

An Early Fragment of the Greek *Apophthegmata Patrum*

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With Table I and II

Ancient papyrus and parchment fragments of the *Apophthegmata Patrum* (in English commonly called *Sayings of the Desert Fathers*) are extremely rare, despite the work's great popularity in medieval monasteries in the East. Any addition to their number is thus most welcome. We present here a small fragment of a Greek version in the Bodleian Library in Oxford, which despite its size is of some interest for the textual history of the work. The piece was acquired by the Bodleian from B. P. Grenfell on October 23, 1896. It received its first mention in print in H. H. E. Craster, "Early Vellum Fragments in the Bodleian Library", *BQR* 3 (1922) 288; a fuller description and partial transcript appeared in F. Madan and H. H. E. Craster, *A Summary Catalogue of Western Manuscripts in the Bodleian Library at Oxford* VI (Oxford 1926) 152 (no. 32407), with corrections on p. xxii.¹ It was described as a "theological fragment", further specified as "probably acts of a martyr". It was said to have been written in "the 7th or 8th century, in the uncial script employed in Paschal letters".

After that, its traces disappear (it was not included in J. van Haelst, *Catalogue des papyrus littéraires, juifs et chrétiens* [Paris 1976]). It appears to have been forgotten until May 2001, when a TLC search showed it to be part of a manuscript transmitting the *Apophthegmata Patrum* (= *ApP*).

Codicology

What we have is a fragment of a leaf of a parchment (or vellum) codex: there survive middle parts of lines, and probably all of the lower margin. This will have been a manuscript of some pretensions. Besides the formal character of the script, we may note the fairly generous lower margin and especially the rich lectional apparatus.

How much text is missing between the two sides? The passages found in our fragment are present in the Anonymous (= *Anon.*) as well as book 6 of the Systematic (= *Syst.*) Collections of the *ApP*: the text on the flesh side is § 263 of the *Anon.*, or § 22 of the *Syst.*, that on the hair side § 259–260 of the *Anon.*, or § 23–24 of the *Syst.*

¹ For this reason it was included among the published Bodleian papyri photographed under the auspices of the International Photographic Archive, see R. A. Coles, "The Photographic Archive: Photography of Greek and Latin Papyri in the Bodleian Library, Oxford", *ZPE* 39 (1980) 146.

dialogue de l'ange avec le prêtre, une splendeur, pour ainsi dire, à la fois communautaire et privée. Que nul ne soit incrédule, de peur que l'ange, messenger dans le sanctuaire de Dieu, ne le condamne au mutisme. En lui fermant les lèvres, Gabriel fait taire le prêtre qui doutait, sans l'avoir entendu, d'un si grand message. Telle fut l'irruption de l'ange étincelant et sa descente du ciel. Quelle fut, du Saint des Saints, la sortie du prêtre? Il s'avance muet; un fils lui est conçu. La langue du père était nouée de liens angéliques; dans le sein de la mère, la Voix était nourrie; car celui qui exulta dans le sein maternel est la *Voix qui crie dans le désert*.

3. Mais qu'à présent, d'une matrice au désespoir, naisse le Précurseur de l'époux, pour éviter à une mère stérile une trop longue honte, à propos d'une grossesse chaste, mais tardive. Quel attroupement près de la stérile en train d'accoucher! Quelle liesse près du bébé faisant chanter les vagissements de son esprit enfantin! Quel était le mérite, à ton avis, de celui dont l'ange avait dit le nom à l'avance? Ce nom, la langue entravée du père le retenait. Interrogé, celui-ci l'inscrivit sur la cire: ainsi, grâce à un stylet, il récupéra la voix; grâce à la cire vierge de ses tablettes, il prophétisa la chasteté d'une Vierge sur le point d'être mère. Le stylet inscrivit le nom du nouveau-né, et par la langue retentit la voix, pour que le père pût saluer affectueusement son enfant et bénir le Seigneur de lui avoir accordé l'objet d'un si long désir. Au Seigneur il disait: *Béni soit le Seigneur, le Dieu d'Israël, de nous avoir visités et d'avoir assuré la rédemption de son peuple!* Et à son fils il disait: *Et toi, mon enfant, tu seras appelé prophète du Très-Haut, car tu marcheras devant le Seigneur pour lui préparer les voies.* O Précurseur, qui en tous lieux, par ses pas de danse, annonçait le Seigneur. Il fit, à l'intérieur du ventre maternel, ce qu'il exécuta ensuite près du Jourdain, là où les pécheurs dévoilaient leurs péchés. Nous qui allons nous approcher de l'autel divin pour un banquet sans souillure, retenons ici les joies qui accompagnèrent la naissance d'un tel enfant, afin que nous soit accordée la flamboyante liesse de la visite des anges étincelants. Amen.

Fin du sermon sur la naissance de saint Jean.

If the codex carried the *Syst.*, some 10 lines will have been lost to the top of the hair side, which gives 23 lines to the page, or a written height of c. 13.5 cm.² The lower margin is extant to 3.2 cm, which is probably the original figure (the edge, now partly concealed under the tape sealing the frame, is fairly straight). Assuming that the ratio of the lower to the upper margin is 3:2,³ upper and lower margins together add up to 5.3 cm, which yields a page c. 19 cm in height. The written width may be estimated at c. 9 cm; adding 5.5 cm for side margins, the width of the page would be c. 14.5 cm. Such dimensions (c. 14.5 × c. 19 cm) place this leaf among Turner's class IX of parchment codices.⁴

The other possibility is that the codex contained the *Anon.* If it had a similar arrangement as Paris.Coislin. 126 (the basis of the modern edition of this collection), no fewer than 92 lines would have come between the hair side and l. 2 of the flesh side.⁵ This is a fair amount of text; the only way to make it fit in a leaf of plausible dimensions would be to assume that our fragment comes from a codex with two columns per page, and carries the lower parts of the two inner columns (that is, those closer to the central fold). If so, we may reckon with a column of 35 lines,⁶ which would be c. 20.5 cm high and suggest a page height of c. 26 cm. With two columns to the page, each c. 9 cm wide, and adding c. 5.5 cm for side margins and 2 cm for the intercolumnium, page width would be c. 25.5 cm. With this format (c. 25.5 × c. 26 cm), the codex would fall into Turner's class III of parchment codices ('large, "square"').⁷

Of the two alternatives, the one involving a *Syst.* codex is the more economical, and implies a format that is much more common than one in which the page is almost as wide as is tall.⁸ In fact, the four codices that make up Turner's class III are unlikely company for the *ApP*: one is a palimpsest of Strabo, while the other three are among the principal early codices of the Bible, and were not found in

² Calculations made on the basis of the following details: (i) the average line-length in our piece is 22.38 letters, or rather 22.68 letters, given that we have one 16-letter line ending a section; (ii) lines 2–14 of the flesh side are 7.6 cm high; (iii) with punctuation, the gap between the two sides is c. 210 characters.

³ This is the so-called "Turner's rule of thumb", see E. G. Turner, *The Typology of the Early Codex* (Philadelphia 1977) 25, and finds confirmation in medieval "recipes" for bookmaking; see N. Gonis in H. Melaerts, ed., *Papyri in honorem Johannis Bingen octogenarii (P.Bingen)* (Leuven 2000) 128 n. 6 for references.

⁴ See Turner, op. cit. (n. 3) 28.

⁵ The gap between the two sides is 2028 letters, which comes to 91–93 lines in all (§ 260, 206/22.68 = 9.1 = 9/10 lines; § 261, 1155/22.68 = 50.9 = 51 lines; § 262, 298/22.68 = 13.13 = 14 lines; § 263, 369/22.68 = 16.27 = 16/17 lines). We should also make an allowance for punctuation markers, and add 1 or 2 lines to accommodate them all. Thus the gap would have been at least 92 lines.

⁶ The computation of the number of columns (n) is that 3n minus 13 = 92 lines, thus 3n = 105 lines, more or less.

⁷ See Turner, op. cit. 27, 31.

⁸ Cf. G. Menci, "L'impaginazione nel rotolo e nel codice: alcune note", *Atten des 21. Internationalen Papyrologenkongresses = APF Bhft. 3* (Leipzig 1997) 685.

Egypt.⁹ Therefore, even if from the codicological point of view the possibility that the Bodleian fragment comes from an *Anon.* codex cannot strictly be excluded, it is far more likely that we have a fragment of a codex of *Syst.*

Palaeography

The hand is a version of the style traditionally called 'Coptic Uncial', but in more recent years "Alexandrian Majuscule".¹⁰ The objectively datable examples of this style are fewer than a handful: three Paschal letters (*P.Grenf.* II 112 [577], *P.Köln* V 215 [663/674], and *P.Berol. inv.* 10677 [713/719], reproduced as *GBEPP* 37, 47b, and 52a respectively),¹¹ and a prayer on an ivory diptych (*GBEPP* 47a [c. 650–60]). All other datings rely on stylistic criteria, sometimes of dubious value. It only makes matters worse that the datable examples are of a very particular kind: the script of all these Paschal letters is very formal, large in size, and applied with a thick pen on papyrus (not parchment). With literary hands, as is well known, precise datings are at the editor's peril; in the case of the "Alexandrian Majuscule", the paucity of securely datable comparanda makes it even easier for a dating to be wrong, though an error of this kind is not easy to be shown as such. In any case, it is a fair statement that most of the Greek manuscripts written in "Alexandrian Majuscule" date from the sixth, seventh and eighth centuries, though precursors may be found in papyri of earlier date. The majority of these manuscripts are of theological content, but there are also several Classical texts copied in this script.¹² This seems to have been the style preferred in the copying of Paschal letters sent by the patriarch at Alexandria, the reason perhaps for its great popularity with Coptic scribes from the seventh century onwards, to the extent that it has been called "the national script of the Copts".

⁹ These are: (i) Rahlfs G (Codex Colberto-Sarravianus; Octateuch), 23.8/23 × 25/24.3 cm, two columns (of 27 lines) per page; of Western origin (?); (ii) Gregory-Aland B (Codex Vaticanus), 27 × 27 cm, three columns (of 42 lines) per page; possibly of Egyptian provenance (but not found there); (iii) Gregory-Aland D (Codex Bezae; a bilingual codex, with Latin translation facing the Greek text), 21.5 × 25.8 cm, one column (of 33 lines) per page; probably from southern France or Italy. See the reproductions in B. M. Metzger, *Manuscripts of the Greek Bible. An Introduction to Greek Palaeography* (New York-Oxford 1981), nos. 15, 13, and 19 (note that the measurements given by Metzger are slightly different from Turner's, but this does not alter the basis of the argument).

¹⁰ The relevant literature is extensive. One may single out J. Irigoin, "L'onciale grecque de type copte", *JEByz* 8 (1959) 29–51; G. Cavallo, "Γράμματα Ἀλεξανδρίνα", *JEByz* 24 (1975) 23–54; G. Cavallo & H. Maehler, *Greek Bookhands of the Early Byzantine Period* [= *GBEPP*] (BICS 47: London 1987) *passim*.

¹¹ On the dates of these three Paschal letters see further A. Camplani, "La Quaresima egiziana nel VII secolo: note di cronologia su Mon. Epiph. 77, Manchester Ryland Suppl. 47–48, *P.Grenf.* II 112, *P.Berol.* 10677, *P.Köln* 215 e un'omelia copta", *Augustinianum* 32 (1992) 423–432, esp. 429–431. Camplani's article does not seem to have been known to K. Aland (†), H. & U. Rosenbaum, *Repertorium der griechischen christlichen Papyri III/1. Kirchenväter-Papyri* (Berlin–New York 1995), who discuss the dates of these papyri on pp. 526–527 (*P.Berol. inv.* 10677), 533 (*P.Köln* 215), and 539–540 (*P.Grenf.* 112).

¹² See A. Porro, "Manoscritti in maiuscola alessandrina di contenuto profano. Aspetti grafici, codicologici, filologici", *Scrittura e Civiltà* 9 (1985) 169–215, with *P.Bingén* (n. 3 above), p. 126 n. 4.

The "Alexandrian Majuscule" does not seem to have been greatly favoured by copyists before the latter part of the sixth century. Very few of its specimens have been assigned earlier dates. It may be significant that among the numerous literary pieces of the early Byzantine period found at Oxyrhynchus, none of which is probably later than the first decades of the seventh century,¹³ few are written in this style. Yet it is certain that a substantial part of our evidence, and in fact of the approximately datable evidence, is not later than the middle of the seventh century: apart from the Oxyrhynchus texts, there are several examples of this script among the papyri excavated by the British at Antinoopolis and published in *P.Ant.*, none of which should be later than the middle of the seventh century.¹⁴ This is the period that witnessed the earlier phase of the "Alexandrian Majuscule".

Of the later phase of the style, which, for Greek manuscripts, runs from the middle of the seventh to the end of the eighth century (or slightly later), we have a large number of examples; but the dates of most of them are "palaeographical", made (at best) on the basis of the two or three datable parallels. The documentary context of the Oxyrhynchus and Antinoopolis examples is missing. Editors seem to have been following an empirical rule according to which the heavier and more mannered the appearance is, the later the script should be. This may be right, if across the centuries handwriting behaves in a manner similar to some of the visual arts (e.g. like painting in its transition from the Renaissance to the Baroque period).

The script of the Bodleian fragment is closer to the specimens of the style assignable to the early or mid-seventh century than those of the later seventh or early eighth. Even if some of the "characteristics of the late phase of the Alexandrian majuscule", as described in *GBEPP* p. 114, are in evidence, their presence is not strong; or, if rigidity and artificiality suggest a "late" date, they are not particularly noticeable in this piece. Ornamentation is plentiful but not exaggerated; thickenings are attached to the extremities of uprights and obliques, and rounded blobs hang from the tips of the horizontal of τ (but not of π). Shading is present but not pronounced. Only ϩ, ϕ, and occasionally χ breach the notional bilinear frame. α is made in two movements; ϕ is fairly large; the group ε, θ, ο, c, oval and narrow, contrasts with the letters usually written broadly, though the contrast is not as marked as in the very late examples of the style.

Compared with the three datable Paschal letters, our fragment displays more affinities with *P.Köln* 215 = *GBEPP* 47b (663/674) than with the other two: note especially the forms of α, δ, λ, κ, ω. Yet the Cologne papyrus makes a more mannered impression than the Bodleian parchment, which is probably earlier. In terms of general appearance, not dissimilar is the hand of a codex of Cyril of Alexandria (van Haelst no. 638 = LDAB 0587), assigned to mid-seventh century; see the reproduction in *Pap.Flor.* XXXI, vol.III, Tav. 7a (cf. also Cavallo, Γράμματα Ἀλεξανδρίνα, pl. 13). One may also compare the somewhat more heavily executed *PSI* XIV

¹³ This assumption depends on the fact that the latest dated Oxyrhynchite document excavated by Grenfell and Hunt dates to 631/2 (*P.Oxy.* LVIII 3961); clearly, literary papyri and parchments are most unlikely to be later than the documents found there.

¹⁴ None of the documents found on this site is later than this date; this should apply to the literary pieces too.

1400 (Taf. VII), assigned to the same date.¹⁵ There are also affinities with *P.Oxy.* XV.1820 = *GBEP* 22b,¹⁶ assigned to the later sixth century, though the Oxyrhynchus papyrus attests a less advanced stage in the development of the script. In conclusion, a date in the seventh century, earlier rather than later, would seem acceptable.

The end of a saying is marked by a short horizontal dash (12v); a new saying starts with a new line. The scribe has used lectional signs in abundance: there is one rough breathing, several diaereses (all of them inorganic, indicating initial vowels), and an elaborate apparatus marking punctuation: high and low points, and, especially, (hypo)diastolai, similar in shape to modern commas. We are not aware of any other ancient manuscript that attests so many (hypo)diastolai.¹⁷

Text

Bodl. MS Gr. th. g 8 (P)

8.5 × 11.3 cm

VII

"Recto"

μνη ουσα] η γαρ μ[ητηρ ην απ
(22 / 263)

- 5 ελθουσα ερ]γασασθα[ι πλυτρια
γαρ ην κα]ι παρεχουσι[ν αυτη ι
ματι]ον και κερ[μ]α· και ο[υκ ηθε
λησε] λαβειν λεγουσα· οτι ηλθ[εν
η] μητηρ μου, και ειπεν θα[ρσει
ηθελησεν ο θς και ευρον ε[ργασα
σθαι σημερον, και εχομ[εν την
10 τροφην ημων· κα]ι ως ηλθεν
η μητηρ αυτη]ς παρεκαλουν
αυτην λαβειν, κ[αι ουκ ηνεσχετο
λεγουσα εγω εχω [τον φρον
τις]την μου θν κ[αι υμεις

"Verso"

αδελφοι κ]αι πολλα βιασαμε
(23 / 259)

- 5 νος αυτο]ν, εθηκ[ε το σφυριδι
ον το]υ χρουσιου ει[ς την θυραν
της εκκλη]σιας και [ε]μ[ι]πεν ο
πρε]σβυτερος, ο χρεϊαν εχ[ων λα
βη] και ουδεις αυτων ηγγ[ισεν
τιν]εσ δε ουδε προεσχεον· και λ[ε
γει αυτ]ω ο πρεσβυτερος εδεξατ[ο
10 ο θς την α]γαπην σου. υπαγε κ[αι
δος αυτα πτ]ωχοις· και πολλ[α
ωφεληθεις α]πηλθεν –
προσηνεγκ[ε]ν τις γεροντι χρη
ματα λεγων]ν εχε εις αναλωμ[α

(24 / 260)

The Textual Tradition of the *Apophthegmata Patrum*

The textual tradition of the *Apophthegmata Patrum* is complex, embracing a number of languages and multiple forms. The debate about the original language of the text – Greek or Coptic? – was settled in 1911 by M. Chaîne, who showed that the Sahidic Coptic text of the Systematic Collection contained a number of errors and inconcinnities explicable only as the result of translation from the Greek.¹⁸ The multiple forms, however, have given birth to a long debate.

¹⁵ See Porro, loc. cit. 196.

¹⁶ Further fragments of the same manuscript (a papyrus codex of the *Odyssey*) have been published by O. Bouquiaux, *Cd'É* 64 (1989) 201–209, cf. C. Gallazzi, *Cd'É* 66 (1991) 193–197.

¹⁷ See E. G. Turner, *Greek Manuscripts of the Ancient World*, Second edition revised and enlarged, edited by P. J. Parsons (BICS 46: London 1987) 11 with n. 47 (all the examples cited there occur in manuscripts of the Roman period); add *P. Heid.* IV 295.10 (Taf. 5; also reproduced as *GBEP* 52b), a Paschal letter.

¹⁸ "Le texte original des Apophthegmes des Pères", *Mélanges de l'Université Saint-Joseph* 5 (1911–12) 541–569.

There are two principal traditions, the Systematic Collection and the Alphabetic (= *Alph.*-Anonymous, which will be discussed shortly). There are also various other works of the fourth to sixth centuries containing some of the anecdotes and sayings preserved in *ApP*, and a considerable number of later manuscripts containing extracts from the *ApP*, what the principal modern student of the subject has called "collections dérivées".¹⁹ Most scholars have agreed that the original formation of the *ApP* out of a large body of oral and written material is essentially irrecoverable, although there are good reasons to believe that the editorial work that produced both surviving major traditions took place in Palestine (see below). Debate has instead focused on the relationship of *Syst.* and *Alph.-Anon.* As the passages found in the Bodleian fragment occur in both traditions and, as we shall see, raise important issues, a brief sketch of the problems they pose will be necessary.

The Alphabetic-Anonymous version of the *ApP* consists of two sections, as the designation would suggest. In the first, which is the part of the *ApP* most familiar to modern readers, the sayings and stories are arranged by the names of the individual ascetics to whom they are attached, under the letters of the Greek alphabet with which these begin. The second consists of a mass of material, in the main not attributed to a specific individual ("one of the fathers once said ..." and the like). Where *Alph.* is relatively stable in its contents across the various manuscripts,²⁰ *Anon.* is a complex agglomeration. Indeed, in its full sense it is a kind of virtual collection, one not found as a whole in any single specific manuscript. Guy identified in it, however, what he believed was the original core before accretions; this was a series of sections with subjects or themes, closely related to the subject headings of the chapters of *Syst.*

Alph. was first, and last, edited in 1677 by J.-B. Cotelier²¹ on the basis of a manuscript in Paris (Bibliothèque Nationale de France [= BNF], grec 1599); this text was reprinted by Migne in *PG* 65. No critical edition has been published to date, although two plans to publish one have been reported in recent years.²² Guy lists six manuscripts with all or part of *Alph.-Anon.*, plus two more with *Alph.* only (one of them Paris gr. 1599).²³ Most of the *Anon.* section of this version has never been published at all; a text of part of it (nos. 1–400) appeared in a series of articles by F. Nau early in the 20th century, on the basis of MS. Coislin 126 (BNF).²⁴

¹⁹ Jean-Claude Guy, *Recherches sur la tradition grecque des Apophthegmata Patrum* (Subsidia Hagiographica 36; Brussels 1962, 2nd ed. with addenda 1984) 201–220.

²⁰ Guy gives a table (19–52) showing the contents of the various MSS.

²¹ *Monumenta Ecclesiae Graecae* 1 (Paris 1677).

²² Chiara Faraggiana di Sarzana, "Apophthegmata Patrum: Some Crucial Points of their Textual Transmission and the Problem of a Critical Edition", *Studia Patristica* 29 (1997) 455–467; *Clavis Patrum Graecorum* Suppl., no. 5560, reports that "nova editio paratur ab E. Schulz-Flügel".

²³ Guy does not claim completeness, but rather to have based his work on the rich holdings of the Bibliothèque Nationale de France (= BNF) "auquel nous avons joint une quinzaine d'autres manuscrits choisis dans les principales bibliothèques du monde: Athènes, Athos, Escorial, Jérusalem, Londres, Milan, Sinai, Vatican" (*Recherches*, 10). There is no published census of MSS of the *ApP* known to us. A previously-unreported MS at St. Catherine's Monastery is described in *Ἱερά Μονή καὶ Ἀρχιεπισκοπή Σινῶ, Τὰ νέα εὐρήματα τοῦ Σινῶ* (Athens 1998), Catalogue (by P. G. Nikolopoulos) M154; this is a minuscule manuscript dated to the 10th–11th century, thus among the earliest known, bearing the title βίβλος περιέχουσα ἀποφθέγματα τε καὶ πράξεις ἁγίων γερόντων τῶν ἐν τῇ Σκήτῃ.

²⁴ "Histoires des solitaires égyptiens", *Revue de l'Orient Chrétien* 2 ser. 2 = 12 (1907) 43–69 (nos. 1–37); 171–189 (nos. 38–62); 393–413 (nos. 63–132); 2 ser. 3 = 13 (1908) 47–66 (nos.

The *Syst.* is organized on a different principle. Instead of taking the personalities of individual ascetics as the classificatory principle, it is organized into chapters about particular monastic virtues. The Greek text of *Syst.* has also never had a complete edition. Like *Anon.*, it underwent considerable accretions over the centuries, and manuscripts exist of three versions. All of them, however, have the same basic structure of organization by topics. Guy spent much of his life working on a critical edition, but died before any of it was published. The first volume, posthumously seen through the press by Bernard Flusin, appeared in 1993, covering chapters 1–9 out of 21.²⁵

There is also a Sahidic Coptic version of *Syst.* The earliest fragments known come from Bala'izah and are dated to the 7th century (*P.Bal.* I 32), thus to roughly the same period as the Bodleian Greek fragment published here. Much more substantial fragments of a later (probably ninth century) codex, now spread across at least six libraries, containing the Sahidic version of the *Syst.*, were published in 1960 by M. Chaîne.²⁶ Five additional folios in the Pushkin Museum (Moscow) were published by A. I. Elanskaya in 1994.²⁷ The Coptic version belongs to a state of the text before any of the surviving Greek manuscripts, without their later accretions. The contents of this text are very close, however, to the Latin translation of the *Syst.*, made in the sixth century by Pelagius and John (= *PJ*), which has long been available in *PL* 73. Lucien Regnault has argued that the Greek basis of both Latin and Coptic texts was edited in Palestine, on the basis of the presence in *PJ* of some anecdotes set in Palestine.²⁸ Regnault posits also a Palestinian origin for the earliest alphabetic-anonymous collection.²⁹

Even this extremely simplified description of the tradition and its publication history gives some sense of the potential difficulties in assessing the textual character of an early fragment of the Greek *ApP*. Equally, because there are no MSS of the Greek text of either major tradition before the ninth century, even a small

133–174); 266–297 (nos. 175–215); 2 ser. 4 = 14 (1909) 357–379 (nos. 216–298); 2 ser. 7 = 17 (1912) 204–211 (nos. 298–334); 294–301 (nos. 335–358); 2 ser. 8 = 18 (1913) 137–146 (nos. 359–400). Translations are given up through no. 215.

²⁵ *Les apophthegmes des pères, Collection systématique, Chapitres I–IX* (Sources Chrétiennes 387; Paris 1993). Professor Flusin tells us that he expects that someone else will ultimately see the remainder to completion, but that the condition of Guy's manuscript will require considerable additional work to make it publishable.

²⁶ *Le manuscrit de la version copte en dialecte sahidique des "Apophthegmata Patrum"* (IFAO, Bibliothèque d'études coptes 6; Cairo 1960). The manuscript, a large (32 × 41 cm page size) and elegantly produced parchment codex, is almost certainly from the White Monastery library and is usually dated to the 9th century (but could be early 10th).

²⁷ *The Literary Coptic Manuscripts in the A. S. Pushkin State Fine Arts Museum in Moscow* (Suppl. to *Vigiliae Christianae* 18; Leiden 1994) 13–40.

²⁸ L. Regnault, *Les pères du désert à travers leurs apophthegmes* (Abbaye Saint-Pierre de Solesmes, Sablé-sur-Sarthe 1987) 67–69. Guy (1993, introduction, 83–84) accepted Regnault's proposal as likely. In the additional remarks to the 2nd edition of *Recherches* (1984), Guy remarks (p. 261 n. 1) the existence of a Syriac version dated to 534, which R. Draguet announced but never published. The placement of this note implies that Guy thought this was a translation of *Syst.* In the introduction to the first volume of his edition of *Syst.*, however, Guy states (p. 80) that Draguet had announced this version "sans préciser clairement de quel type de collection il s'agissait".

²⁹ *Ibid.*, 70–72.

amount of such a text from the early seventh century is of great interest. The Bodleian fragment is only the second such snippet known, and it offers an opportunity also to reevaluate the other known fragment, a Cairo parchment published a decade ago. In doing so in some detail below, we not only venture with some trepidation into a field not our own but go where critical editions do not exist for most of the versions discussed, aware that the promised new edition of *Alph.* is likely to reopen many questions and perhaps argue for different conclusions. Nonetheless, it seems to us that the potential gains from detailed analysis of the ancient fragments make it worth taking these risks.

The Bodleian Fragment as part of the Systematic tradition

From the codicological bases described above, it is clear that the Bodleian fragment must have belonged to a collection with the contents and arrangement of our *Syst.* rather than of *Anon.* We must then ask if we can determine if the text itself resembles that of *Syst.* It might seem that the remains are too exiguous to allow us to discover very much, but that turns out not to be the case. The major difficulty, rather, is the absence of a critical edition of *Anon.* and the inadequacies of Guy's edition of *Syst.* We have attempted to remedy these difficulties by examining as many manuscripts as we reasonably could, in order to see how consistent the tradition of the two collections was.³⁰ We begin by laying out the identifiable divergences (in the headings, 22 and 23 refer to the section numbers in *Syst.* 6 as edited by Guy; the numbers at left are line numbers inside the section; the readings for *Anon.* are those in Nau's edition based on A).³¹ *PJ* is cited only in those cases where the divergences in the Greek are such as to be identifiable in Latin translation. As can be seen from the table on p. 155 of Chaîne's edition, this portion of Chapter 6 of the Sahidic version appeared at the time of his edition to have been lost, falling in the lacuna of pages 69–72 (between nos. 31 and 32 in Chaîne's text). The publication by Elanskaya of fragments in the Pushkin Museum has recovered pages 69–70, leaving only 71–72 as yet missing. It is, of course, conceivable that these pages too are yet lying unpublished in some library, as the manuscript itself was broken up and spread around at least six libraries.

22 <i>P.Bodl.</i>	<i>Systematic Collection</i>	<i>Anonymous Collection</i>
9 η γαρ μήτηρ	ἡ γὰρ μήτηρ	ἡ δὲ μήτηρ αὐτῆς

Anon. in fact has αὐτῆς in A and F; it is omitted in C, K, P, and BN gr. 1036. But no MS of *Anon.* has γὰρ. *P.Bodl.* agrees with *Syst.* In T, however, we get ἡ γὰρ μήτηρ

³⁰ We are indebted to E. Papapolychroniou for collating the *Syst.* MS Athens, National Library 500 (Guy's T) and the *Anon.* MS Athens, National Library 504 (Guy's F) for us.

³¹ Manuscripts consulted and cited below are the following (in alphabetical order by siglum): A (BNF, Coislin 126, *Alph.-Anon.* [basis of Nau's edition]); C (BNF, Coislin 232, *Alph.-Anon.*); D (BNF, grec 1599, *Alph.* [basis of Cotelier's edition]); F (Athens, National Library 504, *Alph.-Anon.*); K (BNF, Coislin 283, *Anon.*); M (BNF, Coislin 282, *Syst.*); P (BNF, grec 890, *Anon.*); Q (BNF, grec 917, *Syst.*); R (BNF, grec 914, *Syst.*); T (Athens, National Library 500, *Syst.*); no siglum (BNF grec 1036, abridged *Alph.-Anon.*). Of these, microfilms were consulted for A, C, K, M, and R, originals for the remainder.

αὐτῆς, thus adding the possessive pronoun from *Anon.* *PJ* has *mater autem eius*, bringing it in line with *Anon.* (The presence of *eius* does not, however, necessarily imply that the source had αὐτῆς.) Copt. has ΤΕΜΑΛΥ ΔΕ, the ΔΕ aligning it with *Anon.*, the possessive pronoun (as in *PJ*) proving nothing.

22 <i>P.Bodl.</i>	<i>Systematic Collection</i>	<i>Anonymous Collection</i>
10 [πλῦτρία γὰρ ἦν]	πλῦτρία γὰρ ἦν	ἦν γὰρ πλῦτρία

Of the MSS of *Anon.*, C agrees with *Syst.* against the rest. Again, T agrees with *Anon.* rather than *Syst.* The word order in *P.Bodl.* is plausibly but not conclusively restored to agree with *Syst.*, yielding (with correct word division) the slightly better fit with the lacunae. *PJ's erat enim candidatrix* might be taken to favor *Anon.* here, but this seems inconclusive. Copt.'s ΕΝΕΟΥΡΑΖΤ ΓΑΡ ΤΕ conforms to *Syst.*, but as Coptic could not put the ΤΕ first, not much can be concluded.

22 <i>P.Bodl.</i>	<i>Systematic Collection</i>	<i>Anonymous Collection</i>
11 και ο[υκ ηβελησε]	καὶ οὐκ ἠθέλησε	ἡ δὲ οὐκ ἠθέλε

Length of lacuna favors restoring the aorist of *Syst.* against imperfect of *Anon.* All MSS of *Anon.* checked have the same reading. Copt. reads ΑΓΩ ΜΠΕΣΧΙΟΥ, simpler than the Greek, but agreeing with *Syst.* and *P.Bodl.* in having a translation of καὶ (αγω) rather than δέ.

22 <i>P.Bodl.</i>	<i>Systematic Collection</i>	<i>Anonymous Collection</i>
12 και ειπεν θα[ρσει]	καὶ εἶπέ μοι θάρσει	καὶ εἶπέν μοι ὅτι θάρσει

Omission or inclusion of nu-movable before consonants varies widely in the MSS and is not significant. *P.Bodl.* omits ὅτι against *Anon.* (all MSS) and μοι against most MSS of *Syst.*, thus agreeing with neither, but only with T, which also omits both. *PJ* has *et dixisse sibi: Confide*, close (taking into account the indirect construction of the Latin) to the reading of *Syst.*; but the ὅτι *recitativum* added by *Anon.* does not differ materially. Copt. has ΑΧΧΟΟΣ ΧΕ ΤΩΚ ΝΖΗΤ, thus aligning itself with *P.Bodl.* but (in not representing μοι) with neither *Syst.* nor *Anon.*

22 <i>P.Bodl.</i>	<i>Systematic Collection</i>	<i>Anonymous Collection</i>
12–13 ηβελησεν ο θεος	ἠθέλησεν γὰρ ὁ θεός	ἠθέλησεν ὁ θεός

P.Bodl. agrees with *Anon.* against *Syst.*; T also omits γὰρ. Copt. has no particle here.

22 <i>P.Bodl.</i>	<i>Systematic Collection</i>	<i>Anonymous Collection</i>
13 ε[ργαα]σθαι νημερον	ἐργάσασθαι σήμερον	σήμερον ἐργάσασθαι

The word order of *P.Bodl.* agrees with *Syst.* and with *PJ's opus quod faciam hodie*. Copt. has ΖΩΕ ΜΠΟΟΥ ΕΤΡΑΞΙΡΕ; the separation of Greek ἐργάσασθαι into the noun and verb forming a sandwich around ΜΠΟΟΥ (rendering σήμερον) means that it does not completely support either, but it is somewhat closer to *Syst.*

22 P.Bodl.	Systematic Collection	Anonymous Collection
14 []	παρεκάλουν	παρεκάλεσαν

Space favors restoration of παρεκάλουν, but not decisively. Three manuscripts of *Syst.* (OMS) agree according to Guy's apparatus with *Anon.* in reading παρεκάλουν. Copt. has the perfect (αγκορως), thus closer to *Anon.*

22 P.Bodl.	Systematic Collection	Anonymous Collection
15 []	ἡνέχετο	ἡθέλησε

Space favors ἡνέχετο, but not conclusively. Of the *Anon.* MSS, C has ἡνέχετο. P and BNF grec 1036 have ἡθέλε(ν). Copt. has *ἡπεςογωφ*, reflecting *Anon.*

23 P.Bodl.	Systematic Collection	Anonymous Collection
5 [σπυριδιον το]ν χρυσίου	σπυρίδιον	σπυρίδιον τοῦ χρυσίου

K omits this anecdote. All other *Anon.* MSS have the text given. *PJ* agrees with *Anon.* and P.Bodl. against *Syst.* in adding two words describing the contents of the container: *sportam cum solidis*. This is the most substantive case in which *PJ* differs from *Syst.* Copt. agrees with P.Bodl., *Anon.*, and *PJ* and is indeed closest to *PJ*, reading *ντελρε ερεννογβ ριωφ*, "the basket in which were gold pieces".

23 P.Bodl.	<i>Syst.</i>	Anonymous Collection
6-7 αυτων ηγγιεν	αὐτῷ ἡγγιζε	ἡγγιεν αὐτό

Syst. MS M has αὐτῶν like P.Bodl. (not reported in Guy's apparatus). *Anon.* MSS C and F have αὐτῷ (but the same word order as other *Anon.* MSS). BNF grec 1036 has αὐτοῦ. The only agreement of P.Bodl. is thus with M. *PJ* has *nemo tetigit*, offering no direct comfort for any of these readings. It is perhaps more likely that the translator found (P.Bodl.'s) αὐτῶν superfluous in Latin than that he omitted the accusative object that *Anon.* offers. *Syst.*'s αὐτῷ probably stems from P.Bodl.'s reading with a nu inadvertently dropped. (It is impossible to say if M's reading goes back to the original text or is an emendation.) Copt. has (*ἡπεςογον*) *ἡμοου ρντq εροου*, supporting P.Bodl.

23 P.Bodl.	Systematic Collection	Anonymous Collection
8 α]γαπην σου	ἀγάπην σου	ἀγάπην σου

Apparent agreement; but MS A (Nau's model) lacks σου. *PJ* has *tuam*, Copt. *ντεκ-αγαπην*.

23 P.Bodl.	Systematic Collection	Anonymous Collection
8 υπαγε κ[αι] δος]	ὑπαγε καὶ δός	ὑπαγε δός

P.Bodl. agrees with *Syst.* P has ἀπελθε δός. *PJ* has *vade et da*, thus agreeing with *Syst.* and P.Bodl. T has καὶ ὑπαγε δός αὐτό, with misplaced καὶ. Copt. conjunctive in *εωκ ντταλγ* can hardly be said to favor one side.

23 P.Bodl.	Systematic Collection	Anonymous Collection
9 [αυτ-]	αὐτό/αὐτόν	αὐτά

The probable restoration in P.Bodl. of a four-letter form could agree with either the reading of *Syst.* MS O or with *Anon.* The plural object in Copt. agrees with *Anon.*

Our overall impression is that there is a much higher level of variation among the MSS of *Anon.* than of either *Alph.* or *Syst.* There are 11 cases listed above that offer us at least probable information about situations where there is not agreement. The Bodleian fragment agrees with *Syst.* in 7 cases (only with M in 23.6-7), with *Anon.* (MS A) in 2 cases (22.12-13, 23.5), and with neither *Syst.* nor *Anon.* in 1 (22.12); the outcome is uncertain in 22.14 and 22.15. In one of each of these last two groups, however, it agrees with MS T of *Syst.* (22.12 and 22.12-13). In three cases, P.Bodl. agrees with *Anon.* MS C (22.10, 23.5; 23.8 *agape*); two of these (22.10, 23.8 *agape*) coincide with agreements with *Syst.*, one (23.5) with A. In other words, although the arrangement of apophthegmata must be that of the Systematic Collection, as has been shown above, the text is not by any means in full accord with that of the *Syst.* as it is known from most of the later manuscripts, disagreeing with it in 1 of the 11 cases (23.5) and with all but one of its MSS in 3 others (22.12, 22.12-13, 23.6-7) where we can determine the text with certainty or probability.³² Of these, probably only one is of much significance, *Syst.*'s omission of τοῦ χρυσίου. Disagreements of P.Bodl. with *PJ* are trivial and discernible agreements of note occur in 3 places (22.9, 22.13, 23.5, 23.8 *kai*). Similarly, P.Bodl. agrees with Copt. quite closely, including 22.12 and 23.6 against both *Syst.* and *Anon.*

The Cairo Fragment

Before attempting to go any further in evaluating the significance of this information, we must first turn to consider the Cairo fragment published by Claudio Gallazzi in *ZPE* 84 (1990) 53-56 with Pl. VI, the only other ancient witness to *ApP* in Greek. It contains parts of a single long saying, that preserved under Macarius no. 3 in *Alph.* and in chapter 18, no. 9 of the *Syst.* Because only one saying is involved, contrary to the situation with P.Bodl., it is impossible to deduce from codicological considerations which tradition is represented in the fragment. Gallazzi compared the text of the fragment with codices of the *Syst.* (of which no published Greek text is available; *PL* 73, 982B gives the Latin of *PJ*) and with the printed edition of *Alph.*, concluding "che il frammento non concorda pienamente né con l'una, né con l'altra silloge". He remarked that the text on the recto coincided with that of *Alph.*, and that on the verso with that of *Syst.* (This, however, is presumably not significant.) He noted a high degree of agreement with *PJ*. It should be remarked that only four lines are preserved, and of each of these half or less, on each side. Some prudence is thus in order in assessing "coincidence" with versions.

³² Other textual variants in the manuscripts of *Syst.*, as reported by Guy's apparatus, do not do much to add to this picture. These are not numerous, to judge from the apparatus, although that does not always report M accurately. In 22.9-10, the fragment agrees with the majority of the manuscripts against T, which reads ἀπλθεν. In 23.5, the variant of MSH, ἐκκλησίαν instead of θύραν τῆς ἐκκλησίας, cannot be restored in P.Bodl. Because, according to Guy's edition, the passage in question here falls in the lacunas in MSS Q, R, V, W, and H (Guy cites H for this passage, however, and in the table on *Recherches* 140 it can be seen that H is extant for chapter 6, nos. 23 and 24), the number of witnesses is not large.

<i>P.Cair.</i>	<i>Alph.</i>	<i>Syst.</i>	<i>PJ</i>
[ο γερων μη πολεμουσι σε ο] λογισμοι	ὁ γέρων μὴ πολεμοῦσι σε οἱ λογισμοί	omit	et dixit senex: ne impugnant te cogitationes
ποσα [ετη ακω]	πόσα ἔτη ἀκῶ	τοσαῦτα ἔτη ἔχω ἀκῶν	quot annos habeo in conversationes loci istius
[οτι ολοι] αγριοι ειτι[ν]	ἄγριοι εἰσιν ὅλοι	ὅτι ὅλοι ἄγριοι εἰσιν	quia toti sancti sunt
ε[ν]α	omit	ἓνα	unus

The Cairo fragment thus, on the face of it, agrees with *Alph.* in two places and disagrees in two, similarly agreeing with *Syst.* twice and disagreeing twice. Allowing for the fact that *PJ* misread ἄγριοι as ἄγριοι, the only disagreement with *PJ* is the odd *in conversationes loci istius*. Gallazzi notes with respect to the first item above that it “trova una corrispondenza perfetta ... nelle versioni copte”, citing the text preserved in Chaîne, p. 44 no. 181: ἦτορ δὲ πεχαρ καὶ σεερψαλ ζῆτῆ νεκῶνα πεχαρ ἦσι πῆλλο καὶ μὴ οὐκ ἔμεγε πολυμὴ νῆμακ (“He said, ‘They prosper because of your prayers.’ The old man said, ‘There isn’t any thought that fights with you?’”).

Gallazzi concludes that the Cairo fragment reflects an early stage of the text, with divergences from both of the medieval traditions. He declines to go further and see this fragment as a piece of the Greek *Syst.* from which Pelagius and John (as well as the Coptic translators) worked, remarking that it could instead be a piece of an early version of the *Alph.*, “e presentare, semplicemente, un testo più antico rispetto a quello che è stampato in Migne”. He discounts the possibility that it might belong to “la silloge originaria” from which both *Syst.* and *Alph.* derived. (That original collection, in the view of Guy, was essentially alphabetic-anonymous in character, but it was not the *Alph.-Anon.* that we know from the medieval manuscripts (see *Recherches* 198)).

Given our experience with P.Bodl., we must ask if the MSS contain any significant divergences from the reported texts. In the case of *Alph.*, the answer is no. Collation of A, C, and D turned up no variations from Cotelier’s text except for nu-movable and minor iotacistic variants. With *Syst.*, however, it must be remarked that there is no published Greek text, and Gallazzi does not give one for this passage on the basis of the examination of 5 manuscripts (MQR in Paris, H in Milan, V in Rome). He remarks only “che, per i passi conservati dalla pergamena del Cairo, i cinque codici della serie ‘sistemica’ sono tutti concordi tra loro, così come il testo di Migne, PG LXV non differisce da quello leggibile in alcuni manoscritti di importanza rilevante per la collezione ‘alfabetica’ (citing B in Berlin and A and C in Paris).

This statement is inaccurate even if limited to the small amount of text preserved, and could be misleading in a larger view. In fact, the version of this anecdote in *Syst.* has suffered serious damage; it is clear that the version in *Alph.* is the better one, and that there has been an omission affecting all of the existing *Syst.* Greek manuscripts in various ways. To understand what has happened, we need to look at the entire structure of the story. Makarios was living in the desert alone, but there was another desert area where a number of monks lived. Makarios watched the roads, and one day he saw Satan coming in the guise of a man. Makarios

greeted him and asked him where he was going; Satan replied that he was going to the brothers. After some conversation, he went off. After some time, he returned, and Makarios greeted him with ωθεῖν. To this Satan replied, “How can I be well?” Makarios said, “Why?” Satan proceeded to explain that all the brothers were hostile to him except one. Makarios elicits the name of that one, which is Theopemptos. Satan goes off.

Makarios then visited the brothers in the lower desert, who greeted him warmly. He found Theopemptos and engaged him in dialogue: “How are you, brother?” “Fine, thanks to your prayers”. “Do your thoughts not make war against you?” “For the moment, I’m fine”. Makarios proceeds to draw Theopemptos out by confessing that he is himself still troubled by lust, whereupon Theopemptos admits that he is also. Makarios goes through a series of other temptations, each of which Theopemptos also admits to once Makarios has done so. Makarios inquires after Theopemptos’s fasting habits, enjoins on him a stricter regimen and more recitation by heart of the scriptures.

After Makarios returned to his normal post, Satan came by again, with Makarios greeting him and asking him his destination. When Satan returned a second time, Makarios asked him how the brethren were, eliciting κακῶς. On being asked why, Satan explained that now even the one brother who was friendly before had turned hostile, for reasons he did not understand. Satan departs in disgust, and Makarios returns to his cell.

If we compare the versions in *Alph.* with the MSS of *Syst.*, here is what we find (giving just the passages preserved in P.Cair. and immediate context; the first of these is the conversation with Theopemptos, the second the devil’s remarks on his last pass by Makarios):

<i>Alph.</i>	R	Q, T	M
ὁ δὲ εἶπεν· εὐχαῖς σου καλῶς· εἶπε δὲ ὁ γέρων· μὴ πολεμοῦσι σε οἱ λογισμοί; ὁ δὲ εἶπε· τέως καλῶς εἰμί· ἦδεῖτο γὰρ εἰπεῖν.	ὁ δὲ λέγει τέως καλῶς εἰμί· ἔδεῖτο γὰρ εἰπεῖν.	ὁ δὲ λέγει τέως καλῶς εἰμί· ἦδεῖτο γὰρ εἰπεῖν.	ὁ δὲ ἔφη τέως καλῶς εἰμί· ἦδεῖτο γὰρ εἰπεῖν τὰ καθ’ ἑαυτόν.
λέγει αὐτῷ ὁ γέρων· ἰδοὺ πόσα ἔτη ἀκῶ, καὶ τιμῶμαι παρὰ πάντων.	λέγει ὁ γέρων ἰδοὺ τοσαῦτα ἔτη ἔχω ἀκῶν καὶ τιμῶμαι παρὰ πάντων.	λέγει ὁ γέρων ἰδοὺ τοσαῦτα ἔτη ἔχω ἀκῶν καὶ τιμῶμαι παρὰ πάντων.	λέγει αὐτῷ ὁ γέρων ἰδοὺ τοσαῦτα ἔτη ἔχω ἀκῶν καὶ τιμῶμαι παρὰ πάντων.

PJ and the Coptic texts agree with *Alph.*, just as P.Cair. does as far as preserved. As both of the Coptic and Latin are systematic in character, this evidence suggests strongly that the divergence is not between the alphabetic and systematic collections in themselves, but between the Greek systematic text that underlies the Coptic and Latin, on the one hand, and the ancestor of the surviving Greek codices on the other.³³ Even they clearly have some divergences, however.

³³ In translating the passage in *Syst.*, Regnault has given the same rendering as for the anecdote in *Alph.*, suggesting implicitly that he would emend *Syst.* to restore an original state like

When the devil reappears, the text reads as follows:

<i>Alph.</i>	<i>R</i>	<i>Q, T³⁴</i>	<i>M</i>
ὥς δὲ πάλιν ἐπανήλθε, λέγει αὐτῷ ὁ ἄγιος· πῶς οἱ ἄδελφοί; ὁ δὲ λέγει· κακῶς. ὁ δὲ γέρων λέγει· διατί; ὁ δὲ εἶπεν· ἄγριοι εἰσιν ὅλοι· καὶ τὸ μεῖζον κακόν, ὅτι καὶ ὄν εἶχον φίλον ὑπα- κούοντά μοι, καὶ αὐτὸς οὐκ οἶδα πόθεν διεστράφη, καὶ οὐδὲ αὐτός μοι πείθεται.	ὥς δὲ πάλιν ἐπανήρχετο, λέγει αὐτῷ ὁ γέρων· σωθεῖς σωθεῖς. ὁ δὲ λέγει· ποῦ ἐνι σωθῆναι; λέγει ὁ γέρων· διατί; ὁ δὲ εἶπεν· ὅτι ὅλοι ἄγριοι εἰσιν καὶ τὸ μεῖζον κακόν ὅτι ὄν εἶχον ἕνα φίλον ὑπα- κούοντά μοι, καὶ αὐτὸς οὐκ οἶδα πόθεν διεστράφη, καὶ οὐδὲ αὐτός μοι πείθεται.	ὁρᾷ πάλιν τὸν διάβολον καὶ λέγει αὐτῷ ὁ γέρων· σωθεῖς σωθεῖς. ὁ δὲ λέγει· ποῦ ἐνι σωθῆναι; λέγει ὁ γέρων· διατί; ὁ δὲ εἶπεν· ὅτι ὅλοι ἄγριοι εἰσιν καὶ τὸ μεῖζον κακόν ὅτι ὄν εἶχον ἕνα φίλον ὑπα- κούοντά μοι, καὶ αὐτὸς οὐκ οἶδα πόθεν ἐστράφη, καὶ οὐδὲ αὐτός μοι πείθεται.	ὥς δὲ πάλιν ἀνῆλθε, λέγει αὐτῷ ὁ γέρων· πῶς οἱ ἄδελφοί; ὁ δὲ λέγει αὐτῷ· κακῶς. ὁ δὲ γέρων λέγει· διατί; ὁ δὲ εἶπεν· ὅτι ὅλοι ἄγριοι εἰσιν καὶ τὸ μεῖζον κακόν ὅτι ὄν εἶχον ἕνα φίλον ὑπα- κούοντά μοι, καὶ αὐτὸς οὐκ οἶδα πόθεν διεστράφη, καὶ οὐδὲ αὐτός μοι πείθεται.

In the Coptic text, we find a good correspondence to the text of *Alph.* and *M*, with their preservation of πῶς οἱ ἄδελφοί where the other *Syst.* MSS have mistakenly picked up σωθεῖς from the first encounter. There is a preference for *Alph.* where the Coptic uses πῶς οἱ ἄδελφοί in the first sentence (*Syst.* unanimously γέρων), but for the unanimous *Syst.* tradition of including ἕνα by means of πῶς οἱ ἄδελφοί. Of these, *PJ* along the lines of the Coptic has *quomodo sunt ibi fratres*, but the questioner is a *senex* (thus reading γέρων). The *Syst.* tradition is supported with *unus*.

An overall verdict on the Cairo fragment is complicated. It can be seen that its affinities are not wholly with one tradition or the other, but they again seem closest to *PJ* and to what the *Syst.* tradition probably was before a couple of serious problems occurred and led to various unsuccessful attempts to remedy them by later copyists. Is Callazzi justified in keeping open the possibility that the fragment belongs to an alphabetic collection? The close correspondence to *PJ* speaks rather against this possibility. With the additional light of the Bodleian fragment, we are perhaps justified in saying that both fragments seem likely to have belonged to a Greek text more closely related to the manuscript translated by Pelagius and John, and also by the Sahidic translator, than to any surviving Greek text of either alphabetic or systematic type.

The Implications of the Ancient Manuscripts

We may now turn to ask somewhat wider questions about the history of the Systematic Collection. Guy distinguished three stages of the text, lettered *a*, *b*, and *c*. Of these, *a* does not survive in any Greek manuscript, having been driven out by the expanded version *b*. Guy in turn identified three variants of his stage *b*, according to where these put the material added after stage *a*. *T*, with which one dis-

that in *Alph.* Compare *Les chemins de Dieu au désert* (Solesmes 1992) 290–291 with *Les sentences des pères du désert* (Solesmes 1981) 174–175.

³⁴ Except that *T* has μὲν rather than μοι after ὑπακούοντα and reads διεστράφη. It also adds καὶ between ὅτι and ὄν.

agreement was noted above, is the only MS of stage *b2* that Guy inventories. Of the three MSS of stage *b3* (*MSO*), we have noted disagreements with *M* and *S*. One disagreement with the apparent sole witness to stage *c* (*H*) has also been noted. It would appear, then, that P.Bodl. is closest to the version *b1*, represented by the 9th century manuscript Y (Athos Protaton 86), but even with it the level of disagreement is considerable.

The other witness is the Latin translation of the deacon Pelagius and subdeacon John, both later popes (*PJ*), until now the earliest surviving witness to the Systematic Collection (mid-sixth century). The three apophthegmata of which parts are preserved in P.Bodl. all figure there, consecutively and in this order, as chapter 6. nos. 18–20; this part is the work of Pelagius and can be dated no later than his death in 560. This does not demonstrate that our text is a witness to the Greek version of *a* which lies behind *PJ*, but it does allow for the possibility.

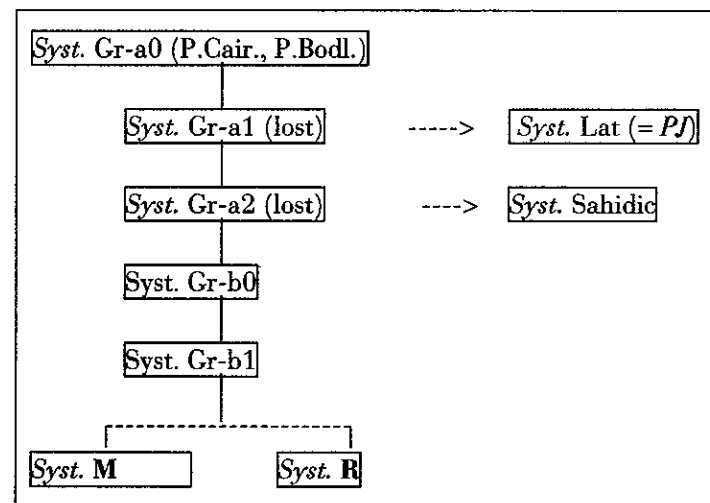
Matters are in fact probably a bit more complicated and revealing. Despite the risks of generalizing from this small body of evidence, some points are clear, and they need explanation.

(1) The two ancient Greek fragments, although small, preserve enough readings of interest to show that their clearest affinities are with *PJ*, a translation that dates no later than 560. P.Bodl. must belong to a systematic collection of that sort, and nothing stands in the way of thinking that P.Cair. also was part of such a collection.

(2) The Sahidic version appears to have been translated from a version of *Syst.* not vastly different from that of which *PJ* is a rendering. But there are signs that there had been some deterioration in the text, to which P.Cair. is witness, between the time the original of *PJ* and the original of the Sahidic were written.

(3) Some additional losses can be assigned to a stage between the writing of the original of the Sahidic and the common ancestor of the later *Syst.* manuscripts.

These considerations would lead us to envisage the history of *Syst.* approximately as follows:



Stage Gr-b0 would be the stage at which additional losses or corruptions in the text, compared to what the Sahidic preserves, took place; Gr-b1 would be that at which the first round of additional material was added. Obviously there may have been a number of intermediate stages between a2 and b0, between b0 and b1, and between b1 and the existing manuscripts of *Syst.* that represent this text stage.

The next question is then that of the relationship of the alphabetic-anonymous tradition to the systematic. Guy's final conclusion on this point (introduction to his edition, p. 31) is the following: "Il est raisonnable d'estimer que la collection systématique est plus tardive". For this he offers the following support (1) "Il semble bien que le classement en 20 ou 21 chapitres (κεφάλαια) de la collection systématique ait été établi à partir de celui qui a servi pour répartir les apophthegmes anonymes de la première collection; l'inverse ne serait pas envisageable". (2) Alphabetic selection would have been less satisfying to users as time went on and communities used the work for edification of young monks. A similar conclusion has been reached by Chiara Faraggiana di Sarzana in preparing her edition of *Alph.*, but in the article cited above (n. 22) she refers to the introduction of the forthcoming edition for the demonstration on the basis of concordances.

Neither of Guy's arguments is to our mind persuasive. There is no obvious reason why one version of the systematic arrangement must be prior to another. Nor is there any reason to think that the edification of younger monks was not the original purpose of editing a collection, in which case the systematic organization would have made sense already at the start.³⁵ More broadly, we would frame the question as follows: Is it more likely that a single arrangement by subject was the original form, and that this was then reorganized by individuals, with the residue forming a kind of appendix in something like its original organization; or that the original compiler adopted two conflicting principles, one for the first part and the other for the second part, with only subsequently another editor having the bright idea of a single sequence? The first in fact seems to us far more likely, on the criterion of utility. Classification primarily by subject or theme, and only secondarily by rough alphabetization, is a principle known elsewhere in patristic literature.³⁶

Two other types of external evidence need consideration. First is the surviving manuscripts. According to Guy's lists, the earliest MS of *Syst.* dates to the 9th century (Y). Another is dated precisely to 970 (W = Athos, Lavra B 37), and a third to the 10th–11th century (V). With *Alph.*, by contrast, there is no MS before the 10th–11th century (A), or perhaps the 10th century (Va),³⁷ and the earliest dated comes from 1004 (J). *Syst.* would thus appear to have at least a century's lead over *Alph.* It is true that this could be a matter of the chance of survival, but to the extent that

it has any weight at all, it is in favor of the priority of *Syst.* Moreover, the copy of the *ApP* listed among the books of Photius (patriarch 857–867 and 877–886) was a systematic collection.³⁸ There is extensive ancient (i.e., 6th century) evidence for the existence of *Syst.*, and none for *Alph.*: the Latin translation shows that *Syst.* was known outside Egypt in the early 6th century, and both Greek and Coptic³⁹ were known in Egypt by the end of that century. The cumulative weight of the actual physical evidence is thus not trivial. If *Alph.* really had come first, it is hard to see where to find the time first for the coalescence of the tradition into *Alph.*, then for its transformation into *Syst.*, all in time for the early version translated into Latin. If *Alph.* comes second, on the other hand, all time pressure is gone.

Second is the thorny question of the prefaces or prologues. Some MSS of both traditions have surviving prefaces, explaining that until the present edition the tradition of apophthegmata had been in great disarray; the present editor had been responsible for arranging them logically. Unfortunately for credibility, the prefaces of *Alph.* and *Syst.* share their opening three and a half paragraphs, diverging only when it comes time to describe the method by which order has been introduced into the particular collection. In this way, *Alph.* can say that all was chaos until *Alph.* was invented, while *Syst.* can say that all was chaos until *Syst.* was invented. It is difficult to imagine a hypothesis on which both of these are true. One editor has borrowed the preface from another and appropriated the claim to priority in bringing order. Guy pointed out (introduction, p.30) that "Seuls les mss H et W, donc les témoins de l'état c le plus développé, donnent ce Prologue pour la collection systématique". In other words, if no MSS of stage b have the preface, perhaps it is not original to the systematic collections but instead to the alphabetic. But a moment's reflection shows that this argument is not worth much. Stage b1 is represented by Y and Q; both are lacking their beginnings. Stage b2 is represented by R and T; both are lacking their beginnings. Stage b3 is represented by O, M, S and V; of these, all except probably O are lacking their beginnings.⁴⁰ In other words, *not a single one of the manuscripts of stage b is certainly preserved at its beginning*, and we are thus entirely ignorant about whether any of them contained the preface. No conclusions can legitimately be drawn on the matter.

The prefaces are thus of no use for this question. To the extent that the dates of manuscripts suggest anything, they favor priority for *Syst.*, but they are not conclu-

³⁵ This point was made by Chaîne (above, n. 18) 545.

³⁶ The codex edited by Chaîne is not the only witness to this translation; Guy (introduction, 82–83) remarks on the discovery at Bala'izah of fragments of the Sahidic version of *Syst.*, assigned by the editor to the 7th century. Guy remarks that the fragments correspond to lacunae in the codex edited by Chaîne, but that "je ne sais si elles proviennent du même manuscrit". As the codex edited by Chaîne comes from the White Monastery and is of a much later date, there is no reason for imagining that the Bala'izah fragments are part of the same manuscript, and they certainly are not. The early date of the Bala'izah fragments (*P.Bal.* I 32), however, is important corroboration of an early date for the Coptic version of *Syst.*

⁴⁰ The lacunae are listed by Guy in his introduction, 84–86; more detail about most of them is given in *Recherches*. O is described in the 2nd ed., 260–261; it is not clear from this if Guy thinks that the preface was originally present or not – in other words, whether the present start (with chapter 1) is the original first folio.

³⁵ This is indeed admitted by Guy in *Recherches*, 2nd ed., 263 in discussing the Coptic version.

³⁶ The classic instance is the *Sacra parallela* (Ἱερά) of John of Damascus (*PG* 95: 1070–1588 and 96: 9–412), extant only in derivative versions. Its main organization is alphabetical, but what is alphabetized is concepts which provide headings for the assembly of relevant passages. See P. Odorico, *Il prato e l'ape: il sapere sentenzioso del monaco Giovanni* (Vienna 1986) 3ff. The development of specifically Christian florilegia is not a particularly early practice, and although the collections of sayings are not precisely parallel, their role in this development deserves further consideration.

³⁷ This is described in *Recherches*, 2nd ed., 253–254.

sive. Intrinsic editorial probability seems to us to favor ancient choice of topical organization for the top level and alphabetic as only secondary. We do not yet have Faraggiana di Sarzana's argumentation available for consideration. With full recognition that we cannot achieve more than a suggestion from a small but intensively-studied sample, we return to the textual relationships of the manuscripts in the passages represented in the sixth-century fragments.

Apart from the fact that all of our earliest surviving evidence comes from *Syst.*, the most suggestive fact, we think, is the agreement of the *Anon.* MS C with *Syst.* against the mainstream of *Anon.* in two cases (22.10; 22.15). If *Alph.-Anon.* was the parent of *Syst.* and had the reading that the mainstream of *Anon.* manuscripts display, then the appearance in C of readings from *Syst.* in cases where the divergence is significant (as these are) can be explained only by cross-contamination. This is of course not impossible, and it is a popular way out of difficulties in dealing with such texts, but as a hypothesis it becomes steadily less economical the more it must be invoked. By contrast, if *Syst.* is the parent of *Anon.*, the fact that some of the progeny diverge while others keep the reading of the parent requires no explanation except normal mutation. It looks strongly as if C represents a tradition closer to the parent *Syst.* than other MSS of *Anon.* It thus seems possible that *Alph.-Anon.* is formed from a version of *Syst.* somewhere between a2 and b0.⁴¹

Tafelanhang

⁴¹ We thank the Keeper of Western Manuscripts of the Bodleian Library for permission to publish this text and reproduce the images; Efstathios Papapolychroniou for checking the readings of manuscripts in Athens for us; Alexander Alexakis for helpful references concerning Byzantine florilegia; the staff of the Department of Manuscripts of the Bibliothèque Nationale de France for their help; and Sebastian Brock for advice on the Syriac versions.