

## THE PHILO INSTITUTE, *STUDIA PHILONICA* AND THEIR *DIADOCHOI*

Earle Hilgert

In honoring David Hay, it is appropriate to chronicle the development of a series of undertakings in Hellenistic scholarship to which he has contributed significantly for three decades. I am delighted to offer the following sketch of the Philo Institute and its successors, with which David has been intimately involved for the greater part of his scholarly career. This tribute is to a friend and colleague of many years in recognition of his unflagging contributions to publishing and scholarship on Hellenistic Judaism through studies that are *gründlich*, thorough and foundational, which therefore will continue to be significant for those who have the wisdom to build upon them.

### *Founding the Philo Institute*

When Robert G. Hamerton-Kelly joined the faculty of McCormick Theological Seminary at Chicago in 1970 as a professor of New Testament, one of his first proposals was to form an institute for the study of the works of Philo of Alexandria. While for the previous century and a half more than two thousand studies had been made of Philo's writings,<sup>1</sup> Hamerton-Kelly envisioned a new approach through a cooperative group of scholars working in the fields of Hellenistic Judaism and early Christianity who would focus together on an analysis of the sources behind and traditions in the Philonic corpus. Until that time, while much had been done in biblical and other literary fields from these perspectives, they had made little impact on the study of Philo.

With this aim in view, and with the support and encouragement of the administration of McCormick Seminary, Hamerton-Kelly called together an organizational meeting of interested scholars, which met on the McCormick campus from June 23 to 25, 1971. Present, in addition to Hamerton-Kelly, were David M. Hay (Princeton Theological Seminary), Earle Hilgert (McCormick Theological Seminary), Alan Howe (Northwestern University), Burton L. Mack (Methodist Theological School in Ohio), Herbert A. Opalek (Dropsie College), Birger A. Pearson (University of California, Santa

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<sup>1</sup> R-R xii.

Barbara), Herold D. Weiss (Saint Mary's College, Notre Dame), and David S. Winston (Graduate Theological Union). Hamerton-Kelly presented a programmatic essay in which he laid out his vision of the proposed task. In this paper he emphasized the need for studies of Philo which would focus on 'matters like the structure, intention, sources and traditions of each individual Philonic treatise.'<sup>2</sup> He reviewed the forays previous scholars had made into these areas and with these in view pointed a direction in which further research might go.

The group agreed to form an organization to be known as The Philo Institute, which would promote the study of Hellenistic Judaism in general and the works of Philo in particular, with a special interest, initially at least, in a search for sources. It was also decided to publish a journal under the title, *Studia Philonica*. The following persons were elected as officers of the Institute and of the journal: Robert G. Hamerton-Kelly, Director; Earle Hilgert, Associate Director; Don S. Hasty, Treasurer; Herbert A. Opalek, Editor of *Studia Philonica*, with Burton L. Mack and Earle Hilgert as associate editors. With a view to fund raising, soon afterwards the Institute was incorporated as a non-profit organization in the State of Illinois, with Martha Payne and Calvin H. Schmitt, both of McCormick Seminary, as trustees.

A second meeting of the Institute convened at McCormick Seminary a year later on June 28–29, 1972. Current research by members was discussed and evaluated, and progress on the journal, the first number of which had taken shape, was reported. Early in 1973 a turning point in the development of the Institute came when Hamerton-Kelly announced his acceptance of the deanship of Memorial Chapel at Stanford University. At the urging of the Board of the Institute he agreed to continue as Director. The third session of the Institute met at McCormick Seminary November 6–8, 1973, where progress reports on research were given and discussed. Birger Pearson was investigating the relation of Philo to Gnosticism.<sup>3</sup> Hamerton-Kelly reported on his work at the Institutum Judaicum Delitzschianum in

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<sup>2</sup> *SPh* 1 (1972) 3. See also his essay, 'Some Techniques of Composition in Philo's Allegorical Commentary with Special Reference to De Agricultura: a Study in Hellenistic Midrash,' in R.G. Hamerton-Kelly and R. Scroggs (edd.), *Jews, Greeks, and Christians. Essays in Honour of W.D. Davies*, *SJLA* 21 (Leiden 1976), and reactions to the proposal, by Peder Borgen, 'Philo of Alexandria. A Critical and Synthetical Survey of Research since World War II,' *ANRW* II.21.1, 132–138. For a brief survey of earlier attempts at *Quellenscheidung* in the Philonic corpus, see Irmgard Christiansen, *Die Technik der allegorischen Auslegungswissenschaft bei Philon von Alexandria*, *Beiträge zur Geschichte der biblischen Hermeneutik* 7 (Tübingen 1969) 27, n. 4.

<sup>3</sup> The results of Pearson's work were published as 'Friedländer Revisited. Alexandrian Judaism and Gnostic Origins,' *SPh* 2 (1973) 23–39, 'Philo and the Gnostics on Man and Salvation,' *Center for Hermeneutical Studies in Hellenistic and Modern Culture* 29 (1977) and as 'Philo and Gnosticism,' *ANRW* II.21.1, 295–342.

Münster during the past year, where he sought to test and rephrase the methodological proposals he had made two years earlier in his initial proposal. A new member of the Institute, Abraham Terian, then a doctoral candidate at Basel, explained his research on Philo's treatise *De animalibus*, a hitherto largely unstudied work extant only in Armenian and in a Latin version derived from it, and never translated into a modern language. He reported on his preparation of an English translation and commentary.

In the ensuing months, as Hamerton-Kelly assumed his new and differing responsibilities at Stanford University, he thought best to resign as Director of the Philo Institute, and Burton L. Mack was elected in his place. At the 1975 meeting of the members of the Institute, held at McCormick Seminary October 28–30, Mack presented two papers, 'Exegetical Traditions in Alexandrian Judaism: A Program for the Analysis of the Philonic Corpus' and 'Weisheit und Allegorie bei Philo von Alexandrien.'<sup>4</sup> At the time Mack noted 'our failure after three years of conversations to have satisfied our minds about the question of analysing 'sources and traditions' together — the very task which had brought us together originally.' He offered his current studies 'with the hope of being able to propose a program of collaborative research.'<sup>5</sup> In these papers Mack projected an advance in the initial aims of the Institute and a sharpening of its focus. He expressed his point of view in these words:<sup>6</sup>

The *basic supposition* underlying this proposal may be summarized as follows: Philo used traditional exegetical methods and materials. These materials are diverse and may reflect stages of exegetical history or 'schools' of exegesis which are in debate with one another. Philo employed these traditions with varying degrees of acceptance, and he reworked them with varying degrees of consistency.

In undertaking to identify and analyze these exegetical methods and traditions, Mack proposed to 'raise the question again of philological, formal and material indices which identify those traditions, and finally move toward a reconstruction of the exegetical and theological history of Alexandrian Judaism.'<sup>7</sup> In pursuit of these goals, in the first paper he offered a detailed program for the identification and analysis of exegetical traditions, discovering 'the formal and material identifiers which may distinguish types of interpretation';<sup>8</sup> and in the second he demonstrated his

<sup>4</sup> These were published in *SPh* 3 (1974–75) 71–112 and *SPh* 5 (1978) 57–105 respectively.

<sup>5</sup> Burton L. Mack, 'Report of the Director, The Philo Institute, Annual Meeting October 28–30, 1975,' 1, circulated to the members of the Institute. I am indebted to Abraham Terian for this document.

<sup>6</sup> Mack, 'Exegetical Traditions,' (n. 4) 75.

<sup>7</sup> *Idem.*

<sup>8</sup> Mack, *art. cit.* (n. 6) 77.

method through an analysis of the exegetical traditions employed in the treatise *De congressu eruditionis gratia*.

In the discussion that followed, there was general agreement on the possibility of analyzing exegetical traditions in Philo, while questions were raised as to whether a history of Alexandrian exegesis could be reconstructed on the basis of such analysis alone. Such issues as how one could determine sequence and development of types, the necessity of comparison with other non-Philonic exegetical traditions, and the integrity and constancy of the Septuagintal text were raised.<sup>9</sup>

The following year, 1976, Mack accepted a call to the Claremont Graduate School and the associated Institute for Antiquity and Christianity. This presented him and the Philo Institute with the question of how his directorship of the latter organization could function in light of the fact that he now would be intimately involved with the institute at Claremont, which would support his continuing research project on Philo. Since this arrangement understandably faced him with a conflict of interest, he resigned as director, and Earle Hilgert was elected. Mack remained, however, an active co-editor of the journal.

As time passed, membership in the Institute grew. By 1980 new members were: Alan Mendelson (McMaster University), Jonathan Z. Smith (University of Chicago), Hans Dieter Betz (University of Chicago), Thomas Conley (University of Illinois, Champaign-Urbana), David L. Dungan (University of Tennessee), Lester L. Grabbe (Ambassador College), Richard D. Hecht (University of California, Santa Barbara), Jean Laporte (University of Notre Dame), William W. Mount, Jr. (Wofford College), James R. Royse (San Francisco State University), Ernest W. Saunders (Garrett-Evangelical Theological Seminary), Abraham Terian (Andrews University), and Thomas H. Tobin, S.J. (Loyola University of Chicago).

With Burton Mack's transfer to Claremont, the initial focus on a search for sources and exegetical traditions and techniques in Philo's writings continued under his leadership as a project of the Institute for Antiquity and Christianity at Claremont. There he organized the Philo Project, assembling a strong group of scholars from both the United States and Europe. Thanks to the generosity of Ambassador College a grant was obtained through the good offices of Lester L. Grabbe which made it possible for members of the Project to meet twice at Claremont in productive sessions, in October 1977 and in November 1980. At these meetings a number of significant papers were presented and discussed. Two French scholars, Valentin Nikiprowetzky of the University of Paris and Jacques Cazeaux of the Centre National

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<sup>9</sup> 'Exegetical Traditions in Alexandrian Judaism: A Discussion of the Paper by Members of the Philo Institute,' *SPh* 3 (1974-75) 113-115.

de la Recherche Scientifique at Lyon, made important contributions to these meetings. A discernable trend in Philo scholarship also surfaced at this point, in that the European scholars tended toward studies across the Philonic corpus,<sup>10</sup> while the Americans focused more, but not exclusively, on analysis of individual treatises. This latter approach has continued to characterize much of the work done on this side of the Atlantic. The participants in the Project recognized the complementary nature of these approaches. A lack of financial resources, however, made further working sessions at Claremont infeasible, and in 1983 Mack initiated a Seminar on Philo, Hellenistic Judaism and the New Testament as a unit in the annual meetings of the Society of New Testament Studies. This Seminar met annually until 1995, initially under the chairmanship of Mack and Peder Borgen (University of Trondheim), and then of David Hay and Ronald Williamson (University of Leeds).<sup>11</sup> Horst R. Moehring of Brown University and a member of the Philo Project at Claremont also initiated and chaired the Group on Hellenistic Judaism in the Society of Biblical Literature.

In the meantime, the activities of the Philo Institute continued in three directions: annual meetings, the development of a bibliographical center for Philo studies and the publication of *Studia Philonica*. Because available funds were needed for publication and could not be spared to bring members to Chicago as had been done in the past, meetings of the members of the Institute were scheduled concurrently with the annual programs of the American Academy of Religion/Society of Biblical Literature. At the 1977 meeting the members of the Institute enjoyed the hospitality of Professor and Mrs. David Winston in their home in Berkeley. In 1981 on the tenth anniversary of the Institute, Robert Hamerton-Kelly, the founder, graciously entertained its meeting at Stanford University. These annual sessions served as exchange points at which participants reported and discussed their current research. The bibliographical project was undertaken by Hilgert. In addition to providing bibliographies of current publications on Philo in each volume of *Studia Philonica* (with the exception of Volume 3), in 1984 an extensive bibliography of recent Philo scholarship was published in *Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt*.<sup>12</sup>

<sup>10</sup> See, for instance, the major works of V. Nikiprowetzky, *Le commentaire de l'Écriture chez Philon d'Alexandrie: son caractère et sa portée; observations philologiques*, ALGHJ 11 (Leiden 1977), and of J. Cazeaux, *La trame et la chaîne: structures littéraires et exégèse dans cinq traités de Philon d'Alexandrie*, ALGHJ 15 (Leiden 1983).

<sup>11</sup> The *Studia Philonica* Annual Website, [http://www.leidenuniv.nl/philosophy/studia\\_philonica](http://www.leidenuniv.nl/philosophy/studia_philonica), as of February 4, 2001, 'A Brief History,' 2.

<sup>12</sup> Earle Hilgert, 'Bibliographia Philoniana, 1935-1981,' ANRW II.21.1, 47-97. This bibliography has now been superseded by R-R and continuing additions in *SPhA*. Much of the latter is also available in D.T. Runia, *Philo of Alexandria: An Annotated Bibliography 1987-1996*, VCSup (Leiden 2000).

*Publishing Studia Philonica*

During the first year of the Institute's existence, while Hamerton-Kelly, Hay and Mack undertook individual research projects in pursuit of the goals of the Institute, efforts in Chicago were directed primarily toward the launching of *Studia Philonica*. It was agreed that it should be published as an annual which would include articles on Hellenistic Judaism in general and on the works of Philo in particular. It would contain abstracts of current articles appearing in other publications and offer a continuing bibliography of Philo studies, as well as news of research in progress. The editors thus sought to provide a clearinghouse for current information on the progress of research and a point of contact for scholars working in this field.

By the time the first volume of *Studia Philonica* was ready for the press, Elvire Roth Hilgert had been appointed circulation manager, and the services of a printer secured. This volume, which appeared in 1972 under the co-editorship of Mack and Hilgert, contained a lead article by Hamerton-Kelly, 'Sources and Traditions in Philo Judaeus: Prolegomena to an Analysis of His Writings,' which was a revision of the proposal he had presented the previous year at the first meeting of the Institute and which at that time articulated its basic research focus.

At a meeting of the Board on March 2, 1973 Mrs. Hilgert could report that the circulation then stood at one hundred fifty subscriptions. The Board was faced, however, with the fact that though the success of the journal to that point was encouraging, the income from subscriptions was insufficient to meet for a second volume the same level of expense that had been incurred in printing the first. The editors decided therefore to cut costs by preparing camera-ready copy in-house by typewriter. Calvin H. Schmitt, Director of the McGaw Memorial Library at McCormick Seminary and a trustee of the Institute, provided secretarial resources, and Volume 2, which, after much labor appeared in 1974, was produced in this way. To this volume David Hay contributed an article, 'Philo's Treatise on the Logos-Cutter,'<sup>13</sup> where, following the founding aims of the Institute, he offered its first source analysis of a Philonic treatise. He investigated the treatise *Quis rerum divinarum heres sit* with a view to determining the sources of the image of the logos as a cosmic divider at work both in creation and redemption. He concluded:<sup>14</sup>

[Philo] probably developed it in conscious dependence on a Jewish tradition regarding the divine Word as a sword to preserve the faithful and punish the godless. In extending that soteriological image, he was presenting a Jewish solution to a problem

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<sup>13</sup> *SPh* 2 (1973) 9-22.

<sup>14</sup> *Art. cit.* (n. 13) 19-20.

often discussed in Greek philosophy, the existence of endless differences and sources of conflict within the universe. In so doing, he may have been influenced by popular concepts of Hermes, Isis, and Osiris as personifications of the Wisdom or Reason which produces cosmic order.

While in-house production of camera-ready copy had made possible the issuing of *Studia Philonica* 2, experience showed that this was not an efficient method for the long term. The Board and editors therefore sought other more viable alternatives. As early as 1973 preliminary discussions had been held with Robert W. Funk, Director of Scholars Press, as to the possibility of publishing *Studia Philonica* through that organization, and he had expressed interest, but given the absence of funding, it was impossible at that time to proceed in such a direction. In 1976 President Jack Stotts of McCormick Seminary offered to provide seed money for continuing the journal through an annual grant of \$1,500 for a period of three years. The Board was encouraged both by its own calculations and by the Director of Scholars Press to anticipate that by the end of the grant period the journal would be financially self-sustaining.

With this new lease on life, *Studia Philonica* 3 appeared through Scholars Press in 1977, Volume 4 in 1978, Volume 5 in 1979, and Volume 6 in 1980. This last volume presented an important article by David Hay, 'Philo's References to Other Allegorists,'<sup>15</sup> in which he continued the search for sources and traditions by cataloguing and analyzing seventy-four instances in which Philo refers, or appears to refer, to other allegorical interpreters of the biblical text. Hay concluded:<sup>16</sup>

Philo's references to other allegorists furnish a small but essential foundation for source-critical analysis of his writings....[I]t may be said that the casualness with which Philo mentions other exegetes, his evident carelessness about defining where their ideas end and his own begin, tends to support the hypothesis of a long-standing school tradition behind his writings....Ideas matter much, attribution matters little. This suggests that Philo's works are in good measure the product of a school of allegorical exegesis, perhaps in some fashion the precipitate of actual classroom instruction.

Members of the Institute were particularly active in preparing abstracts of articles from other journals and thus made available to English readers the fruits of scholarship in a wide variety of languages: articles in German, Dutch, Norwegian, French, Italian, Romanian, Latin, Modern Greek, Armenian, Hebrew and Esperanto all appeared in abstract. To this enterprise David Hay contributed substantially. Persons not otherwise involved with the Institute who helped in this project were Peter J. MacDonald, Wolfgang

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<sup>15</sup> *SPh* 6 (1979-80) 41-75.

<sup>16</sup> *SPh* 6 (1979-80) 60-61.

Reister (Institutum Judaicum, Tübingen), and Bradford H. Price (Claremont Graduate School). Several of the staff of McCormick Seminary also contributed valuable assistance to the work of the Institute during this period: Virginia Stotts, secretary in the Seminary Library, maintained early circulation records, Don Hasty, Vice President for Business Affairs, was treasurer of the Institute, Calvin H. Schmitt, Director of the Library served as a trustee and also later as secretary-treasurer, and Martha Payne, secretary to the President, was a trustee.

A concurrent undertaking of the Institute was the launching of a monograph series. In December 1976 the Board of the Institute authorized the Director to begin discussions with Scholars Press regarding such a series. Robert Funk, director of the Press, was open to this initiative, depending on the financial ability of the Institute to underwrite it. Foreseeing that this would be possible, the editors of *Studia Philonica* began to look for appropriate manuscripts. Conversations with several scholars followed, and it was finally decided to begin a series titled 'Studies in Hellenistic Judaism: Supplements to *Studia Philonica*' under the editorship of Mack and Hilgert, to be published through Scholars Press. An impressive manuscript by Abraham Terian of Andrews University became available. This was published in 1981 under the title *Philonis Alexandrini De Animalibus: The Armenian Text with an Introduction, Translation, and Commentary*. Running to more than 300 pages, the book constituted the first translation of this Philonic treatise into a modern language. In addition to the early medieval Armenian translation from a lost Greek text, it offered J.B. Aucher's Latin translation of 1822, and an English translation based not only on the Armenian text but also on Terian's retrotranslation of passages which though obscure in Armenian, became intelligible when rendered back into Hellenistic Greek. The text was also equipped with an extensive linguistic and philosophical commentary and with tables of equivalents of Greek and Armenian terms in Philo's vocabulary. The volume thus constitutes a worthy supplement to the standard edition of Philo's other works in the Loeb Classics series.<sup>17</sup>

But clouds were on the horizon. By 1980, with financial subsidy from McCormick Seminary running out, the journal was not yet self-supporting. The situation was also complicated by events at Scholars Press which led to its reorganization. When circulation and financial records were investigated by the Institute, it appeared that subscription payments from a substantial

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<sup>17</sup> Terian's own translation of his work into French has since appeared in the series 'Les oeuvres de Philon d'Alexandrie' under the editorship of R. Arnaldez, J. Pouilloux and C. Mondésert, with the title, *Alexander vel De ratione quam habere etiam bruta animalia (De animalibus) e versione armeniaca. Introduction, traduction et notes (Paris 1988)*. This edition contains also the Latin translation of Aucher, but not the Armenian text.



number of subscribers had not been received for some time. Thus there had been constant drainage of resources without sufficient matching income from subscriptions. As a result of these difficulties, in 1981 the Institute was forced to suspend publication both of the journal and of further monographs.

*Cooperative Relationships*

From its inception, the officers of the Institute sought to establish relationships with other centers of research in Hellenistic Judaism. In the summer of 1971 Hilgert contacted several scholars in Europe in the interest of the Institute: Karl-Heinrich Rengstorf at the Institutum Judaicum Delitzschianum in Münster, Gerhard Dellling of the University of Halle, and Peder Borgen, then of the University of Bergen. Hamerton-Kelly in 1973 and Mack in 1975 spent sabbaticals at the Delitzschianum and established firm relationships with that institution. It was during his leave there that Mack was able to develop his proposals for the analysis of exegetical traditions, discussed above.

These contacts resulted in James Royse of the Philosophy Department of San Francisco State University, a member of the Institute, being able to spend a leave of absence in 1975 at the Delitzschianum during which he revised its files on the fragments of Philo found in other ancient writers, a collection that had been made years earlier by Ludwig Früchtel. These files needed critical revision and had remained unpublished. In the course of this work at Münster and later research in Paris, Royse was able to discover several further fragments of Philo which hitherto had remained unrecognized by scholars.<sup>18</sup>

Between 1973 and 1975 several studies on Philo were presented in the colloquies of the Center for Hermeneutical Studies in Hellenistic and Modern Culture at Berkeley, California. Through a cooperative arrangement, made possible by David Winston, these were published jointly in the *Protocols of the Center* and in *Studia Philonica*.<sup>19</sup>

In 1973, on the suggestion of Abraham Terian, the Institute established contact with the Matenadaran Mashtotz Institute of Ancient Manuscripts of the Armenian Soviet Socialist Republic, in Erevan, Armenia. There some fifty manuscripts of the ancient Armenian translation of Philo are kept.

<sup>18</sup> Royse has published the results of his research in *The Spurious Texts of Philo of Alexandria: A Study of Textual Transmission and Corruption with Indexes to the Major Collections of Greek Fragments* (Leiden 1991) and in a number of articles, for which see R-R 394.

<sup>19</sup> These papers appeared in *SPh* 3 (1974-75): Richard T. Wallis, 'The Idea of Conscience in Philo of Alexandria,' pp. 27-40; Jacob Milgrom, 'On the Origins of Philo's Doctrine of Conscience,' pp. 41-45; David Winston, 'Freedom and Determinism in Philo of Alexandria,' pp. 47-70.

Through the kindness of L.S. Khatchikian, Director of the Matenadaran, the Philo Institute received microfilm copies of nine of these important manuscripts and thus was able to make available to scholars these unique resources which otherwise did not exist outside Armenia.<sup>20</sup>

*The Brown Judaic Studies*

With the suspension of publications in 1981 the work of the Institute, as such, entered a period of much reduced activity. Annual meetings were held in connection with those of the American Academy of Religion/Society of Biblical Literature in 1982 and 1983. At the latter meeting, Jonathan Z. Smith, a member of the Board of the Institute, approached Jacob Neusner, of Brown University, with the proposal that *Studia Philonica* be accepted as a unit in the publishing program of the Brown Judaic Studies, of which he was chief editor. Neusner graciously accepted this proposal, both for the publication of the annual and of monographs. It was agreed that camera-ready copy would be provided, and that Smith would serve on the Board of the Brown Judaic Studies with special responsibility for the *Studia Philonica* volumes. Richard Hecht of the University of California, Santa Barbara, who had secured a grant of \$10,000 from his institution for computer equipment and financing, accepted the editorship of the annual volumes. The plan was that under his supervision and that of Deborah Sills, also of UCSB as associate editor, copy would be prepared there.<sup>21</sup> Smith would be the final reader of all copy and would approve it for publication.

Due, however, to problems in the development of computer programming, production of another annual volume was delayed. In this situation David T. Runia, then of the Free University of Amsterdam, and already co-editor, in 1988 offered to take over the editorship and produce camera-ready copy, as he had requisite equipment available. David Hay and David Winston were appointed associate editors, while Mack and Hilgert accepted responsibility for editing monographs.<sup>22</sup> For bibliographical purposes, to distinguish the new series from the original journal it was decided to title it *The Studia Philonica Annual*. Under this reorganized editorship, Volume 1 appeared in the Brown Judaic Studies, published by Scholars Press, in 1989. Thanks in large measure to the devotion and skill of David Runia, now Professor at the University of Leiden, the arrangement with the Brown

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<sup>20</sup> These microfilms are now in the care of Dean Abraham Terian of St. Nersess Armenian Seminary, New Rochelle NY.

<sup>21</sup> Letter, Earle Hilgert to Participants in the SBL Philo Consultations, December 5, 1985.

<sup>22</sup> B.L. Mack, 'Studia Philonica: An Uncommon Phoenix,' *SPhA* 1 (1989) 2.

series has proved highly successful, and by the year 2000 twelve volumes of *The Studia Philonica Annual* have appeared. Gregory E. Sterling of the University of Notre Dame is now co-editor with Runia, with David Winston as Associate Editor, and Alan Mendelson as Book Review Editor. Several monographs sponsored through the SBL Philo Seminar (see further below) have also been published in the Brown Judaic Studies: Lester L. Grabbe, *Etymology in Early Jewish Interpretation: the Hebrew Names in Philo* (1988); Alan Mendelson, *Philo's Jewish Identity* (1988); Dorothy Sly, *Philo's Perception of Women* (1990); and David M. Hay, ed., *Both Literal and Allegorical: Studies in Philo of Alexandria's Questions and Answers on Genesis and Exodus* (1991).<sup>23</sup> In 1995 the Studia Philonica Monograph Series was initiated with the publication of John Peter Kenney, ed., *The School of Moses: Studies in Philo and Hellenistic Religion in Memory of Horst R. Moehring*, BJS 304, SPhM 1. Further titles in this series are: Ellen Birnbaum, *The Place of Judaism in Philo's Thought: Israel, Jews, and Proselytes*, BJS 290, SPhM 2 (1996), and Manuel Alexandre, Jr., *Rhetorical Argumentation in Philo of Alexandria*, BJS 322, SPhM 3 (Atlanta 1999). David Hay is now editor of the monograph series. All Studia Philonica publications in the Brown Judaic Studies are under the general supervision of Shaye Cohen of Brown University.

#### *The SBL Philo Seminar and Group*

As we have mentioned earlier, for several years the Philo Institute, as an independent entity, met annually at the time of the meetings of the Society of Biblical Literature. In the spring of 1984 the desirability of a closer relationship with the Society became evident and discussions were initiated with Kent Richards, its Executive Secretary, which resulted in the formation of a Philo Consultation as a unit of the SBL program. These sessions thus took the place of the annual meetings of the Philo Institute. At the 1984 session, several papers were presented focusing on *De sacrificiis*. The following year the participants directed their attention to *Quaestiones in Genesin et Exodum*, with particular concern for the question of whether this work was written before or after Philo's other treatises. The participants concluded with a clear consensus in favor of the priority of the *Quaestiones* in Philo's corpus. The members of the Philo Consultation agreed that the new format had given focus to their cooperative work and offered a clear prospect for further joint research and publication. Accordingly when the

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<sup>23</sup> Other volumes on Philo published in the Brown Judaic Studies that were initiated independently of the Seminar are: David Winston and John Dillon, *Two Treatises of Philo of Alexandria: A Commentary on De Gigantibus and Quod Deus Sit Immutabilis*, BJS 25 (Chico, California 1983); Peder Borgen, *Philo, John and Paul: New Perspectives on Judaism and Early Christianity*, BJS 131 (Atlanta 1987).

normal two-year lifespan of a consultation expired, they applied to the Society for status as a seminar. In November 1985 this was granted for a period of five years, to run from 1986 to 1990. Hilgert, who had chaired the Consultation, was appointed chair of the new seminar for that period. Year by year the Seminar directed its attention to different themes and treatises of Philo. Papers thus generated were made available to the wider community of Philo scholars through the *SBL Seminar Papers*, *The Studia Philonica Annual* and in the volumes edited by David Hay and by John Peter Kenney noted above. When the initial term of the Seminar was completed in 1990, its success had been such that the Society agreed to renew its franchise for an additional five years. With Hilgert's retirement that year, Gregory E. Sterling of Notre Dame University was appointed chair. Under his leadership the Seminar flourished until its term within the SBL expired in 1995. Since 1996 the undertakings of the Seminar live on in the form of a Philo Group in the SBL, under the chairmanship of Gregory E. Stirling from 1996 to 1998 and of Thomas H. Tobin, S.J., of Loyola University of Chicago since that time. A current project of the Group is the development of commentaries on individual treatises of Philo, a highly desirable and much needed contribution to Hellenistic scholarship. This series is to be published jointly by E.J. Brill and the University of Notre Dame Press.<sup>24</sup>

In the initial volume of the *Studia Philonica Annual* Burton Mack likened the new publication to a phoenix.<sup>25</sup> Taken more broadly, this is indeed an apt symbol for the history of the Philo Institute, *Studia Philonica* and their *Diadochoi*. While the original entities for the most part ceased operation almost two decades ago, the membership of the Institute and the objectives that brought them together live on in the Society of Biblical Literature and through the support of the Brown Judaic Studies. The initial interest in the investigation of individual Philonic treatises has now taken form in the Philo of Alexandria Commentary Series under the directorship of Gregory E. Sterling; the bibliographical undertakings are now firmly established as The International Philo of Alexandria Bibliography Project involving a team of scholars under the leadership of David Runia, and as we have seen, the publishing program initiated through *Studia Philonica* lives on with great success in the *Studia Philonica Annual* and its Monograph Series. A major participant in the entire story has been David Hay.<sup>26</sup>

Charlottesville, Virginia

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<sup>24</sup> See *SPhA* 7 (1995) 161–68.

<sup>25</sup> See n. 22.

<sup>26</sup> The writer wishes to express thanks in particular to Gregory E. Sterling for important suggestions and information incorporated in this article.