

ROBERTO RADICE AND DAVID T. RUNIA

PHILO OF ALEXANDRIA

AN ANNOTATED BIBLIOGRAPHY
1937-1986



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AND LANGUAGE

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PHILO OF ALEXANDRIA

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1937-1986

BY

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TO

MARIA LUISA
MARIA ANNA ALLEGONDA

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PREFACE

This bibliography, which the authors hope will become an instrument of great usefulness for all scholars working in the areas of Philonic and related studies, has had a complex history of development, further details of which will be furnished in the Introduction. It goes without saying that the authors and collaborators could not have produced a work of this kind without incurring debts of gratitude to a large number of persons and institutions.

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Luino, Italy
Soest, Netherlands
July 1988

Roberto Radice
David T. Runia

INTRODUCTION

1. Genesis and aim of the bibliography
2. Method of compilation and analysis
3. Division of labour
4. Brief observations on fifty years of Philonic scholarship

1. *Genesis and aim of the bibliography*

In 1983 Roberto Radice published an annotated bibliography of Philonic scholarship under the title *Filone di Alessandria: bibliografia generale 1937-1982*.¹ On its appearance the work was critically acclaimed as a truly valuable instrument for all those who wish to consult and find their way through the extensive scholarly literature on the life, writings and thought of Philo of Alexandria.² In some quarters, however, it was felt that the fact that the work was written in Italian might restrict its circulation and usefulness to some degree.³ The growing cultural imperialism of the English language in the world of scholarship is a force that has to be reckoned with. At the beginning of 1986 David Runia suggested to the author that the work be translated into English and brought up to date so that it would cover exactly half a century of Philonic studies, from 1937 to 1986. The suggestion was welcomed; the present volume is the result of a close cooperation between the two scholars.

As Radice explains in his Introduction to the Italian edition, the year 1937 was deliberately chosen as starting-point. For in 1938 H. G. Goodhart and E. R. Goodenough published their well-known *General Bibliography of Philo Judaeus*, a virtually complete record of studies on Philo up to the year 1937.⁴ Since the record for 1937-38 in Goodhart and Goodenough was naturally far from complete, it seemed wise to have a year of overlap. Hence the starting date chosen by Radice. The method that he pursued, however, differed radically from that of his famous predecessors. The American scholars had first devoted a lengthy section to a complete listing of all manuscripts containing Philonic texts, 386 in number. This work did

¹ Published by Bibliopolis in the series Elenchos: Collana di testi e studi sul pensiero antico (Naples 1983).

² See the reviews listed under **1113** in this volume.

³ Cf. the remarks of D. T. Runia in *VChr* 39 (1985) 190, *NTT* 40 (1986) 187 (for the abbreviations see the list immediately following the Introduction).

⁴ Published by Yale University Press (New Haven 1938) (see our **1001**). Note that this work is often referred to as Goodenough's Bibliography, even though strictly speaking Goodhart is the first author. The fact that it is included as a kind of Appendix to a monograph by Goodenough may have contributed to this development.

not need to be redone. After an extensive section on translations, they divided all their remaining entries into a further 31 sections, which between them covered all aspects of Philo and his relation to other fields of scholarship. Within these sections the bibliographical items were listed in chronological order; their contents could only be surmised from the listing and the information provided in the title. This method has since been continued by E. Hilgert in his splendid 'Bibliographia Philoniana 1935-1981', published in 1984.⁵ The method chosen by Radice, in contrast, was to present a 'bibliographie raisonnée' giving a brief account of the contents for each item that the bibliography contains. The precise contours and constraints of this method will be outlined in the following section.

In his monumental critical bibliography *Josephus and modern scholarship (1937-1980)*, L. H. Feldman declares that 'there is hardly an author for whom we have such exhaustive bibliographies as for Philo'.⁶ This is true, as a glance at our section on bibliographies will confirm.⁷ Nevertheless the authors are convinced that the current work can justify its existence. This for three distinct but interrelated reasons.

Firstly, during the past half-century, but especially during the past two decades, there has been an explosive growth of scholarly production in Philonic studies. We shall document this growth in more detail in the Brief observations on fifty years of Philonic scholarship presented later in this Introduction. But, anticipating that discussion somewhat, we can say that in 50 years there have been 1666 separate studies pertaining in some way to Philo. This is considerably more than the 1120 studies which Goodhart and Goodenough collected for the entire period up to 1937.⁸ In the last twenty years alone no less than 1045 studies have dwelt on Philo in some way or other, and have thus gained admission to our bibliography. It is true that such explosive growth has occurred in other areas of scholarship and science.⁹ Nevertheless there are also circumstances peculiar to the study of Philo alone. As Radice stressed in the Introduction to the earlier bibliography, there has in recent years been a 'Philo renaissance', particularly in France and the United States of America, but more recently also in Italy, the Spanish-speaking world and Israel, which has led to a remarkable production of translations, instruments of research, and studies of every description. It would appear that Philo, whose corpus of writings is one of

⁵ In *ANRW* II 21.1 (Berlin 1984) 47-97 (see our **1019**).

⁶ Berlin-New York 1984, 412. That this bibliography also commences in 1937 is no coincidence. Feldman had previously compiled an annotated bibliography up till 1962 for both Philo and Josephus, for the former also taking the end of Goodhart-Goodenough as starting-point (see our **1108**).

⁷ See below Part I, section A.

⁸ Counting sections II to XXX only. It is inaccurate to quote 1603 items, as A.-J. Festugière does (*La révélation d'Hermès Trismégiste*, vol. 2 (Paris 1949) 519), for the total number of entries in Goodhart and Goodenough includes manuscripts, mentions of Philo in incunabala, and Pseudo-Philonica.

⁹ Compare the complaints of the bibliographers of Plato and Josephus respectively: L. Brisson, 'Platon 1958-75', *Lustrum* 20 (1977) 6; L. H. Feldman, *op. cit.* (n.8) 2-3.

the largest to survive from the Greco-Roman world, had – relatively speaking – not received as much attention as he deserved, and that once research on him had reached a certain momentum, many scholars jumped on the bandwagon and discovered how interesting he really was.

Moreover, and now we come to our second reason for producing the bibliography, research on Philo has been carried out from a large number of different perspectives. To start with, there are the studies which concentrate on *Philo for his own sake*, e.g. editions and translations, introductory presentations, critical studies of themes and texts and so on. These studies are numerous, but naturally form but a fraction of the whole. Philo can also be seen against the background of the *Greco-Roman culture* – including both classical literature and religion – amid which he, an Alexandrian born and bred, lived his entire life. Two particular facets need to be mentioned separately here. Firstly, Philo's relation to *Greek philosophy* and the later philosophical tradition constructed on the foundations laid by the Greeks. Of particular value is the evidence Philo supplies on the nascent movements of Middle Platonism and Neopythagoreanism. Secondly Philo provides much important material on the *history of the Roman Empire*, in which he himself, as leader of the Alexandrian Jewish embassy to Gaius Caligula, played a minor role. Needless to say he is also an important witness for the contemporary political, social, cultural and religious situation in the *metropolis of Alexandria*. This brings us to the area of Philo's *Judaism*. Neglected for a millenium and a half by the Jewish world, he has now made a spectacular come-back. Numerous studies have been devoted to Philo from the perspective of Jewish thought and history, dwelling not only on the particular nature of Philo's Judaism – whether this be called Hellenistic, Alexandrian, or Diaspora Judaism –, but also comparing him with the mainstream Judaism located in Palestine. During Philo's lifetime a Jew was crucified in Jerusalem. The *Christian movement* that commenced soon afterward was to be of crucial importance for the survival of Philo's writings. Much labour has been expended in determining the relation between Philo's thought and the early Christian documents that constitute the *New Testament*, and also the early Christianity described in those documents. By the late second century A. D. Philo was being extensively studied by Christian intellectuals who laid the basis for what we now call *Patristic thought*. Philo's relation to the Church Fathers has also been an area of extensive research. Finally, since the spectacular find at Nag Hammadi in 1945 there has been a great increase in our knowledge of the *Gnostic movement* which in many ways ran parallel to Christianity until the fourth century. The evidence which Philo supplies on the origin of Gnosticism has also attracted the attention of a number of scholars.

It is surely an impressive list. Philo can be seen as the hub of an axle with spokes leading to at least seven 'encyclical studies', i.e. classical culture, ancient philosophy, Greco-Roman history, Alexandrian and