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THE FIRST CHAPTER OF THE
HISTORIA MONACHORUM IN ÆGYPTO

IN THE *R4* RECENSION

CRITICAL EDITION
WITH ENGLISH TRANSLATION

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List of Abbreviations

<i>HM</i>	<i>Historia Monachorum in Ægypto</i>
<i>HM1</i>	The first chapter of <i>Historia Monachorum in Ægypto</i>
<i>RecXVIII</i>	<i>Receuil des XVIII histoires</i>
<i>R1</i>	Recension 1 of the Syriac <i>Historia Monachorum in Ægypto</i>
<i>R2</i>	Recension 2 of the Syriac <i>Historia Monachorum in Ægypto</i>
<i>R3</i>	Recension 3 of the Syriac <i>Historia Monachorum in Ægypto</i>
<i>R4</i>	Recension 4 of the Syriac <i>Historia Monachorum in Ægypto</i>
<i>A.G.</i>	<i>Anno Graecorum</i>

Notes on Transcription

In the present essay, Syriac text occurring inside passages of English text has been transcribed to avoid a disturbing change of reading direction. (For the same reason, Greek and Coptic words have been left untransliterated.) Larger passages of Syriac text (e. g., the edition) have not been transcribed. For a scheme of the standard transcription of the Syriac letters, see, for example, Coakley (2002, pp. 5, 13). Spirantisation has (generally, see below) been signalled by underlining. Care has been taken to distinguish between long and short vowels. Note, also, the following:

1. Word-final, single *'ālaf* is not represented after /*ā*/ and /*ē*/, where it is non-contrastive.
2. Likewise, *waw* and *yōḏ* have been omitted when they function as *matres lectionis*.

3. Silent letters, whether marked with *linea occultans*/marḥəṭānā or not, have been put between parentheses (ex.: məḏī(n)ttā, 'a(y)k̄).
4. The spirantised variant of /p/ has, for technical reasons, been designated by /f/.
5. The *səyāmē* and other diacritical pointing have been omitted.
6. The majuscule form of the letter /ə/ is, for esthetical reasons, represented by /E/. (This affects mainly the name 'Enānīšō'.)

1. INTRODUCTION

The *Historia Monachorum in Ægypto* and similar texts constitute important sources in writing the early history of (Oriental) monasticism. Nonetheless, many texts of this type are extant only in poor editions, which are not based on a systematical investigation of the available manuscripts and a scientific methodology. They stem from the infancy of Syriac studies, when it seemed more important to make the texts available to a Western audience, than to produce high quality editions, the risk being that many texts might never be published at all if too much labour was put into every edition. This, however, makes the material unsuitable as a foundation for future research, be it linguistically or historically oriented, as chances are that the material has partially been corrupted. Thus, there is a need for more accurate editions of many of the like texts.

According to Britt Dahlman,¹ the focus of previous research, apart from simply issuing editions of the texts, has been to establish an “original”, “authentic” text. The nature of the texts, however, made them liable for later additions and reformulations. These changes are not invaluable: they indicate the usage of the texts through history and thus add to our knowledge of the history of monasticism. The focus ought, therefore, to be better balanced: there is a point in establishing, beside the oldest accessible version of a given text, its entire textual history.

This major work – writing the textual history of the early monastic “classics” – includes, as a part, the inventory and editing of the extant manuscripts. Modern editions must follow strictly scientific procedures in a way that, at least when it comes to the reproducibility of the investigations, is almost reminding of the methodology of the natural sciences. The present paper is meant to constitute a part, however minute, of such an investigation. I intend to present below a critical edition and a translation of the first chapter of the *Historia Monachorum in Ægypto* as it appears in one of the Syriac translations identified originally by Erwin Preuschen (see below, p. 9). The previous editions of the Syriac text (*i. e.*, Bedjan (1897), Wallis Budge (1904)) have by no means treated the material exhaustively. Firstly, they are editions of another Syriac translation than the one I intend to present. Secondly, the first is based on various Syriac translations – it is, thus, modern mixtures of different readings, displaying a version of the text which is actually not found in any of the Syriac manuscript traditions² –, while the latter is based on a (comparatively) late manuscript.

1 Dahlman, forthcoming.

2 Draguet (1978a, p. 47*) writes: “Le “Paradis” de Bedjan ne correspond donc, comme tel, à l’ordonnance et au contenu d’aucun ms. L’édition ne satisfait pas non plus aux exigences de la critique : la foliotation des mss utilisés n’est pas indiquée, ni non plus le passage d’un ms. à un autre; l’appareil se limite à un choix de variantes, et l’unique

On the contrary, I intend to present an edition based solely on one of the translations, and based solely on old manuscripts. Opacity as to which manuscript displays which recension is crucial. According to Dahlman, it is in this particular case especially suitable to issue several editions of the Syriac versions, keeping the different translations apart.³ Not only is this motivated by the difficulty that lies in assembling such a lot of widely differing texts (one talks of different, completely separate translations) into a single edition, their sole connexion being that they are all based on the same similarly confused complex of Greek texts constituting the *HM*, but in addition the *HM* is so important a textual witness to the early monastic movement, that this work can undoubtedly be motivated by that mere fact. The present essay thus presents one single piece of the grand puzzle that the textual history of the *Historia Monachorum in Ægypto* constitutes. It remains for future scholars to analyse, edit and publish separately the other translations, as well as completing the work on the present one by adding the two remaining chapters (see below, p. XXX).

Thus, below is given, at first, a description of the *Historia Monachorum in Ægypto* as a piece of literature. Then follows a discussion on the Syriac versions, leading, through a short passage on chapter I – our main focus –, to the edition of the Syriac text. Thereafter, the edition presented is discussed in comparison with some of the earlier publicised versions of chapter I and finally the conclusions of the present essay are summarised.

2. BACKGROUND

2.1 *The Historia Monachorum in Ægypto*

The *Historia Monachorum in Ægypto* (*HM*) is the story of seven Christian monks, who travel from Jerusalem to Egypt in the late 4th century A.D. At the beginning of the narrative, the party resides in Upper Egypt, in the town of Assiut; from there they journey northward until reaching, at the conclusion of the story, the monastic communities in Lower Egypt. On their way through the land the Jerusalemite monks encounter some of the Desert Fathers: monks and ascetics toiling for their salvation in the middle of Egyptian desert, whose reputation reaches into present times.⁴ It was

sigle L renvoie à tous les mss londoniennes collationnés.” (English translation: ”The Paradise of Bedjan, as it is, does thus not correspond the order and contents of any manuscript. The edition does not at all satisfy the demands of the critic: the foliation of the manuscripts utilised is not indicated, nor the passage from one manuscript to the other; the [critical] apparatus is limited to a selection of variants, and a single siglum L represents all the collated London manuscripts.” (own translation).)

³ Dahlman, forthcoming.

⁴ Several pieces of the literature concerning them has even been translated into Swedish. See, for example: *Ökenfädernas tänkespråk*, edited by Per Beskow (Skellefteå: Artos, 1980); Palladios’ *Ökenfäderna*, translated and

there, merely some one hundred and thirty years earlier, that the entire monastic movement began, with the withdrawal from the world by Saint Anthony and his likes. These encounters result both in that the visitors experience and witness an abundance of fantastic miracles of the kind associated with the holy men and women of Christendom (wonderful healings, supernatural predictions of the future, etc.) and in that they absorb some of the Desert Fathers' teachings concerning the monastic and religious life. The stories of miracles seen by the travellers (and others, seen by others and retold to the travellers) and the words of wisdom were collected and edited: that collection being the *HM*. It thus comes to constitute a mixture of various edifying stories and anecdotes, all placed in the context of a frame story, whose authenticity – at least in a broad perspective – for example Festugière, the editor of the Greek *HM*, saw no reason to doubt.⁵ (This being the structure of the text, its aptitude for later additions and revisions mentioned above is clear.)

The *HM* is extant in several ancient translations of an original of disputed language. Erwin Preuschen, the first editor of the Greek *HM*,⁶ originally expressed the idea that the Latin version was the original,⁷ a conclusion shared by a number of other early scholars taking an interest in the text and based on a number of circumstances, among which the following could be mentioned: the text itself claims to have been composed on account of the monastic community of the Olive Mount, which was – as it seems – primarily made up of Latin speakers; the famous Latin churchman Tyrannus Rufinus, who undoubtedly produced the Latin version, refers to it as a work of his own hand and others (most notably Jerome) ascribe it to him as well; a number of intertextual traits could be interpreted in favour of such a view. A later argument has been the (erroneous) ascription of the text to Jerome, found in several Syriac manuscripts;⁸ this was seen by Preuschen as an index of the Western origin of the *HM*, the Syriacs, having lost the exact identity of the author while keeping a notion of his origin, having ascribed the text to the only Westerner that they knew. The order of the chapters of certain Syriac manuscripts furthermore coincides with the order of the chapters of the Latin version, while being different from the order of most Greek manuscript; this has been seen as strengthening the hypothesis of a Latin origin.⁹

edited by Sture Linnér (Skellefteå: Artos, 2010); and Johannes Moschos' *Den andliga ängen*, translated by Olof Andrén (Skellefteå: Artos, 2002).

5 Festugière, 1955, pp. 280-281.

6 Tóth, 2010, p. 59.

7 I have unfortunately not been able to access Preuschen (1897). This description is, instead, based on the brief recount of different opinions on the question to be found in Festugière (1955, p. 257).

8 Curiously, this ascription was present in the manuscripts that Bedjan and Wallis Budge based their editions on and it was included in their works.

9 Tóth, 2010, p. 62-63.

Festugière, who issued the most up-to-date Greek edition of the *HM*, has, however, convincingly argued for a Greek original, primarily based on a thorough comparison of the content of the two versions. In his article of 1955, he first of all summarises the arguments of Tillemont, who, based on the chronology of Rufinus' own life, concludes that he cannot be the author (Rufinus could not have travelled to Egypt at the time in question, since he resided in Jerusalem by then; he was already a priest, when *HM* says that no clergyman was on the journey; in the *HM*, the authors speaks of the two Macarius as fathers, whom he had not seen: Rufinus, on the other hand, elsewhere claims to have seen them during his visits in Egypt). Festugière then continues by comparing the Greek version with the Latin one, coming to the following conclusions: the Greek version often contains more specific terms and expressions than the Latin, a fact which could perfectly well be accounted for assuming that more specific terms were translated into more general Latin ones, but less likely the other way around;¹⁰ and the Greek version on various occasions proves necessary for a proper understanding of the Latin one. There are, however, likewise some cases, where the Latin text is more detailed than the Greek one, and others, in which the Latin version differs from the Greek one and there is no telling which of them is to be considered most original. This, at the end, leads Festugière to conclude that the original must be Greek, but that the Latin text may well be based on a different *Vorlage* than the Greek texts that has been passed down to us.¹¹

The argument that the *HM* be ascribed to Jerome in some Syriac manuscripts (and, most importantly, in *The Paradise of the Fathers*, on which see below) has been nullified by Draguet, who notices that in the version of the *HM* used as a *Vorlage* to those manuscripts, the *HM* is placed directly after Jerome's *Vita Pauli primi eremitæ*, which ends in a petition to the reader to remember "the wretched Jerome". It seems that this phrase was detached from the work of Jerome and instead attached to the prologue of the *HM*: thus appeared the incorrect ascription. Then remains only the Rufinus' own claim to have written the text and Jerome's ascription. The latter, Festugière argues, could possibly been explained by assuming that Jerome referred more to a thorough revision, than to an authentic authorship. For the first argument, I have seen no counter-argument. (Devos, in editing the Coptic fragments of the *HM*, briefly discussed the possibility of a Coptic origin, but on similarly textual grounds as Festugière in the case of the Latin version, he came to the conclusion

10 For examples, see Festugière, 1955, pp. 259-263.

11 He writes (1955, p. 279): "Toutes ces divergences sont trop nombreuses et, par endroits, trop graves, pour qu'on puisse simplement les attribuer au traducteur Rufin. Elles nous induisent à conjecturer que Rufin a eu en mains une recension du texte grec de l'H. M. assez notablement différente de notre G actuel." (English translation: "The divergences are too numerous and, in places, too grave simply to be attributed to Rufin. They induce us to suppose that Rufin had in his hands a Greek text quite notably different from our present G." (own translation).)

that the Coptic must be a translation from Greek.¹²⁾

It seems, thus, as among others Tóth has concluded earlier,¹³ that the question of the original language of the *HM* is, for now, settled. On account of the relationships between the different versions, the Greek seems to be the original, but it is probable that the Greek version that we preserve today is yet not the *Vorlage* of the Latin text. (As for the question of which Greek text is the *Vorlage* of the other translations, further research still remains to be done.)

Before passing on to the other ancient translations of the text, a few words ought to be said about its dating. By means of the solitaries visited, the story has been set in the end of the 4th century. This has generally been accepted as the date of the text as well. Already (at most) some fifteen years after its creation, the Latin translation must have been produced; this we can conclude from our knowledge of the life of Rufinus. Peter Tóth, who has introduced the different versions of the *HM* in an article of 2010, places the Greek original some time around the year 395 A.D.¹⁴

The multitude of ancient translations mentioned above testifies to the great importance of this text to the monastic communities themselves.¹⁵ We know of Coptic, Armenian, Arabic, Slavonic, and Georgian translations, in addition to the Greek and Latin ones. And in addition to all these, there exist no less than four Syriac translations. The study of the non-Græco-Latin translations has still but begun. As made clear in the Introduction, the Syriac translations are poorly studied and the same holds true for the other versions. Many of the abovementioned scholars, writing about the Greek and Latin versions and their interrelation, stressed the importance of the other versions, but few ever made any use of them in their arguments. The importance, especially of the Syriac versions, is augmented also by the age of the Syriac manuscripts, a number of which stem from the 6th century. This can be contrasted to the Greek manuscripts, which are no older than the 10th century.¹⁶ It is perfectly possible that many of the questions arisen during the study of the Greek and Latin versions, could be answered, were the other versions studied more in detail. Eva Schulz-Flügel, who published the most up-to-date edition of the Latin version, “considered the edition and examination of their early versions as one of the greatest tasks for future scholarship on the *HMA* [= *HM*]”.¹⁷

12 Davos, 1969, p. 419-420.

13 Tóth, 2010, p. 58.

14 Tóth, 2010, p. 58.

15 This importance was not confined to the Christian Orient, but the *HM* has been widely read also in the West. To this testify both that it is recommended as “useful reading” in the Rule of St. Benedict and that, according to Bammel (1992, p. 92), over 400 manuscripts preserve the Latin version.

16 Tóth, 2010, p. 72.

17 Tóth, 2010, p. 60.

2.2. The Syriac translations and the RecVXIII

As mentioned above, the *HM* exists in four Syriac translations, the earliest of which possible originates in the late 5th or the early 6th century, that is around one hundred years after the original composition of the text. However, only two, exceedingly similar, versions of the translations has been published: the one found in the seventh volume of Paul Bedjan's *Acta Martyrum et Sanctorum* and the one published by Ernest Alfred Wallis Budge in the second volume of his *The Book of Paradise* (1904). The rest of the translations remain (largely) unedited, but their internal relationship has been investigated by Peter Tóth in an article of 2010. Apart from clearly testifying of the importance of the text to the early Syriac Christianity, the existence of four different translations from the Greek makes the production of a critical edition of the Syriac text rather complicated. Festugière's description of his feelings before embarking on producing a critical edition of the Greek versions of the *HM*, would, no doubt, be equally applicable for anyone who undertook the grand task of summarising the Syriac textual tradition; concerning his decision to take up the work, he writes: "J'ai cédé enfin, par un sentiment de devoir pur, et non de gaîté de cœur, car j'étais conscient d'avance de la difficulté de la tâche."¹⁸ Nonetheless, the bare age of the preserved manuscripts makes it important for the entire study of the *HM*.

The first Syriac version to be known in the West was the one found in the 7th century compilation *The Paradise of the Fathers* (Syr.: *Pardaysā d-(')abāhātā*). This monumental work was set together by an East Syriac monk named 'Enānīšō' and it incorporates in itself all the most important texts on early Egyptian monasticism: the *Apophthegmata Patrum*, the *Historia Lausiaca*, the *Vita Antonii*, and also the *HM*. The *HM* constitutes the third book of this compilation. On historical grounds, this could be seen as the most important of the Syriac translations, because of its wide spread and its great impact on the churches. It was not until the catalogues of the Syriac manuscripts held at British Library and similar libraries were published in the end of the 19th century, that the possibility of finding the sources for 'Enānīšō's version occurred to Western scholars. The first scholar to take an interest in the older Syriac versions found there was Erwin Preuschen, who also published the first version of the Greek *HM*. He identified four different translations, but did not describe them fully nor list all the manuscripts containing them.¹⁹ This basic division, however,

18 Festugière, 1971, p. V. (English translation: "Finally, I consented, from a pure sense of obligation and not light-heartedly, because I was aware, on beforehand, of the difficulty of the task" (own translation).)

19 Tóth, 2010,

remains a main contribution of Preuschen for the study of the Syriac translations; it has been accepted and confirmed by later scholars.

In discussing the Syriac translations, I have adopted the terminology used in the article of Peter Tóth (2010). The first²⁰ translation, R1, is in itself extant in several different versions, mainly distinguished by the number of stories included in them. One version of the R1 seems to have been the main source for ‘Enānīšō’ in compiling his *Paradise* version of the *HM* (but two chapters are taken from the R4, leading Tóth to suspect a *Vorlage* related to the *RecXVIII*, on which see below). Based on the translations technique, Tóth places the R1 between the first (5th and 6th century) and the second (7th century) period of Syriac translations from Greek, as reconstructed by Sebastian Brock.²¹ This period typically display translations aimed at bringing the Greek texts to the Syrians, rather than the other way around; the translations frequently “translate” cultural traits appearing in the texts and loanwords are not so common as they soon will be. Tóth, nevertheless, characterises the R1 translation as very close to the Greek *Vorlage*, often managing to reflect even subtleties of the Greek text and sometimes translating a Greek word with several Syriac ones in an attempt to preserve ambiguities of the Greek version (this latter trait being typical of the early translations). The R1 does not use the standardised ascetic vocabulary, which was to become widely spread through the Syriac translations of the works of Evagrius Ponticus. Concerning this method of dating an ascetic text, see Guillaumont (1983). The Evagrian corpus was probably translated to Syriac around the end of the 5th century A.D.,²² and thus the R1 presumably was produced before or during that time. (At least before they were widespread enough as for their vocabulary to permeate other ascetical texts.) The earliest manuscript witness of the R1 is dated 532 A.D.²³

The second translation, R2, is less homogeneous than R1. It is extant in four manuscripts, all of which differ as to which chapters are included. In spite of this, the R2 translation is not preserved in its totality (if the whole *HM* ever existed in this translation, that is). The manuscripts contain more scribal mistakes than those of R1. Nonetheless, the following observations are made by Tóth concerning the nature of R2: On account, again, of the translation technique, he dates it “a bit” later than R1.²⁴ It follows much more closely the Greek text and even translates specific grammatical constructions (e. g., a Greek *accusativus cum infinitivo*) word-for-word. Remarkably, though, the

20 It should be noted, that this does not imply that the R1 translation is the oldest, only that in the scholarly literature on the *HM*, it has generally been considered first. The origin of this numbering is Draguet (1978).

21 See: Brock, 1983.

22 Guillaumont, 1983, p. 36.

23 Tóth, 2010, p. 67.

24 Tóth, 2010, p. 74.

R2 makes a greater use of the Old Syriac Bible translation than does R1. This should normally be interpreted as archaic and thus it complicates the picture. What seems to be decisive for Tóth, however, is the R2 usage of the general Syriac ascetic terminology. This suggests that the text was produced by someone with knowledge of the Evagrian texts in Syriac and thus it is likely to stem from the first half of the sixth century. (The earliest manuscript displaying the R2 translation is dated to the second half of the same century.) If this dating is correct, the R2 translation proves an important witness to the Greek textual tradition, precisely because of its literal translation. This enables a comparison to be made between the R2 and the Greek variant, and in Tóth's article this method successfully confirms the age of some readings of the Greek text, that former scholars had dismissed as later changes. (He also, interestingly, notes that in some cases, when the reading of R2 lacks counterparts in all the Greek manuscripts, it seems as if the Greek versions have changed theologically loaded words, which could be connected to the part of Evagrius' teachings that were condemned in the end of the 4th century, to dull pronouns, perhaps as a means of making the text more acceptable.²⁵) Chapter III of the R2 (on Amun) was edited and issued by François Nau in 1916, in his publication on abba Amun;²⁶ apart from this, it remains unedited.

The third translation, R3, is preserved in its totality in a unique manuscript, which, apart from some physical damage on the parchment, contains the whole text. It also survives as a short excerpt (of chapter I) in a letter, in most cases ascribed to one Macarius the Alexandrian, but in one case to John the Solitary (apparently identical to John of Lycopolis), that is extant in various, according to Tóth quite different, manuscripts (and has been published by Werner Strothmann²⁷). As for its translation technique, it is the version that diverges the most from the Greek text. Tóth says that the original "often [is] misunderstood and misinterpreted"²⁸ by the translator, who does not seem interested in rendering the nuances of the Greek text, but rather only to convey a sense of its meaning. The R3 translation moreover often adds thoughts not present in any of the Greek versions. This apparent liberty in relation to the Greek original is a characteristic of the earliest Syriac translations, as concluded by Brock.²⁹ Other examples of archaisms mentioned by Tóth are the use of the word *ḥayyē* in the meaning of salvation and, notably, the occurrences of the pronominal form (')*naḥnan*. As regards the usage of ascetic terminology, R3 is not characterised by the Evagrian terminology, but often uses phrases, which Tóth sees as natively Semitic. As an example could

25 Tóth, 2010, pp. 81-82.

26 Unfortunately, it has, thus, not been possible to compare the translation edited below with the R2 recension.

27 See: Strothmann, 1981.

28 Tóth, 2010, p. 87.

29 Brock, 1983, pp. 10-11.

serve the rendering of the Greek ἄσκησις by the Syriac term 'amnē pa(')yē d-(')abīlūtā.³⁰ Taken together, all this leads Tóth to the conclusion that R3 is “in all probability”³¹ the earliest Syriac translation. He dates it, on account of the translation technique used, to the second half of the fifth century. But even if the R3 translation is the oldest, its value in deciding the age of the different Greek versions is impaired by the free usage of the *Vorlage*.

The fourth translation, R4, is preserved only in compilation of stories from the *HM*, the Palladian *Historia Lausiaca* and Jerome's *Vita Pauli* named by René Draguet (in his study on the Syriac versions of *Historia Lausiaca*) the *Receuil des dix-huit histoires (RecXVIII)*.³² In its simplest version, it consists of thirteen chapters from the *Historia Lausiaca*, the entire *Vita Pauli* and three chapters from the *HM*, namely chapters I, X and XI. Preuschen, in his survey of the *HM* manuscripts, identified these chapters as an independent translation, but this claim was challenged by Cuthbert Butler, who considered the first chapter independent, but meant that the other two represented R1.³³ As Tóth shows, this was a mistake by Butler, who was not aware of the different versions within the R1 translation. Butler apparently based his judgment on the fact that the chapters X and XI in the R4 version are found in 'Enānīšō's *Paradise of the Fathers*; thinking that the *Paradise* represented the R1 without further complications, he came to the conclusion that this version of chapters X and XI must belong to the R1 translation. However, an examination of the non-*Paradise* manuscripts containing R1 shows another translation. This, Tóth suggests, indicates that 'Enānīšō' based his compilation rather on (a version of) the *RecXVIII* than on an unmingled R1 text.

Complicated, as the situation might seem, the R4 exists in two variants: a longer (R4b) and a shorter one (R4a). The shorter one contains the *RecXVIII* without additions. It thus contains the three *HM* chapters in the R4 translation without any complications. The longer version, however, is made up of *RecXVIII* and an addition of anecdotes taken from the R1. This addition contains the R1 version of chapter I, which has led the compiler to exclude the R4 version to avoid repetition. Consequently, the shorter version of the *RecXVIII* contains more R4 material than the longer one.

Based on the discussion above, the following stemma can be reconstructed, displaying the different translations as well as the (more comprehensive) published editions and how they relate to each

30 English translation: "the beautiful works of mourning" (own translation).

31 Tóth, 2010, p. 90.

32 Draguet, 1978, p. 22*.

33 Tóth, 2010, p. 93-94.

other:

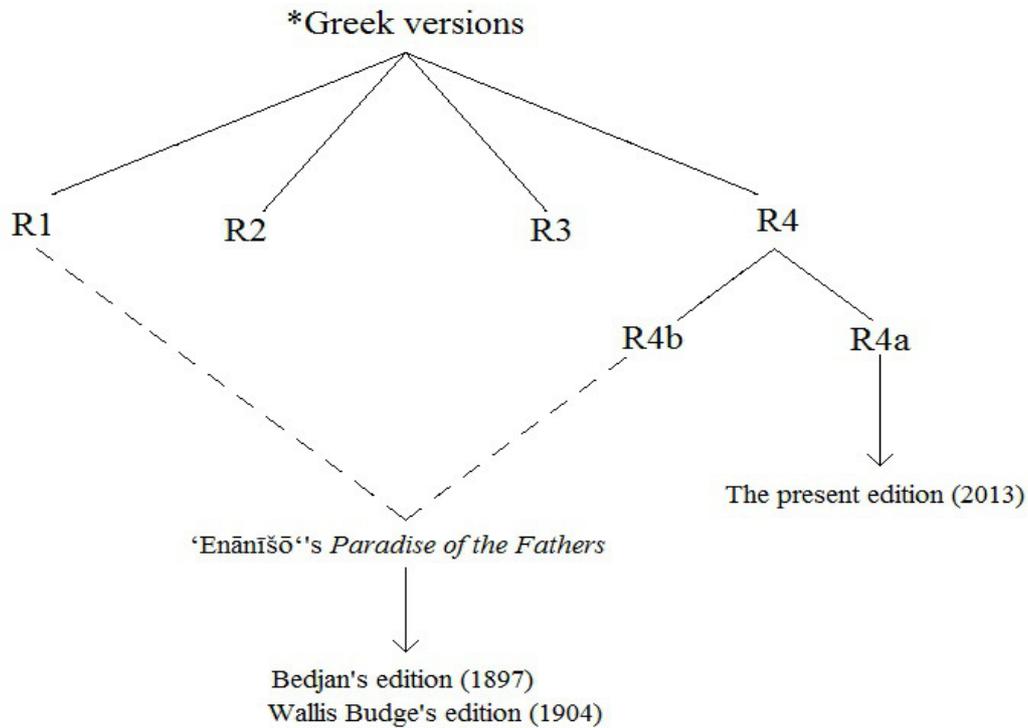


Illustration 1: The Syriac translations and published editions of the HM.
(Source: own illustration.)

2.3 The First Chapter: On John of Lycopolis

In the present essay, only the first chapter of the *HM* will be edited. Thus, a short introduction to its content seems appropriate: The first chapter of the *HM* (*HM1*), following the prologue, concerns John of Lycopolis, also known as John of Egypt, John the Hermit, and John the Anchorite. We are not told much about his life, but the narration revolves around his miracles and some anecdotes of other monastics, which he tells the visitors. John is described as a prophet and a wonder-worker; he heals people by giving them blessed oil and in his speech he stresses the importance of humbleness for the ascetic life. A main topic of the narration is relations to women. According to the text, John avoided seeing women for several decades, leading him, for example, to the decision rather to show himself to a woman in her sleep than to allow her to visit him in person, and in the two longer edificatory stories that he tells the visiting brethren, the demons and evil thoughts are attacking by means of imaginations of women.

As has been described above, *HM1* is extant in all four recensions of the Syriac *HM*. In the present essay, the R4 version is edited and published, to the best of my knowledge, for the first time. Its content is not markedly different from the other Syriac translations (nor the Greek one), more on which see below. The choice of the first chapter for an edition, was based mainly on the above-mentioned fact that it is present only in the shorter version of the *RecXVIII*, and, thus, in a very limited number of manuscripts (*i. e.*, two). This being the case, the present edition can claim to be based on all the available material, which would not have been possible, had another chapter been chosen.

3. THE MANUSCRIPTS

This edition has been based on the only two manuscripts that contain the first chapter of the *HM* in the R4 recension. Below they are called D and F, with sigla taken from Draguet's edition of the *Historia Lausiaca* and utilised as well by Tóth in his article (2010) on the *HM*.

3.1. *Sinai syr. 46*

D = Sinai syr. 46, fol. 70ra-107vb + Milano, Ambrosienne A 296 inf., fol. 169r-173v. A.G. 845 = A.D. 534.

Sinai syr. 46 originates, as obvious, from the Sinai peninsula and has previously been described by René Draguet.³⁴ In its present state, it lacks both its beginning and its end. By chance,³⁵ however, Draguet came to connect it with a lot of disparate leaves in the collections of the Biblioteca Ambrosiana in Milan; a closer investigation showed that among those loose manuscript sheets were actually to be found both the beginning of Sinai syr. 46 and its end. Draguet has convincingly argued for their common origin and there seems to be no reason to suppose that any pages are missing; this supposition is strengthened by B (see below), which contains the same stories in the same order, but without the decapitation and the missing end. The discussion of the leaves of Milan does not concern the edition of *HM1* directly, but it is closely connected, as one of the two other *HM* chapters to be found in *RecXVIII* is divided between the Milan and the Sinai codices.

34 Draguet, 1978, pp. 21*-22*.

35 Draguet, 1963, p. 167.

I have not been able to consult the manuscripts personally; therefore the following descriptions are based on Draguet's. As I cannot add any information of my own, I deem it most appropriate to simply quote Draguet's descriptions. Concerning D, he writes:

Parchemin; acéphale et mutilé à la fin; 109 folios, numéroté fautivement, lors de la photographie, de 1 à 107 en bissant les fol. 47 et 60 [...]; estranghelo, 2 col. de ca. 29-30 ln.³⁶

The text is, according to my judgement, highly legible, except in some places (notably in ff. 93va, 94rb, 95rb), where the text (at least in the microfilm based PDF files that have been available to me) has been blurred. In the present edition, these lacunae have been filled in using material from F and duly marked in the critical apparatus. D contains a small number of corrections (forgotten letters inserted later, superscripted). The spelling is in no way remarkable; a certain preponderance for unetymological variants (most notably writing *ḥarēnā* instead of (')*ḥarēnā*) seems to be discernable, especially in comparison with F (see below).

At the end of D, in one of the pages from Milan, there is a colophon, dating the manuscript to A.G. 845 = A.D. 534. It thus seems reasonable, to presume that D is our earliest manuscript witness of the R4 translation.

3.2. *BL Add. 17177*

F = BL Add. 17177, fol. 61rb-118vb. Dated to the 6th century A.D.

Draguet (1978a) only includes a brief discussion on this manuscript³⁷ and refers, for a description, to Wright's catalogue of 1872. Wright writes (notes on pages irrelevant for the present study have not been included):

Vellum, about 10¾ in. by 8⅝, consisting of 134 leaves, many of which are much stained by water, [...]. The number of quires is uncertain, but there are old signatures running as high as ω (fol. 112 *a*). Leaves are wanting at the beginning and end, and also after foll. 3, 11, 19, 29, 37, 47,

³⁶ Draguet, 1978a. p. 21*. (English translation: "Parchment; acephalous and mutilated in the end; 119 folios, faultily numbered at the time of photography from 1 to 107 repeating the folios 47 and 60 [...]; written in Estrangelo, 2 columns of ca. 29-30 lines." (own translation).)

³⁷ Draguet, 1978a. p. 26*.

55, 118, 127, and 132. Each page is divided into two columns, of from 21 to 29 lines. This volume is written in a fine Eṣṭrangēlā of the vith cent. [...]

According to my judgement, F is even more easily read than D. In the PDF files, on which the present edition is based, this is particularly clear, when it comes to the representation of the usage of diacritical points. No lacunae or places with blurred text are to be found in F, even though in a few places some words are hard to identify. As concerns the orthography, F is generally more conservative than D; as a standard the copist uses the forms with an etymological, silent 'ālaf (e. g., (')ḥārēnā instead of ḥārēnā). Other differences in orthography include that F frequently omits the *sāyāmē* points over pronouns and numerals, while D includes them, and a certain variation between the manuscripts as concerns whether some words should be written in one or in two words (ex.: 'āflā or 'āf lā, *mēm̄māṭōm* or *men māṭōm*). Based on the handwriting, F is dated to the sixth century A.D. I am not in a position to add anything to that statement.

4. THE EDITION

4.1. Editorial Principles

The purpose of the present edition has been to present the best possible version of the *text*, defined in this particular case neither as the original of the author (which at present seems to be irrecoverably lost and furthermore to be in Greek) nor as what a single manuscript displays, but rather as the original translation of the R4 translator. Naturally, the chances for this original translation to be reached are hard to estimate, so what is edited and presented below is solely what can be concluded from the material at hand, exactly as if the aim were the original of the author. As a consequence of this, scribal errors and the like has been indicated in the critical apparatus, rather than in the text. During the process of producing this edition, I have come to the conclusion that the F manuscripts in general displays a better reading and therefore I have chosen it as the default reading. By this I mean only that in cases, where the manuscripts differ and there seems to be no particular reason to follow any of them (this concerns mainly questions of orthography and the use of *matres lectionis*), I have followed F. When the text of D seems to make better sense, it is the one represented in the text, the alternate readings of F, in these cases, being found in the critical apparatus.

The close relationship between the two manuscripts has determined the form of the present edition. As the differences are only minor, it has seemed appropriate to present the divergences in the critical apparatus. The aim has been to produce a legible and accessible text, while carefully noting every difference in reading that might occur. As the purpose of this edition is to present this particular translation in a form that makes it easily comparable to future editions of other translations and versions, a main aim has been that the manuscripts should be completely reconstructable from the edition; this has been practically possible to achieve, as so few manuscripts have been used. To facilitate comparison with the Greek text, the paragraph numbers of Festugière's Greek edition have been inserted into the edition and English translation. These will also make it easier to follow the discussions below. The present edition is that it is based solely on PDF copies of microfilm copies of the manuscripts. This has had some influence on how I have chosen to represent diacritical points in the Syriac text: the copies of D, which I have had access to, are less clear than those of F, (presumably) leading to the fact that D often completely omits diacritical points, which are visible in F. To avoid putting a great effort into describing a bad copy, rather than the actual manuscript, I have chosen not to take into account the cases where F has an important diacritical point, while D completely lacks it. In cases where D has had a different pointing, this has, however, been noted. As for the diacritical points in general, only those who makes a substantial difference in the meaning have been included. The interpunctuation generally follows F.

The Syriac text is presented first; thereafter follows the translation. Deviations from the presented text, whether alternate readings or lacunae, occurring in D or in F, have been noted in the critical apparatus. The Syriac text has been presented in paragraphs according to Festugière's numbering. The original page and column division of the manuscripts have been noted in the right margin together with the folio numbers. The original line division has not been taken into account; as a consequence of this, no reference will be made to line numbers. In the folio numbering of D, *r* means *recto* and *v* means *verso*: for example, 89v refers to folio 89, *verso* side. The folio breaks of D have been indicated by an asterisk in the edition; the column division has been indicated in the edition by the sign |. The folio breaks of F, which differ from those of D (thereby, as noted above, incidentally assuring that the folio ordering of D is correct), have been indicated by the symbol [*]. As for the folio numbers of F, I have based them on the small, handwritten, Latin numbers found in the leftmost upper corner of (almost) every second page. I have not been able to discern which side of a given folio represents the *r* and which represents *v*, and thus have marked the F pages with *a* and *b* instead, *a* being the page that comes first, as one reads the present codex. The F column breaks have been signalled and noted by the sign [|]. (As the present edition is based on PDF copies

That would give the following texts in the manuscripts:

A חַדְשׁוֹת אֶתְּמַרְנָה לְפָנֶיךָ יְיָ אֱלֹהֵינוּ וְנִשְׁמַח בְּיָמֵינוּ
B חַדְשׁוֹת אֶתְּמַרְנָה לְפָנֶיךָ יְיָ אֱלֹהֵינוּ וְנִשְׁמַח בְּיָמֵינוּ

The footnotes of the translation include comments on difficult passages and direct references to Biblical quotations found in the text.³⁸ Vaguer allusions have not been considered.

³⁸ To identify Biblical quotations, I have compared the present edition with the relevant parts of the French text of Festugière (1964, pp. 9-26).

4. 3. *Tabula Siglorum*

D	Sinai syr. 46, fol. 70ra-107vb	
F	BL Add. 17177, fol. 61rb-118vb.	
cf.	confer	compare
om.	omittit	omits
add.	addidit	added
inc.	incertum	uncertain
ut vid.	ut videtur	so it seems
vel	vel	or
sim.	similis/similia	similar
sin.	sine	without

5. THE TEXT

The text beginning at F: 86b/D: 88r

§ 1. ¹כִּי־יִשְׁמַע־יְהוָה אֶת־הַקּוֹלִים הַלֵּלוּ ²וַיִּשְׁמַע־יְהוָה אֶת־הַקּוֹלִים הַלֵּלוּ ³וַיִּשְׁמַע־יְהוָה אֶת־הַקּוֹלִים הַלֵּלוּ ⁴וַיִּשְׁמַע־יְהוָה אֶת־הַקּוֹלִים הַלֵּלוּ ⁵וַיִּשְׁמַע־יְהוָה אֶת־הַקּוֹלִים הַלֵּלוּ ⁶וַיִּשְׁמַע־יְהוָה אֶת־הַקּוֹלִים הַלֵּלוּ ⁷וַיִּשְׁמַע־יְהוָה אֶת־הַקּוֹלִים הַלֵּלוּ ⁸וַיִּשְׁמַע־יְהוָה אֶת־הַקּוֹלִים הַלֵּלוּ ⁹וַיִּשְׁמַע־יְהוָה אֶת־הַקּוֹלִים הַלֵּלוּ ¹⁰וַיִּשְׁמַע־יְהוָה אֶת־הַקּוֹלִים הַלֵּלוּ ¹¹וַיִּשְׁמַע־יְהוָה אֶת־הַקּוֹלִים הַלֵּלוּ ¹²וַיִּשְׁמַע־יְהוָה אֶת־הַקּוֹלִים הַלֵּלוּ ¹³וַיִּשְׁמַע־יְהוָה אֶת־הַקּוֹלִים הַלֵּלוּ ¹⁴וַיִּשְׁמַע־יְהוָה אֶת־הַקּוֹלִים הַלֵּלוּ ¹⁵וַיִּשְׁמַע־יְהוָה אֶת־הַקּוֹלִים הַלֵּלוּ ¹⁶וַיִּשְׁמַע־יְהוָה אֶת־הַקּוֹלִים הַלֵּלוּ ¹⁷וַיִּשְׁמַע־יְהוָה אֶת־הַקּוֹלִים הַלֵּלוּ

*F: 88a
|D: 88r

§ 2. ¹⁸וַיִּשְׁמַע־יְהוָה אֶת־הַקּוֹלִים הַלֵּלוּ ¹⁹וַיִּשְׁמַע־יְהוָה אֶת־הַקּוֹלִים הַלֵּלוּ ²⁰וַיִּשְׁמַע־יְהוָה אֶת־הַקּוֹלִים הַלֵּלוּ ²¹וַיִּשְׁמַע־יְהוָה אֶת־הַקּוֹלִים הַלֵּלוּ ²²וַיִּשְׁמַע־יְהוָה אֶת־הַקּוֹלִים הַלֵּלוּ ²³וַיִּשְׁמַע־יְהוָה אֶת־הַקּוֹלִים הַלֵּלוּ ²⁴וַיִּשְׁמַע־יְהוָה אֶת־הַקּוֹלִים הַלֵּלוּ ²⁵וַיִּשְׁמַע־יְהוָה אֶת־הַקּוֹלִים הַלֵּלוּ ²⁶וַיִּשְׁמַע־יְהוָה אֶת־הַקּוֹלִים הַלֵּלוּ ²⁷וַיִּשְׁמַע־יְהוָה אֶת־הַקּוֹלִים הַלֵּלוּ ²⁸וַיִּשְׁמַע־יְהוָה אֶת־הַקּוֹלִים הַלֵּלוּ ²⁹וַיִּשְׁמַע־יְהוָה אֶת־הַקּוֹלִים הַלֵּלוּ ³⁰וַיִּשְׁמַע־יְהוָה אֶת־הַקּוֹלִים הַלֵּלוּ

|F: 88a

1 F: The rubric is surrounded by horizontal dots (three on each side), marking it as different from the rest of the text.
 2 D: כִּי־יִשְׁמַע־יְהוָה
 3 D: וַיִּשְׁמַע
 4 F: וַיִּשְׁמַע־יְהוָה
 5 F: om.
 6 F: כִּי־יִשְׁמַע־יְהוָה
 7 F: וַיִּשְׁמַע־יְהוָה [*]
 8 D: וַיִּשְׁמַע־יְהוָה
 9 D: add. וַיִּשְׁמַע
 10 D: וַיִּשְׁמַע
 11 D: וַיִּשְׁמַע (D frequently lacks the diacritical point, when (h)wā functions as an enclitic. Further occurrences will not be noted in the critical apparatus.)
 12 D: וַיִּשְׁמַע
 13 D: add. וַיִּשְׁמַע
 14 D: וַיִּשְׁמַע
 15 D: וַיִּשְׁמַע
 16 F: וַיִּשְׁמַע
 17 D: add. a small symbol, to mark the beginning of a new story.
 18 D: וַיִּשְׁמַע
 19 D: וַיִּשְׁמַע־יְהוָה, both from Greek στρατηλάτης.
 20 D: וַיִּשְׁמַע
 21 F: וַיִּשְׁמַע־יְהוָה
 22 D: וַיִּשְׁמַע־יְהוָה
 23 F: וַיִּשְׁמַע
 24 F: וַיִּשְׁמַע־יְהוָה
 25 D: וַיִּשְׁמַע־יְהוָה
 26 D: וַיִּשְׁמַע־יְהוָה
 27 F: וַיִּשְׁמַע־יְהוָה
 28 D: וַיִּשְׁמַע, c. *səyāmē*.
 29 D: וַיִּשְׁמַע־יְהוָה
 30 D: וַיִּשְׁמַע־יְהוָה

§ 3. *F: 87b
 * D: 88v
 33 32 31 [*] 34 35* 36 37 38 39 40

§ 4. *F: 87b
 | D: 88v
 41 42 43 44 45 46 47 48 49 50 51

§ 5. 52

§ 6. *F: 89a
 53 54 [*] 55 56 57 58 59 60 61 62

31 D: the letter corresponding to 'ālaf in F is illegible.
 32 D:
 33 D: the word is partly illegible.
 34 D: the word is blurred after 'ālaf.
 35 D: This page contains a damaged header, which seems to say: 'Aḅāhātā meṣrāyē (as the one of D f. 93v: see below).
 36 D:
 37 F:
 38 D: om.
 39 D:
 40 D: om.
 41 From Latin *tribunus*.
 42 F:
 43 F: the diacritical point is missing. D: the letters are pressed together and very faint: the *yōd* seems to be missing.
 44 D:
 45 F:
 46 D:
 47 F:
 48 F:
 49 D:
 50 F:
 51 F: om.
 52 D:
 53 D:
 54 D: the word is faint and partly blurred.
 55 D: the word is blurred after *pē*. (However, it seems not to be enough room for the same reading as F. Perhaps D originally had *neppoq*.)
 56 D: add.
 57 D: om.
 58 D: add. (Possibly with a *nūn*, *rēš* or *dālat*, instead of the *zayn*, as the last visible letter. The word, which seems to be dispensable as far as the content is concerned, appears to be encircled, possibly by a modern hand.)
 59 D:
 60 D:
 61 D:
 62 D:

§ 11. ⁸⁹ 11. § 11. ⁹¹ 91. ⁹² 92. ⁹³ 93. ⁹⁴ 94. ⁹⁵ 95. ⁹⁶ 96. ⁹⁷ 97. ⁹⁸ 98. ⁹⁹ 99. ¹⁰⁰ 100. ¹⁰¹ 101. ¹⁰² 102. ¹⁰³ 103. ¹⁰⁴ 104. ¹⁰⁵ 105. ¹⁰⁶ 106. ¹⁰⁷ 107. ¹⁰⁸ 108. ¹⁰⁹ 109. ¹¹⁰ 110. ¹¹¹ 111. ¹¹² 112. ¹¹³ 113. ¹¹⁴ 114. ¹¹⁵ 115. ¹¹⁶ 116. ¹¹⁷ 117. ¹¹⁸ 118. ¹¹⁹ 119. ¹²⁰ 120. ¹²¹ 121.

*F: 90a
|D: 89v

§ 12. ⁹⁸ 98. ⁹⁹ 99. ¹⁰⁰ 100. ¹⁰¹ 101. ¹⁰² 102. ¹⁰³ 103. ¹⁰⁴ 104. ¹⁰⁵ 105. ¹⁰⁶ 106. ¹⁰⁷ 107. ¹⁰⁸ 108. ¹⁰⁹ 109. ¹¹⁰ 110.

|F: 90a
D: 90r

§ 13. ¹¹³ 113. ¹¹⁴ 114. ¹¹⁵ 115. ¹¹⁶ 116. ¹¹⁷ 117. ¹¹⁸ 118. ¹¹⁹ 119. ¹²⁰ 120. ¹²¹ 121.

*F: 89b

§ 14. ¹²¹ 121. ¹²⁰ 120. ¹¹⁹ 119. ¹¹⁸ 118. ¹¹⁷ 117. ¹¹⁶ 116. ¹¹⁵ 115. ¹¹⁴ 114. ¹¹³ 113.

89 D: ⁹¹ 91.
 90 D: ⁹² 92.
 91 D: ⁹³ 93.
 92 F: This page has a rubric: *Tas'ayātā d-iḥīdāyā* (given that the second word was meant to lack *səyāmē*; cf. F 95a).
 93 F: ⁹⁴ 94.
 94 D: ⁹⁵ 95.
 95 F: ⁹⁶ 96.
 96 D: ⁹⁷ 97.
 97 D: ⁹⁸ 98.
 98 D: ⁹⁹ 99.
 99 From Greek συγκλητικός.
 100D: ¹⁰¹ 101.
 101D: ¹⁰² 102.
 102 F: ¹⁰³ 103.
 103 D: ¹⁰⁴ 104.
 104 D: ¹⁰⁵ 105. (Possibly the, according to my understanding of the text, unexpected forms in D (cf. this note and n. 103, 105) can be explained if one supposes that the copist interchanged the endings.)
 105 D: ¹⁰⁶ 106.
 106 D: ¹⁰⁷ 107.
 107 D: ¹⁰⁸ 108.
 108 D: ¹⁰⁹ 109.
 109 D: ¹¹⁰ 110.
 110 D: ¹¹¹ 111.
 111 F: the last *yōd* is missing in the copy (presumably because the word is placed in the gutter of the codex).
 112 D: ¹¹³ 113.
 113 D: ¹¹⁴ 114, c. *səyāmē*.
 114 From Greek ξένος.
 115 F: ¹¹⁶ 116.
 116 F: ¹¹⁷ 117.
 117 D: ¹¹⁸ 118.
 118 D: ¹¹⁹ 119.
 119 D: ¹²⁰ 120, both from Greek κληρικός.
 120 D: ¹²¹ 121.
 121 F: ¹²² 122.

*F: 92b
 *D: 92v
 *F: 92b
 |D: 92v
 *F: 94a
 *F: 94a
 /*D: 93r
 *F: 93b

203 F: add. *לפי*
 204 D: *והוא*
 205 D: *הוא*
 206 D: *הוא*
 207 D: *הוא*, add. *הוא*
 208 F: add. *הוא*
 209 D: *הוא*, c. *seyāmē*
 210 F: *הוא*
 211 D: *הוא*
 212 D: *הוא*
 213 D: *הוא*
 214 D: add. *הוא*
 215 D: *הוא*
 216 D: *הוא*
 217 F: *הוא*
 218 D: *הוא*
 219 F: *הוא*
 220 F: *הוא*
 221 F: *הוא*
 222 D: *הוא*
 223 D: *הוא*
 224 D: the *yōd* is superscripted, presumably added afterwards.
 225 F: *הוא*
 226 F: *הוא*
 227 D: *הוא*, sin. *seyāmē*.
 228 D: *הוא*
 229 D: *הוא*
 230 F: *הוא*, D: *הוא*
 231 D: *הוא*
 232 F: the first letter, corresponding to the *lāmaḏ* of D, is blurred.

§ 50. ²³⁵ ²³⁴ ²³³ ²³⁶ | D: 93r

§ 51. ²³⁷ ²³⁸ | F: 93b

§ 52. ²⁴⁰ ²⁴¹ ²⁴² *D: 93v *F: 95a

§ 53. ²⁵³ ²⁵⁴ ²⁵⁵ ²⁵⁶ ²⁵⁷ ²⁵⁸ ²⁵⁹ ²⁶⁰

§ 54. ²⁶¹ | F: 95a | D: 93v

233 D: ²³³ ²³⁴, c. *sayāmē*

234 D: om.

235 D: ²³⁵, ut vid.

236 F: ²³⁶

237 F: ²³⁷ (Possibly, the *waw* is crossed over.)

238 F: ²³⁸

239 D, F: vel ²³⁹

240 F: ²⁴⁰

241 F: ²⁴¹

242 F: add. ²⁴²

243 D: This page has a header, saying: '*Abāhātā meṣrāyē*' (probably as the one of p. 88v: see above).

244 F: om.

245 F: ²⁴⁵

246 F: The page has a rubric: *Tas'eyātā d-ṭḥīḏāyā* (given that the second word was meant to lack *sayāmē*, cf. F 90a).

247 D: the word is partly illegible.

248 D: the word is partly illegible.

249 D: only the two initial and the two final letters, corresponding to F, are legible.

250 D: has *lāmaq, taw*, an illegible letter (possibly *šin* or *rēš*), '*ayn, taw, 'ālaf*.'

251 D: an initial *gāmal* (with *sayāmē* above it) and a final '*ālaf*' are legible: between them there is a lacuna.

252 D: the text is badly damaged, leaving the word illegible.

253 D: the text is badly damaged, but it seems to match F.

254 D: the beginning of the word is illegible, but from *taw* and forward, D corresponds to F.

255 D: inc.

256 F: ²⁵⁶, sin. *sayāmē*

257 D: ²⁵⁷

258 D: ²⁵⁸

259 F: ²⁵⁹

260 F: ²⁶⁰

261 F: ²⁶¹, sin. *sayāmē*

262 D: ²⁶², c. *sayāmē*

263 F: ²⁶³

264 D: ²⁶⁴

§ 55. מן, וְגַם אֶת הַיָּדוּעַ הַזֶּה ²⁶⁵ אֲרָאָה וְגַם הַיָּדוּעַ הַזֶּה חָלַף מֵהַיָּדוּעַ הַזֶּה, וְגַם הַיָּדוּעַ הַזֶּה חָלַף מֵהַיָּדוּעַ הַזֶּה.
 וְגַם הַיָּדוּעַ הַזֶּה חָלַף מֵהַיָּדוּעַ הַזֶּה, וְגַם הַיָּדוּעַ הַזֶּה חָלַף מֵהַיָּדוּעַ הַזֶּה. *F: 94b

§ 56. וְגַם הַיָּדוּעַ הַזֶּה חָלַף מֵהַיָּדוּעַ הַזֶּה, וְגַם הַיָּדוּעַ הַזֶּה חָלַף מֵהַיָּדוּעַ הַזֶּה. *D: 94r
 וְגַם הַיָּדוּעַ הַזֶּה חָלַף מֵהַיָּדוּעַ הַזֶּה, וְגַם הַיָּדוּעַ הַזֶּה חָלַף מֵהַיָּדוּעַ הַזֶּה. *F: 94b

§ 57. וְגַם הַיָּדוּעַ הַזֶּה חָלַף מֵהַיָּדוּעַ הַזֶּה, וְגַם הַיָּדוּעַ הַזֶּה חָלַף מֵהַיָּדוּעַ הַזֶּה. ||D: 94r
 וְגַם הַיָּדוּעַ הַזֶּה חָלַף מֵהַיָּדוּעַ הַזֶּה, וְגַם הַיָּדוּעַ הַזֶּה חָלַף מֵהַיָּדוּעַ הַזֶּה. *D: 94r

§ 58. וְגַם הַיָּדוּעַ הַזֶּה חָלַף מֵהַיָּדוּעַ הַזֶּה, וְגַם הַיָּדוּעַ הַזֶּה חָלַף מֵהַיָּדוּעַ הַזֶּה. *F: 96a
 וְגַם הַיָּדוּעַ הַזֶּה חָלַף מֵהַיָּדוּעַ הַזֶּה, וְגַם הַיָּדוּעַ הַזֶּה חָלַף מֵהַיָּדוּעַ הַזֶּה. *F: 96a

265 F: om.
 266 F: אֲרָאָה
 267 D: add. אִם
 268 F: אֲרָאָה, sin. ↓
 269 F: The first letter, corresponding to the *mēm* of D, is illegible.
 270 F: חָלַף, inc.
 271 D: אֲרָאָה
 272 F: אִם
 273 D: אֲרָאָה
 274 D: אֲרָאָה
 275 F: אֲרָאָה, ut vid.
 276 D: חָלַף | חָ
 277 F: om.
 278 D: the word is partly illegible.
 279 D: the *lāmaq* is blurred and the rest of the word is partly illegible.
 280 D: the words are partly illegible, the letters of the second word corresponding to *waw* and *ḥēṭ* in F being illegible. →
 281 D: the word is damaged, so that only the *rēš* and *taw* are legible.
 282 D: the word is damaged and the letter corresponding to *waw* in F is illegible.
 283 F: אֲרָאָה
 284 D: only the initial *pē* is legible.
 285 D: only the initial *šīn* is clearly legible. (There seems not to be enough room for the entire phrase found in F, so probably the *həwā* was not present in D: the sentence makes sense without it, and furthermore there seems to be a vestige of a final *nūn* (presumably deriving from the word *men*) at the end of the passage.) →
 286 D: the final *ʿālaf* is illegible.
 287 D: the word is damaged, so that only first *ḥēṭ*, *nūn* and *gāmal* are legible.
 288 D: the letter corresponding to *kāf* in F is blurred.
 289 F: אֲרָאָה
 290 F: אֲרָאָה
 291 D: om.
 292 d: חָלַף

6. THE TRANSLATION

§ 1. The fourteenth story: We also saw, on the border of the Thebaïd, the master and blessed [man] John,¹ a holy and distinguished and wonderworking man, who because of his deeds was known [*] to everybody, who also had the gift of healing. For everything, which was destined by God to come to the world, he announced to emperor Theodosius, who was God-fearing, and he foresaw what was going to happen. He also talked about the tyrants, who were going to rise up against him, and he told of their sudden fall, and also of | the devastation of the [pagan] nations, who were gathering against him.

§ 2. Now then, a certain commander, who came to him, and he asked him [|] if victory was to be found over the Cushites in Syene² – that is the summit of the Thebaïd –, because in this time the Cushites had come and devastated those borders. And John said to him: "You will overtake them, and you will waste them, and subjugate them, and you will become elect and honoured even before the emperors." And so it happened, as he had told. And he also said this: "The Christian Emperor Theodosius will die a natural death".

§ 3. For this man had [a gift of] great prophesy [*] in everything, according to what we heard from the elect fathers who stayed * with him, those whose ways were splendid to everyone who dwelt in that place and who told us nothing exaggerated about the ways of the blessed [man], but spoke less than what he was. That is obvious.

§ 4. A tribune came to him and begged him that his [= the tribune's] spouse should come [and] be blessed by him, because she thirsted and desired ardently to see him, for they were going to journey to Syene. And he begged that she should come to him [|] and that he should pray for her, and bless her, and [then] let her go. But he did not receive her, because in forty years he had not seen a woman. He was an elderly man, ninety years [old], and no one had | ever entered³ to him into the cave, where he lived, and neither had he seen a woman, and because of this, he excused himself from seeing this freeborn woman.

§ 5. But from [his] window he used to bless everybody and greet everyone, who came to him, talking with each one of them about the diligence of his life.

§ 6. Even though this tribune persisted in begging and entreating [him; *] that he should order him [= the tribune] to bring her [= the tribune's spouse] to him, he [= John] did not receive her and would not be convinced, saying: "That cannot happen". His place was far from the city, about two miles. But the woman never⁴ ceased to entreat her husband, swearing an oath and saying: "I shall not go * anywhere, if I do not see the blessed [man], the prophet."

§ 7. And the tribune went again [to John], and he told John of the vow of the woman, and he [= John] considered it and was amazed by the faith of the woman, and he told her husband: [|] "Today, this night, I will appear to her in a dream, and she will not see my face again in the body." And the tribune went and made known to his wife the words of the blessed [man].

1 The Syriac text has *mār(y) Yōhannān, mār(y)* (literally meaning "my lord") being an honorary title given to ecclesiastics, saints and the like. I have chosen to consistently anglicise the name and leave out the title.

2 The modern-day Aswan in Upper Egypt. The Syriac apparently transcribes this Greek form of the name: Συήνη.

3 F has an 'af'el stem form, which gives the following translation: "he had never brought anyone to him into the cave".

4 Literally, "every day did not cease"

§ 8. And thus, as he had said, the woman saw the blessed [man], the prophet, as he came to her in a vision of the night, saying to her: "What do I have to do with you, woman?⁵ Why do you desire to see my face? Because I am a prophet? I am a monk and not a worldly man.⁶ I am a sinful and pitiful man like you, | but I have prayed for you and for the entire house of your husband, that it may be for you according to your faith [*]. Go in peace!" And when he said this, he departed from her.

§ 9. And when the woman woke up from her sleep, she told the words of the blessed [man] to her husband, [and] even his [= John's] appearance and his habit,⁷ and through her husband she sent him words of thanksgiving. And when John saw her husband, he said to him, before he could speak⁸: "Behold, I have fulfilled your wish and I have appeared to her today and I convinced her not to entreat you to search for my face."

§ 10. Now the woman of a prefect, who was far away from his family, was close to giving birth. And it happened one day, that this prefect, whose wife had given birth, came [|] to the blessed John. * And when he sat by him, he [= John] said to him: "If you knew the gift of God⁹ and that a son has been born to you, then you would praise God. But for a little while¹⁰ his mother was in danger. And when you go, you will find a boy, seven days of age. Give him the name John and raise [him] in orders and in modesty, and when he is seven years old, bring him to the brethren who stay in the desert."

§ 11. And he revealed these wonders to the foreigners, who came to him. To the people from his city, who continuously came to him on account of their matters, he foretold [*] what was going to happen, while rebuking each one of them, and revealing and exposing their secrets. And he told them [in advance] of the flooding of the Nile and of the fruits of the earth, | and he also revealed the threat and the wrath, which God had destined to come upon them, and he rebuked the evil-doers.

§ 12. He did not heal openly, but he blessed oil and he gave [it], and he relieved many suffering from illnesses and sicknesses. So also a woman of a senator: her eyes were damaged and white spots [|] had appeared in her pupils, and she begged her husband that he should bring her to him [= John]. But he [= John] said: "I have never seen a woman". Her husband entreated him, that he should only make a prayer for her. This he made: he prayed fervently [on her behalf], and he also blessed oil and sent to her, and when she had smeared her eyes with that oil three times, on the third day her eyes were healed and * she praised God publicly.

§ 13. And why do we trouble ourselves to tell of his other acts, except for those which we saw with our own eyes? For we were seven foreign brethren and [*] when we had come to him, he greeted us¹¹ cheerfully and received each one of us with joy. And we asked him to make a prayer, because this was the first time that any of us met him; for that is the costum of the Egyptian Fathers.

§ 14. But he asked us: "Perhaps there is a clergyman [here]?" And when we told him that there was not, he looked at us and recognised the one who was hiding [himself]. For there was one among us,

5 Cf. John 2:4.

6 Literally, "I am in σῆμα [= a monk's habit] and not in work".

7 An alternative translation would be: "his appearance and his attributes".

8 The Syriac text is clear, but the English requires a circumscription. Perhaps this would be a more literal translation: "he made the first move and said:".

9 Cf. John 4:10.

10 The precise meaning of the adverb is discussable.

11 Literally, "asked our peace".

who had been esteemed worthy of the rank of the diaconate, only one [other] brother knowing it and he [= the deacon], with a humble intention, had ordered him not to tell anyone that he was a deacon, [I] saying: "I am not worthy to be compared with the holy men", but not even to the manners of the Christians was he worthy, and so he used to say [his] name and not the honour of the diaconate. But he [= John] pointed him out to all of us with his hand and said: "This one is a deacon."

§ 15. But he denied it, trying to escape notice, and from the window he [= John] reached out his hand, and he took hold of him and kissed him, and he admonished him, begging him and saying: "Do not reject the grace of God, my son, and do not deny and lie concerning the gift of Christ. For falsity is foreign to Christianity and [it does not matter if] it is in a minor or in a major thing [*], and even if something good comes out of the falsity, it is foreign to us. Because our Lord told us, that falsity is from the Evil One."¹² ¹³ And when he had been rebuked, he became still and accepted the reproof and warning, * for he [= John] admonished him with humility.

§ 16. And when we had prayed and finished the prayer, one brother of ours had had a fever for three days and was very hot. He begged him to be healed and he [= John] told him that the chastisement, which would have remained with him [prolongedly] because of his unbelief, was advantageous for him at the moment. Nevertheless and then [*sic!*] he gave him [some] oil and commanded him to smear [himself with it], and when he smeared [himself; I], he threw up everything harmful that was inside him through his mouth, and he was delivered from all the fever, and on his own legs, walking, he went to the habitations [= guest-house].

§ 17. It was a wonder to see the ninety year's old [man], with his entire body desiccated, so that, from his strict fasting, not even his beard stubble grew. For he ate nothing but fruit, and then [only] I at the sunset, and this in his old age. And he used to fast very strictly before that, never making use of bread or anything [*] else that had come out of fire [= been baked].

§ 18. And when he asked us to sit before him, we praised God for making us worthy of his sight. Like a good father, who after a long time receives his beloved sons, who come from far away from him, he began to say the following words to us with a smile on his face: "From where, my sons, or from what country have you come to the humble man?"

§ 19. And when we told him [the name of] our country and how we had come to you [pl.] from Jerusalem for the benefit of our souls, so that what we have heard with our ears, we might also see with our eyes,

§ 20. then he spoke to us and said: "What is the extraordinary, that you have come to see, [I] o beloved sons, for you have come from such a distant [place] with great toil? and do you desire to see humble and small men, who neither their appearance nor their word are something wonderful? But anywhere there are men worthy of praise and of wonder: the prophets of God and his apostles, who constantly are read in the churches, those whom it is appropriate to imitate.

§ 21. But I am verily amazed by your diligence, how you despised all the perils of the roads and for the sake of benefit have come to us [*], who because of our sloth do not even want to exit from the cave.

§ 22. And now, even if you have done something praiseworthy, I do not boast, like men who have

12 An alternative translation would be: "falsity is from evil".

13 Cf. John 8:44.

done something great. And [even] if you acquire every virtue, which few do, [even] then do not trust upon yourselves. For men who worked and laboured and trusted upon themselves, have fallen from height to depth, when they came to the height of their victories through their ways. For even to many men of ours, that has happened, and because of boasting they fell from life. [I]

§ 32. For there was a monk who lived in a cave facing the desert. He had won victory in all his manners, and he worked with his hands and ate [his] bread in the sweat of his face. Because he was constantly in his prayer and took advantage through his achievements, he, now, was confident in * himself and in his manners.

§ 33. The Evil One, who tempts every man like [he tempted] Job, asked him [= God?] how to tempt him [= the monk] and suddenly in the evening the Satan showed him the form of a beautiful woman, who was wandering in the desert. And she came and saw that the door of the cave was open, and she leaped up and entered, [*] and she fell to his feet, begging him to let her spend the night at his [place, *chez lui*], because evening had surprised her on the road. And, having mercy upon her, although he ought not to, he received her at his [place, *chez lui*] in the cave. And he began to learn from her how she had lost her way, and while she told him, she was planting cringing and sweet words in his ears. And she persisted in calling to him. And she drew him close to herself with tenderness and many words. They looked | at each other – [there was] laughter and coquetry –

§ 34. and she led him astray through her excessive talking. And he stretched out his hand around her neck and he touched her body, and she took the monk captive, and thinking [I] in his mind that there was now something in his hands, in alleviation, and led by his will to do what he desired, and wanting to approach her, being struck by stupidity, [his] life¹⁴ was aroused sexually by her desire. When he was planning this,

§ 35. she suddenly cried out and, like smoke,¹⁵ she melted away and slipped¹⁶ out of his hands. And the laughter of many demons appeared in the air, rebuking him for his error, and they mocked him, and cried out to him and said: "Whoever exalts himself shall be humbled.¹⁷ And you, who have been exalted to the heavens,¹⁸ you have been humiliated to the depth." *

§ 36. And he arose in the morning and contemplated the calamity of the night, and [*] spending all the day in lamentation, he lost hope in himself, which was unappropriate for him, and he left his monastic life and returned to the world. This is the cunning and the work of the Evil One: when he has struggled with a man and won, he leads him to hopelessness, so that he cannot rise again.

§ 45. And there was also another monk who lived in the inner desert. And for many years he had acquired great victories through his works and in the time of his old age he began to be tempted by demons. For this monk dwelt in great peace and he was amazed through prayer and praise and hidden [I] visions. And he saw divine visions in his luminous mind, | some of them while being awake and others while sleeping.

§ 46. And now, he was close to come to the height of life, for he did not sow and plant the earth, and he did not care for anything worldly and not for the nourishment of the body. And he did not employ any worldly plants, not even any grass, but his mind was in great trust in God, from the day

14 Either this should be seen as an euphemism, although such a usage does not appear in the dictionaries, or it could possibly have the meaning "animal nature" encountered in one dictionary (Sokoloff, 2009).

15 According to the reading of D: "like a shadow".

16 The Syriac has a single word, but in English a circumlocution is required.

17 Luke 14:11, 18:14.

18 According to F, this passage reads: "And you, who have exalted yourself to the heavens..."

that he went out from the dwelling-places of man, but he forgot everything of the world [*] and [in] this rejoiced:¹⁹ the love of God was going to remain in his heart and to be watched over carefully, until he departed from this world to God. And rather, in the joy of his mind his body was strengthened by the hope of the promises of the coming. * And neither was his body enfeebled by his toil, nor was his soul in despair, but he acquired great order and tranquility in his mind.²⁰

§ 47. God, who saw his mind like his honour, did the following to him: Once every two and three days he prepared for him on his table in the [right] time [] a clean, good and sweet bread. And he used to go into his cave and lie down and rest, when he perceived that his body was hungry and wanted food, and he knelt and thanked, when he ate. And, again, he used to stand up, according to his custom, in service and in prayer and in godly visions, which he saw in the peace that surrounded him, sprouting and growing every day through his victories, and he was refreshed by the joy and by the promises of what was to come, through his hope in them. | And thus he was like one whose completion from this world has already come, for he will depart into the coming life, and because he so greatly trusted [*] in himself and in his achievements, within a little he fell from the height, that is splendour, to death, because his mind exalted itself for the sake of his achievements.

§ 48. Why, then, do I not also tell about that a temptation occurred to him? For before long he forgot that his nature was like the rest of men, but he thought of himself that he, now, was higher than all human [being] on account of his achievements. And through this thought he trusted himself, like one who alone works in his ways.

§ 49. Thus was the beginning of the temptation for him []: silently sloth came upon him, and he did not believe it was sloth. * And afterwards a great negligence entered him, but he did not perceive it, and now he slothfully stood up from sleep to the service of his custom and he prayed the prayers in leisure. And his service was not continuous, like it used to be, but his soul was searching for pleasures and his mind was dragging him down, and his thoughts were wandering and in his mind he was devising hateful things. But his former custom was partly dragging him [back; *] to his former order(s).

§ 50. And after a day he entered his cave and as usually found the bread, that God had prepared for him. But he did not bring to his mind to remove from himself those foul thoughts and he did not understand that the carelessness was preparing [his] ruin. | And he did not take pains anymore to get rid of the evil from his thought.

§ 51. Through those evil works his mind brought him to the world, but quickly he restrained the turbulence of his mind and without diligence he rose, according to his custom, and prayed and again he entered his cave and found the bread put on the table. It was not fresh and pleasant like it used to be, [] but filthy and detestable, and he was perplexed and grudging in his mind and grew dark²¹, but he was sustained [by the food].

§ 52. Now in the third night, the evil in his thoughts doubled through his sloth, because he did not immediately remove the evil from his thoughts. But this was in his thought: an intimacy of a woman, exactly as if she was lying down beside him, and he talked with her. And so the eye of his mind was looking at something [imagined], * exactly as if he committed it with the woman. And again he went out to prayer as [well as] to service, his mind not being clean from the filth of (his)

19 The translation of this sentence is uncertain.

20 According to D, this passage reads: "And neither was his soul in despair, but in great order, and he acquired anointing in his mind."

21 If the alternate reading is followed, the translation is: "and he grudging in his mind and was grieved".

thoughts, [*] but his eye wandering hither and thither, so that waves of hating thoughts obscured his mind.

§ 53. And again in the evening he became hungry and went to eat, and he found on the table some scraps, as if they were eaten by dogs or mice, and he sighed and wept. He wept a little, not like it was appropriate for him to cry – over his ruin –, and he ate a little from it and went and rested.

§ 54. And around him [were] evil thoughts from every direction, and they took his mind captive and brought it to the world, and he stood up at night and started to walk in the desert to come to the dwelling-place of men, and when the heat came upon him [l] on the road, far away from the dwelling-place, l he became weary. And he began to look to his right and to his left [to see] if perhaps there was a monastery in that place, [so that] he [could] enter and rest.

§ 55. That was what also happened and he found a monastery of pious [monks], and when he entered they received him greatly and according to the [Christian] faith. And they gave heed to him like to a pious and honoured father, and they poured water on him and he washed his face and his hand and his feet, and they prayed and put a table, and they begged him that he should eat with love what[ever] there was. And when he had eaten, they convinced him to tell them a word of life, so that through those manners they would avoid [*] the snares of Satan and thus overcome the evil thoughts, when they came.

§ 56. And, like a father [admonishes] his sons, he admonished and taught them: "Endurance is required of us and labour to overcome the thoughts and the lust of the world. * and so we will be able to reach the life and the eternal rest." And he told them many other [things] about the ascetic life, and he explained much and he edified them, and when he stopped admonishing and teaching them, he came to his senses and said: "How have I admonished and taught others, and I myself remained without admonition and teaching?"

§ 57. And when he recognised the sin that he was guilty of, [l] he returned with great haste and went to the desert, sighing and crying and saying: "If it weren't [for] the Lord, who was my helper, my soul almost dwelt in misery and I almost fell into every evil; they almost destroyed me in the land." And upon him the word was fulfilled, that says:²² "As a city is helped by a fortress, so a brother is helped by his brother."

§ 58. And so, after this l he was in great mourning in all his days, for he had destroyed the heavenly and prepared table, and he prepared his food with great toil. And he enclosed himself in the cave, and spread out ashes and sackcloth under himself, [*] and he did not rest from weeping and from sighs, and he did not rise from his place, until a voice came from heaven, an angel saying to him: "God has received your penitence and he has had mercy upon you. Now, take heed that you do not wander astray again. And see, those brethren, whom you have admonished and advised, are coming towards you, and they bring gifts, and they will comfort you. Receive [the gifts] from them, and eat with them, and praise God at all time."

§ 59. All this I have told you, o my sons, so that you before everything else might acquire humility, whether it concerns major or minor [things]. * For this was the first commandment of our Lord, who said: "Blessed are the humble, for to them belong [l] the Land of Life and the Kingdom of Heaven."²³

22 Literally, "that is written".

23 Cf. Matt. 5:3, 5.

7. COMPARISON WITH THE PUBLISHED EDITIONS

In this section, a number of published editions of the *HM1* are considered in comparison with the one edited above. I have chosen not to discuss the Latin translation, nor the Arabic, Georgian, and Slavonic ones, because of my insufficient knowledge of these languages. The editions discussed are the Syriac ones, the Coptic and a Greek one. They will not be compared comprehensively, as the requirements on the present essay do not allow it, but a selected number of interesting points, which I have noted during the process of producing this edition, will be presented.

7. 1. *Bedjan's and Wallis Budge's Syriac editions*

The first edition of the Syriac *HM*, published by Paul Bedjan in 1897, was, as has already been related above, encumbered with some methodological deficits. He based it, as he explains in the preface, on several manuscripts, which he has been “obligé de vocaliser, ponctuer et rendre conforme à l’orthographe chaldéenne.”³⁹ He adds that he has “fait figurer au bas des pages un certain nombre de variantes, mais pas toutes.”⁴⁰ This obviously renders the edition imperfect for usage in scientific research; its value lies rather in that it was the first comprehensive publication of the Syriac *HM*. The manuscripts, on which Bedjan based his edition, belonged mainly to the R1 recension.⁴¹ Bedjan utilised, as throughout his *Acta Martyrum et Sanctorum*, a vocalised *maḡnəḥāyā* font; for sakes of simplicity, however, I have chosen to use the standard font of this essay when quoting from his text.

Only seven years after Bedjan’s publication, in 1904, Ernest Alfred Wallis Budge issued another edition of the Syriac text, this time accompanied by an English translation. Wallis Budge’s edition is based on a sole manuscript: a copy, manufactured for Wallis Budge himself, of an ancient manuscript found in Mosul in the possession of, with Wallis Budge’s words, the “Vicar of the Nestorian, or ‘Chaldean’, Patriarch”.⁴² According to the preface, Wallis Budge was requested by Bedjan to lend him his copy, as the latter was preparing his edition, but Wallis Budge had already begun working with his own translation and thus decided not to send the book away.⁴³

Methodologically, it is of course preferable to base an edition on a sole manuscript, rather than

39 Bedjan, 1897, p. XI.

40 Bedjan, 1897, p. XI.

41 In p. X, Bedjan mentions having collated BL 17177 as well.

42 Wallis Budge, 1904, p. VI.

43 Wallis Budge, 1904, p. XI-XII.

paragraphs, comparison has not been as easy as with Festugière’s Greek edition (see below), but, for example, the story of the young man (§§ 37-44), which is missing in R4, occurs in both editions.

In an article of 1983, Sebastian Brock has described how Syriac translation technique developed from the 4/5th to the 6th century A.D. Broadly speaking, the differences in translation technique over time can be seen as consequences of a general change in status between Syriac and Greek: as the Greek language becomes more and more influential, the aim of the Syriac translators changes from being basically to present a Greek text to a Syriac public (an aim leading to such consequences as a preponderance for explanatory additions and cultural translation), to being rather to transport the Syriac reader as near to the Greek original as possible (this leading to consequences, such as an enlarged usage of loan words and calques on Greek expressions (sometimes, as mentioned above in connexion with the R2 translation, to word- for-word renderings of specifically Greek grammatical constructions). A thorough investigation of the translation techniques of the entire different translations is a desideratum, but before this can be made, the task of producing reliable editions has to be finished. However, as a part of the comparison between the editions of Bedjan and Wallis Budge, and the R4 version, I will briefly describe how the Greek (and Latin) loanwords in R4 are handled in the other published editions. *HM1* in the R4 recension contains seven loanwords, presented in the following table:

GREEK & LATIN WORDS	SYRIAC RENDERINGS		
	R4 recension ⁵³	Bedjan (1897) ⁵⁴	Wallis Budge (1904) ⁵⁵
στρατηλάτης	D: ܣܬܪܬܠܐܬܝܬܝܘܬܐ F: ܣܬܪܬܠܐܬܝܘܬܐ	ܣܬܪܬܠܐܬܝܘܬܐ	ܣܬܪܬܠܐܬܝܘܬܐ
κίνδυνος	ܟܝܢܕܘܢܘܫ	ܕܝܟܠܝܕܝܢܝܘܫܐ ܠܐ	ܕܝܟܠܝܕܝܢܝܘܫܐ ܠܐ
συγκλητικός	ܣܘܢܟܠܝܬܝܩܘܫ	ܣܘܢܟܠܝܬܝܩܘܫ	ܣܘܢܟܠܝܬܝܩܘܫ
κληρικός	D: ܟܠܝܪܝܩܘܫ F: ܟܠܝܪܝܩܘܫ	ܟܠܝܪܝܩܘܫ	ܟܠܝܪܝܩܘܫ
ξένος	ܟܝܢܘܫܐ	ܟܝܢܘܫܐ	ܟܝܢܘܫܐ
præpositus	D: ܦܪܝܦܘܣܝܩܘܫ F: ܦܪܝܦܘܣܝܩܘܫ	ܦܪܝܦܘܣܝܩܘܫ	ܦܪܝܦܘܣܝܩܘܫ
tribunus	ܬܪܝܒܘܢܘܫ	ܬܪܝܒܘܢܘܫ	ܬܪܝܒܘܢܘܫ

Table 2: The Greek and Latin words occurring in R4 and their counterparts in the editions of Bedjan and Wallis Budge.

53 See pp. 1*-6* above.

54 The examples are found at pp. 334-338.

55 The examples are found at pp. 349-352.

As can be seen, the three editions generally follow each other. In the two cases, where the R4 recension of the present edition differs from the editions based on R1, the R4 recension seems to show a later form, at least according to the theory of translation technique elaborated by Sebastian Brock.⁵⁶ The other editions render the Greek adjective κίνδυνος by a verbal phrase, while the translator of R4 simply copies the Greek word. Similarly, the other editions translate the Greek κληρικός with an explanation of the word, while R4 again refrains to reproducing the Greek.

7.2. Festugière's Greek edition

Festugière has published the most up-to-date critical edition of the Greek version. As concluded above, the original version of the *HM* was probably written in this language, which, however, preserves a great variation when it comes to manuscripts and versions. The Greek manuscripts are comparatively late, the oldest ones deriving from the around the 10th century A.D.⁵⁷

What first strikes anyone who engages in comparing R4 and Festugière's Greek version, is that the latter contains somewhat more material than the former. Considerable passages of the Greek text have no counterpart in the Syriac: §§ 23-31, 37-44, and 60-65 are completely missing, while §§ 9, 19, 36, 46, 49, 50, 53, 59 are partly missing. There seem to be no substantial additions in the text; the final sentence of § 22 in the present edition appears to be taken from the end of Festugière's § 31. There is no space here for a thorough analysis – in relation to the Greek texts – of the translation technique utilised in *HM1* of R4, nor for a discussion on how the specific Greek *Vorlage* might have looked, as related to the different manuscripts brought up by Festugière.

7.3. Davos' Coptic edition

In an article of 1969, Paul Davos identified what had formerly been seen as an autonomous vita of John of Lycopolis with the first chapter of an otherwise lost Coptic translation of the *HM*. Two different manuscripts preserve fragments of the text; curiously, the manuscripts overlap each other to a certain extent. It is, as for now, not possible to say whether the Coptic fragments on John of Lycopolis are remnants of a Coptic version of the entire *HM* or if they represent a partial translation.

⁵⁶ See above.

⁵⁷ Tóth, 2010, p. 72.

Based on a misunderstanding of a Greek grammatical construction – *ὁ δ' ὡς ἔλεγεν γυναικὶ αὐτὸν μηδέποτε συντετυχηκέναι*⁵⁸ being translated to *ⲛⲧⲟⲗ ⲁⲉ ⲡⲉϫⲁⲗ ⲛⲧⲉϫⲥⲓⲙⲉ ϫⲉⲙⲡⲉⲓⲧⲟⲙⲛⲧ ⲉⲣⲟⲗ ⲉⲛⲉϫ*⁵⁹ – Davos concludes that the Coptic translation must be based on a Greek *Vorlage*. This misunderstanding is not found in R4, which, has *hū dēn 'emar d-(')a(n)ttātā memmātōm lā ḥazyā lī* (see § 5, p. 5* in the edition),⁶⁰ nor in Bedjan's edition, which follows the main Greek text closely (*kaḏ 'emar lāh dā-lā mātōm pāḡī' lēh ṭubbānā b-(')attātā* (Bedjan, p. 338, ll. 5-6)). It thus seems probable that the Coptic textual tradition forms a branch separate from the Syriac translations and most closely related to (some of) the Greek versions.

Davos connects the Coptic version of *HM1* with the textual tradition represented by the Greek manuscript that Festugière labels P².⁶¹ The reasons, which he gives for this, are two phrases, which are preserved in a unique form in P²: a form, which recurs in the Coptic fragments. First, in § 12, P² has *ὁ δ' οὕτως ἐποίησεν*⁶² instead of the common *ὁ δ' ὡς ἐποίησεν καὶ δὴ ἔλαιον ἐξαπέστειλεν*.⁶³ The Coptic text, in this case, has *ⲛⲧⲟⲗ ⲁⲉ ρⲁⲑⲓⲣⲉ ⲕⲁⲧⲁⲧⲉⲓⲣⲉ*,⁶⁴ corresponding closely to P². R4 follows the main Greek version rather than P², even though none of the Greek texts in question corresponds perfectly: *hāde dēn 'aḥad da-mṣallāyū ṣallī w-(')āf mešhā barrek*.⁶⁵ Second, in § 13, the common Greek text has *ἀδελφοὶ ξένοι πάντες πρὸς αὐτὸν ἀνελθόντες*.⁶⁶ P² lacks a single word – *πάντες* – and so appears the Coptic text to do as well: *ⲁⲛⲬⲱⲔ ⲙⲁⲣⲟⲗ ⲟⲛ ⲛⲟϫⲟⲡ ⲉⲛⲙⲉⲗϫⲁⲣⲟⲗ ⲛϫⲟⲛ ⲛⲟⲙⲙⲟ*.⁶⁷ This holds true also for the R4 translation, which has: *šab 'ē gēr 'ahē 'ūtayn (h)wayn 'akṣanāyē*.⁶⁸ To me it seems, however, that this fact has little bearing on the interrelationship of the translations; taken together with the phrases above showing differences between the P² and the Coptic text on the one hand, and R4 and the other Greek texts on the other, this seems to boil down to nothing more than a haphazard change having occurred on several occasions independently (which is hardly surprising, given the vague meaning of the Greek pronoun in this context).

To conclude the discussion on the Coptic version in light of the Syriac translation edited above, they

58 Davos, 1969, p. 420. (English translation: “but as he said that he had never met a woman” (own translation).)

59 Davos, 1969, p. 430. (English translation: “but he said to his woman: ‘I have never seen him’” (own translation).)

60 For an English translation, see the edition.

61 Festugière, 1961, p. XCVI.

62 Davos, 1969, p. 424. (English translation: “and so he did” (own translation).)

63 Davos, 1969, p. 424. (English translation: “and he did so and sent oil” (own translation).)

64 Davos, 1969, p. 430. (English translation: “and he did like that” (own translation).)

65 For an English translation, see the edition.

66 Davos, 1969, p. 424. (English translation: “Foreign brothers all (= πάντες) coming towards him” (own translation).)

67 Davos, 1969, p. 434. (The Coptic variant reading, given on p. 430, makes no difference in the present discussion. English translation: “We came to him one time, [being] seven foreign brethren” (own translation).)

68 For an English translation, see the edition.

appear not to be interrelated in any particular way.

8. CONCLUSION

In the present essay, a critical edition and a translation of the first chapter of the *HM*, as it appears in the Syriac translation labelled R4 by Draguet and Tóth, has been presented. The aim was not to reach conclusion about its relationships with other translations and versions of the text: the work is in too early a state for that. Nonetheless, to contextualise the edition, the entire *HM* was first discussed in general terms, and then with a special focus on the different Syriac translations. Some superficial comparisons between the newly presented edition of the *HM1* in the R4 recension and a number of already published editions concluded the essay.

For future studies on the R4 recension of the Syriac *HM* remains, first and foremost, the editing of the two other chapters. As noted above, they are found in more manuscripts than the first one, so producing editions of them will presumably require a greater amount of time. Thereafter remains a more thorough study of the translation: the loanwords and the ascetic vocabulary in use must be analysed, and the entire text has to be closely compared to the Greek and the Latin material, the latter being completely absent from the present edition. The Biblical citations in the texts ought to be compared to the known Syriac Bible translations, as this can help in establishing the age of the translation. In part such a work has already been carried out by Peter Tóth, but he has not considered the entire translation.

The future tasks outlined above constitute only a small part of the investigations that have to be carried out concerning the Syriac versions of the *HM*. And these, after all, comprise nothing more than one single branch of the *HM* textual tradition. For the editor of texts, the ascetical literature of the Orient offers a never-ending source of material. And still, what has come down to us may well be but a small fraction of the literature that once existed. Festugière writes: "Soyons assures que, si nous avons vécu au debut du V^e siecle, nous eussions rencontre d'autres recensions encore."⁶⁹

⁶⁹ Festugière, 1955, p. 281. (English translation: "Let us be sure, that if we had lived in the 5th century, we would have encountered even more recensions." (own translation).)

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