THE ARMENIAN TRANSLATION OF PHILO’S
QUAESTIONES IN GENESIM ET EXODUM

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THE importance of Philo’s work for an understanding of patriarchic theology and exegesis has long been recognized. In more recent times, however, the comparatively new study of Hellenistic religions has directed attention to other aspects of Philo’s thought, which are of great importance for the reconstruction of pre-Christian religions and cults. Reitzenstein, for example, in his latest work *Die Vorgeschichte der christlichen Taufe*, bases the greater part of his study of the pre-Christian “rebirth mystery” on a passage of Philo’s *Quaestiones in Exodum*. So also Eduard Norden, Schäder and other students of Hellenistic religions are making more extended philological studies of the text of Philo.

Fortunately, we possess in the critical edition of Wendland and Cohn an excellent Greek text of the larger part of Philo’s writings. But for one important body of writings, the *Quaestiones et Solutiones in Genesim et Exodum*, we are dependent chiefly upon an Armenian version. In 1826 the Mechitarist scholar John Baptist Aucher published in Venice a fifth century Armenian version of four books of the *Quaestiones in Genesim* and two books of the *Quaestiones in Exodum* together with the Armenian of the pseudo-Philonic *De Sampsone* and *De Jonah*. Aucher’s text is based on five manuscripts, the earliest of which dates from the thirteenth century. His Latin translation of the Armenian, which according
to his preface, is intended to be literal rather than elegant is accompanied by a few Greek fragments reprinted from Mangey's edition of Philo and by an anonymous Latin translation of the last two fifths of the fourth book of the *Quaestiones in Genesim*, taken from an edition of Basle, 1538.

Since the publication of Aucher's translation a larger number of Greek fragments of the *Quaestiones* has been recovered from various catenae and patristic writers by Mai, Pitra, Tischendorf, Wendland and others; these have been collected by Rendel Harris in his *Fragments of Philo Judaeus*, Cambridge, 1886. On the basis of the Greek fragments which have been identified with the corresponding Armenian passages, and which amount to more than a thousand lines of the Teubner text, it is possible to form an adequate notion of the value of the Armenian version for textual purposes, and also of the value of Aucher's Latin translation of the Armenian.

With the idea of making an English translation of the Armenian text published by Aucher, I have compiled an Armenian-Greek index to the *Quaestiones*. With the help of this index, and perhaps of additional material gathered from the Armenian versions of other works of Philo extant in Greek, I hope, perhaps too optimistically, to be able to reconstruct the Greek original in part, at least to the extent of more accurately rendering the Armenian.

Such a translation necessarily invites comparison with Aucher's Latin translation, and may seem to be a criticism of the usefulness of the latter, which has been, for scholars who do not read Armenian, the chief source of knowledge concerning the important *Quaestiones*. It may therefore seem presumptuous for one who is not a native Armenian to pass judgment on the work of the learned Mechitarist. I may say, in justification of my proposed translation, that it implies no judgment of Aucher's knowledge of his native language, which I, of course, cannot hope to equal, but only of his ability to understand the Greek which lies behind the Armenian. The possession of a larger amount of the Greek original enables a modern scholar to appreciate the exact sense of many Armenian passages a little more fully than did Aucher. Moreover, a comparison of
Aucher's Latin with the Armenian, in those passages for which the Greek is extant, will show that in every case the Armenian is closer to the Greek than Aucher's Latin to the Armenian. However unimportant for general literary purposes changes in word order, rendering of metaphors, use of synonyms and the like may be, these things are of the greatest importance for philologists dealing with a translation. It may not be unfair to call attention to the fact that Aucher has incurred the critical disapproval of such scholars as Gildemeister and Hermann Diels for certain of his Latin renderings of Philo, as one may discover from the first page of Diels' Doxographi Graeci.

A few examples may serve to show more clearly that Aucher has been at fault, whether because of haste (the translation was completed in a year) or some other circumstance. In Quaest. in Gen. iv, 102 the Greek reads ἄξιον ἀποδέχεσθαι τὸ μηδὲν ὁρέγεσθαι τῶν ὑπὲρ δύναμιν; the Armenian translates quite literally arzan e endounel oč imik' baljanal aravel k'an zorout' iunn, "It is right to interpret this as meaning not to desire what is beyond one's power." Aucher, misunderstanding the figurative use of endounel = ἀποδέχεσθαι, "to interpret," translates oportet non desiderare ut recipiantur ampliora suis viribus. Again, in Quaest. in Gen. iv, 191 the Greek has ἁγνύμενοι φθόνῳ καὶ βασκανία; the Armenian translates word for word ergicalk' naxanjou ew yačalout' eamb, "stirred up by envy and jealousy." Aucher translates instigati livore invidiae which misses the exactness of the Armenian for βασκανία.

There are numerous other instances of greater divergence between Armenian and Latin than between Armenian and Greek. Not all of these, of course, are the fault of Aucher. Many are due to natural linguistic differences, and to the fact that Aucher was making a translation of a translation.

When we compare the Armenian with the Greek we are struck by its remarkable literalness and adequacy. Conybeare, in his edition of the De Vita Contemplativa (Philo on the Contemplative Life, Oxford, 1895, p. 155), has remarked the same closeness to the Greek in the Armenian of that work, and to judge from Aucher's remark in the preface to his edition of the Quaestiones, the Armenian
version of Philo's other writings extant in Greek, might be expected to be equally faithful.

This extreme literalness of the Armenian version is due not only to the good conscience of the translator, but also to the natural resources of Armenian and its resemblances to Greek in a number of ways. We find that the Armenian adequately and consistently renders most of the Greek particles such as γάρ, δέ; in some cases it makes finer distinctions in particles than does the Greek; for example, when δέ is used as an adversative particle following μέν, the Armenian renders it by baye; when is used transitionally at the beginning of sentences, the Armenian renders it by isk. Many Greek verbs compounded with nouns are similarly rendered in Armenian. On the other hand verbs compounded with prepositions in Greek, are rendered in Armenian by the simple verb and an adverb or the adverbial case of a noun.

The Armenian word order is, in most cases, very close to the Greek, in many cases identical with it. The richness of Armenian allows of the consistent differentiation, in harmony with the Greek, of synonyms and related concepts such as ἄγαθός, σπουδαίος, φαῦλος, κακός etc.; λόγος, however, in its various meanings is invariably translated by ban. Moreover the same Armenian word very often translates two or more Greek words with an important difference in meaning; this is particularly to be noted of words with a philosophical or psychological content, for here a misunderstanding of the text may lead to quite erroneous theories concerning Philo's system. For example, the Armenian hogi or ogi is usually equated by scholars with the Greek πνεῦμα; and in the New Testament hogi does regularly translate πνεῦμα. But in the Quaestiones, hogi renders not only πνεῦμα, but also ψυχή, more frequently.

All the various similarities and divergences of syntax and vocabulary will be noted in the Armenian Greek Index to the Quaestiones which, it is hoped, will appear within a year, and which, I trust, will be of some use to students of Philo who have occasion to deal critically with the text of his important commentary on Genesis and Exodus.
THE ARMENIAN LIFE OF MARUTHA
OF MAIPHERKAT

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The Armenian Vita here translated, of Marutha, a Syrian bishop of the fifth century, has an interest because of Marutha's activity as mediator between the Byzantine emperors, Arcadius and Theodosius II, and the Sassanian king Yezdegerd I.

The ancient sources for the life of Marutha are scanty \(^1\) nor does the biography here translated add greatly to our knowledge of him. From the Greek and Nestorian sources it is known that he was present at the important councils of the church in the last decades of the fourth century; was sent to the court of Persia, probably at least twice, once on the accession of Yezdegerd in 399 A.D. and again about 408 A.D., when Theodosius II became emperor of the eastern Romans; and that he was present at the Council of Seleucia in 410 A.D.\(^2\) He is reputed to be the author of numerous works on church history and theology, some of which are extant,\(^3\) the most important being a history


\(^{2}\) Labourt, p. 88 note 5, and p. 89.

\(^{3}\) Assemani, III, 74, gives 'Abhdišo's catalogue of works written by Marutha, among them a "book concerning martyrs," which Assemani identifies with the Persian martyrology mentioned in the next note. For other works by Marutha see Baumstark. A list of Armenian translations of Marutha's writings is given in the Catalogue des anciennes traductions arméniennes, Venice, 1889; they include "Orations and Disquisitions: On the Mystery of the Church; On the Mystery of the Third Day of the Week; On the Martyrdom of St. Simeon and other Martyrs; On the Holiness of Christ." For a discussion and translation of Syriac fragments of Marutha's writings, see also O. Braun, De Sancta Nicaena Synodo (Kirchengeschichtliche Studien, IV), Münster, 1898, and A. von Harnack, Der Ketzer-Katalog des Bischofs Maruta von Maipherkat (Texte u. Untersuchungen, N. F. IV). These two studies, cited by Chabot, Synodon Orientale, p. 4, n. 1, I have not consulted.
of the Christian martyrs who died in Persia in the reigns of Sapur II and Yezezgerd I. There is no good reason to doubt Marutha’s authorship of this history, which claims to have been based on accounts given by contemporaries.4

We have brief accounts of the bishop of Maipherkat (or of Mesopotamia, as he is called in the Greek sources) in the church histories of Socrates5 and Sozomen,6 both of whom composed their works within a generation after the death of Marutha (c. AD 420), in the church history of Theophanes7 (ninth century), and on the Oriental side in the history of the Nestorian patriarchs8 written in Arabic by Mārī ibn Sulaimān (twelfth century) and revised by ‘Amr ibn Mattā (fifteenth century), and in the ecclesiastical chronicle of Bar Hebraeus,9 (thirteenth century).

In order to afford a basis for comparison of our Armenian version with the other accounts of Marutha’s life, and to offer materials for a more complete biography than yet exists, I have thought it best to prefix to the translation of the Armenian Vita translations of the Greek and Semitic sources mentioned above.10

First in time is the Ecclesiastical History of Socrates, who (vi. 15; I, 704) mentions Marutha at the council of Chalcedon in connection with Cyrinus, who came to the council to attack John Chrysostom:

He spoke [against John] before the bishops, calling him impious, a charlatan, and a stubborn mule (ἀγόνατον), at which the bishops were delighted. But Marutha, bishop of Mesopotamia, accidentally stepped on one of Cyrinus’ feet, and the latter was incapacitated and unable to accompany the other bishops to Constantinople.

4 The Syriac text was first published by Assemani, Acta Sanctorum Martyrum Orientalium et Occidentalium, 2 vols., Rome, 1748; this was translated into German by Zingerle, Echte Akten heiliger Märtyrer des Morgenlandes, Innsbruck, 1831; a fuller text was published by Bedjan, Acta Martyrum et Sanctorum, Paris, 1890, II, 57–396. 5 Edited by R. Hussey, Oxford, 1853.
6 Edited by R. Hussey, Oxford, 1860.
7 Edited by Classen in Corpus Scriptorum Historiae Byzantinae, Bonn, 1889.
10 I have not been able to consult Photius, Bibliotheca; on the Synodicon Orientale, ed. Chabot, Paris, 1902, see the Postscript at the close of this article.
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Cyrinus, we regret to learn, soon after died from an infection caused by Marutha's carelessness.

The second and more important passage in Socrates (vii. 8; I, 743–746) tells of Marutha's adventures at the court of Yezdegerd I, who reigned from 399 to 420 A.D.

About the same time Christianity was spread in Persia in the following way. Between the Romans and Persians there had been frequent interchanges of embassies, and the causes for these mutual embassies were various. At this particular time necessity brought it about that Marutha, the bishop of Mesopotamia, whom we mentioned a little while ago, was sent by the Roman emperor to the Persian king. And the king of Persia, finding him to be a man of great piety, showed him great honor and hearkened to him as to a truly God-inspired man (θεοφάνειος). These actions displeased the Magians (for they have great influence with the king of Persia), as they feared that he [Marutha] might convert the king to Christianity, for Marutha by his prayers had healed the chronic headache of the king, which the Magians had not been able to heal. The Magians accordingly contrived a treacherous plan. As the Persians worship fire, and as the king was accustomed to adore the continually burning fire in a temple, they hid a certain fellow under the ground, and instructed him to cry out, at such a time as the king came to pray, that the king must be cast out because he had been impious in believing the Christian priest to be inspired by God. When Isdegerd — this was the king's name — heard this, although he held Marutha in reverence, nevertheless he decided to send him away. But Marutha, being a truly God-inspired man, gave himself up to prayer, and by this means discovered the trick of the Magians; and he said to the king, "Do not be deceived, O king. If thou go back to the place whence thou heardst the voice, and dig there, thou wilt discover the trick, for it was not the fire that cried out, but the machinations of men that effected this." The Persian king believed Marutha and again entered the temple where the perpetual fire burned; and when he again heard the same voice, he commanded the earth in that place to be dug up; whereupon he who had uttered the supposedly divine voice was discovered. The king then became very wrathful, and decimated the order of Magians. After this he told Marutha that he might build churches wherever he liked. In this way Christianity was spread among the Persians. Then Marutha left Persia and returned to Constantinople. But, not long after, he was again sent there on an embassy. Once more the Magians plotted treachery in order that the king might not receive him at all. They created an artificial stench in the place whence the king was wont to proceed, and charged that the Christian believers had made it. But inasmuch as the king, having the Magians under suspicion, rigorously sought out the perpetrators of the deed, it was again found that those who had made the foul odor were Magians. A second time, therefore, he punished many of them, but Marutha he held in still greater honor. And he cherished the Romans and formed a friendship with them. And he very nearly became a

11 At the death of Theophilus and the accession of Cyril as bishop of Alexandria (412 A.D.).
Christian on the occasion of Marutha’s performing another miracle, together with Abla, the bishop of Persia. For together they drove out the demon that was troubling the king’s son, by practising fasts and vigils. Now Isdegerd died before he could become a Christian completely, and the kingdom passed to his son Bararanes, under whom the treaty between Rome and Persia was dissolved, as we shall relate a little further on.

The reference in Sozomen (viii. 16; I, 835) need not be cited, as it describes the incident of Marutha crushing Cyринus’ foot already given in the first excerpt from Socrates, and is very likely drawn from Socrates.

By Theophanes, in two passages, one or two new details are added. In the first (i. 128), a notice of the year 5906 A.M. (406 A.D.), he tells us:

In this year Hypatia the philosopher, daughter of the philosopher Theon, was violently put to death. In the same year Isdegerd, the king of Persia, having been previously influenced by the exhortations of Marutha, bishop of Mesopotamia, and Abda, bishop of the capital city of Persia, reached such a height of piety that he was almost baptized, through the miracles of Marutha. And he punished the Magians as deceivers. In the twentieth year [of his reign] he died.

In the second notice (i. 132), of the year 5916 A.M. (416 A.D.), Theophanes writes:

In the same year Theodosius sent a royal crown to Valentinian in Rome by the hand of Helion Patricius, and Marutha, bishop of Mesopotamia, healed the son of Isdegerd, king of Persia, who was possessed by a demon, by praying and fasting; wherefore Isdegerd conceived a great attachment (πληροφορίαν) to Christianity.

Coming now to the Oriental sources, we may first cite the Nestorian history of Mārī ibn Sulaimān, called Kitāb almijdal (Liber turris), folio 151b–153a:

After [Qayyūmā had been patriarch] five years, peace was made between the Roman emperor and the Persian king Yezdegerd. The latter requested the emperor to send him a man skilled in medicine (mutatabbib), and he sent him the bishop of Mayyafāraqm, Mār Marūthā by name, an accomplished physician and a man of perfect piety (jamil almadhhab). When he asked the

12 Read Abda (Syriac ‘Abbdā.)
13 Bahram V.
14 This sentence may belong with the following notice, as Hypatia was killed in 415 A.D.
15 Theodosius II, 408–450 A.D.
16 Arabic text, pp. 29 ff.; Gismondi’s Latin version, pp. 25 ff.
17 Maipherkat; see below on Martyropolis in Armenian Vita.
king for permission to erect churches, and for the Christians to live according to their own ways (rusúm) and openly to profess their religion, the king granted this. And the church in Babylon, near the pit of Daniel, was restored, which the Jews had formerly destroyed after killing the monks, elders, and deacons who were in it; and there he established a community (jama'a) of monks. And Mār Marūthā, the bishop, healed the son of Yezdegerd of an epilepsy (gur) from which he had suffered. And when matters were settled, he [Qayyūmā] resigned from the patriarchate and bestowed it upon Isaac. But the Magians were angry that the king showed favor to the Christians, because Marutha had also cured the king of a violent headache (sadā' sadīd) which had attacked him. And they anointed a certain man with an unguent that protected against the heat of fire, and placed him in the fire. And when the king passed by, the fire addressed him with reproaches and abuse for having honored the Christians and having permitted the building of churches. And he was troubled and distressed, and he summoned Marūthā, and the latter said to him, “This is a trick, and I will reveal it, if thou wilt allow me to enter the fire and fetch out the speaker.” And he [the king] said, “Enter”; and Maruthā entered and fetched out the speaker. And never again after this did the fire speak. And the king commanded that the attendants of the fire-temple be killed; and his friendship for the Christians increased.

Isaac, a kinsman of Tomarsa,18 was a chaste, kind, and prudent man and a performer of miracles. And when Qayyūmā saw that God desired the gathering together19 of the Christians, and the establishing of their affairs, he wrote to all the metropolitans and bishops of the Eastern cities, and they came to him in the church of Madāyn,20 and were assembled in his presence together with Marūthā the physician, bishop of Mayyafāraqīn. He said to them, “Ye know that I am not fitted for this office (ra'asa) because of my infirmity and my sins, and behold I have given myself to God, who is mighty and glorious, because I have not found any who would offer himself to God, who is blessed and exalted, and because I feared that Christianity might disappear in the East, and that its churches and patriarchate (ra'asa) might disappear. And now God has averted what we feared, through these two blessed kings and this blessed bishop, and the fear has ceased. And I ask you to release me from the patriarchate and bestow it upon another, whom God, whose name is exalted, shall choose for you and through you.” And they wept and said, “How dost thou think that this is lawful, since thou hast already given thyself to God, whose name is exalted, and hast suffered greatly, and it is meet that we should be thy servants?” But he continued to supplicate them until they associated with him in the patriarchate the above mentioned Isaac, in Madāyn, according to rule. And they laid the condition upon him that he should act as a son toward Qayyūmā, the blessed and venerable man (sayh), and should not decide anything except with his approval; and Isaac did this, and more than fulfilled the conditions laid upon him, until the death of Qayyūmā. And when he died he was buried in Madāyn. And Marūthā, the bishop and physician, continued to teach the people of the East all the

18 So the Arabic text. Gismondi in his Latin version has ‘Marutae cognatus,’ probably a slip of the pen.
19 Gismondi, wrongly I think, translates ījitima as ‘restauratio.’
20 Ctesiphon.
traditions (ṣunna) and decisions of the people of the West, on which they had agreed in their synods, and had confirmed there. And they received these from him and confirmed among themselves, and they made known to him that the Westerners were their brethren and comrades. And Marūthā gathered a great number of the bones of the martyrs who had been martyred in the East, and copies of every book he found of them, and he carried these with him, and left part in his seat at Mayyafāraqīn—and this is remembered there to this day, where people are blessed by them — and with the remainder he travelled to the West, and they were distributed among the churches.

And Mār Marūthā met with the one hundred and fifty bishops who were gathered in Constantinople, and he described to them the purity of faith of the Eastern people and their piety and their long-suffering in martyrdom. And he said that his journey was the cause of good because he had seen those people, their modesty, the sincerity of their intentions; and that they were, in his opinion, in the class of angels (rūḥanīn), and that there was not in their cities or churches any division of opinion or any sects or deviation from what the Gospel taught and the preaching of the apostle Paul and what the apostle Luke reported in the Acts of the Apostles. Then he asked permission of the emperor to return to the East and to be blessed there, and the emperor granted permission, and he returned; and with him there was a bishop of Amīda-on-the-hill, whose name was Acacius. And it happened in the days of this bishop that some patricians of Rūm had taken captive some of the people of Ba‘arbāyā and the region of Mesopotamia to the number of four thousand men, among them bishops of this region. And this bishop said, “This does not become us, and our prayers will not be heard, for these our brethren have been taken captive from their province, and we see them in this condition and do not release them.” And he sold all the ornaments of the rest of the churches in his province, gold and silver, and received for them sixteen thousand drachmas; and he bought them [the captives] back and restored them to their homes. And the patriarch Isaac died and was buried in Madāyn, after eleven years in office.

The next authority in chronological order is Bar Hebraeus (iii. 46 ff.), whose Syriac Ecclesiastical Chronicle was written in the second half of the thirteenth century:

Five years after his [Qayyūmā’s] ordination peace was made between Arcadius the Greek emperor, and Izdegerd king of Persia, who was a persecutor of the Christians. To him was sent on an embassy (‘izgadūthā) Marūthā, bishop of Mayperqat, a learned man and wonderful teacher; and through his coming the Christians were granted peace. Then Qayyūmā gathered all the Eastern bishops in the presence (m’tayyebḥūthā) of Marūthā, and urged them to release him because he was feeble (m’tīl) . . . . When the bishops refused to let him resign, he laid upon them the word of God to do it, and urged Marūthā also to persuade them. Then they unwillingly agreed, and ordained

21 Arabic 'aqāq. 22 Byzantium.
23 Compare the story of the ransom of Nep’rkert in the Armenian.
24 394 A.D.
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Isaac in his place. . . . In the six hundred and sixty-first year of the Greeks, in the reign of Theodosius the Great, a synod of one hundred and fifty bishops was convened at Constantinople, in which Macedonius of Constantinople was deposed (βητλ), who had blasphemed against the Holy Ghost, asserting that He was a created being (βρυθα). And Marutha of Mayperqat was again sent a second time as an ambassador to Izdegerd in his eleventh year, on which occasion he informed the catholicus Isaac of [the decisions of] the council. And so Isaac summoned forty of his bishops, who, as faithful believers, agreed to the deposition of Macedonius. And Marutha prescribed for them admirable canons, and taught the Easterners a good order (ζαππρυθα μτακσυθα) [of services?]. And Isaac died, having served eleven years, and was buried in Seleucia.

The last source is the Nestorian history of 'Amr ibn Matta (pp. 23–25; Latin version pp. 13–15):

Isaac. This Father was a venerable, good, wise, upright, merciful man, given to fasting and prayer, and performing signs and miracles, and furthering the welfare of his flock by the best means. And it happened that Yezdegerd, king of Persia, was afflicted by an illness that the Persian physicians could not heal — and many Christian physicians had been killed in the reign of Sapur, and those who survived had fled to other lands — and he wrote to the Roman emperor, asking him for a skilled physician. And he sent Marutha, bishop of Mayyafaqain, a learned and upright man and a skilful physician (tabib hadhiq), known for his fear of God and his good works. Now Arcadius the Roman emperor had heard what evils the Christians had suffered in the country of the Persians, namely torture and banishment and death; and this saddened and troubled him, and he had no way of helping them. And he found this a favorable occasion to write a letter to Yezdegerd, in which he said: "God, who is mighty and glorious, has given us royal authority, not that we should seek our own advantage, but has given us power that we may use righteously, to punish the guilty and to reward the good man according to his merit. And as though thou wert one of his worshippers, he has made thee a great gift from among the kingdoms of the world, and into thy hand has placed his creatures. But contrary to law and justice are the violences, robberies, and killings inflicted upon the Christians in thy realm. And if these things are done without thy knowledge, still thy ministers (asher buka) do them in their lust for the wealth of the Christians, which they take for themselves; and this will bring upon thee both the wrath of God and the indignation of men, who, when they see the wrong done to their fellows, will be greatly angered and find it beyond endurance. And if these people [the Persian ministers] turned their energies to fighting the enemy and governing the kingdom, I should find it better. Now we request thee hereafter to treat the Christians well and to end the injustice and the injury [done] to them, and to permit the building of churches." And he sent this letter with the bishop Marutha; and when he came to Yezdegerd and treated him and healed him of his illness, he gave over

25 360 A.D. The editors of Bar Hebraeus note that the synod of 150 bishops was held in 381 A.D., and that Macedonius was deposed at the previous synod of 360 A.D.

26 410 A.D.
to him the letter. And he [the king] opened it, and rejoiced at it, and granted what had been requested of him. And peace (sukûn) surrounded the Christians, and what they had [suffered] ceased. Now the patriarch Isaac desired to establish canons useful for precepts (fara‘îd) and counsels of religion (aḥkâm addînîyya), and he summoned to him the Fathers who were in the provinces and convened from their number forty bishops and metropolitans in the eleventh year of the reign of Yezdegerd, and they assembled on the birthday [of the Lord] (yawm ‘id almilâd), and Marûthâ was present with them. And Isaac with the approval of all established twenty-two canons, which were necessary for the government of the church in the East, and these found favor in the eyes of Marûthâ and he approved them. Then he made known to them the canons which the Western Fathers had written in synod, and at the same time there were brought to him the letters written at the council of Nicaea, at the time when they were present there with those at the council. And Marûthâ had copies made of all the canons and commentaries (tafâsîr) which he found among [the works of] the Eastern Fathers and which are not found among the Greeks. And he gathered together a great number of the bones of the martyrs and took [them] with him; and when the council of the one hundred and fifty bishops met in Constantinople, this bishop Marûthâ met with them. He published among them, and informed them of, all that he had witnessed and seen of the righteousness of the Easterners and the purity of their belief and their love and their sincerity of thought and the chastity of their monks and their fortitude under abuse and trials, the good order (tartîb) of their churches and their constancy in one opinion and their wholeness from impurity in respect of erroneous doctrines, and their zeal and devotion applied to the interpretation (ma‘ânâ) of the holy Scriptures, and especially the holy Gospel and the Acts of the Apostles and the epistles of Paul and his commentary (tafâsîr) and explanations (sûrûk). And he said, "I found the Christians of the East like corporeal angels (malûd ‘îk jismanîyya), because they have advanced so far in knowledge and love and humility and chastity." And Isaac died in the twelfth year of Yezdegerd, that is, the seven hundred and twenty-eighth year of the Greeks, and was buried in Madâyn, and his rule had lasted eleven years.

Finally we come to the Armenian Vita, which, as we learn from the text itself, was translated from the Syriac by a certain Gagig, presumably a priest, and his deacon Grigor. There is no indication of the date of the translation other than the fact that it mentions the Sassanian king Kâwâdh (I), who died in 531 A.D. As he is mistakenly made the grandson of Yezdegerd I, instead of Yezdegerd II, we may assume that Gagig wrote some time after the close of the sixth century, late enough for the chronology to be left uncertain. The name Gagig is common,
but there is a possibility that our translator is the same who rendered from Syriac into Armenian a life of the Egyptian monk Narses.  

The text of the Armenian version is found in Vark‘ ew Vkhayabanout‘iunk‘ Srboç (Vitae et passiones sanctorum), Venice, 1874, II, 17–32. I am greatly indebted to Professor Louis H. Gray of Columbia University for his kindness in putting at my disposal a French translation he had made of pp. 17–22 of the text, and for his helpful suggestions and corrections.

The History of the Life of the Blessed Marut’a

[17] Brethren and fathers, listen to the story of the blessed Marut’a, through whom the Lord manifested miracles to the world, because he was called to the grace of adoption and became a shepherd of Christ’s flock, which was cast by demons into pastures of death and into abysses of perdition; and through him it pleased God to bring back the lost ones of our land. And I shall recount according to my ability, although my mind is too feeble and my words are too simple to tell the miracles of the man of God, who was visibly manifested by the power of Christ and needeth not fine words. Listen, then, confirmed by the love and the faith of the true Shepherd who hath called you to kingship in Christ; and ye thirst with thirst 33 for spiritual admonition and for divine miracles; ye have drunk delicious draughts which were vouchsafed unto you by Christ through the blessed one of whom we shall relate a little [chosen] from many [things].

This land was ensnared in the idolatry of the demons of seduction, and men worshipped with sacrifices the creatures and not the Creator who is eternally praised. As if taken in battle at night, and enmeshed in various evils, is that which, darkened by its many sins,34 the light of the knowledge of God doth not illumine. [18] But when God wished to save this land and to

33 Semitic idiom, found also in the Greek Old and New Testaments. For the Syriac original, see T. Nöldeke, Kurzgefasste syrische Grammatik, 2d ed., Leipzig, 1898, pp. 225–226.
34 Read zawareal ‘i pëspës mel’n in place of ‘i zawareal pëspës mel’s.
bring [it] back from its straying to the knowledge of God, in the
time of the blessed Yakob bishop of Mêbin,\textsuperscript{35} the wonderful
man of God, a certain woman named Mariam, a daughter of the
nobles of Armenia, was given as wife to the heathen pontiff of
the Otayecs,\textsuperscript{36} who was lord of that land; and by the hand of
that woman Mariam Christianity was revealed in that land;
and she built a church and consecrated a monastery and estab-
lished priests and ministers who offered daily praise to God, and
she herself granted necessities in full to the ministers, and made
herself obedient to the Christian religion before God and man,
and she converted her husband to Christianity so that he gave
up the service of a vain worship and worshipped the God of
heaven and earth; and by her good counsel and the daily pray-
ers which she offered for her husband, he, following the wishes
of Mariam, believed in the true God and was baptized in the
name of the Father and of the Son and the Holy Ghost, and his
name was called Marut’a,\textsuperscript{37} which is translated “lord of the
land,” because he was in truth the lord of that land; and there
was much rejoicing over the man and the woman who had been
[added] to the glory of our God. But a little while after came
the end of Marut’a, the husband of Mariam, and he left three
sons born of Mariam [and] believing in God Almighty; one of
them was lord of the land; and two [were] generals of the kings,
renowned and glorious in the eyes of all. And Mariam, justified
by faith and hope, buried her husband as was meet for Chris-
tians, and giving thanks she praised God that she had seen her
husband pass away believing in God. And after that she deter-
mined to go to Jerusalem and to provide for the holy churches
and to divide her possessions with the poor and the ministers of
the churches for the redemption [19] of the life of her sons, for
the lady had so great a soul and faith and fear of God; and she
entreated God continually that he make her sons worthy to

On Yakob, see E. Nestle, Realencyklopädie für protestantische Theologie und Kirche,

\textsuperscript{36} One MS. Aštac. It is probably the province Uti. Cf. H. Hübschmann, Altar-

\textsuperscript{37} Syriac, Marúthā, “lordship,” explained by a popular Armenian etymology as mar
utha, “lord of Utha.”
become priests of God, in order that she might, by the priesthood of Christ, heal the scar of sins, [that is] the former worship of idols by her husband, and that the most holy Trinity might always be glorified 38 by her race.

And she returned to Antioch of Asorestan 39 and dwelt in the martyr chapel of Saint Eliazar and of Šmawon Samune 40 and of her seven sons who were martyred; 41 and she passed the whole night in prayer to God. With many entreaties and tears she asked the Lord of all, by the intercession of the saints, to fulfil the prayer which she had desired, as has been said before. And in a vision she saw an angel of God who said to her, “Courage, O woman, for thy prayer hath been heard by God, and that which thou shalt ask of God will be thine by the intercession of the saints in whom thou hast believed.” And with a commingling of fear and joy she glorified God and offered praise, and she believed the words of the angel. And when she had returned to her home, she had a grandson by her son who was ‘lord of the land’; and her heart was joyful, and she rendered thanks to Almighty God, and she had him baptized by the priest Marmarë who loved God, and she named him with the name of his grandfather Marut’a, and she resolved that through this man God should make a visitation of this land, because there had been a manifestation of grace over the child. And after five 42 years she gave him for instruction to the priest Marmarë who loved God, and he taught him to read and instructed him in the ways of the wisdom of life [20] and in the faith of righteousness. And when he reached the age of the perfection of Christ, 43 and appeared to be endowed with all graces and pleasing to God and man, he appointed him deacon, and after that a priest of the church of God, which had been built by his grandmother Mariam; and he knew and understood that this life is vain, and

38 Read p'araworçî in place of parawori?
39 Here means Syriac. For other meanings of Asorestan see below, note 51.
40 One ms., Šmawenî.
41 Cf. 2 Maccabees 6, 14–7, 41; 4 Maccabees, chaps. 8 ff. In the Greek the mother’s name is not given, but in the Syriac membre celebrating the Maccabean martyrs her name is given as Samone, cf. Bensly, Fourth Book of Maccabees and Kindred Documents in Syriac, Cambridge, 1895.
42 One ms. ‘seven.’
43 That is, thirty-three years.
he chose the way of holiness and righteousness, and he despised the life of this world; and he went on in going 44 and made progress in the laborious labors of piety by testimonies to Christ. Because of this Mariam was filled with joy, because she saw the grandson of her hopes endowed with all austerity, and she rejoiced and praised God, and went away to her convent that she had built before, and there she became a devotee of great austerity; she accomplished all the days of her life to the glory of God. And afterwards came the end of Mariam, fulfilled in days and transported to Christ by all her virtue; and Marut’a adorned her tomb magnificently, and Marut’a himself made still more progress in the path of uprightness; by prayers and by vigils he disciplined himself with all purification, not moved by thought, word, or deed, and he never wished to receive anything from the land, and, being renowned and celebrated everywhere because of his struggles for uprightness, he was called to the grace of the episcopate, in view of the plenitude of the grace which was revealed in him; for he was illumined by grace and divine wisdom and he advanced constantly, signalizing himself by his attachment to virtue; and he went in the ways of Christ with an apostolic mission, bringing back the lost to the wisdom of the truth; and he built churches and distributed priests and ministers who glorified the most holy Trinity; and the monasteries which had been built by his grandmother [21] he augmented with anchorites; and he fortified the upright in the faith in the institutions of the divine religion in the manner of the first holy fathers; and he reformed the inhabitants of the land anew, both men and women, according to the image of God by his holy ways and his brilliant teaching and his very great miracles, and he cleansed them of foolish heresy and polytheistic error, and he led all toward righteousness; and he revealed himself like a bright lamp to them that sat in darkness and the shadow of death; 45 he drove out the darkness of ignorance from this land; he expelled the bands of the left hand 46 by the virtue of Christ, and he believed that the ranks of the angels of the right were the protection of the believers in Christ; he purified

44 Semitism; cf. Nöldeke, above, note 33.
45 Luke 1, 79.
46 One ms. 'the bands of the demons (dev)'. 
his heart of evil thought; he received divine grace; showing it by love and by aspiration, he loved virtue in his life, and his tongue spoke of righteousness, and he preached holiness constantly to all the land, freely receiving and freely giving the gifts of the Creator. 47 And all men, when they heard the words of God from the holy bishop, turned from the worship of idols to the true God, for by the prayers of the saint he led the wandering souls of mankind back to righteousness; and they overthrew the images of the gods and built monasteries and churches, and the cults of the worship of the pagan priests were forbidden, and they took the place of the worship of the pagan altars in the churches of God, according to his own 48 desire. And when the enemy of righteousness saw all this, defeated by the saint in spiritual combat he cried out in a loud voice in the hearing of all, and said, "Woe to me and mine, for we have been driven out of our dwelling here by Marut‘a the servant of Christ, and we know not where to go; for the glory of Christ hath filled all the earth, and like smoke in the wind, we have been carried away from the midst thereof."

And the blessed Marut‘a sealed with the cross of Christ the flock who believed in Him, in order that none should approach to seduce it; for like a spiritual [and] diligent husbandman he uprooted the thorns from the fields and the hearts of all, and sowed righteousness and holiness to the glory of God; for those who hearkened not to the prophets nor gave ear to the preaching of the apostles, God wished to bring the wanderers back by the hand of Marut‘a to knowledge of the truth by the prayers and intercessions of all the saints who were gathered there. For the flock was without a shepherd, cast down by beasts, [that is] evil demons. And through this saint, Christ the good Shepherd, who gave his life for his sheep, 49 by his shepherd’s staff, [that is] his life-giving cross, drove the demons away, and through him [Marut‘a] he gathered them back to the unity of the faith and to the knowledge of the most holy Trinity by pasturing them in a verdant place; and, washing them in the waters of baptism and cleansing the impurity of their souls and their bodies, he

47 Matthew 10, 8.  
48 Reading norin in place of noroun?  
49 John 10, 11.
brought them back to the divine fold which is the church of God; and he found the lost, he gathered the scattered, he healed the sick, that by spiritual birth and lustration and by the life-giving body and blood of the Saviour he might create anew sons of God the Father and heirs of Christ, who gave himself unto death for the salvation of his disciples; and he visited those who were far and near; and the light of the world shineth today through the blessed Marut'a. He was like Moses, who saved Israel from the Egyptian captivity and led them by a pillar of fire and cloud to the promised land; and by his courage and his zeal [he was] like Paul, who surpassed the first apostles both by signs and by miracles [and] moreover by most gracious letters, being the herald and the apostle of the world. In like manner the blessed Marut'a also was a preacher to the land and a teacher who, filled with all virtue, perfectly and by many miracles increased his flock day by day. And the Lord aided him in all ways; and he, who was taught by the Lord, desired all men to receive blessings, blessing his disciples and those who desired to become his companions. [23] And so, telling the truth with love, and obeying the precepts of the Gospel, he drove out from them their satanic imaginings and wicked thoughts, and by the truth which was taught them their religion and spiritual life were shaken by no one. And he himself more and more mortified himself by ascetic practices of all kinds, and he loved God with all his heart and all his might, and he practised righteousness in all things, so that I am not able to relate the wonders and miracles which the Lord manifested through him in all the land. And this happened in the three hundred and fourth [year] of the era of the Greeks, in the time of the younger Theodosius; 50 on behalf of this donor of divine favors, by the inspiration of the Holy Ghost, he went to Asoretan, 51 that there also he might uproot the evil and iniquity of their customs through the power of Christ, and that he might reform the believers who, by the constraint of the Magians, kept the

50 One MS. ‘And this happened in the thirty-third [year] of the era of the Greeks, in the time of Theodosius, emperor of the Romans.’ Another MS. ‘And this happened in the eighty-third [year] in the era of the Greeks, in the twentieth year of the younger Theodosius, the pious. Text probably corrupt.

51 Not Syria or Assyria, but Suristan. Cf. Marquart, Evanšahr.
church of God surrounded in darkness. And like a radiant light, by the grace of God he illumined believers and confounded the folly of the Magians and triumphantly manifested the truth; and the churches of God became glorious with daily worship.

And a report of the miracles of the holy bishop came to the Persian king Yazkert, who was a persecutor of the Christians, and he was summoned by him. When he came, the king with his nobles confronted the holy bishop. And he saw the divine grace upon the saint, and bowing down he prostrated himself before him in the presence of his courtiers. In like manner the saint of God prostrated himself before the king and saluted [him]. And he spoke good words, and the king loved the saint of God with all his heart by the heavenly inspiration of grace, for God wished to bring salvation to his servants by means of the love of the king for the saint. For Yazkert was a persecutor of the Christians in all the territory under his rule through his officers and the Magians and the Chief Magians. And by many torments they compelled the Christians to prostrate themselves before the sun and fire. Many who did not obey the command of the king became martyrs of Christ, and there was great oppression of the Christians and help from no place. And through the blessed one protection was given to the Christians by the Lord, and so [came] cessation of persecution and deliverance from prison and chains. The king had a very handsome son, and he was dearer to him than all his sons, and he was possessed by a very evil demon and found no healing from Magians or sorcerers or astrologers or any other source; and this misfortune came about by the providence of God, who was watching over the salvation of the multitude who believed in the Lord, that truth might be manifested by the wisdom of God and God be magnified and the horn of the church be exalted.\[52\] And the king said to Marut‘a, “I have a beloved son who is sore tormented by a demon and findeth healing nowhere, and I have great sorrow because of him; and now I entreat thee, O servant of the most high God, to ask God to heal my child, and that the demon leave him, and that he recover and live.” And the saint

\[52\] Psalm 89, 17, etc.
said, “Let thy son come, that I may see him.” And when they brought him before all, the demon shrieked from the child, and said, “What have I to do with thee, servant of the crucified Christ? Thou hast come from a far land to drive me from my habitation.” And he threw the child to the ground, and he [the child] was in great danger and fainted away. And his appearance was pitiful and lamentable, and terror seized them all. And there was another holy bishop with the blessed Marut‘a, and he fell upon his face on the ground; and they prayed to the Lord and said: “Lord God Almighty, who [25] hearest the Canaanite woman who cried out to thee, and hadst compassion on her and dravest out the demon from her daughter 53 and didst heal her of the sickness of the demon, and drownedst their legion with the swine in the sea, 54 and also dravest many other demons out of men, some by thyself and some through thy disciples, on whom thou hadst compassion and wroughtest salvation through them; now, Lord of hosts, rebuke this evil one who is in this child, and let him be driven out of him, Almighty One, by thy name, and let all men know that thou alone art the true God. And let there be a cessation of the persecution of thy flock through this [child’s] recovery. For thou art powerful over all things, and by thy glory every act is accomplished now and forevermore.” And those who were with him having said Amen, he removed the demon; and he [the demon] screamed loudly, and said: “Woe is me, woe is me! From how glorious a dwelling have I been driven out!” And the child revived and came to his senses; and raising himself up he gave praise to God.

The king, seeing this, rejoiced, and said, “Verily the God of the Christians is greater than all the gods of the nations, for we have both heard and seen these great miracles [performed] by his servant.” And the king said, “Now ask of me whatever thou desirest, and I will give it thee.” And the blessed Marut‘a said: “I desire nothing of thee save only that thou release the Christians from their prisons and chains and from their very grievous suffering; and that they be free to worship their God and rebuild the churches to the glory of the name of God in thy

53 Matthew 15, 21–28; Mark 8, 24–30.
54 Matthew 8, 28–34; Mark 5, 1–21; Luke 8, 26–40.
kingdom. Moreover show friendship to Theodosius, emperor of the Greeks, and let there be peace throughout the whole world through thee.” And the king approved his words and performed all his requests.

And the good news was spread through the land by the decree of the king that the prisoners should be released from their chains and their torture, and that the churches should be rebuilt, and that they should freely worship their God, and that those who had persecuted and oppressed them should be punished by the royal command. And there was great mourning among the Magians, but among the believers in Christ great rejoicing with praise and thanksgiving to God. And the prisoners who had been confined for the sake of Christ were released from their chains, and that they should freely worship their God, and that those who had persecuted and oppressed them should be punished by the royal command. And there was great peace throughout the land of the king. And the Christians were permitted to rebuild the churches of God and to worship God freely.

After these things had happened in this way, he again requested the king to let him depart. And he [the king] gave him many gifts and messages of peace, and let him go to the Greek emperor. And the blessed one came to the pious Theodosius and saluted him and presented the decree of the king of the Persians. And when he had read it, he rejoiced greatly over his [Yazkert’s] love and friendship for the Christians. And he asked the saint about everything; and he told him of the miracles that had been performed in the name of the Lord, and of the cessation of the persecutions. And he [the emperor] gave thanks to God, who had in his mercy wrought deliverance through the prayers of the saint. And he loved him more than all his patriarchs. And the pious Theodosius gave thanks and praise to God. And he inquired of [him], and was instructed by him as by a holy and worthy man. Finally he asked him what he desired. And the man of God requested the emperor to fortify the city of Cop'k' 55 with a strong wall and to build a church to the glory of God in the midst of the city, wherein the sacrifice of Christ and praises of God might continually be performed; and that a certain number of all the saints might be

55 Sophene; cf. Marquart, p. 171.
brought together; and that it should be named the City of Martyrs.66 And the emperor said: "Thy words are good, and acceptable to God are thy designs. Therefore do as thou wilt, and the expenses of the building will be paid by me, as much as is needed." And he gave treasures of gold and silver, and craftsmen from the land of the Greeks and overseers and workmen as many as were needed. And furthermore he sent him off with all things and with a friendly reply by letter to the king of the Persians.

And when he came to the city of Cop'k he began the building of the wall and assigned workmen to the work [27] and overseers over them, and he himself went to Pars, and other bishops with him. And when the king saw him, he received him and all those who were with him with honor; but Marut'a especially he cherished with great honor. And he [Marut'a] gave [him] the edict of the emperor Theodosius; and he [the king] rejoiced greatly in the letter and in the words of his message. And there was peace and friendship between both sovereigns until their death. Now the king had suffered from headaches for a long time, and no physician had helped him; and he told Marut'a. And he offered up prayers and laid his right hand upon the head of the king, and immediately he was healed by the name of Christ. And never again did any headache trouble the king. And his love and admiration for the saint increased still more, for he recognized that truly God was with him.

And the Magians growing envious planned to lay a trap for the man of God that they might cause him to lose the friendship of the king. And, using deceit in the same manner as the Babylonians did toward Daniel in the reign of Darius,57 they also made a subterranean chamber 58 underneath the fire-temple, and they placed a man within it and instructed him to say to the king,59 "I do not accept thy adoration because thou hast loved the Christian priest 60 who hath counselled thee to despise

64 Martyrolog K'alak', Martyropolis, modern Maipherkat, Arabic Mayyafaraqìn. See Marquart, p. 161; Hübelschmann, Ortsnamen, pp. 308–309. In this Vita it is also called Cop'k and Np'arkert.
65 Bel and the Dragon 13 ff. (Vulgate, Daniel 14, 12 ff.).
66 One ms. 'a very small chamber.'
67 One ms. 'they put words in his mouth to say to the king,' etc.
68 One ms. 'priests.'
my ministers." And when the king, in accordance with his custom, came to worship the fire, the man interrupted him with a loud cry and startled the king. And a voice which seemed to him to come from out the fire said, "Get thee hence, thou impious one, I do not accept thy adoration, for thou hast joined thyself to the Christian who hath seduced thee to the worship of the Crucified, and hath counselled thee to despise my ministers." 61 And when the king heard [this], he was affrighted, and went out and remained troubled and perplexed and confused in his thoughts; and he waited for the saint to speak. And [28] the blessed Marut'a knew their trickery by the inspiration of the Holy Ghost, and approaching he said, "O king, return to worship the fire, and uncover the place whence the voice was heard, and thou wilt know the fraud of the Magians." And he returned to the place and heard the same voice; and he commanded the place to be uncovered whence he had heard the voice. They uncovered [it] and drew the man out from the place, and he revealed to the king those who had practised the deception; and he [the king] put them to death. And the others did evil a second time, and made an abominable odor 62 about the king's throne; and he questioned the Magians, and they accused Marut'a and the bishops who were with him. And the king investigated and ascertained who had done it, and these also he delivered to death. And the wicked envy of the Chief Magians and of the Persian nobles increased still more, and they determined to kill even the king and Marut'a. And he who was next [in rank] to the king and more beloved and more illustrious and more powerful than all the Persian nobles, when he saw the death of the Magians, wished to avenge the worshippers of fire. And in his house he dug a deep hole 63 and set up in it sharp swords 64 and placed over them a divan and a seat for the king, of precious and beautiful and splendid stuffs, that when he sat down he might fall below and be pierced by the sword and die. And he invited the king and Marut'a to

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61 Two mss. 'and to despise me and my ministers.' Compare the Syriac life of St. Ephraem, ed. Brockelmann, Syrische Grammatik, 4th ed., p. 24.*

62 In Zoroastrianism an evil odor is a sign of the presence of demons.

63 One ms. 'a pit.'

64 Two mss. 'two swords.'
dine. And God made his evil plan clear to Saint Marut‘a, and the saint came to the king secretly, and said: “Because I have found favor before thee, and thou hast shown mercy to the Christians, guard thyself, and mark what I say, which the Lord hath revealed to me. The man who hath invited thee to dine hath prepared a death-trap for thee, a pit under the seat, and hath set up swords therein, that when thou wilt seat thyself thou mayest fall below upon them and die.” When the king heard this, he was affrighted and said: “What thou sayest seemeth incredible. Why doth he plan my death, having been so much loved and honored by me, more than [29] all?” Marut‘a said, “Go not to that dinner, but if thou goest, seat him in thy seat which he hath prepared for thee.” And the king said, “So be it.” And the noble came and invited the king and Marut‘a with many entreaties. And they went and entered where the seat had been prepared for the king. And the king commanded him to sit in his place. And the other said, “Why should thy servant sit in the king’s place?” And the king insisted, and the other wept and entreated and fell on his knees. But his entreaties were not heard. And he [the king] gave command for his soldiers to take and throw him upon the seat. And when they threw him upon the seat, he fell into the pit upon the swords and died. And when the king saw what had happened, and verified what the saint had said, he cried out in a loud voice, and said, “Great is the God of the Christians who hath revealed secrets to them that love him.”

And because of these things the blessed one was loved and honored by the king; and the king believed in the true God, and willingly he listened to the saint. But he was afraid to reveal his belief to his nobles, lest the Persians rise against him and kill him and take away his kingship. And on the next day the king summoned all his great nobles and related to them all that had happened and how he had been saved by the blessed Marut‘a, who had warned him beforehand of the death-trap. And they all said, “Let him be extolled and honored, and let him be worthy of very great presents from the king and from all the nobles.” And he said, “So shall it be as ye have said.” And a decree went out from the king that whatever Marut‘a
should desire to do, should be done by his authority. And the blessed Marut‘a praised God and said: “Blessed art thou, Lord God, who hast delivered the king from a treacherous death. And now let there be peace and friendship toward the Christians and toward the emperor of the Greeks for ever and ever.” And he [the king] stretched out his gold sceptre toward [30] the saint before all his great men and said, “Whatever thou desirest shall be given thee.” And he prostrated himself before the king, and he went out of his presence giving thanks and praise to God.

And he gathered the remains of the martyrs of Christ who had been put to death by the Magians and the king, and he assembled them from different places into a sepulchre with great honor by the command of the king; and taking some relics from all the remains, he carried them with him to the City of Martyrs. And he was sent away by the king with a message of peace and many gifts, [among them] a cup of gold in memory of the king, full of gold for the building-material of the church which had been built in the city under the dedication of ‘The Martyrs of God.’ And seeing the skilfulness of the construction of the city and of the church of God, he praised God. And he returned again to the pious Theodosius; and he related to him his friendship and peace with the king, and the cessation of the persecutions and the rebuilding of the churches of God and the collecting of the relics into sepulchres and the carrying of a part of them to the City of Martyrs; and all the miracles that the Lord had performed through him, and how he had saved the king from death; and what the king of the Persians had truly written to Theodosius, emperor of the Greeks. And when he [the emperor] read this, he rejoiced, and with thanksgiving praised God Almighty for all his exceeding great wonders and for God’s care of those who believed in him who was manifested through him [Marut‘a]. And he extolled and honored the blessed Marut‘a even more than before. And he asked of the emperor that he issue a decree for him to gather from the remains of all the saints in his empire some relics to carry to the

64 One ms. ‘toward the king of the Persians’ (i.e., between the Christians and the Persian king).
66 Esther 5, 2–3.
City of Martyrs, as he had himself said before; and he received permission to do whatever he wished; and he went out to Rome and to all the cities and provinces and villages and monasteries and hermitages, and gathered relics with the help of God. And he returned to the pious Theodosius, and great was the joy of the emperor. And he gave many gifts and villages and farms and vineyards and olive groves, all fruitbearing, to the churches of God, and to the martyrs who were gathered in the city. And he sent him away full of joy, as the blessed one desired.

And arriving in his own land, in the city of Cop'k', with a glad heart, he gave thanks to God. And the city and churches of God were built with marvellous construction, and he made altars within the walls of the house of God and placed reliquaries within them, arranging them with admirable skill; [and he gathered the relics] from the kingdom of the Romans, one hundred and twenty thousand, and from that of Asorestan twenty thousand, and from the kingdom of the Persians eighty thousand, and from our kingdom sixty thousand; altogether the number of the relics of the saints brought together was two hundred and eighty thousand. I omit those which were collected afterwards, and also the holy martyrs who died in that city and remain there, by whose intercession may the Lord be merciful to us who have translated the Passions from Syriac into Armenian, [namely] I, Gagig, and my deacon Grigor who is with me — may they [and] all believers be worthy of a part in the inheritance of the saints who are gathered there! And so with gladness and with great zeal Marut'a gathered the relics of the martyrs in the city of Npʻerkert, whose names are written in the Book of Life. And throughout the days of the blessed one the Lord kept peace between the two sovereigns of the Greeks and of the Persians, and [there was] a cessation of persecution, and a rebuilding of the church to the glory of his holy name.

67 That is, Byzantium. 68 One ms. 'the City of Martyrs.'

69 Here, probably, Syria or Assyria or both.
70 Armenia, the country of the translator.
71 Two mss. 'Father Gagik.'
MARUTHA OF MAIPHERKAT

After all this came the end of the blessed Marut‘a in the month of June, 72 on the first day, in the City of Martyrs. And he was praised and extolled before the relics of all the saints by all the holy men and the people who were believers, because through him God had given salvation to the whole land, and he had converted [men] from godlessness to true knowledge of God 73 and from impiety to righteousness. Let us not neglect the teachings handed down by the blessed father touching the orthodox faith in the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, and which is the word of faith regarding the dispensation of the Son, who was united to a body and performed righteousness in all things, incorruptibly to revivify our vile flesh in the likeness of his glorious body by divine dispensation,74 and who spake concerning goodness and holiness and a life of complete austerity, that we might live by the Spirit and despise the desires of the flesh, and that we might attain to a portion of an inheritance in him and in all the saints gathered in him 74 to the glory of the most holy Trinity.

And it came to pass after the death of these kings that Kawat,75 the grandson of Yazkert, collected his armies and came into the territory of the Greeks, to the city of Np‘arkert, to take it. And the inhabitants of the city were in dire straits, and because of the danger which threatened them they determined to give the cup of gold, filled with gold, for the deliverance of the city, the same which his [Kawat’s] grandfather had given as a gift 76 to the blessed Marut‘a. And when it was brought before the king, and he read the name of his grandfather which was written upon the cup, he wept and said: “Far be it from me to take the memorial of my fathers, or to do evil to this city. But let there be friendship and peace between me and the city [all] the days of my life.” And he returned in peace to his own land; and the city and the whole land were delivered

72 One ms. ‘in January, on the 21st day’; another ms. ‘on the 21st day of the month of June.’ The dates are given in Roman nomenclature, and the numbers are written in cipher, by letters of the alphabet.
73 Philippians 3, 21. 74 Literally ‘there.’
75 Kawadh I, who reigned 488-531 A.D. and was the grandson of Yezdegerd II (438-452 A.D.) not Yezdegerd I.
76 One ms. ‘which had been given by Yazkert his grandfather as a gift.’
and saved from their evil fate.\textsuperscript{77} And they recognized and knew that through the intercession of the saints who were gathered there, and of the blessed Marut'â, the Lord had wrought the salvation of the city and the land. And to him who delivereth and saveth them that hope and trust in him be praise now and forevermore and for all eternity. Amen.

\textbf{POSTSCRIPT}

Since the above was put into type I have been able to consult J. B. Chabot, Synodicon Orientale (Notices et Extraits des Manuscrits de la Bibliothèque Nationale, XXXVII), Paris, 1902, with Syriac text and a French translation. This is a collection of Nestorian documents relating to various synods from 410 on, made according to Chabot toward the end of the eighth century in the patriarchate of Timothy I (780–823). For the existence of such records Marutha was largely responsible. Indeed Chabot gives as the first of the three canonical sources of Nestorian history "un recueil de synodes occidentaux transmis par Marouta de Maipherqat en 410 et auquel furent ensuite ajoutés les canons du concile de Chalcédoine."

Of the account of proceedings at the Synod of Seleucia, agreeing in general with those given in the other Syriac sources, only a brief summary can be given here.

After a eulogy of the catholicus Isaac and Marutha, who are given credit for a reformation of the Eastern church and for Yezdegerd's favorable attitude toward Christianity, this source tells us that the bishops of the West, that is, those in Byzantine territory, wrote a Greek letter on the subject of the church discipline to Marutha with a request that it be conveyed to the Persian king. Marutha secretly showed it to his colleague Isaac, and with him translated it into Persian and had it read before Yezdegerd, who upon hearing its contents exclaimed, "The East and the West shall be one empire under the authority of my rule (hadh šultana lʿūḥdānā dʿmallūṭh(i'))." He also issued orders to his provincial governors (marzʿbānē) to see that the local bishops in the Persian empire be summoned to a

\textsuperscript{77} Compare the story of the ransom of the Christian captives of Baʿarbāya and Mesopotamia in Mārī ibn Sulaimān above.
synod at Seleucia, over which Isaac and Marutha were to preside. Accordingly they assembled, to the number of forty, on the sixth of January (Epiphany), 410 A.D., and on February first they heard the letter of the Western bishops, which contained three propositions, concerning the election and authority of bishops, the observance of church festivals, and the acceptance of the canons of the Council of Nicaea. All these propositions were favorably received, and at Marutha’s suggestion the bishops signed their names to a formal document of ratification, with Isaac and Marutha heading the list.

A few days later, through the influence of these two leaders, the Eastern bishops were granted an audience with Yezdegerd, who informed them that he would confirm the appointment of any ecclesiastical head (rēšā) of whom Isaac and Marutha should approve.

Finally, we have a Syriac version of the Nicene creed and the text of the twenty-one canons adopted at the Synod of Seleucia, the thirteenth of which provides for adherence on the part of the Eastern church to the order of services, or form of ministry (lešmeštā), of the West, which Isaac and Marutha had taught them.

Another interesting event in Marutha’s career is related in connection with the account of the synod of Markabta in 420, at which Agapit, bishop of Beit Laphat, alluded to earlier dissensions in the church when rebellious bishops tried to set up a rival to the catholicus Isaac and to turn Yezdegerd against him. At the instance of the Byzantine court Marutha was sent to restore order. With the consent of Yezdegerd he convened a synod and disposed of the troublesome bishops. There is no precise indication of the date of this second synod, which, however, must have been held before 420, when Yahabalaha was catholicus.
AN ARMENIAN-GREEK INDEX TO PHILO'S
QUAESTIONES AND DE VITA
CONTEMPLATIVA *

RALPH MARCUS
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IN VOL. XLIX of the Journal of Biblical Literature (1930, p. 61ff.)
the writer published a brief paper on the nature of the Armenian
translation of Philo's Quaestiones in Genesim et Exodum on the
basis of the text published by Aucher at Venice in 1826. As is
well known, the Greek original of this Philonic work has been
almost entirely lost except for a small number of fragments in
patristic writings and catenae, which have been collected and
published by Rendel Harris in his Fragments of Philo Judaeus
(Cambridge, 1886). From a comparison of the Armenian text with
the Greek fragments, the writer was led to the conclusion previously
reached by Conybeare (Philo about the Contemplative Life, Oxford,
1895, p. 155) that the Armenian is "marvellously faithful, repro-
ducing the Greek original word for word and as a rule without
any change in the order. Hence its great value as a means of
determining the Greek text". Shortly after, an additional study
was made of the Armenian version of the De Vita Contemplativa,
edited by Conybeare (op. cit.), and the Armenian-Greek index,
compiled for the Quaestiones, was expanded to include this work,
which is now generally agreed to be genuinely Philonic, and the
language of which is indisputably Philonic. The Quaestiones and
the D. V. C. were evidently translated into Armenian by the same
person, and it is therefore possible to make use of the vocabulary
of the latter in any attempted reconstruction of the Greek original
of the former. The following index is presented to scholars with
a view to aiding such a reconstruction, which if not completely
possible, may at least be undertaken to the extent of improving
upon Aucher's Latin version. However, the actual work of sys-
tematic reconstruction of the Greek Quaestiones must be deferred
until the publication of a definitive critical edition of the Armenian,
such as may be expected in the not far distant future from Dr. Hans

* Completed on the occasion of the seventieth birthday of Professor
Richard Gottheil, October 13, 1932.

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Lewy of Berlin, who has been commissioned by the Preussische Akadamie der Wissenschaften to collect manuscripts in European and Eastern libraries and to prepare a revised edition.

Meanwhile, the index is offered in the hope that it may be of use in critical revision, and in the belief that it possesses independent value for reconstructive purposes, inasmuch as it is based only on passages where the Armenian and Greek texts are unmistakably in agreement.

A few words may be said in explanation of the index. It is not meant to be exhaustive, and a good many items of Realien, for example, have been omitted; but it does include all instances where terms of religious, scientific, philosophical, or general significance are used, and in addition such purely formal words as particles and relation-terms, which may throw light on the method of the Armenian translator in rendering Greek idioms and reproducing transitions or emphasis and the like. Attention may also be called to three classes of renderings: (1) those which show an almost complete one-to-one correspondence, e.g. ρωθ = λόγος; ῥήματι = ἀφηγή; μὴρῥ = δικαιοσύνη; σφήωρ = ἐπιστήμη. (2) Armenian compounds which faithfully reproduce Greek compounds, e.g. ῥήματι, -α = ἀληθωρ, -α; δέος = νομοθεσία. (3) Armenian words of general meaning translating Greek synonyms or words further qualified by adverbial or prefixed elements, e.g. μὴρ φράση = δέομαι, προσφέρομαι, εἰσελθόμαι κτλ.; μὴρ φράση = ἀρὼ, καθώρω, θεωρώ, θέωμαι, καταθέωμαι, or translating Greek words of similar but by no means identical meaning, e.g. αἰσχρ = νοῦς, νόημα, ἕννοια κτλ.; πής = ψυχή, πνεῦμα; μὴρ = πάθος, νόσος.

EXPLANATION OF SYMBOLS

E = Quaestiones in Exodus
G = "Genesim" cited by Aucher's section numbers.
VC = De Vita Contemplativa, "Cohn-Reiter's section numbers.
(†) = addition of synonym or auxiliary word in Armenian.
* = difference of construction between corresponding Greek and Armenian words.
— (before or after Greek word) = composition of verb and preposition etc.

ηψως: πλεονέκτης G iv 172(†).
ηψως: πλεονέξια G iv 47, 172(†), 211(†), VC 70(†).
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ωκωμρ: ἔλευθερος(-ος) VC 69, 70, 71, 72. εὐγενῆς VC 69, 72.
—μέθυ: ἔλευθερία VC 19.


ωκηδ: δῆλῳ G ii 59, VC 28, 75. παραβηλῶ VC 31.

ωκηρο-θυ: προαιρεσις VC 2 (†), 17. ἐπιτήδειμα VC 1. —θη: ἐπιτήδειμον VC 20*.

ωκωμ: πάθος G ii 54, 59, E i 19, ii 2, 3, VC 2, 6. νόσος G i 65, VC 9, 60.


ωκυμμ: ἀκούστος G iii 52 (bis), iv 64*. ἄβοιλτος G iv 204. μὴ ἐκ προαιρέσεως E ii 50.


ωκυμμηθηθ: προσδοκία G i 79.

ωκυμμηθηθηθ: νεώμα VC 31 (†), 77. ἀναφορά G i 55.

ωκωμηθ: αἱρεσία VC 29.

ωκωμθηθ: εὐχὴ(α) G iv 198, VC 67, 89. μηθηθθ ημιθ: εὐχομαι VC 27, 66*.

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ωκυμμηθηθηθ: ἀσέβεια E ii 26*, 45.

ωκηθηθ: σῶσ G ii 15, E ii 37. ωμηθηθ: σῶμα G ii 34; διατηροῦμαι VC 33.


ωκυμμηθηθηθηθ: παντοῖος E ii 55, VC 49.

ωκυμμηθηθηθηθηθ: πανίερος VC 36, παναγέστατος VC 81.

ωκυμμηθηθηθ: τὸ παράταν G i 65, iv 193, E ii 24, VC 51. παν- E ii 6.

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ωκυμμηθηθηθ: στάσις E i 19.

ωμ (I): ἄλλος c. 20 exx. ἑτερος c. 15 exx.

ωμ (II): ἄλλα c. 50 exx.
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οἱ μυθικοί: ἔτερόδοξος E ii 47.
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οἴροι: τοιοῦτος G ii 12, iv 47.
οἴροι: ἀνήρ (opp. γυνῆ) c. 20 exx.
οἴσις: ἀπαθηδὴ G ii 15.
οισίς: ἀνάνομος G i 20.
οἰσιμήθη: ἀκρατος VC 45, 85.
οἰσιμῆθη: ἀλογος G i 94 (bis), VC 8, 9.
οἰσιρη: ἀτιμος G iv 47, VC 7 (superl.). —πιθήκα: ἀτιμία VC 42.
οἰσιρή ξηλῆ: ἀθεράπευτος G iv 51.
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οἰσιρή ξηλῆ: ἐπί G i 85. παλιν- E ii 40. ἀντι- VC 84.
οἰσιμήθη: ἀδίάφορος G iv 64, 180*.
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ωβιμωσις: διαξεύγνυμ G i 24, VC 63 (†). διατρώ G iii 3.

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ωβιμωρηρημενη: διασώξω G iv 69. σώξω G ii 34 (†). ρόωμαι E ii 2.

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ωμηδάρη: ἱδιος 4 exx. misc. 5 exx.

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—ἐμα 2 exx.


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βηθυμεν: ἀντέχω VC 35.

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w. loc.: ἐν c. 25 exx. misc. 5 exx.

w. abl.: ἐκ c. 10 exx. ἀπό 5 exx. ἑπὶ w. gen. 7 exx. gen. 7 exx.

misc. 3 exx. cf. ἡπί, ἱμηθή.

βρη: ὅς 4 exx. καθάπερ E ii 68.

βρη: καθάπερ 5 exx. ὁσπερ 3 exx. ὅς 2 exx. misc. 3 exx.
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βωμ: ἀρχιον G i 20*, iii 30, E ii 6 (bis), 64*, 68*, VC 9. ἡγεμόν G i 20, ii 34, VC 83. —μι: ἀρχή E ii 68. βασιλικός E ii 66.

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βρ: ἐαυτῶν κτλ. c. 5 exx. ἐδώς 7 exx. ὀφείλει 2 exx.

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—μι: πλημμονή VC 37 (†).

μι: γένεσις E ii 46, VC 6, 65. —μι: γίνομαι c. 10 exx. εἰμί 3 exx. διατελῶ VC 10, 47. misc. 5 exx. w. ptc., adj. etc.: pass., intr. verb passim.

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μρ: πλὴρω E ii 68, VC 55. μρ: γέμων VC 54.


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τραχύς E ii 13.


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ἐμφάνισσα G iv 193.

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ἐφανερωμένοις VC 47.


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\[ \text{\textit{Ralph Marcus}} \]

\[ \text{\textit{εὐμερῳ: κοινὸς 7 exx. misc. 3 exx. —\textit{μωβί}: κοινὸς \textit{VC} 60.} \]

\[ \text{—\textit{περ:}— κοινονία \textit{G i 17, iii 3, E ii 3 (?)}, 68.} \]

\[ \text{\textit{εὐμερῳ: παροδοτών: κατάληψις \textit{G ii 34, VC 76.}} \]

\[ \text{\textit{εὐμερῳ —\textit{μωβί:} (\textit{των}): ἱδρυμα 3 exx. misc. 2 exx. —\textit{περ:}— κατάστασις \textit{VC 23(†)}, instr.: \textit{βεβαιός E ii 16, VC 31. —\textit{περ:}}— \textit{βεβαιός G i 17, E ii 17, 45.}} \]

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\[ \text{\textit{μιμητὴ:} δινατότερος \textit{VC} 70. —\textit{περ:}— \textit{περ:}— ἡχοργονομόν: \textit{G ii 54.} \]

\[ \text{\textit{εὐμερῳ:} ἕκαστος \textit{G i 24.}} \]

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\[ \text{\textit{παλαιός} 4 exx. (§) πάλαι \textit{VC} 80, 85(†).} \]

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\[ \text{\textit{—\textit{πε}:— \textit{περ}:— ψυχικὸς \textit{G i 51. —\textit{πε}:— πνευματικὸς \textit{G i 92.}} \]

\[ \text{\textit{ψυχὴ} 31 exx. πνεῦμα \textit{G i 51, ii 59 (bis), VC 76*.} \]

\[ \text{\textit{διπλῆς:} διπλῆς \textit{G iv 30. —\textit{πε}:— τύχωσις \textit{G ii 64.}} \]

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\[ \text{\textit{εὐμερῳ:} τύφος \textit{VC} 39.} \]

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\[ \text{\textit{μωβί}:— πρόστατας 3 exx. διάταξις 2 exx. χρησιμὸς \textit{G} 2 exx. ἐπι-

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Ralph Marcus


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εμπλ.: περι-3 exx. περί w. acc. 2 exx. —οὐκ: κύκλον (adv.) E ii 55.

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πξ: οὐ, μὴ πλερυμκήν. ξ: οὐδὲν, μὴδὲν c. 20 exx. ημπξ: οὐδὲ c. 5 exx. —πε: οὐδεὶς c. 5 exx. misc. in combination.

ημ: οὐχι λογ.: (—)ιστήμη VC 5 exx.

ημ: ὡς, ὡς πλερυμκήν. ὡς c. 10 exx. cf. ωμθ, οὐκηρείμηθη, ημήθ. 

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πρωτ.: ὃς c. 20 exx. ὡστερ 6 exx. καθάπερ 3 exx. misc. 5 exx.

πρωτ.: ὃς c. 20 exx. ὡστερ 6 exx. καθάπερ 3 exx. misc. 5 exx.

κατορθῶ VC 64.

πρωτ.: ὃς c. 20 exx. ὡστερ 6 exx. καθάπερ 3 exx. misc. 5 exx.

κατορθῶ VC 64.

πρωτ.: ὃς c. 20 exx. ὡστερ 6 exx. καθάπερ 3 exx. misc. 5 exx.

κατορθῶ VC 64.

πρωτ.: ὃς c. 20 exx. ὡστερ 6 exx. καθάπερ 3 exx. misc. 5 exx.

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\[\text{\textit{\text{σω} \text{μ}: \; \eta \text{ or gen. compar. c. 20 exx. \; \text{ιο} \text{μ \text{ω}: \; πριν w. inf. E i 7.}} \text{cf. \text{ωωλή.}}}\]

\[\text{σω\text{μ}: \; γάρ c. 100 exx. \; μέν 4 exx. \; μέν γάρ VC 4 exx. \; μέν οὖν 3 exx. \; δέ (transitional) 4 exx. \; misc. 3 exx.}

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\[\text{πι\text{ρ: \; ἱρεύς VC 68.}}\]
NOTES ON THE ARMENIAN TEXT OF PHILO'S
QUAESTIONES IN GENESIN, BOOKS I–III
RALPH MARCUS

Most students of ancient Greek philosophy are aware of the fact that Philo's commentary on Genesis and Exodus, commonly known as *Quaestiones et solutiones in Genesin et Exodum*, has been preserved only in an Armenian translation. It is true that we have a good many quotations from the Greek text in patristic catenae and in Procopius, but these fragments make up only a small part of the whole work. Many of the Greek fragments, moreover, are paraphrases rather than literal quotations. We must therefore rely primarily upon the ancient Armenian version for our knowledge of this work.

It is the merit of J. B. Aucher, the learned Mechitarist of the early nineteenth century, to have published the Armenian text, together with a Latin translation. Aucher's text is based upon five manuscripts, the oldest of which dates from the thirteenth century (see his *Philonis Judaei paralipomena Armena...* [Venetis, 1826], pp. i–ii). In recent years Dr. Hans Lewy of Jerusalem had collected material in European and Anatolian libraries for a new critical edition of the Armenian text, but unfortunately he died before publishing it. Aucher's edition, therefore, remains our chief authority for the text of the *Quaestiones*.

In making an English translation of Aucher's Armenian text for the “Loeb Classical Library,” I have tried to improve upon his Latin rendering and have retranslated into Greek words and phrases that have philosophical or theological importance. These retranslations are based partly upon my Armenian-Greek Index to the *Quaestiones* and *De vita contemplativa*, published in the *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, LIII (1933), 251–82; partly upon the lexical material in Hans Leisegang's *Index Philonis* (Berlin, 1926) and in my own notebooks; and very largely upon the great Mechitarist dictionary edited by Avedikean, Siurmelean, and Aucher (Venice, 1836–37), which contains the Greek equivalents of many Armenian words found in the writings of ancient Armenian translators. Through the reconstruction of the lost Greek original it has been possible to correct the Armenian text or to improve upon Aucher's Latin rendering in many places. This is not meant to be a criticism of Aucher's work but merely a reminder that, when reconstruction of the original is possible, it often clears up obscurities in an ancient translation.

The present selection of textual notes covers the first three books, about half of the *Quaestiones in Genesin*. To save expense in printing, the Armenian words are transliterated in accordance with the system used by A. Meillet in his *Altarmenisches Elementarbuch* (Heidelberg, 1912) but with the following changes: z for j; ɿ for his velar l; j for j; r for ɭ. The text of the *Quaestiones in Genesin* (abbr. “QG”) is referred to by book and section number as in Aucher's edition.

QG i. 46 on Gen. 3:12–13 (Aucher, p. 30): * SNDER AYRN ASÉ KÍNN ET ING I ÊYËT ÒN EW KERI, ISK KÍNN TÉ ÖZN OÇ ET AYL*, etc. Aucher: Quare vir dicit, Mulier dedit mihi
de ligno et edi; mulier autem, quod serpens non dedit sed, etc. The context shows that ὁ et is misplaced and belongs before τὸ. We should therefore render: “the woman did not say that the serpent gave it to me, but, etc.”

QG i. 69 on Gen 4:9 (Aucher, p. 47): ἑρνουτ-εαν ἐν ἀνιρωσουτ-εαν ἐν ἀνωνας ἐν ἀγρασουσουτ-εαν. Aucher: violentiae, injuriae, et homicidio. For ἀνωνας, which would render ὡμολογία or the like, we should read ἀνακανας, which would render ἑπιβούλα.

QG i. 76 on Gen 4:15 (Aucher, p. 50): ἀνάπακ ἄρχ. Aucher: pavores meri. But here ἀνάπακ renders ἁρπάτωσ, not in the sense of “unmixed” but in the sense of “violent.”

QG i. 87 on Gen. 5:29 (Aucher, p. 60): ὁ Ἱαυραμπαρ σρόπην ἁρτοπαρὲβαλ. Aucher: non nisi gravi de causa sanctorum patres prophetarunt. Instead of “sanctorum patres,” he should have rendered “sancti patres.”

QG ii. 5 on Gen. 6:15–16 (Aucher, p. 81): est κ-αράνκιουνον βνούτ-εαν. Aucher inadvertently renders κ-αράνκιουνον as “trianguli” instead of “quadranguli.” The same mistake occurs further on in this section.

QG ii. 7 on Gen. 6:16 (Aucher, p. 84): κ-άνζι δούγην ἔνδ κερακος ἐν γαμπελεα i ver toveal lini. Aucher: siquidem exigua quaedam ex cibo et potu sensum exhibetur. He has failed to note that here i ver toveal lini renders ἀναβόλων in the physiological sense “is distributed” (through the body).


QG ii. 11 on Gen. 7:1 (Aucher, p. 90): σκ-ανζελί ἐν ἐκ νίνι ἀγορικτίν γαραγαγοῦν. Aucher: mirificum est et quod interea ad-ditur. This rendering misses the point of Philo’s remark that in Scripture the words “in this generation” follow the words “thee have I seen righteous.” We should therefore render: “And it is remarkable that what follows this is placed first.”

QG ii. 12 on Gen. 7:2–3 (Aucher, p. 92): αὐγ. ἐρκαραξ. Aucher: caeteros longos (numeros). The Greek had ἐπερωμέας (ἀρμομαί), meaning “oblong” numbers, i.e., those produced by multiplying unequal factors.

QG ii. 15 on Gen. 7:4 (Aucher, p. 98): lowanal znits kamescoun-z zgaliis amenoyn ew zmarmnakah oroes palarabar bocele línèr. Aucher: abluere velimis sensibilita omnia ac corporalia, quibus intellectus infectus erat sicut ulceribus tumidis. The reference to ulcers is strange. The original probably had κηλίς, “stain,” which was corrupted to or mistaken for κηλή, “ulcer.”

QG ii. 17 on Gen. 7:11 (Aucher, p. 99): xor sovorout-irn ὑ κοξel nowirsaksak. Aucher: quem solent vocare annum sacram. But nowirsamak does not mean “sacred year”; it renders ἐρωμεία, the period introduced by the new year.

QG ii. 34 on Gen. 8:6 (Aucher, p. 114): ἰςξαν ἀραξνώτσι xorhrodoyn. Aucher: principi consiliorum. The original, as in the extant Greek fragment, was ἡγεμών λογισμοί, a familiar Stoic term in Philo.

QG ii. 42 on Gen. 8:11 (Aucher, p. 120): i st azaoun. Aucher: ramum gracilem. But the rendering “dry stick” (LXX: κάρφος) is called for.

QG ii. 48 on Gen. 8:15–16 (Aucher, p. 128): ἀσάξ τῆς astowac. Aucher: dixit Deus. He should have rendered: “dixit Dominus Deus.” Philo here agrees with LXX against Hebrew, which has only “God.”

QG ii. 50 on Gen. 8:20 (Aucher, p. 131): ἵσξ or koxyn mny πτ karg aperaax t. Aucher: qui vero cunctatur expectant ordinem, ingratus est. Aucher’s rendering is literally correct, but the Armenian text
is at fault. The original obviously had πρόστατον, which was misread as two words, πρὸς τὰξιν. We should therefore render: “But one who waits for a command is ungrateful.”

QG ii. 55 on Gen. 8:22 (Aucher, p. 137): k’anzi boçagoyn ę ashounn. Aucher: nam flammus est autumnus. Aucher’s rendering is literally correct, but boçagoyn makes no sense here. We should emend it to baçagoyn, which renders διάστημα ἕχων; cf. Quis rer. div. heres 165, where Philo speaks of the “divider” (ῥομείος) of the seasons.

Ibid.: zi spasawor linin artak’oyk’n marmnoys. isk marmnoys ogwoy. isk mlacn astonawacay. Aucher: haec enim externa servient corpori, corpus autem animo, animus Deo. This rendering obscures the distinction between ogi = ψυχή and mitk’ = νοῦς. We should render: “For the external (goods) are serviceable to the body, and those of the body to the soul, while those of the mind (are serviceable) to God.”

QG ii. 56 on Gen. 9:1 (Aucher, p. 139): yet awourç cndeann boloreçoun. Aucher: postque generationem universorum. He inadvertently omits awourç, “days.” We should render: “after the days of the genesis of all creatures.”

QG ii. 57 on Gen. 9:3 (Aucher, p. 140): k’anzi ar hešt çankout’iun æ xi lini berkout’iun. Aucher: Apud enim affectum concupiscentiae erunt gaudium et laetitia. In this sentence and in the following Philo contrasts each good passion with its corresponding evil one; ar here = παρά, “in contrast to,” rather than “apud,” as Aucher renders it throughout the section.

QG ii. 59 on Gen. 9:4 (Aucher, p. 143): baiç sakayn ew yareann ogwoy zekouwac. Aucher: Verum et per spiritum sanguinis notificat. Here the context requires us to read, as the Greek fragment actually does, ἐν αἵματι ψυχῆς. The rendering should be “in the blood of the life”—a biblical concept.

Ibid.: sarouççal vsan helq plergout’-eān ev xonaw kenaç. Aucher: rigesecens ob segniitem vitamque humidam. This does not do full justice to the metaphorical use of xonaw = νηρός; cf. De vita contemplativa 147. We should render the last two words: “a soft life.”

Ibid.: isk džndak ev tažandoj ogin. Aucher: anima vero dira, malis laborans. Obviously the Armenian translator took μοχθηρά or σωµηρά in the sense of “laboring” rather than “wicked.”

QG ii. 64 on Gen. 9:13–17 (Aucher, p. 148): aramazday göti. The “girdle of Aramazd” is, of course, the rainbow. The Greek must have had ἱψις.

QG ii. 75 on Gen. 9:26 (Aucher, p. 160): local and nma ew zaškarhis masouns and zröut’-iuns lēqrmn ew astowacayn. Aucher: junctis itidem partibus quoque mundi cum virtutibus Domini et Dei. But here Philo speaks of the parts of the world being joined with the wise man by the powers of God, not with the powers of God. We should therefore correct Aucher’s rendering to “junctis . . . cum eo virtutibus, etc.”

QG ii. 79 on Gen. 10:1 (Aucher, p. 164): oróci diurombrnelin çank ev pahpanout’-iun ouñér hōragoyn xrapahanin zröut’-iun. Aucher: faciliter enim observare semper accedit ei fortiori custodis vi. But here çank means not “always” but “barrier.” We should therefore render: “For the barrier and guarding of this is held by a more powerful guard.”

QG iii. 3 on Gen. 15:9 (Aucher, p. 170): vsan zi zhandipolout’iun ev zdipolobanout’-iun zkarcis ñdouni zenakann ev gita- kann amenayn. Aucher: quoniam convenienti et coaptatum verbum opinionemque receptit immolatio et omnis scientia. This rendering is inaccurate, partly because Aucher fails to recognize that
 endemic here, and often elsewhere, renders ἀπόδειξηθα, “to be interpreted.” We should render: “Since the sacrificial act is to be interpreted as conjecture and opportune reasoning and all (kinds of) knowledge.”

QG iii. 7 on Gen. 15:11 (Aucher, p. 179): bayç jarmañel ev patšaçel xandraçeløy hattouçfound kšrealk zėsmariñ nmanout-enan xorhrdovk. Aucher: opus est tamen coaptare renditionem rationis, perpensa veritate sub mysterio similitudinis. But xandraçeløy here = ἴδηνσας, not “ratio,” and xorhrdovk here = λογίσμος, not “mysterium.” We should therefore render: “But we must harmoniously fit the answer to the question by weighing the truth of the comparison in our reason.”

QG iii. 19 on Gen. 16:1 (Aucher, p. 191): ew i żern neršjanakačen gelaparhè. Aucher: et per encyclica pulcras choreas agitat. But gelaparhè here renders χοργεῖ. We should therefore translate: “and lavishly provides for us through school studies.”

QG iii. 23 on Gen. 16:5 (Aucher, p. 194): isk teseal etē yli ē anargićay araji nora. Aucher: Nunc autem quia vidit se concepisse, spreta sum coram ea. This rendering is misleading since the Armenian, like the LXX, makes “seeing” (part.) refer to Sarah, the subject of the main verb, not to Hagar, as does the Hebrew.

Ibid. (Aucher, p. 195): minçew hatiç iraç i veray hasel astowacayinn ban. Aucher: donec superveniens acutus judex rerum, verbum divinum. Here we should render hatiç more literally as “cutter” = τομεῖς, a name given by Philo to the Logos, as in Quod rer. div. heres 226.

QG iii. 34 on Gen. 16:13 (Aucher, p. 204): zi żiurn zdimaç ırs i veray yarmaçeoucsč. Aucher: ut personae propriae rem (ipsi) adaptaret. This rendering leaves i veray unexplained. Perhaps we should emend yarmaçeoucsč to hamaresč and render: “in order that she might consider the reality as more important than the appearance.”

QG iii. 45 on Gen. 17:8 (Aucher, pp. 216–17): k’añzi gawar ē nora arpi ev erkin ev gafout erkir. Aucher: patria enim ejus est aether et caelum, colonia autem terra. While this rendering is correct, since gafout = ἀπωκία, still the word here seems to have the meaning of (its probable base) Hebrew gālūth, namely, “exile.”

QG iii. 48 on Gen. 17:12 (Aucher, p. 219): ὁ γίταçeal mahkanaçovi mardoys yanmahout-iun próxeal linē. Aucher: nesciente mortali homine, in immortalitatem transmutetur. A more accurate rendering is: “Man would not be known as mortal but would be changed into immortality.”

Ibid.: erkir ap i holmout kolmans. Aucher: partium terrae serenae. This rendering must be a slip. We must render: “in windy regions of the earth.”

Ibid. (Aucher, p. 222): k’añzi orpès i hrašmanout-enan amene+k-in or tesanîn anšounék isk or zjisln pndē antesanélī ē. Aucher: Quoniam sicut in mira similitudine omnia quae videntur inanimata sunt, quod vero nervos corroborat invisible quidem est. Unfortunately, Aucher did not see through the obscure Armenian text to the Greek in the two key words, hrašmanout-enan and the compound zjisln pndē; the former renders θαύμα in the sense of “puppet show,” as in Quod omnis probus 5, and the latter renders νεωσσατεί. The original meaning must have been: “For, as in a puppet show, all those things which are seen are inanimate, while that which causes them to move like puppets is invisible.”

QG iii. 49 on Gen. 17:12 (Aucher, p. 224): i żern arajnoy dōż-nekin. Aucher: per primum quidem sexturn. This is an inadvertent error for “septimurn.”
QG iii. 55 on Gen. 17:17 (Aucher, p. 230): *ew ankanin est masin sok-a i zer\n oroy bnawore\cw kangel. Aucher: Cadunt autem aliquatenus isti qui consueverunt surgere. The context requires the slight emendation of sok-a to sora and the rendering: "And they fall with respect to that part through which they are wont to be raised up."

QG iii. 56 on Gen. 17:17 (Aucher, p. 232): *ard sa a\rajin asas\ci tesov\ac i t\rov\nean \or\xen\sn entana\xce\al. Aucher: Haec itaque prima dicatur theoria (visio) in sacra lege familiaris. The Armenian text (like Aucher's rendering) is unintelligible, but a parallel in De mutatione nominum 190 enables us to correct a corruption of the Greek original. Tesowac renders \xwpia, but this must here have been a corruption of \xwopa. And entana\xce\al is the participle not of the verb rendering oikeo\xthai but of its homonym, which renders sy\ermari\xg\s. The original meaning therefore was: "The former, therefore, is called a 'sown aroura.'"

QG iii. 57 on Gen. 17:18 (Aucher, p. 233): karce\xck-. Aucher: per conjecturam. But karce\xck- here means "symbolically" (\vin i\xvoi\xsh).

QG iii. 58 on Gen. 17:19 (Aucher, p. 233): xostovanout\xciuns . . . gaynap\xse\s \xar\xan ouraxout\xen\xen. Aucher: confessio . . . plena manifeste pura laetitia. Here ouraxout\xen\xen makes no sense; it is obviously a scribal error for ouraxout\xen\xen = \xwnp\xsh, which is also found in the Greek fragment. We should render: "this agreement is clearly without denial."

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