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## AN OLD ARMENIAN VERSION OF JOSEPHUS.

In the year 1787 was printed in Constantinople an Armenian volume of 496 pages thus inscribed on the title-page :

'The book of history (*lit.* histories) of Josephus, the Hebrew, about the war of the Jews with the Romans and the destruction of Jerusalem. Translated from the Latin tongue into Armenian by one Stevanus Ilowatzi [i.e. of Lemburg], a servant of God's word.'

A further title-page follows, on which Stephanus is described as ' a pious coenobite of the holy See, a learned doctor, the noble-minded and sincere translator, in the year of the Armenians 1109' (= A.D. 1660).

And this paragraph is added :

'This actual volume was printed and published from an accurate manuscript of the above translator at the luminous throne of Edsch-miatsin, by the sublime command of the lord Lukas, holy Catholicos of all the Armenians in the seventh year of his Patriarchate.

'And in the Pontificate of holy Jerusalem and Constantinople, of the lord Yovakim and the lord Zachariah, divinely-wise Vardapets and Archbishops.

'At the press of St Gregory our Illuminator,
'in the year of the Lord 1787, and in our reckoning 1236.'

This Stephen was born in Poland, but migrated back to Armenia, and many of his productions still adorn the shelves of the Patriarchal library of Edschmiatsin. They include a great Armeno-Latin lexicon, a translation of Aristotle's Metaphysics often copied, a translation of Dionysius Areopagita,[1] of Lives of the Fathers called *The Mirror of Life*,[2] of the *Liber Causarum* of Proclus.

At the end of our volume of Josephus are several colophons. The first of them is one added to Stephanus's own copy of his version by his knightly friend Yohan (John) of the village of Kartschavan, rebuilder of St John Baptist's Convent of Aprakuniq in the canton of Erndschak. This Yohan relates that having often heard of Josephus, he persuaded Stephanus to translate his works, and that he himself retained as a keep-sake the translator's autograph copy.

In a second colophon the editors of the book declare that the older version of Josephus attested by Yohan had perished in the invasion of Tamerlane and was nowhere to be found. Wherefore Stephanus had

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[1] This is a revision of an older eighth-century version made by Stephen of Siunik.
[2] Translated from Polish.

retranslated it in the time of Philip Catholicus. 'When we began' continues this colophon 'to print it, although there reached our hands copies by other scribes, some accurate and some defective, we only compared (sic) the single exemplar of the work and from that exemplar took the text here printed, from the manuscript, to wit, which Stephanus Ilowatzi the wardapet wrote with his own hand, and which lay in the library of the holy See of Edschmiatsin. . . . Minas the archbishop read the exemplar of the book, simplified confused passages in the text, and in the long paragraphs separated each sentence by a capital letter.' In another passage the editors write thus: 'This author (Josephus) was translated in ancient times by our early wardapets into our language and script for its utility and to supplement our knowledge of divine writ, and we possessed it of old as our wardapet Yohan of Kartschavan says in his colophon, and as we see some holy words adduced in testimony by our holy wardapets of old, as for example by Saint Gregory [1340–1411] of Dathev and others. But in the course of the trials and troubles brought on our land by Lank Thamur, the devastator of the world, and other ancients this book was lost with other valuable and useful monuments of our literature. And nowadays it is nowhere to be found.'

It has been assumed by all who have worked at Armenian literature that these colophons are reliable, that the old translation of Josephus was really lost, and that the published text of 1787 is merely a seventeenth-century version of Rufinus's Latin. Some years ago, however, I had occasion to compare it with the Greek text, especially for the account of the Essenes, and was so struck by the classical idiom and purity of the language, that I asked my friend Dr Baronean to seek out citations of Josephus in old Armenian writers for comparison with the printed text, which—as he had never seen it—I lent him. He wrote to me a little before his death that it was cited by Moses of Khoren, but he did not specify in what passages. Following his clue I have detected several passages in which this romancer, who wrote as some hold about 700, but as I myself believe before 500, weaves whole sentences of this version into his text. Two examples will suffice :

| Moses, bk. II ch. 19. | Josephus, *B.J.* I ch. 2 § 3 foll. |
|---|---|
| Իրրև եւեա Հիւրկանոս Հրէից | Ի՛նդ Հիւրկանու և փասայե_ |
| . . . եթէ զզօրս Հրոմայեցւոց | լոսի կռուին. . . . զա«ննեւեա»ծ |
| փախստական արարեալ, զումանս | ի փախուսա զարձյց զումա»ե ի |
| ի ձոյ, զումանս ի քաղաքս, խա_ | քաղաքն զումանս ի տաճարն և |
| զադուծեամբ ընդ երկիրն ան_ | զայս ի ձորն վերշին փակեաց : |
| ցանէր բարգավիրան . . . առաքէ | Ոյսժամ անտիզնոս ինդրեաց |

յերուսաղեմ հանդերձ հեծելա-
զօրու, իբր թէ ի պատճառս
խաղաղութեան, բայց ի գաղտ-
նիս օգնել անտիգոնեայ ... և
տակառապետին դաւով խրատ
տուեալ Հիրկանու 'զի առ բարձ-
րավրան երրիցէ վասն աւերա-
ծոյ աշխարհին ...

առ բարձրավրան ի ծովեզրն ի
գեօղն որ կոչի եբութաղոն ։

Եւ բարձրավրան խորամանկ-
կութեամբ պատուէր գնաստ. և
ինքն յանկարծակի գնացեալ
անտի մնացելոց գօրացն Հրամա(ն)
տայր ի բուն առնուլ գնաստ ...

Եւ բարձրավրանայ Հրաման
տուեալ տակառապետին Հայոց
յերուսաղեմ դՀերովդէս որսա-
իկ տակառապետն եղեալ ար-
տաքս քան զպարիսպն դՀերու-
դէս պատրէլ զոր չառեալ
յանձն Հերովդի, այլ չ կալ ի
քաղաքին երկուցեալ ի պատառ-
մանէ անտիգոնեանցն, իգիշերի
ի ծածուկ ընդանեօքն հանդերձ
առ եղոմայեցիս փախչէր.

զպակարոս իբր ի պատճառս
խաղաղութեան ... դպարթեն
հանդերձ եծ հեծելով ի քաղաքն
ՀիւրբնկալուԹք ընկալաւ. որ
եկեալ էր իբր թէ Հանոզել զն
ի խաղաղութիւն, բայց իսկա-
պէս օգնել անտիգոնեայ ։ Ապա
փասպելոսի դաւով խրատ ետու,
զի առ բարզավրան Հրեշտակու-
թեամբ երրիցէ վասն խաղա-
ղութեան

և նոքա գնացեալ ի տեղի ինչ
ծովեզերեայ որ կոչի եքտիպոն
դղաւն իմացան.

Եւ բազավրան խորամանկու-
Թեամբ Հրաժարէր ... և ինքն
յանկարծակի գնաց անտի առ
պակորոս, մնացելոց գօրացն
Հրաման տուեալ ի բուն առ
նուլ զփասպելոս և դՀիւրկա-
նոս ...

ապա տակառապետն
Հրաման առեալ դՀերովդէս որ-
սալ ջանայր պատրէլ զնա զի
եղանիցէ տրտաքս քան զպարի-
սպն ... ոչ էառ յանձն արտաքս
եղանել ... Հերովդէս ի գիշերի
Հանդերձ ընտանեօք և բարե-
կամօք իւրովք յերկիրն եզովմա-
յեցող անգիտելով Թշնամեացն
փախստեայ գնաց.

I add one shorter example out of many equally available.

| Moses, bk. II ch. 25. | Josephus, bk. I ch. 21 § 11 (425) |
|---|---|
| Որք թեալ զՀրապարակս ananadpwgng քան վանւու երկայնուβեաup յատակեաց սպիտակ կճառ յատակօք, զի ուխտաորp յատակացն դիւրա– գդյս կարգեցեն առ ոչ ինչ վնաս առնել քաղաքին ։ (Այց . . . | Ոչ ապաքեն ատրուց ꭝbpp քաղաքին զանանց և դանկ Հրապարակն ագմայр քան վատաւանաւ երիայնուβեամp յատակեաց սպիտակ կճառ յատակօք. և փողոցիք զար– դարեաց առ ի վանել զուդա անծրեւաց, զի մի ինչ վնաս առնիցեն քաղաքին. թայց . . . |

The so-called history of Armenia by Moses is a romance largely woven together of extracts from all sorts of writers, to whom a Byzantine Armenian of about 500 easily had access in his own tongue or in Greek. It claims for Armenians every exploit awarded in the sources to Syrians, Parthians, or Georgians. In the chapters from which I pick out the above scraps of Josephus he turns the Parthians into good Armenians. It is clear that he had an Armenian version of the *De Bello Iudaico* almost identical with that published in 1787. Even if he wrote as late as 700, the version of Josephus must still be a thousand years older than Stephanus of Lemburg about the year 1660 asserts.

Let us next turn to an old Armenian source, containing long extracts from the text of Josephus. This is the old Armenian version of Eusebius's History, made from the Syriac by Mesrop before A. D. 450—a date admitted by Prof. Merx, Dr Nestle, Mr Norman M⁰Lean, Dr E. Preuschen, and others. These extracts we find to be identical with the corresponding sections of the printed text of 1660, but we must not jump to the conclusion, however natural, that the translator of Eusebius took the text of these extracts from an existing version of Josephus. For as a matter of fact the debt lies the other way, and these extracts are taken from the Armenian Eusebius. It follows that of the two authors, Eusebius and Josephus, the latter was the last to be translated into Armenian, and that his translator, being already familiar with the Armenian Eusebius, saved himself trouble, when he came upon these excerpts, by just copying them out from it. A single example suffices. I give first the version of Rufinus, then Dr Nestle's accurate version of the old Syriac, and lastly, in parallel columns, a Latin version of the Armenian printed text and the Greek.

*B. J.* V 10 § 2 :—

Ditioribus quidem manere etiam sicut profugere, par causa erat per-
eundi : nam quasi transfugere voluisset, propter patrimonium quisque
occidebatur. Cum fame autem crescebat desperatio seditiosorum, et in
dies singulos utrumque malum amplius accendebatur. Et palam quidem
nulla erant frumenta, irrumpentes autem scrutabantur domos. Et
siquidem invenissent aliquid, eos qui negaverant verberabant ; si vero
nihil invenissent, quasi diligentius celavissent, tormentis itidem afficie-
bant. Habendi autem argumento erant corpora miserorum, cum ea
quae solidis viribus starent, abundare putarentur, tabidi autem trans-
figebantur : nec rationis esse videbatur, statim fame morituros occidere.

*Die Kirchengeschichte des Eusebius* aus dem Syrischen übersetzt
von Eberhard Nestle (Leipzig, 1901) bk. iii ch. 6 = Josephus *De Bello
Iud.* V 10 § 2 :—

Denjenigen, welchen ein Besitz war, war zu bleiben oder umzu-
kommen gleich für sie. Unter dem Vorwand nämlich, den sie einem
(*A* gegen einen) andichteten, als ob er an die Römer ausliefern wollte,
kam er um wegen seines Besitztums. Und mit dem Hunger wurde
auch die Frechheit der Aufwiegler stark, und jeden Tag entflammten
sich diese zwei Übel. Weizen aber wurde offen auch an keinem Orte
mehr gesehen. Sie sprangen nämlich und traten ein und durchsuchten
die Häuser. Und wenn sie etwas fanden bei einigen und leugnend,
schlugen sie sie, und wenn sie nichts fanden, so folterten sie sie als
Leute, die aus Not verborgen hätten. Der Beweis aber (*A* nämlich),
ob einem etwas war oder nicht, war das Aussehen der Leiber der
Kranken. Und diejenigen von ihnen, deren Leiber feststanden,
galten als solche, deren Nahrung reichlich sei ; zu töten aber diejenigen,
die vor ihrem Hunger nahe waren zu sterben, das war ohne Gedanke.

| Armenian Edition of 1787. | Greek Text of Niese. |
|---|---|

Quicunque habebant possessi-
ones, manere atque perdi par erat
illis. nam per praetextum quem con-
cinnabant in accusationem quam
intentabant hominibus, quasi ad
Romanos manum uelit dare, per-
debatur ille propter possessiones
eorum. Ac secundum famem
( + etiam) audacia conturbatorum
inualescebat, et in dies singulos
duo mala ista ⟨magis magisque⟩
accendebantur. Frumentum autem
palam omnino nullibi apparebat,
quia celeriter ibant intrabantque

Τοῖς γε μὴν εὐπόροις καὶ τὸ μένειν
πρὸς ἀπώλειαν ἴσον ἦν· προφάσει γὰρ
αὐτομολίας ἀνῃρεῖτό τις διὰ τὴν
οὐσίαν. τῷ λιμῷ δ᾽ ἡ ἀπόνοια τῶν
στασιαστῶν συνήκμαζε, καὶ καθ᾽
ἡμέραν ἀμφότερα προσεξεκαίετο τὰ
δεινά· φανερὸς μὲν γὰρ οὐδαμοῦ
σῖτος ἦν, ἐπεισπηδῶντες δὲ διηρεύνων
τὰς οἰκίας, ἔπειθ᾽ εὑρόντες μὲν ὡς
ἀρνησαμένους ᾐκίζοντο, μὴ εὑρόντες
δ᾽ ὡς ἐπιμελέστερον κρύψαντας ἐβα-
σάνιζον. τεκμήριον δὲ τοῦ τ᾽ ἔχειν
καὶ μὴ τὰ σώματα τῶν ἀθλίων, ὧν
οἱ μὲν ἔτι συνεστῶτες εὐπορεῖν τροφῆς

domos et cellaria ( + et peruestiga-
bant) et scrutabantur. Et siquidem
apud aliquem aliquid inuenirent,
( + et) qui negabant, uerberabant
plagis crudelitatis. Si uero nihil
inuenirent( + apud hominem),*quasi*
propter famem ⟨diligentia⟩ celauis-
sent, immanibus ⟨itidem⟩ tormentis
cruciabant illos. At argumentum
( + demonstratiuum)*habendi aliquid
uel non habendi corpora* miserorum
*erant.* Cum qui ( + cunque) ex illis
erant corporibus ( + suis) ⟨fortes⟩,
opinione uiderentur quod cibus
abundans esset illis. ⟨Marcescentes
autem corpore trucidati sunt,⟩ *et*
occidere eos qui fame propinqui
erant morti ⟨non erat discretio⟩.

ἐδόκουν, οἱ τηκόμενοι δὲ ἤδη ταρα-
δεύοντο, καὶ κτείνειν ἄλογον ἐδόκει
τοὺς ὑπ᾽ ἐνδείας τεθνηξομένους αὐτίκα.

In rendering into Latin the Armenian text printed in 1787 I have
enclosed in angular brackets, thus ⟨...⟩, matter omitted in the Armenian
version of Eusebius, and have added in round brackets, thus ( + ...),
matter added in that version. Also words italicized are differently
rendered in that version, e.g. for *quasi* it involves *qui*; and for *habendi*
to *corpora ... erant* it involves *si esset cuiusuis aliquid siue non esset,
species corporis ... erat*—in closer agreement with its Syriac original. In
these two changes we trace the influence of the old translator of Josephus
adapting to the Greek a version made from Syriac, for the Greek runs
τοῦ τ᾽ ἔχειν καὶ μή. The change cannot be ascribed to Stephanus of
Lemburg, for the Latin of Rufinus, which he used, is less close to the
Greek : *habendi autem argumento erant corpora.* To him, however, must
be reckoned the addition of the words *magis magisque*, for Rufinus
rendered *amplius accendebantur.* On the other hand, the change *quasi
... diligentia* exactly renders ὡς ἐπιμελέστερον, and so may be assigned
to the early translator who had the Greek before him rather than to
Stephanus, although here the latter found *quasi diligentius* in Rufinus's
version. To the latter, however, must certainly be ascribed the intro-
duction of *itidem* which has no equivalent in the Greek text. *Fortes*
must belong to the original Armenian version of the Syriac Eusebius,
but is wanting in the MSS. The words *Marcescentes autem corpore
trucidati sunt* are lost in the Syriac Eusebius, and so absent from the
Armenian version of it. They have been added from the Greek text
by the fifth-century translator of Josephus, as also have been the words

*non erat discretio,* though these words are an inadequate rendering of ἄλογον ἐδόκει, which Rufinus turns *nec rationis esse videbatur.*

Thus for these sections of Josephus which appear in Eusebius we can detect in the printed edition of 1787 three layers of translation, viz. these :—

1. An accurate version of the Syriac, proper to the translator of Eusebius.

2. Modifications of this and additions adjusting it to the Greek, due to the early translator from the Greek of Josephus.

3. Further modifications and additions made in 1660 by Stephanus of Lemburg from the Latin of Rufinus.

In the sections contained in Eusebius we have a fair criterion of how far Stephanus in 1660 remodelled the older Armenian text from the Latin. His industry was fitful and, fortunately, seldom excessive. Still it is enough to prejudice the printed text as a witness to the Greek original. For wherever we open the book we find perhaps six lines palpably translated in the fifth or sixth century from the Greek, but in the seventh a turn of the sentence or a phrase as clearly taken from Rufinus. Very often the words are those of the old version, but the sentence has been remoulded after the Latin.

The editors of 1787 assert that they had other MSS of the Armenian version, but rejected them in favour of the autograph copy of Stephanus. Those other copies probably contained the unaltered older text, and it is much to be desired that Armenians should make a search in their libraries and try to find the uncontaminated text of one of the noblest monuments of their fifth-century literature. A copy of the older text is known to have been lost in a shipwreck off the Cape in 1832, together with hundreds of other Armenian codices which were on their way from Madras to San Lazaro. Among these was a complete ancient version of Irenaeus.

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