

APPENDIX

THE ARMENIAN TRANSLATION OF PHILO

by Abraham Terian

PHILO, *Quaestiones et solutiones in Genesim et in Exodum*
(extant only in Armenian).

Editio Princeps:

J.B. Aucher, *Philonis Judaei paralipomena armena: Libri videlicet quatuor in Genesim, libri duo in Exodum, sermo unus de Sampsonē, alter de Jona, tertius de tribus angelis Abraamo apparentibus*. Venetiis: Typis Coenobii p. Armenorum in insula s. Lazari, 1826.

Translations:

Latin: J.B. Aucher [1826]. English: C.D. Young, *The Works of Philo Judaeus, the Contemporary of Josephus* London: H.G. Bohn, 1854-55 (vol. 4 contains *Quaest. Gen. I-III*, translated from Aucher's Latin); R. Marcus, *Philo Supplement I: Questions and Answers on Genesis* (The Loeb Classical Library) Cambridge, MA & London: Harvard University & Heinemann, 1953; idem, *Philo, Supplement II: Questions and Answers on Exodus* (The Loeb Classical Library) Cambridge, MA & London: Harvard University & Heinemann, 1953, with annotations.¹⁸ French: C.

¹⁸ REVIEWS (both volumes): McKemie, *Classical Bulletin* 30: 1953, p. 23; F. Petit, *Recherches de théologie ancienne et médiévale* 20: 1953, pp. 340-341; A. Benoît, *Revue biblique* 61: 1954, pp. 467-469; E.R. Goodenough, *Journal of Biblical Literature* 73: 1954, pp. 1699-170; F.C. Grant, *Journal of Religion* 34: 1954, p. 217; M. Hadas, *Classical World* 47: 1954, p. 91; P. Katz, *Gnomon* 26: 1954: pp. 224-226; H.J. Leon, *Judaism* 3: 1954, pp. 1-3; A. Rostagni, *Rivista di Filosofia e di Istruzione Classica* 32: 1954, p. 104; L.H. Gray, *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 14: 1955, p. 203; A.D. Nock, *Classical Review* 5: 1955, p. 108; G. Dellling, *Theologische Literaturzeitung* 82: 1957,

Mercier, *Quaestiones in Genesim I-II e versione armeniaca* (Les oeuvres de Philon d'Alexandrie, 34A) Paris: Cerf, 1979, with annotations;¹⁹ idem, *Quaestiones in Genesim III-VI e versione armeniaca* (Les oeuvres de Philon d'Alexandrie, 34B) Paris: Cerf, 1984;²⁰ J. Paramelle in collaboration with E. Lucchesi and J.

pp. 578-579; G. Rocca Serra, *Revue d'histoire et de philosophie religieuses* 39: 1959, pp. 302-303.

¹⁹ REVIEWS: F. Petit, *Le Muséon* 92: 1979, pp. 403-404; idem, *Recherches de théologie ancienne et médiévale* 47: 1980, p. 283; J. Bernard, *Mélanges de science religieuse* 37: 1980, p. 40; H. Crouzel, *Bulletin de littérature ecclésiastique* 81: 1980, pp. 210-211; R. Joly, *L'Antiquité classique* 49: 1980, p. 347; J.-P. Mahé, *Revue des études arméniennes* 14: 1980, pp. 473-475; L. Martin, *Nouvelle revue théologique* 102: 1980, pp. 608-610; A. Paul, *Recherches de science religieuse* 68: 1980, p. 540; M. Philonenko, *Revue d'histoire et de philosophie religieuse* 60: 1980, p. 257; E. des Places, *Revue de philologie, de littérature et d'histoire anciennes* 54: 1980, p. 170; J.C.M. van Winden, *Vigiliae Christianae* 34: 1980, pp. 89-91; E. Cattaneo, *Orientalia Christiana Periodica* 47: 1981, pp. 275-276; E. Junod, *Revue de théologie et de philosophie* 113: 1981, p. 293; W. Wiefel, *Theologische Literaturzeitung* 106: 1981, pp. 180-182; P.-M. Bogaert, *Scriptorium* 36: 1982, p. 50; H. Chadwick, *Journal of Theological Studies* 33: 1982, p. 536; G. Dellling, *Orientalistische Literaturzeitung* 77: 1982, pp. 567-568; A. Orbe, *Gregorianum* 63: 1982, p. 368; A. Solignac, *Archives de philosophie* 45: 1982, p. 155; M.J. Pierre, *Revue biblique* 89: 1982, p. 305; M. Devriendt, *Byzantion* 53: 1983, pp. 763-764; A. Terian, *Journal of the Society for Armenian Studies* 2: 1985-86, pp. 187-189.

²⁰ REVIEWS: J. Pouilloux, *Comptes Rendus de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres* 1984: p. 718; P.-M. Bogaert, *Revue bénédictine de critique, d'histoire et de littérature religieuses* 95: 1985, p. 347; C. Granado Bellido, *Estudios Eclesiásticos* 60: 1985, p. 361; L. Leloir, *Le Muséon* 98: 1985, pp. 376-378; J. Liébaert, *Mélanges de science religieuse* 42: 1985, p. 97; G. Pelland, *Orientalia Christiana Periodica* 51: 1985, pp. 231-232; M. Philonenko, *Revue d'histoire et de philosophie religieuses* 65: 1985, p. 485; J.C.M. van Winden, *Vigiliae Christianae* 39: pp. 406-408; A. le Boulluec, *Revue des études grecques* 99: 1986, pp. 214-215; A. Paul, *Recherches de science religieuse* 74: 1986, pp. 156-157; M.J. Pierre, *Revue biblique* 93: 1986, p. 467; A. Terian,

Sesiano, *Philon d'Alexandrie: Questions sur la Genèse II, 1-7: Texte grec, version arménienne, parallèles latins* (Cahiers d'Orientalisme, 3) Genève: Cramer, 1984;²¹ A. Terian, *Quaestiones in Exodum I-II e versione armeniaca et fragmenta graeca* (Les œuvres de Philon d'Alexandrie, 34C) Paris: Cerf, 1991.

Studies:

- R. Marcus, "The Armenian Translation of Philo's *Quaestiones in Genesim et Exodum*," *Journal of Biblical Literature* 49: 1930, pp. 61-64; idem, "An Armenian-Greek Index to Philo's 'Quaestiones' and 'De Vita Contemplativa'," *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 53: 1933, pp. 251-282; idem, "A Note on Philo's *Quaestiones in Gen. II, 31*," *Classical Philology* 39: 1944, pp. 257-258; idem, "Notes on the Armenian Texts of Philo's *Quaestiones in Genesim* [sic], Books I-III," *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 7: 1948, pp. 111-115; G. Bolognesi, "Postille sulla traduzione armena delle 'Quaestiones et solutiones in Genesim' di Filone," *Archivio Glottologico Italiano* 55: 1970, pp. 52-57; J. Dillon and A. Terian, "Philo and the Stoic Doctrine of εὐπαθεία: A Note on *Quaes. Gen. 2.57*," *Studia Philonica* 4: 1976-77, pp. 17-24; J.R. Royse, "Two Problems in Philo's *Quaestiones*," *Revue des études arméniennes* 16: 1982, pp. 81-85; A. Terian, "The Priority of the *Quaestiones* among Philo's Exegetical Commentaries," *Both Literal and*

Journal of the Society for Armenian Studies 2: 1985-86, pp. 187-189; W. Wiefel, *Theologische Literaturzeitung* 111: 1986, pp. 268-269.

²¹ REVIEWS: J. Irgoin, *Comptes Rendus de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres* 1985: pp. 420-421; A. de Mailleux, *Revue d'histoire ecclésiastique* 80: 1985, pp. 664-665; P. Nautin, *Revue des études grecques* 98: 1985, pp. 207-208; M. Philonenko, *Revue d'histoire et de philosophie religieuses* 65: 1985, pp. 485-488; P.-H. Poirier, *Laval théologique et philosophique* 41: 1985, pp. 452-453; M.J. Pierre, *Revue biblique* 93: 1986, pp. 467-468; D.T. Runia, *Vigiliae Christianae* 40: 1986, pp. 204-205; H. Chadwick, *Journal of Theological Studies* 38: 1987, pp. 190-191; M.E. Stone, *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 109: 1989, 119-120.

Allegorical: Studies in Philo of Alexandria's Questions and Answers on Genesis and Exodus, ed. D.M. Hay (Brown Judaica Studies, Studia Philonica Series) Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1990, pp. 33-50.

PHILO *De Providentia I-II, De Animalibus* (Dialogues with Alexander,²² extant only in Armenian).

Editio Princeps:

J.B. Aucher, *Philonis Judaei sermones tres hactenus inediti, I. et II. De Providentia et III. De Animalibus*. Venetiis: Typis Coenobii p. Armenorum in insula s. Lazari, 1822.

Translations:

Latin: J.B. Aucher [1822]. German: from Aucher's Latin, by L. Früchtel, "Über die Vorsehung," *Philo von Alexandria: Die Werke in deutscher Übersetzung*, ed. W. Theiler, vol. 7, Berlin: de Gruyter, 1964, pp. 267-382. French: from Aucher's Latin and in consultation with C. Mercier regarding the Armenian text, M. Hadas-Lebel, *De Providentia I et II* (Les oeuvres de Philon d'Alexandrie, 35) Paris: Cerf, 1973 with annotations;²³ A.

²² Philo's apostate nephew Tiberius Julius Alexander, Procurator of Judaea, 46-48 C.E., Prefect of Egypt, 51-55 C.E., and Chief of Staff under Titus during the siege of Jerusalem, 70 C.E.

²³ REVIEWS: F. Petit, *Recherches de théologie ancienne et médiévale* 40: 1973, p. 218; P.-M. Bogaert, *Revue bénédictine de critique, d'histoire et de littérature religieuses* 84: 1974, p. 241; E. de Places, *Orientalia* 43: 1974, pp. 256-257; C. Martin, *Nouvelle revue théologique* 96: 1974, p. 203; A. Paul, *Recherches de science religieuse* 62: 1974, pp. 418-419; W. Wiefel, *Theologische Literaturzeitung* 99: 1974, pp. 261-263; A. Davids, *Oriens Christianus* 59: 1975, pp. 192-194; J.A. de Aldama, *Estudios Eclesiásticos* 50: 1975, pp. 558-559; N.J. Séd, *Revue des études juives* 134: 1975, pp. 153-155; A. Solignac, *Archives de philosophie* 38: 1975, pp. 131-132; J. van Banning, *Theologie und Philosophie* 50: 1975, pp. 98-100; J.C.M. van Winden, *Vigiliae*

Terian, *Alexander vel de ratione quam habere etiam bruta animalia (De Animalibus) e versione armeniaca* (Les oeuvres de Philon d'Alexandrie, 36) Paris: Cerf, 1988, with annotations. English: A. Terian, *Philonis Alexandrini De Animalibus: The Armenian Text with an Introduction, Translation and Commentary* (Studies in Hellenistic Judaism, Supplements to Studia Philonica, 1) Chico, CA: Scholars Press, 1981;²⁴ idem, *Philonis Alexandrini De Providentia I-II* (forthcoming).

Studies:

- P. Wendland, *Philos Schrift über die Vorsehung, ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der nacharistotelischen Philosophie*, Berlin: G. Gaertner, 1892;²⁵ G. Tappe, *De Philonis libro qui inscribitur 'Ἀλέξανδρος ἢ περὶ τοῦ λόγου εἶχειν τὰ ἄλογα ζῷα. Quaestiones selectae*, (dissertation, Göttingen, 1912); G. Bolognesi, "Note al testo armeno del 'De Providentia' di Filone," *Armeniaca: mélanges d'études arméniennes publiés à l'occasion du 250^e anniversaire de l'entrée des Pères Mekhitaristes dans l'Île de Saint-Lazare (1717-1967)* Venice: Mechitarist Press, 1969, pp. 190-200; idem, "Giacomo Leopardi recensore e critico di testi

Christianae 29: 1975, p. 147; C. Steel, *Tijdschrift voor Filosofie* 38: 1976: pp. 474-475; J. Moreau, *Études philosophiques* 32: 1977, p. 243; V. Nikiprowetzky, *Revue d'histoire des religions* 193: 1978, pp. 71-73.

²⁴ REVIEWS: J.A.C. Greppin, *Annual of Armenian Linguistics* 3: 1982, p. 89; S.E. Brock, *The Society for Old Testament Study: Book List 1983* Leeds: SOTS, 1983, p. 124; R. Schmidt, *Die Sprache* 29: 1983, p. 124; J.J.S. Weitenberg, *Archives internationales d'histoire des sciences* 33: 1983, pp. 380-381; C. Cox, *Journal of Biblical Literature* 103: 1984, pp. 463-465; M. Philonenko, *Revue d'histoire et de philosophie religieuse* 64: 1984, pp. 185-187; R. Thomson, *Journal of the Society for Armenian Studies* 1: 1984, pp. 185-187; M. Hadas-Lebel, *Revue des études juives* 144: 1985, pp. 260-261.

²⁵ REVIEWS: F. Căda, *Listy filologické* 19: 1892, pp. 395-397; L. Herr, *Revue critique d'histoire et de littérature* 27 (N.S. 25): 1893, pp. 259, 262-263; K. Praechter, *Berliner philologische Wochenschrift* 13: 1893, pp. 615-618, 650-654; S. Reiter, *Zeitschrift für die österreichischen Gymnasien* 44: 1893, pp. 108-109.

armeni," *Leopardi e l'Ottocento. Atti del II Convegno Internazionale di studi leopardiani, recanati 1-4 ottobre 1967*, Florence: Olschki, 1970, pp. 65-79; idem, "Problèmes d'interprétation arménienne du *De Providentia* de Philo le juif," *Armenian Studies: In Memoriam Haïg Bérbérian*, ed. D. Kouymjian, Lisbon: Calouste Gulbenkian Foundation, 1986, pp. 67-73; idem, "Leopardi filologo e i testi armeni," *Il Velcro. Rivista della civiltà italiana* 31: 1987, pp. 657-675; A. Terian, "A Critical Introduction to Philo's Dialogues," *Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt*, II, 21.1, ed. W. Haase, Berlin: de Gruyter, 1984, pp. 272-294; M. Morani, "Due frammenti di Eschilo e la traduzione armena del *De Providentia* di Filone Giudeo," *Rendiconti dell'Istituto Lombardo Accademia di Scienze e Lettere* 113: 1979, pp. 489-495; idem, "Problemi riguardanti le antiche versioni di testi greci," *Autori classici in lingue del vicino e medio Oriente*, ed. G. Fiaccadori and M. Pavan, Rome: 1990, pp. 189-198; R. Sgarbi, "Analisi linguistico-filologica dell'interpretazione armena della trattazione greca filoniana intorno all'altare," *Memorie dell'Istituto Lombardo Accademia di Scienze e Lettere* 39: 1990, fasc. 3, pp. 1-136.

PHILO, *Fragmenta Armeniaca* (extant only in Armenian).

Editions:

J.B. Aucher (1826) pp. 613-619 (*De Deo*); anonymous, Փիլոնի հերթայեցոյ ճառք թարգմանեալք ի նախնեաց մերոց, որոց հէլլեն բնագիրք հասին առ մեզ (Works of Philo Judaeus, translated by our ancestors, the Greek originals of which have come down to us) Venice: Mechitarist Press, 1892, pp. 222-223 (*De Numeris*) according to the postscript [p. 286], the editorial work was sponsored by F.C. Conybeare.

Translations and Studies:

A. Terian, "A Philonic Fragment on the Decad," *Nourished with Peace: Studies in Hellenistic Judaism in Memory of Samuel Sandmel*, eds. F.E. Greenspahn, E. Hilgert, and B.L. Mack (Scholars Press

Homage Series, 9) Chico, CA: Scholars Press, 1984, pp. 173-182; F. Siegert, *Philon von Alexandrien, Über die Gottesbezeichnung "wohlätig verzehrendes Feuer" (De Deo)*, (Wiss. Untersuchungen zum N.T., 46) Tübingen: Mohr, 1988.

PHILO *Legum Allegoriae I-II, De Abrahamo, De Decalogo, De Specialibus Legibus I 79-161, 285-345, III 1-63, De Vita Contemplativa* (works extant also in Greek).

Editio princeps:

Anonymous, *Փիլոնի հերթալեցու ճառք թարգմանեալք ի նախնեաց մերոց, որոց հէլլեն քնազիրք հասին առ մեզ* (Works of Philo Judaeus, translated by our ancestors, the Greek originals of which have come down to us) Venice: Mechitarist Press, 1892.

Definitive Edition and Translation:

F.C. Conybeare, *Philo about the Contemplative Life, or the Fourth Book of the Treatise Concerning Virtues*, Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1895.

Study:

C. Mercier, "La version arménienne du *Legum allegoriae*," *Armeniaca: mélanges d'études arméniennes; publiés à l'occasion du 250^e anniversaire de l'entrée des Pères Mekhitaristes dans l'île de Saint-Lazare (1717-1967)*, Venice: Mechitarist Press, 1969, pp. 9-15.

PSEUDO-PHILO, *de Jona and de Sampson* (Hellenistic Jewish homilies, extant only in Armenian).

Editio princeps:

J.B. Aucher [1826], pp. 549-577 (*De Sampson*), pp. 578-611 (*De Jona*).

Definitive Edition:

H. Lewy, *The Pseudo-Philonic De Jona. Part I: The Armenian Text with a Critical Introduction* (Studies and Documents, 7), London: Christophers, 1936.

Translations:

English: H. Lewy (Part 2 of the above, unpublished manuscript, The Jewish National and University Library, Var. 376-15), in press at Israel Academy of Sciences and Humanities, annotated. German: idem (partial translation of *De Sampson*, unpublished manuscript, The Jewish National and University Library, Var. 376-15); F. Siegert, *Drei hellenistisch-jüdische Predigten. Ps.-Philon, "Über Jona", "Über Simson" und "Über die Gottesbezeichnung 'wohltätig verzehrendes Feuer'": Übersetzung aus Armenischen und sprachliche Erläuterungen* (Wiss. Untersuchungen zum N.T., 20) Tübingen: Mohr, 1980.²⁶

Whether in part or in whole, the Armenian corpus of PHILO's writings is preserved in 26 manuscripts.²⁷ The works extant only in Armenian may be remembered in pairs: the two *Quaestiones* and the two treatises *ad Alexandrum*, as also the two fragments and the two pseudo-Philonic homilies. These translations were among the first achievements of the so-called Hellenizing school, which from ca. 570 - ca. 730 translated

²⁶ Siegert changed his view on the authorship of this work, see his more recent publication, cited above under "Fragments." REVIEW: J. Murphy-O'Connor, *Revue Biblique* 89: 1982, p. 144. For most of the reviews cited in this Appendix, I am indebted to R. Radice and D.T. Runia, *Philo of Alexandria: An Annotated Bibliography 1937-1986* (Supplements to Vigiliae Christianae, 8) Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1988.

²⁷ For a chronological list of the manuscripts, their contents and recensions, see A. Terian, *Alexander* (Les oeuvres de Philon d'Alexandrie, 36) Paris: Cerf, 1988, pp. 29-39.

most of the Greek classical works enumerated in this volume.²⁸ The peculiar translational tendencies of the school are readily discernible when reading the Armenian version of PHILO alongside fragments and works which survive also in Greek.²⁹ To compare these works in Armenian translation with their Greek originals, the Venice (1892) anonymous edition may be followed: pp. 5-32 = *De Vita Contemplativa*; pp. 33 -104 = *De Abrahamo*; pp. 105-177 = *Legum Allegoriae* 1-2; pp. 178-200 = *De Specialibus Legibus* 1:79-161; pp. 201-219 = *De Specialibus Legibus* 1:285-345; pp. 220-222 = *De Specialibus Legibus* 3:1-7; pp. 223-267 = *De Decalogo*; pp. 268-284 = *De Specialibus Legibus* 3:8-63.³⁰ Conybeare and Vardanian have both claimed that the Armenian translations of Philo and Irenaeus were the work of the same person.³¹

²⁸ C. Mercier, "L'école hellénistique dans la littérature arménienne," *Revue des études arméniennes* 13: 1978-79, pp. 59-75; A. Terian, "The Hellenizing School: Its Time, Place and Scope of Activities Reconsidered," *East of Byzantium: Syria and Armenia in the Formative Period* eds. N.G. Garsoïan, T.F. Mathews, R.W. Thomson, Washington, DC: Dumbarton Oaks, 1982, pp. 175-186. See also the brief discussion in the Introductory Comments above.

²⁹ A. Terian, "Syntactical Peculiarities in the Translations of the Hellenizing School," *apud* J.A.C. Greppin, ed., *First International Conference on Armenian Linguistics (11-14, July 1979): Proceedings* Delmar, N.Y.: Caravan, 1980, pp. 197-207.

³⁰ For a comparable survey of scholarship on the Armenian translation of Philo, see F. Siegert, "Der armenische Philon: Textbestand, Editionen, Forschungsgeschichte," *Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte* 100: 1989, pp. 353-369.

³¹ F.C. Conybeare, "The Age of the Armenian Translation of Irenaeus," *Θηζουράκις* (Vienna: 1911), 193-202; A. Vardanian, "Linguistic Resemblances of the Translations of Philo and Irenaeus," *Handès Amsoreay* 1921, pp. 449-458 (in Armenian).