.

k τὸ πρὸς διάνοιαν.

l συμβολικῶς.

m Or “ in the virtues of the rational soul(s) ” — the original may have been either ἐν ταῖς λογικαῖς τῶν ψυχῶν ἀρεταῖς or ἐν ταῖς τῶν λογικῶν ψυχῶν ἀρεταῖς (Arm. adjectives are not inflected in agreement with their nouns) : Aucher “ in rationibus animi virtutibus.”

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54. (Ex. xxv. 10a [Heb. 11a]) Why does he overlay (the ark) with pure gold within, and with gold without ?

Others falsify the external appearance with deceit, while they leave the inside concealed and without care or attention. Moreover, they adorn the outside with variegated adornment for the sake of magnificence or to cause astonishment among spectators. But the divine (and) holy Moses adorns the inside before the outside with due adornment, (namely) with gold, the prime material and the most precious of all, and furthermore with gold that is pure, cleansed and refined for purity of substance. That is the literal meaning. But this is the deeper meaning.

In nature there is a species which is invisible and one which is visible. The invisible and unseen one consists of incorporeal things, and this (species) is in the intelligible world. But the visible one is made of bodies, and this is the sense-perceptible world. These two (species) are the inner and the outer. The one who created them made the incorporeal inner (species) and the corporeal outer (species) undecaying and incorruptible, and, in addition, also seemly and noble and precious. Accordingly, the precious gold is allegorically used of the human structure and,

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\( \text{LXX καὶ καταχρυσώσεις αὐτὴν χρυσίω καθαρῷ ἔξωθεν καὶ ἔσωθεν (v.l. ἔσωθεν καὶ ἔξωθεν οὐλ. ιτ. "within and without ") χρυσώσεις αὐτὴν.} \)

Philo obviously took the text to mean that pure gold was used inside the ark and ordinary gold outside. In parallel allusions to this verse, although he follows the reading ἔσωθεν καὶ ἔξωθεν as here, he does not stress the difference between inside and outside, see De Ebrietate 85, De Mut. Nom. 43-44, and De Vita Mosis ii. 95, where he says, ἢ δὲ κυβωτὸς . . . κεχρυσωμένη πολυτελὼς ἐνδοθεν τε καὶ ἔξωθεν.

\( \text{τὸ ρήτον.} \)

\( \text{εἴδος.} \)

\( \text{ἐν τῷ νοητῷ κόσμῳ.} \)

\( \text{οἱ αἰσθητοὶ κόσμοι.} \)

\( \text{The syntax is not altogether clear: Aucher "interna, incorporea; et externa, corporea; quas qui fecit, imputridas effect" (sc. "species ").} \)

\( \text{The two Arm. adjectives prob. render the single Greek adj. σεμνός.} \)

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\( \text{αὐλήγορεῖται.} \)

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as is proper, of the soul. But this is invisible and with every virtue, as with gold, it adorns the dispositions and the movements of the visible body. For that way of life which consists of two (kinds of things), of a pure mind, which is invisible, and of irreproachable and blameless deeds, of which there are many spectators.

*55. (Ex. xxv. 10b [Heb. 11b]) What is the "wreathed wave" which He commands (them) to construct round the ark?

By the "wave" He indicates the stars, for they circle and roll around, some in the same way as the whole heaven, and others with a particular motion which has been assigned to them as peculiarly their own. For in the same way as a rotating axle does not change its position and, as it goes around by itself, does not move away, so also does the heaven revolve without change of place. In the second place, the "wreathed wave" is similar to the corruption of the soul and the body, for the mind keeps turning in different directions and does not possess stability, and the body, which is always flowing like a stream at (various) stages and with the (various) illnesses that over-
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take it, is wont to undergo change. In the third place, the course of human life is to be likened to a broad sea (which) experiences storms and rolling disturbances of all kinds in accordance with (varying) fortunes.\(^a\) For nothing on earth is stable but (everything) vacillates this way and that and is tossed about like a ship sailing the sea against contrary winds.\(^b\)

56. (Ex. xxv. 11 [Heb. 12]) Why does he fit four rings to \(^c\) the ark, two on one side and two on the other side?\(^d\)

It so happens that there are two sides in existing things,\(^e\) one the intelligible and one the sense-perceptible (side),\(^f\) each of which (in turn) is sealed with two seals.\(^g\) For there are two sections of the intelligible (side), one being a sign of immortal things, and one a sign of mortal things. The sense-perceptible (side), moreover, is divided into two (parts), one of which is light and of an upward-tending

\(^a\) One Arm. ms. has “not good fortunes,” the other “good fortunes.” The Greek frag. (see rest of note) prob. has the correct reading. The second Greek frag. (preserved in three different sources: Dam. Par., Anon. Flor. Cod. Barocc. and Cod. Reg.) reads similarly ό τῶν ἀνθρώπων βίως, ὁμοούμενος πελάγει, κυματώσεις καὶ στροφὰς παντοῖα προσπεπέξεται (v.l. προσδέχεται, προσενέξεται) κατὰ τε εὐπραγίας καὶ κακοπραγίας (Cod. Barocc. om. καὶ κακοπραγίας).

\(^b\) The Greek frag. agrees closely, ἱδρυται γὰρ οὐδὲν τῶν γηγενῶν ἀλλ’ ὅπε καὶ ἐκεῖσε διαφέρεται, οὐα σκάφος θαλάσσευον ὑπ’ ἐναντίων πνευμάτων (Dam. Par. πραγμάτων).

\(^c\) Lit. “upon.”

\(^d\) LXX καὶ ἐλάσεις αὐτῆς τέσσαρας δακτυλίους χρυσοὺς καὶ ἐπιθήσεις ἐπὶ τὰ τέσσαρα κλῖτη (Heb. “feet” or “corners”) δύο δακτυλίους ἐπὶ τὸ κλῖτος τὸ ἐν, καὶ δύο δακτυλίους ἐπὶ τὸ κλῖτος τὸ δεύτερον (v.l. ἐτερον).

\(^e\) Lit. “in the ears,” which cannot be the reading of the Greek original. Evidently the Arm. translator read ὀσὶ instead of (original) ὀδοι.

\(^f\) τὸ μὲν νοτίῳ, τὸ δ’ αἰσθητόν.

\(^g\) Philo says “sealed” because of the LXX δακτυλίους, which can mean “seal-rings.”
substance, to which the air and ether belong, and the other heavy and extending downward, to which earth and water belong. In the second place, some take the two sides (to represent) the equinoxes, of which the four seasons are divisions. There are two warm and fair (seasons), summer and autumn; and two are cold, winter and spring. These have the status of perfect and stable acts in the sense-perceptible world, while (they have that) of signs and hints in the intelligible (world).

57. (Ex. xxv. 12 [Heb. 13]) What were the "bearing-poles," which were of "undecaying wood"? (This statement) indicates two divine principles: one, the pillar and base and stability of the intelligible world, and the other (those) of the sense-perceptible, on which, as if on a foundation, it is set up with stability. For each of these bears its own arrangement; although it is very heavy, the heaviness is, as it were, very light. The principles, moreover, are undecaying, since they are the utterances of God.

a Aucher "naturae."
b τὰς ἀσημερίας, here taken to include the solstices as subdivisions.
c Lit. "ethereal": Aucher "pro sereno."
d i.e. the two sets of rings.
e Or "reckoning":—λόγον: Aucher "calculus."
f Or "works":—ἐργαν: Aucher "operum."
g οἰνυγμάτων vel sim., i.e. symbols.
h Ixx ποιήσεις δὲ ἀναφορεῖς ἐκ ξύλῳ ἀσήπτων (v.l. ξύλα ἀσηπτα) καὶ καταχρυσώσεις αὐτὰ χρυσάω: Heb. "and thou shalt make staves of sīṭīm (acacia)-wood, and overlay them with gold."
i λόγους: Aucher "verba," in footnote, "vel, . . . rationes."
j Aucher "columnam ac fulcrum constantiae."
k τοῦ νοστοῦ κόσμου.
i τοῦ αἰσθητοῦ.
m i.e. each of the two worlds.
n κόσμου or διακόσμησιν: Aucher "ornamentum."
o οἱ λόγοι: Aucher "verba."
58. (Ex. xxv. 13 [Heb. 14]) Why are the bearing-poles fitted to the rings for lifting the ark? a

There are two principles b of the two worlds, c which (Scripture) calls "bearing-poles." Being attached by seals, d they show the fated and necessary order of events, e which is the harmonious nexus f of things integrating single (events) into order. Accordingly, in the visible world they g are a likeness and form, but in the intelligible (world they are) signs and archetypes of rank and orders of things which progress and retrogress in accordance with the consistent order of nature. h

59. (Ex. xxv. 15 [Heb. 16]) What is the meaning of the words, "Thou shalt put into the ark the testimony which I shall give thee" i ?

Now since the ark is a symbol of the incorporeal world, j and it is necessary that this world be a sign of the laws k which He has called "testimonies," rightly and fittingly has He said that in word they should be placed in the ark

a Ixx καὶ εἰσάξεις τοὺς ἀναφορεῖς εἰς τοὺς δακτυλίους τοὺς ἐν τοῖς κάλτεις τὴς κυβωτοῦ αἴρειν τὴν κυβωτὸν ἐν αὐτοῖς.
b λόγοι.
c i.e. the intelligible and the sense-perceptible worlds.
d Here again, as in QE ii. 56, Philo plays on the Ixx word δακτυλίους, which can mean "seal-rings."
e Slightly emending the Arm. text, which has "events of orders." The original was something like τὴν εἰμαρμένην καὶ ἀναγκαίαν τάξιν τῶν συμβαίνοντων. Aucker renders more briefly, "praescriptum ac necessarium eventum."
f εἴρμος.
g Although the verb is singular, the context requires a plural pronoun to be supplied, referring to the two bearing-poles.
h κατὰ τὰς τῆς φύσεως ἀκολουθίας vel sim.: Aucker "secundum naturae concinnationem."
i Ixx καὶ ἐμβαλεῖς εἰς τὴν κυβωτὸν τὰ μαρτύρια ἀν δῶ σοι. Philo briefly alludes to this verse in De Vita Mosis ii. 97 εἰς γὰρ ταύτην κατατίθεται τὰ χρησθέντα λόγια.
j σύμβολον τοῦ ἀσωμάτου κόσμου.
k τῶν νόμων.
but in deed in the intelligible world in order that it may be attached to them in all its parts and extend (throughout)."  

60. (Ex. xxv. 16a [Heb. 17a]) What is the "mercy-seat" and why did He call it a "cover"?  

The "mercy-seat" is mentioned as a symbol of the propitious and beneficent power. And it is called "cover" because it stands over and is established over the intelligible world. But since the perfect form is above, rightly is the propitious power (said to be) up above, since all things are established and stand firm upon it.  

61. (Ex. xxv. 16b [Heb. 17b]) Why does the mercy-seat have only length and breadth but not depth?  

\[a\] λόγῳ μὲν . . . ἔργῳ δὲ.  
\[b\] ἐν τῷ νοητῷ κόσμῳ.  
\[c\] i.e. the intelligible world.  
\[d\] i.e. the laws.  
\[e\] Aucher renders less accurately, I think, "ut cunctis suis partibus illic jacens perseverabit."  
\[f\] Lit. "propitiatory (instrument)" = lxx ἱλασθήριον, see next note; "mercy-seat" is here used because it is the familiar A.V. term.  
\[g\] lxx καὶ ποιῆσαι ἱλασθήριον ἐπίθεμα χρυσοῦ καθαροῦ. The two Greek nouns render the single Heb. noun kappōret, which means both "cover" and "propitiation" or "atonement." It seems to have been a gold plate fastened to the top of the ark and serving as a floor for the Cherubim, as Philo assumes in De Vita Mosis ii. 97 to ἐπίθεμα τὸ προσαγορευόμενον ἱλασθήριον βάσις ἐστὶ πτηνῶν δυνών, see also De Fuga 100.  
\[h\] τής ἱλεώς καὶ εὐεργετικῆς δυνάμεως σύμβολον.  
\[i\] διὰ τοῦ στήναι αὐτῷ καὶ ἰδρύσειν ὑπὲρ τοῦ νοητοῦ κόσμου vel sim. Aucher renders, "quia superpositus est firmiter intelligibilis mundus," but in a footnote he gives an alternative and better rendering, "vel, super intelligibilem mundum positum est."  
\[j\] Prob. elōs: Aucher "visione."  
\[k\] i.e. why does Scripture give only two of its dimensions? lxx δύο πτήσεων καὶ ἡμίσους τὸ μῆκος, καὶ πτήσεως καὶ ἡμίσους τὸ πλάτος. In De Vita Mosis ii. 96, Philo allegorizes this question somewhat differently, see last note on this section.
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A magnitude lacking depth and seen only in length and breadth is called a "surface" \(^a\) by geometricians. And the "surface" \(^b\) of the Existent One \(^c\) is seen also through other powers,\(^d\) especially through the propitious and beneficent ones.\(^e\) But those who receive good, immediately thereupon see the Benefactor appear before their eyes together with His virgin daughters, the graces.\(^f\)

*62. (Ex. xxv. 17a [Heb. 18a]) What are the cherubim?\(^g\) ("Cherubim") is to be interpreted as "great recognition," in other words,\(^h\) "knowledge poured out in abundance."\(^i\) But they are symbols of the two powers, the

\(^a\) ἐπιφάνεια.

\(^b\) Philo plays on the double meaning of ἐπιφάνεια as "surface" and "(divine) manifestation."\(^c\) τοῦ Ὄντος.

\(^d\) Lit. "other virtues and powers," but the two Arm. nouns prob. render the single Greek noun δυνάμεων: Aucker "per alias virtutes."

\(^e\) διὰ τῆς ὑλῆς καὶ ἐνεργεικῆς, see the preceding section.

\(^f\) i.e. acts of divine grace. The "virgin graces" of God are also mentioned in De Poster. Caini 32. The general idea of this section is partially paralleled in De Vita Mosis ii. 96 ὀπερ ἔσκεψε εἶναι σύμβολον φυσικώτερον μὲν τῆς ὑλῆς τοῦ θεοῦ δυνάμεως, ἡθικώτερον δὲ διανοίας πάλιν, ὑλῆς δὲ ἐαυτῆ, τῆν πρὸς ύφος ἄλογον ἀφυόναν καὶ φυσώσαν οὕτων ἀτυφίας ἔρωτι σὺν ἐπιστήμης στέλλειν καὶ καθαρεῖν ἄξιονσης.

\(^g\) ἸΧΧ καὶ ποιήσεις δύο χερουβίμ (v.l. χερουβίων: Heb. k'rūbīm). Philo allegorizes the cherubim of the ark in De Vita Mosis ii. 97-100, and the cherubim of the Garden of Eden in De Cherubim 21-29. The whole of the present section has been preserved in Greek (in Cod. Vat. 379).

\(^h\) Lit. "names."

\(^i\) The Greek frag. reads more smoothly τὰ χερουβίμ ἐρμηνεύεται μὲν ἐπίγνωσις πολλῆς, ἡ ἐν ἐτέροις δόμοι ἐπιστήμης πλούσια καὶ κεχυμένη, cf. De Vita Mosis ii. 97 χερουβίμ ὃς δ' ἄν "Ελληνες ἐπίλογον ἐπίγνωνα καὶ ἐπιστήμης πολλῆ. According to Edmund Stein, Die allegorische Exegese des Philo aus Alexandrea (Giessen, 1924), p. 52, Philo's fanciful etymology is based on the combination of the two Heb. words hakkir "to recognize," and bin "knowledge," but the second word may be rabbim "much," "many."
creative and the royal. The creative (power), however, is the elder according to (our) thinking, for though the powers around God are of the same age, still the creative (power) is thought of before the royal one. For one is king not of that which does not exist, but of that which already exists. And the creative (power) has been given the name "God" in the sacred Scriptures, for the ancients spoke of creating as "placing," while the royal (power) is called "Lord," since "Lord of all" is (the name) consecrated to the king.

*63. (Ex. xxv. 17b [Heb. 18b]) Why is the chasing of gold? Gold is a symbol of a precious substance, while the

a So the Greek frag., except that it adds "of the Existent One" to "powers"), σύμβολα δὲ ἐστὶ δυσεὶ τοῦ Ὁντος δυνάμεως ποιητικῆς τῆς καὶ βασιλικῆς, see also De Vita Mosis ii. 99. On these two chief divine attributes see QG ii. 51, iv. 2, De Cherubim 27 et al.

b So the Greek frag., πρεσβυτέρα δὲ ἡ ποιητικὴ τῆς βασιλικῆς κατ᾽ ἐπίνοιαν.

c The Greek frag. reads slightly more fully ἵσηλικες γὰρ αἰ γε περὶ τῶν θεῶν ἀπασα δυνάμεις, ἄλλα προεπινοεῖται πως ἡ ποιητικὴ τῆς βασιλικῆς.

d So the Greek frag., βασιλεὺς γὰρ τις οὐχὶ τοῦ μη ὄντως ἄλλα τοῦ γεγονότος.

e Lit. "sacred and divine," but the two Arm. adjectives prob. render the single Greek adjective ἱεροῖς, as in the Greek frag.

f i.e. the ancient Greeks.

g So the Greek frag., ὄνομα δὲ ἔλαχεν ἐν τοῖς ἱεροῖς γράμμασιν ἡ μὲν ποιητικὴ θέος, τὸ γὰρ ποιήσαι θεῖαι ἔλεγον οἱ παλαιοί. Philo makes the same etymological connexion between θεός and θεῖαι in De Vita Mosis ii. 99 et al.

h The Greek frag. reads only slightly differently ἡ δὲ βασιλικὴ κύριος, ἐπειδὴ τὸ κύριος ἀπάντων ἀνακεῖται τῷ βασιλεῖ.

i So the Greek frag., Διατί χρυσὸς τορευτᾶ: ἰ.κ.κ (καὶ ποιησεὶς δύο χρεουβείμ) χρυσὰ τορευτᾶ (v.l. χρυσοτορευτᾶ).

j The Greek frag. has the superlative form of the adjective, ὁ μὲν χρυσὸς σύμβολον τῆς τιμιωτάτης οὐσίας.
chasing (is a symbol) of an artful and skilled nature. For it was proper that the chief powers of the Existent One should be ideas of ideas and partake of a substance that is most pure and unmixed and most precious and, in addition, most skilful.

*64. (Ex. xxv. 17c-18 [Heb. 18c-19]) Why did He fit the cherubim to the two sides of the altar? (This indicates that) the bounds of the whole heaven and the world are fortified by the two highest guards, one being that (power) by which God created all things, and the other that by which He is ruler of existing things. For (each power) was destined to look out for (the world) as its most proper and related possession, the creative (power seeing to it) that the things made by it should not be destroyed, and the royal power that nothing be in excess, mediating the victory by law as a sign of equality,

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*a* So the Greek frag., ἥ δὲ τορεία τῆς ἐντέχνου καὶ ἐπιστημονικῆς φύσεως.

*b* The Greek frag. differs only slightly, ἓν γάρ τὰς πρῶτας τοῦ Ὀντός δυνάμεις ἰδεῶν ὑπαρχοῦσας καὶ τῆς καθαρωτάτης καὶ ἁμνοῦς καὶ τιμαλφεστάτης καὶ προσέτι τῆς ἐπιστημονικωτάτης φύσεως μεταλαχεῖν.

*c* Apparently the Arm. translator has erred in using selan “altar” instead of haṣṭaran “mercy-seat.” The Greek frag. reads Διατέ ἐπὶ ἀμφοτέρων τῶν κλήτων τοῦ ἡλιστηρίου τὰ χερούβημι ἴμομεττέ: ἱκκ καὶ ἐπιθήσεις αὐτὰ ἔς ἀμφοτέρων τῶν κλήτων τοῦ ἡλιστηρίου ποιηθῶσινται χεροῦβ εἰς ἐκ τοῦ κλήτους τούτου καὶ χερούβ εἰς ἐκ τοῦ κλήτους τοῦ δευτέρου τοῦ ἡλιστηρίου καὶ ποιηθεὶς τοὺς δύο χερούβειμ ἐπὶ τὰ δύο κλήτῃ.

*d* So the Greek frag., τοὺς ὀροὺς τοῦ παντὸς οὐρανοῦ καὶ κόσμου δυοὶ ταῖς ἀνωτάτω φρονείσσα κορυφὸς ἐκ τοῦ κλήτους τοῦ θεοῦ, καὶ τῇ καθ’ ἄρης τῶν γεγονότων. On the cherubim as symbols of the two highest divine attributes, corresponding to the names “God” and “Lord,” see above, QE ii. 62, notes.

*e* So the Greek frag., ἐμελλε γὰρ ὡς οἰκειοτάτου καὶ συγγενειοτάτου κτήματος προκνήδεσθαι, ἡ μὲν ποιητικὴ ἦν μὴ λυθεὶ τὰ πρὸς αὐτῆς γενόμενα.
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by which things eternally endure. For through excess and inequality (come) occasions for war, the destroyers of existing things. But good order and equality are the seeds of peace and the causes of salvation and perpetual survival.

*65. (Ex. xxv. 19a [Heb. 20a]) Why does He say that the cherubim shall extend their wings to overshadow (the mercy-seat)?

All the powers of God are winged, striving for and desiring the path upward to the Father. And that, like wings, they overshadow the parts of the universe indicates that the world is protected by guards, (namely) by the two powers (already) mentioned, the creative and the royal.

*66. (Ex. xxv. 19b [Heb. 20b]) Why do the faces of the

a Here apparently the Arm. translator has clumsily rendered the original which, according to the Greek frag., read ἥ δὲ βασιλικὴ ὡσεὶ μὴν μήτε πλεονεκτῇ μήτε πλεονεκτήται, νόμῳ βραβευόμενα τῷ τῆς ἴσότητος, ψφ' ἃς τὰ πράγματα διαω- νίζεται.

b Here again the Greek frag. reads more smoothly πλεο- νεξία μὲν γὰρ καὶ ἀνισότης ὀρμητηρία πολέμου, λυτικὰ τῶν ὄντων.

c So the Greek frag., τὸ δὲ εὐνομον καὶ τὸ ἵσον εἰρήνης σπέρ- ματα, σωτηρίας αἵτια καὶ τῆς εἰσάσαν διαμονῆς.

d So the Greek frag., Διατὶ φησιν "ἐκτένει τὰς πτέρυγας τὰ χερουβὶ ἐνα συσκίατη" ; LXX ἦσονται οἱ χερουβὶ ἐκτείνοντες τὰς πτέρυγας ἐπάνωθεν, συσκιάζοντες ἐν ταῖς πτέρυξιν αὐτῶν ἐπὶ τοῦ ἱλαστηρίου.

e So the Greek frag., αἱ μὲν τοῦ θεοῦ πάσαι δυνάμεις πτερο- φυοῦσι, τῆς ἀνὸς πρὸς τὸν πατέρα ὅδου γλυχόμεναι τε καὶ ἐφ- ἱέμεναι.

f See above, QE ii. 62 and notes.

g Only slightly different is the wording of the Greek frag., συσκιάζουσι δὲ οἷα πτέρυξι τὰ τοῦ παντός μέρη: αὐτίτεται δὲ ὡς ὁ κόσμος σκέπασι καὶ φυλακτηρίως φρουρεῖται, δυσι ταῖς εἰρημέναις δυνάμεις τῇ τε ποιητικῇ καὶ βασιλικῇ.
cherubim look at each other, and both (look) at the mercy-seat?  

Most excellent in a way and seemly is the form of what is said, for it was proper that the powers, the creative and the royal, should look in the direction of each other, beholding their own beauty and at the same time both conspiring together for the advantage of created things. In the second place, since God is one (and is) both Creator and King, rightly did they receive divided power. For they were indeed usefully divided in order that one might create and the other rule, for they are distinct. And they were joined together in another way by the eternal attachment of names to one another, in order that the creative (power) might be a spectator of the royal, and the royal

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*a* So the Greek frag., Διατι τὰ πρόσωπα τῶν χερουβίμ εἰς ἀλλήλα ἐκνεύει καὶ ἄμφω πρὸς τὸ ἱλαστήριον; ἦς καὶ τὰ πρόσωπα αὐτῶν εἰς ἀλλήλας εἰς τὸ ἱλαστήριον ἔσονται τὰ πρόσωπα τῶν χερουβίν. In De Cherubim 25 Philo paraphrases Scripture as follows, καὶ γὰρ ἀντιπρόσωπα φησίν εἶναι νεόντα πρὸς τὸ ἱλαστήριον πτεροῖς, ἐπειδὴ καὶ ταῦτα ἀντικώ μὲν ἐστὶν ἀλλήλων, and he adds the brief comment νέανει δε ἐπὶ γῆν τὸ μέσον τοῦ παντὸς, καὶ διακρίνεται.

*b* So the Greek frag., παγκάλη τὸς ἐστὶ καὶ θεοπρεπῆς ἡ τῶν λεχθέντων eἰκῶν.

*c* See the preceding sections.

*d* So the Greek frag., ἐδει γὰρ τὰς δυνάμεις, τὴν τε ποιητικὴν καὶ βασιλικὴν, εἰς ἀλληγορίαν (L. cum edd. ἀλληλας) ἀφοράν, τὰ σφῶν κάλλη καταναύσας καὶ ἀμα πρὸς τὴν ὑφέλειαν τῶν γεγονότων συμπνεύσας.

*e* So the Greek frag., δεύτερον ἐπειδῆ ὁ θεός, εἰς ὄν, καὶ ποιήσῃ ἐστὶ καὶ βασιλεὺς.

*f* Here the Arm. translator either had a different text or misunderstood the original. The Greek frag. reads εἰκότως αἱ διαστάσαι δυνάμεις πάλιν ἐνωσὶν ἔλαβον, "rightly did the divided powers again receive unity."

*g* So the Greek frag. (except for the pronoun added at the end), καὶ γὰρ διέστησαν ὑφέλίμως ἵνα ἡ μὲν ποιη, ἡ δὲ ἀρχῇ διαφέρει γὰρ ἐκάτερον.

*h* So the Greek frag. (except for the phrase “to one another” added in the Arm.), καὶ ἡμισόθησαν ἐτέρῳ τρόπῳ κατὰ τὴν τῶν ὑνομάτων ἁδίων προσβολήν.

*φ* Greek frag. (see next note) "might hold to."
of the creative.\(^a\) For both rightly look at each other and at the mercy-seat,\(^b\) for if God were not propitious to those things which exist together,\(^c\) He would not have made anything through the creative (power) nor would He have been a lawgiver \(^d\) through the royal (power).\(^e\)

\(^*67.\) (Ex. xxv. 21a [Heb. 22a]) What is the meaning of the words, "I shall be made known to thee from there,"? The most lucid and most prophetic mind receives the knowledge and science of the Existent One not from the Existent One Himself, for it will not contain His greatness, but from His chief and ministering \(^g\) powers.\(^h\) And it is admirable \(^i\) that from these His splendour should reach the soul in order that through the secondary splendour \(^j\)

\(^a\) The Greek frag. differs in the verb, ὑστερά καὶ ἡ σεφετική τῆς βασιλικῆς καὶ ἡ βασιλικὴ τῆς σεφετικῆς ἔχηται.

\(^b\) Again the Greek frag. differs slightly (omitting "at each other and"), ἀμφότεραι γὰρ συννεύονσαν εἰς τὸ ἱλαστήριον εἰκότως.

\(^c\) The Arm. translator evidently read τοίς συνόδων, instead of τοῖς νῦν οὖσιν, as in the Greek frag. (see next note but one).

\(^d\) Aucher "neque disposuisset."

\(^e\) The Greek frag. differs slightly (see also note c), εἰ μὴ γὰρ ἐν τοῖς νῦν οὖσιν ἔλεως ὁ θεός, οὕτως ἐν εἰργάσθη τι διὰ τῆς σεφετικῆς οὕτως ἐν εὐνομίη διὰ τῆς βασιλικῆς.

\(^f\) So the Greek frag., τί ἔστιν "γνωσθῆσομαι σοι ἐκείθεν";

\(^g\) The Greek frag. reads more concretely "body-guard," see next note.

\(^h\) So (except for the word mentioned in the preceding note) the Greek frag., γνώσων καὶ ἐπιστήμην ὁ εἰλικρινέστατος καὶ προφητικῶτατος νοῦς λαμβάνει τοῦ "Οὐντος οὐκ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ τῶν ὁμοίων, οὖ γὰρ καρπῆσαι τὸ μέγεθος, ἀλλ' ἀπὸ τῶν πρῶτων αὐτοῦ καὶ δορυφόρων δυνάμεων.

\(^i\) Lit. "loved," but this prob. renders the same word as in the Greek frag., ἀγαπησόμενον.

\(^j\) The Arm. translator uses the same word to render φέγγουσι here as he used to render αὐγάς above, see next note.
it may be able to behold the more splendid (splendour).\(^a\)

\(^*68.\) (Ex. xxv. 21b [Heb. 22b]) What is the meaning of the words, "I will speak to thee\(^b\) above from\(^c\) the mercy-seat, between the two\(^d\) cherubim?\(^e\)

By this He shows first of all that the Deity is above the propitious and the creative and every (other) power.\(^f\)

Next, (He shows) that He speaks rightly\(^g\) in the midst of the creative (power).\(^h\) And this the mind conceives somewhat as follows.\(^i\) The divine Logos, inasmuch as it is

\(^a\) So the Greek frag., καὶ ἀγαπητόν εἴκείθεν εἰς τὴν ψυχὴν φέρεσθαι τὰς αἰώνας ἵνα δυνηται διὰ τοῦ δευτέρου φέγγου τὸ προσβήτερον καὶ αὐγοειδέστερον βέασασθαι.

\(^b\) The Greek frag. omits "to thee," which is found in LXX and Heb. and in other passages of Philo, see below.

\(^c\) i.e. "from above."

\(^d\) The Greek frag. omits "two," which is found in LXX and Heb. and in other passages of Philo, see next note.

\(^e\) The Greek frag. reads slightly more briefly τί ἐστιν "λαλήσω ἄνωθεν τοῦ ἱλαστηρίου ἀνα μέσον τῶν χερουβίων"; LXX καὶ λαλήσω σοι ἄνωθεν τοῦ ἱλαστηρίου ἀνα μέσον τῶν δύο χερουβίων τῶν ὄντων ἐπὶ τῆς κυριότου τοῦ μαρτυρίου καὶ (v.l. omits καὶ with Heb.) κατὰ πάντα ὅσα ἐν ἐντελώματι σοὶ πρὸς τοὺς νῦν Ἰσραήλ. In Quis Rer. Div. Heres 166 and De Fuga 101 Philo quotes part of the LXX in the same wording as here, and comments more briefly than here. On the symbolism of the cherubim see the preceding sections in QE ii.

\(^f\) So the Greek frag., ἐμφαίνει διὰ τοῦτο (l. τούτου) πρῶτον μὲν ὅτι καὶ τῆς ἱλεω καὶ τῆς ποιητικῆς καὶ πάσης δυνάμεως ὑπεράνω τὸ θείον ἐστιν.

\(^g\) Aucher "quasi." The word, which is missing in the Greek frag., is perhaps the Armenian translator's device for conveying the force of the superlative ending in μεσαίτατον, see next note.

\(^h\) The Arm. text is apparently defective. The Greek frag. reads more intelligibly ἐπείτα ὅτι λαλεῖ κατὰ τὸ μεσαίτατον τῆς τε ποιητικῆς καὶ βασιλικῆς.

\(^i\) So the Greek frag., τούτο δὲ τοιούτον ὑπολαμβάνει νοῦς.
appropriately in the middle, leaves nothing in nature empty, but fills all things and becomes a mediator and arbitrator for the two sides which seem to be divided from each other, bringing about friendship and concord, for it is always the cause of community and the artisan of peace. Now the particular features of the ark have been spoken of, but we must also summarily resume and review for the sake of finding out what things these are symbols of. Now these symbols are the ark and the ordinances stored in it and the mercy-seat upon it and, upon the mercy-seat, the cherubim, as they are called in the Chaldaean tongue, and directly above them, in their midst, the voice and the Logos and, above it, the Speaker. And so, if one can accurately view and understand the natures of these, it seems to me that one should renounce all the other things that are eagerly sought after, being captivated by their godlike beauty.

a Or "chances to be": Aucher "est conveniente."
b The Greek frag. reads slightly more briefly ο τοῦ θεοῦ λόγος μέσος ὃν οὐδὲν ἐν τῇ φύσει καταλείπει κενὸν.
c The Greek frag. reads similarly but a little more smoothly τὰ ὅλα πληρῶν καὶ μεσιτεύει καὶ διαίτη τοῖς παρ’ ἐκατέρθα διεστάναι δοκοῦσιν, φιλίαν καὶ ὁμόνοιαν ἐργαζόμενος.
d The Greek frag. reads more briefly ἀεὶ γὰρ κοινωνίας αἰτίως καὶ δημιουργός (Grossmann add. εἰρήνης).
e So the Greek frag., τὰ μὲν οὖν περὶ τὴν κυβωτόν κατὰ μέρος εἰρηται.
f So the Greek frag., δεῖ δὲ συλληβδὴν ἁνωθὲν ἀναλαβόντα τοῦ γνωρίσαν χάριν τίνων ταύτα ἐστὶ σύμβολα διεξελθεῖν.
g i.e. Hebrew.
h So the Greek frag., ἢν δὲ ταύτα συμβολικά: κυβωτός καὶ τὰ ἐν αὐτὴ θησαυρίζομεν νόμιμα καὶ ἐπὶ ταύτης τὸ ἱλαστήριον καὶ τὰ ἐπὶ τοῦ ἱλαστήριου Χαλδαιῶν γλώσσῃ λεγόμενα χερουβίμ, ὑπὲρ δὲ τούτων κατὰ τὸ μέσον φωνή καὶ λόγος καὶ ύπερανω τὸ λέγων.
i The Greek frag. omits "and understand," see next note.
j Aucher, taking the participle, here rendered "being captivated," to agree with "all the other things" rather than with the impersonal subject of the verb "should renounce" (infinitive in the Arm. text), renders, "caetera omnia quae-cumque aemulationem merent deiformi pulchritudine circum-
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each (of these things) is like. In the first place (there is) He Who is elder than the one and the monad and the beginning. Then (comes) the Logos of the Existent One, the truly seminal substance of existing things. And from the divine Logos, as from a spring, there divide and break forth two powers. One is the creative (power), through which the Artificer placed and ordered all things; this is named "God." And (the other is) the royal (power), since through it the Creator rules over created things; this is called "Lord." And from these two data.” The Greek frag. agrees closely with the Arm. as rendered above (except for the omission mentioned in note i on p. 115), ει δε τις άκριβως δυνηθείη κατανοησαι τας τουτων φυσεις, δοκει μοι πασα τοις άλλοις άποτάξασθαι οσα ζηλωτά, κάλλεω θεοειδεστάτους περιληφθείς.

a So the Greek frag., σκοπώμεν δε έκαστον οιόν έστι.

b So the Greek frag., το πρώτον ο και ένδοι και μονάδος και άρχης πρεσβύτερος.

c The adverb (=Gr. όντως) is missing in the Greek frag., and may reflect a mistaken repetition of όντως or όντων in the Arm. translator’s Greek text, see next note.

d So the Greek frag. (except for the omission mentioned in the preceding note), έπειτα δ του Όντως λόγος, ή σπαρματική των όντων ούσια.

e The Arm. γέν (=έκ του όντως) is prob. a corruption of the usual contraction, αγιν, of the adjective astouacayin “divine.” Aucher renders, “ex ente vero Verbo,” adding in a footnote the theological comment “Judaeus noster Philo Entem fassus est ipsum Verbum, sicut Patrem suum, etc.”

f The Greek frag. reads slightly more briefly ἀπό δε του θείου λόγου, καθάπερ ἀπὸ τηγής, σχίζονται δύο (αἱ δύο ἐδδ.) δυνάμεις.

g i.e. “created.” Philo uses ἐθηκε for the sake of explaining the etymology of θεός, the name of the creative power, see QΕ ii. 62 notes.

h So the Greek frag., ή μεν ποιητική, καθ’ ήν ἐθηκε τα πάντα και διεκόσμησεν ο τεχνής, αυτὴ θεός ονομάζεται.

i Variant “He rules over things created by the Creator.”

j So the Greek frag., ή δε βασιλική, καθ’ ήν ἀρχη των γεγονότων ο δημιουργός, αυτὴ καλείται κύριος.
powers have grown the others. For by the side of the creative (power) there grows the propitious, of which the name is "beneficent," while (beside) the royal (power there grows) the legislative, of which the apt name is "punitive." And below these and beside them (is) the ark; and the ark is a symbol of the intelligible world.

And the ark symbolically contains all things established in the innermost sanctuary, (namely) the incorporeal world and the ordinances which He has called "testimonies" (and) the legislative and punitive powers (and) the mercy-seat (and) the propitious and beneficent (powers and), up above, the creative (power), which is the source of the propitious and beneficent (powers), and the royal (power), which is the root of the punitive and legislative (powers). But there appears as being in their midst the divine Logos and, above the Logos, the Speaker.

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a So (except for omission of the article before "others") the Greek frag., ἀπὸ δὲ τούτων τῶν δυνάμεων ἐκπεφύκασιν ἔτεραι.

b So the Greek frag., παραβλαστάνει γὰρ τῇ μὲν ποιητικῇ ἤ ἑλεως, ἃς ὅνωμα εὐεργετικ., τῇ δὲ βασιλικῇ ἢ νομοθετικ., ὅνωμα δὲ εὐθύβολον ἢ κολαστήριος.

c So the Greek frag., ὑπὸ δὲ ταύτας καὶ περὶ ταύτας ἢ κυβωτός· ἠτι δὲ κυβωτός κόσμου νοητοῦ σύμβολον.

d Arm. ἡστακαίν "propitious" is an obvious miswriting of ἡσταρὰν "mercy-seat."

e The Greek frag. has πίστις, an obvious corruption of πηγή (so the Arm.), which occurs in the same connexion earlier in this section.

f So (with the exception of the word mentioned in the preceding note) the Greek frag., ἔχει δὲ τὰ πάντα ἰδρυμένα ἐν τοῖς ἐσωτάτοις ἀγίοις συμβολικῶς ἢ κυβωτός, τὸν ἀσώματον κόσμον, τὰ νόμιμα ἢ κέκληκε μαρτύρια, τὴν νομοθετικὴν καὶ κολαστηρίων δύναμιν, τὸ θεοτηρίου, τὴν ὕλη καὶ εὐεργέτην, τὰς ὑπεράνω τῆς τε ποιητικῆς, ἢτις ἠτι πίστις (l. πηγῆ) τῆς ἑλεως καὶ εὐεργετικοῦ, καὶ τῆς βασιλικῆς, ἢτις ἠτι ὧλα τῆς κολαστηρίου καὶ νομοθετικῆς.

g Arm. ἀφανελαί ἐν "there is multiplied " is evidently a corruption of ερελελαί ἐν "there appears," as in the Greek frag., see next note.

h So the Greek frag., ὑπεμφαίνεται δὲ μέσος ὅν ὁ θείος λόγος, ἀνωτέρω δὲ τοῦ λόγου ὁ λέγων. Philo here repeats an earlier part of this section.
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number of the things here enumerated amounts to seven, (namely) the intelligible world and the two related powers, the punitive and beneficent; and the two other ones preceding these, the creative and the royal, have greater kinship to the Artificer than what is created; and the sixth is the Logos, and the seventh is the Speaker. But if you make the beginning from the upper end, (you will find) the Speaker first, and the Logos second, and the creative power third, and the ruling (power) fourth, and then, below the creative, the beneficent (power) fifth, and, below the royal, the punitive (power) sixth, and the world of ideas seventh.

a Lit. “is filled up,” see the next note but one.
b The Arm. lit. = δυ' οὖ, an obvious error for δύο, as in the Greek frag.
c So the Greek frag., ἔστι δὲ καὶ ὁ τῶν κατελεγμένων ἀριθμὸς ἑβδομάδι συμπληρούμενος νοητὸς κόσμος, καὶ δύναμεις δύο συγγενεῖς ἡ τε κολαστήριος καὶ εὐεργετικῆς.
d Here we must emend the Arm. on the basis of the clearly better readings of the Greek frag., καὶ ἑτεραί πρὸ τοῦτων δύο ἡ τε ποιητικὴ καὶ ἡ βασιλικὴ, συγγενεῖαι ἐχουσαι μᾶλλον πρὸς τὸν δημοουργὸν ἡ τὸ γεγονός. The Arm. lit. = συγγενεῖαι ἔχει μᾶλλον ὁ δημοουργός καὶ τὸ γένος, which makes no sense.
e Here again we must correct the Arm. from the Greek frag., which reads καὶ ἕκτος ὁ λόγος. The Arm. = καὶ ἐκαστὸς ὁ λόγος, which is meaningless.
f So the Greek frag., καὶ ἑβδομος ὁ λέγων. With this list of seven cosmic symbols compare the list of ten cosmic parts in QG iv. 110.
g The Armenian translator appears to have read καταρχὴν instead of καταρθήμησιν, as in the Greek frag., see next note but one.
h The Arm. lacks a verb to govern the following nouns, which are in the accusative case.
i So (except for the two variants mentioned in the preceding two notes) the Greek frag., εὰν δὲ ἀνωθεν τὴν καταρθήμησιν ποιῆ, εὑρήσεις τὸν μὲν λέγοντα πρῶτον, τὸν δὲ λόγον δεύτερον, τρίτην δὲ τὴν ποιητικὴν δύναμιν, τετάρτην δὲ τὴν ἀρχήν, εἶτα δὲ ύπο μὲν τῇ ποιητικῇ πέμπτῃν τὴν εὐεργετικήν, ὕπο δὲ τῇ βασιλικῇ ἑκτῃ τὴν κολαστήριον, ἑβδομον δὲ τὸν ἕκ τῶν ἰδεῶν κόσμων.
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69. (Ex. xxv. 22 [Heb. 23]) What is "the table" and why is it "of pure gold"?

Having spoken symbolically of incorporeal things, when He was discoursing divinely about the ark in the inner sanctuary, He now begins to speak of those things which are in sense-perception, rightly and appropriately beginning with the table. Since the table is a vessel for food and (since) nothing intelligible is given food but only those who have been allotted the nature of corporeality, He makes the table a symbol of sense-perceptible and body-like substance. Not only that but also because the table indicates a kind of communion among those who receive a common share of salt and sacrifices. For (this) leads to loving one's fellow for one's own sake. But there is nothing anywhere so lovable as the parts of the world made from their own substance. For one who is about to eat and to be made glad by the Father, (Who is) the begetter of these (foods), is taught from above to give in exchange

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\( ^a \) LXX καὶ ποιήσεις τράπεζαν χρυσήν (v.l. omits χρυσήν) χρυσίου καθαροῦ, δύο πήχεων τὸ μῆκος καὶ πήχεος τὸ εὔρος καὶ πήχεος καὶ ήμίσοις τὸ ψήσοι. Instead of "a table of gold" Heb. has "a table of sīlīm (acacia)-wood," but adds "and thou shalt overlay it with pure gold."

\( ^b \) περὶ ἄσωμάτων διαλεξάμενος συμβολικῶς.

\( ^c \) εἰθεολόγει.  

\( ^d \) ἐν τοῖς ἄδυτοις.

\( ^e \) ἐν τῇ αἰσθήσει (v.l. ἐν ταῖς αἰσθήσει).

\( ^f \) σκέυος: Aucher "receptaculum."

\( ^g \) νοητόν.

\( ^h \) αἰσθητής καὶ σωματοειδοῦς οὐσίας.

\( ^i \) κοινωνίαν τινά.

\( ^j \) Here the Arm. uses a different word for κοινωνίαν.

\( ^k \) Lit. "one's like."

\( ^l \) The syntax and meaning are not clear: Aucher "si-qui dem est adducens similem in dilectionem propter (vel, per) se."

\( ^m \) This sentence is also obscure. Aucher in a footnote cites the interpretation of the Arm. glossator, who takes "their own" to mean "one another's," and thinks that Philo is referring to the changing of the four elements into one another.
and return the benefit as if to brothers by the same father and the same mother." Moreover, the table was of pure gold because the entire substance of the world was of the tested and chosen part, for everything, whatever it was by its own substance and nature, was about to receive even greater perfection.

70. (Ex. xxv. 23 [Heb. 24]) Why are there "wreathed waves" around the table? 

The corporeal substance of all things undergoes turning and change for the genesis of the parts of which the world was constituted.

71. (Ex. xxv. 28 [Heb. 29]) Why are there, upon the table, cups and censers and libation-bowls and ladles?

a The Arm. glossator takes this sentence to mean that the elements of the world have been taught to give parts of themselves to one another in gratitude to the divine powers from which their substance is derived.

b τελειώτητα.

c LXX καὶ ποιήσεις αὐτῆς στρέπτα κυμάτια χρυσά (v.l. στρεπτον κυμάτιον χρυσοῦν): Heb. "And thou shalt make for it a wreath (A.V. "crown") of gold around." See above, QE ii. 55 (=Ex. xxv. 10) on the "wreathed waves" around the ark.

d ἡ σωματικὴ οὐσία.

e στροφήν.

f Aucher renders both nouns by the single word "mutationem," but this obscures Philo's point, which is that the "turning" (i.e. twisting) of the "wreathed waves" symbolizes the changing of the elements into one another, mentioned in the preceding section.

g The four verses of Scripture here passed over in silence speak of the gold rings to be made for holding the staves by which the table is to be carried, see above, QE ii. 56 (=Ex. xxv. 11) on the gold rings made for the ark.

h LXX καὶ ποιήσεις τὰ τρύβλια αὐτῆς καὶ τὰς θυίας καὶ τὰ σπόνδια (sic) καὶ τῶν κωάθους, εἰν οἷς σπείρεσι ἐν αὐτοὶς χρυσίου καθαροῖς ποιήσεις αὐτά.
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The cups were symbols of foods, and the ladles of banqueting, since unmixed wine \( a \) is measured by them, and the censers are vessels of incense, and the libation-bowls are for wine which is poured as a libation. Accordingly, through the food and the unmixed wine (Scripture) indicates \( b \) the graciousness \( c \) of the greatness and munificence of God, Who gives not only necessities \( d \) but also whatever pertains to the abundant and ample enjoyment of munificence. And through the incense and libation (Scripture indicates) the pleasure of those to whom good things happen. For those who are nourished by visible food \( e \) in the form of allegory \( f \) also say that every soul desirous of moral excellence \( g \) is a libation, that is if one first pours out and dedicates one's virtue \( h \) to God. \( i \) And this is an act desirable and agreeable \( j \) and pleasing to the heart of the Father, just as is the most sweet-smelling incense by its fragrance.

72. (Ex. xxv. 29 [Heb. 30]) Why does He say, "Thou shalt place upon the table bread before Me continually." \( k \)?

The loaves of bread \( l \) are symbolical of necessary foods,

\( a \) τὸ ἄκρατον. \( b \) αἰνώτεται.
\( c \) τὰς χάριτας. \( d \) τὰ ἀναγκαῖα.
\( e \) Aucher " constantibus cibus."
\( f \) ἀλληγορίας.
\( g \) καλοκάγαθας : Aucher " probitatis."
\( h \) ἀρετὴν.
\( i \) Aucher, construing slightly differently, renders, " libamen est, profundens dedicansque virtutem Deo." A similar idea is expressed by Philo in Quis Rer. Div. Heres 184 τῆς ψυχῆς τὸ μὲν ἀμυγές καὶ ἄκρατον μέρος ὥ ἀκραφνέστατος νοὸς ἐστιν, ὡς . . . ὅλος εἰς ἱερὰν σπονδὴν ἀναστοιχεῖωθεὶς ἀνταποδίδοται.
\( j \) Lit. " to the mind."
\( k \) LXX καὶ ἐπιθῆσαι ἐπὶ τὴν τράπεζαν ἄρτους ἑνωτίους (Heb. " bread of face ": A.V. " showbread ") ἐναντίον μου διὰ παντός. Philo refers to the showbread briefly in De Congressu 168, De Vita Mosis ii. 104 and De Spec. Leg. ii. 161.
\( l \) Lit. " the breads."

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without which there is no life; and the power \(^a\) of rulers and peasants \(^b\) by the ordering of God (consists) in the necessities of nature, (namely) in food and drink. Wherefore He adds, "before Me continually thou shalt place the loaves of bread," for "continually" means that the gift of food is continual and uninterrupted, while "before" (means) that it is pleasing and agreeable to God both to be gracious \(^c\) and to receive gratitude.\(^d\)

73. (Ex. xxv. 30a [Heb. 31a]) Why is the lampstand "turned" (and) of pure gold?\(^e\)

The lampstand is a symbol of the purest substance, (namely) the heaven.\(^f\) For this reason it is said later \(^g\) that it was made of one (piece of) gold. For the other parts of the world were wholly made through the four elements, earth, water, air, and fire, but the heaven of (only) one, (this being) a superior form,\(^h\) which the moderns \(^i\) call "the quintessence."\(^j\) And rightly has (heaven) been

\(^a\) Variant "equality."

\(^b\) Or "commoners": Aucher "villicorum."

\(^c\) ἀρέτες εσθάν.

\(^d\) εὐχαριστίαι.

\(^e\) Ἡχξ καὶ ποιήσεις λυχνίαν (Heb. ἴνοδρα: A.V. "candlestick") ἐκ χρυσίου καθαροῦ, τορευτῆν (v.l. τορευτην, which seems to have been Philo’s reading, see below) ποιήσεις τὴν λυχνίαν. The cosmic symbolism of the lampstand is also dealt with in De Vita Mosis ii. 102-103, cf. Josephus, Ant. iii. 182 and B.J. v. 217.

\(^f\) σύμβολον τῆς καθαρωτάτης οὐσίας τοῦ οὐρανοῦ.

\(^g\) At the end of this verse, see the following section.

\(^h\) εἰδοὺς.

\(^i\) οἱ νεώτεροι, perhaps the Aristotelians, but see next note.

\(^j\) Or "fifth substance," τὴν πέμπτην οὐσίαν. Curiously enough, in Quis Rer. Div. Heres 283 Philo acribes the notion of the quintessence to "the ancients," πέμπτη γάρ, ὡς ο τῶν ἀρχαίων λόγος, ἐστώ τις οὐσία κυκλοφορητική, τῶν τεττάρων κατὰ τὸ κρεῖττον διαφέρουσα, εἴς ἤς οἱ τε ἀστέρες καὶ ὁ σύμπας οὐρανὸς ἐδοξε γεγενήσθαι.

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likened to the lampstand in so far as it is altogether full of light-bearing stars. And rightly does He describe it "turned," for the heaven was made and illuminated by a certain turner's art in accordance with periodic cycles, each of which is accurately and clearly turned, and the natures of the stars are all described by divine skill.

74. (Ex. xxv. 30b [Heb. 31b]) Why is it that the shaft and the branches and the bowls (and) the knops and the lilies were all "of that"?

(Since) the theologian was all-wise, he clearly knew in his wisdom that the heaven itself is a harmony and union and bond of all those things which are in heaven, just as the limbs which are arranged in the body are all adapted (to one another) and grow together.

a. i.e. the lampstand.

b. Or "adorned" : Aucher "illustratum."

c. Prob. τορνευτικὴ τὶν τέχνη rather than τορνευτικὴ τὸν τέχνη "by a certain chaser's art," although LXX and Heb. refer to chasing or embossing (A.V. "beaten work") rather than lathe-turning.

d. The Arm. apparently uses two nouns to render περιόδους.

e. The latter adverb also means "accurately." Aucher renders both adverbs by the single word "accurate."

f. τορνοῦται.

g. θεός ἐπιστήμην.

h. Lit. "holders" but here reflecting LXX κρατῆρες. Below, in QE ii. 76, a different Arm. word is used, meaning "water-jar."

i. LXX οἱ καυλὸς αὐτῆς καὶ οἱ καλαμίσκοι καὶ οἱ κρατῆρες καὶ οἱ σφαιρωτῆρες καὶ τὰ κρίνα (Heb. "flowers") εἶς αὐτῆς ἑσταί. Apparently Philo took εἷς αὐτῆς to mean "all of a piece" or the like.

j. ο θεολόγος, i.e. Moses.

k. πάνσωφος, an adjective elsewhere applied by Philo to the patriarchs as well as Moses.

l. Aucher renders the three Arm. nouns by only two, "conjunetio colligatioque."

m. Aucher "sicut connexa in corpore membra coaptata sunt naturaliter."
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75. (Ex. xxvi. 31 [Heb. 32]) What were the six branches which went out from either side, three equally a ? b

Since it is not in a straight line but obliquely c that the zodiac d lies over and glancingly comes near the summer and winter solstices, e He says that the approach f to them is from the side, (and) the middle place is that of the sun. g But to the other (planets) He distributed three positions h on the two sides ; in the superior (group) i are Saturn, j Jupiter k and Mars, l while in the inner (group) m are Mercury, n Venus o and the moon. p

a i.e. in two identical sets of three. The form of the lampstand (menorah) may be schematically represented as

b LXX έξ δε καλαμίσκοι ἐκπορευόμενοι ἐκ πλαγίων, τρεῖς καλαμίσκοι τῆς λυχνίας ἐκ τοῦ κλίτους αὐτῆς τοῦ ἔνος, καὶ τρεῖς καλαμίσκοι τῆς λυχνίας ἐκ τοῦ κλίτους τοῦ δευτέρου. Philo comments on the two “triads” of branches in De Congressu 8, where they represent the two chief attributes of God, see also below, QE ii. 78, 79 on Ex. xxv. 37.

c ὅ νεκ εὐθυβόλως ἄλλα πλαγίως.

d ὁ ζωοφόρος (κύκλος), cf. De Opif. Mundi 112.

e Aucher “quoniam zodiacus non recte sed oblique jacet juxta tropica acstatis et hiemis.” Philo is apparently referring to the obliquity of the ecliptic.

f ἄγωγη or φορά : Aucher “inductio.”

g The general sense is that the light on the central shaft of the lampstand represents the sun, while the side-lights represent the planets.

h τάξεις : Aucher “ordines.”

i The “superior” or “outer” planets are those whose orbits are farther from the sun than is the earth’s.

j Arm. ereveli, lit. “visible” or “bright” = Gr. φαίνων.

k Arm. lousnt’ag, lit. “light-crowned” = Gr. φαεθων.

l Arm. hrawor, lit. “fiery” = Gr. πυρόες.

m Aucher “inferius” (possibly a misprint for “interius”). The “inferior” or “inner” planets are those whose orbits are nearer the sun than is the earth’s.

n Arm. p’ayloí, lit. “coruscating” = Gr. στῶβων.

o Arm. arousek, lit. “dawn-bearer” = Gr. φωσφόρος.

p The ancients counted the moon (and sun) among the seven planets.

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76. (Ex. xxv. 32 [Heb. 33]) Why are there, on each of the three branches, bowls a modelled into the form of nuts and knops and lilies? b

At each season of the year the sun completes (its course) through three zodiacal signs, c which He has called “mixing-bowls,” since three powers, d distinct and separate from one another, undergo a unified mixing to make up the time of one year. For example, the spring (consists of) Aries, e Taurus, f Gemini g; and, again, in the summer (we have) Cancer, h Leo, i Virgo j; and in the autumn, Libra, k Scorpio, l Sagittarius m; and in the winter, Capricorn, n Aquarius, o Pisces. p And He likens the form and nature of the zodiacal signs to those of a nut, perhaps because a nut first sends out a bud q and afterwards flowers. It seems that (this comparison is made) also because harmonious sounds are set in motion, for I am not unaware that the name of the nut is mentioned in (the festival of) Heralds, r for its shell is wont to make a sound of rattling.

a Lit. “water-jars,” but here = κρατήρες, see above, QEx ii. 74 note h.
b Ιξκ καὶ τρεῖς κρατήρες ἐκτετυπωμένου καρυόσκους (Heb. μεσυμμάδιμ “almond-shaped” [?]) ἐν τῷ καλαμίσκῳ σφαιρωτῷ καὶ κρίνῳ (Heb. “flower”). οὗτος τοῖς ἐκαλαμίσκοις τοῖς ἐκπορευμένοις ἐκ τῆς λυπνίας. e ζωδίων.
c δύναμες: Aucher “virtutes.”
d Arm. xoγ “ram.” f Arm. ζω “bull.”
e Arm. erkworeakk “twins.”
g Arm. wegeti “crab.”
h Arm. ariuc “lion.”
i Arm. koy “virgin.”
j Arm. louc “yoke.”
k Arm. karič “scorpion.”
l Arm. aέλναυ “archer.”
m Arm. aγελιορ “goat-horn.”
n Arm. aγελιοτ “goat-horn.”
o Arm. ιρής “water-pourer.”
p Arm. ζκουνκ “fishes.”
q βλαστόν.
r Since no such festival seems to be known, one may suppose that the Arm. translator mistook Καρπατείας for a noun derived from κηρύττειν “to herald,” and that Philo actually
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And (the bowls) are modelled in the form of spheres, since whatever is in heaven is wholly spherical, being given a perfect form just as is the world. And the lily (is mentioned), perhaps because of its whiteness—since it is luminous, and the stars, moreover, are brilliant—perhaps also because there are radiant axes around a lily—since each of the stars gives off radiance. The statement also contains a description of character. The lily has a certain contrariety to other flowers, for (of these) some send out buds in winter, and (some) in spring, but the lily (buds) with the coming of summer, when other (flowers) wither. And (it is) a symbol of the distinction between the human and the divine, and between profane or polluted and holy sacrifices, and between the imperfect and the perfect. For (other flowers) blossom when they are irrigated by streams of water, but the lily (blossoms) with the dog-star and after the dog-star, when the sun is flaming-hot. Wherefore some prophet says that the contemplative nation shall blossom like the lily, indicating that it does not enjoy


a 1XX σφαιρωτῆρες (A.V. "knops").

b ὁ κόσμος.
c φωτοειδές.
d Or "they are circling axes of lily-like radiance": Aucher "propter axes splendoris instar lilium circumdantes."

ε ὁ λόγος.

f ἦθοποιαν.
g σύμβολον.

h τὸ ὀρατικὸν (or θεωρητικὸν) γένος, i.e. Israel, so referred to in several other passages of Philo.

i Hosea xiv. 5, 1XX ἐσομαι ὡς δρόσος τῷ Ἰσραὴλ, ἀνθήσει ὡς κρίνον καὶ βαλεῖ τὰς ῥίζας αὐτοῦ ὡς ὁ Ἀβανος. Philo quotes from Hosea three times, from Isaiah four times, from Jeremiah three times, from Ezekiel twice, from Zechariah once, and in only one passage does he refer to the prophet (Jeremiah) by name.

j αἰνωτόμενος.

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Prosperity at the same time (as other nations) but that at the time when others have passed their prime, (Israel) begins (to flower) without the things it ought to have as inducements, for its flowering without water, when the sun is flaming, is not to be compared with what is usual.

77. (Ex. xxv. 33-36 [Heb. 34-36]) Why are there four (mixing-)bowls on the lampstand? Each branch constitutes one season of the year through three zodiacal signs, as has been said, while the lampstand (represents) the seasons of the year, which are four. Now these undergo a certain mixing to produce a year, for a year is nothing else than the completion of four seasons, of which it is mixed and consists. For the nature of the seasons is not unmixed and inharmonious but has a harmony of mixture and a community of interchanging (elements). For the completion of the preceding (season) happens to be the beginning of that which follows it.

78. (Ex. xxv. 37a) Why are there seven lamps on the lampstand? It is clear to all that the seven lamps are symbols of

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*a* Lit. “without convenient things and persuasions”; Aucher “sine convenientibus expectatisque mediis.”

*b* Aucher, in a footnote, renders, “sive, praeter opinionem est, vel, vix credi potest.”

*c* LXX καὶ ἐν τῇ λυχνίᾳ τέσσαρες κρατηρές ἐκτετυπωμένου καρύσκους . . . καὶ ἐν τῇ λυχνίᾳ τέσσαρες κρατηρές ἐκτετυπωμένου καρύσκους (sic: many LXX mss. and Heb. omit the repeated half-verse). These four “bowls” (i.e. ornaments shaped like almond-blossoms) were distinct from the “bowls” placed at the ends of the six branches and on top of the central shaft to hold the lamps.

*d* Lit. “completes”: Aucher “perficit.”

*e* ζωδίων.

*f* In QE ii. 76.

*g* η̄ φύσις.

*h* κομωνίαν.

*i* LXX καὶ ποιήσεις τοὺς λύχνους αὐτῆς ἐπτά.

*j* σύμβολα.
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the planets, for the holy hebdomad belongs to those things reckoned as divine.\(^a\) And the movement and revolution of these through the zodiacal signs \(^b\) are the causes, for sublunary beings,\(^c\) of all those things which are wont to take place in the embrace of concord,\(^d\) in the air, in the water, on the earth and in all mixtures \(^e\) from animals to plants.\(^f\)

79. (Ex. xxv. 37b) Why does He say that the lampstand shall give light “from one side”?\(^g\)

The planets do not travel around all parts and sides of the celestial sphere but only in one part, in the south, for their motion is, as it were, near our zone,\(^h\) whence the

\(^a\) Text slightly emended: Aucher “septenario numero in connumerationem cum divinorum sacro calculo conscriptorum.” For the thought cf. Quis Rer. Div. Heres 225 ἐπίγειον οὖν βουλήθεις ἀρχητύπου τῆς καὶ ὧν οὐρανὸν σφαίρας ἐπταφεγγοὺς μίμημα παρ’ ἤμιν ὁ τεχνίτης γενέσθαι πάγκαλον ἔργον προσέταξε τὴν λυχνίαν δημιουργηθήναι, but in the latter passage Philo also makes the lampstand a symbol of the soul.

\(^b\) ζῳδίων.

\(^c\) τοῖς μετὰ σελήνην.

\(^d\) Aucher “causa . . . conciliandi in osculum concordiae.”

\(^e\) Aucher “temperamentis.”

\(^f\) Text slightly emended, reading minē (=έως) instead of mišt (=άέλ): Aucher “animalium plantarumque semper.”

\(^g\) Aucher “ex una regione”: lxx καὶ ἐπιθῆσεις τοὺς λύχνους (v.l. adds αὐτῆς), καὶ φανοῦσιν ἐκ τοῦ ἐνὸς προσώπου (v.l. adds αὐτῆς): Heb. “and thou shalt make its lamps seven, and they shall put up its lamps and cause it to give light over against its face.” Philo understands the last obscure phrase to mean that the lampstand was to be placed in one part (the south) of the tabernacle, see next note.

\(^h\) Aucher notes that his text represents a conflation of the two mss. in this sentence, but he does not give their separate readings. For the thought cf. De Vita Mosis ii. 102 τὴν δὲ λυχνίαν ἐν τοῖς νοτίοις, ὦτ ἂν ἀναστῇ τὰς τῶν φωσφόρων κυνῆσεις ἀστέρων: ἠλιός γὰρ καὶ σελήνη καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι πολὺ τῶν βορείων ἀφεστῶτες νοτίους ποιοῦνται τὰς περιπολήσεις.

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shadow \( a \) falls not on the southern but on the northern side. For this reason He has said not ineptly that the lampstand shall give light from one part, indicating (thereby) that the revolution of the planets is in the southern regions.

80. (Ex. xxv. 38) What are the "uplifters" \( b \) of the lampstand, and the "bases" \( e \) ?

The "uplifters" are so named from "lifting up," \( d \) for the oil, which kindles the light, is lifted upon the lamps,\( e \) while to the light-bearing stars all their light happens to be brought from the celestial sphere.\( f \) For just as whatever is luminous in the eyes is irrigated \( g \) by the soul, for souls are most luminous, so is the radiance of light in the stars wont to receive its illumination from the most pure ether.\( h \)

\( a \) Cast by the noon-day sun in the northern hemisphere.

\( b \) Aucher "tegmina": Arm. verarkouk\( ^{c} \) usu. = \( \dot{\alpha} \alpha \beta \delta \omega \lambda \) \( \pi \varepsilon \rho \iota \beta \omicron \delta \lambda \alpha \) and the like: Lxx \( \epsilon \pi \alpha \rho \omega \nu \sigma \tau \tilde{\eta} \rho \alpha \) "vessels for pouring (oil)"; Old Lat. "suffusorium"; Heb. \( m \alpha l \tilde{q} \tilde{\alpha} \tilde{h} \tilde{h} \tilde{\alpha} \) "its snuffers" (A.V. "tongs"): Arm. O.T. bazamkakals = \( \epsilon \pi \alpha \rho \omega \nu \sigma \tau \tilde{\eta} \rho \alpha \). Apparently Philo read \( \epsilon \pi \alpha \rho \omega \nu \sigma \tau \tilde{\eta} \rho \alpha \) and fancifully took it to be connected with \( \epsilon \pi \alpha \rho \rho \epsilon \) "to lift up" as well as \( \epsilon \pi \alpha \rho \nu \epsilon \) "to draw a liquid from above." It should be noted, moreover, that in the papyri \( \alpha \rho \nu \sigma \tau \tilde{\eta} \rho \alpha \) means "dipping-pail" or the like, such as was used in irrigation-machines, cf. Claire Préaux in Chronique d'Égypte. xxv. (1950), p. 352.

\( c \) Lxx \( \tau \alpha \vartheta \omicron \theta \epsilon \mu \alpha \tau \alpha \) : Heb. \( m \alpha h \iota \tilde{\eta} \tilde{\nu} \tilde{\alpha} \tilde{h} \tilde{\alpha} \) "its coal-pan" (A.V. "snuff dishes"): Arm. O.T. ne\( \zeta \omicron \omega \kappa s = \tau \alpha \vartheta \omicron \theta \epsilon \mu \alpha \tau \alpha .\)

\( d \) Aucher renders freely, "Tegmina seu Anabola nomen sortita sunt ab \( \dot{\alpha} \alpha \beta \dot{\alpha} \lambda \lambda \) \( \sigma \mu \rho \iota \rho \iota \) ."

\( e \) Aucher "eoquod sicut lucernis ad lumen excitandum oleum supermittitur."

\( f \) See above, QE ii. 78, on the cosmic symbolism of the lamps.

\( g \) \( \dot{\alpha} \rho \dot{\alpha} \tau \epsilon \tau \alpha \) (with a play on \( \dot{\alpha} \pi \alpha \rho \nu \epsilon \) ), cf. Leg. All. i. 28 \( \pi \gamma \tilde{\alpha} \tilde{\gamma} \tilde{\gamma} \) \( \delta \) \( \tau \rho \omicron \omicron \) \( \dot{\alpha} \rho \dot{\alpha} \tau \epsilon \tau \alpha \) \( \tau \alpha \dot{\alpha} \iota \sigma \theta \tilde{\eta} \tilde{\sigma} \epsilon \iota \sigma \iota \sigma i \) \( \kappa \) \( \nu \omicron \omicron .\)

\( h \) \( \epsilon \kappa \) \( \tau \omicron \) \( \kappa \alpha \dot{\alpha} \rho \omega \tau \tau \alpha \tau \alpha \) \( \alpha \dot{\iota} \dot{\iota} \) .

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81. (Ex. xxv. 39) Why did He assign to the lampstand the weight of "a talent of pure gold"? a

The ark, the table and the censers He described by giving their dimensions but in the case of the lampstand He does not mention the dimensions but indicates the weight, b for the reason that, as I said a little while ago, c it is a symbol d of the whole heaven. Now heaven, (being) a sphere, e is unprovided with work-tools and unequal measures, f being adapted to the rule of equality g in accordance with its figure and the rest of its nature. h But it does have weight, since everything ponderable is after it. i For nothing sublunary j (stands) by itself, but everything small or large is wont to be elastic, k as if (affected) by the wonderful artificer, the invisible Logos in heaven. l And the talent

a lxx πάντα τὰ σκεύη ταῦτα τάλαντον (Heb. kikkār) χρυσίων καθαροῖς.
b τὴν ὀλκήν.
c In QE ii. 73-80.
d σύμβολον.
e οφαίρον.
f The Arm. lit. = ὀργανικῶν σκευῶν καὶ ἀνίσων μέτρων ἀμέτοχος ἐστὶ but is apparently a misunderstanding of the Greek. The original may have been ὀργάνων καὶ ἀνισοτήτων, as Prof. I. A. Post suggests, citing Plato, Tim. 33.
g ἰσοτήτου κανόνι, as in De Aeternitate Mundi 108.
h κατὰ τὸ σχῆμα καὶ κατὰ τὴν ἀλλην φύσιν vel sim.: Acher "secundum figuram et diversam naturam."
i Apparently this means that the weight of objects on earth is determined by the weight of heaven.
j μετὰ σελήνην.
k Lit. "sinew-stretching" — νευροτένεσ. Prof. Post thinks that this refers to the commutation of the four elements, as in Stoic doctrine; he cites Dio Chrysostom, Or. xxxvi. 50-53.
l Syntax and meaning not clear: Acher "sed omne quidquam pusillum ac magnum, tamquam ab admirabili artifice secundum caeli rationem invisibilem, vigorem praeferre consuevit." The Arm. glossator, cited in Acher’s footnote, paraphrases, "sicut oculorum delusores mira quaedam apparentia figurant, sic et luminaria invisibiliter demutant elementa mundi: nec non Verbum divinum prae manibus gerens universum, sicut auriga habenas."
is likened to unity (because) the heaven is one and is not like anything else in its shape or powers.\(^a\) For the four elements \(^b\) have a kinship \(^c\) to one another both in substance and in their movement \(^d\)—in substance when they are transformed into one another, and in their movement in that fire and air are confined to a rectilinear motion upwards from the centre, while water and earth (move) downwards from the centre.\(^e\) But heaven moves not in a straight line but in a circle, having a figure that is equal on all sides and most perfect. May it not be, then, since the parts of the earth, according to those who study astrology, are said to measure sixty,\(^f\) that He appointed the talent (to be) its form, for the talent consists of sixty minas?\(^g\)

82. (Ex. xxv. 40) What is the meaning of the words, "Thou shalt make (them) according to the pattern which has been shown to thee on the mountain" \(^h\) ?

\(^a\) δυνάμεις: Aucher "vires."
\(^b\) στοιχεία.
\(^c\) συγγένειαν or possibly οικείωσιν, cf. F. C. Robbins in Loeb Ptolemy, Tetrabiblos, p. 65 n. 3.
\(^d\) καὶ κατ' οὐδίαν καὶ κατὰ περιφοράν (?).
\(^e\) Arm. κῆτ = both κέντρον and στιγμή: Aucher "centro," adding in a footnote, "proprie punctum sonat." For the upward movement of the two lighter elements and the downward movement of the two heavier elements (ἡ ὀδὸς ἀνω and ἡ ὀδὸς κάτω) see, among other passages in Philo, De Aeternitate Mundi 110.
\(^f\) κατὰ τὸν τῆς μαθηματικῆς σχολάζοντας, here meaning philosophical astronomers like Plato in the Timaeus.
\(^g\) Cf. QG iv. 164, where, however, Philo speaks of the sixty parts of the cosmos rather than of the earth.
\(^h\) ΙΔΧ όρα ποιήσεις (v.l. + πάντα) κατὰ τὸν τύπον (Heb. "their form") τὸν δειεύμενον (Heb. "which thou art shown") ἐν τῷ ὀρέι. The verse is quoted in Leg. All. iii. 102 in slightly different wording κατὰ τὸ παράδειγμα τὸ δειεύμενον σοι ἐν τῷ ὀρεί πάντα ποιήσεις. There Philo quotes it to show that Moses was the artificer of the archetypes, while Bezaleel was the artificer of the objects made in accordance with these.
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Through the "pattern" He again indicates a the incorporeal heaven, the archetype of the sense-perceptible, b for it c is a visible pattern and impression d and measure. He testifies to these things by saying "See," e (thereby) admonishing (us) to keep the vision of the soul sleepless f and ever wakeful in order to see incorporeal forms, g since, if it were (merely a question of) seeing the sense-perceptible with the eyes of the body, it is clear that no (divine) command would be needed for this.

83. (Ex. xxvi. 1a) What is the tabernacle? h

Having first of all alluded to the incorporeal and intelligible world i by means of the ark, and the substance of the sense-perceptible (world) j by means of the table, and heaven by means of the lampstand, k He begins to represent l in order those things which are sublunary, m (namely) air, water, fire and earth, making the tabernacle represent their nature and substance. For the tabernacle

a αἰνίττεται.
b τὸν ἀσώματον οὐρανόν, ἀρχέτυπον τοῦ αἰσθητοῦ.
c i.e. heaven.
d i.e. seal-impression—σφραγίς: Aucher "signum."
e It is not necessary to suppose that the word "see" has accidentally been omitted from the lemma of this section, since Philo occasionally takes it for granted that his readers will be able to supply for themselves words omitted from the verses he quotes.
f Cf. De Vita Mosis i. 289 τοῖς τῆς ψυχῆς ἀκομήτως δόμασι.
g εἶδη or ἰδέας: Aucher "species."
h LXX καὶ τῇν σκηνῆν ποιήσεις κτλ. Philo refers to the cosmic symbolism of the tabernacle in De Congressu 116-117, cf. De Vita Mosis ii. 74-88. In several other passages, e.g. Leg. All. iii. 46 and Quis Rer. Div. Heres 112, he makes the tabernacle a symbol of wisdom or virtue.
i αἰνιγέμενος πρῶτον τὸν ἀσώματον καὶ νοητὸν κόσμον.
j τὴν τοῦ αἰσθητοῦ οὐσίαν.
k See QE ii. 53-81 on Ex. xxv. 9-40.
l ἀπεικονίζονσαί vel sim.: Aucher "describere." The same verb, ἰμπανεύουσανελ, is used at the end of the sentence.
m τὰ μετὰ σελήνην.

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is a portable temple a of God and not a stationary or fixed one. And (similarly) those things which are below heaven b are mutable and changeable, while heaven alone is unchangeable and self-consistent c and similar to itself. But this statement d also reveals a certain delineation of character. e Since they were passing through a wilderness where there were no courts f or houses but (only) tabernacles, g which were made for necessary purposes (such as) giving the help of warmth against the cold, he h thought it right that there should be a most holy temple to the Father and Creator of all things. Moreover, he showed that the divine name, which is in need of nothing, i dwelt together, so far as one might believe, with those who were in need of a tabernacle, to receive piety and worthy holiness. j Now, as for those who saw the structure of the divine tabernacle likened to their own dwelling, k what would they have been likely to do l other than to bow down in return for what was done m and bless the Overseer and

a φωρτόν ἱερόν, as it is called in De Vita Mosis ii. 73.

b Lit. "behind heaven" — τὰ μετ’ (instead of ὑπ’) οὐρανῶν, apparently on the analogy of τὰ μετὰ σελήνην.

c καθ’ εκτόνον: Aucher "stante per se."

d λόγος.

e ἡθοποιαν τινά.

f Aucher "porticus." The same Arm. word (srah) is used to render lxx αὐλαίας "curtains" in the next section. Here it prob. renders αὐλαί, cf. De Congressu 116.

g οκναί.

h Presumably Moses.

i ἀπροσδέεις.

j The syntax is uncertain, and the sense is obscure. More intelligible is the corresponding passage in De Vita Mosis ii. 73 (Colson’s translation), "But, as they were still wandering in the desert and had as yet no settled habitation, it suited them to have a portable sanctuary, so that during their journeys and encampments they might bring their sacrifices to it and perform all their other religious duties, not lacking anything which dwellers in cities should have."

k Variant "nature."

l τι ἐμελλὼν πράττειν vel sim.

m The meaning of the prepositional phrase is not clear: Aucher renders freely, "pro viribus suis (vel, propter similitudinem visam)."
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Guardian and Curator of His power? a And familiar b to God is His power, O ministers! c

84. (Ex. xxvi. 1b) Why does the tabernacle have 10 d curtains? e

Many a time has much been said about the number ten in other places, f which for those who wish to prolong the discussion it would be easy to transfer here. But brevity of speech is liked by us, and it is timely and sufficient that whatever has been said be remembered. g

*85. (Ex. xxvi. 1c) Why are the curtains (made) of woven linen and of hyacinth and of purple and of woven scarlet? h

What is spoken about is the workmanship of the (materials) woven together, which are four in number and are symbols of the four elements, i earth, water, air and fire, of which sublunary things j are made, while the

a τὸν ἄφορον καὶ ἐπιτροπὸν καὶ ἑπιμελητὴν αὐτοῦ δυνάμεως vel sim.
b Or "peculiar," as Prof. Post suggests.
c Or "worshippers."
d Written as a numeral letter.
e LXX καὶ τὴν σκηνὴν ποιήσεις δέκα αἰθλαίας κτλ. Philo comments on the ten curtains as symbols of the perfect number in De Congressu 116 and De Vita Mosis ii. 84.
f For various passages on the decad in Philo’s writings (including the Quaestiones) see Staehle, pp. 53-58.
g The exact sense of the clause is not clear. Aucher renders more smoothly but more freely, "et quod olim dictum fuit, satis juvat ad memoriam."
h LXX εκ βύσσου κεκλωσμένης καὶ υακίνθου καὶ πορφυράς καὶ κοκκίνου κεκλωσμένου. The interpretation of the four colours (linen being equated with white by Philo) is also found in De Congressu 116-117 and De Vita Mosis ii. 84-88. There is also a brief paraphrase of this passage in Theodoret’s Quaestiones in Exodum (Migne, 248 d).
i Cf. De Congressu 117 α τῶν τεττάρων στοιχείων σύμβολα ἐστιν.
j τά υπὸ σέληνην.
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celestial sphere \(^a\) (is made) of a special substance, \(^b\) of the very most excellent things which have been brought together.\(^c\) For (Scripture) indicates \(^d\) the earth by “linen,” for linen \(^e\) is earthly and from the earth; and water by “purple,” since water is the producer of this \(^f\); and air by “hyacinth,” for the air is black \(^g\) and has no illumination in itself, wherefore it is illuminated by another light \(^h\); and fire by “scarlet,” for its colour is fiery.\(^i\) And so he \(^j\) thought it right that the divine temple of the Creator of all things should be woven \(^k\) of such and so many things as the world was made of, (being) the universal temple \(^l\) which (existed) before the holy temple.\(^m\)

86. (Ex. xxvi. 1d, 3) Why does He say in addition, “Work of weaving thou shalt make the curtains which are woven together with one another ” \(^n\)?

\(^a\) τῆς κατ’ οὐρανὸν σφαίρας.
\(^b\) εἴς ἐξαιρετὸν οὐσίας: Aucher “ex separata substantia.”
\(^c\) Aucher renders less literally, “optimisque constantis” (for “constantibus”).
\(^d\) αὐνίτεται.
\(^e\) Here the Arm. renders βύσσος by νους, whereas elsewhere in this section he uses the word ἄνευς.
\(^f\) Philo explains this more fully in De Congressu 117 τὸ γὰρ τῆς βαφῆς αὐτῶν ἐκ θαλάσσης, ἡ ὄμωνυμοῦσα κόγχη (prob. the murex).
\(^g\) So De Congressu 117 and De Vita Mosis ii. 88 μέλας γὰρ οὐτὸς φῶςεi. By “black ” Philo means “dark blue.”
\(^h\) This further explanation is omitted in the parallels.
\(^i\) πυροειδῆς vel sim., cf. De Congressu 117 ἐμφερέστατον γὰρ φλογί: De Vita Mosis ii. 88 διότι φοινικοῦν (“bright red,” not “purple”) ἐκάτερον.
\(^j\) Moses.
\(^k\) i.e. constructed.
\(^l\) τὸ πανιέρον.
\(^m\) Cf. De Vita Mosis ii. 88 ἵνα γὰρ ἀναγκαίον ἠρών χειροποιήτων κατασκευάζωσα τῷ πατρὶ καὶ ἡγεμόνι τοῦ παντὸς τὰς ὄμιοις λαβεῖν οὐσίας αἷς τὸ ὄλον ἐνδημοῦργεi.
\(^n\) Philo here combines the last clause of vs. 1 and vs. 3, and paraphrases: ἵνα χειροβείμε ἐργασία ὑφάντου ποιήσεις αὐτὰς (sc. τὰς αὐλαίας) . . . πέντε δὲ αὐλαίαι ἐσονται εἷς ἀλλήλων ἐχόμεναι η ἐτέρα ἐκ τῆς ἐτέρας καὶ πέντε αὐλαίαι ἐσονται συνεχό-μεναι ἐτέρα τῇ ἐτέρᾳ.
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It a has such a nature as to be perfected b (as) one out of many. Such too is the substance of the world, c for it was mixed of the four elements, d and these were, after a fashion, e woven together f with one another to produce one completely worked texture. g

87. (Ex. xxvi. 2) Why was the length of (each) curtain 28 h cubits, and the breath 4 (cubits)? i

The doctrine j of the number four is divine and holy and most apt (and) has been allotted the proper praise pertaining to numbers. k But at the present time the natural virtue l of the number 28 must be set down. Now it is the first perfect number equal to its parts, m and it has the matter of its substance from three, n and especially for this

a i.e. the tabernacle, see QE ii. 88.
b τελειοθείαι.
c ή τοῦ κόσμου οὐσία.
d ἐκ τῶν τεταρτῶν στοιχείων.
e τρόπων τινά.
f Aucher "contextus est," apparently taking "world" to be the implied subject of the verb instead of "elements" as the context demands (neut. pl. subj. with sing. verb).
g The Arm. = πρὸς ἑνὸς ύφάσματος τελειοθειογομένου γένεσιν vel sim.: Aucher "ad unius staminis perfecti productionem."
h This and the following numbers, unless they are otherwise rendered, are numeral letters in the Arm. text.
i LXX μήκος τῆς αὐλαίας τῆς μᾶς ὁκτὼ καὶ έκοσυ πήχεων, καὶ εὕρος τεσσαρῶν πήχεων ἡ αὐλαία ἡ μία ἐστοι μέτρον τὸ αὐτὸ ἐσται πάσαις ταῖς αὐλαίαις. There are parallels to this section in De Vita Mosis ii. 84 and De Spec. Leg. ii. 40, cf. De Opif. Mundi 101.
j ο λόγος.
k The meaning is not wholly clear: Aucher "eoquod numerorum condignam benedictionem sortitus fuerit," adding in a footnote "vel, in sermone nostro de numeris laudem proprionm."
l ή φυσική ἀρετή, i.e. the philosophical force.
m i.e. equal to the sum of its factors, 1 + 2 + 4 + 7 + 14 = 28; cf. De Vita Mosis ii. 84 τὸν ὁκτὼ καὶ έκοσυ ἄριθμον τέλειον ἴσον τοῖς έαυτοῦ μέρεσι.
n Possibly this means that 28 is a cubic number, 1 × 4 × 7 or 2 × 2 × 7.

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reason is it concordant with the first six, a for six is the first (digit) equal to its parts. b Accordingly, this number has one good (quality). And it has still another essence c through the number seven, since it is composed of units which go singly from one to seven, as follows: 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, making 28. And the third (property) is that it multiplies the number seven, being four times seven or seven times four. Now the number four is also related in species d to the number seven, and there is nothing more perfect e By these numbers the theologian f says the tabernacle was erected, making the length of the ten curtains twenty-eight cubits (each) and the total two hundred and eighty, while the (total) breadth was forty g. And the power h which the number forty brings to living beings i has already been spoken of. j As for the number two hundred and eighty, it is forty multiplied by seven, and the number seven is dedicated to God.

88. (Ex. xxvi. 6) Why does He say, "And the tabernacle shall be one"? k

Someone may say, "But, Master Theologian, l who does not know that many are not one, especially since you m have already said, n 'The tabernacle shall be made of ten curtains' but not 'the tabernacles'?" May it not be, therefore, that the tabernacle's being "one" is a firmer

a i.e. the digit six.
b i.e. to the sum of its factors, 1 + 2 + 3 = 6.
c οὐσίαν, possibly a corruption of φύσιν.
d συγγενής εἰδεί.
e i.e. than the number seven.
f ὁ θεολόγος, i.e. Moses.
g Each of the ten curtains being four cubits broad.
h ἡ δύναμις.
i τοῖς οὖσι.
j In QG iv. 154.
k LXX (end of verse) καὶ ἔσται ἡ σκηνὴ μία.
l ὁ κύριος ὁ θεολόγος, i.e. Moses.
m Speaking in God's name.
n See QE ii. 84 on Ex. xxvi. 1.
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seal indicating the unities of sublunary things? For even though earth is distinct from water, and water from air, and air from fire, and fire from each of these, nevertheless all are adapted to one determined form. For it is natural that the matter which was perfected out of so many things should be one, especially since the interchange of the elements with one another clearly demonstrates their common nature.

89. (Ex. xxvi. 28) What is the meaning of the words, "The middle bar between the pillars shall reach from one side to the other side"?

Above this straight line of the single walls there is a bar between the twenty pillars to take firmer hold of their joining. For by "the bar" He indicates the Logos ascribed to necessity, which in heaven above tends toward

\[a\] The Arm. = ἀφραγὼς βεβαιοτέρα αἰνττομένη vel sim., meaning "confirms the impression given by (earlier) indications" or the like.

\[b\] τῶν ὑπὸ σεληνῆς.

\[c\] εἰς ἑν ἁρμοσμένον εἴδος.

\[d\] τὴν ὀληρν.

\[e\] τῶν στοιχείων.

\[f\] τὴν κοινωνίαν: Aucher "communionem."

\[g\] Ex. xxvi. 7-27, on which Philo does not comment here, describes the covering and framework of the Tabernacle.

\[h\] ΙΧΧ καὶ ὁ μοχλὸς ὁ μέσος ἀνὰ μέσον τῶν στύλων (Heb. "frame": A.V. "boards") διύκνεισθω ἀπὸ τοῦ ἑνὸς κλίτους εἰς τὸ ἐτερὸν κλίτος. Philo seems to allude to this verse in De Vita Mosis ii. 77-79.

\[i\] The syntax and meaning are uncertain, but cf. De Vita Mosis ii. 78 "for the length (of the tabernacle) the craftsman set up forty pillars, half of them, twenty, on each side, leaving no interval between, but fitting and joining each to the next in order that it might present the appearance of a single wall."

\[j\] αἰντττεται.

\[k\] Aucer "rationem." Arm. ban here prob. means the cosmic Logos rather than the individual reason, cf. QE ii. 90.

\[l\] So Aucher, "necessitati adscriptam" (the margins of the Arm. mss. have "Fate" for "necessity"), but the meaning escapes me.
heavenly things. For by these a everything is held together as by an indissoluble bond.

90. b (Ex. xxvi. 30) What is the meaning of the words, “Thou shalt erect c the tabernacle according to the pattern shown to thee on the mountain” d ?

Again He indicates e the paradigmatic essences of the ideas f by saying “according to the appearance g which was shown to thee on the mountain.” But the prophet h did not see any corporeal thing there but all incorporeals. i And it is said that the tabernacle is to be erected directly before (their) faces, j for sublunary things k have been granted a lower place l but are again raised above and elevated and established and set up upon the divine Logos, m for the divine Logoi n are the foundations and bars o of the security p of all things. Do you not see that earth and

a Aucher “per istam (i.e. rationem),” but the pron. is plural.
b A similarly framed question is asked in QE ii. 82 on Ex. xxv. 40.
c Reading yarouniès with Codd. A, C: marginal variant arasches “thou shalt make.”
d LXX καὶ ἀναστήσεις τὴν σκηνὴν κατὰ τὸ εἶδος τὸ δεδειγμένον σοι (Heb. “which thou wast shown”) ἐν τῷ ὅρει.
e αὐνίττεται.
f τὰς παραδειγματικὰς οὐσίας τὰς τῶν ἱδεῶν vel sim.: Aucher “indicativas essentias specierum.”
g Arm. tesil = εἶδος, ἰδέα, ὄψις, etc.: Aucher “visionem.”

Note that in the Question a different word (orinak) is used.
h ὁ προφήτης, i.e. Moses.
i πάντα ἀσώματα.
j κατέναντι ἐκ προσώπου vel sim.: Aucher “directe . . . in conspectu.”
k τὰ ὑπὸ σελήνην.
l Lit. “part.”
m Aucher, construing slightly differently, renders, “elevata fundataque super divinum verbum erectum.”

n Or “words”: Aucher “verba.”
o μοιχλοί, cf. QE ii. 89.
p Aucher “constantiae.”
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water, inasmuch as they are in the midst of all air and fire, with the heaven surrounding (them), are not firmly fixed by anything at all other than their holding to each other, as the divine Logos binds them with all-wise art and most perfect adaptation?

91. (Ex. xxvi. 31a) What is "the veil"?

By the veil the inside (of the tabernacle) is set off and separated from the things outside, for the inside is holy and truly divine, while the outside, though it is also holy, does not attain the same nature or a similar one. Moreover, it indicates the changeable parts of the world which are sublunary and undergo changes of direction, and the heavenly (region) which is without transient events and is unchanging. And (it shows) how they are set off and separated from one another, for the ethereal and airy substance is, as it were, a covering.

92. (Ex. xxvi. 31b) Why does He command that the veil be made "of hyacinth and of purple and of scarlet and of woven linen"?

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a ἀναβοντὸς αὐτὰ τοῦ θείου λόγου πανσώφω τέχνη καὶ τελειοτάτη ἁρμονία vel sim. For the thought see Wolfson, Philo, i. p. 338.

b LXX καὶ ποιήσεις καταπέτασμα.

c ὁντως θείον.

d αἰνίττεται.

e ὑπὸ σελήνην.

f Lit. "turnings"—στροφᾶς or τροπᾶς: Aucher "variationem."

g Aucher "caret casu."

h ὑπὸ τῆς αἰθέριας καὶ ἀερίας οὐσίας ὡς καλύμματος vel sim.: Aucher "mediante aetherea aerœaque essentia." While Arm. aragast can mean "partition" or the like as well as "covering," the latter seems to be indicated by the partial parallel in De Vita Mosis ii. 101 πρόναν εἰργόμενον δυσίν ύφάσμαι, τῷ μέν ἐνδὸν δό καλεῖται καταπέτασμα, τῷ δ' ἕκτος δ' προσαγορεύεται κάλυμμα.

i LXX καὶ ποιήσεις καταπέτασμα εξ ύακίνθου καὶ πορφύρας καὶ κοκκίνου κεκλωσμένου καὶ βύσσου νεφελέμης: ἐργον ύφαντων ποιήσεις αὐτὸ χερουβεῖμ. Here, as in QE ii. 85 on Ex. xxvi. 1, Philo omits any reference to the woven designs of cherubim.

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Just as He commands the ten curtains of the tabernacle to be woven of four mixtures, so also (He commands) the veil (to be made). For the curtains are veils in a certain sense, (although they are) not above the entrance but throughout the whole tabernacle. And these, as I have said, are tokens and symbols of the four elements.

93. (Ex. xxvi. 32a) Why does He command the veil to be placed above four pillars at the end of the tabernacle? The four columns are made solid, but in the tabernacle everything is a symbol of corporeal things, while incorporeal things stand above the tetrad. The point is ordered in accordance with the monad, and the line in accordance with the dyad, and the surface in accordance with the triad, while the solid (is ordered) in accordance with the end of the tabernacle.

a τρόπον τινά ὤρ, as in De Vita Mosis ii. 87, σχεδόν.
b In QE ii. 85.
c The two Arm. words prob. render the single word σύμβολα.
d τῶν τεττάρων στοιχείων.
e LXX καὶ ἑπιθῆσεις αὐτὸ ἐπὶ τεσσάρων στόλων ἀσηπτῶν κεχρυσωμένων χρυσίων. By "at the end of the tabernacle" Philo means the inner sanctuary at the western end of the tabernacle.

f The Arm. translator here uses a different word from that rendered "pillars" in the Question.
g Prob. στερεοῦνται, anticipating the reference to the solid (τὸ στερεόν) below: Aucher "firmatae sunt."
h σύμβολον σωμάτων.

This may mean that the objects in the inner sanctuary, concealed by the veil over the four columns, are symbols of the heavenly and incorporeal bodies (see the preceding sections) which stand over corporeal and sublunary bodies composed of the four elements.

i The Arm. text reads nshanakì "of a symbol" but this word is obviously meaningless here. Either the Arm. translator's eye must have fallen upon the word σύμβολον in the preceding sentence or he must have misread or misinterpreted στίγμα as σημεῖον. Aucher renders, "signum (puncti)."

k τὸ στερεόν.

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with the tetrad, upon which stands the substance of incorporeal things. Or by solidly drawing the progressions after the intelligible, you will lead to the sense-perceptible form, as all the visible columns of the tabernacle altogether amount to fifty, omitting the two hidden in the corners. And their power is that of a right-angled triangle.

94. (Ex. xxvi. 33b) What is the meaning of the words, "Thou shalt set apart the veil between the Holy of Holies"? I have said that the simple holy (parts of the tabernacle) are classified with the sense-perceptible heaven,

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'a ἡ τῶν ἀσωμάτων οὐσία.
b ἀναβάσεις (?): Aucher "egressum."
c μετὰ τὸ νοητόν.
d εἰς τὸ αἰωνιότον εἶδος. The meaning of the clause escapes me. 

e Aucher "ita ut."

f Cf. De Vita Mosis ii. 79-80, "Thus the whole number of pillars visible in the tabernacle, leaving out the two in the corners hidden from view, amounted to fifty-five. . . . But if you choose to exclude the five in the propylaeum . . . there will be the most sacred number fifty, the square of the sides of the right-angled triangle, the original source from which the universe springs." As Colson notes, "50 = 3² + 4² + 5², and 3, 4, 5 are the sides of the primary form of the right-angled triangle." Cf. also De Spec. Leg. ii. 176.

g Aucher "facias dividere," see next note. The Arm. translator seems to have omitted the words "the holy (place) and after "between," as the present text is obviously defective.

h LXX καὶ διοριεὶ (v.l. διοριεῖς) καταπέτασμα ὑμῖν ἀνὰ μέσον τοῦ ἁγίου καὶ ἀνὰ μέσον τοῦ ἁγίου τῶν ἁγίων. Philo briefly alludes to the veil separating (ὅπως διακρίνῃ) the Holy of Holies from the "holy place" (the longer chamber of the tabernacle) in De Mut. Nom. 43, 192. The preceding clause in Ex. xxvi. 33 states that the ark is to be placed "within the veil," i.e. in the Holy of Holies.

i In QE ii. 91.

j τὰ ἀπλὰ ἁγία, i.e. the "holy place," contrasted with the Holy of Holies.

k τάπτεται κατὰ τὸν αἰωνιότον οὐρανόν.
whereas the inner (parts), which are called the Holy of Holies, (are classified) with the intelligible world.\textsuperscript{a} The incorporeal world is set off and separated from the visible one by the mediating Logos\textsuperscript{b} as by a veil. But may it not be that this Logos is the tetrad, through which the corporeal solid\textsuperscript{c} comes into being?\textsuperscript{d} For this\textsuperscript{e} is classified with the invisible intelligible things,\textsuperscript{f} while the other (part of the tabernacle)\textsuperscript{g} is divided into three\textsuperscript{h} and is connected with sense-perceptible things, so that there is between them something (at once) invisible and visible of substance.

95. (Ex. xxvi. 35) Why does He command the table and the lampstand to be placed “outside the veil”?\textsuperscript{i}

I have shown earlier\textsuperscript{j} that by the table He indicates sense-perceptible substance, and by the lampstand, the sense-perceptible heaven.\textsuperscript{k} And they are placed\textsuperscript{l} outside the veil because the things in the inner recess\textsuperscript{m} are invisible and intelligible,\textsuperscript{n} whereas those which are more external are visible and sense-perceptible.

\textsuperscript{a} κατὰ τὸν νοητὸν κόσμον.
\textsuperscript{b} ὑπὸ τοῦ μεθορίου λόγου, cf. Quis Rer. Div. IIerex 205.
\textsuperscript{c} τὸ σωματικὸν στερεόν.
\textsuperscript{d} See the preceding section.
\textsuperscript{e} i.e. the Holy of Holies.
\textsuperscript{f} τὰ ἀόρατα νοητά.
\textsuperscript{g} i.e. the “holy place.”
\textsuperscript{h} Prob., as the Arm. glossator explains, the table of showbread, the lampstand and the altar of incense.

\textsuperscript{i} LXX καὶ θήσεις τὴν τράπεζαν ἔξωθεν τοῦ καταπετάσματος, καὶ τὴν λυχνίαν ἀπέναντι τῆς τραπέζης ἐπὶ μέρους τῆς σκηνῆς τὸ πρὸς νότον καὶ τὴν τράπεζαν θήσεις ἐπὶ μέρους τῆς σκηνῆς (Heb. om. “of the tabernacle”) τὸ πρὸς βορρᾶν.

\textsuperscript{j} In QE ii. 69 and 73.
\textsuperscript{k} αἰνίττεται . . . τὴν αἰσθητὴν οὐσίαν καὶ . . . τὸν αἰσθητὸν οὐρανόν.

\textsuperscript{l} The Arm. verb is sing.

\textsuperscript{m} ἐν τοῖς ἐσωτέροις μυχοῖς vel sim., i.e. in the inner sanctuary or Holy of Holies.

\textsuperscript{n} ἀόρατα καὶ νοητά.
96. (Ex. xxvi. 36) Why does He call the outer (hanging) "a covering" and not "a veil," as in the case of the inner one? 

Since those things which are within (the sanctuary) incline toward the nature of incorporeal things, which is winged and upward-tending, their substance stands near to God. Now the veil is brought in (as derived) from "spreading wings." In the second place, moreover, it has propinquity to the sense-perceptible things outside, and is rightly (called) "a covering," for the sense-perceptible hardly ever tends toward flying upward, since it is indeed less winged than incorporeal things, and in the same manner as that which is covered, it has an unclear comprehension. And may (this) not be because every-

\[ a \] i.e. the hanging at the entrance to the sanctuary or "holy place" contrasted with the hanging at the entrance to the Holy of Holies. In De Vita Mosis ii. 87 Philo calls the former κάλυμμα, while lxx calls it ἐπίσπαστρον and uses κάλυμμα for the hanging at the court of the tabernacle. The Heb., however, uses the same word, masāk, for the hanging at the entrance to the tabernacle as well as for that at the entrance to the court (Ex. xxvii. 16). The various lists may be seen in this scheme:

1. Hanging at Entrance to Holy of Holies
   Heb. pārōket  lxx καταπέτασμα  Philo καταπέτασμα

2. Hanging at Entrance to Tabernacle
   Heb. masāk  lxx ἐπίσπαστρον  Philo (De Vita Mosis) κάλυμμα

3. Hanging at Entrance to Court
   Heb. masāk  lxx κάλυμμα  Philo (De Vita Mosis) ποικίλον υφάσμα

\[ b \] lxx καὶ ποιήσεις ἐπίσπαστρον (v.l., following Heb., adds τῇ θύρᾳ τῆς σκηνῆς) εἶ υακώθου κτλ.

\[ c \] πρὸς τὴν φύσιν τὴν τῶν ἀσωμάτων.  \[ d \] ἡ οὐσία.

\[ e \] Philo plays on the resemblance between καταπέτασμα and καταπετάσθαι vel sim.

\[ f \] τοῖς ἐξωθεὶς αἰσθητοῖς.  \[ g \] Or "concealed."

\[ h \] ἀδηλον κατάληψιν, i.e. it is not clearly apprehended.

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thing sense-perceptible is experienced a through sense-perception, and sense-perception is unstable and related to false belief, b while the intelligible (is related) to reason, c and the mind d is inerrant and a friend of knowledge e.

97. (Ex. xxvi. 37) Why is the "covering" placed upon five columns f?
Most excellently and carefully g has He assigned the pentad to the second covering h since this part (of the tabernacle) looks toward sense-perceptible substance. i For the pentad is the number of the senses. j But to the former and inner (hanging k He has assigned) the tetrad, as I have said, l because it touches incorporeal things, m and incorporeal things come to an end with the tetrad n.

98. (Ex. xxvii. 1a) Why does He call the altar thysiastrion o?

a Lit. "receives experience": Acher "probationem (vel, experimentum) habet." b ἀβεβαία καὶ φευδεὶ δόξῃ συγγενῆς. c λογισμῷ: Acher "consiliis." d οὐνος or ἡ διάνοια. e φίλος ἐπιστήμης: Acher "intelligentiae amantissimus." f LXX καὶ ποιήσεις τῶν καταπετάσματι πέντε στῦλος κτλ. The word καταπέτασμα in this verse refers to the same hanging as that called ἐπίσταστρον in the preceding verse, see the notes to QE ii. 96. In De Vita Mosis ii. 82 Philo refers to the bronze bases of these columns as symbols of the five senses. For other Philonic references to the symbolism of the pentad see Staehle, pp. 31-32. g Παγκόλως καὶ ἐπιμελῶς.

h i.e. the hanging at the entrance to the tabernacle, contrasted with the veil (mentioned in the last sentence of this section) at the entrance to the Holy of Holies.

i τὴν αἰσθητὴν οὖσιν.

j Cf. De Vita Mosis ii. 81 ἡ πεντάς αἰοθήσεων ἀριθμὸς ἐστὶν.

k i.e. the veil, see note h.

l In QE ii. 93.

m τῶν ἀσωμάτων.

n This prob. means that the tetrad is the boundary between the ethereal and the sublunary regions, see QE ii. 93, 94.

o LXX καὶ ποιήσεις θυσιαστήριον ἐκ ἕνεκων ἀνήπτων κτλ. On the symbolism of this altar see De Vita Mosis ii. 106 and De Spec. Leg. i. 274.
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Only this altar does not consume victims but preserves them. a For the flesh is consumed by fire but the holiness of the sacrifice remains, for sacrifice is not flesh but the pure and unstained life of a holy (person). b

*99. (Ex. xxvii. 1b) Why was the altar quadrangular, c and its length five cubits and its breadth equal? d

(This is) because it is made for sense-perceptible and bloody (sacrifices), and the pentad is the number of the sense-perceptible class, e as I have said. f In the second place, it has equal length and breadth because all the sacrificial victims which are offered by the heart of a pious mind g ought to be equal, whether one offers a hundred bulls or brings (merely) roasted wheat. For the Deity does not like wealth nor does He turn away from poverty. h In the third place, the quadrangle i is a symbol of the fact that he who offers a sacrifice should stand firm in all respects j and in no way be deficient or lame in soul but with

a Philo fancifully etymologizes θυσιαστήριον as a compound of θυσίας “sacrificial victims” and παρείν “to preserve,” cf. De Vita Mosis ii. 106 τὸν δ' ἐν ὑπαιθρῷ βωμὸν εἴωθε καλεῖν θυσιαστήριον ὡσαίει τηρητικοῖν καὶ φυλακτικοῖν οὖνα θυσίων τὸν ἀναλωτικόν.

b Cf. ibid. αἰνττόμενος οὗ τὰ μέλη καὶ τὰ μέρη τῶν ἱερουργου-μένων, ἀπερ δαπανᾶσθαι πυρὶ πέφυκεν, ἀλλὰ τὴν προαίρεσιν τοῦ προσφέροντος.

i.e. with a square top.

d LXX πέντε πήχεων τὸ μῆκος καὶ πέντε πήχεων τὸ εὔρος· τετράγωνον ἢσταὶ τὸ θυσιαστήριον κτλ.

e τοῦ αἰαθητοῦ γένους: Aucher “sensibilis generationis” (l. “generis”).

f In QE ii. 97.

g The Arm. lit. = ὑπὸ καρδίας νοῦ (or διανοίας) εὑσεβοῦς.

h So the Greek frag. (which begins and ends with this sentence), οὗτε πλοῦτον ἀσπάζεται τὸ θεῖον οὗτε πενιάν ἀπο-στρέφεται.

Or “square.”

i βέβαιον παντελῶς vel sim.: Aucher “constantem om- nino.”

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100. (Ex. xxvii. 1c) Why is the height of the altar three cubits? b

The literal meaning c (refers to) the service of the several priests, that they may easily be able to perform their office by standing on a firm base, hiding their bellies and the things within their bellies, because of that many-headed beast, desire, d and the farther e (part) around the heart, because of anger, the counsellor f of evil, g that it may be h superior to the head. And the head is the temple of the mind, i in which firmly dwell thoughts j and the ministering senses. k But as for the deeper meaning, l the triad is a three-tiered, dense and full number, m having no emptiness but filling up whatever is drawn apart n in the dyad. And

a Aucher renders the last clause somewhat freely, I think, "sed integro plenoque consilio, recte tendente ad gratiarum actionem."

b LXX καὶ τριῶν πῆχεων τὸ ὤψον αὐτοῦ. c τὸ ῥητόν.

d διὰ τὸ πολυκέφαλον θηρίον, τὴν ἐπιθυμίαν, cf. De Somniis ii. 14, where ἡδονή is compared with "the many-headed hydra" (cf. Plato, Rep. 588 c). In the present passage Philo seems to mean that the altar is just high enough to conceal the lower part of the priest’s body.

e Lit. "farthest."

f The Arm. uses two words for "counsellor."

g Aucher "malum consiliarium."

h Apparently the original was "may not be."

i τοῦ νοὸ. j λογισμοῖ: Aucher "consilia."

k αἱ υπηρέτιδες αἰσθήσεις, cf. De Vita Mosis ii. 81 αἰσθησις . . . ἀνακάμπτει πρὸς νοῦν ὑπηρέτισ ὀδὸν . . . αὐτοῦ.

l τὸ πρὸς διάνοιαν.

m τρίβολος (?) καὶ πυκνὸς καὶ πλήρης ἄριθμός: Aucher omits the first adjective (ptc. in Arm.) in rendering, "condensus plenusque numerus." For other mystical explanations of the number 3 see Staehle, pp. 25-26.

n Aucher "discerptum." I suspect that the Arm. translator has here misinterpreted διαστάτων "having dimensions" as "torn apart" or has confused διαστάτων with διάσπαστον.
so He symbolically indicates the height of the soul which sacrifices, thinking it right that this should be utterly and completely crowded and full, not having in itself any desert-emptiness which might admit some evil or act of passion. But bear in mind that when the dimensions of the altar are multiplied, (namely) five by five by three, the number seventy-five is produced, concerning which something has been said before.

101. (Ex. xxvii. 2) Why does the altar have horns not attached from above but united (to it)? (This is) because it is not proper to sacrifice any of those (animals) which do not have horns, neither those which are offerings nor anything else. Accordingly, those which are to be offered as sacrifices are the following three (kinds): the sheep, the ox and the goat. But beside these there are seven other (kinds permitted) for food: gazelle, deer, wild goat, buffalo, white-rumped antelope, oryx and giraffe.

\[\text{QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS}\]

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each of these has horns. For He wishes to specify \(^a\) those (animals to be used) for food, for even though they are not to be offered as sacrifices, still they are similar to those which are to be sacrificed. Wherefore those who use them for need \(^b\) will not offer anything opposed to or unworthy of or alien to a sacrifice. In the second place, the horns (of the altar) incline and face toward the four sides of the world, toward the east, toward the west, toward the south and toward the Dipper,\(^c\) for it is proper that those who are in all parts (of the world) should all altogether bring their first-fruits and new (offerings) to this one altar, and sacrifice victims to God, the Father of the world. In the third place, (this is said) symbolically,\(^d\) for in place of defensive weapons He has given a crop of horns to animals which grow horns. Just as the (animals) to be sacrificed, (namely) the ram, the ox and the goat,\(^e\) repel their enemies with their horns, so also did He wish to rebuke the impious \(^f\) who presume to offer sacrifices, by teaching that the divine Logos \(^g\) opposes and repels the enemies of truth, goring every soul as if with horns and showing up in their nakedness its unclean and unworthy deeds, which a little while before it had been concealing. For these reasons the horns are not to be placed upon (the altar) from outside but by His command are to be united to the altar itself to extend it,\(^h\) since sacrificial animals have their horns growing out of themselves.

102. (Ex. xxvii. 3) Why does He command all the vessels of the altar to be made of bronze? \(^i\)

\(^a\) Aucher "distinguere."
\(^b\) Aucher inadvertently omits the words "for need" in his rendering. \(^c\) i.e. the north. \(^d\) οὐμβολικῶς.
\(^e\) Or "the calf and the kid": Aucher "taurus et hircus." Philo uses the name of the young animal interchangeably with that of the full-grown animal.
\(^f\) τοὺς ἀγαθεῖς.
\(^g\) ὁ θειός λόγος: Aucher "divinum verbum."
\(^h\) See note \(^f\) on p. 148.
\(^i\) LXX (end of verse) καὶ πάντα τὰ σκεῦα αὐτοῦ ποιήσεις χαλκᾶ.
The altar is an altar of bloody offerings, for men give thanks both by sacrificing victims and (by making) offerings of first fruits; and they offer new (portions) of grain together with fine flour, and offerings of wine with oil, in which the fine flour is dipped and mixed, and with a basket of fruit. And all these are of the species of bronze and iron. For gold belongs to incorporeal and intelligible things, while silver belongs to the sense-perceptible heaven, but second bronze belongs to things of earth, where wars are made. For among the ancients bronze was the material of weapons of war. Homer indeed shows this in (his poem about) the Trojan war, introducing (characters) who used weapons of bronze before there was iron.

103. (Ex. xxvii. 20) Why did He command that the

\[a \thetaυσιαστήριον \epsilonναίμων. \] Here the Arm. uses two different words for “altar,” selan and bagin, both of which sometimes render βωμός, sometimes θυσιαστήριον; in addition, selan sometimes renders τράπεζα. In Philo’s passages on the altar of the Tabernacle in QE ii. 98 ff. the Arm. translator uses bagin as the more generic term, and selan to designate the altar of the Tabernacle.

\[b \sigmaμιδάλει. \]
\[c \text{Aucher "cui farina tincta immiscetur."} \]
\[d \tauοδ γένους. \]
\[e \text{The Arm. glossator comments, "from where fruits are produced, (namely) the earth, from there come iron and bronze."} \]

\[f \epsilonν \alphaσωμάτωι καί νοητοῖς. \] On the cosmic symbolism of gold see QE ii. 69, 73.

\[g \κατὰ τὸν αἰσθητὸν νόσχρον. \]
\[h \text{I suspect that erkrord, the Arm. word for "second," is here a scribal error for erkat "iron." The original was probably "bronze and iron." The Arm. glossator adds "bronze is second to iron."} \]

\[i \text{The verses of Ex. xxvii (4-19) not commented on by Philo in this work describe the fittings of the altar and hangings of the pillars and gate of the tabernacle’s court.} \]

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oil in the lamps be (made) from olives and without sediment.\(^a\)

He has ordained that it is not proper to bring near to the holy (place) anything foreign,\(^b\) for He has considered as foreign the manufacture of oil\(^c\) of other kinds, (namely) from sesame, from the date, from the nut or the like. Therefore, as the name shows,\(^d\) the (oil made) from olives is appropriate and natural.\(^e\) For the name *elaion* is given to every species (of oil), this being derived from *elaia*, and this conveys the true sense.\(^f\) In the second place, every other (kind), although adulterated\(^g\) with a mixture of other (ingredients) and crushed, is put into the class of olive-oil, whereas olive-oil is distinct by itself, for the olive, when pressed, distils (oil), just as the fruit of the vine makes wine without any admixture. Excellent, moreover, is (His saying) "without sediment" and that the preparation is to be of pure and refined material, for it was fitting and appropriate that everything in the holy (place) should be luminous and shining, especially the oil prepared for the light, since it was of a very pure substance and, in a way,\(^h\) without sediment. For what among existing things can be found more refined and luminous than light? What is more, it illuminates other things, but first of all itself. There you have the literal meaning.\(^i\) But the symbolical meaning\(^j\) of light is wisdom,\(^k\) through which all things

\(^a\) LXX καὶ σὺ σύνταξον τοῖς υἱοῖς Ἰσραήλ, καὶ λαβέτωσάν σοι ἑλαιόν ἐξ ἑλαίων ἀτρυγον καθαρόν (Heb. "pure olive-oil")

\(^b\) The negative seems to be misplaced in the Arm. which reads lit. "anything foreign not has He ordained that it is proper, etc.": Aucher "alienum quidquam non ordinavit, etc."

\(^c\) Τὸ πρῶτον τινά: Aucher "quasi."

\(^d\) ὁ πρὸς ἀλήθειαν κυριολογεῖται.

\(^e\) Arm. *pitaceal* "being in need" is prob. to be emended to *pitakaceal* "being adulterated": Aucher "studiose usurpata."

\(^f\) ὁ πρὸς ἀλήθειαν κυριολογεῖται.

\(^g\) The negative seems to be misplaced in the Arm. which reads lit. "anything foreign not has He ordained that it is proper, etc.": Aucher "alienum quidquam non ordinavit, etc."

\(^h\) τὸ συμβολικὸν.

\(^i\) τὸ συμβολικὸν.

\(^j\) τὸ συμβολικὸν.

\(^k\) σοφία.
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in nature are known,\textsuperscript{a} while olive-oil is the material and preparation of wisdom. Such are numbers, geometry, musical art, school studies,\textsuperscript{b} the pursuit of philosophy \textsuperscript{c} and, in first place, the discipline of the virtuous man,\textsuperscript{d} and these have nothing like sediment in them.

104. (Ex. xxvii. 21c)\textsuperscript{e} Why does He command that the lamps burn “from evening until morning”?\textsuperscript{f}

(He does so) not in order that they may provide light for those who are within (the holy place)—for who was in the holy (place) within the veil?\textsuperscript{g}—no one at all remained within, but because the lamps are symbols of the light-bearing stars.\textsuperscript{h} Now the stars shine from evening until morning, serving in the necessary service of the whole world.\textsuperscript{i} And He thought it fitting to make the lamps bear a resemblance to the chorus of heavenly stars from evening until morning.\textsuperscript{j}

*105. (Ex. xxvii. 21b)\textsuperscript{k} Why does He command Aaron and his sons to light the lamps?\textsuperscript{l}

\textsuperscript{a} πάντα γιγνώσκεται διὰ ἑν τῇ φύσει ἐστί.
\textsuperscript{b} τὰ ἐγκύκλια, cf. QG iii. 19, 21.
\textsuperscript{c} ἡ τῆς φιλοσοφίας σπουδὴ.
\textsuperscript{d} ἡ τοῦ σπουδαίου παιδεία vel sim. : Aucher “honesta disciplina.”
\textsuperscript{e} According to the order of the three parts of vs. 21 in LXX and Heb., § 104 should come after § 105, and the latter after § 106.
\textsuperscript{f} LXX καύσει . . . ἀφ’ ἐσπέρας ἕως πρωί ἕναντίον κυρίου.
\textsuperscript{g} i.e. within the Holy of Holies, see below, § 106.
\textsuperscript{h} τῶν φωσφόρων ἀστέρων εἰςιν οἱ λύχνοι σύμβολα.
\textsuperscript{i} τὴν ἀναγκαίαν ὑπηρεσίαν τὴν τοῦ παντὸς κόσμου. Philo uses the phrase ἀναγκαία ὑπηρεσία in De Sacr. Abelis 98 and Quod Omnis Probus 142.
\textsuperscript{j} The above is one of three allegorical explanations of the verse given in De Spec. Leg. i. 296-298.
\textsuperscript{k} This section belongs after § 106 and before § 104, see note e above.
\textsuperscript{l} LXX καύσει (Heb. “shall put in order”) αὐτὸν 'Ααρὼν καὶ οἱ νῦι αὐτοῦ.
He represented Aaron as one possessed by God and by the prophetic spirit, (thereby) rebuking and shaming the indolence of the high priests after him, who because of negligence entrusted the performance of the holy service to second and third (assistants), since they themselves did not feel inexpressible pleasure in carrying out all (forms) of the ministerial service. For there is nothing more delightful or pleasant or seemly or noble than to be a servant to God, which surpasses the greatest kingship. And it seems to me that the early kings were at the same time high priests who by their acts showed that those who rule over others should themselves be servants in ministering to God.  

106. (Ex. xxvii. 21a) Why does He say that they shall

a Lit. "accepted": Aucher "suscept." Apparently the Arm. translator has confused παραδεικνύοναι with παραδέχεσθαι.

b ἐνθουσιώντα (or ἐπιθειάζοντα) καὶ μετὰ τοῦ προφητικοῦ πνεύματος.

c Aucher renders the two participles by the single word "reprehendens."

d τὸν ὄκνον: Aucher "negligentiam."

e Cf. Wolfson, Philo, ii. p. 344 "The reference is undoubtedly to the actual practice in the Temple of Jerusalem, as Philo himself observed it there, of assigning the task of lighting the perpetual lamp to one of the subordinate priests by means of lots." Wolfson cites Mishnah, Tamid iii. 1, 9 and Yoma ii. 3.

f The four Arm. adjectives are prob. doublets of the two Greek ones, see next note.

g The Greek frag., which begins here, reads slightly more briefly οὐδὲν οὔτε ἄδιον οὔτε σεμνότερον ηθώ δουλεύων, δ καὶ τὴν μεγίστην βασιλείαν ὑπερβάλλει.

h Slightly different (see end of this note) is the reading of the last part of the Greek frag., καὶ μοι δοκοῦσιν οἱ πρῶτοι βασιλεῖς ἁμα καὶ ἀρχιερεῖς γενέσθαι, δηλοῦντες ἐργοὺς ὧτι χρή τοῦ τῶν ἄλλων δεσπόζοντας δουλεύειν τοῖς λατρεύοντας θεό. The Arm. translator apparently read δουλεύειν λατρεύοντας.

i This section should come before § 105 and § 104, see notes to the latter.
light the lamps "outside the veil which is over the covenant"? a

May it not be because the things within (the veil) were incorporeal and intelligible b and had no need of sense-perceptible light, c for they were themselves their own light and more luminous stars than those which are seen? But the one within the veil He calls "of testimony," d symbolically indicating e that the covenant of God is the only true one, and that those which (men) write in testaments f are permanent and secure in themselves and are similar. g And this is the measure of all things in common, the ideas and intelligible forms. h Now external things are also secure but still not in the same way, since they have a sense-perceptible and changeable nature and do not have

a LXX ἐν τῇ αἰτή τοῦ μαρτυρίου (Heb. "of meeting") ἐξωθεν τοῦ καταπετάσματος τοῦ ἐπὶ τῆς διαθήκης ("the testimony") καίσει κτλ. Scripture here refers to the veil between "the holy place" and the Holy of Holies in which "the ark of testimony" (i.e. the covenant) stood. In De Spec. Leg. i. 296 Philo, in dealing with this verse, speaks of the lamp-stand being "within" (εἴσω) the veil. If the text there is sound, it would seem that he thinks of two lampstands, one within the veil, the other outside, but see below, note d.

b ἁσομματα καὶ νοητά. c αἰσθητὸς φωτός.

d The syntax and meaning are obscure: Aucher "quod autem internum velum testamentii vocat." Among other things it is not clear whether Philo here refers to another lampstand within the veil or to the ark within the veil. That he refers to the veil as a "veil of testimony" seems rather doubtful.

e συμβολικῶς αἰνητόμενος.

f The word διαθήκη has in Scripture the meaning "covenant" as well as the secular meaning "testament."

g i.e. similar to the covenant associated with the ark in the Holy of Holies.

h The last two nouns are nom. plurals but their syntactic relation to the preceding nouns is not clear. The general idea, however, seems to be that all the parts of the world are kept in order by a sort of covenant, which is the work of the Logos, see, e.g., QΣ i. 90.

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permanence in themselves as do incorporeal things, and they make use of external bonds, some of which are in themselves altogether eternal, but others only dissolve during long periods.

*107. (Ex. xxviii. 2) Why does He say that they shall make a sacred stole \(^a\) for the high priest \(^b\) "for honour and glory \(^c\)?

These statements are (made) about the radiant and sumptuous ankle-length stole,\(^d\) not about the linen (garment),\(^e\) for the latter is made not "for honour and glory" but for still greater and more perfect honour and glory. For he \(^f\) wears it when he enters the innermost Holy of Holies, whereas (he wears) the ankle-length (garment) when he performs the service outside in the manner of the sense-perceptible world \(^g\) before man, among whom precious things \(^h\) are considered matters of glory. But those things which are in truth (glorious), being unkempt and unbeautified and adorned (only) by nature, are honoured by the Father. But may it not be that "honour" is to be distinguished from "glory"? For glory is the

\(^a\) Philo here as elsewhere (e.g. De Ebrietate 85) uses στολή in the generic sense of "garment," as does LXX.
\(^b\) Farther on in this section Philo interprets τιμή as "price" rather than "honour," and δόξα as "opinion" rather than "glory."
\(^c\) LXX καὶ ποιήσεις στολὴν ἅγιαν Ἀμων τῷ ἀδελφῷ σου εἰς τιμήν καὶ δόξαν. Philo treats the cosmic symbolism of the high priest's garments at some length (and somewhat differently) in De Vita Mosis ii. 109-135 and De Spec. Leg. i. 84-97.
\(^d\) i.e. the robe which Philo calls ὑποδύσις in De Vita Mosis ii. 109, and ποδήρης χιτῶν in De Spec. Leg. i. 85, cf. Ex. xxviii. 4 where LXX has ποδήρη χιτῶν κοσμημάτων.
\(^e\) i.e. the χιτῶν λινοῦ, cf. De Spec. Leg. i. 84.
\(^f\) i.e. the high priest.
\(^g\) κατὰ τὸν αἰσθητὸν κόσμον (possibly, however, κόσμον here = "array").
\(^h\) τίμια, meaning both "honoured" and "expensive."
being praised by men, while honour is the being received among those who are truly\(^a\) most honourable; and most honourable are divine matters,\(^b\) so that when the high priest is arrayed in the ankle-length (garment), there is a participation\(^c\) in two things, (namely) in proud dignity before God,\(^d\) and in a favourable reception\(^e\) among men. That is the literal meaning.\(^f\) But this is the deeper meaning.\(^g\) The ankle-length (garment) is a symbol\(^h\) of that which is woven of many and various things. But "glory,"\(^i\) as the ancient saying has it, is false opinion, and insecure opinion is by itself alone incomplete.\(^j\) But if opinion is mixed with truth, it becomes true opinion,\(^k\) being converted to honourableness.\(^l\) Accordingly, He wishes to show that the life of the wicked man belongs to opinion, being dominated by and dependent upon \(^m\) false opinion, while (the life) of the wise man and true high priest\(^n\) is honourable because it is productive of truth, by which he changes and adapts falsehood to his better nature.\(^o\)

\(^{a}\) ὁντός.

\(^{b}\) θεῖα πράγματα vel sim.

\(^{c}\) κοινωνία.

\(^{d}\) Aucher "venerationis apud Deum gloriosae." The exact meaning is not clear, partly because the Arm. adj. \textit{wroxtali}, here rendered "proud," usually means "boastful" or "arrogant," partly because the force of the prep. \textit{ar}, here rendered "before," is uncertain. However, the original of the last three words was prob. \textit{τὴν περὶ θεὸν σεμνότητος}.

\(^{e}\) Aucher "securae suspicionis."

\(^{f}\) \textit{τὸ ὑπητόν}.

\(^{g}\) \textit{τὸ πρὸς διάνοιαν}.

\(^{h}\) σύμβολον.

\(^{i}\) δόξα, here meaning "opinion."

\(^{j}\) The Greek frag., consisting of only one sentence, reads more briefly δόξα, ὡς ὁ παλαιὸς λόγος, \\(\text{ψευδής} \varepsilon\varepsilon\text{τὶ υπόληψις καὶ δόκησις ἀβέβαιος}.

\(^{k}\) \textit{ἀληθῆς δόξα (or υπόληψις):} Aucher "certa opinio."

\(^{l}\) \textit{τιμώτητα:} Aucher "honorabile (vel, pretiosum)."

\(^{m}\) Aucher "pendens ac prehendens."

\(^{n}\) \textit{τοῦ σοφοῦ καὶ ὁντός ἀρχιερέως}.

\(^{o}\) \textit{εἰς τὴν βελτίωνα φύσιν vel sim.}
108. (Ex. xxviii. 7) Why are the two shoulder-pieces, which are joined together, attached in two parts? The shoulder-pieces designate serious labours, for they are a part of the sacred garment, and sacred things are serious. And there are two forms of labour: one is the desire of pleasing God, and of piety; the other is being beneficent to men, which is called kindness and love of man. He therefore exhorts (us) to devote ourselves to every labour and to put our shoulders to it. The theologian wishes (these) two things to be known in order that what has been said in another place may be confirmed by deeds, (namely) "With God thou wast strong

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a In vss. 3-6 (on which see De Vita Mosis ii. 111-126, of which QE ii. 108 is only a partial parallel) Scripture names the high priest's garments and specifies the colours of the ephod.
b i.e. of the ephod. LXX uses the word ἐπομισ both of the ephod and of each shoulder-piece, while Heb. uses a different word for the latter (κατῆφ, lit. "shoulder"). Philo seems to be following Heb. in De Vita Mosis ii. 111-112, where he calls the ephod ἐπομισ, and the shoulder-pieces ἄκρῳμια, see below, note d.
c LXX δύο ἐπομίδες συνέχουσα ἔσονται αὐτῷ ἑτέρα τὴν ἑτέραν, ἐπὶ τοῖς δύοι μέρεσιν (Heb. "ends": A.V. "edges") ἔξηρτισσαν.
d Since the Arm. noun grapank', a plural form, is followed by the verb in the singular number, it is probable that it renders the Greek neuter plural ἄκρῳμια, see above, note b.
e Prob. ἐργα σπουδαία: Aucher "labores honestos."
f The two Arm. adjectives used here prob. render the single Greek adj. σπουδαία: Aucher "honesta et studium merentia."
g Lit. "two twofold."
h Or "serving": Aucher "placitum."
i εὔσεβείας.
j χρηστοτής καὶ φιλανθρωπία.
k A play on ἐπομισ and ἔπι ὅμοις φέρειν vel sim., cf. De Vita Mosis ii. 130 τὸν γὰρ ὅμοιν ἐνέργειας καὶ πράξεως ποιεῖται σύμβολον.
l ὁ θεολόγος, i.e. Moses.
m i.e. of Scripture.
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and with men thou shalt have power." a But of the two shoulder-pieces one must be on the right, and the other on the left. Now the one on the right was given its place for the sake of pleasing God—a labour worthy of zeal, while that on the left (was given its place) for the sake of helpfulness to men and for kindness of thought concerning them. b

109. (Ex. xxviii. 9-12) What are the two emerald stones, in which are inscribed the names of the twelve patriarchs? c

In each of them are six impressions, d of the two hemispheres, e of that above the earth and of that below the earth. As evidence of this statement there are three things to cite. One is their shape, for the stones are round, just as the hemispheres are. The second is their colour, for the emerald is similar to the heaven in colour. The third is the number (of the names) engraved in them, for in each of the hemispheres there happen to be six zodiacal signs, f some of them above the earth, and some below the earth, (and) the halves of the zodiac g give light. And rightly did He call the inscribing "impressions," h for all the immobile stars in the zodiac are types and type-

a Gen. xxxii. 29 (explaining the name "Israel"), ἐνίσχυσας μετὰ θεοῦ καὶ μετὰ ἀνθρώπων δυνατός (Heb. "thou hast striven with God and with men, and thou hast prevailed").

b Aucher "et suavitatem apud istos opinionis (rel, aestima
tionis)."

c Ixx καὶ λήμψῃ τοὺς δύο λίθους, λίθους σμαράγδου (A.V. "two onyx stones"), καὶ γλύφεις ἐν αὐτοῖς τὰ ὀνόματα τῶν νιῶν Ἰσραήλ. ξὶ ὀνόματα ἐπὶ τὸν λίθον τὸν ἑνα καὶ τα ἔξ ὀνόματα τὰ λοιπὰ ἐπὶ τὸν λίθον τὸν δεύτερον . . . γλύμμα σφραγίδος δια-
gλύψεις τοὺς δύο λίθους, κτλ.

d σφραγίδες: Aucher "sigilli."

e τῶν δύο ἡμισφαίριων, symbolized by the two sets of six names. The threefold cosmic symbolism of the two stones is discussed by Philo in De Vita Mosis ii. 122-123 and more briefly in Quis Rer. Div. Heres 176.

f ζώδια.

g τοῦ ζωοφόρου.

h Referring to Ixx γλύμμα σφραγίδος.

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impressions, while the sublunary (bodies) are in movement.

110. (Ex. xxviii. 15) What is the Logeion, and why does He call it "of judgments," and why is the Logeion made after the texture of the shoulder-piece? As its very name shows, it is a symbol of logos. And logos is double (in meaning); one (meaning) is that found in natural thoughts, and the other is "utterance." As its very name shows, it is a symbol of logos. And logos is double (in meaning); one (meaning) is that found in natural thoughts, and the other is "utterance." And it is the principle of judgments, since everything is determined and distinguished by logos—intelligible things by that (logos) which is in natural thoughts, and sounds by (the logos of) differentiated speech.

a The Arm. lit. = τύποι καὶ τυπωθείσαι σφαγίδες : Aucher "normae ac typi sunt ut sigilli." b τὰ μετὰ σελήνην.

c In vss. 13-14, passed over here, Scripture mentions the gold clasps (A.V. "ouches") and gold chains attached to the high priest's garment.

d So Philo elsewhere (see below) spells lxx λόγιον.

e i.e. the ephod; the Arm. translator has taken lxx ἐπωμίδος in the sense of "shoulder-piece" (of the ephod) instead of the ephod itself, see QE ii. 108, note b.

f lxx καὶ ποιήσεις λόγιον τῶν κρίσεων (Heb. "ornament (?) of judgment"); A.V. "breastplate of judgment"), ἐργον ποικιλτοῦ, κατὰ τὸν ὑπῆρμον (Heb. "work" or "workmanship") τῆς ἐπωμίδος (Heb. "ephod") ποιήσεις αὐτοῦ ἐκ χρυσοῦ καὶ ὑάκινθου, κτλ. Philo allegorizes the Logeion similarly in De Vita Mosis ii. 112-115, 127-130, cf. De Spec. Leg. i. 87-88 (see also QE ii. 112-114).

g λόγιον σύμβολον, cf. De Spec. Leg. i. 88 καλεῖται λογείον ἐτύμως ἐπειδὴ τὰ ἐν οὐρανῷ πάντα λόγοι καὶ ἀναλογίας δεδημοῦργηται.

h ἐν τοῖς τῆς φύσεως λογισμοῖς vel sim.; Aucher "in naturae consiliis." In De Vita Mosis ii. 128 Philo speaks of ὁ τῆς φύσεως λόγος. The reference is to the λόγος ἐνδιάθετος, as the Stoics called thinking or reason.

i Another Stoic term, the λόγος προφορικός or speech, often referred to by Philo. Both terms occur in the parallel, De Vita Mosis ii. 129.

j λόγος again: Aucher "verbum." k τὰ νοητά.

l Aucher "vocalia autem sermone privato."
excellently, moreover, is its workmanship said to be “after the texture of the shoulder-piece,” for one ought to form and adorn one’s words by deeds (as if) fitting them together, for everything without workmanship is imperfect and lame.

111. (Ex. xxviii. 16) Why is the Logeion square and twofold and a span in length and a span in breadth?

The Logeion is twofold, in the first place because it has two logoi; one, which has the force of a spring, is in natural thoughts, and the other, (namely) utterance, is an effluence thereof. And the latter is twofold, inclining partly to truth and partly to falsehood. And in the second place, (it is twofold) because the mind sees two (kinds of object), divine and mortal. And the voice attempts to be adorned by these two, in interpreting both of them. And the Logeion is square symbolically, for the logos should be stable and immobile in all respects and not

\[\text{QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS}\]

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\[\text{\textit{Aucher} “texendo.” Philo means that words and deeds are to be fitted together like threads in a texture.}\]

\[\text{\textit{b Lit. “working.”}\}

\[\text{\textit{i.e. the high priest’s “breastplate of judgment,” see QE ii. 110.}\]

\[\text{\textit{c Arm. \textit{t’iz renders both σπιθαμή (as here in lxx) and παλαστή, which is one-third of the σπιθαμή, see notes b and c on p. 161.}\}

\[\text{\textit{d Lxx tetrapágwnon ἦσται, διπλῶν σπιθαμῆς τὸ μῆκος αὐτοῦ καὶ σπιθαμῆς τὸ εἴδρος. The symbolism of the breastplate is discussed by Philo, in part as here, in \textit{De Vita Mosis} ii. 127-130.}\]

\[\text{\textit{i.e. the λόγος ἐνδιάθετος (reason) and the λόγος προφορικός (speech), see next note.}\]

\[\text{\textit{e Cf. \textit{De Vita Mosis} ii. 127 ὃ μὲν οὖν τίς πηγή, ὃ δὲ γεγονὼς ἀπ’ ἐκείνου ρέων. The phrase “in natural thoughts” corresponds to ὁ τῆς φύσεως λόγος in \textit{De Vita Mosis} ii. 127-129, \textit{cf. QE} ii. 110.}\]

\[\text{\textit{h Or “speech.”}\}

\[\text{\textit{i Aucher “et vox his duabus exornari nititur.” The sense is not clear, but the original prob. meant that speech attempts to be in harmony with nature and the mind.}\]

\[\text{\textit{i συμβολικός.}\]

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waver, whether in thought or in interpreting by tongue and mouth. And its length is a span and its breadth a span for the reason that the span is a sixth part of a cubit, for the cubit is of six spans, so that it is one-sixth in length and breadth. And this symbol gives this kind of appearance. And the mind is one and is a uniter of different intelligibles, as if a harmony of these same things. And the uttered logos is one, and again is similarly the uniter of different intelligibles, (namely) of letters into syllables, of syllables into words, and of many words into compositions and long discourses. For what is vastly and diffusely extended in these is held together by natural bonds. And the mind too has length and breadth, for it is extended and prolonged to all intelligibles in apprehension, just as speech (has) both (dimensions), for this too is amplified in length and breadth in accordance with the words uttered.

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*a Cf. De Vita Mosis ii. 128 σχήμα δ' ἀπένεμεν ὁ τεχνής τετράγωνον τῷ λογείῳ, πάνω καλῶς αἰνυτόμενος ὡς χρῆ καὶ τὸν τῆς φύσεως λόγον καὶ τὸν του ἀνθρώπου βεβηκέναι πάντῃ καὶ κατὰ μηδ' ὀστοῖν κραδαίνεσθαι.
*b Arm. k'il, like t'iz (see note d on p. 160), renders both σπιθαμή and παλαστή.
*c Philo must here be using σπιθαμή as the equivalent of παλαστή, unless he is following a system of measurement different from the one used by other Greek writers. The latter commonly reckons the cubit (πῆχυς) as = six palms (παλασταὶ) and twenty-four fingers (δάκτυλοι), whereas the span (σπιθαμή) = twelve fingers. Thus it is the palm, not the span, which is one-sixth of a cubit.
*d Aucher "symbolum autem hujusmodi praestat argumentum." The sense is not clear.
*e ὁ νοῦς.
*f ἑνωτικὸς διαφόρων νοητῶν.
*g ὁ προφορικός λόγος.
*h στοιχείων . . . συλλαβῶν . . . λέξεων εἰς συνθέσεις καὶ μακρολογίας.
*i φυσικὸς ἄρµόττεται δεσµοῖς: Aucher "per naturalia adaptatur ligamina."
*j λόγος.
*k κατὰ τοὺς προφορικοὺς λόγους vel simil. Aucher renders freely, "secundum sermonum varietatem atque vastitatem."

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112. (Ex. xxviii. 17-20a) Why is there on the Logeion \( ^a \) a texture \( ^b \) of four rows, and in each row are three (precious) stones placed? \( ^c \)

The four rows are an indication of the four seasons of the year,\( ^d \) each of which consists of an element.\( ^e \) And the three stones are symbolically\( ^f \) three months, into which each season is divided.\( ^g \) For the zodiac consists of twelve constellations\( ^h \) divided into four (seasons) of the year, through which the sun revolves and produces the seasons of the year through the three constellations.\( ^i \) And there is a "texture" since all the seasons happen to hasten to one end, inasmuch as the fullness of all (the seasons), which are woven together, is summed up\( ^j \) in the year. The passage also contains a certain description of character.\( ^k \) Each of the four virtues\( ^l \) consists of an element of three things,\( ^m \) (namely) habit, the thing had and having,\( ^n \) just as is the case with the senses,\( ^o \) for example, sight and the

\( ^a \) i.e. the high priest's "breastplate of judgment," see QE ii. 110.

\( ^b \) ὑφασμα, as in LXX (see next note) = Heb. "setting."

\( ^c \) LXX καὶ καθυφανεῖς ἐν αὐτῷ ὑφασμα κατάλυθον τετράστιχον, κτλ. (there follow the names of the twelve precious stones, three in each of the four rows). The passage is cited in Leg. All. i. 81-82, and explained partly as here, i.e. as symbolical of the zodiac, in De Fuga 184-185 and De Vita Mosis ii. 124-126. \( ^d \) μήνυμα τῶν τεττάρων ἐπησίων ὁρῶν.

\( ^e \) ὃν ἕκάστη <sc. ὥρα> ἐκ στοιχείου συνέστη vel sim.: Aucher "quorum singula <sc. tempora> singula elementa sortita sunt." The "element" here refers to a moral element, see below.

\( ^f \) συμβολικώς.

\( ^g \) Slightly emending the Arm. text, which reads "which are divided into the several seasons" and is so rendered by Aucher. \( ^h \) ὁ γὰρ ὄσοφόρος συνέστη ἐκ δῶδεκα ᾠδίων.

\( ^i \) i.e. of each season.

\( ^j \) κεφαλαοῦται vel sim.: Aucher "reducitur."

\( ^k \) ἱδοποιαν τινά, cf. QE ii. 76.

\( ^l \) ἀρετῶν. \( ^m \) i.e. has three aspects.

\( ^n \) ἔξεως (in the sense of "state of being") καὶ τοῦ ἐχομένου καὶ τοῦ ἔχεων: Aucher "habitidine, habendo et habere."

\( ^o \) αἱ αἰσθήσεις.

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thing seen and seeing, and again, audition and the thing
heard and hearing. And similarly (there is) knowledge \(a\)
and the thing known and knowing, just as (there is)
moderation \(b\) and the thing moderated and moderating.
And again (there is) courage \(c\) and the thing courageously
done and having courage, which is more commonly called
"being manly." \(d\) The same applies to justice \(e\) and
the just act and having justice, which is called "acting
justly." \(f\)

113. (Ex. xxviii. 20b) Why is each of the rows \(g\) covered
and bound with gold \(h\)?

Thus it is with the four rows which make up \(i\) the annual
seasons in the zodiac. \(j\) Each (row) has ether \(k\) around it,
setting off the three \(l\) and, again, bringing them together

\(a\) Arm. "gitout'ion usu. = ονωσις or ἐπιστήμη, but here
perhaps φρόνησις, which Philo usually includes among the
four cardinal virtues, as enumerated by Plato and the Stoics.

Aucher here renders, "scientia."

\(b\) σωφροσύνη.

\(c\) προσφάτησις.

\(d\) Perhaps ἀνδραγαθίζεσθαι: Aucher "fortificari."

\(e\) δικαιοσύνη.

\(f\) δικαιοπραγεῖν: Aucher "justificari (δικαιοπραγία, actio
justa)."

\(g\) i.e. the four rows of precious stones in the high priest's
"breastplate of judgment" (Logeion), each of which con-
tained three stones.

\(h\) LXX γκεκαλυμμένα (v.l. γκεκελωσμένα) χρυσίω κα
νυθεδεμένα ἐν (v.l. om. ἐν) χρυσίω, ἔστωσαν κατὰ στίχον αὐτῶν.
Heb. reads more briefly "they shall be woven (i.e. "at-
tached") with gold to their settings."

\(i\) Lit. "complete": Aucher "perficiunt."

\(j\) τὰς ἐπιθέσιν ὁρᾶς ἐν τῷ ζωδιακῷ <κύκλῳ>, cf. De Vitu
Mosis ii. 124-126, QE ii. 112 notes.

\(k\) αἴθέρα.

\(l\) Aucher amplifies slightly in rendering, "distinguientem
tres alios." "The three" seems to mean three constellations.
Perhaps, however, it means the three divisions of the year,

"three cycles of the sun
each year."
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with one another. For not only do those stars adhere to one another which are near the termination, when a season terminates and the following one begins, but, as I have said, there is between them an intervening space and interval of clear and pure ether, which surrounds the three and binds (them) with gold, in the likeness of which the ether is represented because of its precious substance.

114. (Ex. xxviii. 21) Why are the stones named after the phylarchs, having seal-engravings of their names?

Because the twelve stones are representations of the twelve animals which are in the zodiac, and are a symbol of the twelve phylarchs, whose names He cuts and engraves in them, wishing to make them stars and, in a certain sense, to apportion one constellation to each, or rather (to make) each patriarch himself become a constellation (and) heavenly image in order that the tribal leaders and patriarchs may not go about on the earth like mortals but

\( \text{a \ πέρας vel sim.: Aucher "terminum." Here it seems to mean one of the seasonal divisions such as a solstice or equinox.} \)

\( \text{b Correcting the Arm. which lit.="has around itself," see above.} \)

\( \text{c \ γίνεται (vel sim.) υπόσιαν: Aucher "propter nobilis essentiam."} \)

\( \text{d i.e. the twelve precious stones of the high priest's breast-plate (the Logeion), representing the twelve tribes of Israel.} \)

\( \text{e \ επώπνυμοι τῶν φυλάρχων.} \)

\( \text{f LXX καὶ οἱ λίθοι ἔστωσαν ἐκ τῶν ὀνομάτων τῶν νῦν Ἰσραὴλ} \)

\( \text{δέκα δύο (v.l. δώδεκα) κατὰ τὰ ὄνομα (v.l. τὰς γενέσεις) αὐτῶν} \)

\( \text{γλυφαὶ σφραγίδων ἐκαστος (v.l. ἐκάστοι) κατὰ τὸ ὄνομα ἔστωσαν} \)

\( \text{εἰς δέκα δύο (v.l. δώδεκα) φυλάς.} \)

\( \text{g τῶν ἐν τῷ ξυφοφόρῳ.} \)

\( \text{h σύμβολον.} \)

\( \text{i ἀστροποιεῖν vid. (the Arm. is a factitive-denominative verb derived from astl = ἀστρον): Aucher "stellas reddere."} \)

\( \text{j τρόπον τινά: Aucher "quasi."} \)

\( \text{k ξύφιον: Aucher "signum."} \)

\( \text{l πατριάρχην.} \)
EXODUS, BOOK II

become heavenly plants and move about in the ether, being firmly established there. And He says that their names are "seals," (that is) something unchangeable and unalterable, which always remains in the same likeness. For just as the seal, while stamping many substances with its designs, itself remains imperishable and unchangeable and, while giving a share of its own possession of designs to many other (substances), is not at all affected by anything, so also has He seen fit to immortalize each of the patriarchs as (an ideal) form and make him eternal, so as not to be affected by any accident but, while changing and moving, to be confirmed in the virtues which are similar to the tribe and are apportioned to the (various) ranks of the nation.

115. (Ex. xxviii. 26b [Heb. 30b]) Why is the Logeion, on which were the names, upon the breast of the high priest when he enters the sanctuary? 

The breast is the place of the heart, and it is there that

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a Cf. Quod Deterius 85 φυτὸν οὐράνιον ὁ θεὸς ἀνθρωπον εἰργάσατο.  
b ἐν αἰθέρι.  
c ὑπογείες.  
d ἀφθάρτος.  
e i.e. is not affected by the material upon which it is pressed.  
f ἄθανατίζεων ... ὡς εἶδος (ο ἵδεν): Aucher "tamquam formam immortalitate donare."  
g τὰς ἀρετάς.  
h Aucher "quae imitantur tribum."  
i This section belongs after § 116 according to the order of Scripture.  
j The high priest's breastplate, see QE ii. 110 ff.  
k Of the twelve tribes, engraved on the precious stones of the breastplate.  
l LXX καὶ ἐσταὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ στήθους (Heb. "heart") Ἀαρών ὅταν εἰσπορεύτηται εἰς τὸ ἄγιον ἐναντίον κυρίου (Heb. "in his entering before YHWH") καὶ οἶσει Ἀαρών τὰς κρίσεις (Heb. "the judgment") τῶν νόμων Ἰσραήλ ἐπί τοῦ στήθους (Heb. "his heart") ἐναντίον κυρίου διὰ παντός. Philo quotes this passage in part in Leg. All. iii. 118-119 (reading εἰσέρχεται for εἰσπορεύτηται).
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anger d dwells, and anger especially has need of the controlling and directing reason. b For when it c is left without a controller and director, it is borne hither and thither in confusion and tossed about as though by stormy waves, and overturns the entire soul like a ship without ballast, d the body being overturned with it. Moreover, it is with care and cautiousness that He says not that the Logeion is to be upon his breast always but (only) when he enters the sanctuary. For the sanctuary is the place of piety and holiness and every virtue, e and when the mind f reaches this, it altogether acquires perfect reason, g which controls and directs and seizes the reins so as to restrain the passions, h especially anger, i which is wont to be refractory toward it.

116. (Ex. xxviii. 26a [Heb. 30a]) j Why are the Revelation and Truth k placed upon the Logeion? i

Because the reason m in it is twofold, one residing in thought, and the other uttered and revealed. n And

a θυμός.

b Aucher "rationis regentis et temporantis," cf. Leg. All. iii. 118 ἡμίοχον καὶ κυβερνήτην . . . τὸν λόγον.

c i.e. the heart.

d ἀνεφμάτιστον: Aucher "basi carentem."

e θεοσβεβεῖας καὶ ἀγιότητος καὶ πάσης ἀρετῆς.

f ὁ νοῦς οὗ ἡ διάνοια.  g τέλειον λόγον. h τὰ πάθη.

i Aucher "cupiditates," but Arm. sritisrouin = θυμός, not ἐπιθυμία.

j According to the order of Scripture this section should come before § 115.

k These abstract nouns denote the Urim and Thummim, the oracular device attached to the high priest’s breastplate. Philo usually calls them δῆλωσις καὶ ἄληθεια, following LXX, but sometimes σαφήνεια καὶ ἄληθεια. For other references to them see Leg. All. iii. 132, 140, De Vita Mosis ii. 113, 128-129 and De Spec. Leg. iv. 69.

l LXX καὶ ἐπιθυμεῖς ἐπὶ τὸ λόγον τῆς κρίσεως τῆς δῆλωσιν καὶ τῆς ἀλήθειαν.

m ὁ λόγος.

n i.e. the λόγος ἐνδιάθετος (reflection) and the λόγος προφορικός (utterance), see next note.

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rightly did He apportion the two virtues, (one) to each of them, (namely) truth to that (form of reason) which is in thought, and revelation to that which is uttered. For the mind of the virtuous man ought not to consider anything to be more appropriate or more related to it than truth, which one must with all power endeavour to find, while speech has no greater necessity than to reveal (things) clearly by making plain in clear speech what is signified.

*117. (Ex. xxviii. 27 [Heb. 31]) Why is the double hyacinthine stole called "undergarment"?

They say that since the hyacinthine stole is a symbol of the air, because the air is almost black, it was righty called "undergarment," since it was under the garment which was upon his breast, for the air is placed below heaven and the ether. But I wonder at and am struck with

a Cf. De Vita Mosis ii. 129 δυσὶ λόγοις τοῖς καθ' ἐκαστὸν ἡμῶν, τῷ τε προφορικῷ καὶ ἑνδιάθετῳ, δύο ἀρετὰς ἀπένειμεν οἰκείας, τῷ μὲν προφορικῷ δήλωσαν, τῷ δὲ κατὰ διάνοιαν ἀλῆθειαν.

b οἰκειότερον ἦ συγγενέστερον.

c Philo phrases the same idea somewhat differently in De Vita Mosis ii. 129 ἀρμόζει γὰρ διανοία μὲν μηδὲν παραδέχεσθαι ψεῦδος.

d Aucher renders less accurately, I think, "quam evidenter declarare revelata artificioso apparatu."

e Or "second": Aucher "duplex" (in footnote, "aliiis torta"), see QE ii. 119.

f Aucher "tunica," but see QE ii. 107, notes a and d.

g ύποδύτης.

h LXX καὶ ποιήσεις υποδυτὴν ποδήρη (Heb. "the robe of the ephod") δόλω νυκτίθυνον. Philo alludes to this garment in De Vita Mosis ii. 110 and to its cosmic symbolism in De Spec. Leg. i. 95, cf. De Fuga 110.

i σύμβολον.

j Aucher "subniger." Philo means that it is dark blue, see QE ii. 85, note g. k Lit. "stood after."

l i.e. the ephod, to which the "breastplate of judgment" or Logeion was attached, see the preceding sections.

m Cf. De Spec. Leg. i. 94 ὁ ἀὴρ μέλας ὧν τῆν μετ' οὐρανὸν δευτέραν τάξιν κεκληρωταί.
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admiration by the theologian's allegorizing of his philosophical beliefs. For he has likened the whole heaven to the breast, wherefore in his statements he has ornamented the breast of the high priest with the two emerald stones which stand on his shoulders, and with the twelve stones on the Logeion, arranged in four rows of three. Now, (he indicates) the air by the second hyacinthine stole (called) "undergarment," and by the other parts he indicates earth and water. ["But where, O theologian," someone may say, "is the head of the world? Teach us, for you have brought us as far as the breast, which you have shown to be a likeness of heaven." To me it seems that he would reply to this with silence, for it is plain to those who are not foolish but are wont to help their minds with well ordered (thoughts). If, however, there is anyone heavy of understanding, let him listen. The head of all things is the eternal Logos of the eternal God, under which, as if it were his feet or other limbs, is placed the whole world, over which He passes and firmly stands. Now it is not because Christ is Lord that He passes and sits over the world, for His seat is with His Father and God, but because for its perfect fullness the world is in need of the care and superintendence of the best ordered dispensation, and for its own complete piety, of the Divine Logos, just as living creatures (need) a head, without which it is impossible to live.]

\[a\] τὸν θεολόγον, i.e. Moses.
\[b\] τὴς φιλοσοφίας ἀλληγοροῦντα τὰ δόγματα vel sim.: Aucher "una cum philosophia allegorice usum sententia."
\[c\] Aucher inadvertently omits rendering of "emerald."
\[d\] See QE ii. 109 on Ex. xxviii. 9-12.
\[e\] i.e. the flowers and bells of the robe, see De Vita Mosis ii. 120.
\[f\] αἰνίττεται.
\[g\] λόγος αἰώνιος (or ἀδιόν) τοῦ αἰὼνιον θεοῦ.
\[h\] Aucher "super quem transiens constanter stat."
\[i\] How much of the last part of this section (from "But where, O theologian ") is the work of a Christian scribe is not clear. The whole passage has here been bracketed to warn the reader that some part of it, perhaps all, has been revised by Christian hands.

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*118. (Ex. xxviii. 28 [Heb. 32]) Why does the opening in the middle of this very same ankle-length garment have a hem "that it may not be ruptured"?

Of the elements some are by nature heavy, (such as) earth and water, and others are by nature light, (such as) air and fire. Accordingly, from the beginning the air, which had heaviness, was placed near water. And because of the contrariety of heavy to light there was fear that one (element) might suffer rupture from the other, and the world might be imperfect in harmony and unity if this obstacle were present. For that reason there was need of an opening suitable to the middle region, that is, of the divine Logos as a mediator, for this is the strongest and most stable bond of all things, in order that it might bind and weave together the parts of the universe and their contraries, and by the use of force bring into unity and communion and loving embrace those things which have many irreconcilable differences by their natures. Moreover, this passage also presents a description of character,

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a Lit. "that near the mouth": Aucher (following LXX) "peristomion."

b Aucher "gyrum."

c LXX καὶ ἐστι τὸ περιστόμιον ἐξ αὐτοῦ μέσον ὅν ἔχων κύκλω τοῦ περιστομίου, ἔφρων ύδατος, τὴν συμβολὴν συναφείᾳ μένην ἐξ αὐτοῦ ἵνα μὴ παγη: Heb. "and the mouth of its top shall be in its middle, a hem shall be around its mouth, the work of the weaver; like a breastplate it shall be to it that it may not be torn."

d τῶν στοιχείων.

e The original must have meant that air, the heavier of the two light elements, was placed next to water, the lighter of the two heavy elements.

f ῥῆξιν, based on LXX μὴ παγη: Aucher "ne laedatur unum ab altero."

g Lit. "mouth": Aucher "peristomium (sive, oreificium)."

h μεσίτου τινός, τοῦ θείου λόγου. i δεσμός.

j Lit. "and mix together by weaving." The cosmic weaving reflects the mythology of Plato’s *Timaeus*, see below.

k ἠθοποιίαν.
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for the hem is a hard and dense woven work \(^a\) and very compact, \(^b\) and he thought it proper that the opening should be in it in the middle. Now the mouth \(^c\) is an organ of two things, (namely) of food and speech.\(^d\) As Plato says, it has the entrance of mortal things into itself, (namely) food, while speech is the exit of immortal things.\(^e\) And both (functions) must be practised in such a way that they do not suffer a rupture,\(^f\) which is what happens to gluttons and babblers, for out of loquacity they rupture, in a sense, that which ought to be kept quiet, and \(^g\) they pour into the ears (of others) \(^h\) things not fit to be heard.\(^i\) And those who are intent upon wine-bibbing and overindulgence break out into belchings and burst with insatiable fullness. And he admonishes those who philosophize with him \(^j\) to place restraints upon the belly and the tongue.

119. (Ex. xxviii. 29 [Heb. 33]) Why does He command that in the lowest part of this undergarment there shall be

\(^a\) ὑφασμα. In De Spec. Leg. i. 86 Philo describes the ephod, worn over the ankle-length robe of the high priest, as ὑφασμα θωρακοεῖδες. It is not clear how he thought of the ephod as related to the “opening” and “hem.”

\(^b\) Or “compressed”: Aucher “rigidus.”

\(^c\) Philo plays on the resemblance between περιστόμιον and στόμα.

\(^d\) λόγον.

\(^e\) Cf. De Opif. Mundi 119 στόματι δὲ οὐ γίνεται θυτῶν μέν, ὡς ἐφ' Πλάτων, εἰσόδος, ἐξόδος δ' ἀφθάρτων, a paraphrase of Timaeus 75 δ'-εἰσόδον τῶν ἀναγκαίων . . . τὴν δ' ἐξόδον τῶν ἀριστῶν.

\(^f\) Aucher renders less accurately, I think, “et utrique obsequendum est (vel, ambo observanda sunt) ne lacetatur (sic).”

\(^g\) The Arm. has a superfluous indef. pronoun = τινες.

\(^h\) Lit. “pour into the inside,” but the Arm. translator obviously misread εἰς ὀτά (see next note) as ἑσώτατα.

\(^i\) Similarly the brief Greek frag., οἷ· λάλοι, τα ὀφειλοντα ἴσυχαξεθαι ἤγγυντες, τρότον τινα ὑπὸ γλωσσαλγίας προχέουσιν εἰς ὀτα ἄκοης οὐκ ἄξια.

\(^j\) i.e. Moses: Aucher “hae in parte,”

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pomegranate-shaped (tassels) as if from flowering pomegranates? 

That the undergarment was a double hyacinthine (robe) and in the likeness of air has been shown. And as water is lower than air, the pomegranate-shaped (tassel) was rightly (placed) in the lowest part of the undergarment, as was the flower of the pomegranate, which is (so) called from "flowing" and "being liquid." Now, as for that which is primarily in (the class of) flowing liquids, what else indeed would it be but water?

120. (Ex. xxviii. 30 [Heb. 34]) Why does He place a bell (and) flower around (the hem) beside the pomegranate-shaped (tassel)?

\[\text{a LXX καὶ οὐξήσεις ἐπὶ τὸ λάμα τοῦ ὑποδύτου κάτωθεν ὡσεὶ ἕξανθούσῃς ρόας ῬΩΤάκους εἰς ὑακίνθου καὶ πορφύρας καὶ κοκκίνου διανενημένου καὶ βύσσου κεκλωσμένης ἐπὶ τοῦ λῶματος τοῦ ὑπο-

dύτου κύκλῳ τὸ αὐτὸ εἴδος ῬΩΤάκους χρυσοὺς καὶ κώδωνας ἀνὰ μέσον τοῦ ὑποδύτου περικύκλῳ: Heb. "and thou shalt make upon its hem pomegranates of blue and purple and scarlet, upon its hem round about, and bells of gold between them round about." For parallels to Philo's allegorical comment see De Migratione 103, De Vita Mosis ii. 119 and De Spec. Leg. i. 93.

\[\text{b In QE ii. 117, where, however, it is not clear whether Philo means a "second" or a "double" hyacinthine garment.}

\[\text{c Philo plays on the resemblance between ρόα "pomegranate" and ῥέω "to flow," or ῥύσις "flowing," cf. De Vita Mosis ii. 119 οἱ δὲ ῬΩΤάκοι <σύμβολον> ἕδατος, παρὰ τὴν ῥύσιν λεχθέντες εὐθυβόλως.}

\[\text{d Lit. "flowering bell" but Philo treats bell and flower separately in his commentary and in the parallels. See also LXX, next note.}

\[\text{e LXX παρὰ ῬΩΤάκον χρυσοῦν κώδωνα καὶ ἀριθμόν ἐπὶ τοῦ λῶματος τοῦ ὑποδύτου κύκλῳ: Heb. "a gold bell and a pomegranate, a gold bell and a pomegranate (sic, bis) upon the hem of the robe round about." Philo allegorizes this verse similarly (see below) in De Migratione 103, De Vita Mosis ii. 119 and De Spec. Leg. i. 93.} \]
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In the earlier (passages) \(^a\) He has represented heaven by the shoulder-piece \(^b\) and the (object) on the breast, which He has called "pectoral," \(^c\) and (has represented) the lower region, \(^d\) (namely) the air, by the double hyacinthine (robe), \(^e\) and then water, which is below the air, by the symbol \(^f\) of the pomegranate-shaped (tassel). Now, however, He mentions the flowers in addition to the pomegranate-shaped (tassels), and by them He indicates \(^g\) the earth, since everything flowers and grows from the earth.\(^h\) But the bell has an intermediate position between the pomegranate-shaped (tassel) and the flower, and indicates the harmony and community of the elements.\(^i\) For if there had not been produced in the world the harmonious blending into a symphony of antiphonal voices as if of a choir sounding as one, it would not have received its full perfection.\(^j\) But since there are four elements,\(^k\) He has spoken very circumspectly \(^l\) in distinguishing and separating the bell from fire and air, for the movement of the soul is only from itself, as is generally agreed, especially by the philosophers of the Stoa. But it \(^m\) has united earth with water, for earth and water are themselves the body of the

\(^a\) Aucher "imprimis."

\(^b\) ἑπωμίδος, see QE ii. 110.

\(^c\) περιστήβιον.

\(^d\) Lit. "the following (region)."

\(^e\) See the preceding three sections.

\(^f\) συμβόλον.

\(^g\) αἰνιττόμενος.

\(^h\) Cf. De Vita Mosis ii. 119 τὰ μὲν ἄθινα σύμβολον γῆς, ἀνθεὶ γὰρ καὶ βλαστάνει πάντα ἐκ ταύτης.

\(^i\) In De Migracione 103 the bells symbolize the sense of hearing, in De Vita Mosis ii. 119 they symbolize the harmony of earth and water, in De Spec. Leg. i. 93 they symbolize the harmony of the parts of the world (ἀρμονίαν καὶ συμφωνίαν καὶ συνῆχησιν τῶν τοῦ κόσμου μερῶν). In the present passage Philo combines the three kinds of symbolism.

\(^j\) τελεσιουργίαν: Aucher "perfectionem."

\(^k\) στοιχεία.

\(^l\) Aucher "accurate."

\(^m\) i.e. the bell as a symbol of the unity of earth and water.

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world. Now, the body itself is inanimate and unmoving, and it was in need of that Logos, which, by the art of music, adapted and reformed it into a harmony and oneness of all things.

121. (Ex. xxviii. 32a [Heb. 36a]) What is "the leaf of pure gold"?  
The leaf has a fine construction and also lacks depth, and so it appears to be a surface. Now, a surface is incorporeal. And may it not be that it is called "leaf" from "flying," so that it may be a symbol of incorporeal and intelligible forms of substance? That which is always borne upward becomes winged and never turns toward a downward course. Wherefore He has also called it "pure," as being unmixed and luminous, for sense-perceptible things are mixtures which are brought together from many things. For the forms which weave

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together things not (previously joined) with one another a
also have purity, being like a lamb. b

122. (Ex. xxviii. 32b [Heb. 36b]) Why does He say,
"Thou shalt express e in it d the expression of a seal-
impression, 'Holiness to the Lord' e?"

It pleases Him that the incorporeal and intelligible sub-
stance f should be unimpressed by itself and without shape
but be formed and shaped like a seal-impression by the
Logos of the eternally Existent One. g Excellently, there-
fore, has He represented the seal-impression as an "ex-
pression," h for there are expressed in them in part i the
forms which the patterns j had. But the divine Logos,
which is established over all things, is immaterial, k being,
as it were, not impressed upon them but expressed, l for

a Aucher renders more literally, "quae non sunt invicem."

b The sense escapes me. Perhaps the last phrase "being
like a lamb" is a scribal addition.

c i.e. "graven" or the like. I have rendered literally in
order to make clearer Philo’s allegorical interpretation.

d i.e. in the gold plate worn on the high priest’s forehead.

e LXX καὶ εἰκωνώσεις εἰς αὐτῷ εἰκότως εἰκύπτωμα σφραγίδος ἀγίασμα
kurión (v.l. kurión : Heb. "to YHWH "). Philo briefly dis-
cusses this half-verse in De Migratione 103 (reading kurió)
and De Vita Mosis ii. 114-115, 132, where he deals with the
mystical number of the letters of the Tetragrammaton.

f τὴν ἄσωματον καὶ νοητὴν ὑδάτιν, cf. QE ii. 121, note l.

g τῷ τοῦ ἀεὶ (vel sim.) ὁ Οὐρανός λόγος. The idea is more clearly
and fully expressed in De Migratione 103 ἐκεῖνη μὲν ἡ σφραγίς
iδέα ἐστὶν ἰδεῶν καθ’ ἣν ὁ θεὸς ἑτύπωσε τὸν κόσμον, ἄσωματος
δήπου καὶ νοητή.

h ἑτύπωμα.

i The original prob. referred to the various parts of the
cosmos.

j ὁ τύπος, i.e. the archetypes.

k ἀνάλοξ.

l οὐκ ἑτυπωθεῖς ἀλλ’ ἑτυπωθεῖς, but contrast De Vita
Mosis ii. 132 τῶν τετάρατων αἱ γλυφαὶ γραμμάτων ἑνεφραγίς-
σθησαν. Philo has slightly modified his allegorical interpreta-
tion to make it conform more closely to the literal meaning.

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EXODUS, BOOK II

it is external to all substances and to all corporeal and incorporeal elements.  

123. (Ex. xxviii. 33a [Heb. 37a]) Why is the leaf placed over the double hyacinthine (robe)?

Because the double hyacinthine (robe) is almost black, and black is the colour of ink and is opaque. But the forms are not visible, and the leaf presents a symbol of the forms, since it is the substance of the invisible and intelligible.

124. (Ex. xxviii. 33b-34 [Heb. 37b-38]) Why is the leaf placed upon the forehead of the high priest but not upon his head?

The head is an assemblage of hair, skin and bones, while the place of the brain is in the front of the head. Now, the theologians say that the sovereign part (of the mind)...

\(^{a}\) Aucher "quae excellat omnes materias corporeas et incorporeas."

\(^{b}\) i.e. the gold plate (πέταλον) on the high priest's forehead.

\(^{c}\) LXX καὶ ἐπιθήσεις αὐτῷ (sc. τὸν πέταλον) ἐπὶ υακίνθου κεκλωσμένης (Heb. "braid of blue"), κτλ. On the problem of the "double" hyacinthine robe see QE ii. 117, notes.

\(^{d}\) i.e. dark blue, see QE ii. 85, 117.

\(^{e}\) αἱ ἰδέαι or τὰ ἱδή.

\(^{f}\) σύμβολον.

\(^{g}\) τοῦ ἀστράτου καὶ νοητοῦ οὐσίας ἐστίν, cf. QE ii. 121.

\(^{h}\) i.e. the gold plate (πέταλον).

\(^{i}\) LXX καὶ ἔσται ἐπὶ τῆς μύτρας: κατὰ πρόσωπον τῆς μύτρας ἔσται. καὶ ἔσται ἐπὶ τοῦ μετώπου Ἀαρών, κτλ. Contrast De Migratione 103, where Philo says that the gold plate is on the high priest's head, ἐπὶ μὲν τῆς κεφαλῆς. Here, as in some of the preceding sections, Philo's allegorical interpretation is based upon a more literal reading of Scripture than are the interpretations in his fuller and earlier commentary on the Pentateuch.

\(^{j}\) τοῦ ἐγκεφάλου.

\(^{k}\) oi θεολόγοι, i.e. the Greek philosophers.

\(^{l}\) τὸ ἣγερομονικὸν.
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has its settled habitation in the brain. For this reason it was in the front of the principal and sovereign (part) of the soul, to which the mind and the reason have been allotted, that the leaf was placed (as) a symbol of intelligible substance (and as) a likeness of the divine Logos and (as) an expressed seal-impression, (namely) the form of forms.

a Lit. "constancy of habitation": Aucher "constantem habitationem."

b Philo sometimes follows Aristotle and the Stoics in locating the mind in the heart, but more often follows Plato in locating it in the brain, as, e.g., in QG i. 5, ii. 5, QE ii. 100. See, for the various passages, Helmut Schmidt, Die Anthropologie Philons von Alexandrea (Würzburg, 1933), pp. 51, 143.

c Lit. "before": Aucher "in regione."

d ὁ νοῦς (or ἡ διάνοια) καὶ ὁ λόγος.

e σύμβολον νοητὴς οὐσίας, cf. QE ii. 121, note 1.

f Aucher inserts "praeseferens."

g ἐκτυπωθεῖσα σφραγίς, cf. QE ii. 122.

h ἰδέα ἰδεῶν, cf. De Migratone 103, QE ii. 122.
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APPENDIX A

GREEK FRAGMENTS OF THE QUAESTIONES

Although Philo's *Quaestiones in Genesin et Exodum* has survived as a whole (or in large part) only in the ancient Armenian version, the original Greek text of parts of about two hundred sections has been preserved in the works of some of the Church Fathers like John of Damascus or Byzantine chroniclers like Leo Grammaticus or antiquarians like Johannes Lydus or the anonymous authors of catenae arranged in the order of Scriptural verses. A number of these fragments (some of them being rather paraphrastic than literal) were collected by Mangey in his edition of Philo's works published in 1742. Since that time other scholars have added to their number. While it may be expected that future research will discover more fragments of the *Quaestiones* as well as of other lost works of Philo, it still seems worth while at the present time to bring together the fragments of the *Quaestiones* which have been collected by various scholars and published in half a dozen separate works. It should be noted in passing that Dr. Ludwig Früchtel of Ansbach, Germany, to whom we owe the identification of several fragments (published by Harris) formerly unlocated in the *Quaestiones*, proposes to bring out a more complete collection of the fragments of Philo's various lost works and has, as he informed me in 1949, already located a few more hitherto unidentified fragments of the *Quaestiones*.

The fragments (or paraphrases) reproduced from the various modern collections listed below are here given without an English translation, partly because the differences between them and the Armenian have already been mentioned in the footnotes to the translation of that version, and partly because many of the fragments are such free quotations of the original that it might be misleading to translate them
APPENDIX A, GREEK FRAGMENTS

and thus make them appear to be of equal weight with the translation of the Armenian version.

The six modern works from which the Greek texts are reproduced are herewith listed in order of publication.


Three of Harris’ “unidentified” fragments have been located by Emile Bréhier, *Les Idées philosophiques et religieuses de Philon d’Alexandrie*, 2nd ed., Paris, 1925.

The reader is asked to overlook some inconsistencies in abbreviations, forms of citation, etc., in the following pages. They are largely due to the fact that I have in most cases followed the style set by the modern authorities listed above.
GENESIS, BOOK I

1. (Gen. ii. 4) Το μὲν " οτέ εγένετο " ἀόριστον τούτο δ’ εστὶν ἔλεγχος δυσωπῶν τοὺς συγκεφαλαιούμενους ἀριθμον ἐτῶν, ἀφ’ οὗ τὸν κόσμον οἴονται γενέσθαι; τὸ δὲ " αὕτη η’ βιβλος γενέσεως " ἦτοι δεικτικὸν ἐστὶ τοῦ ὑποκειμένου τεύχους, δ’ ἐν τῷ κοσμουποίαν περιέχει ἐν αὐτῇ ἄλληθείας γεγονότα.


17. (Gen. ii. 18)

Φίλους ἡγητέον τοὺς βοηθεῖν καὶ ἀντωφελεῖν ἐθέλοντας καὶ ἰν μη δύνωνται. φίλα γάρ 〈οὐκ〉 ἐν τῷ χρειῶδει μᾶλλον τῇ κράσει καὶ συμφωνία βεβαιῶν τῶν ἡθῶν, ὅσ ἐκαστὸν τῶν συνελθόντων εἰς φιλικῆν κοινωνίαν τῷ Πυθαγόρειου ῥήμα ἐπιφθέγξασθαι, ὅτι " ἀρά ἐστι φίλος έστερον ὡς εγώ."

Harris, p. 12, from Dam. Par. 788 (Cod. Rupef. f. 275) ἐκ τοῦ α’ τῶν ἐν Γενέσει ζητημάτων. "The first sentence (with change to the singular number) in Maximus (ii. 548) and Anton Melissa, col. 849."

20. (Gen. ii. 19)

Ἀνθρόπος δὲ ἐποτημονυκτάτου καὶ φρονήσει διαφέροντος οἰκειό- τατον τοῦτο τὸ ἔργον οὐ σοφὸ μόνον ἄλλα καὶ τῷ πρώτῳ γηγενεῖ τῶν ὁνομάτων ἡ θέσις; ἐδεὶ γὰρ ἡγεμόνα μὲν τὸν ἀνθρωπείου, βασιλεὰ δὲ τῶν γηγενῶν πάντων καὶ τοῦτο λαχεῖν γέρας ἐξαίρετον

α ἀόριστον ex Arm. Lewy : ἀριστον codd.
β γηγενεῖ ex Arm. Harris : εὐγενεῖ codd.
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Ina, ὡσπερ πρῶτος ἦδει τὰ ζώα, καὶ πρῶτος ἀξιωθῇ τῆς ἐπὶ πᾶσιν ἄρχης καὶ πρῶτος ἐσηγητής καὶ εὐρετής γένηται τῶν ἐπονομάζων. "Ἄπωτον γὰρ ἣν ἀνώνυμα αὐτὰ καταλείψεταν ὑπὸ τίνος νεωτέρου προσονομασθήναι ἐπὶ καταλύσει τῆς τοῦ προσβυτέρου τιμῆς τε καὶ εὐκλείας.

Harris, pp. 12-13, from Dam. Par. 748 (Cod. Rupef. f. 21 b) "with reference to the questions on Genesis."

21. (Gen. ii. 19) Ἡγαγεν ὁ θεὸς τὰ ζώα πρὸς τὸν Ἀδάμ, ἦδειν τὶ καλέσει αὐτὰ.
Οὐ γὰρ ἐνδυάζει θεὸς· ἅλλ' ἐπειδὴ νοῦν ἐδωκε τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ τῷ πρωτογενεί καὶ σπουδαίῳ καθ' ὁ ἐπιστημονικός ὡς πέφυκε λογιζεθαί, καθάπερ ὕψητής γνώριμον κινεῖ πρὸς ἐπίδειξιν οἰκείαν καὶ ἀφορά τὰ ἁρύντα αὐτοῦ τῆς ψυχῆς ἐγγονα. Φανερώς δὲ πάλιν καὶ διὰ τούτου πὰν τὸ ἐκούσιν καὶ ἐφ' ἥμιν διατυποῦ, τοὺς πάντα κατ' ἀνάγκην εἶναι λέγοντας δυσωπῶν. Ἡ ἐπεὶ ἐμελλόν οἱ ἀνθρωποὶ χρησθαί, διὰ τούτο ἀνθρωπὸν αὐτὰ θέσθαι προσέταττεν.
Harris, p. 13, from Dam. Par. p. 748 (Cod. Rupef. f. 21 b), ἐκ τῶν ἐν Γενέσει ζητομένων.

24. (Gen. ii. 21)
Ὁ ύπος κατὰ τὸν προφήτην ἐκστασίς ἐστιν, οὐχὶ κατὰ μανιάν, ἀλλὰ κατὰ τὴν τῶν αἰσθήσεων ὑφεσιν καὶ τὴν ἀναχώρησιν τοῦ λογισμοῦ. Τότε γὰρ αἰ μὲν αἰσθήσεις ἐξίστανται τῶν αἰσθητῶν, ὁ δὲ οὐκέτι νευροσπαστῶν οὐδὲ παρέχων κίνησιν αὐταῖς ἡρμήνει, αἰ δὲ τὰς ἐνεργείας ἀποτεθημέναι τῷ διεξεύχας τῶν αἰσθητῶν ἀκίνητοι καὶ ἀργαὶ ὑπεκλένται.
Harris, pp. 13-14, from Joh. Monachus (Mangey ii. 667 = Cod. Rupef. f. 265), and Cod. Reg. 923, f. 342 b.

27. (Gen. ii. 21)
Ἀποκλαίαν στέλλεται γυνὴ τὴν ἀπὸ γονέων πρὸς τὸν ἄνδρα· διὸ προσήκει τὸν μὲν ὑποδεξάμενον ἀντιλαβεῖν τὴν τῶν δεδωκότων εὐνοιῶν, τὴν δὲ μετελθοῦσαν, ἡν τοίς σπείρασι τιμῆν παρέχε, τῷ λαβόντι διδόναι· παρακαταθήκην γὰρ ἀνήρ ἐγχειρίζεται γυναίκα παρὰ γονέων, γυνὴ δὲ τὸν ἄνδρα παρὰ τῶν νόμων.

Post αἰσθητῶν verba καὶ ὁ λογισμὸς ἀναχώρει ἐκ τῶν αἰσθήσεων ex Arm. suppl. Harris.

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28. (Gen. ii. 23) Ὡς προφήτης φησίν, οὕτε γεγονέναι ἐκ συνυμβίας οὕτε ἐκ γυναικὸς, ὥσ τινα φύσιν ἐν μεθορίῳ καθάπερ ἀπὸ ἀμετέρου κληματίδος ἀφαιρεθείσης εἰς ἔτερας ἀμετέρου γένεσιν.

Harris, p. 14, from Dam. Par. 748 (Cod. Rupef. f. 21 b), ἐκ τῶν ἐν Γενέσει ζητουμένων.

29. (Gen. ii. 24) Διὸ φησιν "Ἐνεκὲν τοῦτον καταλείψει ἀνθρωπὸς τὸν πατέρα καὶ τὴν μητέρα αὐτοῦ καὶ προσκολληθήσεται πρὸς τὴν γυναίκα αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐσοῦται δύο εἰς σάρκα μίαν";

... τὸ εὐαφεστατον καὶ αἰσθητικώτατον, ἐν ὦ καὶ τὸ ἀλγεῖν καὶ τὸ ἰδέσθαι.

Harris, p. 14, from Dam. Par. 748 (Mangey ii. 654 = Cod. Rupef. f. 21 b), ἐκ τῶν ἐν Γενέσει ζητουμένων.

31. (Gen. iii. 1) Φρόνιμος δὲ ἐκλήθη ὁ ὄφις ὅτι τὸ λογικὸν ζῷον τὸν ἀνθρώπον καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἀγγειοί διαφέροντα ἐξαπατάτα ἐμέλλειν.


32. (Gen. iii. 1) Ἀρα δὲ καὶ ὁ ὄφις τῶ κατὰ προφορὰν λόγῳ ἔχρήσατο; οὐ πάντως, ἀλλ᾽ οἱ πρωτόπλαστοι ἀπὸ κακίας ὑπὲρ άμυγδαὶ ἀκριβεστάτας εἰχον τὰς αἰσθήσεις καὶ πολὺ τῶν ἡμετέρων διαλλαγμένας ὑπερ τὴν ἀκοῆν αὐτῶν πάσης ὑπάρχει φωνῆς ἀκουστικῆς.


41. (Gen. iii. 7) Ὡς γὰρ ἡδύς ὁ καρπὸς τῆς συκῆς, τραχύ καὶ πικρότατον τὸ φύλλον, οὕτως πάσα ἀμαρτία ἐν τῇ πράξει δείκνυται ἥδεια, μετά δὲ ταῦτα ἐνδύνην παρέχει τῷ πεπραχότι.


51. (Gen. iii. 19) Τί ἔστων ἔως τοῦ ἐπιστρέψαι σε εἰς τὴν γῆν 183
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έξ ἦς ἑλήφθης”; οὐ γὰρ ἐκ γῆς διεπλάσθη μόνον ὁ ἀνθρώπος ἄλλα καὶ θείου πνεύματος.

Εὔπειδή δὲ οὐ διέμεινεν ἀδιάστροφος, προστάξεως θείας ἠλόγηκε καὶ τοῦ κρεῖττονος μέρους ἀποτεμνόμενος οὐδαμομίθη τοὐτοὶ πολιτεῖαν ὦλον αὐτὸν προσένευε τῇ γῇ. Εἰ μὲν γὰρ ἁρετῆς, ὅτις ἀθανάτης, ἐραστὴς ἐγένετο, πάντως ἄν ἐλάμβανεν κλῆρον τῶν οὐρανῶν ἐπειδή δὲ ἥδονὴν ἐξῆτησε, δι᾽ ἦς ψυχικὸς θάνατος ἐπιγίνεται, τῇ γῇ προσενεμηθή.

Harris, p. 15, from Dam. Par. 748 (Cod. Rupef. f. 20 b), ἐκ τῶν ἐν Γενέσει ζητημένων.

55. (Gen. iii. 22)

Οὐτε ἐνδυασμὸς οὔτε φθόνος περὶ θεοῦ χρῆται δὲ πολλάκις ὁνόμασιν ἐνδυαστικοῖς ἡ διανοητικοῖς κατ’ ἀναφορὰν ἐπὶ τὸ "ὡς ἀνθρώπος" κεφάλαιον. Κιττὰ γὰρ, ὡς πολλάκις ἐφην, ἐστὶν τα ἀνωτάτω κεφάλαιω: τὸ μὲν "οὐκ ὡς ἀνθρώπος ὁ θεός," τὸ δὲ "ὡς ἀνθρώπος παύενει τὸν οὐδό, οὕτως κύριος ὁ θεὸς παύεται σε." Τὸ μὲν οὖν πρότερον ἐξουσίας ἐστι, τὸ δὲ δεύτερον παιδείας καὶ εἰσαγωγής ἐστιν.

Harris, p. 15, from Parallels of Joh. Monachus (Mangey ii. 669 = Cod. Rupef.), ἐκ τῶν αὐτῶν = ἐκ τοῦ β’ τῶν ἐν Γενέσει ζητημάτων.

"Ἀλλος δὲ φησιν ὡς οὐκ ἐνδοιάζει τὸ θεῖον κἂν ἐνδοιαστικοῖς ὁνόμασι χρῆται. Διετά γὰρ ἐστι τὰ ἀνωτάτω κεφάλαια, τὸ μὲν "οὐχ ὡς ἀνθρώπος ὁ θεός," τὸ δὲ "ὡς ἀνθρώπος παύενει τὸν οὐδό, οὕτως κύριος ὁ θεός παύεται σε." Τὸ μὲν οὖν πρότερον ἐξουσίας ἐστι, τὸ δὲ δεύτερον παιδείας καὶ ἔξογγοτῆς, ἴνα καὶ τὸ ἐκουσίου παρεμβελθή. Τὸ γὰρ "μῆποτε" οὐκ ἐστὶν ἐσαμφοτερισμὸς τοῦ θεοῦ ἀλλ’ ἀναφορὰ πρὸς ἀνθρώπου τὸν ἐσαμφοτερισθήν ἡ φύσει καὶ μένυμα τοῦ περὶ ἐκεῖνον πάθους: ὅταν γὰρ προσπέπη τινὸς φαντασία, τρία εὐθὺς ἐπιγίνεται, ἀφορμὴ ἐκ τοῦ φανέντος, ὅρμη πρὸς τὸ φανέν, τρίτον ἐνδοιασμὸς ἀμφικληνής ἀντιστοιχεύει τῆς ψυχῆς, ἐάν οἴρετέον ἐπε μὴ. Πρὸς δὴ τοῦτο τὸ τρίτον τὸ "μῆποτε" ἀναφέρεται.

Wendland, pp. 36-37, from Procopius 225 b.

59. (Gen. iv. 2)

"Ορα δὲ πῶς ἐν μὲν τῇ γενέσει τὸν Καίν προέταξε κατὰ τάξιν

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tên chronikêns, en de tois epiptidheýmasai protâttete tôn dikaioun tâ gár emáfugia tòn afýkwn tò tís fúseos lógyo diaphérei, kai hè pumantikê próoomaiteitai tòn èautou te kai állouv ärchôn. Óuk exphê de geowryos o Káin, all' érgažoménes tòn gês. Öú gár hè asteios kata tòn Ómós, òstis geowryos, óuk érgatês èihratai.

Wendland, p. 37, from Procopius 233 ν, “... aber Pr. oder sein Gewährsmann benutzt vielleicht am Schluss ein verlorenes Stück der Quaest.”

60. (Gen. iv. 34)

"Opa toinun filautou kai filothéon diaphoráin. Ó men mebê hèmeras áll' ourk évthos kai apò tòn karptôn, áll' ourk apò tòn prôtos kai tou'tous èstis dia-

nomèus pròs theon toiautê gár ò theia: o de tâ prôtotoka

mêdên meklhias kàthieroi kai tòu proseinichéntos pantos pa-

raxwrei tòn thew. épêidea gár ò theos épti tois dôrous autou-

dwrfhikos, ou dianoimwv ge-

ghous. "Opa de kai òti óson

èk tis tásèwos arxhmenou prô-

ton, tòu Kàin dénterou mémi-

tai légon: "épeteven ò theos épti

"Albel, épì de Kàin kai tais

theiaiws autou ou prosoèchev."

Wendland, p. 38, from Procopius 236 λ.

61. (Gen. iv. 4-5)

Oùtwos oux ò tásèis to prôteiwn áll' ò gnômê xaríçetai.

Wendland, p. 38, from Procopius 236 λ.

a épêide Wendland: épêidh codd.
c dénterewv corr. Praechter.
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62. (Gen. iv. 4-5)

Ζητῶν τίνι διαφέρει δῶρον θυσίας, εὐρίσκω ὅτι ὁ μὲν θύων ἐπιδιαιρεῖ, τὸ μὲν αἷμα τῷ βωμῷ προχέων, τὰ δὲ κρέα οίκαδε κομίζων: ὁ δὲ δωρούμενος ὠλον ἔοικε παραχωρεῖν τῷ λαμβάνοντι: ὁ μὲν οὖν φίλαυτος διανομέως ὠνὸς ὁ Καίν, ὁ δὲ φίλαθεος δώρηται ὠνὸν ὁ Αβέλ.

Harris, p. 15, from Cramer, Catena in Heb., p. 580 (Cod. Paris, 238).

64. (Gen. iv. 7)

(a) Ὁρθή δὲ διαίρεσις καὶ τομὴ' οὐδὲν ἐτερόν ἐστὶν η' τάξις καθ' ἢν ὁ κόσμος δεδημοῦργηται. Καὶ ταυτὴν δὲι κατὰ πάντα τοῦ βίου μιμεῖσαι τὰ πράγματα καὶ μάλιστα ἐν χαρίτων ἁμοιβαίσι.


(b) Τὸ μὲν οὖν εὐχαριστεῖν Τὸ εὐχαριστεῖν θεῷ καθ' τῷ θεῷ καθ' ἐαυτῷ ὠρθὰς ἔχων ἐστὶ, τὸ δὲ μῆτε πρῶτω μῆτε ἐκ τῶν πρῶτων ἀπαρχόμενον ψεκτόν. Οὐ γὰρ δὲι τὰ μὲν πρεσβεῖα τὴν γένεσιν ἐαυτῇ, τὰ δὲ δεύτερα τῷ ἀγενήτῳ προσ-

a δωρητικὸς ὠνὸς con. Harris.  
b ὠλον Mai.  
c προσχέων Theod. Mel. et Cod. Vat. 163.  
d κομίζεων Ps.-Polydeuces.  
e cdd. : παντὶ codd.  
f τομὴ Wendland : τὸ μὴ codd.  
g ἐαυτὸ Wendland : ἐαυτὸν codd.  
h ἐαυτῷ τιθέναι con. Harris.
65. (Gen. iv. 7)

Τὸ μὴ ἄμαρτάνειν μηδὲν τὸ παράπαν μέγιστον ἁγαθόν τὸ ἄμαρτάνοντα ἐντραπῆσαι συγγενὲς ἔκεινον, νεοτερον, ὡς ἂν τις εἴη, παρὰ προσβύτερον. Ἐιδι γὰρ οἱ ἐπὶ ἄμαρτανομένοις ὡς ἐπὶ κατορθώμασιν ἀγαλλόμενοι δυσίατον, μάλλον δὲ ἀνίατον νόσον ἔχουτε.

Harris, p. 16, from Joh. Monachus (Mangey ii. 668 = Cod. Rupef. f. 269 b).

66. (Gen. iv. 7)

Οῖς ἀντιλέγοντες ἔτερον οὐ περὶ τοῦ θεοσβοῦς λέγειν φασίν, ἀλλὰ περὶ τοῦ πραξθέντος ἔργου. Φησὶ γὰρ αὐτῷ ὅτι τούτῳ τοῦ ἀσεβήματος ἡ ἀποστροφή καὶ ἡ ἀναφορά πρὸς εἰς ἔστιν, ἣν τὸ ἐκούσιον παραστήσῃ: "καὶ σὺ," φησίν, "ἄρεις αὐτοῦ," πρῶτος γὰρ ἀσεβεῖν ἤρξεν. ἔπεται δὲ ὡς κρησίδι τῇ ἀσεβείᾳ καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ πλημμέληματα ὡς ἐξαρχὴν καὶ ἤγεμον παντὸς ἀδικήματος ἐκουσίου τούτου, εἶναι.

Wendland, p. 40, from Procopius 240 b.

68. (Gen. iv. 9) Πυθαγάνται θεός: τοῦ Ἀβελ ὁ ἄδελφος σου;

Ὅυ γὰς ἄγνων τοιχαροῦ ἀρνοῦμεν τὴν ἄγεις ἀλλ' ἐπισκοπήσ πρὸς ιατρεῖαν αὐτοῦ ἀξίων καὶ ἐφιστῶν αὐτοῦ τὸ μεγέθει τοῦ πλημμέληματος καὶ πρόφασιν μετανοίας διδόω καὶ δεκνύς δέ ὁ ἀλής τῆς νοσοθεσίας ὡς παρ' ἡμᾶς ἐστι τάδικήματα: ὁ μὲν γὰρ ἄκων πράξας ὑμολογεῖ συγγνώμην αὐτῶν, ὁ δὲ ἐκῶν ἀρνεῖται.

Wendland, pp. 40-41, from Procopius 240 ν ("Das philo-

a ἄρξας ex Arm. con. Wendland. b τοῦτο Cod. Aug.

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nische Original ist zum Teil erhalten in Barberinus VI 8 f. 82 unter dem falschen Titel φιλωνος ἐπικότου: οὐχ ὡς ἄγνων τοιγαροῦν τὸν ἄρνούμενον διδοὺς χωρὶς Αβέρος ohne Abweichungen vom Texte des Pr.").

69. (Gen. iv. 9) Ὅς δὲ τῆς μετανοίας ἡλλάξατο τὴν ἀναίδειαν εἰπὼν ἄγνοεῖν καὶ μὴ φύλαξ εἶναι τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ.

Καὶ τὸν τεταρτόν ὄντων ἀνθρώπων, οὐς εἰκὸς ἦν μηδὲ πόρρω λίκν αὐτῶν καθίσαι, καὶ παντὸς μᾶλλον τὸν ἂδελφόν φυλάττειν ὁφείλοντος, ἐτι δὲ καὶ ἄθεον δεικνύοντος ὑπόληψιν τῷ μὴ νομίζειν πάντα τὸν θείον ἐφορᾶν ὀφθαλμόν.

Wendland, p. 41, from Procopius 241 Α.

70. (Gen. iv. 10)

Τί δ’ ἐστιν "φω-νῇ αἵματος τοῦ ἀδελ-φοῦ σου βοᾷ πρός με εκ τῆς γῆς”;

Δομινικόπολιτάν ἐστιν τὸ γὰρ θείον ὄντων μὲν ὑπακοῦει, καὶ τελευτῆσαι, ζην αὐτοῖς ὑπολαμ-βάνων τὴν ἀσώματον ζωήν, εὐχαὶς δὲ φαύλων ἀποστρέφεται, καὶ εὐεξία χρῆσαν-ται, νομίζουν αὐτοῖς τὸν ἄληθῆ βιον τεθνάναι, τὸ σῶμα οὗ τύμβον περιφέρονται, ὡς τὴν πανάθλουν ψυχήν ἐγ-κατωρέαν.


Φησίν ὁ θεός: "φωνῇ αἵματος τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ σου βοᾷ πρός με.”

Δυνατὸν δὲ καὶ τὸ αἵμα ἀντὶ τῆς ψυχῆς ἐνταῖθα εἰρήσαται, καὶ ἐστὶ δογματι-κότατον τὸ γὰρ θείον ὄντων μὲν ὑπα-κούει, καὶ τελευ-τῆσαι, ζην αὐτοῦς ὑπολαμβάνων τὴν ἀθάνατον ζωήν, εὐ-χαὶς δὲ φαύλων ἀποστρέφεται, καὶ εὐεξία χρῆσανται, νομίζουν αὐτοῖς τὸν ἄληθῆ βιον τεθηνάναι.


Wendland, p. 41, from Pro- copius 241 Α.
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72. (Gen. iv. 12)
Δόγμων δὲ, φασὶν, ἐστὶ καὶ τὸ τοῦτο καθολικῶτατον παντὶ γὰρ
φαύλῳ τῶν κακῶν τὸ μὲν ἢδη πρόσεστι, τὰ δὲ μελεῖ· τὰ μὲν οὖν
μελόντα φόβους, τὰ δὲ παρόντα λύπας ἐργάζεται."a

Wendland, pp. 41-42, from Procopius 241 d ("Das philo-
nische Original ist erhalten in Barb. VI 8 f. 83 ").

73. (Gen. iv. 13)
Οὐκ ἐστὶ συμφορά μείζων ἢ τὸ ἀφεθήναι καὶ καταλειφθῆναι ὑπὸ
θεοῦ.

Wendland, p. 42, from Procopius 243 b.

74. (Gen. iv. 14) Τίνα δὲ δέδοικεν ὦ Καῖν μηδενὸς ὄντος πλὴν
αὐτοῦ καὶ τῶν γονέων;

Προσεδόκα δὲ, φασὶ, καὶ τὴν ἐκ τῶν μερῶν τοῦ κόσμου ἐπίθεσαν
ἀπερ ἐπ’ ὠφελείᾳ γενόμεναb οὐδὲν ἦττον ἀμώνεται τοὺς πονηροὺς,
εἰτα καὶ τὴν ἀπὸ τῶν θηρίων καὶ ἐρπετῶν ἐπιβουλὴν, ἀπερ ἡ φύσις
ἐπὶ τιμωρίᾳ τῶν ἀδικών ἐγέννησεν.c "Ἰσως δὲ καὶ τὴν ἀπὸ τῶν
γονέων τίσιν ὑπονεῖ, οἷς κοινὸς πένθος προσέβαλεν ἄγνοοσι τῶν
θανάτων.

Wendland, p. 42, from Procopius 245 a.

76. (Gen. iv. 15)
Τὸ μὲν γὰρ τελευτᾶσα τῶν ἐν τῷ βίῳ πονηρῶν ἐπάγει τὴν
κατάτασσαι τὸ δὲ ζῆν ἐν φόβῳ καὶ λυπῇ μορίους ἐπάγει τοὺς σὺν
αισθῆσενd βανάτους.

Praechter, p. 419, from Leo Grammaticus, p. 246, 11-13

77. (Gen. iv. 23)
"Ὁ μὲν Καῖν,ε ἐπειδὴ τὸ μέγεθος τοῦ ἄγους ἡγνώσῃ, τοῦ μη-
dεποτε περιπεσεῖν θανάτῳ, τιμωρίες δίδωσιν ἀπλουστέρας. Ὁ

a ἀπεργάζεται Cod. Barb.
b γενόμενα Wendland : γενόμενα codd.
Vind. : ἐν αἰσθήσει con. Praechter.
e add. Ἰσως Cod. Reg.

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dè μμητής ἔκεινον, μὴ δυνάμενος εἰς τὴν αὐτὴν ἀπολογίαν τῆς ἁγνοίας συμφυγεῖν, δὲ δεκαπλάς εἰκότως υπομένει δίκαιος. . . . Διὰ τούτο „ἐκ δὲ Λάμεχ ἐβδομηκοντάκις ἔπτα”. διὰ τὴν εἰρημένην αὐτίαν, καθ’ ἒν ὁ δεύτερος ἀμαρτῶν καὶ μὴ σωφρονισθεὶς τῇ τοῦ προσδιορισμοῦ τιμωρίᾳ τὴν τε ἐκείνου παντελῶς ἀναδέχεται ἀπλουστέραν ὅσαν, καθάπερ ἐν ἀριθμοῖς αἱ μονάδες ἔχοντες, καὶ πολυπλασιωτέραν, ὁμοιομείνην ταῖς ἐν ἀριθμοῖς δεκάσιν. ἂν γνωσιμαχῶν Λάμεχ καθ’ ἑαυτοῦ.

Harris, p. 17, from Dam. Par. 776 (Cod. Rupef. and Cod. Reg. 923, f. 356 b).

79. (Gen. iv. 26)

Ἐλπίς ἄστι προπάθεια τις χαρᾶς πρὸ χαρᾶς, ἀγαθῶν ὁσα προσδοκία.

Harris, p. 17, from Anton Melissa (Patr. Gr. 136, col. 789).

81. (Gen. v. 3)

Καὶ τὸ μὲν ἐκ Καίν γένος μέχρι τοῦτου μνήμης τῆς ἐν βιβλίοις ἡξιώματι, τοῦ δὲ ἀριθμοῦ τῶν πατέρων ἀποκεκηρυκταί, ἵνα μηδὲ τοῖς πρῶτοις ἐξ αὐτῶν γενομένους μηδὲ τῶν ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἀφγούμενοι, διὰ δὲ τὸ τῆς προαιρέσεως ἀγνοοῦν ὡσπέρ ἐπὶ τὴν ἁλογον ἐκ τῆς λογικῆς φύσεως ἐξώριστα.


85. (Gen. v. 23-24)

Ὅτι τενὲς ἀμίκοροι γενομένου καλοκαγαθίας καὶ ἐλπίδα παρασχόντες ψυχείας εἰς τὴν αὐτὴν ἐπανεστρέφαν νόσον.

Harris, p. 17, from Dam. Par. 784 ("apparently as εκ τῶν ἐν Ἑξόδω ζητημάτων, an easy confusion").

a αὐτὴν om. Cod. Reg.  
b καταφυγεῖν Cod. Rupef.  
c διπλάς Cod. Rupef.  
d τιμωρία . . . πολυπλασιωτέραν] τιμωρίᾳ οὐ μόνον τῇ ἐκείνου παντελῶς ἀναδέχεσθαι ἀλλὰ καὶ πολὺ πλειοτέραν Cod. Reg.  
e ἂν . . . . ἑαυτοῦ susp. Harris.  
f Harris: χαρὰ codd.  
g τοῦ δὲ Praechter cum par.: καὶ τοῦ Ps.-Polydeuces.  
h πρώτων Sym. Log. et Leo Grammaticus.  

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89. (Gen. vi. 1)
'Αει φθάνουσι τὴν δίκην αἱ τοῦ θεοῦ χάριτες. "Εργον γὰρ αὐτῷ προηγουμένον τὸ ἐνεργετεῖν, τὸ δὲ κολάζειν ἐπόμενον. Φυλεὶ δὲ, ὅταν μέλλῃ μεγάλα συνίστασθαι κακά, μεγάλων καὶ πολλῶν ἁγαθῶν ἀφθονία προγενέσθαι.
Harris, p. 18, from Joh. Monachus (Mangey ii. 670), ἐκ τῶν ἐν Ἔξοδῳ ζητουμένων.

92. (Gen. vi. 4)
Πνευματικὰ τῶν ἀγγέλων οὐσίαν εἰκάζονται δὲ πολλάκις ἀνθρώπων ἵδεις, πρὸς τὰς ὑποκειμένας χρείας μεταμορφοῦμενοι.
Harris, p. 18, from Dam. Par. 309, 772, ἐκ τοῦ α' τῶν ἐν Γενέσει ζητουμένων.

93. (Gen. vi. 6)
"Ενὶς νομίζουσι μεταμελείαν ἐμφαίνεσθαι περὶ τὸ θεῖον διὰ τῶν ὀνομάτων ὥσει ἔδει ἐγγυοῦσα. χωρὶς γὰρ τοῦ μη τρέπεσθαι τὸ θεῖον, οὐτέ τὸ "ἐνενυμῆθη" οὔτε τὸ "ἐνενόησεν" δηλωτικὰ μεταμελείας ἐστὶν—τὸ δὲ θεῖον ἀτρεπτὸν—ἀλλ' ἀκραφνοὺς λογισμοὺς περιεσκεμένου τὴν αἰτίαν, ἦς ἐνεκα ἐποίησεν τὸν ἀνθρώπον ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς.
Harris, p. 18, from Joh. Monachus (Mangey ii. 669), ἐκ τῶν β' τῶν ἐν Γενέσει ζητημάτων.

94. (Gen. vi. 7)
Διὰ τί ἀνθρωπὸν ἀπειλῶν ἀπαλέῳ καὶ τὰ ἄλογα προσδιαφθείρει;
Διὸ πού προηγουμένως δι' ἑαυτὰ γέγονε τὰ ἄλογα ἄλλα χάριν ἀνθρώπων καὶ τῆς τοῦτων ὑπηρεσίας, ἂν διαφθειρομένων εἰκὸς καὶ ἐκείνα συνδιαφθείρεται, μηκέτι οὖντων δι' οὖς γέγονε. Γ' ἐκ τοῦτον δῆλον ὅτι διὰ τὸν ἀνθρωπὸν πάντα τὰ
Dia τί ἀπειλῶν τὸν ἀνθρωπὸν ἀπαλέῳς καὶ τὰ ἄλογα προσδιαφθείρει;
"Οτι οὖ προηγουμένως δι' ἑαυτὰ γέγονεν τὰ ἄλογα ἄλλα χάριν ἀνθρώπων καὶ τῆς τοῦτων ὑπηρεσίας, ἂν διαφθειρομένων εἰκότως κάκεινα συνδιαφθείρεται, μηκέτι οὖντων τῶν δι' οὖς γέγονε, συμμετρούντος τοῦ θεοῦ τοῦ ἄριθμον τῶν σωθησομένων

a e Cod. Barb. Wendland: ἀπαλέῳς vulg.
b lupta Mai, Aug.
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ζῶα ἐγένετο: διὸ καὶ ἀπολλυμένου τοῦ δεσπότου συναπόλυται καὶ αὐτά, συμμετροῦντος τοῦ θεοῦ τὸν ἀριθμὸν τῶν σωθησομένων ζῶων πρὸς τὴν χρείαν τῶν φυλαχθησομένων ἀνθρώπων ἦσσερ οὖν καὶ ἀπ' ἀρχῆς δύο δύο ἐκτίσεων.

Wendland, p. 47, from Procopius 272 b (cf. Theodoret, Quaest. in Gen. 1, Chrys. Cat. Lips. 142).

95. (Gen. vi. 7)
"Ὅτι δὲ τῆς κακίας κολαζομένης ἡ ἀρετὴ διασώζεται Νοῦς δεδηλωκεν.

Wendland, pp. 49-50, from Procopius 292 a.

96. (Gen. vi. 8) . . . δὲ λέγεται χάριν εὑρεῖν παρὰ τῷ θεῷ.

"Ὡς τῶν ἄλλων δὲ ἀχαριστίαν ἀπολωλότων· οὐ γαρ ὃς χάριν λαβὼν ἐκ θεοῦ—κοινῶν γαρ τοῦτο πάντων ἀνθρώπων—ἀλλ' ἐπεὶ μόνος εὐχαριστος διεφάνη. "Εὗρε δὲ καὶ χάριτος διωσῶθαι θείας τὸν τού νέου γένους καταράσαται· μεγίστης γαρ χάριτος ἀρχήν καὶ τέλος ἀνθρώπων γενέσθαι. Διὸ καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν ἀρετῶν αὐτὸν γενεαλογεῖ· τοῦ γαρ σπουδαίου το πρὸς ἀλλήλειαν γένους ἐστὶν ἀρετή. Πρὸς δὲ καὶ φθαί—"καίρος παντὸς ἀνθρώπου ἥκει ἑννεῦτον ἐμοῦ." "Οὕτως γὰρ οὐδὲν ὡς ἀδικία πρὸς τὸν θεὸν ἑννεῦτον.

Wendland, p. 50, from Procopius 292 a.

99. (Gen. vi. 12)

"Καλῶς δὲ καὶ σάρκα κινουμένην λέγει τὴν ἐν φθορᾷ· κινεὶ γὰρ τὰς ἡδονὰς ἡ σάρξ καὶ κινεῖται ὑπὸ τῶν ἡδονῶν, ἤτις κίνησις αὕτη γίνεται φθορὰς ταῖς ψυχαῖς ὡς ἡ ἔγκρατεία σωτηρίας.

Wendland, pp. 55-56, from Procopius 269 d.

a 'Εκ τοῦτον . . . ἐκτίσεων] e Cod. Barb. vi. 8 add. Wendland.

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100. (Gen. vi. 13)

(a) Οὐδὲν ἐναντίον καὶ μαχόμενον ταῖς ὀσιωτάταις τοῦ θεοῦ δυνάμειν ἔστιν οὔτως ὡς ἁδικία.

Harris, p. 70 (identified by Früchte1), from Dam. Par. 787 (Cod. Rupef. f. 238), ἐκ τοῦ β' τῶν ἐν Γενέσει ζητημάτων.

(b) Ὅ καιρὸς παρὰ τοῖς φαύλοις νομίζεται εἶναι θεός τὸν ὄντα ὄντως παρακαλυπτόμενος . . . καὶ θεοπλαστούντων καὶ ἐξ ἐναντίας τιθέντων τῷ ἀληθεὶς θεῷ τὸ λέγειν τὸν καιρὸν αἰτίου τῶν ἐν τῷ βίῳ πραγμάτων εἶναι. Τοῖς γὰρ εὐσεβείσι οὐ καιρὸν ἄλλα θεὸν παρ' οὗ καὶ ὁ καιρὸς καὶ ὁ χρόνος: πλὴν αἰτίου οὐ πάντων ἁλλὰ μόνων ἁγαθῶν καὶ τῶν κατ' αρετὴν ὡς γὰρ ἀμέτοχος κακιάς, οὔτω καὶ ἁμαρτίας.


*Επάγει δὲ καὶ τὸ τῆς ἐναντίωσεως αἰτίου τὸ πληθυναί τὴν γῆν ἁδικίας. Καὶ ἐπεί θεός ὃ καιρὸς παρὰ τοῖς φαύλοις νομίζεται, ἀδίκοις ὡς καιρῶν καὶ χρόνων αὐτός ποιητὴς καὶ τούτως ὅρον ἐντίθησαν, ὡστε καὶ ἀλλαχοῦ φησιν "ἀφέστηκεν ὁ καιρὸς ἀπ’ αὐτῶν, ὃ δὲ κύριος ἐν ἡμῖν."α Ἡ δὲ "καιρὸς ἐστιν" σημαίνει τὴν οἰονεί εἰμι πλήρους τῶν ἡμαρτημένων, μεθ’ ἑνὶ ό τῆς δίκης καιρός.

Wendland, pp. 50-51, from Procopius 292 ἴ (Wendland adds a passage as "vielleicht ... auch aus Philo," but this seems doubtful).

a Num. xiv. 9.
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5. (Gen. v. 15) (a) "On ὁ τριάκοντα ἀριθμὸς φυσικῶτατος ἐστιν, ὡ γὰρ ἐν μονάδι τριάς, τούτῳ ἐν δεκάσι τριακοντάς... Συνέστηκεν ἐκ τεσσάρων τῶν ἀπὸ μονάδος ἕξις τετραγώνων αʹ δʹ θʹ ωʹ.

(b) Δυνατὸν ἐν τριακοστῷ ἔτει αὐτὸν ἀνθρωπον πάππον γενέσθαι ἣ βὰν μὲν περὶ τὴν τεσσερεκαδεκάτην ἡλικίαν, ἐν δὲ σπέρμα, τὸ δὲ σπαρέν ἐντὸς ἑναυτοῦ γενόμενον, πάλιν πεντεκαδεκάτῳ ἔτει τὸ ὄμοιον ἑαυτῷ γεννᾶν.
Harris, p. 20, from Dam. Par. 314.

9. (Gen. vi. 17) 
Cf. QG i. 94.

10. (Gen. vi. 18) "Ἀνθρωποι μὲν κληρονομοῦνται όταν μηκέτι δικαίως, ὡς καὶ ἄλλα τεθνῶσιν, ὡς δὲ θεὸς άιδίος όν μεταδίδωσι τοῦ κλήρου τοῖς σοφοῖς [Ţων ἀεί] εὐφραίνομενοι αὐτῇ τῇ περιουσίᾳ." 

11. (Gen. vii. 1) (a) Πρῶτον ἐναργῆς πίστις ὅτι δὲ ἐνα ἄνδρα δίκαιον καὶ δικαίων πολλοῖ ἀνθρώπων σύζονται. Δεύτερον ἐπαινεί τὸν δίκαιον ἄνδρα ὡς μὴ μόνον ἑαυτῷ περιπεποιηκότα ἁρετήν, ἄλλα καὶ παντὶ τῷ οἴκῳ, δὲ ἣν αἰτίαν καὶ σωτηρίας ἁξιώνται. Παγκάλως δὲ τούτῳ προσετέθη ὅτι "σε εἰδὸν δίκαιον ἐνώπιον ἐμοῦ." 'Εστέρως γὰρ

a ἄλλα τεθνῶσιν ex Arm. et Ambros. ins. Lewy.
b ζῶν ἀεὶ (ex marg. ad ἀείδος) recte seel. Lewy.
c αὐτῇ τῇ περιουσίᾳ] αὐτῶν τῇ κτίσει ex Arm. con. Lewy.
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(c) 'Η ἐν τῷ φαύλῳ κακία διδυμοτοκεῖ. Διγόνους γὰρ <καὶ> ἐπαμφοτερής ὁ ἀφρός, τὰ ἁμίκτα μηνύς, καὶ φύρων καὶ συγχέων τὰ διακρίνεσθαι δυνάμενα, τοιαῦτα ἐν ψυχῇ χρώματα ἐπιφέρουν, οίαπερ ὁ λεπτὸς ἐν τῷ σώματι, μαίνον καὶ τοὺς ύγιεῖς λογισοῦν ἀπὸ τῶν θανατούντων ἀμα καὶ φανωπόντων. Harris, p. 20, from Joh. Monachus (Mangey ii. 663 = Cod. Rupef. f. 125 and 138 b).

(d) . . . Τὸ τῆς ἡμετέραν τοῦ σώματος οὐσίαν γεώδη ὕπ- ἀρχον οὐ εἰσάπτω τειρομαθήναι χρῆ πνευματικῆς καὶ σωζοῦστης ἐπιμελείας. οὐφορεύγας μὲν γάρ καὶ ὁφοφαγίας καὶ λαγνείας καὶ αὐξάλιος ύγρὼ καὶ διαρρέοντι βίω χρώμενο νεκροφοροῦμεν σὺν τῇ ψυχῇ καὶ τὸ σῶμα, ἐὰν δὲ ἀποστραφοῦμεν τῶν παθῶν τῶν βομβισμὸν, ξυποφοροῦμεν καθ’ ἐκάτερον. "Lewy, p. 57, from Dam. Par. Cod. Const. f. 501v, Φίλωνος ("mit christlicher Tendenz überarbeitet").

*a* ἡδικώτατον γὰρ τὸ ἐν Αρμ. con. Lewy.
*bp* περιοραθήναι ὡστερ ζώων ἐφύμον ex Αρμ. con. Lewy.
*c* ἐὰν δὲ θεὸς ἑλθήσας ἀποστρέφῃ τῶν παθῶν τὸν κατάκλυσμον καὶ ἔηραν ἀπεργήσθη τῆς ψυχής, ἀρέσει ζωογονεῖν καὶ ψυχοῦν τὸ σῶμα καθαρωτέρα ψυχῆς, ἢ ἡ σοφία κυβερνήτης ἐστίν ex Αρμ. con. Lewy.
13. (Gen. vii. 4, 10)

Meθ' ἐπτὰ δὲ τοῦ εἰσελθεῖν ἡμέρας ὁ κατακλυσμὸς γίνεται, τοῦ φιλανθρώπου θεοῦ διδόντος αὐτοῖς ἀναχώρησιν εἰς μετάνοιαν ἀμαρτημάτων ὀρῶν αὐτόχρησμα πλήρη τὴν κιβωτὸν αὐτῶν γῆς καὶ τὸ ἐπιεικὲς δείκνυται τοῦ θεοῦ τὴν πολυετὴ μοχθηρίαν τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἐπιλυμένον τοῖς μετανοοῦσιν ἡμέραις ὀλίγαις. Ἡμέρας ὁ ἐπτὰ ἀριθμὸς ὑπόμνημα τῆς τοῦ κόσμου γενέσεως, ἐναργῶς δηλούντος τοῦ θεοῦ ὅτι αὐτὸς εἰμὶ καὶ τότε κοσμοποιών καὶ τὰ μὴ ὄντα ἄγων εἰς τὸ εἶναι καὶ τὰ ὄντα ἄδιαφθείρων. Ἀλλὰ τοῦ μὲν αὕτων ἀγαθότης ἐμῇ, τοῦ δὲ τῶν ἐνεργειτθεντῶν ἀσβέσια.

Wendland, p. 53, from Procopius 296 b.

14. (Gen. vii. 4, 12)

"Θεν καὶ Ἀρτέμις λέγεται ἀπὸ τοῦ ἀρτίου καὶ ὕλικος ἀριθμός (sc. δευτέρα ἡμέρα). Τὸ γὰρ ἀρτίου μέσον διαστάται διαρρομένου τοῦ ἔνος. Μόνος δὲ ἄδιαφρός οἱ περιτότ. Ὁ μὲν γὰρ ἀρτιὰν ἀριθμὸς... τετράγωνος, αὐγὴ καὶ φῶς εἰς ἱσότητα πλευρῶν συνεστῶς, δὲ θῆλος ἐτερομηχῆς, νῦκτα καὶ σκότον ἐξων διὰ τὴν ἀνισότητα. Ὁ δὲ ἐτερομηχῆς τὴν μὲν ἐλάττων πλευρὰν ἐλάττων ἐχεὶ ἐνί, τὴν δὲ μεῖζων περιττέτεραν εἰνί.


15. (Gen. vii. 4)

(α) Τί ἔστιν "ἐξαλείψω πᾶσαν τὴν ἐξανάστασιν ἣν ἐποίησα ἀπὸ προσώπου τῆς γῆς";
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Τί φασι οὕκ " ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς " ἀλλ’ " ἀπὸ τοῦ προσώπου τῆς γῆς "; τουτεστὶ τῆς ἐπιφανείας ἵνα ἐν τῷ βάθει ἡ ζωτικὴ δύναμις τῶν σπερμάτων ὄλων οὕσα φιλάττηται σῶς καὶ ἀπαθής παντὸς τοῦ βλάπτειν δυναμένου τῆς γὰρ ἕδαις προβέβευσα εἰ ἐπιληφθηναι ὁ ποιητὴς ἀλλὰ τὰ μὲν ἄνω καὶ κατ’ αὐτὴν τῆς ἐπιφανείας κινούμενα φθείρει, τὰς δὲ ρίζας βυθίους εἰς πρὸς γένεσιν ἄλλων.

Harris, p. 21, from Cat. Burney, f. 35 b and Cat. Lips. 1, col. 144, Φιλωνος ἐπισκόπου.

(β) Θεοπρεπῆς γὰρ τῷ " ἐξαλείψω " ὠσπερ τῶν ἀπαλειφομένων τὰ μὲν γράμματα ἀπαλειφοῦτα, αἱ δέλτιοι δὲ διαμένοναι ἢ μὲν γὰρ ἁσέβης γενεὰ ἐξῆλεπται, τὸ δὲ κατὰ διαδοχὴν τῆς οὐσίας γένος διετήρηθη, ὡς δίκαιον.

Harris, p. 21 (=Pitra, Anal. Sacr. ii. 313), from Cod. Vat. 748, f. 23 and Cod. Vat. 1657, f. 23.

Θεοπρεπῆς γὰρ τῷ " ἐξαλείψω " γεγραπται. Συμβαίνει γὰρ ἐπὶ τῶν ἀπαλειφομένων τὰ μὲν γράμματα ἁφανίζεσθαι, τὰς δὲ δέλτους ἢ βιβλίους διαμένειν. Ἐξ οὐ παριστάμας ὅτι τὴν μὲν ἐπιτολάζουσαν γένεσιν διὰ τὴν ἁσέβειαν ἀπαλείψει διήκνη γραμμάτων, τὴν δὲ χῶραν καὶ τὴν οὐσίαν τοῦ γένους τῶν ἀνθρώπων διαφυλάξει πρὸς τὴν ἁθῆς σπορᾶν.

Wendland, p. 54, from Procopius 296 c.


Τὰς γὰρ ρίζας βυθίους εἰς πρὸς γένεσιν ἄλλων.

Wendland, p. 54, from Procopius 296 c.

" Ἀπαλείψω " δὲ φησι, ἐπεὶ καὶ τῶν ἀπαλειφομένων τὰ γράμματα μὲν ἁφανίζεται, αἱ δέλτιοι δὲ διαμένουσιν ὅθεν ἐκτρέβων τὴν ἁσέβη γενεὰν τῆς οὐσίας τοῦ γένους ἐφείσατο.

Wendland, p. 54, from Procopius 296 c.

a βυθίους Cat. Lips.
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(c) Διό καὶ "τὴν ἀνάστασίν" φησιν ἀναστάσει δὲ ἀντίπαλον καθαίρεσις, τὸ δὲ καθαίρεθεν οὐκ εἰς ἀπαν ἀπόλλυται.
Wendland, p. 51, from Procopius 296 c.

16. (Gen. vii. 5)

"Επανος δὲ τοῦ δικαίου τὸ πάντα ποιήσαι τὰ προσταχθέντα, δεύτερον τὸ ἐντέλλεσαι μᾶλλον ἐθέλειν ἢ κελεύειν αὐτῷ τὸν θεόν ἐντέλλονται μὲν γὰρ φίλοι, κελεύουσι δὲ δεσπόται ὑπερβάλλει γὰρ ἐπὶ θεοῦ τὸ πρῶτον, εἰ καὶ μέγα τὸ δεύτερον.
Wendland, p. 55, from Procopius 296 c.

Mέγας ἐπανος τοῦ δικαίου ὁτι τὰ προσταχθέντα πάντα ἐπετελεσεν ἰσχυρογνώμονι λογισμῷ καὶ θεοφιλεί διανοίᾳ: δεύτερον δὲ ὁτι οὐκ ἐδείξει κελεύειν αὐτῷ μᾶλλον ἢ ἐντελεσθεί. Κελεύουσι μὲν γὰρ καὶ προστάτους δούλους δεσπόται, ἐντέλλονται δὲ φίλοι. Θαυμαστῇ μὲν οὖν δωρεά καὶ τὸ ταχθῆναι τὴν εἶν δούλους καὶ θεράσου παρὰ τοῦ θεοῦ τάξιν, ὑπερβολῇ δὲ εὐεργεσίας ἐστὶ τὸ καὶ φίλον γενηθῆναι γενιτῶν ἁγενήτω.
Wendland, p. 55, from Cat. Barb. vi. 8, f. 101, Φίλωνος ἐπισκόπου.

17. (Gen. vii. 11)

Κατὰ τὸν τῆς Ἰσημερίας καίρον ἐπισκύπτει οἱ κατα-κλυσμός ἐν ἢ καὶ τον τοῦ γένους ἁρ-χηγετὴν διαπεπλά-σθαι φασίν ὁ δὲ ἐβδομος μὴν λέγεται καὶ πρῶτος καθ' ἑτέραν καὶ ἑτέραν ἐπιβολήν διό καὶ ἡ Ἐυλογος γὰρ καὶ τὸν τοῦ ἀνθρώπων γένους ἀρχηγετὴν δ' Ἀδὰμ διαπεπλάσθαι τῷ καίρῳ τῆς ἐαρνήσ ἰσημερίας. Ἡ Ἰσημερία δ' ἐαρνήσ γίνεται καὶ τῷ ἐβδομῳ μνην ὁ δ' αὐ-τός λέγεται καὶ πρῶτος καθ' ἑτέραν

α ἐτέρας καὶ ἑτέρας Cod. Burney.

β ἡ γενάρχην ἡ πατέρα ἡ ὅπως δεί καλεῖ τὸν πρεσβύτατον ἐκείνων ex Arm. add. Lewy.

οτ' ἡν κατάπλεωσ ἡ γῆ φυτῶν ex Arm. add. Lewy.

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tοῦ Ὁδε πρόσδοσος εἴξομοιοῦται τῷ πρῶ-

tῳ γηγενεί ὡς ἄρχη
sυνατάσεως δευτέρου
kόσμου.

Harris, p. 22, from Cod. Burney,
f. 36 a, Φίλωνος, and Cat. Lips. 1,
col. 149.

Wendland, p. 55, from Pro-
copius 296 d.

26. (Gen. viii. 1) Πῶς δὲ "τοῦ Ὁδε 

μηθεῖς ὁ θεὸς καὶ 

κτημῶν καὶ θηρίων," γυναῖκος ἡ τέκνων οὐ μέμηται;

"Οποὺ συμφωνία πάντων, ὄνομάτων οὐ 

χρεία πολλῶν οὐ 

δὲ τῶ πρωτῶ καὶ τὸν οἶκον ἀνάγκη 

συνυπακούεσθαι.

Wendland, p. 56, from Procopius 296 d.

28. (Gen. viii. 1) Καὶ "ἐπήγαγε," φησί, "πνεῦμα εἰς 

τὴν γῆν 

καὶ κεκόπακε τὸ ὕδωρ."

Οὐκ ἀνέμῳ ὕδωρ μειοῦται, κυμαίνει δὲ καὶ 

παλαι 

γάρ ἂν τὰ 

μέγιστα 

τῶν πελαγῶν ἐξανάλωτο. Πνεῦμα 

tοίνυν 

τὸ 

θείον 

φησιν, ὥ 

δὴ 

πάντα 

καὶ 

γίνεται καὶ 

λωφά: οὐκ 

ἂν 

γάρ 

εὐλογὸν 

 yö 

τοσοῦτον ἀνέμῳ 

παυθήναι, 

ἀροτῶ 

δὲ 

καὶ 

θεία 

δυνάμει.

Wendland, p. 56, from Procopius 296 d, with variants of 


29. (Gen. viii. 2) 

Δῆλον δὲ ἔστιν ὡς 

ταῖς 

μὲν 

πρώταις 

μ' 

ἡμέραις ἄληκτος; 

ἡ 

τῆς 

ρύμης 

τῶν ὑδάτων ὑπήρχε 

φορά, 

ταῖς 

δὲ 

ἄλλαι 

ρ' καὶ 

ν' ἔχουσα

a καὶ Ὁδε μετὰ τὴν τοῦ κατακλυσμοῦ φθοράν πρῶτη 

tοῦ γένους 

ex Arm. add. Lewy.

b καθ' ὅσον δυνατῶν ex Arm. add. Lewy.

c ἀνέμως Cat. Lips.

d κυμαίνεται Cat. Lips.

e πάλαι . . . δυνάμει] ἄλλα τούτο ἢ τὸ τοῦ θεοῦ 

πνεῦμα, ὁ 

ἐξ 

ἀρχῆς 

ἐπεφέρετο 

ἐπάνω 

τοῦ ὅδατος 

Cat. Lips.

f Wendland : ἄλεκτος codd.
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τράως οὐκέτι πρὸς αὐξήσαι, πρὸς διαμονὴν δὲ τῆς ἀνακαλύψεως καὶ τοῦ ύψους συνεβάλλετο: “μεθ’ ἡμέρας” γὰρ φησιν, “νῦν επικαλυφθῆναι τὰς τε πηγὰς καὶ τοὺς καταράκτας”; ἐνήργουν ἀρα πρὸ τῆς ἐπισεχέσεως. Μετὰ ν’ ἐκαί τ’ ἡμέρας ἠλατοῦτο τὸ ὕδωρ ἃ ἔκατε τὰς προειρημένας, ἐν αἰς ύψοιτο τὸ ὕδωρ ἡ μετὰ τοσαύτας ἐτέρας οὐκ εὐθύλον.

Wendland, pp. 56-57, fromProcopius 296 d.

34. (Gen. viii. 6) Λαί αἰσθήσεις θυρίων ἐοίκασι. Διὰ γὰρ τοῦτων ὡσαιει θυρίδων ἐπεισέρχεται τὸ νῦ ἡ κατάληψις τῶν αἰσθητῶν καὶ πάλιν ὁ νοῦς ἐκκυπτεῖ δι’ αὐτῶν. Μέρος δὲ ἐστὶ τῶν θυρίδων, λέγω δὴ τῶν αἰσθήσεων, ἡ ὁρασία, ἐπεὶ καὶ ψυχὴς μάλιστα συγγενῆς, ὁπερ καὶ τῷ καλλίστῳ τῶν ὄντων φωτί οὐκεία, καὶ ὑπηρέτης τῶν θεῶν. "Ἡτις καὶ τὴν εἰς φιλοσοφιὰν ὀδὸν ἔτεμε τὴν πρώτην. Θεσαύρεσθαι γὰρ ἡλίου κίνησιν καὶ σελήνης καὶ τὰς τῶν ἀστέρων περιόδους καὶ τὴν ἀπλανῆ περιφεραν τοῦ σύμπαντος οὐρανοῦ καὶ τὴν παντὸς τοῦ λόγου κρείττονα τάξιν τε καὶ ἀρμονίαν καὶ τὸν τοῦ κόσμου μόνον ἀγωνίσεσθαι κοσμοποιόν, διηγεῖται τῷ ἡγεμόνι λογισμῷ ἡ εἰδην. 'Ο δὲ ἐν ὁματι ὀξυνερκεστέρῳ θεσαύρει καὶ παραδείγματι καὶ ἐοίκασι τοῦτον' αὐτῷ καὶ τὸν ἀπάντων αὐτῷν, εὐθὺς εἰς ἐννοιαν ἐξέθεί θεόν καὶ γενέσεως καὶ προνοίας, λογισάμενος ὅτι ὅλη φύσις οὐκ αὐτοματοσθεῖσα γέγονεν, ἀλλ’ ἀνάγκη ποιητῆν εἶναι καὶ πατέρα, κυβερνήτην τε καὶ ἴνοχον, ὅσ καὶ πεποίηκε καὶ ποιήματα αὐτοῦ σῶζει. a

Harris, pp. 22-23, from Joh. Monachus (Mangey ii. 665 = Cod. Rupef. f. 221), ἐκ τοῦ Περὶ κοσμοποιίας. The two variants in the footnotes, printed by Harris on p. 70 among "unidentified fragments" and located by Fruchtel, also come from Joh. Monachus (Mangey ii. 669), ἐκ τοῦ α’ τῶν ἐν Γεν. ζητήμ.

a ἀναλύσεως Cod. Aug.
b παραδείγματι . . . τοῦτων con. Mangey: παραδείγματι καὶ εἰδεί διὰ τοῦτων codd.
c ὅτι . . . γέγονεν] ἀμήκανον ἀρμονίαν καὶ τάξιν καὶ λόγον καὶ ἀναλογίαν καὶ τοσαυτῆς συμφωνίαν καὶ τὸ ὅτι εὐδαιμονίαν ἀπαντομοσθεῖσα γενέσθαι Joh. Monach. in alio loco.
d ἀλλ’ . . . σῶζει] ἀνάγκη γὰρ εἶναι ποιητῆν καὶ πατέρα, κυβερνήτην τε καὶ ἴνοχον, ὅσ γεγέννηκεν καὶ γεννηθέντα σῶζει Joh. Monach. in alio loco.

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39. (Gen. viii. 9)
Σύμβολα δὲ κακίας καὶ ἀρετῆς ὢ τε κόρας καὶ ἡ περιστερά. Εἰ γὰρ αὕτη δευτέρα ἐξελθοῦσα ὀυχ ἐδρεύ ἀνάπαυσιν, πῶς ὁ κόρας; Οὐδὲ γὰρ τὸ ζωὸν ἐστὶν ὑδρόβιον. Ἀλλὰ γὰρ ἡ κακία τοῖς κυ-μαίνουσιν ἐφήδεται, ἢ δὲ ἀρετὴ τοῦτων ἀποπηδᾶ πρὸς τὴν πρώτην δυσχεράνασα θέαν, ἀνάπαυσιν καὶ βάσιν ἐν τούτοις ὦν ἤχουσα.

Wendland, pp. 57-58, from Procopius 297 c (cf. Cat. Lips. 150, Ἀδηλοῦ).

41. (Gen. viii. 10)
Ὁ καλὸς καὶ ἀγαθὸς τοῦ διδασκάλου τρόπος καὶ ἂν ἐν ἀρχῇ οἰκληράχενας ἡ δὴ φύσει, οὐκ ἀπογνώσκει τὴν ἀμείων μεταβολήν ἀλλ' ὠσπέρ ἀγαθὸς ἑατρός οὐκ εὐθὺς ἐπιφέρει τὴν θεραπείαν ἀμα τῷ κατασκηνῆσαι τὴν νόσον ἀλλ' ἀναχώρησαι τῇ φύσει δοῦν ὡς προανατέμνῃ τὴν εἰς σωτηρίαν ὦδον, τηνικάτα χρήται τοῖς ὕπνειν ή καὶ σωτηρίους φαρμάκους, οὕτω καὶ σπουδαῖος λόγοι κατὰ φιλο-σοφίαν καὶ δόγμασιν.

Harris, p. 100, from Cod. Rupef. f. 137 (located by Früchtel).

47. (Gen. viii. 14)
Ἡ μὲν οὖν ἀρχὴ τοῦ κατακλυσμοῦ γέγονεν ἐβδόμη καὶ εἰκάδι τῆς ἐιρήνης ἱστημερίας, ἢ δὲ μείωσις ἐβδόμῳ μετὰ ταῦτῃ μηνι τῇ μετοπωρινῇ ἱστημερίᾳ, ἐβδόμη καὶ εἰκάδι τοῦ μηνὸς. Οὕτως γὰρ πέρας μὲν τῆς πρώτης ἱστημερίας, ἀρχὴ δὲ τῆς δευτέρας, ὠσπὲρ ὁ ἄπο τοῦτο ἐβδομοσ πέρας τῆς δευτέρας, ἀρχὴ δὲ τῆς πρώτης, ἐν οἷ καὶ τοῦ κόσμου ή γένειας.

Wendland, p. 57, from Procopius 296 d.

48. (Gen. viii. 15-16)
Εὐλαβῆς ὡν ὁ Νῶε ἀκόλουθων ἡγήσατο μετὰ τὸ κοπάσαι τὸ ὡδὼρ ἀναμείναι τὴν τοῦ θεοῦ πρόσταξιν ἵν', ὠσπέρ χρησμοῖς εἰσελθὼν εἰς τὴν κυβωτὸν, χρησμοῖς πάλιν ὑπεξέλθῃ, εἰπὲν γὰρ κύριος ὁ θεὸς τῷ Νῶε· "ἐξελθε ἡ ε καὶ ἡ γυνὴ σου" καὶ τὰ ἐξῆς.


54. (Gen. viii. 21)
(a) 'Η πρότασις ἐμφαίνει μεταμελεῖαν, ἀνοίκειον πάθος θείας δυνάμεως. Ἀνθρώποις μὲν γὰρ ἀσθενεῖς αἱ γνώμαι καὶ ἀβέβαιοι, ὡς τὰ πράγματα πολλῆς γέμοντα ἀδηλότητος. Θεῶ δὲ οὐδὲν ἀδηλον, οὐδὲν ἀκατάληπτον· ἵσχυρογνωμονέστατος γὰρ καὶ βε-
APPENDIX A, GREEK FRAGMENTS

baioōtatos. Pòs oūn tῆς αὐτῆς ὑπούμης αἰτίας, ἐπιστάμενος ἐξ ἀρχῆς ὅτι ἐγκεῖται ἡ διάνοια τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ἐπιμελῶς ἐπὶ τὰ πονηρά έκ νεότητος, πρῶτον μὲν ἐφθειρεν τὸ γένος κατακλυσμῷ, μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα φηναι μικρῖ παραβιβαζέν ἀληθείας, καίτοι διαμενουσάς ἐν τῇ ἤπνῃ τῆς αὐτῆς κακίας; Λεκτέον οὖν ὅτι τὰς η ὁ τοιᾶς τῶν λόγων ιδέα περιέχεται ἐν τοῖς νόμοις προς μάθησιν καὶ ὕφελειαν διδαςκαλίας μᾶλλον ἢ πρὸς τὴν φύσιν τῆς ἀληθείας. Διυττῶν γὰρ ὄντων κεφαλαίων ἄ κείται διὰ πάσης τῆς νομοθεσίας ένὸς μὲν καθ’ ἑλέγεται, "οὐχ ὡς ἀνθρωπος ο θεὸς", ἐτέρου δὲ καὶ ο" "ὡς ἀνθρωπος" παίδευεν λέγεται τιόν. Τὸ μὲν πρῶτον τῆς ἀληθείας ἐστὶν ὄντως γὰρ ο θεὸς οὐχ ὡς ἀνθρωπος ἂλλ' οὐδὲ ὡς ἠλίας οὐδὲ ὡς οὐρανός οὐδὲ ὡς κόσμος άληθεις ἢ νοητός ἂλλ' ὡς θεὸς, εἰ καὶ τοῦτο θέμα εἰπεῖν. Ομοιόμετα γὰρ ή σύγκρασιν ή παραβολὴ οὐκ ἐπιδέχεται τὸ μακάριον εἰκεῖν, μᾶλλον δὲ μακαριστότερος αὐτῆς ὑπεράνω. Τὸ δὲ ύστερον τῆς διδασκαλίας καὶ φυγής εἰς τοῦ "ὡς ἀνθρωπος", ἐκεῖν τοῦ παίδευεν τοὺς γγενεῖς Ήμᾶς ίνα μή τὰς ὀργὰς καὶ τὰς τυμορίας μέχρι παντὸς ἀποτείνωμεν ἀσπόδως καὶ ἀσυμβάτως ἔχουτε.

Harris, pp. 23-24, from Pitra, Anal. Sacr. ii. 304 (e Cod. Coislin. 276, f. 220 b), Φιλωνος εκ τοῦ Περὶ κοσμοποιίας γ' κεφαλαίον (also in Cod. Rupef. f. 205 b, Φιλωνος, "with much variation ").

(b) Τὸ οὖν "διενοῇθη" ἐπὶ θεοῦ οὐκ ἐνελεγείται, τοῦ τῆν γνώμην καὶ τῆν διάνοιαν βεβαιοτάτου.

Harris, p. 24, from same source as Frag. (a) above.

(c) "Η τυχοῦσα τῆς κακίας γένεις δουλοὶ τὸν λογισμὸν καὶ ἂν μήπω τέλειον αὐτῆς ἐκφυτήθη τὸ γέννημα. Ἰσον γὰρ ἔστι τῷ κατά τὴν παρομίαν λεγομένῳ "πλυθὼν πλυνεύν ἡ δικτυόν ὄφω λωμείζων" τοῦ κακίαν ἐξελεῖν ἀνθρώπον ψυχῆς. Ορα γὰρ αἷς ἐγκεκράχθη πάντων ἡ διάνοια, ὡς φηαίνα, "ἐπιμελῶς" καὶ οὐ παρέργος; τούτων συγκεκάλληται καὶ προσπήμοσται. Τὸ δὲ οὖν ἐπιμελεία καὶ φροντίδα κατεσκεμένων ἐστὶ και διηγορευμένον ἐλι αἰκρίβειαν, καὶ τούτῳ οὐκ ὅσ' καὶ μόλις ἀλλ' "ἐκ νεότητος", μονονούχη λέγων, "ἐξ αὐτῶν τῶν σταργάνων," ὧσπερ τι μέρος ἠγομένων." e

Harris, pp. 24-25, from Joh. Monachus (Mangey ii. 663 = Cod. Rupef. f. 138 a, εκ τοῦ Περὶ μετονομαζομένων).

a οὐ om. Cod. Coislin. vid.

b δηπευμενον ex Arm. conieci.

c ήγομένον ex Lat. con. Mangey: τευνόμενον Codd.

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59. (Gen. ix. 4) Τί ἐστιν "ἐν αἵματι ψυχῆς κρέας οὐ φά-γεοθε";

"Εοικεν διὰ τούτου δηλοῦν ὧτι ψυχῆς οὐσία αἵμα ἐστιν ψυχῆς μέντοι τῆς αἰσθητικῆςς πονῆ αἰμά ἐστιν λογική τε καὶ νοερά. Τρία γὰρ μέρη ψυχῆς: τὸ μὲν θρεπτικὸν, τὸ δὲ αἰσθητικὸν, τὸ δὲ λογικὸν. Τοῦ μὲν οὖν λογικοῦ τὸ θείου πνεῦμα οὐσία κατὰ τὸν θεόλογον, φησιν γὰρ ὅτι ἐνεφύσσεν εἰς τὸ πρόσωπον αὐτοῦ πνοὴν ζωῆς τοῦ δὲ αἰσθητικοῦ καὶ ζωτικοῦ τὸ αἷμα οὐσία, λέγει γὰρ ἐν ἐτέρους ὧτι ψυχῆς πάσης σαρκὸς τὸ αἵμα ἐστιν καὶ κυριώτατα ψυχῆς σαρκὸς αἷμα εἰρήκεν, περὶ δὲ σάρκα ἡ αἰσθησις καὶ τὸ πάθος οὐχ ὁ νοῦς καὶ ὁ λογιμός. Οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸ ἐν αἵματι ψυχῆς μηνύει ὅτι ἐτέρων ἐστὶν ψυχῆ καὶ ἐτέρον αἷμα, ὡς εἶναι ψυχῆς μὲν ἄμελεώς οὐσίαν πνεῦμα, μὴ καθ’ αὐτὸ δὲ χωρὶς αἵματος τόπον ἔπεχεν ἀλλ’ ἐμφέρεσθαι καὶ συγκεκάθαι αἵματι.

Harris, pp. 25-26, from Cod. Reg. 923, f. 376 b and Cod. Rupef. f. 279 b.

62. (Gen. ix. 6) Διατὶ, ὡς περὶ ἐτέρου θεοῦ, φησι τὸ "ἐν εἰκόνι θεοῦ ἐποίησα τὸν ἀνθρώπον " ἀλλ’ οὐχὶ τῇ ἐκαταφερα;

Παγκάλως καὶ σοφῶς τούτῳ κεχρησμώθησα. Θυντὸν γὰρ οὐδὲν ἀπεικονισθηκαί πρὸς τὸν ἀνωτάτον καὶ πατέρα τῶν ὅλων ἐδύνατο, ἀλλὰ πρὸς τὸν δεύτερον θεόν, ὃς ἐστὶν ἐκεῖνου λόγος. "Εδει γὰρ τὸν λογικὸν ἐν ἀνθρώπῳ ψυχῆς τύπον ὑπὸ θείου λόγου χαρακθῆναι, ἐπειδὴ ὁ πρὸ τοῦ λόγου θεὸς κρείασον ἐστὶν ἡ πάσα λογική φύσις τῶν δὲ ὑπὸ τὸν λόγον ἐν τῇ βελτίστῃ καὶ τοις ἔξωρετοι καθεστώτι ἵδει οὐδέν θέμι ηὐ γεννητὸν ἐξομοιοθῆσαί.


64. (Gen. ix. 13-17)

(a) Τινὲς ἔδω φασιν μείπτοτε παρὰ τὴν ίριν ἔτερα ἄττα μηνύει, τουτοῦτον ἀνέσαν καὶ ἐπίτασαν τῶν ἐπιγείων μῆτε τῆς ἀνέσεως εἰς ἐκλαύσην ψυχεμένης παντελῆ καὶ ἀναρμοστιάν μῆτε τῆς ἐπιτάσεως ἀχρί ρήξεως ἐπιτευνωμένης ἀλλὰ μέτροις ὑμισμένοις ἐκατέρας δυνάμεως σταθμηθείςς. 'Ο γὰρ μέγας κατακλυσμὸς ρήξει γέγονεν, ὡς καὶ αὐτὸς φησιν: "ἐρράγησαν αἱ πηγαὶ τῆς ἀβύσσου" ἀλλ’ οὐκ

a αἰσθητικῆς καὶ τῆς ζωτικῆς ex Lat. con. Harris.
APPENDIX A, GREEK FRAGMENTS

Wendland, pp. 59-60, fromProcopius 300 c-d.

(b) "Εστίν οὖν θεοῦ δύναμις ἀόρατος συμβολικῶς τὸ τόξον, ἃς ἐνυπάρχουσα τῷ ἁρέι ἀνειμένω κατὰ τὰς αἰθρίας καὶ ἐπιτευνομένη κατὰ τὰς νεφώσεις οὐκ ἔνα τὰ νέφη δι᾽ ὅλου εἰς ὦδωρ ἀναλύεσθαι τῷ μῇ γενέσθαι καθόλου κατακλυσμόν. Κυβερνά γὰρ καὶ ἡγοεῖ τὴν τύχαιν τῶν ἁρεὶος, πεφυκότος μάλιστα τότε ἀπαχενίζειν καὶ ἐνυβρίζειν διὰ πλησιμονῆς κόρου.

Harris, pp. 26-27, from Cat. Lips. 1, col. 160, Φίλωνος ἐπισκόπου, "also in Cod. Burney, fol. 37 b, with frequent inaccuracy of transcription."

65. (Gen. ix. 18-19)
Εἰ δὲ μνησθεῖς τετάρτου τοῦ Χαναάν ἐπήνεγκε, "τρεῖς οὖν νιóstοι τοῦ Νῶε," δέον, φασίν, εἰπεῖν τέσσαρες, οὐκ ἀλόγως. Διὰ γὰρ τὴν ὁμοιοτροπίαν εἰς ἐν συλλαμβάνει τῷ πατρὶ τὸν αὐτὸν. Οἴ καὶ φασίν ὡς εἰκότως νῦν τοῦ Χάμ ὑπογράφει τὴν γενεάν εἰς ἐμφασιν τοῦ ὅτι πατήρ ἥδη γεγονὼς τὸν ἑαυτοῦ πατέρα οὐκ ἐτίμησεν οὐδὲ μετέδωκε τῷ γεννήσαντι ὅν ἂν παρά τοῦ παιδὸς ἥξιον τυχεῖν, καὶ ὡς νεωτεροποιὸν πρὸς ἀμαρτίαν ἐκάλεσει εἰκότως νεώτερον. Ἐπίπτησε δὲ ἑώρων ἐμνήσθη καὶ τοῦ Χαναάν τοῦ τῶν Χαναάνων οἰκίστων πόρρωθεν ἐλέγχων τὸ δυσγενές, ὅν τὴν γῆν ἄφελων τῷ θεοφιλεῖ παρέσχε λαῷ.

Wendland, p. 61, from Procopius 301 D, 304 A.

66. (Gen. ix. 20)
Ἐξομοιοὶ δὲ τῶν Νῶε τῶ ἐπίκηδος διαπλασθέντι ἀνθρώπων. Ἐξήλθε γὰρ ἐκάτερος, ὅ μὲν τοῦ παραδείσου, ὁ δὲ τῆς κηφισίας. "Αρχεῖ γεωργίας ἐκάτερος μετὰ κατακλυσμῶν καὶ γὰρ ἐν τῇ τοῦ κόσμου γενέσει τρόπον τινὰ κατεκέλυστο τῇ γῆ. Οὐ γὰρ ἂν ἔλεγεν: "συναχθῆτω τὸ ὦδωρ εἰς τὴν συναγωγὴν μίαν καὶ ὀφθήτω ἡ ἥπερ." "

Wendland, p. 63, from Procopius 305 A.

* Πόση των] περιττῇ con. Wendland.

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GENESIS, BOOK II

68. (Gen. ix. 20)

Εἴτει δ’ ἂν τις ἐκ τῶν ῥήτων ὡς οὕδε τὸν οἶνον οἶλον ἄλλ’ ἐκ τοῦ οἴνου πίνει δι’ ἐγκράτειαν, δι’ ἢν ἐμέτρει τὴν χρήσιν, τοῦ ἀκρατοῦ οὐκ ἀπαλλαττομένου τῶν συμποσίων πρὶν ἄν ὁλον ἐκπίη τὸν ἀκρατον εἶτα καὶ τῷ μεθύειν ἢ γραφῆν ἡ γραφή νῦν ἀντὶ τῆς οἰνούσεως κέχρηται. Δικτὸν γὰρ τὸ μεθύειν, ἢ τὸ παρ’, οἶνον ληρεῖ, ὀπερ ἀμάρτημα καὶ φαύλου ἰδιον, ἢ τὸ οἰνούσθαι, ὀπερ καὶ εἰς σοφὸν πίπτει. a

Wendland, p. 63, from Procopius 305 A. The variant to the last sentence, given in the footnote, is printed by Harris, p. 27, from Mai, Script. Vet. vii. 104, from Cod. Vat. 1553, ἐκ τοῦ α’ τῶν ἐν Γενέσει ζητημάτων.

71. (Gen. ix. 22)

Τοῦ δὲ Χάμ αὐξεῖ τὸ ἐγκλῆμα, πρῶτον μὲν ἐκ τοῦ ὑπεριδεῖν, δεύτερον δὲ ἐκ τοῦ εἰσεῖν καὶ οὐχ ἐνι μόνῳ τῶν ἀδελφῶν, ἄλλ’ ἀμφοτέροις: ἐκ δὲ καὶ πλείους ἥσουν ἀπασιν ἐξελάθησεν ἀν διαχλενάζων πράγμα ὡς χλεύς ἄλλ’ ἀιδοὺς καὶ εὐλαβείας ἀξίον ὣν. Εἶτα οὐκ ἐνδον ἄλλ’ ἔξω διήγγειλεν: ὅπερ ἐμφαίνει τὸ μὴ ἀκηκοέαν μὸνον τοὺς ἀδελφοὺς ἄλλα καὶ τοὺς ἔξω περιεστώτας ἄνδρας τε καὶ γυναίκας. b

Wendland, p. 62, from Procopius 304 C. The variant to the last sentence, given in the footnote, is printed by Harris, p. 27, from Cat. Lips. 1, col. 163, also from Cat. Burney, f. 37 b, Φιλώνος ἐπισκόπου.

72. (Gen. ix. 23)

Ὁ εὐχερῆς καὶ ἀπερίσκεπτος τὰ ἐπ’ εὐθείας καὶ πρὸς ὀφθαλμῶν μόνον ὅρα: ἡ δὲ φρονίμος καὶ τὰ κατόπιν, τούτεστι τὰ μέλλοντα: ὅσπερ γὰρ τὰ ὑπάρχου ἐμπροσθεν ὑποτείχει, οὐτω καὶ τὰ μέλλοντα τῶν ἐνεστώτων. τὸν τὴν θεωρίαν ἢ ἀστείος μέτειον, αὐγαίως τάντοθεν ὁμομαθωθείς: πᾶς οὐν σοφὸς οὐκ ἀνθρώπος a


b Post ἀδελφῶν verba τὸ τοῦ πατρὸς ἀκούσιον ἀμάρτημα ex Arm. suppl. Wendland.

c τὸ μὴ ἀκηκοέαν . . . γυναίκας] οὐ μόνον τοὺς ἀδελφοὺς ἀκηκοέαν ἄλλα καὶ τοὺς περιεστώτας ἄνδρας ἔξω ὁμοι καὶ γυναίκας Cat. Lips.

d Λυγκέως <δίκην> ex Arm. con. Harris: Ἄργος ὡς con. l’ost.
APPENDIX A, GREEK FRAGMENTS

§ 77. (Gen. ix. 27) Kαὶ πῶς Χάμ καὶ αὐτὸς ὃν ἰἀσεβῆς οὐ τῆς αὐτῆς μετέσχε κατάρας;
'Αλλοι δὲ φασὶν ὅς ὁ μὲν Χαναάν ἔλαβε τὴν κατάραν οὐκ ὃν ἀλλότριος τῆς πατρικῆς προαιρέσεως, ὁ δὲ Χάμ εἰς πατέρα ἀμαρτήσας εἰς τίνα κατηράθη ἄξιον ὡς καὶ τῶν ίδιων κακῶν τῆς κατάρας. 'Αλλὰ καὶ μειζόνως ἥλει διὰ τοῦ παιδὸς τιμωρούμενος· μείζων γὰρ ὃν <αὐτοῖς> πάσχομεν τά τῶν παῖδων ἐστίν εἰς συμφορὰν, καὶ ὁ πάλιν ἡνίκα γινώσκομεν ὃς ἀρχηγοὶ καὶ διδάσκαλοι τῶν κακῶν αὐτοῖς βουλευμάτων γεγόναμεν.

Wendland, pp. 60-61, from Procopius 301 c-d and Theodoret, Quaest. Iviii. (cf. Cat. Lips. 165-166).

* Post καὶ lacuna est quam per verbum ἀνιώμεθα suppl. Wendland.

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3. (Gen. xv. 9)

'Ατόπως δρώσιν ὅσοι ἐκ μέρους τινὸς κρίνονται τὸ οἶλον ἀλλὰ τὸ ἑναντίον a ἐκ τοῦ οἴλου τὸ μέρος. Ὑπὼ γὰρ ἄμεων καὶ σῶμα b καὶ πράγμα δογματίζοντο ἂν. Ἐστών οὖν ἡ θεία νομοθεσία τρόπον τινὰ ζών ἦνομένον, ἢν ὁλον δὲ ὁλον χρή μεγάλοις ὅμμασι περισκο- 
πείν, καὶ τὴν βουλὴν τῆς συμπάσης γραφής ἄκριβῶς καὶ τηλαυγῶς 
περιθρεῖν, μὴ κατακόπτοντας τὴν ἁμονίαν, μηδὲ τὴν ἔνωσιν 
διαρτῶντας. Ἐπερόμορφα γὰρ καὶ ἐπερειδὴ φανεῖται τῆς κοινω-
νίας στερούμενα.

Harris, p. 29, from Dam. Par. 774, from Cod. Rupef.

7. (Gen. xv. 11a)

Πᾶσα ἡ ὑπὸ τὴν σελήνην φύσις μεστὴ πολέμων καὶ κακῶν 
ἐμφυλῶν ἐστὶ καὶ ξένων.

Harris, p. 29, from Mai, Script. Vet. vii. 98, from Cod. Vat. 
1553, ἐκ τοῦ γ’ τῶν ἐν Γενέσει ζητημάτων.

8. (Gen. xv. 11b)

"Ἐνεκα μὲν τῶν φαύλων οὐδεμιὰ πόλις ἦρέμησεν ἂν. Δια-
μένους δὲ ἀστασίαστοι δι’ ἕνος ἡ δευτέρου δικαιοσύνην ἀσκοῦντος c 
οὐ ἡ ἀρετὴ τὰς πολιτικὰς d νόσους ἱᾶται, γέρας ἀπονέμοντος τοῦ 
φιλαρέτου e θεοῦ καλοκύραθιας f τοῦ μὴ μόνον ἄλλα καὶ τοὺς 
πλησίαζοντας ωφελείαθαι.

Harris, pp. 29-30, from Mangey ii. 661, from Joh.

a οὐ τὸ ἑναντίον con. Harris. b ὄνομα con. Harris.

c οἰκοῦντος Cod. Rupef.: συνοικοῦντος Anton Melissa.
d πολεμικὸς Joh. Monachus.
e φιλανθρώπου Joh. Monachus.
f καλοκαιράθων Cod. Rupef.
g ὥφελεῖν Anton Melissa.
APPENDIX A, GREEK FRAGMENTS

Monachus (=Cod. Rupef. f. 33 b), and from Anton Melissa, col. 1105.

11. (Gen. xv. 15)
'Εναργώς ἀφθαρσίαν ψυχῆς αἰνίττεται μετουκυλομένης ἀπὸ τοῦ θυντοῦ σώματος. Τὸ γὰρ τῷ τελευτάωντι φάσκειν "ἀπελεύθ <πρὸς τοὺς> πατέρας σου," τί ἔτερον ἢ ζωὴν ἔτεραν παρίστησι τὴν ἀνευ σώματος, καθ’ ἢν ψυχῆν μόνην αὐμβαίνει ζην. Πατέρας δὲ Ἀβραὰμ οὐ δίηπτον τοὺς γεννήσαντας αὐτοὺς πάππους καὶ προγόνους παρείληφεν οὐ γὰρ πάντες ἐπανετοι γεγόνασιν ἀλλ’ ἐνυκεν αἰνίττεοθι πατέρας οὐς ἐτέρωθι καλεῖν ἀγγέλους εἰσοθήν. Εἰ δὲ καὶ τοὺς περὶ τὸν Ἀβιλ καὶ Ἕλως καὶ Σηθ καὶ Ἕλως καὶ Νωε φήσεις, οὐχ ἀμαρτήσεις τοῦ πρόποντος . . . μακρὸν γὰρ αἰῶνα τεῖνονος εἰ μυρίω τῶν ἀφρῶν, καλὸν δὲ καὶ σπουδαῖον μόνον ὁ φρονήσεως ἑρασθή.


12. (Gen. xv. 16)
Καὶ ὦτῳ μὲν ἐπὶ τοῦ νοητοῦ, οὐδὲν δὲ ἤτον κατὶ τοῦ ἀιωθοῦν ἐστὶ συνεδίν ἐν ταῖς τῶν ζωῶν γενέσει πρῶτον μὲν γὰρ ἐστὶ σπέρματος καταβολῆ, δεύτερον δὲ ἢ εἰς τὰ γένη διανομῆ, τρίτον αὐξησι, καὶ τέταρτον τελείωσι.

Staehle, p. 30, from Joh. Lydus, p. 29, 7-11.

18. (Gen. xvi. 1)
Στείρα ἡ τοῦ ἕθνους μήτηρ εἰσάγατε, πρῶτον μὲν ὄνα παράδεξος ἢ τῶν ἑγγόνων σπορά φαίνεται θαμμασουργήθεισα, δεύτερον δὲ υπὲρ τοῦ μῆ [συνοναί μᾶλλον ἄνδρος ἀλλ' ἐπιφροσύνῃ θεία συλλαμβάνει τε καὶ τίκτευν. Τό γὰρ στείραν οὐδαν ἀποκύνειν οὐ γεννήσεως ἀλλὰ θείας δυνάμεως ἐργὸν ἦν.]

Wendland, pp. 68-69, from Cat. Barb. vi. 8, f. 129 (cf. Theodoret, Quaest. lxxv), and Procopius 349 c.

a τὸ Wendland : τῷ codd.
b Wendland : ἀμαρτήσεις codd.
c Wendland : τίνοσι codd.
d πρῶτον μὲν om. Procopius.
e δεύτερον . . . μῆ [καὶ ὄνα μῆ Procopius.
f εὐφροσύνῃ Cat. Barb.
g θεία . . . τίκτευν] theo συλλαμβάνη καὶ τίκτη Procopius.
h τὸ γὰρ . . . ἦν om. Procopius vid.

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GENESIS, BOOK III

20. (Gen. xvi. 2)
"Oráς ταύτης τὸ σῶφρον καὶ τὸ ἄφθονον προσέτι καὶ φίλαινδρον καὶ τοῦ 'Αβραάμ τὴν ἀπάθειαν.

Wendland, p. 69, from Procopius 352 λ (cf. Cat. Lips. 213, 'Αδήλου).

21. (Gen. xvi. 3)
"Οὐχ ὡσπερ οἱ ἀσελγεῖς ὀλυμωρία τῶν ἀστῶν ἡπὶ τὰς θεραπαίνας ἐκμαίνονται. Ὁ δὲ 'Αβραάμ τότε βεβαιότερος περὶ τὴν σύνοικον, ὅτε παλλακίδι χρήσθαι παρῆγγελλον οἱ καιροὶ, καὶ τότε ταύτην εὐρε γνωάκα παγωτέραν, ὅτε παρευθῆθεν ἑτέρα. Πρὸς μὲν γὰρ τὴν παλλακίδα μὲς ἢν σωμάτων ἕνεκα παιδῶν γενέσεως, πρὸς δὲ τὴν γαμητὴν ἐννοοῖς ψυχῆς ἀρμοζομένης ἐρωτὶ θείων.

Wendland, p. 69, from Procopius 352 λ (cf. Cat. Lips. 215, Εὐσεβίου: "Philonische Gedanken sind durch eine Vermittelnde Quelle, Eusebius, übergegangen").

22. (Gen. xvi. 4)
"Κατὰ καιρὸν κυρίαν ἐκάλεσεν, ὅτε τὴς παρὰ τῆς θεραπαίνης ἡλάττωται. Τούτῳ δὲ καὶ εἰς πάντα διατείνει τοῦ βίου τὰ πράγματα κυρίωτερος γὰρ ὁ φρόνιμος πένθος ἄφρονος πλουσίου καὶ ὁ ἄδοξος εὐδόξου καὶ ὁ νοσῶν ὑγιαίνοντος. Τὰ μὲν γὰρ σὺν φρονίσει πάντα κύρια, τὰ δὲ ἐν ἄφροσύνη δοῦλα καὶ ἄκυρα. Οὐκ εἰπε δὲ "ἡτίμασε τὴν κυρίαν αὐτῆς" ἀλλ' "ἡτιμάσθη ἡ κυρία." Οὐ γὰρ ἐθέλει κατηγορεῖν, δηλώσαι δὲ τὸ συμβεβηκός.


23. (Gen. xvi. 5)
Τὸ "ἐκ σοῦ" οὐκ ἀντὶ τοῦ "ὑπὸ σοῦ"... ἀλλ' ἕστι χρονικῶν τῷ εξῆς συναπτόμενον εἴς οὗ σοι καὶ ἄφ' οὐχ χρόνου ἐγὼ "δέδοξα τὴν παιδίσκην μου." Οὐ γὰρ γνωάκα εἰπεν ἡ γαμετὴν τὴν εξ αὐτοῦ κύωναν.

Wendland, p. 70, from Procopius 352 β (the next two sentences in Procopius do not belong here).

α ἀστείων ex Arm. con. Wendland.
β θεραπαίνης τιμῆς con. Wendland.
γ κυριώτερον Mai.
APPENDIX A, GREEK FRAGMENTS

24. (Gen. xvi. 6)
"Επεινον ἔχει τὸ βρήκτον τοῦ σοφοῦ μὴτε γυναῖκα μὴτε γαμητὴν ἀλλὰ παιδάσκην εἰπόντος τῆς γαμητῆς τῆν ἐξ αὐτοῦ κύουσαν.

Wendland, p. 70, from Cat. Barb. vi. 8, f. 130, Φίλωνος ἐπισκόπου.

26. (Gen. xvi. 6)
Οὐ γὰρ δάκτυλὸς δέχεται νουθεσίαν ἀλλ' ἢ μὲν ὕλεως ἀγαπᾷ τοὺς ἐλέγχους καὶ τοῖς παιδεύοντι μᾶλλον οἰκειοῦται, ἢ δὲ ἔχθρα μισεῖ καὶ ἀποστρέφεται b καὶ ἀποδιδάσκει τοὺς πρὸς ἡδονὴν λόγους, τῶν ὕφελεν δυναμένων προκρίνουσα.

Wendland, pp. 70-71, from Procopius 352 b = Harris, p. 30, from Cat. Lips. col. 216, Προκοπίου.

29. (Gen. xvi. 8)
Καὶ τὸ εὔγενος δὲ αὐτῆς παρίσταται ἐκ τοῦ λέγειν Σάρραν κυρίαν καὶ μηδὲν περὶ αὐτῆς φαίνει καὶ οἰκεῖσθαι. Καὶ τὸ τοῦ ἡδους δὲ ἀνυπόκριτον πῶς οὐκ ἐπαινεῖτο; ὃμολογεῖ γὰρ δὲ πέπονθεν, ὅτι τὸ πρόσωπον, λέγω δὲ τὴν φαντασίαν τῆς ἀρετῆς καὶ σοφίας, καταπέληκται καὶ τὸ τῆς ἐξουσίας βασιλικῶν οὐ γὰρ ὑπομένει τὸ ψόσ καὶ μέγεθος θεωρεῖ ἀλλ' ἀποδιδάσκει· ένοι γὰρ οὐ μίσει τὸ πρὸς ἀρετήν φεύγουσιν αὐτῆς, ἀλλ' αἰδοὶ κρίνοντες ἑαυτοὺς ἀναξίως συμβιοῦν τῇ δεσποτῇ.

Wendland, p. 71, from Procopius 354 b.

30. (Gen. xvi. 9)
Τὸ ὑποτέτεσθαι τοῖς κρείττοσιν φιλεμώτατον. ʻΟ μαθῶν ἀρχεσθαι καὶ ἀρχεῖν εὐθὺς μανθάνει. Όθὲ γὰρ εἰ πάσης γῆς καὶ θαλάττῃς τὸ κράτος ἀνάφορο τοῖς ἀρχοῖσιν ἀν εἰπὶ πρὸς ἀλήθειαν, εἰ μὴ μάθοι καὶ προσαναθέετη τὸ ἀρχεσθαι.

Harris, p. 30, “The first sentence from Mai, Script. Vet. vii. 103, e Cod. Vat. 1553, ἐκ τοῦ πρῶτον τῶν ἐν τῇ Γενεσεὶ ξητημάτων. Also Dam. Par. 359 and Cod. Reg. 923, fol. 74, in each case referred to Greg. Nazianz. The last part in Dam. Par. 359 as from Philo, and in Cod. Reg. l.c., ἐκ τοῦ α' τῶν ἐν Γενεσεὶ ξητημάτων.”

a γὰρ om. Cat. Lips.

b καὶ ἀποστρέφεται om. Procopius.
GENESIS, BOOK III

38. (Gen. xvi. 16)
   (a) Ὁ γὰρ ἐξ ἀρθημὸς γεννητικῶτατός ἐστιν ὡς ἄρτιοπέριπτος, 
       μετέχον καὶ τῆς δραστικῆς οὐσίας κατὰ τὸν περιπτόν καὶ τῆς 
       ὑλικῆς κατὰ τὸν ἀρτιον. "Оθεν καὶ ἀρχαῖοι γάμον καὶ ἀρμονίαν 
       αὐτῶν ἐκάλεσαν. 
       Stachle, p. 33, from Joh. Lydus, p. 32, 4-8.

   (b) Μακαρία φύσις ἣ ἐπὶ παντὶ χαίρουσα καὶ μηδενὶ δυσαρεσ- 
       τοῦσα τῶν ἐν τῷ κόσμῳ τὸ παράπαν, ἀλλ’ εὐαρεστοῦσα τοῖς 
       γινομένοις ὡς καλῶς καὶ συμφερόντως γινομένοις.
       Harris, p. 97 ("unidentified," but located by Früchtel), 
       from Dam. Par. 372 and 675, also Cod. Reg. 923, f. 38 b, 
       and Georgius Monachus, col. 1116.

40. (Gen. xvii. 1-2)
   "Ἡ ὡς μῆπῳ ἀμέμπτῳ ἡ ὡς τοιοῦτῳ μὲν, δεομένῳ δὲ ἄεὶ ἐνεργεῖν 
   τὸ ἀμεμπτὸν, ὡς ἄν διὰ παντὸς ἀμεμπτὸν ἡ. Τὸ δὲ "θήσομαι τὴν 
   διαθήκην μου" ἡ ἐν περὶ ἄθλου ἐπαγγελία, καὶ αὐτὴς διδομένης τῷ 
   εὐαρεστοῦτι ἐναντίον αὐτοῦ καὶ γενομένῳ ἀμέμπτῳ. 'Επάγει 
   δὲ καὶ "πληθυνώ σε σφόδρα."
       Wendland, p. 71, from Procopius 353 c ("die philonische 
       Vorlage hat Pr. wohl auch hier . . . nicht selbst benutzt; 
       denn die Uebereinstimmung ist keine wörtliche").

41. (Gen. xvii. 3)
   Τὸ δὲ μέγεθος τῶν ἐπαγγελιῶν καὶ τὸ τῶν θεῶν ἄξιον αὐτοῦ 
   θεῶν εἶναι καταπλαγείς ἐποῦσεν ἐπὶ τὸ πρόσωπον.
       Wendland, p. 72, from Procopius 356 b, "pass durchaus 
       in philonische Gedankenkreise."

48. (Gen. xvii. 12)
   Οἴησις, ὡς ὅ τῶν ἀρχαίων λόγος, ἐστὶν ἐκκοπῆ προκοπῆς: ὅ γὰρ 
   κατοικόμενος βελτίωσιν οὐκ ἀνέχεται.
       Harris, p. 99 ("unidentified," but located by Früchtel), 
       from Dam. Par. 704 ("note that on p. 629 this is given to 
       Cyril, and so in Cod. Reg. 923, f. 36 b").

   b εὐαρεστοῦσα Georg. Mon.: τῶν . . . εὐαρεστοῦσα om.
       Cod. Reg.
APPENDIX A, GREEK FRAGMENTS

52. (Gen. xvii. 14)

Οὐδὲν τῶν ἀκουσίων ἐνοχὸν ἀποφαίνει ὁ νόμος, ὅποτε καὶ τῷ φόνῳ ἀκουσίων δράσαντι συγγνώσκει. . . . Τὸ δὲ δικτὸ θημερῶν μετὰ γέννησιν βρέφος εἰ μὴ περιτέμενηται, τί ἀδικεῖ ὡς καὶ θανάτον τιμωρίαν υπομένειν; Ἐνοι μὲν οὖν ἀναφορικὸν εἶναι τὸ τῆς ἐρμηνείας τρόπον ἐπὶ τοὺς γονεῖς, καὶ ἐκείνους κολάζεσθαι οἴονται δεινῶς, ὡς ὀλγωρηκότας τῆς τοῦ νόμου διατάξεως. Ἐνοὶ δὲ ὅτι ὑπερβολὴ χρώμενος κατὰ τοῦ βρέφους, ὅσα τῶν δοκεῖν, ἡγανάκτησεν, ἢν τοῖς τελείοις καταλύσασε, τὸν νόμον ἀπαραίτητος ἔπαγγέλει τιμωρίας. οὐκ ἐπειδὴ τὸ ἔργον τῆς περιτομῆς ἀναγκαῖον ἀλλ' ὅτι ἡ διαθήκη ἀδετείται, τοῦ σημείου, δι' οὖν γνωρίζεται, μὴ πληρομένου.

Harris, p. 31, from Cat. Ined. Cod. Reg. 1825 (Mangey ii. 675), and Cat. Burney, f. 45, Φίλων 'Ἐβραίῳ, also Cat. Lips. 1, col. 225 (“the last sentence looks like an added gloss”).

Οὐδὲν τῶν ἀκουσίων ἐνοχὸν ἀποφαίνει ὁ νόμος, ὅποτε καὶ τῷ φόνῳ ἀκουσίων δράσαντι συγγνώσκει. Τί οὖν ἀδικεῖ τὸ ὅκτῳ θημερῶν βρέφος, εἰ μὴ περιτεμένηται; ἀλλ' ἡ τῆς ἀναφοράν ἐπὶ τοὺς γονεῖς ἐκλητεύουσι κολαζομένους, εἰ μὴ περιτέμενον τὸ παιδίον, ἢ γονὺς ὑπερβολικῶς κατὰ τοῦ βρέφους, ὅσα τῶν δοκεῖν, ἡγανάκτησεν, ἢν τοῖς τελείοις ἀπαραίτητος γύνηται.

Wendland, pp. 72-73, from Procopius, Cod. Aug. f. 98r (Migne, p. 357 A).

58. (Gen. xvii. 19) Καὶ Ἰδοὺ Σάρρα ἡ γυνὴ σου τέξεται σοι νῦν.

'Ἡ ὁμολογία, φησίν, ἢ ἐμὴ κατάφασίς ἐστιν ἀκραφυνῆς, ἀμυγής ἀρνήσεως καὶ ἢ σὴ πίστις οὐκ ἀμφίβολος ἀλλ' ἀνειδοίαστος, αἰδодаς καὶ ἐντροπῆς μετέχουσα. "Οθὲν δ' προελθήσας γεννησόμενον διὰ τιμωρίας Catt. Lips., Burney.

b καταλύσασιν Cat. Lips.

c ἀπαραίτητος ἔπαγγέλῃ τιμωρίας Cat. Burney.
GENESIS, BOOK III

τὴν πρὸς ἐμὲ πίστιν, γενήσεται πάντως· τούτο γὰρ μηνύει τὸ "ναι."

Wendland, p. 73, from Procopius, Cod. Aug. f. 98v (Migne, p. 358).

61. (Gen. xvii. 24–25)

'Ὁ γὰρ τῶν δεκατριῶν ἀριθμὸς συνέστηκεν ἐκ τῶν πρώτων δυνὶ τετραγώνων, τοῦ τέσσαρα καὶ τοῦ ἑννέα, ἀρτίον τε καὶ περιττοῦ, πλευρὰς ἐχόντων τοῦ μὲν ἀρτίου τὸ ὑλικὸν εἴδους δυάδα, τοῦ δὲ περιττοῦ τὴν δραστήριον ἱδέαν τρίάδα. Οὗτος οὖν ὁ ἀριθμὸς ἡ μεγίστη καὶ τελειοτάτη τῶν ἐορτῶν γέγονε τοῖς ἀρχαῖοις ἀ ἐπιτήρησις.

Staehle, p. 59, from Joh. Lydus, 45, 12-18.

a ἀρχαῖος Staehle.
GENESIS, BOOK IV

8. (Gen. xviii. 6-7)

(a) Megisth de h tis triadois kai kat' aiathson dynamos. 'O

9. (Gen. xviii. 8)

Autous de paraxei katharsin autous upo to deydrion.

Autourhovon de tis uphreian o tis kai deka kektemenos oikogeneias kai pollous argyroimous tis theian uponoian peri auton deiknun ou synxworous oiketas tis ieratikis theos diakonias, autous de tauten, ei kai presbusth, anaexomenes.

Wendland, p. 74, from Procopius, Cod. Aug. f. 100v (cf. 'Akakion, Cat. Lips. 234).

a āxhr pabagrovoi Cod. Reg.
GENESIS, BOOK IV

20. (Gen. xviii. 16)
Mόλις διαξεύγνυται δυσαποτόστως ἔχων, ὅς βουλεσθαι καὶ ἀποδημεῖν. Ἡμεῖς δέ τοῦ πέμποντος κοινωνικῶτατον ἠθος ἐμφαίνον.
Wendland, p. 74, from Procopius 368 b.

24. (Gen. xviii. 21)
Ἡμᾶς τούν διδάσκει μὴ ἐπιτρέχειν πίστει κακῶν μέχρι < ἄν> πειθώμεν τῇ θέᾳ.

30. (Gen. xix. 1)
Τῷ μὲν Ἀβραὰμ φαίνονται τρεῖς, καὶ μεσημβρίας: τῷ δὲ Λωτ δύο, καὶ ἐσπέρας. Φυσικῶτα διάφοροι εἰσηγεῖται ὁ νόμος τελείου καὶ προκόπτοντος: οὐ μὲν οὖν τέλειος τριάδα φαντασιοῦται ἐν ἀσκίω φωτὶ καὶ μεσημβρίας, καὶ πληροφορηθείς τῆς ὑμνήμους καὶ πληροφορηθείς τῆς ὑμνήμους ὑπάρχει τῇ δυάδα, διαίρεσιν καὶ τουλίπαν καὶ κενὸν ἐχοναι ἐν ἐσπέραν σκότει.
Harris, p. 32, from Pitra, Anal. Sacr. ii. 23 e Cod. Coislin. 276 (?), f. 10 “with heading, φησὶ γὰρ τοῦτο ὁ ἐν λόγοις ἐξαίρετος Φίλων.”

33. (Gen. xix. 2)
(a) Τῷ μὲν Ἀβραὰμ εὐχέρως ἐπείσθησαν, τῷ δὲ Λωτ μετὰ βίας.
Wendland, p. 75, from Procopius 370 d.

(b) Στενοχωρεῖται πᾶς ἀφρων, θλιβόμενος ὑπὸ φιλαργυρίας καὶ φιλοδοξίας καὶ τῶν ὀμοιοτρόπων ἀστρ. οὐκ εἰ τῆς διάνοιας ἐν εὐρυχωρίᾳ διάγειν.ᵃ
Harris, p. 32, from Dam. Par. 362, ἐκ τοῦ β' τῶν ἐν Γενέσει, and Cod. Reg. 923, ἐκ τῶν δ', “also Cod. Barocc. 143 . . . (Mangey ii. 674), and in Cod. Rupef. f. 73 b without a title.”

ᵃ διαβαίνειν Cod. Barocc.
APPENDIX A, GREEK FRAGMENTS

40. (Gen. xix. 10) 
Νόμος ἐστώ κατά τῶν σεμνᾶ καὶ θεία οὐ σεμνῶς καὶ θεοπρεπῶς ὀρᾶν ἀξιούντων, κόλασιν ἐπιφέρειν ἀφρασίας.
Harris, pp. 32-33, from Dam. Par. 341, “where it is ascribed to Clem. Alex.”, and Cod. Reg. 923, f. 62 b, ἐκ τοῦ δ’ τῶν ἐν Γενέσει ζητημάτων.

43. (Gen. xix. 14) 
Οἱ ἐν ταῖς ἀφθόνοις χορηγίαις πλοῦτον καὶ δόξης καὶ τῶν ὁμοιοτρόπων ὑπάρχοντες, καὶ ἐν ὑγιείᾳ καὶ εὐαίσθησιν σώματος καὶ εὐεξίας τοῖς καὶ τὰς διὰ πασῶν τῶν αἰσθήσεων ἑδωνᾶς καρπούμενοι θέματος τῆς ἀκρας εὐδαιμονίας ἀφίχθαι, μεταβολὴν οὐ προσδοκόν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς λέγοντας ὅτι πάντα περὶ τὸ σῶμα καὶ ἐκτὸς ἐπικαίρως ἔχει, γέλατα καὶ χλεύην τίθενται.

44. (Gen. xix. 16) 
... τῆς χειρὸς αὐτοῦ: οὐκ ἄρα λόγους μόνον ἡμᾶς παρακαλεῖ πρὸς ἀμαρτίας ἀποφυγῆν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐνεργῶν τὴν ἐπικουρίαν χαρίζεται.
Wendland, p. 75, n. 1, from Procopius, Cod. Aug. f. 102 v = Migne, p. 371 b (“wahrscheinlich geht auf Philons Einfluss zurück ”).

47. (Gen. xix. 18-20) 
Ὁ οἱὸς ἤρεμικαν καὶ ἀπραγμοσύνην καὶ σχολὴν μεταδιώκει οἱ τοῖς θείοις θεωρήσασθαι εἰν ἡνυχία ἐντυχεῖ. Ὁ φαθὸς πόλω τε καὶ τῶν κατὰ πόλων ὅχλον τε καὶ φυμὸν ἀνθρώπων ὁμοῦ καὶ πραγμάτων μεταδιώκει. Φιλοπραγμοσύναι γὰρ καὶ πλεονεξία, δημοκρατία τε καὶ δημαρχία τῷ τοιούτῳ τιμᾷ, τὸ δὲ ἡσυχαῖξεν ἀτιμότατον.
Harris, p. 33, “the first sentence is Dam. Par. 376, also Cod. Reg. 923, f. 85, where it is ἐκ τοῦ α’ τῶν ἐν Γενέσει, and Maximus ii. 599 . . . the last part is found in Anton Melissa (Migne, Patr. Gr. 136, col. 1193 . . . )."

a μὴ Cod. Reg.
b Harris (p. 110): κρατοῦμενοι codd.
c Harris: ἡφικάθαι codd.: ἐφικάθαι prop. Harris.

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Oυ μεσημβρίας γίνεται ὁ τοῦ πυρὸς ύετός, ἀλλ' ὀδροῦν ὅτε καταψίχει πως ὁ ἀήρ ... ὃρα δὲ πάλιν ἰστορικότερον, ὡς ὁ αὐτὸς χρόνος γίνεται καὶ τοῖς προκόπτοις εἰς σωτηρίαν καὶ τοῖς ἀνάτοις εἰς κόλασιν. Ἡλίου γὰρ ἀνατείλαντος ἐκάτερον γέγονεν.

Wendland, p. 75, from Procopius 373 a and Cod. Aug. f. 104r (Migne, p. 375).
APPENDIX A, GREEK FRAGMENTS

to kathéstos a epit twn stau-
xeíwn édos allá tina dúnam
autokratí kai autokúntaio
metastoiheudan, óws an pro-
elhetai, ta kýmptata.

Lewy, p. 58, from Catt. Len. f. 63r, Barb. f. 141v-142r, Mosq. f. 217 r-r, Fil. épsiak.

(c) Fwseis mén gar kódfia
theíon kai pur ésttv kai diá
toíto ánou foítá: to de tis
árax kekainourhmenon Ἡλλαξε
prós toúntión tih kínsh
ánwóthn kátw biaξómenon énec-
thetaia tâ koufótauata wòs tâ tòw
óntwn barótauata.

Lewy, p. 58, from Catt.,
as in (b) above.

52. (Gen. xix. 26)
Ois de ággeloi paraqexllovbai μη ápoklínein ópísw. "Hídeasan
ýar òti òi mèn ísos éphrathósontai tais symboraí sèointes—χαίρειν
dè ëpti tais tòwn étpéroun b átukhias ei kai dikiai, all' ouv ãnthw-
pivnov to ýar méllon ðdhlou—, ois de ísos màlakhóthsonntai kai
pléon troi metrióí duvanaxetíssouí perialgouítes ëttwòmmenoi
fílwn kai swnhèias. Kai páliν aúth tétrí aítia: theò výar, 
fhíon, ò ãnthrwpou, koláξontos μη katanoeíte. 'Apókhè ýar
ýmín toúto gnwóí, óti ùpèmeibav tìmòriaí ouv ëxrhνa: to de pòs
ùpèmeibav e periérugaízebhai pròpeteias kai ÷râous, ouv euðlabèias
án eìh.

Wendland, p. 76, from Procopius, Cod. Aug. f. 104r (Migne, p. 375). The phrase χαίρειν . . . ãnthròpwn is also in
Harris, p. 34, from Dam. Par. 509, ascribed to Nilus, and
Cod. Reg. 923, f. 154 b, ascribed to Philo, and Mai, Script.

a ex Arm. Lewy: kata' ékastov codd.
b ékhròyn Cod. Reg.
c òs Catt. Lips., Burney.
d ἔποχη . . . ἔχρην] òti mèn gar tìmòrðntai Ἐχρην γνώναι
Catt. Lips., Burney.

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GENESIS, BOOK IV

Vet. vii. 102, from Cod. Vat. 1553, ἐκ τοῦ γ΄ τῶν ἐν Γενέσει ζητημάτων. The last part, θεού γάρ ... εὐλαβείας (ἂν εἰ), is also in Harris, pp. 34-35, from Cat. Lips. col. 248 and Cat. Burney, f. 46 b, Φιλωνος ἐπισκόπου.

54. (Gen. xix. 29) Ἕμνησθη δὲ ὁ θεὸς τοῦ Ἀβραὰμ καὶ ἐξαπέστειλε τὸν Δαότ.
"Ως τε διὰ τὸν Ἀβραὰμ διασέσωσται (καὶ αὐτὸς τι μέρος εἰσενεγκών)."
Wendland, p. 76, from Procopius, Cod. Aug. f. 104r.

56. (Gen. xix. 31-32) Ἐποίησαν δὲ τὸν πατέρα αὐτῶν οἶνον ἐν νυκτί.
... δὲ ὃν δὲ φασὶ "καὶ οὐδεὶς ἐστιν ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς ὅς εἰσελεύσεται πρὸς ἡμᾶς," δεικνύον ὁς οὐ πάθος ἀκολούθια ἦλασεν αὐτὸς ἐπὶ τούτῳ ἀλλὰ φειδῶ τοῦ γένους, ὅθεν εὐθύγχυσον. ... Οὕτως οἰκονομίᾳ τις ἦν καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν θυγατέρων τοῦ Δαότ, ἐπειδὴ μὴ δ' ἀκολούθιαν καὶ παῖδων ἐπηυμίαν τὸ γεγονός.

64. (Gen. xx. 4-5)
Ο郤 ὃς τὸ ἐκουσίως ἁμαρτάνειν ἐστίν ἄδικον, οὔτω τὸ ἀκουσίως καὶ κατ' ἄγνοιαν εὐθὺς δίκαιον, ἀλλὰ τάχα που μεθόριον ἁμφότερος, δικαίου καὶ ἄδικου, τὸ ύπὸ τινῶν καλούμενον ἁδιάφορον. Ἀμάρτημα γὰρ οὐδὲν ἔργον δικαιοσύνης.
Harris, p. 35, from Dam. Par. 520 and Cod. Reg. 923. See also Wendland, p. 78, who prints a brief paraphrase from Procopius 380 Λ, ὁ μὲν δίκαιος οὗκ ἐν ἀγνοίᾳ ἀλλ' ἐπιστήμῃ.

67. (Gen. xx. 10-11)
Ο郤 πάντα ἀληθῆ λεκτέων ἀπασών ὅθεν καὶ νῦν ὁ ἀστειός οἶλον οἰκονομεῖ τὸ πράγμα μεταβέβαιε καὶ ἀπαλλαγῇ τῶν ὁνομάτων.

69. (Gen. xx. 16)
Τὸ δὲ "πάντα ἀλήθευσον" ἀφιλοσόφου καὶ ἰδιώτου παράγγελμα.
APPENDIX A, GREEK FRAGMENTS

ei μὲν γὰρ ὁ μὲν ἀνθρώπων βίος εὐώδει μηδὲν παραδεχόμενος
ψεῦδος, εἰκὸς ἂν ἐπὶ παντὶ πρὸς πάντας ἀληθεύειν ἔπειθῇ δὲ ὑπο-
κριαῖς ὡς ἐν θεάτρῳ ́α δυναστεύει καὶ τὸ ψεῦδος παραπέτασμα τῆς
ἀλήθειας ἐστὶ· τέχνης δὲ τῷ σοφῷ πολυτρόπου, καθ’ ἂν ὤφελήσει
μμούμενου τοὺς υποκριτὰς οἱ ἄλλα λέγοντες ἔτερα δράσιν ὅπως
dιασώσωσιν οὗς δύνανται.

73. (Gen. xxiii. 2-3)
Προπάθεια καὶ οὐ πάθος τοῦ Ἀβραάμ διὰ τούτων δεδήλωται.
Οὐ γὰρ εὑρίσκει ὅτι ἐκόψατο ἄλλ’ ὅτι ἢθε κόψασθαι. Τούτῳ δηλοὶ
kαὶ τὸ “ἀνέστη Ἀβραὰμ ἀπὸ τοῦ νεκροῦ,” μὴ προλεχθέντος τοῦ
“ἐκόψατο.”
Wendland, p. 78, from Procopius, Cod. Aug. f. 110r

74. (Gen. xxiii. 4)
Οὔτως γὰρ ὁ σοφὸς ἔραστής οὐδεὶς τῶν εἰκαστέρων, καὶ ἂν
συμπεφυκὼς τυγχάνῃ, σύνεστιν ἡ συνιστριβεί πονηροτάτω, διε-
ζευγμένος τῶν πολλῶν διὰ λογισμῶν, δι’ οὖς οὔτε συμπλεῖν οὔτε
συμπολυτεύεσθαι οὔτε συζήν λέγεται.
Harris, p. 69 (“unidentified,” but located by Früchtel),
from Dam. Par. 754 (Cod. Rupef.), ἐκ τοῦ ε’ τῶν αὐτῶν.

76. (Gen. xxiii. 5-6)
Τῶν μὲν ἀφόνων βασιλεὺς οὐδεὶς, καὶ ἂν τὸ πάσης γῆς καὶ
θαλάσσης ἀνάφθωρα κράτος· μόνος δὲ ὁ ἀστεῖος καὶ θεοφιλής, καὶ
ἀν τῶν παρασκευῶν καὶ τῶν χορηγιῶν ἀμοιρῇ, δι’ ὅν πολλοὶ
kρατύνονται τὰς δυναστειὰς. Ὡστερ γὰρ τῷ κυβερνητικῆς ἡ
ἰατρικῆς ἡ μονικῆς ἀπείρῳ παρέλκου πράγμα οἰκεῖς καὶ φαρμάκων
σύνθεσις καὶ αὐλαὶ καὶ κυθάραι, διότι μηδέν τούτων χρῆσθαι πρὸς
ὁ πέρυκε, κυβερνήτης δὲ καὶ ιατρῷ καὶ μονικῷ λέγετο ἄν ἐφαρμό-
ζειν δεόντως οὔτως, ἐπειδή τέχνη τίς ἐστὶ βασιλικῇ καὶ τεχνῶν
ἀρίστῃ, τὸν μὲν ἀνεπιστήμων χρήσεως ἀνθρώπων ἰδιώτην νομι-
στέον, βασιλεὰ δὲ μόνον τὸν ἐπιστήμων.
Harris, p. 36, the first few lines (to θεοφιλής) from Dam.
Par. 396 and 776 = Cod. Rupef. f. 115 b, ἐκ τοῦ α’ τῶν ἐν

a ex Arm. Harris: ἐκατέρω codd.

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Γενέσει ζητημάτων, and Cod. Reg. 923, f. 97, ἐκ τοῦ α' τῶν ἐν Γενέσει, the rest of the passage from Dam. Par. 776.

80. (Gen. xxiii. 9, 11)
Τὸ σπῆλαιον τὸ διπλοῦν δύο εἰσὶν ἀντράδεις ὑπωρείαι· ἡ μὲν ἐκτός, ἡ δὲ εἰσώ· ἡ δύω περίβολοι· ὁ μὲν περιέχων, ὁ δὲ περιεχόμενος.
Harris, p. 36, from Cat. Lips. col. 288, Προκοπίου.

81. (Gen. xxiii. 11)
Τοῦ δὲ Ἀβραὰμ μόνον τὸ σπῆλαιον αἰτοῦντος ὁ Ἐφρὼν ὅρῳν αὐτοῦ τὴν σοφίαν καὶ τὸν ἀγρὸν ἐπιδίδωσιν, οἰόμενος δεῖν ἀφθόνους ἐπιδαπφιεύσθαι χάριτας.
Wendland, p. 78, from Procopius, Cod. Aug. f. 110r = Cat. Lips. 288, Αδήλου.

86. (Gen. xxiv. 2)
Λεχθεὶς δ' ᾠ καὶ ὤτι ἐπὶ μνηστελαν καὶ γάμον πέμπων τὸν παίδα ὁ Ἀβραὰμ κατὰ τῶν γαμικῶν ὀργάνων ἐξώρκιε, καθαρὰν ὀμιλίαν καὶ γάμον ἀνεπιληπτόν, αἰνητούμενος οὐχ ἢδονὴν τὸ τέλος ἀλλὰ γνησίους ἔχοντα παίδας.

88. (Gen. xxiv. 3) Διατί δὲ μὴ τῷ υἱῷ παραγγέλλει μὴ λαβέων Χανανίτων, ὥσπερ ὦστερον τῷ Ἰακὼβ οἱ γονεῖς, ἀλλὰ τῷ παιδί;...

99. (Gen. xxiv. 16)
(a) Διαγράφει τὸ κάλλος ἑνα μᾶλλον τὴν σωφροσύνην θαυμάσω-μεν. Οὐ τὸ κάλλος γὰρ πάντως ἄσελγες, ὡς οὐδὲ σῶφρον ἦ

a γνησίων παιδῶν γένεσιν scripsisse Philonem ex Ambr. De Abr. i. 83 con. Wendland.
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άμορφία. ὁδε σῶμα γὰρ τοῦτων ἄλλ' ἡ προαίρεσις αἰτιον. Διπλασία η δὲ το ''παρθένος ἦν," τὸ κατ' ἀμφθ σῶμφρον ἐμφαίνουσα. "Εσι γὰρ ἁσηγελείας διεφθάρθα ψυχήν, ἀκεραίον τοῦ σῶματος μένοντος.

Wendland, p. 79, from Procopius 398 b ("zum guten Teile philonisch erscheint mir die Stelle").

(b) 'Αναιδές βλέμμα καὶ μετέωρος αὐχήν καὶ συνεχής κύνης ὀφρών a καὶ βάδισμα σεσοβημένον καὶ τὸ ἐπὶ μηδενὶ τῶν φαύλων ἐρυθρῶν σημεία ἐστὶ ψυχῆς αἰσχρότης, τοὺς ἀφανεῖς τῶν οἰκείων ὀνείδων τούτων b ἐγγραφοῦσας τῷ φανερῷ σώματι.


100. (Gen. xxiv. 16)
"Φυσικώτατα ταῦτα δεδεκταὶ κατάβασιν μὲν ψυχῆς τὴν δι' οἰησεως ἀνάβασιν, ἀνοδον δὲ καὶ ύψος τὴν ἀλαζονείας ὑπονόστησιν.
Harris, p. 102 ("unidentified," but located by Früchtel), from Cod. Rupef. f. 264.

102. (Gen. xxiv. 17)
"Αξίων ἀποδέχεσθαι τὸ μηδενὸς ὀρέγεσθαι τῶν ὑπὲρ δύναμις τῶν γὰρ τοῦ συμμετρίαν ἔχουσαι, ἐπαινεῖτο... ἀναγκαῖον αὐτῷ τῷ μὲν εὐφυεὶ πλείους εἶναι τὰς διδασκαλίας, ἐλάττους δὲ τῷ ἀφυεὶ διὰ τὴν ἐν ταῖς ἀνάγκαις c ἀρίστην ἀιότητα... καὶ τοῦτο γέ ἐστὶ τὸ βιωφελέστατον ἵσον.
Harris, p. 38, from Mai, Script. Vet. vii. 106, from Cod. Vat. 1553, Φιλωνὸς· ἐκ τῶν ἐν Γενέσει ζητημάτων.

104. (Gen. xxiv. 18)
"Οὐκ ὅς δύναται διδάσκειν ὁ διδάσκαλος, οὕτω καὶ μανθάνειν ὁ γνώριμος, ἐπειδὴ ὁ μὲν τέλεος, ὁ δὲ ἄτελης ἐστίν. "Οθεν προσήκει στοχάζεσθαι τῆς τοῦ παιδευμένου δυνάμεως.
Harris, p. 38, from Dam. Par. 435 and Cod. Reg. 923, f.

a ὀφθαλμῶν Dam. et Cod. Reg.
b τόποις Dam. et Cod. Reg.
c ἀναλογίαις ex Arm. conieci.
110. (Gen. xxiv. 22)
(a) 'Akoiósa déi pròton, eíta érgássathai: mænænomen yar ou tòu mæbæin xárin allà tòu præxi.

(b) Diæferei dé monoas évos ë diæferei arxètupon eikónos: para-
deyuma xen yar ë monas, mîmîma dé tòs monadòs to én.
Stachle, p. 19, from Joh. Lydus ii. 6, p. 23, 6.

(c) . . . ë atop toû diakëkrîsathai kai mæmonwòthai atop toû
loipou plêbous tòwn arðumwîn kalaïtai monoas.
Stachle, p. 19, from Theon of Smyrna, p. 19, 12 f. (cf.
Joh. Lydus, p. 21, 20 and Moderatus ap. Stob. Eccl. i. i. 8).

130. (Gen. xxiv. 52-53)
Dèi gev pàsos præxos katharás arxèn [eînai] tîn pròs theòn
euharistían kai tîmîn: dia tòuto ò paîs proskunei pròteron, eíta
xarîzetai tâ dòra.
Harris, p. 38, from Cod. Vat. 746, f. 53, Filwnos, cf. Pitra,
Analecta Sacra ii. 314.

131. (Gen. xxiv. 55-56)
Metanenôkasaqoi òi prò mikrou légontes: "Idou 'Rebèkka énô-
tion ou' labwîn ápòtræxe."
Lewy, p. 59, from Cat. Barb. f. 146v, Fil. ép., and Cat.
Len. f. 93v, Filwnos.

144. (Gen. xxiv. 66) Dïa tî de ò paîs ýph' etèron perîtheîs étî
tîn presbeían etèrô apopresbeîn: "diýgíspato gur," phsî,
"tò 'Izaák."
Eúanegelîzetai toûtw de' Ïn épemphè. Kai pròterw de' énêtvexe
kata tîn Ïddv. Pàntwos de' kai tòw 'Abrwam eîpen, eî kai mî
gérrapatpt.
Wendland, p. 79, from Procopius 404 A.

145. (Gen. xxiv. 67) Dïa tî dea ouk eîs tôn toû patrôs oikov
allî eîs tôn tîs métropos èsèrchebath lêgetai 'Izsák épî gâmow;

dē om. Cat. Barb.
APPENDIX A, GREEK FRAGMENTS

"Ωτι ο μὲν πατὴρ πλείους ἀγαγόμενος γυναῖκας, δυνάμει\(^a\) καὶ πλείους\(^b\) ἐσχεν οἴκους. Οἶκος γὰρ οὗ μόνον λέγεται\(^c\) τὸ οἰκοδόμημα ἄλλα καὶ τὸ ἐκ γαμμίκης συζυγίας\(^d\) καὶ τέκνων σύστημα.\(^e\) η'/ δὲ μέχρι τελευτῆς ἐπέμεινε τῷ κοιμιδῷ, ὡς διὰ τοῦτο καὶ ἕνα οἶκον ἐσχηκέναι δοκεῖν.\(^g\)

Wendland, p. 80, from Procopius 404 \(a\), and Cat. Barb. vi. 8, f. 166\(^i\), Φιλάνων ἐπισκόπου; also, in part, Harris, p. 39, from Cat. Lips. col. 305, Προκοπίου.

148. (Gen. xxv. 5-6)
Διαφοράν δὲ φασιν ὑπαρχόντων καὶ δομάτων. τὸ μὲν γὰρ σημαίνει τὰ κτήματα καὶ ὅσα βέβαια τῶν κειμηλίων, δόματα δὲ τὰ χειρόδοτα καὶ ὅν ἡ χρήσις ἐφήμερος.
Wendland, p. 80, from Procopius 405 \(b\).

152. (Gen. xxv. 8)
Οὐδεὶς κενὸς πλῆρης εἶναι μεμαρτύρηται ἡμερῶν.
Wendland, p. 80, from Procopius 405 \(b\) and Cat. Lips.

153. (Gen. xxv. 8)
Οὐδεὶς γὰρ προστίθεται τοῖσ μὴ οὖσιν, ἀλλος δὲ προστίθεσθαι, φησί, λέγεται λαὸς μὴν παρ' ἐγονότι. Ἀρχὴ γὰρ αὐτὸς καὶ προπάτωρ τοῦ γενός ἐστί. Τὸν οὖν μέλλοντα δὲ αὐτὸν γενέσθαι ὡς ἂν γεγονότα χαριζόμενος αὐτοῦ τῷ θεοπρεπεῖ τῶν ἀρετῶν ἱδρύεται ὡς καὶ λέγεται ι' προστίθεσθαι.
Wendland, p. 81, from Procopius 406 \(c\).

165. (Gen. xxv. 27)
'Ιακώβ δὲ ἄνθρωπος "ἀπλαστος οἰκῶν οἰκίαν," τούτεστι μηδὲν

\(^a\) δυνάμει om. Cat. Lips.
\(^b\) πλείουσιν Cat. Barb.
\(^c\) λέγεται om. Procopius.
\(^d\) ἐκ γαμμίκης συζυγίας] εξ ἄνδρος καὶ γυναικὸς Cat. Barb.
\(^e\) οἶκος . . . σύστημα] λέγεται γὰρ οἶκος καὶ τὸ ἐκ γυναικὸς καὶ τέκνων σύστημα Cat. Lips.
\(^f\) ὁ Cat. Barb.
\(^g\) ὁ δὲ . . . δοκεῖν om. Cat. Lips.
\(^h\) ὁς Nicephorus.
\(^i\) Wendland: λέγεσθαι codd.
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εἴχων ἐπιπλαστὸν ἡ ἐπείσακτον κακῶν . . . καὶ τὴν αὐτίαν τοῦ τοῦ τοῦ ἀπλάστου ἥθους διδάσκει λέγων ὅτι οὖν ἐρέμβετο ἐξώ. Ἑσως δὲ καὶ ἀντιδιαστέλλει τῷ κυνηγήτῃ Ἡσαύ καὶ ἐν ὑπαίθρῳ διάγωντι.


166. (Gen. xxv. 28)
Τίς δὲ ἄν ὦκ ἀγάσαυτο τὸ "ἡγάπησε τὸν Ἡσαύ· ἦ δὲ Ἤβεκκα ἡγάπα τὸν Ἰακώβ"; Το μὲν γὰρ παρελήλυε οὗ τὸ πάρεστιν αὐεί; ἦ μὲν γὰρ ἀποδοχή τοῦ φαύλου κἀ̃̃ συμβῆ τοτε, ὁλιγοχρόνιος ἔστι καὶ ἐφήμερος· ἦ δὲ τοῦ σπουδαίου ἀθανατίζεται.
Harris, p. 39, from Cat. Lips. col. 315, Προκοπίουν.

167. (Gen. xxv. 28)
Καὶ τὸ μὲν σπουδαῖον οὐ δὲ ἔτερον τι ἀγαπᾶται· τὸ δὲ μὴ τουότον, ἐκ τῶν χρείων· ἡγάπησε γὰρ φησιν ὅτι ἦ θῆρα αὐτοῦ βρώνας αὐτῷ.
Harris, p. 39, from Cat. Lips. col. 315, Προκοπίουν.

168. (Gen. xxv. 29)
Καὶ τὸ ῥήτον τῆς διηγήσεως ἔλεγχον ἔχει ἀκόλαστον πρὸς νουθεσίαν τῶν ἥρων εὐθέας δυναμένως· δὲ γὰρ τοῦ τυχόντος ἐνεκα προεφήματος ἔκοστα τῶν προσβείων τῷ νεωτέρῳ καὶ δούλος γαστρός ἔτι ἁναγραφεῖ εἰς ὀνείδος προκείσθω τῶν μήποτε ζηλου ἀγκρατειας λάβοντιν.
Harris, pp. 39-40, from Cat. Lips. 1, col. 318, Φίλωνος (" but the editor remarks ἕσως τοῦ εὐπισκόπου· ἐν γὰρ τοῖς τοῦ Ἐβραίου οὐχ εὐρίσκεται ") , also Cat. Burney, f. 55, Φίλωνος ἐπισκόπου, and Cod. Palat. 203, f. 110 ap. Pitra, Anal. Sacr. ii. 311.

169. (Gen. xxv. 29)
Ἐπὶ μὲν τῶν σπουδαίων ἡ ἐκλειψις εἶναι λέγεται πρόσθεσις· ἐκλειπόντες γὰρ τὸν θυητὸν βίον ἀθανάτῳ ζωῆ προστίθενται· ὅ δὲ

a οἵ Ἀρμ.
b προεφήμενῳ Cat. Burney: προσλήμματος Cod. Palat.

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φάυλος ἔκλεψεν ἀναδέχεται μόνον ἀμητῆς ὑπομένων ἀδιά-στατον μᾶλλον ἢ σῖτον καὶ ποτῶν.
Wendland, p. 82, from Procopius, Cod. Aug. f. 115r (Migne, p. 410).

172. (Gen. xxv. 31)
Τὸ μὲν ῥητὸν οἷα τῷ δοκεῖν ἐμφαίνει πλεονεξίαν νεωτέρον σφετερίσεσθαι οἰδελφόν δίκαια ποθοῦντος. Ὅ δ' ὑποδύεσθαι οὐ πλεονέκτησιν ἀτε ὀλγοδείας καὶ ἐγκρατείας ἑταῖρος. Σαφεῖς οὖν ὁ ἐπιστάμενος ὅτι αἱ ἀθέων περιουσίαι τῶν φαύλων χρηγοῖ τῶν ἁμαρτημάτων καὶ ἀδικημάτων αὐτοῖς εἰσιν, ἀναγκαίατατον ἥγειται τὴν προσαναφλέγουσαν ὑλήν, ὡς πυρός, τῆς κακίας ἀφαίρειν εἰς βελτίωσιν ἠθῶν· ὅπερ οὐ βλάβην ἄλλα μεγίστην ὀψελείαν περιποιεῖ τῷ ἥμιονόθηβαί δοκοῦντι.
Harris, p. 40, from Cat. Lips. 1, col. 316, and Cat. Burney, f. 55, Φίλωνος ἐπισκόπου.

173. (Gen. xxv. 32) Ἡδοὴ ἐγὼ πορεύομαι τελευτᾷ. Ἀλγίνω ἐστι τὸ εἰρημένον. Ὅντως γὰρ ὁ τοῦ φαύλου βίος ἐπὶ θάνατον σπεύδει. Οὐ ϕησί δὲ "ἵνα τί μοι πρωτοτόκια," μετὰ προσθήκης δὲ τοῦ "ταῦτα," ὁ ἐστὶ τὰ πρὸς ἅρτην ἁγνατοῖ καὶ ἐυδαιμονίαν. Ἡχω γὰρ, ϕησί, ἐξαίρετα ἐτέρα· τὸ ἱδεσθαί, τὸ ἐπιθυμεῖν, τὸ ἀκολοσταίνειν, τὸ πλεονεκτεῖν καὶ ὁσα τούτων ἀδελφά.

174. (Gen. xxv. 34) Καὶ ἐφαύλισεν Ἡσαυ τὰ πρωτοτόκια.
Κ ακίζει γὰρ ὡσπερ ὁ ἀστεῖος τὰ τοῦ φαύλου, καὶ ὁ φαύλος τὰ

a μόνον om. Nicephorus.

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tοῦ ἀστείου καὶ θωλεύματα καὶ πράξεις καὶ λόγους. Ἅσυμφωνον γάρ ἄρμον πρὸς ἄναρμοστίαν.


179. (Gen. xxvi. 3)

Meiζον ἀνθρώπως κακόν ἄφροσύνης οὐδέν ἔστι, τὸ ἵδιον τοῦ λογιστικοῦ γένους, τὸν νῦν, ἔμμωθέντι.

Harris, p. 69 (“unidentified,” but located by E. Bréhier), from Dam. Par. 363 and Cod. Reg. 923, f. 76, “in both cases as from the sixth book of the Questions on Genesis.”

180. (Gen. xxvi. 36)

(a) Ἀδιαφοροῦσιν ὅρκων λόγοι θεοῦ· καὶ κατὰ τίνος ἂν ὠμοσέν ὁ θεὸς, ὅτι μὴ ἐαυτὸν; λέγεται δὲ ὁμοῦν διὰ τὴν ἡμετέραν ἀσθένειαν τῶν ὑπολαμβανόντων ὡς ἐπ’ ἀνθρώπων διαφέρειν λόγων ὅρκους, οὕτως ἐπὶ θεοῦ. . .

Harris, pp. 40–41, from Cat. Lips. col. 319, Προκοπίου.

(b) Ἐπαινεῖ δὲ καὶ τὸν υἱὸν ὡς πατρόων ἀξίων εὐεργίας. Οὐ γὰρ ᾧν βεβαιοτέρον ἱδρύετο τὰς μεθ’ ὅρκων γεγενημένας ἐπὶ τοῦ πατρὸς εὐλογίας τῷ υἱῷ, εἰ μὴ καὶ τούτῳ τὴν αὐτήν ἀρετὴν προσεμαρτύρει.

Wendland, p. 84, from Procopius, Cod. Aug. 117v (Migne, p. 414 ι).

184. (Gen. xxvi. 5)

Διαφέρει δικαιώματα νομίμων· τὰ μὲν γὰρ πῶς δύναται συνισθασθαι (sic) φύσει, τὰ δὲ νόμιμα θέσει· πρεσβύτερα δὲ τῶν θέσει τὰ φύσει, ὡστε καὶ τὸ δίκαιον νόμου.

Lewy, p. 59, from Cod. Rupef. 148r, τοῦ αὐτοῦ (sc. Φίλωνος).

188. (Gen. xxvi. 8)

Εἴβραίοι δὲ φασὶν εὐοχημόνως εἰρήσθαι τὸ “παῖζειν” ἀντὶ τοῦ συνουσίαξειν.

Wendland, p. 84, from Procopius 416 b.

189. (Gen. xxvi. 12)

Μαρτυρεῖ δὲ τὸ παρὸν ὅτι τῷ σπουδαίῳ καὶ τὰ κατὰ γεωργίαν...
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καὶ τάλλα <τὰ> περὶ βίον ευδεῖ καὶ τὰ ἐπιγυνόμενα πολλαπλάσια τῶν ἕξ ἄρχης γίνεται.
Wendland, p. 84, from Procopius 416 b.

191. (Gen. xxvi. 15)

(a) Τόις γάρ ἀβούλιοι ἔδος ἐστὶ μῆτε στήλας μῆτε μνημείον τι ἀπολυπεν τῶν καλῶν εἰς εὐδοξίαν συμβαλλόμενον, ἢ ὅτι ἤργυρυμενοι φθόνῳ καὶ βασκανίᾳ τῆς τε περὶ ἑκείνων εὐπραγίας ὁλιγυροῦσα καὶ τῆς αὐτῶν ὕφελείας ἀμείουν ἡγοῦμενοι βλάπτεσθαι μᾶλλον ἢ υφ' ὅν ὅν ἐτι b θέλουσι εὐφρενεῖσθαι.
Harris, p. 41, from Cat. Burney, f. 55 b, and Cat. Lips. 1, col. 323, Φίλωνος ἐπισκόπου.

(b) Τί γάρ ἐκώλυνεν, εἴποι τις ᾧν, ὥ πάντων ἡλιθωτατοῖ, τάς πηγάς ἔδωκαν, ἄς ἐτερος εὐρεν πρὸς τὴν τῶν παρ' ὑμῖν αὐτῶν δεομένων χρῆσαι; 'Ἀλλ' ἀποκρίνεται τις: 'Μὴ ἐγγίνει παρὰ βασικάνων ἀπολογίαι εὐγνώμων, εἰ γεμίαν ὑπολαμβανόντων τὰς ὑπὸ τῶν βελτίστων προτειομένας χάριτας.'
Lewy, p. 59, from Cat. Len. 124, f. 76v.

193. (Gen. xxvi. 18) Τὰ ἐμφραγέντα φρέατα πάλιν ὅρυξεν. Ἄντειοι καὶ εὔμενης καὶ συνγνώμων, οὐ δεδειν μνησικακῶν τὸ παράπαν, ἄλλα νυκτὰς τοὺς ἐχθροὺς ἀξίων ἐν τῷ ποιεῖν εὐ μᾶλλον ἢ βλάπτεσθαι.
Harris, p. 41, from Cat. Lips. 1, col. 323, and Cat. Burney, f. 55 b.

* ἐκείνων Harris. ἐδ Cat. Burney : del. Wendland.
* εὐγενῆ Arm. ἀρύσσει ὁ Ἰσαάκ Catt. Lips. et Burney.

Wendland, p. 85, from Procopius, Cod. Aug. f. 118r (Migne, p. 415).
194. (Gen. xxvi. 18)  
Καὶ τὰ αὐτὰ ὀνόματα τίθεται, τιμῶν αὐτοῦ τὸν πατέρα καὶ μη συγχωρῶν εἰσάπαν τῷ φθόνῳ νικᾶν.  

[195, see Appendix B.]

198. (Gen. xxvii. 3-4)  
Δυοῦν ὅντων νῦν, τοῦ μὲν ἀγαθοῦ, τοῦ δὲ ὑπατίου, τοῦ μὲν ὑπατίων εὐλογήσειν φησίν· ὅπερ ἔπειδή τοῦ σπουδαίου προκρίνει τούτον ἀλλ' ὃτι ἐκεῖνον οἶδε δι' αὐτοῦ κατορθοῦν δυνάμενον, τούτον δὲ τοῖς ἵδιοις τρόποις ἀλλοκόμενον, μηδεμίαν δέ ἔχοντα σωτηρίας ἐλπίδα, εἰ μὴ τὰς εὐχὰς τοῦ πατρός· ὅν εἰ μὴ τύχοι, πάντων ἀν εἰ ἴ δε κακοδαμονέστατος.

Harris, p. 43, from Cat. Ined. Reg. 1825 (Mangey ii. 676), and Cat. Lips. 1, col. 330, Φίλωνος, ἵσως ἐπισκόπου, and Cat. Burney, f. 56 b, Φίλωνος ἐβραίου. (Harris also gives two Latin fragments, one from Cat. Zephyri, p. 83, the other from Cat. Lippomani, f. 288 b).

200. (Gen. xxvii. 8-10)  
(a) Ἡπτείδειν ἐστὶ μαθεῖν τὸ τοῦ σώματος μέγεθος καὶ τὴν ἐκ κατασκευῆς φυσικῆς εὐεξίαν· ὁ γὰρ ἐν γῆρα δύο πίσων ἑρίφοις κεχρημένος προεθύμασι, τίς ἄν υπῆρχεν ἐν τῇ νεότητι; καὶ ταῦτα ὑπὸ ἐγκρατῆς καὶ ὡς ἀπληστος.  
Harris, p. 44, from Cat. Lips. 1, col. 331, Προκοπίου.

(b) Οὐ διαμάχονται δὲ κατὰ τοὺς οὕτω νομίσαντας τῶν γονέων αἱ γνώμαι, πρὸς ἐν δὲ τέλος ἐπεἰγόνται, τῆς μὲν βουλομένης τὸν
APPENDIX A, GREEK FRAGMENTS

άγαθον τυχεών ὄν ἀξίος ἢν, τοῦ δὲ τοῦ σκανό, τὴν ἀπορίαν ἐπ-ανορθώσασθαι τῷ ἐλέῳ τῷ εἰς αὐτόν.


202. (Gen. xxvii. 12-13)

"Ἄξιον καὶ τὴν μητέρα τῆς εὕνοιας θαυμάζαι, τὰς κατάρας ὁμολογούσαν εἰσδέξασθαι ας ὑπὲρ εἰκείουν. Καὶ τὸν υἱὸν τῆς εἰς ἀμφότεροι τοὺς γονεῖς τιμήσῃ. Ἀνθέλλεται γὰρ ὑπὸ τῆς πρὸς ἐκάτερον εὔσεβείας τὸν μὲν γὰρ πατέρα ἐδείξει, μὴ δάξῃ φενακίζει καὶ ὑφαρτάζει ἐτέρου γέρας, τὴν δὲ μητέρα, μὴ καὶ ταῦτης νομισμῇ παρακούσιν λυπάρως ἐγκεμένης ὀδεῖν ἄγαν εὐλαβῆς καὶ ὀσίως φορίν σὺν "ὁ πατήρ με καταράσσεται," ἀλλ' "ἐγὼ τὰς κατάρας ἐπ' ἐμαυτὸν ἁξώ."c

Harris, p. 44, from Cat. Inedit. Reg. 1825, and Cat. Lips. 1, col. 331, and Cat. Burney, f. 56 b.

204. (Gen. xxvii. 16)

"Ὡσπερ τὰς ἄλλας ἄρετὰς ὁ ἀστείος, οὕτως καὶ τὴν ἀνδρείαν καθαρὸς ἐπιτετηδευκώς, εάν που ταύτην ἐπισκιάζῃ χάριν, καρπών οἰκονομία χρήσαι, μένων μὲν ἐν ὁμοίῳ καὶ τῆς ἐξ ἀρχῆς προθέσεως οὐκ ἀναχώρων, διὰ δὲ τῶν ἀβουλήτων συντυχιάς ἐναλλάσσεν ὁσπερ ἐν θεάτρῳ μορφὴν ἐτέραν ὑπὲρ ὠφελείας τῶν ὀρῶν τῶν γὰρ τῶν κατὰ τὸν βίον πραγμάτων ὁ ἀστείος, δὲ ἑνεκα τῶν καρπῶν φρονίμως ἐνεργεί τὰ ἀφροσύνης, καὶ σωφρόνως τὰς ἀκολογίας καὶ τὰς δειλίας ἀνδρείως καὶ δικαίως τὰς ἀδικίας καὶ γὰρ ἔρει ποτὲ τὰ πενυθή οὐ πευκόμενος καὶ ὑβρίζει ἢ ὧν ὑβρισθῆς."

Harris, p. 45, from Mai, Script. Vel. vii. 106 ε Cod. Vat. 1553, Φίλωνος έκ τοῦ δ′ τῶν ἐν Γενέσει ἔτη ἡμέρας.

a Harris : ἐκδέξασθαι Cat. Reg.
b τοὺς γονεῖς add. Harris.

c ἔξω Cat. Lips.
206. (Gen. xxvii. 18-19)

(a) Πάλιν ἀπατεῶν εἶναι δόξει τοῖς μὴ τὴν κατ’ ἄρετὴν σκοποῦ-σιν οἰκονομιὰν. Ἡ δὲ οἰκονομιὰ πρὸς τὸ μὴ τοῖς ἀναξίωσι δίδοοσθαι τὰ καλὰ. Λεγέτω καὶ κατάσκοπος συλληφθεὶς οὐκ εἰμὶ πολέμιος ἢ ὡς ἡπτομάληκα.

Wendland, pp. 87-88, from Procopius, Cod. Aug. f. 118v.

(b) Λεγέτω καὶ ὁ στρατηγὸς ἦ τὰ πολεμοποιοῦντα εἰρήνην πραγματεύομενος ἡ τὰ εἰρήνης πολεμεῖν διανοούμενος· ὑπο- δυέθω καὶ βασιλέως ἰδιῶτον σχῆμα εἰ μὴ δύνατο ἐτέρως τὸ συμφέρον τῇ τε ἁρχή καὶ τοῖς ὑπηκόοις λαβεῖν καὶ ὁ δεσπότης διόλου, εἶνεκα τοῦ μηδὲν ἀγ- νοῆσαι τῶν κατὰ τὴν οἰκίαν ὁμιλῶν.

Harris, p. 45, from Mai, Script. Vet. vii. 106 e Cod. Vat. 1553, Φίλωνος· ἐκ τοῦ δ’ τῶν ἐν Γενέσει ζητημάτων.

207. (Gen. xxvii. 20)

Οὐ γὰρ ἐφθασε χρόνον προσήκοντα κυνηγήτη.

Wendland, p. 88, from Procopius, Cod. Aug. f. 119r (Migne, p. 419).

208. (Gen. xxvii. 20)

'Ὁ δὲ θεοφίλης ἐπὶ θεὸν τὴν αἰτίαν ἀνάγει διὰ τῆς ἀποκρίσεως.

Wendland, p. 88, from Procopius, Cod. Aug. f. 119r (Migne, p. 419).

210. (Gen. xxvii. 22)

Τὴν εὐσεβὴ φωνὴν οὐκ ἂν λεχθεῖσαν ὑπὸ τοῦ Ἡσαί τὴν "ὁ παρέδωκεν ὁ θεὸς ἐναντίων μου" ἐπιγνοὺς Ἡσαίακ εἶπε τὸ προ- κείμενον, ὦ καὶ μαρτυρεῖν έοικέν ἡ γραφή φάσκουσα περὶ μόνων τῶν χειρῶν ὅτι "ἐξαν αἱ χεῖρες τοῦ Ἰακωβ ὡς αἱ χεῖρες Ἡσαία τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ αὐτοῦ δασεῖαν," οὐκέτι δὲ καὶ περὶ φωνῆσ τὸ ὁμοιο- οὐ γὰρ ἐν ἰδιότητι προφοράς ἀλλ’ ἐν τοῖς λεχθεῖσιν ἢ ἡ φωνή.


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211. (Gen. xxvii. 23)
Τὰ αὐτὰ καθήκοντα συλλάκτικα ἐνεργοῦσιν ὁ τε ἀστείος καὶ ὁ φαύλος, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἀπὸ τῆς αὐτῆς διανοίας ἀμφότεροι. οἱ μὲν γὰρ κρίνων ὅτι καλὸν, ὃ δὲ μοχθηρὸσ μνώμενος τι τῶν εἰς πλεονεξίαν.
Harris, p. 70 ("unidentified," but located by E. Bréhier), from Mai, Script. Vet. vii. 100 e Cod. Vat. 1553, Φιλωνος· ἐκ τῶν δ' ἐν Γεν. ζητμ., and from Cod. Rupef. f. 337 b.

227. (Gen. xxvii. 34)
Οὐκ ἐπὶ τῷ μη τυχείν τῶν εὐλογῶν οὕτω δυσχεραίνει ὡς ἐπὶ τῷ τῶν ἀδελφῶν αὐτῶν ἄξιωθήναι. Βάσκανος γὰρ ὃν ἐπιμελετέρεν προκρίνει τής ἱδίας ὑφελείας τὴν ἐκείνου ζημίαν. Τάυτα γὰρ ἐμφαίνεται διὰ τοῦ μέγα καὶ πικρὸν ἀνοιμάξας καὶ ἐπιλέγειν "Εὐλογήσων δὴ καὶ ἐμὲ, πάτερ." Harris, p. 46, from Cat. Ined. Regia, 1825 (Mangey ii. 676), and Cat. Lips. 1, col. 339, Procopiion, and Cat. Burney, f. 57 b, Φιλωνος ἐβραίου, also in Wendland, pp. 89-90, from Procopius 421 c.

228. (Gen. xxvii. 35)
'Ἀλλ' εἴ γε μετὰ δόλου ἔλαβε, εἰποι τις ἄν, οὐκ ἐπαινετός. Τί οὖν φησί: "Καὶ εὐλογημένος ἐσται"; 'Ἀλλ' εἰοικεν αἰνίτεσθαι διὰ τοῦ λεγέντος ὅτι οὐ πᾶς δόλος υπάτιος ἐστιν, ἐστὶ καὶ ληστὰς νυκτοφύλακες, καὶ πολεμίους στρατηγοῖ, οὐς ἀδόλως συλλαβεῖν οὐκ ἐστιν, ἐνεδρεύοντες κατορθοῦν δοκοῦσι. Καὶ τὰ λεγόμενα στρατηγήματα τοιοῦτον λόγον ἐχει καὶ τὰ τῶν ἀθλητῶν ἀγωνίσματα καὶ γὰρ ἐπὶ τούτων ἡ ἀπάτη γενομισται Πῶς οὖν ἐπιφέρεις: "Καὶ εὐλογημένος ἐσται"; Ἀνίητεται τοίνυν ὡς οὐ πᾶς δόλος υπάτιος. Τοιαῦτα γὰρ καὶ τὰ λεγόμενα στρατηγήματα, καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν ἀθλητῶν ἂν ὁμοίως οἱ μετὰ δόλου νικῶντες θαυμάζονται στεφανούμενοι οἷς ἀδινάμαι τὸ "μετὰ δόλου" τῶν "μετὰ τέχνης." Ὁδὲν δὲ ἀτέχνω ὁ σπουδαῖος ποιεῖ.
Wendland, p. 90, from Procopius, Cod. Aug. f. 121v.

c μοχθηροῦς Cod. Rupef.
d + φασὶ Procop. e αὐτῶν Procop.
f ἐκβοήσαυ Cat. Lips. : βοήσαυ Cat. Burney.
g δὲ Procop.
i ἐστω Catt. Lips. et Burney.
τίμιον, καὶ οἱ δὲ ἀπάτης περιγενόμενοι\footnote{περιγενόμενοι Catt. Lips. et Burney.} τῶν ἀντιπάλων, βραβείων ἀξιοῦνται καὶ στεφάνων. "Ωστε οὐ διαβολή τὸ "μετὰ δόλου" ἀλλ' ἐγκώμιον ἰσοδυναμοῦν τῷ "μετὰ τέχνης." Οὐδὲν γὰρ ἀτέχνως πράττει ὁ σπουδαῖος.

Harris, p. 46, from Cat. Ined. Regia, 1825 (Mangey ii. 676), and Cat. Lips. 1, col. 340, 'Αδήλου, and Cat. Burney, f. 57 b.

\footnote{περιγενόμενοι Catt. Lips. et Burney.}
UNIDENTIFIED FRAGMENTS FROM QUÆSTIONES IN GENESIN

1. Τῶν φαύλων πλούσιοι οὐδεὶς καὶ ἂν τὰ πανταχοῦ μέταλλα κἐκτηταί ἀλλ᾽ εἰσὶ πάντες οἱ ἀφρονες πένητες.
Harris, p. 69, from Dam. Par. 362 and Cod. Reg. 923, f. 76, “in each case with reference to II Quaest. in Gen.”

2. Μελέτη τροφῶν ἐπιστήμης.

3. Ὡσπερ κίονες οἰκίαις ὑπερείδουσιν, οὕτω καὶ οἱ θείαι δυνάμεις τῶν σύμπαντα κόσμον καὶ τοῦ ἀνθρωπείου τὸ ἄριστον καὶ θεοφιλέστατον γένος.
Harris, p. 69, from Dam. Par. 749 = Cod. Rupef. f. 29, ἐκ τοῦ α ἕν Γενέσει ζητημάτων.

4. 'Εὰν τις κατ' οἰκίαν ἢ κόμην ἢ πόλιν ἢ ἔθνος γένηται φρονήσεως ἔρασθης, ἀνάγκη τὴν οἰκίαν καὶ τὴν πόλιν ἐκεῖνην ἀμείνων βίω χρήσασθαι· ὥ γὰρ ἄστειος κοινὸν ἀγαθὸν ἐστίν ἀπασίν, ἐξ ἐτοίμου τὴν ἅφ' ἐαυτοῦ προτεινών ὦφελείαν.
Harris, p. 69, from Dam. Par. 750 = Cod. Rupef. f. 33 b, “from I Quaest. in Gen.”

5. Ἀνθρώποι τὸ εὐμετάβλητον διὰ τὴν ἐν τοῖς ἐκτὸς ἀβε-

*a Omitting the six fragments located by Früchtel and Bréhier, and printed above. The unidentified fragments, which are unnumbered in Harris, have been numbered by me.
*b + ἐστίν Codd. Reg. et Vat.
GENESIS, UNIDENTIFIED

6. Τὸ ἐπαισχάνεσθαι τῶν ἔσφαλμένων καὶ ἐαυτοῦ καταμέφεσθαι πρὸς δικαίον ἀνδρός· τὸ δὲ ἀνεπαισθήτως διακεῖσθαι—ἀργαλεώτερα ποιεῖ τῇ ψυχῇ τὰ δεινα—πρὸς κακοῦ ἀνδρός.

Harris, p. 70, from Dam. Par. 777 (Cod. Rupef.), ἐκ τῶν ἐν Γενέσει ζητουμένων.

7. Ἡπειδὴ πρὸς πολλὰ τῶν κατὰ τῶν βίων τυφλὸς ὁ τῶν μὴ πεθανοσφηκτών νοῦς, χρηστέονα τοῖς βλέπουσι τὰς τῶν πραγμάτων ιδέας πρὸς ὀδηγίαν.

Harris, p. 70, from Dam. Par. (Cod. Reg. 923, f. 315 b), "referred to Philo on Genesis," and John Monachus (Mangey ii. 667) = Cod. Rupef. f. 256 b, ἐκ τῶν ἐν Γεν. ζητ.

8. Ἐν θεῷ μόνῳ τὸ τέλειον καὶ ἀνευδές, ἐν δὲ ἀνθρώπῳ τὸ ἐπιδεῖς καὶ ἀτελές. Διδάκτος γὰρ ὁ ἀνθρώπος, καὶ ἂν γὰρ σοφῶτατος ἄλλος ἀπ᾽ ἄλλου, ἀλλ᾽ οὐ διδάκτος οὐδὲ αὐτοφυὴς· καὶ εἰ ἐπιστημονικῶτερος ἔτερος ἔτερον, οὐκ ἐμφύτως άλλα μεμαθημένως.

Harris, p. 70, from Dam. Par. = Cod. Reg. 923, f. 335, "from Quaest. in Gen.," and John Monachus (Mangey ii. 667) = Cod. Rupef. f. 262 b.

9. Εἰώθασιν οἴ ἀνθρωποὶ ἐκ πλοὺσίων γενόμενοι πένητες ἐξαίφνης ἣ ἐξ ἐνδόξων καὶ μεγάλων ἐξοδοῦ καὶ ταπεινοὶ ἢ ἐξ ἀρχοῦντων ἰδιώτης ἢ ἐξ ἐλευθέρων δοῦλων, ταῖς τύχαις συμμεταβάλλειν τὰ φρονήματα, φάσκοντες οὐ προνοεῖσθαι τῶν ἀνθρωπίνων πραγμάτων τῷ θείῳ, οὐ γὰρ ἂν χρήσασθαι μεγάλαις καὶ ἀπροσδοκητοῖς μεταβολαίς καὶ κακοπραγγίας· ἀγνοούντες πρῶτον μὲν ὅτι τούτων οὐδὲν ἐστὶ κακῶν οὐδὲ γὰρ τάναντα ἁγάθα, ὅτι μήν τό

a χρηστέον Cod. Reg.
b ἀνθρώποι Cod. Reg.
c σοφῶτατος . . ἄλλου] σοφότερος ἄλλος ἀλλήλου Cod. Reg.
APPENDIX A, GREEK FRAGMENTS

dokein ouk alltheia: deuteron de oti polllkis tauta symbainei dia
nousheia, eneka ton anaphorouz xevbriqonton ou gar pantes
feren ta agath a dynanta: tritoun de, ws eph, pros apopeiran
theon akribestathe gar basanos oi pros ekatera lairoi.

Harris, p. 70, from Mai, Script. Vet. vii. 101 e Cod. Vat.
1553, Filwos: ek tou a' ton en Gen. zetu.

10. To epiorkein anosion kai aluvitelostaton.

Harris, p. 70, from Dam. Par. 784 (Cod. Rupef.), ek ton
en Genesei zetymaton, "also Dam. Par. 751 (Cod. Rupef.),
apparently referred to the Questions on Exodus."

11. Oi evaton monon eneka panta praptontes filautian,
megaston kakov, epitrdeouswon, de tote to amikton, to akounntov,
to afilov, to adikov, to asebhes. Tov gar anbropon he fis
kateskeuevan ouk ws ta monoikia therta all' ws agelai kai
synoma, koivnikostaton, ina mou monon enauti zel alal kai patri
kai metri e kai adelphois kai gynai kai teknois kai tois allous
syggenesai kai filous, kai demotais kai filetais kai patridi kai
omophulos kai pasen anbropous, eti mneton kai tois merei tov
pantos, kai to olo kosmow kai polu proteron t' patri kai
poqetih dei gar einai, eixe dnitous esti logikos, koivnikon, filo-
kosmon, filotheon ina genetai kai theofilh.

Harris, p. 71, from John Monachus (Mangey ii. 662), and
Mai, Script. Vet. vii. 108 e Cod. Vat. 1553, ek tou b' ton en
Gen. zetymaton, and Cod. Reg. 923, f. 20 b, Filwos. "Maximus
(ii. 686) gives the first sentence . . . Further in Dam.
Par. 721 the whole passage is ascribed to the Abbot Isaiah."

12. Treptoi polutreptov diapereontes biou, kai symforas katha-
menaran eneuloumenoi, hikasta teis evdaimonias filxhai kina pro
telous upolambabvmenon.

Harris, p. 71, from Mai, Script. Vet. vii. 102 e Cod. Vat.
1553, Filwos: ek tou en Gen. zetu.

a filautia to Cod. Vat.: filautias Maximus.
a kai filous . . . filetais om. Cod. Vat.
 e eti . . . kosmow om. Cod. Vat.
f dei gar . . . theofilh om. Cod. Vat.
g afichha ai con. Harris.
13. Συγκρύπτεται διὰ φιλίαν νόθον πράγματος καὶ ἀδόκιμονα τὸ γνήσιον καὶ δοκιμώτατον.

Harris, p. 71, from Mai, Script. Vet. vii. 103, Φίλωνος· ἐκ τοῦ δ’ τῶν ἐν Γεν. ζητημι.

14. Τοὺς ἀρξαντας ἐτεῖ τῶν ἁγαθῶν ἐτεὶ καὶ πονηρῶν βουλευ-μάτων, καὶ μάλιστα ὅταν ἐφαρμόσῃ τοῖς βουλεύμασι τὰ ἔργα, ἵσσοι ήγητέοι τοῖς καὶ τελείωσαν αὐτά· τὸ μὲν γὰρ μὴ φθάσαι πρὸς τὸ πέρας ἔλθειν, ἐτερα καὶ πολλὰ αὕτη· ἡ δὲ γνωμὴ καὶ σπουδὴ τῶν προελεμένων ἐφθακεν δυνάμει καὶ πρὸς τὸ πέρας.

Harris, p. 71, from Mai, Script. Vet. vii. 105 e Cod. Vat. 1553, Φίλωνος· ἐκ τοῦ β’ τῶν ἐν Γεν. ζητημι.

15. Ὁ εὐλαβέστερος τρόπος οὐχ οὕτως ἐπὶ τοῖς ἰδίοις ἁγαθοῖς γέγονεν ὡς ἐπὶ τοῖς τοῦ πέλας κακοῖς ἀναταῖ ἡ φοβεῖται· ἀνάται μὲν ὡς αὐξίου ἢν ἀτυχή, φοβεῖται δὲ ὅτ’ ἄν ἐπιτηδεύως κακοπαθῇ.

Harris, p. 71, from Mai, Script. Vet. vii. 107, Φίλωνος· ἐκ τοῦ δ’ τῶν ἐν Γεν. ζητημι.

16. Τί οὖν ἐνθυμήθη; ὅτι διὰ τὸ εὐαρεστεῖν πεποίηται ὁ ἀνθρωπός, οὐ κατ’ ἀντιστροφὴν, διότι ἐποίησεν, ἄλλ’ ὡς μὴ ἐμείναν τὸ ποίημα τῇ εἰς εὐαρεστηθη ποίησε. Ἡρὸς οὖν τὸ ποίημα ὁ λόγος, ὡσπερ σοφίτης διαλογεῖται, οὐ διότι πεφύτευκεν ὁ θεὸς ἄλλ’ ὅτι προελθὼν διὰ πάθημα διαμερτάνει τῆς ἐγχειρήσεως.


17. Τὰ γὰρ τοῦ πολέμου ἀριστεία δίδωσι τῷ ἱερεί καὶ τὰς τῆς νίκης ἀπαρχὰς. Ἐροπρεπεστάτη δὴ καὶ ἀγωνιστή πασῶν ἀπαρχῶν ἢ δεκάτη διὰ τὸ παντέλειον εἶναι τῶν ἀριθμῶν, ἂς οὐ καὶ τοῖς ἱερεύσῃ καὶ νεωκόροις αἱ δεκάται προστάξει νόμου καρπῶν καὶ θρεμμάτων ἀποδίδονται, ἀρξαντος τῆς ἀπαρχῆς Λβραάμ, δς καὶ τοῦ γένους ἀρχηγήτης ἐστίν.

Harris, pp. 71-72, from Cramer, Catena in Heb. p. 580, e Cod. Paris 238, “. . . seems to belong to the Questions on Genesis xiv. 18, being found in a codex which quotes the Questions on Gen. iv. 4 and seems to have no other Philonea. This part of the Questions is lost in the Armenian.”

a 1. ἀδόκιμον (?).
EXODUS, BOOK I

1. (Ex. xii. 2)
"Ὅταν οἱ τῶν σπαρτῶν καρποὶ τελειωθῶσαν, οἱ τῶν δένδρων γενέσεως ἀρχὴν λαμβάνουσιν ἵνα δολευοῦσιν αἱ τοῦ θεοῦ χάριτες τῶν αἰώνα, παρ’ ἄλλων ἄλλας διαδεχομέναι καὶ συνάπτουσαι τέλη μὲν ἀρχαῖς, ἀρχάς δὲ τέλεσιν, ἀτελεύτητοι διαίν.
Harris, p. 47, from Dam. Par. 789 = Cod. Rupef. f. 142 b, ἐκ τοῦ α’ τῶν ἐν ’Εξόδῳ.

6. (Ex. xii. 4b)
Ὑπερβολαί καὶ ἐλλεύφεις ἀνισότητα ἐγέννησαν. Ἀνισότης δὲ, ἵνα αὐτός μυθικῶτερον χρῆσωμαια tois ὀνόμασι, μητὴρ ἄδικιας ἐστίν, ὡς ἐμπαλιν ἵστοτης δικαιοσύνης. ὑπερβολὴς δὲ καὶ ἐλλεύφεις μέσον τὸ αὐταρκές· ἐν ὧ τὸ ἱερὸν γράμμα περιέχεται τὸ "μηδὲν ἀγαν."

7. (Ex. xii. 5a)
(a) Δέχεται ὑπὸ φυσικῶν ἀνδρῶν, οὐδὲν ἔτερον εἶναι θῆλυ ἢ ἀτέλες ἄροιν.
Harris, p. 47, from Dam. Par. 777 = Cod. Rupef. f. 134, ἐκ τῶν ἐν ’Εξόδῳ ζητημάτων, and Anton Melissa, Migne, col. 1088.

(b) "Ἐνοι προκόψαντες ἐπ’ ἀρετὴν ὑπενόστησαν πρὶν ἐφικέσθαι τοῦ τέλους, τὴν ἀρτι φυμένην ἀριστοκράτειαν ἐν ψυχῇ καθελοῦσης τῆς παλαιᾶς ὀλυνοκρατείας, ἢ πρὸς ὀλίγον ἠμειγμένα πάλιν ἐξ ὑπαρχῆς μετὰ πλείονος δυνάμεως ἀντεπέθετο."
Harris, pp. 47-48, from Dam. Par. 343, and Cod. Reg. 913,

edd.: χρῆσομαι Cod. Vat.

pαλαιᾶς ὀλυνοκρατείας] ὀχλοκρατίας Anton Melissa.

ἐναπέθετο Dam.
EXODUS, BOOK I

f. 84, ἐκ τοῦ α’ τῶν εν ἩΣαγῳ [sc. ἩΣαγωγη = ἩΣόδῳ] ζητημάτων, and Anton Melissa (Migne, col. 1117).

19. (Ex. xii. 11)
Ajax μὲν γὰρ ζῶναι στάσιν ἐμφαίνουσι καὶ συναγωγὴν ἠδονῶν καὶ τῶν ἄλλων παθῶν ἀ τέως ἀνείτο καὶ κεχάλαστο· οὐκ ἀπὸ δὲ σκοποῦ προσέθηκε τὸ δεῖν ζωνυσθαι κατὰ τὴν ὀσφὺν· ὅ γὰρ τόπος ἐκεῖνος εἰς φάτνην ἀποκέκριται πολυκεφάλῳ θρέμματι τῶν ἐν ἦμῖν ἐπιθυμιῶν.

Harris, p. 48, from Pitra, Anal. Sacr. ii. 313 e Cod. Vat. 1611, f. 181.

21. (Ex. xii. 17)
Ἄνδρες ἅγαθοι, τροπικῶτερον εἰπεῖν, κίονεσε ἐἰς δήμων ὀλων, ὑπερείδοντες, καθάπερ οἰκίας μεγάλας, τὰς πόλεις καὶ τὰς πολιτείας.

Harris, p. 48, from John Monachus (Mangey ii. 661) = Cod. Rupef. f. 33 b, ἐκ τοῦ Περὶ μεθῆς, and Cod. Rupef. f. 200 b, and Anton Melissa (Migne, col. 1105).

κρεῖττονές Cod. Rupef.
EXODUS, BOOK II

1. (Ex. xx. 25b) Τί ἐστιν: "τὸ γὰρ ἐγχειρίδιον σου" καὶ τὰ ἐξῆς;
Oἱ τὴν φύσιν παρεγχειρεῖν τολμῶντες καὶ τὰ ἔργα τῆς φύσεως ἐγχειρήμασιν ἑδοὺς μεταμορφοῦντες τὰ ἀμάντα μειώνουσι. Τέλεια γὰρ καὶ πλῆρη τὰ τῆς φύσεως, προσθήκης οὐδεμίας δεόμενα.
Harris, p. 49, from Cat. Ined. Regia, 1825 (Mangey ii. 677), and Cat. Lips. 1, col. 785, Φίλωνος ἐβραίον.

2. (Ex. xxii. 21 [Heb. 20]) Ἐμφανέστατα παρίστησαν δι’ τὴν προσθήκην ἑστιν, οὐχ ὁ περιμήθεις τὴν ἀκροβυστιαν ἀλλ’ ὁ τὰς ἡδονάς καὶ τὰς ἐπιθυμίας καὶ τὰ ἄλλα πάθη τῆς ψυχῆς. Ἔν Αἰγύπτῳ γὰρ τὸ 'Ἐβραίον γένος οὐ περιτέτημο, κακωθὲν δὲ πᾶσαι κακῶσει τῆς παρὰ τῶν ἐγχωρίων περὶ τοὺς ἑξόνους ὑμότητος, ἐγκρατείᾳ καὶ καρπείᾳ συνεβίον οὐκ ἀνάγχη μᾶλλον ἢ ἐθελουσίᾳ γνώμῃ διὰ τὴν ἐπὶ τὸν σωτήρα θεόν καταφυγῆ, δὸς ἐξ ἀπόρων καὶ ἀμηχανῶν ἐπιτέμβιας τὴν εὐφραγέτων δύναμιν ἐρρύσατο τοὺς ικέτας. Διὰ τοῦτο προστίθησιν τοῦ Τιμείς γὰρ οἴδατε τὴν ψυχὴν τοῦ προσθηκῆτο. Τις δὲ προσηλυτῶς διάνοια ἑστίν; Αὐτοπράσισ τὴς πολυθέου δόξης, οἰκείωσι δὲ τῆς πρὸς τὸν ἔνα καὶ πατέρα τῶν ὅλων τιμῆς. Δεύτερον ἐπίλυσαν ἑνὸς καλοῦ τοὺς ἑξόνους. Ξένου δὲ καὶ οἱ πρὸς τὴν ἀλήθειαν αὐτομολιχκότες, τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον τοῖς ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ ἐξευτέσσασιν. Οὐτοὶ μὲν γὰρ ἐπιλυσε χώρας, ἐκεῖνοι δὲ νομίζοντες καὶ ἐθέναι εἰς, τὸ δὲ ὄνομα κοινόν ἑκατέρων "ἐπηλύδων" ὑπογράφεται.
Harris, pp. 49-50, from Cat. Reg. 1825 (Mangey ii. 677), and Cat. Lips. 1, col. 810, Φίλωνος ἐβραίον, and Cat. Burney, f. 13 b. The variant reading is in Wendland, p. 95, from Procopious, Cod. Aug. f. 217v (Migne, p. 622).

a οἰκέτας Cat. Lips.
b οὐτοὶ μὲν . . . εἰς] οὐ τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον, αὐτοὶ μὲν γὰρ χώρας, οἱ δὲ πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἑόντες νόμων καὶ πολιτείας Procopius.
3. (Ex. xxii. 22 [Heb. 21])

(a) Οὐδένα μὲν, οὐδὲ οὕτως τῶν ἄλλων, οὔτε ἄρρενα οὔτε θῆλειαν, ἀφίησαι ἄδικεια δόνομος. "Εξαιρέτων δὲ προνοιάς μεταδίδωσιν χήραις καὶ ὀρφανοῖς, επειδή τοὺς ἀναγκαίους βοήθους καὶ κηδεμονίας ἀφήνεται, χήραι μὲν ἄνδρας, ὀρφανοὶ δὲ γυναῖκες. Βούλεται γὰρ τῇ φυσικῇ κοινωνίᾳ χρωμένους τὰς ἐνδειὰς ὑπὸ τῶν ἐν περιονύμοις ἀναπληροῦσθαι.


(b) Ψυχαὶ δὲ, ὅταν προσκολληθῶσι θεοῖ, ἐκ γυναικῶν γίνονται παρθένοι, τὰς μὲν γυναικῶδες ἀποβάλλοντο ἀφορὰς τῶν ἐν αἰσθήσει καὶ πάθει: τὴν δὲ ἀφεντον καὶ ἀμμῆνον παρθένον, ἀρεσκείαν θεοῦ, μεταδίδομεν: κατὰ λάγον ὧν αὐτὰ πυκναὶ ψυχαὶ χρησάμοισεν, ἄνδρα τὸν τῆς φύσεως ὀρθόν νόμον προσσυμβιβάζοντα καὶ πατέρα τὸν αὐτόν, καὶ χήρᾳ πράττειν παραγγέλλοντα καθάπερ ἐγγόναις μετὰ τῆς ἀνεμάστω κηδεμονίας.


4. (Ex. xxii. 23 [Heb. 22])

Καὶ κακοῦ ἀπαγορεύει οὐ τοσοῦτον τὴν σωματικὴν κάκωσιν ὅσον τὴν ψυχικὴν. Ὁρφανοὶ γὰρ γινομένως μηδεὶς ἀφροσύνης ἢ ἀκολουθίας διδάκτως, ἀλλὰ τῶν ἐναντίων, ἐν ὑποῦ τὰς ψυχὰς ἔχουσιν ἀπαλάς πρὸς τὴν τῶν θείων χαρακτηρῶν ὑποδοχῆς.

Wendland, p. 95, from Procopius, Cod. Aug. f. 217v (Migne, p. 622).

6. (Ex. xxii. 28b [Heb. 27b])

(a) Προνοεῖται τῶν ἰδιωτῶν ὡς μὴ περιπίπτοιευτος ἀνηκέστωσι

a οὐδένα . . . οὐδὲ οὐ διωμένου δὲ Cod. Vat.


c ἐξαιρέτων . . . ὀρφανοῖς] ἐξαιρέτων δὲ προνοιάς διὰ τὴν ἐρημίαν μεταδίδοσιν ὀρφανοῖς τε καὶ χήραις Procopius.


e βούλεται . . . ἀναπληροῦσθαι om. Cod. Vat.

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timopriae: οἱ γὰρ κακῶς ἀκούσαντες ἁρχοντες τοὺς εἰπόντας a οὐ μετὰ δίκης ἀμυνόνται. καταχρήσονται δυνατεῖας εἰς πανωλθηρίαν. ’Επεῖ, φησίν, οὔ περί παντὸς ἁρχοντος ἐοίκε νομοθετεῖν ἀλλ’ ὡσαι τοῦ λαοῦ τοῦδε ή ἔθνους ηγεμόνα σπουδαῖον ὑποτίθεται, b διὰ πλειόνων, καταχρηστικῶς δὲ δινατοὺς η ἱερείς η προφήτας η ἀγίους ἀνδρας ὡς Μωυσέα. "Ἰδον γάρ, ἐθνικά σε θεον Φαραώ," ἐλέηθη πρὸς Μωυσήν.

Harris, p. 51, from Cat. Lips. 1, col. 805, Φίλωνος ἐβραίου, and Cat. Burney, f. 136.

(b) Τῷ ἀγαθῷ ἀνδρὶ βλασφήμια μὲν ἀλλότριον, ἐπανος δὲ οἰκειότατον οὐδὲν γὰρ οὕτως εὐάγγελων εἰς εὐνοιαν ὡς εὐφημία.


9. (Ex. xxiii. 1a)

Μάταιον φησιν οὕτε ἀκοαὶς οὕτε ἀλλὴ τινὶ τῶν αἰσθήσεων προσωπείων ἐπακολουθοῦν γὰρ ταῖς ἀπάταις αἱ μεγίσται ζημίαι. Διὸ καὶ παρ’ ἐνίοις νομοθετεῖσα ἀπείρηται μαρτυρεῖν ἀκοή, c ως τὸ μὲν ἀληθὲς ὅψει πιστεύόμενον, d τὸ δὲ ψεῦδος e ἀκοῆ.


10. (Ex. xxiii. 3)

Πενία καθ’ ἐαυτὴν μὲν ἐλέους χρησίμει εἰς ἐπανόρθωσιν ἐνδείας, εἰς δὲ κρίσιν ιοῦσα βραβευτῇ χρῆσται τῷ τῆς ἱσότητος νόμῳ. Θεὸν γὰρ ἡ δικαιοσύνη καὶ ἀδέκαστον ἄθεν καὶ ἐν ἐτέρως εἴρηται ὅτι, f "ἡ κρίσις τοῦ θεοῦ δικαία ἐστὶν."

Harris, p. 52, from Cat. Reg. Ined. 1825, and Cat. Lips. 1,

a ἀπόντας Cat. Burney. b ὑπερτίθεται Cat. Burney.

c διὸ . . . ἀκοῇ] διὸ παρ’ ἐνίοις ἀπείρηται νομοθετεῖς ἀκοὴν μαρτυρεῖν Procopius.

d πιστούμενον Procopius. e ψευδὲς Procopius.

f ἄθεν . . . ὅτι] διὸ καὶ εἰρηται Procopius.

a δικαία om. Procopius, cf. Wendland ad loc., "fehlt in fast allen mss. der Cat. Lips."

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11. (Ex. xxiii. 4)

'Ἡμερότητος ὑπερβολὴ πρὸς τῷ μὴ βλάπτειν τὸν ἔχθρον ἐτὶ καὶ συνωφελεῖν πειρᾶσθαι: δεύτερον δὲ παραίτησις πλεονέξιας a. τὸ γὰρ μὴ ἔχθρον ζημιῶν ὑπομένων τίνα τῶν ἄλλων θελήσειν ἢ βλάπτειν ἢ πειρᾶσθαι.


Wendland, p. 96, from Procopius, Cod. Aug. f. 218v (Migne, p. 623).

13. (Ex. xxiii. 20-21)

(a) Οἱ ἄφιλάκτως ὀδοιποροῦντες διαμαρτάνουσιν τής ὀρθῆς καὶ λεωφόρου όσο πολλάκις εἰς ἀνοδίας καὶ δυσβάτους καὶ τραχείας ἄτραπως ἐκτρέπεσθαι. Τὸ παραπλησίων ἐστὶ ὅτε καὶ αἱ ψυχαὶ τῶν νέων b παιδείας ἀμοιροῦσιν, c καθάπερ ἰσχύμα ἀνεπίσχετον d ὅτῃ μὴ λυστελὲς ῥεμβεύνται.

Harris, p. 52, from Cod. Reg. 923, f. 302 b, “from the Quaest. in Exod.”

(b) Ὁ πεινῶν καὶ δυσῶν ἐπιστήμης καὶ τοῦ μαθῆς ἀ μὴ οἶδεν, τάς ἀλλὰς μεθελέμενος φροντίδας, ἐπείγεται πρὸς ἀκρόασιν, καὶ νύκτωρ καὶ μεθ' ἡμέραν θυρωρεῖ τάς τῶν σοφῶν οἰκίας.

Harris, p. 52, from Dam. Par. 613 = Cod. Reg. f. 230.

a δεύτερον . . . πλεονέξιας ex Arm. con. Lewy.
   b νεῶν Harris.
   c Harris: ἀμοιρῶσιν Cod. Reg.
   d Harris: ἀνεπίσχετο Cod. Reg.
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14. (Ex. xxiii. 18a)

'Αντί τού οὖ δεῖ ξυμωτὸν παρεῖναι ἐπὶ τῶν θυσιαζομένων ἀλλὰ πάντα τὰ προσαγόμενα εἰς θυσίαν ἦτοι προσφορὰν ἄζωμα δεὶ εἶναι, αἰνίττεται διὰ συμβόλου δύο τὰ ἀναγκαίότατα: ἐν μὲν τοῦ καταφρονεῖν ἡδονής, ζύμη γὰρ ἡδυαμα τροφῆς, οὐ τροφῆς ἐτέρον δὲ τὸ μὴ δεῖν ἐπαιρεσθαι φυσωμένους διὰ κενῆς οἰήσεως. 'Ανίερον γὰρ ἐκάτερον, ἡδονή τε καὶ οἰήσεις, μητρὸς μᾶς ἀπάτης ἐγγόνα. Τὸ αἷμα τῶν θυσιῶν δείγμα ψυχῆς ἐστὶ σπευδομένης θεώ, μιγνύναι δὲ τὰ ἀμκτα οὐχ ὅσιον.

Harris, p. 53, from Cat. Reg. Ined. 1825 (Mangey ii. 678), and Cat. Lips. 1, col. 816, and Cat. Burney, f. 138.

15. (Ex. xxiii. 18b)

(a) Κελεύει τὰ στέατα αὐθήμερον ἀναλίσκεσθαι γινόμενα ὑλὴν ἱερᾶς φλογὸς.

(b) Ψυχῆ πᾶσα ἡν εὐσέβεια λιπανέι τοῖς ἱδίοις ὀργίοις, ἀκοιμήτως ἔχει πρὸς τὰ θεία καὶ διανίσταται πρὸς τὴν θέαν τῶν θεῶν ἄξιων. Τοῦτο γὰρ τὸ πάθος τῆς ψυχῆς ἐν ἐορτῇ μεγίστῃ καὶ καιρὸς ἀψευδής εὐφροσύνης.
Harris, p. 101 ("unidentified," but located by Früchtel), from Cod. Rupef. f. 153 b.

16. (Ex. xxiii. 22)

Φωνὴν θεοῦ τὸν πρὸ μικροῦ Τὸν προφήτην φασὶ τινες καὶ λεχθέντα ἄγγελον ὑπονοητέον τὴν ἐν αὐτῷ τοῦ λαλοῦντος a κανῆς Cat. Lips.

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μηνύεσθαι. Τοῦ γὰρ λέγοντος ὁ προφήτης ἀγγελός κυρίου ἔστιν. 'Ανάγκη,a γὰρ τὸν ἀκοῆ ἀκούοντα, τούτεστι τὸν τὰ λεγόμενα βεβαιῶς παραδεχόμενον, ἔργοις ἐπιτελεῖν τὰ λεχθέντα. Δόγμον γὰρ πίστις ἔργον· οὐκ ὕπαρξιν ἐν τοῖς εἰρημένοις καταπειθῆς καὶ ἐνεργῶν τὰ ἀκολούθα, σύμμαχον καὶ ὑπερασπιστὴν εἰς ἀνάγκης ἔχει τὸν διδάσκαλον, οὐσα μὲν τῷ δοκείν, βοηθοῦντα τῷ γνωρίμῳ, τὸ δὲ ἀληθὲς τοῖς αὐτοῖς δόγμαι καὶ παραγγελμα, ἀπερ οἱ ἐναντίοι καὶ ἐχθροὶ βούλονται καθαρεῖν.

Harris, p. 54, from Cat. Reg. Ined. 1825 (Mangey ii. 678), and Cat. Lips. 1, col. 818, and Cat. Burney, f. 139, "glossed by a Christian commentator."

17. (Ex. xxiii. 24c)

Στῆλαι εἰς τὰ δόγματα συμβολικῶς, ἀπερ ἐστάναι καὶ ἐρημεῖσθαι δοκεῖ. Τῶν δὲ κατεστηλευμένων δογμάτων ἀστεία ἔστιν, ἀ καθεὶς ἀνακείσθαι καὶ βεβαιῶν ἔχειν τὴν ἱδρυσιν τὰ δὲ ἐπίληπτα, ὅτι τὴν καθαρείαν ποιεῖσθαι λυσιτελές. Τὸ δὲ "καθαρῶν καθελεῖς" καὶ "συντρίβων συντρίβεις" τοιούτων ὑποβάλλει νοῦν. Ἐναὶ τινες καθαροῦσιν ὡς ἀναστησόντες, καὶ συντρίβουσιν ὡς αἰθής ἀρμοσόμενον βούλεται δὲ τὰ καθαρεῖν τὰ δόγματα συμβολικῶς, ἀπερ ἐστάναι καὶ ἐρημεῖσθαι δοκεῖ. Τῶν δὲ κατεστηλευμένων δογμάτων τὰ μὲν ἀστεία βέμις ἀνακείσθαι καὶ βεβαιῶν ἔχειν τὴν ἱδρυσιν, τὰ δὲ ἐπίληπτα καθαρεῖσθαι ὡς μὴ πάλιν ἀναστησόμενα μηδὲ ἀρμοσομένα. Τοιαύτη γὰρ ἐμφασις ἢ τοῦ "καθαρῶν καθελεῖς" καὶ "συντρίβων συντρίβεις."

Wendland, pp. 97-98, from Procopius, Cod. Aug. f. 221r (Migne, p. 630).

a 1. ἀνάγκη.

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άπαξ καὶ συντριβέντα μηκέτι
tυχεῖν ἀνορθώσεως ἄλλ᾽ εἰς
ἀπαν ἡφανίσθαι τα ἐναντία τοῖς
ἀγαθοῖς καὶ καλοῖς.

Harris, pp. 54-55, from
Cat. Reg. Ined. 1825 (Mangey ii. 678), and Cat. Lips.
1, col. 820, and Cat. Burney,
f. 139.

18. (Ex. xxiii. 25b)

Τροφῆν καὶ υγίειαν αἰνίτ-
tεταί τροφῆν μὲν δι᾽ ἀρτοῦ καὶ
"ὑδατός" υγίειαν διὰ τοῦ μαλα-
kίαν ἀποστρέφειν. Δευτέρον,
ἐγκράτειαν εἰσηγεῖται, τήν τῶν
ἀναγκαίων μετουσίων, μόνον
ἐπειτῶν  . . . πρὸς δὲ τούτοις,
μάθημα ἡμᾶς αἰσιώτατον ἀνα-
dιδόσκει, δηλών ὅτι οὔτε ἀρτὸς
οὔτε ὕδωρ καθ’ ἑαυτὰ τρέφον-
σιν ἄλλ᾽ ἐστιν ὅτε καὶ βλά-
pτοσαί μᾶλλον ἡ ὠφελοῦσιν, ἐὰν
μὴ θείος λόγος καὶ τούτος
χαρίσηται τᾶς ὠφελητικᾶς  δυ-
nάμεις· ἂς χάριν αἰτίας φησὶ
"ἐυλογήσω τὸν ἄρτον σου καὶ
tὸ ὕδωρ," ὥσ ὤν ἵκανα καθ’
ἑαυτὰ τρέφειν οὔτε θείας  καὶ
ἐπιφροσύνης.

Harris, p. 55, from Cat.
Lips. 1, col. 820, 'Ἄδηλου.

19. (Ex. xxiii. 26a)

'Ἀγωνίαν' καὶ στείρωσιν ἐν κατάραις τάττων Μωϋσῆς οὗ φησιν
ἐξεσθαι παρὰ τοῖς τὰ δίκαια καὶ νόμμα δρᾶσιν ἄθλον γὰρ τοῖς τὸ
ἱερὸν γράμμα τοῦ νόμου φυλάττουσι παρέχει τοῖς ἀρχαιότερον

a Wendland: ἀφελητικᾶς Cat. Lips.

b post θείας lacunam esse stat. Harris.

c Harris: ἀγωνίαν Cod. Vat.

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vóμον τής ἀλανάτου φύσεως, δός ἐπὶ σπορᾶ καὶ γενέσει τέκνων ἐτέθη πρὸς τὴν τοῦ γένους διαμονῆν.


20. (Ex. xxiii. 26b)
Πάγκαλον δὲ φασὶ τὸ μήτε μηδαὶ μήτε ἐναντίον καταρφμεῖσθαι τὸν βίον τῶν ἱκετῶν. Τῷ γὰρ ὄντι ἐκάστου σοφοῦ ἡμέρα ἀστυμός ἐστιν αἰών. Εἰ δὲ καὶ τὸ “ἀναπληρώσω” διὰ τὰ κενά φρονήσεως καὶ ἀρετῆς ἐν ψυχῇ διαστήματος τοῦ προκόπτοντος, δὲν βουλεῖται καθάπερ μονοσίκῳ ὄργανῳ διὰ πάντων ἡμιόσθαι πρὸς μίαν συμφωνίαν βουλημάτων καὶ λόγων καὶ πράξεων.


21. (Ex. xxiii. 27a)
Καὶ τῶν φόβον ἀποστελῶ ἠγούμενον σου. Τὸ μὲν ρητὸν ἐμφανές· εἰς κατάπληξιν ἐχθρῶν ἵσχυσα δύναμις ὁ φόβος, ὡς οἱ μάλλον ἢ τῆς τῶν ἀντιπάλων ἐφόδου ρώμη ἄλογεται. Τὸ δὲ πρὸς διάνοιαν οὕτως δυνῶν οὕσων αἰτίων, ὁν ἕνεκα τὸ θείον ἀνθρωποῦ τιμῶσιν, ἀγάπης καὶ φόβου, τὸ μὲν ἀγαπᾶν ἐστιν ψυγονον τὸ δὲ φοβεῖσθαι συν-ισταται πρότερον, ὡς ταῦτα ἀρχικὰ ἀκολουθητικά τὸ ἄγεισθαι τούτων φόβου, τῆς ἀγάπης ύστερον καὶ ὅψη προσγενομένης.


24. (Ex. xxiii. 28)
Σύμβολον δὲ ὑπολιπητέων εἶναι τοὺς σφῆκας ἀνελπίστου δυνά-μεως θείας ποιμῆς σταλησο- Όὶ σφῆκες ἐξ ἀφανοῦς οὐ προειδομένους τιτρώσκουσι τὰ καρυώτατα, κεφάλην τε καὶ τὰ
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μένης, ἢτις ἀφ' ὑψηλοτέρων κατὰ κράτος ἐπιφέρουσα εἰς πληγάς, εὐστοχήσει πόσι τοῖς βλήμασι, καὶ διαθεῖσα οὐδὲν ἀντιπεσεται τὸ παράπτων.

Harris, p. 56, from Cat. Reg. Ined. 1825 (Mangey ii. 679), and Cat. Lips. 1, col. 823, and Cat. Burney, f. 139 b.

25. (Ex. xxiii. 29)

(a) 'Εὰν τοῦ ἄρτι πρώτων εἰσαγομένων καὶ μανθάνοντος σπουδάσον, πάσαν τὴν ἀμάθειάν ἐκτεμῶν, ἀθρόων ἐπιστήμην εἰσούκισαι τούναντίν ὡς διανοῇ πραξεῖς· οὔτε γὰρ τὴν ἀφαίρεσιν ἑνὶ καιρῷ γυμνόμενην ὑπομενεῖ, οὔτε τὴν ἀθfhνον ῥύμην καὶ φορὰν τῆς διδασκαλίας χαρῆσει, ἀλλὰ καθ' ἐκάτερον τὸ ἐκτεμνομένον καὶ προστιθέμενον ὀδυνηθεῖς καὶ περιαληγήσας ἀφηνιάσει. Τὸ δὲ ἡσυχὴ καὶ μετρίως ἀφαίρεῖν μὲν τι ἄρτης ἀπαθενίας, προστιθέναι δὲ τῆς παιδείας τὸ ἀνάλογον ὑφελείας γένοιτ' ἀν ὀμολογουμένης αἰτίων.


Τὰ γὰρ θηρία φεύγει τὰς τῶν πλείδων ἀνθρώπων οἰκήσεις ὡς ἡγεμόνας τῇ φύσει καὶ τὰς ἐρήμους πληροῖ. 'Αλλ' οὖν τὰς τῶν εἰσαγομένων τύχας ἔστων ὑπ' ἐν ἀπαλλάττεως ἀγνοίας καὶ πληροῦν ἐπιστήμης. Οὐ φέροντι γὰρ οὔτε τὴν ἐκείνης ἀφαίρεσιν οὔτε τὴν ἀθfhνον τῆς διδασκαλίας φοράν.

Wendland, p. 100, from Procopius, Cod. Aug. f. 222 r (Migne, p. 629).

\[\text{a} \text{katà krátos epiférousa ex Arm. conieci: kat' ákron to oúv upoférousa codd.} \]

\[\text{b} \text{Mangey: antipeeseiata codd.} \]

\[\text{c} \text{apérásei Cod. Vat. (vid.) ap. Mai.} \]

\[\text{d} \text{ti] kat' ólýgon Mai.} \]
EXODUS, BOOK II

26. (Ex. xxiii. 33b)

"Ωσπερ οἱ προσπταίσαντες, ἀρτίως βαίνειν ποσίν ἀδύνατοντες, μακρὰν τοῦ κατὰ τὴν ὀδὸν τέλους ύστερίζουσι προκάμυντες "οὔτω καὶ ἡ ψυχὴ τῆς πρὸς εὐσέβειαν ἀγονιζόμενον ὀδὸν ἀνύειν κωλύει, προετυγχάνοντας ταῖς ἀκέφεσιν ἀνοδίας. Αὕται γὰρ εἴσαι ἐμπόδιοι καὶ προσπτασιμάτων αἰτίαι, δὲ ὃν κυλλαίνων ὁ νοῦς ύστερίζει τῆς κατὰ φύσιν ὀδοῦ. Η δὲ ὀδός ἑστὶν ἡ ἐπὶ τὸν πατέρα τῶν ὀλίων τελευτῶσα.

Harris, p. 58, from Dam. Par. 774=Cod. Rupef., ἐκ τοῦ α' τῶν ἐν 'Εξόδῳ ζητημάτων.

28. (Ex. xxiv. 1b)

Οὐχ ὀρθὰ ὅτι τὸν πυρὸν ἡ δύναμις τοῖς μὲν ἀφεστηκόσι μεμετρημένου διάστημα παρέχει φῶς, κατακαίει δὲ τοὺς ἐγγίζοντας; Ὁμιλήσας τοιούτοις τι πάθης τῇ διανοίᾳ, μὴ σε ὁ πολὺς πόθος ἀδύνατον πράγματος ἀναλώσῃ.

Harris, p. 58, from Dam. Par. 748=Cod. Rupef. f. 22 b.

a ἐπιφέρειν Dam. et Cod. Reg.
b ύγιείαν Mai.
c προκάμυντες ex Arm. et Procop. conieci: προσκάμυντες Cod. Rupef.
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37. (Ex. xxiv. 10)  
Οὐδεὶς αὐχήσει τὸν ἄρατον θεὸν ἰδεῖν, εἰξαὶ ἀλαζονεία.ᵃ  
Harris, p. 59, from John Monachus (Mangey ii. 662) = Cod. Rupef. f. 55.

38. (Ex. xxiv. 11a)  
Τὸ μὲν ρητὸν διήγημα φανερὰν ἔχει τὴν ἀπόδοσιν ὡς ἀπάντων σών διατηρηθέντων, τὸ δὲ πρὸς διάνοιαν τὸ πάντας περὶ τὴν εὐσέβειαν συμφώνουςᵇ εἶναι καὶ ἐν μηδενὶ τῶν ἀγαθῶν διαφω- 
νεῖν.
Harris, p. 59, from John Monachus (Mangey ii. 662) = Cod. Rupef., f. 55.

39. (Ex. xxiv. 11b)  
Harris, p. 59, from Cat. Reg. Ined. 1825 (Mangey ii. 679), and Cat. Lips. 1, col. 829, and Cat. Burney, f. 141.

40. (Ex. xxiv. 12a)  
Ἐνίοις ἀψίκοροις ἐγγίνεται λογισμός, οἱ πρὸς ὀλίγον ἀναπτερο-

41. (Ex. xxiv. 12b)  
Φορηθέντες αὐτικὰ ὑπενώστησαν, οὐκ ἀναπάντησε μᾶλλον ἡ ὑπο-

42. (Ex. xxiv. 12c)  
συρέστει εἰς ταρτάρου, φησίν, ἔσχατια. Ἐὐδαιμόνες δὲ οἱ μὴ 
παλινδρομοῦντες.
Harris, p. 59, from Dam. Par. 784 = Cod. Rupef., Φίλωνος, ἐκ τῶν ἐν 'Εξόδῳ Ἰησοῦν.

43. (Ex. xxiv. 16a)  
(α) Ἐναργεστάτα δυσωπεῖ 

tοὺς ἐγγὺς υπὸ ἀσβεσίας εἰτε 

44. (Ex. xxiv. 16b)  
διηλθότητα οἰομένους τοπικάς 

45. (Ex. xxiv. 16c)  
και μεταβατικὰς κυνήσεις εἶναι 

a ἀλογιστιὰ Mangey. b σύμφρονας Cat. Reg.
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Procopius, Cod. Aug. f. 224r (Migne, p. 633?).

46. (Ex. xxiv. 16b)
Τὸν ἴσον ἄρθρον ἀπένειμε καὶ τῇ τοῦ κόσμου γενέσει καὶ τῇ τοῦ ὄρατικον γένους ἐκλογῆ, τῇ ἐξάδα βουλομένοις επιδείξαι ὅτι αὐτὸς καὶ τὸν κόσμον ἐκημιοῦργησε καὶ τὸ γένος εἰλετο. Ἡ δὲ ἀνάκλησις τοῦ προφήτου δεύτερα γένεσις ἐστὶ τῆς προτέρας ἀμείων. Ἑβδόμη δὲ ἀνακαλεῖται ἡμέρα, ταυτὴ διαφέρων τῷ πρωτοπλάστῳ ὅτι ἐκεῖνος μὲν ἐκ γῆς καὶ μετὰ σώματος συνιστάτο οὕτως ἐκ ἄνει σώματος, διὸ τοῦ μεν γνηνει τρθμοῦ οἰκείος ἀπενεμήθη ἐξάς: τούτω δὲ ἡ ἱερωτάτη φύσις τῆς ἐβδομάδος.
Harris, pp. 60-61, from Cat. Lips 1, col. 832, Προκοπίου.

47. (Ex. xxiv. 17)
Τὸ δὲ εἴδος τῆς δόξης κυρίου φησίν ἐμφερεστάτον εἶναι φλογί, μᾶλλον δὲ οὐκ εἶναι ἀλλὰ φαίνεσθαι τοὺς ὄρους τοῦ θεοῦ δεικνύντος ὅπερ ἐβούλετο δοκεῖν εἶναι πρὸς τὴν τῶν θεωμένων κατάπληξιν, μὴ ὁν τούτῳ ὅπερ ἐσφαγετο. Ἐπιφέρει γοῦν τὸ "Ενώπιον τῶν υἱῶν Ἰσραήλ," ἐναργέστατα μηνύνων ὅτι φαντασία φλογός ἢν ἄλλον ὃς φλοξ ἀληθής. "Ωσπερ δὲ ἡ φλοξ "Εδείκνυν δὲ τὸν θεόν, οὐχ ὅπερ ἦν ἄλλο ὅπερ ἦβούλετο δοκεῖν" ὅ δῆλον ἐπηνεγκεν "Ενώπιον τῶν υἱῶν Ἰσραήλ." Τὸ δὲ σύμβολον ὅτι δαπανητικῶν τὸ θεόν λογισμῶν ἀσέβων, ὡς καὶ τῆς ὅλης τὸ πῦρ.
Wendland, p. 102, from Procopius, Cod. Aug. f. 224r vid.
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πάσαν τὴν παραβληθεῖσαν ἥλιν ἀναλίσκει, οὕτως, ὅταν ἐπιφορτύση ἐιλυκρινῆς τοῦ θεοῦ ἔννοια τῇ ψυχῇ, πάντας τοὺς ἐπεροδούς ἀσβεσίας λογισμοῦς διαφειρεῖ, καθοσιούσα τὴν ἥλιν διάνοιαν.

Harris, p. 61, from Cat. Inded. Reg. 1825, and Cat. Lips. 1, col. 832 (Mangey ii. 679).

49. (Ex. xxiv. 18b)

(a) "Οτί ἐμελλε κατάκριτος ἔσσεθαί ή ἀποκισθεῖσα γενεὰ καὶ ἕτι τεσσαράκοντα ἐτεα φθείρεθαί: μιρὰ μὲν ἐνεργετηθείσα, διὰ μυρίων δὲ ἐπιδειξά-μένη τὸ ἀχάριστον.

Harris, p. 61, from Cat. Inded. Reg. 1825 (Mangey ii. 680), and Cat. Lips. 1, col. 833.

(b) Ὅπερ ὅν ἐν ἰσαρίθμοις ἥμεραις ἴκετευε τὸν πατέρα καὶ μάλιστα παρὰ τοιοῦτον καιρὸν, ἐν ὦ δίδονται νόμοι καὶ φορητὸν ἵερον, ἡ σκηνή. Τία γὰρ οἱ νόμοι; ἄρα γε τοῖς ἀπολλυμένοις; Ὅπερ τίνων δὲ αἰ θυσίαι; [ἄρα] τοὺς μικρὸν ὕστερον φθαρησο-μένων; προφήθη γὰρ ὡς προφήτης τὰ ἐσόμενα.

Harris, p. 62, from Cat. Lips. 1, col. 834, Προκοπίου. (Cf. Wendland, p. 102, "Von hier an folgt Pr. dem Philo nicht mehr als Quelle ").

50. (Ex. xxv. 2)

(a) Τὴν καρδιὰν ἀντὶ τοῦ ἑγεμονικοῦ παρεληφθεὶν ἡ γραφή.

Harris, p. 62, from Mai, Script. Vet. vii. 103 e Cod. Vat. 1553, Φιλωνος; ἐκ τοῦ τελευταίου τῶν ἐν Ἐξόδω ζητημάτων.

(b) Οὐ γὰρ ἐν ἀλαίς ἀλλ' ἐν ὑσσεβεία διαθέσει τοῦ κομίζοντος ἡ ἀληθὴς ἀπαρχή. Ὁ μὴ ἐκ προαιρέσεως ἀπάρχων θεό, καὶ ἂν τὰ

a Mangey: ὑσσεβεία codd.
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μεγάλα¹ πάντα κομίζη μετά τῶν βασιλικῶν θησαυρῶν, ἀπαρχὰς οὖν φέρει.

Harris, p. 62, from John Monachus (Mangey ii. 670), ἐκ τοῦ τελευταίου τῶν ἐν Ἐξόδῳ ζητημάτων. (I have transposed the order of the two sentences to agree with the Armenian. This makes it unnecessary to accept Harris’ suggestion that the last sentence [οὐ γὰρ . . . ἀπαρχῇ] is a gloss.)

55. (Ex. xxv. 10b [Heb. 11b]).
(a) Οἱ αὐτὲς στρέφονται καὶ εἰλαθόνται κύκλον οἱ μὲν κατὰ τὰ αὐτὰ τῷ σύμπαντι οὐδέν, οἱ δὲ καὶ κινήσει σεῖδιας ἀσ> ἔλαχον εξαιρέτοις.
Harris, p. 63, from John Monachus (Mangey ii. 670), ἐκ τοῦ β´ ἐν Ἐξόδῳ ζητημάτων.

(b) 'Ο τῶν ἀνθρώπων βίος, ὁμοιούμενος πελάγει, κυματόσει καὶ στρόφας παντοίας προσεπιδέχεται¹ κατὰ τε εὑρημίας καὶ κακοπραγίας. 'Ιδρυτα γὰρ οὐδὲν τῶν γηγενῶν ἀλλ' ὁδῇ καὶ ἐκείπε διαφέρεται, οἴα σκάφος θαλασσεόν ὑπ' ἐναντίων πνευμάτων.²
Harris, p. 63, from Anon. Coll. Florilega Cod. Barocc. 143 (Mangey ii. 674), and Dam. Par. 506, "ascribed to Nilus," and Cod. Reg. 923, f. 156 b, "ascribed to the ii. Quaest. in Genesim [sic]."

62. (Ex. xxv. 17a [Heb. 18a]) Τίνα τὰ χερσοβίμ; Τὰ χερσοβίμ ἐμμηνεύεται μὲν ἐπίγνωσις πολλῆ, ἐν εὐτερος ὅνομα ἐπιστήμη πλουσίαι καὶ κεχυμένων. Σύμβολα δὲ ἐστὶ δυνῶν τοῦ "Οντος δυνάμεων ποιητικῆς τῆς κασικῆς. Πρεσβυτέρα δὲ ἡ ποιητικὴ τῆς βασιλικῆς κατ' ἐπίνοιαν. 'Ισηλίκες γὰρ αἴγε, σερ τῶν θεῶν ἀπασά δυνάμεις, ἀλλὰ προεπιστεύεται πῶς ἡ ποιητικὴ τῆς βασιλικῆς βασιλεῖς γὰρ τις οὐχὶ τοῦ μὴ ὄντος ἀλλὰ τοῦ γεγονότος ὅνομα δὲ ἐλαχεν εὖ τοῖς ἱεροῖς γράμμασιν ἡ μὲν ποιητικὴ

¹ μέταλλα con. Harris.
² προσδέχεται Dam.: προσεπιδέχεται Cod. Reg.
⁴ πραγμάτων Dam.
⁵ ἐν ins. Harris.
⁶ Harris: αἰτε codd.
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θεός, τὸ γὰρ ποιῆσαι θείναι ἔλεγον οἱ παλαιοί· ἢ δὲ βασιλικὴ κύριος, ἐπειδὴ τὸ κύρος ἀπάντων ἀνακείται τῷ βασιλεί.

Harris, pp. 63-64, from Tischendorf, Philonea, p. 144 e Cod. Vat. 379, f. 385 (“This and the following passages [to § 99] were first edited by Grossmann in an inaugural dissertation, Leipsic, 1856”).

63. (Ex. xxv. 17b [Heb. 18b]) Διατί χρυσὸν τορευτά; Ὁ μὲν χρυσὸς σύμβολον τῆς τιμωτάτης υόσιας, ἢ δὲ τορεία τῆς ἐντέχνου καὶ ἐπιστημονικῆς φύσεως· ἐδει γὰρ τὰς πρῶτας τοῦ "Οντος δυνάμεις ἑιδέων ὑπαρχούσας καὶ τῆς καθαρωτάτης καὶ ἁμιγώς καὶ τιμαλφαστάτης καὶ προσετῇ τῆς ἐπιστημονικώτατης φύσεως μεταλαχεῖν.

Harris, p. 64, from Tischendorf, Philonea, p. 144.

64. (Ex. xxv. 17c-18 [Heb. 18c-19]) Διατί ἐπ’ ἀμφοτέρων τῶν κλητῶν τοῦ ἱλαστρίου τὰ χερουβὶμ ἠρμοτε; Τοὺς θρόους τοῦ παντὸς σύμβουλον καὶ κόσμου δυοὶ ταῖς ἁνωτάτῳ φρουραῖς ὑψιρώσας, τῇ τε καθ’ ἑν ἐποίει τὰ δῶλα θεός, καὶ τῇ καθ’ ἑν ἀρχεῖ τῶν γεγονότων. Ἐμελλε γὰρ ὁς οἰκειοτάτου καὶ συν- γενεστάτου κτήματος προκήδεσθαι, ἡ μὲν ποιητικὴ ἢν μὴ λυθείτε τὰ πρὸς αὐτῆς γενόμενα, ἡ δὲ βασιλικὴ ὡς χρησίμους μηδὲν μῆτε πλεονεκτή μήτε πλεονεκτήται, νόμῳ βραβευόμενα τῷ τῆς ἱσότητος, ὑφ’ ἑστὶ τὰ πράγματα διαμονίζεται. Πλεονεξία μὲν γὰρ καὶ ἀνασύρης ὁρμη- τήρια πολέμου, λυτικὰ τῶν ὄντων τὸ δὲ ἐνυμον καὶ τὸ ἑαυτὸ εἰρήνης σπέρματα, σωτηρίας ἀτία καὶ τῆς εἰσάπαν διαμονῆς.

Harris, p. 64, from Tischendorf, Philonea, “ut supra.”

65. (Ex. xxv. 19a [Heb. 20a]) Διατί φησιν “ἐκτείνει τὰς πτέρυγας τὰ χερουβὶμ ἑνευσκιάζῃ”; Αἱ μὲν τοῦ θεοῦ πᾶσας δυνάμεις πτεροφυσάς, τῆς ἀνώ πρὸς τὸν πατέρα ὁδὸν γλυκώμενα τε καὶ ἐφιέμεναι συνακάλουσι δὲ οἶα πτέρυξι τὰ τοῦ παντὸς μέρη αἰνίττεται δὲ χως ὁ κόσμος σκέπαι καὶ φυλακτηρίως φρουρεῖται, δυοὶ ταῖς εἰρήμεναις δυνάμεις τῇ τε ποιητικῇ καὶ βασιλικῇ.

Harris, p. 65, from Tischendorf, Philonea, p. 146. “John Monach. (Mangey ii. 656), referring to ii. Quaest. in Gen., gives the first sentence, as also Pitra, Anal. Sac. ii. p. xxiii e Cod. Coislin. (?) f. 60, with the same reference.”

a διαμονίζεται Grossmann.  
b τέρματα Grossmann.

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66. (Ex. xxv. 19b [Heb. 20b]) Διατί τὰ πρόσωπα εἰς ἄλληλα ἑκνεύει καὶ ἀμφὶ πρὸς τὸ ἱλαστήριον;

Παγκάλη τίς ἔστι καὶ θεοπρεπὴς ἢ τῶν λεχθέντων εἰκὼν· ἔδει γὰρ τὰς δυνάμεις, τὴν τε ποιητικὴν καὶ βασιλικὴν, εἰς ἄλληλα ἀφοράν, τὰ σφάνοι κάλλη κατανοοῦσας καὶ ἀμα πρὸς τὴν ὄφελειαν τῶν γεγονότων συμπνεοῦσας· διέστερον ἑπείδη ὁ θεός, εἰς ὃν, καὶ ποιητικὴ ἔστι καὶ βασιλεύς, εἰκότως αἱ διαστάσεις δυνάμεις πάλιν ἔνωσιν ἑλαβον· καὶ γὰρ διεστήσαν ὄφελίμως ἵνα ἢ μὲν ποιή, ἢ δὲ ἁρχῇ. Διαφέρει γὰρ ἐκάτερον· καὶ ἡμιόσθησαν ἑτέρω τρόπῳ κατὰ τὴν τῶν ὄνομάτων ἁδιὸν προσβολὴν ὅπως καὶ ἡ ποιητικὴ τῆς βασιλικῆς καὶ ἡ βασιλικὴ τῆς ποιητικῆς ἔχεται. Ἀμφότεροι γὰρ συννέοισι εἰς τὸ ἱλαστήριον εἰκότως· εἰ μὴ γὰρ ἦν τοὺς νῦν ὅλους ὅθεός, οὔτ’ ἂν εἰργάσθη τι διὰ τῆς ποιητικῆς οὔτ’ ἂν εὐνομήθη διὰ τῆς βασιλικῆς.

Harris, p. 65, from Tischendorf, Philonea, p. 147.

67. (Ex. xxv. 21a [Heb. 22a]) Τί ἐστιν· "γνωσθῆσομαι σοι ἐκείθεν";

Ὑνὸσιν καὶ ἐπιστήμῃν ὁ εἰλικρινέστατος καὶ προφητικῶτατος νοῦς λαμβάνει τοῦ ὄντος οὐκ ἀπ’ αὐτοῦ τοῦ ὄντος, οὐ γὰρ χωρίσει τὸ μέγεθος, ἀλλ’ ἀπὸ τῶν πρῶτων αὐτοῦ καὶ δορυφόρων δυνάμεων. Καὶ ἀγαπητὸν ἐκείθεν εἰς τὴν ψυχὴν φέρεσθαι τάς αὐγὰς ἵνα δύνηται διὰ τοῦ δευτέρου φέγγους τὸ πρεσβύτερον καὶ αὐγοε-δέστερον θεάσασθαι.

Harris, p. 66, from Tischendorf, Philonea, p. 148.

68. (Ex. xxv. 21b [Heb. 22b]) Τί ἐστιν· "λαλήσω ἂνωθεν τοῦ ἱλαστήριον ἀνά μέσον τῶν χερουβίμ";

Ἐμφαίνει διὰ τούτο πρῶτον μὲν ὅτι καὶ τῆς ἁλεω καὶ τῆς ποιητικῆς καὶ πάθης δυνάμεως ὑπεράνω τὸ θείων ἐστὶν· ἐπείτα δὲ ὦτι λαλεῖ κατὰ τὸ μεσαίτατον τῆς τε ποιητικῆς καὶ βασιλικῆς· τούτῳ δὲ τοιούτων ὑπολαμβάνει νοῦς· ὁ τοῦ θεοῦ λόγος μέσος ὅπως οὐδὲν ἐν τῇ φύσει καταλείπει κενόν, τὰ ὄλα πληρῶν καὶ μεσιτεύει καὶ διατὰ τοῖς παρ’ ἐκατέρα διεστάναι δοκοῦσι, φιλικαὶ καὶ ὁμόνοιαι ἐργαζόμενοι· αἰὲ γὰρ κοινωνίας· αἰτίος καὶ δημιουργὸς εἰρήνης. Τὰ μὲν οὖν περὶ τῆς κιβωτοῦ κατὰ μέρος εἰρητικό· διὰ τὶς συλλήβδην ἄνωθεν ἀναλαβόντα τοῦ γνωρίσαι χάριν τῶν ταῦτα ἐστὶ σύμβολα διεξελθέναι· ἦν δὲ ταῦτα συμβολικά. Κιβωτὸς καὶ τὰ ἔν αὐτῆς θησαυριζόμενα νόμιμα καὶ ἐπὶ ταύτῃ τὸ ἱλαστήριον καὶ τὰ ἐπὶ

a edd.: ἀλληγορίαν codd.

b voōn Grossmann.

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tou Ἑλαστηρίου Χαλδαιών γλάττη λεγόμενα χερουβίμ, ὑπὲρ δὲ τούτων κατὰ τὸ μέσον φωνῆ καὶ λόγου καὶ ὑπέρανω δὲ λέγων. Εἰ δὲ τις ἀκριβῶς δυνηθεὶς κατανοῆσαι τὰς τούτων φύσεις, δοκεῖ μοι πᾶσι τοῖς ἄλλοις ἀποτάξασθαι δόσα ζηλωτά, κάλλεισθε θεοειδέστατοι περιληφθεῖς. Σκοπῶμεν δὲ ἐκαστὸν οἶδον ἐστὶ. Τὸ πρῶτον δὲ καὶ ἐνὸς καὶ μονάδος καὶ ἀρχῆς πρεσβύτερος. "Ἐπείτα ὁ τοῦ "Οὐντος λόγος, ἡ σπερματικὴ τῶν ὑντων οὐσία: ἀπὸ δὲ τοῦ θείου λόγου, καθάπερ ἀπὸ πηγῆς, σχίζονται αἱ δύο δυνάμεις. 'Ἡ μὲν ποιητικὴ, καθ' ἡν ἐθήκε τὰ πάντα καὶ διεκόσμησεν τὴν τεχνῆς, αὕτη τῆς ὁνομάζεται ἡ δὲ βασιλική, καθ᾽ ἣν ἀρχεῖ τῶν γεγονότων ὁ δη-μοουργός, αὕτη καλεῖται κύριος. Ὅτῳ δὲ τούτων τῶν δυνά-μεων ἐκπεφύκασιν ἔτερα: παραβλαστάνει γὰρ τῇ μὲν ποιητικῇ ἡ ἱλεως, ἣν ὀνομα ἐνεργείτης, τῇ δὲ βασιλικῇ ἡ νομοθετική, ὄνομα δὲ εὐθύβολον ἡ κολαστήριος: ὑπὸ δὲ ταύτας καὶ περὶ ταύτας ἡ κιβωτός: ἔστι δὲ κιβωτὸς κόσμου νοητοῦ σύμβολον. "Εχεῖ δὲ τὰ πάντα ἴδρυμεν ἐν τοῖς ἐσώτεροι ἀγίους συμβολικῶς ἡ κιβωτός, τὸν ἀσώματον κόσμον, τὰ νόμιμα ὁ κέκληκε μαρτύρια, τὴν νομο-θετικῆν καὶ κολαστήριον δύναμιν, τὸ Ἑλλάστηριον, τὴν ἱλεω καὶ ἐνεργείτης, τὰς ὑπέρανω τὴν τε ποιητικήν, ἢτις ἔστι πλάστις τῆς ἱλεω καὶ ἐνεργείτιδος, καὶ τὴν βασιλικὴν, ἢτις ἔστι βίλα τῆς κο-λαστήριον καὶ νομοθετικής. 'Ὑπερφαίνεται δὲ μέσος ὅν ὁ θεῖος λόγος, ἀνωτέρω δὲ τοῦ λόγου λόγων ἔστι δὲ καὶ τὸν κατελεγ-μένων ἀριθμὸς ἐξοδομᾶ συμπληρούμενος νοητὸς κόσμοι, καὶ δυνάμεις δύο συγγενεῖς ἡ τε κολαστήριος καὶ ἐνεργείτης, καὶ ἐτέρας πρὸ τούτων δύο ὑπὸ τε ποιητική καὶ βασιλική, συγγενείαν ἔχουσαι μᾶλλον πρὸς τὸν δημουργὸν τοῦ γεγονός-καὶ ἕκτος ὁ λόγος καὶ ἐβδομος ὁ λέγων εἰς ὁ ἀνωθὲν τὴν καταράβας ποιη, εὐρήσεις τὸν μὲν λέγοντα πρῶτον, τὸν δὲ λόγον δεύτερον, τρίτην δὲ τὴν ποιητικὴν δύναμιν, τετάρτην δὲ τὴν ἠρχήν, εἶτα δὲ ὑπὸ μὲν τὴν ποιητικὰ πέμπτην τὴν εὐρητέην, ὑπὸ δὲ τῇ βασιλικῇ ἐκτὸν τὴν κολαστήριον, ἐβδομον δὲ τὸν ἐκ τῶν ιδέων κόσμοι.

Harris, pp. 66-68, from Tischendorf, Philoenea, pp. 148-152.

85. (Ex. xxvi. 1c)
Τὸ μὲν γὰρ ἡν ἀλουργικόν, τὸ δὲ ροδοειδές ἡ κοκκοβαφές, τὸ δὲ ὑάκινθω προσεοικός, ἡ δὲ βύσσος τὴν λευκήν ἐξεχροῦιν. Καὶ ταύτα δὲ τῶν τεσσάρων στοιχείων ἦν αἰνύγματα. Ὁ μὲν γὰρ ὑάκινθος τῷ ἀέρι προσεοικό, τὸ δὲ ροδοειδές ἡ κοκκοβαφές τῷ πυρί, τὸ δὲ ἀλουργικόν μηνύει τὴν βάλαταν—ἐκείνη γὰρ τρέφει

a λόγον Grossmann. 
b ai add. Tischendorf. 
c ην δ' ex Arm. conieci. 
d τρίτον Harris.
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ton kóxholon, ex od to toioûtov ginetai chrôma—, ë de bûsos tìn gênu ek tawthys gar fôsebai légeta.

Wendland, pp. 107-108, from Theodoret, Quaest. in Exo-odom, Migne, p. 284 d.

99. (Ex. xxvii. 1b)
Oûte plôutov âspâzetai to ðeîon ouûte pevían âpostrépetai.

105. (Ex. xxvii. 21b)
Oûdên oûte ëdion oûte sevmòteron ëî ðeîw douluein, ë ë kai tìn meugásthn basileiañ uperballei. Kai moi dokoumen òi pròtoî basileiç âma kai ðarkiereiç gíneîthai, dhlouînètes èrgous òti xrhî tòus tòv allon dèstòzontas douluein toûs laphrûous ðeîw.
Harris, p. 68, from Dam. Par. 775 = Cod. Rupef. f. 113, ek tôu β' tôn en 'Exôdòw xêtîmàtovn.

107. (Ex. xxviii. 2)
Dòxa, òs ò palaiós lógos, ðeuðhês èsti ùpòlîphs kai dôkhnos âbêbabos.
Harris, p. 68, from Mai, Script. Vet. vii. 102 e Cod. Vat. 1553, ek tôwv en 'Exôdòw xêtîmàtovn.

117. (Ex. xxviii. 27 [Heb. 31]).
Dia tòu touto gár tòu âdoros ò podhîrws eîxe to chrôma. 'Yákîn-ðhos de ën, òs ãn kai eis tòu toû aîforwv metàrîsios xêtîthai.
Wendland, p. 108, from Theodoret, Quaest. in Exodum, Migne, p. 285 b.

118. (Ex. xxviii. 28 [Heb. 32])
Oî láloî, tà ofeîlonta ënukháîsebhai ëngnúntes, trôpow tuna upò glwswsalwias prôkéousin eîs òta ãkoîs ouk âxia.
Harris, p. 68, from Dam. Par. 576, and Cod. Reg. 923, f. 231, "in each case headed Filowos."

SUPPL. II K 257
1. 'Αμήγανον άνθρωπίνη φύσει τό τού 'Οντος πρόσωπον θεάσασθαι. Τό δέ πρόσωπον οὐ κυριολογεῖται, παραβολή δέ ἐστιν εἰς δήλωσιν τῆς καθαρωτάτης καί εἰλικρινεστάτης τοῦ "Οντος ἰδέας, ἐπειδή καί ἀνθρώπος οὐδενὶ γνωρίζεται μάλλον ἢ προσώπῳ κατὰ τὴν ἱδαν ποιότητα καί μορφήν. Οὐ γάρ φησιν ὁ θεὸς οτι "οὐκ εἰμί ὁ πράτος τῆς φύσιν"—τίς δέ μάλλον ὁ πράτος ἢ τὸ ἄλλα πάντα γεννησας ὁ ρατά;—"πεφυκὼς δὲ τοιοῦτος εἰς τὸ ὀράθαι ὑπ' οὐδενὸς ἀνθρώπων άρώμαι" φησι. Τό δὲ αὐτὸν ή ἀδύναμα τοῦ γενήτου. Καί ἵνα μή περιπλέκων μηκύνων θεὸν γενέσθαι δεῖ πρότερον—οπερ οὐδὲ οἶνον τε—ἵνα θεὸν ισχύσῃ τις καταλαβεῖν. Ἐὰν δὲ ἀποθαίνη μὲν τις τὸν θητὸν βίον, ζήσῃ δὲ ἀντιλαβῶν τὸν ἀθάνατον, ἵσως ὃ μηδέποτε εἶδεν ὀψεται. Αἱ φιλοσοφίαι πᾶσαι κατὰ τε τὴν Ἐλλάδα καί βάρβαρον ἀκάμασσα, ζητοῦσαι τὰ φύσεως, οὐδὲ τὸ βραχύτατον ῥουνῆθησαν τηλαυγῶς ἱδεῖν. Σαφῆς δὲ πίστις αἱ διαφωνιά, αἱ διαμάχαι καί ἐπεροδοξία τῶν ἐκάστης αἱρέσεως ἀνασκευαζόντων καί ἀνασκευαζομένων μέρη καί πάσιν ὁμοιότητι πολέμων γεγονασι αἱ τῶν αἱρεσιομάχων σκιαί, τυφλοῦσοι τὸν δυνάμενον βλέπειν ἀνθρώπων νοῦν ταῖς ἀντιλογικαὶς ἔρισιν, ἀμηχανοῦντα τίνα δεὶ προσέθαι καί τίνα διώσασαί. Δεῖ τὸν βουλόμενον φαντασωθῆναι τὸν τῶν ὅλων ἁριστον, στηριά τὸ πρώτον κατὰ ψυχὴν, ἰδρυθέντα παγίως γνώμῃ μιᾷ, καί μικροὶ πρὸς πολλὰ πλαζέσθαι, ἑπειτα δὲ στήρια ἐπὶ φύσεως καί γνώμης ἦττας καί ἄγονον πάντων, δια θαρτα χάριν ἐνα ἄριστον προσθέσται τι τῶν μαλακτέρων, σφαλῆ ζῆς προδέσεως. Ἀδυνατήσει καί τὸ διαπεύσματον βλέπον ὕδειν τὸ ἀγένητον, ὡς τυφλωθηναι πρότερον ήθεάσασθαι διὰ τὴν δευαγείαν καί τὸν ἐπεισόδιον καί μαρμάρουν.

Harris, pp. 72-73, from Dam. Par. 748 = Cod. Rupef. f. 22 b, ἐκ τοῦ τελευταῖον τῶν ἐν 'Ἐξοδῷ ζητομένων.

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"a" The sections have been numbered by me.

b Harris: οἶκια codd.

c Mangey: προεόθαι codd.

b Harris: παντός codd.

c Mangey: ἀπεισόδιοντα codd.

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2. Ἡ φορὰ τῶν κακίων ἀνακυκά καὶ στροβεῖ τὴν ψυχήν, ἵλεγγον αὐτῇ περιτιθείσα τὸν καλύπτοντα καὶ καμμύειν ἐκβιαζόμενον τὴν φύσιν μὲν πρέπουσαν ὁμι, ἐπιτηδεύει δὲ τυφλομενήν.
   Harris, p. 73, from Dam. Par. 751 (Cod. Rupef.), ἐκ τῶν Ἐξόδῳ ζητημάτων.

3. Αἱ περὶ τῶν τοῦ θεοῦ ἄρετῶν ἐναγάζον λογίας βελτιώσει τὴν διάνοιαν καὶ ἀθλοῦν ἄθλον ἡδίστους ἁμα καὶ ὑφελιμωτάτους, καὶ μάλιστα ὅταν μή, ὡς οἱ νῦν, τὴν ψευδόνυμον κλήσιν ὑποδύοντειν μέχρι τοῦ δοκεῖν ὑπερμαχοῦσι τῶν δογμάτων, ἀλλὰ πάθει γνησίων μετ’ ἐπιστήμης ἐγχειρητέον ἀλήθειαν.
   Harris, p. 73, from Dam. Par. 774 (Cod. Rupef.), “referred . . . to the first . . . book of the Questions on Exodus.”

4. Τὸ ἐμμελές καὶ εὐρύθομον οὐκ ἐν φωνῇ μᾶλλον ἡ διανοια ἐπιδείκνυεται περισσότερο. Ὄ τοῦ συνόφθαλμον οὐκ ἐν ῥήματι ἀλλ’ ἐν τοῖς δηλομένοις πράγμασιν ἐπιδείκνυσαν τὸ κάλλος.
   Harris, p. 73, from Dam. Par. (Cod. Rupef.), “referred . . . to the second . . . book of the Questions on Exodus.”

5. Τοὺς ἑνυγχάνοντας τοῖς ἱεροῖς γράμμασιν οὐ δεῖ συλλαβομαχεῖν ἀλλὰ πρὸ τῶν ονομάτων καὶ ρημάτων τὴν διάνοιαν σκοπεῖν, καὶ τοὺς καιροὺς καὶ τρόπους, καθ’ οὓς ἔκαστα λέγεται. Πολλάκις γὰρ αἱ αὐτοὶ λέξεις ἑτέρους καὶ ἑτέρους πράγμασιν ἐφαρμόζονται, καὶ κατὰ τὸ ἐναντίον διαφέρουσα λέξεις ἐπὶ τοῦ αὐτοῦ τιθεμέναι πράγματος συνάδουν.
   Harris, p. 73, from Dam. Par. 774 (Cod. Rupef.), “referred . . . to the last book of the Questions on Exodus.”

6. Περείχει τὰ πάντα, ὅτι ὁ ποιητὴς περιεχόμενος Ὅζ γὰρ ὁ τόπος περιεκτικὸς σωμάτων ἐστὶ καὶ καταφυγὴ, οὕτω καὶ ὁ θείος λόγος περείχει τὰ ὅλα καὶ πεπλήρωσεν.
   Harris, p. 73, from Dam. Par. 752 (Cod. Rupef.), ἐκ τοῦ τελευταίου τῶν Ἐξόδῳ ζητημάτων.

7. Ἐστὸς φέρει τὸν ολέθρου ὁ τῇ κακίᾳ συζῶν ἐπεὶ σύνοικον ἔχει τὴν ἐπίβουλον καὶ πολέμιον. Ἐκανός γὰρ πρὸς τιμωρίαν ἦ
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τοῦ φαύλου συνείδησις, οίκοθεν ὡς ἐκ πληγῆς δειλαν προτείνουσα τῇ ψυχῇ.
  Harris, p. 73, from Dam. Par. 782 (Cod. Rupef.), ἐκ τῶν ἐν Ἕξόδῳ ἤτοιμενον.

8. Τοῦ φαύλου ὁ βίος ἐπιλυτος καὶ περιδεχός, καὶ ὧνα κατὰ τὰς αἰσθήσεις ἐνεργεῖ φόβοι καὶ ὀδύναις ἀνακέραται.
  Harris, p. 73, from Dam. Par. 782 (Cod. Rupef.), “referred to Quaest. in Exod.”

9. Αἱ τοῦ θεοῦ χάριτες οὐ μόνον ἀναγκαία παρέχονται ἄλλα καὶ πρὸς περιττὴν καὶ δαίμονιστέραν ἀπόλαυσιν.
  Harris, p. 73, from Dam. Par. 789 = Cod. Rupef. f. 277, “from ii. Quaest. in Exod.”

10. Μυριά γε, οὐ λέγω τῶν ἁναγκαίων ἄλλα καὶ τῶν βραχυτάτων εἶναι δοκοῦν τοῦ, ἐκφεύγει τῶν ἀνθρώπων νοῦν.
  Harris, p. 73, from John Monachus (Mangey ii. 662), ἐκ τοῦ α' τῶν ἐν Ἕξόδῳ ζητ.

11. Μιὰ ἀνάπαυσις ψυχῆς ἐστι ην κρατίστη εἰς το ίερὸν τοῦ ὄντος πόθον, ἕγερμόν νοῦ καὶ βουλευμάτων καὶ λόγων καὶ πράξεων... Πέρας εἰδαθομονία τὸ ἀκλίνως καὶ ἄρρεπῶς ἐν μόνῳ θεῷ αἰτίαι.
  Harris, pp. 73-74, from John Monachus (Mangey ii. 669) = Cod. Rupef. f. 178 b, ἐκ τοῦ τελευταίου τῶν ἐν Ἕξόδῳ ζητήμ.

12. Πολλὰ ἀσωμένους καὶ ἀδημονοῦσιν θόος ἐστὶ ψεύδεσθαι, τῶν παθῶν οὐκ ἐπιτροπεώντων ἀληθεύειν εἰ τὸ ψεύδος οἰκεῖον ἐστιν.
  Harris, p. 74, from Mai, Script. Vet. vii. 96 e Cod. Vat. 1553, ἐκ τοῦ α' τῶν ἐν Ἕξόδῳ ζητήματων.

13. Τὸ τῶν φαύλων ἄκριτον καὶ ἀνίδρυτον ἐν γνώμαις διασυνιστήσαις μαχομένους μεν λόγους ἀλλήλους, μαχομένους δὲ πράξεις καὶ μηδέποτε συμφωνοῦσας ἑαυταῖς.
  Harris, p. 74, from Mai, Script. Vet. vii. 100 e Cod. Vat. 1553, ἐκ τοῦ α' τῶν ἐν Ἕξόδῳ ζητήμ.

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14. Τὰ βουλήματα τῶν ἀγαθῶν δεῖ βεβαιοῦσθαι τελευτησάντων οὐδὲν ἦττον ή ζώντων.
   Harris, p. 74, from Mai, Script. Vet. vii. 101 e Cod. Vat. 1553, ἐκ τοῦ α’ τῶν ἐν Ἔξοδῳ ζητημ. 15. Τὸ μὲν "πρωτότοκον" πρὸς τὸ μητρῴον γένος, τίκτει γάρ γύνην τὸ τε "πρωτογενές" πρὸς τὸ πατρῴον, γεννᾷ γάρ ἀρρένι τὸ δὲ "διανοίγον πᾶσαν μήτραν" ῥώ χει γενομένης πρωτοτόκου θυγατρός, εἴθε ὅστερον ἐπεγενομένου οὖν, τὸν οὖν ἐν πρωτοτόκοις καταρθυμησεί τίς, ὡς τῆς ἀρρένος ἀρχοντα γενεᾶς ἡ γὰρ νόμος φησίν, οὗ διοίγνυσι τὴν μήτραν ὁ τουτός τὴν εὐθὺς ἐκ παρθένιας.
   Harris, p. 74, from Mai, Script. Vet. vii. 105 e Cod. Vat. 1553, ἐκ τοῦ δ’ τῶν ἐν Ἔξοδῳ ζητημ. "The passage evidently belongs to Exod. xiii. 2."

16. Τὰ μέτρα πλεονάζουντα τὸν ὄρον ὑπερβαίνει ὡς γίνεσθαι τὴν μὲν ἀμετρον φρόνησιν, πανουργίαν τὴν δὲ σωφροσύνην, φειδωλίαν τὴν δὲ ἀνδρίαν, θρασύτητα.
   Harris, p. 74, from Mai, Script. Vet. vii. 106 e Cod. Vat. 1553, ἐκ τῶν ἐν Ἔξοδῳ ζητημ.

17. Ἡ εὐφυὴ πλεονάζουσα τῇ ῥύμῃ τῆς φορᾶς πρὸς πολλὰ δὴ τῶν ἀλωσιτελῶν ἐσθε χωρεῖν εν δὲ ταῖς διδασκαλίαις οὐκ ἐλάττω τὰ οὐκ ἀναγκαία τῶν ἀναγκαίων ἐστὶ διὸ προσήκει τῶν ἐφορῶν καὶ ψυχῆς ύψητητήν, ἄσπερ γεωργόν ἀγαθόν, τὰ ὑπερβάλλοντα περικόπτειν.
   Harris, p. 74, from Mai, Script. Vet. vii. 108 e Cod. Vat. 1553, ἐκ τοῦ α’ τῶν ἐν Ἔξοδῳ ζητημάτων.

18. Ὁ σοφιστικός, νυμῆς ὅπως ὁν ἐτέρας, λόγοις οὐ συνάδουσι χρήται διέξεισι μὲν γάρ ἀπενειτὶ τοὺς ἀρετῆς ἑκάστης ἐπαίνους, οἷα λόγως πολὺς ἐπὶ θῆρα τῶν ἀκοινῶν ὁ δὲ βιος ἐστίν αὐτῶν πάντων ἀμαρτήματων καὶ μοι δοκεῖ τῶν ἐπὶ σκηνᾶς ὑποκρίτων διαφερέσθων οὐδὲν, οἱ πολλάκις ἐμελημένοι καὶ ἀφρονεῖς, ἀνθρωποὶ διεθναμένοι τινὲς δὲ καὶ θεραπεοῦντες, εἰς ἡρμας ἀκοινών μικρῶν δὲ ὅστερον ἀποθέμενοι τὴν σκευήν, τὰ τῆς ἰδίας ἀδόξιας ἀναφαίνοντα ζημεία.
   Harris, p. 74, from Mai, Script. Vet. vii. 106 e Cod. Vat. 1553, ἐκ τοῦ α’ τῶν ἐν Ἔξοδῳ ζητημάτων.
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19. "Ορασὶς παρὰ τὰς ἄλλας αἰσθήσεις καὶ ταύτῃ διαφέρει ὅτι αἱ μὲν ἄλλαι τοῖς αἰσθητοῖς ἐγκαταμίγγυνται, οἷον ἡ γεωπία ἀνακαίναται τοῖς χυμοῖς καὶ ἡ ὁσφρησις τοῖς ἐπαναδιδομένοις ἀμυοῖς καὶ αἱ ἀκοὰς ταῖς φωναῖς ἐκδυνομέναι εἰς τὰ ἄτα. Οὔτε γὰρ αὐτῇ ἰῆ, ἀλλὰ τῶν σωμάτων χωρεῖ, ψαιεῖ δὲ τῶν ἑπιφανείων μόνον κατὰ τὴν προσβολήν, οὔτε τὰ σῶματα εἰς τὴν ὅφιν εἰσδύεται.

Harris, p. 74, from Mai, Script. Vet. vii. 109 e Cod. Vat. 1553, ἐκ τοῦ α’ τῶν ἐν Ἕξοδῳ θητημάτων.

20. Οὐ πάντων κοινωνητέων πᾶσιν ὦτε λόγων ὦτε πραγμάτων καὶ μάλιστα ἱερῶν τοιαῦτα πολλά γὰρ προϋπάρξει δεῖ τοῖς ἐφιεμένοις τῆς μετουσίας τούτων πάρτων μέν, τὸν ἀμείνον καὶ ἀναγκαίοταν, πρὸς τὸν ἔνα καὶ ὄντως καὶ τὸν δυνόμενον καὶ ὁπιστὴν, τὴν ἐπὶ τοῖς ἀγάλμασι καὶ ξοάνους καὶ συνόλως ἀφιδρύμας, τελείας τε ἀετέστοι καὶ μυστηριῶς ἀναγιάσσοις, ἀνήπτυκτων πλάνην ἀπωσαμένοις δεσμεύσων δὲ καθαρθήναι τὰς ἀγνευτικὰς καθάρεις κατὰ τὰ σῶμα καὶ φυσῆς διὰ νόμων πατρίων καὶ ἱθῶν τρίτων ἀξιόπιστων τὸν συνασμενιμοῦ παρασχεῖν ἐνέχυρον ἵνα μὴ τραπέξης μεταλαβόντες ἵερας, ἀσώτων μειράκων τρόπων, ὅποι κόρου καὶ πλησιονής ἐναλλοιωθῶς ἐμπαρανοοῦντες, οἷς οὐ θέμις.

Harris, p. 75, from Pitra, Anal. Sacr. ii. 308 e Cod. Coislin. 276, f. 205, ἐκ τοῦ πρώτου τῶν ἐν Ἕξοδῳ θητημάτων, and Dam. Par. 782 (Cod. Rupef.).

21. Θάρτον καλῶ τὸν μὴ ἐφιεμένον ἀφθαρσίας ἀλλ’ ὀστρέων τρόπων ἐνελυμένον ὀστρακοδέρμω, ὅπερ ἐστὶν ὁ σωματικός ὅγκος καὶ τῶν ψυχῶν μίας.


22. Μάταιον οὐδὲν ὦτε ἀκοαῖς ὦτε ἄλλῃ τῳ τῶν αἰσθήσεων προσεπτῶν ἐπακολουθοῦσι γὰρ ταῖς ἀπάταις μάλιστα τῶν ψυχῶν αἱ ζημίαι.

Harris, p. 75, from Cod. Rupef. f. 45, ἐκ τῶν ἐν Ἕξοδῳ θητουμένων.

23. Πρὸς τούτους, εἰποὶ τις ἢν, οὐκ ἐβούλετο αὐτοὺς κατα-

'a' καὶ Dam.
'o' ἀγνευόσας Dam.
'b' ὄντως om. Dam.
'd' τροφής Dam.
EXODUS, UNIDENTIFIED

πεσεῖν εἰς τὸ ῥάθυμον καὶ τῆς ἔπαγγελίας κατακληρονομήσαι τὴν γῆν ἀγώνων χωρὶς: τὰ γὰρ πόνως κτηθέντα παρὰ τοῖς ἐχονι κτῆμα: τὰ ἀπόνως κτηθέντα καταφρονεῖται ραδίως: ὅθεν βουλόμενος αὐτοὺς ἐνῆσε καὶ ἐγρήγορέναι καὶ ὡς ἐχοντα ἐχθρούς πρὸς τε τὸν θεόν ἐπιστρέφειν καὶ τῆς παρ' αὐτοῦ ἐπικοινώναι δεῖσθαι, τοῦτο ποιεῖν ἐπαγγέλλεται, β ὡμοὶ καὶ γυμνίζοντας αὐτοὺς πρὸς ἀντίστασιν ἐχθρῶν. Τοῦτο δὲ καὶ νοητῶς ὀρώμεν γινόμενον ψυχῇ γὰρ διὰ τῆς θείας συνεργείας ἀπαλλαγείσα παθῶν, εἰ πρὸς τὸ ῥάθυμον ὀλοκληρώσει, ὡς μηκέτι παθεῖν ὑποπτεύον, ὑπὸ τῶν ἀοράτων καὶ πονηρῶν πνευμάτων περισταχίζεται δίκην κυνών: αὐτή ἐπιθρωσκότων καὶ σφοδρότερον πολεμϊν: ὅθεν καὶ λόγιον ἡμᾶς διδάσκει μὴ πιστεύειν ἐχθρῶν.

Harris, pp. 103-104, from Pitra, Anal. Sacr. ii. 312 (vid.) e Cod. Pal. 203, f. 261, Cod. Vat. 1553, f. 129, Cat. Lips. 1, col. 823, Cat. Burney, f. 140. “The previous passage is found attached to an extract from ii. Quaest. in Exod. xxv.”

α χωρίς τινῶν Cat. Burney.
b πορείαν ἐπαγγελλείται Cat. Burney.
c γυμνάζων Cat. Burney.
d κυνῶν e Cat. Barb. iv. 56 add. Wendland.
f ὁδὸν August. (vid.).
g cf. Wendland, “Es folgt eine Beziehung auf Luc. 11, 26.”

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ADDITIONS IN THE OLD LATIN VERSION

Selected Bibliography:
Cohn, Leopold in L. Cohn and P. Wendland, Philonis Alexandrini Opera, etc. (Berlin, 1896), pp. I-lii, "De antiqua versione latina."
Conybeare, Fred. C., Philo About the Contemplative Life (Oxford, 1895), pp. 139-145, "The Old Latin Version."
Pitra, J. B., Analecta Sacra Spicilegio Solesmensi Parata (Florence, 1884), Tom. ii, pp. 319-320, "De vetere Philonis interprete Latino."

In the year 1520 there appeared in Paris a volume entitled Philonis Iudaei centum et duae quaestiones et totidem respon- siones morales super Genesin. Beside the Old Latin version of the Quaestiones in Genesin iv. 154-245, the volume contained the Old Latin version of the De Vita Contemplativa (by the same translator, according to Conybeare), Jerome's Latin translation of the De Nominibus Hebraicis, Budaeus' translation of the De Mundo, and the Liber Antiquitatum of Pseudo-Philo. A second and improved edition of this work was published in Basel in 1527 and was reprinted there in 1538, 1550 and 1599. It is from the edition of 1538 that Aucher took the text of the version of QG iv. 154-245, which is printed at the bottom of pp. 362-443 of his edition of the Armenian version of the Quaestiones.
The date and character of this Old Latin version have been carefully studied by the scholars mentioned above. They agree that it was made in the fourth century A.D., and that in spite of its uncouthness and freedom it is a useful check
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on the ancient Armenian version, which is more faithful and more intelligible throughout.

This Old Latin version is of further interest because it contains several Quaestiones missing in the Armenian, namely eleven sections on Gen. xxvi. 19-35, which appear at the end of QG iv. 195, and three fragments added to the translation of QG iv. 203, 210 and 232 (beside a few glosses to other sections, which are not included here). That this group of eleven sections contains genuine material from Philo’s Quaestiones is clear from their contents and from the fact that three of these sections (vii, viii and ix) have parallels in the Greek fragments from Procopius and the Catena, where they are ascribed to Philo. Wendland, in particular, calls attention to the “echt philonisch” character of sections iv, vi, vii and xi; he identifies the discussion of the number four in section ii as an interpolation from Philo’s lost work Περὶ ἀριθμῶν.

The additional sections are reproduced below from Aucher’s reprinting of the 1538 edition. Considerably more work should be done on the text of the Old Latin version throughout, but here, as in the footnotes to the translation, I have corrected only a few of the more obvious misprints or scribal errors.

Additions to QG iv. 195 (Aucher, pp. 395-398)

i. (Gen. xxvi. 19-22) Quare in primo dimicantur, secundo judicantur, in terto cessant. Et primum vocatur injuria, secundum inimicitia, tertium spaciositas? a

Haec pignora sunt industriae utpote aliquo in studiosam inducto disciplinam. Est enim dimicatio, dum amatores doctrinae ad institutores conferunt opposentes magistros torpori animae. Cum autem fuerit obstinatissima perseverantia, et studiosa exercitatio, jam non litigium, sed judicium est, cessante laesura congrue rationis est altius examen requirere. Pro vecto nanque amatore disciplinarum, infirmantur alienigenae moris eruditionis abdicato litigio atque judicio, ac per hoc merito prima momenta pro injuriis accepta sunt. Patimur enim injuriam desiderantes, amor obstinet firmatatem. In secundo autem inimicos sentimus eos, non

l. speciositas.

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praevallentibus nocere alienigenarum moribus, inanem aggerantibus moribus, alienigenarum inimicitiam. Tertia igitur speciositas et quia perfecta melioratio confusionem affert inimicis, inanis enim revelata est et pravitas injuriarum, et inimiciarum insolencia.

ii. (Gen. xxvi. 23) Quid est: Ascendit inde ad puteum, sed suspensum?


iii. (Gen. xxvi. 24) Ut quid in nocte dominus visitatur, et ait: Ego sum deus patris tui, ne timeas, tecum enim sum?

\[a\] l. mores (?).
\[b\] marg. verba sunt interpretis, quisquis hic tandem fuerit.
\[c\] l. Bersabae vel sim.
\[d\] l. existimentur (?).
\[e\] marg. coactus.
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Familiarissimum tempus animae speculatoriae, nox vagis erroribus meridianis, et vanis aspectibus liberata, ac per hoc nec metus pulsat, nec vacillat cogitatus absentе timore, caret autem timore pacatissima mens, cum divinitati pervigilat perseveranter. Habet tamen lectio necessarium modum, ne quis procerum praesumat facile occasionibus, sed prioris acquirit meritis, digne enim dicendo: Ego sum deus patris tui, generis censuram declaravit. Tecum autem sum pro tua et ipsi vigilantia, cujus causa non indignatur universorum pater indignum visitare eum invisibilis animarum medicus.

iv. (Gen. xxvi. 24) Quare Dominus\(^a\) visitatus ostendit semetipsum deum?

Dominus quidem regni et dominatoris nomen est. Deus autem appellatur pro beneficiis, quibus certi manifestatur, quoniam sapientiam non inter subjectos ut rex, sed inter amicos benefaciendo dixerat. Poterat Philo pluribus invehere, nisi computo uteretur Mathematico.

v. (Gen. xxvi. 24) Quare dicendo benedixi te, adjectit, et multiplicabo semen tuum propter patrem tuum?

Spontaneae disciplinae titulus perfectus, ob nullam aliam causam divinam promeretur gratiam, nisi pro se ac pro sua suavitate. Juvenior autem moribus et adhuc erudiens non propter se, sed pro meritis propterea doctrinae, cujus sapientia pro principali exemplo discendentibus praeponitur, ad nancisciendam spem meliorem. Possunt enim hac aemulatione parentibus similare.

vi. (Gen. xxvi. 25) Quare aedificando illic altarium, non obtulit sacrificium, sed invocato nomine domini fixit tabernaculum suum?

Sacrificia prae omnibus bonis sine sanguine, et victima animalium prorum participatudo sapientiae alienarum esse credunt, qui puro pectore placere deo desiderant, cujus gratia sufficere credit invocationis authoris virtutem, qua princeps atque dominator est universitatis, nullius egens. Ita illic figere dicitur tabernaculum suum, suam nempe virtutem, in

\(^a\) marg. Dominus Deus.
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qua puritas illa animae inhabita commoratur, a firmiter sciens, dominum universorum principem sine ulla esse penuria. O pura credulitas, quae factas pridem frugum centesimas ex-cellit.

vii. (Gen. xxvi. 26)

Quare post quartam putei fossuram a pueris factam, exiit Abimelech ad eum, et Acho b thalami praepositus, et Phicho princeps militiae?

Videntur mini exploratores potius, quam pro foedere amicitiarum advenisse, in utroque parati ad praelium, si infirmum viderint: ad pacem, si potentiorem. Sensu tamen subtiiiori intelligitur quartus, ut tamen in numeris insignis est, in quo constitutus studiosus per omnem felicitatem provehitur. Sequitur tamen etiam valde perfecto contraria virtus praestolanti et observanti ad incurrendum. Et est hujus fortitudo tres animae: mentis acumen rationabile, et animositas, et desiderium. Pro acumine quidem rex, animositate princeps militiae, concupiscentia Phichol, qui libidinis videtur esse provisor. Ocholach quidem regna parcentur d ex utraque manu stipatus, hinc atque hinc suo protectu prohibundus, obtinente enim iracundia ut princeps militiae operatur, eo amplius pandimus dictum ex nominum translatione, est Abimelech Alido, e Phichol iracundia.

viii. (Gen. xxvi. 29-30) Quare dicentibus et nunc benefictus a domino facit coenam; et mandueaverunt et biberunt?

a marg. inhabitare commemoratur.

b marg. Acoza.

d marg. parenter.

E marg. ergo.

c marg. Ocholach.
Non pro laude sua hospitio rogat, nec novit blandire strenuus, aut procacem medelam sapiens affectatur, sed propositis iracundii quibus exagiti praesidere terrens sortiti sunt, nunc confitetur unum universitatis deum, benedictum eum confitentur, sed continuatione sermonis etiam praeteritum aeum declarant, quoniam et nunc et a principio ipse est sine immutatione, vel diminuto benedictionis, quern nos escripsit habuimus, nunc vero absit omnis invidia. Suscepta igitur eorum poenitentia, mensura participantur dulcedines pro existimatione, pro veritatis autem allegoriae, pro hospitio quid ipse facit convocando esse trans vos, quos non perdurant in delictis, ut pote propitialis et clementissimae spectaculis saginant, quarum esuriem et sitim confessi, jam nunc fruniscuntur, ut qui destinati perrexerunt, cum salute venerunt. Quidam adversarii mores ad animam nocendam, sed ex contagio virtutis sine dispendio etiam profecerunt, unde cum salute liberatos, a plurimis vitiorum nexibus insinuat curatos, praecipue et uno medicamentorum remedio pietatis.

ix. (Gen. xxvi. 32) Quare pergentibus pueris Isaac, venientes qui quartum puteum foderunt, dixerunt non invenisse aquam?

*a marg. strenuus.*

*b filoφορονείται... αὐτοῦς om. Catt.*

*c ἀλῶν... μεταδίδουσι om. Catt.: v ῥα ὑστηριάν τὴν ἀπὸ τῶν ὦρκων (ἀνθρώπων Bvr.) ἔχοντες add. Catt. Lips. et Burney.*

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x. (Gen. xxvi. 34) Quare Esau quadragenarius acceptuxorem Judith filiam Bcher Cethhei, et Barhatnath filiam Elom Heuaei?
Nulla quaestio requiritur ex dicto, relatio autem intelligenti-
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xi. (Gen. xxvi. 35) Quare has ipsas dixit contendere Isaac et Rebeccae?

Non utique ex consensu, nec enim consonat pondus figurae et concupiscentiae autori mentis. Veruntamen consistere conantur litigia adversus bonorum perseverantium, quae est Rebecca, et turbelas et contentiones opponant, scientes illorum regimen suam esse dissipationem.


Quos solet philosophia summos vocare secundum malitiam et virtutem. Videtur ergo de industria dixisse, et ex aperto:

\[ a \, l., \, \text{intelligibilia.} \quad b \, \text{marg. caelo illo.} \]
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rurali vero stolam aptam non esse, ideo apud matrem fuit, needum illi donata, sed justo reservata. Tu si unam habere speciem laudabilem quasi spectabilem aut pretextam, vel urbanam censuram caeteris omnibus vituperabilis constitutus. Fautrix vero mater animae perseverantia, decernens ne- quando imbrui depereat, simul et unifaria contingat ruina, apud se reservando et custodiendo stolam asseverantur, qua accepta ornat palaestricum quem sollice applicat ut patri. Et sicut est familiarissima res musicae cithara, gubernatori temonum retinaculum et medico collyrium non tempeloxii plenum,a qui cupiunt etiam naves aureas habere, et medica- mentorum horrea plena, ita certa censura est, et elegans pulchritudo, quasi non quidem praedium alterius, sed proprium artificis digne et prospere utentes.b

Addition to QG iv. 210 on Gen. xxvii. 22 (Aucher, pp. 412-413).

Addition to QG iv. 232 on Gen. xxvii. 38 (Aucher, p. 430).c
Ego me confiteor legisse in Hebraeo compunctionem et taciturnitatem eiisdem literis declaratam: et alius incredibile in psalmoza lxiii. Non habet tibi dicit hymnus, sed tibi silet hymnus deus in Sion. Et alius mirum non est dictum soli stare, sed tacere eiisdem aspicibus quibus etiam hymnus tacet. Vide quantam allegoriam compunctio requirit.

a marg. in utroque exemplari ita legebatur; forte non tantopere locupletum erat legendum.
b l. utentis.
c Aucher: "Addit Interp. ex se."
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References are to Book and Section

ABBREVIATIONS

$E =$ Quaestiones in Exodum
fig. = figurative
$G =$ Quaestiones in Genesin
gen. = general
lit. = literal
misc. = miscellaneous
n. = note
sym. = symbolizes, is symbolized

Aaron, sym. joy, $G$ iv. 16 ;
sym. word, $E$ ii. 27, 44 ;
is possessed by prophetic spirit, $E$ ii. 105
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sym. good man, $G$ i. 59-68
Abihu, name = "truth from God," $E$ ii. 27 ; sym. help from God, $E$ ii. 27
Abimelech, name = "father-king," $G$ iv. 176 ; sym. foolish man, $G$ iv. 61-70 ;
sym. progressive man, $G$ iv. 188
Abraham, name = "elect father of sound," $G$ iii. 43 ; sym. wise and virtuous man, $G$ iii-iv pas-
sim ; sym. knowledge acquired through teaching, $G$ iv. 144 ; founder of race of Israel, $G$ iii.
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