

Echoes of the *Definitions* Ascribed to Plato in a Medieval Armenian Compendium

▼ **ABSTRACT** A certain Gregory of Jerusalem compiled an Armenian collection of philosophical texts before 1267. The core of the collection (which is a series of 365 definitions pertaining to logic, natural philosophy, ethics, epistemology, and other related fields) is a translation of a lost or yet unknown Greek collection. Some definitions, often giving two or three explanations for the same terms, are ascribed to Plato, Aristotle, and the Stoics. The same definitions are arranged in alphabetic order in another collection called "Philosophical Definitions as Questions". The author of this paper has found parallels for 175 Armenian definitions in works by Plato and Aristotle, as well as in other philosophical and lexicographical texts. 25 definitions have more or less close parallels in the *Ἱερογlossα (Definitions)* attributed to Plato, some being literal translations. These 25 parallel Armenian and Pseudo-Platonic definitions, with English translations, are presented in the article. Three parallels with authentic passages from Plato follow them.


The passage translated from Plato's *Timaeus* differs from the medieval Armenian version of this work. A brief quotation from the latter in the earliest commentary on the Dionysian *Grammar* by a certain David (probably 6th or 7th century) could possibly shed light on its date, much discussed in Armenology.

▼ **KEYWORDS** Gregory of Jerusalem, definitions, philosophical, lost Greek collection, translation, Plato, spurious, parallels.

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1. Introduction

There still remain unpublished and even unexplored major and minor texts in Armenian manuscripts. Some have been published without sufficient involvement of

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existing manuscripts. A recent edition of a series of philosophical definitions is the witness of its lost or still unknown Greek original.

2. The Structure of a Collection of Philosophical Definitions in Armenian

A collection of various philosophical texts compiled by a certain Gregory of Jerusalem is preserved in several Armenian manuscripts (the earliest being M3082, copied in 1267).¹ Some are excerpts with different content from philosophical works, while the main body of the collection consists of a series of philosophical definitions arranged by topic: «Սահմանք փիլիսոփայականք» (“Philosophical Definitions”, 159 entries, see Gregory of Jerusalem 2019, 221–238²), «Բարոյականի յեղանակի սահման» (“Ethical Definitions”, 47 entries, see 239–243), «Սահմանք իմաստասիրականք միջակք» (“Intermediary Philosophical Definitions”, 46 entries, see 244–247), «Բանականի մասին սահմանս» (“Rational Definitions”, 58 entries, see 248–253), «Մասունք մարմնի» (“Parts of the Body”, 22 entries, see 254–255), «Յաղագս տնկոց» (“Concerning Plants”, 13 entries, see 256), and «Նիլուսացոյ» (“From Gregory of Nyssa”, 9 entries, see 257).³ These texts comprise a series of short definitions of logical, epistemological, and natural-scientific terms. Some are ascribed to Plato, Aristotle, and the Stoics, often giving various explanations for the same terms. The names of some other philosophers are also mentioned: “Heraclitus” (in the form Հերակլիտէ), but this name is found already in Aristotle’s definition that has been cited (232), Theophrastus in the form Թէոփրաստէ (240), and Empedocles (256).

The majority of these definitions (335 of 365) were borrowed and arranged in alphabetic order in another text bearing the title: «Սահման իմաստասիրական իբր հարցմամբ» (“Philosophical Definitions as Questions”), although it is not written in the form of questions and answers. It omits the names of Plato, Aristotle, and the Stoics to whom some definitions are ascribed (published in Gregory of Jerusalem 2019, 258–289⁴). This text also contains 84 definitions absent from the collection of Gregory of Jerusalem.

1 The other manuscripts that contain the whole collection and have been used in this edition are: M464 (1731–1734), 189r–215r, M2269 (18th century), 10r–28r, M8132 (18th century); the following contain only parts of it: M1980 (1391), 245r–265r, Pavia, Bibliotheca Universitaria, ms. Aldini 178 (12th and 14th centuries, hereafter Aldini 178), 114v–116v, M8132 (14th century), 177v–182r, M8444 (17th century), 344r–347v, M2041 (before 1676), 344r–347r, M2771 (1701), 498r–503r, M1980 (1381), 269r–286r.

2 Hereafter, only the page numbers of Gregory of Jerusalem 2019 will be indicated.

3 Published in Gregory of Jerusalem 2019. The collection also comprises some minor passages not translated from Greek; these are excerpts from philosophical texts existing in Armenian, partly from David the Invincible’s *Definitions of Philosophy* (the other sources are yet unidentified): “Three definitions of God”, “Concise questions”, “Nature is...” (207–220). From those anonymous texts, only «Սահմանք փիլիսոփայականք» (“Philosophical Definitions”) was published before our edition, with a parallel Russian translation (Arevshatyan 1960). A fragmentary version of the same text was published in Muradyan 2014, 745–747 on the basis of a single manuscript, Aldini 178, which contains about the half of the text.

4 First published in Muradyan 2014, 763–782.

3. The Source of the Armenian Philosophical Definitions

It is impossible to point to a specific Greek source of this Armenian compendium, but parallels for many of those definitions (175 in number) exist in the works of Plato and Aristotle, as well as in other philosophical and lexicographical writings by Antisthenes, Theophrastus, Alexander of Aphrodisias, Aristotle's anonymous commentator, Themistius, John Philoponus, the Neoplatonists Ammonius Saccas, Porphyry, Iamblichus, Simplicius, Olympiodorus, Priscian of Lydia, and the grammarian Dositheus. There are also passages found in works by the Stoic Chrysippus, Plutarch, Philo of Alexandria, the geometer Heron, Andronicus of Rhodes, Galen, Pseudo-Galen, Nemesius of Emesa, and Homer's commentator Eustathius, as well as in the *Stromata* by Clemens of Alexandria, the rhetorical *progymnasmata* by Hermogenes and Athonius, in Pseudo-Zonaras' *Lexicon*, and the *Souda Lexicon*. Ten definitions have parallels in chapter 33 of the *Doctrina patrum de incarnatione verbi* (*Doctrina patrum* 1907, 249–266), and ten more passages are translations of chapter titles from Marcus Asceticus' (5th century) *On Melchizedek*, which are cited in Photius' *Bibliotheca*.

Searching for the mentioned parallels was quite a difficult task. It was necessary to guess the Greek equivalents of the Armenian words and try to find respective passages by using the *TLG* database. In the end, the originals of 124 Armenian definitions still remain unidentified.

Most of the parallel Greek definitions (more or less verbatim), 43 in number, are found in the *Dialectica* and other works by John of Damascus,⁵ and 25 other, in the *Definitions* ("Οροι) ascribed to Plato (Plato 1900).

4. The Definitions Attributed to Plato

The *Anonymous Prolegomena to Platonic Philosophy*, written in late antiquity, lists "Οροι among "spurious" (νόθοι) works, attributing it to Speusippus (Westerink 1962, 26.4), Plato's nephew and successor as Scholarch of the Academy. "Οροι is a dictionary of 185 philosophical terms, probably written in his Academy shortly after his death. Only the terms defined in its first half are arranged according to three branches of philosophy: natural philosophy, ethics, epistemology and philosophy of language, and it is possible to single out various groups by topic. Definitions 1–20 mostly deal with natural philosophical terms ("eternal", "god", "generation", "the sun", "time", etc.). Entries 21–107 are related to ethics (e.g. "virtue", "justice", "temperance", etc.), politics (e.g. "king", "government", "law", "tyrant"), logic (e.g. "sentence", "definition", "proof"), linguistic topics (e.g. "sound", "noun", "syllable"), and gnoseology (e.g. "knowledge"). The second part (entries starting with 108)

⁵ In a number of manuscripts (at least five: M8132, M8444, Aldini 178, J898, V1598), the main section of the collection, the "Philosophical Definitions", immediately follows John of Damascus' *Dialectics* translated from Greek by Bagarat Mamikonean.

contain topics without any order; some terms already commented on in the first part are here explained once more (Hutchinson 1997, 1677–1678).

A similar repertoire of topics is reflected in the title of the Armenian “Philosophical Definitions”, the longest section in the collection of Gregory of Jerusalem and its *de facto* core. This title, in a sense, can be regarded as a prologue to the whole collection: «Սահմանք փիլիսոփայականք՝ սահմանս դներով իմաստասիրականի բանի, այսինքն՝ բնականի բանի, բարոյականի և զամենայն գործ տրամաբանականի, և զնիւթն եռակի ունակութեանք հստեալ և յցեալ ի բնականաց, բարոյականաց, բանականաց սահմանից, բարոք ենթագրել նախ զբանական սահմանս. և ահա ի սահմանէ սկսանելի է» – “Philosophical definitions, setting the definitions of philosophical⁶ reasoning, that is, physics, ethics and all matters of logic, and dividing the material according to threefold practice, and filling it with physical, ethical and logical definitions. It is good to sketch⁷ first the logical definitions. And now one should start with the [definition of the] definition”⁸ (221). The array of topics in the Armenian collection too resembles that of the Pseudo-Platonic *Definitions*.

5. Parallel Passages: “Platonic” Definitions – Armenian Definitions

Below, the Armenian definitions are cited in parallel with the corresponding *Definitions* ascribed to Plato.⁹ Texts differ in the extent to which they resemble the original Greek. There are two explanations for the differences between the texts: either the Greek recension which the Armenian translator used itself differed from the urtext, the Pseudo-Platonic *Definitions*, or they are a result of scribal error/revision.

1 “Philosophical Definitions” [1¹⁰]: «Սահման է ըստ Պիստոնի՝ բան ի սեռէ և ի սարբերութենէ»¹¹ (221) – “A definition, according to Plato, is something

6 Φιլիսոփայական (“philosophical”) is an old loan-word from Greek, while its synonym, իմաստասիրական, is a literal rendering of the same Greek word, used in earlier translations.

7 The word ենթագրել is a calque of ὑπογράφω, used in the Armenian translations of the Hellenizing School (late 5th–early 8th centuries), see David the Invincible 2014, 509, 517, 532.

8 This title could be translated back into Greek: *Ὅροι φιλοσοφικοί, ὄρους τιθέμενοι φιλοσοφικοῦ λόγου, ἤτοι φυσικοῦ λόγου, ἠθικοῦ καὶ πᾶν πρᾶγμα διαλεκτικοῦ, καὶ ἕλην τρισσῆ ἕξει τέμνοντες καὶ πληροῦντες φυσικῶν, ἠθικῶν, λογικῶν ὄρων, καλῶς ὑπογράφειν πρῶτον τοὺς λογικοὺς ὄρους. καὶ ἤδη ἀφ’ ὄρου ἀρκτέον.

9 The English translation of the Pseudo-Platonic definitions is cited from Hutchinson 1997.

10 This and the following are the numbers of entries within specific groups in Gregory of Jerusalem 2019.

11 There is a continuation: « . . . և կամ սարբերութեանց մեկնողական էութեանց բանից իրաց: Իսկ ըստ Արիստոտելի՝ բան որ զինչերն զոյ յայտնելով, զինչ գոյոյ զինչէն հաւասար կարողութեամբ: Իսկ ըստ Չենոնի՝ բան ըստ վերուծութեան կատարողին յառաջ բերեալ» – “or of differences, words explaining the essences of things. And according to Aristotle, something said that designates ‘what was that’; with the meaning of ‘what was’ equal to ‘what is’. And according to Zeno, ‘something that one utters when analysing’”. Cf. ὀρισμός ἐστι λόγος ὁ τὸ τί ἦν εἶναι σημαίνων (Arist. *Top.* 154a.31–32) – “Definition is a sentence designating ‘what was that’”; εἰ γὰρ τὸ ἦν τὸ “ἔστι” σημαίνει, εἴη ἂν ὁ λόγος ὁ τὸ τί ἦν σημαίνων ὁ αὐτὸς τῷ “λόγος ὁ τὸ τί ἐστι σημαίνων” (Antisthenes Fr. 46.4) – “For if ‘was’ designates ‘is’, the phrase ‘what was that’ would be the same as ‘the phrase designating what is that’”. Cf. also “Ὅρος δὲ ἐστιν, ὡς φησιν Ἀντίπατρος ἐν τῷ πρώτῳ Περὶ ὄρων, λόγος κατ’ ἀνάλυσιν ἀπαρτιζόντως ἐκφερόμενος (Diog. Laert. *Vit.* 7.1.60.7–8) – “A definition is, as Antipater says in the first book of *On Definition*, a sentence which, when analysing, one utters in its exact meaning”.

- said, [comprised] of genus and difference”. Cf. “Ὅρος λόγος ἐκ διαφορᾶς καὶ γένους συγκείμενος (Plato 1900, 414d.10) – “Definition: something said, comprised of genus and differentia” (Hutchinson 1997, 1683¹²). The terms *utn* and *uap̄r̄r̄n̄r̄h̄n̄*, used in the earlier translations of the Hellenizing school, are equivalents of *γένος* and *διαφορά*.
- 2 “Philosophical Definitions” [33]: «Երեսը են գգայութիւն դասողական երևելաց» (225) – “Vision is a sense–perception discerning visible things”. Cf. “Ὀψις ἕξις διακριτικὴ σωμάτων (411c.9) – “Vision: the state of being able to discern bodies” (1678).
 - 3 “Philosophical Definitions” [43]: «Յիշումն է փրկութիւն գգայութեանց կամ իմացուածոյ, որպէս Պηասոն»¹³ (226) – “Memory is preservation of sense–perceptions or knowledge, as Plato [says]”. Cf. *Μνήμη διάθεσις ψυχῆς φυλακτικὴ τῆς ἐν αὐτῇ ὑπαρχούσης ἀληθείαις* (414a.8–9) – “Memory: disposition of the soul which guards over truth which resides in it” (1682); cf. also *μνήμη γάρ ἐστι ... σωτηρία αἰσθήσεώς τε καὶ νοήσεως* (Joann. Damasc. *Exp.* 34.4) – “Memory is preservation of sense–perceptions and knowledge”.
 - 4 “Philosophical Definitions” [115]: «Մշտնջենական է, որ յամենայն ժամանակի է և յանաշագոյն էր և յսմ ոչ ապականի» (234) – “Eternal is that which exists at all times and was in the past and in the present is not destroyed” = *Ἄϊδιον τὸ κατὰ πάντα χρόνον καὶ πρότερον ὄν καὶ νῦν μὴ ἐφθαρμένον* (411a.1–2) – “Eternal: existent at all times, including past and present, without being destroyed” (1678).
 - 5 “Philosophical Definitions” [116]: «Աստուած կենդանի անմահ, ինքնաբաւ առ ի ներփառութիւն, էութիւն մշտնջենաւոր և բարւոյ բնութեան պատճառ» (234) – “God: immortal living-being, self-sufficient for glory; eternal being and the cause of the nature of goodness”. Cf. *Θεὸς ζῶν ἀθάνατον, αὐταρκες πρὸς εὐδαιμονιαν-οὐσία ἀίδιος, τῆς τάγαθοῦ φύσεως αἰτία* (411a.3–4) – “God: immortal living-being, self-sufficient for happiness; eternal being; the cause of the nature of goodness” (1678). The word *ինքնաբաւ* is a calque of *αὐταρκες*, which occurs already in the Armenian version of Philo (Philo 1892, §30; Philo 1962, §30). For *εὐδαιμονία*, the Armenian has the neologism *ներփառութիւն*, which is rather a calque of *ἐνδοξότης* (“glory, gloriousness”).
 - 6 “Philosophical Definitions” [117]. «Լինելութիւն խաղացումն էութեանց, փոփոխումն առ էութիւն՝ քայլելով եղանակաց» (234) – “Becoming: movement to being, change into being by passing through modifications”. Cf. *Γένεσις κίνησις εἰς οὐσίαν. μετάληψις οὐσίας. πόρευσις εἰς τὸ εἶναι* (411a.5–6) – “Becoming: change into being; coming to participate in being; passing into existence” (1678).

¹² Hereafter, only the page numbers of Hutchinson 1997 will be indicated.

¹³ There is a continuation: «Իսկ ստոյիկեանցն՝ խստովան լինել բարադրութիւն պատուոյ անցելոյ: Իսկ ըստ Արիստոտելի՝ ունակութիւն գնորից, որպէս պատկերի» – “And according to the Stoics, confession of the gaining of former glory. And according to Aristotle, having mental impression, as of an image”. Cf. *τί μὲν οὖν ἐστὶ μνήμη καὶ τὸ μνημονεύειν, εἴρηται, ὅτι φαντάσματος, ὡς εἰκόνοσ οὐ φάντασμα, ἕξις* (Arist. *Mem.* 451a.14–16) “What memory and remembering is? It has been said that it is the state of impression taken as an image of what the impression is about”.

- 7 6. “Philosophical Definitions” [118]. «Բախտ է բերումն յաներևոյթէն, պատճառն փառաւոր իրի» (234) – “Luck is a passage from the unclear, cause of a glorious event”. Cf. Τύχη φορά ἐξ ἀδήλου εἰς ἄδηλον, καὶ ἡ ἐκ τοῦ αὐτομάτου αἰτία δαιμονίας πράξεως (411b.11–12) – “Luck: a passage from the unclear to the unclear, spontaneous cause of a supernatural event” (1678). The word բերումն is a literal translation of φορά.
- 7 “Philosophical Definitions” [121]: «Դէմք է բնութիւն ընտրողական մարմնոյ» (234) – “Vision is the ability of discerning bodies”. Cf. Ὀψις ἕξις διακριτικῆ σωματῶν (411c.9) – “Vision: the state of being able to discern bodies” (1678). This definition has a parallel in entry 33 (no. 2 above). Instead of “vision”, the Armenian reads “face” (դէմք), since ὄψις has both meanings. In entry 33, the translator used another word meaning face: երեսք.
- 8 “Philosophical Definitions” [122]: «Ուղեղ է ի ջերմութենէ կառուցեալ» (234) – “Marrow is hardened by heat”. Cf. Ὄστούν μυελὸς ὑπὸ θερμοῦ παγείς (411c.10) – “Bone: marrow hardened by heat” (1979). In the Armenian definition, the headword corresponding to Ὄστούν (“bone”) is missing. It is likely that this word was originally translated before being later omitted, since the text entitled “Philosophical Definitions as Questions” (in which the same definitions are arranged in alphabetical order) contains the following definition: Ոսկր է պատճառ ուղղոյ – “Bone is the cause of marrow” (254, Ո.8).
- 9 “Philosophical Definitions” [123]: «Տարր է, որ ժողովէ և քակուէ զշարադիրսն» (234) – “Element is that which composes and resolves complex things” = Στοιχείον τὸ συνάγον καὶ διαλύον τὰ σύνθετα (411c.11) – “Element: that which complex things are composed of and resolved into” (1679).¹⁴ The word շարադիրս is a calque of σύνθετα; it is absent from the *NBHL*, but the related շարադրեմ and շարադրութիւն are attested in earlier translations.
- 10 “Philosophical Definitions” [124]: «Առաքինութիւն է հաստատարութիւն կամ վեհագոյն բնութիւն մահացուի կենդանութեան՝ ըստ ինքեան գովելի: [125] Բարք է՝ ըստ որում բարի կոչի, հաղորդութիւն օրինաց արդարակ» (234) – “Virtue is the disposition or the highest nature of a mortal living being, which is in itself praiseworthy. A habit is according to which it is said to be good, the just observance of the laws”. Cf. Ἀρετὴ διάθεσις ἢ βελτίστη· ἕξις θνητοῦ ζῶου καθ’ αὐτὴν ἐπαινετὴ· ἕξις καθ’ ἣν τὸ ἔχον ἀγαθὸν λέγεται· κοινωμία νόμων δίκαια (411d.1–3) – “Virtue: the best disposition; the state of a mortal creature which is in itself praiseworthy; the state on account of which its possessor is said to be good; the just observance of the laws” (1679). Entry 125 should be the continuation of 124, and the word բարք shouldn’t begin a new entry but rather offer another gloss of the term առաքինութիւն (“virtue”). In the “Philosophical Definitions as Questions” too they form separate entries and are placed apart, according to alphabetical order (258, where Ա 12 = 124; 264, Բ 9 = 125).
- 11 “Philosophical Definitions” [129]: «Արդարութիւն՝ համախոհութիւն անձին նմին և բարեկարգութիւն անձին մասանց առ իրեարս և զիրերօք, բնութիւն է բաշխողական,

14 The preceding literal translation of the Armenian version is closer to the Greek original.

նր ըստ չափոյ յօժարական է երևելիաց նմա արդարական» (235) – “Justice is the unanimity of the soul with itself, and the good discipline of the parts of the soul with respect to each other and concerning each other; a nature that distributes by choice what according to measure appears to it just”. Cf. Δικαιοσύνη ὁμόνοια τῆς ψυχῆς πρὸς αὐτήν, καὶ εὐταξία τῶν τῆς ψυχῆς μερῶν πρὸς ἀλλήλα τε καὶ περὶ ἀλληλαῖς διανεμητικὴ τοῦ κατ’ ἀξίαν ἐκάστω· ἕξις καθ’ ἣν ὁ ἔχων προαιρετικὸς ἐστὶν τῶν φαινομένων αὐτῷ δικαίων (411d.8–e.3) – “Justice: the unanimity of the soul with itself, and the good discipline of the parts of the soul with respect to each other and concerning each other; the state that distributes to each person according to what is deserved; the state on account of which its possessor chooses what appears to him just” (1679). Համախոհութիւն is a calque of ὁμόνοια, and բարեկարգութիւն of εὐταξία.¹⁵

12 “Philosophical Definitions” [130]: «Համեստութիւն¹⁶ է նուստութիւն անձին, որ ի նմա ըստ բնութեանն լինի ցանկութիւն, քաջայարմարութիւն և բարեկարգութիւն ան ըստ բնութեան ցանկութիւնս և հեշտութիւնս, ձայնակցութիւն է ան անձին ան իշխելի և...» (235) – “Temperance is moderation¹⁷ of the soul concerning the desires that naturally occur in it; harmony and good discipline in respect of natural desires and pleasures; concord in the soul in respect of ruling and ...”.¹⁸ Cf. Σωφροσύνη μετριότης τῆς ψυχῆς περὶ τὰς ἐν αὐτῇ κατὰ φύσιν γιγνομένας ἐπιθυμίας τε καὶ ἡδονάς, εὐαρμοστία καὶ εὐταξία ψυχῆς πρὸς τὰς κατὰ φύσιν ἡδονὰς καὶ λύπας, συμφωνία ψυχῆς πρὸς τὸ ἄρχειν καὶ ἄρχεσθαι (411e.3–6) – “Self-control: moderation of the soul concerning the desires and pleasures that normally occur in it; harmony and good discipline in the soul in respect of normal pleasures and pains; concord of the soul in respect of ruling and being ruled” (1679). Քաջայարմարութիւն is a calque of εὐαρμοστία.

13 “Philosophical Definitions” [131]: «Արութիւն է բնութիւն անձին անշարժ յերկիւղէ, քաջութիւն պատերազմական, տեղեկութիւն, որ ըստ պատերազմի իրաց, ժողովարութիւն է անձին ան ի յախաւոր և յապառուս խոհականութենէն, քաջախրախ յուսութիւն ան սահուամբ» (235) – “Courage is a nature of the soul unmoved by fear; military confidence, knowledge of the facts of warfare; self-restraint in the soul from fearful and unrelenting thoughts; a joyful expectation in the face of death”. Cf. Ἄνδρεία ἕξις ψυχῆς ἀκίνητος ὑπὸ φόβου· θάρσος πολεμικόν· ἐπιστήμη τῶν κατὰ πόλεμον πραγμάτων· ἐγκράτεια ψυχῆς πρὸς τὰ φοβερά καὶ δεινά· τόλμα ὑπηρετικὴ φρονήσεως· εὐθαρσία ἐπὶ θανάτου προσδοκία... (412a.3–7) – “Courage: the state of the soul which is unmoved by fear; military confidence; knowledge of the facts of warfare; self-restraint of the soul about what is fearful and terrible; boldness in obedience to wisdom; being intrepid in the face of death...” (1679).

15 See lists of similar calques in Muradyan 2012, 28–42, 54–61.

16 The more common equivalent of σωφροσύνη, attested in numerous old translated and original texts, is նղախոհութիւն. It corresponds to the structure of the Greek word: նղ- = σω- (cf. σώζω), χο- = φρο- (cf. φρονέω), -ութիւն = -σύνη.

17 More literally, նուստութիւն means “humiliation”.

18 This definition is defective.

- 14 “Philosophical Definitions” [133]: «Երկիւղ է սկնկալութիւն չարի» (236) – “Fear is the expectation of something bad”. Cf. Φόβος ἔκπληξις ψυχῆς ἐπὶ κακοῦ προσδοκία (415e.5) – “Fear: consternation of the soul in expectation of something bad” (1685).
- 15 “Philosophical Definitions” [136]: «Ամպարհաւանութիւն է պատճառ բարի ոչէի» (236) – “Pretentiousness is the cause of non-existing good”. Cf. Ἀλαζονεία ἕξις προσποιητικῆ ἀγαθοῦ ἢ ἀγαθῶν τῶν μὴ ὑπαρχόντων (416a.10–11) – “Pretentiousness: the state which makes those who lack good or goods pretend to have it or them” (1685).
- 16 “Philosophical Definitions” [143]: «Արդարութիւն է ունակութիւն հասարակութեան բաշխի» (236) – “Justice is the state of distributing what is equal”. Cf. Δικαιοσύνη ... ἕξις διανεμητικῆ τοῦ κατ’ ἀξίαν ἐκάστω (411d.8– e.2) – “Justice: ... the state that distributes to each person according to what is deserved” (1679). *Ունակութիւն* is a calque of *ἕξις*.
- 17 “Ethical Definitions” [18]: «Որպէս Պηասոն՝ արդարութիւն է հիւրարար ներգործութիւն անձին սասանց» (241) – “According to Plato, justice is the activity of the parts of the soul by themselves”. Cf. Δικαιοσύνη ... εὐταξία τῶν τῆς ψυχῆς μερῶν πρὸς ἀλλήλα τε καὶ περὶ ἀλλήλα (411d.8) – “Justice: ... the good discipline of the parts of the soul with respect to each other and concerning each other...” (1679).
- 18 “Ethical Definitions” [19]: «...զոհախոհութիւն: [20] Չայնակցութիւն է իշխանի և որ ընդ իշխանութեամբ են՝ ըստ Պηասոնի (241) – “Self-control is the concord of the ruler and those being ruled, according to Plato”. Cf. Σωφροσύνη ... συμφωνία ψυχῆς πρὸς τὸ ἄρχειν καὶ ἄρχεσθαι (411e.9) – “Self-control: ... concord of the soul in respect of ruling and being ruled” (1679). As a result of scribal error, the headword *զոհախոհութիւն* (“temperance/self-control”) has become the last word of the previous entry. *Չայնակցութիւն* is a calque of *συμφωνία*.
- 19 “Ethical Definitions” [45]: «Բարեպաշտութիւն է արդարութիւն ստ Աստուած սրբութեան (243) – “Piety is justice concerning the holiness of God”. Cf. Εὐσέβεια δικαιοσύνη περὶ θεοῦ... (412e.14) – “Piety: justice concerning the gods...” (1680). *Բարեպաշտութիւն* is a calque of *εὐσέβεια*.
- 20 “Intermediary Philosophical Definitions” [23]: «Քաղաքականութիւն է մակացութիւն քաղաքի և քաղաքի» (245) – “Political skill is the knowledge of what is useful to the city”. Cf. Πολιτικῆ ἐπιστήμη καλῶν καὶ συμφερόντων· ἐπιστήμη ποιητικῆ δικαιοσύνης ἐν πόλει (413b.11) – “Political skill: the knowledge of what is admirable and useful; the knowledge of how to produce justice in a city” (1681). *Մակացութիւն* is a calque of *ἐπιστήμη*.

In the following cases, the differences between the Armenian and Pseudo-Platonic definitions are more considerable.

- 21 “Philosophical Definitions” [5]: «...Բան յարգութեան և հոսումն ի մտածութեանց՝ ընդ բայից և անունաց, որպէս Պηասոն¹⁹ – “Uttered word is an emission of thought with verbs and nouns, as Plato [says]” (221–222). Cf. Φωνή ρεῦμα διὰ στόματος ἀπὸ διανοίας (414d.1) – “Voiced sound: an emission

reasoning to a conclusion; argument that declares something through what is previously known” (1683). The word բարխնախոսութիւն in David Invincible’s *Definitions of Philosophy* (chapter 19) corresponds to συμβουλευτικός in its Greek original (David the Invincible 1904, 72.21), which designates the deliberative branch of rhetoric.

Parallels with authentic Platonic works can also be pointed to.

- 26 “Philosophical Definitions” [99]: «Ճարտասանական է քան հաւանութեան արարչագործ, հաւատացուցանալի, յաղագս իրաւանց և անիրաւութեան, հանդերձ քանի և հնտութեամբ փութանալի, որպէս Պրատոն, կամ անքան կրթութիւն, քաղաքականի մասին ուրուական պատկեր (232) – “Rhetoric is a persuasive speech, producer of belief in regard to right and wrong, along with reasoning and diligent learning, as Plato [said], or unreasonable exercise, an unreal image of a branch of politics”. Cf. {Π.Ω.Λ.} Ἀλλὰ τί σοι δοκεῖ ἡ ῥητορικὴ εἶναι;... {Σ.Ω.} Ἐμπειρίαν ἔγωγέ τινα (Plato, *Gorgias* 462c.1–3) – “Polus: what do you consider rhetoric to be? Socrates: I think it is a sort of experience”; Ἡ ῥητορικὴ ἄρα, ὡς ἔοικεν, πειθοῦς δημιουργός ἐστιν πιστευτικῆς ἀλλ’ οὐ διδασκαλικῆς περὶ τὸ δίκαιόν τε καὶ ἄδικον (454a.1) – “Rhetoric, as it seems, is a producer of persuasion for belief, not for instruction in the matter of right and wrong”; ἔστιν γὰρ ἡ ῥητορικὴ κατὰ τὸν ἐμὸν λόγον πολιτικῆς μορίου εἶδωλον (463d.1) – “Rhetoric, by my account, is an image of a branch of politics”.
- 27 “Intermediate Philosophical Definitions” [9]: «Մտի է լուծումն և որոշումն հոգւոյ ի սարմնոյ» (244) – “Death is release and separation of the soul from the body”. Cf. Οὐκοῦν τοῦτό γε θάνατος ὀνομάζεται, λύσις καὶ χωρισμὸς ψυχῆς ἀπὸ σώματος; (Plato, *Phaedo* 67d.4) – “Well, then, is this what is called death: release and separation of the soul from the body?”
- 28 “Philosophical Definitions as Questions” [4 5]: «Հոտ է շոգի ի ջրոյ և ի յաւոյ գոյացեալ. ջրոյ՝ անսարմնասնագոյն և աւոյ թանձրասնագոյն» (274) – “Smell is vapour formed from water and air, thinner than water and thicker than air”. Cf. εἰσὶν τε ὄσμαι σύμπασαι καπνὸς ἢ ὀμίχλη ... ὅθεν λεπτότεραι μὲν ὕδατος, παχύτεραι δὲ ὄσμαι σύμπασαι γεγόνασιν ἀέρος (Plato *Tim.* 66e.2–5) – “All smells are smoke or mist ... hence, thinner than water, but all smells are thicker than air”.

It is worth mentioning that the Platonic citations in the Armenian collection of Gregory of Jerusalem have nothing to do with the old Armenian version of Plato’s dialogues extant in a single manuscript (V₁₁₂₃, probably 17th century), discovered in 1835 and published in Venice (Plato 1877; Plato 1890). The only citation in Gregory’s collection is from *Timaeus*, the last parallel cited above. It differs from the old translation of the *Timaeus*, which reads: Ամենայն հոտք՝ ծուխ և կամ սրբիկ ... Աստուտ սնուրագոյնք են քան զջուր, և թանձրագոյն ամենայն հոտք են ի միասին քան զօդ (Plato 1877, 141) – “All smells are smoke or mist ... hence, thinner than water, but all smells are thicker than air”.

The date of the Armenian version of the Platonic dialogues is much debated. It either belongs to the activity of the Hellenizing School (late 5th–8th centuries) or to the hand of Grigor Magistros (950–1058), as he himself claims (Calzolari 2014, 350–

351). In a recent article, Irene Tinti demonstrates that from those dialogues, only the *Timaeus* is cited in Armenian texts, the earliest instance being in the 12th century by Nersēs Lambronats'i (Tinti 2023, 221–222). Some later authors cited a small passage from it: գոշի՝ ի սպիտակի և ի սևաւի – “grey [originates] from white and black” (Plato 1877, 143; Tinti 2023, 225–228). However, I have recently found out that the earliest commentator on the *Grammar* by Dionysius Thrax, David²⁵, also cited this line: ըստ ստակի՝ ծայրիցն՝ ի սպիտակէն և ի սևոյն գոշ – “according to a proverb, from the extremities, from white and black, grey [originates]” (Jahukyan 1956, 249²⁶). This spoor of the *Timaeus* in David's commentary could possibly help resolve the problem of the dating of the Armenian Platonic dialogues.

6. Conclusions

It is quite probable that the Armenian collection of various philosophical texts, compiled at least before 1267 (the date of the earliest manuscript, M3082) by a certain Gregory of Jerusalem, is a witness to a lost Greek collection of philosophical definitions. While the majority of the parallel Greek definitions are found in the works by John of Damascus, quite a significant number of them, as we have seen, originate from the *Definitions* attributed to Plato. Some read as direct translations of the respective Greek passages. In most cases, the Armenian definitions partially correspond to their Greek parallels, while in five instances they diverge quite substantially from the original. The non-extant Greek collection of philosophical definitions had contained 25 entries going back to the *Definitions* ascribed to Plato. Several intermediary stages between them can be surmised.

A brief quotation from Plato's old Armenian version of *Timaeus* in the earliest commentary on the Dionysian *Grammar* by the aforementioned David (probably 6th or 7th century) could perhaps prove that the translation of Plato's dialogues antedates it.

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25 Probably a 6th- or 7th-century author who influenced, among others, Step'anos Siwnets'i (7th–8th centuries). According to medieval Armenian tradition reflected, among other sources, in Aṙak'el Siwnets'i's (14th–15th centuries) *Commentary on Grammar*, this was “David the Philosopher” (i.e. David the Invincible): he had first translated the Dionysian *Grammar* and then commented on it (see Aṙak'el Siwnets'i 1982, 73).

26 The commentaries of David and four later commentators were first published by Nicholas Adonts' (Adonts' 1915, 77–124). He restored them from the compilatory commentaries of Grigor Magistros and Yovhannēs Erzknats'i. Later on, Gevorg Jahukyan found three manuscripts containing David's commentary as an independent text (M5596, M1115, and M1746) and published it (Jahukyan 1956).

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